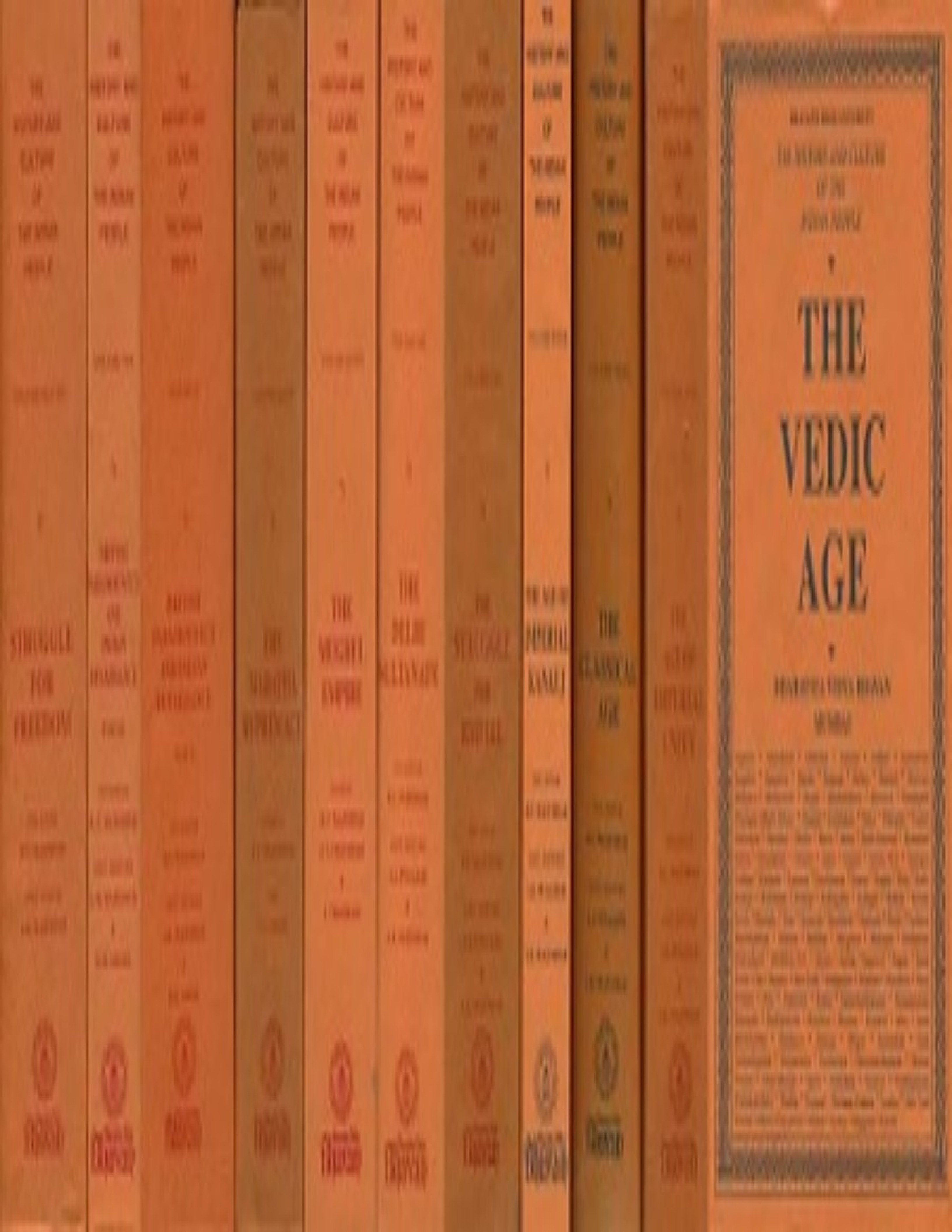
THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE
THE VEDIC AGE
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MUMBAI
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE
THE MARATHA SUPREMACY
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The first volume of this history begins with an introductory section dealing with certain general topics bearing upon the history of India as a whole.

Although dealing with the Vedic age, it gives the necessary geological, geographical and biological background before proceeding to the first stage of human activity in India.

the third section is devoted to a general consideration of the Indo-Aryans; the fourth deals with the political history of the period and the remaining sections, with language and literature, political and legal institutions, social and economic conditions, and religion and philosophy.

In short, this volume covers what may be regarded as, the dawn of Hindu Civilization.

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Foreword by Dr. K. M. Munshi

aTTRT'W: sfTcTcfr qrg fepgRT:

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

— Rigveda, I-89-i

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VOLUME I

THE VEDIC AGE

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By Dr. K. M. MUNSHI

In the course of my studies I had long felt the inadequacy of our socalled Indian histories. For many years, therefore, I was planning an elaborate history of India in order not only that India's past might be described by her sons, but also that the world might catch a glimpse of her soul as Indians see it. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, an educational society which I founded in 1938, took over the scheme. It was, however, realized only in 1944, when my generous friend Mr. G. D. Birla, one of India's foremost industrialists, lent me his co-operation and the support of the Shri Krishnarpan Charity Trust of which he is the Chairman. As a result, the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti, the Academy of Indian History, was formed with the specific object of preparing this series, now styled The History and Culture of the Indian People.

The Samiti was lucky in securing the services of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, formerly Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University and one of India's leading historians, as full-time editor, and of Dr. A. D. PusaL ker, a young and promising scholar, Assistant Director of the Bhara- tiya Vidya Bhavan, as assistant editor. A large number of Indian scholars of repute have lent their co-operation to the scheme. Professor H. G. Rawlinson has been good enough to undertake the task of revising the MS. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. rendered my work easy by undertaking its first publication in 1951, despite difficult publishing conditions in England, and have now been good enough to remit the publication rights to the Bhavan. To all of them I owe a deep debt of gratitude which I hasten to acknowledge.

The General Editor in his introduction has given the point of view of the scientific historian, to which category the contributors belong. My own work for the past thirty-five years has lain in the humbler sphere of weaving historical romances and literary and cultural studies out of materials so heroically salvaged by Indian and European scholars. As a result I have seen and felt the form, Continuity and meaning of India's past. 1 History, as I see it, is being' consciously lived by Indians. Attempts to complete what has happened in the past form no small part of our modern struggle; there is a conscious as well as an unconscious attempt to carry life to perfection, to join the fragments of existence, and to discover the meaning of the visions which they reveal. It is not enough, therefore, to conserve, record and understand what has happened: it is necessary also to assess the nature and direction of the momentous forces working through the life of India in order to appreciate the fulfilment which they seek.

Some years ago, therefore, I defined the scope of history as follows: 4 'To be a history in the true sense of the word, the work must be the story of the people inhabiting a country. It must be a record of their life from age to age presented through the life and achievements of men whose exploits become the beacon lights of tradition; through the characteristic reaction of the people to physical and economic conditions; through political changes and vicissitudes which create the forces and conditions which operate upon life; through characteristic social institutions, beliefs and forms; through literary and artistic achievements; through the movements of thought which from time to time helped or hindered the growth of collective harmony; through those values which the people have accepted or reacted to and which created or shaped their collective will; through efforts of the people to will themselves* into an organic unity. The central purpose of a history must, therefore, be to investigate and unfold the values which age after age have inspired the inhabitants of a country to develop their collective will and to express it through the manifold activities of their life. Such a history of India is still to be written." .

I know the difficulties which beset the path of any enterprise which seeks to write such a history. In the past Indians laid little store by history. Our available sources of information are inadequate, and in so far as they are foreign, are almost invariably tainted with a bias towards India's conquerors. Research is meagre and disconnected.

Itihdsa, or legends of the gods, and Purdna, legends of origin, had different spheres in the ancient literary tradition of India. But later., both came to mean the same thing, traditional history. The Kali Yuga, the current Iron Age, was considered too degenerate a period to deserve recording. The past was only cherished as the pattern for the present and the future. Works by ancient Indian authors which throw light on history are few. Religious and literary sources like the Purdnas and the Kdvyas have not yet fully yielded up their chronological or historical wealth. Epigraphic records, though valuable, leave many periods unrelated.

' Foreign travellers from other countries of Asia and from Eurdpe, like Megasthenes of Greece, Hiuen Tsang of China, AlMasudi of Arabia, Manucci of Venice, and Bernier from France, have left valuable glimpses of India, but they are the results of superficial observation, though their value in reconstructing the past is immense. Chroniclers in the courts of the Turk, Afghan or the Mughal rulers wrote “histories” which, in spite of the wealth of historical material, are partially legendary and partially laudatory. The attempts of British scholars, with the exception of Tod, wherever they have taken these “histories” as reliable source-books,

have hindered rather than helped the study of Indian history. Sir H. M. Elliot, the foremost of such scholars, for instance, has translated extracts from Persian and Arabic “histories” with a political objective, viz. to make, to use his own words, “the native subjects of British India more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to

them under the mildness and equity of the present rule.” So

high an authority as Dr. Maulana Nadvi, in his Presidential Address at the “Early Medieval India” Section of the Seventh Session of the Indian History Congress, expressed the verdict of modern scholars, that both the selection and translation of these extracts have not been honest. But unfortunately, Elliot’s volumes became the source-book for most of our modern histories of Medieval India, As a result, they do not present a true picture of India’s past, nor do they explain how Indians resisted the Turk, Afghan and Mughal incursions, how they reacted to the vicissitudes through which in consequence they passed, and how a Renaissance sprang up out of the impact of Indian with Persian and Turkish cultures.

The treatment of the British period in most of our histories is equally defective. It generally reads like an unofficial report of the British conquest and of the benefits derived by India from it. It does not give us the real India; nor does it present a picture of what we saw, felt and suffered, of how we reacted to foreign influences, or of the values and organizations we created out of the impact with the West.

The history of India, as dealt with in most of the works of this kind, naturally, therefore, lacks historical perspective. Unfortunately for us, during the last two hundred years we had not only to study such histories but unconsciously to mould our whole outlook on life upon them.' Few people realize that, the teaching of such histories in our schools and universities has substantially added to the difficulties which India has had to face during the last hundred years, and never more than during recent years.

Generation after generation, during their school or college career, were told about the successive foreign invasions of the country, but little about how we resisted them and less about our victories. They were taught to decry'the Hindu social system; but they were not told how this system came into existence as a synthesis of political, social, economic and cultural forces; how it developed in the people the tenacity to survive catastrophic changes for millennia; how it protected life and culture in times of difficulty by its conservative strength and in favourable times developed an elasticity which made ordered progress possible; and how its vitality enabled the national culture to adjust its central ideas to new conditions.

Readers were regaled with Alexander’s short-lived and unfructuous invasion of India; they were left in ignorance of the magnificent empire and still more enduring culture which the Gangetic Valley had built up at the time. Lurid details of intrigues in the palaces of the Sultans of Delhi—often a camp of bloodthirsty invaders—are given, but little light is thrown on the exploits of the race of heroes and heroines who for centuries resisted the Central Asiatic barbarians when they flung themselves on this land in successive waves. Gruesome stories of Muslim atrocities are narrated, but the harmony which was evolved in social and economic life between the two communities remains unnoticed. The Mutiny of 1857—the British name for the Great National Revolt—-gave the readers a glimpse of how the brave foreigner crushed India; it is only outside the so-called historical studies that the reader found how at the time patriotic men of all communities in most parts of India rallied round the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi, the national symbol, to drive out the hated foreigner.

The multiplicity of our languages and communities is widely advertised, but little emphasis is laid on certain facts which make India what she is. Throughout the last two millennia, there was linguistic unity Some sort of a lingua franca was used by a very large part of the country; and Sanskrit, for a thousand years the language of royal courts and at all times the language of culture, was predominant, influencing life, language, and literature in most provinces. For over three thousand years, social and family life had been moulded or influenced by the Dharma-Sdstra texts, containing a comprehensive code of personal law, which, though adapted from time to time to suit every age and province, provided a continuous unifying social force. Aryan, or rather Hindu culture (for there was considerable Dravidian influence) drew its inspiration in every successive generation from Sanskrit works on religion, philosophy, ritual, law and science, and particularly the two epics, the Mahubharata and Rdmdyana, and the Bhagavata, underwent recensions from time to time, and became the one irresistible creative force which has shaped the collective spirit of the people. Age after age the best of Indians, from the mythical Vasishtha to the. modem Gandhlji, found self-fulfilment in living up to an ideal of conduct in accordance with a code of life which may be traced back as far as the Upanishads.

The # British conquest and the benefits of British rule are generally described in histories in “Rudyard Kipling” style. The impact of western culture, however, came in the wake of the British connection. In our histories we completely lose sight of how this impact awoke the sleeping giant to a consciousness of its ancient strength and modern possibilities; how under the influence of European ideas and British democratic traditions, the Collective Spirit, without losing its grip over the essentials of its culture, adjusted itself to modern conditions, creating new intellectual and artistic movements and making the democratic traditions of Great Britain its own; how, under the European concept of nationalism Arya-

Dharma (Indian Culture) slowly broadened out into a powerful neo-nationalism seeking a secular democratic state, Indian in conception and technique.

The older school of historians believed that imperialism of the militaristic political type was unfamiliar to this “mystic land.” But the Aryan conquest of India, which forms the subject matter of Vol. I of this series, was as much militaristic-political as religious and •cultural. If instead of treating by dynasties, stress is laid on the rise and fall of Imperial power, Magadhan sovereignty and Satavahana imperialism from .600 B.C. to A.D. 320 (Vol. II) were, for the age, outstanding phenomena. If the territory involved, the population affected, and the heroism and power of organization displayed and the cultural activities pursued are taken into account, the Classical-Age, A.D. 320-750 (Vol. Ill), which saw the empire of the Guptas and of Sri Harsha, was one of the culminating points in history. The age between A.D. 750-1000 (Vol. IV) saw the empire of the Pratiharas, the Rashtrakutas and the Palas. Between A.D. 1000 and 1300 (Vol. V), the Paramlaras and the Cholas founded empires; different states struggled for imperial power; the barbarian inroads from Central Asia rendered all indigenous efforts at consolidation unfruitful.

The rise of the Turkish Power under Ala-ud-din Khiljl founded a new and powerful imperialism, the Sultanate of Delhi, which lasted from 1300 to 1526 (Vol. VI). From A.D. 1526-1707 the Mughals held sway at Delhi (Vol. VII) when the world witnessed one of the most magnificent empires of all time. The Maratha supremacy, which lasted from 1707-1818 (Vo\. VIII), brought about the downfall of the Mughal Empire, but before it could consolidate its power, the British stepped in. British domination from 1818-1947 (Vols. IX and X) was a period of complete subjection; but it saw the national resurgence which, on August 15, 1947, under Mahatma Gandhi, secured freedom by non-violent means. It also saw the birth of a Renaissance which gave fresh vitality to all that India stood for in history. These militaristic-political movements in India were in no wise less vigorous or worldly than similar movements in other parts of the world in the corresponding age. To say that the country was lost in contemplation all the time would be to ignore the salient facts of history.

The role of alien invasions in the history of India, hitherto exaggerated, deserves to be reduced to its appropriate proportions. India, like most other countries, has had its foreign incursions, which, like Mahmud of Ghazni's raids between A.D. 999 and 1024, glittering episodes from the raiders' point of view, were at best only shaping influences. Of foreign conquests, which changed the coytrse of history and the texture of life and culture, there were only three. First, the Aryan conquests in pre-historic times, which wove the essential pattern of national life and culture. Second, the TurkoAfghan conquests, which introduced Islamic influence into India and added new colours to the pattern of life. These conquests, however, soon lost their character of foreign military occupation, for the conquerors threw in their lot with the country and produced some of its best rulers and its most powerful political organizations. This so-called Muslim period, scientifically the Turko-Mughal period, dominated the country for about four centuries roughly from A.D. 1300 to 1700. Third, the British occupation from 1818-1947, perhaps the only period of foreign rule in the sense that the country was governed essentially by foreigners from a foreign country and in foreign interests. It brought in its wake contact with Europe, a new awakening and a new cultural synthesis.

But during all this period the vitality of the race and culture, altered from time to time in direction and objective, expressed itself with unabated vigour in resistance movements, military, political, and cultural. The History of India is not the story of how she underwent foreign invasions, but how she resisted them and eventually triumphed over them. Traditions of modern historical research founded by British scholars of repute were unfortunately coloured by their attitude towards ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome, which have a dead past and are, in a sense, museum exhibits. A postmortem examination of Indian past would be scientifically inaccurate; for every period of Indian History is no more than an expression in a limited period of all the life forces and dominant ideas created and preserved by the national culture, which are rushing forward at every moment through time. The modern historian of India must approach her as a living entjty with a central continuous urge, of which the apparent life is a mere expression. Without such an outlook it is impossible to understand

India, which, though a part of it has seceded in search of an independent existence, stands today three hundred and fifty million strong, with a new apparatus of state, determined not to be untrue to its ancient self, and yet to be equal to the highest demands of modern life.

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Khaira Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics in the University of Calcutta.

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The genesis of this work and its scope and nature have been explained in the Foreword. But it is necessary to add a few words about its general planning. After having decided that the work would consist of ten volumes of approximately five hundred pages each, it was not an easy task to distribute the subject-matter among them on a basis which would be both equitable and rational- It has been hitherto customary to divide Indian history into the Hindu, Muslim and British periods, and assign equal space to each. The Cambridge History of India has set its seal of approval/ upon this plan, which has also been adopted by the Indian History Congress for its projected history of India. But it can hardly be regarded as equitable. Looking at the matter from a broad standpoint, it would be difficult to maintain that the 4,000 years of pre-Muslim India, of the history and culture of which we posses a definite knowledge, though in brief outline, should rank in importance as equal with that of the Muslim period of about 400 or 500 years, or the British period of less than 200 years. It is true that we possess more historical material for the later ages, but if we are to judge by that standard alone, the British period should have twice or thrice the number of volumes assigned to the Musliih period. After all, the contribution of different ages to the evolution of national history and culture should be the main criterion of their relative importance, though the space devoted to each should also be largely determined by the amount of historical material available- There is, no doubt, a dearth of material for the political history of ancient India, but this is to a large extent made up for by the corresponding abundance for the cultural side. Taking everything into consideration we have modified the hitherto-accepted plan, and have allotted nearly half of the entire work to the Hindu period.

Some difference will also be noticed in our conception of the beginning and end of the Muslim period. It is usual to regard the accession of Qutb-ud-din to the throne of Delhi in A.D- 1206 as the commencement of this period, and some historians even include within it the period of Ghaznivite supremacy in the Punjab two centuries earlier. It should be remembered, however, that the major part of India remained under Hindu rule almost throughout the thirteenth century A.D. and the same was also largely true of the century following the death of Aurangzeb. To include these two centuries under the Muslim period can therefore be hardly regarded as historically accurate.

These difficulties can best be overcome by avoiding altogether

the terms Hindu and Muslim. As a matter of fact, one may rightly question the reasonableness of designating historical periods by the religious denomination of the ruling dynasties* In that case, in order to be consistent, we should style the third period of Indian history Christian rather than British. This is sufficient to demonstrate the absurdity of the present system of nomenclature, deep-rooted though it has become. We have accordingly divided Indian history into three chronological periods—Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern— which are generally adopted for the history of Europe.

In the case Of Europe, the overthrow of the Western Homan Empire by the irruption of barbarian hordes, which brought about the disappearance of classical learning, is taken to be the dividing line between Ancient and Mediaeval periods. In the case of India, there is no general agreement on this subject, but the onslaught of Islam, accompanied by a marked decadence of culture and the disappearance of the creative spirit in art and literature, seems to mark A.D. 1000 as the beginning of the Mediaeval Age.

The decline of the Mughal Empire and the growing power of the European nations in Indian politics may be reasonably regarded as marking the end of one and the beginning of another epoch in Indian history, and hence the eighteenth century has been taken as the commencement of the Modem Period. In Europe the Modern Period dates from the overthrow of the Eastern Roman Empire and the subversion of the age of faith and tradition by the awakening of humanism through the agency of the revival of classical learning. On this analogy one might be inclined to include the eighteenth century within the Mediaeval rather than the Modern period. But the political considerations referred to above, especially the establishment of the British power on a solid basis, are strong arguments in favour of dating the beginning of the Modern Period from the eighteenth century rather than the nineteenth.

For reasons given above, neither the thirteenth nor the eighteenth century A.D* has been included within what is usually described as the Muslim Period. The first is taken as a part of a long period of protracted struggle for political supremacy, both between the Indians and foreign invaders and among the Indians themselves, which ultimately ended in the next century in favour of the Khiljls. So far as the eighteenth century is concerned there is no doubt that the Mara{has were the leading political power in India. These two volumes have been styled accordingly.

So far by way of explanation of the general division into three broad periods—Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern—and the titles given to Volumes V and VIII, which mark a great departure from current practice- It must be remembered,^ however, that while specific dates had to be assigned to each volume for the sake of pre cision and accuracy, they should not be strictly equated with the title given to it. The period of Maratha supremacy, for example, cannot be said to cover exactly the years A.D. 1707 to 1818, but nevertheless these have been taken to be the limiting dates of Volume VIII, which bears that title, because they mark definite events of great importance connected with the central theme, viz. the death of Aurangzeb which facilitated the growth of Maratha power, and the Third Maratha War which put an end to the Maratha

supremacy.

The same is more or less true of the other volumes and the justification for the titles and dates will be discussed in the preface of each. For the present we may confine our attention to the present volume. Although it is entitled the Vedic Age it begins from the dawn of human activity in India, so far as it is known to us. Being the first volume of the series, it contains an introductory section dealing with certain general topics bearing upon the history of India as a whole. As there are some special characteristics which distinguish Indian history from that of other countries, it has been thought desirable to explain at the very outset its meaning and methods of approach as well as the nature of the material from which it has been reconstructed. The first three chapters have been devoted to this subject. The next three deal with the background of Indian history, geological, geographical and biological. “ These chapters, particularly the first and third, may appear too technical for the historical student, and some may even regard them as too elaborate for a treatise on history at all. But a knowledge of these topics is essential for a proper understanding of the evolution of Indian culture, and being written by acknowledged experts, these two chapters, it may be hoped, will place at the disposal of the reader adequate information on difficult but relevant subjects, which it would not be possible for them to acquire except by the patient study of bulky volumes of a highly technical nature, which

few would be disposed to undertake.

The next section, which may be regarded as the beginning of history proper, deals with the period before the Vedic Aryans settled in this country. This, however, involves certain assumptions which are not unanimously accepted- Some scholars hold the view that India was the original home of these Aryans, and that there cannot be any question of their immigration into this country. Some have referred the Aryans to such hoary antiquity—tens of thousands of years ago according to more than one theory—that there can be no question of any historical period prior to them.

Similarly there is a divergence of opinion regarding the question whether the Indus valley civilization was pre-Aryan or post-Vedic. In the present state of our knowledge no dogmatic answer can be given to these questions, and there is no theory that is likely to meet with general acceptance. Even our own contributors do not agree on these points. Dr. Pusalker, who has written on the Indus Valley Civilization, is inclined to regard it as not fundamentally different from the Aryan, and possibly posterior to Rigvedic culture, while Dr. B. K. Ghosh and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, who have written on the Aryan and pre-Aryan peoples, take the opposite view. Such differences are inevitable in a co-operative undertaking of this kind. It has not been thought advisable to suppress these individual view-points, but cross-references have been given in order to impress upon the readers that such questions do admit of different answers and to enable them to judge for themselves the cogency of the arguments on which different theories are based.

It has been the constant attempt of the Editor, by free and frank discussions, to reconcile the different points of view as far as practicable, and where complete agreement was unattainable, to have them presented in a manner which would convey the impression that they are not dogmatic assertions of contradictory views, but alternative solutions, each equally valid, of the problem concerned. Beyond that the Editor did not choose to go, by way of forcing a definite solution of an admittedly controversial problem. It has been thought better to risk even a seeming inconsistency among the different parts of the book rather than convey a false idea of a general agreement of views where no such unanimity really exists, or is possible under the present circumstances.

The third section is devoted to a general consideration of the Indo-Aryans. It begins with a detailed discussion of the chief problems concerning them, viz. their original home, the date and route of their immigration into India, the antiquity of their chief literary production, the Rigveda, and their relations with the Iranians with whom they must have lived in close and intimate contact long after their separation from the other branches of the IndoEuropean family. These are some of the most intriguing problems on which opinions differ widely, and an attempt has been made to present the different viewpoints, with emphasis on the one which appears to be most reasonable in the light of the evidence available to 11 S 4 Although few scholars today believe India to be the original home of the Aryans, this theory has naturally a sentimental appeal to Indians, and has therefore been discussed in some detail in an Appendix to Chapter X.

The fourth section deals with the political history of the period. It has been customary hitherto to rely for such knowledge only on the few scattered historical notices contained in the Rigveda . Pargiter's attempt to reconstruct a continuous historical narrative from the data, particularly the royal genealogies, contained in the Puraijas and the Epics, has been systematically ignored in historical

works, even in the comprehensive Cambridge History of India• But, in spite of obvious shortcomings, Pargiter's theories cannot be altogether discarded even on their merits, and the fact remains that they offer the only fair basis on which the ancient political history of India can be built up. So instead of being content to glean a few isolated facts from the Riigveda , as has hitherto been done, we have tried to trace a brief outline of the traditional history of early India on the lines laid down by Pargiter. This must not, of course, be confused with history proper, but it possesses none the less great value of its own, both as a tangible framework for connecting a number of well-authenticated facts, and as a basis for further investigation of our historical knowledge of this obscure period. Pargiter has at least successfully demonstrated that it is a mistake to regard such great historical figures of antiquity as Puru, Mandhata, Nahusha, Yayati, Kartavlrya Arjuna, etc., as mere fanciful and mythological names, and any theory which gives them some sort of historical setting cannot but be regarded as of great value to students of Indian history.

In spite of the limitations of our knowledge of. the political history of the period, there can be no doubt that its chief interest and importance lie in the picture of culture and civilization offered by the vast .field of Vedic literature. Whereas everything else is but vaguely known, we possess nearly full information about the growth and gradual evolution of the Indian civilization from the well-marked stratification of the mass of literature, collectively known as the Vedas. It is also a matter of general knowledge that this civilization is the common basis on which succeeding generations of diverse races and localities have built up the imposing structure known as the Hindu civilization. This would explain why this volume has been entitled The Vedic Age, and detailed study has been made of it in three different sections, corresponding to the three well-marked stages of the evolution of Vedic literature.

There is a general agreement among scholars about the chronological sequence of Vedic literature: the Rik-Samhita representing the earliest stage, the other Saihhitas and Brahmanas the next, and the Upanishads and Sutras the concluding one. But while these chronological divisions are, broadly speaking, accurate, it is to be noted that they are to some extent overlapping, and it is difficult to draw an absolutely rigid line of demarcation between them. It is likely, for example, that some portions of the Atharva-Samhitd are as old as, if not older than, portions of the Rik-Samhita, and some of the oldest Upanishads certainly reach back to the Brahmana period. Nevertheless the general outlook of the three different categories of literature is sufficiently distinct to label them as belonging to three successive chronological periods, and they have been dealt with accordingly in three separate sections.

It is, however, a difficult problem to assign definite dates to the three literary stages of the Vedic period. In spite of extravagant theories about the antiquity of the Rik-Samhita , the view that it received its present form about 1000 B.C. has much to commend itself. Though mainly based on philological grounds, as enunciated in Chapter XII, this theory finds unexpected support even from Indian traditions. For some of the kings referred to in the HikSamhita seem to be identical with those mentioned in the royal genealogies and occupying a low place in the dynastic list. Further, as Pargiter has pointed out, “the Epic and Puranic tradition unanimously and repeatedly declares that the Veda was arranged by Vyasa," who flourished about the time of the Bharata War, which has been dated between 1500 and 1000 B.C. by .many scholars.

Whatever we might think of this date, it is important to remember

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that along with the doctrine that "the Veda is eternal and everlasting,'* there are also ancient traditions to the effect that it was compiled by Vvasa not long before the great Bharata War. The view that dates the Rik-Samhita , in its present form . to about 1000 B C.. cannot therefore be regarded as absolutely wide of the mark and altogether Without any basis of support in Indian tradition, put it must be remembered that although the Rik-Samhita might have received its final shape in about 1000 B.C., some of its contents arc much older, and go back certainly to 1500 B.C.. and not improbably even to a much earlier date.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the oldest Upanishads are preBuddhist, and some of them at any rate belonged to the seventh century B.C-, if not earlier still. The later Samhitas and Brahmanas accordingly may be placed, generally speaking, in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. These dates are of course only provisional and are set down here as merely working hypotheses.'

No precise date can be assigned to the end of the Vedic Age. for the Sutras and Upanishads, representing the last stage of Vedic literature, contain texts of varying antiquity. While, as mentioned above,- some of them are probably as old as the seventh century B.C., if not older still, others are probably as late as the third or fourth century B.C. Although, therefore, the Vedic Age cannot be regarded, strictly speaking, as having come to an end in 600 B.C. with which this volume closes, this date has been selected mainly for two reasons. In the first place, the sixth century B.C. saw the rise of Buddhism, Jainism, and other religious sects heralding that Protestant movement which was destined to bring to an end the unquestioned supremacy of Vedic religion and culture* Secondly, our knowledge of political history becomes more precise and definite from the sixth century

B.C.. and we can clearly perceive how the stage was gradually set for the rise of the great Magadha empire which constitutes the most distinguishing feature of the succeeding period.

Although the age of the Sutras and Upanishads extends beyond 600 B.C., culturally it is a direct offshoot and a continuation of the earlier Vedic^ civilization,. and reflects no special characteristic of the later era, such as we find in the Epics, Puranas, or Buddhist and Jaina literature. It has, therefore, been included in the volume dealing with the Vedic Age even in disregard of the strict limitations of chronology.

This volume attempts a picture of what may be regarded as the dawn of Hindu civilization. To continue this metaphor, we may say that the next two volumes reflect its full morning glory and noonday splendour; in the fourth volume we come across the shadows of the declining day, while dusk sets in with the fifth. Then follows the darkness of the long night, so far as Hindu civilization is concerned, a darkness which envelops it even now- This gives a broad idea of the distribution of the first five volumes of this series,

The Editor takes this opportunity of offering his sincere thanks to the contributors of this volume for their hearty co-operation, and to Professor H.G- Rawlinson for having kindly revised the MS.

He notes with great regret that one of the contributors, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, late Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India, passed away while the book was in the press, and takes this opportunity to convey his condolence to the bereaved family. His death has been a serious loss to Indian Archaeology.

The Department of Archaeology, Government of India, has kindly supplied us with photographs for which we express our hearty thanks to the authorities.

Some amount of repetition or overlapping is inevitable in a book of this kind where different authors deal with literature and the philosophical, religious, and social ideas .mainly derived from it, and where the different chapters are closely related to one another.

The system of transliteration adopted in this volume is that followed in the Epigraphia Indica. The geographical names have been spelt as in the Imperial Gazetteer, with a few exceptions such as “Krishna” for “Kistna,” “Narmada” for “Narbada.” Diacritical marks have not been used, as a rule, in geographical names and oriental words with an English suffix (Puranic, Rigvedic, Brahmanical, etc) except to indicate^the long a sound (a). In the word Aryan, however, the a has not been lengthened as it may now be regarded as almost a naturalized "English word.

In addition to fobtnotes, general references have been added at the beginning of some chapters in order to vindicate books or articles in periodicals which have been extensively used or frequently referred to in the body of the text. No footnotes have been given

in Chapter II as all the works cited therein will be dealt with in detail in subsequent chapters.

A Bibliography has been added for the convenience of those readers who wish to make special studies of any particular topic. As most of our knowledge regarding the history and culture of the Vedic Age is derived from Vedic literature, and a large number of secondary texts also deal with the period as a whole, a General Bibliography has been given at the end which covers the topics dealt with in Books IV, V, VI, and VII. Generally speaking the Bibliography is selective in character and does not aim at giving an exhaustive list of works on the subject. The only exception to this is the Bibliography to Chapter IX where an attempt has been made to give a list of all important contributions on the Indus Valley civilization, as the subject is comparatively new and controversial in character, and it is difficult to assess the proper value of the different theories. As copious footnotes have been given in many chapters, important references indicated therein have not been included.

ABIA.

ABOKI.

AE.

AIHT.

Ait. Br.

AJA.

AL.

Anthrop. Soc. Jub. Vol.

AP.

Ap. Dh.S. Ap. S.S.

ASL

ASS.

AV.

Bau. Dh.S. Bau. S.S. BDCRI.

BEFEO.

BIR.

BMFA.

Br.

Brih.

BSOS.

BV.

CAG.

CAH.

CAL

Chan-d.

Chhand.

CHI

Comm. Vol. CR.

Cuit. Her.

Dh. S.

DKA.

EI.

ERE.

ABBREVIATIONS

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Leyden.

Annals of the Bhandai'kar Oriental Research Instilute, Poona.

Ancient Egypt, London.

Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, by F. E. Pargiter.

Aitareya Brahmana.

American Journal of Archaeology, Philadelphia. Altindisches Leben, by H. Zimmer.

Bom.

Anthropological Society of Bombay, Jubilee Volume.

Aryan Path, Bombay.

Apastamba Dharma-sutra.

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Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India. ^

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Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

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I, by Jay a Chandra Vidyalankar.

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Brihadaranyaka Upanishad.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, London.

Bharatiya Vidya , Bombay.

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THE VEDIC AGE

BOOK ONE

INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER I

INDIAN HISTORY—ITS NATURE, SCOPE AND METHOD

History has been defined as “the study of man’s dealings with other men, and the adjustment of working relations between human groups.” The beginnings of the history of India, therefore, go back to that remote period when man first settled in this country. We need not discuss whether he migrated from outside or emerged here by a process of evolution from his animal ancestors. But in any case the earliest man has left little evidence to enable us to investigate his thoughts, desires, activities or achievements. We can only dimly discern his gradual growth as a sentient being amid the geological changes and physical and biological environment in which he found himself. To begin with, he was essentially a part of the plant and animal life that surrounded him, reacting passively to the climate and geographical configuration of the land. But he slowly gained consciousness of those powers and potentialities which distinguished him from other animals and enabled him to dominate over nature rather than remain its slave.

The greater part of this process of evolution, which must have covered a long period of time, is only a matter of inference based on very slender evidence. The study of this fascinating subject has made some progress in Europe, while so far as India is concerned, it is still in its infancy. But the little that is known shows that the prehistoric period in India presents features very similar to what we meet with in Western Asia and Europe. Here, as elsewhere, “man's prehistory merges in the pageant of the animal world,” and is largely determined by his natural surroundings.

This volume, therefore, begins with a short account of the geo logical, geographical, and biological background of primitive man. This setting of the stage is followed by a study of the peoples who played their part therein. In the absence of any written record, the little that we know of their history and culture is based on archaeological finds, such as tools and implements made of stone, bone or metal, potsherds, rude paintings and skeletal remains— exactly the same type of evidence on which the prehistoric study of other countries is based.

As we proceed with our narrative we gradually realize that the different phases of Indian history present a striking parallel to those of other countries which can boast of a culture and civilization going back to remote antiquity. The stone implements and other remains of the palaeolithic and neolithic periods prove that human civilization began here in the same way, if not at the same time, as in other parts of the world. The development of this civilization through the copper and iron ages, presents features which, though not identical, yet offer sufficient similarity in detail with what we know of many other countries. The discoveries in the Indus Valley and adjacent regions have further emphasized the close association between the cultures of India and those oi Western Asia, and thereby link up Indian history with that of the most ancient period of the world known to us.

India now takes her place, side by side with Egypt and Mesopotamia, as a country where we can-trace the dawn of human civilization and the beginnings of those thoughts, ideas, activities and movements which have shaped the destinies of mankind all over the civilized world. The history of India thus possesses an aspect of universality which so strikingly distinguishes the history of Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria in the early, and Persia, Greece, and Rome in a somewhat later age. In the case of each of these the universal aspect far transcends in importance the individual or regional aspect. This is not, however, the case with India. This difference has modified the outlook and treatment of the history of India and made it a problem almost sui generis.

The chief difference between India and the other ancient countries mentioned above lies in the continuity of her history and civilization. The culture and civilization of Egypt, Sumer, Akkad, Babylon, Assyria, and Persia have long ceased to exist. They are now mere past memories and their history possesses only an academic interest. Indian history and institutions, however, form an unbroken chain by which the past is indissolubly linked up with the present. The modern peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia have no bond whatsoever with the civilization that flourished there millennia ago and its memorials have no more (usually very very much less) meaning to them than to any enlightened man in any part of the world.

But not so in India. The icons discovered at Mohenjo-daro are those of gods and goddesses who are still worshipped in India, and Hindus from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin repeat even today the Vedic hymns which were uttered on the banks of the Indus nearly four thousand years ago. This continuity in language and literature, and in religious and social usages, is more prominent in India than even in Greece and Italy, where we can trace the same continuity in history. The social and religious ideas of ancient Greece and Rome and their philosophy and outlook on life, in short, some of the most essential factors which give individuality to a nation and preserve its continuity, are almost foreign to the peoples now inhabiting those lands. An artificial continuity is no doubt maintained in these two countries, and the link with the past is not altogether snapped, as in the cases of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Nevertheless, the difference can only be regarded as.one of degree and not of kind: and neither

Greece nor Italy offers a parallel to India, in respect of either antiquity or continuity of civilization.

To this difference may be added the present position of India. Her political subjection and lack of material power have relegated her to a position of marked inferiority in the eyes of the world. Both these causes have affected the study of the history of India in more ways than one. It has not been easy, for instance, to bring a detached scientific spirit to bear on the study of the history of India. This spirit, which so conspicuously distinguishes European writers of the history of Egypt and ancient countries in Western Asia, is not seldom lamentably absent while they deal with the history of India. The reason is not far to seek, and may be traced to a psychological instinct or political prejudice. The India of today has cast its shadow on the past, and few writers have been able to disentangle the two and view each of them in its true perspective. The political history of India, even of ancient times, has been almost invariably viewed through the spectacles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. V. A. Smith, the well-known historian of ancient India, and a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, never concealed his anxiety to prove the beneficence of the British Raj by holding before his readers the picture of anarchy and confusion which, in his view, has been the normal condition in India with rare intervals. To him, as to many others before and after him, ancient Indian history after the death of Harsha-vardhana was merely a pathetic tale of political chaos and internecine struggles, pointing to the inevitable moral: “such was India and such it always has been till the British established a stable order.”

Sometimes the pendulum swings to the opposite extreme, and Indian writers seek to find in ancient India a replica of the most advanced political institutions of the West. From isolated phrases of doubtful import they conjure up a picture of a full-fledged modern democracy and even of an up-to-date parliamentary form of government. This is a counterblast, from the Indian side, to the inveterate belief of European writers in undiluted autocracy as the only form of government that ever prevailed in India. To them “Oriental despotism” is an article of faith that colours their whole outlook. Some have also inherited the classical idea that wisdom and enlightenment were always a sort of monopoly of the West, and the East, comparatively as backward as she is today, must have acquired all the elements of higher culture from the West.

The squalid poverty of modern India colours the outlook on economic conditions in ancient and mediaeval times. Even enlightened historians find it difficult to accept the view that Indians built ships and navigated the seas, for no better reason than that modern Indians show such an aversion from, and ineptitude for, maritime activities. Such instances may be multiplied to almost any extent.

There are no doubt exceptions, but one cannot deny, or overlook, the broad fact that Indian history has suffered much from an instinct to read the present into the past.

The opposite danger of reading the past into the present has been no less a potential factor in distorting the history of India. To many the most glaring imperfections and even the most degrading features of modern Indian social life are sanctified by antiquity. They have a tendency to judge everything they see before them, not by its present form and effect, but by a reference to what they conceive to be its original character, and the part it is supposed to have played in building up an ideal society in the past. This almost necessarily leads to the artificial creation of a golden age which rests mainly on imagination and intuition, independent of historical evidence. This intellectual support of false doctrines and bad institutions in the name of India's past often proceeds from a perverted form of patriotic sentiments or an inborn sense of national pride. In either case it is a wrong interpretation of Indian history, and what is worse, such interpretation is often devised as an instrument for consecrating all deep-seated prejudices.

The student of Indian history must avoid these pitfalls and follow the modern method of scientific research. Our aim should be the discovery of the truth, and nothing but the truth, and in order to attain this goal we must apply our minds fearlessly and without prejudice and preconceptions to the study of all available evidence. We should properly sift these data by all rational methods, handle them in the spirit of a judge rather than an advocate, and formulate our conclusions only as far as they permit us to do so. We may not achieve definite results in many cases, and final and decisive conclusions would probably be few and far between. But it is better to plead ignorance, express doubts and put forward alternative possibilities rather than definitely uphold a view on meagre and insufficient grounds. We must be particularly on our guard where any such view is likely to evoke strong sentiments and passions or affect the interest of any class or community. The history of India's past touches the present life of India on many points, and we may legitimately expect the one to guide and control the other. This makes it all the more difficult, especially for an Indian writer, to take a detached view of the history of India and approach it in a purely scientific attitude. Nevertheless the difficulty, great as it is, must be overcome, and a proper critical spirit should be cultivated, if we are to read aright the story of India's past and correctly understand its implications for the future.

We have so far dealt with the peculiar difficulties that confront us in the study of Indian history in view of its continuity. Another obstacle, also of a somewhat special character, arises from the nature of the evidence on which the study must necessarily be based. The

different classes of evidence and their nature, scope and value will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. But some general points must be noted here in order to indicate both the limitations and the specific directions of our study.

The first thing to remember is that for the longest period of Indian history, viz., from the earliest time down to the Muslim conquest in the thirteenth century A.D., a period of about four thousand years, we possess no historical text of any kind, much less such a detailed narrative as we possess in the case of Greece, Rome, and China. The history of ancient India resembles, therefore, that of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. In all these cases it has only been possible to reconstruct the skeleton with the help of archaeological evidence discovered in comparatively recent times. This history differs radically from what we normally understand by the word. It is mostly a string of names and incidents, often with wide gaps, and almost always without that fullness of detail which enables us to trace the causes and consequences of specific events, examine the various forces at work in their true perspective, mark the general tendencies of the epoch, explain the inner causes of the rise and fall of kingdoms and empires, or the progress and decay of races and nations, and determine the exact relation between the different elements of the body politic or the different aspects of life and society. These and many other features which make history a social science in the real sense of the term are lacking in the history of ancient India, more or less to the same extent as in that of other ancient civilizations that flourished in Egypt or Western Asia.

But there is one very important difference. Ancient India has bequeathed to us a vast treasury of texts which represent the intellectual and literary activities of more than two thousand years and cover a wide field. The earliest literary work, the Sarhhita of the Rigveda , is at least three thousand years old and may be even considerably older. A continuous stream of literature flowing since that remote age, widening in course of centuries, and embracing almost all fields of human endeavour excepting political activity, throws a light on the civilization of India such as we do not meet with in cases of other ancient cultures. This mass of literature deals with philosophy and religion, including ethics, ritual, and ceremonial; cosmogony, cosmology, geography, astronomy, and the allied sciences; political and economic doctrines and practices; and, in a minor way, with almost all branches of secular life. It includes, besides a mass of religious texts, purely literary works such as epics, lyrics, Kdvyas (poems), dramas and prose romances, as well as biographies and folk tales. This literature is as bulky in volume as it is varied in its contents. Although it does not help us very much in reconstructing the political history of ancient India, it throws a flood of light on, and enables us to trace the various stages in the development of, culture and civilization in ancient India, such as is not possible in the case of ancient Egypt, Westei'n Asia and China, and even Greece and Rome.

This fact must be borne in mind in any approach to the study of ancient Indian history. We should not expect any critical and detailed narrative of the political events, or a proper estimate of the life and character of great historical personages of whom we catch but. fleeting glimpses in the moving panorama of the history of two thousand years that passes before our eyes in a haze of mist or gloom. The galaxy of kings, generals, and statesmen which crowd, for instance, the canvas of the history of Greece and Rome, the moving stories of their lives and activities, the surging mass of internal and external forces that shape the destiny of the state and set it going, sometimes in slow evolution and sometimes in revolutionary ardour, and the ebb and tide of national glory from age to age with its intense human appeal and great lessons for posterity—all these and many other factors which form the spell of the history of Greece and Rome do not constitute the main force or the chief interest of ancient Indian history. That these elements were not lacking in the evolution of Indian history is proved by the occasional glimpses of great men and great events, of the same genre. But these are-mostly shadows, without that glow and colour which endow them with life and spirit. Hence the picture is dull and lifeless and, being devoid of general interest, makes no passionate appeal to human mind.

But though admittedly deficient in this respect, Indian history is abundantly rich in its delineation of the progress of the human mind and society from its earliest infancy to a comparatively mature state. Other civilizations must have passed through the same or similar stages, but we lack the means to trace them in such fullness of details. In no other case, for example, can we go back to the dim beginnings of those intellectual and moral ideas which appear to us in full maturity in the shape of a set form of religion, theology, and philosophy. Thanks to the vast mass of Indian literature, we can not only do this but follow, in a general way, the long and tortuous ways which human civilization, at least in a large part of the world, has had to pursue in its weary and tedious onward march for thousands of years. This constitutes a claim for universal interest which should not be less keen than that inspired by the political history of Greece and Rome.

The genius of each considerable group of humanity is perhaps adapted more to one kind of end than to another. It has been argued that the Indians had a bent of mind which looked more to the inner self than the outer body, to matters spiritual rather than the material world. In the absence of a fuller knowledge of the political history or secular life of ancient India, it is difficult to set the final seal of approval to this view, although it is very generally held. But so far as available evidence goes, there cannot be the slightest doubt that Indian civilization manifests itself in a way and a form very different from that with which we are familiar in the rest of the world. We have consequently to approach the history of India in a different spirit, and adopt a different scale of values in order to appraise her culture and civilization. The wars and conquests, the rise and fall of empires and nations, and the development of political ideas and institutions should not be regarded as the principal object of our study, and must be relegated to a position of secondary importance. On the other hand, more stress should be laid upon philosophy, religion, art, and letters, the development of social and moral ideas, and the general progress of those humanitarian ideals and institutions which form the distinctive feature of the spiritual life of India and her greatest contribution to the civilization of the world.

Nevertheless, the political history of each period, as far as it is known to us, must be the starting point of our study, as it forms the backbone of history. Its function may be compared to that of the skeleton in a human body which gives shape and distinctness to the mass of flesh and skin and marks it with the stamp of individuality.

The greatest handicap , in the treatment of the history of ancient India, both political and cultural, is the absence of a definite chronology. The dates of political events and of the vast mass of literature which forms the basis of cultural study are but imperfectly known, and the farther back we recede, even a close approximation of these dates becomes more and more difficult and uncertain. This gives scope for endless discussions and wide differences of opinion. We experience a similar difficulty in the interpretation of data, as they are often vague and meagre. It is not always possible, and in many cases neither desirable nor profitable, in a general comprehensive history of India, to review the different standpoints, and the historian is often obliged to adopt one particular view, as against others, with or sometimes even without brief reference to them. For minute discussions of the merits of conflicting views the reader must be referred to.special treatises or articles in journals. Great care should, however, always be taken to distinguish clearly the known from the unknown, and the doubtful from the certain, and to indicate-, as far as possible, the range

of our ignorance and uncertainty. Ignorance may not be bliss in

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historical studies, but it is certainly folly to be wise where wisdom is based on imperfect knowledge and serves merely as a cloak for dogmatism. As the following pages will show, the path of the historian is beset with difficulties, doubts, and uncertainties; he has often to advance laboriously through dubious tracks and not seldom loses them altogether. His task frequently resolves itself into weighing one set of doubtful evidence against another in order to arrive tit what appears to him to be the most reasonable conclusion. More often than not, such theories are all that he can offer. The historian, no less than his readers, must clearly recognize the provisional nature

of these hypotheses and be ready to see them modified or upset and replaced by others with the discovery of fresh data. They are slender but necessary foundations on which the history of India has been built up in the past and has to be built in future.

The observations hitherto made apply more particularly to the ancient period of Indian history. With the beginning of the next period the situation is considerably improved by the existence of a series of chronicles, dealing with the history of India from the foundation of the political power by foreign Muslim invaders up to the eighteenth century A.D. These chronicles include detailed narratives of contemporary events as well as compilations of past history from older sources now lost to us. They cannot be regarded as an absolutely authentic account or impartial review of historical events, but supply ample data for the reconstruction of the history of the period. Both in scope and value they are comparable to the chronicles and historical treatises in Europe of the same period. Unfortunately these historical texts concern themselves primarily with the events and fdrtunes of the principal Muslim ruling dynasties, and dwell only very incidentally on the history of the smaller states, specially the Hindu kingdoms. Nor, with a few exceptions, do they throw much light on the life of the people at large outside the royal courts. Although, therefore, there is a great advance in our historical knowledge over the earlier period, and in some cases we have got a pretty good historical account, it is, generally speaking, neither as definite nor as full as our modern historical sense would demand, in spite of the valuable additional help that the historian gets from other sources such as the archaeological evidence, official documents, contemporary literature, accounts of foreign travellers, etc. Nevertheless it would be unjust to deny that from about 1200 A.D. India possesses a written history which would not suffer very much in comparison with the history of contemporary Europe, and might differ from it in degree, but not in kind. It is a fairly good and detailed history, but of kings and states, not of the country and the people.

The thirteenth century A.D. may be regarded as a broad dividing line in Indian history in more than one sense. The sovereign power passed into the hands of foreigners who belonged to alien races and professed a new religion of somewhat militant type. The establishment, for the first time, of two diverse systems of culture and civilization led to a definite cleavage between the rulers and the ruled such as India had never known before. Indian history gains in content and becomes richer in detail, but loses unity of treatment. The stories of the ruling powers grow in volume, but we know little of the lot of the ruled who formed the vast mass of the people.

The first three or four centuries of Muslim rule in India form

a very important period of transition. The foreign rulers and the new religion with its exotic culture took a long time to take root in the soil. But we have little reliable knowledge of the struggle for independence and the steps by which the resistance of the people was broken down. Of the early reaction of Hinduism towards Islam, and the process by which the latter gradually made headway in this land of conservatism and orthodoxy, we know even less. The Muslim chroniclers, our sole source of information, generally speaking, record only a series of cheap military victories over the rebellious or recalcitrant infidels, and these are looked down upon as merely hewers of wood and drawers of water whose life and fortunes are hardly of any consequence to them. They would have us believe that the triumphant banner of Islam merrily floated from one end of the land to the other, and nothing else counted in the country.

But this is merely one side of the picture, and that of the lion painted by himself. We know that there was always a Hindu India, side by side with Muslim India, and it again asserted itself, both in politics and culture, in the fullness of time. It was not dead, but lay dormant in the early centuries of the foreign rule. The history of the Hindus, except in South India and Rajputana. during this period is, however, almost a blank page. The scanty remains of their literature throw some faint light on the social and religious changes that came over them, but the little that we know merely casts into greater relief the depth of our ignorance.

Light dawns again in the sixteenth century. The establishment of the Mughal power ushers in a new period of Indian history in which our knowledge of India as a whole is much fuller, and we begin to see things in their true perspective. The vision of a new India, built upon the only stable foundation of the love and confidence of the ruled and the fusion of the two great cultures, now emerges in clear light. History, though it still continues mainly to be the court history of the Muslim rulers, begins to visualize India as a whole, and takes note of Hindu India. The rosy dream of a politically united India, on a common cultural basis, is soon shattered, but Hindu India comes to stay and the historian no longer loses sight of it. The balance is restored and the unity of Indian history is securely established. In spite of many vicissitudes, we can trace the fortunes of India as a whole through the pages of history. This unity of treatment is never lost in later times.

It is not necessary to dwell at length upon the modern history of India. Strictly speaking, it offers no peculiarities, in respect of sources of information or method of treatment, save and except the restrictions imposed by political considerations. The archives of the British Government are gradually being thrown open, and the Indian states also have recently adopted a more liberal policy

in this respect. Contemporary historical documents are ample, though they have not yet been worked out as fully or as independently as one could have desired.

It will be hardly any exaggeration to say that Indian history, in a comprehensive sense, has so far been neither written nor even conceived in a proper spirit. A clear grasp of the subject is generally lacking. An attempt has been made above to analyse the different factors that account for this lamentable state of things. We have also tried to indicate the true spirit in which the study of Indian history should be approached, the inherent defects and shortcomings imposed by lade of materials, and the likely dangers and pitfalls which the historian should avoid.

The observations made above would also convey some idea of what the “History of India” means to its readers; what they might legitimately look for, and what they are likely to miss; the proper value they should attach to different aspects, and the profit they may derive from them; the resemblances as well as the differences which it offers to the history of other countries; and lastly, the extent to which the interest of the subject is confined to the particular region and people of whom it treats or concerns a wider range of humanity.

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CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

It will be abundantly clear from what has been said in the previous chapter that the sources of Indian history differ considerably in its different periods. Broadly speaking, we may distinguish three such periods, viz.: (1) from the most ancient times to the end of the twelfth century A.D.; (2) from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century; and (3) the subsequent period. It will be convenient, therefore, to treat these three periods separately.

1. THE ANCIENT PERIOD A. Literary Sources

The absence of any regular historical chronicle is the leading feature of this period. When we consider the vast mass of contemporary literature and its extremely wide range, the almost utter lack of historical texts certainly appears as a somewhat strange phenomenon. Some people are, therefore, inclined to believe that such literature did exist, and explain its absence by a theory of wholesale destruction. It must be regarded, however, as extremely singular that the agencies of destruction should have singled out this particular branch of literature as their special target. But the strongest argument against the supposed existence of regular historical literature is the absence of any reference to historical texts. We have, therefore, to admit that the literary genius of India, so fertile and active in almost all conceivable branches of study, was not applied to chronicling the records of kings and the rise and fall of states and nations. It is difficult to give a rational explanation of this deficiencju but the fact admits of no doubt.

The deficiency-is all the more strange as there are indications that the ancient Indians did not lack in historical sense. This is proved by the carefully preserved lists of teachers in various Vedic texts, as well as in writings of the Buddhists, Jains and other religious sects. That this spirit also extended to the political field is shown not only by the songs and poems in praise of kings and heroes referred to in Vedic literature, but also by the practice of reciting eulogies of kings and royal families on ceremonial occasions. Even so late as the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang noticed that each province in India had its own official for maintaining written records in which were mentioned good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences. That this practice continued for centuries after Hiuen Tsam? is proved by a large number of local chronicles and the preambles in old land-grants which

record the genealogies of royal families, sometimes for several generations.

We may thus presume that neither historical sense nor historical material was altogether wanting in ancient India. What was lacking was either the enthusiasm or the ability to weave the scattered raw materials into a critical historical text with a proper literary setting which the people would not willingly let die. In other words, in spite of great intellectual and literary activity, Tndia did not produce a Herodotus or Thucydides, not even a Livy or Tacitus. It has been argued that this was partly due to the peculiar temperament of the people who, to use the words of Hiuen Tsang, ‘‘made light of the things of the present world.” But this explanation can be hardly regarded as satisfactory when we remember the great progress of the Indians in various branches of secular literature, including law, political science, and the art of administration.

Whatever may be the reason, the fact remains that the only concrete result of historical study in the most ancient period is to be found in long lists of kings preserved in the Puranas and the epics. These lists profess to trace the unbroken royal lines from the first human king that ruled down to about the third or fourth century A.D. The earlier part of them is obviously mythical, and the last part is undoubtedly historical; but it is a moot point to decide where the myth ends and reliable tradition begins.

It is interesting to trace the gradual changes in the views of scholars regarding the historical value of these traditional royal lists preserved in the Puranas and epics. At first they were rejected wholesale without much ceremony. Later, the accounts of the dynasties ruling in the sixth century B.C. and later were accepted as fairly reliable, as they were partially corroborated by the Buddhist literature and archaeological evidence. Next, the preceding dynasties going back to the time of the Great War described in the M.cihdbharata , which event is approximately placed in round numbers between 1500 and 1000 B.C., were also regarded by some scholars as furnishing a secure basis for history, though they were loath to accept as correct all the details about names and dates. So far as the account of the royal dynasties before the Great War is concerned, Pargiter was the first to make a bold attempt to coordinate the varying details into a skeleton of political history, and others have since followed in his footsteps. The difficulty of the task is increased by the strongly marked differences in the various traditions, and the conclusions reached by the few scholars who have so far worked in this field show great divergences. The attempt to reconstruct the skeleton of political history before the Great War cannot, therefore, be regarded as yet leading to any satisfactory result. For the period following that (1000-600 B.C.)

we have at least a working hypothesis, and it is not till we come to the beginning of the sixth century B.C. that we can firmly grasp the thread of.the dynastic history of Northern India.

The traditions preserved in ancient Indian literature, notably the Puranas, thus form the main source of information for the hisr tory of the earliest period, and for the period before the sixth century B.C. they constitute our only source. The Buddhist and Jain literatures of the succeeding period form a valuable supplement and corrective to the evidence of the Puranas, and isolated references in other literary works, even grammatical texts, have proved to be very important historical data.

For the later period, beginning with the Guptas, we have no texts like the Puranas, giving even bare dynastic lists. But although Indian literature practically ignores the history of the long period of one thousand years that follow, it does not altogether cease to be of help. Apart from isolated references scattered in the vast mass of literature of all types, we have two classes of works that contribute directly to our knowledge of history, viz. biographies and local chronicles.

It is fortunate that certain writers took the lives of their royal patrons as the theme of their literary works. Banabhatta, that great master of Sanskrit prose, wrote the Harsha-charita (life of the emperor Harsha), and two poets, Vakpati and Bilhana, described the exploits of Yasovarman and Vikramaditya (of the later Chalukya dynasty) in two epics, the Gaudavaho and the Vikramanka-deva charitu. We have also a curious poetical work, the Rama-charita , in which the author uses throughout verses of double entendre, which, taken one way, describe the story of the Ramayana, and taken the other way, recount the story of king Ramapala of Bengal.

Among other biographical works may be mentioned the Kumarapala-charita of Jayasimha, Kumar apdla-chartta or Dvydsraya kdvya of Hemachandra, Hammird-kdvya of Nayachandra, Nava sdhasanka-charita of Padmagupta, Bhojaprabandha by Ballala, Prithviraja^charita of Chand Bardai and Prithvlraja-vijaya (fragmentary) by an anonymous writer.

These and other works of the same class cannot be regarded as genuine history, although they contain valuable historical information. Their object was the glorification of the king rather than to give a true picture of his life and times, and they were mostly conceived by their authors not as historical texts, but primarily as mediums for showing their literary skill and ingenuity.

Among the local chronicles, the most famous is the Rajatarangini. It is a history of Kashmir, written throughout in verse, by Kalhana in A.D. 1149-50. This is the only work in ancient Indian literature that may be regarded as an historical text in the true sense of the word. The author has not only taken great pains to collect his

material from the existing chronicles and other sources but, at the beginning of his work, he has laid down a few general principles for writing history which are remarkable as being far in advance of his age. Indeed they may be regarded as anticipating, to a large extent, the critical method of historical research which was not fully developed till the nineteenth century A.D. In view of the lamentable paucity of historical talent in ancient India, it is worth while quoting a few of Kaihana’s observations, showing the high level which the Indian intellect had attained even in this much neglected sphere of activity. Regarding the strict impartiality to be observed by an historian Kaihana remarks:

“That virtuous poet alone is worthy oi praise who, free from love or hatred, ever restricts his language to the exposition of facts." (I. 7.).

As to the method of collecting data we may quote the following verses among others (I. 14, 15):

“I have examined eleven works of former scholars which con*

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tain the chronicles of the kings, as well as the views of the sage Nila (Nlldpurana).

“By the inspection of ordinances {sdsana) of former kings relating to religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions (prasasti-'pattCL) as well as written records Isastra), all wearisome error has been set at rest."

In spite of his excellent equipment and high ideals, Kaihana was unable to reconstruct the early history of Kashmir, for his enthusiasm and industry could not make up for the lack of authentic material. His account of the period before the seventh century A.D. cannot be regarded as trustworthy, and it becomes more and more unreliable as we go back to more ancient periods. Nevertheless his attempt was creditable, and it is refreshing to find that he alone, of all Indian writers, has preserved some accounts of such forgotten Indian rulers as Kanishka. From the seventh century A.D., however, the Rdjataranginl may be regarded *.as a reliable history of Kashmir. The author narrates the career of each king in chronological order with a fair amount of detail, showing scrupulous impartiality in his criticism of men and events, and exhibiting soundness of judgment and healthy liberality in his general ex pression of views. As he gradually comes nearer his own age the history becomes fuller and more and more replete with interesting accounts of men and things. It ceases to be merely a chronicle of dry details and faithfully presents the ebb and flow of national life, the periods of glory and misery, and the greatness and weak*

ness of men and rulers—in short all those minute details which make history a record of intense human interest, faithfully portraying the march of events through which a people works out its own destiny. We close the book with a poignant regret that we do not possess such a history for the whole of India, or many more texts of the same kind dealing with other parts of the country.

Kalhana’s example was not lost upon his countrymen and several writers of Kashmir continued his chronicle. Jonaraja, who died in A.D. 1459, imitated Kalhana’s style and brought the historical narrative up to the reign of Zain-ul-Abidln. . The JainaRajata'rO’Tigini by his pupil Srivara covers the period A.D. 1459-86. Then came Prajya Bhafcta and his pupil Suka who carried on the history till a few years after the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar. These later works are, however, much inferior to the Rdjatarangl ni both in literary style and in historical accuracy.

Next to Kashmir, reference may be made to a large number of chronicles of Gujarat. These include well-known works like Ras-Mala, Kxrtikaumudi of Somesvara, Sukrlta-sCmklrtana of Arisimha, Prabandha-Chintamani by Merutuhga, Prabandha-kosa by Rajasekhara, Hammira»mada-mardana and Vastupdla-Tejahpdla-prasdsti of Jayasimha, Sukritakirti-kallolini of Udayaprabha, Vasantavildsa of Balachandra, etc., which are treasure-houses of stories and fables as well as historical anecdotes. The two biographies of Kumarapala, referred to above, and these chronicles enable us to trace the history of Gujarat, specially under the Chaulukyas, with fullness of details such as is not possible in the case of any other kingdom in ancient India except Kashmir.

There were probably local chronicles of Sind which formed the basis of an Arabic history of which we possess a Persian translation, the Chachnama , composed at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. It gives a detailed account of the Arab conquest of Sind and briefly refers to its history during the previous century.

We have also local chronicles of Nepal, which merely contain a list of kings and the duration of their reigns, with only a few details here and there. The earlier portion of these Vavisavans —as they are called—is purely mythical, but there seems to be an historical basis for the accounts relating to the period commencing from the first century A.D. The list is not, however, carefully compiled. There are wide divergences between the different chronicles, and many details are proved to be wrong by epigraphic evidence. These chronicles were never worked into historical texts by a genius of the type of Kalhana, and although in the absence of other sources they supply the framework for the history of Nepal, they cannot be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for real and genuine history.

The existence of historical chronicles in Kashmir, Guiarat, Sind, and Nepal supports the presumption that the archives of different states, as a rule, contained such royal chronicles, as stated by Hiuen Tsang. These chronicles, unless raised to the status of a literary work of the type of Rajatarangini, or included in pretentious or sacred works like the Puranas, are not likely to long survive the fortunes of the dynasty whose history they recorded. This probably accounts for their general destruction, though a few have been preserved in outlying places, like Kashmir, Gujarat, Nepal, and Assam (in a later period).

B. Archaeology

If we had to depend on literary sources alone we would have known very little indeed of the history of India for the thousand years that elapsed since the fall of the Andhras in the third century A.D. Our knowledge of this period would have been even much less than that of the thousand years preceding it. Fortunately the gap has been filled by the actual remains of this ancient period in the shape of coins, inscriptions, and monuments. They have enabled us to reconstruct an outline of the history of the period which, vague and imperfect though it is, forms the only sure foundation on which the history of India will have to be built up in future.

Indian archaeology is a science of recent growth, and is barely a century old. Its pioneers were a few enterprising European scholars who took a deep interest in the antiquities of India and made an earnest effort to unravel her past. The origin and progress of this fascinating labour of love, which culminated in organized departments of research and exploration, achieving wonderful results, has been reviewed in the next chapter. Here we may merely tabulate these results by way of indicating their bearing on the history of India.

I. Inscriptions .—Inscriptions have proved a source of the highest value for the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India. Being engraved on stone and metal they are free from the process of tampering to which books or other documents written on perishable materials are liable. Their value as contemporary documents thus remains unimpeachable. Although not always dated, the character of the script enables us to determine their approximate age. Thus as historical evidence they take precedence over the mass of literature, as the age of most of the texts is uncertain and they all must have undergone considerable modifications in the course of being preserved in copies through hundreds of years.

Apart from these considerations, the nature of many of these inscriptions invests them with a high degree of historical importance. The series of Indian inscriptions opens with the memorable edicts of the great Maurya Emperor Asoka, engraved on rocks and pillars

throughout his vast empire, from beyond the Indus in the west to the Mysore plateau in the south. These are royal proclamations and commandments, mostly in his own words, and convey across twenty-two centuries the life and personality of a great man and a great ruler with a striking vividness to which there is hardly any parallel in the history of the world. It is either the strangest freak of nature or the rare good fortune of India, if not a divine dispensation, that in the midst of an almost wholesale destruction of historical materials of the period, one fragment alone should have been spared, so faithfully reflecting that spiritual greatness which constitutes the glory of Indian civilization and its special characteristic. The records of Asoka form a class by themselves, and contribute largely to our knowledge of the history of the period and the spirit that animated one of the greatest men that ever sat on a royal throne. No other inscriptions make even a near approach to them in point of interest or historical importance.

One form of alphabet is used in all these records, excepting two groups in the north-west, which are written in an altogether different script. The latter, known as Kharoshthi, was obviously derived from Aramaic and, like the Semitic alphabet, was written from right to left. It continued in use in the north-western corner of India for many centuries, but vanished without leaving any trace behind.

The script in which all the other inscriptions of Aioka were written is known as Brahmi, and is written from left to right. It is the earliest form of Indian writing known to us, and from it have been derived, by slow evolution through ages, all the Indian characters current today, including Tamil, Telugu, and Kanarese. When the records of Aioka first came to notice towards the close of the eighteenth century, their script was as much an enigma to all as in the fourteenth century A.D., when the Emperor Flruz Tughluk brought a pillar with Aioka's inscription to Delhi, and made a vain attempt to have it read by the Indian Pundits. The deciphering of the Asokan inscriptions by Prinsep (described in detail in the next chapter) is one of the romances of archaeology comparable to those associated with the discovery of the clue to the hieroglyphics and cuneiform writings. It was accomplished in A.D. 1837, and in course of the next fifty years Indian epigraphy was placed on a firm footing. By the devoted and patient labour of a number of scholars the different types of Indian scripts were thoroughly studied, analysed, and classified, and a scientific basis laid down for Indian palaeography, which has made it possible to corelate them to different ages and localities. Apart from their intrinsic interest as historical records, the Asokan inscriptions have thus proved of great value as the starting-point of epigraphic and palaeographic studies in India.

The inscriptions of the post-Asokan period may be broadly divided into two classes, official and private. The official records are in most cases either prasastis, i.e. eulogies of kings written by their court-poets, or land-grants. The most famous example of the former is furnished by the long record of Samudra-gupta engraved on an Asokan pillar, now in the Allahabad fort. It describes in great detail the personal qualities and the military achievements of the great Gupta emperor and forms the chief document of his memorable reign. The age of the Imperial Guptas is now justly regarded as the Golden Age of India. But all memories of it, and even the very name of Samudra-gupta—the Indian Napoleon—who laid the foundations of the Gupta empire, were lost to Indian tradition. The Allahabad prasasti has preserved from oblivion the name and fame of this great hero and, along with a number of other inscriptions, forms the main basis of our knowledge of the Grupta period. The Gwalior prasasti of Bhoja has similarly thrown a flood of light on the imperial Pratlharas, another forgotten dynasty of ancient India.

Among other prasastis , supplying valuable historical information, may be mentioned that of king Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal engraved on a slab of stone found at Deopara. Its nominal object is to record the building of a temple by Vijayasena, but it is almost wholly devoted to a panegyric of the great king, recording his victories and achievements in the most high-flown language. The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king, belongs to exactly the same type.

By far the largest number of official documents are charters conveying the sale or gift of lands! These are mostly engraved on copper-plates, though in very rare instances they are also found on stone pillars and in temples. These charters define the boundaries of the lands and specify the object and conditions of the grant, often enumerating other interesting details such as the price of land, the mode of its measurement, exhortations to future kings not to confiscate the grants, and quotations from the scriptures threatening severe punishment after death for those who violate the grants in any way.

Interesting though these details are in many ways, they do not contain much that is of historical importance. But by a formal convention, fortunately followed in many if not in all cases, these charters begin with a sort of royal prasasti which gives a short account of the donor's family for several generations, and describes in greater detail the life and achievements of the ruling king. These formal and introductory portions in the land-grants have supplied us with invaluable historical material. Sometimes, as in the Chola inscriptions, this introductory part runs to a very great length, and forms a valuable historical document by itself. Very often this portion was wholly or partially stereotyped in the

royal archives and used in several grants. Sometimes the portion was independently engraved on copper-plates and these were kept ready in the office, so that when occasion arose, only the details of the grant had to be added to make them formal charters. In short, this historical part had little organic connection with the grant itself, and may be regarded as a prasasti prefixed to it.

These pra&astis were composed by court-poets or other royal officials, and one would naturally hesitate to take them at their face value. There is undoubtedly a great deal of exaggeration in the effusions of the poets. It is customary for them to endow their patron-kings with all the ideal virtues and to represent them as the rulers of the whole world girdled by the four oceans. Such general expressions must be discarded as of no historical value. But greater value attaches to the specific enumerations of campaigns, victories, and conquests; for these documents were public property, and their authors would be justly exposed to ridicule if they had made categorical statements without any basis whatsoever. Of course they were expected to exaggerate the achievements of their masters, but even such exaggeration implies a substratum of fact. A great deal of caution is therefore needed to assess the proper value of the claims made on behalf of a king, and they should be checked^ by all possible means. Such checks are furnished by the statements made on behalf of the rival kings, and sometimes welcome corroboration is afforded by independent evidence.

In cases where the inscriptions are engraved on rocks or objects not easily portable, their find-spots become of great importance as indicating the territorial jurisdiction of the king. Sometimes the records of vassal chiefs and finds of coins corroborate the claims of territorial conquests. By these and other means it is almost always possible to make legitimate inferences from these documents about* the achievements of the kings.

The official documents, however, form only a very small proportion of the inscriptions. By far the'larger majority are private records. They cover a wide range, from a short votive inscription of two or three words to pompous poetical compositions glorifying an individual or family. They throw light on various aspects of society even where they do not directly contribute to political history. A good many are engraved on images of gods and religious buildings, recording pious donations. These constitute the chief means of fixing the dates of these images and buildings, and have been of incalculable help in tracing the evolution of art and religion, and determining their general condition in any specified period. Similarly the language and style of the inscriptions have been of immense value to the linguistic and literary history of India. The evidence of the inscriptions, taken in mass, is unerring in these respects. If we analyse, for example, the 1500 or more inscriptions prior to the Gupta age that have so far come to light, we find an overwhelmingly large number—more than 95 per cent—written in Prakrit and concerned with non-Brahmanical religious sects, mainly Buddhist and Jain. The proportion is almost just the reverse in favour of the Sanskrit language and the Brahmanical religion, if we take the inscriptions of the period subsequent to the Gupta age. Even allowing for all accidental factors, this one fact betokens a sweeping change in the life of the people both in respect of the religious ideas and the medium of literary expression.

These inscriptions also throw important light on political history. Many of them refer to ruling kings otherwise unknown, and some of them even supply dates, either in regnal years or in a specified or unspecified era. This has been a prolific source of the constant addition to our historical knowledge, though where supplementary evidence is lacking we know little more than the royal name, his approximate date and the location of his kingdom. But even such scraps of information, pieced together, have enabled* the historian to reconstruct a clear outline of the history of a locality or even of a definite period, of which little was known before.

In a few cases the private records throw more direct light on the political history of India, as they emanate from persons closely connected with a royal family. We have, for example, interesting records of families whose members for generations held high offices like ministers or generals. In others the importance of an individual is indicated by the office he held, or the part he played in the affairs of state. These inscriptions, though issued by or in honour of private individuals, therefore incidentally give us a great deal of information about the kings and political condition of the time.

On the whole it may be said without any hesitation that the epigraphic records of ancient India have been the principal source of our information regarding the political history, and have also proved to be of great value by supplementing literary evidence in regard to the social, religious, and economic condition of India.

2. Numismatics .—Next to the inscriptions, coins are the most important source of the history of ancient India. Many thousands of these have come to light. Hoards have been unearthed in different parts of the country—a single hoard sometimes yielding many thousands—and individual specimens have constantly been found on or near the surface of ancient sitesl. Most of them at first passed into the hands of private individuals, but a number were recovered by scholars or acquired by public institutions. There is no doubt, however, that quite a large proportion was

melted or otherwise lost to antiquarian study, and this deplorable state of things is unfortunately still going^ on. A systematic study and collection of coins has been possible only in cases of regular archaeological excavations. Not only were many coins, otherwise acquired, lost to us, but no systematic record has been kept of the provenance of those which have survived. This has been a serious handicap to the scientific study of the coinage, as much of the historical importance of a coin is lost if we cannot determine the exact locality of which it formed the currency.

The importance of numismatics for the study of the economic condition of a country is too obvious to need a detailed consideration. Here we shall only indicate how coins have helped us to reconstruct the political history of the various periods.

The earliest coins of India bear only figures, devices, or symbols, but with few exceptions, no legends. These coins were sometimes cast in dies, but more often the symbols were punched on the metallic pieces. Sometimes there are many symbols, punched at different times. They were most probably deliberately stamped by the issuing authority, in order to guarantee their genuineness and value. These authorities might have been kings or states, but also certainly included individual merchants, tradeguilds, city-corporations, and similar bodies, for the idea of a state monopoly of minting coins was yet unknown. In the absence of legends, it is impossible to allot the different coins to these different categories. The meaning of the figures and symbols, once familiar to the people using these coins, is no longer clear to us, though some of them are familiar objects or well-known conventional designs. Various suggestions have been made regarding their significance, but they are highly speculative and rest on no secure foundations. Apart from conveying some vague religious ideas and artistic conventions these coins do not supply any historical information. The rare legends on them refer to the mercantile corporations which issued them.

It is not till after the Greek invasion that we come across coins with the names of kings clearly engraved on them. Excepting, perhaps, a few coins of the time of Alexander, the most important series of such coins were those issued by the Greek rulers of Bactria who ultimately conquered the Punjab and North-Western Frontier. The artistic excellence of these coins has never been surpassed in India, and the portraits of kings and other figures on them show Hellenistic art at its best. These coins of the Graeco-Bactrians set a new fashion and may be said to have revolutionized Indian numismatics. The most important feature added to Indian coins from this time forward was the name, and sometimes even the portrait, of the sovereign who issued them. How greatly it has helped our knowledge of political history will be

apparent from the fact that it is from these coins alone that we know of nearly thirty Greek kings and queens who ruled in India. The classical writers have referred to only four or five of them, but not only were the names of the rest unknown to them, but even the very memory of the Greek domination over a corner of India for nearly two centuries was absolutely lost. This remarkable historical episode, interesting alike to Greece and India, came to the knowledge of the world, after nearly two thousand years, by the discovery of those fine series of coins—of gold, silver, and copper—which now adorn many public museums in Europe and India.

The coinage of the Greeks was imitated by the Scythian and Parthian invaders who followed in their footsteps, and although the execution of their coins is far inferior, they are equally important for historical purposes. Here, too, the coins alone have enabled us to reconstruct an outline of their history, and recover the names of quite a large number of their rulers. One branch of the Scythian invaders, who settled permanently in Gujarat and the Kathiawar Peninsula, issued coins which not only gave the name of the ruling king and that of his father, but very often also the date in the well-known Saka era. This has enabled us to reconstruct the history of the Western Satraps—as these rulers are called—for a period of more than three hundred years. With the exception of a few inscriptions and literary references, which otherwise would

have been of little helD. the coins have been the sole source of our

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information regarding the Greeks, the Sakas and the Parthians that entered India after the dissolution of the Mauryan Empire. The Kushanas who followed them likewise issued a large number of .coins, but the history of this dynasty is also known from other sources.

The coins have also been the principal source of our information regarding the various Indian states—both monarchical and republican—that flourished during the same period. Most of them, like the Malavas. Yaudheyas. the Mitra rulers of Panchala etc., are almost exclusively known from their coins. In other cases, like the Satavahanas of the Deccan, the Puranic account is corroborated, corrected, and supplemented by their coins and inscriptions.

The Guptas, who founded the greatest emnire in Tndia after the Maurvas. issued a lar^e varietv of fine coins. Although we know a great deal of their history from eoigraphic records, the coins form an important additional source of information.

With the downfall of the Guptas the numismatic evidence ceases to be an important source of history. Isolated coins, here and there, have no doubt proved to be of great value, but they seldom afford us material information not otherwise available. It

is a curious fact that coins of even great emperors like Harsha or ruling dynasties like the Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Pratlharas and Palas, not to speak of lesser kings and dynasties, are either unknown or of little significance.

3. Monuments .—In addition to coins and inscriptions we have other antiquarian remains, such as buildings or parts thereof, statues of stone or metal, terra cotta, ornamental and decorative fragments, pottery, and various other objects of a miscellaneous character. They are of great importance in tracing the history and evolution of Indian art. The art of a country is generally regarded to be a fair index of its culture, and it throws light on some higher aspects of its civilization which cannot be easily understood from other sources. The remains of Indian monuments have thus considerably helped towards a proper appreciation of the life and spirit of ancient India.

In addition to individual monuments, sometimes we have the vast remains of an ancient city laid bare before us. Some of them, like those of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, have opened before us an altogether new type of civilization, reaching back to an age of which no memorials in India were known before. This has carried back the antiquity of Indian culture and civilization by several thousands of years and opened up a new vista of its history, character, and association with the outside world. It has also transformed our ideas of the origin of Indian civilization. We can no longer derive from the simple fact of the Aryan migration the complex structure of later Indian civilization, but must look for more than one source which fed the mighty stream. Even in concrete matters our ideas have undergone great changes. As an instance may be cited the origin of the Brahmi script (used in the Asokan records) which, as noted above, is the parent-stock from which all Indian alphabets have been derived.

Scholars have almost unanimously held the view that Brahmi was derived from a foreign source, though they widely differ about its identity. But more than five hundred seals have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro which contain a species of pictorial writing. This has not been deciphered yet, but the probability of the Brahmi alphabet being derived from it is now being seriously considered. Similarly the deep-rooted conviction that Indian art originated from a foreign source not much earlier than the third century B.C.. has been considerably shaken by the discovery at Mohenjo-daro of finely carved stone figures of the third millennium B.C. which would not unfavourably compare with the statues of the classical period in Athens.

The archaeological excavation of the Indus valley is still at its infancy, and we may look forward to its continuation as opening up a brilliant chapter of Indian history as yet unknown or even undreamt of.

Coming down to historical times, the systematic excavations of ancient sites like the city of Taxila or the monastic establishments at Sarnath (near Benares) have thrown light upon various aspects of life of which there is little or no record in literature. Such excavations, as will be noted in the next chapter, have been few and far between. Still, meagre though they are, compared with the vast extent of the country, these archaeological excavations have enabled us to realize some interesting aspects of Indian civilization which would have been otherwise unknown.

C. Foreign Accounts

In addition to literature and archaeological remains we have another interesting source of information in the accounts left by foreign writers. The earliest among them are the two Greek writers Herodotus and Ctesias, both of whom must have derived their information indirectly through Persian sources. Herodotus gives some useful information along with a great deal of fairy tales, but the account of Ctesias largely consists of incredible fables. Far greater interest attaches to the writings of those Greeks who accompanied Alexander to India, and the account of Megasthenes, who lived for some time in the court of Chandragupta Maurya as an ambassador of Seleucus. Though these works are mostly lost, much has been preserved in books, based upon them, written by later authors. These accounts contain a great deal of information that is both interesting and authentic, but they suffer from the defects inherent in the writings of foreigners, ignorant of the language and customs of the country. While great importance naturally attaches to what they recorded from personal observation, we must treat with great reserve their accounts based on others' reports or hearsay evidence. Due allowance must also be made for the necessarily limited circle within which a Greek must have moved in India, and his natural proneness to see everything through Hellenic eyes and distort or exaggerate anything that was strange or unfamiliar to him. Tt would be foolish to belittle the importance of the classical accounts of India, but it would be equally unwise to put implicit faith in everything contained in them.

Special reference must be made to the classical writers who have elucidated the geography and natural history of India. The earliest of them is the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. He was a Greek, settled in Egypt, who made a voyage to the Indian coast about A.D. 80 and left a record of its ports, harbours, and merchandise. This short account, full of interesting information, is worth its weight in gold, as it has preserved from oblivion a phase of the trade and maritime activity in ancient India, otherwise unknown. Ptolemy wrote a geographical account of India in the second century A.D. on scientific lines. His data being derived from secondary sources, he has fallen into numerous errors, and his general -conception of the shape of India is also faulty in the extreme. Nevertheless the attempt was praiseworthy and has supplied valuable information. The same may be said of Pliny's account of Indian animals, plants, and minerals written in the first century A.D. There were also many other writers of a later date.

These classical accounts, most of which have been translated into English by J. W. McCrindle, were generally prompted by a spirit of exploration of unknown lands, and reflect great credit on their authors and the scientific spirit of the age in which they lived. The same spirit was displayed a few centuries later by Arab sailors and merchants, some of whom, like Sulaiman and A1 Mas'udI, have left brief records of India. The gap in the interval between the two periods is filled by Chinese writers, both chroniclers at home and pilgrims who visited India.

The writings of the Chinese travellers to India form a valuable supplement to the classical accounts. Three of them, Fa-hien (fifth century A.D.), Hiuen Tsang, and I-tsing (seventh century A.D.) are better known than others, and have recorded their experiences in fairly bulky volumes which are happily preserved in their original forms and have been translated into English. All three spent a number of years in India and learnt its language, and the first two travelled widely almost all over the country. In these respects they had an undoubted advantage over the Greek travellers. But unfortunately for the historian of India, these eminent Chinese visitors were all devout Buddhist monks, whose journey to India was merely a pilgrimage to holy lands, and whose outlook was purely religious. Neither Fa-hien nor I-tsing refer to secular matters, except very incidentally, nor do they even mention the name of the king or kings whose dominions were visited by them. Hiuen Tsang is not so circumscribed, but gives some interesting information about his royal patron Harsha-vardhana and other contemporary kings of India. He also briefly refers to the political condition of the kingdoms through which he passed, and devotes an entire chapter to a general account of India. These are, no doubt, very valuable, but they form only a very small part of his extensive records which, like those of Fa-hien and I-tsing, are otherwise, devoted to a minute and detailed description of Buddhism in India —its rituals and practices, sanctuaries and memorials, sects and doctrines, scriptures and traditions.

The Chinese travellers have rendered a great service by depicting the state of Buddhism in India. But devout pilgrims as they were, their intense religious faith impaired to a certain extent their rational instincts and power of impartial observation. We must therefore be on our guard against accepting as literally true all their statements, especially those which concern the Buddhist faith in any way, even when based on personal observation. Their judgment on men and things was warped, if not vitiated, by an absolute and implicit faith in the superiority of Buddhism, and the too intimate, if not exclusive, association with men and institutions connected with that religion. Buddhism alone loomed large in their eyes, everything else taking a subordinate and almost an insignificant place. Such an attitude is hardly compatible with recording an account that may be regarded as strictly historical.

From the eighth century A.D. India attracted the attention of the Arab writers. Apart from the account of the Arab merchants and sailors, the Indian borderland finds prominent mention in Arab historical chronicles on account of the political aggrandisement of that militant nation which culminated in the conquest of Sind early in the eighth century A.D. Two and a half centuries later the Ghaznavid Turks followed in the footsteps of the Arabs and carried the banner of Islam far into the interior of India. India now figured prominently in the Muslim chronicles. The best foreign account of India that this age produced was written by Abu Rlhan, better known as Alberuni, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. While the ruthless conqueror was harrying India by fire and sword, destroying and plundering its cities and temples, the great Arabic scholar engaged himself in studying the culture and civilization of the country. He learned Sanskrit and studied its different branches of literature. The bulky volume which he wrote is in many respects the most rational and comprehensive account of India ever written by a foreigner until modern times. He is singularly free from religious enthusiasm, bordering on fanaticism, and the racial superiority-complex which mark the Muslim writings of the age. He patiently laboured hard to acquire knowledge of Indian society and culture in a laudable spirit of quest for truth, and brought to his task a liberal and rational mind enriched by profound knowledge, remarkable for his age. But from the point of view of Indian history, Alberuni's great work, highly valuable though it is, suffers from two serious defects. In the first place, he says little or nothing of the political condition of India. Secondly, his account rests primarily on his study of Indian literature, and is not based on personal observations. In other words, he saw India, not with his own eyes, but through literary works. Alberuni gives an admirable survey of the mathematics, physics, chemistry, cosmogony, astronomy, astrology, geography, philosophy, religious rites, customs, social ideas, etc., of India, but we feel at almost every step—and he does not conceal the fact—that he is merely reproducing what he read about these things in books written by Indian authors dead and

gone long ago, and draws little or no inspiration from the living India of his age.

2. THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD (THIRTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

AlberunTs work closes a long series of accounts written by foreigners about ancient India. Two centuries later the Muslim Turks established their political supremacy over India, and introduced the art of compiling chronicles recording the political events of the country. The earliest work of this kind, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by Minhaj-ud-din, composed in the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., traces the history of Muslim rule in India from the very beginning with such fullness of detail as the author could derive from a patient study of all the materials available to him. It was followed by other works at regular intervals among which the following deserve special mention: Ta*rikh-i-Firuz Sh&hi by Ziya-ud-dln Bararil and Shams-i-Siraj ‘Aflf; Gulshan-i-lbrahimi by Muhammad Qasim Firishta; Ain-i-Akbari and Akbar-n&ma by Abu’l-Fazl, Tabaq&t-iAkbari by Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh by *Abd-ul-Qadir Budauni.

There are besides a number of other works dealing with general history as well as provincial states or particular individuals. A fair idea of the nature and extent of these works may be had from that excellent compendium — The History of India as told by Us own Historians— compiled by Elliot and Dowson, in which an attempt has been made to cover the history of the whole period by extracts (in an English translation) from indigenous historical texts.

The autobiographies of the Mughal emperors Babur and Jahangir, and the biographies of other emperors, kings, and various grandees form a valuable supplement to regular historical works. A part of the official correspondence, both of the Central Government and of the various provinces and subordinate states, has also been preserved.

Official despatches or the letters of military commanders, governors, and diplomatic agents are valuable sources of information, and often give accurate dates and details not available from any other source. Mention may also be made of court diaries and newsreports. These contain reports of the occurrences and sayings at the Public Durbars of Delhi and provincial courts which were taken down by men specially employed for the purpose by subordinate rulers or important officials. These form valuable materials for the reconstruction of the history of the period, and the monumental work Ain-i-Akbari gives a most detailed and comprehensive picture of the complex administrative machinery set up by the great Mughal emperor. The bardic chronicles of the Rajputs form an important class of historical documents concerning the Hindu states of Rajputana. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on these familiar sources of history, as they will be reviewed in detail in lsiter parts of this work.

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The archaeological evidence of the period, highly valuable from the point of view of the history of art, ceases to be of as much special importance as in the ancient period for the purpose of political history. The coins of the early rulers with their dates and mintmarks, as well as inscriptions, often supply valuable additional information, particularly in respect of provincial history which is not so fully dealt with by the Court historians. But they are at best valuable supplements, and save in rare instances, not the sole or even principal sources of information.

The accounts of foreign travellers are also an important, though supplementary, source for the history of this period. • One of the earliest is Marco Polo who visited India and other parts of Asia towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. He does not, however, tell us much of the political history. The most important in this respect is Ibn Batuta, an African Muhammadan, who spent several years in the court of Muhammad Tughluq. He returned to his native country in A.D. 1349, after twenty-five years of travel, full of adventures, in various parts of Asia. He has left a vivid account of India of his time whose general accuracy there is no reason to dispute. Another important traveller was Nicolo de' Conti, the Venetian, in the fifteenth century. A number of other European travellers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have left interesting information about various parts of India, particularly the powerful kingdom of Vijayanagar. For the Mughal period the voluminous writings of European travellers, including reports of Jesuit missionaries, and official despatches of the Portuguese, French, and English trading settlements, supply a mass of authentic information.

For the second period (A.D. 1200-1800), therefore, the historian of India is no longer hampered by lack of material as in the first or earlier period. He can trace the main outline of the political history with essential details, and has not to piece together fragmentary data from coins and inscriptions by a tedious and laborious process. His principal difficulty is to sift the truth from a mass of data which sometimes contradict one another, and to assess correctly the statements of historians which are not infrequently coloured by passions and prejudices. But these are difficulties which are common to historians of all ages and countries.

3. THE MODERN PERIOD

It is unnecessary to say much on the materials for the history of the modem period, as they present no unusual features. It should be emphasized, however, that state-papers, i.e. contemporary official documents, now take the chief place among these materials, as in the case of European countries. Such state-papers are not altogether wanting for the Mughal period, but they are, comparatively speaking, few in number and play a minor role in the construction of the history of the period. From the eighteenth century they increase in volume and importance, and the Peshwa’s Daftars may be cited as a striking example. With the establishment of the British ascendancy these state-papers form the most elaborate and valuable source of information. The servants of the East India Company in India had to keep very detailed written records of their transactions and deliberations for the perusal of their masters in England, and this fortunate circumstance has undoubtedly increased the mass of documents which supply abundant historical material of firstrate importance. The correspondence of the various Indian States among themselves and with the British is also very valuable. These materials have been partially lost, but a great deal has been preserved and is now kept in the Imperial Records Office in Delhi and the India Office in London. The Records Office in Delhi has been recently reorganized, and proper arrangements have been made for making the records available to students of history and helping their study by means of classification, indexing, and printing select documents. Numbers of important state papers in Provincial Record Offices, Indian States, and in private possession are also gradually coming to light. These and other materials, to which detailed reference will be made in due course, have considerably facilitated the task of the historian of modern India.

CHAPTER HI

GENERAL REVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS AND EXCAVATIONS

I

In every country the historian is dependent upon the archaeologist lor information about periods to which written records do not,go back* This particularly is the case in India, where practically .the entire history ©f the' pre-Muslim period is built up on the study of materials recovered by the investigator and excavator during the last century and a hail. The splendid achievements of Indian culture throughout the ages were unfortunately not matched by a sense of historical and geographical accuracy, and except for the metrical chronicle of Kashmir, no other sober history is available for the whole sub-continent. The Muslim period witnessed a marked interest in the recording of contemporary history, and occasionally an exceptional monarch such as Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351-1388) even made an attempt to explore and preserve ancient relics such as the inscribed pillars of Asoka, but without any tangible result. The study of Indian antiquities was, however, initiated in Bengal soon after the establishment, of British power by scholars like Sir William Jones, who founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. At first, only linguistic and literary researches occupied the Society's attention. With the turning of the century, a comprehensive survey of the country was started under the orders of the East India Company, and Dr. Buchanan Hamilton was the first explorer who carried out this task first in Mysore and Southern India, and then 1st, North Bengal, Bihar, and Assam, in the second decade of ihe nineteenth century. His report contains the earliest notices of Indian antiquities, and these are recorded with great accuracy and sound judgment. In*Western India the caves of Ajanta, Elephants, and Kanheri were also discovered and described before the turn of the twenties.

The labours of these pioneers brought to light a number of ancient inscriptions recorded on rocks and pillars, but these were written in a script which no one could read. They thus remained a sealed book to scholars till their mystery was solved by James Prinsep in 1837. Prinsep, who was then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has left an interesting account of this great discovery. It is a romance of archaeology fit to rank by the side' of the decipherment of the hieroglyphic and cuneiform scripts. For seven years* we are told, Prinsep spread before him, every morning, the estampages of the inscriptions collected from different parts of India and wistfully gazed at the unknown alphabets which con

cealed the mystery of India's past. At last the numerous short votive records on the famous stupa at Sanchl gave him the key. How he hit upon it, almost 'by a lucky chance, may best be told in his own words, as recorded in Volume VI of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (p p. 460-77, 566-609).

. "In laying open a discovery of this nature, some little explanation is generally expected of the means by which it has been attained. Like most other inventions, when once found it appears extremely simple; and as in most others, accident, rather than study, has had the merit of solving the enigma which has so long baffled the learned.

"While arranging and lithographing the numerous scraps of facsimiles, for Plate XXVII [i.e. the Sanchl inscriptions] I was struck at their all terminating with the same two letters, JL Coupling this circumstance with their extreme brevity and insulated position, which proved that they could not be fragments of a continuous text, it immediately occurred that they must record either obituary notices, or more probably the offerings and presents of votaries, as is known to be the present custom in the Buddhist temples of Ava; where numerous dhwajas or flag-staffs, images and small chaityas are crowded within the enclosure, surrounding the chief cupola, each 7 bearing the name of the donor. The next point noted was the

frequent occurrence of the letter / [j, already set down incontes

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tably as s, before the final word: now this I had learnt from the Saurdshpra coins, deciphered only a day or two before, to be one sign of the genitive case singular, being the ssa of the Pali, or sya of the Sanscrit. ‘Of so and so the gift,’ must then be the form of each brief sentence; and the vowel d and anusuxira led to the speedy recognition of the word danam (gift) teaching me the very two letters, d and n, most different from the known forms, and which had foiled me most in my former attempts. Since 1834 also my acquaintance with ancient alphabets had become so familiar that most of the remaining letters in the present examples could be named at once on re-inspection. In the course of a few minutes I thus became possessed of the whole alphabet, which I tested by applying it to the inscription on the Delhi column.”

Prinsep then applied, with success, the Sanchl alphabet, as he called it, to the Buddhist group of ancient coins and to other inscriptions, particularly those on the lats, meaning the A£okan Edict columns, in Upper India, and gave an analysis of the alphabet. Next, by the application of the alphabet to the inscriptions on the celebrated A&okan pillars at Delhi and Allahabad, he gave detailed readings and interpretations of these inscriptions. Thus was the master-key of the ancient Brahmi alphabet discovered.

Prinsep’s great discovery ushered in a new era by lifting the veil from the earlier Indian inscriptions, and laid the foundation of research in Indian history and practically every branch of Indian archaeology. Hereafter it became possible to evaluate each discovery and assign it to its proper period by a systematic study of contemporary writings. Scholars like Fergusson, Cunningham, Dr. Bhau Daji, and Dr. Rajendra Lai Mitra handed on the torch lighted by Prinsep, and built up the foundations of our present knowledge of Indian architecture, Indian geography, Indian coins and other branches of Indology during the next generation.

The first official step taken by the Government of India was the appointment of General Alexander Cunningham as Archaeological Surveyor to the Government in 1862. This was due to the initiative of Lord Canning, who for the first time realized that the British Government had a duty towards India in rescuing from oblivion her splendid heritage of the past. The choice of so genuine a lover of Indian antiquities as General Cunningham for this pioneer work of exploration and research was very happy, and the record of his devoted labours for nearly half a century, extending over a vast field covering almost every branch of knowledge^ is in many ways unique. Starting with the data supplied by the Greek historians and the Chinese travellers, he laid the foundations of an exact knowledge of ancient Indian geography by personal investigations and an almost uncanny gift of spotting and identification of ancient sites. His unrivalled knowledge of Indian coins, particularly those of the north-west, laid the foundation of Indian numismatics, which still has to depend upon his published works in certain branches. Many of his speculations and conjectures may not have been confirmed by subsequent research, but this can be excused in a pioneer who covered so much new ground in half # dozen different fields. Such digging as was attempted at places like Bodh Gaya, Bharhut, Sanchl, Sarnath, and Taxila cannot be considered as systematic excavation, but we must remember that the science of archaeology had not then developed anywhere else beyond quarrying for sensational finds.

After Cunningham’s retirement followed a period of nearly fifteen years in which no clear archaeological policy was laid down or followed, although Dr. Burgess and his colleagues were able to publish excellent volumes on the results of the Surveys, mostly of Western Indian caves as also in Southern India. Provincial surveys on a very limited scale and without any central direction or support could accomplish little, but in the closing years of the last century, Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, ushered in a new era for Indian archaeology. He accepted the encouragement of research and the promotion of archaeological study as a duty and obligation which Government owed to this ancient country and established a Central Department of Archaeology. Thereafter, the course of archaeology has been fairly continuous, though subject to periodic stimulation and depression.

The Department contained several keen and sound Sanskrit scholars of various nationalities, notably Dr, Vogel, Dr. Stein, Dr. Bloch, and afterwards

Dr. Spooner, all of whom were very much interested in archaeological exploration; but none of them had the benefit of taking actual part in tne work of excavation as Dr. Marshall (.afterwards Sir John), the newly appointed Director General of Archaeology, had in Greece before his appointment. His direction and guidance soon proved to be of the greatest benefit to Indian archaeology, and not only did the European officers of the Department hereafter take a share in the work of excavation, but young Indian probationers were enlisted for training as they were eventually to replace scholars from abroad. In the first few years (1903-12) the programme of excavation largely centred round such famous Buddhist sites as Sanchi, Sarnath, Kasia-(Kusinagara) andSahefc Mahet (Sravasti). City-sites like Charsadda (Pushkalavatl) near Mar dan, Bhila near Allahabad, Basarh (Vais all) near Muzaffarpur, and Rajgir the ancient capital of Magadha, were also touched but not persisted in, although they yielded sufficient finds of great importance for the reconstruction of cultural history. The reason for , this, as explained by Sir John Marshall himself, was that the researches of the earlier generation of archaeologists had thrown more light on Buddhist antiquities, and besides there was a greater chance of making some spectacular finds in the Buddhist sites than in the more extensive city-sites where it is difficult to locate spots of special importance. Buddhist sites, generally clustered around lofty stupas and readily recognizable from their configuration, are certainly easier to excavate and there is greater probability of making such sensational finds as, for example, the relics of the Buddha enshrined by Kanishka in the stupa near Peshawar city. At Sarnath, the famous lion capital of an Asokan pillar and the great sculptural wealth of the Gupta empire were among the sensational discoveries made.

The idea of bringing to light the successive cultural periods of Indian history by regular excavations at city-sites was entertained about 1912, when Sir John Marshall took up his work at Taxila which was to continue for over two decades. At Pataliputra (Patna) Dr. Spooner began in 1913 his examination of the ancient Maury an capital which was to continue for a number of years, thanks to the liberality of Sir Ratan Tata who provided the entire funds. Unfortunately the latter site, being waterlogged and buried deep under alluvium, did not yield proportionately large results. Strangely enough, some of the most striking finds came from the lower levels exposed in the course of sewage operations and foundations of modem buildings. The excavations at Taxila, on the other hand,

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have yielded steadily growing material which has fulfilled the expectations raised by a city-site situated on the main highway from the north-west, forming, as it were, the crucible in which Indian culture was blended with that of other races coming from that direction during the three or four centuries on either side of the Christian era. The most comprehensive operations ever carried out at any single site in India are those at Taxila, where about a dozen sites have been excavated within an area of some 25 square miles, embracing three separate cities and half a dozen large Buddhist establishments. The earliest city going back to the Mauryan .period is that under the Bhir mound, which was superseded by the second and most important city at the site of Sirkap, founded by the IndoGreek rulers and inhabited during the Indo-Greek and the 6aka periods. The wealth of finds, mainly from the second city, that enriches the museum established -on the site makes it the most attractive archaeological collection in the country.

While the lay-out of the Mauryan city was irregular and the construction unimpressive, the second town, with its regularly arranged streets and lanes and well-built houses with spacious rooms and courtyards, is one of the best preserved ancient cities, the relics found being among the most representative and valuable dug out anywhere in India. Among the religious sites at Taxila the most prominent and extensive is the Dharmarajika stupa, said to have been founded by the great Aioka and built over during successive ages and surrounded by scores of smaller stupas , chapels, and large monasteries. Some of the retreats for the Buddhist monks perched on the neighbouring hillocks, such as those at Jauiian, Kalawan, and Mohra Moradu, provide ample evidence of the flourishing state of Buddhism in the palmy days of Taxila, which came to ah end at the close of the fifth century A.D. with the. invasions of the Huna hordes.

World War I interfered with the progress of exploration, as it was not possible for the Government to spare funds for scientific research. However, the Royal Asiatic Society of London sanctioned a small , grant for the excavation of the great Buddhist site of Nalanda, and this enabled Dr. Spooner to commence work in 1917 which continued unabated for nearly two decades. Besides the complex of stupas, temples, and monasteries brought to light in the course of these excavations, Nalanda has yielded unique bronzes and sculptures of great artistic merit as well as inscriptions which have thrown a flood of light on the history of Northern India and the development of Buddhism in Eastern India. The main building here shows signs of having been enlarged and rebuilt no less than seven times, and some of the monasteries show at least three periods of occupation and reconstruction. Nalanda has been the main centre of archaeological work in Bihar since it was taken up nearly thirty

years ago. Rajgir (ancient Rajagyiha) has also yielded some remarkable finds, notably from the site known as Maniyar Math, but no large-scale examination of this ancient city, one of the earliest historical capitals of India, has yet bean attempted.

An epoch-making discovery which changed the course of Indian Archaeology and pushed back Indian antiquities from the Buddhist to prehistoric times was made in 1922-23 when Mr. R. D. Banerji, excavating the ruins of a Buddhist establishment at Mohenjo-daro in Sind, lighted upon certain inscribed seals with pictographic characters which were till then known only from the. site of Harappa in the Punjab. The full significance of the discovery was not apparent till two years later, when a comparison of the finds from both the sites convinced Sir John Marshall that they belonged to a prehistoric civilization far earlier than any known so far. Although at first labelled Indo-Sumerian, owing to its obvious affinities with the Sumerian civilization of the third millennium B.C., the newly discovered civilization was subsequently renamed after the Indus Valley, as it was found to be its main habitat. The discoveries stimulated public interest in Indian Archaeology to an unprecedented degree, and the Government of India began to finance liberally schemes of archaeological exploration and research in the different parts of India. For about seven years from 1924-25 the Government grant for exploration gradually rose until it reached the figure of two and a half lakhs which has been the high-water mark in this country. For this the discoveries at Mohenjo-daro are mainly responsible, and under that name is epitomized the progress of Indian Archaeology during the last two decades.

Preliminary excavations were carried on at a large number of sites in Sind and archaeological explorations were extended even to distant parts of Baluchistan (see Map 2). But these subsequent researches have failed to shed any considerable light on the manner in which this well-developed city civilization of the Indus Valley sprang up, as if from howhere, and also about its equally inexplicable disappearance without leaving any considerable traces of its survival in the Indus Valley or its surrounding regions. Some seven epochs, either slightly earlier or slightly later than the main stream of culture presented by Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, hayb been identified, but all of them -together do not help to bridge the wide gull between this chalcolithic civilization and that of the historic period which flourished in the upper and middle Gangetic basin from the middle of the first millennium B.C. This indeed is one of the most important tasks before Indian archaeology, and demands a great deal of patient and systematic work over a number of years. Field research of this type cannot be attempted by compartments but will require an all-India organization with ample resources at its back and co-operation of various regional units.

The initial success of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India induced many of the Indian States to open their own Archaeological Departments. We shall now review the position regarding exploration in each province and important state. In the province of Sind, which leaped into prominence with the Indus Valley discoveries, the record of archaeology is still very meagre, apart from the Indus Valley finds. Besides a few Buddhist stupas and monasteries, mostly assignable to the Gupta period as at Mirpur Khas, none of the remains can be assigned to a period earlier than the Arab invasion in the eighth century. One reason for this must have been the gradual desiccation of the lower Indus Valley. The main interest of the province will therefore vest in the large number of sites of the prehistoric period, scattered over its western half, which have not yet been adequately explored.

In the North-West Frontier Province the great Buddhist sites of Sahr-i-Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, and Jamalgarhi have yielded valuable treasures. They fill the local museum at Peshawar, which is naturally the most important for the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara. The whole district of Peshawar teems with mounds which

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are being fast levelled by cultivators to the great detriment of science.

In the Punjab, Harappa and Taxila have been the most important centres of archaeological works so far. The province, however, possesses very interesting possibilities of exploration in the earlier phases of culture. The De Terra expedition, which came to study the Ice Age in Kashmir and the Punjab foot-hills, brought to light important palaeolithic industries in the Soan valley which constitute the earliest relics of the Stone Age in the north. The find of a small isolated site of the Indus period near Rupar in the Sutlej Valley, coupled with the presence of a number of mounds in the submontane region of Ambala, gives the hope that further interesting discoveries concerning the extension of the Indus Valley culture and its survival may be made in this region.

Kashmir, the beautiful valley in the lap of the Himalayas, is the only part of India for which, as noted before, an indigenous written history is available for the pre-Muslim period. The task of identification of the many historical places mentioned in Kalhana’s Chronicle fell to Sir Aurel Stein, who successfully accomplished it and thereby laid the foundation of his world-wide fame as an explorer and archaeologist. When the Government of Kashmir opened an Archaeological Department in 1922, it turned its attention to the ancient sites, and eventually some of these were excavated, the result being in most cases a confirmation of Stein’s painstaking examination of Kalhana.

The most interesting remains discovered are those of a Buddhist settlement of Kusha^a period at Harwan (ancient Shatfahradvana)

consisting of a stupa and monasteries on a hill slope with unique terra-cotta plaques ornamenting the walls. Ushkar or Hu vis hkapura was another early

Buddhist site (named after the well-known Kushana emperor) where investigation brought to light an early stupa built in- the eighth century. Other sites where excavation was carried out are Parihaspur, Avantipur and the well-known Martand, all belonging to the period from sixth to ninth century A.D.

The United Provinces, constituting throughout the historic period “the middle country” (Madhyadesa) or the heart of the Indian sub-continent, hold the key to the solution of many a problem concerning the development of Indian culture. The vestiges of human occupation from the earliest times to the present day can be recognized here in the shape of mounds representing such famous cities of old as Mathura, Varanasi, ^ravastl, KauiambI and Ahichchhatra. Mathura and its neighbourhood have yielded to the digger the largest number of sculptural treasures, but systematic excavations in the modern sense have not been attempted on a proper scale. The small antiquities from the ancient site of Kauiambi, picked up by casual visitors, are more artistic and more numerous than those found anywhere else.

It is by systematic work on the city mounds that Indian archaeology can hope to lay the foundation of a more comprehensive knowledge of Indian antiquities. Such work was commenced at the site of Ahichchhatra in 1941-42 and continued for three seasons, with the object of separating and classifying the different strata of buildings and studying the finds associated with each cultural layer. As a result, the pottery, terra-cottas, and minor antiauities found in the excavation of the ancient cities of Northern India can now be assuredly relegated to definite historic periods such as Maurva. 6uiiga, Kushana. Gupta and Medieval, on the reliable basis of archaeological stratification instead of merely on grounds of style. One great desideratum to which attention has been drawn by critics from abroad is the absence of a properly classified corpus of Indian pottery through the ages. For this, ample material has now been collected from the Ahichchhatra excavation and from other regular excavations, though on a smaller scale, carried out at such sites as Raj ghat (Benares), Mathura, and one or two sites in the Punjab and north-west. The continental nature of the civilization of North India makes it inevitable that in each of the main periods the standard form adopted by the craftsmen of the central parts should be the guide for other .regions, no doubt with local variations. In certain special periods such as the Mauryan, when the Imperial influence radiated from the capital, it has been found that the special black glazed ware must have been centrally manufactured and specimens exported to outlying districts.

Apart from this the characteristic grey ware of the Sunga period. the variety of forms prevalent in Kushana times, and the beautiful decorated pottery of the Guptas can now hardly be mistaken, although they may have been manufactured in places as distant from each other as the Punjab and Bengal. The value of the accurate dating of pottery, which is the most abundant material found in surface explorations, has now been sufficiently realized, and this opens the way to a better approximation of the age of surface remains in the absence of such datable material as coins and inscriptions which are not always forthcoming.

In Bengal archaeological excavation has added a new chapter to the cultural history of the province where relics of the preMuhammadan period were almost non-existent on the surface. This was at the great site of Paharpur in the Raj shahi district which took the best part of a decade to excavate and preserve. Here the most remarkable find is the gigantic Buddhist establishment consisting of a towering central temple rising in terraces and surrounded by a vast quadrangle of monastic cells. The plan of the temple showing a grand square cross with projections between the arms, and the scheme of decoration of the walls by rows of terra-cotta plaques interspersed by fine stone images, have thrown a flood of light on the early history of art and architecture in Bengal. Some work has. also been attempted at Mahasthana, the site of ancient Pundravardhana, and at Bangarh, ancient Kotivarsha, two important cities of North Bengal. The latter work, conducted by the University of Calcutta, constitutes the only attempt made by an Indian University in the field of excavation, which has been thrown open to non-official effort by virtue of an amendment of the Ancient Monument Preservation Act passed by the Central Legislature in 1933. The casual removal of earth for erecting military establishments during World War II has brought to light many remains of ancient structures in the Mainamati Hill near Comilla. A preliminary survey indicates that they are the remnants of Buddhist establishments comparable to those of Paharpur, but no systematic excavation has yet taken place in this region.

In the provinces of Assam and Orissa the efforts of archaeologists have so far been confined to the investigation of standing monuments and existing ruins. ,

The Central Provinces and Central India constitute the richest field for epigraphical discoveries, but no systematic excavation of ancient sites has so far been attempted in the Central Provinces. In Central India good work has been carried on in Gwalior State where the remains of the ancient cities of Vidi&a (Besnagar), Padmavati (Padpia-Pav/aya), and Ujjain have been excavated by the state archaeological department. The great site of Sanchl in Bhopal has been well excavated by Sir John Marshall. There is a great scope for the detailed investigation of remains, both of the historic and prehistoric periods, particularly in the basin of the Narmada river which has already yielded remains of palaeolithic and microlithic industries.

In Rajputana, the late Sir Aurel Stein’s examination of the dried bed of Hakra (ancient Sarasvatl) has brought to light a number of pre-historic sites in the Bikaner and particularly B^hawalpur States. Systematic excavation in Rajputana is confined to Jaipur where the ancient sites of Bairat, Rairh, and Sambhar have yielded a large number of antiquities, including hoards of punch-marked coins and terra-cotta figurines. Bairat has a unique circular temple of the Mauryan times, and Rairh appears to have been a flourishing metallurgical centre and trade mart. The most extensive site in Jaipur is the city of Nagar or Karkotnagar, now represented by extensive mounds recently taken up for excavation which, if carried through, is sure to shed light on the history of the Malava tribe whose capital it was.

An important undertaking, recently initiated by the Archaeological Department and now taken over by the Ancient History Department of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, is the expedition which has investigated the prehistoric remains in Gujarat. This expedition, undertaken at first with a view to determine the relation of the paleolithic and neolithic remains found in the Sabarmati valley by Bruce Foote, the pioneer of Indian prehistory, has succeeded in bringing to light at Langhnaj, near Mehsana, Baroda, State, skeleton remains in an advanced stage of calcination in association with microlithic implements. The success of the expedition has induced help from the Tata Trust fund, and the further continuance of the work by a non-official body like the Institute ist thus assured. Minor excavations at various ancient sites such as Anhilpur, Patan, Amreli, and Mul Dwaraka were carried out by the Archaeological Department of the Baroda State.

In the Province of Bombay the prevalence of trap throughout the Maharashtra area accounts for the paucity of stratified accumulations at ancient sites. In portions of the Karnatak district of Bijapur recent examination of the surface has brought to light the existence of several strata going back to the pre-Mauryan age. Recent work at the ancient city of Kolhapur has also yielded considerable material of the Satavahana and later periods, incidentally throwing light on contacts with Rome.

The most important centres of Satavahana power were in the Deccan, and it is there that we must look for further extensive evidence of culture in the Satavahana period. The Hyderabad Government has conducted excavations in the ancient capital of Paithan (Pratishthanal and more recently at Kondapur in the Bidar district. The latter site is a veritable mine of antiquities which include numerous specimens of all types such as terracotta and stucco

figures, coins and medals numbering several thousand, and pottery. The material discovered here and at the great site of Maski has not yet been adequately studied, and it is essential that it should be properly published if its scientific value is to be enhanced. The Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State, started in 1915, has recently taken up the programme of archaeological exploration and excavation, and it may be confidently hoped that its work will be commensurate with the great importance of the remains situated in the dominions.

Mysore led the way among Indian States in archaeological investigation by starting a regular department over- sixty years ago. At first the activities of the Department were concentrated on a survey of the epigraphic material in which the state abounds, and on which the history of the dynasties that ruled Mysore is almost wholly based. Latterly some attention has been devoted Ip the excavation of ancient sites of which two have proved to be of very great value. The site of Chandravali near Chitaldrug was excavated in 1928 and shows several strata of occupation in which the Satavahana period seems to be most important. Brahmagiri, in the northernmost part of Mysore, shows not only the relics of the Mauryan town of Isila, but also those of later historic periods, and, what is more, was founded on earlier settlements of microlithic age.

In the Madras Presidency, the vast number of existing temples and inscriptions have absorbed the main attention of the Archaeological Survey. Although the number of sites of every period are numerous, excavation has so far been attempted only in some of the Buddhist sites in the northern districts and the well-known prehistoric burials at Adichanallur in the extreme south. Of the Buddhist sites the most important are those in the Krishna valley in which the local rulers of the Ikshvaku dynasty seem to have patronized art in a larger measure than any of their predecessors. Many ancient monuments before the organization of the Archaeological Department, such as the Amaravatl stupa in the Guntur district, had already been well nigh destroyed by villagers and other vandals and their sculptures distributed among different museums, including the British Museum. Recently the discovery of an important site at Nagarjunikonda has to some extent made up for the loss. Systematic excavation has brought to light another group of stupas and monasteries, arranged in a characteristic manner, which have yielded a vast number of sculptures and inscriptions. The site is beautifully situated in the Krishna valley and was anciently known as Sri-Parvata. A local museum has been built on the spot for housing the sculptures and architectural specimens unearthed. Some work was done recently at the site of Virampattanam, near Pondicherry, the seaport in which, as in many other south Indian sites, evidences of commercial contacts with Rome during the

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Imperial period are abundant. The problem of Megalithic burials in South India is vast and complicated, and much damage has already been inflicted by ill-advised digging on the graves associated with stone circles, urn burials, sarcophagi, etc., which occur over extensive areas in Southern India. At Adichanallur a large number of antiquities; including iron swords, daggers, gold and bronze diadems, bronze vessels and animal figures, etc., were found, along with a large amount of red-and-black polished pottery, forming the accompaniments of the burials.

The whole subject has now been assiduously studied and we can expect the results of these studies to throw light on the movement and settlement of different types of people in the Peninsula. The entire field of palaeolithic, neolithic, and megalithic as well as iron age cultures in Southern India is so vast, and transcends in interest investigations relating to the historic periods, that it is likely to form a major preoccupation for several years. The states of Southern India, including Travancore, Cochin, and Pudukottai, have each its own contribution to make to this subject, not to speak of the larger states of Hyderabad and Mysore.

No account of the activities of Indian exploration can be complete without reference to the work carried out in what may be called Greater India. The most brilliant work carried out by the late Sir Aurel Stein constitutes the greatest achievement that can fall to the lot of a single scholar and explorer. Sir Aurel Stein's activities were spread over a very wide field, including Baluchistan, Iran, and the border lands of India. But his most famous explorations were conducted in Chinese Turkistan. In the course of the several expeditions which Sir Aurel Stein carried out for the Government of India, he discovered numerous relics of the ancient civilization which developed in the region. These have been preserved in the dry sandy wastes and show the highly important part which India played in the Far East, and the way in which Indian cultural influences were spread there. The state of preservation of the fresco paintings in the Buddhist temples, wooden, silk, and paper documents, and other perishable objects is remarkable. These objects, recovered from Central Asia, have been carefully brought back and preserved in a special museum erected at New Delhi by the Government of India.

In Burma, which formed part of India till ten years ago, activities were mostly confined to the centres of Prome, Pegu, and Pagan. Excavation has been generally confined to opening up small mounds lying in abundance at these centres, particularly Prome, marking the sites of old stupas or temples. The earliest finds are those at Prome in which Indian influence is very prominent. Although Hinayana Buddhism and the Pali tradition have now acquired a great hold on Burmese Buddhism, it is clear that a large proportion of the earlier colonizers were followers of the Mahayana sect and the Brahmanical religion, and it was not till a comparatively later period that the Hxnayana triumphed over its rivals. Bilingual inscriptions from Prome show the language of the old Pyu inhabitants side by side with Sanskrit. At Pagan excavations have brought to light a number of finds belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when modern Burmese culture may be said to have originated. At this period Burma was subject to a great deal of influence from India, especially Bengal, in sculpture, painting, terra-cotta, and architecture. It has now been well established that the plannihg and scheme of decoration of Burmese temples and pagodas is based on Indian prototypes developed in the alluvial plains of Northern India for centuries.

In the Malay Peninsula exploration work has not proceeded on a large scale, but whatever has been done shows a strong Indian influence in the beginning of cultural history. The existence of the great, &rl-Vi jay a Kingdom in Indonesia, and its paramount influence over ithe islands in the Netherlands Indies, has now been clearly established by researches. The great monuments in Java, belonging la the Brahmanical as well as Buddhist faiths, such as the Barabudur, Chan^i Sewu, and Chaodi Lara-Jongnang amply demonstrate the extent of Indian culture. Lastly, reference may be made to the researches and explorations of the French archaeologists in Indo-China wliich have thrown a flood of light on Indian colonies of Champa (Annam), Kambuja (Cambodia), and D vara vat I (Siam), and led to the discovery of such monuments as Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom of world-wide fame.

In Ceylon there is yet a vast field for exploration and excavation, but work so far has been mainly confined to the ancient capitals of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. Originally European scholars were in charge of the work, but a properly trained Ceylonese scholar has now been appointed Archaeological Commissioner t and he is responsible for the excellent work done at th6 hill site of Mihintale stupa which is reminiscent of Sanchi. Several of the religious sites at Anuradhapura have received attention, but the vast remains of the ancient city have not yet been tackled. A large number of smaller sites in the south of the island have yet to be explored, specially for prehistoric remains in which Ceylon seems to be particularly rich, and a good beginning has been made in this direction by the Director Of Museums in Ceylon. Of all countries bordering on India, Ceylon is the most intimately connected with her culture both in the prehistoric and historic periods, and it is but natural that research in both countries should go hand in hand in close co-operation.

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Afghanistan has in several periods of its history formed part of India, and some of its most striking remains, as at Hadda, testify to the influence of Buddhism in that country. Some of the most important contributions to early Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics were based on finds made in Afghanistan. Recently a French mission conducted a series of excavations at Begram and other places which have thrown considerable light on its Indian connections.

In conclusion it may be observed that while archaeological exploration has been placed on a fairly strong foundation in this country and much has been achieved so far in bringing to light and interpreting first-rate material for the reconstruction of India's ancient history, a good deal yet remains to be done, and it would require the unabated efforts of generations of properly equipped archaeologists to bring the task to a reasonable state of completeness. While interest in the subject should be progressively widened throughout the length and breadth of this country, it is necessary that proper co-ordination should be established and much more financial support assured. Above all it is essential that a strong centre should foster and guide the activities of workers throughout the country. Indian unity, as exemplified throughout its history, is all the more necessary in the study of India's past, and any compartments] treatment is bound to result in stagnation. Through the immensity and diversity of India there runs a thread of unity which must be kept in view in any attempt to organise work for the systematic investigation of the past, and it is hoped that this consideration will never be lost sight of.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF

INDIAN HISTORY

It is a truism that the course of human history in a region is, in a considerable measure, shaped by its physical and geographical features, which, in turn, in the ultimate, are determined by the geological history the region has passed through in the dim vista of time. Five thousand to ten thousand years ago North India must have offered to the early settlers fr6m Asia, whatever race they belonged to, or from wherever they came, a congenial habitat, in pleasing contrast to the arid and inhospitable steppes of the AraloCaspian region, or the rugged mountains of the I ran-Af ghanistanTurkistan plateau. This migration to a quite new physical environment could not but have influenced and largely shaped the trend of history and civilization of the races involved.

Of the three natural physical divisions of India, as we shall see in the sequel, the part which was most suitable for human occupation and to function as the nursery of civilization is the great central tract of the Indo-Gangetic plains. Here were present all factors favourable for life—climate, food-supply, water, and vegetation. This vast expanse of flat alluvial plains of high fertility, watered by a number of perennial rivers, deriving their fertilizing waters from the snows of the Himalayas, must have attracted hordes of migratory peoples in successive waves from many parts of Western and Central Asia. The great alluvial plains of India extending from Sind through northern Rajputana, Punjab, U.P., Bihar, and Bengal to Assam, an area of over 300.000 square miles, must have offered, as the centuries passed by, an exceedingly delectable home to early man long before the earliest beginnings of recorded history. But the geological beginnings of the sub-continent of India, as we know it today, date back to an antiquity of which it is difficult to give a concent save in terms of astronomical figures of years.

Human history, proto-history, and archaeology begin where the last chapter of our planet's geological history ends. Man's existence on earth dates a long time behind the oldest known records of authentic archaeology, but fragmentary documents of his life in various regions of the earth, of his slow progress in culture and industry, and the relics of his contemporary animals lie buried in the top layers of the earth's crust—the strata of geology which form what has been called its Sub-Recent period. Thus the background of the history of all human races on earth is this zone of strata in the upper crust or shell of the earth's body, laid down in

surface deposits, river valleys, deltas, lake-basins, glaciers, etc. In these are preserved traces of the existence of man and of the physical and climatic conditions of the time; they are designated in general as the Pleistocene system, representing the last epoch of the third and latest division of geological time, the Cainozoic Era.

A full account of the Pleistocene under these heads is luckily preserved in India: it is of great value as linking up prehistory with the geological history of a large section of southern Asia. It was this age that saw the completion of the main outlines and relief of the earth as we see it today—its seas and continents, mountains, plateaux, and plains; though climatically the world had yet to witness one of the greatest revolutions, viz. the gradual freezing of the northern regions culminating in what is known as the Ice Age.

INDIA IN THE PLEISTOCENE PERIOD

1. The Setting of the Stage for Early Man in India

Pleistocene geological records found in India form an extensive and varied storehouse of materials for the last million years or so, immediately preceding the Recent and Sub-Recent epochs. They carry the human records forward to so late a date as the Neolithic (circa 10,000 years B.C). In terms of years the Pleistocene dates back, according to modem estimates, to one million to two million years. The formations enumerated below have an important bearing on man's prehistory as they contain in them numerous documentary relics entombed in the form of his skeletal remains, his artifacts and other proofs of his handiwork, industry, and culture. It is in these that the key to the stages of human evolution might be found.

The principal Pleistocene and Sub-Recent remains in India may be classified as follows:—

(i) Deposits of the Ice Age in India: Glacials of Outer and Middle Himalayas.

(ii) The Indo-Gangetic alluvium of the plains of North India.

(iii) The older alluvium of the peninsular rivers; high-level river terraces of the Himalayan valleys.

(iv Old Lake Deposits (Karewa Series) of the Upper Jhelum Valley in Kashmir.

(v) Cave Deposits: Human cave-dwellers and their animal contemporaries.

(vi) Laterite Cap of the Peninsula: Loess and soil.deposits.

(vii) Changes in the river-systems and drainage of North India.

(viii) The Desert of North India: the growth of desert conditions.

(ix) Late Earth Movements, volcanoes and earthquakes.

Interesting glaciological investigations have been made in the Kashmir Himalayas and in the Karakoram by a number of explorers and naturalists. The Central and Eastern Himalayas have not received the same* attention. It is, however, well Known that throughout these mountains grooved and polished rock-surfaces, produced by the scouring action of the glaciers, occur at elevations above 6,000 feet, whereas the present limit of Himalayan glaciers is 13,000 to 15,000 feet. Numerous lakes and rock-basins of Kashmir, Ladakh, and Kumaon directly owe their origin to the action of glaciers now no longer existing. Four distinct phases of glaciation, separated by three inter-glacial intervals, have been recognized in Kashmir by their moraines.

Whether India, south of the Himalayas, passed through an Ice Age has been a much-discussed subject. It must be understood, however, that the present zonal distribution of climate being assumed, we cannot look for the presence of ice even on the highlands of South India, because a refrigeration which can produce ice-caps in the latitudes of Europe would not be enough to depress the temperatures in India beyond that of the present temperate zones. But some indirect evidences of considerably lowered temperature are observed in the increased humidity and a succession of cold pluvial periods having affected the distribution of several cold-loving species of animals and plants then living in India. This enables us to explain the occurrence today of some Himalayan temperate flora and fauna in such isolated centres as Mt. Abu, Parasnath, in the Nilgiris and even in the mountains of Ceylon, and their absence throughout the intervening plains of India.

Man was contemporaneous, in N. W. India probably, with the two later glacial advances, as some late discoveries tend to show. De Terra records the presence of implements worked by man in deposits in the outer ranges of Kashmir and in the Soan valley, belonging approximately to the - second Glacial He correlates the European Chellean and Acheulian with the early Soan cultures and dates this as Mid-Pleistocene.

2. The IndoGangetic Alluvium of the Plains of North India

As noted above, by early Pleistocene time, the dominant features of India’s geography had taken shape, and the country had acquired almost its present form and its leading topography except that the land in front of the newly upheaved Himalayas formed a great longitudinal depression, complementary to the rising mountains, and parallel with them. This trough, at first occupied by salt-water lagoons, gradually freshened, and, receiving constant influx of detritus from the high ground above it, from hundreds of descending streams, began rapidly to be filled by the waste of the Himalayas. This long-continued vigorous sedimentation loading

a narrow, slowly sinking belt of country, the deposition of the debris keeping pace with the subsidence, has given rise to the great Indian plains. The continuous upheaving of the mountains must have rejuvenated the streams, multiplying their sediment-depositing power. Thus, these plains have come to acquire the simplest geological structure, the alluvial filling a large structural basin in the framework of India.

The greater part of the Indo-Gangetic plains is built up of very late alluvial flood deposits of the rivers of the Indus-Ganges systems, borne down from the Himalayas and deposited at their foot. But most of this terrain became firm and dry enough to be habitable for man only some 5,000-7,000 years ago. Buried beneath this mantle of clay and sand are valuable geological records linking up the Deccan with the Himalaya system. Its geological structure, composition and history therefore possess no great interest though, humanly speaking, it is of the greatest economic as .well as historical importance. It has no mineral resources, but its agricultural wealth and fresh underground water stored in the more porous and coarser strata, accessible by ordinary wells and tube-wells, are the highest economic asset of India. Though devoid of records other than those of the yesterday of geological time, these alluvial plains are the stage of the main drama of Indian history since the Aryan occupation.

The area of these plains is 300,000 square miles, covering the most thickly populated and the most fertile part of India. The total thickness of the alluvium consisting of beds of clay, silt, and sand is not ascertained, for the deepest borings (for water down to about 2,000 feet) have not reached the bed-rock. There is a considerable amount of flexure and dislocation at the north margin of the trough, where it passes into the zone of the parallel boundary faults at the foot of the Himalayas. This structural strain explains the well-known seismic instability of this part of India, it being the belt encompassing the epicentres of the majority of the known Indian earthquakes. Many of the river courses of the plains have undergone great alterations. These rivers are bringing enormous loads of silt from the mountains and, depositing it on their beds, raise them to, and even above, the level of the surrounding flat country through which the streams flow in ever-shifting channels. This has been the history of many of the rivers of the plains. The deltas of the large rivers were mostly constructed within prehistoric times, though their surface and outline have undergone material changes during the last few centuries. The Indus and Ganges deltas each cover about forty thousand square miles.

The extensive alluvial tract of Gujarat on the west coast is of the same age as, though quite unrelated to, the Indo-Gangetic system. Its constitution shows that it is not wholly the work of the rivers, but that in its making the combined agency of river, estuarine and marine coastal depositions has operated.

These ancient alluvial deposits are of value in the study of early and middle Pleistocene as they are characterized by the presence of some of the earliest undoubted traces of man's existence in India, and furnish an easily accessible field to the student of early human culture in India.

The alluvial plains of the Narmada and Tapti are remarkable as lying in deep rock-basins at over 500 feet elevation above the present beds of these rivers. Scattered in the clay, sand, and gravel beds are bones of the buffalo, horse, bear, an extinct species of rhinoceros, hippopotamus, elephant, and crocodile. A chipped stone hatchet, fashioned out of quartzite rock, was discovered hr 1872, buried in the steep face of a gravel terrace of the Narmada at a site eight miles north of Gadawara. This is the earliest prehistoric relic oi man discovered in India and is regarded as of the pre-Chellean Age. This fact suggests the settlement of the Narmada valley by an early palaeolithic race. Another valuable relic, also believed to be of genuine human workmanship, was discovered in a terrace of the upper Godavari at a level of about twenty-five feet above the present bed of the river. It is a knife fashioned put of an agate flake, 2\ inches long, the sharp cutting edge of which is blunted by long usage. From the association of human remains with large mammalia which differ from the existing Indian fauna in some material respects, the age of these implements can be taken to be Lower Pleistocene. The distance in time of these animals from their present-day descendants gives us some measure of the antiquity of the human settlements on the Narmada and the Godavari.

Various alluvial deposits of the Jumna-Ganges rivers and their tributaries are somewhat newer in age and have been assigned an antiquity intermediate between the Narmada-Godavarx beds and the Mid-Pleistocene, from the evidence of fossil-bones and the few artifacts that have been found in them. Lately signs of the existence of palaeolithic man have also been obtained from the valleys of the Tungabhadra and the Orsang. Recent discoveries since 1935 in the valleys of the Soan (near Rawalpindi) and in the Sabarmati of north Gujarat of interesting suites of stone tools, axes, scrapers, and choppers also throw light on the length of the epoch that intervened between the palaeolithic and the commencement of historic time.

3. Human Cave-Dwellers of India: Their Animal Contemporaries

But few caves of archaeological interest exist in India and out of these only one group has received the attention of palaeontologists and been subjected to systematic exploration. The only

ones that have been systematically investigated and yielded data on Pleistocene cave life are the group of small caves (Billa Surgam) near Banganapalli in the Kurnool district. From the stalagmitic floor a large assemblage of bones has been dug out, belonging to a mixture of Recent and Sub-Recent species, viz. a monkey, a hyaena, several cats, bear, a small equus, mongoose, bat, squirrel, a shrew, rats, small deer, gazelle, wild boar, along with an extinct type of rhinoceros, wild boar, civet-tiger and giant pangolin. Palaeontologists have assigned to this fauna a horizon near to the Upper Pleistocene top of the Palaeolithic. Among the human implements found in the Billa Surgam caves are numerous bone tools, very few stone tools being so far recorded. These are referred to the middle or upper Palaeolithic.

The Kurnool caves help to present a fragmentary picture of the land life that prevailed in India just prior to the time when man began to domesticate animals for his own use. This life bridges, the gap between the end of the Siwalik, a period of maximum development of the higher mammalian species, and the beginning of the Neolithic, when man began to take to pastoral and agricultural pursuits.

Since early Siwalik times there has been a more or less constant intercourse between East Africa, Arabia, Central Asia and India maintained by the migrations of herds of mammals. Pilgrim has stated that the magnificent assemblage of land mammals we witness in the later stages of the Siwaliks was not truly of indigenous Indian origin. According to him it is certain that it received large accessions by migration of the larger quadrupeds from Egypt, Arabia, Central Asia, and even from distant North America by way of land bridges across Alaska, Siberia, and Mongolia.

There seems little doubt that our races of domestic animals are the direct descendants of the post-Siwalik species through the greatly decimated population that inhabited the Kurnool caves and the basins of the Narmada and the Godavari. The Siwalik ancestry of the Indian camel and the buffalo is beyond any doubt, whilst the short-homed and humped cattle of India had as their progenitors the Bos primigenius of the Siwalik through Bos nomadicus of the Narmada age. With a varied and abundant animal population as their co-denizens in the fertile and well-watered plains of North India it is no wonder that early man in India was among the first to tame some of the more prized varieties for companionship and domestic service.

4. Laterite Cap 0 / the Peninsula and Soil Deposits

Among the geographical, geological, and geophysical factors which have influenced the course of history in India and governed the distribution of large bodies of population over its surface, the peculiar formation, laterite, is of importance. In many ways its influence was the opposite to that of the Indo-Gangetic alluvium, for whereas the country covered under this geological formation invited man's settlement and provided a hospitable base for sustaining life, the laterite rock terrains are generally soilless, comparatively sterile expanses of hard ground, difficult to till, and poor in surface and underground water resources, and drove man to easier conditions of existence.

5. Changes in the River Systems of North India during the Human Epoch

The hydrography of North India for a considerable portion of the Pleistocene epoch was profoundly different from what we find today. Few changes in the physical geography of India during early historical times and in Sub-Recent age have been so well proved as the changes in the river-systems of northern India. Following the great geographical revolution of the later Tertiary ages the old drainage lines of northern India have been radically altered and a new drainage system superimposed. The number, volume, and direction of the majority of the units of this drainage bear evidences of these changes, which in some instances, amounted to a complete reversal of the direction of flow of a principal river such as the Ganges.

The drainage pattern of Peninsular India is of great antiquity and has persisted more or less unchanged since the early Gondw&na era. On the other hand the northerly drainage of the Deccan, flowing to the shores of the Himalayan Sea (the Tethys) in Gondwana times, was completely disorganized in the beginning of the Tertiary, and subsequently during the late Tertiary and postTertiary all its main lines were buried under the' 200 mile wide belt of alluvial plains of the north from Sind to Manipur. The present valley system of northern India, one of the youngest hydrographic systems of the world, has inherited nothing from the old, it being an entirely superimposed drainage, with no relations whatever to the old river-courses.

6. The Great Prehistoric River of Northern India

Ample evidence is found on the subject of the common ances try of the Brahmaputra, Ganges, and Indus rivers, their reversal and capture before attaining their present state which has influenced the course of Indian history at many a turn and comer. It was the notable pre-historic river, named the "Siwalik river" by Pilgrim, that flowed from the head of the Sind gulf to the Punjab and thence along the foot of the embryonic Himalaya chains, through Simla and Nainital to Assam. Post-Siwalik earth movements in North-West Punjab brought about a dismemberment of this river

system into three subsidiary systems: (1) The present Indus from North-West Hazara; (,2) Tne live Punjab tributary rivers of the Indus: (3) The rivers belonging to the Ganges system which finally took a south-easterly course.

The severed upper part of the Siwalik Elver became the modern Ganges, having in course of time captured the transversely running Jumna and converted it into its own affluent. The transverse Himalayan rivers, the Alaknanda, Karnali, Gandak, and Kosi, which are really amongst the oldest water-courses of North India, continued to discharge their waters into this new river, irrespective of its ultimate destination, whether it was the Arabian Sea or Bay of Bengal. During Sub-Recent times some interchange took place between the easterly affluents of the Indus and the westerly tributaries of the Jumna by minor shifting of the water-shed, now to one side now to the other. There are both physical and historical grounds for the belief that the Jumna during early times discharged into the Indus system, through the now neglected bed of the Sarasvati river of Hindu tradition, its present course to Prayag being of late acquisition.

The Punjab portion of the present Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej have originated from the uplift of the topmost stage of the Siwalik system and subsequent to the severance of the Indus from tne Ganges. The Potwar plateau-building movements could not but have rejuvenated the small rivulets of southern Punjab, which until now were discharging into the lower Indus; the vigorous head-erosion resulting from this impetus enabled them to capture, bit by bit, that portion of the Siwalik river which crossed the Potwar on its westerly course to the Indus. Ultimately the head waters, joining up with the youthful torrents descending from the mountains, grew in volume till they formed the five important rivers of the province, having their sources in the snows of the Great Himalaya Range. The western portion of the broad but now deserted channel of the main river, after these mutilating operations, has been occupied today by the puny, insignificant stream of the Soan, a river out of all harmony with its great basin in thd enormous extent of the fluvialite deposits with which it is choked.

7. The Deserts of Western India: The Rann of Cutch

The origin of 40,000 square miles of the Rajputana desert with its curiously worn and sand-blasted topography is attributed, in the first instance, to a long continued and extreme degree of aridity of the region combined with the sand-drifting action of the south-west monsoon winds, which sweep through Rajputana for several months of the year without' precipitating any part of their contained moisture. A certain proportion of the desert sand is derived from the weathered debris of the rocky prominences of this tract, which are subject to the great diurnal as well as seasonal alterations of temperature characteristic of all arid regions. The daily variation of heat and cold in some parts of Raj put ana often amounts to 100 degrees Fahr. in the course of a few hours. The seasonal alteration is greater. This leads to a mechanical disintegration of the rocks, producing an abundance of loose debris, which there is no chemical or organic action (humus) to convert into soil.

The Rann of Cutch. —Once an inlet of the Arabian Sea and now a saline marshy plain scarcely above sea-level, its sandy metal enclosing deep pockets of millions of tons of pure salt, the Rann of Cutch bears signs of late geological alterations of level caused by earth movements and owes its present condition to the geological process of the Pleistocene age. From November tp March, the period of the north-west monsoon, the Rann is a barren tract of dry saltencrusted mud presenting aspects of inconceivable desolution. During the other half of the year it is flooded by waters of the rivers that are held back owing to the rise of the sea by the south-west monsoon gales. A very little depression of this tract would be enough to convert Kathiawar and Cutch into islands. On the other hand, if depression does not take place, the greater part of the surface of the Rann will be gradually raised by the silts brought by the river with each flood, and in course of time converted into an arable tract, above the reach of the sea, a continuation of the alluvial terrain of Gujarat.

8. The Meteorological Influence of the Himalaya Mountains

.The Rajputana desert conditions have thus accentuated with time, the water action of its few streams being too feeble to transport to the sea the growing masses of sand. Rut that the Indian desert is not of greater extent, or that it shows no tendency to expand in girth is due to the meteorological influence exerted by the Himalaya range. It has protected northern India from the gradual desiccation that has overspread Central Asia from Khorasan in eastern Persia to Mongolia since early historic times, and the desert conditions that inevitably follow in the heart of a continent.

9. Earthquakes and Volcanoes

Earthquakes .—The Peninsula of India is a region of great geological stability and is remarkably immune from seismic disturbances of any intensity. But in the extra-peninsular India the recorded earthquakes since even late historic times form a long catalogue of tragedies. It is a well-authenticated generalization that the majority of Indian earthquakes have originated from the great plains of India, or from their peripheral tracts.

Of the great Indian earthquakes recorded in the last two centuries and of which some accounts can be traced, the best known are:

Delhi, 1720; Calcutta, 1737;, Eastern Bengal, 1762; Cutch, 1809; Kashmir, 1885; Bengal, 1885; Assam, 1897 (one of the most disastrous earthquakes recorded in world history); Kangra, 1905; North Bihar, 1934; Western Baluchistan, 1935. The area encompassed by these quakes is the zone of weakness and strain caused by the severe crumpling of the Himalayas within recent times. The structurally disturbed and displaced belt has not yet attained stability of quiescence. It falls within the great earthquake belt which traverses the circumference of the earth east to west, from Japan through the whole breadth of Eurasia across the Atlantic and the North American continent to California.

Volcanoes .—There are no living or active volcanoes anywhere in the Indian region today. A recently extinct volcano lies far on the west border of India in the Nushki desert of Baluchistan—the large extinct crater of Kohi Sultan. The Malay line of living volcanoes—the Sunda Chain—-some of the most active volcanoes of the recent age, if prolonged to the north, would connect a few dormant or lately extinct volcanoes belonging to this region. Of these the most important is the now dormant volcano of Barren Island, to the east of the Andaman island group. The last time it was observed to be in eruption was early in the nineteenth century.

10. Late Earth-Movements and Local Alterations of Level

Though movements of the mountain-building kind have not visited the peninsular part of India for an immense length of geological time, there have been a few late vertical movements of secular upheaval and depression, some of these of considerable amplitude, involving uplift or sinking of large crust-blocks, while others were of minor or local type. Of these, the later minor alterations of level recorded within the Pleistocene concern us here. Within these times an appreciable elevation of the peninsula, exposing portions of the submerged coastal plains as a shelf or platform round its east as well as west coasts, is the most notable. Such "raised beaches" are found at altitudes varying from a few feet to 150 feet in many places on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, while marine shells are found at several places some distance inland far above the level of the tides. Marine and estuarine deposits of post-Teritary age are met with on a large scale towards the southern extremity of the Deccan. Besides these evidences of a rather prominent uplift- qf the peninsula, there are also proofs of minor, more local alterations of level, both elevation and depression. The existence of beds of lignite and peat in the Ganges delta, the submerged forest discovered on the east coast of the island of Bombay and peat deposits near Pondicherry are proofs of slow downward movement. Evidences of upheaval are seen in some coral reefs along the coasts, low-level

raised beaches on various parts of the Ghats, and recent marine accumulations above tide level.

The submerged forest of Bombay is nearly twelve feet below low-water mark and thirty feet below high water; here a number of tree stumps are seen with their roots in situ, in the old soil. On the Tinnevelly coast a similar forest or fragment of old land surface is seen slightly below high-water mark. At Pondicherry, 240 feet below ground-level, a thick bed of lignite is found, while in the Ganges delta layers of carbonized vegetable debris occur. About twenty miles from the coast of Mekran the sea deepens suddenly to a great hollow. This is thought to be due to the submergence of a cliff formerly lying on the coast. The recent subsidence, in 1819. of the western border of the Rann of Cutch under the sea, accompanied by the elevation of a large tract of land (the Allahbund), is the most striking event of its kind recorded in India and was witnessed by the whole population of the country. Here a tract of land, some 2,000 square miles in area, was suddenly, depressed to a depth of twelve to fifteen feet, and the whole tract converted into an inland sea. The fort of Sindree, which stood on the shores, the scene of many a battle recorded in history, was also submerged underneath the waters, and only a single turret of that fort remained, for many years, exposed above the sea. As an accompaniment of the same movements, another area of about 600 square miles was simultaneously elevated several feet above the plains, into a mound which was appropriately designated by the people “Allahbund” meaning “built by God.” The elevated tract of land known as the Madhupur jungle near Dacca is believed to have upheaved as much as 100 feet in quite recent times. This upheaval caused the deflection of the Brahmaputra river eastward into Sylhet, away from the Ganges valley. Since this change the Brahmaputra has again changed its course to the west.

In the foregoing account of the later geological deposits of India there is everywhere a gradual passage from the Pleistocene to the Sub-Recent and thence to the prehistoric and the Recent. These periods overlap each other much as do the periods of human history, and there is no general agreement as to the exact limits of each.

CHAPTER V

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND OF

INDIAN HISTORY

L PHYSICAL FEATURES

India is a vast country well marked off from the rest of Asia by its mountain wall on the north, north-east, and north-west, and the sea on the remaining sides. Roughly speaking, the territory comprised within it is about 2,500 miles from east to west and 2,000 miles from north to south, with an approximate area of 1,800,000 sq. miles. It has 6,000 miles of land-frontier and 5,000 miles of sea-frontier.

Looking broadly at the physical features of the country we can easily distinguish three main parts, viz. (1) the great mountain wall; (2) the great lowland plain of Hindusthan; and (3) the great Deccan plateau.

1. The Great Mountain Wall

The Himalayas which run in a south-east curve all along the northern front of India, and separate it from the plateau of Tibet, include several parallel ranges of lofty mountains, with deep valleys between them. They cover a region about 1,500 miles long and 150 to 200 miles in breadth. The Himalayas contain altogether about 114 peaks of over 20,000 feet, of which 75 exceed 24,000 feet. The best known are Everest or Gauri Sankar (29,140 feet), the highest mountain in the world, Kanchanjangha (28,176 feet), Dhaulagiri (26,826 feet), Nanga Parbat (26,620 feet) and Nanda Devi (25,661 feet).

The Hindu Kush mountains which run from the Pamirs in a south-westerly direction may be regarded as the natural boundary of India in the north-west, though considerable portions of the hilly regions to the south and east are now included in Afghanistan. Further south, the Safed Koh, Sulaiman and Khirthar mountains are now generally regarded as the north-western boundary of India, separating it from the Tableland of Iran. But large stretches of land to the west of this line in modem Afghanistan and

Baluchistan, like those to the south and east of the Hindu Kush, were for long both culturally and politically parts of India.

Running roughly southwards from the eastern end of the Himalayas are a series of ranges which form the mountain wall separating India from Burma. In the north are the Patkoi Hills which broaden into the Naga Hills and the Manipur Plateau and send out a branch westwards forming the KhasI, Garo and Jaintia

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hills. South of Manipur are the Lushai and Chin Hills, which narrow into a long single range, the Arakan Yoma, which reaches the sea at Cape Negrais.

These mountainous regions contain some high plateaus and valleys. Beginning from the west we have the plateaus of Baluchistan and Afghanistan which may be regarded as the continuation of the great plateau of Iran.

In these and the neighbouring hilly regions there are many secluded valleys which have been the home of sturdy tribes from time immemorial. They converted their high hills into so many impregnable citadels and maintained their independence even against powerful foes. The detailed accounts which we possess of the brave resistance which these small communities put up against such worldconquerors as Alexander or the Arabs form a brilliant chapter in the heroic annals of India.

Coming next to the Himalayan region we have the famous Kashmir Plateau, one of the most beautiful in the whole world. The green valley, at an elevation of 6,000 feet, is about 80 miles long and 25 miles broad. It is watered by the Jhelum river and is surrounded by snowy mountains 18,000 feet high. It has been justly regarded as “the earthly paradise.”

Further east lies Nepal, stretching for 500 miles along the Himalayan region proper, which is above 5,000 feet, and the subHimalayan region below that height. The latter may again be subdivided into two parts. The part near the Gangetic plain, known as the Terai, is very low and covered with marshes and coarse tall grass. The part near the mountains is covered with forest.

Both are damp and unhealthy. The Nepal valley proper covers a small area round its capital Katmandu. It lies between the basins of the Gandak and Kosi and is watered by the Baghmati river. It is a rich fertile plain surrounded by high hills and although only about 25 miles long and 14 miles wide, nearly a quarter of all the inhabitants of Nepal live in this valley.

The hilly regions of the east contain the plateau on which Shillong is situated. It juts westward from the main hills and separates the valley of the Brahmaputra on the north from that of the Surma on the south. The main hill ranges running north to south contain small plains like those of Manipur.

The plateaus mentioned above have been, generally speaking, detached from the currents of life in the country proper. The history of Kashmir, Nepal, and Assam forms, therefore, almost isolated chapters in the history of India, and only very rarely comes into contact with it. Afghanistan, being on the main highway between India and the world outside, has however, played a more important part than would otherwise have been the case.

The mountains form an admirable defensive rampart of India against invasion by land. The Himalayas present a formidable barrier to an army, though small'bodies of traders and missionaries can pass over it through difficult routes. The mountains in the north-east, though not an equally effective barrier, have for all practical purposes served India well. They are so steep and so densely forest-covered that to cross them is a task of abnormal difficulty, and no considerable body of foreigners is known to have passed through this route to the interior of the country.

The mountains in the north-west, however, have proved to be more vulnerable. There are several passes across the Hindu Kush and along almost all the chief rivers in this region, viz. the Swat and the Chitral running south, and the Kabul, the Kurram, the Tochl and the Gomal, running east to the Indus. But by far the most important route is the one that crosses the Hindu Kush through one of its passes, runs along the Kabul valley, and then descends to Peshawar through the Khyber Pass, a winding and narrow defile about 20 miles long.

Another well-known route runs, beyond the fringe of the Afghan mountains, from Herat to Kandahar, and then descends to the Indus valley through the Bolan Pass or the Mula Pass further south.

The third well-known route from the west followed the coastline and reached the Indus valley through the narrow gap between the Khirthar range and the sea. But the inhospitable Makran coast made this route far less frequented than would otherwise have been the case.

The two routes last mentioned were less important as gateways to India than the first. For just beyond the region where they debouch into the Indian plain stretches the great desert of Raj putana, which bars access to the interior of India. The Khyber route, on the other hand, leads directly across the plains of the Punjab to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains. Hence the northern route has been more frequently used by the foreign invaders of India. This explains the strategical position of the Khyber pass as the first line of defence, and that of the narrow plains to the west of the Jumna, above Delhi, as the second.

Thus although the mountains around India have not definitely shut it off from the rest of Asia, they have made even peaceful communication with the neighbouring countries a difficult process. Further, they have proved an almost insurmountable barrier against foreign invasion except through the Khyber Pass, which has been in all ages the gateway of India, and the key of its security from foreign aggression.

The Himalayas have not only served as a great barrier against outside intruders, but have also otherwise contributed to the welfare of India. By protecting her against the cold dry winds from Tibet, and serving as a great screen for the monsoon winds, they have increased the fertility and prosperity of the Indo-Gangetic plains. The numerous rivers fed by the glaciers of the Himalayas have served the same end. Some of these rise behind the Himalayas, in a valley which forms part of the Tableland of Tibet. In the centre of this valley lies the lake Manasasarovara (Manasarowar), and near it rises the lofty mountain Kailasa, both famous in Indian mythology. Close to this spot, at a height of 16,000 feet, are the sources of the Indus* and the Brahmaputra which run for a considerable distance, respectively, towards the west and the east, before they skirt round the edge of the Himalayas and take a southern bend to enter into the Indian plains. The great Himalayan ranges are thus held "within the arms of the two mighty rivers whose southern bends form the western and eastern limits of the greatest mountain ranges in the world."

2. The Plain of Hindustan

Within the mountain-wall described above, and stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal in a great curve, lies the great plain of Hindustan, nearly 2,000 miles long and 150 to 200 miles broad. It is formed by the basins of the three great rivers, the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, and their various affluents and tributaries. Not a hill is to be seen in this vast area. The great rivers all rise in the Himalayas and are supplied perennially from the gradual melting of the snow and the rains on the hills. Many of these rivers wind through small shallow rocky beds in the hills for a considerable distance, but as soon as they reach the plains their course becomes slow over the flat valley, their beds are broadened, and not infrequently these are shifted, often over a considerable distance.

These rivers play a very important part in the life of the people. Carrying sediment from the hills they have formed alluvial delta, often of considerable extent. Their perennial supply of water is an inexhaustible source of irrigation. Their long lazy courses through broad valleys have not only made the lands fertile but have provided good highways of communication. In consequence of all these, highly developed centres of culture and civilization have flourished on the banks of these rivers from remote antiquity.

The two principal river-systems are those of the Indus and the Ganges. The Indus rising in the Tibetan plateau runs west and north-west for nearly 800 miles between the great Karakoram range and the Himalayas. Passing through a tremendous gorge beyond Skarda it. is joined by the Gilgit river and turning south cuts its way through the mountains to the Plains. Five rivers, all originating from the Himalayas, and winding through the hills, reach the plains

and eventually join to form the Panchanad (five rivers) or Punjab. These are, from west to east, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Sutlej. They have changed their courses even in historic times, and the last two formerly ran in parallel beds for a long distance below their present junction. These five rivers, combined, ultimately join the Indus. The Punjab province, covered by them, is a broad flat alluvial plain.

On leaving the Punjab plain the Indus flows through a narrow rocky gorge into a broad dry alluvial plain bounded by the Plateau of Baluchistan on the west and the great Thar desert in the east. The region of the lower Indus valley—the modem province of Sind—would have been a desert but for this river which irrigates and renders fertile a considerable portion of territory on both sides of it. The Indus is to Sind what the Nile is to Egypt.

The Ganges issues from the Himalayas and has the character of a mountain torrent until it reaches Hardwar. It then runs, first from north-west to south-east, then almost due east, and finally takes a southern course before it reaches the sea. Its most important tributary is the Jumna on the west which, after a long parallel course, joins it near Allahabad. The tract between the two rivers is called the Ganges-Jumna Doab. Some of the rivers issuing from the hills of the Central Indian plateau, such as the Chambal, the Kali Sindh, the Betwa and the Ken fall into the Jumna, while the Son, further east, falls into the Ganges. - On the north the Ganges is fed by important tributaries issuing from the Himalayas, the chief among which are the Gumti, the Gogra. the Gandak and the Kosi. The Ganges falls into the sea through several mouths. The most important in ancient times was the westernmost called the Bhagirathi (the Hooghly), on which stand Murshidabad, Hooghly, and Calcutta. We can still trace some of its old beds like the Saraswati which was dried up in the 16th or 17th century. At present the main waters of the Ganges flow through the Padma, the easternmost mouth.

The mighty Brahmaputra, as noted above, has its source near the eastern base of the Kailasa mountain. Under its Tibetan.name of Tsan-po, it runs east for nearly 700 miles till it bends southwards and enters Indian territory under the name of Dihang near Sadiya. It is then joined by the Dibang and the Luhit, and the united stream takes the name of Brahmaputra. In old days it was known as Lauhitya, the trace of which evidently survives in Luhit. The Brahmaputra "rolls in a vast sheet of water, broken by numerous islands" through a narrow valley, about 500 miles long and 50 miles wide, shut in between the Himalayas in the north and the Assam hills in the south. It then passes through the plains of Bengal and joins the easternmost mouth of the Ganges, viz. the Padma. Before the combined waters of the two fall into the sea, they are joined

by other rivers from the eastern watershed between Bengal and Burma through the channels of the Meghna, another mighty river. As a matter of fact, the last part of the course of these united rivers is now popularly known as Meghna. The Ganges-Brahmaputra Doab and the deltas formed by them constitute the rich fertile province of Bengal.

3. The Plateau

To the south of the plain of Hindustan lies the great plateau which stretches over the whole of Peninsular India, except the coaststrips, up to its southern extremity. The plateau is divided into two important sections by ranges of mountains, which run across almost its whole breadth from east to . west. These are the two parallel lines of hills, the Vindhyas in the north and the Satpura mountains, a little to ▪ the south, which are continued eastwards as Mahadeo hills and Maikal range, and pass into Chota Nagpur Plateau. The Vindhya and Satpura mountains are separated by a narrow valley through which flows the great Narmada (Narbada) river. These hills with other outlying spurs and ranges constitute what may be called the Central Highlands, a formidable barrier which cuts off Northern India from the Deccan. The portion of the plateau north of the Central belt of mountains is known as the Central Indian plateau, and that to its south, the Deccan plateau.

(a) The Deccan Plateau .—The surface of the Deccan plateau slopes down from the west to the east. The western edge of the tableland forms a high precipice above the sea and is known as the Western Ghats, with a narrow plain between it and the sea. On the eastern edge, which is much lower, are the Eastern Ghats, consisting of groups of low hills separated by wide gaps, through which the great rivers from the north and the west flow down to the coastal plain and then to the sea. As we go southward the hills gradually recede from the sea leaving a coastal plain from 100 to 150 miles wide towards the east. Ultimately they take a sharp bend to the west and join the Western Ghats at the Nilgiris.

-The crest of the Western Ghats, exceeding 3.000 feet in height, forms a sort of protective barrier to the plateau which is consequently dry. The Western Ghats are about 1,000 miles in length and throw out many spurs in the east across the Deccan plateau. The plateau is higher in the south, being about 2.000 feet in the region of Mysore and half that height in Hyderabad. The southern point of the plateau is formed by the Nilgiri Hills where the Eastern and Western Ghats meet. Beyond it are the Cardamom Hills which may be regarded as the continuation of the Western Ghats.

Two major rivers in the Central Highlands, the Narmada and the Tapti, immediately to the north and south of the Satpura range, flow from east to west. The rivers in Peninsular India, however.

run from west to east. Many of them rise in the Western Ghats, only a few miles from the western sea-coast, but traverse the whole breadth of the plateau and cut their way through the Eastern Ghats. These rivers are very different from those of Northern India. Being only fed by the monsoon rains, they become so dry in the hot season that they are hardly navigable even by small boats. In the absence of a constant supply of water they are also less valuable for irrigation purposes.

There are several important river-systems in the peninsula. The valley of the Godavari and its tributaries constitutes a large stretch of flat land in the north (in C.P.), but it is narrow in the south and there are dangerous rapids where the river cuts through the Eastern Ghats. The valley of the Mahanadi also forms a broad plain (the Chattisgarh Plain) in the north-east, growing narrower as it passes through the Orissan hills to the sea.

The Krishna (Kistna) and its tributaries, of which the chief is the Tungabhadra, form another important river system which almost divides the Deccan plateau into two sections. This division is emphasized by the high

Mysore plateau which lies immediately to the south. In the Mysore plateau rises the Kaveri, another large river, which with its tributaries forms an important river-system in the extreme south.

(b) The Coastal Region .—As noted above, there is a coastal plain on each side of the plateau. On the west a narrow low-lying strip stretches from the head of the Gulf of Cambay along the whole coast. Its northern part is now called the Konkan, and its southern the Malabar Coast. As the full force of the monsoon winds strikes against the Western Ghats the rainfall is heavy in this region and several small and short streams flow across it, but there are no big rivers. In Malabar these rivers form many back-waters along the coast, which facilitate easy communication by boat and favour the growth of a few fine harbours. There are some good harbours also in the northern Konkan.

There is a similar low-lying strip on the east stretching south from the delta of the Ganges. It is much wider than the western strip and its southern part, known as the Coromandel coast, is very broad. Unlike the western strip, again, it is traversed by many big rivers. In addition to the lower courses of the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri (Cauvery) mentioned above, a number of smaller streams flow across it. The deltas of these four rivers form an important feature in the economic geography of the eastern coast. The Deccan plateau is also more easily accessible from the eastern coastal plains than from the western, where the steep cliffs of the Ghats rise abruptly from the plains to a great height. The eastern coast has few natural harbours, but there are open roadsteads having easy communications with the interior.

The two coastal regions running for a thousand miles along the entire lengths of the eastern and western sides of the triangular plateau gradually approach each other as the Peninsula narrows down towards tne south, and at last meet at Cape Comorin, the southernmost point of India. There is a small gap, about 20 miles broad, between the Nilgiri and the Cardamom hills, which provides an easy access from the western to the eastern coastal region, i.e. from the Malabar to the Coromandel coast. It is known as the Coimbatore or Palghat gap.

To the south-east of Cape Comorin lies the island of Ceylon, which, though not an integral part, has been closely associated with India throughout the course of history. The Gulf of Manar which separates it from India narrows northward to Palk Strait which is so nearly closed in one part by a chain of islands and shoals that the name Adam's Bridge has been given to it. Ceylon is shaped like a mango and its area is a little less than that of Mysore. It is mountainous in the centre, sloping down to flat and broad low-lying coasts all around. There are a few good harbours on the coast and, as in Malabar, there are many backwaters along the seashore.

(c) The Central Indian Plateau .—Between the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges lies the vast Thar desert, which stretches almost up to the Aravalli range. The Punjab plain, south of the Sutlej, rises gradually and fades away into this sandy waste, with bare rocky hills and waterless valleys. Beyond the Aravalli is the Central Indian Plateau which slopes gradually from the Central Highlands to the Gangetic plain, in the south, and ends in the east in the hilly and forested region of Chota Nagpur, which extends up to the plains of Bengal and Orissa. To the south lies the rich valley of the Narmada, which rises in the Maikal range and flowing almost due west, falls into the Gulf of Cambay.

The Vindhyas rise abruptly from the Narmada valley like a high rocky wall, and seen from the south, look like a regular mountain range with short spurs. But they slope gently to the north, without any steep fall or well-marked spurs, forming the Malwa plateau, the valleys of Eastern Rajputana and the tablelands of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. As noted above, all the rivers on this side flow into the Ganges or the Jumna.

The north-eastern outliers of the Vindhyas. such as the Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges! extend almost up to the Ganges south of Benares and then run parallel to this river, leaving only a narrow passage between them, till the Rajmahal Hills. Here a little beyond. the modem Colgong, only a very narrow defile separates the mighty Ganges from the high cliffs of the Rajmahal range stretching-for about 80 miles to the south. A little further to the east bevond the defile, the Ganges takes a sharp bend to the south and the hills gradually recede from its bank to the west of the wide plains of Bengal. This configuration of the land invested the long narrow passage between Chunar on the west and Teliagarhi on the east with great strategic importance from the military point of view;. This, the only high road between Western and Eastern India, could be effectively commanded by hill forts, and this explains the value of Rohtas, Chunar and, further west, of Kalinjar and Gwalior. Further east, the passes of Shahabad and Teliagarhi, separated by a distance of 3J miles, served as the bottleneck through which every invading army had to pass, and this "gateway" served as an admirable defence for Bengal.

The hills and forests of the Central Indian plateau from Bundelkhand to Chota Nagpur include many regions forming comparatively inaccessible retreats. They have given shelter to primitive tribes and enabled comparatively weaker peoples to defy the superior powers of the Indo-Gangetic plain. Thus the Central Indian plateau has profoundly influenced the history of India in many ways.

To the south of the desert and west of the plateau lie the rich lowlands of Gujarat covered by numerous low hills and watered by the rivers Mahl, Sabarmati, and the lower courses of the Narmada and the Tapti. This region includes the characteristic projection, known as the Kathiawar Peninsula, and the Bann of Cutch,. immediately to the west of it, which is now a great marsh and almost dry in the hot weather (cf. Ch. IV, § VII).

II. INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY UPON HISTORY

Like most other countries in the world the history of India has been profoundly influenced by its geographical features. These have been partly noted above and will be further evident as we gradually proceed with our historical narrative from age to age; but some general broad issues may be discussed here.

In the first place we. must note the vast dimensions and the varied physical-features of the country. In extent India is almost equal to Europe with the exclusion of Russia. It contains the highest mountain ranges, lofty plateaus,, extensive plains only slightly higher than the sea-level, sandy deserts, large rivers, fertile river-valleys and forests of all types and descriptions. Every variety of climate from extreme cold to extreme, heat is to be found in the country. All these factors tended to separate India into different local zones, each with a regional spirit of its own. Nevertheless India, being effectively shut off ‘by mountains and seas from the other countries and forming a compact territory, developed as a distinctive political and cultural unit, as compared . with the rest of the world. The Indian horizon was a large but limited one, and the common natural boundaries gradually led to a sense of a common motherland. The vision of a fundamental unity always loomed large and coloured the political ideals of the country. This ideal of political unity was rarely realized in actual practice but, as a political theory, it can be traced throughout the long course of Indian history. The cultural unity was, however, more manifest, being inspired by a common language, literature, and religious and social ideals. In spite of seeming diversity there was a large measure of cultural unity, and the goal of political union was never lost sight of. This unity in diversity is the keynote of the tangled history of India, and forms the background against which the seemingly complex developments in the various aspects of Indian civilization must be viewed.[1]

The natural barriers of hills and rivers largely determined the different political (and partly cultural) units into which India was divided. These natural divisions favoured the growth of a local and regional spirit and fostered separatist tendencies. The marked distinction between North India, the Deccan plateau and the peninsular plains to the south and east of the latter, led to the growth of three broad regions which maintained distinctive characteristics and generally played a separate role in politics throughout the long course of Indian history. In each of these regions political unity was frequently achieved or attempted with a large measure of sue* cess. But the attainment of political unity between any two of these,regions, even those to the north and south of the Krishna, was more difficult, and though there was almost a continuous struggle for achieving it, successful attempts were few and far between. The unity of the Hindustan plains, together with the Central Indian plateau, was rendered more difficult by the very large extent of the country. It was, however, not infrequently realized, at least to a large extent, and the struggle for its achievement was a constant feature of the history of India. But the occasions were, comparatively speaking, rare when a deliberate attempt was made to unite all the regions to the north and south of the Vindhyas.

The political history of India, generally speaking, thus resolves itself into separate histories of the three regions. But the points of contact between them, though infrequent, were not altogether absent, and under powerful dynasties, in all periods of Indian history, a considerable part of each of the three regions was brought under a common sceptre.

The three regions also exhibit similar, though somewhat less prominent, distinctions in cultural history. While the Aryan language and civilization swept over the whole of Northern India obliterating almost all traces of the pre-existing state of things, its success was less phenomenal in the south. Over a considerable part of the Deccan plateau, and all over the South Indian Peninsula to its south and east, the non-Aryan languages still prevail, and some older customs and ideas can yet be traced. On the other hand, these regions were profoundly affected by the civilization of the north. The primitive languages have accepted a considerable Aryan vocabulary, whereas religious and social ideas of the Aryans have almost completely transformed the old order of things.

Within each of the three natural divisions, again, there are sub-divisions caused by physical barriers, which have stood in the way of regional unity and affected the course of history. The great Thar desert, intervening between the plains of the Indus and the valley of the Ganges, has practically converted these two regions into separate units. This has been very unfortunate from the point of view of Indian defence. As noted above, the mountain passes through which foreigners could invade the country all converge on the Indus valley, and the bulk of the North Indian plains being separated from this region by the great desert, the resources of North India, far less the whole of India, could seldom be employed to guard these gateways. Moreover the desert, though effectively checking any aggression from the lower Indus region, permitted the invaders to bypass it through an opening on its north. The narrow plain above Delhi, bounded by the desert, the Jumna and the hills, was the bottleneck through which foreign invaders had to pass from the valley of the Indus to that of the Ganges.

This explains the strategic position of Delhi as an imperial capital and also how it is that the battle-fields of Panipat, and others near it, have often decided the fate of India. But the foreign invaders had the great advantage of forcing the main gateway and getting a strong foothold in the country, before they had to reckon with the main strength of Indian defence. Illustration of this meets us at almost every step as we go through the history of the foreign conquests of India.

The Thar desert offers a great contrast to the fertile plains around it, but its peoples, though scanty, have imbibed from the soil a sturdy character and love of freedom which sharply distinguish them from their neighbours. The hills and forests have imparted a similar hardihood to the people and supplied means of defence which are lacking in the plains. Besides, these regions, less favoured by nature and more difficult of access, have afforded shelter to the wild primitive tribes who were dispossessed of their hearth and home in the fertile plains by the more civilized conquerors of the land. Thus it is in the desert and the fastnesses of the hills and forests of India that we still meet with the earlier strata of population like the Kols and Bhils who have maintained, almost intact, the primitive characteristics which distinguished them thousands of years ago. To these geographical factors also largely belongs the credit that certain regions have earned by successful struggle for independence against heavy odds. The heroic struggle of tne Rajputs and the Marthas, for example, against the imperial powers of Delhi, was probably as much due to the nature of their lands as to the bravery of the people. To a less extent the strategic position of the Tehagarhi passes explains the frequent rebellion of Bengal against the Central authority of Delhi.

The extensive valley of the Ganges has been divided into several local regions by the large rivers, and the Indus valley, though comparatively smaller, is broadly divided into two by the middle and lower courses of the river. Thus in Northern India the modern provinces of the Punjab, Sind, U.P., Bihar, and Bengal, as well as the desert region of Rajputana, the plains of Northern Gujarat, plateaus of Malwa and Bundelkhand, and the isolated hilly tracts of Chpta Nagpur have the roots of their separate entities as distinct units dug deep into the past. No doubt racial and linguistic factors played some part in creating these natural regions, but no one can ignore the very large influence of the geographical factors, including the strategic means of defence afforded by nature.

The Deccan plateau was divided into several distinct regions by the two mighty rivers, the Godavari and the Krishna, and their tributaries; it was also separated from the coastal plains on the east and the west. The eastern coastal plain was divided by the Orissa hills and the estuaries of the two rivers named above. The region south of the plateau was sharply split into an eastern and western zone by the Nilgiris and Cardamom Hills, and the former was again subdivided, to a certain extent, by the Kaveri river. All these geo-, graphical regions had generally speaking developed into separate distinct units and retained their individuality through the ages.

Apart from these broad' regional distinctions, even smaller barriers of hills and rivers have tended to keep alive the spirit of local autonomy in well-marked political units created by them. Not only in the vast Hindustan Plains and Central Indian plateau, but even in the comparatively narrower regions of the Deccan plateau and South Indian plains, we find the influence of such regional politics from time immemorial, with a surprising tenacity that has kept up the isolationist spirit even amidst political catastrophes and kaleidoscopic changes of rulers and dynasties. The old kingdoms of Kosala, Magadha, Gauda, Vanga, Avanti, Lata, and Surashfcra in the north, and Kalinga, Andhra, Maharashtra, Karoaja, Chera, Chola, and Pandya in the south, among others, seem to possess eternal lives. Empires rose and fell, the whole country passed through a series of foreign invasions, but these states, under different names and various ruling dynasties, continued their individual existence almost throughout the cpurse of history.

The popular view about the lack of political unity in India ignores the vastness of its area and the natural barriers that tend

to separate its different regions. When we deplore political disunion in India we really view it on the footing of a comparatively small kingdom like Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia or Iran in the ancient world or a state in mediaeval or modern Europe. But we forget that there was not a single kingdom in any part of the world before the nineteenth century, of a size comparable to that of India, which maintained political unity for a considerable length of time. On the other hand, the important kingdoms of India, such as Magadha, Kosala, Malava, Chalukya, Chola etc. which, under varying names,, have formed its constituent parts since remote antiquity, can well be compared with the single states in Asia and Europe, both in ancient and modern times. As in Asia and Europe, so in India, two or more of these kingdoms have often been politically united, and we have occasionally even mighty empires comprising most of them.

India is almost as large as Europe, excluding Russia, or the whole of Western Asia, and can no more be treated as a single political unit than any of them. The consolidation of large kingdoms was very difficult before modern scientific achievements eliminated the effects of distance and natural barriers, but these were important factors in old days, and operated more or less in the same way all over the world. India, as a consolidated united kingdom, is well within the range of practical politics today, when the whole country is closely knit together by a system of railways, and even two of the remotest regions of India are more familiar to each other than were two neighbouring provinces in the good old days. Now the news of a revolt in the most distant part of India would be conveyed instantly to its political centre, and a large force could reach the scene of disturbance in a few hours or a few days. But things were very different in the days of Asoka when the peoples of his frontiers such as those of Taxila (Punjab) and Suvanjagiri (Mysore) hardly knew each other. If we remember that the emperor would not receive the news of any disaffection in these places in less than a month, and many months would perhaps elapse before his army could reach there, we need hardly wonder that the Maurya empire did not last for more than 137 years.

A considerable part of Indian history is a chronicle of unsuccessful attempts to set up a stable empire over the whole or greater part of India, the impulse to which was partly caused by political ambition, but in part arose or received its strength from a common consciousness of the cultural and geographical unity of India.

The vast extent of the country, and its comparative seclusion from the rest of the world, had other important historical consequences. As noted above, it made India a distinct and self-sufficient geographical unit, almost a little world by itself. An Indian ruler or a military genius had enough scope for his political ambition or martial enterprises within the natural limits of the country, and so the comparatively unknown regions beyond the high hills or seas held out no temptation to him. The distances covered by the campaigns of the most famous military leaders in the ancient world, and the extent of territory conquered by the largest empirebuilders in ancient times, could well be comprised within the limits of India. A Chandragupta Maurya or a Samudra-gupta, not to mention lesser names, could quench his inordinate thirst for military glory without crossing the natural boundaries of India. It is only very rarely that rulers like Kajendra Chola overstepped them and carried arms beyond the seas or hills. Thus while foreign conquest is an important feature in the history of Egypt and many ancient kingdoms ha Mesopotamia and iran^ it never figured as an important element in Indian polity. As a natural consequence of this, an Indian ruler would scarcely be expected ever to emulate the exploits of Thutmose III, Cyrus, Xerxes, or Alexander, and the vision of a Homan empire extending over three continents would be altogether out of place in Indian history. But at the same time, the conception of a distinct unity, as against the rest of the world, was promoted in India in a manner which was not to be seen in any part of the ancient world of equal magnitude.

The physical features of the country affected the lives and habits of the people. The valleys of the numerous rivers, specially the Indus, the Ganges, and their tributaries, offered easy means of communication and cheap livelihood. Hence their banks were studded with flourishing seats of civilization from very early times. The absence of keen struggle for existence gave opportunities for intellectual pursuits, and the wild beauty of nature favoured a speculative turn of mind and the development of philosophical ideas. But nature's bounty was unfavourable to the growth of physical hardihood or a tendency to scrutinise the mysteries of the physical world leading to a scientific spirit. This at least partly explains why art, literature, and philosophy flourished, but positive sciences made comparatively little progress in India.

The extensive coast-line of India fostered trade and maritime activity and made the Indians hardy mariners. From an early period they navigated the seas, both in the east as well as in the west, and their bold sea-faring exploits carried them to distant and unknown parts of the world.

The very narrow sea-board on the west was shut off from the interior by the precipitous Western Ghats and hence flourishing seaports arose only on its northern and southern extremities. For they had to be sustained by constant supply of industrial products from the interior. As the gap between the Nilgiris and Cardamom Hills in South India offered an easy means of communication between the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula, we find a

number of important harbours on the western coast in this neighbourhood.

The eastern sea-board contained important harbours near the mouths of the big rivers viz. the Ganges, MahanadI, Godavari, Krishna, and Kaveri, as they were important channels of communication with the interior. The Ganges being the only outlet to the sea for the extensive and populous regions in Northern India, the ports at its mouths became flourishing centres of trade.

The trade gave impetus to colonization and Indian colonies were planted even in the most distant regions in the Far East. The maritime activities of India were, however, almost solely devoted to peaceful pursuits. This is mainly due to the vast expanse of the sea on both sides of the peninsula. The direct voyage between the Indian coast and the opposite shore, either of Africa on the west or Indo-China and the East Indies in the east, was long and risky. The Indian rulers having enough scope for military enterprise and imperial ambition in the mainland itself, the dubious chances of success afforded by the sea could scarcely tempt them to devote their energy and resources to building a powerful navy in order to establish an overseas empire.

Only one Indian power, the Cholas, attempted such a bold enterprise after having acquired possession of almost the whole length of the eastern sea-board. But in spite of brilliant success in the beginning, it proved too heavy a burden and had to be abandoned. If India had the advantage, like Greece or Rome, of having a narrow sea with islands and mainland beyond it within easy reach, she might have developed into a naval power as did many of her colonies in Malaya and Indo-China, regions which offered these facilities.

Indian colonization was therefore the result of private individual enterprise, and not due to military conquest or an organized undertaking backed up by the State. No colony was the result of a single mass migration sent forth by an Indian ruler to relieve congestion or to expand his dominions. Sporadic settlements and gradual infiltration by bold Indians, who left home for various reasons and at different times, slowly built up these colonies, and consequently they had no political tie or even intimate association with the mother country. But they proved to be the milestones in the triumphant progress of Indian culture across a vast region. Had these colonies been within easy reach of India she might have built up a colonial empire such as the Greeks and Romans had done. But geographical factors determined the character of Indian colonization. It was to be a means to cultural conquest rather than political aggrandizement, of commercial enterprise rather than economic exploitation.

This brief review has sufficiently demonstrated the profound influence which geography has exercised upon the history of India. It is easy, but not necessary, to dwell upon many other particulars, for these will be evident as we proceed with our historical narrative.

In conclusion we must consider the effect of climate on the history of India. It is generally assumed that the tropical climate has enervated the people of India and mainly accounts for their failure to check the hardy mountaineers from colder regions, less favoured by nature, who were tempted to their country by its wealth and fertility. It has been regarded as an irony of fate that the agreeable climate and the vast plains watered by rivers, which have been the source of India's wealth and happiness, have also proved to be the main causes of her ruin by making their inhabitants fond of ease and luxury, devoted to the ideals and pursuits of peace, and less hardy and persevering than their opponents schooled in the hardship of nature.

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that at least a considerable section of the Indians have been always noted for their prowess and bravery, that the Rajputs, Marathas and Sikhs in modern times have not proved less hardy than any other peoples, and that the defeat of the Indians at the hands of the Western invaders cannot be ascribed solely or even mainly to the influence of climate. The facts of history seem to uphold this contention, as on a careful consideration of the details of the various campaigns, so far known, it would be difficult to maintain that the discomfiture of the Indians is to be attributed exclusively or even mainly to their lack of physical strength.

It is, however, a singular fact worth noting, that in the numerous recorded instances of the foreign invasions from the West, the Indians have almost always been defeated by the new-comers. This can hardly be regarded as a pure accident. Nor can it be explained away by a lack of unity among the defenders, for the invaders did not always possess a numerical superiority over their opponents.

The true explanation seems to lie in India's ignorance of the outside world. The rise of political powers or new political combinations, the evolution of military tactics, and the invention of new military weapons or fresh equipment, even in Central or Western Asia, not to speak of remoter countries, hardly ever interested India, though, as events proved, she fell a constant victim to one or other of them. The details of the defensive campaigns waged by Indian rulers leave no doubt that they were either unaware of the impending danger, and consequently not sufficiently prepared, or were outmatched by the new military formations or weapons to which they were complete strangers. The charge of a compact and well-disciplined cavalry force, held in reserve, has often proved decisive against the mass of elephants and infantry of the Indians, and yet they have never learnt the value of cavalry or the strategic importance of a reserve force. It may be noted as a typical instance that the Indian opponents of Babur were ignorant of the fire-arms which the latter used with such dreadful effect.

The reason for such ignorance is not merely to be sought in a spirit of isolation fostered by almost insurmountable barriers. It is also partly due to the fact that, for reasons stated above, Indian rulers had no occasion or temptation to carry on campaigns outside India. They lived and fought in their little world, vast enough for their personal ambitions and enterprises, and cared little for what was happening in the outside world.

Unfortunately, the physical barriers which shut off the vision of Indian rulers from the outside world were not strong or powerful enough to keep out all foreign invaders from Indian soil. When some of them did cross the barriers into India, they brought with them new ideas and forces of a progressive world with which India could not cope. But so strongly did the geographical factor operate, that as soon as these foreign invaders settled in India, they imbibed the insular spirit so congenial to her soil, and themselves fell victims to it. So it has been in the past, and so it is destined to be in the future, so long as the political vision of India confines itself within her natural boundaries of hills and seas, and does not look beyond to the world outside.

1. It would be wrong to think, as many do, that the conception of the fundamental unity of India is only of recent growth. This idea can be traced to ancient periods by the use of the common name, Bharatnvarsha, for the whole country, and the designation Bharati Santatih applied to the people of India. Thus we read in the Vishnu-Purana (ii. 3. 1) that “the country lying to the north of the ocean and to the south of Himadri (Himalaya) is called Bharata-varsha (land of Bharata), for there live the descendants of Bharata

(Bharati. santatih) ” Similarly the conception of the political unity of India appears from inferences to “thousand Yojanas (leagues) of land that stretch from the Himalayas to the sea as the proper domain of a single universal emperor,” and the conventional description in literature and epigraphic records of imperial domains stretching from the Brahmaputra (or Easte?*n Ocean) to the seven mouths of the Indus (or Western Ocean). As regards cultural unity, the findspots of Asoka’s records prove that one language and one script v/ere used, or at least understood, by common people all over India in the third century B.C. Since then the Sanskrit language and literature have throughout been a common bond of culture in addition to religious and social ideas and institutions.

CHAPTER VI

FLORA AND FAUNA

I. THE FLORA

The vegetation of a country depends on, and to a large extent is determined by, its geographical and climatic features, and India stands in a very favourable position with respect to both these conditions.

“There is no part of the world better marked off by nature as a region by itself than India. It is a region indeed full of contrast in physical features and in climate.” The extraordinary varieties in its physical features have been described above. The climate also varies from “torrid to arctic, from almost absolute aridity to a maximum of humidity.” It is greatly influenced by the monsoon winds and the distribution and orientation of the mountain ranges and their altitude. The annual rainfall varies prodigiously in different parts of India from 450 inches in the Khasi Hills of Assam to about three inches in the deserts of Sind and Rajputana. Its temperature also shows enormous variation with the changes of seasons. At some places during summer months it records 130 degrees or more in the shade and in winter it goes down many degrees below freezing point.

The soils of India, like its climate, comprise almost all the different types found elsewhere in the world. The alluvial soils of Assam, Bengal, the.United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana, Sind, Gujarat, the Godavari, Krishna and Tanjore districts of Madras and the eastern and western coastlands of the Deccan, are important for • agricultural crops and have made India essentially an agricultural country. The Deccan trap and the regur or black cotton soils of the greater portion of the Bombay Presidency. Berar, western parts of the Central Provinces and Hyderabad, in the valleys of the Taotl. God&varT, Narmada, Krishna and parts of Kathiawar, and the western portion of Central India, are very favourable to the cultivation of cotton, jowar (great millet), wheat, linseed and gram. The crystalline and laterite (red) soils of Madras, Mysore, the southeast «portion of the Bombay Presidency, the eastern half of Hyderabad, parts of the Central Provinces, Orissa, ChotS Nagpur, western borderland of Bengal, parts of eastern

Rajputana and the Bundelkhand region of Central India are fertile when dark coloured, and infertile when they are light coloured and sandy.

India’s contiguity to bordering countries has been responsible for the migration of a large number of plants from China, Tibet, Siberia, Malaya, Europe and South Africa, and they form the exotic elements of the flora ot India. The number of recorded species of flowering plants comes to about 17,000 under 176 families, and there are about 600 ferns and fern allies, 3,000 mosses and 178 liverworts. According to Chatterjee, 38 per cent of the flowering plants of India are exotic.

From their exhaustive and critical studies of the Indian flora Hooker and Thomson observe that “India contains representatives of almost every natural family on the globe. ..and it contains a more general and complete illustration of the genera of the other parts of the world than any other country whatsoever of the equal or even of considerably larger extent.”[1]

India is so extensive and varied a country that for a closer study of its vegetation it has been necessary to divide it into three botanical areas and six provinces. The three areas or regions are: the Himalayan, Eastern, and Western. The Himalayan represents a “rich tropical, temperate and alpine flora with forests of conifers, oaks, rhododendrons, and a profusion of orchids”; the Eastern, “a few conifers, many oaks and palms with a great preponderance of orchids”; and the Western “has only one conifer, no oaks, few palms and comparatively few orchids.” The Himalayan flora has in common many European genera; the Eastern, many Chinese and Malayan; and the Western, European, Oriental and African.

These three botanical areas are subdivided into six botanical provinces, based on their climate and physical characters, namely (1) the Eastern Himalaya, (2) the Western Himalaya, (3) the Indus Plain, (£) the Gangetic Plain including the Sunderbans, (5) Malabar, and (6) the Deccan, each characterized by its own flora.

It would be beyond the scope of this chapter to go into details of the vegetation of these provinces, but in order to give an idea of the immensity of India's vegetable wealth a brief enumeration of the principal types of vegetation is given below.

1. Forest Vegetation: its types

India is very rich in forests; as a matter of fact forests cover more than one-fifth of its total area. The forests of India supply valuable timber, firewood, essential oils, resin, turpentine, lac, dyeing material, tanning material, myrobalans, sources of paper pulp and other materials of commerce and industry

According to the variation in climate, altitude and habitat the forest vegetation of India is divided into five types: (1) the Evergreen, (2) the Deciduous, (3) the Dry, (4) the Hill, and (5) the Tidal or Littoral.

The Evergreen .— The dense and luxuriant Evergreen flourishes where the annual rainfall is over 80 inches and contains trees of many important families, such as the Dipierocarpaceae, .Guttiferae, Annonaceae, Meliaceae, Burseraceae, Sapotaceae, Euphorbiaceae,

and the Palmae. They include many species of great economic value, such as ebony, teak, rosewood, ironwood, bamboos, the jaman, the neem, and tamarind. In the Carnatic Evergreens the families Ebenaceae, Sapotaceae, Capparidaceae, Rhamnaceae and Myrtaceae predominate.

The sea-shores are skirted with coconuts; the villages are surrounded with groves of betelnuts and talipots; cassia, pepper and cardamom flourish wild in the jungles and form staple products of export. Sandalwood is found in 1 the outskirts of Malabar. Nutmeg, coffee, and tea grow in the hill slopes, and cinnamon flourishes in this region. Artocarpus , calophyllam, cedrela, dalbergia, dipterocarpus , and others occur in plenty. In Assam forests bamboos, palms, ficus, cycas, ferns, and others grow in abundance.

The Deciduous.—^ The Deciduous occupies the larger part of the Deccan and is also known as the Monsoon Forests. Trees are large-sized and form very remarkable timbers, such as teak, sal, padauk, redwood, sandalwood, anjan, species of Terminalia, Chlo roxylon 9 Swietenia , Diospyros , Acacia, Albizzia, and others. Of palms, Phoenix sylvestris and Borassus fiabellifer grow gregariously. The chief bamboos are Bambusa arundinacea and Dendrocalamus strictus; ferns and their allies are rare in these forests.

The Dry.— The Dry forests are found in the desert regions of Sind, Rajputana, and the Punjab, and the plants are characterized by thick and fleshy stems and leaves and mostly consist of thickets of shrubs and a few stunted trees; many of them are leafless. The chief families are the Leguminosae, Tamaricaceae, Rhamnaceae, and the characteristic trees are: the Jhand , various species of Tamar rix, Capparis , SaXvadora, Acacia, Phoenix sylvestris , Zizyphus , etc.

The Hill .—The Mountain or Hill forests are found in South India above 5,000 feet and in the Himalayas above 3,000 feet altitude. The trees are Evergreen, of which the following are .the most conspicuous: oak, picea, deodar, pines, firs, chestnut, walnut, maple, elm, ash, birches, laurels, pyrus, poplar, rhododendron, and species of abies. The prominent families of these forests are the Coniferae, Cupuliferae, Sapindaceae, Lauraceae, Magnoliaceae, Salicaceae and Urticaceae. Indian Bladder-nut and Lilac, Rosa toebbiana , moschata , and eglanteria, Parrottia sp., the .mountain ash, the bullace and the common hawthorn are peculiar to the Western Himalayas. Species of magnolia, musa, palmS, pandanus, bamboos, orchids, cycas, and ferns abound in the Eastern Himalayas. Beautiful herbaceous plants like anemone, aconites, violets, primulas and balsams abound. The alpine zones contain species of rhododendron, junipers and associations of dwarfish herbaceous plants, such as species of Rheum t Arenaria, and Saussarea . Both in the Eastern and Western Himalayas about 4,000 flowering species under

147-160 families, 230-250 ferns and their allies with eight tree ferns have so far been recorded.

The Littoral .—The Littoral forests are found in the deltas of the Ganges, the Mahanadi, and the Indus, and also to some extent in the regions washed by the high tide and salt water. They are rich sources of fuel. The whole of the Sunderbans is named after the Sundri (Heritiera) trees. The prominent families of these forests are: Khizophoraceae, Gramineae, Cyperaceae, Typhaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Verbanaceae and the two palms, namely, Nipa fruticans and Phoenix paludosa. In many places Avicennia, Nipa, and

Aegialitis form associations; Suaeda maritima , Acanthus Hidfolius, Sonneratia apetala, Ceriops roxburghiana, Bruguiera gym norhiza , Aegiceros major, and others are some of the dominant species of these regions. These forests are popularly known as the Mangrove Forests.

2 . Freshwater Vegetation

About 160 flowering species form the common water or marsh vegetation of India. The beautiful white, blue, and red water lilies, and their allies, the magnificent white and red lotuses, Euryale ferox, a relative of the Victoria regia , and Limnanthemum with clusters of white flowers lend charm and beauty to the fresh water lakes, pools* ponds, and other inland waters. Nymphoea alba , Caltha, and others occur in the lakes of Kashmir. Species of Lemna , Wolfia, pistia stratiotes, water hyacinth (recently introduced), bladderworts, and Ceratophyllum are conspicuous free floating aquatic plants, while water-chestnut, Ipomoea sp., waterferns, and many others are amphibious. Vallisneria , HydrHla , Ottelia, Najas , Chara f etc., form extensive floor vegetation in shallow water-courses. The Podostemonads are regarded a^*» the most remarkable of India’s freshwater flora in the rapid streams of hill slopes.

3. Cultivated Vegetation

An account of the vegetation of India will be incomplete without some notice of the large varieties of her cultivated -vegetation. As India extends, both horizontally and altitudinally, from the tropical to the temperate zones, cultivated crops of these zones all over the globe are being, or can be, grown successfully in India. Crop vegetation in India, as in other countries, is distinguished into four general types, namely: (1) the Hill, (2) the Wet (Monsoon), (3) the Dry (Winter) and (4) the Irrigational.

The total area of cultivable land in India is about 450 million acres, and of these nearly 285 million acres are actually under, cultivation. The following is a bare account of the principal crops and their distribution in India. These are classified under six

major heads, namely: (1) the Cereals, (2) the Pulses, (3) Sugarcane, (4) Oil seeds, (5) Fibre crops, and (6) Plantation crops.

Cereals .—The cereals comprise rice, wheat, millet, barley, and maize, the first two being the principal cereal crops.

Rice is cultivated in Bengal, Madras, Bihar, the United Provinces, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Assam, Bombay, and Sind, and covers about 70 million acres. Wheat is grown in about 35 million acres, and the principal wheat-growing provinces of India are the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Millet is extensively grown in Madras, Bombay and part of Hyderabad. There are two principal kinds: jo war (Andropogon sorghum) ahd bajra (Pennisetum typhoideum) f and the total area under millet cultivation comes to about 63 million acres. Barley is grown only over a comparatively small area in the Ganges basin of the United Provinces, Bihar, Peshawar, and Central Kashmir. Maize in small quantities is cultivated more or less all over India but in large quantities in the United Provinces, Bihar, Nepal, and the Punjab both in the plains and hills.

Pulses .—This important group includes gram, lentils, peas, arhar, and many species of Phaseolus, and the total area under cultivation approximates to 50 million acres of which gram alone occupies between 15-17 million acres. Gram is mostly grown in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces, Bombay, Hyderabad, and Mysore; lentils in the Central Provinces, Madras, and the United Provinces; and peas and other pulses in many parts of India.

Sugar-cane. —India is regarded as the original home of sugarcane and the present area under its cultivation exceeds four million acres. The most important sugar-cane growing provinces are the United Provinces, the Punjab, Madras, Bengal, Bihar, and Bombay.

Oil Seeds. —The importance of oil seeds is very great. Not only do they constitute an essential element in the diet of every Indian, but they are also in great demand for the manufacture of vegetable ghee, perfumeries, varnishes, paints, lubricants, candles soaps, and other similar products of commerce. The principa oil-yielding crops of India are rape and mustard, ground-nuts, lin- , seed, castor-seed, sesamum seed, etc.

The cultivation of rape and mustard is confined to the northern parts of India, in the United Provinces, Bengal, the Punjab, Bihar, and Orissa over an area of about six million acres. Ground-nut is grown over eight million acres chiefly in Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad, the Central Provinces, and Chota Nagpur. The area under linseed crop is about three and a half million acres distributed over the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, the United Provinces, Bombay, Bengal, Hyderabad, and the Punjab. Sesamum is grown in almost all the provinces of India, but mainly in Bombay, Madras,

and the Central Provinces. Castor oil plants as a principal crop are grown in Madras, Hyderabad, Bombay, and the Central Provinces. Coconut oil is derived from the copra of coconuts..

Fibre Crops .—Cotton, jute, and hemp axe the principal fibre crops of India. Of these, cotton occupies 25-27 million acres, jute 2.18 million, and hemp 0.6 million acres. Cotton is a dry-region crop and is grown in Bombay, the Central Provinces, Berar, the Punjab, Madras, the United Provinces, Bengal, Hyderabad, Baroda, Rajputana, Sind, and Mysore. Jute cultivation is restricted to Bengal, Assam, Bihar, and Orissa. Two varieties of Hemp, the Sunn and the Roselle, are grown in Bombay, the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, and Madras, and to a small extent in the North-Western Himalayas and Sind.

Plantation Crops. —The principal plantation crops are: tea, coffee, tobacco, rubber, indigo, opium-poppy, condiments and spices, fruits and vegetables including root crops. The area under tea cultivation in India is about 0.82 million acres in the hill slopes of Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Madras, the Punjab, the United Provinces, Cochin, Mysore, and Travancore. Coffee cultivation is restricted mainly to Mysore, Madras, Coorg, Cochin, and Travancore* the total area under coffee being about 0.2 million acres. Tobacco was first introduced to India in 1508, and the best tobacco is now grown over million acres in Bihar, Bengal, Madras, Mysore, Bombay, the Punjab, and Hyderabad. Rubber is mainly grown in Travancore, Madras, Coorg, Cochin, and Mysore. Indigo cultivation is confined to the Ganges valley, and Opium-poppy in Bihar and the United Provinces. Condiments and spices are grown mostly in South India and Assam over an area of 2 million acres. India’s fruits and vegetables, including root crops, cover an area approximately of 4.5 million acres and include grapes, oranges, apricots, pears, apples, bananas, mangoes, litchis, pine-apples, papaya, guava, water melons, and others. The coconuts provide delicious drinks and nutritious food, and are a source of copra and coir.

Before concluding this brief account of Indian vegetation, specific mention should be made of three trees which have figured in Indian vegetable-lore and literature since Vedic times: the banyan (Ficus bengalensis) , the pipal (Ficus religiosa), and the salmali (Bombax malabaricum) . The banyan with its spreading branches and prop roots, the pipal with its wealth of hanging leaves constantly fluttering in the wind, and the towering Salmali, a blaze of scarlet flowers in early spring are distinctive features of the Indian landscape.

2. THE FAUNA

On account of the great diversity of climatic and physical conditions in a vast country like India its animal life is so remarkably

varied and abundant that it is beyond the scope of the present chapter to give even a general account of the characteristic features of its fauna. We therefore propose to coniine our attention mainly to the vertebrate animals; for though the invertebrates are far greater in number and variety the vertebrates are better known and more beneficial.

1 . The Vertebrates

Amongst vertebrates, the mammals constitute the highest group and are of special interest as these include man himself. In India, mammals are well represented. Only the duckbill and spiny anteaters and the pouched mammals such as kangaroos and the opossum do not occur in India. Amongst the man-like apes. only the hooiock gibbon is found in India. This occurs in large troops in the dense forests of Assam and adjacent areas. The monkeys are represented by a number of species and include the langurs or hanuman monkeys, which have become famous by being connected with the story of the Hindu epic—the Ramdyana. These occur practically over the whole of India. The lemurs in India are represented by the slow loris occurring in the forests of Assam and the slender loris living in the forests of South India.

The various groups of land carnivores are well represented in india. Most of them, particularly the larger ones, constitute the big game. for hunting. Amongst these, the Indian lions are at present restricted to the forests of Kathiawar peninsula. The tigers are widely distributed throughout India—in the snowy Himalayas, in the evergreen forests and dry open jungles as well as in swamps of the Sunderbans. The panther or the common Indian leopard, the beautiful Himalayan snow leopard, the skin of which is in great demand in the fur trade, and the cheetah or the hunting leopard are the other large carnivores.

The smaller carnivores of the cat-group include, besides the various forms of cats, the civets, the mongooses, and the hyaenas. The other carnivores include the wolves, jackals, wild dogs, foxes, as well as the bears, weasels, and otters.

The hoofed mammals constitute an important group of animals. Because of the immense usefulness of many a member of this group, these play an important part in the economic life of human beings. The hoofed forms are either even-toed or odd-toed. The odd-toed forms are the horse and ass, the rhinoceros and the elephant. Rhinoceros in India is represented at the present day by the single race of one-horned forms, which is now restricted to Assam and the swamps and grassy jungles of low hills in parts of Nepal. The elephants and the horses are both notable for the part they played in the numerous battles fought on Indian soil in the early days of history. The even-toed forms include the cattle, sheep and goats,

deer, gazelle and antelopes, and the boars and pigs. The cattle in India include, besides domestic forms, the bison and the wild buffalo.

The sheep and the goats are chiefly Himalayan. The goats include the Himalayan form—the Asiatic ibex and the Nilgiri wild goat or the South

Indian ibex. The several races of deer found in India live in more or less thick jungles. These include the barking-deer, the barasingha or swamp-deer, the sambar, the spotted-deer or chital and the hog-deer. Another race found'in the high ahitudes of the Himalayas is the hornless dark brown musk-deer. The male of this race bears beneath the skin of the abdomen a gland, the secretion of which is known as musk, reputed for its various uses especially for medicinal purposes. The mouse-deer or the Indian chevrotain is another hornless race of very small size. The black buck, the only representative in India of antelope, has beautiful spirally-twisted horns. The Nilgai is an inhabitant of open forests whereas the four-horned chousingha lives in the forests in the hilly tracts of peninsular India. The chinkara or Indian gazelle lives in the deserts whereas the pigmy-hog occurs in the forests of Eastern Himalayas. Pig-sticking or spearing wild hog from horseback, is a favourite sport in India.

The insectivores include tree-shrews, hedgehogs, moles, and shrews. The rodents include the squirrels and marmots, jerboas, rats and mice, porcupines and hares.

The scaly ant-eater or Pangolin is common in India.

The bats include chiefly the large frugivorous flying foxes and the small insectivorous bats.

The whales and dugongs are marine animals and are occasionally found near the Indian coasts. The dolphin and the porpoise occur in the rivers.

The bird life of India has attracted considerable interest due to its remarkable variety and wide range of distribution The distribution of birds in India is not, however, homogeneous. Migration of birds is a well-known fact, but in India the migratory birds are few in number and the few that migrate into the Indian region come from the north only.

The familiar birds which are commonly found around human habitations include the crows, the house, maynti, and the house sparrow. The crows include the common house crow and the jungle crow. The ravens are larger in size than the jungle crows. The jackdaws and rooks found in Kashmir and parts of north-west India are winter visitors from the northern region.

The jackdaw has a musical and melodious call and it makes a delightful pet. Of the various maynds found in India the house mayna shares with the crow the distinction of being the most familiar and best known bird.

The magpies are beautifully coloured birds usually living in forests. These birds are very noisy and their call is harsh and unpleasant. Tits are small birds inhabiting chiefly the forests. The babblers and thrushes are gregarious birds feeding on the ground. They are noisy chatterers par excellence . Warblers are small birds usually living in open grassy tracts or sandy ground. The redvented bulbul is a common garden bird throughout India. It is reputed for us cheerlul call notes. Tne well-known Indian robin is the dayai, one of the best songsters. The shama is another famous singing bird of India. The familiar pleasant call notes of pee-ou-a produced by the golden oriole or the mango-bird in the mango season are heard in-gardens as well as in forests both at dawn and at sunset. There are many fly-catchers, which are usually small birds. Another familiar bird is the king crow which is frequently found to chase crows. It is a common sight to find this bird perching on telegraph wires beside the railway lines. The weaver birds are noted for the curious flask-shaped nests. they make. Tailor birds are well-known for their habit of sewing two leaves together with a piece of grass as a receptacle for their nests. Munias are smaller birds than the robins and are familiar cage birds. Besides the parrots with green plumage and long tails which are well-known as cage birds throughout India, the hill maynd is a notable cage bird with wonderful powers of imitating the human voice. Swallows and larks are usually winter visitors. These generally sing while on the wing. The woodpecker is a familiar bird in India. It has a long beak with the repeated strokes of which it removes bark and rotten wood from tree trunks exposing termites, ants, beetles and their larvae on which it feeds. Amongst the barbets which are usually grass green in colour and frugivorous in habit, the most familiar form is the Indian coppersmith found in most Indian gardens and is known by its repeated metallic call like the tap of a small hammer on metal in a monotonous manner for some minutes. Some of the buntings which are common in winter are notorious for causing damage in cornfields. The blue jay or roller is one of the best known Indian birds seen in gardens and orchards. With the end of winter it rolls in the air and with harsh screams declares the advent of the spring.

The kingfisher represents another group of common Indian birds. This has a beautifully coloured plumage. The hombill is a forest bird with a broad casque over the large curved beak. It is reputed to be the Garuda of the Hindus. The hoopoe is found throughout India and is noted for its loud hoofs repeated two or three times. The. common Indian swifts are famous as producers of edible nests. The nightjars are well-known for their peculiar notes in the earlier and later parts of the night resembling the strokes of a hammer on a plank. They are considered of evil omen.

The cuckoos include several forms and all lay their eggs in the nests of other birds. The call of the common Indian cuckoo is described as bou-kota-ko. The hawk cuckoo, commonly known as the brain-fever bird, is reputed for its monotonous call notes in the hot season, each repeated note being higher in the scale. The Indian koel is another familiar bird, frugivorous in habit and commonly found from March to July. Its call consisting of two syllables is familiar to everyone in India. The male is glossy black and the female brown and spotted. Koel lays eggs in the nests of the crows.

The owls are all nocturnal in habit. They feed on various small animals particularly the squirrels, rats, and mice which cause damage to crops and are therefore greatly beneficial to agriculture. It is probably for this reason that the owl is associated with Lakshmi —the goddess of wealth.

Indian birds of prey include the vultures, the different forms of eagle, the various kites, the falcons, the hawks, the sikra, the buzzard, etc., usually birds of larger sizes.

The pigeons, including the Blue Rock pigeon and the doves, are common throughout India whereas the sand grouse is common in open sandy tracts feeding on the ground.

The game birds in India include a variety of forms. Those living on land include the pea and jungle fowls, the pheasants, partridges, quails, etc. The pea fowls are famous for their splendidly coloured plumage and peculiar habit of being noisy at the approach of rain. The red jungle fowl is essentially a forest bird and is regarded as the ancestor of all domesticated poultry. The common quail is well-known as a bird for sport, a favourite delicacy for the table and a cage bird for fighting. The common grey partridges are usually captured with decoy birds and are favourite cage birds. Morning and evening the wild ringing notes of tit-ee-roo of these birds are amongst the familiar bird sounds of India.

Of the aquatic game birds the moorhen is widely distributed. Another one is the familiar water cock or Kora. This is often tamed for fighting. Others include the Jacana and the snipes.

Amongst the cranes, the well-known form is the Sarus crane. The gulls are generally found in sea coasts but also occur along with the terns about inland waters. The spotted-billed pelican is purely a water bird seldom seen on land. Other familiar aquatic birds are the common cormorants and the snake birds. The brown dipper is an aquatic bird characteristic of the hill streams of the Himalayas.

Ibises, storks, herons, and spoonbills constitute a well-known group of Indian birds.

Other notable birds living about well-watered regions include the ducks, the pochard, and the grebes. The Brahminy ducks commonly known as chakha and chakhi are found in pairs.

Reptiles .—The crocodiles and the snakes are the most notable animals amongst tne reptiles, which also include the lizards, and the tortoises and turtles. The crocodiles which are oh particular interest as attaciting human beings are represented by the fresnwater broad-snouted^ form Known as the mugger and by the estuarine crocodile. Crocodiles are often hunted for their sKin which fetches a high price. Besides these, one tinds the gharial—a purely iisn-eatmg river crocodile.

The lorms of land tortoises in India are few in number. The shells of these are prettily marked. The freshwater tortoises are .herbivorous and edible. Of the turtles, the freshwater forms are carnivorous and aggressive. The carapace in these is covered by a soft skin.

The lizards in India are remarkably numerous. These include geckos, chameleons, skinks, monitors, etc. The chameleons are common in the forest region of peninsular India. These are well known for their capacity to change colour. The skin of the monitor or varanus is in great demand, and there is a considerable trade in varanus skin.

The snakes in India have attracted much attention because of the large number of deaths amongst human beings and domesticated animals caused by bites of poisonous ones. India is the only country in the world where almost all the forms of known snakes occur. The worm-like subterranean typhlops are the smallest known snakes. The largest living snakes found in India are the pythons and boas. The common non-poisonous snakes are the rat snakes or dhaman, the carpet snakes, the grass snakes, and the water snakes. Amongst the venomous snakes in India the commonest form is the cobra with the hood unmarked or marked either with a single large ocellus or with two ocelli connected together by a curved line. There is also a black variety of cobra. Another deadly poisonous snake is the krait. This includes the banded ones with alternate bands of black and yellow. The large-sized king cobra is known to be extremely fierce and aggressive. The other poisonous snakes in India are the various forms of vipers. These have broad flat heads and are without hoods.

Amongst the snakes two forms deserve special mention. The tree or whip snake is a beautiful slender snake usually of green colour frequently seen in trees, bushes,, and creepers twined round the stems. Another one is the beautifully coloured kalnagini. Though its name implies its deadly venomous character, it is in fact a non-poisonous snake and is frequently reared as a favourite pet. The so-called double-headed snake carried by snake charmers has a blunt tail which is occasionally manipulated and furnished with glass eyes to assist in the delusion.

The Batrachians .—The frogs and toads representing the tailless batrachians are common throughout India in ponds, streams, and all damp places. Of the tailed batrachians only the Indian salamander is found in India. The apodous forms include the worm-like burrowers.

Fishes ,—India is remarkable for its abundant fish fauna which accounts for the large section of its population depending on fishes as the staple protein diet. The fishes exhibit a considerable diversity in their structure and habits due to the great variety of habitats in which they live. Besides living in inland rivers, streams, ponds, and marshes, they are found in the estuaries as also in the coastal regions and open seas. The marine forms occasionally migrate upward into the estuarine waters and similarly certain fluviatile forms pass down into the estuarine waters. Many fishes behave as larvaecidal agents. Use of such fishes against the growth of mosquito larvae plays an important role in the control of malaria —one of the prevalent diseases in India.

Amongst the cartilaginous fishes, which abound in Indian seas, some of the sharks and rays occasionally ascend large tidal rivers. The high nutritive value of the shark liver oil has opened up an exceedingly important trade in the fishing of sharks. The dried fins of both sharks and rays are exported to China while the flesh of some forms is regarded as a delicacy by certain people, chiefly of the poorer classes.

Amongst the bony fishes the most important are the carp. These are inhabitants of freshwater and many of them, particularly the major carp, bring high prices as edible fishes. Smaller carp are found in rivers and streams in large numbers. The scaleless cat fishes are well represented in India. Amongst the Indian herrings which include several coastal and estuarine fishes, the most important fish is the hilsa, the flesh of which is highly flavoured. Amongst the perch which occur in India in fairly large numbers, the most valuable and largely used food fish is the bhekti of Bengal which grows to a weight of 200 pounds. Others, which are reputed as good edible fishes, include the freshwater forms such as nandus, the estuarine or coastal forms such as the mango-fish, the mackerels, pomfrets, tunny, and the mullets. The notopterid chitals represent a well-known group of very compressed fishes. They are highly prized as good edible fishes due to the rich content of fat. Remarkable in India is the occurrence of the air-breathing fishes including the snake-headed fishes, the climbing perch, the scaleless fishes such as singhee and magur and the snake-like cunchia. These are found in every region where there is accumulation of water. There are several forms of flat fish in India. In the hill streams the sucker fishes occur. The globe fishes, pipe fishes, and the sea horses are a few other interesting forms found in the estuarine and coastal regions. Peculiar fishes of the estuaries and mud flats of the coastal region are the mud skippers. The flying fish which inhabit the open seas are common about India.

Lower Chordates ,—The lower chordates, including the balanoglossus, the sea-squirt, and the amphioxus are not uncommon in the seas around the coast of India.

2, The Invertebrates

Tne mver ieor ate group comprising me less-known forms of animal lite is in no way less important man the vertebrate one nor less remarxabic in variety ana numbers. Many invertebrate animals are airectiy benehciai to man wnereas many others are harmful, injurious, ana cause extensive damage to life and property. Many invertebrate animals provide articles used for commercial purposes and on these are basea various industries of man. Tne invertebrates constitute an enormously large section of animals and only a few of the more important lorms of the different groups are mentioned below in order to complete this sketch of the fauna of India.

The molluscs or shelled animals are well represented in India. They arc found in estuaries, in fresh waters, in coastal waters as well as in the open seas around. The bivalved mussels as well as various forms of snails, including the apple snails, are found in ponds. Many gastropods of both shelled and naked varieties and the squids, cuttle fishes, octopus, and nautilus are inhabitants of the seas. The gastropod shells commonly known as cowries are reputed for their use in the past as exchange money. The blowing of chanks or conches is associated with sacred ceremobies and there has developed a good trade in the way of preparing bangles from chank for the women folk of India. The molluscan shells provide materials for road construction and are used in the preparation of lime. The oysters are used as articles of food and provide the source for the development of pearls. The pearl oysters are found in the coastal seas. Pearl fishing was a highly developed industry in ancient India and there is a great possibility of this trade in future.

The arthropods forming the largest group of animals are well represented. Various forms of prawns, shrimps, lobsters, different types of crabs and the numerous small crustaceans occur in fresh waters, in estuaries, on sandy beaches, and in the seas. Amongst insects, in India are found the various forms of ants, wasps, hornets, honey bees, the cockroaches, white ants, numerous forms of butterflies and moths, the glow worms, mosquitoes of different types, locusts, grasshoppers, dragon flies, various forms of beetles, fleas, etc. Some predatory insects such as the praying mantis are beneficial by feeding upon injurious forms. The honey bee is of great benefit as producer of honey and wax. Some of the mosquitoes, certain flies and the fleas, are definitely harmful and injurious and they act as transmitters of diseases and agents in spreading sources of infection. The locusts are the most well know r n among those which cause extensive damage to crops, whereas the silk moths and the lac insects are but two instances where these produce valuable industrial and commercial materials. In India, where there is an abundance of vegetation, the insects, particularly the butterflies, play an important role in bringing about pollination and the dispersal of seeds. Peripatus—a form intermediate between the segmented animals and the arthropoda—is found in the forests of the hilly tracts of Assam. The centipedes and millipedes are common throughout India. The scorpions and spiders are represented by various forms. In the coastal seas of India the king crab is found in fairly large numbers.

Echinoderms, or the groups of animals including the star fishes, the various urchins, etc., are all marine and found in the seas around the coasts. Of the segmented animals, the earthworms and the leeches of various types, including the large-sized cattle leech, ate found all over India. The burrowing segmented form known as the nereis is found in the shallow coastal seas. Sponges occur chiefly in the seas but freshwater sponges are not uncommon in inland waters such as ponds. The coelenterates occur in abundance in the seas surrounding the Indian peninsula. These include the medusae, the jelly fishes, the sea anemones, etc. The skeleton, which is present in many of these, especially of the sea anemones, forms the different types of beautiful coloured corals including the precious red corals. The worms are represented by the round worms and by the flat worms, including the various tape worms. Most of these are parasitic on other animals, especially the vertebrates, and pathogenic, causing diseases. Various wheel animalculae occur in ponds and other freshwater regions. The protozoa or the unicellular animals include a large number of forms. Some of these such as the malarial parasite, the leishmania. the entamoeba, cause serious diseases in human beings and often bring about the death of the victim. Others, such as trvoanosoma, babesia, coccidia. cause diseases of domesticated cattle and fowl and thus lead to huge losses of prooerty. There are numerous free-living forms and also manv parasitic forms which are however not pathogenic.

1. Introductory Essay to the Flora hidica, p. 91.

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BOOK TWO

THE PREHISTORIC AGE

CHAPTER VII

PALAEOLITHIC, NEOLITHIC AND COPPER AGES

I. PALAEOLITHIC AGE

We have comparatively very scanty data on Early Man and his environment. Surface finds from the Punjab, Rajputana, Gujarat, Central India, Central Provinces, Karnatak, Mysore, South India. Bihar, Assam, and Bengal testify to the widespread existence of man who fashioned rough stone implements mainly of quartzite. These were similar in shape and make to those known to be palaeolithic tools in Europe, but as in a majority of cases their stratigraphic relation was not known, they could not be assigned to a definite geological age. Recent researches have, however, contributed materially to our knowledge of Early Man in three or four provinces of India.

We begin with the Punjab. Except for the fact that it was one of the earliest homes of the Aryans, nothing definite was known about its first settlers, prior to the glacio-archaeologic work of the Yale-Cambridge expedition in 1935. 2 It is now more or less established that Early Man first entered the foothills of the North-West Punjab, the area traversed by the Soan, Haro, and other rivers within the Indus-Jhelum Doab, and comprised within the Rawalpindi and Attock districts of the Punjab and Jammu in Kashmir State, at the end of the First Inter-Glacial Period and the beginning of the Second Ice Age in the south-west Himalayas. Human existence is testified to by the presence of large flakes which are found emb°dded in fan-shaped boulder gravels of this period (TO in the Siwalik foothills and plains in North-West Punjab. Punch, and Jammu.

I. First Inter-Glacial Age

Though the earliest implements of man have come from the immediately succeeding stratum, viz. the Boulder Conglomerate zone of the second glacial epoch, it would seem that man had actually inhabited the area almost at the end of the First- Inter-Glacial stage. The conditions for existence were not particularly favourable either for mammals or men in the Second Ice Age, to the first phase of which the Boulder Conglomerate stratum is assigned. The climate was not only colder and stormier, but the rainfall was heavier than today, as the deeply stained gravels and implements show. In fact only a few rolled bones of bovoids and proboscideans are found in this deposit.

So far implements have been found in the Boulder Conglomerate at five sites. Three of these—Kallar, Chaomukh, and Malakpur—are in the valley of the Jhelum and its tributaries, the fourth site is near Adial on the Sohan (Soan), and the fifth on the Tawi, a tributary of the Chenab near Jammu.

All the implements are made of quartzite and are in s worn condition. t The upper surface is usually unflaked except for one or two small irregular scars. The under surface, having flat bulbs, but prominent cones, must fce the primary flaked surface and has a large plain, unfaceted striking platform at angles varying from 100 degrees to 125 degrees. No retouch is visible except on one find from Kallar. The edges are broken, whether by use or naturally cannot be said.?

Typologically as well as stratigraphically this earliest Punjab industry differs from the rest and hence it is called the Pre-Soan industry, to distinguish it from the later industry most of whose sites are on the Soan.

2. Second Inter-Glacial Age and Early Soan Industry

The Soan itself has two distinct groups. The. early Soan and l$te Soan. Tools of the former group are found in Terraces To and Ti and later gravels mostly along the Indus. These have been observed at Khushalgarh, Makhad and Injra and at Gariala on the Haro river south-east of Attock.

Geologically these terraces are assignable to the Second InterGlacial Stage. This interval is believed to be very long, when the climate was drier, but owing to continued uplift of the Pir Panjel range, as evidenced by the tilted plains near Chaomukh and Jammu, there was great erosion. This may have destroyed the evidence of the rich contemporary fossil fauna without which man, whose existence is revealed by numerous sites, could not have lived in the area.

Unlike the Pre-Soan tools, the early Soan tools are made from varieties of fine-grained quartzite as well as fine smooth greenishgrey Panjal trap.

Patination and the state of wear divide these tools into three groups, which may be called A, B, C. Group A is the earliest and is heavily patinated, deep brown or purple and much rolled. Group B is deeply patinated like A but unworn, and Group C is less patinated and fairly fresh.

Among all these groups there are pebble tools, scrapers and flakes, the first-named predominating. There is evidence of typologic development towards smaller and neater forms, but it does not synchronize with the stratigraphic evidence.

The pebble tools are all prepared from smooth, rounded rolled pebbles and small boulders. These, when further subdivided, give us («) flat-based, and (b) rounded, pebble tools.

True discoidal cores often with a patch of cortex in the centre of one or both surfaces are also found in this group. These cores are similar to the Clactonian and early Levalloisian forms.

There are two kinds of flakes. The first has a high-angled plain platform and. though similar to the Early Soan B, is neater and better and more primarily flaked. In the second kind, much smaller, the angle is low arid the platform unfaceted. While there is evidence of use, on these tools there is very little of secondary flaking.

The Soan valley has also yielded other types of tools, probably of the Second Inter-Glacial Age, though they are roiled and occur in the gravels of the Third Glacial phase. These tools comprise hand-axes, cores and flakes, and a couple of crude cleavers. Typological Jy. very much rolled hand-axes are assigned to the Abbevillian or Lower Acheulian. and the less rolled, with more regular outline and neater step flaking, to the middle Acheulian.

Mention must be made of the few flakes which show typical Acheulian technique with plain platforms and parallel primary flaking, and one or two showing signs of crude retouching.

3. Third Ice Age and Late Soan Indust7 m y

Between the Early Soan and Late Soan industries intervened the Third Ice Age, and the latter are assigned to this period. During this glaciation which was comparatively less extensive, a vast amount of loessic (wind-borne) silt was deposited over the Potwar, a phenomenon which is attributed to the interaction of several factors: accumulated silt owing to inundation, erosion, mountain glaciation, and violent dust storms. Since the Late Soan tools come from the basal Potwar gravel and loess which is attributed to the Third Ice Age, it is suggested that Early Man had witnessed the beginning of these dust-storms in the Punjab where they are an annual feature in the summer nowadays.

Few fossils have been found in these huge loessic deposits. 4 But it is suggested that vegetation must have been more abundant in plains and the fauna may have been similar to that of the Narmada valley, where remains of horse, buffalo, straight-tusked elephant, and hippopotamus were discovered in association with Early Palaeolithic tools. However, the Potwar loess (perhaps its upper horizon) has yielded twelve types of fossil invertebrates, molluscs (fresh water and land) and gastropods.

The Late Soan industry^ is stratigraphically and typologically divisible into two groups. In Late Soan A some specimens are worn. Both pebble tools and flake and core tools occur, but the latter outnumber the former.

Among pebble tools, a form which appears late in Early Soan, viz. a “side scraper”-like implement, made on a roughly oval pebble, with cortexed butt on one side, and flaking along the opposite side, and a wavy straight or convex edge is common.

Three other earlier forms arc also found. But a new type is seen in a form where a small ovoid pebble is intentionally broken at an oblique angle to produce a flat base. Two or more flakes are struck upwards from the under-surface on the side that makes an acute angle with the bases. Some specimens exhibit retouch cn the edge.

There are many forms of cores. Flakes are of two types: (1) simple, and (2) with retouched edges.

Late Soan B tools are found in a deposit of wind-borne silt above the gravel of the Third Glacial Age. They are fresh and unworn.*

Mainly two types of cores occur, one of which was already noticed in Late Soan A.

Flakes again are generally of the LevalJoisian type. They are mostly blades or elongated flakes, and a few triangular or oval.

4. Third Inter-Glacial Age: Chauntra Industry

So far the only tools met with were pebble tools and flakes. But at a few sites, particularly at Chauntra on the Soan river, some totally different kinds of tools 7 were chiselled out from a gravel which may be of the Third Inter-Glacial Age. This was again a period of stream erosion, as a result of which the river beds were deepened, and lakes emptied. Mountain uplift also must have taken place. However, as in earlier stages, there are few evidences of loessic deposits.

5. Fourth Ice Age Tools

Pebble tools and flakes found at Dhok Pathan near Pindi Gheb on the Sil river, a tributary of the Soan, are supposed to be later, possibly of the Fourth Glacial Age. The tools which include pebble tools, cores and unfaceted flakes are “regarded as representing a late, localized industry of peculiar facies, showing marked similarities, in a greatly developed form, to the Early Soan industries of the Indus region.”

Early Man thus seems to have inhabited the Punjab from the end of the First Inter-Glacial period onwards right through the succeeding three glacial and two inter-glacial periods. As no human remains have been found along with the implements, it is impossible to say whether the same race witnessed such great climatical changes, and ultimately produced the fine hand-axe and flake industry noticed at Chauntra, or other races came at different periods, or the old and new races lived together.

The evidence detailed before indicates that pebble and flake industries developed together in the same area alongside the Abbevillian-Acheulian hand-axe industries. In the former pebble tools become smaller and neater, and the flakes of Clactonian facies —crude, umaceied and devoid oi intentional primary naKmg—are later associated witn neater lorrns sucn as Levauoisian type and have regular and convergent primary naKing, faceted piatxorms, and fine retouching, if any.

The hand-axe industry is for the first time associated with the Soan hake and pebble industry at (Jnauntra, and here alone it reaches its acme, flowering into a fine late Acheulian type.

On the basis of this contact, for which the evidence is so far. slight, De Terra has said that Early Man entered the Punjab together with nis hand-axe industry from the south.

After the Punjab comes Rajputana where stray, mostly surface finds have been made. The few Rajputana specimens come from Jaipur, Bundi, and Indargarh. 8 These are generally of quartzite, but reddish-brown sandstone accounts for one specimen. Among the tools two types of hand-axes are visible. One is pointed ovate and the other is ovoid. It is roughly chipped and called “Boucher” by Coggin Brown.

Rajputana leads us to Gujarat. Here, as elsewhere, only surface finds were made in the last century. But since the discoverer— Bruce Foote—had given good clues together with an excellent study of the stratigraphy of the Sabarmati valley, the task of obtaining stratigraphical evidence was comparatively easy. And it was obtained by the First Gujarat Pre-historic Expedition. 9 During its survey of the middle reaches of the Sabarmati, a distance of over 100 miles from Hadol in the north to Del wad in the south, five more palaeolithic sites were discovered. Of these the most important were Hadol, Pedhamli, and Ghadhara; of lesser importance Phudera, Aglod, Hirpura, Kot, and Warsora.

The implements are mostly fresh and a few only rolled or semirolled, with worn-out edges and flake scars. Typologically they comprise: (1) hand-axes (including sub-types), (2) cleavers, (3) scrapers, (4) flakes, and (5) pebble tools.

No clear evidence of sequence corresponding to the succession of the three or two main phases of the old alluvium, viz. the gravel conglomerate and the reddish'silt, is-visible in the industry. For the two main typologic features of the industry, which from the predominant tool type has to be called hand-axe industry, arc evident in practically all types of tools from the lower stratum. Thus there are:

(a) Tools with irregular line, rough 'step' flaking, and pebble cortex at the butt-end or over part of both the surfaces.

(b) Tools with regular outline, wavy edges, comparatively smooth "step" flaking and no pebble cortex or the cortex patch at a definite place.

While this is generally true, there are three specimens—two hand

axes, one pear-shaped, and the other very thin, perfectly symmetrical ovate, and an U-shaped cleaver—from the upper part of the reddish silt which are so fine as to suggest a late typologic evolution corresponding to the uppermost phase of the alluvium.

Typologically these three varieties of hand-axes bear close resemblance to (i) the Abbevillian-Early Acheulian, (ii) the Middle Acheulian, and (iii) the Late Acheulian industries of Madras and the Punjab as well as those of

Europe, and similar sequences observed in the Nile Valley and the rest of Africa.

A site bearing similar cultural products was discovered by the expedition in the Orsang valley at Bahadarpur. Here the gravel is loose and uncemented and is approximately at a height of twentyfive feet from the present river bed, and underlies deposits of black cotton soil and brownish silt. The top of the gravel yielded a few finds of quartz and quartzite. Unlike the Sabarmati specimens, the majority of the Orsang tools are rolled or semi-rolled and a few only fresh. Typologically these comprise (a) hand-axes, ovate, and pear-shaped, (b) flakes, one of which is a definite blade, and (c) pebble tools.

The Karjan, a tributary of the Orsang and Narmada, has also given a similar promise of the Old Stone Age culture. Here tools, hand-axes, U-shaped cleavers, of Vaal technique, beautiful discoids and pebble tools of trap have been found. 10

We next proceed to the Upper Narmada Valley, where strati* graphical data for the existence of Early Man are available. Unfortunately even now a complete idea of this stone industry cannot be formed, as the specimens found by the Yale-Cambridge Expedition are not fully described. However, the expedition succeeded in establishing the relationship of a middle Pleistocene fauna with an early Palaeolithic industry, a relationship which was so far presumed on the strength of a solitary tool—an ovate hand-axe from a site at Bhutara and fossil mammalian remains. Stratigraphic correlation is also attempted between the Punjab and the Central Indian Pleistocene on geologic and archaeological evidence. 11

Narmada Valley has given a glimpse of the various types of industries—Early and Late Soan and the Abbevillian and the Acheulian hand-axe-cleaver. At some localities there is a mixture of the different types, whereas at one locality near Narsinghpur the Late Soan seems to replace the Acheulian culture. De Terra, however, would tentatively suggest that the Narmada "lower group represents the true Acheulian and early Soan, and the upper group the Late Soan Industry." If this were really so, the two Narmada gravel groups could * be correlated with the Terrace (, Terracej, Terraces :{ -4 of the Punjab. Whether it was actually so or whether the various industries flourished simultaneously, the gravels' belong

ing to one geologic age, can be determined only by further research and collection of fuller data.

The rest of the evidence in Central India and the Central Provinces consists of surface finds collected in the last century from Saugor, Damoh, Kewah, and Bundelkhand. 12 In this region, which is the meeting-place of the three great geological formations, viz. the quartzite (which has principally developed on the west, in North Gujarat, and Rajputana), the sandstone (in Central India), and the trap (which extends from the Malwa plateau towards the south), tools of all these materials are found. Typologically the tools are similar to those of Rajputana and North Gujarat.

Further east a few finds have been reported from Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, from Paloncha, on the eastern outskirts of the Hyderabad State, and from Hyderabad itself. 13 So far Bengal had given few palaeoliths but recently a large number has been discovered at Kuliana, in Mayurbhanj State (Orissa). 14 The tools are quartzite and include:

(a) Pebble tools, some of which resemble crude hand-axes, and others cleavers. There are also choppers, ovate forms and awl-like pointed tools.

(b) Core tools, both faces worked.

South of the Vindhyas, after the Narmada Valley, the next important region is the Konkan coastal strip and the Deccan plateau. Little work was done in the latter, because of its peculiar geological formation. However, fossil fauna of the middle Pleistocene period was found at Mungi and Nandur Madhmeshwar in the Godavari valley. At the former site an agate flake was noticed in the same stratum. Following up these clues the present writer and his associates have been carrying out a systematic survey of the valley. It has yielded small flakes, blades, and cores of agate, jasper, chalcedony, bloodstone, and trap, 15 but no heavy tools like hand-axes or choppers.

Rude stone implements have been reported from the vicinity of Bombay since 1880. Much of this early work is, however, mere surface collection and not well illustrated. Slight but important is the notice by Todd 16 of Palaeolithic industries in the Salsette Island north of Bombay. Here at Borivli, Kandivli, and other suburbs he discovered tools comprising hand-axes, cleavers, flakes, blades, and microliths. It appears that hand-axes and cleavers were found only at Kandivli. Here no less than six strata were observed. Scrapers, cores, and choppers were found in "Lower Clay" and over its "top," forming the lowest stratum over the rock. Overlying this clay there is a deposit of reddish-brown gravel. In it were found many implements of Chellean and Clactonian type, and on its top, implements of Clactonian type in mint condition, as

well as late Acheulian types. The Konkan, with its sequence oi industries, thus promises to be one of the key areas for understanding the evolution of Stone Age cultures in Western India.

It is likely that similar early palaeolithic culture flourished in the-region lower down, in Southern Konkan and eastwards above the Ghats in the Karnatak area. Foote found an extinct type of rhinoceros and hand-axes in the hard kankar cemented shingle bed of the Bennihalla, a tributary of the Malaprabha in the Dharwar district, and also in the shingle bed of the Malaprabha itself in the Bijapur district. These tools are large ovate hand-axes and cleavers of quartzite, very much resembling similar tools from the Konkan and the Sabarmati.

Foote also found a few palaeoliths in the Mysore Karnatak. 17 Some he found "scattered on the pale quartzite shingle bed capping the-high ground south-eastward of the town of Kadur" and also at Nyamti, sixteen miles south of Shimoga; others from the laterite debris near the villages of Nidaghatta and Lingadahalli south of Sakrapatna. Two of the latter are of white quartz, all the rest of quartzite. The quartzite specimens are mostly patinated. There are no cleavers, the hand-axes are of oval, ovoid and triangular types. Discs and discoids are also found. No palaeoliths have been reported further south on the Malabar coast.

In contrast to these scanty notices of palaeolithic finds on the west coast of India, the east coast area with the suitable material from the Eastern Ghats has proved very rich in these finds. Barring the southern extremity, viz. the Tinnevelly district and some gaps from West Godavari district to Gan jam in the north, palaeoliths have been found from most other districts, viz. ▪ Madura, Trichinopoly, North and South Arcot, * Chingleput, Chitoor, Cuddapah, Anantpur, Bellary, Nellore, Kurnool, Guntur, and Krishna, of the Madras Presidency. Of these North Arcot, Chingleput, Cuddapah, Bellary, and Kurnool districts yielded the largest number.

In the Madura district the finds were collected "from a shingle bed in the alluvium of the Yaigai, on the left bank of the river, immediately north of Madura town"; in the Tanjore district from the "laterite deposit lying to the south-east of Vallam and southwest of Tanjore city"; in the Trichinopoly district "from the laterite forming the plateau east of Ninniyur, forty-five miles north-east of Trichinopoly town"; in the Bellary district "on the surface of the shingle fans lying along the foot of the copper mountain south of Bellary town," also from the Halakundi shingle fans and other sites; in the Cuddapah district from "thin spreads of laterite gravel, 77 in Rayachoti Taluk; in the North Arcot district "in connection with laterite gravels' 7 ; in the Chingleput district in the laterite conglomerate at various places; in the Nellore district "most

iy washed out of the laterite gravels resting, on the gneissic rocks"; in the Mancru valley; in the Kurnool district "in the valley of the Khunder near Koodrar in lateritic gravels"; in the Guntur and Krishna districts 'from the highlevel gravels" at Ippatam and Oostapalli on the Krishna.

The above review shows that the laterite beds in south-east India are implementiferous. But since Foote had not worked out the stratigraphy completely, nor indicated the typological relation between the finds from the laterite gravel and other gravels and the surface, the value of his large number of finds is mainly typological and not so much cultural.

This want has been to some extent supplied by Carnmiade's work in the Kurnool and Krishnaswami's and Paterson's work in the Chingleput district. Cammiade in collaboration with Burkitt has given a correlation of the sequence of industries and stratigraphy with that of climatic changes in south-east India. 10

According to these authors the tools can be stratigraphically and typologicaily divided into four main groups which synchronize with two dry and two semi-humid periods, the first two alternating with two pluvial periods. Tools found in the laterite pebble bed in the Bhavnasi gravels at Krishnapuram (78'* 73' and 15° 40'). on the western entrance of the Atmakur-Dornala Pass, “in the derived quartzite pebble bed" on the Ralluvagu and Yerra-konda-Falem (79’ 10-15' and 15' 40-45'j on the eastern entrance of the same pass, in “the derived laterite” bed on the bank of the Sagileru. at Giddaiur (73'* 55' and 15' 22-23') near the Nandikanama Pass, and from the upper part of the laterite overlying the gneiss basal bed at Gundla Bhrameshvaram. a little to the south of the Krishna, constitute the earliest series comprising hand-axes (of quartzite) rather roughly flaked, slightly rolled, and stained with laterite; whereas tools from the superimposed layer of red ailuvial clay at Krishnapuram constitute the second series comprising mostly flakes, and a few neatly made hand-axes (of quartzite, sandstone, and chalcedony). Tools of series three and four comprise microlith-like and microliths respectively.

The work of Krishnaswami ■ 3 and Paterson 20 has still further advanced our knowledge of the palaeolithic industries in the Chingleput district. The former discovered tools in the pre-laterite Boulder Conglomerate at Vadamadurai. whereas the two together observed a system of four terraces in the Korttalaiyar Valley, the laterite conglomerate of the Terrace T» at Attirampakkam yielding, os it did to Foote, numerous palaeoliths. typologicaily similar to those from the main detrital laterite overlying the Boulder Conglomerate at Vadamadurai.

The technical stages of two series of tools from the Boulder Conglomerate have been described in European terminology as re

prescribing the Abbevillian and the earliest Acheulian; that of the tools from the laterite gravel as resembling the middle Acheiilian; and that from the layer above laterite as “probably upper Acheulian. 5

The hand-axes and cleavers from the Attirampakkam laterite are considered to be Late Acheulian or, according to Krishnaswami, Late Acheulian, Micoquian, and Levalloisian. The Madras Museum abounds in collections from other districts: CudcLapah, Nellore, Anantpur, and Kurnool. Of these the collections made by Manley 21 from Nellore and Drummond from Kurnool deserve mention.

From the above review it would appear that practically every part of India except the great Indo-Gangetic plain has given traces of its hoary antiquity. But excepting a few areas, nowhere is the stratigraphical sequence of the Stone Age cultures worked out. Until this is made available, it would be hazardous to opine in what part of India Early Man originated, and what the exact relation 22 is either in time or between the Stone Age cultures above reviewed. ~The accepted geological antiquity of and the favourable climatic conditions on the eastern coast of South India, and the reported finds from the pre-laterite Boulder Conglomerate at Vadamadurai would, however, give ground for a view that Early Man in India originated in South India, and migrated towards the Punjab at the close of the First Ice Age.

2. THE MESOLITHIC AGE

The cultures which succeeded the Palaeolithic in Europe and certain parts of Africa exhibit certain definite features. On the correlation of these with stratigraphic sequence obtainable at a few sites, two main cultural stages have been recognized: (1) the Transitional or the Mesolithic; (2) the Neolithic. The old glacial conditions had more or less gone and Europe experienced a long dry spell. With the climatic changes the flora and fauna also changed, and most probably a new race of people entered Europe. Culturally, however, this new race was still in the hunting stage. It did not produce food. And above all the implements used were primarily of stone, though bone was also used.

But the nature of these tools is absolutely different. These are extremely small, about an inch or so in length. The technique of making them is also different. Hence they are called microliths or pygmy tools. Except a few Tardenoisian sites in France, and a few in England, most of these implements have been found from the surface, on loessic mounds, or in sandy areas.

Such microliths have been found in practically the whole of India. Foote 23 noticed them from almost all the districts of South India, including Tinnevelly. Hyderabad Stale. Gujarat. Kathiawar. Central India, Central Provinces, and Chota Nagpur, whereas

subsequent workers have discovered them in Cutch 24 and the Punjab 22 . But unnke Europe, these were all sunace collections. In the absence of startigraphical evidence or otner cultural objects from weii-conductea excavations it k not possible to assign the microiiths in all these areas to a mesolithic period, in some instances microhms appear in dolmens with iron implements; in others with pottery which can be dated to the fourth century B. C. Thus in different regions, according to their geographical situation and cultural development, microiiths have been in use as forming composite tools and weapons at widely different periods. These might extend from the mesolithic to historic times.

Small but systematic excavations at the site of Brahmagiri (Chitaldurg district, Mysore) and at Langhnaj (Mehsana Taluk in Gujarat) have produced evidence to show that at least at these two sites the microiiths might belong to the mesolithic cultural phase.

At Brahmagiri both neoliths and microiiths appeared at the five-foot level, but later at eight feet only, microiiths were found. 20 So it is suggested that at this site, called Roppa after the nearest village, micro-neolithic culture, comparable to the Compignian of France, flourished. Whether it is so old in point of .time cannot be determined, 1 for it yet remains to be proved stratigraphically, as has been shown in Europe, that such cultures are post-Quaternary, and earlier than -true Neolithic.

Almost similar is the case with notices of microlithic cultures in the rock-shelters in the Mahadeo Hills at Panchmarhi 27 and at LFchali 28 near Naushahra in the Punjab. At the latter site microiiths were found in association with neolithic-like pottery and skeletal remains of Homo sapiens , which were in very friable condition. At the former site pottery was found in the first few inches, but below it, a foot deeper, there was no pottery at all. Dr. Hunter who conducted the excavation thought the culture to be pre-Neolithic, whereas on the evidence of paintings on the rock, it is surmised that the culture cannot be older than the second century B.C. It must be said that Major Gordon, 29 whose study of the paintings is indeed scholarly, has not pointed out any stratigraphical or cultural relationship between the paintings and the microiiths. It. is quite possible that potsherds, which Dr. Hunter found on .the surface, belong to the earliest or some phase of the paintings, but that there is no connection between the paintings and microiiths,.

Excavations in the loessic mounds at Langhnaj, 30 as well as at Hirpura in Northern Gujarat, have recently brought to light a rich microlithic culture. Potsherds usually occur up to the first three feet from the surface, along with mircroliths and a few fossilized (calcified) remains of animals. Deeper, up to six to seven feet, only microiiths, in association with numerous bone splinters, including a number of large bones of animals (such as ribs, shoulder blades, astragalli, humerus, tibia, teeth, and parts of jaw, fish vertebrae, skeletons of lizards, and other many hitherto unidentified remains) together with seven human skeletons (one. intact, and the rest more or less incomplete) have been found.

From the total absence of metals, relative rarity of pottery, and the almost complete calcification of human and animal remains (which is by the way remarkable when compared with* similar finds so far made in India from historic and proto-historic sites, and Sub-Recent deposits in the Pot war loess) it is probable that the Gujarat microlithic culture is of considerable antiquity.

Racially these human skeletons show Hamitic Negroid characteristics, and hence might have been of people akin to those in North-East Africa and also proto-Egyptians. These folk lived on small hillocks and drew their water supply from the hillock-girt inundation lakes. They were primarily hunters and subsisted on such game as the cow, buffalo, wild horse, ox, sheep, goat, rats, fish, and crocodile. They must have used jungle fruits and other forest products, but so far we have not found any remains of these in the shape of stones, etc.

The crouching posture in which the skeletons have been found leaves no doubt that they were deliberately buried, with a definite idea of orientation. Out of seven skeletons four have their head facing the west, and the remaining three, one of which is that of a young woman, have their head facing the east. Large stones—pebbles of quartzite and portions of querns of sandstones—had something to do with the burial ceremony. For these are usually found near the head of the skeletons. The dog also must have played an important part in the life of these people, as so far two almost complete skeletons have been found near the human remains, whereas the rest of the animal remains consist of isolated fragments only.

Whatever the age or ages to which the microliths in India be ultimately assigned as a result of further research, the present collections, particularly those made in Gujarat, can be typologically classified in the following groups, each having several varieties or sub-divisions:

(i) Rectangular "blades.

(ii) Crescent blades. These are. primarily one-edged, the back side being made purposely blunt.

(iii) Scrapers. These are mostly thin, flat pieces with one side more sloping than the rest and edged.

(vi) Points.

(v) Cores.

3. THE NEOLITHIC AGE

The neolithic cultural phase in India is so far indicated by one of its main constituents, namely, stone tools. These, unlike those of the earlier cultures, bear unmistakable signs of polish, either all over the tools, or at the butt-end and the working end, or only at the working end. The material is also different. While the palaeolithic man seems to have preferred fine-grained quartzite, the mesolithic chalcedony, and other silicate varieties such as jasper, chert, and bloodstone, the man of this age liked to fashion his tools out of fine-grained dark-green trap, though there are examples of diorite. basalt, slate, chlorite schist, indurated shale, gneiss, sandstone, and quartzite.

How, when and by whom was this culture introduced, and the earlier replaced, cannot be said for want of suitable data. Polished stone implements have a very wide distribution. They have been found in several districts of South India, but particularly Bellary, Mysore and Hyderabad State, Central India, Central Provinces, Bundelkhand. Gujarat, Kashmir, West Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Like the microliths, these tools have also been found in funerary monuments along with iron objects. So they seem to have gone over well into Iron Age and early historic periods... ....

However, as in the case of microliths, excavations at two or three sites in India have shown that these polished stone implements or drilled hammer stones antedate the Iron Age. The first site is Brahmagiri, mentioned above. Here the neoliths stratigraphically lie below the early Iron Age and historical cultures, and above the microliths.

At Langhnaj, again, a large pierced hammer stone of quartzite with splayed hole from either side, and the front part of a polished celt have been found. 31 The celt has a broad rounded point and smooth, polished, biconvex surfaces; the other end is broken. The splayed holes and the absence of vertical drilling in stone tools, particularly hammer stones, are regarded a characteristic of the Neolithic Age in Europe, while the second implement recalls similar implements of neolithic type from South India and Bengal. Typologically these would be the only neolithic tools from Gujarat. For the large majority, classified by Foote as neoliths, are really microliths. And if other sites yield results similar to those obtained so far from Langhnaj, then the Gujarat microlithic culture will have to be assigned to a mesolithic period.

Excavating a megalithic monument at Burzahom in Kashmir De Terra found neolithic celts below a chalcolithic (?) layer in post-glacial loess associated with hard grey hand-made pottery decorated with incised designs. 32

The neolithic celts in India which have been so far illustrated 33 may be classified into the following types:

(1) Triangular outline with rounded corners, slightly convex working edge, the sides converging into a pointed but

round butt end (Coggin Brown, PI. V. 1, 9,13,15,19) polished all over on both sides (PI. VI. 1, 4, 8, 11, 14; VII. 2, 3, 4).

(2) Cylindrical or elongated oval, convex edge, sides converging into a pointed butt end, biconvex sides, polished all over on both sides (PI. V. 5, 8, 10; VI. 10, 3).

(3) Broad edge, with rounded corners, sides slightly tapering but ending in a broad convex butt end, surfaces unpolished (PI. V. 20).

(4) Oval and ovate, one end convex, the other pointed, polished all over (PI. VII. 5).

(5) Chisel-like triangular, almost straight edged sides converging into a rounded point (PI. VII. 1; IX. 6).

(6) Long, thin, slight convex edge, tapering sides, but broad straight butt.

(7) Convex edge, slightly tapering sides.

(8) Thin and pointed, rounded sides, broad butt polished all over (PI. IX. 12).

Hammer stones:

I. Hound without any hole.

II. Round or oval (PI. VI. 7) with a hole in the middle splayed from both sides (PI. VI. 9; VII. 6).

The above gives a very rough and tentative idea of neolithic tools in India. It needs to be improved by a scientific classification of the collections in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Government Museum, Madras, and in the museums at Mysore and Hyderabad.

Much has been said about neolithic culture. According to some scholars the people of this age understood the use of fire, made pottery, cultivated grain and domesticated animals. But as these theories are based on surface finds alone, no definite conclusions are possible until positive evidence is furnished by further excavations. The same remark applies to the views of those who would refer to this age the cinder-mounds, rude drawings in caves, as well as the so-called cup-marks or “small hollowed depressions in the rocks, M sometimes regarded as a system of writing. 34 It is highly questionable whether all these really belonged to the Neolithic Age. and hence no detailed account has been given of them.

4. THE COPPER AND BRONZE AGE

When metals began to be used is very difficult to say in the absence of stratigraphic sequence of cultures, and for want of unanimity of opinion on the age of the Rigveda and later texts which refer to a metal —ay as — interpreted either as copper or iron. Until the discovery of the Indus culture (which is treated in detail in Chapter IX) the only evidence for the presumption of a Copper Age in India

consisted of surface finds, mostly from the Ganges-Jumna Doab. Recently some finds have been made at Kallur in the Hyderabad State and a few copper and bronze weapons, tools, and vessels have been found in dolmens and other sepulchral monuments from Nagpur, Hyderabad, Madura and Mysore.

In spite of a few stray finds of copper or bronze weapons, tools, and vessels from South India, it would appear that Copper or Bronze Age cultures principally flourished in North India, in the great alluvial plains, stretching from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. And it is traces of these that off and on turn up in the GangesJumna Doab, the Punjab, and Sind. 3 "’

The raw materials—copper—for the tools could be had, as has been shown recently by Piggott, from the copper ore deposits in Rajputana and Chota Nagpur, and Singhbhum in Bihar, and Orissa. The finds from several hoards, the largest of which was from Gungeria, consist of tools, weapons and ornaments, such as axes, swords, daggers, harpoons, and rings.

Excluding the solitary socketed axe*edge from the upper levels of Mohenjo-daro, all the axes so far found are "variations of the most primitive form of metal axe, called usually 'the flat axe* or 'blade axeV These have been grouped into five classes by Piggott 36 according as they have parallel or tapering sides, straight or rounded butt, straight or convex cutting edge and are shouldered, elongated, etc.

All the swords found in the hoards from the Ganges 'valley, notably from Fatehgarh, near Farrukhabad, as well as at Kallur in the Hyderabad State, are practically of one type. The hilt and blade are cast in one mould. The blade is leaf-shaped, having a slight but distinct mid-rib. The hilt has antennae.

So far there is a single example of a dagger from an unknown locality. It is of the same type as the sword. The hilt and blade are of one cast: the blade leaf-shaped and ribbed, the hilt has. a common butt, with forth-jutting angle.

The harpoons provide a most interesting evolutionary series. Two or three main types are distinguished.

fa) The most primitive form has a rough blade with bilateral barbs, slight mid rib. a simple tang with one or more holes below the lowest pair of barbs.

fb) More advanced form in which the blade becomes a separate element, the barbs are placed below it. but still resemble in shape those of type a.

(c) The blade is now leaf-shaped, and the barbs curved, and twice the size of the other examples.

Besides these there are a few copper “riugs,” a couple of bent tools, with a “celt-like’* flat and “human-figure-like’* objects, and stylized lunate axe or lance-heads. 37

Whence and how did these copper or bronze weapons come to the Ganges valley? A definite answer cannot be given but it is suggested by Heine-Geldern 3b that the prototypes of the simple celtlike axes, as well as the various types of swords, daggers, and.harpoons can be traced back, through Iran, to the Caucasus and Danube valley, where these tool types existed at least before 1200 B.C. Hence he is of the opinion that in these stray copper or bronze objects, we have traces of the migration route of the Vedic Aryans Piggott is also inclined to the same opinion, though he would ascribe the harpoons, a product of riverine culture, to a group of foodgathering tribes who, living primarily on fishing, acquired a knowledge of metal working from some centre of higher culture and transformed their characteristic hunting weapons accordingly. How this culture-contact could have taken place has been shown by Heine-Geldern, who thinks that the forepart of the most advanced harpoons of the Ganges valley may have been influenced by the javelin heads from Transcaucasia.

This culture is supposed to be posterior to that of the Indus Valley because in the latter, besides the continuance of the use of stone tools—the blades, etc., resembling larger microliths—the copper tools and weapons are of the simplest type. The harpoons and the sword are so far absent and the flat, broad-edged axe-head is obviously a copy of the Palaeolithic U-shaped cleaver and the Neolithic celt, a fact which can be demonstrated bv tvnological studies, but not vet by stratigraphic sequence of cultures.

5. THE IRON AGE

The only evidence so far for assuming the transition from Copper and Bronze or Stone Age culture to the iron Age has come from megalithic monuments such as dolmens, cromlechs, cairns, and menhirs. These have a very wide distribution in India.- ’ They have been found almost all over South India, Karnatak, the Deccan, Central India, Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar, Assam. Rajputana. Gujarat (very few), and Kashmir. Only a few have been systematically excavated. This is enough to show that these monuments belong 'to different periods—-from the late pre-historic to historic periods.

The Kashmir (Burzahom) megalith is assigned to a neolithic period.[40]

The Ranchi monuments, 4 * some of which are credited to the* Asuras by the present-day Mundas, yielded such a mixed assortment-of- finds as polished stone tools, carnelian beads, wheel-made pottery, copper and bronze objects, copper and gold ornaments, and* even iron slags, that it is impossible to date the monuments to any one age*

The Rajputana monuments also yielded earthen vessels with lids, containing partially, burnt human bones, skeletons in flexed position, microlith-like flakes, etc.

Monuments south of the Vindhyas, those in the Hyderabad[42] and Mysore States,[43] and in the rest of South India,[44] particularly the monuments examined by Rea at Adittanallur, in the Tamraparni valley (Tinnevelly district), at Perumbair (Chingleput district), at Kaniyampundi (Coimbatore district) and Perungulam (Malabar), have also produced evidence of a varied stage of cultural development, which must not have been uniform even in peninsular India. Along with beautiful thin-walled red and black pottery of different types, and huge thick-walled ones, are often found microlithic flakes of agate, or crystal, carnelian beads, neolithic celts, and tools and weapons of iron and, at times, of copper or bronze.

If it is difficult in our present limited knowledge, to trace the transition from the Stone or Copper Age to the Iron Age through these megalithic monuments, it is no less difficult to understand the purpose and types of these monuments themselves. Most of these are funerary, connected with the disposal of the dead. But it has also been shown that megalithic monuments in Assam were connected with fertility rites and ancestor worship. 4 ' 5 Different motives have thus contributed to the raising of. these megalithic monuments, To unravel these and weave a cultural pattern out of the separate threads is the great task of Indian archaeology. But unless the monuments are studied scientifically no conclusions as to their true nature, age, and origin 43 can be formulated. 47

1. Das Gupta, H. C., Bibliography of Prehistoric Indian Antiquities , 1931.

2. See De Terra, H., and Paterson T.T., Studies on the Ice Age in India and the Associnled Human Cultures, 1939. pp. 301-10.

3. Ibid., PI. XXXI.. A and PI. XXXIII.

4. But the reason De Terra and Paterson assign (op.cit., p. 275) viz. "The windr borne nature of the silt, and its high percentage of lime," which is supposed to be unfavourable to the preservation of bones, does not seem to be correct. For in almost exactly similar soil, a fairly fossilized human skeleton and animal remains have been recently found in Gujarat. Cf. NIA, April 1944, and Preliminary Report of the Third. Gujarat Expedition, Poona, 1945.

5. De Terra and Paterson, op.cit., PI. XXXIX-XLII.

G. Ibid., PI. XLII.

7. Ibid., PI. XUII.

8. Brown, J. Coggin, Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, 1917.

9. Sankalia, H.D., Investigations into Prehistoric Archaeology at Gujarat, Pratapsimha Maharaja R.ajyabhisheka Granthamala, Memoir No. IV, Baroda, 1946.

10. Ibid.. PI. XII.

11. De Terra, op. cit.. p. 314. Full details of every layer are not given:

12. Brown, op.cit.

13. Ibid., and Foote. Notes on Ages and Distribution. 1916.

14. According to the brief summary given by Chattopadhyay, K.P., in JRASB(L). X.. pp. 97-8.

15. BDCRI. IV. 1-16.

16. JRAI. LXIX. pp. 257-72, PI. XTV.

17. For this and the succeeding paragraphs see Foote, Notes on Ages and Distribution, 1916.

18. Cammiade and Burkitt, Antiquity , 1930, pp. 327-39.

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19. Krishnaswami, V. D., Prehistoric Man Around Madras (Indian Academy of Sciences, Madras, 1938).

20. De Terra and Paterson, op.cit., pp. 327-33.

21. See Aiyappan. Manley Collection of Stone Age Tools, MASI, No. 68 (1942).

22. For a provisional correlation of the Lower Palaeolithic Cultures all over th^ world, see Paterson. “Qeology and Early Man,” Nature. 1940, pp. 12, 49, 51.

23. Foote, op.cit.

24. Gordon, JRASBL. VII, p. 129.

25. De Terra, op.cit .. p. 277.

26. Krishna, M.H., Mysore Archaeological Survey Reports. 1942, pp. 100-9.

27. Hunter, Nagpur University Journal. No. 1, p. 31 and No. 2, p. 127.

28. De Terra, op.cit ., pp. 277-8.

29. Gordon, Art and Letters. 3936, pp. 35-41.

30. Sankalia, op.cit.. pp. 64-100, and Sankalia and Karve, NIA, VII, 1-6, and Preliminary Report of the Third Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition , Poona, 1945.

31. Sankalia and Karve, Report of the Third Gujarat Prehistoric Expedition, Poona, 1945.

32. De Terra and Paterson, op.cit ., pp. 233-4 and Pi. XXIV.

33. The two main 'works are Brown's Catalogue, and Foote's Notes on Ages, etc., and Catalogue Raisonne. and Catalogue Madras Museum; sec also Das Gupta, Bibliography, which deals with finds made up to 1930-31. For later notices see annual Reports of the Mvsore and Hyderabad Archaeological Deportments.

34. Cf. CHI. I, 613-4.

35. These notices, were first collected and commented by Smith in I A, XXXIV, 229 ff. and XXXVI 53 ff.; Brown used these in his Catalogue (1917); brought up to date by Das Gupta, Bibliography (1931); reclassified by G. N. Mukherjee in IHQ, Vol. XI. p. 522; and some items commented by Heine-Geldern (JISOA. IV, 87-115) and Piggott ("Prehistoric Copper Hoards in the Ganges Basin," Antiquity, 72, December, 1944;.

36. Piggott, op.cit.

37. Smith, op.cit.; POC. IV, 1928, pp. 729-34.

38. Heine-Geldern, op.cit.

39. Das Gupta, op.cit., for notices up to 1930-31. Later notices arc mostly in the Reports of the Mysore (1932 and 1940, 1941. 1942, 1943) and Hyderabad Archaeological Departments (1937-40), ASI. and BDCRI.

40. De Terra, op.cit., pp. 233-4. PI. XXIV; and Kak. Ram Chandra, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, p. Ill, PI. XLIII; cf. also The Progress of Science in India during the Past Tiuenty-Five Years. 1938, pp. 309-33.

41. Roy, S.C., JBORS. I, 229-53, II, 61-77.

42. Hunt. JRAI. LIV, p. 140 ff.

43. Mysore Arch. Rep., op.cit. (See note 35 above).

44. Rea, ASI. 1902-‘03; 1904-05. p. 41; 1908-09, p. 92; ASI Southern Circle, 1910-11, p. 12. 1913-14. p, 43 and 1914-15. p. 39. Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Pcrumbair. 1915. and Richards. JRAI, LIV. p. 157 ff.

45. Hutton, JRAI. UI, 55 ff. and 242 ff. and LVI. 71.

46. For a tentative classification of ra^galithic—mostly funerary—monuments, known up to 1923. see Ghurye, MIA,- VI. 26-57: 100-39; Aiyappan’s recent summary in Proceedings of the Science Congress. 1945, Presidential Addresses, is useful.

47. The writer is indebted to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Director General of Archaeology in India for having gone through the chapter and making a number of suggestions.

CHAPTER VIII

RACE MOVEMENTS AND PREHISTORIC

CULTURE

It is strange (and somewhat difficult of explanation) that skeletal remains of Early Man in India, particularly in the prehistoric and early historical times, should be so scanty. This lack of material has. not allowed us to postulate with certainty about racial movements in ancient times, and any appraisement or reconstruction of movements of peoples in India, some four or three or even two thousand years ago, is bound to remain largely hypothetical, and based on or inferred from the present-day situation only. Race is not, of course, synonymous with language; but when a language was becoming characterized as a distinct type in a particular area and among a particular people in prehistoric times, it formed an important cultural expression of that people, and as such a connexion between the two is justified, always bearing in mind the great fact that language is after all but a secondary expression of culture and that it is largely transmissible from people to people.

Racial anthropology, dealing with the physical features of a people, has sought to analyse the various elements which have contributed to build up the population of India, irrespecti^ ot what cultural ethnology has to say about languages and cultures. Various views were advanced by diverse anthropologists about the racial elements in the population of India. Until recently, the view that occupied a position of prestige as a sort of official pronouncement on behalf of the Government of India was that put forward by the late Sir Herbert Risley. 1

This view, adopted in official publications and accepted very largely both in India and outside India without any questioning, divided the people of India, quite arbitrarily, with both inefficient data and immature science (not wholly free, it might als<f*be suspected. from political bias), into seven broad groups, labelled as Mongoloid. Indo-Aryan. Dravidian, Mongolo-Dra vidian,. Aryo-Dravidian, Scytho-Dravidian, and Turko-Iranian. An Indian anthropologist like the late Rama Prasad Chanda made a more systematized essay based on both anthropometric data and early tradition as preserved in

ancient Indian literature towards a determination of the various racial elements in India.[2]

The next advance in this direction was made in 1933 by Dr. J. H. Hutton[3] when a statement as to the race-cum-language-and-culture sequence in India was proposed which took note of the advance made in anthropology and ethnology since 1900. According to this

view, we have the advent of the following peoples in India from the outside (no kind of man originated on the soil of India, all her human inhabitants having arrived originally from other lands, but developing within India some of their salient characteristics and then passing on outside India), their names being given in an approximate order of their arrival:

(1) Negritos, brachycephalic Negroids from Africa, the oldest people to have come to India, now surviving in the Andaman Islands (where they have retained their language) and in Malaya; and traces of them seem to occur among the Nagas in Assam and among certain tribes in South India.

(2) “Proto-Australoids/* black, dolichocephalic, platyrrhine, apparently an early offshoot of the Mediterranean race, who came from the east Mediterranean area (Palestine). The Melanesians appear to be in their racial basis of this early Mediterranean ProtoAustraloid origin, with modifications from other races both inside and outside India.

◆

(3) Early Mediterraneans, v leptorrhine dolichocephals, who brought earlier forms of the Austric speech.

(4) Civilized or Advanced Mediterranean, leptorrhine dolichocephals, who became the “Dravidians” in India.

(5) Armenoids—‘a specialized off-shoot from the standard Alpine stock”—brachycephalic—probably came with the Civilized Mediterraneans (“Dravidians”) and spoke their language.

(6) Alpines—brachycephalic, leptorrhine: found in Gujarat and Bengal; earlier than Vedic Aryans, but probably speaking Aryan dialects.

(7) Vedic Aryans, or Nordics, leptorrhine dolichocephals who brought the Vedic Aryan (Sanskrit) speech.

(8) Mongoloids, brachycephals: not important for the greater part of India, as they touched only the northern and eastern fringes.

Finally, the most recent and authoritative view has been put forward by Dr. B. S. Guha, Director of the Anthropological Survey of India. 4 In his newest work, 5 giving ^ useful resume of the whole question, Dr. Guha has signalized “six main races with nine subtypes,” as follows:

1. The Negrito.

2. The Proto-Australoid.

3. The Mongoloid, consisting of:

(i) Palaeo-Mongoloids of (a) long-headed and

(b) broad-headed types.

(ii) Tibeto-Mongoloids.

4. The Mediterranean, comprising:

(i) Palaeo-Mediterranean,

(ii) Mediterx*anean, and

(iii) the so-called Oriental type.

5. The Western Brachycephals, consisting of:

(i) The Alpinoid,

(ii) The Dinaric, and

(iii) The Armenoid.

6. The Nordic.

Of the above races, (1) the Negrito is all but extinct on the soil of India. A small group of Negritos is still surviving in the Andamans, and traces of the Negrito race have been found among the Kadars and Palayans of Cochin and the Travancore Hills, the Irulas of the Wynad, the Angami Nagas of Assam and some of the Rajmahal Hill tribes in Eastern Bihar. The Negritos appear to have been suppressed and absorbed by other races which followed them, particularly the Proto-Australoids (2).

(2) The Proto-Australoids appear to have come from the West, and have become characterized in India. They survive in a good many aboriginal peoples of present-day India, although more or less mingled with other peoples. A branch of the Proto-Australoids passed on to Australia in very ancient times, and the "Austronesian" peoples (Indonesians, Melanesians and Polynesians) have a good deal of the Proto-Australoid clement in them. Throughout the greater part of India the Proto-Australoid peoples still live as the lower castes or sections of the Indian people.

(3) Of the various (3) Mongoloid groups, (1) the Palaeo-Mongoloids, sub-divided into two types, (i) (a) with a peculiar head-form resembling dolichocephal. occurring "as the more ancient stratum of the population" and forming "a dominant element in the tribes living in Assam and the Indo-Burmese frontiers" and (i)(b) with round heads, found among the less primitive tribes in Burma and in the Chittagong Hills, appear to represent a less developed group of this race. The (ii) Tibeto-Mongoloids are a more pronounced and advanced Mongoloid type, and they are found in Sikkim and Bhutan, and "must have infiltrated from Tibet in comparatively later times."

(4) The Mediterranean peoples also represent several strains or types, all long-headed. We have in the first instance (i) the Palaeo-Mediterranean type, medium-statured dark-skinned and of slight build: this is found largely in the Kannada, Tamil and Malaynlam tracts, (ii) The true Mediterranean or European type, taller and fairer than the Palaeo-Mediterraneans. occurs in the Punjab and Upper Gangetic Valley, and is supposed to represent the

civilized pre-Aryan “Dravidian” people of Northern India which became Arvanized in language and contributed largely to the evolution of the Hindu people and culture of North India, (iii) The

third Mediterranean strain, the so-called ‘'Oriental*' one, commonly miscalled the bemiuc or Jewish, with a pronouncedly longish nose and fair in skin, is found in the Punjab, in Bind, in Rajputana and in Western U.P., and it occurs also not unusually enough in other parts of'India.

The various (5) Bruchycephal groups really form sub-groups of one single physical type, and they appear tor at least their prototype appears) to have evolved in the Central Asian mountain regions. Brachycephalic peoples, both Alpine and Dinaric, appear to have spread over the greater part of India, the Dinaric type being well-marked in Bengal and Orissa, in Kathiawar, and in the Kannada and Tamil countries; and in Coorg it occurs in its purest form, in Gujarat the Alpinoid brachycephals show a greater predominance. Broad-head elements are found along the West Coast of India, excepting in Malabar; they are not found in the Telugu country. Early brachycephalic groups also established themselves in or passed through the Ganges Valley, as far as the delta, leaving traces or drifts in Central India, Eastern U.P. and’Bihar; another line of migration is found along the Himalayas, from Chitral and Gilgit to Western Nepal. The Parsis of Bombay are a lately arrived brachycephalic group allied to the Armenoids —they present a contrast to the long-headed Iranian Zoroastrians tGabrs or Guebres) still living in Persia.

Finally, we have the (6) Nordic Aryan-speaking group of India,, who gave to India its Aryan speech, and by their organization, imagination and adaptability helped to bring about a great cultural synthesis leading to the foundation of the Hindu civilization of India. These Nordics seem to have been characterised in the Eurasian steppe lands and they entered India some time during the second half of the second millennium B.C.^ Nordic elements are strong in parts of the North-West Frontier of India, particularly along the upper reaches of the Indus and along its tributaries the Swat, the Panjkora, the Kunar and the Chitral rivers, and in the south of the Hindu Kush range. In the Punjab and Rajputana and in the Upper Ganges Valley

Nordic elements are present (although more and more mixed with other racial elements as we proceed further to the east), particularly among the higher castes or groups; among certain sections elsewhere in India, the Nordic type predominates, e.g. among the Chitpavan Brahmans of the Maratha country. The original Nordic type is supposed to have been tall, fair-skinned, yellow or golden-haired and blue-eyed: such a type seems (from such meagre literary evidence as is available) to have characterized the true Aryans of ancient times, but owing to miscegenation and to climatic conditions the complexion of the body and the colour of the hair and the eye have been modified or eliminated by natural selection to light brown or brown and to black tfor the hair and the eyes), although light-eyed people are not uncommon among the iNordic iung-neads in India, scattered as they are .an over me country.

Dr. B. S. Guha has thus summed up the racial distribution lor India as a whole: “It must be clearly understood tnat no rigid separation is possible as there is considerable overlapping oi types. From a broad point of view, how T ever, a Nordic territory in northwestern India, mixed with Mediterraneans and Orientals, can be distinguished from a territory in Peninsular India containing the older Palaeo-Mediterranean element. On both sides of tms are the domains of the Alpo-Dinarics, mixed no doubt with other types. The primitive darker elements have come in everywhere and, with blood from other strains, chiefly Palaeo-Mediterranean, they constitute the lower stratum of the population. The Mongoloids occupy the submontane regions of the north and the east, but various thrusts from them have gone deeply into the'composition of the people.” 7

It has not yet been established that a particular racial type, by the mere fact of some pronounced or subdued racial characteristic which it possesses, must necessarily or inevitably have its mental and emotional outlook or attitude pre-decided. In other words, it cannot be asserted that there must be an ineradicable racial character. But on the other hand the economic milieu , and the special training which the mind and the emotions receive in an organized or corporate body of men, create a framework of civilization or ordered life which commonly finds an expression in the language of that body of men: and hence we are more justified in speaking of language cultures than of racial cultures; and we must also consider that from the beginning of recorded history racial inter-mixture has proceeded apace, leading to a profound modification of any special race-type in its most ancient and pristine form. The six different main types of humanity, with their various ramifications, as discussed above, which have gone to make the people of India, are now included within one or the other of four distinct speechfamilies: viz., the Austric (Kol or Munda), the Tibeto-Chinese or' Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Indo-European (Aryan). Even in some cases the economic milieu transcends the diversity of language and language-culture, and tones down very largely, within a given economic area, the more aggressively prominent or more easily noticeable special cultural traits that go with language —religion, social usage, customs, etc. Thus in Chota Nagpur, in spite of diversity of language the Dravidian-speaking Oraons and the Austric i Kol)-speaking Mun<Jas are within the fold of a common culture; and in Central Europe, the Indo-European-speaking Germans and Slavs, in spite of their pronounced linguistic diversity although within the same family, and the entirely distinct Finno*Ugrian-speaking Magyars, share a common type of economic and cultural life. The same observation can be made about the IndoEuropean-speaking Armenians and Ossetes, the Ural-Altaic-speaking Azarbijanis and the Caucasic Georgians and others in the Caucasus regions.

So, too, for India as a whole, a more or less common type of economic life based on agriculture and taking shape within the limits of India forming a single geographical unit, combined with a large-scale commingling of different races building up a common history, has been responsible for the gradual modification of what doubtless existed in most ancient times as distinct racial types and distinctive language-cultures, and has led to the evolution, as a result of a more or less conscious movement, of a common Indian type and a common Indian culture. In this culture of India, after at least two and a half millennia of close interaction, the original genetic differences in the four language-families obtaining in India from prehistoric times have largely converged towards the evolution of a number of common traits.

It will not be possible at the present moment to make a definite pronouncement about the mental and spiritual environment of the various types of man in their primitive stage when they came into India, although, through a close study of the question, taking all help from anthropology, religiology, linguistics, sociology, prehistoric archaeology, and other human sciences we may make some near enough guesses about their material culture and the contributions they made to the common store-house of Indian life and Indian civilization, both in the material and the mental and emotional sides. In this way we can bring to light the basis on which Indian civilization rests in all its aspects, material, mental, and spiritual, and its genesis will enable us properly to appreciate and understand its subsequent evolution and transformation.

We have to begin with the Negroid or Negrito people of prehistoric India, who were its first human inhabitants. At the present day the Negritos have practically vanished from the soil of India. Originally they would appear to have come from Africa through Arabia and the coast-lands of Iran and Baluchistan. They were in the eolithic stage of culture, and they appear to have been foodgatherers rather than food-producers. In India, the Negritos would appear to have been either killed off by the later immigrants, more advanced than themselves, notably the Proto-Australoids, or absorbed by them. They survive in a few primitive tribes in South Tndia, and traces of the Negrito have been found in the Nagas of Assam. Beyond India, they passed on to Malaya, where Negrito tribes still survive, and even further into the distant islands of Indonesia, like the Philippines, and into New Guinea. Within the

Indian domain^ they are found in a few hundred Andamanese in the Andaman Islands, where they have still kept up their own language. Their settlement in the Andamans shows a certain advance in culture, as they must have crossed the sea in their small dugouts f which testifies to their skill as well as courage and imagination; and they came to be acquainted with the bow and arrow, and the blow-pipe, probably from the Proto-Australoids, unless they invented these themselves. Except in the case of the Andamanese, the Negritos who survive in India and Further India (including Malaya) at the present day speak everywhere debased dialects of their more civilized neighbours. The original Negrito speech of India, whatever it was, seemingly survives in Andamanese, which as a language or dialect group stands isolated. Owing to their very primitive state, the Negritos do not appear .to have contributed anything of importance to the civilization of India.

Negrito elements dr traits, judging from some racial types depicted in the art of Gupta and post-Gupta India (as in Gupta sculpture and in the Ajaota frescoes), seem to have survived to a very late period; but now they have been almost wholly eliminated. It has been suggested 8 that the cult of the ficus, tree, associated with fertility and with the souls of the dead, and some ideas about the Path of the Dead to Paradise guarded by an avenging demon, which are widespread in Southern Europe, Africa, and Oceania, and partly also India, might well have come from the Negrito people.

Situated as they were, the Negritos were not in a position to influence the languages which came to India subsequently. At least two other linguistic strata covered up Negrito speech—the Austric and the Dravidian, before the Aryan language arrived, so nothing from Negrito speech had much chance of coming into Aryan. But it may be that here and there a word indicative of some object, some element from the flora or the fauna of India, has survived, although in a much altered form, being passed on from the Negrito language through the Proto-Australoid or Dravidian dialects to Indo-Aryan. One such word may be the Bengali and Oriya badud, badadi = " bat": the basic element would seem to be *bad, which was extended by the addition of the pleonastic affix— ada —plus the feminize and diminutive affix-i from Old Indo-Aryan ika; and with this *bad, otherwise unexplained, may be compared Andamanese wot-da y xoat-da , wot , tudt="bat" and the element pet, wet 9 met , wed f wdt, in some of the aboriginal languages of Malaya and Indo-China belonging to the Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family (some of which are spoken by the Negrito tribes of Malaya); e.g. tra-pet , sa-pet 7 ham-pet, sa-met, lnamet, lea-wet, ka-wed> gan-atkat < *ka-wat, kawa < *ka-wat, udt.

The Pro to-Australoids, who appear to have come after the Negritos, and that, too, from the West, have furnished one of the

basic elements in the population of India. There were, as it would appear, numerous lines of migration of this race from the west and east through

India, and the Proto-Australoid type was modified both within and beyond by admixture with other peoples, notably the Negritos and the Mongoloids; and as a result, we have, it would seem, the Kol or Mupsia type in India, the Mon-Khmer type in Assam, Burma, and Indo-China, the Nicobarese in the Nicobar Islands, and the Indonesian Melanesian, and Polynesian types in the islands of the Indian Archipelago and those of Melanesia and Polynesia. All these congeries of mixed peoples extending from the extreme north-west of India, throughout the whole of India, Burma, Indo-China and Malay Peninsula into the islands of the Indian Archipelago (Indonesia} and those of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia—in a word, from Kashmir to Easter Island—have a ProtoAustraloid element; and the languages they speak have been found to possess common traits which warrant their inclusion within a single speech family. The researches of Pater W. Schmidt have established the Austric Family of Languages, which is found to have two main ramifications—Hi} the Austronesian, under which come the closely agreeing Indonesian, Melanesian, Micronesian, and Polynesian languages, and (ii} the Austro-Asiatic, which embraces the Kol or Mu$da speeches of India, Nicobarese, and the Mon-Khmer speeches of India (Assam), Burma, and Indo-China.

As things stand, the original Austric speech, which took different forms under diverse conditions within this vast area over which it spread, would appear to have been brought from the west by the Proto-Australoids; and in its original form (as the ultimate source of both the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian branches) it could very well have been characterized within India. Outside India, the Pro to-Australoids passed on to Australia, where their language and culture took a definite form which was quite isolated and distinct from that of the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian peoples.

After the Melanesian and Polynesian types in ethnology and language came to be established, it would appear that there were back-washes of immigrations of Melanesians and Polynesians into India, which brought in certain new cultural contributions from these peoples; and these Melanesian and Polynesian immigrants would appear to have now become totally assimilated into the mass of the Indian population. From the Melanesians, the custom of disposal of the dead by exposure, communal houses, head-hunting and a canoe cult appear to have been introduced into India. The introduction of the outrigger canoe and of the coconut into India may have been due to the Polynesians.

The Proto-Australoid's contribution to the primitive culture of India, it has been thought, included the following matters: pottery, which would appear to have been unknown to the Negritos; nec

lithic development of the palaeolithic culture of the country; the use of the boomerang and of th& blowing-gun; and ideas of totemism in religion. Hoe and digging-stick cultivation, followed at least in some parts of the country by terrace cultivation of rice, may have originated on the soil of India in the hands of the Proto-Australoids; and this would appear co have been advanced largely in the extraIndian lands of south-eastern Asia.

The bases of Pro to-Australoid culture—assuming that the language of the Proto-Australoids was the primitive source-speech from which the current Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian languages have descended—can to a certain extent (apart from some prehistoric implements and artifacts 9 which can be ascribed to the ProtoAustraloids) be reconstructed through linguistic palaeontology, along lines which have proved to be so successful in the case of the primitive Indo-European cultural milieu. Renward Brandstetter has, in his brilliant papers on Indonesian, essayed to reconstruct not only the primitive Indonesian speech (which comes within the Austronesian branch of Austric) but also the natural and mental

background of the speakers of Primitive Indonesian. 10 For Austric

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(if not for Austric as a whole, at least for the Austric speech world of India) a new line of investigation has been started by Jean Przyluski, with full approval and support of Sylvain Levi, Jules Bloch, and others. 11

In studying certain non-Aryan elements in the Indo-Aryan speech in its different periods—non-Aryan elements which are not Dravidian—Przyluski found out that these belonged to the AustroAsiatic speeches as they were current in India. At the present day, Austro-Asiatic dialects belonging to the Kol or Muntfa group only are spoken on the soil of India, and only one speech of the Mon-Khmer group is current in Assam, viz. Khasi, while other Mon-Khmer speeches are found in Burma and Indo-China. But from a study of the Austric words found in Indo-Aryan it would appear that dialects allied to both Kol and Mon-Khmer were current in India during the oldest period of contact between Indo-Aryan and Austric, and possibly also speeches more closely connected with Austronesian (Indonesian specially) within the. Austric family. However, from these non-Ary an (and non-Dra vidian) loans which are from Austric, we can make some guesses as to the nature of the culture-world which the Austric-speaking or Proto-Australoid peoples presented vis-a-vis the Aryan-speaking invaders from the West.

The words from Austric borrowed by Indo-Aryan refer in the first instance to items in the special flora and fauna of India not known to the Aryan-speakers; naturally enough, then, they also refer to culture plants known to the Austric-speakers, and to some of their culture objects and ideas. Thus, the Aryans came into Iran (and possibly also into India) with a knowledge of barley and wheat among cereals: their word for “barley,” yavu in Sanskrit, is of Indo-European origin (= Greek z*a 9 1-E; * yewa -), and that for “wheat’ 1 (Sanskrit goatiuma , Persian gandum < Iranian • gandhuma) is of unknown origin. For “rice,” the oldest word in Indo-Aryan is vrihi, which has Iranian affinities (e.g. Persian birinj, gurinj, Old Iranian *vd rna]a, Pafto wrize, whence Greek oruza, briza) and which may be connected with the Dravidian (Tamil) arichi <*arki f argi. But in the New Indo-Aryan languages the common word for “rice” is chawal, chawal, chaul , and this would appear to be based on a Middle Indo-Aryan chdmala (cf. the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan forms chama, d^chama) meaning “rice” as well as “food,” and this cMma-la, in its original sense of “food,” might be very well connected with Kol or Murcia root jom, “to eat.” 12

Certain common fruits and vegetables may similarly be presumed to have been cultivated by the Austric speakers, as their Sanskrit and other Aryan names are of Austric origin: the banana (Sanskrit kadali, kandali), coconut (narikela), betel (tambula), tile brinjal or egg-plant (v&tingana), the pumpkin (aldbu), the lime (nimbuka), the rose-apple (jambu), etc., and also cotton (karpdsa , karpata) and silk-cotton (sdlmali } simbali). The domestic fowl (krikavdka, *kurku\a > kukkuta), the peacock (mrok as an expletive in the Atharva-Veda, compare Kol marak' “peacock,” beside Dravidian mayil as in Tamil), the elephant (mdtanga f gaja), and some breed of horse or pony (*sada, as in Sanskrit s^din —“rider”) appear to have been known to the pre-Aryan peoples of India speaking Austric. The Austric speakers supplied to Indo-Aryan its common word for “arrow” (baua), and for “stick” and “phallus” or “the phallus symbol,” both from a word meaning originally “stick,” and then “digging-stick for ploughing” (lakuta , laguda , linga ; laiida in N1A—-Bihari), and these show two noteworthy aspects of the cultural life of the Austric speakers which had their repercussion on that of the Aryan speakers. 13

Some of the fundamental bases of Indian civilization on the material side would thus appear to be the gifts of the Austricspeaking Proto-Australoid people: the cultivation of rice, the raising of some important vegetables, the manufacture of sugar from the cane, and the use of the betel vine in life and in ritual; the habit of counting on the basis of twenty (Bengali kudi, Hindi ko^t), and probably also the use of turmeric and vermilion in religious ritual and social life (e.g. in marriage), combined with some notions of future life (survival of the soul after death, and the germs of the idea of transmigration). and some mythological and religious as well as romantic notions and stories appear to have come from the same source. Weaving of cotton cloth was also an Austric or ProtoAustraloid invention; and probably the Pro to-Australoids were the first people to domesticate and train the elephant.

Certain magico-religious rituals, e.g. the removal of the evil eye by the rite known in Northern India as nichhawar or baran f which have a strong place in Hindu society, would seem to be of Austric origin. The idea of taboo would seem to be another trait derived from the mentality of the Proto-Australoids (or Austric speakers) in prehistoric times, when Arya and Nishada —the Aryan and the dark-skinned Austric dwellers in the forests—first met in the Punjab: Sylvain Levi has drawn our attention to the fact that the Atharva-Veda word tabuva was connected with the Polynesian word tapu or tabu by A. Weber in 1876 and by Barth later on; and it is likely that the word passed on with the Proto-Australoid immigrants into Austronesia, the distant Polynesian islands, while in India it was borrowed in the Atharvaveda. Cosmic and creational myths and ideas as they had originated among the pre-Aryan Austric-speaking peoples of India were adopted into the cosmopolitan or composite Aryan-non-Aryan or Hindu religion and legend, while these made their steady way into the oceanic regions of the Pacific through the islands of Indonesia with the expanding Proto-Australoids. Certain remarkable agreements between the cosmogony of the Polynesians and that of the Nascidiya hymn of the Rigveda (X. 129) have to be taken note of in this connexion. The enumeration of the days by the phases of the moon—the tithis —which was early adopted by the Hindu people probably simultaneously with its formation and has still been retained in the sacred or religious (ritualistic) calendar of the Hindus, is again an Austric custom which survived in. Polynesia; even the old Austric names for two of the phases of the moon, which are still found in the Polynesian group of Austronesian, were adopted in India by Sanskrit (rdka — “full moon/* and kuh?i ~ “new moon”). 14 It has also been suggested that the Sanskrit name of at least one constellation is of Austric origin, viz. mn tyfkd— “the Pleiades.” the present-day Polynesian form of which is' matariki.

The culture-world of India has thus among its niaterial and other ideological bases some fundamental things derived from the Austric speakers, assuming that they were also, in their pure state, Proto-Australoid in race, which became fully characterized on the roil of India. That would be only natural, as this racial element forms one of the most important in the present-day Indian people, as anthropologists tell us, the masses or the lower classes throughout the greater part of India being largely of this stock. The bedrock of Indian civilization is agriculture, and that, in all.likelihood in connexion with the cultivation of rice, goes back to the Austric Proto-Australoids of India. The germs of the idea of transmigration which has been so potent a force in Indian thought, religion and life, would probably go back to this source: also some of the fundamental cults and rituals.

In the domain of myth and legend, a number of Austric notions and tales appear to have survived in the myths of the Purapas and of the popular

Hinduism. The legends of the creation of the world from an egg or eggs, of the Avattiras or incarnations of Vishnu, e.g. that of the tortoise incarnation, of the princess smelling of fish (matsya-gandha), of the Nagas as serpent spirits of the waters and the underworld, and many more, which do not form part of the Aryan or Indo-European inheritance in Hinduism, and do not seem to have come from the Dravidian world either, can reasonably be expected to have been derived from the Austric or Proto-Australoid world.

All these have been more or less distorted or transformed in the Sanskrit Puranas, in the traditions surviving among the Austricspeaking tribes of the present day, or in popular Hindu folklore of today. The use of a rude block of stone as a symbol of the divinity is also Austric—it may also have been Dravidian in addition. Some fairy or folk tales would also go back to the same source. Zoomorphic deities.appear also to be survivals from Austric or Proto-Australoid totemism which also was reinforced by the Dravidian cults possessing a similar character (e.g. the Nagas or snake deities, the tortoise, the makara or crocodile, the monkey god, Gane£a with his elephant's head, etc.).

It would be too much to try to appraise the stamp of the original Proto-Australoid character upon that of our masses of the present day, but from the character of the present-day Kol or Mupda peoples of Eastern India, and of the peoples like the Oraons whose cultural milieu is that of the Kols although they are Dra vidian-speakers, we may be allowed to formulate this Austric inheritance. The Austric temperament was pre-eminently gregarious; it was superstitious and to some extent timid, though not cowardly in face of dangers it could understand. Cheerfulness and love of simple music and gaiety came naturally to the Austric temper even in the midst of hard labour: and it was not over-sensitive to physical discomfort. There was a touch of erotic abandon in it, but along with that there was a great respect for convention which put the rein on licence. As a sympathetic student of the aborigines of Chota Nagpur W. G. Archer, has said of the Oraons, who live within the same economic and cultural atmosphere as the Mundas, Santals, Hos, and other agricultural Kol tribes: “A few notes should be added on Ora on ‘character.’ To the earliest observers a capacity for cheerful hard work was the most notable character of Oraons; and a sturdy gaiety, an exultation in bodily physique and a sense of fun are still their most obvious qualities. These are linked to a fundamental simplicity—a tendency to see an emotion as an action, and not to comnlicate it bv postponement or cogitation... The final picture is of a kindly simplicity and a smiling energy.” 16

In discussing the Austric or Austro-Asiatic speakers .of India and their contribution to the make-up of the Indian people, mention should also be made of the theory of the Hungarian scholar William Hevesy (Hevesy Vilmos, Wilhelm von Hevesy, Guillaume de Hevesy), recently put forward in some books and papers in German and French, combating Pater W. Schmidt’s theory of an Austric family of languages divided into two groups, Austronesian and AustroAsiatic (the latter including the Kol or Mui?$a languages of India). 10 Hevesy has challenged Pater Schmidt’s view that the Mun^a or Kol peoples speak dialects which are members of the Austro-Asiatic branch of Austric: he denies the existence of an Austric speech family, and he proposes quite a different affinity for the Kol or Mug<Ja languages, viz., Finno-Ugrian. Hevesy’s views were put forward for the first time in 1930, but so far they have met with neither any general or wide acceptance nor a thorough or systematic refutation. According to Hevesy, Munda or Kol belongs to the FinnoUgrian speech-group, under which come Magyar or Hungarian, Finn in its various dialects, Esth of Esthonia, Lapp of Lapland, and Vogul, Ostyak, Zyrian, Votyak, Cheremis, Mordvin and Samoyed of Russia and Siberia. Hevesy believes that there was a prehistoric invasion of or immigration into India by Finno-Ugrian or Ugrian tribes from the Eurasian plains to the south of the Ural Mountains, and the Mundas or Kols with their language resulted from a mixture of these Ugrians with the earlier peoples of the country, the Negritos and the Proto-Australoids. Hevesy bases his view on certain points of agreement between the Kol speeches on the one hand and the Finno-Ugrian speeches on the other—points of agreement which have not been admitted by any competent linguistician who is equally at home in Kol and in Finno-Ugrian (and such a person would be exceedingly rare to find). The points of cultural similarity between the Kols and the Finno-Ugrians as proposed by Hevesy are not convincing. There might have been an Ugrian influx into India, in very ancient times, but there is nothing positive to establish it.

The Austric linguistic zone has been conjecturally extended further to the west of India by Jean Przyluski and others, whp see in the Sumerian speech of Chaldea a language allied to primitive Austric. Przyluski has even seen an Austric substratum in IndoIranian: certain words like Sanskrit nala — Persian bal “hair,” Sanskrit hhishaj -:Avestan bisaz “doctor.” “healing,” as connected with Sanskrit visha “poison,” etc.. Przyluski explains as being from the Austric. which would appear to have influenced Iranian also.[160] But this, too, cannot he described as satisfactorilv established. We may admit the possibility of Sumerian and Austric being related, for we have to remember that the Pro to-Australoids, who are supposed to have been the original speakers of Austric. were a very ancient offshoot of the Mediterranean race, and as such in their trek to India, where they became specially characterized they may have left some of their tribes on the way, or some of their kinsmen might earlier have preceded them and had established, themselves in Mesopotamia, to become the Sumerians who built up the basic culture of that part of the world. But even then it seems that India was the centre from which the Austria speech spread into the lands and islands of the east and the Pacific; and the theory that there is actually an Austric Family of,Languages in its two groups of Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic, as propounded by Pater W. Schmidt, may he said to hold the ground still.

The Austric. Proto-Australoids were spread over the greater part of India. In the Indus and Ganges valleys, when the Aryaps first met them, they were known as Nishadas, and their dark skin and snub noses were held in ridicule by the fair and straight-nosed Aryans. The masses of agricultural Austrics in the North Indian plains from Afghanistan to Eastern Bihar gradually became Aryanspeaking, roughly between c. 1500 B.C. (about when the first Aryan invasion or land immigration into India took place) to c. 600 B.C., a little before the time of the Buddha: but even in the time of the Buddha, pockets, large or small, of non-Aryan (Austric and Dravidian) speakers still remained throughout this tract. We find, for example, in the Buddhist Jatalcas, mention of Chan^ala villages where they still employed the Chapdala tongue, a supposed word from which is given— giligili —in the

Chitta-samhhuta J at aka. Through the contact of Aryan and Austric, and through large masses of Austric speakers abandoning their native speech, the Aryan speech came to be affected, in phonetics, in vocabulary, in morphology and in syntax. The question of vocabulary, as said before, has been taken up for study, and beginning with the pioneer researches of Jean Przyluski in this field, we are gradually being enabled to find to what extent Austric vocables have found a place in Indo-Aryan in its three stages of Old, Middle, and New IndoAryan. Place-names in North India (and undoubtedly also in the Deccan and South India) show Austric elements, thus indicating the presence of Austric speakers in the. localities with these names. A name like Gangd is in all likelihood of Austric origin, and it appears to have meant just "a river" as in its modem Bengali equivalent gang" "river, channel." Original Austric speakers form a substratum in Burma, Indo-China and South China also, and the Indian Gahgd , gang , the Indo-Chinese Khong as in Me-Jchong, and the South-Chinese Kiang < *Kang < *Ghang (as in Y ang-tsze*Kiang and a dozen other river names)—all of these can very, well be from the same old Austric word, now lost to most of the Austric tongues.

We may next take into consideration the cultural world of the Dravidian speakers with special reference to its contribution to the

formation of the ancient Hindu world. Anthropologists, as noted before, assume at least three varieties or modifications of the Mediterranean race as having come to India, and all of these would appear to have been speakers of Dravidian, at least in India—the Palaeo-Mediterraneans, the Mediterraneans proper, and the so-called "Orientals." They were all long-headed, and they came to India with a fairiy high level of civilization. As contrasted with the Proto-Australoids or Austrics, whose culture was mainly a village culture based on agriculture, these Dravidian-speaking Mediterranean peoples (in their various ramifications) in India were responsible for cities and a city culture—for a real civilization, in the true sense of the word, including international trade.

The Dravidian speeches of the present day stand apart in a group by themselves, and although structurally they agree with some other speech families (e.g. with the Ural-Altaic, family, which includes the Altaic speeches like Mongol, Turki, and Manchu on the one hand and the Ural or Finno-Ugrian speeches like Magyar, Finn, Esth, Lapp, Ostyak. Yotyak, Zyrian, Cheremis, Samoyed, etc., on the other, in both Ural-Altaic and Dravidian possessing the same "agglutinative" structure in word-formation), in their roots, words, and affixes they do not agree with any current group of languages. There are fundamental points of difference between Dravidian and all the other sueech-families which are current in India—the Austria the Sino-Tibetan and the Indo-European (Aryan). The Dravidian tongues now form a solid bloc in the Deccan and South India to the south, of the sixteenth latitude: and between the twentvfourt.h and sixteenth latitudes, apart from the massive bloc of Telugu in the centre and the east and that of Kannada in the west, there are large Dravidian patches like Gondi, Kui, and Oraon which have been broken up a very great deal by the infiltration of the Aryan dialects.

But there is evidence, both indirect and direct, that in Central India, in North India, and in Western India,, and possibly also in Eastern India, Dravidian was at one time fairly widespread. In Baluchistan we have the bloc of the Brahui speech, which is Dravidian; and it is quite conceivable that the Brahui area is just a surviving fragment of a very wide-spread Dravidian tract which extended from Baluchistan and Sind through Rajputana and Malwa into the present-day Maratha .country and the Dravidian lands of the south, and v/hich also extended north and north-east in the Punjab and the Ganges valley, and possibly also north-west through Afghanistan into Iran.

Survival of Dravidian vocables in the place-names of Northern India, interpretation of the references to non-Aryan peoples or tribes in Vedic and other ancient Indian literature, the presence of a strong Dravidian element in the Aryan language from the Vedic

downwards, the gradual "Dravidization" in spirit of the Aryan language leading to a very large approximation of the Modern or New Indo-Aryan languages to the speech-habits of Dravidian, the Dravidian character of a good deal of the extra-Indo-European elements in .Hindu religion, ritual and thought, mythology and legendary history, and the discovery of a

Mediterranean type in the people of the Upper Ganges Valley—all these are strong evidences in favour of an assumption that Dravidian speakers were largely to be found in the Punjab and the Upper Ganges Valley also; and toponomy and cultural survivals would point to an extension of the Dravidian speakers further eastward into Bengal, although here the long-headed Austrics and a brachycephalic people seem to have largely intermingled. In the North India plains, more than anywhere else, the Dravidian and Austric peoples appear to have been living side by side: probably there was at first a Dravidian element ruling over the Austric, and this was leading to a cultural and racial fusion.

The want of a solid bloc of Dravidian speakers or of Austric speakers in the Punjab and Upper Ganges Valley—the fact of the land being inhabited by peoples of these two different languagecultures—gave to the Aryan speech with its own culture-world its greatest opportunity, so that within a few hundred years after the Aryan language had been established in the Punjab, it could spread as far as eastern Bihar, ousting the earlier pre-Aryan speeches, and gaining greater momentum as its area extended east and south.

We are not absolutely certain that the city-builders of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in South Punjab and Sind, whom the Aryans doubtless encountered, spoke Dravidian, but there is a balance of probability that they did. This matter cannot be proved or disproved until we find the clue to the script in the hundreds of seals found at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and other sites. The Rev. H. Heras, S. J. has sought to read Old Tamil in these seals from the South Punjab and. Sind: but it is highly improbable that in epigraphs from a culture-age going back to, say, 2500 B.C., there .should be found a language which is not much older than A.D. 500. For although the oldest of the Chen-tamizh or Old Tamil works in their original form may go back to the centuries round about the time of Christ, the language which is found in them is considerably later. Moreover, we have to take note of the fact that Old Tamil in its phonetics represents a very much decayed form of the primitive D.ravidian speech, which—or something like which—alone be expected to have h^en in use in the third millennium B.C., the approximate date for the Mohenjo-daro culture. For example, the word Tamil itself: tamiz. it has been very conclusively established, was pronounced *da / miz in the. earlv centuries of the Christian era. and earlier, in the first half of the first millennium B.C. it was in

all likelihood *dramifa > which was adopted into Sanskrit as Dramila , Dramida, Drained before the Christian era. All other attempts to read right away, with the help of Sanskrit for instance, the South Punjab and Sind seals need not be taken into serious consideration.

The Aryan invaders or immigrants found in India two groups of peoples, one of which they named the Ddsas, and Dasyus, and the other Nishddas . The Dasa-Dasyu people evidently had ramifications or extensions in Iran as well: we have in the south-east of the Caspian the Dahai people noted by the Greeks, and Ddha is but the Iranian modification of Ddsa; and in Iranian the word dahyu (whence Modern Persian dih) was in use, meaning "country" or "the countryside, 0 which would only appear to have been originally a tribal name, the Iranian equivalent of the Indo-Aryan dasyv , generalized to mean the "country 0 only. In India the words ddsa and dasyu changed their meaning—as names of the enemies of the Aryans offering them resistance, who were frequently enough conquered and enslaved, and these words came respectively to mean "slave 0 and "robber." The two names appear originally to be related, both being from a root or base das or das: the words may after all be Aryan or Indo-European in origin—cf. Sanskrit dasati "follows up", and likely equivalents of this Indo-Aryan root occur in other Indo-European languages. We should note similar semantic changes in Europe; how the Slav national appellation Slavic (meaning "glorious, noble") came to be transformed into the word slave (as in English), and how the Celtic tribal name Volcae became *Wala> or ♦Walk- in Germanic, and then came to signify "any foreign people," and gave rise to names like Wales , Wallachia t Walschand (— "Italy," in German) and names of peoples like Welsh and Vlach. The DasaDasyu (— Daha-Dahyu) people would appear to have spread from at least Eastern Iran through Afghanistan to North-Western and Western India—Punjab (and probably the Western or Upper Ganges Valley) and Sind—when the Aryans came into India. There is no indication from the Higveda that the Aryans were conscious of entering a new country when they came to India. This was certainly due to the fact that they did not find any appreciable difference in the non-Aryan people they encountered in India from the non-Aryan people they knew in Eastern Iran. It is also equally likely that racial and cultural fusion (including linguistic influencing! had commenced between the Aryan and the Dasa-Dasvu peoples 16 * outside the soil of India itself—in Iran, in all likelihood. The Vedio speech 160 already shows a number of words which are non-Arvan words with Dravidian affinities, and shows at least in its phonetics a profound modification on the lines of Dravidian by adopting or developing the cerebral sounds (t .dn l sh) which are so distinctive of Dravidian.

When the hypothesis of an Arvan invasion and occupation of India was first proposed some four generations ago, it was believed that the white-skinned, blue-eyed, and golden-haired Aryans, like their kinsmen of Northern Europe, entered India from the plateau of Central Asia, which was then a land of romantic mystery, came to this land of the black-skinned non-Aryans, made an easy and matter-of-course conquest of them, and imposed upon an inferior race or races their superior religion, culture, and language. It was believed that all the better elements in Hindu religion and culture — its deeper philosophy, its finer literature, its more reasonable organization, everything in fact -which was great and good and noble in it—came from the Aryans as a superior white race; and whatever was dark and lowly and superstitious in Hindu religion and civilization represented only an expression of the suppressed nonAryan mentality. This view is now being gradually abandoned. It has been generally admitted, particularly after a study of both the bases of Dravidian and Aryan culture through language and through institutions, that the Dravidians contributed a great many elements of paramount importance in the evolution of Hindu civilization, which is after all (like all other great civilizations) a composite creation, and that in certain matters the Dravidian and Austric contributions are deeper and more extensive than that of the Aryans. The pre-Aryans of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were certainly in possession of a higher material culture than what the seminomadic Aryans could show.

The assumption that the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa people spoke a primitive Dravidian speech accords best with the subsequent trend of Indian history and civilization. From various aspects, a mediterranean origin of the

Dravidian people, its religion and civilization, appears to find good support. Reference may be made in this connexion to the city culture of Harappa and the ancient cities of Sind described in the next chapter. On the positive side, the cult of Siva and the institution of Yoga appear to have been characteristic of the religious life of the people of Sind and South Punjab. The Aryans knew of a Sky Father —Dyaush Pita —and of an Earth Mother —Prithvi Mat<i —but these divinities were vague nature deities, who merely typified the falling of the rain from the sky to help earth to produce corn and fruits. The Kols (e.g. the Santals) had similarly a Sun god (Sin Bonga) and a Moon goddess (fllinda Chando) who were the great Father and Mother deities in .the Kol pantheon. But the Dravidians had a conception of the forces of Life and of the Universe in the forms of a Great Mother Goddess and her male counterpart a Father God, and this conception, which was more profound, more mystic, more all-embracing and more deeply philosophical as well as more poetic than the simple Aryan idea of a material Sky Father and an equally material Earth Mother, the Dravidians appear to have brought to India from their original homeland in the islands of the -Kgean and the tracts of mainland axong the Ailgean Sea—Greece and Asia Minor. Ma or Kubele (Cybeie) and Atthis, or Hepit and Teshup, the great Asianic Mother Goddess and Father God, the former having as her symbol or vehicle the lion, the latter the bull, form undoubtedly one of the bases on which the Siva-Uma cult of Hindu India grew up.

From linguistics, it can be reasonably assumed that the oldest form of the word Tamil or Dravida (.which we can trace) was probably v Dramila or * Dramiza . We find that the Lycians of Asia Minor, a pre-Indo-European Mediterranean people, called themselves in their inscriptions (written in their own speech in a script allied to the ancient Greek) TrtuvuU. Herodotus has noted that the Lycians originally came from the island of Crete, and that in Crete the pre-Hellenic Asianic people were known by a name which the Greeks wrote as Termilai. It would not perhaps be too much to assume that some at least of the Dravidian speakers of India who came ultimately from the Eastern Mediterranean tracts brought with them one of their national or tribal appellations Termilai — Tmuuili — Dramiza , which became transformed into the modern name Tamil by the middle of the first millennium A.D. In South Sind, the Greeks noted a people called Arabitai: they might very well have been Dravidian speakers in the fourth century B.C., and the name suggests the one which the Telugus apply to the Tamilians — Aravalu: and Arava is explained scholastically as the Sanskrit word a-rava “speechless, voiceless/’ suggesting the unintelligibility of Tamil as a language for the Telugus. Be that as it may, the culture-world presented by Dravidian (Tamil) linguistic palaeontology gives a fairly high background of civilization, which can be compared with what has been unearthed at Mohenjo-daro and other places, and with such indirect references to non-Ary an (Dravidian) civilization and non-Aryan milieu as can be found in the Vedic writings, hi 1856, Bishop Caldwell gave the following sketch of the pre-Ayan civilization of the Dravidians from the evidence of. the words in use among the early Tamilians 17 (I give the Tamil words within brackets after the English words) r The Tamils or Dravidians “had ‘kings’ (Jed, ventan t mannan) who dwelt in ‘strong houses’ (kottai , aran) and ruled over small ‘districts of country’ (ntitu). They had ‘minstrels* (pulavan) who recited ‘songs’ (chey yul) at ‘festivals’ (konfattam, ti'raviza); and they seem to have had alphabetical characters (ezuttu) written (varai) with a style (iraku) on palmyra leaves (olai) s and a bundle of leaves was called a ‘bock’ (ntu): they acknowledged the existence of God. whom they styled Ko or king—a realistic title known to orthodox Hinduism. They created to his honour a ‘temple’ which they called Ko-iZ, God’s house (IcdijU. hdvil). They had ‘laws' and ‘customs’ (katfalai % pazakkam). but no lawyers or judges. Marriage existed among them.

They were acquainted with the ordinary metals, with the exception of ‘tin,’ ‘lead* and ‘zinc,’ with the planets which were ordinarily known to the ancients (e.g. veil * = 'Venus/ chevvay = ‘Mars/ viya%am— ‘J upiter’) with the exception of 'Mercury 1 and ‘Saturn’. They had ‘medicines’ (maruntu), 'hamlets’ (pajfi) and ‘towns’ (ur, peftai), ‘canoes/ ‘boats/ and even ‘ships’ (small ‘decked’ coasting vessels— t&rtl, ojam, vallam; kappal, pafavu), no acquaintance with any people beyond the sea, except in Ceylon, which was then, perhaps, accessible on foot at low water; and no word expressive of the geographical idea of ‘island’ or ‘continent.’ They were well acquainted with ‘agriculture’ (er=‘plough/ velan-mai ‘agriculture’), and delighted in ‘war/ They were armed with ‘bows’ (vii) and ‘arrows’ (cwnpu), with ‘spears' (vel) and.‘swords’ (vd {). All the ordinary or necessary arts of life, including ‘spinning’ (mil), ‘weaving’ (nei/), and ‘dyeing’ (nfram) existed among them. They excelled in ‘pottery/ as their places of sepulture show.” The late Professor P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar (Iyengar) compiled a remarkable work, 18 in which, on the basis of native Dravidian words in Old Tamil, he has given us a most detailed survey of the type of culture in all its ramifications which obtained among the Primitive Tamil or Dravidian people before they began to come under the influence of the Aryan speech and culture.

Hindu tradition is vaguely conscious of Hindu religious ideas and philosophy, practices and ritual falling under two great categories— agama and nigama . Nigama stands for the Vedic, i.e. the pure Aryan world of ideas, centring round what has been called the Vedic karmakanfa, the practical religion of. Vedic inspiration in which the homa or fire-sacrifice to the gods of the Vedic world forms the most noteworthy thing. Agama indicates what may be described as the Tantric and Puranic domain of religion and ritual, and it includes yoga as a special form of mystico-religious ideology and practice. Pure Nigama religion is what we see in the great Vedic sacrifices which are still performed from time to time. Agamic religion and ritual is largely influenced by the Nigamic or Vedic, but it forms a world apart.

In ordinary Hindu usage, there is a good deal of compromise between the two. Take, for example, the distinctive Hindu ritual of the puja, by which we mean the worship of an image or a symbol of the divinity by treating the latter, after it has been consecrated, as a living personality, and bringing before it, as before a living being, cooked food, vestments, ornaments, and other offerings which arc usable by a man, and showing grateful worship by offering to it flowers, the produce of the earth, and incense, and by waving lights in front of it and playing and singing before it. This is something which is quite different from the Vedic rite of the homa. , in which a wood fire is lighted on an altar and certain offerings of food in the

shape of meat and fat, butter and milk, cakes of barley, and soma or spirituous drink, are offered to the gods, who are not at all symbolized by an image, but are supposed to dwell in the sky and to receive these offerings through the fire.

The characteristic offerings in the puja rite, viz. flowers, leaves fruits, water, etc., are not known to the homa rite, except in instances where it has been influenced by the pujd. It has been suggested with good reason that pujd is the pre-Aryan, in all likelihood the Dravidian. form of worship, while the homa is the Aryan: and throughout the entire early Vedic literature, the ptijd ritual with flowers etc. offered to an image or symbol is unknown. The word puja, from a root puj, appears, like the thing it connotes, to be of Dravidian origin also. This word or root is not found in any Aryan or Indo-European language outside India. Professor Mark Collins suggested 19 that the Sanskrit w r ord pujd (from which the root puj was deduced later) was nothing but a Dravidian pu "flower" plus root "to do" (palatalized to je), which is found in Tamil as chey , in Kannada as ge and in Telugu as che: pujd < *pii-ge, *pu-chc was thus a "flower ritual," a "flower service," a pushpa-karma, just as homa described as pasu-karma or religious service entailing the slaughter of an animal. Jarl Charpentier of Sweden derived pujd from a Dravidian root pusu meaning "to smear," as the smearing of sandalpaste or blood forms an important item in the puja ritual. But the use of blood, to be smeared over a piece of stone representing a god or spirit—the blood of a sacrificed animal being later replaced by red paint like the vermilion—would appear more to be an Austric or Proto-Australoid rite than Dravidian.

In any case, the pre-Aryan, and in all likelihood Dravidian, origin of this most noteworthy ritual of a finished Hindu religion, would appear to be quite reasonable to assume. In the present-day texture of Hindu culture and religion the warp appears to be Dravidian and the weft Aryan. Puja with flowers, leaves, and water was, so far as the first Aryans who came to India' were concerned, ah alien rite, a local "native" usage, not to be approved, much less adopted, by the Brahma^as and others who claimed to be true Aryans. But "Greece captured her captor". The native or local cults and creeds did not die—on the otHer hand the exotic homa largely became moribund, being kept up artificially among limited groups of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, and the puja came to assume its present important place in the religious life of the mixed Hindu people which resulted from the fusion of the Aryan and the nonAryan. The first conscious attempt to give the imprimatur to pujd as a rite, which is to be taken sympathetically, we find in that great work of synthesis in Hindu thought and life, the Bhagavad-Gitd of the Mahdbharata , which would appear to have been compiled round about the age of Christ; although through certain surreptitious rites like kaka-bali or offerings to crows and other birds, something ana* logous to the puja was being given a place in the Grihya or domestic rites of the blue-blooded Aryan householders. The Gita passage (IX.26) runs thus:

patram pushpam phalam toyaiji yo me bhaktya prayachchhati.,.

tad — aham bhakty-upahritam == asnami prayatatmanah:

“If anyone offers me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, and water, I receive that, offered in devotion by the person* whose soul is disciplined.”

The context makes it clear that hexe we have an apology for nonVedic worship vis-a-tns the Vedic nre-sacrifice: this verse, in fact, forms the great charter for the puju ritual within the milieu of Vedic Brahmanism.

The acceptance of pre-Aryan (Dravidian) ritual meant also the acceptance of the conception, of the divinity and of the mythological figures of the gods and goddesses which were current among them. In mediaeval and modern Hinduism, certain divinities stand paramount like Siva and Uma, Vishnu (specially.in his incarnations of Rama and Krishna) and Sri, together with some other gods and goddesses of a secondary character who claim the homage of the people like Hanumant, Gariesa and Sitala. The popular gods of the Vedic Aryans—Indra, Agni, Varuiia, Soma, Surya, Ushas, Pushan, Parj any a and the rest—gradually recede into the background, and a group of more puissant and more personal gods, more profound and cosmic and more philosophical, in their conception, the Puranic gods of Hinduism headed by Siva-Uma and Sri-Vishiju, become established. As it has been said before, Siva and Uma are in all likelihood fundamentally of Dravidian origin, and as such, they are the. Indian modification—and philosophic sublimation— of the great Mother-Goddess and her consort of the

Mediterranean peoples. The name Siva has been explained as being at least partly of Dravidian origin: in Tamil, for instance, Sivan (Chivan) means red, and the divinity was known to the early Aryans as Nila-lohita "the Red One with blue (throat)" (referring to the legend found in the turaiias of later times and unquestionably mentioned in Rigveda, (X. 136, vii), of Siva having drunk up the world poison and preserved it in his throat which became marked with blue for this). Sambhu, another common name or epithet of Siva, has been compared with the Tamil chempu or sembu meaning "copper," i.e. "the red metal." Siva and the Vedic^Rudra have been identified: it is just likely that the name of the Red God of the Dravidian speakers, the most important divinity in their pantheon, was first rendered into the Aryan speech as *Rudhra f and then this name was easily identified with an already existing Aryan Storm God, the

father of the Maruts or the Storm Winds, whose name Rudra in Aryan meant quite a different thing—-"the Roarer" (from root rud). 20 The name Uma, recalls Ma, the Great Mother of the Asianic and East Mediterranean peoples: and Durgd, as one of the common epithets of the Mother Goddess Uma, we can compare with Trqqas, a deity mentioned in the Lycian inscriptions of Asia Minor. 21 Vishnu is partly Aryan, a form of the Sun-God, and partly at least the deity is of Dravidian affinity, as a shy-god whose colour was of the blue sky (cf. Tamil, vi® "sky" and the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit form of Visn^u, which was vintiu, vennu). 22 $ri is, to start with, an Aryan divinity, the Indian counterpart of the Goddess connected with the harvest or corn and with wealth, beauty, and well-being, whom we find in the Italic world as Ceres among the Latins. But in her association with Vishnu, as Gaja-lakshmi for instance, she is indigenous and pre-Aryan. 23 Kpishria (in Prakrit Kanha, in Tamil Kannan) is a demon opposed to Indra in the Rigveda; according to P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, he represents, partially at least, a Dravidian God of Youth, who has later been identified with Vishnu as an incarnation of his.

Another Dravidian God of Youth and youthful powers, of bravery and war, was Murukan, who in the composite Puranic mythology became Kuniara or Skanda, the son of Siva. 24 Ganesa, the elephant-headed demon who was to be appeased at the outset of any function to avert supernatural hindrances, remained such a demon with the Mahayana Buddhists, but with the

Brahmanical Hindus he was transformed into the benign god who removes obstacles and who typifies wisdom. The very character of the god as having an elephant-head shows his native Indian, i.e. pre-Aryan origin.

The phallic symbol of Siva, the linga, appears to be, both in its form and name, of Austric or Proto-Australoid origin. We should remember that the mysterious upright conical stones set up on the ground (like the menhirs in the Celtic areas in Europe) were very much in evidence as cult objects among the Mon-Khmers and the Kols, and these bore a resemblance to the digging stick used among them as a primitive plough; and Jean Przyluski has shown, as it has been noted before, how the words linga, lakufa, lagwja, languid are of Austric origin. But the figure of S.iva as the great Yogin, seated in yogic meditation, as Virupaksha or “the terrible One.” as PaSupati or “the Lord of Animals, or Souls,” as Urdhva-linga or “the One with the erect creative force,”—in fact, all the deeper and more philosophical traits in the conception of Siva appear to have been known among the Mohenjo-daro people, as shown by the very important seal with the figure of a divinity who can only be identified with Siva of later times. 26 And assuming that the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa people were Dravidian speakers, this would be only another corroboration of the Siva idea and the Siva

legends being of Dravidian origin: only this symbol of the Linga in ihe gauri-pafta or yoni being derived to some extent from the Austric menhirs, which survived till recently in the Muri^a sasan-diris or family burial stones.

Zoomorphic divinities, or lower animals as typifying the forces of nature and supplying symbols or figures for the supernatural or the godhead, appear to have been known to the Aryans only to a limited extent. Thus Indra and other powerful gods have been compared with bulls or rams, and Agni with the horse, and there is also the divine horse named Dacttiikravan in the Veda. But the extent to which zoomorphic deities came into prominence in Puranic Hinduism is something noteworthy, rivalling the ancient Egyptian pantheon in this respect. The submerged totemism of the Proto-Australoids possibly was the oldest and most powerful source of influence for this, and the worship of the Nagas or serpentine deities and water spirits would appear to have come from the Proto-Australoids. Garu^a as the vehicle bird of Vishnu is partly a divine eagle— Suparna — of the Aryans and partly of Dravidian or Mediterranean origin; the name would appear to be Dravidian (cf. Tamil ka$u "kite, eagle"). The sacredness of the ox and the cow may have some Aryan elements in it, but the honour paid to the cow among the Iranian Aryans might be, at its basis, of DasaDasyu origin, as much as in India.

The great zoomorphic deity of India is of course Hanumant, the so-called Monkey-God. His greatness has no doubt been added to in later times by the Bhakti school of mediaeval Hinduism, which saw in him an ideal devotee of Rama, God incarnate as the hero of the Rdmdyana legend. But in popular belief throughout the greater part of India (in Bengal alone his worship is not so intensely popular), he is something more than a simple Bhakta or devotee. He is a fertility deity, who gives children to barren women; and he is the helper at need and remover of obstacles. It seems, as F.E. Pargiter's significant research 26 into the name of Hanumant warrants us in assuming, that there was a great Monkey-God who obtained the worship of the pre-Aryan peoples (namely Dravidians) of India, and whose name was in the Dravidian speech just "the Male Monkey" (in Tamil, An-manti). The Aryan speakers came to know this god, and his name was at first translated into the Aryans' language as Vrishd-kapi. His worship was slowly entering by the back-door among the Aryan speakers through contact with the Dravidians, and this was resented by a certain element among the Aryan people: but others were acquiescing in the introduction of this "native" cult. An echo of this ideological conflict we find in the Vrishd-kapi hymn of the Rigveda (X. 86). But Vrishd-kapi became admitted into the newly formed Aryau-non-Aryan pantheon, and his original Dravidian name An-manti, as in Tamil, was

then Sanskritized into Hanumant, and under this name he is still a powerful deity in popular Hinduism, the sublimation of his character by Bhakti adding but fresh lustre to his pristine popularity as a strong helper in need and remover of distress, the rough and ready god of a primitive people.

The extent to which the Aryan religion has been modified by Austric and Dravidian contacts is sufficient indication of the profound influences exerted by the latter in the evolution of the Hindu religion. There has been a widespread racial mixture, as anthropology has indicated. In culture, speaking in the Indian way, one may say that over twelve annas in the rupee is of non-Aryan origin. The bases of Indian economy—food (rice or wheat or millet with pulses or lentils as relish, milk products like ghee and curds, vegetables, occasionally a little goat or mutton, and fish and oil of various sorts where milk is not common, as opposed to the Aryan meal of barley cakes and meat and butter), dress (unsewn cotton cloth worn in three pieces as dhoti or sari i.e. loincloth, dupafta or shawl, and head-cloth or turban, in place of the woollen garments of the Aryans), and dwelling, are pre-Aryan; our way of thinking is unAryan—the syntax of the later lndo-Aryan dialects agrees more with that of the Dravidian languages than with that of Vedic and of the extra-Indian Indo-European languages; our counting and computation is largely on the basis of eight, which is Dravidian (Mark Collins has explained ompattu the Tamil word for “nine” as being really the Aryan una “one less” plus Tamil pattu “ten,” and the Telugu tommidi as really meaning “broken ten” thus suggesting that eight was the common number in computation), combined to

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some extent with counting by tens, which is Aryan, and to a slight extent oh the basis of twenty as the highest number, which is Austric (as Jean Przyluski has shown). Many of our social institutions and conventions (e.g., certain usages regarding prohibited degrees in marriage, and customs like a wife being on familiar terms with her husband’s younger brother but regarding his elder brother a^ her father) and a good many of our wedding and other customs (e.g. the practice known as stri-achara with its attendant paraphernalia of the various produce of the earth arranged in a winnowing fan, the use of turmeric and vermilion in the wedding ritual, the employment of the coconut and betel-leaf in many of our ceremonies) are of non-Aryan origin. We have a fairly extensive element from the Austric and the Dravidian languages in our IndoAryan speech: the number—at least a hundred for Austric, and some four hundred and fifty for Dravidian as given by Kittel in his Kannada Dictionary —seems to be on the way to increase the more our knowledge of this matter is deepening and widening. Tn their phonetics. Indo*Aryan. Austric and Dravidian have converged more or less to a common Indian sound-system. Despite a number of noteworthy differences due to original diversity of race and speech and to climatic and economic conditions, the bases of Indian preAryan (Austric and Dravidian) life and culture, modified by the language and ideology of the Aryans, and later by the ideology of Islam, still remain, and they form a specifically Indian background for a civilization and an outlook that may be described as pan* Indian.

The discovery of Mycenaean artifacts in Greece has proved the truth of what the great explorer of i£gean culture, Sir Arthur Evans, had suspected, that a good deal of the heroic legends of Greece as well as of the legends of their gods and goddesses was of pre-Hellenic, i.e. pre-Indo-European, Aegean or Mediterranean origin, and these were simply Hellenized by being rendered into the Indo-European language of the Greeks as soon as this language became established on its new territory. The stories of the Iliad and the Odyssey and of CEdipus and other heroes were according to this view of ASgean origin, and this' has been corroborated, in spirit at least, for some other connected legends. A similar thing appears to have taken place in India. Myths and legends of God-; and Heroes current among the Austrics and Dravidians, long antedating the period of Aryan advent in India (c. 1500 B.C.), appear to have survived the Aryan impact and to have been rendered into the Aryan language in late and garbled, or “improved/' versions accommodating themselves to the Aryan God- and Hero-worlds; and it is these myths and legends of gods, kings, and sages which we largely find in the Puraapas. The Rama legend looks like a blend of three distinct stories without any historicity put together at different times (the Ayodhya intrigue and the .banishment of Rama, the abduction of Slta and her recovery by Rama, and the episode of the monkey princes), and seems to have grown up in Eastern India, with an Austric background; but later it. was reedited as a national poem within the gorgeous framework of the composite and highly complex 'H^indu civilization of 2.000 years ago. The Mahabharata story, on the other hand, which developed in the Midland (present-day Western United Provinces and Eastern Punjab), would appear to embody a good deal of the legends, traditions, and history of the Aryans as well as of the mixed Aryan-nonAryan peoples, and was created consciously as the national poem of a new Hindu nation of mixed origin welded into one people under Brahmaipa guidance. Viewed in this light, the pre-Vedic antiquity of a number of heroic tales and legends and dynastic "histories" as being really pre-Aryan, possibly Dravidian, can be properly understood, as cases of rendering, in the Aryans* language of preArvan material.

On the ideological plane, the synthesis of the Aryan and nonAryan mentalities and attitudes towards life has given rise consciously as well as unconsciously to a common set of ideals which are actively practised, or are subscribed to, by the greater part of Indian humanity, and these ideals are along the following lines: a sense of the unity of all life through its being an expression of an Unseen Reality t which is both immanent and transcendent; a desire for synthesis, to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an essential unity; a rigid and intransigent adherence to the intellect while seeking to harmonize it in the higher plane with the emotions and with the mystic sense; a recognition of the sorrows of life, leading to a sincere attempt to go to' the root causes of these with a view to remove them from the life of the individual, the community, and the whole of humanity; a desire to attain to the Unseen Reality as the solution of all evil and suffering through the ways of knowledge, of mystic realization by discipline, faith, and devotion, and of disinterested service; a sense of the sacredness of all life which is sought to be maintained by passive non-injury (ahimsa). by intellectual pity (koruna), and by practical charity and welldoing (maitrT); and an acceptance of all spiritual experiences as true and as inevitable, and a tolerance for all of these so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. A broad toleration which is the result of a wide understanding, and the doctrine of "live and let live"—these characterized, or formed the bedrock of the civilization of India; and this attitude was the result of this civilization being in its origin a complex harmony of composites, where there has not been any consciously active or successful struggle to maintain the racial, linguistic and cultural superiority of one of the component elements over the others.

The speakers of the Austric, Dravidian and Indo-European Aryan tongues, racially Proto Australoids, Mediterraneans, Nordics. Alpines, and Dinarics, made up the Indian people land built up the civilization of India. After this civilization had taken its definite colour and its special orientation, by the middle of the first millennium B.C. another new racial and culture-language element came into India—the Mongoloid Sino-Tibetan speakers—the Kiratas; but they touched only the fringe of India in the north and the north-east and their influence was but local, and not of much significance. According to a Tibetan tradition of very doubtful value, the Tibetans first settled in Tibet during the time of the Buddha. But it was over a thousand years after that, in the seventh century A. D., that they came in active contact with India—an India which was already far advanced in her composite Aryan-non-Aryan culture. The various Sino-Tibetan tribes were in a very primitive and backward condition . and they did not have much to give to the Indians, of Austric-Dravidian-Aryan affinities and origin. There is a Mongoloid stratum in the Himalayas and in the traces immediately to the

south, in Assam, in North and East Bengal; and in the evolution of Aryan languages like Gorkhali or Nepali, Bengali and Assamese, some Sino-Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman) influence has been suggested. The Sino-Tibetan peoples, at least those among them who could benefit by their contact with Indian culture, thoroughly imbibed it and, like the Newars of Nepal valley, became fully Indianized. It is only where they are remote from the Aryan-speaking Indians that they are able to maintain their separate identity a little; but their absorption into an Aryan-speaking Indian body-politic is inevitable, whether in Nepal or in Bengal or in Assam. But in the process of their becoming completely Indianized, they are sure to make at least some temperamental contribution to the Indian populations of the north and the north-east, if not much in the way of the material or spiritual: and it is for the future to disclose what line this Kirata, this Indo-Mongoloid or Mongoloid contribution to Indian mentality and culture will take . 27

1. The Census of India, 1901.

2. Indo-Aryan Races. I, Rajshahi, 1916.

3. The Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 424 ff.

4. “Racial affinities of the Peoples of Tndia” in The Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part ITT f 1935); An outline of the Racial Ethnology of India, Calcutta, 1937. .

5. Racial Elements in the Population, No. 22 of “Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs,” Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1944.

6. For a detailed discussion on these points, cf. Ch. X.

7. Racial Elements in the Population, p. 26.

8. The Census of India, 1931, Report. Part I, p. 443.

9. For these, cf. Ch. VXL

10. Cf. Mata-Hari by Renward Brandstetter, Lucerne, 1908. Brandstetter’s linguistic papers on Indonesian are available in English translation by C. O. Blagden (RASB, London).

11. Some of the important papers in this connection have been translated from French into English by Dr. P.C. Bagchi with additional notes and papers in his Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India (Calcutta University, 1929).

12. S, K. Chatterji, “Two New Indo-Aryan Etymologies” in the ZII, Band 9, Leipzig, 1933-34, pp. 31 ff.

13. P.C. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India; J. Przyluski, “Hippokoura et Satakami” (JRAS, 1929, pp. 274-9; English translation in

JAHRS , Vol. IV. Part I, 1930); S. K. Chatterji, “Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan” (JG1S , XH, 42).

14. P. Mitra, “A Vedic Night of the Moon in Polynesia,” Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. I, July, 1934.

15. W. G. Archer, The Blue Grove, the Poetry of the Oraons (London, 1340), p. 19.

16. A resume of Hevesy’s views has been given by Dr. Biren Bonnerjee in 1C, 1937, pp. 621-32.

16a. J. Przyluski, “Emprunts anaryens en Indo-aryes,” Le Monde Oriental, Vol. 28 (1934), pp. 140 ff.

16b. For Dasa-Dasyu, cf. also Ch. XIII.

16c, The Vedic speech would seem to have been written down in a sort of ProtoBraliml as an adaptation of the pre-Aryan Harappa and Mohenjo-daro script for the Aryan language in the tenth century B.G., when “Vyasa,” contemporary of the Mahahhdrata battle, could compile the Veda books from the floating mass of oral religious literature current among the Aryans —and Vyasa, according to a tradition preserved by Al-Biruni, rediscovered for the Hindus their alphabet. (For different views about the date of the Mahahhdrata battle, cf. Ch, XIV).

17. Comparative Grammar of the- Dravidian Languages, third edition (1913), p. 113.

18. Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture, Madras, 1930. ’ .

19. Dravidic Studies, Uo.’Ill (University of Madras), pp. 59 ff.

20. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar (Iyengar), Life in Ancient India in the Age 6f the Mantras (Madias, 1912), p. 125; Dravidic Studies, No. Ill, pp. 61-2.

21. S. K. Chatterji. "'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization," (MR, Dec. 1924, p. 679).

22. P.T.S. Aiyangar, op.cit., p. 126.

23. Dravidic Studies, No. Ill, p. 62.

24. Cf. also Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

25. Cf. Ch. IX.

26. JR AS , 1913, p. 400.

27. For the Kiratas or Indo-Mongoloids, see Hasten Ronnow in Le Monde Oriental, Vol. XXX (1936), pp. 90-169.

CHAPTER IX

THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILIZATION

Until as recently as 1922* early Indian history had little actual remains to offer besides the meagre palaeolithic and neolithic finds, described above (Ch. VII), and the Piprahwa relic was the oldest object of which the date (c. fifth century B. C.) could be approximately determined. The antiquity of Indian history and culture as gleaned from Vedic literature is also not supposed to go beyond the second millennium before Christ. But the archaeological discoveries at Harappa, Mohenjo-daro and other localities (see map No. 2) in the Indus valley have pushed back this limit, at a single stretch, to 3000 B.C., if not to a still remoter period, and India can now lay claim to the honour of being a pioneer of civilization along with Sumer, Akkad, Babylon, Egypt, and Assyria.

The fascinating story of the excavations at various places in the Indus valley has been told above (Ch. TXI) and we shall now' try to reconstruct a picture of the culture and civilization that flourished in this region from the remains found principally at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro.

1. THE TOWN

A visitor to the ruins at Mohenjo-daro Uhe city of the dead) is struck by the remarkable skill in town-planning and sanitation displayed by the ancients, and, as an English writer has observed, “feels himself surrounded by ruins of some present-day working town in Lancashire.” The city was entered from the north and south by the First Street, which is amply wide for both wheeled traffic and pedestrians. East Street, which is the main thoroughfare through the ruins is wider than First Street. The junction of these two is nicknamed “Oxford Circus*’ by archaeologists.

The city was the creation of careful forethought and planning, as is indicated by the striking regularity of the divisions, the successfully aligned streets, the orientation of all principal streets to the points of the compass, the correspondence of the houses and public buildings with the orientation of thoroughfares, etc. Streets varied from 9 feet to 34 feet in width and ran straight sometimes as far as half a mile. They intersected at right angles dividing the city into square or rectangular blocks. Inside this square or oblong, the area is intersected by a number of narrow lanes crowded with houses. Each lane has a public well, and most of the houses have each a private w y ell and a bath. Nowhere was a building allowed to encroach on a public highway as in Sumer. The angles

of the smaller by-ways appear to have been rubbed by pack-animals, and the corners of some buildings were rounded off in order that loads might not be dislodged. The city had an elaborate drainage system consisting of horizontal and vertical drains, street drains, soakpits, etc., which is described later on. The industrial and commercial quarters as well as the lowly abodes of artisans and shopkeepers and the palatial mansions of the rich can easily be distinguished among the ruins. The general impression is that of “a democratic bourgeois economy” as in Crete.

The architecture of Mohenjo-daro, in general, is plain and utilitarian, rather solid than beautiful. There are no sumptuous temples as in Sumer nor monumental tombs as on the Nile. In contrast to Sumer, there is an absence of round columns, recessed doorways, and semi-circular pilasters. The true arch was unknown and the corbelled arch and square or rectangular columns were used instead. The aim in the Indus Valley was to make life comfortable and luxurious rather than refined or artistic.

Harappa is larger in extent than Mohenjo-daro, and had a longer span of life, but presents nearly the same features. Wells at Harappa are rare as compared to Mohenjo-daro. 1a The most remarkable and largest building at Harappa is the Great Granary, measuring 169 feet by 135 feet, which comprises two similar blocks with an aisle, 23 feet wide, between them. Each block has six halls, alternating regularly with five corridors, and each hall is further partitioned into four narrow divisions. Another discovery at Harappa is the workmen’s quarters, which comprise fourteen small houses built in two blocks separated by a long narrow' lane. Each house is open on all sides, rectangular, and consists of a courtyard and two rooms.

At the hill sites in the narrow corridor between the Indus and the Kirthar range, excavated by Mr. Majumdar, bricks were never used as at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and other sites. Hill-side houses were made of stone at the base up to a height of two to three feet. Mud, reed, and wood were used in building superstructures. No fortifications were discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa; on the outskirts of Ali Murad and Kohtras were found fortified palaces made of stone, which was but rarely used in the plains, not being easily available there. At sites around Lake Manchar people lived in pile dwellings.

In building walls, pavements, bath-rooms, drains, wells, etc. burnt brick, possibly made from ordinary alluvial soil, was lavishly used. Sun-dried brick was used only for foundations, packing of terraces, etc. Bricks are ordinarily rectangular in shape, well made, and excellently preserved. Even at the lowest levels we find wellmade bricks which would be a credit even to a modern brick-maker. Wedge-shaped bricks were invariably used in constructing wells.

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and were made in a mould. Sawn bricks were used in bath-rooms to ensure evenness of floor. Curved bricks, which were used for the building of bins lining of wells, have hitherto been found only at Chanhu-daro. None of the bricks have grooves or depressions. Brick kilns have been found at Mohenjo-daro. The colour of the bricks ranges from straw to bright red.

Seven different layers have been recognized in the excavations at Mohenjo-daro. The antiquities in all these levels are homogeneous, the only point of difference being the deterioration of masonry in the later occupation of the cities. Mud mortar was generally used as a cementing material. In drains, where more strength or binding force was required, lime and gypsum mortar were used. The joints in some of the brick-work are so fine that even a thin knife cannot be inserted in them. Occasionally, bitumen was used for water proofing.

Foundations were carried to considerable depths and crude brick was used for infilling. Buildings were erected on artificial mud platforms as a precaution against floods to which ancient Sind was subject.

In most walls bricks were laid in the English Bond method, in alternate headers and stretchers, care being taken to break the joints. A filling of clay or rubble was used between the faces in very thick walls in order to economize bricks. In most cases the vertical alignment of buildings is marvellous, indicating that a plumb bob or a similar instrument was used. This was done by placing each course a little back from the course below or by employing specially moulded bevelled edged bricks. Walls surmounting pavement were wainscotted with bricks laid on edge standing 3 feet above the floor level.

The buildings thus far unearthed in the Indus Valley fall into three main classes: (i) dwelling houses, fii) larger buildings, and fiii) public baths.

There is much variation in the size of dwelling houses. The smallest have no more than two rooms, while the largest are so vast as to rank almost as palaces. Outside walls of the dwelling houses were severely plain.

Ordinarily there was an entrance from the street side. The houses were quite commodious, divided into well sized rooms, containing wells and bath-rooms, and provided with covered drains connected with street drains. The open court was the basic feature of house planning in the Indus Valley, as in Babylon. The courtyard which was usually paved with bricks laid flat v/as surrounded by chambers, and doors and windows opened into it. The kitchen was placed in a sheltered corner of the courtyard, and the ground floor contained store rooms, well chambers, bath, etc. Every house had a separate bath-room, placed at the street side, paved with carefully laid burnt bricks, which sloped to a corner containing the drain carrying off waste water. Vertical drain pipes suggest that baths were constructed on the upper storeys also. Doors were possibly made of wood and were placed at the ends of the walls, not in the middle. Ordinary houses very rarely had windows, in their outer walls. Possibly perforated lattices were used as windows or ventilators at the top of the wall. Stairways, made of solid masonry, are found in nearly every house. They were built straight and steep, with treads unusually narrow and high. In some cases, the stairways led to the upper storeys which contained the bath and the living and sleeping apartments. Roofs were flat and made of wood. It appears that no latrines were ordinarily provided, or they were situated at the top. Doorless chambers in some houses have variously been taken to be cellars, or cess pits for latrines, or sleeping apartments, or solid foundations as a precaution against floods, or treasure rooms. 2 Practically every house had its own well, and public wells were placed between two houses, with a pavement of burnt brick which sloped down to a drain at one corner. Two wells have a square coping at the top, and two are elliptical in shape. Some form of windlasses appears to have been used for drawing water.

The elaborate drainage system is a unique feature of the Indus Valley Civilization, the like of which has not yet been found in any other city of the same antiquity. Below principal streets and many lanes ran a main drain, 1 to 2 feet deep, covered with brick or stone, and provided with sumps and inspection traps at regular intervals. Individual house drains, each one with its own sump pit, opened into the street drains, which in their turn opened into great culverts emptying into the river. All soak pits and drains were occasionally cleared by workmen, and drains were provided with manholes at intervals for cleaning. This elaborate drainage system, like the town-planning, constitutes a notable point of difference with Sumer, where the inhabitants* had, in most cases, vertical pottery drainage shafts beneath their courtyards, but these had no outlet.

As regards larger buildings, some, which were earlier indicated as temples, were later taken to be khans. With the possible exception of the building housing the Great Bath, no building has yet been cleared which can definitely be called religious. The great structure near the Stupa , with extra-thick outer walls, has been named the Collegiate Building, and probably housed some high official, the high priest, or a college of priests. A pillared hall, 80 feet square, divided into long corridors interspersed with low benches having even seats, has the chief seat at right angles to the corridors. It may probably have served for a public assembly.

The Great Bath, which has been taken to be a part of a vast hydropathic establishment is “a swimming bath on a scale which would do credit to a modern seaside hotel.” 3 The overall dimensions of the building housing it are 180 feet by 108 feet. The actual bathing pool, measuring 39 feet by 23 feet with a depth of 8 feet, is situated in the middle of a quadrangle having verandahs on ail sides. At either end, there is a raised platform and a flight of steps, with another platform at the base of each flight of steps. The floor is made of bricks laid on edge, and the walls have been made water-tight by employing specially trimmed brick in gypsum mortar with an inch of damp proof course of bitumen. There is a vaulted culvert, 6 feet 6 inches high, at the south-western corner, which could fill and empty the tank. On three sides at the back of the verandahs are various rooms and galleries. There is a spacious verandah with small rooms at the southern end. There are six entrances to the building containing the bath. It cannot be definitely stated whether the Great Bath was used entirely for secular purposes or for religious ceremonies.

Near the south-west corner of the Great Bath is a hammam or hot air bath. It has a number of rectangular platforms of brick about 5 feet high, having a series of vertical chases sunk in their sides. There is another similar building at Mohenjo-daro which shows that the Indus people understood the principle of the hypocaust and had Turkish baths. Another bath-room establishment consisted of two rows of bath-rooms separated by a narrow passage, each bath-room having a stairway, a narrow doorway and carefully paved floor. According to Dr. Mackay, these ablution places were meant for the priests, while the Great Bath was for the general public.

The careful town-planning, adequate water supply, and efficient drainage system presuppose an advanced state of civic authority. Lamp-posts at intervals indicate me existence of street lighting. There was also a watch and ward system for different quarters, and large caravanserais and public store-houses were provided. That the sanitation was well looked after is seen from the rubbish heap consisting of broken pottery, ashes and humus found in deep trenches outside the city. Trees and plants were allowed to grow in the enclosures. The later levels of the city, however, show the decline of civic authority, as buildings were erected in a haphazard manner, there were encroachments upon lanes, and potters were quartered in the city.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE

All the skeletons unearthed at Mohenjo-daro belong to the chalcolithic period and may be taken as representative of an urban population. Craniological tests reveal the presence of four racial types at Mohenjo-daro, viz., (i) Proto-Australoid: fii) Mediterranean; (in) Mongoloid and (iv) Alpinoid (ante. Ch. VIII). The cosmopoli

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India

CORBELLED DRAIN, MOHENJO-DARO (See p. 175)

GREAT BATH, MOHENJO-DARO (See p. 175)

PLATE III

JEWELLERY—NECKLACES, MOHENJO-DARO (See p. 178)

PLATE IV

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Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS, MOHENJO-DARO (See p. 178)

PLATE V

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Courtesy: AYchcieological Survey of India

ARTS AND CRAFTS, MOHENJO-DARO (See p. 183)

1. SQUIRREL IN FAIENCE 3. BEAD CARVED WITH THREE MONKEYS

2. GLAZED FIGURE OF MONKEY 4-6. BRONZE DANCING GIRL

PLATE VI —STATUARY (See p. 184)

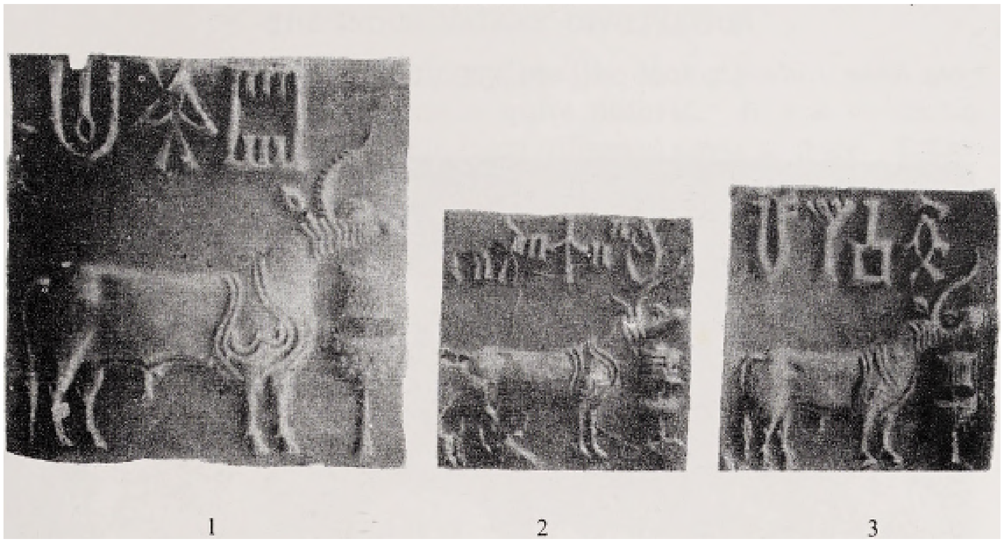

Courtesy: Archaeological Sut'vey of India

SEALS, MOHENJO-DARO (See p. 186, 190f)

1-3. UNICORN WITH A STANDARD 4. SIVA PASUPATI. 5-6 SEALS DEPICTING SIVA

7. HORNED ARCHER 8. TRISULA-HORNED DEITY

PLATE VIII

1. FRACTIONAL BURIAL, MOHENJO-DARO (See p, 193)

Courtesy: Archaeological Survey of India

2. MODEL ANIMAL (HORSE), MOHENJO-DARO (Seep. 198)

tan character of the population in a place like Mohenjo-daro with easy land and water communications is quite natural. It was evidently the meeting ground of the people from different parts of Asia. Sculptural representations also speak of the mingling of diverse races.

Only a country capable of producing food on a large scale, and the presence of a river sufficiently large to facilitate transport, irrigation, and trade, can give rise to cities of this size. The large number or saddle querns found in the excavations indicates cultivation on an extensive scale. Though little is yet known about the actual methods of agriculture adopted by the people, the examination of the specimens of wheat and barley found in the ruins shows that they were not of the wild species. The same variety of wheat is cultivated in the Punjab today. The unit of weight indicates that rice was also grown. 4 The date palm was also an article of diet as is shown by the stones found.

Besides wheat, barley, and rice, milk, too, must have been an important item of food, and doubtless vegetables and other fruits besides the date were included in the dietary. Harappa cultivated peas and sesamums. 4 * In addition, animal food was eaten, including beef, mutton, pork, poultry, the flesh of the gharial , turtle and tortoise, fresh-river fish and dried fish from the sea, and also sheil fish. The half-burnt shells and bones of these animals found in houses, lanes, and streets definitely indicate that they were articles of diet.

Animals were both domesticated and wild. Actual skeletal remains of the Indian humped bull, the buffalo, the sheep, the elephant, the pig, and the camel have been recovered. The Indian humped ox, or “Brahman! bull,” is frequently represented on the seals. It seems to have been a sacred animal, as it is today. Bones of the horse have also been found, but not far below the surface. There is some difference of opinion on the subject, but on the grounds to be subsequently stated, it seems reasonable to suppose that horse was known to the Indus people. The cow was known, and so probably was the lion. Clay models of toys indicate that the Indian bison, the rhinoceros, the tiger, the monkey, the dog, the bear, and the hare were known to the inhabitants. The donkey was known, and -among smaller animals may be included the mongoose, the squirrel, the parrot, the peacock, and the domestic fowl. Harappa knew of the domestic cat.

As regards dress, no actual specimens of ancient clothing have been discovered and we have to depend on the indications supplied by figurines and statuary. One alabaster statue shows that two garments were worn. A shawl-like cloth, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm so as to leave the right arm free, formed the upper garment. The lower garment resembled modern dhoti and was worn quite close to the body. Female attire did not differ from that of the male. Garments were of cotton and perhaps of wool, and possibly they were sewn, as would appear from the needles found at the site.

With regard to the various fashions of hair-dressing, we know more about male styles because the head-dresses worn by the female figurines prevent the hair from being seen. It is likely that women had a plait tied with a bow at the end, a favourite way of dressing the hair in modern India. Men wore long hair; this was either parted in the middle and the short locks at the back kept tidy by a woven fillet; or -was coiled in a ring on the top of the head, similar side rings concealing the ears, or were carried in a mass to the back; or a plaited lock was carried forward from behind in a large loup which turned in again and was secured by a fillet. Short hair was secured by means of a fillet or was coded in a knot with hair pins. These fillets were made mostly of gold, silver or copper. Men grew short beards or close-cropped them along with the upper lip, which was sometimes clean shaven.

With the traditional oriental fondness for ornaments, men and women, both rich and poor, decorated themselves with them and all known semi-precious stones and metals were utilized for manufacturing various ornaments. Women wore a fan-shaped headdress. Small cones of gold, silver, copper, and faience, as also of shell, were worn on the sides of the head. The forehead was decorated with a fillet or a headband. Ear-rings were made of coils of gold, silver, copper, or faience. It is doubtful whether any noseornaments were used. There was a variety of necklaces having pendants in the middle with a number of rows of beads of various shapes and materials artistically arranged using spacers and terminals. Finger-rings were plentiful, and bangles and bracelets were commonly used. Materials for bangles and bracelets were gold, silver, copper, bronze, faience, shell, and pottery. Gold and silver bangles were penannular in shape with their hollows filled with a fibrous or a lac core. A bracelet with six strings of globular beads is an excellent specimen of workmanship. Girdles, of which two fine specimens have been found, were worn round the waist. Anklets of the type still used by hill women round the Simla Hills were worn. Various stones such as carnelian, steatite, agate, chalcedony, jasper, etc., were pressed into service in the manufacture of beads which evince fine workmanship and technical skill on the part of the lapidary. Of the various ornaments mentioned above, men wore fillets, necklaces, finger-rings, and armlets. A yellow steatite pectoral was probably the insignia of office of a priest.

We can also form some idea about the toilet and cosmetics of the people. The “vanity case” found at Harappa, with its combination of piercer, ear-scoop, and tweezers, invites comparison with similar finds from Ur, Kish and Khafaje, both types showing the same peculiar construction of the looped head. Toilet jars were made of ivory, metal, pottery, and stone. Small faience vessels having four compartments were used for keeping expensive perfumes or cosmetics. It appears that the ladies at Mohenjo-daro knew of the use of collyrium, face-paint, and other cosmetics. Small cockle shells containing a red ochre rouge, lumps of green earth, white face-paint and black beauty-substance show that the belles in ancient Sind attended to beauty and toilet culture. It is interesting to note that Chanhu-daro finds indicate the use of lip-sticks.[6] Carbonate of lead, a face-paint, may also have been employed as an eye-ointment or hair-wash. Round metal rods in copper and bronze, with both ends rounded and polished, were probably used for applying cosmetics. There were small toilet tables specially designed for women. Other articles on the dressing-table included mirrors, made of bronze, oval in shape, and combs of different shapes made of ivory. Some combs were probably worn in the hair. Razors of various types, made of bronze, served for the toilet of the male.

Various household articles have been found at Mohenjo-daro. These were made of pottery, stone, shell, faience, ivory, and metal. Copper and bronze appear to have replaced stone as the material for household implements. Pottery supplied for the kitchen numerous articles including flesh-rubbers, cake-moulds, dippers, beakers, bowls, goblets, dishes, basins, pans, saucers, ladles, heaters, jar stands, storage jars, etc. Goblets with pointed bases were the customary drinking vessels, which were possibly to be used only once. Querns, palettes, and jar stands figure among articles of stone. Jar covers and ladles were also made of shell. There were needles, awls, axes, saws, sickles, knives, fish hooks, chisels, etc., made of bronze or copper, the first two also in ivory. Blocks of lead were probably used as net-sinkers.

Chairs, bedsteads, and stools were used to decorate the drawing room. Possibly there were wooden beds like charpais, and stools were made of wicker work and mats of reeds. There were lamps of copper, shell, and pottery. A pottery candlestick found in the ruins indicates that candles, probably made of wax or tallow with wicks of cotton, played their part in illuminating the houses at Mohenjo-daro.

Marbles, balls, and dice were used for games. Marbles were used as playthings both in Sumer and Egypt. That dicing was a common pastime just as it was in Vedic times is indicated by the large number of dice unearthed. Both cubical and tabular specimens are found, the latter being the commoner. Unlike the oblong pieces in common use in India at present, they are usually cubic in shape like the European dice; but the arrangement of numbers differs from the European system (where the sum of points on any two opposite sides amounts to 7), 1 being opposite to 2, 3 to 4, and

5 to 6. The tabular dice, invariably made of ivory; have three sides marked with numbers 1, 2, 3 and the remaining side is decorated with longitudinal lines. Of the seven pieces found at Harappa, four bear markings like those

of Mohenjo-daro; on two are marked 1 opposite to 2 t 3 to 4, and 5 to 6; and one has markings like the modern dice (i.e., 1 opposite to 6, 2 to 5, and 3 to 4). Thus there were three different ways of marking dice in the Indus Valley. It is not certain whether the throwing of dice constituted a game in itself. Possibly dice were used in conjunction with board games, as two incomplete specimens of game boards of brick have been found. Some flat models of fish in ivory appear to have been used in some game.

Some representations on amulet seals showing men shooting a wild goat a$d a large antelope with bows and arrows, and the remains of large antlers of deer and stags indicate that hunting was indulged in. Bull fighting was probably another pastime. There are indications to show that birds were kept as pets, and also for fighting. A certain amount of trapping was also carried on, and fishing WcK a regular occupation. Clay modelling appears to have been a favourite pastime with children, as is.indicated by the large number of crude specimens of childish workmanship.

Specimens of toys are various, interesting, and ingenious. Little clay carts appear to have been the favourite toy with children as would appear from the large number found. Pottery rams, with the fleece indicated by lines of red paint and mounted on two wheels with a hole through the neck for a draw-string were common playthings. The toy carts are particularly interesting as being among the earliest representatives of wheeled vehicles known to us. Usually toys were clay models of men, women, and animals, whistles, rattles, etc. There were also toy birds provided with stock legs, small animals climbing up a pole, and figures with movable arms. The bull with a nodding head worked by a stiff fibre, and a monkeylike animal with movable arms figure among the more ingenious toys. Complex toys like figures moving up and down a string whose progress could be accelerated by manipulating a cord were also manufactured.

Bullock-carts were the chief means of conveyance. In addition to models of carts found at Mohenjo-daro similar to the farm carts in common use at present in Sind and the Punjab, a copper specimen has been found at Harappa, which looks like an ekka of the present day, with a canopy for protection from the sun and rain. It thus appears that the ancients also used the same type of the bullock cart as is found in modern Sind, which was probably drawn by two animals yoked to a pole. Bullock carls with a gabled roof over a wooden frame were also in use.

Weights have been found in large numbers, and range from

large specimens which had to be lifted with a rope to very small ones used by jewellers. Cubical weights seem to be by far the most common. Some small weights of dark grey slate resemble the barrel-shaped weights of Elam and Mesopotamia, and are more accurate and consistent than those of Susa and Iraq. The sequence of ratios is binary in the case of the smaller weights as at Susa, and decimal in the case of larger ones. There is no evidence of a sexagesimal system. The unit weight has the calculated value of .8750 gms, the largest weight being 10970 gms. The most frequently discovered weight is one of 13.64 gms. which stands in the ratio of 16 to the standard unit of weight indicating the dominance of the number 16 in Indian culture. 6 It appears that a strict control was exercised over the maintenance of the proper standard of weight. The poor used ordinary pebbles as weights.

The few specimens of scales used with the weights appear to be of a very ordinary pattern^ consisting of a bronze bar with suspended copper pans. Heavy weights must have required much larger beams, which were most probably made of wood. There is no evidence that the steelyard was known.

It is more difficult to form an idea of the measurement of length. A slip of shell, 6.62 inches long, which now preserves nine definite divisions each averaging 0.264 inches, has been taken by Dr. Mackay to be part of a linear measure. As groups of five appear to bear special marks, it seems that the decimal system was known, the measure indicating a decimal scale of 1.32 inches rising probably to a foot of 13.2 inches. Egypt was familiar with the decimal system of linear measure since the Fourth Dynasty, and a purely decimal system is found on Proto-Elamite tablets. Early Sumer used both the decimal and the sexagesimal systems. Probably the decimal system originated independently in the Indus Valley. Harappa ruins have yielded a fragmentary measure, a bronze rod, 1.5 inches long, broken at both ends, bearing four complete divisions accurately marked. It seems to have been based on the standard cubit of 20.62 inches which was widely used in the ancient world. Thus, the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa measures indicate that both the foot and cubit systems were current simultaneously in the Indus Valley.

Of the medicines used by the people we know but little. Pieces of a coal-black substance forming a dark-brown solution of water have been identified with gilajit, which is known to be a specific for dyspepsia, diabetes, diseases of the liver, rheumatism, etc. Several cuttle fish bones have been found stored in pottery. Cuttle bone is internally used as an appetiser, and externally in diseases of ear, eye, throat, and skin. The horns of the deer and antelope (and possibly also of the rhinoceros) were valued for their medicinal qualities. Coral and leaves of the nim tree (azadirachta indica) were possibly used as medicines. All these specifics are still prescribed in ayur

vedic medicine, and thus the origin of the indigenous medicinal system of India may be traced to the Indus Valley Civilization.

Abundant specimens of weapons, tools, and implements have been discovered. Weapons of war or the chase were axes, spears, daggers, bows, arrows, maces > slings, perhaps catapults, and swords, made generally of copper or bronze. Blade axes resemble the early specimens found at Susa. Spear heads are thin and broad, without the strengthening mid rib, and with a tang instead of a socket. The daggers and knives are generally long and leaf-shaped, some with a single edge and others with two. Arrow heads are thin, flat pieces of copper with long narrow barbs and no tang. Maces were made of alabaster, sandstone, limestone, or hard green-coloured stone, and the pear-shaped mace, resembling the specimens from Elam, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, was most common. Swords are considerably thickened in the middle, but have blunt points suggesting, that they were not used for thrusting. A kind of scale armour prepared from thin domed pieces of copper perforated with two minute holes was worn as for protection, and the shield was probably used for defensive purposes.

Lance heads, chisels, celts, axes, adzes, and saws figure among the tools and implements. Axes are either long and narrow or short and broad: the latter being probably used for cutting wood. A single 'specimen of a socketed bronze adze-axe is known, which can be compared to some finds in the Caucasus region. The cutting edge of the saw is semi-circular in shape and the toothed edge is wavy. Toothed saws were unknown among other peoples of antiquity

The people of Mohenjo-daro maintained close contact with the outside world. For the import of various metals, precious stones, and other articles the Indus Valley had connections with Southern and Eastern India, Kashmir, Mysore, and the Nilgiri Hills, as also with the countries immediately to the West and Central Asia (see below, p. 188). Evidence as to relations with Sumer is overwhelming, and trade contacts were maintained v/ith Egypt and Crete. The representation on a seal of a mastless ship, with a central cabin and a steersman seated at the rudder, indicates that the people of the Indus Valley were acquainted with maritime vessels. The boat has a sharply up-turned-prow and stern similar to the archaic representations on Early Minoan seals, cylinders of Sumer, and the Pre-Dynastic pottery of Egypt. Dr. Mackay thinks that the Indus Valley was in touch with Sumer and Elam by the sea route also. Mohenjo-daro thus appears to have been a great inland port carrying on trade with Ur and Kish, probably also with Egypt.

The remains unearthed at Mohenjo-daro demonstrate the existence of different sections of people who may be grouped into four main classes, the learned class, warriors, traders and artishns, and

finally manual labourers, corresponding roughly to the four Vamia& of the Vedic period. 7 The learned class probably comprised priests and physicians, astrologers, and sorcerers. According to archaeologists there is practically no vestige of the fighting classes; but the existence of “palaces” with ancient foundations, of substantial swords showing that some of the people were well armed, of watchmen’s quarters at Mohenjo-daro, and of ancient fort walls at other sites in Sind, points to a class similar to the Kshatriyas, whose duty was to protect the people. A commercial class and various artisans such as the mason, engraver, shell-worker, weaver, goldsmith, etc., formed the third class. Domestic servants and manual labourers like leather-workers basket-makers, peasants, fishermen, etc., belonged to the last class.

3. ARTS, CRAFTS, AND INDUSTRIES •

There is very little sign of art for art's sake in the Indus Valley. There is no trace of ornamentation in houses and public buildings. Tools, weapons, vessels, etc., are quite plain and practical, but lack subtle, grace. Even the painted pottery has commonplace designs. Specimens of art are to be sought only in figurines, seals* amulets, and other small objects. All figurines are well baked, and some of them are painted in red. The majority of human figures are female, and they are nude except for a narrow girdle round the loins. Animal figures are found in large numbers in pottery; the squirrel and monkeys are made in faience, and a turtle in shell. The shorthorned bull is realistically portrayed as on the seals. The mastiff cut from steatite is quite life-like and resembles the English mastiff of today. The small carvings, presumably used as amulets, are most charming: notably little squirrels in faience (PL V. 1) not a couple of inches high, sitting up with tails erect and munching something from beneath their fore-paws; little monkeys (PI. V. 2) with a worried expression, almost identical to what is so noticeable on the faces of their descendants today; and perhaps most delightful of all, a bead carved with three monkeys (PI- V. 3) sitting round in a circle, clasping one another's waists with their arms. The exquisite bronze figure of an aboriginal dancing girl (PI. V. 4-6) with her hand on the hip, in an almost impudent posture, is a noteworthy object. Her hands and legs are disproportionately long and she wears bracelets right up to the shoulder. The legs are put slightly forward with the feet beating time to the music. "Though more impressionistic in style than the stone sculptures, this figure, which is cast in one piece, astonishes one by the ease and naturalness of its posture." 8

Of the seal engravings the best are those of such animals as the humped bull, the buffalo, and the bison, which the artist had an opportunity of studying at first hand. The humped bull is frankly

realistic and spirited, and in its portrayal the artist has tempered realism with breadth of treatment and restraint. The buffalo is very effectively shown with a slightly raised head, displaying its great horns in the act pf bellowing. The bison with powerful arched shoulders and relatively small hind quarters is quite lifelike. The blue faience tablet, depicting a deity seated cross-legged on a throne with a kneeling devotee on either side and a snake behind; “serves well to illustrate how instructive and illuminating a background this new-found prehistoric art of India is likely to supply to the later art of historic India.”[1] The best of the engraved seals are master-pieces of the engraver’s art, as vivid in their drawing as they are Skilful in execution, which could only have been turned out by people possessed of marked artistic ability and great technical skill.

Statuary is rare, only a few specimens being found. Statues were cut from comparatively soft stones, grey and yellow limestone, alabaster, and steatite. A steatite male head looks like an attempt at portraiture (PI. VI.-3)* The figure is draped in a shawl, decorated with trefoil patterns, which is worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The eyes are long, and half closed in a yoga attitude. The nose is well formed and of medium size; the mouth is of average size with close-cut moustache and x a short beard and whiskers; the ears resemble double shells with a hole in the middle. The hair is parted in the middle, and a plain woven fillet is passed round the head. An armlet is worn on the right hand and holes round the neck suggest a necklace. The noticeable features in all statues are the prominent cheek-bones, the thick, short, sturdy neck, and narrow oblique eyes, in contrast to the Sumerian statues,, which have round and full eyes, and full, fleshy lips. The heads are brachycephalic, dolichocephalic and mesaticranial.

Two statuettes from Harappa have revolutionized the current ideas about early Indian art (PI. VI. 1, 2). In both, there are socket holes in the neck and shoulders for the attachment of head and arms, made in separate pieces in the red-stone torso, the frontal pose is adopted, the shoulders are well backed, and the abdomen slightly prominent. In the opinion of eminent art critics, for pure simplicity and feeling nothing to compare with this masterpiece was produced until the great age of Hellas. The other statuette represents a dancer standing on the right leg with the left leg raised in front, the body above the waist and both arms bent round to the left. The pose is full of movement. The neck is abnormally thick; possibly it may represent §iva Nataraja, or the head may have been that of an animal. The anatomical faithfulness in these statuettes is striking. Specimens of art in lapidary work are found in the remarkably well-made stone beads specially those of clear and clouded agate, red translucent carnelinn. etc. An in stance of the considerable skill exhibited in the manufacture of stone beads is one that was made of five segments of chalcedony and deep red camelian', which were cemented together to imitate a bead cut out of a piece of regularly veined stone.

From the discovery of many spindles and spindle whorls in the houses in the Indus Valley it is evident that spinning of cotton and wool was very common. That both the rich and poor practised spinning is indicated by the whorls being made of the expensive faience as also of the cheap pottery and shell. No textiles of any description have been preserved in the Indus Valley.owing to the nature of the soil. A close and exhaustive examination, in the Technological Laboratory, of the pieces of cotton which were found attached to a silver vase, shows the specimen to be a variety of the coarser Indian cotton, cultivated in upper India today, and not of the wild species. Some more specimens of woven material adhering to various copper objects have also been found to be mostly cotton, but some were bast fibres. There is no indication from the ruins as to the existence of flax, which is largely grown in India at present and was known in ancient Elam and Egypt. The purple dye on a piece of cotton has been taken to have been produced from the madder plant. Dyers' vats found on the site indicate that dyeing was practised.

The Indus Valley pottery consists chiefly of very fine wheelmade wares, plain pottery being more common than the painted ware or ware with designs. In marked contrast to the delicate thinness of much of the Iranian and Mesopotamian wares, the Indus Valley pottery is heavy and utilitarian.

The clay used was the alluvium from the Indus, tempered with sand generally containing fine particles of mica or lime. Most of the specimens are wheel-turned, very few being hand-made. Pottery, brick, and terracotta were fired in kilns which were circular in shape with arrangements for heating underneath a floor provided with flues.

The plain ware is usually of red clay, with or without a fine red or grey "slip." It includes knobbed ware which is a curious type ornamented with rows of knobs. Imported Indian vases of this type have been found at Tell Asmar. The black-painted ware has a fine coating of red slip on which geometric and animal designs are executed in glossy black paint.

Polychrome pottery is rare and mainly comprised of small vases decorated with geometric patterns in red, black, and green, rarely white and yellow.

Incised ware also is rare and the incised decoration was confined to the bases of the pans, always inside, and to the dishes of offering stands. Egg-shell pottery, locally known as Kagzi, is of exquisitely delicate workmanship and is absent in Susa and Babylon. Perforated pottery has a large hole at the bottom and small holes all over the wall, and was probably used for straining liquor.

Pottery for household purposes is found in as many shapes and sizes as could be conceived for daily practical use. Straight and angular shapes are the exception, and graceful curves the rule, with the Indus Valley pottery. Miniature vessels, mostly less than half an inch in height, are particularly so marvellously executed as to evoke the admiration of visitors.

Shanhu-daro appears to have been a manufacturing centre of toys, judging from the large number unearthed there. Pottery rattles, gaily decorated, and model pottery carts in various shapes with humped oxen are exceedingly common. Pottery rattles are so substantially made that hardly a broken specimen is found. There is a wide variety in the types of toy cart.

Seals discovered in the various strata constitute one of the most interesting features of the finds. Hitherto over 2,000 seals have been'recovered from the various sites. . Steatite, faience, ivory, and pottery are the materials used for manufacturing seals.

Stamped seals were Invariably made of steatite, which came from Aravalli. Steatite was cut into shape with a saw, after which the boss was cut. The boss was then rounded off after the groove by a knife and finished off with an abrasive. The designs appear to have been cut by a burin. The body was first carved before outlining other parts. Inscriptions were added later. Almost all seals were coated with a smooth glossy glaze. Steatite was hardened by heating.

Seals are of various sizes and shapes, the most popular shape being square or oblong, with a pierced hump at the back for suspension, and a flat face decorated with exquisite designs, generally of animals, and with inscriptions in a pictographic script. The inscriptions on the seals, however, do not seem to have any connection with the figures on them, as the same animal figure is found in company with completely different inscriptions. The Sv&stika design, which is found in Crete, Cappadocia, Troy, Susa, Musyan, etc., but not in Babylonia or Egypt, appears on particular types of seals and indicates their religious use or significance. Though cylinder seals were universally used in Sumer, only three specimens have so far been found in the Indus Valley,-having purely Indian devices.

A number of small steatite tablets recovered from the lowest levels at Harappa, having almost identical legends, are considered as receipts by Dr. Hunter, 9

There are square or rectangular copper tablets, with an animal or human figure on one side and an inscription on the other, or an inscription on both sides. The figures and signs are carefully cut with a burin. These copper tablets appear to have been amulets. 10 Unlike inscriptions on seals which vary in each case, inscriptions on

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copper tablets seem to be associated with the animals portrayed on them.

It has generally been assumed that the designs on the Indus Valley seals, like those on the cylinder seals of Babylonia, were of a religious character and showed that the people were animal-worshippers. The commonest animal appears to be the so-called unicorn or antelope, resembling a bull, but without a hump, and a single protruding horn shown in profile. In front of the unicorn is placed a curious object, the lower portion of which is a bowl-like receptacle, with an upper part resembling a cage. Probably both the animal and the object have a ceremonial significance connected with the principal deity of Mohenjo-daro. The other animals are the short-horned bull, the Brahmani bull, the elephant, the tiger, the rhinoceros, the ghavial . and the antelope. A flat-bottomed low manger or trough appears on some seals, and it is seen only before wild animals. The short-horned bull, the buffalo, and the rhinoceros are very carefully and realistically portrayed. The tiger with an open mouth and protruding tongue sometimes gazes at a tree on whose branches a man is perched. Alongside there appear mythological creatures and composite animals, such as human figures with, bull's ears, horns, hoof, and tail; or a horned tiger; or a uruslike animal with additional heads of antelope and short-horned bull; or a most fantastic abortion, a curious human-faced animal partaking of the characteristics of a goat, a bull, a tiger, and an elephant. One circular seal shows six animal heads radiating from a boss.

The uses to which seals were put at Mohenjo-daro are uncertain •and have been the subject-matter of various conjectures. The large variations in the inscriptions speak against their use as money. Reversed writing on 99 per cent of these objects becomes inexplicable if they are taken as amulets, and the projecting boss at the back disproves their use for this purpos e. Their use in other countries indicates that they were stamped on some plastic materia! like clay in order to authenticate property or seal the mouths of jars or doors. Owing to their fragile nature, actual clay impressions have been found of only a few specimens. Terra-cotta sealings were probably used for some specific purpose. Their large number and the fact that they have been found in the houses of the rich and poor alike indicate that the inhabitants attached great importance to them, and probably every citizen carried one on his person. The attempts in some seals to replace the legend after cutting it indicate that after the death of the original owner of the seal, it was taken by another by making appropriate changes in the inscription. 11

Among semi-precious stones used for ornament, amazon and amethyst came from the south, and laois lazuli, turquoise, and jadeite from the west. Rainutana and Kathiawar supplied plasma, agate, jasper, and blood-stone. All these were used for manufacturing beads, regard being paid to their colour-scheme, size, and markings. Great technical skill is displayed in the manufacture of beads. The holes in the carnelian beads are well polished and testify to the great skill in boring such hard stones. Some unfinished beads of agate show that they were shaped and smoothed before being bored, for the translucency of the polished stone helped the lapidary in drilling straight. The accuracy of chert weights shows that the people were proficient in the working of flint, agate, gneiss, and other hard stones.

The gold used in the Indus Valley appears to have come from the gold mines at Kolar and in the Anantapur district. Different kinds of beads of gold were variously made by soldering cup-like pieces together or by casting or by beating out and soldering together. Bangles were made of thin sheets of gold with the metal slightly overlapping on the inside. Afghanistan, Armenia, and Persia range among the probable sources of silver. Large globular silver beads were cast or beaten out. Ear-rings were made of silver wire roughly bent round. Silver bracelets were made on core like gold bracelets. Copper and bronze are found side by side to the lowest levels at Mohenjo-daro. Copper may have come from Rajputana, Baluchistan or Madras. The use of bronze indicates a great advance over contemporary civilizations in metal-working. Though thus superior to the Sumerians in possessing the secret of smelting bronze. Indian metal-workers could not rival the beauty and delicacy of the gold and copper objects from Ur. Copper vessels were raised from sheet metal: those of bronze were cast by the cire perdue process. Eyes of needles and awls were formed either by drilling holes close together and then breaking the intervening material, or by bending the head over' as in some pre-Sargonic needles at Kish. Copper and bronze finger-rings were generally made of coiled wire. Lead was extensively mined in ancient India, and Ajmer may have supplied lead to the Indus Valley. It is significant that the people of the Indus Valley were not conversant with the metallurgy of iron. *

Shell is extensively used especially in the making of ornaments and pieces of inlay. Most of the shell might ha-ste come from places along the coast of India and the Persian Gulf. Mussel shell was also fairly common and was probably used as a spoon. Oliva was worn as an ornament and had some magic value attached rto it. Cockle shells were probably used, as in earlv Sumer, to hold cosmetics. Mother of pearl is conspicuous by its absence, while it was used by the Sumerians for inlay. Shell was apparent!v available in large nuantities. The manufacturers experienced great difficulties in cutting shell. Columella was first hollowed out bv means of a saw and a hammer, and the tubular niece remaining was sawn into bracelets. Beads of different shares and pieces for inlay work were made out of the columella, and the whole of the shell was utilized. The comparative paucity of ivory objects may possibly be due to the sanctity attached to elephants. The wild elephant, which is totally extinct in North-Western India at present, probably

roamed in'Sind and the Puniab in the third millennium B.C. At

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that period the climate of the Indus valley, if we may judge by the flora and fauna, resembled that of the Ganges delta today. Though no true glass has yet been unearthed, the art of glazing appears to have been practised. Vitrified paste and faience were used for glazed work. Faience was extensively manufactured in the Indus Valley and is found at all levels. Ordinary articles of faience are composed of a white or a greyish paste, granular in appearance, coated with a glaze, which has now faded to a light blue or green. Great skill in glazing is exhibited in a pottery bead covered by two coloured glazes, brown and white, which was first taken to have been made of glass.

4. RELIGION

No buildings have so far been discovered in the Indus Valley which may be definitely regarded as temples, and even those doubtfully classed as such have yielded no, religious relics. There are no shrines, altars, or any definite cult objects. It is indeed curious that the Indus finds do not include any positive religious material, for religion has always played a dominant part in ancient cultures, and especially in India, where it was the prime factor moulding the lives of people for ages. All that we have to rely on for reconstructing the religion of the people is the testimony of the seals, sealings, figurines, stone images, etc. In spite of the meagreness of the material the light it throws on ancient religion is invaluable. Here we can only refer to a few leading ideas.

The first in point of importance is the cult of the Mother Goddess. A number of figurines of terra-cotta, faience, etc., portray a standing and semi-nude female figure, wearing a girdle or band round her loins, with elaborate head-dress and collar, occasionally with ornamental cheek cones and necklace; sometimes the earornaments are like caps suspended on either side of the head. Some of the figures are smoke-stained, and it is possible that oil, or perhaps incense, was burnt before them in order that the goddess might hearken favourably to a petition. 12 Figurines similar to those in the Indus Valley have been discovered in many countries in Western Asia between Persia and the Aegean, and also round wayside trees and village shrines in South India. These figures are rightly taken to represent the Mother or Nature Goddess. There is* no reason to believe that the cult of the Mother Goddess originated in Anatolia or any other particular country because the concepts of the motherhood of God and of the divinity of Nature are quite common among

the primitive peoples Of the world, and -are wide-spread and deeprooted in India. 12 * The Mother Goddess is represented in every village as the tutelary deity (grama devatd) and is known under various names, such as Mata, Amba, Amma, Kali, Karali, etc. f sometimes to be dreaded, sometimes warding off evil spirits, imparting fertility, etc. It may be mentioned that the Rigveda refers to Pfithvi and Aditi which are akin to the Mother Goddess.

An interesting sealing from Harappa shows a nude female figure, turned upside down, with out-spread legs and a plant issuing from the womb. The reverse side has a man with a sickle-shaped knife in hand and a woman seated on the ground with hands raised in supplication. Obviously this depicts a human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess, portrayed on the obverse with two genii. A similar figure of the Gupta Age has been discovered in the United Provinces with a lotus issuing out of the neck of the goddess. Perhaps the sealing represents a river gushing out of the goddess’s womb. 13 The representation of a figure standing in the bifurcated branch of a pxpal tree also appears to depict the Mother Goddess. To this goddess the worshipper brings a goat, probably for sacrifice, and a number of people standing in the lower register seem to be taking part in the sacrifice. The Pipal tree is still held to be sacred in India, but not associated with the cult of the Mother Goddess. The goat sacrifice has survived in the worship of Sakti, another form of the Mother Goddess, in which the sacrifice of animals is the most characteristic feature. It is still uncertain whether the female deity represented by pottery figurines was regarded as a virgin goddess or as the consort of the male god on the seal amulets.

Among the male gods the most remarkable is a three-faced deity wearing a horned head-dress, seated cross-legged on a throne, with pevis erectus. and surrounded by elephant, tiger, buffalo, and rhinoceros, witli deer appearing under the seat. It wears a number of bangles and has a pectoral round the neck, and an inscription of seven letters appears at the top (PI. .VII. 4). This representation has at least three concepts which are usually associated with Siva viz., that he is (i) trim.n'kha (three-faced), (ii) pasupati (lord of animals), and (iii) YoaHrara or Mdhdyoqx. The first two aspects

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are apparent from the sea 1 itself. The deity is sitting cross-legged in a padmdsana posture with eyes turned towards the tip of the.

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nose which evidences the Yogisvara aspect of the deitv. It has been

suggested by some scholars 14 that this Siva-cult was borrowed bv

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the Tndo-Arvans from th e Indus culture but as there is a reference to Siva in the Riqveda itself. 14 ® Siva may not be a later intruder in the Hindu pantheon.

Two more seals of Siva have been found in the course of further excavations (PI. VII. 5. 6). The deity is always nude save for a cincture round the waist, and has a horned head-dress. In one seal

the deity is three-faced and seated on a low dais, while the second has one face in profile; both have a sprig of flowers or leaves rising from the head between the horns. This sprig suggests that the deity so ornamented is a vegetation or fertility god—another link with Siva, who personifies the reproductive powers of nature, A horned archer dressed in a costume of leaves (PI. VII. 7) displays the divine hunter aspect of Siva.

It thus appears that Siva was one of the principal deities of the people along with the Mother Goddess. His worship was, however, not merely iconic, but also phallic, as would appear from the presence of a large number of conical and cylindrical stones. These conical and cylindrical stones probably symbolize fertility, and are connected with the cult of Siva as Li'hgas. Many scholars find a contemptuous reference in the Rigveda to phallus worship and regard it as a veiled allusion to the religious customs of the pre-Aryan people of the Indus Valley, but it has been suggested by others that the passage in question simply alludes to sensuous or lustful • persons. 16

Small ring stones suggest that the worship of the Yoni , the female symbol of generation, was also prevalent though not to such an extent as' Linga worship. It is, however, possible to take the group of ring stones as pedestals or bases of pillars. Hence until the linga and one of the ring stones are found in close association, the question of the prevalence of phallic worship cannot be definitely settled. The Vedic religion, it may be observed, was originally • aniconic, the worship of icons arising at a later stage.

That animal worship or zoolatry formed part of the religious beliefs of the people is indicated by the representations of animals on seals and sealings, or in terra-cotta, faience, and stone figurines. The animals fall into three groups: (i) mythical animals, e.g. a semi-human, semi-bovine creature, attacking a homed tiger resembling Eabani or Enkidu in Sumerian mythology; or, complex animals, with the heads of different animals attached to a central boss, which may possibly be an attempt to bring together the representations of various deities; (ii) ambiguous animals, which are not completely mythical, like the strange unicorn, accompanied with manger or incense-burner; or animals figuring as officiant genii. The frequency with which the unicorn appears has been taken to indicate that it was the tutelary deity of the city. Lastly there are (iii) actual animals, including the rhinoceros, the bison, the tiger, the elephant, the buffalo, the humped bull or zebra, the short-horned bull. etc. The feeding troughs which appear before some of these have been taken as symbolizing food offerings to beasts which could not be domesticated, indicating the animals as objects of worship. Some of these animals were regarded as the vdhana or vehicles of the gods. The bull, for instance, is closely associated with Siva.

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It may be suggested that the limestone statues of animals resting on rectangular plinths represent gods in their animal form. Possibly the unicorn has some connection with the boar incarnation of Vishnu, which is said to be eka-sfinga (one-homed).

Apart from their use as pictographic signs, no birds appear on seals or other amulets. It seems, however, that the dove was looked upon as sacred, as some of the pottery models on little pedestals exactly resemble those found at very early sites in Mesopotamia, where the dove was regarded as sacred to the Mother Goddess.

The worship of tree, fire, and water also seems to have been in vogue. The existence of tree worship is evidenced by the representations on several seals and sealings. The most interesting of these depicts the tri&ula -horned deity standing nude, with long hair, between two branches of a tree with the half-kneeling figure of a worshipper with long hair, armlets, and horns, behind whom is a composite animal; in the lower register appear seven standing figures, with dresses down to the knees, in procession (PI. No. VH. 8). The leaves of the tree appear like those of the pipai: Some sealings from Harappa show trees enclosed by a wall or a railing. It cannot at present be stated definitely whether tree worship pertained to trees in their natural state or to their indwelling spirits.

Rectangular aisles, separated from each other by long walls,

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suggest the Vedic sacrificial altar of a rectangular shape (agnisdld paved with bricks), in which offerings were made to Fire and other gods. 16

Though no direct evidence has been found to river worship, the important part played by water in the daily life of the Indus people, as indicated by the elaborate arrangements for bathing and the Great Bath, seems to show that ceremonial ablutions formed a feature of their religion. The Great Bath has been suggested as the temple of the River-God. The crocodile probably represented the river Indus. The cult of the gharial survives in Sind even today.

The representations, on some seals, of Svastika and the wheel, which are the symbols of the sun, suggest that the sun was not represented anthropomorphically but symbolically. Svastika and the cross appear to be religious or magical symbols as in Babylonia and Elam.

From a faience tablet showing a seated deity with a worshipper on either side and a hooded cobra over the head, it appears that some form of Ndga worship was practised.

5. FUNERARY CUSTOMS

The evidence with regard to the customs about the disposal, of the dead in the ancient Indus Valley is yet far too meagre for any definite conclusions, and though Harappii records more ample

material, it relates to a period subsequent to the occupation of Mohenjo-daro.

Three forms of burial have been found at Mohenjo-daro, viz., complete burials, fractional burials, and post-cremation burials. Complete burial means the burial of the whole body, ceremonially performed in various forms, along with the grave furniture, offerings, etc. About 30 skeletons, evidencing complete burials, have been found in different groups. Some of these appear to have been victims of accidental death. ,Ali these burials appear, on stratigraphical evidence, to relate to the declining years of Mohenjo-daro.

Fractional burial represents a collection of some bones after the exposure of the body to wild beasts and birds. Five such burials have been found, the best specimen being an urn containing a skull and some fragmentary bones, along with a number of earthenware vessels, and a variety of small objects including balls, beads, shell spoon, bits of ivory, and miniature vessels kP\.

VIII. 1). Human bones are not found in all specimens, probably because after exposure bones were ground to dust before interment.

Post-cremation burials have been inferred from large widemouthed urns containing a number of smaller vessels, bones of animals, and of birds or fish, and a variety of small objects, such ns beads, bangles, figurines, etc., sometimes mixed with charcoal ashes. These are generally found underneath a floor or a street. Human bones are seldom found, these generally being the bones of lambs, goats, etc., as bones are hardly necessary for post-cremation burials. The uniform character of the urns, quite distinct from the domestic varieties, as also the offerings in the form cf objects of special interest to the departed, and the burial of these urns within dwelling houses or in close proximity, leave r.o doubt as to their being burial urns. These have been discovered at six places in Mohenjo-daro, distributed among strata of all periods.

6. THE INDUS SCRIPT

The Indus script has been characterized by most scholars as pictographic, but save for a small number of signs representing birds fish, etc., and varieties cf the human form, the rest bear more or less a conventional character. Originally pictographic. the signs, as we know them, have become standardized, but not so conventionalized by usage as to have become mere stereotyped summaries like the cuneiform characters of Mesopotamia. During all the centuries of Mohenjo-daro’s occupation, the script presents no development in the form of the letters. The script is found in one stage only, so that we cannot trace its genesis from the pictographic to the ideographic or phonetic, cr its later development to any of the scripts of India.

The most remarkable features of the Indus script are its clarity and straight rectilinear character, and the extent and variety of its signs. Admirable ingenuity is displayed in modifying the signs by the addition of strokes or accents, and in combining one sign witn another in the form of conjuncts. The large number of signs precludes the possibility of the script being alphabetic. It was mainly phonetic, most of tire signs apparently standing for open or closed syllables, and the remainder functioning as determinatives or ideograms. Nearly 400 distinct signs have been listed from the script so far.

From the recurrence of certain characters, the facing of the animais and a few other indications, it has rightly been inferred that the direction of writing is from the right to the left, though in a very few inscriptions the direction is from left to right. In legends covering two or more lines the direction is boustraphedon .

There are resemblances between some characters in the Indus script and those in the Sumerian, proto-Elamite, Hittite, Egyptian, Cretan, Cypriote, and Chinese scripts. Similarities have also been traced with the script of the Easter Islands, and the Tantric picto* graphic alphabets. All these scripts are possibly interrelated, but only up to a certain point. Some scholars even claim the Brahmi to have been derived from the Indus script.

It is not possible, in the present stage of our knowledge, to determine the language of the script. Some scholars take it to be Sanskrit and others as Dravidian. In their attempts to decipher the script several scholars have taken for granted the identity of the Indus language with one or the other of the known languages or their prototypes. 17 In connection with the resemblances of the Indus signs with other scripts, Kao Bahadur Dikshit observes that the resemblance with Sumerian and proto-Elamite signs presages a close connection, at least in the formative stages; similarities with the Egyptian and Chinese pictographs are superficial, and the Indus script developed independently on Indian soil. 18 With regard to interpreting the script in terms of the Dravidian equivalents, it may be stated that we have nothing to rely on as to the original or the proto-Dravidian language; the language could not have been static during these 5,000 years. 18a Much more extensive research in Southern India, moreover, will be necessary before definite links can be forged between the later stages of the Indus Valley civilization and the dawn of civilization in Southern India.

The material at our disposal is sufficiently large, but despite earnest attempts by scholars no real light can be thrown on the subject which may find general acceptance. In the absence of a real solution that would stand the test of any and every investigator, all attempts to decipher the script will have merely an academic interest. The Indus Valley had trade relations with

Sumer and Elam, and Indus seals have been found at the latter sites. It is likely that

some bilingual inscription, turned up by the spade of the archaeologist in Iraq, will give us the right clue to the decipherment of the Indus script.

7. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CULTURE

Despite its definite individual characteristics, the Indus Valley civilization is not isolated and unique, but has sister civilizations elsewhere, with several outstanding common features, which indicate its contemporaneity with the western city cultures in Mesopotamia. At none of the sites in the Indus Valley has iron been found, which gives us the lower limit of the age oi the civilization, as iron was known everywhere in the Middle East in the later half of the second millennium B.C- The civilization that we find in the Indus Valley is still of the chaicolithic age displaying remarkable similarity with the Second Pre-Diluvian Culture of Elam and Mesopotamia, and the proto-historic period of Sumer (c. 2750 B.C.).

Excavation has brought to light seven different layers of buildings at Mohenjo-daro, which have been assigned to three periods, viz. Early, Intermediate, and Late. Earlier layers lie submerged under subsoil water. The phase of the Indus Valley civilization found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa is known as the “Harappa Culture/’ Explorations in Sind have brought to light three different “cultures,*’ viz., those of Amri, Jhukar, and Jhangar, the first of which preceded and the last two followed the Harappa culture. Chanhu-daro displayed races of Jhukar and Jhangar cultures in the upper levels.

On the analogies of Troy and Rome, normally a period of one thousand years should be assigned for the occupation of the seven cities of Mohenjo-daro; but as the decay at Mohenjo-daro was much quicker on account of the imminent danger of floods (of which v/e get evidence), and as the re-occupation of the cities was much more rapid as seen from the uniformity of antiquities in all layers, a period of only 500 years has been assigned for the whole strata. As, however, the civilization is already in a developed stage, roughly a period of 1000 years has been allotted for the antecedent evolution.

The latest settlement of Mohenjo-daro has been attributed to 2750 B.C., so that the occupation of the seven cities ranges between 3250-2750 B.C. This rough dating, however, has been brought down by a few centuries by the find of various Indus Valley objects in datable strata in Sumer and Mesopotamia.

An Indus seal confined to the Late Period at Mohenjo-darc was found at Eshnunna in layers pertaining to 2600-2500 B.C., so that the early period at Mohenic-daro reaches back to about 2800 B.C. A similar seal, however, has been found at Ur in a tomb which is not older than 2150 B.C. 19 Dr. Frankfort’s discovery of cylinder seals of Indian origin at Tell Asmar and of a green steatite vase depicting a Srahmani bull at Tell Agrab carry back the date of the

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Indus Valley civilization to about 2800 B.C. The seals of the Indus Valley type found in Mesopotamia by Dr. Gadd indicate 2800 B.C. as the upper limit of the Harappa culture. Dr. Fabri places the main culture period at Mohenjo-daro between 28002500 13.C. on the evidence of a pottery jar with a Sumero-Babylonian inscription found at Mohenjo-daro. 20 A comparison of the plain and painted ware in the Indus Valley with similar specimens at Sumer, Elam, and Egypt shows the Indus Valley civilization to have flourished about 2500 B.C. Ceramic evidence shows that the earliest stage of the Indus Valley civilization is represented at Amri, which may go back to 3000 B. C., followed by the Harappa, Jhukar, and Jhangar cultures.

On a careful consideration of all available material for the age of the Indus civilization, some of which has been indicated above, it appears that the main culture period at Mohenjo-daro or the “Harappa culture” ranged between 2800-2500 B.C. Though it must have had a long history of antecedent development before it reached the stage we meet, no idea of that period can be had, as the lowermost strata cannot be reached at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Jhukar, or Chanhu-daro, because of subsoil water. The civilization for all we know may well reach beyond 3500 B. C. The uppermost layers of Chanhu-daro, as suggested by Dr. Mackay, can be assigned to 2300-2200 B.C., whereas the lower strata go back to 2600-2500 B.C. The culture period of the Indus Valley civilization, as revealed by its finds, thus seems to have lasted roughly from c. 2800 to 2200 B.C. The cultures at different sites in the Indus Valley are to be placed between these two extreme dates.

8. AUTHORS OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

The only definite material available with regard to the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization is the human skeletons and skulls found among the ruins. As mentioned above, these show that the population of Mohenjo-daro was heterogeneous and comprised at least four different racial types, viz. Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpinoid, and Mongoloid. The Mohenjo-daro population is, however, generally believed to have mainly consisted of the Mediterranean type, which has been described before (ante, p. 145 ff.). The craniological evidence speaks not only of the diverse racial elements, but also of free racial mixture.

No accuracy or scientific precision in this respect can be expected in sculptured pieces, as the artists were not anthropologists. Whatever meagre evidence is supplied by the statuary confirms the craniological evidence as to the existence of different races.

The anthropological and statuary evidence does not aid us in pointing at the authors of the civilization. There has been quite an amount of speculation among scholars and archaeologists with regard to the ascription of the authorship of the Indus civilization to any particular race. Words like Aryan and Dravidian which primarily denote linguistic groups have been indiscriminately used in an ethnic sense in this connection. Thus the authorship has been ascribed to Dravidians, Brahuis, Sumerians, Panis, Asuras, Vratyas, Vahikas, Dasas, Nagas, Aryans, etc. 21

The majority view prefers to hold the authors of the Indus civilization as speakers of “Dravidian” {ante, p. 158). So far, however, as the funeral customs are concerned it is impossible to ascribe the Indus Valley culture to the “Dravidians,” among whom burial was the prevalent form of interring the dead. Further, excavation in the south has hitherto revealed no traces of the Indus Valley civilization.

The Brahuis, though speaking a Dravidian language, are of Turko-Iranian origin, and are ethnically quite distinct from the various peoples speaking Dravidian languages in Central and Southern India. There is no definite evidence to support the Brahui authorship of the Indus culture.

We know nothing definite as to the racial features of the Sumerians. They were, no doubt, in close contact with the Indus Valley in ancient days, and probably formed part of the population at Mohenjo-daro; but there is nothing to credit them with the authorship of the Indus culture.

As regards the Panis, Vratyas, Vahikas, Asuras, Dasas, and Nagas, we have no material to identify them with any of the known races.

Sir John Marshall has compared the Vedic civilization with that of the Indus Valley and has found that they are quite distinct; and as the entry of the Aryans into India, according to his view of the date of the Rigvcda, is subsequent to 1500 B.C., more than a thousand years after the last vestige of the Indus Valley Civilization disappeared, he cannot think of the Aryans in connection with the Indus Valley civilization.

Now the presumed age of the Rigveda is really no barrier to the Aryan authorship of the Indus culture (if other evidence proves that hypothesis) for,- in the first instance, that age is not known with even an approximate degree of certainty, and secondly, because the Rigvcda can safely be taken to have repiesented a period long posterior to the advent of the Aryans into India. As to the existence of the Arvans in the Indus Valiev at so early a period as the age of the Indus culture, it is held by some, on the evidence of skeletal material, that the Aryans formed part of the diverse population of these

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Various arguments have been advanced by Sir John Marshall in order to prove that the Indus Valley civilization was quite distinct from, and earlier than, the Vedic civilization. One of his principal arguments, viz., the borrowing of the Siva cult of Mohenjo tiaro by the Vedic Aryans, has been noted above. Among others may be mentioned tne absence of the horse and presence of icons. As regards the first, Dr. Mackay takes the model animal illustrated in PI VIII. 2 to represent a horse, and has conjectured that the Indus Valley people probably knew the horse at about 2500 B.C. at the latest. Tne linds of saddles in some of the lowest strata at Mohenjo-daro, and the representation of the horse in the Indus Valley art seem to prove that the horse was known. 2 ; As to the second, it is true that the Vedic religion w^s aniconic to a very great extent. But it is not unlikely that the Rigveda represents an earlier phase of the culture found in the Indus Valley. The use of icons in the Indus Valley, as seen in the phallic cult, probably followed in the wake of Siva worship in the Rigveda. Later on, owing to contact with alien or non-Aryan elements, some concepts such as phallic worship, magic and charms, etc., were perhaps incorporated in the comprehensive Hindu religious system. Similarly, the Mother Goddess (Aditi and PrithvI in the Rigveda) and Siva were developed in the period of the Indus Valley by synthesis and fusion with non-Aryans. There was thus a co-mingling of cultures, Vedic and non-Vedic, and for the authorship of the composite Indus Valley civilization, we need not look to any particular race.

Although Sir John Marshall's view is now generally accepted, some scholars still regard the Vedic civilization as older than that of the Indus Valley. It is impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, to come to any definite conclusion, but it has to be admitted that there is no conclusive evidence against the view that ascribes the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization to the Rigvedic Aryans, and regards it as a logical corollary, a lineal descendant, of the culture described in the Rigveda . But even then the authorship of the Indus Valley civilization cannot be ascribed to any particular race, as every element in the diverse population contributed its share to the civilization. Even assuming that the Rigvedic civilization was earlier, we must remember that during the period that intervened between it and the Indus Valley civilization, the Vedic religion was incorporating many alien and nonAryan features such as phallus worship, Naga worship, magic.and spells, etc., and was already tending to become comprehensive, composite and all-embracing, harmonising different constituent elements and catering to the needs of the various strata. It would not, therefore, be correct to ascribe the authorship of the Indus Valley culture to the Aryan or any other particular race. It represents the synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultures. The utmost that we can say is that the Rigvedic Aryans probably formed an important part of the populace in those days, and contributed their share to the evolution of the Indus Valley civilization.

9. EXTENT, CONNECTIONS, AND SURVIVALS OF THE INDUS CIVILIZATION

The very fact that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, the first two prehistoric sites excavated in the Indus Valley, although about 400 miles apart, present a homogeneous culture, shows that the civilization was neither local nor regional, nor confined to any restricted area. Subsequent excavations in a large number of other sites have brought to light prehistoric antiquities representing the identical civilization, and these indicate that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa do not mark the extreme limits of its extent. The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar’s exploration in Sind revealed various settlements of the Indus Valley civilization in many places in Sind, from the modern Hyderabad, 60 miles north-east of Karachi in the south, to Gujo, Vijnot, and Jacobabad in the north, forming a long chain of mounds between the present course of the Indus and the foot-hills of the Kirthar range. The annexed map (No. 2) shows that these prehistoric sites follow the old lines of communication between southern and northern Sind through the hill range. Chanhu-daro, over a hundred miles south-east of Mohenjo-daro, and Amri, the same distance down-stream from Mohenjo-daro, are important sites at which the same civilization has been found. On the west bank of the Indus, Lohumjo-daro, Ali Murad, Jhukar, Ghazi Shah, Alor, etc. are the principal sites from which several objects of the Indus culture were recovered. Further west, Sir Aurel Stein’s explorations have proved the extension of the Indus Valley civilization to Dabar Kot, Sur Jangal, and Periano Ghundal in Northern Baluchistan and Kulli and Mehi in Southern Baluchistan. According to Stein, Shahi Tump marks the outpost of the Indus Valley civilization.[24]

Terra-cottas recovered at Buxar and at Pataliputra (Patna) indicate the extent of the cultural influence of the Indus Valley eastward.[25] In the Ghazipur and Benares districts were found pictographs. carnelian beads, and objects exactly similar to those found in the Indus Valley. There are various ancient sites in the United Provinces in the Gangetic basin from which relics of copper civilization have been reported.

Kotla Nihang Khan, near Rupar on the Sutlej in the Ambala district below the Simla hills, about 220 miles due east of Harappa, also records finds typical of the Indus Valley sites.

Thus the Indus Valley civilization seems to have embraced the whole of Sind and the Punjab, the bulk of Kathiawar, a part of the coastal region, the valleys of North-west Frontier province, and a part at least of the Gangetic basin.[26]

The extent of the Indus Valley civilization indicates its connections practically with the whole of Northern India, and in the west, with all the contemporary cultures. Immediately the discoveries in the Indus Valley were published, Sumerologists came forward with affinities of the Indus Valley civilization with Sumer, and at the outset the Indus Valley civilization was designated IndoSumerian. But despite its close contact with ancient Sumer, the Indus Valley civilization has peculiarities 0 f its own. It has recently been shown that the similarities between the two cultures have been over-emphasized and the differences overlooked. At any rate there is an overwhelming mass of evidence showing that a flourishing trade, probably through the land routes in Baluchistan, existed between the Indus Valley and Sumer in ancient times. Numerous seals of Indian design and workmanship have been found at various Sumerian and Elamite sites. Importations from Sumer recovered in the Indus Valley, however, are comparatively very few. A white marble seal, an engraved steatite vessel, an etched carnelian bead, a model ram, an adze axe, and small pottery rings used as net-weights have been recorded as probable importations from Sumer, indicating trading intercourse. The most important piece of evidence testifying to the influence of the Indus Valley on Sumer is the fashion of hair-dressing adopted by Sumerian women from the Indus Valley. 27

For associations with Egypt, however, we have to depend only on indirect connection suggested by certain objects and motifs. No definite object of Egyptian workmanship has been found in the Indus Valley, nor has any Egyptian site recorded an Indus Valley object. Segmented beads and hemispherical terminals of necklaces, bull-legged stools, small model beds with recumbent female figurines, female figurines suckling a child, faceted beads,. fly-shaped beads, cord designs, candle stands and mussel-shell-shaped spoons, are among the various objects that link the Indus Valley and Egypt. The borrowings appear to have taken place through Sumer and Elam as intermediaries.

Though Stein's researches clearly show that the population of Baluchistan was far greater than it is now, and that various land routes through Baluchistan were extensively used in ancient times for trade purposes, it appears probable that the Indus Valley people also used sea-routes, despite lack of corroborative evidence.

Before dealing with the survivals of the Indus Valley civilization, we may consider the causes that led to its decay and disappearance. The progressive desiccation of the lower Indus Valley was the main cause of the evacuation of the Indus cities. The growing danger of floods was certainly responsible for the evacuation of Mohenjo-daro. The Indus floods, however, cannot account entirely for the desertion of the Indus settlements, though possibly climatic changes were an important reason. There is a remarkable dearth of means of defence both structural, such as walls, turrets, etc., and mechanical, such as weapons, etc., and it is probable that these rich.

unguarded cities, with their unwarlike mercantile population, were sacked by invading tribes, some of whom may have been Aryans. The skeletons found at Mohenjo-daro bear out this conjecture. A similar fate overtook the palace Of Minos at Crete.

The discovery of the Indus Valley civilization has pushed back the history of India to the period 3000-2500 B.C. if not earlier still . It is generally believed that there is a hiatus in Indian culture of at least 1000 years, up to c. 1500 B.C. when the Aryans set foot in India.. It will be shown later (Ch. XIV) that according to the traditional history of the Hindus as recorded in the Puranas, ancient history ends with the Mahabharata war, which was fought in c. 1400 B.C., and goes back to the period immediately after the Flood. As Mohenjo-daro culture is a post-Flood .event, we may hold that there is a continuity of historical traditions right from the Mohenjodaro period down to the Mahabharata war, and these grow more and more reliable as we come to later times ending in the Gupta Age (fourth century A.D.).

Punch-marked coins, with their symbols reminiscent of the Indus Valley script, and with their standard of weight conforming to the weight system at Mohenjo-daro, constitute an important survival of the Indus Valley dating from before 400 B.C. The die-struck and cast varieties of ancient Indian coins appear to be indebted to the Indus Valle}' for- their form. Some of the motifs, designs, shapes, and forms found in the pottery and terra-cotta objects at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa find their counter-part in the objects discovered in the Punjab and the North-West, belonging to the early centuries before the Christian era. In the field of religious symbols, it may be suggested that the horn-crown on the head of Siva Pasupati in the Indus Valley has survived as a symbol of great significance in the nandipada, and the images of Siva as Dakshinamfirti and of feuddha as Yogi are due to the influence of the Indus culture.

These instances indicate that there was probably no complete break or hiatus after the Indus Valley civilization.

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1. The name Mohenjo-daro has been variously interpreted to mean "the mound of the dead" (Moh . Ind,, P. I), "the mound of the confluence” (JRAS. 1932. p. 456. fn. I), "the mound of the killed" (Mahan-jo-Daro, p. I) or “the mound of Mohan."

la. Harappa. p. 13.

2. Moh. hid., p. 274 (Mackay), 274, fn. 2 (Marshall): Mariwala, Ancient Sind, p. 9.

3. Carlet.on. Buried Empires, p. 151.

4. Childe. New Light, p. 209; Dikshit. Preh. Civ., p. 25.

-!a. Harappa. p. 6.

5. Mackay, BMFA. XXXIV. p. 91: cf. Chan-d.. p. 235.

THE VEDIC AGE

6. Cf. Chan-d. t pp. 236 if.

7. Cf. Dikshit, PreK Civ., pp. 31-2.

8. Carleton, Buried Empires, p. 154.

9. Script, p. 32.

10. Dr. Hunter regards them as coins or stamped ingots— JRAS, 1932, p. 474.

11. Dr. Thomas suggests that the seals served the combined function of seal, amulet, and ex voto (JRAS, 1932, p. 460), and Dr. Hunter states that they were used for stamping unbaked clay to be carried outside the city with the offerings (JRAS. 1932, p. 471).

12. Mackay, JRSA, 82, p. 218. Venkateswara refers to these as Dlpalakshml figures on account of their analogy with later metal figures in South India holding oil in hand (Cult. Her., Ill, p. 60).

12a. Cf. Ch. VIII, p. 158, for the suggestion that the idea of the Mother Goddess was imported by the Dravidians from the West.

13. Cf. Childe, New Light, p. 222.

14. Cf. Ch. X, below, p. 203, and Ch. VIII, above, p. 161.

14a. RV, II. I. 6; 33. 9; X. 92. 9; Mookerji, POC, VUI, p. 452.

15. Cf. Pusalker, Prdchyavdni, I, pp. 29-31.

16. Cf. Viswanatha, Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture , p. 26.

17. For Indus Script, See Moh. Ind. (Chs. XXII, XXIII) and articles by Fabri, Heras, Hertz, Hevesy, Hrozny, Hunter, Meriggi, Otto, Petrie, Piccoli, Pran Nath, Ross, Sankarananda, Sastri and Waddell in the Bibliography.

18. Preh. Civ., p. 46.

18a. See ante, Cn. VIII. p. 158 ff.

19. Carleton, Buried Empires, p. 145.

20. 1C, IE. pp. 663-73; CS, VI, p. 435.

21. For different views on the authors of the Indus Culture, see Moh. Ind. (pp. 107-12) and articles by Banerji, Banerji-Sastri, Bhandarkar, Cadell, Chanda, Chafcterji, Heras. Keith, Law, Mariwalla, Mookerji, Pusalker, Venkateswara, Sankarananda, Sarup, Sastri, Shembavnekar, Sur, and Waddell in the Bibliography.

22. Datta, Rigvedic Culture of the Prehistoric Indus, Foreword, p. XXV; Chaudhuri, CR, June 1945.

23. Cf. Childe, New Light, p. 210.

24. JRAI, 64. p. 193.

25. JBHS, HI, pp. 187-91.

26. It is suggested that the civilization extended southward into the Hyderabad State, the Kamatak, the Nilgiris. the Tinnevelly district and even as far as Ceylon (JIH, XVI, p. 12); but the evidence is far too meagre to justify the inference.

27. Cf. Carleton, Buried Empires, p. 161.

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BOOK. THREE

THE ARYANS IN INDIA

CHAPTER X

THE ARYAN PROBLEM

It was the Florentine merchant Filippo Sassetti who, after five years' stay in Goa (1583-1588), declared for the first time that there existed a definite relation between Sanskrit and some of the principal languages of Europe. But that this relation is due to origin from a common source was suggested only in 1786 by Sir William Jones in his famous address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. He thus established the common origin of a number of languages such as Greek, Latin 4 Gothic, Celtic, Sanskrit, Persian, etc., to which the scholars have given the name Indo-European or Indo-Germanic, and therewith laid the foundation of the Science of Comparative Philology. The third and the final step in formulating the Aryan problem was taken by Max Muller, who declared in emphatic terms: "Aryan, in scientific language, is utterly inapplicable to race. It means language and nothing but language; and if we sneak of Aryan race at all, we should know that it means no more than X 4- Aryan speech.*' 1 This purely linguistic formulation of the problem was, however, never fully accepted by the learned or the laity. On the contrary, a romantic reaction, which identified language with race, set in soon and was given powerful expression by Penka who declared 'language to be "the organic product of an organism subject to organic laws." 2 The linguistic world of the last century was thus sharply, divided into two schools of thought, as old as the Greeks of the classical age, who also were unable to decide whether language is a phusis (inborn quality) or merely a thesis (acquired habit). 3 Today Muller's school is dominant, no doubt, but Penka's is yet far from discredited, for it is now realized that, though by no means determined by race, yet. as a social phenomenon, a language can assume its particular aspect only within a particular society, and that in those very early times, when the original Indo-European language was gradually taking shape, such a particular society could have been based only on racial affinity, purely cultural bonds being out of the question. In fact, at the beginning, every natural language must have been confined within a not too large racial group—though it by no means follows that there could not have originated more than one language within one racial group at the beginning. It is clear, therefore, that the race-question, if rightly understood, is by no means irrelevant to the

Aryan problem. Only it is necessary to remember that the racial group, within which the primitive Indo-European language originated, may have itself adopted a non-Indo-European language in course of its history, or may have altogether passed out of existence. Ours will therefore be a

double task: to try to identify anthropologically and locate geographically the primitive racial group within which the basic IndoEuropean language, as reconstructed by Comparative Philology, had originated.

There being—in spite of Penka and his school 4 —no organic relatioif between language on the one hand and race and geography on the other, our method cannot but be empirical. And the obviously most important empiric fact about the known Indo-European languages is that quite a large number of them are crowded together within the comparatively small space of Europe, covering practically the whole of that continent, whereas outside Europe, instead of a compact body of idioms of that speech-family are found only scattered members of it, stretching out, as it were, in single file., between the Semitic and the Altaic-Finno-Ugrian linguistic areas, and ending, at least in the age of the earlier FLigveda, in the region of the Punjab. The geographical distribution of the idioms of the Indo-European speech-family, therefore, does suggest that the original home of the Indo-Europeans is to be sought rather in Europe than in Asia. Moreover, of all the living.Indo-European languages of the present day, it is Lithuanian, and not Sanskrit (even if considered a living language) or any of its daughter dialects, that has kept closest to the basic idiom reconstructed by Comparative Philology.

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These two fundamental facts make a strong prima facie case against the theory that India was the original home of the Aryans. This view, though highly favoured at one time. 5 has not many supporters now. though some Indian scholars still tenaciously cling to it. Their views and arguments have been summarized in the-Appendix. The reader will find a refutation of some of them in course of this chapter. But while no definite conclusion about this muchdebated problem can yet be reached, it may be reasonably urged that had India been the original home of the Aryans 5 they would have certainly tried fully to Aryanize the whole of this sub-continent before crossing the frontier barriers in quest of- adventure.

The fact that the whole of South India and some parts of North India too are to this day non-Arvan in speech is the strongest single argument against the Indian-home hypothesis, especially as the existence of a Dravidian soeech-oocket (Brahui) in Baluchistan

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clearly suggests that the whole or at least a considerable part of India was originally non-Aryan in speech. The cerebral sounds of Sanskrit which sharnlv distinguish it from all the other Indo-European speech-families including Iranian, are best exnlained as the result of Austric and Dravidian influence on the language of the incoming Aryans. Could it be proved that the language of the prehistoric Mohenio-daro culture was Sanskrit or nroto-San^krit then indeed it might have been possible to argue that in spite of all the evidence to the contrary India was the original home of tne Aryans, for there is no definite proof of the existence of an Aryan race or language outside India previous to the age of the Monenjo-daro culture. But the Mohenjo-daro seals being still undecipnered, we cannot, for the present, hazard any opinion on this subject. 7

Many scholars hold the view that the Vedic culture was fundamentally different from that of Mohenjo-daro, and later in date. This question has been discussed above, d but special stress may be laid on one point. On the evidence of a well-known plaque discovered at Mohenjo-daro, Sir John Marshall declared that the cult of Siva-Pasupati (= Rudra) was borrowed by the Vedic Aryans from the Mohenjo-daro culture. Now, it is hardly an accident that precisely this Rudra—and no other deity—is regarded in Vedic cult and religion as an apotropaeic god of aversion—to be feared but not adored. 9 Offerings to all other gods are sacrificed into the fire, but those to .Rudra and his servants (Rudriyas) are simply deposited at cross-roads or various forbidding places. 10 Rudra and the Rudriyas are, therefore, in every respect analogous to the Theoi Apopompaioi of Greece, the gods of the pre-Hellenic autochthonous population of that country. 11 Should not the Rudra gods, too, be regarded in the same way as gods of the pre-Aryan population of India? But to admit that would be to confess that the Mohenjodaro people were not Aryans. It is true, as noted above, that Sir John's view is not accepted by all. 12 But if the oldest traceable civilization of India be regarded as of non-Aryan inspiration, the conclusion becomes almost irresistible that the Aryans had come to India from outside.

But why consider the Mohenjo-daro civilization to be the oldest traceable civilization of India? What is there to prove that the Aryan culture of Rigvedic India was not older than the culture represented by the ruins of Mohenjo-daro? Thus arises the great question of the age of the Rigveda, which, however, in the present context can but be touched in passing on the background of the general problem of the first emergence of the Aryans into the light of history.

From a purely linguistic point of view the Rigveda in its present form cannot be dated much earlier than 1000 B.C. The language of the Rigveda is certainly no more different from that of the Avestan Gathds than is Old English from Old High German, and therefore they must be assigned to approximately the same age; and the relation between the language of the Gathds and that of the Old Persian inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. cannot be better visualized than by comparing the former with Gothic and the latter with Old High German. Now, if the inscriptions of the Achaemenid emperors of Iran were composed in Old High German,

what would be the date assigned to Ulfilas' Gothic Bible? Surely something like 1000 B.C. This then would be the approximate date of the Gathas of Avesta 13 —with which the Rigveda in its present form must have been more or less contemporaneous. Thus from general linguistic considerations we get for the Rigvedic language, as known to us, an approximate date of 1000 B.C. 14 Although the culture represented by it must be considerably older, it can hardly be pushed back considerably before 1500 B.C. The Rigvedic language, with its date of about 1000 B.C., therefore, furnishes the temiinus ad quern and the Mohenjo-daro culture of about 2500 B.C. the terminus a quo of the first Aryan invasion of India. In order to ascertain the extra-Indian (as shown above) original home of the Aryans we shall now discuss the earliest datable traces of their eastern tribes (the Indo-Iranians) and then try to follow up the indication of those traces further back.

The earliest indubitable trace of a definitely characterized Ind©-Iranian language of the Indo-European family is to be found, as is well known, in the names of the four Vedic gods Mitra, Vanina, Indra, and the Nasatyas (in slightly different forms) occurring in records of treaties, discovered at Boghaz-koi, between the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma and the Mitanni king Mattiuaza of about 1400 B.C, 15 It is very significant that the determinative "god" in the plural has been placed before each of the two names Mitra and Varuna, for the purpose of this plural determinative could have been only to suggest that the two names formed a Dvandva compound-just as in Vedic Sanskrit. 16 Yet it will be wrong to conclude from these names that the language from which they were borrowed was nothing but our Vedic Sanskrit, and to regard the minor differences 17 as due solely to the inadequacy of the Akkadian syllabary used by the Hittites. For the numerals (aifca, tera. panza , satta)., occurring in a manual of chariot-racing composed in the Hittite language by a Mitannian author named Kikkuli, likewise discovered at Boghaz-koi, clearly point to an archaic Indo-Iranian dailect which was not yet fully characterized either as Indo-Aryar. or as Iranian.

On the other hand it is equally difficult to accept the view of the writer in the Cambridge Ancient History that here we have in the fourteenth century B.C. the undifferentiated Indo-Iranians "who at a later period formed these two important Indo-European stocks." 18 For if the forefathers of the Vedic Arvans were still in Cappadocia in the fourteenth century B.C. on their march towards India, there would be no time left for them to forget all their previous history before giving the final form to the Rigvedic hymns not later than 1000 B.C.: it really cannot be proved that the Vedic Aryans retained anv memorv of their extra-Indian associations.

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excepting perhaps a camouflaged reminiscence of their sojourn in Iran. 19

But Boghaz-koi is not the only place yielding definite proof of the existence of an archaic Indo-Iranian speech-form about 1400 B.C. The clay tablets with Babylonian cuneiform script discovered at Ei-Amama in Egypt 20 have revealed the fact that numerous dynasts with -Indo-Iranian-looking names (such as Artamanya, Arzawiya, Yasdata, Suttarna, etc., in which no specifically Indo-Aryan or Iranian feature is perceptible), were ruling in Syria about the same time. 21 Linguistic evidence derived from rpgipns as distant from each other as Cappadocia and Syria, therefore, definitely proves that about 1400 B.C. there existed in those regions archaic Indo-Iranian speech-forms which are undoubtedly older than the oldest Avestan or Sanskrit known to us.

But it is possible perhaps to reach back still farther. About 1760 B.C. Babylon fell info the hands of the Kassites who are known to have used the word “suna?’ to designate the sun. 22 This is the oldest attested word of definitely Indo-Iranian stamp which was perhaps borrowed by the Kassites from the Indo-Iranians before they dispersed from their common home, as suggested by Herzfeld. 23 But the evidence of this solitary word of Indo-Iranian origin cannot be regarded as adequate proof of the existence of Indo-Iranians in western Asia already in the eighteenth century B.C. Nor does the joint testimony of this word and the IndoIranian names of the Syrian dynasts of the fifteenth century B.C. warrant the assumption that the Indo-Iranians, already as a specifically characterized Indo-European tribe, entered Asia from Europe over the Caucasus, arid after occupying Iran pushed on farther to the Punjab, as was held by Hirt. 24 For even though the general movement of the Indo-Europeans in Asia might have been from west to east, yet it should have been quite possible for some IndoIranian-speaking tribes to sweep over western Asia in a back-surge of invasion.

This is precisely the view expressed by Eduard Meyer 26 who, on historical grounds, has tried to show that the point from which' the Indo-Iranians began to spread eastward into the Punjab and westward into the Mesopotamian world, is to be sought somewhere in the region of the Pamir plateau. 26 What Eduard Meyer urges against Hirt’s theory is worth quoting: “There are, however, very grave difficulties in the way of accepting this theory. Precisely those regions in which according to this theory, these (Indo-Iranian) tribes should have settled down at first—and which in the historical period should have been the theatre of their activities — should then have been so completely evacuated by them that not a single trace of them was left behind. For among the numerous personal and place-names handed down to us from Armenia up to the end of the Assyrian age there is absolutely nothing IndoEuropean, and even the frontier mountains of Media are inhabited by non-Indo-Iranian tribes: it is quite apparent that the IndcIranian Medes have here gradually pushed forward from the east and attained supremacy. On the other hand, although positive proof is wholly lacking, it is quite impossible to assign for the beginnings of the Vedic age—-and of the specific Indo-Aryan culture beginning therewith—any date later than 1500 B.C." 27

This theory of a westward migration of the Indo-Iranians from their common home, so ably presented by Eduard Meyer 2 ^ to explain the apparently simultaneous beginning of Vedic culture in India and the appearance of Aryan princes in Mesopotamia (Mitanni), Syria, and Palestine about the middle of the second millennium E.C., was shared also by Oldenberg 20 and Keith. 30 Johannes Friedrich, too, at least conceded the possibility of a westward movement of a small body of Indo-Iranians. 31 Most emphatic on this point is, however, Wilhelm Brandenstein, who says—without however offering any new argument of his own—"there can be no doubt that also Indians ^probably Vedic Indians) have lived in Further Asia." 32 On the whole it is quite clear that the Indo-Iranians advanced not only into India but also spread westward from their common home that was situated probably in the Pamir region (Meyer) or in Russian Turkestan (Herzfeld). And the dispersal of the Indo-Iranians from their original home should have begun about 2000 B.C., since the Indo-Aryans had become completely Indianized when the Rigvedic culture started on its course as a distinct product of the Indian soil about 1500 B.C. Starting from this we shall now discuss the larger problem of the original home of the Indo-Europeans.

With the possible exception of Luvian, of which we know very little, Hittite is the oldest known Indo-European dialect. 33 Yet, Cappadocia in Asia Minor, the seat of this oldest attested (from about 1900 B.C.) 34 Indo-European language, cannot claim to have been the Indo-European original home; for, as Gotze 35 has .shown, the pre-Hittite Assyrian commerical colonies of Cappadocia, after an uninterrupted flourishing existence of about one thousand years, came to an abrupt end about 1950 B.C., apparently due to Hittite invasion. The Hittites, therefore, came to Cappadocia from outside, but they could not have coine from very far, for the earliest theatre of Indo-European historical activity could not have been too distant from the Indo-European original home.

The date 1950 B.C., practically certain for the Hittite invasion of Asia Minor, is of great importance for Indo-European prehistory, for the Indo-Iranians, too, should have reached their common home (in the Pamir region or in Russian Turkestan, see supra) about that time, since to account for the beginning of the speei

iically Indian Vedic culture about 1500 B.C. no date much later than 2000 B.C. can be postulated for the occupation of their common home by the Indo-Iranians.

Now if the two oldest known Indo-European tribes, the Hittites and the Indo-Iranians, appear about the same time (c. 2000 B.C.) in .Cappadocia and Central Asia respectively, then it will be reasonable to conclude that the original home whence both the Hittites and the Indo-Iranians came was. more or less equidistant from Cappadocia and Central Asia. Hence follows that neither India nor Central or Western Europe could' have been the original IndoEuropean home. 36

For our problem it is now of capital importance to enquire from which direction the Hittites entered. Asia Minor. On the ground of similarity between prehistoric ceramics of about 2800 B.C. discovered in Eastern Anatolia and Macedonia, Gotze concluded that the “Indo-European Hittites” entered Asia. Minor from Europe 37 after crossing the straits. 36 But this theory does not, and cannot, explain why in the historical period the Hittites were settled not in Western but in Central and Eastern Asia

Minor, and it is not without reason that Eduard Meyer 39 suggested instead that they came from the east.

Of the other Indo-European languages of Asia, special importance, for the Aryan problem, attaches to Tocharian—a late attested (from the fifth to the tenth century- A.D.) Centum language of Eastern Turkistan, 40 of. which the relation with other Indo-European languages and the basic idiom has been fully discussed in a remarkable article by Professor Benveniste. 41 Before the discovery of Tocharian it was* possible to maintain-—in spite of the fact that the Galataeans (Celts) invaded and occupied Asia Minor in the third century B.C.—that on the whole all the Centum languages are to the west and all the Satem languages are to the east of the Vistula, and on the basis of this seemingly correct observation Hirt 42 built up his ingenious theory that before their -final dispersal the Indo-Europeans should have been settled on both sides of that river, which itself was apparently the main cause of the Satem~Centum dialect-split. 43 Now, however, after the discovery of Tocharian, Hirt's theory can no longer be maintained. For Benveniste has shown that Tochariah, which like Hittite had . been characterized as a distinct dialect even before the Satem-Centum split had taken place, was originally at home far to the east of the Vistula.

Of the Indo-European languages of Europe, Lithuanian, as already stated above, is certainly the most archaic. Organically, as a definitely characterized Satem-language, it must be considered of later origin than Hittite and .Tocharian, and yet. in external appearance (flexions and endings) it looks older than even these. This apparent contradiction can be explained, so far as can be seen,

only on one hypothesis: it is necessary to insist that it is a hypothesis pure and simple and nothing more: an Indo-European group bodily came to Lithuania after the Satem-Centum dialect-split, and there in the backwoods started a long but uneventful national life in practically complete isolation, affording their language little opportunity to change and progress, while to all the other IndoEuropean-speaking countries came not so much the Indo-Europeans themselves as their languages. In other words, though Schmidt's wave-theory of the spread of dialects should be retained for the other Indo-

European dialects, yet, so far as Lithuanian is concerned, we should accept Schleicher's older family-tree theory. 44

This is frankly speculative, but nevertheless we shall- have to accept it, unless we refuse to face the problem. And if we accept it we shall have also to admit that the Indo-European original home could not have been very far removed from Lithuania, for bodily movements of peoples over long distances could not have been possible in those early times excepting over a long period of clash and contact with alien races and speeches, as the result of which the language of the immigrants could not but have been profoundly modified. 45 It is necessary to remember in this connection that the Lithuanian speech-area of mediaeval Europe extended much farther to the east than it does today. And the fact that Lithuanian loan-words in Finnish are more numerous than the Slavic ones in that language clearly suggests that in prehistoric times the Lithuanian speech-area, extended much farther still to the east, perhaps separating the Slavs from the Finns, a$ suggested by Hirt.* 6

The oldest attested Indo-European language of Europe, namely Greek, is frankly an import from outside. As Hall 47 aptly says: "Like Sanskrit, Greek, with all its entirely Indo-European syntax and grammar, has a vast non-Indo-European vocabulary. The reason was the same in both cases. In both lands the invading Wiros (i.e. the Indo-Europeans) found a previously existing nonAryan race with which they mingled, the Hindus with the Dravidians, the Greeks with the Minoans, and in both cases, while the language of the conqueror prevailed, that of the conquered supplied innumerable names and words to its vocabulary. In both countries the conquered race continued to exist side by side with the conquerors, the dark Dasyus with the fair Aryans, the dark Minoans with the fairer Hellenes." It is generally admitted today that the rulers of Mycenaean Greece of the fourteenth and the thirteenth centuries B. C. were not of Greek stock and did not speak Greek. The first Greek-speaking people of Greece were the Achaians, who appeared on the scene about 1200. B. C. after the decline of the Mycenaean civilization, and adopted Mycenaean culture. 48 The Indo-European speaking tribes should therefore have entered Greece for the first time only about 1200 B.C. 49 But there is nothing to tell us from what region precisely the Greek tribes came..

Thus the most archaic (Lithuanian) as well as the oldest attested (Greek) Indo-European language of Europe fails to make out a definite case for an European original home of the Aryans. The other European languages of the same family need not be discussed for a solution of the Aryan problem from the linguistic point of view, for they are all violent variations of the original Indo-European, particularly Germanic and Celtic. In spite of this inconvenient fact a Germanic home theory has been always very popular with many eminent European scholars for racial reasons. It is argued by them that the interior Of the Germanic countries—particularly Scandinavia —cannot be proved to have been ever occupied by an alien race. If yet the Germanic tribes have always spoken an IndoEuropean tongue—so it is asserted, because it is impossible to prove the contrary—then it will have to be assumed that Indo-European speech came into existence on Germanic soil, and that is to admit that Germany or some Germanic country was the original home of the Aryans . 60 This is in a nutshell the chief. argument put forward by protagonists of the Germanic home theory. The inspirer of this school of thought was Penka, who passionately protested against the tendency of ethnologists to accept meekly the findings of philology . 51 Penka’s attitude is, however, irrational. The Aryan problem, as formulated by Max Muller, is a purely linguistic one, and it can be connected with ethnology only in the restricted sense explained at the beginning of this chapter. But the primary significance attached to the term “Aryan” by Penka is the physical type represented by the Scandinavians! It is not to be wondered, therefore, that starting with this assumption Penka succeeded in proving, at least to his own satisfaction, that Scandinavia was the cradle-land of the Indo-Europeans . 52

Modern supporters of Penka’s theory have altogether dropped the linguistic argument and tend to concentrate on prehistoric archaeology . 53 Thus the West Baltic coast has been regarded as the home of the Aryans, chiefly on the ground that the oldest and the simplest artifacts of the period following the palaeolithic age, as well as tasteful and technically perfected stone implements, are found there in abundance . 54 But it has been rightly pointed out 55 that in that case the equally numerous and handsome stone artifacts of New Zealand would be an evidence for the high antiquity of

Maori culture. Much stress was again laid on the geometric patterns on prehistoric pottery in Central Germany which were regarded as of Indo-European creation. But apart from the validity of this assumption, the discovery of similar patterns on the prehistoric pottery of South Russia, Poland, and Tripolje (Ukraine) which were older than those of Germany negatives the theory of an original Aryan home in Germany. 56

Indeed, the antiquity of Tripolje pottery, which may be dated in the third millennium B.C., has induced Nehring to formulate the view that Tripolje culture is the culture of the original Indo-Europeans, and in his opinion “the Indo-European original home lay indeed also in South Russia, but extended far beyond to the west.*’ 57 That it could not have comprehended any part of Western Europe is pretty certain, for H. Gvintert 68 and F. R. Schroder 139 have shown that Western Europe is one of those areas that were Aryanized last. Pokorny, too, by applying his substratum theory that a later language is always fundamentally modified by the older language over which it spreads, 60 came to the conclusion that “as the original home of the Indo-Europeans before the dispersal of the tribes (c. 2400 B.C.) should be regarded the wide stretches of land between the Weser and the Vistula and beyond these up to White Russia and Volhynia.’* 61

The region indicated by Nehring as the Indo-European cradleland is indeed rather too wide, but from the present-day standpoint of Comparative Philology it would be absurd to think that the original Indo-Europeans “must have lived for long in a severely restricted area,” as Giles 62 was inclined to believe. Striking isoglosses 63 clearly show that various movements must have taken place among the different Indo-European tribes before they finally parted company. Brandenstein’s researches (see below) are in this regard of capital importance. Nor can it be doubted that the later Indo-Europeans, even before final dispersal, had ceased to be racially homogeneous, and therefore the question whether the Indo-Europeans were blondes or brunettes cannot be regarded as strictly relevant. In recent times the Aryan problem has been hopelessly mixed up with the race question by European scholars of a certain school of thought, who, failing to achieve their object with the help of linguistics and archaeology, have adopted racial anthropology as their chief weapon of battle. Starting with the assumption that blonde hair was the chief characteristic of the Indo-Europeans they have naturally chosen Germany as the Indo-European cradle-land, and adduced as proof, in support of their theory, various facts such as that in Greek mythology Appollo has been called blonde and some prominent Romans (such as Cato the Censor and Sulla) have been described as “red-haired” or “golden-haired” by Flptarch. It hardly needs to be pointed out that red hair was regarded as something unusual and exceptional by the Greeks and Romans, and for that reason only attracted public attention in Greece and Rome. Blonde hair was known also in India. In fact, the grammarian Patanjali 64 declared blonde hair to be one of the essential qualities in a Brahmapa. True Brahmapas, therefore should have been blondes in the pre-Christian era. And yet India, the land of the Brahma^as, has never been claimed as the Indo-European cradle-land by the racial theorists!

The new line of research opened up by Brandenstein 65 is concerned chiefly with applied semasiology. He proceeds chiefly on the assumption that it is possible to draw definite conclusions about the cultural evolution of the primitive Indo-Europeans and their prehistoric seats of settlement from a study of the stocks of words they should have possessed at different stages, and also by examining the changes of meaning undergone by those words. Brandenstein shows first that Indo-Iranian reveals an older stage of semasiological evolution than that reflected in all the other Indo-European dialects put together, and from this he draws the reasonable conclusion that the Indo-Iranians were the earliest to separate from the main body of Indo-Europeans, and that the other tribes continued to live together for some time after their departure. Indo-European of the period previous to the secession of the Indo-Iranians he calls Early Indo-European, and Indo-European of the period posterior to that secession, Late Indo-European. The Early Indo-European vocabulary, in Brandenstein’s opinion, reveals a steppe-land at the foot of a mountain-range as the original home which, he thinks, can be no other than the north-western Kirghiz steppe to the south of the Urals. As for Early Indo-European flora, there cannot be found the name of a single plant that is typically European, and the fauna of this period comprised mammals like the elk, otter, wild boar, wolf, fox, bear, etc.

The later Indo-European vocabulary, however, reveals quite a different land and quite different plants and animals. In the place of words associated with dry steppe-land now crop up a number of vocables which clearly suggest swampy tracts, and now appears for the first time also the idea of bridges—suggesting settled residence; on the other hand, words denotative of fauna and flora of this period point to the territory immediately to the east of the Carpathians. Brandenstein therefore concludes that the undivided Indo-Europeans lived originally in what is now the Kirghiz steppe, from where the Indo-Iranian tribes moved eastward, and'the other tribes, at a later date, westward. The westward-moving tribes, however, were split up into two groups by the Rokytno swamps, so that some of them struck north to be differentiated later into Nordics, and others advanced into Ukraine and from there farther to the south and the west.

It would be senseless to claim that every detail of the itinerary of the Indo-European tribes chalked out by Brandenstein is, or can be, correct. But it is significant that the results obtained by him by applying his altogether new method should point to approximately the same locus as is indicated by the evidence of history, philo

logy, and archaeology. Indo-European pre-history, as reconstructed by Nehring and Brandenstein, is by no means identical, but neither are the two mutually exclusive. The main difference is that Brandenstein takes as an interim home of the west Indo-European tribes practically * that very region which in Nehring s view should have been the Indo-European cradle-land.

We shall now conclude this chapter with a brief examination of the evidence of the non-Indo-European language-groups on the Aryan problem. Similarities between Indo-European and FinnoUgrian language-groups are so striking 06 that they cannot be brushed aside as cases of mere fortuitous coincidence; but on the other hand it would be conceding too much to them to postulate on their evidence an organic relation of distant common origin. The conclusion in any case is irresistible that Indo-European and FinnoUgrian had influenced each other in very early times. The original seat of the Finno-Ugrians was, however, in Central Russia. And it is significant that from purely ethnographical consideration, too, Flor 67 came to the conclusion that “genetically considered,* the Uralians are, in many cases, the zone of origin of numerous Indo-European cultural phenomena.”

Some such historical—not organic or genetic—relation between early Indo-European and early Semitic is hard to deny in face of the numerous striking points of similarity (if not identity) pointed out by Moller—similarity in the endings of nominative, accusative, and genitive singular, 68 in certain elements of dual and plural formation, 69 and perhaps also in nominative and accusative singular of the pronominal flexion. 70 He even categorically declared that “the Semites did not radiate from Arabia as is assumed by most Semitists, but came to Arabia from a northern seat either through Asia Minor or over the Iranian plateau.” 71

Moller's theory has indeed not been generally accepted by the scholarly world, but it is no longer possible to deny today that there must have been at least historical contact of some sort between Early Indo-European and Early Semitic. This is important, for if the primitive Indo-Europeans had on the one hand contact with the Finno-Ugrians of Central Russia and on the other with the Semites, then the region that naturally detaches itself as the probable IndoEuropean cradle-land is no doubt South Russia, specially as XndoFinnic relations were decidedly more intimate.

The evidence of linguistic palaeontology need not be considered in detail, since Schrader did that with masterly thoroughness in his well-known works; 72 but it is important to remember that the region to which he assigned the Indo-European original home after his epoch-making researches is also South Russia. The argument that has been most persistently levelled against Schrader is the so-called beech-argument: since the beech was known to the Indo-Europeans,

it is argued, their original home must have been “to the west of a line drawn from Konigsberg in Prussia to the Crimea and continued thence through Asia Minor,” 73 for the beech does not grow to the east of the line. But there is absolutely no certainty that the IndoEuropean word *bhagos, from which the English word “beech” is very probably derived, also signified the thing designated by this English word “beech.” Moreover, the word for “beech” seems to have been confined only to the western Indo-Europeans, for there is no trace of it in any eastern dialect if the late Kurdish' word buz 74 is left out of consideration. In spite of the enormous increase in knowledge since the days of Schrader it would be best, therefore, to adhere to his conclusion that South Russia, more than any other region, can claim to be regarded as the cradle-land of the Aryans (= Indo-Europeans).

1. Collected Works, New Impression, 1898, Vol. X (The Home of the Aryas), p. 90.

2. Origines Aricae, 1883, p. 6.

3. See Plato's Cratyhis and Christ's Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur, fiinfte Auflage von Withclm Schmid, erster Toil, Miinchen 1909, p. 639.

4. Penka's own arguments are of only historical interest today and need not be discussed. The chief exponent of Penka's theory of the Germanic home of the Jndo-Euroneans 'in modern times was Gustav Kossinna. A brief summary of his theory has been given by Gordon Childe (Th-e Aryans , pp. 166 ff.). It may be mentioned that most of the articles on Indo-Euronean origins in the Hirt.-Festschrift (Heidelberg, 1936) are from Kossinna's school.

5. Given up in Euroue since it was discovered that Sanskrit does not give the truest picture of the original Indo-European.

6. In this chapter the word "Aryan" has been used in the sense of "IndoEuropean."

7. For Mohenio-daro cf. Ch. IX.

8. Ch. IX, p. 197.

9. In the oldest ritual texts every care is taken not to mention directly the name of this terrible god. He is indirectly referred to as "this god" or "the god whose name contains the word bhuta or posy." (i.e., Bhutapati, Pasupati). The name occurring in a Rigvedic verse (II. 3. I) was purposely pronounced as Rndriya (Ait. Br., Ill, 3. 9-10). From the curious remarks made in Ait. Br., III. 3. 10 it also appears that the reading of RV, II. 3. Ic

was originally abhi vah. etc.: but it was later altered so as not to give Rudra a pretext to rush to the place of sacrifice. Arbrnan in his dissertation on Rudra. (Uppsala, 1922) has made it. probable that in respect of this god the later ritual texts give a more faithful picture of the popular beliefs of the Rigvedic age than the Rir/veda itself.

10. See Keith. RPVU, HOS.. Vol. 31, p. 145. Precisely the same was the attitude of the Greeks towards their apotropaeic foreign goddess Hekate (see Nilsson, Greek Religion, p. 204).

11. See Jane Ellen Harrison, Frolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, second edition, pn. 8 ff.

12. Cf. Ch. IX, pp. 191, 196 ff.

13. This date of the Gath.as and their author Zarathustra has been maintained— against indigenous Iranian tradition—by Ed. Meyer who declared it to be one of the incomprehensible things in history that anyone should consider Zarathustra's patron Vistaspa to have been the same person as the father of Darius I. So also Bartholomae, Zarathustras Leben und Lehre, pp. 10-11. For full literature on this point up to 1932 see Die Iranier in Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients (Arthur Christensen), p. 213.

14. V’alther Wiist who in recent times has tried most to push back the age of the Rigvcda admits nevertheless that the Mohenjo-daro culture is not IndoEuropean and must have passed away before the Aryans occupied India ' WZKM, xxxrv, pp. 173, 190). Cf. the views of Dr. S. K. Chatteiji in Ch. VIII, p. 160 ff.

15. See Jenson, SPAW, 1919, pp. 367 if., Forrer, ZDMG ; 1922; pp. 254 ff., CHI, I, 72; CAH , II, 13.

16. See Arthur Christensen, op. cit., p. 209, fn. 6.

17. E.G., Skt. Indra but Hit. In-ta-ra; Skt. Varuna but Hit. U-ru-van-a. These gods were worshipped not by the indigenous Mitanni people who were n^ri

Indo-European in speech, but by their Aryan rulers known as Maryanni. The word maryanni may be connected with Rigvedic marya.

18. Vol. II, p. 13.

19. See next chapter.

20. See Eduard Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, third edition, Vol. I, § 468.

21. These names have been fully discussed by Mironov in Acta Orientalia. Vol. XI, pp. 140 if. For a helpful criticism of Mironov's equations and etymologies see Keith, Woolner Comm. Vol., pp. 137 ff.

22. See Eduard Meyer, op. cit., Vol. I, § 456..

23. Iran in the Ancient East, 1941, p. 182.

24. Die lndogermanen , Vol. I, p. 118.

25. Geschichte des Altertums, II, I, second edition, 1928, p. 35.

26. The same view has been expressed much more emphatically also by Herzfeld (op. cit., pp. 191-2) only with this difference—which is perhaps a necessary corrective to Meyer's theory—that the original Indo-Iranian common home was situated in Russian Turkestan and not in the Pamir region.

27. To admit that Vedic culture began about 1500 B.C. does not of course mean that the Rigvedic language as known to us is to be dated so early. On the contrary it suggests that the Rigvedic language assumed its present, form at a considerably later period, probably about 1000 B.C., as suggested above on linguistic grounds.

28. For the first time in SB A, 1908, pp. 14 ff,. then again in KZ 1909, pp. I ff., and often later; Freiherr von Eickstedt. as quoted by Nehring in his Studien zur indogermanisclien Kultur und Urh-eimat, p. 227. considers Kazakstan to have been the common home of the Indo-Iranians; but he dees

not seem to have taken into consideration the possibility of a back-surge of the eastern IndoEuropeans.

29. JR AS, 1909, pp. 1095 ff.

30. Modi Memorial Volume . 1930, pp. 81 ff. Some scholars have expressed the view that the Aryans of Mitanni were Indians pure and simple; cf. Jacobi. JRAS, 1919, pp. 721 ff., Jensen. SBA, 1919 : pp. 467 ff., Sturtevant, Yale Classical Studies, I, pp. 215 ff.

31. See Ebert's Reallexikon der V or geschichte, Vol. I, 1924, p. 137. But Friedrich has adopted a non-committal attitude in this regard in his article "Das erste Auftreten der lndogermanen" in Hirt-Festschrift, Vol. II.

32. Hirt-Festschrift, Vol. II, p. 37.

33. See my article in 1C, XI, pp. 147-60. particularly pp. 155-6: cf. also Johannes Friedrich, Geschichte der Indogermanischen Sprachicissenschaft. II, 5, p. 42. Nehring's speculations about the Luvians (Studien zur lndogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat, p. 37) are inconclusive; his assertion that the earliest culture of Troy (c. 3000 B.C.) was certainly Indo-European l foe. cit.) seems to be an unproved assumption.

34. Sturtevant, A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language, p. 29.

35. Kulturgeschichte des Alien Orients, dritter Abschnitt, erste Licferung. 1933, p. 76.

36. Schachermeyr, too, admits that the Hittites probably entered Asia Minor about 2000 B.C. (Hirt-Festschrift, Vol. I. p. 234).

37. Kulturgeschichte des Alien Orients dritter Abschnitt, erste Lieferung, p. 48.

38. Schachermeyr, Hirt-Festschrift.. Vol. I. p. 235.

39. Reich und Kultur der Chetiter , p. 234.

40. For a pretty complete survey of the problems connected with Tocharian, see S-chwentner, Geschichte der indogermanisclien Sprachicissenschaft, zweiter Teil, fvinfter Band, Lieferung 2, Leipzig, 1935.

41. See Hirt-Festschrift . Vol. II. pp. 227-40.

42. Die lndogermanen, Vol. I, p. 183.

43. The split is caused by the difference in the treatment of certain k and g sounds. Certain dialects keep these sounds but others change them into sibilants.

44. The theories associated with the names of Schleicher and Schmidt will be found explained in many text-books and need not be discussed here.

45. So also Hirt, Dte hidogermanes. Vol I. p. 125. Niederle most emphatically asserts that the Lithuanians are still living; in their original home on the Baltic (Manuel de V Antiquitc Slave, Tome I: Historia, p. 13).

46. Op. cit., p. 121.

47. Bronze Age Greece, p. 288.

48. Op. cit., p. 249. Some scholars, however, still maintain that the Mycenaeans were identical with the Achaians and therefore spoke Greek.

49. It is important to remember that the Akaivasha (=Achaians?) are mentioned for the first time in 1229 B.C. in the Egyptian records, and the Danauna (—Horn. Danaians?) in 1192,B.C. (see Gordon Childe, The Aryans , pp. 72-73). Meillet seems to have considered the Akaivasha of the Egyptians, the Alihijava of the Hittite texts, the Achm(v)oi of Homer and the Achivi of the Latins to have been one. and the same people (Aperqu d'une Histoire de la Langue Grecquc, third edition, 1930, p. 57). Cf. also Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik Vol. I, p. 46.

50. Practically all that can be said in favour of a Germanic home will be found in the two volumes of the Hirt-Festschrift, Heidelberg, 1936.

51. Origines Aricac, p. 5.

52. It is curious to note that both Penka (Op. cit., p. 56) and Tilak (see his Arctic Home in the Vedas), independently of each other, arrived at the conclusion that the original home of the Aryans was situated in the polar region. Penka depended on the evidence of Odyssey X, 81-6, where short nights are spoken of. In the Vedic literature there are indeed passages which may suggest that the Vedic Aryans actually knew of the never-setting polar sun. For instance, Aitarnya Brahmana , III. 4.6: sava esha na kaddehana ’stam eti no * deti , etc. But it is quite clear that the author .of the Aitareya Brahmana is here only speaking of an astronomical discovery—remarkable for the age—that the sun actually does not “rise” or “set.”

53. The racists apart, whose chief preoccupation is to try to prove that the IndoEuropeans were of Nordic stock.

34. Much, D»c Hcimal. der Indogcrmanen tin Lichte der urgeschichtUchen Fors chung, second edition, 1904.

55. Gordon Childe, Wiener Beilrage Zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Jahrgang IV, Die IndogermtLnen und Germanenjrage, 1936, p. 526.

5G. Ilirt-Festschrijt. Vol. I, pp. 19, 24, 37. Rosenberg, Kulturstromungen in Europa zur Steinzcit , Kopcnhagcn, 1931, pp. II ff.

57. So Nehring, Studien zur indogertnanischen Kultur und Urheimat, pp. 27, 59-61.

58. Ur sprung der Gcrmanen, p. 120.

59. Gcrmancntum und Alteuropa , p. 166.

60. Substratlheorie und Urheimat der Indogeramanen. Mitteilungen der Anthropolo gischen Gescllschajt , LXVI, 1936, pp. 69-91.

61. Quotation by Pittioni, Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, Jahrgang IV, 1936. p. 531.

62. CHI, I, 66.

63. “Isogloss” means “a linguistic innovation common to two or more groups of the same family of languages.”

64. Mahabhashya ad Panini II. 2.6: gaurah suchyachgrah kapilah pihgalakesa ity =endn=api abhyantardn brdhmanye gundn kurvanti.

65. Die erste indogcrmanir.chc Wandcrung, Wien, 1936. Brnndenslcin’s ingenious theory of an early Indo-European home in the Kirghiz steppe and a later IndoEuropean home in eastern Poland has not been accepted by Nehring (Studien zur i'.irlogCrmnnischen Kultur nvd Urheimat . p. 28, fn.) who has promised (for. cit.) to give his reasons for rejecting Brandcnstcin’s theory in a future

pUUiU'.tliOJi.

G6. flirt. Die Indogcrmanen, Vol. I, p. 72; Nehring, Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat, pp. 21-2.

67. Hirt ^Festschrift, Vol. I. p. 124.

68. KZ, Vol. XLII, pp. 175-9.

09. Vcrgleichendcs indogemiauisch'-semitischcs Wbrterbuch, pp. xiii f.

70. Sec Albert Schott, Hirt-Festschrift, Vol. II, pp. 93-4.

71. Vcrglcichendcs indogcrmanisch-semitischcs Wortcrbuch, p. xvi.

72. Sprachverglcichung und Urgeschichte, second edition, Jena 1890; ReaUexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde, second edition by Nehring in two vols, Berlin and Leipzig. 1917-1929.

73. So Giles, CHI, I. 68. It is dilficult to find a single positive argument in favour cl Giles’ Hungarian home theory.

74. According to Barlhclomac (lndogermanische Forschungen, Vol. IX, p. 271) this Kurdish word may be connected with “bcec/i.”

The theory of the indigenous origin of the Aryans has been advocated by a number of scholars. MM, Ganganath Jha has tried to prove that the original home was the Brahmarshi-desa. 2 D. S. Triveda suggests that the original home of the Aryans was in the region of the river Devika in Multan. 3 L. D. Kalla advocates the claims of Kashmir and the Himalayan region. 4 The various arguments in favour of this view may be summed up as follows:

1. There is no evidence to show that the Vedic Aryans were foreigners or that they migrated into India within traditional memory. Sufficient literary materials are available to indicate with some degree of certainty, that the Vedic Aryans themselves regarded Sapta-Sindhu as their original home (devakrita-yoni or devanirmita des<£).

Migrating races look back to the land of their origin for centuries. The Parsis in India remember their origin after eight hundred years. The ancient Egyptians and the Phoenicians remembered their respective lands of origin even though they had forgotten their location. The Vedic Aryans, if at all they came from outside, therefore, must have lived in Sapta-Sindhu so many centuries before the Vedic period that they had lost all memory of an original home. 5

2. The linguistic affinities are not positive proofs of Aryan immigration. The Vedic Sanskrit has the largest number of vocables found in the Aryan languages. These are preserved in the languages of the Sanskritic family in different parts of India even when there has been inter-racial contact for centuries. On the other hand, if the pre-Vedic Aryan language was spoken in different parts of Europe and Asia where the Aryans had settled before Coming to India, how is it that only a few vocables are left in the presentday speech of those parts, while the largest number of them is found in the distant places of ultimate settlement and racial admixture in India? On the contrary this disparity can easily be explained if the pre-Vedic was the language of the homeland of Aryans and the other Aryan languages came into existence as a result of the contact between migrating Aryans and non-Aryan elements outside India and Persia. 6

3. The Vedic literature is the earliest extant record of the Aryan mind. How is it that in the course of their journey to the Sapta-Sindhu the Aryans left no such record elsewhere? This absence of literary records in other

countries cannot be explained away by a hypothesis that the Aryans only reached a high stage of cultural evolution in India. But we can satisfactorily explain it if we suppose that the Aryans migrated from India, and the migration being only of the superfluous population of roving tribes without great cultural development, they could net impart the literary and cultural tradition to the counties in which they ultimately settled? 7

4. The sacrificial rituals had long been established before the compliation of the Samhita. Therefore the home of Soma, the Mujavant or Munjavant hills in the north of the Punjab, indicates the locality from which the sacrificial rituals developed. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

5. It is often argued that Lithuanian being the most archaic in the Aryan family of languages, Lithuania is likely to be the original home of the Aryans. But a language remains archaic even when the persons using it are unprogressive; or if they remain in a locality where no fusion is possible with races speaking other languages; or if they develop a highly refined technique for preserving and using archaic forms. The first two conditions are probably responsible for the archaic character of Lithuanian. 9

6. It is argued that the tiger, a native of the Bengal swamps, is not mentioned in the Rigveda, but the place of honour is given to the lion. Similarly the elephant, mentioned as the mrigahastin, shows that it was a novelty. 10 These arguments do not carry much weight in view of the fact that the Harappa civilization of the Indus Valley shows little trace of the lion (supposed to be common in the desert of Rajputana) but is fully conversant with the worship of the tiger and the elephant as indicated by the seals. If in about 3000 B.C, the elephant and the tiger were so well known in the Punjab, it is absurd to suppose that they disappeared so completely as not to be mentioned in the Rigveda in c. 1500 B.C. The word mriga-hastin is merely a poetic term and does not imply novelty. In the same way the word parvatagiri, used for a mountain in the same Rigveda , clearly does not mean that mountains were strange to the Vedic peoples. Again it is said that rice is not mentioned in the Rigveda. Even so, salt is never mentioned

in the Rigveda. Can we conclude that the consumption of salt was unknown in the Rigvedic times? Rice seems to have been unknown in the Harappa civilization also. This only proves that yava (barley) and wheat w^ere the staple cereals of North-West India.

7. The geographical data of the Rigveda f as analysed in Ch. Xni, clearly show that the Punjab and the neighbouring regions constituted the home of the people who composed these hymns. There is no good ground for the belief that they or their ancestors lived in any other country.

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CHAPTER XI

Chapter Notes

- 1. This Appendix is based on a long note on the subiect prepared bv Prof. S. Srikanta Spstri and most of the arguments are advanced by Mr. K. M. Munshi in Glory that tras Gurjaradaxa, X, Section II.
- 2. Acharya Pushvanjali (=D. R. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.), pp. 1-2.
- 3. ABOni. XX. 48 ff.
- 4. POC, VI, 723-4.
- 5. Munshi. op. cit., 46.
- 6. Ibid., 81.
- 7. Ibid.. 82. ,
- 8. Cf. KHDS. II, Part I, pp. 11-16.'
- 9. Munshi, op. cit.. 83.
- 10. CHI, I, 81.

INDO-IRANIAN RELATIONS

It has been shown in the preceding chapter that the undivided Indo-Iranians, as suggested by their already specifically characteterized Satem dialect, must have left their original Indo-European home after the Hitiites and the proto-Tocharians, but before any other Indo-European tribe. After some wanderings they settled down in what may be called the Indo-Iranian original home which was situated in the Pamir region (Eduard Meyer) or more probably in the plains of the Oxus and Jaxartes (Ernst Herzfeld). The latter says: “From time immemorial, at least from the third millennium down to the middle of the second, the Aryans inhabited, as an undivided ethnical group, the vast plains of the Oxus and Jaxartes, the land Erfinvcj of the two rivers Vahvl-Datiya and Ranha/ M It is also quite clear that the Aryan principalities appearing about 1400 B.C. in Mesopotamia and Syria were “the successful creation of a group of condottieri and their troops who had detached themselves from the main body, while the wandering tribes passed through eastern Iran towards India/' 2

The undivided Indo-Iranians must have passed a long time in their Central Asian common home, for here grew up a specific IndoIranian culture and religion that may be reconstructed, at least partially, by comparing the Veda with the Avesta. Before the occupation of the Iranian plateau by tribes from the Indo-Iranian original home, the high land, to all appearance, was the seat of a culture that was probably matriarchal, and the people worshipped snake-gods like the primitive non-Aryans of India. It is very probable, therefore, that the pre-Aryan cultures of North-West India and Iran were of the same spirit and origin. 3

This old cultural link between pre-Aryan Iran and pre-Aryan India, instead of being strengthened as a result of the migration of the Aryans into these two countries, as could be normally expected, was to all appearance completely severed, for there is nothing to show that the Vedic Aryans of India maintained an active cultural relation with their brethren in Iran.

In the earliest days the Aryans of India must have been connected with the Aryans of Iran, either as friends or as foes, but “actual historical contact cannot be asserted with any degree of probability/’ 4 The two peoples turned their backs upon each other as it were, and developed their distinctive civilizations apparently without the least mutual influence, although in language,^ culture and religion their similarity in the earliest period was little short of identity.

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When later in history, 6 under the Achaemenids, Greeks, Bactrians, and Sakas, the Iranians and the Indians were forced to meet as citizens of the same empire, they met as complete strangers, not as cousins of the same family.

Geographical barriers are no doubt to some extent responsible for this apparent mutual oblivion, as also the fact that from the Indo-Iranian common home the pre-Indians and the pre-Iranians expanded in two almost opposite directions. All this, however, cannot explain the complete cessation of cultural contact between Iran and India even as early as the Kigvedic age. The Iranians had retained a distinct memory of the Indo-Iranian common home (Eranvej) in their mythology, but the Indo-Aryans, who must have developed their distinctively Indian Rigvedic culture about 1500 B.C. at the latest, have nothing to say on this point. It is indeed difficult to get away from the idea that the silence maintained by the earliest Vedic Indians on Iran and the Iranians was at least partly intentional, for some of the geographical names prove beyond doubt that the period of immigration had not been so long as to have completely obliterated all memory of the land they left behind. Thus the names Rasa, Sarasvati and Bahllka. not to speak of others, must have been brought to India from Tran by the Aryans and applied to two Indian rivers and one Indian province. 7 The reticence maintained by the Vedic Aryans about immigration from Indo-Irania was, therefore, at least partly intentional, for otherwise it would seem that those parts of the Rigveda in which possible or probable Iranian names occur, were composed already in Iran, as Hillebrandt actually suggested. 8

Incompatibility of some sort between the earliest Aryans of India and Iran has to be assumed to explain this camouflaged indifference, and it is also clear that this incompatibility was the cause of their divergent movements from their common home and ultimately destroyed the cultural unity between Iran and India of the pre-Aryan days. Seeds of such incompatibility which later developed into mutual hostility can be clearly seen already in the oldest Aryan religion and cult of these two* countries. The primitive Indo-European religion recognized only nature-gods (sky, sun, wind, etc.) and a fire-cult.® But already the undivided Indo-Iranians knew a soma-cult beside the older fire-cult, and abstract deities 10 beside the older nature-gods. Indo-Iranian society had therefore ceased to be Culturally homogeneous even before the forefathers of the Indian and Iranian Aryans parted company, and it is hardly to be doubted that their parting was more the effect th^n the cause of the cultural contrast revealed in religion. The old Indo-European term *deivo (= Indo-Iranian *daiva) was apparently considered inappropriate for the new abstract and ethical deities, and a new term, A sura, perhaps borrowed from a higher civilization, 11 came to be used as their designation. Varinja was the chief of these ethical deities just as Indra was the chief of the older nature-gods. 12

The fact that about 1400 B.C., in the well-known treaty-record discovered at Boghaz-koi, the Daiva-gods Indra and Nasatya appear side by side with the Asura-gods Varuna and Mitra, clearly suggests, as Christensen 13 has pointed out, that the antagonism between the worshippers of the Daiua-gods and the Asura-gods —which is the central feature of early Indo-Iranian history—had not yet broken out. But it was in full blast long before the advent of Zarathustra whose Gathas should be dated about 1000 B.C. on linguistic grounds, as shown in the preceding chapter.

The antagonism between the worshippers of the new gods and the old must have been one of the main causes of the estrangement and subsequent secession of those Aryans who later conquered India, but their antagonism was not confined to the field of religion alone. Christensen 14 has suggested that the Asura-religion was practised by the more cultured and steadier elements of the primitive IndoIranian society whose chief occupation was agriculture and cattlebreeding, while the older Daiva-religion continued to find favour with the more vigorous but less civilized portions of the people to whom the primitive predatory habits were more congenial: the former were content to remain behind in Iran, but the latter, urged by the spirit of adventure, advanced farther east and at last entered India. But all of those who remained behind were not AsvCraworshippers, nor all of those who braved the hardships of the forward march into India were adherents of the Daiva-religion. The Daiua-inscription of Xerxes, 15 discovered in 1935, clearly shows that even so-late as the fifth century B.C. Daiva^ worship had to be forcibly suppressed within the Achaemenian empire. And in India we meet with the curious situation that in the oldest period all the great gods received the title Asura as a decorative epithet, though later it came to be used exclusively as a term of abuse. In innumerable passages in the Brahmanas the Asuras have been represented as superior to the Devas in the arts of civilized life, and both in Vedic 16 and Puranic tradition they are regarded as the elder brothers of the gods. They are as far above the Ddsas and Rakshasas as the Devas themselves.

All things considered, it seems difficult to deny that along with the great horde of Daiua-worshipping Ai'yans came to India also a culturally superior strong minority of Asura -worshippers, whose cult and religion was slightly different from that of the former and who were for that reason ceaselessly cursed and condemned, by the Vedic Aryans, more out of jealousy, it would seem, than Out of contempt. For if the Vedic Aryans intentionally suppressed all reminiscence of the Indo-Iranian original home, as suggested above, would they not also have suppressed the memory of the Asura*

worshippers in the same way if they could? But this they could not, because some Asura-worshippers were physically present among them.

The earliest Indo-Aryan society, too, like the earliest IndoIraman society, was therefore not quite homogeneous culturally. It was predominantly—but not exclusively— Daivic, while the contemporary Iranian society was predominantly Asuric. After a period of conflict and adaptation there was peace which proved successful to the extent that even the foremost of the

Daiva-gods, namely Indra, not only came to be regarded as an Asura in the oldest parts of the Iiigveda, but was also credited with possessing mdyd, which was a special property of the Asuras and probably signified “magical power.” 17 It is hardly an accident that in Hindu mythology the architect of the gods is an Asura whose name is Maya: the rude Daiva- worshippers apparently regarded the superior arts and crafts of their rivals as achieved by magic.

In spite of the Daiva-bias of the Indians and the Asura-bias of the Iranians their culture and religion continued to be essentially the same till the advent of Zarathustra in Iran. Zarathustra’s position is more or less analogous to that of the Buddha in India and Orpheus in Greece, both of whom protested effectively against the ceremonial slaughter of animals in the name of religion, but not by far so vehemently as Zarathustra. 18 In his Gathas Zarathustra condemns in bitter terms the orgiastic festivities at which the Daiva worshippers, inebriated with Soma, offer bloody sacrifices to their gods, extinguishing amidst shouts of revelry the life of the innocent bull. 13 It is clear that the ritual practices against which Zarathustra directed his homilies closely resembled those of the Vedas. A large number of common cult-words such as haoma (= soma), zaotar (= hota), athravan (= atharvan), rnanthra (= mantra), yazata (= yajata), yasna (— yajna), dzuiti (— ahuti), etc., and also the whole sacrificial cult, leave no doubt that Vedic and Avestan ritual are of one and the same origin. 20 Evidently, the Zarathustrian reform could not materially alter the essentially Vedic character of the Soma cult cherished in Iran from ages before his time.

In the field of religion and mythology, however, Zarathustra was more successful. But here, too, the points of similarity are striking enough to prove previous identity. The ceremony of Upanayana is practically the same in the Veda and the Avesta, and in both the conventional number of gods is the same, namely thirtythree. Both in the Veda and the Avesta the picture of the gods is primarily that of an heroic Aryan warrior riding in a chariot drawn by powerful steeds. Like the Vedic gods those of the Avesta too hold up the sky to prevent its falling down, and imageworship is equally unknown in the Avesta and the Veda c Varuija, like his Avestan opposite number Ahura, assisted by Mitra (Avestan Mithra), is the supreme guardian of moral law, and the concep tion of cosmic order is represented in both by the same abstract deny, tne Vedic Kiia =. Avesian Asa. 21 Even the notorious discrepancy between the Vedic and Avestan Indra will disappear if the history of this god, as reconstructed by Benveniste and Renou, 22 is kept in view. Their ingenious theory may be summarized as follows: In the Indo-Iranian epoch there were two different gods, Indra 23 and Vjritrahan (vritra = resistance, vritrahan = resistancebreaker). Indra was nothing but a concrete personalization of mere physical prowess, known in the legends of most primitive civilizations, but he was too Daivic to suit the taste of the stern reformer Zarathustra who did not hesitate to send him to Hades. But the Lord Resistance-breaker, i.e. Vrioragna, whose function it was to break the resistance put up by evil, continued his glorious career within the Iranian pantheon. Indra and Vritrahan were united in the same person only later in the Vedic age. In short, Vedic Indra is the Indo-Iranian Indra (mentioned at Boghaz-koi) plus Vritrahan. whereas Avestan Indra is the Indo-Iranian Indra minus Vritrahan. There is no discrepancy, therefore, between Vedic Indra and Avestan Indra if it is remembered that the history of Indra is in reality the history of two different gods who influenced each other in two different ways in Iran and India.

The Nasatyas who in the Boghaz-koi inscription are mentioned side by. side with Indra and Varuna also appear in the Avesta, though as a demon 24 like Indra, and even the minor Vedic god Apam-napat is represented in the Avesta by a god of the same name. To the Vedic Gandharva corresponds the Avestan Gandarowa, and to the Vedic Kjrisanu the Avestan Korasani. 2 In the Veda, Yama, the son of Vivasvat, is the ruler of the dead, in the Avesta, Yima, the son of Vivanhant, is the ruler of paradise. 26 Examples can be multiplied to show that in spite of the Zara thus trian reform, the Iranian religion continued to be much the same as before. On the whole it seems that Zarathustra’s reform was not so much a break with the past as a determined and partly successful effort to reassert the principles of the old Asura religion by ridding it of all Daivic contaminations. 27 This is suggested pointedly by the curious fact that not content with consigning to Hades the prominent Daiuc-gods like Indra, he changed the name also of the chief Asura god Varuna into Ahura Mazdah. 28 That Zarathustra dropped the name while retaining and raising to the highest honour the personality of this god is apparently because in the previous age—at the time of the Boghaz-koi tablets at any rate—he had lived in the corrupt company of the Daiua-god Indra. For a similar reason Zarathustra avoided the word Baga “god” of Indo-European origin, though it occurs in the pre-Zarathustrian parts of the Avesta and in the Old Persian inscriptions, 29 for an Indo-European word of religious connotation could not but have Daivic associations.

INDO-IRANIAN RELATIONS

So long as it was believed that the Gathas, because oldest in language, give also the oldest picture of the Aryan civilization of Iran, it was by no means possible to see that the society described in Hie Veda and the Avesta is essentially the same. But it has now been fully established that the civilization of the Gathas is a later reformed civilization of Iran, of which a much older phase is re* fleeted in the Ya£ts, particularly the so-called heathenish YaSts, i.e. the Ya&ts which have suffered least from Zarathustrian revision. 30 And the culture reflected in these pre-Zarathustrian heathenish YaSts is essentially that of Vedic India. The very Haoma-cult, which is rightly regarded as the chief indicator of Indo-Irani&n cultural unity, is not only pre-Zarathustrian but definitely anti-Zarathustriad, and could be retained in -the post-Zarathustrian religion of Iran only because the prophet—clearly out of policy—did not specifically mention Soma in prohibiting intoxicating drinks: from this omission it was argued by Avestan theologians that all other intoxicants are impure, but not Haoma. 31 Benveniste has demonstrated that the Persian religion of the Achaemenian age, as described by Herodotus, agrees not at all well with that of the Gathas, but shows significant points of similarity with the Vedic religion. 32

The notorious difference in burial customs between Iran and India entirely vanishes on scrutiny. The custom of exposing dead bodies in dakmos, which is unknown in India, was not of Persian origin, but a Median custom confined to the Magi. It became the customary,funeral rite of Iran only in the Arsacidan age, and is mentioned for the first time in the Videvdat, a product of the Arsacidan period. The Achaemenian monarchs, whose

Zarathustrianism cannot be seriously doubted, were placed in elaborate grave-chambers after death, and it is nowhere recorded that the corpse of any one of those mighty emperors had been thrown to birds and beasts. 33

The ancient Aryan culture of Iran was thus hardly distinguishable from the ancient Aryan culture of India. And that is as it should be, for both were derived from one and the same IndoIranian culture.

1. Iran in the Ancient East, 1941, p. 190.

2. Op. cit., p. 19?.

3. Op. cit., pp. II, 177.

4. Ved. Ind., I, p. 505.

5. Linguistic affinity between the earliest Aryans of India and Irfin has been discussed bv the present writer in Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit pp. 28-47 and 1C, Vn, pp. 343-59.

6. For the history of later Ir.do-Iranian relations see CHI, I, pp. 323 ff.

7. See Vedic Index under these three names. Zimmer wa* even of opinion that Vedic Rasa directly refers to Iranian Ranha, i.e. Jaxartes (AL, p. 18).

8. Ved. Myth., first ed., Vol. I, pp. 99 £F.; Vol. HI, pp. 372-8. Older attempt* to read :~anian history and geography in the Veda have been briefly dealt with by Jackson in CHI, Vol. I, pp. 322 ff., and more recently by Keith in Woobier

Comm. Vol. (1940). 4

9. Cf. the fire.: of the Prytaneia in Greece, Vestal fire of Rome, G&rh^patya fire of India (K^ith, RPVU, II, pp. 625-6).

10. Like Vedic #ita ;= Av. Asa (to be pronounced ana, from arta).

11. As I have suggested elsewhere (IC, VII, p. 330), this term is probably nothing but the personal designation of the tutelary deity of Assyria used as

a generic name by the Indo-Ir&nians who must have come in direct or indirect contact with the Assyrians during the period of Kassite ascendancy, for the Kassttes on the one hand borrowed from the Indo-Iranians the w°ra surya and on the other conquered Assyria. Cf. Thomas, JR AS , 1916, pp. 362-6.

12. Varuna was originally a nature-god no doubt, since the equation Skt. Varupazr Gr. Ouranos has to be accepted (see Keith, IC, in, p. 421). Yet the natural* basis of this god had been usurped by Dyaus pitd = Zeus pater already in Indo-European times, and as a result he became a pronounced ethical god. Vanina's associate Mitra, too, was originally a nature-deity—a sun-god—as I h,ave tried to show before (IC, ELI, p. 63), but he too had to lose his natural; basis to the more powerful Sikrya.

13. Kulturgeschichte des Alien Orients, p. 211.

14. Op. cit., pp. 211-12.

15. See Sukumar Sen, Old Persian Inscriptions, pp. 148-56.

16. See Keith, RPVU, II, p. 457.

17. See IC, VII, pp. 61-62. Benveniste has shown that the conception of AfdyA, by means of which Indra and his Iranian opposite number Vri^ragna could assume different forms at will, dates from the Indo-Iraxlian epoch (Vrtra et Vr&raana , pp. 32 ff., 194).

18. Iranian tradition would make Zara thus tra more or less a contemporary of Buddha and Orpheus (if, as is generally thought, they were historical persons), but according to Eduard Meyer (Geschichte des AUertums , second edition, third volume, p. 110, fn. 3) it is an inexplicable thing that anybody should think so. That Eauard Meyer was right can be hardly doubted, although weighty opinions have been raised against his view. The mention by Assurbanipal about 700 B.C. of Assara Masai along with seven good angels and seven bad.spirits is a clear indication of acquaintance with the reformed Zarathustrian pantheon (see CHI, I, p. 76). It is impossible therefore to suggest that the Kavi ViStaspa mentioned in. the Avesta as the patron of the prophet was no other than the father of Darius I (522-486

B.C.), for in that case the Zarathustrian pantheon could not have been known in Assyria in the days of Assurbanipal.

19. See Christensen, op. cit., p. 220.

20. See Hillebrandt, RUuaUitteratur, 8 2.

21. See footnote 10.

22. In Vftra et VrSragna, Paris, 1934.

23. The name of this god is to be derived from Hittite inner—“strength.”

24. Avestan Naonhaithya , to be pronounced Nohaithya,

25. To be pronounced Kpiani.

26. See M&cdonell, VM, 8 5.

27. -I expressed a different view in IC, VII, p. 338.

28. Darmesteter has aptly said that Ahura Mazdah is no more different from Varuna than Zeus is from Jupiter (SBE , IV, p. lit).

29. See Herzfeld, Altpersische Inschriften, p. 106.

30. See Christensen, op. cit., pp. 214 ff.

31. Op. cit., p. 229.

32. The Persian Religion, Ratanbai Katr&k Lectures, Paris 1929, pp. 32 ff.

33. See Herzfeld, Iran in the Ancient East, 1941, pp. 216-17.

CHAPTER XII

VEDIC LITERATURE-GENERAL VIEW

Our knowledge of the Indo-Aryans is based on the evidence of Vedic literature, of which the chief constituents are the four collections known as the fligveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharva veda. Not a single work of the Vedic period can be accurately dated. On linguistic grounds the language of the fligveda, the oldest Veda* may be said to be of about 1000. B.C., 1 but its contents may be—and certainly are in the oldest parts—of much more ancient date, and its latest parts, resembling Atharvanic charms, are as surely of much later origin. This Fligveda is neither an historical nor an heroic poem, but mainly a collection (samhita) of hymns by a number of priestly families, recited or chanted by them with appropriate solemnity at sacrifices to the gods. Naturally it is poor in historical data. The Samaveda hardly counts at all as an independent text (see below). The Samhitas of the Yajurveda, if the Brahraaoa portions of the schools of the Black Yajurveda are left out of account, are nothing but collections of short magic spells used by a certain class of priests at the sacrifices. For the history of the Indian people of the Vedic age the Atharvaveda is certainly the most important and interesting of the four Samhitas, describing, as it does, the popular beliefs and superstitions of the humble folk, as yet only partly subjugated by Brahmanism.

Next to the Samhitas are the Brahmaj^as, an arid desert of puerile speculations on ritual ceremonies. They mark the lowest ebb of Vedic culture. The Upanishads were at least partially the result of a popular protest against the soulless ritualism of the Brahmanas, as was also the rise of sects like the Vaishpavas, Jainas, Buddhists, etc. In the Sutras Brahmanical orthodoxy fought and lest its last battle against these forces of religious liberalism before merging itself in the synthetic national religion of India in the preMuhammadan era, i.e. Hinduism. A brief survey of the Samhitas, Brama^as, ar.d the Srauta-sutras •* is given here to indicate the nature and extent of these texts, reserving for later chapters their linguistic and literary valuation.

I. THE SAMHITAS

I. Rigveda

Of the various recensions of the fiigveda known in tradition only one, namely the Sakala recension, consisting of 1,017 hymns of very unequal length, has come down to us apparently complete, and it is this Sakala recension that is meant when one speaks of the

“ Rigveda though we have parts of two other recensions of the Rigveda, namely the Valakhilya (11 hymns, usually placed in the middle of the eighth Masala of the &akala recension) and the Bashkala (36 hymns in the Aundh edition of the Fligveda , the so-called Khila-suktas, most of which are evidently spurious fabrications, inserted at various places in the Sakala text). Why fragments— and only these fragments—of the Valakhilya and Bashkala recensions have been handed down to us is quite clear: they had definite, though minor, roles to play in the ritual (as proved by later ritual texts in the case of some of them), and therefore had to be preserved.[2] Originally the ritual varied not only from school to school but also from family to family,[2*] but later in the Rigvedic age a system of ritual with minor variations, generally recognized by all the principal schools and priestly families, had been built up, for which the texts collected in the Sakala school were accepted en bloc , but in which there always remained not a few loop-holes provided by the continually expanding ritual, and these loop-holes had to be stopped with Rik-mantras drawn sometimes from other recensions.

Now, if the existing fragments of the non-Sakala -recensions of the Rik-Samhitd owe their survival apparently only to the fact that they were utilized in ritual by priests of the Sakala school[3] —and indeed no other plausible reason can be suggested for the anomalous survival of these non-6akala ^lik-texts—then the important question arises: should not the preservation of the whole Sakala recension itself be attributed to the same cause? This question has doubtless to be answered in the affirmative.[4] All the hymns accepted into the Sarhhita must have possessed intrinsic ritual significance at the time of their acceptance.

Later, however, the ritual changed, and not a few of the hymns of the Sarhhita in consequence lost their proper viniyoga, but not their position in the Samhita which had become sacrosanct and therefore unassailable. 4 *

The Rigveda is not—as it is often represented to be—a book of folk poetry; nor does it mark the beginning of a literary tradition. Bucolic, heroic, and lyrical elements are not entirely absent, but they are sub-merged under a stupendous mass of dry and stereotyped hymnology dating back to the Indo-Iranian era, and held as a close preserve by a number of priestly families whose sole object in cherishing those hymns was to utilize them in their sacrificial cult. Of natural outpourings of heart there is not much to be found in the Rigveda , for the hymns were part of an elaborate ritual which gradually came to be regarded as capable not only of persuading but also of compelling the gods to do the bidding of the officiating priests. This magico-religious attitude of mind found fullest expression later in the Mimamsa-philosophy in which the gods were retained only in name and the ritual itself came to occupy the place of the gods.

One hymn of three verses 3 and three verses of three other hymns 6 have not been divided in the Padapajha by Sakalya, who must have been dead when Yaska wrote 6 ® and therefore lived before 600 B.C. This is important, for it shows that hymns and verses could have been added to the Rik-Samhita even after the date of Sakalya, for it is clear that Sakalya would not have left the hymn and the verses in question undivided if they had formed an integral part of the Samhita in his time. The formation of the Rik-Samhita, as we know it today, had therefore not been quite complete even so late as the time of Sakalya. On the other hand, there is nothing to tell us when the task of collecting the hymns into a Samhita was started.

Most of the hymns were not composed as such, but were mechanically manufactured out of fragments of a floating anonymous literature, 7 and the process of manufacturing hymns in this manner must have continued for a long time. The fact that there are Mantras cited by Pratlkas in the Brahmanas of the Rigveda which do not occur in our Samhita clearly shows that at the time of these Brahmanas recently adopted or freshly manufactured ftik-verses were considered good enough for utilization in ritual, but were yet denied a place in the Samhita. 8 It is impossible to imagine, however, any stage in the development of the Rik-Samhita at which a demand for new Mantras was not present, for the ritual in which they were intended to be used was all the time growing in complexity and expanding in range—and therefore demanding new Mantras at every step. 8 ® There is indeed much to be said in favour of a ritual tradition advocated by Hillebrandt 9 —which in his opinion was independent of the literary tradition of the Rik-Samhita known to us, and which contained hjmnns all of which need not have been included in the latter. 10

There is at all events no doubt that the texts constituting the Puroruchas, Nividas, and Praishas for the ritual are of pre-Samhita date, and that the Prauga-suktas, Aprl-suktas, etc., were composed directly with an eye to application in ritual. 11 All -things considered, it seems best to conclude that the hymns constituting the HikSamhita, though certainly not always composed or manufactured directly for the sacrificial ritual, yet owe their inclusion in the Samhita, which guaranteed their preservation, wholly to the fact that at some time or other the ritual offered a place to each of them.

The division of the whole Samhita into ten Manias, and the number and arrangement of hymns in these Mandalas, are not at all arbitrary. It is hardly an accident that the number of hymns contained in the first and the last Masalas is exactly the same, namely one hundred and ninety-one. The kernel of the #ik-Samhitd is, however, constituted by the so-called family-Ma$tfalas, i.e. the six consecutive Masalas from the second to the seventh, each of which is supposed to have been composed by a particular family of priests. The hymns of these family-Maajtfalas are often composed of tristichs (tfichas)—evidently because in ritual, as a rule, groups of three verses, and not whole hymns or single verses, are used. The eighth Mandala is known as the Pragatha-majrfala, for the verses in mixed metres known as Pragathas, indispensable for the Udgatfi-ritual, are drawn mostly from this Masala. The ninth is most pronouncedly a ritual Masala, for m it were collected all the hymns addressed to Soma Pavamana, 12 which were originally included in the other Masalas. The first Maodala falls naturally into two parts: the first fifty hymns have the Kagvas as authors like the eighth Majptfala and are arranged according to principles obtaining in that Ma^d&la (see below), but the rest are arranged in the manner of the hymns of the family-Majridalas. The tenth Masala is manifestly a later addition, often Atharvanic in character—yet not so late that the few Pavamana-hymns originally belonging to it could not be transferred to the ninth .Masala. 13

The principle governing the original arrangement of hymns in the family-Ma^dalas seems to have been determined by three considerations—-deity, metre, and the number of verses contained in the hymns concerned. 14 Each family-Magd&la opens with a group of hymns dedicated to Agni, immediately followed by another group addressed to Indra . 15 Then follow in each family-Mai^lala groups of hymns dedicated to various gods, the relative positions of these groups being determined on the whole in the descending order according to the number of hymns contained in each, or, when such groups contain each an equal number of hymns, in the descending order according to the number of verses contained in the first hymn of each group. It follows as a necessary corollary to this rule that if in a family-Man^ala several deities have as their shares only one hymn each, then these single hymns should be put at the end of the Mantfala and arranged in descending order according to the number of verses contained in each. Within each deity-group the order of hymns is determined chiefly by metre, again in the descending order, the hymns in Jagati coming first and those in Gayatrl coming last. These are in brief the laws governing the arrangement of hymns in the family-Man^alas—laws re-discovered in our age by Bergaigne and endorsed by Oldenberg. 13 These laws cannot, of course, be rigorously applied to the text of the Rigveda as we find it today. Yet, when a re-division of the hymns is made on the plausible grounds suggested by Bergaigne and Oldenberg, it is found that exceptions to these laws are surprisingly few. And it

leaves no doubt that the redactors of the family-Mautfalas had in mind a comprehensive plan—the advantages of such a plan are obvious—according to which every single hymn in this large collection could occupy only one particular position and no other.

The plan of the eighth Masala is altogether different. Here the hymns are not arranged primarily according to the deities invoked in them as in the family-Ma^alas. 17 The principle followed seems rather to have been primarily to group together all the hymns of each individual author, and then to arrange the hymns of each such group into sub-groups of hymns addressed to particular deities, and that in such a manner that the verse-numbers of the first hymns of these sub-groups would be in a descending order. This peculiarity of the eighth Manuals, together with the fact that most of the hymns in Pragltha metres are found in it, does suggest—but by no means proves—that the eighth Ma^clala was subjoined at a later date to the kernel constituted by the family-Maudalas. 17 * But there is positive reason to believe that there was a time when the eighth Maodala was actually considered to be the last in the Samhita, fcr why else should the Valakhilya-hymns be thrust into the eighth Maodala and not added after the tenth? Also the simple fact that the eighth Mapdala is followed by the ninth strongly suggests the same thing, for since the latter consists almost exclusively of Pavamanahymns combed out of the other M&odalas, it could have been constituted as a separate collection only after them, and consequently after the eighth Maod^ a also. It should not be forgotten, however, that the ninth Maodal* is of a comparatively later date only as a separate collection, but not in contents. Why it was considered necessary to assemble in a separate collection only the hymns addressed to Soma Pavamana and no other deity is perfectly clear, for while the hymns addressed to other deities were primarily the concern of the Hotyipriests, those invoking Soma Pavamana were originally meant exclusively for the Udgatyi-priests—who therefore should have taken the initiative in collecting the Pavaraana-hymns in a separate book. 18 And since the Udgatyi-priests were Saman-singers and not simply Mantra-reciters like the Hotyi-priests, it is not to be wondered at if the hymns contained in the Udgatyi-M&^ala are arranged, as they actually are, according to metres, the chief concern of the redactors of this Masala having been apparently to. group together hymns composed in the same metre.

Prom the above survey it will be clear that all attempts to establish a relative chronology of the first nine Magd&l&s of the Rigveda cannot but be futile. 10 That the tenth Map^ala is later in origin than the first nine is, however, perfectly certain from the evidence of the language. 20 But it is also certain that the whole Of the Rik-Samhita, including the tenth Masala, had assumed prac

tically the same form in which we find it today already before the other Saxhhitas came into existence. 21

2. Sdmaveda

As regards the Sdmaveda 22 it is necessary always to keep in mind that the word sdman means “melody/’ and that the Samar Sarhhitd is nothing but a collection of melodies. Certain texts are, of course, included in what is known as Sdmaveda, but the role of these texts in the Sdmaveda is altogether secondary—-in fact analogous to the part played by musical notes in music. The texts used as musical notes in this Veda are moreover almost wholly drawn from the ftik-Samhitd. According to the figures given in the Aundh edition of the Sdmaveda, of the 1,603 verses (not counting the repetitions) of this Veda only 99 (again not counting the repetitions) are not found in the Rik-Samhita. 23 The literary and historical value of the Sdmaveda is, therefore, practically nil, though its importance for the Soma-ritual cannot be overestimated.

The text part of the Sdmaveda serving merely the purpose of musical notes, every melody could theoretically be chanted on every verse. Yet this freedom seems never to have been actually taken in the ritual. Rather the ritual demands that particular melodies should be chanted on particular verses. It is the double task of assigning particular melodies to particular verses and particular verses to particular melodies that has rendered so complex the Sdmaveda which is, needless to say, a purely ritual Samhita. The complexity of the whole system has become still more enhanced on account of the fact that, on the one hand, the same sdman can be chanted on different verses, and on the other, different sdmans can be chanted on the same verse. In the language of the ritual texts, the verse on which a sdman is chanted is called a Yoni, “source.” This suggestive term, used already in the Brahmapas, clearly shows that it had become conventional in ancient India to regard the verse as the source of the melody, 24 even though of text and melody one can never be the source of the other. The Sdmaveda proper, he. the Archika, is nothing but a collection of 585 Yonis. The Purvarchika, together with the Arapyaka-Samhita and the Uttararchika, represents the text-part of the Sdmaveda . The Gramageyagana, the Ar&py agey ag&na, the flhagfina and the Uhyagana 23 together constitute its song-part.

The Purvarchika records only verses (Yonis) to each of which corresponds a single sdman (melody) named after the seer who is supposed to have discovered it, and these sdmans corresponding to the verses of the Purvarchika are registered in the Gramage* yagSna and the Arapyageyagana. The Yonis of the Purvarchika are divided into three parts: Nos. 1-114 are verses addressed to Agni; Nos. 115-466 to Indra; and Nos. 467-585 to Soma Pavamana.

VEDIC UTERATURE--GBNERAL VIEW

The Uttararchika, on the other hand, records mostly tristichs (tjichas) or distichs (pragdthas) 20 occasionally also complexes of more verses, but never single verses as in the Purvarchika. Now, generally the first verse of a Tjricha of the Uttararchika is found to occur among the single verses (Yonis) of the Purvarchika, 27 and when such is the case it is to be understood that the melody belonging to that particular Yoni of the Purvarchika has to be chanted on the whole of the corresponding Tjricha of the Uttararchika. In actual chant, however, no verse can retain its original form. Therefore it is not sufficient merely to indicate which verse has to be chanted in which melody. It is necessary further to indicate what modifications a* verse will have to undergo when chanted in a particular melody. To indicate the actual forms assumed in chant by the tristichs of the Uttararchika is the purpose of the Ohagana, which thus gives the melodies of the Gramageyag&na in their final ritual form. The Ohyagaria does the same for the melodies of the Aranyageyagana. 2

3 . Yajurt'eda

The Yajurveda is, if possible, even more pronouncedly a ritual Veda, for it is essentially a guide-book 23 for the Adhvaryu-priests who had to do practically everything in the sacrifices excepting reciting the Mantras arid chanting the melodies. 30 And since variation is more natural in manual work than in recitation and chanting, we actually possess today—not merely in tradition as is mostly the case with the other Samhitas—no less than six complete recensions of the Yajurveda , of which two (Madhyandina and Kanva) 30 " constitute the White Yajurveda. and the rest (Taittiriya. Katfiaka. MaitrayanI and Kapishthala) the Black Yajurveda. 31

The fact that the Gopatha-Brahmana (l. 29) in citing the first words of the different Vedas quotes in the case of the Yajurveda the beginning of the Vdjasaneyi-Samhiti 32 may suggest that the White Yajurveda represents the original tradition of which the Black Yajurveda with all its recensions is a later variation. But the truth should rather be just the opposite, for it is hardly possible that Mantra and Brahmana. kept separate as in the White Yajurveda tradition, should have got mixed up at a later date. It is generally assumed, therefore, that the Black Yajurveda, with Mantra and Brahmana mixed up throughout, is older than the White Yajurveda in which the Brahmana was separated from the Saxhhita. perhaps in imitation of the Rigvedic model. In the Taittiriya-Brahmana< too. which is merely a continuation of the TaittiriyaSaihhita (but not necessarily later than it for that reason*, and which, too. owes its origin as a separate treatise to the influence of the Rigvedic tradition, 33 Mantra and Brahmana, have not been separated. 34 It is a peculiar feature of the Taittiriya texts that the Sariihita and the Brahmaga of this school supplement each other in such a way that each seems to presuppose the other.

The relative chronology of the extant versions of the Black Yajurveda has long been an interesting but unsolved problem. 35 Language in this case fails to provide a dependable criterion, for, in spite of inevitable unimportant linguistic peculiarities of each, all of them may be said to speak in the same language. 36 The treatment, of the Rigvedic Mantras in the Samhitas of the Black* Yajurveda is interesting: the Kathaka and the MaUrtiya ®€ in this respect often agree with each other against the ftigveda and the Taittiriya, 37 which should indicate, if Oldenberg's well-known theory is true that slavish conformity to Rigvedic text is a sign of comparative lateness of Yajurveda~Samhitds, 3& that the Kathaka-Kapishthala-Maitrayapi may have been older than the Taittiriya. As regards the Brahma&aparts of the Taittiriya-Samhita , Keith 39 has shown that they are later than the older first five Panchikas of the Aitareya-Br&hmana and older than the Satapatha-Brahmana, but anything more precise about their relative or absolute date cannot be hazarded.

If slavish conformity to the text-tradition of the Rigveda is indicative of comparative lateness, then the Samhitas of the White Yajurveda must be regarded as comparatively late, to judge them by the Rigvedic verse? quoted in them, as amply demonstrated by 01denberg. 4Q Moreover the Vaja$aneyi~Samhit& lacks that general uniformity and homogeneity which pervades not only the whole of the Taittiriya-Samhita but extends also to the Brahmaoa and the Arapyaka of the Taittiriya School. Of the forty odd Adhyayas of the Vdjasaneyi~Samhita, it is quite evident that the last twentytwo were added later 41 gradually to a basic text consisting of the first eighteen.. As a rule only the formulas found in the first -eighteen Adhyayas occur also in the Taittiriya-Samhitd, while those of the last twenty-two are met with in the Taittiriya-Brdhmana* 2 The next three Adhyayas (XIX-XXI) give the Mantras of the Sautrima$l, a sacrifice performed to expiate the sin of excessive indulgence in Soma, and the following four (XXXI-XXV), those of the horse-sacrifice. The remaining fifteen Adhyayas (XXVT-XL) are expressly called Khila in the ancillary literature 43

4. Atharvaveda

The Atharvaveda is utterly different from the other three Vedas discussed above, for though an effort was made at a comparatively late date to absorb it within the sacred Srauta-literature by furnishing it formally with a &rauta-sutra with the significant designation Vaitana-sutra, 44 yet it was never accorded full recognition in the ritual of the Soma-cult, and to the last it remained essentially what it was from the start—a prayer-book of the simple folk, haunted by ghosts and exploited by Brahmins. 46 In its present form the Atharvaveda is certainly the latest of the four Sam* hitas, but in contents it is by no means so, for there can be no doubt that Bloomfield 4 ® was perfectly right in characterizing the Atharva veda as follows: “On the whole the Atharvaveda is the bearer of old tradition not only in the line of the popular charms; but also to some extent, albeit slight, its hieratic materials are likely to be the pro* duct of independent tradition that has eluded the collectors of the other Vedas, the Rigveda not excepted. 9 ’ At the same time, however, it is quite clear that the hymns and charms of the Atharvaveda were collected in a Samhita and handed down to thO present day only because the Brahmanical ritual gradually extended its sway over profane superstition,* and by degrees granted a grudging recognition even to frankly magical incantations that were originally doubtless of non-Brahmanica! inspiration. This is proved strikingly by the Khili-hymns of the Atharvaveda, the so-called Kuntapasuktas, of no particularly sacred character, which, as Bloomfield has amply demonstrated, 47 were nevertheless retained and handed down in tradition, apparently only because they were indispensable for a popular cult that had succeeded in wringing recognition from the circle of sacerdotes.

The Samhita of the Atharvaveda is now before us in two recensions, 46 the Sauriakiya recension, 49 and the Paippalada recension. 60 It is the Saunakiya-SamhiUi that is usually meant when the Atharva veda is mentioned in ancient or modem literature. But the earliest references seem to have been to some other (probably Paippalada) recension. Patanjali’s statement on Paiiini V. 2.37 to the effect that the text of the Angirases consists of twenty chapters may apply to both the recensions, since each consists of twenty Kfepdas, but the initial verse of the Atharvaveda as quoted by Patanjali and also in the G&patha-Brahmana is not the opening verse of the Saunaklya recension, 61 but of the Paippalada text.- 2

Of the twenty Kansas of the Atharvaveda,- 3 the last one is manifestly a later addition manufactured almost wholly out of borrowings from the Rigveda to serve as a manual for the priest called BrahmanSchchhamsin who had a definite, though minor, role to play at the Soma-sacrifice. 64 Moreover the Kuntapa-sukta* of this Kanda are without any Padapafha, and nothing parallel to them can be found in the Paippalada recension—showing that they had been given a place in this late Kanda of the Samhita at a very late date. In fact, the nineteenth Kai?d& ends with a significant prayer which strongly suggests that the Samhita at one time was considered to end with it. But there are reasons to believe that the nineteenth Kaoda itself is a late compilation, for its hymns, though found in the Paippalada recension, are scattered throughout that text. Both the nineteenth and the twentieth K&pd®* have been ignored in the Pratisakhya of the Atharvaveda . The eighteenth Kap^a, consisting of four funeral hymns, should also be regarded as a later addition, for its contents are absent in the Paippalada-recension. The seventeenth Kan^a, consisting of only one hymn of purely magical contents, is a curious anomaly, and must be regarded as a late accretion, though partly appearing also in the Paippalada text. The most interesting of all the Kashas * s the fifteenth, composed not in verse but in typical Brahmapa prose, and devoted to the mystic exaltation of the Vratya. Probably this Vratya-kaptfa was the first of the additions successively made to the original text of the Atharvaveda which has come down to us in two recensions. There is no reason to doubt the antiquity and authenticity of the other Kansas of the Atharvaveda.

2. THE BRAHMANAS

The Brahmapas are, if possible, ritual texts of an even more pronounced type than the Samhitas, for though the hymns and charms of at least the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda need not all have been of ritual origin, there is no room for any doubt in the case of the Brahmapas that the sole object of their authors was to speculate on and mystify, but hardly to explain, minute details of Brahmanical sacrifices. The duties of the Hotri-priests, who had to recite the Mantras of the Piigveda at the sacrifices, have been luxuriantly speculated upon and mystified by the authors of the Brahmanas of the Rigveda, those of the Udgatripriests in the Brahmanas of the Sdmaveda , etc. All that is found in the Brahmapas that is not directly concerned with ritual is, strictly speaking, irrelevant and unnecessary from the view-point of their authors.

The Aitareya and the Kanshitaki (or Sdnkhdyana) are the Brahmanas of the Rigveda, and of them the former is older in date and bigger in bulk, but the latter is richer in contents. But the Aitareya itself is plainly a composite work, its first five Panchikas being older than the last three. Similarly, only two Brahmanas of the Samaveda have been preserved, namely the Jaiminlya Tf and the Tarujty a mahti-Brahmana, the latter also known as the Panchavimsa-Brahmana on account of its twentyfive chapters, to which a supplementary chapter was added that somehow came to be regarded as an independent treatise with the singular designation “Shcdvirhsa-Brdhmana." The Jaiminiya-Brahmana is indeed one of the most interesting works of the later Vedic literature, and rivals in importance the £atapathaBrahmana 66 of the Yajurveda, for in elucidation of the details of ritual the authors of these two Brahmanas have introduced numerous stories, mostly of an aetiological character, which nevertheless throw welcome light on social conditions. Regarding the relation between the two recensions of the Satapatha-Brdhmana . namely Madhyondina and Kanva, Caland has expressed the opinion

that both existed from the very beginning, but later the KSnva-recension was influenced by the other. 67

It is also dear at the same time that neither the Madhyandina nor the Klava recension of the Satapatha-Brahmana has been handed down to us in its original redaction, for quotations from the Satapatha in early literature are often missing in both the recensions. Moreover, it is certain that the Brahma^a in both its recensions is a composite work. For though Yajhavalkya Vajasaneya is the authority most frequently quoted in the Satapatha, yet in both the recensions there are five Kandas (Kand&s VI-X in Madhyandina corresponding to Kansas VTH~XII in Kanva) dealing with the construction of the fire-altar, in which the authority quoted is &a$dily& and Yajhavalkya has not been mentioned at all. It remains still to mention only one of the more important Brahma^as, namely the Gropatha-Brakmana of the Atharvaveda, consisting mostly of slightly modified quotations (without acknowledgment) from other sources. It gives the impression of being so late that Bloomfield 66 declared it to be more recent than even the Srauta-sutra (Vaitana) and the Gfihyasutra (Kau£ika) of the Atharvaveda.

3 . THE &RAUTA * SOTRAS

Puerile speculation on the minutiae of ritual, so much in evidence in the Brahma^as, developed in the direction of pure speculation in the Ara^yakas and Bp&nishads. Wintemitz 69 has truly said that “it is often difficult to draw the line between the Ane^yakfts and the Upanishad^” Only it is necessary to remember that it is no less difficult to draw the line between the Brhhmanas and the Ara$yakas. Among the &rauta-sutras, too, there Is at least one text namely the Baudhdyana Srautasutra, whic^ it is difficult not to regard as a late BriHmaoa. Thus a fine line of demarcation between BrShmapa, Arapy&ka and &rauta-sutra is out of the question. Yet it would be correct to say that the speculative spirit developed in the Brahmauas in connection with ritual ceremonies tried to burst its irksome fetters in the Araoyakas, and in some of the Upanish&ds attained the stage of as complete an independence as was ever witnessed by man. The Aranyakas and Upanishads, 60 though nominally connected with the Brahmaq&s, should rather be regarded as the beginning of purely speculative thinking in India. Much more closely connected with the older Vedic literature (Sa mhi t as and Brahmagas) are the Srauta-sutras, and to a lesser extent, the Grihyasutras. 01

The Srauta-sutras describe 62 the ritual sacrifices in a language that is both vigorous and prophetic in brevity, but is also utterly unintelligible for that very reason. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between the Brahmagas and the Srauta-srutras, though the subject of treatment is the same in both. Both are

obscure, but for different reasons: the Brahmagas, because of loose thinking, and the Srauta-sutras, because too much is taken to be understood in them. Moreover the Srauta-sutras, isolated the common and special features of the sacrifices and cleverly dealt with them as if they were digits of number, and that by itself must be wgarded as an intellectual achievement of no mean order. 63 Truly scientific spirit is unmistakably reflected in the Srauta-sutras, albeit the subject to which this spirit was applied was still magic pure and simple . 84

The Srauta-sfitras of A&valayana and Sankhayana belong to the J^igved®, which means that the ritual duties of the Hotj-i-priests have been presented in them in a systematic form. But some of the verses quoted by FraUka in the Sankhayana Arautasutra cannot be found in the &akala-recension of the Rik-samhita* 6 and so it is surmised that it was affiliated to the Bashkala-

4akhS and not to the iakaia-£akhi of the ^tigveda. As regards the Brahmanas, its affiliation is to the Kaushlt&ki and not the Aitareya-Brahmana. Of its eighteen chapters, the last two, though not necessarily of later origin, were a later addition, dealing with the Mahavrata, a popular festival that was given a Brahmanical complexion at a later date. The A&wal&yana Srauta-sutra, on the other hand, is affiliated to the $!kal&4ikhl of the Rik~Samhit& 1 and the Aitareya-Brahmana: Of these two Srauta-sutras of the Rigveda, Sankhayana's should he the older, for its language in some places is like that of the Brahmanas. The principal Srauta-sutras of the Sdmaveda are those of Lapya m and Dr&hyay&na the first affiliated to the Kauthuma-£akha and the latter to the Ragayan!ya-£§khi. A remarkable feature of the L&pyayana §rauta~sutra is that the Sudras, Nishadas, and Vrfityas have not been treated in it as accursed human beings as is generally the ease in other Vedic texts. 66

The Apastamba &rauta-sutra of the Black Yajurveda, belonging to the Kh&odiklya school of the Taittinyas, is in many respects the most important work of this genre , for no other single work gives such an ample (though by no means complete) description of the Vedic sacrifices; but the numerous quotations from other ritual texts found in it suggest that it should not be placed too high in date. The Satya&h&dha Arautfusutra is a particular recension of the Apastamba $rauta~$utra. The Apasthambins seem to have been prejudiced against the Kanvas and Ka£yapas, for their Srauta-sutra (XIII. 7.5) forbids the giving of presents to them. The oldest and the most archaic of all the known ^rauta-sutras is certainly the Baudhdyana firautasutra® 7 also of the Black Yajurveda. In style it still resembles a Brahmana in most respects, and according to tradition it belongs to the Khagdikiya-school like the Apastamba Srauta-sutra . The White Yajurveda is represented in the &rauta-sutra literature by the Kdtydyana Srauta-siitra , of which a striking feature is that

three of its Ad hy ay as (XXII-XXIV) are devoted to Samavedic ritual. Among the teachers cited by name in it are found some of the Black Yajurveda. 68

Lastly, the Atharvavedins too got their Srauta-manual in the shape of the V aitana-sutra —anomalously enough, fpr the Atharvaveda has, strictly speaking, nothing to do with Srauta-ritual. But since the Samhita cf the Brahmat?achchhaihsin, one of the priests participating in Soma-sacrifices, came to be appended to the Atharvaveda 69 the way was apparently opened thereby for the despised Atharvavedins to make inroad into the protected field of Srautaritual. The result of this novel experiment was the Vaitana-sutra. But as Bloomfield has observed, “if is not* the product of practices in Srauta-ceremonies which have slowly and gradually developed in a certain high priestly school, but a somewhat conscious product, made at a time, when the Atharvavedins began to feel the need of a distinctive Srauta-manual to support their claim that the Athar vaveda is a canonical Veda of independent and superior character.” 70 Strictly speaking, the Vaitana^svAra is the Srauta-sutra only of the twentieth Kanda of the Atharvaveda and not of the whole of it. And since this Kan^a is nothing but the Samhita of the Brahmanachchhamsin, the Vaitana-sutra may quite appropriately be called the Srauta-sutra of the Brahmanachchhamsin.. It may be noted that only 18 verses 71 of the twentieth Kan$a of the Atharvaveda have not been assigned viniyoga in the Vaitana-sutra.

1. See supra, p. 203.

la. The Upanishads and the Grihya-sutras are not) being taken into consideration in this chapter, for they are related more intimately to the posi-Vedic than to the Vedic literature proper. They will be discussed in later chapters.

2. It was pointed out long ago by Oldenberg (Prolegajnena, p. 508) that not only the Valakhilya-hymns, but also the Suparna-hymns, the oldest of the Khilasuktas, had a definite place in ritual according to tradition. According to the Anuvakanukramani 36, the Bashkala-Sarhhita contained 1025 hymns, in its additional eight hymns being included seven Valakhilyas and the Samjnana t Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 494). Difference between the three recensions thus lies only in the Khilajs.

2a. This is why we have six “family Mandalas” in the Rigveda. This point has been fully demonstrated by Bergaigne.

3. Strictly speaking, the Rigveda. that we know is the gaisiriya redaction of the Sakala re.cension of the text.

4. All the Vedic scholars, however, excepting Leopold von Schroder, who assigned a place in ritual even to the dialogue-hymns (Mysterium und Mimus in Rigveda , p. 36), have answered this question in the negative, though riot all with equal emphasis.

4a. It lias to be remembered, however, that some special kinds of ritual formulas such as the Praisha and Nivid-mantras, though indispensable for ritual from the earliest period, have nowhere been collected in a Samhita.

5. RV, I. 190.

6. RV, VII. 59, 12; X. 20.1; X. 121. 10.

6a. Because Yaska (VI. 28) when referring to him uses the perfect tense (chakarn).

7. This is definitely proved by the material collected in Bloomfield's Rigveda Repetitions.

8. See on this point particularly Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 367.

8a. Thus, when as a result of the growing complexity of the Srauta-ritual an additional assistant of the Hota (nominally of the Brahman) had to be included among the usual band of priests in the person of the Brahmanachchhamsin, a new Samhita too had to be created for him which was appended at a very late date to the Atharvaveda, forming its last Kanda (Oldenberg. op. cit., p. 347; Das Vaitdnasutra dee Atharva-veda, iibersetzt von W. Calanci, p. vi).

9. Bezzenbergers Beitrdge, Vol, VIII, p. 195.

10. Hillebrandt's theory has been criticized—not <^uite fairly in our opinion—by Oldenberg (Prolegomena , p. 519). Variant reading of Rik-texts in later ritual literature should not, however, be taken as proof in support of Hillebrandt's theory, for the variations might have been due to intentional alteration of the Rik-texts to suit the ritual practices of a later age.

11. See Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen det Rgveda, p. 9.

12. It is not at all right to say—as Winternitz does (H1L, I, p. 58)—that the ninth Mand&la “contains exclusively hymns which glorify the drink of Soma, and are dedicated to the god Soma.” In fact there is not a single hymn in the ninth Man^ala dedicated to the god Soma. Such hymns are found only in the other Mandal&s—f° r the simple reason that the Soma-hymns of the ninth Mandala are dedicated solely to Soma Pavamana and not to Soma.

13. This point has been particularly stressed by Oldenberg, Prolegomena, pp. 252-3.

14. Authors’ lists given in ancillary literature (Anukramanis), though containing many apparently spurious names, are on the whole quite trustworthy and fully in conformity with the internal data of the hymns. For a different view on this point see Winternitz, op. cit., p. 58.

15. This systematic reversal of the natural order of the gods is not without significance. Indra is undoubtedly the most powerful god in the Vedic religion, but in Vedic ritual Agni may claim the first place—since no sacrifice is possible without fire. This again goes to support the view that the redactors of the Riksamhita were guided chiefly by considerations of ritual.

16. Prolegomena, p. 192.

17. The eighth Mand&la too may be called a family-Mandala, since the authors are mostly of the Kap.va family, but authors of other families are also frequently mentioned. Nor can it justly claim to be the Pragatha-mandala as it does, for the majority of its hymns are in non-Pragatha metres, and hymns in Pragatha metres are present also in other Manual as.

17a. That is to say, all the family-Marujlalas might have been constituted out of the then existing material in one day or in one minute, but the eighth Manila, of which the most essential part is manifestly its large number of Pragatha-hymns which originally should have been distributed—not necessarily equally—among all the faraily-Mandalas (like the Aprl-hymns!), could be constituted only after the family-Mandaias.

18. See Oldenberg Prolegomena, p. 250.

19. Attempts galore have, however, been made to achieve the impossible, the last and the most elaborate attempt being Wust's Stilgeschichte und Chronologic des Rgveda (Leipzig 1928) in which previous literature on this problefn has been mlly indicated.

20. CL below, Ch. XVI.

21. Oklenberg, Prolegomena, p. 328.

22. By "Samaveda" is to be understood the Kauthuma-sakha of this Samhita, with which perhaps the Samhita of the Ranayaniya-sakha was identical. The Jai-' miniya-SamhiUL has been edited by Caland.

23. Readings of this large number of common passages are, however, not identical in both the Vedas. Ludwig, after an elaborate comparison of all these passages (Der Rigveda, Vol. HI, pp. 83 ff.) came to the conclusion that in many passages the S&maveda has actually retained the original reading and not the Rigveda. But Ludwig's theory has been severely criticized by Oldenberg (Prolegomena, pp. 288 ff.).

24. Much as it was conventional to regard the Padapatha as the source of the Samhita-text.

25. The Ohagana and Ohyagana are not regarded as canonical.

26. By "Pragatha" are meant complexes of two verses of which the second is a Satobrihatl and the first either a Brihati or a Kakubh (see Rikprdtii&khya. XV1H. I.), In actual application, however, every Pragatha has to be artificially expanded into a Trie ha.

27. Quite a number of Trichas of the TJttararchika, however, have nothing to correspond to them in the Purvarchika: that is because all of .them are chanted uniformly on the Gayatra-melody composed on the well-known

Savitrl-mantra (tot savitur = varenyam, etc.). On the other hand, many Yonis of the Purvarchika are without a correspondent verse in the Utotararchika: this is perhaps because the sacrifices at which the Samans concerned were chanted were not Soma-sacrifices (see Caland, Panchavimia-Br&hmana, Translation, Introd., pp. x-xi).

VEDIC LITERATURE—GENERAL VIEW

28. The chronological relation between the Purvarchika and the Uttardrchika has been always one of the chief problems facing Vedic scholars, but the problem seems insoluble. See on this point particularly Cdland, op. cit., pp. xiv ff. and Suryakanta, Riktantra, pp. 23 ff. where previous literature on this important problem has been indicated.

29. Yajurveda-texts are by no means guide-books in the sense that any person by studying them can form a picture, of the ritual ceremonies dealt with in them. In fact ev&n by studying the relevant portions of the Samhitas, Brahmanas, and Sutras in the light of the commentaries it is not possible to reconstruct fully the duties performed by a single priest at one of the great sacrifices, for all these texts proceed.on the assumption' that the ritual is already known to the reader in all its details. Only the late Paddhatis may be regarded as guides for the uninitiated, but, of course, they contain much that is not Vedic.

30. Already in the Rigveda the Adhvaryu is called suhastya and madhupani (X.

41. 3) in contrast to the Hotri who is called suvdeh (X. 110.7) and sufihva (I. 13.8).

30a. Regarding differences of reading between these two. see Caland, Kanva Satapatha, Introd., p. 91.

31. Formerly it used to be tacitly assumed that the 6ukla-Yajurveda is so called because Mantra and Brahmana are not mixed up in it as in the Krishna-Yajurveda. But it is more probable that the redactors of the former claimed to have collected in it only the suJcldni yajumshi “white or pure Yajus” (Ved . Jnd., II, p. 183) already mentioned in the

Brihadaranyakopanishad VI. 4.33—whence the names “White Yajurveda” and as a contrast. “Black Yajurveda.”

32. As pointed out long ago by Max Muller, HASL, second edition, 18G0, p. 453, and emphasized by Weber, HIL, p. 106 fn.

33. See Keith, HOS, XVIII, p. Ixxvi. Certain sections of the Taittiriya-Brdhmana. such as those on human sacrifice (III. 4) and Nakshatreshtayah (1.5) are certainly of later origin.

34. The same applies, mutatis mutandis, also . to the Taittiriya Aranyaka. “The Sutras do not recognize any distinction between the Aranyaka, the Brahmana. or the Samhita as regards their Brahmana portions’’ (Keith, ibid., p. Ixxvi).

35. Schroder in his preface to the Maitrayani Samhita indeed tried to prove the priority of the Kathaka and Maitrayani recensions, but failed to convince any one.

36. Keith arrived at this conclusion regarding Taittiriya, Maitrayani, and Kathaka (see HOS, XVIII. p. xevi). As regards the Kapishthala, see Oertel, Zur Kapisthala-Katha-SamhUd, Miinchen, 1934.

27. See Keith, op. cit., p. lxxvii. It should he noted that the Kapishthala, which is closely related to the Kathaka, agrees with the latter to differ from the Rigveda in 64 cases, and agrees with the Rigveda to differ from the Kathaka in 45 cases (Oertel, op. cit.. pp. 9 ff.).

38. Prolegomena, p. 319.

39. Op. cit.. p. xeix. This applies, pari passu, also to the Brahmafca-parts of the other Samhitas of the Black Yajurveda.

40. Prolegomena, p. 318. Caland also says “there can be no doubt whatever that the White Yajurveda is on the whole younger than the Black Yajurveda" i Kanva Satapatha, Introd.. p. 92).

41. They are not, of course, for that reason of later origin.

42. See Eggeling. SBE, XII. p. xxx.

43. For further details about the Vdjosaneyi-SamfiUd, with which the Samhita of the Kanva-sthool is practically identical, see Weber, HIL. 107 ff.

4-*. The word Vaitdnika signifies £rotriyas maintaining three fires (see Hillebrandt, Rituallitteraiur. p. 69).

45. Bloomfield's excellent monograph on the Atharvaveda-~ like which unfortunately there is as yet nothing on any one of the other Samhitas—offers practically everything that a student of the Vedic literature might wish to know about the Ailxirvaveda. The section on the Atharvaveda in this chapter is mainly based on Bloomfield’s monograph (published in the Grundriss).

46. Op. cit., p. 50.

47. Op. cit.. pp. 97-100.

48. For other recensions, sec Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 12.

49. Published many times.

50. Edited by Raghu Vira.

51. As pointed out. by Weber. Ind. 'Stud., XIII, p. 433.

52. As surmised already by Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 40.

53. Always the Saunakiya recension is to be understood unless the Paippalada is specifically mentioned.

54. See footnote 8a.

55. A complete edition o£ this important, text by Raghu Vira is now appearing from Lahore. The most interesting parts of it were published by Caland in his “Auswahl.” For details about it, see Caland, Over en uit het Jaiminiya-Brahmana. Some parts of the Jaiminiya-Brahmana were

published for the first time by the present writer in his Collection of Fragments of Lost Brahmanas (Calcutta, 1935).

56. Of w,hich the Madhyandina recension was published long ago by Weber and the Kanva recension has been published by Caland (the first volume in 1926 and the second in 1940) from Lahore.

57. Caland, Kanva-Satapatha, Introd., p. 90.

58. Op. cit., p. 102. Bloomfield's view appears to be the right one but it is opposed by Caland (Vaitdna Sutra, p. iv).

59. H/L, I, p. 234.

CO. A convenient account of them has been given by Winternitz, op. cit. pp. 225 ff.

61. The Dharmasutras retained only a nominal affiliation .to particular Vedic schools.

62. Or rather prescribe, for the style is throughout prescriptive, and not descriptive. This characteristic of the 6rauta-sutras is shared also by the Gj*ihya and Dharmasutras. The Brahmanas, however, are truly descriptive.

63. To a lesser extent this method was followed also in the Gfihya-sutras.

64. The following brief account of Srauta-sutras is mainly based on Hiliebrandt, Riiuallitteratur, § 7.

65. These Pratikas have been collected by Hiliebrandt in his edition of $<inkh. £r. S., Vol. I, p. 628.

66. A Sudra can be killed at will according to Ait. Br., VII. 29.4.

67. This is the opinion also of Winternitz, op. cit., p. 278.

68. See Weber, H/L, p. 139.

69. See footnote 8a above.

70. Op. cit., p. 16.

71. According to the computation of Caland (Vaitana-Sutra, p. viii).

CHAPTER XIII

ARYAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

I. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN THE RIGVEDA

Although it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion regarding the original home of the Jndo-Aryans, we are in a somewhat better position in respect of their early settlements in northern India and gradual expansion over the whole of this area. For here the evidence of Vedic literature comes to our aid, and fortunately the earliest part of it, the hymns of the Rigveda, contain abundant geographical data. It is a reasonable presumption that the geographical names which figure prominently or frequently in these hymns indicate regions which were familiar to their authors, and were scenes of the early activities of the Aryans. Names less prominent or frequent might be either outside settlements of the Aryans or the border regions inhabited by non-Aryans. It must be remembered, however, that the Rigveda is not a geographical manual and its various recensions have not come down to us in a complete form. It would, therefore, be unsafe and hazardous to draw any inference from the silence of the Rigveda. The non-mention of any locality in the hymns cannot be construed as evidence, one way or the other, unless, of course, it can be proved to be of such importance as to be inexplicable except on the hypothesis of want of knowledge.

In order to ascertain the extent of the Aryan settlements in the period of the Rigveda , we should, therefore, consider the references to mountains, rivers, localities, countries, tribes, and kingdoms contained in the hymns. Courses of rivers, especially in the Punjab, have considerably changed in the course of the last three or four millennia. Their names have also varied in different times. . There is, therefore, some difference of opinion with regard to the identifications of the rivers mentioned in the Vedic texts. The same is the case regarding the location of the various tribes and countries that figure in the Vedic texts, as their boundaries were subject 'to constant modifications and they were known by different names in different periods. But in spite of these difficulties it is possible to form a fair idea of the location of quite a large number of them.

As regards mountains, only the Himalaya is directly mentioned in the Rigveda , Mujavant, one of its peaks, being referred to as the source of Soma. According to Zimmer, this peak was probably on the south-west of the valley of Kashmir.

Rivers have all along played an important part in the lives of the Hindus, and even in the Rigvedic age they were esteemed as deities, presumably on account of the immense benefits they conferred on humanity. Out of thirty-one rivers mentioned in the

Vedic texts, about twenty-five names occur in the hymns of the Rigveda alone. In the celebrated Nadistuti (X. 75), the Rigveda enumerates several streams most of which belong to the Indus system.

Outside the rivers in the Indus basin, are mentioned Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, and Sarayu. Ganga does not appear to be a well known or even important stream in the period of the Rigveda. Yamuna has been mentioned thrice in the Rigveda, which refers to the great victory of Sudas and the Tritsus on the Yamuna in the famous D&sardjna. The Sarasvati is the river par excellence (Nadi tamd, RV, II 41. 16), and occurs most frequently in the Rigveda. It seems to have been the holy stream of the Vedic age. In the enumeration of rivers in the Nadistuti (X. 75.5) Sarasvati comes between the Yamuna and SutudrI, and is generally identified with the modem Sarsuti, which is lost in the desert at Bhatnair. Roth, Zimmer, Griffith, and Ludwig hold that in many passages of the Rigveda the Sindhu is meant by the Sarasvati. 1 It may be observed in this connection that it is possible that the Sarasvati was as large as the Sutlej in the Vedic age, and actually reached the sea, as the Rigveda (VI. 61.2, 8; VII. 95.2) describes it as going to the ocean. The Sarasvati was the first of the Vedic rivers (11.41.16) and its banks witnessed the development of the Vedic sacrifices.

The Drishadvati, which occurs many times along with the Sarasvati as an important stream, is identified by some with the Ghaggar and by others with the modern Chittang. 2 Between the Sarasvati and Drishadvati, flowing past Thanesar, was the Apayo (RV, III. 23.4), a small tributary of the Sarasvati. The Gomati has been identified by some scholars with the Gomati, which meets the Ganges to the east of Benares, and this identification may be accepted in so far as the later Samhitas and Brahmanas are concerned. The Gomati of the Rigveda as mentioned in the Nadistuti is, however, placed between the Kubha and Krumu. Hence, its identification with the Gomal, a western tributary of the Indus, seems more reasonable. Sarayu, on the eastern bank of which Chitraratha and Arna were defeated by the Turvasa-Yadus, appears to be the modem Sarju in Oudh, as suggested by Zimmer and others. 3 The identifications by Ludwig with the Krumu (Kurram) and by St. Martin with the united course of the Sutudri (Sutlej) and Vipai (Beas) are difficult to accept.

Then we pass on to the five streams, viz. the Sutudri, Vipas, Parushni, Asikni, and Vitasta, which give the Punjab its name and. united together, flow into the Indus. w The Nadistuti omits the Vipas and inserts the Marudvridha between the Asikni and Vitasta. The Sutudri is the most easterly river of the Punjab identified with the modern Sutlej. True to its name, it has considerably changed its course even during historical times. Vipas, “fetterless,” is the modem Beas, which has also changed its course considerably. Its

non-mention in the earlier Vedic literature except in two Rigvedahymns, coupled with its absence in the NadlstutiAxymn , supports the hypothesis that it was of small importance.

ParushnI, the modern Ravi, was an important stream which played a decisive part in the Ddsarajna (battle of the ten kings), by rising and drowning the enemies of Sudas. Asiknl, known later as the Chandrabhaga, is the modem Chenab in the Punjab. Finally comes Vitasta, the most westerly of these five rivers, known today as Jheluin. Roth and Zimmer consider that the Marudvfidha mentioned in the Nadistuti (X. 75.5) denotes the combined waters of the Asiknl (Chenab) and Vitasta (Jhelum) down to its junction with the ParushnI (Ravi), and Chakladar accepts this view. 4 Stein, however, rightly places the Marudvridha in Kashmir, identifying it with Maruwardwan, a small Kashmirian stream flowing from north to south which joins the Chenab on its northern bank at Kashtwar. Yaska identifies the Arjiklya and Sushoma, mentioned after the Vitasta in the Nadlstutiy respectively with the Vipas and the Sindhu. 6

Now we turn to the western tributaries of the Indus. The Rasa has been identified with the Jaxartes, a stream in the extreme north-west of the Vedic territory. The Kubha is the modem Kabul river which flows into the Indus a little above Attock and receives at Prang the joint flow of its tributaries, the Swat (Suvastu) and Gauri. The Krumu or the Kurrarn and Gomati or the Gomal are tributaries of the Indus meeting it further south. The Susartu and Svetya appear to have been the tributaries of the Indus above the Kubha, whereas the Mehatnu, Krumu, and Gomati are the three tributaries below the Kubha. 7 The Suvastu, as already stated, is the Swat, a tributary of the Kubha, which itself is a tributary of the Indus. The word Suvastu, signifying “fair dwellings,seems to indicate that there was an Aryan settlement along its banks. Hariyuplya, the scene of the defeat of the Vrichlvants by Abhyavartin Chkyamana (RV, VI. 27.5) has been taken either as denoting a place or a river. As a place-name Harappa # has been suggested as the modern name of Hariyuplya. 8 Many other lesser streams have not yet been identified with any degree of certainty, and are not mentioned here.

In conclusion, we must consider also the implication of the term Saptasindhavah as used in the Rigveda . The term means a definite country in Rigveda , VIII. 24.27, whereas at other places seven streams themselves are intended. According to Max Muller, the seven rivers are the five rivers of the Punjab along with Indus and Sarasvatl. Ludwig, Lassen, and Whitney substitute Kubha for the Sarasvatl and think that originally the Oxus also must have been one of the seven. Considering that the Rigveda mentions the Kubha (Kabul), Gomati (Gumal), Krumu (Kurrarn), Suvastu

(Swat), etc., which lie to the west of the Indus, it is possible that the Rigvedic people knew of the existence of the Oxus. The reasonable view, however, appears to be to take the seven streams to be the Indus, the five streams of the Punjab and the Sarasvati.

We may thus conclude that the extent of the country as reflected in the hymns is, Afghanistan, the Punjab, parts of Sind and Rajputana, the North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir, and Eastern India up to the Sarayu.

This conclusion is confirmed by another consideration. That the Vedic people had not yet penetrated into the swampy jungles of Bengal may be inferred from the absence of the mention of the tiger in the Rigveda which assigns the premier place to the lion. 8a

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the part of India where the bulk of the Rigveda was composed. Max Muller, Weber, Muir, and others held that the Punjab was the main scene of the activity of the Rigveda , whereas the more recent view put forth by Hopkins and Keith is that it was composed* in the country round the Sarasvati river south of modern Ambala. 9 Brunnhofer, Hertel, Husing, and others, however, argue that the scene of the Rigveda is laid, not in the Punjab, but in Afghanistan and Iran . 19 These.and other theories need not be discussed in detail. Keith has rightly observed that "conclusions can be drawn only with much caution. It is easy to frame and support by plausible evidence various hypotheses, to which the only effective objection is that other hypotheses are equally legitimate, and that the facts are too imperfect to allow of conclusions being drawn." 11

As the names of the rivers in the Rigveda show that the Vedic people knew the whole of the Punjab and occupied, the best part of it, there is no need to suppose the bulk of the hymns to have been composed either in Iran or in the Ambala district.

It is a controversial question whether the Vedic tribes in the days of the Rigveda had reached the ocean and had knowledge of sea navigation. Keith and many other European scholars hold that there is no clear indication in the Rigvedic period that ocean and sea navigation were known. 12 Max MUller, Lassen, Zimmer, and the authors of the Vedic Index on the other hand assert that ocean was known to the Rigvedic people. 13 This seems to be the more probable view. The Sarasvati is stated to have reached the sea (above, p. 246), and the hymns X. 136, 5 and 6 seem clearly to refer to the western and eastern oceans. References to the treasures of the ocean and to Bhujyu's story appear to allude to marine navigation. The knowledge of high tide can be inferred from Rigveda , 1.48.3. All these references indubitably prove that the Rigvedic people not only knew the sea, but were mariners and had trade relations with the outside world.

2. THE TRIBES IN THE RIGVEDA

The whole of the territory known to the Vedic settlers was divided into a number of tribal principalities ruled normally by kings. The Dasarajna or the battle of the ten kings is an important historical event alluded to in various hymns of the Rigveda, and as many of the important tribes and personalities figured in this famous battle, it is worth while outlining the conflict. Sudas was a Bharata king of the Tritsu family which was settled in the country which later came to be known as Brahmavarta. At first Visvamitra, a scion of the Kusika family of the Bharatas, was the priest of Sudas, and led him to victorious campaigns on the Vipas and Sutudri. Visvamitra, however, was dismissed later by Sudas, who appointed Vasishtha as his priest, probably on account of the superior Brahmanical knowledge of the Vasishthas. Thereupon a long and bitter rivalry ensued between the two priests, and in revenge Visvamitra led a tribal confederacy of ten kings against the Bharatas, the federation consisting of the five well-known tribes Puru, Yadu, Turvasa, Anu, and Druhyu, along with five of little note, viz. Alina, Paktha, Bhalanas, Siva, and Vishanin. In the bloody and decisive struggle on the ParushpT, the Bharatas emerged victorious, utterly routing the confederacy, of whom the Anu and Druhyu kings were drowned, and Purukutsa of the Purus met his death. There was another battle that Sudas had to fight in which the three non-Aryan tribes, Ajas, Sigrus, and Yakshus had united under king Bheda; but these new assailants also met with the same fate and were defeated with great slaughter on the Jumna. The location of these tribes, along with their activities in the period of the Rigveda, will now be considered in the order of their importance as far as possible.

The Bharatas, who gave their name to the whole country, are the most important of the Rigvedic tribes. They were settled, in the Rigvedic age, in the region between the SarasvatT and Yamuna The Bharatas appear prominently in the Rigveda in relationship with Sudas and the Tritsus, and are enemies of the Purus. Their princes sacrificed on the SarasvatT, DrishadvatT, and Apava, i.e. Kurukshetra of later times. Their military prowess in the Rigvedic age, displayed in their successful campaigns both against the Aryans on the west and the non-Aryans in the east, is matched by the superiority of their cult and ritual practices which seem to have attained prominence and supremacy in a later period. Visvamitra is referred to as a Bharatarshabha and a Kausika, so that he belonged to the Kusika family of the Bharatas.

The exact relation of the Tritsus and Bharatas cannot be determined and there is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars on this subject. The Tritsus occupied the country to the east of the ParushnT. Both being enemies of the Purus, Ludwig's identificalion of the Bharatas and Tjritsus appears to be correct. Oldenberg, however, takes the Tpitsus to be the priests of the Bharatas, thus identifying them with the Vasishthas, whereas according to Geldner, the Tfitsus were the royal family of the Bharatas, which appears to be the mpst probable view. Zimmer's theory representing the Tpitsus and Bharatas as enemies is clearly untenable. The Tritsus and their kinsfolk the Bharatas were at war with the various tribes on both sides of the Parushni and Yamuna, as already stated. In post-Rigvedic times, however, they coalesced with the Purus, their erstwhile enemies, to form the Kuru people of later times. The Rigveda refers to the Sjinjayas as being the allies of the Tritsus. The Tpitsus apparently had hereditary kings to rule over them. One of them, Divodasa, sumamed Atithigva, was a great conqueror, who successfully fought against the Purus, Yadus, and Turvasas on the one hand, and against Sambara, the Dasa king, the Panis, etc., on the other. Sudas, the son of Pijavana, was a descendant of Divodasa; his exploits in the Dasarajna and against Bheda have been referred to. He was not only a famous warrior, but'also a great scholar and composer of hymns.

The Purus have been mentioned in the Rigveda along with Anus, Druhyus, Turvaias, and Yadus. Though defeated in the DdsardjUa, the Purus were a very important tribe in the days of the Rigveda. They were closely connected with the Tritsus and the Bharatas, and lived on either side of the Sarasvatl. The unusually large number of kings of the Purus suggests the importance of the tribe. The various names indicate the following genealogy of the Puru kings: Durgaha—Girikshit—Purukutsa—Trasadasyu. Purukutsa is mentioned as a contemporary of Sudas and a conqueror of the Dasas; a son Trasadasyu is said to have been bom to Purukutsa at a time of great distress, probably indicating his death or capture in the famous Dasarajna . u The mention of Sudas or Divodasa and Purukutsa or Trasadasyu in a friendly relation in some passages of the Rigveda suggests the union of the Tritsus, Bharatas, and Purus to form the Kurus. The name "Kuru" is not directly mentioned in the Rigveda , but the amalgamation of these rival tribes in later Vedic period under Kuru is implied by the name Kurusravana of a king of the Puru line as shown by his patronymic Trasadasyava (RV, X. 33.4).

Connected with the Kurus were the Krivis, a comparatively unimportant tribe who possibly lived on the Sindhu (Indus) and the Asikni (Chenab), and later moved to the east across the Yamuna to the land later known as Pahchala. The insignificance of the Krivis in later literature as compared with the importance of the Pahchalas is probably due to the fact that the later Kuru-Panchala alliance included not only the Bharatas and other tribes but Krivis

also. The Satapatha Brdhmcuna asserts that Krivi was the older name of the Panchalas (XIII. 5.4.7).

Closely allied with the Tritsus was the tribe of the Srinjayas who lived in their neighbourhood, probably in Panchala. Hillebrandt locates the Srinjayas to the west of the Indus, and Zimmer, on the upper Indus. As their allies the Tritsus were in the Madhyadesa, the authors of the Vedic Index rightly suggest that the Sfinjayas may well have been a good deal further east than the Indus. Daivavata, a king of the Srinjayas, is celebrated as victorious over the Turvasas and the Vrichlvants. Daivavata's sacrificial fire is referred to, and Sahadevya Somaka is mentioned in this connection. Prastoka, a Srinjaya, has been lauded along with Divodasa. Turvasas were the common enemies of the Srinjayas and Bharatas.

The Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, and Turvasas were the allies of the Purus against the Bharatas. These five, according to Zimmer, are the "five peoples" (Pafichajandh) of the Rigveda. The expression "five peoples" occurs under various names in the Rigveda and .later Vedic literature. Who exactly are indicated by the five is not quite certain. 16

Among the tribes who were hostile to Sudas, the Druhyus, Turvasas, and Anus lived between the Asiknl and Parushgi. The names Yadu and Turvasa normally occur together in the Rigveda . These two closely allied tribes lived in the southern Punjab and probably further south. Hopkins regards Turvasa as the name of the Yadu king; 16 but the evidence for this is not conclusive. Zimmer identifies Turvasas with Vrichlvants, but the passages merely show that they were allies. The name Turvaia disappears from later Vedic literature, possibly because they became merged in the Panchala people.

The Matsyas in the epic age lived to the west of the Surasenas of Mathura, i.e. in modem Alwar, Bharatpur, and Jaipur, which was probably their home also in the Rigvedic age. 17

The Ajas, Sigrus, and Yakshus were probably the eastern people. They are generally regarded as non-Aryan, though there is no definite information on this point.

The Pakthas, Bhalanases, Vishanins, Alinas, and Sivas were the five frontier tribes. The Pakthas lived in the hills from which the Krumu originates. Zimmer locates them in eastern Afghanistan, identifying them with the modern Pakthun. South of the Pakthas stretched the Bhalanases for whom Zimmer suggests east Kabulis tan as original home. The Vishanins, so-called probably because their helmets were horn-shaped or ornamented with horns, were, like their allies, a tribe of the north-west, located farther down between the Krumu and the Gomati. North-east of Kafiristan has been suggested as the location of the Alinas, who were closely allied with the Pakthas, and were certainly the enemies of Sudas,

and not his allies, as thought by Both. The Sivas lay between the Sindhu and Vitasta in the Vedic period. 18

Now we turn to the other tribes which have not been directly mentioned as participants in the Dasarajna, or in any of the wars waged by Sudas.

The Chedis, who dwelt probably between the Yamuna and the Vindhyas, had a very powerful king named Kasu who is said in a Danastuti (VIII. 5.37-39) to have made a gift of ten kings as slaves to his priest. The Puranic literature represents the Chedis as an offshoot of the Yadus.

The Usinaras are mentioned in the Aitareya Brdhmana as dwelling in the middle country along with the Vasas and the KuruPanchalas. There is nothing to support Zimmer's conjecture that the Usinaras in the Rigvedic times lived farther to the north-west, and it is reasonable to suppose that in the Bigvedic period also they lived in the middle country.

The Gandharis, one of the frontier peoples, lived to the extreme north-west of India. The good wool of the sheep of the Gandharis has been referred to in the Rigveda (I. 126. 7). According to Zimmer they were settled in the Vedic times on the south bank of the Kubha up to its junction with the Indus and for some distance down the east side of the Indus itself.

Ludwig and Weber find in certain Rigvedic passages which mentioned Prithu-Prasvah (RV , VII. 83. 1: meaning “with large ribs,” or “with broad axes”) a reference to the Prithus and Par&us, i.e. the Parthians and the Persians. The meaning and sense in the passages, however, require the word Pai£u to be taken as “ribs.” In a passage of the Rigveda (VIII. 6. 46) Yadu is brought into special connection with the Parsus. It cannot, however, be definitely stated that the Parous were Persians.

The Paravatas occurring in several passages of the Rigveda have been rightly taken as a people on the Yamuna on the strength of the mention of the Sarasvatl in their connection (RV, VI. 61. 2) as also of their location there in the Panchavimsa Brahmccna. Their location on the northern borders of Gedrosia, as proposed by Hillebrandt and Geldner, does not appear to be correct.

The Kikafas occur in the Rigveda (III. 53. 14) as a people under Pramaganda’s leadership and hostile to the singer. Zimmer, on Yaska’s authority, takes these people as non-Aryans and locates them in the country later known as Magadha. Weber accepts the location but takes them to be Aryans, though at variance with the other Aryan tribes.

The Panis are often mentioned with the Dasas and Dasyus as the enemies of the Aryans. Though opulent and ich, the Panis never worshipped the gods or rewarded the priests. They have been described as selfish, non-sacrificing, with hostile speech.

greedy like the wolf, niggardly, of cruel speech, Dasyus, Dasas of inferior status. They were cattle-owners and notorious cattlelifters, and in some passages definitely figure as demons who withheld the cows or waters of the heavens. Vala, whom Indra pierced when he robbed Parti of his cows, appears to be their patron God. Bpbu is mentioned as one of their kings. The question of the identity of the Panis has not yet been settled with any degree of certainty. The words Panik or Vapik, Partya, and Vipani, found in Sanskrit, suggest that the Panis were merchants par excellence in the Rigvedic age. The Panis have been variously identified with an aboriginal non-Aryan people; with Babylonians (on the strength of the word Bekanata); with Parnians, the Dahae and other Iranian tribes; and with non-Aryan caravan traders. They might have been the Aryan sea-traders who spread the Aryan culture to the west.

Derived from the same root (das, “lay waste” or “waste away”) which originated the word Dasyu, the Dasas have been described as the enemies of the Vedic people, sometimes of a demoniac character; but many passages speak of them as the human foes of the Aryans. They lived in fortified towns (ayasih purah) and were divided into clans (visah). Dasavarna has been alluded to a number of times, and the Dasas are said to be black-skinned (kfishnatvach), noseless or flat-nosed (ands) and evil-tongued (mridhravach), some of these epithets being shared in common with Dasyus. In the Rigveda, Dasa is not so reproachful a term as Dasyu. As Dasa in later literature became a synonym for slave, it can plausibly be said that originally the term was applied to captives in war who were enslaved. Hillebrandt and others identify the Dasas with the Dahae of Iran, 18a as they place the scene of activity of the Rigveda in Arachosia, where they locate the Sarasvatl.

The Dasas owned considerable wealth, and Ilibisa, Dhuni, Chumuri, 6ambara, Varchin, Pipru, etc., have been mentioned as individual Dasa kings, some of whom later received demoniac attributes, and were regarded as celestial foes of Indra and other gods. The Kiratas, Klkatas, Chan^alas. Parnakas, Simyus, etc., were Dasa tribes who mostly inhabited the Gangetic Valley and fought the Bharatas in their advance to the east and south-east.

Though in many passages the term Dasyu is applied to supernatural enemies, there is no doubt that in several passages the term designates human foes. The main difference between the Dasyus and the Vedic Aryans appears to be religious. The Dasyus were rite-less (a-karman), indifferent to the gods (a-devavu), without devotion (a-brahman), not sacrificing "(a-pajuan), lawless (cuvrata), following strange ordinances (anyavrata), reviling the gods (deva-piyu), etc. Some of these epithets have been applied also to the Dasas, as compared to whom they are less distinctively a people, as no clans (visah) of the Dasyus have been mentioned. Zimmer and Meyer think that the original meaning of the term Dasyu (and Dasa) was “enemy,” which later developed into “hostile country" with the Iranians, while the Indians extended the original signification of “enemy” to include demon foes. That to the Rigvedic bards there was not much difference between the Dasas and Dasyus would be evident from their sharing some epithets in common, and also from some persons being described both as Dasyu and Dasa, etc.

The Asuras are generally referred to as enemies of Vedic people and of their gods, but some passages use the term in a good sense. One probable explanation of this has been hinted at before. 19 Another, suggested by Bhandarkar, is that the hymns in which Vedic deities receive the appellation Asura were composed by seers of Asura stock who had embraced the Aryan religion, and the deprecatory passages were composed by Aryan seers antagonistic to the Asuras. 20 The enmity between Aryan and Asura increased in the post-Rigvedic period.

It is indeed difficult to identify the Asuras with any of the ancient people. Sten Konow takes them to be non-human. Banerji Sastri considers the Asuras as immigrants from Assyria, the followers of the Asura cult who preceded the Aryans in India and were the authors of the Indus Valley civilization. Bhandarkar takes the Asuras to be the Assurs or Assyrians and suggests that the Satapatha Brahmana refers to the Asura settlements in. Magadha or South Bihar.

The Rakshas does not indicate any definite tribe; according to the authors of the Vedic Index it normally refers to demons in early Vedic literature, and is applied to human foes only metaphorically. The Pisachas also likewise are not a tribe in Vedic literature though in later literature it is the designation of a tribe.

As a result of the above survey we may briefly indicate the position and extent of the tribal settlements referred to in the Rigeda. Roughly speaking the extreme north-west was occupied by the Gandharis, Pakthas, Alinas, Bhalanases, and Vishanins, some of whom probably contained non-Aryan elements. In Sind and the Punjab were settled the Sivas, Parsus, Kekayas, Vrichivants, Yadus, Anus, Turvasas, and Druhyus. Further east tovrards the region of the Madhyadesa were the settlements of the Tritsus, Bharatas, Purus, and Srinjayas, the eastern-most part being in the occupation of the Kikafas. The Matsyas and Chedis were settled to the south of the Punjab in the region of Rajputana and Malwa. It may thus be reasonably concluded that the Aryan settlements during the period of the Rigveda were practically co-terminous with the extent of the geographical knowledge of the period, as mentioned above.

3. THE PERIOD OF THE LATER SAMHITAS, BRAHMANAS, UPANISHADS, AND SUTRAS

I. Geographical Names

We may form a fair idea of the Aryan settlements in the postRigvedic period, by utilizing the geographical data of the later Vedic texts and following the same line of enquiry as in the last two sections.

The word Samudra in later Vedic texts generally, if not invariably, means the sea. The reference in the Satapatha Brdhmcma (1. 6. 3. 11) to the eastern and western oceans probably suggests that the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean were known to the people of that period.

Trikakud (i.e. having three peaks), as the name of a mountain in the Himalayas, has been identified with modern Trikota. Krauncha, which occurs only in the Taittiriya Aranyaka (1. 31. 2), has been identified with that part of the Kailasa mountain on which Manasa Sarovara is situated. 21 Mainaka is mentioned in the same text as a mountain in the Himalayas. Though not directly mentioned, Vindhya has been definitely alluded to in the Kaushitaki Upanishad by the term “southern mountain.”

Turning to the rivers, the most striking fact is the disappearance of the Sarasvatl. The place where the river vanished in the desert was known as Vinaiana (Patiala District), and it reappeared at Plaksha Prasravana at a distance of forty-four days’ journey from Vina£ana.

Naturally enough, the rivers further to the east find a prominent mention in this period. Reva, the name of the Narmada which occurs only in post-Vedic literature, is traced by Weber in the word Revottaras found in the Satapatha Brahmana; but the interpretation is doubtful. The Sadanira has been mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana (I. 1. 1. 14 ff.) as the boundary between the Kosalas and Videhas. Some lexicographers have identified it with the Karatoya, but according to the Vedic Index , it is too far east. Weber and Eggeling identify it with the Gandak, and Pargiter with the Rapti. Though the Mahdbhdrata (Cr. Ed. II. 18. 27), by placing the Sadanira between the Gandak and Sarayu, distinguishes between the Sadanira and Gandak, the Vedic Index pronounces the identification of the two as “probably correct.” 22

The later Vedic texts mention various place-names which can be identified with reasonable certainty. Parichakra, mentioned in the Satapatha Brdhvrurna (^CEEI. 5. 4. 7) as the name of a Panchala town where king Kraivya Paiichala performed his horse-sacrifice, has been identified by Weber with the later Ekachakra which was near Kampila. Asandivat is the title of the capital of Janamejaya Parikshita where the horse for his famous Asvamedha was bound (gat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 2; Ait Br, VIII. 21) It was apparently in the Kurukshetra. It was probably identical with Nagasahvaya (Hastinapura) which was abandoned by Nichakshu, a descendant of Parikshit, on its being washed away by the Ganges, and the capital was removed to Kausambl. 23 Kamplla, found in the £atapatha Brahmana, has been identified with modem Kampil on the old Ganges between Budaun and Farrukhabad. Naimisha forest, mentioned as being clearly of special sanctity, has been identified with Nimsar at a short distance from the Nimsar station of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. The Taittiriya Aranyaka (V. 1. 1) mentions the Manus as the TJtkara (heap) of Kurukshetra. This can be identified with the later Marusthala (Maru deserts) as it stood in the relation of Utkara to the sacred altar Kurukshetra. The existence of Kausambl which plays an important part in the life of king Udayana Vatsaraja can be inferred from the word Kauiambeya in the Satapatha Brahmana (XII. 2. 2. 13). The town has been identified with modem Kosam on the Yamuna.

The later Vedic literature refers to the three broad divisions— Brahmavarta or Aryavarta, Madhyadesa, and Dakshinapatha. There is also a five-fold division with the enumeration of the residents therein which we come across for the first time in the Aitareya Brahmana (VIII. 14), though it has, in a way, been anticipated by the Atharvaveda (XIX. 17. 1. 9). The Aitareya Brahmana divides the whole country into five parts, viz. 1. Dhruva Madhyama Pratishthd dis or Madhyadesa or middle country, 2. Prdchldis or the eastern quarter, 3. Dakshinadis or the southern quarter, 4. Pratichidis or the western quarter, and 5. Udichidis or the northern quarter. The extent and limits of these divisions cannot be defined with any degree of plausibility.

2. The Tribes

The status, formation, and nomenclature of the various tribes mentioned in the Rigveda underwent considerable changes during the period under review. Many of the old tribes disappear, pale into insignificance, are merged into others, or are known under new names, and many fresh tribes rise into prominence. The five premier tribes of the Punjab, the Purus, Anus, Druhyus, Yadus, and Turvasas recede into the background. The Purus, as already indicated, have along with the Bharatas amalgamated with the Kurus who occupy the territory these two tribes held, and along with their allies, the Panchalas, are the pre-eminent people in the period. The Bharatas as a tribe disappear, but the fame of their kings is not lost to the texts of this period. Bharata Dauhshanti and Satrajita are mentioned as famous kings and performers of the Asvamedha, and Bharata kings are spoken of as winning victories over

the. Kasis and Satvants and as performing sacrifices on the Gahga and the Yamuna.

The Kurus along with Pahchalas, Vasas and Usinaras occupied the Madhyadesa. The Kurus do not appear as a people in the Rigveda, but Kuru forms part of the name of a king, Kurusravana, mentioned therein. The Atharvaveda (XX. 127. 7-10) speaks of the Kuru king Parik$hit in whose reign the Kuru kingdom flourished exceedingly. Reference is made to his descendant Janamejaya who performed an Asvamedha at Asandivat, probably Hastinapura of later days. The Kuru kingdom roughly corresponded to modem Thanesar, Delhi, and the Upper Gangetic Doab. 24

The Pahchalas, the close allies of the Kurus as indicated by their joint name, were also a composite tribe. The name does not appear in the Rigveda, but the Satapatha Brahmana states that the older name for the Pahchalas was Krivi which is found in the Rigveda. Weber and Geldner suggest that the Pahchalas represent the five tribes of the Rigveda; but this is not very probable according to the authors of the Vedic Index. 26

We hear very little of the Pahchalas alone apart from the Kurus. Their kings Kraivya and $ona Satrasaha are spoken of as having performed the Asvamedha, and another king Durmukha is said to have conquered the whole earth. One of their kings Pravahana Jaivali appears as a philosopher king in the Upanishads.

The Vedic texts do not know of north Pahchala and south Pahchala which we come across in the Mahabharata and the Puranas; evidently the Pahchalas had extended their country by conquests in post-Vedic times. The territory of the Pahchalas roughly corresponded to the Bareilly, Budaun, Farrukhabad, and adjoining districts of the United Provinces. 26

The Kuru-Pahchalas are the people par excellence in the Brahmana period, and they are referred to as a united nation. At one time the Kuru-Panchalas are said to have had one king. The mode of sacrifice of the Kuru-Panchalas is spoken of as the best, and their Brahmaaias gained eminence and fame in the period of the Upanishads. The Xuru-Pahchala kings, the models for others, performed Raj asuyas and set out on their victorious raids in autumn and returned in summer. Speech is said to have been best spoken there, and the Samhitas and Brahmanas seem to have taken their definite form among the Kuru-Panchalas.

We have seen that the Srihjayas were closely allied with the Tritsus in the Rigvedic age. The Satapatha Brahmana (II. 4. 4. 5) supports this view by stating that the Kurus (who were the successors of the Tritsus, Bharatas, and Purus in post-Rigvedic age) and the Srihjayas had one Purohita. The Satapatha Brahmana (XII. 9.3. iff.) further refers to a historical incident relating to this clan. The Yajurveda Samhitas refer to the Srihjayas having suffered some serious loss due to some ritual error, though what exactly befell them is not mentioned.

Vitahavya, mentioned in the Rigveda (VI. 15. 2, 3) along with Bharadvaja and as a contemporary of Sudas, may have been a king of the Sripjayas. In the Atharvaveda (VI. 137. 1), he appears as connected with Jamadagni and Asi:a; but this legend has probably little value. The Vltahavyas are said to have come to ruin because they devoured a Brahmana's cow (AV, V. 18. 10-11; 19. 1).

Vasas and Uiinaras, as stated earlier, were dwelling in the middle country with the Kuru-Pahohalas. The Gopatha Bmh mana which speaks of the Vasas and Usinaras as united (I. 2, 9) regards them as northerners (II. 9). These Usinaras according to Weber were the forefathers of the later Kasis and Videhas. 27 The Kaushitaki Upanishad (IV. 1) connects the Vasas also with the Matsyas. The country of the Vasas, who later came to be known as Vatsas, was situated round about Kausambi, their capital.

The &ibis were intimately associated with the Usinaras. The Aitareya Brahmana (VIII. 23., 10) refers to Amitratapana, a king of the Sibis. Rigveda X. 179 has been ascribed by the Anukramani to Sibi Ausinara. Sivapura, which has been identified with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription, 28 is referred to by Patahjali (IV. 2. 2) as situated in the northern country. The $ibis inhabited the Shorkot region in Jhang in the Punjab lying between the Iravati and the Chandrabhaga.

Matsyas appear in connection with the Vasas in the Kaushitaki Upanishad and with the Salvas in the Gopatha Brahmana (I. 2. 9). Their king Dhvasan Dvaitavana, who performed the sacrifice at the lake Dvaitavana, is included in the list of Asvamedhins in the £atapatha Brahmana (XIII. 5.4.9) According to the Manusmjriti (II. 19; VII. 193) the Matsyas were included in the BrahmarshideSa.

The Salvas are mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana (X. 4. 1. 10). The Mantrapatha indicates their location near the Yamuna, and it is not likely that they were in the north-west in Vedic times. The epic associates the Salvas with the Kuru-Panchalas, and they occupied probably what is now the modem Alwar state.

The name Ikshvaku occurs but once in the Rigveda (X. 60. 4) where it denotes a prince. The &atapatha Brahmana knows Purukutsa as Aikshvaka (XIII. 5. 4. 5), so that some scholars take the Ikshvaku line to have originally been a line of princes of the Kurus, who were on the Sarasvati in the Vedic period, whereas Ikshvaku is connected with Ayodhya and the eastern peoples.

Kosala and Videha do not appear in the earlier Vedic literature, being first mentioned in the &atapatha Brahmana (I. 4. 1. 10 ff.) which relates the story of the spread of the Aryan culture. Videgha

Mathava, the king of the Videhas, accompanied by his priest Gotama Rahugaiia, is spoken of as carrying the sacrificial fire from the bank of the Sarasvati over Kosala (Oudh) eastwards across the Sadanlra, and as establishing a settlement which was known as Videha (Tirhut) after the tribal name of Mathava. The story preserves the tradition that the Videhas received their culture from the west, that Kosala was Brahmanized before

Videha, that the country as far as the Sadanlra was conquered in one sweep, and that the progress was checked for a while after which Videha was founded across the river. The later division of Kosala into the northern and southern is not known to the Vedic literature.

Para-Ap?ara-HairaiTiyanabha, the Kosala king, is spoken of as the performer of an Aivamedha (£at. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 4). The close connection between the Kosalas, Videhas, and Kasis is indicated by the fact that the three had the same Purohita acting for * them (Sdnkh. £ 7 *. S. XVI. 29. 5). It appears, however, that the Kosala-Videhas were allied tribes and that there was some difference and rivalry between these and the Kuru-Panchalas. The Brahmanism was not as strong in Kosala as among the Kuru-Panchalas. The Videhas rose into eminence later through their philosopher king Janaka who was a leading patron of the Upanishadic doctrines.

Ka£i, along with Kosala and Videha, came into prominence only in later Vedic age. The Kasis and Videhas were closely connected on account of their proximity, and Weber suggests that these two together constituted the Usinaras. 29 This, however, cannot be accepted, as the Usinaras dwelt in the middle country. Kasi and Kosala are also found together. There is the story of the defeat of Dhritarashtra, king of Kasis, by Satanlka Satrajita. a Bharata king, resulting in the giving up of the kindling of the sacred fire down to the time of the Salapatha Brchmana (XIII. 5.4.19). The relations of these eastern people with the Kuru-Panchalas appear to have been anything but friendly. Political conflict and cultural difference are said to be the probable causes of the rivalry between the two sets.

Still farther off from the old centre of Vedic culture were the Magadhas who make their appearance only in later Vedic literature, and are regarded throughout as of little importance. Magadha corresponds roughly to southern Bihar. The name occurs for the first time in the Atharvaveda (V. 22.14), where a wish is expressed that the fever may visit the Gandharis, the Mujavants, the Angas and the Magadhas, the first two being northern people and.the latter, f eople of the east. In the Vratya hymn (AV, XV. 2. 1-4) the Magadhas are associated with the Vratyas. The Yajurveda includes Magadha in the list of victims at Purushamedha. Zimmer regards Magadha referred to in the Atharvaveda and Yajurveda as a member of the mixed caste born of a Vaisya and Kshatriya. But the fact that the Sutras and the Aitareya Arcenyaka mention Magadha as a country shows that in the period of the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda, Magadha meant a resident* of the country and not a member of the 4xxixed -caste— anoutcaste born of Pratiloma marriage. The authors of the Vedic Index account for the fact of Magadha being a minstrel in later days by assuming Magadha as the home of minstrelsy, bards from which visited more western lands. 30 This class has been taken by later Smjriti texts as belonging to a separate caste, inventing a story of the inter-marriage of castes for their origin. The dislike of the Magadhas, which may go back to the times of the fjiigveda, was probably due to their not being wholly Brahma* nized.

The Ahgas, unknown to the Rigveda, are mentioned in the Atharvaveda (V. 22) as noted above. There is nothing in the Vedic texts to indicate their location beyond the fact that they were people of the east; but as in later times their settlements were on the rivers Son and the Ganges, it may be presumed that their earliest seat also was in the same region. They have been associated with the Magadhas in some texts. There is no evidence in Vedic literature for Pargiter's view that the Ahgas and Magadhas were non-Aryan peoples that came overseas to eastern India. 31 Oldenberg, however, thinks that these tribes were the earlier Aryan immigrants. Confirmation for this may be found in the Puranic evidence which speaks of the Ikshvakus and Videhas being of the same stock and as inhabiting the country since Rigvedic times.

The Magadha is brought into close connection with the Vratya in the mystical hymn of the Atharvaveda where he is celebrated as a type of the supreme power in the universe. The Yajurveda includes the Vratya in the list of victims at Purushamedha (human sacrifice). The Vratyas were regarded as outcastes, and the Atharvaveda, Pahchavimia Brdhmana, and the Sutras describe a certain rite intended to secure for them admission into the Brahmaaja fold. The Vratyas were a nomadic tribe (Vrdta) and neither studied the Vedas, nor ploughed the land, nor traded. Their nomad life is further suggested by their going about in rough wagons, with herds of goats, wearing turbans and wielding a particular kind of bow.

Because the later Dharmasutras describe the Vratya as an outsider, a man of mixed origin and of peculiar dress and habits, Both, Whitney, Bloomfield, Chanda, and others regard the Vratya as non-Aryan. The early Vedic texts do not support this view. The Vratyas, though uninitiated, spoke the speech of the initiated. Their speech, though Aryan, had apparently resembled Prakrit rather than Vedic Sankrit, as they softened hard consonants. The Sutras mention arhants and yaudhas among the Vratyas, corresponding respectively to Brahmanas and Kshatriyas in the Brahmanical hierarchy. These particulars, coupled with the fact that they were allowed to become members of the Brahmapa community by performing a specific ritual, evidently show that the Vratyas were not non-Aryans but were Aryans outside the sphere of Brahmapa culture.

Their location cannot be indicated with certainty. Their life and habits would suggest them to be nomadic western tribes beyond the Sarasvatl. There are, however, certain indications in the Sutras which definitely connect the Vrfityas with the Magadha so that the conclusion that some Vratyas were dwellers in Magadha is irresistible.

Vanga, from which Bengal proper receives its designation, is not found in early Vedic literature. The Aitareya Aranyaka (11.1.1) mentions Vangas, Vagadhas, and Cheras as birds, which probably means that they were non-Aryans speaking languages not intelligible to the Aryans. Vagadha in the text appears to be a misreading for Magadha, as both were neighbours. Vangas were residents of Vanga or Eastern Bengal. The name also occurs in the Baudhayana Dharma-sutra.

The tribes mentioned above occupied the first two of the five divisions,- - viz. the Middle and Eastern regions, mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana. In the Dakshinadis, or the Southern region, Satvants alone are mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana . But besides them there were Vidarbhas, Nishadhas, and Kuntis.

The Satvants have been mentioned as the name of a people belonging to the south who were the subjects of the Bhoja kings.. These people were subjected to regular raids by the Bharatas, and the Satapatha Brahmana (XIII. 5.4.21) refers to the defeat of the Satvants by king Bharata who took away their horse prepared for the Aivamedha. The Satapatha Brahmana (VIII. 5.4.11)) further indicates that these Satvants lived near Bharata's kingdom, i.e. near the Ganga and Yamuna. They seem to have moved farther south by the time, of the Aitareya Brahmana which places them in the southern region beyond the Madhyadesa, probably beyond the river Chambal (Charmanavati) 32 The Purapas corroborate the close relation of the Bhojas and Satvants who have been spoken of as the offshoots of the Yadu family.

Vidarbha is known through its king Bhlma, mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 34) as having received instruction about the substitute for the Soma from Parvata and Narada. The Vidarbha kingdom was said to be famous for its special breed of hounds, which killed tigers (Jaim Up. Brd. 11.440). Vidarbha, as is well known, corresponds to modern Berar. Lassen places Vidarbha along the Satpura hills to the north-west of Berar. 33 The Upanishads refer to Bhargava, a sage of Vidarbha, as a contemporary of Aivalayana and to Vaidarbht Kouiidinya. Kuptfina, the capital of Vidarbha, has been identified with the modern Kauptfinyapura on the bank of the Wardha* in the Chandur taluk of Amraoti. 34

The Satapatha Brahmana (III. 3.2.1, 2) mentions the term Naishidha as an epithet of Natfa, a king of the south. The later form of the name is Naishadha. The Nishadiias, residents of the Nishadha, country, were quite distinct from the Nishadas with whom they are often confounded. "Nishada" was a general term used for a non-Aryan tribe, whereas the Nishadhas, in all probability belonged to the Aryan fold. King Nala of Nishadha is a celebrated figure in the Mahabharata and the Puranas. The location of the Nishadha country is not known with certainty, though it may be assumed to be contiguous to Vidarbha.

Under the Pratichyas or Westerners come the Nichyas and Apachyas, as also Bahikas and Ambashthas. The Nlchya occurs as the designation of certain tribes of the Punjab and Sind. Nothing is known about the

Apachyas. The Bahikas are spoken of as people of the west of the Punjab in the Satapatha Brahmana (1.7.3.8) which refers to their calling Agni by the name of Bhava, as distinct from the Prachyas who called it Sarva. The Ambashthas. corresponding to the Abastanoi of Arrian, who were settled on the lower Asiknl in Alexander's time, are referred to in the Axtareya Brahmana (VIII. 21). Their king is stated to have been consecrated with the Aindra Mahabhisheka. They were probably in the Punjab in Vedic times.

Finally we come to the Udichyas or Northerners, among whom are the Uttarakurus, the Uttaramadras, Mujavants, Mahavrishas. Gandharis, Bahllkas, Kesins, Kekayas, and Kambojas.

The Udlchya dialect was celebrated for its purity; hence Brahmanas flocked to the north for purposes of study. The northern dialect resembled that of the Kuru-Panchala, and the superiority of the Brahma$as of the north is indicated by the victory of one of their spokesmen over a Kuru-Panchala Brahmana in a debate. The celebrity enjoyed by the north in academic matters is further corroborated by the fact that Taxila became a famous seat of learning, and classical Sanskrit was first developed in Kashmir. 3 '

The Uttarakurus, along with the Uttaramadras, are located beyond the Himalayas. Though regarded as mythical in the epic and later literature, the Uttarakurus still appear as a historical people in the Axtareya Brahmana (VIII. 23) which states that one Janantapi Atyarati was anxious to conquer the country of the Uttarakurus, called the land of the gods. Zimmer places the Uttarakurus in Kashmir to the north of Kurukshetra. and probably they were an offshoot of the Kurus.

The Madra people were divided into two sections, the Uttara (Northern) Madras and the Southern Madras or the Madras proper. The Uttaramadras alone appear in early Vedic literature, and they dwelt, as already stated, beyond the Himalayas, probably in the land of Kashmir. The mention of Madragara Saungayani as an ancient Vedic teacher shows the Madras as experts in Vedic learning.

a fact which is confirmed by the Satapatha ' Brahmaya which states that sages of Northern India repaired to the Madra country to study the Vedas. The Bjihaddranyaka Upanishad refers to Kapya Patanchala as living among the Madras. The territory of the Southern Madras roughly corresponds to Sialkot and its adjoining districts in the. Central Punjab which were known as the Madrade&a as late as the time of Guru Govind Singh. 36 In Buddhist times the Madras dwelt between the Chenab and Ravi.

The Mujavants have been mentioned in the Atharvaveda along with the Mahavpishas, Gandharis, and Bahllkas as dwelling far away, and to whom fever is to be relegated. The Yajurveda also speaks of the Mujavants as a distant people. If the people took their name > from Mujavant, a mountain in the Himalayas, yrhich seems to be quite likely, they were a hill-tribe in the Himalayas.

The Mahavfishas appear to be northerners in the vicinity of the other tribes along with whom they are mentioned, though their exact location cannot be ascertained. The Chh&ndogya Upanishad places king Raikva-paiqa in the Mahavpsha country, and the Jaiminlya Upanishad Brdhmava mentions Hptsva£aya as the king of the Mahavpshas.

The Gandharis, referred to in the fjtigveda, are mentioned also in the Atharvaveda (as already stated) and in the Srauta Sutras. They appear apparently as a despised people in the Atharvaveda . In later times, however, the angle of vision of the people of the Madhyadesa changed, and Gandhara became the famous resort of scholars for instruction in the Vedas and Vidyas. The Aitareya Brdhmava (VII. 34) mentions Nagnajit, a king of Gandhara, among Vedic teachers who propagated the Soma cult, which shows that Gandhara was not excluded from Vedic Aryans. From the various references to Gandhara in Indian literature it appears that the boundaries of the country varied at different periods in its history.

The Bahllkas, mentioned along with the three foregoing peoples, were a contiguoCis northern tribe, their name also suggesting “the* outsiders.” Roth and Weber were inclined to place this tribe in Iran, but there is no need to assume any Iranian influence, for we find that Bahllka is the name of a Kuru prince (Sat, Br., XU. 9. 3. 3). 37

Kesin is the name of a tribe found in the Satapatha Brahmasna (XI. 8.4.6) where their king is said to be studying how to avert a bad omen at the sacrifices. They were probably a branch of the Panchalas. 38

The Satapatha Brahmana (X. 6. I. 2) and the Chh&ndogya Upanishad (V. 11. 4) mention Asvapati, king of the Kekayas, as a man of learning who instructed a number of Brahma$as. The Kekayas in later days were settled in the north-west between the Sindhu and the Vitasta, and probably occupied the same territory in the Vedic age. According to the Puranic tradition the Kekayas were descended from Anu, 39 which is confirmed by the fact that the Anus of the Rigveda dwelt in the same territory in which we find the Kekayas.

The earliest mention of Kamboja occurs in the Vamsa Brdh • mono, of the S&maveda where a teacher Kamboja Aupamanyava is referred to. The sage Upamanyu, mentioned in the fjtigveda (I. 102. 9), is in all probability the father of this Kamboja teacher. From the fact that Kamboja Aupamanyava is stated to be a pupil of Madragara, Zimmer infers that the Kambojas and the Madras were close neighbours in north-western India. The speech of the Kambojas is referred to by Yaska as differing from other Aryans, and Grierson sees in this reference the Iranian affinities of the Kambojas; 40 but the fact that Kamboja teachers were reputed for their Vedic learning shows them to have been Vedic Aryans, so that Kamboja was an Aryan settlement. Later on Kambojas settled to the north-west of the Indus, and were the Kambujiyas of the old Persian inscriptions.

There is some difference of opinion as to the location of the Kambojas. Rhys Davids places them to the extreme north-west of India, S. K. Aiyangar and P. N. Banerji in a country near Sind, Raychaudhuri in the Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts, Smith along the mountains of Tibet or Hindu Kush, and Eliot in Tibet or its border. 41 The latest attempt at locating the Kambojas is by Jayachandra who, after discussing the problems afresh, identifies Kamboja with Badakhshan and the Pamirs, and Motichandra has further supported the identification 42

There are various other minor tribes mentioned in Vedic texts, but we know very little of them. 43

Finally, we come to the semi-Aryan, non-Aryan and barbarous tribes. The Aitareya Brahmana mentioned the Andhras, Pundras, gabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as being Dasyus, i.e. outcastes living on the borders of the Aryan settlements. These people are said to be born of the fifty eldest sons of Visvamitra through their father’s curse on their refusal to accept the adoption of gunahiepa. They were thus outside the Aryan fold. The Andhras, gabaras and Pulindas are known from the Mahtibhtirata to have been tribes of the Deccan.

The Andhras originally lived between the Krishna and the Godavari. 44 Andhras in modem times are the Telugu-speaking people- of the Deccan.

The Piu^lras, whose name occurs also in the Sutras, have been located in Bengal and Bihar by the Mahabhfirata, They were situated in North Bengal and gave their name to their capital town Puj^lravardhana. The Purujras are probably the ancestors of the Puros, an aboriginal caste in Bengal, 46

The exact location of the Sabaras is not known. They can be identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarae of Ptolemy and are probably ancestors of the Savaralu or Sauras of the Vizagapatam hills, the Savaris of the Gwalior territory and the savages on the frontiers of Orissa 46

The name of Pulindas does not appear in the parallel list given in the Saiikhayana &rauta-$utra. They are found along with the Andhras at the time of Asoka. Their capital, according to the Mahtibharata, probably lay to the south-east of the Bhilsa region.

The territory of the Mutibas has not. yet been located. Baychaudhuri thinks it not altogether improbable that the Muchipas, a variant of Mutibas, are the people who appear in the Mdrkandeya P.xtrdna under the designation of Mushika, and locates the latter on the banks of the river Musi on which Hyderabad now stands. 47

The name Mlechchha, found in the Satapatha Br&hmana, is used in the sense of a barbarian in speech who uses “he'lav o” for “ he’rcyah This shows that these barbarians were Aryan speakers who employed a Prakrit form of speech.

The Nishada mentioned in the later Samhitas and Brahmapas appears to be, not the name of any particular tribe, but the generic term for non-Aryan tribes who were not under Aryan control. Nishadas have been distinguished from the other four Varpas. Weber considered the Nishadas to be settled aborigines. The Smritis explain the Nishadas as the off-spring of a Brahmana father and a &udra mother. The epics represent the Nishadas as having their settlements in the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, and it seems that during the post-IJigvedic period also they inhabited mountainous tracts.

The Rigveda repeatedly refers to the attacks on the aborigines. They are called Krishna-tvach (black skins) metaphorically. Kuyavach (evil speaking), a demon slain by Indra, probably personifies the barbarian opponents. Mpidhravach (speaking insultingly) is also similarly used for denoting barbarians in the Rigveda. If Balbutha, called a Dasa, were the son of an aboriginal mother or an aboriginal himself, his reference as giving gifts to the singer indicates the establishment of friendly relations between the Aryans and Dasas.

The above review of the Aryan settlements would make it clear that the period of the later Samhitas. Brahmapas, Upanishads, and Sutras is characterized by a spirit of adventure and expansion, and the advancing Aryans were spreading in every direction, colonizing the east, south,, and north. The Gangetic Doab was completely occupied by the Aryans and the adventurous Bharatas and Videghas led expeditions along the Yamuna, the Sarasvatl, and the Sadanira. Towards the east Kosala, Videha, Magadha, and Anga came under Aryan occupation during this period. In the north and the north west, we come across the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras, Bahlikas, Mahavfishas, and Mujavants, showing the expansion along Kashmir and the Himalayas. Towards the south the Vindhya appears for the first time in the

Kaushitaki Upanishad (II. 8), and the Kuntis and Vitahavyas seem to have penetrated further south, and the Narmada and Vidarbha also were within the Aryan fold.

The disappearance of the Sarasvati referred to in the Panchavimsa Brdhmana (XXV. 10. 6) is an important geographical landmark in this period. The main centre of the life of the period is Kurukshetra in the country of the Kuru-Panchalas, bounded by the Khauj^ava on the south, Turghna on the north, and Parlnah on the west. It is noteworthy that the sphere of civilization is gradually shifting eastward and its localization in the region to the east of the land of five rivers is an accomplished fact. The Punjab and the West not only recede in importance, but the tribes of the west are looked upon with disapproval in the Satapatha and Aitareya Brahmanas. There has been a change and regrouping of tribes of the Rigvedic period, and many new tribes emerge during this period. The Bharatas do not occupy the premier position, but are merged in the Kurus who, with their allies the Panchalas, are the tribe par excellence . With Va£&s and USinaras, the Kuru-Panchalas occupy the Madhyade£a. The Uttamkurus and the Uttaramadras lay to the north beyond the Himalayas, and Satvats to the south. To the east Kosala, Videha, Magadha, and Anga rise into prominence. The Andhras, Pundras, Mutibas, Pulindas, and Sabaras, as also the Nishadas, are the outcast tribes which were not fully Brahmanized.

The territory comprised within the sphere of Aryan influence down to the period of the Upanishads may thus be roughly described as the whole of India to the north *of the Narmada, and some regions even to the south of that river.

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1. Hillebrandi (Ved. Myth., I, pp. 99 ff; XU, pp. 372 ff.) thinks that it is Arghandab in a few places.

2. MacdoneM, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 142; Keith, CHI, I, p. 80.

3. AL, p. 17; Chakladar, MR, Jan. 1930, p. 41; Raychaudhuri, hid. Antiquities, p. 51.

4. Zur LUteratur und Geschlchte des Weda, pp. 138 ff.; AL, pp. 11, 12; MR, Jan. 1930, p. 41.

5. JRAS, 1917, pp. 93-6; Raychaudhuri, Ind. Antiquities, p. 51.

6. Nirukta, VI. 26; IX. 26.

7. Law, Rivers, p.* 10.

8. Ray, JBORS, March, 1928.

8a. For arguments against this view, cf. Ch. X, Appendix, p. 217.

9. Cf. Ved. Ind., I, p. 468; CHI, I, p. 79 n.h Hopkins, JAOS, 19; pp. 19-28; Keith, CHI, I, p. 79; Winternitz, HIL, I, p. 63; Pischel and Geldner, Ved. Stud., II, p, 218; m, p. 152.

10. Brunnhofer, Arischc b'rzeit, 1910; Heitcl. Indo-Germ. Forchung 41, p. 188; Hiislng. MAGW , xlvi; Hillebrandt, Vcd. Myth, I, pp. 98 ff.; Cnilde, Aryans, p. 32; Winternitz, NIL, I. pp. 63-4.

11. CHI, I, pp. 78-9.

12. CHI, I, p. 79.

13. SBE, XXXII, pp. 61 ff.: In ,: *;che Alterthumskunde, I, p. 883; AL, pp. 22 ff., Ved. Ind., II, p. 432.

14. RV. IV. 42. 8, 9 and Sayana's Commentary.

15. The Ait. Br. takes the five to be gods, men, g&ndharvas, and apsarases, snakes, and the fathers, whereas Yaska thinks that gandharvas, fathers,

gods, asuras, and rakshasas are meant. Aupamanyavas and Sayana hold that the four varnas and the Nishadas made up the five. Roth and Geldner take the expression to indicate the people of the whole earth.

16. JAOS, 15, pp. 258 ff.

17. Cf. Dutt, Aryanisation of India , p. 104.

18. Bancrji Sastri , JBORS , 12, p. 253.

18a. The Dasas and Dasyus have been fully discussed above in Ch. VIII, p. 159.

19. See Ch. XI, p.

20. Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, p. 34.

21. Dey, GD. p. 104.

22. Ved. Ind., II, p. 422.

23. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, o. 20.

24. Ibid.

25. Ved. Ind., I, p. 469.

26. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 59.

27. Ind. Ftud., I, pp. 212-3.

2$. El, 1921, p. 16; Majumdar, CAG, p. 669.

29. Ind. Stud., I, pp. 212-3.

30. Ved. Ind., II, p. 117.

31. JRAS, 1908, p. 852.

32. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 76.

33. Cf. Law, Tribes, p. 100.

34. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 74.

35. Franke, Pali und Sanskrit, pp. 88, 89.

36. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 54.

37. Vahlika and Valhika appear as variants of Bahlika. The Mahdbhdrata and the Puranas locate the tribe in the neighbourhood of Gandhara and Punjab.

38. Bhandarkar identifies the Kesis with the Kassis or Kassites (Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture, p. 3).

39. Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 109, 264.

40. JRAS, 1911, pp. 801-2.

41. Cf. Law, Tribes, pp. 2-3.

42. JUPHAS , XVI, pp. 43-6.

43. Such e.g., are the Rusamas, gviknas, Sparsus, Karaskaras. gaphalas, etc.

44. ZDMG, 56, pp. 657 ff.

45. Bhandarkar, ABORI, XII, pp. 104, 105.

46. Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 79; Dutt, AryaTiieatiou of India, p. 69.

47. PHAI, p. 80.

BOOK FOUR

HISTORICAL TRADITIONS

CHAPTER XIV

TRADITIONAL HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIME TO THE ACCESSION OF PAR1KSH1T

1. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Our sources for the traditional history from the earliest times to the accession of Parikshit are mainly the Puranas, though the Mahdbh&rata and the Rfimayana occasionally give dynastic lists and deal with traditional accounts. General observations on the Puranas and the Epics will be found in the next volume. Here it is intended to give only a brief introductory note dealing with the historical value of the Puranas.

The Puranas. in their present recension, can hardly be placed earlier than the Gupta period. Thus they received their final form more than 2.000 years after the earliest events related by them. Besides this distance in time, the traditional account, contained in the Puranas, is vitiated by exaggeration, mythological details, pronounced religious bias, and the divergences in the texts of the different Puranas. These have been subjected to various modifications, revisions. etc. at different periods and no “definite” text of the Puranas is available. In spite of these obvious defects the Puranic account may not be regarded as wholly unreliable. It is likely that the royal genealogies and ancient ballads of kings and heroes were preserved from very early times by the Sutas. It is expressly laid down in the Vayu Purana (I. 31-2; that “the Suta's special duty, as perceived by good men of old, was to preserve the genealogies of gods, rishts (sages), and most glorious kings, and the traditions of great men." These accounts probably formed the basis of the original Purana, from which the genealogical texts of the existing puranas were ultimately derived. Pargiter holds, on the basis of Indian tradition, that this original Purana was composed more or less about the same time when the Vedic texts received their final form.' Although this view may be justly questioned, the existence of a Purana text at a very early age is not improbable.

In any case .there is hardly any doubt that the royal genealogies in the Puranas embody many genuine historical traditions of great antiquity which have riot been otherwise preserved. It has also been pointed out by Pargiter that the Puranic account is corroborated in many respects by Vedic texts, which contain contemporary historical data. A comparative study of the Puranas and the Vedic texts shows that the former, though reduced to writing at a comparatively late period, embody the earliest traditional history, and much of their material is old and valuable.

When we find Puranic accounts corroborated by the Vedic evidence, it is but legitimate to take their testimony as valid even in matters on which the Rigveda is silent.

That the kernel of both the Rdmdyana and the Mahdbhdrata embodies historical facts is also now generally accepted. 1 * The epic details, embellishments, exaggerations and flights of fancy, evident in the Rdmdyana and the Mahdbhdrata , have been kept distinct from the Puranic account of traditional history in this chapter. Besides their central story, the Rdmdyana and the Mahdbhdrata contain some dynastic lists and accounts. The Great Epic itself implies that it was composed after the Puraajas. The genealogical accounts in the Mahdbhdvata are peculiar in that they are partly in prose and partly in verse, and do not appear to be ancient. The Rdmdyana genealogy of the solar dynasty runs counter to the Puranic genealogy; but as the latter has been corroborated by other authorities, the Puranic genealogy is to be accepted in preference to that in the Rdmdyana.

2. CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ACCORDING TO THE PURANAS

The Bharata War is the central landmark in Indian traditional history, and the fixing of the date of that event will give us a starting point in settling dates of events occurring before and after it. We shall, therefore, first of all, try in brief to determine the date of the Bharata War.

According to the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (seventh century A.D.) the Bharata War took place in 3102 B.C., which is the starting point of the Kaliyuga era according to the astronomical tradition represented by Aryabhata lb . But Fleet has pointed out that the reckoning was not founded in Vedic times; it was first started about 3,500 years after the time for purposes of calculation, and was not known to astronomers before Aryabhata. 2 Another school of Hindu astronomers and historians, represented by Vriddha-Garga. Varahamihira and

Kalhana, places the Bharata War 653 years after the Kaliyuga era, i.e. in 2449 B.C. 3 These two schools thus present conflicting views, and as they are based on a hypothetical reckoning of a late date, we can hardly attach much importance to them.

Astronomical references in the Mahdbhdrata itself about the position of the Nakshatras and planets have been utilized for deter* mining the date of the war. But, the same data have yielded various divergent results. 4 As a matter of fact, the statements in the Epic are conflicting and self-contradictory, so that in order to arrive at some conclusion it is necessary to reject certain statements or their implications as later interpolations or mere exaggerations. No satisfactory and acceptable result can be arrived at from these data.

On the basis of the Puranic tradition about the number of kings that flourished in different dynasties between king Adhisimakpishua (great-grandson of Janamejaya) and the coronation of Mahapadma Nanda, Pargiter places the Bharata War in c. 950 B.C. According to him 26 reigns intervened between these kings, and allowing a period of 18 years per reign, and taking the accession of Mahapadma in 382 B. C., the period of Adhisimakyishj?a would be (26X18+ 382=) 850 B.C. And adding a hundred years for the reigns of intermediate kings between Yudhishthira and Adhisimakrish^a Pargiter arrives at (850+100=) 950 B.C. as the date of the Bharata War. 6

Pargiter’s date is contradicted by the statement in the Puraiias and the Mahabharata that between the birth of Parlkshit and the coronation of Mahapadma, there elapsed a period of 1,015 (or 1,050) years. 6 This brings the date of the Bharata War to (1015+382=) 1397 B.C. Though the number of kings mentioned in the Puranas during this period does not appear to be correct, as it gives an abnormally high average regnal period per generation, the figure mentioning the period (viz. 1015 or 1050) seems to represent a fairly reliable tradition, especially as the date it gives for the Bharata War (c. 1400 B.C.) is corroborated by a consideration of the Varhiavali list of teachers. We may, therefore, take c. 1400 B.C. as the provisional date for the Bharata War, and the event must have taken place between this date and 1000 B.C. in round numbers.

Now working backwards from the earlier date, the age of Manu Vaivasvata, who flourished, according to the genealogies prepared on the basis of traditional accounts, 95 generations before the Bharata War, can be put as <95x18+1400=)

3110 B.C., taking one generation to average 18 years (as we have to deal with very long genealogies extending over 90 generations, we would be erring on the side of caution if we assumed 18 years as the average reign). This date, viz. 3110 B.C., curiously enough, approaches 3102 B.C. which has been taken as the beginning of the hypothetical Kali age for astronomical calculations. There is no doubt that the date 3102 B.C. signifies some important and epoch-making event in the traditional history of India. If it denotes the period of the beginning of the rule by Manu Vaivasvata, that means that it stands for the date of the Great Flood recorded in the Satapatha Brahmana and other accounts, at which Manu was the saviour of humanity. The devastating Flood undoubtedly was the most important landmark in the history of the ancient world, and common flood legends suggest that the same event has been described in Indian, Hebrew, and Babylonian accounts. The Flood in Mesopotamia is generally held to have occurred about 3100 B.C. 6a The Flood in India probably also occurred at the same time, and the date 3102 B.C., supposed to be the beginning of the Kali era, may, therefore, commemorate this event.

The year. 3102 B.C. thus represents the age of Manu, the first traditional king in India. Yayati, who is fifth in descent from Manu and figures also in the fligveda, thus flourished (18x5=) 90 years after Manu or in (3100—90=) 3010 B.C. Mandhatpi, coming after twenty generations, has to be placed in (3100—20x18=) 2740 B.C. The period of Arjuna Kartavirya, Viivamitra, Jamadagni, Paraiurama, and Hariichandra can be put between (3100—31X18)=) 2542 B.C., and (3100—33x18=) 2506 B.C. or roughly between 2550 and 2500 B.C. Sagara of Ayodhya and Dushyanta and Bharata of Hastinapura flourished between (3100-41x18=) 2362 B.C. and 3100—44 Xl8=) 2308 B.C. or roughly .between 2350 and 2300 B.C. Hama flourished 65 generations after Manu, i.e. in (3100—65X18=) 1930 B.C. or roughly in 1950 B. C. and the famous Daiarajna war which occurred about three or four generations after Kama, in c. 1900 B.C. These dates will, of course, have to be lowered by 400 years if the Bharata War is placed in c. 1000 B.C.

3. PRE-FLOOD TRADITIONS AND THE DAWN OF HISTORY

Like the dynastic lists in Sumer and Egypt, the Indian lists also record pre-diluvian dynasties, though as may naturally be expected in such accounts, there is a large mixture of myths and legends. They begin with the mythical king, Manu

Svayambhuva, who is said to have been born of Brahma, and had from Satarupa, the half-female form of his body, two sons, Priyavrata and Uttanapada, and three daughters. These daughters are the themes of very elaborate legends which connect them with the gods, sages, sacrifices, etc. Svayambhuva Manu, also known as" Viraj, was the lord of the first Manu cycle.

The Vdyu Pvrdna mentions Ananda as a Brahma (supreme ruler) who was a predecessor of Manu Svayambhuva. This Ananda is said to have established the Varnas (castes), formulated their duties, and also established the institution of marriage; but these fWl into abeyance in a short time and were revived by Manu Svayambhuva. 7 Manu Svayambhuva’s capital lay on the bank of the river Sarasvatl. He is said to have subdued all enemies and became the first king of the earth. Manu Svarochisha, the second Manu, was the son of Svayambhuva^ daughter Akuti. Priyavrata, the eldest son of Manu Svayambhuva, is said to be the first of the Kshatriyas. Three of his sons renounced the world in child-hood in order to perform penance, and became Manus in the next Manvantaras. These were Uttama, Tamasa, and Raivata, respectively the third, fourth, and fifth Manus.

Uttanapada, the second son of Svayambhuva Manu, had three sons, Dhruva,’ Kirtivat, and Uttama. The story of the celebrated boy devotee Dhruva, who on account of the' insult offered him by his step-mother, the favourite queen of Uttanapada, left the world for penance and secured boons from the Lord Vishnu, is well-known to every devout Hindu. Dhruva was succeeded by Prachlnagarbha. Chakshusha in this line was the sixth Manu. His grandson Vena was a Very wicked and tyrannous king. There was a general rebellion against him and he was deposed and killed. His son Pjrithu, celebrated as the first consecrated king, from whom the earth received its name Prithvi, was enthroned his successor. . He levelled the whole earth, clearing it of ups and downs, and encouraged cultivation, cattle-breeding, commerce, and building of cities and villages. The oath that he had to swear would compare favourably with the oath any constitutional sovereign of England has to take. 8 Fifth in descent from Pj*ithu was Daksha, whose daughter’s grandson, Manu Vaivasvata, saved humanity from the deluge which occurred at this time.

4. THE FLOOD AND MANU VAIVASVATA

(c. 3100 B.C.)

The earliest and the shortest Indian account describing the flood is found in the Satapatha Br&hmana, and there are later embellished versions in the Mahdbhdrata and the Purapas.® According to the Satapatha Brahmaya, when Manu was washing his hands in the* morning, a small fish came into his hands along with the water. The fish sought protection from Manu, saying, “Hear me, I will save thee.” The reason stated was that the small fish was liable to be devoured by the larger, and it required protection till it grew up. It asked to be kept in a jar, and later on, when it outgrew that, in a pond, and finally in the sea. Manu acted accordingly. The fish forewarned Manu of the forthcoming flood, and advised him to prepare a ship and enter into it when the flood came. The flood began to rise at the appointed hour, and Manu entered the ship. The fish then swam up to him; he tied the rope of the ship to its horn, and thus passed swiftly to the yonder northern mountain. There, Manu was directed to ascend the mountain after fastening the ship to a tree and disembark after the water had subsided. Accordingly, he gradually descended, and hence the slope of the northern mountain is called Manoravataraiuim or Manu’s descent. The waters swept away all the three heavens, and Manu alone was saved.

Manu Vaivasvata is said to be the originator of the human race, and all the dynasties mentioned in the Puranas spring from him. He framed rules and laws of government, and collected a sixth of the produce of the land as a tax to meet administrative expenses.

Manu is stated to have been the father of nine valiant sons, besides the eldest, who is represented to have had a dual personality as the male Ila and female US. There is a great divergence in the names of the nine sons and their order in the different accounts. According to the collated text, suggested by Pargiter, 10 the nameare: Ikshvaku, Nabhaga, Dhpshta, Saryati, Narishyanta, Pramsu, Nabhagodishta (or Nabhanedishtha)$ Karusha, and Prishadhra. Of these sons only four are important as being the originators of important lines., Ikshvaku, the eldest, had his capital at Ayodhya, and his son Vikukshi founded the Aikshvaka (or the Solar) line. The location of the Nabhagas, descended from Nabhaga, is uncertain. They probably reigned in the midlands of the Gangetic Doab, and included Kathitara from whom came the Rathltaras who were Kshatriyan Brahmaajas. The Nabhaga dynasty played practicably no part in traditional history, and probably disappeared under the early Aila conquests. From Dhrishta came the Dharshtaka Kshatriyas who probably ruled over Vahlka in the Punjab. Nothing further is known about them. Their social position is interesting to the student of social history as they are sometimes cdlled Brahmaiias, sometimes Kshatriyas and sometimes even Valyas, indicating the fluidity of castes at this period in our history. Saryati was the founder of the Saryatas who ruled in Anarta. The Saryatas were one of the earliest Aryan tribes to come in contact with Gujarat, which received its ancient name from Anarta, the son of Saryati. There is much confusion about the genealogy of Narishyanta, some accounts stating the £akas to be his descendants. Nothing is known about the descendants of Pramsu. Nabhagodishta settled in north Bihar, and established the Vaisala dynasty which ruled at Vaisali identified with Basarh 11 (Muzaffarpur district). From Karusha came the Karushas, the determined fighters, who occupied the Karusha country—the region round the modern Rewah and eastwards to the river Son. Prishadhra was excluded from any share of the earth because he killed his guru's (preceptor's) cow.

From Ila, as the female, who married Budha, was born Pururavas, the originator Of the Aila (or the Lunar) dynasty. Fr.om the Ailas sprang various dynasties such as the Kanyakubjas, Yadavas (Haihayas, Andhakas, Vrishois), Turvasus, Druhyus, Anavas, Panchalas, Barhadrathas, Chedis, etc.

From Ila transformed into a Kimpurusha named Sudyumna, sprang the Saudyumnas—his three sons Utkala, Gaya, and Vinatasva, who respectively ruled over the Utkala country, Gaya, and the eastern regions including the northern Kurus. The Saudyumna kingdoms were annexed by the Anavas and Kanyakubjas.

The early disappearance of the dynastic lists of the kingdoms established by Karusha, Nabhaga, Dhrishta, Narishyanta, Pramsu, and Prishadhra seems to be due to the victorious campaigns led by Pururavas, Nahusha aud Yayati of the Lunar dynasty, who displacced all these kingdoms and expanded the Paurava realm.

5. THE YAYATI PERIOD (c. 3000-2750 B.C.)

1. The Lunar Dynasty

Pururavas Aila, Ila’s son through Budha or Soma, was the progenitor of the celebrated Lunar dynasty. Though the seat of the government of the Ailas and the scene of their later activities have been placed at Pratishthana 12 by the Purapas, the origin of the Ailas, according tp these texts, seems to be connected with the Himalayan region.

Pururavas is said to have ruled over the seven islands and performed a hundred Asvamedhas. The story of Pururavas and Urvaii is too well known to be dealt with here. 12 * However, towards the end of his reign, Pururavas is said have been intoxicated with power and declared war on the Brahmanas, robbed them of their jewels, and coveted the golden sacrificial floor of the Naimisha sages, who were performing sacrifice. The sages in revolt killed him and installed his eldest son Ayu on the throne. Pururavas was the contemporary of Ikshvaku of the Solar dynasty. The Aila kingdom developed quickly under Pururavas. Being checked in their expansion to the.north by the powerful kingdom of Ayodhya and to the south by the war-like Karushas, the Ailas extended their sway eastward and north-westward into the Gangetic Doab and Malwa and Eastern Rajputana. The expanded realm was divided among Pururava’s two sons, Ayu and Amavasu.

Ayu continued the main line at Pratishthana, and Amavasu, to whose share fell the northern territories in the mid-Gangetic Doab, founded the Kanyakubja .dynasty. Ayu was friendly towards the Ptishis and Brahmanas. His marriage with Prabha, the daughter of a Danava king Svarbhanu, indicates that he held catholic views and was a conciliator between Aryas and Danavas. Ayu had five sons, only two of whom were important. The eldest, Nahusha, succeeded Ayu in the main line at Pratishthana, while the second, Khshatravriddha, established himself at KasI in the east.

Nahusha was a famous king, a great conqueror, the first man'to establish a theatre on • the earth. The Mahabharata story of his securing the kingdom of Indra, and of his subsequent fall therefrom on account of his arrogance and ill-treatment of Agastya, runs counter to many well-established synchronisms and is obviously a later invention.' 3 His son and successor Yayati is mentioned in the Puranas and the Mahabharata as a Samrat (emperor) and a great conqueror who extended his kingdom far and wide. He reduced all Madhyadesa west of Ayodhya and Kanyakubja and north-west as far as the Sarasvatl. He also brought under his sway countries towards the south, south-east, and west of his territory. The Puranas and the Mahabharata give a detailed account of Yayati’s marriage with

Devayani, daughter of Usanas-Sukra, the great Bhargava fishi, and Sarmisn^ha, daughter of king Vfishaparvan of the Asuras. Yayati's marriage with Devayani being the pratiloma marriage, reprehensible according to later customary law, some excuses have been invented'in justification of it.

Yayati had five sons. Devayani bore two, Yadu apd Turvasu, and Sarmishtha three, Anu, Druhyu, and Puru. Yayati divided the kingdom among his five sons, placing the youngest son Puru to continue the main line, ruling over MadhyadeSa, the southern half of the Ganges-Jumna Doab, with its capital at Pratishthana. The main Lunar line hereafter came to be known as Puru Varhia or the Pauravas after Puru. There is a great divergence in the Purapas regarding the territories assigned by Yayati to his sons. Pargiter's collated text 14 suggests that Yadu, the eldest son, was given territories towards the south-west embracing the country watered by the rivers Charmapvatl (Chambal), Vetravatl (Betwa) and Suktimati (Ken). Turvasu got the south-east territory (round Rewah). To Druhyu was assigned the west, i.e. the country west of the Yamuna and north of the Chambal. Anu received the north, i.e. the northern portion of the Ganges-Jumna Doab.

By the time of Puru, the Ailas had thus established seven kingdoms,, viz. Pratishthana, Yadava, Turvasu, Anava, Druhyu (i.e. the kingdoms of the five sons of Yayati), and the kingdoms of Kanyakubja and Kasi. Puru, though the youngest, got the ancestral kingdom of Pratishthana through obedience to his father. He was succeeded by his son Janamejaya.

The Kanyakubjas and Ka£is, the subsections of the Lunax; dynasty, are not noted for any remarkable achievements or personalities during the period under review. Yadu, the eldest son of Yayati, founded the Yadavas, the first Lunar dynasty to rise into prominence. They first destroyed the Rakshasa power in GujaratKathiawar, who overthrew the Saryatas there.. Only Kroshfri and Sahasrajit, among Yadu's sons, are important, for with them the Yadavas branched off respectively into the Yadavas and Haihayas.

Yadava Chitraratha, about twelfth in descent from Yadu, was the contemporary of the Paurava king Matinara. Gaurl, the daughter of Matinara, was married to YuvanSiva II of the Solar dynasty of Ayodhya, and their son Mandhatri, king of AyodhyS, married BindumatT, the daughter of &a£abindu, son of Chitraratha. Both Chitraratha and Saiabindu were great kings. Trthe Yadavas first developed a great kingdom under Saiabindhu, which included the territories of the Pauravas and Turvasus on the east and the Druhyus on the north.

2.. The Solar Dyncsty

Now we *urn to the Solar dynasty which comprises the three

lines of Ayodhya, Videha, and Vaiiala, and the Saryatas. Thesa are the omy branches that are important out of the lines produced by the nine sons of Manu.

Ikshvaku, the eldest of Mann's sons, was the first king of Ayodhya, and Manu gave him Madhyade&a. According to the Purapas, Ikshvaku had a hundred sons of whom Vikukshi the eldest, Nimi and Dasg£a were most famous. Vikukshi, also named £a£ada, succeeded Ikshvaku in the Ayodhya kingdom, and Nimi founded the Videha line. The Dagtfaka forest is said to have been named after Q? Dagtfaka, the third son of Ikshvaku.

Par ah jay a or Purahjaya, the son of Vikukshi, received the appellation. Kakutstha on account of his being borne away by Indr a, in the form of a bull, on his head (kakud) on the battlefield. &ravasta, the son of Yuvanasva and sixth in descent from Kakutstha, is said to have founded gravest! 16 which later became the capital of north Kosala. Of his grandson Kuvalaiva, a wild legend is current explaining how he received the alternative name Dhundhumara. Kuvalasva is said to have marched against an Asura, Rakshasa or Daitya named Dhundhu near a shallow sand-filled sea in the Rajputana desert in order to rescue a sage named Uttanka. He destroyed the subterranean quarters of the Asura and put an end to his fiery home. This legend probably suggests that Kuvalasva subjugated the Asuras and aboriginals to the west and in the southern parts of Kajputana and spread Aryan culture in those lands. Dr. Law sees a reference to a natural phenomenon in this legend. He conjectures that the subterranean retreat of the Asura was really a small volcanic pit near the western sea-coast causing occasional earthquakes, and emitting smoke, ashes, and fire. Kuvalaiva, by digging up the earth, first brought on volcanic eruptions destroying the army in flames and smoke; but later on a subterranean water channel rushed into the volcanic pit and extinguished it for ever. 16 According to Pargiter this legend alludes to a shallow sand-filled sea in Kajputana which formed the limit of Aryan advance towards the south 17 . Kuvalasva's eighth descendant was Yuvanaiva H, also known as Saudyumni. A grotesque legend is told about the birth of a son to the king himself out of his left rib as a result of his drinking the holy sacrificial water intended for his queen. The child was nursed by Indra with the nectar exhaled from his thumb, whence it came to be known as Mandhfitpi.

The other branches of the Solar dynasty may be briefly referred to. The Videhas sprang from Ikshvaku’s son Nimi, also known as Videha. Nimi dwelt in a town named Jayanta and the capital was Mithila, said to have been named after his son Mithi. The Videha line of kings came to be known as Janakas on account of this Mithi Janaka.

The Vais alas, though descended from Nabhanedishtha (or Dhjri

sh^a, son of NSbhaga and grandson of Manu), came to be called such retrospectively from the name of king Visala who founded ViiaLa or Vaiiali as his capital. Bhalandana and Vatsapri are named as the first two kings. Bhalandana, who was a great sacrificer and a valiant and universal conqueror, is said to have become a Vaiiya.

The sSaryatas originated from Saryati, the son of Manu, and played but an unimportant role in traditional history. Saryati, who is said to have offered his daughter Sukanya in marriage to Chyavana of the Bh^igu family, was succeeded by his son Anarta. The Saryata dynasty was short-lived and was destroyed by the Piu>yajana Rukshasas. The history of the Saudyumnas has been referred to above (p. 278).

3. Brahmana families

Brahmapa families also play important roles in traditional history, and we may take note of contemporary Brahmana families in the different periods of traditional history. The Brahmana families claim descent from eight mythical jishis (sages), called mind-bom sons of Brahma. There are also other fabulous accounts which seek to explain their names on the basis of etymology inventing fanciful stories. Out of the eight Brahmapa families, i.e. Bhjrigu, Ahgiras, Marichi, Atri, Vasishtha, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu, the last three did not* produce true Brahmana stocks. Pulastya was the progenitor of the Rakshasas, Vanaras, Kinnaras and Yakshas. From Pulaha came Kimpurushas, Pisaqhas, goblins, lions, tigers and other animals. Kratu, according to most accounts, had no wife or child, and remained celibate, but some accounts make the Valakhilyas his offspring. The remaining five, however, were not assigned equal antiquity. The Bhargavas, Vasishthas, and probably Angirasas, appear to have been the earliest Brahmana families. The Atris and Kaiyapas (from Marichi) originated later.

The Bhfigus or Bhargavas claim descent from the primeval rishi Bhyigu. Chyavana and Sukra are the earliest Bhrigus mentioned in the Purapas. Sukra was connected with the Daityas, Danavas, and Asuras as their guru, and was the rival of Bpihaspati, the guru of the Devas. Sukra’s daughter DevayanI married Yayati, the Puru king, and bore him Yadu and Turvasu.

The Vasishthas in Puranic accounts claim to have a mysterious origin, being descended from Mitravarupa in the present Manvantara. Some accounts make the first Vasishtha one of the ten mind-born sons of Brahma in the Svayambhuva Manvantara.

The Vasishthas have been connected as hereditary priests with the kings of Ayodhya from the earliest times. The Purapas mention a VasishUia in connection with Ikshvaku and his sons VikukshiSaSada and Nimi.

Though the Atri clan was an ancient one vying in antiquity with

the earliest Brahmana families, the earliest individual member of the Atri family to be referred to in traditional history is Prabhakara, who is said to have married the ten daughters of Bhadrasva, (or Baud* raSva) an early Paurava king. From Prabhakara’s ten sons descended the best Atreya Gotras .

Marichi’s son Kasyapa, the progenitor of the Kasyapas, is made a Prajapati or identified with Kasyapa, the creator of all beings and the father of the gods and Asuras.

Besides these ancient families, there were other Brahmana stocks such as Visvamitras and Jamadagnis, which did not claim primeval antiquity, and which emerged in traditional history at a later period.

6. THE MANDHATRI PERIOD (c. 2750-2550 B.C.)

I. The Solar Dynasty

We now turn to the next period, the central figure in which is Mandhatri, sen of Yuvanasva, of the Ikshvaku family. The Yadava empire under £aiabindu (p. 280) was rivalled by the Ayodhya kingdom under Mandhatri (p. 281), a famous king, a chakravartin and a samrat. According to the Puranic accounts, Mandhatri Yauvana£va, an Aikshvaka, was a great chakravartin. He was the son of Yuvanasva, and Gauri, the daughter of Matinara of the Pauravas. He was considered the fifth avatar a (incarnation) of Vishnu. He was a great sacrificer and is said to have performed a hundred Asvamedhas and Rajasuyas. His gifts and charities are eulogized and songs praising him have been handed down from very ancient times. He is mentioned as a king of very wide sway, magnanimous and giver of cows. Mandhatri married Bindumatl, daughter of &a£abindu of the Yadavas. He had three sons, Purukutsa, Ambarlsha, and Muchukunda. His sister (daughter or granddaughter) Kaveri married Jahnu of the Kanyakubjas.

The account of his birth from his father’s side and being called Mandhatri because of what Indra said at the prince’s birth (main dhata , i.e. the child will suck me), invented evidently to explain his name, is a late fabrication fashioned with great ingenuity. Mandhatri is said to have obtained half the throne of Indra and conquered the whole earth in one day. He extended his sway over the neighbouring Paurava and Kanyakubja realms, and also conquered the Druhyus and the Anavas in the north-west. He probably spared the Yadavas who were related to him, but conquered the Haihayas in the Deccan. Mandhatri was succeeded by his eldest son Purukutsa.

Purukutsa continued the conquest of his father. The Nagas induced Purukutsa to destroy the Mauneya Gandharvas who had despoiled them. They gave him their princess Narmada, and he rescued them from the Gandharvas. This shows the extension of the Aryan culture towards the river Narmada and the land of the Nagas who were probably aborigines or primitive peoples.

Muchukunda, the third son of Mandhatjri, was a famous king. The fable connecting him with Kalayavana and Krishna is an anachronism. 18 He built and fortified a town on the Narmada between Paripitra and Riksha'mountains. Muchukunda’s supremacy, however, did not last long, and the Haihaya king Mahishmant conquered that town and named it Mahishmatl. The Ayodhya kingdom declined after Purukutsa, and some of the kingdoms of the Lunar dynasty again rose into prominence.

2. The Lunar Dynasty

The Paurava realm appears to have lain prostrate at the time of Mandhatfi, for he is said to have sacrificed on the Yamuna, and crossing the Paurava kingdom he conquered the Druhyu king, who was pushed from Kajputana to the borders of the Punjab by the Yadava king &a£abindu. It was probably. Sasabindu, the

Yadava king, who conquered the Paurava realm, and the Haihaya king Bhadra^reoya traversed it to reach Benares. There arose no king of eminence among the Pauravas for generations after Yayati and Pfiru, so that the kingdom dwindled down, and the neighbouring kings absorbed parts of it till the Paurava kings were reduced to mere kings in name, and probably lived out in exile, as would appear from the account of Dushyanta who was with Turvasu Marutta, son of Karandhama.

The Kanyakubja kingdom appears to have been overrun by king Mandhatri in course of his conquest of the Druhyus. The suzerainty of Ayodhyft over Kfinyakubja was, however, short-lived, and Jahnu brought Kanyakifbja into local prominence. Jahnu married the grand-daughter of Yauvana£va (i.e. Mandhatri).

The Halhayas (of the Yadava branch of the Lunar dynasty) continued to prosper in their region south of M&lwa, and as noted above, Mahishmant (one of their kings) founded the town Mahishmatl. His successor, king Bhadra£renya, was an aggressive monarch who conquered the Paurava realm. He also extended his sway eastwards into the Ka£i territories, conquered the kingdom, occupied Benares and reigned there. There Benares king Haryaiva tried to recover it, but was killed by the Haihayas and his son Sudeva also was overpowered. Later, Benares is said to have come under the possession of Ksheraaka Rakshasa from whom it was subsequently recovered by Durdama of the Haihayas. The occupation by Hakshasas indicates the devastation of the country by war resulting in its occupation by the rude tribes from the forest.

The Anavas also grew in power. King Mahamanas, seventh in descent from Anu, extended the sway of the Anavas towards the

east and the Punjab; and the bifurcation of the Ahavas under his two sons U&lnara and Titikshu shows the extent of his conquests.

Usinara established a kingdom on the eastern border of the Punjab, which was divided among his five sons. Sibi succeeded to the throne at Multan; from Njriga, who established a separate kingdom in the present Montgomery district and the northern parts of Bikaner, sprang the Yaudheyas; Nava was the originator of the kings of Navar&shtra; rulers of the city of Kjrimila came from Kj*imi; and Suvrata started the Ambash^has, probably in the eastern Pun* jab. Sibi Auilnara, however, was the most prominent among USinara’s sons, and the Sibis sprang from him. Sibi conquered practically the . whole of the Punjab except the north-west corner, and established through his sons four kingdoms of (i) the

Vrishadarbhas, also known as 6ibis, in the home territories of Multan, (ii) the Sauviras in Sind, (iii) the Kekayas in the modern districts of Gujarat and Shahpur between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and (iv) the Madrakas, with their capital at Sakala (modem Sialkot), in the Lahore division of the Punjab and the Jammu province in Kashmir.

Titikshu moved eastward and crossing Videha and Vaiiali came down to the east and founded a new kingdom in east Bihar where ruled the Saudyumnas. This new kingdom was known as the "Kingdom in the East," which later developed into the five kingdoms of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra, and Suhma, divided among Bali's five sons.

Lastly we come to the Druhyus. As the result of the success^ ful campaigns of Sa£abindu, YuvanaSva, Mandhatri, and Sibi, the Druhyus were pushed back from Raj putana and were cornered into the north-western portion of the Punjab. Miandhatri killed their king Angara, and the Druhyu settlements in the Punjab came to be known as Gancjhara after the name of one of Angara's successors. After a time, being over-populated, the Druhyus crossed the borders of India and founded.many principalities in the Mlechchha territories in the north, and probably carried the Aryan culture beyond the frontiers of India.

7. THE PAEA6URAMA PERIOD (c. 2550-2350 B.C.)

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The whole of the age which has been designated the ParaSurama period comprising about twelve generations (till the rise of king Sagara of Ayodhya of the Solar dynasty) was dominated by the Haihayas and the Bhpigus in turn. There is practically nothing worth recording in the Paurava line during this period which shows a great break till the time of Dushyanta who came after Sagara.

1. The Bhrigus

The Bhrigu-vam£a or the Bhargavas, the family to which Parasurama belonged, dwelt in Anarta (Gujarat). After the Saryatas perished and Western India was dominated by the Haihayas, the Bhrigus became associated with the Haihayas. King Kritavirya of the Haihayas is said to have bestowed great wealth on the Bhargavas who were his priests. On refusal of the Bhargavas to return it, Kritavlrya’s descendants ill-treated them and used violence against them so that they fled into Kanyakubja in the MadhyadeSa for safety. Chief among the Bhrigus was Richika, son of tirva, a famous Rishi skilled in archery, who cherished great wrath towards the Haihayas. In order to wreak vengeance on the wicked Haihayas, the Bhargavas engaged themselves in collecting arms and sought marital alliances with the Kshatriya ruling families. Richika sought in marriage Satyavati, the daughter of king Gadhi of Kanyakubja. The king did not approve of the match and evaded it by demanding an almost impossible price in the form of a thousand black-eared horses. Richika, however, fulfilled the condition and married Satyavati. Jamadagni, the celebrated Bhrigu sage, was born of this marriage. He was thus Visvamitra’s sister's son.

Jamadagni became skilled in archery and arms and made an alliance v/ith the ruling family of Ayodhya by marrying Renuka, daughter of Renu, a. junior king in the line. Jamadagni was not a militant Rishi but followed peaceful avocations.

When the Haihaya king Kartavlrya came to his hermitage with his army, Jamadagni treated him with right royal hospitality through the help of his celebrated divine Kamadhenu (wish-giving cow)". On Jamadagni’s refusal to part with the cow, Kartavlrya forcibly seized her; but the Yavanas, produced from her body, defeated Kartavlrya. Subsequently, Kartavlrya destroyed the hermitage and carried away the sacred cow.

Four or five sons were born to Jamadagni, of whom Rama (or Parasurama), though the youngest, was the greatest among the Bhrigus. The Puranas represent Parasurama as an incarnation of Vishnu. He is said to have been born during the period of interval beween the Tret& and Dvtipara Yugas. The Mahdbhdrata. however, refers to him as an incarnation only in two late passages. 19 Parasurama is represented as a very great warrior, skilled in all weapons, especially in archery. The Parasu (battle axe) was his special weapon, on account of which he came to be called ParaSurama in distinction from Rama D^sarathi. The slaughter of the Kshatriyas twenty-one times, and ridding the earth of the Kshatriyas are said to be the principal feats of Parasurama.

The Bhrigu-Haihaya conflict started after Kartavlrya (Arjuna or Sahasrarjuna) raided Jamadagni’s hermitage in the absence of Rama, molested the old sage and forcibly took away the sacred cow (as already stated). In revenge, Rama lopped off Arjuna’s arms and slaughtered him like an ordinary animal. Thereupon, on the advice of Jamadagni, Rama set out on a pilgrimage for the expiation of the sin of killing Arjuna. During the absence of Parasurama, Arjuna's sons slew Jamadagni when he was in deep meditation. This enraged Rama to the extreme, and he declared a vendetta not only against the Haihayas, but against the Kshatriyas in general, and is said to have rid the earth of the Kshatriyas twenty-one times. At regular intervals after the birth of fresh Kshatriyas, Rama restarted his campaign and slew all of them. Rama filled a number of lakes at Kurukshetra with the blood of the Kshatriyas. As the result of these, raids, some Kshatriyas fled to the mountains or. hid themselves among the women-folk. Only Rikshavan of the Pauravas, Sarvakarma of Ayodhya, Brihadratha of Magadha, Chitraratha of Anga, and Vatsa of Kasi are said to have escaped from Rama's slaughter. 20 All this, indeed, is an exaggeration. It appears that on the strength of the matrimonial alliances of the Bhargavas with the ruling families of Kanyakubja and Ayodhya, and also of the growing discontent due to the devastating raids and consequent unpopularity of the Haihayas, Rama organized a confederacy of various kingdoms including Vaisall, Videha, Kasi, Kanyakubja and Ayodhya which fought the Haihayas on various battlefields. These are probably referred to by the annihilation of the Kshatriyas twenty-one times. As the result of his all-round attack from all fronts, the Haihayas, for a time at least, must have suffered a serious setback.

Rama is said to have retired to the forest for penance in order to atone for his sins after each slaughter. Finally, to rid himself of the sin, he donated the whole earth to Kasyapa. To free the earth from any possible future attacks from Rama, Kasyapa banished him from the earth which now belonged to him. Rama then wrested from the sea the west coast and colonized it. The whole of the west coast from Bhrigukachchha (Broach) down to Cape Comorin retains association with Parasurama.

According to the genealogical tables, Parasurama is several generations prior to the period of Rama (son of Dasaratha) and the Pandavas; yet he has been brought into connection with these heroes in the Ramaymia and the Mahabhdrata. Thus he is said to have appeared before Rama after his marriage with Sita, advised Balarama and Krishna with regard to a suitable site for safety against the raids of Jarasandha, to have been the preceptor of Bhishma, Drona, and Karna, to have fought against Bhishma, to have advised Duryodhana not to fight the Panovas, etc. These are clearly in stances of anachronism as the result of the anxiety of the writers of the Epics to establish contact of their heroes with the great Bhargava. In order to get over these obvious anachronisms a theory was promulgated, at a later date, that Parasurama was chiraii* jiva (immortal).

2. The Haihayas

After the death of Purukutsa, the kingdom of Ayodhya lost its paramountcy in Upper India and the Haihaya branch of the Yadavas gradually began to extend its sway from the west, penetrating to the east and north, as noted above (pp. 281 ff:). Reference has already been made to Kptavlrya and his son Arjuna, a great monarch, samrtit, and chakravcirtin who, during his long reign, extended the Haihaya sway far and wide and raised the Haihaya power to great eminence. Arjuna is known by his patronymic Kartavlrya and also as Sahasrarjuna (thousand-armed). The thousand arms ascribed to Arjuna were possibly his fleet of a thousand ships. Arjuna propitiated Dattatreya, a sage regarded as an incarnation of Narayajpa, and started his career of conquest which at once carried the Haihaya empire to great prominence and supremacy. He fought the Ksjrkotaka Nagas who occupied Anupa (territories near the mouth of the Narmada), captured Mahishmati and made it his capital. Kartavlrya also defected Havana who invaded his territories, brought him captive and subsequently released him. He appears to have led his victorious campaigns from the mouth of the Narmada to as far north as the Himalayas, since in one of his raids he is said to have come across the hermitage of Apava Vasishtha in the Himalayas and burnt it, as a consequence of which he was cursed. Arjuna is said to have conquered the whole earth, and performed a number of sacrifices.

Arj una’s conflict with Jamadagni and Rama, to which we have already referred, occurred towards, the end of his long and prosperous reign.

Barring his relations with Apava Vasishtha and Jamadagni, which show Arjuna in an unfavourable light as inimical to the Brahmanas, he is always the subject of high praise and encomium in epic works. He is described as an ideal monarch unparalleled in penance, charities, learning, and virtues, who conquered the whole world and ruled it with perfect justice. It is only his connection with the Bhrigus that has been responsible for painting the ideal monarch in the blackest colours. His victories show that he carried the banner of Aryan conquest far and wide, and that Mahishmati on the Narmada was an outpost of the Aryan colonies of those days.

Mr. Karandikar, after a thorough study of the Puranas, has suggested quite a different interpretation of the Sahasrarjuna episode. 21 According to him, the Bhrigus were great navigators and expert mariners who controlled the maritime trade between India and the western world, and occupied the coastal line on the Arabian Sea. They amassed a great fortune through their trade with foreign countries. The reason of the Bhrigu-Haihaya conflict was that Arjuna did not wish that the Bhrigus, who were agents of the foreigners, should thrive at the cost of the people. He wanted to keep the trade and commerce of the Indian people under the

control of ah Aryan state, for the Bhjrigus were more self-seekers than patriots. Arjuna sought the help of the Atris, who were equally expert ship-builders, and who built for him a fleet of a thousand ships or a ship with a thousand oars (making Arjuna Saharsabahu, i.e. thousand-armed). Karkojaka Naga, Havana and others who were defeated by Arjuna'were seeking some opportunity to wreak vengeance on him. Arj una's effort at getting control of the sea-trade was an eyesore to the Bhyigus, and further fuel was added by Arj una's demanding back the wealth he had bestowed on the Bhrigus. Parasurama led the opposition with the aid of the parties defeated by Arjuna, killed him, and destroyed the Haihaya power. The. annihilation of the Kshatriyas twenty-one times is interpreted as the destruction of the population in the Narmada region a number of times in order to wipe out the memory of the popular king Arjuna. On the devastated Haihaya realm Parasurama founded new cities, and colonized some tracts in the west coast, founding Surparaka which became the centre of trade. The result of Parasurama's activities was to divert the trade from the hands of the Aryans in the north to the Dravidians in the south.

Whatever we might think of the above interpretation there is no doubt that as the result of the Bhrigu-Haihaya conflict the Haihayas received a great setback. But they soon recovered from their reverses, and again extended their power in Northern India. Arjuna had many sons of whom the chief was Jayadhvaja who reigned in Avanti. Siirasena, another son, appears to have been associated with Mathura, while Sura, the third son, probably was connected with Surashtra. Jayadhvaja's son Talajangha had many sons, of whom the chief was Vitihotra. The Puranas state that the Haihayas formed five groups, viz. Vitihotras, Saryatas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Kundikeras all of whom were collectively called Talajanghas. 22 Of these, Vitihotra and Tuntfikera or Kimdikera were in the Vindhyan range; the Saryatas were in Western India, Bhojas near the Aravalli hills, and Avantis in Malwa. They carried their raids not only against the kingdoms of the Madhyade£a but even against Kanyakubja, Kosala, and Kaii. The Kanyakubja kingdom appears to have succumbed to these raids. The Haihayas killed Haryasva of Ka£i in a battle in the Ganges-Jumna Doab, but met with reverses later on, and the Vitihotra prince on the Benares throne had to seek refuge with a Bhargava sage. After this, the Haihaya dynasty practically came to an end, and the king became a Brahmana.

The kingdom of Ayodhya, considerably weakened after Mandhatfi and Purukutsa, was attacked by the Haihayas with the cooperation of the hardy and semi-barbarous tribes (called &akas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Paradas, and Pahlavas) from the north-west. This co-operation indicates that the intervening kingdoms between Ayodhya and the frontier countries were overthrown by the Haihayas. Bahu (or Asita according to the Ramayana), king of Ayodhya, had to leave the throne and seek refuge in the forest where he died near the hermitage of Aurva Bhargava. His queen gave birth to a son in the forest who was named Cr^ara and was educated by Aurva Bhargava. As we shall presently relate, Sagara was the greatest king of the Solar dynasty during this period and recovered his lost kingdom with the help of the Bhargavas. Vai£ali and Vidiia also were attacked by the Haihayas and Vidiia probably was under Haihaya occupation. Tradition, however, suggests that the Haihaya conquests towards the east were checked by the Vaiiala kings.

The Haihayas thus were engaged in making continual raids and over-throwing kingdoms; they, however, did not found any kingdoms in the countries overrun by them which lay devastated and fell an easy prey to the attacks by wild tribes.

3. Other Lunar Dynasties

The Yadavas: Contemporaneous with king Sagara of Ayodhya was Vidarbha of the Yadavas, who sought peace with the Ayodhya king, advancing south-westward, by offering his daughter Kegin! in marriage to the latter. King Vidarbha then retired towards the Deccan, into the country named after him, leaving the whole of northern India to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sagara. After Sagara’s death, the Yadavas of Vidarbha extended their authority northward over the Haihaya country. The three sons of Vidarbha founded three sub-lines. Kratha or Bhlma, the eldest, continued the main line. The second son Kaigika became king of Chedi and founded the Chedi line.[23] The location of the territories of the youngest son Lomapada has not been given.

The Anavas: The Anava kingdom in the east founded by Titikshu appears to have been considerably expanded by the time of king Bali of the Anavas, a contemporary of Sagara, and was subsequently divided among his five sons, Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Piu>$ra, and Suhma, who were begotten by the sage Dirghatamas Mamateya on queen Sudeshna at Bali's request. The capital of Ahga was Malini, four miles west of Bhagalpur. Separated from Magadha by the river Champa, Anga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. Vanga was further east corresponding to the modern Dacca and Chittagong Divisions. Pin^lra was Northern Bengal. Suhma comprised the Burdwan Division, and Kalinga, the sea-coast of Orissa including the Northern Circars.

Kdnyakuhja: A few generations after Jahnu, came Kusika the originator of the Kusikas. Kusika's son from PaurukutsI, Purukutsa's descendant in about the sixth degree, was Gadhi. Gadhi is

described as an incarnation of Indra, which probably means that he had an alternative title such as Indra or one of his synonyms. Gadhi's daughter Satyavati, as already stated, was given in marriage to the Bhyigu sage Ijtichika Aurva. Through ^ichika's favour, Gadhi had a son Visvaratha or Visvamitra who is a prominent figure in ancient legends. Convinced of the superiority of the spiritual power of Brahmanism by being worsted in his attempts to deprive Vasishtha of his sacred cow, he resolved on attaining Brahmanism, and set out for austerities after renouncing his kingdom. Eventually, he succeeded in winning recognition as a Brahmana or Brahmarshi even from Vasishtha. Then, Visvamitra is said to have championed the cause of Satyavrata Trisanku in opposition to Vasishtha, and raised Trisanku to divine celebrity. Further, Visvamitra is said to have harassed Hariichandra, Trisanku's son, in order to test Vasishtha's praise of him as unrivalled in virtues. Visvamitra, again, is said to have slain Sakti and other Vasishthas through Saudasas, i.e. descendants of Sudas. Then Visvamitra is spoken of as having adopted Sunahsepa as a son whom he saved from being offered as a substitute victim for Harischandra's son Bohita. Visvamitra further appears in connection with Rama of Ayodhya, and also as father of Sakuntala who was married to Paurava Dushyanta and gave birth to the celebrated emperor Bharata. The Puranas further show that the rivalry between Visvamitra and Vasishtha is not only endless but hereditary.

It appears that the Puranas combine the various accounts of different Visvamitras and roll them into one. For instance, Visvamitra, the father of Sakuntala, Visvamitra, the contemporary of Rama, and Visvamitra, the contemporary of Harischandra, Jamadagni, Sunahsepa and of Sudas, Kavasa Ailusha and the Dasarajna were quite distinct personalities- The heroes of different episodes, relating to widely distant ages, have been unified into a single personality in the

Puranas, and this has caused a good deal of chronological confusion and genealogical chaos.

Visvamitra, the Kanyakubja king, was related to Jamadagni and Parasurama. It is therefore likely that the Kanyakubja kingdom helped the confederacy raised by Parasurama against the Haihayas. Visvamitra ruled for some time, and as the result of his discomfiture at the hands of Vasishtha, relinquished his kingdom and left for austerities in a forest leaving his family in a hermitage near Ayodhya. Visvamitra saved Sunahsepa, son of Ajlgarta, who was being sacrificed as a substitute for Rohita. son of Hariichandra. and adopted him, after renaming him Devarata. Visvamitra's sons did not accept Devarata's headship, and so Visvamitra cursed them to become Mlechchhas such as Andhras, Puntfras, and gabaras. Ashtaka probably succeeded Visvamitra on the Kanyakubja throne.

Kati: Pratardana (the son of Divodasa) or his son Vatsa ex*

tended his sway further, and annexed the country around Kausambi which came to be named the Vatsa country. Vatsa's son Alarka regained the capital Varanasi from the Bakshasas who had occupied the city since the days of Bhadrairepya and re-established it as the Kaii capital. Alarka had a long and prosperous reign.

4. The Solar Dynasty

Ayodhyd: After the rise of the realm to great heights in the reigns of Mandhatfi, Purukutsa, and Trasadasyu, the empire appears to have remained, if at all, merely in name, and we do not meet with any important king till we come to Trayyarupa, SatyavrataTrisahku, and Hariichandra. Satyavrata-Txisahku is the subject of numerous fantastic tales in the Purapas 24 Being expelled by his father at the instance of his family priest on account of some excesses, the prince is said to have led the life of a Chan^ala wandering in the woods on the banks of the Ganges for twelve years. Trayyanqia died in the 4 meanwhile, but Trisanku was not recalled. There was a great famine lasting ior nine years during the time of Triianku's exile. While in the forest, Trisanku supported the family of Visvamitra which was starving, when Visvamitra, after renouncing the kingdom, had gone to the forest to perform penance. Visvamitra learnt of the generosity of the prince after his return, and in gratitude, as also in order to defeat his antagonist Vasishtha, got TriSahku installed on the Ayodhya throne. Trisanku was succeeded by Hariichandra, the embodiment of truth. He was a samraf and is said to have performed the Hajasuya. The story of Hariichandra, whose truthfulness was put to very severe tests by Visvamitra, is well known. Harischandra's son Rohita is said to have built Rohitapura. 26 Rohita's younger son Champa built Champapuri near Bhagalpur in east Bihar. Sixth in descent from Harilchandra was Bahu. Sagara, so named because he was born with the poison which his step-mother administered to his mother, was bom posthumously to Bahu in the hermitage of the sage Aurva. Sagara was taught archery by the sage Aurva, who specially instructed him in the celebrated Agneyastra. The foreign tribes, who came in the train of the Haihayas (ante, p, 289 if.) and settled down in Ayodhya, were called Kshatriyas. They respected Brahmanas, observed Brahmanic rites and rituals, and retained Vasishtha as their priest. They remained in possession of Ayodhya for over twenty years till Sagara attained maturity.

Sagara had to pass through MadhyadeSa and Central India to lead an expedition against the Haihayas. After destroying them Sagara led his conquering hordes against their hardy outlandish allies, the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, etc. He would have completely crushed them but for the intercession of his priest Vasishtha with whom they sought refuge. Sagara then let them off after imposing on them certain signs of symbolical .defeat and disgrace; the Sakas were made to shave only half their heads, Kambojas to have their heads completely shaved, Paradas were forbidden to shave or trim the hair of their heads, and Pahlavas to shave their beards, thus rendering them unlit for Vedic ceremonials. 26 The story seeks to interpret, in the manner of the Purapas, the peculiar customs of these peoples who were becoming Kshatriyas under the priestly guidance of the Vasishfhas. Sagara’s name is connected with the ocean (ydgara) in a fantastic legend which states that the ocean became Sagara’s son. 27

Sagara subjected all contemporary powers and was the emperor of the whole of the north. The only important kingdoms to survive Sagara’s onslaughts appear to be Videha, Vai£all and Anava in the east, the Vidarbhas and the Yadava branch on the river Chaibbal in the south, Kaii in the Madhyadesa and Turvasus in the hilly tracts of Rewah. Sagara’s eldest son Asamanjas, being cruel to the citizens, was discarded, and the latter’s son Azhiumant succeeded him.

Vaisdlt: Karandhama, king of Vaiiall, is said to have been besieged by a confederacy of kings whom at last he defeated. He also rescued his son Avikshit, who was captured by the king of VidiSa (probably a Haihaya chieftain) and his allies after a great conflict, and dealt them a severe blow. Marutta, one of the sixteen universal monarchs of antiquity, was born to Avikshit from Yisala, daughter of the Vidiga king. Marutta was a ceaseless and tireless performer of sacrifices. He had thousands of vessels, sacrificial utensils, etc., made of gold.

Despite his great valour, Marutta had immense troubles from the Nagas. He was determined to exterminate them completely by setting fire to their habitations, though they took refuge with his father; but, when the Nagas restored to life the Rishis killed by them by means of herbs and by sucking out the poison, he let them off. According to Pargiter, these enemies were really the Haihayas, and Marutta deserves credit for ending the Haihaya aggressions permanently in the east. 26

5 . Brdhmana Families

As noted above, the Bhrigus or Bhargavas practically dominated the whole epoch, and Ricbika, Jamadagni, Parasurama, and Agni Aurva were the prominent Bhargavas.

Ayasya is the first Angiras mentioned in traditional history, and he officiated as a priest at the sacrificial ceremony of offering Sunah sepa as a victim in the reign of Harischandra of Ayodhya. The Angirasas are found in connection with the Vaisala kings as their hereditary priests. Usija Angiras was the priest of Karandhama and Avikshit, and two of his sons, Bjrihaspati and Samvarta officiated for Marutta Avlkshita. Uchathya, the eldest son of U£ija, had by his wife Mamata a son named DIrghatamas, who was bom blind.

Dirghatamas was expelled for gross misconduct and set adrift in the Ganges, where after floating some distance downstream, he was rescued by king Bali of the Eastern Anavas. At Bali’s desire, he begot five sons on Bali’s queen, as mentioned above (p. 290). Dirghatafnas is later said to have regained his sight. Towards the end of his life, Dirghatamas consecrated king Bharata of the Pauravas. Brihaspati had a son Bharadvaja, who moved to Kaii and became priest to king Divodasa. His son Vitatha was adopted by Bharata and he continued the Paurava line.

Datta Atreya, who was propitiated by Haihaya Arjuna, was the only prominent figure among the Atris.

Devaraj Vasishtha was a priest of the Ayodhya kings during the reigns of Trayyaruna and Satyavrata. His descendant officiated for the foreign Sakas, Yavanas, etc. and later became priest to Sagara. Another Vasishtha was Apava, in the Himalayas, whose hermitage was burnt by Haihaya Arjuna.

Kasyapa, who officiated as priest at the sacrifice of Rama Jamadagnya and to whom the latter donated the whole earth, is the earliest Kasyapa mentioned in traditional history. He is later said to have expelled Rama from the earth as noted above (p. 287).

The only historical figure among the Agastyas is the Agastya who married Lopamudra and was a contemporary of Alarka, grandson of Pratardana of Kasi.

With the wars of Para£urama and Sagara described above, the Kjitayuga, according to the Puranas, came to an end. As the result of these wars, the old kingdoms of the Pauravas, Kanyakubjas. Druhyus, and Anavas in the Punjab gradually disappear. The Yadavas recede into the Deccan, while the Haihayas are completely routed. The eastern kingdom of Vaisall, Videha, Ayodhya, Kasi and the Anavas in Bengal continue to exist during the next period.

8. THE RAMACHANDRA PERIOD (c. 2350-1950 B.C.)

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1. The Solar Dynasty

There was some setback to Ayodhya after Sagara's death. Sagara was succeeded by his grandson Amsumant. The dynasty again rose to prominence under Amsumant ? s sc,ond successor Bhagiratha, and the latter's third successor Ambarisha Nabhagi. Bhaglratha is included in the list of sixteen famous kings and is celebrated as a chakravartin and a samrtit, as also one who gained fame by his gifts of cattle. He was a devotee of 6iva. He is reputed to have brought down the sacred river Ganges (which is known as Bhaglrathl after him) 29 from the heavens, through the power of his penance, in order to liberate his ancestors cursed by Kapila. The fable perhaps indicates that Bhaglratha was the originator of the worship of the Ganges, or more plausibly, it may have some reference to the canals dug by him from the Himalayas. Ambarisha was a powerful monarch and in his reign Ayodnya rose into prominence. The legends about his connection with the Bhagavata cult and the Dvadasl vow are later creations. His third successor was Rituparjpa who figures in the well-known Nala episode. 30 Ritupanpa's son Sudasa has been identified with the Vedic Sudas of the Ddsarajna by some scholars; but beyond mere similarity of names, there is nothing in support of this identification. Around Sudasa's son Mitrasaha has grown a cluster of wild and fantastic legends, invented perhaps to explain his second name Kalmashapada. The king is said to have served human flesh through mistake to his preceptor Vasishtha who doomed the king to become a Rakshasa; but on realizing that the king was not at fault, the sage limited the duration of his curse to only twelve years. The king, in his turn, prepared to curse his guru, but at the intercession of his queen, threw the mantra-charmed water over his own feet, because throwing it on the ground would have rendered the earth barren for years. But the charmed water turned his feet into stone, which led to his being called Kalmashapada. 31 After Kalmashapada resumed his natural state, he had, on account of a curse, to raise issue from his wife by a Niyoga or levirate union with Vasishtha. Asmaka, the son of the union, founded the city Paudanya. 32 Asmaka had a son named Mulaka, who later came to be called Narikavacha because it is said he sought protection among the women-folk through fear of Parasurama. But Parasurama flourished generations before Asmaka, and the story has no chronological value. Probably it refers to the disturbed state of the kingdom after the days of Kalmashapada when his successors were weaklings, and during this period, when the Bharatas and Paiichalas were at the height of their power, the Ayodhya kings appear to have suffered reverses as the result of which Mulaka was to be brought up in secret. It appears that there-was a bifurcation in the Ayodhya line for some six or seven generations after Kalmashapada's time. The two lines, however, were united in a single monarchy under Khatvahga, also known as Dilipa II. He was a great samrat and a chakravartin, and is said to have helped the gods in their fight against the Asuras. He was a great devotee - of Vishnu, and had a son named Raghu. The Ikshvaku dynasty came to be called Raghuvamsa on account of this celebrated Raghu. He conquered the whole earth and performed the Visvajit sacrifice. Being an ideal monarch, Raghu has been called the first king of Ayodhya. Raghu was succeeded by his son Aja, the consort of the Vidarbha princess Indumatl, to whom was bom Da£aratha. Da£aratha was a valiant and all-conquering monarch who led his victorious campaigns throughout the length and breadth of North India, and spread the Aryan culture far and wide. The Yadava contemporary of Dasaratha was Madhu who had consolidated the Yadava

kingdom, and the contemporary Pauravas heid at least four states in the Ganges-Jumna Doab, with the north Panchala branch specially prominent. The Kosala kingdom at the time of Dasaratha was bounded on the east by Videha, Vaisali and Ahga; the Vatsa country which formed part of Ka&i lay to its south; it was bounded on the west by the Paurava principalities of north and south Panchala, the main Hastinapura realm, and one more Paurava kingdom between north Panchala and Kosala. The region south from the Jumna up to Gujarat and beyond the Vindhya and the Satpura mountains was under Yadava domination with the emperor Madhu at the helm.

Besides his three principal queens, viz. Kausalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyi, Dasaratha had a number of other wives. Dasaratha had married Kaikeyi on the stipulation that the son born of her was to succeed him. He had a daughter Santa whom he gave in adoption, to the Ahga king Lomapada. Being without an heir for a long time, Dasaratha performed Putrakameshfi (rite for securing male issue) on the advice of Vasishtha under the guidance of Itfshy^rmga, w ho was married to Santa. As a result, four sons were born to Dasaratha, viz. Rama to Kausalya, Bharata to Kaikeyi and Lakshmana and Satrughna to Sumitra. Rama and Lakshmana obtained instruction in the science of archery from Visvamitra and they helped him in the performance of a sacrifice by vanquishing the horde of Rakshasas that disturbed him. Then Visvamitra took the princes to Mithila, where Rama fulfilled the conditions and was married to Sita. It is later on when Dasaratha proposed to instal Rama as crown prince that the main story of Rama, as recorded in the Rdmayana , may be said to begin. 33

The story of Rama is particularly important as it brings South India definitely into view for the first time. Various have been the theories and interpretations about the Rdmayana , and the text of the epic has been subjected to interpolations and additions in every stage of its career. But despite its accretions, mythological and fabulous legends, etc., the text can be made to yield historical facts. When preparations were made to instal Rama, the eldest son, as heir apparent, palace intrigues set in, and his step-mother Kaikeyi secured through Dasaratha the banishment of Rama along with Sita and Lakshmana to the Dacujlaka forest for fourteen years. Dairfaka in these days was a great impenetrable forest save for a few patches here and there occupied by Aryan adventurers. Rama first went to Prayaga and from there south-west to the region of Bhopal, whence he proceeded south across the Narmada and then probably to the Chhattisgarh district, where he dwelt for ten years. Thereafter he went south to the middle of the Godavari in the province called Janasthana, which was a colony of the Rakshasas, who had intercourse with their kingdom in Ceylon. The Rakshasas ill-treated the Munis (sages) and Rama espoused the lat

ters ? cause and killed a number of Rakshasas. In revenge Havana, the Rakshasa king, carried away Sita to Ceylon* Rama proceeded south in quest of Sita, came to lake Pampa and Rishyamuka Parvata, where he made friends with Sugriva, the king of the Vanaras, who was expelled by his brother Valin. Rama killed Valin and reinstated Sugriva on the throne. With the aid of the Vanara army and chiefs, Rama invaded Ceylon, defeated the Rakshasas, killed Ravana and recovered Sita, He placed Bibhishai?a, younger brother of Havana, on the throne in Ceylon and returned to Ayodhya.

Bharata acted as regent during Rama's exile. Rama was crowned after his return to Ayodhya, and reigned prosperously for many years.

The story of Rama, divested of its miraculous, fabulous, incredible and mythological elements, clearly indicates that he was a great king who spread Aryan ideas and institutions into regions far and wide. "Rama's rule" is still proverbial for the Golden Age.

Rama's younger brothers ruled over different provinces. Lakshmaija had two sons, Ahgada and Chandraketu, and they were assigned two countries in Karapatha-desa near the Himalayas, with their respective capitals at Arigadiya and Chandrachakra. Bharata apparently got the Kekaya kingdom which was the province of his mother, and also Sindhu, i.e. Upper Sind. His two sons, Taksha and Pushkara, conquered Gandhara from the Gandharvas, and founded respectively Takshasila and Pushkaravati. 34 Aatrughna fought the Satvata-Yadavas on the west of the Jumna and killed Madhava Lavana, son of Madhu. He established his capital at Madhupuri or Madhura re-naming it as Mathura, and his son Subahu reigned there. Rarna had two sons, Kusa and Lava, born of Sita in the hermitage of Valmlki after Rama had deserted her in deference to public opinion. Kuia succeeded Rama in the Ayodhya kingdom, while Lava got the northern portion of Kosala with SravastI as capital.

These collateral kingdoms, however, appear to have come to an end soon. The two Gandhara states are not mentioned any further, - and probably were amalgamated by the neighbouring Druhyus. Satrughna's sons were expelled from Mathura by the Yadava king Bhlma Satvata, and Mathura became a Yadava principality. No further account is given of the territories of Lakshmana's sons nor of Lava's kingdom. Ayodhya sinks into insignificance hereafter in traditional history, the chief roles being played only by the Pauravas and the Yadavas.

Videha: Slradhvdja, the father of Sita, was one of the most celebrated of the Janakas. King Sudhanvan of Sankishya demanded the hand of Sita in marriage from Slradhvaja, but the latter killed Sudhanvan in a fierce battle and installed his own brother Kusadhvaja on the Sankishya throne. Siradhvaja's daughters, Sita tmd UrmiLa were married respectively to Rama and Dakshmana, sons of Dasaratha, and Kusadhvaja’s daughters Man-davi and 6rutakirti, respectively to Bharata and Satrughna.

Vaisali ; Marutta’s son Narishyanta is said to have performed a grand sacrifice, and he was a great donor. His son Dama was a great warrior who won a Dasarna princess after defeating rival kings in a Svayamvara. A few generations after Dama came Tripabindu, who is said to have ruled during the third quarter of the Treta Age. Tfinabindu married Alambusha and had a son Visala and a daughter Ilavila. Ilavila was given in marriage to Pulastya, and their son was Visravas Ailavila. Visala is credited with the foundation of the capital Visala, and so this kingdom came to be called Vaisali (a name hitherto used in anticipation). Pramati or Sumati, the last name in the list, was a contemporary of Dasaratha.

2. The Lunar Dynasty

Pauravas: Dushyanta, the Paurava hero, appears to have flourished about a couple of generations subsequent to king Sagara of Ayodhya. Dushyanta was adopted as heir by the Turvasu king Marutta who had no son, so that the Turvasu line merged into the Pauravas. The central power of the Ikshvakus became weak after Sagara’s death, and Dushyanta took that opportunity of recovering his ancestral kingdom. Dushyanta also revived the dynasty and hence is styled its Vamsakara. He married Visvamitra’s daughter Sakuntala who was brought up in the hermitage of one Kanva of the Kasyapa family, and his son was the celebrated prince Bharata.

Bharata, also known as Damana or Sarvaaamana, performed a number of sacrifices on the Ganges and the Jumna with the aid of Dirghatamas Mamateya. He also sacrificed on the Sarasvatl. He was a great conqueror and samrat with a wide sway. He extended his dominions northward and his territories stretched from the Sarasvati to the Ganges. The Paurava dynasty came to be called Bharatas after the time of Bharata. It was probably during Bharata’s regime that the headquarters of the state were shifted from Pratishthana to the city, called later Hastinapura, after his successor Hastin. According to some accounts, Bharata gave his name to our country which was henceforth called Bharatavarsha. Bharata was disappointed in his sons and killed them. He propitiated the Maruts in order to obtain an heir and they gave him Brihaspati’s son Bharadvaja as an adopted son. Bharadvaja’s son Vitatha, however, succeeded Bharata. Hastin, the fifth successor from Bharata, had two sons Ajamldha and DvimI<Jha under whom the Paurava realm extended and fresh kingdoms were

founded. Ajamldha, the elder, continued the main line at Hastinapura and Dvimltfha founded the Dvimidha dynasty in the modem district of Bareilly. Ajamldha had three sons, viz. Riksha, Nila, and Brihadvasu. On Ajamltfha’s

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death, the main Paurava realm was divided among these sons, Kiksha succeeding his father at Hastinapura in the main line, which remained the Paurava line, and Nila and Brihadvasu founded what later came to be known respectively as the north Panchala and south Pahchala dynasties. 36

The country came to be known as Pahchala from the “five” sons of Bhyimyasva (the sixth successor from Ajamltfha) who were jocosely nicknamed “capable” (paUcha alam). The Panchalas, thus, were a branch of the Bharatas. The name suggests an amalgamation of five tribes, and there has been some speculation as to which particular tribes went to form the Pahchalas. The Pahchala kingdom was divided between the five sons of Bhrimyasva, each of them receiving a small principality. Mudgala, the eldest, founded an important branch. Vadhryasva, the grandson of Mudgala, extended the kingdom, and his son Divodasa further augmented it. Pargiter and other scholars identify this Divodasa and his descendant Somadatta-Sudasa with their Vedic namesakes, the latter of whom was the chief participant in the celebrated battle of ten kings. 36

Yadavas: Kratha-Bhlma continued the main Yadava line of Vidarbha, and Kaisika. his younger brother, was the progenitor of the Chedis. The most important king of Vidarbha was Bhlmaratha, father of the celebrated Damayanti, who was married to Nala of Nishadha. Madhu. who came about ten generations after Bhlmaratha, appears to have consolidated the small Yadava principalities into which the Yadavas were divided before him. Madhu's son Lavana was killed by Satrughna, who installed his own son Subahu in Mathura. But Subahu was ousted by Bhlma Satvata, son of Sat vat, who was Madhu’s fifth successor.

Eastern Anavas: We do not know any particulars about the kings in the Anga genealogy till we come to Lomapada, who is placed seventh in the genealogical list. Lomapada was a well-known archer and a great friend of king Dasaratha of Ayodhya, the father of Hama. Lomapada was childless and adopted Santa, the daughter of king Dasaratha. Santa was married to Rishyasringa who performed the Putrakameshti sacrifice for Lomapada as the result .of which Lomapada got a son named Chaturanga. Lomapada’s great-grandson Champa gave the name Champa to the Anga capital, which was till then known as Malini.

Kasi: King Alarka, who finally drove the Rakshasas from Benares and re-established his capital there, is said to have been born to Ptitudhvaja (another name of Vatsa) from Madalasa. Alarka was a spiritually-minded king and relinquished the kingdom in favour of his brother when the latter invaded it. Alarka was succeeded by his son Sannati.

3. Br&hmana Families

Among the Bhargavas during this period, appears Valmiki of the Ramdyana, who was called Prachetasa.

The father of Sakuntala was an important Visvamitra in this period, and another appears as the contemporary and rival of Vasishfha, the priest of Mitrasaha-Kalmashapada.

9. THE KRISHNA PERIOD (c. 1950-1400 B.C.)

With the coronation of Rama as king of Ayodhya after the destruction of the Rakshasas began the Dvapara age which ended with the Bharata War. During this period it is only the Panchalas, Pauxavas, and Yadavas that prominently figure in traditional history, while Ayodhya and others sink into the background.

1. Panch&las

The North Panchala power rose into prominence during the reign of Sudasa who made extensive conquests. He defeated the Paurava king Samvarana and conquered his kingdom. Sudasa was succeeded by his son Sahadeva and grandson Somaka, but the fortunes of the Panchalas waned after the time of Sudasa. Samvarana, the Paurava king, had recovered his territory probably from Somaka, and later, king Ugrayudha of the Dvimldhas killed the North Panchala king (probably the grand-father of Prishata) and annexed his realm. Prishata, the exiled North Panchala claimant, sought refuge in Kampilya of South Panchala. Ugrayudha then attacked the Pauravas after Santanu’s death, but was defeated and killed by Bhishma, who restored Prishata to his ancestral kingdom of Ahichchhatra.'Drupada succeeded his father Prishata in North Panchala. Droija, a fellow student, whom Drupada had insulted, defeated the latter with the aid of the young Pantfu and Kuru princes who were his disciples. Out of both the North and South Panchalas which he thus conquered, Dropa kept North Panchala for himself and gave South PanchSla to Drupada. The Somakas and Srinjayas, the remnants of the PahchSlas, appear to have joined Drupada as they accompanied him in the great Bharata War. Drupada performed penance in order to get a son who would avenge his defeat by Drona and kill him, and Dhrishtadyumna was bom as the result. The Panchalas played a very important part in the age of the Bharata War. The Paodavas married DraupadT, the Panchala princess, daughter of Drupada, and the Panchalas were the staunch supporters of the Pa$davas.

Brahmadatta seems to have been an important king among the South Panchalas. Tradition connects him with the revision and rearrangement of Vedic and exegelical texts. He fixed the Kramapatha of the Rigveda and of the Atharvaveda , and his minister Kandarlka of the Samareda. Brahmadatta‘s great-grandson Janamejaya Dur

buddhi, the last king, was a tyrant and was killed by Ugrayudha of the Dvimwjhas, and the dynasty came to an end.

2. Pauravas

As noted above, the Panchala king Sudasa overthrew Samvaraoa, the Paurava king. The latter fled to Sind and then recovered his kingdom through Vasishtha’s help. 37 Samvarana had by Tapatl a son named Kura, who was a renowned king raising the Paurava realm to great eminence. Kura is said to have sacrificed at Prayaga which indicates that he extended his sway up to that place after subduing the intervening South Panchala territory. Kurakshetra and Kurujahgala, the cultivated and uncultivated portions, respectively. of Kuru’s territory, have been regarded by Pargiter as being named after this Kuru. 38 Kura was celebrated for his righteous rule, and Kurakshetra was regarded as a religious place. He was so much esteemed that his successors were called Kurus or Kauravas after him, the term sometimes being applied also to the people of the realm.

There is some confusion in the Puranic texts with regard to Kura’s immediate successors. The collated text 39 suggests that Kuru had three sons, Parikshit, the eldest, Jahnu, and Sudhanvan. Parikshit had Janamejaya as his son, and the latter’s sons were Srutasena, Ugrasena, and Bhimasena; but nothing further is said about them. The accounts then pass on to Jahnu’s son Suratha and his descendants, who thus appear to have continued the main Paurava (or Kuru) line. The succession of Jahnu’s son Suratha on tho main line indicates that Janamejaya’s branch lost the sovereignty. A story is told how Janamejaya lost his throne. 40 Janamejaya injured the sage Gargya’s son and was curbed by Gargya. Indrota Daivapa Saunaka performed a ’horse-sacrifice for him, which absolved him of his sin, but he could not recover his sovereignty and hence his three sons do not appear in the accounts.

The line of Sudhanvan, the youngest son of Kura, bifurcated into the Chedi and the Magadha branches, founded by his fourth successor Vasu. The kingdom held by the main Paurava line appears to have declined, and there was no ruler in this line to revive the Kaurava fortunes till the time of Pratlpa, who was a famous ruler. Pratlpa had three sons, Devapi, Bahlika, and Santanu. The eldest Devapi was a leper, and hence could not become a ruler. The second Bahlika resigned in favour of Santanu, who thus succeeded Pratlpa. The epic gives various legends about Santanu. Santanu married Ganga, and Bhishma was born to them. Fhishma, whose original name was Devavrata, vowed to remain celibate all his life and renounced his right to the throne in favour of his younger brothers in order to enable his father to marry Satyavati. Bhishma is a celebrated figure in the galaxy of Indian heroes. He was a great warrior, an

able administrator and well versed in politics, science of war, etc. Ugrayudha of the Dviimtfhas attacked the Kauravas but, as noted above, Bhishma killed him and reinstated Prishata, the son of the late ruler of North Panchalas, whom Ugrayudha had driven out.

To £antanu were born Chitrangada and Vichitravirya from Satyavatl. Chitrangada was killed while fighting against the Gandharvas and Vichitravirya succeeded him on the throne. But Vichitravirya died young without leaving any issue, and the queen of Vichitravirya had through Niyoga (levirate) two sons from Vyasa, viz. Dhritarashtra and Paridu. Dhritarashtra, the elder, being bom blind, Pandu was crowned king of Hastinapura while the veteran Bhishma looked to the affairs of state. Dhritarashtra married Qandharl, and had by her a hundred sons, chief of whom were Duryodhana, Duhsasana, etc. Pandu married KuntI or Pritha, daughter of Kuntibhoja and an aunt of Krishna, and Madri, sister of Salya, the Vahlka king. After his marriage with Madri, Pan<Ju started on his campaign of conquest. He vanquished the Dasarnas, the kings of Mithila, Kasi, Suhma. and Pundra and extended the Kuru dominions. 41 While engaged in hunting, Pandu killed a sage in the form of deer and was cursed. In repentance, Pandu left his kingdom and ‘went along with his wives to the Himalayas for performing penance. There Kunti gave birth to Yudhishthira, Bhlma, and Arjuna who are, in reality, said to be respectively the sons of Yama, Vayu, and Indra; and Madri, to the twins Nakula and Sahadeva from the Aivins. Pandu died in the hermitage, and Madri, burnt herself along with him on his funeral pyre. Thereafter, Kunti returned to Hastinapura along with the five sons. Dhritarashtra assumed the reins of government in the meanwhile and appointed Yudhishthira, the first-bom

among the Kuru family, as the crown prince. Though the sons of both Dhritarashtra and Pandu were Kauravas, the term was restricted to the sons of Dhritarashtra, and Paajdu's sons were called Pandavas.

Chedi and Magadha: Vasu, the fourth successor of Sudhanvan, conquered the Chedi kingdom from the Yadavas and founded a dynasty there, whence he obtained the epithet Chaidyoparichara '(overcomer of Chaidyas). His capital Suktimatl lay on the river Suktimatl (the Ken). Vasu was a samrat and a chdkravartin and extended his sway over adjoining Magadha, and possibly over Matsya also. He had five sons, among whom he divided his territory, establishing them in separate kingdoms. Magadha came as the share cf his eldest son Brihadratha. Ku£a was given Kauaambi, Yadu had Karusha, and Pratyagraha got Chedi. Probably the last son got Matsya which adjoined Chedi in the north-west.

With Brihadratha establishing himself in Magadha, with Giri* vraja as his capital, and founding the famous Barhadratha dynasty, Magadha becomes a prominent factor in traditional history. Jarasandha in the Barhadratha line was a very powerful king, and under him Magadha rose to great prominence. He extended his territories as far away as Mathura, where Kamsa, the Yadava king, who was his sonrin-law, accepted his suzerainty. Kamsa tyrannized over his people and was killed by Krishna who placed Ugrasena on the Mathura throne. Enraged at this, Jarasandha led many a campaign against Kyishna and the Bhojas of Mathura, defeating them several times. Though the Yadavas could withstand Jarasandha for a time, they decided to migrate in a body south-westward as they were afraid of a complete rout at his hands. They then established themselves in the west coast with their head-quarters at Dvaraka under Krishna. Jarasandha was killed by Bhima, the Pandava, and his son Sahadeva became an ally of the-Pandavas.

3. Yadavas

The large Yadava kingdom ruled over by Bhima Satvata was divided among his four sons, Bhajamana, Devavridha, Andhaka, and Vrishni. Bhajamana's descendants appear to have attained no distinction. Devavridha was connected with the river Parnasa (Banas in West Malwa), and his descendants were the Bhojas of Marttikavata, apparently in Salva country around Mount Abu. Andhaka, who reigned at Mathura, had four sons, but only Kukura and Bhajamana are important. From Kukura were descended the Kukuras who formed the main dynasty down to Kamsa. Bhajamana's descendants were known as Andhakas, and they ruled somewhere near Mathura. An important king in the line was Kyitavarma, the son of Hridika, who fought on the side of Duryodhana and was one of the three on the Kauravas' side who survived the Bharata War. Thereafter, he went to Dvaraka and later was killed by Satyaki in the fateful fratricidal struggle that brought the downfall of the Yadavas. Vrishni had at least four sons, the eldest and the youngest having the same name Anamitra. From them arose numerous families. From Anamitra or Sumitra, the eldest, was born Nighna, and his sons Prasena and Satrajit succeeded him. Satrajit is a wellknown figure in. the Syamantaka legend connected with Krishjia, and was the father of Satyabhama, one of the eight principal queens of Krishna. Devamidhusha in the line married an Ikshvaku princess „ named AsmakI and a son named Sura was born to him. From Sura and his queen, a Bhoja princess named Marlsha, were born ten sons and five daughters including Vasudeva who was the eldest, and Pritha, Sruladeva, and Srutasrava. Pritha was adopted by the old king Kuntibhoja from whom she came to be known as Kuntl. She married the Paurava prince Pan<Ju. and was the mother of elder Pandavas. Srutadeva married a Karusha king named Vriddhasarma. £rutasrava was given to the Chedi king Damaghosha, and Siiupala was born to them. Vasudeva married the seven daughters 'Devakl. etc.) of king Devaka of the Kukuras, and Balarama and Krishna were the sons of Vasudeva. Vasudeva's daughter Subhadra married Arjuna, the P&pdava, to whom Abhimanyu was born from her. Abhimanyu's son was Parikshit who occupied the Hastinapura throne after the Bharata War. The descendants of Anamitra, the youngest son of Vjrishni by Madrf, are called Sainyas through his son Sini. Satyaki and Yuyudhana were born in this family.

Ahuka among the Kukuras had, by a Ka£i princess, Devaka, Ugrasena, and other sons. Devaka had four sons and seven daughters (Devaki, etc.). Krishna was born of Devakl. Ugrasena had nine sons and five daughters, Kamsa being the eldest. Kamsa usurped the throne after imprisoning his father. Vasudeva was his minister. Kamsa killed seven children of his cousin Devakl, relying on a prediction that her eighth issue was destined to be his slayer. Krishna and Balarama were brought up in Gokula and Vrindavana. Krishna killed Kamsa and reinstated Ugrasena on the Mathura kingdom as already stated.

Krishna being the central figure in this epoch, we shall briefly deal with his life and historicity. 42 Krishna was born in the prison cell at Mathura, but immediately after birth was removed to Gokula on the other side of the Jumna with the aid of the prison warders and others who were dissatisfied with the tyrant Kamsa. He was brought up in Gokula as the child of Nanda and Yasoda, whose daughter was substituted for Krishna and was later killed by Kamsa. As a child, Krishna appears to have been endowed with extraordinary gifts and passed through many adventures. His childhood was spent in Gokula and various incidents connected with his youth are recorded in the Puranas and other texts. The incidents are presented in the garb of myths and miracles, but there may be a real basis for some of them. A few years after Krishna's birth, the cowherds left Gokula on account of an onrush of ferocious wolves and settled in Vrindavana, where Krishna subjugated Kaliya, a Naga chief, and ordered him to leave the place with his tribe. In Vrindavana. in place of the usual Indrayajna, Krishna established the practice of worshipping nature. Krishna's extraordinary exploits, widespread popularity, and great fame reached the ears of Kamsa. and he planned to kill, through his wrestlers, the Vrishni princes Krishna and Balarama, after inviting them to Mathura to visit his court and attend a wrestling bout. Krishna and Balarama, however, killed the prize fighters. Kj-ish^a then slew the tyrant Kamsa himself, and re-instated Ugrasena on the Mathura throne. Thereafter, Krishna and Balarama left for Kaii for their education, but had to return soon on account of the invasion of Mathura by Jarasandha. the Magadha king, who was enraged at Kamsa's death, the latter being his son-in-law. Jarasandha's invasions were resisted for some time, but finally the Yadavas decided to leave Mathura in a body and settled in Dvaraka on the west coast.

Krishna appears for the first time in the Mahdbhdrata story at the Svayamvara of Draupadl. He was a friend and counsellor of the Pa$£avas, and his sister Subhadra was married to Arjuna. Kin" Jarasandha of Magadha was killed by Bhima under Krishna's directions. At the rajasuya performed by the Pan<Javas, Krishna was offered the first worship. This enraged the Chedi king Siiupala who heaped vile abuse upon Krishna and was killed by him. After the period of the Pai^avas' exile was over, Krishna acted as their emissary of peace to Duryodhana, but all his efforts at conciliation proved futile. In the great Bharata War, Krishna offered his personal help as a charioteer to Arjuna, while his army joined the Kauravas. Krishna helped the Paijtfavas a number of times during the great war. In fact it was mainly, if not solely, due to the important part played by Krishna in the great war that the Pai^avas emerged victorious.

Krishna returned to Dvaraka after Yudhishthira was installed on the Hastinapura throne. He revived the stillborn child of Abhimanyu’s widow Uttara, later known as Parikshit. The last meeting of Krishna and the Pantfavas was at the latter’s Asvamedha. Towards the close of Krishna's life there was a fratricidal struggle among the Yadavas in which practically the entire Yadava males were destroyed. Then Krishna sent a messenger to Hastinapura inviting Arjuna to come to Dvaraka and look after the women and children, and asking them to accompany Arjuna, Krishna retired to the forest. Arjuna came to Dvaraka, took with him the remnants of the Yadu family, and installed Vajra, the only surviving grandson of Krishna, on the throne of Mathura. Krishna, when in deep meditation, was hit by the arrow of a hunter who mistook him for a deer. Thus passed away one of the grandest figures in ancient India. There is now a general consensus of opinion in favour of the historicity of Krishna. Many also hold the view that Vasudeva, the Yadava hero, the cowherd boy Krishna in Gokula, the counsellor of the Pandavas, and the great philosopher of the Bhagavadgitd, or in short Krishna of the Puranas and Krishna of the Mahdbhdrata were one and the same person. 43 The deification of Vasudeva Krishna as an incarnation of Vishnu must be dated before the period of the Mahabhashya (i.e. second century B.C.).

4. Eastern Anavas

Under the suzerainty of Jarasandha, king of Magadha, A#ga came to be ruled for some time by Kan>a, who was a faithful ally of the Kauravas, and one of the principal actors in the Great Epic of India. Among the galaxy of epic heroes Kama occupies a very high position, and his real worth has not been fully appreciated as he is looked at with prejudice on account of his becoming a staunch supporter of Duryodhana. Ill-luck seems to have pursued Karima from his very birth, when he was deserted by his mother Kunti, as he was born, when she was still a maiden, from the Sun God. He was thus in reality the eldest of the Pantfavas, but being brought up by a Suta, he met with slights and insults at every stage in his life. His so-called low birth came in the way of his being ranked as fit to compete with Arjuna. Duryodhana at once crowned him the king of Aiiga, and thus began a cordial friendship which made Kar^a the strongest supporter of the Kauravas, whose every cause he championed with thorough wholeheartedness. Kama met with his end not because he was beaten, nor on account of his being inferior to Arjuna in any way, but he was the victim of his own greatness, and destiny was always against him. He is indeed a unique hero who should be admired for his magnanimity, unflinching devotion to the cause he championed, valour, skill, and truthfulness. Vrishasena was the eldest of the sons of Kama; but along witfy his five brothers, he was killed in the Bharata War.

5. The Solar Dynasty

After Rama’s time, Ayodhya plays no important part in traditional history. Kusa, Rama’s son, who became the ruler of south Kosala with his capital at Kusasthali, appears to have extended the Aryan culture in the Vindhya regions. The story of Kusa’s marriage with a Naga princess shows how he spread the Vedic culture among the aborigines. The next important figure after Kusa is Hiranyanabha Kausalya who is described as a disciple of Jaimini from whom he learnt the science of Yoga. The last Solar king of the pre-Bharata War period was Brihadbala who led the Ayodhya forces against the Panovas. Though Bhima conquered him before the Rajasuya. Brihadbala was subsequently subjugated by Kama and hence he fought at the head of the Kaurava forces. Brihadbala was killed by Abhimanyu in the Kurukshetra war.

10. THE BHARATA WAR (c. 1400 B.C.)

1. Kauravas and Panfavas 44

All the young Kuru princes received training in arms from Kripa and Drona, where Aivatthaman and Kama were their studymates. Bhima and Duryodhana specialized in club-fighting and wrestling, Nakula and Sahadeva in fencing, Yudhishthira in chariot fighting, and Aivatthaman in magic arts. Arjuna was not only the best archer but excelled all in every respect. But Kama was Arjuna’s equal in archery. On completion of their training, Drona demanded as his fees the defeat and capture of the Panchala king Drupada who had insulted him as his co-student. The Kuru princes marched against Drupada and vanquished him. Drona made peace with Drupada by leaving South Panchala to him and taking North

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Panchala for himself. Dhyitarashtra’s sons, through jealousy, set on foot various plots in order to destroy their cousins, but the Pan* davas escaped unhurt through all these traps. After their safe escape from the lac house at Varanavata, the Pandavas started on a journey in the guise of Brahmanas. They came to Kampilya, and on Arj una’s successfully accomplishing the feat imposed as a test in the Svayamvara of princess Draupadi of Panchala, daughter of king Drupada, she became the common wife of the five Pajndava brothers. Bearing of the successes of the Pandavas, Dhritarashpra called them back to Hastinapura and gave them the Khandava-Prastha desert. The Pandavas founded Indraprastha and made it their capital. Owing to breach of a self-imposed rule, Arjuna went on a voluntary pilgrimage for twelve years during which he contracted marital alliance with Chitrangada, princess of Manipur, and Subhadra, the Yadava princess, sister of Krishna. The Parujavas burnt down the whole of Khaa?dava jungle, saving the life of Maya Asura, who in gratitude erected for them a wonderful assembly hall. Then Yudhishthira decided to perform a Rajasuya sacrifice as the emblem of sovereignty. As a preliminary to the sacrifice, the other four Panda va brothers set out on conquering the whole earth. King Jarasandha of Magadha was their greatest opponent and challenger, and under the advice and guidance of Kpishija, Bhlma killed Jarasandha in a duel. Jarasandha's son Sahadeva was installed on the Magadha throne and he became an ally of the Paodavas. Bhima, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva led campaigns respectively towards the east, north, west, and south. The descriptions of these conquests throw much light upon the countries and peoples of the days of the MahabhArata, though at places there are myth and anachronism. Numerous kings including the Kauravas were invited to the Rajasuya, and Krishna was offered the first worship therein. The Chedi king Sisupala objected, and in the quarrel that followed, was killed by Krishna. It was after the Rajasuya when Duryodhana was inspecting the Sabha or Assembly Hall built by Maya that the seeds of the Bharata War were deeply sown. The rapid rise of the Pandavas was an eyesore to the Kauravas and they hit upon a plan to oust them from their kingdom. Taking advantage of the Kshatriya code of conduct that one should not refuse, when invited for a duel or for a gambling-match, Duryodhana called on Yudhishthira for a game of dice, in which the latter staked everything including Draupadi, and lost it. The denuding of Draupadi occurred after this game of dice. From hot words, the princes were coming to blows," but old Dhritarashtra let off the Pandavas. Soon afterwards the second game of dice was played in which the stake was that the loser should spend twelve years in the forest, and the thirteenth incognito. The Pandavas lost this game also, and had to leave for the forest. Draupadi accompanied them. During the

thirteenth year, Pandavas stayed in the Matsya country in disguise. There they helped the Matsya king Virata against the attack of the Kauravas. Virata s daughter Uttara was married to Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. After completing the full period, seeing that war was inevitable, each party tried to enlist as many sympathisers as possible. Krishna himself sided with the Pandavas but his forces fought on the side of the Kauravas. Salya was won over by Duryodhana. Drupadas priest was sent to the Kauravas on behalf of the Pagdavas for negotiations, and finally Krishna himself went as an ambassador of peace. But Duryodhana was adamant and refused to part with even a particle of earth. Thus began the Great War which may be regarded as the greatest event in the prehistoric age of India and forms the theme of the Great Epic Mahdbkdrata.

2. Bhdrata War

The epic gives a long list of princes on each side. The Kauravas had eleven divisions under them as against the seven of the Paodavas. Towards the east, out of the old Magadhan empire, only western Magadha ruled by Jarasandha's son Sahadeva was on the Paodava side. All the rest, viz. eastern Magadha, Videha, Anga. Vanga, and Kalinga, which were under Karga, joined the Kaurava forces. The Kiratas under Bhagadatta, ruler of Pragjyotisha, also were under the banner of the Kauravas, so that practically the whole east supported them. In Madhyadesa, the rulers of Vatsa^ Kaii, Chedi, Karusha, Dasarna. and Panchala figured among the supporters of the Pandavas, while Brihadbala, king of the Kosalas. went to the opposite camp. The Yadavas were divided in their allegiance. Krishna was the non-combatant adviser of the Pandavas and Balarama remained neutral. Yuyudhana and Satyaki, among the Vrishnis and Yadavas, came to the Pandavas, while Nila of Mahishmatl, Vinda and Anuvinda of Avanti, Kritavarman of the Bhoja-Andhaka-Vrishnis, Vidarbha, Nishada. and Salva supported the Kaurava forces. In the Punjab and the north-west, Jayadratha of Sindhu-Sauvira who was the brother-in-law of the Kauravas, Sakuni of Gandhara, Susarma of Trigarta, Kekaya, Sibi. Salya of Madra (related to the Pandavas), Vahllka, Kshudraka, Malava. Sritayu of the Ambashthas, and Sudakshiga of the Kambojas, were in the Kaurava army; only Abhisara, which formed the south-western part of Kashmir is said to have joined the Pandavas. Thus, the Pandavas' supporters were Panchalas, Matsya, Chedi. Karusha, Western Magadha, Kaii and south-western Yadavas. Under the Kauravas came practically the whole of eastern India, the whole of north-west, Kosala, Vatsa, and Surasena in the Madhyadesa, and Mahishmatl, Avanti, and Salva in the west. In short, broadly speaking the Madhyadeia and Gujarat stood for Pandavas and the rest, viz. east, north-west, and western India, opposed them. The Pa$

dava army encamped near Upaplavya, the capital of the Matsyas; and the Kaurava forces were gathered near Hastinapura. Last minute efforts were made for an amicable settlement, but the negotiations proved futile, and the great battle was fought on the famous field of Kurukshetra.

Dhjrishtadyumna, son of Drupada, was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the Pandavas and Bhlshma led the Kauravas. The two hosts were bound to follow certain rules of war traditional among the Kshatriyas. Only opponents of equal birth and armed with the same kind of weapons were to fight each other. None was to fight without first challenging his opponent. Those engaged in personal combat with another, and those who surrendered, as well as the fugitives and non-combatants were to be spared. The venerable Bhlshma commanded the Kaurava forces during the first ten days of war. It was only through the arrows discharged by Arjuna against Bhlshma under the cover of Sikhandin (whom Bhlshma did not fight, Sikhapdin being originally a woman) that on the tenth day Bhlshma fell down headlong from his chariot. Drona was consecrated the next commander, and he carried on the fight till the fifteenth day. Abhimanyu was killed on the thirteenth day and Gha$otkacha, the demon son of Bhlma, on the fourteenth. Drupada and Virata were killed by Drona on the fifteenth day, and finally that evening Dhpshtadyumna killed Drona, while in deep sorrow on hearing the false news of the death of his son Aivatthaman. Karna was the next commander. His turn lasted only for two days during which Bhlma tore open Duhsasana’s breast. Kanpa was killed by Arjuna. &alya became the commander on the eighteenth or the last day of the battle. He was killed Yudhishthira by about mid-day, while Sahadeva killed Sakuni. The entire host of tho Kauravas was thus completely annihilated and Duryodhana fled to a pond where the Pandavas challenged him. In the club-fight against Bhlma Duryodhana *s thighs were smashed and he dropped down bleeding. Duryodhana appointed Asvatthaman as the last commander who, with the help of the other two survivors from among the Kaurava heroes, viz. Kripa and Kritavarman, stealthily entered into the Pandava camp at night and slaughtered the surviving Pandava princes and Dhrishtadyumna while asleep. With the death of Duryodhana perished all the male members of his large family except his old and blind father. The Pandavas emerged victorious, but besides the five Pandava brothers, Satyaki was the sole survivor on their side. Thus the victory, though complete, was won at a very high cost.

The Kuru line being extinct with the death of the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, Yudhishthira became king of the Kurus and ruled at Hastinapura. Later on Yudhishthira performed a horse-sacrifice on Vyasa’s advice in order to purge himself of all sins.. Arjuna was placed in charge of the horse and the sacrifice was completed with due ceremonial. Dhfitarash(ra retired to forest with Gandh&ri after a few years and was consumed in a forest conflagration. Yudhish^hira, however, did not reign long. Some years after the Bharata War, the Vpishnis and Yadavas of Gujarat perished in fratricidal strife and Krishna died. Arjuna was sent to bring the survivors of the Yadavas, but on his way back he was attacked and defeated by the Abhiras. Arjuna returned to Hastinapura with Krishna's grandson Vajra, and placed him at the head of the people who followed him from Dvaraka. Thereafter Yudhish{hira abdicated and retired to the forest along with his brothers, placing Parikshit, Arj una's grandson, on the throne.

The accession of Parikshit marks the beginning of the Kali Age, as the Dvapara Age is said to have closed with the Bharata War. In the Puranic accounts also "the past" ended, and "the future" began, at the close of the Bharata War which was an epoch-making event in the annals of the country. The dynasties of the Kali Age in the Puranas begin with the accession of Parikshit, though some begin their accounts after Adhislmakpishna, fourth in descent from Parikshit. 46

The traditional accounts do not state how the family feud in the Kuru family was turned into an all-India affair, so that every ruling dynasty of any note during the period, howsoever far from Kurukshetra, is represented as having participated in the war. The nonmention of the Bharata War in later Vedic Literature does not necessarily disprove its historicity. For one thing, it was a purely political contest, and hence naturally did not interest the authors of the Brdhmanas. A& An argumentum ex s ilentio is seldom donclusive. Again the Pa^dus, according to traditions, were not a body of strangers, but were scions of the Kuru family. The very significance of the term Pa^avas, as distinct from the Kauravas, was forgotten soon after the war, and the term Kurus alone survived. Though the Mahabharata, in its present form, is a late production, the kernel of the story takes us back to the period between 1400 and 1000 B.C. when, as noted above, the battle was probably fought. The Asvaldyana Grihya-sutra (III. 4. 4) refers to the Bhajrata and Mahabharata, and Sdnkh&yana Srauta-sutra (XV. 16), to the disastrous war of the Kauravas. Pacini refers to the heroes of the Bharata War as already objects of worship. All these clearly prove the antiquity of the story of the Mahabharata .

II. COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE VEDAS AND THE

PURANAS AS SOURCES OF TRADITIONAL HISTORY

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the comparative value of the Vedic texts and the Puranas in regard to the historical data supplied by them. Keith is excessively sceptical about the historical value of the Puranas and is doubtful regarding the historicity of any event which is not explicitly mentioned in the Rigveda. Pargiter goes to the other extreme and gives more weight to the Puranic tradition than to the Vedic evidence, which he styles as the tradition of the Brahmapas who possessed no historical sense. The so-called Kshatriya tradition, however, is hardly an unpolluted source of history. Priority of date and comparative freedom from textual corruption are doubtless two strong points in favour of Vedic texts. The evidence of the Puranas, on the other hand, cannot be ruled out altogether, because despite a good deal of what is untrustworthy in them, they alone contain something like a continuous historical narrative, and it is absurd to suppose that the elaborate royal genealogies were all merely figments of imagination or a tissue of falsehoods.

But the theory which pronounces the Puranas as representing Kshatriya tradition as distinct from, and superior to, the Brahmajia tradition contained in the Vedic texts, does not appear to be correct. The theory is mainly based on two assumptions: (1) that the heroes of the legends and stories in the Puranas are Kshatriya kings who mostly do not figure in Vedic literature, and (2) the transmission of their history was entrusted to Sutas of Kshatriya origin. There is hardly any foundation for these beliefs. The Suta was not a non-Brahmajja but a venerable sage. As regards the so-called Kshatriya traditions, there have never been in India two such watertight compartments as the Brahmana tradition and the Kshatriya tradition. Even in the works distinctly assigned to Kshatriya tradition by Pargiter, we find the glorification of the Brahmaiias, and the so-called Brahmanic literature abounds in Kshatriya legends. The Puranas themselves assign a comparatively small portion to genealogical accounts, the genuine Kshatriya tradition according to Pargiter; their main bulk deals with Vedic and Brahmanic lore. Moreover, the Puranas follow the Vedic religion and take pride in styling themselves as the “fifth Veda.” The earliest reference to the Puranas, as observed by Keith, is for a point of Brahmanical lore and not for a point of genealogy or history. 47 Again, even according to Pargiter, the Puranas, as we have them now, are undeniably a Brahmanic compilation; so no part of it can be distinguished as Brahmanic or Kshatriya tradition. 48 It would perhaps be more correct to say that these are not two distinct sets of tradition, but both are Brahmanical traditions, though produced under different environments and with different aims and objects.

Moreover, it may be observed that there is no irreconcilable contradiction or conflict between the Vedic texts and the Puranas. The Rigveda, as we have it, is a Kuru-Panchala product; naturally, therefore, the kings belonging to those clans play prominent roles in it, and others find but incidental mention. Kings, who are men

tioned in the Vedic texts but are not found in the Puranic traditions, were possibly princes and chieftains of smaller dynasties, not preserved in the dynastic lists in the Puraijias. There is also the possibility of the same person being referred to under different names in the two sets of traditional accounts. Some of the kings mentioned in the ftigveda can be fitted in the gaps in the Puranic lists. The ftigveda , no doubt, offers the proper corrective to the Puranic lists, but, when we find Puranic accounts to be corroborated by the Vedic evidence, it is legitimate to take their testimony as valid even in matters on which the ftigveda is silent. The proper procedure for the writing of traditional history is to take into account the joint testimony of the Vedic and Puranic texts wherever available, and to try to bring harmony into the apparently conflicting texts. The evidence of the Puraoas in these matters needs very careful consideration.

A critical examination of the Puranic texts and Vedic literature reveals the fact that the Puranic genealogies in some causes refer to the same persons figuring in the Vedic literature. The Puranic data about some of the royal dynasties, kings, and Brahma^a families find confirmation in Vedic literature, and there is no basis for the view that there are hardly any points of contact between the Vedic and Puranic traditions. Here we shall briefly refer to the important persons who appear in both Vsdic literature and the Puranas.

The ftigveda mentions Yayati as an ancient sacrificer and a son of Nahusha, and he is also known as a seer of some hymns. But his connection with the Lunar dynasty or with Puru, Anu, Druhyu, Yadu, and Turvasu, as told in the Puranas and Mahabhdrata, is not x’ound in the Vedic texts, and hence Macdonell and Keith condemn the epic tradition as “inaccurate.” 49

The names of the above five sons of Yayati, however, occur in the Rigveda as those of ancient tribes. The word Yadu occurs several times in the ftigveda as the name of a king and his tribe. He is closely associated with Turvaia and once with Druhyu, Anu, and Puru. The Mahdbhdrata and the Puranas indicate this association by making Turvasu the full brother of Yadu, and Anu, Druhyu and Puru, his step-brothers. The ftigveda also indicates the close connection of Yadu and Turvasa with north-western India. The five tribes Yadus, Turvaias, Anus, Druhyus, and Purus represent, according to one view, the Vedic Panchajanas. The Rigveda or Vedic literature does not corroborate the Puranic relationship of Yayati, son of Nahusha, with these five princes, though Yayati, the son of Nahusha, as noted already, is well known to Vedic texts. The Purus appear in the Rigveda as the enemies of Sudas and they dwelt on the Sarasvati. It appears from the Rigveda that the Purus had sometimes friendly and sometimes inimical relations with the Tritsus to whom Sud is belonged. There is nothing to show any

connection between Vedic Puru or Purukutsa and Puranic Puru, son of Yayati.

The Solar king Mandhatj-i appears to have been referred tp as Mandhatfi Yauvanasva in the Gopatha Brahmaiia, the identity being further strengthened by the fact of both being the sons of Yuvanasva.- 0

The interpretation of the famous Dasarajna (battle of ten kings) of the Rigveda in traditional history supplies us with many interesting and important synchronisms, and the importance of the problem demands treatment at some length.

We have already seen that Mudgala, the eldest of the five Panchalas, was the founder of the main branch of the north Panchalas, and among his descendants were VadhryaSva, Divodasa, Mitrayu, Maitreya Soma, Srinjaya, Chyavana Panchajana, and Sudasa or Somadatta. There is no consistency among the different texts with regard to these names, Sudasa being in some Puranas replaced by Somadatta. Despite these difficulties, Pargiter and other scholars identify Divodasa and Sudasa in these lists with their namesakes in the Rigveda and see in the account of Samvarana in the Mahabharata 51 the reference to the battle of ten kings in the Rigveda which resulted in the defeat of the Puru king.

Pargiter points out that Mudgala, Vadhryasva, Divodasa, and Srinjaya are mentioned in the Rigveda hymns. Chyavana is probably meant in one hymn and his other name Panchajana is no doubt a misreading of Pijavana. Sudasa is called Sudas Paijavana. The Aitareya Brahmana says that Sahadeva was descended from Srinjaya, and one hymn (RV, IV. 15. 7-10) says that Somaka was his son. The hymns agree with the genealogies in all these particulars. Chyavana was a great warrior and his son Sudasa extended his dominions. They probably conquered the Dvimidha dynasty and the south Panchalas, as there appear to be gaps in the genealogical lists of these dynasties at this period. 52

According to Pargiter, “Sudas drove the Paurava king Samvarana of Hastinapura out, defeating him on the Jumna. His conquests stirred up a confederacy of the neighbouring kings to resist him— Puru (Samvarana), the Yadava (the Yadava king of Mathura), the Sivas (Sivis. who were Anavas), Druhyus (of Gandhara), Matsyas (west of Surasena), Turvasa (the Turvasu prince, apparently in Rewa) and other smaller states. Sudas defeated them in a great battle near the ParushnI (Ravi), and Puru (Samvarana) took refuge in a fortress near the Sindhu (Indus) many years/' 53

It may be stated at the outset that despite many differences between the Vedic account on the one hand and that given in the Mahobhdrata on the other, it is undisputed that the heroes of the Dasarajna flourished at the period which has been assigned to Sudasa-Somadatta of the north Panchala line and to Samvarana

and Kuru of the Paurava line. Dr. Pradhan has arrived at the same conclusion of the identity of Vedic Sudas with the Pahchala Sudasa after independent enquiry starting on different synchrpnisms. b4 It has also been shown that Kuru and Samvarajrta were contemporaries of Tura Kavasheya whose father Kavasha Ailusha figured in the Dasarajiia: : ~ G The discrepancies that we notice in the Vedic account and the accounts in the Puranas and the Mahabhdrata only show that traditional history, though based on a kernel of historical facts, is not only not infallible but inaccurate at times, and its credibility requires to be tested in the light of contemporary Vedic evidence. The details of the Dasarajiia as given in the Rigveda no doubt are a first-hand contemporary account. The accounts in* traditional history were pieced together out of the remnants of ancient tales, legends, etc. at a later date when memories of actual events were but faint and inaccurate.

Now, apart from the fact that the geographical boundaries do not concur in the Vedic and Puranic accounts (as will be shown presently), it will be seen that there are many particulars that apparently speak against the proposed identification. In the first place, though the Rigveda mentions Mudgala and Srinjaya, it does not indicate any relationship between them and Sudas. Secondly, the Higvedic Sudas is distinctly called the son of Pijavana whereas the Puranic Sudasa had Chyavana-Panchajana for his father. Yaska. Mahabharata and Manu know Pijavana to be the father of Sudas, and hence the Puranas cannot be said to have mistaken Panchajana for Pijavana as suggested by Pargiter.- 6 It seems that the title Panchajana has been given to Sudasa in his capacity as the leader of the five tribes. Further discrepancies are found in the non-mention in the Rigveda of the important tribes of the period according to the Puranas such as the Satvatas, the

Bhojas, the Videhas, the Ikshvakus, etc., either among the allies or among the adversaries of Sudas. Among the tribes mentioned in the Rigveda as participating in the Dasarajiia, Turvasas, according to traditional history, had long ceased to exist, having merged in the Pauravas. The Tritsus, who were the principal helpers of Sudas according to the Rigveda. are not to be found at all in the Puranic tradition. Matsyas, one of the opponents of Sudas in the Rigveda , emerge in traditional history only nine generations after Sudasa. The Puru adversary of Sudas has been named Purukutsa in the Rigveda whereas according to traditional history he comes to be Saihvarana of the Pauravas. It is further curious that the Mahabharata does not mention Sudasa by name at all, but refers to him only as Panchalya (a king of the Panchalas). The scene of the battle has not been mentioned in the Mahabharata or the Puranic texts. The Rigveda represents the battle to have been fought on the banks of the Parushni. This location of the conflict, however, seems to be most difficult, if not quite impossible, if we consider the territories occupied by the different members of the confederacy at the period, according to traditional history. The Druhyus were occupying Gandhara at the time, and it is difficult to see how they could be interested in or affected by the conflicts of people far away from them. The Turvasas, as already stated, did not exist at the time; and even if they did exist, as suggested by Pargiter, it is difficult to comprehend how they marched off over 500 miles from the Karusha country to participate in the exploits of a remote king. The geographical knowledge of the period of the Rigveda (as seen in Ch. XIII) did not extend much beyond the Ganges and Jumna or Sarayu to the east, and only up to the Vindhyas in the south; but the period of Sudasa in traditional history, which comes after that of Dasaratha and Rama, indicates knowledge of practically the whole of India. The truth underlying these discrepancies between the Vedic and the Puranic and Mahabharata accounts seems to be that the Puranic tradition "is patching up its genealogical fabric from whatever shreds of floating knowledge it ccmes across without any means of checking. f * &7 .This does not certainly mean that the Vedic and the Puranic Sudasa were quite distinct personalities. When we take into consideration that the Vedic and traditional accounts agree admirably with regard to the chronology of the period of the conflict, it appears certain that the similarity of names is not a mere coincidence. There are serious discrepancies, no doubt, when we come to the locations and political environments of the different participants in the conflict. But the mistake is due to the lack of definite knowledge on the part of chroniclers of traditional history. It may also be observed that the Mahabharata account simply refers to the driving out of the Paurava king Samvara^a from his kingdom by the king of the Panchalas. At the distance of time between the Ddsarajna and the composition of the Mahabharata f the chroniclers remembered only the utter rout of the Paurava king at the hands of a Panchala king.

Another important problem is the identity of Janamejaya Parikshita mentioned in the Vedic texts and in the Puraa>as and the Mahabharata . The Puranas and the Mahabharata refer to two Janamejaya Parikshitas, one an ancestor of the Pa^avas (being grandson of Kuru), and the second, a successor of the Ba$davas (grandson of Arjuna).

On account the similarity of patronymic as also of the names of his brothers, the earlier Janamejaya is confused with the later Janamejaya and there has been transference of tradition.

The Aitareya and the Satapatha Brahmana enumerate Janamejaya as the performer of the Asvamedha sacrifice.' 58 The very fact that Bhishma narrates the story of Janamejaya’s Aivamedha to Yudhishjhira as an ancient legend clearly shows that the A£vamedha referred to was performed by the ancestor of the Pagdavas, and

proves that a Janamejaya Parikshita before the Pai^davas’ time was a real person and not a shadowy figure as Dr. Raychaudhuri would have us believe. 6,0 The descendant of the Paodavas is credited with the performance of the Sarpasatra and not an Asvamedha. The ASvaftiedha started by the later Janamejaya was not completed. 60 The Brahmanas further mention Tura Kavasheya as the priest who anointed Janamejaya with Aindra Mahabhisheka, and Tura Kavasheya can be proved to be contemporaneous with Janamejaya the ancestor of the Pandavas. Kavasha Ailusha, father or grandfather of Tura, was drowned in the Dafarajna, so that he was a senior contemporary of Kuru, son of Samvaraija, who lived during the Ddiarajna period. 61 Janamejaya, who was the grandson of Kuru, was thus contemporaneous with Tura. This sacrifice, with Tura Kavasheya as priest, was performed for celebrating the attainment of imperial status by Janamejaya and not for atonement of any sin. The Satapatha Brahmana refers to another sacrifice performed by Janamejaya Parikshita with the aid of Indrota Daivapa Saunaka for ridding himself of a grievous sin which is described as Brahmahatya (killing of a Brahmana). 62 The Puranas and the Mahabhdrata do not associate Janamejaya, the descendant of the Pandavas, with any guilt. That the ancestor was the person alluded to is clear from the fact that the story of the sin of Janamejaya is told by Bhishma, and therein Janamejaya is accused of unwittingly killing a Brahmana.

63 This also proves that Indrota Daivapa Saunaka flourished generations before the Bharata War. The Harivawia refers to Janamejaya’s killing the son of Gargya for insulting him, as the result of which Gargya cursed him. 64 The Asvamedha performed by Indrota Daivapa Saunaka was to purge Janamejaya of this sin. The incident of the chariot of Yayati related in the same story, which states that the chariot continued in the Paurava line till the period of Janamejaya, and after him was transferred to Vasu Chaidyoparichara, eighth descendant from Kuru, clearly shows that the reference in the story is to the ancestor of the Pandavas. The chariot then passed on to the Magadhas and came to Krishna after Jarasandha was killed. 65 All these preceded Janamejaya Parikshita, the descendant of the Pandavas, and hence the allusions clearly refer to the ancestor of the Pandavas. The HarivamSa clearly indicates that the Aivamedha story relates to the earlier Janamejaya by making Janamejaya (the descendant of the Pandavas) the auditor of the story which is told by VaiSampayana, who adds that there were two Janamejaya Parikshitas among the Pauravas. 66

The references in the Vedic texts thus clearly prove the existence of a Janamejaya Parikshita who was an ancestor of the Pai>davas, and the grandson of Kuru. The peace and plenty in the Kuru realm, alluded to in the Atharvaveda 67 and in the Brahmanas, came as the result of Kuru's extensive conquests, and his son

Parikshit and grandson Janamejaya continued the good work started by Kuru. Janamejaya’s heinous crime, however, deprived him and his successors of their kingdom which passed on to the younger branch (as already stated) and the Pankshitas suffered extinction. The Bii^nddranyaka ZJpanishad refers to the vanished glory of the Parlkshitas and enquiries as to their state in the next world. 68 To that the reply is given that they must have attained the state to which performers of Asvamedha sacrifices are eligible.

These and other co-ordinations of the incidents and persons mentioned in traditional history and the Vedic texts clearly show that the two traditions are neither independent nor contradictory; that the traditional history has its basis in facts and is not the product of imagination; that traditional history has mostly preserved ancient tradition; and that when supported by Vedic texts its evidence is unimpeachable. No excuse is therefore needed for the somewhat long historical account, given above, on the basis of Epic and Puranic tradition. It has been customary for the writers of Indian history to confine themselves, so far as the political history of the period is concerned, to the few isolated facts gleaned from the Vedic texts. But we must not forget that “the Vedic literature confines itself to religious subjects and notices political and secular occurrences only incidentally so far as they had a bearing on the religious subjects.” As Pargiter has very pertinently observed: “Ancient Indian history has been fashioned out of compositions, which are purely religious and priestly, which notoriously do not deal with history, and which totally lack the historical sense. The extraordinary nature of such history may be perceived, if it were suggested that European history should be constructed merely out of theological literature. What would raise a smile if applied to Europe has been soberly accepted when applied to India.” 60 *

The force of these remarks is undeniable and no student of Indian history should ignore the legendary element in the Puragas and Epics. It is necessary to remember that, for reasons stated above, we cannot accept those traditions as genuine historical facts so long or so far as they are not corroborated by contemporary texts or other reasonable evidence. Until then we can treat them only as traditional history. But such traditional history has its value, and is in any case a necessary preliminary step for the discovery of genuine history.

12. THE EXPANSION OF THE ARYANS AND ARYAN CULTURE

In one respect, however, it seems difficult to accept the traditional account without a great deal of reserve. This is the geographical background of the Aryan conquest of India as described in the Puranas.

The Purapas say nothing about the original home of the Aryans. The scene of traditional history opens in India, with the division of the territory, comprising the whole of North India extending in the east up, to Orissa, among the ten sons of Manu, the king and the common ancestor of the ruling families in India (ante, p. 278).

From this starting point, the traditional history enables us to trace the progress of Aryan advance during the four Ages—Kyita, Treta, Dvapara, and Kali. Kings Sagara, Kama, and Krishna are said to have flourished respectively at the end of the Kpita f Treta, and Dvapara Ages, so that the Kpita Age covers roughly 40 generations, Treta 25 generations, and Dvapara 30 generations (cf. App. II). The Kali Age set in after the Bharata War.

By the end of the Krita Age, we find the Aryans in occupation of the whole of North India including Sind and Kandahar in the west, and Bihar and West Bengal in the east. In the south, Gujarat, Kathiawar, the Western Coast south of Bombay and Berar were colonized by the Aryans, and their southern limits had extended beyond the Vindhya and the Narmada down to the Tapti and the Satpuras.

While Parasurama is generally associated with the creation of €urparaka near Bombay, a stanza in the Mahabharata shows that it was colonized earlier by Jamadagni. 69 Parasurama is credited with the Aryanization of the whole of the western coast of Bombay, especially the Konkan, the Karhata, the Tulava, and the Kerala. The traditions, at any rate; indicate the important role played by the Bhargavas in the colonization of the Deccan.

The Aryan occupation during the Treta Age extended further east and south, embracing, in addition to the territories occupied in the Krita Age, Orissa, Assam, Chhota Nagpur, Central Provinces, and some parts further south. The southern territories of JanaS'thana, Kishkindha, and also Lanka came under the sphere of Aryan influence during the days of Rama.

By the time of the Bharata War (c. 1400 B.C.) which marked the close of the Dvapara Age, the Aryans had expanded over the whole of India, and even beyond its frontiers in the west.

This traditional account of the Aryan expansion is, however, in conflict with the evidence of the Vedic texts. As has already been shown in Ch. XHI, there are good grounds to suppose that by the time the Rigveda was composed, the Aryans had not penetrated much further into the interior beyond the frontiers of the Punjab and Rajputana. If we remember that the Rigveda did not probably receive its final form long before the end of the so-called Dvanara Age. its testimony is decidedly fatal to the geographical views assumed in the Puranas.

But the Rigvedic evidence does not stand alone. We have an account of the spread of the Aryan culture in the Brahmans period

in the story of Videgha Mathava (ante, p. 258-59). This, as well as the fact that Kosala and Videha do not appear in the earlier Vedic literature, but are mentioned for the first time in the &atapatha Brahmana, and the contemptuous references in the Atharvaveda and the Sutras indicate that M^gadha and Vahga were then outside the pale of Aryan culture. All these leave no doubt about the general correctness of the assumption that the Aryans had not advanced beyond the middle region of Northern India till after the end of the age represented by the Vedic Samhitas, i.e. at a time when most, if not all, the traditional royal dynasties dealt with in this chapter had ceased to exist.

It is worthy of note that even the Smjiti texts quote verses defining Aryavarta or the land of the Aryas as co-extensive with Northern India. As to the expansion of the Aryan culture to the Deccan and South India, the evidence of Banini's Ash^ddhyayi and Katy ay ana's Vartikas on Panini, seems to be fairly conclusive. The only country in the Deccan south of the Narmada mentioned by Panini is Asmaka, whereas Katyayana knows Pnadya, Chola, and Kerala. This shows that the Aryans came into contact with these South Indian peoples during the time intervening between Paiiini and Katyayana, i.e. some time between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C. 69a Yet the Puranas and the Ramayana would have us believe that the whole of South India, including Ceylon, was colonized by the Aryans or brought under their sphere of influence by the time of Ramachandra in the Treta Age!

It is impossible to rely upon the traditional account as recorded in the Epics and Puranic texts, at least in respect of those particulars which are so flatly contradicted by the evidence of earlier texts— an evidence which is all the more valuable as it is based upon incidental notices not likely to be fabricated in order to serve any preconceived notion. Whatever we might think therefore of the kings and dynasties mentioned in the traditional account, we can hardly accept, without* demur, the location of their principalities as described in the Epics and the Puranas.

It might be argued that many of the royal dynasties mentioned in the traditional account were not Aryans. This is not unlikely, for evidence is gradually accumulating (c/. Chs. VUI, IX) that a fairly developed culture and powerful kingdoms flourished in India before the Aryans. But such a theory goes definitely against the traditional account which represents all ruling families, described above, as descended from the common ancestor Manu. 70

At the same time the existence of non-Aryans may be easily inferred. For besides the descendants of Manu who established dynasties all over India, traditional history mentions Rakshasas, Vanaras, Asuras, Daityas, Danavas, Nagas, Nishadas, Dasyus, Dasas Pulindas, Sakas. Yavanas. Kambojas. Paradas, Pahlavas. etc. who appear to have been outside the Aryan fold- The Rakshasas were aborigines who were hostile to the Brahmanas, while Vanaras, another aboriginal tribe, were allied to the Brahmanas. Asuras, Daityas, Danavas, and Nagas denoted peoples of different cultures in various stages of civilization ranging from the rude, aboriginal, uncivilized tribes to the semi-civilized races, offering strong resistance to the spread of Aryan culture. There appear to have been three stages in the description of the hostile tribes of Asuras, Danavas, Daityas, and Rakshasas in Puranic accounts. Originally, these denoted human beings, but as they were generally the enemies of the Aryans, these names came to mean alien and hated, hostile or savage men. Later on, these names became terms of opprobrium and abuse which led to the attribution of evil character to these peoples. Even certain Aryan kings were termed Danavas or Asuras due to their evil character. Finally, these terms came to be associated with demoniac beings and were used synonymously with demons. The Nagas appear to be partially civilized people. The Nishadas, Das as, Dasyus, Pulindas, and Kiratas were mostly aboriginal, rude, savage tribes in a very primitive stage of civilization. All these tribes lived in hilly tracts, and some of them were cannibals. The Nishadas, also known as Mlechchhas, were according to ancient traditional views a mixed race of Aryan origin bom from a Brahmana male and a &udra female. 71 They are associated with the hills of Central India and the Vindhyan tracts. They had also settlements in the Vatsabhumi and, further east, near Allahabad. The Pulindas, £abaras, Mutibas, etc. were the aboriginal tribes of the south. The Pulindas were connected with the north also. The Kiratas had settlements in Assam and Nepal. The £akas, Yavanas, .Kambojas, Paradas, Pahlavas, etc. were foreign tribes from the west, but they were evidently absorbed among the Kshatriyas. Pandya, Chola, and Kerala dynasties in the south claimed descent from the Lunar Turvasus.

But whatever we might think of the geographical and ethnical background of the traditional account, it perhaps reflects more accurately the method and process of Aryan colonization in India. One distinguishing feature of the Aryan expansion, as described in it, deserves special mention. The Aryans extended their sway and colonized fresh lands not by conquest alone with the aid of big armies. The colonization was also effected by small bands of adventurous Brahmanas and Kshatriyas from different Aryan kingdoms, who went to new countries and, after clearing the jungles and making the tracts habitable, set up hermitages and residences there. The territories surrounding the Aryan-occupied Madhyadeia, the Vindhyas and Vidarbha, were colonized in this fashion. The Aryans colonized under the leadership of Kshatriya tribes, and new settlements were named after these tribes. The speed of Aryan ex pansion was necessarily slow where they received opposition from the aborigines or semi-Aryans or non-Aryans, as in the case of their eastward progress.

Hama of Ayodhya is made to play a very important part in the expansion of Aryan cultnjre in the south. It was probably on account of the signal service attributed to him in colonizing the Deccan, and spreading the Aryan religion far in the south and rendering it free from the harassment of aggressive and semi-barbarous tribes, that he has been included among the incarnations of the god Vishnu. This expansion of Aryan culture in the south was the result of the hearty co-operation of the Brahmana and the Kshatriya in carrying the banner of Aryanization. The Brahmana missionaries who accompanied the Kshatriya conquerors, introduced the essentials of Aryan culture and tradition to the masses, converted the principal figures, and paved the way for social and cultural contact by allowing high-born Aryans to marry with non-Aryans. Agastya, the pioneer among the Rishis to erect a hermitage in the transVindhyan regions, preceded Hama by generations; but he payed the way for later adventurers. The story of Agastya *eveals the important part played by the Brahmans in the spread of Aryan civilization over southern India. The ancient Rishis undertook missionary enterprise and helped in the propagation and diffusion of the Aryan culture by their active efforts, often at considerable risk to their lives. They moved in large numbers to distant lands, and performed sacrifices and observed religious rites in their new settlements. Their genuine missionary spirit, coupled with their peaceful character, not using any force nor resorting to retaliation despite provocation, helped in creating a favourable atmosphere for the reception of the Aryan religion. The Rishis mixed with the aborigines and civilized them. The Aryan spirit was kept alive by the Brahmaiia, not by the Kshatriya; but, “without the protection of the chief, the Brahmana was powerless; and it was not the Brahma^a’s peaceful penetration, but the military exploits of the chief that enthralled the popular imagination.” 72 Rama's expedition, as described in the Ramayana, did not put the non-Aryans of the south under the political subjugation of the Aryans, but it brought the southern territories of the Vanaras and Rakshasas as protectorates under the sphere of Aryan influence, 73 and was mainly responsible for bringing these peoples under Aryan influence.

The contribution of the Yadavas in carrying the banner of Aryan culture over large tracts of land in the south-west and in Rajputana, Gujarat, Malwa, and the Deccan, which came under their occupation, needs special mention. It was due to the activities of the Yadavas that these regions were brought under the Aryan way of life. The peculiar feature in the career of the Yadavas is the considerable mixture they had with the non-Aryans, though they trace their descent from Pururavas through Yadu. This fact coupled with the possible looseness in the observance of the Aryan Dharma led the Epics and Puraijas to call the Yadava branches Asuras, and to class them with the tribes of the extreme north-west and west among the Nichyas and Apachyas. The fact that they mixed freely with the Non-Aryans, with whom they had marital relations and some of whose customs they incorporated, facilitated the Aryanization of the so-called outsiders, and thus spread Aryan culture far and wide. Krishna of the Yadavas, well known as a politician, warrior, and religious teacher, was a national hero, who was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. He held liberal and catholic views and his doctrines helped in the spread of Aryan ideas among the so-called Sudras.

Whatever we might think of the historicity of Rama and Krishna, as depicted in the above accounts, they may not unreasonably be regarded as true types of Aryan heroes who were pioneers in the spread of Aryan culture and colonization all over India.

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1. AIHT, pp. 30, 54.

la. Some, however, do not attach any historical value to the story of the Ramdyana cf. e.g. Ch. Vm, above, p. 168..

lb. El, VI, pp. 11, 12.

2. JRAS , 1911, pp. 479 ff., 675 ff.

3. Brihat-Samhitd, Xlll. 3; Rdjatarangim. I. 48-56.

4. Rid, PIHC, IV. p. 115 (3140 B.C.); Triveda, JIH, XVI. iii (3137 B.C.); Vaidya, HSL, IV. pp. 4-8 (3102 B.C.); Abhyankar, ABORI, XXV. pp. 116-36 (3000 B.C.): Sen Gupta, JRASB(L), III. 101 ff.; IV. 393 f. (2449 B.O.); Karandikar, POC XU. Summaries Part II, pp. 6-8 (1931 B.C.); Deb, JASB, XXI.. pp. 211-20 (1400 B.C.); Daftary, POC, XII. Summaries Part II, pp. 8-12 (1197 B.C.); Pradhan, CAI, pp. 262-9 (1151 B.C.).

5. AIHT , pp. 179-83.

6. Cf. AIHT, p. 179; DKA, pp. 13-22; 67-9; 58, 74.

6a. Woolley, Ur of the Chaldees (Pelican), pp. 23-4.

7. Vdyu P., 21. 28; 8. 160-7; 57. 39-41, 56.

8. Mbh, XU. 59. 106-8.

9. J$ot. Br. I. 8. 1. 1-6; cf. SBE, XU. pp. 216-8, Mbh (Cv. Ed.) IU. 185; Matsya, P., 1. 11-34; 2. 1-19; Bhdgavata P., VUI. 24 ff., IX. 1 ff.

10. AIHT , p. 84, n. 2.

11. JRAS, 1902, pp. 267-8; Majumdar, CAG, pp. 507-8; Dey, GD, p. 17.

12. Pratishthana has been identified with Pihan, a village near Prayaga (Allahabad)—Jayachandra, B1R, pp. 128-9.

12a. For the Rigvedic hymn on the subject, cf. Ch. XVI.

13. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), m. 176-8; (Bom. Ed.), XUI. 99-100.

14. AIHT, p. 259, fn. 7.

15. £ravasti has been identified with modem Sahet Mahet on the Rapfi in the district of Gonda in Oudh (Dey, GD, p. 189). Cf. also Majumdar, CAG, p. 469.

16. Tribes in Ancient India, p. 121.

17. AIHT, pp. 260-1.

18. Padma P., VI. 189. 73; 273. 51-70; Brahma P.. 196. 16-197. 5; Vishnu P., V. 23.. 26-24. 5; Hcri, H. 57. 43-63.

19. Mbh, XU. 339. 84, 103-4; cf. Sukthankar, ABORI, XVIII. p. 48.

20. Mbh, XU. 49. 76-83;

21. In the Nava Kdl (Mara pi I Daily of Bombay) in the year 1932-3.

22. Matsya P., 43 . 48-9; Vdyu P., 94.51-2; Kirfel, PPL, p. 420.50.

Manu Vaivasvata

Ikshvaku

Nabhaga Dhjishta

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Sarytti

Narlahyanta Praihsu

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Nabhanedlshtha Karusha PHshadhra I la (aiarr. Budha) Sudvumnu

Vikukshi-Sasada Nimi Rathitaras Dharsh(akas Aaryita* in Anarta

Vaisali dynasty Karuahas excluded

Pururavaa

Yadu

Sahasrajit

Haibayas

Vaidarbhas

Satvatas

Saudyumruis

Ayu

I-1-T"

Nahuaha Kahatravriddha Ramhha

Amgvasu

Yati

Yayatii Kasi dynasty

Raji

Ananas Kanyakubja dynasty

Turvasu

-1

Kroshfri Turvasus

MB

Rajeya Kahatriyaa Kafaatradharmans

Druhyu

Druhyus in Gandhara

Anu

Anavas

Yftdavas

Vitihotras Sarvntas Bhojas Avantis Tundikeras Vaidarbhas

Uatnara

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Tltikahu

Puru

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Bharatas

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Wriga Nava Krimi Suvrata Albi Angas Vang as Kalihgas Pupdras Suhmas Ajamldhas

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Navarfshtra Kyimila shfhas

Vriahadarbha

Sauvira

Andhaka-Bhojas Bhojas of Mrittikavata

Vfiibnis Vrishadarbhas Sauvtras

Kekaya

Kekayaa or Kafka yas

Madraka

Bharatas

Kurus or Kauravas

Dvimldhas

N. Panchala

S. Panr-li4ln

I

StfBJayas

Somakas

Madras or Kurus or Madrakas Kauravas

Vkaavas

I

Kukuras (Mathura)

Andhakas

Kauravas Panjavas Barhadrathas Chedis Karuaha Kauswnbi Matsyi (?)

	Ayodhya	Vi delta	VaiaAli	Yiidavas	Haihayas	Druhyus
c. 3100 1 B.c.	Manu			Manu		

	• »	Ikshvaku		Nabhanedishtbu	Ila		
	3	Vikukshi-Sasada	Niini	Pururavas			
	t	Kakutstha		Ayu			
			Mithi-Janaka	Bholandana	Nahusha		
«, 3000 a.c.				Yayati			
	7				Yadu		Druhyu
	X				Kroshtri	Sahasrajit	
	12	Kuvalasvn					
	14					Haihaya	
	lit				Chitraratha		
	20	Yuvanasva 11					
c. 2750 ii.c.	-’1	Mandhatri					

22	Purukutvo				
23	Trasadasyu			Mahishmant	Gandharn
25				Bhadrasrepya	
20				;	
27					
21*	Trayyaruna			Kriiavirya	
30			Arjuna		
31					
32	Satyavrnta-Trnsajiku			Jayadhvaja	
33	Haris chiindra				
34	Rohitu			Talajahgha	
30				Vitihotra	
3S		Kaiandhama			
31*	Bahu	Avlkshlt		Chedi	

40	Sagaru	Marutta	Vidarbha	
4 J		Kratha-Bhima	Kaisika	
42				
43				Chidi

Turvasus

Table captionTurvasu

Table captionKaiandhama

Table captionMarutta

Table caption(Dushyanta)

Anavas

Anavas, E. / Anavas. N. W.

Anu

Tiukshu

Usinara

Sibi

Kekaya

Pautavas

Manu

na

Puriirnvas

Puru

Janamejaya

Mathura

K*ii

Nahusha

Kshatravriddha

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Pururavas

AmavJuu

Jahnu

Kuaika

Gadhi

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Bali

Anga

Dushyanat

Divodasa

Pratardana

Vataa

Alarka

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41

42 49

23. Chedi comprised the land between the Chambal and the Ken on the southern bank of the Jumna corresponding to modern BUndelkhand. Cf. Dey, GD, p. 48; Majumdar, CAG, p. 725.

24. Kirfel, PPL, pp. 317-23.

25. Rohitapura has been identified with Rohtas in the district of Shahabad in Bihar. Dey, GD, p. 170.

26. Vayu P., 88. 140-1.

27. Vayu P.. 88. 144-63; Brahma P.. 8. 52-71.

28. AIHT, p. 268.

29. The name Bhagirathl is applied to the stream which originates from Gangotri and Gomukha, and joining Bhilangana at Tehri meets Alakananda, the main stream of the Ganges, at Devaprayaga. Jayachandra, BIR, p. 150.

30. For the Nala episode, cf. Mhh (Cr. Ed.), HI. 50-78.

31. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), I. 166-73 gives another account.

32. Paudanya (Potana in Mbh , Cr. Ed., I. 168. 25) is the Potana or Potali of the Jdtakas (Raychaudhuri, PHAI, p. 121). It has been identified with Paithan or Pratishthana on the north bank cf the Godavari, 28 miles to the south of Aurangabad—Dey, GD, pp. 157, 159.

33. For the account of Rama we have mainly relied on the Rdmdyana.

34. Ancient, settlements of Takshasila are found near the Bhir mound near Shahdheri which lies 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi (Marshall— Guide to Taxila). Pushkaravati may be identified with Charsadda near the confluence of the Kubha and Suvastu, 17 miles north-west of Peshawar.

35. North Panchala, called Ahichchhatra, comprised the modem Rohilkhand district in the U.P., and had its capital at Ahichchatra identified with modem Ramnagar (Dey, GD, p. 2). South Panchala, which incorporated the old kingdom of Xanyakubja, consisted of the districts of Agra and Cawnporc with its capitals

at Makandl and Kampilya (modem Kampil, 28 miles east of Fatehgarh—Dey, GD, p. 88).

<6. The problem of the Ddsardjna (battle of ten kings) has been discussed in section II of this chapter.

J7. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), I, 89. 31-43.

38. AIHT, pp. 76, 281.

39. AIHT, p. 113, fn. 9.

40. Hari, I. 30. 10-14; Vayu P., 93. 21-26; Brahma P., 12. 9-15; Brahmanfa P., III. 68 . 20-26; also Mbh, XII. 150-52; cf. Arthasastra, Mysore, 1919, p. II.

41. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), I, 105. 7-22.

42. The life of Krishna has been reconstructed on the basis of the old and authentic Puranas, the Harivarhsa and the Mahdbhdrata. —See Munshi, Glory that teas Gurjaradesa, I. pp. 120-24.

43. Cf. Munshi, Glory that was Gurjaradesa, I, pp. 111-27.

44. The account of the Kauravas and the Pandavas has been based on the Mahv • bhdrata. In spite of epic embellishments, the kernel of the story may be n.g. r V*.' as historical.

4u. Similarly some Puranas begin the ‘’future” about a century after the B>*aia»o War. (Pargiter, AlH'T, pp. 51-4.)

46 AIHT, pp. 283-4.

47. JRAS, 1914, p. 1027.

48. JRAS, 1913, p. 889.

49. Ved. Ind. H. p. 187.

50. Gopatha Brdhmana. 1.2. 10 ff; Ved. lad., II.p. 133.

51. Mbn (Cr. Ed.), I. 89. 31-43.

52. AIHT, p. 120.

53. AIHT, p. 281.

54. CAI, pp. 83-98.

55. BV, U. pp. 72-76.

56. Nirukta , II. 24. 25; Mbh, XII. 60. 39; Maau , VII. 41; Pargiter, AIHT, p. 120.

57. Ghurye, POC, IX. p. 950.

58. Ait. Br., VII. 27; VIII. 21; Sat. Br., XI. 5. 5. 13; XIII. 5. 4. 1-4.

59 Afbh. XII. 150. 2; PHA1, p. 12.

60. Hari, HI. 2.5-6, 28-9; 5.11-7.

61. Cf. BV, II. pp. 72-6.

62. Sat. Br., XIII. 5. 4. 1 ff.

63. Mbh, XH. 150. 3.

64. Hari, I. 30.

65. Hari, I. 30. 6-16.

66. Cf. Hari, I. 32. 100-1, 105.

67. AV, XX. 127. 7-10.

OS. Bjih. Up, in. 3.

€fa. A1HT , p. v.

00. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), III. 86. 9.

69a. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar —Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 6-7.

70. Pargiter, however, infers from the traditional account that the kings belonged to three different stocks or races of which the Ailas were the Aryans, the

Saudyumna stock, the Munda race and its branch the Mon-Khmer folk in the east, and the Manva stock (i.e. the remaining descendants of Manu), the Dravidians (AIHT, p. 295). Traditional history associates the Ailas or the Lunar dynasty with the Himalayas. Pargiter, therefore, interprets the traditional accounts as stating that the Aryans came into India from the Himalayan regions (ibid., pp. 297 ff.). But the term Aryan is not confined to the Ailas alone; it comprises all the so-called stocks enumerated by Pargiter. There is absolutely no differentiation between the Solar and the Lunar dynasties as regards status or dignity.

71. Manu, X. 8.

72. Kennedy, JRAS, 1915, p. 516.

73. Cf. Viswanatha, International Law in Ancient India, pp. 25, 45; Racial synthesis in Hindu, Culture, p. 9.

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE ACCESSION OF PARfKSHFT TO THE END OF THE BARHADRATHA DYNASTY

The Puranas have preserved a list of the kingdoms that flourished at the end of the Bharata War and continued till they were all absorbed by the great Nanda empire of Magadha in the fourth century B.C. In addition to the kingdom of Magadha, ruled at first by the Barhadrathas, and then by other dynasties, the Puranic list refers to the Pauravas, Aikshvakus, Pahchalas, Kasis, Haihayas, Kalihgas, Aimakas, Maithilas, Surasenas and Vitihotras. The area embracing these states comprised the eastern part of North India, the middle country, and some parts towards its west; but the countries further west and north-west have not been referred to. Oi the various dynasties mentioned, the Puranas deal in some detail only with the Pauravas, Aikshvakus and the dynasties of Magadha, but give merely the number of kings in the case of other contemporary dynasties. The detailed history of the period recorded in the Puranas is thus confined more or less to the region now represented by the United Provinces and South Bihar. [1]

1. THE PAURAVAS

The first Paurava king after the Bharata War was Parikshit, son of Abhimanyu, and grandson of Arjuna. Parikshit was wellversed in the science of duties of kings and was endowed with noble qualities. The story of the conquests of Parikshit or of the prosperity of the Kuru kingdom during his reign, recorded respectively in the Puranas and Atharvaveda, seems to relate to an earlier king of that name.

The Kuru kingdom over which Parikshit ruled extended from the Sarasvati to the Ganga according to epic tradition. It corresr ponded to modern Thanesvar, Delhi, and the upper Gangetic Do&b. [2] The Kaliyuga era is said to have started in the reign of Parikshit after the death of Krishna, and Parikshit is reported to have chased away the Kali out of his kingdom, which merely indicates his excellent and benign rule. It is said that one day when lost in a forest, while hunting, Parikshit met a sage and asked .him the way. The sage was observing a vow of silence and did not reply. Bnng angry Parikshit placed a dead snake round the sage's neck and went away. The sage's son cursed Parikshit, and foretoJi that within a week the king would be bitten to death by Takshaka, king of the snakes. Despite the king's elaborate precautions, the curse had its effect and Parikshit died of snake bite on the appointed day.

This mythical story seems to suggest a genuine historical fact. The rise of the Nagas in Gandhara has already been referred to. It appears that taking advantage of the weakened condition of the Pauravas as the result of the Bharata War, Takshaka, king of the Nagas, inarched against Hastinapura and king Parlkshit evidently died in his attempt to check their attacks.

Parlkshit J s son Janamejaya was a minor when he was installed king. To avenge his father's death Janamejaya invaded Takshasila and slaughtered countless Nagas. It was only through the intercession of Astika that Janamejaya stopped this slaughter. Takshaka appears to have escaped safely. The conquest of Taxila in the extreme north-west indicates that the intervening Madra or Central Punjab also was under the control of Janamejaya. The slaughter of innumerable Nagas has been mythologized into the Sarpasatra (snake-sacrifice) of Janamejaya where serpents fell as oblations into the sacred fire through the spell of the Mantras . 3 Janamejaya was a powerful and strong monarch and he re-established the Kuru dominion. After conquering Taxila and uprooting the Nagas, Janamejaya appears to have made Taxila his headquarters for some time. The story of the Mahabharata was recited to Janamejaya at Taxila by Vaisampayana. 4 Asvapati of Kekaya was a contemporary of Parikshit and Janamejaya. When Janamejaya subjugated Gandhara, Asvapati Kekaya, whose territory lay to the east of Gandhara, probably accepted Janamejaya's suzerainty. Asvapati was famous for his good government and philosophical knowledge. It is not definitely known whether Asvapati was a title or a personal name, but it seems to be more likely that it was the title of the rulers of Kekaya.

Kakshasena, a brother of Janamejaya, seems to have established a separate kingdom. From the references in the Paficha vimsa Brahmana which states that Driti, apparently priest of king Abhipratarin, son of Kakshasena, performed a sacrifice in Khanda va, in which lay Indra-prastha,' s it appears that the junior branch resided at Indraprastha. A further reference to the “Abhipratarinas” (i.e. descendants of Abhipratarin) in the same text as “the mightiest of all their relations ’ }Q suggests that the junior branch excelled the other branches of the Kurus. The Kuru kings at Indraprastha continued to rule there long after the destruction of Hastinapura and the migration of the senior branch to Kausambl. 7

Janamejaya was succeeded by his son Satanika, who married a princess from Videha. To £atanlka was born Aivamedhadatta who was succeeded by his son Adhislmakrishj^a. None of these descendants have been definitely referred to in the Vedic texts and the

exact relationship of some Kurus mentioned in the Vedic texts is

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not clear. It appears that Satanlka was the contemporary of Ugrasena Janaka of Videha, and Asvamedhadatta of Pravahana Jaivali

of the Pahchaias, both of whom were philosopher kings. 8 In the reign of Adhislmakrishna, when Divakara was ruling in Ayodhya and Sena jit in Magadha, the Puranas are said to have been recited for the first time in the twelve-year sacrifice in the Naimishar&nya forest oh the river Gomati in Ayodhya. Saunaka officiated as the head sacrificer and to him were recited the Mahdbhdrata and the Purapas as handed down by the Sutas. 9 Thus there seems to have been a collection and edition of the traditional accounts for the first time, on the occasion of the Naimisha sacrifice. The lists of dynasties and kings that subsequently ruled were recorded in the future tense as if they were prophecies. The Matsya and Vayti begin their “future kings ” after the time of Adhisimakfishoja.

During the reign of Nichakshu, the son and successor of Adhislmakrishna, the Kuru kingdom appears to have passed through severe calamities. The capital Hastinapura was washed away by the Ganges. 10 The devastation of crops in the Kuru country by locusts (or hail-storms), mentioned in the Chhandogya Upanishad , nl is also possibly to be referred to this period. The famine brought on by locusts was probably followed by heavy downpour flooding the country. Consequently not only Hastinapura but the whole of the northern Doab was seriously affected. The Kuru people evacuated and migrated in a body over 300 miles down-stream and settled in Vatsabliumi, with Kausambi, (modern Kosam on the Yamuna near Allahabad) as their capital. This wholesale migration, according to Pargiter, was due to the pressure from the Punjab. 12 But the explanation given in traditional accounts, coupled with the locust' menace, satisfactorily accounts for the migration. The Vatsas, it may be recalled, were under the Paurava king of Ka£i, 13 and sided with the Pantfavas in the Bharata War.

The history of the Paurava kings of Kauiambi is obscure. The Puranas give only a list of twenty-three kings after Nichakshu, up to Kshemaka, the last in the line. Among them Satanlka and his son Udayana are interesting and important figures. Satanlka, also styled Parantapa, is said to have attacked Champa, the capital of Ahga, during the reign of Dadhivahana. 14 Udayana succeeded his father on the Vatsa throne. According to Buddhist accounts, Udayana was born on the same day as the Buddha. Whether we accept it or not, there are good grounds to believe that Udayana was contemporaneous with the Buddha and also with Pradyota Mahasena of Avanti and Ajataiatru of Magadha. His history will, therefore, be more appropriately dealt with in the next volume.

2. THEKOSALAS

The Puranas give a list of 31 Ikshvaku kings of Kosala beginning with Brihadbala who was killed in the Bharata War. His sixth descendant Divakara was a contemporary of the Paurava king

Adhisimarkrishpa- This Puranic list serves as a typical instance of the confusion brought about by jumbling together different historical traditions at a late date. For this genealogical list of the Ikshvaku kings of Kosala includes thO names of Sakya, Suddhodana, his son Siddhartha and the latter’s son Rahula, immediately before Prasenajit, who is known from

Buddhist sources as the son of Mahakosala and a contemporary of the Buddha. Without, therefore, relying much on this inaccurate and incomplete list we may glean a few interesting facts about Kosala from the Buddhist literature.

It appears from the Buddhist account that the Kosala kings had their capitals at Saketa and Sravasti in addition to Ayodhya. Ayodhya was probably the earliest capital followed by Saketa, and Sravasti was the last. Ayodhya was a town on the river Sarayu. Saketa is often taken to be identical with Ayodhya, but the separate mention of both as existing in Buddha’s time suggests that they were possibly adjoining cities like London and Westminster. 1 ' 5 Sravastl (in Pali Savatlhi) has been identified with Sahet-Mahet, on the south bank of the Rapti on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces. In Buddha’s time, Ayodhya had sunk into comparative insignificance but the other two figured among the six great cities of India. The Buddhist works mention some kings of Kosala whose names are not found in the dynastic lists. 1&

We learn from the Buddhist accounts that there were frequent wars between the neighbouring kingdoms of Kosala and Kasi and there was continued rivalry for supremacy between them. It appears, however, that sometimes friendly relations prevailed between Kaii and Kosala and there were matrimonial alliances, and probably the countries at times were under a common ruler who came at the head either by conquest or by inheritance. 17 The Vedic texts indicate the close association of these two states by the phrase Kaii-Kosala. In their struggle for supremacy sometimes Kasi and sometimes Kosala emerged victorious. Though the Kasis appear to have succeeded in the beginning, the final victory went to the Kosalas. The results of these contests, as recorded in the Buddhist literature, can be grouped in four successive stages as has been suggested by Dr. Law. 18

The canonical legend in which Brahmadatta, the powerful king of Ka£i, in his campaigns of conquests, defeated the weak Kcsalan king Dighiti, marks the first stage in the Kasi-Kosala struggle. Brahmadatta then ordered the execution of Dighiti and his queen who were captured in the Kasi. realm living in disguise. Then the Kosala prince Dighayu gained'confidence of king Brahmadatta, was raised to the position of a general, and was reinstated on the Kosalan throne on account of his generosity in not killing Brahmadatta in revenge. In the second stage, illustrated in the Rajovdda Jataka ,

both Kasi and Kosala appear as equally powerful realms flourishing side by side, respectively under Brahmadatta and Mallika. The Ka&i ruler followed the religious principle of conquest of wrath by kindness, whereas the Kosala king adhered to the strong administrative principle of treating hard with hardness and soft with softness. The Mahasilava Jdtaka brings out the third stage, in which the Kosala king took advantage of the good nature and religious tendencies of the Kasi king and invaded the neighbouring kingdom.

The final stage marks the total absorption of the Kaii kingdom under the Kosala king Mahakosala, who has been mentioned as the sovereign of both Kaii and Kosala. From the fact that the Buddhist records do not refer to contests between Kosala and any other tribe or stat?, it would appear that the gradual absorption of the clans and tribes in the northern part of Kosala was effected without any important battle, campaign, or siege. 19 The contact of Kosala with Kasi, however, as we have seen, resulted in a struggle lasting for generations with varying fortunes till Kaii was completely subjugated by the Kosala king Kamsa, who appears to have been a predecessor of Mahakosala or the great Kosala. Mahakosala was the father and immediate predecessor of Prasenajit (in Pali Pasenadi). Dr. Raychaudhuri is inclined to identify Hiranyanabha mentioned in later Vedic texts with Mahakosala. 20 Mahakosala gave his daughter Kosaladevi in marriage to the Magadhan king Bimbisara. The fateful sequeLof this marriage will be described in the next volume.

3. MAGADHA

We have already seen in the last chapter that the Barhadratha dynasty ruled in Magadha at the time of the Bharata War, and that Jarasandha, the first great emperor of Magadha before that war, was succeeded by his son Sahadeva, who became an ally of the Pandavas, and was killed in ‘ the war. After Sahadeva, his son Somadhi became king at Girivraja, at the foot of which Rajagjriha, the ancient capital of Magadha, grew up. The old site of Rajagriha corresponds to modern Rajgir in the Patna district. Sena jit, the sixth successor of Somadhi, was a contemporary of the Paurava Adhisimakrishpa and Kosala Divakara. Ripunjaya, the twenty-first jn descent from Somadhi, is stated to have been the last king of the Barhadratha dynasty. Ripunjaya is said to have been killed by his minister Pulika (variants: Su # - Mu*- or Punika, Pulaka) who then installed his son Pradyota on the throne. The Pradyota dynasty, according to the Pur an as, lasted for five generations covering a period of 138 years, and was supplanted by SiSunaga who, after placing his son to rule over Kasi, fixed his capital at Girivraja (or Rajagriha). 21 Bimbisara and Ajatasatru appear in the Puranic lists as fifth and sixth in descent from Sisunaga, who founded a new royal dynasty, called the Saisunaga.

But the Puranas have distorted history, and most of the above statements regarding the events following the death of Purahjaya are contradicted not only by the testimony of other Sanskrit sources and Buddhist accounts, but by the Puranas themselves. Here, as in the case of Kosala, genuine historical facts have been wrongly jumbled together, and it appears that the independent lists of the dynasties qi Pradyota, Sisunaga and Bimbisara have been placed in a false sequence and supplied with imaginary connecting links.

That the Pradyotas ruled at AVanti would be evident from the statement in the Matsya Parana itself, 22 and we have no reliable evidence that there was any Pradyota dynasty of Magadha. The first Pradyota was a contemporary of Bimbisara of Magadha according to Pali accounts, and a co-ordination of the Puranas with other Sanskrit literature also supports the same conclusion; but the Puranas separate Pradyota and Bimbisara by about ten generations. If Sisunaga destroyed the fame of the Pradyotas, he must come about four or five generations after Chsmda Pradyota, the first king of the Pradyota dynasty. Sisunaga has been placed as the progenitor of the Bimbisara family by the Puranas, whereas the Pali accounts rightly place him four or five generations after Pradyota (and hence also Bimbisara, his contemporary) and make him the founder of a dynasty that succeeded the dynasty of Bimbisara.

The Puranas themselves in a way indicate the posteriority of Sisunaga to Bimbisara as they include Varanasi in Sisunaga’s dominions,* 3 because

Bimbisara and Ajatasatru were the first to establish Magadha domination in Kasi. The hostility between Avanti and Magadha, again, is to be met with for the first time in Ajatasatru!s reign. There is no trace of it during the period of Bimbisara', and hence Sisunaga who supplanted the Pradyotas must come after Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. The probable reason for placing Sisunaga before the Bimbisara-Ajatasatru group appears to be that Sisunaga had his capital at Rajagyiha, and as Udayin was credited in the Puranic accounts with the removal of the capital to Pataliputra, 24 it was thought by the ill-informed Puranic chroniclers of a late date that Sisunaga came before Udayin. But the statement in the Malalankdravatthu that Rajagyiha lost its rank as a royal city from the time of Sisunaga indicates that Sisunaga flourished after the palmy days of Rajagpiha, i.e. the period of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru. Sisunaga probably chose the. old capital Raj agriha as his headquarters in order to meet the attacks from Avanti on that part of Magadha.

We may thus hold that the Barhadratha dynasty in Magadha ended with Ripunjaya who was probably killed by his minister, and was succeeded by Bimbisara. The history of this famous king Who laid the foundations of the greatness of Magadha will be related in the next volume.

4. OTHER KINGDOMS

In addition to the three important kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, and Vatsa, mentioned above, several others flourished during the period following the great Bharata War. But their history is little known, and we have to rest content with a few casual notices, gleaned from different sources. Beginning from the west we have the Panchala kingdom, the total number of whose rulers from the Bharata War up to Mahapadma Nfcnda is given as twenty-seven in the Puranas though no names are mentioned.

Parichakra, Kampilya (or Kamplla) and Ahichchhatra are the important cities in Pahchala that have been mentioned in the Vedic and Puranic texts. Reference has already been made to the first two cities. Ahichchhatra has been identified with a ruined site of the same name near modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district. The city was still considerable in extent when visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century.

Reference has already been made to the division of the Pahchila into north and south during the reign of king Drupada. A. Jataka story seems to suggest that a Chedi prince went tb the north and formed the Uttara Panchala kingdom with colonists from the Ranch ala and Chedi countries. 2 "' The Aitareya Brdhmana (VIII, 23) represents Durmukha as a universal monarch who made extensive conquests in every direction and was anointed by Bphaduktha.

Probably the Durmukha (Dummukha) of the Brahmanical and Buddhist accounts is identical with Dvimukha of Panchala, who, according to Jain tradition, was a Pratyeka-Buddha. Some accounts , associate the name of Brahmadatta, legendary king, with Panchala.

We have next the kingdom of Surasena with its capital at Mathura on the Yamuna. Siirasena (modern Muttra district including some of the territory still further south) before the period of the Bharata War was under the occupation of the scions of the Yadu family. The Puranas mention twenty-three Surasenas after the Bharata War up to the period of Nanda, but no dynastic lists are available.

To the south of 6urasena lay Avanti. Avanti roughly corresponds to central Malwa, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. 26 The capital of the state was also known as Avanti or UjjayinI, identified with modern Ujjain on the Sipra, a tributary of the ChambaL UjjayinI was a very important city in "ancient India both politically and commercially, and it is rather strange that the rulers of so famous a city have not been directly mentioned in the Puranic accounts. It is probable, however, that the twenty-eight (according to some Puranas twenty-four) Haihayas 'the descendants of Yadu) who are said to have ruled after the Bharata War were really the rulers of Avanti. For it may be recalled that the Avantis were one of the five branches of the Haihayas. 27 According to some scholars the twenty Vitihotras who are mentioned in the Purapas as having ruled after the Bharata War, were kings of Avanti. 27 * But no definite information is available regarding the history of Avanti after Vinda and Anuvinda, who flourished at the. time of the Bharata War. When we next hear of Avanti, more than five centuries later, it was under the Pradyotas, as has been related above.

Special importance attaches to the kingdom of Videha as it was a great centre of culture and learning. The Videha dynasty, or the race of the Janakas according to Puranic accounts, ended with Kriti, who has been identified with Kjitakshana, son of Bahulaiva, the ruler at the time of the Bharata War. 28 But as we find mention of Janakas of Videha even after the period of Yudhishfchira, the identification of the last of the Janakas does not seem to be correct as is rightly pointed out by Raychaudhuri. 29 Kriti may reasonably be identified with Karala (Janaka) the Vaideha, mentioned in the Arthaidstra, who is said to have perished along with his kingdom and relatives on account of his violation of a Brahmana maiden. 30 This story is confirmed in the Buddhist accounts, which make Kajara the last of the line.

The great king Janaka of Videha, and the sage Yajnavalkya, from whom he learnt Brdhmavidyd (spiritual knowledge), are famous names in Indian history, hut their chronology is uncertain and there might have been more than one pair bearing these names. It appears from the Mahabharata that one Janaka was ruling over Videha at the time of Janamejaya, son of Parlkshit, and Svetaketu, son of Uddfilaka, a prominent figure in Janaka's court, attended Janamejaya's snake sacrifice 31 The philosopher king Janaka of the Upanishads was a contemporary of Yajnavalkya and Aivapati, king of the Kekayas, but unfortunately both Yajnavalkya and Aivapati are also family names, just like Janaka, so that no chronological deductions can he drawn from this synchronism. Dr. Raychaudhuri places the Vedic Janaka, whom he takes to be the father of Sita, after the date of Janamejaya Krikshita, the descendant of the Pan<$avas. 32 This identification goes against many well-established synchronism in traditional history and fails to account for the period of Rama and the subsec uent Ikshvakus in the scheme of history.

There is, however, no doubt that one pair of Janaka, the philosopher king, and Yajnavalkya flourished after the period of the Bharata War, as gatamkal the successor of Janamejaya, is said to be the disciple of this Yajnavalkya who was himself a disciple of Va&ampayana. XJgrasena may probably be the personal name of this Janaka, though this name does not occur in dynastic lists. 33 It may be noted that the fame of the Janakas of Videha, both before and after the Bharata War, rests more on their patronage of learning, culture, philosophy, and spiritual attainments than on their martial exploits or sacrifices. Kings of Videha usually maintained friendly relations with neighbouring states and formed matrimonial alliances with different contemporary ruling families.

The degeneracy in character of the last monarch, as already stated, brought the Videha dynasty to an end, and the overthrow of the monarchy was followed by the rise of a republic. This political revolution in Videha is one of the important events during this period. In Buddha’s time the Videhas, along with the Lichchl.avis of Vaiiali and other clans, formed a powerful confederation known as the Vajj is. The Kaii people apparently had a hand in the overthrow of the Videhan monarchy, as frequent struggles between Kaii and Videha have been referred to in an earlier period. Perhaps a junior branch of the royal family of Kaii established itself in Videha. 34 The Puranas mention twenty-eight Maithilas as having ruled after the Bharata War. They were probably rulers of Videha.

The traditional accounts contain no information about the kingdom of Kaii after the Bharata War beyond mentioning that there were twenty-four Kasi kings down to the period of the Nandas. The Kasis, being contiguous to the Kosalas and Videhas, naturally had some connections with these states. The later Vedic texts mention Kaii-Kosala and Kaii-Videha together, stating also that sometimes these had the same king and a common Purohita, which indicates the close contact that subsisted between these three states, Kasi, Kosala, and Videha. 35

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The ill-feeling and rivalry between Kaii and Kosala which is indicated by Buddhist texts has already been referred to in connection with the Kosalas.

The Assaka Jdtaka testifies to the extension of the Kaii suzerainty to Potali in the kingdom of Assaka in Southern India. Kasi, the capital of the state, was the premier city in all India, extending over twelve leagues as compared to seven leagues which was the extent of Mithila and Indraprastha. 33 On account of the importance of the city of Kasi or Benares, it was the coveted prize of the neighbouring states. According to the Puranic account, during different periods in its history, Kaii came under the sway of three successive suzerain powers of Northern India— : the Pauravas of Vatsa, the Ikshvakus of Kosala and the kings of Magadha. 37 In the interval between the decline of Vatsa and the rise of Kosala, Kasi appears to have enjoyed independence under its famous king, Brahmadatta, who conquered Kosala, possibly about a century and a half before Buddha’s time.

To the east of Magadha lay Anca. It has already been stated (p. 325) that Jgatanlka, the father of Udayana of Kauiambi, attacked Champa, the capital of Dadhivahana, king of Ahga who, according to Puranic accounts, was the son of Ahga. The Jain tradition represents Dadhivahana’s daughter Chandana or Chandrabala as the first female to embrace Jainism shortly after Mahavira’s death. In the confusion consequent on Salonika's invasion of Champa, Chandana fell into the hands of a robber, but she is said to have maintained the vows of the order throughout. Anga seems to have been on terms of hostility all along with its neighbouring state of Magadha, and at one time included parts of Magadha, as would appear from the mention of Raj agriha as a city of Ahga. The Ariga suzerainty would also be evident from the defeat of king Bhaftiya of Magadha by king Brahmadatta of Ahga. But the Ahga kingdom loat its independence when Bimbisara, son of Bhattiya, avenged his father’s defeat and killed the Ahga king Brahmadatta, annexed the capital Champa, and continued there as viceroy till he left for Rajag?iha on his father's death, 38 Bimbisara later converted Ahga into a separate province and appointed his son Ajataiatru (Kunika) as governor with headquarters at Champa.

The existence of several other kingdoms during this period is known to us, but we know hardly anything about them. The Purauas refer to thirty-two rulers of Kalihga, and twenty-five of the A&naka kingdom, but do not give any other details. There were also the kingdoms of Gandhara and Kamboja in the west, but they do not come into prominence until somewhat later. There were probably other kingdoms of which we do not even know the names.

Gfa the whole, the history of India, during the period of 400 or 800 years following the Bharata War, according as we place that event in 100 or 1400 B.C., is only known to us in vague outline. All that we can say definitely is that Northern India was divided into a large number of states and, so far as our knowledge goes, no paramount power arose within this long period which could effectively exercise its supremacy over all or even a large number of them. We can dimly discern the struggles for supremacy, and even the ideal of imperialism so strongly stressed in the Mahabh&rata was by no means absent, but we do not note any substantial progress towards the political unification of India.

1. Ike omission of the states in the Punjab and the north-west is significant, and probably indicates that these states were seriously affected by the disorganisation consequent on the Bhirata War. We find the wild tribe of the Nagas, who were probably inhabiting Gandhara, suddenly rising to power and taking possession of Tucsha&iia. They also invaded the Paurava kingdom, which had become feeble, and reached up to Hastinapura where they killed the Paurava king Parffahit.

2. PHAJ, p. 20.

3. The Zmrp&Mtra mentioned in the P&nchavimsa Brdhmana at which one Janamejaya b said to have officiated as a priest is quite distinct from the Sarpasatra instituted by king Jana me jay a, as it was for securing preservation and wellbeing of the serpents, whereas the epic Sarposatra was for the destruction of the serpents (PancK. Rr,, XXV. 15. 3; Vtd. Ind., I, 274). Raychaudhuri regards the epic account of the Sarpmatra as having no historical basis, but accepts the conquest of Taxilfc by Janamejaya as a historical fact (PHAI, 30-31). But the Brahmana passages on which he relies for support (Ait. Br. f VIII, 21; 6at. Br. t

XIII. 5.4. 1-3) relate to the universal conquests of Janamejaya, the predecessor of the Panda vas, and are stated in connection with his horse-sacrifice. Janamejaya, the descendant of the Paridavas. also started a horse-sacrifice, but it was not completed on account of some technical difficulties (Hari, III. 2. 5-6, 28-29; 5, 11-17), and hence Janamejaya who is said to have performed horse-sacrifices must certainly be his ancestor.

4. Mbh, XVIII. 5. 34.

5. Panch. Br., XXV. 3. 6, XIV, 1. 12.

6. Panch. Br., II. 9. 4.

7. Raychaudhuri, PJtfAI, p. 38. According to Pargiter, "the principalities on the Sarasvat! and at Indraprastha disappeared, and Hastinapura remained the outpost of the Hindu kingdoms of North India" (A1HT , p. 285).

8. Pargiter, A JOT, pp. 328, 330.

9. Pargiter, DKA, pp. 1, 4, 9-10, 15.

10. DKA, p. 5.

11. Chhandogya Up., I. 10. 1: "Matachihatexhu Kurmhu ..."

12. A1HT S p. 285.

13. Pargiter; AlHT, pp. 269-70.

14. JASB, 3914, p. 321.

15. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 39.

16. Such as Sagaradeva, Bharata, Ahgirasa, Ruchi, Suruchi, Prate pa, Mahapratepa, Sudarsana, Mahasammata, Muchala, Kaiyana, &atadhanu, Makhadcva, Sadhina.

17. Law, Tribes, p. 127.

38. Ibid., pp. 125-7.

19 CHI, I, p. 180.

.) PHA1 , p. 89..

W. Pargiter, DKA. pp. 18-22.

22. Matsya P., 272. 1: Brihadratheshvatilaahu Vitihotrcshv ~ Avantishu; Pulakah svdminam hatv d svaputramabhishekshyati.

23. Cf. Matsya P., 272. 6; V&rdnasydm sutam sthdpya.

M Cf. Matsya P., 272. 6; Vdyu P.. 99. 319.

2;'. Law, Tribes, p. 32.

26. Ravchaudhuri, PHAI, p. 122.

27. Cf. Matsya P., 43. 48-9,

27a. JBORS. 1915, p. 10.

28. AlHT , pp. 96, 149, 330.

29. PHAI, p. 69.

30. Arthasastra . Mysore Ed., 1919, p. 11.

31. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), I. 48. 7; cf. III. 132. 16, 19; also III. 135. 21-3.

32. PHAI, p. 47.

33. Mbh (Cr. Ed.), HI. 134. 1.

34. PHAI, pp. 71-2.

35. Aahkhayana £S, xvi, 29. 5; Baudhdyana $S, XXI, 3; Gopatha Br., i, 2: 9; Law, Tribes, p. 127.

36. Cf. Jataka Nos. 515 (Sambhava), 489 (Suruchi) and 545 (Vidhurapandita).

37. CHI, I, p. 316.

38. Hardy, Manual of Buddhism , p. 163 n.

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BOOK FIVE

THE AGE OF THE RIK-SAMHITA

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CHAPTER XVI

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE language of the Rigveda is the oldest known Indo-Aryan language. In several respects , x it is true, its specific characterization has gone further than that of the oldest forms of Iranian speech known to us. But that does not warrant the assumption that the Rigvedie language is later than Gathic Avestan. For the innovations differentiating the language of the Rigveda from that of the Avesta are for the -most part not such as may be expected to develop in course of normal and gradual evolution, but are rather suggestive of a violent deflection from the natural course. Thus the normal and natural tendency of all the known Indo-European languages has been to spirantize the occlusives either through an overdose (as in Germanic) or through an underdose (as in Celtic) of expended expiratory energy; but the language of the Rigveda , instead of spirantizing the Indo-Iranian occlusives, has on the contrary occluded a number of Indo-Iranian spirants, eliminated some, and retained only the surd sibilants. The appearance of a whole series of cerebrals, unknown in any other Indo-European dialect, points, likewise, rather to violent deflection than to gradual evolution. Similar violent deflection from the normal course of evolution cannot, however, be pointed out in Iranian. It would, therefore, be wrong to consider the innovations of both Avestan and Sanskrit in the same light, or to draw any conclusion as to their relative chronology from a, comparison of those innovations.

Regarded from this point of view,, it would moreover seem that the whole problem of Indo-European phonetics requires restatement and reconsideration. It has been always tacitly assumed that Sanskrit, which possesses so few spirants, gives the truest picture of Indo-European consonantism; but that is, at the best, an unproved* hypothesis. What is an incontestable fact is that a strong spirantizing tendency was present already in the basic Indo-European language, and that this tendency, already in the later Indo-European epoch, caused the emergence of a whole new series of palatals out of the velars.

Moreover, in all the better known Indo-European dialects of the historical age, the number of spirants is much larger than in Sanskrit. And when we add to all this the further consideration that in actual pronunciation the true occlusive—which is in each case an ideal norm between the results of the expenditure of too much and too little expiratory energy—is hardly ever heard in any language then perhaps it would seem obvious and necessary to consider the imposing system of occlusives registered by Sanskrit grammarians not as a faithful picture of the original state of things in the basic Indo-European, but as the result of later variation.

It is not too much to suggest that also the sonant aspirates, which are found in no other Indo-European dialect, are but the Indian version of Indo-European sonant spirants. It appears, therefore, that not only the Indo-European vowel-system has been fundamentally transformed in Sanskrit, as is universally recognized to-day, but also, that, at least in one respect, namely in respect of spirants, Sanskrit consonantism has innovated no less. And this holds good for- the oldest recorded form of Sanskrit, namely the language of the Rigveda.

The Higvedic language is hieratic, and therefore to some extent exclusive and artificial; but it is on that account by no means an instrument of mere suggestion without any power of direct and forceful expression, as is the case, in a great measure, with Classical Sanskrit. On the contrary in pithiness it excels even the Latin of the Classical Age. That is largely because the Rigvedic poets strove throughout to present a complete idea, though not always a complete sentence, in every verse-foot (pada). Padas of this kind, usually of eight to twelve syllables, were naturally not easy to construct, and, therefore, ready-made Padas have often been repeated in the Rigveda with or without any material variation, though not so indiscriminately as were the Homeric verse-fragments in the Iliad .[2]

The verb generally used in the Rigveda to express the art of versification is taksh, which literally means “to hew.” Just as a carpenter, by applying the art of his trade, constructs beautiful pieces of furniture, so does the poet —kdru (literally: “manual worker”)—manufacture beautiful verses and hymns with which to win the favour of the gods, either for himself, or more frequently, for his patron. Such hymns were regarded directly as gifts of gods (devatta). It is clear that verse-making had already become a recognized profession in the Rigvedic age, and also that this profession had become a monopoly of the priestly classes. In the hands of the professional verse-makers Rigvedic poetry attained an amazing degree of technical perfection, but true poetry could not and did not flourish in the Rigvedic atmosphere, surcharged as it was with a spirit of bargaining between gods and men. Poetry of a high order springs either from absolute self-surrender, or from absolute individualism. But the spirit of Rigvedic poetry always oscillates between these two extremes, without ever attaining the highest altitude of either. Barring the all-pervading element of ritualism that has deadened its life, Rigvedic poetry therefore strikes the reader as intensely human, though not as actually sublime. With these

few preliminary remarks about Rigvedic language and literature, we shall now proceed to a more detailed analysis of both.

1. LANGUAGE

In its phonetic structure the Rigvedic language shows practically the same sounds as the Classical Sanskrit, the only notable exceptions being { and lh, which take the place of intervocalic d and dh in the Rigveda. But the frequency of the sounds is not the same in the Rigveda and in Classical Sanscrit. The relative frequency of r and Z in Rigvedic and later language is highly interesting. In the older language, l is of rare occurrence, but it extends its sphere more and more at the expense of r, and it is well known that in . the Prakritic stage some dialects of eastern India had completely eliminated r. It is also well known on the other hand that in ancient Iranian every Indo-European 1 had become an r. During the intervening period, of which roughly the first half is covered by changing and living Sanskrit,[3] r lost more and more ground to l. In the.later portions of the Rigveda, l is eight times as frequent as in the older parts, and in the Atharvaveda it is seven times as frequent as in the Rigveda .[4] Thus it is clear that increase of Z in frequency went hand in hand with the progress of the Aryans towards the east. In a passage often repeated in the Brahmanas it is said that the

Asuras suffered defeat at the hands of the gods because they mispronounced the word arayah as alaydh: 3 This would suggest that in the later Vedic age, when the word asura had lost its original meaning and became a general term of opprobrium, the propensity* of the easterners to pronounce Z for r was noticed and frowned upon by the orthodox Aryans. Or it may mean - that the Asuras referred to were none but those of the incoming Aryan tribes who, being of a particular group with its particular phonetic laws, not only retained unchanged the Indo-European l, but also made it the representative of Indo-European r. 6 In short, the behaviour of l and r in the Rigveda suggests as clearly that the invading Aryans were not quite homogeneous in speech as the increase of l at the expense of r suggests increasing eastern influence on the Vedic language.

That the Rigvedic language was not quite homogeneous is proved also by its lack of uniformity in 'regard to Fortunatov’s law. According to this law, Indo-European Z, when followed by dental occlusive or s, disappears after cerebralizing the following sound, whereas Indo-European r under similar circumstances remains. Thus in Skt. jathara the -Jh- is derived from Indo-European -Zth- (cf. Gothic kilthei), and in Skt. bhashate, the -sh- is derived from IndoEuropean -Zs- (cf. Lithuanian balsas); but in Skt. vart- vars-, the r in the sound-group -rt- and -rs- (both of Indo-European antiquity, cf. Lat. verto, Gr. erse)has not disappeared. These and other similar examples seem to prove Fortunatov’s law; but there are excep

tions. Indo-European l -f- dental has clearly developed into -rt- in Skt. jartu- which is a side-form of jafhara-, and is, like it, connected with Goth, kilthei, and in Skt. karshu, which is connected with Greek telson, the l of the Indo-European consonant group -Is- has not disappeared as Fortunatov’s law would have it, but has become r, Be-occludization of some occlusives in the Rigveda shows that this characteristic of the Prakrit dialects was latent also in the oldest Sanskrit. Thus we find h for dh in the verbal ending -hi for -dhi, in hita from dha-, in griha from *gridha, etc., h for bh in grah-, a side-form of grahhh for gh in hanti (cf. ghnanti), in arh a sideform of argh in dah- from dhagh-, etc.

Apart from these significant details which seem to challenge the claim of the Rigvedic language to have been a homogeneous one, there are others which definitely prove that to some extent it was also artificial. Thus it can hardly be an accident that in the AtriMa^Jala (fifth) there is not a single infinitive form in -tu; the Kaovas, the reputed authors of the first and the eighth Masalas, seem to have intentionally avoided using infinitive forms in -turn and ~tavat; the Vasish^has, the authors of the seventh Masala, show a similar aversion to absolutives in -tva and -tvaya. Moreover, perfect forms Uk e^yamdtur (VI. 87 1) and skaml/hathur (VI. 72. 2), without reduplication, must be regarded as purely artificial momentary formations like the non-reduplicating second person dual perfect takshathur (X. 39. 4), formed perhaps in imitation of the third person plural preterite takshur (II. 19. 8), which in that case must have been mistaken for a perfect-form as Wackernagel 7 has suggested. This also proves in a striking manner that the language of the earlier was already in danger of being misunderstood when the hymns of the tenth Masala were being composed.

Intentional imitation of the earlier parts of the Rigveda in the later parts is clearly proved in the case of the group of hymns X. 20-26, the author of which "has emphasized his dependence on earlier tradition by prefixing to his own group the opening words of the first hymn of the first book." 6 At any rate, parts of the earlier Rigveda must have become part of the ritual tradition at the time of the author of the hymn X. 181, for he mentions the fact that the Bathantara-saman is chanted to a couplet composed by Vasishtha (VII. 32. 22-23) and the Bjrihat-saman on another composed by Bharadvaja (VI. 46. 1-2).

On the whole, however, the language of the first nine Manilas must be regarded as homogeneous, in spite of traces of previous dialectal differences, particularly in the treatment of r and l t and of faint suggestions of particular mannerisms of different composerfamilies. With the tenth Masala it is a different story. The language has here definitely changed. The difference in language between the earlier Masalas and the tenth would have appeared

in its true proportions if the texts concerned had been written down at the time they were composed and handed down to us in that written form.

The fact, however, is that the text-tradition of the Rigveda was stabilized at a comparatively late date, and fixed in writing at a much later epoch. The result has been not unlike what would have happened if the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare were put in writing and printed for the first time in the twentieth century: in short the text of the Rigveda as handed down to us is, in various details, not only different from what it actually was, but to some extent also screens the differences that mark off the languages of the earlier Mandalas from that of the tenth. 8a The evidence of the metres, which, inter alia , demand a heavy penultimate in verse-feet of ten or eleven syllables but a light one in those of eight or twelve, 0 clearly proves that the actual pronunciation of the word pdvaka must have been pavdka in the Rigvedic age, but the fact has been completely suppressed in the traditional text. Similarly, on the evidence of the metres, the word chhardis seems to have been without an r in the Rigveda, and very probably the redactors of the Rik-samhitd in some passages intentionally altered chhadis into chhardis for reasons that cannot now be ascertained. 10

Apart from these and other sporadical instances of misrepresentation, 11 the text of the Rigveda has in various respects undergone a fundamental rehandling that has to no small degree altered its original character. In the original text, there was hardly ever sandhi between the end of a verse-foot and the beginning of another, as is clearly indicated by the evidence of metres, but the final redactors have systematically joined them in sandhi wherever possible,' 13 though they did not apply their misguided zeal to cases of non-sandhi within the verse-foot. The application of abhinihitasandhi (absorption of an initial a- into a final -e or -o) is in this regard highly interesting. Whether within a verse-foot or between two verse-feet, the abhinihita-sandhi in almost all its instances has to be dissolved in reading. But the fact is that this sandhi is found in the written text regularly between two verso-feet (i.e. where it should not have taken place at all), but within the verse-foot its occurrence is irregular and facultative, seemingly without any principle. Similar, though not qiiite the same, is the case also with the other kinds of vowel-sandhi in the Rigveda, such as kshaipra (i.e. the change of a preceding vowel into the corresponding semi-vowel before a dissimilar vowel) and Praslishta (i.e. coalition of two similar vowels into a long one), for they too have to be dissolved in reading, often within the verse-foot and practically always between two verse-feet. Bui semi-vowels which are not the result of kshaipra sandhi have also to be very often dissolved (iyddipurana).

The evidence of metre shows, moreover, that not seldom a short vowel nas to ne inserted in reading net ween a consonant and an r immediately preceding or lollowmg it in the same word (thus indra has oiien to oe read mcLara). This inserted vowel sometimes reveals liexionai lorms wmcn otherwise would never have been discovered. Thus apparently the stems in -i, -u, /-intake the endings - yoh, voh, and ‘Ton respectively in genitive and locative dual as in the classical language, but readings restored with the help of the metre clearly show that the normal ending in the itigvedic age was dissyllabic in each case: the traditional text has adopted these monosyllabic endings, evidently under the influence of the later language. 12 The case of long ri is rather peculiar. As a rule it is found in the written text only in those forms which are palpably similar to, other forms with other long vowels; thus pitrin is written with long ri because palpably similar forms such as munim or sadhiin show a long vowel. Otherwise the short ri in the Rigveda represents also the long j-i. Thus in dridha the short ri stands for long ri that is demanded both by grammar and orthoepy. Frank cases of Prakritism are jyotis from dyulushtanam 13 for ushprandm, sithira for srithira, sure duhita (I. 34. 5) for suro duhita (VII. 69. 4), etc. On the other hand, words like ni$a (from *ni-zd- a), diilabha (from :: duz-dabh-a), shodasa (from * shash-dasa) , etc., could have been formed only at a pre-Vedic stage of the language.

Such , a pre-Vedic stage is suggested also by forms of the socalled flexion Jane of a number of i-stems and u-stems, found only in the Rigveda and certainly of Indo-European antiquity/ 4 Vowels of dissyllabic, value are a precious relic of Indo-European antiquity, the commonest case being the ending - dm in the genitive plural which has often to be read as -adm. The use of a verb-form in the singular number w’hen the subject is a plurality of neuter things was the normal rule in the original Indo-European of which ample evidence is found in other Indo-European dialects, but in the Rigveda we have only one sure instance of this usage, namely dhri shvave dhiyatc dhand (I. 81. 3).

The verbal system revealed by the Rigveda is infinitely more complex than that of Classical Sanskrit, and yet what we. find is a drastically simplified form of what it was in the basic Indo-European language. Thus the original thematic ending -o in the first person singular has been preserved only in thirteen subjunctive forms, 15 but in other subjunctive forms of the first person singular it was extended by -ni that came to be associated with it already in the Indo-Iranian epoch. The active ending in the first person plural seems to have been -mes in the original Indo-European on .the evidence of Greek and other languages, but the ancient Iranian dialects know only -masi: lc in the Rigveda both -masi and -mas occur side by side, the former being more than five times as frequent as the

latter; in the Atharvaveda -mas becomes commoner than -masi, and in the classical language -masi disappears altogether. The augment has retained in the Rigveda its original character of an independent preverb, and as such is very frequently dispensed with tvhen the'past sense is clear from the context. The forms thus obtained are either of the indicative or of the injunctive mood, almost equal in number in the Rigveda, the injunctive forms being in about one-third of their occurrences governed by the prohibitive particle ma. 17 In the classical language the augment can be dropped only when in construction with this prohibitive particle. The perfect is not necessarily a tense of the past as in Classical Sanskrit, but is merely suggestive of the fullest amplitude of action. It is pronouncedly suggestive of past action only when preceded by adverbs like purd “formerlybut it can also be governed by particles like nunam “now.”

On the whole the Rigvedic verb expresses more the modes and aspects of action than the time of occurrence, if the augment, which was not an integral part of the verb, is left out of consideration. The subjunctive mood is in full bloom in the Rigveda, but it was completely eliminated from the classical language. On the other hand, the optative, though not so popular as the subjunctive in the Rigveda, has been retained throughout. The future tense which was in origin a desiderative present was in the Rigveda still in the process of changing its role. It is still in its beginnings, and the Rigveda forms a future stem only from fifteen roots.

The language of the tenth Mandala represents a distinctly later stage of the Rigvedic language. 18 Hiatus, which is frequent in the earlier Rigveda, is already in process of elimination here. Stressed i a cannot in sandhi be changed into y v in the earlier parts, but in the tenth Mandala they can. The ending - asas in nominative plural is half as frequent as -as in the Rigveda taken as a whole, but its number of occurrences is disproportionately small in the tenth Mandala. Absolutives in - tvdya occur only here. The stem rai- is inflected in one way in the first nine Mandalas, and in another in the tenth, ' 3 and in the inflexion of dyau -, too, the distribution of strong and weak forms is much more regular in the earlier Mandalas. The Prakritic verbal stem kuru - appears only in the tenth Mandala for the earlier kriiiu-. Many words appear for the first time in the tenth Mandala or are shared by it only with the interpolated parts of other Mandalas. The old locative form pritsu, adjectives like girvanas and vicharshani, and the substantive viti do not occur at all in the tenth Mandala. though in the earlier Mandalas they are quite common. The particle shn, which is unknown in the Atharvaveda, occurs fifty times in the first nine Mandalas but only once in the tenth. Words like djya, kola, lohita, vijaya , etc., occur for the first time in the tenth Mar.dala, as also the root lahh-. Words

shared with the tenth Masala only by the interpolated parts of other Mandalas, the Valakhilyas, and unmistakably late hymns are loka (for earlier uloka which is a haplology for uruloka), mogha , visarga, gup - (a back-formation from popa), etc. And words which occur mostly, though not exclusively, in the tenth Mandate and these parts, are sarva, bhagavant, prana, hridaya, etc. The archaic particle % of pronominal origin, for which the Padapatha throughout wrongly reads Im, does not occur at all in the tenth Masala, and the particle im, which is only less archaic than x, occurs in it only about half a dozen times. 20 Of forms like dakshi, adukshat, etc., 21 which are the results of the action of a pre-Vedic phonetic law, 22 only one, namely dudukshan, occurs in the tenth Mandate. It is unnecessary to dilate any further on the language of the Rigveda.

2. LITERATURE

The Rigvedic literature is not less colourful. The earliest attempt to classify Vedic hymns systematically according to contents is to be lound in Yaska’s Nirukta (VII. 1-2). Stating first that the stanzas are either indirectly addressed (paroksha), directly addressed i pratyaksha), or are self-invocations {adhydtmikl) , Yaska proceeds to specify the characteristics and cite instances of the various types of hymns. There are, to begin with, hymns in pure praise of the deity without any prayer, as, for instance the Indra-hymn I. 32, bearing unmistakable characteristics of a popular ballad: 23

1. The heroic deeds of Indra shall I proclaim, the deeds that the thunder-wielder performed first.

He slew* the dragon, freed the waters, slit the bowels of the hills.

2. He slew the dragon resting on the hill.

Tvashfa had forged for him the shining thunder,

And the waters springing forth rushed towards the ocean, like cows lowing (at the sight of their calves).

8. Like a broken reed there he lay.

Over him flowed the waters gladdening hearts;

Those whom Vritra held beleaguered by his body— : at their feet now he lay.

11. As Dasa-wives stayed the waters guarded by the.dragon, like the cows restrained by the Pai^is:

the watery pit which was sealed,—that he opened by slaying Vritra, and released the waters.

15. Indra is the monarch of all that move and rest.

the thunder-wielder is monarch of tame and horned

animals:

He indeed is ruler of all the peoples;

like a felly round the spokes of a wheel he protects all.

Mantras of the second type, according to Yaska, are those in which the poet prays for favours without praising the deity. It is significant that Yaska cannot cite a single Mantra of this type out of the Rigveda, but adds that they are plentiful in the Yajurveda. Oaths and imprecations constitute the third type according to Yaska, and he cites as instance Rigveda VII. 104. 15: “May I die to-day if I am a sorcerer or if I have tried to take a man’s life by sorcery, but may he, too, who falsely called me a sorcerer, bewail the death of ten grown up sons.” Fourthly, according to Yaska’s classification, there are hymns containing objective descriptions* of particular states, and, significantly enough, he cites as a specimen the cosmogonical hymn X. 129: “Then there was neither death nor immortality, etc.” In the fifth category are included by Yaska the Mantras expressive of apprehension, such as X. 95. 14: “The benevolent god may fly forth to-day and never return.” 24 Lastly, according to Yaska, there are hymns of which the purpose is to administer censure or praise, and as an illustration he cites that unique hymn, namely X. 117:

1. Hunger was certainly not meant as a means of death by the
gods. For also him who has eaten his All, death befalls in various forms;
The wealth of the liberal is never exhausted,
But the stingy person never finds a friend.

2. He who though possessing food, to the broken and begging
destitute, approaching him, refuses a morsel,
And hardens his heart against him even though he had served
him before,
he too, likewise, never finds a friend.

3. He indeed is a patron who gives to the beggar,

longing for food, wandering and thin,

Who then readily responds to his call to arms, and also thenceforward becomes his friend.

4. He is no friend who does not give to the friend

—to Jthe comrade asking for food;

Let him turn away from him, with him there is no shelter, rather seek shelter with a generous stranger.

5. Let the wealthier person be generous to the applicant;

let him take a longer view;

For life rolls on like the wheels of a chariot, wealth comes now to one, now to other.

6. The food earned by the fool is in vain,

truly say I that it is death to him;

He feeds no comrade nor a friend; he eats alone and also bears the burden of his sins alone.

7. Only when ploughing does the plough-share produce food;

only by walking can a distance be covered;

A Brahmapa who can speak is preferable to one who cannot, A liberal friend should be better than an illiberal one.

The hymn is packed with noble sentiments, and its every word is charged with vigour. Yet it should not be forgotten that the hectoring eloquence of this energetic priest was probably directed mainly to the purpose of frightening the wealthy into ceding a part of their wealth to the Brahmaujas especially, and not to the poor of eve^y class, for of genuine sympathy for the poor there is not much in the Rigveda.

Yaska’s brief and purely formal classification of the contents of the Mantra - texts is, however, anything but satisfactory. It is true that the main body of the hymns contains praises or prayers or both. But from the literary point of view they should best be regarded as lyrical poems adapted to the purpose of ritual. Of these the hymns addressed to Heaven’s daughter Aurora (Ushas) are perhaps the oldest and certainly the most beautiful. They have something of the lyric beauty and love of nature of Shelley and Wordsworth, and one cannot help feeling that they were inspired by the sight of the sunrise over the snowclad peaks of the Himalayas. A few stanzas of the first hymn to Ushas (I. 48) will suffice to reveal the spirit of simple adoration in which the goddess was invoked by the FLishis:

1. Light us up with happiness, O Ushas, daughter of heaven,

with great lustre, O radiant one, with wealth, O bountiful

goddess.

5. Like a fair maiden comes Ushas, gladdening (all),

she comes awakening four-footed beasts, and makes the birds

rise into the air.

9. O Ushas, shine with shimmering radiance, O daughter of heaven,
bringing us ample happiness, as you shew your light

upon the daily sacrifice.

10. The breath and life of the whole world is in you,

O noble one, as you shine forth; as such, O resplendent one with towering chariot, give ear to our cry, O bestower Of various gifts.

11. O Ushas, win then (for us) the prize that is admired among

human folk.

With that, hasten to the sacrifices of your worshippers, the sacrificers who are chanting your praises.

14. Whoever were the Rishis of old that invoked you for protection and support. O noble one,

Yet accept our hvmns and bestow on us a gift in token of your satisfaction, O Ushas, with brilliant lustre.

Here it is simplicity and not greed that is begging of the goddess gifts and more gifts. But it cannot escape even the most superficial reader that in hvmns such as this the means that the poets have in view for attaining their object is simply to please the deity by flatter

in# songs and ritual sacrifices. There is no suggestion as vet of a belief in the existence of a supreme justice from which flow all punishment and reward. In the hymns to Varurja, however, this sentiment is already in the horizon: The hymn to this rod by Kurma Gartsamada “(II. 28), for example, opens in the usual flattering tone:

1. May this (hymn) addressed to Aditi’s son who is wise and

self-supreme excel all the existing (hymns) in greatness; The god whom it is exceedingly pleasant to worship,— of that affluent Varuiga do I beg glorious fame.

But the tone soon changes, and adulation turns into admiration for god-created cosmic harmony:

4. Aditi’s son unleashed them (i.e. the rivers) and

started them on various paths, the rivers course along in obedience to Varuga’s ordinance; Never released are they, nor ever tired, like birds they swiftly fly in never-ending course (lit. round the earth).

5. Loosen the bond of sin like a girdle, O Varuga;

We shall fully conform to the rule of equity you have ordained.

May not the thread snap while I am still weaving my prayersong,

may not the measuring-rod break out of season.

6. Avert terror from me, O Varinja,

be kind to me, as a righteous ruler.

Release me from anguish, as a calf from the rope; not even for a moment can I live aSvay from you.

7. Do not strike us,-Varuna, with the weapons which, in your search,

O Asura, destroy those who commit sin.

May we not have to bid adieu to light;

loosen the hold of the envious on us, so that we may live* That virtue is its own reward, and, as a spiritual quality, is incommensurable in terms of material advantage, does not seem to have been realized by the Rigvedic poets. The spirit of the people that peeps through the thick veil of ritual pedantry is one of gladness, aspiring ever for more, never knowing rest or contentment. Absence of evil is not what they pray for most. Their supreme desire is to triumph over poverty and resistance. Their chief god is Indra who does not possess a single spiritual trait. But their minds are fresh, and, therefore, deeply impressed by the violence of natural phenomena. Atri’s hymn (V. 83) to Parjanya (the storm-god) is perhaps the most striking example:

2. He strikes down the trees, he strikes also the Rakshasas,

the whole world is afraid of (Parjanya) carrying mighty arms.

Even the sinless quake before the bull-like god,

when Parjanya, thundering, strikes the evil-doers.

3. Like the charioteer lashing forward his horses by the whip

does he announce the messengers of rain,

Lion's roars from a distance are heard,

When Parjanya renders rainy the sky.

4. Winds blow fast and lightnings flash,

plants shoot up and heaven swells;

Quickening showers fall for all

when Parjanya gladdens the earth with his seed.

7. Roar and thunder, sow the seed,

come flying hither in squelching car;

Turn downward the skin unbound,

so that be levelled high lands and low.

Hymns of this type are unique in world literature, for nowhere else can the deification of natural phenomena be so clearly perceived.

Martial spirit is well reflected in hymn VI. 75, though, evidently, it is not a real war?song, but rather a magical incantation supposed to secure victory in battle:

1. Like a thunder-cloud becomes his face,

when the mailed warrior plunges into the thick of battle. Re victorious without being injured in body, may the strength of the armour protect you.

2. By the bow we'll win the cattle, by the bow the battle,

by the bow shall we win the mighty struggles.

The bow destroys the enemy,

by the bow shall we conquer the regions.

3. As if to whisper the string nears the ear,

holding in embrace its dear friend (the bow);

Stretched on the bow it lisps like a girl, this string, that helps on to victory.

The din of battle is always in the background of the Rigvedic stage, but the poets, being for the most part priests, failed to give anything like a true picture of it. Yet, sometimes, the priests themselves were present on the battle-field. The Bharata-army succeeded in crossing the rivers Vipai and £utudrl only when Viivamitra by his eloquence persuaded them to lower their level. The colloquy between the priest and the rivers (in. 33) is quite interesting. Says ViSvamitra:

3. To the most motherly stream have I come,

the broad and propitious Vipai have we reached;

One the other licks like the mother-cow her calf, as in the same bed they follow their course.

Not to be taken in so easily, the rivers ask suspiciously:

4. Swollen thus with a flood of milk

do we flow along the god-created bed;

Our course, once in flow, can not be stopped: with what object does the sage invoke us?

And Viivamitra comes pat with his request:

5. Stop in your course a moment, O true ones,

listen to my Soma-sweet speech;

An ardent prayer to you I address;

seeking help Kuiika's son invokes you.

The rivers at last agree and express their consent with the words:

10. We shall do as you say, O poet,

since in cart and chariot you have come from afar;

To you shall I stoop as the mother swelling (with milk to her

child),

- like a maid her lover shall I obey you.

The most famous and interesting of the dialogue-hymns contained in the yiigveda is the one (X. 95) in which the mortal Pururavas tries blit fails to persuade the nymph Urva£l to continue to live with him. The lure of paradise is too much for the fickle female. She leaves her mortal lover, and her last words (verse 15) are cruel and cynical, though not unsympathetic:

Pururavas, do not die, do not perish (?)

Let not the cruel wolves devour you;

The friendship of woman is never indeed firm, for they are hyenas in heart.

These dialogue-hymns may be regarded as dramas in embryo (not necessarily for the stage}. In most cases they are obscure. But there is nothing tp justify the theory 26 that the verses were once connected by prose narrative now lost. The dialogue-hymns, though in most cases clearly of secular origin, must have been utilized in some sort of ritual drama, for otherwise it is difficult to explain their inclusion in the Samhita.

Though Rigvedic poetry is predominantly lyrical, the Samhita contains not a single hymn that may be called a love-poem. In the Atharvaveda, too, we have only love-charms. This is difficult to explain, specially when so many different types of hymns of nonreligious origin are included in the Rigveda. One of them is the well-known and oft-quoted satirical frog-hymn (VII. 103):

1. Hibernating throughout the year

like Brahmfps observing a vow,

Animated by the divine Parjanya

the frogs are now croaking loudly.

2. When heavenly showers fall on them,

lying in a pond like shrivelled skins,

Like the lowing of cows for their calves, sound the voices of frogs in unison.

3. When showers fall on longing creatures

and slake their thirst at the start of the rainy season, With rapture in the voice, like the son his father, they greet each other without cessation.

5. One repeats the word of another,

like students echoing the voice of the teacher;

Together they form a chorus,

when at rain-fall l&udly they croak.

Another remarkable hymn of non-religious origin is the merry song by £i£u Angirasa (IX. 112) with the refrain '‘flow O Soma for Indra’s sake”.

1. Diverse indeed are our aims,

different are the tasks of men,

The builder seeks for cracks, leeches for the sick, and priests are greedy for sacrifices.

2. With seasoned timber of ancient trees

and the feathers of birds,

The goldsmith seeks those who possess gold, ready with his furnaces and precious gems.

3. A bard I am, my father a leech,

and my mother is a grinder of com;

Diverse in means, but all wishing wealth, equally we strive for cattle.

The fourth and concluding verse is coarse in expression, foreshadowing verses of the same brand in the Atharvaveda . This hymn is of particular importance also for the light which it thro.ws upon the caste-system in the Rigvedic age, for it shows clearly that professions were not yet determined by birth. But there was already a fully developed class-system dating from the Indo-Iranian epoch, as is unavoidable in every society that has outgrown the savage state; and inevitably the professions in the Rigvedic class-system already showed a distinct tendency to become hereditary.

Dasa princes like Sambara, Dhuni, Chumuri, Pipru, and Varchin have been actually mentioned by the Rigvedic poets, but it is significant that, as a rule, Indra himself has been made to combat them ou his own initiative and not in course of rendering merely routine assistance to Aryan chiefs. 26 For it shows that even in the heyday of Rigvedic culture there was no longer a living memory of the first encounters with the aboriginal races. 27 At the time of the Battle of the Ten Kings (dasarajna), however, which is the central event of the history of the period (ante, p. 250) when the Aryan tribes began to feel themselves secure enough to indulge in the luxury of fighting each other, Indra is invoked only to render aid, but not to lead the onslaught. This significant difference in the treatment of previous and contemporary events would seem to suggest that the priestly poets of the Rigvedic age were not without a semblance of historical sense.

On the other hand, the hymns, which in the absence of anything better. are taken to be historical poems, namely the Danastutis (psalms in praise of munificence), are generally made-to-order pedestrian compositions without any historical data of real value. Generally they are sets of three to five verses appended to a hymn of the usual type. Only one hymn (I: 126) is entirely a Danastuti, and that one is perhaps the worst in the Rigveda:

1. No bad hymns am I offering by exerting my intellect In praise of Bhavya ruling on the Indus,

Who assigned to me a thousand sacrifices,

The incomparable king desirous of fame.

2. A hundred gold pieces from the fame-seeking king Together with a hundred horses as a present have I received, I, Kakshivant, obtained also a hundred cows from my master, Who exalted thereby his fame immortal up to heaven.

3. Dark horses given by Svanaya, and

Ten chariots carrying slave-girls fell to my share;

Followed a herd of sixty thousand cows,

All this as sacrificial fee did Kakshivant receive at the end of the session.

4. Forty ruddy horses of the set of ten chariots Are heading the column of a thousand cows;

Fiery steeds decorated with pearls

Have the Kakshivants and Pajras received.

5. After the first gift, I received

Three chariots and eight cows capable of nourishing even a rich patron

For you, my good relations, who, as dan-fellows,

Driving in chariots, hankered for fame. 28 This dismal hymn ends with two more verses notable only for their extreme obscenity. It is in these Danastutis that Brahmanical greed appears in its worst aspect in the Rigveda.

Scarcely less debased than the Danastutis are the Apri-hymns, 29 manufactured artificially for employment in animal-sacrifice. Every priestly family has its own Aprx-hymn, and all of them (ten altogether) are constructed in the same pattern. Eleven different deities and deity-groups in as many different verses have been invoked in each Aprl-hymn in the same order. Only in regard to the Second deity there is evident uncertainty, for in four Apri-hymns it i£ Tanunapat, in four other Naraiamsa, and in the first two Aprihymns we find as second deity both Tanunapat and Naraiamsa, each with a verse for himself. Moreover at the end of the second Apri

hymn, there is a special verse invoking Indra. Thus the first Aprihymn consists of twelve, the second of thirteen and each of the rest of eleven verses. The AprI-hymns, though of no literary value, are of immense importance for the history of Vedic religion. They prove ^conclusively, that also in the oldest period, as at later epochs, ritual had never been fully standardized. There is no reason to doubt that these hymns were actually used at animal-sacrifices as tradition maintains. But there is nothing in the Apri-hymns to suggest that in the Rigvedic period the animals sacrificed were regarded as substitutes for the sacrifices themselves as was the case in later ritual. 29 *

The funeral hymns too seem to have been composed specially for ritual purposes, but they contain truly noble sentiments. As cremation and burial were both in vogue, we have both burial and cremation hymns* But the character of the respective hymns leaves scarcely any doubt that burial was the earlier custom. It is significant that the deceased, if a man, still holds a bow in his hand, which the priest takes away from him at the time of burial with the words (X. 18. 9):

The bow I take from the hand of the deceased for our power and glory and strength:

Even there where you lie may we as good heroes repulse all the attacks of the foes.

The martial spirit of the Vedic Aryans finds truest expression in this verse. Even at the moment of death the thought supreme in their minds is that of war. Twice in the IjLigveda. man has been called mxityub.andhu "regarding death as a relation." The Rigvedic Indians were passionately fond of life, but they were not afraid of death. A gentler but more sophisticated spirit is revealed by the cremation-hymn X. 16:

1. Do not burn him, Agni, do not scorch him either,

do not tear asunder his skin or body;

When you have devoured him, O Jatavedas, then do you send him on to the Fathers.

2. When you have devoured him, O Jatavedas,

then do you give him over to the Fathers;

When he reaches the other world of the dead, then may he obey the will of the gods.

3. Let the eye go to the sun, let the breath go to the wind;

to heaven or to earth according to their desert;

Or to waters go, if that is your lot,

or set you up in the plants with your limbs.

The last verse is of special interest for various reasons. Pantheism of a primitive variety is discernible in the first line. The second line suggests the idea of retribution though as yet far short of the philosophical- doctrine of Karma. Belief in a life after death is also

revealed in this verse, but there is no suggestion as yet of belief in neli or rebiriii. The first occurs only in the Atharvaveda , and the second clearly appears for the first time in the Upanishads.

Quite a number of philosophical hymns are contained in the Rigveda, and they have been often discussed and translated. 30 An important point to note in this connection is, however, that the terms may a and rupa —on which hinges the whole of later Vedanta philosophy—have been used already in the Rigveda precisely in their Vedanta sense. 31 "Rupa" in the Rigveda never signifies real form, but only the transient and deceptive appearance; and "maya" in most passages has been used to signify only that occult power by means of which the deceptive appearance can*be assumed or discarded. 1 2 3 4 5 6 ^ If the doctrine of may a and rupa is the essence of Vedanta (end of Veda), then it may as well be called Vedadi (beginning of Veda).

Nowhere in ancient literature have the gods been more concretely conceived as in the Rigveda, but the same Rigveda also reveals the fact that already there were some who would believe in the existence even of Indra, the most concrete of the Vedic pantheon. Quite in the strain of "O God, if there be a God," a poet in the Rigveda makes this astonishing remark (VIII. 100. 3):

Chant the hymn, striving for strength,

unto Indra the truthful, if indeed he exists.

One says to other, “Indra does not exist,

who has him seen? whom shall I praise?”

But in the next verse is heard already the voice of Kpishpa in the Bhagavadgita. For Indra replies:

Here am I, look at Me, O singer, all beings I excel in greatness;

Behests of the cosmic order magnify Me,

for I rend the worlds when I am bent on rending them.

The Rigvedic conception of concrete gods will be dealt with more fully in Chapter XVIII.

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

7. Ibid., p. xv. See however MacdoneU, Vedic Grammar, § 482e.

8. CHI, I, p. 77. . ■

8a. Thus in sandhi the final ~n has been throughout reduplicated after a snort vowel when the following word begins with a vowel. But in the older parts the reduplication fits in with the metre only in those cases in which the final -n had been originally followed by a consonant. (See my Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit, p. 57.)

9. See Rikprdtiidkkya, XVII. 39.

10. If c hkardis is etymologically connected with Engl, shield, as it is supposed to be, then of course the r-form must be regarded as original. But this etymology is anything but certain.

11. It must be clearly understood. that the written text, everywhere and in every case, truly represents the text as it was when it was finally fixed. It is misleading only in the sense that ii does not everywhere give the text in its original form.. See Oldenberg, Prolegomena, p. 372, fn. 2.

11a. For the few instances of non-sandhi between Padanta and Padadi in the mitten text though sandhi was possible, see Rikprdtisakhya, II. 60 ff.

12. See Wackernagel, op. tit., Ill, $ 22b.

13. The form in which the word has been handed down is ushfrdnam. Non-cerebralization of a however shows that, in actual pronunciation it was ushtemdm.

14. See my Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit, pp. 133-2.

15. See MacdoneU. Vedic Grammar, p. 324, fn. 2.

16. See Thumb, Handbnch des Sanskrit, § 425 Anm.

17. MacdoneU, ibid., § 413b.

18. On this point see particularly Oldenberg, Prolegomena, pp. 268-70.

19. See Wackernagel, op; cit v III, p. 214.

20. Ibid., p. 519.

21. Collected in Rikprdtisakhya, IV. 98. These archaic forms, too, have been throughout misrepresented in the Fadapatha.

22. See my Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit, p. 45.

23. Without trying to be literal, I have tried in these translations to convey the sense of the original as accurately as possible.

24. So this much-discussed, but still obscure, verse has been translated by Lakshman Sarup, The Nighantu and The Nirukta, English trans., p. 114.

25. Suggested by Oldenberg, ZDMG, XXXIX, pp. 52 ft*.

26. At least one Dasa chief, however, namely Baibutha, had adopted Aryan culture and even patronized Brahmana singers (see Rig red a, VIII. 46. 32).

27. This is a fresh argument in favour of dating the first Aryan invasion of India earlier and not later than the middle of the second millennium B.C.

28. The fifth stanza is obscure; only a literal translation has been attempted.

29. A brief account of the Apri-hymns has been given by Max MiilJer, HASL, second edition, revised, pp. 463-7.

29a. In later Vedic ritual, the animal sacrificed is throughout regarded as a surrogate victim which the initiated person has to immolate in order to obtain release from his vow.

30. See Wintemitz, HIL, I, pp. 97 if.

31. It is curious that this fact has not yet been properly emphasized by any modem investigator.

32. Also in the Avesta the word mdyd has a similar meaning, but the point has yet to be properly investigated.

CHAPTER XVII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. As. for example, the rise of the cerebral series and the levelling of short diphthongs.
2. 2. Gilbert Murray says of the Iliad: “We often find, too, that descriptive phrases are not used so accurately to fit the thing described. They are caught up ready made from a store of such things: perpetual epithets, front halves of lines, back halves of lines, whole lines, if need be, and long formulae. The stores of the poets were full and brimming. A b^rd need only put in his hand and choose out a well-sounding phrase. Even the similes are ready-made.**
3. (The Rise of the Greek Epic, second ed. f p. 2*^8). All this may be maintained, mutatis mutandis, also of ‘Rigvedic poetry.
4. 3. In the days of Panini, whom I place in the fifth cenfcurv B.C., Sanskrit was still a living language of some sort. But in the days of the grammarian Pataajali :t must have become more or less like Latin in mediaeval Italy. In any case, Sanskrit had ceased to be a iring language long before the dayr of A&oka. Cf. Keith. HSL, pp. 8-17.
5. 4. See Wackerna^cl, Altindische Grainmat.ik. I, 8 191c.
6. 5. I take this to be the meaning of the well-known passage; te'eufd helayz helaya it t parahabhuvuh.
7. 6. Cf. Wackemage), op. cit., I 8 192c 8 193a.
8. 353

POLITICAL AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

I. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

As a general rule, monarchy was the system of government prevailing in this age. The term Rdjan, king or chieltain, is of frequent occurrence in the Rigveda. The country which the Vedic Aryans occupied was split up into numerous tribal principalities. One passage of the Rigveda (1. 126. 1) speaks of a king living on the bank of the Sindhu, and another (VIII. 21. 18) refers to a king Chitra and other nobles as residing in the neighbourhood of the river Sarasvati. Ten kings are described as having fought in the historic battle against Sudas {ante, p. 250). In the Danastutis and elsewhere, a very large number of rajas are also mentioned. These passages leave no doubt that the form of government was normally monarchical, the tribe as a political unit being under a single ruler. This, of course, is to be expected from the patriarchal organization of Aryan society and from the state of constant warfare with their neighbours (aboriginal and not rarely Aryan), which was a normal feature of the life of the Vedic Aryans.

But in the Rigveda we come across terms which in later times were undoubtedly applied to non-monarchical constitutions. Thus we have references to the gana with the ganapati or jyeshtha (elder) at its head. The last probably corresponds to the jefthaka of the Pali texts, and it is not impossible that there were even in this early period, the germs of the republican states of the type we meet with in early Buddhist times 1 (cf. vol. II, ch. I).

The passages cited above also show that, generally speaking, the kingdoms were small in extent and were units of a single tribe. Whether the confederacy of the Five Tribes who attacked Sudas actually involved a system of political organization or some sort of political collaboration cannot be definitely determined. But it is not altogether unlikely. One passage in Rigveda (VIII. 5. 38) speaks of king Kasu making a gift of ten kings to a Rishi (sage) and other passages (II. 41. 5; V. 62. 6) represent Mitra and Varuna as occupying a spacious palace with a thousand pillars and a thousand gates. Even allowing for poetic exaggeration, the description postulates the existence of a royal palace of imposing proportions, and necessarily presupposes a fairly large kingdom that could boast of a capital capable of accommodating a palace of such dimensions. We have again to admit that the size of some kingdoms at least was large enough to enable the rulers to command that affluence which is so often described in the Danastutis. 2 The presents conferred

by the kings on their priests were gorgeous, ample, and varied. They consisted of cows numbering thousands at times, of horses, chariots, blocks of gold, dresses and beautifully attired female slaves. Hence the wealth possessed at least by some of these rulers was considerable.

Further, it is interesting to note that we meet with the expression Samrdf, which meant an “emperor” in later days, and also the idea of a universal monarch (visvasya bhuvanasya raja). 3

In any case, the king occupied a position of high dignity and supremacy which was emphasized by a formal consecration and laudatory hymns. He wore a gorgeous robe, and his palace, whatever its dimensions, undoubtedly surpassed in grandeur the common dwellings of the people. On the whole the J ligveda leaves no doubt that the king was no longer merely a leader of a primitive tribe, but occupied a position of pre-eminence which was deliberately distinguished in all possible ways from the rest of the people.

The lines of kingly succession that we can trace in the RV raise the presumption of hereditary kingship as the normal system, but there is clear evidence that when the situation demanded it, visah (settlements) who constituted the r&shtra (national unit) could select a worthy monarch of their own choice from among the members of the royal family or of the nobility (the rdjanyas). Geldner 4 holds that passages like X. 124. 8 that are generally cited to establish the selection of a king by the settlements merely indicate their formal sanction ot a fait accompli. But the very fact of this formal sanction presupposes that the right of selection was exercised by the subjects some time earlier.

Two assemblies called sabhd and samiti formed an essential feature of the government. The term sabhd is often mentioned in the Rigveda (VI. 28. 6; Y7II. 4. 9, etc.), and denotes both “the people in conclave” and the “hall” which was the venue of their meeting. Since, however, the sabhd was used for the game of dice (X. 34. 6), it is clear that even non-political business could be transacted at the hall or by the people who constituted the sabhd. That it was a gathering of the elect, i.e. of Brahmanas and the rich patrons, when it was convened for administrative purposes, is clear from the term Sabheya, “worthy of the assembly,” as applied to a Brahmana (II. 24. 13). The swmiti in the sense of an “Assembly” of the Vedic tribe is mentioned in the Rigveda (I. 98. 8; IX. *92. 6, etc.). According to Ludwig,' 5 the samiti was a more comprehensive conference including not only all the common people {visah) but also Brahmagas and rich patrons (maghavan). Although it is difficult to distinguish between a sabhd and a samiti, we can provisionally arrive at some tentative conclusions. It appears that the samiti was an august assembly of a larger group of the people for the discharge of tribal (i.e. political) business and was presided over

by the king. The sabhd, a more select body, was less popular and political in character than the samiti. Although the functions and powers of sabha and samiti cannot be exactly defined, numerous passages referring to them clearly indicate that both these Assemblies exercised considerable authority and must have acted as healthy checks on the power of the king. Great importance was attached, not only to concord between the king and the Assembly, but also to a spirit of harmony among the members of the Assembly. The last hymn of the Rigveda invokes such unity in solemn and beautiful language:

“Assemble, speak together; let your minds be all of one accord*'

v v v

“The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thoughts united.”

•

‘ One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord

“United be the thoughts of all that may happily agree.”

The royal authority was also materially curbed by the power and prestige of the Purohita, who accompanied the king to battle ip. 348) and helped him with prayers and spells, and the influence ox the priesthood generally, to which the Dancistutis bear indirect testimony. The cases of Yasishfha and Visvamitra are noteworthy in this connection. Special reference may also be made to the following verses (RV f IV. 50. 7-9):

i.7) That king, indeed, overpowers all opposing forces with his valour and might who maintains Brihaspati (the Brahmana priest) well attended, and praises and honours him as (a deity) deserving the first share (of the homage due);

<8j He (that king) verily abides, well established in his own place; to him, the holy fnnd flows for ever; to him the visah bow down of their own accord, the king wiiK whom the Brahmana takes precedence.

(9, Irresistible, he wins the riches of his enemies ana h\ s kinsmen; the king who affords protection to the Brahmana desnin^ help—him the gods help.

There is hardly any material difference between the power of the Brahmana (Brihaspati) over the king as described in this passage and the power of the Purohita over a king, which is associated in our minds with the later stages of political history when the caste system was fully developed.

The immigrant Aryans had necessarily to carry on bitter and prolonged fights with the indigenous people called the Dasas or Dasyus. But there was no attempt at the extermination of the conquered foes. The process of amalgamation of the invaders with the conquered aborigines took the form of intermarriage and

v.A.-«a

the absorption of the latter into the fourth ^and occasionally inLo me tnuu; vary a or social class. The translation .of the word ddsa by “slave'’ nas led to tne misconception that the conquered aborigines, both male and female, “were enslaved.” 11 Ddsa does mean a “JUie-iong servant,” but the horrors associated with the term “slavery” are not to be thought of in this connection. Similarly tiie so-called female slaves (dasis), captured or received as gifts by kings, were liie-iong servants assigned generally to the harems of kings in later times. There is, however, no recorded instances in the RV or later literature of the harsh or cruel treatment of a ddsa or dasi, which is generally associated with slavery.

The protection of the people was the sacred duty of the king. In return he expected and received loyal obedience from his subjects. The word ball occurs several times in the RV in the sense of a tribute or offering to a god (I. 70. 9; V. 1. 10, etc.). In the sense of a tribute to the king it is met witii in the compound balihrit, “paying tribute” tVII. 6. 5; X. 173. 6j. The tributes were probably received in kind from the subjects. Whether these were voluntary or involuntary, and thus amounted to a kind of indirect taxation, is a debatable point. The truth seems to be that the tribesmen who were led to victory and safety by their ruler voluntarily showered presents on their leader; and that these became more or less regular and periodical in times of peace and to that extent less voluntary. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the hostile tribes defeated in battle were forced to pay some kind of ball or tribute to the victor. There thus seems to be in existence taxation, both of the voluntary and involuntary type, in the days of the Rigveda. If in a simile in RV, I. 65. 4 the king is described as “devouring the people.” it is not to be understood in the sense of “oppression of the people” but rather his "living on them.” The king was not the mvnor of the land. Even when the Ddnastutis speak of generous gifts by the kings to the priests, they are normally articles of personal property rather than land.

The king was pre-eminently the war-lord and RV gives us some idea of the mode of warfare. The king and his nobles (the rajanya or Kshatriya class) fought from chariots, and the common people on foot. The knowledge of battle arrays of different types may he inferred from the use of certain terms such as sardha. vrat a. gaya, etc. which probably denoted different military units. As in later days, we hear of martial music and banners in connection with battle. The principal weapon was the bow and arrow. The arrows were tipped with points of metal or poisoned horn. Other weapons were lances, spears, axes, swords, and sling-stones. The use of (leather?) guards to save the hands and arms from the friction of the bow-string, as also a coat-of-mail and helmet, characterized the equipment of a warrior. Horse-riding was known. It

is difficult to agree with the scholars who hold that no mention is made of the use of cavalry in war. As to the actual mode of warfare, all we can infer from passages like RV, II. 12. 8 is that a body of foot-soldiers marched along with the charioteers, the two together constituting the army. If Sayapa's interpretation of X. 142. 4 is accepted, then besides ordinary wars of defence and conquest, raids into neighbouring territory were frequent and ,normal for winning booty which the king shared with the people. Ramparts or forts (pur), which were either of stone or metal (dyasi pur), and sometimes consisted of an enclosure protected by a palisade consisting only of a hedge of thorn or a row of stakes, were used as places of refuge against attack in times of war. The method of laying siege in RV days was probably by setting fire to the surrounding palisades or walls (VII. 5. 3). But mention is also made of pur charishnu (lit. moving fort) which may be a sort of engine for assaulting strongholds. Reference has been made above pp. 348) to hymns breathing a martial spirit.

2. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The "Five Peoples" (pancha jandh) was perhaps a comprehensive term for the Vedic Aryans (ante, p. 251). These five peoples were split up into numerous tribes, the tribe being the political unit (as mentioned above). The Vis (a term the various senses 7 of which have puzzled many scholars) played a vital part in the political organization.

In a political sense, the members of a tribal unit were the visah constituting the rashlra (or tribal kingdom). Below the vis came the grama or- village, which was the basic administrative unit. Reference is also sometimes made to jana, another unit whose precise nature is not known. 8 The administrative organization was essentially rural in conception. The grama was practically self-contained, and had for purposes of defence a fortified enclosure (pur) on an eminence. These enclosures, as mentioned above, were made of stone (sometimes probably also of iron) and had many walls. Towns with wooden walls or palisades and ditches all round were undoubtedly known, but played practically no part in the economic life of the people. They figured only in the defensive warfare of the Vedic Aryans and were occupied (it seems) during emergencies by the warrior-class.

The grama was probably made up of little knots of houses of the several branches of one family (Kula). The part played by the Kula in the administrative organization is perhaps indicated by the description (X. 179. 2-3) of a Kulapd (guardian of the family), forming the entourage of a vrajapati (probably the same as the gramanV and fighting under his banner. The grdmaryL exercised, it seems, both civil and military functions. The Senani. whose •military authority in times of war is undeniable, probably discharged civil functions in times of peace, ranking higher than the grdmani. In the description of the Ddsardjna light (VII. 18. 11) Sudas is said to have overthrown “the twenty-one tribes (janan) of the kings or folk of the two Vaikarnas,” It is probable that they were a joint people, the Kuru-Krivis. It is doubtful, however, whether this aggregate of twenty-one janas represented a political and administrative organization higher than a jana.

Of the various functionaries of the king, the most important appear to be the Purohita and the Sendni referred to above. The king probably appointed a large number of priests to perform the sacrifices and other sacred rites. There are also references to spies (spasa) who were apparently engaged by him, as in later days, to secure information about the kingdom and the people. We also hear of dutas or messengers who- were undoubtedly the principal means of communication between the different states. The king had no doubt other officers, but we have no detailed knowledge of them.

3. LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The regular word for law or custom in the RV (I. 22. 18; 164. 43, 50; III. 3. 1; 17. 1; 60. 6; V. 26. 6; 63. 7; 72. 2, etc.) is Dharman, but there are very few data as regards the administration of justice or the code of law followed. We can only infer from later practice that the king administered justice with the assistance of legal advisers including the Purohita.

Theft, burglary, highway robbery, and cheating (chiefly at gambling) are among the crimes recorded, cattle-lifting at night being a very frequent one. Marriage of brother and sister was looked upon as incest Tying the criminal to a stake was a common form of punishment. The epithet ^ataddya, i.e. “one, the price of whose blood was one hundred (coins)” shows that the system of wergeld (Vairadeya) or blood-money was probably in force. Whereas death was one of the punishments for theft in later times, it was not so in the Rigvedic age. The aim seems rather to have been the satisfaction of the person wronged.

Geldner 9 suggests that a heated paraiu (axe) used as an ordeal is referred to in RV, III. 53. *22, and Ludwig 10 thinks that RV, I. 158. 4 ff., refer to Dlrghatamas having been subjected to the fire and water ordeals. These are quite plausible suggestions, though no definite conclusions are possible.

Riva (debt) is frequently mentioned in the RV though in a metaphorical sense in the majority of passages where it occurs. Indebtedness seems to be a fairly well-known condition. There was a special term rinam sam-ni for paying off a debt. The loan (rvna) thus was the only contract known and that, chiefly, at gambling. A debtor was punished with a period of servitude to the creditor and was bound by the creditor to a post (dru-pada) to bring pressure on him for payment. Some kind of reference to a rate of interest or instalment of principal may be traced in one passage, but this is not certain. The interest was presumably paid in kind. The hymn disapproves of the practice.

right of a father to adopt is clearly recognized, though a Vasishtha The land was probably owned by individuals and families, and the proprietorship was vested in the father, as head of the family. It is not certain whether the sons had any share in the land of the family during their father’s lifetime. If there were several sons, they could easily secure new allotments, if necessary, because as fresh land could be easily obtained, the problem was not, in any sense, an acute one.

The individual ownership of land is, however, a debatable point. The RV supplies the following data. A piece of ploughland is indicated in the RV by the words urvara and Jcshetra (I. 127. 6; IV. 41. 6; V. 33. 4- VI. 25. 4; X. 30. 3; 142. 3, etc.). A passage (I. 110. 5) shows that fields were carefully measured from which it follows that individual ownership in land for cultivation was recognized. The same conclusion follows from VIII. 91. 5 in which Apala refers to her father's field urvara as a personal possession. This conclusion agrees well with the use of epithets like urvara-sa, urvara-jit, kshetrasd "winning fields," and the mention of fields in the same context as children (IV. 41. 6).

Nothing definite can be averred as to whether a grown-up son continued to stay with his father, his wife becoming a member of the father's household, or whether he established a house of his own. Variations in local custom probably explain discrepant statements in this connection. Similarly, we do not know whether the son was granted a special plot of land after marriage, or whether he acquired it only after his father's death. But we must not form an exaggerated estimate of the control of the father over a son, no longer a minor, because RV. I. 70. 10 suggests that the sons might divide their father's property in his old age, and X. 85. 46 gives a hint that the aged father-in-law passed under the control of his son's wife. The suggestion that separate holdings existed as early as the Rigvedic days is confirmed by the name of the deity fcshetrasya pati (Lord of the Field) to be understood as the god presiding over each field.

1. This view has been put forward by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Advanced History of India (Macmillan & Co.), p. 29.

2. For Ddnastutis, cf. Ch. XVI.

3. Advanced History of India, p. 29.

4. Ved. Stud., II, 303.

5. Translation of the Rigveda, III, pp. 253-6.

6. CHI, I, p. 85.

7. (1) In a geographical sense, the term means “settlement or colonies,” and a group of these settlements or colonies probably made up the j ana (people) (cf. the next footnote). (2) Politically the visah were the subjects who constituted the rashtra and who, foregathering in a formal assembly, could in an emergency unseat an incapable ruler or set the seal of approval on the coronation of a worthy one. (3) In a socio-religious sense, the visah. represented the third class of Aryan society engaged in agriculture and commerce. (4) No wonder that in some passages, it should have the fourth or general sense of “people.”

8. Sometimes Vis, jana and even grama are used almost synonymously, But grama was normally a smaller unit than the vis or jana. The relation between these two is not quite clear. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri observes as follows: “In some Vedic passages there is a clear contrast between the two, : and Iranian analogies seem to suggest that the Vis is a sub-division of a jana, if tre latter may be taken as a parallel to the Iranian Zaniu. It is also to be noted that the Bharatas are referred to as a single jana, but when the word Vis is used in reference to them, we have the plural Visah possibly pointing to the existence of plurality of such units” (Advanced History, p. 29).

9. Ved. Stud., n, 159.

10. Translation of the Rigveda, IV, 44.

CHAPTER XVIII

9>

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

As has already been indicated above (Ch. XII), the differeht parts of the JFLigveda-Samhita were composed at different times, and it should be regarded, not as a single text by one author, but rather as a whole literature accumulating for centuries, a library, as it were, in the making for years. Nay, although the hymns of the Rigveda represent, in the main, the product of that period of intellectual activity when the Aryans found their way into India from their original home, it is not beyond the realm of probability that some of them were composed, or at least existed in the minds of the Aryan poets, even before they entered India. It is thus possible that a few stanzas or even hymns are reminiscent of the meteorological and astronomical conditions that obtained thousands of years ago, somewhere outside India. No wonder then, that we should find in the Rigveda thoughts, beliefs, and practices that one would associate with the most primitive grades of society and with an unsophisticated age, side by side with an elaborate sacrificial technique and advanced metaphysical speculation indicating the deepest apprehension of the godhead and its relation to man. The view, therefore, that the state of religious belief in the RV is a product of priestly effort and amounts to wholesale syncretism is as wrong as the one that it presents us with nothing else but a naive outpouring of the primitive religious consciousness.

I. MYTHOLOGY

1. Origin

Let us therefore draw up a clear picture of the religious conceptions and philosophical thoughts revealed in poetic garb in the RV, in the order of their evolution, as far as possible, before attempting to label, define or classify them. The RV poets were deeply affected by the apparently mysterious working of the awe-inspiring forces of nature. Their hymns reflect in places that primitive attitude of mind which looks upon all nature as a living presence, or an aggregate of animated entities. The luminaries who follow a fixed course across the sky are the devas (lit., the shining ones) or gods. Naturally the sense of the dependence of human welfare on the powers of nature, the unexplained mysteries of whose working invests them with almost a “supernatural” or divine character, finds its expression in various forms of worship.

At the same time, the attempt of the human mind, more poetic than scientific, to account for the various forces and phenomena of nature with which man is confronted, leads to the rise of myths. When the imagination interprets a natural event as the action of a personified being resembling a human agent, a myth is born. The creative fancy of the Rigvedic poets goes on adding new touches to the picture, so that a natural phenomenon ultimately appears as a drama of human passions and not as an unintelligible and chaotic happening. The stage of anthropomorphism is thus reached. . Although Rigvedic mythology is not as primitive as some scholars once believed it to be, in no other literary monument of the world do we come across this primitive phase of the evolution of religious beliefs which reveals to us the very process of personification by which natural phenomena developed into gods. The myths that have grown up around a deity are in many cases transparent enough to keep the physical basis almost, in full view all the time. The name of the god often hides but little. Nevertheless* in cases where such a clear view of the original nature of a god is not possible, the etymological equations of comparative mythology have not proved to be the reliable guides that they were once supposed to be.

The closely allied mythology of the Iranians is illuminating at times, but mythological affinities are not as numerous as one would be led to expect from the striking linguistic affinity of the oldest form of the Avesta with the Rigvedic dialect in vocabulary, metre, syntax, diction, and general poetic spirit, the reason being the considerable overhauling of mythological conceptions in Iran by the religious reform of Zarathustra (ante, p. 226). The Rigveda is a monument of Indo-European mythology and, in this respect, is equalled in importance only by Greek mythology. The Rigvedic mythology thus forms a connecting link between the later Indian phase of religious beliefs and the Indo-Iranian as well as the earliest Indo-European phase.

We now turn to the lines of mythological evolution within the Rigveda. In the hymns to the Dawn, the Sun and the Fire, among others, we are face to face with the corresponding physical phenomena exercising directly their beneficent powers. The process of personification next makes gradual progress, and the personified phenomenon is deified, and thus emerge the concrete figures of Ushas, Surya, and Agni with whom the poet holds, as it were, direct communion. We are not so fortunate in the case of the greatest figures of the Rigvedic pantheon, namely Varuna and Indra, regarding whose physical basis no certain conclusions have yet been arrived at. But in the case of a large , number of Rigvedic gods, we are able to trace the original forces or events in Nature. Where the personification does not dominate the conception, the name of the deity is identical with that of the natural phenomenon, as in the case of Ushas and Surya. Where the names differ, the

personification has evidently advanced to the stage of anthropomorphism and apotheosis. The number of gods is now on the increase, the increase being due either to some striking attribute abstracted from the concrete personality of a deity and founding the conception of a new deity which develops independently, as in the case of Savitri, or to an abstraction (like Visvakarman) taking up a concrete form later through association with some cosmic function or natural power.

2. The Nature and Classification of Gods

Although the divine rank thus got swollen, there is no fixed order of seniority among the gods, as in a pantheon, in the strict sense of the term. For too many functions, powers, and offices are held in common by two or more deities. There is a sort of communism or democracy among them, though it is not thoroughgoing or consistent, and for this “the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest” (i.e. Henotheiim or Kathenotheism as Max Muller has named it) is responsible. The particular deity that the poet happens to be invoking monopolizes, for the time being, all the attributes. The god is addressed for the moment as if he were the greatest and even the only god. Almost in the same breath, however, (in the very next stanza or hymn) this mighty god is described as dependent on others.

In fact, the joint exercise of various powers, functions, and notable deeds by two or more or all the gods is almost a favourite theme in the Rigveda hymnology. In a thoroughly impartial spirit, the mutual co-operation, interdependence, and subordination of the various deities .in pairs or larger groups is often described. There is hardly a god in the Rigveda so insignificant as not to receive homage from others not excluding the highest. “Henotheism,” in the strict sense of the term, is not to be thought of because the divine host of the Rigveda is not a pantheon (technically speaking) with an acknowledged overlord. Various explanations have been offered to account for this apparently inconsistent evaluation of divine ranks and dignities in the Rigveda. It has been urged, for example, that the inconsistency may be due to the partiality of a particular Rishi or Vedic Scikhci to a particular god. But the force of this argument is considerably weakened by the large number or Rigvedic repetitions and (on the whole) their even distribution throughout the text. As Bloomfield observes, “no theory as to the character and.origin of the Rigveda can pass by these facts. They-mark the entire mantra-literature as in a sense epigonal and they forbid pungent theories about profound differences between the family books, their authors, and their geographical provenance.” 1

It has also been contended, as Macdonell 13 points out, that “in the frequent hymns addressed to the Visvedevas or All-gods, all the deities, even the lesser ones, are praised in succession, and that as the great mass of the Vedic hymns was composed for the ritual of the Soma-offering, which included the worship of almost the entire pantheon, the technical priest could not but know the exact relative position of each god in that ritual.” This explanation rests on the unwarranted assumption that the ritualists of a later age, when sacrificial technique was enormously developed, had to, and could, preserve very scrupulously the mythological values of Rigvedic poetry.

Another approach to the problem of introducing order and system into this apparent chaos has been through classification. There is, first of all, the traditional classification hinted at in RV,

I. 139- 11 and followed by Yaska, giving us a triple division of « the Vedic gods corresponding to the three orders, namely, terrestrial (prithivisthana), aerial or intermediate (antarikshasthana or madhyamasthana) and celestial (dyusthana). Prithivi, Agni, Soma, Brihaspati, and the rivers belong to the first order; Indra, Apamnapat, Itudra, Vayu-Vata, Parjanya, Apah, and Matarisvan to the second; and Dyaus, Varuna, Mitra, Surya, Savitri, Pushan, Vishnu, the Adityas, Ushas, and the Asvins to the third. This classification is founded on the natural basis which the deities represent, and is thus the most practical and least open to objection (comparatively speaking), RV. X. 158. 1, which invokes Surya, Vata, and Agni for protection from heaven, air, and earth respectively is apparently the lead followed by the predecessors of Yaska whose views are quoted in the Nh'ukta, and who hold that there are only three representative deities, Surya in heaven, Vayu or Indra in air and Agni on earth, each of these having various appellations according to differences of function.

The division is overlapping and not very clear-cut, as Tvashfri and Prithivi are assigned to all the three spheres, Agni and Ushas to the terrestrial as well as the aerial spheres, and Varuna, Yama and Savitri to the aerial as well as the celestial ones. Another and a less satisfactory division is the historical one, into Indo-European, Indo-Iranian. and Indian deities, based on the age of the mythological creation. But the data as regards the dates and periods of many gods is insufficient and the available accounts of Germanic, Slavonic, and Celtic mythologies are defective. A division into prehistoric, transparent, translucent, opaque, and abstract or symbolic gods, based on the stages of personification which the deities represent, introduces the subjective element, owing to want of finalitv regarding etymologies and interpretations, and involves difficulties as regards clear lines of demarcation. A classification according to relative greatness may derive support from RV, I. 27. 13. But the difficulties of determining relative greatness are almost insuperable (VIII. 30. I contradicting I. 27. 13) and only a few tentative conclusions are possible. For example, Indra, the mighty warrior, and Varuna, the supreme moral ruler, stand out preeminent above the rest. Agni and Soma—the two ritual deities— should come next, but Indra, Agni, and Soma are the three most popular deities judging by , the frequency of the hymns addressed to them. The statistical standard provided by the number of hymns dedicated to the gods and the frequency of the mention of their names is also not a sure guide.

Before we sum up the general features of Rigvedic religion, we shall pass under review the class-characteristics of the gods of the Rigvedic pantheon, and the individual characteristics of the more important among them. The gods are usually stated to be thirty-three in number, divided into three groups corresponding to the three divisions of the Universe as mentioned above. The gods are described as born, though not all simultaneously, and yet they are immortal. This immortality is either taken, for granted or is a gift from Agni and Savitri, or is the result of the drinking of the Soma. In appearance they are human, the parts of their bodies (such as their arms or tongue) being identified poetically with the phenomena of nature, such as rays or flames. They travel through the air in cars drawn generally by steeds and occasionally by other animals. The food of men, such as milk, grain, ancf flesh, becomes the food of the gods when offered in the sacrifice, and is partaken of by them either on the grass kept ready for their reception at the place of the sacrifice or in -the heaven where the god of fire carries it to them. The exhilarating juice of the Soma plant constituted the favourite drink of the gods. On the whole, the gods are benevolent, the only one with malevolent traits being Rudra. Splendour, strength, knowledge, possession, and truth are their common attributes. As a matter of fact, they have so few individual or distinctive traits, that a riddle hymn like VIII. 29 is possible, wherein each' stanza describes a deity by its characteristic marks, leaving its name to be guessed. The identification of one deitv with another and the invocation of deities in twos, threes, or even in whole groups has helped to add to this vagueness of outline. The gods subdue the forces of evil and regulate the order of nature, which they themselves follow and enforce on mortals. They reward the righteous and punish the sinful.

3. The Celestial Gods

We now turn to the individual deities and give a brief survey of their noteworthy characteristics in the order of the spheres to which they belong. The oldest among the gods of heaven, going back to the Indo-European period, and identical with the Greek Zeus, is Dyaus, a personification of the sky, a personification which, however, did not advance beyond the idea of paternity. He is called a ruddy bull bellowing downwards, a poetic description, probably, of the colour of lightning, the fertilizing power of rain and the thunder of heaven. The image of the beautiful star-studded sky of the night is obviously called up when Dyaus is once compared with a black steed bedecked with pearls. Dyaus is generally paired with Pyithi-vi, the earth, in the compound DyavaprithivI, the Universal Parents, who are celebrated in six hymns.

The comparatively small number of hymns addressed to Varuna hardly does justice to his importance in the RV . The personification has so far advanced that his physical basis remains obscure. It has been suggested that the word varuna-s is probably the same as the Greek word Ouranos (sky) though phonetic difficulties make the identification uncertain. Varuna is the upholder of the physical and moral order symbolized in rita with which he is more intimately connected than any other god. The Varuna hymns which are predominantly ethical and devout in tone give us the most exalted poetry in the Rigveda. 2 He is a king and a universal monarch having a golden abode in heaven which is lofty and firm, and has a thousand columns and doors. He wears glistening garments. He has spies whom none can deceive. He is predominantly called the Asura, who rules by means of his maya which means “occult power” (applicable in a good sense to gods, and in a bad sense to demons-). By this power he sends forth dawns and makes the sun (who is also described as his eye) traverse the sky. He supports heaven, earth, and air. He, with Mitra, is most frequently invoked as a bestower of rain. He regulates the seasons. Neither god nor mortal may violate his ordinances. Varuna’s special connection with the waters is unmistakable. He is a regulator of the waters and causes the rivers to flow. If the ocean does not overflow, although the rivers constantly pour into it, it is due to the maya of Varuna. He is above all the dhritavrata , the upholder of ordinances such as the fixed paths of the luminaries across the sky. He stands out pre-eminently as the moral governor among all the deities. The fetters (paias) with which he binds sinner's are characteristic of him in this capacity. In every hymn to Varupa, there is a prayer for forgiveness of sin.

There is uncertainty regarding the physical basis of the idea of Varuna. The view generally held is that it is the encompassing sky. This original conception, it is supposed, goes back at least to the Indo-Iranian period since Ahura Mazdah (the wise spirit) of the Avesta agrees with the Asura Varupa in character, though not in name. In the opinion of the present writer, Varuna in the RV is pre-eminently the All-Pervader, the All-Encompasser, the AllEnvelooer—an aspect fully agreeing with his name which appears to be derived from + he root vri ("to cover" or "encompass"). This All-Encompassing character is in keeping with his lordship over the

twin spheres of light and darkness, of Night as well as Day, and with his position as supreme ruler (samraj) of the physical and moral world and as the custodian of rita. This rita, which like a wheel circumscribes the universe, regulates it, and keeps it in place, is Varuna's pasa and has for its physical basis the belt of the zodiac from which no luminary (deva) may deviate and the penalty for transgression v/hereof is ensnarement by the shackles of non-rita or darkness and death. This is one side of the All-Encompassing character of Varuna. Another and a more important side (unfortunately missed by most scholars) is Varuna's overlordship of the Waters (apah) which are far more intimately connected with him in the Rigveda than is generally supposed. The researches of Warren 3 and of Tilak 4 establishing the cosmic character of these Waters have not received the attention they deserve. They may be summed up as follows:

(1) The Waters are both terrestrial and celestial. The attributes of the latter in the Rigveda cannot all be satisfactorily accounted for on the hypothesis that they are rain-waters. (2) The release of the Waters and the breaking forth of the dawn or the emergence of light are described as simultaneous events (I. 164. 51). (3) In fact, the movement of the Waters and the spreading forth of the rays of light originate from the same source and follow the same path (of rita) simultaneously. (4) These Waters are

described as moved upwards by Indra when set free for movement, simultaneously with the luminaries, after the killing of Vritra (II. 15. 6; I. 80. 5; I. 32. 12, etc.). Their downward movement is, of course, described, as in VIII. 69. 11 where the seven rivers are said to flow into the jaws of Varuna as into a surging abyss or ocean. (5) The Universe is said to have consisted of nothing but undifferentiated Waters in the beginning (X. 82. 6; 129. 3). These Waters are coeval with the universe (X. 30. 10)- (6) The cosmic circulation of

the celestial waters and the simultaneity of the free flow of the Waters and the rising of the Dawn are stated unambiguously in the Avesta (Vendidad XXI. 4-5; Yasht VI. 2, 3; etc.). (7) This theory of the cosmic circulation of the Waters is not peculiar only to IndoIranian mythology, but is found in Greek and Egyptian mythologies also. In other words, the celestial waters or watery vapours which pervaded the regions above, below, and around the earth were supposed by the Rigvedic poets to be the stuff out of which the universe was created,' 3 and were, like the ether of modern scientists, the medium of the transmission of the light of the luminaries.

A completely satisfactory explanation of the Rigvedic account of Varupa as the AU-Pervader follows from his rulership of these Cosmic Waters. If Varuna in later mythology sank to the position of an Indian Neptune, it was among other causes also due to the

original sense of the Apalj, (Waters) as “Cosmic Waters” in the J Ftiyveda being lost sight of.

Mitra is so closely associated with Varuna, that only one hymn (III. 59) is addressed to him alone separately and his individual character cannot be definitely established. His distinctly peculiar epithet is Ydtayaj - j ana, the “bestirrer of the people,” because he marshals people into activity as the great Aditya. Mithra is a sungod, the guardian of faithfulness, in the Avesta, and Rigvedic evidence points to Mitra as a solar deity in the aspect of a benevolent power of nature as suggested by the name Mitra which originally meant “an ally.”

Surya is the most concrete of the Solar deities, the name (which designates the orb of the Sun as well as the god) showing that his character as a luminary was always present to the mind of the poets. As the all-seeing god, he is often called the eye of Mitra, Varuna, Agni, and other gods. The dawns produce Surya and he is to be the son of the goddess Aditi and of Dyaus. He is a ruddy bird or eagle that flies through space. He is cognate with the Avestic hvare, “sun,” who has swift horses and who is the eye of Ahura Mazda.

Savitri is pre-eminently a golden deity. His eyes, arms, hands, and tongue are golden; so are his car and its pole. He diffuses golden splendour. He removes evil dreams and drives away demons and sorcerers. In the famous Gayatrl stanza (III. 62. 10), which has remained the sacred morning prayer of the Hindus for more than tw’o thousand years, he is invoked to confer his splendour on, and stimulate the thoughts of, the worshipper. When Savitri is said to shine with the rays of the sun, to urge the sun or to announce men as sinless to the sun, he is evidently distinguished from Surya, as in RV, VII. 63. But there is a large number of passages where it is difficult to distinguish between* the two. The poets love to play on the name of the god, derived as it is from sii, to stimulate. It is to be noted that he is connected with evening as well as with the morning time.

Pushan is a god with a very vague personality, the anthropomorphic details being very few. He has a beard and braided hair. His chariot is drawn by goats and he carries a golden spear, an awl, and a goad. His favourite food is Karambha (“gruel”). He is connected with marriage in the wedding hymn (X. 85). He acts as the envoy of Surya with his golden aerial ships, and as a charioteer drives downward the golden wheel of the sun. He is a guardian of the roads, the deliverer, par excellence, from danger, and takes care, of cattle. Aghri^i (“shining”) is an exclusive epithet of his. Very probably, he was originally a solar deity standing for the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly in its pastoral aspect.

The only prominent anthropomorphic trait, nay, the main cha

racteristic of the nature of Vishnu—a minor deity in the RV —is his three steps which give him the exclusive epithets uru-gdya (“widegoing”) and uru-krama .(“wide-stepping”). Two of his steps are visible, but the third or highest is invisible, far beyond the flight of birds, and is like'an eye fixed in heaven, shining brightly down. Since he is described as setting in motion, like a revolving wheel, his ninety steeds (days) with their four names (seasons, an evident allusion to the three hundred and sixty days of the solar year), Vishnu probably is a personification of the activity of the sun, whose passage through the three divisions of the universe, namely, earth, air, and heaven, is referred to in his three steps. Indra is the only deity most closely associated with him.

The word aditi is primarily a noun meaning “non-binding,” “bondlessness,” from diti “binding,” derived from the root da “to bind.” Hence as a goddess, Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshipper from bondage. This original meaning of unpersonified “freedom” seems to survive in a few passages of the RV. Now the Adityas are several times described as aditeh putrah (“sons of Aditi”), and this expression may have meant in the pre-Vedic age simply “sons of freedom” (like sahasah 'putrah =“sons of strength”) and probably described a prominent quality of Varuna ahd the other Adityas. Macdonell 6 wonders, “But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea, and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the Adityas?” The explanation probably is as follows: Aditi is also unmistakably connected with light in the RV. Varuna —the Aditya—is connected prominently and almost exclusively with rita; so is Aditi. This rita has for its physical basis the belt of the Zodiac (as mentioned above). Now the devas, the lights of heaven, seemed to the ancients to recover their freedom from the clutches of darkness and to restart on their bright career from a fixed point in the east, lying on the belt of the Zodiac or the RHia. This point in all probability was Aditi. No wonder, the luminaries suddenly emerging thus into freedom and light (emerging in other words into life itself) from this fixed point (Aditi) received the epithet “sons of Aditi.” Diti was the exactly opposite point on the path of the Zodiac in the west, where the lights went out. It will not be necessary on this theory to suppose 7 that the name of Diti as a goddess was merely an anthithesis to that of Aditi, formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as sura, “god,” was later (by false etymology) evolved from asura “demon.” It is to be noted in this connection that none of the wind or storm gods are called Adityas. The latter are all gods of light. Six Adityas are enumerated once (II. 27. 1), the number being stated as seven and even eight in the last books of the RV. Among the Adityas, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman are Indo-Iranian in origin, while Bhaga, Daksha, and Amsa seem to be deified abstractions. The sun is probably the seventh Aditya, and Mcirtan^a the eighth, whom Aditi casts off and brings back (X. 72. 8, 9), is very likely the setting sun.

In the case of Ushas, the goddess of Dawn, the personification is slight, the poet never losing sight of the beautiful physical phenomena behind the deity. Gaily attired like a dancer with a garment of light, she rises in the east and exhibits her graces. She is everyoutnful, being born again and again, though ancient. Her association with the sun is naturally very close. He is her lover, but as she precedes him, she is also said to be his mother. She is the sister of the night. She is also associated with Agni. As already noted above (p. 346) the Dawn-hymns are among the most poetic of the RV.

From the point of view of the number of hymns addressed to them and also otherwise, the twin deities, known as the Asvins, are the most important after Indra, Agni, and Soma. They are matutinal deities, their connection with light being well established. Except in two or three passages, they are assumed everywhere as inseparable. Their paths are said to be golden. Dasra (wondrous) and nasatya are their most peculiar and frequent epithets. They are particularly associated with honey (madhu), which they desire, drink, carry on their car, and dispense to the bees and mortals. They are also fond of Soma. Their golden car, fashioned by the. Hi'bhus, is sometimes drawn by one or more buffaloes or by a single ass (rasabha). Their sister is probably the Dawn. They are associated with Surya who is either the sun conceived as a female or the daughter of Surya. They are the two husbands of Surya whom they carry in t.hpir car. They are above all succouring divinities, the deliverers and rescuers, par excellence , from distress. They are divine physicians with several legends of miraculous cures to their credit.

Their physical basis has been a puzzle from the days of Yaska till to-day. The Asvins probably date from the Indo-Europoan period, in character if not in name. Some think that they represent the morning twilight—half-light and half-dark. The Asvins, who are sons of Dyaus (divo naptitti = Lettic dewa deli = Lithuanian dewo sunelei) f who ride through the sky with their steeds, and have a sister, greatly resemble.the two Lettic God's sons, who come riding on their steeds to woo the daughter of the sun, either for themselves or for the moon, and the Twin Horsemen of Greek mythology, the sons of Zeus and the brothers of Helen. The name of Surya, suryasya duhitci, corresponds to the Lettic saules meita. The succouring activity of the Asvins finds a parallel in the feats of the Lettic God's sons as well as in those of the Greek Dioskouroi, particularly in their character as rescuers from the ocean, delivering the daughter of the sun or the sun himself. Another plausible theory is that which considers the Asvins as the morning and evening stars. The astronomical fact that the latter are not two but one is no serious objection, as the identity of the two stars was recognized long after the physical basis of the Asvins was forgotten- The invariable separation of the two stars, whereas the Asvins appear both together in the morning, is an objection that can be explained, if we remember that the Asvins are spoken of separately in a passage or two, and that the Asvins are invoked sometimes in the morning and evening, though sunset plays but little part in Vedic worship. Weber's opinion 8 that the Asvins represent the two bright stars Castor and Pollux constituting the twin constellation of the Gemini receives striking support from the theories of Tilak advanced in his Orion and The Arctic Home in the Vedas. If, as Tilak says, 9 the sacrifice or the year once commenced with Aditi at the vernal equinox.in or near Punarvasu, i.e. in the twin constellation of the Gemini, and if we are to assume that there are reminiscences in the Fiigveda of the year-long day and night of the Arctic regions, then the twin Stars, Castor and Pollux, represented by the Asvins, would herald the Arctic Dawn appearing after the long Arctic night or at the beginning of the year. But as the Arctic theory is far from being accepted by scholars, the morning and evening star theory remains the most plausible theory advanced so far.

4. The Atmospheric Gods

Indra, the favourite national god of the Rigveda, has the largest number of hymns, nearly 250, i.e. about one-fourth of the total number or hymns in the

RV , addressed to him. 9a He has more myths woven around him and a more developed anthropomorphism on the physical side than any other god. He is not a purely Indian creation and his name is pre-Indian (a demon in the Avesta). 9, » The cosmic aspect of his nature as the liberator of the Waters is older than the martial one, which seems to have developed to the detriment of the former aspect. His physical proportions and powers are stunendous, almost cosmic. His arms, bear the Vajra, his exelusive weapon, though he also carries a hook and wields the bow and arrow. He is a car-warrior (Ratheshtha) , whose golden car is drawn by two steeds. He is more addicted to Soma, which stimulates him to battle, than any other god, the epithet somapa “Somadrinker,” being characteristic of him. His father is Dyaus according to some passages, Tvashtri according to others. Agni is his twin brother, most often conjoined with him as a dual divinity. The Maruts are his principal and constant allies, the epithet marutvant being peculiar to him. The essential myth, forming the basis of his nature and repeated frequently and with variations, is the Vritra myth. Accompanied by the Maruts and exhilarated by Soma, he attacks Vritra, often called the Ahi (serpent). He smashes Vritra who encompasses the Waters, and so deserves the exclusive epithet apsu-jit “conquering in the Waters.” In this struggle, which is constantly renewed, he also pierces the mountains and releases the pent-up waters, like imprisoned cows. The demons, whom Indra throws down, dwell on the parvata or giri (mountain or cloud,) and an adri (rock) is said to encompass the Waters. The clouds containing the Waters are figured as fortresses (pura) of the aerial demons, described either as autumnal or as made of iron or stone, and as 90, 99 or 100 in number. He is, therefore, characteristically called the fort-destroyer (purbhid) but his exclusive and thief epithet is “Vritra-slayer” {Vritra-han).

The release of the Waters is simultaneous with the winning of light, sun, and dawn. Independently of the Vritra fight also, he is said to have found the light, the dawn or the sun, and made a path for the latter. The cows mentioned with the sun and dawn must be understood to be the morning beams. The gaining of Soma is also associated with the winning of the cows and the sun and with the Vritra fight. His connection with the thunderstorm is indicated when he is said to have created the lightnings of heaven and directed the flow of the Waters downwards.

The cosmic actions usually attributed to all the gods are attributed to him also. His particular achievement is that he settled the quaking mountains and plains.

As the destroyer of demons he is naturally the favourite god of battle invoked more often than any other god by warriors. He protects the “Aryan Colour*’ and subjects the blackskins—the Dasyus. He is so generous to his worshippers that maghavan “bountiful” is almost an exclusive epithet of his.

Besides the Vritra-myth, other minor stories are also related of him, such as “shattering the car of Ushas and stopping the steeds of the sun”. Some of the stories have an historical element also, as when he is said to have aided Sudas.

Indra, with his physical superiority, his excesses in eating and drinking and his cruelty in killing his own father Tvashtri. forms a marked contrast to Varuna, the upholder of moral order.

The true character of Indra can be understood by ascertaining that of Vritra, his opponent. The indigenous commentators and a number of scholars look upon Vritra as the demon of drought, confining the waters within the clouds. A mure reasonable view is that 10 he was originally a frost and winter demon from whose grasp the waters have to be wrenched free every year, that thunderstorm and rain are not the only natural basis of the Vritra myth, and that the geographical and climatic environments in the later home of the Vedic Indians only helped so to revise the original myth as to render very plausible the interpretation of the mythological figure of Indra

ixs the god o£ the thunderstorm. In support of this view may be stated the following facts:

(1) Thunderstorms or rains are hardly mentioned in the IndraVpitra myth and the clouds play quite a minor part in it. (2) As the waters released by Indra are described as running like horses in a race, rain-water could not be meant, as it does not flow horizontally nor could races be imagined as run vertically. (3) As the Vajra is described as made of ore, it is not certain that it means a thunderbolt. (4) If Indra is the god of the thunderstorm, then the god Parjanya will be a superfluous figure. (5) The parallels in IndoEuropean mythologies suggest that. the description of the Vritra fight originated not in India but in a country where the hideous winter lies on land and water, and that the Vritra myth came with the Aryans from Kashmir or the north-western countries into the Punjab- (6) As the midday libation is specially reserved for Indra and the Maruts, Indra very probably represents mythologically the sun at the zenith. In all probability, therefore, Indra was originally a god of light.

We pass over the minor atmospheric gods like Trita Aptya, Apam Napat, Matarisvan, Ahi Budhnya, and Aja Ekapad, and turn to Rudra who, though a subordinate deity in the RV, is interesting from the point of view of later mythology. He has braided hair and a brown complexion. He wears golden prnaments and a glorious necklace (nishka). He is the father of the Maruts whom he brought forth from the shining udder of Prisni. He is fierce like a terrible beast and is called a bull as well as the ruddy boar of -heaven. He is exalted and mightiest of the mighty. He is the lord (Isana) and father of the world. He is easily invoked and auspicious (siva), but in many passages is looked upon as malevolent. He is implored.to save his worshippers from his bolt which destroys cows and men. Dread of his wrath and shafts is frequently expressed. The beneficent side of his character, however, comes out in other passages. His two exclusive epithets jalasha (cooling) and jalasha-bheshaja (possessing cooling remedies) suggest his healing powers. He is the great physician. The physical basis is not certain. It is suggested that the storm in its destructive aspect may explain the malevolent side of his nature, while the fertilizing and purifying function of the thunderstorm may well be the basis of his healing and beneficent powers (see also pp-161- 2 , 207).

The Maruts—-the storm-gods—form an important group of deities (gana, sardhas), numbering thrice sixty or thrice seven. They are the sons of

Rudra and Prism, the cow (representing the mottled storm cloud?), also of Vayu, and are sometimes described as selfborn. They are all brothers of equal age, having the same birthplace and abode. They are golden, ruddy, and self-luminous and are associated with vidyut, particularly having the epithet lightning spread {rishti-vidyut); the cars on which they ride gleam with lightning. Among their personal decorations, such as helmets, mantles, garlands etc., armlets and anklets are peculiar. They make a loud noise, represented by thunder and the roaring of the winds, and as such are pre-eminently the singers e* heaven, their songs inspiring Indra. Their chief function is to shed rain which is figuratively called either milk, honey, or ghi, and which is connected with the thunderstorm. At the same time they produce light and make a path for the sun. They are the constant allies of Indra, in whose company they are addressed as “priests,” their songs representing hymns of praise. Indra achieves all his exploits in their company. Like Rudra, they are invoked to avert lightning, the arrow and the bolt from the worshippers, and also to bring healing remedies.

Vayu and Vata (wind) are almost interchangeable terms; when distinguished, the former is chiefly the god, the latter the element. The name “Parjanya” means literally “rain-cloud” which, when personified, becomes an udder, a water-skin or a pail. Parjanya is also described as a bull that quickens the plants and the earth. 11

As regards Apah (the waters), the personification is only incipient. They are mothers, wives, and goddesses who bestow boons. They are celestial as well as terrestrial, and the view has been mentioned above (in connection with Varuna) that the celestial Waters were probably looked upon as an ether-like medium on which the luminaries made their fixed journeys along the Zodiac (rita), and that the blocking of them by Vritra was supposed to prevent the rise and movements of these luminaries, thus causing long darkness. As the waters are invoked as apo in the Avesta , their deification is pre-Vedic.

5. The Terrestrial Gods

Agni, a personification of the sacrificial fire, presents in its conception the household life of the Vedic Aryans, and is second in importance only to Indra whose conception presents their external life of struggle and conquest. The anthropomorphism of the physical appearance of Agni is naturally very slight. He is butterbacked, and flame-haired, and eats the oblations with his tongue. Wood or ghi is his food, and melted butter his beverage, though he is invited also to drink the Soma with other gods. He is nourished three times a day. Although he is invoked to partake of the sacrificial offerings himself, he is more prominently the mouth by which the gods eat the sacrifice. His splendour is naturally his most prominent quality. He shines by day and night. He is called "smokebannered" (dhuma-ketu) and is said to be supporting the sky with his smoke as with a post. He is a charioteer of the sacrifice and brings the gods in his golden lightning car. He is said to be the son of heaven (Dyaus) and also of heaven and earth. Indra, with whom he is more closely associated than with any other god, is called his twin brother.

There are various myths about his births, forms, and abodes. He is daily produced from the two kindling-sticks (aranis), which are called his parents or mothers, and therefore he is ever young, though ancient. He is called the "son of strength," probably because of the strength required to kindle the fire, the ten fingers (called maidens) being exercised in the process. Agni's origin in the aerial waters is often referred to. As the Son of Waters {Apdrh napat) he has become a separate deity. He is also said to be born in the highest heaven and was brought down. from heaven by Matarisvan (the Indian Prometheus). This is his third origin— the celestial one. The three-fold nature of Agni is a favourite topic with RV poets; his heads, bodies, stations, splendours and births are each threefold. He is the earliest representative of the famous Indian trinity, and yet sometimes he is called dvi-janman ("having two births") from the point of view of a two-fold division of the universe into heaven and earth.

His connection with domestic life is a special feature. He is the only gjihapati (master of the house), the atithi (guest"), and a kinsman of men. He is the ditto, ("messenger"), par excellence , appointed by gods and men to be an oblation-bearer.

As the central figure of the sacrifice, he is called variously ritvij, vipra, purohita , adhvaryu and brahman and is thus the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is pre-eminently “omniscient” or “one who knows all created beings” (jatavedas). The funeral hymn (X. 14) distinguishes between the havya-vahana form of Agni (the conveyor of offerings) and the kravydd form of Agni, that burns the dead body on the funeral pyre.

Even in the Indo-European period, the sacrificial fire was a wellknown institution, as offering gifts to the gods by casting them into fire was customary among the Italians and Greeks. In the IndoIranian period a vast ritual had already developed around the sacrificial fire which is personified and worshipped as a beneficent god.

Rigvedic mythology is dominated by two all-pervading figures, the Sun and the Fire. There are but few deities in the Rigvedic pantheon that cannot be explained (though this may not be necessary) as manifestations of either the one or the other. Now the sun is regarded as a form of Agni (VII. 2. 1) and Agni is said to be born as the rising sun in the morning. This ultimate unity underlying the divine diversity may provide a solution of many a puzzle in Rigvedic mythology.

Bpihaspati, also called Brahmanaspati (lord of prayer), has but few physical features, and these are the usual ones ascribed to all other gods. Like Agni, he is both a domestic priest and a brahman priest and the generator of all prayers. He is identified with as well as distinguished from Agni. Being often invoked with Indra (some of whose epithets like maghavan and vajrin he shares), he is drawn into the Indra myth of the release of the cows. Thus he has no homogeneous character, combining in himself, as he does, martial as well as priestly elements. As the divine brahman priest, he seems to have been the prototype of Brahman, the chief of the later Hindu triad. On the other hand, as the lord and creator of brahman, which played an important part in the later ritual and finally became the supreme principle in Vedanta philosophy, the god is very interesting from the point of view of the later religious and philosophical development of India.

Next in importance to Indra and Agni conies.Soma, because the Soma sacrifice was the centre of the Rigvedic ritual. As the Soma plant and its juice were ever present before the Rigvedic poets, the anthropomorphism is less developed than that of Indra or Vanina. The weapons of Soma such as the bow, his car, and his team are described. An entire book—the ninth—-is devoted to Soma (the deity and the plant) and the preparation of the Soma juice. The arhsu (shoot or stalk) is pounded between stones called adri. The pressed juice, in the act of passing through the filter of sheep's wool, is called pavamdna (or punana) "flowing clear." The juice thus purified and as yet unmixed is called sukra or suchi (bright), also suddha (pure). This filtered Soma next flows into jars (kalasa) or vats (drona) where it is mixed (technically "cleansed") with water and milk to sweeten it. The Soma has three kinds of admixture (asir), with milk (fifo), sour milk (dadhi) or barley (yava). The admixture is poetically described as a bright robe. Soma is thus pressed three times a day; the morning libation is the first drink of Indra, the midday one belongs to him exclusively, while the evening pressing is for the Ribhus. The admixture of Soma brings him into a special relation with the Waters, who are called his "mothers" or "sisters." Soma is also the lord of streams.

The exhilarating power of Soma is appreciated. It is a divine drink conferring immortality on gods and men. It is called amrita, the "draught of immortality." Soma has curative powers also. As a deity, Soma is a wise seer, a poet, who stimulates thought and inspires hymns. The fact that Soma invigorates Indra in his fight with Vritra is repeated so often that Indra's exploits and cosmic actions come to be attributed to him.

Like the corresponding Haoma in the Avesta, Soma grows on the mountains, but his true origin is said to be in heaven, from which he was brought to earth by an eagle. Soma is a king; the lord of plants or lord of the wood (vanaspati). In a few of the latest hymns of the RV, Soma is mystically identified with the moon.

The preparation and offering of the Soma was a feature'of IndbIranian worship. There are numerous similarities between the Soma and the Haoma (Avestan) cults. The belief in an intoxicating beverage of the gods, a kind of honey or mead, may probably go back even to the Indo-European period.

Among the remaining terrestrial deities, Prithivi is so closely associated with Dyaus, that generally they are celebrated conjointly, Dyaus being never lauded alone in any hymn, while Prithivi alone is invoked only in one short hymn of three stanzas (V. 84). The personification is so slight that the attributes are mainly those of the physical earth. Certain rivers are also lauded, the most important among them being the Sarasvati in whose case, the personification has made greater progress than in the case of the other rivers like the Sindhu (Indus) and the sister streams of the Punjab, namely Vipas (Beas) and SutudrI (Sutlej).

The progress of religious thought in the RV is discernible in the transition from the concrete to the abstract and in the rise of abstract deities, the earlier and the larger class of which originated from epithets applicable to one or more of the older deities, like Tvashtri, Prajapati, etc. A smaller class consists of personifications of abstract nouns like Manyu (wrath), Sraddha (faith), etc. Goddesses play a very unimportant role, the only notable exception being that of Ushas. Dual divinities like Mitra-Varurta and Dyava-prithivi (dual compounds with each member in the dual) are a special characteristic. Groups of deities, like the Maruts (a large group associated with Indra, Agni, and Soma), the Adityas (a small one, with Varuna as chief), and the Vasus have been already mentioned. An allembracing group is that of the Visvedevas (the All-gods). A few divinities there are of the tutelary order, like Vastoshpati (lord of the dwelling), Kshetrasya-pati (lord of the field), and Slta (the furrow).

Various features of the earth’s surface such as mountains, besides rivers and waters and plants, and artificial objects like sacrificial implements and weapons m:e also deified, in addition to the great phenomena of nature.

The Demons, often mentioned, are either the aerial foes of the gods like Dasas or Dasyus (Asuras occur in the later parts of the RV only) or constitute a lower class of terrestrial goblins, commonly called Rakshasas or a species designated by the term yatu or Yatitdhdna. Magical practices are dealt with in about a dozen hymns in the tenth Mandala which treat of augury or spells against poisonous vermin, diseases, a child-killing demon, enemies in general, and rival wives. Incantations to preserve life, to bring on sleep, and to procure offspring are found in X. 58-60; VII. 55, and X.

183 respectively, while the well-known Frog-hymn (VII. 103) (ante, p. 349) is supposed to envisage frogs as magical bringers of rain.

The first four out of the so-called funeral hymns (X. 14-8) (ante, p. 352) are addressed to deities who control life after death.

Some of the significant aspects of Rigvedic mythology may now be summed up thus:

(1) The principal phenomena of Nature, con reived as alive and represented in anthropomorphic (not rarely in theriomorphic) shape, were the objects of worship. (2) The so-called simple primitive side of Nature-Worship may be supposed to be reflected in the adoration of plants, trees, and mountains. (3) A great god like Indra is sometimes conceived as a bull, or the Sun as a horse, but totemism in the sense of the actual direct worship of animals, or the belief in an animal ancestor, is not to be thought of. Vritra (the droughtdemon), for example, is conceived as a snake, but the snake receives no worship. (4) Whether fetishism is to be read into a reference to an image of Indra, and whether the worship of idols or images of gods was known to the Rigveda, are points on which no certain conclusions can be reached.

2. SACRIFICE

It is hardly any wonder that the humanized gods of the Rigveda should share some human weaknesses and be susceptible to flattery and gifts. A full meal was certain to win divine favour. Thank-offerings were known. Though the feeling of dependence was there, and though the surrender of one’s property and possessions became ultimately the mark of deep affection for God, it was the definite hope and expectation of rewards that chiefly inspired the offering of prayers and oblations in the Rigveda. But who was to carry the offerings from earth to the gods in heaven? Very naturally the fire, with its towering flames and ever-rising smoke, already deified as Agni (as Atar by the Iranians), was thought of as an intermediary and messenger and as a bearer of oblational offerings from men to gods. The sacrificial fire is, in fact, an IndoEuropean institution, as the Romans, the Greeks, and the Iranians also had the custom of offering gifts to the gods in fire. In the IndoIranian period already an elaborate ritual, in the keeping of the priestly class, is found developed around the sacrificial fire.

In the Rigveda, the sacrifice is yet only a means of influencing the gods in favour of the offerer, and it is doubtful whether in this age the conception of gods as subject to control by the worshipper, if he only knew the correct means, was developed, and whether the selection of the horse as a sacrifice was motivated by the belief that thereby the swift steed—the sun—regained strength and favoured the worshipper. As regards the more mystic view of the sacrifice as a-sacrament, the common meal of the priests on the sacrificial victim may only be looked upon as a bare hint in that direction, because though the priests believed that this meal brought them into a special relationship with the god who by sharing it with them acquired in part the same nature as themselves, it is doubtful whether they deemed themselves to be consuming the victim. It may be noted in this connection that union or companionship with the gods (I. 125. 5) or with the sun is vouchsafed to those who give liberally or those who are generous with the sacrificial fees.

If we remember that the Rigveda-Samhita is composed of earlier and later portions, it will be easy to understand how, on the one hand, a large number of the hymns arose independently of all sacrificial ritual, although many of these were used later on for sacrificial purposes, and how, on the other hand, many other hymns were from the first intended for nothing but saprificial songs and litanies. Two varieties of this sacrificial cult are to be noted in the main, as follows:

(1) Certain hymns and verses of the RV were used as benedictions and prayers at birth, marriage, and other occasions of daily life, at funerals and ancestor-worship, as well as at ceremonies for ensuring the fertility of the cattle and the growth of the fruits of the field. These ceremonies, called grihya karmdni, were, as a rule, associated with sacrifices of the simplest type, viz. burnt offerings (i.e. offerings of milk, grain, ghi, or flesh thrown into the fire). At these, the householder himself (who was assisted, if necessary, by one single priest, the Brahman) officiated as the sacrificial priest and the single fire of the domestic hearth served as the altar. These

simple sacrifices which every one, rich or poor, performed according to his means, consisted chiefly of prayers (the first stage of the Vedic religion). In addition to these and a few incantations in the tenth Mandala which represent popular religion consisting of spells to defeat rivals, to prevent and cure diseases and to repel noxious animals, we have (2) the grand sacrifices, especially in connection with the Soma-cult relating to Indra, which could only be undertaken by aristocratic and wealthy men (maghavan), and especially by the kings. An extensive sacrificial area with three altars for the three sacred fires, and a multitude of priests headed by four chief priests who received liberal payment (dakshina) for the joint performance of numerous elaborate and intricate rites and ceremonies on behalf of the yajamdna (sacrificer) who did very little himself, characterized these Srauta sacrifices. The hymns of the RV are much occupied with the Soma ritual. Animal sacrifices are indicated by the uprl-suktas , and the horse-sacrifice (asvamedha) was undoubtedly performed. The Purusha-Sukta, does not describe an actual human sacrifice, but merely preserves, in all probability, the memory of it, as it was performed in prehistoric times, because the SunahSepa hymns of the Rigveda (I. 24-30 and IX. 3) are not exactly related to the Sunahsepa legend of the Aitareya BrdhTnaijta

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which is probably reminiscent of human sacrifice in pre-historic times.

3. PHILOSOPHY

It has been generally held that the Rigvedic religion is essentially a polytheistic one, taking on a pantheistic colouring only in a few of its latest hymns. Yet a deeply abstract philosophizing crops up unexpectedly in some hymns as a reminder of the long journey made from primitive polytheism to systematic philosophy, through the stages of naturalistic polytheism, monotheism, and monism.

The plurality of gods could not satisfy the intellect of the Rigvedic seers. One god was therefore identified with another, or gods were invoked in pairs or conjointly m groups of three or more. Systematization took the form of the classification of the gods into different categories or of the amalgamation of them all into one comprehensive group of the “All-gods.”

This systematization was but a step forward towards the more logical monotheism. There cannot be more than one supreme and unlimited Being. The appearance of what Max Muller calls henotheism is due to this unconscious urge towards monotheism imperfectly moulding polytheistic tendencies and thus presenting an inconsistent picture. When “individual gods are alternately regarded as highest,” a large number of attributes, personal characteristics, and functions become common to all the gods, the merging of all these qualities into one divine figure becomes easy, and thus polytheistic anthropomorphism evolves into a kind of spiritual monotheism.

But the Rigveda betrays discontent even with this monotheistic development and the single supreme anthropomorphic deity that should follow from it. RV, I- 164.4 asks “Who has seen the first-born, when the boneless one bore the on$ with bones? Where is the life, the blood, the self of this bhumi (universe)? Has anyone approached the knowing one to ask this question?” As if in answer to this question, verse 46 of the same hymn affirms that the central principle was the sexless sat (the “real”) which, though one, was called by various names, Indra, Mitra, Varuija, Agni, Yama, Matarisvan, etc. Thus, in some of the late hymns of the Rigveda , which designate indifferently the Supreme or Absolute as “He” or “It,” is reflected the usual vacillation between monotheism and monism met with in all philosophies. In the opinion of the present writer, the transition from monotheism to monism was effected smoothly and almost unconsciously, owing to the growing influence of the conception of Rita. As mentioned above, the primary sense of Rita , appearing alongside of, and *yet clearly distinguished from, its secondary sense or senses, is the physical one. Rita is the path of the Zodiac within which the apparent motions of the devas (luminaries) are confined and

which is dotted by the nakshatras . No wonder that the devas are said to be born in Rita and governed by it. Rita next comes to denote very naturally the cosmic order or law prevailing in nature. In the moral world, the word designates “order” through the meanings “truth” and “right,” and in the religious world “the order” takes the form of sacrifice or rite. The way to the later conception of the Absolute, which is impersonal and is designated by the neuter terms sat or brahman, has been paved by this abstract conception of FLita, which looks like the earliest crude precursor of the Absolute of the later Vedanta.

The problem of the origin and nature of the world-stuff is a philosophical one, and is not neglected by the Rigveaic poets. RV, X. 190 tells us that from heat (tapas) were produced rita and satya; then night, the ocean, and samvatsara (year) were produced in succession.. .RV, X. 72. 2 says that sat was produced from asat. From the mythological point of view, each one of the gods in turn is said to be the creator of the universe, the universe being sometimes looked upon as the finished product of the carpenter's and joiner's skill. For example KV, X. 31. 7 asks "What was the wood, which the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth?" RV, X. 121 takes up the problem of creation on a monotheistic level and tells us that Hirapyagarbha arose from the great waters, pervading the Universe, and thus created the world out of eternally pre-existing matter. But X. 129—the well-known Nasadlya hymn —describes creation from the highest monistic level. "In the beginning, there was no 'Non-existent/ because this creation arose therefrom, nor the 'Existent/ because its usual manifestations—the firmament or the heaven beyond it—were not then. The One breathed by itself, breathless, and there was nothing beyond it. There was no death then; how could there be anything immortal then? There was no light which could give us distinctions like night or day." Thus is suggested the highest philosophical truth that we cannot characterize the Absolute because of the inadequacy of our categories. Tapas is the v/arming up of being into existence, whereby is developed from the Absolute the implication of the primary antithesis, namely the opposition of ego and non-ego. The hymn further tells us that Desire (Kama) , the germ of the mind betraying self-consciousness, is the bond binding the existent to the non-existent. The doubt expressed at the end as to whether anyone knows the truth about creation is a beautiful expression of the ignorance of the wise. This hymn rises to the breath-taking heights, pf monism and leaves behind the dualistic metaphysics of the hymn „to Visvakarman (X. 82) wherein we are told that the Waters contained the primordial germ—the floating world-egg from which arises Visvakarman, the first-born of the universe—the creator and maker, ot the world- The Nasadiya hymn, in the terminology of modern philosophy, makes nature and spirit both aspects of the One, the Absolute, which is neither the self nor the non-self.

The word maya in the RV generally denotes “occult power” applicable in a good sense to gods and in a bad sense to demons, and may be rendered by the English word “craft”, having a similar double application. But, as noted above (p. 353), in X. 54. 2 it is used in the sense of “illusion” or “show,” thus forestalling later Vedanta philosophy. It may be safely affirmed, however, that the Rigvedic tendency is towards a naive realism, not monistic idealism, towards which the general spirit of Indian thought was soon to drift. If X. 72. 2 says that the “existent” was produced from the “nonexistent,” all that is meant is that the manifest arose from out of the non-manifest. If being or non-being is postulated as the first principle, it is strictly from the point of view of the world of experience.

Instead of the five elements of later philosophy, the RV postulates only v/ater as the primordial element or matter, from which the others gradually evolve. In the Purusha-Sukta (X. 90) the body of the Purusha is said to be the original material, as it were, out of which the world is made. The gods are the agents of creation, the act of creation is a sacrifice, and the Purusha is the victim. Although anthropomorphism, pushed to the last limit, is responsible for the greatness of God and the unity of world and God, being described in terms of the gigantic dimensions of the Purusha, the hymn X. 90 is a sort of crude allegory of the theory of creation from the One Absolute found ir. X. 129. Only, here the Supreme reality becomes the active Purusha—the begetter as well as the begotten: “From the Purusha Virr.-. was born, and from Virat again the Purusha,”'(X. 90. 5).

4. ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL THOUGHT

As the Rigvedic Aryans were full of the joie de vivre , they were not particularly interested in the life after death; much less had they any special doctrines about it. We can therefore glean only a few notices of the life beyond, that are scattered throughout the Rigveda .

Two separate pathways along which all moving creatures travel, namely the path of the Fathers and that of the gods and mortals, are spoken of in X. 88.

15, and it is supposed that there is a reference here to the way to the other world. Companionship with the Sun and the gods and immortality are highly prized goals (X. 107. 2; I. 125. 5). After his death, a man is supposed to enter the kingdom of Yama (who and his sister Yam I were primeval twins). Yama was the first of the mortals who died and discovered the way to the realm over which he rules and which is the destination of the subsequent dead. The spirits of the departed ones are supposed to go through ishpapurta to this paradise, where Yama and the Fathers live in the midst of the joys of immortality, and the spirits are material enough to enjoy such pleasures as the drinking of Soma, milk, honey, and surd, as also music. This is hardly surprising, as the goal of all human endeavour is to become like gods. This heaven is reached through sacrifices and worship of the gods. The spirit is endowed with a shining form in heaven (X. 14. 8).

Hell is represented as a place of punishment for evil-doers (a vratas). This is characterized as low and dark (X. 152. 4), as a kind of pit (IX. 73. 8). There is, however, no sordid picture of hell and its terrors. In our search for any reference, implicit or explicit, to rebirth or transmigration, we-, come across only a few doubtful passages. According to RV, 1. 164. 30, “the soul (jivali) of the dead one moves in its own power, the immortal one having a common origin with the mortal one (the body).” But this translation is not certain. The reference in RV, X. 15. 2 to Pitris who reside in the earth-region or in the dwellings of men need not imply belief in the soul as a ghost revisiting the haunts of men, blit may only be the germ of the idea of the acceptance of the funeral (Srdddha) offerings by them which became so famous at a later time. RV , X. 16. 3 exhorts the soul of the dead to go over to heaven or earth, to the waters or to the plants, along with all its physical parts. But is this going over a rebirth? In X. 58 the departing spirit of a dying person is called back from Yama, from heaven, earth, the quarters, the sea, the waters, the sun, the dawn or the mountains, i.e. from wheresoever it may have gone to. So we may conclude that only the germs of the conception of rebirth were there, and these developed either naturally, or through the influence of ideas current among the original tribes with whom the Aryans came into contact.

RV, VII. 86. 6 and 88. 5, 6 clearly show that the consciousness of sin la nrita, agas, enas) was recognized. Sin resulted from the violation of rita or “order” in the moral sphere (i.e. of “truth” and “right”) as well as in the religious one (i.e. of sacrifice or rite), or of the commands of God. In the unalterable law of good or bad effects, flowing from good or bad conduce, are to be found the first germs of the law of Karman (that most outstanding characteristic of Indian thought)—binding on gods and mortals alike. Offering prayers and performing rites, living in short in perfect harmony with the will of God—this was the ideal moral life according to the RV. Man owes some duties to his fellow-beings also (X. 117). RV, V. 85. 7 tells us that an offence against a friend, neighbour, or comrade, or even a stranger is a sin (agas). Adultery, witchcraft, gambling, drinking, senselessness, and self-deception are ranked as deviations from the moral life. The view, therefore, that the socalled uncertainty of the fate of the evil after death is a vagueness characteristic of the comparative indifference to morals, and that if gods are extolled as true it is not an assertion of ascertained truth, is wrong.

On the whole a very optimistic outlook on life is revealed in the hymns of the RV. Not that the Rigvedic Aryans do not desire immortality (amritatva) or the company of the gods in heaven. As we have seen above, there are many hymns and stanzas which raise questions and posit answers, all inspired by the eternal quest of the human heart for a solution of life’s problems. These hymns betray a metaphysical streak arid a flair for cutting the Gordian knot of philosophy—seeds which were to blossom later into the wild yet beautiful garden of the Upanishads. But the joys and pleasures of. this world interest them deeply. Thus the Rigveda is full of prayers for long life, freedom from disease, heroic progeny, wealth, power, abundance of food and drink, the defeat of rivals, etc. There is no trace of pessimism in the thoughts of the Rigvedic sages. Whether life was a reality or illusion, substance or shadow, they want to enjoy it to the full. They do not seem to subscribe to the doctrine that life is a misery, which can only be ended by eradicating desire or vdsana. the cause of the ever-recurring cycle of births and deaths—a doctrine developed later by the Buddhists and found in the Vedanta. The religious thought, therefore, betrays a practical streak. The worship of the powers of Nature is sincere but utilitarian, and do ut des is quite openly the theory-of all sacrifice and homage.

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1. Riaveda Repetitions, Preface, p. xviii. la. VM, p. 16.

2. Cf. Ch. XVI, p. 343. For a beautiful hymn in the Atharva-Veda, cf. Ch. XX. pp. 417-8.

3. Paradise Found (Tenth Edition, 1893V Part V, Ch. V, pp. 250-60.

4. The Arctic Home in. the Vedas, p. 233-96.

5. RV, X. 121. 1 and 3 ff. See also Sat. J3r., XI. 1. 6. 1; Ait. Br., I. 1; and Man«smriti, 1. 9,

6. VM, p. 122.

7. VM, p. 123.

8. Ind . Stud., 5. 234.

9. Orion, p. 205.

9a. For some specimens; cf. Ch. XVI, pp. 344 ff.

9b. Cf. Ch. XI. p. 227.

10. Zimmerman, A Second Selection of Hymns from the Rigveda (Second Edition 1922V, Appendix IV. pp. Cl ff.

11'. Cf. the hymn to Parjanya quoted in Ch. XVI, pp. 347.

CHAPTER XIX

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

I. SOCIAL CONDITION

1. Family Life

THE foundation of social life was the patriarchal family. In Rig veda (I. 24. 12-15 and V. 2. 7), where we find the rudiments of the Sunahsepa story, a kind of absolute control by parents over children is suggested. That family discipline was strict is illustrated by the case of Rijrasva who was deprived of his sight as a punishment by his father (I. 116. 16). Similarly in RV, X. 34. 4 we are told how the insolvent gambler is disowned by his parents and brothers, in front of his creditor. This does not mean that the relation between the parents and children was not generally one of warm affection; for a father is looked upon as the type of all that is good and kind. The wedding hymn (X. 35) indicates that the newly-married wife rules over (or wins by her love?) her brothers-in-law and even over her husband's parents although she herself entertains a feeling of respect for them. This is clear evidence of joint family life. That under certain circumstances this joint family included the wife's mother is suggested by X. 34. 3 where the gambler complains that "his mother-in-law hates him." After the death of the father, the eldest son took charge of the family.

A notable feature of the etiquette of the Rigvedic age was the great store set on hospitality. The frequent epithet of Agni, viz., Atithi, the beloved guest in human abodes, takes for granted the affection and Respect generally shown to a guest. No wonder that in later literature detailed descriptions of the merits of hospitality should occur, and that hospitality to a guest should be elevated to the rank of a religious duty, as one of the five great daily sacrifices (pancha-mahayajnas).

2. The Caste System

The elaborate institution known as the Caste System among the Hindus in India may almost be said to be without a parallel in the world, although there is hardly a country where classes or orders of society or grades of social distinction of some kind or other are not met with. A common origin, name, tutelary deity, occupation, and ceremonies generally distinguish one homogeneous caste-group from another, but to-day caste is rigidly fixed by birth, and exclusive commensality and connubium between the members of a caste-group to the exclusion of all others are its fundamental and outstanding characteristics. Further, the conception of impurity communicable to a higher caste by contact with a lower one underlies this fissiparous tendency, and has resulted in the untouchability of the so-called Sudra, who by popular error is almost indentified with the p anchama, or one outside the framework of the Chaturvaniya . Again, in place of the four original vatfias or class-groups, there are today thousands of caste divisions and sub-divisions and the number is still growing. This unique development of an ordinary social phenomenon naturally invests its history with a special importance.

The extent to which caste had been developed in the age of the Rigveda Samhitd has formed a subject of keen controversy among scholars. 1 • The uncertainty regarding the exact interpretation of the basic words and phrases in the Rigveda , and the relative chronology of the various relevant passages scattered throughout that Veda, make it difficult to arrive at any conclusion that is likely to meet with general acceptance. We shall, therefore, state first of all in detail the most widely accepted version—in a sense, almost the recognized version—of the development of caste in the Rigveda , contenting ourselves with only a brief statement of divergent views. Much confusion will be avoided, if we keep in view the fact, generally agreed to, that the development of caste has been a progressive one, and that we should not expect in the Rigveda Samhitd the picture of the Caste System which is presented even in the Yajurveda Sarhhitds.

There are various speculations in later Brahmanical literature regarding the origin of castes. The most common is that which represents the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras to have been created respectively from the head, breast or arms, the thighs, and the feet of the Creator. An echo of this is found in a hymn of the RV (X. 90), the famous Puruslia-sukta, which describes the mythical legend of the sacrifice of a primeval giant called Purusha, the ideal “Man” or World-Spirit. The relevant passage has been translated thus: 2

“When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What arms (had he)? What (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? The Brahmana was his mouth; the Raj any a was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs; the Sudra sprang from his feet.”

This passage refers to the first three Castes not as sprung from, but as identical with, the mouth, arms and the thighs of the Creator. But in spite of this difference many regard this hymn of the RV as the earliest exposition of the later Brahmanical view, and regard the essential features of the Caste System as existing even in the earliest Aryan society in India.

This theory has been challenged by many scholars whose views may be brielty stated as follows:

The evidence of the Purusha-sukta, an admittedly late hymn, is hot valid for the bulk of the Rigveda, which was produced by the as yet un-Brahmanized tribes of Vedic Indians living in the Indus region and the Punjab. The Caste System was developed only later, when a section of these Vedic tribes migrated farther east. The term Varna (Lit., Aryan colour) is used in the Rigveda of all the three highest castes of later times, being contrasted only with Dasa (the dasyu-varna or “aboriginal colour’*). § The terms “Raj any a,” “Vaisya” and “&udra” occur only in the Purusha-sukta, the term “Brahmana,” also, being rare in the Rigveda. The term “Kshatriya,”,of which “Rajanya” is an earlier variant, occurs but seldom in the Rigveda. The term “Brahman” denotes “a priest by^ profession” only in some passages, while in others it denotes any person who was distinguished by genius or virtue, or one who, for some reason, was deemed specially receptive of the divine inspiration.

The transition from the casteless, though classified, society of the bulk of the Rigveda to the elaborate Caste System of the Yajur veda is to be traced to the complication of life resulting from the further migration of the Vedic Aryans from - the Punjab to the east. The necessity of carrying on a ceaseless fight with, and the conquest of, the aborigines called for an organization of the conquering people by the merger or fusion of petty tribes into centralized kingdoms. Thus emerged the powerful monarch, while the lesser tribal princes, • deprived of their royal rank, sank to the position of nobles. The monarchy, moreover, needed now a standing armed force, prepared to meet all eventualities, such as resisting the sudden incursions of native or other Aryan tribes and quelling revolts on the part of the subdued aborigines. This standing army was naturally recruited from the ranks of the nobility of tribal princes and the chief armed retainers of the king. This is the genesis of the warrior class. At the same time, the "people" of the Aryan masses, secure in the protection afforded by the warrior class, ceased to take interest in military matters and settled down to a peaceful life devoted to agriculture, pastoral pursuits, trade, and industry. They constituted the third class, the Vis , later called "Vaisyas."

Side by side also grew a distinct community of priests. In the earlier period, not only the householder but even the petty prince could offer sacrifice to the gods for himself and his people, the ritual being very simple. But when the size of the kingdom grew and military and administrative affairs kept the hands not only of the king but also of the warrior class full, while, at the same time, the ritual tended to become more complicated and elaborate, the need was keenly felt of a hieratic order, composed of the more intellectual elements among the non-fighters who could dedicate themselves, undisturbed by the distractions of war or. peace, to the faithful and exact performance of the highly developed ritual, and to the preservation (by word of mouth) of the traditional formulae and sacred hymnology of the Aryans, a heritage in part at least from almost prehistoric times.

As regards the fourth class, the &udra is mentioned for the first and only time in the "Purusha-sukta." But dasyu and ddsa are known to the Rigveda, both as aborigines independent of Aryan control and as conquered slaves. The latter may reasonably be supposed to represent the Sudras of the later texts. But not all the defeated aborigines could be absorbed as slaves in the royal household or in the houses of individual owners. There must have been whole villages of the aborigines, though under Aryan control. The - term “Sudra” was evidently applied to the inhabitants of these villages as well as to the wild hill tribes which lived by hunting and fishing and acknowledged the overlordship of their Aryan neighbours. In course of time it included, even dasyu-varna (or dark-skinned) people who remained beyond the pale of the Aryan state and who were virtually excluded from the religious and ritual cult of the Aryans. The development of the Caste System in a rigid form, with strictly hereditary and mutually exclusive caste* groups, did not take place till the time when the Vedic Aryans had settled down in the Middle Country and were already Brahmanized enough to look upon the inhabitants of the North-West—the home of the Rigveda —as uncivilized Vratyas because they did not follow the strict Caste System.

The view summed up above may be regarded as the one now generally accepted by scholars. According to this recognized version, in the earliest society represented by the bulk of the Rigveda, there were probably different classes and professions, but none, not even the priestly and the warrior classes, were hereditary; the warriors were drawn from the people at large, and any person with the requisite qualifications could officiate as a priest.

This view is not, however, accepted by some whose arguments may be briefly stated thus: (1) The main, if not the earliest part of the Rigveda was, in all probability, composed not in the Punjab but in the east, in the country later known as the Madhyadesa or Brahmavarta. So the argument based on the non-Brahmanical character of the Vratyas of the Indus and the Punjab becomes pointless. (2) The term Brahmana, “son of a Brahman or priest,” suggests that the priesthood was normally hereditary. There is no definite instance of a person other than a priest exercising priestly functions. Nor was this feasible, as the priesthood, even in the Rigveda, ^stinguishes within its fold a vast number of sub-groups of specialists and experts. (3) The power of the Purohita over the king in the Rigveda r derivable from the fact that the correct perfor mance of the sacrifice demanded the services of a hereditary* priest, is nearly as great as in the post-Kigvedic age. (4) The Rigveda knows of a ruling class—the Kshatriya—who, as a class of nobles, are appropriately named in the Purusha-sukta as “Raj any a” or “men of kingly family.” As kingship was normally hereditary, the Kshatriyas were also in all probability a hereditary body. The Sudras were admittedly a separate group; so ail the elements of the Caste System were in existence in the age of the liigveda. (5) There are glimpses in the Rigveda of a threefold (VIII. 35. 16-18) or fourfold (I. 113. 6) division of the people, corresponding to the well-known three upper or all the four divisions of the Ca$te System. (6) The existence of similar classes among the Iranians, namely priests, warriors, agriculturists, and artisans, makes it very probable that by the time of the Rigveda the four classes had developed into hereditary caste-groups, owing to the contact of the Arya-varna Aryans with the dark-skinned aborigines, and the necessity this imposed on Aryan society of reorganizing its whole structure.

Although there is great force in some of these objections, it must be conceded that they are not strong enough to upset the recognized version. The existence of the four classes in Avestan literature certainly argues for the existence of 'somewhat similar classes in Rigvedic society, but much stronger positive evidence is necessary to establish that these classes were hereditary.

Further, the term Brahmana, son of a priest, occurs very rarely, and the word Brahmaputra, in the same sense, is found only once. This, when contrasted with the numerous references to Brahman, seems to indicate that there was no idea of a hereditary priesthood in the earlier Vedic period.

On the whole, it is difficult not to agree with the views, propounded long ago by Muir, that the Brahmanas (far less the Kshatriyas or Vaisyas) did not constitute an exclusive caste or race, and that the prerogatives of composing hymns and officiating at the services of the gods were not regarded, in the age of the #igveda, as entirely confined to men of priestly families. 3 The same thing was equally, or perhaps more, true of the minor professions, as the hymn, quoted above on p. 350, refers to the father, mother and the son following three different vocations in life, viz. those of a poet, a grinder of corn, and a physician. The heredity of occupation was, therefore, not yet a recognized principle, far less an established fact. The utmost that can be said is that there were recognized professions like priesthood, or distinctions. of nobility, and these had in many cases a tendency to become hereditary, but, as in other countries or societies, their ranks might have been recruited from all sections of the community. Of the other essential features of the Caste System viz., prohibition of interdining and intermarriage, no such restriction is even remotely hinted at in the hymns of the Rigveda.

3. Marriage and the Position of Women

The frequent mention of unmarried girls like Ghosha, who grew up in the houses of their parents (1. 117. 7; X. 39. 3; 40. 5;, the references to the ornaments worn by maidens at festival occasions in order to win lovers (i. 123. 11; Vil. 2. 5), to a youth's courtship of the maiden he loves (1. 115. 2), to the lover's gifts (I. 117. 18), to their mutual love (I.'167. 3; IX. 32. 5, etc.) and to the spell (vn. 5o. d. ti) by which a lover hopes to lull the whole household to sleep while he visits his beloved—all this evidence speaks in favour of the custom of girls normally marrying long after they had reached puberty. Some of the passages mentioned above, but not all, may refer to the hetaera class as existing in Vedic society. The marriage ceremony also supports this view, as it is presumed to be immediately followed by consummation (X. 85. 29 ff.).

The restrictions on the field of choice in marriage were few. Marriage connections with the dasyu-varna people, with whom the Aryans came into conflict in India, were probably prohibited. Among Aryans only the marriages of brother and sister (X. 10), and of father and daughter were banned.

There seems to have been considerable freedom on the part of young persons concerned in the selection of a wife or husband, as they generally married at a mature age. There is no clear evidence that the consent of the parent or brother was essential. The latter appeared on the scene after the parties concerned had come to an understanding, and their participation as well as that of the “wooer” (vara) in the formal “wooing” was a mere formality, though it was an essential preliminary to the marriage ceremony.

The uncomplimentary references to some sons-in-law iVlll. 2, 20; I. 109. 2) suggest that in some cases a bride-price was paid by a not very desirable son-in-law. Similarly when girls had some physical defect, dowries, it seems, had to be given (VI. 28. 5; X. 27. 12). When Vimada carried off Purumitra’s daughter against his will, but probably with the consent of the daughter (I. 112. 19; 116. 1; etc.), we have an admixture of those elements which led to the formulation, later, of the Gandharva and Rakshasa forms of marriage.

A hymn in RV (X. 85)—which may be called the wedding hymn—gives us some idea of the oldest marriage ritual. The bridegroom and party proceed to the bride’s house (X. 17. 1), where the well-adorned bride remains ready (IV. 58. 9) to join the marriage-feast. * The guests are entertained with the flesh of cows killed on the occasion (X. 85. 13). The ceremony proper now commences. The bridegroom grasps the hand of the bride and leads her round the fire (X. 85. 36, 38). These two acts constitute the essence of the marriage and the bridegroom is now the husband who takes her by the hand (hasta-grabha: X. 18. 8). The bridegroom next takes the bride home in a car, in a wedding procession (X. 85. 7, 8. 10. .24-27, 42). Then follows the consummation which is signified chiefly. by the purification of the bride’s garment (X. 85. 28-30. 35).

Perfect harmonv and happiness are praved for in conin«*al life, which (it is hoped) will be long enough to bless the couple with sons and <? randsons'(VJJI. 31. 5-9: X. 34. 11: 85. 18. 19. 42 ff.). X. 85. 46 describes the newly married wife as taking up a most respected position as the mistress of her new household, wielding authority over the husband’s father, brother, and unmarried sisters. This verse envisages the case (very probably) of the marriage of the eldest son in the family, when the old father has retired from active life. The authority exercised must have been more or less the rule of love. The wife participated regularly in the sacrificial offerings of her husband.

The fulfilment of the desire for offspring, and male offspring in particular,* was the chief aim of marriage. Abundance of sons is constantly prayed for along with cattle and land, but no desire for daughters is expressed. This desire for a son is natural in a patriarchal organization of society. The son alone could perform the funeral rites for the father and continue the line. Sonlessness was as much deplored as poverty (III. 16. 5). The adoption of sons was recognized, though not favoured (VII. 4. 7. 8).

There is very little evidence of the prevalence of the custom of Sati or widow-burning in the Rigveda, though we nay detect a semblance or reminiscence of this ancient custom in X. 18. 8, where the widow is asked to descend from the funeral pyre of her dead husband on which she was first made to lie. The only safe conclusion would be that the practice, even if known, was not widely prevalent, or at best was confined to the Raj any a class, if Indo-Germanic parallels are a correct guide. Rigveda, X. 40. 2 and X. 18. 7, 8 point to the practice of requiring a childless widow to cohabit with her brother-in-law until the birth of a son. This niyoga is a kind of short-term levirate. These passages (and I. 124.7 also which mentions a garta-ruh) are clear evidence that the remarriage of widows was permitted in certain circumstances, though there is no clear or definite reference to it in RV.

The Rigved'i certainly permits polygamy (I. 62. 11; 71. 1; 104. 3; 105. 8; 112. 19; 186. 7; VI. 53. 4; VII. 18. 2; 26. 3; X. 43. 1 101. 11, etc.), though monogamy may have been the rule (I. 124. 7; IV. 3. 2; X. 71. 4). Whether monogamy developed from polygamy in the Rigvedic age as Zimmer 4 thinks, or whether polygamy is secondary

as Weber 5 believes, cannot be decided. Probably polygamy, though allowed, was practically confined to the Raj any a class. Polyandry is not referred to anywhere in the Rigveda „ The few passages in the wedding hymn (X. 85. 37, 38) in which “husbands” (plural) are spoken of in connection with a single wife can be explained on a mythological basis. Female morality maintained a high standard, the same degree of fidelity not being expected from the husbands.

There are few doubtful references to lovers and love-making (I. 134. 3; VIII. 17. 7). A raho-sufr, “bearing in secret” is mentioned in II. 29. 1. A protege of Indra is referred to as the “castaway” (pardvjrji or pardvfikta), presumably as the offspring of illegitimate love. It is difficult to accept the view of Pischel and Geldner 6 that Ushas is the characteristic ketaera, nor are hetaerae referred to When women are described aS' going to the samana, though the dancer (njitu) may have belonged to that class. The so-called incestuous intercourse between father and daughter in the story of Prajapati (X. 61. 5-7), and between brother and sister in the dialogue between Yama and YamI (X. 10) can be satisfactorily explained (in the opinion of the present writer) on a mythological or astronomical basis.

Women had to be under the protection of some guardian or other; for example, in the care of their fathers until marriage, of their husbands after marriage, and of their brothers if not married; still they' enjoyed much freedom. They did not always remain indoors, but moved about freely; they publicly attended feasts and dances, and there are references to “fair ladies flocking to festive gatherings.”

4. Education

In the ftigveda, there is no explicit reference to the ceremony of Upanayana or Initiation (lit., the drawing near or leading forth Of a boy for study under the teacher) which is regarded as of such .great importance in later ages. But all primitive people have some kind of ceremony, signifying the formal admission of an adult youth to membership of tribe, and we may infer from the closely parallel Indo-Iranian ceremony of Navjot that the elements of this ceremony probably existed in the Kigvedic age and even earlier.

The Frog-hymn (VII. 103) quoted above, on p. 349, gives us a glimpse of the educational system (if system it can be called) of the Rigvedic age. The fifth verse gives a picture of the earliest Vedic school by the comparison of the croaking of the frogs to the chorus of voices heard when a teacher recites *he Veda, section by section (parvan), and the pupils repeat his words after him. The first verse of the hymn suggests through a simile that this concerted school-recitation sprang into life suddenly, at a stated time (the opening of the monsoon?), because frogs raising their (rain-inspired) voices at the opening of the monsoon after lying low for (the rest of) the year are compared to Brahmai?as, conforming to their fixed annual routine (vrata). Evidently the entire instruction was orally given. Debates are also referred to (X. 71). The word “Brahmacharin” in the technical sense of a “religious student” is found in X. 109. 5. The father was not rarely also a teacher, his son taking lessons from him along with a few neighbouring students. That the sharpening of the intellect, as well as the development of character, in the Brahmacharin was aimed at, is seen from the celebrated Gayatrl verse (III. 62. 10) which prays to Savitri for a stimulation (a whetting) of the intellect.

While there is no doubt that the instruction was orally imparted, it is a very debatable point whether the art of writing was known at all in this age. It is a well-known fact that no actual specimens of alphabets have been discovered in India which can be definitely dated before the fourth century B.C. Consequently most of the scholars are of opinion that the art of writing was unknown in ancient India. BUhler sought to prove that the Indian merchants learnt this art in Western Asia and introduced it in their country some time about the eighth century B.C. This view, which regards the most ancient alphabet of India (the Brahmi alphabet of Asoka’s inscriptions) as derived from the North Semitic types of the ninth century B.C., now holds the field. But the discovery of the numerous seals at Mohenjo-daro, with pictographic writing (Ch. IX, p. 195) has put an altogether new complexion on the whole question. It is now believed by many that the Indus script formed the parentsource from which the oldest Brahmi alphabets have been derived. Some are even of opinion that when the Rigveda was finally arranged in its present form it was written in a script which formed an intermediate stage between the Indus script and the Aiokan alphabet. If we accept the old theory of Biihler, we have to presume that the vast Vedic literature was composed and preserved by oral transmission alone—a stupendous feat of memory which appears to be almost miraculous. On the other hand, if we believe that these voluminous texts were committed in those old days to writing, we are face'. with the problem of writing materials, of which we definitely know nothing. The whole thing is shrouded in mystery which cannot be solved until more definite facts come to light.

5. Amusements and Entertainments

Music, both vocal and instrumental, was well known. The Frog-hymn (VII. 103. 7-8) refers to the musical chanting of Brahmanas engaged in the extraction of the Soma juice. Different vocal sounds are carefully analysed in that hymn and elsewhere. Sing

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ing is often mentioned as adapted to different ends, such as “chanting,” “reciting,” “hymning,” etc. Among instruments we find reference to the vine (lute or string-instrument), vana (flute or wind-instrument), and the drum. The dancing of maidens is mentioned. Probably, men also danced, as is implied in a simile in X. 76. 6. The dialogue-hymns of the Rigveda have been the fruitful source of many theories regarding the earliest form of the drama (ante, p. 349). One theory is that they are relics of old mysteries from Indo-European times. Dr. Keith 7 holds that dramatic spectacles, religious in character, were known in the Rigvedic age. The chariot-race was a favourite sport and source of entertainment, and the race in general is the source of numerous similes and metaphors in the Ftigveda . The fascination exercised by gambling and the ruin caused by addiction to it, is often referred to and is actually the subject-matter of a hymn (X. 34).

6. Food and Drink

Milk and its products, chiefly ghrita (ghi or clarified butter), formed the principal ingredient of food. Grain (yava) was parched or ground into flour with a mill-stone and then mixed with milk or butter, and finally made into cakes. Vegetables and fruits were eaten in large quantities.

Meat* also formed a part of the dietary. The flesh of the ox, the sheep, and the goat was normally eaten, after being roasted on spits or cooked in earthenware or metal pots. Probably meat was eaten, as a rule, only on occasions of sacrifice, though such occasions were by no means rare, the domestic and the grand sacrifices being the order of the day. This explains why horse-flesh was eaten only at the horse-sacrifice to gain the strength and swiftness of the horse. The cow receives the epithet aghnya (not to be killed) in the Rigveda, and is otherwise a very valued possession. It is difficult to reconcile this with the eating of beef, but we may get some explanation if we remember the following: (1) Firstly, it was the flesh of the ox rather than of the cow that was eaten; a distinction definitely made, (ii) The flesh of the cow was (if at all) eaten at the sacrifices only, and.it is well known that one sacrifices one's dearest possession to please the gods, (iii) Even In the Rigveda , only Vasas (barren cows) were sacrificed. For example, Agni is called in VIII. 43. 11 as vasanna* The expression "atithinir gah ,f (cows fit for guests) in X. 68. 3 implies the same distinction.

Milk, drunk warm as it came from the cow, was a favourite drink. Though the Soma juice, in Rigveda , appears exclusively as a sacrificial drink (as "Haoma," it was prepared ^nd similarly celebrated in the Indo-Iranian period), it must have been a very popular inebriating drink in the original home of the Aryans. It had three kinds of admixture, with milk, sour milk, and yava. In the Rigvedic

period, surd was the popular drink, extremely intoxicating as compared to the Soma which, though mildly inebriating, was an invigorating beverage. Surd was probably distilled from grain. It is condemned as "leading people to crime and godlessness." Madhu, though often used to denote "Soma" or milk or any sweet food or drink, has also the sense of "honey" in the Rigveda.

7. Dress and Decoration

The dress (vasana or vastra) consisted of two garments according to the strictly Rigvedic evidence, namely the vasas (or "lower garment" in a narrow sense) and the adhivasa (an "over-garment" or an "upper garment"), though in the days of the later Samhitas, the nivi (or under-garment) came to be used in addition. The Maruts wear deer-skins, and a muni (X. 136. 2) is clad in skins or soiled garments.

The atka (a "garment") appears to be described as woven and well-fitting, though the real meaning is doubtful. Woollen clothing was in vogue. A sort of mantle or cloak (drdpi) is often mentioned. A kind of embroidered garment (pesas) seems to have been used by female dancers (I. 92. 4, 5; II. 3. 6, etc.). A special garment was worn by the bride at the marriage ceremony; it was later given to a Brahmana and is called vadhuya. The Maruts are described as wearing mantles adorned with gold. There was a general fashion for dressing well as may be inferred from words like sumsas (wellclad) and suvasana, and there were garments of different colours too. There is no clear evidence of any differentiation between male and female dress.

Several ornaments are mentioned in Rigveda . The Karnaso bhana was "an ornament for the ear," apparently for the use of men (VIII. 78. 3) and that it may have been a gold ornament is suggested by I. 122. 14 which refers to a deity as gold-eared (hiranya karna). The Kurira (X. 85. 8) was some kind of head-ornament worn by females, specially brides. The same may be said of ny ochanl (X. 85. 6), a bride's ornament. Khadi was a kind of ring, worn as an armlet or an anklet (I. 166. 9; VII. 56. 13). Nishka was a gold ornament worn on the neck, and we shall presently see that it must have been of a size suitable for its use also as a sort of currency. Mani was some kind of jewel (whether "pearl" or "diamond" is not certain) worn round the neck (I. 122. 14). Rukma was an ornament worn on the breast (II. 34. 2, 8). Garlands were often worn by men desiring to appear to advantage (IV. 38. 6* V. 53. 4. etc.). One hymn (X. 184. 3) refers to the Asvins as "lotuswreathed."

The hair were kept combed and oiled. The use of the word "ovasa" indicates that plaits were worn bv women in dressing the hair. There are undoubted references to the custom of wearing the

hair in braids or plaits. A maiden had her hair made in four plaits (X. 114. 3). It seems from the descriptions of Kudra and Pushan that men also wore their hair plaited or braided, and the Vasishthas were noted for wearing their hair in a plait or coil on the right (VII. 33. 1). The beard and moustache are mentioned, but shaving is referred to (X. 142. 4). Most probably Kshura means "razor" in the Rigveda .

8. Knowledge of Medicine and Sanitation

The physician is often mentioned with respect for his skill. Miraculous cures are ascribed to the twin-gods, the Asvins, who are the great healers of diseases and experts in the surgical art. Among diseases Yakshma is frequently mentioned (I. 122. 9; X. 85. 31; 97. 11, 12; 137. 4; 163. 1-6). It denotes "illness" in general, and probably "consumption" in particular, rendering the body emaciated. . IX. 112. 1 speaks of a physician wanting to cure a fracture in a way which seems to indicate that the practice of medicine was already a profession. The entire hymn X. 97 is addressed to the Oshadhis (the plants) with special reference to their curative powers. So herbs and plants figured prominently in the materia medica of this period. Prayers for long life are pretty frequent. The legends illustrating the reputed healing powers of the Aivins give us an idea of the general ailments and bodily mishaps. They are divine physicians who restore eye-sight and cure the blind, sick, and maimed (VIII. 18. 8; 22. 10; I. 116. 16; X. 39. 3). They rejuvenate the sage Chyavana (I. 116. 10) and revive the sage Rebha when drowned and given up as dead. They give a cooling and refreshing draught to Atri Saptavadhri when suffering from suffocation. They cure Paravyij of blindness and lameness, and when the leg of Viipala is cut off in battle, they replace it with an iron one. The last instance proves that a kind of primitive surgery was practised.

2. ECONOMIC CONDITION

1. Agriculture and Cattle

Agriculture made real headway during the Rigvedic age, although the practice of ploughing can be traced to Indo-Iranian times. The operation of tilling the soil meant (as now) the cutting of furrows in the field with the wooden ploughshare drawn by bulls, the sowing of seeds in the furrows thus made, the cutting of the corn with the sickle, the laying of the bundles of corn on the threshing-floor, threshing, and finally sifting and winnowing. Irrigation was known, and helped cultivation. The exact nature of the grain which was thus grown cannot be ascertained. It was called Yava and may have been "barley" as it was understood to be in the later Samhitas. Rice was not cultivated until a later period.

The Bigvedic Aryans were primarily a pastoral people and naturally cows and bullocks were their most valued possession. These constituted the chief form of wealth and the only original dakshinoi (sacrificial fee). The word " dakshina " in fact is an adjective meaning "right/' or "valuable," with an ellipse of go (cow), because the sacrificial fee was a cow placed "on the right side" of the singer to be rewarded. Similarly one of the words for "fight" was gavishti "a search for cows." The name of Aghnyd ("not to be killed"), applied several times to the cow, shows that the cow was coming to be regarded as a sacred animal. This feeling of sanctity of the cow can be traced even to Indo-Iranian times. Cows were kept in stalls during the night and in the heat of the day. They were allowed to roam freely in the pastures at other times, and were milked three times every day. The cow returning from the pasture-land in the evening and licking her calf fastened by a rope was one of the most gladdening sights, and the lowing of the milch-kine the most musical sound to the Rigvedic Aryans. There are even special terms like "sva-sara" for the time of the grazing of the cows in the morning, and sarh-gava, for the time when the grazing cows are driven home together for the milking. The Rigveda is aware of the dangers to which the grazing cows were liable, such as being lost, falling into pits, breaking limbs, and being stolen. The ears of cattle were marked, probably to indicate ownership. Bulls and oxen were regularly used for ploughing and drawing carts. That the cow should give warm or cooked milk was a standing wonder. That the dark or red cow could give shining milk was little short of a miracle! (VIII. 93. 13).

2. Trade and Commerce

There are clear references in the hymns (I. 56. 2) to trading in distant lands for profit. The prayers and oblations offered for "gaining a hundred treasures" (III. 18. 3) are also probably those of merchants seeking divine aid for success in trade. Apart from trade with foreign countries, or alien tribes, there must have been quite an extensive inland trade, but no definite details are available. Haggling in the market was, however, well-known.

The exchange of commodities on the principle of barter seems to have been in vogue, but cow had already come to be regarded as a unit of value (IV. 24. 10). There might have been other recognized units of value. Great importance attaches to one such unit called nishka. It meant originally a gold ornament of the shape of a necklace or a necklet (V. 19. 3). When, however, in I. 126. 2 the poet celebrates the receipt of a hundred nishkas with a hundred horses, as a gift, he could hardly be referring to a hundred necklets. So it probably came to be used as a sort of currency even during the Rigvedic age.

Booty in battle was one of the sources of wealth to the State, and consisted chiefly of«flocks and herds. In individual economy, dowry and bride-price played no small part. Movable property could change hands by gift or sale which amounted to barter. Land was not an article of commerce, and does not seem to have presented any problems in connection with the transfer of immovable property in the case of the family or of the individual. The population being scanty and scattered over wide areas, fresh land could be easily obtained, if needed by a family which had grown to a very large size with several sons. The rivers of the North-West are referred to as yielding gold.

Whether any sea-borne trade was carried on during this age is a much disputed question, as already noted above (p. 248). The view that the Rigvedic Indians took part in ocean-shipping is opposed on the following grounds: (1) The nan (boat or ship) was, in the majority of cases, merely a boat or "dug-out" for crossing rivers, and there may have been large boats in use for crossing the broad rivers of the Punjab. These boats were so simple in their construction that only the paddle or oar (aritra) needed for propelling them is mentioned. There is no mention of masts or sails, of rudder or anchor. Thus the Vedic Indian was not much of a navigator. (2) Metaphors used by £u people familiar with the ocean are lacking in the Riaveda. (3) The numerous mouths of the Indus are ignored, although that river was the convenient natural outlet to the sea. Against these arguments must be set down the following facts: (1^ The Rioveda mentions men who go to the ocean (scmudrd) eager for gain (I. 56. 2; IV. 55. 6) and samudra cannot be explained away in these passages as standing for the very broad and wide stream of the lower Indus. (2) There are some allusions to a trade more extensive than that implied by boats for crossing rivers. (3) Verses I. 116. 3 ff. tell us that the Asvins rescued Bhujyu in the ocean with a ship of a hundred oars (sataritra). A ship of this type could be needed only for a sea-voyage. (4) X. 136. 5 refers to “eastern and western oceans.” These passages, in the opinion of the present writer, clearly indicate that sea-trade was carried on during this age.

3. Occupations and Industries

Some of the important professions and vocations of this period have been incidentally referred to above. The Brahmanas or the priestly class dedicated themselves to the highly specialized occupation or profession of officiating at the sacrifices and preserving the sacred hymnology of the Aryans by conducting Vedic classes. The Kshatriya or Raj any a class had taken to the fighting profession. Members of the third—the Vaisya—class naturally took to agriculture, cattle-breeding and other pastoral pursuits, and the various arts, crafts, and industries. The lowest, the Sudra class, was engaged in service of ail kinds. But, as noted above, the classes were not irrevocably bound up with specific occupations. Many Kajanyas are found among the poets of the Rigveda , and members of tne tnree higher classes were not rarely promiscuously engaged in cattlebreeding, during times of peace, and in fighting, during times of war. Money-lending was practised chiefly by the Vaiiyas, but also occasionally by Brahmai?as.

It appears from the large number of similes and metaphors drawn from the art of fashioning chariots for war and race, and carts for agriculture and transport, that carpentry was an honoured profession, the carpenter being also a wheelwright and joiner. He did all sorts of work in wood, and even carved work of a finer type was not beyond his skill (X. 86. 5; I. 161. 9; III. 60. 2). The worker in metal smelted ore in the furnace using the wing of a bfrd as a bellows to fan the flames. Household utensils like kettles were made of metal (ay as). What metal the ay as was is uncertain. It may have been either copper, bronze, or iron, if we suppose that the word is consistently used in the same sense; but it is also possible that it is used in more senses than one- Its colour is to be inferred from the epithets used with it, such as “reddish.” As the use of copper precedes that of iron in the development of civilization, ayas may have indicated “copper” or its alloy “bronze”; but this is by no means certain, and iron may have been known. Earthenware and wooden vessels were used for purposes of eating and drinking, along with those of metal. The art of the tanner (char?na inna in

VIH. 5. 38) and the use of hide are well known. Ox-hide was used to manufacture bowstrings, thongs (to fasten parts of‘ the chariots), reins and the lash of the whip (VI. 75. 11; I. 121. 9; VI47. 26; 46- 14; 53. 9, etc.)- It was also placed above the boards on which the Soma was pressed with the stones. It is not unlikely that skin bags were also made with it (X. 106. 10). Among the home and cottage industries may be mentioned sewing, the plaiting of mats from grass or reeds, and the spinning and weaving of cloth, chiefly done by women. Among the other professions may be mentioned those of the dancer, both male and female, barber (Vaptji) and vintner. It is noteworthy that those who practised these professions were not looked upon as inferiors in the age of the Rigveda.

Hunting as a sport and profession was known and must have been practised by the Raj any a class, chiefly with the aid of practised professionals. Nets and pitfalls were the normal instruments of capture, and the bow and arrow was also employed. Birds were caught in nets, and antelopes (risya) in pits. There are some obscure references to the capture of boars and buffaloes (gaura)The lion was caught in traps. The Rigveda is an important source of our knowledge of hunting in early times. The butcher’s profession was also probably known, as the services of a Samitfi (in the sense of “one who cuts up”) were probably needed at animal sacrifices (I. 162. 9; II. 3. 10; III. 4. 10, etc.).

There is no distinct reference to the specific occupation of slaves. They probably assisted their Aryan masters who did not think it beneath their dignity to practise all the arts and crafts needed by society.

4. House-Building and Means of Transport

Although it is suggested that some kind of a distinction between villages and towns is indicated in I. 44. 10 and 114. 1, city-life is not much in evidence. The village was a group of houses, built near each other for purposes of safety, and was surrounded by some kind of a hedge as a protective barrier against enemies and wild beasts. It is difficult to determine the exact sense in the Rigveda of pur which later meant a town. It seems to have been an earthwork fortification, protected by a palisade or stone wall. The frequent mention of the capture or destruction of such strongholds indicates that they were numerous and scattered all over the country, and that they could be easily erected like the stockades made by primitive tribes all over the world- The pur or earth-work fortification may either have been part of the village or just outside it, to be resorted to in times of emergency. It was called autumnal, probably because the emergency arose generally in autumn, when raids from neighbouring tribes became possible at the end of tjie monsoon, Or the emergency was in the shape of a flooding of the plains owing to the rising of rivers in autumn.

Houses were made of wood, the beams (vaihsa) being made of bamboo (also'vamsa). The so-called strongholds or forts probably had a series of concentric walls.

The conception of Pushan as the guardian of the pathways gives occasion for the numerous references of all kinds of transport and means of communication such as carts (anas) and chariots (ratha) on land and ships on the sea. The Asvins are credited with ships (or conveyances) moving through the air (antariksha), which come uncannily near the modem conception of airships.

The chariots and carts were drawn by oxen, mules, or horses. The chariots of the rich were drawn by two and sometimes even four horses. Riding on horseback was also much in vogue. Names of various parts of chariots occur very frequently in the RV hymns, and indicate a considerable improvement in their construction over the primitive types. Travelling was fairly common. Prayers are offered to the gods (VII. 35. 15) to “give broad paths to travel,”— paths that should be straight in direction and thornless (X. 85. 23). A solemn prayer to Indra for the safety of the journey (III. 53. 17-20) gives many interesting details of a cart driven by oxen in which the journey was made.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The references to artificial waterways such as kulyd in III. 45. 3 and khanitrimd apab” in VII. 49. 2 make it certain that some kind of an irrigation system was known. Wells artificially made are contrasted with springs. Such wells were covered, and are described as unfailing and full of water. The water was raised by a wheel to which a strap with a pail attached to it was fastened. These wells could be used for irrigation purposes, when the water was led off into broad channels (RV, I. 55. 8; X. 101. 6, 7; 102. 11; VIII. 69. 12; 72. 10).

1. There is a voluminous literature on the origin and antiquity of the Caste System in India, to some of which reference will be made in the bibliography. For the views mentioned in this section see CHI, I, pp. 92 ff.; Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I; N. K. Dutt, Origin and Growth of Caste in India. In an article entitled: “Were Castes formulated in the Age of the Rigveda” in BDCRl, II, 34 ff., the present writer has sought to prove that the formulation of castes, if not the Caste System, was already a fait accompli in the age of the Rigveda.

2. Muir, op. cit., p. 10.

3. Op. cit., pp. 263-4, 280.

4. AL, p. 323.

5. Ind. Stud., V, p. 222.

6. Ved. Stud., I, pp. xxv, 196, 275, 299, 309; II, pp. 120, 154, 179, etc.

7. SD, p. 16.

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BOOK SIX

THE AGE OF THE LATER SAMHITAS

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CHAPTER XX

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1. LANGUAGE OF THE SAMHITAS

1. Samaveda

A language ceases to change only after death, and so the language of tne Rigveda, even though hieratic and therefore to some extent artificial, did change in so far as it was a form of living speech at the same time. The earliest traceable stage in its course of change is that marked by the variant readings of the Mantras of the Rigveda contained in the Samaveda. In many cases these Sdmaveda- variants show forms which, however, seem to be archaic in comparison with the corresponding forms in the parallel Rik-mantras, and therefore it was argued, particularly by Ludwig, 1 that, at least in some cases, the Samavedic readings should be regarded as retaining the original text. But the question is, whether these apparently archaic forms were not the result of conscious efforts on the part of the redactors of the Samaveda to strike an archaic effect. 2 Almost all such forms in Samavedic parallel passages occur elsewhere also in the Rigveda , and none of them needs to have been derived from a pre-Rigvedic stage of the language. Without entirely denying the possibility of an original reading having been retained in some cases only in the Samaveda , it is only fair to conclude therefore that there is no compelling reason to consider the Samavedic text-tradition as superior to that of the Rigveda , specially as, even according to Ludwig's notion, the instances of older forms are more numerous in the text of the Rigveda.

Moreover, the older forms in the passages of the Rigveda arc on the whole not at all such as might have been planted in the text with a view to artificially producing an archaic effect, though that may be held of Some of the older forms appearing in the Samavedic readings. Thus vakshatu in SV, II. 9. 1 . 16. 3 (=No. 1809) is indeed of older stock than yachchhaiu in the parallel passage RV, VIII. 34. 2. But it would be wrong to conclude therefrom that the Samaveda in this case represents the older and perhaps the original reading, for such a view of the situation cannot but lead to the absurd position of considering all the Rigvedic passages containing forms like vakshatu to be older than all the Rigvedic passages containing forms like yachchhaiu . In fact, the sporadical occurrence of particular late forms cannot prove the lateness of the texts containing them, be those texts Rigvedic or Samavedic, for early and late forms of nearly all categories have been used side by side in every period of the age of the Sarhhitas. A real change in the linguistic

habits of the speakers concerned can be postulated only when the instances of variation point to a general tendency. Such general tendencies can, however, be clearly perceived in the variant readings of the Samaveda, and they point invariably to a later stage of development. Thus the archaic genitive singular feminine form avya\t has been in all cases changed into avydh in the Samavedic variants. The enclitic particle im of pronominal origin which was visibly going out of use already in the Rigvedic language, occurs also in some passages of the Samaveda, but it is significant that in some others the reading has been so altered as to eliminate it; thus abhim Titasya of RV appears as abhy ritasya in SV, payasem as payased, utem (~uta im) as utim. Similarly, there is a pronounced tendency in the Samavedic variants to eliminate dissyllabic vowels as a result of which Rigvedic akshar and prdh had to become aksharat and paprdh in the Samaveda. The archaic absolutive ending - tvi occurs only in two of the RiTc-verses repeated in the Samaveda , but in both this ~tv\ has been changed into -tva. Accented i does not in Sandhi change into y (in spite of graphic forms) in the first nine Man^alas of the Rigveda, but it does in the Samaveda. In consequence, vi asema devdhitam (RV, I. 89. 8) had to become vy asemahi devahitam (SV. II. 9. 3. 9. 2. = No. 1874) in which the loss of a vowel through Sandhi had to be made up for by replacing asema through later asemahi that does not at all occur in the Rigveda

2. Yajurveda

Next to the Samhitas of the Rigveda and the Samaveda are to be ranked, from the linguistic point of view, in chronological order, the Mantra-portions of the Black Yajurveda, which in their turn are clearly older than the Vdjasaneyi-Samhitd which should perhaps be dated earlier than the

Atharvaveda. 6 Regarding the language of the Mantra-portions of the Taittiriya-Samhitd, Keith has shown 6 that it represents a stage intermediate between the Rigvedic language and the language of the Brahmanas, though resembling the former much more closely than the latter. The same may be said also of the language of the other three Samhitas of the Black Yajurveda, for linguistically the Mantra-portions of all the four schools are really homogeneous, and therefore must be assigned to approximately the same age. Without making proper distinction between Mantra and Brahmana portions, Schroeder tried to prove the superior age of the Maitrayant Samhitd on linguistic grounds, 7 but his arguments are unconvincing. The fact that the root stigh of Indo-European antiquity occurs in Indian literature only in the Maitrayani-Samhita cannot of course prove the antiquity of the Maitrayani-Samhita itself. Nor can the other peculiarities of the language of the Maitrayavft and the Ka^haka pointed out by Schroeder be accepted as proof of greater antiquity. The root khya - ap

pears in the carious form ksd- in Maitrdyani, Kdthaka and Kapish thala, but that is no sign of antiquity as Schroeder was inclined to believe. It simply shows that in the dialects represented by these texts the semi-vowel y in khya- became spirantic in pronunciation, and as such it points rather to a comparatively later age. Similarly, these three show the form playate for Taittirfya prdyate which is certainly older. The periphrastic verb-forms utsadayam akar, prajanaydm akar and pavayam kuryat, specifically mentioned by Panin i 8 as characteristic of the Vedic language, actually occur in the Maitrdyani , but cannot prove it to be older than the Taittiriya, for the formation is not a primary one, as Keith 9 has justly pointed out. In microscopic details little differences can no doubt be observed in the four known Samhitas of the Black Yajurveda, but the general structure of their language is absolutely the same . 10 Equally extreme rarity of narrative perfects in all the Samhitas of the Black Yajurveda 11 is not only an additional proof of their essential contemporaneity, but also assigns them chronologically to the oldest period of the Vedic prose. In fact, in this respect the language of the Black Yajurveda is distinctly more faithful to the Indo-European basic idiom than the language of the R,igveda itself, for the narrative perfect, certainly not of Indo-European origin, is much more in evidence in the latter . 12

The Mantra portions of the Taittiriya-Sgmhitd, that are independent of the Rigveda, mark a stage of distinct advance tc wards the normal language of the Brahmanas. Thus - ebhih for -aih, -a for -ena, -asah for -dh and -d for dni are steadily diminishing in the Mantra-portions (and completely disappear from the Brahmana parts). 13 Similarly, the verb in the independent Mantra-parts of the Taittiriya-Samhita shows a definite tendency to eliminate the Rigvedic endings - masi, -thana and -tana. The future is a rarity in the Rigveda, but it is common in the Taittiriya and there is perhaps even an instance of periphrastic future (lup), namely anvdgantd . 13a While the later gerundives in - tavya and -aniya do not yet occur in the Taittiriya-mantras, the older ones in -a yya and -tua have almost completely disappeared in them. Lastly may be mentioned as occurring in Taittiriya-mantra the much discussed but still unexplained verb-forms dhvanayit and ajayit . 14 As for the Vdjasaneyi-Sa'rhhitd of the White Yajurveda, even its oldest parts (Adhyayas I-XVIII) are certainly later than the Mantra-portions of the Taittiriya . In the treatment of Rigvedic Mantras it shows much less independence than the Black Yajurveda and conforms much more to the Rigvedic text-tradition. As a result, the Kanva school of the Vajasaneyins has adopted the peculiarly Rigvedic sound l for intervocalic $ also in its own Saihhita. In language, the VajasaneyiSamhitd does not differ from the Brahmanas. 14 *

3. Atharvaveda

A linguistic appraisal of the Atharvaveda is unusually difficult, for very old things have been described in it sometimes in very late language, but at the same time it also offers forms that would be regarded as archaic even in the Rigveda. This can perhaps be best explained on the assumption that though no less old than the Rigveda in contents, the Atharvaveda was codified and canonized so late that the redactors considered it necessary to re-dress it in an artificial garb of hieratic solemnity. At any rate, it is clear that the redactors of the Atharvaveda had inherited a long tradition of Mantra literature of which all the parts seemed to them to be equally old, and which, therefore, they used indiscriminately in dressing up the Atharvan text. The basic language of the Atharvaveda is, however, not too unlike,* say, the Sanskrit of the grammarian Patanjali, and is on the whole not difficult to understand, excepting where the text consists of purely magical incantations, which the authors, as is everywhere the case with similar compositions, intentionally tried to make obscure.

About one-seventh of the material of the first nineteen of the twenty Kandas of the Atharvaveda is drawn from the Rigveda . and in these Kansas Rik-mantras often appear with significant variants. The twentieth Kan<Ja. the Samhita of the Brahmana

chchhamsin as we have called it, consists, however, whollv of

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Mantras drawn from the Rigveda which appear here without a single variant reading, and among them are contained also Mantras from Valakhilya-hymns. 1 ' as, for instance, the first two of the four verses of AV, XX. 51 are identical with Val. I. 1-2, and the second two with Val. II. 1-2. 5 r However interesting in other respects, the twentieth Kantfa is therefore quite valueless from the linguistic point of view. Linguistically interesting and important are only those Rik-mantras (drawn mostly from the tenth Mandala) which are scattered in the other Kansas, for in them a general trend towards the later language is distinctly perceptible. 17 Thus the later absolutive ending -tt'd often replaces Rigvedic -tvaya or -tvi (e.g. hitv-n for Rigvedic hitvdya and bhiitvd for Rigvedic bhutvl). Forms of instrumental plural in -eb/wh and -ai/i are equally current in the Rigveda, but in the A.thari'aveda, against 263 cases of -aih there are only 53 of -ebhib. 1s The root grabh - becomes grab- in the Atharvaveda when followed by suffixal -n-, thus producing forms such as g^ihndmi (for Rigvedic gribhndmi) that are the only forms current in later Sanskrit. The word syona is always trisyllabic in the Rigveda, but in the Atharvaveda it is in most cases dissyllabic as in the later language. The Rigvedic form panthdh in nominative plural gives way in the Atharvaveda to the classical form pan thdnak on the analogy of adhmnah (from adhvan), and it. is remark

sble that in AV, XIV. 1. 34a (=RV , X- 85. 23a) panthafy has been replaced by panthdnah even to the detriment of metre. 19 But it is not in the variants of IUk-mantras alone that the late character of the language of the

Atharvaveda is revealed. The vocative singular masculine Of stems in -variis always ends with -vah in the Rigveda (e.g., chikitvah from chikitvdms-), but in the Atharvaveda it already assumes the classical form in - van (e.g., chikitvan); and the vocative singular masculine of rant-stems is almost always in - vah in the Rigveda, but in the independent passages of the Atharvaveda it is always in -ran, 20 as in later literature. As instances of Atharvavedic innovations in verbal flexion may be mentioned that in the Rigveda the subjunctive middle ending in the second person singular is -a se, (e.g. vardhdse); but in the Atharvaveda it is -asai (e.g., nay asai) as also in the Brahmanas; similarly the parallel ending in the third person singular is -ate in the Rigveda excepting in one form, but in the Atharvaveda and later it is exclusively -atai (e.g., srayate in RV, but sraydtai in AV). 21 Tho only instance of periphrastic perfect in the Mantra-texts 22 is gamaydm chak&ra in AV, XVIII. 2. 27, and the earliest occurrence of periphrastic future 23 is to be found perhaps in the form anvaganta 23:x in AV, VI. 123. 1-2. And again it is the Atharvaveda and no other Mantra-text that contains gerundives in -tavya and -aniya, e.g., himsitavya (AV, V. 18. 6) and amantraniya (AV, VIII. 10. 7). 24

These are the more important features of the Atharvavedic language that stamp it definitely as the latest of the Mantra-texts linguistically, and the metrical and non-metrical parts of the Atharvaveda are composed in apparently the same language. 25 At the same time, however, some of the words specially characteristic of the Atharvaveda . such as hvayami, sarva (as compared with visua), rajju, etc., are of prehistoric origin 26 and therefore would seem to argue for it a very high antiquity.

2. THE SAMHITA LITERATURE

1. Atharvaveda

From the view-point of contents, there can be no doubt that the typically Atharvanic charms and incantations are the product of a primitive culture not far removed from the dawn of human civilization. Mantras of this type are not altogether wanting in the Rigveda, but, being essentially a Srauta Mantrapatha for priests whose chief concern was the cultivation of Soma ritual it could not include many of them, since the whole Soma ritual was strictly hieratic. The Mantras of the Atharvaveda on the other hand were meant for application at the humbler Grihya sacrifices of the common people evolved round the plain and simple primitive fire-cult. But the priestly classes, in course of time, got the control of the originally non

Brahmanical Gyihya sacrifices, and, naturally, also compiled a Mantrapatha for these. This Grihya Mantrapatha is the Athar vaveda .

The Srauta Mantrapatha, i.e., the Rigveda, was compiled by the priests for the priests, and partly for their social superiors, the princes and potentates. The tone of the Rigveda, therefore, even where the Mantras are not directly addressed to the gods, is mainly one of begging and persuading. But the tone of the Athar vaveda is altogether different. Here the Brahmana priest is addressing his social inferiors from whom he need not turn off the shady side of his character. Thus in the hymn on the "Brahmana's wife" (Brahmajdyd) the priest has demanded a remarkable privilege for his class (AV , V. 17. 8):

Even though there were ten non-Brahmana previous husbands of a woman,

The Brahmana alone becomes her husband if he seizes her hand. 27

It is significant that the verses immediately preceding and following this verse occur also in the Paippalida-Saihhita, and seven of the verses of this hymn constitute the Rigvedic original (X. 109) of which it is an expanded version. But this particular verse, planted in the hymn to serve an obvious purpose, occurs neither in the Rigveda nor in the Paippalcida. The point has been still further emphasized in the following verse (AV, V. 17. 9):

The Brahmana indeed is the husband, neither the Rajanya. nor the Vaisya.

This the sun goes on proclaiming to the five tribes of men.

The burden of the other verses of this notorious hvmn is. however, not the Brahmana's preposterous claim to other men's wives, but threats and curses on those who would dare to molest the Brahmana's wife, e.g. (verse 12):—

Not on his couch reclines a wife bringing a hundred tas dowry?)

In whose kingdom the Brahmana’s wife is restrained through ignorance.

Not only the Brahmana’s wife, but also his property was sought to be protected by a similar appeal to people’s superstition.Thus in the next hymn (AV. V. 181 w>e are told (vv. 9-101:—

Brahmanas have sharp arrows and missiles.

the volley they hurl is not in vain;

Pursuing with fervour and with fury they cast him down from afar.

They that ruled a thousand and were ten thousands,—

Those Vaitahavyas were defeated

for having devoured a Brahmana's cow.

But the trick becomes ridiculous when it is suggested in all seriousness as a way of averting the ill omen of a twinning animal, that one of the twin calves should be made.over to a Brahmana (AV, III. 28. 2). Most amusing, however, is the long hymn (AV , XII. 4) in fierce denunciation of those who fail to bestow on Brahmanas their barren cows.

The Brahmana’s supposed privileges have thus been shamelessly asserted in the Atharvaveda , and of his obligations there is hardly any mention. Thus in AV, III. 58 the Brahmana, it is true, is praying for glory instead of wealth, but he cannot help adding: “so that I may be dear to the bestower of Dakshina (sacrificial fee).” To the Brahmanas of the Atharvaveda it was evidently more important to be dear to the bestower of Dakshiod than to be dear to the gods. Nor were the Mantras of the Atharvaveda primarily meant for those sacrificial sessions (satfras) at w'hich there was neither Yajamana nor Dakshina .

The community in which the Atharvan priest ordinarily moved was no doubt the society of the poor and ignorant villagers, to meet the demands of whose primitive superstitions was his principal professional business. But as even the highest and the mighty in the land were not above those superstitions, the Atharvan gained access even to the rulers of the country, and in fact came to be recognized as the king's alter ego in the role of his Purohita. How the Atharvan alone of the various types of priests came to occupy this enviable position is quite clear. While the other priests were adepts in the higher Srauta-ritual of which the solemn ceremonies were performed only at intervals or on special occasions, the Atharvan had tc advise the king on trivial events of his daily life, such as a cough (AV, VI. 105). sleep (AV, IV. 5). nightmare (AV, VI. 45), etc., and therefore had to be constantly in attendance on him. L ' ? Who else in these circumstances could be the king's chief adviser? Moreover, were not the king's victories due to the effective prayers of his Purohita? A king's Purohita actually says in the Atharvaveda »III. 19):—

1. Sharpened is this prayer of mine.

sharpened is my manly strength:

Sharp and imperishable be their rule whose victorious Purohita I am.

4. Sharper than-the axe.

and sharper than the flame.

Sharper than the thunder of Indra are those whose Purohita I am.

Since an Atharvan priest was by custom the king's Purohita it is but natural that an elaborate hymn of coronation at which, also

according to later ritual, the Purohita was the chief functionary— should be included in the Atharvaveda (IV. 8):—*

1. Being sets milk in beings,

he has become the lord of beings;

Death attends his coronation,

let this king accept this royalty.

2. Stride forward, do not falter (?)

stern corrector, rival-slayer.

Approach, O benefactor of friends, may you be blessed by the gods.

The hymn also refers to the custom of treading on a tiger-skin at coronation:—

4. As a tiger on tiger-skin

stride unto the great quarters;

Let all the people and heavenly waters rich in milk desire you.

There is also a similar hymn intended for recital at the election of a king (AV, III. 4):—

1. To you has come the kingdom, with splendour rise for

ward;

as lord of the people, sole king, rule;

Let all the quarters call -you, O king,

may all wait on you and pay you homage.

2. Let the people choose you for kingship,

let these five divine quarters (choose you);

Rest at the summit and pinnacle of your kingdom, and from there share out riches to us.

That the king had sometimes to be elected, though kingship was generally hereditary, is clearly suggested by the last verse. The exact form of government, however, cannot be ascertained from the Mantras of the Atharvaveda . But that the people were happy and proud of their motherland is perfectly clear from the splendid Bhumi-sukta (AV, XII. 1) which might have been the national anthem of Vedic. India 30 :—

1. Truth supreme and right formidable, consecration and

penance,^holiness and sacrifice are sustaining the earth; May she, the mistress of all that was and will be, the earth, make for us extensive space.

2. (She who ordains) freedom from restraint among men,

whose are the hills and streams equally numerous (?) Who bears herbs of various virtues—

may she, the earth, spread and prosper for. us.

3. On whom are the ocean and the river and th$ waters,

on whom have sprung food and the peoples,

On whom quickens this that breathes and stirs— may that earth grant us cattle and also food

41.1

8. She who. in the beginning was water in the ocean,

whom the sages followed (?) by means of occult power, The earth, whose deathless heart, encompassed in truth, rests in highest heaven—

may she confer glory and strength on our excellent state,

11. Let your hills and snowy mountains

and your forest be pleasant, O earth!

On the earth, brown, black, red, and multiform, iirm and extended, by Indra defended,

I have stood unconquered, unsmitten, uninjured.

12. What is your middle, O earth, what your navel,

what refreshments arose out of your body,

Instal us in them and be towards us gracious;

Earth is the mother, and I am her son;

Parjanya is the father, may he grant us plenty.

45. May the earth bearing peoples of various speeches and of customs varying according to their hom?s,

Grant me wealth in a thousand streams like a steadfast and unresisting milch-cow.

56. What villages, what forests,

what assemblies are on the earth,

What congregations and councils,

there may we speak in praise of you. 31 The hymn runs up to sixty-three verses, and at the end, the poet, dissolving in rapture and gratitude, pours out his heart in these simple words:—

63. O mother earth, settle me down

and kindlv make me well-established:

In concord with heaven, O sage, settle me in splendour and glory.

A number of Hymns of the Atharvaveda are on the borderline of magic and politics. 32 As example may be cited AV, VII. 12: —

1. May the assembly and the council 0 -** protect me, the two daughters of Prajapati in agreement;

May he whom I meet seek to help me,

% may I speak pleasantly at the meeting, O fathers:

3. Of these seated here together

I take away splendour and discernment;

Of this whole gathering. O Indra, make me the possessor of fortune.

Of the same type, but much more elevated in tone, is the oft-quoted and justly celebrated charm for securing concord (AV. III. 30):— 1. Like in heart, of like intent non-hostile do I make you;

One another you should love,

as the cow loves her new-born calf.

2. May the son do the father's will

and be of one mind with his mother,

May wife to husband honeyed words and peaceful always speak.

3. May not brother his brother hate,

or sister her own sister';

In full accord, with duty same, should they speak words gently.

6. Same be your drink and common your food, to the same yoke together I bind you,

Worship Agni together in harmony like spokes round the nave of a wheel.

Far more numerous are, however, the charms of a homelier sort. “House and home, field and river, grain and rain, cattle and horses, trading and gambling, journeying and returning, serpents and vermin, furnish the special themes for these prayers and charms.” 33 Thus AV, I. 13 is a charm to conciliate the goddess pf lightning:—

1. Homage be to your lightning, homage to your thunder,

Homage to your bolt which you hurl at the wicked.

2. Homage to you, child of stream, from which you gather

heat;

Take pity on our bodies, and to our children be kind. Protection against fire is supposed to be achieved by means of the charm (AV , III. 21) which begins thus:—

Fires that are in the waters, in Vritra, in man, and in stones,

Who have entered the plants and the trees, to those fires be this oblation.

Abundance of grain is secured by means of the charm AV, IH. 24:—

4. As a fountain of a hundred jets,

of a thousand jets, unexhausted,

So is this our grain

of a thousand jets, unexhausted.

5. Collect, O with hundred hands,

pile, O with thousand hands;

Bring about the amplitude here of what was and will be done.

This charm was applied evidently at the time of gathering corn. The charm for sowing seed is AV, VI. 142:—

1. Shoot up and multiply by your own strength, O barley, Fill (?) all the vessels, may not?heavenly thunder destroy you.

Where we appeal to you, the divine barley that listens to us, There shoot up like the sky, be unexhausted like the ocean.

2 .

3. Unexhausted are your attendants (?), unexhausted be your heaps.

Unexhausted those who give you, and also those whom you consume.

Very curious are the so-called Mfigara-suktas (AV. IV. 23-29), the first and last verses of each of which occur also in the Black Yajurve da 34 in connection with a Myigareshti, of which these are obviously a further elaboration. Each of these hymns (they cannot be called magical charms, though they are used as such) is addressed to a separate deity, and every verse of each of them ends with the refrain: “let him (or do ye) free us from distress.” Rudra has been invoked in a long hymn (XI. 2), and as is usual in prayers to this god, has not been asked to confer boons, but only not to injure. The various names applied to the god in this hymn naturally call to mind the Satarudriya. 348

Least savoury of the magic charms of the Atharvaveda are those of witchcraft (abhichara) and the like which constitute the Angiras part of the Saihhita. The purpose of some is defensive, but the majority of them are offensive in purpose and directed against human enemies. Evil spirits are firstly called upon to come out in the open and proclaim their real character, for, as soon as they do that, they lose their dangerous power of doing injury. The metal most effective against the demons is lead, which therefore plays a prominent part in these hymns.

Low and primitive morality speaks in these hymns. But there are also hymns pregnant with noble sentiments. For instance, the famous hymn 36 to Varm?a (AV, IV. 16):—

1. The mighty lord on high our deeds, as if a£ hand, espies;

The gods know all men do, though men would fain their acts disguise.

2. Whoever stands, whoever moves, or steals from place to place,

Or hides him in his secret cell—the gods his movements trace.

Wherever two together plot, and deem they are alone,

King Varuna is there, a third, and all their schemes are known.

3. This earth is his, to him belong these vast and boundless skies;

Both seas within him rest, and yet in that small pool he lies.

4. Whoever far beyond the sky should think his way to wing,

He could not there elude the grasp of Varuna the king.

His spies, descending from the skies, glide all this world around;

Their thousand eyes all-scanning sweep to earth's remotest bound.

5. Whate'er exists in heaven and earth, what'er beyond the skies,

Before the eyes of Varuna, the king, unfolded lies.

The ceaseless winkings all he counts of every mortal's eyes, He wields this universal frame as gamester throws his dice. Atharvavedic poetry has reached its peak in this hymn. But to gain a true view of the Atharvaveda, the other side of the picture should not oply not be ignored, but should rather be kept more in mind. Thus there are two imprecations (VII. 95. 96) directed against the kidneys of an enemy. The purpose of the hymn VII. 70 is to frustrate the enemy's sacrifice, as is disclosed by its very first verse:—

Whatever that one offers with mind, speech, sacrifice, oblation and Yajus—

Jhat offering of his let Nirriti in concord with death destroy before it has taken place.

Most typical of the hymns- of this genre are perhaps those with the refrain "he who hates us, whom we hate" (e.g., AV, II. 19-23). Along with charms for victory, longevity, cure from fever, etc., wc find also charms for winning the heart of a maid, e.g., AV, II. 30:— 1. As the wind shakes the grass So I shake your mind,

So that you may desire me,

That you may not go away.

4. What was within, be that out,

What was out, be within;

Of the maids of every sort Seize the mind, O herb:

That magical charms of this sort were not applied exclusively in connection with extra-conjugal love is, however, clear from a similar charm (VII. 37) put in the mouth of a newly married bride who admonishes her groom with these words (accompanied by corresponding act):—

With my garment produced by Manu do I surround you.

So that you be mine alone, and never even discourse of other women.

This tyrannical passion has been aptly likened by another poet in the Atharvaveda (III. 25. 2) to "an arrow, winged with longing, barbed with love, and whose shaft is unswerving desire" (Bloomfield).

Quite a number of medicinal charms are included in the Atharvaveda. The chief malady that was sought to be treated magically is iakman (this term does not occur outside of the Atharvaveda). From the symptoms described it is almost certain that it was nothing but malarial fever. The plant Kushtha is mentioned as potent in fighting takmav. but whether as medicine, or as amulet, is not quite clear. It is interesting to note that in one hymn (V. 22) takman has been asked to seize the Sudra and the Das! or to go awav to the Myjavants or "to the Valhikas further beyond." and in the last verse the author says quite maliciously that he is sending takman

to the Gandharis, Arigas and Magadhas "like one sending a treasure to a person." That tne Atharvaveda should contain charms against snake-bite is quite obvious. One of them (V. 13) deserves special mention not only as marking perhaps the lowest bathos of Atharvavedic witchcraft but also on account' of the word tdbuva occurring in its tenth verse:—

Not tdbuva , not tdbuva, yes you are tdbuva; ...

The poison is made sapless by tdbuva ; 3C The word tdbuva of this verse was connected with “taboo” by Weber, though not without hesitation, and in the same hesitating manner the etymological equation tdbuva — “taboo” continues to be accepted or rejected to the present day. 304

Of isolated typical hymns of the Atharvaveda, mention should be made of the one (XL 5) in mystic exaltation of the Brahmachdrin, from which it is quite clear that the institution of Brahmacharya as described in the later Gfihya-sutras was fully established already in the age of the Atharvaveda , 3 ' Similar mystic exaltation, in typical Brahmana-prose, of the Vratya (i.e., new convert to Brahmanism) is the theme of the entire fifteenth Kantfa, in the fifth Paryaya of which Rudra under various designations (Sarva, Bhava, Isana, Pasupati, Mahadeva) has been mentioned as guarding the various quarters for the Vratya. Remarriage of widows 33 is taken for granted (vv. 27-28) in the long hymn (AV, IX. 5) on the expiatory power of the offering of Pahchaudana (i.e., a goat and five ricedishes). The . two hymns, V. 20 and 21, are the most important battle-charms in the Atharvaveda, and they might have been used also directly as battle-songs. Regarding the apocryphal Kuntapasuktas, it should be noted that Parikshit, probably of the Kurudynasty, has been mentioned in the first of them 39 as a king in whose kingdom the people were prosperous. From the literary point , of view the most interesting is the seventh Kuntapa which is nothing but a Vedic nursery-song with the refrain: “not there is that, O maid, where you think.”

2. Yajurveda

As for the Yajurveda, the Samhita portion appears in an extended form in the latest of the Yajurveda-Samhitds, viz., the Vajasaneyi-Samhita, of which only the earlier parts, in practically the same form and language, 40 but not necessarily in the same order, appear in the Samhitas of the Black Yajurveda . 41 From the viewpoint of literature and contents, therefore, a survey of the Vdjasa neyi-Sawhita , as given by Winternitz, 42 suffices for the Mantraparts of the whole Yajurveda . A fresh survey of the same literature need not be attempted here, especially as the ultimate literary value of the Yajus-mantras is nil. Yet it may be mentioned in passing that in the Satarudriya section (Adhyaya XVI) of the Vdja

saneyi-Samhitd the terrible god has been invoked under various designations, the result, no doubt, of the aversion to uttering directly his real name that can be perceived already in the Atharvaveda. The most interesting, however, is the section on Purushamedha (Adhyaya XXX), where, in the language of ritual symbolism, the various then existing classes and castes have been mentioned, which, according to Weber, 43 point to a period of unrest and turmoil.

3. THE BRAHMANAS

X. Language

The Brahmana literature is vast and varied, but also dry and repulsive, excepting where, leaving their proper subject which is mystical and puerile speculation on ritual practices, the Brahmana authors cite illustrative examples from social life, invent aetiological myths to serve as the basic principle to all imaginable concrete facts, or simply narrate mythological or semi-historical stories, sometimes in the form of ballads. 44 The prolixity of the Brahmana-authors is sickening, and yet the texts are not at all perspicuous, in spite of their huge bulk in some cases. But the language with its even rhythm is not without a beauty of its own, strangely like that of the early canonical texts in Tali. The SatapathaBrahmana and the Jaiminiya-Brdhmana , however, show a fully developed literary stj e. This is important, for it is much more difficult to develop a literary style in free prose than in verse, and is possible only after considerable literary culture.

The Brahmana texts, together with the prose parts of the Atharvaveda and the Yajurveda, are perhaps “the only genuine prose works which the Sanskrit, as a popular language, has produced.” 45 Broadly speaking, the language of the Brahmanas is homogeneous. At the same time, however, every one of the older Brahmana texts has its own minute linguistic peculiarities. Panini's grammar offers a unique criterion by which to judge them. It cannot be proved that Pat?ini was acquainted with the Samhita or the Brahmanas of the White Yajurveda 46 though he certainly knew all the other Samhita-texts known to us, as well as the AitareyaBrahmana* 7 Now, to explain this curious fact it cannot be reasonably argued-—as is often done—that though the White Yajurveda was considerably older, yet Panini had no personal knowledge of it for the good reason that it was produced in .eastern India; for Papini certainly knew the Ta'"*tifiya-Samhita, a product,of the south, and the Maitrayani-Samhita, a product of the west, though he himself was at home in the north. His apparent ignorance of the White Yajurveda therefore must be regarded as a proof of the latter's comparatively late origin. But it also proves that for a composite picture of the language 48 of the Brahmanas one may confidently

appeal to Panini. For details, however, which prove the older

Brahmanas to be much older than Panini, special studies arc necessary.

Nothing is more characteristic of Brahmana prose than the substitution of the ending -ai for both in ablative and genitive singular of feminine stems (e.g., bhumyai for bhumydh). Forms in this anomalous -ai occur already in the prose parts of the Atharvaveda; but oftener in the Mantras of the Yajurveda , and very frequently in the Brahmanas. In the Jaiminiya-Brdhmana, this -ai has even completely supplanted the usual -d/t, 49 but it does not occur at all in the ^atapatha-Brdhmana of the Kanva—recension. 60 Ihe an-stems are very often endingless in locative singular in the Rigveda, and not a few times also in the Atharvaveda, but in Brahmana prose ahan and dtman 5 1 are the only two endingless locatives in living use. 02 In its verbal system, too, the language of the Brahmanas is in many respects sharply distinguished from that of the Mantra-lexts. The loss of augment is here restricted practically to prohibitive constructions with rnd, as in the classical language, 3 and the so-called injunctive too is found in Brahmana prose hardly ever except after this prohibitive rna. 54 The subjunctive finds its place, not in narrative, but in direct speech. 543 Faint traces of gerunds in -am can be found already in the Rigveda, 1 55 but they are quite common in the Brahmanas,- 3 and past active participles in -tavant , quite unknown in the Rigveda, but quite common in the later language, begin to appear furtively in them. 57 The suffix -uka with the meaning of a present participle is a marked characteristic of the language of the Brahmanas. 58 as also the infinitive in -toh in construction with isvara. i9 The use of riipam kri - in the sense of "to become" is a peculiar feature of Brahmana syntax. 00

In the use of the tenses of the past the Brahmanas show much more precision than the Rigveda. The aorist is rarely used in them outside of direct speech, and in narration the tense of the past used in the Brahmanas is normally the imperfect, but not unoften also the perfect. 01 The perfects with a heavy reduplication have regularly a present meaning, but other perfects are used as often or oftener also in narrative past, 613 and the frequency of this narrative perfect is rightly regarded as a sign of comparative lateness of the texts concerned. 02 Pan ini's rules about the tenses of the past are not applicable to Brahmana prose, but it is curious to note that of the few narrative perfects occurring in the Brahmanaportions of the Taittiriya-Samhitd not a single one has been used to relate personal experience—so that in this respect at least they arc fully in accord with Paninean grammar. 03 The periphrastic perfect with kri- as auxiliary, of which the earliest occurrence in the Atharvaveda has been noted above, is fairly common in the Brah

manas, but that with as- is extremely rare, and no form with bhd can be quoted at all. 04 In this respect, too, the language of the Brahmai.ias is in essential agreement with Panini who permits only kri-, though already Katyayana and Patanjali twisted the meaning of the relevant Sutra of Panini so as to include also bhu- and as-. 6S On the whole, the language of the Brahmanas is more precise in expression than that of the Mantra-texts, and as a living and forceful form of speech it is infinitely superior to the monstrous prose of the classical writers. 66

2. Literature

The literaure of which this language is the vehicle is, however, arid and dismal, and could have been the product of only a very primitive intelligence. And yet it was in the age of the later Brahmanas that the older

CJpanishads were composed, and Panini s peerless grammar—perhaps the highest product of ancient Indian scientific thought 6; —was written. It is clear that the intellect and mentality revealed by the extensive Brahmana texts w r as the monopoly of the cabalistic priests of the later Vedic age, and not a characteristic of the enlightened sections of the people. As “literature” the Brahmanas, digressive portions apart, may prove to be of interest only to students of abnormal psychology. 00 At the risk of a little exaggeration it may perhaps be maintained that all that is noble and beautiful in Hinduism was foreshadowed already by the Rigveda, and all that is filthy and repulsive in it, by the Brahmanas. The morality of the Brahmana texts is no higher than that of primitive medicine-men. Thus in connection with the Mahavrata sacrifice most immoral and obscene acts are enjoined to be performed in the presence of pious spectators. 63 The grasping greed of the Brahmin, so much in evidence already in the Atharvaveda, has passed all bounds in the Brahmanas. Here the Brahmin coolly claims that in every dispute between a Brahmin and a non-Brahmin the judgment should be given in favour of the Brahmin. 70 With a cheerful disregard of other people’s interest a Brahmana author has declared that a murder is no murder if the victim is not a Brahmin! 71 And another declares with the same cool confidence that the Sudra is yathCihamavadhya , i.e., one who can be killed at will. 72

Scarcely less repulsive than this mentality of the Brahmana authors is their sickening prolixity. Lack of logic they tried to compensate for by repeating ad nauseam the same insipid thought. Hence the inordinate bulk of some of the Brahmana texts. But when no reasonable limit is set to a book, it is bound to take in much that is irrelevant, and it is these irrelevant portions of the Brahmanas that are of interest from the view-point of literature. The true stuff of the Brahmanas is dismal. If in the ritual it is required to move a cup an inch from east to west, the Srauta-sutras

will simply state that and nothing more. But a Brahmana is almost sure to spin out a whole paragraph in “elucidation” of this act that may very well be as follows: “The cup should be moved from east to west, because the sun moves from east to west. He who moves the cup from east to west moves, therefore, also the sun, and thus conquers the world of heaven. It is moved an inch, because' an inch is the twelfth part of a foot. And the foot is a metre. The Jagati-metre has twelve syllables. In that he moves the cup an inch which is the twelfth part of a foot; he therefore moves the metres." This sounds strange no doubt. But, all the same, this is the stuff of which the Brahmanas are madeEverything else that is found in the Brahmanas is, strictly speaking, irrelevant. 73

In these irrelevant portions, however, may be found pieces of truly literary composition, though never of a high order. They are of various genres. Firstly, there are the Gathas or narrative verses, composed in a language more archaic than the average language of the Brahmanas, but less so than that of the Saxhhitas. 74 Then there are interesting legends like that of the Great Flood, 76 but most of them are frankly aetiological. Quite a number of beautiful stories are contained in the Brahmanas in which the gods indulge in pranks with the mortals much in the fashion of their Olympian compeers. 76 It is very characteristic of the Brahmana authors that sin is generally regarded by them as a physical defilement. 77 But genuine devotion to truth is not wanting. Thus when Aruna Aupavesi in his old age was asked by his relations to establish ritual fires and become an Ahitagni, he shuddered in horror and replied that he doesn't dare, for an Ahitagni has to control his speech ^nd can never speak an untruth, since "worship, above all, is truthfulness." 78 That by truth the Brahmana authors meant more than mere accuracy in speech is clearly suggested by the story of a dispute between mind and speech that was settled by Prajapati in favour of mind on the ground that speech is the messenger and imitator of the mind. 73 As regards speech concrete, the Brahmanas clearly state that the speech of the country of the Kuru-Paiichalas is the best. 80 And abstract speech (naman) has been connected with form (rupa) in a Brahmana text 81 quite in the manner of later philosophy. The daily performance of the five Mahdyajnas (offerings to gods, to beings, to the Fathers, the study of the Veda, and charity), the corner-stone of orthodox Hindu sociology, has been enjoined for the first time in a Brahmana text. 81a The doctrine of reward and retribution after death for good and evil done during lifetime is also mentioned clearly in the Brahmana texts, 32 but the doctrine of rebirth is conspicuous by its absence, though the possibility of re-death in the world of the Fathers has been recognized already, 6 " 1 ' and further that during sleep life temporarily separates from the body. 6 ’

If treatment of women is a criterion of civilization, then the civilization of the. Brahmana texts can expect only an adverse verdict from posterity. In the Kigvedic age, the newly married wife used to be greeted with the words: “you should address the assembly as a commander,” 85 but the Brahmana authors, after identifying the woman with Nirriti (i.e. evil), 80 declare that “the woman, the Sudra, the dog, and the crow are falsehood (Anrita).” 37 Marriage by purchase must have been common—if not the rulein the age of the Brahmanas, for in deprecation of a faithless wife a Brahmana text says: “she commits an act of falsehood who though purchased by her husband goes about with others.” 83 There was no question of women freely addressing assemblies in this age, for the same text 69 lays down that women should not attend meetings. In every respect the culture of the priestly classes was at its lowest ebb in the age of the Brahmanas. But it was still alive, though confined within a small coterie. The Upanishadic seers vitalized it again, but gave it an altogether different form.

4. THE ARANYAKAS

The Aranyakas (“Forest-texts”), the concluding portions or appendices to, the Brahmanas are so called (it is generally supposed) because their contents are of so secret and uncanny a nature that they would spell danger if taught to the uninitiated, and had therefore to be learnt in the forest and not in the village. They are concerned neither with the performance nor with any explanation of the sacrifice, but with its mysticism and symbolism. They form a natural transition to the Upanishads, the oldest of which are either included in or appended to the Aranyakas, the line of demarcation being not always easy to draw. The Aranyakas, and Upanishads by themselves, and not the system of philosophy based on them, were originally called “Vedanta” (literally, the concluding portions of the Veda) —a title applicable to them in more senses than one as follows:—

(1) From the point of view of relative literary chronology, they stand at the end of the Veda. (.2) As the most obstruse and mystical of the Sruti works, they were naturally taught to the pupil towards the close of the period of his

apprenticeship wuth his Guru. (3) They formed the end of the daily Vedic-recital.

As component (and concluding) parts of the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas (and some Upanishads) are found attached to as many Sakhas (Vedic schools) as the Brahmanas belong to The Aitareya Aranyaka is appended to the Aitareya Brahmana of the RV\ It consists of five books which are looked upon and designated as five separate Aranyakas. The first deals with the Soma sacrifice from

the ritual point of view. The second is intermixed with theosophical speculations on Praoa and Purusha, and is Upanishadic in character, the last four chapters actually forming the Aitareya Upanishad. The third book contains allegorical and mystical meanings of the Saihhita, Pada, and Krama texts (Pathas). The last two books contain miscellaneous matter, such as MahanamnI verses and details about the Nishkevalya Sastra, to be recited in the Mahavrata, and are attributed to Asvalayana and Saunaka— two Sutra authors. The Sdnkhdyana or Kaushitaki Aranyaka is the concluding portion of the Kaushitaki Brahmana of the RV and agrees very closely with the Aitareya Aranyaka in its contents. It consists of fifteen chapters of which 3 to 6 constitute the long and important Kaushitaki Upanishad . In the Black Yajurveda, the Taittiriya Aranyaka is only a continuation of the Taittiriya Brahmana . It consists of ten chapters or prapathakas (commonly called Aranas), 7 to 9 constituting the important Taittiriya Upanishad . The tenth chapter called Mahd ndrdyava Upanishad is a very late addition to the Aranyaka. In the White Yajurveda the fourteenth book of the Satapatha Brahmana is in name only an Aranyaka — the Brihadaranyaka —the last six chapters of which constitute the celebrated Upanishad of that name and the major part of the so-called Aranyaka.

For the Samaveda, the only Aranyakas are the first Aranyakalike section of the Chhdndogya Upanishad , which belongs probably to the Tdndya-Mahd-Brdhmava and the Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmava which is nothing but an Aranyaka of the Jaiminiya or Talavakara school of the SV and comprises the well-known Kena (or Talavakdra) Upanishad.

It is not necessary to discuss here the contents of the Aranyakas, as the principal ideas contained in them will be dealt with in the chapter on religion and philosoph}' (Ch. XXII).

1. Der Rigveda , Band III, p. 92.

2. See Oldenbcrg. Prolegomena, p. 274.

3. Ibid., pp. 92-3.

4. For further instance of evidently intentional alteration of Rigvcdic passages in the direction of later forms in the Samaveda. see Oldcnberg. op. cit.. pp. 277-81.

5. See Keith. HOS. XVIII. p. clxv.

6. Op. cit.. pp. cxl ff.

7. See his Maitrayam Samhita. Vol. I. pp. xiv-xviii and Vol. II. pp. viii-x.

8. Ill, 1. 42.

9. Dp. cit.. p. xcv.

10. Ibid., p. xevi.

11. Ibid., p. xcvii.

12. See Wackernagel. Altindische Crammatik. Vol. I, p. xxxi.

13. See Keith, op. cit.. pp. cxl ff.

13a. This form, probably with the same function, occurs also in the Atharvaveda (see below).

14. See Whitr.ev. 1048. 904b.

14a. The Mantra portions of the Yajurveda are devoid of literary value, and therefore will not be discussed further in this chapter. For social and political history, however, these portions are very important and in that connection the'' will be discussed in other chapters.

35. The ten Kuntaoa-suktas (regarded as Khilas) placed towards the end of the twentieth Kanda are curiously analogous to the Valakhilya-hymns of the

Rigveda, also placed towards the end of what was originally perhaps the . final l&andala of the Rigveda.

16. A curious fact that seems to have escaped notice so far is that the last hymn, of the Atharvaveda (XX, 143) consists of RV, IV. 44 (seven verses) followed by RV, IV. 57. 3 and RV, VIII. 57. 3 (= Val. IX. 3). Does it show that when the twentieth Kantfa was put together the genuine Rik-samhita was supposed to conclude with the Valakhilya verse RV, VIII. 57. 3 which the final redactors of the Atharvaveda wanted to put at the end of their Saihhita also? If this is conceded, then it will be possible to argue further that the twentieth Kanda of the Atharvaveda was constituted not long after the composition of the Aitareya Brdhmana , which, as pointed out above, knows only eight Valakhilyas. Wny tne penultimate verse also, like the final one, should be the third verse of a fifty-seventh hymn of the Rigveda is difficult to say. At any rate, this numerical identity can be hardly fortuitous. It is striking to note that originally it might have been easily the last verse of the fourth Mandala of the Rigveda, though in the present text it is the third verse of the penultimate hymn of that Mandala. Thus the final verse of the Atharvaveda was probably also the final verse of the original Rik-Samhita. , and the penultimate verse of the Atharvaveda might have been the last verse of its first half. Was it the intention of the final redactors of the Atharvaveda in putting these two verses at the end to emphasize in their usual mystical manner that their work was now doubly complete?

17. See Oldenberg, Prolegomena , pp. 320 ff.

18. Waekemagel, Altindische Gxammatik, Vol. Ill, § 52a.

19. Op. cit., p. 308.

20. See /bid., pp. 258, 301.

21. See Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, p. 322.

22. Macdonell, op. cit., § 496.

23. Macdonell, op. cit., § 540.

23a. The same form occurs also in Taitt. Sam, V. 7, 7. 1, but there too it is not quite clear whether it has been used actually as a periphrastic future.

24. Op. cit., § 581a-b.

25. A complete list of the non-metrical passages of the Atharvaveda has been given by Lanman, HOS , Vol. VIII, jd. 1011.

26. See Bloomfield, The Atharvaveda, p. 47.

27. In rendering passages of the Atharvaveda I have, as far as possible, followed Whitney's translation, though it. is wooden and purely etymological; for whatever it may be in other respects, it is at least literally correct.

28. Qompare in*this connection also AV . XII, 5. 3 ff.

29. It is probably due to this exalted office of king's Purohita that the Atharvan priest, under the designation "Brahman," became the supreme supervisor also at the great 6rauta-sacrifices of his noble patron, in consequence of which the Atharvaveda itself came to be known as the Brahmaveda. Various scholars have expressed various opinions as to the inter-relation between, or the identity of. the Atharvan, the Brahman, arid the Purohita (see specially Bloomfield, op. cit., § 34, and Vedic Index under "Purohita" and "Brahman). The theory suggested here seems, however, to offer the best explanation.

30. The grandeur and beauty of this hymn has been completely destroyed by Whitney in his etymological translation.

31. This verse contains important terms of indefinite political connotation. I have provisionally accepted them here in the following senses: sabha = assembly. sagrama = congregation (Whitney: host), samiti = council.

32. See Bloomfield, cp. cit., § 54.

32a. Sabha and Samiti , for the constitutional importance of which cf. pp. 357 433.

33. Op. cit..'^ 57.

34. See Whitney-Lanman's preface to IV. 23; Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 82.

34a. Taittinya-Samhita. IV. 5; Vdjasancyi-Samhitd, XVI.

35. The translation given here is taken from Muir's metrical rendering of the hymn which reproduces the spirit and meaning of the original much more accurately than Whitneys wooden and etymological translation.

36a. See above, Ch. VIII. pp. 153..

verse is the positive counterpart, of ned (na id).

36a. See above. Ch. VIII, pp. 153.

37. It is characteristic of Atharva vedic loose thinking that in v. 18 of this hymn Brahmacharya has been recommended not only for women, but also for animals.

38. The Rigveda recognizes levirate, but remarrige of widows is not directly mentioned in it. Cf. Ch. XIX. p. 390.

39. See Vedic Index under "Parikshit."

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40. The linguistic differences discussed earlier in this*- chapter are not important enough to make out a case for distinct dialect nr any one of the Saihhitis of the Yajurveda.

41. See supra, Ch. XU.

42. HIL, I, pp. 171-87.

43. HIL, pp. 110-11.

44. Perhaps the best exposition of the Brjhmapa literature will be found in La doctrine du sacrifice dans lee Brihmanae by L4vi and Die Weltanschauung der Brahmaiya-textc by Oldenberg.

45. Efegcling, SBE, XU, p. xxv.

46. See Paul Thieme, P&nini and the Veda, pp, 73-6, where previous literature on this problem has been indicated.

47. See Liebich's genial monograph Pdnini, ein Beitrag xur Kenntnis der indischen Literatur und Grammatik.

48. But not for syntax.

49. Wackemagel, AHindische Grammatik , Vol. HI, | 15d.

50. The Kanva-Satapatha in this regard thus differs not only from the MAdhyandinaSatapatha, but also from all the other Brihmapas. See Caland, Introd. to Kanva-Sat., p. 65.

51. Again it is interesting to note regarding the &aiapathn-BrthvM 3 ya. that the locative singular of n-stems "has nearly always the -i in the Klepva-recension, but is formed by the Madhyandlnas nearly always without case sign." Caland, op. cit., p. 38.

52. Wackernagel, op. cit., Vol. HI, I 145d.

53. Whitney, § 587 d.

54. Whitney. $ 563.

54a. See Keith, HOST, XXV, p. 87.

55. Whitney, § 995a.

56. On this -am see particularly Renou, Mbnoire de la SocUU LlngulsHqae de Paris, tome XXm, 1935, pp. 356-92.

57. Whitney, $ 960.

58. Whitney, 9 1180.

59. Whitney, 5 984c.

60. Whitney, 9 268a. This need not be surprising, for the original meaning of rupa was “assumed form” as in the Rigveda. The literal meaning of rupam kri was

-thus “to assume a changed form,” i.e. “to become.”

61. See Delbriick t Altindische Tempuslehre , p. 128.

61a. The different values of the perfect in Vedic literature have been thoroughly discussed by Renou in his La Valeur du Par/ait, Paris, 1925.

62. See Keith, HOS, XXV, p. 86.

63. See Keith, HOS , XVIII, p. cUv, fn. 1.

64. See Whitney, { 1073.

65. See Liebich, op. cit., p. 80.

66. See also Keith, HOS, XVIII, p. clvii.

67. It should not be forgotten that until the nineteenth century Europe could not produce in the field of grammar and philology anything that can bear comparison with Panini’s Ashtadhy&i.

68. I cannot but agree on this point with Leopold von Schrdder (Indians Literatur und Cultur, p. 114).

69. See Keith, RPVU. p. 351. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Mahavrata was originally a popular folk-festival over which the Brahmins merely threw a mantle of ritual sanctity.

70. Taittiriya-Samhiid 13. 5. 11. 9.

71. " $atapatha-Brahma\ia, XIII. 3. 5. 3.

72. Aitareya-Brahmana, VII. 29. 4. It should not be forgotten however that in the orthodox MImarixsa-school of interpretation such passages are taken to be mere rhetorical exaggerations (Arthavada). That they really are exaggerated statements and must not be taken literally is quite obvious, though, strangely enough, most of the non-Indian scholars have taken even such statements to be literally true. Passages of like import are quite common also in the ManusmriH, but nobody has ever suggested that in the Sunga period the treatment prescribed by Mam? was actually meted out to the Sudras. There is no reason to doubt that the B rah mana- passages, like those about Brahmins and 6udras referred to here, were mere Arihavddas from the very beginning. But since the mind of a man can be measured also by the exaggerations he is in the habit of making, these Anhardda-passages cannot be ignored in estimating the moral outlook of the Brhhmona authors.

73. The relevant portions, though devoid of literary value, arc not without interest for social history. Thus from our hypothetical Brahmana-passage it is possible to infer that the Brahmana authors thought that the sun moves from east to west, and that they knew that a Jagatl-pada consists of twelve syllables.

74. The most famous narrative in Gathas is the Sunahscpa-legend in the Aitareya Brahmana , VII, 13-18. As it is not possible to do justice to the truly literary compositions contained in the Brahmanas within the space available here, only a few of their salient features will be indicated. For a fuller account, see Winternitz, op. cit.. pp. 187 ff.

75. Satapatha-Brahmana, I, 8. 1.

76. See, for instance, the story of &aryata Manava and his daughter Sukanya in the $atapatha-Brahmana, IV. 1. 5. 2. This story appears also in the Jaiminiya Brahmana, Set* Caland, Auswahl. pp. 251-2, and my Collection of Fragments of Lost Brahmanas , pp. 25-29.

77. See Keith, RPVU, p. 245.

78. Satapatha-Brdhmana, II. 2. 2. 20.

79. Taittiriya-Samhita , II. 5. 11. 4; Satapatha-Brahmanas, I. 4. 5. 8-11.

80. See Ve d. 7nd., II., p. 279.

81. Taittiriya-Br&hmavia, II. 2. 7. 1.

81a. Satapatha-Brahmana , XI, 5. 6. Iff.

82. See Keith, RPVU,' p. 474.

83. Op. cit., pp. 572-3.

84. Satapatha-Brahmana, III. 2. 2. 23.

85. RV, X. 85. 26: vasiut tvam vidatham dvadasi.

86. Maitrdyani-Samhita , I. 10. 11.

87. Satapathd-Brahmana, XIV. 1. 1. 31.

88. Maitrdyani-Samhita, loc. cit.

89. Op. cit., tV. 7. 4: tasmat pumdmsah snbJtam yanti. na striyah.

CHAPTER XXI

POLITICAL AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

1. POLITICAL THEORY

The lack of a spirit of inquiry into the rationale of social and political institutions is generally regarded as a singular characteristic of oriental civilization including the Indian. Thus an eminent scholar 1 writes: “To the early Eastern mind, the fact that a thing existed was sufficient of itself to show its right to be. Thus was effectually excluded all possibility of inquiries as to the relative perfection, or justification for the existence of, de facto social and political institutions.” But this view is not wholly accurate. For the dim beginnings of speculation regarding the origin of Kingship, the raison d’etre of the state, the status and relation of different classes in society and the justification of the same, together with other cognate problems, can be clearly traced in the literature even of the early period with which we are dealing. Unfortunately, as this literature, our only source of information, is wholly sacerdotal in character, the theories and speculations are presented in a theological and metaphysical environment. It is, however, important to note, that instead of passively accepting whatever existed in state or society, there was an active effort to trace the origin of institutions and offer an explanation of how things came to be what they were. It is a reasonable presumption that if the secular literature of the period had been preserved, we would have come across more rational theories based on logically .grounded belief rather than on faith or dogma.

The political theories are sometimes discussed in connection with the gods, whose thoughts and activities are, however, so much akin to those of men, that no great stretch of imagination is required to interpret the views as equally, or really, applying to human affairs. This is best illustrated by the fundamental question of the origin of kingship. This definitely forms a subject of speculation in the literature of this period, and the Brahmana texts • anticipate writers on polity of a later period by clearly formulating the*question, “how is it that the king who is one rules over so many subjects.” There are various replies to this question, and it is interesting to note that they form the germs of the more elaborately propounded views of later times. The first in point of importance is the view put forth in the Aitareya Brahmana (I. 1. 14). It is said that the “gods and demons fought with one another, but the gods were defeated. The gods said: ‘It is because we have no king that the demons defeat us, so let us elect a king/ They elected a king, and through his help obtained complete victory over the demons/’ As Dr. Beni Pras id has very rightly observed,[2] “here the kingship originates in military necessity and derives its validity from consent/’ Though appearing under the thin disguise of divine affairs, there can be hardly any doubt that it is a very rational view of the origin of kingship which prevailed among a class of political thinkers of the period.

A somewhat similar view appears in another garb in the same Aitareya Brdhmana (VIII. 4. 12). The story is told with reference to Indra’s kingship. “The gods headed by Prajapati said to one another, ‘this one is among the gods the most vigorous, the most strong, the most valiant, the most perfect who carries out best any work (to be done). Let us instal him in the kingship.” Here, again, the kingship originates in election and common consent, based on the possession of the highest qualities by the chosen candidate.

But side by side with these rational views we find also the theory of the divine origin of kingship, which figures so prominently in later political literature. The germ of this has been traced by some scholars[3] even in the Rigveda (IV. 42), in the hymn attributed to the Puru king Trasadasyu, who exclaims, “I am Indra, I am Varuna,” and rgain, “on me (the gods) bestow those principal energies (that are) characteristic of the Asuras.” But this may be explained as an expression of personal vanity rather than the formulation of a political theory. In the later Samhitas and the Brahmanas, however, the divinity of the king is put forth as a general doctrine. The king is declared to have gained identity with- Prajapati by virtue of the Vajapeya and Rajasuya sacrifices-[4] The ^atapatha Brdhmana (V. 3. 3. 12) definitely declares: “He the Rajanya is the visible representative of Prajapati (the lord of creatures): hence while being one, he rules over many.” The Taittirlya Brdhmana (II. 2. 10- 1-2) tells the story how Indra, originally the most inferior among the gods, was created their king by Praiapati. and received from him both the royal symbol and lustre. This is another illustration of the application of secular ,ideas to the realm of gods. But although the king is raised to the rank of God, the human origin is not lost sight of, and he is never regarded as divine by virtue of hereditary descent. 6

Reference may be made in this connection to a short passage in Satapatha Brdhmana (XI. 1. 6. 24): ‘Whenever there is drought, then the stronger seizes the weaker, for the waters are the law.” Although somewhat enigmatic and mystical, it seems to foreshadow the later theory of the “state of nature” resulting in anarchy and confusion, which led to the foundation of state and monarchv. 6

The beginnings of these political speculations were evidently inspired by the rapid increase, in number as well as in size, of the

Aryan kingdoms in India, and the consequent growth of the power and majesty of the ruling chiefs who had mostly outgrown the stage of tribal leaders and become territorial monarchs. As we have seen above (p. 265-6) the Aryans had, during this period, spread over nearly the whole of Northern India and established a large number of states. If the Puranic traditions, recorded in Ch. XIV, have any value, we must hold that there was a keen struggle for supremacy among these states, and some of them at any rate occasionally became very powerful by annexing neighbouring kingdoms. But even apart from Puranic traditions we have the evidence of the Vedic texts testifying to the amalgamation of early Rigvedic tribes into more powerful political units. The Purus and the Bharatas became united under the name Kuru; the Turvasas and the'Krivis became the Panchalas; and lastly there are clear hints about the amalgamation of these two into a Kuru-Panchala group.

Besides, the descriptions of the Asvamedha and Rajasuya sacrifices in the texts of this period show that ambitious kings strove to be all-powerful by extending their sway over neighbouring kingdoms, and seem to imply the existence of fairly large kingdoms. Keith, 7 however, is of the opinion that although some of the tribal kingdoms of the Rigvedic days had probably grown in size through amalgamation and expansion, there were no great kingdoms even in this period and no empire as such- The fact that kings are often, described in the Atharvaveda as fighting with their cousins (bhratyivyas) or with their non-Aryan enemies, has been taken to confirm this view. This is, however, hardly conclusive. On the other hand the Aitareya Brahmana tells us that kings in the east were called samrats (emperors?), those in the south bhojas, those in the north virdts and those in the famous middle country (eastern Punjab and western U.P.) merely rajans, and that'titles like ekardt and sarvabhauma could be claimed by a king who had conquered the kings in all the four directions. These specific references to imperialism, the flamboyant accounts of the imperial grandeur of kings who performed the Asvamedha or the ceremony of royal consecration, and the titles like “conquerors of the whole earth” assumed by them on these occasions, indicate the existence of large kingdoms and occasionally also of empires, even if we make full allowance for obvious poetic exaggerations. There is a fairly long list in the Aitareya Brahmana of kings who had received the royal consecration at the Rajasuya, and in a general way the list acrees with that in the Satapatha Brahmana of those who had performed the horse-sacrifice. The very multiplicity of these “imperial” monarchs, each one of whom strides forth in the ceremony as a conqueror in all the four directions, perhaps shov/s that the

performance of the Rajasuya not unseldom represented royal aspirations rather *han actual conquests. Some of the details of the Rajasuya ceremony are, however, worth noting as.embodying tire religio-political theory of those days: The king is dressed in rich royal frobes and is anointed formally by the priests. He then sets his foot on a tiger’s skin which is symbolic of his having become as powerful as the tiger. He next carries out a mimic cattle-raid, takes up formally the bow and arrow and takes a step in each of the four directions—a step symbolic of his conquest of that quarter. He then plays, formally, a game of dice in which it is pre-arranged that he commands the winning throw and becomes a victor.

As the Aatapatha (XII. 9. 3. 3) and Aitareya (VIII. 12. 17) Brahmanas speak of a dasa-purusham rajyam (a kingdom of ten generations) and as royal descent can be traced in several other cases, the monarchy may be said to be normally hereditary. The term rajaputra, which can be interpreted as “king’s son” in the majority of its occurrences in the texts of this period, bears testimony to the same fact. Occasionally, however, a king was selected by the people though the choice was probably restricted to the royal family or at best to members of the noble clans. The election of kings is clearly referred to in certain passages 3 (AV, I. 9; III. 4; IV. 22), but they are interpreted by Geldner 3 as indicating the purely formal approval of the king’s occupation of the throne by the subjects (vis) rather than a selection, in all seriousness, of the king by the cantons (i>is). Nevertheless it is certain that in emergencies., people had the power of selecting one member of the royal family in preference to another who was incompetent (Ch. XVII, pp. 356-7) But whatever we might think of the election of kings as a means of popular control over them, there is no doubt that the people continued to play an important part in politics. Thus particular stress is laid on the necessity of concord between the king and his electors in a passage in the Atharvat'eda fill. 4) which, by the way. s a clear testimony of the prevalence of the system’ of election of the kings. Besides, it is held by some scholars that an essential part of the coronation ceremony was a solemn oath taken by the king to the effect that if he opposed the people, he might lose all the merit he had accumulated in his life. 1 n But it is doubtful whether the question here is of opposing Hit., oppressing^ the people or the priest by whom the oath was administered. ▪"*

There are hvmns in the Sariihitas and Brahmanas to celebrate

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not only the coronation of kings but also the return of exiled kings. This implies that the people had the power to punish kings, if an emergency arose, by banishing them. Then in the Taliya Brahmana (VI. 6. 5) a sacrifice is mentioned whereby the officiating Brahmana could help the Vaisvas (the subjects) to destroy the king Royal

power was, it is true, gradually consolidating itself, but even a long and unbroKen descent could not save a king from the wrath of his suojects. Lor example, the Srinjayas expelled their king Dushfarltu Paumsayana from the kingdom, in spite of his ten generations of royaldescent.

Ihe popular control in the affairs of states was exercised, as in the Rigvedic period, through the two popular Assemblies, sabha and samiti {ante, Ch. XVII, p. 356)- These are also referred to in the later Samhitas and Brahmanas in terms which indicate an effective exercise of authority not only in the general administration but also over the person of the king. Thus we find a fervent prayer put in the moutn of the king: “May the samiti and the sabhd , the two daughters of Prajapati, concurrently aid me.’ ; " It is significant to note that this passage describes the popular Assemblies as issues of the same Prajapati, from whom the king, according to the theory of his divinity, derives all his power and authority {ante, p. 430). Thus both monarchy and the popular assemblies are placed on the same footing as divine institutions according to Satapatha Brdh viuna. Other passages 12 in the literature of this period also indicate that the king took particular care to be in the good grace of the assemblies and the loss of their favour and support was regarded as a dire calamity for him.

We have no detailed knowledge of the working of the Sabhd but may glean a few particulars about it from isolated references. This term also denoted the “assembly-hall” which was used for serious political work as well as for dicing, social intercourse, debates, and entertainment. When the assembly {sabhd) met, a sacrifice was offered in the assembly-hall on behalf of the assembly, the fire used being called Sabhya. The Maitr^dyani Sarhhitd (IV. 7. 4) tells us that women did not attend the sabhd, which is but expected as women did not take part in political activity. The same Samhita mentions sabhd in the sense of the court house of the village-judge— the Gramya-vadin—who is referred to in all the Samhitas of the Ya jurveda. From the use of the terms sabhxisad and sabhachara in the very probable senses of “assessor” and “member of the lawcourt” respectively, it appears that the sabhd met more often for the administration of justice than for political discussion. A sabhd pati, “lord of the assembly,” is mentioned in the Sathhitas of the Yajurveda, and the Taittiriya Brahmaim (III. 7. 4. 6) speaks of a sabha-pdla probably in the sense of “a guardian of an assembly-hall.” The sabhd thus appears to be an active institution housed in a place where legal rather than political business was more often transacted, and which also served as the venue of social gatherings and games. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between the functions of the sabhd and the samiti from the available evidence. All that can be said is that discussion and decision on policies of all kinds as well as legislation constituted the main business of the samiti, which was a larger body, whereas judicial work, which could also be transacted by the samiti, fell chiefly within the purview of the sabha, though the latter had the right to discuss political matters also.

In spite of the popular assemblies, the king’s power was on the increase. This was no doubt due to the growth of large territorial states and the evolution of an official hierarchy in place of the old nobility by birth. The king’s main function was the protection of the state and the people, and it was recognized that this required firmness and vigour on his part. In the absence of any authoritative principles of international law, hostility, tacit or avowed, was the normal relation between states, and the king had necessarily to be a great war-lord, endowed with ample military resources. These requisites of kingly office are reflected in a hymn of the Atharvaveda (VI. 87-8) which addresses a new king as follows:

, “Here be you firm as a mountain and may you not come down. Be you firm here like Indra; remain you here and hold the realm.

“Firm is the heaven, firm is the earth, firm is.the universe, firm are the mountains, let the king of the people be firm.

“Vanquish you firmly, without falling, the enemies, and those behaving like enemies crush you under your feet. All the quarters unanimously honour you, and for firmness the assembly here creates you.” 13 .

This evolution of kingly power, out of sheer political necessity, made further progress by the enunciation of his divinity. The Satapatha Brdhmana, a strong exponent of this theory, upholds the doctrine that by performing certain rites in the Rajasuya sacrifice the king becomes not only exempt from punishment but also the lord of the law. 14 But these extreme theoretical assumptions were hardly applicable to real life. The actual instances of expulsion of the king, referred to above, belie these canonical statements. Besides, one fundamental principle which characterizes the political thought of the Hindus is the conception of Dharma or Sacred Law which sustains the universe and to which both the king and all sections of the community owe allegiance. The sages, not the king, had the power to interpret this law which was included in the Sacred Canon, and it was the clearly recognized duty of the king to abide by, and give effect to it. The moral and spiritual sanctions behind this Sacred Law were a sufficiently powerful motive, more than we can possibly imagine today, for restraining the wilful exercise of authority by the king. The Brihadaranyaka TJpanishad, which forms a part of the Satapatha Brahmana, clearly enunciates this great principle, though it was more elaborated at a later age. In assessing the true character—beneficent or otherwise—of kingly rule in this age, we must take note of the high intellectual qualifications of the kings. Though Kshatriyas, they were as well-versed as, ix not more than, the Brahmanas in the Vedas and Upanishads. they took great interest in philosophical discussions. They not only patronized learning, but were themselves teachers and had even Brahmana disciples, although it was not normal for a Brahmana to learn from a Kshatriya. Such highly cultured kings must have generally proved benevolent rulers. A memorable piece of advice given to a king as recorded in the White Yajurveda (X. 27) is well worth quoting here. The priest exhorts the king at the coronation in these words: “As a ruler, from this day onwards, judge the strong and the weak impartially and fairly. Strive unceasingly to do good to the people and above all, protect the country from all calamities.”[1] There is evidence to show that in this period, the position of the Kshatriyas in general and that of the king in particular had gone up in relation to the Brahmanas, in the social scales of the caste-system. A passage in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 29) describes the relationship of each of the remaining three castes to the Raj any a who is taken as the norm (See below, Ch. XXIII).

2. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

Frequent references to a large body of royal officials indicate the development of the administrative system during this period. Among the officers thait form the entourage of a king at the royal consecration, figure a

Senarii, a Gramani, and a Bhagadugha (collector 'of taxes or distributor of food?). The Gramani —the head of a village, corresponding to the modern village patel —is referred to in the Taittiriya Brahmana as belonging to the Vaisya caste. There were probably grades of Gramanis, according to the size of the grama. He was the main channel of royal authority, being entrusted with local administration; but his powers were probably more civil than military.

In addition to the above three officials, lists of members of the entourage at the Rajasuya, as given in the Taittiriya texts, include several others who were not merely courtiers but also public functionaries. and this gives us a general idea of the various administrative departments. There is above all the Purohita who was something like an Archbishop and also a counsellor of the king. Next comes the Suta. The Suta, which literally means a "Charioteer," raises a curious question. Was he merely the "coachman" by appointment to His Majesty? This appears improbable from the very important role the Suta plays as a herald or minstrel in the propagation and popularization of heroic and epic poetry in later times. It is not unlikely that, originally a charioteer, the Suta was an employee to whom naturally fell the task of relieving the boredom of the king or warrior, whom, he drove on long marches and great distances, by entertaining and encouraging him with stories and especially heroic legends. This fits in very well with the

important part that charioteers are supposed to play, chiefly in wars, but not rarely also in peace. They had a facile tongue and a fund of stories and worldly wisdom. One need but remember the vital part played by the charioteer in the Bhagavadgita

After the Suta, we find mention of two other officials, viz., the Samgrahitfi, the treasurer, and the Akshavapa, the Superintendent of dicing- Whatever our views regarding gambling, we must remember that dicing was (like racing today) a royal sport, and that there must have been a department of dicing in those days. This is confirmed by the symbolic ceremony of "dicing" as forming part of the Rajasuya. This list is supplemented by the Satapatha Brah mana which includes the Kshattji (the Chamberlain?), Gonikartan§i tGovikartana), the Huntsman, and Palagala, the Courier. The Maitrayctyi Samhitd mentions the Takshan or “carpenter” and* the Rathakara or “chariot-maker.”

Reference is also made to the Sthapati. He was either the chief judge, as we shall have occasion to mention later, or the local chief of a part of the kingdom, because we come across a NishadaSthapati in the Sutras, who may have been the ruler of some frontier aboriginal tribe.

The officers mentioned, above, with the exception of the last, are called ratnins or “Jewels.” The name is derived from an important rite of the Rajasuya ceremony, called Ratna-havis or Jeweloffering, in course of which the king on successive days had to make offerings to the gods in the houses of these officials. 1 - This fact leaves no doubt of the high status and the great importance of these royal functionaries. Yet the Brahmana texts emphasize the point that some of them were inferior to both Brahmaiias and Kshatriyas, and immediately after the Jewel-offering ceremony, the king had to perform two rites for expiating the sin committed by putting these unworthy persons of low classes or castes in contact with the sacrifice (Sat. Br» V. 3. 2. 2). This curious procedure proves beyond doubt that a new type of nobility, that of royal service, had emerged by the side, if not in place, of the old nobility by birth. 16 It is an indirect testimony to the growth of a solid hierarchy of officials and the efficient organization of the machinery of administration.

Isolated references give us some idea of the great power and influence of this official nobility. Thus the Suta and the Gramani are designated king-makers (raja-krit j, 17 while a list of eight persons, said to be Viras (chief supporters or defenders) of the king, comprise, in addition to his queen, son, and brother, the Purohita, the Suta, the Gramani, the Kshattri. and the Samgrahltri. 16

The descriptions of the Rajasuya (royal cpnsecration) in the later Samhitas and Brahmapas depict the king as the “Protector” of the people in general and of the Brahmanas in particular. In return for this protection the king is allowed to live on the (income.

of the) Vis (the subjects). 19 For discharging this duty efficiently, the king had to fight not only in defence of his realm but also to conduct offensive war, which was generally undertaken in the season of dew (i.e. at the end of the monsoon) and in which he had to "sack cities." He led the fighting host to battle in person, with the Senani (army-leader) working under his direction, and had the right to a share of the booty of war after a victory. The Purohita ensured the king's safety* and victory in battle by his prayers, spells, and charms, and this is in keeping with the role of the Purohita in peace as the regular adviser of the king.

For the maintenance of the machinery of administration which protected the people in war and peace, the king had the right to receive contributions and loyal service from his subjects. Though in origin these may have been voluntary they soon assumed the form of tribute (Bait), a kind of taxation that seems to have been meant in the reference to "the share of village, horses and kine" in the Atharvaveda (IV. 22. 2). The very frequent description, in the texts of this age, of the king as the "devourer of the people," is perhaps not to be understood in the sense of a "fleecing of the people" by the king, but as indicating that the royal household and the king's retinue were maintained by the contributions of the people in the form of food-grains and other necessaries of life (ante, Ch. XVII, pp. 359-60).

The incidence of taxation, however, did not fall equitably upon all classes of people. As the members of the royal family, the nobility and the Kshatriya class generally assisted the king in war, it is but natural that this right of maintenance should also be claimed by them. The Brahmanas also claimed to be exempt from the normal exercise of royal authority, particularly in respect of taxation. In the Rajasuya ceremony the priest tells the assembled people: "This man is your king, Soma is the king of us Brahmanas." 20 This passage is then applied to justify the Brahmana's exemption from taxation. How far this exemption was carried in actual practice it is difficult to say. But it appears that on the whole, the main burden of the taxation fell on the "people," who pursued peaceful occupations, such as agriculture, cattle-keeping, the arts, crafts, industries, and trade. The texts often describe the "people" as forming the backbone of royal power.

3. LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The Satapatha Brahmana (V. 4. 4. 7) tells us that the king wields the rod of punishment (Danda), but is not subject to it. He himself, as a rule, appears to have administered criminal justice. That he was assisted by assessors is probable, though not certain. At any rate, in his absence, he could delegate his jurisdiction to a royal officer, because the Kathaka Samhitd (XXVII. 41 mentions

the Rajanya as an overseer (adhyaksha) when a 6udra is punished. Among tne crimes enumerated or otherwise recognized are, theft, robbery, adultery, incest, abduction, the killing of an embryo, the killing of a man, the slaying of a Brahmana (which alone amounts to murder proper and is expiable by the performance of an Asvamedha), drinking intoxicating liquor, and treachery, punishable by death. Petty offences in the village seem to have been left to the Gramyavadin or “village judge” for disposal. .The view 21 that there was increase of crime during this age because Rudra' is hailed as the protector of thieves does not appear to be correct.

it is curious that even a minor bodily defect such as the possession of bad nails, or the violation of a purely conventional practice was looked upon as a crime. But we should remember that the implicit belief in rebirth, and the fixed notion that for every defect or x mishap in this life a person himself is responsible through actions committed either in this life or in a past one, can explain a number of anomalies in the judicial or social code of the Hindus. This is often forgotten when the charge of an inhuman and brutal outlook is preferred against their legal and social structure. That the sense of justice was high is seen from the record of long discussions over a case where a child is accidentally run over and killed by the king and the Purohita driving in a chariot. The matter is referred for arbitration to the Ikshvakus who gave the judgment that an expiation was due. Private vengeance was also permitted to serve the ends of justice, though the crudities of such a procedure were held in considerable check by the system of Vairadeya “wergeld”—“the money (in the form of a hundred cows, for example) to be paid for killing a man as a compensation to his relatives.”

For evidence, eye-witnesses were more important than informers- Ordeals were also probably looked upon as valid tests of innocence or guilt. The Chhandogya Upanishad (VI. 16. 1-2), while explaining how "Truth has the power of saving a man even from death," says: "When an alleged thief is brought handcuffed to the place of trial he is asked to catch hold of a heated axe. If he has not committed the theft, he covers himself with the glory of truth, does not burn his fingers, and is set free as an innocent person, but if he is guilty he is burnt on the spot."

The punishments for crime were rather severe. If a thief was caught red-handed, death or the cutting off of hands was the penalty; in milder cases, binding to posts and the return of stolen goods sufficed as punishment.

As regards civil law our knowledge is mainly confined to the ownership of land, succession, and partition of property. Individual property or individual ownership in land for the purposes of cultivation is recognized. This individual tenure of land turned out to be (in actual practice and fact, if not in legal theory) tenure by a family, rather than by an individual. In this sense must be understood "the conquests of fields" so often referred to in the Samhitas. Communal property in the sense of "ownership by a community" or "communal cultivation" is, however, unknown. It is but natural that a family should live together, with undivided shares in the land. With settlement and peaceful occupation of the country, inheritance of landed property must have been in force even earlier than the age of the Sutras, which state them clearly for the first time. The word "Daya" has already come to mean in this age "inheritance" in the sense of "a father's, property which is to be divided among his sons either during his life or after his death." In a legal sense, the property of the family is the property of the head of the house, usually the father. The Taittiriya Samhita (III. 1. 9. 4) has the famous episode of Manu's division of property among his sons. Nabhanedishtha was excluded from the inheritance, but as a compensation was taught how to appease the Angirasas and secure cows from them. An important aspect of this account is that the property divided was movable property and not land, and that cattle rather than land was the foundation of wealth, because cattle could be and were used individually, whereas land could not be freely disposed of. In the Aitareya Brahmana version of the story, the sons are said to have made the division, leaving to Nabhanedishtha only the care of their aged father. Does this suggest that the sons were legally owners with their father? The evidence however seems to be in favour of the rule of patria potestas, whereby the father owned the property. The sons, when grown up, might claim the property and induce the father to divide it, but this cannot amount to the doctrine that every child on birth had a legal share in the property. The legend of Sunahsepa points to the developed patria protestas of the father. As regards the division, preference was shown to the elder son if it took place after the death of the father; during his lifetime, the preference was usually shown to the elder son but not rarely to another (Pahchavimsa Brahmana , XVT. 4. 4). Women were excluded from inheritance or partition. Neither they nor the Sudras had any right to property. There is not much information available regarding the legal relations of husband and wife after marriage. The husband in all probability claimed the wife's dowry and earnings, if any. The Satapatha Brahmana (IV. 42. 13) says that women own neither themselves nor an inheritance.

Original acquisition of chattels was brought about by taking possession of them when found on one's own land or on unoccupied land, provided no one else claimed earlier ownership of them. They could be transferred by gift and barter or sale. The only contracts known . were those in regard to the business of money-lending. The Dasas and Basis did most of the labour for which ordinary

workers would have to be hired. The artisans and skilled workers of the village received fixed remuneration from the yillagers and not payment for each separate piece of work.

As regards civil procedure, voluntary arbitration appears to be the earlier form of judicial procedure, in which the plaintiff (the (prasnin), the defendant (abhi-prasnin) and the arbitrator or judge (prcisna-vivaka) figured, as the three appear in the list of victims at the Purushamedha in the V&jasaneyi Samhitd (XXX. 10). It is uncertain whether assessors were called in. The jnatfi is very probably a technical legal term for a witness in civil transactions. * Ordeals were but rarely used for deciding civil disputes, but their use as an evidence in civil law is proved by the case of Vatsa who demonstrated his purity of descent by walking through fire without sustaining any injury. The oath, though not mentioned as an independent instrument of evidence, must have formed part of the ordeal declaration when there was an occasion for it.

Finally we may discuss the legal aspect of the question of the ownership of the land vis-a-vis the king, as far as it is reflected in the texts of this age. Land was originally acquired when it was occupied by Aryan tribesmen among whom the apportionment must have, taken place later. When the tribal chief assumed the status of a king he controlled all transactions regarding land. When the Satapatha Brahmana (VII. 1. 1. 8) tells us that the Kshatriya gives a settlement to a man with the consent of the people, it implies that separate holdings existed. The conception of the absolute royal ownership of all land does not seem to have arisen during this age. "Grants" of land only implied transfer of privileges regarding revenue but no ownership. Similarly when the king granted to his favourites his royal prerogatives over villages, the "grant" is to be understood as the transfer of privileges in fiscal matters. That a gift of land in the sense of "the conferring of ownership" was looked upon as unconstitutional may be inferred from a story in the Satapatha (XIII. 7. 1-15) and Aitareya (VIII. 21. 8) Brahmanas that when king Visvakarman offered the earth (probably a piece of. land) to his officiating priest, the earth refused to be given. Such gifts of land probably constituted a- violation of customary law. The king certainly had the power to expel a Brahmana or Vaisya (there is no mention of-the Kshatriya) from his land,-but this power drew its sanction not from his ownership of the land but from his sovereignty, and was recognized only as a royal prerogative.

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4. 3. 27.; Toitt. Sam., 1. 8. 16.

5. Sat. Br. V. 3. 3. 12. Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 33.

6. Ghoshal, op. cit, pp. 41-2.

7. CHI, I, p. 130.

8. One of these is quoted in Ch. XX, p. 410.

9. Ved. Stud., 2, 303.

10. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 17. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, II, 27-8.

10a. POC, VU1, 502. .

11. Sat. Br., IV. 1. 4. 1-6.; Cf. also AV, VH. 12, quoted in Ch. XX, pp. 411-12.

12. AV, VI. 88. 3.; VH. 12.

13. For other hymns of this nature cf. Ch. XX, p. 410.

14. Sat. Br., V. 4. 4. 7.; 3. S. 9. Ghoshal, op. cit, p. 40. Dr. Beni Prasad, however, thinks that “the lordship of the law” here means the “lordship of justice** (op. cit., p. 19).

15. The ceremony is described with slightly varying lists of officials in Sat . Br., V. 3. 1.; Taitt . Sam., I. 8. 9.; Taitt. Br., I. 7. 3.

16. Dr. Ghoshal thinks that the official nobility took the place of the old nobility of birth (op. cit., p. 39).

17. Sat. Br., III. 4. 1. 7.; XIH. 2. 2. 18.

18. Pdiichavimia Br., XIX. 4.

19. Ait. Br., VIII. 12. 17.

20. Sat Br., V. 3. 12., 4. 2. 3.

21. CHI, I, p. 135.

CHAPTER XXII

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

1. THE ATHARVAVEDA

For our survey of the evolution of religion and philosophical thought in the post-Rigvedic age we may begin with the Atharvaveda as it has preserved an aspect of primitive religious ideas which are not to be found in the other Vedic texts.

The oldest name of the AV in Vedic literature is Atharvdngi lasah, that is, “the Atharvans and the Angirasah.” The two words denote two different species of magic formulae: atharvan is “holy magic bringing happiness” and angiras is “hostile or black magic.” The former includes among others formulae for the healing of diseases, while the latter includes curses against enemies, rivals, malicious magicians, etc. These two kinds of magic formulae then form the chief contents of the AV, 1 but these ancient magic songs which were originally popular poetry appear in the Samhitd in a Brahmanized form because of the priestly outlook of the compilers, which betrays itself in the similes and epithets. The gods are the same as in the RV, Agni, Indra, etc. But their characters have become quite colourless, all being invoked as “demon-destroyers”, and their natural basis is utterly forgotten. The theosophical and cosmogonic speculations of the AV indicate a later stage of development than that in the RV. It contains more theosophic matter than any other Sarhhita* The philosophical terminology is of an advanced type, and the pantheistic thought is practically the same as in the Upanishads. There is, of course, a magical twist given to the philosophical hymns. For example, AV, IV. 19. 6 employs the conception of asat, “the non-existent,” as a spell to destroy enemies, demons, magicians, etc.

Above all, the principal aim of the Atharvaveda is to appease (the demons), to bless (friends), and to curse , and as such it did not find much favour with the priesthood, who excluded it from the sacred triad—the threefold lore. This was, however, a later development. At their origin, magic and cult both have an identical aim—the control of the transcendental world. They have this essential unity of purpose. There soon comes a time, however, when the priest who pays homage to the gods parts company with the magician who is in league with the demons. It is a remarkable fact, however, that in spite of this aversion to the Veda of magic, the ritual texts which describe the great sacrifices do incorporate exorcism-formulas and magic rites[2] whereby the prest can destroy “the enemy whom he hates and who hates him,” and the law-book of Manu (XI. 33) sanctions the use of exorcism against enemies.

As Dr. Winternitz[3] points out, “many of these magic songs, like the magic rites pertaining to them, belong to a sphere of conceptions which, spread over the whole earth, ever recur with the most surprising similarity in the most varying peoples of all countries. Among the Indians . of Nqrth America, among the Negro races of Africa, among Malays' and Mongols, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, knd frequently still among the peasantry of the present-day Europe, we find again exactly the same views, the same strange leaps of thought in the magic songs and magic rites, as have come down to us in the Atkarvavedd of ancient India. There are, then, numerous verses in the Atharvaveda , which, according to their character and often also their contents, differ just as little from the magic formulas of the American-Indian medicine-men and Tartar Shamans as from the Merseburg magic maxims, which belong to the sparse remains of the oldest German poetry.” The AV then is unique among the texts of this age—the Sarhhitas and Brahmanas—as an important source of information regarding popular religious belief, not so far modified by priestly religion as to be unrecognizable in its original form.

Occasionally, we come across hymns like IV. 16, which look like a patchwork of old and new material. The first half of IV. 16 describes the power of the Almighty, the omniscience of God, in language of such impressive beauty, that as a piece of literary art it has hardly any equal in the whole of Vedic literature,[4] and yet the second part is an exorcism-formula against liars. This is a case (not rare) in the AV where a fragment of older poetry breathing genuine religious fervour has been dressed up as a magic formula.

There are hymns of a philosophical import in the AV though they are inspired more by practical considerations than by a longing for the Ultimate Reality. The hymns definitely presuppose a high level of metaphysical thought. There is some exaggeration in the opinion of Winternitz, 5 that there is in these hymns more of the mystery-mongering so characteristic of the magician than the search for truth that distinguishes a philosopher, and that they do not represent even a transitional stage between the creative thought of the philosophical hymns of the RV and the philosophy'of the Upanishads. The idea of a supreme God like Prajapati, as the creator and preserver of the Universe, and that of an impersonal creative principle (which form the two chief doctrines of the Upanishads), and some technical terms such as “brahman” “tapas” “asat” are met with in the Atharvaveda . The conception of Rudra-Siva in the AV certainly represents a transitional stage between the conception of Rudra in the R.V and the systematic philosophy of Saivism in the Svetasvatara TJparJshod. Original or otherwise, profound philosophical ideas do crop up now and then in the AV. Kdla or Time as the First Cause of all existence (XIX. 53. 5, 6) is a truly philosophical notion, but round it are woven metaphors that give a mystic turn to the great idea (XIX. 53). Similarly Prana (Breath) and Kama (Love), are described as First Causes in XI. 4 and IX. 2 respectively. The Rohita hymns (XIII. 1-4) contain a sublime glorification of the “Red One” (the genius of the sun) as a cosmogonic power. Alongside of this are found mystical fancies such as the exaltation of the sun as a primeval principle under the guise of a Brahmacharin , and the glorification of the Ox, the Bull, the Cow, and the Vratya, each being alternately looked upon as the Highest Being, in XI. 5; IV. 11, IX. 4, X. 10 and XV respectively. AV y X. 2 is but an imitation of the philosophical hymn X. 121 of the RV and treats of the realization of Brahman in man, from the physical aspect. AV , XI. 8 suggests the idea of Brahman as the First Cause of all existence and of the oneness of man with the world-soul. Reference has already been made above (p. 414) to the long hymn (XII. 1) to Mother Earth which is acclaimed as one of the most beautiful productions of the religious poetry of ancient India. Though classified as a cosmogonic hymn, there is not much philosophy in it, but a relieving feature is that it contains no trace of mysticism and thus rises to the sublime heights of religious poetry.

■ It must be admitted that the Atharvaveda religion, being thus more popular than priestly, formed a transitional stage to the idolatries and superstitions of the ignorant masses, rather than to the sublimated pantheism of the Upanishads and further that it led to magic being confused with mysticism.

It is generally held that the religion of the AV is only an amalgam of Aryan and non-Aryan ideals achieved after the advance of the Aryans into India. According to this view 6 , the Vedic Aryans, as they advanced into India, came across uncivilized tribes worshipping snakes, serpents, stocks, and stones, but instead of destroying these barbarian neighbours or allowing themselves to be swamped by them, the Aryans absorbed them. This spirit of accommodation naturally elevated the religion of the primitive tribes but degraded the Vedic religion by introducing into it sorcery and witchcraft. In the opinion of the present writer, this view is not wholly correct. Magic and religious cults, having an identical aim in the beginning, namely, the control of the transcendental world, have parted company in the AV exactly as they have done in the religions of most peoples in the world, though there is no denying that such a process of separation was considerably helped by the Aryan contact with the natives of India, who had their own worship of spirits and stars, trees and mountains, and other superstitions.

2. THE SAMAVEDA AND THE YAJURVEDA SAMHITAS AND THE BRAHMAI^AS

With the Samaveda and Yajurveda we enter a new world, as it were. The atmosphere is pervaded now by the smoke of the sacrifice and the incense of the ritual. The sacrifice dominates everything. These two Sarhhitas have been compiled strictly from the point of view of their use at the sacrifice. They are, indeed, nothing more than text-books—song-book and prayer-book—for the practical use of two of the four principal priests, the Udgatri and Adhvaryu. No account of the religion of this period can be understood in its proper perspective unless we follow the broad lines along which the institution of the sacrifice developed in this age.

The simple ceremonial of the domestic ritual which any individual, rich or poor, priest or layman, could perform in his own home may be reasonably supposed to be the starting point of the sacrificial cult. The single fire of the domestic hearth was the altar at which burnt offerings were presented, to the accompaniment of appropriate prayers. There were daily and periodical sacrifices, such as the morning and evening offerings, the New and Full-moon sacrifices and the four monthly or seasonal sacrifices. This domestic fire was also the blazing divine witness, propitiated by suitable oblational offerings accompanied by appropriate prayers, to a number of domestic ceremonies that endowed with religious sanctity various events in the life of a family, such as birth, marriage, other occasions of daily life, funeral, ancestor-worship, house-building, cattle-feeding, and farming. The domestic fire was also the centre of magic rites which were calculated to avert diseases and unpropitious omens, as also the centre of exorcisms and rites for love-magic, etc. A very large number of the songs and spells of the Atharva veda naturally fit in, most admirably, into the framework of these domestic rites, as a substantial part of these partakes of the nature of magic rites. In these, what may be called the domestic varieties of the sacrificial culf, the householder himself generally officiated as the sacrificial priest, but he might call in the “Brahman,” if he needed assistance.

But even in the age of the Rigveda, as noted above fp. 380), the cult of the Grand Sacrifices, especially the Soma-sacrifices, was gradually, developing 'by the side of the cult of the domestic rites, described above. They were, however, so elaborately developed and systematized during the period under review that the Samaveda and Yajurveda Samhit^s have been compiled solely for use at these Grand Sacrifices. A regular science of sacrifice has now been evolved and forms the sole topic of the Brahmana texts. Three sacred fires instead of one were necessary for these Grand Sacrifices, and altars for these were erected on a vast sacrificial place set up accord

ing to rules and to the accompaniment of an elaborate ritual. A formidable array of priests, divided into four groups headed by four chief priests, was required for the correct performance of the extremely complicated ritual and elaborate ceremonial which were the sine qua non of the Grand Sacrifices. The Yajamdna (sacrificed had practically nothing to do but to-give liberal fees to these priests. These Grand Sacrifices were called

“Srauta” or “based on £ruti,” in the sense that the description of their theory and practice was also embodied in the Sruti literature, i.e. the Saih•htfas and Brahmanas, whereas the .domestic (Grihya) sacrifices referred to above were called Smarta (based on Smriti or “memory”) in the sense, that they are described only in the Grihya-sutras which fall into Smriti literature which has no divine sanction and is authoritative only in so far as it embodies the tradition derived from ancient sages.

The titles and functions of the heads of the four groups of priests are: (1) The Hotri or “Invoker” who was to praise the gods and invoke them to the sacrifice and whose duty it was to form the canon (sastra) for each particular rite of the Soma sacrifice by selecting, from the hymns of the Rigveda, the verses applicable to it and to recite them; (2) the Udgatri or “Chanter” who sings chants (saman) f accompanying appropriately the various stages of the preparation and presentation of the sacrifices, especially the Soma sacrifices; (3) the Adhvaryu or “Performer,” who executes all the sacrificial acts, muttering simultaneously the prose prayers and the sacrificial formulae (yajus); (4) the Brahman or “High Priest” who as the general superintendent vigilantly guards against any error or deviation from the correct performance of the sacrifice and protects the sacrifice from danger by* repeating sacred formulae by way of expiating for any error done. The Brahman has to be well versed in all the Vedas, but the Hotri has to be conversant only with the Iligveda , from which he takes the Yajyds (sacrificial verses) and the anuvakyds (invitatory verses). Similarly the Udgatri has to be well versed in the S^maveda Samhitd only, to master the melodies and the song-verses with which they are connected, and to sing the stotras , consisting of song-stanzas, i. e. stanzas or richah which arc made to bear certain melodies or s^mans. Finally, the Adhvaryu priest has to be proficient only in the Samhitas of Yajurveda as he mutters the prose formulae and prayers called Yajus and the verses (richah) collected in it for his use.

Like the two Samhitas mentioned above, the Brahmanas also treat of the sacrificial liturgy. The age represented by them all is an age of forms, concerned more with the externals* of religion than its spirit. Mechanical sacerdotalism is the religion now. Symbolic significance is attached to even the smallest minutiae of ceremonies that are purely external (ante, j>. 423). Every prayer that accompanies a rite asks for some worldly gain.

Nevertheless there is an interesting substratum of popular religion, underlying this intricate and elaborate ritual of the sacrifice. The Rajasuya or the ceremony of royal consecration must have had once an appeal to the festive instincts of the people. The Vajapeya is characterized by a chariot race which must have been originally the main element and which must have always made a great hit with the people. The ritual of the Mahavrata, which is probably a reminiscence of a very popular primitive celebration of the winter solstice, plays a notable part in the Gavamayana, the year-long Sattra. The horse-sacrifice is fundamentally the elaboration of a simple rite of sympathetic magic. Above all, however, the building of the altar for the sacred fire is the one rite which, though a simple one in ancient times, has been so worked over by the priests that it reflects in a mystic sense almost a new conception of the unity of the universe and the mode of its preservation The Brahmanas record, as an ancient practice no longer current, the slaying of a man during the building rite in order to secure the permanence of the structure. The only plausible explanation of the disproportionate importance and treatment claimed by this rite is the one given by Eggeling 7 that the building of the fire-altar symbolizes the reconstruction of the Universe in the shape of Prajapati, the full significance of which will be explained later.

There is no longer the spontaneity or simplicity of religious feeling that is associated in a large measure with the sacrifice in the age of the Rigveda . Although the theory of the sacrifice is superficially ‘T give thee (O Godl that thou mayest give/* there is so little faith in it. that sympathetic magic dominates the entire sacrificial system. The priest has arrogated to himself such powers in this regard. that he could ruin (if he pleased) even the patron for whom he officiates by deliberately committing errors. The efficacy of the ritual denended on the correct pronunciation of the mantras recited, because it was their sound rather than their meaning that was credited with power. The viniyoga or liturgical application of the RV hymns to the details of the sacrifice had no relation to their meaning. So ludicrously theoretical was the development of the sacrificial cult that the list of sacrificial victims in the Yajurveda texts includes human beings as well.

As the sacrifice is the only power that counts and could bend even the gods to the will of the sacrificer, the old gods are not of much consequence now. As a result some of the minor deities of the Rigveda have either disappeared or exist in name only, Prajapati (as “Lord of creatures”) is the main subject of theosophical speculation in the Brahmanas, but he is not “a god of the people” as Rudra is. This is indicated by the number of litanies addressed to the latter in the Yajurvedic Samhitas, and the attention devoted to him in the Aitareya, Kaushitaki and Aatapatha Brahma^as. Rudra as Bhutapati is a dread figure, who (we are told in Aitareya Br.) usurped the dominion of Prajapatf over all cattle, when the latter committed incest with his daughter. He appears at the sacrifice in black raiment and claims the sacrificial victim. This Rudra is (in all probability) not merely a development of the Rigvedic Rudra, but an adaptation of him by amalgamation with a popular god,. an aboriginal god of vegetation, closely connected with pastoral life. He is thus the “great god” (mahadeva) and has already received the appellation “Siva” (the “Auspicious One’ 1) which became later his chief name. Next to Rudra comes Vishpu, constantly identified with the all-important sacrifice and therefore rising to a high position. Probably he was prominent enough to claim the undivided allegiance of some localities while fyidra was worshipped in others. Narayaga and Vishnu are brought into relation in the Taittiriya Ar any aka. In other respects, there is little change in the Rigvedic pantheon. Gandharvas, Apsarases, Nagas, etc., are raised to a semi-divine rank. Snake-worship (borrowed probably from the aborigines) and the mechanical motif of the “Devasura” battles make their appearance now. Monotheism is being advocated. “Brahman,” from meaning the “prayer-verses and formulae” in the Veda, containing secret magic power by which man seeks to bend divine beings to his will, came next to mean the trayi vidya or “a collection of these prayers and formulae in the three Vedas”; then “the first created thing,” because the trayi was supposed to be of divine origin and because the superhuman (nay superdivine) sacrifice was contained in and therefore derived from the trayi; and finally (in this period) came to signify the* “creative principle”—the cause of all existence. Such an evolution of meaning was possible because, in this age, the divine origin and authority of the Vedas is accepted without question. In the Purushasukta

(RV, X. 90) the act of creation is treated as a sacrifice completely offered (sarva-hut) from which the three Vedas arose. The £atapatha Brdhmana (XI. 5. 8. 1 if.) version of this doctrine is that the Self-existent breathed out the Vedas. The so-called authors of the Vedas are just inspired seers (Rishis) to whom the divine revelation was communicated. The doctrine that sdbda or “articulate sound* is eternal has thus an important correlation to the fact that the Vedas were transmitted by word of mouth, from teacher to pupil in unbroken succession through untold generations. The Vedic tradition, considered sacred and infallible, must necessarily embody the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But the early Vedic texts are not always consistent. This enabled later the votaries of the most diverse doctrines to quote texts from the Vedas in their support, and although philosophy became scholastic as a result, one advantage was that a reliable basis—the unfailing intuition of the most ancient inspired seers—was available to the Indian thinkers.

There are many creation-legends in the Brahmanas which are a strange admixture of metaphysical thought with disconnected explanations of sacrificial rules. The majority of them generally begin with the narration that Prajapati practised austerities through selftorture and mortification as a preparation for the task of creation, but there are passages in the Brahmanas where Prajapati himself is looked upon as created and where the starting point, of creation is either the primeval waters or Brahman or the Non-existent. Desire is the germ of existence, the motive power of all creation.

That life is a duty and a responsibility is the central ethical teaching of the Brahmanas. Man is born with certain rinas or debts which he must discharge in his life. He has a debt to pay to the gods, to the Rishis, to the manes, to men, and to the lower creatures. And he discharges these debts, if he worships the gods, studies the Veda, performs funeral ceremonies, is hospitable to guests, and offers oblations to the bhiitas . Thus, there is no lack of high moral sense and noble sentiments. Selflessness must characterize all our actions. The Brahmanas have a remarkable sacrifice—the Sarvamedha — wherein everything is to be sacrificed to attain the freedom of the spirit. Prayer and good works constitute godliness, which is the first requisite of a good life. Truthfulness in utterance and action is the foundation of moral life. There are hints in the Brahmanas that excessive ritualism was bringing on a reaction. For example, knowledge rather than sacrificial gifts or asceticism is valued in the Satapatha Brahmana (X. 5. 4. 16), although asceticism is also held up as a great ideal elsewhere (Taittiriya Brahmana, III. 12. 3). The theory that confession implying repentance somewhat mitigates the guilt is seen in the Satapatha Brahmana. Inner purity was insisted on, as much as external purity. Truth, performance of dharma (duty), respect for parents, love of fellow-beings, and abstinence from theft, adultery, and murder were the sine qua non of a good life.

The description of heaven in the RV is only elaborated in the other Samhitas and Brahmanas. The essentials are the same. The Atharvaveda tells us how the dead man is conducted upwards by the Maruts with gentle breezes fanning him until he recovers his complete body and meets the Fathers who reside in the company of Yama. The idea that the dead in heaven are nourished by the piety of the relatives on earth is also found in the AV. Such nourishment may either be buried with the dead, so that the grains of corn and sesame, so buried, may turn into wish-cows in heaven, or the nourishment may be conveyed through subsequent offerings. This is indeed the germ of the later Sraddha idea. The Rigveda conception of niryiti as a place of darkness in which the luminaries are lost has been developed by the Atharvaveda into a naraka-loka ("hell") which is the abode of female goblins and a place of utter darkness. The. Satapatha, the Jaiminiya and Kaushltaki Brahma .was add their own touches to this horrid picture of hell. The two paths—oile of the Devas and the other of the Pitris—are naturally mentioned, as they have been already foreshadowed in the RV . The theory of metempsychosis does not appear to have been very clearly formulated in the Sarhhitas and Brahmanas, though the doctrine that the agony of death is to be endured not once only but repeatedly as one may die repeated deaths in the next world, prepares us for the very important part that the theory plays in the Upanishads where the conception of repeated deaths is merely transferred from the next world to the present. The idea of reward and punishment, after death, in exact correspondence to the good and bad deeds of a person in this life, has gained a firm hold in this period. The attainment of immortality and the company of the gods in the heaven—a highly ennobled form of earthly life perpetuated in surroundings of bliss— is the deeply cherished aim of, and incentive to, the practice of piety and good works in this life.

This is a considerable advance over the view of the Rigveda. There, immortality in the abodes of the blessed—the region of milk and honey—is assured to knowledge and virtue, whereas not much thought is given to the fate of the sinner who is apparently condemned to the complete obliteration of his personal existence. Now, however, the wicked are described as being born again in the next world (along with the good) suffering the punishment which their misdeeds bring upon them. That “man is the architect of his own fate” becomes a perfect truth according to this theory. And the supreme merit of philosophical thought in this period is the development of the doctrine that reward and punishment are not eternal. This is but a logical development. How could the limited good or evil that men can do in the brief span of a single life on earth bring on endless pleasure or pain in the next world? Hence follows the theory that penance and atonement can purify and absolve the soul from guilt and exhaust the period of suffering. The Brabmana doctrine, that whatever food a man consumes in this world in return consumes him in the next world (Saiapatha , XII. 9. 1. 1) is but the transfer from the physical to the moral plant of the law that action and reaction are equal and opposite. Siir’iarly, the enjoyment of the rewards, which is in exact measure to the good deeds performed, must some time come to an e*;d. Thus there is the prospect of rebirth again for both the pious and the wicked. So arises the wonderful conception of a beginningless and end^ss circuit of birth and death; the so-called saihsara or “bondage of life and death,” culminating in that unique conception of ultimate happiness which is much higher than that of

a life in heaven. It is a conception of freedom from samsara, which is the true moksha '* (release) or absolution. First desire and then its fulfilment is a vicious circle, and the only escape from it is desirelessness induced by > true knowledge. This, however, is the main doctrine of the Upanishads and is only adumbrated in this period. For example, when the Satapatha Br. asks the seeker for truth to meditate upon the Self, made up of intelligence and endowed with a body of spirit, a form of light, and an ethereal nature, the doctrine has a speculative but none the less ritual background. Similarly, the building of the fire-altar is (as mentioned above) symbolical of the reconstruction of the Universe, in the shape of Prajapati. If we now bear in mind the two sets of mystical equations: (1) Prajapati = Agni — divine counter-part of the human sacrificer; and (2) Prajapati = Time = Death (in the final analysis), we can understand that the human sacrificer becomes Death (in a mystic sense) and thus raises himself above death to everlasting bliss. In this process the true nature oi Prajapati and of the sacrificer is revealed as Intelligence. This same doctrine reappears in another form in the Upanishads as we shall see later.

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3. THE ARAI?YAKAS

The excessive ritualism of the Brahmanas produced a natural reaction. The Aranyaka texts are themselves virtually an admission that the correct performance of a compulsory ritual, that had developed to enormcus proportions in the Brahmana period, could not be expected from all, young and old, from residents of villages and towns as well as from those who resided in the forest. There were again some parts of the sacrificial lore which were of an occult and mystical nature and which could be imparted to the initiated only in the privacy of the forest. The Aranyakas do not lay down rules for. the performance of sacrifices, nor do they comment on the ceremonial in the Brahmana style. They are mainly devoted to an exposition of the mysticism and symbolism of the sacrifice and priestly philosophy. Meditation, rather than performance, is the spirit of their teaching, and they naturally substitute a simpler ceremonial for the complicated one of the Brahmanas. We cannot definitely say whether the theory of the Asramas was deliberately formulated by Brahmanism with a view to accommodate the new doctrines that were raising their heads against the older canon of the Brahmanas and the philosophy of the sacrifice.[8] But it must be admitted that the Aranyakas or “Forest-texts” came in exceedingly handy, as ideally suitable Vedic texts for the daily study of the forest-hermits, as distinguished, on the one hand, from the student and householder who could do justice to the cult of the Vedic sacrifice set forth in the Brahmanas, and on the other, from the ascetic

who could dedicate the rest of his life to the contemplation ox Brahman—the Absolute expounded in the Upanishads.

Important service was rendered by the Aranyakas when they stressed tl^e efficacy of the inner or mental sacrifice as distinguished from the outer or formal sacrifice, consisting of oblations of rice, barley or milk. They thus helped to bridge the gulf between the “way of works” (karmarmrga), which was the sole concern of the Brahma^as, and the “way of knowledge” (jnana-mnrga) which the Upanishads advocated. The Aranyakas further lay down Updsanas (or courses of meditation) upon certain symbols and austerities for the realization of the Absolute, which by now had superseded the “heaven” of the Brahmana works, as the highest goal of the devout. These symbols form the link between the Brahmanas and the Upanishads as they are borrowed from the sacrifices. Finally the compromise between the two “ways” of karrnan and jnana was consummated when karrnan was made subsidiary to, and a preparatory stage for, jnana in the Aranyakas and Upanishads.

1. For specimens of these hymns cf. Ch. XX. pp. 411-15.

2. Cf. Samkhayana Gr. S. t I. 218.

3. H/L, I, p. 128.

4. For the English translation of the hymn cf. Ch. XX. pp. 413-14.

5. HIL , I, p. 150.

6. Cf. IP/1, pp. 118 ff.

7. SBE , XLUI, pp. xiv-xxiv.

8. Belvalkar and Hanade, HIP , II. p. 84. For further elucidation of this topic see Ch. XXVI.

CHAPTER XXIII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

1. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

1 . Family Life

The very use oi‘ the term kula, which does not occur as an uncompounded word before the period of the Brahmaijas, suggests a system of individual families, each consisting of several members, under the headship of the father or eldest brother to whom belongs the kula (originally “home or house of the family,” then by metonymy “the family” itself). As distinguished from gotra it seems to mean the undivided family living under one roof.

The case of the sale of Sunahsepa in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 12-18) suggests that the son was under the absolute cpntrol of the father, but the story may only reflect the horror evoked by the father’s heartless treatment of his son. The father as a rule did not arrange the marriage of his son or daughter (Jaiminiya Upani shad-Brdhmana, III. 12. 2). The relationship between father and son was one of great affection. The kissing of a grown-up son on the head on important occasions as a token of love is a custom found in Sdiikhayana Aranyaka. Adoption was resorted to, not only in the absence of natural children, but also to secure the addition of a specially qualified member to the family, as in Visvamitra’s adoption of Sunahsepa.

Certain special terms show that it was considered improper tor younger brothers and sisters to marry before their elders. The brother and his wife played the part of guardians of the sister in the absence of the father. Quarrels between brothers are mentioned. The family was sometimes large enough to include the great-grandfather as well as the great-grandsons. Among relations are mentioned the wife’s brother, the sister’s son, the cousin (bhrd trivya), the maternal uncle, etc.

An entire hymn in the Atharvaveda is devoted to the praise of hospitality (IX. 6), and the Aitareya Aranyaka also lays stress on it The guest-offering is an integral part of the daily ritual of the household.

2. The Caste-System

The term varoa is used definitely in the sense of “caste,” without reference to colour, in this age. The system of Caste, whose beginnings may be traced in the broad fourfold classification of society in the Rigvedic age (ante, pp. 387 ff.), developed during this period in various directions. Many causes contributed to the rise of sub-castes and other caste-divisions. Guilds of workers tended to crystallize into castes, as occupations became more or less hereditary; as examples we may cite the chariot-makers, the smiths, the leather-workers, and the carpenters. The peculiar family constitution or the gotra tradition, whereby exogamy as well as endogamy regulated marriage connections, and whereby a man should normally marry a woman of equal birth, i.e. within his caste, but not of the same gens or within the gotra , was another factor in the development of complications and distinctions in the Caste-System. The original race-feeling or the contrast which the Ary a varna (Vedic Aryans) felt between themselves and the Dasyu-varna (aborigines), and which was sought to be mitigated by the incorporation of the conquered population into the framework of Aryan society by admitting them into the fourth class or caste, left its mark in the shape of the rule of hypergamy, whereby an Aryan could marry a;Sudra wife but the Sudra never an Aryan wife. The same rule was also gradually applied in marriages between the three Aryan classes, and while a Brahma^a would normally marry a Kshatriya or a Vaisya girl, and the Kshatriya, a Vaisya girl, the male of a lower class could not ordinarily marry a girl of a higher class. This peculiar feeling as to mixed marriages is fundamental to all castedivisions, and may be looked upon as the third factor in casteelaboration during this age

As has been noted in Chapter XIX (p. 400), it was the third caste-group, that of the Vaisyas (called also vis or visya), which by virtue of its occupations came into the closest touch with the fourth caste-group, that of the Sudras. The latter was continually receiving accretions from the conquered aboriginal population and could not therefore keep up its cultural purity to the Aryan level. There arose, therefore, the necessity of clearly distinguishing the Aryan Vaisya from the £udra who was a doubtful Aryan. An evidence of this precaution is seen in the variants of caste-names for the last two groups, namely as Ary a and Sudra , found in some passages in the Taittiriya, Kathaka, Vdjasaneyi, and Aiharvaveda Saiiihitds.

Along with their functions and duties, the privileges and status of the four castes were being differentiated minutely in the religious and social spheres. The Satapatha Brdhmana prescribes varjdng sizes of funeral mounds for the four castes. The deities to whom victims of the different castes are offered in the Purushamedha are different. Different degrees of politeness are noticed in the modes of address prescribed for the four castes.

The Sudra class was naturally the hardest hit in these invidious distinctions, but the texts are not consistent in the position they assign to it. If, for example, the Satapatha (III. 1. 1. 10) says that a Sudra is not worthy of being addressed by a consecrated person,

the stories of Satyakama Jabala and Jana&uti in the Upanishads show that the teaching of philosophy was not withheld from him. The Sudra cannot milk the cow for the Agnihotra-milk according to the Kaphaka Samhita (XXXI. 2), but the Satapatha Brahmana (V. 5. 4. 9) gives the Siidra a place in the Soma sacrifice, and the Taitti riya Brahmana prescribes formulae for establishing the sacrificial fire for the rathukara also who was counted a Sudra. The Aitareya Brahmana, hov/ever, lays down the most reactionary doctrine. It describes the Sudra as yatha-kdma-vadhya (fit to be beaten with impunity), who could be expelled at will and who is always the servant of another. It is also declared that the Sudra has no rights of property as against the rdjanya, especially the king. How far these extreme views were actually followed in practice it is difficult to say.

The Vaisya class. (Vis) was engaged in agriculture, pastoral pursuits, industry, and trade, and paid tribute to the king and the nobles, in return for the protection given to them. A late passage (VII. 29. 3) in the Aitareya Brahmana gives rather a low estimate of him with reference to the Kshatriya, when it says that “he is to be lived on by another and to be oppressed at will.” Although things might net have been really so bad as this, there is no doubt that the position of the Vaisya was steadily deteriorating in this age.

The Kshatriya class was composed of the king’s relations, his nobility, his retainers and other chiefs of petty states. They fought for the protection of the country and maintained peace. They received revenue in kind from the people or masses (the Vaisyas mainly) during war. For their normal or peace-time subsistence some of them were probably granted villages, because the Gramanl seems to have been more often a nominee of the king rather than a popularly elected officer, and probably the post was hereditary in Such cases. Others had their lands cultivated by tenants. In war, they were helped by the people, who fought alongside them.

While it is generally recognized that the Brahmana and the Kshatriya have undoubted precedence over the Vaisya and £udra, there is not the same unanimity in respect of the relative position of the first two. ' The more common view is that the Brahmana is superior to the king, as recorded in the Vajasaneyi Samhita ’ XXI. 21) and the Satapatha, Aitareya and Panchavimsa Brahmanas The Brahmana is dependent on the king (Satapatha BrA). 2- 3. 3} and takes a lower seat by his side, but is superior to the king. A Kshatriya can never get along without a Brahmana while a Brahmana can: nay. the power of the Kshatriya is derived from the Brahmana (Satapatha Br. IV. 1. 4. 6; XII. 7. 3. 12) On the other hand, the Kathaka Samhiul iXXVIII. 5) says that the Kshatriya is superior to the Brahmana. while the Aitareya Br. (VII. 29) rates the Brah

maoa rather low, describing him as a receiver (of gifts), a drinker (of Soma) and as liable to be removed at will (by the king). Though this is not the common view of this age it explains some facts very satisfactorily; the fact, for example, that many kings were seers of hymns and sacrificers, and some of them were even instructors of Brahmanas in the Brahmanical lore.

Brahmaa^as are contrasted with the members of the three other castes as the privileged eaters of the oblation. According to some scholars the Brahmanas were divided into two classes—the Purohitas of the kings, who guided their employers by their counsel, and the ordinary village priests, who led quiet lives. 2 In the view of the present writer these were not separate classes as such. Any one of the ordinary priests could come into contact with the king when they were engaged in some great festival and could be selected for the post of Purohita, if found pre-eminent and distinguished for his learning. The post remained hereditary, only if the son was as well qualified as the father. Imprecations against royal oppressors of Brahmanas in the Atharvaveda and the statement therein that kings that persecute the Brahmanas do not prosper, suggest on the one hand that the persecution of Brahmanas was not unknown, and on the other, the gradual consolidation of the prestige of the priesthood. Even though a passage in the Aitareya Br. (VII. 2S. 4) exalts the Raj any a above the Brahmana whom (it says) the former can control, the references to the visah only, as the subjects of the king {Ta.nd.ya Brahmana), suggest that the Brahmana class received preferential treatment and enjoyed certain privileges and exemptions denied to the ether caste-groups. The greed and cunning of the Brahmanas and many prerogatives claimed by them are reflected in the Atharvaveda and other texts (ante, pp- 412, 422), but they may not be a true picture of the class as a whole. There can be hardly any doubt that many of them deserved the highest position in society by their character and intellect.

The most glaring evil of the caste-system, namely the doctrine of the impurity communicated by the touch or contact of lower castes (known as "untouchability" today), had not yet reared its ugly head. Restrictions on inter-dining are known, but not on the basis of caste. Great importance is attached to purity of descent in the Samhitas and Brahmanas. but there are instances of Brahmanas of impure descent such as Kavasha, Vatsa. and Satyakama Jabala. On the whole it is quite clear that caste had not yet become a rigid system, and none of the three factors which definitely characterize it today, viz., prohibition of inter-dining and inter-marriage, and determination by hereditary descent, was yet established on a secure basis.

3. Marriage and the Position of Women

There are evidences that marriage did not normally take place before puberty. As regards restrictions on marriage, it was banned within the circle of agnates and cognates, but the Satapatha Brah~ mana (I. 8. 3. 8) allows marriages within the third or fourth degree on either side. Though marriage within the gotra was not explicitly prohibited, marriage outside the goira must have been more frequent. Brothers and sisters were not to marry before their elders; so the order of birth was generally respected. The re-marriage of a widow was allowed, as seen from the Atharvaveda IX. 5, 27, 28. Polygamy undoubtedly prevailed. The Maitrayani Samhitd mentions the ten wives of Manu. The king has four wives, the mahishl (the official or chief wife), the favourite one (vdvdtd), the parivfktl or the neglected one (owing to the absence of a son?), and the paid gall (daughter of a court official?). The instances of Kavasha and Vatsa, as well as that of Janasruti in the Chhdndogya Upanishad, who offers his daughter in marriage to a Brahmana, indicate that hypergamy was permitted during this period. The wife wedded first must necessarily have claimed all the privileges of a wife in the religious and social life of the couple, but the two wives of Yajhavalkya were apparently on a footing of equality. The verses from the Atharvaveda quoted above (p. 412) indicate the prevalence of polyandry. Conjugal morality generally stood on a high level, but the infidelity of the wife was certainly not unknown. The ritual of the Varunapraghasa (in the Maitrayani Samhitd. and the Satapatha and the Taittiriya Brdhmayas), in which the wife of the sacrifice? is questioned as regards her lovers, is evidently a rite to expiate unchastity (even platonic or purely mental) on the part of the wife. The son of a Kvmdrlpvtra (son of a maiden) is mentioned in the Vdjasaneyi Samhitd which refers also to illicit unions of &udras and Aryas, both male and female. But all these may be looked upon rather as exceptions that prove the rule of a high standard of ordinary sexual morality. The metronymicS in the lists of teachers in the Brihadaranyalca Upanishad may $e explained as the relic of an ancient sociological feature rather than as evidence of recognized immorality. After all the society is human, and while we should not entertain highly exaggerated notions of unfailing chastity during the age, disproportionate importance need not be attached to isolated cases, or peculiar and exceptional customs and institutions.

The sale of a daughter was known*, but viewed with disfavour. Dowries were generally given. The various types of .marriage detailed in the later law bocks had not been formulated as yet. The story of Chvavsna in the

Jaiminlya Brahmana is an instance of the gift of a maiden for services rendered. The elements of the marriage ceremony described in the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda 'are reproduced without much change in the corresponding Atharvaveda hymn, which adds only one important feature, which later became essential, namely the bridegroom causing the bride to mount a stone before grasping her hand. The poetic picture of an ideal

family life in which the newly-wedded wife becomes the mistress of her husband’s home, as depicted in the Rigveda, holds true for the texts of this period also, and this ideal was possibly often realized. The term patni regularly applied to the wife in the Brahmanas is indicative of her equal share in the social and religious side of the husband’s life, while the term jay a refers only to her conjugal position. Gradually, however, she lost this important position, as a priest was more and more employed to offer the oblations in certain ceremonies instead of the wife. This deterioration of her status and dignity went so far as to result in woman being classed with dice and wine, as one of the three chief evils (Maitrdyani Samhita , III. 6. 3). On the whole, judging from references in the Taittiriya (VI. 5. 8. 2) and the K&thaka Samhitas, it appears clearly that woman, who held a high position in the age of the Rigveda Samhita , had fallen on evil days in this age (ante, Ch. XX, p. 424).

It is true that sometimes high praise is showered on her in the texts of this period. Thus it is said that she is half her husband and completes him (Satapatha Br. V. 2. 1. 10). But in spite of this praise she is not allowed to take part in political life, by attending the assembly like men. According to the Aitareya Brahmana (III. 24. 7), a good woman is one who does not talk back. In the Sata patha , there is actually the rule that the wife should dine after her husband. The relative position of the two sexes is reflected in the keen desire for male progeny. This may be regarded as natural in a patriarchal society where relationship was recognized through the father. But this natural predilection exceeds all bounds of propriety or morality when we read in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII. 15) that a daughter is a source of misery and a son alone can be the saviour of the family. The Atharvaveda (VI. 11, 3) also deplores the birth of daughters.

The Atharvaveda (XVIII. 3. 1) merely refers to the ancient practice of satt (window-burning) and the Rigveda does not countenance it. So it appears that this custom was not very prevalent during the Vedic age. The Vedic texts also tacitly admit the nonexistence of the custom, by discussing the question of widow remarriage, which is permitted by some texts and prohibited by others.

4. Education

With the development and elaboration of the institution of the sacrifice and the growth of a vast literature connected with it, the problem of the preservation of this literature became very acute, particularly because during the age under discussion the whole of it (the Samhitds and Brahma,nas-, including the Aranyakas and Upanishads appended to them) was looked upon as Sruti or revealed literature. The Vedic literature must therefore have formed the

chief subject oi instruction and the vital part of education. Naturally, then, the process of imparting the knowledge of the sacred hymnology and sacrificial ritual must have become more and more systematized during this age. Literary education was transmitted only orally, i. e. by word of mouth from teacher to pupil. We ‘And an echo of this system in the famous frog-hymn of the Rigveda, quoted above (ante, p. 349). The art of writing was very probably known to the Vedic Indians, 3 but that it played no part in the educational system of ancient India is accepted by all.

The Atharvaveda (XI. 5) refers to a brahmachdrin (Vedic student) gathering sacred fuel for fire-worship • and bringing alms (begged from door to door) to the teacher. There are also prayers in the AV for liturgical employment at the ceremony of Initiation (Upanayana). Svadhyaya or the daily portion or lesson of Vedic study is referred to in the Samhitds of the Yajurveda. In the thaka Samhitd, 4 rite for the benefit of one who, though not a Brahmana, has recited or studied the vidya, is mentioned, and the wellknown fact that Kshatriya kings like Janaka were not only keen students of the Vedas, but also great philosophers renders it almost certain that members of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes received the sacrament of the Upanayana and went through part (at least) of the period of studentship, although normally the Kshatriya would study the art of war. Vedic study, service to the teacher, and chastity were the principal duties of a brahmachdrin. The fairly detailed description of the Upanayana as a sacrament (saihskara) in the Satapatha Br. (XI. 3. 3. 1-7) includes all the essential features of the same sacrament and life of studentship which are treated at length in the Grihya-sutras, such as: (1) The formal acceptance of the pupil by the teacher at the request of the former; (2) the entrusting of the pupil to the care of certain deities; (3) the vows and duties to be discharged by the pupil while residing at the house of the guru, such as: putting fuel on the fire, sipping water, and begging alms; (4) the dress of the pupil consisting of the ajina, the girdle, etc. The description of young Angirasa teaching his elders, in the Tan^ya Br. (XIII. 3. 23-4), and the stories of Nabhanedishtha and Bharadvaja in the Altareya and Taittiriya Brdhmanas, give us a vivid picture of the educational system of those days, with its insistence on truthfulness, observance of duty (dharma), devotion to the dcharya or guru (preceptor) and to one's parents, hospitality, faith, and generosity. The Taittiriya Ar any aka even anticipates some minute directions of the type given in the Grihya-sutras, such as: the pupil should not run while it is raining, nor urinate in water, nor bathe naked, etc.

Women probably took part in the intellectual life of the society, but we have no such definite reference in the later Samhitd and Brahma*a texts as we get in the Upanishads. From the Taittiriya

Samhitd (VI. 1. 6. 5), the Maitrdyarii Samhitd (III. 7. 3) and the Satapatha Br., we know that women were taught to dance and to sing, which appear to be recognized feminine accomplishments.

Among subjects of study figured arithmetic, grammar, and prosody (Tdn^ya Br.). Language was obviously an important subject of study, since Northerners are mentioned as experts in language and grammar.

There was then no system of state education. The Brahmana teachers taught students of the three higher castes at their houses, giving them free board and lodging. In return, the pupils served the teacher and gave him fees (guru-dakshim) , That the education in this Home University was not merely literary, but also included physical and moral training, is seen from the hard daily routine of the pupil and the code of moral conduct prescribed for him, while residing with the teacher.

The existence of Vedic schools in this age, that is, even before the establishment of SHtra-charanas, is clear evidence that even in these early times, centres of Vedic learning presided over by a celebrated Vedic teacher were scattered all over the country. The Samaveda Sutras refer to Brahmana-charanas (schools) and as many as fifteen charanas of the Vajasaneyins are known, including the Kanva and Madhyamdina ones that have survived. The only Sariihita-charanas known are those of the Bashkalas and &akalas for the Rigveda Samhitd. The separate Samhita-and Brahmana-charanas originated owing to a difference in the texts of the Samhitas and Brahmanas respectively. Whatever we might think of Max Muller's theory of the origin of Samhita- and Brahmana-charanas, it is important to note that numerous Vedic schools existed all over the country. The example of the assembly of the learned in the court of Janaka shows that debates (philosophical and literary) were often held under royal auspices.

5. Amusements and Entertainments

Music, both vocal and instrumental, and dancing continue to be among the amusements of this age. 4 The Samaveda is a standing monument to the wonderful skill and originality of the ancients in the science of vocal music. Several professional musicians are known, and the variety of instrumental music in vogue can be inferred from the types of musicians enumerated, such as lute-players, flute-players, conch-blowers, drummers, etc. Among the musical instruments known are the aghdti (cymbal) to accompany dancing (RV and AV), drums, flutes, and lutes of various types, and the harp or lyre with a hundred strings (vdna). Many other instruments, of which we cannot form an exact idea, are also named.

The gailusha, included in the list of victims at the Purushamedha in the Vajasaneyi Samhitd , probably means an "actor" or

'dancer/' There is a theory that a precursor of the later classical drama existed in this period, support being lent to this view by the supposed reference to the Na^a-sutras in PaninL

How deeply racing (especially chariot-racing) had entered into the popular scheme of entertainment is seen from its ritual transformation into a ceremony ▪ which, by sympathetic magic, secures the success of the sacrificer. The essential pari of the Vajapeya ceremony is a chariot-race, in which the sacrificer is made victorious. Horse-racing was a favourite amusement. A semi-circular course and prizes for such a race are mentioned in the Atharvaveda. A formal race is also a feature of the Rajasuya ritual. Dicing was another popular amusement. The number of dice, the method of dice-playing, and the names of the throws are all described in detail in the various texts of this period. A ritual game of dice is played at the Agnyadheya and the Rajasuya ceremonies. So gambling is probably sought to be restricted by elevating racing and dicing to the rank of religious ceremonies. It is interesting to note that a vamsa-nartin, “pole-dancer” or “acrobat/’ is mentioned in the Yajurveda.

6 . Food and Drink

Various eatables are mentioned in the texts of this period. The apupa is a cake mixed with ghi (clarified .butter) or made of rice or barley; odana is a mess, generally of grain cooked with milk. Special varieties are those made with water, milk, curds or ghi , and beans, sesame or meat, and named appropriately, such as “ tilau dana ” etc. A porridge made of grain, barley or sesame unhusked, slightly parched and kneaded, is called Karambha . Rice cooked with milk and with beans is mentioned in the Satapatha Brdh mane and the Vdjasaneyi Samhitd. Fried grains of rice were known. Barley-gruel (yavdgd) and decoctions of other grains are also referred to.

Meat-eating seems to be fairly common, as in the Bigvedie age. The £aiapatha _ Brdhmana prescribes the killing of a great ox or goat in honour of a guest. Generally meat was eaten on the occasion of some ceremony or other, but such ceremonies were performed almost every day. Its use is forbidden during the observance of a vow. It appears that the killing of cows gradually came into disfavour. "The normal meat-diet consisted of the flesh of the sheep, the goht and the ox, the usual sacrificial victims. What man ate, he offered to the gods.

Among the chief/products of milk may be mentioned clotted curds (amikshd), sour- milk (dadhi), fresh butter (nava-nita), payasyd or curds consisting of a mixture of sour milk and hot or cold fresh milk, butter, mixed with sour milk (pnshad-ajya), phdnta, creamy butter or the first clotted lumps produced by churning,

and finally vdjina, a mixture of hot fresh milk with sour milk. This formidable list of milk-products and their mixtures shows the great popularity of milk as a drink.

Sura, an intoxicating spirituous liquor already known in the Higvedic age, is often mentioned. Though tolerated as an ordinary drink (the drink of the people in the sabhd), it is often condemned as leading to quarrels and as seducing men from the path of virtue like dicing and meat-eating (AV, VI. 70. 1). The SautramanI sacrifice is of the nature of an expiation or penance for an indulgence in sura* The method of its preparation cannot be ascertained. Probably it was prepared from fermented grains and plants. It was kept in skins. The Yajurveda Samhitds mention a beverage called mas am, which appears to have been a mixture of rice and syamakci with grass and parched barley, etc. Madhu primarily means “sweet” as an adjective, and so denotes any sweet food or drink such as the Soma or milk. The sense “honey,” though known in the Rigveda, is only now its most definite sense, and there are taboos against its use by students and women under certain circumstances.

Already in the Brahmana period, the real Soma plant was difficult to obtain, and so substitutes were being allowed. For example, the Panchavimsa Brahmana (IX. 5. 3) suggests that if putika, a substitute for the Soma, cannot be procured, arjundni may be used as a substitute for the Soma. In the Yajurveda , the plant is ceremoniously purchased before it is pressed. The plant was sometimes subjected to the technical process of dpyayana (causing to swell) by being steeped in water, thus increasing its yield of juice. These few details, culled from the texts of our period, supplement the almost exhaustive description of the preparation of the Soma which can be gathered from the Rigveda (ante, p. 378).

7. Dress and Decoration

Urna-sutra (woollen thread) is repeatedly mentioned in the later Samhitas and Brahmaxias, but iirnd denoted not merely sheep's wool but probably goat's hair also. Clothes were generally woven of sheep's wool. The fondness of the Vedic people for ornamental or embroidered garments was as keen as in later periods. The dress in this period seems to have consisted of three garments—an under-garment (nivi), a garment proper (udsas), and an over-garment (adhi-vasas), like a mantle or cloak. The Satapatha Brahmana describes the set of sacrificial garments as consisting of a silk undergarment (tdrpya), a garment of undyed wool, an over-garment and a turban (ushnisha). The turban was worn by men as well as by women, A royal head-gear or turban is worn at the Raj as uy a and Vajapeya ceremonies by the king. The turban of the Vratya is referred to. The "sandal" or "shoe" was made of boar-skin (Satapatha Br.). The combination of ddn^opdnaha ("staff and sandals") is

mentioned in the Kaushltaki 3rd.hmana. Skins were used as clothing. The frequent use of the variant terms for "warp" and "woof" shows the great development of the art of weaving garments.

The pra-ghdta or closely woven ends of a cloth to which is attached the trimming, fringe, or border of a garment (dasd) is mentioned. The Sdnkhuyana Aranyaka (XL 4) refers to a garment of (dyed with?) saffron. But uncoloured woollen garments are also mentioned (Satapatha Br.). From the manner of wearing the sacred thread outside, can be inferred the manner of wearing the over-garment which probably passed over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The Satapatha Brahmana (XL 5. 1. 1) has an interesting legend to explain why man alone wears clothes. So none but the ascetics could go naked.

The Taittirlya Brahmana mentions an article called Sthagara, probably an ornament made of a fragrant substance. Salali, the quill of the porcupine, is used now for parting the hair and anointing the eyes. The Sahkha or conch-shell is used as an amulet (AW). The late Shadvimsa Brahmana (V. 6) mentions the pearl (Vi-mukta). A jewel (mani) strung on a thread was worn round the neck as an amulet. • The prd-kasa, an ornament of metal or a metal mirror, is often mentioned in the Brahmanas. The pra~varta in the

Atharvaveda (XV. 2. 5, 9, etc.) probably means an ear-ring. A nishka of silver (an ornament worn round the neck) as worn by the Vratvas is mentioned in the Panchavimsa Brahmana,

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8. Knowledge of Medicine

The inclusion of a physician in the list of victims at the Purushamedha in the Vdjasaneyi Samhitd (XXX. 10) and Taittirlya Brah mava (HI. 4. 4. 1) shows that the profession of the physician had already become well established. But whereas the profession was held in high esteem in the Rigveda •—the Asvins being called "physicians"—a dislike for it seems to have developed in this age, because in some Sarhhita and 'Brahmana texts of the Yajurveda , the Asvins are looked down upon because as physicians they have to mix too freely with men. From the Atharvaveda one can say that although their treatment of diseases is somewhat primitive, consisting as it does of the use of herbs in combination with spells and of water—remedies Indo-European in character—their knowledge of pathology is anything but elementary. The Atharvaveda enumerates quite a large variety of diseases and the demons supposed to cause them. Takman (a kind of fever) is the subject of five hymns of the Atharvaveda and is also often mentioned elsewhere. But it is in the Atharvaveda that its symptoms are described in detail (ante, p. 418). Consumption, scrofula, dysentery, boils, swellings, convulsions, ulcers, rheumatism, headache, jaundice, cramps, eye-diseases, senility, fractures and wounds, bites of snakes and other harmful insects, poison in general, lunacy, and leprosy are the diseases mentioned in the Athar vaveda . The use of sandbags to stop bleeding is interesting. The practice of dissecting animals at the sacrifice was a great help to the knowledge of anatomy which was developed to an appreciable extent. Finally may be noted an interesting remark in the £dnkhayana Brahman a (V. I) that "sickness is particularly prevalent at the junction of the seasons"—a very accurate observation indeed,

2. ECONOMIC CONDITION 1. Agriculture and Cattle

According to various texts, such as the Atharvaveda, Vdjasaneyi, ftlaitrayani, Taittiriya, and Kaphaka Samhitas, and the Taittirlya and the Satapatha Brahmanas, six, eight, twelve, and even twentyfour oxen were used to drag the plough which must have been large and heavy. The oxen were yoked and harnessed with traces and guided by the goad of the ploughman. The furrow (sitd) is often mentioned. The value of the natural manure of animals in the field was very much appreciated (AV). Dung (sakrit) and dry cow-dung (karlsha) are often mentioned. The plough is described as having a smooth handle, well-lying and lance-pointed (paviravat). There is a special name klndsa for the ploughman or cultivator of the soil. The Atharvaveda gives the credit of introducing the art of ploughing to PrithI Vainya, but ploughing is constantly referred to in the texts of this period as practised by the Vedic Aryans, the Vratyas who were outside the pale of the Vedic religion being described as not cultivating the soil. The Satapatha Br. enumerates the various operations of agriculture, as "ploughing,, sowing, reaping, and threshing." The ripe grain was cut with a sickle. From the Taittiriya Samhitd and other texts we gather that yava {meaning "barley" now) sown in winter was harvested in summer, that rice sown in the rains ripened in autumn, and that beans and sesamum planted at the time of the summer rains ripened in winter. Wheat was known and is distinguished from rice (vrihi) and barley. Groats (saktavah) made of wheat-grain are mentioned. Cultivation suffered from the usual pests—the moles that destroyed the seed and the other creatures that harmed the tender shoots. Evidently to prevent these and similar evils the cultivators used charms at the time of both sowing seed and gathering corn (ante, p. 416). Similar other spells in the Atharvaveda to avert drought and excess of rains show that these inevitable mishaps threatened agriculture then (as now) in spite of some sort of a system of irrigation that sought to minimize its evil effects.

Draft-oxen were generally castrated. Female draft-cattle also were used. A four-year-old ox or cow (turyavdh) is mentioned in

the Taittirlya, Maitrayani , and Vajasaneyi Samhitds. The milchcow (dhenu) is contrasted with the bull, and there are special terms for cows, oxen, and calves of different ages, for cows barren or otherwise and in various stages of growth and motherhood, as well as for a cow with a calf substituted for one of her own which had died.

A fairly long hymn in the Atharvaveda shows the reverence inspired by the cow, and the death penalty prescribed for cowkilling outside the sacrificial enclosure tells the same tale. Pasture-lands were carefully looked after, and large sheds or stalls were erected for accommodating cattle. On the whole, the cows were taken extremely good care of. The origin of the sanctity of the cow lay in the inestimable value of the cow for purposes other than eating, and the occasional mythological identification of the cow with the earth or Aditi helped the process which culminated in the full-fledged deification of the cow in later times.

2. Trade and Commerce

Rich Vaisyas (sreshthins) , who had acquired wealth in trade or agriculture, and who were probably the headmen of guilds, are often referred to. That money-lending was a flourishing business is indicated in various ways. Kusidin is a designation of the usurer in the Satapatha Br>, and Kusida has the sense of a “loan” in the Taittirlya Samkitd. The rate of interest is not specified. No regular system of currency or coinage appears to have been introduced yet, as no coins definitely belonging to this period have been unearthed and no specific and undoubted reference to coins occurs in the literature of the period. The mdna is a measure of weight equivalent to the Krishnala (i.e. the berry of the gunja) which was a unit of weight. The satamdna , a piece of gold equivalent in weight to a hundred Kfishnalas, must have been in use as currency among the merchants. The nishka also had become by now a unit of value in addition to the old-time unit, the cow. The profession of the merchant was often hereditary, as the term vdnija (“son of a vanij”) in the sense of a merchant shows. The. haggling of the market, already known in the Rigvedic age, had now become such a pronounced feature of commerce that a whole hymn of tho Atharvaveda (III. 15) aims at procuring success in trade through clever bargaining. Garments, coverlets, and goatskins are among the articles of commerce and market commodities (AV).

The sea was undoubtedly known and there was probably some amount of sea-borne trade. In the texts of this period, samudra is frequently used in the definite sense of the “sea.” The Aitareya Brdhmana speaks of the “inexhaustible sea” <V. 16. 7) and “the sea as encircling the earth.” The eastern and western oceans (.mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana) are probably references to the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea.

3. Occupations and Industries

The principal occupations and professions and the various arts and crafts were distributed among, and assigned to, the various groups of people in accordance with the scheme of the castesystem, which had by now taken root in Vedic society and was being elaborated and complicated by the rise of mixed castes. For example, agricultural and pastoral pursuits were mainly in the hands of the Vaisyas. The professions of teaching and officiating as priests at the sacrifices (Srauta or Grihya) were confined to the Brahmanas. The fighting profession was mainly the monopoly of the Raj any a or Kshatriya class. Service of all kinds—menial or otherwise—fell to the lot of the fourth class—that of the Sudras. This is but a rough distribution, and the division was not rigidly adhered to, a member of one caste not rarely following the occupation of another.

Although hunting did not form the chief source of livelihood of any particular class, it was practised for procuring sustenance and for the protection of herds and flocks from wild beasts; and it was also occasionally indulged in as a pastime and sport, chiefly by members of the Rajanya class, as in the Rigvedic age {ante, p. 401). Among the victims at the Purusha-medha are found many curious technical names of persons maintaining themselves on hunting and fishing. Birds were caught in nets (jala) and the net was fastened on pegs (AV , X. 1. 30; VIII. 8. 5).

Fortunately a very comprehensive list of the professions, occupations, arts, crafts, and industries of this period is to be found in the list of victims at the Purusha-medha as given in the Vajasaneyi Samhitd (XXX) and the Taittiriya Brahmana (III. 4). The anuKshattri, a special type of attendant on the doorkeeper or on the charioteer, the anu-chara, an attendant in general, a drummer, a worker in thorns cut up and used to plait mats, a smith, a ploughman, an astrologer, a cow-killer (or butcher?), a herdsman, a maker of bow-strings, a carpenter, a gatherer of wood, a fire-watcher (dava-pa) , a hand-clapper, who presumably scared away birds from the fields by making a noise, a female embroiderer or a basket-maker, a jeweller, the yoker and unyoker of horses, the maker of sura, an elephant-keeper and a worker in gold—all these figure in the list of victims in the Purushamedha. In the other texts of this age are mentioned a few additional callings, viz., a ferryman or poleman, a washerman (mela-pa), a menial \purusha), a potter, a usurer or money-lender, a blower, a barber, a boat-propeller, a cook, a messenger, and a footman running by the side of a chariot. To .this multiplicity of occupations must be added the arts and crafts mentioned in Chapter XIX, as there was no appreciable break in the economic life of the Vedic Aryans from the age of the Rigveda Samhitd down to the age of the Brdhmanas , save that there was a more extensive knowledge and use of different kinds of metals.

4. House-Building and Means of Transport

The “House” (harmya) was large enough to contain not only a large family, but also pens for cattle and sheep, and evidently had many rooms with a special place for the Garhapatya fire which was kept continuously burning. The door with a fastener is often mentioned. Houses apparently were generally built of wood as in the Rigvedic period. The method of constructing them is not definitely known. Probably four pillars were erected, propped up by beams leaning against them at an angle. Ribs of bamboo-cane {vaihsa), a ridge, and a net or thatched covering over the bamboo ribs probably made up the roof- Grass in bundles was used to fill in the walls which were finished with reed work. The dhana dhani (“treasure-house”) mentioned in the Taittiriya Aranyaka (X. 67) probably indicates a special type of room or house. The Atharvaveda mentions patnindm sadana or a part of the house called women's quarters. A seat with a pillow or cushion or coverlet, a bed, and a couch are among the articles of furniture mentioned.

As regards means of transport, the draft wagon (anas) is distinguished from the chariot (ratha) used for war and sport. The axle-box of a conveyance is mentioned. Since the Atharvaveda (XV. 2- 1) mentions vi-patha, a rough vehicle used for bad tracks, it can be inferred that there were some well-made roads. The wagon was drawn - by oxen generally, but riding of horses and elephants was in use. Ships and boats plying on rivers and seas were a popular mode of transport.

1. For a detailed discussion on the relation between the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas in this age, cf. Ghoshal, History of Hindu Political Theories, pp. 44-52.

2. Ved. Ind., II, p. 255; CHI, I. pp. 127-8.

3. Cf. the author's paper "The spoken words in Sanskrit Literature" (BDCRI , IV). Cf. also Dr. S. K. Chatterjis view (ante, p, 157). There is, however, a sharp difference of opinion on the antiquity of the art of writing in ancient India (ante, p. 395).

4. These three are referred to as the threefold Silpa in the Knushitaki Bran mane.

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BOOK SEVEN

THE AGE OF THE UPANISHADS AND SUTRAS

CHAPTER XXIV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

I. THE UPANISHADS

THE word upanishad is derived from the root "upa-nirsad" which means "to sit down near some one." This no doubt refers to the pupil's sitting down near his teacher at the time of instruction. The prefix "upa" may also be taken to connote the pupil's "approaching" the teacher to request him to impart his doctrine. The word in course of time gathered round it the sense of secret communication or doctrine which was imparted at such sittings-Later on the word also came to be applied to the texts which incorporated such doctrines.

The number of treatises called Upanishads is quite large, but some of them are not quite as old as the others. The oldest Upanishads are partly included in the .Aranyakas or the "forest texts" and partly appended to them. As a branch of Vedic literature even these texts are regarded as "breathed out" by Brahman and only "visioned" by the Vedic seers. The Upanishads are usually called Vedanta, or "the end of the Veda," not only because they came at the end of the Vedic period, or that they were taught at the end of Vedic instruction, but also because the later philosophers found in them the final aim of the Veda. 1

As noted above (Ch. XX, p. 424), some of the Upanishadic texts in fact form the component parts of the Brahmanas. These are the Aitareya Upanishad , the Kaushitaki Upanishad, the Taittiriya Upa nishad , the Mahdnardyana Upanishad, the Brihaddranyaka Upqni shad, the Chhandogya Upanishad, and the Kena Upanishad . All these Upanishads, with the exception of only the Mahdnardyana Upanishad. belong to the earliest stage in the development of these texts. They are very much akin to the prose of the Brahmanas and are.certainly older th'an Buddha and Pan ini.

The second category of the Upanishads represents a slightly later stage, but even these are. pre-Buddhistic. They distinguish themselves from the first category in their form which is mostly or entirely metrical. Then, again, these texts have very often come down to us as independent texts. To this category belong the Katha , the Svetdsvatara , the Mahdnardyana, the isa, the Mundaka and the Prasna Upanishads. Though these texts also expound the Vedanta doctrine, they are not altogether free from Sarhkhya and Yoga view-points.

The Maitrdyanxya Upanishad which is attributed to a school of the Black Yajurveda and the Mandukya Upanishad of the Atharvaveda belong to the post-Buddhistic period. Their language, style, and contents show a later origin, and the great philosopher Sankara does not mention them. But due to their connection with certain Vedic schools they may be styled, together with the twelve mentioned above, as Vedic Upanishads.

The remaining Upanishads which have come down to us either independently or in larger collections have very little connection with the Veda. Some of them contain very little that may be called philosophical, and some are more akin to the Puranas and the Tantras than to the Veda. According to their purpose and contents the nonVcdic Upanishads may be divided into six categories: (1) such as present Vedanta doctrines, (2) those which teach Yoga, (3) those extolling the ascetic life, (4) those which glorify Vishnu as the highest deity, (5) those which give the same position to Siva, and {.6) the Upanishads of the Saktas and other minor sects. Some of these, like the Jdhdla Upanishad quoted by Sankara, the Paramahamsa Upanishad, the Subdla Upanishad quoted by Ramanuja, the Garbha Upanishad , the Atharvasiras Upanishad already mentioned in the Dharma-sutras as a sacred text, and the Vajrasuchika Upanishad may perhaps belong to a greater antiquity than the rest. All these Upanishads are generally called the Upanishads of the Atharvaveda, perhaps because it was easier to refer them to that Veda, their connection with the other Vedas not being easily demonstrable, and because the Atharvaveda itself was shrouded in comparative obscurity and mystery. The total number of the Upanishads is very large, and one of the latest, the Muktikd Upanishad, enumerates 108 Upanishads classified according to the four Vedas.

The position of the Upanishads at the end of Vedic literature should by no means be taken to indicate that the intelligentsia of the period began to interest itself in philosophical speculations only when they got wearied of their earlier ritualistic activities. The Upanishads are in fact the legitimate development of that scepticism, the earliest traces of which are found hven in the Rigvedic hymnsThough these treatises mark the culmination of the earlier line of investigation into the nature of the ultimate reality, yet, due to the nature of their subject matter and the genuine spirit in which the enquiry is carried on, they also constitute a beginning in this direction. The spirit of their contents being anti-ritualistic. 2 it may be quite legitimate to suppose that the earlier philosophical activity originated with those outside the pale of the priestly class.

It is also evident that the Kshatriyas took a leading part in this new line of enquiry. They had now secured a firm footing in the land by defeating the non-Aryans and. as noted above (Ch. XXI. p. 434), obtained a high status and pre-eminent position in society as ruling chiefs and high administrative officials. We can easily guess how the intelligent Kshatriyas with their restless mentality

had grown jealous of the Brahmagas and attempted to gain a tactical superiority over them by assigning a deeper significance and meaning to the very sacrificial rites which were elaborately developed by them as the principal element in their religion. That the early philosophical thoughts in the Vedic literature had their origin in the intelligent interpretation which was sought to be put on what might otherwise appear as meaningless Vedic ritual, is abundantly clear* The various discussions between the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas recorded in the Upanishads leave no reasonable doubt about it.

This supposition is completely borne out by the evidence we gather from the Vedic literature. The references in the Brahmana texts already inform us that the members of the warrior class had betaken themselves to enquire into the true significance of sacrifice. The story of king Janaka of Videha and the sage Yajnavalkya, which appears in the eleventh book of the Satapatha Brahmana, is the most instructive in this respect. It shows no doubt the superiority of the* warrior-intellect over the priestly one, at least in some isolated instances, but it also proves that even then the warriors as a class were regarded as intellectually inferior to the priestly class (who had as it were appropriated the monopoly of thinking), and as such were not always expected to interfere in intellectual matters. But when we come to the Upanishads we find that the members of the non-priestly class grew more and more inquisitive into the true nature of the world. Thus in the Chhdndogya Upanishad (IV. 1-3), Kaikva, a "Brahmana" not by caste but by his knowledge, instructs king JanasrutL The same Upanishad (IV. 4) shows Satyakama Jabala, of dubious descent, to be a worthy recipient of knowledge as he does not swerve from the truth. The king Pravahana instructs the Brahmana Gautama in the new doctrine of transmigration (Chhdndogya , V. 3, etc.). This story, together with the one in which king Aivapati Kaikeya instructs five Brahmanas in the doctrine of Atman (Chhdndogya, V. 11. ff.), shows that these two doctrines which did not go well with Brahmanical theology were first conceived among the warrior class.

The principal contents of the Upanishads, at any rate of the more important among them, are philosophical speculations. The philosophers of the Upanishads are actively interested in an earnest enquiry into the ultimate truth that lies behind the world of creation. 3 They have variously expressed their findings in the identity of Brahman—that highest principle which manifests itself in the motley of creation and which receives all things back at the time of dissolution—and Atman which is the individual self. This has been pointedly recorded in the famous dictum of identity "Tat tvam asi," where "tat/* meaning "that," stands for Brahman, and through

it the universe, and "tvam" meaning "thou," for Atman or the individual self.

To quote the words of an Upanishadic sage on the point:

"This my Atman in my inmost heart is smaller than a grain of rice, or a barley com, or a mustard seed, o t a millet grain.

This my Atman in my inmost heart is greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than the heavens, greater than all spheres. In him are all actions, all wishes, all smells, all tastes; he holds this All enclosed within himself; he speaks not, he troubles about nothing;— this my Atman in my inmost heart, is this Brahman. With him, when I depart out of this life, shall I be united. For him to whom this knowledge has come, for him, indeed, there exists no doubt. Thus spake Sandilya, yea, Sandilya-" 4

The famous story of Uddalaka Aruni and his son Svetaketu shows us how in that period the learning of the Vedas, without learning that doctrine "by which that which is unheard becomes heard, unthought becomes thought, and unknown becomes known," was regarded as futile. This doctrine was expounded by- the father to his son. We are told that originally only the Existent was here without a Second. It then developed into the material world by itself. With Atman it penetrated into all beings, and therefore when a man dies he is united again with the Existent. As the juices collected by the bees lose consciousness of their diversity, similarly all the creatures when combined in the Existent lose consciousness of the multiplicity of their forms in the universe; just as from the invisible quintessence of the seed springs up the huge fig-tree, so also from the minute ultimate reality proceeds the diverse world; just as the salt dissolved in water cannot be seen and yet its presence can be felt by taste, similarly the Existent, though invisible, is present in the world and can be realized by the consciousness of "tat tvam osi-" 5 The true nature of Atman is explained in the Chhandogya Upanishad not as the Purusha in the eye or in the reflected image, not as the spirit that roams in the dreams, not even as the soul in the dreamless and profound sleep, but as the immortal and intelligent spirit in man. 6

The ethical doctrine of Karman, connected with the doctrine of transmigration, is beautifully developed in the Brihaddranydka Upanishad. With pointed examples the doctrine is thus set forth:—

". . . Just as an embroidress undoes a small portion of a piece of embroidery, and out of it creates a different, quite new and more beautiful design, so man, when he has stripped off his body and has rid himself of non-knowledge, creates for himself a different, quite new and more beautiful form, that of the spirit of an ancestor or of a Gandharva, of a Brahman or of a Prajapati, of a god or of a man, or that of that some other being.... As he has acted, as he has

lived; so he becomes; he who has done good, is born again as a good one, he who has done evil, is bom again as an evil one* He becomes good through good action, bad through bad action. Therefore it is said: 'Man here is formed entirely out of his desire, and according to his desire is his resolve, and according to his resolve he performs the action, and according to the performance of the action is his destiny.' " 7 The ethical basis of the Upanishadic doctrine as expressed in the simile "As water does not stick to the leaf of a lotus-flower, so evil action does not stick to him who knows this (that the Self is Brahman)" (Chhdndogya , IV. 14. 3) is not to be construed to mean that knower was given all laxity. The simile rather shows that the knower was regarded as inherently incapable of evil actions.

The spirit of sincerity permeates throughout these philosophical chapters in Indian literature. The knowers are as earnest in their search after truth as the ignorant are anxious to know what is beyond- Their eager quest is expressed in the Brihaddranyaka, I. 3. 28: "From the unreal lead me to the real. From darkness lead me to light. From death lead me to immortality." All distinctions of caste, social status and earthly power are set aside when the highest knowledge is to be sought. The story of Nachiketas who prefers the knowledge of the ultimate reality to the pleasures of long life, long progeny and immense wealth and power is the best illustration to the point. 8 Says he:—

"Ephemeral things! That which is a mortal's, O End-maker, Even the vigour (tejas) of all the powers, they wear away. Even a whole life is slight indeed.

—This, in truth, is the boon to be chosen by me ...

This thing whereon they doubt, O Death:

What there is in the great passing on—tell us that!"

This earnest desire to know the truth above all is quite in keeping with what was regarded as the highest object of life in those days, viz., seeking union with the Brahman. No work, however good, could help in effecting this union. The only means to achieve it was to realize the identity of the soul with the Brahman. 9 This growing indifference to the pleasures of the world and belittling them when compared to the supreme joy to be experienced in the unity with the Brahman, however, laid the foundation of the profound pessimism which pervades later Indian thought and literature.

The enormous power which these philosophical poems have exercised over the minds of Indians for centuries together is not so much due to the fact that they were regarded as divine revelation, but because "... these old thinkers wrestle so earnestly for the truth, because in their philosophical poems the eternally unsatisfied

human yearning for knowledge has been expressed so fervently.” The Upanishads do not contain “superhuman conceptions/’ • but human, absolutely human attempts to come nearer to the truth—and it is this which makes them so valuable to us. As to the influence of the Upanishads on humanity at large we may do no better than quote the view of a distinguished European scholar:—

“For the historian, however, who pursues the history of human thought, the Upanishads have a yet far greater significance. From the 1 mystical doctrines of the Upanishads one current of thought may be traced to the mysticism of the Persian Sufism, to the mystictheosophical logos-doctrine of the Neo-Platonics and the Alexandrian Christians down to the teachings of the Christian mystics Eckhart and Tauler, and finally to the philosophy of the great German mystic of the nineteenth century, Schopenhauer.” 10

2. THE SOTKAS

The word sutra, by which a special class of literature is designated, originally means “a thread.” Secondarily it denotes that type of literature which is made up of short sentences running through a topic like a thread. A sutra has thus come to mean a short rule, in as few words as possible, giving a clue to the learning stored in a particular topic forming a part of a particular book. Both by their form and object the Sutras form a class by themselves. The system of oral instruction which formed the basis of education in those days very probably necessitated this peculiar fashion of summarizing the entire exposition to help its easy memorizing. It is also not improbable that the intricacies of Vedic ritual, which were to be scrupulously observed in every small detail, contributed to a certain extent to the development of this form of literature. If, therefore, a non-initiate finds here clarity sacrificed at the altar of brevity, it is only natural. But the definition of a Sutra clearly says that a Sutra should be brief in form but at the same time unambiguous in its meaning (svalp&ksharam = asandigdham . . .).

The class of literature which comes under this head does not form part of the Vedic literature, but is in close association with it. It is not the Veda, a divine revelation, but the Vedanga, "the limbs of the Veda," constituting works of human authorship. Though these Vedangas include a number of exegetical sciences like &iksha (phonetics), Kalpa (ritual), Vyakarana (grammar), Nirukta (etymology), Chhandas (metrics), and Jyotisha (astronomy), all of them have not come down to us in the sutra style. These six Vedangas refer to the six subjects that help the proper understanding, recitation, and the sacrificial use of the Vedas. Taken as a whole, therefore, the Sutra form of literature is post-Vedic, as is also shown by its language. In contents, however, they may be traced back to the period of the Brahmagas which occasionally deal with etymology,

grammar , and astronomy alongside the ritual- Though some of the exemplars of this literary activity are' later in date, the period which typifies this aphoristic literature may be taken to be preBuddhistic.

1. Sikshd

The traditional list enumerating the six Vedahgas assigns the first place to Siksha or the science of phonetics. The word originally means only "instruction," and then specially such instruction as is imparted for the correct pronunciation, accentuation, etc., of the Vedic texts. These works are therefore closely related to the Samhita texts, but in a way they are related to the ritual also; for in the performance of a sacrifice the correct recitation of the mantras has as much importance as the correct order of the sacrificial acts themselves. The Taittiriya Upanishad (I. 2) mentions this Vedanga for the first time, and the Sutra texts belonging to it are at least as old as the Kalpa-sutras.

The oldest text-books dealing with this science are the Pratisakhyas 11 which, as their name suggests, belonged to every Sdkhd or recension of a Vedic Samhita. Thus we have at present a Rigveda Prdtisdkhya ascribed to Saunaka, perhaps a later revision in verse form of an earlier Sutra text, a Taittinya Prdtisdkhya Sutra, a Vdjasaneyi Prdtisdkhya Sutra ascribed to Katyayana, and an Atharvaveda Prdtisdkhya Sutra, supposed to belong to the school of the Saunakas. The Panchavidha Sutra shows the manner in which the Samans are to be sung at the sacrifice, and the Pushpasutra , a kind of Pratiiakhya, is meant for the Uttaragana of the Sdmaveda . All these works instruct the students in the correct pronunciation, accent, euphonic changes which the sounds undergo in the composition of words, and such other topics as come under Vedic phonetics.

These texts are the earliest specimens, if we exclude the occasional excursions of A ,he Brahmana texts in this field, of the activities of Indians in the science of linguistics- Moreover the rules with which they have fixed the manner of the Samhita recitation have helped in the accurate preservation of these texts even to the detail of a syllable. We need not doubt that the Rigveda-Samhitd, as we find it in our printed editions of today, is in any way different from the one which Saunaka learnt centuries ago from his teacher.

Of later origin and of much less importance are some short treatises on phonetics ascribed to such important persons as Bharadvaja, Vyasa, Vasishtha, and Yajnavalkya. The Vydsa-Sikshd, which is directly connected with the Taittiriya PrdtiSdkhya , is comparatively older than the other works of similar nature. The Paninlyw sikshd may be old in its contents though its present form is rathe) late.

Clofcely related to the Vedanga literature, though not actually forming part of it, are the Anukramagls or “lists” or “catalogues.” To Saunaka are ascribed the catalogues of the Fligveda hymns as well as of their Rishis, their metre, and their deities. The Sarvfc nukramcnyi of Katyayana is a work in the Suua form giving for the Ijtigveda the first words of every hymn, the number of verses, the name and the family of the hymn’s Rishi, the deities, and the metre. The Bjihaddevata , ascribed to Saunaka, gives in a metrical form not only a catalogue of the gods worshipped in the different hymns of the fjtigveda, but also myths and legends connected with these deities* The work on account of its antiquity, is therefore important from the point of view of the development of narrative literature in India. The Rigvidhdna , again ascribed to Saunaka, gives in a form similar to that of the Brihaddevatd the magic power that one can obtain by reciting the hymns or the verses of the JF ligveda,

2. Kalpa

The oldest Sutra works are the Kalpa-sutras which deal with the ritual and are thus directly connected with the Bratimanas and the Aranyakas. According to the subject-matter dealt with they are divided into two branches, the Srauta-sutras and the Grihyasutras. The former deal with the great rites taught in the Brahmanas and involving the services of a number of priests, whereas the latter teach the domestic sacrifices and other duties in the daily life of a householder. The former are so called as they are based on &ruti, but both the Grihya- and the Dharma-sutras- are called Smarta, as they are based on Smriti (tradition).

The Srauta-s.utras teach the laying of the three sacred sacrificial fires, the new and full moon sacrifices, the animal sacrifices and the Soma-sacrifice with its manifold varieties. These texts are highly valuable, not only for the understanding of the cult of the sacrifice, but also for the study of the history of religion.

Tlie Gfihya-sutras on the other hand cover a comparatively wider field, since they give instructions regarding the various ceremonies that are to be performed at the different stages in the life of a person. The order of arrangement in a Grihya-sutra is determined by its subject-matter which refers to the ideal life of a householder. Most of them begin with the marriage ceremony and then go on to describe those that are connected with the birth of a child, beginning with the ceremonies performed at the time of conception. Hie various other ceremonies such as Annaprdsana (first taking of rice), Ch<i4dkaravcL (tonsure), Upanayana (initiation), etc., are then described in the order of their natural sequence, the funeral rites naturally coming at the end. There are thus described a large number of domestic customs and usages, and in this respect the value of the Grihya-sutras to the student of ancient folk-lore can

never be over-estimated. These customs have their parallels in the manners and customs of the other Indo-European peoples, a fact which goes to prove that “the relationship of the Indo-European peoples is not limited to language, but that these peoples, related in language, have also preserved common features from prehistoric times in their manners and customs.” 12

The Gfihya-sutras also describe the five “great sacrifices,” i.e. the daily sacrifices to the gods, demons, fathers, man and the Brahman- The first three of these comprise the simple offerings of food and a libation of water, whereas the “sacrifice to man” is nothing but hospitality shown to a guest, and the “sacrifice to the Brahman” constitutes the daily study of the Veda. Further, these texts also deal with the customs and ceremonies connected with such occasional and seasonal functions as house-building, farming, gardening, and digging of tanks and wells, as also the magical rites that are designed to ward off evil omens (e.g., if a dove or owl sits on the house or the bees make honey therein) or to cure the ailing of disease, and love magic. Connected with the funeral rites are also the ancestral sacrifices (sraddhas) which by their importance soon developed into special texts known as the Sraddhakalpas . In spite of the minor differences in detail the Grihya texts show a remarkable uniformity in the household ritual of the orthodox Aryans in those days. With regard to the Grihya and grauta ceremonies Max Muller observes that “... though the latter (i.e. grauta) may seem of greater importance to the Brahmanas, to us the former will be more deeply interesting, as disclosing that deep-rooted tendency in the heart of man to bring the chief events of human life in connection with a higher power, and to give to our joys and sufferings a deeper significance and a religious sanctification.” 13

The third class of ^ text-books which are perhaps a continuation of the Grihya-sutras are the Dharma-sutras dealing with the customary law and practice. The difference (between the Dharma- and Grihya-sutras) is that -“the weight in the Dharmas is laid on the wider relation of man to the state, so that those sections Which deal with the family become condensed and subordinate-” 14 They enumerate the duties of the castes and the stages in life (&£rama) in great detail. We also find here the beginnings of the civil and criminal law. The important subjects covering the civil law are taxes, inheritance and the position of women. Under the latter come assaults, adultery, and thefts as the principal topics. It must be noted that the rules of punishment are largely based upon casteconsiderations, so that for having committed the same offence, a Brahmana may pass unscathed, but a gudra may even receive capital punishment. The differences of opinion that are noticeable, in the different texts are due, partly to differences in their age and locality of origin, and partly also to the various schools in which these texts were studied.

The fourth allied group of the Sutras is that of the Sulva-sutras which are directly attached to the Srauta-sutras. The word Sulva means “a measuring string,” and these texts give minute rules regarding the measurement and construction of the fire-altars and the place of sacrifice. They may thus be regarded as the oldest books on Indian geometry

The Srauta- and the Gjihya-sutras are also of great value from the point of view of the correct understanding of the Vedic passages. These Sutras, besides giving instructions for the mechanics of the ritual, also enjoin the use of certain Vedic mantras for recitation. It is true that very often the mantras show little connection, except perhaps the verbal, with the sacrificial acts which they are to accompany; but sometimes they do supply a clue to the correct explanation of a prescribed text. Such mantras are included either in full or in part in the body of the Sutra texts and thus exhibit their connection with certain Vedic schools; for the Sutras belonging to a particular Samhita would quote passages from that particular Samhita only with some initial words, but with the full text of the mantras taken from other Samhitas. The Gobhila Gfihyasiitra, however, eschews all such mantras and puts them in a special prayer-book called the Mantrabrahmana, and the Apastambdya Gjihya-sutra does the same in the Mantrapatha.

Of all the different Vedic schools only the Baudhayana and the Apastamba schools, belonging to the Black Yajurveda, give under the general title of Kalpa-sutra all the four types of Sutra texts mentioned above. The uniformity which runs through them makes it quite probable that Baudhayana 15 and Apastamba were themselves actual authors of these two

Kalpa-sutras. The schools of Bharadv&ja which give us the Srauta and the Grihya-sutras and those of Satyashadha Hiranyakesin which give us the Srauta-, Grihya- and the Dharma-sutras are both in close relation with the school of Apastamba. To the Maitrdyatfi-Samhitd belong the Srauta-, Grihyaand the Sulva-sutras of the Manava school and also the Kdthaka Grihya-sutra •

Of the other Vedic schools we do not get, at any rate at present, a Kalpa-sutra comprising all the four types of Sutras referred to above. 16 Whether they existed at one time or not is a moot point. Thus to the White Yajurveda belong a Kdtydyana Srauta-sutra, a Pdraskara Grihya-sdtra and a Kdtydyana Sulva-sutra. The AAvaldyana and Sdhkhdyana Srauta- and Grihya-sutras belong to the Rigveda . With the Sdmaveda are connected the Ldfydyana and Drdhydyana Srauta-sutras and a Srauta- and Grihya-sutra of the Jahnlntya school. The Grihya-sutras of Gobhila and Khadira also belong to the same Veda. The Atharvaveda gives a Vai tana Srauta

siitra and Kausika-sutra. The former is of a very late date and is tacked on to the Atharvaveda in order to bring it in line with the other Vedas. 1 '* The latter, however, is much older in date and in character is only partly a Grihya-sutra, for it deals with magical rites also.

The Sraddhakalpas and Pitfimedhas dealing with the ancestral sacrifices have been already referred to above. Some of these texts, however, are quite late productions. The important texts belonging to this category are the Manava-srdddhakalpa and those belonging to Saunaka, Paippalada, Katyayana, and Gautama. Of the Pitrimedha-sutras we have those of Baudhayana, Hiranyakesin, and Gautama.

To the post-Vedic ritual literature belong the Parisishtas or “addenda” which elaborate in greater detail some of the rites that are briefly mentioned in the texts to which they are appended. Of these, the Grihyasamgraha-Parisishta and the Karmapradipa attached to the Gobhila Grihya-sutra are more important. The Parisishtas belonging to the Atharvaveda are equally important since they throw valuable light on such subjects as the magical practices, omens, and portents. The Prayaschittasutra which deals with the expiatory rites is one of the oldest Parisishfas.

Still later are the Prayogas, Paddhatis, and the Karikas dealing very elaborately with some special rites such as the marriage customs, burial of the dead, and sacrifices to the manes, but they do not belong to this period

It is difficult to assign any precise date to the Kalpa-sutra texts. The dates of the principal Srauta-sutras ('viz., those of Apastamba, Asvalayana, Baudhayana, Katyayana, Sankhayana, Latyayana, Drahyavana and Satyashatfha) and some of the Grihya-sutras (Asvalayana, Apastamba, etc.), have been fixed between 800 and 400 B.C. The Dharma-sutras of Gautama, Baudhayana, Vasishtha and Apastamba have been placed by eminent scholars like Biihler and Jolly between the sixth and fourth (or third) centuries B.C., though others assign a somewhat later date. But although none of the extant Dharma-sutras is older than 600 B.C., there is no doubt that there were works of this class belonging to an earlier period- For not only the oidest text, viz., Gautama Dharma-sutra, probably belonging to sixth century B.C., refers, both directly and indirectly, to other works of this class, but even Yaska’s Nirukta seems to allude to them. On the whole the Kalpa-sutras may be roughly placed between the eighth and third centuries B.C. [18]

3. Vydkarava

The only representative that has come down to us of this Vedahga is the Ashtadhydyl of Panini, which belongs to a later period.

The Vedic grammar in this work receives only a sectional treatment at the hands of Panini, his principal object being the description of the “blidsha,” the ordinary language of the people, and not the sacred language of the “seers.” The earlier exegetical works in this field are lost to us. The Uyadisutras teaching the formation of nouns from roots, and the Phitsutras dealing with accent, are the representatives of the earlier treatises in the field of grammar before Panini. The greater number of words explained by the Unadisutras are Vedic, and Professor Max Muller observes that “. . . originally the Unadisiitras were intended for the Veda only, and that they were afterwards enlarged by adding rules on the formation of non-Vedic words.” [19]

4. Nirukta

Of this Vedanga connected with etymology we have the sole representative in Yaska’s Nirukta. It appears that some centuries after the composition of the Samhitas, these texts began to be unintelligible, and to facilitate their understanding it was deemed necessary to have lists of rare and obscure words. These lists were styled the Nighantus. and Yaska’s treatise is a commentary on such lists, prepared not by himself but by his predecessors. Yaska certainly had forerunners in this field who commented on such lists, but none of their works has come down to us.

5. Chhanclas

The literature comprising this Vedanga on metrics is equally meagre- The Nidanasiitra in ten Prapathakas belongs to the Samaveda and deals with metre as also with the component parts of the Samavcda. It has been ascribed to Patanjali by some ancient teachers. Pingala’s work on metrics is regarded by the indigenous tradition as a Vedanga of the Rigveda and Yajurveda. But it is a late work belonging to the early post-Vedic period since it deals with the Vedic as well as non-Vedic metres.

6. Jyotisha

There is no work available at present dealing with ancient astronomy in the sutra style. The JyoUsha-Vedanga is a later work of a practical utility. It gives some rules for calculating and fixing the days and hours for the different sacrifices- It is really unfortunate that the earlier works of this Vedanga as also of others should have been lost to us. Some of the astronomical theories and mathematical calculations worked out by the Vedic Aryans are really startling, considering the age and surroundings in which they originated. But at present the only source is the Vedic Samhitas and the Brahmanas, particularly of the Yajurveda. from which we may derive our knowledge of these.

3. THE LANGUAGE

1. The Upanishads

The language of the Upanishads is more akin to the Classical than to the Vedic Sanskrit. The following traces of the older usage are, however, noticed now and then: (a) Nom. Plural in “asas” of nouns ending in V; “Jandsab” (Katha, 1.1.19); (b) Nom. Plural in “d” of neuter nouns ending in “a”: “tri cha satd tri cha sahasrd^ (Brih III. 9. 1); (c) Instru. Sung, in “d” of Fern, nouns ending in “d”; “deshd” (Chhdnd . VI. 13. 1); “manishd” (Kafka, II. 6. 9; Sue. III. 13); (d) Nom. Plural in “Is” of Fern, nouns ending in “I”; “mdnushih” (Taitt. III. 10. 2); (e) Loc. Sing, without termination of nouns ending in “an”; “akshan” (Bjih . II. 2. 2); “Atman” (Brih . II. 3. 6; Katha, II. 4. 1); “ vyoman” (Taitt. U. 1); (/) the older form of the pronoun “tat” namely “tyat” (Brih. II. 3. 1).

A peculiar practice of employing the Dative in place of Gen.Abla. of some Fem. nouns ending in “d” or “x,” as also of the pronouns “tat” “etat” and “yat” is noticed in the Upanishads: Thus we get “teshdm saihkfiptyai ” (= Abla.) “varsham saihkalpate"

(Chhdnd . VII. 4- 2); “ bhutyai na pramaditavyam ” (Taitt I. 11. 1); “etasyai devatdyai sdyujyam jayati” (Brih, L 5. 23); “jdydyai kdmdya jdyd priyd bhavati” (Brih. II. 4. 5); “vlndyai tu grahanena sabdo grihxto bhavati” (Brih. IV. 5. 10); “tasyai vdchah pfithivi sariram” (Brih. I. 5- 11); “Asyai vidyutah sarvdni bhdtdni madhu” (Brih. II. 5. 8); “yasya priyo bubhushed yasyai vd” (Kaushi , II. 4).

In the case of the Verb, older Moods like the Subjunctive and the Injunctive have almost fallen into disuse. They are met with only as exceptions in,the older Upanishads, Le- the Brih . and the Chhdnd. Thus we get “asat” (Brih. V. 5. 1); “ichchhdsai” (Brih. VI. 1.10); “ prdpam” (Brih. V. 14.7) and “upa sidathdh” (Chhdnd. VI. 13.

1) . Imperative forms in “tdt” standing for the third person sing, are found twice in Brih*: “ayam tyasya raja murdhdnam vip^tayatdt” (Brih. I. 3. 24) and “abhayam tvd gachchhatdd Y&jnavalkya” (Brih * IV. 2. 4). The Atmane and the Parasmai Padas are not yet definitely restricted to certain roots as in the Classical language and so we get forms like “adhyeti” “adhyeshi ” (Chhdnd. V. 11 2.* 6); “adhihi” (Chhdnd. VII. 1. 1); “manx&ni” (Chhdnd. VIII. 12. 5); “aikshat” (Katha. II. 4. 1). Irregular present forms like “bhunjdmdll ,, (Chhdnd. IV. 12.2); “kjiwate” (Sue. II. 7);

perfect forms like “pasparsuh” (Kena. 27); passive forms like “vyasiryat” (Chhdnd. V. 15*

2) and “parimuchyanti” (Mw4- III. 2. 6) are also occasionally met with. As in earlier Vedic Sarhhitas, prepositions are sometimes separated from their verbs: “ paiid asya bhrdtrivyo bhavati” (Brih. I. 3. 7); “ud asmdt prdvdb kKWnanti” (Brih. II. 1. 11); “anu md sqdhi”

IV- 2. 1); “a cha gachchheyuh upa cha nameyuh” (Chhdnd . II.

1. 4).

Sandhi has become pretty regular so far as prose passages are concerned. A lew irregularities of the Sandhi are found in the metrical portions.

The Upanishadic language is characterized by a few features whose presence is due to the need of conveying dry philosophical ideas with ease and clarity. Some of these are: (1) Abundant use of simple homely similes and metaphors; (2) repetition of an idea almost in the same words and expressions to ensure firm grasp and recollection; (3) use of riddle-like expressions which a man loves to master and reproduce with a feeling of superiority; (4) description of minute details to create and sustain interest; (5) short stories to attract attention before introducing a dry philosophical discussion; and (6) corroboration of a philosophical concept by means of popular beliefs and facts to excite curiosity and create faith.

2. The Sutras

As has been already noticed, the Sutra works are written in a peculiar terse style which may be traced to the prose of the Brahmanas; for these latter texts are usually written in short sentences, almost entirely without the use of relative and conditional clauses. The Sutras, however, employ long compounds and gerunds to economize the use of syllables. It may be said on the whole that the language of the Sutras approaches very near to the norm set up by Panini. Herein too are to be found occasionally words and forms belonging to the Vedic period and also some Prakritisms and solecisms. Yet the language of the Sutras does not show the same latitude as is evinced in the epic language.

In phonology a possible change of "ji” > “a” is exemplified in u a#ika” (< “finika” ?) (Ap. Dh. S» I. 6. 19. 1). The change of “n” > "n” so peculiar to the MIA stage may be witnessed in “n&ma” (Ap . S. S . X. 14. 1), "enam” (Ap . S. S . XIV. 27. 7), “anulepana” (£p. Dh. S- 1. 3. 11. 13), etc. Some confusion between the sibilants is met with in “vaSiyan” for “vaslyan” (Kau. S. 4. 15); “pdthsu ” for “pdmsu” (Kau. S. 27. 18, 29. 21). The MSS of the Kau&ika-siitra frequently write “ts” for “chh”: Thus we get “avats&dya” for “ avachhddya” (Kau. S. 24. 10). Occasionally “y” is written for as in "yunaymi 99 (Kau. S* 3. 1). Then again Tamil-Malayalam “f” for is found in “Karafi” (Jai. G. S. I. 14).

The dat. sg- of fern, nouns in “a,” <c l” and “u” has an ending “-ai” as in “dak&hiyuyai” (Ap. S.S. II. 8. 3). The instr. sg. “vidya” occurs in Ap. Dh> S. I. 11. 30. 3. In the same Sutra II. 1. 1. 17-18 “dara” is used in singular. The shortening of a long vowel before terminations is found in patnibhis” (Ap. S.S . 14. 15. 2), “ gramanibhis” (Ap. S*S. 20. 4. 3). The Bjihaddevata (II. 8, 12, III. 92) gives “patnayafy” as nom. pi. The noni. pi. “gab” is found in Ap. S.S• 10. 26. 7. The loc. sg. in “-an” of the bases ending in “-an” is available in “ahan” (Ap. S.S. 9. 2. 1), “atman” (Ap. S-S. 6. 28. 20; Kau. S • 72. 42), “dhdman” (Bau. S.S. 10. 59, etc.), “charmdn” (Ban. S.S. 6. 28, 15. 17).

The forms “ddadati” (and “dadati”) for “ddatte” occur in the Vaikhq,nasa Smarta Sutra 9. 2. 4, etc. The unaugmented forms occur very often in the BjihaddevalA; cf. “bodhayat” (IV. 115), “sddat” (IV. 113), etc. The optative in “-ita” is also met with, cf. “dayita” (Ap. S.S. 5. 25. 18), “prakshdlayita” Ap. Dh. S • I. 1. 2. 28), “dhdraylta ,H (Mdnava G. S. I. 1. 10), “kdmayita” (Bau. S.S, II. 1), “upanayxta” (Kau. S. 17. 31. 31, etc.). The opt. pi. “-Iran” is found in “upakalpayiran (Bau. S. S. 25. 12).

Absolutives in “-am,” a peculiarity often observed in the Brahmanas, are found in such instances as “anavak^omam,” (Ap. S.S. II. 13. 7), “abhishekam” (Bau. S. S- II. 9), “ayujakdram” (Hiranyakesi Pitrimedha Sutra 2. 1). Other irregular forms of absolutives are “schotya” (Kau. S. 53.

18), “kshipya” (Kau. S. 30. 18). “tyajya” (Agnivesya G- S. 3 11. 2), “sdntvya” (Brihaddevatd, IV. 3), “samgri (Brihaddevatd, II- 48).

In sandhi also occasional departure from the grammarian's norm is found in the removal of hiatus by crasis in “patnydnjalau” from “patnya(fy) anjalau” (Kau. S. 6. 17), “daivateti” from “daivata iti” < “daivate iti” (Kau. S. 6. 34, etc.).

1. Wintemitz, H1L, I, p. 234.

2. Mun<jLaka Upanishad (I. 2. 7.) declares sacrifices as “unsafe boats” and the fools who cling to it go again to old age and death.

3. “What is the cause? Brahma? whence are we bom? Whereby do we live? And on what are we established? Overruled by whom, in pains and pleasures, do we live our various conditions, O ye theologians?” Svet&svatara Upanishad, I. I. Tr. by Hume, Thirteen Principal Upanishads, p. 394.

4. Chhdndogya, III. 14. Tr. by Wintemitz, H1L, -I, p. 250.

5. Chhandogya , VI. 1 ff.; also cf. the Brxhadaranyaka, II. 4.

6. Chhandogya, VIII, 7-12.

7. Brhaddranyaka, IV. 4. Tr. by Wintemitz, HIL. I, p. 259,

8. Kathaka Upanishad, I. 20 ff. Tr. by Hume, Thirteen Principal Upanishads. pp. 344 f.

9. Ahaih Brahma asmi (Brihadaranyaka, I. 4. 10).

10. Wintemitz, HIL, I, p. 266.

11. The origin of the Pratisakhyas is thus accounted for by Max Muller. “During the Brahmana period the songs of the Veda were preserved by oral tradition only, and as the spoken language of India had advanced and left the idiom of the Veda behind as a kind of antique and sacred* utterance, it was difficult to preserve the proper pronunciation of the sacred hymns

without laying down a certain number of rules on metre, accent, and pronunciation in general. The necessity, however, of such a provision could hardly have been felt until certain

differences had actually arisen in different seats of Brahmanic learning.’ 1 HASL, second edition, p. 117.

12. Wintemitz, H1L, I. p. 274 and fn. 2.

13. HASL, second edition, p. 205.

14. Hopkins, CHI, I, p. 229.

15. Dr. Wintemitz points out that Baudhayana is sometimes called a pravachanakdra, and that pravachana is perhaps the term for a literary type which comes midway between the Brahm&pas and the Sutras. See HIL, I, p. 278, fn. 3.

16. For a detailed account of the grauta-sutras, cf. Ch. XU, pp. 235. ff.

17. This point has been discussed above, in Ch. XII. p. 243.

18. KHDS , I, pp. 8-9; SBE, II, XIV, Introduction.

19. Op. cit., p. 151.

CHAPTER XXV

POLITICAL AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

I. POLITICAL THEORY

The political and legal ideas of the period are presented to us, in a collected form, in the Dharma-sutras. This is a distinct advantage, as hitherto we had to depend for them merely on isolated passages scattered in the different Samhitas and Brahma^as. Although none of the existing Dharmasutras is probably older than 600 B. C-, they are no doubt based on earlier works of this class and have preserved strata of earlier thought. It is remarkable that the older Dharma-sutras are singularly free from the revolutionary ideas in religion associated with Buddhism and other heterodox or sectarian religious sects, and do not contain any trace of the great territorial kingdoms which arose in India in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. We are, therefore, justified in treating the Dharmasutras as reflecting the ideas of the closing period of the Vedic Age.

The Dharma-sutras do not contain any systematic exposition of legal principles and political doctrines such as we find in the Dharmasastras and Arthasastras of the later age. Nor does their conception of law and politics conform to our present ideas on the subject. As we shall see later, they ‘‘cover far more than law and do not cover the whole of law.” As regards politics they view the state or society as an organic whole, in which the different elements, such as the king and the people, play their part according to Dharma or Law, imposed or at least sanctioned by the Divine Will. Life is also regarded as a whole without any sharp distinction between public and private, or individual and collective- As a matter of fact the collective organization of society dominates over the idea of individual persons. Each individual has his duty and responsibility, rather than rights and privileges, fixed by law and custom, and this applies as much to the king as to his meanest subject. Each man has a recognized function, which he inherits as a member of a group rather than selects of his own accord. To perform this function successfully is his highest object in life, a duty not merely political, social and moral, but also religious in character. For on this depends not only his well-being in this life, but also his salvation in the nexl world. Like the modern collectivist theories (such as Fascism) this view raises society above individuals, and strikes at the very root of personality or individuality; but there is an important difference. For the allegiance here is not to any party or political principle, but to Dharma conceived as an eternal and immutable Law or Order, which is divine in character and does not emanate from human will.

Such is the background against which the State is conceived in the Dharma-sutra- It lays down the duty of the king and the people, and dpes not worry about the rights of the latter and checks against the tyranny of the former. For failure to do his duty the king is sure to be visited with adequate penalties both in this world (by way of expulsion) and the next. This was considered to be a sufficient deterrent, and we do not hear of the popular assemblies called sabhd and samiti which in days of old regulated the affairs of state and controlled the power of the king.

A comprehensive view is, however, taken of the life and duty of a king. A high intellectual and moral discipline and military training are prescribed for him. ^*tte must be fully instructed in the threefold (sacred sciences) and in logic, and learn the management of chariots and the use of the bow; he shall be holy in acts and speech, pure, and of subdued senses.” He shall not live better than his gurus and ministers. His essential functions and duties are “to protect the castes and orders in accordance with justice,” and “to take measures for ensuring victory,” specially when danger from foes threatens the kingdom. His duty of affording “protection to all created beings” is very liberally interpreted. He must support the learned Brahmanas and the poor and needy of all classes, and none in his realm must suffer hunger, sickness, cold, or heat, be it through want or intentionally. He must be impartial towards his subjects and do what is good for them. It is further laid down that “that king only takes care of the welfare of his subjects in whose dominions, be it in villages or forests, there is no danger from thieves.” That this was no mere pious wish but conceived as a fundamental duty of the state, would appear from the injunction that if the stolen property is not recovered he shall pay its value out of the treasury. 1 Save and except the legal taxes the king was not authorized “to take property for his own use from the inhabitants of his realm” (Vas. Dh. S' XIX. 14). The taxes were regarded as “pay” received by the king for protecting his subjects. It amounted to one-sixth (of their incomes or spiritual merit) (Bau. Dh. S. 1. 10. 18. 19).

The high position of the Brahmana in the State is indicated by several injunctions. According to Gautama (VIII. 1) “a king and a Brahmana deeply versed in the Vedas, these two uphold the moral order in the world.” It is also declared (XI. 1) that the king is master of all, with the exception of the Brahmai>as. The Brahman as were also exempt from taxes. The Purohita or domestic priest exercised high power and privileges and the king was also to “take heed of that which astrologers and interpreters of omens” told him, for “the acquisition of wealth and security depended also upon that.”

The king had to act in religious and many other matters according to the advice of the Purohita. An interesting aspect of the dependence of the king on the Purohita even in military matters is seen in ritual literature- The Purohita guarantees success to the king’s arms by his prayers. The view of Geldner 2 that these prayers were offered in the sabha or assembly-house, while the king fought on the battle-field, is not countenanced by the Grihya-sutras. It is true that the Sankh&yana Grihya-siitra lays down that Vedic recitations were not to be carried on in any armycamp, but ritual actually steps forth on the field of battle, and the result is rather amusing. In the Asval&yana Grihya-sutra (III. 12) we find that “when a battle is beginning,” the Purohita stands to the west of the king’s chariot and mutters appropriate mantras from the Rigveda while he makes the king put on his armour and hands over to him bow and quiver. The Purohita also recites mantras over the horses, when the king actually starts for battle, and also when he ties to the king’s arm the guard (by which the arm is protected against the bow-string). He then mounts on the royal chariot and the king repeats the mantras, while driving, touching the drum, and, finally, shooting off his arrows. It is also laid down that the king “should commence the battle in the formation invented by Aditya or by Usanas ” It would almost appear that the ritual even dictated military tactics to the king.

The influence of the Purohita in moderating the autocratic zeal of the king cannot be lost sight of in any appraisal of the political theory of those days. The number of priests at the court of a king may be many, but there is only one Purohita. Nay, one Purohita may even do service for more than one king, for example Jala Jatukarnya was the Purohita of the kings of Kasi, Videha, and Kosala, according to the Sankhayana Srauta-sutra (XVI. 29. 5).

We also hear of an influential body of Brahmanas forming a Parishad. Although its chief function was to advise the king on intricate and disputed points of law, it was probably a general body of advisers on all matters, religious, political, and judicial. For in a Sutra of Panini (V. 2. 112) the king is called Parishad-bala (one whose strength lies in Parishad), and we definitely hear of administrative functions exercised by Parishad' in later times. This Pa~> shad was composed of at least ten (Brahmanas), viz.* “four men who have completely studied the four Vedas, three men belonging to the three orders (a student, a householder, and an ascetic), one who knows the MImamsa, one who knows the Angas, and a teacher of the sacred law.” These men must be “well instructed, skilled in reasoning, and free from covetousness.” 3

The term Parishad has an interesting history. In the Upanishads it means “a gathering of specialists discussing problems of philosophy”; in the Gobhila Grihya-sutra (III. 2. 40) it means a council sitting round a teacher. The use of this name in the Dharma-sutras for an advisory body of the king in judicial and probably also administrative affairs, is perhaps significant of the changed conception of state and society, to which attention has been drawn above.

The Dharma-sutras usually view the king as the primitive ruler of a petty state. There is a rule, for example, in Gautama (V. 30-31) that a Madhuparka (a mixture of curds and honey) should be offered to certain relations, if they come after a year, but to a king, who is a Srotriya (proficient in the Vedas), as often as he comes. But if the king is not a Srotriya, only a seat and water should be offered. Again a king was to make way for a Srotriya (Gau. Dh. S. VI. 25), a Brahmaria (Ap . DJi. S . II. 5, 11, 5-6) and a Snataka (Vas. Dh. S. XIII. 59)- Further, Gautama (XII. 43) implies and Apastamba (I. 9. 25. 4) expressly says that a king shall personally strike a thief with the cudgel carried by the latter.

These passages convey the idea of a petty chief. b But there are others which indicate the greatness and majesty of the king. According to Apastamba (II. 10- 25. 2-15) he "shall cause to be built a town, a palace, with a hall in front of it, in the heart of the town, and an assembly-house at a little distance from it." The palace hall served as a guest-house, and provided rooms, a couch, food, and drink. The assembly-house was used for the purpose of playing dice, and men of the three higher castes were allowed to play there. Even this picture shows that the king was a homely ruler and did not occupy an isolated position of grandeur and majesty, such as is indicated by the pompous details of the Raj as uy a and Asvamedha sacrifices described at great length in the Srauta-sutras. The king was, of course, entitled to the homage of all except the Brahmanas and wielded great power and authority. There is one rule which throws considerable light on the status and position of the king. According to Vasishtha (II- 49. 50) all interest on moneys lent ceases to accrue on the death of the king and until the coronation of the new king. This is probably a recognition of the principle that the king represents the state, and all state-regulations derive their power and authority from him alone. This is an abstract principle of great importance, but we do not find its logical application in any other instance.

That kingship had come to be normally hereditary in the period of the Sutras is seen from the tendency to associate the king's son in the monarchy —a tendency which has already received ritual sanction. The Asvalayana Srauta-sutra, for example, in its description of the Rajasuya (IX. 3) tells us that the Hotri narrates the dkhydna of &unahiepa to the anointed king seated with his son and ministers on a golden seat. That the monarchy was occasionally elec

tive is at the same time shown by the legend in the Nirukta (II. 10) of the Kuru Brothers, Devapi and Santanu, which, though of doubtful character as a legend, retains its value as evidence of the contemporary practice of selecting, as king, one member of the royal family to the exclusion of another less suitable in an emergencyThe field of selection could also extend to the entire nobility.

The Sutra VI- 2. 59 in Pacini shows that a Brahmana could sometimes become a king. Again the sacrifices prescribed in the Srautasutras for an oppressed and disgruntled Rajanya or Vaisya to acquire supreme power suggest that kingly power was not very stable and kingship was not confined to the royal family.

The insecurity of royal power during this period is also illustrated by the many references to kings expelled (apa-ruddha) from their kingdoms and striving to regain their sovereignty by means of spells (Kausika-sutra, XVI. 30).

2. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The duties of the king, briefly sketched in the Dharma-sutras, give us for the first time some definite idea of the scope of administration- His supreme duty, as noted above, was the protection of the people, and maintenance of the rules of Caste and Order. As a corollary to this, he must punish the thieves and other criminals as well as those who stray from the path of duty laid down in the Sastras. His authority and jurisdiction thus extended practically over the entire activities of his subjects. One of his most important duties was to decide legal disputes. He was to protect the interests of a minor until he attained majority. He was also to support learned priests, the widows of his soldiers, those who are exempt from taxes (to be specified later) and Brahmacharins. He must preserve fruit-bearing trees. He must make an equal division of the booty secured in battle and distribute it equitably among those who shared the risks of war with him: He must prevent the use of false weights and measures

For carrying on the administration the king appointed a regular heirarchy of officers. According to Apastamba (II. 10. 26. 4) the king “shall appoint men of the first three castes, who are pure and truthful, over villages and towns for the protection of the people.” These officials were to appoint subordinates possessing the same qualities. They were to protect the towns and villages from thieves and must be made to repay what is stolen within their jurisdiction. These passages, though brief, hold out the picture of a regular administrative machinery which was set up for the security of life and property.

One of the most important branches of administration was that for the collection of taxes- The texts do not make it quite clear whether the same officials who protected the towns and villages also

collected taxes, or if there were others specifically employed for the purpose. But in any case the long list of taxable commodities shows a developed stale of administrative organization. We come across a general statement that the king was entitled to a sixth part of the income or spiritual merit of his subjects (Bait. Dh. S. 1. 10. 18. 1; Vas* Dh. S. 1. 42). But Gautama (X. 24-35) gives a long list of taxes, viz., one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-tenth of the agricultural produce, the variation probably being due to difference in the quality of land, one-fifth of cattle and gold, one-twentieth of merchandise, and onesixtieth of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood. The artisans and other manual workers had to do one day's work every month for the king, and there were similar rules in respect of owners of ships and carts. One-tenth was levied on goods imported by sea (Bau. Dh. S. 1. 10. 18- 14). Certain categories of persons were exempted from taxation. The list is a fairly large one and is differently given in the different Dharma-sutras, this lack of uniformity being a general feature with respect to most of the topics treated. Exempt from taxation, according to Apastamba (II. 10- 10. 26. 10-17), are a learned priest, women (according to Vasishtha, only special categories of them like unmarried girls, wives of servants, widows who have rejoined their families, etc.), ascetics, students, infants, old men, the blind, dumb, deaf, and diseased persons, and Sudras who live by washing the feet. To this list Vasishtha (XIX. 23) adds one who has no protector, and a servant of the king.

As regards military matters, the king must be always prepared for war. He. should lead his fighting hosts personally to battle, and be brave and fearless in the field. Very noteworthy is the high ethical standard of the rules of battle. The use of poisoned weapons is strictly prohibited. One must not kill those who are helpless, ask for mercy, or offer submission by eating grass like “cows” (which was the ancient equivalent of the “white flag”).

The village was the basic administrative unit. The inhabitants of the village may be roughly classified into four groups. First may be mentioned the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas who did not cultivate the land themselves, but some of whom had a proprietary interest in it by virtue of royal grants. Secondly there were the cultivating owners, mostly Vaisyas. To the third group belonged various artisans such as the chariot-makers (ratha-kara), carpenters (takshan), smiths (karmara) and others who formed the bulk of the village population. Lastly there were the Sudras and other labourers who tilled the soil or did other menial work as day-labourers. All equally were under the authority of the king, and had to render tribute in various forms, such as food or service, either to the king or to such members of the royal family or household who paid a visit to the village. The head of the village was the Gramanl

(leader of the Grama) who discharged military duties in times of war and civil duties in times of peace. Whether the post of the Grama?! was hereditary, and whether the officer was nominated by the king or elected by the village council, cannot be definitely statedThe varying local customs make it likely that all these modes of appointment in the case of a Gramani were current in different parts of the country. The royal officials, mentioned above, who are said to have protected villages or towns, probably acted as police-officers and were different from Grdmanis.

Another official named in the Sutra texts of this age (as also in the Saxhhitas and Brahmanas), is the Sthapati. From the fact that the &rauta-sutras of Katyayana (I. 1. 12) and Apastamba (IX. 14. 12) mention a Nishada-sthapati, the word may be understood in the sense of “Governor.” Other passages in the same glrauta-sutras, however, point to the “Chief Judge ” It is very likely that the. Sthapati combined in his office both the executive and judicial functions.

3. LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

As we have seen above, there is no clear evidence in the earlier age of organized criminal justice administered by the king or by a judicial tribunal, and the prevalence of the system of wergeld (vaira-deya) rather suggests that the injured party took the law into its own hands. It is in this period that we for the first time meet with the theory that a crime is a disturbance of the public peace and that, therefore, the penalty for the crime in the shape of fine must be paid to the king or to a Brahmana authorized by him. Similarly it is in the Dharma-sutras that we find the real beginnings of civil and criminal law\ But as already noted above, the conception of law was very different from that of the present day. There was no code of positive law emanating from the authority of the king. The Veda, the tradition (Smriti), and practice of those who know (the Veda) are said to be the threefold sources of law each evidently being superior to the one mentioned later), and "if authorities of equal force are conflicting, either may be followed at pleasure" (Gau. Dh. S. I- 1-4). This obviously left a great deal to be settled by usages, conventions, precedents and customs. No wonder, therefore, that the rules and customs of different castes, communities, families, and localities are expressly recognized as having the force of law. It is also laid down that the communities (vargas) of "cultivators, traders, herdsmen, money-lenders and artisans have authority to lay down rules for their respective classes" and a right to expound them in the royal court of justice (Gau. Dh. S. XL 20-22; Vas. Dh « S . I. 17).

Further, many activities of social and religious nature, which lie beyond the jurisdiction of a modern law-court, are brought within

the scope of law, and penance and loss of caste are prescribed as penalties both for offences of this nature (e.g. eating the flesh of forbidden animals, neglect of the Vedas, drinking spirituous liquor, incest) as well as for heinous crimes such as theft, homicide, causing abortion, adultery, etc. (Ap . Dh. S . I. 7. 21- 8 ff; Gau. Dh. S, XXII). In some cases, penance and loss of caste are imposed in addition to other punishment, but in others they alone are prescribed, and penance is supposed to wash off the guilt of even the most heinous crimes like adultery with a teacher's wife or drinking spirituous liquor, for which death by a painful process is also laid down as an alternative punishment (Ap. Dh. S • I. 9. 25. 1-10).

That the king himself personally administered civil and criminal justice appears from certain indications in the Sutras (Gau. Dh. S. XII. 43). The administration of justice was to be regulated by the Vedas, the Dharmasastras, the Angas, and Puranas (Gau Dh. S • XI. 19), due regard being paid to local and family usage or (in other words) to the laws of districts, castes, and families which the king must learn from those who in each case have authority to speak (Gau. Dh. S. XI. 20-22). It seems to have been permissible for the king to delegate his judicial authority or at least the supervision of punishments to a royal officer or a Rajanya who could act as an adhyaksha (overseer). Difficult cases were referred to the Parishad whose composition has been mentioned above. When it failed to arrive at any satisfactory solution in doubtful cases, the king referred the matter to a Srotriya or Brahmana of high learning (Gau* Dh. S. XXVIII. 50). The theory of danda ("the rod of punishment") as the symbol of penal powers vested in the king had now fully developed.

Under criminal law, assault, theft, and adultery are the main general topics discussed in the Dharma-sutras. The Nirukta (VI. 27) gives a list of seven sins ("crimes") among which the slaying of a bhruya is mentioned. Bhruna is generally interpreted as "embryo," but later tradition takes it to mean "Brahmana" also. The killing of a Brahmana alone is murder—the most heinous crime. The Vasishtha Dharma-sutra mentions cases of manslaughter where 'the slayer commits no crime by killing an assassin" (III. 15-18). The Apastamba Dharma-sutra (I. 10. 28. 1-3) discusses and defines "theft" as follows: "He who under any conditions whatsoever, covets (and takes) what belongs to another commits a theft (according to Kautsa, Harlta, Pushkarasadi and Kanvah but some exceptions are noted by Varshayani. For example, food for a draught-ox cr seeds ripening in the pod, if taken only in moderate quantities, do not constitute theft."

The punishment for theft is rather severe, sometimes even death. The thief with loosened hair and carrying a cudgel presents himself before the king. The king with his own hand hits him with that

very cudgel. If the thief dies, he atones for his sin- The thief may expiate his sin also by throwing himself into a fire or starving himself to death; but if he is forgiven by the king or if the king Tails to strike him, the guilt falls on the king. It appears that this punishment of death became operative only when the thief was caught red-handed.

Generally speaking, physical chastisement or expulsion from the country was the penalty for crimes. The fines of the later age are known, but had not yet become systematized. Caste-interest is a factor in the regulation of the severity of the punishment. Whereas, for example, a Sudra would receive capital punishment with confiscation of his property for homicide or theft, a Brahmana would only be blinded. For abuse (or defamation) the amount of the fine varies with the caste of the offender and the offended party. With the gradual reduction of fines, according to the descending scale of caste of the offended, a Brahmana goes scot-free if he abuses a Siidra; but “a Sudra who intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse, or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends” (Gau» Dh. S . XII. 1). In general the discriminatory penalties and punishments laid down for the 6udras make painful reading (Ap . Dh. S . II. 10 27. 9, 14-15, etc.), and even if we assume that they were not usually resorted to in practice, they throw a lurid light on the arrogance of the upper, classes and the helpless condition of the down-trodden lower grades of society. Some relics of barbarous punishments are preservedin the Dharma-sutras such, for example, as those prescribed by Apastamba for adultery (I. 9- 25. 1-2; I. 10. 28. 15). The penalties prescribed for deserting a wife are also rude and primitive. The husband has to put on an ass’s skin, with the hair turned outside, and beg in seven houses, saying, “Give alms to him who forsook his wife.” That shall be his livelihood for six months (Ap. Dh. S. I. 10. 28. 19; see below, Ch. XXVI, p. 506). A drinker of spirituous liquor is to drink boiling liquid until he dies (Ap. I. 9. 25. 3). One redeeming feature, however, should be mentioned. Gautama (XII. 17) prescribes that if a learned man offends, the punishment shall be very much increased. How one wishes that this very salutary principle were extended to considerations of caste, so that the discriminatory penalties would be just reversed 1

The law of manslaughter shows that in spite of the public organization of criminal justice during the Sutra period, the system of private vengeance, moderated by the wergeld (vairadeya), was still in force Thus although the crime of murdering a Brahmana is too heinous to be expiated by a wergeld, one thousand cows constitute the wergeld for killing a Kshatriya, one hundred cows in the case of a Vaisya, and ten cows for killing a Sudra (Ap. Dh. S.

I. 9. 24* 1-4). The cows are apparently to be a compensation to the relations of the murdered man so that they may not press for the punishment of death to the offender. Over and above this payment to the relations, Baudhayana (I. 10. 19. 1. 2) prescribes the payment of a bull to the king, probably partly as appeasement for the infringement of his peace, and partly as reward for his intercession with the relations. Among other Aryan nations, too, this method of compensation for murder is found- The Apastamba Dharma-sutra (II. 5. 11. 3) alone mentions ordeals, but in a very general way.

Though dharma or law (civil and criminal) is properly the sphere of the Dharma-sutras, we find occasional notices of certain legal topics in Sutra texts earlier than the Dharma-sutras . The Nirukta (III. 4) says that women were not entitled to partition or inheritance, and uses the technical term ddydda "heir," the term ddya being established soon after the Rigveda in the sense of "inheritance" or "a share of the father's property which is divided among his sons either during his life or after his death." Similarly the Sankhayana Srauta-sutra (XV. 27. 3) refers to "inheritance" in the technical sense- The Grihya-sutras again refer to courts of justice in connection with the vaslkarana rite which aims at secretly winning over the court and the assessors or jurors to one's side. Failing this, the rite would seek to deprive the judge of the power of speech (so that no judgment could be delivered). The Gpihyasutras also touch upon legal matters incidentally, as when they state the rule that one of the occasions for kindling anew the domestic .fire is the time of the division of the inheritance, or the rule that the site of a house should be undisputed property.

Detailed rules of inheritance of landed property occur for the first time in the Dharma-sutras. A few typical and illustrative rules alone may be cited. Sapinda males (those related within six degrees) are heirs in default of near relations like sons, and Sakulyas (remote relations) inherit in default of Sapir^Uis. The widow is not entitled to inheritance, though, according to some authorities, the wife’s share consists of her ornaments and gifts from relations. According to Apastamba, a daughter inherits only in default of sons, teacher, or pupil. The king inherits in default of these, who are all expected to keep the spiritual good of the deceased in view while spending the inheritance. Very possibly, and more often than not (though not necessarily), the division of property took place during the lifetime of the owner, rather than after his death.

Some authorities hold that among sons only the eldest one inherits. Apastamba Dharma-sutra (II. 6. 14. 7) refers to a local law whereby the eldest son receives (in some countries) gold or black cattle or the black produce of the soil(?), in other words the best chattel. But the rules in the Dharma-sutras are not consistent in this matter, and it is laid down also that the father may divide equally among all his sons.

Whereas earlier authorities are content with the mention of the vague term “sons” in the matter of inheritance, it is the latest Dharma-sutras like that of Vasishtha which give a classification of the “twelve” sons into two groups, (1) the heirs and kinsmen, and (2) kinsmen but not heirs, in the manner of the later formal lawbooks.

The whole matter of inheritance is rather vague, there being no universal law regulating it. Different rules are given by the various texts and legal authorities, and they were evidently authoritative in different localities or families.

Lost property is to be proclaimed by a crier, and if the owner does not turn up within one year, the king takes it giving a certain percentage (25 per cent) to the finder, unless the latter is a Brahmana, who keeps the whole of it. All treasure-troves belong to the king, but the rules are not unanimous on the point, and whereas, according to one authority, any finder gets one-sixth, according to another authority, if the finder be a learned Brahmana, the king shall not take it (Vas. Dh. S. III. 13-14).

Title to property can be established by documents, witness, and possession. If the documents are at variance, the evidence of old men and of guilds and corporations may be called in (Vas* Dh . S. XVI. 10-15). The categories of property which are not lost, even though enjoyed by others, are interesting; viz., a pledge, a boundary, the property of minors, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king (and) the wealth of a Srotriya. So women are property. Eight other kinds of property which have been enjoyed by another person for ten years are lost to the owner (Vas. Dh. S . XVI. 17-18). The king himself is the trustee of the property of a minor.

The legal rate of interest is roughly the equivalent of fifteen per cent per annum; but the influence of caste is noticeable even in this matter, and different rates of interest are payable by different castes. Neither a Brahmana nor a Kshatriya may become a usurer. The lending business, therefore, was a sort of monopoly of the Vaiiyas.

1. For the duties of the king enumerated above, cf. Gautama Dh. S. X, XI, and Apattamba Dh. S. II, 10, 25, 10-15.

2. Ved. Stud., H. 135.

3. The constitution of the Parishad is laid down, with slight variations, in Gau. Dh. S. xxvm, 48-49; Vo*. Dh. S. III. 20; Bau Dh. S. I. 1. 1. 7-8.

CHAPTER XXVI

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

1. THE XJPANISHADS 1

Long before the period of the Brahma^as, the thought-ferment which culminated in the rich philosophical speculations of the Upanishads had come to the surface in certain RV-hymns (X. 129, etc.) which express doubts concerning the efficacy of the priestly cult and the current belief in gods. The philosophical hymns of the AV and some portions of the YV Samhitds carry on (though only in a symbolic form) the tradition of these sceptics and doubters, who were certainly not the priests* Not only in the Upanishads but also in the Brahmai?as, there is clear evidence of the fact that kings and warriors share the honours, if not the monopoly, of the intellectual and literary harvest of these days with the Brahma^as who had to go to them very often for instruction. Nay, even women and people of doubtful parentage took part in this intellectual life and very often possessed the highest knowledge. It was probably these non-priestly circles opposed to the Brahmanic way of works (Karma-marga) that formed the chief recruiting ground for forest hermits and wandering ascetics, who kept aloof from the sacrificial ceremonial of the Brahmanas by renouncing the world and followed the 11 way of knowledge" (Jndna-mdrga), Buddhism represents, very probably, one fruit of such protestant activity. It was in the nature of things impossible that the Brahmajnas should be confined to the opposite camp and, as noted above (Ch. XXII, p. 451), their supreme genius for compromise and adjustments of differences probably led later to the formulation of the wonderful theory of Asramas or different stages of Aryan life. (1) In the first one lives with a teacher and learns the Veda as a Brahmacharin; (2) as a householder (Grihastha) he next founds a household, begets children and himself offers sacrifices (gjihya and Srauta) or has them offered; (3) when grown old, he leaves his house and village for the forest, where as a V&naprastha (forest-hermit) he offers only a minimum sacrificial service and devotes himself mainly to meditation upon the mystical and symbolical significance of the sacrifice. The Araqyakas, as noted above, are eminently suitable to the hermits as text-books. The oldest Upanishads speak of these A&ramas only as three types or branches of life, but not as successive stages. It is only in the late Upanishads, the Great Epic, and the Dharma£astras, that the theory of successive stages of life is formulated and is developed further by the addition of a fourth stage, that of the Samnydsin who gives up even sacrifice, in fact, all good works,

and as an ascetic, renounces the world to meditate on the Absolute (Brahman) , with a view to realize it or achieve union with it. In the early period, the last two stages probably formed a single stage. Anyway, the unbelievers in ritualism who preferred the Jndna mdrga to the Karma-rmrga of the priests were completely placated by this scheme, which allowed them scope in the last two stages or Asramas.

If one single doctrine were to be selected from the old Upanishads as representing the quintessence of Upanishadic philosophy, and if we were asked to sum it up in one sentence, that sentence would be: "The universe is Brahman, but the Brahman is the Atman/* The conception of the world-soul, Atman has developed from that of the world-man (in the RV), and the earlier conception of the personal creator, Prajapati, has grown into the Upanishadic one of the impersonal source of all being, namely Brahman* The two streams meet in the following manner: Atman in the RV is "breath"; in the Brahmanas it comes to mean "self" or "soul," and through the identification of the Pranas (vital airs), which are supposed to be based on the Atman, with the gods, an Atman comes to be attributed to (and pervades) the universe (as in the Satapatha Br. XL 2. 3), the conception having already attained to a high degree of abstraction. On the other hand, Brahman (neuter), which in the RV means only "prayer," or devotion, in the oldest Brahmanas, signifies already "Universal holiness" as manifested in prayer, priest, and sacrifice; from this to the holy principle animating all nature in the Upanishads is but a short step. This word "Brahman " epitomizes, as it were, the whole evolution of religious and philosophical thought in India. This unity of Brahman (the cosmic principle) and Atman (the psychical principle) or (in other words) the identity of the individual Atman with the world-Atman expressed by the Upanishadic dictum "tat tvam asi" ("Thou art That"), is very tersely explained by Deussen: 2 "The Brahman, the power which presents itself to us materialized in all existing things, which creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds, this eternal, infinite, divine power is identical with the Atman, with that which, after stripping off everything external, We discover in ourselves as our real most essential being, our individual self, the soul.” The Upanishads, piling, as they do, metaphor on metaphor on this conception, are unceasingly struggling to help an understanding of the true nature of the pantheistic Self. Ajataiatru explains to Gargya Balaki 3 that the true Brahman is to be sought only in the knowing and intelligent Spirit (Purusha) in man, i. e. in the Atman (the self) out of which emanate all worlds, all gods, all beings. The Atman thus takes the place of the more personal Prajapati as a creative power* The beautiful dialogue between Yajnavalkya and Maitreyl (Brihadarctyydka Up. II. 4) expresses the doctrine that the Atman is one with the Universe and that everything exists only in so far as it is the cognitive self. No wonder, one of the later Upanishads (Svetdsvatara IV. 10) should contain the notion (which in later Vedanta -becajne so r prominent) that the material world is an illusion (m&yd), produced by Brahman as by a conjurer (mayin).

Prana plays an important part in the psychology and metaphysics ©f the Upanishads. Prana is breath of life, life, or lifeprinciple. In the singular Prana is a frequent appellation of the Atman . A favourite theme with the Upanishads is a description of this Prana, which is identical with the intelligent Self, and of its relations to the Pranas (plural), Le. the organs of the soul (breath, speech, sight, hearing, and the organ of thinking). The reciprocal action between these organs of the soul and the corresponding live forces of Nature-wind, fire, the sun, the quarters of heaven and the moon—is also often touched upon. This explains the frequently recurring psychological fable of the quarrel among the Promts regarding seniority. This Prana doctrine is also responsible for much poetic speculation on the vicissitudes of the individual Atman in the conditions of waking, sleeping, dreaming, and death, and its wanderings in the Beyond, up to the point of its emancipation, i.e. complete absorption in the Brahman. Thus, in a passage of poetic beauty, unsurpassed perhaps in the literature of the world, the Brihaddranyaka Up. (IV. 3«4) 4 tells us of the fortunes of the soul and incidentally develops the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and in close connection with it, the ethical doctrine of Karman (action) which, with the infallibility of a law of nature, must produce its consequences (its reactions on the ethical plane must be equal and opposite?) and regulate the new birth, which thus depends on a man's own deeds and makes man truly "an architect of his own fate." This is the germ of the Buddhist doctrine which, while denying the existence of soul altogether, allows Karman. to continue after death and determine the next birth. The Chhandogya Up. gives us the most detailed account of this theory of transmigration. The forest-ascetic, equipped with knowledge and faith, enters after death the devaydna (the path of the gods) which leads to absorption in (i.e. oneness with) Brahman or deliverance. The householder who performs sacrifices and works goes by the pitri ydna (the path of the Fathers) to the moon, where he abides till the consequences of his actions are exhausted, and then returns to earth, where he is first born as a plant and then as a member of one of the "dvija" (or three higher) classes. This is a kind of double retribution, first in the next world (which is traceable to a survival of the old Vedic belief about future life), and then by transmigration in this. The wicked are born again as outcastes, dosrs, or swine. The Brihaddranyaka (VI. 2. 15-16) gives a similar account.

The Kaushitaki Up. (I. 2-3) gives a somewhat different itinerary, according to which, after death all go first to the moon. From here, some go by the path of the Fathers to Brahman, while others return to various forms of earthly existence from man to worm. The earliest form of this theory is found in the Satapatha Brahman a which speaks of repeated births and deaths in the next world, both for the man who has correct knowledge and performs a certain sacrifice, resulting in his attaining immortality, and for the ignorant defaulter, who ultimately becomes the prey of death. In the Upanishadic version, the rebirth takes place in this world. So it is not necessary to suppose (though it may not be impossible) that the theory was picked up by the Vedic Aryans from the animistic views of the aborigines. Some hymns of RV (X. 16. 3; 58. 1-12) contain hints of animism.

A very sound ethical idea underlies the Upanishadic doctrine of the Atmaii 5 the logical and beautiful conclusion of which must be that it is the Universal Soul which we love in each individual, and that the recognition of this Atman must lead to love for all creatures. But it is the doctrine of Karman that represents the preponderance of the moral element in the Upanishads as compared to the Brahman as- Nevertheless, moral precepts are met with in a few passages only as, e.g., in the famous Taittinya Upanishad (I. 11) inculcating truthfulness, duty, etc., and in the. Brihaddranyaka Up. (V. 2i preaching self-restraint, generosity, and compassion. The reason is not far to seek. The highest object—union with Brahman—is attainable only by cognition, by giving up non-knowledge, i.e. all works good and bad- Sacrifices and pious works can only lead to newer births, but knowledge alone lifts one above the maze of Samsdra to the One and Eternally True. This conception of "knowledge" or "cognition" has evolved out of "the knowledge of some secret doctrine or other sacrificial science" on which insistence is laid in the Brahmanas and Aranyakas. The longing for this true knowledge, leading to the disregard of all pleasures, finds poetical expression in the legend of Nachiketas (ante, p. 475) in one of the most remarkable and beautiful Upanishads, the Kdthaka, but in the Maitraydniya Up. (I. 2-4), one of the latest, it leads to an utter contempt of the world and that pessimistic trait of thought which recurs so often in the Buddhist as well as later Indian literature. The fact is that although at bottom the old Upanishads are not pessimistic, describing as they do Brahman and Atman as anandamaya ("consisting of joy"), belief in the unreality of the world must ultimately lead to contempt for it.

Thus we find in the Upanishads vigorous and creative philosophical thought clothed in the language of poetry. No wonder they make a powerful appeal to the heart and the head- The thinkers seek earnestly for the truth and so their thoughts become a fervent expression of the ever unsatisfied human yearning for knowledge. All the philosophical systems and religions of India, heretical or orthodox, have sprung up from the Upanishads. The theologicalphilosophical systems of Sarhkara, Ramanuja and others are founded on the Ved^nta-Sutras of Badarayana which in their turn are reared on the doctrines of the Upanishads. Reference has already been made above (pp. 475 If.) to the profound influence exercised by the Upanishads on human thought outside India.

We may now represent a few fundamental tenets of the Upanishads in the form of propositions 6 in the manner of Deussen.

(1) The Atman is the knowing subject and as such can never become an object for us and is therefore itself unknowable- It can

, only be defined negatively. When later Vedanta defined it as being, thought, and bliss (sach-chid-ananda) on the basis , of the frequent references to these separate elements scattered in the older, Upanishads, it is nothing but a negative characterization, because being is rather a not-being in an empirical sense, thought is the negation of all objective being, and bliss is the negation of all suffering.

(2) As the Atman is the metaphysical unity expressing itself in all empirical plurality—a unity found only in our consciousness— it is the sole reality. To know the Atman is, therefore, to know everything. There is really no plurality; there can be no becoming; "change" is a mere name. (3) The pantheism of the Upanishads is but a compromise between the two opposite points of view—the metaphysical one which does not recognize any reality outside of the Atman, i.e. consciousness, and the empirical one according to which a manifold universe exists external to us. The Atman being the Universe, it remains the sole reality although the universe is real. But what distinguishes Upanishadic pantheism from that of Europe is the subtle distinction made by the Upanishads when they state that the universe is in God, but never that the universe is God. God (or Atman) is transcendent as well as immanent. (4) Thus when it is stated that the universe is the Atman , the identity remains very obscure. Tills obscurity was sought to be removed by borrowing the well-known empirical category of causality and representing that the Atman is the chronologically antecedent cause and the universe is its effect, its creation.

2. THE SUTRAS

Side by side with the high philosophy of the Upanishads, laying stress on knowledge and meditation as the means to emancipation, we find a continuance of the old sacrificial rituals of the Brahmanas throughout the period under review. The Srauta- and GrihyaSutras (ante, p. 478) are our chief sources of information regarding the ritualistic religion of the age, and some important features of the rituals described in them are noted below.

As a rule, the Srauta sacrifices required the use of three fires. The number of priests was sixteen or seventeen, not counting the actual performers of minor ritual acts such as the slaying of the animal victims and other menial functions in a fairly complicated ritual. Prayers to more than one god—nay, a very large number of gods—accompanying the ritual acts, were another characteristic* Sometimes, as in the Apri litanies, the order of the deities invoked was the same whatever the families that addressed them* Among the sacrifices, some are the norm (prakritis) which others (the vikritis) follow as a model. For example, the new and full moon sacrifices serve as the norm for a sacrifice of the Ishji type and for the animal sacrifice in .its form as offering to Agni and Soma. The latter becomes the norm for other and more elaborate animal sacrifices. Agnishtoma is the prakriti or norm of the Soma sacrifice in all its variations including the Dvadasaha, while the Sattras are based on the latter. Among the details of performances in every sacrifice some are subsidiary (anga) and common to many sacrifices, while others (pradhdna) are special or peculiar to it only. A peculiarity of the Soma sacrifice is the singing of the Sam a ns or melodies based on verses of the Rigveda, each of which could be sung to different melodies. When, however, more than one verse is sung to one melody, we have a Stotra usually made up of triplets or Pragathas. The Stomas further are forms or ways of chanting Stotras, of which there are numerous varieties. The Stotra is followed by a Sastra which is a recitation of the Hotri or his assistants. Broadly speaking, there are two types of Srauta sacrifices, the Soma sacrifices characterized by the singing of the Samans, and the Haviryajnas marked by the absence of Saman-singers. The animal sacrifice is midway between the two. It does not employ the Saman-singers and so should be deemed a Haviryajna, but, on the other hand, is a vital part of the Soma sacrifice.

The Gnhya or domestic ritual Ca is so called because it centres round the domestic fire or the fire which is established in the home and is maintained by the householder. It was the duty of the householder and his family, including wife, son, daughter, and pupil, to see that it was kept constantly burning and alive. If it ever went out, it had to be rekindled ceremoniously by friction, or borrowed from the house of a wealthy person or of the performer of many sacrifices. The normal occasions for the establishment (with proper ceremony) of the domestic fire were marriage, the division of property of the family, the samdvartana (“the return of the student after the completion of his period of studentship”), the death of the head of the family (when the eldest son kindled a new fire), and a continuous break of twelve days in the maintenance of the fire. As a rule, the householder himself performed the domestic sacrifices, the wife being allowed to act for him, if necessary, at the morning

and evening libations and at the evening Bali. The employment of a Brahman is optional, though he must be requisitioned at the Sulagava (spit-ox) and Dhanvantari sacrifices. When the householder did not call in the Brahman, a straw puppet or a sunshade and garment were placed on the vacant seat in the south which would have been occupied by the Brahman if he were employed. The marriage formulas were muttered by the bridegroom himself if he were a Brahmana, otherwise by the Brahmanas on his behalf. In the offerings to the gods the position of the sacrifice's sacred thread was over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit, but exactly the reverse in the offerings to the Pitris. The domestic offerings receive the name pdka” in distinction from the Srauta. Pdka means “cooked food/’ or as an adjective, “simple.” Whatever the original sense (and neither is unsuitable), the term is comprehensive enough to include offerings of milk, curds, melted butter, rice, barley, sesame, barely-gruel, porridge, and even the flesh of animals, though these were offered on very rare and special occasions. Varieties of butter (butter at various degrees of temperature) are used, the butter-offering being of a simple type. The fore-offerings and afterofferings, the kindling-verses or instruction-formulae (nigadas) and the invocation of the Ida which are well-known features of the Srauta offerings are conspicuous by their absence in the Pdka (“simple” or “baked”) offerings. The few occasions for an animal sacrifice are marriage, offerings to the manes and the guest-reception. The only special animal sacrifice is the Sulagava (spit-ox), which inclines more to the Srauta type.

It is necessary to make a few general observations on certain important aspects of the Vedic sacrifice and the element of magic in the ritual. It is impossible to accept the view that all worship of the gods is to be traced to the cult of the dead, being but an imitation of the mode of providing for the dead. The human worshipper, realizing his weakness and utter helplessness, leans, as it were, for support on the all-powerful gods—a support which he seeks to canvass by the offering of gifts. This is the essential nature of the Vedic sacrifice. This divine help and the power of magic were both invoked through the sacrifice, in the inevitable struggle with the forces of evil or the demons. Magic and religion are never confused in the Vedic religion. The fear of the living for the dead plays an important part in the cult of the dead, but it must be remembered that there is no direct fear of the spirit of the dead, to whom no hostile nature is attributed. It is rather the fear of death—the fear of the great change—that has affected them. This explains why the whole cult of the dead in Vedic ritual is marked by love and deep regard for the dead ancestors, and why providing nourishment for them is a matter that claims the respectful attention of the living all his life.

Keith thinks that “in the Rigveda and in the later period alike, the cult of the gods is marked by the absence of any temple or house of the god, even of the simplest kind.” 7 This view may, however, be justly questioned. If by “temple” we understand “a sacred place set apart for purposes of worship and devotion to a deity,” then the agnyagara (Gobhila Grihya-sutra, I. 4. 5) or firetemple, inside or outside which baii oblations could be offered, is such a temple. A god’s house is mentioned in the Grihya-sutras along with a forest as the place where a student observing the Mahdnamnivrato.i is to fast. When a Snataka is advised to go round “god’s houses” (keeping his right side to them), if they are met with on the way, temples seem to be meant. The truth is that though temples probably existed, they played no important part in the ritual of the sacrifice, the essence of which lay in an invocation of the god to come to the place of the sacrifice and to partake of the food and drink there kept ready for him.

If the hymns of praise, the music, and the dance in the ritual can be understood as fitting reception for the god invited, other features such as chariot-racing, dicing, archery, ribaldry, mimic fights, etc., can be explained better as examples of the employment of sympathetic magic than as part of the entertainment provided for the gods. Such magic elements abound in th^ Vedic Sacrifice

Offerings are made in the hope of favours expected from the deity. The god accepts the offerings and becomes strengthened, and the prosperity of the sacrificer is in proportion to the prospering of the god. This theory of the sacrifice results in an exchange of gifts, but the initiative in this exchange generally comes from the worshipper rather than from the god. That is to say, there are only a few thank-offerings (comparatively speaking) in the ritual of this age or the earlier ones. The Asvalayana Grihya-sutra, (IV1. 1 ff.) prescribes the offering of a Soma or animal sacrifice, when a person, who has established the three sacred fires, falls ill and then leaves his residence and goes out of the village to bring pressure on the three fires; he naturally takes these fires with himself and they cure their worshipper, being eager themselves to go back to the village. The view of Keith 8 that vows of the kind, "Do this and I will offer to thee," are not common in the Vedic religion is not quite correct, and is probably based on the absence of explicit statementsBut the offering of first-fruits, the sacrifice offered on the birth of a son or on the acquisition of a thousand cattle, and the feast to the dead at the marriage ceremony should perhaps be accounted as thank-offerings. The subtle distinction that the keeping of a promise (to offer a sacrifice), explicit or implicit, is not a thankoffering is not legitimate in Vedic religion.

Gradually, however, the belief in the magic power of the sacrifice grows to such an extent as to overshadow and ultimately

eclipse the belief in the efficacy of the good-will of a deity. In the organization and elaboration of sacrificial ritual, during this and the Brahmana age, a particular mental outlook is noticeable, which construes the sacrifice as a potent weapon of magic.

The magic power of the sacrifice could be employed to wash away sin. To take but one example out of many, the Katyayana Sraula-sutra (XIX. 5. 13) tells us that in the SautramanI offering, a vessel containing a special preparation is made to drift away on water with the sins of the performers.

The sin is treated like a disease, and the concept of this sin or evil is comprehensive enough to include errors in the sacrifice, un-common occurrences in the home or outside, and all unaccountable phenomena of Nature- The Prayaschitta (or expiation) offerings, overlaid with magic practices of a simple kind, and culminating in gifts to the priests, occupy a very large space in the Sutras, both Srauta and Grihya.

The purifying power of a public confession and the usefulness of a warning to otherp of the identity of the sinner may be elements of belief in some strange and peculiar practices connected with the removal of sin, such as the proclamation by the husband of his sin against his wife, while begging for alms clothed in an ass's skin (see ante. p. 495). The murderer drinks out of the skull of the murdered man, puts pn the skin of a dog or an ass, and lives on alms, confessing his; guilt before all. These practices are mentioned in the Dharm.a^-sutras of Apastamba, Gautama, and Baudhayana, as also in the Pciraskara Grihya-siitra.

We need not discuss here at length the problem of the original theory of the sacrifice—whether the magic art of perpetuating the life of the herds and of vegetation, and even of man, was the essence of the sacrifice, and whether the gift-theory was original or secondary. We may only note that when the Kausika-sutra (XIII. 1-6) prescribes a magic rite in which portions of the bodies of some animals and human beings, such as a lion, a tiger, a Kshatriya and a Brahmacharin, are to be eaten to acquire certain qualities, not totemism but the conception of sacramental communion is hinted at. Similarly the idea of a common meal as a means of producing harmony is clearly seen in the same Sutra (XIII. 6). The rule in the Gj-ihya-sutras that nothing is to be eaten without making an offering of a portion of it, is but an illustration of the conception of communion. When the newly-married couple share food together from an offering made by the husband, we see an instance of the belief in the community produced by the sacrifice. But the theory that the sacrifice is a communion of men. both among themselves and with the god, whether through the direct rite of eating with him or as a sacrament through eating a victim winch has become impregnated in some measure with the deity, is not enunciated in the formulae of the ritual.

The important role played by the fire in a sacrifice is too obvious to be emphasized. The fire is the intermediary who conveys the sacrifice to the gods and at the same time an effective means of chasing away evil spirits. The all-important position of the fire in the domestic ritual is evidenced by the fact that the fire is a witness to, and sanctifier of, every domestic sacrament or rite, and receives an oblation or prayer at every important stage of the ritual. The cathartic function of the fire is to be seen in the burning of the grass covering the altar at the end of the offering, lest, imbued with a superhuman character, it should harm anyone by contact. The omentum is burnt before being offered to other deities, evidently with a view to purifying it and imparting to it an agreeable savour.

The fire-offering, however, was not the only type of offering. Food for the dead was placed in pits according to an ancient and universal custom- Gifts to water-deities were naturally thrown into the waters and the offerings to Rudra and other demoniac figures may be deposited in anthills or hung on trees or merely thrown .in the air.

A comparison of the Srauta ritual with its three fires with the Grihya ritual with its one fire suggests some interesting hypotheses regarding the origin of this triad of fires. Certain ceremonies are common to both the cults, such as the morning and evening Agnihotra and the new and full moon sacrifices, the difference being one of elaboration only. Certain cereal and animal offerings are also common to both the cults. Every householder had to keep one fire in the house to carry on (mostly by himself) the domestic cult. The kings, the nobles, and the rich people who could afford it, maintained the three fires, employing a number of priests for the performance of the Srauta cult. The family rites as such must be performed only in the domestic fire, while the Soma sacrifice cannot be performed without the triad of fires. The name Garhapatya ("of the householder*') of one of the three Srauta fires suggests that the latter three have developed out of the one domestic fire, because like the domestic fire the Garhapatya alone was continually kept, the other two —the Ahavanlya and Dakshina—being derived from it when necessary- A man going on - a iourney takes formal leave of the Garhapatya first, which is another point of contact with the ceremonial of the domestic fire. The Ahavanlya is the fire for the actual offering and the Garhapatya for cooking the food to be offered to the gods; the Dakshinagni, by its place in the south, was, in the beginning, probably intended to drive away the evil spirits, and later, to receive the offerings intended for such spirits and for the fathers.

As a rule the sacrifice is for an individual, the Yaj^mana (“sacrificer”), who provided the “sinews” of the sacrifice and the gifts for the priests. There is only one exception to this rule, namely the Sattras or “sacrificial sessions,” lasting for a year or longer, where the entire host of officiating priests are themselves the sacrificers, it being taken for granted that all are Brahmanas. The merit of the offering in these Sattras belongs to all the sacrificers, while any error or evil done belongs to the perpetrator only.

AS Agni is the Purohita as well as Hotri priest in the Rigveda, the Hotp was the most important priest in those days. Later on, with the elaboration of the ritual, the Purohita, who was the superintendent or overseer of the sacrifice, became a different priest from the Hotri and called the Brahman, to whom the duty of superintending the whole sacrifice was naturally assigned- In the Srautasutras of Sankhayana, Asvalayana, and Katyayana, the list of priests is as follows: the Hotri, Potri, Neshtri, Agnldh, the Adhvaryu, the Brahman and the Upavaktri (who appears in place of the Prasastri in the otherwise identical list in the Rigveda) and the Achchhavaka (who is later admitted to a share in the Soma). Another passage of the Katyciyana &rauta-sutra (IX. 8. 8 ff.) gives another list in connection with the morning pressing of the Soma: the Hotri, two Adhvaryus, two Prasastris, Brahman, Potri, Neshtri, and Agnldhra. The second Adhvaryu becomes the Prati prasthatri and the second Prasastri becomes the Achchhavaka later. The Hotri originally combined the two functions—the performance of the offering and the recitation of the accompanying mantra —but the functions were later separated- In the ritual text-books of our age, two kinds of offerings are to be distinguished—the yajatayah in which there is one reciter and performer, i.e- the Adhvaryu, so called because his manual duties are the more important, and the juhotayah in which there is the Hotri to recite and the Adhvaryu to perform the manual acts. The Hotri recites a variety of verses but, in a large number of offerings, only two types of verses, the

Puronuvakya which invites the god to be present at the offering intended for him, and the Yajya which is recited just when the Adhvaryu is about to throw the offering into the fire. He also recites the Nivids, which are inserted in the hymns and are invitations to the god, with a bare enumeration of his titles, to come and intoxicate himself with the Soma. Although, in their present form, the Nivids are later than the Rigveda, they are, in essence, the oldest form of the invitation to the gods, from the point of view of the evolution of the liturgical employment of rubrics in the ritual. The Adhvaryu is in charge of the practical performance of the various manual acts of the ritual and has to mutter a certain number of formulas, normally in prose, to the accompaniment of the performance. He was assisted by the Agnldh, whose main duties were concerned with the kindling of the fire. The Hotri, the Adhvaryu with his assistant, the Agnldh, and the Brahman, the general overseer, sufficed for the minor sacrifices and the new. and full moon offerings. For the animal sacrifice, the

Hotri required an assistant named variously Upavaktj*i or Prasastri or Maitravaruna, and for the Soma sacrifice, the services of the Potfi and the Neshtri were requisitioned- The Brahmanachchhamsin, in the ritual of our period, is but a Hotraka or an assistant of the Hotri. The position of the Brahman enumerated in the list given above becomes all-important in this age. He recites practically nothing. He takes his seat by the chief fire-altar and is engaged in general supervision. He makes good every flaw in the sacrifice by his silent meditation. The Udgatpi, Prastotpi and the Pratihartri were Saman-singers, whose chants fall into two classes. One is composed of those addressed to Soma Pavamana and based on verses mainly drawn from the ninth Mandala of the Rigveda. The other class consists of chants addressed to the ordinary gods to whom libations are offered at the three pressings of the Soma. The chant based on certain Rik-verses is followed up immediately by the Hotri’s recitation of those very Rik-verses- This correspondence or parallelism is insisted upon in the ritual. For the Soma sacrifice, as many as sixteen priests are prescribed, the Kaushitakins even prescribing a seventeenth.

In the ritual of this age, the choosing of the priests (ritvig varana) has become a well-developed formal ceremony. The sacrificer and the invitees both satisfy themselves as to the worthiness and qualifications of the other party, before extending and accepting the invitation. An interesting feature of the formal questions and answers used in the ceremony is the care taken by the priests to see that they are not invited because other priests who had been employed had struck work for some reason, leaving the sacrifice unfinished. The sacrificer hats to be a member of one of the three higher castes. His duties in this age are very light. He repeats certain formulae, throws the offerings into the fire, and observes certain restrictions along with his wife. Above all, it is he who pays the Dakshina (fee), appropriate to each sacrifice

We may now briefly refer to the relation of magic to this ritualistic religion. Magic is not earlier than religion, though they are inextricably blended in India. As has been noted already (ante; Ch. XXII, p. 442) the Atharvaveda is the first book that makes use of magic mixed up with theosophy, though it is priestly and not purely popular magic. In the. Br~hmanas magic practically pervades the whole ritual. The transition is best exemplified in the changed contention of the sacrifice, which was originally an appeal or prayers to the gods, but became the supreme power in the universe controlling even the gods and granting all wishes- The potencies to be treated by magic are both personal or actually alive, and impersonal, i.e. spirits. The means of magic are the words and figures or representations of things which are used, either as substitutes for. or in addition to the articles connected with, the objects of

magical treatment. Special times, such as evening or night, and places such as grave-yards or cross-roads are prescribed. The chief source-books for our information regarding magic are the Atharvaveda and the Kausika-sutra belonging to that Veda, the Samavidh'na Brahmav-a, the Rigvidhdna, the Parisishtas of f he Atharvaveda and other minor texts.

The averting of evil influences is accomplished by propitiation, or banishment by any means fair or foul, such as the use of water for washing them off, the use of noise, the holding of a staff, and the gesture of shaking off and transfer of the evil to someone else. The use of amulets is recognized as an excellent means of protection. Mimetic magic, the magic spell, and even the magic sacrifice are all known and prescribed in the Sutra texts- The theory of divination is known, and a variety of means is employed. Omens are drawn from the movements of animals. The interpretation of dreams is also an interesting feature of Vedic magic, and experts in the interpretation of omens are known. The ordeal is nothing more than an application of the theory of divination. Although not many characteristic and essential practices of the later Yoga philosophy are traced in ritual literature, the fivefold divisions of breaths or vital airs is known. Perspiration is induced in the Diksha ceremony, as a means of awakening the ecstatic state, but the various sitting postures familiar to the later Yoga are. not known.

It would appear from the above discussion that religious thought during the period under review does not, on the whole, present a very consistent picture because of the contradictory legacies it was heir to. - The polytheism of the Samhitas had narrowed down to Upanishadic monism- At one end was sacrifice and ritual, at the other was the abstruse and profound philosophy of the Upanishads. The conception of rebirth was inextricably mixed up with ideas of a happy heaven and a horrid hell. Spiritual barrenness of the people at large was the natural result. No wonder* formulae, observances, and sacraments became the order of the day!

But even though only sacrificial rites and duties are found systematized in the Kalva-sutras, ethical purity was not neelected and indeed was regarded as the sine qua non in the path of Karman. Inner ethical virtues such as purity, perseverance, forbearance, and kindness to all were prescribed along with religious rites by the Gautama Dharma-sutra (VTII. 20-23) for example, and are even ranked higher than mere ritualistic ceremonial. Selfrestraint is the mother of all virtues and is to be ceaselessly cultivated in this life, since the present life is but a preparation for the real, happy life after death. Here we find the doctrine “Man is the architect of his own fate,” in the truest sense of the phrase- This Kannan discipline does nbt rule out desire as the motive power of action. Only it is focussed on the acquisition of happiness in a future life. Dharma (religious merit), Artha (the acquisition of wealth), and Kama (the enjoyment of the present life) are the Ptrntshdrthas ("human values" or the "aims of man"). Worldly aims and efforts to secure them are not scorned but harnessed to the fulfilment of higher aims in the next life. Dharma bears fruit in a future life and is extra-empirical in its technical aspect, in the sense that it can be ascertained only from a divine or traditional code.

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1. For a general account of the Upanishads, and particularly their chronological classification cf. Ch. XXIV.

2. The Philosophy of the Upanishads, p. 39.

3. Kaushitaki U panishad, IV, and Brihaddranyaka Up., II. 1.

4. Cf. Ch. XXIV, pp. 470. fl.

5. Some quotations from the Upanishads on this subject are given in Ch. XXIV, p. 470.

6. Cf. Deussen, Op. rit., pp. 396 ff.

6a. For an account of these rituals, cf. Ch. XXIV, pp. 474 fl.

7. RPVU , p. 258.

8. Op. cit ., p. 260. fn. 5.

CHAPTER XXVII

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

1. Family Life

THE family life was the framework on which society rested, and the Grihya-sutras that deal with the domestic sacrifices and other duties performed by the householders supply valuable information regarding it

As in the age of the Later Sarhhitas and Brahmanas, the family was normally a joint one with the most senior married member or householder as the head. But partitions often took place as the rules in the Grihya-sutras regarding the kindling of the domestic fire show. Among the occasions mentioned there for fresh formal kindling are the division of the inheritance or the death of the head of the family, in which case the eldest son kindled it. Seniority in age constituted an important claim for respect in the family. The directions about the Vaisvadeva-bali —one of the daily domestic sacrifices—that it need not be repeated every time the food was cooked, and that it may be offered from the kitchen of the chief householder or from that of the member whose food was ready first, show that the joint family was big enough to necessitate cooking at different kitchens. The fact that a rite is prescribed for one desirous of a large family shows that the people liked to have many children. Male additions to the family were preferred to female ones. An interesting formality in the family life of these days is the manner in which the father greeted the children in the house after his return from a journey, the mode of greeting being different for male and female children- The high sense of responsibility and duty expected to be shown by the head of the family towards the other members is seen in the Grihya-sutra rule that he was to take his food only after feeding all the children and old persons, as well as any female residing under his protection, and any pregnant lady in the house. The respect and authority that the father commanded is shown by the fact that the Dharma-sutras, describing ir* detail the acts of courtesy which a son owed to his father, mention that he is allowed to eat the remnants of his father's food. The father on his part is expected to be kind. The heartless conduct of the father in the story of Sunahsepa is condemned in the Sankhayana Srauta-sutra. The spiritual succession from father to son is almost taken for granted by the Upanishads. The gradation of the relations in a familv is given, as it were, in the Chhandogya

Upanishad (VII. 15. 2), where father, mother, brother, and sister are mentioned in succession.

2. The Caste-System

The period of the Sutras witnessed the gradual hardening of the caste-system in general and the deterioration of the position of the Vaisyas and Sudras in particular. We can trace this process step by step if we follow the evidence of the three broadly distinguishable chronological strata in the Sutras, namely (1) the $rauta-sutras with which may be conveniently considered the evidence of the Sutras of Panini also; (2) the Grihya-sutras; and (3) the Dharmasutras.

From the evidence of the Sdnkhayana Srauta-sutra which records that the Vajapeya sacrifice—a sacrifice of which the chariot race forms an integral part—was at one time a sacrifice for a Vaisya as well as a priest or king, it is clear that the position of the Vaiiya is deteriorating now and Caste distinctions are hardening. The power of the Brahmanas is growing. They are exempt from taxes and could, on occasions, be kings, but Kshatriyas could hardly become priests. The prestige and influence of the Purohita in the state are considerable. Panini's division of the Sudras into niravasita and aniravasita shows that certain degraded 6udras with unclean habits like the Nishadas were forced to reside outside the limits of the village or town. The Sudra was denied the privilege of samnyasa ("renunciation"). The rashpra or nation consisted only of the three higher Castes, the Sudras being excluded from it. Although some Caste-sections were degraded, it is not quite certain if the Mixed Castes had arisen in this period.

The Grihya-sutras clearly differentiate the status, occupations, obligations, duties, and privileges of the four principal Castes in matters both spiritual and secular. A different age is prescribed for each of the three higher castes for the various sacraments, such as the ChutfAkarana (the tonsure ceremony of the child) and the Upanayana ("initiation") ceremonies. One is not sure whether these different prescriptions were adjustments necessitated originally by the differences of mental calibre*and moral fibre in the various castegroups (for the Upanayana ceremony, for example). Different seasons are also prescribed for the different castes. The differentiation extends even to such minor things as the girdle, the staff, the skin, and the garment to be used by the student, and the Upanayana mantra to be recited by him. The story is the same with regard to most of the sacraments such as the naming of the child, the building of a house, marriage, and even such unessential matters as anulepana or salving which is part of the sndna ceremony signifying the completion of the period of studentship. Even in the giving of gifts, the Caste determined the nature of the gift as much as the financial condition of the giver.

The Brahmanas in particular have now become a well-organized priesthood. Among their special duties and privileges are the study and the teaching of the Veda, sacrificing for themselves and others, and the receiving of gifts. The feasting of learned Brahmanas to invoke their blessings is, without exception, laid down as the concluding feature of every sacrament. That this feasting was originally more a disinterested homage to the noble qualities of the spiritually-minded Brahmanas, than a sop to a worldly-minded priesthood, is clear from the rules that the invitee must not be a relative and that the invitations must not be arranged in a bargaining spirit. The general trend of the Grihya-sutra prescriptions is that if the privileges of a Brahmana were many, he deserved them, and inspired respect and confidence as much by his high ethical standard as by the responsibilities and duties he owed to the other classes.

The Rajanya or Kshatriya class, among the rest, came closest to the Brahmana class in power and prestige, the two together being as it were the moral and material props of society. It was but natural that the cultural and social status of the Vaisyas should gradually deteriorate, because by virtue of their occupations, namely agriculture, cattle-breeding and commerce, they came into close contact with the Sudras. But the popular notion that the Vaisya class had very little in common with the two higher classes in religious and sacramental matters is erroneous, though it has crystallized in the Bhdgavadgitd verse (IX. 32) which puts women, Vaisyas, and Sudras in one and the same category of people to whom eligibility to absolution through Bhakti (devotion) is conceded by the Lord* According to the Grihya-sutras, when the domestic fire is to be kindled for the first time, it may be borrowed from the house of a Vaisya rich in cattle, or from the house of one who performs many sacrifices, be he a Brahmana, a Kshatriya or a Vaisya.

When we come to the Sudras, however, we find that a wide gulf separates them from the three higher classes. The mixture of nonAryan elements was probably responsible for this, as the word Arya has a racial as well as moral connotation in this period and meant practically "reborn," that is, a member of the three higher castes. The privilege of performing the sanctifying sacraments (excepting that of marriage which took place in his case without the recitation of mantras) is denied to a &udra, and this was at once the cause and effect of his low position. But the Sudra was certainly not a pariah . He enjoyed the status of a regular member of the household, and as a servant he was employed in all departments of the household not excluding the kitchen.

If the Upanayana ceremony was neglected for three generations in a family —whether Brahmana, Ksnatriya or Vaisya—the members became outcastes whose very sight was inauspicious and who probably lived outside the village or town. But the Vrdtyastoma ceremony of expiation and penance could secure for the outcastes readmission into the Aryan i'oid. Thus the horrors of an age-long and irremediable outcasting were unknown in the days of the Grihya-sutras.

The Dharma-sutras show that caste distinction has outstripped its proper limits and has even invaded the field of civil and criminal law {ante, pp. 495 ff.). The legal rate of interest and fines were graded according to the castes and a Sudra received capital punishment for a crime like homicide for which lighter punishments were awarded to members of the higher castes. The contact of the three Aryan castes with the Sudras through intermarriage was bound to lead to the rise of mixed castes, and the difference of occupations must have resulted sooner or later in an increase in the number of such mixed castes. Whether the mixed castes had arisen as early as the period of the later Sarhhitas is not certain. The enumeration of different classes or categories of victims in the Purushamedha chapters of the White' Yajurveda, for example, may refer to different professions rather than castes. Similarly, for the period of the Srauta-sutras and Panini, all that can be said is that certain caste-sections were degraded, but for the period of the Grihya- and Dharma-sutras the existence of Mixed Castes cannot be doubted. The anuloma type of marriage, sanctioned by the Sutras, whereby a member of higher caste could take unto himself a wife or wives of the lower castes, in addition to one of his own caste, must necessarily lead to new caste-divisions, although in the beginning, for some time, the rule that the progeny of such anuloma unions belonged to the vamxa or caste of the father arrested such a tendency. The. Dharma-sutras give the names of the mixed castes that arose not only as a result of the permitted anuloma marriages, but also as a result of the prohibited pratiloma marriages (where the husband’s caste was lower than that of the wife) which apparently took place not rarely. The Vasishtha Dharma-sutra (XVIII. 1), for example, tells us that the offspring of a Sudra male and a Brahmana female becomes a Chanddla who was to be treated as an outcaste. The sacramental direction of the Grihya-sutras raise an interesting problem in this connection by mentioning rarely, if ever, the mixed castes. The rules seem to be framed only for the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya* One can understand that the progeny of pratiloma marriages should be excluded from the sacraments, but if anuloma progeny was also excluded, then a very large number of people would be denied the spiritual benefit of the sacraments. Apparently the Apastamba Grihya-sutra is of this

view when it omits all reference to the rathakara (the offspring of an anuloma marriage) in its Upanayana rules. The Baudhdyana Gftihya-sutra, which includes the rathakara in the initiation rules, seems to reflect the earlier view. The following stages may, therefore, be distinguished in the treatment of the mixed castes in the Sutra period from the sacramental point of view- In the earliest, perhaps the progeny of anuloma marriages was absorbed in the father’s varna and thus became eligible for the sacraments as a Brahmana, Kshatriya, or Vaisya. The next stage was probably reached when some important intermediate castes, like that of the rathakara, received a separate treatment in the sacramental rules. The third stage is reflected in the exclusion of the rathakara and other mixed castes from the sacraments.

It has to be recognized, however, that the caste-system even in this period had not become as wooden and exclusive as it is now. Inter-dining and inter-marriage (in the anuloma form) were not prohibited, though it is difficult to decide whether and how far change of caste was permissible- Even outcastes who had performed the prescribed penances could be readmitted to the Aryan fold. Nor were the castes so strictly separated or ramified into so many caste-divisions as obtain today. We see in the Dharma-sutras the beginning of the formal theory of defilement resulting in the taboo of all contact on the part of a pure man of the upper castes with an impure man, namely, a member of the lowest caste. For example, we see in the Dharma-sutras of Vasishtha, Gautama, and Apastamba the idea of impurity communicated by the touch or contact of inferior castes, which is reflected in the purification rendered necessary in the case of contact with a Sudra and implied in the prohibition of eating in company with men of lower castes.

3. Marriage and the Position of Women

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As already mentioned above, the anuloma system of marriage (i.e. between a male of a higher and a female of a lower caste) prevailed in this period. The low status of the Sudra wife is reflected in the directions given in the Srauta-sutras that a sacrificer is allowed to cohabit with a savarna wife (of the same caste as his own) but not with the Sudra one- The rules of Panini regarding Abhivddana (salutation as a mark of respect to elderly persons in the house) show that the presence of wives of the lower castes (especially the Sudra one) in a family and the consequent inevitable association of the higher caste ladies with them in the house has brought down the general level of womanly culture and led to a deterioration in their social status.

Among the Grihya-sutras, only the Asvalayana Grihya-sutra, and most of the Dharma-sutras, mention eight forms of marriage. Of these, two call for an explanation, viz., the paisdcha, in which a girl is carried off while her relatives are sleeping or are indifferent, and the rakshasa in which the girl is abducted after a fight with her relatives. Probably the names of these marriage forms are derived from the names of the tribes among whom those peculiar marriage customs prevailed. That such immoral practices should be dignified as “forms” of marriage may be due to the desire not to deny some kind of a social status to the unfortunate girl-victim and her progeny, once the regrettable occurrence had taken place and was beyond recall. The Grihya-sutras give detailed rules regarding the proper seasons for marriage* the qualifications of the bride and the bridegroom, and the various stages of the marriage ceremony. The bride should not be a sapin<}a relation of the bridegroom’s mother nor belong to the same gotra as his own. The bridegroom should be a young man with intelligence, character and good health, and should, above all, come from a good family.

The various stages of the marriage ceremony are as follows: (1) the wooers formally go to the girl’s house; (2) when the bride’s father has given his formal consent, the bridegroom performs a sacrifice; (3) early in the morning of the first day of the marriage celebrations the bride is bathed; (4) a sacrifice is offered then by the high priest of the bride’s family and a dance of four or eight women (not widows) takes place as part of the. Indrdni karman ; (5) the bridegroom then goes to the girl’s house and makes the gift of a garment, unguent, and mirror to the bride who has been bathed as mentioned already; (6) the Kanya-praddna or the formal giving away of the bride now takes place, followed (7) by the Pani-grahana, the clasping of the bride’s right hand by the bridegroom with his own right hand; (8) the treading on stone; (9) the leading of the bride round the fire by the bridegroom; (10) the sacrifice of fried grains; and, the most important ceremony of all, (11) the saptapadl (the couple walking seven steps together as symbolic of their lifelong concord) follow in due order. Finally the bride is taken in all ceremony to her new house. It must be taken for granted that the offering of oblations to the fire and the feasting of Brahmanas take place at every important stage in this as in other ceremonies.

As regards the age of the bride, the prescriptions of the Grihyasutras differ. The older texts which describe the consummation of marriage as the Chaturthi-karman, or the ceremony of the fourth (night immediately after the marriage), evidently imply that the bride is of mature age. The more modern Grihya-sutras and the Dharma-sutras, however, lay down the rule that the bride should be nagnikd (lit., naked), i.e. one who has not yet had her monthly period or one whose breasts are not yet developed- Evidently the only reasonable explanation of the incongruity is that the earlier practice is reflected in the older texts.

The prevalence of polygamy is implied in the anuloma system

of marriage. The elements of bride-price (sulka) are discernible in the Asura form of marriage, where the father of the bride is gladdened with money, and there are hints of a dowry in the Brahma and Daiva forms of marriage where the father gives away the daughter after decking her with ornaments.

The prayers and rites of the ceremony clearly indicate that matrimony was a holy bond, and not a contract, and that progeny (especially male progeny) was the goal of marriage. As in the preceding age, the birth of a daughter was not welcome, and this fact in a way reflects the comparatively inferior position of women in society. All the sacraments, except that of marriage, are performed in the case of women without the recitation of Vedic mantras , and the Upanayana is not performed for them.

The woman, however, held an honoured position in the household. That a life of merriment, song, and dance was not denied to her is seen from certain sacraments in which women are asked to dance and sing. The presence of women who are not widows is particularly desired in marriage and other sacraments. The Gobhila Grihya-sutra allows the option that the wife may offer the morning and evening oblations in place of the husband, because “the wife is as it were the house.” That there were wives who desired to keep their husbands under control is clear from a rite prescribed for the purpose.

Since the Dharma-sutras treat of the widow’s right in'the property of her husband, the possibility of the general prevalence of sati is ruled out. The Vasishtha Dharma-sutra speaks of the marriage of widows under certain circumstances, and the son of a remarried woman is one of the twelve sons enumerated in the Dharmasutras. So the remarriage of widows was not as strictly prohibited as it appears to have been in later days. In the marriage rules of the Dharma-sutras local customs were recognized. The Baudhdyana Dharma-siltra, for example, states that marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle is a southern custom. The custom of nxyoga (levirate) or appointment of widows is recognized by the Dharmasutras which give detailed rules laying down the circumstances under which it is permissible- Some of the later Dharma-sutras, however, condemn it.

On the whole the Dharma-sutras take a more lenient attitude towards women than the Smritis of a later age or the customs and practices of the present day. Baudhayana (II. 2. 4. 6.) quotes the injunction, which also occurs in the Manu-smriti (IX. 81), that “a barren wife should be abandoned in the tenth year, one who bears daughters (only) in the twelfth, one whose children (all) die in the fifteenth, but she who is quarrelsome without delay.” But Apastamba (II- 5. 11. 12-14) forbids the husband to take a second wife unless the first wife has no male child or neglected her religious duties. According to Vasishtha (XXVIII. 2-3) a wife shall not be abandoned “even though she be quarrelsome or tainted by sin, or have left the house, or have suffered criminal force, or have fallen into the hands of thieves.” Even a wife, who has committed adultery, becomes pure and is taken back by her husband after she has done proper penances (Vas. Dh . S. XXI. 8-10). As noted above (Ch. XXV, p. 495), Apastamba (1.10. 28.19) imposes severe penalties on a husband “who unjustly forsakes his wife.” On the other hand “a wife who forsakes her husband has only to perform a penance” (Ap. Dh. S . I. 10. 28. 20). This is a singular instance where the law or custom accords more favourable treatment to the wife than to the husband. Again, “a father who has committed a crime causing loss of caste must be cast off, but a mother does not become an outcast for her son.” Similarly, the male offspring of outcasts are (also) outcasts, but not the females, who may be married, even without a dowry, by a twice-born (Vos. Dh. S. XIII. 47. 51-53). It is interesting to note that according to Baudhayana (IV. 1. 15-16) “if a damsel has been abducted by force and has not been wedded with sacred texts, she is to be treated like a maiden and may be lawfully married to another man.” Lastly, there is a general agreement among the Dharma-sutras that a grown-up maiden, if not given in marriage in proper time by her father, may choose her own husband after waiting for three years (or months). At the same time the general principle is already enumerated in the later texts that “the males are the masters of women.” “Their father protects them in childhood, their husbands protect them in youth, and their sons protect them in age; a woman is never fit for independence” (Vas. Dh. S. V. 1-2. Bait. Dh» S. II. 2.3.44-45).

4. Education

The Upanishads are a living testimony to the high intellectual attainments of the age. The stories of Svetaketu Aruneya and Satyakama Jabala in the Chh&ndogya ZJpanishad and the wellknown passage in the Taittirlya Upanishad (I. 11) containing instruction (anvJGsana) given to the student at the end of his studies, show that the educational system maintained the high standard and lofty ideals of the preceding age (ante, p. 474). Some special features of the educational system are prominently brought out in the Upanishads. We find, for instance, that the highest position in society is willingly yielded to the intellectual aristocracy. Kshatriya kings like Janaka were lamous for their learning, and respect was paid to them by all including the Brahmanas. There are many instances on record where even the Brahmanas learned the sacred knowledge, particularly philosophy, from the Kshatriyas. The story of Aruni, in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad , shows that even old men became pupils. But the most pleasing feature is the frequent

reference to women teachers, many of whom possessed the highest spiritual knowledge. The famous dialogues between Yajnavalkya and his wife Maitreyi (Bfih. IV- 5) and GargI Vachaknavi {Bfik. III. 6. 8) show the height of intellectual and spiritual attainments to which a woman could rise. The stories of these noble and gifted ladies stand in sad contrast to the later age when even the study of Vedic literature was forbidden to women under the most severe penalty.

The Upanishads contain several lists of subjects of study, and these give us a good idea of the wide range of knowledge in those days. One such list 1 mentions not only Veda, Itihasa, Puraua, and spiritual knowledge (Brahma-vidya) , but also grammar, mathematics (Rost), chronology (Nidhi), dialectics (Vakovakya), ethics (Ekayana), astronomy, military science, science of snakes, and knowledge of portents (Daiva). There are a few more branches of knowledge mentioned in this list whose exact scope or nature cannot be defined, such as Pitrya (science relating to the manes), Deva-vidya (etymological interpretation of divine names or knowledge of gods), Bhuta-vidya (demonology or science of elements), and Devajanavidyd (dancing and music or mythology). It is extremely unfortunate that we have no texts preserved regarding many of these subjects. But the list shows how a very comprehensive view of education was developed at the close of the Vedic Age. It also demonstrates that the six subjects comprised in the Vedangas, to which a detailed reference has been made above . (Ch. XXIV, p. 477), formed only a small portion of the curriculum of study, and not the whole of it, as is popularly believed.

The Sutras give us a detailed account of student-life, which commenced with the upanayana (initiation). This ceremony, the essential features of which have been described above (Ch. XXIII. p. 459), in all probability originally signified the formal reception of an adult youth as a regular member of the (Aryan) tribe, a custom that prevailed among all primitive people. But, as described in the Grihya-sutras, it is dominated by priestly interest, and this is not unnatural, as in this age, education was entirely under the control of the priestly class, and upanayana meant also the formal initiation into an educational career of boys of the three higher castes, at the ages respectively of eight, eleven, and twelve. The youth to be initiated wears a new upper garment or skin (which is to be that of a deer, goat or cow, according to his caste), a lower garment of a suitable colour, a staff of the prescribed length, and a threefold twisted girdle. According to some

Grihya-sutras he wears a sacrificial cord also. This equipment constitutes the educational uniform, as it were, of the youth.

Moral training formed the very pivot and the backbone of the educational system, and development of character was the one ideal

that dominated it. The numerous vows and observances oblige tory on the pupil (Brahmaehdrin) after the upanayana, which was a kind of initiation by the Guru (teacher) into a new spiritual life, entailed on him the most rigorous discipline for a prescribed period, during which he was to live religiously as a student in the house of his teacher. His daily routine is begging alms, collecting fuel, looking after the sacrificial fires, tending the house (of the teacher), learning, and practising austerities. The maintenance of chastity was obligatory on the Brahmaehdrin^ Thus the ancient universities were residential, and a more perfect tutorial system was followed than is possible in any modern university, the pupil being under the observation of the Guru all the twenty-four hours. The daily begging of alms, on which the student lived, was for the inculcation of "plain living and high thinking," and had probably little or nothing to do with the financial status of the pupil or of the teacher with whom he resided. Attention may be drawn in this connection to some interesting practical and thoroughly human aspects of the educational system of this age as reflected in the Taitiimya TJpanishad (I. 11.). After the admonition "let the dchdrya, the parents, etc., be your gods" comes the frank admission that the preceptors, as human beings, may have their weaknesses, but it is not these but their good points that have to be copied by the pupils. A very practical streak is revealed in the advice to the pupil to continue the family-line by marrying and begetting children, to attend to kusala or well-being (in a wordly sense), to make gifts and practise charity, for fear (bhaya) of public opinion or out of shame (hriyd) t if not out of the generosity of the heart.

The intellectual side of education was developed through the numerous subjects of study referred to above- Naturally more particulars are given of the study of the Vedic literature. It centred round the preservation by means of recitation, of the Yeda of the particular gdkhd to which the pupil and the teacher belonged, or of as many Vedas as could be mastered by the student. Memory was a specially valued faculty and was most assiduously cultivated. The period of studentship is normally fixed at twelve years or until the pupil has mastered the Veda, though it may extend to much longer periods such as twenty-four or twenty-eight years, nay even for life in exceptional cases. The extent of the daily lesson is described, among others, in the Grihya-sutras of the Rigveda . The pupil is to recite either the hymns belonging to each Rishi or each Anuvaka of the short hymns (Kshudra-Suktas) or an Amivaka or one verse in the beginning of each hymn. This option was a very useful and practical concession which enabled students, who did not aspire to become Vedic scholars, and (probably and chiefly) students of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes, to fulfil nominally their duty of learning the Veda. The Grihya-sutras proceed on the assumption that all the three higher castes are to go through a period of studentship, but more often than not, the Kshatriya studied the art of war and the elementary knowledge of administrative functions. There are, however, traditions regarding the Kshatriyas studying philosophy and having taken a prominent part in the evolution of the doctrine of Brahman. As for the Vaisyas it is unlikely that they were engaged in the intellectual life of the day, and at least in their case, this very practical device of a nominal fulfilment of the duty of Vedic study was very useful. A student who knew the first and last hymns of a Rishi pr of an Anuvaka was. by a sort of fiction, considered to have known the whole portion belonging to the Rishi or the whole Anuvaka.

The rite prescribed for victory in debates shows that literary debates were very common and were held in special assembly-halls which used to be crowded.

The Vedic term commenced with the upakarman (inauguration) ceremony which was performed some time during the bright fortnight of the month of Sravana (July-August) when the herbs appear, or during the rainy season. The Vedic study then went on for four months and a half or five months and a half or six months, at the end of which came the utsarga (discharge) ceremony which formally closed the first term in the month of Pausha or Magha. After this there is a break of study for five or six months (this appears to be the long vacation of the ancient University), or according to the Dharma-sutras, the Vedas may be studied during the bright fortnight and the Vedahgas during the dark one. This almost year-long recitation was subject to numerous interruptions (anadhydyas) or “no-lesson” intervals, the special occasions for which were births and deaths, portents, miracles, lightning, thunder, rains or eclipses, and the normal occasions for which were the 14th and 15th days of the two fortnights, the last days of the seasons, etc. The large number of these interruptions is not surprising, as the ancients held that it was better that there was no recitation at all, rather than that a slight error should creep into it, get repeated in the transmission by word of mouth, and later become an integral part of the Veda itself. The preservation of the Vedic literature by a meticulously correct and scientific method of recitation, down to the minutest part of it, viz., the syllable, was their chief concern, because in the beginning, Vedic texts were not available in a written form and even later were not usually reduced to writing. Impure places were to be avoided for the recitation. Personal purity and good health were also essential conditions for study. After the completion of the whole course came the ceremony of samavartana after which the student, now called a snataka (i.e. one who has taken a ceremonial hath marking the termination of his studentship), can

either enter upon the married state and found a household or (in exceptional cases) remain celibate, his principal duty being now the management and support of his family from which he was so long absent.

The samavartana , however, does not spell the end either of Vedic study or of moral training. The snataka can carry on both either in the role of a teacher or student. The svadhydya or daily recitation of Vedic texts is part of the fivefold daily routine, consisting of the performance of the five mahayajnas (Great Sacrifices), of the married snataka in the capacity of a householder, and comprises portions not only of the Samhitas, Brahmanas, and Kalpasutras, blit also of the Gathas, Narasamsls, Itihiasas, and Puranas In the Dharma-sutras of Vasishtha and Apastamba there is an inhibition against learning a language spoken by barbarians, and the study of sabda-sastra (philology) is condemned in the Vasishtha Dharma-sutra (X. 20).

The teacher is the central figure, the very pivot of the educational system with which the State had very little to do. He introduces (upa-ni) the boy to studentship, and is in sole charge of his moral, mental, and physical upbringing. The teacher, who was a snataka , provided in his own house for the boarding and lodging of a certain number of pupils, and received from them, in return, daily service during the period of studentship and, at the end of it, gifts voluntarily given by the pupils. Though, thus in a measure, the teacher was compensated for his labours, the relationship between the teacher and pupil was in no sense mercenary, but sacred and almost spiritual. Very often the father himself was the teacher, and the student received education at home. The teacher was the friend, philosopher, and guide to the pupil. The initiation of the boy into studentship by the teacher marked, as it were, his second birth (in a spiritual sense), whence the term dvija ("twiceborn") was applied to the three higher castes, who only had the privilege of upanayana •* The pupil was to show the very greatest respect to the teacher. It was not, however, merely a one-sided discipline. The teacher also observed certain vows and rules while he taught.

That physical training was an integral part of the educational scheme is clear from the unmistakable trend of the numerous prayers for the grant of vigour and strength that form part of the upanayana ceremonial. The begging of alms, morning and evening, the gathering of fuel-sticks, and the manual labour involved in the worship and tending of the fire made for sufficient hard work or exercise for the student. The recitation of the vedic texts was a strenuous vocal exercise. But the praridyama or control of breath, which formed part of the daily sandhya (morning, noon, and evening prayers) adoration, was not only an ideal exercise for the lungs, but also one that penetrated to all parts of the body as any careful student of YogiC exercises can testify. Lastly must be noted the fact that the dantjia-pradana (handing the staff to the initiated boy) was a regular ceremony, and the staff was certainly an excellent weapon for selfdefence.

5* Manners and Morals, Habits and Customs

Hospitality not only continues to be recognized as a binding social obligation, but is raised to the status of a religious duty, for an offering of food to the guest attains to the rank of a sacrifice as one of the five daily mahayajnas —the atithi-yajna or "guest sacrifice"—which the householder must perform. There is a formal definition of an atithi or guest, and an authorized list of important guests, which includes a teacher, a Ritvik (an officiating priest), a king, a snataka, a father-in-law, and a son-in-law. Though a guest could arrive at any time it was understood that a wedding and a sacrifice were the recognized (or official) occasions for their reception in the grand style. A seat (or a special enclosure, if the guest is persona grata), water for washing the feet, argha water, water for sipping, and the madhuparka (a mixture of curds, honey, and ghi) are first offered to him. After this, food containing meat is to be offered to him, and if the occasion is a special one (such as a sacrifice or a wedding), a cow is offered and it is for the guest to have it killed for him or to set it free.

The Grihya-sutras, while prescribing the code of conduct for a snataka, give us a fairly detailed account of the manners and etiquette of those days. Only a few rules can be cited here. A scentless wreath is not to be worn. Girls must not be subjected to banter or ridicule* Walking or bathing naked or running without sufficient justification are prohibited. There is a taboo on certain words in the language of a snataka ensuring linguistic purity.

Great insistence is laid on moral purity. Self-restraint is the keynote of the ethical code prescribed for the householder. Human nature, of course, is the same in all times and climes, and warnings against the faithlessness of companions, pupils, servants, and wives are conveyed indirectly through rites prescribed for their prevention. Purity of mind is as much inculcated as purity of body. Abstinence of all kinds and respect for elders and for self are valued qualities. *

The ancient Indians did not cultivate cleanliness as a mere habit. They had developed a passion for it* The sipping of water (dchamana) and washing of feet are insisted on everywhere as a preliminary to any, even the most trivial, ritual act. The pavitrakas (strainers or purifiers made of grass), the use of which is so marked in the ritual, are symbols of purity and cleanliness. If a bird befouled the person of a snataka , or an unknown drop of water fell on him, mantras were to be recited by way of expiation. The habit of early rising is also well cultivated.

Life in this age was so thoroughly ritualized that it is difficult to distinguish habits from sacraments. Thus the many rites prescribed for the safety and good health of the mother and child, before and after delivery, may be looked upon as records of remarkable usages also. The rite of Simantonnayana or parting of the hair in the middle in the fourth or seventh month of pregnancy is an interesting custom. The child is given two names of which one is to be kept secret. The occasional counting of years, not from birth but from conception, is a practice that has a parallel in the Buddhist ordinances. The Grihya- and the Dharma-sutras recognize the force of local custom, and allow it to modify or sometimes even override some of their rules. The father's greeting to the son, when either of the two has returned from a journey, which takes the form of smelling or kissing him on the head, is also a noteworthy custom.

6. Amusements and Entertainments

As in the preceding age, dancing, and both vocal and instrumental music, were well cultivated. In the Simantonnayana ceremony mentioned above, the wife is asked to sing a song merrily, and in the marriage ceremony the bridegroom sings a gdthd after the treading on the stone by the bride. The vogue of the musical recitations of the Sdmaveda is responsible for the rule in the Gobkila Grihya-sutra that the Vdmadevya gdna may be sung, by way of a general expiation, at the end of every ceremony. The lute players are asked to play the lute in the ceremony of "parting the hair,"

and four or eight women (not widows) perform a dance in the

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marriage ceremony. The restrictive rule that a sndtaka is not to practise or enjoy a programme of instrumental or vocal music or dance, shows their popularity. It seems that the game of dice was looked upon as a popular entertainment, since a common gaming hall is one of the official public buildings of a town.

The reference in the Maxtrdyaniya Upanishad to a napa (actor) changing his dress and painting himself proves the popularity of dramatic shows in this age.

7. Food and Drink

Rice and barley were evidently the staple articles of diet as they were to be offered into the Gjrihya fire every morning and evening. Wheat was probably not eaten daily, as it is mentioned but rarely. Beans (masha), kidney beans (mudga), mustard seed (sarshapa), and sesamum were known.

Milk and its products were very liberally used (ante, p. 461). The various forms of butter (due to its varying temperature) were

distinguished for purposes of the ritual as: clarified (sarpis), melted (aji/a), and solid (ghrita) butter. Among other esculent things may be mentioned honey and kshara-lcivana (saline food), which is supposed to be an irritant and an excitant, and therefore to be eschewed in the interests of celibacy.

The culinary art was fairly well developed. The different processes or operations through which the grains passed before being cooked or eaten are indicated in words like akshata-dhana (unbroken grain), Idja (fried grain), and saktu (ground grain). Washing the rice-grains, husking them, baking them, and sprinkling ajya over them, and then taking them out of the oven are the different stages mentioned in the preparation of a sthalzpaka. The preparation of a Puroddsa (sacrificial cake) implied great skill in baking as it was baked on a pan with varying number of hollows (resembling saucers) which gave a variety of forms to it. An Apupa was a cake baked on a fiat vessel. Boiled rice (odana) eaten with ghi, milkrice (payasa) which seems to be a preparation very much akin to dudha-paka so popular in Gujarat now, lcrisara (boiled rice mixed with sesamum seeds), dadhimantha and madhu-mantha (cooked ground grains mixed with curds and honey respectively), and rice and barley gruel are other preparations known. The scum of boiled rice made a very light liquid food. Vegetable food (stika) is mentioned as a substitute for flesh-food (mamsa)•

But people in this age were by no means vegetarians. They ate flesh freely, not excluding even beef which was prohibited later owing to the growing reverence for the cow. Flesh-food must be served to the Brahmanas invited to a Sraddha dinner, ▪ vegetable food being allowed only in its absence. Similarly in the ceremony of the first feeding of the child with solid food, among the various foods enumerated in order of merit, the flesh of a goat, partridge, or another (specified) bird, and fish come first, boiled rice mixed with ghi coming last. Similarly food offered to a guest of consequence must not he without flesh. The merit of vegetarian diet is, however, recognized in the rule that a student should abstain from flesh.

In spite of condemnation in the earlier texts (ante, p. 462) and severe penalties laid down in the Dharma-sutras, surd continued to be a favourite intoxicating drink. The four or eight women who give a dance at the marriage ceremony are to be regaled with food and surd• In the Anvashtakya ceremony, surd is to be offered along with the pinda offerings to female ancestors. The Srauta ritual is naturally full of references to the Soma drink in the numerous Soma sacrifices, and the Gnhya ritual in the fitness of things ignores it.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS 8. Dress and Decoration

Two pieces of clothing—-one the uttafiya or upper, and the other the Antanya or lower—constituted the dress proper (the simple two-piece suit) of males and females; the lower garment being put on first and then the upper one. If one could afford only one garment, then a part of the lower garment may be turned into and worn as an upper garment. In the case of a student, the skin of a deer or goat made a very holy upper garment. The aprapadrna pata , mentioned by Panini, is a garment that reached down to the ankles. A longish piece of cloth wrapped round the head in the fashion prescribed by local custom constituted the ceremonial head-wear or turban.

The same piece could be used informally to veil the head- Red turbans and clothes were used for magic rites and silk ones (kshauma) for sacrificial purposes.

Woollen blankets were in use. In the list of garments prescribed for the upariita (the initiated boy) figure cotton, woollen, linen, and hempen cloth. Silk was also used (as there is a reference to the silk-worm giving silk). Upper garments were dyed with the juice of lodhra flowers or with madder or indigo. Black clothes were also worn (as they are forbidden for one practising the Sakvara vow). The colour scheme of dyed garments prescribed for the upavJta is interesting; reddish yellow, light red, and yellow for the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya respectively. The art of washing was, of course, known, though a particular sanctity attaches to a brand new (ahata) garment.

A pair of garments, a turban, ear-rings, shoes, a bamboo staff, and an umbrella complete the full dress (of a sndtaka, for example). The danda (staff) is not only a weapon of defence in the ordinary sense, but also a magic wand for warding off evil. The staff of the upanita boy was to be of palasa, bilva, or nyagrodha (or udumbara) wood, according to his caste. It had to be of a standard height. In one Grihya-sutra (the Asvalayana) there is an invocation to the shoe not to pinch. So shoes have had a tendency to pinch in all times and climes!

Two important sacraments-—the Chuda-karman or tonsure ceremony for the child, and the Goddna or the ceremony of haircutting at the age of sixteen or eighteen—give us a clear idea of development of the tonsorial art as known and practised in those days. Among the details of the Chuda-karman are the use of a mixture of hot and cold water to moisten the hair, the tangled locks of which are disentangled with a porcupine’s quill—the hair-comb of the ancients—the anointing of the hair with fresh butter, the holding of a mirror before the boy, the use of the razor (with a copper or wooden handle) which makes a sound while it is being plied by the barber on the head, and the leaving of a lock or locks {Chv^d) according to local custom or family usage. A layer of Kusa grass is kept ready to receive the hair that is cut off. In the Godana ceremony, the beard and the hair, both on the head and under the armpits, are shaved and the nails clipped* Generally a top-lock was kept, as a clean-shaven head was not fashionable. The Asvalayana and Sdnkhdyava Grihya-sutras, strangely enough, prescribe both these rites for girls. Probably local custom determined what quantity of hair was'to be kept and in what fashion in the case of both boys and girls. The Simantonnayana ceremony (of parting the hair of a pregnant woman mentioned above) clearly shows that the two (shaving) ceremonies did not much affect the growth of hair on a girl's head. Does this ceremonial parting of the hair in pregnancy suggest that unmarried girls and married women who were not mothers did not part their hair but merely brushed it back?

It is noteworthy that the toilet and make-up of the ancient Indians were not as simple as we fondly imagine. Collyrium {anjana) t an eye-salve, and other salves for anointing the body before the bath and the nose and mouth after the bath, sthagara (a fragrant application) (see ante, p. 463), a bath-powder, and ground sandalwood are among the toilet requisites mentioned in connection with the "bath" ceremony which entitles a student who has completed his studies to become a sndtaka (graduate) and settle down as a householder by marrying if he so chooses. Garlands and kun$al&s Can ear ornament) are put on after the sndna (bath). Three gems strung on a wollen or linen cord make at once an ornament and a charm for a bride when tied round her body- A perforated pellet of sandal or Bddara wood, overlaid with gold and worn round the neck, and a Badara-mani or pellet of Bddara - wood tied to the left hand, are among the other known ornaments worn by both males and females with distinction.

9. Health and Hygiene

A keen desire to live a long and healthy life of a hundred years was the natural outrome of the optimistic and robust outlook which the ancient Indians had on life. Their healthy slogan was "prevention is better than cure." Consumption seems to have been a notorious affliction. Epilepsy {Kumara or Apasmara), to which children were particularly liable, was very much dreaded and its popular name gvagraha indicates that it was supposed to be a seizure or attack by a dog-demon. Among the symptoms are stiffness of the body and much crying aloud. Another peculiar illness, to which again boys were particularly susceptible, was named Samkha in which the patient utters tones resembling the sound of a Samkha (conch) when blown. These diseases were sought to be cured by propitiating the demons by means of rites and ceremonies which afford a glimpse into the curious superstitions and magical belief of the period- From the number of rites prescribed during the period of

pregnancy, it seems that a safe delivery was a matter of great concern. f Headache and poisonous bites are among the minor ailments receiving ritual treatment.

That there were centenarians is seen from the rules in the cere

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mony of Udakaddna or the offering of water libations to the deceased. Fasts are so often recommended in the ritual that the inference becomes irresistible that the ancient Indians were fully aware of their beneficial effects on health.

A knowledge of hygienic principles may be inferred from many a rule in the Grihya-sutras. Cleanliness is most stringently enforced and the free use of water is recommended at every step in the ritual for cleansing purposes. A regular daily bath is insisted on. Floors are to be swept, sprinkled over with water, and smeared with cow-dung. There is a peculiar mixture prescribed for smearing the floor and walls of the lying-in chamber, which must have been an effective disinfectant. A sndtaka is not to spit or eject phlegm in the neighbourhood of water. That special places were set apart to receive dirt, accumulated waste, and sweepings is seen from the direction to offer a bali on such “heaps of sweeping/’ Easing was to be done on ground covered with grass and not on the bare ground. That cow stables and cemeteries were located outside the village or town is seen from the rule which enumerates them among landmarks in a journey along with a forest, a boundary-tree, etc.

2. ECONOMIC CONDITION 1. Agriculture and Cattle

The fact that there is a domestic rite synchronizing with each stage in the agricultural life of the people, and practically none associated with urban life, shows that the Indians of those days lived mostly in villages, and that the village agriculturist was the true representative of ancient India. There are rites for putting the bulls and oxen to the plough, for sowing, and for honouring Slid (lit., the "Furrow") or the Goddess of Agriculture. There is a sacrifice offered to Kshetrapati or the Lord of the Field. The Agrayapa sacrifice is the religious ceremony of partaking of the first fruits of the harvest. There are further sacrifices signalizing the other agricultural operations such as threshing, the reaping of the crop, and putting it into the barn.

Rice and barley seem to be the staple crops from the reference to the two harvests—that of barley in the hot season and of rice in autumn. From the direction to the sndtaka to live on the gleanings of uncultivated corn it may be easily inferred that there were extensive stretches of uncultivated land and forest, and wild rice and grains used to grow on untilled tracts. That a cultivated field was

measured by the quantity of seeds that could be sown in it is seen from the term prasthika in Panini, applied to a field that accommodated a prastha-full of seeds

The cattle were an invaluable possession. "Make us rich in cows" is almost the burden of the mantras that accompany the various Grihya rites. All the three higher classes were engaged in cattle-keeping in their own way. There are ceremonies like the Sulagava and the Baudhyavihdra for propitiating Rudra and his hosts, so that they may avert evil from cattle and the fields. Cattle served, in a way, as the standard of value or. as a medium of exchange, because kings kept their own herds and gave away thousands of cows as dakshind (sacrificial fees). The Darshadvata sacrifice, described in the &rauta-sutras, is virtually a description of the tending of the cows of a Brahmana in Kurukshetra for one year. The Grihya-sutras prescribe a number of minor rites on the following occasions:—

(1) When the cows are led to the pasture lands;

(2) When they run about;

(3) When they return; and

(4-5) before, and after, their entry into the cow-pen.

The &rauta-sutras prescribe sacrifices for the acquisition and recovery of lost cows. Prayers and rites for prosperity in cattle and their good health abound in the Grihya-sutras- There is a ceremony for cattle-breeding called Vrishotsarga on the release of a (stud-) bull among the cows. Yakshmd, a wasting disease affecting cattle, was very much dreaded. It was a custom to brand the cows.

But the cows were not prized merely as property. A feeling of reverence for them is rapidly growing. A suspension of study (anadhyaya) is ordered in the presence of cows that have eaten nothing. Persons riding in a chariot are to do homage to a cow, if met with on the way. Paradoxically enough, in the eyes of the ancient Indians, this veneration of the cow is not only not inconsistent with the cow-sacrifice prescribed in funeral ceremonies, on the occasion of a guest-reception, or the Sulagava (spitox) sacrifice, but is, in a sense, responsible for it. Nevertheless, the feeling of reverence for the cow went on steadily gathering volume, and the rule for sacrificing a cow was often relaxed by the admissibility of an alternative or substitute ritual whereby the cow was saved

2. Trade and Commerce , Arts and Industries

There is a rite called panyasiddhi (ensuring success in trade) in which a portion of the particular article of trade is cut off and sacrificed in the fire with the prayer: “If we carry on trade to acquire (new) wealth by means of our (old) wealth, may Soma. . . prosper that.” (Hiranyakesi G. S. I. 15- 1). The Vaisya class was engaged in trade and commerce. The Sutras of Panini refer to imports from the north and his vamsddi gana mentions several forestproducts such as Vamsa, Kutaja, Ikshu (sugar-cane) and Madya (liquor). The Grihya-sutra rule, that the relations of a deceased person are not to cook in the house, hut to buy food during the period of the death-impurity, shows that food could be bought either from public eating houses (?) or private individuals. A system of coinage or currency was probably in vogue, though quite a large volume of trade was managed by way of exchanges in kind. Panini mentions coins like Pana, R&rshapana , Pada, and Vdha and measures and weights like A^haka, Achita, Patra, Drona, and Prastha. But, as noted above, Panini's date is uncertain, and he probably belonged to a period later than 600 B.C.

Implements and vessels of copper, iron, stone, and earthenware are mentioned and must have been locally manufactured. Golden spoons and brass gongs were in use. Silver was also known. Upper and lower millstones, mortar and pestle, cups, ladles, dishes, spoons, and swords were required for domestic as well as ritual useBaskets made of leaves are referred to. Katas or rush mats made of Vlrina grass were offered as seats for the married couple. The varieties of cloth worn were cotton, linen, woollen, silken, and hempen. That spinning and weaving were daily occupations of the people is clear from the rule that the initiated boy is to put on a garment spun and woven on the same day, and from the prayers offered to "Goddesses who spun and wove" (Apastamba G. S. IV. 10-10). A Chdtrd or spindle is mentioned. A flourishing dyeing industry may be inferred from the prescription of garments of different colours for the initiated boy.

Many of the occupations, professions, arts, crafts, and industries have been already incidentally referred to In the previous sections (also cf. ante, Ch. XXIII, pp. 466-7). We may notice here the profession of the butcher, who was so indispensable in the animal sacrifice that there was actually a priest called Samitri who did the necessary slaughtering to the accompaniment of sacred verses. Manual labour was so highly prized that it was compulsory for a student as a householder (sndtaka).

3. House-building and Means of Transport

The fact that the Grihya-sutras include the ceremony of housebuilding among sacraments to be performed by the rich and the poor alike, leads to the obvious inference that in those days of vast open spaces and long stretches of jungle, a site for a house and building materials were available to a poor man of three higher classes at a nominal cost- The site should be undisputed property. It should be non-saline and with trees, herbs, or at least grass, growing thereon. It should not be hollow or undermined and be of the colour prescribed for the particular caste. From the directions given, we gather that a spacious house contained an assembly or drawing room a provision-room, and a resting or retiring room, with a nursery and privy standing detached from the main building. Measuring the site, digging the pits for the posts, two of which were erected in each of the four directions, setting up the door-jambs and the gable, putting up the beams and the grass or thatch on the roof, are some of the operations detailed. The position of the main door is carefully specified. The setting up of the water-barrel—evidently an arrangement for water supply—is part of the house construction. The repairs and renovation of the house are to be effected every year with ceremony about the same time as the Divali holidays of the Hindus. From the directions to erect huts and enclosures in the course of a day, it seems these could be improvised with ease. The consecration ritual for ponds, tanks, wells, covered reservoirs of water, and gardens, shows that these were public works for general use though they seem to have been constructed by individuals rather than by the state; for the ritual is of the domestic typeBridges, roads, cross-ways, and squares where four roads meet are referred to. Among the means of transport may be mentioned the very popular, light two-wheeled wooden carriage (ratha). Horses and oxen (even cows occasionally) were the common draught animals, the elephant being employed for a state journey or a procession. Horses, asses, camels, and elephants were ridden for purposes of travel. Rivers were crossed by rafts and boats, and if necessary by ships.

1. The list is given in Chhandogya, 7. 1, 2 and is repeated several times in the following sections. The interpretation of the technical terms denoting different branches of knowledge is not always easy. Max Muller takes Brahma-vidya as three of the Vedaiigas (viz., Siksha , Kalpa, and Chhandas); Devajana-vidyti as “the sciences of the genii, such as the making of perfumes, dancing, singing, playing, and other fine arts”; Pitrya as “the

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APPENDIX

CHAPTER IX

In the absence of any definite vestiges of a system of fortification in the Indus Valley excavations so far, it was naturally assumed that the Indus Valley civilization was politically and socially far ahead of the contemporary civilizations in the West, and had developed “a democratic bourgeois economy M {ante, p. 170) devoid of citadel rule. Recent excavations in Harappa, however, besides supplying other valuable data, have shown that the Indus Valley civilization had its fortifications and was as militant and centralized as any of its day i Ancient India, No. 3, pp. 61 if.).

In the mound towards the West at Harappa, rising 50 feet above the level of the plain, high projecting masses of decayed mud-brick indicate the presence of former defences. Recent digging’ has* shown that a defensive wall with a basal width of 40 feet and a height of upwards of 35 feet, built of mud-bricks, stood on a great rampart 10 to 20 feet high consisting of mud and debris with a mudbrick core. The wall, externally revetted with a facing of baked brick, was reinforced at intervals by rectangular towers or salients representing an elaborate system of enfilade. There were probably two gateways, one on the western side and the other at the northern end ; the latter representing the main entrance. The defences fall into three main periods of construction: the original baked brick revetment was rebuilt after a long period of weathering and other damage, and the north-west corner was considerably thickened. This new work was built with complete bricks, unlike the older work which was constructed largely of brickbats. During the next period, the north-west corner was reinforced by an additional salient, and two entrances of the western gate system were wholly or partially blocked. Finally, roughly-built dwellings, constructed above a layer of debris and associated with the intrusive ceramic of a later period, came to occupy the western terraces.

The cuttings across the defences enable us to trace the origin, development and decline of the Harappa culture. It appears that after a preliminary occupation of the apparently unwalled town, associated with a variant or alien culture, the Harappan people built a citadel with imposing defences. These were reconditioned after a considerable time during the heyday of the Harappa culture, when craftsmanship was at its height. The period of decline is seen in the further reinforcement of the reconstructed fortifications and the blocking of a gateway, indicating that the city was on the defensive. Finally, a part of the site, above layers of the debris, was occupied by inhabitants of an alien culture.

The situation of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, pre-eminent among numerous orchistoric sites between the Arabian Sea and the foot of the Simla Hills, already indicated that the Harappa civilization was of a centralized type similar to those in Sumer and Egypt. In both, the detached mound on the west is the highest and most imposing in the site, roughly a parallelogram in shape, approximately 400 yards long and 200 yards wide. The mound at Mohenjo-daro is known as the stupa mound and includes such remarkable structures as the Great Bath, Collegiate Building, and the Pillared Hall, which find no parallel elsewhere in these cities. It may reasonably be assumed that the mound was a centre of religious or administrative life on a large scale. The counterpart of this mound at Harappa, almost identical in size and orientation, is not a mere coincidence, and the assemblage, in its close vicinity, of a serried line of barracks or cooly quarters, working platforms and granaries, suggests a centralized and disciplined citadel rule. Whether the government was in the hands of a priestly order, as was often the case in Sumer, or of a ruler of royal standing, it is not yet possible to say.

Dr. Acharya considers Mohenjo-daro, with its irregular shape, to correspond with the Dronaka fortress of the Mdnasara’s plans (B. C. Law Volume, Part II, p. 281). It is not yet definite whether the fortifications surrounded the entire area of the town or were confined only to the west. In the latter case, the probable reasons may be that the important buildings were grouped on that side and that the villagers feared attacks from the west.

Recent excavations of a cemetery of the Harappa culture present yet another analogy between the cities of the Indus and the Euphrates. The dead were buried in an extended position with their heads towards the north and surrounded by large quantities of pottery of normal Harappan type. Grave-pits were 10 to 15 feet in length, 2\ to 10 feet in width, and were dug to a depth of from 2 to 3 feet from the contemporary surface. The grave furniture occasionally included toilet objects, besides pottery and personal ornaments. In some graves were found a few decayed animal bones besides a human skeleton. There was one coffin-burial, at present unique in India, but common at Ur, Kish and other places in Mesopotamia in the third millennium B.C. The skeleton, enclosed in a reed shroud, was placed within a wooden coffin, 7 feet long and 2 to 2J feet wide. The presence of a lid is suggested by streaks of sticky black substance running over the toes, and the use of preservatives is inferred from the light green substance found over and around the body. This burial, no doubt, represents the customary mode in Sumer during contemporary and previous epochs: but it is not yet known whether this isolated burial was of an Indian or of a Sumerian merchant in India

It may be mentioned that Dr. Wheeler does not include "postcremation burials” (ante, p. 193) as a method of the disposal of the dead in the Indus Valley, “since.” according to him, ‘'there is no evidence whatsoever that these have anything to do with human burial” {Ancient India, No. 3, p. 83).

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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF THE
INDIAN PEOPLE

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THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY

7th Edition

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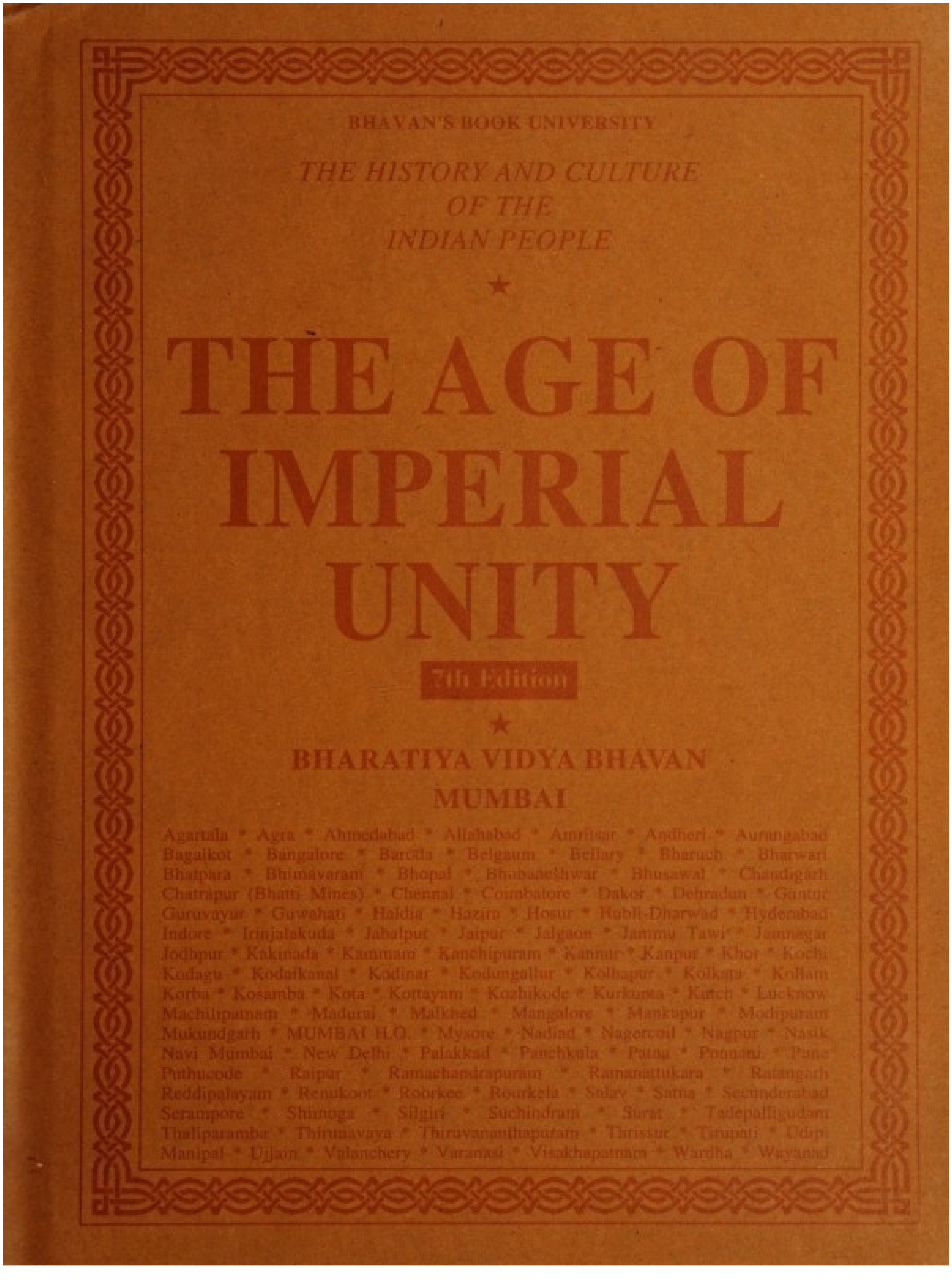

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History and Culture of the Indian People, Volume 02,The Age Of Imperial Unity

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History and Culture of the Indian People, Volume 02,The Age Of Imperial Unity

S. Ramakrishnan, General Editor

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Beginning with a kaleidoscopic picture of the general condition of North India, in the 6th century B.C., this second volume for the History and Culture of the Indian People depicts in full detail the growth of the Magadhan empire and the Persian and Macedonian invasions; and surveys the-sway of the various dynasties like the Mauryas, the S ungas,: the Yavanas, the Sakas; the ' Pahlavas, the Kushanas, the Saka Satraps, the Satavahahas, .the Chedis and the Vakatakas. New light is thrown on interesting old problems such as the Kanishka era, the Vikrama and Saka •Samvat. The history of South India and Ceylon during this period is treated at length. The special feature is the detailed treatment given to language and literature, political theory and administrative systems, law and legal institutions, social and economic conditions education and architecture, sculpture and fine arts. The rise of Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnayism, Saivism and minor religious sects and the evolution of the different philosophical system are adequately described. The history of the period is rounded off with a chapter on India and the Western World, and Colonial and Cultural Expansion.

Law; Dr. R. K. Mookerji; Dr. H. C. Raychaudhun; Dr D. C. Sircar; Dr. R. C. Majumdar; the late Df. S.* It, Aiyangar; Dr. M.A, Mehendale; Prof. H. D., VAlanfcfcn Dr. K. R. * T the* Dtp. Or Rem

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p BhaUacharya; Prof. U. C. Bhattr

Table caption3TT ^

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side — Rigveda, I-89-i

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General Editor

S. RAMAKRISHNAN

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME II

THE AGE OF

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FOREWORD

By the Hon'ble Dr. K. M. Munshi

This second volume, unlike the first, has been printed in India and published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, as the President of which I have planned and organised the publication of this series of ‘History and Culture of the Indian People’ in eleven volumes. On account of printing difficulties in England, the arrangements with Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. were terminated by mutual agreement. Since the Bhavan as the sponsoring institution has undertaken the publication of the series, it has become unnecessary to interpose the Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti which, in fact, was a part of the Bhavan, between the sponsor and the publisher. It is hoped that under this arrangement further volumes will be published expeditiously.

This volume deals with the history and culture of India from the beginning of what is termed ‘The Historic Period’. It furnishes us with the basis for the structure of early Indian chronology like the dates of the death of Buddha, the rise of Chandragupta and the reign of Asoka. Just as a dynastic treatment of history gives but an incorrect historical perspective, so, to some extent, does any treatment which arbitrarily cuts history into sections of time. The history of a people having a common culture, I believe, flows as a running stream through time, urged forward by the momentum of certain values and ideas and must be viewed as such. It is necessary, therefore, that I should give my reading of this section of the flowing stream. The attempt by its very nature would be open to the charge of over-simplification; but without such an attempt, the past would have no message and the future no direction.

I

Long before the dawn of the ‘Historic Period’, the land, as we know it now, had been formed. For millions of years, the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush had risen; mighty rivers had brought down deposits to form the rich alluvial belt of the Sindhu and the Gahga; geographical determinants had been stabilized. Early man had wandered on the banks of some of the great rivers and disappeared.

Over five thousand years ago, aboriginal dwellers generally lived in forests; some of them, however, were slowly driven to the valleys before the pressure of more civilised migrants. Then a numerically vast people, with a culture of which the Mohenjo-daro ruins are the physical relics and the base of the Tamil language perhaps the intellectual trace, over-spread the country.

In this land the Aryans, with their Nature Gods, their sacrifices, their cows and horses and their conquering zeal, came into conflict with the Dasas and Dasyus. They were invincible; for they had what their forerunners had not —cultural cohesiveness, powerful social institutions like the patriarchate, and a faith in their superiority. These bonds were further strengthened by a race of intellectuals who sang in sacred chants, worshipped their Gods through varied sacrifices and pursued the quest of higher things. The cohesive force in this community was furnished by the basic idea of an allpervading law— Rita —which sustained the universe and regulated the conduct of men; and the law was presided over by mighty god Asura—'the Great'—Varuna.

Vast conflicts were waged by the Aryan tribes with the nonAryans. During their victorious march through the country the races mingled^ customs and beliefs were adjusted, a new harmony was evolved. Despite the fusion, the collective consciousness that the Aryans—whether by descent or by adoption—were the elect and their ways God ordained, and hence unalterable, persisted. 'The Aryanisation of the entire world' remained the inspiring urge.

An unshakable collective consciousness had already taken deep roots in the racial mind, when Vasishtha and Visvamitra—participants in the Dasartijna, the Battle of Ten Kings, the echoes of which are found in the Rigveda ,—lived on the banks of the holy Sarasvatl; when Parasurama led the Aryans to the banks of the Narmada; when Agastya and Lopamudra crossed the Vindhyas and the seas; when Bharata, possibly the eponymous ancestor of the main tribes who fought in the Bharata War, held sway and gave his name to the land.

The several centuries, from the Battle of Ten Kings to the Bharata War (c. 1500 B.C.), the central theme in the Mahdbhdrata, were filled with incessant Aryan activities. The Aryans spread far and wide in the country. They opened up jungles, established large-scale settlements, and founded cities. Before the Bharata War, the Aryan Tribes, ethnically mixed, had already established powerful kingdoms. Their culture had become a conscious instrument of providing a social pattern based on a kind of traditional common law, elaborate rituals, a background of heroic tradition preserved in epic recitals, a powerful language and literature and a philosophy of thought and of life. The fundamental law Rita —now called Dharma —however, continued by the general acceptance of the people to be recognised as supreme; for Esha Dharmah Sandtanah in the Manu-smriti is an echo of an ancient, unalterable principle; this law was eternal. The race of rishis, Aryan intellectuals, multiplied. They founded their dsramas or hermitages all over North India; some pushed their way even to the trans-Vindhyan South. They settled in forests, preached Dharma; interpreted it afresh wherever necessary; laid down canons of conduct. They taught the fundamental values of Aryan culture wherever they went, their character and moral influence being their only source of power. They enriched literature, ethics and philosophy. The most aspiring of them continued in the quest of the 'Absolute', often in the wilderness or on mountain tops. With the growth of kingdoms, a section of these intellectuals, the Brahmanas, became priests, ritualists, men of learning, ministers, even generals and social and political mentors. But at all times, the law prescribed that a true Brahmana should learn and teach, and not hanker after possessions; if he did, he fell from his high status. The kings were the protectors of the Dharma. They were invested with the right to conquer and destroy enemies, but there was no right to destroy what they willed. Their duty to protect the people was inalienable; if they failed to fulfil it, they forfeited the people's allegiance.

Of the peoples with whom the Aryans came in conflict, the most powerful were the Nagas in the West and Magadhas in the East. The Haihayas, perhaps of mixed descent, broke the Naga power in the West, and in their turn were broken by the Aryans under Parasurama. Later, when the Aryah tribe of Bharatas dominated the Madhyadesa, the Magadhas aspired to hegemony; the break-up of the Magadha Kingdom is possibly symbolised by the death of Jarasandha, its king, by Bhlma the Bharata, who was assisted by Sri Krishna. To the latter more than to anyone else, if the Mahdbhdrata records facts, belongs the honour of being ‘the worshipful amqng men’, and the credit of achieving for his friends, the Pandavas, the overlordship over North India. Thus, a little before the Bharaxa War the way was cleared for the Aryanisation of the eastern provinces.

Then came the Bharata War (c. 1500 B.C.). All the kings in North India with their armies congregated in the Punjab to participate in this fratricidal war between the members of the most influential royal house in Madhyadesa. In a battle lasting for eighteen days, they mingled their blood and created for the first time an all-India consciousness. At the end, Yudhishthira was acclaimed by the whole of North India as a Chakravartin.

This struggle left a tremendous impression on the collective consciousness of the people. Racial memory, through text, sermon, story and epic recital, was focussed on two great personalities of the time who became shining lights illumining the Indian mind for all time; Vyasa, the learned and venerable Brahmana, the seer and ascetic, the saviour of the Vedas, and Sri Krishna, the warrior and statesman, the ever-triumphant Kshatriya, the Superman. One taught Dharma, the other upheld it.

From these memories sprang the Mahdbhdrata, destined to become the expression and the instrument of India’s will to unity and collective strength.

Between the Bharata War (c. 1500 B.C.) and the rise of Magadha (seventh century B.C.), when the dawn of recorded history begins, the social elements were fusing fast. Large kingdoms, like that of Janamejaya Parikshita, had been founded and dissolved. Elaborate rituals, observed for years, had strengthened the sacerdotal class. Sacred literature had been assiduously developed. The quest of the Absolute was continued by ardent rishis.

From the Nature Gods of the Aryans, Indians had travelled very far. Their intellectual audacity had ranged over the meaning and purpose of life and expressed itself in the Upanishads. These aspirations moulded values, ideas and forms of discipline which percolated through religious teachings, and epic recitals and a wellregulated system of education. They were taught and learnt in a hundred schools of learning, moulding life in all its aspects, for they were the urge behind Dharma, which upheld life.

Long before the dawn of the ‘Historic Period’ a central idea was already becoming clear from a mass of incoherent urges which went under the generic name of Dharma. Man was not a struggling worm but a ‘self’, of an essence with a supraphysical destiny, which can only be attained by a mastery over the misery which was man’s lot on earth; this mastery, in its turn, can only be achieved by integrating personality by self-discipline so as to raise the ‘self’ above the flux of passing sense-experience. The discipline implied a double process, the relinquishment of the greed for life and the broadening of the personal self into a universal self. The end of this discipline was variously named,—self-realisation (Siddhi), emancipation (Mukti , Moksha) } freedom (Nirvana), enlightenment (Jnana), bliss (Ananda). In substance it was absolute integration of human personality (Kaivalya) freed from the limitations of attachment and fear.

Before this Age began, the Vedic cults had begun fading away and giving rise in turn to new and powerful religious currents. The first current was dominated by the resuscitation of a pre-Vedic God, Pasupati, honoured even in the days of the Sindhu Valley Civilization and accepted by the Brdhmanas as the great god ‘Isana*. Invested with the majesty which later generations saw in a godhead, he retained his original unsophisticated and loving character, but without losing the awesomeness which evoked terror in unlettered hearts in bygone ages.

The second was the emergence of a personal God, with many characteristics of the Vedic gods, individualised and yet universal, and surrounded by a halo of rich magnificence.

The quest of the Absolute which was pursued before the dawn of the ‘Historic Period’ had led to a great idea, which was to become predominant in Indian culture. The Absolute descended on earth in human form; the aspirant, by absolute surrender, attained Him. Narayana, an ancient sage, who ‘became all beings’ had come to be worshipped as God Himself. Slowly as the Vedic God, Vishnu, attracted to Himself the characteristics of the other gods, the new conception of Avatar a identified Vishnu with the sage Narayana. Similarly, Vasudeva, who was till then just a hero, was accepted as God, descended on earth— Avatdra. Later, Narayana, Vasudeva and Vishnu, all three became Hari, the ‘Deity Eternal and Supreme Lord’, the Supreme Spirit; ‘Vasudeva comprehending all’.

The apocalypse in Canto XI of the Bhagavadgitd which, following some scholars, I consider part of its original and pre-Buddhistic version, was of this ‘God of gods’, Sdsvata Dharmagoptd , the Protector of Eternal Dharma, born to' re-establish Dharma, who over-shadowing all older gods, except perhaps Siva, emerged as ‘God Himself’. Vasudeva Krishna, the hero of the Mahabharata and a deity of the Yadava cult, was identified with this earlier Vasudeva, possibly by the end of this period.

Social relations and the duties arising from them were integral parts of the Dharma. Nothing was a greater negation of Dharma

or a greater danger than social chaos and a sweeping denial of social duties. About the close of the Vedic period, as a result of racial and cultural adjustment, Varnasrama Dharma was conceived as the divinely ordained social framework. Chaturvarnya, the Four-fold Order of society, ensured to some extent the supremacy and purity of the Aryan way of life. In that age of tribal struggles and in later ages as well, it gave to society both solidarity and resilience. It envisaged: first, the division of society into two classes— (i) the dvijas, the twice-borns, those who conformed to the Aryan way of life; and (ii) the Sudras, that is the Rest, the yet-to-be-reclaimed. The dvijas had three functional groups, the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and the Vaisvas. Besides, a well-conducted individual life was divided into four states, viz., that of a student, a householder, a detached onlooker pursuing a high purpose, and lastly, an ascetic. Though often disregarded in practice, this aspect of Dharma shaped life, philosophy and institutions throughout the centuries that followed.

For such a planned social life stability was essential. Stability implied protection but without slavery. Power also was therefore conceived as moving and having its being within the framework of Dharma. Kingship was to be a religious trust. Rajadharma, Smriti and tradition, interpreted from time to time, were to regulate life. The learned and the pure, vowed to poverty, were to be the indispensable guides. The ambition and rapacity of kings were, therefore, controlled by a fundamental law, the bases of which were: first, the Smriti or tradition codified; second, Parishad, the Assembly of the learned, the interpreter. And lastly, a military overlord was considered necessary as the country grew larger, a Rajadhiraja or Chakravartin—the protector of Dharma. The last in reality was tb come in the succeeding epoch.

II

During the dawn of the 'Historic Period', placed between the tenth and the seventh centuries before Christ, there was a mighty upheaval of the human spirit. Waves of intense activity passed over many lands where man had emerged from the Bronze Age. Zoroaster gave a new creed to Iran; Confucius and Lao-tse taught in China; Jews in their Babylonian captivity developed their tenacious faith-in Jehova; Greece emerged as the pioneer of European culture, and her philosophers began tackling the problems of life; Rome was founded. At this time, a highly complex civilization and a noble culture had already been flourishing in India for centuries.

FOREWORD

The Age of Imperial Unity from the seventh century before Christ to A.D. 320, covered by this volume, falls into two distinct period: (i) the period of organisation (seventh century before Christ to 150 B.C.) in which there was an aggressive upheaval of strength and spirit, an all-sided efflorescence, when the fabric of Indian culture was well and truly woven; and (ii) the period of international contacts and cultural expansion (150 B.C. to A.D. 320), during which the culture first assimilated the foreign elements and then reasserted its values with new vigour and intensity.

The first period was the age of Magadhan Imperialism; it saw the realization of the dream of centuries, the political unification of India under a Chakravartin. When the process began, the sixteen mahajanapadas were organised either into monarchies like Magadha and Avanti or republics like the Liehchhavis and the Yaudheyas, all struggling for survival, fighting each other, absorbing weaker states.

So far, there was India, the geographical unit, but as yet no India as a well-accepted unit of homogeneous life and culture. To Iran and the outside world, India represented an undefined territory across the Sindhu. Aryavarta was a small part of Madhyadesa. A distinct sense of unity had already been born in the popular mind. In the later injunction ‘Declare Dharma wherever the black antelope flourishes,’ there is an echo of the much earlier recognition of the territory in which Dharma prevailed and life was one; and it stretched from the boundaries of Iran to the boundaries of Assam. It included parts of the Deccan too. Here, Dharma was taught in centres established in ever-widening frontiers by Brahmanas as priests, linguists and literary men, physicians, philosophers and ministers, and by large groups of wandering ascetics seeking and imparting the meaning of life. And inspired by the vast literature and tradition which had accreted to the story of the Bharat a War, men’s minds were slowly being impressed with the dictum that wherever Dharma prevailed, there was Bharatavarsha.

Magadha, now Aryanised for well nigh eight hundred years, was virile with the energy of unsophisticated power. Through a succession of powerful monarchs from 544 B.C. to 150 B.C., it gave the land of Dharma a series of Chakravartins, who made of India a single unit, ‘alike the ideal and despair of later ages’ as Dr. Majumdar aptly puts it, and willed into being its collective consciousness.

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY

Bimbisara (c.544-493 B.C.) the first of these Chakravartins, by conquest and matrimonial alliances, enlarged his influence and power. Ajatasatru (c.493-462 B.C.) the strong and implacable, crushed the great republic of Lichchhavi after sixteen years of struggle, vanquished Kosala and annexed Kasi.

This period is lit up by the personality of two great reformers, Buddha and Mahavira. Both were Kshatriyas; both organised wandering ascetics; both ignored God and denied the Vedas; and while admitting the fourfold order of society, both led a revolt against the superiority of Brahmanas over the Kshatriyas and derided the four stages of life, stressing only the life of an ascetic.

Buddha's was a flaming personality; and a vast canonical literature has presented to posterity its faithful portraiture. But he was not a solitary peak of greatness and grandeur in an arid desert. Sankhya and Yoga, the Upanishads, were the sources of his inspiration; the goal of integrated personality by the conquest of human weaknesses, the gospel of freedom from misery and even the theory of Karma were borrowed by him from contemporary religious thought and merely systematised. He was undoubtedly the product of Aryan culture and represented the ascetic orders against the social ideals of those who took life as a whole. The lure of renunciation or other-worldliness was very much in the air at the time.

He proclaimed the supremacy of Dharma; but stressed only the pre-eminence of the positive, heart-moving message of universal compassion, which was already an integral part of it. He assumed the role of wielding the Dharma-chakra as a Chakravartin of the world. Buddhism was not a church standing apart as in later times; it was a protestant movement within the fold of Dharma; its ready sympathy for suffering was its refreshing attraction. The large majority of the people followed their ancestral creed and culture, only their interpreters being influenced by the leaders of the new revolt. Asoka alone appears to have been deeply influenced by Buddha's teachings; but the attempt of Buddhists to make of him a bhikkhu is a patent exaggeration. Within a few years of Asoka's death, under Pushyamitra, the old cultural forces are found in full vigour all over the country.

Buddha, in spite of his heterodoxy, however, left a lasting influence on Dharma. First he was revered as an ascetic reformer; in the process of general acceptance by the masses, he became a divinity. Vasudeva Krishna was 'Sdsvata Dharmagoptd ', the Protector of Eternal Dharma; Buddha also proclaimed the Dharma and asked people to surrender themselves to it. Sri Krishna of the Mahabharata wielded no sceptre and yet was worshipped by the rulers of the day as the ‘worshipful among men’. Buddha assumed without royalty the role of a Chakravartin ruling by Dharma.

Buddha made no break in cultural continuity. By his influence the older creeds were revitalised and purified; at the same time Buddhism had to develop its Mahayana .aspect to win the people’s hearts. Later still, the process of absorption was completed when Buddha became an avatar a of Vishnu, and Mahayana Buddhism was absorbed in Vaishnavism and Saivism.

Buddha made little impression on the power and strength of contemporary Magadha. Its rulers upheld the Dharma as prevalent and went on enlarging their empire.

&isunaga (c.430 B.C) and his successors followed Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, and annexed Kosala, Avanti and other important states in North India to Magadha.

Mahapadma Nanda (c.364 B.C.) inherited the power of Magadha, but disowned the supremacy of Dharma. By destroying Aryan kings he earned the appellation of a ‘Second Parasurama’. Ruthless, miserly, regardless of the sacred tradition or Dharma though he was, he was the first great historical emperor of North India. But hated or despised by his people, he sat on a volcano. Old values were breaking up completely. Kshatriyas of high birth repudiated the Brahmanas and founded sects, Sudras established an empire on the ruins of Kshatriya kingdoms, while the ancient culture and its protagonists, reintegrated and possessed of fresh vigour, were waiting round the corner.

Ill

Since the days of Cyrus (558-530 B.C.) parts of India to the west of the Sindhu and some parts of the Punjab off and on formed part of the Achaemenian empire. During Mahapadma’s time in 326 B.C. Alexander, the Macedonian, with his thundering legions, entered North-West India, the erstwhile satrapy of the Iranian empire. In a few months, however, he retreated from India. He could neither face the Nanda empire nor leave any impression on the people. The Indians fought him heroically; yielded for the time being only to the superior military organisation of the Macedonians; and soon after under Chandragupta drove out the Greeks from the Punjab in a brilliant war of liberation. The successful war against

the Greeks awoke Chandragupta (c.324-300 B.C.) to a consciousness of his strength. To Chandragupta and to his master, the Brahmana Chanakya, we owe a gorgeous phenomenon—a swift war of liberation; a vast empire; India politically and administratively unified; the re-establishment of Dharma as the supreme law; and the organisation of life on which was founded the invulnerable culture-consciousness of Indians in succeeding ages. Consolidating his position in the Punjab, and inspired by his teacher Chanakya, Chandragupta marched on Pataliputra; killed Dhana Nanda, assumed the sovereignty of Magadha; vanquished Seleucus, the Greek, who was moving towards India to recapture Alexander's lost possessions; and started on a career of becoming the architect of an all-India empire. For the first time the writ of one emperor ran in the country through a hierarchy of centrally appointed officers.

Asoka (c. 273-236 B.C.), the grandson of Chandragupta, styled 'the beloved of the gods' and 'of lovable appearance,' succeeded to the throne of Pataliputra by winning a fratricidal war. Nine years after his accession he rounded off the empire which he inherited from his grandfather by annexing Kalinga.

The Kalinga war brought to the emperor a violent reaction, no doubt under the influence of Buddha's teachings. He regretted the vast numbers of men killed^ or taken prisoner; he bemoaned the lot of pious men and women to whom befell 'personal violence, death or banishment from loved ones'; and he eschewed for ever war as an instrument of governance. 'If any one does him wrong, the "beloved of the god" must bear all that can be borne.' He embarked on a career of Dharma Vijaya, conquest through Dharma. He set up a network of missions to preach Dharma; declared that all men were his children; 'and what little effort I make,—what is it for?—(in order) that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world', said he. The Emperor constituted himself as the guardian of the moral and material welfare of the world. From Afghanistan to Mysore and Kurnool District, and from Saurashtra to the boundaries of Assam, the Dharma-Chakra was proclaimed. Dharma-Mahamatras were in charge of Dharma; a Stri-AdhyakshaMahamatra looked after women; other officers were in charge of cattle and birds. Ordinances proclaiming the importance of family as the basis of morality, liberality and charity towards all, the toleration of all religious sects, the sanctity of all life and the organisation of international relation for enduring peace, were promulgated.

FOREWORD

Asoka was the first founder of a welfare state, not a godless state, but a state permeated by a broad-minded approach to all religions. He insisted, as his inscriptions show, that all religions were to be respected; that criticism of religion was to be forborne; that the divinity of all religious truths was to be recognised;

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that religions of all sects were to be studied. No higher gospel of tolerance has been propounded since the dawn of the world and no greater harm has been produced than by its neglect. And in pursuance of his tolerant policy he did not try to subvert social order or the religious belief in the interest of the teachings of Buddha which had so impressed him.

The material achievements of the Mauryan era and particularly of the reign of Asoka were in no way less important. Stone was substituted for wood in important structures. Art assumed a form and grandeur not known before; engineering reached a high level of perfection. The royal palace of Pataliputra was recognised by posterity as ‘the work of superhuman hands.’ Great cities grew up; gigantic stupas and cave chaityas were carved out of massive stone, expressing power and majesty. The Mauryan column is a piece of precision, accuracy and power unsurpassed even in ancient Athens; one of them, later, required 8,400 men pulling a 42-wheeled cart for transport. The sculptures like the Sarnath lion or the Dhauli elephant or the Rampurwa bull exhibited living naturalism. Irrigation projects like the well-known Sudarsana lake were carried out with enduring thoroughness.

But welfare states, which eschew armed coercion of recalcitrant elements, are not known to survive. As soon as Asoka, ‘the greatest of kings’, as H. G. Wells called him, died, his Buddhistic leanings and pacific policy evoked open resistance. Due to lack of a vigorous military policy, the outlying provinces rose in revolt. The Greeks invaded India and advanced into the country up to Ayodhya and Chitor. Further disintegration was halted only when Pushyamitra (187-151 B.C.), the Brahmana minister of Sunga dynasty, took over what was left of the empire.

Pushyamitra and his successor carried forward the pre-Asokan tradition of Magadha. Dharma Vijaya was no longer to be achieved by abjuring war but by building up military strength; politics became real. The Sungas maintained their hold over a vast part of North India, vanquished Greek invaders and were respected by foreign kings. They fostered a revival of art, literature and architecture. In Madhyadesa and among the wise and the intellectual, the ascetic outlook lost its attraction; Dharma was strengthened; the authority of the Smriti law was completely restored. The new wave of collective enthusiasm found its expression in a combative attitude against Buddhism in a search for a fuller and richer life; in the cult of Karttikeya, the god of war;'in the resurgence of Bhagavata cult; and in the unchallenged supremacy of Vasudeva Krishna in the Hindu Pantheon.

IV

The second period from 150 B.C. to A.D. 320 divides itself into two epochs. The first era saw the rise of the North-West and Western India and the adjoining regions of Madhyadesa as an empire under foreign conquerors. The foreign Kushana power, which held sway over nearly the whole of North India as also considerable territories beyond as far as Central Asia, shifted the centre of political gravity from Pataliputra to Peshawar. In the second period, Indian powers inspired by a giant wave of resistance, overthrew foreign rule and influenced and re-established the

Dharma; though called Sanatana it was in fact a renaissant Order, which, while it retained the fundamental values of Aryan culture including the social pattern, had a new meaning, content and modes of expression.

During this period, Buddhism was evidently influential in the North-West. Its freedom from the rigid rules of social conduct had an appeal for the foreigners, who soon came under its heterodox but humanistic influence. But, once the resistant mind was softened, the varied richness of Sanatana Dharma and its social inhibitions which provided every fresh group with qualified autonomy, a secure place in the social framework, were found irresistible.

While the Bactrian Greeks and Parthian rulers quarrelled among themselves, the people led their own lives; the social pattern accepted as of divine origin, persistently reorganised social groups; the orthodox cults, revivified by a resistance to heterodoxy, were active. In the end, social and religious tenacity developed a mighty absorptive power.

The power and influence of these cults can easily be traced in Kadphises I, the first Kushana king, who was a Buddhist; in his son Kadphises II, who was a Saivite; in Kanishka, the founder of the Kushana Empire (A.D. 78-101), who was a devout Buddhist; and his son or successor who was a Bhagavata.

By the middle of the second century of the Christian era, the Kushana imperial power disintegrated. Western and Central India

threw off its yoke. Many Governors of Provinces declared independence. The tribes which in Alexander’s time lived in the Punjab had slowly moved southwards, possibly under pressure of fresh arrivals. They had retained their autonomy and independence, yet submitted occasionally to the might of some powerful conqueror. When the empire of the Kushanas grew weak, the tribal states like those of Arjunayanas, Uddehikas, Malavas, Sibis, Rajanyas and Yaudheyas became independent. The Saka Satraps ruled considerable parts of Western India as independent rulers and so did the Abhlras.

In North-West India where the ‘contemptible and fierce’ foreigners held sway, cultural purity was more than diluted and in consequence, there was absence of a collective consciousness dominated by Aryan values. The focus of Aryan culture had shifted southwards. The royal Naga houses, descended from serpentworshipping, pre-historic non-Aryan tribes which had bowed before conquerors but never submitted, rose to power as the protagonists of resurgent Dharma. The confederacy including the Bharasivas ruled over considerable parts of North India. Their guardian god, Siva, became the great national deity, and they revived epic glory by performing Asvamedha sacrifices to celebrate their suzerainty.

The Andhras were an equally ancient tribe who once lived on the southern fringes of North India. The last king of the Kanvayana dynasty of Magadha was, by about 30 B.C., overthrown by the Andhra king Sirnuka of the Satavahana dynasty, which claimed Brahmanical descent. Their strength grew in a hundred years. Gautamiputra (A.D. 106-130) extended his sway from Ujjain to the Krishna and from sea to sea, claiming suzerainty over the whole trans-Vindhyan India. He vanquished the Scythians, the IndoGreeks and the Parthians; and his descendant, YajnasrI, eliminated the Sakas from Western India and Saurashtra completely. Dharma was vindicated and re-established wherever the Andhras held sway.

About the same time, Kalinga (Orissa), under the great conqueror Khar a vela, developed a crusading spirit and played a great part in diffusing Indian culture in the lands beyond the seas.

In the Vindhya region arose Vindhyasakti, a name mentioned with great respect in the Puranas. His son Pravlra allied himself with the Bharasiva Nagas, who had founded an imperial power on the ruins of the Satavahana Empire. Riding on the wave of a resurgent neo-Hinduism, he extended his sway from Bundelkhand to the Krishna in the South.

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY

In the south of the Krishna, the three kingdoms—Chola, Pan^ya and Chera, had accepted the culture of the North. Ceylon, which had generally friendly relations with India, was already colonised about the time Buddha attained Nirvana (483 B.C.). At one time, the Chola conqueror Karikala had invaded the island. But at the close of the epoch, India and Ceylon had been united by intimate bonds.

With the foreign rulers vanquished and foreigners absorbed, the country was ripe for a mighty national revival—military, political and religious.

V

During the whole period, there were several outstanding achievements in the different spheres of life—political, religious, philosophical, literary and artistic. The political unity under Magadha produced a consciousness of solidarity which laid the foundation of the fundamental unity of India. The Maury an administrative system, the political theories of Kautilya, the social system of Manu, in one form or the other, endured in some or the other part of India till the advent of the British. The Aryan, Dravidian and the aboriginals intermarried at all levels. Collective consciousness was created by common tradition, the growing supremacy of Sanskrit, the social pattern of Chaturvarnya and the epic greatness which flowed from the memory of the Mahabharata War.

This period produced celebrated poets and scholars like Asvaghosha, the famous Buddhist poet and author of Sariputraprakarana ; Panini, the renowned grammarian, who stabilised Sanskrit and indirectly influenced the growth of the languages of India; Katyayana; Patanjali, the grammarian who stylised Sanskrit; Bhasa, the dramatist; Bharata, the dramaturgist; and Manu, Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati, the authors of Smritis, the sacred texts. Above all, it was the age of the Mahabharata , which has ever remained for India the ‘Book of Life’, and Ramayana , the noblest epic in the world’s literature.

The Mahabharata was never a single book. It had been growing into a wide literature of epic heroism; of legends of kings and rishis, sacred rivers and holy places; of wise lessons in practical wisdom and philosophic thought; of theories of society and politics; of man’s efforts to attain the divine. The war it described was a mighty occasion; every royal house found in it heroes whom they claimed as ancestors, whether real or adopted. As the Mahabharata grew into a ‘scripture of a lakh of verses’ the Gita became the greatest of scriptures.

The Bharata War had been fought about 1500 B.C. Since then, the work growing with every generation had permeated the collective consciousness of the race and has ever remained its principal formative influence.

In the thousand years under review, the social code, prescribed by the Dharma Sutras, came to be harmonised and elaborated into the Smritis. While they gave continuity to social order, they absorbed or altered usages to make them suitable to changing conditions. The Manu-smriti, the oldest work of this class and the most well-known, is respected even today all over India. Reputed to be of divine origin and considered to be the source of law from time immemorial, it proclaimed: ‘Esha Dharmah Sandtanah the Law Eternal, the fundamental law of social relations. Yajhavalkya systematised it, and his work continues to be the authoritative text even today. This basic conception of eternal law which prescribed social institutions, laid down a code of social conduct; while it made society slow-moving, it prevented chaos; while foreigners were after some time absorbed and their ways adopted, it provided a firm foundation to social institutions and ensured the continuity of cultural values.

But the castes were by no means static. New sub-castes were brought into the framework by absorption, fusion or sub-division: many of them rose or fell in status.

The Brahmana was the head of the hierarchy, but a Sudra could become a Brahmana and a Brahmana devoid of his culture could sink into a &udra. In those as in later days, neither Brahmanas nor Kshatriyas stuck, one and all, to their prescribed functions. A BrJahmana sometimes did the job of a soil-digger, a hunter or a menial, a wagon-driver and also a snake-charmer; a Kshatriya was a potter; a Vaisya a tailor. Yet Chaturvarnya retained the character of a divine pattern of life and influenced organisation and law, custom and social philosophy. Under the Sihritis, caste was not merely an inter-connubium group; its function had a purpose, an ethical and religious motive of uplifting the individual and making him fit for his ultimate destiny. Individuality drew its significance from the service it rendered to the group as a whole, and, therefore, group duties were emphasized.

Because of Chaturvarnya, social control was not concentrated in one body, nor subordinated to the State. Control was distributed

among a variety of autonomous groups or associations within a great cohesive framework. Arjuna expressed the dominant mood when he expressed his dread of chaos, the destruction of Varnlasrama. The Arthasastra set its face against renunciation of the world by making it dependent on State permission. This sweeping movement against other-worldliness and social instability found expression in the religious movements of which Vishnu with his spouse Lakshml, Vasudeva Krishna with his brother Baladeva, and Siva and the members of his family, were the central deities.

At the mass level, minor divinities continued to be worshipped as ever. Sri or Lakshml, an ancient Goddess, was, after many transformations, worshipped as the Goddess of fortune, just as Sarasvatl, the sacred Vedic river, came to be worshipped ultimately as the national Goddess of learning. The Vedic tire worship in a simplified form was part of every ritual. The pre-historic worship of the snakes, popular in the Sindhu Valley and the days of Yajurveda and Atharvaveda, was another national cult which found an honoured place in every new religious movement. Perhaps the rise of the Naga power gave this cult a fresh stimulus. Trees were again divinities and living shrines universally worshipped from the Sindhu Valley civilization onwards. Later, they were semi-divine symbols associated with great religious figures, as in the case of the Bodhi Tree and the Tulsi plant. The Vedic belief that Gandharvas and Apsarases lived in trees was replaced by the universal belief that they were divinities themselves.

Intellectual audacity continued to search for higher truths but the problems of knowledge and reality were unchanged. The central idea of human destiny before all the aspiring speculative minds remained the same. Life was full of ills; escape from it was the highest good; this escape could only be secured by meditation on the highest truth; and the highest truth was reached by bhakti or yoga and the conquest of human limitations like attachment, wrath and fear.

The old menace of renunciation and other-worldliness was met by a new powerful gospel of living in the present; it proclaimed that man can attain his destiny—self-realization, integration or freedom —not in a forest or a cave but in the battle-field of life. In this way, the Bhagavadgitd, finally put into its present shape a century or two before the commencement of this period, was accepted not merely as a gospel of life but as a triumphant message that the highest destiny of man can be fulfilled only in the performance of the duties of life.

Literary tradition continuously accepted by the elite and providing continuity of aesthetic outlook provides one of the greatest forces of creating and maintaining collective consciousness in a people. The Drama and the Kavya in Sanskrit literature, traceable to the Rigveda and the Mahdbhdrata, provided this cohesive force. Ramdyana was accepted as the formal epic, par excellence. Religious and philosophic literature grew in depth and richness. The vast mass of the canonical texts of the Buddhists was again a literature in itself. Folk stories were collected and composed and provided entertainment to people of all grades throughout the country.

The major distinction between those who accepted the Vedas and those who rejected them tended to be narrowed down during this period. At the end of this period, the Vedas, as the ultimate source of all knowledge and truth, won.

The post-Mauryan art gave up the motive of impressing people with power and grandeur; it became natural. The Kushana art of the North-West, exemplified in the art of Gandhara particularly, was however, a colourless imitation of Greek art. Elsewhere, art was the expression of the popular impulse towards beauty. Isolated objects were bound in one harmonious stream of life and scrupulous exhaustiveness became the main characteristic of the technique. Elephants, deers, antelopes, lotus-creepers, trees and plants added to the beauty and by displaying naturalness, provided the background. The human figure, in every conceivable position and attitude, was the principal object. The body was no longer an integration of limbs; it was portrayed as a living entity; in the hands of the Sanchi artists, it expressed both freedom and joy. The human figure of Yaksha at Sanchi expresses a free, proud, stately and heroic man. Later, this figure was perhaps transformed by the devout artist into the Bodhisattva of Mathura; the figure and expression were impressed with not only beauty but a spirit of calm transcending physical attractiveness. But art which painted the legendary cycle of Buddha’s life aimed at no sublimation or ethical perfection. The Yakshinls as Vrikshakas and dancing girls with well-developed breasts and hips were carved with infinite love and grace, exhibiting a pagan love of life; their almost living flesh glows with sheer sensuousness; their lineaments express the delicate shades of violent passion or thrilling emotion.

Painting, long in vogue, reached a very high level, as in the Ajanta frescoes. Terracotta and pottery were also a medium of high art. India had from the earliest times given rise to guilds of master craftsmen in gold and jewellery, in carpentry and ivory carving.

The family, as a fundamental unit, continued to be accepted as the foundation of social structure. The ideal of a devoted wife was held up as the highest value and in spite of widespread lapses, it was indissolubly connected with the sanctity of the family. Women enjoyed a high status in life, though not the same as in the Vedic or epic days; perhaps the narrow outlook of the less advanced communities was corrupting the circles of the cultured. Some women were students of sacred texts and philosophies; some were teachers; others studied till they married; and yet others were trained in fine arts. The lure of renunciation also attracted women and many high born ladies renounced the world in search of salvation. Women rode horses, drove chariots, wielded weapons and some queens acted as regents. About the beginning of the Christian era, however,— perhaps it was under the influence of the foreigners—the spiritual disenfranchisement of women began. Rituals came to be performed for them without the Vedic mantras; Vedic sacrifices were tabooed to the wife. Widow-remarriage and divorce were discouraged. On the other hand, Kautilya, in matters of divorce, places man and woman on equal footing. Narada prescribes punishment for the husband who leaves his wife. Manu in his original version even favours the levirate. But as people with lax morals came into the social framework on account of the expanding frontiers of Dharma, the marital tie assumed great sanctity, and in later verses Manu condemns levirate. Heterae were a highly, respected class. Amrapali, the mistress of Bimbisara and later a disciple of Buddha, had a high status in society resembling that of Aspasia in ancient Athens.

The foreigners introduced a sort of trousers, over-coats and blouses. Stitched cloth came into fashion. Even shoes of white leather were in demand; the soles were made extra thick to make the wearer look taller! The people adorned themselves with ornaments and elaborate dresses; with garlands, scents, perfumes and unguents. The body was painted too. Vermilion was placed in the middle of the hair by ladies as they do now in Bengal. Beards and heads were shaved. Houses were furnished with screens, curtains, cup-boards, chairs and sofas with or without arms. Mats, of course, were there and so were bedsteads. Couches were covered with canopies; divans were in fashion too and so were sun-shades, mosquito-curtains, filters, mosquito-fans, flower-stands, and flywhisks. In spite of Jainism and Buddhism, fish and meat, not excluding beef, were consumed extensively by the people. Fruit juice and juice of herbs and of course various kinds of liquor were freely taken. Singing, dancing and dramatic performances, entertainment by buffoons, mimics, rope-dancers, jugglers and wandering bards entertained the people. Gardening was a favourite pastime. Hunting, chariot-races, archery contests, wrestling, boxing, shooting marbles with fingers and ploughing with mimic ploughs were the common enjoyments of life.

Though India’s contact with the outside world was established since prehistoric and proto-historic times, it was during this age that we find definite expansion of Indian culture and influence in Central and South-East

Asia and the Pacific Islands. After Asoka's missionary activity, it was through the Kushanas that Indian culture and religion penetrated Central Asia. Colonization became popular. From the southern and eastern ports, however, emanated wave after wave of enterprising colonisers whose efforts resulted not only in influencing cultural and religious fields but also in establishing Hindu kingdoms in Annam, Fu-nan and other places.

With the rise of Vindhyasakti of Puranic fame, this Age ends, and a new age begins—the Classical Age of the Guptas—taking India a stage higher in many respects.

VII

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PREFACE

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar

The period with which this volume deals <600 B.C.-A.D. 320) offers a great contrast in many ways to the preceding one. We are no longer dependent upon religious literature of a single denomination and uncertain date as the sole source of our historical information. Instead, we have not only literary works of different religious sects which supplement and correct one another, but also valuable literary records of a secular character, both Indian and foreign, of known dates, and the highly important evidence furnished by coins, inscriptions and monuments. In addition, we have a continuous traditional account of states and ruling dynasties whose general authenticity is beyond question. All these enable us to draw an outline of the political history of North India and the Deccan for nearly the whole of the period. They also furnish a mass of highly valuable data for the reconstruction of the social, religious and economic life of the people of the whole region.

As regards South India, however, the position still is far from satisfactory, for we have neither coins, nor inscriptions, nor historical traditions, enabling us to draw even a rough outline of political history. And though the brilliant Sangam age of Tamil literature falls within this period, even if it is not wholly covered by it, we can glean from it only the names of a few isolated kings and their heroic achievements without any connecting link. While the literature and other sources give us glimpses of social, economic and religious conditions of the people, and particularly of their extensive maritime trade with the West, we miss the framework of political history against which alone they can be studied in their true perspective.

South India, therefore, necessarily plays a comparatively insignificant part in this volume. But subject to this limitation, the history and culture of the Indian people unfolded in the following pages may be regarded as unique in many respects, marked both by brilliance and variety for which we look in vain during subsequent ages. First and foremost, the age saw the beginning and culmination of that political unification of India which has been alike the ideal and despair of later ages. We can trace the successive steps by which Magadha, a petty principality in South Bihar, gradually extended its authority till, in the course of two centuries, under the Mauryas, it became the mistress of extensive dominions stretching from beyond the Hindu Kush in the west to the hills of Assam in the east, and from Kashmir in the north to Mysore in the south. The royal edicts of this mighty realm still lie scattered throughout India from the North-West Frontier Province to Nepal Terai and the heart of Madras.

The political history of this empire reaches almost an epic grandeur as we trace the story of its growth from stage to stage, till our vision extends over the whole of India and even beyond. Then follows the story of its fall, imbued with a dramatic interest and pathos of almost equal depth. Religious fervour and pacifist ideals lead away a mighty emperor from the policy of blood and iron which created the empire and which alone could sustain it. Then follows an orgy of greed, ambition and lust for power which saps the vitality of the state. The commander of the imperial army seizes the opportunity to strike the final blow at his royal master. The coup succeeds, but the traitor wears only a crown of thorns. Nemesis appears in the shape of foreign invaders on the horizon of the distant West. They are lured by the gorgeous wealth of Ind, which treachery and dissensions place within their easy reach. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas and the Kushanas move on the chess-board of Indian politics, but leave no permanent traces behind. India, stunned by the blow but not killed, recovers herself. The mighty Satavahana rulers bar the gates of the Deccan to the further advance of the foreigners, and the sturdy republican tribes of the north once more unfurl the banner of freedom and uphold the dignity of their motherland. It is at this juncture, when the ground is finally prepared for the foundation of another great Indian Empire, that we close this volume.

The rise and fall of the Empire of Magadha is thus our central theme, and the climax of its imperial pomp and power and the anti-climax of its decline and fall form a drama of intense human interest. This interest is further heightened by the career of the great emperor Asoka who shines in the dark firmament of Indian history as a bright star whose lustre increases as he recedes further and further into the course of time. His humanism and aversion to warfare cannot fail to strike a sympathetic chord in the heart of a generation, which has passed through two Armageddons shaking the human civilization to its very foundation and is now quailing in fear of a third which threatens to engulf it altogether.

The Maurya empire, which brought about the political unity of India, perished, but left a rich legacy behind it. Though India had to wait for nearly two thousand years for a similar achievement under a foreign yoke, the example of the Mauryas was never lost upon her and inspired successive royal dynasties to emulate it with varying degrees of success. Besides, the political unity ushered in by the Mauryas led to a cultural unity which manifested itself through the development of a uniform type of language, literature, art and religion all over India; and this left a deep impress which the lapse of time has not been able to efface. The age of imperial unity, the title given to this volume, thus fittingly describes the essential characteristic of the period with which it deals.

But the dazzling brilliance of the political achievements of the period should not blind us to its cultural attainments, which are of an unusually high order. It was predominantly an age of that freedom of thought which is now regarded as a peculiar virtue, if not the monopoly, of the West. It led to an outburst of intellectual activity such as has rarely been witnessed in later ages. Although many of the channels through which this activity flowed were dried up or lost in the sands of time, a few broad streams have survived down to our age fertilising, for more than two thousand years, men's minds and hearts over a considerable part of the globe. These comprise Buddhism and Jainism, the theistic religions Vaishnavism and &aivism, and the six systems of philosophy which may be regarded as the permanent contributions of Indian culture to the civilization of the world. The influence of all these upon the growth of civilization in India and the outside world has been described in the following pages, and more will be said in the succeeding volumes. For the student of human culture they perhaps constitute a theme of more abiding interest than even the evolution of an all-India empire under the Mauryas.

There are also other aspects of the intellectual activity which characterise the age. These are the developments in language, literature and art. The period saw the rise of Classical Sanskrit as well as the various forms of Prakrit which are the grand-parents of the numerous modern regional languages of India. It almost brought to perfection the analytical study of languages in the grammatical works of Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali, which still remain the standard works on the subject. As regards literature, it was the age of the two great epics, the Rdmayana and the Mahabharata, which have moulded the character and civilization of Indians in a way which perhaps no other literary work can claim in any part of the world.

This period also saw the beginnings of drama and poetry whose efflorescence cast a glamour on the succeeding age. Above all, it saw the evolution of the art of writing, which must be regarded as the principal instrument of the advancement of learning and the diffusion of knowledge for all times. There was also a notable advance in the study of medical science whose influence spread far beyond the borders of India. But perhaps the greatest advance was made in the study of political science and administrative organisation. The Arthasastra of Kautilya, the classical work on this subject, which has cast into shade all other texts of this class, was undoubtedly written during this period. It may be regarded as the high watermark of the progress of Indian political thought.

The history of Indian art really begins in this period. There were undoubtedly artistic activities in the preceding age, but no memorials have survived (except those of the Sindhu valley civilization), mainly because they were built of perishable materials like wood or brick. It is in this age that we first come across architecture and sculpture in stone, whose further progress we can trace in detail without any gap till our own time. The most curious thing, however, is that some of these first products of Indian art are also the finest, a peculiarity pithily expressed by Fergusson in his famous dictum that "the history of Indian art is written in decay." But although the monolithic pillars of Asoka with their wonderful lustre and superb animal figures as capitals still remain unsurpassed as works of art, in India or elsewhere, scholars no longer view the later progress of Indian art as merely a gradual process of decline from its pristine grandeur. Attention has been drawn in the following pages to varieties of later Indian art and their excellence, and a rational view has been put forward to explain their difference from, and inferiority to, the highly developed Asokan art. Apart from its technical excellence there is one characteristic which distinguishes the art of this period. It fully reflects the life and activities and thoughts and beliefs of the people at large, and may thus be regarded as an integral part of Indian culture.

India's contact with the outside world is another great characteristic feature of the age. Trade and maritime enterprise mark the beginning of this contact, which was further developed by missionary activity. Ultimately we find Indians spreading over a great part of the known world, not only in the mainlands of Asia as far as Syria and China, but also to distant lands across the sea,— over Africa and Europe on the west and Indo-China and the islands of the Indian Archipelago on the east. We also see the beginnings of Indian colonies which developed into flourishing empires and led to the growth of a Greater India in later ages.

At home, Indians came into contact with successive bands of foreigners— Greeks, Parthians, Scythians and Turks (Kushanas)— who came as invaders and were ultimately absorbed in the vast population of India. They were completely merged in Indian society and adopted the language, religion and customs of the land, without retaining any trace of their foreign origin. This reveals to us the catholicity of Hindu society of the period, in sad and striking contrast to the narrow rigidity and exclusiveness which characterised it at a later age. There are other evidences to show that the Hindu society of this age was a living organism which could adapt itself to new environment and changing circumstances. The rise of Buddhism, Jainism and other heterodox religious sects was a great challenge to the old Vedic faith and practices and, as a result, these underwent an almost complete transformation. Although the final form of the new religion is not yet clearly perceptible, its beginnings were marked in this age by the adoption of theistic Vaishnavism and Saivism within the fold of Brahmanical religion. The neo-Brahmanical literature in the form of Dharma-sastras or Smritis, which developed in this age, still forms the bed-rock of modern Hinduism in spite of the accretion of silt deposits of later ages.

As a matter of fact the Brahmanical religion, as it developed at the end of this period more than 1,500 years ago, is far more akin to modern Hinduism than it is to the Vedic cult which immediately preceded it. The age is therefore not merely important for the rise of new sects like Buddhism and Jainism, but also for the growth and development of what is now generally known as Hindu religion. It is interesting to note that, like Buddhism, this neo-Hinduism had also its proselytising aspect and was carried to remote lands, even beyond the seas, by missionary activities. Hinduism was not yet a monopoly or accident of birth, and did not lose its purity by crossing the “black water”.

Reference may now be made to some of the difficulties with which this volume has had to contend. The first and foremost is the chronological problem, which may be regarded as the chronic weakness of Indian history. There is undoubtedly a great advance over the preceding age, for which we have nothing but the vaguest idea of a few general dates that may be wrong by centuries or even millennia. So far as the present volume is concerned, the chronology of the first period depends upon the date of Buddha’s death, which has been fixed at either 544 or about 486 B. C. by two schools of opinion which alone deserve serious consideration. The latter date has been adopted in this work for reasons stated on pages 36-38. This volume has also to deal with the vexed problems of the origin of Vikrama Samvat and the Sakabda, the two leading Indian eras which started respectively in 58 B.C. and A.D. 78 and are even now widely used all over India. Indian tradition ascribes the foundation of the first to the hero-king Vikramaditya, around whose memory succeeding ages have woven a long string of legends and romances. The vitality of the Vikramaditya tradition is vouched for by the recent celebration of the bimillenary of the Vikrama era. Nevertheless sober history still refuses to recognise the existence of a king Vikramaditya in 58 B.C. for lack of positive evidence. Even eminent scholars treat him as a myth and attribute the foundation of the so-called Vikramaditya era to a foreign ruler. As regards the &akabda or &aka era, modern authorities accept the Indian tradition that it was founded by the 6aka king or commemorates the date of his accession. But in the case of both these eras there is no unanimity as to the identity of the foreign rulers who founded them. As regards the &aka era, there is a consensus of opinion that it commemorates the accession of the Kushana king Kanishka, though this view is open to serious objections and is rejected by some. As regards the foundation of the Vikrama era, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that no two scholars agree on any point except in denying that any king of the name of Vikramaditya had anything to do with it.

In view of these wide differences of opinion the Editor has thought it best to state the general position briefly in Chapter X and then give wide latitude to individual contributors to express their views, sometimes even more firmly than the facts would justify. But as the date of Kanishka is a landmark in the history of this period, the general view that he ascended the throne in A.D. 78 has been accepted as a working hypothesis.

The question of the foundation of the so-called Kalachuri era which started in A.D. 248-49 is beset with similar difficulties, though they are less serious as the era was confined to a small locality. The general view that it was founded by an Abhira chief has been adopted in this work, though it is not altogether free from doubt.

Leaving aside the general question of eras, we are also confronted with difficulties in settling the dates of some dynasties and individual kings. The dates, for example, of most of the foreign rulers of Greek or Parthian descent can only be fixed within certain limits, and there have been strong differences of opinion about Menander and Azes. The dates of the &aka satraps alone are fairly well known, thanks to the series of dated coins and inscriptions issued by them.

As regards indigenous royal dynasties, serious differences of opinion exist only about the date of foundation of the Satavahana power. The theory associated with the name of Bhandarkar— father and son—has not been accepted in this work, and the first Satavahana king has been placed in the first century B.C. instead of the third century B.C. as advocated by them. As a corollary to this, Kharavela, the famous warrior king of Kalinga, has also been assigned to the first century B.C.

In order to give a clear idea of the chronological scheme adopted in this work, a chronological table has been added at the end of the volume. To facilitate comparison, the dates of a few Roman and Chinese emperors as well as of Syrian and Parthian kings have been added in the table, particularly as India came into close contact with all these countries during the period under review. While even approximate dates of important kings have been added, those of minor or local rulers have been included only when they are known with certainty.

The chronology of literary works has been a baffling problem almost throughout the course of Indian history, and we have had more than a fair share of it in the present volume. The dates of the various Dharma-sastras or Smritis, as well as of the original Sutras of the six systems of philosophy, are among the knottiest problems of the history of Indian literature on which widely divergent views are held by scholars. The date of Kautilya's Arthasdstra has been a source of polemic discussion, which has grown into a voluminous literature. While some scholars stoutly maintain that it was written by Kautilya, the minister of the Maurya Emperor Chandragupta (324-300 B.C.), others with equal vehemence relegate it to a date as late as the third century A. D. Even a brief discussion of the merits of the different views on these all-important works, not to speak of lesser ones, would have considerably increased the bulk of this volume without a corresponding advantage. Readers interested in these questions should consult special treatises or articles, of which a select list has been given under General References or Foot-notes. In general, only the different important views have been stated without discussion. In the case of Dharma-sastra literature, the views of P. V. Kane, the latest writer on the subject, have been accepted as working hypotheses in preference to those of J. Jolly which hitherto held the field, for some idea of the dates of the different Smriti texts is necessary in order to utilise their data for the reconstruction of the social and legal system which is principally based upon them. In view of the uncertainty of date, the Kautiliyci Arthasastra has not been used as a source for the Maurya or any specific period, but the political theory and administrative organisation envisaged by it has been treated as a separate picture complete in itself. This picture must be true of some part of the period between 300 B.C. and A.D. 300, treated in this volume, though we are unable to specify it within still narrower limits.

A special interest attaches to the problem of Kalidasa, the greatest poet of India. While orthodox section still clings to the view that he flourished in the court of king Vikramaditya of Ujjayin! in the first century B.C., modern scholars generally, though by no means unanimously, regard him as a contemporary of a Gupta Emperor, most probably Chandra-gupta II (c. A.D. 376-414) who assumed the title Vikramaditya.

The practical difficulty caused by such differences of opinion was well illustrated in course of the preparation of this historical series. On reading the MSS. of the two chapters on literature in this and the next volume of the series, covering the period 600 B.C. A.D. 750, the Editor found to his utter dismay that there was no reference to the great poet Kalidasa in either of them. On enquiry it was learnt that the scholar who wrote for this volume held that Kalidasa flourished in the Gupta age and should therefore figure in the next volume, while the writer for the latter was of opinion that the poet flourished in the first century B.C. and as such must have been dealt with in the preceding volume. Ultimately it was decided to accept the general view and treat Kalidasa as belonging to the Gupta age. But the curious omission referred to above shows that scholars are even now strongly divided in their opinion as to the age of Kalidasa, and no definite opinion can be hazarded until more positive evidence is forthcoming.

As regards the other great dramatist Bhasa, the difficulty is not confined to the uncertainty of date, bad as it is from every point of view. Doubts have been entertained whether the 13 dramas published from Trivandrum are really the works of Bhasa, who is mentioned with respect even by Kalidasa. This problem also defies any final solution, but following the general view, the above-mentioned plays have been accepted as genuine works of Bhasa.

The whole history of literature is beset with similar difficulties, though of a less serious nature, to which references have been made in the relevant chapters.

Next to the chronological difficulty is the one caused by the wide differences between the Puranas and Buddhist texts regarding the genealogies of royal dynasties. The discrepancy is of a fundamental nature in the case of the Puranic Sisunagas, who are not only split into two separate dynasties in the Sinhalese Chronicles, but their chronological order is also reversed. The genealogical arrangement of these Chronicles has been adopted in this work. There are similar differences in the case of Nandas and later Maurya kings, but as they do not very much affect the general course of history, the different views have been merely stated without showing preference for any of them.

Among other difficulties of a more serious nature may be mentioned the diversity of opinion on the origin of Indian art, especially Mauryan art. The theory of Marshall that the highclass artistic products of the Asokan age were really the works of foreign artists provoked a strong challenge at the time it was originally propounded. But, gradually scholarly opinion is veering towards it, though in a modified form. Here again, no dogmatic view, one way or the other, is either possible or desirable, and the treatment of the subject in Chapter XX will perhaps meet with general approbation, if not with general acceptance. The same remarks apply to the perplexing question of the origin of Buddha images on which a more pronounced view has been taken on the basis of data that have accumulated since the time when the Greek artists were credited with their introduction in India.

This brief survey of the characteristic features of the age and the difficulties and uncertainties that its history involves would give the readers a fair idea of the contents of this volume as well as of the great importance of the period covered by it. The necessity of dealing with the beginnings of so many new developments, particularly in the domains of religion, literature and art, has increased the bulk of this volume much beyond the average fixed for each, but some of the subsequent volumes will be considerably shorter.

The general remarks in the Preface to Volume I about the way in which the Editor has tried to deal with the conflicting views of different contributors are applicable to this volume also. In addition, the Editor has occasionally found it necessary to make considerable additions and alterations, partly in order to complete the picture of a subject as he conceived it, and partly to avoid duplication and inconsistency between chapters dealing with the same or allied topics but written' by different persons. It has not always been possible to indicate the additions made by the Editor, but in important cases an asterisk has been added to ‘sections’ in the Table of Contents and at the end of ‘paragraphs’ in the body of the text to show that the authors are not responsible for the views and information contained in those parts of the chapters contributed by them. Sometimes portions of one chapter have been transferred to another written by a different person, and in all important cases the authorship has been indicated in the foot-notes.

In general, the Editor naturally conceived the idea of the work as a whole and was guided by the sole consideration of the suitability, relevance and due proportion of the different subordinate parts to the main structure. But he has not always succeeded in eliminating duplication, or even inconsistency, to a certain extent, as both were more or less inherent in the arrangement of topics or the nature of the subject. Thus, while the chapter on literature has necessarily to deal with works bearing on law, politics, religion, philosophy, etc., these had again to be dealt with in connection with those topics treated in different chapters.

A typical and extreme instance is furnished by the history of Tamil literature of the period A.D. 300-750. It almost exclusively deals with the religious works of the £aiva and Vaishnava saints, which again figure prominently in the history of these two religions. It would have been perhaps more logical to omit the separate

chapter on Tamil literature and distribute its contents among the sections dealing with the history of gaivism and Vaishnavism in South India. Apart, however, from the fact that such an omission would disturb the general framework of the volume, it was thought desirable to view these works separately as literary works. But as this can hardly be done without some reference, however brief, to their religious contents, a certain amount of duplication could hardly be avoided. To minimise these difficulties as far as possible, purely sectarian literature, such as Buddhist and Jain canons, has been included in the chapters dealing with those two religions.

It has not been possible to follow any uniform procedure about foot-notes. Some of the chapters have detailed foot-notes citing authorities for the views and statements contained in them. In other cases it has been thought sufficient to indicate, under general references, the sources from which most of the information is derived, and to add foot-notes only to deal with a few important points or to indicate sources not covered by general references. In particular references for individual specimens of architecture and sculpture have not always been given in foot-notes. But a select bibliography has been added at the end of the volume which covers all chapters and should enable readers to make a special study of the different topics included in each.

A genealogical list of royal dynasties and a chronological table of important persons and events have been added to facilitate the study of political history, though a great deal, in both of these, is involved in doubt.

The method of transliteration and spelling of proper names remains unchanged. “Ganga”, “Yamuna” and “Sindhu” have been used in place of the hitherto common “Ganges”, “Jumna” and “Indus”. The index-volume of the Imperial Gazetteer of India has been generally followed in the spellings of geographical names, most of which have been put with proper diacritical marks. New spellings such as Banaras, and new territorial divisions such as Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, etc. have also been employed.

The Editor expresses his deep obligations to the scholars who have contributed to this volume. Two of them, Dr. Beni Prasad and Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, died before the publication of this volume and the Editor takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sorrow at their death and his appreciation of the services rendered by them to the cause of Indian History. As neither of them could revise the chapters in their final form, the Editor had to take the onerous responsibility of making suitable additions and alterations to them without having the benefit of their advice or opinion.

The Editor also likes to place on record the ungrudging services rendered by Dr. A. D. Pusalker at every stage of the preparation of this series. He has worked very hard in checking references and seeing the volume through the press, and has made many valuable suggestions for improving the quality of the book and making it more useful to the public.

Dr. B. K. Ghosh, one of the contributors to Vol. I, who had seen his chapters in proof, passed away while the book was in press. In his death Indian Linguistics hn stained a serious loss. The Editor takes this opportunity to convey his condolence to the bereaved family.

LIST OF MAPS*

1. Sixteen Mahajanapadas

2. Alexander's Indian Campaign

3. Asoka’s Empire

4. India and Western Asia

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LIST OF PLATES

Description

Bharhut: Ajatasatru pillar.

Rajgriha: Rampart walls of cyclopean masonry.

City of Jetuttara—relief on the north gate of the great Stupa at Sanchl.

City of Kusinagara—relief from Amaravatl.

Palace facade—Karle, Chaitya cave, right end of verandah. Sanchl, Great Stupa: View of the North torana.

Pleasure palace with stairway—from a relief from Mathura. Pleasure palace, General view—from a relief from Mathura. Bulandibagh, Patna: View of excavations.

Sanchl, Great Stupa: General view.

Gandhara: Votive stiipa.

Amaravatl: Replica of a stupa on a casing slab.

Barabar, Lomasa Rishi cave: Fagade.

Bhaja, Chaitya cave: Fagade.

Kondane, Chaitya cave: Fagade.

Nasik, Chaitya cave: Fagade.

Bedsa, Chaitya cave: Interior view.

Karle, Chaitya cave: Interior view.

Karle, Chaitya cave: Details of the pillars of the aisle.

Karle, Chaitya cave: Verandah.

Udayagiri, Rani gumpha: General view.

Nasik, Ushavadata vihara: Front view.

Nasik, Gautamlputra Satakarni vihara: Front view.

Junnar, Ganesa lena: Front view.

Lauriya Nandangarh: Asoka pillar.

Basarh-Bakhira: Pillar.

Rampurwa: Lion capital.

Rampurwa: Bull capital.

Sarnath: Lion capital.

Dhauli: Forepart of an elephant.

Sanchl, Stupa No. II: Ground balustrades.

Bharhut: Prasenajit pillar—outer face.

Bharhut: Bodhi Tree shrine.

Bharhut: Dream of Mayadevl..

Bharhut: Sirima devatd.

Bharhut: Sudarsana yakshint.

Bharhut: Warrior.

Bodh Gaya: Square balustrade, partial view.

Bodh Gaya: Rail medallions.

Bodh Gaya: Rail medallions.

Sanchl, Great Stupa: East gateway.

Sanchl, Great Stupa: Guardian figure on east gateway.

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Description

Sanchi, Great Stupa: North gate, architrave support. Sanchl, Great Stupa: East gate, detail of carvings. Sanchl, Great Stupa: West gate, middle architrave. Sanchl, Great Stupa: Same—another face.

Sanchl, Great Stupa: West gate, lowest architrave. Sanchl, Great Stupa: East gate, Bodhi Tree shrine. Bhaja: Surya on wall of the vihara.

Parkham: Yaksha.

Besnagar: Yakshinl.

Patna: Yaksha.

Didarganj: Yakshinl.

Pawaya: Manibhadra yaksha—Front.

Sarnath: Bodhisattva of Friar Bala.

Pawaya: Manibhadra yaksha—Back.

Katra, Mathura: Bodhisattva.

Mathura: Bachhanalian scene.

Mathura, Bhutesar pillar: Yakshinl.

Mathura: Statue of Kanishka.

Mathura: Maitreya Bodhisattva.

Mathura, Bhutesar pillar: Yakshinl.

Mathura: Jain Ayagapatta.

Karle: Donors.

Loriyan Tangai: Buddha.

Gandhara: Buddha.

Table caption1

Table captionj

Gandhara: Buddha head—front and profile.

Gandhara: Buddha among disciples.

Udayagiri, Rani gumpha: Sculptures in upper storey.

Udayagiri, Rani gumpha: Sculptures in upper storey.

Jaggayyapet: Relief carvings.

Jaggayyapeta: Plaster figure.

Amaravati: Sculptured jamb.

^ Amaravati: Sculptured jamb—outer and inner sides.

J

Amaravati: Coping stone.

Amaravati: Fragment of a sculptured jamb.

Ajanta, Cave IX: Group of votaries approaching a stupa.

Ajanta, Cave X: Shad-danta Jataka—the fainting of the queen at the sight of the tusks.

Sarnath: Male head.

Birol: Terracotta head.

KausambI: Terracotta figurine.

Bangarh: Terracotta figurine.

Patna: Terracotta figurine.

Tamluk: Terracotta figurine.

1

Pompei: Indian ivory figurine—front and back.

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J

Begram: Indian ivory relief carving.

Table captionCoins and intaglios.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.

ABIA.

ABORI.

Anab.

Anc. Ind. or Ancient India.

Angu.

Ap. Dh. S.

ASI.

ASR.

ASS.

BDCRI.

BEFEO.

Bhag. P.

Bharata-Kaumudl.

BI.

BSOS.

BSS.

Bull. M.F.A. CAH.

CHI.

Chv.

CII.

CL.

CLAI.

After the Buddha.

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Cambridge History of India.

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Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

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CR.

D'hammap.

Dialogues.

Digha.

Div.

DKA.

EB.

EC.

EHAC.

EHD.

EHI.

El.

ERE.

GIL.

GOS.

HBR.

HC.

HCSL.

HIEA. 2

HIIA.

HIL.

HOS.

HSL.

IiTB.

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HTW.

Hv.

IA.

IAL.

IC.

IHQ.

Invasion.

JA.

JAOS.

JASB.

Jat.

JBBRAS.

JBHU.

JBORS.

JDL.

JGIS.

JGJRI.

JIH.

JISOA.

JNSI.

JRAS.

JRASB (L).

KA.

KAT.

Kane Comm.

On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, A.D. 629645. Translated by Thomas Watters. Edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell. 2 Vols. London, 1904-05.

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Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Jdtaka (or Jatakas).

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

Journal of the Banaras Hindu University.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.

Journal of the Greater India Society.

Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.

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KHDS. History of Dharmasdstra, By P. V. Kane.

Majjh.	Majjhima Nikaya.
Manu.	Manu-smriti. ◆
MASI.	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mbh.	Mahdbhdrata (Bombay Edition, unless specifically stated otherwise).
Mbh (Cr. Ed.).	Critical Edition of the Mahdbhdrata. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (used for Parvans hitherto published).
Megasthenes.	Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian. By J. W. McCrindle. Calcutta, Bombay, London, 1877.
Mem. N.S.I.	Memoirs of the Numismatic Society of India.
Mv.	Mahdvagga (of Vinaya Pitaka).
NHIP.	New History of the Indian People (Vol. VI. Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. Lahore, 1946).
NIA.	New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

Num. Chron.	Numismatic Chronicle.
OST.	Original Sanskrit Texts. By J. Muir.
P.	Purdna.
P.E.	Pillar Edict.
Periplus.	Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Translated and annotated by W. H. Schoff. London, 1912.
PHAI.	Political History of Ancient India. By H. C. Raychaudhuri. 4th Ed. Calcutta, 1938.
PIHC.	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
PO.	Poona Orientalist, Poona.
POC.	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.
Proc. N.S.I.	Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of India.
PTS.	Pali Text Society.
QJMS.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Bangalore.

Raj.	Rajatarangini by Kalhana.
Ram.	Rdmdyana.
R.E.	Rock Edict.
Sam.	Samyutta Nikaya.

Sat. Br.	Satapatha Brdhmana.
SBB.	Sacred Books of the Buddhists, London.
SBE.	Sacred Books of the East, Oxford.
SBH.	Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad. Sanskrit Drama.
SD.	By A. B. Keith. Oxford, 1924.
Sel. Ins.	Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization. By D. C. Sircar. Calcutta, 1942 .
Sumangala V.	Sumangala Vildsini (Comm, on the Dlgha).
Thomas Comm.	A. Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies in honour of F. W. Thomas. Bombay, 1939. Vinaya Texts, SBE, Vols. 13 and
Vol.	17:
Vinaya.	

	Translated from the Pali by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg.
VS.	Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems. By. R. G. Bhandarkar.
WZKM.	Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgen landes.
ZDMG.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft.
ZII.	Zeitschrift fiir Indologie und Iranistik.

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CHAPTER I

NORTH INDIA IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B. Q

I. THE SIXTEEN GREAT STATES

It would appear from what has been said above in Vol. I, Ch. XV, that at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. there was no paramount power in North India, which was divided into a large number of independent states. These were the three important kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, and Vatsa, and a host of minor ones such as Kuru, Panchala, Surasena, Kasi, Mithiia, Anga, Kalinga, Asmaka, Gandhara and Kamboja. Two other kingdoms, those of the Haihayas and the Vltihotras, are also mentioned in the Puranas, but their location is uncertain. One of them probably represents Avanti, and the other the Chedi kingdom.

The same political condition is reflected in the stereotyped list of sixteen great countries (Solasamahajanapada) which, according to Buddhist texts, [1] flourished shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. They are as follows according to the Anguttara Nikdya :— Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Vriji (Vajji), Malla, Chedi, Vatsa (Vaihsa), Kuru, Panchala, Matsya (Machchha), Surasena, Asvaka or Asmaka (Assaka), Avanti, Gandhara and Kamboja, each being named after the people who settled down there or colonised it. The Janavasabha Suttanta (Digha Nikdya , II) refers to some of them in pairs, viz. Kasi-Kosala, Vriji (Vajji)-Malla, Chedi-Vaihsa, KuruPanchala and Matsya-Surasena. The Chullaniddesa adds Kalinga to the list and substitutes Yona for Gandhara. The Mahdvastu list agrees with that in the Anguttara Nikdya save that it omits Gandhara and Kamboja and mentions Sivi and Dasarna instead.

The Jain Bhagavatl Sutra (otherwise called Vydkhyd-Prajnapti) also mentions sixteen countries, though it gives a somewhat different list:— Anga, Vanga, Magaha, Malaya, Malava, Achchha, Vachchha, Kochchha, Padha, Ladha (Radha), Bajji (Vajji), Moll* Kail, Kosala, Avaha and Sambhuttara. 2

Note 1

Note 2

The Mahagovinda Suttanta 1 tells us that Mahagovinda, the Brahmin chaplain to king Renu, divided his empire into seven separate kingdoms with their respective capitals as named below:—

1 . Kalinga capital Dantapura.

2. Assaka >> Potana.

3. Avanti »> Mahishmatl (Mahissatl).

4. Sovlra »> Roruka.

5. Videha >> Mithila.

6. Anga Champa.

7. KasI >> VaranasS.

In spite of striking resemblances, especially between the Puranic and Buddhist lists, there are also important differences. This leads to the assumption that the lists were originally drawn up at different times, and they reflect the difference in their author's knowledge of, interest in, or intimacy with, the different parts of the country. This is best illustrated by the mention in the Buddhist and Jain texts of the Vriji or Vajji and Malla which are omitted in the Puranas; for it is well known that these two states were the strongholds of both the heterodox religious sects.

The mention of these states is of special importance for, as will be presently shown, they were autonomous clans with a nonmonarchical (republican or oligarchical) form of government. The Puranas do not indicate in any way the existence of such states in this period. But these formed a distinctive feature in Indian politics in the sixth century B.C., for the Buddhist texts reveal the existence of many such clans at the time of Gautama Buddha. These are the Sakiyas or Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Mallas of Pava and Ku&nara (Kuslnagara), Lichchhavis of Vesali (Vaisall), the Videhas of Mithila, the Koliyas of Ramagama, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kalamas of Kesaputta, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana and the Bhaggas with their capital on Surhsumara Hill. The Buddhist account is fully supported by the Ashtadhyayi of Panini who, according to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, lived about 700 B.C. and, according to Professor A. Macdonell, about 500 B. C. Panini, in his grammar, mentions both classes of States, viz. the Republics, to which he applies the term Sarhgha or Gotia, and the kingdoms called Janapadas. Some of the leading Republics mentioned by him were the Kshudrakas (Greek Oxydrakai), MSlavas (Malloi), Ambashthas (Abastanoi), Hastinayana (Astakenoi), Prakanva (Parikanioi or modern Ferghana), Madras, Madhumantas (modern Mohmands), Aprltas (Greek Aparytai = modern Afridis), Vasati (Ossadii), Bhaggas, Sibis (Sibai), Aivayana (Greek Aspasioi) and Asvakayana (Greek Assakenoi with their capital at Massaga = Masakavatl). Most of these continued up to the time of Alexander's invasion which they stoutly resisted. As regards the J anapadas or kingdoms, Panini mentions, among others, Gandhara, Avanti, Kosala, Usinara, Videha, as also Magadha, Anga and Vahga, which he designates as

Note 3

Prdchya J anapadas (IV, 1, 170). 1 Baudhayana in his Dharma-Sntra mentions states like Surashtra, Avanti, Magadha, Anga, Pundra, and Vahga. The existence of nonmonarchical clans can be traced throughout the period under review. They are expressly referred to by Megasthenes and Kautilya, and names of many of them occur in epigraphic records of the fourth century A.D.

We may thus reasonably conclude that there were in the sixth century B.C. a large number of states, both great and small, and many of these were not ruled by kings but formed petty republics or oligarchies. This political condition of North India—for all the states so far mentioned, except perhaps Asmaka, belonged to this region—thus resembled that of Greece in the same period, though naturally the size of the kingdoms as well as of some of the nonmonarchical states in India was much bigger. The location, origin, and early history of most of these states have been discussed above 2 on the basis of traditions contained in Brahmanical texts. The Buddhist and other texts, which testify to their existence in the sixth century B.C., only incidentally refer to them and do not give any connected history except in the case -of Magadha. We have, therefore, to confine ourselves to a few isolated facts that may be gleaned from them about these states, reserving a detailed history of Magadha for the next chapter.

Anga

The Jain Prajndpana ranks Anga and Vahga in the first group of Aryan peoples. Anga, as described in the Mahdbhdrata, seems to have comprised the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. The river Champa (probably modern Chandan) formed the boundary between Anga in the east and Magadha in the west. The kingdom of Anga was bounded by the Gahga on the north. Its capital Champa,

1. TheTcitations from Pariini are taken from Chapter III of this volume written by Dr. R. K. Mookerji (Ed.).

2. Vol. I, Chapters XIII-XV.

formerly known as Malini, stood on the right bank of the Gahga, near its junction with the river Champa and was at a distance of 60 yojanas from Mithila. 1 It was one of the most flourishing cities. The LHgha Nilcdya refers to it as one of the six principal cities of India. It was a great centre of trade and commerce and its merchants sailed to distant Suvamabhumi. There was a famous tank called Gaggara in the neighbourhood of Champa. Bhaddiya and Assapura were the other towns of the Anga kingdom. Its long rivalry with, and Anal conquest by, Magadha has been mentioned above. 2

Kdsi

The kingdom of Kasi, wdiose extent is given in the Jatakas as three hundred leagues, was wealthy and prosperous. The rivers Varuiia and Asi by which the city was bounded respectively on the north and south gave rise to the name of its capital city Varanasi, modern Banaras, eighty miles below Allahabad on the north bank of the Gahga. The Jatakas speak of a long rivalry between the two kingdoms of Kasi and Kosala for supremacy. There also existed occasional rivalries between Kasi and Anga and between Kasi and Magadha. Kasi, which was once an important state, was conquered by Kosala some time before Buddha. 3

Kosala

The kingdom of Kosala roughly corresponded to modern Oudh. It was probably bounded by the Sadanira (Gandak) river on the east, Panchala on the west, the Sarpika or Syandika (Sai) river on the south, and the Nepal hills on the north. The country of Kosala proper was divided into north and south, evidently by the river Sarayu. £ravasti was the capital of northern Kosala, and Kusavatl, the capital of southern Kosala. Besides the three important cities, Sravasti, Saketa and Ayodhya, mentioned above, 4 Kosala had some minor towns like Setavya, Ukkattha, and Kitagiri.

The conquest of Kasi made Kosala a powerful state. It soon extended its supremacy over the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, probably also over the Kalamas of Kesaputta, and other neighbouring states. Its king Prasenajit or Pasenadi, 5 a contemporary of Buddha, figures as

Note 4

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Note 8

one of the most important rulers of the time. He carried on a protracted struggle with Ajatasatru, king of Magadha, as will be described later.

Although not definitely converted to Buddhism, Prasenajit was a great admirer of the Buddha, and the Buddhist texts record many conversations between the two. His admiration extended also to the Sakya clan, in which the Master was born, and he asked for a daughter of a Sakya chief as his wife. The &akyas, too proud of their lineage to enter into such an alliance, but too weak to refuse openly the request of such a powerful potentate in their immediate neighbourhood, had resort to a trick. The offspring of a i£akya chief by a slave girl was passed off as the legitimate daughter of the Sakya race and married to Prasenajit. A son, Vidudabha, was born of this marriage, and when he paid a visit to his maternal grandfather the true origin of his mother came to light. It naturally created a great sensation, and Prasenajit discarded both his queen and son. But the great Buddha told him that whatever might have been the origin of the queen, the son belonged to the caste of his father, and on his advice Prasenajit restored both the queen and the prince to favour.

Whether it was a repercussion of this incident or not, Prasenajit was involved in domestic troubles. In his last interview with the Buddha, which took place in the 6akya country, he contrasted the dissensions in his own household and government with the perfect peace maintained in the Buddhist Order. But even while he was talking with the Buddha, the minister, who was left in charge of the kingdom, proclaimed prince Vidudabha as king. Prasenajit, being deserted by his people, proceeded towards Raj agriha to secure the help of Ajatasatru. But weary and worn out, he reached that city only to die outside its gates. Such was the miserable end of a great career highly extolled in the Buddhist texts. It is not altogether impossible that his attachment to Buddhism alienated his people and brought about his tragic end, though some texts represent him as a great patron of the Brahmanas to whom he granted territory in the royal domains with extensive powers.

Of all the kings of this period, Prasenajit is the only outstanding personality, thanks to the detailed references in the Buddhist texts. The summing up of his character by Mrs. Rhys Davids is worth quoting. “He is shown combining, like so many of his class all the world over, a proneness to affairs of sex with the virtues and affection of a good ‘family man*, indulgence at the table with an equally natural wish to keep in good physical form, a sense of honour and honesty, shown in his disgust at legal cheating, with a greed for acquiring wealth and war indemnities, and a fussiness over lost property, magnanimity towards a conquered foe with a callousness over sacrificial slaughter and the punishment of criminals. Characteristic also is both his superstitious nervousness over the sinister significance of dreams, due, in reality, to disordered appetites, and also his shrewd politic care to be on good terms with all religious orders, whether he had testimonials to their genuineness or not.” [1]

Vi^u^abha, who succeeded him, invaded the Sakya country and massacred the Sakya clan, sparing neither men nor women and children. Though many escaped, it was the virtual end of the famous autonomous clan which produced one of the greatest teachers the world has seen. The fraud practised by the Sakyas in respect of his mother is represented to be the cause of his wrath, though there might have been political reasons or other factors. Nothing else is known of Vidudabha or the kingdom of Kosala after him.

VHji

The Vfijian (Vajjian) confederacy consisted of eight [2] or nine [3] clans of which Videhans, the Lichchhavis, the Jnatrikas and the Vajjis were the most prominent. Vrijigama was a locality near Vaisall. Vaisali (the modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar) was the capital of the Lichchhavis and the headquarters of the powerful Vrijian confederacy. It seems to have been formerly under a monarchical form of government. [4]

Visala mentioned in the Rdmdyana was an excellent town (uttama purl). The city was rich, prosperous, and populous, being surrounded by three walls at a distance of a gavuta from one another, each provided with gates and watch-towers. It had high buildings, pinnacled houses, lotus ponds 5 etc. Videha (modern Tirhut), which was once a very powerful monarchy with Mithila as its capital, was bounded by the Kausiki in the east, the Ganga in the south, the Sadanlra in the west and the Himalayas in the north. Cunningham identifies

Note 9

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Mithila with Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. According to early Jain texts the Jnatrikas, to whom belonged Siddhartha and his son Mafia vira, had their seats at Kundapura or Kun^agrama and Koliaga, which were suburbs of Vaisali. Ukkachela was a Vrijian town on the left bank of the Ganga. Panini (IV, 2, 131) mentions the Vrijis or Vajjis. In Kautilya's Arthasastra, the Vrijikas or Vajjis are distinguished from the Lichchhivikas or Lichchhavis. As regards the remaining confederate clans, we have no definite information as yet.

Some scholars are of opinion that the Lichchhavis were of foreign origin, but this view is not supported by evidence. 1 Indian tradition represents them as Kshatriyas. The ruling clan of the Lichchhavis was firmly established during the days of Mahavlra and Gautama Buddha, and the latter gave eloquent expression to his great admiration for their unity, strength, noble bearing and republican constitution. The Lichchhavis were on friendly terms with king Prasenajit of Kosala. Their relation with the neighbouring Mallas was on the whole friendly, and the Jain books speak of the nine Lichchhavis as having formed a confederacy with nine Mallas and eighteen gana-rtijas of Kasi-Kosala. But the great rival of Vaisali was

Magadha. According to tradition, the Vaisallans sent an army to attack Magadha at the time of Bimbisara. 2 The Nirayavall Sutra informs us that Bimbisara married a Lichchhavi princess named Chellana, daughter of king Chetaka of Vaisali, whose sister was the mother of Mahavlra. This matrimonial alliance was, according to D. R. Bhandarkar, the result of the peace concluded after the war between Bimbisara and the Lichchhavis. But it was also instrumental in bringing about the ruin of the Lichchhavis as will be related in the next Chapter.

Malla

The Mallas are often mentioned in Buddhist and Jain works. They seem to have been a powerful tribe dwelling in Eastern India. Bhlmasena is said to have conquered the chief of the Mallas in the course of his expedition to Eastern India. The BhTshmaparva of the Mahdbhdrata similarly mentions the Mallas along with such peoples of Eastern India as the Angas, Vangas, and Kalingas. The kingdom of the Mallas consisted of nine territories, 3 one of each of the nine

Note 14

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Note 17

confederate clans. The territories of two of these confederate clans were prominent at the time of the rise of Buddhism, one with its headquarters at Kusinara and the other with PaVa as its chief town. The first abutted on the Sakya territory and the second on the Vriji. The river Kakustha (Kakuttha) formed the boundary between the two territories. The sala grove of Kusinara was on the river Hirahnavati.

According to tradition, Kusinara was built on the site of the ancient city of Kusavatl, which was the capital of king Mahasudassana. In the neighbourhood stood an extensive forest called Mahavana. There were some other Malla towns, viz., Bhoganagara lying between Jambugrama and Pava, Anupiya between Kusinara and the river Anorna, and Uruvelakappa. Of the two cities of Pava and Kusinara, the second has been identified with

Kasia on the smaller Gandak about 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur, and the first with the village called Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kasia. 1

The Mallas, like the Lichchhavis, are mentioned by Manu as Vratya Kshatriyas. They are called Vasishthas (Vasetthas) in the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta. Like the Videhas, the Mallas had originally a monarchical form of government, Okkaka (Ikshvaku) being mentioned in the Kusa Jataka (No. 531) as a Malla king. The Mallas were a sangha or corporation, of which the members called themselves rajas. Buddhaghosha also calls them rajas. The Mallas and Lichchhavis became allies for self-defence, though the Bhaddasala Jataka (Jataka No. 465) offers us an account of a conflict between them. The Mallas retained their independence till the death of Buddha, for we find both the main sections of the Mallas claiming a share of his bodily remains.

Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the Mallas. From the Jain Kalpaswtra we learn that the nine Mallakis or Malla chiefs were among those that instituted an illuminaton on the day of the new moon saying, “since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter.” 2

The Mallas appear to to have lost their independence not long after Buddha’s death and their dominions were annexed to the Magadhan empire. 3

Note 18

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Note 20

Chedi (Cheti)

The Chedis or Chetis had two distinct settlements, of which one was in the mountains of Nepal and the other in Bundelkhand near Kausambl. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that Cheta or Chetiya corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand. 1 According to old authorities the country of the Chedis lay near the Yamuna, midway between the kingdoms of the Kurus and the

Vatsas. Sotthivatlnagara, probably identical with Sukti or &uktimatl of the Mdhabharata, was its capital. Sahajati was a town of the Chedis which stood on the right bank of the Yamuna.

The Chedis were one of the most ancient tribes of India and their early history has been discussed above. 2 A branch of the Chedis founded a royal dynasty in the kingdom of Kalihga, according to the Hathigumpha Inscription of Kharavela, to which reference will be made later.

Vatsa

The country of Vatsa was very rich and prosperous and noted for the high quality of its cotton fabrics. Kausambl, which was its capital, is now represented by the village of Kosam on the right bank of the Yamuna. The village of Pabhosa is about two and a half miles north-east of Kosam. In a modern Jain dedicatory inscription the hill of Pabhosa is placed just outside the town of Kausambl.

The migration of the Kurus or Bharatas to the Vatsa country and their history up to king Udayana, the contemporary of the Buddha, have been narrated above. 3 Udayana (Udena) was a very powerful king and a number of interesting legends centre rounds his rivalry with king Pradyota of Avanti. The latter, although very jealous because Udayana surpassed him in glory, was unwilling to risk an open campaign against him, and hit upon a device to capture his hated rival. Knowing Udayana's passion for catching elephants, he had one made of wood, with sixty soldiers concealed inside, and set it up in a forest near the boundary of the two kingdoms. Udayana fell into the trap and was taken prisoner. He knew a wonderful secret for taming elephants, and Pradyota offered him his liberty in exchange for revealing it. But Udayana would teach him the secret only if he received due salutation as a teacher from his pupil. Being unwilling himself to offer salutation, Pradyota made Udayana

Note 21

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Note 23

agree to teach it to someone else on the same condition. Lest an outsider would learn the precious secret, he engaged his own daughter Vasuladatta (Vasavadatta) for the purpose, but told Udayana that a hunch-backed woman behind a curtain would pay him salutation and learn the secret from him. It was not long, however, before the inevitable took place; Udayana fled with the princess and made her his queen.

Udayana is said to have had many other queens, one of whom was a daughter of a Kuru Brahmana (worth citing as an instance of a pratiloma marriage) and the other a sister of king Darsaka of Magadha. He is the hero of three dramas, Svapna-Vasavadatta of Bhasa and Priyadarsika and Ratnavali of Harsha, and we know from Meghaduta of Kalidasa, that even in the time of this poet many stories about Udayana were widely current in Avanti. An account of his conquest or digvijaya is given in the Kathasarit sdgara . According to the Priyadarsika he conquered Kalinga and restored his father-in-law Dridhavarman to the throne of Anga. The latter is probably the same as Dadhivahana w T ho, according to another legend, was defeated by Udayana’s father. 1 How far these legends contain a kernel of historical facts is, of course, difficult to say.

Udayana was at first not favourably inclined towards Buddhism, and it is said that in a fi f of drunken rage he tortured Pindola, a famous member of the Buddhist order, by tying him down in a nest of brown ants. Later, however, the same Pindola made him a devotee of Buddha.

Udayana survived Buddha. He had a son named Bodhi, about whom some details are given in Buddhist texts. But we do not definitely know anything about Vatsa after Udayana, not even whether Bodhi ever succeeded his father on the throne. According to a Jataka story (No. 353) prince Bodhi dwelt in Sumsumaragiri and this proves that the Bhagga (or Bharga) state referred to above was a dependency of Vatsa.

Kuru

According to the Jatakas, the capital of the Kurus was Indraprastha (Indapatta) near modern Delhi, which extended over seven leagues. In Buddha^s time, the Kuru country was ruled by a titular chieftain named Koravya and had very little political importance of its own. The Kurus continued to enjoy their ancient reputation for deep wisdom and sound health. The Jain Uttarddhyayana

Note 24

Sutra 1 refers to a king named Isukara who was the ruler of the ancient, wealthy, famous and beautiful town of Isukara (the Arrowmaker).

The Kurus had matrimonial relations with the Yadavas, the Bhojas and the Panchalas. The Jatakas contain an account of king Dhanahjaya introduced as a prince of the race of Yudhishthira.

The earlier monarchical constitution of the Kurus subsequently gave place to a republic. They, however, continued the monarchical form of government in the Vatsa country.

Panchala

Originally Panchala was the country, north and east of Delhi, from the foot of the Himalayas to the river Chambal, and the ‘Ixahga divided it into North and Sout^ 1 Panchala. It roughly corresponds to the modern Baduan, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The division of the country into northern or Uttara-Pahchala and southern or Pakshina-Panchala is supported by the Mahabhdrata , the Jatakas and the Divydvadana (p. 435). The Northern Panchala had its capital at Ahichchhatra or Adhichchhatra or Adisadra of Ptolemy or Chhatravati (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District) while Southern Pshchala had its capital at Kampilya, that is, Kampil in the Farrukhabad District. King Chulani Brahmadatta of Panchala finds mention in the Ramdyana , Maha-Ummagga Jataka (No. 546), the Uttarddkyayana Sutra , and the Svapna-Vdsavadatta . The famous city of Kanvakubja or Kanauj was situated in the kingdom of Panchala. Originally a monarchical clan, the Panchalas formed a sangha or republican corporation in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

Matsya

The Matsya or Machchha country corresponds to the modern territory of Jaipur. It included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. The capital of the Matsya country was Viratanagara (modern Bairat) named after its founder king Virata.

In Pali literature the Matsyas as a people are usually associated with the Surasenas. The Apara Matsya (Western Matsya) w r as probably the hill tract on the north bank of the Chambal. In the Rdmayana, we find a similar reference to VIra Matsya A branch of the Matsyas is similarly found in later days in the Vizagapatam

Note 25

Note 26

region. The Matsyas had no political importance of their own during the time of Buddha. King Sahaja ruled over the Chedis and the Matsyas. 1 Matsya thus once formed a part of the Chedi kingdom.

Siirasena

The gurasena country had its capital at Madhura or Mathura on the Yamuna. The ancient Greek writers refer to it as Sourasenoi and its capital as Methora. From Sankissa to Mathura it was a distance of four yojanas. Avantiputra, king of the Surasenas, was the first among the chief disciples of Buddha through whose help Buddhism gained ground in the Mathura region. It may be inferred from the epithet Avantiputra that there existed a matrimonial alliance between Avanti and Surasena. The Andhakas and Vrishnis of Mathura are referred to in Panini's Ashtddhydyi. 2 In Kautilya's Arthasdstra the Vrishnis are described as a Sangha , i.e., a republican corporation. The Vrishnis, Andhakas and other allied tribes formed a Sangha and Vasudeva (Krishna) is described as a 'Sanghamukhya The name of the Vrishni corporation is also found on, a coin. 3 Mathura, the capital of the Surasenas, was also known at the time of Megasthenes (300 B.C.) as the centre of Krishna worship, and the Siirasena kingdom then became an integral part of the Magadhan empire.

Asvaka

Assaka, Asmaka or Asvaka was originally a country in the basin of the Sindhu. It may be identified with the kingdom of Assakenoi of the Greek writers in the Swat Valley. The Asmakas, as noted above, are also mentioned by Panini. They are placed in the north-west in the Mdrkandeya Puvdna and the Brihat-samhita. The early Buddhist texts refer to Assaka as a Mahajanapada, the capital of which was Potana or Potali corresponding to Paudanya of the Mahdbhdrata . This Assaka of Buddhist literature was a south Indian country. The river Godavari flowed between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Assaka and Mulaka or Alaka. The latter had Pratishthana or Paithan as its capital and Assaka lay immediately to its south. A Brahmin named Bavarl settled near a village on the Godavari in the Assaka territory in the Dakshinapatha after having left the Kosala country. According to the Commentary on the Sutta Nipdta, the two kingdoms of Assaka and Mulaka are represented

Note 27

Note 28

Note 29

as two Andhaka or Andhra territories. Bha^tasvami, the commentator of Kau^ilya's Arthasdstra, identifies Asmaka with Maharashtra. The Assaka country of the Buddhists, therefore, whether it be identical with Maharashtra or located on the Godavari, lay outside the pale of the Madhyadesa. 1

Asmaka and Mulaka appear as scions of the Ikshvaku family. Brahmadatta, a king of the Assakas, was a contemporary of the king of Anga and KasI named Dhritarashtra (Dhatarattha). Another king of Assaka named Aruna won a victory over the king of Kalihga. At the time of Buddha the ruler of Assaka was a king whose son was Prince Sujata.

Avanti

Avanti was an important kingdom of western India. It was one of the four great monarchies in India when Buddhism arose, the other three being Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha. It appears to have been divided by the river Vetravatl into north and south. It fell to the share of Vessabhu, one of the seven contemporary kihgs of the line of Bharat a. 2 Mahissati (Sk. Mahishmatl) was then the capital of Avanti. But the Pali canonical texts mention Ujjeni (Sk. UjjayinI) as the capital of king Chanda Pradyota (Pajjota) of Avanti in the time of Mahavlra and Buddha. D. R. Bhandarkar 3 seeks to account for this discrepancy by the assumption that the country of the Avantis was divided into two kingdoms, one placed in the Dakshinapatha having Mahishmatl for its capital, and the other, i.e., the northern kingdom, having its capital at Ujjayani. The country or kingdom of Avanti may be taken to have corresponded roughly to modern Malwa, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Madhya Pradesh. Both UjjayinI and Mahishmatl stood on the southern high road extending from Raj agriha to Pratishthana. Vidisa (Bhilsa in old Gwalior State) lay on the road to UjjayinI. Dasama has been mentioned in the Mahdbhdrata 4 as well as in the Meghaduta of Kalidasa (24-25) and is generally identified with Vidisa or Bhilsa region in the Madhya Bharat. Two other cities of Avanti are known from Buddhist and Jain literature. These were Kuraraghara and Sudarsanapura. The Mahdbhdrata 5 also speaks of Avanti and Mahishmatl as two different countries. UjjayinI,

Note 30

Note 31

Note 32

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Note 34

the capital of Avanti, was built by Achchutagami. 1 Avanti was an important centre of Buddhism. Some of the leading theras and theris were either born or resided there.

According to the Puranas, as mentioned above, 2 Pulika (Punika) killed his master and placed his own son Pradyota on the throne of Avanti. Pradyota was a powerful king and a contemporary of Buddha. In his time the kingdom of Avanti was in rivalry with the neighbouring kingdoms of Vatsa, Magadha, and Kosala. Pradyota's relation with Udayana, king of Kausambi, has been related above.’ According to a Buddhist text, Ajatasatru fortified his capital Rajagriha as he apprehended an invasion by Pradyota. The

Puranas refer to him as having subjugated the neighbouring kings, but describe him as ‘destitute of good policy’. The Buddhist text Mahavagga also says that he was cruel. All this is borne out by his epithets Chanda and Mahasena.

According to the Puranas, Chanda Pradyota Mahasena, to give the king his full name, ruled for 23 years, and was followed by four kings, Palaka, Visakhayupa, Ajaka and Nandivardhana who ruled respectively for 24, 50, 21 and 20 years. The last ruler was defeated by Sisunaga, and Avanti was incorporated with the growing kingdom of Magadha, as will be related in the next chapter.

Gandhara

Gandhara I'Gandharva-vishaya) denotes the region comprising the modern districts of Peshawar (Purushapura) and Rawalpindi. Its capital Takshasila or Takkasila (modern Taxila) was both a centre of trade and an ancient seat of learning. Gandhara sometimes also included Kasmlra (Jataka No. 406) and Heeataeus of Miletus '549-468 B.C.) refers to Kaspapyros (Kasyapapura i.e., Kashmir) as a Gandaric city. The city of Takshasila was 2000 leagues from Banaras.

King Pukkusati or Pushkarasari in , the ruler of Gandhara in the middle of the sixth century B.C-., was a contemporary of king Bimbisara of Magadha. He sent an embassy and a letter to his great Magadhan contemporary as a mark of friendship. He waged war on king Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated. 4

1. Dlpavarkra (Ed. Oldonberg), p. 57.

2. VoL J, p. 323; 4l.h impression (1965). p. 327.

3. See above pp. 9-10.

4. Essay on Gunddhya, p. 176.

Kamboja

Kamboja is included in the Uttarapatha. It is generally associated with Gandhara in ancient literature and in the Edicts of Asoka. The Kambojas occupied roughly the province round about Rajaori or ancient Rajapura, including the Hazara District of the NorthWest Frontier Province and probably extending as far as Kafiristan. Rajapura was the home of the Kambojas, and may be identified with Rajapura mentioned by Hiuen Tsang which lay to the south or south-east of Punch. 1 In the Petavatthu Commentary Dvaraka occurs along with Kamboja or Kamboja. From this Rhys Davids concludes that Dvaraka was the name of the capital of the Kambojas during the early Buddhist period. This view does not appear to be correct, because Dvaraka is nowhere mentioned as the capital of the Kamboja country. 2 During the earlier period the Kambojas were ruled by kings, but in Kautilya's time they had a non-monarchical form or the sangha type of government.

That the sixteen states mentioned in the Anguttara Niktiya, and discussed above, flourished before c. 550 B.C. is proved by the inclusion of Kasi, as it was absorbed in the kingdom of Kosala about or some time before that date. The mention of Vriji shows that the states must have flourished after the fall of the Videha monarchy. Though the date of this event is not known with certainty it was not likely to have taken place long before 600 B.C. We may therefore regard the Buddhist list of sixteen great states as true of the first half of the sixth century B.C., if not somewhat earlier.

The list in the Jain Bhagavatl Sutra 3 contains some common names such as Anga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vriji, Kasi and Kosala. Malava evidently corresponds to Avanti and Moll probably stands for Malla. Of the rest, Vanga and Ladha (Radha or W. Bengal) are well known, while Sambhuttara and Kochchha probably stand for Suhmottara and Kachchha. This list therefore shows acquaintance with a more extensive region both in the east as well as in the west. If, as has been suggested, Padha is taken as Pandya, and Malaya as the name of the well-known country in the south, the author of the list was acquainted with the whole of India, an assumption which is hardly compatible with the inclusion of Vriji, which ceased to exist in the fifth century B.C., and the absence of all reference to any

Note 35

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other kingdom in the Deccan or South India. On the whole, the Jain list is less reliable and was probably compiled at a later time. 1

II. THE AUTONOMOUS CLANS

As we have seen above, 2 there were many small non-monarchical states ruled by autonomous or semi-independent clans in addition to those mentioned above. The chief of these was the Sakya state of Kapilavastu. It naturally derives its great importance from the fact that Gautama Buddha was a Sakya by birth, but politically it was of no great power. It acknowledged the suzerainty of Kosala in the latter half of the sixth century B. C. and was practically exterminated by Vidu^abha, the Kosala king, as mentioned above.

The Sakyas claimed to belong to the solar race and Ikshvaku family^ and regarded themselves as people of Kosala, and that is why the great king Prasenajit took pride in describing himself as a fellow-citizen of Gautama Buddha. The Sakya state was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the east by the river Rohinl and on the west and south by the Rapti. The capital Kapilavastu is most probably represented by the ruins at Tilaura Kot, in Nepal Terai, about 10 miles north-west of Piprahwa in Basti District, U.P., though some locate it in Piprahwa itself, where a vase containing Jhe relics of Buddha has been found. 3 The Sakyas possessed a number of towns besides the capital, and nine of them are specifically mentioned in the Buddhist texts. 4 The Sakyas are said to have comprised 80,000 families which probably means half a million people. 5

The Koliyas of Ramagrama were the eastern neighbours of the Sakyas, on the other side of the river Rohinl. It appears that the water of this river was used for irrigation by both the clans, and was not unoften a cause of dispute between them. A Buddhist text records in detail one such quarrel in the course of which the Koliyas taunted the Sakyas with the custom, prevalent among them, of marriage with sisters. According to some texts, however, the Koliyas were closely related to the Sakyas by blood. The Koliyas possessed several towns besides the capital, and had a common surname, Vyagghapajja, like Gautama of the Sakyas. The police force

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of the Koliyas had a special head-dress, as a distinctive uniform, and were notorious for extortion and violence. 1

Of the other clans little is known. The Bhaggas were probably an old clan as a Bhargayana prince is mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana (VIII. 28). As mentioned above, they are also mentioned in the Ashtddhydyi of Panini. The Mahabharata and the Harivamsa refer to close connection between the Vatsas and the Bhaggas and, as noted above, the latter had to acknowledge the supremacy of the former.

The Moriyas were destined to rise to the greatest height of power, for there is hardly any doubt that they were the same as the Imperial Mauryas of the fourth century B. C. But we know little of their history in the sixth century B.C. Their capital Pipphalivana probably lay about 50 miles to the west of Kusinagara. 2

The republican constitution of the Lichchhavis and &akyas, of which alone we know some details, will be discussed in Ch. XVII. It will suffice here to state that each of them possessed a central popular assembly as its supreme governing body, and both young and old were members of it and took part in discussions of affairs of state. This probably may be taken as^ typical of the constitution of the other clans.

It is important to note that most of these clans were originally ruled by kings. Megasthenes also makes a general statement to the effect that monarchies were “dissolved and democratic governments were set up in the cities.” 3 This change from monarchy to an aristocratic or republican constitution has an exact parallel in Greece, and it is not unlikely that the same causes produced the same change in both the countries. The misrule or tyranny of the king must be regarded as the principal of these causes, and this proves that neither the development of royal power nor the theory of divine right of kings could altogether extinguish the innate strength of the popular element and the natural desire of the people to rule themselves. Unfortunately, this spirit seems to have been confined to a few clans only. But it is significant that the heterodox religious tenets like Buddhism and Jainism grew among these autonomous clans and found in them their chief supporters and patrons. It illustrates the great principle that political freedom is the great nursery of freedom of thought. 4

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CHAPTER II

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Anguttara , I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260; Mahdvastu , I, 34, II, 3; Vinaya Texts II, 146 fn; Ni ddesa II, 37.
2. 2. Saya XV, Uddessa I (Hoernle—the Uvdsagadasdo, II, Appendix).
3. 1. Dxgha II, 235.
4. 1. According to Cunningham the modern villages called Champanagara and Champapura near Bhagalpur represent the site of the ancient city of Champa; Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 6.
5. 2. Vol. I, p. 328; 4th impression (1965), p. 332.
6. 3. Vol. I, p. 327; 4th impression (1965), p. 331.
7. 4. Vol. I, Ch. XIV.
8. 5. This is the Pali form of the name, as is the case with the other alternative forms of names of persons and localities in this chapter.
9. 1. Bhandarkar Com. Vol., p. 134.
10. 2. Sumahqala V., II. 519: an inference drawn from the expression atthakulika.
11. 3. KalpasHtra, sec. 128; Nirayavali Sutra; an inference drawn from the expression 'Nine Lichchhavis.'
12. 4. Cf. Vol. I, Ch. XIV, pp. 272, 276; 287, 291ff, 4th impression (1965). pp. 277, 280, 291, 296ff.
13. 5. For an account of the city, cf. Vinaya Texts in Gilgit Manuscripts Vol. Ill, Part 2.
14. 1. Cf. Law, Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India , pp. 26 fT.
15. 2. HTB, II, 166.
16. 3. Kalpasutra , Sec. 128; Niraydvalx Sutra.
17. 7
18. 1. While the identification of Kusinara may be regarded as reasonably certain that of Pava is very doubtful (Ed.).
19. 2. SBE, XXII, p. 266.
20. 2. Bhandarkar, CL, 1.79.
21. 1. CL, 1. 52.
22. 2. Vol. I, Ch. XIV.
23. 3. Vol. I, Ch. XV, p. 321.
24. 1. Vol. I, pp. 321, 327 f.
25. 1. SBE, XLV, 62.

26. If
27. 1. Mbh. (Cr. Ed.) V, 72, 16.
28. 2. IV, 1, 114; VI, 2, 34.
29. 3. CLAP, 279.
30. 1. According - to Bhandarkar (CL, 53-54) Assaka at one time included Mulaka and thus its territory abutted on Avanti.
31. 2. Digha II, 236.
32. 3. Op. cit. p. 54. .
33. 4. Bombay Ed. II. 29. 4; Cr. Eld. II. 26. 4.
34. 5. Cr. Ed. II, 28. 10-11.
35. 1. THAI, 126.
36. 2. Law, The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 102.
37. 3. Agamodaya Samiti Edition, Vol. Ill, p. 679.
38. l PHAI, 82.
39. 2. See pp. 2-3.
40. 3. EHI, a 167; JRAS, 1906, 180; CAGI, 711-712.
41. 4. For the names of these and other details, cf. CHI, I. 175 ff.
42. 5. Ibid , 176.
43. 1. CH/, 178; Samyutta, IV, p. 341.
44. 2. PHAI , 160; Law, Tribes in Ancient India, p. 288.
45. 3. McCrindle’s Tr., pp. 37-38.
46. 4. The Editor alone is responsible for the last two paras

THE RISE OF MAGADHAN IMPERIALISM

1. PURANIC AND BUDDHIST TEXTS

Of ail the states that flourished in the sixth century B.C., the kingdom of Magadha was the first to make a successful bid for supremacy and establish its suzerainty, according to the unanimous testimony of different sources—Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain. The Brahmanical sources, the Puranas, are indeed obsessed by the history of Magadha as the paramount power. They present its history in as many as eight successive dynasties of rulers, mentioning not only the number of years covered by each dynasty but also by the reign of each king—details which are not given for any other kingdom.

But, as we have seen above, 1 the Puranas give a distorted account of the political vicissitudes that took place in Magadha after the fall of the Barhadratha dynasty. According to them this dynasty was succeeded by the Pradyotas, who were again ousted by Sisunaga, king of Banaras. Sisunaga was followed by his three successors, and then came Bimbisara. Although this view is accepted by some, 2 most of the scholars 3 now hold that the Pradyotas ruled in Avanti and not in Magadha, that Bimbisara occupied the throne of Magadha immediately after Ripunjaya, the last Barhadratha king, was killed by his minister, and that &isunaga came a few generations after and not before Bimbisara. The grounds in support of this theory have been stated above, 4 and we propose to treat the history of Magadha on the basis of the Buddhist texts, notably the Sinhalese Chronicle Mahdvamsa, rather than the Puranas.

The Mahtivamsa list gives the names of the following kings before the Nandas:—(1) Bimbisara (2) Ajatasatru (3) Udayabhadra

Vol. I, Ch. XV.

EHI, Ch. II.

PHAI, 98, 178; Bhandartar, CL, I, 67 ff.

Vol. I, p. 324; 4th impression (1965), p. 328.

(4) Anuruadha (5) Munda (6) Nagadasaka (7) Susunaga (8) Kala*

soka (Kakavarnin according to Asokavadana) (9) Ten sons of

Kalasoka. 1

On the other hand the Puranas give the following list 2 :— (1) Sisunaga (2) Kakavarna (3) Kshemadharman (4) Kshatraujas

(5) Bimbisara (6) Ajatasatru (7) Darsaka (8) Udayin (9) Nandivardhana (10) Mahanandin.

2. BIMBISARA

According to the Mahdvamsa, Bimbisara was fifteen years old when he was anointed king by his own father. This would show that he was not the founder of the royal dynasty. Dr. Bhandarkar has inferred from his epithet Seniya (or Srenika) that Bimbisara was originally a Sendpati, probably of the Vajjis who held sway over Magadha, and ultimately made himself king. This, however, is in conflict with the statement made in the Mahdvamsa.

The Mahdvamsa does not state the name of Eimbisara’s father but, according to other authorities, he was named Bhaftiya or Mahapadma. Dr. Bhandarkar thinks that Bimbisara belonged to the Great Naga dynasty as distinguished from &isu-Naga (or Susunaga) who, as the name shows, belonged to the Little Naga dynasty. But, according to Asvaghosha’s Buddhacharita (XI. 2), Bimbisara was a scion of Haryanka-kula.

According to the Mahdvagga Bimbisara had 500 wives. Whatever we might think of this number, there is no doubt that he was helped in his political career by his matrimonial alliances. His first wife was a sister of Prasenajit, the king of Kosala w who gave him the dowry of a village in KasI with a revenue of 100,000. His second wife was Chellana, daughter of the

Lichchhavi Chief Chetaka. 3 He had a third wife named Vaidehi Vasavl who served and saved her husband, when imprisoned by Ajatasatru, by carrying food to him. 4 A similar story of loyalty to her husband is also told of queen Chellana who is sometimes identified with Vasavi. His fourth wife was Khema, daughter of the king of Madra 5 (Central Punjab).

He had several sons who troubled him with their conflicting politics carried from their maternal homes. These are thus

1. Introduction to translation of Mahdvamsa. For t,he Puranic account, ef. DKA. For the Buddhist view, cf. Geiger, also Bhandarkar, CL, I. 67 ff.

2. DKA, 68-9.

3. SEE, 1, xii-xv.

4. SBE , XXII, 193, 25G.

Thcriuatha Comm, on 139-43.

enumerated in Jain texts: Kunika—Ajatasatru, Halla and Vehalla (sons of Chellana), Abhaya (son of Lichchhavi courtesan Ambapali), Meghakumara, and others. Some Buddhist tradition makes Ajatasatru a son of a Kosala princess and mentions his other sons as Vimala Kondahha, son of Ambapali, and Vehalla and Silavat. 1 2 Some texts, however, mention Ajatasatru as Vedehl-putto?

Bimbisara had at first his capital at Girivraja (Rajagriha). The engineer who planned the town and designed its palace is called Mahagovinda. 3 The gate of the city was closed in the evenings after which even the king was not admitted in. 4

According to some authorities, Bimbisara's father was defeated by Brahmadatta, king of Ahga. 5 It was probably to avenge this defeat that Bimbisara led a campaign against Ahga. He was completely successful and enlarged Magadha by conquering and annexing this powerful and prosperous kingdom. Its capital Champa was one of the six chief cities of the Buddhist world, and here he posted as governor his son Kunika. 6 With the conquest of Ahga and the peaceful acquisition of Kail began that expansion of Magadha which was ultimately destined to embrace nearly the whole of India. Bimbisara maintained friendly intercourse even* with distant powers. The embassy of Pukkusati, king of Gandhara, and Bimbisara's marriage with the Madra princess have been referred to above. Nearer home, he seems to have had good relations with Pradyota, king of Avanti, for he sent his famous physician Jivaka to cure the latter when he fell ill. His diplomatic and matrimonial relations must have helped him considerably in the aggressive policy initiated by him.

The kingdom of Bimbisara is stated to have been 300 leagues in extent, to which an addition of 200 leagues was made by Ajatasatru's conquests. It was full of prosperous settlements or villages numbering 80,000, 7 of which the texts single out, as more important, Senanlgama, probably a recruiting ground for the army, Ekanala,

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famous as the home of the learned Brahmana Bharadvaja, whom the Buddha had converted, Khanumata, another Brahmana village, and Nalakagama where a discourse was delivered by Sariputta. 1 Bimbisara's kingdom included in it a number of republican or semiindependent communities, the chief of which was called Raja kumdra 2

The Buddhist texts throw some light on the administration of this vast territory. The villages were governed by their own Assemblies under their chiefs called Grdmakas . The Mah&vaqga refers to a great assembly of the chiefs (Grdmakas) of the 80,000 villages. The important officials at headquarters called Mahdmndtras were divided into three classes viz., (1) the Executive (Sabhdtthaka), administering all affairs and interests; (2) the Judicial (Vohdrika); and (3) the Military (Sendrvdyaka). The Penal Code included as punishments imprisonment in jails (Kara), mutilation of limbs and the like. 3 Bimbisara maintained a strict control over them all.

Both Jainism and Buddhism claim Bimbisara, as their follower. The TJttarddhyayana Sutra relates how Bimbisara, “the lion of kings”, visited to other “lion of homeless ascetics” (anagdra-siham), Mahavlra, at a Chaitya, “with his wives, servants and relations, and became a staunch believer in the Law.” His Jain leanings may have been due to his wife Chellana. Hemachandra tells the story that “when the country was under a blight of cold, the king accompanied by Devi Chellana went to worship Mahavlra.” 4

The Buddhist texts similarly tell of his devotion to the Buddha. He first met Gotama at Girivraja about 7 years before the latter attained Buddhahood. 5 He was even then so much impressed by him that he offered to settle Gotama as a chief with a gift of necessary wealth. Their second meeting took place at Rajagjriha, which Gotama visited as full-fledged Buddha with a large and distinguished following of disciples, including the far-famed Brahmanical ascetics, the Kassapas, and their thousand Jatila adherents, all of whom proclaimed the Buddha as their “Lord” At this, Seniya Bimbisara embraced the doctrine and discipline of the Buddha and celebrated his conversion by treating the Buddha and his band of disciples to meals, which he himself served at the palace, and then by announcing his donation of the park called Veluvana to the Buddha and the Sangha. 1 Even his wife Khema was so proficient in the new faith that she is stated to have given instruction in it to the king. 2 Later, as another proof of his devotion

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to Buddhism, Bimbisara lent his own personal physician JIvaka to work as medical adviser in attendance on the Buddha and his Order. At another time, when the Buddha had no money with which to pay the ferry-man who carried him across the Ganga, the emperor granted remission of these ferry charges to all ascetics out of his regard for the Master.

According to Buddhist tradition, Bimbisara lost his life at the hands of his son Ajatasatru, who was instigated to the crime by the Buddha's wicked and jealous cousin Devadatta His first attempt to kill his father straightway with his sword was foiled by the ministers to whom he confessed his guilt. They advised Bimbisara to kill all the conspirators, but he pardoned his son and even resigned to him the throne for which he was so impatient. But Devadatta went on inciting Ajatasatru to the crime by reminding him that life was short and the throne would be long in coming. "So do you, Prince, kill your father and become Raja." 3 It is also stated that Ajatasatru confessed his crime to Buddha that "for the sake of kingdom he deprived his righteous father of his life."

But Jain tradition is more charitable to Ajatasatru. It does not represent him as a parricide. It relates that in his eagerness for the throne he put his father in prison, though the latter had already declared Kunika as his successor in preference to his other sons In prison, Bimbisara was served by his devoted queen Chellana, who once even sucked "his swollen finger, streaming with matter, to relieve him of his pain." This very much moved Ajatasatru Kunika who said: "A sorry return have I made to my father," and then immediately dashed off to break his father's fetters with an iron club. Bimbisara, fearing his son's advance, took poison and killed himself. 4

3. AJATASATRU

Ajatasatru added largely to the extent of the kingdom by his conquests. He started with a war against Kosala. Its king Prasenajit

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could not brook the inhumanity of Ajatasatru who had killed his father and, indirectly, also the widowed princess of Kosala, who could not stand the death of her husband and died of grief. King Prasenajit thereupon revoked his gift of the Kasi village which was granted to Bimbisara as a dowry on his marriage with the princess of Kosala, and there was a war between the two States. At first Ajatasatru won, driving back his aged uncle to Sravastl. But very soon the tables were turned; Ajatasatru was entrapped in an ambush and had to surrender with his whole army to Prasenajit. In the end, peace was concluded between the two by Prasenajit restoring to Ajatasatru his liberty, army and the disputed village of Kasi, and even giving his daughter Vajira in marriage to him. 1

The Jain texts present Ajatasatru as the conqueror of the powerful political confederacy which dominated Eastern India and comprised 36 republican states, viz. 9 Mallaki, 9 Lichchhavi, and 18 gana-rajycLs of Kasi and Kosala. 2

The overthrow of this confederacy was the consequence of Ajatasatru’s conquest of its most powerful member, the Lichchhavi republic. The cause of the conflict between the two is differently stated in different texts. According to the Buddhists, a jewel-mine was discovered at the foot of a hill at a port on the Ganga, on which it was agreed that Ajatasatru and the Lichchhavis should have an equal share of the gems. The Lichchhavis violated this aggreement and so brought on the conflict. 3 According to Jain version, 4 the bone of contention was the Magadha State elephant, Seyanaga (Sechanaka , “Sprinkler”), and a huge necklace of 18 strings of pearls which were given by Bimbisara to his sons Halla and Vehalla. They carried off the elephant and the necklace t6 Vaisall and sought the protection of their grandfather, king Chetaka, against Ajatasatru claiming them. Kunika, having failed to obtain the extradition of the fugitives peacefully, declared war on Chetaka. 5 It is also stated that his wife Padmavati incited Ajatasatru to this conflict.

It was not easy to conquer the Lichchhavis, who were then at the zenith of their power as the head of a vast confederacy and could draw upon its pooled resources. In fact, king Chetaka actually assembled this confederation, including the Gana-rtijas (republican

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chiefs) of Kasi and Kosala, to ask whether they should surrender to Ajataiatru or fight him. 1 It would thus appear that Ajatasatru was opposed by a powerful combination of hostile rulers of the east, including his old rivals, the chiefs of Kasi and Kosala. The issue at stake was the Magadhan suzerainty over Eastern India and this was clearly realised by both sides. On the eve of this great conflict, which created a first class political sensation in the country, even the Buddha, detached in his religious eminence from all worldly affairs, felt it his duty to take his proper part in the larger politics of the country. As a born democrat and a champion of republican interests, he assured the Lichchhavis, who formed the leading democratic state in the country, that it could not be defeated even by a mighty king like Ajatasatru provided it maintained unimpaired all its strong points and factors of national efficiency, such as "holding full and frequent assemblies, maintaining internal concord in assembly and administration, avoiding revolutionary laws and measures, following old traditions, honouring the elders of the community, old institutions, and shrines, saints and women."

Ajatasatru realised that the only way by which he could conquer the Lichchhavis was by destroying their inner unity. For this purpose he deputed his minister Vassakara on the nefarious mission of sowing seeds of disunion among the Lichchhavis at Vaisail. His work after three years bore fruit. Infected by jealousy between different classes, between the rich and the poor, and the strong and the weak, the Lichchhavis became a changed people lacking their old social cohesion. 2 Thus the stage was set for Ajatasatru^ operations against the Lichchhavis.

The king declared: "I will root out and destroy these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, and bring them to utter ruin." 3 But he had to plan his military preparations for the conquest on a large scale. The Lichchhavi republic was on the other side of the Ganga, while his capital Raj agriha was too far inland and remote to serve as an efficient base of operations. He had to construct a new base, a fort at a convenient site on the river, and thus was laid the foundation of the new capital, Pataliputra. It was constructed under the supervision of his chief ministers named Sunldha and Vassakara. When the construction was completed, the two ministers invited the Buddha to dinner at their house and named

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the gate through which the Buddha went out of the city as the Gotama Gate, and the gha £ (landing) from which he was ferried across the Ganga was commemorated as the Gotama Ferry. It was on this unique occasion that the Buddha is said to have made his pregnant prophecy that Pataliputra would one day grow to be the chief city of Aryan India and the centre of trade, business and economic prosperity.

The construction of the fort was followed by the expedition against Vaisall. As soon as their territory was invaded, the Lichchhavis, now torn by disunion, argued among themselves as to who should first oppose the invader, the more cowardly ones saying, “Let the strong Lichchhavis go forward and crush the enemy.” Ajatasatru thus found it easy to subdue a people who had given themselves to a wordy warfare among themselves when they should have combined to combat a common enemy.

The' Jain texts give some interesting details of the military operations of Magadhan forces. Ajatasatru for the first time made use of two secret weapons of war. The first, the Mahasilakantaka , was a kind of catapult hurling heavy pieces of stone. The other was the Rathamusala, a chariot which created havoc by wheeling about and hurling destruction by its attached rods. “It seems to have been provided with some kind of self-acting machinery to propel it, as it is described to have moved without horses and driver; though possibly, as in similar contrivances in the Middle Ages, it was propelled by a person concealed inside who turned the wdieels*” 1 It has been compared to the tanks used in the two great World Wars.

These elaborate preparations show that the war between Magadha and the Lichchhavi Republic was a protracted one. The aggressor had first to undertake the costly construction of a new fort on the Ganga, which must have taken some time—at least two years. Next, there was the three years' plan of secret work done by the Magadhan spies quartered on the Lichchhavis at Vaisall to sow the seeds of dissension among them and undermine their national solidarity. Thirdly, Magadha had to fight not a mere isolated and individual republic but a large and powerful confederation of 36 republics under its chief Chetaka of great political influence, strengthened by matrimonial alliances with several kings, viz. those of SindhuSauvlra, Vatsa, and Avanti, who married his daughters. 2

1. Hoemle, Uvasagadasao, II, App. pp. 59, 60, quoting Bhagavatx.

?.. HC, 235, 236.

The Jain texts indicate a period of more than 16 years for this war. We are told that Gosala, the great religious leader and rival of Mahavira who died in c. 484 B.C., saw this war in progress, while the confederation of these Republics was still going strong up to 468 B.C., the date of Mahavira's death, which they celebrated by a joint illumination to mark the disappearance from their midst of the light that was in their Lord Mahavira. 1 The war, which must therefore have lasted from at least 484 to 468 B.C., ended in a complete victory for Ajatasatru and he destroyed the freedom of the city-state of Vaisall, which had given birth to his mother.

These conquests, by which Ajatasatru was establishing his suzerainty in Eastern India, roused the hostility of his equally ambitious rival of Central India, king Chanda Pradyota of Avanti. We hear that as the latter was planning an attack upon his capital at Raj agriha, Ajatasatru applied himself to the task of strengthening its fortifications. 2 He must have been hard put to it in having to meet at the same time the double menace—from Avanti in the west and the Lichchhavis in the north—and to alternate betw r een his two fortified posts, Raj agriha and Pataliputra, to look after the defences of his empire. But he attained complete success. While he humbled Kosala and other eastern powers and absorbed Vaisall and the whole or part of KasI, the king of Avanti could do nothing against him. He thus extended the boundaries of his kingdom and laid the foundations of the Magadha empire on a solid basis.

As is the case with Bimbisara, Ajatasatru is represented in Jain texts as a Jain and in Buddhist texts as a Buddhist. We have already seen how the Jain texts are partial towards him in absolving him of the heinous crime of parricide, of which he is accused in the Buddhist texts. They tell how Kunika was a frequent visitor to Mahavira with his queens and royal retinue. He had intimate contact with him both at Vaisall and Champa and expressed his high opinion of Jain monks. 3 In the Aupapdtika Sutra (30), he openly declares before Mahavira and his disciples his faith in him as the true teacher who has made clear the true path of religion based on renunciation and non-violence.

His relations with the Buddha began with enmity and ended in complete devotion. The enmity was instigated by the villain

Note 26

Note 27

Note 28

Note 29

Devadatta, who one day "went to Prince Ajatasatru and said 'Give an order, O King, to our men that I may deprive Samana Gotama of life,' and Ajatasatru, the Prince, gave orders to his men, 'whatsoever the worthy Devadatta tells you, that do.' " l The Buddha also knew of his true character and stated: "Monks, the king of Magadha, Ajatasatru, is a friend to, an intimate of, mixed with, whatever is evil." Their relations, however, soon changed. As already stated, after murdering his father, Ajatasatru approached the Buddha in his remorse and prayed to him: 'May the Lord accept my transgression as transgression that I may be restrained in the future/ Once his physician Jivaka induced him to pay a visit to the Buddha in his mango-grove on a full-moon night. Its deep silence made him suspect an ambush and he asked Jivaka: "You are playing me no tricks, Jivaka? You are not betraying me to my foes? How can it be that there should be no sound at all, not a sneeze nor a cough, in so large an assembly, among 1250 of the brethren?" Jivaka assured him that he should not suspect any foul play but should go straight on. Then the king arrived at the assembly, calm as a clear lake, and burst out: “Would that my son Udayi Bhadda might have such calm as this assembly o'f the brethren has!” [2]

It may be noted that Ajatasatru’s visit to the Buddha is represented in one of the sculptures of Bharhut (c. 2nd century B.C.) and this goes a great way towards proving the truth and popularity of the Buddhist story. The sculpture bears the inscription*: “Ajatasatru salutes the Lord”, and seems to translate in stone the very words of the Buddhist text: Mdgadho Ajdtasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pdde sirasa vandati (bows down with his head at the feet of the Lord). The sculpture shows (a) the king on an elephant followed by women on elephants in procession; (b) his dismounting from the elephant and standing with his right hand raised as if to speak; and (c) his obeisance before the Bodhimanda, the throne of the Buddha bearing his foot-print (PI. I).

Ajatasatru’s visit to the Buddha marked a turning point in his religious life. It seems that he first sought a salve for his conscience, tormented by his sense of grievous sin as a parricide, from each one of the six principal teachers of the times such as Makkhali Gosala and Nigganta Nataputta (Mahavlra), on the advice of his six ministers, but none of them could give to his soul the peace he sought, and then he came to the Buddha as his last resort. [1] Next we see him, on hearing of the Buddha’s death, hurry to Kuslnara as an ardent Buddhist to claim a share of the relics of his sacred body, sending in advance a messenger to say on his behalf: “The Lord was a Kshatriya; I too am a Kshatriya; I am worthy of a share of the relics of the Lord. I will erect a stupa over the relics of the Lord and make a feast.” [2]

Note 30

Note 31

The story goes that Buddha’s chief disciple Mahakassapa, who took charge of his Master’s body and subsequently of its relics, thought that it would not be safe and proper to have them distributed among their eight claimants and enshrined by them in eight different stupas, as was first stipulated. He changed his mind and asked Ajataiatru, as the fittest of the co-sharers of the relics, to have the bulk of them enshrined in a single stupa at his capital of Raj agriha, leaving only portions for the rest. 3

According to the Mahdvamsa, Ajatasatru built Dhatu-chaityas all round the capital. He further showed his devotion to Buddhism by repairing, at Raj agriha, 18 Mahdvihdras which were deserted by the Buddhists after Buddha’s death. Lastly, Ajataiatru is immortalised in the history of Buddhism by his association with its first General Council or Samgiti. It was attended by 500 eminent bhikkhus and theras who, travelling through the country, betook themselves to Raj agriha as the best place for their meeting, as it was “richly provided with their four requisites of clothing, food given as alms, dwelling places and drugs”, thanks to the hospitality and amenities of Ajatasatru’s city. Ajatasatru then readily made his personal contribution to the success of the Council by giving it full facilities. “He with all expedition had a magnificent hall constructed by the side of the Vebhara rock in which it was excavated by the entrance of the Sattapanni cave. It was like the Assembly-Hall of the gods themselves. When it was adorned in every way, he caused precious rugs to be spread according to the number of the Bhikkhus. For the presiding monk was prepared a lofty and noble seat (Therasana) while for the reciting monk was placed another high seat (Dhammasana) in the middle of the Hall.” (Mahdvamsa , III).

4. SUCCESSORS OF AJATAsATRU

The Buddhist tradition, which has been accepted as the best working hypothesis, strangely enough represents all the four kings

Note 32

Note 33

Note 34

following Ajatasatru as parricides. After their rule of 56 years the people awoke to the fact that they were living under a dynasty of murderers, and they at once supplanted it by electing the Minister Sisunaga 1 as king. Ajatasatru was succeeded by Udayabhadra, who is undoubtedly the same as

Udayin of the Puranic genealogy. A Jain text 2 takes him to be the son of Kunika and Padmavati. Jain tradition does not like Buddhist, regard Udayabhadra as a parricide. On the contrary, he is represented as the devoted son of his father who was serving as his viceroy at Champa and overwhelmed with grief at his death. 3

He was called to the throne by the assembly of chiefs and nobles. He then left Champa and proceeded to Pataliputra where he built a new town called Kusumapura, as stated in the Vayu Pur ana, and a Jain shrine (Chdity agriha) at its centre. He was a devout Jain, fasting on 8th and 14th tithis* On one such day, whiJe he was listening to the discourse of a teacher with a novice, the latter fell upon him and killed him with his concealed dagger. It is stated that this assassin was engaged by his political rival, Palaka, the king of Avanti and son of Ajatasatru's enemy, Pradyota, who had become very powerful by the conquest of Kausambl. Palaka had, however, been previously defeated many times by Udayabhadra. 5

The next two kings were Anuruddha and Munda. The Anguttara (III, 57-63) refers to king Munda as staying at Pataliputra. When his queen Bhadda died in that city he was overpowered with grief and refused to cremate her body until he was consoled by a Thera named Narada, who lived at the Vihdra known as Kukkutdrama . 6

The succeeding ruler Nagadasaka may be identified with king Darsaka of the Puranas. Darsaka figures as contemporary of Udayana in the Sanskrit drama Svapna-Vdsavadattd, attributed to Bhasa. This agrees with the Puranic, but not with the Sinhalese genealogy adopted here.

Sisunaga is the next in the Buddhist list. According to the Puranas, Sisunaga came to the throne after destroying the power of the Pradyotas. He made Girivraja his abode and posted his son in charge of Varanasi. The Buddhist tradition, as already related, dates

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3.

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6 .

Mahdvamsa , Ch. VII.

Kathakosha, p. 177. , _

Hemachandra, Parisishtaparvan, VI, 32-180; Trishashtisaldka, X, 426, Tawney Kathakosha, p. 177; Avasyaka-sutra, p 687.

Avasyaka-sutra, p. 690.

Ibid; Tawney’s Kathasaritsagara, II, 484.

HTW, II, 98-9; Sam, V, 171; Anguttara , V, 342; Majjhima, I, 350.

s

the hostility of Avanti to Magadha from the time of Ajatasatru, and counts Kasi as a province of Magadha, also from his time. 1 This indirectly supports the Buddhist view that Sisunaga ruled after Ajatasatru. Probably, he kept up the old capital of Girivraja against the continued menace from Avanti, as his son defended the frontiers in Kasi against Kosala. But Sisunaga finally destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti and added it to the growing kingdom of Magadha. Probably both the kingdoms of Vatsa and Kosala were also annexed and thus Magadha absorbed almost all the important states in North India that flourished in the time of Gautama Buddha. 2

Kalasoka, the son and successor of Sisunaga, probably corresponds to Kakavarna of the Puranas. It was during his reign that the second Great Buddhist Council was held. He had a tragic end which is referred to in later literature. A passage in Bana’s Harshacharita (of seventh century A.D.) records the story, presumably handed down through the centuries, that the king named Kakavarnl Saisunagi was killed by a dagger thrust into his throat. An earlier reference to some such event is made by the Greek writer Curtius. Refer

... .. *, M ‘i-tf V-i >- •; ' -i. '. -■ I- ; V . ti 1 -■ .. .

ring to the founder of the Nanda dynasty, he says: “He was a barber who became the paramour of the queen, and being by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch, treacherously murdered him, and then under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority and having put the young princes to death begat the present king.”

The murderer of Kalasoka or Kakavarnl Saisunagi was thus possibly the founder of the next dynasty of kings—that of the Nandas. The “young princes” slain by him may be taken to be the ten sons of the murdered king who, according to the Mahtivamsa, ruled, probably jointly, for a period of ten years. These are named in the Mahfibodhivamsa and include Nandivardhana, who is mentioned in the Puranas as the ninth king among the ten kings of the Saisunaga dynasty.

The Puranas add another king, Mahanandin, but his existence must be regarded as very doubtful unless we suppose that he was another of the ten sons of Kalasoka.

The Saisunaga dynasty thus came to an ignoble end. Whatever we might think of the particulars related in different sources, there

1. Majjhima , III, 7.

2. See pp. 1-2.

is no doubt that its downfall was brought about by a palace conspiracy instigated by a faithless queen.

5. THE NANDAS

The founder of the new dynasty was a man of low origin. The account of him, as given by Curtius, has been noted above. The Jain work Parisishtaparvan describes him as the son of a barber by a courtesan. The Avasyaka Sutra calls him a Ndpitaddsa —“slave of barber.” The Puranas also brand the founder of the Nanda dynasty as ‘the son of king Mahanandin by a Sudra woman’ and Nanda kings as immoral (adhdrmxka). The Buddhist texts (e.g. Mahdvarhsa-tikd) regard the Nandas as anndtakula —‘of unknown lineage.’

It will thus appear that all traditions are agreed as to the disreputable origin of the Nanda dynasty. The Puranas trace it to a Sudra mother, but Greek account traces it to a Sudra father, a barber. Thus one source fastens the original sin on the father and the other on the mother. But it is the caste of the father that determines that of his progeny. And so the Nandas may be taken to be the offspring of a Sudra father.

The name of the founder and first king of the Nanda dynasty is differently given in different texts. The Puranas call him Mahapadma, presumably either with reference to his military strength as ‘lord of an infinite host’ (Mahapadmapati) or immense wealth amounting to 100,000 millions (mahdpadma). According to the Mahdbodhivamsa, his name was Ugrasena. The term Ugrasena may have suggested the Greek name Agrammes(=' Augrasainya, i.e. son of Ugrasena) for the Nanda king who ruled at the time of Alexander. The different authorities agree in giving the total number of Nanda kings as nine (Nava-Nanda). The Puranas take the first Nanda as the father and the other eight as his sons. The Buddhist texts, however, take all the Nine Nandas as brothers. They are named in the Mahdbodhivamsa as follows: (1) Ugrasena (2) Panduka (3) Pandugati (4) Bhutapala (5) Rashtrapala (6) Govishanaka (7) Dasasiddhaka (8) Kaivarta and (9) Dhana. The Puranas name only the father and one of his sons, Sumalya. Jain texts also know of nine Nandas. 1 In the face of all this evidence regarding nine Nandas, we have to give up a theory once held that the word nava should be taken to mean new, and the two last rulers of the

Note 35

Note 36

Puranic Sisunaga dynasty, viz . Nandivardhana and Mahanandin, should be treated as the old Nandas who were replaced by new ones.

We owe to the Mahavamsatikd some details of the first and the last of the nine Nanda brothers who ruled one after another according to seniority. The eldest brother who founded the dynasty is called Ugrasena, as already stated. He was a man of the frontier (pachchanta-vasika) who fell into the hands of robbers and became one of them and later their leader He then, with his gang, started raiding the neighbouring kingdoms and their cities, giving them the ultimatum: 'Either yield your kingdom or give battle.' Fired with success, they aimed at sovereignty. The text, however, is silent as to the actual steps by which it was achieved. It simply insinuates that the conquest of Magadha marked the culmination of a career of violence and brigandage on the part of a gang of outlaws whom the Mahfibodhivamsa describes as Chorapubbas, 'daeoits of old'. So this Buddhist tradition represents the Nandas as openly conquering Magadha by force and not by any secret conspiracy or cowardly assassination of the reigning king by intrigues with the queen.

The Puranas give a more reliable account of the founder of the Nanda dynasty whom they call Mahapadma. He is described as a second Parasurama, 'the exterminator of the entire Kshatriya race,' and as one who made himself the sole sovereign in the country and brought it under the umbrella of one auhority which was not challenged. The Kshatriya dynasties, which were thus uprooted, comprised the following: Aikshvakus, Panchalas, Kasis, Haihayas, Kalihgas, Asmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, ^urasenas, and Vitihotras. This detailed and specific statement in the Puranas seems to be partially corroborated by independent evidence. The Katha-sarit-sagara mentions the camp of King Nanda in Ayodhya, thereby implying the inclusion of Kosala in the Nanda empire. The conquest of Kalihga by a Nanda king has been inferred from a passage in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, which will be referred to in a later chapter. The existence of a city called "Nav Nand Dehra" (Nander on the Godavari) has been taken by some scholars to indicate Nanda supremacy over a considerable part of the Deccan. According to some early inscriptions of Mysore, the Nandas ruled over Kuntala (southern part of Bombay and north-western part of Mysore). 1

Although all these pieces of evidence, particularly the last, cannot be regarded as conclusive, they undoubtedly support the Puranic statement. But its best corroboration is offered by the statement of

Note 37

the classical writers who refer to the extensive domains of his successor, to be noted later. The general picture given in the Puranas of the great empire, which Mahapadma Nanda had built up by exterminating the numerous Kshatriya principalities, may thus be regarded as historically accurate. We may also conclude from the classical accounts that the Nanda empire was not a loose federation but was built on solid foundation.

Mahapadma Nanda was thus the first great historical emperor of Northern India. His low origin proves the end of the age-long tradition of the political supremacy of the Kshatriyas. The old orthodox ideas were thus rapidly giving way, and the history of Buddhism and Jainism shows that this was as true in religion as in politics. Perhaps both were inspired by a common spirit of revolt against the conservative hierarchy which had hitherto dominated Church and State. An unorthodox spirit in religion, which was already launched in its triumphant career, was ably seconded by an equally heterodox view of politics. In any case the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. hold out strange phenomena before us,—Kshatriya chiefs founding popular religious sects which menaced the Vedic religion, and Sudra leaders establishing a big empire in Aryavarta on the ruins of Kshatriya kingdoms. These two events might not have been altogether isolated or unconnected.

Unfortunately, we know very little of the subsequent history of the Nanda dynasty until we come to the last king. He is not named in the Puranas but must have maintained intact his imperial inheritance of territory and army. As he was ruling at the time of Alexander's invasion of 327-325 B.C., the Greek writers record some facts of his power, position, and popularity. He is called by them Agrammes or Xandrames, and described as the king of powerful peoples beyond the Beas, "the Gangaridae and the Prasii", with his capital at Pataliputra. The Gangaridae, according to Megasthenes, were the people occupying xhe delta of the Ganga, and the Prasii were the Prdchyas or Easterners living to the east of the Middle Country (Madhyadesa) such as the Panchalas, Surasenas, Kosalas, Kasls and Videhas. His empire seems to have extended up to the frontiers of the Punjab, for it is stated that king Porus the younger escaped from Alexander into the adjoining territory of the Nanda king. 1

Curtius credits Agrammes with an army of 20,000 cavalry, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots, and 3,000 elephants.

Note 38

Note 39

According to other Greek writers the number of elephants was 4,000 or even 6,000.

With all his military might and mastery of a large empire, he lacked the strength of popularity by which alone they could be maintained. Chandragupta Maurya, who was fated to overthrow him, already reported to Alexander's followers that he could easily conquer the Nanda empire, because its king was so much "hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin." This report was also confirmed by king Porus (Paurava) of the Punjab who "added that the king of the Gangaridae was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber."

Much of his unpopularity was also due to his miserliness, avarice, and love of wealth which he accumulated at the expense of his people by means of excessive taxation and exactions. He is nicknamed Dhana Nanda, the worshipper of Mammon. The Kathdsarit-sdgara preserves the tradition of his wealth computed at 990 millons of gold pieces. 1 Its Buddhist version is thus stated: "The youngest brother was called Dhana Nanda from his addiction to hoarding treasure. . . .He collected riches to the amount of 80 kolis in a cave in the bed of the river (Gahga). Having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there. .. .Levying taxes, among other articles, even on skins, gums, and stones, he amassed further treasure which he disposed of similarly." 2 This story of his hoarded and hidden wealth is hinted at in a Tamil poem stating how the wealth of the

Nandas "having been accumulated first in Patali hid itself in the floods of the Ganga." 3 The tradition of the fabulous wealth of Nanda was also heard by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A.D. He mentions five stupas of Pataliputra as symbols of "the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances." 4

We owe to Jain tradition 5 some new facts about the Nandas, who are stated to have had Jain ministers with their leanings towards Jainism. The minister of the first Nanda was Kalpaka upon whom the office was forced. He is stated to have egged the king on to the prosecution of his military programme for the conquest and extermination of all the Kshatriya states of the time. It

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1. Tawney, Tr., 1, 21.

2. Tumour, Mahawanso, p. xxxix.

I*. Aiyanf»ar, Beginnings of South Indian History, p. 89.

4. IITW., II, 96.

5. Avasyaka-sulra, pp. 435-36, 693-95.

was instigated by the spirit of vengeance taken by a lower caste against the pride and pretensions of the higher. The Nanda kings made the office of minister hereditary. The ninth Nanda had as his minister Sakatala, who had two sons, Sthulabhadra and griyaka. On Sakatala's death, the king offered his place to Sthulabhadra who declined it and became a Jain monk. His place was taken by Sriyaka. Jain influence spread from the ministers to both court and society. Chunakya in the Mudrdrdkshasa finds a Jain to act as his chief agent in his political scheme. Jainism seems to be a factor in the social background of the drama, which ended in the overthrow of the king and the end of his dynasty as will be related in a subsequent chapter.

6. THE MAGADHA EMPIRE

In spite of the tragic end of the Nandas, to them belongs the credit of founding the first great empire in Northern India on the foundations laid by Bimbisara and his son. The great Magadha empire which they built up survived them and gradually embraced nearly the whole of India. Even when this came to an end, it left behind a rich legacy, and a second empire, only inferior in importance to the first, arose out of its ruins nearly five centuries later.

It is tempting to seek in the history of Magadha evidence of the existence of certain permanent factors whose interplay enabled it to rise to the zenith of political greatness more than once and retain this position for a much longer period than most other empires that flourished in India. Its geographical position was undoubtedly an important factor. The mighty Ganga with its* feeders, the Son on the south and the Gandak and Gogra on the north, served as admirable means for defence and communication both with Upper India and the sea. The older capital city Rajagriha, surrounded by seven hills, and the later and more famous Pataliputra, at the junction of the Ganga and the Son, were both well protected by nature.

Next to its strategic position, the comparative freedom from orthodoxy and the consequent commingling of diverse cultures in Magadha may be regarded as an important factor in its development. As noted above, Magadha and the countries to the east of it lay almost outside the pale of Vedic culture. Perhaps the Vedic polity, along with Vedic culture, had spent its force, and it was now the turn of the sturdy peoples of the east, comparatively unaffected by the Aryan invasion, to play their part. When the Puranas lament the wholesale destruction of the Kshatriya power by the Sudra king

or

Mahapadma Nanda, they seem instinctively to refer to the end of one epoch and the rise of another. The laxity of social restrictions imposed by the orthodox Brahmanical culture and the universal aspect of Buddhism and Jainism which found a congenial home in Magadha must have considerably widened the political outlook of this region and contributed to make it the nucleus of a mighty empire.

7. CHRONOLOGY

It is difficult to -fix any reliable chronology for this remote period of history.^ According to the unanimous tradition of the Buddhists, the Buddha died in the 8th year of the reign of Ajatasatru, and this synchronism is accepted by all scholars. The date of the Buddha's death is thus the crucial point in fixing the chronology of the rulers of Magadha and other contemporary dynasties of the period. Although there is no unanimity on this, we may broadly distinguish two different schools of views. 1 One, relying on the Sinhalese reckoning of the Nirvana era, fixes the date of Buddha's death at 544 B. C. It is, however, pointed out by the other that this cannot be reconciled with the early Sinhalese tradition that Asoka's coronation took place 218 years after the death of Buddha. As will be shown later, we can fix the date of the coronation of Asoka with a tolerable degree of certainty in 269 B.C. or within a few years of it. If it took place 218 years after Buddha's death, the date of this event may be fixed at c. 487 B.C. This view is supported by the Chinese tradition of 'the dotted record.' It is said that a record was kept in which a dot was put each year after the death of Buddha, and this was continued in Canton up to the year A.D. 489, when the number of dots amounted to 975. This gives 486 B. C. as the date of Buddha's death. Although no finality attaches to this or any other conclusion, 486 B.C; may be accepted as a working hypothesis, and most scholars now place Buddha's death within a few years of this date.

It may be noted in this connection that Mahavira's death, according to Jain tradition, took place in 528 B.C. But this date can

Note 40

hardly be reconciled with 486 B.C. as the date of Budha's death if we accept the Jain and Buddhist tradition that Mahavira and Buddha died within a few years of each other. Accordingly the scholars, w r ho accepted 486 B.C. (or thereabouts) as the date of Buddha's death, take 468 B.C. as the date of the death of Mahavira on the authority of the great Jain author Hemachandra. 1

On the basis of 486 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death, the accession of Bimbisara falls in 545 B.C., as he ruled for 52 years and the Buddha died in the eighth year of his son's reign. It has been suggested by some that the so-called Nirvana era of Ceylon "originally started from the coronation of Bimbisara and was later on confounded with the era of the Great Decease ." 2 We may accordingly accept 544 B.C. as the date of accession of Bimbisara.

The accession of Chandragupta Maurya, who overthrow the last Nanda king, took place, as we shall see later, about 324 B.C. • The reigns of the kings dealt with in this chapter, viz. Bimbisara and Sisunaga groups and the Nandas, therefore, fall between 544 and 324 B. C., a period of 220 years for eleven cr twelve generations.

The first Nanda king Mahapadma Nanda ruled, according to the Puranas, for 88 years, but some scholars regard it as a mistake foy 28 which is found in some manuscripts of the Puranas. 3 The other eight kings are said to have ruled for 12 years. The Sinhalese Chronicles assign only 22 years to the nine Nandas.

As regards the kings belonging to Bimbisara and Sisunaga groups, their total reign-period is given as 200 years in the Sinhalese Chronicles and 360 or 163 years in the Puranas. The Puranas give the reign-periods for each king, but they differ so widely in the different texts that it is impossible to check the total period of the reign with their help.

In view of these differences it is difficult to assign dates to individual kings or even to the different groups. The 22 years assigned to the Nandas seem to be too small and we may accept 40 years, deduced from the Puranas, as a more reasonable figure. We may thus put the Nanda kings as ruling from 364 to 324 B.C.

According to the Sinhalese Chronicles, Bimbisara and Ajatasatru ruled respectively for 52 and 32 years. The corresponding dates in the Puranas are

28 (or 38) and 25 (or 27). To Sisunaga is assigned a reign of 18 years in the Sinhalese Chronicles and 40 years

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1. CHI , I, 156.

2. PHAI, 186.

3. Ibid , 189; DKA, 69, fn. 17.

in the Puranas. It may not be a pure accident that the reign-periods of these kings vary in the two authorities according to the importance they attach to them. It is in any case impossible to rely implicitly on any of these sources. It is, however, likely that the Sinhalese Buddhists had a more or less correct tradition about the dates of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, as these were intimately associated with Buddha. We may therefore provisionally accept the following chronology:

544—493 B.C. 493—462 B.C. 462=—430 B.C.

Bimbisara Ajatasatru Next four kings Sisunaga and his

430—364 B.C. 364—324 B.C.

successors Nanda Dynasty

It should be remembered, however, that these dates are calculated on the hypothesis that Buddha’s death took place in 486 B.C. If, however, we accept the Sinhalese reckoning of 544 B.C. for th: : s event, the dates proposed above will have to be considerably modified. Bimbisara’s accession would then fall in 604 B.C. and that of Ajatasatru in 552 B.C. The remaining 25 kings, belonging to nine generations, will have to be placed between 532 and 324 B.C., a period of 208 years. There is no incongruity far less absurdity, in this chronological scheme, or in the assumption on which it is based, viz . that the Buddha died in 544 B.C. The only difficulty is the statement in the Sinhalese Chronicles that Asoka's coroation took place 218 years after Buddha's death, which cannot be reconciled with the date 544 B. C. given for the latter event in the same chronicles. Thus we have to make a choice between one or the other statement, and there is no valid reason why we should reject the latter and not the former. Besides, the earliest Sinhalese Chronicle, the Dipavamsa, puts the interval of 218 years between the death of Buddha and the coronation of Priyadarsana. Although this epithet was borne by Asoka and is generally taken to refer to him, it is also applied to his grandfather Chandragupta in the drama MudrcL rakshasa (Act VI). If applied to Chandragupta, this statement would fix the year of his coronation as 326 B.C., which is surprisingly close to the truth. 1 Thus the date 544 B.C. for Buddha's death, as testified to by the Sinhalese reckoning of the Nirvana era, cannot be pronounced to be definitely wrong.

Note 41

CHAPTER III

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Psalms of the-Brethren, pp. 65, 269 and commentary , p. 536, Psalms of the Sisters , p. 120.
2. 2. Sumahgala V , I. 139; Dialogues, II, 78. According to the recently discovered Vinaya Texts of the Mulasarvastivadas, Ajatasatru was the son of Chellana (named here Chela) who was named Vaidehl as she was brought from Videha country.
3. 3. Vimanavatthu Commentary, p. 82.
4. 4. Vinaya, IV, 116 f.
5. 5. See above, Vol. I, Ch. XV, p. 328; 4th impression (1965), p. 332; PIIAI, p. 94.
6. 6. Bhagavati Sutra, 300; Digha I, 111.
7. 7. This number stated in Mahdvagga seems to be a stock phrase and should not be taken literally.
8. 1. Majjhima, I, 166; Sam, IV, 251 f; Digha, I, 127; Sam, IV, 251.
9. 2. Sumangala V, I, 279, 294.
10. 3. Vinaya, VII, 3, 5.
11. 4. Trithashf i £aldk&, X, 6, 10, 11.
12. 5. Sutta Nipata, verse 408; Dialogues, II, 2.
13. 21
14. 1. Vinaya , I, 39.
15. 2. Sam, IV, 374.
16. 3. Vinaya, II, 190; Dtgha, I, 86; Sumangala V, 1, 133-6; Peta Comm. 105.
17. 4 . Avasyaka-sutra, pp. 682-3 etc.
18. 1. Sam , I, 84-6, Jit, IV, 342, Dhammap. Comm. Ill, 259.
19. 2. Bhagavati, Sutra, 300.
20. 3. B. C. Law’s Buddhaghosa, p. 111.
21. 4. Hoernle, Uvasayadasao , II, App. p. 7.
22. 5. Hoernle, lb. Avasyaka-sutra, p. 684; na dcdydstadd yuddhasajjo bhavamiti.
23. 1. Niray&valx-sutra.
24. 2. Dialogues , II, 78; B. C. Law’s Buddhaghosa , p. 112.
25. 3. Mah&paiinibbana-Sutta.

26. 1. Nirayavali-sutra cited by Hoemle, ib., p. 7; Kalpa Sutra in SBE XXII 266.
27. 2. Majjhima , HI, 7.
28. 3. Aupapatika-sutras, 12, 27, 30; Hemachandra, Parisishtaparvan, Canto IV;
29. Avasyaka-sutra, pp. 684, 687.
30. 1. Vinaya Texts, Part III, p. 243.
31. 2. Digha, I, 50.
32. 1. Sabhiya-sutta; S&mannaphala Sutta.
33. 2. Dxgha , II, 166.
34. 3. Mahapari* Commentary; cf. Div. 380.
35. I. Avasyaka-sutra, p. 693 (navame Nande).
36. si
37. 1. Rice, Mysore and Coorg , p. 3.
38. 1. McCrindle, Invasion , p. 273.
39. A.I.U.—3
40. 1. Cf. PHAl, 186 for a brief review of the different theories on the subject. Cf. also Geiger, Tr. of Mahdvamsa, p. XII; EHI* pp. 49-50; CHI, I, 171. Recently Dr. E. J. Thomas has pointed out (B. C. Law Volume If, 18-22) that according to the Sarvastivadins Asoka flourished one century after the Nirvana of Buddha, and this tradition may be traced even in the Sinhalese Chronicles. According to this date Jfirvana falls in the 4th century B.C. and a Japanese scholar, quoted by Thomas, places this event in 386 B.C.
41. 1. This has been pointed out by Dr. H. C. Raychaudliuri (1C. II. 560).

FOREIGN INVASIONS

I. THE PERSIAN INVASION

While the interior of India had been undergoing a process of political unification under Magadha, her undefended and insecure frontiers on the north-west invited foreign invasions. The first of these was the Persian invasion.

The relations between Old Persia, or Iran, and India have been describe above. 1 We do not possess any definite information regarding the contact between the two in the later Vedic age. Some scholars find in the Avestan passages indication of a political hold which old Iran had obtained on Northern India in pre-Achaemenian times. But corroboration of details of this political connection are Jacking.

With the sixth century B.C., however, we tread upon more solids ground. From classical sources we gather that the Medo-Persian kingdom, which was supreme in western Asia during that century, came into contact with India through the eastern campaigns of its emperor Cyrus (558-530 B.C.). Information on this subject may be derived from Herodotus, Ctesias, and Xenophon along with Strabo and Arrian. Most of the references of Herodotus, however, are jelated to the time of Darius and Xerxes. It is generally held that the eastern conquest of Cyrus included the districts of Drangiana, 2 Sattagydia 3 and Gandaritis (Gandhara) (Herodotus I, 153, 177) which were located in the north-western regions forming the boundary between India and Iran. According to Ctesias (Fragment 37 ed. Gilmore), Cyrus died of a wound inflicted in battle by ‘an Indian’, a battle which “the Indians were fighting on the side of Derbikes whom they supplied with elephants.” These Derbikes might have been a frontier tribe. According to Xenophon (Cyropaedia , I. 1, 4), Cyrus “brought under his rule Bactrians and Indians” and extended his sway up to the Erythraean sea, i.e the Indian Ocean. He further

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

records (Ibid, VI, 2, 1-11) the despatch to Cyrus by an Indian king of an embassy conveying money, probably in payment of tribute. It has been held on the basis of these references that Cyrus conquered the borderland between Iran and India and won for himself a position which gained him a tribute from a king of Northern India, if not his vassalage.

The Greek writers on Alexander's campaigns do not, however, agree as to the conquest of any portion of India by Cyrus. According to Nearchus, as reported by Arrian (Anab ., VI, 24, 2-3), Cyrus came to grief in trying to invade India through the inhospitable desert of Gedrosia (Baluchistan) where the greater part of his army died. Megasthenes states that "the Indians had never engaged in foreign warfare, nor had they ever been invaded and conquered by a foreign power, except by Heracles and Dionysus and lately by the Macedonians." He refers to Semiramis, the Assyrian queen, as having died before her projected invasion of India. He further states that "the Persians, although they hired mercenary troops from India, namely the Hydrakes (Oxydrakai=Kshudrakas), did not make an expedition into that country." Arrian (Indica, IX, 10) repeats the statement of Megasthenes that none before Alexander invaded India

It will thus appear that both Nearchus and Megasthenes agree that Cyrus never reached India. But these Greek writers take the Sindhu to be the western limit of the country, and it may be that the conquests of Cyrus were made in the Indian borderland to the west of the Sindhu. Pliny actually refers to Cyrus's conquest of Kapisa in the Ghorband valley. We may also consider in this connection the statement of Arrian (Indica, I, 1-3) that the Indians between the river Sindhu and Kabul (Cophen) "were in ancient times subject to the Assyrians, the Medes, and, finally, to the Persians under Cyrus to whom they pay tribute he imposed upon them." Probably the conclusion of the matter is best given by Ed. Meyer who states: "Cyrus appears to have subjugated the Indian tribes of the Paropanisus (Hindu Kush) and in the Kabul valley, especially the Gandarians; Darius himself advances as far as the Indus." 1 Cambyses (530522 B.C.), who succeeded

Cyrus, was too much occupied by rebellions in his own empire to think of engaging in any movement towards India.

For the reign of his successor Darius (522-486 B.C.) we have the reliable evidence of his own inscriptions, from which we can infer the extent of the Persian dominion in India. The first of these is what is known as the Behistun inscription (c. 520-518 B.C.) which lists the twenty-three provinces making up his empire, but does not mention India as one of these. But the two later inscriptions at Persepolis (c. 518-515 B.C.) and at Naksh-i-Rustam (c. 515 B.C.) mention Hx(n)du or the northern Punjab as a part of his domain. Darius must therefore have conquered this part of India by about 518 B.C.

Note 4

It is, however, to be noted that Behistun inscription of Darius (Darayavaush Khshayathiya=Dharadvasu Kshathyah, i.e. Sasakah or Raja) mentions as one of the provinces of his empire a region named Gadara=Gandhara (modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts), along with the neighbouring regions named Suguda (Sogdiana), Saka (Scythia) and Bakhtrish (Bactria, Balkh, Balhika) The Susa palace inscription of Darius states that in the construction of the palace, “teak was brought from Gadara.”

These references indicate that very probably it was Cyrus who conquered Gandhara which was inherited by Darius as a part of his empire, while for himself he pushed his Indian conquest farther into the region called Sindhu . The Persepolis inscription mentions both Gandhara and Sindhu as provinces of his empire, as also his Nakshi-Rustam inscription. There is also a fourth inscription of Darius known as Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet inscription which mentions Sindhu as a province of the empire.

Herodotus (III, 94) states that India counted as the twentieth satrapy of the empire of Darius, to which, however, it contributed a third of his revenue, 360 talents of gold dust, equivalent to over a million pounds sterling. All this gold must have come from the washings of the upper Sindhu beds, which, according to geologists, were distinctly auriferous in those days,[1] and also from what Herodotus calls “the gold-digging-ants”, supposed to be the Tibetan mastiffs who guarded the gold mines of Dardistan (the Dardicae), mentioned in the Mahabharata (II, 1860).

Herodotus (IV, 44) also tells of a naval expedition despatched by Darius in 517 B. C. under Scylax to explore the Sindhu. This was only possible after Darius had established his hold on the Sindhu valley. It may be useful to indicate the limits of Persian dominion in India. None of the sources refers to the kingdom of Magadha under Bimbisara and his contemporaries further west who were ruling at this time. Herodotus (III, 98, 102) seems to exclude from Persian domination the regions towards the south of the Sindhu and also the deserts of Sind and Rajputana towards the east. At the same time, a part of India was included in it under the name of Sindhu, which must have meant a portion of the Punjab to the east of the Sindhu, as distinct from the provinces known as Gandhara, Aria (Herat) or Arachosia (Kandahar), as far as the river-mouth.

Note 5

In order to give a more comprehensive view of the extent of the Persian dominions on the Indian border, we may mention the provinces which are now parts of Afghanistan and also those which adjoin the region of the Sindhu. These are thus mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions: (1) Yauna=Yavana=Ionia; (2) Parthava=Parthia; (3) Zaranka=Zranka=Drangiana; (4) Haraiva (Sarayu)=Aria=:Herat; (5) Bakhtrish=rBactria=:Balkh; (6) Suguda—Sogdiana; (7) §aka=Sakasthana=Seistan; (8) Phatagush—Satagu^Sattagydia; (9) Harauvatish=rSarasvati=Arachosia—Kandahar; and (10) Maka=Makran.

Darius I was succeeded by Xerxes (468-465 B.C.). That the Indian provinces continued under his empire is attested by the fact that he claimed and obtained the military service of an Indian contingent to fight his battles in Greece. This was the first time in history that an Indian expeditionary force fought on the soil of Europe. The Indians recruited by Xerxes for his army are called by the two names "Gandharians and Indians," implying that the former were from the province of Gandhara, and the latter from the provinces controlled by the Persian empire to the east of the Sindhu and described as Sirftlhu in the Achaemenian inscriptions already noticed.

Of the Indian soldiers and their equipment Herodotus gives the following interesting account (VII, 65): "The Indians, clad in garments made of cotton, carried bows of cane and arrows of cane, the latter tipped with iron; and thus accoutred the Indians were marshalled under the command of Pharnazathres, son of Artabates." The Gandharian soldiers carried "bows and short spears" which were meant for fighting at close quarters, while the "Indians" were evidently used for skirmishing at long range. Besides infantry, India also supplied Xerxes with cavalry and chariots, riding horses, and also horses and wild asses to draw the chariots, together with a very large number of dogs. The cavalry had the same equipment as the infantry (Herodotus, VII, 86).

It may be noted that these Indian troops who fought for the first time in Europe had to experience a terrible ordeal in storming the bloody defiles of Thermopylae. The heroism they displayed on this occasion created a further demand for their services. The result was that after the retreat of Xerxes from Europe, Indian soldiers look part in the Boeotian campaign under the Persian Commander Mardonius.

The Persian hold on India continued up to 330 B.C. when we find Darius III, the last of the Achaemenian emperors, indenting upon India for a supply of troops to resist Alexander's invasion. According to Arrian (Anab, III, 8, 3-6), one contingent of Indian soldiery fought at Gaugamela under the satrap of Bactria, along with the Bactrians and Sogdians, while another, the "Indian mountaineers", fought under the satrap of Arachosia. India also sent a small force of elephants. The fact that the Indians fought under satraps of ether provinces probably shows that there was no longer a Persian satrap of India proper, and the hold of Persia over this region was becoming relaxed.[1]

II. THE MACEDONIAN INVASION 1. The Advance to the Sindhu

Nearly two centuries after Cyrus, India fell a victim to a second foreign invasion, the Macedonian invasion from Europe, which'was led by the great conqueror, Alexander. Alexander embarked on a far-reaching scheme of campaigns and conquests in the east. His first conquest was that of Persia. He defeated its emperor, Darius III, and burnt his capital Persepolis in 330 B.C.

P'rom Persia, he continued his advance towards the eastern ancL north-eastern provinces of the Persian empire. His military plan was to secure his rear by a chain of outposts occupied by garrisons along the route of his conquests. Thus were constructed the cities of "Alexandria-among-the-Arachosians," i.e. Kandahar; "Alexandriaunder-the-Caucasus," i. e. at the foot of Hindu Kush, where three routes to Bactria converge, which probably occupied the site of modern Charikar; Cartana (Begram), Cadrusi (Koratas?), and Nicaea between Alexandria and the Cophen or Kabul river. From the Kabul valley Alexander proceeded towards the north up the Panjshir valley and through the Khawak Pass. At the beginning of 327 B.C. he had completed the conquest of Eastern Iran beyond the Hindu Kush by overrunhing Bactria and the region now known as Bokhara, as far as the Syr Daria (Jaxartes). In May 327 B.C. he advanced towards India.

He returned through the Kushan Pass and made a descent upon Alexandria, where he deposed the satrap for misgovernment. Thence he moved to Nicaea. From Nicaea, as the outpost nearest to India, he dispatched emissaries to the king of Taxila (Takshasila) and other princes to the west of the Sindhu, informing them of his intentions and inviting them to meet him to discuss terms which might obviate his contemplated invasion.

Even before this invitation Ambhi (Omphis), son of the old king of Taxila, had sent envoys to Alexander while he was still in Bokhara, offering his

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1 For a very different view on this subject, cf. JHQ. XXV, 153.

help to the invader provided his kingdom was spared. Curtius records that he sent to Alexander useful presents of “65 elephants, great many sheep of extraordinary size, and 3,000 bulls of a valuable breed.” This is the first recorded instance of an Indian king proving a traitor to his country; what is worse, his treachery was instigated by a petty spirit of local hostility to his powerful neighbour Porus (Paurava), the ruler of the territory between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Hydraotes (Ravi), who was bidding for supremacy in that region by pushing his conquest beyond the Ravi in the east and threatening the frontiers of Taxila on the west. Thus the king of Taxila, jealous of Paurava, took recourse to foreign intervention to curb his rival’s growing power.

Alexander was also similarly helped at the very beginning of his invasion of India by the treacherous submission offered in advance by another Indian king, Sisikottos (Sasigupta). He was probably the ruler of one of the frontier hill-states who originally even helped the Bactrians and Iranians against Alexander, but now changed his allegiance and joined Alexander.

Thus securing his rear Alexander now found the path of his advance towards India free of obstacles. He was marching with an army modestly estimated at 30,000 men, but one of its weak points, which told in the long run, was its heterogeneous composition, not unified or animated by the national spirit and sense of patriotic mission which inspired its leader. The army was made up of the heavily armed Macedonian infantry, carrying the long spear; Macedonian cavalry; mercenaries from Greek cities; highlanders from the Balkans. Agrianes, and Thracians equipped with slings, javelins, and bows; some eastern tribes such as horsemen from Iran, Pashtus and men from the Hindu Kush; Central-Asiatics, good at shooting from horse-back; skilled Phoenician boatmen, and Egyptians proud of their ancient ancestry.

This expeditionary force was divided by Alexander into two columns under his plan of campaign. One division was led by Alexander himself up the Kunar or Chitral river to the hilly region in the north and east. The other marched along the south bank of the Kabul river under two Macedonian commanders, Hephaestion and Perdiccas, passing through the Khyber Pass, towards the Sindhu, and emerging upon the plains of Peshawar, with the king of Taxila as its escort.

Here, however, contrary to all expectations, Astes, the king of the small state of the Astakenoi, with his capital at Peucelaotis, defied Alexander and stood siege of his walled capital by the Greeks for full thirty days till he fell fighting. It seems that Astes is the Greek equivalent of the Indian name Ashtakaraja, whose people were known as Ashtakas and his capital as Pushkalavatl (Charsadda). McCrindle suggests that Ashtakaraja may be connected with what Cunningham calls Hashtanagar or eight cities situated on the eastern bank of the lower Swat river, one of which was Pushkalavatl, the capital of Gandhara. A henchman of the traitor king of Taxila, whom the Greeks call Sangaya (=Sanjaya), was rewarded for his loyalty to Alexander by the gift to him of this Ashtaka kingdom.

The other division of the army which was campaigning in the hilly regions in the valleys of the Kunar, Panjkora and Swat, under Alexander himself, encountered much opposition from the free peoples of these districts. These are termed by the Greeks Aspasioi and Assakenoi (from Iranian Aspa = Sanskrit Asva). Their Indian names may be taken to be Asvtiyana and Asvakdyana, as mentioned by Panini (IV. 1, 110, 99). The coins known as Vatasvaka are attributed to these people, who might be identified with the Asvakas (=Asmakas) mentioned by Panini (IV. 1, 173). 1 The capital of Assakenoi is called by the Greeks Massaga, which corresponds to the Sanskrit MasakavatL These hill tribes fought bravely and offered a stubborn resistance in many of their strongholds. At one of these encounters, Alexander, while trying to scale the walls of the citadel, received a serious wound. In retaliation, the whole population was put to the sword. Another centre of resistance was the city named Andaka. In the end Alexander was able to overcome these heroic

Note 6

peoples who, however, died to a man in defence of their hearths and homes. As many as 40,000 were taken prisoners of war from the Aspasians alone.

The loot in cattle amounted to 230,000 oxen, showing how well-stocked this hill-state was in agriculture and live-stock

Still more severe was the resistance offered by the Assakenoi, the inhabitants of the eastern part of this region (the modern Kafiristan). They opposed Alexander with an army of 30,000 cavalry, 38,000 infantry (as stated by Curtius) and 30 elephants, together with 7,000 mercenaries recruited from the plains, who were all stationed in a fortress named Massaga. This army was led by the late king's mother, queen Cleophes. The city was strong in natural fortifications, built on a hill with inaccessible sides, treacherous morasses on two sides, a rivulet on the third, and artificial ramparts of brick, stone and timber on its fourth side. The fortress was further protected by a deep moat dug along its entire circumference of 4 miles. The example of the queen-commander leading the struggle for freedom in person brought the entire womanhood of the locality into the fight, while their heroism also infected the mercenaries whose initial vacillation was replaced by a determination to prefer death to dishonour.

To strengthen further his defence, the chief, Assakenos, though a republican, entered into an alliance with the neighbouring monarch of "the Indians of the hill country" named Abhisara, who sent him a military contingent. After a heroic resistance of several days, the chief fell fighting, his mother and daughter were made prisoners, and his city capitulated. The massacre of the entire body of mercenary troops, numbering 7,000, by Alexander forms a memorable, but tragic, episode of this campaign, and throws a blot on the great soldier.

Alexander found a little respite from his arduous campaign in this hostile country in the conciliatory attitude of the neighbouring city-state of Nysa, which sent him a contingent of 300 horsemen. He constituted this hilly country and the lower Kabul valley into a new satrapy under Nicanor. Further west was the satrapy of the Paropanisadae under Tyriespes with his capital at Alexandria-underthe-Caucasus.

He then descended to Pushkalavatl (Charsadda) where he planted a Greek garrison under Philip. The lower Kabul valley was further secured by seizing small towns between Pushkalavatl and the Sindhu. In this Alexander was aided by two Indian chiefs called

“Cophaeus”, ruler of the valley of the Cophen or Kabul, and “Assa

getes,” the king of the Assakenoi who had succeeded the king killed at Massaga.

The next stage in Alexander’s campaign was the siege of the strong hill fort known as Aomus, corresponding to Sanskrit Varava as mentioned by Panini. It was apparently not far from the junction of the Kabul and Sindhu rivers. The Greeks attached the greatest importance to the capture of this mountain citadel as there was a tradition that even Heracles had failed to storm it; and they describe the exploit at great length.[1] After reducing this fort, Alexander posted here a garrison under his Indian ally Sisikottos (ga£igupta).

The problem now facing Alexander was the crossing of the Sindhu. He fixed on a point near a forest which would supply the timber necessary for building craft for the purpose. A part of his army was floated down the river on these boats, and joined the other part waiting at Ohind 16 miles above Attock, to be transported across the river by a bridge already constructed by Hephaestion.

2. From the Sindhu to the Beds

It was in the spring of 326 B.C. that the Macedonian invader first set foot on Indian soil proper. His army crossed over to the other side of the Sindhu, accompanied by an Indian contingent of 5,000 from the king of Taxila and other chiefs, squadrons of Indian horse, and thirty elephants. The invading army, on crossing, was warmly welcomed by Ambhi, the new king of Taxila.

Alexander held a Durbar at Taxila, receiving homage and presents from the smaller chiefs of the locality. These gifts were returned by Alexander on a lavish scale in the shape of vessels of gold and silver and embroideries which he had obtained in Persia.

Beyond Taxila, between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab, lay the kingdom of Porus, the great rival of the king of Taxila, as mentioned above. But Porus or the Paurava king was made of a different stuff. True to the tradition of his ancient lineage, reaching back to the Vedic period, he determined to defend, at all costs, the honour of his family and the independence of his kingdom. He heard with resentment, perhaps with dismay, of the submission of the rulers

Note 7

t>f Taxila and other localities, including another Paurava, one of his own kinsmen ruling further east beyond, the Chenab. Even the king of Abhisara, who offered to help him, was playing a double game, and sent his own brother to Taxila with presents for Alexander and offer of submission. But although hemmed in by enemies, cowards, and traitors, both in front and rear, his undaunted spirit refused to submit. When the enemies' envoys came to summon him to meet Alexander, he proudly replied that he would indeed meet him, but at his own frontiers and in arms.

Both sides now made active preparations i'or the inevitable war. Alexander did not wait till after the rains when the rivers would be fordable, probably because he was unwilling to give Porus time to strengthen his position by fresh alliances. Having left a Macedonian garrison and his satrap Philip as a "Resident" in the kingdom of Ambhi, he moved on to the banks of the Hydaspes (Jhelum) which was then (May 326 B.C.) in flood. Porus was also ready with his full strength on the opposite bank to oppose his passage of the river. For some time the two armies watched each other. Alexander then took recourse to a stratagem. He made his army move up and down the river in search of a convenient point for crossing and kept the Indians in dark about his movement. At last the crossing was effected one morning after a night of torrential rain and storm at a point 17 miles up the river from the original camp. A bridge of boats, which was moved up to that point and was kept hid den behind a wooded island, enabled the Macedonian army to cross the river unobserved.

Alexander crossed over v/ith only a small part of his army, about 11,000 men and a cavalry. Porus sent his son to oppose him v/ith 2,000 mounted troops and 120 chariots. But these could not withstand the charge of the

Macedonian cavalry led personally by Alexander, and the gallant lad was slain.

Porus now offered battle with his whole army which Arrian estimates at 30,000 foot, 4,000 horse, 300 chariots and 200 elephants. The elephants were placed in front flanked by infantry on both sides. The flanks of the infantry were again guarded by cavalry which was protected by chariots in front.

From the outset, the battle went against Porus. The rains overnight rendered the ground slippery, and the chariots kept sticking in the slush. The archers could not fix their long bows on the muddy ground, Alexander began the battle with a charge of 1,000 mounted archers from Central Asia and the picked Macedonian cavalry, making a breach in the lines of the Indian cavalry and infantry. The army of Porus was thrown into complete confusion. Fresh Greek soldiers arrived across the river under Craterus, and the Indian army was completely routed; thousands were slain including the two sons and all the great generals of Porus. But Porus bravely fought up to the last. When all was lost, he left the field with nine wounds on his body. Then a man with a message from Alexander galloped aftdr him. Recognizing him to be the traitor king of Taxila, he threw a javelin at him. Probably this encounter is represented on a well-known coin. Other envoys came up to him, including his friend Meroes. Then he offered his surrender. He was conducted to Alexander who asked him how he should like to be treated. He made the famous reply which has become classic: “Act as a king.” When Alexander asked him to be more precise, he replied: “When I said ‘as a king’, everything was contained in that.”

Alexander reinstated Porus in his kingdom to which he added further territories towards the east, the domains of fifteen republican peoples with their 5,000 considerable cities and villages without number.[1] He next marched into the interior of the country and conquered the republic of the Glauganikai (=Glachukayanaka, mentioned by Kasikci on Panini IV, 3, 99) with its 37 towns each of which had a population between 5,000 and

10,000. Alexander had this country annexed to the kingdom of Porus. His further advance was now impeded by reports of revolts from regions conquered by him. Kandahar rose with the help of an Indian Chief Damaraxus. The Asvakas rebelled, killing the satrap Nicanor. Sisikottos, then the “satrap of Assakenians” (eastern Asvakas), asked for urgent help. z

The situation was somewhat improved by the arrival of Thracian reinforcements from Iran, with whom Alexander crossed the next river Acesines (Asikni, Chenab). The king of that region was Porus II, who left his realm to its fate and fled for shelter “to the nation of Gandaridae,” i.e. to the territories of the Nanda king. The whole region between the Chenab and the Ravi was annexed to the kingdom of Porus.

Alexander next marched up to the Hydraotes (Ravi) and beyond and invaded the territories of republican peoples. Of these, the Adraistai (Adhrish^as? or Arattas, Ardshprakas, ‘kingless’— republican peoples) offered submission to Alexander. But the Kathaioi (=Kathas) defied him from their fortified town named Sangala (=Samkala = Jandiala), though without success. Their casualties amounted to 17,000 killed, and 70,000 captured. Porus helped Alexander with elephants and 6,000 troops in this battle. The entire republican region was, as usual, made over to him. Alexander next received the submisson of two neighbouring kings named Sophytes (=Saubhuti) and Phegelas (=Bhagala). He then came to the fifth river Hyphasis (Beas).

3. The Retreat

Alexander’s progress was here brought to a halt by the mutiny of his troops, who refused to proceed further (end of July 326 B.C.). Alexander appealed to his soldiers, but in vain. At last he decided on retreat. He went back by the road by which he came up to the bank of the Jhelum. Then he sailed down the Jhelum and the Sindhu to the ocean in a fleet of 1,000 boats made ready beforehand, including “luggage-boats, horse-transports, and war-galleys.”

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1. Plutarch, Alexander, LX.

He left Porus to rule over the entire territory between the Beas and the Jhelum and over fifteen republican nations with more than 5,000 cities; Ambhi to rule to the west of the Jhelum; and the king of Abhisara to rule in Kashmir with the state of Arsaces (Urasa = Hazara) added to his kingdom.

Alexander started on his voyage in November 326 B.C. with troops protecting him on either bank of the river and his satrap Philip following three days later to protect his rear. The armada floated down the Jhelum and reached its confluence with the Chenab in 10 days. Here Alexander had to face determined opposition organised by a confederacy of republican peoples led by the Mailoi (Malavas) and the Oxydrakai (Kshudrakas) who between them mustered an allied army of 90,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 900 chariots. All the Malava cities became centres of resistance. One of these was a town of Brahmins who exchanged the pen for the sword and died fighting. They numbered about 5,000, of whom but few were taken prisoner. In trying to scale the wall of another stronghold Alexander was severely wounded. When it fell, his infuriated soldiers massacred all the inhabitants, sparing neither woman nor child. The Kshudrakas lost heart after the defeat of the Malavas and submitted.

There were other republican peoples to resist Alexander. The Sibae (Sivis) submitted, but not the Agalassoi (Arjunayanas?) who fought with an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 cavalry. In one of their towns, the citizens numbering about 20,000, after a brave resistance, cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames, anticipating the Rajput jauhar of later days.

Down the river Alexander passed by other tribes; the Abastanes (Ambashthas), who had an army of 60,000 foot, 6,000 horse and 500 chariots; the Xathri (Kshatriyas); and the Ossadii (Vasati). These did not, however, choose to fight.

Alexander reached the last confluence of the Punjab rivers with the Sindhu in the winter at the beginning of 325 B.C. Further down the Sindhu he passed through the country of the Sogdi, also called Sogdri (=Sudras), which was then under Brahmin supremacy; of king Musicanus (king of the Mushikas?); and of Oxycanus also called Porticanus (from Sanskrit Partha?).

The Brahmins of this region who dominated its politics resolved upon opposition to the foreign invader as a part of their dharma, denounced the princes who submitted as traitors, and goaded the republican peoples into resistance. Musicanus revoked his submission to Alexander. Oxycanus also followed suit. They were all defeated and put to the sword together with the militant Brahmins. Alexander next came to the large city of Pattala where the Sindhu divided into two branches. It was then ruled by two kings and a Council of Elders. It was deserted at the approach of Alexander. In September 325 B.C. Alexander left Pattala on his homeward journey and proceeded towards Babylon through Gedrosia. Two years later he died at Babylon.

4. General Review

The nature and effect of Alexander's raid on India are sometimes overstated. The adventure was no doubt highly creditable, but cannot be regarded as a brilliant military achievement, as he had never been brought face to face with any of the great nations of Hindustan. Hence, there was really never a fair test between European and Asiatic military skill, as held by some scholars. 1 Nor was Alexander's campaign a political success, for it did not result in any permanent Macedonian occupation of the Punjab. It left no permanent mark on the literature, life or government of the people.

Note 8

What remained of the foreign occupation after Alexander's retreat from India and his death in 323 B.C. was wiped out in the war of liberation fought successfully by the Indian leader Chandragupta Maurya, who became ruler of the Punjab about that time.

It may also be noted that the course of Alexander's campaigns was by no means easy or smooth. His own followers were not invariably loyal to him, and reluctantly followed him in an apparently fruitless adventure in a foreign land. Some of the Greeks, whom he settled in his new cities marking the path of his invasion, did not take kindly to a life of exile and were anxious to get back home at the earliest opportunity.

His invasion was greatly facilitated by the treacherous submission tendered by some of the kings. But there was a striking setoff against their treachery in the heroic resistance offered by Porus and most of the free or the republican peoples of the Punjab, as we have seen. These clans fought the foe to a man, but they failed for lack of leadership, resources, and organisation against the superior military .organisation of Alexander. What further contributed to the success of Alexander was his strategy in breaking the centres of Indian resistance one by one, so as to prevent them from forming a united front against him. It was left to the Malavas and the Kshudrakas to form such a combined front and pool their resources against their common enemy. But it came too late.

Alexander had really no chance of permanent success against the inherent difficulties of the Indian situation. In any case his dream of including the Punjab and Sind in, his world-empire was doomed to disappointment. It was not feasible, owing to the lack of communications to prosecute campaigns in lands so remote from the base of operations. Some of the Indian sages whom Alexander interviewed pointed out to him the futility of his ambitions by showing how, as he trod on a piece of a dried-up hide, and pressed on one end, the rest would fly up. By this symbol it was hinted that Alexander could not consolidate his conquests so far away from the centre of his empire.

Alexander’s own administrative arrangements betray a correct apprehension of the situation. He divided his Indian conquests into seven satrapies. Two of these were outside India proper, between the Hindu Kush and the Sindhu; the lower Kabul valley under Philip, the son of Machatas, and the region beyond it under Oxyartes, father-in-law of Alexander. In India proper, the region round the confluences of the Punpjab rivers formed the satrapy of Philippus, and Sind, that of Pithon, the son of Agenor. The territories further north in the Punjab formed the satrapies of Ambhi (the king of Taxila) and Porus, the Jhelum forming the boundary between the two. The king of Abhisara was left in charge of his old principality and the neighbouring region. Although strong Macedonian garrisons were left at different centres it was inevitable that the Indian satraps would be de facto sovereigns from the very beginning, and it would not be long before they would throw off even the nominal suzerainty of Alexander.

But Alexander’s invasion affected Indian politics in another way. It promoted the political unification which the country so badly needed. Smaller states were now merged in larger ones such as those of Porus, Abhisara or Taxila, thus paving the way for the growth of the Indian empire which was shortly to be founded by Chandragupta Maurya.

The general Indian position with reference to the Macedonian invasion is well expressed by Matthew Arnold:

“She let the legions thunder past And plunged in Thought again.”

The only permanent result of Alexander’s campaign was that it opened up communication between Greece and India and paved the wav for a more intimate intercourse between the two. And this was achieved at the cost of untold sufferings inflicted upon India,— massacre, rapine and plunder on a scale till then without a precedent in her annals, but repeated in later days by more successful invaders like Sultan Mahmud, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah. In spite of the halo of romance that Greek writer^ have woven round the name of Alexander, the historian of India can regard him only as the precursor of these recognised scourges of mankind.*

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

Note 12

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Note 16

Note 17

Note 18

CHAPTER IV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. I, pp. 218-224; 4th impression (1965), pp. 222-228.
2. 2. Drangiana corresponds to a part of Seistan.
3. 3. The Sattagydia cannot be definitely located. It has been placed in Ghazni and Ghilzai by some and Hazara country further to the north-west by others. There are other views also (cf. CHI , I, 328, fn. 1).
4. l. Geschichte des Altertums, III, 97.
5. I. V. Ball in I A, August 1884.
6. I. JRAS, 1900, pp. 98-106.
7. 1. The great controversy over the identification of Aornus, a solitary rock about 7,000 ft. high washed by the Sindhu, has been set at rest by Sir Aurel Stein. He has proved by local investigation that it corresponded to Pir Sar range (On Alexander's Track to the Indus , p. 104). For a detailed account of the fort and its siege and the different theories on its identification, cf, EHI, 2nd Edition, Appendix D; 3rd Edition, pp. 56-58.
8. 1. Cf. e.g. the curious, if not ludicrous, observation of V. A. Smith that "the triumphant progress of Alexander from the Himalaya to the sea demonstrated the inherent weakness of the greatest Asiatic armies when confronted with European skill and discipline" (EHI/ 112).
9. * See Preface.
10. GENERAL REFERENCES
11. I. PERSIAN INVASION
12. For the Achaemenian inscriptions, cf. D. C. Sircar, Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization, Calcutta, 1942, and Sukumar Sen, Old Persian Inscriptions.
13. Herodotus, History (Eng. Tr. by G. Rawlinson or G. C. Macaulay).
14. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Ch. XIV.
15. II. MACEDONIAN INVASION
16. J. W. McCrindle. The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great. Westminster, 1896.
17. V. A. Smith. Early History of India, 4th Edition, Chs. II-IV.
18. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Ch. XV.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND THE MAURYA

EMPIRE

I. LIFE AND REIGN (324-300 B.C.)

While Alexander was carrying fire and sword through the length and breadth of the Punjab, the emperor Dhana Nanda was ruling over the rest of Northern India. Whether he took any effective steps to stem the tide of invasion, we do not know. What would have been the result of a conflict between the two, we cannot say. Alexander had hitherto conquered only minor Indian tribes and states piecemeal and the Greek writers were more impressed by the strength of their individual opposition than that of any other opponent of Alexander, not excluding the great Achaemenian monarch. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that Alexander would not have found it an easy task to subdue the mighty Nanda Empire.[1] Although most of the Greek writers represent his retreat from almost the very gate of that empire as due to the mutiny of his soldiers, at least one ancient Greek historian records that it was caused by the terror of the mighty power of the Nandas. This cannot be altogether dismissed as fictitious, and we shall perhaps never know the part played by the Nanda emperor in those critical days of India. It is certain, however, that his vast dominions were unaffected by the ruthless havoc and destruction caused by Alexander in the Punjab.

But the empire was not destined to enjoy peace for long. An internal rising took place almost immediately after the departure of Alexander from India, and Dhana Nanda met his doom in the hands of Chandragupta, as will be related later. The career of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, sheds lustre on the history of ancient India, for to him belongs the credit of freeing this country from the Macedonian yoke and securing, for the first time, the political unification of the greater part of India under one sceptre. It was a remarkable achievement, specially when we remember

Note 1

that Chandragupta did not inherit a throne, but was born in humble circumstances. Chandragupta's rise to greatness is indeed a romance of history.

Like that of many other great figures in history the early career of Chandragupta is involved in obscurity. According to the Greek writer Justin, he was a man of low origin. The Jain tradition also represents him as a son of a village headman's daughter, and adds, by way of explaining the title Maurya, that the village was inhabited by peacock-tamers (mayura-poshaka). But neither of these sources furnish any further particulars about his early life. The Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions supply more details, but differ widely about his origin. The former describe him as base-born, while the latter represent him as belonging to a Kshatriya ruling clan.

We can trace a gradual growth of the Brahmanical tradition. The Puranas, which are our earliest available Brahmanical source, do not contain even any hint of it. They simply mention that the Nandas were uprooted by the Brahmana Kautilya, who anointed Chandragupta as king. It was left to a commentator on the Vishnu Purana. first to suggest that Chandragupta was base-born by way of explaining his title Maurya. He sought to derive it from Mura, supposed to be a wife of king Nanda and mother of Chandragupta. But the commentator is guilty both of fictitious history and bad grammar. The derivative from Mura is Maureya. Maurya can only be derived from the masculine Mura which is the name of a gotra in the Ga$apa^ha of Panini. The commentator is more anxious to find a mother for Chandragupta than to follow grammatical rules. But it is to.be noted that he does not cast any slur upon her. He does not state, like some later authorities, that Mura was a Sudra woman or the king's mistress.

The story of Chandragupta's base origin is reproduced in the drama Mudrardkshasa which is of a much later date. It calls Chandragupta both Vrshala and Kulahina, which have been taken by some to mean a Sudra and outcaste. It has been suggested, however, that the term Kulahtna means that he was only of lowly or humble birth, while the term Vrshala is sometimes used in the sense of a Vfisha or chief among kings.

Like that on the Vishnu Purdna , a later commentator on the drama starts the story that Chandragupta was the son of Maurya and his wife Mura who was a Sudra. The play also ends by acclaiming Chandragupta as Mauvyaputra and a scion of the Nanda family.

This connection by blood between Chandragupta and Nanda is, as we have seen above, also affirmed in the commentary of the Vishnu Purana, though the Puranas themselves are silent about it.

The Buddhist tradition, however, gives us an altogether different picture. The Divydvaddna refers to Bindusara, son of Chandragupta, as an anointed Kshatriya. According to the Mahavariisa Chandragupta was a scion of the Kshatriya clan called Moriya. The existence of a Kshatriya clan of this name, even as early as the time of Gautama Buddha, is vouched for by Mahdparinibbdnasutta , one of the most authentic and ancient canonical texts of the Buddhists. According to this text the Moriyas, the ruling clan of Pipphalivana, sent a messenger to the Mallas, claiming a portion of the relics of the Buddha, saying: “The Blessed One belonged to the Kshatriya caste, and we, too, are of the Kshatriya caste.”

It is now generally agreed that the old clan-name Moriya offers a more satisfactory explanation of Maurya, the name of the dynasty founded by Chandragupta, than the supposed derivation from his mother named Mura or father named Maurya. We may therefore readily accept the view that Chandragupta belonged to the Kshatriya clan called the Moriyas originally ruling over Pipphalivana which probably lay in U.P. as stated above. 1

According to the tradition preserved in the Buddhist texts, Chandragupta’s father was the chief of the Moriya clan, who died in a border-fray, leaving his wife destitute. She had to seek safety at far-off Pushpapura (=Kusumapura=:Pataliputra) where she gave birth to a child, Chandragupta. The boy was brought up, first by a cowherd, and then by a hunter. He grew up in the village and asserted his predominance among his rural companions by playing the king with them (Rdjakilam). This attracted the notice of Chanakya who happened to pass through that village, and seeing the promise of greatness in the boy, took him away to his native city of Taxila. There he gave him a thorough education in all the arts and sciences to fit him for his appointed task.

That task was not an easy one. It was to liberate the country from alien domination and also to rid the country of the tyranny of the Nanda king who had insulted Chanakya. Kautilya in his Artha sdstra gives expression to the national hatred of foreign rule. He points out how a foreign conqueror drains the country of its wealth (apavdhayati), and squeezes out of it as much as possible by exaction and taxation (karshayati). Thus the task of Chandragupta was

Note 2

carefully to mobilize the military resources of the country and specially its morale, and to awaken its spirit of resistance, depressed by Alexander's campaigns, in a national struggle for freedom. According to the classical writers, Chandragupta had visited Alexander in the Punjab, and greatly offended him. In his wrath Alexander gave orders to kill Chandragupta, who somehow effected his escape and was later encouraged by various miracles to aspire to sovereignty. Whatever we might think of these stories, it is probable that the youthful Chandragupta noted the military potentialities of the republican peoples of the Punjab like Astakenoi, Oxydrakai or the Malloi who fought Alexander to a man in defence of their freedom, but whose resistance failed for want of proper leadership and organisation. Curtius describes them as fierce nations who fought Alexander with their blood. The Pali work Mahdvamsatika describes how both Chanakya and Chandragupta set out for collecting recruits (balam) from different places until they were made into a large army (mahdbalakayam). Justin describes these recruits by a term which may mean 'robbers' or mercenaries; 1 he evidently means the republican peoples of the Punjab.

It is interesting to note that, according to the Arthasdstra, the army is to be recruited from the five following classes; (1) Choras or Pratirodhakas of the day, robbers and bandits, (2) Mlechchhas such as the Kirata highlanders, (3) Choraganas , organised gangs of brigands, (4) Atcivikas , foresters, and (5) Sastropajivi-Srenis , warrior clans, who were most heroic (pravlra). Elements like these probably formed the army of Chandragupta.

The Mudrarfikshasa as well as the Jain work Parisisktaparvan refers to Chandragupta's alliance with the Himalayan king Parvataka. This Himalayan alliance gave to Chandragupta a composite army made up of Sakas, Yavanas, Kiratas, Kambojas, Parasikas and Balhlkas, as stated in the Mudrarakshasa.

A factor that helped Chandragupta in his enterprise was the growing difficulty of the Greek position in the Punjab. Alexander's own followers did not share his enthusiasm for foreign conquests. As we have seen above, they refused to follow him beyond the Beas. Unrest was springing up at other centres. Kandahar rebelled under an Indian chief. The Assakenoi killed the Greek satrap Nicanor. Then followed the assassination, in 325 B.C., of Philippus who, as the satrap in the Upper Sindhu valley, held the key-position of Greek rule in the country. The immediate cause of the assassination was the jealousy between the Greeks and Macedonians which was undermining the strength of these foreigners. Then came the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., leading to the disruption of his empire.

Note 3

Chandragupta evidently took full advantage of the situation. The two years, 325-323 B.C., that intervened between the death of Philippus and that of his master, were eventful years of his preparation for the final blow. His work is thus summed up by Justin: "India, after the death of Alexander, had shaken off the yoke of servitude and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottos." This Sandrocottos was undoubtedly Chandragupta. A careful analysis of the details given by Justin indicates that Chandragupta, having collected an army, first installed himself as king. He then fought with the prefects of Alexander and defeated them. This task was not probably completed* before 317 B.C., for Eudemus, the commander of the garrison in Western Punjab, who had treacherously murdered his colleague, the Indian ruler, probably Porus, left India in that year with all his forces to join the coalition of the Eastern satraps, never to return again.

Chandragupta's fight against the Macedonians, however, must have begun considerably earlier. It is significant that at the partition of Alexander's empire at Triparadisus in 321 B.C. nothing is said of Sind, the satrap of which, Pithon, son of Agenor, was transferred to the north-west, but no one else was appointed in his place. At the time of this arrangement the ruler of Taxila and Porus were practically left supreme in their domains with added power and territory. This virtual surrender of Indian possessions in 321 B.C. was due to the feeling, freely expressed, that “it would be dangerous to circumscribe the jurisdiction of the Indian rulers except with the support of an expedition equipped on a scale of the first magnitude and commanded by a general of the highest capacity.” 1 There is thus no doubt that the Indian situation had materially changed for the worse in 321 B.C. and possibly as early as 323 B.C. when the first partition was made of Alexander’s empire. The most reasonable explanation seems to be that Chandragupta had begun the war of liberation, probably in the Lower Sindhu valley, before 321 or even before 323 B.C. His date of accession may be provisionally fixed at 324 B.C. 2 He

Note 4

Note 5

arose like the great avenger to whose strong arms “the earth long harassed by outlanders now turned for protection and refuge.”

He ably fulfilled his task. Justin indicates that such of the Macedonian prefects as still held their posts were ruthlessly put to the sword. This obviously refers to a sanguinary war to a finish between Chandragupta and the Macedonian army some time, probably long, before Eudemus regarded discretion as the better part of valour and thought it politic to leave India quietly in 317 B.C. without challenging the claims of Chandragupta. Although details are lacking, we can accept it as a historical fact that the army of occupation left behind by Alexander was thoroughly defeated by Chandragupta and he made himself master of the Punjab and Sind.

Chandragupta’s next task was to rid the country of the internal tyranny of king Nanda. It has been suggested that Chandragupta visited Alexander with the definite object of inducing him to conquer Magadha. Of this we have no definite evidence. But according to Indian tradition both he and his adviser Chanakya bore a great grudge against the Nanda king who did great wrongs to both of them. Unfortunately definite details of the conquest of Magadha by Chandragupta are not preserved. The Mahfivamsatika tells a story about the initial mistake of his compaigns. The mother of a boy, eating the centre of a cake (chapati) and throwing away the crust, compares his conduct to “Chandragupta’s attack on the kingdom”. The Jain tradition similarly compares the advance of Chandragupta to a child putting his finger into the middle of a hot pie, instead of starting from the edge which was cool. All this explains' how Chandragupta, without beginning from the frontiers, and taking the towns in order as he passed, invaded the heart of the country, only to find that his army was ‘surrounded and destroyed.*

But Buddhist tradition ascribes to him another error of strategy. This time he commenced operations from the frontiers and conquered many rashtras and janapadas on the way, but failed to post garrisons to hold his conquests so as to secure his rear which was later attacked. Then the proper course dawned on him. He besieged Pataliputra and killed Dhana Nanda. The Milinda-panha gives an exaggerated account of the slaughter attending the destruction of the army of Magadha.

The Brahmanical traditions regard Kautilya (alias Chanakya), rather than Chandrgupta, as the chief actor in the great drama

which ended in the extermination of the Nandas. The Puranas credit* Chanakya with having destroyed the Nandas and anointed Chandragupta as king. The same view is reflected in Kautiliya Arthasdstra and other treatises in ancient India. In the drama Mudrdrdkshasa, the figure of Chandragupta is almost cast into shade by the brilliant and masterful personality of Chanakya. Stories are also told of the insult offered by the Nanda king to Chanakya and the grim resolve of the latter to uproot the royal dynasty; how he moved about in search of a suitable means to accomplish his ends and at last discovered Chandragupta and made use of him for this purpose. Even if there be any truth in these stories, it is difficult to apportion the credit for destroying the Nandas between Chanakya and Chandragupta. At the most we may hold that the astute diplomacy of Chanakya played a no less prominent part in it than the bravery and military skill of Chandragupta. The final discomfiture of the Nanda king was also probably due, in part at least, to his own personal character. We are told by the classical writers that he was a worthless king, detested and held cheap by his subjects. The story of his enormous wealth also probably indicates the extortion which alienated the royal house from the loyalty of its subjects.

While Chandragupta was busy laying the foundations of his empire in India, the Greek king Seleucus, who had succeeded Alexander in the eastern part of his empire, was moving towards India to recover the lost possessions of the late emperor. But while Alexander had to fight against a divided India, split up into a multitude of states, his successor had to face a united and a much stronger India organised by an able leader. Seleucus rea'ched the Sindhu about 305 B.C. The Greek writers do not give the details of his conflict with Chandragupta, but merely record the result. Seleucus had to purchase peace by ceding to Chandragupta territories then known as Aria, Arachosia, and Paropanisadae (the capitals of which were respectively the cities now known as Herat, Kandahar and Kabul), and probably also a part of Gedrosia (Baluchistan). In return Chandragupta presented him with 500 war elephants. The terms of the peace leave no doubt that the Greek ruler fared badly at the hands of Chandragupta. His defeat and discomfiture at the hands of an Indian ruler would naturally be passed over by Greek writers, and their silence goes decidedly against Seleucus. The peace was ratified by a matrimonial alliance between the rival parties. This has been generally taken to mean that Chandragupta married a daughter of Seleucus, but this is not warranted by known facts. Henceforth

Seleucus maintained friendly relations with the Mauryan Court and sent Megaslhenes as his ambassador who lived in Pataliputra for a long time and wrote a book on India.

Nothing definite is known of the subsequent career of Chandragupta. The wide extent of his empire leaves no doubt that his life was mostly spent in military campaigns, but of this we have no authentic account. According to very late Jain traditions, Chandragupta, in his last days, renounced the world and followed the Jain migration led by Bhadrabahu to a place in Mysore, known as Sravana Bclgcla, where some local inscriptions still perpetuate the memory of Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu living together as saints. The hill where he lived is still known as Chandragiri, and a temple erected by him as Chandraguptabasti. It is said that Chandragupta, in true Jain fashion, fasted unto death in this place.

II. THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE

Chandragupta undoubtedly ruled over a vast empire. According to Plutarch, he overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men and Justin also refers to his mastery over the country. This is indirectly supported by other available evidences on the subject. Asoka’s inscriptions credit him with only one conquest, viz . that of Kalinga. But the geographical distribution of these inscriptions as well as their internal evidence shows that his empire extended up to Mysore in the south and beyond the natural boundaries of India up to the borders of Persia in the north-west. Asoka’s father Bindusara is not known to history as a conquerer.* It thus stands to reason that the empire over which Asoka ruled was mostly the creation of his grandfather -Chandragupta.

Some Tamil texts refer to an invasion of the South led by the people called the ‘Vamba Moriyar’ or the Maurya upstarts, who subdued the king of Mohur with the help of their allies called the Kosar and Vadukar. The Mauryas are said to have advanced with a large army as far as the Podiyil Hill in the Tinnevelly District, passing from Konkan through the hills north of Cannanore and the kingdom of Kongu (Coimbatore) on their way. From the epithet ‘upstarts’ applied to the Mauryas we may infer that the Tamil poets referred to the times of Chandragupta.

Lastly, the inscription of Rudradaman I at Junagarh shows that Saurashtra was a province of the Maurya Empire. It was ruled by Chandragupta’s provincial governor Pushyagupta, described as a

VaiSya, and in Aioka’s time by Yavana (Greek) Raja Tushaspha. Saurash^ra was then joined with the region called Anarta to form the Maurya province of Western India. The location of an Asokan inscription at Sopara in modern Thana District shows that the region round Sopara, or Surparaka of old texts, was also a province of the Maurya empire under Chandragupta,

III. SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

It was a highly difficult task to devise an appropriate system to administer efficiently an extent of territory stretching from Persia to Southern India with its extremities separated by long distances; for in those days, when communication between the different parts of a far-flung empire was not quick or easy, it was difficult to control it from a single centre or metropolis like Pataliputra. Chandragupta solved the problem by a device of political ingenuity, which was first adopted by the Achaemenian emperors, viz. by splitting up the unwieldy area into convenient and manageable units, each of which was placed under a provincial governor and governed after a common pattern. Thus the difficulties of distance and communication were solved by a decentralised scheme of administration. It was difficult in those days of primitive transport to aim at a centralised administration. The governing authority had to be distributed into a hierarchy of jurisdictions from top to bottom. Even within the limited local area, much of the sovereign authority had to be shared with the various self-governing groups of the country. The village community functioned like a self-governing corporation or a republic giving to the village healthy scope and exercise in art of government and of managing their own local concerns and affairs. Thus the Indian polity of those days was broad-based upon truly democratic foundations.

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Glimpses of Chandragupta's administration are given by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta who wrote a book containing a very full and fair account of the geography, products, and social and political institutions of India. Although this book is lost, many extracts from it are preserved in quotations by later classical authors who regarded it as the standard authority on India. The information supplied by these extracts, though meagre, is highly interesting, and being recorded by an eyewitness, is of great historical value, as its authenticity is beyond question.

The king was the supreme head of the state and had military, judicial, executive, and legislative functions. We learn from Megasthenes a great deal of the king's own part in administration. He was a very hard-worked official. Megasthenes states that "the king does not sleep in day-time but remains in the court the whole day for the purpose of judging causes and other public business which was not interrupted even when the hour arrived for massaging his body. Even when the king has his hair combed and dressed, he has no respite from public business. At that time he gives audience to his ambassadors."

As noted above, the empire was divided into a number of provinces, ruled over by Governors and Viceroys, who were sometimes princes of royal blood. The central and eastern parts were ruled by the emperor himself. He was assisted in his administration by a Council. The later Greek writers like Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian repeat what was recorded by Megasthenes regarding 'the Coucillors and Assessors' who advised the king in the management of public affairs. They were small in number but very influential. "They choose Governors, Chiefs of provinces, Deputy Governors, Treasurers of the State, Generals of the Army, Admirals of the Navy, Judges who settle disputes, Chief Magistrates and other high officers like the Director of Agriculture."

The king also employed a large body of spies whom Megasthenes calls Overseers. They reported secretly to the king important matters concerning the city and the army. The ablest and most trustworthy men were appointed to fill these offices, and they employed courtezans as their coadjutors.

Megasthenes also describes the working of Mauryan muncipal administration. He calls the town officials Astynomoi and describes their duty as follows:—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die, bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of Government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its mem bers have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles ■sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death.

“Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments, and also of matters affecting the general interest, as the keeping of public buildings in proper repair, the regulation oi prices, the care of markets, harbours, and temples.’'

Megasthenes also throws light upon district administration under the officials called the Agronomoi. He refers to various classes of officers “who superintend the rivers, measure the land, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one may have an equal supply of it.” Besides these officers in charge of land and irrigation, Megasthenes also mentions those in charge of Agriculture, Forestry, Timber works, Metal Foundaries, Mines, and Roads.

Megasthenes also gives details of Maury an military administration which was so important to the security of the newly founded empire. Chandragupta maintained a vast standing army of more than 600,000 men. It was controlled by a War-office constituted by thirty members distributed among six Boards of five members each. One of these Boards was to co-operate with the Admiral of the Fleet. The remaining five Boards were in charge of the different departments of the army viz. I. the Infantry, II. the Cavalry, III. the War-Chariots, IV. the Elephants of War, V. Transport, Commissariat, and Army Service, including the provision of drummers, grooms, mechanists, and grass-cutters. The duties of Board V are thus described: “They co-operate with the superintendent of the bullock trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servapis who beat the drum, and others who carry gongs; grqpms also for the horses, and mechanists and their

assistants. To the sound of the gong, they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety.”

According to Megasthenes, the soldiers formed the most numerous class in society, next only to husbandmen. They received a regular salary from the state which also * supplied their arms and equipments. They led a “life of supreme freedom and enjoyment.” They had to perform only military duties, and when not required to fight, they could “abandon themselves to enjoyment.” Their pay was so liberal that “they could with ease maintain themselves and others besides.” Even while in camp they had attendants, who “took care of their horses, cleaned their arms, drove their elephants, preoared their chariots and acted as their charioteers.”

As regards the equipment of the. soldiers, the following description of Nearchus must have been generally true of this period, though Nearchus adds that ‘it is not the only one in vogue’: “The footsoldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer’s shot,— neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence, if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, blit are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in clpse fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called saunia, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse’s mouth a circular piece of stitched raw- ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp; if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider, then, pulls the reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins."

Reference will be made later 1 to the comprehensive picture of administration presented in Kautilya's Arthasdstra . This book is taken by some as a work belonging to the time of Chandragupta and written by Chanakya to whom he owed his throne. Many scholars, however, regard the present text as of a much later date. It is doubtful, therefore, how far we may regard the system of administration depicted in it as applicable to the Maurya period. The date of the Arthasdstra will be discussed in Chapter XVI.

IV. COURT LIFE

The Greek writers throw interesting light on the court and life of the king in those days. The royal court was marked by pomp and magnificence. The king's public appearance was a social event. Curtius states that he is conveyed in a golden palanquin garnished with pearls and is robed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold. Behind his palanquin follow his soldiers and body-guards, of whom some carry rows of trees on which live birds are perched.

The care of the king's person is entrusted to women. Surrounded by his women-hunters he goes out to hunt, driving in chariots or riding on horseback or on elephants. It may be noted that one of the Bharhut sculptures represents the figure of a woman riding a horse fully caparisoned and carrying a standard. When hunting, the king always had by him two or three armed women. The Greek writers speak of the king hunting lions with dogs. Next to hunting, the royal pastime was races,—races of trotter breeds of oxen which 'equalled horses in speed.' Sometimes races were arranged of chariots driven by a mixed team of two such oxen with a horse between. Another royal pastime was animal fights, fights of wild bulls, tame rams, rhinos, and elephants.

The royal procession was seen at its best on religious occasions. It included many elephants adorned with gold and silver, four-horsed chariots, attendants carrying various vessels of gold or copper set with precious stones; wild beasts such as buffaloes, leopards, tamed lions, and varieties of birds. At the annual ceremonial washing of his hair, the king received presents of animals like deer, antelopes, or rhinos, tamed tigers and panthers, oxen fleet of foot, yaks, hunting hounds, apes, and birds like cranes, geese, ducks and pigeons. The king had usually a guard of twenty-four elephants when he came out of the palace on public business. There were tame parrots trained to hover about the king and wheel round him.

Note 6

Chandragupta's palace was in keeping >#41h all its and pageantry. The Greek writers describe how it was 'adorned with gilded pillars clasped all round with a vine embossed in gold and decorated with silver images of birds. It was located in an extensive park full of shady groves and ever green trees, both native to the soil and imported from abroad. There were artificial tanks full of fish of enormous size with boats for cruising. Palaces of neither Susa nor Ecbatana could vie with it.

The capital of the empire was at Pataliputra at the confluence of the two rivers, the Gahga and the Son. It had the shape of an oblong with a length of 80 stades (9-1/5 miles) and a breadth of 15 stades (1 mile and 1,270 yards). It was surrounded by a moat 60 feet deep and 200 yards wide, filled from the waters of the Son, and receiving the sewage of the city. The city was further protected by a massive timber palisade running along the moat and providing for loopholes through which archers could shoot. The city wall had 64 gates and was adorned with 570 towers.

Lastly, we may note the interesting reference made by the Greek writers to the royal road leading from the north-west frontier to Pataliputra the precursor of the modern Grand Trunk Road, with a length of 10,000 stades —about 1,150 miles. Megasthenes must have travelled down this road in joining his duties at Pataliputra as ambassador. 'Every mile of this road was marked by a stone indicating the by-roads and distances.' As stated by Pliny, the road was in charge of officers who were responsible for its upkeep, repairs, erection of milestones and sign-posts at every 10 stades.

V. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

The account of Megasthenes leaves no doubt that peace, prosperity, and contentment prevailed throughout the empire. This was mainly due to the fertility of the land and its great mineral wealth. Megasthenes observes:

"The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well-skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity.

and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

Megasthenes then refers in details to the fertility of land due to "the profusion of river-streams" and the growth of various kinds of cereals and plants useful for food. The double rainfall enabled the people to gather two harvests annually, while the fruits and esculent roots of spontaneous growth afforded abundant sustenance for man "It is accordingly affirmed," says Megasthenes, "that famine has never visited India and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food." Megasthenes adds that, apart from the fertility of land, certain usages observed by the Indians contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas "among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a clsss that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees."

Megasthenes's observation about the absence of famine cannot be literally true for all periods of Indian history, for various literary works refer to famines and specially to one that occurred a few years after he left India. But it certainly shows that at the time he wrote there was plenty and prosperity, and famine was a very uncommon thing; at least it did not occur within living memory. The usage which according to Megasthenes saved husbandmen from molestation in times of war is also referred to in a Buddhist text which says that

“ ..kings, while destroying the soldiers of their enemies, respect

the field-labourer who is th£ common help of both armies.” 1 This is a unique principle of international law which would do credit to any age or country.

On account of agricultural prosperity, the husbandmen formed the most numerous class in society. But the amenities of urban life were also sought by many. According to Megasthenes the number of cities was so great “that it cannot be stated with precision.” The cities built on the banks of rivers or on sea were built of

Note 7

wood, as they were meant to last only for a short time, being liable to destruction by floods and heavy rains. But cities built on lofty eminences or in places free from ravages of flood and rains were built of brick and mud. The administration of these cities has been described above.

Chandragupta effectively maintained the security of life and property which is essential for economic prosperity. Theft was of very rare occurrence, even though houses and property were, as a rule, generally left unguarded. Although Indians generally lived frugally they were fond of finery and ornament and this fostered trade and industry. The growth of art and industry was also facilitated by the state. Megasthenes refers to traders as a large body, forming a social group. A large number was employed in making weapons of war and building ships for the government, and they received wages and victuals from the state. The admiral of the fleet let out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise. The sailors employed in the navigation of rivers were also paid by the state. There were other handicraftsmen and retail dealers but no details are given.

The herdsmen, both shepherds and neatherds, formed a class by themselves, who lived neither in cities nor in villages, but on the hills. They scoured the country in pursuit of fowl and wild beasts, and paid royal taxes in cattle.

VI. BINDUSARA (c. 300-273 B.C.)

According to Strabo, the son and successor of Sandrocottos (— Chandragupta) was Allitrochades whom Athenaeus calls Amitrochates (— Sanskrit Amitraghata 'slayer of foes'). The Jain work Rajavalikathe calls him Siihhasena. We owe to the Puranas the name Bindusara, which is generally adopted. We know very little of his reign. According to the literary evidence of a later date, Chanakya continued for some time as minister under Bindusara. According to the Tibetan writer Taranatha, Chanakya was instrumental in achieving "the destruction of nobles and kings of sixteen towns and helped the king to make himself master of all the territory between the eastern and western seas." Some scholars have taken this as an evidence that Bindusara conquered the Deccan, but there is no reliable evidence in support of this. The first part of the statement of Taranatha may be taken to refer to some kind of popular revolt which was subdued. According to the Divydvadana, a revolt broke out in Taxila, and in order to quell it Bindusara sent his son Asoka as his Viceroy there. When Asoka approached Taxila with his troops, he was met in advance by the people who explained: "We are not opposed to the prince nor even to king Bindusara, but only to the wicked ministers who insult us." Thus Asoka entered a peaceful city from where he extended -his conquest to the kingdom of the Khasas.

Bindusara maintained intact the vast empire which he had inherited from his father and also the friendly relations with the Greek rulers of the west. Deimachos succeeded Megasthenes as the ambassador sent by the Syrian king to the court of Bindusara. Pliny tells us that Ptolemy II Philadelphus, king of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), also sent an ambassador named Dionysus to the Indian court, but it is not stated whether the Indian king was Bindusara or his successor Asoka. We owe to Athenaeus the story of friendly correspondence between Bindusara and the Syrian king Antiochus I Soter on terms of equality. Hegesander records that Amitrochates asked Antiochus to buy and send him sweet wine, dried figs and a sophist, and that Antiochus sent the following reply to his. *equeal$ “We shall send you the figs and the wine, but in Greece th£ laws £07 bid a sophist to be sold.”

We know from Buddhist tradition that prince Asoka, at the age of eighteen, was sent out by his father to rule as viceroy in the province of Avanti with his headquarters at Vidisa. Later he was deputed to Taxila as noted above. It is certain that Bindusara had other sons besides Asoka, for the latter states in his fifth Rock Edict that he had several brothers and sisters. Two of these brothers are named in the Dxvyavaddna as Susima and Vigatasoka whom the Sinhalese Chronicles name Sumana and Tishya.

The Puranas give Chandragupta and Bindusara reign-periods respectively of 24 and 25 years. But according to the Buddhist tradition Bindusara ruled for 27 or 28 years. Assuming that Chandragupta became king in 324 B.C., we may place his reign between that date and 300 B.C. and that of Bindusara between 300 and 273 B.C.

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TO

CHAPTER V

Chapter Notes

1. 1. V. A. Smith is of opinion that if Alexander had advanced further his force “might have been overwhelmed by the mere numbers of his adversaries,” and the rebellious troops “may be credited with having prevented the annihilation of the Macedonian army.” (EHI/ p. 12 k
2. 1. See p. 17.
3. 1. IC, II, 559.
4. 1. CHI, I, 428; cf. also, 1C, H, 557 ff.
5. 2. For the date 324 B.C. and other views on the date of Chandragupta Maurya, ef. PHAI, 242 and IHQ, XI. 211.
6. 1. Chapter XVII.
7. 1. 1HQ, I, 369.

ASOKA THE GREAT (c. 273-236 B.C.)

I. GENERAL REVIEW

Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka who is one of the greatest figures in history. H. G. Wells in his Outline of History describes him as ‘the greatest of kings’ and that not because of the physical extent of his empire, extensive as it was, but because of his character as a man, the ideals for which he stood, and the principles by which he governed. As a king, he ruled over the greatest empire known in Indian history. The vast territory extending from Persia to Southern India was bequeathed to him by his predecessors. He himself made an addition to it by his conquest of Kalihga.

A unique feature of his history is that he has himself left a record of it in a permanent form in inscriptions engraved on natural rocks as well as monolithic pillars constructed by him which stand to this day as remarkable monuments of Indian architecture and engineering skill. These inscriptions, along with the traditions recorded in literary texts in both Pali and Sanskrit, help to give a concrete and comprehensive picture of his life and work. Asoka was the first Indian king to issue edicts in order to proclaim his ideals and record his exploits. It is not unlikely that in this respect he imitated the practice of the Achaemenian Emperors like Darius I, as in those days there was a close cultural and commercial contact between Persia and India.

The principal inscriptions of Asoka may be divided into three classes.

I. The Fourteen Rock Edicts: These comprise a set of fourteen inscriptions found incised at eight different places. Two of these are replaced by two different inscriptions in two places, Dhauli and Jaugada, both in ancient Kalihga (and modern Orissa), and hence they are usually referred to as Kalihga edicts.

II. The Minor Rock Edicts: This is a set of two inscriptions one of which is incised at ten different places.

III. The Seven Pillar Edicts: This set of seven inscriptions is engraved on a pillar originally situated at Topra, but now at Delhi.

Six of these inscriptions are incised on other pillars found in five different places, one of which, at Delhi, was removed there from Meerut.

The remaining inscriptions, mostly engraved on pillars and cave-walls, are records of a miscellaneous character which do not fall into distinct groups like the above.

These inscriptions on "rocks of Ages" supply valuable data for the reconstruction of the life and career of the great emperor. Although they do not record many events, they contain in an abundant degree the measures adopted and regulations issued by him, and the delineation of the noble principles and high ideals that inspired him 'as almost an autobiographical touch.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not supply any information regarding his early life for which we have to depend solely upon Buddhist texts like the Divyavadana and the Sinhalese Chronicles. They depict Asoka as a cruel and ferocious tyrant, who seized the throne after his father's death by a fratricidal war in the course of which he slew ninety-nine of his brothers. There is no independent evidence of such a struggle. The story can be hardly credited as true and was obviously intended to glorify Buddhism by drawing a glaring contrast between the careers of Asoka before and after his conversion. The Chronicles further state that Asoka's formal coronation took place four years after his accession. As the inscriptions of Asoka date the events of his reign with reference to his coronation, most scholars have accepted that statement as historical. It should be remembered, however, that no satisfactory explanation is given of his very unusual course, and it is a mere gratuitous assumption that 'the long delay may have been due to disputed succession involving much bloodshed.' 1 The Sinhalese Chronicles, far from giving this explanation, expressly state that the coronation took place 'four years after Asoka had won for himself the undivided sovereignty.' Besides, the inscriptions of Aioka's grandson

Dasaratha, the only other official records of the Maurya period available to us, also give the date with reference to his coronation. There is hardly any valid ground, therefore, for assuming an interval of four years between Asoka's accession to the throne and formal coronation, though almost all the scholars, with the exception of Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, tacitly accept this view. 2

Note 1

Note 2

ASOKA, THE GREAT

Although we may not accept the legend of the horrible murders perpetrated by Asoka, there may be some truth in the Buddhist tradition that there was a contest for the throne and Asoka succeeded against his step-brother Susima with the help of Radhagupta whom he appointed his chief minister. But whatever truth there may be in it, it is interesting to note that in his Rock Edicts IV and V Asoka condemns unseemly behaviour to relatives, and refers with loving care to his brothers, sisters, and other relatives, according to one interpretation, or their households according to another. If the first interpretation be correct it gives the lie direct to the tradition that he murdered all his brothers.

Except in the Minor Rock Edicts of Maski and Gujarra, Asoka is throughout referred to as Devanampiya and Piyadasi , which may be literally translated as 'Beloved of the gods' and 'One of amiable look'. These were mostly used together, though sometimes only one of them occurs. Both of these are usually regarded as conventional epithets. * 1 For Asoka uses (R.E . VIII) the term Devanampiya to denote kings in general (something like His Gracious Majesty) and we know that it was also used by his grandson (and other kings). The other epithet, in the form Priyadarsana, was used by his grandfather. So far as the royal designation is concerned, the greatest emperor of India only used the title raja (king)—a striking contrast to the grandiloquent titles assumed by imperial rulers in later times.

Even as a prince Asoka gave evidence of his ability as a soldier and a statesmen. He was Viceroy of Ujjain, and, as noted above, was appointed

Viceroy of Taxila and sent with an army to suppress a revolt there. It is quite likely that after ascending the throne he followed in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather and carried on a policy of conquest and aggression. A Buddhist text Divyd vadana, relates that he conquered the Svasa (Khasa?) country. But the only incident of this type referred to in the inscriptions is the conquest of Kalinga in the eighth 2 year after his coronation. The severity of the resistance put up by Kalinga and the resulting horrors

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

of the war are thus pithily described in Rock Edict XIII: "One hundred and fifty thousand were therefrom (i.e. from Kalinga) captured, one hundred thousand were there slain, and many times as many died." Kalinga was completely conquered, and Asoka's vast dominions were rounded off and secured a more suitable frontier in the south-east. But instead of increasing his appetite for conquest, as normally happens, the Kalinga war brought a complete reaction in his mind. Herein lies the greatness of Asoka, and as this incident marks a turning point in his career, it may be described at some length.

According to Buddhist tradition Asoka was converted to Buddhism by the venerable monk Upagupta shortly after the Kalinga war. This is, to a large extent, corroborated by his edicts. In the Rock Edict XIII, Asoka expresses genuine remorse for the sufferings caused by the war in the most touching language, reflecting such a deep sincerity and conviction that it has been generally held that the record was drafted by the emperor himself. He realised to the full the sufferings of the war. Apart from the huge number killed and taken prisoner, there were many pious men and women to whom befell "personal violence, death, or banishment from loved ones." Even where a person himself is unaffected, his 'friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives meet with a misfortune, and that becomes a personal violence to him.' His Majesty therefore felt "remorse on having conquered Kalinga", and declared that "even one-hundredth or one-thousandth part of those who were slain, died, or were captured in Kaliiiga is to-day considered regrettable by the Beloved of the gods."

Even as a mere pious sentiment this is hard to beat; at least no victorious monarch in the history of the world is known to have ever given expression to anything like it. But it was more than pious sentiments to Asoka, and led him to adopt two solemn resolutions as a logical consequence,—resolutions to the carrying out of which he consecrated the whole of his personal energy and the vast resources of his mighty empire during the remaining years of his life.

The first of these was to eschew all war in future. "If any one does him wrong the Beloved of the gods must bear all that can be borne". Henceforth his policy would be one of conciliation towards all, even to the people of the forests, and exhortation to good deeds.

This exhortation to good deeds was the foundation for his second resolution, viz., the inculcation of his Dharma (Dhamma or Law of Piety) not only among the peoples of his own dominions but all over the world, so that all may enjoy the blessings of "non-injury, selfcontrol, equable conduct, and gentleness".

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His sincerity in adopting these pious resolves, and translating them to action, is manifest throughout his numerous records. He gave up the conquest by arms and substituted for it 'conquest through Dharma* as the guiding principle of his life. He even enjoined it upon all his descendants. So far as our evidence goes Asoka, true to his principles, did not carry on any further war.

In spite of some uncertainty, owing to the difficulty of interpreting certain expressions used in the inscriptions, there are good grounds to believe that Asoka was formally converted to Buddhism in or before the tenth year of his coronation. There can thus be hardly any reasonable doubt that the remorse which he felt at the carnage of the Kalinga war was the direct and immediate cause of his conversion to a religious faith which preached, as its fundamental principles, non-injury to all living beings and piety and compassion towards them. Asoka was attracted more by the ethical than the philosophical aspect of Buddhism and laid stress upon the practical benevolent activities and pious thoughts inculcated by it. He himself tells us that for one year after he had adopted Buddhism he did not exert himelf strenuously for its propagation. Then he entered, visited or lived with the Buddhist Sangha (community of monks) for over a year and seriously took up his missionary activities, the task of propagating the Dharma, which, though based on Buddhist doctrine, was as we shall see later, of such universal quality as to appeal to humanity at large.

It is difficult to understand what Asoka exactly intends by the expression sanghe upete which has been translated above to mean that he lived with, entered, or visited the Sangha, and the opinion of scholars is sharply divided on this point. Some scholars hold that Asoka actually became a Buddhist monk (bhikkhu). Others, however, take the expression simply to mean that Asoka made a state visit to the Sangha and publicly proclaimed his faith, as the Sinhalese Chronicle informs us. The former view is, however, supported by the statement of I-tsing that he actually saw a statue of Asoka dressed as a monk. A third possibility is that Asoka lived with the Sangha for more than a year, without taking orders.

Among those who assume that Asoka became a monk, there is, again, a difference of opinion. Some hold that during the period Asoka was a monk he must have ceased to be a monarch, for monastic life is hardly-compatible with royal duties. Others, however, point out actual examples of kings who were monks at the same time, and find no reason for the assumption that Asoka, even temporarily, abdicted the throne.

Whatever may be the right interpretation of his association with the Sangha, there is no doubt that since this event Asoka exerted himself with unflagging zeal for the propagation of Buddhism, or at least that part of it which he accepted as his Dharma. He not only set up a network of missions to preach the doctrine both in and outside India, but himself undertook tours for this purpose, and took various other steps to the same end. He practised what he preached in order that others might follow, and in his various records gives a list of his own benevolent activities. But in doing all this he did not neglect his primary task of governing his kingdom. Rather his high ethical outlook gave him a new conception of his royal duties. He set before himself the loftiest ideal that ever inspired a king. “All men are my children”, says he, “and, just as I desire for my children that they may obtain every kind of welfare and happiness both in this and the next world, so do I desire for all men”.

Thus proper and adequate measures for the security of life and property were as necessary in his eyes as those for the moral and spiritual uplift of the people. His conception of royal duty was broadbased on the welfare of his subjects in the widest sense of the term, embracing both material and moral good. But his vision extended far beyond the horizon of his own kingdom, vast as it was. He informs us in Rock Edict VI that he was always ready and willing to carry on his work of administration, for “the welfare of the whole world is an esteemed duty with me, and the root of that again is the exertion and dispatch of business” “This, therefore, I have done, namely that at all hours and in all places,—whether I am eating or am in the closed (female) apartments, in the inner chamber, in the royal rancho, on horseback or in pleasure orchards, the Reporters may report people’s business to me.”

But far from taking any credit for this unceasing toil, Asoka regards it as a simple duty he owes to his subjects. “There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world”, so runs the royal edict, “and what little effort I make,—What is it for?—(in order) that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render some happy here and that they may gain heaven in the next world”. Never was a nobler sentiment uttered from the throne as an expression of king’s duty towards his people, and Asoka engraved it on rock “in order that it may endure for a long time and that my sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons may similarly follow me for the welfare of the whole world.”

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Having.thus made a brief sketch of the chief events of Asoka s career and the moral ideals and the high sense of royal duty that inspired his activities, we shall now proceed to a somewhat detailed survey of his life and reign under a few broad heads.

II. THE EXTENT OF AsOKA’S EMPIRE

While we know only in a general way the extent of the Maurya Empire as established by Chandragupta, the inscriptions of Asoka enable us to obtain a more precise and definite idea of it. Apart from the details contained in them, their find-spots are of great help in this respect. For, it may be presumed that, as they contained proclamations and messages for his subjects, they were located at chosen centres of population in different provinces. Some of these are to be found at their borders in various directions. Thus two sets of his fourteen Rock Edicts are located at Shahbazgarhi and Manselfi& respectively in the Peshawar and Hazara districts in Western Pakistan; another is at Kalsi in the north at the confluence where meet the waters of the Tons and Yamuna; the fourth is at Girnar in Kathiawar and the fifth at Sopara in the Thana District of Maharashtra; the sixth is at Dhauli in Puri District; the seventh at Jaugatfa in Ganjam District of Orissa; and the eighth at Yerragudi in Kumool District. An Asokan inscription in Aramaic characters has also been discovered at Taxila, the capital of the north-western Province of the empire, and another near Jalalabad (E. Afghanistan). ‘A bilingual inscription of Asoka written in Greek and Aramaic and another only in Greek (containing the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th Rock Edict) have been discovered near the old city of Kandahar in Afghanistan.[1] These support the view, mentioned on p. 78, that the provinces ceded by Seleucus still belonged to the Maury an Empire’.

The inclusion of the far south in his empire is indicated by three groups of Minor Rock Edicts in the Chitaldroog District of Mysore. The interior of the country is represented by Minor Rock Edicts installed at places like Rupnath in Jubbulpore District, Bairat in Rajputana, Sasaram in Bihar, Maski in Raichur District, Gavimath and Palkigundu in the Kopbal Taluk in Mysore, Gujarra in Datia District in Madhya Pradesh, Ahraur in Mirzapur District in U.P., Amarapuni Colony in New Delhi, and Rajula Mandagiri and Yerragudi, both in Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. There are two edicts in each of the two places mentioned last as well as in each

Note 6

of the Chitaldroog groups mentioned first. The second edict is not found in the other localities.

A group of the Pillar Edicts seems to have been meant to mark stages in the Pilgrims , Progress towards the holy places of Buddhism by their location at Lauriya Araraj, Rampurwa, Nandangarh and Nigliva leading up to LumbinI, the birth-place of the Buddha. 1 Other inscribed pillars were set up in the north in the Districts of Ambala and Meerut, at Kausambi near Allahabad, at Sarnath and at Sanchl. A fragment of a pillar found at Amaravatl (near Bezwada on the Krishna) contains parts of five lines of an inscription which has been attributed by some scholars to Asoka. 2 Only two inscriptions, the Minor Rock Edicts at Maski and Gujarra, mention Asoka by his name. In the rest he is referred to as "Beloved of the Gods" (Devdnam p iya Piyadasi).

The distribution of the inscriptions clearly indicates that Asoka's empire embraced the major part of India, including the North-West Frontier Province, but excluding the Indian Peninsula to the south of approximately 14° of latitude. This conclusion is corroborated by the mention of the independent frontier kingdoms of ('Chodas, Pa^wjyas, Keralaputra, Satiyaputra, as far as the TamraparnI in the south and that of the Greek king Aihtiyaka (Antiochus II) on the West (R.E. II). As Antiochus is not known to have ruled to the east of Herat, we may assume that the provinces ceded by Seleucus still belonged to the Maury an empire. The first three southern states mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka correspond to the Cholas, Pan^yas and Chera. The use of the plural number perhaps indicates that there was more than one Chola or Pan<Jya kingdom. Although the limits of these kingdoms cannot be exactly defined, we may reasonably hold that the Chola kingdom or kingdoms comprised the eastern part of the Peninsula from Arcot to Trichinopoly, the Partly as occupied the Districts of Ramnad, Madura and Tinnevelly, and southern Travancore, and Keralaputra included South Kanara, Coorg, Malabar, the northern part of Travancore and southern part of Mysore. The location of Satiyaputra or Satyaputra is uncertain. But the position of the other three confirms the southern limit as deduced above from the find-spots of inscriptions, with the probability that on the eastern side it might have extended a little further to the south as far as 13° of latitude.

Note 7

Note 8

A60KA, THE GREAT III. THE ADMINISTRATION

An expression in R. E. XIII has led some scholars to believe that there were certain tribal areas within the empire which were not directly ruled by Asoka but enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. “Here in the king’s dominions”, so runs the passage, “among the Yavanas and Kaihbojas, the Nabhakas and Nabhapamtis, the hereditary Bhoja rulers, Andhras and Parimdas, everywhere they follow the teaching of the Beloved of the gods in respect of Dhamma”. Now the statement is ambiguous so far as the enumeration of the localities is concerned: it may mean either among the Yavanas etc., in the king’s dominions or in the areas under royal rule and among the Yavanas etc. (also within the royal domain) If we accept the second interpretation, we must admit that they were not under his direct rule. This interpretation is to be preferred as, otherwise, it is difficult to explain why these states are separately mentioned.

The Yavana and Kamboja states were probably situated in N.W. Frontier Province. The mention of the Yavanas as one such tribal state is interesting as it proves the existence of a small Greek principality within the empire. The Bhojas were probably on the western coast or in Berar, and the. Andhras perhaps dccupied the coastal region between the Krishna and the Godavari, as they did in later days. 1 It is not possible to locate the rest. The R. E. XIII testifies to the existence of Atavyas or the people of the forest country (in or near Kalinga) as forming such an autonomous state. There were probably a few other such tribal states such as the Rashtrikas and Pitenikas, but some scholars interpret them differently.

Even excluding these states it was a hard enough task to administer effectively an empire made up of parts so widely separated as Peshawar, Mysore and Orissa. As in the days of Chandragupta, the difficulty of the situation was solved by multiplying centres of authority in a number of local administrations of different grades and sizes. The king had probably a Deputy (Upardja) like his brother Tissa. He was further assisted by the Yuvardja or Crown Prince and by his Chief Minister or Agramdtya, Radhagupta. The king also shared the burden of administration with the Princes (Kumaras or Aryaputras), who were deputed to serve as his Viceroys in the outlying provinces of his empire which they could be trusted to rule loyally. The inscriptions mention four such Viceroys

Note 9

Note 10

ruling at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarnagiri. The Divydvadana mentions Asoka's son Kunala as his Viceroy at Taxila. The Chinese traveller Fa-hien records the tradition that he was known as Prince Dharmavivardhana, Viceroy of the Gandhara Province.

Next to the Viceroys were the Provincial Governors, termed Pradesikas in the Edicts. The Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman (c. A.D. 150) has preserved the names of two such Provincial Governors of the Maurya empire: Pushyagupta, Rdshtrlya or Governor of Western India or Saurashtra under Chandragupta, and Raja Tushaspha holding the same office under Asoka. The king, and possibly also the Viceroys and Governors, had their Parishat. This Pai'ishat was probably a Council of Ministers and other high officials such as is described in Kautilya's Arthasdstra and to which reference will be subsequently made.

Next to the Pradesikas Asoka's inscriptions refer to three classes of high officials, viz, Rajukas, Yutas, and Mahamatras. The Rajuka was an important official who was appointed over 'many hundred thousand men' and had wide powers of 'awarding rewards or punishments.' They were enjoined to take deep concern in all matters affecting the moral and material good of the people. As Asoka so pithily puts it: "Just as (a person) feels confident after making over his offspring to a clever nurse .. . even so have I appointed the Rajukas for the welfare and happiness of the country people (Jana pada)." The Rajukas were probably in charge of districts and corresponded to the district magistrates of the present day.

The Yutas, also mentioned in Kautilya's Arthasdstra as Yuktas, along with their assistants, the Upayuktas, were probably district treasury officers, whose m^in function was to manage the king's property, receive and spend the revenue, and keep accounts.

The Mahamatras were probably heads of special departments. A new class of these officials was instituted by Asoka in the 14th year after his coronation. These were Dharma-Mahamatras, that is Religious Censors or Inquisitors, who were employed among all sects —Buddhists, Brahmanas Ajlvikas and Nirgranthas—and both ascetics and householders. Their principal object was the establishment and promotion of the Dharma and the welfare and happiness of those devoted to Dharma. They concerned themselves with the unfettering (unrestricted movement) of the virtuous among the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandharas and other peoples, and particularly with the welfare and happiness of wage-earners, the destitute and the aged. They provided a person kept in prison with his ransom and arranged for his release, particularly if he had a large family to maintain, was subjected to oppression or had grown old. “They are occupied,” says Asoka “in all my households and those of my brothers and sisters, and everywhere in my domain, working for piety.”[1]

The interests of womanhood were looked after by the departmental head called Strf-Adhyaksha-Maha7ndtra . The frontiers were in the keeping of the Anta-Mahamdtras. Municipal administration of the city was the charge of the Chief Executive Officer or Mayor, called Nagaraka or Nagara-vyavaharaka, of the rank of a minister or Mahdmatra . There were also some special officers and departments. The empire’s foreign relations were the charge of Ambassadors called Dutas who had to go abroad for their work (R. E. XIII). The Intelligence Department was manned by the secret agents of the government aptly called the Gudhapuriishas by Kautilya. The king depended particularly upon special officers, called Prativedakas (Reporters or Informers) in one of the Edicts, whose duty was to keep him acquainted with the conditions of the people and of the countryside, and who had therefore access to the king at all hours and places as noted above.

There was an important special officer called the Vrajabhumika (R. E. XII) who was in charge of what is called by the general term Vraja, probably denoting all works of public utility with which the empire was so lavishly equipped, such as Kupa (R.E. II) or Udapdna (P. E. VII), i.e. wells for supply of drinking water, Udydna (R.'E. VI) or parks, shade-giving banyan trees, mango-groves (P. E. VII) and travellers' rest-houses (P. E. VII) planted along the public roads (R. E. II). Rock Edict II mentions the state botanical gardens for the cultivation of medicinal plants which were procured by import from outside, if necessary, so that the indigenous medical system (Ayurveda) should not suffer for want of supplies of herbs (ausha dha) f roots (mula) or fruits (phala), from which medicines could be extracted for the treatment of both men and cattle. These extensive arrangements for the relief of suffering of both man and beast must have depended upon an adequate medical service. Lastly, the edicts also refer to special forests for the breeding of elephants (ndgavana) under an officer whom Kautilya calls the Hastyadhyaksha (P.E. V).

Asoka's administration was also conciliatory, though strict, in its dealings with the forest-folk (atavi in R. E. XIII) or the primitive

Note 11

Note 12

tribes on the frontiers of his kingdom who were not his subjects (avijita-antas), so that they might not violate the moral code.

Asoka introduced a great innovation in administrative system by instituting a quinquennial and triennial anusamyana or circuit of high officials, such as Pradesikas, Rajukas, Yutas and Mahamatras, In addition to routine duties of inspection this was also meant for purposes of propaganda so that the message of the Dharma might reach the remotest corners of the empire. The Mahamatras had specially to satisfy themselves that justice was administered fairly and efficiently, and nobody suffered oppression at the hands of subordinates.

The Viceroys had an official hierarchy modelled on that of the central government and they were also enjoined by the Emperor to follow the same procedure in regard to circuits.

IV. DHARMA OR LAW OF PIETY

Asoka worked for the moral uplift of his people by preaching in his Edicts the fundamental principles and practices of Dharma or moral life. He insisted on the family as the basis of morality. His view was that religion, like charity, should begin at home in the cultivation of proper relations in the domestic sphere with father and mother, elders, teachers, and seniors in status or age, to whom strict obedience is enjoined. Respect must be shown by pupils towards their teachers or gurus . There should also be considerate treatment of all those with whom a householder comes into contact in his social life, such as ascetics, Brahmans and Sramanas; relations of all degrees; friends, acquaintances and companions; servants and dependents and the poor and the afflicted. Lastly, liberality and charity should be practised towards ascetics, friends, comrades, and relatives, and those who are disabled by age.

Thus the starting point of religious and moral life in Asoka's scheme was the purification of the home, family, and domestic life by the cultivation of proper relations with all those with whom it is directly concerned. Character, conduct and behaviour counted more in this view of religion than rituals or ceremonies. Asoka defines the practice of morality and right conduct as the true ceremonial (R. E. XII).

When the basis of religion was thus laid in the establishment of proper relations between individuals in the domestic circle, it was extended beyond the home and family to communities. Asoka was

anxious for the concord of communities, and harmony of creeds. His Twelfth Rock Edict is a passionate appeal not only for the toleration of all religious sects but also for developing a spirit of reverence for them. He sought the solution of the communal problems of his time by insisting on the*following measures and practices: (1) promotion of what constitutes the essence of all religions as their common ground or root (mula); (2) cultivation of this sense of unity of all religions by the practice of vachaguti or restraint of criticism of other religions and sects; (3) the coming together (samavdya) of exponents of different religions in religious assemblies; (4) learning the texts of other religions so as to become bahusruta or proficient in the scriptures of different religions. As was usual with Asoka, he himself set an example to this by honouring all sects and making gifts to them. His dedication of Barabar hill caves to the Ajivikas is a noble monument to his catholic spirit of religious toleration far in advance of his age.

Above all, Asoka stood for the religion of Ahimsti or nonviolence (to men and animals) which he preaches in many of his Edicts. He insisted on the recognition of the sanctity of all (life. He set the example himself. The unrestricted slaughter of animals for the royal table was first limited to one deer and two peacocks, and was later totally abolished. But the principle of non-violence was not merely limited to food and private life. It was extended to the wider sphere of politics and international relations. He purified his national policy by proclaiming war as an unmitigated and absolute evil. He now dedicated himself not to the extension of territory by conquest and force but to the extension of Dharma and conversion of people to a moral life by love. Thus, instead of organising military expeditions against other countries, he was busy organising peace missions under his Dutas for purposes of humanitarian work in those foreign countries (R. E. XIII). Silenced was the war-drum (bhert-ghosha), which was replaced by the Dharma ghosha: there was no longer any summons to war or call to the colours but only a call to moral life (R. E. IV). Thus Asoka stands out as the pioneer of peace and universal brotherhood in history, and was far ahead not merely of his own times, but even of the modern age, still struggling to realize his ideals. Alas! the ascent of man seems to be ordained to be bloody!

One important consequence of his non-violent pacific politics was that, instead of completing his grandfather's scheme of conquering the whole of India and establishing his authority over it as

the sole sovereign or eka-rdt, he on principle left unsubdued the smaller and weaker peoples and states of India, including the primitive aboriginal tribes and foresters (dtavya), and established all states, great and small, on a footing of equal sovereignty. Of some of these he makes honourable mention in his inscriptions, as we have seen, as his neighbours whose welfare he seeks. There were also left patches of autonomous states in the interior of his empire as noted above.

V. MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

According to the Mahavamsa, the Third Buddhist Council met in the time of Asoka at his capital Pataliputra and was presided over by the monk Moggaliputta Tissa (Upagupta in the northern texts). This Council deputed missionaries to different countries which are named below.

Table captionMissionary Country

1 . Majjhantika	Kashmir and Gandhara.
2. Maharakshita	Havana or Greek country.
3. Majjhima	Himalaya country.
4. Dharmarakshita (a Yavana)	Aparantaka.
5. Mahadharmarakshita	Maharashtra. •
6. Mahadeva	Mahishamandala (Mysore or Mandhata).
7. Rakshita	Vanavasi (North Kanara).
8. Sona and Uttar a •	Suvarnabhumi (Far East or Burma).
9. Mahendra and others	Lanka (Ceylon).

Some of the names of these missionaries are corroborated by epigraphic evidence. In his inscriptions, Asoka tells of the foreign missions which he sent abroad not only for the work of preaching the Dharma but also for humanitarian work. These missions he sent to the peoples on his frontiers, as stated in R.E. II and V. Some of these were at work in distant foreign states under Hellenistic kings beginning with Antiochus (II) Theos of Syria, who was Asoka’s immediate neighbour. They also visited other Greek kings who ruled in Egypt, Macedonia, Cyrene and Epirus (or Corinth). They all carried Asoka’s message of non-violence coupled with measures for the relief of suffering of all living creatures—men and cattle (R. E. XIII). We have no information about the result of these missions, but Buddhism was well known in Alexandria. Asoka tells us that the Dharma was practised not only in these countries, but also through them in other foreign lands not visited by his envoys.

VI. BENEVOLENCE OF ASOKA

Asoka also became a puritan in other ways. His was a total pursuit of non-violence in every sphere. He abolished all public pastimes and popular sports of the country which were tainted with blood and which included the slaughter of animals and eating of meat, or the cruel fights between animals. He also curtailed the slaughter and sacrifices of animals in the name of religion. He abolished the time-honoured royal sport of hunting in which his grandfather used to indulge with so much pomp and magnificence (R. E. VIII). He replaced royal pleasure-trips (Vihdra-ydtrds) by Dharma ydtrds, i.e. by pilgrimages to holy places like Bodh-Gaya or Lumbiru and tours on duty to out-of-the-way and neglected villages and the countryside, the home of the dumb millions and masses whom it was the king’s duty to see and help with gifts of money and moral instruction. The royal example had to be followed by the superior administrative officers, the Mahamatras, and also the princely Viceroys (Kumar as), who had to go out periodically on such tours and missions of social service (anusamydna in R. E. Ill) to the rural populations, and convey to them messages of morality and means of relief in their distress.

His religion of non-violence led Asoka to enforce by law the sanctity and security of all living creatures. A piece of comprehensive legislation was enacted by him^ in the 26th year of his reign, to restrict the slaughter and injury of specified creatures. Those that were not economically useful to man, as a source of food or service, such as parrots, wild geese, bats, ants, tortoises, squirrels, porcupines, lizards, rhinos, pigeons, and all quadrupeds ‘which are neither used nor eaten’ were declared protected and inviolable (avadhya). The list of Asoka’s protected animals shows that he did not ban the eating of animal food by the general public to the extent to which he banned it for the royal household. Other provisions of the law prescribed that husks containing living things were not to be burnt, nor forests, the abode of living creatures, to be set on fire. The living were not to be nourished with the living. Fish must not be killed, sold, or eaten on specified days numbering 56 in the year. The castration of animals was prohibited on certain holy days together with the branding of horses.

Prisoners were released one day in the year, probably the king’s birthday (P.E.V). A grace of three days was allowed to criminals who were condemned to death (P.E.IV). This shows that ASoka was unable to abolish capital punishment for practical reasons, and did not evince as much concern for the sanctity of human life as for that of the lower animals. The. reason probably was that man who can distinguish between right and wrong is less innocent than the inarticulate creatures whose life is thus more deserving of protection than that of convicted murderers.

VII. ART AND ARCHITECTURE

ASoka was also pre-eminent in his artistic activities and achievements. His great innovation was the substitution of stone for wood and brick. He decorated the country with structures and artistic monuments of different types. He was an artificer of cities and palaces, of stupas and vihdras, of rock-cut caves and monolithic pillars.

Fa-hien, seeing Asoka’s palace at Pataliputra, thought that it was the work not of men, but of “spirits which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hand of this world could accomplish. ,, Tradition credits Asoka with the building of 84,000 stupas or vihdras, which were constructed by all “his subordinate kings in 84,000 towns selected all over India” (Mahdvamsa, V, 78-80). Fa-hien records the tradition that Asoka opened out the original eight stupas in which were enshrined the relics of the Buddha’s body and distributed them among 84,000 stupas of his own construction. We learn from one of his inscriptions that Asoka enlarged to twice its size the stupa of one of the previous Buddhas, Konakamana (Kanaka- muni) by name. Asoka may also be taken to be the builder of the nucleus round which was built up, at a later age, the great stupa of Sanchl. The Divyavadana describes his stupas as “high as hill-tops”.

The walls of the halls at the rock-cut caves at Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills are still shining like mirrors. The polish of Asoka’s pillars is the despair of modem craftsmen. They were so shining that English travellers like Tom Coryate and Whittaker confidently described one of them as a pillar of brass, Chaplain Terry as a pillar of marble, and Bishop Heber as “cast metal”.

The pillars also exhibit to perfection the art of dressing, chisell* ing and shaping stone. The capitals of the columns were crowned with figures of bulls and lions, which are considered by Sir John Marshall as “masterpieces in point of both style and technique, examples of the finest carving.” The artistic merits of A&oka’s caves and pillars will be discussed in Chapter XX.

The pillar was also a problem of engineering. It involved the handling of monolithic shafts with a weight of 50 tons and height of more than 30 feet, which were hewn out of the quarries of Chunar hills, probably fashioned there or at the central workshops at Pataliputra, and transported to distances of five to six hundred miles to be located at a place like Meerut. The removal of a pillar from Topra near Ambala to Delhi by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlak required for its haulage the labour of 8,400 men pulling at the 42 wheels of the cart on which it was carried as stated in the Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shdhi. But, according to another contemporary account in the Sirat-i-Firiiz Shdhi of A.D. 1370, elephants were first tried, and then 20,000 men, for carrying the pillar to the bank of the Yamuna, placing it on boats, and for subsequent operations ending in its re-erection near the Jumma Mosque at Firozabad. Firuz Shah also removed to Delhi another pillar from Meerut. "The fabrication, conveyance, and erection of these pillars bear eloquent testimony to the skill and resources of the stone-cutters and engineers of the Maurya age."

Asoka is also associated with a remarkable feat of Mauryan engineering in the field of irrigation. It was the construction of a reservoir called Sudarsana on the mountains Raivataka and Urjayat, near Girnar or Junagarh, by artificially damming up some of their streams. This irrigation work was undertaken by Chandragupta and was improved by Asoka who equipped the lake "with well-provided conduits, drains, and means to guard against foul matters".

VIII. PERSONAL AND FAMILY LIFE

We may conclude this sketch by giving a few details of Asoka's personal life and family. As mentioned above, Asoka refers in his Edicts to his brothers, sisters and other relatives or their household (R.E. V.), and also expresses solicitude for the welfare of all his relatives, however distant. Some of these were settled at Pataliputra, some in other provincial towns (R.E. V). It appears from P.E. VII that A£oka had many queens and sons. A Minor Pillar Edict refers to his second queen named Karuvaki and her son Tivara. The literary texts give him four other wives. They also record the interesting fact that his eldest son was Mahendra and eldest daughter Sahghamitra, both offspring of his first wife, Sakyakumarl. A£oka deputed both Mahendra and Sahghamitra to work as Buddhist missionaries in far off Ceylon in a rare spirit of self-sacrificing service to his religion. According to some literary tradition, however, Mahendra was the brother of Asoka.

As Vincent Smith rightly points out, Asoka must be credited with a sea-going fleet as means of carrying on these colonial enterprises and cultural missions to foreign countries such as Ceylon.

His Edicts at Sarnath and Sanchl give us a glimpse of the position of the king as head of the Buddhist Church. Both the Edicts refer to the chance of schism breaking out in the Sangha (congregation) of monks and nuns. The Edicts sternly rebuke those who would promote or help such schism and proclaim the punishments to be meted out to them. The very possibility of these schisms showed that the Sanghas or the vihdras, both at Sarnath and Sanchl, and probably in other places, had to deal with a large number of monks. One of the duties of the Mahamatras or Inquisitors was the extirpation of heresy in the Sangha .

IX. THE CHRONOLOGY

According to the chronology adopted above,[1] the accession of Asoka may be placed 'n c. 273 B.C. This date, derived from literary texts and tradition, is in a way confirmed by the Edicts. In his Rock Edict XIII, Asoka mentions as his contemporaries the following Hellenistic kings: (1) Antiochus (H) Theos of Syria (261-46 B.C.); (2) Ptolemy (II) Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.); (3) Antigonus of Macedonia (278-239 B.C.); (4) Magas of Cyrene and (5) Alexander of Epirus (?). Of these the date of the fourth king and the identity of the fifth are somewhat uncertain. According to some scholars Magas of Cyrene died about 250 B. C., while others push back the date by at least 8 years. This point has been fully discussed in an Appendix to this Chapter where good grounds have been shown for accepting 258 B.C. as the lower limit for the death of Magas. As regards Alexander, there were two contemporary rulers of that name, one in Epirus (272-c. 255 B.C.) and the other in Corinth (252-247 B.C.). But if we accept the earlier date of Magas, Alexander can only refer to the king of Epirus. Thus all these kings were jointly alive up to 258 B.C. in or before which one of them died. If the news of his death reached Asoka two years after the event in, say,

Note 13

256 B.C., Rock Edict XIII, which contains this reference and is stated to have been issued in the 13th year of his coronation, could not have been issued later than 256 B.C., in which case the coronation should be dated not later than 256+13=270-269 B.C. If the coronation had taken place four

years after the accession, the latter event must have taken place not later than 273 B.C. On the whole it may be assumed that Asoka succeeded his father about 273 B.C., a date which may be derived from literary tradition also. As the Buddhist texts assign a reign of 37 years to him, the end of his reign may be placed about 236 B.C.

X. SUCCESSORS OF ASOKA

While the history of Asoka is illuminated by so many facts and details, that of his successors is shrouded in obscurity. The reason seems to be the disintegration of Asoka's empire, which was too large to be kept together by his unworthy successors. Truly, Asoka's sceptre was like the bow of Ulysses which could not be wielded by a weaker hand. The post-Asokan age is a dark age in Indian history.

As we have seen above, Asoka had no paucity of sons. The inscriptions name only one, viz. Tivara, but he is not known from other sources. On the other hand, literary tradition mentions as more important his three sons Mahendra, Kunala and Jalauka. The Vdyu Purdna gives to Kunala a reign of eight years and names five of his successors, the last of whom was Brihadratha. The Matsya Purdna, however, gives the following list of Asoka's successors: Dasaratha, Samprati, Satadhanva and Brihadratha, although it puts the total number of kings as ten. The Vishnu Purdna has its own list of seven kings, after Asoka, including Dasaratha, Salisuka, and the last king Brihadratha. The Divydvadana gives other names which include Samprati and Pushyamitra. The Rdjatarangim mentions Jalauka as Asoka's successor in Kashmir.

It is difficult to evolve correct history out of these divergent details. The Puranas and Buddhist works agree as to Kunala, together with the Jain writers Hemachandra and Jinaprabhasuri.

The reality of Dasaratha, the grandson of Asoka, is established by three short dedicatory inscriptions incised on the walls of the rock-cut caves which Dasaratha bestowed upon the Ajlvikas on the heights of the Nagarjuni hills. Dasaratha uses Asoka's title Devanampiya in the inscriptions.

Jain texts treat Samprati as a patron of Jainism almost in the same light as Buddhist texts treat Asoka. According to Jinaprabha

suri, he ruled at Pataliputra as “lord of Bharata with its three continents, and was the great Arhanta to establish Vihdras for £ramanas even in non-Aryan countries.” The dominions of Samprati probably also included Avanti and Western India. The name £dlisuka is known to the Gdrgl-samhitd.

The Puranas agree as to Brihadratha being the last of the Maurya dynasty. His historicity is confirmed by the statement of Bana in the Harshacharita to the effect that he was assassinated by his general Pushyamitra. With Brihadratha ended the famous Maurya dynasty, about 187 B.C., after reigning for 137 years. The progressive disintegration of the Maurya empire during the half century that followed Asoka’s death is marked by several facts. According to the RajataranginT, Asoka’s son Jalauka set himself up as an independent ruler in Kashmir and conquered the country up to Kanauj. He is said to have ‘crushed the invading Mlechchha horde,’ 1 which probably refers to an invasion by the Bactrian Greeks. According to Taranatha another successor of Asoka, Vlrasena by name, set up at Gandhara. Vidarbha also seems to have asserted its independence according to the Malavikdgnimitra of Kalidasa. The Greek writer Polybius, writing about 206 B .C., refers to an independent Indian king on the northwestern frontiers, Sophagasenus (Subhagasena) by name. He, or one of his predecessors, was probably a Viceroy of a Maurya Emperor, and later declared himself an independent king.

The disintegration of the Maurya empire was further speeded up by the Yavana invasions referred to in Sanskrit texts such as the Yuga Purdna section of the Gdrgi-samhitd and the Mahdbhashya of Patanjali, to which detailed reference will be made later. The final blow was struck at the empire by^the revolt of Pushyamitra, the Commander-in-Chief of Brihadratha, who killed his master, while reviewing the army, and ascended the throne.

XI. CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF THE

MAURYA EMPIRE 2

The decline of the Maurya empire, almost immediately after the death of Asoka, and its tragic end within half a century of his glorious rule, have tempted scholars to speculate on the possibility of finding out important factors which can sufficiently account for such unusual happenings. According to the view of one school of writers the religious policy of Asoka was the main cause of the debacle. It is urged by them that Asoka's patronage of Buddhism and deliberate humiliation of the Brahmanas led to a reaction promoted by the latter, and they "clearly see the hands of the Brahmanas in the great revolution" headed by Pushyamitra. As against this it has been pointed out that there is no adequate ground to believe that AAoka ill-treated the Brahmanas, and there is also no evidence that the Brahmanas in a body rose against, far less fought with, the successors of Aioka. It is true that Pushyamitra who led the revolution was himself a Brahmana, but we must remember that he was also the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya army. His successful revolution can be much better accounted for by his hold over the army than his headship of a band of discontented Brahmanas. Besides, the fact remains that the dynasty founded by Pushyamitra was ousted by a successful rebellion of the Brahmana minister of the last king. Here we have an exact parallel to the earlier revolution, which shows what little ground there is to ascribe it to Brahmanical influence from the simple fact that its leader belonged to that caste.

Note 14

Note 15

Another class of writers trace the root-cause of the downfall of the Maurya Empire to the doctrine of Ahimsa or non-injury adopted by A£oka as a policy of state. According to them the martial ardQur of imperial Magadha was bound to vanish when A&oka gave up the aggressive militarism of his forefathers and disbanded his army. As noted above, he eschewed all wars and enjoined upon his sons and grandsons to do so, and this naturally impaired the military efficiency of his empire. Theoretically this view appears plausible enough, but it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the weakness of the empire is to be attributed to this cause alone. We cannot forget the fact that, considering the circumstances of those days, it is a far greater wonder that so vast an empire should have been governed continuously by a central authority for nearly a century, than that it should have fallen to pieces within the next fifty years. Many other empires, far less in extent, rose and fell in India both before and after Aioka, and there must have been some natural causes at work in all these cases. Among them we may reckon the spirit of local autonomy, the difficulty of communication with distant provinces, the oppressive rule and rebellious disposition of their governors, palace intrigues and official treachery. Foreign invasion is another such factor, which invariably accelerates other causes. In the case of the Mauryas we have positive evidence that some, if not all, of these causes were at work. The repeated revolt of the distant province of Taxila, due mainly to the oppression of local officials, is perhaps typical of what was happening in other parts of the empire.

The Kalihga Edicts show that Asoka himself knew of the oppression of his officials and vainly tried to stop them. That the officials at the capital were not all loyal and devoted servants is proved by the treacherous conduct of Pushyamitra.

There are also good grounds to believe that the Maurya court was divided into two factions, one headed by Pushy amitra, the Commander-in-Chief, and the other by the Minister, who managed to make their sons respectively governors of Vidisa and Vidarbha. The immediate causes that brought about the end of the Maurya dynasty were no doubt, the invasion of the Bactrian Greeks, to which a detailed reference will be made later, and the assassination of king Brihadratha by Pushyamitra. It is not unlikely that this coup d’etat was helped, if not prompted, by the foreign invasion. It is also equally likely that the weakness caused by internal dissensions invited’ foreign aggression. On the whole these natural causes might have been sufficient to bring about the decline and downfall of the Maurya Empire. It is not necessary, therefore, to postulate that the pacific policy of Asoka was responsible for this catastrophe, though this cannot be altogether ignored as a possible factor.

But even if Asoka's policy brought about the downfall of the Mauryan Empire, India has no cause to regret the fact. That empire would have fallen to pieces, sooner or later, even if Asoka had followed the policy of blood and iron of his grandfather. But the moral ascendancy of Indian culture over a large part of the civilized world, which Asoka was mainly instrumental in bringing about, remained for centuries as a monument to her glory and has not altogether vanished even now after the lapse of more than two thousand years.

APPENDIX THE DATE OF ASOKA

The date of Asoka has sometimes been determined on the basis of Buddhist tradition regarding the Nirvana and the interval of 218 years between that memorable event and the coronation of the Maurya monarch. But as the date of NirvaruL or Buddha's death is itself uncertain (pp. 36-38), and the correctness of an interval of 218 years between that event and Asoka's coronation is also doubted (p. 38), we cannot solve the problem of Asoka's date in this way.

The really important clues to the riddle are furnished by the Greek synchronisms, and the chronology of the first three Mauryas hinges on two crucial dates, viz. (1) 326 B.C. when, according to Plutarch and Justin, Chandragupta met Alexander, shortly before his accession, and (2) the date of the death of Magas of Cyrene, one of the kings visited by Asoka's missionaries.

The date of Asoka's coronation can hardly be pushed back beyond 277 B.C., because his grandfather, according to all the chronicles, whose evidence carries weight, died after a reign of 24 years, and the next king Bindusara, the father

and immediate predecessor of Asoka, ruled for at least 25 years (326-24-25 = 277 B.C.).

For a lower limit, we have to turn to the evidence of Asoka's own inscriptions. The R. E. XIII refers to the emperor's Hellenistic contemporaries whose names and dates have been mentioned .above.

Hultzsch takes the date c. 250 B.C. for the death of Magas from Bloch (Corpus, I, p. xxxi and n. 8). But his views have been challenged by several writers including Tarn (Antigonus Gonatas, pp. 449 ff). To enable one to understand the facts relevant to our enquiry, it is necessary to draw attention to the sequence of some of the events since the death of Magas.

1. Death of Magas.

2. Demetrius the Fair sent by his step-brother Antigonus of Macedon as an aspirant to the throne of Cyrene, to charm by his presence the heart of Berenice, the heiress of Magas.

3. Demetrius's rule for a time in Cyrene.

4. Demetrius put to death by Berenice in her mother's chamber.

5. Ascendancy of Ptolemy Philadelphus in Cyrene and the betrothal of Berenice to the Egyptian prince, the future Ptolemy III Euergetes.

6. Coins of Berenice without the married woman's veil—issued apparently when, though still a virgin, she acknowledged the suzerainty of the House of Ptolemy.

7. A free Cyrenean republic or Koinon to which Polybius (X, 22) and coins bear testimony.

8. Berenice's marriage with Ptolemy III in 247-46 B.C.

Not long after his marriage Ptolemy III set out for the war in Syria (245 B.C.). On the departure of her husband Berenice vowed to the gods, for his safety, a lock of her hair, which upon his return was dedicated in the temple of Arsinoe Aphrodite. But it mysteriously disappeared. The incident forms the theme of the Lock of Berenice by the contemporary poet Callimachus (translated by Catullus). Its genuineness has been proved by the discovery of some fragments in 1928 (Whibley, Companion to Greek Studies, p. 169). The relevant passage in the poem of Callimachus runs thus: "You weep not for yourself, but for your husband (gone to the Syrian war immediately after the marriage in 247-46 B.C.); but of a truth I had known that you had a fine spirit ever since you were a small maiden. Do you not remember the noble deed (killing of Demetrius) through which you won your royal wedlock?"

The passage suggests, as pointed out by Tarn, that some considerable time must have elapsed since the action performed by Berenice as a 'parvo virgo', which it is feared, may have passed out of her memory. The Berenice coins without the veil and the numismatic evidence regarding the Koinon also lend support to the view that the interval between the death of Magas and the Syrian campaigns of Ptolemy III could not have been so short as Bloch's suggestion would lead us to believe. Under these circumstances the tradition recorded by Porphyry, which puts Demetrius's death in 259-58 B.C., cannot be lightly brushed aside. The acceptance of this date implies that Rock Edict XIII of Asoka cannot be dated later than 259-58 B.C., as it speaks of Magas, whose death preceded that of! Demetrius, as alive. Attention may be drawn in this connection to a passage of Justin (XXVI, 3.2) where the death of Magas is put at about the same time as the attack of Alexander of Epirus upon Antigonus, during the Chremonidean war, i.e., after. 264 and before 261 B.C. As rescripts of morality contained in R.E. XIII began to be written when Asoka had been anointed 12 years, his coronation could not have taken place after 270-69 B.C. Pausanias and Suidas, on whom Bloch relies, are not clear enough to set up against the contemporary Callimachus. Pausanias's statement that Cyrene rose in revolt after the death of the elder Antigonus and that Magas captured it in the fifth year of the rebellion (I, 6. 8), if taken too literally, would place the death of Magas (after a reign of 50 years according to Agatharchides) not earlier than 301-5-50 = 246 B.C., a result which would be unacceptable even to Bloch and Hultzsch. According to Suidas, Ptolemy subjugated Cyrene in 308 B.C. If this is identical with the event referred to by Pausanias when he speaks of the suppression of the Cyrenean- revolt by Magas, then the rule of the latter must have terminated about 259-58 B.C. The result would accord with the tradition recorded by Porphyry. Asoka's coronation thus must have taken place between 277 and 270 B.C.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. V. A. Smith, Asoka, p. 20.
2. 2. V. A. Smith points out that “though the Puranas assign 137 years to the Maurya dynasty, the total of the lengths of reigns according to the Vayv
3. Purtina is only 133, and the difference of four years may be accounted for by the supposed interval between Asoka’s accession and coronation” (EHI* 207). But one version of the Vayu Parana gives a much bigger total of 240 years, and in view of the great discrepencies in the different versions, it is unwise to place any weight on the total of 133. It may be pointed out that the reignperiods of Bindusara and Asoka are given as 28 and 37 in the Sinhalese Chronicles and 25 and 36 in the Puranas, and this may equally well account for the difference of four years. (For Puranic dates, cf. DKA, pp. 27-29. 70).
4. 1. It is, however, contended by some that PriyadarsI (Piyadasi) was the original name of the king and he was called Asoka or Dharmasoka after his conversion to Buddhism (Journal Asiatique, Vol. CCLII, pp. 143-6).
5. 2. Some place the event in the ninth year after his coronation.
6. 1. These inscriptions have been published in Ep. Indica, Vol. XXXIV>-PP* 1 ff-> and Journal Asiatique, Vol. CCLII, pp. 137-157.
7. 1. The discovery of the Asoka pillar at a place still called Rumindei has fixed the site of the LumbinI garden where the Buddha was bom. For Asoka says in the inscription engraved on this pillar: “Here Buddha was bom”.
8. 2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, pp. 40 ff.
9. 1. It is not, however, unlikely that the Andhras occupied at this time the region round Paithan and only later moved to the coastal region (See Ch. XIII).
10. 79
11. 1. The interpretation of the passage is somewhat difficult; I have followed partly Barua’s translation rather than that of Bhandarkar.
12. a.I.U.—c
13. 1. See pp. 36-38.
14. 1. R&jatarangini, I, 115-17.

15. 2. The Editor alone is responsible for the views expressed in this section.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. D. R. Bhandarkar— Asoka (The English translation of Asoka's inscriptions given in Ch. VIII of this book has been generally followed in the text.)

2. B. M. Barua, Inscriptions of Asoka.

3. V. A. Smith, Asoka, 3rd Edition, Oxford, 1920.

4. R. K. Mookerji, Asoka.

5. H. C. Raychaudhuri— Political History of Ancient India, 5th Edition, pp. 302 ff. (Some of the inscriptions of Asoka, discovered after the publication of Bhandarkar's Asoka, are noticed in this book.)

6. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, Ch. XX.

CHAPTER VI

THE FALL OF MAGADHAN EMPIRE

I. THE &UNGAS (187-75 B.C.)

We owe to Bana ? s Harshacharita some details of the story of the overthrow of the Maurya power by Pushyamitra. Bana, who flourished eight centuries after the event, relates how Pushyamitra, the Sendpati or Commander-in-Chief, assembled the entire Maurya imperial army, evidently on the pretext that he was anxious that his sovereign should see for himself with his own eyes what a fine fighting force he could put into the field of battle, and then assassinated him at the military parade and review. This incident shows that already Pushyamitra was carefully preparing the ground for his coup d'etat by seducing his army from its loyalty to the Maurya king.

According to the Puranas, Pushyamitra belonged to the Sunga family. Panini (IV, 1, 117) traces the Sungas to the Brahmana clan of Bharadvaja. There are many references to Sunga teachers in Vedic texts. The Brihaddranyaka Upanishad also mentions Saungiputra as a teacher. A Bharhut inscription refers to two gateways being erected in the reign of the Suhgas. Kalidasa, however, in his drama Malavikagnimitra, describes Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, as a scion of the Baimbika family of the Kasyapa lineage. But the Suhga origin of Pushyamitra is generally accepted. 1

As has been stated above, Pushyamitra’s dominion covered only the central portion of the old Maurya empire. In the south and south-east, the Andhras and Kalingas, together with parts of northern India, had already asserted their independence.

Pushyamitra’s empire included the cities of Pa^aliputra, Ayodhya, Vidisa, and, according to the DivydvaMna and Taranatha, Jalandhara and siikala in the Punjab. Pa^aliputra continued as the capital.

We learn from the Malavikagnimitra that the crown-prince Agnimitra served as his father's Viceroy at Vidisa. There was

Note 1

probably another Viceroy in Kosala. An inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhya mentions the construction of a ketana (abode) by a Kosaladhipa (ruler of Kosala) who was sixth in descent from Senapati Pushyamitra. Again, Agnimitra's brotherin-law (his wife's brother) named Virasena was placed in charge of a fortress on the frontier on the banks of the Narmada.

The Mdlavikdgnimitra also refers to an independent kingdom which had been recently established in the region of Vidarbha or Berar. Yajnasena, the king of Vidarbha, is stated to have been a relation (sister's husband) of the Sachiva (minister) of the Mauryan emperor, and thus a natural rival of Pushyamitra. The relations between Vidarbha and Vidisa became strained. The poet relates how Agnimitra's friend Madhavasena, who was a cousin of Yajnasena, was arrested by an Antapala (governor of the frontier) of Yajnasena. on his way to Vidisa. Agnimitra at once called upon Yajnasena for his release. The latter agreed to do so on condition that his relation, the Maurya minister, was released first. Agnimitra at once gave orders to Virasena to invade Vidarbha. Virasena defeated Yajnasena and released Madhavasena, Eventually, Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, Yajnasena and Madhavasena, under Pushyamitra as their suzerain.

Pushyamitra had to face a Greek invasion. This is revealed by the grammarian Patanjali in the two following passages in his Mahabhdshya. The first, lha Pushyamitram Ydjaydmah, "Here we perform the sacrifices for Pushyamitra," shows by the use of the present tense that the sacrifice was begun but not yet finished, and that Patanjali was therefore a contemporary of Pushyamitra. The use of the past tense in the other passage: "arimad Yavanah Saketam: arunad Yavano Madhyamikdm " shows that Saketa or Ayodhya and the other town called Madhyamika (near Chitor) were beseiged by a Yavana or Greek invader within living memory. This invasion might have taken place while Pushyamitra was yet a general of the Mauryas, and it is not unlikely that his success against the Yavanas gave him a position, status, and power which enabled him to make a successful bid for the throne.

But Pushyamitra also came into conflict with the Greeks after he had ascended the throne. Kalidasa in his Mdlavikdgnimitra refers to the conflict between Prince Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra and general of Pushyamitra, and a Yavana on the southern or right bank of the river ‘Sindhu’ which may be taken to be either the river in the Punjab or its namesake in Central India. 1 According to Kalidasa, this conflict took place in connection with the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra when his troops, escorting the horse under Vasumitra, were stopped by the Yavanas on the south bank of the Sindhu. The Yavanas were defeated and the horse brought back safely home.

These Greek invaders were no doubt the Bactrian princes whose history will be dealt with in another chapter. The Sanskrit passages probably refer to Greek invasions led by Demetrius, Menander or Eucratides, who are all known to have carried on campaigns in India. They also show that Pushyamitra ultimately triumphed over the Greeks and drove them out of Magadha, perhaps even beyond the Sindhu. His task was probably facilitated by the internecine dissensions among the Greeks themselves, which will be referred to later. The performance of two horse-sacrifices by him was probably meant as a proclamation of his double victory over the Greeks, and in any case it indicates that he was a powerful king and ruled over extensive dominions. They also prove the revival of the Brahmanical sacrificial cult involving the slaughter of animals which was put down by Asoka. The Buddhist tradition is not complimentary to Pushyamitra and describes him as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. He is said to have destroyed monasteries and killed the monks in course of his march to Sakala (Sialkot in the Punjab) where he declared a prize of one hundred gold coins on the head of each monk. 2 But though the Sungas were strong adherents of Brahmanical religion, there is no independent evidence to show that they were intolerant of Buddhism. It is interesting to note in this connection that the great Buddhist stupa at Bharhut was erected during the reign of the £uhgas.

Pushyamitra ruled for about 36 years (c. 187-151 B.C.) and was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. Agnimitra is the hero of Mdlavik agnimitra, which gives us some account of his viceroyalty at VidiiS mentioned above. He was succeeded by Sujyeshtha 3 of whom nothing is known The fourth king was Vasumitra who, as a young prince, fought with the Yavanas to rescue the sacrificial horse of his grandfather and was probably posted to guard the north-west frontier of Pushyamitra's empire. He may be identical with Sumitra, son of Agnimitra who, according to Bana, was killed in the course of a theatrical performance by one Mitradeva. The murderer might

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

have been a scion of the Brahmana ministerial family which later overthrew the Sungas.

An inscription records the excavation of a cave at Pabhosa near Allahabad by Ashadhasena, maternal uncle of king Bj-ihatsvatimitra (probably not, as is usually read, Brihaspatimitra), in the tenth year of a king whose name is read as Udaka. He has been identified by some with the fifth Sunga king whom the Puranas call variously Andhraka, Antaka, Ardraka, Odruka, or Bhadraka. It has been held that Ashadhasena, whom we know from another inscription to have belonged to the royal family of Ahichchhatra, was a feudatory of the Sungas. But this view is not generally accepted.

Another inscription found at Besnagar (Bhilsa) records the erection of a Garuda Pillar by a Yavana named Heliodorus who describes himself as a native of Taxila and as a Bhagavata. He was deputed as ambassador by the Greek king Antialcidas to the Indian king named Bhagabhadra Kasiputra 'who was prospering in his fourteenth regnal year.' This Bhagabhadra was most probably the fifth Sunga king Bhadraka. His identification with the ninth Sunga king named Bhagavata in the Puranas cannot be upheld, as a second Garuda Pillar at Besnagar is dated in the twelfth regnal year of king Bhagavata, and the Bhagabhadra of one pillar cannot be taken to be the Bhagavata of the other. The tenth or last Sunga king according to the Puranas was Devabhuti or Devabhumi. According to Bana he was the victim of a conspiracy engineered by his Brahmana minister Vasudeva and was killed by a slave-girl who approached him in the guise of his queen. Altogether ten Sunga kings ruled for a period of 112 years, from c. 187 to 75 B.C.

Although we know very little of the history of the Sunga dynasty, it played an important part in history. Pushyamitra stemmed the tide of foreign invasion and maintained his authority over a large part of the empire. He thus arrested, for the time being, the disintegration of the Magadha empire which, throughout the century of Sunga rule, extended as far as Bhilsa in Madhya Bharat, if not further to the west. The Bactrian Greeks maintained friendly relations with them. The Sunga period saw the revival of the Brahmanical influence and the growing importance of the Bhagavata religion which counted even the cultured Greeks among its votaries. It also witnessed a revival in art and literature specially in Central India. The great grammarian Patanjali, born at Gonarda in Central India, was most probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra, as noted above. The Bharhut stupa is the most famous monument of this period. There was also an important school of art in Vidi6a which, according to some scholars, was the capital of the later Sunga kings. They were responsible for the fine gateway railings which surround the Sfinchi stupas built by A£oka.

II. KAiyVAS (75-30 B.C.)

The minister Vasudeva, who had his royal master Devabhumi killed by a slave-girl, usurped the throne and founded a new royal dynasty in Magadha. It was known as the Kanva or Kanvayana after his family or gotra name, and consisted only of our kings, viz . Vasudeva, Bhumimitra Naraya^a and Susarman, who ruled respectively for 9, 14, 12 and 10 years. Although the Puranas make a general statement to the effect that they will keep the neighbouring kings in subjection and will rule righteously, we really know nothing of their history. The dynasty was overthrown by the Andhrabhfityas or Andhras.

The chronology of the Kanvas and Sungas is rendered somewhat uncertain by the statement in the Puranas that the Andhra king not only destroyed the

Kanvayanas but also ‘whatever was left of the power of the Sungas.’ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar 1 concluded from this that ‘when the princes of the Suhga family became weak, the Ka$vas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns’. He therefore held that the period of 112 years, assigned in the Puranas to the rule of the &u$ga dynasty, also included the 45 years’ rule of the Kanvas. In other words, the Kanvas were the de facto rulers during the last 45 years of the Sunga rule. This view has not, however, found general acceptance, and is opposed to the categorical statement in the Puranas that the tenth Sunga king was killed by the first Kanva king. The Puranic statement probably indicates that even after the death of Devabhumi and the overthrow of the Sunga dynasty, some members or scions of the family continued to rule somewhere, such as the VidiSa region or that the Kanvas, while exercising de facto authority, allowed some rois faineants of the Sunga dynasty after Devabhumi to continue nominally as kings. The Andhras finally extinguished their power along with that of the Kanvas. We may

Note 5

therefore hold that the four Kanvayana kings, named above, ruled for 45 years, i.e. from 75 B.C. to 30 B.C.*

III. THE SUCCESSORS OF THE KANVAS

Although, according to the Puranas, the Andhras succeeded the Ka$vas, we have no independent evidence that the former ever ruled as far north as Magadha. The history of Magadha, from the end of the Kanva rule to the rise of the Guptas, three hundred years later, is very obscure. Reference may be made in this connection to a large number of coins which are supposed to be associated with sopie of the Sunga and Kanva kings. A number of copper coins (of the so-called Mitra kings) have been found in Rohilkhand with the names of kings Agnimitra, Bhadra-ghosha, Jethamitra and Bhumimitra. The first may be identified with the Suhga king of that name, and the next two may be identified with two Puranic Sunga kings, namely, Ghosha, the seventh king, and Vasu-Jyeshtha or Su-Jyeshtha, the successor of Agnimitra. Bhumimitra was probably the second Kanva king. But these identifications, though plausible, are not quite certain.

The so-called Mitra coins of Panchala have been found in regions outside Panchala, in Oudh, in Basti District and even in Pataliputra. The names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are inscribed on two pillars at Bodh Gaya as also on coins found at places like Mathura, Panchala, and Kumrahar (Patna). Thus the Mitra rulers of Panchala were not a local dynasty of North Panchala, as was thought by Cunningham, but probably held sway over extensive regions in Northern India, and if some of these kings were identical with kings of the Kanva or £unga dynasty, we must hold that there was the semblance of an empire during the rule of these two dynasties. Some, if not all, of these kings might have ruled in Magadha after the Kanvas. * 1 But in any case we must hold that a large number of independent states flourished in North India during their rule, as will be described in Chapter XI.

GENERAL REFERENCES

H. C. Raychaudhuri. Political History of Ancient India, 4th Edition, pp. 306 ff

326-335.

For Section HI, see references under Ch. XI.

Note 6

Note 7

CHAPTER VII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. PHAl, 307; 1C. IV. 363.
2. l. IHQ, L 215.
3. 2 Divyavadana, pp. 429-34. For other references, cf. IHQ, XXII, 81 ft.
4. 3. Also called Vasujyeshtha. For the Puranic list of 6uhga kings, cf. DKA- 70.
5. l. EHD, Section VL
6. • See Preface.
7. 1. The Jain works refer to Balamitra and Bhanumitra as successors of Pushy amitra. We know from epigraphic records that Indragnimitra and possibly also Brihatsvatlmitra (or Brihaspatimitra) ruled over Magadha

THE YAVANAS

I. THE YAVANAS IN INDIA

One of the factors that led to the extinction of the dynasty of the imperial Mauryas was the advent of the Yavana invaders through the north-western gate of India.. Indeed the most interesting feature of the post-Maurya period of Indian history is the establishment of foreign supremacy in Uttarapatha, Aparanta (Paschaddesa) and the adjoining region of Madhyadesa, 1 successively by several alien powers, and the Yavanas were the first among them.

The word Yavana was used in medieval Indian literature as a synonym of mlechchha and indicated any foreigner. 2 But as late as the early centuries of the Christian era it meant, to an Indian, the Greeks only. The word was derived from the Old Persian form Yauna , signifying originally the Ionian Greeks, but later, all people of Greek nationality. The Greeks of Ionia in Asia Minor, between the Aegean Sea and Lydia, and the people of north-western India certainly came into contact with each other as subjects of the Achaemenian emperors of Persia since the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.).

The story of the employment of Scylax of Caryanda (in Caria) by Darius about the end of the sixth century B. C. for the exploration of the route from the Punjab rivers to Persia as well as of the Indian archers who formed an important element in the army of Xerxes and shared the Persian defeat at the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. no doubt suggests that the people of Uttarapatha at least had direct

Note 1

Note 2

knowledge of the Greeks as early as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. It is not improbable that officers of Greek and Indian origin in the service of the Achaemenian Government as well as merchants of the empire belonging to both the nationalities often met one another at the metropolis and the provincial headquarters. 1 There is therefore no wonder that the very word Yauna, meaning the Greeks, used for the first time in the records of Darius I, was borrowed by the Indians without any modification (cf. Mahdbhdrata, XII, 207, 43). The earliest use of the Sanskritised form Yavana can be traced in the Ashtadhydyl of Panini (c. fifth century B.C.) and that of the Prakrit form Yona in the inscriptions of Asoka.

The conquest of north-western India in 327-325 B.C. by Alexander and the foundation by the Macedonian king of such cities as Alexandria sub-Caucasum (modern Charikar or Opian near Kabul), Alexandria amongst the Arachosians (modern Kandahar), 2 Bucephala and Nicaea (on the banks of the Jhelum not far from the modern city of that name), Alexandria (at the conflunce of the Chenab and the Sindhu), and Sogdian Alexandria (in northern Sind), peopled partially by some of the Greek followers of the conqueror, must have led to an intimate association between the Yavanas and the Indians. Of these the Greek element in the population of Alexandria sub-Caucasum seems to have remained conspicuous even after its inclusion in the Maurya empire.

The story of the Maury an occupation of north-western India, of the foundation of the Seleucid monarchy on the ruins of the Achaemenid empire that had been shattered by Alexander, and of the surrender of the Kabul region to Chandragupta Maurya by Seleucus has already been told in a previous chapter. For a century from c. 305 B.C., when Seleucus measured his strength with Chandragupta, down to c. 206 B.C. when Antiochus III led an expedition against north-western India, the relations of India with the Seleucid emperors were very friendly. The Yona subjects of Asoka referred to in his own records as well as his viceroy of Surashtra, who was a Yavana prince according to an inscription of the middle of the second century A.D., appear to have been inhabitants of the district round Alexandria near Kabul, which is often mentioned in the Pali literature as the dipa (dinpxi) or Doab of Alasanda. Some versions of the Thirteenth Rock-

Note 3

Note 4

edict of Asoka say that there were no Brahmanas and &ramanas in the Yona country. The Buddhist canonical work Majjhimanikdya (II, 149) also says that in the land of the Yonas and the Kambojas there existed only two vartias or social grades, viz, tivya and dasa, instead of the traditional chatur-vairria division of the society prevalent in other parts of India. As early, however, as the time of Patanjali's Mahdbhashya, the Yavanas as well as the Sakas found a place in the Indian society as aniravasita (pure) Sudras while the Manu-samhitd regards them as degraded Kshatriyas. Although there is an apparent discrepancy between the views of the two authorities, the social position of a pure £udra and a degraded Kshatriya would practically be the same. The Mahdbhashya and the Manu-samhitd appear^ to speak of the Greeks of Bactria and Afghanistan who established themselves in India in the early years of the second century B.C. These Yavanas gradually became Indianised by adopting Indian names, religious beliefs and customs, and were ultimately absorbed in the Indian population.

II. THE BACTRIAN GREEKS

Parthia (Khurasan and the adjoining region to the south-east of the Caspian Sea) and Bactria (district round Balkh, ancient Bahlika, in northern Afghanistan beyond the Hindu Kush) were two districts of the Seleucid empire. Some time about 250 B.C. both the countries revolted against their Seleucid overlord Antiochus (II)-Theos (261-246 B.C.) Parthia under a native of unknown origin named Arsaces and Bactria under its Greek governor Diodotus. Neither Antiochus II nor any of his immediate successors, Seleucus II (246226 B.C.) and Seleucus III (226-223 B.C.), was powerful enough to suppress the rebellious provinces. The next emperor, Antiochus (III) the Great (223-187 B.C.), was engaged for some years in an attempt to regain both Parthia and Bactria, but, having found the subjugation of the newly founded kingdoms quite hopeless, he concluded peace with them and practically acknowledged the independence of both the countries.

1. Diodotus I and Diodotus II

Diodotus, the founder of the independent Hellenic kingdom of Bactria, appears to have ruled over that country probably along with Sogdiana for a long time, first as governor of Seleucid emperors

and then as an independent monarch. It has been suggested that he was the satrap of Bactria who, according to certain Chaldean documents, sent twenty elephants to assist Antiochus I in his struggle with Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt about 274-273 B.C. He was a powerful king who was feared by his neighbours. According to Justin, Diodotus was not on friendly terms with Arsaces of Parthia who, after he had conquered Hyrcania on the Caspian, was compelled to keep a large army on a war-footing for fear of the Bactrian enemy.

The statement of Justin that Diodotus was succeeded by his son of the same name seems to be supported by numismatic evidence. Diodotus II reversed the anti-Parthian policy of his father and made an alliance with the king of Parthia. This enabled the Parthian monarch to concentrate his forces against the emperor Seleucus II when he attacked Parthia some time between 240 and 235 B.C. The frustration of the Seleucid attempt by the Parthians not only saved their own land but also the kingdom of Bactria. The foreign policy of Diodotus II was thus eminently successful. The duration of the rule of this king cannot be determined with precision According to Polybius, when Antiochus III appeared in the east about 212 B.C., the Bactrian throne had for sometime been occupied by a Greek named Euthydemus who was a native of one of the cities called Magnesia in' Asia Minor. The Bactrian king is said to have represented to the Seleucid emperor that he happened to be king after having put to death the children of those who actually rebelled and thht he, who was not a rebel, should not be interfered with. From this it seems that Diodotus II, son of Diodotus I, was revolted against Seleucid authority, was overthrown by Euthydemus. The fact, however, that Agathocles and Antimachus of the Euthydemian house claimed descent from ‘Diodotus, the Saviour* may suggest that Euthydemus was related to Diodotus I or II at least by marriage.

2. Euthydemus

After conclusion of his struggle with Parthia, Antiochus III turned his arms against Bactria about 208 B.C. and soon besieged Euthydemus in his capital city called Bactra or Zariaspa which has been identified with the modern Balkh. The siege lasted for two years, but neither side gained any decisive victory. At last, Teleas, whom the Bactrian king sent to the emperor to negotiate a settlement, was successful in convincing Antiochus III about the encouragement that the struggle might give to the barbarian hordes hovering about the northern fringe of Bactria, to fall upon the country and destroy all traces of Hellenic civilization. The Seleucid emperor, whose presence in the western part of his dominions had by that time become an urgent necessity, was too glad to be out of the embarrassing situation.

Ultimately Demetrius, the young son of Euthydemus, was sent to the emperor's camp as an official envoy of the Bactrian king, and a formal alliance was concluded (c. 206 B.C.). Antiochus III agreed to the use of the royal title by Euthydemus and also to give one of his daughters in marriage to Demetrius.[1] Soon after he crossed the Hindu Kush, marched down the valley of the Kabul river, and reached the country ruled by Sophagasenus (probably Sanskrit Subhd gaseria), king of the Indians, who is not known from any other source. It has been noted above how, after the death of Asoka about 236 B.C. the unifying power of the Maurya empire declined, and the provinces, especially the outlying ones, were assuming independence one after another under ambitious provincial governors, one of whom was probably Subhagasena himself or one of his predecessors. Antiochus III went back to Mesopotamia after having accepted the submission of the Indian king, who paid an indemnity and surrendered a number of war elephants.

The abundance of Euthydemus's coins and the great variety of his portraits on them suggest that he had a fairly long reign over an extensive territory. He is usually supposed to have died about 190 B.C. His silver coins have been found in large numbers in Balkh (Bactria) and Bukhara (Sogdiana), to the north of the Hindu Kush; but they are less common in the regions of Kabul, Kandahar, and Seistan, where his bronze issues are very common. Scholars believe that towards the end of his reign, possibly after 197 B.C. when Antiochus III became hopelessly involved in his struggle in the west and was unable to interfere in the affairs of the east, Euthydemus extended his sway over southern Afghanistan and the adjoining area of Iran and also over parts of north-western India. But the man who established Greek supremacy on Indian soil seems to have been his son Demetrius whose early expeditions in India he may have led as commander of his father’s armies.

Note 5

3. Demetrius

According to Strabo (c. 54 B.C.—A.D. 24), who refers to the authority of Apollodorus of Artemita, the Greeks of Bactria became masters of Ariana, a vague term roughly indicating the eastern districts of the Persian empire, [1] and of India. It is said that the Bactrian chiefs, particularly Menander, conquered more nations than Alexander and that these conquests were achieved, partly by Menander and partly by Demetrius who was the son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. Strabo further says: “They (i.e. the chiefs of the Bactrians) got possession not only of Patalene (the Sinclhu delta) but also of the kingdoms of Saraostos (Surashtra i.e. Kathiawar or South Kathiawar) [2] and Sigerdis (probably Sagaradvlpa meaning Cutch), which constitute the remainder of the coast. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres (i.e. the land of the Chinese and Tibetans in Central Asia) and Phryni (probably another Central Asian tribe).” The statement regards Menander and Demetrius as the greatest of the Yavana kings of Bactrian origin, but unfortunately does not specify the individual achievements of the two rulers.

The mention of Demetrius, king of Bactria, Afghanistan, and the western part of northern India, after Menander, who actually flourished later than Demetrius and had nothing to do with Bactria, seems to go against chronological sequence and partially mars the historical value of the statement. But Indian literature also apparently refers to the exploits ofxthe Bactrian Greeks under Demetrius about the beginning of the second century B.C. The Yuga-purana section of the Gargi-samhita speaks of Yavana expeditions against Saketa (near Ayodhya in the present Fyzabad District, U.P.), Panchala (Rohilkhand in a narrow sense), Mathura and Kusumadhvaja or Pushpapura (the same as Pataliputra) after the reign of the Maurya king Salisuka (c. 200 B.C.) who, according to the Vishnu purana. was the fourth in descent from Asoka and third in ascent

Note 6

Note 7

from the last Maurya king Brihadratha, overthrown by Pushyamitra about 187 B.C.

Evidently, the Yavana invasion of Saketa and Madhyamika (modern Nagarl near Chitor, Rajputana), referred to in the Mahdbhdshya as events that happened during the lifetime of the grammarian Patanjali, should be assigned to the same epoch. Though the Mahdbhdshya seems to contain some later interpolations, Patanjali was probably a contemporary of Pushyamitra and presumably also of some later Maurya rulers who suffered defeats at the hands of the Bactrians. The overthrow of Brihadratha by Pushyamitra seems to have been one of the consequences of the success of the Yavanas against the Mauryas. According to the Gdrgi-samhita, the Yavanas who besieged Pushpapura 1 did not stay for a long time in Madhyadesa because of “internal dissensions” leading to “a cruel and dreadful war in their own kingdom which arose amongst themselves.’’ The Greeks appear to have lost Madhyadesa and temporarily parts of the Punjab and the lower Sindhu valley to Pushyamitra. 2

Demetrius’s association with India is proved by literary as well as archaeological evidence. He issued some coins of square shape with Greek legend on the obverse and KharoshthI on the reverse. Scholars have identified him with king Dattamitra of the Mahdbhdrata , the “grete Emetrius, the King of Ynde” mentioned in Chaucer’s Knightes Tale , and Timitra of a seal found at Besnagar. 3 The extent of his Indian possessions, after his withdrawal from Madhyadesa, cannot be determined with certainty; but he seems to have held sway over considerable parts of the Uttarapatha and Aparanta (Paschaddesa) divisions of India and probably reasserted Greek authority in the Sakala region. We have seen that, according to Apollodorus and Strabo, the Indo-Greek power extended over the lower Sindhu valley and Kathiawar. It is interesting in this connection to note that certain Sanskrit grammatical works mention a city called

Dattamitri which belonged to the country of Sauvira (lower Sindhu valley to the east of the river). 4

Note 8

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

Some other cities in India and Afghanistan appear to have been named after Demetrius and his father Euthydemus. There was a city called Demetriaspolis in Arachosia according to Isidor of Charax, while Ptolemy's Geography recognises Euthymedia, usually believed to be a mistake for Euthydemia (a city supposed to be named after Euthydemus), as another name of Sagala or Sakala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab. According to Indian Buddhist traditions, &akala was the capital of the Indo-Greek king Milinda (Menander) who either belonged to, or was intimately associated with, the house of Demetrius.

4\ Eucratides

The Indian conquests and struggles of Demetrius, necessitating no doubt a long stay in this country, must have loosened his hold on Bactria which soon after revolted under an exceptionally vigorous leader named Eucratides. The occupation of the Bactrian throne by Eucratides, who founded the city of Eucratidaea in Bactria, seems to have taken place about 171 B.C. Justin, whose work is a compilation from that of Pompeius Trogus (a contemporary of Augustus), says: "Almost at the same time that Mithradates (the first Parthian king of that name who reigned, according to many scholars, from 171 to 136 B.C.) ascended the throne among the

Parthians, Eucratides began to reign among the Bactrians .

Eucratides carried on several wars with great spirit and, though much reduced by his losses in them, yet when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only 300 soldiers, he repulsed by continuous sallies a force of 60,000 enemies" Being harassed for about four months Demetrius was compelled to raise the siege. Strabo (a contemporary of Augustus) says that Eucratides made himself master of the thousand cities, possibly those of Bactria, while Justin says that “he reduced India (probably the land on the Sindhu) to subjection”. ‘India’ seems to have been subjugated after the death of Demetrius that may be roughly assigned to about 165 B.C.

Some scholars have pointed out that Timarchus, satrap of Babylon, who revolted against the Seleucid emperor in 162 B.C., issued coins in imitation of the Indian coinage of Eucratides and that therefore ‘India’ must have been conquered by Eucratides some time before the above date. But Eucratides’s success in India was only partial and. in regard to some areas, temporary. There is evidence to show that he had to light hard with several princes of the Euthy • demian house who maintained their hold on parts of India and Afghanistan. Certain copper coins of a king named Apollodotus Soter were restruck by Eucratides and no doubt point to the latter’s victory over the former. The reverse of these coins representing Zeus enthroned with the symbols of a mountain and elephant’s head and containing the KharoshthI legend Kavisiye ncigara-devata (city divinity of KapisI) shows that Apollodotus was actually ousted by Eucratides from the Kapisa country, i.e. Kafiristan and the valleys of the Ghorband and Panjshir. He is also supposed to have been deprived of Arachosia and Drangiana by Eucratides. Two other members of the house of Demetrius are known to have issued commemorative medals claiming relation with earlier kings (which was far-fetched in some cases) either to point out that Eucratides was a usurper who had no claim for kingship like themselves or to counteract his claim of Seleucid blood. We have medals issued by king Agathocles in the name of ‘Alexander son of Philip’, ‘Antiochus the conqueror’, ‘Diodotus the saviour’, ‘Euthydemus the Divine’, and ‘Demetrius the unconquered’. Similar medals of another king named Antimachus issued in the names of Diodotus and Euthydemus have also been discovered.

Agathocles and another ruler named Pantaleon, who appear to have been closely related to each other, issued coins of square shape (in imitation of the Indian punch-marked coins) with the reverse legend in Brahmi instead of the usual KharoshthI prevalent in Uttarapatha and the adjoining region. Although the coins are found, in Afghanistan, they apparently point to the claim of these rulers to have been successors of Demetrius, especially in regard to some districts of northern India with which they may have been associated during the latter's reign. It is possible that Eucratides had to fight with all these champions of the cause of the Demetrian house. As if to give a reply to the commemorative medals of his rivals, Eucratides issued some propaganda coins in the name of Heliocles and Laodice. Numismatic evidence suggests that Heliocles was the son and successor of Eucratides. It was therefore supposed by Droysen and Von Sallet that the commemorative issues of Eucratides were struck to celebrate the marriage of his son with Laodice, who was probably the daughter of Demetrius by his Seleucid wife, the daughter of Antiochus III. Cunningham and Gardner, however, believed that Heliocles was the father, and Laodice the mother of Eucratides. The fact that, in the representation on the coins, Heliocles appears with a bare head but Laodice with a diadem shows that she belonged to a royal family, probably the imperial house of the Seleucids.[1] It is not improbable that Eucratides came to Bactria as a champion of the Seleucid cause.

According to Justin, even during the early part of his reign, Eucratides had not only to fight with Demetrius but also with the Sogdiani (people of Sogdiana or the Bokhara region to the north of the Oxus). It is probable that Sogdiana was then under the barbarian hordes (vaguely called Scythians by classical authors) about which Teleas spoke to Antiochus III. When Eucratides was totally exhausted owing to continuous wars, the Parthians under the great king Mithradates I (c. 171—136 B.C.) attacked the Bactrian kingdom and permanently annexed two districts of the country. The names of these districts are given as Aspionus and Turiva, supposed by some scholars to be meant for Aria (Herat) and Arachosia (Kandahar) About this time it had become difficult for Eucratides to attend to the administrative necessities of his big empire and he had made his son a colleague in the kingship. Justin records that when Eucratides was on a march homewards to

Bactria, he was murdered (c. 150 B.C.) by his son. The name of the parricide is unknown; but he may be no other than Heliocles who next ascended the throne. 2

5. The End oj Yavana Rule in Bactria

Heliocles was the last Greek king who held sway over Bactria. Justin says: “The Bactrians harassed by various wars lost not only their dominions but their liberty; for having suffered from contentions with the Sogdians, the Drangians and the Indians, they were at last overcome, as if exhausted, by the weaker Parthians.” The reference to the struggle of the Bactrian Greeks with the Indians and Drangians, especially the latter over whose land also they had extended their power, is interesting.

It is evident that the anti-Bactrian policy of the Parthians, introduced by Mithradates I with the occupation of two districts of Bactriana,*was pursued with vigour. A Roman historian named Orosius

Note 12

Note 13

(c. A.D. 417) says that Mithradates I conquered all the peoples wiio lived “between the Hydaspes and the Indus.” This Hydaspes is probably not the Jhelum, but the Persian stream called Medus Hydaspes by Virgil. Thus we have probably a reference to the expansion of Parthian power to the lower Sindhu from their bases in East Iran. According to Strabo, “the best known of the nomad tribes are those who drove the Greeks out of Bactria—the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes, over against the Sacae and Sogdiani, which country was also in occupation of the Sacae.” The lost history of Pompeius Trogus, according to its Prologue, is reported to have described how “the Saraucae and the Asiani (probably the same as the Sacae and the Asii) seized Bactria and Sogdiana.” According to some writers, the Saraucae-Sacae and the Asii-Asiani were respectively the §akas and the Yueh-chi.

Whatever be the correctness of these identifications, it seems that the Bactrian kingdom was occupied partly by the Parthians and partly by the northern nomads. We learn from the Chinese sources that some time after 165 B.C. the Yueh-chi occupied the Saka land to the north of the Jaxartes and also the whole of Sogdiana lying to the south-west and south of the river, driving the Sakas before them into Ta-hia or Bactria to the south of the Oxus. Some years later the Yueh-chi crossed the Oxus, dispersed the Sakas and conquered the whole land up to the Hindu Kush in the south. According to Chinese evidence, therefore, parts of the Greek kingdom of Bactria were occupied by the Sakas who were later overthrown by the Yuehchi. Heliocles, the last Greek king of Bactria, had apparently to fall back, after the loss of Bactria, on his dominions in the Kabul Valley and India (c. 125 B.C.). His success in India is believed to be indicated by the fact that the coins jointly issued by Agathocleia and Strato I, who belonged to the house of Demetrius, are sometimes found restruck by a king named Heliocles.

III. INDO-GREEK RULERS

After the loss of Bactria, the Yavanas continued to rule in central and southern Afghanistan and in north-western India. The history of Yavana rule in these regions is characterised by internecine fighting amongst the various princes belonging to the houses of Demetrius and Eucratides. More than thirty names of the IndoBactrian Greek rulers are known from the coins, most of them being

unknown from any other source. Thus we have the names of Agathocleia, Agalhoclcs, Amyntas, Antialcidas, Antimachus, Apollodotus, Apollophancs, Archebius, Artemidorus, Demetrius, Diodotus, Diomedes, Dionysius, Epander, Eucratides, Euthydemus, Heliocles, Hermaeus, Hippostratus, Lysias, Menander, Nicias, Pantaleon, Peucolaus, Philoxenus, Plato, Polyxenus, Strato, Telephus, Theophilus and Zoilus. Of these the names Antimachus, Apollodotus, Demetrius, Diodotus, Eucratides, Euthydemus, Strato and Zoilus are believed to have been borne by two kings, a father and a son or a grandfather and a grandson. All these rulers are assigned to a date earlier than the establishment of the suzerainty of the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushanas in north-western India and Afghanistan.

The fact that about thirty rulers, who flourished after Demetrius and Eucratides, have to be placed in the comparatively short period of less than two centuries suggests that some of them ruled contemporaneously with others in different parts of the Yavana dominions. It thus appears that the Puranic estimate of Yavana rule in India is much near the truth. “There will be Yavanas here,” observe the Puranas, “by reason of religious feeling or ambition or plunder; they will not be kings solemnly anointed but will follow evil customs by reason of the corruptions of the age. Massacring women and children and killing one another, the (Yavana) kings will enjoy the earth at the end of the Kali age.”

1 . Menander

We have seen that Strabo, on the authority of Apollodorus, regards Menander and Demetrius as the greatest of the Indo-Greek kings. The author of the Periplus (c. A.D. 70—80) says that “to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza (Broach) bearing inscriptions in Greek letters and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander, namely, Apollodotus and Menander.” The Broach region possibly formed part of the Yavana dominions during the rule of Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. Apollodotus and Menander are also mentioned as Indian kings in the title of the lost forty-fourth book of Justin’s work. Plutarch tells us that Menander was noted for justice and enjoyed great popularity with his subjects and that upon his death, which occurred in a camp, diverse cities contended for the possession of his ashes (cf. the story of the distribution of Buddha’s ashes). Curiously enough, of all the Yavana kings of India, Menander alone has found a prominent place in Indian Buddhist tradition as a scholar and patron of Buddhism. He is identified with king Milinda who is one of the two leading characters in the Milmda-panha, ‘Questions of Milinda/ a famous Buddhist text written in the form of a dialogue between the king and the Buddhist monk Nagasena. The monk is represented as solving all puzzles put to him by the king and as ultimately suceeding in converting the latter. The Indian form of the king's name is given as Milindra in Kshemendra's Avaddncikalpalatd and the Tibetan Bstan-hgyur collection, while the Shinkot inscription gives it more correctly as Menadra (i.e. Menamdra, Menandra) , which is found on the coins. According to the Milinda-panha tradition, Menander was born at a village called Kalasl-grama in the dvlpa or Doab of Alasanda (Alexandria near Kabul), and had his capital at Sakala, the modern Sialkot in the Punjab. It is said that Menander handed over the kingdom to his son, retired from the world, and became not only a Buddhist monk but an Arhat. This fits in with Plutarch's story about his ashes. Kshemendra refers to Menander a story which is sometimes also told about Kanishka, while an Indo-Chinese tradition associates him with the most famous statue of Buddha in Indo-China. Of course such legends are not always authentic; but the most interesting thing in this connection is the impression the foreign king must have made on the Indian mind.

Menander is usually assigned to the middle of the second century B.C., but he seems to have ruled at a later date, probably about 115-90 B.C. Some scholars, perhaps relying on the vague tradition ascribed to Apollodorus, believe that Menander was the Yavana ruler who invaded Saketa and Madhyamika during the lifetime of Patahjali, a contemporary of Pushyamitra. They apparently ignore the fact that the Gargi-samhitd assigns the Greek invasion of Madhyadesa and eastern India to a date soon after the reign of the later Maurya king Salisuka and probably before the accession of Pushyamitra about 187 B.C. As Menander's reign is unanimously placed by scholars after Demetrius's death which took place about 165 B.C., he may have, at best, been a later contemporary of Pushyamitra, and could not have been the Yavana king invading Madhyadesa and eastern India in the first quarter of the second century B.C. It may of course be suggested that Pushyamitra had (y fight with the Yavanas, first under Demetrius before and soon after his accession, and for a second time under Menander about the close of his reign. There is, however, an Indian tradition which seems to assign Menander to a date later than the end of Pushyamitra's rule. According to the Buddhist traditions of

north-western India as recorded in the Milinda-panha, Menander flourished 500 years after the Parinirvana, i.e. in the sixth century after Buddha's death. 1

Other authorities have suggested that Menander was a later contemporary of Eucratides, because “some of their square copper coins are so similar in style that they may reasonably be assigned not only to the same general period, but also to the same region—a region which must have passed from one rule to other.” But similarity or dissimilarity of coin types appears to be due more to local and other reasons than to contemporaneity. As Menander probably flourished after the immediate successors of Demetrius, namely, Apollodotus, Agathocles and Antimachus, who fought with Eucratides, the beginning of his rule has to be assigned to a date later than the middle of the second century B.C. If it be true that he succeeded in establishing his suzerainty over all other Indo-Greek potentates of his time, the absence of Bactrian issues would rather place his reign after the Yavanas had lost Bactria and probably also Drangiana and parts of Arachosia.

The wide extent of Menander’s dominions is indicated by the great variety and wide distribution of his coins which are found in large numbers not only in the valleys of the Kabul and the Sindhu but also in the western districts of the U. P. His coins again are known to have been current in Kathiawar in the first century A.D. According to a tradition ascribed to Apollodorus of Artemita, Menander “crossed the Hyphanis to the east and reached the Isamus.” The Hyphanis is very probably the same as the Hyphasis or the Beas, while Isarmis seems td be the Greek corruption of Prakrit Ichchumal (Sanskrit Ikshumati), a river of the Panchala country often identified with the modern KallnadI running through Kumaun, Rohilkhand and the Kanauj region.

The Shinkot steatite casket containing two groups of KharoshthI inscriptions, the earlier of them referring to the reign of Menander, was discovered in the Bajaur tribal territory about twenty miles to

1. Hiuen Tsang speaks of four different traditions about the epoch of the Parinirvana, viz. (1) about the end of the 3rd century B.C., (2) about the middle of the 6th century B.C., (3) about the middle of the 7th century B.C. and (4) about the middle of the 9th century B.C. The first, second and fourth epochs are either too early or too late for Menander. The third epoch would place the Yavana king between the middle of the second and the middle of

the first century B.C. It is interesting to note in this connection that Kielhorn suggested an epoch of the Parinirvana falling in 638 B.C.'with which the astronomical details of the date of an inscription (List of Northern Ins. No. 575) work out satisfactorily.

THE YAVANAS

the west ot the confluence of the Panjkora and the Swat. Some relics of Sakyamuni Buddha are said to have been installed in the casket for worship first by a prince named Viyakamitra, apparently a feuda- ‘ tory of Menander, and afterwards by a chief named Vijayamitra who may have been the son or grandson of Viyakamitra. 1 The discovery of the Shinkot record points to Menander’s hold over the Peshawar region and possibly also over the upper Kabul valley. There could therefore have been no independent Yavana ruler at Takshasila and Pushkalavati during this period. Member’s dominions appear to have comprised the central parts of Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province, the Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and Kathiawar, and probably also a portion of the western U.P.

2. Antialcidas

Besides Menander another Indo-Greek king is prominently mentioned in an Indian epigraphic record found at Besnagar. The inscription records the erection of a garuda-dhvaja (a column with its capital adorned by the figure of Garuda) in honour of Lord Vasudeva, by a Yavana of Taxila named Heliodorus who had become a bhaga vata (devotee of Vasudeva or Vishnu) and had come to the court of Rajan Kautslputra Bhagabhadra in his 14th regnal year as an envoy of Maharaja Arhtalikita, no doubt the same as Antialcidas known from coins. It is usually believed that the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas had his headquarters at Taxila which was the home of his ambassador. He is also supposed to have belonged to the Eucratidian house and to have been the successor of Eucratides in Kapisa region as he is known to have issued coins with the type of the city divinity of Kapisi, 2 with which Eucratides restruck the coins of Apollodotus. It may be pointed out in this connection that the dominions of the Eucratidian princes are supposed to have comprised a number of

Note 14

Note 15

kingdoms including Kapisa, Pushkalavatl and Takshasila, which have been identified from their coin types. 1

Antialcidas's relation with Heliocles, son of Eucratides, is indicated by the common coin-type—bust of king on the obverse and elephant on the reverse—with which Heliocles restruck the coins of Agathocleia and Strato I. Sometimes it is even conjectured that Antialcidas was the son.of Heliocles and grandson of Eucratides. But on some coins, whose origin is attributed to the Takshasila region, Antialcidas is associated with a senior ruler named Lysias who was probably his father. Lysias's rule seems to have intervened between the reign of Heliocles and that of Antialcidas. Although it is often suggested that these princes may have been ruling at the same time (about the middle of the second century B.C.) in different provinces like Kapisa, Pushkalavatl and Takshasila, there is reason to believe that Antialcidas has to be assigned to a little later date.

We have seen that an embassy of Antialcidas was received at the court of Vidisa in the fourteenth regnal year of king Bhagabhadra. As this corresponds to about 113 B.C., 2 the Indo-Greek king seems to have been reigning about this time. It is not improbable that Antialcidas sought the friendship of the Indian king in his struggle against the contemporary Euthydemian monarch Menander who, as we have seen, must have subdued the Eucratidian princes in the Taxila and Pushkalavatl regions.

3. End of Yavana Rule in India

There is an interesting group of Yavana rulers known only from their coins. They very probably belonged to the house of Euthydemus and Demetrius. Some of the coins were issued by a queen named Agathocleia jointly with a king of junior rank called Strato. Scholars have suggested that these coins were struck when the queen was ruling as regent during the minority of Strato who was probably her son. Strato, called So ter, afterwards ruled alone and issued coins with his' own name only; but at the fag end of his long life, he is found associated on some coins with another ruler

Note 16

Note 17

of inferior rank called Strato Philopater who was his potra (Sanskrit pautra), i.e. son’s son. It has been suggested on the basis of the similarity of names and coin-types Jhat Agathocleia, mother of Strato I Soter, was the daughter of king Agathocles and the wife of king Menander. Although there is nothing absurd in the suggestion itself, it has to be admitted that even if it were not irreconcilable with the date of Menander accepted in these pages, it would go against the evidence of the coins of Agathocleia and Strato I restruck by Heliocles with his own devices. This Heliocles is usually believed to have been the son of Eucratides who, however, seems to have ruled earlier than Lysias and Antialcidas and probably also Menander. But the difficulty is explained if we regard Heliocles, contemporary of Agathocleia and Strato I, as a later Eucratidian prince, probably a successor of Antialcidas, and not the same as Eucratides’s son who ruled about the third quarter of the second century B.C. A king named Archebius, sometimes associated with the Taxila region, was connected with or ruled contemporaneously with Heliocles who may have been the earlier or later prince of that name.

After Menander’s death, his descendants probably lost their h61d on Gandhara and Afghanistan. Agathocleia and Strato I appear to have ruled only over the eastern part of the Punjab. The facts that Strato I possibly began to rule as a minor and that his latest coins represent him as a very old man with sunken cheeks go to suggest that his reign covered a period of more than half a century. Thus Strato I appears to have ended his rule not much earlier than 30 B.C. The later Euthydemian princes, viz. Dionysius, Zoilus, Apollophanes, Hippostratus and Apollodotus (II or IH) may be roughly assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C., and Hippostratus and Apollodotus, whose coins were restruck by the Saka king Azes I (c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 30) may have actually been descendants of Strato I.

The debased style of the latest issues of Strato I and the joint issues of Strato I and Strato II point to the evil days that befell the princes of the Euthydemian house. The ‘Athene Promachos* type of the coins of the rulers of this family was imitated not only by Scythian satraps like

Ranjuvula but also by Indian kings like Bhadrayasas, who may have had some share in the overthrow of the Yavanas of the eastern Punjab. A Yavana-raja, whose name is sometimes doubtfully read as Dimita in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, seems to have flourished about the close of the first

century B.C. The record refers to Mathura which probably formed a part of his kingdom. Nothing definite is known about the Yavana possessions of western India during this period; but large parts of those regions must have been overrun by the Sakas of East Iran before the closing years of the first century B.C. Gandhara and Afghanistan were apparently in the possession of princes of the Eucratidian house. Amongst them Diomedes, Epander, Philoxenus, Artemidorus and Peucolaus may probably be associated with the city of Pushkalavatl, which seems to have been the provenance of coins with the humped bull on the reverse.

An interesting coin-type actually represents on the obverse the city goddess of Pushkalavatl (pakhalavadi-devada) wearing a mural crown and holding a lotus (pushkala) in her right hand, and on the reverse the Indian bull. The Eucratidian princes of the Takshasila and Pushkalavatl regions were ousted by the Sakas of the lower Sindhu valley under their king Maues (c. 20 B.C.-A.D. 22) about the beginning of the first century A.D. Maues imitated the ‘Artemis: Indian bull 5 type of the coins of king Artemidorus, probably of Pushkalavatl.

Another branch of the house of Eucratides was possibly represented by Amyntas and Hermaeus who appear to have held sway over the Kafiristan and Kabul regions. Hermaeus is found associated on some coins with his wife Calliope whose marriage, if she was really an Euthydemid princess, may have been the result of a peace ending the struggles between the houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides. On some other coins of Hermaeus, he is found to be in association with the Yueh-chi or Kushana chief Kujula Kadphises, who probably acknowledged, during the earlier part of his eventful career, the suzerainty of the Yavana king. We have already referred to the occupation of Bactria first by the &akas and then by the Yuehchi. It will be seen from our subsequent discussion on the Kushanas that, about the time of Kujula Kadphises, the Yueh-chi were in actual possession of parts of the Kabul District. Hermaeus who flourished in the first half of the first century A.D. was the last Yavana king of the Kabul valley which soon passed to the Parthians and then to the Kushanas.

Reference has already been made to the extension of Parthian power up to the lower Sindhu during the reign of Mithradates I about the middle of the second century B.C. About a century later eastern Iran (the Drangiana or Seistan country), originally governed by the viceroys of the Parthian emperors, became an independent kingdom. Arachosia (Kandahar region in southern Afghanistan) formed a province of this new kingdom and must have passed from the Greeks to the Parthians long before the time of Hermaeus, probably in the reign of Mithradates I himself. As will be shown in the next chapter, the Parthian king Gondophemes (c. A.D. 21-50), originally a ruler of Arachosia, extirpated Yavana rule from the Kabul region; but soon after the Parthians were themselves overthrown by the Kushanas about the middle of the first century A.D.

We have traced above the gradual disappearance of Yavana suzerainty from Bactria, north-western India and Afghanistan. But the relation of the Yavanas with Indian politics did not end with the establishment of Scytho-Parthian and Kushana supremacy. There is evidence to show that the services of qualified Yavanas were gladly accepted by the new lords of the land. There must have also existed numerous petty principalities under Yavana chiefs acknowledging the suzerainty of the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushanas. The Satavahana king Gautamlputra Satakarni (c. A.D. 106-30) claims to have come into conflict with the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas. The territory of these Yavanas probably lay not far from Kathiawar and Malwa, which formed the northern provinces of Gautamiputra’s dominions. The same Yavana principality is probably referred to in the Raghuvamsa by Kalidasa who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. While describing Raghu’s dig-vijay a, Kalidasa places the country of the Yavanas on the land-route from Aparanta (northern Konkan) to the land of the Parasikas (i.c. Persia), probably in the lower valley of the Sindhu. A Nagarjunikon<Ja inscription of the second half of the third century A.D. refers to the Yavana

country which, among other lands, was visited by some Ceylonese nuns; but in this case we cannot be sure that the reference is not to the Graeco-Roman colonies that existed in the Far South of India in the early centuries of the Christian era. 1

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Note 18

CHAPTER VIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. India had five traditional divisions, the largest of which was Dakshinatya or Dakshinapatha, indicating that part of the country which lies to the south of the Vindhyan range or of the Narmada. Madhya-desa comprised the central part of northern India lying between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between Allahabad or Banaras in the east and some locality like Prithudaka (Pehoa) in the eastern Punjab in the west. North-western India including the adjoining region of Central Asia v/as called Uttarapatha, which was sometimes used in a wider sense to indicate the whole .of Aryavarta or northern India. Prachya or Purvadesa lay to the east of Allahabad or Banaras, while Aparanta or Paschaddesa was the land to the west of Devasabha, which is the same as modern Dewas, about 25 miles to the south-east of Ujjain. In a narrow sense Aparanta indicated only the northern part of the Konkan with its capital at Surparaka, modern Sopara in Thana District.
2. 2. The Muslim rulers of India are often called Yavana, but sometimes also §aka or even Yavana-Saka in medieval inscriptions.
3. 1. Greek soldiers and officials are actually known to have been a very important element in the Achaemenian administration. The traditions of the fourth century B.C. regarding ancient Greek colonists at Nysa may probably be explained by assuming the appointment of Greeks in the Indian districts of file Achaemenian empire.
4. 2. The name of Kandahar is a corruption of Greek Alexandria and has nothing to do with Gandhdra as is sometimes believed.
5. 1 This marriage seems to have actually taken place, as king Agathocles (a son of Demetrius?) of the house of Euthydemus and Demetrius is known to have claimed descent from ‘Antiochus the conqueror’.
6. 1. The name Ariana appears to be associated with Iran and apparently also with Aria (modern Herat region). Ariana usually embraced the provinces of Parthia (Khorasan), Aria, the Paropanisadae (Kabul region), Arachosia (district round Kandahar), Drangiana (Seistan), Gedrosia (Baluchistan) and Carmania (Kirman). Some writers think that by Ariana only Aria and Arachosia were meant.

7. 2. While describing these regions the author of the Periplus says: “In these places there remain even to the present time signs of the expedition of Alexander such as ancient shrines, walls of forts and great wells”. Although Alexander did not penetrate so far south as Kathiawar, this region came into contact with the Greeks as early as the time of Aioka’s Yavana governor Tushaspha. The author of the Periplus also speaks of later Indo-Grcek rulers such as Apollodolus and Menander whose coins were in use in his time at Broach,
8. 1. The passage seems to indicate that the Yavanas blockaded the city by a mud wall and confusion set in throughout the dominions.
9. 2. The expulsion of the Greeks from the eastern part of the Punjab and the adjoining region is indicated by references in the Malavikagnimitra and Dxvyavadana mentioned above (pp. 96-97).
10. 3. Dr. P. C. Bagchi equates Demetrius with Krimisa. the Yaksha, who destroyed Pushyamitra, according to a story in the Divyavaddna (IHQ XXII, 81 ff).
11. 4. Inhabitants of this famous city which seems to have been founded in the vicinity of the ancient Pa tala, capital of Patalene, near modern Brahmanabad (six miles to the west of Mansuriya in Sind), are often referred to in Indian literary and epigraphic texts as Dattdmitriyaka (Ddtdmitlyaka in Prakrit).
12. 1. Tam, with his usual power of imagination, conjectures that Laodice, mother of Eucratides, was a daughter of Seleucus II and a sister of Antiochus III. He further assumes that Eucratides was originally the governor of the Upper satrapies under his first cousin Antiochus IV and fought with the Euthydemians on the latter's behalf.
13. 2. Tam’s conjecture that Eucratides was killed by a son of Demetrius may not be unwarranted. Cf. certain medieval European traditions regarding Eucratides’s death quoted in JRAS, 1950, pp. 7-13.
14. 1. EL XXIV, 7; Sel. Ins. I, pp. 102-04; N1A, January 1940, pp. 639-48; NumChron. 1944, pp. 99-104. The intervening period between the establishment of the relics by Viyakamitra and its re-establishment by Vijayamitra was estimated by N. G. Majumdar to be about half a century and by the writer of these pages to be only a few years. But the recent discovery of coins of Indravarman, son of Vijayamitra, and his identification with Xndravarman, father of Aspavarman who was a feudatory of Azes II (c. A.D. 35-79), suggest that Majumdar is right.

Sten Konow’s theory' that the relics were established by Menander and that Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra are identical is quite unconvincing.

15. 2. The KdpisI coins of Eucratides have on the reverse the legend Kavisiye nagaradevata and the representation of enthroned Zeus with the forepart of an elephant in the left and a mountain symbol in the right. Zeus in this case no doubt stands for the Indian god Indra, who was therefore the tutelary deity of the capital city Kapisa. In Indian tradition, Indra is associated with the elephant called Airavata and the mountain of gold known as the Sumeru.
16. 1. While the ‘city goddess and Indian bull’ is the type of the Pushkalavatl coins, the ‘pilei (caps) of the Dioscuri’ is associated with the city of Takshasila. Similarly ‘ox-head’ is regarded as the type of Bucephala and ‘Nice to right’ that of the city of Nicaea.
17. 2. As, according to the Puranas, the first four kings of the 6unga dynasty ruled for 61 years, the fifth king Bhagabhadra, called Bhadraka in some Puranic texts, seems to have ascended the throne 61 years after Pushyamitra’s accession (about 187 B.C.), i e. about 126 B.C. His fourteenth regnal year thus seems to correspond to c. 113 B.C. See above, p. 98.
18. 1. Rajasekhara’s Kavyaimmamsu (first half of the tenth century) locates the Yavanas in the western division of India near about Brahmanavaha (Brahmanabad in Sind). Whether, however, the reference is to the inhabitants of an ancient Greek settlement or to the Arab conquerors of Sind and Multan cannot be definitely determined.

THE SAKAS AND THE PAHLAVAS

I. SAKA SETTLEMENTS

In the lists of foreigners who played an important part in Indian politics, the literary and epigraphic texts of ancient India often mention the Sakas (Scythians) and the Pahlavas (Parthians) together with the Yavanas (Greeks). As a result of tribal movements as well as of the aggression of neighbours, the Scythians, who were originally a tribe of Central Asian nomads, appear to have founded various settlements in different regions even in very ancient times. In the records of the early emperors of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia, reference is made to no less than three settlements of the Sakas who were subjects of the Achaemenids. These were the Saka Tigrakhauda (Sakas with pointed helmets), Saka Haumavarga and Saka Taradaraya (Sakas over, or beyond, the sea). The Sakas with pointed helmets are probably also referred to in the Achaemenian records as those who lived beyond Suguda or Sogdiana (modern Bukhara region) and in the work of Herodotus as the neighbours of the Bactrians. 1 They are supposed to have lived in the plains of the Jaxartes or Syr Darya "of which the modern capital is the city of Turkestan." 2 The Saka Haumavarga have been identified by Thomas with the Scythian settlers of Drangiana in the Helmund valley, which afterwards came to be known as Sakastan (the land of the Sakas; Sanskrit Sakasthdna; medieval Sijistan ; modern SeAstdn) The Sakas of the land beyond the sea are usually believed to have been those who dwelt in the Russian steppes to the north of the Black Sea.

As regards the Saka settlement in eastern Iran, some scholars believe that after the dispersal of the Saka tribes from the Oxus valley by the Yueh-chi, their main movement, checked by the Greek kingdom of Kabul, went westwards in the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan. It is further pointed out that the tide must have been actually flowing from the time when the Sakas

Note 1

Note 2

had been displaced by the Yueh-chi from their home beyond the Jaxartes in the second century B.C. The Parthian emperors who were then in possession of eastern Iran struggled hard with the Scythians, and Phraates II (138-128 B.C.) and Artabanus I (128-123 B.C.) lost their lives in the strife. It was Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) who finally subdued the &akas. The tide of Scythian movement, thus checked by the Parthians, ultimately flowed towards the valley of the Sindhu But many of the &aka chiefs appear to have accepted the suzerainty of Parthia. It is again probable that some of the Saka chieftains entered the Parthian army and came to eastern Iran in the train of the Parthian governors of those regions.

There is no doubt that £aka occupation of the western part of Northern India was principally the work of the Sakas of eastern Iran. It is interesting to note that the name of Sakastan in Iran and of its capital, the city of Min, which are mentioned by Isidor of Charax about the beginning of the first century A.D., are both found also in India. The Periplus (c. A.D. 70-80) mentions the district of Scythia, from which flows down the river Sinthus (Sindhu), and its capital Min-nagara. 1 The same district is also known from the Geography of Ptolemy (c. A.D. 140) as Indo-Scythia, i.e. the Indian Sakastan, which comprised Patalene (the Sindhu delta), Abiria (Abhira country between Scythia on the lower Sindhu and the coast country of Surastrene according to the Periplus) and Surastrene (Saurashtra).

The nomenclature of the early Sakas in India shows an admixture of Scythian, Parthian and Iranian elements. This no doubt suggests that the Sakas, before their entry into India, lived for a considerable period of time in the Iranian Sakastan under Parthian rulers, when they must have also received a good deal of admixture of blood. In India the Scythians soon adapted themselves to their new environs and began to adopt Indian names and religious beliefs. They are also known to have contracted matrimonial relations with Indian families. It is therefore no wonder that as early as the time of Patanjali’s Mahdbhdshya, 2 the &akas, like the Yavanas or

Note 3

Note 4

Greeks, found a place in the Indian society as the aniravasita (clean) dr a. The Manusamhita recognises not only the Yavanas and Sakas but also the Pahlavas and Paradas[1] as degraded Kshatriyas.

For the early history of Sakas we are specially indebted to the Chinese and classical writers. The Chinese encyclopaedia of Ma-twan-lin (thirteenth century) observes: "In ancient times the Hiung-nu having defeated the Yueh-chi, the latter went to the west to dwell among the Ta-hia, and the king of the Sai (the 6akas) went southwards to live in Ki-pin. The tribes of the Sai divided and dispersed, so as to form here and there different kingdoms." According to the Ts'ien-Han-shu (History of the First Han Dynasty) also, "formerly when the Hiung-nu conquered the Ta-Yueh-chi (the Great Yueh-chi) the latter emigrated to the west and subjugated the Ta-hia; whereupon the Sai-wang (the Saka king) went to the south and ruled over Ki-pin."

The suggestion of scholars that by Ta-hia the Chinese indicated the kingdom of Bactria seem to be justifiable; but the Chinese name might actually represent the Tukhara country, which probably formed a northern province of Bactria.[2] The &akas were thus successively driven by the Yueh-chi from the valley of the Jaxartes to that of the Oxus, and thence to Ki-pin.[3] The location of Ki-pin is difficult to determine, some scholars favouring its identification with Kapisa (Kafiristan) and others with Kashmir. It is not improbable that Ki-pin of the Chinese vaguely indicated the wide region known in earlier times as the Maha-janapada of Kamboja which, as noted above,[4] seems to have extended from the Rajauri valley in Kashmir in the east to Kafiristan in the west. As, however, Ki-pin is placed to the south of Ta-hia, the land actually indicated appears to be in the Kafiristan region.

The earliest &aka ruler of Ki-pin known from Chinese sources is Wu-t'ou-lao whose son was ousted, with Chinese help by Yin-mofu, son of the prince of Yung-kli. Yin-mo-fu, the Scythian king of Ki-pin, was a contemporary of the Chinese emperor Hsiian-ti (73-48 B.C.) and Yiian-ti (48-33 B.C.). His successor seems to have sought without success the help of the Chinese emperor against the

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

Yueh-chi. The relations of the &akas of the Ki-pin country, mentioned by the Chinese, with India proper as well as with the gakas of eastern Iran, who occupied wide regions of western and northwestern India, are unknown.

II. VONONES AND HIS FAMILY

We have already referred to the Parthian conquest of eastern Iran and the adjoining parts of India under Mithradates I. Direct control of these lands by the government of Ctesiphon (the Parthian capital on the left bank of the Tigris not far from modern Baghdad), however, lasted only for a short time. The struggle of the Parthians with the Scythians, in which two of their emperors lost their lives, must have led to relaxation of the grip of the central Parthian government on the remote provinces. This naturally led to the establishment of independent or semi-independent states in the eastern part of the empire under the leadership of governors of Parthian or Scythian or mixed Scytho-Parthian nationality. 1

The earliest local Parthian ruler of east Iran, who known from his coins to have assumed the imperial title “great king of kings’’, was Vonones (Persian Vandna). It has been pointed out that amongst the Parthian emperors the above title was for the first time assumed by Mithradates II (123-88 B.C.) 2 and that, therefore, Vonones, who may have originally been the viceroy of Drangiana (east Iran), must have flourished after that monarch. The name of Vonones is Parthian, but his brothers (probably step-brothers by the Scythian wives of his father) bore names having Persian and Scythian features. Vonones seems to -have ruled southern Afghanistan and the eastern parts of his dominions through viceroys.

An interesting feature of the coins of Vonones’ family is the association of the suzerain, the “great king of kings”, whose name is given in the Greek legend on the obverse, with the viceroy whose name occurs in the

Kharoshthi legend on the reverse. Sometimes two subordinate rulers are similarly associated, the name of the senior one occupying the obverse of the coins and that of the junior the reverse. The family relations between the king whose name

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

occupies the obverse and the ruler who is mentioned on the reverse are often indicated in the coin-legends. Vonones, the great king of kings, is seen to have ruled conjointly with his brother or stepbrother Spalahora and his nephew Spalagadama, son of Spalahora. Spalahora and his son probably ruled over Arachosia (southern Afghanistan). On the early coins of another ruler named Spalirises (Spalirisha) the prince is described, without any royal title, as the brother of the king who is usually identified by numismatists with Vonones.

If this identification is to be accepted, Spalirises was another brother or step-brother of Vonones and ruled as the latter's viceroy over a territory (probably about South Afghanistan) where the 'Zeus standing' coin-type of Heliocles prevailed. In another series of coins of the same type Spalirises, as the senior using the Greek legend on the obverse, is associated with a ruler named Aya (Azes) as the junior using the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse. Both of them bear the subordinate or viceregal title 'the great king' and were probably ruling under Vonones. Spalirises later issued coins of the type 'Zeus enthroned' (known from the issues of Heliocles Hermaeus and others) as the successor of Vonones in the suzerainty of east Iran. This type of Spalirises is sometimes found restruck on some coins of Vonones. This fact probably indicates that Vonones, in his old age, was overthrown by his younger brother or step-brother Spalirises. It is interesting to note that Spalirises is also known to have restruck some coins issued jointly by Spalyris (identified by some scholars with Spalahora) and Spalagadama, who were probably ousted by Spalirises because they were loyal to the cause of Vonones and did not submit to the usurper of his throne.

The easternmost districts of the old empire of Mithradates I appear later to have been under rulers of Saka nationality, who were probably either semi-independent viceroys owing allegiance to Vonones or subordinate allies of that king, but appear to have assumed complete independence by disregarding Spalirises' claim of suzerainty after his usurpation of Vonones' throne. The earliest independent Scythian king of Indo-Scythia seems to have been Mauses (Moa, Moga) who is not only known from his coins but also from a Taxila inscription dated in the year 78 of an era apparently of Scytho-Parthian institution. There is reason to believe that the origin of the era was associated with Vonones, the founder of an independent kingdom in Drangiana, and that it was carried to India by the Scythians and ultimately after many centuries came to be

known as the Vikrama-Sarhvat. 1 Vonones seems to have begun his viceregal career in 58 B.C., the epoch of this era, quite early in life. Later he assumed independence and probably ended his career about 18 B.C. He was succeeded in the sovereignty of eastern Iran by his brother or step-brother Spalirises (c. 18-1 B.C.).

III. MAUES AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The Saka ruler Maues (c. 20 B.C.-A.D. 22) not only severed his relations with the Great King of Kings of east Iran soon after

Note 12

Note 13

Note 14

Note 15

the usurpation of Spalirises, but extended Saka suzerainty over large parts of north-western India and himself assumed the dignified title of 'great king of kings,' 1 The coins of Maues are copied from those issued by princes of both the Indo-Greek houses, the Eucratidians ruling in the upper Kabul valley and the Euthydemians in the eastern Punjab, The occupation of Gandhara by Maues, as suggested by the Taxila inscription of the year 78 of the Scytho-Parthian era, corresponding to A.D. 21 according to the system of chronology followed by us, show T s that by his conquests Maues drove a wedge between the two Indo-Greek kingdoms. Although the extirpation of the Indo-Greek kingdom of the eastern Punjab seems to have been left for his successor, the &akas extended their power, during Maues' rule, as far as Mathura in the east. The Mathura region was conquered long before the year 72, corresponding to A.D. 15, which is the date of an inscription of the time of the 6aka Mahdkshatrapa Sondasa.

Numismatic evidence suggests that Maues was succeeded by Azes (c. 5 B.C.-A.D. 30). This Azes seems to be no other than the ruler of that name who was a colleague of Spalirises in the rule of a territory about southern Afghanistan. As the conjoint rule of a king and a sub-king, of a senior and a junior ruler, and of a governor and a subordinate governor was an important characteristic of Scythian rule in India, and as the relation was not usually indicated when the junior or subordinate ruler was the son of the senior ruler or sovereign, it has been suggested that Azes was the son of Spalirises. If this suggestion is accepted, it has to be assumed that Azes became the 'great king of kings' of the Saka possessions in India after Maues, by virtue of conquest or more probably by some relationship that may have existed between himself and Maues. It is not improbable that Azes, son of Spalirises, was the son-in-law of Maues. Azes is known to have restruck the coins of the Euthydemian kings Apollodotus II and Hippostratus and imitated some of their distinctive monograms. The most noteworthy of his cointypes is 'Athene Promachos' on the reverse, which was, again, characteristic of the coins of Menander and his successors in the eastern Punjab. It has therefore been supposed by numismatists that Azes not only ruled over the empire of Maues but extirpated the independent rule of the Euthydemian house.

Note 16

Some coins were issued by Azes jointly with another king named Azilises. Both the rulers are styled the 'great king of kings', but the name of Azes as the senior is given in the Greek legend on the obverse and that of Azilises as the junior in the Kharoshfhi legend on the reverse. Thus Azilises (c. A.D. 28-40), who was probably the son of Azes, ruled for some time conjointly with the latter whom he ultimately succeeded on the throne. There is another group of coins on which the name of Azilises occupies the place of honour in the Greek legend on the obverse and that of Azes is given in the

Kharoshthi legend on the reverse. Most scholars now believe that this Azes (c. A.D. 35-79) was a second ruler of that name who was probably the son and successor of Azilises and ruled for some time conjointly with his predecessor. Thus, according to the chronology and order of succession followed above, the Indo-Scythian kings may be represented in a table like the following:—

1. Maues (Moa, Moga), c. 20 B.C.-A.D. 22.

2. Azes (Aya) I, c. 5 B.C.-A.D, 30; son (?) of Spalirises of east

Iran and son-in-law (?) of No. 1.

3. Azilises (Ayilisha), c. A.D. 28-40; son (?) of No. 2.

4. Azes (Aya, Aja) II, c. A.D. 35-79; son (?) of No. 3.

Some numismatists believe that Azes and Azilises are two forms of the same name, while another group of scholars suggests that Azilises I was succeeded by Azes whose successor was Azilises II. But these theories are not quite convincing. According to some writers, Azes I was the founder of the Vikrama-Samvat of 58 B.C. It is, however, more probable that the Vikrama era is identical with the Drangian reckoning that may have been started to indicate the independent status of east Iran and to oust the Arsacid era starting from 248 B.C., when Parthia itself threw off both the Seleucid yoke and the Seleucid era of 312 B.C.

Azes I, even if he was the son of Spalirises, seems to have little to do with the kingdom of east Iran. It is probable that after he had succeeded Maues in India, the relations of Azes I with Spaliries became unfriendly. The hostile relations between the two neighbouring kingdoms of Drangiana (including Seistan and Arachosia) under the Parthians (or Scytho-Parthians) and IndoScythia under the Scythians are indicated by numismatic and other evidences. According to some scholars, the 'Heracles seated' type coins of Azilises point to his direct control over the district of

southern Afghanistan. Epigraphic and numismatic records of Gondophernes (c. A.D. 21-50), the Parthian ruler of Arachosia, prove that he conquered large parts of north-western India probably during the reign of Azes II.

About the beginning of the first century A.D., when Isidor of Charax wrote, the easternmost provinces of the Parthian empire are said to have been Aria (Herat), the country of Anauoi (Farrah), Drangiana and Sakastan (the districts between the Hamun and the Helmund), and Arachosia (Kandahar), although these territories had formed a separate kingdom about the middle of the first century B.C. It is not known whether Sakastan in this case indicated the wide regions then under the sway of the Sakas. In A.D. 43-44, however, when Apollonius of Tyana visited Taxila, that region was occupied by Phraotes, no doubt a Parthian. The Periplus (c. A.D. 70-80) refers to the Parthian occupation of Min-nagara, the capital of Indo-Scythia.

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IV. GONDOPHERNES

Gondophernes (Persian Vindaphama, ‘Winner of Glory*) seems to have been originally the Parthian viceroy of Arachosia under the ‘Great King of Kings* Orthagnes (Persian Verethragna, ‘the victorious*), who was probably the successor of Spalirises on the throne of Drangiana. 1 As a viceroy Gondophernes was associated with another subordinate ruler named Guxja or Gudana whose name sometimes appears alone on some coins of Orthagnes. Gondophernes gradually extended his power in different directions and became an emperor. He used some of the coin-types of Orthagnes, which may point to his control over east Iran. The distinctive sign of Gondophernes found on his coins is sometimes found countermarked on the issues of the Parthian emperors Orodes I (57-38 B.C.) and Artabanus III (A.D. 10-40), This has been taken to indicate that he conquered certain districts of the Parthian empire.

In the north, Gondophernes seems to have ousted Hermaeus, the last Greek king of the upper Kabul valley, in spite of the help the latter received from his Kushana ally, Kujula Kadphises. As regards the Parthian occupation of Kabul, we have seen that Isidor, about the beginning of the first century, does not include that region in the list of the eastern provinces of the empire of the Parthians,

Note 17

although Philostratus refers about A.D. 43-44 to the extension of Parthian rule to this land. The Chinese historian Fan-ye seems to refer to the Parthian conquest of Kabul before its occupation by the Kushanas, i.e. about the middle of the first century A.D., when he says: "whenever any of the three kingdoms of Tien-chou (India proper) Ki-pin (Kafiristan and the adjoining eastern region) and Ngan-si (Parthia) became powerful, it brought Kabul under subjection. When it grew w r eak it. lost Kabul.Later Kabul fell

under the rule of Parthia." It seems that the rulers of the eastern provinces of the Parthian empire, even after their assumption of independence, were sometimes regarded as nominal subordinates of the Parthian emperors.

The success of Gondophernes in the Upper Kabul Valley was, however, short-lived. According to Fan-ye, Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushana king of the Yueh-ehi, occupied Kao-fu (Kabul), apparently about the middle of the first century A.D. Numismatic evidence suggests that Kujula Kadphises also extended Kushana rule over southern Afghanistan.

Gondophernes' success against the Sakas in India was more conspicuous. The discovery of a record of his reign at Takht-i-bahi in the Yusufzai territory near Mardan in the Peshawar District, coupled with the tradition of a Parthian named Phraotes ruling in Taxila in A.D. 43-44, point to the Parthian occupation of Gandhara.

King Gondophernes is associated on his coins not only with his nephew Abdagases (who never ruled independently but only as a viceroy, probably of Seistan and Kandahar), but also with his governors Sapedana and Satavastra and his stratega (Greek strategos corresponding to Sanskrit Sendpati) or military governors Aspavarman, son of Indravarman, and Sasa, son of Aspavarman's brother. The style of Sapedana and Satavastra, viz. 'great king, king of kings', possibly shows that even during the lifetime of Gondophernes, 'the great king, supreme king of kings', the allegiance of the governors was becoming nominal. Indravarman is known from his own coins on which he is described as the son of Vijayamitra, probably the chief of that name mentioned in the Shinkot or Bajaur casket inscriptions. His son Aspavarman (Sanskrit Asvavarman) is no doubt the governor of that name who is associated on some coins with Azes, apparently Azes II. It is clear that Aspavarman first ruled over a district in north-western India as a Viceroy of the Saka king Azes II and next transferred his allegiance to the Parthian conqueror Gondophernes, and that he was succeeded in the viceroyalty by his nephew Sesa (Sanskrit Sasan), who later served Pacores, the successor of Gondophernes. It, however, cannot be said that the entire Indian possession of Azes II was conquered by Gondophernes.

But the loss of the western provinces may have encouraged the feudatories ruling over other parts of the empire of Azes II to become practically independent. In this critical time, the Saka king seems to have sought the help of the Kushanas, then established in Afghanistan after having ousted the Pahlava successors of the Greeks. The Kushanas possibly gave shelter to Azes II and gradually drove out the Parthians from the Gandhara region. Kushana war-lords made extensive conquests in the western parts of northern India and the conquered lands were soon consolidated and annexed to the Kushana empire. Azes II, the protege of the Kushanas, was probably never again in actual possession of his lost kingdom.

The above outline of events leading to the establishment of Kushana domination over the Scythian possessions in India appears to be the most probable in the light of the scanty data available to us. Although it cannot be regarded as a definitely established fact, it is supported by evidence that will be more elaborately discussed in the next chapter.

The Takht-i-bahi inscription of Gondophernes is dated in the year 103 of the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era and in the year 26 of his own reign. The king thus ruled from A.D. 21 to at least up to A.D. 46. According to Christian tradition, Gudnaphar (Syriac version) or Goundaphoros (Greek vesion) was “the king of India” at whose court the Apostle Thomas was received shortly after the Crucifixion in A.D. 29 or 33, that is to say about the middle of the first century A.D. Scholars have identified this king with Gondophernes (Guduhvara of the Takht-i-bahi inscription) who has to be assigned exactly to the above epoch, if the date (year 103) of his record is referred to the Vikrama era. The Kushana occupation of the Gandhara region is indicated by the Panjtar (on the borders of the Peshawar and Hazara Districts) inscription of the year 122, and the Taxila (Rawalpindi District) inscription of the year 136, both the dates being referable to the Scytho-Parthian era and corresponding respectively to A.D. 65 and A.D. 79. The Kushanas thus

1. The story of the conversion of Gondophernes to Christianity and the martyrdom of St. Thomas is given in detail by V. A. Smith but though current as early as the 3rd century A.D., its truth is doubted by many, cf. EHI\ 246-50; CHI, I. 578.

appear to have driven out the Parthians from the Gandhara region before A.D. 65. But the most important thing to be considered in this connection is that the records do not mention any Kushana ruler by name, the Panj tar inscription referring to the rdjya, probably of a governor styled Mahdrdja Gushana (Kushana), and the Taxila inscription to a king or a semi-independent governor designated Mahdrdja Rajdtirdja Devaputra Khushana (Kushana).

It is also to be noted that the Taxila inscription is dated in the year 136 of Aya, just as the Kalawan epigraph, which does not refer to the Kushanas, is dated in the year 134 of Aja. Aya and Aja are both Indian forms of the name Azes, who in these cases must be Azes II. The name of Azes II occupies the same position in these dates as does that of Moga (Maues) in the Taxila inscription of the year 78, the only difference being that, while the name of Moga is endowed with royal titles, Azes II is mentioned without any marks of royalty. The omission of the Kushana ruler from the Kalawan record and of the personal names of the Kushana rulers in the Pan j tar and Taxila epigraphs, coupled with the mention of Azes II in two of the above epigraphs without any royal title, no doubt points to an indefinite political situation. Probably the Kushanas conquered the land behalf of Az ^ II who was now living with them as their protege; but they did not for some time formally claim to have been the actual lords of the territories. The Panjtar inscription uses the word rdjya to indicate the de facto rule of the Kushanas; but the fiction of the de jure reign of Azes II may have been restricted to certain localities and to Scythian families devoted to the Saka king. By A.D.

79, the Kushanas must have become absolute masters of large parts of northern India not only at the expense of Pacores, the successor of Gondophernes, but also of a number of independent or semi-independent Scythian and Indian princes.

A remarkable hoard of coins from Taxila was found to contain two types of Gondophernes, one of Pacores, and one of Wema Kadphises, son of the Kushana king Kujula Kadphises. The first two types bear the portrait and symbol of Gondophernes with the names respectively of his viceroys Sapedana and Satavastra who, as already noticed, are styled 'great king, king of kings' and were apparently reigning practically as independent rulers. The coins of Pacores have on the reverse the name of the 'great king' Sasa, son of Aspa's brother, who had originally been a viceroy of Gondophernes, the predecessor of Pacores. The find of the coins of

Wema Kadphises, "the great king, supreme king of kings, the Kushana chief", along with those of Gondophernes and Pacores may be regarded as indicating the extirpation of Parthian rule from the Taxila region by the Kushanas.

The exact relation of Gondophernes with Phraotes, apparently a Parthian whom Apollonius of Tyana is said to have seen, according to Philostratus, in possession of Taxila in A.D. 43-44, is unknown. Phraotes was not only independent of the Parthian emperor Vardanes (c. A.D. 39-47) but was himself powerful enough to exercise suzerain power over the satrap of the Sindhu valley. It seems that Phraotes was for some time the semi-independent governor of Gandhara under Gondophernes. Philostratus refers to the perpetual quarrel of the "barbarians" (no doubt the Kushanas) with the Parthian king of the Indian -borderland. That Parthian rule continued in the lower Sindhu valley as late as the eighth decade of the first century A.D. is evidenced by the Periplus which says: "Before it (Barbaricum on the principal mouth of the Sindhu) there lies a small island and inland behind it is the metropolis of Scythia, Min-nagara; it is subject to Parthian princes who are constantly driving each other out."

A Parthian king, known from his coins with a purely Greek legend, was Sanabares, who probably ruled in east Iran as a successor of Pacores. Some coins discovered in the Jhelum District have been attributed to the son of a chief named Bagapharna, probably an Indo-Parthian. Numismatic source discloses the name of an Indo-Scythian king called Athama who is supposed to have belonged to the family of Azes II. Athama, however, w T as a subordinate ruler. Some other rulers known from their coins may be mentioned in this connection. They are Miaus or Heraus, Arsaces Theos, Arsaces Dicaius, Hyrcodes, Sapaleizes and Phseigacharis. But nothing definite is known about their history and nationality.

V. THE SATRAPAL FAMILIES

The word Satrap, meaning a provincial governor, is derived from pseudo-Sanskrit Kshatrapa (Prakrit Chhatrava , Chhatrapa , cf. the pseudo-Sanskrit royal title Chhatrapati) , which is the same as old-Persian Kshathrapdvan. In India a more dignified title Malukshatrapa, Great Satrap, was coined in the same way as Rajan and Maharaja. In the Indo-Scythian administration there is reference not only to the joint rule of two kings, but also of two Kshatrapas as well as of a Maha-kshatrapa and a Kshatrapa (cf. the joint rule of the Rdjan and the Yuvamja in ancient Indian administration). Some of the satraps who may have been military governors were styled Stratega (Greek Strategos; cf. the other satrapal title Meridarkha, Greek Meridarch),

We have already referred to the Satrap Aspavarman, son of Indravarman, serving under Azes II and Gondophernes, and to Aspa's nephew Sasa who served under Gondophernes, and Pacores. Mention has also been made of Sapedana and Satavastra who ruled over an Indian district as semi-independent viceroys of Gondopheres. All these satraps are usually assigned to the Taxila region, although the provenance of coins can hardly be regarded as a very satisfactory evidence in this respect. 1

An earlier satrap, Associated with Taxila, is toe Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, who probably belonged to the Kshaharata family and ruled over the district of Chukhsa (modern Chach, north-west of Taxila) as a viceroy of Moga (Maues) in the year 78 (A.D. 21). His son was the Maha-ddnapati Patika. A Mahakshatrapa named Kusulaa Padika (he. Patika Kusuluka) and a

Kshatrapa nam^d Mevaki Hiyika are mentioned in the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions of the time of Mahakshatrapa Ranj uvula and his son Kshatrapa

Sondasa. 2 • •

As Sondasa is styled a Mahakshatrapa (to which position he must have attained after his father’s death) in another Mathura inscription of the year 72 (A.D. 15), the Lion Capital epigraphs*have to be assigned to a slightly earlier date. Probably about A.D. 10* The Mahakshatrapa Patika Kusuluka, known from the Lion Capital records, therefore, cannot be identified with the Mahadanapati Patika, son of the Mahakshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka mentioned in the Taxila inscription of A.D. 21, even if the Mahadanapati became a Mahakshatrapa after his father’s death. It is not improbable that Patika Kusuluka of the Mathura inscriptions was the father of Liaka Kusuluka and the grandfather of Patika of the Taxila record. The satrapal houses of Taxila and Mathura were possibly related to each other.

Another Kshatrapa, connected with the western Punjab, was Zeionises (Jihunia), son of the Kshatrapa Manigula, who is known

Note 18

Note 19

from his coins and is supposed on numismatic grounds to have been a contemporary of Azes II. A Taxila inscription of the year 191 (A.D. 134), refers to a Kshatrapa of Chuksha named Jihonika (Zeionises) who was probably the son of a Maharaja, whose name cannot be read. Sten Konow’s suggestion that Jihonika was the son of a brother of Azes II is based on a conjectural restoration of a defaced portion of the inscription. Zeionises of the Taxila record was probably a grandson of Zeionises, son of Manigula. An inscription from Manikiala mentions a Kshatrapa. probably of Kapisi (capital of Kaisa in Kafiristan) He was the son of another Kshatrapa whose name, sometimes read as Granavhryaka, is doubtful. A Kshtrapa named §ivasena is known from a copper seal discovered in the Punjab. His ascription to the city of Abhisaraprastha is based on a conjectural reading. It is probable that these satraps were all viceroys of the Kushanas.

Another Kshatrapa named Kharaosta or Prakharaosta, son of Arta is known from his coins. He is usually identified with the Yuvardja Kharaosta who was related to the satrapal house of Mathura and is mentioned in the Mathura Lion Capital inscriptions. He was probably the son of a daughter of Maha-kshatrapa Ranjuvula. Sten Konow's suggestion that Kharaosta was the father-in-law of Ranjuvula and that he was inheritor to the position of 'king of kings' after Moga does not appear to be convincing.

Mathura, capital of the ancient Surasena Mahd-janapada, probably became the headquarters of a satrapal family of Sakas as early as the time of Maues. The earliest Scythian Kshatrapa of Mathura seems to have been Ranj uvula who first ruled as a Kshatrapa, and then as a Mahakshatrapa jointly with his son Sondasa as Kshatrapa. 1 The Kshatrapa Soncjasa became a Mahakshatrapa after his father's death. A Mathura inscription of the time of the Mahakshatrapa Sondasa is dated in the year 72 of the Scytho-Parthian or Vikrama era corresponding to A.D. 15. Some scholars refer the date to the Saka era of A.D. 78. But this is improbable if the Saka-kala is identified with Kanishka's reckoning.

Note 20

An interesting fact about Rahj uvula and Son^lasa is that no overlord is mentioned in the records of their time. On his coins Ranj uvula is represented in the Kharoshth! legend as the apratihatackakra Kshatrapa and in the corrupt Greek legend as Basilei Basileds Soteros, probably indicating 'king of kings, the saviour*. These satraps therefore appear to have ruled the easternmost province of the Saka empire as semi-independent chiefs. On coins issued by Sondasa as a Kshatrapa he is represented as the son of Ranj uvula or of the Mahakshatrapa.

There are some coins of a Kshatrapa named Taranadasa or Bharanadasa. who was also the son of a Mahakshatrapa. This ruler may have been a son of §on<Jasa. A later Kshatrapa of Mathura was Hagana who issued coins jontly with another Kshatrapa named Hagamasha. Coins issued by Kshatrapa Hagamasha alone are fairly common. A satrap named Ghataka,

who belonged to the Kshaharata family, is known from an inscription found at Ganeshra near Mathura. His relations with other satraps of the locality are unknown. We have also coins of two Kshatrapas named Sivaghosha and Sivadatta, who were probably Hinduised Sakas. The Scythian satrapal dynasty of Mathura seems to have been overthrown by the Kushana king Kanishka about the beginning of his career.

The suzerainty of the Kushanas in India, who supplanted that of the Scytho-Parthians, however, did not totally uproot the numerous Saka principalities under subordinate chiefs. We have already seen that even in the second quarter of the second century A.D. when Ptolemy wrote his Geography, the principal Indo-Scythian possessions, apparently under the sovereign rule of the Kushanas, covered large parts of Western India including the lower Sindhu valley and Saurashtra. The Saka satraps of Western India, owing allegiance to the Kushanas, continued to rule in those regions for a long time after the decline of the Kushana imperial power in India. It will, therefore, be convenient to discuss their history in a later chapter along with that of the other states that flourished on the ruins of the Kushana empire.

CHAPTER IX

Chapter Notes

1. 1. According to Arrian, a chief named Mauaces or Mavaces (i.e. Maues) who led the Sacians (Sakas), a Scythian tribe dwelling in Asia not far from Bactria and Sogdiana, was an ally of Darius III.
2. 2. PHAI. 358.
3. 1. The Periplus refers to another Min-nagara which was the capital of the Scytho-Parthian king Mambarus. For this ruler, see the section, on the Scythian rule in western India.
4. 2. Patanjali was a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga (c. 187-151 B.C.); but his work, which appears to have undergone revisions at the hands of later grammarians of the same school, probably contains some interpolations. As the &akas could have got a place in Indian society only some time after their advent into India, the Mahdbhdshya passage in question may be a later addition to Patanjali's work. See IHQ. March, 1929, pp. 38 ff.
5. 1. The Pahlavas (from old Persian Parthava) are regarded as the Parthians; but when the Paradas (apparently, the Parthians) are separately mentioned, the term Pahlava possibly indicates the Sassanians or Persians in general.
6. 2. According to early Muslim authors, Tukharistan usually indicated the old Bactria to the south of the Oxus; but, properly speaking, it was the mountainous country on both sides of the river as far as Badakhshan. See J. Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, Calcutta, 1927, p. 470.
7. 3. See above, Ch. VII, §5.
8. 4. See p. 15.
9. 1. Thomas says: "It would seem probable that the tribes from eastern Iran who invaded India included diverse elements mingled indistinguishably together, so that it is not possible to assert that one dynasty was definitely Parthian while another was 6aka." (JRAS, 1906, p. 215.)
10. 2. Cf. CHI, I. 567.
11. 1*28
12. 1. Early Indian rulers used to date their records according to their own regnal reckoning, which fact points to the absence of any popular era

in ancient India. The use of an era is first noticed in India in the records of the Scytho-Parthians and the Kushanas who were no doubt responsible for its popularisation in this country. It is interesting to note that these foreigners entered India through lands where the use of two of the earliest eras in the history of the world—the Seleucid era of 312 B.C. and the Arsacid (Parthian) era of 248 B.C. —must have been quite familiar.

13. As, moreover, the name of the month in the date of the Taxila inscription of 78 is Parthian, it has been suggested that the era is of Parthian origin and that it probably marks the establishment of a new kingdom in east Iran (cf. CHI, I, 570). It is therefore quite probable that the first year of the reign of Vonones, the earliest independent Parthian ruler of Drangiana, came to be regarded as the beginning of a new reckoning that was instituted to oust tfte imperial Parthian era of 248 B.C. As Vonones seems to have flourished about the middle of the first century B.C., it is not unreasonable to place his accession in 58 B.C. which is the epoch of the earliest extant Indian reckoning of a historical character.
14. It is thus possible that the Scytho-Parthian era starting from the accession of Vonones about the middle of the first century B.C. is no other than the so-called Vikrama-Samvat of 58 B.C., which was known in early times as the Krita era or the reckoning associated with the republic of the Malava tribe. The Malavas originally lived in the Punjab and apparently submitted to the Greek and Scytho-Parthian conquerors of that land. Under foreign pressure, they gradually migrated to Rajputana and ruled over the district round Nagar (ancient Malava-nagara) in old Jaipur State. Ultimately they gave their name to Malwa (Malava) in Madhya Bharat. It was therefore the Malavas who probably carried the Scytho-Parthian era of 58 B.C. from the Punjab to Rajputana and Madhya Bharat. The era came to be known in these regions as the reckoning associated with the Malavas and with Krita who seems to have been an illustrious leader of the Malava tribe. See infra, section on the Malavas. In some parts of central and western India the Scytho-Parthian era became a rival of the reckoning of 78 A.D. used by the 6aka rulers of those regions, who were ousted by Chandragupta II Vikramaditya about the beginning of the fifth century A.D.

15. With the development of the legend of Vikramaditya 6akari, the rival of the Saka era became, about the eighth century A.D., associated with the name of Vikramaditya, the extirpator of the foreigners. As we shall presently see, the identification of the old Scytho-Parthian reckoning of Drangiana with the Vikrama-Samvat of 58 B.C. is remarkably supported by the Takht-i-bahi inscription of Gondophernes dated in the year 103, apparently of the same era. The progressive career of the Scytho-Parthian era was checked in northwestern India by the establishment of a new reckoning from the accession of Kanishka; but it did not die out because of its popularity with some of the Scythian families that often used it even during the sovereignty of the Kushanas of Kanishka's house.
16. I. The earliest coins of Maues have the legend Basileos Mauou in Greek, sometimes with Maharajasa Moasa in Kharoshthl. But his later issues have Basileos Basileon Megalou Mauou and Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Moasa.
17. 1. It is not improbable that Orthagnes was a Parthian and that he ousted Spalirises who may have had Scythian blood in his veins.
18. 1. The Shinkot inscription of the grandfather of Aspavarman suggests that the territory ruled by Aspa and Sasa included the Bajaur tribal area.
19. 2. The nasal sound in the names R'ahjuvula and Sondasa has often been ignored. Another form of Ranjuvula's name was Rajula.
20. 1. Ranjuvula's earlier coins bear legends in Greek and Kharosh{,hi, but later issues have legends only in Brahml, which was the script prevalent in Mathura. His son Sondasa as well as the other Kshatrapas of Mathura used Brahml only in their coin-legends. The facts that Ranj uvula's coins were found in the Punjab and in the western part of the U.P. and that his commonest type is copied from the coins of Strato I and II, while his rarest issues are imitated from the coins of the local rulers of Mathura, show that the &aka chief, who seems to have been a semi-independent general of Maues, established himself at Mathura late in life. For the local rulers of Mathura, see infra, Ch. XI.

THE KUSHANAS

I. ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

The Kushanas, who played such a dominant part in Indian politics, were a branch of the famous Yueh-chi tribe whose early history is noticed in several Chinese historical works. 1 The Yueh-chi originally dwelt in the land between the Tsenn-hoang or Tun-huang country and the K'i-lien or Tien-shan range in Chinese Turkestan, in the province of Kan-su according to some scholars. There they were defeated and expelled from the land, about 165 B.C. according to most authorities, by a neighbouring tribe called the Hiung-nu, who killed the leader of the Yueh-chi horde and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The widow of the slain ruler now came to power and guided the tribe in the course of its westward migration.

While the Yueh-chi were passing through the land to the north of the Taklamakan desert, they came into conflict with a horde known as the Wu-sun who occupied the valleys of the Ili river and its southern tributaries. After having defeated the Wu-sun and slain their chieftain, the Yueh-chi marched on westwards, beyond Lake Issiq Kol, in search of a suitable home. A small section of the people, however, went to the south to settle on the Tibetan frontier and became known as the Little Yueh-chi. The main branch of the tribe, the Ta-Yueh-chi or Great Yueh-chi, in the course of their westward march, met the Sse, Sai or Sek (&aka) dwelling in the plains on the northern bank (both the northern and southern banks, according to some writers) of the Jaxartes or Syr Darya.

The Sakas were defeated and dispersed 2 and the Great Yuehchi settled in their country. But the Yueh-chi occupation of the Saka land did not last long. The son of the slain king of the Wusun, who had now grown to manhood under the protection of the Hiung-nu, attacked the Yueh-chi with Hiung-nu help and drove them out of the land which they had wrested from the Sakas. The Yueh-chi, thus forced, moved further west and south to the valley of the Oxus or Amu Darya, defeated the Sakas and settled in the

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country called Ta-hia, which is usually identified with Bactria. The natives of this country, who were unskilled in war[1] and devoted to commerce and were wanting in cohesion, were easily subjugated and the Yueh-chi established their capital in the modern Bokhara region (ancient Sogdiana) to the north of the Oxus. The Chinese envoy Chang-kien visited the Yueh-chi capital in that locality about 125 B.C.

From Pan-ku's history of the first Han dynasty dealing with the period down to A.D. 24, we learn that the Yueh-chi capital to the north of the Oxus was Kien-chi or Kien-she and that Ki-pin[2] lay on the southern border of the Yueh-chi kingdom. We also know that the Yueh-chi were no longer nomads and that their country had become divided into five principalities,[3] one of them being the Kuei-shuang or Kushana.

According to Fan-ye's history of the later Han dynasty, more than hundred years after this division "the Yabgou (chief; the same as Yavuga of the coin legends) of Kouei-chouang named K'ieoutsieou-k'io attacked and vanquished the four other Yabgous and called himself king (ivang); he invaded Ngan-si (the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia) and took possession of the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul), overcame Po-ta (not far from Kabul) and Ki-pin (Kafiristan and the adjoining eastern region) and became completely master of these kingdoms. K'ieou-tsieou-k'io died at the age of more

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than eighty. His son Yen-Kao-tchen succeeded him as king. In his turn he conquered T'ien-tchou (India proper, probably indicating the Punjab region) and established there a chief for governing it. From this time the Yueh-chi became extremely powerful. All the other countries designated them Kushana; but the Han retained the old name and called them Ta-Yueh-chi.”

K’ieou-tsieou-k’io is apparently the same as Kujula (i.e. Kusuluka),[1] a distinguishing title of Kadphises I who is known from coins struck in the land to the south of the Hindu Kush. On some coins the name of Hermaeus, the last Greek ruler of Kabul, is mentioned in the Greek legend on the obverse and that of Kadphises I in the KharoshthI legend on the reverse, which runs: Kujula-kasasa Kushdna-yavugasa dhrama-thidasa, “of Kujula Kasa, the Kushana chief who is steadfast in the faith.” In some cases we have sacha dhrama-thita (steadfast in the true faith) instead of dhrama-thida. This seems to refer to his adoption of a new religion, probably Buddhism. The fact that the Kushana chief is mentioned in the KharoshthI legend without any royal title no doubt points to his subsidiary position to the Greek ‘king of kings’ of Kabul during the early part of his life. It is to be noted that the Kushana chief is endowed with dignified royal titles in the legends of some of his later coins, which run: maharajasa mahatasa kushana-kuyulakaphasa (of the great king, the great Kuyula Kapha, the Kushana) and maharajasa rajatirajasa kuyula-kaphasa (of the great king, the king of kings,. Kuyula Kapha).[2] It is not improbable that Kadphises 1 subdued the four other Yueh-chi principalities with Hermaeus’ help. As has already been suggested, Hermaeus was overthrown by the Parthians in spite of the help he might have received from Kadphises I who however extirpated Parthian rule from both the Kabul and Kandahar regions after a short time.[3]

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THE KUSHAtfAS

We have seen that, during the reign of Kadphises I, Kushaga rule extended over Ki-pin and other lands, but not over T’ien-chou. As the exact boundaries of both Ki-pin and T’ien-chou are unknown, it is difficult to determine whether the Panj tar inscription of the year 122 (A.D. 65) belongs to the reign of Kadphises I himself or of his son and successor. Fan-ye places his reign as a ivang or king more than a century after the division of the Yuehchi kingdom in Bactria into five principalities, which again has to^e assigned to a date later than c. 125 B.C. when Chang-k'ien visited the Yueh-chi capital. Thus the reign of Kadphises I cannot be placed earlier than the first century A. D. Numismatists have pointed out that the Roman head on his coins was directly imitated from the issues of Augustus (27 B.C.-A.D. 14). Tiberius (A.D. 14-37) or Claudius (A.D. 41-54). The reign of Kadphises I, who died at the ripe old age of more than eighty, may be assigned roughly to the period A.D. 15-65. Konow's suggestion that he is mentioned in the Takht-i-bahi inscription of the year 103 (A.D. 46) is, however, based on a fanciful reading and its unwarranted interpretation.

Kadphises I was succeeded by his son, who is called Yen-Kaotchen by Fan-ye, and is identified with Wema (Yen) Kadphises (Kao-tchen) known from coins. According to Chinese evidence Wema (Vima) or Kadphises II was the first Kushana king to extend his rule over Tien-tchou or India proper, identified by most writers with the Punjab region watered by the Sindhu. There seems to be no evidence in support of the suggestion that Wema began to rule in A.D. 78 and started the Saka era. The institution of an era requires the continuation of the regnal reckoning of a king by his successors and this is quite inapplicable in Wema's case. 1

Kadphises II established a gold coinage'suggested by the Roman aureus (124 grains or 8.035 grammes, the Roman weight-standard) He also issued an extensive copper or bronze coinage. Some of the coins of Wema are of the weight of two aurei . Only a few coins of gold struck in India in the two centuries before the time of this monarch have so far been discovered. But the gold currency of Wema Kadphises was continued not only by his Kushana successors

Note 10

but also by the Guptas when the supremacy of northern India passed to them. This extensive gold coinage has been attributed by scholars to the influx of Roman gold into India during the Kushana period. 1

On the reverse of the coins of Kadphises II is often found a representation of the gold Siva with two arms, hair in spiral top-knot, and tiger's skin over left arm, grasping combined trident and battleaxe in right hand. The KharoshthI legend on these coins reads maharajasa rajadirajasa sarva-loga-isvarasa mahisvarasa wima kathphisasa tratarasa, ‘of Wima Kathphisa the great king, the king of kings, the lord of the whole world, the Mahisvara, the Saviour.’ The word mahisvara, if it is equated with Sanskrit mahisvara, ‘lord of the earth’, seems to be rather tautological in view of the expression sarva-loga-isvara , in spite of the fact that the word loga (Sanskrit loka) may be taken in the sense of ‘man.’ Probably the epithet mahisvara stands for the Sanskrit mdhesvara. ‘devotee of Mahesvara (Siva)’. It therefore seems that Kadphises II was a Saiva, unlike his father who was probably a Buddhist.

A large number of coins found “all over the Punjab as well as in Kandahar and in the Kabul valley” bears a particular symbol and a corrupt Greek legend Besileus Basileudn Soter Megas, ‘the king of kings, the great saviour,’ sometimes with the KharoshthI legend maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa tratarasa ‘of the great king, the king of kings, the great saviour.’ The issuer of these coins is associated with Wema Kadphises by the use of the nominative instead of the more usual genitive in the Greek inscription, and of the title Soter Megas, as well as by the similarity in form between certain letters both in the Greek and KharoshthI inscriptions.

This nameless king, as he is usually styled, is further to be associated with the nameless Kushana ruler or rulers mentioned in the Panjtar inscription of the year 122 (A.D. 65) as maharaja Gushana (the great king, the Kushana) and in the Taxila inscription of the year 136 (A.D. 79) as maharaja-rajatiraja-devaputra-Kushana (the great king, the king of kings, the son of Heaven, the Kushana) The title Devaputra, again, connects the unnamed Kushana ruler of the Taxila inscription not only with Kujula-kara Kadphises, known from his coins, but also with the emperors of Kanishka’s house. It is not altogether impossible that the issuer of the Soter Megas coins was the semi-independent governor of the Indian possessions of Wema and is mentioned in the Panjtar inscription of A.D. 65, and that

Note 11

Kujula-kara Kadphises, probably identical with the Kushana ruler mentioned in the Taxila inscription of A.D. 79, was the governor's son and successor. For a short time after the death of Wema, Kujula-kara, and possibly also his father, about the closing years of his life, appear to have ruled independently and to have even extended their influence over the KAbul and Kandahar regions.

II. KANISHKA

Kanishka was the greatest of the Kushana emperors. His rule extended over the Madhyadesa, Uttarapatlia and Aparanta divisions of ancient India. His empire seems to have stretched from Bihar in the east to Khorasan in the west, and from Khotan in the north to the Konkan in the south. It is usually believed that Kadphises II was succeeded by Kanishka, although the date of Wema's death and his relations with Kanishka are unknown. There is no evidence that Kanishka was the sole ruler of the Kushana possession in Bactria, Afghanistan and India at his accession. The most interesting'fact about Kanishka's rule seems to be that his earliest records have been discovered in the U.P., the inclusion of which in the dominions of Kadphises II may only be conjectured but cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge. Kanishka may have originally been one of the several Kushana chieftains who tried to make their fortune in India and may have come out successful in the struggle for supremacy that seems to have followed the death of Wema. If these suggestions and those offered above as regards the Soter Megas and Kujula-kara Kadphises are to be accepted, we have possibly to assign Wema's death to a date earlier than the extension of Kanishka's power over north-western India and the adjoining regions. Kanishka seems to have conquered those territories from Kujula-kara Kadphises whose title Devaputra he is known to have appropriated.

4 Epigraphic records of the reign of Kanishka himself prove his control over the U.P., Punjab, N.W.F.P. and the Bahawalpur region north of Sindh. Officers like the Dandanciyaka Lala and the Kshatrapas Vespasi and Liaka were serving in north-western India while parts of eastern U.P. were under the joint rule of the Mcihfi-kshatrcipa Kharapallana and the Kshatrapa Vanasphara. The discovery of a large number of Kanishka's records at

Mathura, with one from Sui-vihar 16 miles from Bahawalpur and of an epigraph of

one of his immediate successors at Sanchl (former Bhopal State, Central India) near Vidisa, the ancient capital of East Malwa, as well as the establishment of a satrapal house of the Sakas in Western India about his time seems to suggest that Sind, Rajputana, Malwa and Saurashtra also came under the sphere of Kanishka's influence. The find of an inscription of another of Kanishka's immediate successors near Kabul and a tradition recorded by Alberuni point to Kanishka's rule over Afghanistan and the adjoining parts of Central Asia.

The name of Kanishka (sometimes Sanskritised as Kanishtha) is very famous in Buddhist traditions which, however, may have confused the activities of more than one king of that name. He is said to have led an expedition against the Parthians. Chinese and Tibetan writers refer ta Kanishka's successful expeditions against Soked (Saketa) and Pataliputra, which may suggest the extension of Kushana influence over Bihar. The discovery of Kushana coins in Bengal and Orissa and the possibility of the Kanishka era being used by the Lichchhavis of Nepal may not, however, indicate any political subjection of these territories. The Rajatarahginl and some Buddhist traditions refer to Kanishka's rule- in Kashmir. Hiuen Tsang speaks not only of this king's hold over Gandhara with Purushapura (Peshawar) as the capital but also of his control over the territory to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains and of a Chinese prince detained as a hostage at his court. 1 This tradition no doubt points to Kanishka's relations with Central Asia and China.

In his old age Kanishka seems to have led an unfortunate expedition in the north, probably against the Chinese in Central Asia. In an interesting legend about his death the Kushana king is reported to have exclaimed: ' : I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me; the region of the north alone has not come to make its submission." This tradition regarding Kanishka's failure in the north no doubt suggests his identification with the Yueh-chi king, who w T as defeated by the Chinese general Pan-chao

1. It is said that the king of one of the vassal states of the Chinese empire lying to the west of the Yellow river sent his son as a hostage. The prince and his attendants spent the summer in Kapisa (Kafiristan), the winter in India (in a district called Chinabhukti in the Punjab) and the spring and autumn in Gandhara. The inclusion of Kafiristan in Kanishka's empire and the separation of ‘India’, he. India proper, from Gandhara arc to bo noted.

2. ’The KharoshthI records discovered in Chinese Turkistan bear traces of Kushana rule in names like Kushanasena and in the royal titles like Devapulra. The KharoshthI script and the Prakrit language appear to have been introduced in those regions during the rule of the Kushanas.

and was compelled to pay tribute to the emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105). Chinese intercourse with the ‘western’ kingdoms, which ceased in A.D. 8, was revived in the eighth decade of the first century as a result of the victories of Pan-chao who, between A.D. 73 and 94, subdued the kings of Khotan and Kashgar, reduced Kucha and Karashahr, and almost reached the shores of the Caspian Sea and confines of the Roman empire. The success of the Chinese induced the Kushana king to assert his equality with the Chinese emperor by demanding in A.D. 87 or A.D. 90, a Chinese princess in marriage. The proposal being considered by Pan-chao an affront to his master, the Kushana king dispatched a force of 70,000 cavalry under his viceroy Si, across the Tsung-ling range or Taghdumbash Pamir. Sufferings during the passage of the mountains, however, so much shattered the Kushana army that it reached the plain below only to be defeated by the Chinese under Pan-chao. 1

Kanishka must have flourished after, but not long after, Kadphises II who, according to Chinese evidence, extended Kushana rule for the first time over India proper. As the reign of Kadphises II, who succeeded his father about the middle of the first century A.D., may be roughly assigned to the period A.D. 65-75, Kanishka should probably be ascribed to a date not earlier than the last quarter of the first century A. D. He was the founder of an era in the sense that his regnal reckoning was continued by his successors. 2 As Kanishka’s rule may be assigned to the close of the first century A.D., it is highly probable that the Kanishka era is no other than the Saka-kala of

Note 12

Note 13

A.D. 78, which is connected by its very name with foreigners and is the second popular era in the history of India. 1

If the identification of the Kanishka era with the Saka-kala of A.D. 78, supported by many scholars, is to be accepted. Kanishka ruled from A.D. 78 to A.D. 101 or 102. It must, however, be admitted that there is a good deal of controversy on this point. According to some writers, notably Fleet, Kanishka was a predecessor of Kadphises I and Kadphises II and was the founder of the era of 58 B. C., which ultimately came to be known as the Vikrama-Sarhvat. This view about the chronology of the Kushanas is not favoured by more recent authorities. 2 There are two theories ascribing Kanishka to

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As has already been suggested (ante, p. 125 n. 1) the use of an era was introduced and popularised in India by foreign rulers. The Saka satraps of western India appear to have been originally feudatories of Kanishka and his successors and naturally used the era of their overlords. The continued use of the Kanishka era by these Sakas for a long time even after the decline of Kushana power in India was apparently at the root of its being famous as “the era of the Saka rulers” in Central and Western India and the adjoining territories. That of all the historical and popular eras of ancient India only the Vikrama-Sarhvat (the Scylho-Parthian era originated in Drangiana) and the Saka-kala are still in use is probably due partially to the fact that both of them came to be used in the region about West Malwa where the city of Uijayim became one of the strongest centres of astronomical studies in India, presumably under the patronage of Saka and Gupta rulers. The Persian priests (Magi) who migrated to India and were known as the Maga-Brahxnanas of Saka-dvlpa (Seislan) appear to have contributed to the growth of the Ujjain school of astronomy in the age of the Sakas. The spread of the use of the Saka era over South India was to a considerable degree due to the Jains whose principal centre was in the Gujarat-Saurashtra region within the dominions of the Sakas. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Jains have largely contributed to the development of the legends about Saka-Salivahana and Vikramaditya who are associated respectively with the Saka-kala (later £alivaliana-Saka, the word 6aka in this case signifying ‘an era’) and the Vikrama-Sarhvat.

Fleet’s theory seems to go against Chinese evidence which makes Kujula or Kadphises I the first Kushana king of the Ta-Yueh-chi, and Kadphises II the first Kushana ruler whose dominions included some interior districts of India.

Kadphises I coined little gold; his coinage therefore could have hardly intervened between the extensive gold issues of Kanishka and Wema Kadphises. Kanishka was responsible for the innovation of issuing coins with Greek legends in both obverse and reverse in place of bilingual issues of the earlier foreign rulers of India with Greek legend on the obverse and Kharoshfhl on the reverse. Another interesting feature of Kanishka’s coinage is the diversity of gods represented on the reverse. The coinage cf Kadphises I and Kadphises II, which is bilingual and without the diversity of gods, is thus rather out of place niter Kanishka and, for the matter of that, after Vasudeva, there being no break in the succession between Kanishka arid Vasudeva.

It has also been pointed out in this connection that at the excavations at Taxila, coins of the Kanishka group of Kushana kings were found in the upper (i.e. later) strata of the earth and those of the Kadphises group in lower (i.e. earlier) strata. Some numismatists believe that Kanishka’s gold coinage was suggested by the Roman sclidus and that, therefore, he could not have flourished earlier than Titus (A.D. 79-81) and Trajan (A.D, 98-117). The title Kaisara (Caesar) adopted by Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 also points to a dale considerably later Gian Augustus who died in A.D. 14. The unmistakable influence of Sassanian coins on the coinage of the later Kushanas shows that Kanishka’s accession cannot be assigned to such an early date as 58 B.C.

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the third century A.D. One of them assigns Kanishka's accession to A.D. 278, while another suggests that Kanishka ascended the throne in A.D. 248 and was the founder of the era used by the rulers of the Traikutaka and other dynasties. 1 Neither of these views has received any support from scholars.

There is, however, an important group of Indologists who believe that Kanishka began to rule shortly before A.D. 130. Certain Tibetan and Chinese documents are cited as placing Kanishka's reign in the second century A.D. and the Kushana king Vasudeva, who ended his rule about a century after the accession of Kanishka, is supposed to be no other than the Ta-Yueh-chi king Po-t'iao who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230. Another argument in favour of this date for Kanishka's accession (as well as of the date A.D. 248) is believed to be furnished by Yu-houan, author of the Wei-lio, a history of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 220-64), which was composed between A.D. 239 and A.D. 265 but covers the period of the Wei down to the reign of the emperor Ming (A.D. 227-39). According to this authority Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-tchou were all subject to the Ta-Yueh-chi during the period of the three kingdoms, which indicates the period A.D. 221-77, though the statement may refer to the time earlier than A.D. 239.

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These arguments no doubt go strongly against the ascription of Kanishka's accession to A.D. 78, which is mainly based on the probable identification of the §aka and Kanishka eras. But the difficulties can be explained away. As to traditions placing the rule of Kanishka in the second century A.D., we have actually a Kanishka, son of Vajhishka, whose Ara inscription of the year 41 would give the date A.D. 119 if it is referred to the Saka era. Numismatic evidence points to the existence of a still later Kushana king named Kanishka who probably flourished in the third century A.D. The date of a Mathura inscription of Kanishka, written in a developed script almost resembling the alphabet of the Gupta records, has been read as the year 14.

1 If the reading of the decimal symbol is right, this is probably a third century Kanishka who wanted to emulate his great predecessor and namesake by trying to establish a reckoning of his own. Thus it appears that the Kanishka legends absorbed the activities of several kings of that name belonging to Kushana dynasty, just as the achievements of a number of Gupta emperors styled Vikramaditya seem to have contributed to the growth of the saga of king Yikrama.

As to the identification of Po-t'iao with Vasudeva who ruled between the years 67 and 98 of the Kanishka era, it has to be remembered that numismatic evidence suggests the existence of a Kushana king named Vasu, i.e. Vasudeva who flourished much later than his namesake, probably in the third century A.D., although it is sometimes believed that "coins bearing the name of Vasudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away." Thus Po-t'iao who ruled in A.D. 230 may not have been the first Kushana king of that name. As regards the evidence of the Wei-lio, it cannot be denied that, by the second quarter of the third century A.D., the successors of Vasudeva lost actual control over many parts of the original Kushana possessions in India; but their nominal sovereignty seems to have been still acknowledged by all feudatories and governors. There is no reason to believe that they lost hold even on the Punjab, N. W.F.P. and Afghanistan by the middle of that century. Chinese and Tibetan evidence therefore does not preclude the possibility of Kanishka having begun to rule in A.D. 78 and being the founder of the Saka era.

According to traditions which appear to be supported by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Kanishka was a Buddhist. Hiuen Tsang and Alberuni have recorded legends that refer to the grand monastery built by Kanishka at Peshawar, which was not only famous throughout the Buddhist world, but is actually known to have been a centre of Buddhist culture from an epigraph of the ninth century A.D. Kanishka is said to have convoked, on the advice of Parsva or Parsvika, the great Buddhist Council held in Kashmir according to some traditions, but in Gandhara or

Note 17

Jalandhara according to others. The Buddhist theologians possibly met at a monastery called the Kundala-Vana-Vihara, chiefly for the purpose of collecting manuscripts and preparing commentaries on them. Vasumitra acted as the President of the Council, while the famous author Asvaghosha, who is said to have been carried off by Kanishka from Pataliputra, was appointed Vice-President.

Kanishka was a great patron of learning. Not only the Buddhist philosophers Asvaghosha, Parsva and Vasumitra enjoyed his favour but another learned man named Sangharaksha is known to have been his chaplain. Nagarjuna, the great exponent of the Mahayana doctrine, as well as the celebrated physician Charaka probably flourished at Kanishka's court. Mathara, a politician of unusual intelligence, was a minister of the Kushana emperor. These and other worthies like the Greek engineer Agesilaus "played a leading part in the religious, literary, scientific, philosophical and artistic activities of the reign." It is, however, unknown whether the Buddhist council was held under the guidance of the first Kanishka or one of his successors of that name. The worthies mentioned above may not also have all enjoyed the patronage of a single Kushana ruler named Kanishka.

Although Kanishka is regarded as a Buddhist, the reverse of his coin types represents Greek, Sumerian, Elamite, Persian and Indian deities. Amongst these mention may be made of Oesho (Siva), Sakaymo Boddo (Sakyamuni Buddha), the wind god Oado (Persian Vado, Indian Vata), the fire-god Athsho (Persian Atash), the moongod Mao, the sun-god Miiro, or Miuro or Mioro (Persian Mithra, Mihr; Indian Miira, Mihira), the Elamite or Sumerian mother-goddess Nana, Nanaia or Nana-shao (cf. Blbl Nani of Baluchistan and Naina Devi of the Kulu valley), the war-god Orlagno (Persian Bahram), the fire-god Pharro (Persian FaVr), the Greek sun-god Helios (sometimes with the moon-goddess Selene), etc. This diversity of deities appears to point to a sort of religious eclecticism, although it is usually believed that it rather reflects the various forms of religion that prevailed in the different parts of the vast empire of Kanishka. A striking feature of the coins of Kanishka and his successors, as already noticed, is that unlike the issues of the earlier foreign rulers of India, they have no Kharoshthi legend on the reverse. Although the script of the legends is a corrupt form of Greek, the language is sometimes Persian; cf. the title Shaonano Shao which is the same as the old Persian kshayathiya kshdyathiyanam , modern Persian Shg,h4n Shah and Indian Shdhdnushdhl. 1

Kalhana's Rajatarahgini (I, 168-73) seems to refer to the joint rule over Kashmir of three kings of the Turushka race named Hushka (probably Huvishka), Jushka (possibly Vajhishka who may be the same as Vasishka) and Kanishka, who founded respectively the cities of Hushkapura (modern Ushkur inside the Baramula Pass), Jushkapura (modern Zukur to the north of Srinagar) and Kanishkapura (modern Kanispor on the Baramula-Srinagar road). Jushka is also credited with the building of the town of Jayasvamipura in Kashmir and all the three kings are said to have founded many Buddhist establishments styled matha and chaitya and to have given shelter to numerous wandering monks. As regards this tradition, it is interesting to note that Huvishka (years 28-60) actually ruled jointly with Vasishka (years 24-28) and Vajhishka's son Kanishka (year 41). 2 Some scholars believe that Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 is identical with the Kushana king of that name known from his records of the years 2-23. The patronymic Vajhishka-putra, however, seems to be used to distinguish Kanishka of the year 41 from an earlier namesake. If Kanishka ruled from year 1 to 41, it is significant that his numerous records refer only to the early twenty-three years of the reign. It is not improbable that Kanishka I ruled, during the later years of his life, with Vasishka (the same as Vajhishka), probably his brother or son, as his junior partner 3 who, after his predecessor's death, ruled for some time as the senior king with Huvishka, probably his brother or son, as the junior. The absence of Vasishka's coins points to his short rule being practically under the domination of that of his partners. After

Note 18

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Note 20

Vasishka's death his son Kanishka II ruled as the junior partner of Huvishka. It may be that some of the coins attributed to Kanishka I were really issued by Kanishka II.

The reference to the Kushana family as of Turushka or Turkish origin in the Kashmir chronicle is supported by a tradition recorded by Alberuni. According to this traditon the Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, who were said to be Turks of Tibetan origin. The first of them, Barha-takin, came into the country and entered a cave in Kabul. He wore Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boots and arms. 1 Now people honoured him as being of miraculous origin, "who had been destined to be king, and in fact he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a Shahiya of Kabul " The rule remained among his descendants for about sixty generations. Alberuni was told that the pedigree of this royal family, written on silk, existed in the fortress of Nagarkot (Kot Kangra in the Punjab) and that "one of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the Vihcira (Buddhist monastery) of Purushawar (Peshawar). It is called after him Kanik-chaitya." There is little doubt that Kanik of Alberuni is the same as the Kushana king Kanishka who, according to another tradition recorded by the Chinese pilgrims, erected at Purushapura (Peshawar) a great stupa more than six hundred feet in height. 2 In that case Barha-takin may probably be identified with Kadphises I. 3 In Indian literature the Kushanas are probably referred to as Tukhara, apparently because they had once settled in the Tukhara country, which seems to have originally been a northern district of Bactria. It is interesting to note that the Musalman conquerors of India mostly of Turkish origin, are mentioned in medieval works like Vidyapati's Kirtilatd as Turuk-Tokhdr, i.e. Turushka-Tukhara.

III. KANISHKA'S SUCCESSORS

Much of what we know about Vasishka, who succeeded Kanishka, I, has already been discussed. His inscriptions, dated in

Note 21

Note 22

Note 23

the years 24 and 28, corresponding respectively to A.D. 102 and A.D. 106, have been discovered in the Mathura District of the U.P. and in the Bhopal State in Central India. He may be identified with Vajhishka, father of Kanishka II of the Ara inscription, and with Jushka, founder of Jushkapura, mentioned in the Kashmir chronicle. Vasishka ruled, for some time at least, conjointly with Huvishka whose dates range between the years 28 and 69, i.e. between A.D. 106 and 138. The inscription at Wardak near Kabul proves Huvishka's hold on Afghanistan. He is probably identical with Hushka of the Rdjatarangim , who founded the city of Hushkapura in Kashmir. A Mathura inscription refers to his pitdmaha (father's father) who described as sacha-dhrama-thita, 'steadfast in the true faith' (probably indicating a true Buddhist), which, curiously enough, was an epithet of Kadphises I. In the present state of our knowledge, however, we are not sure whether Huvishka is to be regarded as the grandson of Kadphises I. An interesting reference in this record is to Huvishka's pitamaha-devakula which may indicate a 'royal gallery of portrait statues' containing a statute of Huvishka's grandfather. Huvishka was himself a patron of Buddhism and another Mathura epigraph refers to a Vihdra built by or named after maharaja Rdjdtirdja Devaputra Huvishka. According to an interesting record, a certain lord of Kharasalera and Vakana (probably Wakhan in Central Asia), who may have been a viceroy of the Kushana king, made permanent endowments of 1,100 silver coins called purdcnas in favour of a Punyasald (an institution for free distribution of food) at Mathura for the religious merit of Shahi Huvishka.

The reverse of Huvishka's coin-types represents a number of interesting divinities, including some already noticed in connection with Kanishka's coins. We have the figures of Roma, Heracles, Sarapo (Sarapis), Manaobago (Mao), the goddess of abundance Ardoksho, the sun-god Anio, the goddess Oanao or Oaninda, the war-god Shaoreoro (Persian Shahrewar) and the Indian gods Ooshna (Vishnu), Maaseno (Mahasena), etc. On some specimens we have Skanda, Kumara, Visakha and Mahasena, while others represent Skanda, Kumara, and Visakha. On another interesting coin-type of Huvishka we have an Indian god with a bow and the conspicuous Brahmi legend reading ganesa, probably indicating &iva. A seal-matrix, generally attributed to Huvishka, represents the king as a devotee of Vishnu.

Huvishka, as already pointed out, ruled conjointly with Vasishka or Vajhishka and with the latter's son Kanishka II

THE KUSHANAS

(A.D. 119'. The reign of Kanishka II may not have been so short as is suggested by the paucity of his records, as this may have been due to the fact that he for the most part ruled jointly with his senior partner Huvishka whose reign was naturally referred to by the people. Kanishka II assumed the title Kaisara, i.e. 'Caesar', in imitation of the contemporary Roman emperors.

The next king Vasudeva has a purely Indian name that offers additional evidence of the naturalisation of the Kushana family in India. His known dates range between the years 67 and 98 corresponding to A.D. 145 and 176. The religious eclecticism evidenced by the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka is only partially noticed in Vasudeva's coins. As most of his issues exhibit the figure of Siva with his bull Nandin, it has been suggested that, like Kadphises II, Vasudeva was a Saiva although his name points to the Vaishnava faith.

IV. LATER KUSHANAS

The history of the Kushanas after Vasudeva is obscure. Amongst the later Kushanas who ruled in the last quarter of the second century and the first half of the third, the most important appear to have been Kanishka (III?) and a Vasu or Vasudeva (II?) known from their coins. This Vasudeva is probably identical with the Yueh-chi king Po-t'iao of the Chinese annals, who sent an embassy to the Chinese court in A.D. 230. It is, however, possible that more than one Kanishka and Vasudeva adorned the Kushana throne in the third century A.D. Some of the later Kushana coins of the third century bear enigmatic symbols like Bha, Ga, Vi and Nu (either mint-marks or initials of viceroys) as well as names (probably of viceroys) like Pasana and Shilada. The influence of the issues of the earlier Sassanian kings is noticed on these coins, which will be discussed in detail in the next volume.

There is no doubt that, in India, the Kushana power declined shortly after the reign of Vasudeva (A.D. 145-176). The Saka satraps originally owing allegiance to Kanishka I began to rule large parts of Western and Central India practically like independent monarchs. In different parts of the Kushana possessions in India, especially in the U.P. and Rajasthan, subordinate ruling houses and tribes gradually raised their head and Kushana power was eliminated even from Mathura, where rulers of a Naga family came to power.

An account of the numerous Indian states that arose on the ruins of the Kushana empire will be given in Chapter XI.

In spite, however, of the weakening of Kushana power in India, the successors of Vasudeva I appear to have been exercising complete control over the Punjab, N. W.F.P. and Afghanistan up to about the middle of third century A.D. This is suggested, as already indicated, by Yu-houan, author of the Wei-Uo, who speaks of TaYueh-chi sovereignty over Ki-pin, Ta-hia, Kao-fu and T'ien-chou. It is, however, difficult to agree with some writers when they assert that "the power of the Kushana kings was at its climax" in the middle •of the third century in view of the fact that the Sassanians were actually extending their power towards the east about that time. But the details of the tradition recorded by the medieval Muslim historian Firishta, according to which Ardashir I Babagan (A.D. 226-41), founder of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia, conquered Balkh, Khorasan and Kabul and advanced as far as Sirhind beyond the Sutlej in the eastern Punjab cannot possibly be accepted in its entirety. The discovery of a coin of Ardashir I in the Jhelum District of the Punjab cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence in support of Firishta's tradition. In spite, however, of the evidence of the Wei-lio f it is not improbable that the first Sassanian monarch, about the end of his career, claimed the contemporary Kushan king as one of his subordinate allies. The Paikuli inscription, possibly to be assigned to the close of the third century, appears to refer to several Indian rulers including the kings of the Surashtras, Avantis, Kushanas Sakas and Abhlras, as subordinate allies, if not as feudatories, of the Sassanians. The Sassanian emperor Hormazd II (A.D. 301-10) married a daughter of a Kaushana king. On some of his coins, he is called Kushan Malka (Lord of the Kushanas) and Kushan Malkan Malka (lord of the Kushana rulers). His coins, again, bear the figure of Siva and his bull as well as the Indian altar, which are found on most of the later Kushana coins. Some later Kushana issues are supposed to have been counter-struck with Sassanian device. A Persepolis inscription in Pahlavi, attributed to the early years of Shapur II (A.D. 310-79), refers to the Sassanian governor of Sakastan as the Sdkdn Shah (king of the Sakas) as well as the Dabirtin Dabir (minister of ministers) of Hind (India), Sakastan and Tukharistan. When Shapur II besieged Amida in A.D. 360, his victory over the Romans was won with the help of an aged king named Grumbates who is usually assigned to the Kushana dynasty.

THE KUSHANAS

Certain coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing legends in Nagarl, Sassanian Pahlavi and an undeciphered script (probably a modification of the Greek alphabet) are attributed to some Sassanian or Scythe-Sassanian families that probably ruled in the Sindhu valley. At the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. A.D. 500) the western part of the Sindhu valley belonged to Persia. These facts no doubt suggest that the Kushanas for a time acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sassanian emperors. But the prominent mention of the Kushana king as the Daivaputra-Shdhi-Shdhdnushdi in a Gupta record of the middle of the fourth century A.D. shows that they were still regarded as a notable power in the Uttarapatha division of India.

V. THE AGE OF THE KUSHANAS

The Kushana period marks an important epoch in Indian history. For the first time after the fall of the Mauryas there was a vast empire which not only embraced nearly the whole of North India, but also considerable territories outside it, as far as Central Asia. India was thus brought into close contact with the outside world. The period also witnessed important developments in religion, literature and sculpture, especially the rise of Mahay ana Buddhism, Gandhara art, and the appearnce of the Buddha figure. It has been suggested that the Kushana king Vasudeva is probably, to be identified with a king of that name mentioned in Rajasekhara’s Kdvyamimdmsd as a patron of poets and as a sabhdpati (president of a society of learned men). An eminent writer has justly observed: “That the Kushana age was a period of great literary activity is proved by the works of Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna and others. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity. It witnessed the development of Saivism and the allied cult of Karttikeya, of the Mahay ana form of Buddhism and the cults of Mihira and Vasudeva Krishna, and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kasyapa Matanga (c. A.D. 61-67). The dynasty of Kanishka opened the way for Indian civilization to Central and Eastern Asia . ,,1

GENERAL REFERENCES

Sten Konow, Kharoshthl Inscriptions (CII, Vol. II, Part I), Introduction.

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given.

[1] PHAI, 399-400. Also cf. infra, Chs. XXIV-XXV.

CHAPTER X

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Some of these have been mentioned above, p. 122. For other Chinese passages
2. cf. IA. 1908, pp. 26 ff; JDL, 1920, pp. 71 ff; Num. Supp. XLVII.
3. 2. Ante , p. 122.
4. 1. The Periplus which describes the Bactrians as a warlike nation possibly refers to the Greek population of the country. As has already been suggested, Ta-hia, probably represented, in a narrow sense, the Tukhara country which seems to have been a northern province of Bactria. The fact that the Yueh-chi are said to have had their capital to the north of the Oxus, possibly after their settlement in Ta-hia, may suggest that the Ta-hia country, as known to the Chinese, lay on both sides of that river. It is often believed that the 6akas had been driven only from Sogdiana by the Yueh-chi before Chang-kien's visit to the Yueh-chi capital, CHI. I. p. 566. But cf. C1I, Vol. II, Pt. I. xxii.
5. 2. Ante, p. 122.
6. 3. These were Hieou-mi or Heo-mi (supposed to be the same as Wakhan), Chouangmi or Shuang-mi (often identified with Chitral), Kouei-chouang or Kueishuang (the Kushana principality sometimes located in the land between Chitral and the Panjshir), Hi-tun or Hi-thoun (identified with Parwan on the Panishir) and Kao-fu (Kabul). The Hou-Han-shu or 'Annals of the Later Han Dynasty' (dealing with the history of the period from A.D. 25 to 220) by Fan-ye, who died in A.D. 445, gives an account of the Great Yueh-chi and some other western powers, chiefly based on the report of Pan-young (c. A.D. 125), We learn from it that Kuei-shuang or Kushana was the name of one of the five Yueh-chi sub-tribes and that Kao-fu is a mistake for Tou-mi. This authority assigns the Yueh-chi or Kushana occupation of Kabul to a later date. The discrepancy between the two accounts as regards the extension of Yuehchi or Kushana rule over Kabul, however, vanishes if it is held that Tou-mi originally formed a part of the Kabul District still under the Greek king and that Pan-ku only refers to the partial occupation of the Kabul country by the Yueh-chi before A.D. 24. This is probably suggested by the fact that Fan-ye

refers to the later mastery of the Kushanas over three kingdoms including Kao-fu as complete.

7. 1. Cf. Kusuluka, the name of a Scythian satrapal family of Taxila (ante, p. 133), with which K'ieoh-tsieou-k'io may have been related on his mother's side.
8. 2. The identification of Kadphises I with the early Kushana ruler Kujula-kara Kadphises known from his coins with the Kharoshfiri legends maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kuyulu-Kara-Kaphasasa (of Kujula-kara Kaphas the great king, the king of kings, the son of Heaven) and Kuyula-kara-Kapasa maharayasa rayatirayasa (of Kujula-kara-Kapa, the great king, the king of kings), is now usually rejected. See infra.
9. 3. Some scholars believe that Hermaeus was dead long before Kadphises I occupied Kabul and that coins bearing his name were continued to be struck for a long time after he had passed away. Whatever, however, be the length of the interval between the overthrow of Hermaeus and the Kushana occupation of Kabul, there seems to be little doubt that Kadphises I began His long life as a subordinate ally of Hermaeus and that success against the Parthians of Afghanistan was achieved by him as a champion of the cause of his dead overlord.
10. 1. No epigraphic record of this king has so far been discovered. The ascription of the Khalatse (Ladakh District, Kashmir) inscription of the year 184 (A.D127) or 187 (A.D. 130) of Kadphises II rests on the extremely doubtful reading of the name of the Maharaja, referred to in that record, as Uvima Kavthisa. The ruler mentioned in the Khalatse epigraph seems to be a Scythian governor of parts of Kashmir under the Kushanas of Kanishka's house. As has already been suggested, the use of the Scytho-Parthian era was popular with certain Indo-Scythian families even after the establishment of the Kanishka era.
11. l. Cf. Ch. XXIV.
12. 1. Some scholars, who are inclined to identify the Kushana king defeated by Pan-chao with Kadphises II, point out that Kanishka "must have been a monarch of some celebrity and if the Chinese had come into victorious contact with him, their historians would have mentioned it." But the weakness of the argument is satisfactorily demonstrated in the following comment: "If we identify Pan-chao's

Kushana contemporary with Kadphises II, the silence of the Chinese becomes still more mysterious and inexplicable, because he was certainly well-known to the annalists. On the other hand, Kanishka (who became famous in Chinese Buddhist literature probably after importation of foreign legends to that country) was not known to them and the non-mention of his name, if he were Pan-chao's contemporary, cannot be more surprising than that of his predecessor Wema. In favour of Kanishka's identity with Panchao's antagonist we may urge that Kanishka is known to have come into conflict with the Chinese, but the same cannot be said in regard to Wema, the events of whose reign, as recorded by the Chinese annalists, do not include any first class war with China." (PHAI ., 396).

13. 2. In the records of the time of the Kushana kings of Kanishka's house the reign of Kanishka is associated with the years 2-23, of Vasishka with 24-28, of Huvishka with 28-60, of Kanishka, son of Vajishka, with 41, and Vasudeva with 67-98. The reading of the date of the Peshawar casket inscription, sometimes believed to be year 1 of Kanishka's reign, is extremely doubtful. For a Mathura inscription of Vasudeva dated in the year 67, see P1HC., Hyderabad, 1941, p. 164,
14. 1. Both the suggestions have been criticised by scholars who have shown that even the earlier of the two dates is too late for the first of the Kushana rulers bearing the name Kanishka. The Kushana king Vasudeva is known to have held sway over Mathura up to the year 98 of the Kanishka era which, if it is identified with the Traikutaka era of A.D. 248, would prove Vasudeva's rule at Mathura in A.D. 346. The earliest Gupta record at Mathura is an inscription of Chandra-gupta II dated in the Gupta year 61 corresponding to A.D. 380, although the locality seems to have been conquered from a ruler of the Naga dynasty by Samudra-gupta, father of Chandra-gupta II. The Puranas suggest the rule of no less than seven Naga kings at Mathura in the period intervening between the occupation of the Kushanas and that of the Guptas.
15. The considerable period of Naga rule at Mathura before the conquest of the Guptas probably indicates for Vasudeva a date much earlier than the middle of the fourth century A.D. It should be noted in this connection that the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta mentions several Naga kings of Aryavartta as extirpated enemies of

the Gupta monarch, but the DaivaputraShahl-Shahanushahl (i.e., the contemporary Kushana king) only as his subordinate ally. It has also been pointed out that, according to traditions, Kanishka was a contemporary of king Vijayaklrti of Khotan (2nd century A.D.) and that his successor Huvishka was a contemporary of the Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna and therefore of a Satavahana emperor who could not have flourished much later than the second century A.D. Then, again, according to the catalogues of the Chinese Tripitaka, Anshi-kao (A.D. 148-70) translated the Mdrgabhumi-sutra of Samgharakstia who was the chaplain of Kanishka. The earliest of the kings with the name Kanishka thus must have flourished long before A.D. 170. If Kanishka ascended the throne in A.D. 248, it is difficult to find a place amongst his predecessors for Po-t'iao (probably Sanskrit Vasudeva) the king of the Ta-Yueh-chi, who sent an ambassador to China in A.D. 230 according to Chinese sources. The fact that the later Kushanas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Sassanians at least about the close of the third century A.D. also goes against the ascription of Kanishka to the middle of that century.

16. A.I.U.—10
17. 1. 3ut-cf. India Antiqua, 1947, pp. 296-303.
18. 1. The omission of the Kharoshthi legend is difficult to explain. It is not, however, unlikely that Kharoshthi was given up, because it was not understood in all parts of the vast empire of Kanishka, especially in Madhyadesa where Brahml was the script in use.* The association of Kharoshthi with rulers of inferior rank in some of the joint issues may have, moreover, led Kanishka to omit it from imperial issues and reserve the use of local scripts only for the coins of rulers of subordinate rank.
19. 2. The date of Huvishka's Mathura inscription of the Macedonian month of Gorpaius (corresponding to the Indian Bhadra) of the year 28 is earlier than that of the Sanchl inscription of Vasishka dated the fifth day of Hemonta, falling in the purnim-dnta month of Margaslrsha, of the same year.
20. 3. Vamatakshama (?) of the Mathura Ins. and Vaskushana of the Sanchl Ins. (year 22) may have been other junior partners of Kanishka I.
21. 1. Barha-takln's dress as described by Alberuni is remarkably similar to the dress of the Kushana emperors known from their representation

on coins as well as from the headless statue of Kanishka discovered near Mathura.

22. 2. Fa-hien, Sung-yun and Hiuen Tsang have described the magnificence of this stupa. The relic casket which it contained has been found in situ in course of excavations. It bears an effigy and inscription of Kanishka. For descriptions of the stupa, cf. Ch. XX.
23. 3. It may be pointed out that barha is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit bri hat. while takxn is the Turkish tegin which means the same thing as the Pahlavi Kad ‘chief’, often supposed to be the origin of the name Kadphises.

THE VIKRAMA SAMVAT AND SAKABDA

The two ancient eras still widely current in India are the Vikrama Samvat and Sakabda, starting respectively in 58 B.C. and A.D. 78. The origin of both these eras is shrouded in obscurity and naturally many theories are current on the subject. Some of these, now generally held, have been noted in the two preceding Chapters, 1 2 and there are others besides, none of which can be regarded as more plausible than the rest. A special importance therefore attaches to the traditional account of the origin of these eras, which, though generally rejected by modern scholars, should not be altogether ignored, so long at least as we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion on the subject.

I. VIKRAMA SAMVAT

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The traditions about king Vikramaditya, the reputed founder of the Vikrama Samvat. fall into three distinct classes. Under one category we may include the legends found in the Vetdla Pafichavimsati, Dvatrimsat Puttalikd and other books of this nature describing his supernatural qualities of head and heart, particularly his charity, patronage of learning, and association with the renowned literary circle known as the Nine Gems or Nava-Ratna. These have hardly any historical value beyond proving that Vikramaditya was regarded as an ideal king long after his death. Possibly these legends originally referred to more than one ruler of that name, and later grew round one semi-mythical figure.* This is best proved by the list of persons constituting the Nine Gems, all of whom certainly did not flourish during one reign. The second category includes the heroic achievements of Vikramaditya such as we find in the literature derived from the Brihatkatha?

Par different, however, is the class of traditions which are contained partly in standard works of Jain literature and partly in narratives connected with the history of Jain religion. Merutunga's

Note 1

Note 2

THE VIKRAMA SAMVAT AND 6AKABDA

Theravail may be taken as a type of the first and Kalakacharya's narrative as an example of the other.

After referring to the reigns of Pradyota, king of Avanti, the Nandas, Mauryas and Pushyamitra, Merutunga continues his account of the kingdom of Ujjayini as follows: 1

"Then came Balamitra and Bhanumitra, whose joint reign covered 60 years, and Nabhavahana, who ruled for 40 years. Then came the Gardabhiila dynasty which was in power for 152 years. Gardabhilla reigned for 13 years and was then expelled by the &aka kings who ruled for 4 years. Vikramaditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained the kingdom of Ujjayini, commenced the Vikrama era and reigned for 60 years. His four successors ruled respectively for 40, 11, 14, and 10 years. Then the 6aka era commenced."

The Kalakticharya-katha 2 gives the story of the Saka conquest of Ujjayini in fuller details. It may be summed up as follows:

"Kalakacharya had a sister called Sarasvatl who joined the convent. King Gardabhilla of Ujjayini was fascinated by her beauty and ravished her. Kalakacharya, being enraged, went to the wpst of the Sindhu and lived with a Shah! (Saka) chief over whom he obtained great influence by means of his astrological knowledge. Gradually he came to learn that his patron and 95 other chiefs who lived in the same locality all obeyed a common overlord. Kalakacharya persuaded his patron to invade the kingdom of Gardabhilla with the aid of his 95 fellow-chiefs and himself joined the army that marched along Sindh and Gujarat, and besieged Ujjayini. Ujjayini fell and the 6akas established their supremacy in Malava. After 17 years Vikramaditya, son of Gardabhilla, regained his kingdom by expelling the

Sakas. Kalakacharya, after defeating Gardabhilla and releasing his sister, went to the court of king Satavahana at Pratishthana."

The above story is related in various other works, and gath&s containing the incident have also been found. In some of them we get the additional information that "135 years after Vikrama having passed, again the Sakas expelled Vikramaputra (Vikrama's son or descendant) and conquered the kingdom."

The Jain traditions have definite historical background. In spite of minor discrepancies in dates, the general account given above is

Note 3

Note 4

fully in keeping with the known facts of history. For, as we have seen above, the invasion of Malava by the §aka chiefs from beyond the Sindhu on which the whole story rests, was undoubtedly a historical fact. Further, the final establishment of the Saka power in Malwa in A.D. 78, the epoch of the §aka era, is supported by the fact that the early Saka rulers of Malwa flourished about that time and are known definitely to have used the £aka era in their records. It is true that we have as yet no definite evidence of the existence of a king Vikramaditya who defeated the Sakas in 58 B. C. But there is nothing to warrant the belief that is freely expressed that Vikramaditya of 58 B.C. is a myth and there was no such king in that period. 1 Further, it should be remembered that the tradition about Vikramaditya is a long and complete story in definite historical setting, and not a mere vague statement that he defeated the Sakas and founded an era. To regard therefore one or other later historical king as the Vikramaditya of tradition simply because he defeated the Sakas (or Hirnas) or patronised learning can hardly be justified.

The scholars who regard Vikramaditya as a myth rely chiefly on the fact that the era of 58 B.C. is not specifically associated with king Vikramaditya in the earlier period. The view may be summed up in the following words: 2

"For the first five hundred years, the years of the era are simply referred to as Samvat. In the fifth century A.D. the era is for the first time called 'the era of the Malavas', and in the eighth century A.D. 'the era of the Malava lord or lords'. The earliest use of the word Vikrama occurring in a date, we find in an inscription in which the year 898 is referred to the time called Vikrama. Had it been founded by king Vikramaditya it would indeed be more than strange that no allusion should ever have been made to this for more than a thousand years."

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

It is not generally recognised that these facts and arguments may be urged equally well against the modern theories, according to which the era was founded by Vonones, Azes or Kanishka, for none of these names is ever found associated with the era. As a matter of fact, however, the arguments are of little weight as the example of the Saka era shows. Here also the era is not associated with the Sakas for the first five hundred years or more when it is simply called Varsha . After that came into use 'the era of the takas' and 'the era of the Saka king' exactly corresponding to the 'era of the Malavas', and 'the era of the Malava lords', which we find in the case of Vikrama Saiiivat. The name of the Saka king who founded the era never occurs, even after the lapse of 'more than a thousand years'.

The case of the Gupta era is also similar. Of the first fifty dates in that era found in epigraphic records, only three refer to the era as Guptakala; the remaining forty-seven call it simply Varsha or abda, and none mentions the founder of the era.

These analogies prove that the so-called peculiarities in the use of the Vikrama Sarhvat in earlier periods cannot be regarded as arguments against the historicity of Vikramaditya. On the other hand the fact that all the early records, definitely known to be dated in the era of 58 B.C., some of them going back to the third century of the era, have been found in Malwa and Rajasthan certainly supports the Vikramaditya tradition.

Many of these inscriptions use the word Krita along with the year of the era, and in some cases this occurs together with a reference to the Malavas. This word has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Some regard it as a technical astronomical term, while others think that it was the name of a king who founded the era. 1 If the latter view be held, it goes a great way in supporting the Jain tradition, for we may easily hold that this was the king who assumed the title Vikramaditya, as many others did in later times.

On the whole there is no reason to be dogmatic. The era might after all have been founded by a foreigner, as stated above. 2 But there is no inherent incongruity in the belief that king Vikramaditya founded it in 58 B.C. to commemorate his recovery of Ujjayinl by defeating the Sakas.

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY

II. 6AKA ERA

As regards the Saka era, there is a consensus of opinion in favour of the view that it was either founded by a Scythian ruler to commemorate his accession, or arose out of the continual reckoning of the regnal years of a Scythian king by his successors. The identity of the Scythian king is, however, a matter of dispute. As the era was used from the very beginning by the 6aka satraps of Western India, there can be little doubt that it commemorates the reign of their Saka overlord. If it can be proved on independent evidence that Kanishka flourished about A.D. 78, he can certainly be regarded as this overlord and the founder of the era, a view that is now widely accepted. But, unfortunately, as noted above, 1 there is a great diversity of opinion regarding his date, and none of the views command general acceptance.

The question must therefore be left open until we have a more definite idea of the chronology of the Scythian rulers. As already mentioned above, the era is not associated with the §akas till more than five hundred years after its foundation. This proves that a continuous tradition about the origin of the Saka era was current, although there is no recorded evidence of it; and the same thing may be true of the Vikrama Samvat.

Note 12

CHAPTER XI

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See pp. 125, 127, 144 ff.
2. 2. Dr. Pusalker has attempted to prove the historical character of these tales (C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume) but without much success.
3. 1. JBBRAS, IX, 147 ff.
4. 2. Ibid , 139 ff; CII, II. xxvi ff; JBORS, XVI, 233, 293; Brown, The Strry of K&taJca. The Shahi chiefs in the story are said to belong to Sagakula and their over! urd is called Shahanushahi.
5. 1. In a thesis submitted to the Calcutta University in 1912, the writer of this chapter argued in favour of the old traditional view. A Bengali translation of the portion relating to Vikramaditya and the Vikrarna era was published in a Bengali Journal, Pratibha, in 1913. Since then MM. H. P. Sastri (El. XII, p. 319) and Sten Konow (Ibid. XIV, p. 294) have incidentally supported the old tradition, but without any detailed discussion. The present writer has recently discussed the problem in a paper contributed to the volume published on the occasion of the Vikrama Bi-Millennium celebrations.
6. ^ With the exception of the two scholars mentioned above, almost all are definitely of opinion that there was no king Vikramaditya in the first century B.C. Dr. Fleet, for example, remarks: “Later research, however, has shown that there was no such king Vikramaditya and that the story (of his founding an era in 58 B.C.) is nothing but a myth, dating from the ninth or tenth century A.D.” (JRAS, 1913, p. 997). Other writers following him have held that “it
7. has been established that there was no Vikramaditya in the 1st century B.C.” (7HQ. XI, p. 212).
8. 2. IA, XIX, XX.
9. 1. For the different views on the subject cf. R. G. Bhandarkar Com. Vol. pp. 188
10. ff.; El, XII, 319, XIV, 140, XXIII, 49; C/7, II, xxvi. See also ante, p. 125 n. 1.
11. 2. See p. 125, n. 1, 127, 144, n. 1.
12. 1. See pp. 143 ff.

NORTHERN INDIA AFTER THE KUSHANAS

I. GENERAL REVIEW

Numismatic evidence discloses the names of many tribal republics and members of monarchical ruling families, which flourished in different parts of the central and western regions of northern India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the commencement of the Christian era. The dates of their coins are variously given by numismatists; but, since the fashion of mentioning the name of the ruling authority in the coin-legend was inspired and popularised in India by foreign kings beginning with the IndoGreeks, most of the coins bearing such legends should preferably be assigned to a date later than the early decades of the second century B.C. This suggestion is supported by the palaeography of the legends on the coins in question. It is well known that stone inscriptions and coin-legends usually exhibit less developed forms of letters. Nevertheless, even the earliest inscribed coins do not appear to be earlier than the Besnagar inscription of the end of the second century B. C. The angular form of letters exhibited by most of these coins cannot be much earlier than the age of the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva (end of the first century B.C.) and of the records of the Sakas of Mathura (beginning of the first century A.D.). 1

In Rajasthan and the adjoining regions, the tribal states of the Arjunayanas, 2 Uddehikas. 3 Malavas, Sibis, 4 Rajanyas 5 and Yau

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

dheyas, together with the Uttamabhadras 1 known from epigraphie sources, appear to have submitted to the Scythians and their successors, the Kushanas. Some of these tribes, especially the Arjunayanas, Malavas and Yaudheyas, grew powerful with the decline of Kushana power in that area about the end of the second and the beginning of the third century A.D., but together with the Madrakas 2 of the Punjab and the Abhlras 3 of Rajputana as well as with the Nagas of Padmavatl and other places and several tribes 4 of centra]

4. The Sibi people, probably the same as the Sivas of the Rigveda, had their capital at Sibipura, modem Shorkot in the Jhang District oi the Punjab. Alexander met the Sibis, who had 40,000 foot soldiers, in that region in the fourth century B.C. They are said to have dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts and had clubs for their weapons. After their Punjab homeland had been threatened by the foreigners, the Sibis migrated to Rajasthan and settled in the district around Madhyamika (modern Nagarl near Chi tor/, which was ancient city known to Palanjali's Mahahhashya. Coins of the Sibi tribe found in this area have the legend majhamikdya-sibi-janapadasa, i.e. 'coin of the Sibi State struck at Madhyamika', in a script that cannot be earlier than the latter half of the first century B.C. A branch of the people probably settled in Sind. A Sibi -country is located in the Dasakumaracharita on the banks of the Kaverl; but in this case the reference may be to the land of the Cholas who probably claimed connection with the ancient tribe. It may be noted in this connection that we have an Ikshvaku family in the Krishna-Guntur region and a Kekaya family in Mysore.

5. Coins of Rajanya janapada, with legends either in Brahml or in Kharoshfhi may be assigned to the latter half of the first century B.C. The Rajanyas probably lived somewhere in northern or north-western Rajasthan where both the scripts were in use. Brihat-samhiUi places them in the north along with the Yaudheyas and Trigartas. Certain coins of the first century B.C. with the legend trakata-janapadasa in Brahml and KharoshthI have been attributed to the Trigartas who inhabited the Jalandar region. Another republican tribe may have been Agratyas of Agrodaka, identified with modern Agroha in the Hissar District, Punjab (JNSI, IV, 54).

1. The Uttamabhadras were the neighbours of the Malavas in Rajasthan and probably lived in the neighbourhood of Pushkar near Ajmer. They were allies of the Sakas of Western India and received h§lp from the Saka chief Rishabhadatta (A.D. 119-23), son-in-law and viceroy of Nahapana, in their struggle against the Malvas.

2. A branch of the Madrakas or Madras, known as the Uttara-Madras, were the neighbours of the Uttara-Kurus and lived in the Himalayan region. The Madras proper had their capital at 6akala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab), which later became the capital of the Indo-Greek empire under Menander. The Madras were probably subjects of the younger Porus (Paurava king) in the days of Alexander. The mention of the Madrakas in the list of tribes that came under the influence of Samudra-gupta suggests that, after many centuries of foreign subjection, the people acquired an amount of political importance after the decline of the Kush^pas. No coins of this tribe have so far been discovered.

3. There were several Abhlra settlements in different parts of western, central and southern India. The most important section of the people lived in the northern Konkan and the adjoining part of the Maratha country. Their history will -be discussed elsewhere. The Abhlras, who came under Gupta influence about the middle of the fourth century, may, however, have been those of central or western India.

4. These were the Prarjunas, Sanakanlkas Kakas and Kharaparikas mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription. They will be discussed in connection with the Guptas in Vol. III.

and western India, they had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas of Magadha about the second half of the fourth century. In the western part of the U.P. and the adjoining region of the Punjab, the indigenous ruling family of Mathura was subdued by the Sakas, while the Kuninda 1 and Kuluta 2 tribes that began to rule independently in the Kangra area after the decline of Yavana power in the Punjab are believed to have been overthrown by the Kushanas.

The Kushana king Kanishka I appears to have been responsible for the subjugation of the reigning dynasty of Almora, 3 the Audumbaras and Vemakis 4 of the land between the Upper Sutlej and the

1. The distribution of the Kuninda coins suggests that the tribe “occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Yamuna and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlei.” A Maharaja named Amoghabhuti, who was the Raja of the Kunindas, is known from coins of the Indo-Greek module with legends sometimes in both Brahmi and KharoshthI, but in some cases in Brahmi only. Another class of the Kuninda coins of the module of the Kushana copper money bears the figure of 6iva and the Brahmi legend bhagavatah chatresvara-mahatmanah. Siva in the form of Chatresvara (sic. Chhatresvara?), lord of Chatra or Chhatra (probably the Kuninda capital or a contraction of its name; cf. Ahichchhatra and Chhatravatl), appears to have been the tutelary deity of the tribe in whose name the tribal coins were issued. It is usually believed that Amoghabhuti carved out a kingdom on the ruins of the Indo-Greek empire about the end of the first century B.C. and that the Chatresvara coins were issued after the fall of the Kushanas at the end of the second or in the third century A.D. The suggestion is not improbable; but it is also probable that the coins of both the types belong practically to the same period. It would not go against palaeographic evidence, if Amoghabhuti, who had a long reign, is assigned to the second or third century A.D. The KharoshthI legend and Greek module of his coins may point to the extension of his power over territories where coins of the Greek period were still in use. There is evidence to show that in ancient and medieval India coins never became out of date. It seems that the Kunindas were overcome by the Kulutas some time after Amoghabhuti.

2. The Kulutas who inhabited the Kullu valley of the Kangra District are mentioned in the Brihat-samhita and the Mudrarakshasa. Hiuen Tsang visited the Kuluta country in the seventh century A. D. The Kuluta king VIrayasas, whose coins have been discovered, probably flourished about the latter half of the third century A.D. The Kuluta country may have been subjugated by the Guptas.

3. Coins of three kings named Sivadatta, Sivapalita and Haridatta are known. They may be assigned to the beginning of the first century A.D.

4. The Audumbaras are located in the area formed by the eastern part of the Kangra District as well as Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur Districts i.e. “the valley of the Beas or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi.” They represented one of the six sections of the ancient Salva tribe, the others being the Tilakhalas, Madrakaras (or Bhadrakaras. probably related with the Madras), Yugandharas, Bhuliiigas and Saradantfas. The earliest Audumbara coins that were issued in the name of the god Mahadeva or Siva bear the Prakrit legend, in both Brahmi and KharoshthI, indicating bhagavato mahadevasya rajarajasya. On the coins of the early Audumbara rulers like Dharaghosha (whose issues bear the representation of Visvamitra), Sivadasa and Rudradasa, we have the legends indicating “of the king so-andso, the Audumbari; of (the god) Mahadeva.” On some square copper coins of the Audumbaras there is the representation of a Saiva temple characterised by a dhvaja, a trident and a battle-axe (JNSI , IV, 55 ff). Goins of a king named Rudravarman, who belonged to the Vemaki tribe associated with the Audum

Ravi, as well as the royal families of Ahichchhatra, Ayodhya and KausambI. But Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Ayodhya and KausambI became centres of powerful monarchical states after the removal of the strong hand of the early emperors of Kanishka’s house. About the middle of the fourth century, however, all these re-animated kingdoms were gradually absorbed into the growing empire of the Guptas. 1

A problem offered by the coins referred to above is that in some cases they lead to the attribution of a large number of rulers, associated with a particular locality, to a comparatively short period of time. It is, how r ever, not. improbable that some of the kings, usually assigned to the same place and family, were actually ruling contem poraneously over adjoining districts. It also seems that the Kushana emperors were not especially against' the circulation of viceregal money and local coinage for which the sarafs (bankers and money changers) were mainly responsible. We have actually coins of the Saka satraps of Western India as well as the rulers of the KausambI region which have to be assigned to the times of the successors of Kanishka I. If this may be regarded as the result of the weakening of the Kushana hold, after that monarch, on the outlying provinces of the empire, it may be suggested that local coinage, if it was effectively stopped at all, was stopped only for the duration of Kanishka's rule.

With these introductory remarks we may now proceed to give an account of the more important states, both republican and monarchical, that played a part in Indian history during the period following the decline of the Kushana power.

II. THE TRIBAL REPUBLICS 1 . The Arjundyanas

The Arjunayana people probably claimed descent from the Pandava prince Arjuna or from the Haihaya king of that name. They have been assigned to the region lying west of Agra and Mathura about the Bharatpur and Alwar States of Rajputana. Coins of the

baras (1HQ, XX, 59 ft), have been discovered. All the coins referred to above may be assigned to the end of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. Some other kings, known from their coins and often believed to have been Audumbaras, are Ajamitra (or Aryamitra) Mahlmitra, Bhumimitra and Mahabhutimitra. In this connection it may be pointed out that the name of the Adamvira or Admera section of the Johiya Rajputs resembles very closely that of the ancient Audumbaras.

1. This point will be discussed in Vol. III.

tribal republic of the Arjunayanas bear the legend arjundyandnim jay ah in the Brahmi script of about the closing decades of the first century B.C. The Arjunayanas, like their neighbours the Yaudheyas appear to have begun to grow powerful with the gradual decline of the Indo-Greek power about the middle of the first century B.C., but were subdued by tiie §akas about the end of the same century. They recovered their political position after the decline of the Kushanas, but had soon to submit to the Guptas about the middle of the fourth century. In the sixth century, Varahamihira refers to the Arjunayanas as an important people of the northern or northwestern division of India.

2. The Malavas

The name of the Malavas, like that of the Malaya mountain range, is probably derived from the Dravidian word malai , meaning hill. In literary and epigraphic records, the name Malava is applied to a number of communities and territories in different parts of central, western and north-western India. In the fourth century B.C. when Alexander invaded India, the Malavas lived in the land lying north of the confluence of the Ravi and the Chenab, and were probably confederated with Kshudrakas who lived about the Montgomery District of the Punjab. The army of the two peoples consisted of 90,000 foot soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots. The association of the Malavas and the Kshudrakas is also known to the Mahabhdrata and the early grammarians, who class these -tribes amongst the ayudha-jivins, ‘those who live by the profession of arms.’ From the Punjab, the Malavas, or at least a large section of the tribe, migrated to Rajputana. This movement may have begun during the Indo-Greek occupation of the Punjab, but seems to have continued down to the Scythian conquest of that country.

The Malavas are the earliest Indian people who are definitely known to have used an era which has been identified with the so-called Vikrama-Samvat of 58 B.C. According to some scholars, the Malavas themselves started the era to commemorate some important event in their history, probably the foundation of their republic in Rajasthan. But, as suggested above, 1 it is more probable that they adopted the use of the Drangian era of 58 B.C. from the Sakas in the Punjab and carried it to their settlement in Rajasthan. The Drangian era, used by the Malavas in Rajasthan, soon came to be

Note 6

known as Krita probably after an illustrious Malava leader of that name, who secured the independence of his tribe frome foreign yoke. 1

In Rajasthan the capital of the Malava republic was Malava nagara 2 which has to be identified with modern Nagar or Karkota nagar in Uniyara in the former Jaipur State, lying about 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and about 45 miles to the north-northeast of Bundi. As early as the beginning of the second century A.D. the Malavas of South Jaipur are known to have fought with their neighbours, the Uttamabhadras of the Ajmer region, as well as with the latter's allies the Kshaharata-Sakas of Western India. But soon after the decline of the Kushanas, they appear to have extended their power in different directions. This is suggested by the use of the Krita era in the records of the third and fourth centuries, discovered in the Bharatpur, Kotah and Udaipur States. According to the Nandsa (Udaipur State) inscriptions of A.D. 226, freedom and prosperity had returned to the country of the Malavas before that date owing to the brilliant achievements of a Malava chief whose name has not been fully deciphered. The reference seems to be to the success of the Malava people chiefly against the Sakas. It is probable that the Maukhari Mahdsenapati Bala, known from the Badva inscriptions of A.D. 238, owed allegiance to the Malava republic.

There seems to have been a long-drawn struggle between the Malavas using the Krita era and the Kardamakas (Western satraps) using the Saka era, in the third and fourth centuries A.D. But both the powers had soon to submit to the Guptas. While, however, the Saka house was extirpated by the conquerors, the Aulikaras, apparently a Malava dynasty, flourished at Dasapura (modern Mandasor, formerly in the realm of the Kardamakas) under the vassalage of the Gupta emperors. It was probably the Aulikaras, especially the mighty Aulikara king Yasodharman (A.D. 532), who were responsible for the name Malava being applied to a wide region of Central

Note 7

Note 8

and Western India, including the old janapadas of Avanti (district round Ujjayim) and Akara or Dasarna (district round Vidisa). It may be noted that the kings, even when they were subordinate to the Guptas, used the Krita era (then also called the era of the Malava people or their republic) in preference to the era of the Guptas. The favour shown to the Malava family of the Aulikaras and to the Malava era in contradistinction to the attempt of Chandra-gupta II Vikramaditya, and probably also his father Samudra-gupta Vikramaditya, to extirpate both the Sakas and their era might have contributed to the growth of the Sakari Vikramaditya saga attributing the foundation of the era of 58 B.C. to Raja Vikrama.

Coins attributed to the Malava tribe have been discovered in large numbers at Nagar and its neighbourhood. At Rairh in the former Jaipur State some Malava coins have been found together with a lead stamp seal with the legend mdlava-janapadasa. Some of the Malava coins may be assigned to the first century B.C., but most of them are later. The coins are usually divided into two broad groups, the first of which seems to bear the legend jayo mdlavanam or mdlavdndm jayah. The second class of coins bears short legends such as Bhapamyana, Majupct, Mapojaya, Mapaya, Magajasa, Magojava, Mapaka , Yama, Paclnha, Jamapaya, Jdmaku, etc. The real significance of these is unknown. They are sometimes taken to be names of chiefs of foreign origin. It has also been suggested that “they are not names, but in most cases meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of mdlavdndm jayah ” Nothing definite, however, can be asserted on this point.

3. The Yaudheyas

Although little is known of the detailed history of the republican tribe of the Yaudheyas, there are enough indications of their great power and authority and the vicissitudes of their political fortune. The forms Yodheya and Yaudheya are derived from Yodha and signify ‘a warrior’. In the Mahdhhdrata, Yaudheya appears as the name of a son of Yudhishthira, and it is not improbable that the Yaudheya people claimed descent from the Pandava king. They are mentioned in Panini’s Ashtadhydyl and are often classed with the Trigarttas and other peoples amongst the dyudha-jivl Kshatriyas. Clay seals of the Yaudheyas have been found in the Ludhiana District, while their coins have been discovered in the area extending from Saharanpur to Multan. Yaudheya coins have been recently found also in the Dehra Dun District. 1 Some interesting coin-moulds of the tribe have come from Rohtak. 2 The heart of the Yaudheya territory may have been the eastern Punjab, but they dominated also over the adjoining tracts of the U.P. and Rajasthan.

The Yaudheyas, whose tutelary deity was Brahmanyadeva (Karttikeya), are probably to be identified with the Mattamayuraka people of Rohitaka (modern Rohtak District of the Punjab), which is described in the Mahdbharata as a place specially favoured by the god Karttikeya. A clue to the extent of the Yaudheya territory is given by the discovery of an inscription of this people at Bijaygarh lying about two miles to the south-west of Bayana in the Bharatpur State of Rajputana. Another indication is offered by the probable identification of the Yaudheyas with the Johiya Rajputs inhabiting the tract of land called Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the borders of the former Bahawalpur State.

The Yaudheyas, like many of their neighbours, grew powerful with the decline of the Indo-Greek power; but they appear to have submitted to the Sakas and the Kushanas. As early, however, as the middle of the second century A.D., when a successor of the Kushatia emperor Kanishka I was ruling, the Yaudheyas were powerful enough tb challenge the authority of the mighty Saka satrap, Rudradaman. The Kushanas soon lost effective control over Western India, and the Yaudheyas, like the Kardamakas and Malavas, grew still more powerful in the third century A.D. They were subdued by the Guptas in the next century.

We have seen that the ancient Yaudheyas were professionally warlike. In the Junagarh inscription of A.D. 150 they are described as untamable owing to their pride, resulting from the ascription of the title of “hero” to them amongst all the Kshatriyas. The Saka ruler Rudradaman claims to have defeated them. The Bijaygarh inscription of about the third century A.D. speaks of a Maharaja Mahasendpati who was placed at the head of the Yaudheya republic (Yaudlieya-ganapuraskrita).

It is interesting to note that the head of the Yaudheya tribe, like that of the Lichchhavis of earlier times, assumed an unpretentious viceregal title (cf . also the style of the contemporary Kardamaka kings). A large Yaudheya clay seal from Ludhiana of about

Note 9

Note 10

the fourth century A.D. bears the representation of a bull and the legend Yaudheyanam jaya-mantra-dharanam, i.e., the seal of the Yaudheyas who were in possession of a victory-charm. In the Allahabad inscription of the middle of the same century, the Yaudheya people are mentioned as a subordinate ally of the Gupta - emperor. A later reference to the Yaudheyas is found in the Brihat-samhita which locates them in the northern or north-west ern division of India along with the Arjunayanas. They are also mentioned in the Puranas.

The earliest Yaudheya coins, which may be attributed to a period about the end of the first century B.C., bear the legend bahudhdhake Yodheyandm , showing that they were struck by the Yaudheya people at Bahudhanyaka. The city of Bahudanyaka has probably to be located in the Rohtak region where the moulds of these coins have been discovered. Another type of the Yaudheya coins, both in silver and copper, was issued in the name of Brahmanyadeva-Kumara (i.e., Skanda-Karttikeya), who was the tutelary deity of the people. The complete legend on these coins, which may be assigned to the second or third century A.D., appears to be bhagavatah svamino brahmanyadevasya kumdrasya: yau&heydndm.

In some cases, the god is called Brahmanyadeva only, while on a few specimens the coins appear to be called the dramma (from Greek drachma) of the deity. This class of coins, wdiich is connected closely in style and type with the coinage of the Kuninda^, bears the representation of the six-headed god Skanda. On seme of the coins the god Skanda is found on the obverse, while a goddess with six heads is represented on the reverse. 1 This deity has been identified with Shashthl or Devasena, wife of Skanda.

A third class of the Yaudheya coins in copper shows Kushana influence in style and types and may be assigned to the third and fourth centuries A.D. The legend on these coins runs Yaudheya ganasya jay ah, ‘victory be to the republic of the Yaudheyas’; but in some cases we have either dvi or tri (or tri) in addition. It has been suggested that dvi and tri are contractions respectively of the words dvitiya and tritiya indicating the second and third sections of the Yaudheya tribe. One of these sections may have been the Mattamayurakas of Rohtak. The present-day Johiyas are also divided into three tribes, viz. Langavira (Lakvira), Madhovira (Madhera) and Adamvira (Admera).

Note 11

It has been recently suggested that the Yaudheyas were especially responsible for extirpating Kushana rule from the Punjab, but the theory can only be partially true. There is no doubt that the rise of feudatories and subordinate allies is partly responsible for the decline of an imperial house, and also that the weakness of the imperial government is partially responsible for the rise of the subordinates. The known story of the decline and downfall of the Tlmurids in India, however, shows that the eclipse of an empire cannot always be attributed to the rise of a single feudatory. In the present state of our knowledge there is nothing to single out the Yaudheyas or any of their neighbours in the Punjab, U.P., and Raj asthan as having been solely responsible for the collapse of Kushana rule in India.[1]

III. THE MONARCHICAL STATES

1. The Naga kingdoms

The Nagas were serpent-worshipping non-Aryan tribes of ancient India. Their great power, culture and political prestige are hinted at in such epic legends as those relating to Vasuki and Takshaka, the death of Parikshit, and the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya as well as in literary traditions like that of Nilanaga, the prehistoric protector of Kashmir. According to some scholars, one of the earliest historical Naga royal lines was the dynasty (or dynasties) represented by Sisunaga and Naga-Darsaka, kings of Magadha. Serpent-worship was a popular cult in all parts of ancient India. The existence of the Nagas in different parts of India in the early and medieval periods and of their descendants in the present time is evidenced not only by epigraphic, numismatic and literary records, but also by numerous localities named after the Nagas (e.g., Nagapura, Uragapura, Nagarakhanda, etc.) and a large number of families (including many royal houses) with the cognomen Naga. In the present section we are concerned only with the

Note 12

Naga dynasties that became powerful at the expense of the later Kushanas and were ultimately suppressed by the Guptas of Magadha.

According to the evidence of the Puranas, Naga kings flourished, apparently after the decline of the Kushanas, at Vidisa, Kantipuri, Mathura and Padmavatl. Mention is also made of the powerful Naga rulers of Vidisa named Sesha, Bhogin and Sadachandra, surnamed Chandramsa, who is described as the second Nakhavat (i.e., Nahapana) and may have been associated with the §akas. The prevalence of Naga rule over considerable portions of northern India in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is also attested by epigraphic and numismatic evidence, and most of the Naga kings, known from these sources, have probably to be connected with one or other of the Naga centres mentioned in the Puranas.

A Lahore copper seal of about the fourth century A.D. refers to prince Mahesvaranaga, son of Maharaja Nagabhatta; 1 but the land over which the Naga Maharaja ruled cannot be determined. The Vakataka records mention Maharaja Bhavanaga as the maternal grandfather of Rudrasena I, whose grandson was a contemporary of Chandra-gupta (A.D. 376-414). Bhavanaga, therefore, may be assigned to the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A. D. He is described as belonging to the family of the Bharasivas “whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Siva that was caused by their carrying a Siva linga placed as a load upon their shoulders/’ and “who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of the Bhaglrathl that had been obtained by their valour.” Thus the name of the Bharasivas, a family of Nagas who were usually Saivas, has been explained by their carrying a linga. It is also suggested that their home was away from the Bhaglrathl (Ganga) but that they extended their power as far as the valley of that river.

The Bharasivas are further credited with the performance of no less than ten Asvamedha sacrifices. The suggestions that the Bharasivas were responsible for the overthrow of Kushana supremacy in India and that the Dasasvamedha Ghat at Banaras owes its name to the celebration of the ten horse-sacrifices by the Bharasivas on that spot may be regarded as fantastic; but there is no doubt that the Bharasiva Nagas were one of the most important powers that flourished on the ruins of the Kushana empire. Some coins bearing the name of Bhavanaga (supposed to be styled Maharaja or Adhiraja)

Note 13

Note 14

have been discovered at Padam Pawaya, the ancient Padmavatl near Narwar in old Gwalior State. 1 If this Bhavanaga was no other than the Bharasiva ruler of that name, the royal family of the Bharasiva-Nagas must have had its capital at that well-known centre of Naga power. The city of Padmavatl has been immortalised by Bhavabhuti (middle of the eighth century A.D.) who made this flourishing city the scene of his Mdlatimddhava . It was situated in the old Gwalior State on the banks of the Sindhu (modern Sind), and other rivers in its vicinity were Para (modern Para or Parvati), Lavana (modern Luna) and Madhumatl (modern Madhuwar).

The Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta claims to have ‘extirpated’ a number of Aryavarta kings about the middle of the fourth century; two of these rulers, viz. Ganapatinaga and Nagasena, were Nagas. That the Gupta emperors maintained friendly relations with the suppressed Naga houses is evidenced by the marriage of Samudra-gupta’s son with Kuberanaga who was a Naga princess. A Naga chief named £arvanaga was appointed a vishaya-pati (provincial governor) and was ruling the AntarvedI district (between the Ganga and the Yamuna and between Prayaga and Hardwar) under Skanda-gupta in the year A.D. 466. Nothing is known about the particular families to which Kuberanaga and Sarvanaga belonged; but both the kings Ganapatinaga and Nagasena appear to have been scions of the house of Padmavatl.

Some coins bearing the name of Mahdrdja Ganendra or Ganapa have been discovered at Padmavatl and also at Vidisa and Mathura. This king of Padmavatl, who may have extended his influence over the other Naga centres, has been identified with king Ganapatinaga extirpated by Samudra-gupta. No coins of Nagasena have as yet been discovered; but the Harshacharita refers to a tradition that the confidential deliberations of Nagasena of the Naga-kula having been divulged by a sdrikd bird led to his destruction at Padmavatl. It is not improbable that, after the overthrow of Ganapatinaga, Samudragupta placed Nagasena on the throne of Padmavatl as his vassal; but later Nagasena himself was also extirpated possibly as a result of an attempt on his part to assume independence.

The Puranas refer to the rule of nine Naga kings at Padmavatl, and, as we have seen, three of them may have been Bhavanaga, Ganapatinaga and Nagasena. Some other Naga rulers are also

Note 15

known from coins discovered in the neighbourhood of Padmavati. They are Maharaja Bhimanaga, Maharaja Skandanaga, Maharaja Brihaspatinaga and Maharaja Devanaga. A few Padmavati coins have been recently attributed to a Naga Maharaja named Vibhunaga. 1 Certain rare coins of the same region with the legend vydghra have been assigned to a king Vyaghranaga.

According to a Puranic statement, seven Naga kings ruled at Mathura apparently after the Kushanas. The issuers of the coins attributed to Mathura, however, had names that do not end in the word Naga. The earliest coins of Mathura appear to be those issued by Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Dritfhamitra, Suryamitra and Vishnumitra who are mentioned without any royal title. These coins may be roughly attributed to the first century B.C. Other early coins attributed to the locality bear the names of Purushadatta (without any royal title), Uttamadatta (sometimes called raja), Ramadatta (sometimes called raja), Raja Kamadatta, Raja Seshadatta, Raja Bhavadatta and Raja Balabhuti. These rulers may have been vassals of the Kushanas and flourished about the second century A.D., after the extirpation of the &akas of Mathura.

Besides the above rulers, a very powerful king named Virasena is known to have flourished after the Kushanas and held large tracts in the western parts of the U.P. It is not improbable that he was a Naga and had his capital at Mathura. The coins of Virasena have been found in Mathura and also in Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhabad Districts. A few specimens have come from the Punjab. An inscription of this king, probably dated in his thirteenth regnal year, was discovered at Jankhat in the south of the Farrukhabad

District. King Virasena may be assigned to the third or fourth century A.D. One of his successors seems to have been ousted by the Guptas.

2. Ahichchhatra

Ahichchhatra (or -tra) or Adhichchhatra, sometimes also called Chhatravati, was the capital of North Panchala in early times when South Panchala to the south of the Ganga had its headquarters at Kampilya, modern Kampil, in the Farrukhabad District. Ahichchhatra has been identified with modern Ramnagar near Aonla in the Bareilly District of the U.P. and North Panchala must have comprised Rohilkhand and the adjoining area.

Note 16

A remarkable series of coins, characterised by a well-marked obverse incuse containing the issuer's name without royal title beneath a group of three symbols, is regarded by numismatists to have been issued by the kings of Ahichchhatra. As, however, the coins of a few of the rulers are common as far as the Basti District in the east, some writers prefer to call these kings 'lords of Panchala and Kosala.' Owing to the fact that many of the kings have names ending in the word mitra, they are often styled 'the Mitra kings'. As mentioned above 1 , some of t;hese- kings are identified with the Sunga and Kanva kings of these names, but this cannot be regarded as certain.

The sorCalled Ahichchhatra coins reveal the names of Bhadraghosha, Suryamitra, Phalgunlmitra, Bhanumitra, Bhumimitra, Dhruvamitra, Agnimitra, Vishnumitra, Jayamitra, Indramitra, Brihatsvatimitra (usually but rather inaccurately called Brihaspatimitra), Visvapala, Rudragupta and Jayagupta. Recent discoveries have added to the list the names of Vangapala, Damagupta, Vasusena, Yajnapala, Prajapatimitra and Varunamitra. 2 Some coins of Vangapala are believed to have been counterstruck by Damagupta. The coins may be assigned to the three centuries following the middle of the first century B. C. An interesting feature of the coins is that often the reverse device refers to the issuer's name; e.g., the issues of Agnimitra exhibit a personification of fire (Agni) and those of Suryamitra and Bhanumitra have solar emblems. Apparently the issuers of the coins were inclined to identify themselves with the deities indicated on the reverse of the coins; but the feature may have been inspired by the variety of deities represented on the reverse of the Kushana coins.

Two kings of Ahichchhatra are known from the Pabhosa (near Kosam) cave inscriptions of prince Ashadhasena, son of the queen Gopalika-Vaihidarl. Asha<Jhasena’s father was the king Traivarnlputra Bhagavata who was the son of Vangapala, king of Ahichchhatra. It is very probable that Vangapala was the king of the same name known from coins. King Bhagavata’s daughter Gopali was married to a Kausambi king and was the mother of king Brihatsvatimitra (probably not Brihaspatimitra) of Kausambi.

There are two types of copper coins found at Ahichchhatra on which the name Achyuta is partially preserved. The reverses of

Note 17

Note 18

both the types represent a wheel, probably the sudarsanachakra of the god Achyuta (Vishnu) The obverse of one of the two types has ‘head and neck of king to rights possibly imitated from the coins of the ^akas of Western India with whom Achyuta of Ahichchhatra may have had some relations. King Achyuta has been identified with the Aryavarta ruler of that name, who according to the Allahabad inscription, was ousted by Samudra-gupta about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

3. Ayodhyd

The city of Ayodhya was the earliest capital of the Kosala (Uttara-Kosala) janapada which roughly corresponded to modern Oudh. It stood on the river Sarayu (modern Ghaghra or Gogra), and has been identified with modern Ajodhya in the Fyzabad District of the U.P. Saketa, which is often mentioned in early literature as the capital of Kosala, is sometimes taken to be another name of Ayodhya, though it is probable that the two cities were adjoining like London and Westminster. Sravasti, modern Sahet-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts, was possibly the capital of the janapada in the age of the Buddha; but Saketa seems to have been reinstated in its old position soon after.

The early inscribed coins, that have been found near the site of the ancient city of Ayodhya, may be divided into two distinct classes issued probably by two different dynasties of rulers. * The first class is represented by square cast coins without any trace of foreign influence in the style and types. The obverse of these coins shows a bull (or rarely an elephant or the Gaja-lakshml) before a symbol, while the reverse type consists of a group of five or six symbols. The rulers represented by this series are Dhanadeva, Visakhadeva, Muladeva, Vayudeva, Naradatta and Sivadatta. Another ruler, whose name is not fully preserved on the coins, was probably Praushfchadatta (or -deva). None of these rulers has been called a king; but it is extremely probable that Dhanadeva of the coins is the same as the Dharmardja Dhana(deva), king of Kosala, who is mentioned in an Ayodhya inscription. 1 In this epigraph, which may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the first century B.C., king Dhanadeva is represented as the son of Phalgudeva (who has no royal title) and as the sixth in descent,

Note 19

Note 20

probably on the mother's side, from Senapati Pushyamitra, the performer of two Asvamedhas. As this Pushyamitra is undoubtedly the Suhga king of that name, who ruled c. 187 to 151 B.C., his sixth descendant may be referred to the closing decades of the first century B.C. The kings represented by the above series of coins may be roughly assigned to the two centuries following the middle of that century.

The second class of Ayodhya coins belongs to a later group of rulers who appear to have flourished after the end of Kushana rule in the eastern U.P. These coins, which are very distinct from the cast coins of the earlier epoch, are "round pieces struck from dies leaving the seal-like impression characteristic of early Indian struck coins." The usual obverse type is the bull and the reverse type "a cock and a post." The rulers represented by this series are Satyamitra, Ayumitra (sometimes believed to the Aryamitra), Sanghamitra, Vijayamitra, Devamitra, Ajavarman and Kumudasena. Of these Kumudasena alone is called a Raja. It is probably from a successor of this king that the Guptas conquered the Oudh region and annexed it to their empire.

4. Kausambi

The ancient city of Kausambi, which has been identified with the village of Kosam about thirty-five miles to the south-west of Allahabad, appears to have been the headquarters of a provincial ruler in the age of the Maurya emperors; but, about the end of the second century B.C., it probably became the capital of a local family of rulers.

The earliest of the inscribed coins of Kausambi appear to be those with the legend Kosambi in Brahmi characters of the beginning of the first century B.C. Next in point of date are probably the cast coins of Sudeva and Brihatsvatlmitra (probably not Brihaspatimitra as is usually held) which are closely connected with the early uninscribed cast coins of the locality in style and types and may be assigned to the middle of the first century B.C. Brihatsvatimitra also issued die-struck coins. The struck coins reveal the names of Asvaghosha, Parvata, Agnimitra, Jyeshtamitra and Devamitra. Some coins recently discovered at Kausambi have been attributed to Varunamitra, Suramitra, Radhamitra, Prajapatimitra, Rajamitra and Vijayamitra. Coins of a king named Praushthasri have been found at Bhita, while those of the kings Bhadramagha,

Sivamagha, Vaisravana and Bhlmavarman have come from the Fatehpur District. Some unclassified KausambI coins in the British Museum reveal the names not only of Vaisravana and Vijayamagha, but also of some rulers whose names may probably have been Mulahasta, Vishnusri and Sankumagha. A few KausambI coins have been attributed to a Raja named Dhanadeva. 1 All these coins may be referred roughly to the period between the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.

A number of the KausambI kings who issued coins are also known from epigraphic sources. The earliest of the inscriptions, which may be assigned to about the end of the first century B.C., is the Pabhcsa (near Kosam) record of Ashadhasena, prince of Ahichchhatra, dated in the tenth regnal year of Udaka. The epigraph represents king Gopallputra Brihatsvatlmitra, 2 a contemporary or a predecessor of Udaka, as the daughter's son of king Traivarnlputra Bhagavata, son of king Saunakayanlputra Vangapala of Ahichchhatra. King Brihatsvatlmitra is known from his coins; but no coins of Udaka have as yet been discovered. Varunamitra of the coins is apparently the same as Rdjd Gauptlputra Varunamitra of a fragmentary Kosam inscription of the first century A.D. Varunamitra's son was also a king who had the metronymic Kohatjiputra. The dynasty of these rulers of KausambI appears to have been overthrown by Kanishka I. An inscription of the Kushana monarch has been found at Kosam itself.

The records of the later kings of KausambI are characterised by the use of an era which seems to be no other than Kanishka's reckoning, i.e. the Saka era of A.D. 78, 3 introduced in the locality during the rule of Kanishka I. This dynasty of rulers must have originally been subordinate to the Kushanas. As some of the kings of this house had names ending with the word Magha, it is probably that they are the Meghas (sic. Maghas) mentioned in the Puranas. The wide extent of the Magha dominions is indicated by the find of their epigraphic and numismatic records not only in the Allahabad District, but also in the Fatehpur District as well as in the Rewah State of Baghelkhand in Central India.

Note 21

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Note 24

Although the new dynasty may have been founded by a lieutenant of the Kushanas named Magha, the earliest ruler known from epigraphic sources seems to be Raja Vasishthiputra Bhlmasena of a Bhita seal. In the Bandhogarh (Rewah State) inscription of the year 51 (A.D. 129) and the Ginja (40 miles to the south of Allahabad inscription of the year 52 (A.D. 130) Bhlmasena is credited with the more dignified title of Maharaja. Maharaja Kautsiputra Prau shthasrl, son of Bhlmasena, is known from six records found at Bandhogarh with dates in the years 86, 87 and 88 corresponding to A.D. 164, 165 and 166. PraushthasrI is no doubt the king of that name who is known from his coins. His successor appears to have been Bhadradeva of a Bandhogarh inscription of the year 90 (A.D. 168) who is probably identical with Bhadadeva of another record of the same place.

Maharaja Kausiklputra Bhadramagha is not only known from his coins but also from several Kosam inscriptions dated in the years 81, 86 and 87 corresponding to A.D. 159, 164 and 165. It seems that Bhadramagha, who may have been a younger step-brother of Bhlmasena or an elder step-brother of PraushthasrI; was the immediate successor of Maharaja Bhlmasena. But PraushthasrI appears to have rebelled against Bhadramagha's authority and declared himself king in the southern part of the kingdom about the closing years of the latter's reign. Later he extended his power also over the KausambI region. Some scholars are inclined to identify Bhadramagha with Bhadradeva or Bhadadeva of the Bandhogarh inscription of the year 90; but the suggestion is unconvincing.

Two records from Bandhogarh belong to Raja Vaisravana who is known from his coins. This ruler, probably belonging to the same house, is represented in the inscriptions as the son of the Mahasenapati Bhadrabala whose identification with Bhadramagha, suggested by some writers, is, however, unwarranted. Vaisravana may have at first been the viceroy of the KausambI kings in the southern part of their kingdom; but he later established himself on the throne of his masters. A Kosam inscription of the year 107 (A.D. 185) mentions him as Maharaja. A later king of KausambI was Maharaja Bhimavarman who is not only known from his coins but also from two inscriptions found at Kosam dated respectively in the years 130 and 139 corresponding to A.D. 208 and 217. 1 <JGng Sivamagha of the coins is no doubt the same as Maharaja Gautamiputra Sivamagha mentioned in a Bhita seal and in several inscriptions from Kosam. But his exact date as well as his relations with the other kings such as Bhadramagha cannot be determined in the present stage of our knowledge. Nothing definite is known about the genealogical and chronological position of the other kings of the Magha dynasty whose names, known from their coins, are referred to above.

A Bhita seal of about the third century A. D. speaks of Maharaja Gautamlputra Vindhyavedhana who is as yet unknown from any other sources. He is said to have received his kingdom through Mahesvara and Mahasena and had the bull as his banner. 2 Whether Vindhyavedhana was the founder of a new dynasty cannot be ascertained. One of his successors appears to have been Maharaja Samkarasimha who is known from a Bhita seal of about the fourth century A.D. The Bhita seals also reveal the names of Mqhddev 7 Rudramati and Mahasvapati-Mahddandanayaka Vishnurakshita who were undoubtedly associated with the kings of Kausambl. 3

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CHAPTER XII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. In the following pages we shall give our own views regarding the dates of the coins and their issuers. For other views referring these coins to somewhat earlier periods, see the various catalogues of coins cited under general reference. Most of the coins with Brahml legends show angular and developed forms of letters j, l, h, m, v, etc.
2. 2. The history of the Arjunayanas, Malavas, Yaudheyas and Nagas as well as of the kings of Ahichchhatra, Ayodhya and KausambI will be discussed in this section in some detail. The history of the powers will be briefly noticed in the foot-notes.
3. 3. The Uddehikas are located in Madhyadesa in the Brihat-samhita. According to Alberuni, their country lay near the city of Bazana, which lay to the south
4. east of Kanauj, the distance between the two places being the same as that
5. between Kanauj and Mathura. Bazana, called the capital of Gujarat (i.e . the Gurjara country), is no doubt modern Bayana in the Bharatpur State. Coins bearing the legend udehaki and udehaki Suyamitasa may be assigned to the second half of the first century B.C.
6. 1. See p. 125, n. 1.
7. 1. For Krita as a personal name, see Mbh. XVIII, 91, 31; Hv. 1, 20, 42; Bhdg. P., IX, 24, 46; Vayu P., 96, 139 etc. For the origin of the era, see above, p. 157. If Krita was the Malava leader who secured the independence of his tribe from foreign yoke, it was easy to confuse his achievements with that of Vikramaditya, ‘the exterminator of the §akas.’ Later the era was associated with Malava people or their republic, then with the Malava kings and ultimately with the king of Malava (i.e. king Vikramaditya of tradition). Cf. Ch. X.
8. 2. An inscription dated V.S. 1043 (A.D. 986) which has been recently discovered at Nagar, calls the place Malava-nagara and describes its prosperity (B/iaratakaumudi, I. pp. 271-72). The name Karkota-nagar, often applied to the city, probably suggests that, for a time it passed to the Nagas. In fabric the later Malava coins are somewhat similar to the coins of the Nagas of Padmavatl with whom they may have been closely connected.

9. 1. JNSI, II, 109 ff.
10. 2. Proc. N.S.l ., 1<)3G; Mem. N.S.I., No. 3.
11. 1. .IN SI, V, pp. 2‘J IT.
12. 1. The main cause of the decay of Kushana pov/er in India seems to have been the division of power between the joint rulers as well as the personal incapacity of the successors of Kanishka I to exercise control over the outlying provinces of the empire. Another strong factor must have been the foundation of a strong monarchy in Persia by the Sassanians who knocked at the western gates of the Kushana empire from about the middle of the third century A.D. But as we know from the Wei-lio , even about this time the Kushana emperor was regarded as the lord of T’ien-chou (probably the Punjab and the adjoining regions) and other countries. The importance of the Kushana ruler’s position in Uttarapatha in the fourth century A.D. is indicated by his prominent mention in the Allahabad inscription of Samudra-gupta.
13. 1. This seems to be the natural interpretation of the legend maharaja-nayabhattaVutra-mahesvaranaga.
14. If>9
15. l. JNS1, V. pp. 21 ff.
16. 1. JNSI, V. pp. 26-27.
17. 1. See pp. 98, 100.
18. 2. JNSI, II, pp. 115-16; III, pp. 79; IV, pp. 17, 20; V, 17 IT.
19. 1. Sel. Ins., I, p. 96. According to some scholars, the expression pushyamitrasya shasthena means ‘the sixth brother of Pushyamitra 6uhga.’ This view is quite incompatible with the palaeography of the record.
20. 173
21. 1. For the new coins see ASR, 1911-12, pp. 50 ff; JNSI, II, pp. 95 ff; IV, pp. 4 ff; 133 ff. For a silver coin of Asvaghcsha, see JBORS, XX, p. 8. Some KausambI coins have also been attributed to Rajanlmitra, Praushthamitra, 6atamitra, S-arpamitra, Navika, Pushvasrl and Agaraja (cf. JNSI, IV, 133 ff). But the reading of some of the names appears to be doubtful. Pushvasriyah seems to be a wrong reading for prashthasriyah (i.e. praushtha 0). Agaraja has been identified with Gauptlputra Agaraju (Afigaradyut), son of Garglputra Visvadeva who was a feudatory of the Sungas and is mentioned in a Bharhut

inscription (Sel. Ins. I, p. 89), while Praushthamitra has been supposed to be

22. N the person of that name known from a KausambI inscription (JNSI, IV, p. 134). Praushthamitra of the inscription, however, was not a king.
23. 2. See below 214.
24. 3. Some scholars, however, take it to be the Traikutaka or the Gupta era, or a local era. For full discussion on the subject cf. NHIP, VI, p. 41, fn. 2.
25. 1. For the inscriptions and seals, see Sel. Ins., p. 365; El, XVIII, pp. 159 ff; XXIII, pp. 245 ff; XXIV, pp. 146-48; 253 ff; Jha Comm. Vol., pp. 100-14; IC, I, p. 692; III, pp. 179, 183; ASR, 1911-12, pp. 50-53. For notes on the Bandhogarh records, see NHIP , VI. pp. 41 ff.
26. 2. One is reminded of the Nala king J3havadattavarman who makes a similar claim as regards the two gods; but his banner was different.
27. 3. Coins reveal the names of many other rulers who flourished in different parts of northern India in the first century B.C. and the early centuries of the Christian era. The coins of three kings named Suryamitra, Brahmamitra and Vishnudeva have been doubtfully assigned to Kanauj. Other important names known from numismatic source include those of Ajadatta and Yugasena. None of these rulers is mentioned in the Puranas by name. The only king of this period, mentioned in the Puranas by name is the mighty VisvasphanI of Magadha, who was very probably of foreign origin.

THE SAKA SATRAPS OF WESTERN INDIA

We have seen how the Indo-Greeks conquered Sind, Saurashtra and parts of Rajasthan in the second century B.C. The Scythians of East Iran established themselves in the valley of the lower Sindhu in the following century, when they probably also penetrated as far east as Saurashtra and the adjoining regions. Scythian princes continued to dominate over considerable parts of Western India as late as the time of the early emperors of the Gupta family, till Chandra-gupta II finally annexed their dominions to the Gupta empire.

I. THE SCYTHIANS IN WESTERN INDIA

The earliest reference to Scythian rule in Western India can be traced in the Periplus (c. A.D. 70-80) The lower Sindhu valley is mentioned in this work as Scythia (i.e., the land of the Scythians), although Parthian princes are represented as occupying its capital Min-nagara, the name usually applied by the early Scythians to their chief cities. The Periplus also refers to a powerful king named Mambarus who had his headquarters at another Min-nagara and was probably a Scythian. The family of Mambarus seems to have been originally subordinate to the Scythian emperors, but appears to have become practically independent after the Parthian occupation of the western part of the dominions of Azes II includ ing the lower valley of the Sindhu. The Periplus says: "Beyond the gulf of Baraca (Dvaraka) is that of Barygaza (Broach) and the coast of the country of Ariaca (Ptolemy's Larike, i.e. Lata) which is the beginning of the kingdom of Mambarus and of all India. That part of it. lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria (Abhira) and the coast is called Syrastrene (Surashtra)." The kingdom of Mambarus thus seems to have comprised Saurashtra, Gujarat and parts of Rajasthan. But the reference in the Periplus to the city of Calliena (Kalyan in the Thana District) being at first in the possession of the elder Saraganus (Satakami), and later in that of Sandares, when the port was much obstructed and Greek ships were taken to Barygaza under guard, may point to the

Scythian occupation of the northern Konkan about the middle of the first century A.D. It is not improbable that Sandares was the viceroy of Mambarus 1 in Aparanta, which was conquered from the Satavahanas about that time. Some scholars suggest that the name Mambarus is a mistake for Nambanus, which again is supposed to be a Greek corruption of the name Nahapana. As the satrap Nahapana is known to have ruled in the period c. A.D. 119-25, the suggestion appears to be unwarranted.

II. THE KSHAHARATA SATRAPS

About the end of the first century A.D., the Kushana emperor Kanishka I seems to have extended his power over Central and Western India. The ruling house represented by Mambarus was either subdued or supplanted. It is as yet unknown whether the Kshaharatas, who probably ruled Western India as Kshatrapas of Kanishka I and his successors, belonged to the same family as Mambarus. This satrapal house seems also to have been Scythian in origin.

1. Bhilmaka

Kshaharata Bhumaka is the earliest known Kshatrapa in charge of the south-western part of the empire of the Kushanas of Kanishka’s house. His coins have been found in the coastal regions x>f Gujarat and Saurashtra and sometimes also Malwa and the Ajmer region of Rajasthan. The use of both the Kharoshthi and Brahmi scripts in Bhumaka’s coin-legends probably points to the fact that the Kshatrapa territories not only comprised such districts as Malwa, Gujarat, and Saurashtra where Brahmi was prevalent, but also some regions about western Rajasthan and Sind where Kharoshthi appears to have been in use. Traces of Greek legend on the coins of the early Kshatrapas of Western India point to the influence and popularity in Indo-Scythia of the Indo-Greek coinage to which the Periplus bears witness. Some writers' are inclined to associate the use of Kharoshthi on the earlier satrapal issues with the northern origin of the Kshatrapas. No details of Bhumaka’s rule are known. Whether he issued coins during the lifetime of Kanishka I or after the latter’s death, when the hold of the Kushanas on the outlying provinces of the empire was growing feeble, cannot be ascertained.

Note 1

2. Nahapana

Kshatrapa Bhumaka seems to have been succeeded by Nahapana who belonged to the same Kshaharata family. The exact relation between the two satraps, however, is as yet unknown. Nahapana is known not only from his coins but also from a number of inscriptions bearing dates ranging between the years 41 and 46 of an era. As the era seems to be no other than Kanishka's reckoning, i.e., the 6aka era of A.D. 78, Nahapana very probably flourished about the period A.D. 119-25.[1] In the earlier records Nahapana is called a Kshatrapa, while in the inscription of the year 46 he is credited with the title Mahakshatrapa. But in all these epigraphs Nahapana has the additional title Rdjan, which probably indicates a political position superior to that enjoyed by his predecessor, Kshatrapa Bhumaka. On the coins Nahapana is invariably called Rdjan, and on none of them occurs the title Kshatrapa or Mahakshatrapa. It should also be pointed out that no record of Nahapana refers to his overlord. He therefore seems to have been ruling practically as an independent king without openly disavowing his allegiance to the Kushanas. The Kardamakas who succeeded the Kshaharatas also enjoyed the title Rajan (sometimes referred to also as Maharaja) together with a satrapal designation.

Nahapana issued both silver and copper coins. The silver issues were imitated as regards size, weight and fabric from the hemi-drachms of the Yavana kings, and in these respects they set a standard which was followed by the Western satraps for about three centuries, and afterwards by their successors the Guptas and the Traikutakas. Probably from the same source, as well as from the Homan coins imported into Indian ports like Broach (where, according to the Periplus, they yielded a profit when exchanged for native money), they derived their obverse type 'Head of King'. This type, together with a legend in Graeco-Roman characters which later degenerated into a sort of ornament, became a feature of these coins.

Nahapana's coins have been discovered in the Ajmer region of Rajasthan in the north and in the Nasik District in the south. The

Note 2

his dominions actually comprised the wide area from Ajmer to northern Maratha country is indicated by epigraphic evidence. An inscription of Aryaman, who was an amatya of Nahapana, has been found at Junnar in the Poona District. A number of inscriptions recording the pious gifts of the Hinduised Saka chief Itishabhadatta (Ushavadata), son of Dinika, have been discovered in the rock-cut caves at Nasik and at Karle in the Poona District. Rishabhadatta was the husband of Dakshamitra, daughter of N&hapana, and was the viceroy in the southern province of his father-in-law's dominions. There is no doubt that the dharas (districts) of Govardhana (Nasik) and Mamala (Poona) were in charge of Rishabhadatta; but he may have also ruled over southern Gujarat and the northern Konkan from Broach to Sopara. In connection with Rishabhadatta's benefactions, inscriptions refer to such localities as Kapur -ahara (Kapura in the old Baroda State), Prabhasa (in southern Saurashtra), Bhrigukachchha (Broach), Dasapura (Mandasor in western Malwa), Surparaka (Sopara in Thana District) and Pushkara (near Ajmer) as well as to the rivers Tapi, Barnasa (Banas, a tributary of the Chambal), Parada (Par in the Surat District), Damana (Damanganga near Daman) and Dahanuka (near Dahanu in the Thana District). It is, however, likely that Bashabhadatta visited some of the holy places outside his viceregal state as a pious pilgrim; but it seems very probable that Malwa, Saurashtra, Gujarat, the northern part of the Konkan and the Maratha. country, and large parts of Rajasthan probably including a portion of the lower Sindhu valley, lay within the dominions of his father-in-law.

In one of the Nasik cave inscriptions, Rishabhadatta is said to have gone, at the command of the Bhattaraka, to relieve the chief of the Uttamabhadra tribe, who was besieged by the Malay as (Malavas, settled in the Jaipur region of Rajasthan). After inflicting a crushing defeat on the Malayas, the &aka chief is said to have gone to the Pushkara lake for ceremonial consecration. It is not known whether the word bhattaraka (lord) indicates the Satrap Nahapana or his Kushana overlord. But whichever interpretation is accepted, it cannot be denied that the Ajmer region in Rajasthan lay within the sphere of Nahapana's influence. The Nasik and Poona Districts had been conquered from the Satavahanas of Pratishthana either by Nahapana himself or by one of the earlier Scythian rulers of Western India who appear to have extended their power over the northern Konkan.

In the latter part of, or shortly after, the Saka year 46 (A.D. 12425), which is the latest known date of Nahapana, the satrap seems to have been defeated and killed by the Satavahana king Gautamlputra Satakarni, who annexed the southern provinces of the Kshaharata dominions. Gautamiputra is not only said to have totally uprooted the Kshaharata dynasty arid to have extirpated the Sakas together with the Yavanas and the Pahlavas, but is also described as the lord of many countries including Surashtra (Saurashtra), Kukura (in the Gujarat-Saurashtra region), Anupa the Mandhata or Mahesvar region on the Narmada), Aparanta (northern Konkan), Akara (east Malwa) and Avanti (west Malwa). Gautamlputra's inscriptions in the Nasik and Poona Districts show how Nahapana's viceroy Hishabhadatta was ousted by him from those regions. The large hoard of Nahapana's coins, discovered at Jogalthembi in the Nasik District, shows how the Satavahana king captured the satrap's treasury and restruck the latter's coins for re-circulation. But even after the loss of the southern provinces to the Satavahanas, the Sakas appear to have held the northern provinces of the Kshaharata dominions. The Kshaharata family, however, seems to have become extinct with Nahapana's death. In the south-western satrapy of the Kushana empire the Kshaharatas were succeeded by the Scythian family of the Kardamakas.

III. THE KARDAMAKAS

1. Chashtana

The authority of the new family was established in Western India by Chashtana, son of Ysamotika 1 of the Kardamaka 2 family. On the earlier coins of Chashtana he is called a Kshatrapa, and in later issues a Mahakshatrapa; but in all cases he has the additional title Rdjan. His father Ysamotika, however, has no royal title. The early home of the Kardamakas is unknown; but Chashtana may have been ruling in the Sind region as a feudatory of the Kushanas. After Nahapana's death Chashtana seems to have been appointed by the Kushanas viceroy of the south-western province of their empire in place of the Kshaharata ruler with instructions to recover the lost districts of the satrapy from the Satavahanas.

Note 3

Note 4

In some provinces of the Scythian and Kushana dominions the viceroy with the title Mahakshatrapa was associated in the administration with a subordinate ruler called Kshatrapa. When Chashtana, probably in his old age, became a Mahakshatrapa, he seems to have selected his son Jayadaman as Kshatrapa who, however, died early and was succeeded by his son Rudradaman I. Inscriptions discovered at Andhau in Kachchha show that in the &aka year 52 (A.D. 130-31) Raja Chashtana was ruling jointly with his grandson Rdjd Rudradaman. It seems that at that date Chashtana was the Mahakshatrapa, and Rudradaman, the Kshatrapa. Thus the Kardamakas were at least on the borders of the expanded empire of Gautamlputra Satakarni within a few years after Nahapana's death.

But there is evidence to show that the Sakas under Chashtana and Rudradaman defeated the Satavahana king and recovered most of the northern districts of the latter's dominions originally conquered from Nahapana. In the Geography of Ptolemy, written about A.D. 140 with materials gathered a few years earlier, Ozene, i.e. UjjayinI, capital of Avanti (west Malwa), is mentioned as the headquarters of Tiastenes, undoubtedly a Greek corruption of the name Chashtana . In the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman, that ruler is represented as the lord of many countries including Akara, Avanti, Anupa, Aparanta, Saurashtra and Anarta (Dvaraka region in Saurashtra), which had all been conquered from Gautamlputra (c. A.D. 106-30), probably when Rudradaman was a Kshatrapa under his grandfather. Rudradaman further claims to have twice defeated Satakarni, lord of Dakshinapatha, whom he did not destroy as he was a near relative. This Satakarni seems to be no other than Gautamlputra. The closeness of relation between the two rulers is explained by the Kanheri inscription which refers to a Kardamaka princess as the daughter of Mahakshatrapa Ru(dra) who is generally identified with Rudradaman, and as the wife of Vasisthiputra Satakarni, apparently a co-uterine brother of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi and a son of Gautamlputra. Rudradaman's claim to have reinstated deposed kings may have reference to the reinstatement of certain feudatories of Nahapana, ousted by Gautamlputra Satakarni.

The early coins of Chashtana bear the type 'crescent and star' to which a hill (chaitya of some writers) symbol was added later. As the hill is intimately associated with the northern issues of Gautamlputra Satakarni and Yajna Satakarni, it has been suggested that it signifies some extension of Chashtana's power at the expense of the Satavahanas, "some reconquest of territories previously taken by

them from his predecessor Nahapana." After Chashtana's rule the use of the KharoshthI was discontinued, although the Graeco-Roman legend continued to appear as a sort of ornamental fringe around the obverse of the coins. The omission of KharoshthI may be a result of the transference of the Kardamaka headquarters from the KharoshthI area to Ujjain. On the coins of Jayadaman, who was a Kshatrapa for some time during his father's rule as Mahakshatrapa before A.D. 130-31, the satrap is called Rdjan and Kshatrapa.

2. Rudradaman

Some time after A.D. 130-31, Chashtana was succeeded as Mahakshatrapa by his grandson Rudradaman I. All his known coins belong to the period when Rudradaman was a Mahakshatrapa. For the history of Rudradaman's reign we possess one exceptionally important document in the Junagarh inscription dated in the &aka year 72 (A.D. 150-51). The subject for the prasasti is the reconstruction of the dam of the Sudarsana lake, created by storing the waters of streams like the Suvarnasikata and Palasinl running from the Ur jay at (modern Girnar) hill. The lake was situated far from the city of Giri-nagara (modern Junagarh), the old capital of Surashtra. A large dam for the storage of water was constructed by Pushyagupta, who was Chandragupta Maurya's viceroy in Surashtra, while irrigation canals from the lake were excavated by Yavanaraja Tushaspha on behalf of his master, the Maurya emperor Asoka. The lake remained a boon to the cultivators of Surashtra for several centuries.. Shortly before A.D. 150-51, a terrible cyclone caused a serious breach, as a result of which the Sudarsana lake ceased to exist. When the peasants were fearing failure of the annual crops, Rudradaman sent his councillors and executive officers for the repair of the dam and the reconstruction of the lake. All the officials having been unsuccessful in the task, Pahlava Suvisakha, son of Kulaipa, was appointed governor of Anarta and Surashtra. The efforts of this Parthian official in the employment of Rudradaman were crowned with success, and the reservoir was again brought into being.

We have seen how Rudradaman defeated Satakarni, lord of Dakshinapatha, and conquered Malwa, Saurashtra, Gujarat, the northern Konkan and the Mahishmatl (modern Mandhata or Mahesvar) region on the Narmada. The Mahakshatrapa’s territories also comprised other districts such as Kachchha (Cutch), Svabhra (the Sabarmati valley), Maru (the Marwar region), Sindhu (western part of the lower Sindhu valley), Sauvira (eastern part of the lower Sindhu valley) and Nishada (about the western Vindhyas and the Aravalli range). Thus Rudradaman appears to have ruled over the whole of the Kshaharata dominions with the only exception of the Nasik and Poona Districts. He claims to have conquered all these territories by his own valour.

Rudradaman is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the republican tribe of the Yaudheyas who inhabited southern Punjab and the adjoining regions. It is probable that he tried to subdue the insubordinate Yaudheyas on behalf of his Kushana overlords. But that he ruled almost as an independent king is indicated by the absence of any reference to the Kushanas in the records of his time as well as by his claim that he himself assumed the title of Mahakshatrapa. Rudradaman is said to have enjoyed royal fortune even when he was in his mother’s womb. The exact significance of the claim, however, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. His good rule, we are told, rid his dominions of disease, robbers, wild beasts and other pests.

Rudradaman was not only a great conqueror and administrator, but a patron of classical Sanskrit. He was himself a pastmaster of grammar, polity, music and logic, and was reputed for the excellence of his compositions in Sanskrit, both in prose and verse. Under the Kardamakas, the city of UjjayinI became one of the most important seats of learning in all India. According to the Junagarh inscription, Rudradaman attended several Svayamvaras and won the hands of a number of princesses. These matrimonial alliances of the Kardamakas point to the gradual absorption of the Scythians into Indian society. There is evidence for the marriages of Kardamaka girls to the families of the Satavahanas of Dakshinapatha, the Ikshvakus of Andhrapatha and probably also the Lichchhavis of Vaisali.

3. Successors of Rudradaman

Damaysada (Damaghsada according to some writers) or Damajadasri I, son of Rudradaman I, issued coins as Kshatrapa during his father's lifetime. This sort of joint administration by the king as Mahakshatrapa, with his son or brother in the junior capacity of Kshatrapa, seems to have been a fairly regular practice in the family. Some time after A.D. 150-51 he succeeded his father as Mahakshatrapa. The latter part of his name represents the Persian word Zada .

The name of Damaysada does not occur in the official genealogy of the time of his brother and nephew. Although there is nothing unnatural in the omission of a collateral branch in epigraphs which often record only the direct descent from father to son, Rapson suggests that this omission is the result of a struggle for the throne, after the death of Damaysada, between his brother Rudrasimha I and son Jlvadaman.

No coin of Jlvadaman as Kshatrapa is known and it is therefore probable that he did not exercise any administrative function during his father's reign. Jlvadaman succeeded his father as Mahakshatrapa, but was soon ousted by his uncle Rudrasimha I. From the time of Jlvadaman and Rudrasimha I onwards the Kardamaka coins, especially their silver issues, have the year of their issue recorded in Brahml numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Jlvadaman seems to have issued coins as Mahakshatrapa in 100 (A.D. 178-79).

Rudrasimha I issued coins as Kshatrapa in the Saka year 102 (A.D. 180-81) and, according to the Gunda inscription, he was still a Kshatrapa at the beginning of the next year, evidently under his nephew Jlvadaman. During the latter part of the year 103 (A.D. 181-82), however, Rudrasimha I assumed the title of Mahakshatrapa and issued coins in that capacity in the periods 103-10 (A.D. 181-89) and 113-18 (A.D. 191-97). It is strange that in the intervening years 110-112 (A.D. 188-91) between the two periods of his rule as Mahakshatrapa, Rudrasimha I issued coins as Kshatrapa.

Rapson is inclined to ascribe his temporary degradation to the success of Jlvadaman, who is supposed to have again attained to the status of Mahakshatrapa during the period in question. Altekar rightly points out that the king's bust on the coin dated the year 100 represents a youthful figure, while the other issues of Jlvadaman dated 119 and 120 portray him as an old man. Jlvadaman should therefore be regarded as having ruled as Mahakshatrapa for the first time in his youth, and for a second time in his old age. But we have no coins of Jlvadaman in the period A.D. 188-91. Bhandarkar may therefore be right in associating Rudrasimha's degradation in A.D. 188-91 with the rise of Isvaradatta, whose coins issued as Mahakshatrapa during the regnal years 1 and 2 are said to have been discovered in Saurashtra. Nothing definite is known about Isvaradatta whom some writers call an Abhlra.

About the end of the second century A.D. the Satavahana king Yajna Satakarni is known to have deprived the Kardamakas of some of the southern provinces of their dominions. It is probable that the success of Isvaradatta was mainly due to the help he received from the Satavahana ruler. But both of them appear to have exploited the situation resulting from the struggle between Jivadaman and Rudrasimha I.

Epigraphic and numismatic records of the time of Rudrasimha I have been discovered in Saurashtra, Malwa and Rajasthan. The inscription from Gunda (north Saurashtra) records the pious work of the Abhira general Rudrabhuti, son of the general Bapaka.

Rudrasimha I was succeeded by Jivadaman, who again ruled as Mahakshatrapa in the period A.D. 197-99. His brother Satyadaman (another son of Damajadasri I) issued coins as Kshatrapa. But the dates of these issues are uncertain, and we do not know whether this Kshatrapa ruled under his uncle Mahakshatrapa Rudrasimha I or brother Jivadaman who ascended the throne in his youth, but lost it and again became Mahakshatrapa in his old age.

The next ruler was Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasimha I. Rudrasena issued coins as Kshatrapa in the year 121 (A.D. 199-200), but according to the Mulwasar (near Dwarka) inscription, dated in the month of Vaisakha of the year 122 (A.D. 200-201), he had assumed the dignity of Mahakshatrapa by the beginning of this yeai\ Clay seals belonging to Mahddevi Prabhudama, described as a daughter of Mahakshatrapa Rudrasimha I and a sister of Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena I, have been discovered at Basarh (ancient Vaisall) in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar. It is not improbable that she was married to a chief of the Lichchhavis who appear to have flourished in that region before the rise of the Guptas.

The Garha (near Jasdan, Saurashtra) inscription of Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena I is probably dated in the year 127 (A.D. 205-206). He ended his rule in the year 144 (A.D. 222-223), when he was succeeded by his brother Sanghadaman, another son of Rudrasimha I, as Mahakshatrapa. Coins of the Kshatrapas of this period are rare. In the year 144 (A.D. 222-23), however, Prithivlsena, son of Rudrasena I, is known to have been ruling as Kshatrapa, under his father or his uncle Sanghadaman. Mahakshatrapa Sanghadaman had a short rule of two years (Saka 144-45) and was succeeded by his brother Mahakshatrapa Damasena, third son of Rudrasimha I.

Damasena's coins have dates ranging between the years 145 and 158 (A.D. 223-237); but it is probable that he died not long before the year 160 (A.D. 238-39), 1 the earliest known date of the coins of Yasodaman issued as Mahakshatrapa. During the rule of Mahakshatrapa Damasena, his nephew, DamajadasrI II, son of Rudrasena I, ruled as Kshatrapa and issued coins in the years 154 and 155 (A.D. 232-34). The successor of DamajadasrI II in the office of Kshatrapa was VIradaman (Saka 156-60 or A.D. 234-39), son of Damasena. . After the reign of Mahakshatrapa Damasena, the potin coinage of the Kardamakas, which is usually attributed to Malwa or some district of that country, seems to have discontinued. This currency is associated with the Mahakshatrapas; the Kshatrapas, who probably held sway in Saurashtra and Gujarat, and not in any part of Malwa, did not issue coins in potin. The discontinuance of this coinage is suggested to have denoted that about this time a part of Malwa was lost to the Kardamaka Mahakshatrapas, or that the potin currency previously circulating in that district was superseded by the more widely used silver coinage.

Rapson is inclined to favour the latter suggestion, as the establishment in Malwa of the silver coinage of the Kardamakas is probably presupposed by similar coinages subsequently introduced in this region by the Guptas and the Hunas. It may, however, be pointed out in this connection that about the middle of the third century there were not only internal dissensions amongst the Sakas of Western India, but they were also threatened by the Malavas from the north and the Abhiras from the south. According to the Nandsa (old Udaipur State) inscriptions dated in A.D. 226, freedom and prosperity had returned by that date to the country of the Malavas as a result of the brilliant achievements of a Malava chief. This probably indicates the loss of the northern part of the Kardamaka dominions.

In the south, the Abhiras appear to have established a powerful kingdom in northern Maharashtra and the adjoining regions and started an era of their own in the year A.D. 248-49. Somewhat later we find a Saka Mahadandanayaka named Srldharavarman, originally a governor of the Kardamakas in east Malwa, practically ruling as an independent king. The Sanchl inscription of SrTdharavarman, dated in his 13th regnal year, also contains a Saka year, which is read by some as 201 corresponding to A.D. 279-80, and by

others as 241 or A.D. 319-20. He called himself a dharmavijayin and a devotee of the god Mahasena. The Nagas of Vidisa and Padmavati must also have become aggressive neighbours of the Saka satraps in the second half of the third century A.D.

Numismatic evidence refers to four sons of Damasena who ruled as Kshatrapa or Mahakshatrapa, or both as Kshatrapa and Mahakshatrapa. Kshatrapa Viradaman seems to have died early in the Saka year 160 (A.D. 238-39) and was succeeded as Kshatrapa by his brother Yasodaman, another son of Damasena. Yasodaman, however, assumed the position of Mahakshatrapa in the same year, leaving the Kshatrapa status for his brother Vijayasena. But Yasodaman ruled as Mahakshatrapa only for about one year (Saka 160-61 =rA.D. 238-39), since Vijayasena’s coins issued as Mahakshatrapa are known to belong to the period Saka 161-72 A.D. 23951). Vijayasena’s coins are found in large numbers in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Saurashtra. The next Mahakshatrapa was Damajadasrl III, a brother of Vijayasena and another son of Damasena. Whether Damajadasrl ruled for some time as Kshatrapa is not known. The dates on his coins range between the years 173 and 177 (£.D. 251-56). We have no coins issued by a Kshatrapa in the period c. A.D. 240-75; but whether the office of Kshatrapa was in abeyance cannot be ascertained.

Damajadasrl III was succeeded as Mahakshatrapa by his nephew

Rudrasena II, son of Viradaman. The coins of Mahakshatrapa

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Rudrasena II, which are found in great abundance, bear dates ranging between the years 177 and 198 (A.D. 255-77). It is, however, not unlikely that he ended his rule a few years later than the date suggested by numismatic evidence. Rudrasena II seems to have been matrimonially allied with the Ikshvaku king Virapurushadatta of Andhrapatha, who probably married Rudradhara-bhattarika, described as a daughter of the Maharaja of Ujjayini. Rudrasena's son Visvasimha issued coins as Kshatrapa in the year 197-200 (A.D. 27579) and later assumed the title of Mahakshatrapa. Visvasimha was succeeded as Kshatrapa in the year 200 (A.D. 278-79) by his brother Bhartridaman. The earliest definite date on Bhartridaman's coins issued as Mahakshatrapa is the year 204 (A.D. 282-83). He ruled as Mahakshatrapa at least up to 217 (A.D. 295-96). Bhartridaman was succeeded by his son Visvasena whose date as Kshatrapa ranges from 215 to 226 (A.D. 293-305). He did not assume the title Mahakshatrapa, which office seems to have been in abeyance till 270 (A.D. 348-49). Visvasena is the last Kshatrapa who is definitely

known to have belonged to the family of Chashtana, for in the year 226 (A.D. 304-05) we find as Kshatrapa Rudrasimha II, son of JIva* daman, who bears no royal title and whose relationship with his predecessors is not known. The history of this new line of the Kshatrapas will be related in the next volume. It is probable that Mahakshatrapa Bhartridaman and his son Kshatrapa Visvasena were overthrown by the Sassanians whose political influence in Western India has been noted above. 1 It must be mentioned, however, that the theory of the Sassanian rule in India, explaining the vicissitudes in the political fortunes of the Kardamakas or Western Satraps, thought not improbable, cannot be regarded as certain, for the interpretation of the Paikuli inscription, among others, on which the theory primarily rests, is very uncertain.

GENERAL REFERENCE

E. J. Rapson— Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western

Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty.

D- R. Bhandarkar—Sarvsnia hoard (ASI . 1913-14, pp. 227-45). His reading of the dates 149 and 206 respectively on the coins of Sarighadaman (p. 187) and Visvasena (p. 189) is, however, very doubtful, and has not been referred to in the text.

Note 5

CHAPTER XIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. For different views cf. next Chapter.
2. 1. The Jogalthembi hoard shows that Gautamlputra Sa taka mi restruck the coins of Nahapana and of no other later ruler of the Kshaharata dynasty which he claims to have uprooted. Nahapana and Gautamlputra were therefore contemporaries. According to the evidence of Ptolemy's Geography, Gautamlputra's son Pulumavi was on the throne of Pratishthana (the Satavahana capital) about A.D. 140. Gautamlputra and his contemporary Nahapana therefore ruled about the first quarter of the second century. See the section on the Satavahanas.
3. 1. The name is sometimes read Ghasamotika; the Andhau inscription, however, appear to Support Ysamotika. The value of the first conjunct of the name seems to be that of z.
4. 2. The name Kardamaka has been derived by some from the Kardama river in Bactria (PHAI, 363, fn. 3).
5. 1. Sec p. 152.

THE SATAVAHANAS AND THE CHEDJS

The major part of Southern India, with the exception of a few minor states to the south of Mysore, formed part of the Maurya empire during tine reign of Asoka. The relations of Asoka’s successors with the subject peoples of the Deccan cannot be ascertained. There is some reason to believe that the outlying districts of the southern part of the empire soon assumed independence under local chiefs. Inscription, discovered at Bhattiprolu in the Krishna District and assignable to about 200 B.C., refer to a Rajan named Kuberaka 1 who appears to have ruled independently of the Mauryas. But the later Mauryas probably continued to exercise sway over certain districts of the Upper Deccan for, as noted above, 2 Vidarbha (i.e., the Berar region) was not only governed by a viceroy of the last Maurya king Brihadratha but also acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sungas during the rule of Pushyamitra (c. 187-151 B.C.). In the first century B.C. two southern powers became predominant in trans-Vindhyan India. These were the Satavahanas of the Upper Deccan and the Chedis of Kalihga. The power of the Chedis was shortlived, but the Satavahana power endured for nearly three centuries.

I. THE SATAVAHANAS

1. Territories of the Early Satavahanas

Kings of the Satavahana family were styled “lord of Dakshinapatha.” The name Dakshinapatha, however, was not always used in the same geographical sense. Sometimes it indicated the whole of trans-Vindhyan India, but often only the present Maratha country with the adjoining eastern and western regions. Although a later Satavahana king is known to have claimed a sort of vague suzerainty over the whole of South India, the aforesaid title, at least in regard to the early Satavahanas, appears to point to their hold on parts of Dakshipapatha in the narrow sense. According to Indian literary

Note 1

Note 2

tradition, which is supported by the evidence of Ptolemy's Geography, tne capital of the Satavahana kings was at the city of Pratisthana, identified with modern Paithan on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District of Mahrashtra State. Records of the early members of the family have been discovered at Nasik and Nanaghat (a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnar in the Poona District, in northern Maharashtra, one of the rulers being also known from an epigraph found in the vicinity of Vidisa, the ancient capital of East Malwa. It should be noted in this connection that the territories under the direct sway of even the powerful later Satavahana king Gautamlputra Satakarni (c. A.D. 106-30), who claimed suzerainty over trans-Vindhyan India, did not extend beyond the Krishna in the south and Malwa and Saurashtra in the north.

Especially significant seems to be the fact that the districts, afterwards known as 'the Satavahanlya province' (the modern Bellary region) and Andhrapatha (about the mouths of the Krishna), which have been taken by different scholars to have been the original home of the Satavahana family, did not form any part of Gautamiputra's empire. That these countries were not the heart of the dominions of the early Satavahanas is also suggested by the Hathigumpha inscription, which places the kingdom of the Satavahana contemporary of Kharavela (second half of the first century B.C.), to the west and not to the south, of Kalinga (the coast country comprising the Puri and Gan jam Districts and the adjoining area). There is reason to believe that the southern districts were annexed to the Satavahana empire about the middle of the second century A.D. The theory that Vidarbha (Berar) was the original home of the Satavahanas is highly improbable as there is not the slightest evidence to connect the founder of the family and his immediate successors with that country. Equally untenable is the suggestion associating the Satavahanas with the Satiya (probably, Satya) country mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka.

2. The Name of the Family

The kings, represented in epigraphic records as belonging to the Satavahana-kula (Satavahana family), are mentioned in the Puranas as Andhra or Andhra-bhritya. The expression andhra-bhritya is sometimes interpreted as “the Andhras who were originally servants of some other power such as the Maurya or the Sunga.” Some writers, on the other hand, take the expression to indicate ‘the servants of the Andhras’, and suggest that the Satavahanas were of Kannada origin and that they at first owed allegiance to some Andhra rulers. Neither of the interpretations appears to be satisfactory, although it is probable that the predecessors of the Satavahana emperors were feudatories of the Kanvas. By the expression andhra-bhritya, the Puranas appear to have actually indicated not the Satavahanas who, according to most of them, were Andhras, but the dynasties (e.g., the Abhiras) that were subservient to the Satavahanas but assumed independence after the latter’s downfall. Some scholars believe that the Satavahanas are wrongly called Andhras in the Puranas and that “the name Andhra probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became a purely Andhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Krishna.” It may, however, be pointed out that Satavahana was the name of a kula or family, apparently so called after a prince of that name,[1] while Andhra was the name of a jati or tribe. The first king of the Satavahana family is actually described in most of the Puranas as andhra-jatlya, ‘belonging to the Andhra race.’ The Puranic testimony may be reconciled with epigraphic evidence, if it is believed that the members of the Satavahana family i.e., the descendants of a prince named Satavahana, were Andhras by nationality. It is interesting in this connection to note that the author of the Suttaniptita commentary (fifth century A.D.) refers to a tradition mentioning the Asmaka and Mulaka countries (which lay in the heart of the Satavahana kingdom) as Andhaka (from Sanskrit Andhraka, i.e ., Andhra) rdjyas.[2]

3. The Andhras before the Rise of the Satavahanas

The Telugu-speaking inhabitants of the northern part of the Madras State and the adjoining area now call themselves Andhras or Andhras. The heart of this country round the mouths of the river Krishna is called Andhrapatha in an inscription of about the end of the third century A.D. There is, however, reason to believe

Note 3

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Note 5

that the Andhra tribe, which had great numerical strength, originally lived in the Vindhyan region and in the northern part of the Deccan, but that it pushed gradually to the south in later times. In the Aitareya Brdhmana (VII, 92, 18) which is usually assigned to a date not later than 500 B.C., the Andhras are mentioned together with the Pun^ras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as Dasyu or non-Aryan tribes living on the borders of the land occupied by the Aryans in India. As the later authorities are unanimous in locating the Andhra people in South India, the Aitareya Brdhmana apparently points to their home about the southern fringe of Aryavarta, the land of the Aryans, the southern boundary of which was the Pariyatra (the western Vindhyas and the Aravalli range), according to the Baudhdyana-Dharmasutra, the Vindhya according to the Manusamhitd, and the Narmada according to later authorities. The suggestion that the Andhras originally inhabited the Vindhyan region and the adjoining part of the Deccan is probably supported by their association with the Pulindas who were another Vindhyan tribe living, as late as the sixth century A.D., in a territory to the southeast of Dasarna (East Malwa) and in the south of the kingdom of Dabhala (Jubbulpore region). 1

The thirteenth rock-edict of Asoka seems to place the land of the Andhras 2 not very far from the country of the Bhojas who inhabited some districts of the northern Deccan including Vidarbha or Berar. Pliny (first century A.D.), who is usually supposed to have utilised the information supplied by Megasthenes (c. 300 B.C.), speaks of a powerful king of the Andhra country possessing 30 fortified towns as well as an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.

This no doubt points to the large extent of the land occupied by the Andhra people, and it is not improbable that Pliny actually received the information from a later source referring to the Satavahana kingdom. The Vinaya Texts locate a city called Setakannika, often believed to be associated with an early Satavahana king named Satakarni, on the southern frontier of the Majjhima-desa (Madhyade£a), i.e., in the Vindhya region or the Upper Deccan.

The Serivanija Jdtaka places a city called Andhapura (Andhrapura), which may have been the capital of an Andhra principality,

Note 6

Note 7

on the river Televaha, identified with the modern Tel (a tributary of the Mahanadi) in the eastern Deccan. The valley of the Tel as well as the Telugu-speaking Vizagapatam area does not appear to have ever come under the rule of the Satavahanas of Pratishthana. We know little about the settlement of the Andhras in the southernmost districts of the present Telugu-speaking area; but the Satavahana power probably extended over the territory round the mouths of the Krishna and also over the Bellary District during the reign of Vasishthlputra Pulumavi (c. A.D. 130-59), when the newly conquered provinces appear to have come to be known respectively as Andhrapatha and ‘the Satavahanlya district’.

4. Chronology of the Satavahanas

There is difference of opinion amongst scholars as regards the problem of Satavahana chronology, although the Puranas appear to supply us a definite clue. According to the Puranic lists of the ‘future’ kings, the ten rulers of the Sunga dynasty, that came to power 137 years after Chandragupta Maurya’s accession about 324 B.C., reigned for a period of 112 years, and the last Sunga king Ddvabhuti was overthrown by his amdtya, Vasudeva, the founder of the Kanva or Kanvayana dynasty; the four Kanva kings in all ruled for 45 years and the last of them, Susarman, was ousted by the founder of the Andhra (Satavahana) dynasty whose name is given as Simuka in inscriptions, but variously as Sisuka, Sipraka, Sindhuka, etc. in the Puranic texts. If these traditions are to be accepted, the overthrow of the Kanva king Susarman by the Andhra (Satavahana) Simuka may be assigned to a date 137 + 112 + 45 = 294 years after c. 324 B.C., i.e., about 30 B.C. Simuka, "Who reigned for twentythree years according to the Puranas, may be supposed to have ruled about the third quarter of the first century B.C. and to have extirpated the Kanvas about the close of his career. This date is supported by the palaeography of the Nanaghat, Nasik, Sanchl and Hathigumpha inscriptions referring to Simuka and his immediate successors Krishna and Satakarni. The characters of all these records are more developed and therefore later than those of the Besnagar epigraph of Heliodorus which cannot be much earlier than the end of the second century B.C. 1 As regards the chronology of the later

Note 8

Satavahanas, it has been fairly satisfactorily established on the basis of their relations with the early Saka satraps of Western India.

5. Rise of the Satavahanas under Simuka

According to the Puranic passage referred to above, Simuka "of the Andhra race will obtain this earth after having violently extirpated the Kanvayana Susarman and having also destroyed the remnants of the power of the Sungas." 1 The region which Simuka conquered from the Sungas and Kanvas may have included the district round Vidisa, which was probably the capital of the late* Sungas. There is no reason to connect the Satavahanas, whose dominions lay principally in Dakshinapatha, with Magadha or any other part of Northern India excepting probably parts of Central and Western India. If any district of Western India really belonged to Simuka's empire, it may have been conquered either from the Indo-Greeks or from the Sungas or Kanvas.

In some Puranic passages Simuka seems to be called the Bhritya or servant of the Kanvas, and it is not improbable that he himself, in the earlier part of his life, as well as his immediate ancestors were feudatories of the Kanva kings. Of the ancestry of Simuka nothing definite is known. He is called Raja Simuka-Satavahana in a Nanaghat inscription. This suggests that Satavahana was his second name, although the expression may perhaps also mean 'Simuka the descendant (son or grandson?) of Satavahana/ Like Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, the first king of the Satavahana family is represented in Indian tradition as a Vrishala, which is tion of the reign of the Andhra kings and, as the Satavahanas are known to have ended their rule in Andhrapatha about A.D- 225, placed Simuka's accession 450 years before that date, i.e., about 225 B.C. These scholars therefore ignored the unanimous Puranic tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Simuka with the latest ruler of the Kanvayana family, who flourished about two centuries after 225 B.C., when the immediate successors of Asoka Maurya were ruling. It may also be pointed out that the Puranic statements regarding the duration of Andhra rule and the number of the Andhra kings are not unanimous. The number of kings is given in some versions as 19 and in others as 30, while the duration of rule is variously given as 300, 411, 412, 456 and 460 years. It is interesting to note that in some cases, e.g. in most MSS of the Vdyu Purdrui, the duration of Andhra rule is given both as 411 and 300 years. Some writers therefore suggest that about nineteen kings belonging to the main branch of the Andhra or Satavahana family ruled for about three centuries (c. 75 B.C.—A.D. 225), but about thirty rulers of several collateral lines of the dynasty reigned collectively for more than four centuries.—R. G. Bhandarkar, EHD, Section VI; D. R. Bhandarkar, I A, 1918 pp. 69 ff. '

1. See p. 99 above. As noted there, there is nothing to support the view of those who favour an early date for Simuka, that the 45 years of Kanva rule should be included in the period of 112 years allotted to the ten gungas.

unfortunately an ambiguous term. It is not only used in the sense of a Sudra, but also of a Hinduised or Aryanised foreigner or nonAryan, characterised as a member of the higher order degraded to a lower social rank owing to the non-observance of specified duties and to want of regard for the priestly class. The epithets ekabamhana, i.e., eka-bmhmana (the unique Brahmana) and Kshatriyadarpa-mdna-mardana (distroyer of the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas) applied to the later Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni in a Nasik inscription, probably suggest that the Satavahanas claimed the social status of the Brahmanas. 1 But as stated above, the Andhras are called Dasyus in the Aitareya Brahmana. A tradition recorded in the Dvdtrimsat-puttalika represents Salivahana (< Salavahana < Satavahana) as of mixed Brahmana and Naga origin. The association of the Satavahana kings with the Nagas and also with foreigners like the Sakas is proved by epigraphic evidence. It seems, therefore, that the Satavahanas, who Were non-Aryans, claimed Brahmanahood as a result of an admixture of Brahmana blood in the family, but that they were regarded by the orthodox Brahmanas, owing partly to their non-Brahmanioal ways and associations, as Vrishalas, i e., degraded Brahmanas or outcastes. 2

6. Krishna and Satakarni 1

According to the Puranas, Simuka was succeeded by his brother Krishna who ruled for eighteen years. The next king of the Puranic lists is Krishna's son Satakarni, who also appears to be given a reign-period of eighteen years. Both these rulers are known from inscriptions. An epigraph in a cave in the Nasik hills says that it was excavated during the sovereignty of king Krishna of the Satavahana-kula, 'the family of Satavahana'. In the Nanaghat pass there were some relievo figures, now destroyed, with label inscriptions above their heads. The second of the eight labels gives the names of queen Nayanika (Nag-annika) 3 and king Satakarni in the genitive

Note 9

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Note 11

case-ending, while the other labels contain the names of persons, related to the royal pair, in the nominative. The label above the head of the first figure shows that it represented the illustrious king Simuka-Satavahana. The absence of any representation of king Krishna between the figures of Simuka and Satakarni has led some scholars to suggest that the latter was probably a son of Simuka, and not of Krishna, as indicated in the Puranas. It may, however, be pointed out that two out of the eight label inscriptions are totally lost and that Krishna might have been actually mentioned in one of them. 1

A votive inscription found on the southern gateway of the Great Stupa at Sanchl in the Bhopal State, Central India, records a gift of VasishthTputra Ananda, the foreman of the artisans of king Satakarni. This king, whose name points to his descent from the Satavahana lineage, is usually identified with the Satakarni of the Nanaghat inscriptions, but may actually be the second king of that name. 2 The San chi record can hardly be regarded as proof of the Satavahana occupation of Malwa, as the chief artisan of Satakarni may have visited the monastery on pilgrimage. 3

But the Puranic account of Simuka’s success against the Suhgas and Kanvas, probably in Central India, as well as the discovery of certain coins of the so-called ‘Malwa fabric’ with the legend indicating “of the illustrious king Sata”, 4 may suggest that the Malwa region was within the sphere of early Satavahana influence. The Hathigumpha inscription shows that the eastern boundaries of the dominions of Satakarni I abutted on the western frontier of the kingdom of Kalihga under Kharavela. The epigraphic passage in question may be differently interpreted, and may suggest either that the relations between the two kings were friendly or that Kharavela’s army attacked a city on the Krishna in the southern part of Satakarni’s kingdom. Satakarni I thus seems to have exercised sway over wide

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regions of the Upper Deccan including probably a portion of Central and Western India. The northern Konkan and also Saurashtra may have been within the sphere of Satavahana influence during the rule of Satakarni I and probably also his immediate predecessors.

A long Nanaghat inscription, much of which is damaged, speaks of the Kumar as VedisrI and Saktisrl and of their mother who claims to have celebrated numerous Vedic sacrifices apparently as the saha-dharmini (lawful partner in religious performances) of her royal husband. Kumar a Saktisri has been identified with the prince 6akti-Kumara, son of king Salivahana of Pratishthana, mentioned in literature. He is also believed to be the same as Kumdra Hakusiri (probably a Dravidian corruption of Sanskrit £aktisri) of the Nanagh'at label inscription, who is supposed to have been a son of Satakarni I and Nayanika. The actual performer of the sacrifices, which included one Rajasuya and two Asvamedhas, thus appears to have been the powerful monarch Satakarni I, husband of Nayanika. One of the horse-sacrifices may have been performed about the beginning of Satakarni’s reign to commemorate the recently acquired sovereignty of the Satavahana family and the other to celebrate his own exploits about the end of his career.

7. Temporary Eclipse of Satavahana Power

The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea , which was written between A.D. 70 and 80, 1 while referring to the different market-towns of the country called Dachinavades (Dakshinapatha), mentions Suppara (modern Sopara in the Thana District, the same as ancient Surparaka, capital of the Aparanta country) and Calliena (Kalyana near Thana) “which in the time of the elder Saraganus became a lawful markettown; but since it came into the possession of Sandares the port is much obstructed, and Greek ships landing there may chance to be taken to Barygaza (modern Broach near the mouth of the Narmada) under guard”. Saraganus may be regarded as a Greek corruption of Satakarni , and the elder Saraganus of the Periplus, who appears to be the earlier of the two rulers of that name, may be no other than Satakarni I of the Satavahana dynasty; but the language of the passage seems to suggest that the northern Konkan passed from the elder Saraganus (or his successor, a younger Saraganus) to Sandares shortly before the time of the author, i.e. some time about the middle of the first century A.D. This Satakarni, therefore, may

l” Cf. EHI, 1924, p. 245n! \ '

have been a descendant of Satakarni I who ruled about the end of the first century B.C. The troubled condition referred to in the Periplus may have been caused by the conquest of Aparanta by the gakas. 1

In the lists of Andhra kings found in the Puranas, many rulers are placed between Satakarni I and Gautamlputra Satakarni, the number of them being variously given in the different lists as 10, 12, 13, 14 and 19. It has been suggested that some of these kings may have belonged to collateral lines and ruled at the same time in different parts of the Deccan. Only a few of these rulers, such as Apulaka, Kuntala-Satakarni and Hala, are known from other sources; but they do not appear to have belonged to the main line of the Satavahana family. Apllaka seems to have belonged to a branch of the family holding sway in Madhya Pradesh, while Kuntala-Satakarni and Hala probably belonged to another branch ruling in the Kuntala country comprising the North Kanara District of the Bombay State and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dharwar. The period of about a century that seems to have intervened between the reign of Satakarni I (end of the first century B.C.) and that of Gautamlputra Satakarni (beginning of the second century AD.) witnessed the temporary eclipse of the Satavahana power, owing to the encroachment of the £akas who came from east Iran and settled in the lower Sindhu valley before the end of the first century B.C. 2 The Scythian ruler Nahapana, whose ascertained dates range between A.D. 119 and 125, 3 is actually known to have been in possession of the northern parts of Maharashtra and the Konkan as well as of Malwa, Saurashtra and southern Rajputana. It seems quite probable that the immediate predecessors of Gautamlputra Satakarni, who reestablished the fallen fortunes of the family, continued their precarious existence merely as subordinate allies of the foreigners.

8. Gautamlputra Satakarni

Gautamlputra Satakarni is said to have been the destroyer of the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians (saka-yavana-pahlavanisudana) and the establisher of the fame of the family of Satavahana (satavdhana-kula-yasah-pratishthdpana-kara). His outstanding

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achievement, as noted above, 1 was the ‘extirpation of the Kshaharata dynasty’ to which the &aka chief Nahapana belonged. Nahapana’s overthrow must have taken place in or shortly after the eighteenth regnal year of the Satavahana king and in or soon after A.D. 124-125 which is the last known date of Nahapana. A Nasik inscription of the eighteenth year of Gautamiputra's reign records the grant of some land that is stated to have been in possession of Rishabhadatta, who is undoubtedly the Saka chief of that name who was Nahapana's son-in-law and governor of the southern provinces including the Nasik and Poona Districts. It is interesting that the order regarding the grant was issued from a "victorious camp of the army that was gaining success", 2 and that the Satavahana king is represented as stationed at the time at a place called Benakataka (probably situated on a river called Bena) in the Govardhana (Nasik) district. Apparently Gautamiputra's presence in that region at the head of an army was connected with his campaign against the Kshaharatas, which led to the liberation not only of the Upper Deccan but also of considerable parts of Western and Central India. The grant of a village called Karajika in the Mamala Ahcira (modern Poona District), originally made by Rishabhadatta and afterwards' by Gautamlputra, further points to the transference of authority in northern Maharashtra. Of the territories which were under Gautamlputra's rule according to the Nasik prascisti, Aparanta, Anupa, Surashtra, Kukura, Akara and Avanti must have been conquered from Nahapana. 3

In the list of countries over which Gautamlputra held sway mention is made not only of the above countries but also of Rishika (district round Rishika-nagara on the Krishna), Asmaka (territory about Bodhan, ancient Paudanya, in the Hyderabad State), Mulaka (with Pratishthana, modern Paithan on the Godavari, as its capital) and Vidarbha (Berar). The direct rule of this king therefore seems to have extended over the whole land from the Krishna in the south to Malwa and Saurashtra in the north and from Berar in the east to the Konkan in the west. But Gautamlputra apparently claimed a sort of suzerainty over the whole of trans-Vindhyan India, as he is described as the lord of the Vindhya (the central and eastern Vindhyas as well as the Satpura), Rikshavat (portion of the Vindhyan

Note 20

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Note 22

range to the south of Malwa), Pariyatra (western Vindhyas and the Aravalli), Sahya (Western Ghats to the north of the Ndgiri hills), Malaya (Travancore hills), Mahendra (eastern Ghats) and other mountain ranges encircling the peninsula of South India. The idea may have originated from a conventional claim of dig -vi jay a indicated by Gautamlputra's epithet tri-samudra-toya-pita-viihana, i.e., one whose charges drank the waters of the three seas in the east, west and south, viz. the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. 1

We have seen that the eighteenth year of GautamJputra Satakarjni's reign roughly coincided with A.D. 124-25. The latest epigraphic record of Gautarmputra, which is dated in his twentyfourth regnal year, was issued jointly by the king with his mother GautamI BalasrI, who is significantly styled "one whose son is living." It is probable that the charter was issued when the king was an invalid. He seems to have died soon after and was succeeded by his son Vasishthlputra Pulumavi. 2 His reign, therefore, may be assigned roughly to the period c. A.D. 106-30.

Before his death Gautarmputra Satakarni appears to have lost most of the districts he had conquered from the Kshaharatas to another dynasty of Scythian rulers known as the Kardamakas. 3 The Geography of Ptolemy speaks of Baithana (Pratishthana) as the capital of Siriptolemaios (sri-Pulumavi, son of Gautarmputra Satakarni) and Ozene (Ujjayini in West Malwa) as that of Tiastenes (Chashtana). This no doubt points to the Kardamaka occupation of Malwa during Chashtana's rule and proves that Pulumavi was not in possession of the northern provinces of his father's empire. That Gautarmputra himself lost parts of his dominions to the Kardamakas is suggested by the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman dated A.D. 150. 4 This record shows that the whole of the land conquered from Nahapana, with the exception of the Govardhana and Mamala ahdras, probably forming parts of Mulaka, was conquered by Rudradaman, apparently as a colleague of his aged grandfather, from Satakarni who is no other than Gautamiputra. The closeness of

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relation that is said to have existed between Satakarni and Rudradaman is indicated by a Kanheri inscription representing a certain Vasishthlputra Satakarni, very probably a co-uterine brother of Vasishthlputra Pulumavi and a son of Gautamlputra Satakarni, as the husband of a daughter of a Mahakshatrapa whose name appears to have been Rudradaman. 1 Thus Gautamlputra seems to have made an attempt to save a few of the conquered territories by contracting a matrimonial alliance with the Kardamaka Sakas.

We have already discussed the achievements of Gautamlputra as a conqueror. He is described as a handsome person with a charming and radiant face, with beautiful gait and with muscular and long arms. As regards his temperament, Gautamlputra is credited with readiness to impart fearlessness to all, obedience towards his mother and reluctance to hurt even an offending enemy. He was the refuge of the virtuous, the asylum of fortune and the fountain of good manners. As a king he was not only a unique controller obeyed by the circle of all kings, but he evinced interest in the weal of his subjects and sympathised with their woes, always levied taxes in conformity with justice, helped the higher as well as the lower castes and stopped the social evil called varna-samkara (intermingling of the four social orders).

It is sometimes suggested that Gautamlputra Satakarni is identical with the celebrated Vikramaditya of Indian tradition and folklore. The theory is untenable in view of the facts that Vikramaditya of Ujjayini and Salivahana of Pratishthana are always distinguished in the legends and that Gautamlputra, whose successors are known to have used not any era but their own regnal reckoning, cannot be regarded as the founder of the Vikrama-Sarhvat or any other era. Gautamlputra is never known to have assumed the title Vikramaditya. 2 The suggestion that he was the Satavahana con

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temporary of Nagarjuna seems also to be improbable. According to the tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, this king held sway over South Kosala which is, however, conspicuous by its absence in the list of countries forming parts of Gautamiputra's empire. Equally unwarranted is the suggestion that Gautamlputra Satakarni ruled conjointly with his son Vasishthiputra Pulumavi. The absence of any charter and coin issued conjointly by Gautamlputra Satakarni and Pulumavi as well as the mention of Pratishthana as the capital only of Pulumavi in Ptolemy's Geography renders the theory of conjoint rule highly improbable. 1

9. Successors of Gautamlputra

According to the Puranas, Puloma, i-e. Vasishthiputra Pulumavi, ruled for twenty-eight or twenty-nine years. His reign may therefore be tentatively assigned to c. A.D. 130-59. Pulumavi's inscriptions have been discovered at Nasik (years 2, 6, 19 and 22), Karle in the Poona District (years 7 and 24) and Amaravati in the Krishna District. Although Pulumavi was not in possession of the northern provinces of his father's empire, he was probably responsible for the extension of Satavahana power in the land about the mouths of the Krishna. This is suggested by the discovery not only of his inscription at Amaravati but also of a large number of his coins in the

Note 29

same area as well as in the adjoining regions. The Bellary District seems also to have been annexed to the Satavahana empire during Pulumavi's reign. As has already been suggested, probably the two newly annexed provinces came to be styled Andhrapatha and 'Satavahanlya district' from this time after the tribal and dynastic designations of the conqueror.

According to the Puranic lists, Pulumavi's immediate successor was Sivasri Satakarni (c. A.D. 159—66), who is no doubt the same as Vasishthlputra £ivasrl Satakarni of coins discovered in the Krishna and Godavari! Districts. The king is usually identified with Vasishthlputra Satakarni, son-in-law of Rudradaman, who is known from the Kanheri inscription. According to the Junagarh record, however, Aparanta, in which Kanheri is situated, formed a part of the dominions of Rudradaman and not of his Satavahana contemporaries. It is therefore not improbable that

Vasishthlputra Satakarni was his father-in-law’s viceroy in Aparanta or conquered that region from the Scythians after Rudradaman’s death. His identification with &ivasri, however, cannot be regarded as certain. 1

The next rulers according to the Puranas were Sivaskanda Satakarni (c. A.D. 167-74) and Yajnasri Satakarni (c. A.D. 174-203). Sivaskanda is unknown from any other sources, although his name reminds one of Sivamaka Sata (Satakarni) of an AmaravatS inscription and Skanda Satakarni of the Tarhala coins. It may be suggested that Sivaskanda is the Sanskritized form of Sivamaka. 2 The real name of the Puranic Yajnasri was Yajna 'Satakarni who is known from inscriptions at Nasik (year 7), Kanheri (year 16), and ChinnaGanjam in the Krishna District (year 27), and from coins from the Krishna and Godavari Districts of the Madras State, the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh, Berar, Northern Konkan, Baroda and Saurashtra. Silver coins of Yajna found at Sopara (ancient Surparaka, capital of Aparanta) are closely imitated as regards types, size, and weight from the ordinary silver coinage of Rudradaman. Of all Satavahana coins, only this series has the head of the king on the obverse, while the reverse type is a combination of the Ujjain and hill symbols with the rayed sun. It is well known that the king’s head and the rayed sun associated with a hill are constant features of the coins of the Sakas of Western India. Yajha was therefore a great king who ousted Scythian rule not only from Aparanta,. but probably also from parts of Western India and the Narmada valley. Iiis success against the Sakas may have been partially due to the struggle between Jlvadaman and Rudrasiihha I and the rise of Mahakshatrapa Isvaradatta. 1 If Yajha may be identified with the Satavahana contemporary of Nagarjuna, he probably further extended his power in the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh, But Yajha was the last great king of the family, and soon after his death the empire seems to have been split up into a number of separate principalities under different princes of the royal blood.

Note 30

Note 31

10. Decline of the Satavahanas

The successors of Yajha Satakarni, according to some of the Puranas, were Vijaya (c. A.D. 203-09), ChandrasrI or Chandairl (c. A.D. 209-19) and Puloma (c. A.D. 219-27). Vijaya is probably the king whose name is doubtfully read on a few coins of the Tarhala (Berar) hoard as Vijaya Satakarni, but whether he ruled over the whole empire is unknown, ChandrasrI or ChandasrI has been identified with king Chada Sata (i.e., Chandra or Chanda Satakarni) of an inscription discovered at Kodavali in the Godavari District. Some of the coins discovered in the same region were issued by king Vasishthlputra Chada Sati (Chandra Satakarni), while others give the name of the king as Cha^a Sati (Chandra or Chanda Satakarni).

Chada and Chada are usually believed'to be different forms of the name of Chandra Satakarni, who is identified with the king known from the Kodavali inscription. But the coins may have been actually issued by two different kings named Chandra and Chanda. According to some writers, the second year of Chada Sata, when the Kodavali inscription was incised, corresponds to A.D. 210. The Puranic Puloma seems to be no other than king Pulumavi who is known from an inscription of his eighth regnal year found at Myakadoni in the Bellary District. We do not know if these kings held sway over territories outside the southern provinces of Yajna’s empire. Another Satavahana king known from coins, found in the heart of the Andhra country, was Rudra Satakarni who is not mentioned in the Puranic lists. Andhrapatha passed to the Ikshvakus

Note 32

before the middle of the third century and the Pallavas of Kahchi conquered both Andhrapatha and the Satavaharfiya district before the end of that century.

A king named Majhariputra Sakasena is known from an inscription of his eighth regnal year found at Kanheri in the Aparanta country. He is sometimes identified with the issuer of certain coins discovered in the Krishna and Godavari Districts, whose name has been doubtfully read as Sakasena or Sata. The coins, however, may actually belong to king Saka Satakarni known from some specimens of the Tarhala (Berar) hoard. If Sakasena may be identified with Saka Satakarni, this king must have ruled over wide dominions. What relation Sakasena of the Kanheri inscription might have had with Vasishthiputra Chatarapana Satakarni of a Nanaghat record of the thirteenth year of his reign cannot be determined. The names of these rulers, who are not mentioned in the Puranas, have traces of their Scythian affinity . 1

11. Branches of the Sdtavdhana Dynasty and the Viceregal Families

Indian literary traditions speak of a branch of the Satavahana family ruling in Kuntala, comprising the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dharwar. Rajasekhara's Kdvyamimamsd refers to a king of Kuntala named Satavahana. The Puranas as well as Vatsyayana's Kdmasutra mention a king named KuntalaSatakarni. The Puranic lists make him a predecessor of Gautamlputra Satakarni, and a commentator of the Kdmasutra explains the name as being due to the king's birth in the Kuntala country. Another king called Hala (Sata), whose name is known to be a contraction of Sdtavdhana > Sdldhana, is called 'Kuntala' or 'lord of Kuntala' in traditions. His name is associated with the celebrated Prakrit anthology called Gdthdsaptasati. Hala may have been identical with Kuntala-Satakarni, although they are separately mentioned in the Puranas.

When precisely Kuntala came under Satavahana influence cannot be ascertained; but probably it was in the wake of the southern expeditions of Pulumavi that his lieutenants established themselves in the Kannada country. Inscriptions testify to the existence of kings belonging to the Chutu-kula who were in possession of the south-western Deccan before the rise of the Kadambas. The Chutus

Note 33

were intimately related to the Maharathis (Maharashtrins, probably the Rashtrikas of the earlier period) and Mahabhojas (probably the Bhojakas of the earlier epoch) who were feudatories of the Satavahanas. They may have claimed Satavahana blood.

Coins of a king named Mutfananda and of another named Chutukadananda have been discovered at Karwar and are connected by type with those of Sadakana (Satakarni) Kalalaya Maharathi, the semi-independent governor of the Satavahanas in the Mysore region. Chutukadananda, whose name possibly refers to a place called Chutukata (cf. Bhojakata), seems to have been associated with the Chutukulanandas of inscriptions. It is not improbable that the semi-independent Satavahana governors of Kuntala were ousted by Mudananda when the Satavahana power declined after Yajha Satakarni and that Mudananda's family was overthrown by Chutukadananda. The Banavasi inscription of Haritiputra Vishnukada Chutukulananda Satakarni has been assigned, on palaeographic grounds, to the age of Yajiia, i.e. to the end of the second century A.D., but may actually be a little later . 1 The record refers to a lady styled MahabhojI (wife of a Mahabhoja), who was a daughter of the Maharaja i.e., the king, and to her son named Sivaskandanagairl. Rapson is inclined to identify Sivaskandanagasri and his mother of this epigraph with Skandanaga Sataka (Satakarni) and his mother Nagamulanika (Nagamulannika) of a Kanheri record in which the lady is described as the wife of a Maharathi and as a daughter of a MahabhojI and the Maharaja.

It is further conjectured that the name of king Vishnukada Chutukulananda Satakarni must have occupied the damaged initial part of the Kanheri record just as in the Banavasi epigraph, and that he was the father'of the lady mentioned in the above records. But the identification of SivaskandanagasrI and Skandanaga Sataka is extremely doubtful. Even if it be suggested that they were two sons of the daughter of Vishnukada Chutukulananda Satakarni, the Chutu occupation of Aparanta cannot be regarded as an established fact in the present state of our knowledge. The identification of any of the two princes with the king Sivaskandavarman of VaijayantI (modern Banavasi), capital of Kuntala, as suggested by Rapson, is

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also improbable. Sivaskandavarman and his predecessor (probably father) Vishnukada Chutukulananda Satakarni of the Malavalli inscription flourished shortly before Kadamba May urasar man's occupation of the Kuntala capital about the middle of the fourth century A.D.

The Chutu king who issued the Malavalli charter in his first regnal year seems to have ruled at least about half a century after his namesake of the Banavasi inscription. It is probable that Vishnukada Chutukulananda Satakarni II was a feudatory of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman and named his son after his overlord. The suggestion is supported not only by the Pallava occupation of Andhrapatha and the Satavahanlya district about the end of the third century, but also by the fact that the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Kuntala is said to have received the feudatory state bounded by the Arabian Sea and the Prehara or Prahara (either the Malaprahara, i.e., Malaprabha, or the Ghataprahara, i.e., Ghafaprabha) from the Pallava king of Kanchl.

Coins issued by the kings Satakarni, Pulumavi, Yajna Satakarni and Krishna Satakarni, have been discovered in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh. In the absence of metronymics, it is with some diffidence that we propose to identify Satakarni and Pulumavi of these coins with Gautamiputra Satakarni and Vasishthiputra Pulumavi. 1 The palaeography of the Chanda coins of Pulumavi seems to be earlier than that of the ordinary issues of Vasishthiputra Pulumavi; but, as Rapson has rightly noticed, the palaeographical test is not quite reliable in these cases. Krishna Satakarni was probably a successor of Yajna Satakarni in the eastern part of the empire.

In the year 1939 a hoard of 1,525 coins of some of the later members of the Satavahana family was discovered at Tarhala 2 near Mangrul in the Akola District of Berar. They bear the names of Satakarni, Pulumavi, Sivasrl Pulumavi, Skanda Satakarni, Yajna Satakarni, Vijaya (?) Satakarni, Kumbha Satakarni, Krishna 3 Satakarni, Saka Satakarni and Pulahamavi. Apparently the kings Satakarni, Pulumavi, Yajna Satakarni and Krishna Satakarni of the Chanda coins are identical with their namesakes of the Tarhala hoard. Some of the other rulers known from this hoard have already been referred to

Note 35

Note 36

Note 37

Note 38

above. Sivasri Pulumavi and Pulahamavi (a variant form of the* name Pulumavi) appear to be two different rulers, none of them probably identical with Vasishthiputra Pulumavi and his namesake of the Myakadoni inscription. Kumbha is unknown from any other sources. It seems that some of the successors of Yajna Satakarni, who may have extended Satavahana power in eastern Madhya Pradesh, ruled primarily in Berar and Madhya Pradesh. This branch of the Satavahana family appears to have continued to rule up to the second half of the third century A.D. when its authority was supplanted by the Vakatakas.

The existence of a line of Satavahana kings holding sway over South Kosala (modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining region) is suggested by a tradition recorded, among others, by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. According to this tradition, when Nagarjuna (c. second century A.D.) lived in a monastery built by Asoka to the south of the capital city of Dakshina. Kosala, the king of the land was So-to p'o-ho, i.e. Satavahana. 1 It seems that Madhya Pradesh was conquered by the Satavahanas during the rule of one of the immediate successors of Gautamlputra Satakarni, probably Yajna Satakarni himself. That Dakshina Kosala in eastern Madhya Pradesh was once under the Satavahana kings is possibly supported by the discovery of a copper coin of king Sivasri Apilaka in Chhattisgarh. Although the Puranas place king Apilaka long before Gautamlputra Satakarni, he may have actually been a successor of Yajna Satakarni, in the eastern part of the empire. On numismatic grounds some writers ascribe Apilaka's coin to a date earlier than Gautamlputra, while others prefer to connect it with the later Satavahanas.

An interesting group of kings holding sway over the Kolhapur region of the South Maratha country is known from coins. The group is represented by three rulers, viz. Vasishthiputra Vilivaya kura, Mathariputra Sivalakura who restruck the coins of the previ ous king, and Gautamiputra Vilivayakura who restruck the coins of both the other rulers. Rapson is inclined to take kura as a Prakrit form of Sanskrit kula; but in it we have probably a dynastic name. If this suggestion be accepted we may speak of these rulers as be

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longing to the Kura (or Ankura) dynasty of Kolhapur. Some scholars believe that the kings of the Kolhapur coins represented a branch of the Satavahana family, while others attempt to identify them with some of the known members of that family. The identification of Majharlputra Sivalakura with Mathariputra Sakasena and of Gautamlputra Vilivayakura with Gautamlputra Satakarni is, however, entirely conjectural. There is no evidence to connect these kings, who appear to have been local rulers of the Kolhapur region, with the Satavahanas.

II. THE CHEDI (MAHA-MEGHAVAHANA) DYNASTY

OF KALINGA

1. Kalinga and the Chedis

The ancient Kalinga country roughly comprised the present Puri and Gan jam Districts and parts of the Cuttack District of Orissa with the adjoining region in the north and the north-west; but sometimes it also included certain portions of the presenl-day Telugu-speaking area of the south. Reference has been made above to the conquest of this country by the Nandas and the Maurya emperor Asoka. The Mauryas probably divided the country into two halves, both for political and administrative purposes, one with its headquarters at Tosall (modern Dhauli near Bhuvaneswar) and the other with Samapa (near modern Jaugada) as its chief city: Pliny (first century A.D.) says: “The tribes called Calingae are nearest the sea; the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis (probably a corruption of the name Tosall). Over their king 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 700 elephants keep watch and ward in precinct of war.”[1]

Whether Pliny derived his information from the accounts of Megasthenes (end of the fourth century B.C.), as is usually supposed, or from a later source referring to the time of the Chedi kings, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But we know that, in the first century B.C., Kalinga became one of the strongest powers in India under the vigorous rule of kings belonging to the Maha-Meghavahana family of the Chedi clan. The early

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history of the Chedis has been discussed above, 1 and it is not improbable that some Chedi princes migrated from Madhyadesa or Magadha to Kalihga where they carved out a principality, which ultimately became a mighty empire. 2

The history of Kalihga after the.Maurya conquest is obscure in the extreme. We do not know when it threw off the yoke of Magadha or came into the power of the Chedis. But, from a damaged inscription on the overhanging brow of the Hathigumpha cave in the Udayagiri hill near Bhuvaneswar (Orissa), we know some details of the achievements of a mighty Chedi ruler named Kharavela 3 who represented the third generation of the rdja-vamsa of Kalihga. The king is not only described as an offshoot of the Chedi -rdja-vamsa, but is actually said to have been a descendant of the ancient Chedi monarch Vasu (i.e., Vasu-Uparichara). 4 Members of this family, called both Kalinga-rajavamsa and Chedirajavamsa, styled themselves Arya and also Maha-Meghavahana, which apparently indicates ‘descendant of Maha-Meghavahana.’ 5 Maha-Meghavahana, therefore, seems to have been the founder of the Chedi royal house of Kalihga. Whether he represented the first of the three generations of Kalihga kings referred to in the Hathigumpha inscription, and was therefore the grandfather of Kharavela, cannot be determined. The epithet arya possibly points to the Aryan origin of the family established in the land of the non-Aryans.

The lower story of the Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill was excavated by a Maharaja , probably named Vakradeva, who was a lord of Kalihga and belonged to the Arya Maha-Meghavahana lineage. 6 The upper story of the cave was excavated by the chief queen of Kharavela who seems to have been the third king of the family. If the excavation of the upper story of the cave may be attributed to the reign of Kharavela and to a date later than that of the construction of the lower story, it is not improbably that Vakradeva

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Note 44

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Note 46

represented the second generation of the royal family and was the father of Kharavela.

2. Kharavela

Maharaja Kharavela is one of the most remarkable figures Of ancient Indian history. The events of his life are recorded in considerable detail in the Hathigumpha prasasti. The first fifteen years of Kharavela’s life were spent in games befitting a young prince, and in the study of matters relating to writing, coinage, accounting, administration and legal procedure. In his sixteenth year, the prince was installed as Yuvardja. When he completed his twenty-fourth year, he was anointed Maharaja of Kalinga. Kharavela assumed the title of Kalingadhipathi or Kalihga-chakravartin and no doubt claimed the status of a chakravartin or universal ruler. He was possibly also styled Mahdvijaya. He married a daughter of the gr6atgrandson of king Hastisimha, probably of the Lalaka lineage. Khfiravela was a devout Jain and was even called Bhikshu-r&ja, i.e. the monk-king. But he was not a bigot, as he said to have honoured, like Maury a Asoka, all religious sects (pdsamda from Sanskrit pdrshada) dwelling in his realm.

Immediately after his accession to the throne, Kharavela launched on a career of a dig-vijayin (conqueror). In the second year of his reign, he is said to have sent a large army to the western countries without even thinking of Satakarni, who apparently ruled the country to the west of Kalinga. In the course of this expedition, the Kalinga army is further said to have reached the banks of the Krishnabena (i.e. Krishna) where the city called IJishika-nagara 1 was threatened. As there is no indication that Kharavela’s army came into conflict With Satakarni or that Rishika-nagara formed a part of the latter's dominions, the Kalinga king’s claim seems to suggest that friendly relations existed between the two kings and that the Kalinga army passed to the Rishika country on the Krishna through Satakarni’s territories without difficulty. But a suggestion that Kharavela’s army attacked a city on the Krishna in the southern part of Satakarni’s kingdom cannot also be regarded as altogether impossible. King Satakarni seems to be no other than an early Satavahana ruler of that name, very probably Satakarni I. In the fourth year of his reign, Kharavela seems to have occupied the

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capital of a prince named Vidyadhara; in the same year he also subdued the Rashtrikas and Bhojakas, probably of the Berar region. In the eighth year Kharavela destroyed Gorathagiri, a hill fortress in the Barabar hills, and attacked the city of Raj agriha (modern Rajgir in the Gaya District, Bihar) 1 . The news of. these exploits of Kharavela caused so much terror in the heart of a Yavana king that he fled away to Mathura. The Yavana ruler, whose name is sometimes doubtfully read as Dimita or Dimata (? Demetrius), was probably a later Indo-Greek ruler of the eastern Punjab.

In his eleventh year Kharavela destroyed the city of Pithu^a (probably from Sanskrit Prithuda; cf. Ptolemy's Pitundra, metropolis in the land of the Maisoli), the capital of a king of the Masulipatam region in the Madras State. He threatened the rulers of Uttarapatha (probably north-western India) in the next year, and also defeated the king of the Magadha people, probably on the banks of the Ganga. The name of the Magadha king is given in Prakrit as Bahasatimita which seems to stand for Sanskrit Brihatsvatimitra rather than for Brihaspatimitra as is usually supposed. Brihatsvatimitra, a contemporary of Kharavela, seems to be the king of that name mentioned as the sister's son of Ashadhasena of the Pabhosa inscriptions 2 3 and as the father of the queen of a Mathura king referred to in the Mora inscription. He seems to have been related to the Mitra kings of Magadha whose records and coins have been found in the Gaya District. To avenge the humiliation of Kalinga during the time of the Nandas and the Mauryas, Kharavela carried away much booty from Anga and Magadha together with certain Jain images originally taken away by a Nanda king from Kalinga. In the same year Kharavela also defeated the Pandya king of the Far South.

As a ruler, Kharavela always thought of the welfare of his subjects and spent large sums of money on their account. Himself a great master of music, the king often entertained the people by arranging dancing and musical performances as well as festivities and merry gatherings. He enlarged an irrigation canal originally excavated by a Nanda king three centuries ago. Kharavela was also a great builder. On one occasion the capital city of Kalinga^

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was devastated by a terrible cyclone, and the king had to rebuild numerous gates, walls and houses that had been damaged, and to restore all the gardens. He built a magnificent palace called the Mahavijaya-prasada. As a devout Jain, he excavated a number of caves in the Kumari-parvata (Khandagiri hill). Kharavela probably also built a monastery at a place called Pabhara not far from these caves.

There is a controversy as regards the date of Kharavela. Some scholars are inclined to assign him to the first half of the second century B.C.; 1 but there is no reason to believe that he flourished at a later date. His title Maharaja, which like Maharajadhiraja seems to have been inspired and popularised by the foreign rulers of India and was first used by the Indo-Greeks in the first half of the second century B.C.^suggests a later date. A king of Kalinga, far away from the sphere of influence of the foreign rulers, could have assumed it only at a later period. Kharavela's Magadhan contemporary Brihatsvatimitra, who cannot be identified with any of the 6unga and Kanva kings mentioned in the Puranas, must have flourished long after Pushyamitra Sunga (c. 187-151 B.C.) The script,of the Hathigumpha inscription is later than that of the Besnagar inscription fend of the second century B.C.) and points to a date in the first century B.C. This late date is probably supported by the developed Kavya style exhibited by the prasasti. It should also be

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noted that, according to students of Indian art, the sculptures of the Manchapuri cave excavated during the Maha-Meghavahana rule "are considerably posterior to the sculptures at Bharhut (belonging to the Sunga age)." 1 The most important evidence as to Kharavela's date is supplied by the passage referring to the enlargement of a canal, that was excavated by a Nanda king three centuries earlier iiuinriaraja-tri-varsha-sat-odghatita), in the fifth regnal year of the Kalihga king.

There is no doubt that the same Nanda king is also mentioned a s an earlier ruler in connection with the Magadhan campaign of Kharavela. He has therefore to be identified with a ruler of the Nanda dynasty of Pataliputra. There is, again, no doubt that “three hundred years” has been used in the well-known Indian way of reckoning by hundreds, illustrated so often in early Buddhist literature, to signify “the fourth century”. As the Nandas held sway over the Magadhan empire in the fourth century B.C., Kharavela, who flourished more than three hundred years after a Nandaraja, should be assigned to the first century B.C., most probably to its latter half. It may be pointed out that we have placed the early Satavahana king Satakarni I, who seems to have been a contemporary of Kharavela, at about the end of the first century B.C. That was apparently also the epoch of Kharavela.

The end of the Maha-Meghavahanas of Kalihga is obscure. A prince called Vadukha is known to have excavated one or two caves in the Udayagiri hill. But we do not know if he was the son and successor of Kharavela. Not long after, the country seems to have been split up into a number of smaller principalities. But whatever be the political condition of Kalihga after the passing away of Kharavela, the people of this country are known to have played a brilliant role in the diffusion of Indian culture in the lands beyond the sea. It is interesting to note that the Kalihga kingdom is not mentioned in the Periplus (c. A.D. 70-80) or Ptolemy’s Geography (c. A.D. 140), although the latter authority refers to the apheterion near a city in Kalihga where vessels bound for the Golden Land ceased to follow the littoral and sailed for the open sea. 2

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Note 53

CHAPTER XIV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Liiders List No. 1338; Sel. Ins. I, pp. 215 ff.
2. 2. See p. 96.
3. 1. Both the personal names Satavahana and Satakarni may be of Dravidian origin. But their meaning is not known. Przyluski connects them with some Austric words signifying 'son of horse.' But the interpretations of the words, so far offered, are all unsatisfactory. For Satavahana as a personal name, cf. Sel. Ins., I, p. 185. Satavahana-kula was also the name of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir, cf. Raj. VI. 367, VII. 1283, 1732. The Loharas were either descendants of a prince named Satavahana or claimed connection with the Satavahanas of the Deccan. Ibid, Tr. by Stein, II. pp. 79, 258n. It seems that the Satavahana family of the Deccan was named after Simuka-Satavahana or one of his ancestors. The second alternative is supported by the fact that Krishna, brother of Simuka-Satavahana, claims to have belonged to Satavahana's kula.
4. 2. Cf. Paramatthajotika, II, p. 581.
5. A»T,U«—18
6. 1. PHAI, pp. 79, 258n.
7. 2. The land of the Andhras and of the other peoples mentioned in the record formed parts of the raja-vishaya, i.e., dominions, of the Maurya emperor, although the peoples may have enjoyed some sort of autonomy (above, pp. 78-9).
8. 1. It should, however, be remembered that earlier epigraphists had no knowledge of the Besnagar inscription. They usually compared the script of records like the Nanaghat and Hathigumph^ inscriptions with that of the Asokan epigraphs and assigned them to the beginning of the second century B.C. They also relied on the Puranic statement giving about four centuries and a half as the dura
9. 1. According to some scholars, however, Prakrit eka-bramhana stands for Sanskrit eka-brahmanya which, like the well-known expression parama brahmanya merely shows that Gautamiputra Satakarni claimed to be a Brahmanical Hindu.
10. 2. It is interesting to note in this connection that, in the arbitrary scheme of the Indian society found in the Manu-smriti and other works

on law, the Andhras are assigned to an exceptionally low rank, while their neighbours the Dravi<jlas (Tamil people) are regarded as degraded Kshatriyas. This may have been due to the fact that the heart of the Andhra country was an important centre of Buddhism during the early centuries of the Christian era. Cf. 7HQ, XVI, 560-66.

11. 3. The actual name seems to have been Naga. For the Dravidian name-suffix annaka and its faminine form annikd, see Sel. Ins., I, p. 185n. The queen was evidently born in a Naga family.
12. 1. The lost figure at the side of that of Maharathi Tranakayira, supposed to be the father of the queen, may have represented Krishna, the father of the king.
13. 2. In the Puranic lists Satakarni II is sometimes placed immediately after Sata
14. karni I, but sometimes one or two kings are represented as having intervened between the two. „ * «
15. 3. Cf. Thomas Commn. Vol., pp. 291 ff.
16. 4. The form Sata is known to have been a contraction of both the names Satavahana and Satakarni. The coins of Sata are usually attributed to Satakarni I, although Sata’s identification with Simuka-Satavahana, cannot be regarded as impossible. Certain coins of the ‘West India fabric’ bear the legend indicating ‘of king Satakarni’. This king may be identified with Satakarni I or any of his successors bearing the same name. The name Satavahana has been recently read on certain coins which were probably issued by Simuka Satavahana.
17. 1. See above, p. 179, where it has been suggested that Sandares was a Saka Viceroy. Some scholars, however, prefer the identification of Sandares with the Andhra king Sundara Satakarni, who is placed in the Puranic lists a few generations earlier than Gautamlputra Satakarni (c. A.D. 106-30).
18. 2. See above, pp. 178-9.
19. 3. See above, pp. 180 if.
20. 1. See p. 182.
21. 2. For the interpretation of the relevant passage see Sel. Ins. I, p. 191n; JNSL IH, pp. 79-81. There is here no reference to the city of VaijayantI as Senart suggests (El, VIII, 72).
22. 3. See above, p. 182.

23. 1. We know that the spheres of influence of a Chakravartin both of the dicjvijayin and disampati types was supposed to comprise the whole of India according lo one view, but only Aryavarta for the North Indian monarchs and the' Deccan for South Indian kings according to other conceptions. Southern powers like the Chalukyas of Badami claimed to be lords of the whole land bounded by the three seas. For the conception of the Chakravarti-kshetra, see JRASBL, V, 1939, pp. 407-15.
24. 2. The name is also written as Pulumayi.
25. 3. See above, p. 183.
26. 4. See above, p. 184.
27. 1. See above, p. 183. Some writers are inclined to identify the Satavahana contemporary of Rudradaman with Pulumavi, while others prefer his identification with the 6aka king's son-in-law Vasisthlputra Satakarni of the Kanheri inscription, who is supposed to have succeeded his elder brother Pulumavi. The first suggestion is untenable as the two names, Satakarni and Pulumavi, are never known to have been borne by a single individual. The second identification is aiso improbable as Vasisthlputra Satakarni, if he ruled at all as a lord of Dakshinapatha, appears to have reigned after Pulumavi (c. A.D. 130-59) and therefore after the date of the Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman (A.D. 150-51).
28. 2. Gautamiputra's epithet vara-varana-vikrama-charu-vikrama, 'one whose gait is as beautiful as that of the choice elephant,' has nothing to do with the title Vikramaditya, 'equal to the sun in valour.' The title was assumed by Samudra-gupta about the middle of the fourth century. Titles ending with the word aditya as in Vikramaditya seem to have become popular only after that date.
29. 1. Sir R. G. and D. R. Bhandarkar (op. cit.), who are the principal advocates of this theory, believe that the inscription of Gautamiputra's twenty-fourth regnal year, which is engraved on the east wall of the verandah of the Nasik Cave No. 3 and which records a grant made by the king and his mother in favour of certain monks dwelling in the cave that was a pious gift of theirs, presupposes the gift of cave No. 3 made by Gautamiputra's mother and recorded in the inscription of Pulumavi's nineteenth regnal year, incised on the back wall of the verandah above the entrance. It is suggested therefore that the twenty-

fourth year of Gautamiputra’s reign was later than the nineteenth regnal year of his son. It is further pointed out that in the Nasik inscription of Pulumavi (year 19), GautamI BalasrI is described as the mother of a Maharaja and the grandmother of a Maharaja, both of which she probably was at the same time, and also that the above record, which deals chiefly with the exploits of Gautamlputra and speaks of none of his son’s renders it inexplicable why a king dead for nineteen years is extolled and the reigning monarch passed over in silence. None of the arguments, however, appears to be quite convincing. The inscription of Gautamiputra’s twenty-fourth year apparently refers to the grant of the verandah only, while the record of the nineteenth year of Pulumavi speaks of the gift of the cave with or without the verandah. As regards BalasrI’s representation as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, it is to be noted that in the same context she is also called a Mahadevt, ‘wife of a king’. This shows that the lady claims to be one of the few that see not only their husband and son but also their grandchild on the throne. As to the prasasti of Gautamlputra in an inscription of his son recording a gift of his mother, it is not unnatural for a mother in her old age to recount the glories of her dead son who was associated with her in a previous gift, not unconnected with the new gift, especially at a time when most of that son’s conquests were lost again to the foreigners.

30. 1. It may be suggested that SivasrI was the coronation name of Vasishthlputra Satakarni. Gopalachari speaks of a silver coin, modelled on the Kshatrapa coinage, on the obverse of which he finds the word vdsithiputasa and the king’s head and the word hdtakanisa probably on the reverse. The coin has been ascribed to Vasishthlputra Satakarni of the Kanheri inscription (EHAC, p. 67); but the case is doubtful.
31. Sivamaka may be a variation of Simuka.
32. 1. See above, p. 187.
33. 1. As Gopalachari suggests, Chatarapana may have been the Dravidian corruption of a name like Kshatrapannaka.
34. 1. A comparison of the letters of the Banavasi record with those of the Ikshvaku inscriptions would suggest the first half of the third century A.D. to be the date of the former. Vishnukada or -ka^a may have been a place like Chutukata and Bhojakata. The Malavalli inscription reads -ka^a which probably stands for -kotfa.

35. 1. Rapson is inclined to identify Satakarni of the Chanda coins with Yajna S^tdkdmi
36. 2. 1HQ, XVI. 503; JNS1, II. 83; P1HC , VII. 104.
37. 3. Mirashi suggests Karna instead of Krishna.
38. A.i.r
39. 1. According to I-tsing, the personal name of the king was Shi-yen-te-ka (Shanfe-ka of a previous translator) and his style was Sha-to-p'o-han-na (Satavahana). Shi-yen-te-ka and Shan-t'e-ka appear to suggest an original like Santikarna or Santakarna, the Puranic corruptions of the name Satakamii. Some traditions speak of Vidarbha instead of South Kosala in connection with Nagarjuna. But the tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang, who visited the monastery in question, appears to be more rediable.
40. 1. Plinv probably refers to the Kalinga people as a widely diffused race, for he speaks of the Macco-Calingae (a branch of the Brachmanae), Calingae (supposed to include the Gangaridae in one passage) and Modogalingae.
41. 211
42. 2'. PH All pp. 75, 96-97, 250-51.
43. 3. The name is sometimes believed to represent Sanskrit Kala-vela. For the Hathigumpha Inscription, cf. JBORS, III, IV, XIII, XIV, El, XX; 72 ff.; Sel. Ins., p. 206.
44. 4. See Vol. I, p. 296.
45. 5. Cf. the personal and dynastic name Satavahana. Meghavahana as a personal name occurs in the Rdjatararigini.
46. 6. The name of the king has been doubtfully read as Vakadepa, Kudepa or Kadampa in his Prakrit inscription. For the inscriptions cf. IHQ. XIV, 159 ff.
47. 1. The Prakrit original has Asika-nagara which has sometimes been read as Musika-nagara.
48. 1. The passage of the Hathigumpha inscription may also suggest that Kharavela killed a king named Gorathagiri and plundered his capital Rajagriha.
49. 2. See above, p. 98.
50. 3. It is called Kalinga-nagarl. According to some epigraphists the actual nam'.' of the city was Khibira; but this is uncertain.

51. 1. The theory is based partly on Kharavela's contemporaneity with the early Satavahana king Satakami I, who is sometimes given an early date (cf. above, p. 195, f.n. 1). The advocates of this theory are inclined to identify Kharavela's Magadhan contemporary, whose name is taken to be Brihaspatimitra, with. Pushyamitra Sunga (c. 187-151 B.C.) on the ground that Brihaspati or Jupiter is regarded as the guardian of the Pushya or Tishya constellation of stars. But the identification, to say the least of it, is hopelessly unconvincing. These scholars also identify the Yavana-raja, who was another contemporary of Kharavela, with the Indo-Greek king Demetrius (c. 190-165 B.C.), son of Euthydemus. But the reading of the Yavana king's name as Dimita or Dimata is extremely doubtful. The interpretation of the expression tri-varsha-sata. in the passage nanda-rdja-tri-varsha-satodghatita as "one hundred and three years" goes not only against the traditional Indian way of reckoning by hundreds, but also against known facts of history. Even if the aqueduct in question had been excavated about 324 B.C. when the Nandas were overthrown by the Mauryas. the year 103 after the excavation, corresponding to the year 5 of Khara vela's reign, would fall in c. 221 B.C. Kharavela's installation as Yuvaraja would then fall in c. 234 B.C. and the dynasty would appear to have been founded by Kharavela's predecessor's predecessor about the middle of the third century B.C. But we know that Kalinga was an integral part of the Magadhan empire in the days of Asoka. It is sometimes believed that the Hathigumpha prasasti refers to "year 165 of the Maurya era (supposed to be counted from Chandragupta's accession about 324 B.C.)" and points to a date about the middle of the second century B.C. But what is, in this case, read as muriya-kala (maurya-kala , 'Maurya era') is really mukhiya-kald (mukhya * kald , 'the principal art'). For the different views see references under f.n. 3 on p. 212. and PHAI , 310 ff).
52. 1. CHI, I, pp. 639 ff.
53. 2. The city is called Paloura (near modern Chicacole), which is often identified with Dantapura (JA, 1925, pp. 46-57); but the identification is doubtful. The Golden Land is the Suvarnabhumi or Suvamadvlpa of the Indian Literature and signified the lands to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Cf. Ch. XXV.

THE DECCAN AFTER THE SATAVAHANAS

1. THE EARLY VAKATAKAS

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The death of Yajria Satakarni about the beginning of the third century A.D. led to the decline and dismemberment of the Satavahana empire. Several branches of the imperial family appear to have been ruling in different parts of the Deccan in the early part of that century; 1 but they were gradually ousted by powers many of which had originally been subordinate to the Satavahana emperors. Large parts of Madhya Pradesh and Berar, which appear to have been under a branch of the Satavahana family in the first half of the third century, are later found to be in the occupation of kings belonging to the Vakataka dynasty. The Vakatakas were the most important power that held sway over parts of the Deccan (sopietimes with portions of Central India) after the fall of the Satavahanas and before the rise of the Chalukyas about the middle of the sixth century.

Nothing definite is known about the ancestry and original home of Vindhyasakti, founder of the Vakataka dynasty. His name no doubt associates him with a territory about the Vindhyan region, and the name of the family may possibly be derived from that of a person or, more probably, a locality called Vaka^a. 2 The Vayu Purina refers to Vindhyasakti with a reign of 96 (sic.) years, his son Pravlra (doubtless Pravarasena I of inscriptions) with a reign of 60 years, and the latter's four sons who are said to have become kings. Vindhyasakti is mentioned in association with a people called the Kilakilas, who are styled Yavanas or Vrishas in the Puranas and may have been foreigners related to the Sakas of Western India, and also with the Naga kings of Vidisa in East Malwa. Pravlra is said to have ruled at a city called Kahchanka (or at Purika and Chanaka) and performed a number of Vajimedha or Vajapeya sacrifices. Curiously, however, while Vindhyasakti is mentioned after the

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1. See above, p. 206.

2. There is as yet no definite evidence to support the suggestion that the Vakatakas hailed from the village of Bijnaur-Bagat in Bundelkhand. and that the Puranic Kilakilas had something to do with the modern Kilakila river in the Panna State.

Kilakilas, the Nagas of Vidisa and other rulers are mentioned between Vindhyasakti and his son, and the relation between Pravira and the king of Purika called Sisuka, mentioned immediately before him, is not specified. Reference is further made to the end of the Vindhyaka family, possibly indicating the dynasty represented by Vindhyasakti and his descendants.

It is difficult to determine the precise meaning or authenticity of most of these Puranic details about the Vakatakas. But the description seems to indicate that Vindhyasakti flourished near about East Malwa when, in the third century, the authority of the Saka Maliakshatrapas was being gradually weakened in that region by the rise of semi-independent Saka chiefs like £rldharavarman and by indigenous princes such as the Nagas of Vidisa. It may be suggested that Vindhyasakti strengthened his position and extended his power across the Vindhyas at the expense of the later Satavahanas. But most of the records of Vindhyasakti *s descendants have been found in Madhya Pradesh and Berar and the adjoining regions of the Deccan, and only a few epigraphs of one of their feudatories have been discovered in Bundelkhand in Central India.

It should also be remembered that, so far as epigraphic evidence goes, the Vakataka kings had their headquarters in the Nagpur District of Madhya Pradesh and the Akola District of Berar, and Bundelkhand was ruled through a viceroy or a feudatory. Inscriptions thus appear to indicate that the founder of the Vakatka dynasty was a feudatory of the later Satavahanas of Vidarbha and he became powerful with the decline of his masters. One may suggest, if such was the case, that Vindhyasakti and his son extended Vakataka power over parts of Central India. It is, however, difficult to be definite on this point, as the possibility of the transference of the Vakataka headquarters to the Deccan, when the Guptas advanced in Central India in the fourth century, is not entirely precluded. Some scholars believe that the origin of the Vakatakas should be traced to the Deccan, because the word Vakataka occurs in an early inscription at Amaravatl. But Vakataka is in this case the name of a person who visited the Buddhist establishment at Amaravati on pilgrimage. There is no evidence to show that the personal name of the pilgrim had .anything to do with the dynastic appellation of the Vakatakas or that the home of the pilgrim was in the Deccan.

The records of the Vakafaka kings are dated in their regnal year and not in any era. 1 There are, however, several clues to determine the age of the rulers of this dynasty. The compilation of the historical sections of the Puranas, which do not mention any Gupta king by name but speak of the Gupta kingdom comprising only the Prayaga-on-Ganga, Saketa and Magadha areas, is usually assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century before the subjugation of wide regions of Northern India by Samudra-gupta about the next quarter of the century. It is interesting to note that the same Puranic account not only refers to Vindhyasakti, his son and grandsons, but probably also to the end of Vakataka domination over parts of Central India. This suggests that at least Vindhyasakti and his son ended their rule before the second quarter of the fourth century, and that the former probably flourished in the second half of the third century. Again we know that Vindhyasakti’s greatgreat-grandson Prithivlshena I was more or less contemporary of Samudra-gupta, for his son married a daughter of Chandra-gupta II (A.D. 376-414), son of Samudra-gupta. Prithvishena’s rule may therefore be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the fourth century, and if we count, as is usual, 25 years to a generation, Vindhyasakti, the great-great-grandfather of this king, may be placed in the corresponding quarter of the previous century. The latest reference to the Vakatakas is traced in the records of the Vishnukundins according to which Madhavavarman I (c. A.D. 53585) of the Andhra country married a princess of the Vakataka family. The Vakataka kings therefore, ruled from about the middle of the third to about the middle of the sixth century.

Vindhyasakti, the founder of the Vakataka dynasty was a Brahmana belonging to the Vishnu vyiddha gotra. The Puranic statement that he ruled for 96 years seems to be a mistake, or probably refers not to his reign-period but to the period covered by his long life. No inscription of his reign has been so far discovered; but he is mentioned in the Ajanta inscription of the time of Harishe^a. Vindhyasakti is described as a dvija (Brahmana) and a banner of the Vakataka family and is credited with the conquest of countries, with victory in many battles, and with great liberality. He is given no royal epithet in the Ajanta inscription; but the record being fragmentary and in verse, it is uncertain whether the founder of the Vakataka dynasty ruled without royal titles like Senapati Pushya

Note 1

mitra Vindhya^sakti appears to have been a powerful ruler who extended his sway at the expense of his neighbours. Little, however, is known about the actual extent of his dominions.

Vindhyasakti was succeeded by his son Maharaja Haritlputra Pravarasena I, called PraVira in the Puranic account. Although no inscription of his reign has as yet been discovered, his achievements find a place in most of the records of his family. He is the only Vakataka ruler who has been described as a samrat (a universal monarch) in some records. In many epigraphs, the Vakatakas are styled samrdd-Vaka taka (no doubt pointing to the imperial position of the family), with special reference to the age of Pravarasena I. The Puranic account assigns him a reign of 60 years and credits him with the performance of a number of Vajapeya (or Asvamedha) sacrifices. That he was a great champion of the Brahmanical religion is also evidenced by the inscriptions of his family. He is said to have celebrated, besides the Vajapeya, not only such Vedic sacrifices as Agnishtoma, Aptoryama, Jyotishtoma, Brihaspatisava, Sadyaskra, Ukthya, Shodasin and Atiratra, but also no less than four Asvamedhas. The horse-sacrifices were performed probably to commemorate the recent foundation of the Vakataka empire on the ruins of the earlier empire of the Satavahanas. The Brahmana king Pravarasena I secured his position in the north by giving his son Gautamlputra 1 in marriage to a daughter of the powerful Naga king Bhavanaga of the Bharasiva family that held sway over considerable parts of Central India. It is not improbable that Pravarasena received great help from his Bharasiva relatives in extending his dominions in Central India as well as in the Deccan, and that he performed the Asvamedhas in imitation of the ten horse-sacrifices celebrated by the Bharasivas. It was he who seems to have been the real founder of the Vakataka empire extending from Bundelkhand in the north to the Hyderabad State in the south. It should, however, be pointed out that there is absolutely nothing to justify the theory of Jayaswal and his followers attributing to the early Vakatakas a pan-Indian empire and representing them as the successors of the Kushanas. Most of Jayaswal's suggestions about

1. As the epigraphic passage pravarasenasya sunoh sunoh . bhavantiga

dauhitrasya gautamiputrasyn putrasya . rudrasenasya

may be differently interpreted, it is sometimes suggested that Gautamlputra was the son's son of Pravarasena and daughter's son of Bhavanaga. This interpretation is untenable in view of the facts that it leaves unexplained the non-mention of the name of Gautamlputra's father, and that in the Pattan grant (El. XXIII, p. 85) we have gautamxpuira-putrasya (instead of gautamiputrasya putrasya), which cannot be doubly interpreted.

Vakataka history do not deserve serious consideration. PraVarasena I probably died about the end of the first quarter of the fourth century. The history of his successors will be dealt with in the next volume.

2. THE ABHIRAS

The Abhlras appear to have been a foreign people who entered India shortly before or along with the &akas from some part of eastern Iran. It is tempting to connect their name with the locality called Abiravan between Herat and Kandahar. The Puranas speak of the Abhlras amongst the successors of the Satavahanas. Although we have an Abhira settlement as far east as Ahirwar between Bhilsa and Jhansi in central India, the Abhira people is usually associated with Aparanta, which indicated in a wider sense the western division of India and in a narrow sense only the northern part of the Konkan. In one context the Mahdbharata places the Abhlras in Aparanta; but in another it associates the people with the Sudras, and assigns both the tribes to the land near Vinasana where the Sarasvati lost itself in the sands of the Rajputana desert. 1 The Abhlras are also found in association with the Sudras in Patahjali's Mahdbhdshya. The Periplus of the

Erythraean Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy locate Aberia of Abiria, i.e., the Abhira country, between the lower Sindhu valley and Saurashtra, apparently in south-western Rajputana and the adjoining regions. The dominions of the Abhira kings referred to in the Puranas, however, lay in the north-west region of the Deccan and may have sometimes included the northern Konkan as far as the Broach area in the north.

In early epigraphic records the Abhlras figure as generals of the £aka Mahakshatrapas of Western India. The Gunda (North Saurashtra) inscription of A.D. 181 belonging to the time of Rudrasimha I records the digging of a tank by the Abhira general Rudrabhuti, son of the general Bapaka. An adventurer named Isvaradatta issued silver coins of the satrapal style actually with the title Mahdkshatrapa , and must have been in possession of the major part of the &aka territories for about two years. The coins of this ruler, dated in the first and second years of his reign, have been assigned by Rapson to A.D. 237-40, but by Bhandarkar to A.D. 188-90. The

Note 2

latter view seems more reasonable. That Makakshatrapa Isvaradatta was not a Saka is evident from his name, which does not resemble that of any of the satrapal rulers, as well as from the independent way of the dating of his coins. He is usually regarded as an Abhlra; but this conjecture is not supported by any positive evidence. 1

We know only of one Abhira king who may be regarded as a successor of the Satavahanas and the Sakas in the north-western Deccan. He is Raja Mathariputra Isvarasena, son of Abhlra 6ivadatta, mentioned in the Nasik inscription of his ninth regnal year. The inscription records two investments, one of 1,000 Kdrshapanas , and another of 500 Kdrshapanas, in trade-guilds at Govardhana (old Nasik) for the purpose of providing medicines for the sick among the monks dwelling in the monastery on the Nasik hills. The benefactress was the lay devotee Vishnudatta, who was a Sakanl, mother of Ganapaka Visvavarman and daughter of Saka Agnivarman. As the king’s father Sivadatta is credited with no royal title in the inscriptions, king Isvarasena may be regarded as the founder of the Abhira dynasty of kings. There is no doubt that this king flourished some time after the death of Yajna Satakarni, which took place about the beginning of the third century. It is therefore not improbable that the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era starting from A.D. 248-49 was counted from the accession of Isvarasena 2 . Although the Puranas refer to ten Abhlra kings ruling for 67 years, nothing is known about isvarasena's successors.

The inscription of Isvarasena proves that his dominions comprised the Nasik region in northern Maharashtra; but the actual extent of his kingdom is uncertain. If he was really the founder of the era of A.D. 248, it may be suggested that the Abhlras extended their political influence over Aparanta and Lata where the era is found to be in use in later days. The Kalachuris, originally of the Anupa region on the Narmada, probably used the era after their conquest of territories belonging formerly to the kingdom of the Abhlras. 3

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

The Abhiras continued to rule as late as the middle of the fourth century when, according to the Chandravalli inscription, 1 they came into conflict with the Kadamba king Mayurasarman. Although the Traikutakas, who flourished in the northern Konkan in the fifth century, may have been a branch of the Abhlra tribe, Mayurasarman's inscription points to the separate existence of the Abhlra and Traikutaka kingdoms in the fourth century. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta mentions the Abhiras in the list of tribes subdued by the Gupta emperor; but it is uncertain whether the reference here is to the Abhlra kingdom in the north-western Deccan. 2 The Abhlra territories in this region appear to have later passed to the Traikutakas.

3. THE BODHIS

The Bodhi dynasty seems to have held sway over some parts of north-western Deccan probably in the third century. As the lead coins of the Bodhis bear the hill symbol on the reverse in common with the issues of the

Western Satraps, it seems that they flourished in a territory that was once within the sphere of Saka influence

There are some coins which belong to Bodhi or Sribodhi who may have been the founder of the family. It is not improbable that the word indicates the Bodhi tree and that the Bodhis were Buddhists in faith. This is probably suggested by the tree within railing found

1HQ, XXI, 79). It should, however, be pointed out that these kings, whose territories have not yet been satisfactorily located, are styled Maharaja and are described as meditating on the feet of the Paramabhattaraka. As the Paramabhattdraka overlords of feudatory Maharajas are unknown before the age of the imperial Guptas, the three Maharajas in question appear to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta emperors Chandra-gupta II and Kumaragupta I, rather than of the unknown successors of an Abhlra Raja named Isvarasena.

The dates of their charters should better be referred to the Gupta era and not to the era of A.D. 248-49. The use of the Gupta era pointing to the expansion of Gupta power to the south of the Vindhyas (cf. reference to the Narmada as the southern boundary of a province of Budha-gupta's empire, Sel. Ins., p. 327) is probably also indicated by the Barwani grant of Maharaja Subandhu issued from Mahishmatl-nagara (modem Mandhata or Maheswar) in the year 167 (A.D. 486).

The fact that no Paramabhattaraka is referred to in this record indicates the decline of Gupta power in this region about the end of the fifth century. It is not improbable that the Maharajas Svamidasa (A.D. 386), Bhulunda (A.D. 426), Rudradasa (A.D. 436) and Subandhu (A.D. 486) belonged to the same royal family flourishing in the Anupa region under the nominal supremacy of the Gupta emperors. Some scholars believe that the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era was in use in different parts of India even in the early period. There is, however, no evidence to show that the era was used in early times anywhere outside the territories originally under Abhiras and Traikutakas.

1 . Some scholars regard this inscription as a modem fake (NHIP. VI. 238), but it is difficult to accept this view.

2. See above, p. 160.

cn some of these coins. Other coins, possibly of a slightly later date, disclose the names of three kings of this family, viz., Sivabodhi, Chandrabhodhi or Srichandrabodhi, and Vlrabodhi or Virabodhidatta. Nothing, however, is known of the relations that any one of these rulers might have borne to the others. The end of the dynasty is also wrapped in obscurity.

4. THE IKSHVAKUS

The heart of the Andhra country in the districts about the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavarf was in the possession of the main branch of the Satavahana family, which seems to have been Overthrown by the Ikshvakus about the end of the first quarter of the third century. It is uncertain whether these Ikshvakus of the Andhra country represented a branch of the ancient Ikshvaku family of Ayodhya that might have migrated to the Deccan and settled on the lower Krishna.

The founder of the Ikshvaku dynasty of the Andhra country seems to have been Santamula (Chamtamula) I, who may be assigned to the second quarter of the third century. He is known to have performed an Asvamedha sacrifice, probably to celebrate the overthrow of the Satavahanas whose suzerainty the Ikshvakus and other ruling families of the Andhra country must-have acknowledged in the earlier epoch.

The Ikshvakus, who are probably referred to in the Pura^as as the Srlparvatlya Andhras, appear to have ruled from the city of Vijayapuri situated in the Nagarjunikonda valley in the Nallamalur range, the ancient name of which was $rlparvata. As no records of the time of Santamula I have so far been discovered, little is known about the events of his reign and the extent of his dominions. He was a staunch follower of the Brahmanical faith and is described as “favoured by Mahasena (i.e., the god Skanda-Karttikeya).” SSntamula I is known to have celebrated not only the Asvamedha, but also the Vajapeya and some other Vedic sacrifices. This revival of Brahmanism after the fall of the later Satavahanas, who probably had Buddhistic leanings, was, however, short-lived, as Santamula’s immediate successors leaned again towards Buddhism.

Two of Santamula’s sisters are referred to in inscriptions, the first of them being married to a Mahasenapati-Mahatalavara of the Pukiya family. The Pukiyas have been located by some writers in the Pungi District comprising parts of Nellore and the adjacent

area. The king’s daughter Atavi-Santisri was married to a Mahasenapati-Mahadan^anayaka belonging to the Dhanaka family. Another family related to the Ikshvaku kings was that of the Hiranyakas, who probably dwelt in the Hiranyarash^ra covering parts of Nellore and Cuddapah and the adjoining regions.

King 6antamula I was succeeded by his son Mathailputra Virapurushadatta, whose rule of about twenty years may be roughly assigned to the third quarter of the third century. Cross-cousin marriage, which is prevalent in South India even today and which is sanctioned for the southerners by such an early work on law as the Baudhdyana Dharmasutra (c. fifth century B.C.), was favoured by the Ikshvakus. Three of VTrapurushadatta’s queens are known to have been the daughters of his father’s sisters. Mahadevi Rudradhara-bhattarika, very probably a queen of the same king, is described as a daughter of the Mahdrtija of Uj jay ini. This queen seems to have been related to Rudrasena II (c. A.D. 255-77), the contemporary §aka Mahakshatrapa of Western India. Virapurushadatta gave his daughter in marriage to a Mahdrdja of Vanavasa, who was probably no other than one of the Chutu-Satakarni rulers of Kuntala. The position of the Ikshvakus must have been strengthened by these matrimonial alliances with the powerful rulers of Ujjain and Banavasi; but whether both of them were contracted during the reign of Virapurushadatta is uncertain.

Records of Virapurushadatta’s reign have been found at the Buddhist sites of Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunikon^a, the latest recorded date being the king’s twentieth regnal year. The inscriptions record private donations to some Buddhist establishments and are not official documents of the Ikshvaku king. The Nagarjunikon^a inscriptions are mostly records of the benefactions of some female members of Virapurushadatta’s family in favour of the Mahachaitya or Great Monastery lying in the vicinity of Vijayapuri which, as already suggested, was probably the Ikshvaku capital. These ladies, whose anxiety to attain to the bliss of Nirvana is exhibited by the epigraphs, were no doubt Buddhists by faith; but whether Virapurushadatta himself and his son were Buddhists is not quite certain. It, however, seems to be significant that unlike Santamula I, these kings are described neither as performers of Brahmanical sacrifices nor as favoured by the god Mahasena.

The son of Virapurushadatta was Ehuvula Santamula II, who succeeded his father and ruled at least for about eleven years. An

inscription at Gurzala in the Guntur District reveals the name of Maharaja Rulupurushadatta. The name of this king embodying the expression purushadatta, as well as the palaeography of his record, seems to connect him with the Ikshvaku king Vlrapurushadatta. It is not improbable that Rulupurushadatta was the successor of &antamula II. The independent rule of the Ikshvakus in the lower valley of the Krishna, however, seems to have terminated by the end of the third century. This is evident from the Mayidavolu copper-plate inscription which records an order of the Pallava crown-prince Sivaskandavarman, stationed at Kanch'i, to the vydprita or provincial governor of Andhrapatha residing at Dhanyakataka in the present Amaravati-Dharanikota area of the Krishna District. There is difference of opinion as to the date of Pallava Sivaskandavarman and his father, whose name is unknown but in whose tenth year of reign the Mayidavolu grant must have been issued. There are, however, reasons to believe that Sivaskandavarman flourished about the first quarter of the fourth century and that the Pallava occupation of the heart of the Andhra country was not much later than the end of the third century.

The Ikshvakus of the Andhra country lingered as a local power for many years after the Pallava conquest of Andhrapatha. The Anaji inscription of about the fifth century A.D. speaks of a matrimonial alliance between the Kekaya kings of Mysore and the saintly rulers of the Ikshvaku family. There is little doubt that the reference is to the dynasty of the Ikshvakus of the lower Krishna valley. Vague references to these Ikshvakus have been traced in the Dharmdmrita , a late Kannada poem by Nayasena.

5. THE BRIHATPH ALA YANAS

According to the Geography of Ptolemy (c. A.D. 140), the country of the people called Maisoloi had its metropolis at the city of Pitundra (probably from Sanskrit Prithuda), which seems to be the same as Pithuda of Hathigumpha inscription, 1 and Pithunda of the Uttarddhyayana. The Maisoloi lived about the present Masulipatam or Bandar taluk of the Krishna District, and their chief city may not have been situated very far from Masulipatam. In the second half of the first century B.C., Kharavela, king of Kalihga, claims to have devastated this royal city. About the end of the third century A.D., the Masulipatam area was in the possession of kings

Note 6

of the Brihatphalayana dynasty who very probably had their headquarters at the same place.

Only one king of the Brihatphalayana dynasty is known to us, viz. Jayavarman, who is called a Rdjan in his Kondamudi grant but a Maharaja on the seal attached to the charter. The charter was issued in the tenth regnal year of Jayavarman, who is described as a devout worshipper of Mahesvara and as belonging to the Brihatphalayana gotra. It records an order of the king from his camp of victory at Kudura to the governor of the Kudur - ahara in regard to a grant of land in favour of some Brahmanas. Kudura, headquarters of the dhdra or district of that name, is often identified with modern Guduru near Masulipatam, but sometimes also with Koduru near Gantasala, the same as ancient Kantakasaila or Kantkasaula and Greek Kantakassulos. Some scholars believe that Kudura was the capital of Jayavarman.

Nothing is known about the predecessors and successors of the Brihatphalayana king Jayavarman and about his relations with the Satavahanas, Ikshvakus and the Pallavas. It is probable that the earlier kings of the Brihatphalayana dynasty acknowledged the supremacy of the later Satavahanas and of their successors, the Ikshvakus. Towards the close of the third century, Jayavarman seems to have thrown off the yoke of the Ikshvakus and ruled for some time as an independent ruler. Very soon, however, both the Ikshvakus and the Brihatphalayanas appear to have been subdued by the Pallavas of Kanchi whose empire, about that time, is known to have extended over Andhrapatha, the ‘Satavahanlya province’ (Bellary District) and Kuntala in the north and the north-west.

CHAPTER XV

Chapter Notes

1. 1 . The theory that the Vakatakas founded the era of A.D. 248-49 is not supported by any evidence. No coins can be attributed to the Vakataka kings.
2. 1. In, the second half of the fourth century B.C. when Alexander invaded northwestern India, the Sudras, called Sodroi by the Greeks, lived in northern Sind to the south of the Punjab rivers. The mediaeval lexicographer Purushottama identifies Vinasana with Kurukshetra in his Trikdndasesha.
3. 1. There is no reason to believe that Isvaradatta and the Abhlra king Mathariputra Isvarasena ruled over the same territories. The absence of the tribal name and of any patronymic and metronymic in Isvaradatta's coin-legend appears to be significant. The identification of the two rulers is improbable in view of the difference in their names.
4. 2. Cf. ABORI , XXVII, 1 ff.
5. 3. Prof. Mirashi has recently suggested that Khandesh was ruled by the Mahdrdjas Svamidasa, Bhulun^a, and Rudradasa respectively in the years 67, 107 and 117 of the era of A.D. 248-49 as feudatories of the Abhlras (ABORI, XXVI, 159,
6. 1. See above, p. 214.

SOUTHERN INDIA AND CEYLON

1. SOUTHERN INDIA

1. The Tamil Land

Southern India, i.e., India south of the Krishna, was known from the earliest times to have been divided into three major kingdoms and a number of smaller states subordinate to them. These three important kingdoms were: Chola, occupying the Kaverl delta and the adjoining region; the Pandya to the south of it, extending from coast to coast, the northern boundary being marked by what was the old Pudukkottai State, or rather the river Vallaru which runs across the middle of the State; and the Chera, extending along the west coast right up to the Konkan in the north. The region above the Ghats and in the plateau, constituting the present State of Mysore, together with some of the adjoining districts, contained many subordinate states, whose number varied at different periods from seven to fourteen and which often attempted to throw off the yoke of the three kingdoms. The boundry line on the north was definitely fixed at Vengadam. the hill of Tirupati. Crossing the Tirupati boundry, according to the Tamils, was symbolical of leaving the Tamil land for regions where the spoken language changed.

In historical times, however, we are able to distinguish a central core where pure Tamil was spoken, and a number of outlying districts in which mixed dialects were employed. The whole of the northern borderland of this region was occupied by a tribe of people whom the southern Tamils called Vadavar or Vadukar, speaking a dialect differing from Tamil. At a somewhat later period, Tamil literature locates the Telugu and Kannada-speaking peoples further to the north of the Vadavar or the Vadukar, occupying a block of territory on the northern border of the peninsula.

2. Contact with the Outside World

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The division indicated above became a normal feature during historical times. Contact between the north and south seems to have been fairly frequent. Not only do we hear of people migrating

from one portion to the other; but we have also evidence that there was regular communication between the Deccan and Southern India as well as between these two and Northern India. The earliest instance of contact between the northern Aryans and the southern Tamils goes back to the tradition of the mission of the Rishi Agastya. He is stated to have made his headquarters on a hillock in the Western Ghats known as the Podiyil Hill on the Madura-Tinnevelly border. He brought his wife and disciples and a band of peasants to form the nucleus of an Aryan colony.

Whatever value there may be in this tradition, the earliest achievements of Dravidian culture are credited to Agastya. There is also a persistent legend, which still continues to hold the field, that during the great war of the MakdbMrata , the armies on both sides were fed, maintained and conditioned by the Pandyan king. There are, again, stories of settlements of Dravidian tribes coming from the north-west, chiefly Gujarat and Saurashtra. There is even today a living tradition that at one time our people did actually come from these regions with the permission of no less a person than Krishna. In fact Agastya is said to have brought his agricultural population from the homeland of Krishna. Not only that, but we hear of commercial intercourse between southern and northern India, and we can trace references in the Arthasastra and kindred works to the exchange of commodities such as cotton fabrics between Kalinga and the Pandya country.

Similarly we find reference to the pearls obtained from the southern corner of the Pandya country. We also find allusions to pilgrimages from the Deccan to the sacred bathing place at Cape Comorin. Apart from these general references, we have an explicit statement by Magasthenes that the country in the extreme south was ruled by a Pandya queen who maintained an orderly government and an organised administration. He further remarks that the queen’s territory consisted of 365 villages, each one of which brought its revenue to the State Treasury on an appointed day. Whatever truth there may be in this, there is no doubt that Megasthenes had heard of the Pandya country. The three kingdoms of the South were certainly known to Asoka as mentioned above. 1 Asoka does not claim authority over them but regards them as neighbouring kingdoms. He had to maintain the same relationship with them as with distant western allies like the Greeks.

Note 1

During the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, the commercial activity of South India was very great, with a creditable volume of foreign trade. A lively commerce in agricultural and industrial commodities, including spices, was carried on with the Roman Empire, and there was a correspondingly brisk trade with the East, going as far as Kattigara (or Canton), the most important port of South China. The voyages were long and even dangerous. Regular and brisk communications with these foreign lands as well as the different parts of India seem to have been generally maintained. We can gather continuous evidence of this both from Tamil literature and from the writings of foreign travellers.

3. The Three Kingdoms

Generally speaking, the history of South India consists of the ascendancy of one or other of the three powers of the South, viz. Chola, Parujya or Chera. The chronology is very uncertain, but it would appear from the literary evidence that the Chola ascendancy began in the first century B.C. and continued to the end of the first century A.D., perhaps a little later. Then it passed to the Pantfya and Chera dynasties.

It is impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, to deal with the history of any of these states in the form of a connected narrative. We can only glean a few facts concerning some great rulers of each of them, mostly from Tamil poems of a later date.

The most distinguished of the early rulers of South India was the Chola king Karikala, round whom has gathered a host of romantic legends. Having been put into prison by his enemies, he not only managed to escape but made himself ruler and defeated the joint forces of the Pan<Jya and Chera kings, with the help of eleven minor chieftains, in the famous battle

of Venni, 15 miles to the east of Tanjore. This great victory gave him undisputed supremacy over the Tamil states. He also fought with many predatory tribes and forced them into submission.

An important incident in the career of Karikala, which deserves to be treated in some detail, is the invasion of Ceylon. Although not mentioned in the Mahdvamsa, later chronicles of Ceylon refer to it. Hie great Chola Karikala who exerted himself to establish the dominance of the Chola kingdom in Tamil India, had apparently good reasons to carry on war against Ceylon. On one of these occasions, he seems to have defeated the Ceylonese so thoroughly as to have carried away 12,000 of the Ceylonese inhabitants and put them to work in his fortification of the sea-port town of the Chola country, Puhar, at the mouth of the Kaveri, set over against the island of Lanka (Ceylon).

One great achievement of Karikala must be noted here. It is a work of beneficent enterprise which resulted in immense permanent benefit to the inhabitants of the land. He conceived the idea of controlling the waters of the Kaveri at the head of the delta and redistributing them so as to fertilise regions not reached by the natural flow of the channels. The great Chola Karikala is universally regarded as the author of the Grand Anicut Srirangam and drawing the waters off through a new channel, now called Vennar, into the arid regions of South Tanjore. The idea seems to have caught on after the great success he achieved. A study of the irrigation canals of the Tanjore District shows that most, if not all, of these were the work of the Chola period, and carried the overflow to irrigate other parts of the district, and then out into the sea.

The Tamil poems naturally magnify the achievements of Karikala and credit him with the conquest of the whole of India. He is said to have promoted art, industry and trade and is praised for his impartiality as a judge and for his patronage of the Brahmanical religion and Tamil literature. At the same time, we get a vivid picture of the king as enjoying the joys of life to the full. On the whole, Karikala stands out among the early Tamil rulers as a striking personality, great alike in the pursuits of war and peace.

Reference may here be made to Tontfaiman Ilandiraiyan who ruled at Kahchl and was a younger contemporary of Karikala. According to some scholars, he was a grandson of Karikala or a viceroy appointed by the latter to rule over Kahchl. Others, however, regard him as an independent ruler of Tondai which, like Chera, Chola and Paxujya, designated both the country (round Kanchi) and its ruling dynasty. It has been suggested that Tondai was “the name of a creeper, and to this fact must be traced the name Pallava (sprout) of the rulers of Ton<Jaiman<Jalam in later times.” 1

But the relation between the Ton^aiyar kings and the later Pallavas is uncertain. Of the ruler Ilandiraiyan we know nothing

Note 2

except vague references to his righteous conduct and poetic abilities. About his power and status we get contradictory views. He is said to “have commanded the respect of the three crowned kings of the Tamil land;” but some writer ‘counts him as a princeling not of full regal rank.* 1 Nothing is known about his predecessors or successors.

Among the Pandya rulers, Mudukudumi Peruvaludi is referred to in a later inscription of the eighth century A.D., as renewing his original grant of a village. He is called Paramesvara and is said to have fought many battles and performed a number of sacrifices. More distinguished, however, was a later king of his line Neduhjeliyan. Having ascended the throne at an early age, he had to face the invasion of a powerful hostile confederacy consisting of the Chola and Chera rulers and five minor chieftains.

The enemy advanced almost up to the gates of Madura. But Nedunjelyan rose equal to the occasion, and not only drove them out of his kingdom but even pursued them beyond its frontier. The decisive encounter took place at Talaiyalanganam (about 8 miles to the north-west of Tiruvalur) and the Pandya king obtained a complete victory. This victory marked a turning point in the career of Neduhjelyan who was henceforth distinguished by the proud epithet “victorious in the battle of Talaiyalanganam.” Its memory was long cherished and even a Pandyan charter of the tenth century A.D. alludes to it. Nedunjeliyan also defeated the chieftains of Kongu and Nidur and annexed some territories of the latter. Himself a poet, he was a patron of a large number of poets who have immortalised him in their songs. He was a follower of the Brahmanical religion and performed many Vedic sacrifices.

None of the Chera kings achieved the celebrity either of Karikala or of NedunjeUyan. The Chera ruler joined Pandya against the Chola and the Chola against the Pandya ruler as suited him, but he often fared worst. The Chera king Perum Serai Adan, who joined the Pandya ruler against Karikala, was wounded, and starved himself to death in the battlefield by way of expiation. Nedunjeliyan captured the Chera king Chey, who invaded his dominions along with the Chola ruler. A later Chera ruler Kanaikkal Irumporai was defeated by the Chola king Seiiganan and taken prisoner. Against these successive humiliations the victories of the Chera ruler Imaiyavaramban Nedunjeral Adan stand out in high relief. He

Note 3

defeated the Yavanas and brought them home as captives, "their hands tied behind and oil poured on their heads." These were probably Greek or Arab merchants, as we are told that the king obtained from them a large quantity of diamonds and many costly vessels. The king also conquered Kadambu near the sea, perhaps the region near Vanavasi which later formed the Kadamba: kingdom.

The location of the Chera capital Vanji has been a subject of keen controversy among scholars. Some place it at Karur near Trichinopoly, while others identify it with Tiruvanjikulam on the west coast of Cochin. The latter view seems more probable.

The Panqlyas and two or three successive Chera rulers arc said to have led expeditions to the north as far as the Himalayas. They even claim to have planted emblems on the Himalayas. Whatever we may think of these claims, we have at any rate definite evidence of inter-communication between some of the northern countries and the South in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era.

4. Pallava Ascendancy

During this period the cultural contact between the North and the South had been frequent, and for some time even continuous, so that northern Aryan culture penetrated fully into South and influenced the local Dravidian culture and languages. As a result of this contact we also find the establishment of the dynasty of the Pallavas, which transformed their capital Kanchl into a centre of Sanskrit culture as well as the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain religions. This seems also to be the age of active contact with the outside world through commerce with the countries of the West, and by means of establishment of colonies throughout the East.

In the general movement from the north to the south, a people called Kalvar or Kalavar by the Tamils seems to have played a prominent part. They seem to have been the people occupying all the country along the northern border of the Tamil land, from Vehgadam in the east to the north-west frontier of the Mysore State in the west, making its frontier outposts against the north. The southward advance of the Andhras brought about the movement among these people in the south. The movement of this people subverted the dynasties ruling the country round Kanchl called Tondaimandalam. While we are not in full possession of details, it is clear that it was these Kajvars again that upset the political order even further south. They established themselves in the Chola kingdom, and perhaps in the Pai^dya as well, and brought about a complete change in the ancient political conditions of the south at the commencement of the fourth century A.D., which we can trace from the Sangam literature of the Tamils. The Tamils took time to recover from this movement and we find the whole of the territory round Kanchi, Tondaimandalam, occupied by the Pallavas. The southern outposts of Chola and Pan<Jya were also overrun, but they regained their freedom after a generation of struggle. The Pallavas ruled in Kanchi for several centuries more and stood as a bulwark against further invasion from the north. Their origin and history will be dealt with in the next volume.

II. CEYLON

1. Colonisation by the Aryans

The island of Ceylon is traditionally identified with the island of Lanka, the kingdom of the Rakshasas according to the Rdmdyana and other accounts. But according to the detailed statements in the Rdmdyana, the island, which contained the capital of Havana, has to be located far away from Ceylon, and on the basis of astronomical statements it ought to be situated on the equator immediately to the south of Cape Comorin. It has sometimes been asserted that Lanka was a large island, a considerable part of which has now sunk under the sea, leaving only the remnant which constitutes modern Ceylon.

Unlike India, Ceylon possesses chronicles which narrate its history from the earliest times. Events from the death of the Buddha were recorded by the Buddhist Church after its introduction in 246 B.C., and later incorporated into the Dipavarhsa and the Mahdvamsa , composed respectively in the fourth and sixth century A.D. Both these works are written in Pali and based on a common source now lost, viz. the Atthdkathd-Mahavamsa of the Mahavihara monastery, composed in old Sinhalese prose mingled with verse in the Pali language. “Of this work the Dipavamsa presents the first clumsy redaction in Pali verses. The Mahdvamsa is then a new treatment

of the same thing distinguished from the Dipavamsa .by more

artistic composition and by a more liberal use of the material

contained in the original work.” 1 The Mahavamsa was composed by Mahanama, but the author of the Dlpavamsa is not known.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, described in the Chronicles as Nagas and Yakshas, were probably the ancestors of the modern Veddahs, a primitive people of pre-Dravidian origin still found in the Eastern Province.

The earliest historical tradition that we have is of the colonisation of Ceylon by people from Bengal under the lead of Vijaya, as narrated in the Mahavamsa. This colony is said to have started from the well-known port of Tamralipti, the Tamluk of modern times. The occasion for this emigration from Bengal was the banishment of prince Vijaya, for his evil conduct, by his father. Vijaya sailed with seven hundred companions and, after a long voyage, landed in the north coast of the island. They settled there, founding numerous towns such as Tambapanni, Anuradhagama, Ujjeni, Uruvela, etc.

Since these adventurers were all of the male sex, they felt the need for women folk. As the story goes, they applied to the nearest kingdom across the sea, and had 1,000 families along with a number of maidens sent across. They entered into marital relations with them, and thus both north and south Indian elements constitute, according to tradition, the more civilized elements in the population of Ceylon. From Simhavahu or Simhala, the father of Vijaya, the island received the name Simhala-dvlpa, the Arabic Serendib, the Portuguese Ceilao, and the modern Ceylon.

Apart from the story of Vijaya in the Mahavamsa, there are indications in Indian literature of a close relation between India and Ceylon. Indian literature gives the name Nagadvlpa—the island of the Nagas—to Ceylon, and relates incidents in which the Nagas played a part. There is the story of a jewel throne, for which an uncle and a nephew fought, and, at the end of it, made a present of it to the Buddha. That throne remained in the island with miraculous power and people went to it on pilgrimage. Another connection with South India, which is often referred to, is the presence of the footprints of the Buddha on the hill Samantakutam.

The story runs that, having accepted the invitation of Mani Yakshaka, the ruler of KalyanI, Chelani in South Ceylon, the Buddha left his footprints on the top of the hill. That had remained ever

Note 4

since a place of pilgrimage to which Indians often went. One thousand families of the 18 guilds from the Pantjya country are said to have arrived at a place called Mhatitta (Mahatirtha), now Mantotta, opposite the Isle of Mannar. Public squares in Ceylon bear the name Naga-Chatukkam, which seems really to be on the analogy of the Indian nomenclature for public squares, such as the well-known Bhuta-Chatukkan in Puhar.

By way of connection between India and Ceylon, we might mention the alms-bowls of miraculous power, one of which is connected directly with the name of the Buddha, and another is referred to in the Manimekhalai as having come from the Panqlya country. Apart from these legends and traditions, the migration of the Aryans from India into the island of Ceylon as well as their settlement there is proved by inscriptions in the Aryan dialect (Elu or Helu) from which modern Sinhalese developed. As the scripts of these inscriptions resemble those used in India in the second or third century before Christ, the Aryan settlements must have commenced at a much earlier period. According to the Mahdvamsa , prince Vijaya landed in Ceylon on the very day that the Buddha died. Whatever we may think of this, there is no inherent improbability in the assumption that the Aryan settlements date back to the fourth or even fifth century B.C. It would appear from the find-spots of the inscriptions that the Aryans had settled in the northern, southeastern and the eastern parts of the island before the beginning of the Christian era.

2. H istory

The Mahdvaiiisa and the Dlpavamsa give a connected historical account of Ceylon from the time that “the ministers in full assembly consecrated Vijaya king of the island.” As Vijaya had no son, he wrote to his brother in Bengal to come to Ceylon. The latter’s son Pandu-Vasudeva came to Ceylon about a year after the death of Vijaya and succeeded him. After three more kings had ruled, there came to the throne of Ceylon the famous king Devanampiyatissa. He was a contemporary of Asoka and sent an embassy with rich presents to the Maury an emperor. Asoka welcomed the envoys and sent the various essentials for the formal consecration of the king of Ceylon, which was celebrated amid scenes of great splendour. 1

Note 5

Shortly alter, Asoka's son (or brother) Mahendra, who had become a monk, was sent to Ceylon as a Buddhist missionary. The king and the people accepted the new religion and the Mahavamsa gives a list ot the sanctuaries built by him, including the famous Mahavihara. A branch ol' the original Bodhi Tree was brought from Bodh Gaya and planted at the capital, Anuradhapura, in the eighteenth year ot Asoka’s reign.

The contemporaneity of Devanariipiyatissa and Asoka gives us a fixed point in Ceylonese chronology. The Mahavamsa places Vijaya’s accession in year 1 of Buddha's Nirvana and gives the length of each succeeding reign. There is no doubt that at a later time Buddha’s Nirvana was regarded in Ceylon as having taken place in 544-43 B.C.. but with this starting point the reign of Devanariipiyatissa falls during the period 808-7 B.C. to 268-7 B.C. and the accession of Asoka (according to Mahavamsa which places it in 218 A.B.) in 326-5 B.C.

As this is not generally accepted, the date of Buddha’s Nirvana has been computed from 483 B.C. 1 According to Geiger, this date for the Nirvana era was current in Ceylon up to the close of the fourth century A.D., after which the new reckoning with 544-43 B.C. as the epoch of A.B. was adopted. According to this view, which has been adopted hei‘e, Devanariipiyatissa ruled from 247 to 207 B.C.

He was succeeded by his three brothers, the last of whom Suratissa) ruled from 187 to 177 B.C. In the course of the reign of this prince, two Tamil usurpers, sons of a horse dealer, conquered the land and ruled in succession. Some time after the restoration of the old ruling dynasty, there entered an enterprising person from the Tamil land by name E]ara, of noble descent, who overcame the ruler Asela and reigned over the island for 44 years (145-101 B.C.) “with even justice to friend and foe.” Indian tradition has reference to a person somewhat similar, b>' the popular name Elela Singan. This ruler is said to have carried out the execution of his son for having killed a calf by accidentally running over it. This incident is alluded to in the Silappaclikaram and other pieces of Tamil literature. Another story relating to him is somewhat similar to the Jataka story of Sibi, who gave his own flesh to save the life of a dove. There are other similar legends. In response to the complaint of an old woman about the unseasonable rain damaging her paddy, he

1. For further discussion cf. pp. 36-7 above, where 486 B.C. has been regarded as the probable date of the Nirvana. On account of this difference in views about the date of the Nirvana, the dates of the Ceylonese kings are differently t-iven by modern scholars (cf. c.(/. NHIP, VI. Ch. XIII, Sp. Appendix on p. 262).

is said to have brought Indra himself to a sense of his duty to his people. This ruler is said to have introduced the bell of justice, a familiar story in the Chola country as well as the Pandya. The fact, however, in respect of Elara to be noted was that he was a Tamil of noble descent from the Chola country. Whether he was an ancestor of the great Chola Karikala is not known for certain.

This Tamil usurper was, however, defeated and killed by king Dutthagamani (101-77 B.C.) who once more established a free and united kingdom in Ceylon. He constructed the Great Stupa and there was a large assembly of priests for its consecration. The Mahdvamsa gives a long list of the countries in India from which monks came to attend this ceremony. Dutthagamani was succeeded by his brother Saddhatissa (77-59 B. C.). On his death, his younger son Thulathana was selected king by the counsellors and Buddhist monks. But Lahjatissa, the elder son, defeated his younger brother and ascended the throne. He was succeeded by his younger brother, who was killed by the commander of troops after a rule of six years. The rebel was killed in 43 B. C. by the king’s younger brother named Vattagamani, who married the widowed queen and adopted her young son.

Soon after his accession to the throne, this ruler had to face simultaneously a Tamil invasion and a rebellion by one of his governors in Ceylon. He put down the rebellion by setting the invaders against the rebel, but then found the former too strong for him, and had to flee the country, leaving them in possession of the kingdom. He had to abandon his second queen SomadevI, as well as the royal crown and the alms-bowl of the Buddha, which was maintained as a royal treasure. The queen and the alms-bowl were carried away by two of the seven invaders, who returned to India, and the remaining five ruled in the country (43-29 B.C.). The first of them is given the name Pulahatta (Brihasta). It is doubtful if he is the person addressed by Kapilar in the Tamil poem Kurunjipdttu. Then followed in quick succession four kings each of whom forcibly occupied the throne after overthrowing his predecessor. The last of them was killed by Vattagamani. Some of these names sound like those of well-known Tamil chieftains, but no definite identification is possible.

When Vattagamani recovered his kingdom, he destroyed the Jain and built a Buddhist vihara in the name of the queen SomadevI. The one remarkable feature of his reign (29-17 B.C.) was the writing down of the Tripitakas of the Buddhists and the Atfhakatha. Two of the sons of this VattagamanI succeeded one after the other. Mahachuli Tissa, the eldest, reigned for 14 years (17-3 B.C.). The second, named Choranaga (3 B.C.-A.D. 9), was one of the few kings of Ceylon who were hostile to Buddhism and destroyed Buddhist sanctuaries. He was poisoned by his wife Anula, who also killed by the same means the next king Tissa, son of Mahachuli. According to the Mahdvamsa this wicked queen next raised four of her favourites to the throne, in quick succession, removing each by poison to make room for the next. She then ascended the throne herself but was slain by Kutkannatissa (A.D. 16-38), the second son of Mahachuli.

After five kings had ruled in succession the throne was occupied by Sivali, the sister of the last king (A‘.D. 93). Sivali was, however, dethroned by her cousin Ilanaga. Lambakanna clan rebelled early in his reign and he had to be an exile in India for three years. He returned at the head of an army from India, regained his throne, and ruled for six years (A.D. 96-102). Ilanaga was succeeded by his son Chandamukha Siva (A.D. 103-112), who was killed by his younger brother Yasalalakatissa. He ruled for about eight years (A.D. 112-120) and with him ended the royal dynasty founded by Vijaya.

Subha, the gatekeeper of king Yasalalakatissa. slew his master and ascended the throne in A.D. 120. But he was overthrown after six years by Vasabha of the Lambakanna sect, who founded in A.D. 127 a new dynasty which ruled for more than three hundred years.

The Lambakannas, who had already made a bid for the throne during the reign of Ilanaga, were an ancient and powerful clan. Later writers assert that they descended from the Mauryans who accompanied the Bodhi Tree to Ceylon, but no such statement occurs in the early works including the Mahdvamsa . Vasabha, who established the supremacy of the clan, has left numerous inscriptions all over the island. He ruled prosperously for 44 years (A.D. 127-171) and was succeeded by his son Vankanasikatissa. While this king was ruling at Anuradhapura, the capital city of the north, his two brothers set up independent kingdoms in the rest of the island.

It was probably during this period of divided rule that the Chola king Karikala invaded the island, as mentioned above. Vahkanasikatissa’s son

Gajabahu or Gajabahukagamanl (A.D. 174-196), how

ever, not only united the whole country under his rule, but even invaded the Chola country. This fact is not mentioned in the Mahdvamsa or other early sources, but is found embellished with marvellous legends in later literature. As the story has it, an old woman was so distressed by the abduction of her son that she bewailed the calamity every night. The sovereign took notice of it and found on enquiry that Ceylon had suffered great ravages during the Chola invasion. He in turn undertook a counter-invasion in great force, and is said to have so far succeeded that he was in occupation of the Chola capital of Uraiyur near Trichinopoly for a time. The story is embellished by details of his having taken with him a giant attendant who caused great havoc among the Chola warriors, and did great damage to their reputation. The two parties seem at last to have come to an understanding. A treaty was concluded, which made arrangements for the restoration of the Ceylonese prisoners of war to their native land.

In connection with this story it is also stated that friendly relations were established between the two countries which led to the building of Hindu temples in Ceylon including those for PattinidevI, the virgin martyr of the Silappadikaram . This in a way confirms the statement made in the Silappadikdram that among the foreign princes who attended the consecration ceremony on the completion of the temple of PattinidevI in the Chera capital, a number obtained permission to install the image of the “chaste lady” in shrines built in their own capitals and constructed temples to her. Many Indian rulers are mentioned in this connection and, along with them, Gajabahu, the king of Ceylon. This visit of Gajabahu constitutes a specific datum, which establishes the chronology of Tamil literature. In fact, a temple of PattinidevI still exists in Ceylon, and it would be carrying scepticism too far to deny that it had been brought into existence as detailed above.

For seventy-two years after the death of Gajabahu, Ceylon had on the whole a peaceful and prosperous time under six rulers. King Tissa, who reigned from A.D. 269 to 291, was an enlightened ruler who abolished mutilation as a penalty and consequently received the name Voharika tissa. His reign witnessed a great religious schism in Ceylon. The Mahayana doctrine, called Vetulya in the Mahtivcuhsa and Vitan^a-vada in the Dipavamsa, found favour with the Abhayagiri-vihSra but was opposed by the Mahavihara. The king, persuaded by the latter to hold an inquisition, suppressed the new doctrine and banished Its followers. But this merely sowed the seeds of future dissension.

Vohiirikatissa had a tragic end. His brother Abhayanaga carried on an intrigue with the queen and, being discovered in hiq guilt, fled to South India. The assistance of the Tamils and the treachery of an uncle enabled him to invade Ceylon and defeat and kill his brother. He married the widowed queen, ascended the thione (A.D. 291) and ruled for eight years. He was, however, succeeded by Sirinaga II and Vijaya, the son and grandson respectively of Voharikatissa, who ruled for a total period of three years. The death of Vijaya was followed by a troublesome period in course of which the kingdom was seized by two rebels. Though they belonged to the Lambakanna sect, their relationship, if any, with the preceding kings is not known. Then the throne was occupied by Gothabhaya (A.D. 309-322). He is also represented as a rebel and adventurer in the Mahavamsa, but it appears from more reliable epigraphic records that he was a son of Sirinaga II.

The heterodox Vetulya doctrine again came into prominence during this reign, and was supported by the monks of Abhayagirivihara. Gothabhaya not only proscribed the sect, but branded sixty of its leading followers and banished them. They fled to South India and the story of the barbarous cruelty inflicted on them moved Sahghamitta, a pupil of one of these, to take vengeance. He came to Ceylon, won royal favour, and was appointed tutor to the two princes. Jetthatissa I, the elder of the two, ruled for ten years (A.D. 323-33) after his father’s death, and was succeeded by his younger brother Mahasena. He was greatly ‘attached to Sahghamitta and, on his advice, persecuted the monks of Mahavihara for refusing to accept the Vetulya doctrine. He confiscated the property of the Mahavihara and destroyed many of its establishments, and the plundered wealth was bestowed on Abhyagiri-vihara. The king also set up the Jetavana-vihara and built a magnificent stupa in it, which was the largest in Ceylon.

The reign of Mahasena falls within the period A.D. 334 to 362 according to the system of chronology followed above, and A.D. 277304 according to the other. 1 The Mahavamsa and the Dipavamsa,

Cf the preceding footnote. The chronology of the Ceylonese kings given above is based 1 on the revised chronology of Geiger (Chulavamsa , Eng. Transl. Part II,

p. IX).

the two great Chronicles of Ceylon which are the principal sources of the early history of the island, end with his reign, though a supplement was added to Mahdvamsa at a later period. These chronicles refer in great detail to the building of various Buddhist sanctuaries by the kings mentioned above as well as their works of public utility such as roads, tanks and irrigation canals. It is not possible to refer to them in detail, but enough has been said above to indicate the great and far-reaching influence of Buddhism in Ceylon and the high state of culture and civilization in the island mainly brought about by its close and intimate association with India.

GENERAL REFERENCES

Original Sources

1 Mahdvamsa and Chulavamsa (1) Edited and translated by W. Geiger and Mrs. C. M. Rickmers; (2) Tr. by G. Tumour (Chs. 1-36) and L. C. Wijesinha (Chs. 37-100).

2. Dipavamsa —Edited and translated by Oldenberg.

Secondary Texts

1 A New History of the Indian People, Vol. VI (Edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar), Ch. XIII.

2. H. W. Codrington —A Short History of Ceylon.

3 Camb. Hist. India, Vol. I, Chap. XXV.

For chronological discussion cf. Geiger’s Introduction to ChvXav&msa, VoL II, Wijesinha’s Tr. of Mahdvamsa, and Wickremasinghe’s article in Epigraphia Zeylanica, III, 1-47.

CHAPTER XVI

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See p. 78
2. 1. NH1P , VI. 222.
3. 1. NHIP, VI. 222.
4. 1. Geiger, Mahdvaihsa (Eng. Tr.) po. x-xi. cf. G. C. Mendis—The Pali Chronicles of Ceylon (University of Ceylon Review, October, 1946, pp. 1 fT).
5. 1. It looks as if the Ceylonese king sought for investiture at the hands of Asoka, though the reason is not apparent (cf. Codrington, 12).

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The period succeeding that of the Upanishads and Sutras was characterised by a many-sided outburst of literary activity in both northern and southern India. In the first place it saw the rise of Dravidian literature in the south. Secondly, the process of evolution in the Sanskrit language gave rise to various forms of Prakrit which had a distinctive literature of its own. Apart from this classification according to language, the literature of the period may be broadly divided into three classes—religious, philosophical and secular. The rise of different religious sects, each with a rich literature, was a characteristic feature of the time. Two of these, the Buddhist and Jain, will be dealt with in Chapter XIX. As regards the Brahmanical religion, the most important literary works were the two great epics and the Dharma-sastras or Smritis. Both of these, however, may be said to be on the borderline between religious and secular literature. Then there were the Puranas and the Tantras, Although the beginnings of these two types of composition may be traced to an early age, the extant texts, as we have them now, do not belong to this period and will be dealt with in the succeeding volume. The rich philosophical literature will be dealt with along with religion in Chapter XIX. As regards secular literature, the most important are the dramas and poems. Next in importance are works on Grammar, Law, Polity, Medicine and sundry other subjects. We shall first deal with Sanskrit literature under the different classes enumerated above and then briefly review the development of the language culminating in the evolution of the various forms of Prakrit. Finally we shall deal with the Dravidian language and literature.*

A. SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

PART I. LITERATURE I. THE EPICS

1. Origin

It has been customary with scholars to trace the origin of all forms of Indian literature to the Vedas. The epic has been no

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exception, and many scholars have tried to show that the germs of the epic can be found in the Sanhvdda hymns, such as the one containing the dialogue between Pururavas and Urvasi. 1 Others, again, have discovered the germs of dramatic literature in the same hymns. Whatever may be the truth in these theories, the fact remains that the Vedic poets, while writing hymns in praise of deities of nature, also took delight in the versification of old popular legends. Though the Samvdda hymns and the epics can be brought into connection, for both of them have a narrative to tell, they have essential differences from the point of view of their form and purpose.

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To the Brahmanas, however, we may fruitfully turn to find some form of literature which offers a parallel to epic poetry. We have particularly in view the legends of Sunahsepa in which “the gathfis or verses scattered among the prose approach the epic in language as well as in metre.” 2 We may also turn our attention to the gdthtindrdsamsis , 3 glorifying in flowery language the deeds of warriors and princes, which may have added not an insignificant quota to the development of epic literature. We have, moreover, evidence in the Brahmanas and the Grihya-sutras that the recitation of such laudatory verses formed part of certain ceremonies. These gdthd-ndrdiamsds, perhaps small in extent and simple in subject-matter, must have soon developed into lengthy ballads and eyen song cycles involving more or less intricate plots. As has been the case with the other forms of literature, so even here, we have, in the Rdmayana and the MahdbMrata, only the finished products of an activity which had a long previous history. Some other epics, like that of N'ala, originally independent works, are incorporated in the Mahabkdrata.

The essential difference of the epic from the earlier literature lies in its origin. It arose not among the priestly classes but among traditional bards called Sutas. These Sutas also served as charioteers who witnessed the actual battle-scenes and described them at first-hand in their ballads. In character again, as has been already noted, it is martial poetry, concerned not with the praise of deities but of kings and nobles, not connected with the details of sacrifices, but with events like wars, and imbued not with higher philosophical motives, but with the practical purpose of gaining some reward from the audiences before whom they were recited. In this latter

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process of carrying the epics from the courts to the people, and thus popularising them, the Sutas must have been helped by the Kusilavas, the travelling singers. From these two points of view it is worth while to remember that it is Saiijaya, the Suta, who describes the bafttle-scenes to Dhritarashtra in the Mahabharata , and in the RamdyancL, Kusa and Lava, the two sons of Rama, are said in a later interpolation, to have wandered from place to place singing in assemblies the Rama-song which they had learned from Valmiki.

But these two great epics have unfortunately not come down to us in their original form. They are not even compilations of original songs such as we have in the Samhitds of Veda, untampered with by the hands of later redactors. They have now become, and especially so the Mahabharata, great repositories of knowledge containing diverse matters such as religion, philosophy and morals, added to by different hands at different periods, so that in certain places the thread of the original nucleus seems to be altogether lost.

2. The Mahabharata

The word Bharata signifies “battle of the Bharatas” 1 and thus the word Mahabharata means “the great narrative of the battle of the Bharatas’’. We hear of the tribe of the Bharatas already in the Rigveda, and its home was between the Upper Ganga and the Yamuna. The Kauravas, so called after king Kuru, a descendant of the Bharatas, ruled over the territory for a long time, and made the land of their habitation famous under the title

Kurukshetra. The germs of the Mahabharata lie in the family-feud which resulted in the overthrow of the Kauravas at the hands of the Pandavas, who are represented in the epic as their cousins. 2 Such a great event must have given rise to many detached heroic lays which were later on strung together by some unknown poet.

To this nucleus were added, at a still later period, many pieces of the ancient bardic poetry containing legends connected or unconnected with the life of the epic heroes, of sacred poetry dealing with numerous myths and legends of Brahmanical origin, and large sections devoted to philosophy and ethics, cosmologies and genealogies in the fashion of the Puranas, legends of the Siva and Vishnu cult, and also fables and parables. These additions indicate on the one hand the great popularity which this epic has enjoyed at all times and, on the other, the zealous spirit of the compilers to bring together all that could be collected in an encyclopaedic form, and declare “yad ihasti tad anyatra yan nehdsti na tat kvachit” [whatever is (included) here may be found elsewhere; (but) what is not to be found here cannot be got anywhere else]. But though the great epic is a compilation extending over centuries, it is ascribed to the venerable sage Vyasa, who is also credited with the authorship of the Puranas and the compilation of the Vedas.

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The introduction of the great epic informs us that Vyasa imparted his poem first to his pupil Vaisampayana, who in his turn recited the whole of it at the time of the great snake-sacrifice of king Janamejaya. It was then heard by the Suta Ugrasravas who, being entreated by the Rishis assembled at the sacrifice of Saunaka in the Nimisha forest, narrated to them the whole poem as he learnt it on that occasion. Even according to this tradition, recorded in the epic itself, before it reached its present dimensions, it had passed through three recitations.

Thus the Mahdbhdrata , as we have it today, was never the work of any one author nor was it written down at one time. In point of form it is not a single book but a whole literature, and in point of time it stretches along a vast period. It is only in a very restricted sense that we may speak of the Mahdbhdrata as an “epic” or a “poem”. Indeed, in a certain sense, the Mahdbhdrata is not one poetic production at all, but rather a whole literature. 1

It is hardly necessary to recount here the main narrative which formed the kernel of the original epic, for it is well known and has been related above. 2 Among the additional matter may be mentioned first of all, heroic legends of ancient kings which had some distant connection with the subject-matter of the epic. As an example may be cited the story of Bharata in the unartistic and rather mutilated Sakuntala episode. 3 What strikes the reader here is that §akuntala lays stress not so much on her own rejection as on that of her son. She tries to impress on the mind of the king the importance of a son and warns him to guard himself against the grave error of abandoning a male offspring. The legend of king Yayati 4 in its present form appears more like a moral narrative than a heroic one.

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The famous episode of Nala and DamayantI contained in the Nalopakhyana 1 may rightly be styled as an independent poem. Its inclusion in the epic is due to the love of ancient story-tellers of embedding one narrative within the framework of another. The reason given in the epic itself is the similarity in the fate of Yudhishthira and Nala, who had both lost all their possessions by gambling. The hero of the poem is known to the Satapatha Brdhmana as Nada Naishadha, and hence the story glorifying his deeds must have been very old. The Rama episode 2 is an unartistic abridged version of the ancient Rama epic. Its inclusion has been occasioned by the similarity in fate of the two heroines, both of whom were abducted.

But, of them all, the story of Vidula 3 is most truly reminiscent of the warrior-spirit which must have animated the heroic poetry. The hero-mother

Vidula chastises her cowardly son Sahjaya and exhorts him in forceful language to take up arms and fulfil his duties as a warrior.

Of the Brahmanical myths and legends, which betray the hand of the priests rather than of the bards, in the Mahabhhrata, mention may be made of legends connected with the great snake-sacrifice of Janamejaya. Interesting is the story of the sage Chyavana whom Asvins restored to youth. The same story is told in detail in the Satapatha and the Jaimintya Brdhmana. The Mahdbhdrata version is told with such deviations from the earlier versions as are calculated to show the ascendancy of the Brahmanas. This characteristic of the Brahmanical poems is apparent in many other legends where, for instance, it is pointed out. that even Indra-is afraid of losing his throne, owing to the austerities of the Brahmanas. Very old also are the narratives of Manu, the Flood, and the Goddess of Death. The last propounds that originally human beings were immortal, but later on became subject to death, due to disease and sins such as greed, anger, jealousy, hatred and infatuation.

The beautiful story of the devoted wife Savitri told in the Sdvitryupakhydna 4 is of a very high order. On account of the boldness and independence which Savitri shows in her actions, Dr. Wintemitz suspects that this poem may have formed part of the ancient bardic poetry. As regards the high merits of the poet, he

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remarks: “Only a true poet could have described in such a touching and elevating manner the victory of love and constancy, of virtue and wisdom, over destiny and death, without even for an instant falling into the tone of the dry preacher of mortality.” 1 The extent of the deep impression this legend has made on Hindu life can be seen from the fact that even to the present day devout Hindu women celebrate annually a festival in honour of Savitri in order to secure a long and happy married life.

The Tirthayatra section 2 contains numerous Brahmanical myths which are put in the mouth of the Eishi Lomasa. These include, among others, the legends of the sage Agastya who is said to have drunk up the ocean at the request of the gods, and of the sages Vasishtha and Visvamitra who, as the representatives of the Brahmana and the Kshatriya order, reveal the struggle for supremacy that went on between them. Besides these, there are numerous stories in the Mahtibhtirata which are more or less invented by the Brahmans to further their own ends.

Many fables and parables have also found their way in this gigantic work as they illustrate the rules of worldly wisdom and morality. Thus a minister advises Dhpitarashtra to follow the cunning of the jackal who, having secured the help of the other animals in seizing his prey, schemes to keep it for himself. On the other hand Vidura warns him not to follow the example of the king who, having killed the birds that brought him gold, lost both. It is Vidura again who narrates to Dhptarashtra the almost universally known parable of the "Man in the well". It is calculated to exaggerate the dangers with which human existence is beset in this world and thus promote the ascetic ideal. Ernst Kuhn has traced throughout world literature the "circulation of this truly nonsectarian parable which has served equally for the edification of Brahmanas, Jainas, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians and Jews." 3

The story of Mudgala 4 illustrates the doctrine of karman, and also the higher ideal of the ascetic, who not only renounces the pleasures of this world but also those of heaven, and has only the one ideal of attaining the highest and eternal bliss. This doctrine of karman , again, which traces a man's happy or woeful condition to

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his past actions is at the bottom of many narratives. In the story of the Brahmana woman Gautaml 1 the God of Death himself declares that everything good or bad happens through the agency of Fate (here identified with Kola or 'time').

Most of these narratives, found in Books XII and XIII which have little connection with the main plot, are very important for the history of Indian asceticism, its ideal and ethics, and Brahmanical morality. They are even sometimes contrasted to show the superiority of the former over the latter. 2 Though in some respects the thoughts contained in these narratives bear resemblance to the Buddhist or Jain way of life, they need not necessarily be derived from them. These two Books (XII and XIII) are primarily intended to include the didactic teachings put in the mouth of Bhlshma, dealing with such subjects as the duties of a king, of the four castes and the four stages in life, politics, and the doctrine of liberation.

Of all the philosophical tracts in the Mahdbhdrata the Bhagavadgitd ('Song of the Lord') is indubitably of the highest merit. It has become during the past century and a half the subject of numerous editions, translations and discussions, not only in this country but outside it. It contains the earliest exposition of the philosophy of the Bhagavata cult, which later developed into Vaishnavism, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter XIX. There are differences of opinion about the Gita being a genuine part of the original Mahabhdrata. The adherents of the view that it is a later addition to the epic hold that the original Gita must have been composed as early as the second century B. C. and assumed the form in which it appears in the Mahdbhdrata today, in the early centuries A.D.

The Harivamsa, which forms an appendix (khila) to the Mahdbhdrata, has more or less gone through the same vicissitudes as the great epic iself. It is by no means the work of a single poet, nor even of one compiler, the text being a mass of legends and myths collected together for the glorification of Vishnu. The title of the work means 'the genealogy of Hari'. The first part is entitled Harivamsaparvan and begins in the Puraiia style with an account of creation. Besides the genealogy of the Yadavas it also contains mythological narratives. The second section, styled Vishnuparvan, deals with the feats and love-affairs of the cowherd god Krishna,

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the incarnation of Vishnu. The third part is the Bhavishyaparvan containing, like the Puranas, certain prophecies regarding the Kali age and also much other matter which goes ill with the title.

The Mahdbhdrata that we have today has come down to us in two recensions, the Northern and Southern. These two recensions can again be further subdivided into versions according to the scripts in which the text is written. The Northern recension is thus made up of the &arada or Rasmiri, the Nepali, the Maithili, the Bengali and the Devanagari versions. The Southern recension comprises the Telugu, the Grantha and the Malayalam versions. There are many differences and discrepancies in these two recensions, and on the whole the Southern recension is longer than the Northern. This is not only due to the fact that there are numerous additions in that recension, but also because it contains numerous detailed episodes. "The Southern recension thus impresses us by its precision, schematization, and thoroughly practical outlook. Compared with it the Northern recension is distinctly vague, unsystematic, sometimes even inconsequent, more like a story rather naively narrated, as we find in actual experience. ,,1

Among the complete printed editions of the Mahdbhdrata three alone are important, viz. the Calcutta, the Bombay and the Kumbhakonam editions. But none of these can be taken to represent any of the two recensions referred to above. The difficult work of bringing out a critical edition of the Mahdbhdrata , based on all the available manuscripts, is being most systematically done at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The ideal of this critical edition is given by the late General Editor, Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, in the following words: "What the promoters of this scheme desire to produce and supply is briefly this: a critical edition of the Mahdbhdrata in the preparation of which all important versions of

the Great Epic shall have been taken into consideration, and all important manuscripts collated, estimated, and turned to account. Since all divergent readings of any importance will be given in the critical notes, printed at the foot of the page, this edition will, for the first time, render it possible for the reader to have before him the entire significant evidence for each individual passage.Another feature of the new edition will be this. Since not even the seemingly most irrelevant line or stanza, actually found in a Mahdbhdrata manuscript collated for the edition, is on any account omitted, this edition of the Mahdbharata will be, in a sense, more complete than any previous edition. It will be a veritable thesaurus of the Afahdbhdrata tradition”.[1]

The conclusion drawn from the huge conglomeration of matter of the most diverse type, viz. that the text of the present epic has no unity of authorship or of time, is further, strengthened by considerations of style, language and metre. All these show a curious mixture of earlier and later characteristics. It is therefore extremely difficult to speak of the age of the epic except in a general way. Scholars hold widely divergent views on the subject, but we may accept for all practical purposes the one expressed by Dr. Wintemit2 in the following words: “The Mahdbharata cannot have received its present form earlier than the 4th century B.C. and later than the 4th century A.D.”[2]

This conclusion is based on the facts that on the one hand we have numerous references to Buddhism and to the Yavanas in the present form of the epic and, on the other, the works of such classical authors as Bana and Kumarila and the epigraphic records of the fifth century A.D. onwards testify to the epic having at that time assumed a form of a Smriti, or religious text-book. These inscriptions further refer to it as containing one hundred thousand verses, with which the present text closely agrees.

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[1] V. S. Sukthankar, Sukthankar Memorial Edition , Vol. I, p. 48. The remark, though made with reference to the Adiparvan, applies to file whole recension.

It is now generally accepted that the great battle between the Kauravas and Pandavas was a historical event which occurred some time between 1400 and 1000 B.C. It is equally true that the Suta tradition and the narrative literature are of a very early date. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the great battle and at least some of the ballads of the kings who took part in the fight were nearly contemporary. It is, however, extremely difficult to fix the date when these floating ballads were first unified in an epic poem called the Mahdbharata. Among the Sutra works, the &ankhdyana Srauta-sutra is the first to refer to the Kurukshetra battle, and the Advalayana Grihya-sutra knows *both Bharata and Mahdbharata as sacred books. Coming to the early grammatical works we find that Patafijali definitely knew a Pan^u epic, and that Panini explains the formation of the names of the epic personages and the word ‘Mahabharata’. 3 Moreover, the acquaintance, though partial

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of the Mahdbhdrata , betrayed by the Pali canon, suggests that as early as the fourth century B.C. the knowledge of the epic which originated in the west had begun to spread to the east. All these facts seem to indicate that the original epic poem, around which grew the enormous mass contained in the present Mahdbhdrata, probably goes back to the Brdhmana period. At the same time it must be admitted that the silence of the Vedas about the Mahabhdrata is incompatible with this view of its early date,

3. The Rdmdyana

The Rdmdyana, which is the adikavya or ‘the first ornate poem’ according to indigenous estimation, is ascribed by tradition to Valmiki, the adikavi or ‘the first author of ornate poetry’. That the Ramayaya deserves to be styled as the adikavya will hardly be questioned, for herein we do find the characteristics of the later Sanskrit ornate poetry such as the descriptions of nature and the presence of the figures of speech, both of word and sense. It differs, even in its present form, from the Mahabhdrata, not only in its external appearance but even in spirit. Whereas the Mahabhdrata has almost lost its epic form, the Rdmdyana still retains its original character. Though the metres are almost alike, in the Rdmdyana they appear more polished. In spirit, on the other hand, the Mahdbhdrata reflects the genuine feelings of its characters without any artistic embellishment, whereas in the Rdmdyana they seem to bend under the pen of the poet and therefore appear less natural and more self-conscious. The sacred character of the Mahabhdrata is not so much due to its heroes as to the didactic sections added to it at a later stage; but in the case of the Rdmdyana the sanctity attached to it is due to the inherent purity of its hero and heroine, who in their deified character have ever represented the ideals of Indian conjugal love and faithfulness. Both the epics have undoubtedly influenced the thoughts and actions of the Indian people for two thousand years or more. Their universal popularity is evinced by the fact that not only the dramatists of the classical period, but also writers in the medieval Indian languages right from the beginning to the present day, in all parts of the country, borrow their plots from them. Even the cinema borrows freely from this source, and various popular festivals celebrate the victories of Rama over the demon Ravana, with the aid of his ally Hanuman, the monkey-king.

The Rdmdyana, in its present form, is made up of seven books, and some 24,000 Zlokas. The principal contents of this epic, too.

are too well known to need any treatment here. Book I, the Bala kdnda, deals with the early history of Rama, but it is complicated by the insertion of numerous Brahmanical legends and myths, some of which appear in the other epic also. Here, for instance, wc come across the Rishyasringa legend, the stories woven around the sages Vasishtha and Visvamitra, and also the myth of the descent of the Ganga from heaven. The real story of the Rama epic begins with Book II and ends with Book VI. The one difference between the two epics that strikes the reader, as he follows the main narrative, is that in the Mahdbhdrata, as far as the nucleus is concerned, the characters are all human beings and we live in the world of reality, but in the Rdmdyana, from the third book onwards we meet with demons and monkeys, and have to stretch our imagination to feel secure in the world of make-believes. Book VII again contains numerous myths and legends dealing with the origin of the Rakshasas and the fights of their leader Ravana with Indra, the early life of Hanuman, the legends of Yayati and

Nahusha, and the Sudra ascetic Sambuka. As regards the Rama story, this book narrates that part which relates to Rama deserting Slta in the forest, her giving birth to the twins Kusa and Lava, and their singing the RSma epic in the court of Rama.

As in the case of the Mahdbhdrata, the Rdmdyana has not come down to us in its original form. The whole of Book VII and most of Book I are undoubtedly later additions to the main Rama epic, for these two books contain a number of topics which have no, or very slight, connection with the main story. It is, again, only here, with a few interpolated exceptions in Books II-VI, that Rama appears as an incarnation of Vishnu, whereas elsewhere he is only a mortal hero, and in the genuine sections the Vedic god Indra, and not Vishnu, is given the highest place in mythology. The language and style of the two later books also betray the hand of a different author.

The text of this epic has come down to us in three different recensions, one current in northern and southern India, the other in eastern India, and the third in north-western India. These three recensions vary amongst themselves very widely and hence it is difficult to speak definitely of the original form of the Ramuyana . Obviously these differences must have been mainly due to the oral transmission of the text for many centuries, during which the rhapsodists must have taken some liberty in adding or deleting certain passages to cater to the taste of their audiences. It was only when the epic was written down that it must have assumed a definite form to which there were no substantial additions or changes.

From the numerous references to the Rdmdyaiia and its author Valmlki in the Mahdbhdrata, from the abridged version in the same epic of the Rama story as we find it in the present Rdmdyana, 1 and also from a mention in the Harivamsa of a dramatic representation of the Rdmdyana, it may be concluded that the Rdmdyana in its present form must have existed at least two hundred years before the fourth century A.D., the latest date by which the Mahdbhdrata must have attained its final form. But the nucleus of the Mahdbhdrata may have existed prior to the nucleus of the Rdmdyana. The celebrated grammarian Panini makes allusions to Vasudeva, Arjuna and Yudhishthira; but he is silent about Rama,

. and so is his successor Patanjali, as well as the inscriptions prior to the beginning of the Christian era. Moreover, the Mahdbhdrata has preserved some archaic features in the prose formulae of the ancient ballad form, but the Rdmdyana shows the characteristics of the later ornate poetry. The Brihaddevatd and Rigvidhdna (fourth century B.C.) show a form of metre similar to the one found in the Rdmdyaria. Then again the custom of sati, which flourished in Magadha in the days of Megasthenes, is not referred to in the genuine part of the epic. As regards its relation to Buddhist literature, it may be observed from the references to Rama story in the Jdtakas and their silence about Havana, that at a time when the Buddhist Tripipika was being formulated there were in existence some ballads about Rama but not the Rama epic as such. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the original Rdmdyana, in which Rama was a human being, was composed by Valmlki in the third or more probably in the fourth century B.C., and that, with the addition of Books I and VII and some passages in the other books, it assumed its present form at the end of the second century A.D. when Rama was already deified as an incarnation of Vishnu. 2

II. THE DHARMA-SASTRAS OR SMRITIS

The Dharma-£astras, also called Smritis, have played a very important part in Hindu life during the last two thousand years.

Note 25

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Although the Vedas are regarded as the ultimate sources of dharma, in practice it is the Smriti works to which the Hindus all over India turn lor the real exposition of religious duties and usages. They are also regarded as the only authentic sources of Hindu law and social customs.

In general the Smritis may be regarded as the expanded and metrical versions of the Dharma-sutras, to which reference has been made above. 1 Some scholars believe that each Smriti was really based upon a Dharma-sutra, though it may not be always possible to trace this original source. 2

The Smritis have, however, incorporated the contemporary local customs and usages of the Sishtas (learned and cultured). In this way they have tried to keep abreast of changing times and reflect their spirit. The Smritis also owe much to the Matiabhdrata which has particularly influenced the form of this literature, for, unlike the prose form of the Sutras, it is written in poetry.

As noted above, the Dharma-sutras cover the period from, about the sixth to third century B.C. The Smriti works follow almost immediately afterwards, and extend over a period of eight hundred years or even more. As in the case of Dharma-sutras, we have a large number of works of this class which are ascribed to old rishis but are of comparatively late origin.

The Mdnava Dharma-s&stra or Manu-smriti is not only the oldest work of this class, but is also the most well-known, and held in the greatest respect even today all over India. Such wide popularity is, no doubt, due mainly to the comprehensive character of the work, and is also perhaps partly to be explained by the new theory of the origin of this class of work. The Dharma-sutras were manuals written by the teachers of the Vedic schools for the guidance of their pupils. Their use was, therefore, at first restricted to these schools alone, and it was not till a later period that they were acknowledged as authority all over India. The Smritis, on the other hand, were declared to be of divine origin, and hence claimed from the very beginning to be authentic sources of law for all Aryans. This is best illustrated by the case of Manu-smriti. As already noted, this

Note 27

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metrical Smriti was probably based upon a Mdnava Dharma-sutra, which is now lost, but quotations from which have been traced in Vasishtka Dharma-sutra. The Smriti, however, contains a mythological legend to the effect that ‘these Institutes of the Sacred Law’ were originally composed by the Divine Creater who taught them to Bhrigu and other sages. It is Bhrigu (or his pupil, according to some versions) who ultimately expounds them. This theory of divine origin undoubtedly gave a sacrosanct character to Manusmriti and at least partially explains (or is explained by?) its importance and popularity.

Though nothing definite can be said about its date, it is now generally agreed that the text was formulated some time between 200 B. C. and A. D. 200. It was possibly revised several times. As we have seen above, the Smriti itself admits more than one redaction of the text, and the Ndrada-smriti says that the original text by Manu was successively condensed by Narada, Markandeya and Sumati. The Smriti deals with the duties of persons in the four stages of life, those of the king and his officials and husband and wife, civil and criminal law, the origin of the various castes, various forms of penances and some philosophical doctrines. The commentary of Medhatithi on the Manu-smriti belongs to the ninth century, of Govindaraja to the eleventh, and of Kulluka, probably to the thirteenth century. 1 There are many other Smriti works of a more or less similar nature of which those of Vishnu, Yajnavalkya, Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana are more important than others. They are all very important sources of law and social customs and will be more fully dealt with in Chs. XVIII and XXI.

The V&ishnava Dharma-sdstra or Vishnu-smriti is said to have been revealed by Vishnu. It appears to be an old Dharma-sutra of the Kathaka school which was subsequently remodelled into a Smriti, written partly in prose and partly in verse, by a member of the Bhagavata sect of the Vaishnavas. The present text, however, probably priginated not earlier than the third century A.D., though some would place it between A.D. 100 and 300.

There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of the other Smriti works mentioned above. We place below, side by side, the views of Jolly, 2 who represents the

1. According Biihler and others Kulluka flourished in the fifteenth century AD

2. Hindu Law and Custom by J. Jolly. Tr. by Dr. B. K. Ghosh.

older school of scholars, and Kane, 1 the latest writer on the subject

Name of the Smriti.

Yajnavalkya

Narada

Brihaspati

Katyayana

Jolly's view. Kane's view.

4th century A.D. A.D. 100-300.

A.D. 500. A.D. 100-400.

6th or 7th century A.D. A.D. 300-500. (Later than Brihaspati) A.D. 400-600.

The dates given by Kane have been adopted in this work, and all the above Smritis, except that of Katyayana, have been treated as authorities for the period dealt with in this volume mainly in respect of law and social customs. In general the Dharma-sutras and Dharma-sastras have been regarded as sources of information about these topics, respectively in the two successive ages dealt with in Vol. I and II of this series, though probably most of the extant texts of the Dharma-sutras were put in their present form in the earlier part of the period dealt with in this volume, and some of the Dharma-sastras were not compiled until after that period. It is also important to note that though the term Dharma-sastra generally designates the metrical Smriti work of the later period, it is also hot unoften applied to the Dharma-sutra work of the previous period. The Dharma-sutra of Vasishtha, for example, is actually named Vasishtha Dharma-sastra.

Ill. DRAMA

1. Origin

In spite of all efforts to discover the origin of the Sanskrit drama, no solution has yet been found which commands general acceptance. Different theories have been put forward by scholars like Hillebrandt, Konow, Oldenberg and A. B. Keith. Bharata’s Ndtyasdstra , the earliest extant work on Sanskrit dramaturgy, ascribes the drama to divine origin, assigns to it a high place by recognising it as the fifth Veda, and at the same time throws it open to all, even the Sudras. The earliest elements of the Sanskrit drama, however, may be discerned in the dialogue hymns of the Rigveda. Some of the Vedie rituals also, like the Mahavrata ceremony which involved dancing and dialogue, may have directly contributed to the development of the drama.

Still the drama, in the full sense of the word, cannot be thought of till we come to the period when epic compositions were largely sung by rhapsodists in popular gatherings. Prof. Keith observes; "One very important point in this regard has certainly often been neglected. The Sanskrit drama does not consist.of song and prose as its vital elements; the vast majority of the stanzas which are one of its chief features, were recited, not sung, and it was doubtless from the epic that the practice of recitation was in the main derived ." 1 Though it is difficult to assert that Panini knew of the drama on the basis of his having used the word 'Natasutra , Patanjali (c. second century B.C.) can certainly be credited with the knowledge of dramatic representations of past events. "The balance oi probability, therefore, is that the Sanskrit drama came into being shortly after, if not before, the middle of the second century B.C., and that it was evoked by the combinations of epic recitations with the dramatic moment of the Krishna legend ." 2

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The treatises dealing with the theory of the Sanskrit drama unfortunately date from a late period. The most ancient and, at the same time, the most important of these is the NatyaSastra of Bharatn which will be discussed later in this Chapter. The next work of importance is the Dasarupa of Dhananjaya who flourished in the tenth century A.D. The other works are of a still much later date.

The Sanskrit dramas were certainly meant to be enacted on the stage, and not merely read privately. The occasion for the performance of the drama was usually some festival in honour of a deity or a royal marriage or victory celebrations. For purposes of the theatre, generally, the quadrangle of a temple, the hall or courtyard of a king's palace, or sometimes even a cave of the type found in the Ramgarh hill 3 was used.

2 . Asvaghosha

Asvaghosha, the famous Buddhist poet and a contemporary of Kanishka , 4 is credited with the authorship of the three Buddhist dramas discovered at Turfan in Central Asia . 5 Asvaghosha's authorship of one of them, the Sdriputra-prakarana, a Prakarana in nine acts; is proved beyond doubt by the mention of his name in the colophon of the last act. Apart from being the oldest extant Sanskrit drama, the S' Civipuira-pTUkarcLna has an importance of its own, since in its formal aspect Asvaghosha mostly follows the rules laid down in the Natyasiislra for the composition of a Prakarana. The benediction at the close of the drama, however, is uttered by Buddha himsell, and it is not preceded by the usual phrase 'atah paramapipriyam asti' (Is there anything more pleasing ihan this?). The subject-matter of the drama refers to the conversion of Maudgalyayana and Sariputra, the hero, by Buddha, which involves some philosophic discussion.

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The ascription of the fragments of two other dramas to Asvaghosha rests on the rather slender ground that all three of them are contained in the same manuscript and that in a general way they have the appearance of Asvaghosha's works. One of them seems to be an allegory, for it introduces such figures as Buddhi (wisdom), Khii (fame), and Dhriti (firmness), all of them speaking in Sanskrit. The other drama is perhaps more interesting and humorous. The characters found in the fragments are a hero, he t a era, a Vidushaka whose gluttonous nature is already in evidence, a rogue (dushta), a prince, Sariputra, and Maudgalyavana. The very scanty material offered by these two dramas does not permit any conclusions about them.

On the whole the Sanskrit of those fragments contains very few errors, some of which like Somadattassa can be easily attributed to the ignorance of the scribes. Among the genuine errors may be mentioned the use of krimi, pratlgrihlta and tirttha. Among the Prakrits used in these fragments three different varieties can be traced. These Prakrits seem to have been th£ forerunners of the grammarians, Magadhi, Ardha-Magadhi and ^auraseni. 1 The speech of Dushla has all the three salient features of later Magadhi; it changes r to l, reduces all three sibilants to s, and the nominative singular of masculine nouns in -a ends in -e. But so far as the other features of phenology are concerned, like the sonantisation of hard consonants, elision of intervocals, cerebralisation of n, it differs from Magadhi. Even in the treatment of clusters like rj > jj and not yy , ksh > kkh and not sk, sht and shth > tth and not st, it has nothingin common with the standard Magadhi.

The Prakrit of one character, whose name is not clear beyond the letters Gobam, shows the features of old Ardha-Magadhi. It has l for r and -e for nominative singular quite regularly and reduces all sibilants to s. The Ardha-Magadhi of the grammarians, however, has both r and l and -e and -o.

The third variety of the Prakrit is instanced in the language of the Vidushaka and the hetaera. It preserves r and has the only dental sibilant s; the nominative singular ends in - o; ksh > kkh, and not chchh. Thus far the dialect admirably agrees with the later Sauraseni, but its reluctance to soften or drop the intervocals and its preservation of n give it an appearance of old Sauraseni. Among other deviations may be noted the change of the clusters yrx and ny to nii and not nn, and of dy to yy and not jj.

3. Bhdsa

). For details see Liiders, Bruchstilckc buddhistichcr Dramen, Berlin, 1911.

Until the year 1912 when the epoch-making discovery of the thirteen Trivandrum plays was announced, the dramatist Bhasa was to Sanskrit scholars a mere name, celebrated by later writers like Kalidasa, Baiia, Vakpati and Rajasekhara. Rut since the publication of these plays by the late T. Ganapati Sasttfl, Bhasa seems to have left the ranks of his former colleagues like Saumilla[1] and Kaviputras and joined those of the better known masters of Sanskrit belleslettres. The text of these plays offers no direct evidence to settle the problem of their authorship. By ascribing them to Bhasa the learned Sastrl gave rise to an animated controversy which does not seem to have ended even now.[2]

The whole Bhasa controversy really hinges upon two issues: (1) Are these dramas the works of one or more authors? and (2) Who is the author (or authors) of these plays? As regards the first of these two questions, scholars are now agreed that all the plays were written by one and the same author. The conclusion is based on strong internal evidence clearly pointing to the oneness of authorship: there are structural similarities, like beginning the play with the words ndndyante tatah pravisati Sutradharah , or the use of the word sthapana for the more common prastavand, running through all the dramas or a l^rge majority of them; several of these plays disregard the rules of the Natyasastra, e.g. representing deaths, battles, sport, or sleep on the stage; there are similarities in single words and whole phrases as well as in ideas; even some of the stanzas are sometimes repeated in full; there are also similar grammatical irregularities and Prakrit archaisms. All these considerations point unmistakably to a single author, whoever he may have been.

[1] To Ramila and Saumilla, Rajasekhara ascribes the Sudrakakatha. Certain verses are ascribed to them and to Kaviputras in anthologies; cf. S&rngadhara paddhati, 133, 40; Subhashitavali, 1698 and 2227.

[2] For a recent and learned discussion see Pusalker, Bhasa— A Study, Lahore, 1940

If, therefore, we can ascribe any one of these dramas to Bhasa, his claim for the authorship of the rest of them may reasonably be conceded. To achieve this end the references to the Svapnavdsavadatta by later waiters offer great help. Thus those scholars who favour the ascription of the plays to Bhasa argue somewhat as follows; the famous stanza

Bhdsandtakachakre'pi chhekaih kshipte parlkshitum Svapnavasavadattasya ddhako’ bhun na pdvakah

clearly shows that Bhasa wrote not only the SvapnavdsavcidaUa but a whole group of dramas; Bana, in the introduction to his Harshacharita, mentions the following as the characteristics of the Bhasaplays: they are begun by the Sutradhara, they contain numerous characters and are marked by the patakas. Now the Trivandrum plays more than bear out all these features. 1 Then again the incidents in these dramas fully justify Vakpati’s description of Bhasa as jdlanamitta , the friend of fire. Ramachandra and Gunachandra in their Natyadarpodya ascribe the Svapnavdsavadatta to Bhasa 'and quote a stanza from that drama. Though this stanza does not occur in the printed text of the said drama, the fourth act in it contains a situation which easily envisages the possibility of such a stanza being once present in the text.

The whole argument seems to be well constructed, and for all practical purposes Bhasa may be taken to be the author of the Trivandrum plays. Again the question of the date of Bhasa has also been a matter of prolonged controversy. Kalidasa’s reverential reference to him as a poet of established repute makes Bhasa’s date hinge upon that of Kalidasa. Of the two theories referring Kalidasa to the first century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., the latter seems to be more plausible, and in that case Bhasa’s date may be placed in the second or third century A.D. 2 3 This also agrees well with the fact that Bhasa’s Prakrit is later than that of Asvaghosha who flourished in the first century A.D.

The plays ascribed to Bhasa number thirteen 1 and, except Chdrudatta , all of them are preserved intact. They can be convemently

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divided according to their sources. The Madhyama-vydyoga, Duta ghafotkacha, Karnabhdra, Dutavakya, Urubhanga and Panchardtra are all based on the Mahdbharata , and most of them are one-act plays. The Bdlacharita, is based upon Krishna legend. From the Ramdyana are derived the plots of the Pratima-nd^aka and the Abhishekanafaka. Lastly the Avimdraka, Chdrudatta , Pratijnoyaugandhardyana and Svapnavdsavadatta indicate the current story literature as their probable source.

The dramas based on the Ramdyana show little ingenuity on the part of the author. They vary from the original only in unimportant details and no effort at characterisation is in evidence. The Pratimdndtaka derives its name from the statue (pratimd) of Dasaratha that was placed in the statue-hall after his death. It describes Rama’s exile and his return to Ayodhya after Ravana’s destruction. The incidents in the Abhisheka-ndtaka begin with the death of Valin and end in Rama’s coronation (abhisheka).

The Mahdbharata plays show the dramatist in better relief. The departures from the original show skill and intelligence and the characters are more lively and vivid. The Madhyama-vydyoga deals with the trick played upon Bhima by Hi<Jiniba in order to compel the former to pay a visit to her. The self-sacrifice of the middle (madhyama) son is somewhat reminiscent of the Sunahsepa legend recorded in the Axtareya Brdhmana. In the Dutaghafotkacha , Ghsitotkacha is seen as a messenger (duta) warning the Kauravas who are delighted at the death of Abhimanyu. In the Kariiabhdra the hero is deprived of his armour by Indra in the form of a Brahmana. The Dutavakya is woven round the unsuccessful mission which Krishna, as an ambassador (duta) of the Pan<Javas, undertook to avoid the great battle. In the Urubhanga, Duryodhana is depicted as a true hero, though in the end his thigh is broken by his adversary. The Panchardtra relates the incidents that occurred when the Kauravas tried to steal the cows of Virata. Its title is derived from the promise given by Duryodhana to Drona to hand over half the realm to the Paiftlavas if they were heard of within five days (or nights).

The Bdlacharita depicts the exploits of the youthful Krishna. It shows many departures from the Krishna legend known from other sources, and has peculiarities of technique also. It commences with the birth of Krishna, narrates some of his exploits, and ends with the re-establishment of Ugrasena at Mathura.

Tlie Avimaraka derives its name from that of the hero, and depicts in a rather unpolished style the love story of the hero and Ihe princess Kurahgl. The starting point of the romance is the daring rescue of the princess from the clutches of an elephant by the hero. The stumbling block in their marriage is the low social status of Avimaraka which is temporarily thrust upon him due to some curse. The drama ends in happiness when the true identity of Avimaraka is revealed by Narada.

Of the Chuvudaito we have only a fragment in four acts. It seems to have been based on the story which also forms the plot of the later Mrichchhakatika. It revolves round the love a'Tair between the hetaera Vasantasena and the impoverished merchant Charudatta.

The Pratijndyauqandhar(iyana and the Svapnavascivadatta are based on the Udayana legend. These two dramas are complement tary, the latter picking up the thread of the narrative where it was left in the former. King Udayana was taken captive to Ujjayini by the clever use of a stratagem . 1 His minister Yaugandharayana then took a vow {pratijnd) to release his master and succeeded in doing so. He also took away from Ujjayini princess Vasavadatta who had fallen in love with Udayana during the period of his captivity. The SvapnovdsaradattCL , which by the way is the best of the Bhasa-plays. shows king Udayana deprived of his kingdom by a certain rebel Aruni. Vasavadatta and the minister are then reported to have died in a forest fire. This paves the way for the marriage between Udayana and Padmavati, the princess of Magadha. With the help of his new relatives, Udayana wins back his lost kingdom and then meets his queen and the minister. The play derives its name from an incident in the fifth act where the king obtains a glimpse of the lost queen and thinks it to be a dream (svapna).

The credit for having written the largest number of extant Sanskrit dramas easily goes to Bhasa. In technique he sometimes flagrantly violates the rules of the Ndtyasdstra. His plot-construction is quite crude, and certain incidents are simply repeated. The magic rand the divine, which give the plays an air of unreality, are introduced quite freely. Bhasa’s style, however, is simple and direct. It does not involve the use of long compounds and too frequent embellishments.

Bhasa’s Sanskrit usually agrees with the norm fixed by Panini and his followers, yet it sometimes shows epic influence. Some of

Note 40

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the irregularities, and especially those of sandhi and vowel-quantities, are due to metrical requirements. Confusion in the active and middle exists (e g. garjase, slishyate, aprichchhami, parishvaja); absolutives of the type of grihya are found; the particle md is used with gerundive (md ... chintayitva); vdchd, a form sanctioned by Bhaguri in nom. sg., is Used; the form avachaya, used by Kalidasa also, appears for avachaya.

Bhasa's Prakrits 1 are later than those of Asvaghosha and earlier than those of Kalidasa. The Prakrit normally used by Bhasa is Saurasenl. In it -t- > -d- and -t- > -d; intervocalic consonants are occasionally dropped; n > n both initially and medially; aspirates like kh, gh , etc. often lose their occlusion; the cluster jn shows either nn or nn but ny and ny > nn in all cases: the nom. acc. pi. term, of neut. is sometimes used for acc. pi. of mas. nouns; the Pratijndyaugandha ray an a and the Charudatta on the one hand and the Balacharita and the Padchardtra on the other also show two varieties of MagadhI, the sh and -o of the latter alternating for the s and -e of the former.

4. Sudraka

King Sudraka, whom tradition credits with the authorship of the famous play, the Mrichchhakatika > has remained so far, like king Vikramaditya, a mere legendary figure. The drama itself speaks of him as a person versed in many sciences and as one who died by consigning himself to fire at the age of a hundred years and ten days. He was known to the authors of at least half a dozen Sanskrit works like the Skanda Purdna, Kddambari, Harshacharita, Dasakumdracharita, Kathasaritsdgara and Rdjatarangini. But nothing definite can be said either about the aqthor or the date of the play. It is even difficult to say whether the play was written before or after Kalidasa; but the former view is more generally accepted.

The dramatist is indebted to the Charudatta of Bhasa for the plot of his play. But in the Mrichchhakatika the love story of Vasantasena and Charudatta is combined with a political event in which Aryaka, the friend of the hero, overthrows the ruling prince Palaka. The play is full of incidents of varied interest, which show the nobility of Charudatta's mind and the selfless love of Vasantasena. The play derives its name from a scene in the sixth act where the young son of poor Charudatta complains of having to play with a toy-cart (snkata) made of clay (mrit). All difficulties are overcome, and the drama ends in happiness, for Vasantasena was freed from her low position and enabled to become the lawful wife of Charudatta.

The drama is technically a Prakarana in ten acts. It bears ample evidence to the author's capacity to invent incidents and depict varied characters. The Vidushaka, for instance, takes keen interest in delicious food; but his steadfastness to his friend in times of adversity and the warmth of his heart distinguish him from his fellotocharacters in the Sanskrit drama. The drama also offers a trustworthy picture of the everyday life of the people in those days. The author's style is simple and effective; he gives us many utterances full of wisdom.

The Prakrits of the play are more important than the Sanskrit, which in general agrees with the norm. These Prakrits evince a large number of variety not to be witnessed in any other extant drama, viz. £aurasenl Avantika, Prachya, MagadhI, Sakarl, Chandall, and Dhakki or TakkI. This distinction in the use of the Prakrits mostly agrees with the rules laid down in the Ndtydsastra. The dialectal differences among them are quite minor,

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1. For details see W. Printz, Bhasa's Prakrit, Frankfort, 1921.

so that they are mere variants of either §auraseni or MagadhI. Only the TakkI seems to have enjoyed some individual existence. It preserves the palatal and the dental sibilants and changes sh > s and in this respect it may be compared with the European and Syrian dialects of Romani. 1

IV. SANSKRIT SECULAR POETRY 1. Origin of the Sanskrit Kavya

Of Sanskrit secular poetry we have unfortunately no exact work dating back to the days preceding the Christian era, 2 a period marked by fervent activity in Prakrit literature. This once gave rise to a theory that the Sanskrit Kavya originated in Prakrit— a view now definitely rejected on good grounds. That the seeds for the growth of Kavya were already sown in the Rigvedic period becomes clear from the use of apt similes in the earliest hymns. The ddna-stutis composed in praise of patrons evince that exaggeration which contributes so much to the elaboration of later epics. Coming to the epic period we find in the Rdmayana the earliest specimen of a court-epic. In the Rdmayana is also to be found some indulgence in

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the formal aspect of the poem to the detriment of the matter—a characteristic which became so salient after the period of Kalidasa. A Vdrarucha kavya is mentioned by Patanjali who also offers unmistakable evidence for the cultivation of lyric and gnomic verses. Lastly, the early Sanskrit inscriptions show the transitional stage between the simple and flowing Kavya on the one hand and the ornamental and slowly-moving Kavya on the other. They testify also to a tendency towards using long compounds and efforts at achieving the sound effects.

2. Asvaghosha

Asvaghosha, whose dramas have been discussed above, is the author of several political works. Of these the Saundarananda and the Buddhacharita , written in the later epic style, are easily the best. The former describes in eighteen ca; tos the conversion of Buddha's

V- >

half-brother Nanda by Buddha himself. Nanda was too much attracted by the beauty of his wife and the pleasures of worldly life to become a convert. But he was persuaded to lay aside the thoughts of his wife by his attention being drawn to mpre beautiful heavenly nymphs, and he was further told not to value the heavenly life too high, for even that was transitory in character.

As regards the original length of the Buddhacharita, we are informed by I-tsing that it ran into twenty-eight cantos, and this is independently proved by its Chinese version prepared in the fifth century A.D. But the text that is available today shows only seventeen cantos of which, again, only the first thirteen are genuine, the rest being added in recent times by Amritananda. The text narrates, in accordance with the traditional account, the life of Buddha. The poet's originality is, however, seen in his selection of incidents and depicting them in a touching manner. The influence of the Ramayana on this work is unmistakable. Suddhodana easily reminds us of Dasaratha, and Sundarl of Slta. Even a few incidents like the lamentations of the people at the sight of the chariot without Rama in the Rdmdyana and without Siddhartha in the Buddhacharita show a close resemblance that cannot be overlooked.

To the same poet and philosopher are ascribed the Mahaydnasraddhotpd,da which discusses the early Mahayana views, the Vajrasiichi, forming a vehement attack on the caste system, and the Gandistotragdtha which bears ample witness to the author's skill in metre and his sense of sound values. Reference may be made in

this connection to the Sutrdlankara or Kalpandmanditikd which was once ascribed to Asvaghosha. The discovery of the fragments of this work in Central Asia is important on more than one account. In the first place, it clearly shows that the title Sutrdlafih'irn given to this work by a Chinese version was a misnomer; and, secondly, it lays at rest the problem of the authorship of the work by ascribing it to Kumaralata (and not to Asvaghosha) who may have flourished a little later Asvaghosha.- The fragments bring to light some eighty narratives and ten parables. The form of the work is prose mixed with verses, a style which was given a sort of fixity by Ary a Sura in his Jatakamalq,.

Asvaghosha's style belongs to that variety which later on came to be styled as VaidarbhI. It is simple in diction and clear in mean ing, in spite of the author using certain words which later became obsolete in their peculiar nuances. The language of Asvaghosha fairly agrees with standard Sanskrit though a lev/ irregularities like the epic gerund grihya are found.

3. Arya Sura andl other Minor Poets

We owe to Arya Sura the Sanskrit version of the Jataka tales in the form of the Jdtakamdla, written in prose intermingled with verses. Most of the stories in this work are those included in the Pali Jataka book or in the Chariydpito.ka. They narrate the life of Buddha in his former births and also illustrate the pdramitds. the various perfections, ascribed to the Buddha to be. The style of Arya Sura, like that of his predecessors, is simple and clear. His language in general is free from blemishes. The Jdtakam-dld was translated into Chinese in A.D. 434, and Arya Sura therefore probably lived in the third or fourth century A.D. 1

To the philosopher Nagarjuna (c. second century A.D.) we owe two philosophical works, the Madhyamakakdrikd and the Suhyii lekha, the latter summarising the Buddhist doctrine in the form of a letter. The Chatuhsatikd of Arya Deva, perhaps of the third century A.D., criticizes the Brahmanical practices. The Mahdydnasvtralankdra of Asanga, showing the mastery of Buddhist writers over Sanskrit, perhaps belongs to the fourth century A.D.

V. THE AVADANA LITERATURE

The nature of the Avadana (Pali Apadana) literature will be discussed later in connection with the Pali canon. 2 Of the Sanskrit

Note 44

Note 45

Avadanas, the Avaddnaxataka seems to be the oldest. It may be placer! in the second century A.D. as it is reported to have been translated into

Chinese in the third century A.D. There is nothing artistic in the arrangement of the tales, their principal purpose being edification and not mere amusement. The Divyavaddna , too, may have belonged-to the same period as that of the Avaddv a sat aka. The origin of the'work seems to be complex as its style also suggests; simple prose with equally simple gdthds is found alongside prose with long compounds and verses in elaborate metre. In certain sections Prakritisms like the loss of the final consonants are to be met with: there are also to be found a few rare words and words with rare meanings.

VI. SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

1 Grammar

Though the beginnings of grammatical studies in India can be traced back to the period of the Brahmanas, the first important treatise on the subject is Yaska's Nirukta. The work deals with etymology, a subject included in the six Vedangas, taking into account only the Vedic words. The earliest work, therefore, dealing with the grammar of the contemporary spoken language is Pitnini's Ashtddkydyh The author refers to his predecessors like Sakatayana and Saunaka, which indicates the existence of a long tradition of grammatical studies before the days of Panini. The great grammarian was the native of a village called Salatura in the N.-W.F. Province. His work, the Ashtddhydyi, consists of some 4.000 Sutras divided, as the title suggests, into eight chapters. The principal aim of the work is to describe the bJidshd , or the current medium of expression. The Vedic usages are marked out by such terms as chhandasi , nigame or mantre. The date of Panini is not definitely known and has been variously estimated between the seventh and fourth centuries B.C. On the one hand he was later than Yaska, and on the other earlier than Patanjali and Katyayana. The language, of which he taught the grammar, was more akin to the prose of the Brahmanas than to the Classical Sanskrit literature, and this explains the absence in later literature of many forms and expressions explained by the great grammarian. Moreover, Panini does not indicate any knowledge of Southern India which the Aryans certainly knew from the days of Asoka. And if the city of Sahkala mentioned by Panini 1 can be identified with Sangala, a city said

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to have been destroyed by Alexander, Panini must have certainly lived before this event. On the whole, we may place the great grammarian about the fifth century B.C. 1

The next important figure to follow Panini was Katyayana, who flourished about the third century B.C. During the period that elapsed between these two grammarians some forms recorded by Panini had become obsolete and some other new forms had come into vague. Katyayana notes all these changes in the spoken language in the forms of his Varttikas. The object of his work was to explain and support the Sutras of Panini and also to amend and supplement them wherever necessary.

Katyayana was followed by Patanjali in the second century B.C. His Mahnbhashya is a more extensive work explaining, and sometimes correcting, Panini's Sutras. Sometimes he agrees with Panini where Katyayana finds fault with him; and on other occasions he upholds the view of Katyayana as against Panini. In accordance with the changes introduced in the language by the lapse of time. Patanjali also gives certain supplementary rules (ishtis). ^ The Maluibhdshya is perhaps the earliest specimen of a commentary, a mode of writing which came to be extensively employed in later days. The presence of proverbial expressions and references to everyday life make the work interesting reading. Kaiyata's commentary on the Mahdbhdshya belongs to the twelfth century A.D.

2. Dramaturgy

The NCityasdstra ascribed to Bharata is not only the earliest extant work on dramaturgy but, incidentally, it is also the earliest work dealing with the topics of poetics. The work, though mostly composed in Slokas, partakes of some of the features of the sutra style. It has come down to us in a rather badly preserved form of which two main recensions may be noticed. The Northern or the later recension consists of 37 chapters, while the Southern or the earlier recension, 30 chapters. Nothing definite can be said about the date of the Natyasdstra. It has been assigned by different scholars to various dates between the second century B.C. and third century A.D. Matrigupta, whom tradition makes contemporary or identical with Kalidasa (fourth century A.D.), seems to have written a commentary on it. The Prakrits recognised by the Ndtyasdstra are later

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than those of Asvaghosha. It recognises the use of the Ardha-MagadhI which is not found in the dramas other than those of Asvaghosha and Bhfisa. On the other hand, it ignores the Mabarashtrl which is freely used in the later classical dramas. The fact that Bhasa violates some of the rules of Bharata suggests that in his days the Ndtyasdstra had not obtained sufficient sanctity. All this evidence goes to suggest the third century A.D. as a probable date of this work. 1

The Ndiyasdstra is the most important and authoritative treatise on Sanskrit dramaturgy. Not very long after its composition it seems to have been held in high veneration so that later writers have merely followed this old work. Speaking of the drama, it says that the Natyaveda was the creation of Brahma himself. It further assigns to drama a very high status by ranking it as the fifth Veda. It then goes on to discuss in quite an elaborate manner the plot, the characters, and the sentiments which constitute the essentials of a drama. In this connection it mentions the different divisions of the drama and gives their distinguishing characteristics and construction. The Ndiyasdstra also deals with such other relevant topics as the gestures of the actors, the mode of delivery, and the dress and other equipment. It says that the dress and the make-up should always be appropriate to the rasa or bhava, and also suggest the correct way of speaking in the drama, which should be appropriate to the different emotions intended to be conveyed. It may be noted here that the Ndiyasdstra gives a detailed account of the use of the languages, especially about the assignment of the various forms of Prakrit to different characters. The religious ceremony, called the Purvaranga, which is to precede the drama, is described in detail by Bharata, but it has practically gone out of vogue in the classical drama.

The theatre and the scenery are also given proper attention by the author. He mentions three kinds of theatres, one for the gods and the other two, the rectangular and the triangular, evidently meant for human beings. The author has not forgotten the role which the audience plays in the successful representation of a drama, and says that the audience should be clever and capable of appreciating the feelings and emotions expressed by the actors.

The Ndiyasdstra deals with poetics, metre, music and dance as they affect the composition and representation of the drama. It is

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responsible for the development of an important doctrine of rasa or sentiment. It accepts rasa as the essence of Kavya and relegates guy a and alankdra to a subordinate position. It recognises eight sub divisions of the sentiment, which is just a condition produced in the mind of the audience as a result of the emotions of the characters. It enumerates 3G lakshanas or embellishments of poetry (Kdvyanibhiishanani), four poetic types, and ten poetic merits and faults. It does not distinguish between the alanlcdras of sabda and artha bid mentions the JJpamd (with five sub-divisions), the Rupcika , the Dipaka and the Yamctka as the four Ndtakdlankdras .

The author, hov/ever, recognises that the theorist can give only a few suggestions, the people themselves being the final authority over the drama; and as human nature affords immense variety, no hard and fast rules can be insisted upon by theorists.

3. Metrics

The science of Metrics is supposed to have originated with Pingala, and his Chhand.as Sutra is even believed to be a Vedanga. 1 It is generally agreed, however, that it was probably Pingala who gave a sure foundation to this. science. He started the practice of measuring a metrical line with the help of the Trikas or the eight groups of three letters each. From very old times the Sanskrit metres in the Vedas were distinguished from each other by the number of letters contained in each line of a stanza. In the days of the Pratisdkhyas, 26 varieties of this type were already noted; butas the science progressed and metres came to be harnessed to a new kind of music,* each one of these 26 varieties yielded many a iff e rent metres, according as the order of short and long letters in their line changed. This new kind of music is the Varna Sangita as distinguished from the Svara Sangita of the Vedic and the Taia Sangita of the purely Apabhrariisa metres. This Varna Sangita is based upon a sound-variation, unlike the Svara Sangita which is based upon a pure modulation of the voice unconnected with the variation of short and long sounds. 2

All the Classical Sanskrit metres, beginning with the Anushiubh, are based upon this Varna Sangita. The earliest and most successful attempt to define a few among these many sub-varieties of the main 26 kinds is found in Pingala's Chhandas Sutra , and this is very likely the reason why Pingala is supposed to be the father of

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Sanskrit metrics. Along with these Varna Vrittas, which arc based upon a positive form of the Varna Sahgita, Piiigala mentions three other main varieties of metres which are based upon a negative form of that Sanglta. These are the Arya, the Vaitallya and the Matrasamaka. In later metrical works they are all counted as the Matra Vrittas; but Pingala does not call them by this name. Even the enumeration of the five Matra Canas of four Matras each, whieh are necessary for these metres, is peculiar in the case of Piiigala. He describes them as though they were only another group of the Akshara Ganas, where the usual ta, na, ma and ya are dropped and a group of two long letters and another of four short letters are added. Among the Varna Vrittas, Pingala does not define metres whose lines contain less than six letters. Jayadeva and Bharata also do the same so far as the Sanskrit metres are concerned; but the latter defines and illustrates the shorter metres from Prakrit poetry. This is really noteworthy.

It should also be noticed that Pingala mentions only four of th^ six Pratyayas; he completely drops the adhvan and does not at all refer to the graphical representations of long and short letters as is done by writers who came after him. This would perhaps indicate that at his time the writing down of metres was not much in vogue. Pingala's date is uncertain; yet it is clear that he belongs to a period which is posterior to the full development of the epic Anushtubh and Trishtubh or the Upajati. He is nevertheless an ancient writer and is mentioned by §abarasvamin in his Bhashya on the Mimdmsd Sutras. He may thus be assigned to the first or second century before Christ. Pingala himself mentions earlier authorities like Rata, Mandavya, Kasyapa and others while defining the classical metres, which shows that the development of the classical metres had begun long before Pingala.

Bharata's Ndtyasdstra also contains two chapters on metres, namely Chs. 16 and 32. 1 In the former, the names of the metres are introduced by Mudra, while this is not done in the latter, where the illustrations are mostly in Prakrit and seem to have been composed by Bharata himself. At least, the Prakrit illustrations do not appear to have been extracted from any sustained poetical composition. Bharata makes a distinction between the metres described in Chs. lb and 32; the former are to be used for the general type of poetry to be employed in dramas, etc., while the latter are exclusively to be employed for purposes of singing and for the Dhruvas. A Vritta is

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pdthya (to be recited), while the Gitas in Ch. 32 are geya (to be sung), according to Bharata. Usually the metrical definitions are given in a whole stanza in the metre which is being defined; but sometimes they are given even in an Anushtubh stanza. As noted above, metres containing less than six letters in a line are defined and illustrated by Bharata under the Gitas in Ch. 32. Bharata's notable deviation from Pingala is that, whereas the latter uses merely a Sutra for the definition, he defines the metres in a full stanza, composed in the same metre which is being defined. When this was done, there really was no need for an additional illustration; but Bharata invariably quotes a stanza in illustration after defining a metre. Pingala gives no illustration at all.

Jayadeva is the next known writer on Sanskrit metres. He closely follows the plan of Pingala, giving the Vedic metres in the first three chapters, and then the Matra Vrittas (Ch. 4), Vishama and Ardhasama Varna Vrittas (Ch. 5), the Sama Varna Vyittas (Chs. 6 and 7) and lastly the six Pratyayas (Ch. 8). He, however, differs from Pingla in two important respects. He mentions adhvan among the six Pratyayas, which was not even hinted at by Pingala. Adhvan is the space occupied by a given metrical line when written down, the rule being that each letter, whether short or long, shall occupy the space of an Angula, and that so much space shall also be left between any two letters. This indicates that by Jayadeva's time writing had come to be employed, though it was in its early stages when the letters were required to be rather big in view of the writing material, which could not have been either birch bark or palm leaves, but merely big wooden, stone, or metal boards. The second point in which Jayadeva differs from Pingala is that the former employs in his metrical definitions single lines of the very metre which is being defined, whereas Pingala used only the Sutras. As contrasted with Bharata, Jayadeva has introduced economy by making the definition itself serve the purpose of illustration. Jayadeva is quoted by Abhinavagupta and Svayambhu (himself quoted by Hemachandra), and very likely was known even to Varahamihira. He may roughly be assigned to a period which immediately follows Bharata and, therefore, to the second or third century A.D. Jayadeva's work, called Jayadevachhandas , is so far known to exist in a single manuscript at Jaisalmer, which also contains a commentary by one Harshata, son of Mukula. Jayadevachhandas has recently been published with Harshata's commentary. 1

Note 53

4. Science of Polity

The science of polity was known by various names, Arthasastra, Dan^anlti, Nltisastra, Rajanlti, etc. and dealt not only with the political theories and the actual organisation of administrative machinery, but also various matters connected with State and society which would now form the subject-matter of law, sociology, and economics. At first these subjects were treated in a section in the Dharma-sutras and later in the Dharma-sastras. But independent treatises were also written at an early date. The Arthasastra ascribed to Kautilya (also called Vishnugupta) is the earliest extant work of this class, but it contains references to a large number of treatises which were regarded as authoritative in his days. These were the products of no less than five schools and thirteen individual writers on the science of polity. Many of these are also mentioned in the Mahabhdrata which deals with the subject under the name Rajadharma. Kautilya's Arthasastra, however, gradually came to be regarded as the standard work on the subject and, as often happens, the previous works were cast into shade and completely lost by the pre-eminence and the well-deserved reputation of this masterly and comprehensive treatise. Ever since its publication in the year 1909 this work has provoked a prolonged controversy as regards its authenticity and date, which does not seem to have been finally settled even now.

Indian tradition is unanimous in holding the Arthasastra as the work of Kautilya, and the work repeatedly ascribes itself to Kautilya (or Vishnugupta), also styled Chanakya, who is reported to have been the minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The work would thus belong to the fourth century B.C. Those scholars who favour this traditional theory point out that Dandin and the author of the Panchatantra ascribe the Arthasastra to Vishnugupta or Chanakya, and that Bana is certainly aware of a treatise on political science by Kautilya; that the Nitisdra of Kamandaka is based on Vishiiugupta’s work on polity and Vatsyayana seems to have modelled his work on the Arthasastra; that both Kalidasa and Yajnavalkya seem to be indebted to Kauplya’s work; that the picture of the society portrayed by Manu and Yajnavalkya is in many respects later than the one depicted by Kautilya; that the divergences between the Kaufiliya and the Manu-smriti show the antiquity of the former; and that the civil and constitutional laws explained by Kautilya are similar to those recorded by Megasthenes.

The opponents of the traditional view, however, maintain that the Arthasastra is a later work, which may have been based on the teachings of Kautilya, but cannot have been a work by his own hand. In support of this theory they point out that the mode of citation ‘iti Kautilyah' or ‘neti Kautilyah n in the text speaks against the authorship of Kautilya; that the very name Kautilya, which means ‘falsehood’, is nothing to be proud of and hence is highly suspicious; that the close agreement between the Arthasastra and the K&masutra and the fact that they both quote the same rare authorities suggest closeness of their dates; that the reference to China in the Arthasastra points to a later date for the work; that the Puranas and later works are silent about Chanakya’s literary activity; that even in the latest parts of the Mahabhdrata Kautilya is not referred to, only Brihaspati and Sukra being mentioned as the teachers of Niti; that though Patanjali refers to the Mauryas and the sabhd of Chandragupta, he is silent about Kautilya; that not only does Megasthenes not refer to him but also that in matters of essential details the two authors entirely differ; that in the Arthasastra there is no reference either to Chandragupta or to his capital Pataliputra; that the rules of government laid down by the Arthasastra pertain to a small state and not a vast empire as that of Chandragupta; that the knowledge of alchemy and the use of the word surunga (Greek syrinx) suggest contact with Greeks over a long time; that the metre and the language are regular and have no special archaic features; and that, on the whole, the work seems to have been written by a Pandit and not by a statesman. According to this view, therefore, the Arthasastra was composed much later than the time of Chandragupta Maurya and may even be as late as A.D. 300. The question has been further discussed in the Appendix.

The work is divided into 15 adhikaranas with 180 prakaranas. It is also divided by another device, perhaps a later one, into adhyayas , separated from one another by the insertion of verses summarising the subject of each adhyaya . The form of the work is said to be a combination of Sutra and Bhdshya (commentary). The term sutra probably applies to the headings of the prakaranas , and the rest is a commentary on it with a certain mixture of verses. The purpose of the work is stated to be that of laying down means for the acquisition and maintenance of dominion over the earth. The various topics that are dealt with in the different adhikaranas are briefly as follows: (1) the education and discipline of princes; the qualification of ministers; the different kinds of spies; the daily duties of a king; (2) the superintendents of different departments and the departments themselves; the administration and fortification of towns, industrial establishments, regulation of prostitution, etc.; (3) civil law; (4) removal of dangerous elements and criminal law; (5) methods to remove state-enemies and fill the treasury of the king; salaries of government servants; (6 and 7) seven elements of kingship and the six lines of policy; (8) vices of the king and calamities, such as floods, fire, etc., to the State; (9 and 10) military campaigns; (11) corporations and guilds; (12 and 13) methods to win wars and become popular in a conquered country; (14) recipes for preparing powders and mixtures to produce illusive appearances, spread diseases, etc.; (15) description of the plan of the work.

1. “This is (or is not) the view of Kautilya.”

The style of the Arthasastra, though generally simple, is enigmatic in places. The presence of many obscure and technical terms renders the work at time difficult to understand. Its language is correct Sanskrit, though a few un-Paninian forms like rochayante and ptipishthatama occur.

5. Medicine

The crudity of early Indian medicine can be judged from the Atharvaveda , which betrays belief in the demons of disease and prescribes spells as cures. The detailed references in Buddhist canonical literature to topics concerned with medicine 1 and Patahjali's reference to Yaidyaka speak for the development of this science in the early centuries preceding the Christian era. But only a few works on medicine have come down to us in the form of Saihhitas dealing with various topics. The oldest among them is the Samhita ascribed to Charaka. His date is uncertain, though tradition makes him the physician of the great king Kanishka. The available text of this Samhita is not the original one but that which was revised by Dj-idhabala, a Kashmirian of the ninth century. Dri^habala himself admits of having added certain chapters to Charaka's work. It deals with such topics as the eight principal diseases, diet and remedies, pathology, anatomy, embryology, etc. Its popularity can be gauged from its early translations into Persian and Arabic.

The Samhita ascribed to Susruta is equally famous. From the Mahabharata we learn that Susruta was the son of Visvamitra. This

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Samhita also has not come down to us in its original form. We are told that Nagarjuna worked over Susruta's treatise, and we have also a text in a revised form by Chandrata. The treatise deals with such topics as pathology, anatomy, embryology, therapeutics, and toxicology. It also contains two chapters on surgical instruments and the mode of operation.

The Bhela Samhita is preserved in a defective manuscript. It is mostly in metrical form with some mixture of prose. It shows acquaintance with Susruta and has the same divisions as in the Charaka Samhita.

The so-called Bower manuscript 1 discovered at Kashgar in 1890 contains certain tracts on medicine. Palaeographically it has been assigned to the fourth century A.D. and special importance therefore attaches to a number of previous authors cited, viz. Atreya, Ksharapani, Jatukarna, Parasara, Bheda, Harita and Susruta. It deals with the qualities of garlic, elixirs for prolonging life, recipes for external and internal application, and many other topics. The tract called the Navanltaka forms the cream of ealier works and discusses powders, decoctions, elixirs, etc. Another manuscript in fragment and written on leather was discovered in East Turkestan. It dates from c. A.D. 200 and expounds the doctrine of eight of ten rasas as opposed to the six found in the works of Charaka and Susruta. The language of these treatises is Sanskrit, but it shows a marked influence of the current Prakrit tendencies.

VII. GENERAL REVIEW

The literary activity of the period shows'a great advance over that of the preceding one. The religious literature has grown in content and diversity, and the vast canonical literature of the Buddhists throws into shade anything attempted before or since in this line. Philosophical literature has also been systematised and developed. The Dharma-sutras and Dharma-£astras contain the last echo of the Vedic civilisation which was rapidly passing away. They also form the foundation of modern Hindu law and customs, the later works on the subject being mere imitations or digests. The epics represent the monumental literary effort of the age which was destined to exercise a unique influence upon the whole Indian nation for untold centuries. The dramas of Asvaghosha are only fragmentary, and those of Bhasa are no doubt thrown into the background by the later masterpieces of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti, but the Mrchchhakatika of §udraka has ever remained popular on account of its variety of incidents and quick dramatic appeal. The poems of Asvaghosha, though not widely read these days, had strength enough to influence the diction and incidents in the works of Kalidasa. These works are happily free

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from the elaborate styles adopted by later Sanskrit writers. The authors of this period do not show the same fondness for sound-plays and double meaning as, for instance, evinced by Bana and Subandhu, or Bharavi and Magha. They all, whether they are Brahmanical or Buddhist, show unmistakable influence of the epics on their style and language. It may be mentioned with regret that in this period we very much miss lyrical works for which Sanskrit poetry is so famous. The achievements of this period in many departments of technical or scientific literature have remained supreme throughout the history of Sanskrit literature, ^here d : 1 not appear at a later stage any grammarian who had the critical acumen of Panini or the remarkable observation of Patanjali; and whatever the merits or demerits of the Arthasastra, no work of a later period has been able to oust it from the high position adorned by it in the branch of polity. Similarly in medicine most of the important works were written in this period. Important works were written on astronomy, the knowledge of which was considerably advanced by contact with the western world. But they are all lost and their names alone survive in later texts as will be noted in the next volume. On the whole there was a general efflorescence of literary activity, which reached its climax in some branches during the period under review.

PART II. LANGUAGE I. SANSKRIT

In the continuous development of the Sanskrit language the period that came after the Brahmanas and the early Upanishads is marked by the formulation of the Classical Sanskrit. The Brahmai>as have no doubt done away with some of the Vedic terminations, the variety of the infinitives, and the subjunctive mood, yet their richness in the use of the different verbal forms taught by Panini gives them a pre-classical character.

The language of the epics shows a popular tinge in it, for it contains more solecisms than are to be met with in any other form of literature. And this is just as it should be, for the original corn posers of the epic ballads were in Sutas who were outside the priestly circle. The language of the epics, and especially of the Mahabharata, does not show a clear uniformity, and we cannot speak of the ‘epic dialect’ except in a general way. The language, no doubt, conforms generally to the standard Sanskrit norm of the period, but it also betrays many archaisms of the Vedic period, Prakritisms of the Middle Indo-Aryan period, and also ungrammatical forms showing the hand of uneducated authors. It is true that some of these irregularities and especially the unwarranted shortening or lengthening of the vowel quantities are metri causa, and they are so regarded (chhandovat) by Patahjali; but it is also true that most of the irregularities giving analogical forms show the influence of the popular dialects.

But the language which Panini aims to describe was strictly the spo 1 x language, at any rate very much akin to it, among the hieratic classes. No one now doubts that the bhasha of Panini was the spoken language of his days. The colloquialisms like khada khadeti khadati, atra khadatamodata variate, expressions with namul forms like hastagraham grihndti jwandsam nasyati , precise instructions as to the intonations of questions and commands, of forms used when addressing people at some distance, etc.,—all point to a spoken language and not to a mere literary medium. The differences that are noticed in the language of the Vedas and the bhdshd of Panini are clearly due to the process which normally govern the development of any language. The contact with the aboriginal tribes may have accentuated to a certain extent the process of simplifica-' tion of the older language. After the period of Panini and his followers, Katyayana and Patahjali, Sanskrit became more and more a literary language and its sphere as a spoken language gradually decreased, with the result that after the beginning of the Christian era, Classical Sanskrit ceased to develop as a language and assumed a stylized form. This was also due, to a certain extent, to the celebrity, almost religious, accorded to the three great grammarians. A few un-Paninian forms are, no doubt, found in the works of early classical writers like Asvaghosha and Bhasa. But the number of such forms is so small that it merely shows the last phases of the influence exerted by the popular speeches on the sacred Sanskrit language. The archaisms and irregularities that are met with in the Puranas are only due to the influence of the epics and the lack of learning on the part of their authors. Partial acquaintance with grammar is also responsible for the confusion and errors, sometimes

bewildering, found in the works of Buddhist and other non-Brahma* nical origin (cf. for instance, the language of the works like the Lalitavistara and the tracts in the Bower Manuscript).

The bhasha of Panini has the following features:—In phonology there is evolved a strict system of euphonic combinations, sandhi, which, when carried to extremes, lends an artificial character to the language; the sound l, in place of the older r, is recognised, and this is probably due to the eastern influence; the IJigvedic changes of d > l and dh > lh are completely set aside; and there is a marked tendency towards cerebralisation, in all probability a further development of an inherent tendency accentuated by the contact with the aboriginals.

In declension we find more simplificaion; in the singular of -a stems - ena has removed the older variant -a and in plural -<ls, ani, -ais and -anam have wiped out - asas, a, -ebhis and -dm respectively; in pronouns the nom. yuvam and abl. yuvat are eliminated; in conjugation - masi of the first pi. active, - e of the third sg. middle, - dhva of the second pi. are all lost; the whole subjunctive goes out of use, and in optative and infinitive the rich variety is seriously lost; of the Vedic gerunds in -tw, tvi and tvaya only the first prevails; on the other hand, only a few new forms like the two periphrases and the formation of perfect with auxiliaries are developed.

As we come to the period of Katyayana we find that the different verbal forms, though taught in the grammar, were not actually used. His Varttikas asti aprayuktah, etc. show that in his time some verbal forms, for instance, the perfect usha. tera, chakra, etc., had become obsolete and their place was taken by participial expressions Thus the way was gradually being prepared for the later nominal or attributive style in place of the earlier verbal style. Katyayana also notes certain innovations in the language after the days of Panini: thus he gives brahma and ndma also as voc. sg. forms besides brahman and ndman; by the extension of optional forms to masculine in words like dvitiya we have both dvitiydya or dvitiyasmai, dvitiyat or dvitiyasmdt, etc., in feminine forms, additions like mdtuld , upadhydydnt, arydni and kshatriyani are noted.

The Mahabhasya of Patanjali gives us the earliest extant specimen of a somewhat developed nominal style. So far as the development in the language itself is concerned Patanjali does not show any great advance over the stage arrived at in the days of Katyayana. He notices the loss of certain idioms like nivachane-kri (to be silent).

anvaje- or upaje-lcri (to strengthen); similarly the pronominal base tya, infinitive in - tavai, and perfect participle middle in-ina are disused; there have also occurred a few changes in syntactical peculiarities. It is significant to note that Patahjali ascribes the correct usage, of Sanskrit to the Sishtas of his times, who are described as Brahmanas inhabiting the Aryavarta. They could speak correct Sanskrit, even without studying Panini's grammar; in fact it was the use of these Sishtas that decided the correctness or otherwise of a particular form. Other persons, though they spoke Sanskrit, made certain mistakes which are clearly attributable to the influence of Prakrits. Thus in their speech kasi appeared for krishi , disi for drisi, gdvi, gonl, etc. for gaus, and, among the verbs, dnapayati for ajndpavattati for vart-, and vaddhati for vardh-.

Later classical writers strictly conformed to the norm set up by Panini and as revised by Katyayana and Patanjali. Here and there they commit such errors as the confusion of -tva and •• ya in gerunds, of active and middle, and the loose use of the past tenses. But the real change that affected the later writers was not in language but in style. They developed a .fondness for the use of participles in lieu of inflected forms, of gerunds for subordinate clauses, and of compounds to give the style an element of brevity. In vocabulary Classical Sanskrit has lost many of the Vedic words and roots, and this loss has hardly been compensated for by a few borrowings from the indigenous Prakrits and the language of the later invaders.

II. PRAKRIT

The grammarians leave no doubt in our mind as regards the use of Sanskrit as a spoken language in their days. But at the same time they afford evidence that gradually there had appeared in the spoken medium many corrupt forms and usages, and hence it had become essential to turn to the Sishtas, the cultured and the educated persons in society, for a knowledge of correct Sanskrit. When we consider this state of affairs and add to it the fact that the founders of Buddhism and Jainism propagated their faiths among the masses with the help of the Prakrits and not Sanskrit, it clearly follows that, as time went on and as the Aryans spread in different parts of India, Sanskrit lost its position as the medium of expression among all classes of society and was restricted to only the highly educated. That even in this period and for many years to follow Sanskrit had not become unintelligible to the lower strata in society is amply shown by the Classical Sanskrit dramas, the earliest of which belong to the first or second century A.D. In these dramas, men of the upper classes speak in Sanskrit, but women and men of the lower classes speak various forms of Prakrit, proving thereby that the distinctions which arose in the forms of speech of the people were due to their social status, sex and locality.

Philologists have traced in detail the successive stages of this linguistic evolution, but we can only briefly refer to them. The old Indo-Aryan stage of the Aryan speech, as typified by Vedic and early Sanskrit, altered imperceptibly and became transformed into Middle Indo-Aryan and Prakrit. The rate of change of this progress—or degeneration—was not the same in every part of India. The language was more conservative in the north-west, the original nidus of the Aryans in India, and more advanced or modified in the cast. Already in the period of the Brahmanas, long before Buddha, we find indications of at least three distinct dialectical types in North India just when Middle Indo-Aryan took its rise —Udichya (northwestern), Madhyadesiya (middle) and Prdchya (eastern). The Classical Sanskrit, which came to be established as a literary language after Panini, was based primarily on Udichya (Panini’s own dialect) and Madhyadesiya dialects. But although the Brahmanas used the Classical Sanskrit, the dialects continued their development unchecked and gradually the gulf between the two became wider and wider. This was more prominently marked in the east where arose the anti-Vedic and anti-Brahmana socio-religious and philosophical movements like Buddhism and Jainism. It was symptomatic of the attitude of the followers of Mahavira and Gautama that they should address the masses in their own dialect and not hieratic Sanskrit Thanks to the exertions of the heterodox sects, the Prakrits (vernaculars) grew as literary languages and became powerful rivals to Sanskrit. The earliest literary products of these Prakrits were the canonical texts of the Buddhists and the Jains, to which detailed references will be made later. Apart from these, the inscriptions of Asoka give us the first definite knowledge about them. They prove the existence of at least three different dialects, viz. those of the east, west and north-west. The eastern dialect, as the language of the imperial city of Pataliputra, was undoubtedly the most popular, and widely prevalent all over the Maurya Empire.

The dramas of Asvaghosha (c. A.D. 100) show the next important stage of development when we can distinguish the older forms of the first three of the four well-known Prakrit dialects of later date, viz. Ardha-Magadhi, Magadhi, Sauraseni and Maharashtri. 1 It is probable, though not definitely proved, that both Gautama Buddha and Mahavira preached their doctrines in Old Ardha-Magadhi dialect, but the extant canonical texts of their sects are written in a language which shows great divergencies from it. The early Jain scriptures are lost, but even the earliest preserved texts, viz. those of the Svetambara canons, which go back to the middle of the fifth century, show a strong influence of the Maharashtri Prakrit. As regards Buddhist canon, the best preserved is that of the Ilinayana school (Theravada) in Pali, and now used in Ceylon, Burma and Siam. But the origin of Pall, or in other words the particular Prakrit dialect from which it was derived, is a matter of dispute among scholars, and no unanimous conclusion has yet been arrived at. While some derive it from the Prakrit dialect current in Magadha, others find a closer association between it and the dialects of Kausambi or Avanti, i.e. the Midland or Madhyadesa.

The theory that Pali was originally a dialect of Avanti has much to commend itself. When Asoka quotes from Buddhist scriptures in his Bhabra Edict, he quotes from a version in the eastern dialect which was evidently current in his day. Literary Pali was evidently unknown to him. The Buddha as an easterner can only be expected to have used the eastern Prakrits and these, as we find from the eastern inscriptions of Asoka, agree in some vital matters with the Magadhan Prakrit. Pali, however, does not at all agree with the Magadhan Prakrit. It rather agrees with the Sauraseni or midland dialect, particularly with the old Saurasenl which we find in Asvaghosha’s works. The Buddha enjoined upon his disciples that his teachings should be studied by the people in their own dialects (saka nirutti) and we have definite evidence that the Buddhist canon was redacted, if not wholly, at least in part, in no less than four different forms of speech, viz. Eastern Prakrit (Asoka's inscription), N.-W. Prakrit (Central Asia), Buddhist Sanskrit (Gilgit and Nepal) and Pali. It seems that almost immediately after the death of Buddha, bis sayings were rendered into the midland speech from the original one by persons who were connected with Ujjain and Mathura. A parallel case happened nearly two thousand years later when the discourses of Kabir, who belonged to Banaras and spoke Bhojpuri, appear to have been rendered into a midland literary speech consisting of Brajbhakha of Mathura and the incipient Hindustani of Delhi. It should be remembered that the Pali canon

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mainly survived in Ceylon where it was presumably taken by Mahendra, who was born in Ujjain and had his training there before he took Orders and came to his father's court at Pataliputra.

But whatever may be the origin of Pali, there is no doubt that the growing popularity of the Prakrits, due mainly to the patronage of the Buddhists and Jains, gave a temporary set-back to Sanskrit. This is clearly evidenced by the epigraphic records of the period. It is significant that all the inscriptions of Asoka through which the great Maurya Emperor addresses his subjects or officers arc written in Prakrit dialects. This inscriptional activity started by Asoka was picked up later on by many others, whether kings or donors, and we get a large number of Prakrit inscriptions—about 1,500 in number—throughout the length and breadth of India and covering a period of no less than seven centuries. The fact that not more than a dozen inscriptions were written in Sanskrit during the same period proves incontestably that Prakrit continued to be the dominant language in popular usuage up to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., after which, however, not many Prakrit inscriptions are to be met with. In the literary field, on the other hand, the Prakrits did not long continue to enjoy the same status, and even Buddhist and Jain writers from the second century A.D. onwards showed their preference for Sanskrit to the neglect of Prakrits. It must, however, be admitted that the non-canonical literature of the Buddhists and Jains continued to be written in Pali and JainaMaharashtrl till a very late date. Similarly, the Prakrit Dhammapada acquired from Khotan in 1892 and the use of a variety of Indian Prakrits in the Kharoshthl documents discovered in Chinese Turkestan speak for the popularity attained by these languages outside India in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The Prakrit languages were, besides, employed by the Sanskrit dramatists for their female and secondary characters. Thus the dramas of Asvaghosha, Bhasa and Sudraka are replete with speeches composed in Maharashtrl, Saurasenl, Magadhi and the secondary dialects derived from these. Generally Maharashtrl is employed for verses, SaurasenI for prose, and Magadhi for the speeches of menials. Maharashtrl is indeed regarded by grammarians as the model Prakrit and it is quite evident that this particular Prakrit was a great favourite of poets and authors.

A very large amount of stray lyric poetry was undoubtedly composed by poets and even poetesses during this period. Hala's

Gathdsaptasati is a collection of such stanzas, properly arranged, edited, and often supplemented by Hala himself. All these verses are composed in the Arya metre; but surely there existed even others that were composed in the Classical Varna Vrittas as is evident from Svayambhu's quotation from Hala in the Sardulavikrhjita metre. 1 2 The most important Prakrit work of this period, however, is Gunarihya's Brihatkathd which was composed in the Paisachl language and which contained an inexhaustible treasure of romantic tales as can be judged from its Sanskrit versions of Kshemendra and Somadeva in later days. The work itself is irretrievably lost, but has supplied themes to many a work of later times.

APPENDIX

NOTE ON TI1E DATE OF ARTHASASTRA

^ As noted on p. 274 above, there are widely divergent views on the date of Kautilya's Arthai-dstra and a considerable literature has grown up on the subject. It is not possible to traverse the whole ground and discuss the different views in detail," but a lew salient points bearing on the subject may be noted here.

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The Arthasdstra certainly existed before Bana (seventh century A.D.), the Nandisutra of the Jains (not later than the fifth century A.D.) and possibly the Jatakamala of Arya 6ura (third or fourth century A.D., see p. 267 above). In the Junagarh rock inscription of Skanda-gupta reference is made to the testing of officials by upadhas, as we find in the Arthasdstra. Again verse 10 of the same record reminds us of Arthasdstra I. 1.

The prevalence of the study of Arthavidyd in still earlier days is proved by the Junagarh rock inscription of Rudradaman I (second century A.D.), which mentions such technical terms as pranaya, vishp, , etc. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the fact that the Kautiliya Arthasdstra, which purports to be a compendium of pre-existing Arihasdstras, does not quote the views of previous writers in the chapter on Kosabhisamharanam which deals with pranaya (Book V. Chap. II). It is, therefore, not unlikely 'that the knowledge of the term in the days of Rudradaman I was derived from the Kautiliya itself and not from anv preexisting treatises. An early date is also suggested by the absence of any reference to the Denarius (Bk. II. Chaps. 12 and 19) in the sections dealing with coins and weights.

Regarding the terminus a quo there are grave doubts as to whether, in its present shape, the famous book is as old as the time of the first Maurya (c. 300 B.C). It is, for example, not clear why in the matter of dating Asoka should ignore the system of Kautiliya Arthasdstra (II. 6; 20; IX. 1), if the work really proceeded from the pen of his grandfather’s chancellor, and prefer the Persian model as urged by some writers. Asoka’s dating, it may be remembered, not only pertains to the issue of proclamation of edicts (as in the case of the Achaemenids), but also to military campaigns (R.E. XIII), tours (R.E. VIII), appointment of officers (R.E.V.), and gifts (Barabar hill cave inscr.). Some of the dated orders relate to the Yuktas (R. E. Ill) who had duties in connection with state-funds and accounts.

The following points, too, deserve attention:—

1. None of the writers, whose evidence is usually cited in favour of a date for Kautiliya in the fourth century B.C., can with certainty be definitely placed before c. A. D. 300. The interval of six centuries is wide enough for the growth of legends.

2. The official language contemplated in the Sasanadhikdra (II. 10) is Sanskrit and not Prakrit used by the Mauryas, the Satavahanas and the earliest Pallavas. Cf. use of prefixes like Pra and passages like agramyasabdabhidhanam-auddryam “the use of words other than colloquial (gramya Prakrit according to Monier Williams’ Dictionary) is dignity.” The number of varnas (letters of the alphabet) according to Kautiliya is 63 (akdradayo varndh trishashtih) . It would be interesting to know if all these sixty-three letters were known to the scribes of the Maurya age. Asokan scribes seem to have been acquainted with about 41 letters.

3. The prdkara of Kautilya’s durga is to be made of brick. He had a horror for wooden structure “as fire finds a happy abode in it” (II. 3). Arian, apparently on the authority of Megasthenes, the Greek diplomat in the court of Chandragupta, informs us that “such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the seacoast are built of wood instead of brick”, and Strabo definitely states that the city

about thp tenth century A.D. the Jain author Somadeva Suri borrowed the material of his Nitivakydmrita from Kautilya. For reference in the Jain Pampas cf,, B. C. Law Volume, I, p. 609.

The author of Arthasdstra, is also called Chanakya and Dramila by Hemachandra in his Abhidhanachintamani (Bombay edition, p. 34) and Yadavaprakasa (Vaijayanti, ed. Oppert. p. 96). Hemachandra identifies him with Vatsyayana, the author of the Kdmasutra (Shamasastry, QJMS, IV, pp. 210-16). The identification is not corroborated by any other work in Sanskrit literature, but the resemblance in the style of the two works is striking.

In manuscripts of the Arthasdstra, both Kautalya and Kautilya occur as spellings of the author’s name. Both may, therefore, be held to be correct. Kautalya occurs in the Alur inscription of Vikramaditya V of the tenth century A.D. (El. XVI, No. 7) and also in another inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. (IHQ, 1925, pp. 569, 786). The name is not, as some scholars have supposed, a nickname signifying ‘false’ or ‘fraudulent’. For the matter of that, as has been pointed out, Sunahsepa means ‘dog’s tail’ and Divodasa, ‘time-server’.

of Pataliputra was ‘ girded with wooden walls” (McCrindle, Megasthenes and Arrian, revised edition, pp. €5, 67).

4. There is no reference in Kautiliya Arthasdstra to royal titles characteristic of the Maurya age. On the contrary, Indra-Yama-sthanametat (I. 13) cannot fail to recall Dhanada-varun-endrdntaka-sama of the Allahabad prasasti.

5. While some of the official designations in the Kautiliya Arthasdstra are met with in Maurya inscriptions, epigraphic references to the samdhartri and sannidhatri are definitely late.

6. The geographical horizon of the Kautiliya Arthasdstra embraces Parasamudra, Chlnabhumi (the land of Chlnapatta) and Kambu (II. 11, 13). If Parasamudra stands for Palaesimundu of the classical writers, the name cannot claim as high an antiquity as Taprobane i.e. TamraparnI which is the designation of the place in question known to Maurya epigraphs. The Periplus in the first century A.D. mentions Palaesimundu as the name, current in his days, of the island which “the ancients called Taprobane”. China silk, as is well known, occurs frequently in Classical Sanskrit literature, and finds prominent mention in the work of Kosmas Indikopleustes (Bom. Gaz., I. I. 547; McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 162). China and Cambodia were clearly outside the horizon of the earliest Mauryas. There is no indisputable evidence of any contact between India and China before the Han period (206 B.C.—A.D. 220). Among other geographical or ethnic designations which possibly point to a comparatively late date are Nepala (II. 11) and Harahuraka (II. 25).

The points mentioned above show that the problem of the true date of the Kautiliya Arthasdstra still awaits solution. Taking all relevant facts into consideration, the theory of interpolation or identification of well-known places like China, “the land of Silk,” with obscure localities on the borders of India, as is done by certain writers on the subject, does not carry conviction.

B. DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

Chapter Notes

1. • See Preface.
2. 243
3. 1. Rigveda, X. 95.
4. 2. Wintemitz, HIL, I, p. 211.
5. 3. Cf. jSatapatha Brahmarm, XI. 5, 6, 8. These gathas are connected with the D&nastutis of the Rigveda and the Kuntapa hymns of the Atharvaveda.
6. 1 Panini, IV 2, 56.
7. 2. Cf.'Vol. I, p. 296.
8. 1. Wintemitz, HIL, I. p. 316.
9. 2. Vol. I, pp. 300 ff.
10. 3. Mhh, I. 62-69.
11. 4. Mhh, I. 70-88.
12. 1. Mbh, HI, 50-78.
13. 2. Mbh, IH, 257-276.
14. 3. Mbh, V, 131-136.
15. 4. Mbh, HI, 277-283.
16. 1. Winternitz, H/L, I. p. 398.
17. 2. Mbh, III. 80-153.
18. 3. Quoted by Winternitz, HI L, I. p. 409.
19. 4. Mbh, III. 24G ff.
20. 1. Mhh, XIII. 1.
21. 2. Cf. Mhh, xn. 175.
22. 1. Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I, p. 13.
23. 2. Wintemitz, HIL, I. p. 465. Cf. Pargiter, AIHT, p. 77. For the trustworthiness of the Puranic account cf. AIHT * pp. 119 ff.
24. 3. For the dates of Panini and Patanjali see section VI. 1 of this chapter.
25. 1. For Ramopakhyana as an epitome of our R'amayana, see V. S. Sukthankar, *‘Epic Studies VIII,” Kane Comm. Vol. pp. 472-87.
26. 2. For a detailed discussion see Winternitz, HIL, I, pp. 500-517.
27. 1 Vol. I, p. 475*
28. 2. Introduction to Buhlcr’s English translation of Majiu-smriti (SBE , XXV). Kane, however. Isolds a different view (KHDS , I. 79). The

most elaborate account of the Dharma-sutras or Smritis is given by Kane (KHDS, Vol. I), whose chronology of the texts is adopted in this chapter.

29. 1. Kane's views are summarised in KHDS, Vol. II, Part I, p. xi.
30. 257
31. A.I.U.—17
32. 1. Keith, SD, p. 27.
33. 2. Keith, SD, p. 45; also cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, *' Allusions to Krishna in Palanj all's Mahabhashya," LA, III, pp. 14 ff.
34. 3. ASI, 1903-4, p. 130.
35. 4. See p. 147 above.
36. 5. See Ch. XXV.
37. 1. In the AvaV'tisundarikcitha also appears a stanza giving a few of Bhasa'a characteristics which are borne out by the present plays.
38. 2. For an attempt to place Bhasa in the 5th or 4th century B.C. see Pusalker, Bhasa—A Study. For making Bhasa a predecessor of Kautilya on linguistic and historical grounds see V. R. R. Dikshitar, Kane Comm. Vol., pp. 165-67.
39. 3. Ddmaka and Traivikrama are two more dramas ascribed to Bhasa.
40. 1 Sec pp. 9-10 above.
41. 2(13
42. 1. For details see Mehendale, "TakkI or Dhakki," BDCRI, I. pp. 190 ff.
43. 2. To Panini, however, tradition ascribes the Jambavatlvijayam or Paidlavijayam. There are aho some verses ascribed to Panini in the anthologies, but the identity of the poet and the grammarian Panini is by no means proved, cfKrishnamachariar. HCSL, pp. 84-85.
44. 1. Winiernilz, HI L. II, p. 276.
45. 2. See Ch. XIX. B. VI.
46. 1. IV. 2.75.
47. 1. R. G. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, 16, p. 340; Keith, HSL, p. 425. For still earlier date (700-600 B.C.) ascribed to Panini cf. Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar, p. 15.
48. 1. Keith, SD, p. 292.
49. 1. Vol. I, p. 478.
50. 2. PO, VIII, p. 202.
51. 1. Edited in Kashi Sanskrit Series.
52. 27'2

53. 1. See pp. 1-40 of Jayadaman, edited by H. D. Velankar, Bombay, 1949.
54. 1. Cf. particularly the story of Jlvaka in the Vinaya Texts of the MulasarvastivMms (Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. Ill, part 2, pp. 1-52).
55. 1. So called after its discoverer. Edited by Hoemle in 1914.
56. N
57. 1. See above, p. 259.
58. 1. JBBIiAS, 1935, p. 26.
59. 2. In support of the fourth century B.C. as the date of the Arthasastra, see Shamasastry's Preface to his edition of the Arthasastra; Fleet's Introductory Note; T. Ganapati Sastri's Introduction to his edition of the Arthasastra; Jacobi, IA, XLV1I, p. 187; K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity, I. Appendix C. pp. 203-215; N. N. Law, CR, Sept., Dec. 1931; D. R. Bhandarkar, ABORI, VII pp. 65 ff. Radha Kumud Mookcrji's Introductory Essay on the "Age and Authenticity of the Arthasastra of Kautilya" in N. N. Law's Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity. See also H. C. Ray, 1A, LIV, pp. 170, 201; Kane, ABORI, VII, pp. 85 ff, KHDS, I, p. 85. L. D. Barnet in his "Indian Antiquities" does not commit himself but works on the basis of the same hypothesis. V. A. Smith (Early History of India, 3rd and 4th editions) and F. W. Thomas (Cambridge History of India, I) use the Arthasastra in connection with the Mauryas.
60. For a date about the beginning of the Christian §ra cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, POC. I, Vol. I, pp. 24-5.
61. For the third century A..D. as the most probable date of the Arthasastra, see Introduction to Jolly and Schmidt's edition of the Arthasastra, pp. 1-47; Jolly's paper "Kautalya and Chanakya" submitted to the Fourth Oriental Conference, Allahabad, 1926; Winternitz, CR, April, 1924; A. B. Keith, JRAS, 1916, pp. 130-38; HSL, pp. 458 ff.
62. Hillebrandt ascribes the composition of the Arthasastra to a school of Kautilya's disciples, and Keith ascribes it to some follower of Kautilya. But Kautilya is really in line with Hindu tradition in introducing his name in his own work. It may be stated, in reply to Keith, that Achdrydh is only the customary honorific plural; that on p. 263 (Shamasasiry's edition) Kautilya distinguishes the view of Achdrydh from those of Kautilya and Vatavyadhi, and that on page

322 the views of Achdrydh are distinguished from those of Bharadvaja. On p. 255, the criticism of Kautilya by Bharadvaja and that of the latter again by Kautilya only bring together the opinion of two schools of thought. The fact seems to be that the Arthasastra, like the Dharma-sastra, had several traditions and that Kautilya represented one, perhaps the most powerful, of them.

63. For references to Kautilya in Hindu literature, cf. Kamandaka, II, 4-7, Dandin, Dasakumaraeharita, II, 8 and other works cited by Shamashastry, Ganapati Sastri and Jolly in their introductions to the editions of the Arthasastra. The Jain Nandisutra placed the Kautiliya among the false sciences; though

I. General Review

The Dravidian group of languages comprises Tamil, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam. To this group also belong dialects like Tulu, Kodagu, Gondi and some others including Brahui in Baluchistan. The Dra vidian languages are today spoken by about 75 millions in India, roughly 20% of the population of the country. As Mr. E. P. Rice remarks, “a line drawn from Goa, on the West Coast, to Rajmahal, on the Ganges, will approximately divide the Dravidian languages on the south from the Aryan languages on the north.” 1 2

While the filiations between the Dravidian and the Sanskritic (or Aryan) groups of languages are obvious enough, it would not be correct to assume that the Dravidian languages are but vikritis, i.e. languages derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit. These two groups of languages have existed side by side for several centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large number of Sanskrit words are now found in the Dravidian tongues. But Sanskrit, too, has borrowed many words of Dravidian origin and incorporated them into its own texture. There is also a further category of words like mina (fish) and mulzh.il (cloud) which, from the beginning, belonged to both. It should be remembered that it is the root that fixes the common stock, and not the words borrowed or annexed from one language to another. A language can borrow freely from other languages, it can coin new words to express new concepts, but it cannot fundamentally change the character of its grammar and its syntax. If we take into account the striking grammatical peculiarities of Sanskrit vis-a-vis the Dravidian languages, we mark the following important points of difference:—

Note 1

Note 2

(a) In the Dravidian languages, all inanimate things and nonhuman creatures are classified under the neuter gender. In Sanskrit, this is not necessarily so.

(b) The Dravidian languages use post-positions, unlike the languages of the Indo-European group, which use prepositions.

(c) In Sanskrit the adjectives are declined: but they are not declined in the Dravidian languages.

(d) The existence of two pronouns of the first person plural, like the Tamil, nam, ndngal, is a peculiar feature of the Dravidian family of languages, and is absent from Sanskrit.

(e) The governing word in Sanskrit precedes the word governed, while in the Dravidian languages it follows, and the result is that the principal verb comes last.

We may therefore conclude that the Dravidian languages are not just by-products of Sanskrit, although they have doubtless been considerably influenced by it.

(a) Soon after the early Aryans penetrated into the South, many Sanskrit or Prakrit words gained general currency. This was before the Christian era, and may have extended over a period of some centuries.

(b) In the second period, the period of Buddhist and Jain influence, many more Sanskrit words were freely used by Tamil, Kannada and Telugu writers.

(c) In the third period, the period of the Alvars, Nayanmars and other religious reformers, Sanskrit influence was a palpable fact, and in the latter half of the period, roughly between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, a large number of Sanskrit works were translated or adapted into the various Dravidian languages.

Tamil, Kannada, Telugu (Andhra) and Malayalam are the present active members of the Dravidian group. Tamil leads the rest chronologically no less than in respect of its recorded achievement, being in Dr. F. W Thomas's words "the greatest Indian literature" next to Sanskrit. 1 Besides, Tamil is the representative language of the family, as it reached maturity earlier than the others, and was able, with its vocobulary, systematized grammar, and spirit of independence, to inspire its junior sisters in the Dravidian family. The earliest extant work in Kannada is Nripatunga’s Kavir&jam&rga , a treatise on poetics, written in the ninth century, though Vodda-tir&dhana, a recently discovered prose work attributed to the Jain author Sivakotyacharya, is presumably of an earlier date still. Likewise, the ealiest extant works in Telugu and Malayalam are respectively Nannayya-Bhatta’s Bharata (eleventh century) and SrT Rama’s Ramacharitarh (fourteenth century). But from inscriptions we can conclude that both Kannada and Telugu flourished as full-fledged literatures even before the time of Nripatunga and Nannayya-Bhatta. As for Malayalam, prior to the tenth century it was Sentamil or pure Tamil.

II. ‘Tamil’ and ‘ Tamilakam’

The word Tamil’ is often used as a synonym for !Dravitfa\ It is said that the Sanskrit word ‘Dravida’ was corrupted into ‘Drami^a’ and ‘Damila’ and ultimately became ‘TamiT. But Pandit R. Raghava Iyengar thinks that ‘Tamil’ was in all likelihood originally a Tamil word, accreting to itself an ‘r’ and becoming ‘DramiF and ‘Dramida’, and ending up as ‘Dravi<Ja\ From the root ‘dhru’ (to drive out), we may derive the meaning of ‘Dravida’ as that which is driven out, the implication being that ‘Tamil’ was driven cut by the northern Sanskrit. Even the expression ‘Tenmoli* (southern tongue), which came into currency in opposition to ‘Vadamoli’ (northern tongue or Sanskrit), is said to have been applied to Tamil with a mischievous intention, for the southern direction is synonymous with the abode of Yama, the ruler of our Hell! To dispel this insinuation, some Tamil writers have taken pains to show that even the word ‘ten’ (in ‘tenmoli’) is used in many places to signify sweetness. The word ‘Tamil’ too has been made to yield the meaning of sweetness or hoariness. Also, from ‘tami' the

Note 3

Note 4

meaning of ‘alone’ has been derived, and ‘Tamil’ is therefore said to suggest isolated grandeur. These views are, however, hardly reasonable and the more probable origin of the name Tamil has been discussed above. 1

Tamilakam 2 is the land of the Tamils—the land where Tamil is the current language of the classes as well as the masses. The geographical limits of Tamilakam have been thus defined in an old work. Venkatam (i.e. the Tirupati Hills) in the north, Kurnail in the south, and the sea on the east and west. ‘Kumari’ is said to refer, not to Cape Comorin, but to a river of that name, now lost in the Indian Ocean.

The beginnings of every language and literature must necessarily be wrapped in obscurity, and Tamil is certainly no exception to the rule; but the Tamils have been busy with myth-making, and all sorts of stories are told in connection with Agastya, the supposed father of the language and its first grammarian. We summarise below the most important of these traditional accounts.

In bygone times, when God Siva celebrated on Mount Kailasa his marriage with Uma, people migrated from the south to witness the celebrations. This circumstance threatened to tilt the earth’s balance. The assembled elders therefore prayed to the divine bridegroom to send to the southern comer of India a saintly personality who could attract men and thereby restore normal conditions. Siva chose Agastya for this task; for Agastya, though a pigmy in stature, was a great sage. In a fit of temper he had once drunk up the oceans—so great were his powers! Agastya’s wife was the renowned Lopamudra, the beacon light of chastity. Certainly, Agastya and Lopamudra were almost, if not altogether, on a par with Siva and Uma.

Learning of his new mission, Agastya begged Siva to guide him into the mysteries of the Tamil language and literature, as he felt that a knowledge of the country in which he was going to reside was an essential condition for the. success in his mission. Siva thereupon summoned the two rishis, Agastya and Panini, and started beating a drum with his two hands. The sounds that came from the left were the basis for the Tamil language and the sounds that came from the right were likewise the basis of the Sanskrit language. The rishis took the cue, and Agastya in due course reached

Note 5

Note 6

the Podhikai Hills from which flows the river Tambravarni (in the Tinneveliey District). There, in the cool mountain fastness, Agastya produced a giant Tamil grammar called Agastyam, the supposed fountain-head of Tamil language and literature.

It is difficult to say whether or not this mythical tale had any kind of historical basis. It may, however, explain—or is perhaps the result of—the Agastya cult which is wide-spread and popular in the south.

Agastyam (or Akattiyam as it is commonly called) is supposed to have consisted of 12,000 sutras or aphorisms. Excepting for a few incorporated in later works, Agastya’s aphorisms are all lost. One of the extant aphorisms enunciates the close tie that should exist between language and literature, or rather between form and substance:

There is no language without literature,

Even as there can be no oil without seed;

But as oil is extracted from seed,

So is language (grammar) evolved out of literature.

III. The Sarigams

Putting aside this mythical work, the history of Tamil literature has necessarily to begin with an account of the so-called ‘Sarigams.’ Tradition tells us that there were three of these Sangams in antiquity. Saiigams were societies of learned men and functioned presumably in the manner in which the great French Academy has been functioning in recent times. It appears that the word ‘sangam’ was used by the Buddhists -and the Jains as a euphonious substitute for the earlier Tamil word ‘kudal\ All three Sangams are said to have flourished in the Pandyan kingdom, and to have been patronized by its kings.

The ‘Sangam Age’ in Tamil literature was, according to the popular view, a period of great literary glory, never to be surpassed in the history of any literature whatsoever. It saw the production of a colossal volume of Tamil poetry in its pristine purity. Works were produced in every department of knowledge,—though, alas, most of them are now lost to the world. The age was, besides, a period of national awakening, when the arts and the sciences flourished alike, when the people obtained all social amenities, and when far-flung trade and commerce secured to the Tamils prosperity and power.

The traditional story is thus succinctly set forth in NakkTrar's commentary on Iraiyanar's Ahapporul :—

The first Sangam had its seat in old Madura—the Madura that is now submerged in the Indian Ocean. It included celebrities like Agastya (its President), Tiripuramerittha Virisadaikkadavul (Siva), Kunramerinda Murugavel (Muruga or Subramania), and Muranjiyur Mudinagarayar (Adisesha). The membership of the academy or college totalled 549. No less than 4,499 authors submitted their wrintings to the Sangam and obtained its approval for them. Eightynine Pandyan kings, seven of them poets, patronized the first Sangam, which lasted 4,400 years. The standard works of the first Sangam Were Akattiyam (Agastyam), Paripaddl, Mudunarai, Mudukuruku and Kalariavirai.

The second Sangam had its seat in another submerged town called Kapatapuram (or Alaivai) and included Agastya, Irundayur Kurungolimosi, Vellurkappiyan and others, forty-nine members in all. This Sangam set its imprimatur on the works of 3,700 poets, received the support of fifty-nine Pandyan kings, and flourished in unbroken continuity for 3,700 years. The classics of this period were Akattiyam, Tolkdppiyam, Mdpurdnam, Isai-Nunukkam, Bhuta-purfinam, Kali, Kuruku , Vendali and Vydlamalai. This Sangam housed in its library 8,149 works, but all were swept away by the sea. Since Agastya (Akattiyar) is common to both the Sangams, it is obvious that the second was but a continuation of the first, though held in a different place owing to the loss of old Madura. The works of the second Sangam are also now lost, except Tolkdppiyam, 1 the great Tamil grammar attributed to Tolkappiyar, one of Agastya's twelve direct disciples.

The third Sangam had its seat in Northern Madura or the Madura known to us. Its membership totalled forty-nine, but 449 poets submitted their works to it for approval. Forty-nine Pandyan kings patronized it, and it continued for 1,850 years. The major lights of this Sangam were Nakklrar, its

President, Iraiyanar, Kapilar, Paranar, SIttalai Sattanar and the Pandyan king Ugra The classics of this period were Nedunthokai , Kurunthokai, Natrinai, Ainkurunnuru, Paditrupattu, Nutrairhbathu, Pari-Padal(70) Koothu, Vari, Perisai and Sitrisai. While many of these are now totally lost, some have fortunately survived to give modern readers an idea of the richness and variety of Sangam literature. A complete list of the forty-nine members of the third Sangam is given in the "Garland of Tiruvalluvar," included at the end of his immortal work, Kural.

Note 7

On the face of it, the traditional account of the first two 6angams seems to have little historical value. The promiscuous mention of gods and human beings as members of the first Sangam, the inclusion of Agastya in both of them, the inordinate stretches of time involved, and the loss of almost everything produced,—all these point to the conclusion that the story of the first two &angams at any rate is a pure fabrication. On the other hand, it could be argued that there might be some truth after all behind this mythological scaffolding. The names of gods were perhaps meant to refer to certain deified celebrities of the time or were mere interpolations. It is highly probable that the Sangams were more or less continuous, although they are now described as three, because of the changes in the capital from Old Madura to Kapatapuram and again from the latter to Northern Madura.

Since the traditional dates are of no use to us, scholars have tried to determine the actual period of the three Sangams, though there is hardly any unanimity among them. From the available evidence, however, it seems to be reasonable to assume that the three Academies—the Sangam epoch, in short—comprised a period of about one thousand years, instead of the traditional ten thousand; and we shall not be far wrong if we fix 500 B.C. and A.D.,500 as the extreme limits of the Sangam Age. 1

We saw that none of the works of the first Sangam has come down to us. From the second, apart from stray verses cited by later writers, only, one work, viz . Tolkdppiyam, has survived. As Tolkdppiyam is a grammatical treatise, it must obviously have been preceded by centuries of literary activity. It may be supposed that Tolkappiyar, being a close disciple of

Agastya, was faithful to his master in the grammatical work he has bequeathed to posterity. This great work, Tolkdppiyam, is in the form of sutras, and is divided into three parts of nine sections each. These three parts deal respectively with Elutliu (orthography), Sal (etymology), and Porul (matter). The book is truly encyclopaedic in range and masterly in treatment. Rhetoric and prosody, the expression of subjective experiences like love and objective experiences like war, the lan

Note 8

guage of flowers, contemporary manners and customs,—all these are discussed in detail in the book. It is thus as much a treatise on language as a manual on dharmdrthakdmamoksha or aram-porul inbam-vidu. This masterly work has been annotated by many writers, the most famous of them being Nacchinarkiniyar. Some of the other disciples of Agastya also wrote treatises of their own, of which references to Avinciyctm, N dththatham and Kdkkaipddinayam (bearing the names of the respective authors) are found in the works of later writers.

IV. The Third Sahgam

Some of the principal works of the third Sahgam have come down to us in the shape of anthologies. Of these three are especially known to fame: Patthuppdttu (The Ten Idylls), Ettuthokai (The Eight Collections), and Padinenldlkanakku (The Eighteen Minor Didactic Poems). We shall briefly refer to them.

1. The Ten Idylls

Two of these are by Nakklrar, two by Rudran Kannanar, and the remaining six are by Maruthanar, Kanniar, Naththathanai, Napputhanar, Kapilar and Kousikanar respectively. The idylls, excepting the fifth, are dedicated to various kings like KarikalaChola, Nedun-Jeliyan the Pandyan, and Ilandiraiyan. The idylls are all meritorious descriptive poems, snapping nature in her most characteristic moods.

Of the two idylls by Nakklrar, Tirumurukattruppadai is in praise of the god Muruga and of the various shrines in which he is worshipped, while

Nedunalvudai is a singular study in contrast, describing side by side—in the modern Hollywood “look-upon-this picture-and-on-that” fashion—king Nedun-Jeliyan in his camp on the battle-field and his lonely queen pining in her bed chamber. The latter poem is the more consistently beautiful of the two idylls; as Mr. Purnalingam Pillai remarks, ‘‘the taste and tact with which every line is made to subserve to the one single artistic effect of presenting the king and his queen spending the dreary winter night alone and apart and away from each other, cannot but arrest the reader’s attention.” 1 In addition to these two poems, Nakklrar wrote many other minor works as well. The influence his personality exerted on his contemporaries and successors was greater

Note 9

than his actual literary achievement; and he thus holds a position analogous to that held by Dr. Johnson in English literature.

Rudran Kannanar’s Perumpdndttrupadai is a poem of five hundred verses and contains, among other interesting descriptions, a memorable account of Kanchipuram. His Pattinappdlai is a moving song of love, and it is said to have obtained for its author a reward of a large sum of money from Karikala. Torn between love and the call of battle-drums, the hero at last succumbs to the former and decides to remain with his beloved. Incidentally, we have in this poem a graphic and rather detailed description of Puhar, once the great capital of the Chola kingdom.

Of the remaining six poems, Maruthanar’s Maduraikkdnchi glorifies the Pandyan kingdom at the time of Nedun-Jeliyan and mirrors the civilization of the ancient Tamils; Kanniar’s Porunardtruppadai gives a convincing picture of the average impoverished man of letters moving about in tattered rags; and Naththathanar’s Sirupdnatruppadai is full of references to contemporary social customs. In the last poem, under the guise of describing the virtues of Nallia-Kodan, Naththathanar pictures in fact his vision of the ideal king.

Napputhanar’s Mullaippdttu describes in the course of its one hundred felicitous verses the ardent longing of the queen for her absent husband. She is anxious, she is impatient, she consults the omens, she is a prey to gloomy forebodings, but the long night of separation comes to an end at last, she hears the lusty sound of the trumpets—her lord will soon be with her! Kapilar’s Kurinchipp&ttu is the story of a mountain-chief and a charming girl falling in love at first sight, triumphing over all obstacles and being united in happy wedlock. The last of the ten idylls, Kousikanar’s Malaipadukadam, is a long poem of nearly six hundred verses. Amidst much admirable description of nature the poem also gives a critical account of the art of dancing.

These ten idylls constitute a literary heritage of no mean order. The poets have an eye for nature’s shifting movements, they are attracted by its opulence of colour and sound, and they read the human heart like an open book. Two of the poems are dedicated to Karikala-Chola and two to Nedun-Jeliyan. We can therefore conclude with reason that these poems were composed in the second century of the Christian era.

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY 2. The Eight Collections

The first of the Eight Collections (Ettuthokai) is called Natrinai and brings together 400 short lyrics in the ahaval metre. The second, Kurunthokai, likewise consists of about 400 stanzas on love, written by about two hundred different poets. The thiid, Ainkuru nwru, is a collection of 500 love poems composed by five different poets. Tolkappiyar has discussed in the third part of his grammar the five-fold aspects of love, viz., union, separation, waiting, lamenting and sulking; he has paired them off with the corresponding facets of nature, viz. mountain (kurinchi), desert (pdlai), jungle (mullai) f beach (neithal) and fields (marutham) . The 500 verses of Ainkurunuru are similarly divided into five centuries of verses, each by a different poet, and each devoted to one of the five aspects of love enumerated above.

The fourth collection in the Ettuthokai is called Paditruppattu or the ‘Ten Tens’. 1 It originally consisted of ten poems containing ten stanzas each, but the first and the last are not now available. The remaining eight poems commemorate the military prowess or other virtues of various Chera kings. The kings referred to seem to have lived during the second and third centuries of the Christian era. We can therefore assign these poems—and their authors, Paranar, Kapilar, Palai Kauthamnar, Kakkai Padiniar, and the rest —to the same period. These poems are of considerable historical value, and they are also of great interest to the social historian, who will find references in them to many curious customs such as women braiding their hair into five parts, soldiers wearing garlands of ginger and flowers, the burial of the dead in urns at the foot of tress, etc. As Mr. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar'points out, Paditruppattu is "a museum of obsolete words and expressions, archaic grammatical forms and terminations, and obscure customs and manners of the early western Tamil people who were the ancestors of the Malayalis." 2 The fifth of the group is a song in praise of Cheran Senguttuvan, the greatest of the Chera kings. The sixth of the group was written by the woman poetess Kakkai Padiniar. It is worthy of note that Paditruppattu has few Sanskrit words—hardly a dozen words of Sanskrit origin in about 1.800 lines. 3

The fifth collection, Paripadal , seems to have originally consisted of 70 poems, but only twenty-four have survived the ravages of

Note 10

Note 11

Note 12

time. Some of the pieces are hymns in praise of some deity or other, but the descriptive ones are no less striking. Here, for instance, is a description of the peacock's dance:

"On either side

Raising up his wings

Which seem like uplifted fans

Which people wave

To dry the painted sandal,

With the spotted tail .

Dances on the slope To the rhythmic rumble Of the rolling clouds.'* 1

The sixth collection, Kalithokai , comprises 150 love songs in kali metre, the songs, as in Axnkurunuru, being grouped under the classical Tolkappiyam categories of kurinchi, pdlai , mullai , neithal and marutham. This collection is supposed to be the work of Kapilar and four other poets.

The seventh collection, Ahandnvru, also known as Nedunthokai, is a choice anthology of four hundred love lyrics, the work mainly of Paranar and Mamulanar. These lyrics also are divisible under the classical categories, though the number dealing with pdlai or separation are far more numerous than those dealing with the other four.

The last collection, Purananuru, brings together 400 * pieces gleaned from many sources spread over a considerable period. No wonder some of the poems are attributed to the poets of the first Sahgam! Of the one hundred and fifty poets who are represented in this collection, the most important are Kapilar, Avvai, KovurKilar, Perunthalai Sattanar, Perum-Sittiranar and Uraiyur Enicheri Mudamosiyar. This collection is a mine of useful information regarding the life of the Tamils of about two thousand years ago. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the pieces as poetry, they also constitute an inexhaustible source-book of early Tamil social history.

3. The Eighteen Minor Didactic Poems

One of these ‘minor’ didactic poems is the world-famous classic, Tiruvalluvar’s Kural , 2 which is indeed one of the cornerstones of

Note 13

Note 14

Note 15

Tamil literature. It is, besides, a touchstone of taste and an invaluable guide to the art of good living. Tradition tells us that Tiruvalluvar was an avatdra of God Brahma. Very many interesting stories are told about Tiruvalluvar and his poetic sister, Avvai. It appears he had much difficulty in getting his Rural approved by the third Sangam, but in the end it was acclaimed as a masterpiece and posterity has more than reaffirmed that verdict. The poem is made up of 113 sections of ten couplets each, and the whole territory of knowledge is amazingly comprehended by these poetic aphorisms. Virtue, wealth, love, morals, prosperity, happiness,—these are Tiruvalluvar's themes, sung in verses that have the beauty, brevity and finality of a Japanese haikku in which whole worlds of significant suggestion or pointed advice find their glittering place. Ethics, statecraft, kingcraft, citizenship, married love, the art of life in all its ramifications,—all these problems yield their secrets to Tiruval luvar. His work is not therefore inaptly called 'Veda in miniature', "a mustard seed into which is comprehended the riches of the seven seas." It is impossible to bring out in translation the brevity, brilliance and beauty of the original verses, but some of the ideas may be rendered as follows:—

"When a man is blessed with a good wife, he wants nothing in this world; when he is not so blessed, he lacks everything."

"Wounds inflicted by fire may be cured; those caused by a biting tongue can never be cured."

"To forgive trespasses is good, to forget is even better."

"Only those who haven't heard the prattle of their children find music in the vind and the flute." !

The Rural is one of the few Tamil works that form a constituent of the popular culture of the Tamils. It is also the only Tamil classic that has been translated into many modern Indian and European languages.

While the Rural is the eleventh of the Eighteen Minor Poems, Naladiydr is the first, being an anthology of 400 venbds or quatrains composed by various Jain writers. Unlike the Rural , the Naladiydr is an unequal work. But it includes a good deal that is first-rate, justifying the common saying in the Tamil country: "Just as the banyan and the neem tree are good for one's teeth, Naladiydr and Rural are good for one's speech."

The second item in the collection, Niaganar's Nanmanikkadaikai , contains a century of quatrains full of felicitous parallelisms like the following:—

The diamond comes out of the quarry;

Happiness comes out of the beloved’s speech;

Virtuous action comes out of a generous heart;

And all come out of wealth.

The next four items are called jointly Nd-ntirpathu or the “Four Forties.'’ Of these, Kar-narpathu deals with mullai and depicts the feelings of a lady who is separated from her beloved. It is inset with striking descriptions, and is a moving love poem. Kalavali-ndrpathu is a vivid description of a battle between a Chera king and a Chola king. The author of this war hymn is identified by, some with Poikai-Alvar, one of the great Vaishnava singers. The remaining two “forties,” Iniavai-ndrpathu , and Inna-ndrpathu, are complementary, and consist of positive and negative exhortations respectively. One of the latter may be rendered thus:

The desire of the destitute to act generously is vain;

For the poor, to dwell in a city of palaces is vain.

To feast upon the sight of a kitchen is vain;

To hug the friends who desert you in need is vain.

The next group of four anthologies is called Ainthinai. They are all love poems based on the Tolkdppiyam parallelism between love’s vicissitudes and nature’s changing facets. The poems contain between fifty and one hundred and fifty stanzas.

Tirikadukam and Sirupanchamulam, 1 the twelfth and the fifteenth in the series, are similar in conception, and each consists of a century of pointed verses. Tirikadukam is a sequence of verses, each of which is built upon three correlated thoughts, as for example:

The three sure ways of impoverishment are—

Arrogant exhibition of your riches,

Excitement for no purpose,

And an inordinate need to possess the whole world.

Likewise, each verse of Sirupanchamulam is built upon five corrected thoughts:

A chaste wife is ambrosia to her husband;

A genius to his people;

Note 16

An industrious subject to his king;

A pillar of strength to his country;

And a loyal servant to his master.

The remaining items of the Eighteen Minor Didactic Poems are Acharakdvai , Palamoli , Mudvmolik-kdnchi , lnnilai and Elddi. All these arc bunches of exhortations on problems of conduct, and thus supply choice quotations for every occasion. A specimen from Acharakdvai is: “These four—one’s body, wife, trust money, and means of maintenance—must be treasured like gold, lest irremediable evil should follow.”

V. THE EPICS

The three collections of the third Sangam are not the sole surviving monuments of the literary activities of the Tamils of that bygone age. Indeed, the second century of the Christian era seems to have been a Golden Age (or ‘Augustan’ Age) in-Tamil letters. The poets of the time were drawn from different parts of the Tamil country and belonged to diverse faiths and castes; they represented, besides, the various professions. Thus, in the Tamilakam of seventeen hundred years ago. men and women of different faiths—Jains, Buddhists, Saivites, Vaishnavites—seem to have lived together in understanding and harmony. One of the greatest writers of the third Sangam, Slttalai Sattanar, was a corn merchant and a Buddhist; many of the minor didactic poems already described were composed by Jains; and the Hindu poets praised Siva or Vishnu without flying at each other’s throats. Two at least of the “Five Major Epics” were composed during the Golden Age, and the others, and perhaps the Five Minor Epics as well, were composed not much later; and most of these epics were the work of Buddhists or Jains. Some of these epics cannot now be traced and are perhaps lost for ever; but even the extant works give us a fair idea of the glory of that great age in Tamil literature.

The five major epics are Silappadikaravi, Manimekhalai , Jivakachintdmani , Vaiayapati and Kundalakesi. Of these, only the first three are now available. 1 The five minor epics are Yctsddhara Kavyam , Chulamani , Udayana Kavyam , Ndgakumdra Kdvyam and Nilakesi.. Of these, again, the fourth is lost, but the others have

1. The standard editions of Silappadikaravi, Maniviekhalai and Jivaka-Chintctviani are the fruits ol the late Mahamahopadhyaya Swaminatha Aiyar's monumental industry and scholarship. More recently, V. R. R Dikshitar has published an English translation of Silappadikaravi (Oxford University Press

been either published or something at least is known about them. Yasddhara Kdvyam , based on a Sanskrit work, consists of 320 stanzas; Ch.ulama.ni by Tholamolithevar is a longer and a better poem; Nila kesi is a philosophical poem, written perhaps as a reply to Kundala kesi, a Buddhist work.

1. Silappadikdram

Ilango-Adigai, the younger brother of the celebrated Chcran Senguttuvan, became a monk in order to allay the fears of Senguttuvan, the reigning king. Kanakasabhai and Purnalingam Pillai think that Ilango became a Jain monk, Swaminatha Aiyar thinks he remained a Saiva, while Ramachandra Dikshitar describes Ilango as a follower of Hinduism "in its broader sense." 1 In the course of his wanderings, Ilango met the Buddhist poet, Slttalai Sattanar, who read out to him his poem Manimekhalai. Thereupon, Ilango wrote Silappadikdram , taking Sattanar's story a generation backwards. Whether there is any truth in this tradition or not, it is evident that Ilango and Sattanar were contemporaries. A princely ascetic and a merchant-humanist—a Hindu monk and a Buddhist householder— but poets both, poets who bore the burden of poesy with ease, tolerance, broad humanity and with mellowed wisdom! Silappadikdram and Manimekhalai are the Iliad and the Odyssey of Tamil poetry and it is impossible to exaggerate their importance.

Silappadikdram tells movingly the star-crossed story of Kovalan and Kannaki. The story is highly dramatic and moves human hearts profoundly even to this day. Kovalan forgets his sweet and chaste wife, Kannaki, being infatuated by the courtezan, Madhavi; after exhausting his fortune and that of his wife, the penitent husband and the forgiving wife leave Puhar for Madura. A tragic error leads to Kovalan's execution on the orders of the Pandyan king. Under the stress of this final overwhelming sorrow, Kannaki the angelic and uncomplaining wife excels herself and towers above king and queen and petty humanity. The sight of Kovalan's dead body makes her cry out in her anguish;

"Are there women here, are there women? Are there women who can endure such injustice done to their wedded husbands? Are there such women?

"Are there good people? Are there good people here? Are there good people who nurture and fend for children born of them? Are there good people here?

Note 17

"Is there a god? Is there a god? Is there a god in this Kudal, whose king's sharp sword killed an innocent man? Is there a god?" 1

In Medusa-like splendour, Kannaki freezes the royal couple to death and pronounces the doom of Madura. In a deathless scene in this immortal story, she twists and plucks out her left breast with her hand, and in her extremity of pain hurls it across the street The city of Madura is accurst, and is soon a heap of charred remains. The lovers, however, are at last reunited in heaven, and Kannaki is henceforth worshipped as the goddess of chastity in the land of the Tamils. Silappadikdram, besides telling us a moving and poignant story, amazes us by its perfect sense of form, its harmonized blending of iyal (poetry), isai (music), and ndtakam (drama), its gorgeous and picturesque descriptions, epic dignity and sublimity.

2. The Other Epics

Manimekhalai , although chronologically considered to be the earlier work, is in effect a sequel to Silappadikdram , Its heroine Manimekhalai is K5valan’s daughter by Madhavi, but spiritually she is rather Kannaki’s daughter! She sees through the limitations of human love and consecrates herself to the service of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. The poem no doubt lacks the intensity and tumult of Silappadikdram, but it is not lacking in incident or humanity. The vicissitudes of Manimekhalai’s terrestrial fortunes signify rather the evolution of the human soul into a state of perfection. It is true Silappadikdram and Manimekhalai read here and there like sectarian special pleadings; but we are never made to forget that humanity is the main thing, and that poetry is one with humanity.

Tiruthakkathevar’s Jivaka-chintdmani is the work of a Jain author, perhaps a young Chola convert to the Jain faith, a poet who was young as well as wisely austere. A minister usurps his master’s throne; the king dies; his child Jivaka, undergoes many tribulations, but at last regains his father’s throne after killing the usurper. In his forty-fifth year, king Jivaka renounces the world, lives the life of a Jain ascetic, and gains bliss at last. The story of a soul’s pilgrimage from birth to liberation is told in over three thousand stanzas of chaste and flowing verse. It is rightly considered one of the major Tamil epics. Another Jain work, Konguvelir’s Perunkathai , detailing the story of Udayanan, bears marked resemblances to Jivaka-chintdmani.

Note 18

CHAPTER XVII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. For the origin of the Dravidian language, its relation to other speech families and its early history cf. Vol. I, Ch. VIII.
2. 2. Kanarese Literature (1921), p. 11.
3. 1. The Legacy of India (ed. by Garratt) (1037) p. 214.
4. A.I.U_19
5. 1. Vol. I, Ch. VIII.
6. 2. The word is usually pronounced Tamilakam.
7. 1. Most of the extant works of the third 6ahgam, as also Tolkdppiyam, have been published by the South India Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Society, Tinnevelly.
8. 1. The question is discussed in detail by V. R. R. Dikshitar (Studies in Tamil Literature and History) and S. K. Aiyangar (Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture, Vol. II, Part II).
9. 1. Tamil Literature (1929) p. 40.
10. 1. 'Hie standard edition is that of Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar.
11. 2. Tamil Studies (First Series), p. 264.
12. 3. Ibid., p. 280.
13. 1. Translation by P. N. Appuswami Aiyar (Free India, Dec. 1941).
14. 2. Various English renderings of the Kural are available, of which the most important are those by G. U. Pope, V. V. S. Iyer, H P. Popley & K. T. Paul, and C. R'ajagopalachari.
15. •JP7
16. 1. Rao Saheb Vaiyapuri Pillai has recently published an authoritative edition of these two poems (Madras University, 1945).
17. 1. Introduction to the Silappadikdram, p. 69.
18. 1. The Silappadikdram, pp. 244-5.

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE

SYSTEM

I. STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The period under review is very rich in data concerning the political theory, administrative organisation, law and legal institutions. For political theory we have the Rajadharma section of Santiparva in the Mafidbhdrata , Kautilya's Arthasastra, and the Smritis, such as those of Manu, YajnaValkya, Narada and Brihaspati. For the administrative organisation our chief sources are the Greek accounts, Kautilya's Arthasastra and the Smritis. The Smritis also deal in detail with law and legal institutions. Some light is thrown on all these topics by the inscriptions and literature of the period including Buddhist and Jain canonical literature.

A number of treatises dealing with the science of polity were written during this period. The most important of them is Kautilya's Arthasdstra. This was long regarded as the standard text on the subject and we have many references to, and quotations from, it in works of ancient authors. But the text of this important work was discovered only at the beginning of the present century. It ascribes itself to the famous Brahmana Kautilya, also named Vishnugupta and Chanakya, who, according to tradition, overthrew the last Nanda king and placed Maurya Chandragupta on the throne. At the end of each of the 150 chapters of the work the author subscribes himself as Kautilya and refers, in a concluding verse, to the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty as one of his exploits.

R. Shamasastry, who published the text (and also an English translation), regarded it as the genuine long-lost work on polity composed by Chanakya, the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. This view was at first endorsed by many scholars who held that "though the existing text is perhaps not absolutely word for word that which was written by Kautilya, still we have essentially a work that he did compose." 1 But, gradually, doubts arose about both its authorship and date of composition. Many scholars now refuse to accept the view that the work was really composed by Kautilya or any statesman of the type, and they regard it as of a much later date.

Note 1

Some bring it down to the third century A.D., though others would prefer a date three or four centuries earlier. The whole question has been discussed in detail in Chapter XVI. 1

But, whatever be the date, it would be convenient to designate the work as Kautiliya Arthasastra or Arthasastra composed by Kautilya, without implying in any way his identity with the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya. References in this work prove beyond doubt that there were many works on the science of polity at the time Kautilya w T rote and these were fully utilised by him. The very opening sentence of the book states that “this Arthasastra is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthasastras which, in view of acquisition and maintenance of the earth, have been composed by ancient teachers.” The book itself contains quotations from works of five different schools and no less than thirteen individual authors. The existence of many treatises on the subject is also confirmed by the story, contained in the Mahabharata, of the origin of the science of policy—how it was originally written by Brahma in one hundred thousand chapters and underwent successive abridgments by different authors. The importance of political science is also indicated by Kautilya in his enumeration of the different sciences. Different schools of thought quoted by him regarded the number of sciences as four, three, two or one, but each included Dandanlti or the Science of Government in his list. The school of Usanas declared that Dandanlti was the only science, for “it is in that science that all other sciences have their origin and end.” 2

Everything thus indicates that political science was assiduously studied during this period and it had attained a high rank among the subjects of study. No wonder, then, that the political thought of the period is rich in content, richer probably than that of any other period of Indian history. It centres round various topics such as the spiritual and mundane objectives of society, social stratification, political purposes, inter-state, federal and feudal relationships, organisation of the legislative, judicial and executive authorities, the kingship, ministers, administrative hierarchy, local and functional institutions, law and military science.

II. POLITICAL THEORY 1. The King and State—their Origin and Nature

The origin of State or kingship forms the subject of an important inquiry by the writers of this age. 3 In the Mahabharata , Yudhish

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

lima asks iihishma: ‘Whence arose the powers of a king? Possessed oi physical and mental qualities similar in every respect to the other men, how does he govern the rest of the world?’ The two replies, put m the mouth oi Bhishma in two chapters, really elaborate the theory oi the divine origin of kingship and the theory of social contract with which we are familiar. As already noted, 1 2 the theory of divine origin can be traced in the Brahmana period. It is stated in its most developed form in the following verses in ManuSa inhitu , 1 :—

“The Lord created a king for the protection of this whole creation, taking (for that purpose) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera).

“Even an infant king must not be despised, (from an idea) that he is a (mere) mortal; for he is a great deity in human form.”

But although this extreme theory of divine origin was destined to prevail in the long run, the theory of social contract also exercised great influence during this period. Its genesis may be traced to the Sutra period for, according to Baudhayana, 3 ‘the king was to protect his subjects, receiving as his pay a sixth part (of their grains).’ It is stated more fully in the Makabhdrata , and was also known to Kautilya. He briefly expresses it as follows: “People suffering from anarchy first elected Manu to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by his payment, kings took upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects.” 4 The theory is also repeated in the Buddhist canonical texts, according to which the people elected, not Manu, but ‘the. most handsome, gracious and powerful individual from among them on condition of giving him a portion of their rice 5 . The general rule, found in the Sutras, Smritis and Arthasastra , that if the king cannot recover stolen property, he must compensate the owner, may be regarded as a logical corollary to this theory. Its influence may also be seen in the exclamation of the Buddhist monk Aryadeva towards a haughty king: “What is thy pride worth, O King, who art a (mere) servant of the gana (multitude, i.e. body politic) and receiveth the sixth part as wages?”

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

According to both the theories, State and kingship evolved out of necessity caused by the evils of anarchy and of wickedness inherent in human character. Hence special stress is laid on the importance of dan da, a term which is difficult to translate, but more or less refers to the power of punishment or chastisement vested in the ruler. The danda, according to Manu, 1 ‘alone governs all created beings, protects them, watches over them while they sleep, and the wise declare it (to be identical with) the law.’ According to Kautilya, ‘on daiida depends the progress of the arts and sciences and the well-being of mankind’. Hence the science of government is called by him danda-nlti ~ All political writers agree that the king must exercise this danda judiciously. “If the king,” says Manu, 3 “did not, without tiring, inflict punishment (danda) on those worthy to be punished, the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit.” Kautilya also echoes this sentiment.

But while the necessity of a strong king is stressed by all, none is prepared to vest in him the absolute authority of doing whatever he jikes. The theory of divine origin did not carry with it the divine right which the Stuart kings, for example, claimed to exercise over their subjects at their pleasure, being accountable to none but God. Thus Manu 4 declares that while a just king prospers, one who is voluptuous, partial and deceitful will be destroyed. The very danda , which is the symbol of royal authority, "strikes down the king who swerves from his duty, together with his relatives." It is fully recognised that daiida is hard to be administered by men with unimproved minds and both Manu and Kautilya, as well as other political writers, give elaborate directions for the proper education and training of the king. Kautilya even goes so far as to say that if the only son of a king proves to be of perverted mind and devoid of intelligence, he would even "try to beget a son on his wife by the system of levirate, but never shall a wicked and only son be installed on the royal throne," 3 This has been a cherished theory of political writers and has been summed up by Kamandaka when he says: "The king, who is virtuous, is a part of the gods. He who is otherwise is a part of the demons." Consequently the right of the people to rebel against a wicked or tyrannical king is not only recognised but held up as a dire consequence to a vicious king. Though we do not hear so much

1. vn. 18.

2. KAT. 9.

3. VII. 20.

4. VII. 26-28.

5. KAT. 39-40.

of direct constitutional checks against the arbitrary exercise of power by the king, the political writers repeatedly enjoin upon the king the duty of following the Dharma or eternal principles of law laid down by the sages, and warn him against doing things which are likely to incur the wrath or displeasure of his subjects. They also quote with approval many instances of kings falling a victim to public uprising on account of their tyranny and unjust rule.

The king was not the State but merely a part of it. The State was conceived as an organic whole, its different constituent parts being called anga or limbs, evidently on the analogy of a human body. These are generally described as ‘the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend’. In other words a fixed territory, organised administration, economic selfsufficiency, adequate means of defence, and recognition by other states were regarded as essential requisites of a state. The desirable qualities of each of the elements are also described in detail. Manu 1 felt that injury to any of the preceding elements was to be regarded as more serious than to the following one. But in the next two verses he recognises that none of the organs is really superior to the others. “Each limb is particularly qualified for the fulfilment of a distinct purpose and hence each is declared to be the most important in reference to that purpose which is fulfilled by its means.’ ,

2. Scope of State Activity

But although the conception of a State is surprisingly modern, the scope of the State’s activity is widely different. In order to understand this we must have some idea of the Hindu view of life.

As is well known, the Hindus had a profoundly spiritual outlook on life. Their civilisation is distinguished from that of Greece, Rome and modern Europe, pre-eminently by its inwardness, its constant stress on the inner consciousness, the imperative need of integrating it with the totality of the universe and with the spiritual principle embodied in it. Dharma is the principle that sustains all existence, embodies the whole truth, and covers all the forms, institutions and practices of social life. It upheld an ideal that elevated the soul to the loftiest heights. Dharma in the practical sense stands for belief, ritual and conduct. It was felt that Dharma stood above all the rulers of the world and was binding upon them. Dharma was conducive to the highest good. Dharma is easily equated

Note 12

with the totality of social relationships. At the same time, it was perceived that identification with society was an aspect of, or a step in, the identification with the universe. Society was not only inevitable, but also desirable; for it assisted the development of the psyche and ought to be an instrument of elevating the human soul. Accordingly, the social aspect is comprehended in the spiritual, and Hindu social theory approaches all problems from a profoundly spiritual standpoint.

Inter alia , the spiritual approach served to impart breadth and integration to all social speculation. It furnished a criterion for the tenor of individual life and social institutions as well as the political apparatus. It implied that every detail might be subjected to one supreme test was it or was it not conducive to the lasting welfare of the soul? All Hindu thought assumed that man must try to achieve salvation or heavenly bliss and that social institutions existed to further the end. Political institutions existed to sustain the social order and hence to subserve the spiritual aim.

It is clear from the foregoing propositions that there was never an a priori limit set to the activity of the State. The State was integrated into the vast institutional apparatus for the realisation of the spiritual life, and could not, therefore, be restricted to merely police functions, or the administration of justice. Hindu government could not be merely negative. It had to adopt a positive attitude towards all the main concerns of life—religion, ethics, family, economics, culture, etc. We find accordingly that the Hindu State touched the whole of life.

This is the reason why the duty of the State is frequently summed up as protection. The State protects the religion, the morality, the customs and the tradition which have been derived from the gods or evolved by society. It is totalitarian in the sense that it embraces the whole of life. But it is not totalitarian in the sense of dominating all other associations and enacting statutes for wholesale regimentation. The State holds the ring for the interplay of social forces, intellectual influences, economic enterprise and, above all, the spiritual tradition. Protection also means that it is one of the prime functions of the State to defend its territory against all possible enemies and to protect the people against internal disorder or injustice. It undertakes accordingly to maintain law and order and to administer justice.

Thirdly, it must protect the people from the effects of natural calamities like floods, earthquakes and locusts. It must protect them against famine, disease, fire, etc. It must protect people against their own folly and ignorance. In short, protection covers not merely hindrance or hindrances to good life, which the German and British idealists have defined as the proper sphere of the State, but it is also stretched to comprise the whole programme of spiritual, cultural and economic welfare.

The best practical illustration of this view is the picture of the State activity in Kautilya's Arthasdstra which includes practically everything. The State should promote true religion, but Kautilya wants it also to regulate the age and conditions under which one might renounce the world. The State should see that husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, uncle and nephew, teacher and pupil, are faithful to one another and do not play each other false. The State itself should provide support to the poor, the pregnant women, their new-born offspring, orphans, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless. Kautilya tells us when it was legitimate to use witchcraft to gain the affections of wives or sweethearts and when, for instance, in case of perversion, it was to be punished with mutilation or death. He prescribes conditions of divorce, separation, second or subsequent marriages and ways of teaching manners to refractory women. Detailed and minute are his provisions for safeguarding the honour of women, the safety of immature girls, relations of lovers, as well as the profession of prostitutes. The State should facilitate, regulate and control public amusements and entertainments, including gambling.

The three-fold motive of regulating life, detecting thieves and spies, and securing some revenue for the State underlies Kautilya's excise policy. In town and country, camp and fort, the State should itself establish liquor shops at suitable distance from one another or license private individuals to do so according to the laws of supply and demand. Kautilya would furnish public houses with beds and seats and enhance their attractions with scents, garlands of flowers, water and other comforts. Stringent regulations on the sale and use of liquor and other fermentations are given, but the code of temperance was to be relaxed for four days on occasions of festivity, fairs and pilgrimages. On the slaughter of animals and the sale of meat, Kautilya is equally minute.

According to the Arthasdstra, all professions and occupations are to be controlled by the State. For instance, physicians should report all cases of grave illness to the government. If death

occurred in an unreported case, the physician should be punished with the first amercement. If in any case death was due to his carelessness, he should receive the middlemost amercement, while positive neglect or indifference was to be treated as assault or violence. Similarly rules with an amazing fullness of detail are given for the conduct of goldsmiths, weavers of various descriptions, washermen and others, while a series of veritable draft statutes of labourers prescribe, inter alia, that artisans must fulfil their engagements as to time, place and form of work, and obey the instructions duly given, on pain of forfeiting their wages or paying damages or both. The State itself appears as the biggest of all business concerns 1 .and was entitled to regulate the whole of the economic life in order to promote prosperity. Kautilya would license wholesale business, fix the prices and allow a profit of 5% on home commo dities and 10% on foreign ones. He would fix rates of interest on loans and mortgages at 15% and 12J%. All imports and exports are to be taxed.

For relief of famine, the State granaries should open their doors, the rich should be compelled to yield up their hoards of grain, heavy taxes should be levied on wealthy people, hunting and fishing should be resorted to on a grand scale; emigration to the seashore, and to the banks of lakes, rivers, etc. should be encouraged; wherever possible, grains, vegetables, roots and fruits should be intensively cultivated. Relief should be sought from friendly States in the neighbourhood; prayers should go forth to the higher powers; the gods Mahakachchha and Indra as well as the gods of the mountains and the holy Ganga should be worshipped during drought.

According to Kautilya the State is to provide, manage and regu% late the Rdjamdrga or the king’s highway, Rdshtra-patha or the State road, and paths for animals, paths for asses and camels, cart-tracks, foot-paths, pasture-paths, shop-paths, defile-paths, cremation-paths, etc. On the main thoroughfares, pillars at intervals of half a kos should be set up to serve as signposts.

3. Forms of Government

It is impossible to describe Hindu government in Greek terms which have been taken over by modern political science from Plato and Aristotle. Ancient India knew of republics, but they differed in texture and form from the city-states of the Greeks and the Romans. The Hindu State, for the most part, was a country State. It could not be democracy because direct democracy implies a primary assembly of all citizens and was a physical impossibility in an extensive State. Here the democratic element is to be found at the bottom, in village communities and in group organizations on the basis of kinship 6r function, all over the country. But democracy at the centre, either in the Greek or in the modern European sense, was, except for^small tribal republics, ruled out by the facts of geography and the difficulties of transport.

Nor could Hindu governments be aristocratic in the sense in which a number of Greek cities in antiquity, Venice during the Middle Ages, and Britain, Prussia and Hungary in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, were aristocratic. Here in India caste forbade a combination of the power of wealth with that of office. There never was an organized church in India comparable to the Roman Catholic or Protestant churches, but there was a sacerdotal caste, some of whose members, though not all, functioned as priests, preceptors, writers and political advisers. They enjoyed high prestige of birth but were mostly poor. They were expected to lead austere lives and depended on gifts of offerings from prince and peasant alike. True, there was supposed to be a ruling and military caste in India known as the Kshatriyas, but it had had to share social control with the Brahmanas, who represented the brain power, and the Vaisyas who represented the economic strength of the community. Secondly, many Kshatriyas had nothing to do with functions of government. Thirdly, many

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~T. For details see Ch. XXIII.

non-Kshatriyas, including Sudras, occupied important positions including the throne in some regions and ages. Accordingly, there was no concentration of the prestige of birth, influence of wealth, and political office which imparts an aristocratic tinge to social organisation and sustains aristocratic government. There was no aristocracy in India in the Greek or European sense of the term.

The normal form of government in India was monarchical, but it was different from that which flourished in Europe during the Roman Empire, for the most part during the Middle Ages, and in the modern period up to the outbreak of the French Revolution. The Hindu State rarely presented that high degree of centralisation which is associated with the Roman Empire and the modern nation-State.

•.»

But it had a centre whose main features demand attention. This was the king, usually hereditary in accordance with the rule of primogeniture, living in high style and a blaze of glory, in enjoyment of an immense revenue from private and public property. Political theory which usually, though not uniformly, approached political questions from the ethical standpoint, expected the king to lead a blameless life, disciplined to ceaseless administrative labour and consecrated to the public good. It laid heavy responsibilities, temporal and spiritual, on him, promised him lasting bliss in heaven or threatened him with all the tortures of hell in accordance with his success or failure in the great moral and political venture. In practice, doubtless, the absence of constitutional, as distinct from conventional, checks left many a crowned head comparatively free to indulge in luxury and vice, caprice and injustice. But it is only fair to remember that all despotic authority was tempered by rebellion or assassinations. So long as he was on the throne, the king presided over the executive and judicial departments of government and was expected to take the lead on the field of battle. The part he played in the promulgation of law will be described later.
1

The machinery for executive administration was well organized. It was the special care of the king, assisted by ministers and a number of high officials. Below the great functionaries stood a host of minor officials, military officers, diplomats and spies, secretaries, clerks, technical employees and so forth.

There was no separation of the executive and judicial functions. But in practice there were a number of men whose primary function was adjudication and who were assisted by a set of minor functionaries. 2 Hindu theory laid the highest emphasis on justice. In theory and practice alike judicature was one of the most important aspects of governance.

Such was the machinery in outline that normally worked at the centre. But it was difficult to ensure its extension to the provinces, districts and towns or villages. It was necessary to devise means for reconciling central with local government and administration. Three lines were struck by political theory. In the first place, a great deal of autonomy was left to feudatories and subfeudatories. In the second place, the king or feudatory organized a rogular system of provincial and district administration. In the third place, a great deal of autonomy was left to villages, more in the Deecan than in the North, and most of all in the South.

Note 13

Note 14

This territorial organization contained elements of federalism, feudalism and local autonomy. But it did not exhaust the whole subject of social regulation. There existed parallel organizations, on the basis of function, in the form of village communities, kinship associations, and guilds of manufacturers, merchants, bankers or others. They enjoyed considerable autonomy in the management of their affairs. Their customs or rules were recognized by the state and upheld by the law-givers. It will be observed that in India the principle of function dovetailed into that of kinship and habitancy and was, therefore, often vested with greater significance than in medieval Europe. In any case, it was the basis of an important part of the machinery of social control.

Thus, organization was both horizontal and vertical, and^comprised a number of local and functional jurisdictions and intermediate associations standing in various, more or less ill-defined, relations with the State. Incidentally, the vocational association often cut across lines of caste and locality. For instance, Sreni or a guild consisted of persons following the same craft though belonging to different castes, while the Naigama formed a guild of traders belonging to various towns.

4. Inter-State Relations 1

The organization of the Hindu State was determined by its geographic and economic environment. The extensive plains favoured the growth of large States, but the difficulties of transport and communication were so formidable that the Central Government could not usually make its power felt at the circumference. So began that interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces around which a good deal of the history of India, as of every other country, seems to revolve. Every State tended to encroach upon its neighbours. It was not long before opinion and philosophy held up to admiration the ideal of the “big kingdom”, “the kingdom extending up to the sea”, “the universal dominion”. On the other hand, such an empire could not last long. The outlying regions were constantly tempted to cut adrift from the main body, to start on an absolutely independent career and, in their turn, to make a bid for supremacy.

Note 15

Normally, a compromise was struck in the interests of peace and harmony. A kingdom or empire came to mean a fusion of two features which, for want of perfectly suitable terms, may be designated federalism and feudalism. There was a king or emperor at the centre claiming suzerainty over a number of princes who offered allegiance to him, subordinated their foreign policies to his diplomatic moves, usually served him in war and offered him tribute, but who retained their autonomy in internal administration. These Princes in their turn might have feudatories who stood towards them more or less in the same relation in which they stood towards their suzerain. So there might be a third, a fourth, and even further layers in the political hierarchy.

All these tendencies are reflected or exaggerated, systematised or unduly simplified, analysed or synthesised in a very logical and abstract manner by the doctrine of Mandala which imparted a very symmetrical form to the relationships resulting from the quest for suzerainty and the consequent need of astute diplomacy and alliances. The Mandala is supposed to consist usually of twelve kings:—

(1) The Vijigishu or the would-be conqueror, i.e. the sovereign in the centre.

Then, next in geographical order, were five kings in front of him, viz.

(2) Ari, the enemy.

(3) Mitra , the friend of the Vijigishu.

(4) Ari-mitra , the friend of the enemy.

(5) Mitra-mitra, the friend’s friend of the Vijigishu.

(6) Ari-mitra-mitra, the friend’s friend of the enemy.

In his rearward stood in geographical order:

(7) Parshnigraha or a rearward enemy.

(8) Akranda, rearward friend.

(9) Pdrshmgrdhdsara , friend of the enemy in the rearward.

(10) Akrcmdasdra, friend of the friend in the rearward.

The circle was completed by:

(11) Madhyama or the intermediary.

(12) Uddsina or the neutral.

Within this circle the Vijigishu was to maintain a sort of balance of power or to assert his own supremacy. It is assumed in the above enumeration that two adjacent states are normally hostile, and consequently two states with another intervening between them would be friendly, being common enemies of the latter. The Uddsina is the strongest power in the neighbourhood, which normally can rely on its own strength and need not enter into any diplomatic relationship with the neighbouring powers for protection. The Madhyama is intermediate in strength between the Uddsina and the other powers.

The game of power-politics naturally lowered the tone of statecraft and imparted to it a Machiavellian tinge. For instance, all the writers enumerate the four instruments of policy, viz. Soma or conciliation, Dana or gift, Danda or chastisement, and Bheda or sowing dissensions. Kautilya recognises deceitfulness and secret punishment among the legitimate means of statecraft. There were, however, a few writers who repudiated the whole doctrine of reason of State. Thus Arya Deva[1] declared that morality, i.e. righteousness, must everywhere be supreme, in public as in private life.

It was a natural consequence of this state of things that there should grow up conventions and rules on relations between suzerains and vassals as well as on those between independent sovereigns. There is accordingly a regular network of doctrines and maxims on what may be called foreign affairs or inter-state relations and client states.

The most comprehensive account of this is given in Kautilya's Arthasdst.ra. It enumerates the fallowing six-fold policy determining the relations of States with one another:—

1. Sandhi (Treaty of peace or alliance);

2. Vigraha (War);

3. Asana (Neutrality);

4. Yana (Making preparation for attack without actually declaring war);

5. Samsraya (Seeking the protection of another);

6. Dvaidhibhdva (Making peace with one and waging war with another).

Kautilya points out in detail the most important conditions that should influence the decision of a ruler in the matter of adopting one or other of the above policies. This discussion shows a penetrating insight into affairs of State. The sole guiding principle in making the choice is the material welfare of the State; “A wise king,” says Kautilya, “shall observe that form of policy which, in

Note 16

his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings arrl commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests, and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy.”

Kautilya is not guided by any spirit of chivalry when it is not conducive to the material interest of a State. Thus when a weak king is attacked by a powerful king, he should seek the protection of a powerful king, combine with a number of his equals or even inferior kings, or shut himself up in an impregnable fort. Failing all these means he should, according to one school of writers, rush against the enemy like a moth against a flame, with a view to secure death or victory. But Kautilya is definitely against this. According to him, the weak king should rather accept the most humiliating terms, biding his opportunity to free himself from this servitude. The details given by Kautilya about these terms indicate the extent of a suzerain king’s authority over his vassal. Without the permission of the former the latter could not undertake, among other things, to construct forts, celebrate marriages of sons or daughters, hold the installation ceremony of his heir-apparent, purchase horses, capture elephants, perform sacrifices, march against foes or even go out on excursions for amusements. 1 He was not free even in his dealings with his officers and subjects. Even on occasions of worshipping the gods and making prayers he should invoke the blessings of God on the suzerain king. He should help the protector as much as he can, and always proclaim his readiness to place himself at the disposal of his suzerain.

Various kinds of treaties between independent kings are discussed by Kautilya. One of them was an alliance with another State with the ultimate object of forming a coalition against an enemy. The others have for their objects acquisition of land or gold, colonization of wasteland, and construction of forts.

Kautilya also enumerates various types of treaties concluded between a powerful and a weaker state when the latter is threatened by the formet*. These are divided into three broad classes according as the essential conditions are the cession of territory, payment of money, or promise of military help by the inferior State. There are various sub-divisions in each class. In the first, for example, there may be (1-2) cession of only a part of the kingdom or the whole of it without the capital, or (3-4) the payment of the product of his lands, or of more than his lands produce. In the second class the amount of indemnity may be large or small and paid in one or more instalments. In the third class, it might be stipulated that the troops to be sent for the assistance of the superior king were to be led in person by the king of the inferior State, his son and commander-in-chief, or by some other person. In the first two cases a person of high rank or a woman was to be given as hostage, evidently to ensure the presence of the king or the prince with his troops, which was naturally regarded by them as the most humiliating. These various kinds of treaties indicate in a general way the relation between States of unequal power.

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The enforcement of a treaty proved a difficult problem. In addition to the promises of the two parties, sometimes an oath was taken for the due fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. “Honest kings of old”, we are told, “made their agreement of peace with this declaration: ‘We have joined in peace.’ In case of any apprehension of breach of promise, they made their agreement by swearing by fire, water, plough, a fort-wall, clod of earth, shoulder of an elephant, horse-back, seat of a chariot, weapon, precious stone, seed of plant, fragrant substance, rasa (mercury, poison, or milk) and gold, and declaring that these (i.e. the thing or things by which the oath is administered) will desert and kill him who violates the oath.” 1

One school of political writers thought that mere hones.ty and oath were not sufficient, but hostages were necessary for the due fulfilment of the treaty. Kautilya differs from this, though he enunciates the principle that “whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace.” In general, moral considerations have no place in Kautilya’s statecraft, its sole guiding principle being the welfare of the State.

It is difficult to say whether there was any definite body of rules regulating the relation between different States, such as we have, for example, in the international law of the present day. Some such usage as the inviolability of ambassadors, or the personal safety guaranteed to cultivators even in times of war, may be regarded as coming under this category. The humane rules of warfare laid down by Manu 2 might also be regarded as generally recognised by States. These forbid the use of weapons, which are concealed, poisoned or barbed, or the points of which are blazed with fire, and also striking down an enemy who is wounded, engaged in fighting with another, has offered submission, turned to flight, broken his weapon or lost his coat of mail. But the elaborate directions of military campaigns laid down in Kautilya’s Arthasdstra 1 do not take into account these humanitarian rules of warfare. He recommends, without scruple, any means, fair or foul, that may bring success against the enemy.

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Kautilya however, agrees generally with Manu in recommending mild and beneficent measures to be adopted towards a conquered

country. The conqueror should “follow the friends and leaders of %

the people”, and “adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, language and customs as those of the people. He should follow the people in their faith with which they celebrate their national, religious and congregational festivals or amusements.” 2 Manu, however, further recommends that relative of the vanquished ruler, approved by the people, should be put on the throne on stipulated conditions.

That there was a more or less regular diplomatic intercourse between different States is proved by Kautilya's long dissertation on the 'mission of envoys.' 3 The envoys are divided into three grades, according to status, and probably also, as their names imply, with reference to the powers vested in them. To the highest category belongs an ambassador vested with full discretionary powers. The second class had limited powers and was probably despatched with a particular object in view. The envoys of the third class merely carried a definite message.

The envoys sent to a foreign State were expected to secure information about its internal condition including its military strength, the state of parties and public opinion. For this he should employ spies and use cypher-writings. The duties of an envoy, enumerated by Kautilya include the transmission of messages, observance of the due fulfilment of treaties, contracting alliance, intrigue and sowing dissension among allied powers, gathering information about the movements of spies, securing release of hostages, etc.

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POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM III. SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION

1. Monarchy

(i) The king

Strictly speaking, Hindu political theory vests sovereignty in the Dharma or law in the widest sense of the term. 1 But administration was entrusted to the king. Accordingly the kingly office is extolled to the skies. The theory of his divine origin and absolute power has been referred to above. Priestly functions pertained to the Brahmanas, not to the king, but all were integrated into a single stream of social and spiritual life. It is often stated that protection of the people on the part of the king was equal to the performance of the greatest sacrifice (Yajha) and was conducive to bliss and prosperity. 2 Similarly, Narada observes that the king attains to his position through austerities. By way of prescribing a high standard of conduct to the king, Manu 3 observes that “where another common man would be fined one Karshapana, the king shall be fined one thousand, that is the settled rule.” One of the most valuable ideas that run through Sanskrit literature is that power or the kingly office is a trust.

The king, on his part, must be humble and modest, versed in sacred and secular lore. The absence of constitutional checks on the kingship was an additional reason for moral exhortation and for stress on duty with a supernatural sanction behind it. All the writers hold that the conquest of internal enemies by the king, i.e the attainment of perfect self-control and equilibrium, was a condition precedent to his successful government at home and conquest abroad. As already observed, some of them go so far as to observe that rulers who lacked culture and were victims to folly, greed and sensuality were incapable of wielding the rod of punishment. Manu 4 and Yajnavalkya 5 insist that the king must be versed in Vdrta or the science of economics and should develop the resources of the State.

His duties are described by Manu and Kautilya in wide terms. He must have a good education 6 and undergo rigorous training in discipline. “Day and night he must strenuously exert himself to

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conquer his senses; for he (alone), who has conquered his own senses, can keep his subjects in obedience.” He must shun all the vices which spring from sensuality, greed and wrath. He must actively encourage agriculture, improve the highways, exploit the mines, clear the forests, colonise barren lands, tame elephants, build forts and bridges. 1 He must be unremitting in the performance of his duty. He must rise in the last watch of the night, perform religious ceremonies, worship the Brahmanas, and then commence the business of government by entering the hall of audience and gratifying all who have come to see him. Then he must proceed to consult his ministers.

The daily programme which Manu and Kautilya prescribe for the king follows the line of the Mahdbhdratu. Narada 2 observes that “it is not permitted to advise or rebuke a king or a Brahmana on account of their sanctity and dignity, unless they should swerve from the path of duty.” This evidently implies that rebuke was permissible for dereliction of duty. The king is to follow a rigid time-table, in order to be able to discharge all his duties, including deliberation on state affairs, administrative planning, review of finance and revenue, inspection of the cavalry, the elephant force, the armoury, etc., supervision of spies, receptions, etc., in addition to ordinary administrative and judicial business.

(ii) The Ministers

All the writers on polity agree that in order to carry on successfully the heavy work of administration, the king must have assistance. As Kautilya so characteristically puts it, “sovereignty is possible only with assistance,” for “a single wheel can never move.” 3 According to Kautilya, therefore, the king shall employ ministers (mantri) and also have a council (mantriparishad) . 4

Kautilya starts with the general proposition that “all kinds of administrative measures are preceded by deliberations in a wellformed council.” It would be of interest to know something definite about the constitution and powers of the council, but Kautilya’s account is somewhat vague. He quotes the opinions of preceding writers who suggest the number of members as 12, 16, or 20, but himself recommends that it ‘shall consist of as many members as the needs of his dominion require.’ That it consisted of members not

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usually resident in the capital city appears from the direction that the king shall consult those that are not near by sending writs. The powers of the council are described in very general terms. There is, however, one important point that requires careful consideration. “In works of emergency”, says Kautilya, “the king shall call both the ministers and the council,” and after discussion, “shall do whatever the majority of the members suggest or whatever course of action leading to success they point out.” If we accept this interpretation, we must hold that the king’s power was effectively checked by the joint body of ministers and councillors. Some, however, interpret the passage differently and take it to mean that the king should either accept the view of the majority or follow that course of action which (in his opinion) leads to success.

The council or mantriparishad was probably an important feature of the Maurya constitution, for we hear of a parishad in Asoka’s inscription, and the emperor attached a great deal of importance to its deliberations.

As compared with the vagueness of his account about the'council, Kautilya gives a comprehensive account of the ministers. The first point discussed is the method of selection. A discussion recorded by Kautilya, though avowedly theoretical, throws interesting light on this point. He dwells at length on the opinions of preceding writers and the criticism urged against them. Thus we are told that Bharadvaja advised the king to select ministers from among his old fellow-students, but Visalaksha demurred to it as ultimately destructive of royal prestige. Parasara emphasised loyalty as the foremost qualification, but Pisuna pointed out that capacity, intellectual and administrative, was the essential desideratum. Kaunapadanta laid stress on family traditions and recommended the appointment of those whose fathers and grandfathers had been ministers before, but Vatavyadhi explained that new men versed in the science of politics were safer. Bahudantiputra, however, decried mere theoretical knowledge and laid emphasis on high birth and capacity. Kautilya generally agreed with the last view. He holds that 'the ministerial appointment shall wholly depend on qualifications* and describes in detail what these qualifications are and how to ascertain them. One possessed of the necessary qualifications should be subjected to various tests—the four allurements of religion, money, love and fear, as Kautilya calls them. Those who successfully pass all the tests should be selected as ministers, while those who pass one

or more of them will be appointed to high offices according to the test to which they were put.

Manu on the whole holds the same view, though expressed more briefly. Thus he lays down that the king should "appoint seven or eight ministers whose ancestors have been royal servants, who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons, and descended from (noble) families and who have been tried/' 1 Kautilya, afte^ a long discussion, concludes that the king should discuss matters of Sfiate not with one or two, but with three or four ministers. For 'a single minister proceeds wilfully and without restraint, and in deliberating with two ministers the king may be overpowered by their combined action.' According to Manu, however, the king 'shall first ascertain the opinion of each minister separately, and then the views of all together'. 2

Among the ministers, one should be selected as the chief. But though Manu directs that he should be a Brahmana, 3 Kautilya does not lay down any such restriction.

(iii) Other Officers

Every minister seems to have controlled one or more departments. The precise number of the departments is not stated by Kautilya, but his work, as a whole, gives an idea of the working of the departments of Audit and Accounts, Records, Stores, Treasury, Forest Produce, Weaving, Agriculture, Pasture Lands, Cows, Slaughter-houses, Weights and Measures, Goldsmithy, Mines, Ocean-mines, Metals, Mint, Salt, Wastelands, Commerce, Tolls, Excise, Passports, Ships, etc. On the military side the chief departments are those of Armoury, Elephants, Horses, Chariots and Infantry.

Each of these departments was under a Superintendent who was assisted by ‘accountants, scribes, coin-examiners, stock-takers and additional secret overseers (i.e. spies).’ Kautilya, however, observes that ‘each department shall be officered by several temporary heads’ and also that ‘elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry shall each be placed under many chiefs.’ It has been very plausibly suggested 4 that these passages refer to a system of administration by the Board described by Megasthenes in connection with the municipal and military organization in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. 5

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POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

In addition to the heads of various departments mentioned above, Kautilya mentions two very high officials, viz. the Sannidhdtd and the Samdhartd. The former, whose designation literally means that he ever attends upon the king, seems to have been in charge of the Treasury, including stores of all kinds. The latter was the Collector-General of Revenue. In describing their duties Kautilya gives a comprehensive account of the manifold sources of revenue and also the various kinds of stores collected by the State. Among other important officials may be mentioned the Purohita , Senapati, Dauvdrika (gate-keeper), the Antarvamsika (leader of the harem guards), Durgapdla (Governor of forts) and Antapala (Governor of the frontier). The Superintendent of the City was also another important officer whose duty and method of administration are described in detail, throwing much light on the sense of civic duty and responsibility in those days. Another class of officers, who formed an indispensable part of the administration, were the spies. The method of recruiting them and the nature of their training and work constitute an important chapter 1 in Kautilya's work and strongly support the vr>ws of those who hold that there was a complete divorce between morality and statecraft in those days. Many other views, situations and their remedies, described in the Arthasastra, would lead to the same conclusion.

It must be remembered, however, that like Machiavelli of later days, Kautilya took a detached scientific view of the State, and judged of policy solely by its conduciveness to the welfare of the State. He prescribed what he believed would lead to the growth of material prosperity of the State and the power and well-being of the ruler. He expressed his views frankly, without any mental reserve; and uninfluenced by any considerations of morality. Although, prima facie, some of his theories might appear to be quite different from those held in modern times, in practice the difference is not really so great. He professed what most modern states condemn in theory but actually put into practice. But we do not know how far ancient rulers followed in actual life the dictates of Kautilya as laid down in his Arthasastra.

The village was the administrative unit and was under a gramika , who was appointed by the king, according to Manu. 2 The fact that gramika is not included in the list of salaried officials given

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by Kautilya has led some scholars to hold that he was 'not a paid servant of the crown but an elected official of the villagers.' 1 According to Manu, the king appointed lords of ten, twenty, hundred and thousand villages. Similar divisions are also hinted at by Kautilya, who mentions a royal official called Gopa who looked after 5 or 10 villages, and another called Sthdnika who supervised onequarter of a Janapada or district. Such a regular gradation of officers, under the central State authority, must be regarded as an essential feature of administration of a large kingdom, though the names of officials and other details varied. Kautilya refers to Samdhartd (Collector-General) assisted by Pradeshtds (Commissioners) as in supreme charge, and we find the later mentioned in Asoka’s inscriptions along with Rajukas and other officers. According to Kautilya the Commissioners appointed by the Collector-General shall check the proceedings of Superintendents and their subordinates and inflict punishment on them. Kautilya also recommends that a commission of three Pradeshtds or three Amdtyas shall deal with measures to suppress disturbance to peace (lit. removal of thorns). 2 Some regard these bodies as so many tribunals appointed, in addition to ordinary law-courts, to deal in a summary manner with various abuses and malpractices of administration. They were also authorised to take cognisance of various high crimes and also offences of a miscellaneous character.

On the whole, Kautilya gives us a picture of a highly organized system of administration under a powerful bureaucracy at the centre, though much scope was left for local self-government. How far it was a theoretical scheme, and the extent to which it reflects the actual system of administration in any particular age or locality, it is difficult to say. It is, however, reasonable to hold that the system laid down by Kautilya was followed, at least in general principles* during the period under review and perhaps also in subsequent times.

(iv) Sources other than Arthasdstra

The political data supplied by presumably contemporary Tamil literature tally with the Arthasdstra. The relevant passages in V. Kanakasabhai’s Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago f based on literature, often remind one of Kautilya. The same remark holds true of the Muppdl or the Rural composed by Tiruvalluvar. He insists on the same qualities in the King as Kautilya—fearlessness, liberality,

1. PHAI, 240.

2. KAT, 253.

wisdom, energy, vigilance, learning, bravery, virtue in general, freedom from pride, anger, lust, avarice and low pleasures, and capacity and readiness to hear unpalatable words. 1 The king must be accessible to the people, must personally conduct the administration, examine cases and give decisions. 2 3 4 The need for consultation is emphasised and the qualifications and duties of the chief officers of State are dwelt upon in the manner of the Arthasastra? On ambassadors the Kural 4 reads like an echo of the Arthasastra. On forts 5 and on the army 6 the Kural is feeble, but in line with the Arthasdtra. Tiruvalluvar's sayings on espionage might, with slight alterations, pass for those of Kautilya: 'A spy and a book of laws are the eyes of a king." 7 8 9 Though avowedly an ethical treatise, the Kural, when deal* ing with diplomatic or foreign affairs, betrays the same lack of moral considerations as Kautilya. Its opportunism and Machiavellian precepts are exactly parallel to the maxims of the Arthasastra*

The political theory of the Arthasastras, the Dharma-sastras and the epics, as well as the administrative structure referred to in the inscriptions, foreign accounts and other data are reflected in the Classical Sanskrit literature. Thus Aivaghosha q in his SaundaranandaKdvya testifies to the supreme need and indispensability of kingship, and wants it to function as the guide and teacher. In the Sutralan kdra , Asvaghosha prescribes a very elaborate curriculum for the prince, comprising grammar, writing, rhetoric, eloquence, the Vedas, literature, astronomy, medicine, sacrifices; music and song, playing on the tambourine, playing on the conch, dancing and laughter, computation, chess, dice, the science of precious stones and valuable materials for clothing, silk, sealing, weaving, wax work, strategy, sewing, sculpture, painting, arrangement of garlands, interpretation of dreams, interpretation of the flight of birds, reading horoscopes; the training of elephants, domestication of horses, wielding the lance, jumping, running and fording a river, archery, rules of battle array, strategy, etc.

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Unfortunately, we have very little knowledge of any actual system of administration, save that of the Maurya's which has been described above. Of the States that flourished before them we have scattered references to administrative organization in literature, but it is not possible to draw up any definite outline of it. Thus Pali Mahaimgga refers to 80,000 townships of king Bimbisara and an assembly attended by their overseers (grdmikas). Whatever we might think of the number,.it testifies to the importance of the village as an administrative unit, and an administrative organization based on democratic principles. The Buddhist Pali texts also refer to some high officials like Mantris , but do not say anything about their power and function. The system sketched in the Dharma-sutras and already described above 1 must have formed the basis of administration at the beginning of this period, and gradually developed into the highly elaborate structure of the Maurya period which has been already described. 2 This development is largely reflected in the Dharma-sastras and specially in Kautilya's Arthasdstra , though the latter may not form its very basis.

Of the administrative system of the many States that flourished after the Maury as, our information is very meagre, and we get only a few isolated references in epigraphic records.

The kingdom of the Andhras comprised many feudatories, some of whom at least enjoyed, inter alia, the right to stamp their own coin. An inscription of Pulumavi of the second century A.D. shows military officers holding large areas of land. Coins and inscriptions reveal a number of high officers styled Mahardthis, Mahabhojas , Mahdsenapatis, Amatyas, Mahdmdtras and Bh&ndjigrikas. They acted as ministers, treasurers and heads of departments at the central, provincial or feudal capitals. There was a regular secretarial staff, comprising Lekhakas or clerks.

The Kshatrapas and Maha-Kshatrapas, who ruled over South Rajputana, Saurashtra and contiguous districts, had numerous feudatories under them. Epigraphic evidence shows that they attended i:o irrigation, observed religious toleration, built rest-houses, constructed wells, tanks and gardens, etablished free ferries at many places and founded jala-satras , 3 halls for meetings, etc. On the other hand, forced labour was sometimes exacted for public works and new taxes were often imposed. The digging of salt, unless

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alienated, seems to have been a royal monopoly. The higher officials seem to have been divided into two grades, Mati-sachivas , i.e., councillors or ministers, and Karma-sachivas or executive officers.

The Kushana empire was founded like its predecessors and successors on the bases of autonomy and feudalism. The Manikiala inscription 1 refers to Dandanayago (=Dan<Janayaka), perhaps a general or probably a judicial official, Navakarmiga, superintendent of buildings, and Vihdra-(karavhaena) , the architect of Viharas.

The Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman shows that the foreign rulers were well-versed in the Indian science of polity and adopted the general administrative machinery described in it. But side by side with many familiar official names we also meet with foreign ones such as Satrap (provincial governor), Meridarch (probably district officer) and Strategos (military governors).

In general, the foreign rulers used high-sounding royal epithets like King of Kings (in Greek) and the corresponding Indian titles Chakravartin, Adhirdja or Rajatirtija. The last, along with Devaputra , assumed by the Kushana kings, was probably due to the theory of the divire origin of kings discussed above. To the same idea we may attribute the apotheosis of deceased rulers of which we get clear evidence in this period. Special reference may be made in this connection to the practice of erecting Devakulas or temples containing representations of dead kings. Apart from general references, a Devakula of the grandfather of the Kushana king Huvishka is actually mentioned in an inscription at Mathura. Some scholars have found in it an imitation of the practice of dedication of temples'in honour of the Roman emperors. The same influence may also be traced in the assumption of the title of Kaisara (Caesar) by a Kushana king, according to the generally accepted reading of the Ara inscription . 2 Some idea of the administrative organization of the post-Mauryan period may be formed from the names of officials mentioned in epigraphic records, some of which have been mentioned above.

An important feature of the administration of the period is the association of near and dear relations of the king, like son, grandson, brother, or nephew, with the government. Sometimes, these had equal powers and status with the king, as we find, among others, in the cases of Lysias and Antialcidas, Agathocleia and Strato I, Strato I and Strato II, Spalirises and Azes, and Chash^ana and Rudradaman. Sometimes the relations probably held the position of subordinate colleagues. The best examples of this are furnished by the coins of Vonones . 1 It may be noted that this practice also prevailed among the Pallavas and, later, also among the Cholas in South India.

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(v) Taxation

To defray the expenses of administration an elaborate system of taxation is prescribed by the writers on polity. Incidentally, Manu has a remarkable idea on the origin and validity of property. “Land belongs to him who clears off the timber, and a forest animal to him who owns the arrow.” It reminds one of Locke who sees the beginning of property in the mixing of human labour with natural substance. But in Manu 2 the idea is not followed up to establish taxation on consent. The maxim is: “No taxation without protection.” A king who levies taxes but does not afford protection takes upon himself “all the foulness of his people” and sinks into hell. Duties and taxes must be fixed after full deliberation so as to provide an adequate revenue to the State and an adequate return to the workers. “As the leech, the calf and the bee take their food little by little, even so must the king draw from his realm moderate annual taxes." The land tax should be one-sixth, one-eighth, or one-fourth of the crops, i.e. of the gross produce. "A fiftieth of cattle and gold may be taken by the king," says Manu. There was hardly anything which the State did not tap to increase its resources. Manu awards the king a sixth part of "trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, (medical) herbs; substances used for flavouring food, flowers, roots and fruit; of leaves, pot-herbs, grass, (objects) made of cane, skins, of earthen vessels, and all (articles) made of stone."

The duties on traders should be fixed on a consideration of the rates of sale and purchase, the means of communication, the charges of securing goods and the necessary expenses of the dealers. Elsewhere Manu prescribes one-twentieth of the value of each saleable commodity as calculated by experts. All who live by traffic must annually pay something, be it a trifle. Those who violated these rules were to suffer the confiscation of their whole property. An attempt to defraud the customs-house was to be punished with a fine of eight times the amount due. There was another species of contribution to which the State was entitled from those who had

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nothing to give in cash or kind. Mechanics, artisans and Sudras who lived by manual labour should work for the king for a day in each month.

Treasure-trove is pointed out as another source of income. The king was entitled to one-sixth, one-tenth, or at least, one-twelfth of the property lost and afterwards found. Such property was to be deposited temporarily with special officers. If any one of them tampered with it, he was to be trampled under the feet of an elephant. If the king, i.e. the State, discovered any old treasure hidden underground, one-half of it must go to the royal exchequer and the other half be distributed among Brahmanas. Not only of ancient hoards but also of the metals underground, the king was entitled to onehalf, on the ground that he was the lord of the soil. Here Manu seems to suggest that, in the ultimate analysis, the State was the owner of the land. Numerous petty dues were levied at ferries. Their classification is curious. At a ferry, an (empty) cart shall be made to pay one pana, a man's (load) half a patia, an unloaded man one-half of a quarter. Carts laden with merchandise paid according to the value of the goods.

Manu 1 exhorts the king to appoint experts to look after the mines and inspectors to attend to concerns which yielded revenue to the State. A later work, Brihat-Parasara Smriti (X) admits the right of a king to appropriate the wealth of heretics, usurers and public women. Vishnu exempts Brahmanas from taxation on the ground that their actions are an adequate contribution. He assigned to the State a sixth of the gross produce of the land, ten per cent on sales within the country, and five per cent on that of commodities sold by his subjects in foreign countries, two per cent on cattle, gold and clothes; 16 2/3 per cent on roots, fruits, liquids and condiments, wood, leaves, skins, earthen pots, stone, vessels and anything made of split bamboo; two days' labour in a month from artisans, manual labourers and Sudras, and the whole produce of the mines. Treasure-trove, if discovered by the Brahmanas, belonged entirely to them; otherwise, it was to be divided in varying proportions between the discoverers, the State and Brahmanas. Besides numerous fines the State was entitled to ten per cent of the debt which might form the subject of law-suit. 2

Note 56

Note 57

For every suzerain ruler tributes and presents formed a regular source of income. It may be observed that fines imposed by courts of law formed one of the principal sources of revenue.

Kautilya also elaborately deals with taxation. While he taps all possible sources for ensuring an ample revenue, he warns the king against fiscal tyranny which leads to popular discontent and outbreak of rebellion. Kautilya enumerates various sources of revenue, the more important of which may be noted below.

1. Land-tax of various forms. There were crown-lands which were either worked by hired labourers or let out to tenants who got a share (normally one-half) of the produce. As regards other lands, the king received a tax for protection though in some cases they were given to officials free of rent in lieu of service. The rate or tax was normally one-sixth of the produce. There

were also taxes on houses in cities, contributions levied for the maintenance of troops (probably at the time of an actual campaign), and also special and occasional taxes such as those paid on the birth of a prince.

2. Duties on sales of goods in market and taxes on imports and exports.

3. Road-cess, canal-dues, ferry-dues, tax on loads, various taxes levied by toll-houses, fee from passports.

4. Taxes levied on artisans, fishermen, prostitutes, gambling houses, wine houses, slaughter houses, etc.

5. Income derived from royal properties such as forests, mines and manufactories attached thereto, and the monopoly of salt and other commodities.

6. Forced labour.

7. Fines from law-courts.

8. Incomes from escheats, lost articles, treasure-trove.

IV. NON-MONARCHICAL CONSTITUTION 1

One of the most important characteristics of the period is the existence of oligarchic and republican State side by side with the kingdoms. 2 Some scholars are of opinion that this was true also of the Vedic period. But although some passages in Vedic literature

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seem to imply the existence of oligarchic or republican clans, we cannot come to any definite conclusion on the point.

So far as the period under review is concerned, there is abundant evidence that monarchy was not the sole form of government. The classical writers refer to many republican clans who fought with Alexander, and some of these, as noted already, 1 are referred to in Panini's grammar. According to them Nysa was an oligarchic State ruled by a president and a governing body of 300 members. Patalene had a political constitution resembling that of Sparta. It had two hereditary kings of different houses, who led the army, and a council of elders with paramount authority. According to Megasthenes democratic constitution replaced monarchy in most of the cities. Strabo refers to an 'aristocratic form of government consisting of five thousand councillors.' According to Arrian there were a large number of oligarchic states to the east of Hyphasis. Quintus Curtius refers to the big republican State of the Sabarcae which had extensive territory and an army consisting of 60,000 foot, 6000 cavalry and 500 chariots. It is to be noted that the majority of Indian States with which Alexander came into contact were nonmonarchical.

The non-monarchical states are also referred to in Indian literature such as the Mahabharata and Kautilya's Arthasastra. But by far the most interesting account of them is preserved in the Buddhist literature. According to Avadanasataka a few merchants from the central part of North India (Madhyadesa), who visited the Deccan, replied, being asked about the form of government in their country r that 'some States are under kings while others are ruled by ganas / This indicates that the non-monarchical constitution, referred to as gcna, was a general feature of the political system of the country. This is fully borne out by the political condition of North India at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. described above. 2

The Buddhist literature mentions a large number of republican clans, but does not give any details regarding their constitution save in the case of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu and the Vajjian Confederation, of which the Lichchhavis of Vaisall were the most prominent. These were ruled by a supreme assembly, consisting of both old and young members, which frequently met and fully discussed all important questions concerning the State. There was a head of the State, probably elected for a term of years, who functioned

Note 61

Note 62

as the chief executive officer. There are good grounds to believe that the Mallas and Lichchhavis, and probably also others, had an executive council of nine members. The head of the State and the members of the assembly were called Raja, which bore here the same sense as Consul and Archon. The house where the Assembly met was called Santhagara.

A few details of the Supreme Assembly are preserved in Jataka stories which are of a later date than the canonical texts. According to them the Lichchhavi assembly consisted of 7,707 rajas or members who had a ceremonial consecration, like the king in a kingdom, and an important feature of the ceremony was a bath in a tank reserved for the purpose. We are further told that each of them had a viceroy (upardja), a general and a treasurer. In other words, the Lichchhavi State was divided into a number of small administrative units, the heads of which composed the supreme assembly at the centre. This has a strong resemblance to the Cleisthenian constitution of Athens, and perhaps in both cases the locality was substituted for the clan as the administrative unit, which meant in effect the transition from the principle of kinship to that of locality or residence.

Whatever we might think of the number 7,707, there is no doubt that the supreme assembly of the Lichchhavis consisted of a large number, and as such may be regarded as a popular body. Some scholars are, however, of opinion that these numbers were recruited from the nobility. 1 In any case the assembly fully discussed all important questions, and its conduct of proceedings and the management of affairs of State drew the highest encomium from Gautama Buddha. Indeed he was so deeply impressed by the Lichchhavi and other republican states that he adopted a democratic constitution for his own church (Sangha).

The Buddhist texts give us a detailed account of the rules and regulations of the democratic government of the Sangha (Buddhist Church), and many scholars hold that these are identical with, and probably based upon, the democratic constitution of the republican States. This is very plausible, though not an established fact. If we assume this, we can formulate the following general principles in regard to the republican constitution. 2

Note 63

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POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

1. Definite rules were laid down regarding the method of moving resolutions in the Assembly. Generally the proposal was repeated thrice, and if no objections were raised it was taken as passed. In case of objection, the sense of the assembly was determined by the votes of the majority. Definite rules were laid down for the counting of votes and there was a special officer for the purpose. Voting by ballot was in use.

2. Complicated questions were referred to committees.

3. Definite rules were laid down about quorum, votes of absentees, subsequent legalisation of acts done by an illegally constituted assembly, etc.

Buddhaghosha's commentary has preserved a unique account of the administration of justice among the Lichchhavis and other clans forming the confederacy of the Vajjis. According to it there was a regular chain of eight courts presided over by eight officers from Vinichchayamahamatta at the bottom to the Raja at the top. An accused person could be discharged by any one of them, if found not guilty, but otherwise he had to be brought before the next tribunal; he could thus be punished only if he was found guilty by all the successive eight tribunals. The truth of this account has been doubted on the ground of the late date of Buddhaghosha, but it is not unlikely that he relied upon old tradition. In any case, it upholds a democratic view of the liberty of a citizen which has probably no parallel in the history of the world. Whether literally true or not, it reflects a general belief in the ultra-democratic character of the Lichchhavi constitution.

There is a remarkable passage in the old Buddhist canonical text Mahdparinibbana Sutta 1 in which Buddha gives eloquent expression to his views about the constitution of the Vajjis. "So long, Ananda," said he, "as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, meet together in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord. and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians . so long as they

honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words.. so long

may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper.** Thus, while convinced of the inherent strength of a democratic constitution, Buddha was not oblivious of its two chief dangers, viz. disunion, and the tendency of the younger section to disregard the

Note 66

elders and established usages, and favour sweeping changes of a radical character. These dangers of the republican States are more fully described in the Mahdbhdrata 1 which offers suggestions for remedying them. But Kautilya urges upon the kings to destroy these States by exploiting their weakness, chiefly by sowing dissensions among the members of the assembly—a policy anticipated by Ajatasatru in dealing, with the Lichchhavis.

Kautilya and the author of Ch. 107 of Santi Par van in the Mahdbhdrata represent two distinct schools of political thought. The former was in favour of a strong monarchy and regarded the republican States as the chief centres of opposition to his policy. Hence he recommended their destruction by all means, fair or foul, of which a lurid account is given in the Arthasdstra. The other school was in favour of the democratic forms of government, and was anxious to preserve them from the dangers to which they were naturally exposed. The chief of these were disunion and dissension and lack of secrecy. Hence they recommend forbearance and toleration as the guiding principles of members, and the formation of a small cabinet of select leaders. “The gana leaders,” we are told, “should be respected, as the worldly affairs depend to a great extent upon them. The spy and the secrecy of counsel should be left to the chiefs, for it is not fit that the entire body of the gana should hear those secret matters”. In conclusion it is said that “it is the internal danger that is chiefly to be guarded against; the external danger is not of much importance. The ganas are torn asunder by the

enemies.by creating dissensions and offering bribes; so it is said that unity is the chief refuge of the ganas.”

The long passage in the Sdnti Parvan from which the above extracts are quoted shows a thorough comprehension of the essential features of a democratic constitution. The existence of the democratic States in India for more than a thousand years (600 B.C. to A.D. 400) gave rise to a political philosophy of which only a faint echo has been preserved in this remarkable passage in the Great Epic.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. Kaupiliyam Arthasdstram, Edited by R. Shamasastry, Mysore (1919).

2. English Translation of 1. by Shamasastry, Bangalore 1915. The statements about Kautilya in the text are, unless otherwise stated, based on this work. References to this book are mostly omitted as the relevant passage can be easily found from the Table of Contents and Index of this work.

3. N. C. Bandyopadhyaya. Kautilya.

4. K. P. Jayaswal, Hindu Polity.

Note 67

CHAPTER XVIll

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Fleet in KAT . p. ii.
2. f See pp. 274-76, 285-87.
3. 2 fCAT 6
4. 3. Cf. Bhandarkar, CL, I, 119 ff.
5. 1. Vol. I, p. 430.
6. 2. VII. 3, 4, 8.
7. 3. I. 18. 1.
8. 4. KAT. 26.
9. 5. Bhandarkar, CL, I, 121.
10. 305
11. A.I.U.—-'0
12. 1. IX. 295.
13. 1. For details see next Chapter.
14. 2. See next Chapter.
15. 1. On this topic cf. N. N. Law, Inter-State Relations in Ancient India.
16. 1. Chatuhsatikfi. ;>p. 4G2-G4.
17. 1. This is the interpretation of Ganapati Sastri (II. 341) which is somewhat different from that of Shamasastry (KAT, 377; KA. 310).
18. 1. N. Law, Op. Cit. 50-51; cf. KAT. 381; KA. 314.
19. 2. VII. 90-93.
20. 1. Book X.
21. 2. KAT. 491-92.
22. 3. KAT. 34-7.
23. 1. See Vol. I, pp. 430 f, 482 f.
24. 2. Cf. Manu, VII. 84.
25. 3. VHI. 336.
26. 4. VII. 43.
27. 5. III. 111.
28. 6. See Ch. XXII.
29. 1. Manu, vn. 154.
30. 2. XVIII. 122.
31. 3. KAT. 14.
32. 4 . For these two topics cf. KAT. 14-20, 30-32.
33. 1. vn. 54.

34. 2. vn. 57.
35. 3. vn. 58.
36. 4. PHAI. 233.
37. 5. See above, pp. 63-65.
38. 1. KA, Book I, Chs. XI-XH.
39. 2. VII. 115 ff.
40. 1. Kural, Ed. Lazarus, 382-84, 387-89, 390, 431-432, 436.
41. 2. Ibid, 520, 547-50, 561, 568. See also 551-55, 563-67 cn righteous rule.
42. 3. Ibid, 631-35, 638-40, 643, 646, 655, 660, 675.
43. 4. Ibid , 681-82, 685-86.
44. 5. Ibid, 742-50.
45. 6. /bid, 761-62, 764, 766-80.
46. 7. Ibid. 581.
47. 8. Ibid, 471-74, 488-90.
48. 9. See pp. 258, 266.
49. 1. Vol. I, pp. 486-88.
50. 2. See pp. 62 ff.
51. 3. Road-side sheds for free supply of drinking water.
52. 1. JR AS, 1909, p. 645.
53. 2. See above, p. 151.
54. 1. See above, pp. 123 f.
55. 2. For taxation cf. Mann, VII. 127-139.
56. 1. VII. 62, 81.
57. 2. Vishnu, III, 23-32, 55-64; VI. 20.
58. 1. There is a vast literature on the subject. Cf. Bhandarkar, CL, I, pp. 140 ff;
59. CLAI, Ch. HI; Jayaswal, Hindu Polity.
60. X See above, pp. 2-3.
61. 1. See pp. 2-3.
62. 2. See pp. 1-3, 17.
63. 1. For different views on the constitution of the Sakyas and the Lichchhavis cf.
64. IHQ. XX (334), XXI (1) and the references contained therein.
65. 2. Bhandarkar, CL. I. 179 ff.
66. l. SBE, XI, 3-4.
67. 1. Santi Parvan, Ch. 107.

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The period with which this volume deals saw the beginning of the systematic treatment of Hindu law, as well as its full development. It is in Manu-smriti that we first come across a regular exposition of the legal system, which was further followed in the later Dharma-sdstras, especially in those of Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati. Although the dates of these works are not definitely known, there are good grounds to believe that they were all compiled during the period under review or within a century after that. 1 In order to understand the historical development of the legal system of the Hindus, it is necessary to treat separately the four Dharma-sdstras mentioned above.

The Arthasastra of Kautilya also deals with legal topics, and adds considerably to our knowledge of the subject. But it 'vyas not regarded as an authentic source of law, and has not exercised much influence upon later writers. It has not, therefore, been thought necessary to refer to the details given by Kautilya, which are fairly comprehensive and deal with both judicial procedure and exposition of law. But some general principles of a distinctive character have been referred to by way of comparison. Kautilya was probably not far removed from the time when Manu-smriti was put in its present form, but the differences between the outlook of the two are both interesting and instructive. This is, however, beyond the scope of the present work.

I. MANU-SMRITI AND ARTHASASTRA 1. Sources and Topics of Law

Manu enumerates four sources of law, viz. Sruti or the Vedas, Smriti, customs of holy men, and one’s own inclination. 2 He makes it clear that in case of conflict the Sruti prevails over Smriti and that these have precedence over the last two. 3 But Kautilya lays down that “Pharma (sacred law), Vyavahdra (contract), Charitra (custom) and Rdjasdsana (royal decree) are the four legs

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of law, each of which is of superior validity to the one previously named/' This is an important innovation by which the king becomes the highest authority for promulgating law. Still more revolutionary is Kautilya's dictum that 'whenever sacred law (£dstra) is in conflict with rational law (Dharmanydya) , then reason shall be held authoritative.' This is denied by most of the Dharma sastras which place the sacred law above all, even above the royal decree. 1

The custom or law which bound the king and all other organs of government thus represented the will of the gods as well as the wisdom of ancestors. It was both written and unwritten, to be gathered from the scriptures and the codes as well as from oral tradition, transmitted from generation to generation in various localities, and among various groups. But it was necessary to bring it abreast of the times and resolve doubts through fresh enactments or interpretations. This imperative necessity was fulfilled by two means. The first was the composition of new texts on customary law, or the interpolation of new passages into old texts, or the composition of commentaries which elucidated the text in the light of contemporary conditions, stated and resolved doubts, and offered fresh interpretations. That is the purpose underlying a good many Dharma-stistras and Arthasdstras, their editing and re-editing, as well as (in later times) a plentiful crop of bhashyas, tikds or commentaries. This stream of literature can be traced to the fifth or sixth century B.C. and has not yet ceased to flow. It constitutes a feature of the first importance in Hindu thought and life in the longrange perspective of history. But the process was slow and had to be supplemented by another means to cope with immediate necessities of legislation and interpretation. A parishad or assembly for law-making was accordingly prescribed by the Dharma-sdstras. The parishad would also serve to forestall monarchic despotism and surround the legislative process with investigation, discussion and promulgation in appropriate form. Thus Manu prescribes a parishad of either ten or three persons. The latter was composed of persons who each knew one of the three Vedas—Rig, Yajus and Sama. The former included, in addition, three persons conversant respectively with logic, Mimdmsd and Nirukia, one who recites (the Institutes of) the sacred law, and three men belonging to the first three Orders. 2

Note 4

Note 5

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

Manu, for the first time, gives a regular classification of the law under eighteen heads or titles. These are (1) non-payment of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between the owner (of cattle) and his servants, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) partition (of inheritance), and (18) gambling and betting. 1 Almost all these items occur in Kaujilya's Arthasastra, but are not specified in a systematic manner, though some scholars have also divided them into eighteen titles of law. 2

2. Criminal Law and Punishment

As regards punishment, Manu recommends, in order of severity, (gentle) admonition, (harsh) reproof, a fine, and lastly corporal punishment. 3 To this may be added banishment, actually prescribed in many cases. "The king having fully ascertained the motive, the time and place (of the offence), and having considered the,ability (of the criminal to suffer) and the (nature of the) crime shall cause punishment to fall on those who deserve it." 4 "Unjust punishment destroys reputation among men, and fame (after death), and causes even in the next world the loss of heaven; let him, therefore, beware of inflicting it." The same consequences ensue to "a king who punishes those who do not deserve it and punishes not those who deserve it." 5

Caste privileges and disabilities are reflected in criminal law, especially on matters of morality and social hygiene. Different punishments are laid down for identical offences in accordance with the caste of the criminal and the victim. As a general rule, Brahmanas were to be exempted from capital punishment. “No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmana; a king, therefore, must not even conceive in his mind the thought of killing a Brahmana.” At the worst a Brahmana was only to be banished, and even then he must be allowed to take away all his property with him. Kautilya also makes similar distinctions, though in general his punishments to the lower castes are less severe. But he provides the death penalty (by drowning) for a Brahmana guilty of high treason.

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Caste enters in a conspicuous manner into Manu’s law on defamation. For defaming a Brahmana, a Kshatriya was to be fined a hundred panas, a Vaisya from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, while a Sudra was to suffer corporal punishment. On the other hand, a Brahmana should be fined fifty, twenty-five and twelve panas for defaming a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and a Sudra respectively. There was a uniform penalty of twelve payias for a twice-born man for defaming a caste-fellow. If a Sudra even mentions the names and castes of the twice-born with contumely, “an iron rail ten fingers long, shall be thrust red-hot into his mouth.” If he insults a twice-born man with gross invective, his tongue shall be cut off “for he is of low origin”. If he is arrogant enough to teach Brahmanas their duties, “the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and into his ears.” Even harsher and sometimes unspeakable are the punishments prescribed for insults which a Sudra may chance to offer to men of superior castes. It is more than doubtful if these brutal punishments were ever actually awarded. Perhaps they only embody the ultra-orthodox theory of the superiority of the twice-born and the supremacy of the Brahmana. Vishnu lays down practically the same penalties and procedure of justice as Manu, but his treatment of insults and offences is extraordinarily minute. For example, a fine is prescribed for omitting to invite a Brahmana neighbour to a feast or for offering him no food when he has been invited. On the other hand, if the guest, having duly accepted the invitation, refused to eat, he should pay a gold Mashaka as fine and double the amount of food to the host.

Similar distinctions are also made by Manu in the case of assaults. “With whatever limb a man of a lower caste injures a man of the three higher castes, even that limb shall be cut off.”[1] Among other punishments for less serious offences under this head are prescribed branding on the hip, banishment and fine. For adultery .various penalties are imposed according to the caste of the accused and the ravished woman, and the circumstances under which the crime was committed. These include fine, forfeiture of property, imprisonment, and even death (except for a Brahmana). Corporal punishment was prescribed for those “who either gamble and bet or afford an opportunity for it.” Kautilya, however, recognises gambling as lawful, and penalises gamblers only if they play elsewhere than in central places fixed for the purpose under regulations laid down by the superintendent of gambling.

Note 11

Manu prescribes capital punishment for the murder of Brahmajjas, women and children, tampering with the loyalty of ministers, treason and false proclamations. Mutilations are prescribed for robbers, cut-purses and for those who obstruct popular wellbeing or steal cows belonging to Brahmanas. Banishment is prescribed for destroying the wall or gate of a town or filling up the ditch, or acts which were calculated to endanger public safety. The same penalty was also prescribed for gamblers, dancers and singers, cruel men, men belonging to a heretical sect, those following forbidden occupations, and sellers of spirituous liquor. Damages and fines are recommended for destroying a bridge, the flag of a temple or royal palace, a pole or image, stealing rope or water-pot from a well, or damaging a hut erected for the distribution of water.[1] Manu allows that the law may be taken into one’s own hand on certain occasions, as in self-defence, and permits recovery of debt by artful management or even by force.[2]

Kautilya also refers to capital punishment being awarded for various offences. 3 For murdering another man in a quarrel the offender was to be tortured to death. Hanging is the penalty for various crimes, ranging from murder to such trivial offences as spreading false rumour, committing house-breaking, theft, and causing hurt to royal elephants, horses or carriages. “Any person who aims at overthrowing the kingdom, who forces an entrance into the king’s harem, who instigates wild tribes or enemies against the king, or who creates disaffection in forts, borders, or the army, shall be burnt alive.” “When a person breaks the dam of a tank full of water, he shall be drowned in that very tank.” “Any woman who murders her husband, preceptor, or offspring, or sets fire to another’s property, shall be torn asunder by bulls, no matter whether or not she is big with child.” After mentioning these and other barbarous forms of capital punishments and mutilation Kautilya observes: “Such painful punishments as the above have been laid down in the Sastras of great sages; but it has been declared as just simply to put to death those offenders who have not been guilty of cruelty”. This is an important statement, inasmuch as it shows a general repulsion against the savage punishments laid down in theory, and an attempt to modify them in practice. Perhaps some of the penalties provided in Manu-smriti and other law-books belong to the same category.

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3. Civil Law

As regards civil law, which is also dealt with in an elaborate manner, reference may be made to certain interesting points only. The monthly interest on debt is allowed at the rate of 2, 3, 4 or 5 per cent according to the order of the castes. The enjoyment of property for ten years gives a prescriptive right to it, but ‘a pledge, a boundary, the property of infants, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of the king and the wealth of a Srotriya’ are exempted from the operation of this rule. 1 “A contract made by a person intoxicated or insane, or grievously disordered (by disease and so forth), or wholly dependent, by an infant or very aged man, or by an unauthorised (party) is invalid"; and so also is the agreement which is "contrary to law or to the settled usage of the virtuous." 2 As regards inheritance, minute rules are prescribed to meet various contingencies and different usages. In general the division of property took place only after the death of the father, and the eldest brother got, as his share, either the whole property or a larger share than the other brothers. Maiden sisters also got a share, which was normally one-fourth of the brother's.

4. Administration of Justice

All Hindu theory lays the greatest stress on the administration of justice as an essential part of the protection to which the people are entitled from the government. Manu 3 personifies Dan<Ja or punishment as a being of dark complexion, with red eyes, inspiring terror and threatening penalties. He thinks that Danda is born out of the glory of Brahma and is the real ruler. 4 It is implied here that punishment was both retributive and deterrent. Manu 5 expressly lays down that "the king shall establish prisons all along the public road where the suffering and disfigured offenders might be seen." In actual practice, punishment does not always seem to have

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been harsh. As noted above, there was great insistence on justice and equity. Manu 1 observes: "Where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches and the judges do not extract the dart, there (they also) are wounded (by that dart of injustice). Where justice is destroyed by injustice, or truth by falsehood, while the judges look on, there they shall also be destroyed. Justice, being violated, destroys; justice, being preserved, preserves; therefore justice must not be violated, lest violated justice should destroy us."

According to Manu, the king should normally preside over the law-courts, and be assisted by Brahmanas and experienced councillors. 2 In the king's absence the court should consist of a learned Brahmana appointed by the king, assisted by three councillors who were normally Brahmanas versed in the Vedas. A popular element is introduced into the trial of disputes on boundaries between fields or villages. If the inspection of various marks such as tanks, wells, cisterns, fountains and temples failed to furnish decisive evidence, the case had to depend on the testimony of witnesses. These must be examined "in the presence of the crowd of the villagers and also of the two litigants. As they, being questioned, unaniihously decide, even so he (the king) shall, record the boundary." If no witnesses were available, the case should be left to the decision of people from four neighbouring villages. 3

According to Kautilya, each important city and locality shall have a court of justice, consisting of three members acquainted with sacred law (dharmastha) and three ministers of the king. 4

5. Evidence

According to Manu, if the defendant denies the charge, the complainant must call witnesses or adduce other evidence. Trustworthy men, who know their whole duty and are free from covetousness, are admissible as witnesses irrespective of caste. Interested persons, friends, companions, enemies, those convicted of perjury, and persons of several other categories were not admissible as witnesses.

As a rule, women, twice-born men, Sudras, and men of the lower castes should give evidence only on behalf of people of the same class. But any person who has personal knowledge of a murder

Note 20

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case, or of acts done in the interior of a house or in a forest, could be called as a witness. Indeed, on failure of regular witnesses, anyone could be summoned to bear evidence—women, infants, pupils, relations, slaves or hired servants, for example. Particularly in cases of violence, adultery, defamation and assault, the competence of a witness should not be examined too closely. The witnesses were strongly exhorted to speak the truth and severe penalties were laid down for giving false evidence. 1 It appears that witnesses did not merely report facts; they also shared a little of the character of assessors. This is the hypothesis which best explains the following verse in Manu:—

“On a conflict of the witnesses the king shall accept (as true) the (evidence of) the majority; if (the conflicting parties are) equal in number, (that of) those distinguished by good qualities; on a difference between (equally) distinguished (witnesses, that of) the best among the twice-born.” 2

In case there were no witnesses the judge could ascertain the truth by means of oath or ordeal. A religious sanctity was attached to oath, for he who swears an oath falsely is lost in this (world) and after death. 3 4 “Let the (judge) cause a Brahmana to swear by his veracity, a Kshatriya by his chariot or the animal he rides on and by his weapons, a Vaisya by his kine, grain and gold, and a S§udra by (imprecating on his own head the guilt of) all grievous offences.” “Or the (judge) may cause the (party) to carry fire or to dive under water or severally to touch the heads of his wives and children. He whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come (quickly) up, who meets with no speedy misfortune, must be held innocent on (the strength of) his oath. ,,4 This method of taking oath really amounts to ordeals.

Kautilya mainly follows Manu, but has some new suggestions to offer. “If witnesses differ”, says he, “judgment may be given in accordance with the statements of a majority of pure and respectable witnesses; or the mean of their statements may be followed, or the amount under dispute may be taken by the king.” 5 He also lays down, somewhat differently, the words of oath or admonition to be administered to witnesses of different castes. Kautilya does

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not refer to ordeals but gives gruesome details of eighteen kinds of torture to elicit confession of guilt. 1

Mention may be made of one remarkable suggestion of Manu 2 for finding truth about deposits in the absence of witnesses. The judge should, through a spy, make a deposit of gold with the accused. If after some time, when the deposit is demanded back, the accused refuses to return it,- he shall be held guilty of the first charge also and compelled to return that deposit.

Reference has been made above to the solicitude expressed by Manu for the impartial administration of justice. It is interesting to note that Kautilya prescribes punishment to judges for dereliction of duty, which includes, among other things, unjust punishment, improper treatment of the disputants, failure to do everything possible to ascertain the truth, interfering with witness, delay in the disposal of cases, undue help given to one party, etc. Even the clerk of the court is liable to punishment if he does not correctly record statements in taking down what has been deposed by both parties, enters what has not been deposed, and similar acts. 3

Punishment is also provided for the superintendent of jails ‘when he puts any person in the lock-up without declaring the grounds of conviction, maltreats a prisoner by torture, beating or depriving him of food and water, or receives bribes from him.’ Severe punishments extending to death are prescribed for violating the chastity of women prisoners under his charge. 4

II. YAJRAVALKYA-SMRITI 1. Judicial Procedure

More important than the Manu-smriti are our other authorities on law belonging to this period, namely Yajnavalkya and Brihaspati Smritis (in their section on Vyavahara) and the Ndrada-smriti (which is completely a legal work). We begin with Yajnavalkya, one of whose chief merits lies in arranging the materials of the Manu-smriti in a more systematic and concise fashion, Yajnaval

kya's description of the royal court of justice 5 agrees with that of

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Manu. Yajnavalkya, however, strikes a new note when he arranges 1 the other courts of justice in an order of descending importance as follows: (a) officers appointed by the king, (b) pugas (assemblies of inhabitants of the same village or town), (c) srerfis (associations of merchants and craftsmen) and (d) kuXas (families). 2 With the three last-named courts we may well compare the village, castes and family panchdyats of modern times.

Unlike Manu who only hints incidentally at the processes of judicial procedure, 3 Yajnavalkya describes them systematically, as we find also in Arthasdstra 4 He refers 5 to four 'feet' (i.e . stages) of vyavahara without mentioning them by name. The plaint, he says, along with particulars relating to the year, the month and the day, as well as the name and the caste etc. of the parties, is to be put down in writing in the presence of the defendant. 6 The answer is to be written down in the plaintiff's presence after the defendant has heard the plaint. 7 The evidence offered by the plaintiff is to be written down immediately afterwards. 8 In regard to the plaint and the answer, there are some wise provisions. Until the plaint is disposed of, a counter-claim (or counter-charge) is not allowed except in cases of delicts (kalaha) and crimes of violence (sahasa). Similarly no one is allowed to file a complaint against one who is already under a charge. 9

In certain types of serious offences including sahasa, theft and assault, as well as those in which women are concerned, the parties must plead immediately. In other cases they may be allowed time at the discretion of the court. 10 Sureties for satisfaction of judgment have to be taken from both parties at the beginning of the suit. 11

After the parties have submitted their plaint and answer, evidence has to be presented before the court. Systematising Manu's rule on the subject, 1 Yajnavalkya first mentions 2 three kinds of proof, namely, documents, witnesses and possession, and he adds that ordeal is another kind of evidence in the absence of any of these. In the context of the law of debt Yajnavalkya explains the law relating to documents and witnesses. The latter closely resembles that of Manu. The elaborate requirements of written documents are illustrated by Yajnavalkya's description of the contents of a written contract between the debtor and the creditor. Such a contract, says he, 3 if written by another hand, must state the names of the parties (along with their caste and gotra -names and the names of their fathers), and it must also mention the witnesses as well as details about the year, the month, the day, etc. Afterwards it is to be signed successively by the debtor, the witnesses, and the writer in a specified form. A writing in one's own hand, though unattested by witnesses, is still valid, except when it was caused by force or fraud. Should the genuineness of the document be in question, it is to be established by comparison with other documents written in the party's own hand, as also by presumption, by

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direct proof, by marks, by previous connection, by probability of tijle, and by inference. 4 Coming to the last point, Yajnavalkya 5 mentions no less than nine kinds of ordeals in place of the three referred to by Manu. 6 These include ordeals by balance, by fire, by water, by poison, and by sacred libation. Ordeals are to be used in cases of serious charges where the plaintiff has undertaken to pay a fine or suffer corporal punishment if defeated, or else by mutual consent of the parties. In cases of high treason and sins of aggravated type, however, ordeals may be resorted to even if the other party refuses to abide by the result.

In Yajnavalkya, as in the other Smritis, the law enforced by the courts of justice is, first and foremost, that of the Smritis. But this is supplemented by equity and custom. As the author says, 7 in case of conflict between Smritis, the principles of equity as determined by popular usage are to prevail, but where Dharma-Sdstra and Arthasfistra are in conflict, the former is to be followed.

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THE AGE OF IMPERIAL UNITY 2. Civil Law

Yajnavalkya 1 amplifies the law of prescription and ownership as laid down by Manu 2 and observes 3 that title is superior to possession in all cases except where possession has descended from a line of ancestors. Again he says that title would have no force if there had not been possession even for a short time. In other words, while possession without title creates no claim except in cases of long continuity, title without possession has no force. We shall see in a later volume how the two texts of Yajnavalkya quoted above formed the basis of important discussion by Vijnanesvara and other jurists.

Dealing with the law of debt, Yajnavalkya says,[4] after Manu,[5] that, in case of debt secured by a pledge, the legal interest is l/80th of 100 (i.e. 1J%) per month, while in other cases the interest is 2, 3, 4 and 5% according to the descending order of castes. Specially high rates of interest (namely, 10% and 20% respectively) are charged upon persons who travel through forests and those who travel by sea. In the same context Yajnavalkya, like Manu,[6] lays down the law against usury. The maximum interest allowable for different kinds of articles is declared by him to be eight, four, three or two times the principal. In case of disputes between debtor and creditor, Yajnavalkya follows the authority of Manu.[7]

We may best approach Yajnavalkya's laws of partition and inheritance[8] by considering his view of the son's share in the ancestral property. The father and the son, he says, have equal ownership in the land acquired by the grandfather as well as corody and chattels—a doctrine which was afterwards to be the cornerstone of the view of the Mitakshard school on this point. Proceeding with the subject, Yajnavalkya systematises Manu's rules[9] relating to partition. The partition, he says, may take place either during the lifetime of the father, or else after his death. If the father divides the property, he shall give the best share to the eldest son, or else equal shares to all sons. In the event of partition after the father's death, the sons shall divide equally both his assets and debts, the

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1. n. 24.

2 . vm. 147-48.

3. II. 27.

4. H. 37.

5. Vin. 140-142.

6. vm. 151-152.

7. VIII. 48f.

8. II. 114f.

9. IX. 104, 215.

mother taking an equal share and the sisters a fourth part of the son's share. In the absence of sons the order of succession is to be as follows:—the wife, the daughters, both parents, brothers and their sons, the gentiles (gotrajas), the agnates (bandhus), the pupil and the fellow-student. Comparison of the above with the parallel text of Manu reveals important differences between the two authorities; for Manu is completely silent about the rights of the widow, while he gives 1 the order of heirs after the sons as ‘appointed daughter.’ her son, her husband, the father, the brothers, the mother and so forth. In giving the widow the full right to succeed after her sons, Yajnavalkya brings himself into line with the advanced ideas of Brihaspati and Katyayana, unlike the narrow and orthodox views of Manu and Narada on the subject.

Amplifying Manu 2 Yajnavalkya 3 describes six kinds of stri* dhana (‘woman’s property’). These are (1) what was given to a woman by her father, mother, husband or brother; (2) what was received by a woman at the nuptial fire; (3) what was presented to a woman on her husband’s marriage with another wife; (4) what was given to a woman by her kindred; (5) a woman’s bridal price; and (6) what was bestowed upon a woman after her marriage. The woman's complete right to her stridhana is implied in the negative clause 4 that the husband is not liable to make it good when it was taken by him during a famine, or for performance of religious duty, or during illness, or while under restraint. In Yajnavalkya. as in Manu, stridhana is subject to its distinctive law of succession. If' the woman dies childless, says Yajnavalkya 5 agreeing with Manu, 6 her property is to be inherited by her husband or her parents, according as she was married after the four approved, or the four disapproved, forms.

3. Criminal Laic

Coming to the law of crimes we find that Yajnavalkya is mostly in agreement with Manu. 7 A branch of Yajnavalkya’s law of crimes is concerned with what may be called offences against public justice. A complainant trying to establish his claim by non-judicial means

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as well as a defendant who absconds when a claim is established against him or fails to say anything when summoned to court, is declared to be a false litigant and punishable as such . 1 The suborner as well as the false witness is to be punished with a double fine, while one who, having sworn to give evidence, conceals it under the influence of passion is to pay an eight-fold fine . 2 A person not giving evidence is liable to pay the entire debt together with an additional one-tenth, while, he who knows the facts of the case but refuses to give evidence is liable to the same punishment as a false witness . 3

III. NARADA-SMFtlTI

The Narada-smriti is admittedly based upon the extant Manu smriti, but it has a number of original features . 4 The description of the courts of justice in Narada is more elaborate than in Manu and Yajnavalkya. According to Narada 5 the eight ‘members* of a court of justice are the king, his righteous officer (satpurusha) , the assessors (sabhyas), the law (sastra), the accountant and the scribe (counted as one), gold, fire, and water. The full import of this somewhat enigmatical statement will be explained when we come to deal with the fuller description in Brihaspati. Narada, moreover, systematises Yajnavalkya’s list of courts of justice by arranging them in the following ascending order 6 :— kulas (families), srenis (associations of merchants), ganas (assemblies, in place of Yajnavalkya’s pugas) , ‘the authorised person,* and the king. In the above, it will be noticed, the king's representative has become a permanent judicial functionary instead, of being a mere temporary substitute.

1. Judicial Procedure

As in Kautilya's Arthasastra, Narada describes 7 vyavahara (judicial proceeding) as having four 'feet' (i.e. modes of decision),

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viz. dharma (moral law), vyavakara (judicial process), charitra (written document), and rajasdsana (royal edict), each being superior to the one previously named. 1 Here, for the first time according to a Dharma-sastra, we find the king's voice regarded as the final authority in judicial trials. 2 3

As compared with Manu and Yajnavalkya, Narada introduces us to a highly complex judicial procedure. Narada's list of the successive stages of a judicial triaP helps us to understand Yajiiavalkya's cryptic reference to the four 'feet* of vyavahara quoted above. Narada declares the stages to be connection (scil . of the case in hand with the whole system of law), the title of law, the cure (scil. by means of the four parts of a trial) and the decision. The plaint, according to Narada, is the essence of judicial proceedings. The plaintiff is defined by Narada 4 as one who first presents his claim before the king in respect of various specified subjects of dispute. 5 This is in accordance with the general Smriti rule that he who first approaches the court with his plaint is the plaintiff. A plaint may be amended at any time before the answer of the defendant has been filed. Narada gives the plaintiff the right of keeping the defendant under legal restraint (asedha) of four kifids 6 till the arrival of the king's summons lest the defendant should abscond when the case is about to be tried, or does not heed what the plaintiff says.

After the plaintiff has submitted his claim (or charge) the defendant has to put in his answer. According to Narada 7 the answer may be of four kinds, namely, denial, confession, a special plea and a plea of previous judgment. 8 In suits relating to debt and the like, says Narada after Yajnavalkya, 9 the answer may be delayed "owing to the recondite nature of law-suits and weakness of human memory." But the answer must be given at once

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in cases of theft, crimes of violence and so forth. 1 The plaintiff as well as the defendant may appear by agent, but one who appears at a trial without being a relative or an appointed agent is liable to punishment. 2

After the statements of the plaintiff and the defendant have been recorded, the evidence has to be placed before the court. Narada repeats the three kinds of proof specified by Yajnavalkya, namely, documents, witnesses and possession. As regards witnesses, Narada 3 amplifies and explains the view of Manu 4 and divides them into eleven classes, as will be noted later.

Where both witnesses and documents are wanting, Narada would allow as a last alternative recourse to the ordeal. 5 Narada indeed classifies proof under two broad headings, namely, human and divine, the former comprising documentary and oral evidence, and the latter, ordeal by balance and the rest. Narada increases Yajnavalkya's five classes of ordeals to seven by adding the rice-ordeal and the ordeal of a hot piece of gold. Narada’s long and detailed account of the different classes of ordeals 6 is matched only by Brihaspati, but it is unnecessary to quote it here.

The last stage of a judicial proceeding is concerned with the judgment pronounced by the sabhyas. The victorious party, says Narada, 7 is to receive a ‘document of victory’ (jayapatra), while the defeated party is to be punished by the king according to the sastra. When a man loses his case through dishonesty of witnesses or of sabhyas, the cause may be tried afresh, but not when he has been cast out through his own fault. 8

In regard to the law applicable to vyavahara, Narada’s rules recall those of Yajnavalkya above mentioned. In general, the cases are to be decided according to Dharma-sastra. But there remains

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in the background the view that reasoning is to be observed, “for vyavahara is all-powerful and overrides the sacred law”. 1

2. Civil Law

The law of debt in Narada amplifies the rules of Manu on the subject. 2 Narada mentions 1 without disapproval four kinds of interest, namely, periodical (kalika), stipulated (karita), corporal (kayika), and compound (chakravriddhi) , of which the last three are condemned by Manu. 4 On the important topic of liability of heirs for debts of their ancestors, Narada lays down important rules. The sons, grandsons and great-grandsons, he says, are liable to pay the debts of their ancestor (apparently if they have inherited the ancestral property), while the sons and grandsons have to pay the debt (the latter without interest) even if no ancestral assets have been taken. 5

Under the head partition and inheritance 6 Narada likewise makes some important contributions to the law on the subject. If the father divides the property, he shall take two shares for himself and distribute the rest among his sons either in equal or unequal shares according to his inclination. After the father's death, says Narada, the sons shall divide his property equally after payment of his debts. But even the legitimate son who was hostile to his father, or is expelled from caste, or is guilty of a minor offence, is not entitled to inheritance. In the absence of sons the daughters are to inherit, the chaste widow being ^granted only the right of maintenance till her death. A remarkable rule which cuts at the root of the strict law of primogeniture allows even the youngest brother, when capable, to take charge of the family management.

3. Criminal Law

The penal law in Narada partakes of the complex character associated with it in many of the Smrtis. While recognising crimes

1. Introd. I. 39-40. Commenting on the last passage, Asahaya quotes a text to the effect that the usages of different countries which have been handed down from generation to generation cannot be overruled by the sacred law. Ifiis illustrates the tendency to identify equity with custom, to which Yajnavalkya's text bears witness.

2. VII. 47 f. 139 f.

3. I. 102 f.

4. Vm. 153. But they are approved in Gautama Dh. S. (XII. 34-35).

5. For this interpretation, reconciling the apparent contradiction between Narada i. 4 and i. 6, see the long discussion in Kane (Kdtydyana-smritt-

Baroddh&ra , 229-32 n) rejecting the view of Jolly (SBE, XXXIII, 43-44 n).

6. xm. 1 f.

mainly as offences against the State punishable with fines and the like, Narada holds in some cases that they are likewise sins expiable with penances, as well as private wrongs requiring payment of compensation to the party injured. His rules relating to various crimes systematise and amplify the previous law on the point. Treating theft as a separate offence from sdhasa (violence) Narada divides it 1 into three grades according to the value of the property stolen. Not only those who give food or shelter to thieves, but also those who do not offer assistance when asked for help or when property is being carried away, are accomplices in the crime. Local responsibility for maintenance of the King’s peace is enforced by the clause that the inhabitants of the village, pasture-ground or deserted spot, to which the foot-marks of a thief can be traced, shall make good the loss caused by the theft. Finally, the king’s responsibility is enforced by the clause known to other Smritis as well, namely, that he must make good the loss from his own treasury in case the thieves are not caught. Persons who give food and shelter to thieves or buy or receive their property are to be equally punishable with them. The punishment for theft varies from fine to corporal punishment, mutilation and death, according to the amount (or value) of the object stolen, and is explicitly said to be the same as that ordained for sdhasa. The idea of theft being a private wrong is reflected in the clause that a man receiving stolen property must restore it to the owner, or make good its value besides paying a fine. The view of theft as a sin is illustrated by the clause that a thief approaching the king and confessing his guilt is freed from sin.

IV. BpiHASPATI-SMRITI

Close as is the connection of Narada with Manu, Brihaspati’s connection is still nearer. In fact Bphaspati’s work has been proved to be a Vdrttika on the Manu-smriti, as he not only gives the M&riM~8Qmihitd the first place among all the Smritis, but explains, amplifies, and occasionally modifies its rules on various topics of law . 2

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1. Courts of Justice

The courts of justice in Brihaspati have the same complex constitution as in Narada. Brihaspati * 1 expands Narada's list of eight (really nine) 'members' of a court of justice into ten by including the king's own officer in the category, while he substitutes the authorised person (adhikrita) or the chief judge (adhyaksha) for Narada's 'righteous officer' (satpurusha). Explaining the functions of these members for the first time, Brihaspati observes 2 that the king inflicts punishment, the adhyaksha pronounces the sentence, the sahhyas investigate the case, the accountant computes the sum in dispute, the scribe records the proceedings, the king's officer compels the attendance of the plaintiff, witnesses and sahhyas , the Smriti decides the judgment, gold and fire are required for administering oaths and (quaintly enough) water is required for quenching thirst. Whatever we may think of the above list, it undoubtedly shows that the decision of cases rested with the judge and the assessors, while the king carried out the sentence. The number of sahhyas ; according to Brihaspati, 3 should be seven, five or three. Elsewhere 4 Brihaspati mentions the ministers (amdtyas) and the Purohita as members of the court, but he gives no indication of their functions.

Like Narada, Brihaspati contemplates a chain of courts as spreading throughout the kingdom. Courts, says Brihaspati, 5 are of four kinds, namely, fixed, moving, meeting under the king's seal, and directed by the king himself. The first of these courts meets in town or village, the second is itinerant, the third is presided over by the adhyaksha , and the fourth is attended by the king. The last two classes of courts have their counterparts in the other Smritis, but the first two have no precise parallel elsewhere. Besides the above, Brihaspati contemplates 6 courts for foresters to be held in the forest, those for soldiers to be held in the camp, and those for merchants in the caravan. Again, courts consisting of learned Brahmanas alone are to decide the disputes among ascetics as well as those versed in sorcery and witchcraft, for otherwise the king

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would rouse the resentment of the parties. 1 Finally, we are introduced to the five grades of courts known to Yajnavalkya and Narada, namely kulas, §renls , ganas (in place of Yajnavalkya’s pug as), the authorised person and the king, each succeeding court being competent to hear appeals from the one immediately preceding. 2 The ample jurisdiction of these courts is illustrated by the rules that kulas, srenis, ganas and so forth, which are duly authorised by the king, shall decide all cases other than those relating to sdhasa . 3

2. Judicial Procedure

In the richness and complexity of his rules of judicial procedure, Blihaspati surpasses Manu and Yajnavalkya, and approaches the level of Narada and Katyayana. Brihaspati, to begin with, discusses in two contexts 4 Narada’s list of the four modes of decision, namely those according to dharma, vyavahara , charitra, and rajdjn a (for Narada’s rajasdsana). But his twofold exposition of this dictum, given in two different quotations, differs not only from the explanation of Narada, but from each other. According to the quotation in the Smjntichandrikd, vyavahara means a decision based on the sdstra alone, charitra means a decision given in accordance with local usage, with inference and with the opinions of merchants, while rdjdjnd refers to the king’s decision in disregard of usage. It will be observed that while Narada takes vyavahara and charitra to refer to judicial processes based on two distinct kinds of evidence, Brihaspati understands them in the sense of processes of law founded on two distinct classes of authorities. Both Narada and Brihaspati, however, agree in declaring the king’s voice (rajasdsana or rajdjrva) to be the final authority in legal decisions.

Completely different from the above is Brihaspati's explanation of the dictum according to the quotation in the Viramitrodaya. Here Brihaspati divides each of the four modes into two kinds. Decision by dharma, according to him, takes place when the matter in dispute has been decided after due deliberation, according to equity and after tendering oaths. Again, it arises when the defendant admits the claim (or charge), or else his innocence is proved by means of ordeals. When the judgment was passed after examination of the evidence and, again, when the defendant told a lie or made no answer, it is known as decision by vyavahara. When the judgment was based upon inference and, again, when it was passed according to usage, it is known as judgment by charitra . Finally, judgment by the king's edict takes place when the evidence is equally balanced and, again, when the law-books and the sabhyas are at variance. The above classification, it will be observed, simply refers to different methods of deciding a suit—by equity, by oaths, by confession of the accused, by proof, by inference, and finally (in case of conflict of evidence or of authorities) by the king's order.

In so far as the decision by vyavahdra is concerned, Brihaspati enumerates a category of its four 'feet' (i.e. stages), which may be compared with a similar list in Narada. According to Brihaspati 1 vyavahdra comprises four parts, namely, purvapaksha (plaint) uttara (answer), kriyd (adducing of proof), and nirnaya (judgment). A variant of this list is found in 1. 2. 1, where the four 'feet' of vyavahdra are said to consist of bhdshd (declaration), uttara (answer), kriyd (adducing of proof) and pratydkalita (deliberation as to burden of proof).

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1. I. l. 76. —

2. I. 1. 75, Ibid 93-94.

3. I. 1. 92.

4. I. 1. 18 f and I. 9. 1 f.

3. Evidence

Brihaspati's rules relating to various kinds of evidence' are ampler than those of Narada. Brihaspati expands Narada's eleven kinds of witnesses into twelve by adding lekhita (one caused to be written) to his list. What is more, Brihaspati describes, for the first time, the characteristics of these classes. 'A subscribing witness', according to him, is one who enters in a deed his own as well as his father's caste, name, etc. and his place of residence. 'A witness caused to be written' is one whose name has been entered in the deed together with the details of the agreement by the plaintiff when writing the contract. 'A secret witness' is one who, having listened to the speeches of the debtor from concealment, relates them just as they were spoken. 'A family witness' is one who is appointed by both parties as being connected with them to witness a deed of partition, gift or sale. 'A messenger' is a respectable man appointed by both parties who has come near to listen to their speeches. 'A spontaneous witness' is one who declares of his own accord what he has winessed in a transaction under trial. 'An indirect witness' is one who repeats from hearsay previous statements of actual on-lookers. The king, having heard the speeches of both parties, may act as a

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witness if they contradict each other. The chief judge and the assessors may act as witnesses only when a fresh trial takes place after decision of a suit. The villagers may give evidence on what has been spoiled or damaged on their boundaries. 1

However pedantic the above classification may seem, it at any rate shows the variety of ways in which witnesses could be employed in judicial trials. Their importance is also illustrated by the list of 'incompetent witnesses' (including relatives of various degrees, persons morally wrecked and so forth), which Brihaspati gives 2 after Narada. Unlike Narada who is content with a minimum number of 3 witnesses, Brihaspati 3 gives their number as 7, 5, 3 and (in case of Srotriyas) 2. That his rule was not meant to be rigidly followed is proved by Brihaspati's declaration that the number in case of 'subscribing' and 'secret' witnesses shall be 2 of each sort and in case of 'spontaneous', 'family' and 'indirect' witnesses it shall be 3, 4 or 5 of each class.[4] Again, a single witness is permissible if he is a king or a chief judge (adhyaksha) and so forth.[5] Brihaspati agrees with Yajnavalkya in imposing a drastic penalty upon recalcitrant witnesses. A witness not attending court without the excuse of illness, he says, is to repay the debt and pay a fine after the lapse of a fortnight.[6] Brihaspati, moreover, seems to provide for the first time for the examination, cross-examination and re-examination of witnesses. It is valid testimony, he observes,[7] when the contents of a plaint have been fully corroborated by witnesses. Again, he says,[8] the faults in a witness as in a document must be exposed at the time of the trial but not afterwards. Finally, he declares[9] that he whose documents or witnesses are objected to in a suit cannot gain his cause till he has removed those objections.

Brihaspati gives[10] a systematic account of documents such as is unknown even to Narada. Amplifying Narada's classification quoted above, he observes[11] that documents are of three kinds,

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namely, those written by the king, those written in a particular place (soil, by professional scribes), and those written by a man with his own hand. Brihaspati describes[1] three classes of king's writings, namely, 'royal edict' which records in sufficiently complete form the king’s grants of land and the like, ‘writing embodying the king’s favour* which records grant of provinces etc. by the king to a favourite, and ‘document of victory’- (jayapatra) which contains the record of the whole proceedings of a trial and is sealed with the royal seal. Brihaspati also describes 2 seven classes of private documents, namely, deeds of partition, gift, purchase, mortgage, agreement, bondage and debt. This list is sufficient to illustrate the preponderance of written documents in the legal system of Brihaspati. As a logical corollary of the above, we find Brihaspati conveying a warning against forged documents as well as defining the characteristics of valid and invalid documents. 3 Brihaspati takes great pains in emphasising the need of giving publicity to documents. A document, he says, 4 should be shown, read out and retold to kulas, srernis, ganas , etc., in order that its validity might be established. A document, which has neither been seen nor read out for thirty years, loses its validity although the subscribing witnesses be still alive. 5 Other passages point to the supreme importance of presenting documents in court. He who has acquired property shall establish his written title, although his son need establish the fact of possession alone. 6 When a creditor does not produce the bond and asks his debtor to repay the loan after cessation of interest, the bond itself becomes suspect. 7

In the spirit of Yajnavalkya and Narada, Brihaspati 8 recommends recourse to ordeal when a doubt arises with regard to a document or statement of witnesses and when inference fails. Brihaspati 9 expands Narada’s list of seven ordeals into nine by adding the ordeals by the plough-share and by dharma.

4. Civil and Criminal Law

While referring to the eighteen titles of law made classical by Manu, Brihaspati classifies them for the first time under two broad

1 . I. 6. 20 f.

2. I. 6. 5 f.

3. I. 6. 31 f.

4. I. 6. 49.

5. I. 6. 47.

6. I. 6. 39.

7. I. 6. 48.

8 .I. 4. 17.

9. I. 8. 3-1

heads. The fourteen titles of law, he explains,[1] comprising moneylending, deposits, invalid gifts, concerns of partnership, non-payment of wages, non-performance of service, disputes about land, sale without ownership, rescission of sale and purchase, breach of contract, relations between husband and wife, theft and inheritance, as well as gambling, spring out of wealth. On the other hand, the four titles of law comprising the two kinds of insult (parushya), violence (sahasa) and criminal connection with another's wife spring out of injury to others. This classification is an important landmark in the history of Hindu Law, for it implies the first clear recognition of the division between civil and criminal law.

Dealing with the head 'recovery of debts', Brihaspati declares[2] that the creditor shall lend money after securing a pledge (ddhi) of adequate value, or a deposit (bandha), or a trustworthy security, or a bond written by the debtor himself, or else attested by subscribing witnesses. To Narada's four kinds of interest (kalika, kdrita, kdyika and chakravriddhi) , Brihaspati adds 3 two others, namely, sikhdvriddhi ('hair-interest') and bhogaldbha. ('interest by enjoyment'). The former is so called because it grows constantly like hair and does not cease till the cutting-off of the head (i.e. payment of the principal), while the latter is based upon the use of a mortgaged house or the produce of a field. 'Hair-interest', 'corporal interest' and 'interest by enjoyment' are to be taken so long as the principal remains unpaid, but the use of pledge after twice the amount of the principal has been realised from it, as well as compound interest and the exaction of principal and interest (together as principal) is reprehensible. 4

Dealing with the law of partition and inheritance, Brihaspati says 5 that the father and the sons have equal shares in the property acquired by the grandfather, but the sons cannot claim a share of the father's own property without his consent. This dictum, like that of Yajhavalkya quoted above, became in later times the corner-stone of the view of the Mitakshard school on the subject.

Passing to the penal law in Brihaspati, the plea of first provocation is forcibly illustrated in the striking rule 6 that a man who

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I. 1. 11 f.

I. 10. 5.

I. 10. 9 f.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. For the dates of the Smritis, see above, p. 257.
2. 2. II. 6. 10. 12.
3. 3. II. 13.
4. 1. Cf. PIHC. VII. 43. The four terms denoting four legs of law are differently interpreted by Narada and Brihaspati. Cf. below, pp. 349, 354.
5. 2. xn. 110-112.
6. 1. VIII. 3-7.
7. 2. N. C. Bandyopadhyaya, Kautilya, p. 219.
8. 3. vm. 129.
9. 4. Vin. 126 .
10. 5. Vm. 127-8.
11. 1 VIII. 279.
12. 1. Manu , vn. 319; IX. 225, 232-242, 270-293.
13. 2. Vm. 48-50.
14. 3. KAT. 286-88.
15. 1. Vm. 145-149.
16. 2. vm. 163-164.
17. 3. vn. 25.
18. 4. vn. 14 ff.
19. 5. X. 288.
20. 1. VIII. 12, 14-15.
21. 2. VIII. 1.
22. 3. VIII. 253-258.
23. 4. KAT, 187.
24. 1. Manu, VIU. 60-100.
25. 2. VIII. 73.
26. 3. VIII. 109-111.
27. 4. VIII. 113-15.
28. 5. KAT, 225.
29. _
30. 2 . VIII. 182-184.
31. 3. KAT, 281-82.
32. 4. Ibid, 282-83.

33. 5. II. 1 f.
34. 1 . n. 30.
35. 2. The terms kula, sreni, puga (or gaiia) in the Smritis are differently interpreted by different commentators and authors of Digests, evidently because of lack of continuity of their genuine interpretation. In the present section the terms have been translated as above for the sake of uniformity.
36. 3. VIH. 53-57.
37. 4. Book III.
38. 5. II. 8.
39. 6. II. 6.
40. 7. II. 7.
41. 8. II. 7.
42. 9. n. 9.
43. 10 . n. 12 .
44. 11. II. 10.
45. 1. VIII. 73f. 145f, 168, 255, etc.
46. 2. II. 22.
47. 3. II. 84f.
48. 4. II. 92.
49. 5. II. 95f.
50. 6. VIII. 114-115.
51. 7. II. 21.
52. 1. IX. 127, 130-35. 185, 217
53. 2. IX. 101.
54. 3. II. 113-14.
55. •1. TI. 147.
56. 5. II. 145.
57. 0 IX. IOC- 107.
58. 7. VIII. 271.
59. ;M7
60. 1. n. 16 .
61. 2. H. 81-82.
62. 3. n. 76-77.
63. 4. For Narada’s relation to Manu,* see Jolly, SBE, XXXIII, Introd., pp. xii-xv. Hie Narada-smriti exists in two versions, viz. the shorter version translated by Jolly (Institutes of Narada, London, 1876) and

the longer and authentic version edited by the same author (The Institutes of Narada together with Copious Extracts from the Naradabhashya of Asahaya and Other Standard Commentaries, Bib. Ind. Series, Calcutta, 1885) and translated by him (The Minor Law-Books x Part I, SBE, XXXIII, Oxford, 1889). In the present section, reference is made throughout to Jolly's edition of the longer version, while his translation of the same work has generally been followed.

64. 5. Introd. I. 15.
65. 6. Introd. I. 7.
66. 7. Introd. I. 10-11.
67. 1. Above, p. 335.
68. 2. Asahaya, commenting on the text of Narada quoted above, cites a remarkable dictum, viz. "What has been decided in a village goes into the town. What has been decided in the town goes before the king. What has been decided by the king, though wrongly decided, cannot be tried anew*'.
69. 3. Introd. I. 36.
70. 4. Introd. II. 38.
71. 5. For emendation of Jolly's translation as 'defendant* in the above into 'plaintiff', see Kane, Kdtydyana-smriti-sdroddhdra, 139, n. 122.
72. 6. As Kane observes (Kdtyayana-smriti-saroddhara, 136, n. 104) these four kinds include such modem processes as attachment or arrest before judgment, and temporary injunction.
73. 7. Introd. II. 4.
74. 8. The last corresponds to the plea of res judicata in modem jurisprudence.
75. 9. n. 12.
76. 1. Introd. I. 44 f.
77. 2. Introd. II. 23. In the former clause is contained the germ of the modern institution of appearance by pleaders. Indeed, according to Asahaya, it applies when a party is prevented from personally attending Court through illness, or not being a good speaker, appoints an agent. The second clause resembles the rule of English Law against champerty and maintenance.
78. 3. I. 149 f.
79. 4. Vffl. 62 f.
80. 5. I. 239.

81. 6. I. 260 f.
82. 7. Introd. II. 43.
83. 8. Introd. II. 40.
84. 1. XIV. 12 f.
85. 2. For the relation of Bjrihaspati to Manu, see Jolly (Tagore Law Lectures 60-62), followed by Biihler (SBE, XXV, Introd. cviii), and Kane KHDS, I, 207). A small collection of the fragments of Brihaspati's work on Vyavandra was translated by Jolly in SBE , XXXIIL A very much enlarged edition (Brikospati-smriti Reconstructed) has recently been published (GOS . No. LXXXV. Baroda, 1941) by K. V. Kangaswami Aiyangar, who arranges the work under five heads, viz. Yyavahdra~k&n$a t Samskdra-kdnda, AchqTdkdnda, SrQddha
86. kanijUi and Asaucha-kdiida. In the present section the references throughout are to Aiyangar's edition, while Jolly's translation in SBE, XXXIII, has been generally followed.
87. 1. I. 1. 87.
88. 2. I. 1. 88-90.
89. 3. I. 1. 63.
90. 4. I. 1. 22 and Ibid 70.
91. 5. I. 1. 57-58.
92. 6. I. 1. 73.
93. 1. I. 1. 17.
94. 1. I. 5. 4 f.
95. 2. I. 5. 39 f.
96. 3. I. 5. 1.
97. 4. I. 5. 19.
98. 5. I. 5. 20.
99. 6. I. 5. 45.
100. 7. I. 5. 44.
101. 8. I. 5. 22.
102. 9. I. 5. 29.
103. 10. I. 6. 1 f.
104. 11. I. 6. 4.

no, 16, 21.

I. 26, 10.

I. 21, 19.

having been abused returns the abuse, or having been struck returns the blow, or having been attacked kills his assailant, commits no offence. Compensation to the aggrieved party is provided by the clause 1 that he who injures a limb or divides or cuts it off must pay the expense of curing the wound, and that he who forcibly carries away property in a quarrel must restore it to the owner. An interesting clause 2 provides that in case a number of persons joined in beating a man to death, he who struck the fatal blow shall receive the prescribed punishment, while the first aggressor and his associates shall receive half the punishment. In Brihaspati, even more than in Narada, punishment for theft or violence is proportioned to the gravity of the offence without reference to the caste of the offender.

Note 1

Note 2

Chapter Notes

1. 1. 1. 21. 15.
2. 2. I. 23. 14-15.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Freedom of religious speculation, of which we get the first fruits in the earlier Upanishads, was the special characteristic of the period under review. It was the main pre-occupation of men who belonged to the last two nsramas or stages of life formulated in the Brahmanical scriptures. 1 This class of wandering ascetics, freed from the obligations of prevailing religious ideas and practices, thought out anew the fundamental problems of life. Their number increased in this period, and their constant movements brought them into frequent associations with one another. The result was a vigorous reorientation of religious life. The Vedic religion lost credit and a twofold reaction ensued,—an atheistic movement which frankly denied the necessity, if not also the reality, of the Vedic gods together with the pre-eminence of the Brahmanas in spiritual matters, and a monotheistic movement which accepted devotion (bhakti) as the only way of pleasing a personal God.

We thus find in the sixth century B. C. an upheaval of new ideas leading to the rise of new philosophical tenets and religious sects, 2 often of a revolutionary' character, such as India has never seen before or since. Many of these philosophical dogmas or religious sects had a merely temporary vogue, and gradually faded away. A few, however, came to stay, and left a permanent impress. A review of the religious condition of the period must, therefore, first take note of the new religious sects and philosophical doctrines which profoundly modified the outlook of the future, before considering the further progress of: the Vedic religion, or the multiplicity of other religious beliefs and practices which had little in common with Vedic rituals.

Of the new religious sects four alone played an important part in subsequent history. These are Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Saivism. The* first three were founded by the Kshatriyas, and had their origin in the eastern and western parts of India which were outside the pale of Madhyade&a, the homeland of orthodox Vedic

Note 1

Note 2

culture. Saivism had also a non-Vedic, probably a pre-Vedic, origin and developed as a sectarian religion in Western India. All of them had as their common ground the repudiation, explicit or implied, of the Brahmanical claim that the Vedas were the infallible source of spiritual truth, and the rituals prescribed therein the sole means of salvation or emancipation.

But there was a fundamental difference between them. While the last two were theistic and centred round two Vedic deities— Vishnu and Siva—the first two had no veneration for Vedic gods, or for the matter of that, any god at all. They laid emphasis on a rigorous system of discipline based on a code of moral and spiritual behaviour, and a loving faith in the founders of the religion took the place of devotion to particular gods like Vishnu or Siva. They were also averse to the iniquities of the caste system, especially to the high pretensions of the Brahmanas.

Although, therefore, all the four religious sects mark considerable departure from the Vedic cult, Buddhism and Jainism alone are looked upon as heterodox, while Vaishnavism and Saivism are, by contrast, regarded merely as reforms of the orthodox religion. Hence the religious doctrines of these two sects form the subjectmatter of Brahmanical works such as the Epics, the later Upanishads and the Puranas, while the Buddhists and Jains have altogether separate canons of their own.

The common essential elements in the two theistic religions, Vaishnavism and Saivism, are bhakti and prasada. The former means intense love and devotion of the worshipper to his beloved god, even to the extent of complete self-surrender. The latter means the grace of God which brings salvation to the devotee. The followers of Siva and Vishnu formed two rival sects with many points of contact between them. We hear of claims and counterclaims on behalf of the one or the other god, and of combats and other tests to prove their relative strength. Legends grew round the gods, and they became incorporated in the great Epic poems. The followers of one god would naturally shower the highest praise on their deity; and this, as a matter of course, would be called to question by their rivals. But it must be said at the same time that there were also, even in Vedic times, some thinkers who realized that though God was called by different names, Siva and Vishnu were only aspects of the one. 1

Note 3

Buddhism and Jainism had also many elements in common. Philosophically they both started from the same fundamental principle that the world is full of misery, and the object of religion is to find means of deliverance from the endless cycle of births and deaths which bring men again and again into this world. As Karma, or the individual's actions, is the root-cause of rebirth, emphasis is laid upon conduct and the practice of austerities in varying degrees of severity as the chief means of salvation, rather than sacrifices or prayers to a personal god. Both believe that complete emancipation from rebirth is only attainable by the homeless ascetic, but both regard the life of the layman as an initial and preparatory stage in the process. The community of monks (Sangha) and of laymen form in both the chief objects of disciplinary regulations, but different moral and spiritual codes are prescribed for each.

These resemblances are so close that it was held at one time that Jainism was a branch of Buddhism. But this is certainly erroneous, as we can now trace the different historic origins of the two, and detect fundamental differences in their philosophic conceptions and essential practices. Their ideas on the subject of the soul, for example, differ considerably. Besides, Buddhists did not favour the extreme forms of asceticism and abstention from taking life advocated by the Jains, or some of their practices like going naked. Buddhism advocates the golden mean in all these matters. The common elements are easily explained by the fact that both arose in the same region and at about the same time, and drew upon many of the views, ideas and practices which were more or less common property.

Jainism and Buddhism both imply a ‘system of philosophy and a social organization, with a code of morality and cult of their own, which together gave to their followers a sense of religious solidarity. They both possess a common background of Aryan culture, and are inspired by the ascetic ideals and the philosophy of the Upanishads, though in varying degrees. Both of them owed their origin to kindred forces,, whether intellectual, spiritual or social, and may be viewed either as a revolt against the Brahmanical religion, or as an outcome and modification of it by overstressing the ascetic side, such as renunciation of the world, self-denial and alnimsd. In both we may also detect the influence of a pre-Aryan culture in eastern India which, though gradually submerged, probably preserved some latent traces which germinated at a later date. It has been noted above, 1

Note 4

how the eastern part of India, even when Aryanised, preserved considerable differences from the midlands in point of language, ethnic elements and culture, and this undoubtedly explains the origin of the two heterodox sects in this very region. The 6akya clan had probably a Mongolian strain in their blood.

In the field of philosophical ideas the heterodox religions show a number of points suggestive of either a borrowing from, or a survival of, the thought-currents of primitive peoples. Jacobi has shown how, in spite of divergent growths in later days, there are some essential features common to Jainism, Buddhism and the Sankhya-Yoga philosophy, which go back to the 'primitive currents of religious and philosophical speculation'. 1 All three share a kind of pessimism, a conviction that human life is full of misery, no trace of which is to be found in the optimistic attitude of the Vedic Aryans. The doctrine of transmigration, unknown to the early Brahmanas, suddenly emerges in the Upanishads and forms an essential element in these three systems. What is more important is the fact that this doctrine assumes its peculiarly Indian form by its association with the doctrine of Karman, and we know that the most primitive'ideas of Karman are found in Jain metaphysics. An atheistic attitude and a kind of dualism between spirit and matter characterise all the three systems of thought.

To the same primitive influence must also be attributed another important feature in the development of religions during this period, viz . the introduction of the practice of image-worship. The glyptic and other antiquarian remains of the pre-historic sites of the Sindhu valley seem to suggest that it was in vogue among the earliest inhabitants of this region. 2

As noted above, 3 the Sindhu valley folk have been regarded by most scholars as pre-Vedic and quite distinct from the Aryan immigrants. The question whether this form of religious worship was known to the latter has long been debated, and different scholars have held quite contrary views on it. Som sOTgest that the Vedic Aryans did not make visible repx t their

gods and goddesses as, in the particular form of sacrifietEi religion which was practised by them, divine images had no part to play. Others, however, hold that these people made icons of various divinities such as Indra, Rudra, Vayu, Varuna and others, and these, if not actually worshipped, were u sed for ritualistic purposes. They

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

principally rely on the anthropomorphic descriptions of these deities in the Vedic hymns. In assessing the truth of these views, it should be borne in mind that Vedic literature is almost exclusively concerned with the beliefs and practices of the Aryan invaders. The Dasyus or aboriginal inhabitants are scornfully referred to as worshippers of the phallic emblem later associated with Siva. There is therefore very little justification for the supposition that the higher classes were iconic; the anthropomorphism of the Vedic gods and goddesses was vague and variable and does not seem to rest on any concrete basis.

One unanswerable argument in support of this view is the fact that in most of the earlier and more authoritative Brahmanas, which lay down in meticulous detail the rituals of the various sacrifices, there is no reference to images, which would certainly have been explicitly mentioned had they been regarded as necessary. In the subsequent period, when image-worship had come to play a definite part in Indian religion, detailed descriptions of these are never lacking. But the cult of symbols and images seems to have been current among a large section of the population, who continued the traditional religious practices of the pre-Aryan settlers of India, some of whose cultural remains were unearthed in the Sindhu valley region. Reference may be made in this connection to the images of Yakshas and

Nagas, one of whom, the Manibhadra Yaksha from Pawaya, is actually called Bhagavan.

The early Buddhist convention of representing the Buddha by means of various symbols such as foot-prints, the Bodhi-tree with Vajrasana beneath it, a parasol, a stupa, etc. and the subsequent introduction of his figure in the Hellenistic art of Gandhara led many European scholars to suggest that the Indians learnt the art of making images from the idolatrous Greeks. But this theory no longer holds the field. It is now generally held that the practice of making images of the Buddha grew up independently at Mathura at the time when, with the development of the Mahayana doctrine under the Kushanas, Gautama was no longer regarded as a dead teacher but a Saviour God. Contact with the West might have given an impetus to the development of monographic art in India, but it was certainly not its origin. It was already there as a social undercurrent dating from pre-Vedic times, and it became an almost general practice when different sectarian religions such as Vaishnavism (Bhagavatism), Saivism, Mahayana Buddhism, Jainism, etc, were formulated. It

was developed principally owing to the spiritual needs of the various sectaries, who wanted images of their respective gods and goddesses to whom they could offer single-minded devotion (ekdtmikd bhalcti) through the medium of these concrete symbols, as will be noted later.

B. BUDDHISM

Since very ancient times every convert to Buddhism has been solemnly invoked to take refuge in the Triratna (the three jewels), viz. the Buddha, Dhamma, and Sahgha. This emphasis on the three aspects of the religion, viz. the Founder, his principles, and the monastic order, forms an essential characteristic of the sect. We may also adopt this broad classification in the delineation of Buddhism.

I. THE BUDDHA

We possess no authentic accounts of the life of Gautama, the founder of Buddhism. Two poems in the Sutta Nipata and a few early Suttas supply us with some data, but we have to rely for details mainly upon comparatively later works, which appear to have preserved older traditions handed down in some form of ballad poetry. The following short sketch of the life of the Master is reconstructed on the basis of these different sources.

1. Early Life

Gautama, alias Siddhartha, was born at Lumbinivana[1] in c. 563 B.C.[2] in a lonely corner of India on the border of Nepal. His father Suddhodana was the chief of the Sakya clan, which had its capital at Kapilavastu.[3] His mother Maya died seven days after his birth, and he was brought up by his mother's sister Mahaprajapati Gotamff. Many miraculous events are said to have heralded his advent. An ascetic called Asita, who lived in the Himalayas, came to the royal palace to pay his respects to the new-born babe. He lamented the fact that he would not live to listen to his teachings, and so he enjoined his disciple Nalaka (later known as Mahakachchayana) to become a follower of the new Teacher.[4]

Note 8

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

In the earlier sources there is no mention of his early education or training. The Lalitavistara gives a legendary account of his schooling and of his extraordinary proficiency in archery and other princely attainments. As was the wont with the sons of the nobility, Gautama lived a life of ease and luxury, and ultimately settled down as a householder after marrying Bhaddakachchana (=rYasodhara),[1] daughter of the Sakyan Suppabuddha and sister of Devadatta. A son was born of the marriage and he was called Rahula.

The idea of renunciation, according to the later texts, came into his mind from seeing four persons in four different stages,—an old man, a cripple, an ascetic and a corpse. His disgust for worldly pleasures was aroused by the sight of dancing girls sleeping in ugly postures. In the early texts like the Sutta Nipata or the Ariyapariyesana-sutta there is no reference to the above-mentioned causes for retirement. It is simply stated that Siddhartha realised that home life was full of hindrances and impurities and that the life of a recluse was free and open, and so he decided to retire from the world and refrain from committing wrong in thought, word or deed. At the age of twenty-nine he left the palace secretly at night on his horse Kanthaka, doffed his princely robes, and embraced the life of a wandering hermit.

He traversed a number of villages, till at last he reached the city of Vaisall, on the outskirts of which lived the teacher Arada Kalama. He stayed at his hermitage for some time and realised the seventh stage of meditation (akinchanydyatana=zsphere of desirelessness or nothingness). It is only from the Buddhacharita that we learn that Arabia Kalama espoused the Sankhya school of philosophy. 2 It is very likely that Siddhartha, hailing as he did from Kapilavastu, had some knowledge of the Sankhya doctrine, and that he became a disciple of Arada Kalama to improve his knowledge of it. Evidently he was not satisfied with the teachings of the Sankhya school and left the hermitage of Arada to become a disciple of another teacher, Rudraka Ramaputra, who was then living in the outskirts of Raj agriha.

It was on his way to this teacher that he met, at the Pandava hill, king Bimbisara who tried to dissuade him from giving up his princely life. Politely declining king Bimbisara's request, he proceeded to the hermitage of Rudraka and became his disciple. He

Note 12

Note 13

found that the stage reached by this teacher was that of the highest meditation but did not lead to final liberation. He accordingly left him, and had recourse to rigorous practices along with five other Brahmana ascetics. One day he was almost on the point of death, when he decided to take food just sufficient to sustain his body for the strain of extreme mental exertion. On account of this he was deserted by his five Brahmana companions.

He then took his seat under a pipal tree at Uruvela, when he was offered milk by a milkmaid named Sujata, who took him to be the tree spirit (vrikshaka). After accepting this nourishment, he sat cross-legged in meditation, with the resolve not to rise from his seat until he had attained Enlightenment (Bodhi). With full confidence in his powers of resistance, he remained unmoved by fear of temptation (personified as Mara). In the autobiographical Ariyapariyesana-sutta , 1 there is no reference to Sujata's offering or his experiments in asceticism, though the latter is mentioned in other suttas of the Majjhima Nikaya. In the Ariyapariyesana-sutta, it is stated that Gautama, after leaving Rudraka's hermitage, went to Univilva where he found a charming spot with river water almost overflowing the banks and within easy reach of villages. Seated at this spot, after intense exertion, he finally realised the Truth. He thus became the Buddha (the Enlightened One). He attained both insight and knowledge, and knew for certain that he had achieved full emancipation and would not be reborn. For seven weeks, it is said, he remained in blissful contemplation of his newly-acquired knowledge.

The Truth realised by him was so deep and subtle that at first he thought that it would not be worth his while to try to expound it to the world at large. Then, we are told, at the intervention of the god Brahma himself, he agreed to preach at least for the benefit of those who were spiritually advanced. At first he thought of his two teachers, Arada Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra, but found that they were no more. He then turned his attention to his five Brahmana comrades who were then residing at Rishipattana (Sarnath) near Banaras and maue up his mind to enlighten them. He proceeded there and delivered before them his first sermon, which is metaphorically represented in Buddhist literature as "turning the Wheel of the Law". 2

Note 14

Note 15

2. Missionary life

Buddha thus began his career as teacher at Itishipattana, where he converted the five Brahmana ascetics. With them he went to Banaras and converted Yasa, a rich setthi's son, and a number of his friends, among whom were the distinguished monks Punnaji and Gavampati.

From Banaras, Buddha went to Raj agriha where he passed the second, third and fourth vassds (retreats). At that time there were in Magadha many Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical teachers (titthiyas) and wandering monks (parivrajakas), and much of Buddha’s time and energy was spent in refuting their doctrines and convincing them of the excellence of his teaching. He succeeded in making a large number of converts, including a few distinguished householders as lay-devotees (upasakas). The notable among the converts were Sariputra and Maudgalyayana, who were formerly disciples of Sanjaya Belatthiputta; the Brahmanical ascetics, the Jatilas; Upali gahapati and Abhayarajakumara, staunch followers of

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Nigantha Nataputta; the rich merchant Anathapindika of fabulous wealth; kings Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, and later, king Muntfa. Besides Rajagriha, Buddha visited Gaya, Uruvilva, Nalanda, and Pataliputra.

Though the foundation of the religion was laid in Magadha, its full development took place in Kosala (Savatthi) where Buddha spent the last twenty-one vassds, delivered the largest number of discourses, and framed the greater part of the disciplinary code. Brahmanism was strong in Kosala, and it was with the help and munificence of Anathapindika that Buddha was enabled to gain a footing there. His favourite resort was the famous Jetavana monastery, which was purchased for him by Anathapindika at a fabulous price. King Prasenajit (Pasenadi) became a devout listener of Buddha’s discourses, while his queen Mallika and his two sisters Soma and Sakula became lay-devotees. Another influential supporter was Visakha, who built the Pubbarama monastery for him and who was particularly interested in the welfare of the nuns.

Buddha once visited Kapilavastu while he was staying at Rajagriha and converted the members of his family, including his son Rahula and foster-mother Mahaprajapati Gotaml. The Sakyas,

attainment of Bodhi. There is, however, ample material in the Nikayas, the Vinaya and the introductory portions of the Jatakas for compiling an authentic account of Buddha’s peregrinations. The commentaries furnish us with a list of the places where Buddha spent his vassds or rainy season retreats.

it is said, were not at first very well disposed towards Buddha, but after an exhibition of his miraculous power they showed him due respect and invited him to consecrate their newly built assembly hall (santhagdra).

Buddha spent the fifth vassd at Vaisall. Ambapali, the famous courtezan of Vaisall, became a convert, and offered her mango grove to the Sangha. While staying at Vaisall Buddha gave his consent to the formation of an order of nuns at the importunities of Ananda and Mahaprajapati Gotami. The latter came there all the way on foot from Kapilavastu in the fullness of her grief at the demise of king guddhodana.

The Mallas were not in favour of the new Teacher. Once they issued a mandate that any person welcoming him would be fined 500 kahdpanas. In spite of this order a few Mallas became converts.

Buddha spent the ninth vassd at Kausambi. King Udayana did not look upon the new Teacher with favour but queen Samavati became a devotee of Buddha. His other queen Magandiya took advantage of the king's antipathy towards Buddha to bring about the ruin of Samavati. Her machinations were, however, discovered; the king became repentant and ultimately appreciated the teachings of Pii?<Jola Bharadvaja, a noted disciple.

The westernmost country visited by Buddha was Veraiija (near Mathura) where he spent the twelfth vassd. Once he was invited by king Pradyota of Avanti, but he declined to go to his city and deputed Mahakachchayana, a native of the place, to impart his teachings. Mahakachchayana made only a few converts in Avanti. Buddha did not pass any vassd in Anga though he dwelt at times at Champa, Apana, Assapura and Kajangala.

In the Mahdparinibbana-sutta we have not only a graphic account of Buddha's last journey to Kusinara, the capital of Mallas, and his fatal illness, but also a detailed description of his cremation and the divison of his relics. This sutta is particularly important for a summary of his teaching, as also for the list of countries where the largest number of devotees existed, 1 and the names of claimants to the relics. 2 From the account of Buddha's peregrinations given above, the names of places mentioned in the Mahdparinibbana-sutta ,

Note 16

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and the local habitations of the claimants of the relics, we may conclude that during the lifetime of the Master, the religion spread all over the central belt of India from Kajangala and Champa on the east to Yerahja and Avanti on the west, and from Rajagyiha and Varanasi to KausambI, SravastI and Saketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himalayan foothills.

II. DHAMMA

The earliest available source for our knowledge of Buddha’s teaching is the Pali Sutta Pipaka consisting of the five Niktiyas, viz. Digha, Majjhima, Samyutta , Anguttara and Khuddaka , as also the few fragments of their Sanskrit versions discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. The Sutta Pipaka which has come down to us contains many additions and alterations made by succeeding generations of disciples, for which Mrs. Rhys Davids states that the teachings embodied in the Sutta Pipaka should be attributed not only to Gautama but also to his immediate disciples whom she would designate as the *‘co-Founders” of Buddhism. It is not a homogeneous work containing, as it does, statements which are not always consistent and are capable of being differently interpreted. In view of this lack of homogeneity it is not possible to state definitely what were actually the original teachings of Buddha, and so we shall have to satisfy ourselves with what can be elicited from the Pali Pipaka as it now stands.

Buddha’s repeated instruction to his followers was to pursue practical methods in order to arrive at the Truth, and not to distract themselves with academic speculations about the Beyond, the Ultimate. What is most needed is the removal of ignorance, thirst, attachment, etc. by the comprehensions of the four Aryasatyas (Noble Truths), viz. (1) that worldly existence is full of misery (duhkha), (2) that thirst, attachment, etc. are the causes of worldly existence (samudaya), (3) that worldly existence can be ended (nirodha) by the destruction of thirst, etc. and (4) that there is a Path

(vndrga) for the destruction of thirst, etc. The Path is the well-known Eightfold Way, viz . right speech, right action, and right means of livelihood, then right exertion, right-mindedness, right meditation, and lastly right resolution and right point of view. The first three practices lead to physical control (sila), the second three to mental control (chitta), and the last two to intellectual development (prajnd). 1

Note 20

Note 21

Note 22

There is nothing particularly Buddhistic in seven of the eight practices. It is the eighth practice which contains the Buddhist dogma, for all views about the ultimate except those of the Buddhists are wrong (mithyd). By observance of slid (moral rules codified in the Vinaya) the adept becomes a perfect brahmachari, by that of chitta (meditational practices detailed in the Sutta and Abhidhamma Pifakas) the adept attains full mental concentration, and by that of prajnti (intellectual culture provided in Suttu Pitaka) the adept realises Truth or Reality, which may be summed up as follows:

The phenomenal world has no real existence; to the unenlightened certain causes and conditions (hetu-praiyaya) make a thing appear to exist, like waves on the sea. As waves are not different from the sea, yet the common man differentiates them, so there are no individuals though, to the unenlightened, different individuals appear to exist on account of certain causes and conditions (pratittya samutpada). It is only the spiritually advanced who can comprehend this truth.

Still more difficult and subtle is the conception of NiW&$a. This is incommunicable,, for the Infinite cannot be described by finite words. The utmost that we can do is to throw some light on it by recourse to negative terms. Nirvana (Nibbana) is the final result of the extinction of the desire or thirst for rebirth. In the Ariyapari yesana-sutta, it is described as not subject to decay (ajam), disease (avyddhi) or death (amrita); it is free from grief (asoka)\ and impurity (asamklishfa) ; it is the incomparable (anuttara) and highest goal (yogakshema) . It is the relinquishment of all worldly ties, cessation of the effects of past actions, end of all things, removal of desire, severance of attachment, quietude. In the Nikayas generally any definition of Nirvana has been avoided as far as possible with the remark that it is indeterminate (avyoJcnta), but here and there are stray passages which describe it as the blissful reward of a long course of exertion—a haven of peace and rest. Buddha purposely discouraged questions about the reabsorption of the individual soul, as being of no practical value in the quest for salvation.

The exposition of the Eightfold Path forms the theme of the Dharm a-chakra-pravartana Sutra , which is said to be the Buddha's first discourse. It is also widely known as the Middle Path (madhyama pratipat) as it keeps clear of the two extreme ways of life, one being that of ease and luxury and the other of rigorous ascerticism. This path allowed a monk to live a life of moderate

comfort, with the bare requirements of food, clothing and residence, but with the mind intent on achieving the goal.

The second discourse said to have been delivered by Buddha strikes the keynote of his teachings, viz., that the five constituents which make a being are without a self (andtma), impermanent (anitya) and are not desirable (duhkha). He who realizes the absence of soul or substance in the constituents knows that he does not exist as an individual, and as such there can be no relationship between himself and the objects around him. There is nothing in this world to make him happy or sad and so he is free (vimukta), he is an arhat—perfect. 1

Such, in brief, is the doctrine of Buddhism as finally developed in the Tripitaka. There are, however, good grounds to believe that Buddhism, like Jainism, was originally a moral code, rather than a metaphysical or religious system in the western sense of the term. In its earlier phase this moral code was marked by an underlying note of pessimism. There is so much evil and suffering in the world that life cannot be considered a blessing. It has been said that if the tears shed in sorrow since the beginning of the world could be collected together, their volume would far exceed the waters of all the seaS put together.

This suffering, however, can be escaped by a correct life and correct thinking. But when you talk of thinking, you must also say what it is that one should think of. To Buddha, it was, in brief, the contemplation of the impermanence of the world we live in. Ignorance of this produces desire: desire leads to action (karma): action (karma) to the impulse to be born again and again in order to satisfy desire. This chain of transmigration leads to further actions, which in their turn lengthen the chain of rebirth. But this chain can be snapped once the seeker realizes the truth that the world of things is impermanent, that there is not even a permanent soul. The universe is a ceaseless flow of events and the soul is not identical with itself and is not a unity. It is merely a flux of experiences and desires. This perpetual flux is caused by action (karma) and ended by knowledge (jndna). There is no personal deity (Atman), hence the

Note 23

attainment of Nirvana does not depend upon prayers or sacrifices. In his dying words Buddha exhorted his disciples to be “lamps unto themselves”, as there is no other light. Salvation can only be won by the extinction of karma by right living and thinking. 1

It will appear from the above account that the metaphysical element, properly so called, did not play a prominent part in the earlier phases of Buddhism. . But a philosophical background gradually became necessary not only for its propagation but for its very existence. There is a parallel to this phenomenon in the history of Christianity. In the beginning, Christianity like Buddhism was a creed intended to bring to mankind a message of hope and solace in its sufferings. But when the simple faith of Jesus planted itself in Hellenic soil, it could not take root until an alliance had been effected with the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Similarly Buddhism also had to adopt a policy of give and take with the acute Brahmanical thinkers of the day in order to save itself from their assaults and to compete with them.

The first sign of this development and adaptation appears in the schism between what has been called Hlnaydna and Mahayaha (or the small vehicle and the large vehicle). The first school looked upon the salvation of the individual as the goal, whereas the other school took the salvation of all beings as its aim. The first was thus a lower (hina) aim than the second. The first kept to Prakrit as the language of its exposition, while the second soon betook itself to Sanskrit, the language of learning. This development will be treated in a later section.

In conclusion it must be pointed out that, while the fundamental teachings of the main Upanishads were tacitly accepted by the early Buddhists, their attitude towards Brahmanism was one of undisguised hostility. The Vedas have been repeatedly referred to in the Nikayas as compositions of certain rishis (sages), but the Vedic belief of union with Brahma by means of good works or performance of sacrifices was rejected as misleading and baseless. On the other hand some Buddhist suttas preached that one can attain rebirth in Brahmaloka by practising the four excellent practices (brahma viharas), viz. maitfi (love), karuna (compassion), mudita (elation at others' success), and upekshd (equanimity) towards all beings of the four corners of the world. There are also bitter criticisms of

Note 24

the belief that merit or happiness can be obtained by means of animal sacrifices such as the Asvamedha, Purushamedha or Vajapeya. The Brahmanic claim of superiority in caste was challenged, but the caste system was tacitly admitted with the proviso that Kshatriyas were a superior caste to Brahamnas.

Without admitting the existence of the soul, the early Buddhists accepted the Upanishadic theory of karma; in other words, the inevitability of the effects of deeds in regulating future births, and that of the existence of heavens and hells. The theories that the worldly existence is full of misery, and that the cessation of worldly existences must be sought for, were also inherited by the Buddhists from the previous thinkers.

III. SANGHA

In the earlier stages, Buddha’s disciples led a wandering life, residing in caves and forests, living on alms, and dressing themselves in rags collected from dust-heaps. They assumed the title of bhikkhu or beggar. Buddha, as already stated, was not in favour of extreme austerity; he permitted his disciples to live in monasteries specially built for them, accept food and robes offered by the faithful, and take medicines prescribed by the physicians. To prevent novices from abusing their privileges, he framed a number of rules for their guidance. These were codified in the Patimokkha. In course of time there were many additions to the rules made by the Teacher himself and his disciples. These supplementary rules have been incorporated in the other parts of the Vinaya Pitaka. The rules may be classified under seven heads, viz. ordination; monastery; dress; food and medicine; the fortnightly assembly; the rainy season retreat and its closing ceremonies; special rules for nuns; the ecclesiastical constitution.

1 . Ordination

Buddha at the beginning personally ordained his disciples by uttering the words: “Ehi bhikkhu” (Come;, O monk). He then delegated his power of ordination to his disciples, after laying down certain rules for their guidance. A person seeking first or lower ordination must obtain the consent of his parents, attain the age of at least 15, and must be free from certain disabilities. He is then to shave his hair and moustache, put on yellow robes and choose a teacher who will present him before a panel of at least ten monks. If none of the monks dissent, he is given the lower ordination

(pravrajyd). He becomes a Sramana (novice) and is asked to observe the ten precepts. 1 On his attaining the age of 20, if he is found fit, he is given the higher ordination (upasampadd) and is enjoined to abide by the rules of the Patimokkha.

2. The Monastery

There are detailed rules for the selection of the site of a monastery and also about the size of the rooms. Large monasteries w«re usually provided with dwelling rooms, a service-hall, storehouse, cloister, well, bath-room, and rooms for walking exercises. The ownership of the monastery vested in the Sahgha of the Four Quarters. The monasteries were allowed to be furnished with certain articles of furniture.

3. Dress , Food and Medicine

Three garments (chivara) viz. an upper robe, a lower one, and a sort of cloak worn over these two were allowed to the monks. These garments had to be made out of pieces of cloth cut and dyed yellow. For food and alms, begging was the usual rule, but 'the monks were allowed to accept invitations to meals or offerings sent to the monastery by the faithful; they were prohibited from expressing their wish for any particular kind of food. Regarding medicine, there was practically no restriction and the monks were allowed to benefit fully by medical science. They were, however, repeatedly warned that in the name of medicine or under the plea of illness they must not drift to excess.

4. The Uposatha or Fortnightly Assembly

Every fortnight all the monks living within a parish, which had a defined boundary, had to attend the assembly, the sick attending by proxy. After the election of the president (Sanghatthera or Sanghaparindyaka), two speakers, one on Dhamma and the other on Vinaya, were selected. Then the rules of the Patimokkha were recited, and every monk was asked whether he had committed any breach of the rules in the preceding fortnight. If the offence was of a light nature, absolution was given on his confessing it in public; if it was serious, the offender was ordered to leave the assembly hall and appear before a panel of monks on a subsequent day for reprimand. After finishing the business of the assembly, religious discourses were delivered for the benefit of the monks and the laity, if any, present.

Note 25

5. The Vassavasa or Rainy Season Retreat

During the three months of the rains, commencing from the day next to the full moon of Ashadha (June-July) or Sravana (JulyAugust), the monks were required to take up a fixed abode and depend for their subsistence on the neighbouring householders. At the close of the Retreatment, the monks met together to confess their offences, if any, committed during the three months. This ceremony is called Pavarana. At the end of the ceremony they accepted gifts from the laity.

6. Special Rules for Nuns

There is a special code of rules for the nuns entitled BhikkhuniPatimokkha. It contains certain extra restrictions, which generally relate to movements and residence, and a general supervision of the nuns by the monks.

7. Constitution

Buddhism is the only Indian religion to have departed from the ancient practice of the Teacher nominating a disciple to take his place after his death. Buddha did not nominate a successor, and enjoined that the monks living within a defined boundary (simd) were to elect their chief who would be the Sanghatthera or Sahgha parindyaka. Besides the election of the Sanghatthera, there were also the systems of formal moving of resolutions (jnapti), ballot voting by means of wooden sticks (salakd), formation of sub-committees, and sp forth. 1 For the different kinds of ecclesiastical acts like inflicting of punishment for an offence, restoration of the privileges of a monk, admission or readmission of a monk into the Sangha, the minimum number of members required to form the panels was fixed, and any reduction in the number made the ecclesiastical act invalid. In certain cases even the absence of a single member made an act invalid, and the resolution had to be passed unanimously. In every Sangha , office-bearers were elected, and that by unanimous consent, for carrying on its various functions, e.g. distribution of food and dress, provision of beds, erection of monasteries, etc.

Note 26

Note 27

Monastic institutions were the most remarkable contribution of Buddhism to Indian culture. Their original object was to give suitable accommodation to the monks for carrying on their studies and meditation. These gradually developed into academic centres for producing the right type of men, well grounded in religion and philosophy, to propagate the teachings of Buddhism. The ruins of the monasteries so far unearthed in the various parts of India give us some idea of the magnificence of these educational institutions and of the liberal gifts of the lay-devotees to further the cause of religion. These institutions grew up not merely as organisations for training missionaries, but also as great centres of culture, to which teachers and students flocked from far and near.

IV. HISTORY OF BUDDHISM

Having described the essential features of Buddhism we may now briefly trace its growth and development as a powerful factor in the culture not only of India but also of a large part of Asia. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the four General Councils mark the first four stages in the history of the Buddhist religion'and literature, and it will therefore be convenient to begin with them.

1. First Council—Close of the First Stage

The first Buddhist Council, which closes the first stage of the history of Buddhism, was held soon after Buddha's death under the auspices of king Ajatasatru. 1 An account of this Council appears in all the Vinaya texts of different sects and runs as follows:—Mahakassapa, a distinguished disciple of Buddha, convened a Council of Elders, who were all arhats , to put together the scattered sayings of the Teacher relating to Dhamma and Vinaya. While Mahakassapa took the chair, Ananda recited the discourses delivered by the Teacher on Dhamma, and Upali recited those on disciplinary matters. The monks present committed them to memory, and thus a beginning was made of the two Pitakas, Sutta and Vinaya. It is not possible to determine which portions of the two Pitakas were compiled in the Council, but in view of the close agreement that exists in certain texts and passages between the Pali and Sanskrit versions, it may be assumed that the texts and passages common to the two versions, as also the passages which are repeated in the Suttas, formed the nucleus of the Pitakas as rehearsed in the Council.

Note 28

Many scholars have expressed their doubts about the authenticity of the account of the Council, but the latest opinion is in favour of the view that the Council was an enlarged Patimokkha assembly. This view is supported by the story that Ananda was made to confess before the assembly certain minor offences committed by him while acting as the servitor of Buddha. In the fortnightly assemblies, as already stated, a president is elected as also two expositors, one of Dhamma and the other of Yinaya. Hence, this Council complies with all the conditions of a Patimokkha assembly, and we can therefore take the account of the Council as fairly authentic, except that portion which deals with the recitation of the complete Pitakas.

It is not possible to determine how much of the Buddhist religion and philosophy and monastic organisation developed during Buddha's lifetime i.e., before the First Council. The details given in the preceding pages have been collected from the Pali Pitakas, a large portion of which must have been composed after the First Council. It will not be wide of the mark if we attribute all the developments detailed above to the century that elapsed after Buddha's death. During this period the Sangha remained intact, and whatever differences occurred among the monks were either settled by persuasion or by application of the rules laid down in the Patimokkha. There are statements in the Nikayas and Vinaya hinting at the possibility of dissensions in the Sangha, and Devadatta actually made an attempt to create a dissension, but probably without much success.

2. Second Stage

It is in the account of the Second Council, held about a century after Buddha's death under the auspices of king Kalasoka or Kakavar$in at Vaisali, that we come to know for the first time that a sharp division took place between the two groups of monks described as easterners and westerners. The former lived mostly at Vaisali and Pataliputra, and the latter at Kausambi, Patheyya and Avanti. According to the tradition recorded in the Vinaya Pitaka, the difference arose in connection with the ten rules of discipline which the easterners adopted against the protest of the westerners. The ten rules are as follows:—(i) storing of salt for use when needed, (ii) taking food after mid-day, (iii) over-eating by taking a second forenoon meal in a neighbouring village, (iv) observance of uposatha in different places within the same parish (sima), (v) taking sanction for an act from the Sangha after it has been done, (vi) use of prece dents as autftority for an act, (vii) drinking whey after meals, (viii) the use of a seat without a border, (ix) drinking of unfermented palm juice, and (x) the acceptance of gold and silver. The westerners came in a body to dissuade the easterners from adopting these rules, but failed to do so. A sub-committee was then formed with four members from each of the two groups. This sub-committee of eight, composed mostly of senior and learned monks, discussed the rules and declared them unorthodox in open assembly. The easterners, who were known as the Vajjiputtakas, did not abide by the decision, convened another Council which they called Mahasangtti, and adopted all the rules as valid.

In a few late texts on the history of Buddhist sects, the difference between the two groups is attributed to the five doctrines of Mahadeva, four of which assign certain imperfections to an arhat, who is regarded by the westerners as perfect and fully emancipated. It is very likely that there were differences between the two groups both in doctrines and disciplinary rules, and the former is not mentioned in the Vinaya Pitaka as these were outside its scope.

The LHpavamsa adds that the seceding monks made certain changes in the texts of the Tripitaka and excluded the Abhidhamma Pitaka from the sayings of Buddha. The easterners came to be known as the Mahasanghikas and, in contrast to the designation of the westerners as Theravada, they were known as Achariyavada.

Once the dissension in the Sangha started, it began to multiply. The Theravada became gradually divided into eleven sects, and the Achariyavada into seven. All the eighteen sects were fundamentally HInayanists; a few sub-sects of the Achariyavada group later on introduced new doctrines which paved the way for Mahayanism. Besides the eighteen there came into being a few more sects at a later period. As it is not possible to speak here of the doctrines of all the sub-sects, we shall touch only the principal doctrines of some of the major sects.

The oldest and the most orthodox sect was the Theravada (=Sans. Sthaviravada) which, according to the Tibetan tradition, claimed Mahakachchayana, a native of UjjayinI (Avanti), as its founder. This sect had its centre at Kausambi and UjjayinI and adopted Pali as the language of its Pitaka. It was propagated in Ceylon by Aioka's son Mahendra or Mahinda, who carried with him the Pali Pitaka to Ceylon. There were two very large monasteries in Ceylon, known as Mahavihara and Abhayagiri. The former

became the repository of the Pali Pi^aka and a favourite rendezvous of the Theravadins, while the latter (Abhayagiri) became the seat of the less orthodox sects, 1 The doctrines found in the Pali Pitaka and dealt with above are really those of the Theravada sect and need not therefore be reiterated here.

The most important branch of the Theravada was the Sarvastivada. According to the Tibetan tradition, the founder of this sect was Rahulabhadra, and the language of its Pitaka was Sanskrit. Its early centre was at Mathura; later it moved to Gandhara and then to Kashmir. It became very popular all over northern India, and weilded great influence from the time of A£oka to that of Kanishka, who was its staunch supporter. During the Kushana period it made its way to Central Asia and thence to China. Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing carried to their country the Pitakas of this sect, and the Hinayana texts at present existing in China are mainly translations of the Sarvastivada Pitaka. Of the manuscripts and their fragments discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan, several belong to it. In doctrine and disciplinary rules there is a general agreement between this sect and the Theravada. The vital difference between the two is that the Sarvastivadins held that a being is composed of five dharmas , sub-divided into seventy-five elements. These elements persist in an individual through all his existences, the present complex being the result of the past, and potential of the future. This sect contended that when Buddha spoke of impermanence (anitya), he meant the composite of the elements and not the elements themselves. In short, it maintained the permanence of the elements like the atoms of the Nyaya-Vaiseshikas. This sect became later known as the Vaibhashikas on account of the fact that It attached more importance to the Vibhdshds (commentaries) than to the Sutras (original sayings); it is referred to in the Brahmanical philosophical literature by this alternative name.

Several other sects, such as the Mahisasaka, Saihmitiya or VasIputrTya and Sautrantika differed from the Theravada only in minor points.

The Mahasanghika sect, as already stated, originated at the time of the Second Council. It claimed Mahakassapa as its founder. At its early stage it had its centre at Vai^all and was scattered all over northern India. Later, it became located in the Andhra country, having its principal centre at Amaravatl and Nagarjunikomjla. The alternative name of this sect and its sub-sects was the Andhaka, evidently on account of its popularity in the Andhra country. From the Nagarjunikontfa inscriptions it is apparent that this sect had a complete Sutta Pifaka , divided into five Nikdyas , and a Vinaya Ptfcika, which is now available in Chinese translation. It adopted Prakrit as the language of its Tripitaka. Philosophically there was not much difference between this sect and the Theravada. The main deviation made by this sect was to deify the Buddha, and to assert that he was supramundane (lokottara), so that what passed as Buddha in this world was an apparition. Along with this deviation, it maintained that the arhathood was not the highest or the fully emancipated state, and that every individual should aspire for Buddhahood, and not arhathood, as had so long been preached by the Theravadins.

Note 29

Among the sects that branched off from the Mahasanghikas, the most popular and influential were the Purvasailas, Aparasailas, Uttarasailas and Chaityakas. These are mentioned in the Nagarjunikon$a and Amaravati inscriptions. Their Pi^aka was the same as that of the Mahasanghikas, and their views about Buddha 'and arhathood were identical with those of the Mahasanghikas. They add that even the Bodhisattvas are not average beings, as they also are possessed of supramundane qualities. The mind, they state, is pure in its origin and becomes impure only by contact with impurities.

The deification of the Buddha, the introduction ot the Bodhisattva conception, the change of the ideal from arhathood to Buddhahood and, lastly, the conception of mind (vifnana) as pure in its origin prove distinctly that they were the precursors of Mahayanism, particularly Vijnanavada or Yogachara.

There were a few other sub-sects of this group. They did not attain much prominence except the Vaitulyakas (=Pali Vetullavada) who had stronger pro-Mahayanic views and probably made their centre in Ceylon at the Abhayagiri monastery. 1

3. Third Stage

From the above survey of the Buddhist sects, it is apparent that the history of Buddhism of the second century after Gautama's death was no longer the history of a single monastic organisation, but of quite a larger number growing independently of one another in different parts of India. The more influential of them compiled

Note 30

their own sets of Pitakas and claimed these to be the original sayings of the Teacher. There was no supreme head of the Buddhist Church either to co-ordinate the divergent views or to settle the rival claims about the authenticity of the Buddha's sayings.

A Buddhist monk could reside in any monastery irrespective of his adherence to a particular sect. This is also implied in the direction that a monastery belonged to the Ckatuddisasaiigha (monks of the four quarters). In some inscriptions, however, the donor has particularly named a sect to which he dedicated his monastery, though this was against the general monastic rule. When members of different sects resided in one monastery, difficulties arose in the observance of the fortnightly Uposatha ceremony, for one of the preliminary conditions of such a ceremony was that all the resident monks taking part in the ceremony must declare at the outset that they had not committed any breach of the disciplinary rules during the preceding fortnight. As the disciplinary rules and regulations of the sects differed from one another, a member of a sect complying with the rules of his own sect might not be accepted as guiltless by another sect. A member, e.g. of the Mahasanghika sect, would be regarded as pure by the

Mahasahghikas even though he took a meal after midday, but he would be regarded as impure by the Theravada sect, and the latter would not allow him to take part in ceremonies unless he confessed his offence.

It was very likely due to differences of this nature that the fortnightly assemblies could not be held in the Aiokarama at Pataliputra for seven years. The tradition goes that Asoka wished that the assembly for Uposatha ceremony should be held at his monastery, and deputed a minister to see that his wishes were carried out. The minister, it is said, went too far in enforcing the king’s command, and actually beheaded those monks who refused to comply with the king’s wishes. A£oka was stricken with deep remorse for the brutal measures taken by his subordinate and sought the advice of the most learned monk of the time, Moggaliputta Tissa, who was then residing in a neighbouring forest. On his advice, the story goes, Aioka dismissed from the Sangha all those monks who did not avow themselves as Vibhajjavadins (=Theravadins). A Council was then held by the Vibhajjavadins under the chairmanship of Moggaliputta Tissa. who made an attempt to refute the views of some of the non-Theravadins in order to establish his own as the original teaching of Buddha. The refutations were compiled under

the title of Kathdvatthu , which was made the fifth book of the Abhidhamma Pitaka of the Theravadins. It is doubtful if the efforts of Moggaliputta had the desired effect, but history shows that some of the minor sects ceased to exist or coalesced with other sects. 1

The authenticity of the account of the Third Council has been questioned by many scholars On the following grounds: (i) that it is not to be found in the Sanskrit traditions nor in records of the Chinese travellers, (ii) that the edicts issued by A£oka towards the end of his reign do not mention it, and (iii) that Asoka could not have lent his support to any particular Buddhist sects to the exclusion of others. The grounds are plausible, though they are only of a negative character. Regarding the authenticity of the account, it may be conceded that the Council was a sectarian one meant for the Theravadins, and that Asoka or his minister had nothing to do with it. After the conclusion of this Council, it is said, missionaries were despatched to various countries, evidently for the propagation of the Theravada doctrines.

It would appear from the list of such countries [2] that Buddhism spread over the major part of India and, if Suvannabhumi denotes Burma, even beyond its frontier. This is not at all unlikely, for we know from Asoka's inscriptions that he sent Buddhist missions to the Greek kingdoms in western Asia, North Africa and eastern Europe [3] . The amount of success achieved by these missions cannot be determined, but it seems possible that Buddhism ultimately gained a footing in some of these regions, as will be related in Chapter XXIV

4. Fourth Stage

Perhaps as a reaction to the zeal of Asoka for the Buddhist faith, his successors were not very favourably disposed towards Buddhism. With the exception of Mahinda, the apostle of Ceylon, none of the sons or grandsons of Aioka is known to have embraced Buddhism. In Pushyamitra, who overthrew the Mauryas, the reaction against Buddhism reached its climax. The immediate effect of this antipathy upon the spread of Buddhism cannot be precisely determined, but there is no doubt that for a time it enjoyed wide popularity. The architectural remains especially of stupas and monasteries, and the large number of inscriptions in Mathura, Sanchl, Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya and other important centres, to which reference will be made later, leave no doubt about its phenomenal development by the beginning of the Christian era.

Note 31

Note 32

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Note 34

Another important factor was its patronage by foreign rulers. The famous treatise Milinda-panha or Questions of King Milinda (or Menander) and the Shinkot (Bajaur) inscription of his reign prove that he espoused the Buddhist creed and helped its propagation even in the hilly region between the Hindu Kush and the Sindhu. There are evidences that other Greek rulers followed his example. The Kushana rulers, particularly Kanishka, were also great patrons of Buddhism.

Hiuen Tsang records that Kanishka was at first unsympathetic towards Buddhism but later embraced it. 1 Being perplexed by the variant interpretations, given by the different teachers, of the sayings of Buddha, he decided to convene a Council in Kashmir 2 with the help of Parsva and invited the monks of all countries to take part in the deliberations of the Council. 3 Vasumitra was elected its chairman. A thorough discussion took place about the sense of the difficult passages of the scriptures and these discussions were compiled in the form of commentaries known as the Vibhasha-sastras.

Paramartha 4 gives a slightly different account of the Council. He also locates the session of the Council in Kashmir, but gives the credit of convening it to Katyayanlputra, author of the Jnanaprasth&na-sutra, , the principal treatise of the Abhidharma Pitaka of the Sarvastivadins. It contains eight sections and was put into literary form by Aivaghosha. Then the commentaries (Vibhasha-sastras) were compiled and it took twelve years to complete them.

The Tibetan historian Taranatha also gives an account of the Council. He writes that the Council admitted the claims of the eighteen sects as giving a correct interpretation of Buddha’s sayings, evidently from a sectarian point of view.

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From all these accounts it is apparent that the Council was held in the stronghold of the Sarvastivadins, and that the leading monks of the Council belonged to this sect. Hence the Council might have listened to the different interpretations of the teachers of the different sects, but ultimately gave preference to the exposition of the Sarvastivadins. It is doubtful if Kanishka had any hand in the Council, though it might have been held under his auspices. The session of this Council is ignored in the Pali traditions. Apparently it was also a sectarian affair of the Sarvastivadins, as the Third Council was of the Theravadins.

5. The Rise of Mahdydnism

The session of the Fourth Council synchronises with the emergence of Mahayanism, which marks the first great split in the Buddhist church and its fundamental doctrines. As is usual with all such movements, its beginnings may be traced to a much earlier, period, although it did not assume any definite shape until about the beginning of the Christian era

Buddhism retained its pristine originality during the first'century of its existence, but in the second century we notice a change in the outlook and the inauguration of a new movement towards a more liberal interpretation of the disciplinary rules. The emphasis was still on the monastic life, though in the doctrines of the Saila schools was incorporated the new Bodhisattva ideal, which implied that anyone, be he a householder or recluse, was entitled to perform certain meritorious acts (pdramitas) in order ultimately to attain Buddhahood. Anoka's edicts reveal that he wanted good citizens and not recluses. He laid emphasis on a heavenly life hereafter, and not on Nirvana; in other words, he gave preference to the ideal which the early Buddhists held out to their lay-devotees (updsdkas and updsikds). It is therefore not improbable that, under the aegis of A£oka, the Buddhist monks changed their angle of vision and devised ways and means for providing a place in the religion for the laity.

The laity was allowed to take the Trisarana, observe temporarily eight of the ten moral precepts, and offer gifts to the Sahgha, but there was no provision for organized worship or ritual. For the first time we find in the Mahdparinibbana-sutta directions for erect ing stupas and chatty as (burial mounds and shrines), and an account of the contest for relics to deposit in them. The same sutta further enjoins the laity not only to worship at the stupas with garlands and unguents, but to make pilgrimages to the four places sanctified by the Buddha's birth, his attainment of Bodhi , his first promulgation of the Dhamma, and his entry into Nirvana {mah&parinirvana) . The merits accruing were believed to be immense, and assured the rebirth of the performer in heaven. These directions given to the laity were undoubtedly interpolations of a later date, which may be assigned to the Asokan period.

In the Nikayas there is neither reference to the Bodhisattva ideal nor to meritorious acts—the six pdramitds —of the Saila schools. In the post-Asokan period, however, the Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures testify to the popularity of the Jafakas and Avaddnas, the main theme of which is the fulfilment of paramitd. It must therefore be some time in the third or second century B.C. that the doctrine of paramitd was evolved and, by way of illustration, story after story was composed, resulting in the accumulation of the huge Jataka and Avadana literature.

By Paramitd is meant the highest acquisition of a particular virtue. There were at first six of them, and then the number was increased to ten. These are as follows:—liberality (ddna) ; righteousness (sila); forbearance or endurance (kshdnti); mental strength (virya) ; mental concentration (dhydna); realisation of the truth iprajnd); skilfulness in expedients (updyakausalya); vow or resolution (pranidhdna) ; attainment of certain powers (bala); and knowledge (jndna).

A Bodhisattva, whether as a householder or a recluse, or even as a non-human being, is required to acquire all the six or ten virtues in order to qualify himself for the attainment of Buddhahood. Gautama and all other Buddhas had to do the same in their several existences. The early (Pali) Buddhists included the Jdtakas in their Khuddaka Nikdya, indicating their tacit approval of the new cult. The Sarvastivadins laid special stress on this literature and extolled the cult in the Lalita Vistara. These sects, however, still adhered to their old belief that this cult was meant for exceedingly rare beings, perhaps one in a kalpa, who, like Sakya Gautama or Dipankara, would ultimately become a Buddha. Hence the credit for first popularising it among the masses goes to the Mahasanghikas and their offshoots, who preached that every being should aspire to Buddhahood and therefore aim at becoming a Bodhisattva by acquiring the appropriate virtues.

Along with this doctrine, the Mahasanghikas deified the Buddha, and so gave an opportunity to the masses to satisfy their religious emotions. During the centuries preceding the Christian era devotees had to content themselves with making and worshipping symbols. In the centuries after the Christian era the erection and worship of Buddha-images came into vogue, and devotees at last found a means for expressing their devotion. They covered India with temples and monasteries filled with such images in the belief that merit accrued both to the donors and to the artists. Pristine Buddhism could no longer withstand the surge of religious enthusiasm and had to yield to popular feeling. This paved the way for the advent of Mahayanism.

It is difficult to assign any particular date to the rise of the Mahayana sect. Even in the Pali Nikayas there are passages which inculcate Mahayana doctrines. The crucial test for designating a particular form of Buddhism or a particular text as Mahayana is to ascertain whether it (i) teaches dharmaMnyatd (non-reality of phenomenal objects) besides pudgalasunyatd (absence of any substance such as soul); (ii) incorporates the conception of countless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; (iii) advocates the worship of gods' and goddesses; and (iv) recommends the use of mantras for attaining emancipation. The earliest text to contain the above-mentioned doctrines is the Prajnfiparamitd. The first Chinese translation of the text was made in A.D. 148 by Lokaraksha, and so we can assume that the original was in existence by the first century A.D. 1 There are several Prajnaparamita texts of different dates; of these the oldest is Ashtasahasrika.

Now let us examine the traditional evidence regarding the time of the emergence of Mahayana. It would appear from the account of Kanishka’s Council, as given by Paramartha and Taranatha, that Mahayanism was already a living force. Taranatha also tells us that, during the reign of Kanishka’s son, the teaching of Mahayana had greatly advanced and that various Mahayana texts were composed by the younger monks without any dispute with the older brethren. 2 In the Ashtasdhasrikd-Prajndpdramitd we come across an interesting statement to the effect that the Mahayana teaching will originate in Dakshinapatha (southern India), pass to eastern countries (vavtanyam), and prosper in the north. There is also the Tibetan tradition that the Saila schools (Mahasanghika group) had

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a PrajnapcLramitd in Prakrit. Taranatha describes Arhat Nanda, a native of Anga, as a great expounder of Mahayana doctrines.

Putting all these pieces of evidence together, we may conclude that Mahayana Buddhism originated about the first century B.C. in the Andhra country where the Mahasanghikas had their centre; it became a recognised form of Buddhism at the time of Kanishka; and then it spread all over northern India in the first or second century A.D. to blossom into its full glory under the care of Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga and Vasubandhu.

Though Mahayanism had its beginning in the pre-Christian era when the first Prajndpdramita was composed, it took time to attain popularity against the opposition of the well-established Hlnayanism, the name applied, by way of contrast, to the primitive religion. The main argument put forward by the Hinayanists against Mahayanism was that it was not expounded by Buddha, and that its ideal of Buddhahood as attainable by every being was not practical. In most of the Mahayana texts attempts have been made to refute these charges.

Mahayanism, it seems, could not make much Headway till the advent of the two savants Nagarjuna and Asanga, whose masterly expositions put into shade the HInayana teachings and made a strong appeal to the intelligentsia. The common belief that Asvaghosha, the contemporary of Kanishka, was the earliest exponent of Mahayana philosophy is based on the confusion made between the author of the Buddhacharita and other Kavyas and dramas 1 and that of the Sraddhotpada-sutra containing a brief exposition of the Yogachara views. There can, however, be hardly any doubt that the two were different persons and the latter flourished much later than the poet Asvaghosha. 2

The earliest writer, therefore, on Mahayana philosophy was Nagarjuna, about whom the traditions are still more confusing than those about

Asvaghosha. The accounts furnished by the Chinese and Tibetan writers were all derived from an Indian source, which had mixed up the famous alchemist and the Tantric teacher Nagarjuna, the contemporary of a Satavahana king, 3 with the philosopher Nagarjuna, the propounder of the Madhyamika philosophy. The information given in Taranatha's and Buston's history appears

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mostly to relate to the Tan trie teacher and not to the philosopher Nagarjuna. Kumarajiva's biography (in Chinese, A.D. 405) does not furnish us with any detailed reliable information. All the traditions state that Nagarjuna wrote the commentary on the PanchaviThsatisdhasrikd-Prajndpdrirnitd , 1 which is still available in Chinese 2 and reveals the master mind of Nagarjuna. It is the gist of this sastra that we find in his Madhyamaka-kdrika , in which he clearly establishes his doctrine of 'Sunyata or Tathata (j=the absolute). Several Buddhist texts 3 contain the prophecy of Buddha that Nagarjuna would be born 400 years after his demise. If Buddha's death took place in 483 B.C., the period of activities of the philosopher Nagarjuna should be placed about the first century A.D. Out of the confusing traditions we may elicit the following information about the philosopher's life:

Nagarjuna was born at Vidarbha (Berar) in a Brahmana family and was well versed in the Brahmanic sastras. He became an authoritative exponent of the doctrine of existence and non-existence, i.e. Sunyatd or Tathatd. Although a Mahayanist, he was solicitous of the welfare of the Hlnayanists. He was a statmeh disciplinarian, and it is said that he expelled from the Sahgha a large number of monks who showed laxity in the observance of the Vinaya rules. He became the head of the Sangha at Nalanda, the fame of which put into shade the glories of Vajrasana (Bodh-Gaya), hitherto one of the principal centres of Hlnayanists.

While he was the chief abbot of Nalanda, 4 it is said, there was a division among his followers, leading to the origin of the Yogachara school of philosophy. The earliest and greatest exponent of this school was Asanga.

He also came of a Brahmana family of Peshawar. He was at first a Sarvastivadin, and later in his life became a Mahayanist (Yogachara). His brother was Vasubandhu, 5 the famous exponent of Sarvdstivdda-dbhidharma as also the Yogachara philosophy.

The growth of Mahayana contributed to the further development of Buddhism as a popular cult all over India and even far

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beyond his frontiers. The epigraphic evidence furnishes the most eloquent testimony to its prevalence in different parts of India from the remote N.-W. Frontier Province to the extreme south. Of more than a thousand epigraphic records belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era that have so far come to light, by far the great majority belongs to Buddhism.

The monumental remains tell the same tale. Apart from the important centres mentioned above, we have many others located in south-east India, notably at Amaravatl and Nagarjunikonda. The famous relic-tower at Peshawar, built by Kanishka, was a veritable wonder for centuries. Even the inaccessible hilly regions beyond the Sindhu have preserved numerous relics of a flourishing state of Buddhism. In addition to the Kushanas, other ruling dynasties, such as the Western Satraps, Satavahanas and Ikshvakus, were great patrons of Buddhism.

It should not be supposed, however, that all this wide popularity was monopolised by Mahay an ism. The large number of inscriptions at Amaravatl and Nagar j unikonda reveal that a few Hlnayana sects, mostly of the Mahasanghika group, were popular in this region in the early centuries of the Christian era. Of particular importance for the history of Buddhism is the inscription recording the dedication of a monastery to the Theriyas (i.e Theravada monks of Ceylon) to whom credit has been given for the introduction of Buddhism into Kashmir-Gandhara, China, Chilata, Tosali, Aparanta, Vanga, Vanavas!, the Yona countries, Damila, Polura and Tambapanni. The inscriptions seem to prove that Buddhism (Mahasanghika) flourished in this area in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the Mahachaitya erected at Nagar j unikonda became a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists all over India

The first three centuries of the Christian era also witnessed a wide spread of Buddhism in a large part of Asia as far as China. The first impetus to it was given by the missionary activity of Asoka, 1 but its further progress was accelerated by the patronage of foreign rulers like the Greeks, Parthians, Sakas and the Kushanas who had intimate association with western and central Asia. Through these regions Buddhism gradually penetrated into China, Burma and other parts of eastern and south-eastern Asia. This phenomenon is of particular importance inasmuch as Buddhism still

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prevails in many of these countries, though it has practically lost hold over the land of its origin. The history of this outward movement of Buddhism will be related in a subsequent chapter.

V. BUDDHA IMAGES AND BUDDHIST SCULPTURE

The early Buddhist monuments of Sanchl, Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya, Amaravati and other places of the Sunga and post-Sunga periods will be described in detail in Chapter XX. These were mostly stupas or funerary structures which were encircled by railings (vediha.) with gateways (tor anas) attached to them. Different sections of these railings and gateways were covered with carvings, some of which are intimately associated with episodes in the various lives lived by the Buddha, which have been described as Jatakas. The word Jataka meant ‘birth-stories’ or stories having a bearing on the jati (birth) of the Buddha. The jdti again not only meant his present or last birth, but also the countless previous ones as bird, beast and man, in which he was continually qualifying himself for the attainment of the final goal (Nirvana). In the early Buddhist texts, Nidanakathd, or a collection of tales connected with this chain of divine births, has been orincipally divided into two sections, viz . dure nidana (remote section) and avidure nidana (not-far-remote section), the former dealing with his previous existence and the latter with the last one. Of the latter, again, those incidents that occurred after his victory over the arch-tempter Mara come under the santike nidana (near-at-hand section). Other stories narrated in early Buddhist literature dealt with the lives of the former Buddhas, a belief in whom was already well current in Maurya times, and with the history of the order after the Mahdparinirvdna of Buddha. All these were illustrated in the carvings of the monuments mentioned above.

One very interesting peculiarity of these early bas-reliefs is thai neither the present Buddha &akya-muni nor his predecessors are represented in iconic form. The extant Amaravati reliefs, which mostly belong to the second century A.D. and later periods, combine the earlier aniconic tradition along with the later iconic one, for some of them show Buddha anthropomorphically represented. Buddha's presence in most of the early sculptures is invariably indicated by means of various symbols, such as the Bodhi tree with the Vajrasana beneath it, the garlanded wheel (Dharmachakra) , the concrete representation of the Buddha's walk (Chafikrama) and the stupa of the present or past Buddhas. From the strict uniformity

with which this practice is followed it appears that there was puritanical convention against the anthropomorphic representation of the Master, observed by the artists of central India. This was probably due to the fact that, to the earlier Buddhists, the Master was a Teacher, not a Saviour God, and they were anxious to avoid any form of worship except reverence to his relics. This convention, however, was shortly to disappear and iconographic types of the Buddha made their appearance apparently simultaneously in the Hellenistic school of Gandhara and in the Indian school of Mathura. 1 Both the Gandhara and Mathura Buddha types, however, were basically derived from the Indian conception of a great man (Mahapurusha) who had some destinctive marks on his body (MaMpurvxhalakshxiiuis). Early Indian literature, belonging to different Indian creeds, is full of references to these characteristic signs of great men, and some Buddhist texts of the pre-Christian period (Mah&padana- and Lakkhana-suttantas of the Dtgha Nikaya) went so far as to enumerate them as thirty-two major ones to which eighty minor ones were subsequently added (dvdtrimsanmahdpuriishalakshandni and aJntyanuvyanjantini). The texts glibly inform us that the person who bears these marks on his body will be a sovereign king (rajachakravarfi) if he remains at home (agdri, really living a worldly life), but if he renounces the worldly life (or becomes andgdri) he will be a Buddha. Now, the Hellenistic artists of Gandhara as well as the indigenous artists of Mathura utilised in their respective manner whichever of these canonical signs could be represented in art. Iconographic and iconometric texts of a much later date, such as the Sambuddhabhdshita-Pratimalakshaya, delineating the various signs and bodily measurements of the ideal figure of Buddha, contained relevant references to them.

The Buddha figures in general can be classified under three main types, viz. sth&naka (standing), asana (seated), and say ana (recumbent). Each of these, when it was a part of a composite relief, especially the first two, with the hands shown in particular poses (rrmdra), was intended to illustrate different incidents in the life-history of the Master; a number of accessory figures clustering round the central one were sometimes used as aids in this respect. The recumbent form was only utilised to represent the scene of the great decease (mnMparinirmna) at Kusinagara. In this scene Buddha is shown lying sideways on a couch, his head resting on one

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of his hands, the chief accessory objects, almost invariably present in the composition, being the two Sala trees indicating the Sola grove of Kusinagara in which he breathed his last, the sorrowing Vajrapai?i and Ananda, the monk Subhadra seated in dhydna pose who is said to have been converted by Buddha in his death-bed, and Ka^yapa with his monk's garb and staff standing near the feet of the dying Buddha. This composition, which we frequently find among the extant Gandhara sculptures, came to be the recognised mode of representing the Mahaparinirvana scene though, in later sculptures, the number of accessories was much curtailed.

In the Gandhara standing types, Buddha is usually shown with his right hand raised in the abhaya mudrd 1 and the left hanging down by his side slightly projecting out of the garment. This is the normal mode, its variants being rarely found. A favourite theme of the Gandhara sculptors is to show eight figures standing side by side with halos behind their heads, the first seven clad in monk's garments, the eighth wearing secular dress and holding a nectar flask in its hand. The former are the seven past Buddhas including Sakyamuni, whose symbolical representation in central Indian Buddhist art has already been alluded to. It should be noted that the arrangement of the monk's dress in the several figures is almost invariably the same, though the position of the hands slightly differs in individual specimens. But what is of particular importance here is the presence of Maitreya, the future Buddha, with a nectar flask as his special cognisance, which is undoubtedly a new feature. The treatment of drapery of these Buddhas of the extreme north-west of India is almost entirely Hellenistic. 2

The earlier Gandhara Buddhas again show heads covered with waving tresses, but the locks are certainly not intended to conceal 'the disfigurement caused by the ushnisha (a bump on the top of the head regarded as a bump of intelligence)' as was supposed by Griinwedel and other scholars. The plastic treatment of hair gathered in a top-knot created what came to be mistaken later as a bump, and this motif must have been at the root of the later illusion that the ushnisha was a sign of greatness. The peculiar device adopted by the early artists of Gandhara, Mathura and S&rnath for protecting the fingers was similarly responsible for the rise of the concept of another sign of greatness (mahapurusha-lakshana), viz. the webbed fingers (jalangulihastCLpadatalata).

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In some sculptures from Gandhara, Mathura and Sarnath, the hair on Buddha's head is shown well-arranged in curls turning from left to right, which meant to represent another auspicious sign, the dakshinavartamurdhaja (curls turning from left to right). But the treatment of hair in the early Buddha images of Mathura widely differed from the usual Gandhara convention; it is indicated by a raised plane above the forehead and a thick single spiral coil on the top centre turned from left to right. This fashion was misunderstood by scholars, some of whom maintained that the head of this type of Mathura Buddha was partially shaven with the ushnisha shown spirally on the top.

The mudras or the hand-poses of the seated Buddhas of Gandhara are usually very few in number, the commonest among them being the abhaya (protection), the dhydna (meditation) and, comparatively rarely, the bhusparsa (touching the earth) and the Dharmachakramudrti (turning the wheel of law).

In addition to Buddha images we get also those of Bodhisattva, t.e. 'a being who is in process of obtaining but has not yet obtained Buddhahood', such as Gautama or Siddhartha before his attainment of nirvana. He was not represented in early relief-sculptures in human form, his presence being indicated by means of symbols like a caparisoned horse without a rider, with a parasol held above, and the Bodhi tree with the vajrasana beneath it.

The indigenous artists of Mathura and the Hellenistic sculptors of Gandhara between them introduced the figure of the Bodhisattva Gautama in art. The inscribed standing and seated images of Mathura, representing Gautama dressed as a monk, are sometimes described in their pedestal inscriptions either as Bodhisattva or as Buddha, and it seems that the local artists did not attach any great significance to the difference in meaning between the two terms. But the Gandhara artists, who illustrated in detail the various incidents in the present life of the Master, depicted him in several ways as the particular occasions in the narratives demanded. The grownup Gautama was usually shown as a prince dressed in secular garments. But many of the royal figures, adorned with jewelled head-dresses and other elaborate ornaments, and holding either a lotus flower or a nectar flask in their hands, undoubtedly stands for Bodhisattvas other than Siddhartha. The future Buddha Maitreya, characterised by a peculiar mode of arranging the hair in a double loop on the head, as noted above, is not only shown in the company

of the sever) past Buddhas but is also very often depicted as one of the two principal acolytes by the side of Gautama. The latter composition usually shows Buddha seated in the middle, with Maitreya to his left, and another well-dressed figure to his right who either holds a lotus flower in his right hand or bears a lotus mark on it. The latter undoubtedly stands for

Padmapani or Avalokitesvara, one of the most important Bodhisattvas of the developed Mahayana pantheon. It should be noted that Maitreya and Avalokitesvara belonged to different categories. The former like Siddhartha was to become a Buddha in future, while the latter would always remain in the Bodhisattva stage.

The most important characteristic of these divine beings is compassionateness, which is strikingly illustrated by a remarkable Hellenistic composition recovered from Loriyan Tangai and now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The relief shows Buddha sitting in Padmdsana on a lotus having two seated Bodhisattva figures, one on either side; both are depicted in a sorrowful pose, indicated by the heads resting aslant on one of their hands,'the right hand of the figure on the proper right holding a manuscript, and the left hand of the one on the other side a bunch of lotus flowers. The attendant on the left is Padmapani-Avalokitesvara, “the all-pitying one”, while the one on the proper right can be identified, on the basis of the manuscript in his hand, as Manjusri, personifying knowledge and wisdom. Thus, it is possible for us to recognise three different Bodhisattvas in Gandharan art from their individual iconographic features, the first of them, Maitreya, belonging to one category, and the next two, Avalokitesvara and Manjusri, to another. Such Bodhisattva figures are, however, extremely rare among the ruins at Mathura of the 6aka-Kusha$a period, only a few figures of Maitreya and Vajrapani being recognisable from their respective cognisances such as an amriiaghata or a vcjra in their hands.

Another distinct iconographic type in Gandhara, a thunderboltbearing figure almost invariably accompanying Buddha in the numerous genre representations of the life-story of the Master, from the time of the Great Renunciation to that of the Great Decease, was variously identified by scholars as Devadatta, Mara, &akra, and Dharma; but it was correctly identified by Foucher as Yaksha Vajrapani, who is described in many authoritative Buddhist texts as one of the principal ministerial angels of the Buddha from the time of

his Mahabhinishkrainana to his Mahaparinirvdna . This Yaksha Vajrapani was the prototype of Bodhisattva Vajrapani, one of the important Dhyani-

Boddhisattvas of the developed Mahayana, about whom more will be said later on.

VI. THE PALI CANON

It has been stated above that the canon of the sacred literature of the Buddhists was composed in Pali, Magadhi, and other dialects. Of these the Pali version alone has survived in its entirety. Of the rest, only very small fragments have so far come to light and these need not be surveyed in detail.

The Pali canon consists of three pi^akas (baskets) and is therefore known as the Tipitaka (Tripitaka in Sanskrit). These are Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma Pitakas. The first deals with the rules of the monastic order. The second, as noted above, deals with the ethical principles of Buddha's teaching. The third or Abhidhamma Pitaka expounds the metaphysical principles underlying the doctrine.

There is yet another division of the canon into nine ahgas (limbs) mentioned in several places in the Tipitaka. They are: sermons in prose only (sutta), sermons in prose and verse (geyya), explanations (veyyakarana) , stanzas (gdvha), epigrams (udana), short saying beginning with "Thus spoke the Buddha" (itivuttaka) , stories of previous incarnations (jataka), miracles (abbhutadhamma) , and teachings in the form of question and answer (vedalla). This list of the angas is a classification of the various texts comprising the canon according to their form and contents. It clearly shows that all these diverse types of Buddhist literature were already in existence when the canon was compiled in its present form.

1. Vinaya Pitaka

The Vinaya Pitaka, which has been placed at the head of the canon by the Buddhists themselves, comprises the following texts: Patimokkha, Sutta Vibhanga, Khandhakas, and Parivara.

(i) Patimokkha . The nucleus of the Vinaya is the Patimokkha , which, as noted above, 1 gives a list of rules of discipline together with atonements for transgressing them. An oft-repeated phrase says that the life of a good monk is checked by the restraints of the Patimokkha. It originally contained only 152 rules, which were

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later extended to 227, divided into ten sections, as we now find in the Vinaya Pitaka .

(ii) Sutta Vibhanga, i.e. explanations of Suttas (of the Patimokkha), tells in a sort of historical introduction how, when, and why the particular rule in question came to be laid down. The words of the rule are given in full, followed by a very ancient wordfor-word commentary, which in its turn is succeeded by further explanations and discussions of doubtful points. The Sutta Vibhanga comprises (1) Maha-vibhanga which has eight chapters dealing with eight classes of transgressions against discipline, and (2) Bhikkhuni-vibhanga, a much shorter work, being a commentary on the code for the nuns compiled on the lines of Patimokkha for the monks. The offences have been divided into those which were punishable with expulsion from the Order (parajik&s) and those punishable with expiation (pachittiyas).

(iii) The Khandhakas (sections) comprise two divisions, Mahdvagga and Chullavagga , and form a sort of continuation and supplement to the Sutta Vibhanga .

The Mahdvagga (great section) in its ten sections furnishes us with the story of the formation of the Sangha, and lays down rules for admission to the Order, observance of the Uposatha ceremony, and the mode of life during the monsoon. There are also rules for the wearing of shoes, and for seats, conveyances, dress and medicine of the monks, and for the regulation of legal proceedings and restoration of order in the Sangha. There are some serious narratives which embody the purest Buddhist morals in their simplest form. The incidental notices in the Mahdvagga are valuable as they throw considerable light on the everyday life of ancient India. The sections dealing with thefts, sexual offences, crimes, etc. have a special interest as they present a cross-section of the society of those days.

The Chullavagga (smaller section) in its twelve sections contains a number of edifying anecdotes connected with the life of Buddha and the history of the Order. The first nine sections contain rules for the Bhikkhus while the tenth section describes the duties of nuns. The former deal with disciplinary proceedings and methods of settling disputes among monks; various offences, expiations and penances; the daily life of the Bhikkhus; their residence, furniture, etc. The tenth section prescribes the eight conditions precedent to the entry of a woman into the Order, and rules for the guidance of the Bhikkhuni sangha (the order of nuns). The last two sections.

containing an account of the first two councils at Raj agriha and Vaisali, are regarded as later additions, and form rather an appendix of the Chullavagga.

(iv) Parivdra, the last book of the Vinaya Pitaka, gives in the form of questions and answers an abstract of the other parts, and appears to be a later production, being probably the work of a Ceylonese monk. It consists of nineteen sections, catechisms, indices, appendices, lists, etc., reminiscent of the anukramanis and parisishtas of the Vedic texts.

2. Sutta Pitaka

The Sutta Pitaka incorporates the greatest literary works of Buddhism in prose and verse. It comprises the following five collections called Nikayas: (1) Digha, (2) Majjhima, (3) Samyutta, (4) Anguttara and (5) Khuddaka. The first four consists of suttas or discourses which are either sermons of the Buddha (occasionally by a disciple), preceded by a short introduction relating the place and occasion of the discourse; or dialogues in prose, occasionally mixed with verse. These four are cognate and homogeneous in character with a number of suttas recurring in two or more collections.

(1) The Digha Nikaya (or DIghagama or DIghasahgha) is a collection of long sermons containing 34 suttas, each dealing fully with one or several points of the doctrine. There is no connection between the suttas. Each is complete in itself and capable of being regarded as an independent work. The Digha is divided into three books, diverse in contents and character, and containing earlier and later strata: Silakkhandha, Mahavagga and Pdtikavagga. The earliest stratum is found in the first book, which mostly deals with ethical questions, while the third book constitutes the later

stratum, the second comprising the longest suttas, grown in bulk owing to interpolations. The origin of the universe, rebirth, self-control, asceticism, way to union with God, miracles, nirvana , heretical doctrines, artificiality of the caste system, etc., are some of the topics dealt with in these books.

Each sutta has a short preface explaining the occasion when Buddha delivered it. Some suttas are dialogues between Gautama and an unbeliever. The initial sutta of the Digha, Brahmajalasutta (the discourse on the Brahmana net), is important for the history, not only of Buddhism but of the entire religious life and thought of ancient India. This is followed by Samahhaphala-sutta (discourse on the reward of asceticism), which is a valuable piece of evidence for the life and thought at the time of Buddha, as it speaks of the views of prominent non-Buddhist teachers and founders of sects. Essentially different in form and contents from the other suttas, the Mahaparinibbana-sutta (No. 16) is neither a dialogue nor a discourse on one or more chief points of the doctrine. It is a detailed and interesting account of the later part of Buddha's life, his last speeches and sayings, and his death and funeral ceremonies.

(2) The Majjhima Nikaya (collection of medium suttas), with its three books of 50 suttas (panndsas) each, deals with practically all points of the Buddhist religion, and throws considerable light on the life of Buddhist monks, as also on Brahmanical sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, the relation of Buddha to the Jains and other systems of the day, the superstitions and the socio-political conditions of the time. There is a long enumeration of offences—burglary, robbery, adultery, etc—and the consequent punishments, which incidentally reveal the penal laws of the day. Besides dialogues and sermons, some suttas are pure narratives like the Angulimala. In one of the dialogues Buddha characteristically tells an enquirer, seeking information concerning subtle metaphysical problems, that answering these questions would leave no time for finding the way to salvation (sutta 63).

With regard to the dialogues in the Digha and Majjhima , Rhys Davids rightly observes: "In depth of philosophic insight, in the method of Socratic questioning often adopted, in the earnest and elevated tone of the whole, in the evidence they afford of the most cultured thought of the day, these dialogues constantly remind the reader of the dialogues of Plato. But not in style. They have indeed a style of their own; always dignified and occasionally rising into eloquence.” 1

(3) The Samyutta Nikdya (book of kindred sayings) has 56 groups (samyuttas) each dealing with vairious points of the doctrine in connection with a certain name or object. The suttas have been grouped on at least three principles: (1) those that deal with one of the chief points or principal branches of the Buddhist doctrine; (2) those that refer to classes of gods, men or demons; and (3) those that have some prominent personality as hero or speaker. The

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Samyutta is a compilation of suttas mainly bearing on psycho-ethical and philosophical problems.

Yet another division of the Samyutta is into the following five vaggas (divisions): Sagatha, Nidana, Khandha, Salayatana and Maha. Ethics and the Buddhist ideal of life dominate the first vagga and epistemology and metaphysics the other vaggas. There are suttas in this collection in which the Buddha and Dhamma are already objects of veneration, while some deal with the life of the Master and a few with the discipline of the Order (vinaya). Though there is monotonous repetition and tedious multiplication of suttas, which was due probably to sound practical reasons in their use for religious exercises, there are many things that are noteworthy from a purely literary point of view. The first vagga especially abounds in real poetry. Many riddles and aphorisms in the form of questions and answers are found in the Devata Samyutta and, like Yudhishthira who correctly answers the puzzles of a Yaksha, Buddha satisfies a Yaksha by wisely answering his questions. 1 The Mara Samyutta and the BhikkhunI Samyutta, which are ballads in mixed prose and verse, are of great poetical merit. Winternitz considers such poems as “sacred ballads, counterparts of those akhydnas with which the epic poetry of the Indians originated.” 2 The sayings and episodes in this Nikaya impress one successively with Buddha’s great good sense, readiness to adapt his teaching to the individual enquirer, keen intuition, ready humour and smiling irony, courage and dignity, and catholic and tender compassion for all creatures.

(4) Ahguttara (or Ekuttara) Nikaya is a numerical grouping of sermons arranged serially in an ascending order. It consists of eleven sections (nip&tas), each of which is further split into several divisions (vaggas). Though similar in many cases to the grouping or enumerations of doctrines or principles in the Samyutta, the bearing of the Anguttara is on the whole practical. Its purpose is sufficiently to emphasise certain doctrinal points by repeatedly dinning them into the ears of the audience.

The style of the Anguttara is characterised by sobriety and perspicuity. Though following a purely prosaic and mechanical scheme, the Anguttara presents certain matters which are full of interest. Variety of contents may be said to be its special feature.

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A large number of suttas deal with women, mostly in an uncomplimentary way. The Anguttara also throws a flood of light on brutal methods of punishment and on the criminal law of the day.

(5) The Khuddaka Nikaya (collection of smaller pieces), though usually taken as the fifth Nikaya of the Sutta Pi\aka, is sometimes classed with the Abhidhamma Pitaka. It may better be called “a collection of miscellanea” as, besides several short works, it includes also a few of the most extensive of the Pali canonical books. It was added as a supplementary Nikaya after the Nikayas had been closed. The Khuddaka is composed for the most part in verse and contains the most important Buddhist works in poetry. In contents and character the various texts comprising this collection differ very widely. It would appear from a very remarkable sutta , recurring several times, that the claim of poetical pieces to be regarded as sacred texts was recognised only at a later time. 1 The works included in the Khuddaka originated at different periods and were not intended to be incorporated in one collection.

The Khuddaka comprises the following texts: Khuddakapatha, Dhammapada, Udana, Itivuttaka, Sutta Nipata, Vimanavatthu, Petavatthu, Theragatha, Therigatha, Jatakas, Niddesa, Patisambhidamagga, Apadana, Buddhavamsa and Chariyapitaka.

The Khuddakapatha (lesser readings) with its nine short texts is a little tract, a first lesson book for the young neophytes when they joined the Order. The texts were used as a kind of mantra or prayer in the Buddhist cult. It is interesting to note that seven of these texts are still used at the Buddhist “Paritta” ceremony (exorcism spells).

The Dhammapada , the best known of the Buddhist canonical texts, is an anthology of 423 sayings of Buddha in verse divided into 26 vaggas or chapters, the stanzas being arranged by subjects. These stanzas are mostly taken from the other books of the Pali canon, and embody the spirit of Buddha’s teaching, if not the very words of the Master. The Dhammapada is a fine exposition of the sublime ethical teachings of the Buddha and was a very popular text all over the Buddhist world.

The Uddna (ecstatic utterances of the Buddha), containing stanzas and narratives, is divided into eight vaggcLs or sections of ten suttas each. Each sutta contains the utterances and the narratives, the former being older than the latter into which they were inserted. The style is simple. The outbursts of the Buddha are very terse and enigmatic. Each sutta is concluded by an Udana (ecstatic utterance) of the Buddha.

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The Itivuttaka (“Thus spake the Buddha”) is a book of quotations in prose and verse of the authoritative sayings of Buddha. It is divided into five vaggas comprising 120 short pieces beginning with “Vuttam hetam Bhagavata vuttam-arahata ti me sutam” (Thus was it said by the Blessed One, the Exalted One—Thus have I heard), and ending with “Ayam-pi attho vutto Bhagavatd iti me sutan-ti” (This meaning was told by the Blessed One—Thus have I heard). It expounds the ethical teachings of the Buddha on a variety of subjects. There is no excessive verbosity, and occasional similes and beautiful metaphors give a pleasing touch to the style. The language is simple and natural. At times we come across figures of speech drawn from nature, animals, etc.

The Sutta Nipdta (the section of discourses) is a collection of poetic suttas in five vaggas (chapters): Uraga, Chula, Maha, Atthaka, and Parayana. It is the most frequently quoted text in the works of Buddhism next to the Dhammapada. There are many references, or allusions to Brahmanical ideas. The Sela-sutta (III. 7) relating to the conversion of the Brahmana Sela contains passages reminiscent of the verses of the Bhagavadgita and Anugitd. On the whole the Buddhist ideal is contrasted with the Brahmanical and shown as the higher one. The Vasettha-sutta (III. 9) beautifully elaborates the idea found in old portions of the Mahdbharata that true Brahmai?ahood consists not in birth but in good conduct.

The old dialogue form is occasionally combined with the old riddle poetry already found in the Veda and the Epic. The Yaksha appears as a questioner as in the Mahdbharata , and a sage answers the queries by presenting the ethical doctrines of Buddhism. The Nalaka-sutta, the Pabbajja-sutta and the Padhana-sutta are of special importance, being the precious remnants of the sacred ballad poetry which gave rise to the later epic version of the life of Buddha in the same way as the akhydnas later grew into heroic poetry. The Sutta Nipdta preserves many fragments of the oldest Buddhist poetry. Some of the prose narratives forming the framework for the poems are, however, later additions, though Fausboll's view that all prose passages were written later cannot be accepted. 1 The Sutta Nipdta

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is a valuable aid for studying Buddhism as an ethical religion and contains information about the social, economic, and religious conditions of India in the Buddhist age. It refers to the six heretical teachers and the Samanas and Brahmanas.

The Vimdnavatthu (stories of divine palaces) and Petavatthu (ghost stories) are short treatises, probably belonging to the latest stratum of literature collected in the Pali canon. The Vimdnavatthu describes certain celestial abodes enjoyed by gods as the result of their meritorious deeds while on earth, whereas the Petavatthu refers to sufferings after death as the result of evil deeds on earth. The Vimdnavatthu and Petavatthu are among the dullest productions of monkish poetry, metrical form being their only claim for being ranked among poetical works. The profound doctrine of Karman, so beautifully expressed in Brahmanical and Buddhist texts, is explained most clumsily in these stories.

The Theragathd and Thengatha are collections of poems, being respectively the work of monks and nuns. There are differences in idiom, tone and sentiments in these two works. The Theragathd concerns itself more with inner experience, while the Thengatha deals more with external experiences. With regard to their poetical excellence, Dr. Winternitz is justified in ranking these collections, in point of force and beauty, with the best productions of Indian lyric poetry from the Bigvedic hymns to the lyrics of Kalidasa and Amaru. 1

The refrain and the repetition of typical phrases are the distinguishing features of these collections. The semi-dramatic dialogue appears to be very popular.

Beautiful descriptions of nature in the Theragathd are largely responsible in transforming many of these religious poems into real gems of Indian lyric poetry. The love of nature finds expression also in many charming similes. Despite his supposed indifference to pleasure the saint does not refrain from describing the spring in glowing terms.

The Therigdtha more frequently Strikes a personal note which is not found in the Theragathd. Descriptions of nature predominate in the Theragathd, whereas pictures of life preponderate in the other collection. From the Thengatha we know that women were attracted to the Order owing to the loss of their children. There are also stories of former courtesans becoming nuns which artistically portray

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the contrast between the life and conduct of the two. The contrast between extravagant festive joy and the peace of Nirvana is also effectively brought out. There is an elaborate collection of similes in the Therigdthd, reminiscent of the embellishments of ornate poetry. Occasionally we come across very artificial word-plays.

These collections are very important on account of the pictures of life they portray, which give us a valuable insight into the social conditions, especially the position of women, of those days. Like the other collections in the Pali canon, there is a combination of old and new material in these gdthds, so that each portion is to be dated separately on its own merits.

The Jdtakas (stories of the former lives of the Buddha), which were the chief vehicle of Buddhist propaganda, afford an insight into popular Buddhism. As we possess merely a commentary and not the original canonical Jataka, it is difficult to say how much of the present Jataka book belongs to the canon. Each story (or Jataka) in this commentary consists of the following parts: (1) pachchuppannavatthu (the story of the present), relating the occasion of Buddha's telling the story; (2) atitavatthu (story of the past), a prose narrative, telling of one of the former births of Buddha; (3) gdthds (stanzas) which generally belong to the "story of the past" but very often also to the "story of the present"; (4) veyyakarana (short commentary) which explains the gdthds word for word; and (5) samodhdna (connection) in which the Buddha generally identifies the personages of the story of the present with those of the past. The gdthds appear generally to have belonged to the canon and the prose portions appear to have been added later.

The Jdtakas, more than 500 in number, are very varied in their character. Some are fables aiming at teaching ruti (worldly wisdom). Only a few have a directly moral aim and not many can be classed as definitely Buddhistic. Others are fairy stories, pure and simple. Most of the moral narratives, sayings and pious legends are the common property of Indian didactic poetry, and are only partly of Buddhist origin. About the short anecdotes, humorous tales, and jokes in the Jatakas, there is nothing specifically Buddhist. The Jdtakas also include romances, adventures and narratives. The only touch of Buddhism in these is the hero, who is always the Bodhisattva. On the whole, more than a half of Jdtakas are of non-Buddhistic origin.

The Jdtakas present practically all forms and types of composition. Prose narratives are interspersed with poetry. The prose and verse are artistically joined and together present a finished whole. There are also collections of sayings on different subjects and epic fragments. As in the case of the ballads, the prose in these is redundant, late and insipid.

There are stories bringing out the contrast between grateful animals and ungrateful men. The story of the jackal “All-tooth'' (Sabbadatha) in Jataka 241 has a touch of delightful humour. Many deal with the perpetual and inexhaustible subject of the wickedness of woman. A whole collection of stories and sayings on the same subject is grouped in Jataka 536 (Kunala Jataka), and Nos. 61-66 are such a cycle. A long moral in the form of a ballad is presented in Jataka 527, which is so extremely dramatic as to appear like a short drama. To the Western reader, the stories of female demons (Yakshinis) who lure the shipwrecked mariners in order to kill and devour them call to mind the sirens and other beings like Circe and Calypso in the Odyssey of Homer. 1 There are also consolatory stories, a kind of moral narrative whose purpose is to comfort those grieving for the departed. The picaresque and other narratives in which robbers, vagabonds, dice-players and courtesans figure as the chief characters, though historically interesting, have not much that is characteristically Buddhist in them. It is interesting to note that the Bodhisattva actually figures twice as a highwayman. The anecdote of the woman who decides in iavour of her brother in perference to her son or husband (Jataka 67) is particularly interesting on account of its relation to a similar story in Herodotus. Scholars hold divergent views as regards the origin of the motif and Winternitz strikes the correct note in stating that it is difficult to determine its actual home. 2

The view that the Jdtakas furnish valuable material not only for literature and art, but for the study of economic conditions and social manners and customs of Buddha’s time, is true in the case of only some poems and a few prose narratives which go back to his time. The major part of the verses is not perhaps earlier than the third century B.C., whereas much of the prose is later than the Christian era. In point of age the Jdtakas bear a close resemblance to the Mahabharata in that every single gatha requires to be tested independently with regard to its chronology. The Jdtakas give

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particulars about the life of people of all classes, about some of whom there is scarcely any other information in Indian literature.

The Niddesa (exposition) contains detailed explanations by Sariputta of 33 Suttas from the last two vaggas of the Sutta Nipdta, and is divided into two sections; Maha-niddesa, and Chulla-niddesa. From its inclusion in the canon, it is-evident that the Niddesa was the oldest of the Pali commentaries. This commentary explains important technical expressions, frequently quoting from canonical texts. It gives a long list of synonyms to explain a word, the list being repeated every time the same word occurs.

The Patisambhidamagga (Path to analysis); Each of its three large sections (Maha-vagga, Yuganandha-vagga, Panna-vagga) contains ten chapters on some important topics of the Buddhist doctrine. It treats all subjects in the form of questions and answers in the manner of the Abhidhamma texts, and is among the latest of the canonical books. It was included in the Sutta Pitaka because its form is that of the Suttas, and the traditional opening “evam me sutam ,f of the Sutta Pitaka is found fairly frequently.

The Apaddna (Sanskrit Avadana, heroic or glorious deeds, and then, glorious deeds of self-sacrifice and piety) is an anthology of legends describing the heroic and pious works of the Buddhist saints. It is entirely in verse and contains biographies of 550 male and 40 female members of the Buddhist Order. The Apadanas, like the Jatakas, have a story of the present and a story of the past, but the stories in the Apadanas relate to the previous existence of a saint, an arhat, not of the Buddha as the Jdtaka. Apaddna is more closely allied to the Sanskrit Avadanas than to the remaining works of the Pali canon, and is one of the latest works of the Khuddaka.

The Buddhavamsa contains poetical legends of 24 Buddhas supposed to have been the predecessors of Gautama in the last twelve kalpas. Gautama is the narrator. In the case of each individual Buddha, it is related somewhat dryly how he set the wheel of religion in motion and the principal events in Gautama’s life find their counterparts in the life of one of his predecessors (former Buddhas).

The Chariydpitaka, a collection of Jatakas in verse, is a postAiokan work. It illustrates the modes in which Bodhisattva practised the conduct (chariyd) and shows how he had attained the ten perfections (paramitds) in his previous existence.

3. Abhidhamma Pitaka

Contrary to the indications given by its name (Abhidhamma, higher religion or metaphysics), there is very little of metaphysics in the Abhidhamma Pitaka (basket of transcendental doctrine). It deals with the same subjects as the Sutta Pitaka, but in a more scholastic way. It is written mostly in the form of questions and answers like a catechism. The subject-matter of the Abhidhamma is chiefly derived from the Sutta Pitaka in which are found the beginnings of the Abhidhamma and the Vinaya Pitaka. The Abhidhamma may be said to be merely the extension of the matikas or lists mentioned in the Vinaya. The Abhidhamma comprises seven books commonly known as Sattapakarana, viz. Dhammasangani, Vihhanga, Dhatukatha, Puggalapahnatti, Kathavatthu, Yamaka and Patthana. All these books are later in date containing a more elaborate and classified exposition of the Dhamma than given in the Nikayas. There is hardly any originality or profundity in the Abhidhamma books. There is no trace of any scientific reasoning or research in the definitions and classifications; mere dogmatism appears to have formed their basis.

The Kathavatthu (points of controversy) or the Vijnanapada, ascribed to Moggaliputta Tissa, President of the Third Council, is the only canonical work claiming definite authorship. Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Geiger and others accept the historicity of the tradition, but Barth, Keith, Minayeff and Walleser reject it. According to Winternitz the Kathavatthu in its present form cannot be regarded as a work of the third century B.C. 1 It is later than the Vinaya and the Sutta and the first two books of the Abhidhamma to which it refers. It is valuable for the light it throws on the development of Buddhist dogmatics during the later centuries.

4. Chronology of Canonical Pali Literature

Canonical Pali literature can be roughly placed between two well-defined chronological limits. The death of Buddha, after which the formal collection of his teachings was made according to unanimous Buddhist traditions, affords the upper limit, while the lower limit is supplied by the reign of king Vattagamani of Ceylon during whose reign the canon is said to have finally closed. Thus the Pali canonical literature was produced some time between the fifth cen

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tury B.C. and the last quarter of the first century B.C., but the date of some of the canonical texts may be fixed within narrower limits.

It is now generally agreed that the canon is not as old as the First or even the Second Council; but quotations from scriptures in Asokan edicts, references to persons well versed in sacred texts in inscriptions of the second century B.C. and scriptures, reliefs and inscriptions on the railings and gateways at Bharhut and Sanchl suggest that the works on Dharma and Vinaya were current before the rise of the Maurya and Sunga dynasties. The Milinda-panha is the earliest evidence of the existence of the three Pitakas and five Nikayas.

As regards the chronology of the different texts constituting the canon, the Mahavagga and Chullavagga are evidently anterior to the period of Asoka, as they are silent about the Third Council. The Sutta Vibhanga and the five Nikayas which are referred to in the Chullavagga are certainly much older. There is no reference to the Abhidhamma, which is the latest of the Pitakas. The Kathdvatthu, ascribed to Tissa, presupposes the Vinaya, Sutta and the other books of the Abhidhamma. This work was probably not written till the compilation of the canon by Tissa, and was appended to the canon by the Council. The Parivdrapdtha , the last treatise in the Vinaya, which is said to have been written by DIpa in Ceylon, is assigned to the reign of Vattagamani, and it refers to the five Nikayas, the seven treatises of the Abhidhamma and all older texts of the Vinaya as made known to Ceylon by Mahinda after the Third Council. As the Nikayas know no place in the east, south of Kalinga, and no place in the west, south of the Godavari, the geography of the Nikayas points to their age being much earlier than A£oka. Roughly, therefore, we may say that the bulk of the Vinaya Pitaka and the first four Nikayas of the Sutta Pitaka were compiled before 350 B.C.

After discussing the chronology of the Pali canonical texts from different points, Dr. Law places them in the following groups in their chronological order: 1

"1. The simple statements of Buddhist doctrine now found in identical words in paragraphs or verses recurring in all the books;

2. Episodes found in identical words in two or more of the existing books;

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3. The Silas, the Parayana group of sixteen poems without the prologue, the Atthaka group of four or sixteen poems, the Sikkhapadas;

4. Digha Vol. I, Majjhima, Samyutta, Ahguttara and earlier Patimokkha with 152 rules;

5. Digha Vols. II, III, Thera-Theri-gatha, 500 Jatakas, Suttavibhahga, Patisambhidamagga, Puggalapannatti and Vibhanga;

6. Mahavagga, Chullavagga, Patimokkha with 227 rules. Vimanavatthu, Petavatthu, Dhammapada, Kathavatthu;

7. Chulla- and Maha-niddesa, Udana, Itivuttaka, Sutta Nipata, Dhatukathii, Yamaka, Patthana;

8. Buddhavamsa, Chariyapitaka, Apadana;

9. Parivarapatha;

10. Khuddakapatha. "

5. Non-canonical Pali Literature

A vast exegetical literature arose out of the necessity of explaining canonical texts, especially as these travelled to distant lands. The major part of the non-canonical Pali literature comprises these commentaries. This commentarial literature not only explained the texts by adding critical notes, but classified the subject-matter and added legends. The activity of the commentators began in India after the compilation of the texts, and already during Asoka's time, his son Mahendra had taken to Ceylon an Atthakatha along with the canon. The great bulk of non-canonical Pali literature, however, is the product of the Ceylonese monks. The period of the great commentators of the Pali canon comes after the fourth century and properly belongs to the next volume. The only Indian non-canonical works that pertain to our period are the Milinda-panha , Nettipakarana and Petakopadesa.

The Milinda-panha originated in north-west India about the beginning of the Christian era and was written probably in Sanskrit or some north-Indian Prakrit. The original text is lost, and the present work is merely a Pali translation of the original made at a very early date in Ceylon. The work is a conversation between the Greek king Milinda of Sagala and Thera Nagasena on a number of problems and disputed points of Buddhism. In the arguments, the Buddhist doctrine of the impermanence of the Ego is expounded and Milinda is converted. King Milinda is certainly the Greek ruler

Menander, 1 who was a scholar as well as a soldier. Nagasena cannot be identified with certainty.

The problems discussed in the Milinda-pahha find their counterpart in those that play a prominent part in the Kathdvatthu. The style of the Milinda-panha shows an advance over the speeches of the Sutta Pitaka, while some of the dialogues of the Milinda-pahha stand comparison with the dialogues of Plato. The language is elegant, and there are various eloquent passages.

The Milinda-pahha at present comprises seven books; but it originally consisted of only a small portion of the first, and the whole of the second and third books. The v/ork is complete with Book III, which forms a fitting conclusion to it, and there is a fresh introduction to Book IV. That Books IV-VII have been interpolated would be evident from their absence from the Chinese translation which may be dated between A.D. 317-420. They differ, again, from Book I in character. Mrs. Davids, however, thinks the book is the work of a single author, who first edited the conversations (which actually took place according to her), then wrote dialogues on the dilemmas after about ten years, and, still later, composed the book of the similes. 2

In the first book there is a whole series of parables which seeks to explain why man is responsible for his actions, though according to the Buddhist doctrines there is no permanent ego. In contrast to the next two books which deal with the most important topics of Buddhist ethics and psychology, of interest even to laymen, there is a system of apologetics in Book IV which would interest only the well-read students of canonical texts. There are a number of quotations from the canon in Books IV-VII, which also contain frequent allusions to traditions divergent from the canonical texts and pertaining to a later period.

Contemporaneous with the Milinda-pahha are the Nettipakarana and Petakopadesa, ascribed to Mahakachchana, a disciple of Buddha, proclaimed as the best expounder of the word of the Master even in the Majjhima Nikaya. The Nettipakarana (book of guidance) is a treatise on textual and exegetical methodology. It is to the Pali canon what Yaska's Nirukta is to the Vedas. It is the earliest work giving a systematic treatment of all the teachings of Buddha. According to Mrs. Rhys Davids the Netti is earlier than the last two books

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of the Abhidhamma. 1 A commentary on the Netti was written by Dhammapala in c. fifth century A.D.

Mahakachchana is said to have composed also the Petakopadesa (Instructions to students of Pitakas), which is a continuation of the Netti and is but a different manipulation of the same subject. It throws some new light on the points left obscure in the Netti. It speaks of the four Ariya truths to be the central theme or essence of Buddhism—a point which was emphasised in the literature of the Sarvastivadins.

C. JAINISM

1. Parsva and Mahavira

Jain tradition speaks of twenty-four Tirthakaras or "ford-makers across the stream of existence", each of whom preached the doctrine to his own age. Of these, however, the first twenty-two seem to be completely mythical and have no historical foundation.

The case, however, is different with the last two prophets, Parsva and Mahavira. All that Jain tradition reports of them is quite probable. The contemporaries of Mahavira were well-known and the Buddhist canon supplies us with incontrovertible proof of their historicity.

We know very few facts of Parsva's life. He is said to have been a son of Asvasena, king of Banaras, and his wife Vama. He lived for 30 years as a householder, then became an ascetic and, after performing penance for 84 days, received enlightenment. He lived for a full hundred years and died on Mount Sammeta in Bengal, some 250 years before Mahavira. He must have been of a genial nature as he is always given the epithet purisaddniya 'beloved of men.*

We know, however, something of his teachings. We are told that he believed in the eternity of matter as did Mahavira after him. The followers of Parsva preached that self-control (samyama) results in the cessation of Karma (anhaga), and penance leads to its annihilation. With this Mahavira agreed as well as with the four vows enunciated by Parsva, viz. that life should not be taken, no falsehood spoken, nothing should be received which is not freely given, and non-attachment should be practised (bahiddMdando veramanam). This last may have reference to celibacy and not to the vow of non

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possession as made out by later tradition. 1 Finally there was this outward difference between the two sects, that Parsva allowed the use of a white garment by the monks, while Mahavira forbade even this. Hence the two Jain sects are entitled Svetambara (white-clad) and Digambara (sky-clad or naked).

The belief in the historicity of Parsva is confirmed by the canon, which not only gives us some idea of his doctrines but preserves anecdotes about his followers. The account of Kesi, one of his disciples, in the canonical books is quite realistic. Another of his disciples holds a disputation with Goyama, the chief disciple of Mahavira, while a third follower of Parsva expresses his desire to exchange the religion of the four vows for the one with five vows of Mahavira. Even the parents of Mahavira belonged to the lay following of Parsva. Moreover, Jacobi has put forward a strong argument to prove his historical existence. 2 3 A Buddhist Sutra mistakenly attributes to Mahavira the religion of the four vows, which really belonged to Parsva, and such a mistake could only have occurred if Parsva actually had followers existing at the time.

It is thus highly probable that some kind of Jain faith existed before Mahavira, and his teachings were based on it. The conversation between Kesi and Goyama in the Uttarddhyayana? testifies to their friendly relations and points out that, in spite of some minor differences, the two were essentially the same. By the very nature of the case, tradition has preserved only those points of Parsva's teachings which differed from the religion of Mahavira, while all other common points are ignored. The few differences that are known make Mahavira definitely a reformer of an existing faith, and the addition of a vow, the importance of nudity and a more systematic arrangement of its philosophical tenets may be credited to his reforming zeal.

Thus, unlike Buddha, Mahavira was more a reformer of an existing religion and possibly of a church, than the founder of a new faith. This fact is well brought out by the differences in their traditional lives. We are told that Buddha, at the beginning of his spiritual career, lived with some teachers, with whose teachings he became dissatisfied and finally found out the truth for himself. The Jain tradition makes no such claim for Mahavira. He is represented as following a well-established creed, most probably that of Parsva.

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Equally significant is Buddha's insistence that his followers should remember well his first sermon, suggestive of its novelty. Above all, the Pali canon shows that it regarded Mahavira not as a founder of a new sect, but merely as a leader of a religious community already in existence.

Some authentic facts of Mahavlra's life can be collected from the Ardha-Magadhl canon. 1 He was born in a suburb of Vaisall, called Kundagrama,, now known as Basukuiwja. He belonged to the Nay a clan known as Ndta (or Nata) in Pali and Jndtri in Sanskrit. His parents were Siddhartha, a wealthy nobleman, and Trisala, sister of Chetaka, an eminent Lichchhavi prince of Vaisall. Tradition emphasises the importance of Mahavlra's noble birth and tells of the transference of his embryo from the womb of the Brahmana lady Devananda, wife of Hishabha, to that of Trisala. It is difficult to ascertain how old this belief is, but the canon makes Mahavira speak of Devananda as his mother and the role of Harinegamesi in the transference of the embryo. A sculpture from Mathura also represents this scene. The original name of the prophet was Vardhamana, while his more popular name Mahavira is said to have been bestowed on him by the gods. The canon also gives him a number of suggestive epithets like Ndyaputta 'a scion of the Naya clan', Kasava on account of his gotra, Vesdliya after his place of birth, and Vedehadinna after his native country. He is most frequently referred to as "the venerable ascetic Mahavira".

At the normal age Mahavira married Yasoda and had a daughter called Anojja or Priyadarsana. She was married to a son of his sister, Jamali, whose name is not found in older sources but only in the Avasyaka tradition. The suppression of his name in early books of the canon may be due to the ignominious role he plays in churchhistory as the originator of the first schism.

Not to grieve his parents, Mahavira became a monk only after their death and with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana. He was at that time 30 years old. He left his home at the beginning of winter, which shows his inclination towards severe asceticism. Thirteen months after, also in winter, he abandoned his clothing and began to wander abroad as a naked monk. This was probably the first important step in the reformation of the church of ParSva, which allowed clothing. The fine ballad in the Achardnga gives us a beautiful picture of the way in which he performed his

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meditation and spent his days in austerities, and also of the treatment he received from the unfriendly people of the neighbouring countries. In this period his thought matured. He attributed life (jiva) not only to animals and plants, but to material objects like earth and water, assumed the real cause of worldly misery to be Karma, engendered by indulgence in sensual pleasure, and the essential misery of life to be due to the endless cycle of birth and death. His own behaviour furnished an example to be followed by the monks in their religious life. The ballad also suggests that, after a period of two years and two months, he decided on a wandering mode of existence, which lasted for 12 years. Jain tradition tells us that Mahavlra was born with the three types of knowledge, acquired the fourth at the beginning of his monkhood, and achieved omniscience under a &ala tree at the end of 12 years of austerity, on the bank of the river Rijupalika not far from the village Jrimbhikagrama. Henceforth he entered on his career as a religious teacher.

One important event in this period of Mahavlra’s life was his meeting with Gosala Mankhaliputta, the head of the Ajivika sect. From the one-sided account of Bhagavati 1 we know that Gosala became a pupil of Mahavlra in the second year of his monkhood and remained with him for six years. Then came a breach between the two on the point of rejuvenation and, maybe, also on other points, and Gosala went his own way. He soon proclaimed himself a jina and lived in Sravastl. The two met again sixteen years later and again quarrelled. Gosala died soon after, some 16 years before Mahavlra.

We have some information about the doctrines of Gosala, from the Buddhist writings, independent of the Jain sources, and there are some parallelisms between them and the Jain doctrines. Though it will be going too far to regard Mahavlra as a pupil of Gosala, and assume many points in the Jain creed as borrowed from the Ajivika sect, it is quite probable that the rules about diet current among the Jain monks may have come from the code of the Ajivikas, and some significance must be attached to the coincidence of Mahkvlra giving up his garment in the year of his meeting with Gosala.

The acquisition of perfect knowledge entailed the continuation of a wandering mode of life and constant preaching of his doctrines to all kinds of men. He wandered for eight months of the year and

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spent the four months of the rainy season in some famous towns of eastern India. The Jain tradition gives the names of such places as Champa, Vaisali, Raj agriha, Mithila and Sravasti, where he spent one or more seasons. They give us a fair idea of the country over which he wandered propagating his faith, but we must bear in mind that the list is neither exhaustive nor chronological, though covering broadly the 42 years of his itineracy. With the spread of his fame, he was now better received by the people, and famous kings came to hear him preach. At the age of 72 Mahavlra died in a place called Majjhima Pava (which may mean that, contrary to his usual practice, he resided inside the town on account of his illness) in the house of a ruler of the name of Hastipala (Hatthivala). This place is said to be the modern Pavapuri in the Patna District. We are told that on the night of his death the kings of the two clans, the Mallas and the Lichchhavis, celebrated the lamp festival in his honour.

As noted above, Gosala, the head of the Ajivika sect, appears to have had very close ties with Jainism. This would explain to some extent why the Jain canon makes frequent attempts at refuting his doctrines in strong terms, while it takes practically no notice of Gautama Buddha, the famous contemporary of Mahavlra. On the other hand, the Pali canon often attempts to refute the teachings of Mahavlra, whom it knows by the name of Nigantha Nataputta, along with Gosala and other Titthiyas, all of whom were elder contemporaries of the Buddha. Neither of the sources mentions any meeting between Mahavlra and the Buddha, but the Pali Suttas suggest that Mahavlra died some time before him, if we are correct in accepting that Pava, where Mahavlra died, is the very place later visited by Buddha.

Like Buddhism, Jainism also received royal patronage from the very beginning. Srenika, the king of Magadha, was devoted to Mahavlra, and was related to the prophet on his mother's side. The Jain attempt to explain away the parricidal act of his son Ajatasatru or Kunika would indicate that he was more inclined to Jainism than to other religions. Later Jain tradition, without much historical support, however, brings nearly all the kings of north India in those days in relation to Mahavlra by describing their queens as daughters of Chetaka, the maternal uncle of Mahavlra.

2. Jainism after Mahavlra

For a few centuries after the death of Mahavlra, the history of Jainism means little more than the history of the Jain church. We

have a regular account, mostly a farrago of myth and historical reminiscence, of the Jain patriarchs, with a reference, now and then, to some ruling king favourably disposed towards the faith. This history, as recorded in the Avasyaka SHtra, reaches up to Vajra and Aryarakshita, while agreement between the two major sects covers only a few immediate successors of Mahavlra and comes hardly up to Bhadrabahu, some 170 years after his death. This period is characterised by a constant tendency towards the rise of dissension. The church organisation grows more complex. There is also a gradual shift of the centre of gravity of the community, which slowly spreads to the west and south of its original home. The religious dogmas show a development, however slight, and a vigorous literary activity results in the formation of the present-day canon of the Svetambaras and the pro-canonical books of the Digambaras.

Even in the lifetime of Mahavlra, the tendency to form a dissenting opinion was prevalent, and we know of Gosala's doctrine of fatalism, formulated before the omniscience of Mahavlra, and that of Jamali after it, which is regarded as the first schism in a list of seven. 1 Most of them pertain to minor points in the doctrine and have left no permanent mark on the Jain community.

In contrast with these earlier attempts at breaking the unity of the Jain community, the last schism 2 in the two sects of the Svetambaras and Digambaras was more successful and resulted in a sharp division of the church, each section claiming greater authenticity than the other. At present, after the division has become well established, the points of difference between the two pertain to matters of dogma like the number of movable and immovable beings, the possibility of women attaining liberation, and the food partaken by the omniscient teachers; to mythological events like the transference of Mahavlra’s embryo, his marriage, the sex of Mali!, one of the prophets, and to practices like the wearing of clothes and going naked. The traditional accounts of the origin of this split are puerile and the outcome of sectarian hatred. They, however, agree in assigning it to the end of the first century A.D., which is quite likely. The evidence of the literary writings of the Svetambaras and early sculptures goes to show that most of the differences between the two sects were of slow growth and did not arise all at one time.

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Attempts to explain the origin of this split are mainly based upon only one divergent practice, that of wearing a white robe or going naked, which has given the two sects their names. The split is sometimes traced to differences between the practices of Mahavira and his predecessor Parsva, or the more austere life of his pupil Gos&la, or to the events caused by the great famine in Magadb* which occurred at the time of Bhadrabahu and Chandragupta, causing the migration of a section of the community to the south. In all probability, Gosala’s teaching has nothing to do with this later division and is firmly repudiated by both sects. The teachings of Mah&vira and Parsva on the use of clothes and the practice of nudity were somehow reconciled in the lifetime of Mahavira. Orthodox teaching allowed option, producing two modes of behaviour known as Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa, but some sections of the community may have preferred the one to the other, and isolated groups insisting on the harder course of life may have well existed from the very beginning.

When the first council was held at Pajaliputra to compile the canon, a group, given to a more severe mode of life, appears to have repudiated it, perhaps due to the migration ‘to the coast’ caused by the famine. Along with such a group there must have also existed others holding views which combined the opinions of both the sects in various ways. With their disappearance, in course of time, the two sects found themselves in sharp contrast and finally fell apart. By the very nature of the case, no precise date can be assigned to this process.

The spread of Jainism was more a case of successive migrations than of continuous expansion. In spite of the mechanical scheme Visible in the traditional account of the different migrations, said to be caused by a famine of 12 years' duration, we find them confirmed by other evidence, and the tradition agrees with all the historical facts of the spread of this religion. The wanderings of Mah&vlra give us a fair idea of the original extent of Jainism. This included the kingdoms of Kosala, Videha, Magadha and Anga. One of the ChhedaHUras 1 preserves the memory of the earlier extent of the faith in the rule which allows Jain monks to wander as far as AngaMagadha to the east... KauiambI to the south, Sthuga to the west and KuuAla to the north. The additional remark that a monk may

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also go to a country where the faith has taken roots shows that the new faith was already spreading in the adjoining countries.

One early migration led the community to the south-east, the country of Kalinga, as can be seen from the famous inscription of Kharavela. 1 Evidence of it may be found in the Svetambara tradition, according to which a dreadful famine in Magadha drove the monks as far as 'the sea-coast'. Here the faith took firm root and flourished for a long period. Kharavela, the Chedi king of Orissa, though adopting the usual eclectic attitude assumed by Indian monarchs, did show a decided inclination towards Jainism, as can easily be seen from his own record and the inscription of his chief queen dedicating a cave for the use of Jain monks. The numerous caves on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills testify to the continued existence of the Jain faith in this part of the country.

A similar extension or migration of the Jain community to the west must have early brought it to Mathura. 2 We have here the ruins of a Jain shrine dating back to the pre-Christian period and a large number of small dedicatory inscriptions, engraved on the images of the Jinas, votive tablets, and arches, dating from the first two centuries of the Christian era. Their references to the teachers of the donors, their gotra, kula, sdkha, etc. offer welcome confirmation of similar information found in the Sthavimvall and suggest a flourishing condition of the religion in that region.

Further south, the country round Ujjayini was also a stronghold of Jainism. The evidence for this centre of Jain culture is mostly found in later traditions. If we believe in the story of Asoka’s grandson king Samprati 3 and his conversion tg Jainism by Suhastin, this spread to Malwa must be placed as early as the second century B.C. We are further told that Samprati imitated his grandfather in sending religious missionaries to the countries of Andhras and Dramilas to propagate the religion. The famous story of Kalakacharya, 4 the Jain sage, implies the spread of Jainism in Malwa in the first century B.C.

The Junagarh inscription of the grandson of Jayadaman (either Damaysada or Rudrasimha I), belonging to the second century A.D., makes mention of men who had attained perfect knowledge (kevali jndna) and were free from old age and death (jGramarana), words distinctly suggestive of Jain dogma. The inscription is found in a cave, one of a group near the town, which appears to have been used by Jain monks, as is indicated by the peculiar Jain symbols like the Svastika Bhadrasana, Minayugala and others. Of nearly the same date may be the caves found at Dhank, in which the sculptures of the Jain prophets like ftishabha, Parsva, Mahavira and others have been definitely identified. It may incidentally be mentioned that the Junagarh inscription, referred to above, contains the earliest reference to Jain monks claiming the attainment of perfect knowledge.

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The extension of Jainism to South India is associated with the migration of the Digambaras to this locality. The problem is complicated by the nature of the evidence, which is insufficient to lead to any definite conclusion. Scholars 1 of South Indian history have mostly accepted the late Digambara tradition and have reconstructed the history to the effect that the great famine of Magadha caused Bhadrabahu to seek shelter in the south, along with his royal disciple Maury a Chandragupta and a large following, resulting in the establishment of the Digambara community in the Mysore territory, with Sravana Belagola as its centre. The Svetambara tradition, however, makes the migration proceed from Ujjayini in Malwa, which is also corroborated by the early Digambara tradition. A close scrutiny of the evidence, however, raises grave doubts whether the migration to the south had anything to do with the famous patriarch Bhadrabahu or the Mauryan king Chandragupta. The view that a second Bhadrabahu forecast the famine and, though he remained behind, sent his followers to the south under the guidance of one Visakhacharya or even Prabhachandra, remains a mere possibility. Among the different sects of the south, the Senagana of the Mulasahgha appears to show some intimate connection with the story of migration and may have formed the first migrating group. The route of this migration is suggested to be along the western coast, from Gujarat, through Maharashtra, to Karnatak, and thence to the countries of the extreme south, which is quite probable.

3. Jain Doctrines

The growth of Jain doctrines was not very rapid, and not easy to follow. For one thing, the writings in which these dogmas and teachings are preserved have suffered many vicissitudes, and it is

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often difficult to separate the old from the new in the Jain canon. Secondly, the starting point of the dogmatic system remains vague. We do not know exactly what the preaching of Mahavira was, to which additions were made in later days. Lastly, as compared to the growth of Buddhist and Brahmanic philosophy, Jain thought has remained remarkably conservative and has not developed into new and fundamentally divergent streams. Jacobi 1 has convincingly demonstrated how all the references to both Jain philosophical tenets and religious practices in the Pali texts fully agree with the teaching of the Jain canon and present-day practices of the community, which means that little change has taken place in the Jain religion in the course of centuries.

As a reformer of an existing religion, Mahavira added a few doctrines to those of his predecessor. While Parsva taught only four vows, Mahavira taught five, in all probability making chastity a separate vow. The constant use of the phrase ‘sapachchakk&Qa’ in describing his religion of the five vows makes it highly probable that confession of sin was an innovation of his. Apart from these reforms in ethical teaching, it is difficult to ascertain what additions Mahavira made to the ontological and psychological system of his predecessor. Most of the features of Jainism suggestive of its primitiveness may be regarded as received by Mahavira as they already existed. What he did was, in all likelihood, the codification of an unsystematic mass of beliefs into a set of rigid rules of conduct for monks and laymen. A decided inclination towards enumeration and classification may be attributed to him.

No fundamental change in the Jain system is visible in later days. The different schisms pertain to minor details, and even the dogmatic differences causing the last schism, which broke the community into two, are equally insignificant. The full implication of this remarkably conservative spirit can be best appreciated by recalling to mind the ramifications in the history of Buddhist thought and the rise of various philosophical systems in the Brahmanic religion of the corresponding period. In spite of it, some minor changes did occur in Jainism. The drawing up of the list of sub-divisions of Karma, the systematic arrangement of the teaching in the rubric of the seven principles of soul, non-soul, influx, bondage, cessation, expurgation, and liberation; the elaboration of the doctrine of the five or seven Nayas and Saptabhangl and the formulation of the rules

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of church-discipline and similar matters must have been evolved between Mahavira and Umasvati who wrote his compendium of Jainism in the first or second century A.D.

4. The Jain Canon

If the teachings of Mahavira have remained substantially unchanged, their literary expression in the form of the sacred writings called the Agama has suffered many violent alterations. The canon of the undivided community is not available, and the one preserved and claimed by the Svetambaras was finally settled in its present form a thousand years after the death of Mahavira 1 in a Council held at Valabhl in the fifth century A.D. But indications are not altogether lacking that even in this canon we possess something of the ancient books, though necessarily in a modified form, under a different arrangement and modernised language. From the fact that both the Svetambaras and Digambaras postulate the original canon to consist of the 12 Angas, including the 14 Purvas as a part of the last Anga, we may naturally be inclined to accept that to be its original extent. But a constantly recurring phrase in the 6vetambara canon itself makes the Samayika the beginning and the Bindu Sara the end of the canonical writings. This means that the earliest canonical writings contained something less than the 12 Angas and included at least some works which did not strictly belong to the Anga type.

We are ignorant of the contents of these works. Particularly in case of the Angas, we do not know to what extent the present-day works of the same name retain their original contents. The older parts of the Achardnga and Sutrakritanga may well claim to preserve much original matter, and the same may be true to some extent of the Bhagavati-sutra. The Samayika prayers, like the Buddhist formulae of confession, obviously formed the very beginning of the sacred writings, but unfortunately we do not have them in their authentic form. We know even less of the Purva works. The name is often misunderstood to mean the ‘earlier books’, and it is supposed that they formed the oldest canon. This is, however, not correct. The traditional scheme places all the Purvas in the 12th Anga, and another old tradition tells us that the immediate disciples of Mahavira composed the Angas after receiving the ideas from the prophet himself. Moreover, all the later works, which

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are said to be derived from the Purvas, form part of the Angabahira group. From the name 'pavdya' applied to most of them, we may conclude that they contained matter of a controversial nature, probably stating the views of the opponents and their refutations. Some of the schismatic views are said to be drawn from them. Their place in the Drishfivada suggests similar contents.

The further growth of the Jain canon is intimately connected with the work of the First Council of Elders at Pataliputra. It marked the second stage. According to tradition, a famine of 12 years* duration, at the time of the patriarch Sthulabhadra, rendered the existence of the canon precarious. At the end of the period, the Sariigha found it necessary to come together to rescue the sacred writings as much as possible. Sthulabhadra learnt from Bhadrabahu all the fourteen Purvas , but was not allowed to teach the last four to his successors. These were consequently lost to posterity. Thus it is not possible to know the exact nature of the canon, as settled by this Council.

Fortunately, however, some later books like Nandi supply us with a classification and list of canonical books which must be due to the First Council, as it is at variance with the present-day plan of the canon. The canon, at that time, consisted of the 12 Angas giving the chief doctrines of Jainism, and standing in opposition to the remaining works, collectively called Angabahira. Though not so old as the Angas, works dealing with the discipline of the monks in their corporate life must have come into existence early. The basis of such works was the Avassayas, and the name points to their importance. All other works were put under the category of Avassayavairitta. They, in turn, comprised works called Kdlika, to be learned at a fixed period of study, and Utkalika which carried no such restriction.

Many books of this canon are now lost and the names of others remain obscure to us. That later additions were made to the canon formulated in the First Council is obvious from the fact that a few books are attributed to later writers like Samarya, Aryarakshita, Virabhadra and others. As some of them w , ere lost and additions were made to others, the older classification could not be maintained for long, but it may be admitted that a substantial part of the canon goes back to those days. The philosophical outlook of the canon, which makes little mention of the Buddhist schools like Sunyavada and VijnanavSda, is suggestive of a period earlier than the third century A.D. Even the latest parts of the canon make mention of only such works as are earlier than the Gupta era. Further, the canon shows the stronghold of the religion to be yet in the country of its origin, Magadha.

According to statements of the canonical books themselves and later tradition, Mahavira preached his religion in Ardha-Magadhi, which is said to be the language of the canon. The language of the available canon, however, shows a close approximation to the standard Prakrits called Maharashtrl and Jain Maharashtri, with only two features (like the Nom. sg. in e and the change of r to l in a few words) in common with the MagadhI of the Prakrit grammarians.

According to the Digambara tradition, not only the Drishtivada but also the eleven Angas were lost by degrees in course of time, and thus no part of the canon is now available to them. They do not know of other works grouped as Upangas, Chhedasutras, etc., which are found in the present canon of the Svetambaras. We must, however, bear in mind that the basic works like the Shatkhayddgama y incorporated in the huge commentaries called Dhavala and Jayadha raid, are said to be based on the Drishtivada. 1 A few citations from the Anga works are also given by them. Systematic treatises by later famous scholars like Umasvati, Kundakunda, Vattakera, Yativfishabha and others now serve the community as authorities in place of the canon.

The need of explaining parts of the canon must have been felt by the Jain community. In the early stages the explanations were mostly oral, and mnemonic verses summarised some discussions as a help to the teacher’s memory. A collection of such metrical comments gave rise to the Niryuktis, ten of which are often enumerated and traditionally attributed to Bhadrabahu. Leumann has, however, shown that internal indications from the texts make it most probable that they were composed in the first or second century A.D. In addition, only the Tattvarthddhigama Sutra of Umasvati can be confidently assigned to the pre-Gupta age.

5. Jain Philosophy

As noted above, Jainism shows a close affinity with Samkhya system. 2 It also developed a kind of logic which cut at the root of all stable knowledge. It was technically called Syadvada.

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According to this logic (Sytidvada, or the theory of ‘May be*), as many as seven modes of predication are possible in any given case. No definite or absolute statement, therefore, can be made about any question. If the question is: ‘Is there a soul?*, this logic of the Jains would admit of seven answers, to it, viz: (i) is, (ii) is not, (iii) is and is not, (iv) is unpredicable, (v) is and is unpredicable, (vi) Isr not and is unpredicable and (vii) is, is not and is unpredicable. There is a sense in which there is a soul and there is also a sense in which no soul exists; and a third sense is not inconceivable in which we must admit that we cannot describe it; and so on. This is equivalent to saying that knowledge is only probable.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that it only implies agnosticism or metaphysical nihilism. The negative result of such a theory of knowledge is apparently agnosticism, but even out of this the Jains constructed a philosophy. They had a theory of reality also. Their logic was a subtle and disguised protest against the dogmatism of the Vedas, and not intended to deny all reality. The world according to them was not altogether unknowable; only, one must not be cocksure about one’s assertions. The world consisted of two eternal, uncreated, co-existing but independent categories, viz. the conscious (jiva) and the unconscious (a jiva).

The conscious being or jiva corresponds to what we call the soul. It knows and feels. It acts and is acted upon. It suffers by its contact with matter and is born again and again, only to suffer; and its highest endeavour is to free itself from this bondage. And this salvation could be attained by higher knowledge and meditation upon the great truth.

According to some, the term ‘jina* should be taken to mean ‘life’. We know that modern thought draws a distinction between life and consciousness. In Jainism, and for thp matter of that in ancient Indian thought, this distinction is not always present and is never emphasised. The ‘ jiva 9 could inhabit a plant, an animal or a human body. That makes it equivalent to life. And the 'jiva' is supposed to vary in size and shape according to the body it lives in. That also makes it equivalent to life. But when we talk of the salvation of the jiva, we definitely imply a soul. Life or soul, there was a plurality of jivas in the universe, and each one of them was subject to the law of karma and rebirth, and could be saved by knowledge and meditation.

The *ajiva ' or the unconscious was not exactly what we call 'matter', for it was equivalent to the universe minus the jivas. It included matter, which was given the name 'pudgala', but it also included such things as space and time, virtue and vice, etc.

There is no God or Creator, and man's emancipation from suffering does not depend upon the mercy of any such being. Man is the architect of his own destiny. By living an austere life of purity and virtue, he can escape the ills of life. The best life was the life of renunciation. It was thus the shortest way to salvation.

Jainism is thus a moral code rather than a religion in the modern western sense of the term. It recognized no Supreme Being, but there was a whole galaxy of deified men who had been spiritually great. Every soul possessed the potentiality of becoming as great as they. And, if the necessity arose, Jainism was not unwilling to admit a god of popular Hinduism to this galaxy. Besides, it was also not opposed to the theory of caste. It was thus very much less hostile and more accommodating to Hinduism than the other heterodox systems. It must also be remembered that Jainism did not dogmatise. According to its fundamental logic, no absolute affirmation or denial was possible. When all knowledge is only probable and relative, your opponent's view is as likely to be true as yours. The result of this spirit of accommodation was that Jainism has survived in India till today, whereas Buddhism, its twin sister, had to look for habitation elsewhere.

6. Jain Icons

Although tney denied the existence of a Supreme Being the Jains regard the practice of worshipping images of their Tirthakaras as co-eval with the foundation of their creed. The authenticity of this tradition may be doubted, but the custom of icon-worship among the Jains certainly may be traced back to the Maury aSuhga period. One of the earliest stone images in the round discovered in India is associated with Jainism. It is the torso of a nude figure unearthed from Lohanipur in Patna whose high polish enables us to date it in the Maury a or early Sunga period. 1 Its nudity, the stiff straight pose of its arms hanging down by its sides indicative of the Kayotsarga attitude characteristic of the Jinas, and its general outlook unmistakably prove that it was originally the image of one

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of the Tirthakaras. Its upper and lower portions being unfortunately lost, there is no means to ascertain which of the 24 Jinas

it represented.

Epigraphic evidence also seems to prove that the practice of image-worship was current among the Jains in eastern India even in the pre-Maurya times. There is a possible reference in the Hathigumpha inscription to the removal of a Jina image from Kalinga to Pataliputra by the Magadhan king Nanda at the time of his invasion of Kalinga, and its subsequent recovery by the Chedi king Kharavela who invaded Magadha in the first century B.C. 1 That the practice was well-established in parts of northern India in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era is fully proved by a number of well-carved Jain images and several Aydgapatas (Jain votive tablets), with Jina figures in their centre and ashtanwhgalas (eight auspicious marks) on their borders, which have been discovered in Mathura. 2

In order to understand correctly the meaning of the ancient and mediaeval Jain sculptures, one must obtain a clear idea about the hierarchy of the Jain pantheon in its broad outline. Jain texts like Achara Dinakara, Uttaradhyayana Sutra and Abhidhana-chintamani show in their classification of the Jain gods and goddesses that many of the subsidiary divinities were mere adaptations from the Brahmanic pantheon. 3 The principal class of Jain divinities are, however, the 24 Tirthakaras or Jinas. beginning with Adinatha or Rishabhanatha and ending with the last of the Order, the historical Mahavira. Each of these Jinas is characterised by his respective cognisance, which is usually carved in the centre of the pedestal.

They have also their individual Upasakas and Sasanadevatas, who are sometimes described in the texts as the attendant Yakshas and Yakshinis. The main order of the Jain hierarchy can be shown thus

Note 88

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in tabular form:—

Name of the Jina	Cognisance	Upasaka	£dsanadevat&
1. Adinatha	Bull	Gomukha	Chakresvari
2. Adinatha	Elephant	Mahayaksha	Ajitabala
3. Sambhavanatha	Horse	Trimukha	Duritari
4. Abhinandanatha	Monkey	Yakshanayaka	Kalika
5. Sumatinatha	Krauncha (a type of bird)	Tumburu	Mahakall
6. Padmaprabha	Lotus	Kusuma	6yama
7. Suparsvanatha	Svastika (symbol)	Matahga	Santa
8. Chandraprabha	Moon	Vijaya	Bhikuti

9. Suvidhinatha	Makara	Ajita	Sutaraka
10. Sltalanatha	Srivatsa (symbol)	Brahma	Asoka
11. 6reyamsanatha	Rhinoceros	Yakshet	Manavi
12. Vasupujya	Buffalo	Kumara	Chanda
13. Vimalanatha	Boar	Shanmukha	Vidita
14. Anantanatha	Falcon	Pa tala	Ankusa
15. Dharmanatha	Thunderbolt	Kinnara	Kandarpa
16. &antinatha	Deer	Garuda	Nirvanl
17. Kunthunatha	Goat	Gandharva	Bala
18. Aranatha	Nandyavarta (symbol)	Yakshet	Dharin!
19. Mallinatha	Pitcher	Kubera	Dharanapriya

20. Munisuvrata	Tortoise	Varuna	Naradatta
21. Neminatha	Blue lotus	Bhrikuti	Gandharl
22. Neminatha	Conchshell	Gomedha	Ambika
23. Parsvanatha	Snake	Parsva	Padmavati
24. Mahavlra	Lion	Matahga	Siddhayika

The above table, which is based on such late texts as Abhidhdna-chintamani, shows that there are some overlappings and repetitions in the nomenclature of the individual Yakshas or Upasakas, 1 and in one instance the name of a &asanadevi occurs also as that of an Upasaka. 2 Some members of the two subsidiary orders are sometimes differently named by the followers of the two principal Jain sects—the Digambara and the Svetambara. There is no doubt that this elaborate grouping was of gradual growth and, like the DhyanI Buddhas and the DhyanI Bodhisattvas of the Mahay ana Buddhist pantheon, came to be stereotyped at a later period.

Note 91

Note 92

The subsidiary divinities in the Jain pantheon have been classified differently in different texts, one of the earlier modes being to group them under four classes, such as Jyotishi, Vimanavasl, Bhavanapati and Vyantara, based on their natural and individual affiliations. A long list of these is given in Jain literature, in which the names of many Hindu divinities can be recognised. Besides, Sri-Lakshml, Ganesa, Kubera, etc. were as much used in the Jain and Buddhist shrines as in the Brahmanical Hindu temples. In studying the early Jain iconography in its broader outline, however, we are principally concerned with the images of the Jinas and the companions, and several other groups of divinities such as the Navagrahas, the Dikpalas, the Sruta or Vidyadevls, the Matrikas, etc.

The images of the Jinas are characterised by their long hanging arms (in the case of standing figures, this pose is known as the Kdyotsarga) , the Srivatsa symbol, the suavity of form, the youthful body and nudity; according to the Svetambara canons, the Jina images are partially clad. The Yakshas and the Yakshinis are shown in developed composition in the right and left of their respective Tirthakaras, sometimes depicted beneath their particular Bodhitrees; several of the other pratihdryas (marks) are occasionally carved on the prabhdvali. 1

The Yakshas and Yakshinis, when they are separately represented, can be distinguished not only by their individual attributes and emblems, but also by the miniature figures of their respective Jinas either on their crown or on the topmost part of the stele. The iconography of many of these subsidiary divinities also differs according to their affiliation to one or other of the major Jain sects. The Jain ashtamangalas (eight auspicious signs), such as (1) a Svastika, (2) a mirror, (3)' an urn, (4) a cane seat shaped like an hour-glass, (5-6) two fish (yugma-mina) , (7) a flower garland and (8) a manuscript, are sometimes carved on the pedestal or other parts of the back slab. 2 It should be noted, however, that many of these iconographic features came to be developed gradually,

£wu ight P ratih “ryas are (1) celestial tree, (2) celestial flowers, (3^ drum,

(4) throne-seat (5) heavenly music, (6) Yak-tail choxvries, (7) trilinear umbrella, (8) dazzling aura.

The signs do not seem to have been stereotyped in earlier reliefs The Ayagapata of Siha-nadika shows the eight symbols in the following order from ™ P i ef - (1) two fish (2) cane-seat, (3) grlvatsa, (4) Offering (naivedya) lyavarta, <(G) garland in a leaf cup, (7) manuscript on ornate stand, (8) pitcher (bhadraghata) . In other Ayagapatas, the number, variety and arrangement seem to differ; V. A. Smith, op. cit., pis. VII and IX.

and some of the principal distinctive traits are often absent in the earliest extant Jina images of India. Almost all the seated Tlrthakara figures in the Mathura Museum, which can be dated on the basis of their pedestal inscriptions in the Kushana period, show below their seat a wheel of law (dharma-chakra) placed on a pillar in the centre, flanked on either side by numbers of devotees, male and female, with a lion at each end. They remind us of Buddha's Dharmachakra-pravarttana scene at Sarnath in early Buddhist art, but none of them appears to bear on their plthika their individual cognisances, which are invariably present in later Jain reliefs.

An image, entitled Adi or Rishabhanatha in its pedestal inscription dated in the year 84 of the era of Kanishka, has the wheel on a pillar, attended by devotees, on its pedestal, but the miniature figure of a bull, the special lanchchhana of the first Jina, is conspicuous by its absence. The sculptured panel representing the Jain ascetic Kanha, dated in the year 95, contains on its top section four Jinas, two on each side of a stupa, seated in Samddhimudrd { who can reasonably be identified as the last four Tlrthakaras—Nami, Nemi, Parsva and Mahavlra. The first two and the last are almost similar to one another in every respect, the third, Parsvanatha, alone differing from the others on account of the snake hood over his head; but none of them has its respective cognisance carved below its seat as we find almost invariably in the medieval images.

The partly broken inscribed pedestal in the Lucknow Museum, the Jina image over which was not recovered, shows, however, that distinctions on the basis of nomenclature and cognisance were occasionally adhered to even in the Kushana period. The sacred symbol in the centre of the pedestal composition is a wheel resting on a nandipada placed on a lotus flower flanked by two fish; the inscription above it, dated in the year 79 (of the Kanishka era), records the setting up of the image of the Arhat Nandyavarta. Nandyavarta is the special cognisance of the 18th Jina Aranatha, and it is interesting to note that the name of the distinctive symbol is used to denote the Jina himself, though the mark itself does not stand for a typical nandyavarta. 1 Another composite relief in the same museum, probably to be dated in the early Gupta period on the basis

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of its extremely fragmentary pedestal inscription, shows Mahavlra stated in the dhydna pose on his lion throne underneath a tree, surrounded by the miniature figures of the 23 other Tirthakaras; but it is noteworthy that none of these miniatures, arranged eight on either side of the main figure with seven on its top, bears on its seat its special mark. 1

That the Jains set a very high value on learning is proved by the importance they ascribed to one class of divinities described by them as Vidyadevls. They are, according to the Jain tradition, sixteen in number, at whose head is Sarasvati, the one Sruta-dev'T, the goddess of learning par excellence. They are known by such names as Rohim, Prajnapti, Vajrasrimkhaia, Kali, Mahakall, Gaurl, Manavl and others among which we find the names of many Yakshims, but the iconography of these two orders is different. As Srutadevata, Sarasvati also presides over the Sruta or the preaching of the Tirthakaras and Kevalins, and is one of the most important objects of worship among the Jains from a very early period.

One of the earliest representations of this goddess, who had also many votaries among the Buddhists and followers of Brahmanical religion, is associated with Jainism. It is a headless image in the collection of the Lucknow Museum. The left hand of the goddess holds a manuscript and the pedestal inscription informs us that Sarasvati was set up in the year 54 (? or 44, evidently of the Kanishka era). 2 Large numbers of various types of Sarasvati images are found in many Jain temples of India of different dates, and the Svetambaras and the Digambaras celebrate a special festival in her Honour known as the Jnana-panchami or Sruta-panchami. Two, four, six, eight and sixteen-armed varieties of the goddess are known, and her mount is almost invariably a swan, and very rarely a peacock; of these the four-armed images are quite common. 3 The images of the Vidyadevls can be recognised among the numerous carvings of such medieval temples as the Dilwara group, the Khajuraho Jain temples and others.

Most of the other groups of Jain images such as those of the Dikpalas, the Navagrahas, the sixty-four Yoginis and such divinities as Ganesa, Kshetrapala, Lakshml and others have usually the same iconography as in their Brahmanic setting, though occasional re

Note 94

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Note 96

orientation in their delineation is not absent. A very interesting image-type is that of Harinegamesi or Naigamesha, one of the generals of Devaraja Indra, who transferred the embryo of Mahavira from the womb of the Brahman! Devananda to that of Trisaia, a Kshatriya lady, under the orders of his master. He is depicted with a head of an antelope or a goat and reminds us of the goatheaded Daksha-Prajapati of the Brahmanic pantheon; his character as the general of the gods is also reminiscent of Karttikeya, one of whose names were Naigameya.

One of the earliest sculptural representations of this god is to be found in a broken frieze in the collection of the Lucknow Museum, which shows on its obverse the animal-headed deity ‘seated in an easy attitude on a low seat, turning his head to the proper right as if addressing another personage whose image has been lost'. He is described Bhagava Nemeso in bold characters of the first century A.D., and is accompanied by one child and three female figures on his left, his companions on the right being broken; traces of letters below the attendants seem to show that the obliterated inscription might have contained their names. Th'e reverse of the ornamental slab represents female dancers and musicians probably rejoicing at Nemesa’s successful transference of the foetus. 1

D. VAISHNAVISM

1. The Origin

Vaishnavism, as the name implies, means the particular theistic religion of which Vishnu is the object of worship and devotion as the Supreme God. The germ of Vishnu’s later greatness and of sectarian Vaishnavism is traceable even in the Rigveda, 2 and in later Vedic period he is regarded as the greatest god by at least one section of the people. 3 But Vishnu was usually recognised as an aspect of the Sun in the Rigveda and associated in the later Vedic texts

Note 97

Note 98

Note 99

more with sacrifice than with devotion and grace. We cannot therefore assert, in the present state of our knowledge, that Vaishnavism as a theistic sectarian religion flourished in the Vedic age.

It is a moot point whether Bhakti, as a religious doctrine, can be traced in the early Vedic texts, but it certainly played no dominant role. Bhandarkar thinks that the germ of the Bhakti doctrine is to be found in the Upanishadic idea of Upasand or fervent meditation , 1 which cannot but magnify the thing meditated upon and give it a glorious form so as to excite love and admiration. He also points out to the Brihaddranyaka Upanishad in which the dtman (soul) is regarded as dearer than a son, wealth and everything else. This makes the nearest approach to Bhakti, with the substitution of the impersonal dtman for a personal god.

The earliest reference to devotion to, and worship of, a personal god, out of which Vaishnavism arose, may be traced to the Ashtddhydyi of Panini (fifth century B.C.) which offers the rule for the formation of the word ‘Vasudevaka’ in the sense of “a person whose object of Bhakti is Vasudeva.” It is generally agreed that Bhakti here probably, though not certainly, is to be taken in the sense of religious adoration . 2 But that Vasudeva was the object of such devotion, at least as early as the fourth century B.C., is proved by the statement of Megasthenes that the Sourasenoi, i.c. the people of the Mathura region, held Herakles in special honour; for there is no doubt that Herakles was the Greek analogue of Vasudeva-Krishna.

The historical character of Vasudeva, as the son of Vasudeva of the Vrishni (known also as Satvata) sect of the famous Yadu or Yadava clan, need not be doubted. The important role played by this clan and the great achievements of Vasudeva-Krishna, as narrated in the epics and Puranas, have been noted above . 3 This hero of the Yadava clan, who became the leader of a religious movement, was deified and styled Bhagavat. This process was completed by the second century B.C. at the latest, for an inscription on a pillar at Besnagar refers to Heliodorus, the Greek ambassador of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas, as a devotee of Vasudeva, the ‘God of gods.* In the light of Megasthenes’s statement referred to above,

Note 100

Note 101

Note 102

we may place the foundation of the Vasudeva cult in the fourth century B.C., if not much earlier still. A reference to the founder of this sect has been traced in the Chhdndogya Upanishad which refers to sage Krishna, son of Devaki, as a disciple of the rishi Ghora of the Angirasa family, and some have even found the influence of the latter’s teaching upon the Bhakti religion founded by the former.

In any case it is interesting to note that while the above passage of the Chhdndogya Upanishad inculcates tapas (asceticism), ddna (charity), dr java (simplicity or piety), ahimsd (non-injury), and satyavachana (truthfulness), the same virtues are extolled by Krishna in the Gita . 1 Further, Ghora deprecates vidhi-yajna while the Gita makes little of dravyamaya-yajna or material sacrifice. Ghora’s doctrine that all the acts of the life of a pious man constitute a sort of sacrifice to the deities and enable him to attain to the God of the gods seems to be essentially the same as the theory of absolute resignation to the Lord, inculcated in the Gntd. Krishna and his teacher were worshippers of the Sun. It has been pointed out that, like Ghora, the Gita , attributed to Krishna, emphasises the need of meditation “at the last hour” on the “word which knowers of the Veda call Imperishable,” and “the Sun-coloured Being beyond the darkness” as the best means of attaining to the Supreme Celestial Being. As both in the Chhdndogya Upanishad and the Gita essentially the same doctrines are associated with one and the same person called Krishna-Achyuta, son of Devaki, it is very probable that they were originally learnt by Krishna from Ghora and were later taught by him to his own disciples. Although the teachings of Ghora Angirasa to Krishna thus appear to have formed the kernal of the Gita, that work must be regarded as a later product of the followers of Vasudevism, exhibiting considerable development of the original doctrine.

Thus the Bhagavata religion, which was propounded by Vasudeva and was the parent of later Vaishnavism, was probably the development of Sun-worship. According to the Santiparvan, the Satvata vidhi, another name for the Bhagavata doctrine after the tribe responsible for its introduction, was laid down in old times by the Sun. The Gltd also says that the Bhagavata doctrine was taught by the Lord to the Sun, by the Sun to Manu, and by Manu to Ikshvaku. The doctrine is sometimes referred to as Yoga of the Satvata style . 2

Note 103

Note 104

A pastoral character was later attributed to Krishna, and there are stories in the Harivamsa (a supplement to the Mahdbharata) and the Puranas (e.g. Vdyu, Bhdgavata f etc.) about his tender babyhood and wanton childhood, and also in some later works, about his youth full of amorous ecstasies. The popularity of the cowherd god is indicated by the name of the Pallava king Vishnugopa (fourth century). The stories about the early life of the pastoral Krishna may have partly developed out of the Vedic legends about Vishnu, called Gopa (protector of cows) in the Rigveda * 1 and Govinda and Damodara 2 in the Baudhayana Dharma-sutra

There was possibly another contributory factor to the development of the mythology of the cowherd Krishna. The Yamuna region seems to have been famous for its cows as early as the time of the fligveda, and a Varshna (i.e. one belonging to the Vrishni family) named Gobala (literally "one strong in the wealth of cows") is mentioned as a teacher in the Taittiriya Samhita and Jaiminiya Upanishad Brdhmana. It is therefore not improbable that the Yadava-Satvata-Vrishnis of the Mathura region were as famous for their cows as the Matsyas , 3 their western neighbours, were in epic times. But most of the legends about Krishna's early life, especially the charming stories about his amours with Radha and the Gopls, appear to have been mainly due to his identification with the local deities of the Abhlras and other allied tribes.

The age when Vasudeva-Kpishna flourished cannot be determined with certainty. The reference in the Chhandogya Upanishad seems to point to a date in the sixth or seventh century B.C. The Jain tradition, making Vasudeva-Krishna a contemporary of Tlrthakara Arishtanemi, who preceded Parsvanatha , 4 supports the date suggested by the Chhandogya Upanishad. His alleged association with the Mahabharata War appears to be a less reliable datum for fixing his date.

According to Barth and Hopkins, Krishna was not a human being at all, but a popular divinity whose identification with Vishnu gave rise to sectarian Vaishnavism. But while the latter considers Krishna to be the tribal god of the Pandavas, supposed to be an aboriginal people, the former regards him to be a deity of solar origin. As to the theory of Krishna's solar character, Keith has rightly dismissed it with the remark that "the 'dark sun' requires more explanation than it seems likely to receive." In the opinion of Macnicol and Keith, Krishna, who is believed to appear in the Mahabhashya in a 'vegetation masque' contending with Kaiiisa for the possession of the Sun, was developed out of one of the vegetation deities that were widely worshipped in all countries of the world. The evidence at our disposal seems to bear testimony to the human character of Krishna who was later associated with some popular cults and festivals. Krishna, like Radha, was a deified hero or prince. The attempts to make him a solar myth are as unconvincing as the endeavours to prove that Buddha and Christ are imaginary figures.

Note 105

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Note 107

Note 108

Note 109

2. The Evolution of Vaishnavism

The first step in the evolution of Vaishnavism was the identification of Vasudeva-Krishna 1 with the Vedic deity Vishnu. This was accomplished by the time the Bhagavadgitd was composed, and henceforth the Vasudeva cult or Bhagavata religion was known also as Vaishnava dharma. It has been suggested with great plausibility that this identification was prompted by a desire on the part of the Brahmanas to bring this new and powerful religious sect 2 within the pale of orthodox Vedic faith. But whatever may be the motive, the identification undoubtedly served this purpose.

A further step in the same process was the identification of Vasudeva-Krishna-Vishnu with a deified sage (or hero) named Narayana. The origin of the conception of Narayajna is differently given by different authorities. The Satapatha Brahmana mentions a purusha named Narayana who thrice offered sacrifice at the instance of Prajapati. But Narayana is not identified with Vishnu or any of the adityas. Elsewhere in the same Brahmana, Purusha Narayana is said to have performed a pancharatra-satra (sacrifice continued for five days) and thereby obtained superiority over all beings and "became all beings". Scholars naturally refer the name Pancharutra or Pahcharatrika applied to the Bhagavatas (or to one of their important branches) to this five-day satra of Narayana. The earliest evidence regarding the identification of Narayana wifh Vishnu is probably to be traced in the Baudhayana Dharma-sutra. The tenth Prapathaka of the Taittiriya Aranyaka contains the for

Note 110

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mula: Ndrdyandya vidmahe Vdsudevaya dhlmahi, tan—no Vishnuh prachodayat, which regards Narayana, Vasudeva and Vishnu as one and the same deity. Here Narayana appears also as Hari and as "the deity eternal, supreme and lord". But this part of the work is admittedly a later addition and may be considerably later than the Baudhdyana Dharma-sutra. Several sections of the Mahibhdrata support the conception of Narayana as found in the Taittiriya Ar any aka.

Some passages of the Mahdbharata call Narayana an ancient rishi who was the son of Dharma and was associated with another rishi named Nara. They went from the world of men to the world of Brahman and, worshipped by the gods and the Gandharvas, they existed only for the destruction of the

Asuras. Indra received the assistance of Nara and Narayana in his struggle against the demons. In a passage which apparently exhibits the touch of a Saivite, Narayana, son of Dharma, is said to have undergone austerities in the Himalayas (the exact place is sometimes specified as Badari) and thus became one with Brahman (the All-Soul); he achieved this by propitiating Siva. From Narayana's austerities was born the sage Nara, equal to Narayana himself. Nara is identified with Arjuna and Narayana with Vasudeva-Krishna. According to the late Narayanlya section of the £antiparvan, Narayana, the eternal and the universal soul, was born as the son of Dharma in the quadruple form of Nara, Narayana, Hari and Krishna. 1 It also refers to the white people of the white island (sveta-dvipa), on the northern shores of the Milk Ocean, worshipping Narayana, a thousand-rayed deity who could not be seen by persons not devoting themselves wholly and solely to him, in consequence of his Sun-like brightness.

An earlier generation of scholars believed that the Narayanlya section of the Mahabhdrata pointed to an actual journey undertaken by some Indian Vaishnavas to Christian countries, and to an attempt in the Indian eclectic fashion to include Christ among the incarnations of the Supreme Spirit Narayana. 2 Others, however, have, with much plausibility, taken the story to be a mere flight of fancy. Raychaudhuri points to Narayana's solar associations and compares Narayana in the Sveta-Dvlpa of the White Islanders with the Rigvedic Vishnu, an aspect of the Sun, in his highest station seen only by the Suris. R. G. Bhandarkar believes that Narayana has a cosmic

Note 112

Note 113

character and is not a historical or mythological individual. He interprets the word Ndrayana as the resting place or goal of Ndra , or a collection of Naras (i.e . men). It is, however, more reasonable to take Narayana to be an ancient leader of thought born in the family of another sage named Nara, 1 both of whom were probably advocates of solar worship which ultimately led to their identification, especially of the former, with the solar deity Vishnu. Whether the family of Narayana had anything to do with the Yadavas and whether he had Vasudeva as a second name cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. It, however, seems that the worshippers of the deified sage Narayana were originally known as Pancharatrikas, who were later mixed up with the Bhagavatas worshipping Vasudeva according to the vidhi of the Satvata people, and that the Narayana cult originated in some part of the Himalayan region or its neighbourhood.

3. Progress of Vaishnavism

Having now considered the evolution of Vaishnavism, we may attempt to trace its progress as a religious sect. The Buddhist canonical work Anguttara Nikdya gives a long list of religious sects, but does not mention Vasudevaka or Bhagavata. The inscriptions of Asoka, which speak of B rah man a, Sramaija, Ajlvika and Nirgrantha, do not refer to the followers of Vasudeva. But a passage occurring in the Buddhist canonical commentaries (c. first century B.C.), called the Mahdniddesa and the Chullaniddesa, mentions the worshippers of Vasudeva and Baladeva (Sankarshana). Although, therefore, the Bhagavata sect, worshipping Vasudeva, was known probably to the grammarian Panini of Gandhara and certainly to Megasthenes, it was apparently not so prominent outside the Mathura region and the neighbouring land towards the north-west about the third century B.C.

The Bhagavata religion, which originated with the YadavaSatvata-Vrishni people of the Mathura area, appears to have spread to western India and the northern Deccan with the migration of the numerous Yadava tribes. As already observed, Vasudeva was probably deified, at least partially, and worshipped by his own people as early as the age of Panini, although he may or may not have been regarded as the supreme god. It cannot be ignored that the identification of Vasudeva with the highest god is not recognised in the earlier parts of the Mahabharata. The reviling scene in the Sabha

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parvan shows that Vasudeva-Krishna’s claim to divine honours was sometimes openly challenged. Even in the Gita, Vasudeva-Krishna laments that the magnanimous person who says “Vasudeva is All” is rare, and that people scorn him. Vasudeva is sometimes described as a pious hypocrite, and it is only in late passages that he is represented as a friend of the Brahmanas, the originator of the Vedas, and perfectly identical with Vishnu. The Mahdbhashya refers to the Kamsabhaktas who were kalamukha (dark faced), and to Vasudevabhaktas who were raktcmukha (red faced), although the reference is possibly to the masked stage-players of the Kamsa-vadha story.

A Besnagar (old Gwalior State) inscription of the last quarter of the second century B.C. refers to a garuda-dhvaja (column surmounted by the figure of Garu<Ja conceived as the emblem or vdhana of Vishnu) raised at Vidisa in honour of Vasudeva, the deva deva (the greatest god), by his Yavana or Greek devotee Heliodorus, an inhabitant of Takshasila in Gandhara, who calls himself a Bhagavata, i.e. a worshipper of Bhagavat (Vasudeva-Vishnu). Another inscription from Besnagar speaks of the erection of the Garuda column of an excellent temple (prasadottama) of the Bhagavat (Vasudeva).

The Ghosundi (Chitorgarh District, Rajputana) inscription of the first century B.C. refers to the construction of a puja-sila-prakara (a stone enclosure for the place of worship, of better, an enclosure for the sacred stone called Salagrama believed to be typical of Vishnu as the Linga is of Siva), probably styled Narayanavataka, by a Bhagavata performer of the Asvamedha sacrifice, in honour of Sahkarshana and Vasudeva who are called Bhagavat, anihata (unconquered or respected), and sarvesvara (supreme lord). The Nanaghat (Bombay State) inscription of the same age belonging to the queen of a Satavahana performer of numerous Vedic sacrifices 1 begins with an adoration to the gods Dharma, Indra, Sahkarshana and Vasudeva, the Moon and the Sun, and the four lokapdlas , viz. Yama (differentiated from Dharma), Varuna, Kubera and Vasava (differentiated from Indra).

These epigraphs support what is already known from literary evidence as regards Vasudeva’s association with Garuda, 2 and therefore with Vishnu, with the Vrishni hero Sahkarshana as well as with

Narayana, long before the birth of Christ. He is not called Krishna

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1. See above, p. 199.

2. Cf. the ^igvedic conception of the Sun as a celestial bird.

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in the earlier epigraphic literature of India; but the use of Krishna as another name of Vasudeva in such works as the MahabhArata the Ghata Jdtaka and the Mahdbhashya should probably be ascribed to a pre-Christian date.

The spread of the Bhagavata religion far outside the Mathura region and the Yadava-Satvata-Vrishni people, especially amongst performers of Vedic sacrifices in western India and the northern Deccan, is thus clearly indicated by epigraphic evidence; but the Satavahana record at Nanaghat also shows that some people regarded Vasudeva, even in the first century B.C., not as the greatest of all gods, but only as an equal of Indra and other gods. That another Satavahana king of the second century A.D. claimed to be equal to Rama (Baladeva or Sankarshana) and Kesava (Vasudeva-Krishna) is also noteworthy. The growing importance of Vasudevism in South India is, however, indicated by the Chinna (Krishna District) inscription of the second century A.D., which begins with an adoration to Vasudeva, and a Prakrit charter of the Pallavas referring to a devakula of Bhagavat Narayana somewhere in the Guntur District. 1

The introduction of Bhagavatism in the far south at a much earlier date is indicated by the relation of the Pajpdyas with the Pandavas and §urasenas, alluded to in the confused stories narrated by Megasthenes about Herakles and Pandaia and in the grammatical work of Katyayana, and by the name of the Pandya capital Madura, adapted from that of Mathura, the original home of the Vasudeva cult.

Iconic representations of the god Vishnu-Vasudeva cannot be traced much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. A four-armed figure of the deity, with Chakra in the upper left hand, is found on the coins of the Panchala king Vishnumitra in evident allusion to the issuer’s name. A similar representation of the fourarmed Vishnu, with gankha, Chakra, Gadd and a ring-like object, instead of the lotus, in the hands, appears in a Kushana seal-matrix attributed by Cunningham to Huvishka. It is interesting that the Kushana king is represented as reverentially looking up at the god with his hands in the anjali pose. He may have become for some time a worshipper of Vasudeva. Some of Huvishka's coins bear the figure of the four-armed god Ooshna (Vishnu). The adoption of the name Vasudeva by Huvishka's successor also points to the

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fact that the later Kushanas, who had an important centre of govern ment at Mathura, the original centre of the Vasudeva cult, had Bhagavata leanings.

Under Panini, IV, 3, 98-99, Patanjali seems to make a distinction between Vasudeva the tatrabhavat, i.e. the specially honoured Vasudeva and the Kshatriya Vasudeva. The Padma-tantra, a canonical work of the Bhagavatas, also makes a distinction between the two Vasudevas. The Mahabharata refers to a story which says that there was, besides Krishna of the Yadava-Satvata-Vrishni family, another claimant to the status of Vasudeva in Paundraka Vasudeva, i.e. Vasudeva, king of the non-Aryan Paundraka people, probably of north Bengal. Although Paundraka Vasudeva may have actually been the leader of a rival religious sect, these legends were perhaps the result of an attempt on the part of a section of the Bhagavatas to absolve their hero from the bad deeds (e.g. killing his maternal uncle) attributed to him by rival sects, probably including the followers of an earlier teacher named Narayana, by suggesting a different entity for the performer of those deeds. The name Satvata, applied to the Bhagavata religion, shows that its founder was not different from the Kshatriya Vasudeva of the Yadava-Satvata-Vrishni family. The legends about Krishna's questionable acts appear to have their origin in the Rigveda, which represents Vishnu as a Kuchara (performer of bad deeds) and as stealing food and butter. In later Vedic literature also Vishnu is often found to resort to cunning devices in order to help Indra and other friends to defeat the Asuras.

4. Bhagavadgiid or Gita

The earliest and best exposition of the doctrine of the Bhagavata sect founded by Vasudeva-Krishna is to be found in the Bhagavadgita (also simply called the Gita), which has been incorporated in the Mahabharata. Although it cannot be definitely dated, it is generally referred to the first or second century before Christ.

The Bhagavadgita, holds a unique position in Indian literature. It is a poem which, by virtue of its dialogue-form, takes on a dramatic interest, and imparts lessons in philosophy, religion and ethics without seeming to do so, because the occasion or situation which gives rise to the dialogue is of the nature of a psychological crisis which may occur in the life of any individual. Arjuna, who represents such an individual, comes to the battlefield to fight his kinsmen, the Kauravas. At this crucial moment, a curiously pessimistic mood suddenly overcomes him. The fratricidal combat in which he was about to engage appears to him to be a sinful act and he decides to withdraw from the battlefield. Krishna, who serves as his charioteer, dissuades him from this cowardly course of action, and his teachings to Arjuna in this connection form the subjectmatter of the Bhagavadgitd . It is this specific situation involving a moral dilemma which gives a perennial charm and universal appeal to the poem.

As the Gita thus deals with a specific situation, a particular occasion and the course of conduct suited to it, we cannot expect it to discuss the whole of normal philosophy or to present a complete theory of morals. Nevertheless, as practical teaching is the motif of the work, its teachings are predominantly ethical It also discusses metaphysical problems, more or less as a background to its ethics, and contains an exposition of many other doctrines interspersed here and there along with its main one. We shall, therefore, concentrate here on the essential and fundamental part or core of its teaching.

That Karma-yoga or activism should be the focal point of its teaching follows naturally from the fact that Arjuna who, in the beginning of the poem, is discovered as overwhelmed by a pseudophilosophical mood of inaction, resignation and aversion to duty, declares himself at the end ready to fight in that detached frame of mind which behoves the philosopher in action. Karma-yoga is application or devotion to Karman with that mood of detachment or equanimity in which the desire for, or attachment to, the fruit or result of the Karman is absent. Karman (or action) should be an end in itself, and not the means to achieve the result, which must follow the Karman but should never form the inspiration to activity. Karman signifies the whole set of duties, i.e. social obligations or varna-dharmas w r hich, according to the Gita itself, are incumbent on every individual and are laid down by the Sastra for each of the four varnas (castes) constituting the Chdturvarnya which, Sri Krishna says, was formulated by himself for the organisation of human society, by the fourfold classification of men according to their qualities and inclinations (not birth). Yoga is that balance of mind (samatvam) which, by banishing desire or self-interest as a motif in the performance of prescribed duty, ensures not only the choice of the right deed or correct action, but also the absence of that over* enthusiasm in the pursuit of duty which the prospect of a tempting

reward may induce in a man and make him swerve from the path of rectitude.

The Gita thus steers a middle course between the two ideals of nivftti and pravritti, which held the field in those days, by choosing the golden mean. Nivritti, i.e. withdrawal from all Karman, or renunciation, had then become popular among certain types of people, because Karman was supposed to involve the doer in the vicious circle of birth and death. The Gita points out that Karman by itself does not form a bond. After all, not even the most thorough-going Sannydsin (ascetic) can eschew all action so long as he lives and breathes, because breathing is also a kind of ‘action’. It is the attachment to the result or fruit of the action that constitutes the bond. It is therefore possible from this point of view to practise ‘renunciation’ even in the midst of action! On the other hand, the path of pravritti, which prescribes the performance of all duties, social obligations and ritualistic activities, is attended with the danger that, though selfishness is held in check by a sense of duty, it may extend its scope to the other world, which is the scene of the realisation of rewards accruing from action in general and ritualistic action in particular. The Gita points out that the rewards, though transferred to the other world, are nevertheless transitory, and constitute a bond all the same, as it involves coming back again to the w T orld after the exhaustion of merit!

The attachment to the fruit of action is, therefore, the root of all evil. The snapping of this bond is true ^renunciation’ and not the giving up of all action, which in any case is impossible in one’s lifetime as shown above. So Samnyasa or detachment in action is the golden mean advocated by the Gntd. The debility, despondency, diffidence and doubt which suddenly assail Arjuna on the battlefield can qualify a person neither for activism nor for renunciation.

But motivelessness or detachment may degenerate into indifference or distaste for all activity. Is will without desire possible? The Gita sees this danger and places two motives and two corresponding goals before the Karma-yogin, either of which he may follow according as he chooses the path of (i) Jnana (knowledge) or (ii) Bhakti (devotion):

(1) The selflessness prescribed for activitism is, in a sense, motivated by self-purification {dtma-suddhi). Karma-yoga in thus not disinterested in the sense that it has no goal or motive behind it. The difference is that, instead of a separate motive for each separate act,

it substitutes one single motive for all acts, viz. the spiritualisation of all our impulses and not merely the rationalising of them, the ennobling of our spiritual nature—in other words, subjective purification (dtma-sud.dhi) . The ‘selfless activity’ of the Karina yogin is carried on from the point of view of the outer world, in the interests of the society of which he forms part, and from an inward individual point of view, for cleansing the heart. The goal is selfrealisation or becoming Brahman or absprption in the Absolute. This is the Absoluteist view.

(2) The other motive that may legitimately be the inspiration of the Karma-yogin is the service of God. Whatever is done is done for the sake of God and constitutes in fact service to Him. The fruit of all activity is dedicated to God. Duty is divine service. He is in contact with the living personality of God which is in touch with the world in which he acts. The Karma-yogin,

who is at the same time a devotee of God, has the reasonable hope that God will not let him down. 1 The mind is thus gradually turned away from the worldly results of action and worldly desire, even legitimate, is eliminated. The goal here is God-realisation or reaching the presence of God, described sometimes as merging in Him. This motive and goal represent the Theistic point of view.

The Karma-yoga of the jnanin is consummated in a perfect state of self-realisation, dominated by the attitude of enlightenment which sees all beings in one-self and one-self in all beings. The Karmayoga of the Bhakta finds Uts fulfilment in a loving communion with God, the attitude being one of Bhakti or passionate devotion to God, or love of God expressing itself in the love of His creatures. Inward peace is, of course, the sine qua non of the Perfect State. There are several beautiful accounts in the Gita of the Perfect State, giving slightly discrepant versions. For example, VIII. 5 tells us that the final state is attained after death. A more common version 2 is that it can be realised even within this life. The eleventh chapter records the possibility of an enthralling direct vision of God by the devotee, as was vouchsafed to Arjuna.

We shall now briefly review the metaphysics of the Gita which forms the bed-rock of its ethical teaching. It broadly distinguishes between the unchanging and the immortal on the one hand, and the everchanging and the perishable on the other. The world of experience is further resolved by the Gita into two elements—the perishable and the imperishable, not from the ultimate point of view, but from a relative one. The prakriti, the relatively permanent background of the world, is distinguished from the changes of the world, its fleeting manifestations. These two are, therefore, relatively speaking, the akshara (indestructible) and the kshara (destructible) world-changes ' The ultimate reality is not the everchanging prakriti . It is the infinite Being who pervades and supports all the worlds and dwells in all beings, and is thus

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not qualitatively distinct from the finite which he underlies and animates. The Absolute is the being that never becomes , the eternal bed-rock (kutastha) on which is reared the superstructure of the things of the world that are always struggling to become something else. An analysis of the ‘Objective’ experience gives us these results.

By an analysis of the ‘Subjective’ experience, we realise that deeply rooted in our consciousness is the firm belief that there is something within us that must survive the demise of the mortal body. The individual self may be analysed into the component parti of body, mind and soul. Neither the body, which is like a garment, cast off at death, nor the fleeting contacts of the senses with sense-objects, nor the empirical mind could be the permanent element in the self, which is always the subject and never the object. The inner principle, the subject, is thus higher than the senses, the mind, and the understanding . 2 3 This undying element is the essential basis of the objective world which has no existence apart from the Subject—the K*hetrajna —the lord of the body (kshetra), described in glowing terms 1 as the dtman that neither dies nor is born, that is not affected by elemental forces, nor is touched by weapons.

The intelligence, the mind, and the senses are but developments of the unconscious prakriti which enacts the whole drama of evolution under the auspicies of the purnsha (spirit), the self who is a nondoer (akartri), a mere passive spectator, and who, though stationed in the body, remains uncontaminated. Empirical individuals are combinations of subject and object or the divine principle of subject circumscribed by the context of objects. Individual souls or Jivas are individualised fragments of Purushottama (the Absolute). The illusion of individuality is due to the subject confusing itself with the object and considering itself the doer of actions which are

wrought by the qualities of may a or prakriti . According to the Gita , 4

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tlie personal God (iwcira) combines within himself the immutability of Brahman and the mutation of becoming (that is) both the sat and the asat. Mdyd is the power of self-becoming, the energy which is utilised by the Hvara in producing mutable nature, both mdyd and Is vara being without beginning and mutually dependent.

It is in this sense that the word mdyd is used in the Gitd, and not in the Vedantic sense of a beginningless and unreal avidyd imaging the illusions of the world. The Gitd does not indicate that the changes of the world are only apparent and imaginary. There is no hint that the world is real only so long as we live in it. It does not vanish, but only changes its meaning for one who rises above mdyd and enjoys the immortality of timeless self existence, even in the very midst of this world of becoming.

The Gltd , of course, teaches the doctrine of rebirth. The character we develop in this life will determine the type of our next birth. This doctrine gives a reality to free will in spite of necessity or determinism, because the latter operates in a single life only. The discipline of rebirth leads to perfection and ultimately, to moksha.

The theory of avatdra or incarnation is mentioned in the Gitd which declares Krishna to be the Purushottama or Perfect Man “Though unborn and eternal, I take charge of prakriti and am born through recourse to mdyd,' > says Krishna, 1 and this happens “when piety (clharma) wanes and unrighteousness rears its ugly head. 4 * An avatdra is, generally kpeaking, a limited manifestation of the Supreme, but the Gita seems to take it as the descent of the whole god into man. In a sense every individual human being is an avatdra; only it is enveloped in ignorance and is a veiled manifestation, whereas the divine avatdra with a conscious being is none else but God, who limits Himself for a definite purpose and fulfils Himself in the world. This possibility of an avatdra at the time of a world crisis is indeed a most heartening spiritual message of the Gitd.

To sum up, the catholicity of the Gita is clearly seen when, in a spirit of true toleration, it presents the most harmonious blend of the apparently conflicting doctrines then prevalent, and declares: ‘All roads to moksha (salvation) lead but unto Me.’ It lays down, three distinct paths or ways (mdrga) of salvation, viz . through Jndna (Knowledge), Karma (Action) and Bhakti (Devotion). Very

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characteristic is its treatment of the first, viz. Jnana-mdrga or ‘path of knowledge*. There are two kinds of knowledge: (1) the understanding of the phenomena of existence externally through the intellect is called vi jnana; and (2) the integral knowledge, through the force of intuition, of the ultimate principle behind the phenomena, the common foundation of all existence, is Jnana. It is this Jiidna which the Gita describes as incomparable in its purifying power and thus a means to attain final emancipation. It can only be attained if vijnana or science is supplemented by pariprasna (investigation) and seva (service). As a jnana (ignorance) is more a spiritual blindness than an intellectual fog, mental training and a cleansing of the soul are necessary to remove it. The Gita says that Karma-yoga, supplemented by the Yogic discipline (which was later systematised in Patanjali’s Sutras), provides such a training.

The second path, the Karma-yoga of the Gita, gives a new version of the Vedic theory of sacrifice and harmonises it with true spiritual knowledge. Sacrifice is nothing but self-restraint and selfsurrender. The sacrifice of sense-pleasures is the true sacrifice. The Karma-yogin surrenders to God whatever work he does. He not only lives but acts in God. The third, the Bhakti-yoga, the path of love and worship or emotional attachment to God, as distinguished from knowledge or action, is, according to the Gita, the royal road to moksha (salvation), being the easiest and open to all. Meditation on the unmanifested Absolute, i.e. the jnana-mdrga, is a difficult process and entails much hardship (klesa). The great attraction of the Gita for the ordinary man is that it reveals as it were this unmanifested Absolute as a Personal God—a saviour answering the cry of Faith in distress with His grace. This doctrine of Bhakti is at the same time reconciled with Karma-yoga. The inexorability of the law of Karman is sought to be mitigated by the doctrine that the thought of the last moment of a man’s life is far more potent than previous thoughts in shaping man’s destiny, and the true Bhakta may also be at the same time a true Karma-yogin if, in the midst of all his activities, he keeps his mind steadfastly on God so that his last thoughts may not stray from his Saviour.

Thus the paths of knowledge, devotion, ritualism and activism are perfectly reconciled. On the philosophical side it may be said that diverse currents of philosophic thought, not yet determined and labelled as irreconcilable, meet in it. One is not surprised therefore to find the following observation made with regard to its teaching:

“Whether it is a Vishnuite remodelling of a Pantheistic poem (Holtzmann), or a Krishnite version of an older Vishnuite poem which in its turn was a ‘late Upanishad’ (Hopkins), or a text-book of the Bhagavatas revised in a Vedantic sense by the Brahmanas (Garbe), or a late product of the degeneration of the monistic thought of the Upanishads representing the period of transition from theism to realistic atheism (Deussen), can hardly, in the presence of such a conflict of opinions, be definitely determined.” [1]

5. The doctrine of the four Vyuhas (chatur-vyuha)

Although ultimately Vasudeva-Krishna alone figures as the founder of the new religious movement, there is no doubt that several other members of his family originally shared the honours of deification with him. The five.Vrishni heroes, referred to in an inscription [2] of the first century A. D. at Mora near Mathura, are enumerated in the Vayu Purdna as Sankarshana (son of Vasudeva by RohinI), Vasudeva (son of Vasudeva by Devaki), Pradyumna (son of Vasudeva by Rukmini), Samba (son of Vasudeva by Jambavatl), and Aniruddha (son of Pradyumna), all of whom are known to have been deified and worshipped. [3]

According to the Vyuha doctrine, which is one of the foremost tenets of the earlier Pancharatra or Bhagavata, and the later 6riVaishnava religion, Bhagavat Vasudeva, who in his Para aspect is the highest object of Bhakti, created from himself the Vyuha (phase of conditioned spirit) Sapkarashna and also Prakriti (the indiscreet primal matter of the Sankhyas); from the combination of Sankarshana and Prakriti sprang the Vyuha Pradyumna and Manas (Buddhi or intelligence of the Sankhyas); from the association of

Pradyumna and Manas arose the Vyuha Aniruddha and Ahamkdra (consciousness); from the combination of Aniruddha and Ahamkdra sprang the Mahabhutas (elements with their qualities) and Brahman who fashioned the earth and all that it contains, from the elements. Vasudeva is the sole possessor of the six ideal gunas, viz. jnana, hala, virya, aisvarya, sakti and tejas, while each of his three emanations possessed only two of the gunas in turn. It is clear that this philosophical interpretation of the relation of Vasudeva with the other deified Vrishni heroes is a later development. There is no reference to the Vyuhas in the Gitd, the earliest religious text of the Bhagavatas; they are alluded to in several other sections of the Mahd

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bharata (e.g. Bhishmaparvan, the Narayaniya section of the Santiparvan, etc), although the earlier works do not give a consistent account of them. Bhandarkar says that of the five Prakritis of Vasudeva, viz. the five elements, mind, Buddhi, egoism, and jivo, mentioned in the Gita , jiva, mind and egoism were later on personified into Sankarsha^a, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. The Vyiiha doctrine is probably alluded to in the passage jandrdanas=tv=dtmachnturtha eva, quoted in the Mahabhdsya from an unknown poem on the life of Vasudeva-Krishna.

There is no doubt that the five Vrishjni heroes mentioned in the Mora inscription were apotheosised and worshipped, with the title Bhagavat, in the Mathura region about the beginning of the Christian era, apparently by people of the Yadava-Satvata-Vrishni origin. The V Uhruidharmottara contains rules for the making of images of various divinities associated with the Bhagavata cult, and these include the five Vrishni heroes mentioned above. The Brihat-samhitd also gives details for the construction of the images of Vishnu (VAsudeva), Baladeva (Sankarshana), Samba, and Pradyumna, but not of Aniruddha. The preference of Samba to Aniruddha may point to the fact that the author of the Brihat-samhita belonged to the community of the Maga Brahmanas who seem to have held S£mba, often associated with their solar cult, in special honour. In later times, Samba fell in the estimation of Bhagavatas, probably because he was represented as the champion of solar worship in India and was very often identified with the Sun-god himself.

That all the five Vrishifi Viras (i.e. the four Vyuhas together With SAmba) were independently worshipped has been suggested by Banerjea, Who is inclined to identify Samba with certain sculptured figures hailing from the Mathura region. There was the custom of electing dhvajas or votive columns in honour of different sectarian deities, especially near their temples. Banerjea points out that the fragmentary capitals figuring Garu<Ja, Tala (fan-palm), and Makara (crocodile), found at Besnagar and Pawaya, point to the existence of the dhvaja and shrines respectively of Vasudeva, Sahkarshana and Pradyumna.

Certain early coins, including a few from Taxila, are supposed by Banerjea to bear the representation of columns surmounted by fan-palm capital. At Tumain in Madhya Bharat has been discovered an originally Vaishnava temple (now dedicated to Vindhyavasinl), adorned with carvings illustrating the early life of Krishna in which

a figure of Baladeva, assignable to the second or third century A.D., was recognised.

There is no doubt that the Chatur-Vyuha doctrine was an outcome of the apotheosis of several Vrishni vxras besides Vasudeva. But the non-mention of Pradyumna and Aniruddha, along with Sankasrhana and Vasudeva, in the Ghosundi and Nanaghat inscriptions of the first century B.C., probably shows that the independent worship of the- third and fourth Vyuhas, who are not known to hava been religious teachers, was not quite popular outside the Vrishid circle. Their deification may have been influenced partly by the practice in the Mathura region of installing images of deceased ancestors in devakulas, as is indicated by an inscription of Huvishka. 1 But Sankarshana, also called Baladeva, Balarama and Rama, was a more important figure, whose independent worship spread over wide areas before the birth of Christ. In the Ghosundi inscription, he is called Bhagavat and Sarvesvara jointly with Vasudeva. The Mahdbhdrata represents Sankarshana as being held in special honour by the Kuru king Duryodhana, while the Kautiliya Arthasdstra speaks of a class of ascetics with shaved head or with braided hair'who adored him as their devata. The Buddhist

Niddesa works also mention the votaries of Baladeva side by side with those of Vasudeva.

In epic and Puranic traditions, which sometimes represent Sankarshana as the form of Anantanaga and point to his identification with some tribal god of the Nagas, 2 he figures as a great helper of his younger step-brother Krishna in the latter's exploits, especially in the struggle with Kamsa.

The pastoral association of Sankarshana may have been due partly to his relations with Krishna and partly to his identification with some tribal gods. The Bhishmaparvan and the Ahirbudhnya Saihhitci regard him as an exponent of the Satvata or Pancharatra system. In the Narayaniya section of the Santiparvan, Vasudeva is identified with Paramatman (Supreme Soul) and Sankarshana with JIvatman (individual soul). The votaries of Sankarshana ultimately merged themselves with those of Vasudeva. In later times the independent worship of the Vyuhas Pradyumna and Aniruddha, and even of Sankarshana, declined owing to the growing popularity of the worship of the avatdras of Vishnu, which became the dominant feature of Bhagavatism in the Gupta age.

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6. Relation of Bhagavatism with Other Creeds

The Ajivikas are known to have been followers of a great champion of fatalism named Gosala, 1 a contemporary of Mahavlra. Utpala, commenting on the Brihajjataka, seems to include the Ajivikas amongst the Narayanasritas, i.e. devotees of Narayana. It is probable that in later day's the Ajivikas merged themselves with the followers of Vasudeva.

It may be observed that the Jain faith, which shares the doctrine of Ahimsa with Bhagavatism and Buddhism, is permeated with influences of Hinduism, especially of Krishna worship. The Jains include Vasudeva and

Baladeva among the 63 salakd-purushas who have directed or influenced the course of the world. The legend of Mahavira’s birth in Jain mythology is again entirely derived from that of Krishna’s birth. On the other hand, the later conception of the 24 forms of Vishnu was probably derived from that of the 24 Jain Tirthakaras. The Jain Tirthakara Rishabha w^as regarded as an avatar a of Vishnu by some Bhagavatas.

Senart and Poussin believe that there was an intimate relation between the Buddhist way of deliverance and that of the old thiestic cults of India, and suggest that devout worshippers of Narayana exerted great influence on the making of the Buddhist doctrine even from its inception. Although the theory can hardly be accepted, as the early spheres of influence of the two creeds were different, we know that the importance of Ahimsa: is recognised in both the systems. It is possible that the adoration of Buddha’s footprints was borrowed from the conception of Vishnu’s pada. 2 The influence of the Gita on Buddhist works like the Saddharma-pundarika, Mahaydna-sraddhotpada, etc., is unmistakable. - On the other hand, the full development of the avataravdda seem to have been influenced by the Buddhist conception of the former Buddhas, some of whom were worshipped in their own stupas as early as the third century B.C. That a large number of Buddhists were admitted into the fold of the Vaishnavas towards the close of the Hindu period is suggested by the inclusion of Buddha in the list of Vishnu’s avatdras . 3

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It will be seen from the above discussion that the Vaishnava sect absorbed a number of different elements, among which prominent mention should be made of the worshippers of such different divinities as the Vedic Vishnu, the deified sage Narayana and the deified Vrishni heroes Vasudeva and Baladeva. We have to include in the list also the followers of Vasudeva’s relatives Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Samba, of his friend the Pandava Arjuna, 1 as well as of the avatdras before their identification with Vishnu, and of such tribal gods as those of the Abhlras. Under the circumstances, the existence of sectarian or doctrinal differences was inevitable, although its nature can hardly be determined.

Some writers believe that much of Bhagavatism, including the idea of Bhakti, was borrowed from Christianity, while others go so far as to suggest that Krishna himself was an adaptation of Christ. It should, however, be remembered that the origin of Bhakti in India, the apotheosis and worship of Vasudeva, and the identification of Vasudeva-Krishna with Vishnu and Narayana are pre-Christian. There are, no doubt, resemblances between the story of the .child Krishna and that of the child Jesus, just as there are between the lives of Gautama and Jesus, and also Rama in Tulsi Das's work. Kopkins attributes it to direct importation from Christian lands into India, especially because of the late date of the development of the Krishna legend. But the MaMbhdshya, quoting passages from a Kavya on the Kamsa-vadha episode, points to the pre : Christian origin of the Krishna saga. Indian literature and archaeological evidence 2 show that the cowherd association of Krishna was widely known about the third and fourth centuries A.D. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the adoration of the Virgin Mary is not much earlier than the fifth century. Kennedy rightly says: "There is no Christian representation of the suckling mother before the twelfth century, but there is a much earlier Hindu one." The Christian influence cannot be satisfactorily proved with the evidence at our disposal. Bhandarkar's theory that the Abhiras were responsible for bringing the legends of Christ to India and for their introduction into the Krishna saga is hardly supported by evidence. If Christian legends found their way to India at all, it was probably through the mission of Saint Thomas to the court of the Parthian

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king Gondophernes 1 or through the Nestorian settlers on the Malabar coast.

7. The Worship of Images

The Bhagavatas or the Pahcharatrins seem to be mainly responsible for the dissemination of the practice of image-worship among the higher section of the orthodox Indian people. To them the Archd or &ri-vigraha (auspicious body of the Lord) was the God Himself in one of His aspects, and was thus the object of the greatest veneration as the ‘God manifest’ (pratyaksha devatd). Epigraphic data of the pre-Christian and early post-Christian periods prove that there were Bhagavata or Vaishnava shrines in various parts of India, such as Besnagar (ancient Vidisa), Mathura, etc. Very early images are not, however, extant and this can be explained by referring to undoubted evidence that the images were usually made at first of perishable materials. One or two stone images of Vaishnavite deities are, however, known, which can be dated prqbably in the second century before the Christian era, if not earlier. 2

The present writer has shown that the so-called Yakshini image, which was discovered by Cunningham at Besnagar along with the Banyan-capital, is really the goddess Sri, who held an important place in the Pancharatra cult as the active energic principle, the chief consort of the Para-Vasudeva. The other image is that of Sankarshana or Balarama in the collection of the Mathura Museum, which shows the usual characteristics of the god, viz. the snake canopy, the ploughshare in one of the hands and round protruding eyes indicative of inebriety {mattavivrittekshana).

Vaishnava images of the early post-Christian period also are not many in number, a few that are extant being mostly attributable to the Mathura region. It was traditionally associated with the Vasudeva cult, and inscriptions of the first century A.D. and later periods refer to the construction of Bhagavata shrines, some by foreigners. One such inscription discovered at Mora refers, as noted above, to the installation of the images of the holy Panchaviras of the Vrishnis in a beautiful stone temple erected under the orders of Tosha, evidently a foreign lady. A few fragmentary images in the round, obtained from Mora site and now exhibited in the Mathura Museum, may be the remains of the figures of the five Vrishni vlras; but the multilation is so complete that nothing can be said with

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certainty about their iconography. Reference has already been made 1 to the images of Vishnu on the coins and seals of the first and second centuries A.D.

A partially preserved architectural relief of the second or third century A.D. in the Mathura Museum collection illustrates the scene of Krishna-JanmashtamI; it is of unique interest as it is the earliest extant sculpture illustrative of the Krishnayana stories, which later became the favourite motifs of Indian iconographists.

E. SAIVISM

1 . The Pasupatas

As we have seen above, the cult of Siva goes back to very early times, and it is not unlikely that it was current among the nonAryans in pre-Vedic period. His character was formed by the conflation of the attributes of many deities, one of the earliest being the Vedic Rudra. 2 But, whatever may be his origin, the god gradually rose into great importance. In the Svetasvatara Upanishad, Siva figures as the Great God (Mahadeva) superior to the Vedic pantheon, and a similar position is accorded to his spouse Uma Haimavata in the Kena Upanishad. The fact that he is classed among minor gods both in Apastamba Grihya Sxitra and Kautilya's Arthasdstra shows, however, that his position of unquestioned supremacy was not established at a very early period. The rise of a definite religious sect, revering Siva as the Supreme God and with a philosophy and organization of its own, cannot be traced back earlier than about the beginning of the Christian era.

So far as present evidence goes, the earliest was the Pasupata sect, which itself gave rise to different sub-sects. In the Mahabhdrata mention is made of the Pasupata along with the systems of Sankhya, Yoga, Pancharatra and Veda; and it is stated that the consort of Uma, namely Pasupati, Srlkantha, or Siva, son of Brahma, revealed the jndna known as the Pasupata. 3 It is the belief of the Saivas, to whatever school they might belong, that Siva himself was the first preceptor of their doctrine. In the Vayu Purdna, Mahesvara is represented to have declared to Brahma that in the twenty-eighth mahdyuga, when Vishnu would be born as Vasudeva, he would incarnate himself as a brahmacharin, by name Nakulin,

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after entering a dead body in the burial ground of Kayarohana, a land of siddhas, and that he would have four pupils—Kusika, Gcrgya, Mitraka and Rushta—who, duly initiated into Mahesvara yoga, would reach Rudraloka whence there is no return. 1 The same legend is found in the Linga Purana also, with this difference, that the name of the incarnation is given there as Lakulin, and the pupils are called Kusika, Garga, Mitra, and Kaurushya. 2 There seems to be some historical basis for this myth, as a few inscriptions 3 speak of a teacher of Saivism by name Lakulin or Nakulin, who was regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Siva. In an inscription dated A.D. 971 in the temple of Natha near that of Eklinga, a few miles north of Udaipur, it is stated that Siva became incarnate as a man bearing a club (lakula) in his hand, in the country of Bhrigukachchha. There is another inscription of the thirteenth century A.D. which records that Siva became incarnate in the form of Bhattaraka Sri Lakulisa and dwelt in Karohana in the Lata country, and that he had four pupils, Kausika, Gargya. Kaurusha and Maitreya, who became the founders of four branches of the Pasupata school. Thus it is evident that there was a person by name Lakulin who taught a form of Saivism which has come to be known by his name. He is even considered to be the author of a work, Pahchddhydyi or Pahchdrthavidyd, to which Madhava alludes in his account of the Pasupata system in the Sarvadarsanasangraha. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar placed the rise of this school about a century after that of the Pancharatra system, i. e. about the second century B.C., but the Mathura inscription of the reign of Chandragupta II proves that Lakulin flourished in the first quarter of the second century A.D. 4

The Pasupatas believe that Mahesvara has taught five categories for the sake of releasing the jiva from its bonds. The categories are (1) kdrya or effect, viz . that which is not independent, (2) karana or cause, viz. that which is independent, (3) yoga or path, (4) vidhi or rule, and (5) duhkhanta or the end of misery. A knowledge of these is said to be essential for release.

The first two categories involve abstruse philosophical concepts. The third, yoga, is that which connects the individual soul with God through the channel of the mind (chitta). It is of two

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kinds: (1) that which is of the nature of action, and (2) that which is of the nature of cessation from action. The first consists in actions like chanting of mantras, meditation, etc., and the second 'consists in mere feeling'. The fourth, vidhi or rule, is that which takes the aspirant to the proximity of Dharma, which is the Lord. It is twofold, principal and subsidiary. The primary rule is charyd or conduct, which is the direct means. It. consists of vows (vratas) and channels (dvdras). The vows are: besmearing the body with holy ashes, lying in ashes, certain practices called upahdra (laughing, singing, dancing, etc.), muttering magic formulae, and circumambulation. The channels are various forms of behaviour such as feigning sleep, etc., which do not conform to the normal. The secondary vidhi consists of processes which are intended to be helpful to charyd. These comprise besmearing the body with ashes after worship, begging and eating the remnants of what others have eaten so that the sense of indecency attached to such acts may be overcome.

Duhkhdnta, which is the last category, is the final deliverance from sorrow. It is of two kinds: (1) anatmaka, which is of the nature of absolute elimination of misery, and (2) satmaka, which is of the nature of lordship consisting in the possession of powers of seeing and acting. The power of seeing, though one, is said to be fivefold on account of distinctions in objects: (a) darsana which is knowledge, visual, tactile, etc., of objects that are subtle, concealed or distant; (b) sravarta which is supernormal hearing of all sounds; (c) manana which is supernormal knowing of all objects of thought; (d) vijhdna which is supernormal knowledge of all sciences with their treatises and what are taught in them; and (e) sarvajnatva which is supernormal knowledge of the principles of a system, whether expressly mentioned or not, succinct and in detail, with their divisions and peculiarities. The power of acting, though one, is said to be threefold: (a) manojavitva, or the power of doing anything instantly; (b) kamarupitva, or the power of assuming a variety of shapes and forms, or bodies and senses, without any effort; and (c) vikaranadharmitva, or the possession of supreme power, even when the senses have been withdrawn from operation. One acquires these supernormal powers of knowledge and action through long adherence to the discipline as presented in the Pasupata system. It is to be noted that, while in the other systems the destruction of misery is regarded as moksha, in the Pasupata this is coupled with the attainment of supernormal powers.

It would seem that even from very early times certain mystic practices were associated with the Pasupata religion. When ineligible persons began to adopt them, considerable deterioration set in and the system itself fell into disrepute. But there is nothing inherently wrong about the faith. Any mystic cult can be distorted and become vitiated by the importation of left-handed practices (vdmdchdra). That has happened everywhere and in the case of every faith. The essentials of the Pasupata system, however, are those of a virile theism leaning on the side of a healthy asceticism. The Pasupata as well as the other branches of Saivism have claimed the allegiance of some of the finest of spiritual personages who would be regarded as the salt of the earth in any age or country.

2. Saivism as a Popular Cult

The earliest historical record to mention the worship of Siva is that of Megasthenes, the Greek envoy at Pataliputra about 300 B.C. He describes two Indian deities under the names of Dionysus and Herakles, generally identified with Siva and Krishna respectively. Patanjali in the second century B.C. refers in his Mahabhashya to the Siva-bhagavatas as also to images of Siva and Skanda, which were sold by the Maury as to raise money. This shows the popularity of the cult. According to Haribhadra’s Sha^darsanasamuchchaya , Gautama and Kanada, founders respectively of the Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems, were of Saiva persuasion. Gunaratna, in his commentary of Haribhadra’s work, says that the Naiyayikas were called Saivas, and the Vaiseshikas, Pasupatas. Among the successors of Aioka we come across one Jalauka who was a Saiva. 1 In the early centuries of the

Christian era some of the Kushana kings became ardent Saivas and caused their coins to be minted with the images of Siva and of his emblems like the trident and the sacred bull on them. The first Ikshvaku king, Santamula, 2 was a worshipper of Skanda.

We obtain a fair idea of the popular cult of Saivism from the epics. The Rdmayana refers to Siva by several of his well-known names, such as Sitikantha, Mahadeva, Rudra, Tryambaka, Pasupati and Sankara. By the time of this ddi-kdvya, Rudra-Siva had gained a history and founded a family; and references to many of the legends, elaborately described in the later Puranas, are to be met with in the poem.

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In this epic we hear of Himavat giving his daughter Uma in marriage to the “unequalled Rudra,” 1 of Kandarpa’s attempt to enter into Rudra at a time when he was performing austerity, and Rudra’s curse in consequence whereof Kandarpa became bodiless iandnga). 2 We hear also of the birth of Karttikeya who was to be the generalissimo of the gods. 3 The story of Bhagiratha’s propitiations of Siva and the descent of Ganga is related in the R&mdyana , as also the story of Rudra drinking the poison emitted by the serpent Vasuki when it was used as the rope in the process of the churning of the Ocean of Milk. 4 Some of Mahadeva’s achievements are alluded to in the course of the epic narrative. The principal among them are the destruction of Andhaka (or Ardhaka), and the conquest of Tripura. That the overlordship of Mahadeva was not recognised by the votaries of other gods could be gathered from the episode at Daksha’s sacrifice which is narrated in its simplest form in the Ramtiyana. It is to be noted that there is no mention in the Ramayana of Rudra commissioning Virabhadra to break up the sacrifice or put the gods to flight. The significance of the episode, however, is clear, viz. that Daksha refused to recognise Rudra as a god worthy of propitiation; and Daksha may be taken as representative of those who reviled Rudra.

In the Mahdbhdrata we notice Saivism and Vaishnavism becoming more prominent and widespread than the other cults and dividing between them the allegiance of great masses of men. Though Siva's character remains essentially the same as that of the Vedic Rudra, his attributes are more clearly defined and he receives new features and fame which are illustrated by numerous legends.

Some of the stories related in the Rdmdyana figure again in the Mahdbhdrata with additional details. The myths of Siva's destruction of Tripura and of Daksha's sacrifice, for instance, are narrated at greater length. Besides, Siva's personality and prowess become directly connected with the development of the main epic story itself at several places. At the beginning of the Bhishma-parvan, Durga, the consort of Siva, is prayed to by Arjuna on the advice of Krishna, before the commencement of the battle. In the Vana-parvan, Arjuna goes to the Himalayas and obtains the Pasupata weapon from Siva, who appears in the form of a hunter

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(kirata) and reveals his identity only after testing the Pandava prince's valour.

It is interesting to note that in one story in the Anusasanaparvan, Krishna worships Mahadeva. He had to go through the diksha ceremony, which is an essential part of the discipline of several Saiva schools as we know them. "Equipped with a staff, shaved, clothed with rags, anointed with ghee and provided with a girdle, living for one month on fruits, for four more on water, standing on one foot, with his arms aloft, he at length obtained a glorious vision of Mahadeva and his spouse, whom all the gods were worshipping among them Indra, Vishnu (the delight of his mother Aditi), and Brahma, all uttering the rathantara sdma " 1 Krishna then proceeds to praise Mahadeva as the Supreme Deity, and secures from him eight boons and eight more from Uma. One of them, it is worthy of note, is that Krishna would be a Siva -bhakta for all time.

There are sections of the Mahdbharata where the poet, whoever he was, surmounts sectarian barriers and sees the divinity equally in Vishnu and Mahadeva. In the Santi-parvan, Hari, the lord of the world, addresses the god Isana (Mahadeva) thus: “He who knows thee knows me; he who loves (lit. favours) thee loves me. There is no distinction between us; do not thou entertain any other idea. From this day forward let this srivatsa of mine be the mark of the trident: and thou shalt be the srikantha marked upon my hand .” 2 In the Anusasana-parvan among the one thousand names of Vishnu are included the names of Mahadeva, such as Sarva, Siva, Sthanu, Isana and Rudra. In one place Siva speaks of Vishnu as the greatest god; while in another Krishna praises Mahadeva as the one to whom there is nothing superior. Thus, side by side with sectarianism, there is also in the great epic a sort of universalism in faith.

From the places mentioned in the Mahdbharata as being sacred to Siva, it may be gathered that the Saiva sect was to be found all over India. There were two classes of Saivas—householder-devotees and ascetics ‘whose sign was tonsure and the yellow robe.’ The observance of caste was not stressed; the practice of yoga was insisted on.

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3. Saivism in South India

Traces of Saivism are to be found in South India from very remote times. The literature of the Sangarn age refers to Siva as the greatest god. The Ahananuru describes Siva as the Lord who wears konrai flowers, whose three eyes neither close nor wink, whose consort is Uma and whose weapon a battle-axe, who wears the crescent moon on his matted locks, who is unknowable even by the gods and the sages, who is blue-necked, and whose footstool is the universe In Puram 55 there is a reference to the destruction of the three cities (Tripura) by Siva. Nakklrar compares 1 his contemporary Pan^ya king to Siva, Vishnu, Balarama and Subrahmanya for his various excellences. He speaks of Siva as having a long braid of hair shining like a flame, a flag with the bull ensign and a blue neck. It is significant that Siva is here referred to as Kurram, the god of death and destruction. In the

Tirumurukattruppadai , besides references to the features of Siva already described, the god is spoken of as the Lord seated under the banyan tree (Kallal). Puram 166 characterises Siva as mudu-mudalvan (the foremost) and says that the Veda is ever on his tongue. The twin classics, Silappadi karam and Manimekhalai, generally assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era, contain ample references to Siva-worship in the Tamil country. In the Silappadikaram , 2 it is stated that the Chera king Senguttuvan worshipped both Siva and Vishnu. Among the temples of Kaverippumpattinam, the author mentions one dedicated to Siva. 3 In the Manimekhalai there is a statement 4 to the effect that temples beginning with that of Siva with an eye in his forehead, and ending with that of the guardian-deity of the public square "should all be tidied for the coming festival." 5 In Canto 27 of the same work there is a reference to the Saivavadin who expounds to Manimekhalai, daughter of Kannaki, the Saiva doctrine, according to which Siva appears in eight forms and is the absolute Lord of creation and dissolution.

4. Saiva Images

As noted above, 6 prototypes of Siva as Pasupati and his emblem par excellence, Siva-lihga (the phallic emblem of Siva), have

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been found in the Sindhu valley. Several indigenous coins of different varieties, dating back to a few centuries before the Christian era, contain anthropomorphic as well as phallic figures of Siva. These, supplemented by early literary data, prove that the exclusive worshippers of Siva, the Siva-bhagavatas, had long been using such icons for religious purposes. It is presumable that human as well as phallic forms of the god were at first enshrined in the main sanctum of the Saiva temples; but it became the general custom afterwards to place Siva-lingas only in it and use them as the princi pal object of worship, the human figures of Siva being present a accessories in the various parts of the temple.

References in the Mahdbhdrata seem to prove that an orthodox section of the Brahmanas was tardy in giving recognition to the worship of Siva-lingas on account, perhaps, of the idea underlying sucn icons. The extant early specimens of these cult objects are, as will be presently shown, extremely realistic in appearance, and that was probably the reason why their use was not at first countenanced by this section of the people; it was also this aversion which was, perhaps, one of the causes for their gradual conventionalisation. Their general shape became so much modified and altered that the Siva-lingas of the mediaeval times hardly bear any traces of their original realism—Havell even goes so far as to suggest that they were modelled on the votive stupas of the Buddhists. It is in the mode of laying the Brahma-sutras on the Rudra or Pujdbhzga of the lingas that faint traces of their original character are to be found. They were no doubt very much conventionalised in later times, but they came to have numerous forms of a varied nature, which were elaborately depicted in the mediaeval hieratic art of the Saivas.

One of the earliest Saiva sculptures of India in the historicperiod is the very interesting Siva-linga which is still an object of worship in the village of Gudimallam near Renigunta, Madras. The extremely realistic phallic emblem, five feet high, bears upon it a two-armed figure of Siva; the god holds a ram in his right hand and a water-vessel and a battle-axe in his left one, and stands on the shoulders of a malformed dwarf (Apasmdra-purusha) ; below the diaphanous loin-cloth his sex-mark is prominently shown; jatdbhdra (matted hair) adorns his head, and his body is sparsely decorated with ornaments. Gopinatha Rao dated it in the second century B.C., while others like Coomaraswamy would place it a century later. This combined mode of depicting Siva both in his human as well

as phallic form in a single piece of sculpture was a practice which was continued with some modifications in subsequent periods, and the Lingodbhavamurti of Siva and the different varieties of Mukhalirigas are really so many adaptations of it.

Coomaraswamy has drawn our attention to a much later sculpture (second or third century A.D.) showing a four-armed standing figure of Siva carved on one side of a less realistic phallus; the natural hands of the god are shown in abhaya and katyavalambita poses, while the added ones are raised and placed on his j atas. Phallic emblems of Siva of a highly suggestive nature, without any figure of the god carved on them, have been found mostly in the Mathura region, which can be dated in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

Mukhalirigas proper are known from the Gupta period onwards, and they are usually of the ekamukha and chaturmukha types, according as they bear, on their Rudra or Pujabhdgas, the representation of one or four faces. The four faces in a chaturmukha liriga typify the Sadyojata, Vamadeva, Aghora and Tatpurusha forms of Siva, the fifth face on the top, viz. isana, remaining invisible (Panchamam cha tathesdnam Yogindmapyagocharam). The faces are usually shown carved round a single shaft; so a Mathura sculpture of the late Kushana or early Gupta period is interesting inasmuch as it show four faces carved on four shafts joined together.

Early numismatic as well as glyptic data prove that there was also not much diversity at first in the human representations of Siva, the god being usually depicted with two or four hands with his bull mount Nandi (really the god in his theriomorphic form) by his side; but a tendency to multiply the varieties was already present, as a careful analysis of the figures of Siva on Ujjain coins, coins of the lndo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers like Maues ^and Gondophernes, and those of the Kushana kings likfc Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva testify. A very early Saiva sculpture is a red sandstone relief in the collection of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura, carved on both sides and belonging to the late Kushana period; it shows Siva and Parvati standing against Nandi. Siva is ithyphallic, and both he and his consort hold riilotpala buds in their hands; this is one of the earliest sculptural representations of the god in his aspect of Umasahitamurti. The magnificent South Indian bronzes of Siva Nataraja, the Lord of the Dance, belong to the eleventh century A.D. arid will be noted later.

F. MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS

Although the four main religious sects, whose history has been described above, figured rather prominently in the religious world, it would be wrong to assume that the people at large entirely forgot the Vedic pantheon and the religious practices associated with it, or did not initiate new ones, mainly through the influence of the nonAryans who had been absorbed in Vedic society. As a matter of fact, the Vedic rituals were scrupulously performed by a large section of the people, and though their number grew smaller and smaller, they never died out altogether. On the other hand, we find a curious medley of religious beliefs, which defy any systematic classification or even any satisfactory interpretation. Many of these were allied with, or derived from, the major religious conceptions referred to above and were ancillary to them. Some were ultimately absorbed by them. But still a cursory survey of them is necessary for an intelligent appreciation of the religious condition of the period.

A picture of the variety of religious beliefs current during the period is obtained from some Buddhist texts. The Buddhist canonical work Aiiquttara Nikdya (fourth-third centuries B.C.) mentions a number of religious sects such as Ajivika, Nirgrantha (Jain), Mun$a-Sravaka, Jatiiaka, Parivrajaka, Magandika, Traidandika, Aviruddhaka, Gautamaka (Buddhist) and Devadharmika. The Mahdniddesa and Chullaniddesa —two Buddhist canonical commentaries (second-first centuries B.C.)—mention the Ajivikas, Nirgrantha, Jatila, Parivrajaka and Aviruddhaka, along with the worshippers of the elephant, horse, cow r , dog, crow, Vasudeva, Baladeva, Purnabhadra, Manibhadra, Agni, the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Asuras, the Gandharvas, the Maharajas, Chandra, Surya, Indra, Brahman, Deva and Dik.

These two lists, which are by no means exhaustive, are interesting and instructive. They demonstrate the existence, side by side with well-known religious sects, of a bewildering variety of primitive faiths and popular cults —a characteristic feature of Indian religious life throughout the ages. It is neither possible nor necessary to refer to all of them in detail, but we shall deal with a few of these and add to them others known from different sources. We shall first deal with the heterodox or heretical Ajivika sect which heads both the lists, and then take up some of the Vedic deities, those connected with Siva and Vishnu, and finally some of the new conceptions of primitive faith.

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1. The Ajivikas

Of the five prominent heretical sects or schools that arose at about the time when Mahavlra and Buddha began to preach their messages, one alone—the Ajivikas—had a long history of about two thousand years before it became extinct. The Order, established possibly by Nanda Vachchha and headed by Kisa Samkichchha after him, acquired dynamic energy under the third pontiff Gosala. The cult spread at one time from Avanti to Anga, and it is almost certain that, though both Jainism and Buddhism denounced Gosala and his creed, they quietly absorbed some of the tenets and practices of his school, and had to reckon with and combat some others. The Ajivikas enjoyed the patronage of Asoka and also of his grandson Dasaratha, both of whom dedicated caves to them. The sect is referred to by Patahjali (c. 150 B.C.) and in the Milinda-panha (c. first century A.D.). Its fatalistic creed that things gain perfection even through non-performance of actions, and that “there is a process of natural and spiritual evolution through ceaseless rounds of births and deaths”, was an anathema to the Kriyavadins who believed that moral action was an indispensable condition of individual and social perfection. But the orthodox showed the same disfavour towards the Bauddhas as towards the Ajivikas, and neither class was entertained at srdddhas and sacrifices in Kautilya’s time.

No trace of Ajlvika literature has been preserved, but scattered quotations from the writings of the school are to be found in* Bauddha and Jain literatures. Their extreme asceticism, love of solitude, disdain of comfort and even of decencies, and love of austerities of all kinds repelled all but an infinitesimal minority, and so, naturally, the sect lost popularity in course of time. Yet it lingered on and is referred to by Varahamihira (sixth century A.D.) and in the Harsha-charita (seventh century A.D.). The followers were known as ekadandins from the single staff that they carried, and were latterly confused, sometimes with the Bauddhas and sometimes with the Jains in South Indian epigraphical records and by Tamil writers. The sect became extinct in the fourteenth century A.D. As noted above,[1] the sect was probably merged into Vaishnavism.

In the Jain Bhagavati-sutra reference is made to the fact that the Ajivikas had shifted their centre of activities to the Pundra country at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, and that in their pantheon were included many Vedic and non-Vedic gods. Two of these,

Punnabhadda (Purnabhadra) and Manibhadda (Manibhadra), are of interest as their worshippers are referred to also in the Buddhist Niddesa , though as distinct from the Ajivikas. Manibhadda and Punnabhadda have been regarded as Yakshas by modern writers, but there is no doubt that the Niddesa distinguished them from the latter class of supernatural beings, though in other Buddhist and Jain texts they are characterised as Yakshas and classed with tutelary deities of cities. The Pawaya inscription on the pedestal of a statue, of the first century B.C., leaves no doubt that a class of Manibhadra-bhaktas existed at one time and that Manibhadra was given the usual honorific title of Bhagavat.

It appears also that the worship of Kubera-Vaisravana was also not uncommon, for not only does Kautilya refer to the installation of his image in a fort, but there is sculptural evidence to prove that Kubera with his two nidhis —the conch-shell and the cornucopia exuding coins under a banyan tree (kalpa-vriksha) on the top of a column—was a favourite cult-object at one time. In fact, in the Mahdbharata (and in the Lalitavistara version of the Atandtiya Suttanta) Manibhadra (also called Manivara or Manichara) appears as the chief attendant of Kubera and, like him, functions as the lord of wealth and treasure and the patron of merchants, whence he is called Yakshendra, Nidhisa, Dhanapati, etc., and receives equal honour with him at the hands of the Gandharvas.[1]

2. Prajapati—Brahma

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[1] Se^ p. 450.

During the period of the Brahmanas, Prajapati occupied the topmost position and was looked upon as. the creator of gods, men and demons. His predominance was assured when he came to be identified with Brahman, the impersonal Absolute of the Upanishads and the Vedanta. When the post-Brahmanical age of rationalism was ushered in and the cult of sacrifice fell into comparative disuse, the worship of Prajapati gradually declined. But the theists coined a new name for him and called him Brahma, first of the later Hindu Trinity. In the Buddhistic Nikayas, it is this personal Brahma of the popular religion that is pictured, attacked and ridiculed. In fact, his unity is not recognised, and many Brahmas with different appellations are mentioned, and their inferiority to Buddha in wisdom is sedulously preached to lower them in the estimation of the people. Sakra (Indra) and Brahma are, in fact, represented as faithful attendants of Buddha in later Buddhistic sculpture.

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3. Surya

The one god who neither rose to the supreme position nor ever altogether lost his popularity is Surya, and he still claims a sect for himself, namely the Sauras. The tradition regarding the divinity of the Sun has come down from Vedic times with some modifications but with no material variation. Some figures on ancient coins and a Bharhut medallion containing a human bust of the Sun, with the stamens of a lotus representing his rays, suggest that the Sun was a popular deity in the third century B.C. The references by Greek writers and the Kushana coins with the name and image of the Sun show that the popularity continued in later times. The Sun is a popular god in the epics, and his ornaments and adornments are vividly described. Legends grew round his family life—his wives and children—and his adventures and discomfitures are picturesquely described. From the names borne by some of the characters of the Mahabharata, it may be inferred that the Sun was a familiar cult-object at one time.

If we believe that the post-Upanishadic religious belief was characterised by a return to the concrete and the personal, almost by a kind of dialectic movement of the mind, the vivid personification of the visible physical object—the Sun-—can be easily understood. The hovering between the physical and the personal has almost ended now; tales in Puranic fashion begin to appear and the exploits and beneficences of the god are circulated to attract devotees. The popularity of the god receives a sudden accession of strength through the infiltration of Persian beliefs and the installation of images soon after. When and by whom the Persian solar cult was introduced into India, and whether Multan (Mulasthana) was the 'original seat' of the sun-temple, cannot now be satisfactorily settled. That Kanishka should have coins struck with the image of Mithra, with the name Miiro (Mihira) added, proves that the Persian solar cult had infiltrated into Brahmanical belief by the first century A.D. The Puranas like Bhavishya, Samba , Varaha and others narrate the story of the introduction of the cult into India from gakadvlpa (Eastern Iran), and the Brihat-samhitd expressly lays down that the images of the god should be duly installed by the Magas, who are none other than the Sun and fire-worshipping Magi of ancient Iran. The 57th chapter of the Brihat-samhitd and many

iconographic texts again emphasise such alien features of the Surya figures, as udichyavesa (northern dress), avyanga (the Indian form of the Iranian aivydonghen , the sacred woollen waist girdle which a Zoroastrian is enjoined to wear), etc., which are almost invariably present in the extant North Indian specimens.

Some pre-Christian Surya figures have been found in different parts of India, the one carved on one of the railing pillars at BodhGaya being the most interesting. Here the god is shown riding on a four-horsed chariot accompanied by the goddesses Usha and Pratyusha shooting arrows. The Bhaja relief depicts the god seated in a quadriga in company with two female figures (probably Usha and Pratyusha), the horses and wheels of which are shown trampling upon uncouth figures identified as demons of darkness. An interesting group of sculptures in red sandstone of the second-third century A.D. has been found in Mathura and its environs, which have been variously identified by scholars; several of them undoubtedly represent the Sun-god, while a few may typify Samba, son of Krishna, who is traditionally regarded as responsible for introducing this form of Sun-worship into India. Sculpture No. D. 46 in the collection of the Mathura Museum shows a corpulent figure of the two-armed Sun-god sitting on his haunches on a chariot drawn by four horses; a lotus-bud is placed in each hand, and his shoulders are provided with small wings as in the case of the Sun-bird Garu^a; the legs are inserted in the chariot, but the body is shown covered by garments.

The North Indian tradition, however, could not penetrate the southern regions or even monopolise the field in the north, for the Sun-images of South India of later times apparently followed a different iconographic tradition, uninfluenced by the Persian innovation, and were imitated in the north also in some selected areas.

4. Saiva Gods

Unlike the Vyuha doctrine or later Avatdra-vada of Vaishnavism, Saivism did not develop any elaborate incarnation theory, but Siva came to be looked upon as the head of a family of which the members were each a cult-object. The effect was a loose federation of faiths owing allegiance to this or that member of the Saivite household. The first to get affiliated was Rudrani—a name not found till the period of the Sutras—who quickly attained an important position. Ambika, described in the Vdjasaneyi-samhita as the

sister of Rudra, came to be regarded in later times as his wife, and fully justified her title as the Great Mother with whom were asso* ciated the “mothers” (matrilcds) in later belief. She became the supreme object of adoration in the Sakti cult, and had a number of names given to her in subsequent literature. Uma and Parvati (more definitely Haimavatl) occur as names in the Taittiriya Aranyaka and the Kena Upanishad. The figure of Uma appears in the coins of Huvishka, with or without the figure of Siva, which proves that there were votaries of the Uma-cult and that a marital relation had already been established between Siva and Uma in popular belief. It is not unreasonable to assume that in the Gandhara region the cult of Siva and his consort was fairly strong, and probably the figure seated on a lion in the coins of Azes I represents Ambika or Durga.

In the Bhlshmaparvan hymn of Arjuna and the Virataparvan hymn of Yudhishthira, new names are coined for Uma. She is now Durga (regarded as the wife of Narayana in the Virataparvan and of Siva in the Bhlshmaparvan) who grants victory, and also Mahishasuranasinl, who killed the Buffalo-demon. In the Harivamsa, she is promised a permanent seat in the Vindhyas (whence her later title VindhyavasinI). She is also given the later familiar epithets of Kumari, Kali, Kapall, Mahakiali, Chandi, KatyayanI, Karala, Vijaya, Kausiki and Kantaravasinl. The mountainous associations of both Siva and Uma naturally suggested wild associates for both, and Kiratcis f Barbaras , Pulindas, etc. were supposed to be their devotees (and Siva himself comes as a Kirata to Arjuna). Similarly, while Bhutas, Pretas, Rakshas, Pisachas, etc. made up the retinue of Siva, Durga had her own fierce female followers in later times, both obviously modelled on Vedic ganas, the troop of Maruts regarded as the sons of Rudra. As compared with the fortunes of Vishnu and Siva, Uma remained a minor deity, though later the famous Durgd-saptasati or Devi or Chanfc-mdhatmya of the Mar kandeya Purana extolled her exploits, and her name was glorified in other Puranas also.

But while Vishnu, Siva and Uma increased in importance, a few other deities had only fleeting success in winning religious allegiance. Judging by literary, numismatic and other evidences, the most important of them was Skanda. Unknown to the Vedas, he appears in a full-fledged form in the epics, and the Makdbkashya of Patanjali bears testimony to his popularity as a god. His father

is either Rudra or Agni (the two being identified in earlier literature), but the privilege of being his mother or nurse is claimed by several—Uma, Ganga, the Krittikas and Svaha, who had assumed the forms of the wives of the six Rishis (Arundhati, Vasishtha’s wife, being inimitable). Suckled by six mothers, he developed one mouth for each, whence he is called Shadanana, etc. But while his faces remained fixed at six, the arms were sometimes twelve, in keeping with the six faces, but at other times he was credited with a lesser number of arms. 1

Certain associates of Skanda serve to help identification. Among the gifts to this generalissimo of the gods were included a cock and a peacock, and in sculptural and numismatic representations these were often inserted. The South Indian popular name Subrahmanya does not belong to the epics, and is only an elaboration of the title Brahmanya, and this title in its turn probably owes its origin to the belief that Skanda is identical with Sanatkumara, son of Pitamaha Brahma. His multiple origin was responsible for a variety of other names such as Visakha, Karttikeya, Devasenapati, Guha, Kumara, etc.

Some of these names are important inasmuch as they became independent cult-objects, as is proved by literary and numismatic data Thus Patanjali gives the interesting information that the Mauryas, in order to replenish their treasury, began to sell images of gods like Siva, Skanda and Visakha, the most curious element in this information being that none of these, whose images were sold to the public, were genuine Vedic gods. It appears also as if Skanda and Visakha were treated as different deities unless we are to believe that they were two forms of the same god differently named and worshipped for different purposes. Accidental confirmation of this dissociation of forms comes from the coins of Huvishka, on which the figures of Skanda, Mahasena, Kumara and Visakha, with their names in Greek letters, are to be found. It appears, therefore, that not only Visakha but also Kumara and Mahasena were independently conceived and figured, just as many of the Vedic gods were worshipped under different names according to their diverse functions (though it has been held by some that the forms were really three and not four and that Skanda-Kumara was a single divinity). As the warlord, Skanda naturally gained the allegiance of warlike princes and tribes, and the functions of his followers being similar to those of the Maruts, the followers of Rudra, an easy affiliation to the gaiva

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cult could be effected, and Guha made into the son of Rudra. But as Indra was feared for his warlike exploits but not loved, since he lacked graciousness, so also Karttikeya was worshipped for vigour but not for bounty. And even though sectarianism made Krishna and Hari servants of Skanda, he never gained the position of either; nor did he regain his eminence for long in the estimation of men, even though his worship did not disappear altogether, as has been the case with some other gods of antiquity.

Ganesa, the brother of Karttikeya in popular belief, has been more fortunate in that he is still counted among the five major gods. His name is self-explanatory, for he is the leader of the ganas, the troublesome followers of a wild god. Rudra is the father of the Maruts and is the ganapati par excellence, but the title is used for Brihaspati and Indra also in the Rigveda. The later conception of Ganesa or Ganapati as the god of wisdom has probably come from this association with Brihaspati in the Rigveda. Vinayaka, a synonym of Ganesa, occurs in the Atharvasiras Upanishad where Rudra is identified with him. In the MaMbhdrata, the Gagapatis or Ganesvaras and the Vinayakas appear as a multitude, but at the time of the Grihya-sutras, the tendency to reduce their number had already begun. The same process of syncretism, which was responsible for merging the many Rudras into one, was responsible for the evolution of the cult of a single Ganesa (also called Gagegana in the Mahabharata), and the transformation of a terrible god into a lovable deity also took place in the cases of Rudra and Ganega. The warding off of evil was the indispensable preliminary to all good and religious acts, and the leader of the disturbers of the peace was placated as a matter of course at the‘beginning with suitable offerings lest there should be any interference with the religious rites. Ganesa latterly became the giver of siddhi (success), because he was supposed to keep back the disturbing factors and thus indirectly promote success in undertakings. His real popularity came slightly later.

5. Sri or Lakshmi

It is difficult to trace the connection between elephants and the goddess of wealth, and yet in some of the early coins, sculptures and relief carvings we have representations of a goddess, either seated cross-legged or standing on a full-blown lotus in the midst of a lotus shrub, and being anointed with water from jars held over her head by two elephants standing on lotuses on her either side. In

Bharhut there are four representations of this goddess—one seated and three standing. She is 6ri (Beauty), regarded, along with Asa (Hope), £raddha (Faith) and Hri (Modesty), as the daughter of Sakra in Buddhistic literature, but the Satapatha Bmhmana describes her as issuing out of Prajapati when he was practising austerities to bring forth the world of living, things. In the Bharhut stupa, we have another goddess almost similarly named—Sirima—possibly the same as Srlmatl, who with Yasamati, Lakshmlmatl or Yasahprapta and Yasodhara belongs to the realm of Virudhaka, the regent of the southern quarter. She stands with even feet on a level pedestal, holding in her hand a datura flower or a bunch of lotuses. A Siridevi or Lakkhi is described in the Siri-Kalakanni-Jataka as the daughter of Dhritarashtra the fortunate (sirima), the regent of the eastern quarter. Here, the attendant elephants are wanting.

As other types of figures, viz. the goddess seated or standing on a lotus or standing with lotus in hand, in some cases surrounded by flowering stems, are also to be found inscribed on coins, it is apparent that the cult of these goddesses had become widespread round about the beginning of the Christian era—-roughly between the third century B.C. and first century A.D. Like Sarasvatl who developed into the Goddess of Learning and was credited with multiple alliances and worshipped in all principal religions, Sri as Lakshml was also credited with multiple origins and relations in later times. That was because once she became the Goddess of Wealth, she became an object of adoration of all sects and religions. It appears that Lakshml, in the sense of plenty (though not yet a goddess), occurs in the Rigveda, and that the Atharvaveda distinguishes the auspicious (siva) and the inauspicious (papishtha) Lakshmls born with a mortal at the time of his birth. The Vajasaneyi-samhitd adds the interesting information that Sri and Lakshml are co-wives (of Aditya, according to the commentator), and this tradition of their distinction travelled down the ages, for even in the MaMbhdrata 1 and the Ramayana 2 &rl and Lakshml are invoked together. But in some later traditions §ri’s co-wife is Bhudevl or Bhumidevi (Earth Goddess) as in South Indian Vaishnavism; and Lakshmrs is Sarasvatl (Goddess of Learning) as in Bengal Vaishnava images. That Lakshml was originally not linked with Vishnu may be gathered from the fact that she was supposed to have been bestowed upon Vishnu after the churning of the ocean

1. Cr. Ed., Ill, p. 127. 151* after III. 38, 25 (where it is treated as an interpola

tion). Bombay Edition, III. 37, 33.

2 . 3 , 46 , 16 .

had brought her forth, though a later tradition would have it that she came out of the lotus which grew out of Vishnu’s forehead.

Once Lakshml had come to be looked upon as the Goddess of Fortune (the aspect of beauty receding gradually into the background), she was accorded not only religious worship but also the homage of kings. The city goddesses (nagara-devata) were probably as much protective deities as maintainers of luck and prosperity (nagara-lakshrrii), and popular stories about their departure from a city were meant to convey the idea of imminent danger or reversal of fortune. As one interested in the continued prosperity of the ruling princes, Lakshml came to be looked upon as Rajalakshml, the Fortune of the king, and she could be persuaded to stay on so long as the king practised virtues and protected his subjects—otherwise Lakshml would depart from him, as she had in the past left the Asuras because they had turned immoral. In literature and in coins, reference is made to city-gods, e.g. those of Rajagriha, Kapisa, UjjaiyinI, etc. In this way Pushkalavati was associated with Lakshml. 1

6. Naga or Serpent Worship

At this distance of time it is difficult to make out what other gods were actually objects of sectarian worship during the millennium beginning with 600 B.C. We may presume that the Vedic fire-worship continued, though with diminished popularity. While, on the one hand, the more reflective section was forming sectarian and philosophical groups and groping for a stable monotheism, popular belief in gods and godlings, demons and spirits of the different departments of nature, on the other hand, did not materially decline; though the status of these beings came down in accordance with the faith accepted. Possibly, in keeping with the changing social condition, not only were new gods created, but the functions of the old gods also underwent modification and alteration. Contact with indigenous cults was responsible not only for the importation of new objects of worship, but also for the incorporation of new mythologies in the older cult.

An illustrative example is furnished by the cult of snakes which has penetrated into all the major sects of India. The Vedas not only knew of the serpent (ahi) but also of its injurious nature (Vritra being conceived as such) as well as its beneficent character (Ahir

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budhnya being a beneficial agent). This ambivalent attitude towards this creature has persisted all through the centuries in India down to the present times. Its emergence as a cult object has been traced back to the Mohenjo-daro age in two seals where it appears in an attitude of devotion to a figure in yogic posture, possibly a god—an early anticipation of the close association of serpents with Saiva (and Sakta) cult of later times. That Siva and serpents should simultaneously get recognition as important cult objects in the Yajur veda , when both are absent as objects of veneration in the Rigveda, may not be a mere accident. The region in which the Yajurveda flourished included the land of the Panchalas, whose later capital Ahichchhatra (modern Aonla near Bareilly), with Adi Naga as the presiding deity, may not unreasonably be associated with the cult of serpents—a cult of which vestiges probably remained till the reigns of Agnimitra and Bhanumitra, on the reverse sides of whose coins images of serpents have been noticed by some numismatists (though this has been contested by others).

In the Atharveveda and the later Samhitas serpents (sarpdh) appear as semi-divine beings, and in the Grihya-sutras, Nagas, called for the first time by this name and supposed to belong to earth, sky, and heaven, as also to the quarters, receive adoration and worship. The Niddesa, too, refers to Naga worshippers, and the Chhargaon life-size Naga image is described as "worshipful Naga (bhagava ndgo)." It was installed in the reign of Huvishka in a tank, possibly in accordance with an early tradition that the serpents are the dwellers of the deep—a tradition which traveller} down the centuries in folklore and literature as attested, for instance, by the Mathura Museum image dated the 8th year of the reign of Kanishka.

That a systematic attempt was made to wean the people from the serpent cult may be inferred from the fact that every important religion of India had to incorporate snake-worship as an integral part of its creed. The Naga was regarded sometimes as the spirit of a departed ancestor, and sometimes as a guardian of treasures in later times. Thus not only Saivism, but Vaishnavism, Buddhism, and even Jainism had to admit the serpent in a subordinate capacity in their own religious systems. Buddha receives the homage of Muchilinda and Elapattra. Parsvanatha has a serpent as his special symbol. Siva and Durga, and even Ganesa and Surya, wear snakes. Vaishnavism, too, absorbed the snake-cult in a different fashion. The hostile attitude is indicated by Vishnu's carrier Garu$a, the

enemy of serpents, and the subjugation of Naga Kaliya by Krishna as narrated in the Hcirivamsa and later literature; but the friendly attitude is indicated by the use of Sesha or Ananta as the couch or seat of Vishnu. More significant is the belief that Balarama is the incarnation of Sesha and, in fact, his death-scene is pictured as the departure of a huge white serpent from his mouth towards the sea. Still more significant is the story in the Anusasana-parvan that by worshipping the serpent Baladeva. one acquires the strength of the Varaha (Boar) incarnation of Vishnu (and curiously enough in later sculptures of this incarnation Sesha appears as supporting one of the feet of the Boar).

When to this we add the information that the figure of Baladeva, often furnished with a cobra's hood, was probably modelled on that of Sesha, as in the Chhargaon statue of the "worshipful snake'*, and the region round about Mathura still calls snake statues by the name of Baladeva (or simply the Elder Brother, i.e. of Krishna), it may not be unjustifiably inferred that at the back of the reverence paid to Balarama, there lay veneration for some royal snake. Whatever might have been the association of serpents with the Brahmanic divinities, there is no doubt that they played a great part in popular belief; and snakes, human figures with hoods of an uneven number (one, three, five, seven, etc., presumably to produce a symmetrical effect with a central hood directly over the head) and mermaidfigures, half human and half serpentine, served to represent theNagas in sculpture and painting. The association with water travelled beyond the limits of India, and, in the island of Bali, Basuki or Naga-Basaki is regarded as an attendant of the lord of waters »Baruna or Varuna).

7. Miscellaneous Deities

We may conclude our account of the lesser known cults of the period by referring to other types of belief which were less spectacular, but perhaps not less popular among the masses. From constant reference to sacred trees and tree emblems, it may be fairly inferred that the worship of vriksha-chaityas and sthala-vrikshas continued with unabated ardour in some form or other from the time of the Sindhu valley civilisation onward. Tree spirits were not clearly personified, it is true, but like the serpents they were objects of popular veneration down the ages. By the side of the tree cult, the worship of Siddhas, Sadhyas, Gandharvas and such other minor deities was almost colourless—in fact, the meaning of the first two never gained much clarity.

One notable exception was the Yakshas, who gradually acquired prominence in later belief, and many of the earlier statues were of Yakshas who were sometimes regarded as the attendants of the greater gods and sometimes as objects of reverence themselves. The tree cult must have received an accession of strength when the custom of using trees as symbols of saints and worshipping them as such became fashionable, as, for instance, the Bodhi tree among the Buddhists.

We may well believe also that the practice of collecting stones and other symbols of divinity is an ancient custom, and that many of the village gods and goddesses, as in South India, were placed under trees which shared in the worship paid to the godlings underneath. Apparently, the Vedic idea that Gandharvas and Apsarases live in the trees was not abandoned even in later times, nor also the belief that the trees were themselves sentient beings and not merely the abodes of other spirits.

We purposely refrain from discussing the dread of demons and the propitiatory cults that must have been practised by the people at large to keep them in good humour. Magical formulae and incantations must have been largely used to placate the invisible spirits and to control their vagaries. The rivers also began to be venerated in larger numbers, and sacred streams, with tirthas or sacred spots on their banks, are a distinctive feature of the Mahdbhdrata. Pilgrimage as a religious institution must have been strengthened by the peace and facilities for travel which resulted from settled government.

From what has been said above it will appear that the most remarkable facts in the religious history of the period are the amazing diversity of beliefs, a proneness to reverence, either towards gods or towards men of wisdom and morality, an eager pursuit of religious truths, and a tendency to make experiments in religious matters. Once the hold of the Vedic cult lost its grip and, later, the formalism of the Brahmanas and the abstruse speculations of the Upanishads failed to satisfy the common man, the more earnest and devout souls sought comfort in bhakti to a personal god, while a bolder but not always more intellectual section sought out a saint or a religious reformer. But minor divinities continued, as of yore, to demand the allegiance of the illiterate and the superstitious. The most significant religious phenomena were, however, the rise into prominence of the two major gods, Vishnu and Siva, and the establishment of the two major dissenting sects, Jainism and Buddhism. The minor sects had to make alliance with one or other of these, and were gradually absorbed into or transformed by these major cults. The period is also characterised by the virtual disappearance, to wards its close, of the importance of Indra and Prajapati, the two outstanding divine figures of the Vedic and the Brahmanic age respectively.

G. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

1. Philosophical Sutras

The earliest philosophical writings in India are the Upanishads. But they cannot be regarded as systematised. The rise of what may be called regular philosophical system belongs to the period which we are considering in this volume. In conformity with the literary style then in vogue, this systematic philosophy was composed in the form of sutras or aphorisms whose nature has been indicated above. 1

From the nature of things, the sutras were accompanied and followed by long or short commentaries. The more elaborate commentaries were called bhdshyas. These bhdshyas themselves were commented upon and these commentaries were given other names. Before and after the sutras and bhdshyas, small compendia, in prose or verse, were also composed to expound the philosophy of a school.

One interesting fact about the growth of Indian philosophy is that great writers and profound thinkers have appeared often only as commentators, without claiming to be original but as expositors of the thought of a master-mind who went before. Sankara, Ramanuja, Vyasa, Vatsyayana and a host of others were apparently only commentators of the sutras of a system. They were no doubt profoundly original, but they never claimed to be so. Later ages acclaimed some of them as founders of schools; but they themselves never posed as such. They professed only to bring out the true meaning of preceding writers, who, they said, had been very much misunderstood.

The process of transition from the Upanishads to the Sutras is not difficult to explain. The Upanishads often use cryptic language which requires elucidation. For instance, we have the injunction

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that Brahman should be worshipped as 4 tadvanam ’ l and as ‘tajjalan’. 2 These are not dictionary words and cannot be understood unless explained. Similarly, there are mutually contradictory state ments. For example, Taittiriya XJpanishad? says that in the beginning there was non-Being (< sat) and Being arose from non-Being; but Chhandogya 4 categorically asserts that in the beginning there was Being (Sat) and it was one and alone; and it goes on to argue that when some say that there was non-Being in the beginning and all Being came out of it. they assert the impossible. These are obviously contradictory statements. But can they really be contradictions? The Upanishads are Sruti or revealed. They are not the fruits of human authorship. They reveal the truth and truth is but one. The contradictions, therefore, are only apparent and must be reconciled. So the process of elucidation, reconciliation and synthesis began and must have been carried on for years, maybe for centuries, until we reach the sutras of the Vedanta and of other schools of philosophy.

The composition of sutras marks a stage in the development of Indian philosophy but, within the body of the sutras of each system of philosophy, there are marks of a more or less steady growth. Within them, we find refutation of other systems of thought. These refutations, therefore, must have been incorporated in the sutras after all the other systems had been fully developed. We cannot imagine that all the systems started their career at exactly the same time and grew side by side in equal pace. We have, therefore, to conclude that after the original nuclei of sutras were composed, additions were made to them in subsequent years to suit the exigencies of clash with other philosophies. But, after a time, these sutras became rigid and there was no further change. The main schools of these Sutras are six in number, Vaiseshika, Nyaya, Sankhya, Yoga, Purva Mimamsa, and Uttara Mimamsa or Vedanta. These six systems are usually regarded as constituting three pairs according to their affinities and similarities. The first two form one pair, the second two another, and the remaining two the third. This was their relation for a long time. But in the third pair a cleavage occurred in later times, leading to the complete isolation and independence of the last school, viz. Vedanta. After this Vedanta acquired a special importance, but was eventually sub-divided into

. Kena, iv. 31.

. Chhand, iii. 14-1.

. ii, 7.

. vi. 2.

several more or less famous schools. The founders of the six orthodox systems were : Kanada (Vaiseshika), Gautama Akshapada (Nyaya), Kapila (Sankhya), Patanjali (Yoga), Jaimini (Purva MImamsa), and Badarayana (Vedanta).

So far we are on tolerably sure ground, but the moment we think of fixing a date for the composition of these Sutras, we find ourselves in difficulty. Chronology has always been a knotty point in both the political and cultural history of ancient India, and we find a wide divergence of opinion among scholars regarding the relative chronological position of the different Sutras as weir as the dates to which they are to be assigned. A detailed discussion of this question is unnecessary for our purpose.

It will suffice here to state that generally speaking Vaiseshika and Nyaya Sutras are regarded as the earliest and Sankhya as the latest. Dr. S. N. Das Gupta regards Vaiseshika as pre-Buddhistic, while Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri thinks that the final redaction of Vaiseshika and Nyaya Sutras took place between the fourth and second centuries B.C., the Vaiseshika being earlier than the Nyaya. Dr. Das Gupta places the Sankhya Sutras after A.D. 900, but Prof. M. Hiriyanna places what according to him is the earliest Sankhya book, viz. Isvarakrishna's Sankhya-Kcirika, in the fifth century A.D. Of the other Sutras, Purva-Mimariisa and Vedanta Sutras are placed by Dr. Das Gupta about 200 B.C., while Prof. Hiriyanna brings them down respectively to A.D. 200 and 400. As regards the Yoga Sutras, Dr. Das Gupta refers them to about 147 B.C., but they are placed by some as late as the fifth century A.D. Thus the proposed dates for the different Sutras vary over a wide range of more than a thousand years between the fifth century B.C. and fifth or ninth century A.D. According to Prof. Radhakrishnan, however, the Sutra period begins with A.D. 200.

We must guard ourselves against a possible confusion between the systems and the Sutras. The systems of philosophy certainly had their beginnings much earlier, earlier perhaps than even Buddha, but the texts of the Sutras which embody their conclusions were composed later. We may provisionally accept the view of Prof. Radhakrishnan and refer the composition of the Sutras between two to five centuries after rather than before the Christian era. In view of the chronological uncertainties we shall only briefly indicate here the leading philosophical thoughts and tendencies of the period.

The systems into which they crystallised will be dealt with in the next volume.

2. The Lines of Thought and the Problems (i) Astika and Ndstika (Orthodox and Heterodox) Philosophy

In the Upanishads themselves we find an important distinction drawn between apard and para vidyd , or lower and higher knowledge 1 and also between a vidyd and vidyd , false and true knowledge. 2 It is also pointed out that the lower knowledge is the knowledge ol the Vedas proper and their adjuncts, whereas the higher knowledge is that of the Indestructible (aksharam). 3 This is a very important distinction. The voluminous Vedic literature with all its auxiliaries and the mass of sacrifices and ceremonies which it inculcated were gradually losing their importance in the eyes of thinking men. These sacrifices, however, were supported by the authority of the Vedas. A revolt against the Vedas themselves was thus already brewing. But a part of these very Vedas-—their latter part or the end, i.e. the Vedanta —talked of a higher knowledge than that of the sacrifices. It was to this, then, that the philosophic mind turned for enlightenment. This introduced the distinction between work (karma) and meditation (j nana); a higher value was assigned to meditation and this gave us our philosophy.

This tendency to drift away from the massive and elaborate Vedic sacrifices did not stop with the discovery of a philosophy. More intrepid thinkers arose, who wanted to discard the Vedas completely and openly rebelled against them. One such minor rebellion is typified in Charvaka. We do not know his exact date; we do not even know' whether it is a personal name or only a descriptive epithet. But the teachings associated with this name have been partially preserved. They are in short a complete denunciation of the Vedas, their authors and the religion they taught. This attack, if the account that we have of it is faithful, sometimes verges on vulgarity. Thus it is averred that the Vedas were the work of three kinds of men— cheats, hypocrites and flesh-eaters—and that the language of the Vedas was utter gibberish; reference is also made to certain unclean customs connected with the horse-sacrifice. But the more powerful, systematic and philosophic attack upon the Vedic cult was led

Note 166

Note 167

Note 168

by two well-known names in history—the founders of Jainism and Buddhism.

When an accepted creed is attacked, naturally defenders also come forward on its behalf. When there were persons who denounced karma (sacrificial work), there were others who supported it; and when there were people who attacked the Vedic religion, others arose to take up cudgels for it. A battle of in f ellect and of words raged furiously for several centuries before and after the birth of Buddha.

Two questions gradually emerged out of this turmoil, viz. the validity of the Vedas and the reality of the Vedic gods. The first grew into the problem of knowledge and the second into the problem of reality. The first question was about ‘how we know and what our sources of knowledge are’, and ‘whether the Vedas were a source of knowledge at all’; and the other question was about ‘what it was, in the last analysis, that we know’.

Thought engaging itself with these questions split up into two lines called the astika and the nastika —the believing and the unbelieving. Though these words have been used in more than one sense, usually an astika is one who accepts the Vedas and believes in their validity, and a nastika is an unbeliever who rejects the Vedas. The one is orthodox while the other is heterodox. These were the connotations in which the terms were used by Hindu writers who coined them. Heterodoxy, however, is a relative term. If the rejection of the Vedas is heterodoxy to a Hindu, rejection of Buddha is equally so to a Buddhist. But as the victor in a war dictates the terms of peace, the Hindu meaning of these terms has prevailed in India; and a modern writer has no option but to accept it

(ii) Source of Knowledge

The technical name in Sanskrit for a source of knowledge is pramaua. The question that came to the forefront, as between the heterodox and orthodox thinkers, was the one about the pramdna The heterodox thinkers rejected the Vedas. Now, the Vedas are a collection of words which were revealed, according to the orthodox view, to inspired seers. To reject the Vedas, therefore, meant the rejection of testimony or the evidence of other men as a source of knowledge. This is exactly what the unbelievers were believed to have done.

The extreme heterodox view, associated with the name of Charvaka, was that perception was the only source of knowledge. That which could not be perceived by the senses did not exist. This is too gross a proposition to stand scrutiny and it was easily answered. When Charvaka went out of his home on any occasin, his wife could not see him for a time. Did she become a widow forthwith and began to mourn his loss? So, even that which is not seen is known and believed to exist, as Charvaka was by his wife.

This defect was mended in the Buddhist view that inference also was a source of knowledge, but this did not carry philosophy far enough. Inference is based on what we have perceived and generalised: on general propositions like 'All S is P,' which are obtained by uncontradicted experience. The root of inference is in experience or perception. Deeper spiritual truths—truths about God, the other world, etc.—could not be known by inference of this kind.

All orthodox thinkers agreed that the Vedas were a source of knowledge. In fact this belief was the real criterion of orthodoxy. About other sources of knowledge, divergence of views existed and was allowed. So, to perception and inference, they added the Vedas or sabda (word), as they were technically called, and the number became three. To these a fourth was added by some, viz., analogy. If you are told that X is like Y and then see a thing which is like Y, you know at once that it is X. To these four, two more sources of knowledge were gradually added, viz. non-perception and presumption. You know that there is no elephant in your room because you do not see any. And if you see a fat man but never see him take any food during day-time, you may presume that he takes food unseen, maybe at night. This list of sources of knowledge was further enlarged by some by the addition of tradition and a few others.

The central theme, however, remained the authority of the Vedas. When even tradition was added to the list of sources of knowledge, the desire perhaps was to augment the authority of the Vedas. If you continuously hear from people that there is a ghost in yonder tree, are you not inclined to believe it? Yet, that is only heresay which, according to modern law, is no evidence at all. But if you can accept continued tradition as a source of knowledge, how much more credence should you give to the Vedas—the eternal word which has been revealed to man?

In the acceptance of the Vedas as a source of knowledge, all orthodox thinkers agreed. They also agreed in holding that life was full of ills, and escape from it was the highest object of desire. They further agreed that this escape could be effected only by meditation on the highest truth. Barring the acceptance of the Vedas as a source of knowledge, they agree so far with the heterodox thinkers, but they differ among themselves and also from the heterodox thinkers in their account of Reality.

(iii) Reality in Orthodox Philosophy: The World

Orthodoxy clung to the view that there was some permanent reality, whereas heterodoxy was not wedded to any such view. As to the character of this reality, opinions varied. About the external world around us, orthodoxy was not committed to any particular theory, and wide divergence of views has existed. And if we take into account the heterodox views also, it will be found that most of the theories about the world that philosophy has known up till now were put forward in some shape or other by the thinkers of India.

Three orthodox views come out in sharp contrast: (1) Some held that the world was a conglomeration of atoms which were themselves uncreated. These atoms exist independently of our thought. They are of four kinds, having the qualities of smell, taste, touch and light. When they combine, they make the things of the world; and when they disintegrate, these things are destroyed. Causation, therefore, implies the introduction of new things into the world. The effect is not inherent in the cause.

(2) Another theory is that the world is due to a mysterious interaction between a plurality of eternal and unchanging individual souls, which are conscious, and an unconscious principle, which is akin to the feminine principle in nature and becomes active as soon as it contacts a soul. According to this theory, the world is already inherent in the feminine principle which has been given the technical name of prakriti; the effect is always in the cause, just as curd is potentially present in the milk. Causation implies only a change of state.

(3) According to the third view, there was only one eternal, unchanging substance which manifested itself in the manifold changes of the world, the variety of things and qualities, and finite selves. This substance was a conscious principle. But the world with its manifold, changing phases was only an appearance and not a reality. It was only an error, an illusion that we believed in this multiplicity of things. In ultimate knowledge, the differentiation between one thing and another and between self and not-self has no basis. It is all a huge error. That one thing produces another, that the non-existent comes into existence is a difficult proposition to accept. Causation cannot be understood as a change of state, for the unchanging substance cannot change; nor can it be the beginning of a new thing, for a non-existing thing cannot come into existence. If the world is not an illusion, at least its appearance must be regarded as a great Mystery (anirvdchya), inexpressible and inexplicable.

(4) To these three, a fourth may be added, which is a combination of the second and the third. According to this view, the source of the world is a conscious principle but the world is not an illusion; it is real; it expresses the ultimate substance and is its vehicle so to say, and it belongs to the substance like a quality to a thing.

The question of Reality is not exhausted by an account of the external world only. It includes also the question of the individual soul and of a creative God. On these questions also the orthodox thinkers have differed widely. And if we take into account the heterodox views also alongside of them, it will be found that between a total denial of the soul and an affirmation that it varies in size with the size of the body, different views about its character and destiny have been held. And about God also, between the assertion of His non-existence and an identification of Him with the Universe, He has been delineated in several other ways.

CHAPTER XX

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See above, Vol. I, pp. 493-94.
2. 2. A long list of these, given in Anguttara Nikaya and other Buddhist texts, is given on p. 462.
3. 1. See the Creation Hymn, Rigveda X. 129: "God is One, though men speak of Him by many names."
4. 1. See Vol. I, Ch. VIII.
5. 1. ERE, VH, 465.
6. 2. See Vol. I, p. 187.
7. 3. See Vol. I, pp. 158, 194, 203.
8. 1. This site is marked by the Rummindei Pillar inscription of Asoka. The ruins of Rummindei (Lumbini) lie 4 miles inside the Nepalese border (85° IP N. Lat. 25° 58' E. Long.) near Padara.
9. 2. For this date cf. p. 36.
10. 3. For the $akyas, see p. 16 above. According to tradition, the forefathers of the gakyas hailed from Saketa and settled in a forest near the hermitage of Rishi Kapila (Mah&vastu, I. pp. 351-2).
11. 4. tiutta-Nipata, Nalakasutta.
12. 1. In the Lalitavistara, the name given is Gopa, daughter of the Sakyan Dandapani.
13. 2. Buddhacharita, XII, 17-65.
14. 1. Majjhima Nikaya, I, p. 164 f.
15. 2. Most of the biographies end their account with the discourses delivered to the five Brahmanas. There is no connected account of Buddha's career after the
16. 1. The list is as follows:—Champa, Rajagaha, Savatthi, Saketa, Kosambi and
17. Varanasi.
18. 2 The claimants were Lichchhavis of Vesali, 6akyas of Kapilavatthu, Bulis of
19. Allakappa, Koliyas of Ramagama, Brahmanas of Vethadipa, Mallas of Kusinara, Dona Brahmana, and Moriyas of Pipphalivana (See Ch. I).
20. 1. Cf. Digha Nikaya, II. p. 123:—
21. Silarn samadhi pahnd cha vimutti c ha anuttarc,
22. Anubuddhd ime dhamma Gotamena yasassind.

23. 1. There are four stages of sanctification in the Buddhist code. The first is Srotapanna, i.e. one who is in the stream leading to Nirvana. The second is Sakridagami, i.e. one who will be reborn once more in this mortal world to reach the goal. The third is Anagami, i.e. one who will not come to the world of men but will be reborn among the gods to attain Nirvana. The fourth is Arhat , i.e. one who has destroyed all impurities and attained Nirvana and will have no more rebirth.
24. 1. This view is strongly contested by Mrs. Rhys Davids. See What is the original Doctrine of Buddhism? (1938).
25. 1. The ten precepts are: Abstention from (i) killing, (ii) stealing, (iii) adultery, (iv) speaking falsehoods, (v) drinking intoxicating liquor, (vi) afternoon meals, (vii) witnessing dances, music, etc., (viii) the use of garlands, unguents, etc., (ix) the use of high beds, and (x) the acceptance of gold and silver.
26. 1. See above, pp. 332 ff.
27. 376
28. 1. See above, p. 28.
29. 1. See above, p. 240 f.
30. 1. See above, p. 241.
31. 1. The doctrines of the following sects are discussed in the Kath&vatthu:-
32. Sarvastivadins, Saihmitiyas (Vatsi'putriyas), Mah^sahghikas, Sailas (—Andhakas), Mahis&saka, Uttarapathaka, Hetuvada, and Vetulyaka; also Bhadrayanika and Gokulika. In the inscriptions of the post--Christian eras appear the names of the following sects: Sarvastivadins, Mahisahghikaa, Saihmitiyas, Chaityakas, the 6ailas (— Andhakas), Bahusrutlyas and Mahisasakas. (See JRAS, 1892, p. 597).
33. 2. See above, p. 84.
34. 3. See above, p. 84.
35. 1. HTW , I, p. 203.
36. 2. /bid., pp. 270-1.
37. 3. See above, p. 147.
38. 4. Paramartha's Life of Vasubandhu, translated by Takakusu in Touna Pao.
39. 1904, p. 269 f.
40. 1. According to the Sautrantikas, Taranatha states, the Ashfasahasrikd Prajnapdramitd was composed after the time of Mahapadma Nanda.

41. 2. Schiefner, Taranatha’s Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 63.
42. 1. See above, pp. 258 f, 266 f.
43. 2. B. C. Law, Asvaghosha, in RASB Monograph Series, No. 1.
44. 3. See Suhrillekha in JPTS. 1886. For details about the alchemist Nagarjuna see Sylvain L4vi in BSOS, VI pp. 417-29.
45. 1. Edited by the present writer in the Calcutta Oriental Series.
46. 2. There is a French Tr. by Lamotte, Le traite de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nagarjuna (Mahdprajndparamitg, Sastra) Louvain, 1940.
47. 3. Lankdvatara (p. 286), Mahameghasutra (Le Museon, 1910, p. 274), Manjusrimulakalpa (p. 616), Mahamayasutra (Przyluski, Legende de Vempereur Asoka, p. 183).
48. 4. He was succeeded by his disciple Aryadeva.
49. 5. He is said to have been a contemporary of Chandra-gupta I, but opinions differ widely on this point; cf. NHIP, VI, 155 fn. 2.
50. 1. See above, p. 84.
51. 1. The relation of these two schools, specially in respect of the Byddha image, has been discussed in Ch. XX.
52. 1. Attitude of Protection.
53. 2. Cf. Ch. XX.
54. 398
55. 1. See p. 374 ff.
56. 1. EB, llth Ed., IV, p. 746a.
57. 1. Samyutta, X. 12.
58. 2. HIL, H, p. 59.
59. 1. Samyutta, XX. 7; Ahguttara, TV. 160; Wintemitz, HIL, II. p. 77.
60. 1. Preface, p. vii, Editio Princeps of the text; cf. Wintemitz, H1L, II. p. 98.
61. l. hil, n, p. 100 .
62. 1. Cf. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 131.
63. 2. HIL, H, p. 135.
64. 1. HIL, II, p. 170.
65. 1. History of Pali Literature I, 42.
66. 1. See above, p. 112 fl.
67. 2 The M Hind a Questions (London, 1930), pp. 6 ff. 23, 105 ff, 149 ff etc.
68. 1. JRAS, 1925, p. Ill ff.
69. 1. Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas, p. 25.

70. 2. SBE, Jaina Sutras. II. XLV. xx-xxii.
71. 3. Chapter xxiii.
72. I. Acharanga (Uvahanasuya, Bhavanao). Kalpasutra, BhagavaU.
73. 1. Say a, xv. Cf. Hoemle, ERE. I. 259.
74. 1. Glasenapp, Der Jainismus, 346-349.
75. 2. Gu&rinot, La Religion Djaina . 48-62; Schubring, op. cit., 38-39.
76. 1. Kappaautta, I. 51-52.
77. a?
78. 1. See above, pp. 213 ff.
79. 2. Btihler, The Indian Sect of the JaincLS, Appendix A; V. A. Smith, Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura: J. Ph. Vogel. Mathura Museum Catalogue. 41-3, 66-82.
80. 3. See above, pp. 89 f.
81. 4. Brown, The Story of K&laka. See above, p. 155.
82. 1. Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions; Narasimhacharya, EC, II.
83. 1. SBE, XLV. xv
84. 1. Schubring, Wrote Mahaviras; Winternitz, HIL, II. pp. 294 ff.
85. 1. Hiralal, Introduction to Sha^khandfiigama, I. II.
86. 2. Schubring, op. cit. 10-12.
87. 1. JBORS, XXIII, 130-32 and plates.
88. 1. See above, pp. 212, 214. The Khanjagiri and Udayagiri caves of Orissa, in one of which the inscription is engraved, contain some early Jain reliefs. A continuous frieze of relief carvings on the fagade of the Rani Nur Cave at Udayagiri is supposed by some scholars to illustrate incidents in the life-history of the 23rd Jina Parsvanatha (see also Ch. XX).
89. 2 . See References under footnote 2 on p. 418.
90. 3. B. C. Bhattacharya, Jaina Iconography, 22-6. These deities are regarded by the Jains ‘as devoted adherents of the Tirthakaras, and thus they consider them to be deities of their system, and accordingly perform certain pujas in honour of them profusely referred to in their ritualistic literature'. This was also the case with many of the subsidiary divinities which figured in early Buddhist art.
91. 1. Cf. Nos. 7 and 24, 11 and 18 in the above list.
92. 2. Cf. Nos. 8 and 21 above.

93. 1. Smith, op. cit., 12-13, pi. VI. Smith’s remarks about the great antiquity of the stupa in which the image was set up are not entirely convincing. The symbol in the centre of the pedestal rather resembles a variety of nandipdda (foot-mark of Siva's bull Nandin), than a typical nandyavarta which is defined in some Jain texts as ‘a svastika with nine comers’, a sort of a geometrical pattern.
94. 1. V. A. Smith, op. cit., 52, pi. XCIV.
95. 2. V. A. Smith, op. cit., 56-7, pi. XCIX.
96. 3. U.P. Shah, ‘Iconography of uie Jain Goddess Sarasvati. Journal of the University of Bombay , X, 195-218 and plates.
97. 1. V. A. Smith, op. cit., 25-6, pi. XVIII. Smith suggests that the scene of the composition is Indra’s heaven where Naigamesha had gone after succeeding in his mission.
98. 2. Of the three padas of Vishnu, whereby the god maintained the dharmas or fixed ordinances, the highest is described as known to himself and visible only to the Suris, apparently indicating persons or spirits favoured by Vishnu. The highest station of Vishnu is said to be a land beyond ordinary mortal ken in which “god-seeking men delight”. The Rigvedic poets pray that people may go to this blessed abode of Vishnu, which is supposed to have been the home of departed spirits, to enjoy felicity. In later times the abode of Vishnu became the goal of the spiritual aspiration of the devotees of that god and numerous places came to be styled Vishnu-pada (usually at the top of hills).
99. 3. Cf. Ait. Br., S.P.Br. and other texts, and legends referred to in VS. p. 34.
100. 1. Probably borrowed along with other ideas from pre-Aryan religious beliefs.
101. 2. EHVS 23-4. It is to be noted, however, that the word is also used in the Ashtddhydyi in connection with cakes, and the possibility of the meaning ‘fondness’ is not altogether precluded.
102. 3. Vol. I. p. 297 ff.
103. 1. XVI. 3.
104. 2. The Tusham inscription of the fourth century speaks of a Bhagavad-bhakta
105. teacher of the noble Satvata-yoga (drya-sdtvata-yogachg,rya). The names Ekantika and Tanmaya applied to the Bhiigavatas were

probably due to thi s aspect of the doctrine.

106. 1. Of. also the description of Vishnu's highest station as the dwelling of manyhorned swiftly moving cows.
107. 2. One with cord round one's belly, i.e. a herdsman.
108. 3. Cf. the stories about Virata's Gogrihas.
109. 4 . See above, p. 411.
110. 1. As noted above, he was originally deified by his own people and later regarded as the Supreme God by the devotees.
111. 2. Perhaps it was greatly influenced by pre-Aryan ideas and practices.
112. 1. Cf. the Chatur-vyuha of the Pancharatrikas.
113. 2. There seems to be no reasonable ground for this theory, which was first put forward by Weber.
114. 1 . Cf. the words Kanvayana, Kat.yavana, etc.
115. 1. Cf. also the name Vishnu-gopa among the early Pallava rulers.
116. 1. IX. 31.
117. 2. V. 19, 26, etc.
118. _
119. Z III. 42.
120. 3 II 20-25
121. 4 JX 19.
122. 4 44
123. l. IV. 6.
124. 1. Macnicol, Indian Theism, p. 76.
125. 2. El, XXIV. 194.
126. 3. PIHC, VII. 82.
127. 1. Cf. also Pratimdnataka (Act III) attributed to Bhasa.
128. 2. ' Cf. the Kaliyanaga episode in the Krishna saga, probably pointing to the
129. victory of Bhagavatism over the tribal cult of the Nagas who ruled in the
130. Mathura area before the Guptas.
131. 1. See above, p. 414.
132. 2. It means both 'station' and 'foot', and often leads to confusion as regards the original interpretation of Vishnu-pada.
133. 3. Cf. JRASBL, XV. 101.
134. 1. Cf. Panini's rule for the formation of the word Arjunaka in the sense of a person whose object of Bhakti was Arjuna.

135. 2. Cf. the Mathura relief illustrating Krishna's birth.
136. 1. See above, p. 130.
137. 2 - in ? a ? e of Vish^iu-parivara, now worshipped at Burhikhas in Bilaspur
138. District, bears a Brahml Ins. of about the first century B.C.
139. 1. Above, pp. 150, 439.
140. 2. Vol. I. pp. 162, 187, 203.
141. o. Mbh.. Southern Recension: cd. by P. P. S. Sastri, Vol. XV, Santi, Pt. Ill, Ch. 238. w. 62-65.
142. 1. Vnyu Purana, ch. 23, vv. 210-213.
143. 2. Linga Purana, ch. 24, vv. 127-131.
144. 3. - For these records, cf. VS. 116; JBBRAS, XXII. 151 ft; El, XXI 1 ff
145. 4. VS. p. 117; El, XXI. 5-7. * ' n *
146. 1. Rajataranginx , I. 108 ff; also above, pp. 89-90.
147. 2. Above, p. 224 f.
148. 45G
149. 1. Ravi, I, 35, 20.
150. 2. Ram, I, 23, 10 fT.
151. 3. Ram, I, 38.
152. 4 Ram, I, 45.
153. 1. Muir, OST. IV, p. 194.
154. 2. Muir. OST, IV. p. 241.
155. 1. Puram 56.
156. 2. Canto 26.
157. 3. Canto 12.
158. 4. Canto 1.
159. 5. See S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture, p. 56.
160. 6. Vol. I, p. 187.
161. 1. It may be mentioned that the cults of Kubera and Manibhadra definitely declined in the Gupta age. The one becomes a dikpala and the other degenerates into a snake in the Bhavishya Purana. Purnabhadra is altogether forgotten.
162. 464
163. 1. Cf. e.g. the two-armed Karttikeya in some of the Yaudheya coins.
164. 1. See above, p. 116.
165. 1. Vol. I. p. 472.

166. 1. Mun(iaka, i, 4.
167. 2. Katha, i, 2. 5.
168. 3. Mundaka, i, 5.

ART

A. ARCHITECTURE

The numerous objects and buildings unearthed in the Sindhu valley, which have been described above, 1 constitute the earliest examples of the art and architecture of India. Then follows a long gap, and it is not till about the third century B.C. that we once more come across the vestiges of a flourishing artistic culture. It is difficult to believe that the powerful traditions of the earlier age died out altogether, and it is not unlikely that the products of the intermediate period still lie hidden under the soil or, being made of perishable materials like wood, have vanished altogether without leaving any trace. In any case, though the link between the Sindhu valley and Mauryan art is missing, and a complete hiatus separates the two, literary evidence leaves no doubt that the activities of both architects and sculptors continued during the intervening period.

I. Cities

The Buddhist canon 2 testifies to the existence in India of populous cities with large buildings long before the time of the Buddha. Very few vestiges of these early cities have, however, been preserved. It is stated by Arrian, who is believed to have based his Indica on the accounts of Megasthenes, that cities on the banks of rivers and in other low-lying spots were built of wood; and those in more commanding positions, where they were less exposed to floods, of mud or brick. It is because of the impermanent character of the materials used in the buildings of these ancient cities that they have crumbled into ruins, and nothing exists above ground, except a part of the city walls of Raj agriha. These were built, in cyclopaean fashion, of massive unheaven blocks of stone pierced by gateways (pi. II, 2), each flanked on either side by a semi-circular bastion, over which probably rose the watch-tower, an almost invariable feature of these fortress cities.

References of cities and municipal organisations are found in Buddhist literature, in the Kautiliya Arthasdstra and in the epics;

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

and a graphic picture of the plan and lay-out of an early Indian city is given in Milinda-panha. 1 It speaks of a city “fine and regular, measured out into quarters, with excavated moats and ramparts about it, with stout gatehouses and towers, with market-places, crossroads, street-corners and public squares, with cleanly and even main roads, with regular lines of open shops, well provided with parks, gardens, lakes, lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples of the gods, free from every fault and standing in all its glory.”

This description appears to hold good for earlier periods too and, shorn of its superfluities, the standard scheme of an early city may be summarised as follows: it is surrounded by a moat or moats and further protected by a wall (pdkdra, prdkara) running all around. The plan is rectangular, usually square, with gate or gatehouses (dvdra , dvdrakotthaka) in the middle of each side, the gateway being approached by a bridge across the moat. Four main streets from the four gateways led to the centre of the city, which is laid out in quarters (bhagaso mitam).

Ahichchhatra, the capital of the Pahchala country, as now excavated, appears to have been a city of this type. Its walls, built of burnt brick, still rise to a height of 40 to 50 feet. Details of the planning of the city are not yet clear, but in the centre stood a large temple to which the main thoroughfares of the city converged. 2

An idea of what these early cities looked like may be obtained from representations of some of them in the reliefs of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Mathura, etc. In these reliefs, many of the historic cities of ancient India like Raj agriha, Sravasti, Varanasi, Kapilavastu, Kuslnagara, etc. have been shown. An outer view of the city wall with its gatehouse and defensive towers, and occasionally some glimpse of the buildings inside, may be had from these reliefs. The moat surrounding the city is indicated in the reliefs by lotuses (pi. II, 3), actual water being shown in many cases. The city walls are usually shown as made of brick, though in one Sanchi relief a wooden wall of palisade construction may clearly be recognised. The walls are sometimes provided with re-entrant angles. They are finished off at the top either by a coping or more usually by battlements. The gatehouse is flanked by two high towers (dvara-attdlaka, gopura-attdlaka), projecting from the gatehouse, joined to each other

Note 4

Note 5

Note 6

by a porch (said). The gatehouse is equal in height to that of the wall; the gatehouse towers soaring higher up add to the strength and dignity of the entire scheme. The towers rise to several storeys, the topmost one having a barrel-vaulted roof with gable ends. The dimensions of the gatehouse are often wide enough to provide passage for chariots and horses and elephants with riders, as is shown in some of the reliefs (pi. Ill, 4). Accessory defence towers also occasionally occur just inside the gateway building.

Quite distinct from the gatehouse stand occasionally toranas, usually represented as situated at the far end of the bridge communicating with the gateway. Such toranas were made of two freestanding upright pillars supporting one or more architraves at the top, evidently imitated from wooden construction, if not actually made of wood. Apparently they had no value for defensive purposes and were probably meant as ornamental accessories.

An idea of the buildings within the city may also be gleaned by reference to early Indian reliefs. The buildings usually consist of several storeys, the topmost storey having a wagon-vaulted roof with gables at either end with pointed finials at the top. They usually face a court, occasionally enclosed on either side by subsidiary structures, but left open in front (cf. Sanchi, east gate). Sometimes a torana, consisting of two upright pillars surmounted by two or three architraves, leads to the court in front of the building (Amaravati). The upper storeys are provided with balustraded verandahs (alindas) in front. They are sometimes found to be supported on pillars, in which case the ground floor partakes more of the character of an open pavilion intended probably as an assembly hall. The pillars are either square or round, sometimes with the so-called “bell capitals” at the top (cf. Bharhut). The upper floor is negotiated by stairways supported on a framework of beams and rafters resting on pillars. In a relief from Mathura (c. second century A.D.) we have the view of an external stairway which is roofed at the top and provided with railings at the sides (pi. IV A, 6.). It is entered through an archway with a latticed screen at the top. The same relief gives us the replica of a pleasure palace within a garden rising in three storeys, the topmost one having probably a tiled roof (pi. TV A, 7).

The appearance of the buildings, shown in early relief carvings, leaves no doubt that they were made of impermanent materials, particularly of wood, the essentials of wooden technique being scrupulously imitated in these relief representations. In the facades of the early caves probably survive the frontages of these early buildings (pi. Ill, 5), and here, too, the stamp and impress of wooden construction are clear and explicit. Nevertheless, they were usually large and imposing structures, their beauty and decorative richness being amply testified to not only by the relief carvings of early Indian art but also by the elaborate cave fagades, which are clear copies of the structural modes and patterns in wood. Such cities as are represented in early relief carvings were apparently being built even from the beginning of the period under discussion. On account of the limited scope of the material there was very little change in the shape and form of the buildings, but gradually they become richer and overlaid with a wealth of ornament, the like of which can very seldom be seen. These buildings thus appear to present a strong contrast to the earliest Indian buildings of secular character, viz. those of the Sindhu valley cities, which were strictly of a utilitarian character and devoid of any ornament.

Some idea of the grandeur of ancient cities and buildings can be formed from the description of Pataliputra by classical writers and Fa-hien. 1 Fragments of the huge wooden palisade of the city have been unearthed by Dr. Spooner at Bulandi Bagh (pi. V, 8) near modern Patna and these prove by their size that the classical accounts of the dimensions of the city walls are by no means exaggerated. Subsequent excavations at the site of

Kumrahar nearby have unearthed the remains of the palace, unfortunately extremely fragmentary in character. The palace appears to have been an aggregate of buildings, the most important of which was an immense pillared hall supported on a high substratum of wood. The pillars were set in regular rows, thus dividing, the hall into a number of smaller square bays. Fragments of stone pillars, including one nearly complete, with their round tapering shafts and smooth polish indicate that the great Asoka was responsible for the construction of the hall, or at least for the stone columns which replaced the earlier wooden ones. The comparison of the palace buildings of Pataliputra with those of Susa and Ecbatana by the classical writers is perhaps not without some significance, and a close parallel to the Mauryan palace, as excavated, may be recognised in the Achaemenid Hall of Hundred Columns at Persepolis. 2

Note 7

Note 8

ART

II. Religious Architecture

It has often been remarked that Indian art is the handmaid of religion, and this remains substantially true of architecture as well as of the other formative arts, in spite of the grandeur of secular buildings. The desire for a permanent habitation was more keenly felt in religious than in secular architecture and hence the change from perishable to more durable materials occurred much earlier in respect of sacred buildings. The rise of new religious sects, described in Chapter XIX, must have given a great impetus to art. The stiipa, which represents a domed structure of brick or stone masonry, chapels, usually known as chaitya halls, and monasteries formed important monuments of the Jain and Buddhist faith. The Bhakti cult gave a great impetus to the construction of images and devagrihas or ‘houses of gods’. It was the custom to erect dhvaja starabhas, or columns bearing the emblems of the gods, in front of such sanctuaries, and several of them, associated particularly with the worship of Vishnu in his Vyuha forms, still stand in and around Besnagar in the old Gwalior State. There is thus clear evidence of prolific architectural activity in religious buildings of the different denominations. Our knowledge of the sanctuaries of the structural order, built, as they were mostly, of impermanent materials, is, however, very meagre. We can only trace a continuous movement in respect of the stupa and give some account of the chaityas and monasteries hewn out of rock.

1. The Stupa

In the Mahaparinibbana Suttanta 1 Buddha enjoins Ananda to erect at the crossing of four highways (chatummahdpathe) a stupa over the remains of his body, after it has been burnt on the funeral pyre, in the same manner as the stupa of a universal monarch. It is, therefore, clear that the custom of rearing stupas was pre-Buddhist. The Jains also erected this form of memorial in early times, but it is the Buddhists who particularly selected and adapted it to their own use. In course of time it acquired a special Buddhistic association as containing a relic (dhatu) of the Master or of his chief disciples, and as making a spot associated with some important event in the life of the Buddha or in the history of Buddhism. As enshrining a relic symbolising the Master himself, a devotional aspect was also implicit from the very beginning, and stupas were set up as votive objects in sanctuaries, known as chaitya halls. They

Note 9

Note 10

were also erected on sacred Buddhist sites as pious works, the gift of a stupa being reckoned as meritorious as that of an image, even when the latter came to be in prolific use. Apart from objects for which they were raised, there is, however, no other indication by which they can be distinguished from one another, and architecturally all these classes must be treated as one. The origin of the stupa has given rise to many theories. The most probable view seems to be that this hemispherical structure emerged out of the earthen funeral mounds (smasdnas), under which, according to the Vedic rituals, the ashes of the dead were buried.

The earliest of the stupas now extant represents a plain and simple structure consisting of a hemispherical dome (anda), placed on a low circular base and surmounted by a square box (harmika), which is further crowned by the parasol or umbrella (chhatra), the symbol of universal paramountcy. The dome was the principal element of the stupa and was surrounded by a pradakshinapatha, or passage for circumambulation, occasionally fenced off by a railing or wall.

This original form of the stupa may be recognised in the Great Stupa at Sanchi (Bhopal State), 1 which represents one of the earliest specimens now extant. Originally built of brick in Asoka's time, the Great Stupa was enlarged to nearly twice its size and enveloped in stone, perhaps a century later, when the stone railings and the gateways were also added. As the diagram opposite shows, the stupa presents an almost semi-circular dome, truncated near the top, and is supported on a sloping circular base, which was approached by a broad double ramp on the southern side, and was formally used as an upper procession path (6 feet wide) for pradakshind around the monument. On the flattened summit there was a small square pavilion (harmika), surrounded by a railing, from the centre of which rose the shaft of the umbrella discs (pi. V, 9).

The original brick stupa was in all probability enclosed by a wooden fence, later replaced by the massive stone balustrade which now surrounds the enlarged monument encased in stone. It consists of octagonal upright posts (thaba , from Sanskrit stambha) capped by a continuous coping stone (uhnisa, from Sanskrit ushnisha), rounded at the top and fixed to the posts by means of tenons socketed to mortices. The posts are further connected with one another by three horizontal rails or cross-bars (suchis), which are slipped into the lense-shaped holes cut on the sides of the upright posts. The mode of construction of this stone rail is essentially wooden, every joint being practically the same as that employed by a carpenter working in wood. On

Note 11

Fig. 1. Sanchl, Great Stupa.

the four sides of the stilpa are four gateways (toranas), each projecting a little from the line of the ground balustrade. In design and dimensions they resemble one another. Each of them consists of two upright posts, surmounted by three architraves, placed horizontally one above the other (pi. IV, 10).

The same process of wooden technique is manifest in its construction, the architraves being morticed into the posts and the projecting ends, separately affixed on either side, being supported by means of brackets of various shapes and designs. The crowning finials, representing the various symbols of the faith like the triratna, the dharmachakra, etc., are also morticed into the topmost architrave. All the four gateways are covered with the most elaborate sculptures, 1 2 in contrast to the rails which are kept severely plain. Stupa No. 3 at Sanchi is also surrounded by a similar rail, but with a single gateway. The stupa at Bharhut in the old Nagod State, Madhya Bharat, was also surrounded by rails and gateways of similar design, a portion of which may now be seen in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The Bharhut rail, however, instead of being plain, was richly carved. Carvings of analogous but cruder workmanship also characterised the ground balustrade of stupa No. 2 at Sanchi. The style of the carvings of both would place these rails to a period earlier than those of the Sanchi toranas.

The structure which obtained the greatest celebrity in Asia was the relic-tower or pagoda which Kanishka erected at Purushapura (Peshawar) over the relics of the Buddha. Chinese pilgrims furnish us with graphic accounts of this remarkable monument, which consisted of "a basement in five stages (150 feet), a superstructure of carved wood in thirteen storeys (400 feet), surmounted by an iron column with from thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas (88 feet), making a total height of 638 feet."Because of its graceful proportions, Fa-hien describes it to be of incomparable beauty and adds: "tradition says that this was the

Note 12

Note 13

ART

Fig. 2. Manikyala, Great Stupa: Section

Fig. 3. Barabar Sudama Cave: Plan and Section

highest tower in Jambudvlpa.” The tower was already in decay when Hiuen Tsang visited it, and gradually every vestige was obliterated by its own crumbling ruins. The site has been identified with Shah-jl-kl-Dheri and excavated, revealing a base that appears to have been 286 feet in diameter; the monument may hence be regarded as having been the largest of its kind in India. The casket containing the relic has also been found and is now a priceless possession of the Peshawar Museum.

The region round Peshawar—ancient Gandhara—has preserved the remains of quite a large number of stupas, showing the different stages of its evolution. The traditional hemispherical form as presented by the great stupa at Sanchl is clearly recognised in the small stupa at Chakpat in the Swat valley and in the great stupa at Manikyala (Fig. 2) in the Punjab. The characteristic tendency to the elongation of the stupa is also equally apparent in Gandhara. This may be recognised in the provision of a tall drum or a series of drums, raised over a square plinth of one or more terraces approached by stairways. The topmost section of the drum supports the hemispherical dome with a square harmikd and crowned by a many-tiered chhatravali of conical shape. The last is made up of flat round discs rising one above the other in gradually diminishing sizes, the uppermost one tapering to a point. Although the height and elongation of the structure are thus clearly emphasised, the hemispherical dome still retains its position of importance. The body of the stupa , especially of the plinth and the drum, is richly carved with sculptures set in niches between pilasters all around, and this arrangement forms the characteristic mode of ornamentation of the Gandharan stupas, particularly those of the post-Christian era. Miniature votive stupas (pi. VI, 11) of this distinctive shape and form have been found in large numbers in different sites throughout Gandhara and gives us an idea of what the bigger monuments of this order, now mostly ruined, looked like in their original state.

Stupas were also erected in southern India from a fairly early period, and the Andhra region seems to have been literally studded with them. The most important of these monuments were situated at Amaravati, 1 Bhattiprolu, Jaggayyapeta, 2 Ghantasala, Nagarjuni

Note 14

Note 15

Note 16

konda, etc. Unfortunately, not one of these monuments can now be seen in its entirety. But the sculptured replicas on the casing slabs (pi. VI, 12) of these stupas enable us to ascertain the distinctive characteristics of the stupa monuments of this region. The technique of building up these stupas is somewhat singular. The foundation and the body of the stupa were built in brick, which in the earlier examples was solid. Later on, probably to reduce weight and to economise material, the inner body was composed of two circular walls, one at the hub and the other at the outer end, with radiating partition walls joining the two, the intervening spaces being packed with earth; and thus the entire monument was given the required shape. This inner body was next encased with slabs of stone, usually richly carved marble, the top being finished in moulded stucco.

The lofty circular terrace, which formed the drum and emphasised the height of the stupa, was provided with a rectangular projection on each cardinal face. The sides of the projection formed stairways leading to the upper processional path, while the front was converted into an altar piece. The top of the projected offset, ending in a platform on a level with the upper terrace, supported five free-standing slender pillars, known as ayaka-khambas (aryaka stambhas) or the ‘worshipful columns’. This is a distinctive feature, not met with elsewhere, and adds considerably to the architectural appearance of the monument as a whole. Another distinctive characteristic of these southern stupas is the fact that not only the ground balustrade which surrounds the monument but even the drum and the hemispherical dome are richly carved.

A study of the evolution of the stupa would show that there was a general tendency towards the elevation of each component part. This gave it an elongated appearance, and the term ‘tower’, by which the Chinese pilgrims usually designate it, is not altogether inappropriate. The changed character is clearly borne out by a comparison of the early pre-Christian stupas with their mediaeval successors in India and Further India. In the earliest of the stupa monuments, the almost hemispherical dome is the principal member of such a structure, and the base and the finials are but accessory parts, having a proportionate relation of subordinance in comparison with the main element. But due to the growing tendency towards height and elongation, the stupa ultimately attains a spire-like shape, in which the original hemispherical dome loses its dominating importance,

Though early, they already exhibit distinctive features like the ayaka projection in each of the cardinal points, the lofty drum, etc.

Junnar, Circular Cave: Plan and Section

ART

Fig. 5. Bhaja, Chaitya and Vihdra : Plan

Fig. €. Bedsa, Chaitya and Vihdra: Plan

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Lomasa Rishi cave at Barabar (pi. VII, 13) has been finished with great care and is important as representing the beginnings of tho elaborate scheme of ornamentation that characterised the decoration of the fagades in the chaitya halls of later days. Possibly it is copied from structural examples.

The plan and arrangements of the Sudama and Lomasa Rishi caves are similar in all essential details, and evidently represent a circular shrine preceded by an assembly hall (mandapa of later days). It is possible that the earliest form of such a shrine consisted of the circular cella alone to which the Buddhists added a votive chaitya, and the outer hall was later added to accommodate the gradually increasing congregation. This supposition gains some support from the interesting circular chaitya hall at Junnar (Fig. 4), 56 miles to the north of Poona, in which a votive chaitya is surrounded by a ring of twelve pillars, the central area being domed and the circular aisle half-domed. A solid wall, pierced by a narrow doorway, separated the cella from the outer hall in the caves of the Sudama type; gradually this solid wall was eliminated and the apsidal plan of the chaitya hall of the familiar type was thus obtained. A bold move is also indicated by the hall being driven axially into the depth of the rock instead of cutting it parallel to the face of the rock, as in the Sudama and Lomasa Rishi caves.

The next stage of evolution, after the Barabar group, is found in a cave at Bhaja, near Poona, in the Western Ghats, with twentyseven pillars running along the entire length of the apsidal hall and around the votive chaitya, thus dividing it into a central nave and two side aisles (pi. VII, 14). The pillars are plain octagonal shafts, a little over 11 feet in height, and support the barrel-vaulted roof on a framework of curved ribs, originally of wooden construction. The side aisles, only 3i feet wide, are half barrel-vaulted (Fig. 5). The votive chaitya is placed near the back end, and the entrance, now a lofty open archway, just opposite to it. The decoration of the fagade, as seen in the upper section, also indicates a definite advance on what we have in the Lomasa Rishi cave. Along the entire width of the fagade extends the rail, and together with this appears the ogee front which, as a decorative device, has been repeated, thereby adding to the beauty of the scheme as a whole. The rail-pattern is imitated from woodwork, and so are many other features. Indeed the wooden character of the Chaitya Hall is nowhere so emphatically stressed as at Bhaja. Of approximately the same style and pattern are the ruined chaitya hall at Kondane (pi. VIII, 15), the much decayed chaitya cave at Pitalkhora in Khandesh, and also possibly one of the early chaitya halls (cave No. X) at Ajanta. These three caves may be considered to be contemporary to the Bhaja chaitya hall or very nearly so. At any rate, these four represent the oldest specimens of their class in western India 1 and, considering their advance over the Barabar caves, may be dated in the first half of the second century B.C.

The movement continues for a long time and the march of the style may be traced through a series of monuments, such as Ajanta cave No. IX, Bedsa, Nasik, etc. to the most celebrated of all, viz. the great chaitya hall at Karle. The progress was slow but steady, and may be recognised in the gradual emancipation from wooden conventions, greater elaboration of the different elements and features, and richer and more variegated ornamentation of the fagade. The chief interest of the Ajanta cave No. IX lies in its square and not apsidal end, as in six of the Junnar caves, and the flat roof over the two aisles, but not over the nave which is vaulted as usual. At Bedsa (Fig. 6) we find, probably for the first time, a new and rational design of the chaitya facade that was to become characteristic of the subsequent chaitya halls, and a portico with its roof supported on four elaborately carved pillars. The facade forming the inner side of the portico is divided horizontally into two distinct storeys, the lower with a narrow rectangular doorway surmounted by an arch and the upper by an enormous arched window of horseshoe shape, which by its association with the chaityas is also known as the chaitya window. The entire ornamentation of the fagade is mostly made up of miniature rails, regularly interspersed with repetitions of window fronts. A semi-circular open work moulding, resembling wicker work, also appears occasionally among the usual ornamental devices of the fagade.

The facade of the chaitya hall at Nasik (pi. VIII, 16) is richer and more variegated as a result of the introduction of fresh motifs, like pilasters with campaniform capitals alternated by representations of stupas with latticed screens as backgrounds. All the details

Note 17

Fig. 7. Karle, Chaitya Hall: Plan and Section

Fig. 8. Bhaja, Small Vihdra: Plan

are no doubt copied from wooden forms, but here they have attained a lithic character, not at all incongruous in their present context. The pillars in the interior are so nearly perpendicular that their inclination almost escapes detection. Instead of the plain octagonal shafts rising directly from the ground (cf. Bedsa, pi. IX, 17), we have octagonal pillars with pot bases and rudimentary capitals, each in the shape of a square stepped abacus. The votive chaitya also presents a highly elongated form, and we may refer the chaitya hall at Nasik to about the close of the first century B. C.

The largest of all the chaitya caves, and indeed one of the finest monuments in the whole of India, is the great chaitya hall at Karle. Preceding the main hall there is a portico 15 feet deep and 52 feet wide, cut out of the rock and closed by an outer screen, and in front of this stood two isolated columns, each surmounted by a campaniform capital with addorsed figures of lions supporting a wheel. The inner fagade is almost of the same style as at Nasik, the only difference being that instead of one entrance,, as in the earlier caves, there are three doorways in the Karle cave, the middle one leading to the nave and those on either side to the two aisles (Fig. 7).

The general dimensions of the interior (pis. IX, 18; X, 19, 20) are imposing, being in excess of 124 feet by 45 feet in area and 45 feet in height. The effect is at once impressive and magnificent. The architectural defects of the earlier examples have been removed. A series of thirty-seven pillars, rising perpendicularly, separates the nave from the aisles. Of these, those encircling the apse are of plain octagonal pattern, while the remainder, fifteen on each side of the nave, are elaborately designed and carved. Each pillar consists of a pot base on a square plinth of several stepped courses, an octagonal shaft, and a campaniform capital with a square abacus supporting a sculptured group of a pair each of elephants and horses with riders. Above the sculptures on the capitals, and rising to a height of 45 feet at its apex, springs the vaulted roof, somewhat stilted at the sides, beneath the soffit of which is a series of projecting ribs of wood attached to the roof— “one of the last instances of this peculiar vestigial use of woodwork in combination with the solid stone.” 1

Much of the beauty of the interior of the Karle hall depends on the effective conception of the colonnade and the vaulting and the organic manner in which the two have been combined. Beneath the semi-dome of the apse is placed the votive chaitya, cut as usual.

Note 18

out of solid rock. It consists of a lofty cylindrical drum which, rising in two storeys, each enclosed by rails, supports the hemispherical dome. The dome spreads out into the square harmikd which is crowned by the chhatra discs fixed to a shaft. Though much elongated on account of its lofty drum, the votive chaitya retains much of its archaic dignity and adds to the grandeur of the hall.

Palaeographic evidence and stylistic considerations both agree in referring the Karle chaitya approximately to the first quarter of the second century A.D. This magnificent cave practically brings to an end the early phase of this class of architecture, though the chaitya halls at Kanheri and Aurangabad may be slightly later in date.

3. The Sahgharama (Monastery)

Another important form of early Indian architecture is the sanghdrdma or vihdra, i.e. monastery, associated with both Buddhism and Jainism, more particularly with the former so far as the extant examples go. The monastery in India was designed on much the same lines as a private house, i.e. a square block formed by four rows of cells along the four sides of an inner quadrangle. In the earlier period, they were usually built of wood on a stylobate of stone or brick. As the monastic organisation developed, they became elaborate brick structures with many adjuncts. Often they consisted of several storeys, and along each side of the inner courtyard there usually ran a long corridor with the roof supported on pillars.

Remains of early structural vihdras belonging to centuries both preceding and succeeding the Christian^ era have been found in many places. Unfortunately, in most instances, it is only the foundations that can be traced now, and these do not call for any special notice. Rock-cut examples of monasteries have been found in abundance, and of these, the Barabar and the NagarjunI groups of caves, built for use of the Ajivikas, are the earliest. The Barabar group belongs to the time of the great Asoka, and the NagarjunS to one of his successors, Dasaratha. The Sudama and the Lomasa Rishi caves of the former group have already been noticed in connection with the chaitya halls. The remaining caves of the two groups were simple rectangular chambers, cut out of rock, with a barrel-vaulted roof above, and characterised by a lustrous polish on the interior walls resembling that on the Asokan pillars. Some of the caves are provided with raised platforms at one end. The

Son Bhandar cave at Rajgir agrees essentially with the above, and perhaps belongs to a date not far removed from them.

The Jain caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvanesvara in Orissa go back to the time of Kharavela. 1 The two groups, consisting of a little over thirty-five excavations, were not laid out on a definite and regular plan, but located at convenient places according to the physical configuration of the rock. A few of these consist of single cells only, or verandahs with cells opening on to them. 2 while others, some of which are double storeyed, 3 consist of several cells together with a portico and an open courtyard in front. The inner facade consists of doorways surmounted by semi-circular arches above, the spaces in between the two arches being covered by friezes of sculptures, which are the most elaborate in the Ganesa and Ran! gumphas. The interpretation of these friezes still remains unsettled. The Rani-ka-nur or the Rarii gumpha in the Udayagiri (pi. XI, 21) is the largest and best preserved of all the caves. It consists of two storeys, each preceded by a verandah supported on pillars (Fig. 9).

It is in the Buddhist caves of western India that we may trace a continuous development of the rock-cut monastery type. In the earliest excavations the plan of the monastery is still irregular, the cells being disposed in one or two rows only, and often at erratic angles. The typical plan, however, soon took shape in the form of a square (or oblong in certain instances) central hall (Fig. 8), preceded in front by a pillared verandah or vestibule, and opening out on the other sides into a number of small square cells carried further into the rock. The halls are usually provided with raised benches and the cells with similar beds. By the beginning of the Christian era, the type appears to have been well established.

The earliest of the vihdra caves in western India are certainly those at Bhaja. The one 4 (Fig. 5) attached to the chaitya is interesting as both are parts of the same design. A further instance of this may be found at Bedsa in the unique vihdra cave whose cells are

Note 19

Note 20

Note 21

Note 22

Udayagiri,

ranged round an apsidal central hall (Fig. 6), manifestly copied from the plan of the chaitya itself.

Of the other vihdras of the pre-Christian period, mention should be made of those at Ajanta 1 Kondane, Pitalkhora, 2 and the early group at Nasik, which were more or less contemporary to the respective chaityas described above. The rock-cut vihdra type of the early series may be seen in its most decorative form, particularly in the treatment of the fagade, in three caves at Nasik, belonging to the second century A.D. Each one of them consists of a pillared verandah and a large central hall, without pillars, which open out into the cells ranged on three sides. The pillared frontage (pis. XI, 22; XII, 23) endows the vihdras with an imposing appearance, the scheme along with the design of the pillars being characteristic of the age. The graceful design of the pillars and the harmonious relation between the different component elements of the fagade make cave No. X one of the finest of the early series of rock-cut vihdras . Cave No. Ill, only slightly later in date, closely follows the above, but with certain elaborations as may be noticed in the carved balustrade behind which the pillars are placed, and a fine frieze of animals rendered with exceptional merit on the entablature. In these respects, and in the figures of giants portrayed on the side of the plinth as carrying the structure, a marked originality may be recognised in this class of monuments. On the back wall of these caves, between the doorways of two cells in the central hall, is carved the relief representation of a stupa flanked by a female figure on either side.

Rock-cut vihdras of the form and type as presented by the above caves are also found at other places, the Ganesa lend at Junnar (pi. XII, 24) being one of the most significant. At'Karle, we find examples of storeyed vihdras of the rock-cut order, which indicate a beginning that was to have significant developments in the next phase of the rock-cut vihdra , at once grand and magnificent. 3

1. Nos. XII and XIII. ~

2. The vihdra attached to the chaitya hall at Kondane and that at Pitalkhora introduce an innovation that becomes characteristic of the later development of the rock-cut monastery type. The central halls in these two vihdras, tmlike all extant examples of early date, are not plain but pillared. The Ganesa Lena (pi. XII, 24) at Junnar is one of the latest in the early series of vihdras , as its date can on no account be placed earlier than about the middle of the second century A.D. The dimensions of the hall are large, being 50 feet by 56 feet, but even in spite of that no pillars have been introduced for support of the roof.

3. Brahmanical monuments belonging to the period under discussion have been excluded from this chapter as, though their existence both in structural as well as in rock-cut form is known, the remains are either much too fragmentary or insignificant and commonplace to be of any real help to the study of the early architectural types and forms.

B. SCULPTURE I. MAURYAN ART

The sculpture of this period, like architecture, begins with the Mauryas and flourished under the patronage of the imperial court, especially of Asoka. The best specimens are furnished by a number of monolithic columns with their majestic animal capitals found in Bakhira (near Basarh or Vaisali), Rampurwa, Lauriya Nandangarh, Rummindei, Samkisya, Sarnath, Sanchl and other places, remnants of a large number—more than thirty—which the emperor is known lo have erected. A clear idea of their general appearance and constituent parts is afforded by the pillar, which is still in situ at Lauriya Nandangarh (pi. XIII, 25). Generally speaking, each column consists of two parts, the shaflf and the capital. The shaft, circular in section and slightly tapering, is made from a single block of stone and has a graceful and elegant proportion. The capital, monolithic like the shaft, was divided into three pat^s by an inverted lotus often described as a Persepolitan “bell”, abacus, and a crowning sculpture in the round. The surface of both the shaft and the capital is chiselled with that extraordinary precision and accuracy which characterise the workmanship of the Mauryan age, and have never been surpassed in Athens or elsewhere. As the shaft alone is more than 30 feet high, and the heaviest weighs about 50 tons, the construction and conveyance of these monolithic columns, often to a great distance, testify to the high engineering and stone-cutter's skill of the age. 1 In some cases, as in the Rummindei column, the transition from the shaft to the "bell" of the capital is abrupt, while in other instances it is made easy and^ gradual by the introduction of intermediate mouldings of variable stages and designs. The surface of the gently arched "bell" is decorated with highly stylised longitudinal lotus-petals with sharp and thin ridges in the middle and wide and roundish border mouldings, the spaces between the ends of the petals being filled in with short mouldings. But here, too, there is a progressive attempt towards a clearer and sharper definition of the middle ridge and of the border mouldings, and increasing stylisation; both are fully in evidence in the Sarnath specimen. The real aesthetic significance of the beautifully arched and elegantly ribbed floral bell of the Mauryan capital lies in its gentle curve, its rhythmic proportions and in its very effective contrast with the chaste and elegant, plain and smooth, tall and tapering shaft that it crowns.

Note 23

The abacus, either circular or rectangular, is often carved on its sides with elegant floral designs or figures of birds and animals. It supports the crowning figure or figures of animals which are sometimes of the highest workmanship ever known in animal sculptures anywhere in the world.

It is possible to trace a gradual evolution in the style of these monolithic columns. The Bakhira pillar (pi. XIII, 26), with its illproportioned clumsy shaft, plain abacus and uncouth figure of a lion on the top, shows the crude beginning of the artistic effort which culminated in the fine elegant column at Lauriya Nandangarh and the wonderful capital of Sarnath, with the four animals carved on the abacus and the quadripartite semi-lions on the top. The Samkisya elephant and Rampurwa lion (pi. XIV, 27) show steady advance on the Bakhira specimen and represent the intermediate stages. But the Sarnath quadripartite (pi. XIV, 29) is architectonically on a superior level and must be admitted to be a very successful solution of a problem—the relation of the crowning animals with other elements of the capital—which confronted the Maury an artists from the very beginning. Of all Mauryan sculptures it is the most wellknown and most highly spoken of; but at the same time it must not be lost sight of that the entire conception and execution are conventional from beginning to end. Compositionally, the accumulation of form of the four semi-lions is schematic though, from consideration of technique, clever and efficient. The extravagance of form saps the life out of the object that it represents though, from a technical point of view, the art is fully developed and appears conscious and sophisticated. The Sanchi counterpart of Sarnath belongs to the same conception of form and is equally conventional and stylised.

Compared to these lions the elephant, carved in the round on the rock at Dhauli in Orissa (pi. XIV, 30) above the inscribed record of Asoka, shows much more sense of creative form and is artistically far superior. Indeed, such plastic presentation of bulky volume, such feeling for live flesh rendered with remarkable naturalism of a dynamic character, such knowledge of physiognomical form of the subject treated and such sense of dignified movement and linear rhythm has no parallel in Mauryan animal sculptures. Compared to this, even the Rampurwa,lion or the Sarnath quadripartite, with their tight and coagulated treatment of the veins and muscles shown in meaningless tension, and in spite of full reproduction of volume and advanced proof of visualisation, appear lifeless. The loud

exhibitionism of this latter group cannot stand comparison with the quiet dignity of. the former. Indeed, the Dhauli elephant symbolises His Imperial Majesty King Asoka presenting himself in quiet dignity before the people of Kalinga, while the Sarnath quadripartite is an exhibition of imperial pomp, power and authority. Of all Mauryan animal sculptures the Rampurwa bull (pi. XIV, 28) alone seems to partake a little of the character of dynamic naturalism that imparts potency and strength to the Dhauli elephant. This bull is architectonically less advanced than the lion from the same place, but it exhibits a remarkable sense of form, of plastic volume and of the quality of the living flesh; realistic vision and close observation of nature helped to a clearer understanding of the subject represented, and nothing conventional or stylised or abstract blurred the mental image of the artist or stood in the way of its execution. This becomes clearer when we compare it with the striding bull on the Sarnath abacus; the latter is frankly stylised and conventional. Indeed in the Dhauli elephant and the Rampurwa bull, a different asethetic vision and tradition seems to have been at work.

All Maurya columns are chiselled out of grey Chunar sandstone and have a lustrous polish due to the application, perhaps of silicious varnish, on the stone. This same source of the material probably suggests that there was at or near Chunar an art-centre established and patronised directly by the Maurya court, an assumption further supported by the fact that all the component parts of the columns, including the crowning animal, abacus and shaft, tend towards increasing success.

The origin of this court-art of the Mauryas has been a subject of keen dispute among scholars. But the general opinion seems to be that the impetus originally came from outside, from Iran of the Achaemenid emperors. Indeed, few have seriously doubted that West-Asiatic art-forms and inspiration, indirectly and in general, and Achaemenian impetus and inspiration, directly and in particular, were at work at the root. But this must not mean that the Achaemenian pillar-type and form were bodily adopted by the Mauryan court-artists. Indeed, the differences that separate the Maurya columns from the Achaemenian ones are considerable and must not be lost sight of. The Mauryan shaft is plain, the Achaemenian, fluted; the Mauryan, monolithic, the Achaemenian, built of separate pieces or segments of stone; the Mauryan partakes of the character of a wood-carver's or carpenter's work, the Achaemenian, that of a mason. The form and character of the capital differ widely in the two cases; the Mauryan has no base, the Achaemenian has one which takes the form of an inverted lotus. The Achaemenian column, intended invariably as part of a larger architectural conception, is composed of too many component parts presenting harsh contrasts and looking complex and complicated, while the Mauryan column, intended to produce the effect of an independent monument, is simpler, more harmonious in conception and execution, and gives the feeling of more stability, dignity and strength, born perhaps of other primitive and elemental origins. The indigenous and original contribution to the creation of this item of Mauryan art is therefore undeniable. Equally undeniable also is the fact that in its lustrous polish, in its adoption and adaptation of the bell-shaped capital, in the higher plane of conception and driving idea, and in the general monumental and dignified quality and appearance, the Mauryan column seems to reveal the debt it owes to Achaemenian art, also to Hellenistic art so far as some of its crowning members and part of the general effect are concerned. The twisted rope design, the acanthus leaf and palmette designs, etc. may, however, have been derived from older and common WestAsiatic heritage.

But whatever we might think of the origin, the total aesthetic effect of Mauryan columns has never been surpassed in later Indian art. In the whole realm of independent monumental columns of the world Mauryan columns occupy a proud position by reason of their free and significant artistic form in space, the rhythmic and balanced proportion of their constituent elements, the unitary and integrated effect of the whole, their chaste and elegant shaft and capital and, no less, by the conscious, proud and dignified attitude of the crowning components.

.But with all its urban, conscious and civilised quality, its advanced power of visualisation and full comprehension of the third dimension, Mauryan court-art only constitutes an episode in the history of Indian art. It was indeed a hothouse plant reared up by the will, care and patronage of a court heavily under the influence of contemporary international culture and ideology of the Asiatic West and Mediterranean East. In course of time, the glass walls fell to pieces and the plant withered. Mauryan court-art failed to make any notable permanent contribution to the growth of Indian art except that it directly helped the fixation of the latter in permanent material. The individual taste and preference of the Maurya monarchs for ideas and objects of Medo-Achaemenian and Hellenistic Orient furnished the impetus and inspiration, and Indian art was raised from the position of handicraft and primitive art to the status and dignity of high art, just as Maury an imperialism and Aiokan policy of Dhammavijaya (conquest by the Law of Piety) drew India out of her local and tribal outlook and raised Buddhism to the status of an international religion.

One of the most important functions of Mauryan court-art, like Achaemenian court-art, was to impress and overawe the populace with the power and majesty of its rulers. To this function can be traced the compactness of the solid animal figures, their exaggerated forms and their conventional appearances, also the most imposing stateliness of the columns. Mauryan court-art is thus individualistic in its essential character and ideology. Like Asoka's Dhammavijaya, it lacked deeper roots in the collective social will, taste and preference, and was therefore destined to have an isolated and short life, coeval and coexistent with and within the limits of the power, ful Mauryan court. This explains why Mauryan court-art, with all its dignified bearing, monumental appearance and civilised quality, forms but a short and isolated chapter of the history of Indian art. Like the columns and the animal figures themselves, Mauryan court-art stands aloof and apart!

II. 6UNGA-KANVA ART: MADHYADEsA AND EASTERN INDIA

The art of the time of the Sungas and Kanvas, which immediately follows that of the Mauryas, is clearly a negation of the Mauryan attitude. Indeed, the bas-reliefs on the railings of Bharhut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchi or on the friezes of the Khan<Jagiri-Udayagiri (Bhu vanes vara) caves that, chronologically speaking, follow closely on the art of the Mauryan court and, from the point of view of subject-matter, are predominantly Buddhist, reflect more of the mind, tradition and culture-ideology of the larger section of the people than Mauryan art was capable of doing. Sunga-Kanva art, formally and spiritually, is opposed to all that Mauryan art stands for, and is different in motive and direction, technique and significance.

The bas-reliefs of Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, Sanchi, Amaravatl and other sites provide more than anything else an illuminating commentary on contemporary Indian life and attitude towards life as conceived and planned in early Buddhism. These reliefs, whether in medallions or rectangular slabs, also seem to be nothing but charana-chitras ,1 with appropriate labels as in Bharhut, translated into stone and hence not portable. Besides, the method of arrangement of various scenes depicted on the upright pillars and posts of the gates and the railings of Bharhut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchi, i.e. their general lay-out in square or rectangular panels, one below the other, in more or less continuous narration, cannot but invariably suggest similar arrangement of scenes in charana-chitras or patachitras of later folk-pictorial tradition. One may go still further and argue that the top horizontal panels of the Bharhut and Sanchi gateways, with their sides rolled up at the two ends, are nothing but adaptations in stone of pata-chitras, spread out for exhibition with their sides rolled up.

1. Sanchi: Railing of Stupa II; Bharhut; Bodh Gaya:

C. 100-50 B.C.

The artists of the Mauryan court had not to grapple with the problem of the third dimension as they had a ready-made solution at their disposal. Under ordinary circumstances one would have expected this solution to be one of the heritages of Sunga art. Quite the contrary is the case, however. The ground balustrade of Stupa II of Sanchi (pi. XV, 31), which presumably is the earliest phase of this art, is wholly worked in very low and flat reliefs, so low and flat that these reliefs may be said to be just essays in linear composition. The Bharhut repository consists invariably of low and flat reliefs, portrayed more as silhouettes sharply detached from their backgrounds. Forms are conceived and presented, not in terms of depth but of surface, and what optically should have been presented as hidden or partly covered is shown in part or in entirety (cf. pis. XV, 32-33; XVI, 34-37).

Objects are represented as large or small according to the meaning in the story depicted, i.e. according to their comprehensibility or reality, not in accordance with the optical impression. Oversecting and foreshortening are frankly resorted to, whenever and wherever necessary, but nowhere is there any attempt to achieve any illusion of depth. Besides such reliefs there are independent large size human figures of yakshas, yakshinis, etc. in high and bold relief, and occupying prominent positions on unframed railing posts. These figures, unlike those of the reliefs, are round modelled shapes

Note 24

either in rigid parallelism and frontality as we see in the figure of Sirima Devata (pi. XVI, 35), or in variegated ‘bhahgas’ and ample turns and bends in movements as one sees in the figure of Sudar&ana yakshini (pi. XVI, 36). In the former case, the treatment is compact and conglomerated, while in the latter it has a swaying grace and a flowing plastic consistency. But in both cases there is the unmistakable evidence of an attempt to relate the three-dimensional extensiveness to the flatness of the surface. It is not difficult to imagine that from the silhouette-like low and flat reliefs of the ground balustrade of Stupa II of Sanchl to the reliefs and the large size figures of Bharhut, there is a frank attempt at progressive realisation of what had originally been a two-dimensional form in charana chitras or scroll-paintings in terms of relief on such durable material as stone. This phase of early Indian art may thus be said to be a quest for the third dimension, for depth and hence for more free movement in space, and these reliefs but exemplify the devices the artists adopted for the purpose.

i

A most characteristic formal quality of 6unga art is its flowing linear rhythm that binds all isolated objects in one continuous stream of life as it were. Look at any coping stone of a railing, and you will find a huge lotus stalk flowing in rhythmical waves from form to form, not only binding each isolated object itself, including the limbs of human beings, but also the animals and trees, with the same flowing linear rhythm. Wherever luxuriant vegetation finds a place —and nowhere else in Indian sculpture is the vegetal world so intimately, engrossingly and luxuriously rendered than in the Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, Sanchl and Bhuvanesvara reliefs—its radiating and continuous linear movements dominate the composition, and all the figures of men or animals, irrespective of action and status, are swayed and permeated by the movement and become equal and integral parts of the whole. The so-called Prasenajit Pillar reliefs, the scene of the Chudamaha festival in the Sudharma Hall, and the figures of Chandra, Alakananda and Sudarsana Yakshinls may be cited as examples of this flowing and rhythmical linear movement.

But there is another trend in Bharhut equally powerful, a trend characterised by a disregard of this flowing linear rhythm. This trend is best illustrated in such scenes as those on the so-called Ajatasatru Pillar where the figures are hard and isolated and the compositions are regulated in a schematic manner by vertical and horizontal lines (cf. pi. I, 1). It is only an agitated display of light and darkness that disturbs the otherwise static character of the scenes. The trend is equally marked in several frameless figures standing on upright posts; such are the figures of Virudhaka Yaksha, Gangeya Yaksha, Chakravaka Nagaraja, Sirima Devata and of others. It seems, however, that this latter trend was gradually yielding place to the former, which means that isolated, compact and static rush of forms was progressively being subordinated, so far as Bharhut and Both Gaya are concerned, to the free and rhythmic flow of lines and swaying balance.

The general tone of the art of Bharhut is very modest, sober and restrained; the participants in the stories seem to be untouched by any dramatic moment or by any high tide even when such occasions present themselves. The modesty and sobriety of diction are, however, no bar to clarity of expression, which is one important characteristic of this art. The stories are told with scrupulous exhaustiveness; no single detail is left out, and labels are added for identifying the scene. In Bodh Gaya, however, stories are told more summarily, but suggestively. A comparison of two scenes of the same subject, e.g. that of the Jetavana story, would offer an interesting illustration. Descriptive labels also disappear, evidently the narratives had already become well known, and there was no more need for labelling them or portraying every single detail (pi. XVII, 38-40).

In order to make the fables represented easily comprehensible to the illiterate, the artists of Bharhut adopted what is known as the method of continuous narration, in which the main stages of a given story, localised in the same spot but happening at different times, are portrayed in one and the same relief with the hero of the story repeatedly shown. Sometimes successive stages of a story are divided into several panels so that the sequence of the story can be clearly followed from panel to panel.

The &unga-Kanva artists appear to delight in the handling of the human figure; the joy of a new discovery seems to urge them on to depict the human body in every conceivable position and attitude. In Bharhut the attempt is still full of effort; the individual parts of the body are shown clearly and distinctly, but they are not always linked integrally. In Bodh Gaya, the parts reach an integration and the body moves more freely and becomes a living entity. Indeed, technically as well as from the point of view of visual perception, Bodh Gaya is a step forward from Bharhut. Reliefs are less either in rigid parallelism and frontality as we see in the figure of Sirima Devata (pi. XVI, 35), or in variegated 'bhahgas' and ample turns and bends in movements as one sees in the figure of Sudar&ana yakshini (pi. XVI, 36). In the former case, the treatment is compact and conglomerated, while in the latter it has a swaying grace and a flowing plastic consistency. But in both cases there is the unmistakable evidence of an attempt to relate the three-dimensional extensiveness to the flatness of the surface. It is not difficult to imagine that from the silhouette-like low and flat reliefs of the ground balustrade of Stupa II of Sanchl to the reliefs and the large size figures of Bharhut, there is a frank attempt at progressive realisation of what had originally been a two-dimensional form in charanachitras or scroll-paintings in terms of relief on such durable material as stone. This phase of early Indian art may thus be said to be a quest for the third dimension, for depth and hence for more free movement in space, and these reliefs but exemplify the devices the artists adopted for the purpose.

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2. Sanchi ; Gateways of Stupas I and III. C. 50 to 1 B.C.

Sanchi is in the continuous line of evolution from Bharhut and Bodh Gaya. Here, in the bursting and boisterous reliefs of the four gates (cf. pi. XVIII, 41) of the Great Stupa (South, North, East and West in chronological and stylistic order) and in the only remaining gate of Stupa III, the beholder can see the contemporary life of midIndia spread out before his eyes in all its mundane love and delight, pageantry and grandeur, peace and beauty, idyllic romanticism and violent struggle. The reliefs illustrate episodes from the life of the Buddha and incidents that enlivened contemporary history (pis. XIX, 45-47; XX, 48; XVIII A, 43-44); they do it no longer softly\, modestly and clumsily as in Bharhut. but with great delight, sometimes even in riotous mirth and gaiety. Sometimes stories are repeated from one gate to the other; the artists and their patrons were evidently fond of particular stories like those of the War of the Relics, the Chhaddanta Jataka, the siege of Kusinara, the visit of Asoka to the Bodhi Tree, etc.

The Sanchi artists seem to take an engrossing interest in all that pertains to the life of this world. The human figure (cf. pi. XVIII A, 42) is endowed with a new form and bearing. It is no longer constituted of different parts joined together, no more shy, hesitating and faltering in its movements, but as an integrated and harmonious whole, free and happy, without being easy and sensuous as in Bodh Gaya. A rich world of flora and fauna finds a feeling and naturalistic expression at the hands of the Sanchi artists; the elephants, deer and antelopes, the lotus creepers, pipal and a host of other trees and plants which lend their characteristic form, colour and charm to Indian art are portrayed for the first time here and in certain panels of the Rani gumpha near Bhuvanesvara.

But not all the reliefs of Sanchi belong to this dynamic creative impulse which is most potent and fruitful in certain reliefs of the South and West Gates. Undoubtedly this is the main and the most important trend in Sanchl. But the old tight and schematic, rigid and mechanical compositional trend of the Ajatasatru Pillar of Bharhut is not altogether absent.

Bharhut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchl represent the first organised art activity of the Indian people as a whole, which stands directly counterpoised to the court-art of the Mauryas. It reflects for the first time the results of the ethnic, social and religious fusion and integration that had been evolved through centuries on the Indian soil, more particularly in the Madhyadesa of Buddhist conception. It is quite possible that artists from the north-west worked side by side with artists nearer home at Bharhut, and perhaps also at Sanchi. Equally unmistakable is the meaning of the use of certain WestAsiatic forms and motifs at all these places. But all such forms and motifs have been so completely fused and integrated into local forms and idioms that the foreign originals are only vague memories. Considered from this point of view, this art inaugurates the first chapter of national and indigenous Indian art and expresses the Indian mind in all its grades and shades. It was in this art that the basis of not a few of the essential qualities of what we call Indian plastic art was laid down. These essential qualities would persist through the ages, throughout the modulations brought about by the passage of time and by the ethnic conditions of the country.

3. Orissa: Udayagiri and Khandagiri Reliefs. C. 100 B.C. — A.D. 150

A few caves, presumably Jain in religious affiliation, in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills near Bhuvanesvara, contain a number of sculptured friezes and panels which, though belonging to the common denominator of the art of Madhyadesa, speak nevertheless a distinct local or provincial dialect. The Manchapuri cave relief in Udayagiri and Anantagumpha reliefs in Khandagiri are both characterised by a robust vitality and vigorous movements; masses modelled in high relief produce strong contrasts of light and darkness. This seems to connect these reliefs with the main trend of Sanchl; the treatment of elephants and foliage are particularly noticeable; but the general treatment is coarse, movement less vital; technically the reliefs are less advanced, and isolated and compact figures prevent forceful composition. On the whole, Madhyadesa affiliations are unmistakable; equally unmistakable is the fact that the reliefs follow the same narrative principle, though we know little about the stories themselves.

The long friezes of the Rani gumpha (pis. XXVII, 70; XXVIII, 71) and Ganesa gumpha came much later, belonging probably to a date not earlier than the first and early second century A.D. They are also equally provincial in outlook, but very much advanced in theme and conception, treatment and composition. The crude and coarse workmanship of the reliefs cannot, however, conceal the maturity of their conception and representation.

4. Western India: Bhaja and Kdrle. C. 50 B .C.-A-D. 150

The large rock-cut reliefs of Bhaja in the Western Ghats conform to the same common denominator, 1 but are conceived from the roots of aboriginal, almost primeval, depths, and executed with an expansive vitality that knows neither limits nor restraint (the Surya relief (pi. XX, 49) and the Airavata relief, for example). The composition is of exceptionally large proportions; fully and expansively modelled masses of heavy weight 2 move surgingly forward as far as their inner urge or the rock-surface would allow them. There can be no doubt that the Bhaja reliefs basically were ethnically conditioned; they are indeed aboriginally Indian.

A century later, at Karle, the surging plastic expansiveness of Bhaja becomes chastened by the vigorous discipline of fluid and rhythmical design. The free human figure of Sanchl (yaksha figure panel of upright torana, West Gate) is touched by the plastic exuberance of Bhaja and at the same time vigorously disciplined within a massive frame; it is thus transformed into a free, proud, stately and heroic specimen of humanity, strong, self-assured and animated (cf. pi. XXV, 64). The deeply heaving hmgs seem to expand the body to the last limits of the frame and model it into fully developed form at the same time. Man and woman stand close side by side, each in his or her own way and complete in themselves; yet the two together make the whole, each being complementary to the other; the man, proud and self-assured, but slightly erotic in pose and attitude. But it is wrong to call them mithuna couples since they hardly betray any conscious erotic suggestion.

5. Yaksha Primitives. C. 50 B-C.-A.D. 50

While from Bharhut onwards a new and civilised art and a common denominator, in spite of local or provincial aspects determined ethnically or otherwise, were being gradually evolved, an older and

Note 25

Note 26

Note 27

perhaps primitive art form, originally practised, presumably in wood and clay, was getting fixed in stone along a different line of evolution and steadily approaching the civilised conception and technique. The yakshaas and yakshinis were malevolent deities of primitive tribal conception and were worshipped in every village. They hold a definite and important place in both Buddhist and Brahmanical myths, legends and religion. Since they held power over men’s life and death and were reputed to be hoarders of unspent wealth, they were conceived as having a physical form of large proportions and huge bulk, and since they owed their existence to tribal primitive imagination, they had a heavy earthly character of form. Earliest stone specimens of such divinities hail from Patna (pi. XXI, 52), Parkham (near Mathura) (pi. XXI, 50), Baroda (also near Mathura), Besnagar (pi. XXI, 51), Pawaya (near Gwalior) (pi. XXII, 54, 56) and other places.

These life-size plastically round independent statues belong to different aspects and phases of early Indian art. They are all primitively Indian in form, but they also reflect the currents of the flowing traditions and fashions of contemporary civilised practice. Their heavy bulk, their almost archaic stolidity and weighty volume, the conflict between fully rounded and modelled volume as seen in the arms, breast and abdomen on the one hand and flat surface at the back on the other, the treatment of the drapery and the physiognomical form and appearance—all seem to indicate that they have a close relation with the figures of the dvdrapdlas on the East and West Gates of the Great Stupa of Sanchi as well as with the primitive Bodhisattvas of Mathura. The disposition of the feet and their full three dimensional aspect seem to point to a date later than Bharhut.

Special reference should be made to the elegant figure of a female chattn-bearer found at Didarganj (Patna), which shows a more powerful, developed and highly civilised conception and feeling (pi. XXI, 53). Though still exhibiting certain primitive characteristics, it can in no way be considered archaic or primitive, not even in spite of the relatively more emphasised importance of the front view. Here one witnesses perhaps an earlier urban, conscious and sophisticated female type and form, immortalised in later Indian art and literature. The statue, plastically fully round, is bound by no law of frontality and is meant to be seen from all sides. Its heavy but loose mass of hair, its full soft bosoms and the firmness of flesh at the back, its attenuated waist with soft abdominal muscles and the

broad hips, and its expression of conscious elegance and daintiness recall the still daintier and more lively yakshinis of the Mathura reliefs of the second century A.D.

6. Cult Images

The origin of cult images has been discussed above. 1 It seems to be quite clear that while the practice of image-worship was imported by foreigners like the Greeks and the Central Asian tribes, it was prevalent among a large section of the peoples who inherited it from earlier times. A study of the extant images shows that while imported anthropomorphism made its influence felt in the Punjab and north-west, the innate anthropomorphism of the Indians asserted itself with vigour and created the divine images of the new religious cults, especially Buddha, in Mathura. The Buddha Bhagavan was shaped, as it were, out of the form and content of the Yaksha Bhagavan. 2 Indeed, the earliest Buddha figures from Mathura 3 that are called, out of deference to old scruples, Bodhisattvas and not Buddhas, have, formally and psychologically as well as in treatment, intimate relations with early Indian human figuration, not a few of which must have been idealised portraits. Like the yakshas and dvdrapdlas of Sanchl, the Buddha-Bodhisattvas of Mathura are characterised by a heavy earthiness of form; a rustic robustness and a relaxed largeness impart to them a simple dignity that is purely temporal. Compared to these, the earliest Gandhara Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, though crude in workmanship, are sophisticated in appearance and expression, but have not the dignity, either temporal or spiritual, of a Chakravartin.

The two types belong to two different social and psychological spheres. The Gandhara type is eclectic and syncretistic, ignorant of the Indian tradition, and unconscious of the dignity that underlies the idea of a ‘Chakravartin’; Indian notions and West-Asiatic, mainly Hellenistic, forms make of the Buddha a lifeless human being of ordinary stature. The Mathura Buddha type is essentially and aboriginally Indian, closely linked with the old tradition of primitive image-making (cf. pis. XXI, 55; XXIII, 57).

HI. GANDHARA ART. c. 50 B. C.—A. D. 500

So far as can be judged from actual finds, Gandhara along with the Punjab seems to have been one of the most prolific schools of early Indian art, active from about the middle of the first century B.C. to about the fifth century A.D. Geographically this region was so situated that it lay exposed to all sorts of foreign contacts and influences—Persian, Greek, Roman, Saka and Kushana. But it is somewhat strange that this so-called Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara does not come to view before Greek domination of the northwest became a thing of the past, and that the patrons of this art were principally the Central Asiatic Sakas and Kushanas, who carried the traditions and culture of their Hellenistic predecessors and played the role of protectors and interpreters of West-Asiatic Hellenism in this region.

Note 28

Note 29

Note 30

From the very prolific nature of Gandhara art it seems that sculptural objects representing stories and legends of cults that were new and foreign to these peoples, but w T hich they had come to adopt for their own, were very much in demand. They seem to have been turned out in large numbers from workshops established for the purpose, almost in a mechanical manner as it were. This explains why, in spite of the strict fidelity to Indian traditions, myths, legends and iconography, in spite of their depicting the entire Buddhist /legendary and historical cycle in all its minutest details, the reliefs appear to be mechanical and without any character, bereft of any emotional sympathy or spontaneity, and lacking in sincerity. Undoubtedly those responsible for these products were mere craftsmen, mediocre artisans mechanically turning out wares to meet the demands of an aristocratic but unimaginative and unappreciative clientele. Animals, throughout the entire range of the Gandhara school, are but very poorly treated, and even the monsters in the Mnradharshana 1 scenes lack character—ail absolute proof of the colourlessness and the mechanical character of Gandhara art.

The Hellenistic inspiration of this art is undeniable, even though transformed by Saka-Kushana and Indian tastes and perceptions. Figures of the Buddhist pantheon, including that of the Buddha himself (pis. XXVI, 65-68; XXVII, 69), with iconographic marks and attributes of Indian tradition, are rendered in terms of identical characters of the Graeco-Roman pantheon, sometimes with the moustache, turban or ornaments added according to current local taste; their draperies are arranged in the style of a Roman toga and treated as in Hellenistic art in separate volumes; Indian sages and

Note 31

priests and anchorites in the stories correspond to bearded philosophers and sages of the classical tradition; yakshas, garudas, ruigas and even Vajrapani, with their usual attributes, are conceived and represented in terms of the bearded genii, Atlantes, Bacchants, Zeus, Herakles, Eros, Hermes or Poseidon. Relief composition as a whole, modelling of the facial and physiognomical features, well-rounded forms, and the relation of depth and surface, treatment of drapery, wavy treatment of the hair, relation, balance and distribution of weight of parts of the human frame, certain motifs and patterns, etc. all indicate a full and close knowledge of Graeco-Roman art which the artisans unhesitatingly made use of in the context of a new life, religion and iconography that were but ill-realised either in imagination or in actual experience. Large size independent figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, it must be admitted, betray in certain cases a character of their own, both in features and treatment, and they are aesthetically as well as historically much more important. But here it was a case of an individual with individual traits and character, not one of depicting Indian life as a whole.

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To understand the syncretistic character of the long-lived Gandhara school, it is necessary to study the finds in chronological sequence. The Bimaran reliquary, which is usually considered to be the earliest product of the school (c. 50 B.C. at the earliest), is followed about half a century later, i.e. in the first century A.D., by two headless standing images of the Buddha—one from Loriyan Tongai (A.D. 6) and the other from Hastnagar (A.D. 72)—the Kanishka reliquary from Shah-ji-ki-dheri (A.D. 78-100), a standing Harlti figure from Sakrah Dheri (A.D. 7J and a few others that may be dated only somewhat approximately. These are followed in the second century A.D. by a large number of finds—stone and stucco reliefs—at the various sites of Taxila, which may also be dated approximately with the help of the data furnished by Sir John Marshall's excavations. The third, fourth and fifth centuries are characterised by a large number of finds in stucco and terracotta; indeed, stone sculptures become rare during these centuries, and the few examples that are known are qualitatively on a level lower than that of stucco and terracotta figures. The most representative specimens of this phase hail from Jaulian and Dharmarajika stupa at Taxila, but more profusely from Hadda, near Jalalabad. In fact, the quality and character of the later phase of Gandhara art are not a little conditioned by the use of these two pliable materials.

ART

The figures and their draperies of the Bimaran reliquary, shown in agitated movement, strongly recall Hellenistic ideals. The drapery is treated plastically as separate volume with its own weight. In the free standing Buddha, dated A.D. 6, from Loriyan Tongai, the drapery is still separated from the body, but it is so disposed that certain parts of the body are made visible from underneath the garment, the fold-lines of which remain agitated. In the Charsadda Buddha, dated A.D. 72, this is more clearly manifest, and already in the known examples of the latter half of the first century the transparency of the drapery with agitated fold-lines becomes the chief theme. Preference for long and rhythmic lines, a strong outline of the structure, a wide and vast treatment of the ushnisha and loose wavy hair are also equally manifest.

Towards the end of the century, with the Kushanas establishing themselves firmly and spreading their sway, a sort of all-round schematisation in art begins. The drapery is shown in small and narrow folds symmetrically arranged, and at times becomes reduced to a decorative display. The figures themselves are shorter in stature, stumpy in appearance and treated in a rough manner, exhibiting a kind of crude, rustic strength. Throughout the second century these characteristics have their sway in the main, and schematisation, with the fluted drapery shown in flat parallel folds, holds the ground. It is not unlikely that this debased and degenerate art was at least partially due to Saka-Kushana influences from the Mathura region, and partly also to those of the art of the later Roman Empire with its rather squat forms.

From the third century onwards, there seems to be a revival of artistic forces that were current in the first century. The works of this later phase of Gandhara art, especially those from Hadda and Jaulian, are characterised by an intensity of feeling, a telling realism, and an individuality of character that are strongly reminiscent of the classical tradition and are far removed from the sapless, conventional commonplaces of the earlier phase of progressive decadence. It is this phase of Gandhara art that was borne on the shoulders of Buddhism and Buddhist monks through Hadda and Bamiyan to Central Asia and China and it was into this phase that contemporary art of the Ganga-Yamuna valley poured a little of its contents and spirit.

From the Indian point of view, the importance of Gandhara art lies in the fact that here one can see how a phase of Indian life, religion and iconography looked like in a foreign eclectic garb. From a Hellenistic point of view, it represents an eastward extension of Hellenistic art, as transformed by Saka-Kushana and Iranian tastes and forms, in an Indian setting and as applied to Indian subjects. As Kramrisch says: “Gandhara . .. occupies a position apart. For, it is Indian and colonial from a

Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India."

IV. MATHURA: c. A.D. 150-300

The earliest finds from Mathura, represented by a few fragmentary sculptures, are closely related to the art of Bharhut, going back to the middle of the second century B.C.; but it is from about the beginning of the Christian era that the Mathura school seems to have become active and begun producing unceasingly for centuries those varied works of art which earned for her an enviable position in the art world of contemporary India and enabled her, at a later stage, to export images to such centres as Central Asia and Taxila on the one hand, and Sravasti and Sarnath on the other. The unmistakable identification mark of all Mathura sculptures is the spotted red sandstone from Sikri.

A few specimens (the Amohini relief, a standing female figure, the Lonasobhika dyagapata (pi. XXV, 63), the Kankali Til a dydgapa tas, etc.), that seem to belong to pre-Kanishka decades, show a character of relief composition that emphasises the stature of the main figure by raising its height and grading the subsidiary figures accordingly. All figures are carved boldly and against the plain surface of the ground. A certain heaviness of form, earth-bound and of primitive significance, can be traced from the very beginning (compare the yokslna tradition); those in action, especially the feminine figures, betray a conscious sensuality as well.

This heavy physicality is soon partly relieved by a relaxation of the flesh and an open-eyed smiling countenance which characterise the seated and standing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (cf. pi. XXIV, 61) and also Jinas of the last quarter of the first and the second century. These sculptures are all in the round or in very high relief. Broad masculine chest and shoulders and a firm bodyform expressive of enormous pent-up energy are some of their invariable positive characteristics that have hardly any relation to the contemporary art of the Gandhara Buddha. Without any attempt at expressing grace, sweetness or calm repose, qualities that are connoted by the Buddha-Bodhisattva idea, these figures clearly relate themselves to a primitive earthbound tradition as exemplified by the yakshas and yakshinis. The right shoulder of the Buddha-Bodhisattvas is left bare, the drapery, arranged in schematic folds, closely clings to the body that shines through, and the scarfs, twisted into bulging ropes and loops, dangle on one side. Modelling is summarised up to the waist, stiff and hard below, where the two legs stand stiffly like stumps; the outline is consistently firm.

The Gandhara Buddha type was, however, not unknown in Mathura; indeed, it seems to have been copied in not a few examples that exhibit a kind of refined treatment. The Gandharan composition is also evident in certain reliefs and decorative motifs; but this does not happen before the first half of the second century.

The heavy life-size portrait statues of the Saka-Kushana kings— Kanishka (pi. XXIV, 60), Wema Khadphises (?) and Chashtana (?), all belonging to the last quarter of the first century, and clad in Central Asian Scythic dress —are in a class and style apart. The dress and footwear of the Kanishka statue and the inscription across the surface of the lower part of the enormous heavy and angular robe at once indicate that the artist was not an Indian but most probably a Scythic national. Rigorously frontal in setting, its main effect is entirely gathered on the surface, and the solid and compact drapery is treated in harsh angles and flat lines sharply chiselled. It is not unlikely that this Scythic tradition, as reflected in these statues, passed on its angularity of compositional arrangement to the composition of the seated or standing Buddha-Bodhisattva images of Mathura.

Roman influences, too, seem to have touched Mathura, probably directly by the sea-route. A well-known example, that of the socalled Herakles and the Nemean lion, and a number of Bacchanalian scenes in relief (cf. pi. XXIII, 58) are not only Western in theme, but also seem to have been inspired by Roman aesthetic ideals and artistic treatment.

The continuity of the indigenous tradition is best represented by a series of high relief sculptures on the front sides of pillars and pillar-bases from various sites of Mathura. Most of these appear to belong to the second century and, while a few represent Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and male figures, the great majority are nude or seminude female figures (pi. XXIV, 59, 62)

—yakshinis or vrikshakas or apsarases in erotic attitude suggesting fertility —or women engaged in their toilet. An intimate connection with Sunga and Kushana terracottas is at once suggested, both in theme and treatment, and a lineal relationship with the yakshinls and vrikshakds of Bharhut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchl is also equally undeniable. But what had been spontaneous movement has now become conscious gestures, and what stood for symbols or emblems have now become vehicles of sensuous and erotic suggestiveness. Full round breasts and full heavy hips are no longer just conveyors of the idea of fertility, but suggest warm and living flesh, relaxed or tight. Frankly, the aim is sensual, and this is further emphasised by the outward thrust of the hip, the slight turn of the head or the hand, a definitely erotic and suggestive attitude. Even in the male figures, living flesh is clearly suggested by the modelling.

V. VENGI: JAGGAYYAPETA, AMARAVATI, NAGARJUNIKONDA, GOLI, ETC. c. 150 B.C.—A.D. 400

The earliest specimens of sculptural art from the Krishna-Godavari delta, known in ancient times as Vehgi, hail from Jaggayyapeta (cf. pi. XXVIII, 72, 73) and Amaravati, and comprise a number of carved marble slabs, presumably of stupas and railings. These low and highly linearised reliefs frankly belong to the common denominator of form of Bharhut and early Sanchl, but lines in Vehgi are much more sensitive and the human forms with their elongated limbs are much more tall and slender. At Amaravati (cf. pis. XXIX, 74-76; XXX, 77-78) the reliefs are slightly rounder and the modelling fuller and more delicate. On the whole, men, animals and vegetation are more elastic and treated more elegantly than in the north. The material par excellence of Vehgi artists was marble. Never so far was the delicate and voluptuous beauty of the human frame so richly and luxuriously conceived, and never were technical skill and efficiency more adequate for realisation of the conception.

There is no doubt that the Vehgi region carries on the tradition of early Indian art, and serves as a link between the earlier art of Bharhut, Bodh

Gaya and Sanchl on the one hand and the later Gupta and Pallava art on the other. As in Bharhut and Sanchl, the marble reliefs from the various sites of Vehgi depict the Buddhist legendary cycle in all its details, but the art was hardly religious at all, far less Buddhist; it does not speak of nor aim at suggesting the Buddhist ideal of renunciation or nirvana, or of discipline or strict ethical virtues including avoidance of women. Rather, it is frankly naturalistic and even sensuous; an innocent and spontaneous joy

and the most pagan love of life pervade the entire world unfolded before our eyes. The female forms of the yakshinls, the vrikshakas and the dancing girls have been rendered with infinite love and grace; their full busts, heavy hips and their living flesh have all been touched with a saturating sensuousness.

In the reliefs from Vengi, nature recedes to the background; it still serves its symbolic purpose, but is no more to be seen in its fertile abundance. The main interest passes on to the human figure itself. Scene after scene teems with tall and slender human figures; they are everywhere in abundance, in all poses and attitudes, in action and movement, in ease and relaxation, in high tension and elegant languor, sitting, standing, bending, flying, dancing, hanging, hovering—always exhibiting sturdy but delicately modelled bodies with heavy heaving shoulders borne on a pair of slender supple legs, all definite in their precise but exuberant outline and characterised by an amazing elasticity of movement.

Yet, the mature art of Vengi, as represented at Amaravatl, is not entirely steeped in the physical and sensuous; here is neither the simple and spontaneous naturalism of Sanchi nor the unabashed lewdness of Mathura. The sensuousness of Vengi is much more refined, elegant and sophisticated, lifted to a subtler plane, which is due not a little to a complete mastery of an advanced technique.

This mastery of technique is evident in a variety of directions. The relief matures in depth whence the figures seem to emerge and achieve the full roundness of form in the process of becoming. Oversecting and foreshortening, already evident at Bodh Gaya, Orissa and Sanchi, have also attained the fullest maturity and are exploited to the utmost. The flexibility of the body itself, with the joints all rounded off, has grown to swaying movements which carry the figure in dynamic rhythm. But the movements do not cease with the individual figure; the rhythm transcends the outermost limits of the figure, extends to the group which it binds together with the same dynamic movement, and finally to the entire composition with all its groups in one large sweeping movement, often in the form of a parabolic curve—a favourite device at Amaravatl. Vengi thus brings to final consummation the problem of dynamic compositional unity which began haltingly and reticently at Bharhut in the Prasenajit Pillar. The modelling, too, has grown to full maturity in plasticity and naturalism; it is subtler, more delicate and more sensitive than that of even Mathura of the first century A.D. But the most important advance in technique lies in the treatment of the relative weight of the different parts of the body. The Hellenistic tradition of contrapost, of carrying the weight of one's body not by any mechanical or functional device as in early Indian art, but by the subtler process of balance and equilibrium, seems to have served the Vengi artists admirably well.

The above general description of the Vengi school refers to the highest level of the art reached at Amaravati towards the middle of the second century A.D. The reliefs of Gumadidurru, Nagarjunikonda and Goli, although belonging to one common school, rarely attain this level. Some of these have a heavy and spreading plastic form like those of the Amaravati reliefs of the first century, but the modelling of the former is definitely softer and weaker than those of the latter. Others plastically belong to the last phase of Amaravati, i.e. the third century, when the clearly tangible outline of the second century softens down to almost feverish agitation and nervous mobility. The modelling, too, degenerates into a sort of tremulous mannerism trying to express a passion—wild, trembling and almost bursting with extravagance, in which the very sap of life was being consumed. The second century successfully tried to transcend the limits of the human body by intensifying the body-experience itself, but this could only be done by a disciplined mind through a process of rigorous discipline of the body. In the third century, this discipline is relaxed, in mind as in art, and the very intensification that served so well in the preceding century spells doom on the Vengi school, once so gay, luxuriant and animated. Not before the fifth and sixth centuries, in Gupta art of the Ganga valley, was the experience of the second century given a new name and form in which the body itself was relieved of the weight of its physical substance and became illumined by a highly intellectualised spiritual experience.

VI. GENERAL REVIEW

With Mathura and Amaravati the curtain is drawn on an art that began its career at Bharhut, where men and women are part of nature itself and live a common life with trees and animals. A healthy pleasure in material life is taken for granted, but everybody takes it with earnestness, dignity and in calm self-evidence of enjoyment. At Bodh Gaya, the dignity and earnestness are equally valued, but the initial restraint gives way to slow swaying movements. Sanchl brings gaiety, emotion and vivacity born of a fuller acceptance of life and its spontaneous joys and movements* its calm and composed forms are innocent of transient and hysterical moments. Karle is characterised by a calm strength and dignity; men and women there are mundane and earthly but in an ethnically primitive significance; it stands on life's stable and permanent foundations. This is equally true of the yakshas, yakshinls, nagas, and the Buddhist primitives of Mathura. The reliefs of Mathura bring the sense perception of Sanchi to maturity, and the joy in life expresses itself in easy serenity and a general cheerfulness of disposition. The human figures are enlivened by a careless enjoyment of life. The bourgeois ladies of Mathura, even while loving, toying with pets, or gossiping and dallying, never behave coquettishly. But the aristocratic ladies of the upper classes of the urban and sophisticated society of Amaravatl are definitely coquettish in an elegant though extravagant manner. The wildest joy and most violent passion shake them to their foundations. For the first time, Indian art becomes conscious of psychological conditions and learns to differentiate betw 7 een the subtle and the violent shades and emotions of the human heart; they are given full expression to, not intellectually but through the lineaments of the body.

Conceived not as a part of nature but confined within the physical frame and in a narrowly mundane manner and, further, abandoned to the fullest and nervous enjoyment of transient pleasures, life exacted its toll by drying itself up.

The fundamental change in the attitude and disposition towards life between Bharhut and Sanchi on the one hand, and Mathura and finally Amaravatl on the other, can admittedly be explained by the general laws of optical evolution; it was to a very large extent the result of the natural growth of an aesthetic process. But possibly the difference was, at least partly, due to changes in the socio-economic structure, and hence in the social psychology of the people responsible for this art.

The change just referred to begins to assert itself roughly from about the middle of the first century A.D. Before that time both the Ganga-Yamuna valley and the Deccan (to which belong Bharhut, Bodh Gaya, Sanchi, early Mathura, Karle and early Vengi) nurtured a civilisation and a structure of society that was mainly rural and agricultural. The art of such a social economy naturally reflected the essential oneness with nature, a healthy and spontaneous joy in, and acceptance of, life, preference for stable and permanent values and faith in calm and composed strength. But from about the middle of the first century A.D. India, more particularly the Deccan and the South, came quickly to share in a very rich maritime trade with the Mediterranean world, and gold and luxury products from the Roman West began freely to flow into the country. Slowly, but surely, the Deccan and also the North began to develop, along the river valleys, big emporiums of trade and commerce out of their old cities, and rural agricultural civilisation began to be transformed into a mercantile one, at least in the large centres of life and activity. With the creation of a real bourgeois society, a change in the social taste and also in the attitude towards life was but inevitable. This change is first noticeable at Mathura even in the selection of motifs, which range from toilet and love scenes to scenes of toying with birds and drinking bouts. But Mathura was hinterland and, moreover, too strong and eclectic a centre of past traditions and of influence from a variety of directions. Amaravatl, on the other hand, lay not very far from the rich coastal ports of the eastern Deccan, a few of which at least sheltered rich Roman trading settlements. The art of Amaravatl thus naturally reflects the disposition and attitude of a mercantile social economy which manifests preference for transient pleasures and temporary values, exuberant expression of joy and passion, and courtly elegance and sophistication.

C. PAINTING AND OTHER ARTS

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I. PAINTING

Both Buddhist and Brahmanical literature, some of which undoubtedly go back to centuries before Christ, contain abundant references to the art of painting. The Mahdbhdrata mentions Chitralekha, a maid of honour to princess Usha, as a gifted portrait-painter and describes a painted hall. According to the Vinaya Pitaka, Amrapall invited painters from various countries and asked them to paint on her walls the figures of kings, traders and merchants seen by them; and it was by seeing the portrait of Bimbisara so painted that she fell in love with him. The Vinaya Pitaka also makes several references to the pleasure-houses of king Prasenajit, containing chittdgdras or picture-halls or galleries. Besides portraiture and mural paintings, we also find mention of such widely-known practices as lepya-chitras, lekhya-chitras, dhuli-chitras, etc. Lepya-chit ras are nothing but continuous narratives in line and colour on textiles, and partook of the nature of pata-chitras of later tradition; lekhya-chitras are probably line-drawings of a decorative nature like dlimpanas or dlpanas of later tradition, while dhuli-chitras are also of the same nature and character, but the material used is powdered rice, white or coloured. Literary records having a direct bearing

on the art of painting are indeed numerous, and they go to show that from very early times painting, both secular and religious, was considered an important form of artistic expression and widely practised by the classes and masses alike. The theoretical basis of the art in relation to the world of vision and imagination is also alluded to in the Brahmanas and the Buddhist sutras and gathas. This indicates that there were very early tradition and practice which eventually led at a later period to the formulation of definite principles of theory, technique and classification of various kinds of painting.

We have, however, no extant specimen of such ancient practice. The earliest historical example of which we have any definite knowledge consists of a few rows of human figures in yellow and ochre earth colours, arranged in sections in accordance with the shape of the irregularly vaulted ceiling of the Sitabenga or Jogimara cave in the Ramgarh hills in the Surguja State of the Eastern States Agency. Besides the irregular compositional bands, there is also another band with representations of large aquatic animals, makara, etc., also in the same yellow and ochre earth colours. The compositions have all been covered over by a layer of paintings subsequently added, but enough remains to indicate that these murals were executed in what is known as ‘tempera’, that the figures, which are mostly in three-quarter profile, are lively and freely rhythmical, and though loosely set at a distance from one another and arranged in parallel rows, they are well balanced in alignments and inherently connected with one another. Foreshortening and oversecting are easily employed, and the third dimension is intelligently understood.

All these bespeak considerable past knowledge and practice, and perhaps also a consciousness of parallel practice in such cubical materials as wood, stone and clay. Indeed a comparison of the garment —dhoti and uttariya — of some of the Jogimara figures with those of early Sanchl (Stupa II) and Jaggayyapeta reliefs will establish strong similarities in form and motif. It is not, therefore, without good reason that these paintings have generally been assigned to about the middle of the first century B.C. Indeed, their maturity is more or less on a level with contemporary sculpture.

A century and a half later follows the next phase of Indian mural paintings as exemplified on the walls of caves Nos. IX and X of Ajanta (cf. pis. XXXI, 79; XXXII, 80).

Only scanty specimens of the earliest Ajanta phase are preserved, but they are mature works and belong creditably to the contemporary denominator of Indian plastic art. In certain respects, as in the driving diagonal direction of the composition emphasised by the cubical and voluminous slanting rocks and the trees, in swaying movement, in its forward direction from depth to the surface, and in the general fullness of composition, they sometimes surpass even the contemporary sculptural vision and treatment. Only seme of the Amaravatl reliefs can vie with them in aesthetic effect.

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The paintings are laid over a fine coat of plaster, finished by another coat of finely polished white priming. The outlines were drawn first in broad sweeps, and details were added afterwards. Natural earth, found locally, formed most, if not all* of the pigments in which red in different tones, green, grey, brown, yellow and white predominate. The compositions are arranged in friezes and panels; while narrating a Jataka story, scenes are arranged in compartments. The ground is divided, as in the Chhaddanta Jataka scene of Cave X, by two or three horizontal bands of colour, a principle followed also in later murals of Ajanta (e.g. Cave XVII).

The two important scenes, one a frieze representing superimposed rows of human figures in Cave IX and another representing a group of elephants of the Chhaddanta Jataka story in Cave X, bring out the main principles of this phase of painting. Both, so far as their forms are concerned, correspond to contemporary relief tradition; indeed they are painted versions of such carved and modelled groups, and in density and relief can stand comparison with similar representations in SanchT. Both men and animals are modelled in colour in a variety of positions; indeed, they attest to much knowledge and experience in the modelling capacity of both line and colour. The implication of depth and the direction of coming forward to the surface, which in the later Ajanta phase are brought to consummation, find their full level already in these paintings. The full masses of the figures reach the outermost level where they spread up to their limits. The figures themselves, though densely packed and of smooth movement, betray hardly any emotional state and are unconnected with one another. Sturdy in shape, of distinct ethnic class and sartorial types, the human figures are detached and reticent, and are very near in appearance to figures as carved in Bodh Gaya and SanchT.

ART

Certain faint traces of early painting arc also found in the Chaitya cave at Bedsa, but these are obscured by later whitewashing. On the whole, despite numerous references to painted halls, palaces, etc., to lepya, lekhya and dhuli-chitras in early Buddhist literature and in the epics, those that have survived and arc known to us are very limited in quality and variety. Nevertheless, it is in these early specimens that we see the beginnings of the later schools which have preserved the continuity of pictorial tradition for more than a millennium.

II. TERRACOTTA

Terracotta was the material for artistic expression of the humbler people to whom stone, not very easily obtainable in the plains of northern India, was a precious and costly material. A large number and variety of finds have been made on various levels of excavations at a number of important city sites, such as Pataliputra (comprising Bulandibagh, Kumrahar and Patna), Buxar, Taxila, Mathura, Ahichchhatra, Vaisali (Basarh), KausambI, Rajghat (Banaras), Bangarh and Mahasthan (N. Bengal). It seems that the art of terracotta, either fashioned directly out of clay by hand or shaped and modelled by moulds, provided the most popular objects for household worship and decoration, plaques and figures in the round for popular magic and religious purposes, seals for purposes of documentation, children’s toys, ornaments for the poor, medals, amulets, and animal figurines of totemistic significance or children’s playthings. Much more than their pure aesthetic significance is their value as materials for the history of Indian culture and life of the common people. The terracotta seals, often inscribed, provide most important material for political, socio-economic and religious history, while toys, ornaments and household materials are of great value for a comparative study of our culture at different periods. On the whole, terracotta art of India, though not attaining to the dignity of a major art like sculpture, is nevertheless an important vehicle of human expression of undoubted sociological significance and deserves to be more seriously studied.

Any study of Indian terracottas from a standpoint of historical or chronological sequence is rendered difficult by a large number of finds of supposedly ‘archaic’ or ‘primitive’ type and form. Kramrisch has labelled them “ageless” or “timeless”, as they remain essentially unchanged by variations of time and perhaps also of locality. This type may occur side by side with the normal one on

the same excavation level which is different in principle as well as in form. The products of the timeless type are as numerous and varied, and also as important to the people at large, as those on which sequence of time leaves its impress. The former type, which one can witness from the Sindhu valley onwards up to the present day, is made always and invariably by hand and includes such objects as figurines of the mother-goddess seated or standing (or earth-goddess or goddess of fertility), children’s toys, chariots, human images, figures of horse, elephant, ram, humped bull, monkey, dog, bird, lizard, frog, fish and Makara. Figures, whether human or animal, are invariably fashioned in a way that reduces the physiognomical form of the subject to a distribution of the simplest volumes answering the main parts of the body, i.e. the head, the trunk and the limbs. Within this principle there are indeed differences in degree as well as in technique. The female figurines are invariably characterised by heavy bulging hips and narrow waists, sometimes also by the navel and the mekhala —all being notions of potential motherhood. Some of the figurines have animal snouts, and the head is either drawn in horn shapes or bulges out in bumps; both are basically the same and have a primitive significance that connects the head with spiritual illumination. This horn or bump shape explains the ushnlsha of the Buddha and the historical terracotta figures of men and women with unicorn or bicornate head-dresses from various sites of the GangaYamuna valley. The large majority of the ageless types that have come down to us belong mainly to the excavated sites at Buxar, Pataliputra, Taxila, KausambI and Basarh. Sometimes the date and locality even of such ageless types can be approximately fixed mainly by reason of contemporary fashions in dress and ornaments, form and technique, local traits and peculiarities, etc.

Historical or time-bound terracottas of pre-Gupta date are generally moulded, while head-dresses are affixed; the faces at least are in all cases moulded, registering stylistic characteristics, and they are affixed to bodies modelled by hand (cf, pi. XXXIII, 82). This complex technique gives way to completely moulded—not modelled_ figures in the Gupta period. More than stone sculpture or anything else, this enormous corpus of terracottas, though only a small fraction of the total output, represents a rich inventory of contemporary Indian art form and style as well as of social tastes and tendencies. The large city-sites, already referred to, along with such widely distributed sites as Lauriya Nandangarh (Bihar), Sari-Dheri (N.-W.F.), Maski (Hyderabad), Pawaya (Gwalior), Saheth-Maheth (old &ravastl), Gaya (Bihar), etc. have yielded terracottas that are easily distinguishable by their local features of form and style. But the most representative types and forms hail mostly from Pataliputra, Mathura and Buxar, all in the Ganga-Yamuna valley.

Barring one steatite plaque from Pataliputra, inscribed in Mauryan characters, and a few other objects (Patna, KausambT, Buxar), no regular terracottas that can more or less definitely be ascribed to the Maurya period have yet come to light from any of the early sites. Generally they were baked to various shades of ochre, red, grey or black. But neither the method of baking, nor the quality of clay, nor the shade of colour, is any sure or exclusive index as to date or locality.

In the Sunga-Kanva period, i.e. from about 200 B.C. to about the first century A.D., the major corpus seems to have consisted of female figures. These are richly dressed, slim, with a heavy countenance, and have magnificently modelled busts, well disciplined bodies with delicate modelling of the chest, skirts with flutters and extravagant loops, and a rather high and wide head with lateral bumps accentuated further by elaborate hair-dressing or heavy head-wear (cf. pis. XXXIV, 83-84; XXXV, 85-86). To this period may also be assigned some of the finds from Basarh, Buxar, Pataliputra and Mathura, with definitely Hellenistic heads and faces, Hellenistic modelling and, in a few cases, also Hellenistic drapery.

Terracottas with definitely Saka-Kushana stylistic impress exhibit a great variety of ethinic types and nomad fashions, especially conspicuous in the male figures from Mathura, which must have been due to the influx of new racial types and new fashions and tastes. Faces of female figures are characterised by either a smile or at least an animation noticeable on the cheek-bones set below a pair of flat wide-open eyes. Musicians with a great variety of instruments appear for the first time during this period, many of them distinguished by their long noses. Horsemen and riders holding reins, generally in moulded figures, are also seen for the first time. On the whole, both in variety and in design, in sturdiness of form and differentiated modelling, the terracottas of the Kushana period, found in excavations at Pataliputra, Ahichchhatra and Mathura, provide a rich wealth of material for the study of contemporary art form and design. This can well be supplemented for the Deccan and the South by rich material recently unearthed from Maksi in Hyderabad.

TIL COINS, SEALS, INTAGLIO GEMS, ETC. (pi. XXXVII)

Though the history of Indian coinage begins with silver and copper punch-marked coins, datable from about 600 B.C. onwards, their value as aesthetic objects to the historian of art is almost negligible, despite their undoubted importance to the historian, numismatist and anthropologist. Formally and psychologically they are tribal in origin and primitive in conception; the shapes are irregular, the execution rude, and the punches, impressed separately and irregularly and sometimes clumsily, show no artistic design. The symbols never go beyond a representational significance; while human figures are rare, the animal devices are sometimes creatively conceived and executed with considerable spirit, but crude workmanship prevents a refined achievement. 1 Local and tribal coins, equally indigenous in origin and conception, and datable in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era, show a decided advance in shape and design as well as in workmanship and execution. They are either cast or die-struck; a large number of devices are merely symbolical, but the animal devices are at times rendered naturalistically with an eye to plasticity of movement. 2 The type and treatment of the human figure recall either the figure of the gold-plaque earthgoddess from Lauriya Nandangarh 3 4 or the average human figuration of early Indian relief sculpture. In the former case, they merely serve a symoblical purpose. Of some of the anonymous tribal coins, datable in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, not only the form and treatment of the human figure but the design and shape as well are clearly inspired by contemporary Kushana and Gupta coins, which in their turn were derived from Hellenistic, Roman and Parthian models. So far as the Indian coinage is concerned, vegetal devices are rarely artistically conceived, but in at least one tribal coin 5 the palm-tree motif has been rendered with singular charm and remarkable concreteness of vision.

But of coins and gems, artistically the most interesting are those that were inspired by Hellenistic, Roman and Parthian models.

Note 32

Note 33

Note 34

Note 35

Note 36

They are all datable from about the second century B.C. to about the first century A.D. and belong to the Bactrian and ScythoParthian kings who held sway for a considerable time in the Punjab and the North-West. 1 The stylistic history of these coins and gems is clear and coherent; with very few exceptions the coins, and also the intaglio gems, are aesthetically of a high order. Their chaste and elegant execution, their refined workmanship, and their general design are in the best of Hellenistic tradition, particularly in the earliest examples where the legends are invariably in Greek. While the portraits they bear are unmistakably characterised by the refined realism of Hellenistic portraiture, the mythological types are derived from Greek mythology and rendered formally strictly along the lines of those in Hellenistic art. At a slightly later stage, Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage comes ifito dontact with Indian coinage whence they derive some of their peculiarities and result, at least in certain instances, in either square (Apollodotus) or clumsily rectangular shapes (Agathocles and Pantaleon). The Attic standard gradually fades away and is replaced by one of

Achaemenian origin; legends become bilingual—Greek and Indian in either KharoshthI or Brahmi; and with time, as Hellenistic inspiration fades away, the portraits begin to lose their fine realism, the Hellenistic figure-types are steadily replaced by Indian or ScythoParthian, and the coins as a whole suffer in the chastity of design and elegance of execution.

Though inspired by Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinage both in type and form, the Indo-Parthian coins are generally clumsy in execution and crowded in design, and record the impress of increasingly more Indian feeling and forms, especially in animal and human devices. 2 Certain nomadic barbarian elements are also equally noticeable, 3 which go to show that the engravers were not just mere copyists but were giving expression to their own ideas. Still more increasingly Indian in feeling and figure-types are the early Kushana coins, though in dress and demeanour the portraits retain their northern characteristics. In execution and design these early Kushana coins are much more elegant and refined than the Indo-Parthian ones. Later Kushana coins of about the third'century, however, tend to be more and more clumsy and crowded in design; though the execution remains clear and precise, the types

Note 37

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Note 39

and forms are heavily influenced by those of Persian and Sassanian origin. The silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, on the other hand, was based essentially on the Greek hemidrachmae. They are neat, regular, and are very elegantly executed. Formally and historically Gupta coinage takes its cue from early Kushana coins on the one hand and Western Kshatrapa coins on the other. Andhra coins of the second and third centuries A.D., though at times irregular in shape and heavy in design, belong altogether to a different aesthetic form and are essentially indigenous in character. Their symbols and figure-devices have a characteristic local flavour and a tribal conception.

A large number and variety of engraved gems—cornelian sard of different hues, jacinth, sardoine, black garnet, etc.—have been picked up from different sites all over north-western India. They are all invariably Hellenistic in conception and execution, and reveal a highly developed sense of relief and composition. Motifs and subjects are invariably derived from Greek mythology, and some of them are often found repeated from one gem to another. There can be no doubt that these gems were very much in fashion and demand. Athena, seated or standing, fighting warriors, Aphrodite, a spirited lion or elephant, gods and goddesses of Greek legends, etc. are the most common motifs, and the gems bear legends in Greek and early Brahmi or Kharoshthi characters. Towards the beginning of the Christian era, probably due to a lessening of demand, the art began to deteriorate; the delicacy of technique, refinement of execution and elegance of vision seem definitely to have been on the wane. In the first and second centuries A.D. the Greek inspiration was replaced by the Roman, perhaps from Asia Minor, and, borne on the shoulders of Roman trade and commerce, a new type of intaglio work, characterised by a distinctive sensuousness of figure conception, came into vogue. But neither the Greek nor the Roman art of intaglio gems seems to have taken root on the Indian soil.

IV. POTTERY

Objective and systematic study of early Indian pottery is only just beginning, and it is difficult to deal with the subject in correct historical sequence. Pottery is shortlived, but it may on occasion travel very extensively; in fact, recent excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry have yielded products that were probably made, as far away as Italy on the one hand and in China on the other. They are thus invaluable material for the history of commerce, chronology and culture.

Recent exploration in a large number of sites in North India has yielded a typical pottery (including dishes and bowls) of fine grey ware with a wide range of black painting. Stratigraphic evidence obtained previously at Ahichchhatra and now at Tilpat near Delhi and Hastinapura, District Meerut, shows that it partly overlapped and largely preceded the northern black polished ware.[1] The pottery of the Mauryan period found at

Pataliputra, Kasrawad, Bairat, Sarnath, Raj ghat and other places includes the well-known polished black ware bowls which in many cases must have travelled from important centres to outlying provinces. Some of the broken fragments found at Bairat and Kasrawad show repairs being executed locally by means of copper wires and rivets, proving that this pottery was, at that period and in that particular social stratum where the articles were used, considered valuable and was not easily replaceable.

Ahichchhatra potteries of the earlier levels (c. 600-100 B.C.) are limited to few varieties of shape; a large number of these consist of grey wares, and a few with a black slip. These vessels are mostly plain, but there are a few red wares bearing stamped designs. This early group is practically devoid of any painted decoration of any sort, and moulds are never used. Grey and black polished wares are altogether absent in the next phase (100 B.C.-A.D. 350), which is also marked by the absence of any incised and painted decoration or of slip or wash. But they bear stamped symbols the like of which one can find on contemporary coins and sculptures. The evolution of the cooking pot, as shown by the successive stages of such ware from Ahichchhatra, indicates that rimless wares were the earliest which were followed by thin-rimmed ones. Large open bowls of grey colour are conspicuous in the early period (c. 300100 B.C.). Straight-edged, lipped and broad-mouthed bowls predominate among the grey wares of this period, while among the red wares of the next phase jars with straight necks or no welldefined necks are typical. A few major changes seem to take place in the two centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the

Note 40

Christian era (100 B.C.-A.D. 100); but cooking pans with small lughandles and jars with no well-defined necks are the more important types in the pottery of this period. Rare and distinctive types, e.g. the bowl-shaped stopper, bellied jar with small bottle-neck, etc. are also characteristic of the period. Kushana potteries hail in large numbers from all important sites in the Punjab and the GangaYamuna valley including Mathura. New types and surface decorations with stamped symbols like the Triratna, Swastika, Nandipdda, etc. are characteristic features of this phase. Among new types mention may be made of the flat-based drinking bowl, and the widemouthed jar with thick walls and beater-marks over the body with its different variants. In Ahichchhatr,a this period is associated with the glorious days of the Panchala kingdom which may account for the variety, originality and abundance of the pottery types; but it is also likely that all over northern India the Kushana culturecomplex may have produced a livening effect as well as furnished certain new types.

In respect of the pottery of the Deccan and the south, it has long been known that Buddhist sites of the Krishna valley have yielded pots which reveal the stages of change from the Iron Age types to those of the Satavahana period. In several places dark polished wares found along with the Iron Age cemeteries must approximate" in date the typical black polished ware in northern India. Some special wares, such as the painted bowls with grit or cross-lined patterns, are found widely in sites from Hyderabad, Mysore, and Bellary and Anantapur districts of Madras. These can be assigned to roughly about 300 to 100 BjC., but in the absence of systematic excavation, the data afforded by these cannot be considered authentic. Nor has the abundant pottery from such sites as Kondapur yet been properly studied. But it is clear that in the south, the soft loamy clay, which forms the bulk of the natural soil, was commonly used, while other varieties suitable for special wares, such as China clay, were also to be found in different localities and were naturally responsible for the different shades of colour met with in southern wares. In any case the richness and variety of the productions of the Satavahana period in the south are indisputable.

The recent excavations at Arikamedu have furnished a very rich treasure for the study of south Indian pottery. These finds come from what was once a considerable town that comprised, among many other things, a warehouse, a textile manufactory and at least several bead-making establishments. A kind of red-glazed pottery, presumably manufactured in Italy in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era, Roman lamps and glass wares, and two-handled jars or amphorae, characteristic of contemporary Mediterranean wine-trade, are amongst the objects picked up, and they go to prove that Arikamedu was once a prosperous south Indian settlement of Western trading people including Romans. Generally, the imported Arikamedu potteries fall into three categories: (a) red-glazed ware, the glaze varying in degree and kind, called ‘Arretine’ ware, with imported copies, (b) wine or oil jars with double handles of various shapes or amphorae, and (c) rouletted black ware. There are potters’ stamps on a few Arretine wares which help us to identify their place of origin. Copies of Arretine ware were locally made, but they are of a hard greyish buff colour with polished surface. The Arretine type may be assigned to A.D. 1-50. Imported amphorae are of a pink fabric with yellow slip; some of the handles are of a rectilinear and highshouldered profile. These may be ascribed, on European parallels, to the middle of the first century A.D., when presumably the introduction of Arretine ware had ceased. Rouletted black ware is the characteristic Arikamedu type; it has an incurved and beaked rim with a faceted edge, with a remarkably smooth surface and the flat interior decorated with two or three concentric bands of roulettes; it is thin, brittle and well-burnt, and has an almost metallic ring. This type is also presumably Mediterranean in origin, but varieties of inferior fabric were probably made locally.

Besides the imported ones, there was also a very large mass of local wares, usually turned on the wheel, excepting a class of portable ovens, rings of ring-wells, large-size troughs and local jars. A few of these local products were inscribed in early Brahmi script. The colour of the fabric is either pink or grey or greyish red, or light red, according to the degree of heat and the chemical composition of the clay. Slips were commonly applied but decorations are rare, and the types are distinctly plain and utilitarian. They may be assigned to about the first and second centuries A.D. Arikamedu has also yielded a small number of Chinese celedon wares but they are invariably late in date and hence outside the scope of this volume.

There are very few affinities between the northern and southern pottery types of India. The southern wares are coarser, and in

design have a less sophisticated range, the majority being mostly plain and utilitarian. The north furnishes a highly polished fabric and offers a large variety of design and decoration. One or two types only establish more or less a fundamental traditional affinity. The dish with convex base and incurved side is common to both Arikamedu and Ahichhhatra; its fabric is also more or less common. There are also one or two types from Arikamedu that may be profitably compared with identical types from Ahichchhatra, Maholi near Mathura, and Taxila.

V. MINOR ARTS

Among the minor miscellaneous arts of this period, the jeweller' art easily occupies the first place of importance. This is evidenl not only from actual finds of gold and silver jewelleries at different sites, notably Taxila and Pataliputra, but also from representations in stone sculpture, terracotta and ivory from about the second century B.C. to about the third century A.D. A typical terracotta specimen with elaborate jewellery is provided by the terracotta figurine (pi. XXXV, 86) from the Oxford Institute, originally from Tamluk, which exhibits perhaps the most elaborate scheme of ornamentation ever found on an Indian male or female figure. Reference may also be made to a recent find of an Indian ivory YakshinI figure from the ruins of Pompeii, with sumptuous and complicated jewellery and belonging to about the second century A.D. Ordinary men and women wearing ornaments, as seen in the stone reliefs and terra cottas, also indicate the great place the jeweller's art occupied in ancient India. Indeed, in no other field did India maintain her unquestioned skill and resourcefulness throughout the ages as in the art of the goldsmith and the silversmith. The possession of gold and silver ornaments has become part and parcel of the cherished material equipment of an average Indian householder, and this, partly at least, explains the high level of the jeweller's art through the centuries. Excavations carried out at great depths in connection with certain sewage operations in the city of Patna have brought to light a wealth of material for reconstructing the technique of this art by providing the raw materials of every stage, the tools used, finished and unfinished products, etc. The excavations at Taxila also have yielded important hoards of gold and silver jewellery of every sort, utensils of silver and lesser metals and ornaments of inferior metals, all indicating a high level of culture. Some at least of these works were inspired without doubt by Hellenistic models, such as the silver repousse, the bust of Dionysus and the bronze figure of the Egyptian god Hippocrates(?); but broadly speaking, the ornaments (all sorts of ear-ornament, neck-wear, head ornaments, bracelets, anklets, girdles, etc.) were manufactured indigenously with great skill and minuteness of detail. It is quite possible that this jeweller's art was originally introduced into India by the northern nomads, who excelled in this line and whose art was characterised by abstract geometric designs and patterns and also by the flowing linear rhythm of vegetable and animals forms. Indeed, quite a good many forms, patterns and designs of the Indian goldsmith's art of today can directly be traced to northern nomadic forms of Scythian art which were brought into India by West-Asiatic people and the Sakas and Kushanas. This is perhaps one of the reasons why goldsmiths and their craft in India from very early times are among the castes and callings that are considered low.

Copper and ironsmiths also held an important place amongst the artisans, and literary references to them are quite abundant from the Rigveda downwards. In the Jatakas and Kautilya's Arthasdstra, frequent references are made to them, and every ancient Indian city site, excavated so far, reveals the considerable attention given to metallurgical works. Indeed, such a monument of wrought iron industry as the great Iron Pillar of king Chandra of the fourth century A.D. at Meharauli near Delhi not only shows the perfection to which the art of Indian metal workers had attained in the fourth century, but indicates the skill and resourcefulness of generations of indigenous metal workers. Similarly in respect of the carpenter's art. Numerous indigenous references to their craft from the Rigveda downwards, the descriptions of Greek writers of the wooden palaces of Pataliputra, and the remains of early Indian lithic monuments (gates and railings of Stupas, Chaitya fagades, halls, etc.), which are but translation into stone from wooden originals, are enough positive evidence of the high level and efficiency of the carpenter's art.

Ivory carving was another art which was highly cultivated and is comparable only with the art of the goldsmith. It is well known that the ivory carvers of the city of Vidisa imparted something of their fine skill to the reliefs of the Sanchl gates. The recent discoveries in Afghanistan and of the YakshinI figure from Pompeii, referred to above, all of which bear the impress of strong WestAsiatic influences including Hellenistic, are some of the finest workmanship of the Indian dantakdra or dantaghdtaka, and are basically of indigenous initiative and talent (pi. XXXVI, 87-90).

CHAPTER XXI

Chapter Notes

1. 1 . Vol. I, Ch. IX.
2. 2. Mahaymrinibbana Sutta (SBE. XI), 99.
3. 483
4. 1 . I. 34 and 330 IT; SBE, XXXV, 53; XXXVI, 208-9’
5. 2. The author is indebted to the manuscript of the late Rao Bahadur K. N.
6. Dikshit for the information about Ahichchhatra.
7. 1. Above, pp. 67, 86.
8. 2. Spooner in JRAS, 1915, pp. 63 ff, 403 ff. But his views have not been generally accepted. Cf. also R. P. Chanda, Beginnings of Art in Eastern India (MASI No. 30), p. 12.
9. 1. Digha Nikdya, XVI, 5, 11; SBE, XI, 93.
10. 487
11. 1. The Great Stupa is the principal monument among a number of such remains at Sanchl and the adjacent region, collectively known as the Bhilsa topes. Within an area of about 10 miles by 6 miles there may be found five or six groups of stupas containing nearly sixty individual examples. None of them may be dated prior to the time of Asoka, and some are distinctively later.
12. 1. The carvings of the different gateways offer well-marked divergences in style, a fact that may indicate that the gateways were erected at different periods, though not far removed from one another. Cf. the next section on Sculpture,
13. 2. HIIA, p. 53.
14. 1. The monument in its earliest form seems to have been built about 200 B.C. but as nothing remains except the foundations, the original shape and form of the earlier monument are not known. The form presented by the replica on the casing slab was that of the stupa as reconstructed about the second century A.D.
15. 2. These two stupas were probably co-eval with the original stupa at Amaravati.
16. 492
17. 1. The chaitya caves at Junnar (H/EA a I, 155-59) are noteworthy for their extreme simplicity and severity, due partly to their rather early

date. But none of them can be placed as early as the Bhaja-Kondane group. The details and other arrangements place them in the next group. The chief interest of the Junnar series of caves consists, however, in the fact that they contain examples of unusual forms, not known elsewhere. Of the ten chaitya caves, for instance, there is one circular cave (already mentioned) and six with square terminations at the back, flat roofs and without the internal pillars.

18. 1. HI1A, p. 29.
19. 1. See above, pp. 213 ff.
20. 2. Of the single cells one carved in imitation of the open mouth of a tiger (Bagh gumpha or the Tiger cave) is rather interesting.
21. 3. In these caves the upper of the two floors appears to have been first excavated, though the interval of time between the two need not necessarily be a long one.
22. 4. It is problematic whether this vihdra belonged to the Buddhists. On the west end of the verandah we have two sculptures on either side of the doorway to the cell. In one we have the representation of Surya on his four-horsed chariot and in the other we have Indra on his elephant (HIIA, pp. 24-27, Figs. 24 and 27). The style and workmanship of these reliefs would also support the antiquity of this excavation. It should further be noted that this is the only cave of the early series which contains figure sculptures.
23. 1, See above, p. 87.
24. 1. Continuous series of portable pictures, usually depicting familiar topics of popular interest, painted on long narrow pieces of thick cloth or canvas, which , may be easily rolled up, and opened for exhibition.
25. 1. Cf. the figures of Dvarapalas at Bhaja.
26. 2. Cf. the demon over which pass the chariot of Surya and also India’s elephant.
27. 516
28. 1. See Ch. XIX, Sections on ‘Images’.
29. 2. See above, pp. 395-6.
30. 3. Katra seated fig. c. A.D. 80; Aniyor seated fig. c. A.D. 80; seated fig. Munich, c. A.D. 80; standing figs, erected by Friar Bala at Mathura, Sravasti, Allahabad, Samath, c. A.D. 80-100.
31. 1. Defeat and fight'of Mara, the evil spirit of Buddhist literature, who came with his beautiful daughters and satanic hosts to tempt, or

frighten, Gautama on the eve of his attaining Buddhahood.

32. 1. Smith, CCIM, pi. XIX, fig. 10.
33. 2. /bid, pi. XIX, figs. 15, 18; pi. XX, figs. 7, 11, 18.
34. 3. Ibid , pi. XX, fig. 12; pi. XIX, fig. 20; pi. XXI, fig. 15.
35. 4. Ibid , pi. XX, fig. 11.
36. 5. Ibid , p l. XIX, fig. 17.
37. 1. Cf. Chs. VII, VIII, IX.
38. 2. Smith, CCIM, pi. XIII, figs. 1. 4, 14.
39. 3. Ibid, pi. IX, figs. 1, 4, 8.
40. 1. Mr. A. Ghosh of the Archaeological Department has kindly supplied this information.

SOCIAL CONDITION

We possess manifold sources of information for the social, economic and cultural conditions of the period under review. These consist mainly of religious literature (Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain), accounts of foreign travellers and epigraphic records. These different authorities do not always agree, partly because they refer to different periods and localities, and partly because they look at the social condition from different angles of vision. This no doubt causes some confusion and difficulty, but is also a great advantage for the historian, who has no longer to depend, as in the previous period, upon the Vedic texts alone, but is in a position to check and supplement their accounts and draw 7 up a more reliable and comprehensive picture of the society as a whole.

I. CASTE

As in the closing period of the Vedic Age, the Varna (the classes or the castes) and Asrama (the four orders or stages of life) are the dominent features of society. They gradually become rigid and fixed, but the Hindu society was far from attaining its normal and standardized form in this age.*

As many of the extant Grihya-sutras and Dharma-sutras were compiled during the first part of this period, w^e may presume that the rules of castes and orders, domestic rites and ceremonies, and general manners and customs, described above in Vol. I, Chapter XXVII, were prevalent at the beginning of this period also. It is not necessary to refer to them again except by way of further elucidation and the addition of details.

The duties of the different castes, as enumerated in the Dharma sutras, have been very pithily put in his inimitable analytical manner by Kautilya in his Arthasastra. He enumerates the duties of the Brahmana as (1) Adhyayana (study), (2) Adhyapana (teaching), (3) Yajana (worship), (4) Yajana (officiating at worship), (5) Dana (making gifts) and (6) Pratigraha (accepting gifts). The svadharma or duties of the Kshatriya comprised (1) Adhyayana , (2) Yajana (3) Dana, (4) Sastrdjlva (profession of arms as source of livelihood) and (5) Bhutaralzsliana (protection of living beings). The duties of

Note 1

the Vaisya are (1) Adhyayana, (2) Yajana, (3) Dana, (4) Krishi (agriculture), (5) Pasupdlya (cattle-rearing) and (6) Vdnijya (trade). The functions assigned to the Sudra are (1) Dvijdtisnsrushd (menial service of the three twice-born castes), (2) Vdrtd (production of wealth), (3) Kdrukarma (Arts) and (4) Kusilavakarma (Crafts). It will be seen from the above that Kautilya points out the common duties of the three higher castes as Study (Adhyayana), Worship (Yajana), and Making Gifts (Dana).

These ideas are more or less stereotyped in the Dharma-sastras, which reflect the spirit of the Vedic literature in all respects, especially in assigning the highest status and dignity to the Brahmanas. In Manu-samhitd, for example, the highest supremacy in every respect is claimed for a Brahmana, though emphasis is also laid on the superior knowledge and qualifications on which that status rests. He must be well versed in his grasp of the Absolute or Brahma (Brahma-dharana) 1 and his observance of vows (niyama-dharana) 2 and must cultivate Universal love. He filled the highest offices of State and society by his character—those of teacher, priest, judge, 3 prime minister, 4 assessor 5 and member of the Dharma Parishad, the standing legal commission in the administration. 6 He was punishable in law, but not by capital punishment. 7

A Brahmana lost his status if he violated the restrictions prescribed as to food and gifts, occupation or profession, 8 and sought for livelihood on the strength of his mere birth or caste without: its virtues or ideals. 9 But in actual life, specially in times of distress, he was allowed to follow occupations not theoretically prescribed for him. This rule applied to other castes also.

As regards the Sudra, “service was his portion in life”. 10 He was not eligible for sacraments (Samsk&ras) , nor for hearing sacred texts except their substance. 11 But he was not denied the rites of marriage, cooking of daily food in the grihya fires, and funeral ceremonies (Srdddha). Manu even mentions Sudra teachers and pupils, 1 showing that the Sudra was not denied the right to learning. 2 As representing, however, the lowest level of culture, "a Sudra majority in a country" (Sudra-bhuyishtham), it was believed, "would spell its doom." 3

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On the whole the lot of a Sudra was an unenviable one. The formidable array of regulations in the Manu-smriti against the Sudra would make dismal reading. He had few privileges and many obligations. The discriminating laws against him and his social disabilities, uttered with brutal frankness, were an inheritance of the past. But Manu treats him exactly like a slave 4 and prescribes barbarous punishments as already noted above. 5 To crown all, it is laid down that a Brahmana shall perform the same penance for killing a Sudra as for killing a cat, a frog, a dog, or a crow! 6

To what extent these regulations represent the actual state of things it is difficult to say. But the Jataka stories also describe how the Chandalas were treated as despised outcastes doomed to live outside the city or village, and their very sight was regarded as impure. On one occasion two of them approached the city-gate to sell their wares, where two girls of aristocratic birth chanced to meet them on their way to a festival. They regarded it as a bad omen and returned after washing their eyes with perfumed water. The crowd, angry at the abandonment of a gathering where they would have been served with free food and drink, mercilessly belaboured the two Chandalas. Subsequently, concealing their birth, they went to Taxila for study. One of them made good progress but, eventually, their identity was discovered and they were again beaten and driven out. They went out into the woods, took to an ascetic life, and died shortly after. 7

We find in this story the beginning of those ideas of untouch ability which have cast a slur on Indian civilization. But as yet the Sudras were not included in this category. It is, moreover, refreshing to come across some instances in Buddhist literature where men of low caste were distinguished by culture.

Like the Dharma-sutras, the Smritis also sanction intermarriage between males of higher and females of lower castes (i.e. Anuloma),

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but not vice versa (Pratiloma). Though Manu 1 clearly supports the marriage of a Brahmana male with a Sudra female, this is expressly condemned in the rules that immediately follow. Such contradictions, which also occur in the Mahabharata 2 and Dharma-sutras, prove that the practice was looked upon with disfavour and was gradually disappearing.

As regards interdining, Manu lays down that a Brahmana must not eat cooked food (given) by a Sudra who performs no graddhas . 3 This, by implication, shows that food cooked by a Sudra was not absolutely prohibited. But elsewhere, in Manu, 4 such food is both permitted and forbidden. Similar contradictions are also found in the Dharma-sutras. 5 Manu gives a long list of persons whose food is forbidden, 6 but the restriction is based on considerations of personal virtues, not of caste. On the whole the idea of untouchability or impurity, even of the Sudras as a caste, was gradually growing, but had not yet become a rigid law or practice. No definite statement is made by Manu about changing one caste for another, but possibilities of such change are at least theoretically conceded. For example, it is laid down in Manu 7 that "if the female issue of a Brahmana male and a Sudra female bears children to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation. Thus a Sudra attains the rank of a Brahmana and (in a similar manner) a Brahmana sinks to the level of a Sudra, The same thing happened with the offspring of a Kshatriya or of a Vaisya." This rule merely expands and clarifies the principle enunciated in Gautama Dharma-sutra 8 and indirectly supports the view that intermarriage even between Brahmanas and Sudras was not altogether unknown, and not always so severely condemned as in some rules of Manu and later Dharma-sutras.

The most significant development in the caste system is the large increase in the number of mixed castes. The existence of these castes in the earlier period, as mentioned in the Dharma-sutras, has been noted above, 9 but we get the most elaborate account of

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it in Manu. 1 It first enunciates the principles that there are only four castes and no fifth, 2 and then proceeds to explain the origin of the numerous other castes as due to the marriage between different castes. The issue of parents ‘equal’ in caste, of course, belongs to the same caste, and ‘sons begotten by twice-born men (i.e. the first three castes) on wives of the next lower castes’ belong to the father’s caste, though blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers. 3 But the issues born of women two or three degrees lower than their husbands form a separate caste. Then the intermarriage between these mixed castes themselves and with the three higher castes, and the further intermarriage between the resulting castes multiply the number of castes. The offspring of the Prati loma form of marriage (i.e. between a male of a lower caste and a female of a higher caste) as well as of those who are degraded on account of not fulfilling their sacred duties, and called Vratya, 4 add to the growing number of these mixed castes. Thus, by the twofold theories of Sankara, intermarriage, and Vratya, Manu has sought to explain the origin of all mixed castes or social units in the country including even the Yavanas, Sakas, Chinas, Pahlavas, Dravidas, etc. 5 He has also prescribed the occupations by which they shall subsist. 6 Kautilya also describes some of the mixed castes as the fruits of intermarriage between different castes. 7

The above review will make it clear that while the old theory of caste, adumbrated in the Vedic, especially the Sutra, texts, was developed and elaborated in this age, no new principle was enunciated. Further, though the caste system was gradually becoming more and more rigid, and the lot of the Sudras was becoming harder and harder, it had not yet reached the stereotyped form in which we find it today.

The picture of the caste system as given above is, however, very different from what we find in the Buddhist and Jain texts, and even in some parts of the epics. Thus the Mahdbhdrata 8 lays down that one does not become a Brahmana by birth but by his conduct, a theory frequently met with in an elaborate form in

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X. 4 ff. X. 4.

X. 5-6.

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X. 20-44. X. 47 ff. III. 7.

Bombay Edition III. 313 108. The Critical Edition regards the passage as an interpolation (Aianyaka Parva, p. 1032, note under III, 297, 61)

Buddhist texts. The Mahdbhdrata also declares 1 that the son of a Brahmana is a Brahmana, even though his mother be a Kshatriya or Vaisya. This view is also repeated in Buddhist texts. We are told that when Prasenajit came to learn that his queen was really a slave woman, he reported the matter to the Buddha who said: “Wise men of old have said, what matters the mother’s birth? The birth of the father is the measure.” He also cited a famous instance in support of this view. When the king of Kosala heard this, he was pleased and treated the queen and her son as suited their rank.

The Buddhist and Jain texts also always openly declare the Kshatriyas to be less superior to the Brahmanas, and name the Kshatriyas first in enumerating the four castes. Thus, although the general framework of the caste system is admitted, the supremacy of the Brahmanas is challenged in these texts. This view is also indirectly supported by the Mahdbhdrata. Although in theory priestly power is higher than the royal power, and the king is a creation of the priest, in practice the king often gets the upper hand. This is quite natural, as the whole political organisation was behind the king, whereas the priesthood had not been organised into a worldly power (on the lines, say, of the Church in Europe) independent of the State. In any case the epic, not rarely, indicates that the king dictated and the priest obeyed.

The Buddhist texts and other evidence also leave no doubt that the so-called mixed castes really resulted from organisations, like guilds, of people following different arts and crafts. The general theory of intermarriage leading to the different mixed castes is puerile in the extreme, and hardly deserves serious consideration. It was a desperate attempt to explain existing social conditions on the basis of the orthodox theory of the four castes. But it has one great value. It shows how the different non-Aryan tribes like Khasas and Dravidas, and even foreigners like Sakas, Yavanas, Chinas, etc., were gradually incorporated into Hindu society and formed an integral part of it. The gradual absorption of these foreign elements in the Hindu society is one of the most striking features of the period and testifies to the catholic spirit of the Hindus of that age. Even the hordes of nomadic tribes of Central Asia, not to speak of the civilized Greeks and Parthians, who came to India as conquerors, adopted Indian culture and civilization, and were so completely merged in the

Note 30

Hindu society that no trace was left of their individuality or separate existence as a community.

The Buddhist texts also show that caste was not rigidly tied to craft in those days. They tell of a Kshatriya working successively as a potter, basket-maker, reed-worker, garland-maker, and cook, 1 also of a Setthi (Vaisya) working as a tailor and a potter, 2 without loss of prestige in both cases. We find Kshatriyas of the &akya and Koliya clans cultivating their fields.. The Dasa-Brdhmana-Jataka states how Brahmanas in those days pursued ten occupations against rules: as (1) physicians, carrying sacks filled with medicinal roots and herbs; (2) servants and wagon-drivers; (3) tax-collectors who would not leave a household without collecting alms; (4) diggers of the soil in ascetic garb with their long hairs and nails and covered with dust and dirt; (5) traders selling fruits, sweets and the like; (6) farmers; (7) priests interpreting omens; (8) policemen with arms to guard caravans and shops, like Gopas and Nisadas; (9) hunters in the garb of hermits killing hares, cats, fish, tortoises and the like; and (10) menials of kings who helped them in their baths in the garb of Yajnikas. Similarly, the Vdsettha Sutta refers to Brahmanas working as cultivators, craftsmen, messengers, sacrificers and landlords. The fragment on Silas mentions Brahmanas following many diverse occupations as physicians, sorcerers, architects, story-tellers, cattlebreeders, farmers and the like. The Jatakas refer to Brahmanas pursuing the following callings: tillage, tending cattle, trade, hunting, carpentry, weaving, policing of caravans, archery, driving of carriages, and even snake-charming; and hold up a Brahmana peasant as a supremely pious man and even a Bodhisattva.

Both Jain and Buddhist works describe the normal Brahmana either as a citizen serving society or as a hermit who has renounced society. The second type is called a tdpasa or a rishi living in his dsrama in the forest. The first class of Brahmanas served as the king’s priests and sacrificers, as well as ministers, ambassadors and military officers.

Besides the four established castes of Hindu society the Buddhist Pali text-books speak of the peoples ranking socially below them as hina-jati, “low tribes”, marked out by their pursuits of ‘low crafts’, hina-sippa, and instance the workers in rushes, fowlers

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Note 32

and cart-makers, who were aboriginal peoples; as also mat-makers, barbers, potters, weavers and leather workers. Some texts apply the general term Milakkha (—Mlechchha) to peoples lying outside the pale of Aryan society. 1 2 3 These include the hinci-jatis, mentioned as five in the Vinaya-Siitta-Vibhahga ' 1 viz. Chandala, Vena, Nesada, Rathakara and Pukkusa.

Some of these counted as Sudras belonging to Aryan society, while others lay outside its pale. The former are called by PaninP aniravasitci (abahishkrita) Sudras and the latter, niravasita. As examples of the latter, the Assalayana Sutta mentions the Yonas and Kambojas whose society knew of only two classes, employers and employed, or rather master (ayya) and slave (ddsa).

A graphic account of the caste system is given by Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. He enumerates seven classes or castes into which the whole population of India is divided, viz. (1) Philosophers, (2) Husbandmen, (3) Herdsmen, (4) Artizans, (5) Military, (6) Overseers or Spies, and (7) Councillors and Assessors. He adds that "no one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another or to follow more than one business."

This is undoubtedly a characteristic of the rigid caste system as enunciated in the Brahmanical texts, but it is difficult to believe that the seven categories mentioned by Megasthenes really conformed to this. Neither of the last two classes of officials could really form such a close social corporation, and the fourth class, the artizans, must have included a number of such social units. There is no doubt that Megasthenes confused the castes with the professions or occupations with which he was more familiar than others. It is significant that he makes no mention of the fourfold divisions of caste, and his obvious confusion between castes and occupations probably indicates that the broad division of society was based on this latter factor rather than on the theoretical classification in the Brahmanical texts of the period.

Whatever we might think of the accuracy or otherwise of Megasthenes's observations about the caste-divisions in general, we get interesting glimpses of the social conditions of his time from the particulars he records of them. Special interest attaches to his description of the 'Philosophers' whom he divides into two classes—

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Brachmanes and Sarmanes. There is no doubt that the first of these refers to the Brahmanas. The second is generally taken as the Buddhist Sravianas, but most likely refers to ascetics as a class 1 irrespective of the particular religious sect to which they belonged.

The Brahmana's life is broadly divided into two stages. In the first he lives in a simple style, in a grove in front of the city; he abstains from animal food and sexual pleasure, and spends his time listening to serious discourses or imparting his knowledge to others. After living in this manner for 37 years he retires to his home where he lives the rest of his days in ease and security. He marries as many wives as he pleases, eats flesh and uses fine dresses and costly ornaments. In this account we may easily detect an attempt to describe the first two stages of a Brahmana's life, viz. those of studentship and householder.

The other class of philosophers, viz. the Sramanas, are divided into two classes. The more distinguished among them, the Hylobioi, lived an ascetic life in the woods, where they subsisted on leaves of trees and wild fruits, and wore garments made from the bark of trees. The other class were the physicians, who lived in society and obtained their food, consisting of rice and barley-meal, from the householders for the mere asking, presumably for the valuable medical services rendered by them free of charge. We are told that they effected cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines, among which the most esteemed were ointments and plasters. The Indians were also highly reputed for cure of snake-bites for which no adequate remedy was known to the Greeks.

The Brahmanas and ascetics, whom Megasthenes brings together under one group, formed the highest class in society which, though inferior in point of number to the other classes, was pre-eminent over all in point of dignity. They were engaged by the king and private persons to perform religious ceremonies, and some of them gave a forecast of the weather, health and other topics which might be of use to the public.

It seems to be clear that Megasthenes has described here not so much any particular class or group, far less any caste, as a body of people who struck him as possessing the highest intellectual and spiritual powers and thus forming a class apart. Megasthenes's high estimate of this class of people is fully borne out by the literary evidence referred to above, and the account of individual ascetics by the Greeks, to be referred to later.

SOCIAL CONDITION

It appears from what has been said above that the Hindu society became something like a federation of castes and sub-castes, whose members did sometimes intermarry, more frequently in earlier than in later ages, but which nevertheless retained their separate identity. Society consisted of a large number of groups which had been brought into the same spiritual and cultural framework, but which had been only partially fused together. Caste was not altogether static, for new sub-castes frequently arose from migration, fusion or sub-division. Old sub-castes sometimes lost their identity and rose or fell in status. All the same, the institution acquired a permanent character and coloured all organization, law, custom and social philosophy. Every caste or rather sub-caste, more strictly the local segments of sub-castes, enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy in their social code, cultural tradition and even in judicial matters. This state of things, as we have seen, was reflected at every step in political organization and political thought. Here it may be stressed that caste resolved function into a purpose, into something like an ethical principle, almost a religious conception, and exalted the group to the detriment of individual values. This is one of the reasons why Hindu political theory speaks frequently of the duties, but rarely of the rights of the individual. In society, individuality derives its worth and significance from its contribution of service to the universal whole. Personality is thus taught to transcend itself by giving its devotion to something beyond itself. To everyone, theory prescribes a way of life which accords best with the duties he has to discharge. For instance it inculcates a life of poverty and austerity to priests, scholars and teachers, of whom the Brahmanic order was composed or ought to be composed. Caste furnished an additional incentive to that functional organization and self-government which are natural to all economic occupations, especially to industry and commerce. So arose multitudes of local and functional jurisdictions and intermediate associations in a State. In such a community social control could not be concentrated at a single poini. Sovereignty could not be monistic in the rigid Austinian sense of the term. It was pluralistic and was diffused among a variety of groups and associations.

II. ORDERS OR STAGES OF LIFE

We have abundant testimony to the effective part played by the four Asramas or stages in life during the period under review. As noted above, 1 this fourfold division of life dates back to the Vedic

Note 36

age, and we get a fairly comprehensive account of it in the Dharmasutras. As this was a distinctive characteristic of Indian civilization and accounts for much of the religious development of the age, we may refer to it in some detail. The first stage is that of the Brahma chart, whose is a life of study, of which the characteristic requisite is that he must leave the home of his parents and get himself admitted into the home and family of his chosen teacher with whom he has to live. The Brahmacharl might be of two classes known as (1) Upakurvdna, one who undergoes student-life for a period, after which he marries and becomes a householder, and (2) Naishthika, one who remains a student and a celibate throughout life, which he consecrates wholly to pursuit of learning.

The second Asrama is that of the Grihastha with his manifold duties broadly marked out as comprising (1) Yajha (sacrificial worship), (2) Adhyayana (study), and (3) Dana (liberality). The Grihastha who sets up a home and rears up a family has to recognise three debts which he must repay in his worldly life, viz. (1) debt to the gods to be repaid by worship called Yajna, (2) debts to Pitris or ancestors, to be redeemed by his offspring prepetuating his family, and (3) debt to Rishis or the fathers of learning and founders of religion, to be redeemed by contributions to learning and religious life such as ‘observance of continence on parvan days.’

The third Asrama is that of the Bhikshu, who has to live a life of restraint and denial, marked by the following characteristics: (1) Anichaya, not given to hoarding, (2) Urddhvareta (continence), (3) abstaining from movement in the rains, (4) going to a village for the exclusive purpose of begging, and that after the villagers had finished their meals, or when alms were readily given without any blessings in return as inducement to charity, with restraint of speech, eyes, and action, (5) wearing only loin-cloth or old rag, duly washed, to cover nakedness, (6) abstaining from plucking leaves or fruits for eating and thus injuring plant-life, (7) not staying out of season (i.e. after rains when movement was permitted) for a second night in the same village, and (8) not destroying seeds for purposes of food (e.g. by pounding rice by a pestle) but depending on cooked food if given as alms.

The fourth Asrama carries with it more rigid austerities and abstentions. One belonging to it is called by significant terms— Pari vrajaka, Sannydsi, or Vaikhdnasa by Baudhayana. The Vaikhanasa is so called because he follows the rules of the sage Vikhanas. He is to live in the forest and to subsist on roots and fruits (avoiding cooked food) found in the forest and not grown in the village. He must not live on land that is ploughed, nor enter a village, nor store up food for a year. He should allow his hair to grow, and wear only bark and skin.

The Sannydsl or Parivrdjaka of the fourth Asrama is described as one who “abandoning truth and falsehood, pleasure and pain, the Vedas, this world and the next, seeks only the Atman.” He was generally recruited from the Naishthikas, widowers, childless householders, and persons above 70 years of age having sons to take charge of their home and family.

This account, based on the Brahmanical religious texts, is fully corroborated by Kautilya’s Arthasdstra,[1] which describes in detail the duties assigned to the four Asramas.

Kautilya further points out the virtues which should be cultivated in common in all the four Asramas, viz. non-violence towards all, truthfulness, purity, freedom from jealousy, appreciation of the good points of others, freedom from cruelty, and forbearance.

The scheme of the four Asramas was designed to give wide scope to individuals in the choice of a vocation in life which was best suited to their intellectual capacity and mental inclinations. As remarked before,[2] it was not necessary that one should strictly follow the four stages one after another. Though this might be regarded as a normal procedure by the orthodox section, and one that was largely followed in practice, still the choice was left to every individual, who was not forced either to lead a householder's life or to renounce it against his will. But on the whole the different stages very well reflect the different ideals which inspired society.

This voluntary system worked well so long as there was no preponderating attraction for an ascetic life, for the neglect of household duties on the part of a large section disturbs the economy of society. The great wave of renunciation at the beginning of the period under review, which may be regarded both as the cause and effect of the rise of heterodox sects like Jainism and Buddhism, was a menace to orthodox Hindu society and to the V arnasrama-dharma upon which it was based. Its integrity was threatened by the growth of various ascetic orders and brotherhoods based upon renunciation of the world and of social obligations. The reaction to this antisocial development is reflected in Kautilya's Arthasdstra, which does not at all approve of a premature renunciation of the world and the duties of domestic life without the formal sanction of the legal authorities and without making provision for son and wife. Kautilya accordingly goes to the length of banning the entry into villages of such unlicensed ascetics as a disintegrating factor in rural society.

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There is no doubt, however, that the ascetics or hermits who renounced the world for developing spiritual life formed a unique feature in Indian society. The Greek writers have left an interesting account of some of those whom they actually met. Thus Onesicritus met at Taxila fifteen of them, all given to meditation. When told that the Yavana king wanted to learn their wisdom, one of them replied that "no one coming in the drapery of European clothes— cavalry cloak and broad-brimmed hat and top-boots, such as Macedonians wore—could learn their wisdom. To do that he must strip naked and learn to sit on the hot stones beside them."

More details have been preserved of another hermit named Dandamis "whose home was the woods where he lay on a pallet of leaves." The account, as given by one of the Greek writers, is worth quoting in extenso.

“King Alexander, accordingly, when he heard of all this, was desirous of learning the doctrines of the sect, and so he sent for this Dandamis, as being their teacher and president.

“Onesicritus was therefore despatched to fetch him, and when he found the great sage he said: “Hail to thee, thou teacher of the Bragmanes. The son of the mighty god Zeus, King Alexander, who is the sovereign lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great and splendid gifts, but if you refuse will cut off your head.”

“Dandamis, with a complacent smile, heard him to the end, but did not so much as lift up his head from his couch of leaves, and while still retaining his recumbent attitude returned this scornful answer:—“God, the Supreme King, is never the author of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death; and how can such as he be the world’s master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberaboas, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion?.Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gifts he promises, are all things to me utterly useless; but the things I prize, and find of real use and worth, are these leaves which are my house, these blooming plants which supply me with dainty food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things, which are amassed with anxious care, are wont to prove ruinous to those who amass them, and cause only sorrow and vexation, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught. But as for me, I lie upon the forest leaves, and, having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I gold to guard, that would banish sleep. The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk. I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am forced to cumber myself, against my will. Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul.

My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its Master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed us in flesh, and left us upon the earth to prove whether, when here below, we shall live obedient to his ordinances, and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to his presence, an account of our life, since he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors.

“Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth, and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes neither love gold nor fear death. Go, then, and tell Alexander this: ‘Dandamis has no need of aught that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, but if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him.’

“Alexander, on receiving from Onesicritus a report of the interview, felt a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who, though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match.” 1

This simple narrative of an eye-witness give us a vivid idea of an Indian hermit—his mode of plain living and high thinking, his easy and graceful manner, complete indifference and aversion to material good, lofty spiritual ideals and practical realisation of the Upanishadic doctrine of Soul and God resulting in utter fearlessness of bodily pangs, even of death. All this gave him courage to defy

Note 39

Alexander,—a courage which can come only from an innate spiritual strength. Dandamis’s rebuke to Alexander as the instigator of war and perpetrator of slaughter is not without significance to the modern world. Dandamis represents the typical Indian hermit who, irrespective of any particular religious sect or doctrine, is an embodiment of those virtues and spiritual truths which have animated India from the earliest times and have never ceased to play an effective part in her life from the days of Asoka to those of Mahatma Gandhi.

III. FAMILY LIFE

The joint family system characterised the society, and we get an ideal picture of it in the epics. Implicit and unquestioned obedience to the father is held up as the highest duty for a son in numerous stories and incidents in both the epics. Rama cheerfully gave up the kingdom and betook himself to the life of an exile in the jungles, merely to enable his father to keep his word, and Bhishma voluntarily took the vow of lifelong celibacy and renounced his claim to his father's kingdom, to remove all obstacles in the way of his father's marriage with a fisherwoman. At the same time the fact that Dasaratha, father of Rama, could not survive his separation from the latter demonstrates how deep a father's love could be. The attitude of respect and devotion to father was but the logical conclusion of the great veneration shown generally towards all elders in the family, especially towards the elder brother, of which we get an ideal picture in both the epics, in the careers of the sons of Dasaratha and Pandu. There are also numerous instances of cordial and affectionate feelings between different members of the family, especially between a wife and her husband's parents, brothers and sisters. But we have also examples, in other texts, of serious disagreement. There are instances of both daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law seeking refuge in nunnery to escape from the tyranny of the other. One daughter-in-law even connived at a cunning plot to kill her mother-in-law. In one case four daughters-in-law drove the father-in-law out of the house. Lastly, we have the case of a son who refused to marry on the ground that wives generally show scant respect to their parents-in-law and even domineer over them. 1 Such instances are, however, exceptions and only prove that individual temperaments had as much play in those days as at present.

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The epics also draw a brilliant picture of conjugal fidelity and ideal relationship between husband and wife which have always formed a distinguishing feature of Hindu society. But here again we have indubitable evidence that the ideal was not unoften far removed from practice. Megasthenes makes a general statement to the effect that “the wives prostitute themselves unless they are compelled to be chaste.” [1] This remark of a foreigner would have been lightly dismissed but for the fact that Manu exactly echoes this sentiment, and even elaborates the idea in verses [2] which would not bear repetition in decent society. Megasthenes further observes that “a woman who kills the king when drunk becomes the wife of his successor.” [3] He was probably thinking of the last queen of the Sisunaga dynasty, referred to above. The Jatakas also mention many cases of conjugal infidelity. While these instances do not necessarily imply any general moral lapse in society, they should prove a corrective to those who would fain draw an ideal picture of conjugal faith and love in ancient India.

The family life must have been considerably affected by the growth of intermarriage, and consequently also of polygamy, for the first marriage usually took place with a girl of the same caste, and others were added later. Megasthenes observes that the Indians “marry many wives; some they marry hoping to find in them willing helpmates; and others for pleasure and to fill their houses with children.” [4] This is, in a way, corroborated by the Smritis and the examples furnished by the epics, for Krishna, Duryodhana, Bhima, Arjuna and Dasaratha had each many wives.

The wife who belonged to the same caste as her husband enjoyed special privileges, and the legal status of the sons, at least in the matter of inheritance, depended upon the caste of the mother. This inequality of treatment must have considerably disturbed the peace and harmony of the family and adversely affected the nature of, and normal relation between, husband and wife. This growth of polygamy also led to the frequent supersession of the wife, even on

1. This is the translation of McCrindlc (p. 71). But the passage is obscure and Mr. Bevan takes it to mean that “where conjugal infidelity in a wife was due to husband’s omission to exercise vigorous control, it was condoned by public opinion” (CHI, I. 414). Nearchus remarks: “Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy

her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace....” (McCiiodLe, Megasthenes:, p. 222)

IX. 5-G, 14-16.

McCrindle. op. cit. p. 71.

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flimsy grounds, to which reference will be made later. The bringing together of wives of different habits and types of culture must have not only altered the character of home life, but also degraded the status of the wife, of which the Smritis furnish abundant evidence.

The extent to which polyandry prevailed in ancient India is a debatable point. The Mahabharcita furnishes an instance of it in the marriage of Draupadi with the five Pandava brothers. This, and a few other cases cited in the same epic, can only be regarded as polyandry in a limited sense, viz. marriage of one woman with several brothers. But it is quite clear, from the various explanations offered, that the custom had ceased to be favoured or even tolerated in Aryan society at the time the epic was put in its final shape. Various attempts have been made by modern scholars to solve what they call the ‘Draupadi puzzle’. It is perhaps best to accept polyandry as a custom actually in vogue in ancient times. A passage in Apastamba 1 seems to refer to the practice of marrying a girl to a whole family which is at present forbidden. Brihaspati, however, refers to this practice (Kale Kanydpraddna) as actually prevailing in his time in other countries. It may be noted that the custom of several brothers marrying only one woman is even today more common in India than is generally believed, not only among non-Aryans, but also among the Brahmanas and Rajputs of Kumaun . 2

IV. MARRIAGE AND POSITION OF WOMEN

Marriage between members of the same caste was preferred, though, as noted above, intermarriage between different castes was prevalent. There were certain restrictions even in respect of marriage within the caste. Thus marriage with a girl of the same gotra or pravara, and also within a certain degree of Sapinda relationship, was prohibited. The actual meaning and details of these prohibitions are difficult to follow. On the whole they forbid marriagerelation between agnates and cognates up to a certain limit. A remarkable exception to this was the custom of marrying the maternal uncle's daughter prevalent amongst southerners which, though forbidden by Manu 3 and most other Smritis, is approved by Brihaspati , 4

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who also sanctions the marriage of a brother's widow prevailing in north-west India in his time. 1

The eight forms of marriage, mentioned in the Dharma-sutras. are repeated in Manu. 2 These are:—

1. Brahma, where the father gives hi. daughter, decked with ornaments and jewels, to a learned man of good conduct invited by him.

2. Daiva, where the father gives his daughter, decked with ornaments, to a priest who duly officiates at a sacrifice, during the course of its performance.

3.. Arsha, where the father gives his daughter after receiving from the bridegroom a cow and a bull or two pairs.

4. Prajapatya, where the father gives his daughter after addressing the couple with the text:' 'May both of you perform together your duties.'

5. Asura, where the bridegroom receives a maiden after having given as much wealth, as he can afford, to the kinsmen and to the bride herself.

6. Gandharva, or the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover.

7. Rakshasa, or the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home.

8. Paisacha, where a man by stealth seduces a girl who is sleeping, intoxicated or disordered in intellect.

The first three, four, or six are approved by different authorities. The last one is universally condemned and the seventh is generally commended only in the case of a Kshatriya. On the whole, though the authorities differ in their opinion both as regards the number of the forms of marriage as well as their suitability, all of these seem to have been in vogue. It is interesting to note that according to Megasthenes the Indian's marriage is marked by the gift of "a yoke of oxen". This proves the popularity of the Arsha form of marriage (No. 3) in the fourth century B.C.

The condemnation of the last four forms proves that the basic idea of a proper marriage was that the father or guardian of the girl should freely select the bridegroom on account of his qualifications, and no party should be influenced by any consideration of wealth

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which the other might give. The difference between the first and the fourth is not very clearly marked. It is held by some that the formula mentioned in the fourth practically forbids the husband to marry another wife or to enter the ascetic life without his wife. But the Brahma marriage also, by virtue of the mantras recited, enjoins upon the husband and wife to be inseparable companions of each ' other in the spheres of religion, love and wealth. On the whole this spirit pervades the first four forms of marriage, which are regarded as a religious sacrament and no mere secular contract.

Examples of the Asura form of marriage, where the bride is purchased with gifts and money, are the marriage of Madri, sister of Salya, to Pandu, and that of Kaikeyi to Dasaratha. The Rdkshasa form is exemplified in the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadra, and that of Vichitravirya, on whose behalf Bhlshma abducted Ambalika and Ambika, daughters of the king of Kasl. Probably the abduction of Sita by Ravana is to be explained as due to a similar marriage custom among the Rakshasas—a tribe of whom Ravana was the chief. But the most interesting type of marriage described in the epics is the Svayamvara (self-choice), confined originally to the Kshatriya class, wherein a princess selected her husband of her own free will from among the assembled suitors, or as the result of a tournament or contest in the use of warlike weapons. Formally it may be affiliated to the Gdndharva form of marriage. DraupadI and Sita are both described as won in marriage in this manner.

According to Nearchus the Indians “marry without either giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise.” 1 This probably refers to a modified form of Svayamvara.

As regards the age of the bride at the time of marriage, 2 the evidence of the Mahdbharata is overwhelmingly in favour of the marriage of well-developed and grown-up girls. The cases of Kshatriya women like Draupadi, Kunti, Uttara and the Brahmana Devayam, as well as the continuance of the custom that consummation was a part of the marriage ceremony, may be noted in this connection. The Rdmdyana in one passage 3 states that Sita was six years and Rama thirteen years of age at the time of marriage. But

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other and more reliable passages indicate that she was fully developed at the time. Mahdbhdrata also in one passage 1 mentions 30 and 10 or 21 and 7 as the proper ages of the bridegroom and the bride! These, however, must be adjudged as exceptions proving the rule of the marriage of grown-up girls. The Buddhist texts also support this view.

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As noted above, there was already a tendency in the Sutra texts to lower the age of marriage for girls. While Manu prescribes that a man of thirty shall marry a maiden of twelve, or a man of twentyfour, a girl of eight, 2 he at the same time lays down that a maiden, though marriageable, should rather stop in (the father's) house until death, than that he should ever give her to a man destitute of good qualities. 3 On the whole we may reasonably conclude that while child-marriage was gradually coming into vogue, the older custom of marriage at a mature age was neither uncommon nor regarded with disapprobation. Further, it was considered extremely undesirable, if not a positive sin for the father, to let mature girls remain unmarried, and there is an almost unanimous agreement that in such cases the girl could find out her own husband, after a period of waiting which varied from three months to three years in the different Smritis. Later Smritis like Yajnavalkya insisted that girls should be married before the age of puberty. But this was merely a foretaste of what was going to happen, rather than any settled or even generally followed rule during the period under review, for Narada, which is a later work, recommends marriage after puberty. 4 5 On the whole the insistence on marriage of girls, and that at an early age, is a marked feature of the time and was probably mainly due to an anxiety to maintain their bodily purky.

It has been suggested 3 by some that the rules in the Smritis about the marriage of girls at an early age applied only to the Brahmanas and not to the other castes. This is supported by the fact that the heroines in Sanskrit dramas are almost always grown-up at the time of marriage, and the actual historical examples such as that of RajyasrI, sister of Harsha-vardhana, also support this view. It is also pointed out that in a late work, Saiiiskdra-prakcLsa, it is expressly laid down that there is no prohibition against marrying a

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girl who has passed the age of puberty, for Kshatriyas and others. But such restrictions are not even hinted at in the earlier Smriti works, and the arguments cited merely prove that the injunction about child-marriage was not scrupulously followed in actual life.

The lowering of the marriageable age must have affected the general education and culture of women in an adverse way. Extreme emphasis was now laid on the physical chastity of woman and her unquestioned obedience to husband, to the detriment of other aspects of her life. The result was a gradual deterioration in her general status and position. But the final stage in this downward movement was not reached during the period under review. It was rather a transitional period, and we really find two entirely different pictures of women reflected in literary works. In one set of verses in the epics we find women described as fickle, quarrelsome, untruthful—in other words, a veritable pot of poison! She must, therefore, remain (we are told) under control all her life; in girlhood under the guardianship of her father, in youth under the domination of the husband, and in old age in the charge of her sons. In the other set of verses, woman is 'the glory of the home', the symbol of prosperity to the family, (the better) half of the husband, his friend, philosopher and guide, and therefore worthy of all attention and respect. As a mother, she is superior to ten fathers, superior to anything else on earth.

The same sort of contradiction appears in the Smriti works. Manu, for example, declares 1 that gods are pleased with (those households) where women are held in honour, and that a husband should be punished by the king if he cast off the wife, who is not guilty of any crime causing loss of caste. 2 At the same time, he lays down that the husband had absolute rights over the wife to the extent of inflicting corporal punishment 3 and could discard her immediately she says anything disagreeable to him. It is also declared that "by a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house." 4 A wife was to 'worship, as a god, her husband even though he might be destitute of virtue or seeking pleasure elsewhere, or devoid of good qualities', 5 and is to remain chaste and faithful to him whether he is alive or dead; but a husband, after the funeral of his wife, may

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marry again. 1 Besides, as already noted, Manu 2 gives expression to some general sentiments about women which are most dishonourable and humiliating to the class as a whole, and to which it is difficult to find a parallel in a book held in respect by a large section of humanity.

There are, however, clear indications that during the first half of the period under review, at any rate, there were highly educated women, holding an honourable position in society and household.

Two classes of women students are mentioned: Brahmavddini or lifelong students of sacred texts, and Sadyodvdha who prosecuted their studies till their marriage. Panini 3 refers to women students of Vedic Sakhas. Katyayana, in his Varttika, 4 refers to women teachers who were called Upddhydyd or Upddhydyl f as distinguished from Upadhydydnis , i.e. wives of teachers. The necessity of coining a new term shows that the women teachers were large in number. Patanjali also refers to a special designation for the women scholars who made a special study of Mimamsa philosophy.

The Buddhist and Jain texts also refer to women of the Brahmavddini class, i.e. those who remained unmarried to carry on their studies. Most of the Buddhist nuns, whose songs have been preserved in the Therigdthd, were maidens born in well-to-do families, who renounced the world for the sake of spiritual salvation. The Jain texts refer to Jay anti, daughter of the king of Kausambi, who remained unmarried in order to devote herself to religion and philosophy. She carried on discussions with Mahavira himself on abstruse questions of philosophy, and eventually became a nun. The Mahdbhdrata has also portrayed an exalted picture of womanhood in Draupadi who is called Pandita (learned) and fearlessly argues with her husband on all topics, not excluding political ones. Her spirited behaviour on many a critical occasion shows a worldly woman at her best.

In addition to, or in place of, higher education, the women generally received training in fine arts like music, dancing and painting. But some of them went in for military training also. This is indirectly proved by the term Saktiki, a female spear-bearer,

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mentioned by Patanjali. 1 But a more direct evidence is furnished by Megasthenes who refers to the Amazonian bodyguard in attendance on Chandragupta Maurya, when he went out to hunt. “Of the women” we are told, “some are in chariots, some, on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind, as if they were going on a campaign.” 2 The Bharhut sculptures portray a woman riding a fully caparisoned horse and carrying a standard. The female bodyguard of the king is also mentioned in Kautilya’s Arthamstra which directs that ‘the king, on getting up from his bed, shall be received by troops of women armed with bows’. 3

Women are sometimes known to have carried on administrative work. According to Megasthenes the Pandaean nation was governed by females. This is not unlikely, as matriarchy prevailed in south India. The Satavahana queen Nayanika acted as regent during the minority of her son. 4

As against this bright picture of the high intellectual, moral and physical education of women depicted above, we find also steadily growing disabilities. Formerly the girls went through the Upanayana ceremony like the boys, but this gradually came to be merely formal. Manu prescribes 5 that in the case of women Upanayana should be performed without the recitation of sacred texts. In the following verse he lays down that the marriage ceremony was equal to the Upanayana in the case of women, “serving the husband being equivalent to the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire.” Yajnavalkya 6 took the further and more logical step of prohibiting * the Upanayana ceremony altogether for girls. This was the signal for the gradual “spiritual disfranchisement” of women. Minor religious rituals like Jata~ karma, Namakarma, Chu&akarana, etc. also came to be performed for them without the Vedic mantras. The wife, who formerly performed Vedic sacrifices, was denied the right to do so 7 and could not even recite the Vedic mantras . Thus was the woman reduced, at

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least spiritually, to the status of the Sudra, and this is clearly reflected even in the Bhagavadgita . l

In contrast to this, Buddhism and Jainism offered a more honourable career to women. No wonder a large number of them became nuns, and some of them became famous preachers.

The growing importance attached to physical chastity explains the gradual discouragement of widow remarriage, divorce, and levirate, and encouragement of the system of sail. The rules about remarriage in Kautilya’s Arthasdstra closely follow those laid down in the Dharma-sutras. 2 They permit remarriage of a woman, whose husband is dead, has become an ascetic, or has gone abroad, after a period of waiting which varies according to circumstances. Both Manu 3 and Yajnavalkya 4 forbid the remarriage of widows, 5 but Narada 6 7 permits it, and following it, even later texts like ParasaraSmriti and Agni-purdna lay down that a woman can remarry even during the lifetime of her husband if he is lost (i.e . unheard of), has become an ascetic, is impotent or is an outcaste. Such a remarried woman was called Punarbhu?

As regards divorce or repudiation, we learn from Kautilya’s Arthasdstra that ‘if a husband either is of bad character, or is long gone abroad, or has become a traitor to his king, or is likely to endanger the life of his wife, or has fallen from his caste, or has lost virility, he may be abandoned by his wife.’ Divorce on the ground of ill-feeling was also possible by mutual consent, but not at the will of one party alone*. Kautilya, on the whole, places the husband and wife almost on an equal footing in this respect, but Manu places the wife in a decidedly inferior position. He gives a long list of ‘grounds’ on which one could supersede his wife by another, 8 and then adds that a wife who, being superseded, in anger departs from her husband’s house, must either be instantly confined or cast off in the presence of the family. 9 He also propounds the theory that the wife is not released from her marital obligations even if she is

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sold or repudiated by the husband. 1 A wife showing disrespect to a husband who is addicted to some evil passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture, 2 though for the same, or much less heinous offence, she may be superseded by her husband. Indeed Manu’s injunctions regarding a wife are painful reading, and clearly show how orthodox Brahmanical view was deliberately aiming to relegate her to a position of inferiority.

Narada is on the whole more considerate towards women. He lays down the general principle that, 'when husband and wife leave one another from mutual dislike, it is a sin.' 3 He, however, recommends the expulsion of the wife not only on the grounds of wasteful expenditure, procuring abortion, adultery or attempt on the husband's life, 4 but also for less serious offences like 'showing malice, making unkind speeches or eating before her husband.' 5 He asks the husband not to 'show love to a barren woman, or to one who gives birth to female children only, or whose conduct is blamable, or who constantly contradicts him.' 6 But it is doubtful whether divorce is meant. On the other hand, Narada says that "if a man leaves a wife who is obedient, pleasant-spoken, skilful, virtuous, and the mother of male issue, the king shall make him mindful of his duty by inflicting severe punishment on him." 7 Narada further lays down that 'when faultless maiden has been married to a man, who has a blemish unknown (before his marriage)', she should not only be permitted to leave her husband and 'repair to another', but 'enjoined to do so by her relations.' 8

The account of the births of Pandu, Dhritarashtra and the Pandavas, considered along with the injunctions in the Dharmasastras, leaves no doubt that the system of levirate was in use, though gradually coming into disfavour. Manu, curiously enough, mentions it with approval and lays down detailed rules and regulations for its control in five verses 9 but violently condemns it in

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the next five. 1 Yajnavalkya, however, does not condemn it, 2 and both Vishnu 3 and Narada 4 permit it within certain limits.

The Mahdbhdrata records (probably in its late portions) a few cases of sati (widow burning). MadrI burns herself on the funeral pyre of her husband Pan$u, and the bereaved wives of Krishna immolate themselves in Indraprastha after his death. The Adiparvan 5 has a verse recommending the practice, but the epic is strangely silent regarding the fate of the widows of Duryodhana and numerous other kings who died on the battlefield. In view of the testimony of Greek writers regarding the prevalence of this practice in the Punjab, the possibility has to be conceded that the practice of sail was in vogue during this period. It is possible that the practice was confined to the warrior class, as Onesicritus says, and the other Indo-Germanic parallels suggest. It is held by some that the practice was encouraged by the examples of the Scythians who ruled in India during this period and among whom the custom of burning the wife of a chief along with the remains of her husband was quite common.

In spite of the barbarous nature of the custom, it is interesting to note that sometimes it was not only an absolutely voluntary choice, but one that was made by the wife with eager delight. The testimony of the Greek writers leaves no doubt on the point. When the leader of an Indian contingent died in battle in Iran, in 316 B.C., both his wives were eager to immolate themselves on his funeral pyre. The Macedonian and Greek generals prevented the elder wife, who was with child, and gave permission to the younger. What followed may be described in the words of the Greek writer:

“The elder wife went away lamenting, with the band about her head rent, and tearing her hair, as if tidings of some great disaster had been brought her; and the other departed, exultant at her victory, to the pyre, crowned with fillets by the women who belonged to her, and decked out splendidly as for a wedding. She was escorted by her kinsfolk who chanted a song in praise of her virtue. When she came near to the pyre, she took off her adornments and distributed them to her familiars and friends, leaving a memorial of herself, as it were, to those who had loved her. Her adornments consisted of

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a multitude of rings on her hands, set with precious gems of diverse colours, about her head golden stars not a few, variegated with different sorts of stones, and about her neck a multitude of necklaces, each a little larger than the one above it. In conclusion, she said farewell to her familiars and was helped by her brother onto the pyre, and there, to the admiration of the crowd which had gathered together for the spectacle, she ended her life in heroic fashion. Before the pyre was kindled, the whole army in battle array marched round it thrice. She meanwhile lay down beside her husband, and as the fire seized her no sound of weakness escaped her lips. The spectators were moved, some to pity and some to exuberant praise. But some of the Greeks present found fault with such customs as savage and inhumane.” 1

This vivid account recalls the description of similar scenes by eye-witnesses in modern age. It is, however, permissible to assume that, as in later days, every case of satl was not voluntary. Aristobulus learnt on inquiry that the widow sometimes became a sati of her own desire, and that those who refused to do so lived under general contempt. 2 This undoubtedly implies that the public encouragement to the practice accelerated its growth. At the same time we must remember that the practice is not sanctioned either by the Dharma-sutras or by the Smritis. Manu and Yajnavalkya are reticent about it, though Vishnu seems to commend it in passages which are regarded by many as later interpolation. It is recommended only in the late Vaikhdnasa Grihya-sutra and later Smritis like those of 6ankha, Ahgiras, Daksha, Parasara and Vyasa.

No discussion of the position of women would be complete without reference to a class of courtesans who enjoyed a social standing not accorded to them anywhere else in the world, save perhaps in Athens. The great prestige attached to this class of women appears vividly from the story of Amrapali in the Vinaya Texts of the Mulasarvastivadas. 3 She was a daughter of Mahanama, a rich citizen of Vaisali. Many suitors, including princes, having sought her hand, her father brought the matter to the notice of the Lichchhavi gana and it was discussed by the Assembly. When the members saw Amrapali, they decided that she was a strl-ratna (jewel of a woman), and so, we are told, according to the convention already laid down, she was not to be married to anybody but was

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to be enjoyed by the gana. Amrapall agreed to lead the life of a public woman, but asked for five privileges which were granted.

King Bimbisara, ‘engaged in conversation on good topics with his ministers,* asked them what sort of courtesan each of them had seen. Being told that Amrapall (or Ambapali) was exceedingly charming and accomplished in all the sixty-four arts, Bimbisara decided to visit her at Vaisali, even though the Lichchhavis were hostile. His son by her enjoyed a high position in court. The Pali Vinaya Texts tell us that a merchant, after having described the charms of Ambapali of Vaisali to king Bimbisara, requested him ‘to install a courtesan’ in Raj agriha, and this was done.

Kau^ilya’s Arthasastra also reveals the same state of things. A prostitute, noted for her beauty, youth, and accomplishments, was to be appointed superintendent of prostitutes on a salary of 1,000 pawas (per annum), together with a rival prostitute on half that salary. Detailed rules are laid down for regulating the profession, and two days’ earning every month had to be paid to the State.

The prostitutes had to attend court and were regularly employed in the royal household on a big salary. They held the royal umbrella, golden pitcher and fan, and attended upon the king seated on litter, throne, or chariot. They were also employed in the storehouse, kitchen, bathroom, and the harem of the king.

As to the accomplishments of this class, Kautilya tells us that “those who teach prostitutes, female slaves and actresses, arts such as singing, dancing, acting, writing, painting, playing on the instruments like lyre, pipe and drum, reading the thoughts of others, manufacture of scents and garlands, shampooing, and the art of attracting and captivating the mind of others, shall be endowed with maintenance from the State.”[1]

When Gautama Buddha visited a locality in the neighbourhood of Vaisali, Ambapali paid a visit to him with a number of magnificent vehicles. She sat down near him and, having heard his discourse, invited him and his companions to take their meal at her house the next day. The Buddha agreed, and refused the invitation of the Lichchhavis which almost immediately followed. “Ambapali,” said the Lichchhavis, “give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand.” “My Lords,” replied Ambapali, “were you to offer all

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Vaisali with its subject territory, I would not give up this meal.” After the meal Buddha again gladdened the courtesan Ambapall by his religious discourse, and she presented a park, named after her, to the Buddha.[1]

It would appear from what has been said above that the courtesans as a class were not held in odium, and neither great kings nor renowned religious teachers looked down upon them. Some of them were highly accomplished and, in point of culture and standing, resembled the Hetairai of Athens.

V. SLAVES

Slavery was a recognised institution of Indian society from the oldest Vedic times. The Smritis not only distinguish between different classes of slaves but lay down various rules regarding their status. According to Manu and

Narada, slaves could be acquired by birth in the master's house, by purchase, by gift, by inheritance, by maintenance during famine, by pledge, by release from a heavy debt, by capture in war, by gain in wager, by voluntary surrender of freedom, by apostacy from asceticism, by connexion with a female slave, and by several other processes. Slavery was also the judicial punishment for crime. In keeping with the orthodox view of the gradation of varnas Yajnavalkya and Narada forbid slavery in the pratiloma order. The slaves, according to Narada, are to perform impure work. Though the disabilities of the slaves according to the Smriti law are very great, they are not without personal rights. A slave is not entitled to any property according to Manu and is not to be a judicial witness except in the last resort. According to Narada a legal act done by a slave is void except when done with the master's permission. On the other hand the master, according to Manu, is to bear without resentment the offence of his slave who is his "shadow". Manu also mentions slaves along with parents, wife, and children with whom a householder should not quarrel. Again, according to Narada, a debt contracted by a slave for the benefit of a householder is binding upon him. Finally both Yajnavalkya and Narada lay down liberal rules for the emancipation of slaves. Thus we learn that a slave who saves his master's life when in peril is forthwith released from slavery and becomes entitled to a son's share. Again, persons captured and sold by a robber as well as those enslaved by forcible means are to be emancipated by law. Other clauses lay down specific acts by which different classes of slaves can win their freedom. Even those slaves who are born in the master's house, those who are received as gifts and those who are obtained by inheritance can be released at the master's pleasure. Only an apostate from asceticism and one self-sold are absolutely disqualified for release from servitude.[1]

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According to Megasthenes "all the Indians are free and not one of them is a slave." He amplifies it by stating that "the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves and much less a countryman of their own." It would be a remarkable feature, indeed, of Chandragupta's times, if it were true. But there are so many references to the system of slavery in the Smritis and other Indian literature that it is difficult to accept Megasthenes's statement as true. He probably applied to the whole of India what was true of a particular region, or was misled by the humane treatment generally meted out to the slaves.

As Rhys Davids justly remarks: "We hear nothing of such later (western) developments of slavery as rendered the Greek mines, the Roman latifundia or the plantations of Christian slave-owners, scenes of misery and oppression. For the most part the slaves (in India) were household servants, and not badly treated, and their numbers seem to have been insignificant." 2 Such mild treatment, which offered a striking contrast to the system of slavery with which Megasthenes was familiar, probably led him to believe that there were no slaves in India.

VI. DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

In spite of inevitable differences in different localities, we may form a general idea of the dress and ornaments from the literature, sculptural representation and the description of the Greeks. According to Nearchus, the Indians used two garments of cotton, 'an undergarment which reaches below the knee half-way down to the ankles, and an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head.' 3 The nearest approximation to this would be the dhoti (or sari) and chddar used by the people of Bengal, Orissa, Madras and other parts of India. The upper garment was generally not used inside the house, a part of the lower one being wrapped round the upper part or thrown over

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the shoulders. When Draupadi was surprised in her private apartment and dragged rudely to the assembly hall by the Kauravas, she is described as ekavastrd (wearing one garment only). Similarly, the servant class probably made shift with a single (lower) garment. Draupadi, disguised as a servant in the palace of king Virata, wore only one garment. Ladies of the upper strata of society normally wore coloured garments, as widows are described as clad in white. The public or the formal dress of the higher classes included a turban or headgear consisting of a longish piece of cloth wrapped round the head in a number of ways according to local custom. Poor people probably made shift with the upper garment wrapped round the head like a turban. Kirlgs, of course, wore crowns.

Ascetics and anchorites were dressed in garments made of kusa grass or rushes. What the texture of the Valkala—the favourite dress of a hermit—was, is uncertain, though it is popularly supposed to be made of the barks of trees.

Although cotton was the material generally used, cloths made of silk, linen and wool were also in great demand, especially among the women and the rich. Kautilya 1 refers to an extensive textile industry all over India, and the Vinaya Texts refer to a complete weaving outfit. 2 The cloth was fastened at waist by a girdle, and a variety of girdles are mentioned in the Vinaya Texts, 3 such as those made of many strings plaited together, those made like the head of a water-snake, those with tambourines or beads on them, or those with ornaments hanging from them. The same texts 4 refer to the variety of ways in which undergarments were arranged. All these are corroborated by the sculptural representations.

The difference between the male and female dresses was much less marked than at present. Both used head-dress and ornaments, though gradually the women gave up the former, and the men, the latter. The sculptures of the period, especially those at Bharhut and Sanchl, give interesting specimens of dress and ornaments. On rare occasions we find women putting on the lower garments in sakachchha fashion like the males or Maharashtra women of today, i.e. by passing one end of it between the legs and tucking it up

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behind at the waist. This practice appears to have been confined to the north-west in ancient times.

The sculptured female figures exhibit two striking peculiarities. They do not wear a veil and, more often than not, the upper part of the body is bare, revealing in full the bosom and the navel. The first is generally accepted as an evidence that the purdah system was not in vogue, 1 though some literary references seem to indicate that aristocratic ladies did use a veil when appearing in public. But many scholars refuse to believe that women actually appeared in public without covering the upper part of their body, as it offends against decency and is in conflict with literary descriptions, and they attribute the sculptures to the artistic convention of the age. 2 But it must be remembered that notions about decency and indecency are more or less conventions that differ from age to age. There is abundant evidence that nudity, either of men or of women, was not viewed in the same light in ancient times as in the present. We know from the Vinaya Texts 3 that the Buddhist nuns, together with courtesans, took their bath in a river without any clothing. We are also told that the Buddhist monks “when naked saluted one another, and received salutes; did service to one another, and received services; gave to one another and accepted; ate both hard food and soft; tasted; and drank.” It is true that the Buddha forbade these practices. But the very fact that they were prevalent to the extent indicated above proves that nudity was not regarded in those days as indecent, as in modern times. The scantiness of female dress in ancient paintings and sculptures may, therefore, be as much due to convention of art as a reflection of the actual state of things. The realistic description of the female bosom and navel in Classical Sanskrit literature also supports this view. It may be noted in this connection that no upper garment is worn by the women in the island of Bali, which still retains the Hindu culture it received from India.

Foreign rulers like the Greeks and Scythians introduced new fashions of dress. The Kushana kings are represented as wearing trousers and^hig overcoat, and this was imitated by the Indians. Women, too, began to wear blouses, jackets and frocks in imitation of the Greeks and Scythians, but the fashion did not become a gene

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ral one. The complete outfit for sewing described in Vinaya Texts 1 indicated that stitched clothes were coming into fashion, although there is no explicit reference to it either in the Sutras or in the epics.

Megasthenes observes that “in spite of the general simplicity of style the Indians love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin.” 2 The ornaments which decorated the bodies of both men and women were also costly and of various types and design. Every part of the body from head to foot had its appropriate ornaments made of gold, silver, pearls, gems and precious stones. It would be tedious to describe them in detail, and one may form a clear notion of them from the numerous sculptures and the actual specimens excavated from ancient sites. We may get an idea of the ornaments in common use, even by the men, from the fact, mentioned in Vinaya Texts, 3 that at first even monks “used to wear ear-rings, ear-drops, strings of beads for the throat, girdles of beads, bangles, necklaces, bracelets and rings”. Nearchus says that ear-rings of ivory were only worn by very wealthy people. The only ornaments referred to as worn by women alone were waist-bands and anklets.

Nearchus tells us that Indians “wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated and made of great thickness to make the wearer seem so much the taller.” 4 The variety of shoes is also referred to in the Vinaya Texts 5 such as shoes with one, two, three or even more linings; shoes adorned with skins of lion, tiger, panther, antelope, otter, cat, squirrel and owl; boots pointed with horns of rams and goats, ornamented with scorpions’ tails, sewn round with peacock feathers; boots, shoes and slippers of all hues such as blue, red, yellow, brown, black and orange. Sometimes the shoes were ornamented with gold, silver, pearls, beryls, crystal, copper, glass, tin, lead or bronze. Poorer people used wooden-shoes, shoes made of leaves of palmyra and date-palm, or of various kinds of grass. Shoes were also made of wool.

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We have elaborate references to toilette in the Vinaya Texts. Hair was besmeared with pomade or hair-oil of bees-wax, and then smoothed with a comb or a special instrument shaped like a snake's hood. Scents, perfumes, garlands and unguents were used, and faces were rubbed with ointment and painted. The body was also painted, and feet were rubbed with sandstone, gravel and seafoam. To keep long hair seems to have been the fashion. A Brahmana generally shaved his head, keeping a crest lock or two, while an anchorite kept matted hair. Women who had their husbands living parted their hair in the middle, the parting being coloured red with vermilion or other powder. Beards were either removed by razor (as in the case of a Brahmana) or allowed to grow long (as in the case of hermits). Sometimes they were kept on the chin like a goat's beard, or so cut that they had four corners. The beards were also dyed blue, red, purple or green according to individual taste. The hair on the belly was sometimes cut into figures, and some had whiskers. Nails were polished, or cut with nail-cutters, and tooth sticks were used.

Daily bathing was not a common practice in eastern India according to the Vinaya Texts, 1 though special importance was attached to it in Avanti and the southern country. 2 When bathing, people used to rub their bodies—thighs, arms, breast and back— against wooden pillars or walls. Chunam (lime) was also rubbed over the body by means of a wooden instrument in the shape of a hand or a string of beads. 3 Special bathing pools or tanks are also referred to. They were floored or faced with brick, stone or wood, and had walls or steps of the same materials. To prevent water becoming stale, pipes were laid to drain it off. There were also arrangements for hot-bath rooms with chimney and fire-place, and roof covered with skins. The bathers put scented clay over their faces and took their bath seated on stools. There were cells to be used as cooling rooms after the steam bath. 4

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VII. HOUSE AND FURNITURE

An account of the cities and big buildings has been given above. 1 The Vinaya Texts 2 give us an idea of the common dwelling houses, which were made of stone, brick or wood, and had roofing of five kinds—brick, stone, cement, straw and leaves. The walls and roof were plastered within and without. The sleeping rooms were whitewashed, the floors were coloured black, and the walls red. They were decorated with paintings and engravings such as human figures, wreath-work and creeper work. Provision was made for windows with shutters and curtains, elaborate doors with key-holes, verandahs, covered terraces, inner verandahs and overhanging eaves, dwelling rooms, retiring-rooms, store rooms, closets, and wells with lids and covered by sheds with skin roofs. Hygienic arrangements were kept in view while constructing privies. The house had sometimes two or more storeys, and it was fashionable to have verandahs supported on pillars with capitals in the forms of heads of animals (like elephant).

The rooms were provided with ceiling cloth, movable screen, curtains that could be drawn aside, cupboards, and bone-hooks for hanging clothes. A long list of furniture is given in the Vinaya Texts. There was a large variety of chairs such as rectangular, cushioned, cane-bottomed, straw-bottomed, the one raised on a pedestal or with many legs, arm-chair and state chair, and sofas with or without arms. There were also different types of bedsteads with legs carved to represent animals’ feet, and chairs of the same design. Some bedsteads had lofty supports with arrangements for rocking backwards and forwards, and the bed, comprising mattresses stuffed with cotton and pillows half the size of a man’s body, was strewn over with flowers. Bolsters stuffed with wool, cotton cloth, bark, grass or talipot leaves, and chairs and bedsteads covered with upholstered cushions to fit them were in use. For poorer people there were mats made of grass and bedsteads made of laths of split bamboo.

For reclining their bodies people used lofty and large things such as large cushions; divans; coverlets with long fleece; counterpanes of many colours; woollen coverlets, white or marked with thick flowers; mattresses; cotton coverlets dyed with figures of animals; rugs with long hair on one or both sides, carpets inwrought with gold or with silk; large woollen carpets with designs such as a nautch girl's dance; couches covered with canopies or with crimson cushions at both ends. There were also rich elephant housings and horse-rugs or carriage-rugs. Sheep-skins, goat-skins, and deer-skins were used as coverlets, especially in Avanti and the southern country, and fine skins, such as those of lion, tiger, panther or antelope, were either used for reclining upon or cut into pieces and spread inside or outside the couches and chairs. We also hear of sun-shades, mosquito-curtains, filters for straining water, mosquitofans, flower-stands, and fly-whisks (chdmara) made of tails of oxen and peacocks or of bark and grass.

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Costly utensils were used such as bowls of various kinds made of beryl, crystal, gold, silver, copper, glass, tin, lead or bronze, and some of them were painted or set with jewels. Even circular supports of bowls were made of gold or silver. As most of these utensils and articles of furniture are mentioned in the Vinaya Texts as being used by the monks till some of them were forbidden by the Buddha we may presume that they were used by the middle class people.

VIII. FOOD AND DRINK

It appears from the epics that rice, barley and wheat were the chief foodgrains, rice being very popular. Rich people and the Kshatriyas ate rice mixed with flesh. An interesting verse in the Udyoga-parvan 1 says that the food of the rich consists of flesh, that of the middle class, of milk and its products, and that of the poor, of oil preparations. Quite a large number of dainties, delicacies and sweetmeats were known. Milk and its products formed part of the daily diet, and ghee was particularly valued as very substantial and nourishing.

The Vinaya Texts refer to many articles of food such as rice, beans, tila seeds, fresh honey, rice-milk, honey-lumps, congey, curries, salt, molasses, oil, pot-herbs, fruits, fish, meat and the five products of the cow, viz. milk, curds, ghee, buttermilk and butter.

In spite of the growing spirit of ahimsa (non-injury to animals) fostered by the Jains and Buddhists, and enforced by emperors like Asoka, various kinds of fish and meat, not excluding beef, were extensively taken by the people. According to Kautilya the State maintained preserved forests for animals and birds ancl also a slaughter-house.

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Among drinks in general use were grape-juice, honey, syrups made from various fruits (such as mango, jambu, plantain) and edible roots (water-lily) and the juice of fruits. Drinks were also made from various kinds of pot-herbs and flowers.

Various kinds of liquor were used, and Kautilya gives a detailed description of their manufacture, which was a State monopoly. The sale of liquor was regulated by the State, and Kautilya directs that it shall be sold to persons of well-known character only and in small quantities. But on festive occasions the people enjoyed to the full the unrestricted right of manufacture of liquor for four days. According to Manu 1 the drinking of spirituous liquor is a mahapdtaka (mortal sin), meriting serious punishment, and one who sells it should be banished by the king. Megasthenes also says that the Indians do not drink wine except at sacrifices. But this seems to be an orthodox Brahmanical ideal which did not coincide with actual practice in life; for, even apart from the clear testimony of Kautilya’s Arthasdstra, there is enough evidence to show that the habit of drink was common, especially among Kshatriyas, the nobility and kings. Arjuna and Krishna are described as taking wine when exhausted, and the Yadavas were notorious addicts to wine. And yet there are passages in the Great Epic which, like Manu, condemn drinking and class it among the five most heinous sins. These contradictory passages can be explained only by supposing that the teetotalling tendency gradually grew towards the close of the period under review, thanks mainly to the high moral ideals preached by the Brahmanas, Buddhists and Jains. The Brahmanas as a class seem to have been comparatively free from the evil.

The Vinaya Texts refer to the practice of taking food lying on decorated divans. According to Megasthenes, ‘a table, like a tripod, is set before each person. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties.’ He further observes that the Indians u eat always alone and have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when he feels inclined”. This habit, strange to say, has persisted throughout the 2,200 years that have elapsed since Megasthenes wrote, and he

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rightly remarks that “the contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life.” 1

IX. GENERAL LIFE

On the whole, compared with the preceding period, social life has become richer in content and far more comprehensive in its outlook and range of activities.

In spite of pessimistic views on life in the religious literature, causing a strong tendency towards asceticism, common people had a liking for the enjoyment of the good things of life. The sculptures of the period show the vivacious side of life, full of bustle and activity and marked by a sense of humour. Literature also reflects this lighter side of life. Apart from singing, dancing, music and dramatic performances, entertainments were provided by buffoons, mimic players, rope-dancers, jugglers, and wandering bards or heralds (charanas). Gardening and the art of making garlands by various combinations of flowers provided amusement to many. Various kinds of games, both indoor and outdoor, are mentioned. The former include dice, trapball, guessing other people’s thoughts, etc. Among the latter may be noted hunting, chariot-races, archery matches, wrestling, boxing, shooting marbles with the fingers, and ploughing with mimic ploughs. Festive assemblies known as utsava, samdja and vihara provided not only entertainment but also dainty dishes and intoxicating drinks, and the kings often arranged such celebrations for the amusement of the people. Apart from such assemblies, delicacies like meat were sometimes freely provided. According to the Mahabhdrata, a king called Rantideva killed every day two thousand cattle and two thousand kine in order to dole out meat to the people. When Asoka tells us in his R.E. I, that many hundreds of thousands of animals were every day slaughtered in his kitchen for curry, we can easily infer that a similar practice was followed by the Maurya Emperors. Gambling and drinking wine formed the besetting sins in the life of the people, and the evils of the former are clearly depicted in the Mahabhdrata.

Aioka refers in his edicts 2 to some general features of life. Kings, we are told, for a long time past, used to go out on pleasure tours, in course of which there were the chase and other similar

diversions. Asoka also mentions 3 that the people, especially women,

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performed various rites on occasions of sickness, marriage and birth of children. These no doubt refer to the various religious sarhskdras mentioned in the Sutra literature and referred to before. 1 Asoka condemns them as useless and trivial, and recommends in their place, the practice of Dhamma, which was really a code of morality as defined above. 2 But there is no doubt that even before the religious propaganda of Asoka, the people were marked by a high sense of morality. Megasthenes observes: “Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom.” 3 The ideal of truthfulness permeates the whole literature of the period, and both the epics preserve many classical examples of unswerving adherence to truth, even at the cost of life. It need not surprise us, therefore, when we are told that “they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in each other.” 4

Fully in keeping with this high ideal are the humane laws of warfare referred to above. 5

The Greeks were struck by the fact “that Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life and the songs in which their praises are sung sufficient to preserve their memory after death.” 6 This is corroborated by the absence of sepulchral monuments of ancient times. Megasthenes has correctly described in the following passage the spiritual outlook of Indians, which was sufficiently prominent to strike even a casual foreign observer.

“Death is with them a very frequent subject of discourse. They regard this life as, so to speak, the time when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for the votaries of philosophy. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, to suppose otherwise being a dreamlike illusion.” 7

This indicates the real spirit which animated and sustained Indian civilization. It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that

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the common man in ancient India was averse to wordly enjoyments and material welfare. The need to maintain a balance in life was fully recognised, and dharma, artha, and kdma (religion or spirituality, wealth and happiness) were regarded as the three ends in life to be simultaneously pursued without giving undue prominence to any of them. This principle is clearly enunciated in the Arthasdstra of Kautilya 1 and it is emphasised that any one of these ends, if pursued to excess to the detriment of the other two, "hurts not only the other two but also itself." This threefold end in life, to which a fourth, moksha (emancipation), was added later, has been the ideal of life in India throughout ancient times, but, as often happens, in actual practice one or the other has sometimes gained prominence according to individual inclinations or special circumstances of the time. Kautilya, for example, insists that artha (wealth) was the chief of the three, as the other two, dharma (religion) and kdma (enjoyment), depend upon it for fulfilment. In religious texts, on the other hand, the main stress is laid upon dharma, to the exclusion of the other two. Nevertheless, the harmony of the three pursuits of life may be regarded as the ideal which formed the background of social life in ancient India.

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CHAPTER XXII

Chapter Notes

1. * See Preface.
2. 1. Manu, I. 93.
3. 2. X. 3.
4. 3. VIII. 9.
5. 4. VII. 58.
6. 5. VIII. 10, 11.
7. 6. VIII. 20; XII. 110 ff.
8. 7. VIII. 380.
9. 8. III. 150-166.
10. 9. I. 103 ff; IV. 2 ff.
11. 10. VIII. 410, 413.
12. 11. IV. 99; X. 4.
13. 1. III. 156.
14. 2. II. 238, 240.
15. 3. VIII. 22.
16. 4. VIII. 413-14, 417.
17. 5. See pp. 337 ff.
18. 6. XI. 132.
19. 7. Jataka, IV. 244.
20. 1. III. 13.
21. 2. XIII. 48, 4-5.
22. 3. IV. 223.
23. 4. IV. 253, 211.
24. 5. Cf. Ap. Dh. S. II, 2, 3, 4, with I, 6, 18, 13.
25. 6. IV. 205 ff.
26. 7. X. 64-65.
27. 8. TV. 22.
28. 9. Vol. I, pp. 509f.
29. A.I.U_35
30. l. XII. 47, 17.
31. 1. Jataka, V. 290.
32. 2. Jataka, VI. 372.
33. 1. E.g. Dlgha Nikaya., III. 264.
34. 2. Anguttara, I. 107: IT. 86.

35. 3. II. 4. 10.
36. 1. Vol. I. pp. 447, 493 ff.
37. 1. Bk. I, Ch. in.
38. 2. Vol. I, p. 493.
39. 1. McCrindle, Megasthenes, pp. 124-126.
40. 1. Altekar. The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, pp. 107-8.
41. 1. II. 27, 3-4.
42. 2. Jolly, Hindu Law and Custom , pp. 102-3; KHDS, II. 554.
43. 3. XI. 172-173.
44. 4. GOS Ed. I. 128; II. 401.
45. i'. II. 403.
46. 2. III. 27-34.
47. 1. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 222.
48. 2. Altekar, op. cit . pp. 58 ff.
49. 3. Aranya Kinda, 47. 10-11.
50. 1. Anusasana parvan. 44, 14.
51. 2. X. 94.
52. 3. IX. 89.
53. 4. XII. 27.
54. 5. KHDS, II. 416.
55. 1. III. 55-59.
56. 2. VIII. 389.
57. 3. Vin. 299.
58. 4. V. 147.
59. 5. V. 154.
60. 1. V. 168.
61. 2. IX. 2-19.
62. 3. IV. 1. 63.
63. 4. On IV. 1, 48.
64. 1. On IV. 1, 15, 6.
65. 2. McCrindle, op. cit. p. 72.
66. 3. KAT. p. 47.
67. 4. Altekar, op. cit. p. 220.
68. 5. II. 66.
69. 6 I 13
70. 7. Manu , IV. 205-6; IX. 18; XI. 36.
71. 1. IX. 32.

72. 2. KAT. p. 201.
73. 3. V. 156-7.
74. 4. I. 75.
75. 5. But both of them sanction such marriages in certain cases (Manu, IX. 176; Yaj, I. 67).
76. 6. Xn. 45 ff; 96 ff.
77. 7. Vas . XVII. 19-20.
78. 8. IX. 80-82.
79. 9. IX. 83.
80. 1. IX. 46.
81. 2. IX. 78.
82. 3. XII. 90.
83. 4. XII. 90, 92.
84. 5. XII. 93.
85. 6. XII. 94.
86. 7. XII. 95.
87. 8. XII. 96.
88. 9. IX. 59-63.
89. 1. IX. 64-68.
90. 2. I. 68-9.
91. 3. 15, 3.
92. 4. XII. 80 ff.
93. 5. Cr. Ed. I. 116, 31.
94. 1. Diodorus XIX 34, quoted in CHI, I. 415,
95. 2. Aristobulus, Frag. 34.
96. 3. B. C. Laio Vol. I. 137.
97. 1. KAT. 155-56.
98. 569
99. 1. SBE, XVII, 105-8.
100. 1. Ydj, II. 182-183; Ndrada, V. 2*6-43; Manu, IV. 180, 185; VIII. 70, 415-17.
101. 2. Buddhist India, p. 55.
102. 3. McCrindle, Megasthenes, p. 219.
103. 1. KAT. 93-4.
104. 2. Chv. V. 28.2.
105. 3. Chv. V. 29.2.
106. 4. Chv. V. 29.4.

107. 1. This point will be discussed, with references, in the next volume.
108. 2. Altekar, op. cit. 338-44.
109. 3. Mv. VIII. 15. 11.
110. 1. Chv. V. 11. 2. ——
111. 2. McCrindle op. cit. p. 70.
112. 3. Chv. V. 2. 1.
113. 4. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 220.
114. 5. II. 14. ff.
115. 1. According to Patimokkha, Pachittiya Dhamma V. 57, "Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall bathe at intervals of less than half a month, except on the proper occasions—that is a Pachittiya".
116. (Proper occasions are 2h months of hot weather, sickness, journey, and when there has been wind and rain.)
117. 2. Mv. V. 13. 6.
118. 3. Massage was evidently very popular. Megasthcnes says that the king was "rubbed with cylinders of wood" by 'four attendants' in the open court even when he was engaged in judicial work (McCrindle, op. cit., p. 72).
119. 4. Chv., V. 14.
120. 1. See Ch. XX. A. " "
121. 2. The description that follows of the houses and furniture is based on Chullavagga, Sixth Khandhaka.
122. 1. Cr. Ed. 34. 37.
123. 1. IX. 225; 235-7. ~~
124. 1. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 70.
125. 2. R.E. VIII.
126. 3. R.E. IX.
127. 1. Vol. I, pp. 474, 507.
128. 2. See pp. 82-83.
129. 3. McGrindle, op. tit., p. 70.
130. 4. Ibid.
131. 5. See pp. 317-18; also Vol. I, pp. 302-3.
132. 6. McCrindle, op. cit., pp. 67-8.
133. 7. Ibid., p. 100.
134. 1. Ch. VII; KAT. p. 14.

EDUCATION

The Dharma-sutras carry on the Vedic traditions and practices of education and codify them into regular systems. Education had its own rituals and ceremonies to emphasize its religious aim and character as an aid to self-fulfilment and the educing of personality. Education was treated as a matter of growth, a process of life, which was controlled in its totality. The very tenor of life was changed for the pupil who had to leave the home of his parents to live in a new home, the home of his spiritual parent, the guru or teacher.

1. PUPILS AND TEACHERS

The first educational ceremony was Vidydrambha, to be performed by the pupil at the age of 5, by learning the alphabets and offering worship to the appropriate deities. According to Kautilya, the pupil, at Vidydrambha, was also introduced to writing (iipii and numbers or arithmetic (samkhyd).

Next followed the ceremony of ZJpanayana, marking the turning point in the pupil's life. Manu describes it as spiritual birth, Brahma janma, where the mother is Sdvitri and father the Achdrya. 1

The essential features of this ceremony have been described above, 2 but the texts of the period add elaborate details about the life of strict discipline led by the pupil in his teacher's house, as a Brahmachdri.

Normally, the pupil was admitted by the teacher without payment of any fee to him. According to Manu 3 a student should not pay any fees to his teacher before he finishes his education. A teacher teaching for fees is condemned as an Upapdtakin. Usanas 4 brands him as a Vrittika.

Admission to study depended solely upon the pupil's fitness for

it. Studious pupils worked night and day. Some who could not

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

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get oil for their lamps would burn dried cow-dung and read in its light in an isolated corner. But there were also indifferent pupils who found study too irsksome and difficult, and deserted; or could not stand the strict discipline of the teacher; or would be dismissed by the teacher for an offence; or would leave studentship prematurely for a life of ease and be branded as a Khatvdrudha, i.e. as one who started sleeping on a cot when he should be sleeping on the ground. 1

Sometimes, a pupil would change teachers and schools too often and earn the uncomplimentary epithet of Tirthakdka, i.e. fickle as a crow that does not stop long at a place of pilgrimage. Other similar terms of opprobrium applied to erring pupils are: (1) Kumari-Ddkshdh } those who entered as pupils of Daksha for the sake of the girls living with him; (2) Bhikshd-Mdnava, a pupil entering upon study for appropriating the proceeds of begging; (3) Odana-Pdniniydh, those who seek the study of Panini for the advantage of getting free food like boiled rice; (4) Ghrita-Raudhiyah , the Raudhlyas seeking after ghee; and (5) Kambala-chdrdyaniydh, those hankering after blankets. 2

A famous teacher is called Y aujanasatika, i.e. one whom students would seek from a distance of hundreds of miles. 3

Manu mentions two classes of teachers: (1) Upddhydya who took to teaching as a profession for his livelihood and taught only a portion of the Veda or Vedanga, 4 and (2) Achdrya who taught the Veda with its Kalpasutras and Upanishads 5 without charging fees. The pupil after completing his education was to give him such presents as he could afford —field, gold, cow, horse, umbrella, shoes, grain, vegetables or clothes. 6 7 The paid teacher and the paying pupil were condemned as unworthy of invitation to an important social cermony like Sraddha. 1 Besides the ordinary teachers, Manu mentions educational experts 8 who were proficient in pedagogy.

The ancient educational system evolved its own appropriate methods of study. Kautilya enumerates the following steps of Vedic study: (1) Susrushd (eagerness to listen to the words of the teacher as they fall from his lips), (2) gravcniam (grasping by the ear the lessons of the teacher), (3) Grahanam (apprehension of the teacher's words), (4) DMranam (retention), (5-6) Uhapoha (discussion), (7) Vijnana (full knowledge of the meaning conveyed by the teacher's words or lessons), and (8) Tattv^bhinivesha (comprehension of the underlying truths of the teacher's lessons). A stray verse puts the position in a nutshell thus: "The student learns a fourth from his Ach&rya, a fourth by his own intelligence by himself, a fourth from his fellow-pupils, and the remaining fourth in course of time by experince."

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2. ART OF WRITING

The art of writing was now fully developed. The oldest alphabet, known as Brahml, is employed in the majority of the records of Asoka, and from it have been derived the various scripts used today all over India. The Aramaic script was introduced into the Punjab by its Achaemenian conquerors. From it was derived the KharoshthI alphabet, written from right to left. It was confined to north-western India, and was thence carried to Central Asia, but it went out of use after the third or fourth century A.D.

The knowledge of writing might have been expected to introduce a great change in the system of education, but this does not appear to have been the case. There is abundant evidence to show that the teaching continued to be mainly oral, and the study of manuscripts was positively condemned. Certain passages in the Buddhist canonical literature indicate that, although the art of writing was in vogue, the sacred books were not written but committed to memory, even though the monks realized the danger that a portion of the canon might thus altogether be lost. Similar notions prevailed among the Brahmanas and the followers of other religious sects. It is difficult to explain this attitude. It has been suggested that the art of "writing was introduced into India at a late period in the intellectual development of its people—so late that, before they knew of it, they had already brought to perfection another and a very excellent method (i.e. learning by heart! of handing down literary productions." [1] In other words, being accustomed to preserve massive literature by stupendous feats of memory, they would not realize the use or necessity of writing it down. The advantage of the latter course is, however, so obvious that the explanation cannot be regarded as very satisfactory. Another argument advanced is that even when the Indians came to know of writing, they had not the necessary materials for writing lengthy records.

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Both these assumptions are based on the view that the art of writing was introduced into India, from western Asia in about the ninth century B.C. But the correctness of this view, which was once generally held, can no longer be regarded as beyond dispute. [1] Even if it were true, it would indeed be very strange that materials like birch bark, for writing lengthy records, were not thought of during the next three or four hundred years, or that although these were known, people could not realize the obvious utility of books even as a supplementary aid to oral teaching. In the case of the Brahmanas, the growing desire to withhold the sacred mantras from the people and retain teaching as an exclusive privilege for themselves might act as an incentive to oral teaching to the exclusion of books. But the same motive could not possibly operate in the case of the heterodox sects like the Buddhists. When we remember the vast mass of literature, even in the fourth or fifth century B.C.. and the extensive use of writing for administrative purposes in the time of Asoka, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that books were much more extensively in use than is now commonly believed, or was admitted by priestly writers and monks. They emphasized perhaps rightly, the role of the teacher in an educational system which sought not merely to impart knowledge to but also to develop the personality of, the pupil, and hence insisted that the teacher, rather than the books, should be the main source of instruction.

3. SUBJECTS OF STUDY

It appears from the Manu-smriti that the subjects of study in those days comprised, besides the entire Vedic literature, Dharmasastras or Smritis; 2 Itihasa and Parana : 3 Vaikhanasa-sutra for recluses; 4 heretical Sastras; 5 Economics and allied subjects , 6 Anvikshiki (Dialectics), and Dandanlti or Politics . 7 The last two, with the Vedic study (Trayi) and Vdrtci (economics, etc.), are referred to as the four important subjects of study in the Kautiliya Arthasdstra.

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The education of the prince followed other lines. In addition to the four important subjects mentioned by Kautilya, 1 he had to receive military training relating to the operation of the different elements of the army such as elephants, horses, chariots and weapons of war (praharana). He had also to study history or Itihasa which included (1) Pur ana, (2) Itivritta (history),

(3) Akhydyika (tales), (4) Uddharava (illustrative stories), (5) Dharmasastra and (6) Arthasdstra.

The Buddhist text Milinda-panha also gives a long list of the subjects of study for a Brahmana, which comprised the following: the four Vedas, Itihasas, Puranas, lexicography, prosody, phonology, verses, grammar, etymology, astronomy, astrology, and the six Vedangas; knowledge of auspicious marks (on the body); interpretation of omens, dreams, and signs; prognostications from comets, thunder, junction of planets, fall of meteors,' earthquakes, conflagration and signs in the heaven and earth; study of the eclipses of the sun and moon, of arithmetic, of casuistry; interpretation of the omens to be drawn from dogs, deer and rats, and mixtures of liquids and the sounds and cries of birds. The Kshatriyas had to acquire knowledge of elephants, horses, chariots, bows, rapiers, the art of war, documents and currency, 2 while the Vaisyas and Sudras had to learn husbandry, merchandising and the care of cattle. 3 Elsewhere, king Milinda is said to have a knowledge of 19 arts and sciences, viz . Sruti (Vedas and Smriti; Sankhya, Yoga, Nyaya and Vaiseshika systems of philosophy; arithmetic; music; medicine, archery; 4 Puranas; Itihasa; astronomy; magic; causation; spells; the art of war; poetry; and currency. 5

The Mahabharata gives some interesting information about education. It contains the singular injunction that persons of all the four castes should listen to discourses on Vedas or to Vedic recitations (sravayet chaturo varnan). 6 An interesting fact is that

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Brahmana teachers gave instruction not only in all academic subjects, including politics, but also in non-academic ones like archery, the science of war in general, and other arts and crafts. This was so probably because they were credited with occult knowledge of charms, spells and incantations, which turned, as though by a miracle, the ordinary arrow into a weapon of the most devastating type. Not only astrology and medicine but agriculture was also taught by the Brahmanas. Among the subjects of study, in addition to the Vedangas, were the training of elephants and horses, the driving of a chariot, engineering, etc.

A glimpse of industrial education is given by Narada 1 who explains the rules relating to apprenticeship and admission to an industrial school. The young man must first secure the consent of his guardian before he is apprenticed to his master. He will then settle with him the period of apprenticeship. He is to live with his master, whose home is his workshop, and is to be treated and instructed by the master as his son. He is not to be exploited and employed on work not connected with his chosen craft. He cannot leave his master before the stipulated period of apprenticeship even if he has completed his training, the gains from which are to go to the master. An apprentice deserting a master, not lacking in character or as a teacher, deserves corporal punishment and confinement. At the end of his pupilage, the apprentice must reward his master as best as he can, or may accept service under terms settled. It was this efficient industrial training which gave ancient India the palm in handicrafts, feeding her rich export trade for centuries from Pliny to Tavernier. The Chatuhshashti-Kalas, the traditional 64 arts and crafts in ancient India, were also the products of this industrial system and training.

We may conclude this section by a reference to the story of medical education given in Buddhist canonical texts. The story centres round the early education of Jivaka, who was the physicianin-ordinary to the Magadhan emperor Bimbisara, and was also deputed by the emperor as physician-in-attendance on Buddha, as the best medical expert of the times. He was of obscure origin and the son of a courtesan of Raj agriha, a foundling thrown on a dust-heap from which he was rescued by Bimbisara's son, prince Abhaya, 'who brought him up till he repaired to Taxila to learn an art as a

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source of livelihood without depending upon the uncertainties of royal patronage.'

He studied medicine at Taxila under a "world-renowned physician" for the prescribed period of 7 years. But before he was given the licence to practise medicine, he had to undergo a sort of practical examination prescribed by his teacher, who directed: "Take this spade and seek round about Takkasila a yojana on every side, and whatever plant you see which is not medicinal, bring it to me." After a good deal of botanical investigation, Jivaka could not discover any plant that was devoid of medicinal properties. The teacher was satisfied and gave him a little money with leave to go home and practise as a physician. His money sufficed for his journey up to Saketa where he was forced to earn. His first earning came from his successful treatment of a rich Setthi's wife who had a chronic disease of the head which no physician could cure. Jivaka had one pasata (handful) of ghee boiled up with various drugs and had it administered to the patient through the nose. She was at once cured and gave Jivaka the princely fee of 16,000 Kahdpanas, together with a present of a coach, horses and 2 servants. 1 These earnings Jivaka tendered to his patron, prince Abhaya, as a return for bringing him up.

Next, he treated emperor Bimbisara himself and cured him of a fistula. His third important case and call came from Banaras, where a merchant's son had a strangulation of the intestines, caused by a gymnastic feat. It was a surgical case. He "cut through the skin of the belly, drew the twisted intestines out and showed them to his wife;" then "disentangling the twisted intestines, he put them back into their right position, stitched the skin together, and anointed the wound with a salve." Very soon the patient was cured, and his father paid the surgeon a fee of 16,000 Kahapanas. King Pradyota of UjjayinI was his next important patient. He was suffering from jaundice, and asked Bimbisara for the loan of the services of his physician. Jivaka cured this royal patient by medicated ghee and was rewarded with costly gifts of textiles. Once he cured the Buddha of constipation by making him smell three medicated lotuses, bathe in warm water, and live on liquid food for some days.

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EDUCATION

The texts speak of medicines prepared from roots, leaves, fruits, gums {e.g. Hingu) and salts, from which were also made astringent decoctions; chunam as a remedy against itches and boils; dried cow-dung and some kinds of clay against skin-diseases; eyeointments; medicated oils; and the like. They also testify to progress in surgery. We read of a lancet operation to cut off proud flesh; of compresses, bandages and oils for the treatment of wounds; of a fistula cured by lancing and treated by ointment; and of the use of a clyster. 1 .

4. ASRAMAS OR HERMITAGES

The Mahabharata tells of numerous hermitages where pupils from distant and different parts of the country gathered for instruction around far-famed teachers. A full-fledged Asrama is described as consisting of several departments which are enumerated as follows:—

(1) Agni-sthana, the common hall for prayer and worship of Agni; (2) Brahma-sthana, college of divinity, the department of Vedic study; (3) Vishnu-sthana, taken to mean the department for the study of Raja-niti, Artha-mti and Vdrtta; (4) Mahendra-sthana , the Military School; (5) Vivasvata-sthana, department of astronomy; (6) Soma-sthana , department of botany; (7) Garuda-sthana, dealing with transport and conveyances; and (8) Kdrttikeya-sthdna, for study of military organization, methods for forming patrols, battalions, and armies.

A most famous Asrama or hermitage of the time was Naimisha, located in a forest named after it. Its principal was Saunaka, called a Kulapati as teacher of 10,000 pupils. He performed a twelve years' sacrifice which attracted a vast concourse of learned men, who carried on constant discussions of religious, philosophical and scientific topics.

Another such hermitage was that of Rishi Kanva, on the MalinI, a tributary of the Sarayu, a centre around which grew up numerous other hermitages representing a wide variety of subjects and academic interests. In that assemblage or federation of hermitages were to be found specialists in different branches of knowledge, including physical sciences and arts, such as the art of constructing sacrificial

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altars of different dimensions and shapes (on the basis of a knowledge of solid geometry); knowledge of the properties of matter (Dravya-guna) of physical processes and their results; and zoologists who had special knowledge of monkeys and birds.

Ayodhya figures as a noted seat of learning in the Rdmayana , The Rdmayana tells us of its unique institution called Mekhalinam Mahd-samgha, a federation of the Samghas or Brotherhoods of Brahmachdns, who approached the king with their grievances and views on public questions. Students are also mentioned as residents of Asramas and Avasathas, which were like the licensed lodging-houses recognized by modern universities. The Asramas were situated outside the city, whose citizens flocked thither to hear the learned discourses and discussions held there chiefly by the

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Lokayatas, notorious for their zeal for debate and casuistry. There were also Puranic schools of Sutas and Magadhas at Ayodhya, which were crowded by the bards and chroniclers of the country, of whom the chief in those days was Arya Chitraratha. Ayodhya had also its ladies’ clubs called Vadhu-Samghas, dramatic societies called Nataka-Samghas, which organized festivities called Utsavas and Samdjas at the suburban parks, with the main programme consistin of acting and dancing. The Rdmayana also refers to educational institutions conducted by private citizens in the city which offered lectures and lessons attended by various bodies of students. These citizens included the Sutas and Magadhas, king’s officers, artists and craftsmen of all kinds, and merchants who had travelled widely.

The biggest Asrama of the times was that of Bharadvaja at Prayaga, which accommodated prince Bharata and all his royal retinue in its stables for elephants and horses (chatuh-salas), mansions (harmyas), palaces (

prdsadas) and royal guest-house (rajavesma), provided with beds, seats, coverlets, carpets, stores of food and vehicles.

5. BUDDHIST VIHARA

Interesting information about the educational system is also furnished by typical Buddhist canonical texts as well as the Jatakas. Buddhist texts knew of two classes of teachers, Upadhyaya and Achdrya, but rank the former higher, unlike the Brahmanical texts. Buddhaghosha, commenting on Mahavagga, V. 4, 2, states that the Upadhyaya was to be of 10 years' and Achdrya of 6 years' standing as a monk. The former took charge of the pupil's study of sacred texts and doctrines, and the latter of his life and conduct, like the modern tutor, and was aptly called Karmdchdrya.

The duties of teacher and pupil follow the same lines in Buddhist and Brahmanical systems. The main difference between them lies in the character of the educational institution. In the Brahmanical system, it was the Guru-kula or hermitage, based upon individual relationship between the teacher and the pupil. This individual treatment of the pupil limited the number of pupils whom a teacher could admit and instruct by himself. In the Buddhist system, education was imparted in the Vihdra or monastery, giving scope to a collective life and spirit of brotherhood and democracy among the many resident monks, who came under a common discipline and instruction. The Buddhist Vihdra was built up as a self-sufficient colony, growing its own food by agriculture and dairyfarming in its own grounds, which came into its possession as gifts from its supporters. Thus there was need of more external organisation and machinery in the Buddhist system. The Brahmanical Asrama or hermitage, on the other hand, was a home that hardly called for any organization to deal with the problems created by large numbers and a congregational life. It has, however, to be noted that even the collective monastic life in a Buddhist Vihdra gave scope for an individual life of study and meditation, provided for in the cell assigned to a monk, and also in the particular group to which he was assigned, under the personal direction of his tutor or upddhydya. What, however, was absent from the monastery was the domestic touch of the Brahmanical system of education.

Monks were graded for study in the monastery. Their instruction comprised "giving of recitation, holding examination, making exhortation, and explaining Dhamma." 1 There was also specialisation in different branches of Buddhist canon. The different classes of monks were lodged in separate hostels lest their mixing up should cause disturbance to their different studies. 2

6. EDUCATION IN THE JATAKAS

The Jatakas are full of stories giving interesting glimpses of ancient Indian education. A story full of significant details is given as follows in Jataka No. 252:

"Once on a time, Brahmadatta, king of Banaras, had a son named prince Brahmadatta. Now kings of former times, though there might be a famous teacher living in their own city, often used to send their sons to foreign countries afar off to complete their education, so that by this means they might learn to quell their pride and highmindedness, and endure heat or cold, and be made acquainted with the ways of the world. So did this king. Calling his boy, then sixteen years old, he gave him a pair of one-soled sandals, a sun-shade of leaves and a thousand pieces of money, with these words: 'My son, get you to Takkasila, and study there/

"The boy obeyed. He bade his parents farewell, and in due course arrived at Takkasila. There he enquired for the teacher's dwelling, and reached it after the teacher had finished his lecture and was pacing up and dqwn at his front door. When the lad set eyes upon the teacher, he loosed his shoes, closed his sunshade, and with a respectful greeting stood still where he was. The teacher saw that he was weary, and welcomed the new-comer. The lad ate and rested a little. Then he returned to the teacher and stood respectfully by him. After a few preliminary inquiries about his home and parentage the

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teacher asked: ‘Have you brought the teacher’s fee? or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you?’ T have brought a fee with me’, said the prince, and laid at the teacher’s feet his purse of a thousand pieces. The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day and at night they learn of him; but they who bring a fee are treated like eldest sons in his house, and thus they learn. And this teacher, like the rest, gave schooling to the prince every night and auspicious day. 1 Thus the young prince was taught.”

This and other Jataka stories show that Taxila was then a prominent centre of learning and education, to which flocked scholars from distant parts of India. The richer students paid in advance the entire fee for the course of education which, in the case of medical education, extended even up to 7 years. The amount of the fee was fixed at 1,000 pieces. The majority of the students were, however, poor and rendered service to their teachers in lieu of fees. They “attended on their teacher by day” and received instruction from him at night. Sometimes the expenses of a poor school were paid by a philanthropic public. Thus there is a case of a school of 500 Brahmana boys at Banaras whose charitable “folks used to give day by day commons of food to poor lads, and had them taught free” by their teacher who was of “world-wide fame.” 2 Sometimes the householders would invite the poor schools of their

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neighbourhood to meals, 1 and such invitations, coming by turns, would work like a permanent provision of food for the schools. There were also available State scholarships for supporting students for study at a distant place like Taxila. 2 Sometimes, students might accompany princes as their companions to receive education at their expense. The sons of the royal chaplains at the court of Banaras 3 and of Raj agriha 4 thus accompanied their respective princes to Taxila.

There were day-scholars along with resident pupils in the schools of those days. Mention has been made of prince Junha of Banaras keeping house for himself as a student of Taxila. Some of these day-scholars might be married and regular householders. The Jatakas mention cases of some whose studies were hindered by their wives, one of whom always feigned sickness when her husband was about to go to school.[5]

The Jatakas tell of the standard number (500) for a school and of the different castes and ranks of students making up that number —Brahmana and Kshatriya, princes from distant kingdoms, sons of magnates or magnificos, some of whom were Brahmanas, sons of merchants and tailors and even fishermen; and also of a teacher who admitted to his instruction all castes equally—“fishermen and the like.”[6] Chandalas, however, were not admitted to study.[7]

Studies were chosen freely and not according to caste. We read of Brahmana students learning divination at Taxila, but settling down as hunters in the forests of Banaras,[8] studying magic charms,[9] archery,[10] science,[11] the three Vedas and 18 accomplishments or crafts.[12] Princes at school had to share a common, simple, democratic life of equality with their poorer comrades. The food of the boys at school was very simple. Rice-gruel was served for breakfast by the maid of the teacher’s house,[13] while at invitations they were given a meal of sugar-cane, molasses, curd and milk.[14]

1. I. 317; III. 171. ~~

2. V. 127.

3. V. 263.

4. III. 238 and V. 247.

5. I. 463; I. 300-302.

6. III. 171.

7. See above, p. 538.

8. II. 200.

9. II. 99.

10. III. 219.

11. III. 18.

12. II. 87; III. 115, 122.

13. I. 318.

14 . I. 448.

There were both public schools and community schools. We read of schools confined only to Brahmana students 1 or to Brahmana and Kshatriya pupils 2 or only to princes, “to the number of 101.” 3

The Head Master of a school was helped in his work by a staff of assistant masters who might be also his pupils. 4

A school kept a cock to serve as a clock or alarm-bell to rouse students early from their bed. 5 It had also tittiri birds trained to recite Vedic mantras and help the boys to remember them. Thus birds were tamed as aids to study! 6

Taxila, as a centre of education, attracted students from far and near, even scholars from distant Greece if we are to believe in the story of Apollonius of Tyana. According to the Jatakas, the students came to Taxila to complete their education in the three Vedas on the one hand, and in the 18 Sippas or crafts on the other. Taxila thus offered the highest education in humanities and the sciences, arts and crafts. It had special schools of law, medicine and military science. It also offered courses of study in elephant-lore, 7 hunting, 8 animals’ cries, 9 archery 10 and the like. There is an interesting story of a Brahmana boy named Jotipala, a native of Banaras, whose king sent him at his expense to Taxila for education in archery. When he finished his education and was returning home, his teacher presented him with his own sword, a bow and arrow, a coat of mail and a diamond, and asked him to take his place as the head of a school of 500 pupils, to be trained up by him, as he was himself old and about to retire. 11

The Jatakas tell of Banaras as another centre of learning. It was to some extent built up by the graduates of Taxila who set up there as teachers. 12 Banaras also produced its own teachers of world-wide fame with their schools of 500. 13 The son of a Brahmana magnate worth 80 crores was educated at Banaras, 14 which was evidently good enough for his education. Banaras was noted for its school of music under an expert who was "the chief of his kind in all India." 15

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1 R. K. Mookerji —Hindu Civilization.

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1 . I. 317, 412, etc.

2. III. 158.

3. V. 457.

4. II. 100; V. 457.

5 . I. 436.

6 . Tittira Jdtaka, III. 536.

7. Hatthi-Sutta, II. 47.

8. II. 200.

9. III. 415.

10. III. 219, etc.

11. V. 127.

12. Nos. 130. 185, etc.

13. I. 239; IH. 18, 233.

14. IV. 237.

15. No. 243.

CHAPTER XXIII

ECONOMIC CONDITION

The period under review witnessed an all-round development of agriculture, industry and trade. This was due partly to private enterprise, and partly to State-control and State-management. This _ latter-aspect-is delineated in Kautilya's Arthasdstra and forms a special feature of the economic system of the period.

1. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was the mainstay of a large section of the people. Rural economy had its centre in the grama or village, a collection of grihas (houses) and kulas (families) numbering from 30 to 1,000. It was enclosed by a wall or stockade provided with gates. Beyond this enclosure lay the arable land of the village, the grama-kshetra, which was protected by fences and field-watchmen against pests like birds and beasts. This land was distributed among individual holdings separated by ditches dug for co-operative irrigation. Usually these holdings were small enough to be cultivated by their owners and families, with the help of hired labour, if necessary. The landless labourer, hiring himself out for work, ranked below the slave. The sorry spectacle of sturdy peasants leaving at home their own empty barns and toiling as hirelings on the estates of the royal capitalist is deplored as a symptom of social decadence.

Large holdings were not unknown. We read of estates of 1,000 karlsas (probably acres) and more, farmed by Brahmanas, and of one large enough to require for its cultivation as many as 500 ploughs and a host of hired labourers to ply these ploughs with their oxen.

Beyond the arable land of the village lay its pastures, which were common for the grazing of its cattle, and also those belonging to the State, under a common neatherd called Gopdlaka, whose duty was to pen the flocks at night or to return them to their owners by counting heads. Besides pastures, villages had their suburban groves like the Veluvana of king Bimbisara at Rajgriha, Anjanavana of Saketa, or the Jetavana of Sravastl. Kautilya's scheme of village-planning had also a place for these sylvan retreats for purposes of religious study and practices.

Kautilya gives a very graphic and realistic view of the village of those days. 1 The land of the village was made up of the following parts: (1) Krishta (cultivated), (2) Akrishta (uncultivated wastes or fallow land), (3) Sthala (high and dry ground), (4) Keddra (fields sow r n with crops), (5) Aram a (grove), (6) Shanda (plantations of fruits like plantains), (7) Mula-vapa (fields for growing roots like ginger, turmeric and the like), (8) Vdta (sugarcane plantations). (9) Vana (forest for supply of firewood and other needs), (10) Vivlta (grazing ground for the village cattle), and (11) Pathi (area covered by roads).

Besides these, the village proper as a human settlement must be marked by the following features or fixtures: (1) Vastu (area covered by houses), (2) Chaitya (sacred trees), (3) Devagriha (temples), (4) Setubandha (embankments), (5) Smasana (cremation grounds), (6) Sattra (alms-house), (7) Prapd (storage of drinking water), (8) Punyasthdna (sacred spots), and (9) halls for public amusements such as music, dancing, theatrical performances (Prekshd) and public dinners (Pravahana).

Among the crops, vegetables and fruits grown in those days are mentioned the following: Rice of different varieties; Kodrava, coarse grain; Tila, sesamum; Priyangu, pepper and saffron; Pulses, like Mudga, Masha, and Masura; Kuluttha , Yava, Godhuma (wheat), Kaldya, Atasi (linseed); Sarshapa (mustard); vegetables called Sdka and Miila; fruits such as plantains, pumpkins, gourds and grapes (Mridvika); and sugarcane (Ikshu). 2

Agrici ure depended upon cattle comprising cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, pigs and dogs. 3 The State maintained cattle-, stud-, and dairy-farms, and employed on their staffs the following workers: (1) Gopalaka , the cowherd, (2) Pindaraka in charge of the buffaloes, (3) Dohaka or milker, and (4) the Manthaka or churner, assisted by a body of hunters (Lubdhakas) and keepers of hunting hounds (Svaganinah) to keep the pastures clear of wild animals and beasts of prey. 4 The cattle-farms reared calves, steers, draught oxen, stud-bulls and buffaloes. Wild cattle were also tamed. There was also the Government poultry farm. 5

1. KA, Book II. Ch. 35; III. 10. '

2. KA, Bk. II, Ch. 24.

3. V, 2.

4. II. 34; 29.

5. V. 2.

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The importance of cattle-breeding, which occasionally meant also cattle-lifting, is stressed in the Mahdbharata. It is possible, however, that in very early times, before the extensive pursuit of agriculture and the development of trade, the masses of people as such were employed as ranchmen who tended cattle. In the epic they have become partly cattle-raisers and partly farmers, and the occupation of ranchmen seems to have fallen into the hands of the aborigines or barbarians who could not understand Aryan speech. In the Mahdbharata 1 Duryodhana went to see his herd of cattle in Dvaitavana and marked them by signs, and then held sports, heard the singing, and watched the dancing of the cowherds. In the Virata-parvan the king of the Matsya country goes out into the country to enjoy a royal picnic on the occasion of 'cattle branding', when the ears of the cattle are marked for the year. 2 Here, however, the barbarians are shown merely as cow-boys who are in charge of the royal cattle. It is on this occasion that the Kurus lift the cattle of the Matsyas. Such cattle-lifting was fairly common. The Mahdbharata 3 tells us that these cow-boys and herdsmen were paid in kind (in the shape of cows or their milk) for tending the herd, according to the number of cattle tended by each. The breeding and tending of cattle almost developed into a science in the epic days. Sahadeva, who takes service under king Virata as a tantipdla, describes how, under his fostering care, cows multiply in a short time and are free from disease. 4

The village administration employed a paid staff of workers, Grama-bhritakas, among whom are included (1) Kuttaka (carpenter), (2) Karmdra or Ayaskara (blacksmith), (3) potter, (4) the inevitable Ndpita (barber), 5 (5) washerman, 6 (6) Medaka (digger of earth), i7) Rajjuvartaka (rope-maker),

(8) Ariikastha (trainer of elephants), and (9) Asvadamaka (trainer of horses). The purely administrative staff included (1) the Adhyaksha (superintendent), (2) Sarhkhydyaka (accountant), (3) Gopa and (4) Sthdnika, together with (5) the medical officer (Chikitsaka) , and (6) postman or courier (Jamghakdrika) ?

The village had its own police force recruited from the following classes of people: (1) Vagurikas (Trappers), (2) Sabaras (Bhils),

1. Cr. Ed. Ill, 229, 1-13. ~~ “

2. Mbh. IV. 10: cf. CHI, I, p. 269.

3. XII. "60, 25.

4. Cr. Ed. IV. 9. 8-13.

5. II. 1; V. 2.

6. V. 3

7. II. 1.

(3) Pulindas (Kiratas), (4) Chan^alas and (5) Aranyacharas (foresters). 1

The State levied on agriculture a variety of impositions such as (1) tithe on raw produce, (2) forced labour, (3) special levy on produce for State granaries against emergencies like war or famine,

(4) occasional contributions to the king, like ‘milk-money’ e.g. at the birth of his heir. Hindu law fixes the State’s share of agricultural produce at one-sixth down to one-twelfth. Asoka reduced this share (bhdga) to one-eighth at the village Lumbini, as the birthplace of the Buddha.

Kautilya describes the taxes on agriculture as comprising (1) Bhdga, State’s share of produce; (2) Bali, an undefined cess over and above Bhdga; (3) Kara, a tax on property levied periodically; (4) Vivita, a levy on pastures; (5) Rajju, the cess payable for survey and settlement; and (6) Chorarajju, police cess or chowkidari tax. 2

The village ended in the uncleared jungles from which were derived its supply of firewood and litter. They were the haunts of wild animals and brigands preying on the caravan traffic passing through them.

Kautilya's scheme contemplates different kinds of forests to be cultivated for their economic uses. There would be (1) a reserved forest for royal hunt, which was rendered safe by stocking it with wild animals like tiger, bison and elephant, with their teeth and claws cut off; (2) ordinary forests as the abode of all animals (3) plantations of forests producing timber, bamboo or bark; creepers like cane; fibres like hemp; roping material like Munja; leaves for writing, such as palm-leaf; flowers as material for dyeing, such as Kirhsuka, Kusumbha, or Kunkuma; medicinal herbs, roots, and flowers. The State also took charge of the forests of the country producing these materials. There were model Government agricultural farms, where were collected the seeds of various crops to be grown. Government also maintained flower-, fruit-, and vegetable-gardens, and raised commerce crops like cotton (Karpdsa) and jute (Kshanma). Forests were also grown for the breeding of elephants so necessary for economic and military purposes, under a special conservator of forests called Ndgavanddhyaksha. 3

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The forests also yielded other valuable animal products such as hides, skins, sinews, bones, teeth, horns, hoofs, and tails of such creatures as leopard, tiger, lion, elephant, buffalo, yak, crocodile, tortoise, snake and birds.

Out of the forest products were also manufactured articles like plough, pestle, mortar, implements, weapons and carts, by qualified artisans in the forest factories (Dravyavanakarmantah).

2. TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Remarkable progress in trade and industry is noticeable during this period. A large number of arts, crafts and occupations are not only referred to in literature and epigraphic records, but also represented in the sculptures. The Jatakas are always referring to the standard number of 18 important handicrafts such as those of wood-workers, the smiths, leatherers, painters, workers in stone, ivory-working, weaving, confectionery, jewellery, work in precious stones, pottery, making of bow and arrow, and the like. The mining industry had grown very important, and Megasthenes states that gold, silver, copper and iron were extracted in large quantities, and articles of utility and ornament as well as implements and accoutrements of war were made of them. The carpenter was much in evidence for constructing carts of different kinds, called ydna, ratha and sakata; furniture; the woodwork of buildings; and seagoing ships.

The lower crafts (hina-sippas) were, as already indicated, those of hunters and trappers, fishermen, butphers and tanners, whose work was tainted by destruction of life; snake-charmers, dancers, musicians, rush-weavers and the like—the usual occupations of aboriginal folks.

There was localisation of industries. We come across mention of villages of potters, woodwrights, or ironsmiths producing articles like razors, axes, ploughshares, goads, and needles; of trappers supplying game, skins, ivory and the like. The same localisation was seen in towns where different handicrafts were settled along their own streets or in their own areas. Thus we have mention of ivory-workers' street (vithi), the dyers' street, the vessas ' street or the weavers' locality (thana).

Markets for perishable foods were located outside the towns at their gates. We read of a market for fish at a gate of Sravasti, of greengroceries at the four gates of Uttara-Panchala, and of venison

at the cross-roads outside Banaras; of four nigamas or markettowns located at the four suburbs of the city of Mithila and called Yava-majjhako, an example of which is figured on a sculpture at Bharhut.

With the towns were located workshops and bazaars. We read of Apana or shop, stocking for sale goods like carriages or arrows, and of Antarapana or stores. We read of bazaars for sale of textiles, groceries, oils, grain, greengroceries, perfumes, flowers, works of gold and jewellery and of taverns for sale of liquor. Trade in strong drinks, poisons, flesh, daggers and slaves was disapproved for people who care for morals. It appears from the Jataka stories that the prices were left to be settled by haggling, competition and custom. The State did not control prices except for its own purchases. It had its own valuer who had a difficult task in buying at the cheapest rates and declining bribes offered by tradesmen to secure higher rates, while'he might still fail to please the king who would grant him a niggardly bonus for all his pains! 1

Barter prevailed along with money economy. A vagrant buys a meal from a forester with his gold pin. A dog is bought for a cloak or coin. But money used to indicate prices and measure the values of “fees, pensions, fines, loans, hoarded treasure, and income.”

Buddhist texts use the term Kahdpana (= Kdrshapana) for a coin. They know of its varieties called Nikkha and Suvanna of gold, and bronze and copper pieces called Kdmsa, Pdda 3 Mdsaka and Kakanika. Their values varied with time and place. For instance, we find it stated in the Vinaya 2 that “at that time (of Bimbisara or Ajatasatru), at Raj agriha, 5 Mdsakas were equivalent to 1 P&da.”

Loans were given on security of gold like a ring or debtor’s personal guarantee. We read of one’s wife or children being pledged or sold for debt, of IOU’s or schedules of debt.

Loans carried interest called Vriddhi. Money-lending is approved as an honest calling along with tillage, harvesting and trade.

Wealth or treasure was stored up in a variety of ways; under the ground or river bank in brazen jars, or as deposit with friends, with its particulars recorded on gold or copper plates. In palaces, it was hoarded in a niche above the doorway. Money was lent for

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interest on promissory notes to be renewed every year. 1 Debtors were protected by law which disallowed (1) compound interest, (2) interest above customary rate, (3) interest equal to the amount of the principal, (4) personal service in lieu of interest, and (5) exorbitant interest agreed to under coercion. The usual rate of interest was 15% per annum. Higher rates were given for unsecured loans. 2

Both trade and industry were highly organised. The term Srenl, which frequently occurs in the literature and inscriptions of this period, is defined as a corporation of people belonging to the same or different castes but following the same trade or industry. It thus corresponds to the guilds of mediaeval Europe. The Jatakas refer to eighteen guilds which, though a conventional number, show the extensive character of the organisation. There are scattered references in literary texts to such organizations of various branches of trade and industry which, together, considerably exceed the number 18. It would appear that almost every important art or craft in a locality formed a guild-organisation. The craftsmen, who were mostly hereditary and settled in a well-defined region, organised themselves under a Jetthaka or Pamukha, an officer who was something like an alderman or a president. The guild possessed both executive and judicial authority, 3 and had for this purpose a body of executive officers who were held in high respect in court and were entitled to arbitrate between its members.

According to Buddhist canonical texts, the sanction of the guild was necessary for the ordination of the wife of any of its members. Many passages in Kautilya’s Arthas&stra indicate the great wealth and importance of the guilds, for which separate quarters are reserved in an ideal planning of a town. The guilds worked as banks and received permanent deposits, undertaking to devote the annual interest for specific charities. Some of the guilds also maintained a regular army, and it is included among the various classes of troops which the king might call upon to serve under him. Different guilds also federated under a common President, called Bhaydagarika, to check their internal disunion.

There were also merchant-guilds under their chiefs called Setthis. One such chief was Anathapindika, who was the Mahd

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setthi, the president of a commercial federation, with numerous

Anusetthis under him. 1 • •

Caravan traffic, with the special dangers and difficulties to which it was exposed, called for a similar co-operative organisation. Different merchants, with their carts loaded with their goods and their men, made up a company under a common captain called Satthavaha, who gave them directions as to halts, watering, routes, fording and danger-spots. There was also another common officer called Thala-niyyzmaka or land-pilot who conducted the caravans safely against the dangers and difficulties of travel from "drought, famine, wild beasts, robbers, and demons".

The texts also tell of partnerships which were permanent, temporary or occasional. We read of traders of Banaras combining in work and play; of concerted action in freights between dealers; of merchants chartering a common vessel.

Trade was both foreign and inland, sea-borne and river-borne, export and import. We read of prince Mahajanaka sailing from Champa to Suvarnabhumi; of a whole village of defaulting woodwrights escaping at night in a ship down the Gaiiga from Banaras out to the sea; of passengers safely brought by ships from the sea by river up to Banaras; of traders coasting round India from Bharukachchha on the west to Suvarnabhumi in the east, and touching on the way at a port in Ceylon; of a newly arrived ship laden with cargo which was bought up at the landing place by a hundred waiting and competing merchants; and of ships large enough to carry 500 and 700 passengers. The eastern sea-borne trade was extended as far as China, and led to an extensive colonization, as will be described in Chapter XXV.

The history of Indian trade with the West will be dealt with in the next chapter. As will be noted there, the earlier centuries of the Christian era witnessed the growth of a brisk foreign trade between India and the West, with the Roman Empire as its chief customer. There was a great demand in the West for Indian manufactures and articles of luxury, such as precious stones and pearls, scents, spices and perfumes, silks and muslin. Roman dames, decked in seven folds of Indian muslin, paraded the streets and became such a menace to the city's morals that the Senate intervened and laid an embargo upon the import of that fine stuff from India.

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According to Pliny, India in those early centuries was annually draining the Roman Empire of its gold valued at fifty million sesterces and established a favourable trade balance in the foreign markets. Traces of this profitable sea-trade are left in hoards of Roman coins found at several places close to the south Indian coast on which also grew up several port towns. Kaverlpattanam, the capital of the Chola Kingdom at the mouth of the Kaveri, was frequented by Yavana (Ionian) merchants, as stated in Tamil works.

One of these Yavana merchants has given a very interesting account of the inland and foreign trade of India in his book called the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea". 1 The name of the author is unknown, but he was an Egyptian Greek and a merchant in active trade who personally made the voyage to India in the second half of the first century A.D. He has given a detailed account of his voyage noting the names of the harbours and the articles of import and export in connection with each of them. The first harbour of importance was Barygaza, a Greek corruption of ancient Bhrigukachchha, the modern Broach, at the mouth of the Narmada river. Merchandise from UjjayinI and other remote places in the north, as far as Kashmir and the Hindu Kush mountains, were brought here for export to foreign countries. Beyond Barygaza were many inland market-towns such as Pratishthana (Paithan) 2 and Tagars (Ter), and many harbours such as Sopara and Kalyana on the Bombay coast which are still well known. Further south were 'Naura and Tyndis', the first markets of Damirica, and then Muziris and Nelcynda; all these were on the Malabar coast, between Cannanore and Cochin. 3 The last two are Greek renderings of Muchiripattanam and Nllakantha, mentioned in literature and inscriptions of south India. Muziris, we are told, "abounds in ships sent there with cargoes from Arabia and by the Greeks."

Passing round Cape Comorin, the Greek merchant came across many harbours on the eastern coast, of which two alone can be located with some certainty, viz. Masalia near Masulipatam, and Gange at the mouth of the Ganga. Indians loaded ships with merchandise from these harbours and sent them to Arabian and African harbours. A colony of Indians also settled in the island of Socotra for purposes of trade.

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The chief articles of export from India were spices, perfumes, medicinal herbs, pigments, pearls, precious stones like diamond, sapphire, turquoise and lapis lazuli, iron, steel, copper, sandalwood, animal skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, muslin, indigo, ivory, porcelain and tortoise-shell. The principal imports were cloth, linens, perfumes, medicinal herbs, glass vessels, silver, gold, tin, lead, pigments, precious stones and coral.

The development of tirade and industry is reflected in the general economic condition of the people. We have abundant references to very rich merchants—millionaires of these days—both in literature and inscriptions. One of them Anathapindika, is said to have purchased the Jetavana park for Buddha by covering the whole surface of it with gold coins. 1 Another defrayed the entire cost of construction of the great Chaitya cave at Karle. Many others made costly gifts to different religious sects. The wealth of the middle classes appears clearly from their dress, ornaments, houses and furniture described above. 2 There is no reference to extreme poverty or paupers as a class. On the whole people lived happily in peace and prosperity.

According to Kautilya’s Arthasastra there was considerable State-control in both trade and industry. 3 The State had a monopoly of industries which depended upon risky, costly and pioneering enterprise. Mines were nationalised as the main source of the State’s revenue. There were mines of gold, silver, diamond, gems, precious stones, copper, lead (sisa), tin (trapu), iron (fikshna or ayas), and bitumen (silajatu). The State explored the ocean mines to obtain their precious products like M.uktd (pearl), Sukti (mother of pearl), Sankha (conch-shell) and pravala (coral). The State also worked the oil-fields (yielding rasa like mercury). It also engaged in extracting minerals from ores. It had a monopoly in the manufacture of salt for which it granted licences to private lessees of salt-fields. It had its own cotton, oil, and sugar factories and controlled the manufacture of wines and liquors and their sale. The armament industry as well as the building of boats and ships was a government monopoly. Coining was a monopoly of government whose officers under the Mint Master called Lakshanddhyaksha received from the public bullion to be struck into coins on payment of seigniorage charges.

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Prisons had factories worked by penal labour. The State spinning house turned out yarns of cotton, silk, wool and jute, and manufactured clothing of all kinds, mail-armour (uarma), ropes, blankets (dsiarana) and curtains (pmvarana). It employed helpless and purdah women who were given orders through its women-staff for spinning yarn.

The State controlled trade and prices. Goods were not to be sold where they were produced, at field or factory, but only at the appointed market where the dealer had to declare their particulars as to quantity, quality and price, which were examined and registered in the official books. A trader had to get a licence, and a foreign trader, a passport in addition. The Superintendent of Commerce fixed the wholesale prices of goods as they were entered in the customs house, and the retail prices with a margin of profit. Smuggling or adulteration of goods was severely punished. Speculation and cornering to influence prices were not allowed. Strikes of workmen to raise wages were declared illegal. The State protected the public, customers and consumers against unauthorised prices and fraudulent transactions and had to employ for the purpose an army of spies and market-inspectors.

The State also controlled weights and measures. The official standard was fixed a little lower than the public so as to yield some revenue amounting to a vydjl of 5 per cent.

Trade was taxed all along its way by export and import duties, octroi and excise. Its progress through the country was punctuated by halts, enforced for payment of taxes at different stages. The foreign merchants were mulcted of their profits on the frontier by transit duties (vartani) and tolls (sulka), and by octroi at the gates of cities, which were carefully guarded by officers in charge of the customs houses, provided even with a place for detention of merchants found guilty of evading the law.

But if trade was thus taxed, it had its compensation in the security granted to it. It was guarded all along its way. Losses in transit were made good by government through its agents concerned; the village head-man was held liable for the loss suffered in the village; beyond the village, the VivUadhyaksha, beyond his jurisdiction, the general rural police, the chora-rajjuka, and, farther on, was the Sima-svami, the warden of marches, similarly liable.

Trade had to be protected in those days against gangs of professional dacoits at large called chora-gcinas, the turbulent Mlechchha

tribes such as the Kiratas and the wild forest-folks (Atavikas) , who were all out to prey upon trade and for plunder.

3. TRADE-ROUTES AND TRANSPORT

Inland trade was carried on by carts and caravans, as we have seen. Its principal routes are indicated by the old Pali texts. The caravan of the merchant-prince Anathapindika, going south-east from Sravasti to Raj agriha, passed along the foot of the hills up to Kusinara, between which and its end at Raj agriha there lay 12 halts including one at Vaisali, with only a single crossing of a river-— Ganga at Patna—as will appear from the itinerary of the Buddha. Another route led from Sravasti south-west to Paithan with six intermediate halts and frequent crossings of rivers. A third route led westward to Sind, the home of horses and asses, and to Sauvlra and its ports, with its capital called Roruva or Roruka.

We read of caravans going overland towards east and west and across deserts, requiring days to cross (the deserts of Rajputana), steering in the coolness of nights by the stars, under their guide.

Lastly, there was the old Grand Trunk Road leading from Rajagriha through Banaras, Saketa and Sravasti towards Taxila and the

frontiers, linking India with central and western Asia.

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As regards trade-routes of later times, there is the interesting evidence of Megasthenes testifying to the Royal Road leading from the North-West Frontier up to Pataliputra with a length of 10,000 stades (— about 1,156 miles). 1 Apart from these arterial routes, the whole country was connected by a network of roads, some of which at any rate had milestones to indicate distances. Amenities were provided for travellers in the shape of shady trees, rest-houses and wells on the roadside. The establishment of the Maurya Empire brought the different parts into closer contact, and the same language was understood all over the great subcontinent. According to Kautilya, ‘Passes’ were necessary for crossing the boundary, where toll, carriage-cess and transit duties were collected. Permission was also necessary to ford or cross rivers, “lest traitors may cross them (and escape).”

As means of conveyance we hear of litter, sedan chair, horsecarriage, and carts drawn by two cows with a bull between them or two bulls with a cow between them. The very rich rode on

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elephants, and the animals used by the ordinary people were camels, horses and asses.

According to Nearchus, 1 the conveyance which ranked next in honour to elephants, used by the king and the wealthy, was the chariot and four; the camel ranked third, while to be drawn by a single horse was considered no distinction at all. The ass was used by the common people for riding. Ships and boats, both large and small, were used for navigation, and rivers were crossed by either boats or rafts of wood or basket work. The State maintained boats for hire and took steps to destroy pirate ships.

4. COINAGE 2

One of the most remarkable features of the period is the introduction of a regular coinage in business transactions. The old system of barter had not altogether passed away, as noted above, 3 but gradually coins came into use and became the chief currency.

Herodotus tells us that the Achaemenian emperors received 360 talents in gold dust as annual tribute from their Indian pro vince. This shows that even in the sixth century B.C. the dust or ingots of gold and other metals, calculated by weight, served the purpose of the higher currency. It is not long, however, before we find the transition from this stage to that of the coin proper, viz. a piece of metal of recognized weight and fineness guaranteed by the stamp of authority, for we have extant specimens of Indian coins—ingots of silver marked with three dots or bent bars of silver with some symbols—which probably go back to the sixth century B.C., if not earlier still. They were replaced by “rectangular or circular flat pieces cut from a hammered sheet of metal and clipped to the proper weight.” From the fact that one or more devices or symbols were marked on these coins by punches, they are called punch-marked coins. Some cast coins with devices are, however, also known. Many thousands of punch-marked coins have come to light in different parts of India.

The most ancient coinage of India was based on the system of weight as given in Manu. 4 Its unit was the rati or gunja-berry, weighing approximately T.83 grains or .118 grammes. The standard gold coin was the suvarna of 80 ratis of which no actual specimens

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are known, but numerous specimens of silver purdna or dharana of 32 ratis and of the copper Karshapana of 80 ratis, as well as their various multiples and sub-divisions, have been discovered all over India. These coins were issued by rulers, merchants, and corporations who stamped on them a symbol of their authority guaranteeing the correct weight and purity of the metal. There is a large variety of these signs or symbols, more than three hundred in number, and sometimes several of them are found on one or both sides of the coins.

The Indian system of coinage was influenced by the foreigners who established their rule in India. The most important of these were the Bactrian Greeks who issued a fine series of coins with the name and portrait of the ruler engraved on them. Some of these portraits and other symbols—mostly figures of deities—show a standard of artistic excellence which has never been approached in Indian mints. The Graeco-Bactrian coins and the large influx of Roman coins 1 profoundly influenced those of the Sakas, Parthians, and Kushanas, and through them, the coins of the later Indian rulers which became gradually more and more abundant. Not only the form, character and the standard weight of the Indian coins were changed, but even foreign names like dinar a (denarius) and dramma (drachma) were applied to them. The fashion of issuing a circular coinage bearing superscription of the ruler in whose name they were issued was derived from the West though, except in the case of the Guptas, it never seems to have taken root. Hence, although we do not possess any coins bearing the name of the Nanda and Maurya Emperors, far less powerful kings, even local rulers and small tribal states, of later periods, issued coins with their names. We presume that only the punch-marked coins, with symbols and devices but no royal names, served as the currency up to the end of the Mauryan period. They were probably in use even in later times. It is not unlikely that along with them cowrie-shells also served as currency for smaller transactions. They must have been used as currency from very early times and we can trace their use down to the eighteenth century A.D.

5. INFLUENCE OF CANON LAW UPON ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT

In conclusion some reference should be made to the effect of the canonical view of life on the economic condition of the age. The

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Smriti rules relating to the occupations of castes have an important bearing upon the problems of production. The Smriti law in general looked upon agriculture as well as industry and trade with high disfavour. The extreme view on this point is illustrated by the epithets pramrita ('what causes many deaths') and satydnrita ('mixture of truth and falsehood') applied by Manu to agriculture and trade respectively. It is also reflected in Brihaspati's description of wealth acquired by agriculture, trade and crafts as occupying an intermediate grade between wealth earned by Vedic learning, valour, ascetic practices and so forth and that obtained by dice, gambling, robbery and the like. With this may be compared Manu's rule which included the practice of handicrafts, pecuniary transactions, trading in cows, horses and carriages as well as agriculture among the causes leading to the destruction of families. 1 The general attitude of the Smritis is reflected in the fact that while allowing Brahmanas to live in times of distress by a Vaisya's occupation, they expressly prohibit him from following various specified branches of industry and trade. 2 According to the general Smriti law, again, the worker in many branches of trade and industry was liable to serious social, religious and even legal disabilities. 3 The list of such forbidden or despised occupations comprises agriculture, pasturage and various kinds of industry and trade. It is characteristic of Manu's attitude that he declares trade to be the best of occupations open to a Vaisva, while he condemns agriculture as involving injury to the earth and the beings living therein. 4 The attitude of the Buddhist and Jain canonical law was hardly less unfavourable to economic progress than that of the Smritis. By the fundamental rules of Buddhist monastic discipline, comprised in the prdtimoksha, monks were forbidden to cultivate land. The Jain canonical law forbade laymen to live by agriculture and agricultural operations as

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well as a large number of trades and industries. 1 Above all it must be remembered that unlike the canonical law of the Brahmanas, that of the Buddhists and the Jains habitually exalted the houseless state of life above that of the householder. 2

Although, as noted above, these rules were often violated in practice, their general tendency is sufficiently obvious. The Brahmanical as well as Buddhist and Jain sacred law, by placing agriculture as well as a number of basic industries and trades under a ban, could not but retard the application of capital and enterprise to their development. Again, the Smritis, by confining the productive occupations to the Vaisyas, could not but restrict the free movement of labour and capital. On the other hand it must be admitted that apart from the reference to ethnic groups following particular occupations, the Smritis do not support the restriction of separate crafts and trades to different sub-castes. On the contrary, we find in Manu and his successors a growing recognition of the Sudra's right to productive occupation. 3

GENERAL REFERENCES

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Kautiliya Arthasdstra.

1. SBE. III. 33 (rule in pratimoksha); Uvdsagadasdo I, 51, expanded in Haribhadra’s Yogasdstra III. 98 f. (fifteen ways of earning livelihood forbidden to a layman include those concerned with making and selling charcoal and plants, making, selling or driving carts, hoeing and ploughing fields, digging wells, draining lakes, rivers and tanks for preparation of agricultural land, crushing by machinery, trafficking in ivory, lac, juice and so forth).

2. Gaut, III. 3; Baudh, II. 6. 21 f; Vas, VIII, 14-17; Manu, III. 77-78, VI. 89-90 (hou9e-holder’s life is highest, according to Gaut. and Baudh. the only asrama).

3. Sudras unable to live by personal service tor practise handicrafts {Manu, X. 99-100), and in addition, trade (Yaj, I. 120). Sudras normally to live by practising as artizans, rearing cattle and carrying on trade {Mark, Pur, XXVIII. 7-8). Occupations of Sudras are agriculture, pasturage, carrying loads, trade, painting, dancing, singing and playing musical instruments (Devala quoted bv Vij. on Yaj, I. 120).

CHAPTER XXIV

Chapter Notes

1. — — — — — —
2. 2. Vol. I, p. 455.
3. 3. II. 245.
4. 4. IV. 24.
5. 1. Patanjali on II. 4.32, and III. 1. 26(2); I 4.26, 28; II 1. 26.
6. 2. Patanjali on II. 1.41, and 1.1. 73(6); Kasikd on VI. 2. 69.
7. 3. Patanjali on V. 1. 74(2).
8. 4. II. 141.
9. 5. II. 140.
10. 6. II. 246.
11. 7. III. 156.
12. 8. IV. 102.
13. 1. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 112-13.
14. 1. See Vol. I, Ch. XIX § 4. "
15. 2. II. 10; III. 232.
16. 3. III. 232.
17. 4. VI. 21.
18. 5. XII. 95.
19. 6. IX. 329 IT.
20. 7. VII. 43.
21. 1. “After investiture with the sacred thread, he shall study the triple Vedas, the science of Anvikshiki under teachers of acknowledged authority (sishta), the science of vartd under government superintendents, and the science of dandaniti under theoretical and practical politicians (vaktriprayoktribhyah)” KAT. p. 11.
22. 2. Muddd, which is translated in SBE (XXXV, 247) as “law of property”, probably means a knowledge of coins or currency.
23. 3. IV. 3, 26.
24. 4. SBE (XXXV, p. 6) has ‘four Vedas’. But as there is already a reference to Sruti the reading dhanur-veda in the Edition of R. D. Vadekar (p. 4) is to be preferred.
25. 5. I. 9.
26. 6. XII. 327, 49.
27. 1. V. 16-21.

28. 1. Chv. V. 27. 4. Many other similar stories, with minute details of treatment, are given in the first section of the Chi vara vastu of the Vinaya Texts of the Mula~ sarvastivadas (Gilgit Manuscripts III. 2, pp. 1-52).
29. 1. Mahdvagga, VI. 22.
30. 1. Chv. Vin. 7, 4.
31. 2. Chv. IV. 4.
32. 1. Cf. Translator's note. Jataka, Vol. II, p. 194.
33. 2. I. 239.
34. 1. II. 1.
35. 2. Ghoshal, Revenue System, pp. 34, 36, 41-2, 53.
36. 3. II. 2.
37. 1. Jataka, I. 124: II. 31; IV. 138. Psalms of Brethren 25, 212.
38. 2. III. 45.
39.] . Manu-smfiti, IX. 333, X. 115, VIII, 154-55.
40. 2. Ibid., VIII. 140-153. This will be more fully discussed in the next "volume.
41. 3. See above, p. 313.
42. 1. For guilds cf. CLAI, Ch. I. The Smriti rules on the subject will be discussed in the next volume.
43. 1. Edited by Schoff, with notes and identification of places named in the text.
44. 2. See above, pp. 192, 201.
45. 3. See Map.
46. 1. This scene is illustrated in a Bharhut sculpture.
47. 2. See pp. 571 ff.
48. 3. The statements that follow are based on Kautilya's Arthasastra , Book II.
49. 1. Strabo, XV. 1, 11.
50. 1. McCrindle, Megasthenes, p. 222.
51. 2. Rapson, Indian Coins; C. J. Brown, The Coins of India.
52. 3. See p. 600.
53. 4. Vin. 152 ff.
54. 1. See Ch. XXIV.
55. 1. Manu, IV. 5-6, II. 64; Ndr, Rinadana vv. 45-48; Bri, p. 70, vv. 2-5. cf. Par, II. 2 8-13

56. 2. Manu, X. 83 f; Gaut, VII. 8-15; Ap, I, 7, 20; I, 11, 30; Baudh, II. 24-29; Ydj, III. 35-39.
57. 3. Manu, VIII. 102 (Brahmanas who tend cattle or are traders or mechanics or usurers to be treated at law-court like §udras); XI. 70 (traders unworthy to receive gifts); IV. 84 (gifts not to be received from oil-manufacturers); IV. 210, 214-16, 218-20 (food given by carpenter, usurer, tailor, blacksmith, goldsmith, basket-maker, leather-cutter, washerman, dyer, dealer in weapons and artizans in general not to be eaten by a snataka). For similar lists of despised occupations, cf. Manu, III. 152f, XI. 64; Ydj, I. 161-165, III. 234, 240; Bri, p. 373 vv. 4f.
58. 4. Manu, X. 80, 83.
59. G09
60. A.i.u— a»

INDIA AND THE WESTERN WORLD

I. INTERCOURSE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES

1. The Pre-Achaemenid Period

The remarkable discoveries at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have unmistakably shown that there was intercourse between this region and western Asia in the third millennium before Christ. As has been noted above, Mohenjo-daro was probably a great port carrying on trade by sea with Ur and Kish, and perhaps also with Egypt. It has also been indicated that there was intercourse by land between the Sindhu Valley and western and central Asia. 1

Whether the intercourse between India and the West continued unbroken since the epoch of the Sindhu Valley civilization down to the historical period for which we have positive evidence, it is difficult to say. But evidences, both philological and archaeological, exist to prove such connection at a later period. Indeed, on the strength of these evidences it was generally held, even before the discovery of Mohenjo-daro, that there were trade relations between India and the western world from times immemorial. It is not necessary to discuss such evidences at length, but they may be briefly stated. 2

According to the Jewish chronicles, during the reign of Solomon (c. 800 B.C.) a navy equipped by Hiram, king of Tyre, a triennial voyage to the East, bringing back with it “gp^ an(j silver, ivory, apes, peacocks and great plenty of Almug , .

precious stones.” The port at which they shipped ^ - n

named Ophir. Many scholars have proposed to lo * ie *

India and looked for its equivalent in such pla . 0 _ . .

„ - -n i o it*ra m the Septuagint,

or Suppara. For ‘Ophir also appears as Sop 1

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Cf. Vol. I, Ch. IX. or convincing and naturally there

The evidences are not always very dehnit holars For a g00 d summary, Cf.

are wide differences of opinion among t 1 ? ^ Western World, pp. 10 ff; KenRawlinson, Intercourse between Ir>du£z' k to prove that the sea-trade

nedy in JRAS, 1898 p,x 250 the seventh century B.C. but did

no W ex2t earher He" h^ ^ssed in detail the various evidences on wh.ch such an eariyTrade was presumed by older writers.

and Sophir is a term applied in Coptic to southern India. It is, of course, also possible to recall other well-known Indian names such as Sauvira, which corresponds to the name Sophara. But such phonetic resemblance cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of identity, and some scholars are inclined to locate the famous port on the Arabian coast. But apart from this location, it has been urged that the names of most of the articles of commerce are derived from Indian originals. “Thus ‘ivory’ is in the Hebrew text shen habbin, ‘elephant’s teeth’, a literal translation of the Sanskrit ibha-danta. The ‘almug’ is in Sanskrit and Tamil valgu, and the Greek santalon (sandal) is obviously derived from Sanskrit chan dana. The word used for ‘ape’ is not the ordinary Hebrew one, but koph, most probably the Sanskrit kapi. ‘Peacocks’ are thuki-im,, the Tamil tokei.'’ The use of these Indian names for merchandise raises a strong presumption in favour of their Indian origin. Similarly, the word Sindhu, found in the library of Assurbanipal, is used in the sense of Indian cotton, and the Hebrew karpas is obviously derived from the Sanskrit karpdsa. It is possible to add to the list of such loan-words.

On the Indian side, we have allusions to sea-voyages even in the Rigveda, 1 but these are vague and uncertain. Of greater importance are the references in Buddhist literature of distant seavoyages, in which sailors going far into the sea made use of shoresighting birds. 2 One Jataka makes a particular reference to a trading-voyage to the kingdom of Baveru, 3 and scholars have recognised it as the Indian form of Babylon. This story undoubtedly preserves an interesting reminiscence of Indian trade with Babylon, but as the date of its composition is not known with certainty, we 'hardly use it as evidence for commerce with Babylon in the ^rly ages.

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to the fieu arc h a eological evidence, reference may be made

a pes, Indian elephants and Bactrian camels on the

w m 7? er 111 < 860 Next in point of time is the

Mueheir rr° teak found in the Temple of the Moon at

Sar^ LrbLtf.o'r* 68 ' 01 Neb " had

thesp S S . Sixth century B.C. On the basis of

__ 5 we ma y certainty pu S fo back the beginning of intercourse between India and western Asia to a date at least as early as the ninth century B.C.

The most important archaeological evidence is furnished by the Boghaz Koi inscriptions of the fourteenth century B.C. 1 These records contain the names of deities, Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the heavenly twins, the Nasatyas,

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2. Was, I8 9 f r 432 Vo1 - r> pp - 244 ' 396 fr ~

Cowell, Eng. Transl. Jataka III. 83.

—names well known in Vedic mythology. Numerals and other words which appear to be Aryan in origin have also been identified. It is noticeable that the words do not exhibit the changes which distinguish Iranian from Indian forms. The words, therefore, must date back to a period when the Aryanspeaking people were not yet distinguished as Iranians and Indians. If we accept this view, we find here remarkable evidence of very close contact between India and western Asia before the fourteenth century B.C.

But we must admit that, beyond indicating in a very general way the existence of trade relations, and to some extent cultural contacts, between India and the Western countries, the available evidence does not throw much light on the precise nature and extent of international relationship. It is possible, however, to give some indication of the trade-routes through which merchandise passed between India and the West,

From remote antiquity India had trade relations with western countries both by land and sea. The overland route ran through the Khyber Pass and across the Hindu Kush to Balkh, to which converged all the principal highways from Central Asia and China on the east 2 and the Mediterranean and Black Sea ports on the west. One of the western routes went down the Qxus across the Caspian, and then along the Kur and Phasis to the Black Sea ports. 3 The other passed through (or near) Herat, the northern border of the Karmanian desert, and the Caspian Gates to Antioch by way of Ctesiphon and Hecatompylos. 4 Reference is also made to two other routes, via Kandahar, one joining the above-mentioned route at Herat and the other proceeding through Persepolis and Susa. 5

Sea-going vessels generally kept close to the coast and made the long voyage along the shores of India, Baluchistan, Persia and

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

Arabia, through the Red Sea, to its head near Suez. From this point merchandise was carried by land to Egypt on the west and to famous ports like Tyre and Sidon on the north. The same ship or set of traders, however, did not always go all the way from the beginning to the end of these routes, for the goods often changed hands at important towns and harbours. Sometimes the ships from India made the coastal voyage only up to the head of the Persian Gulf, and then proceeded along the Euphrates until they touched the overland route as will be noted below.

Relations between India and the western world, before the Achaemenid rule in Persia, were mainly commercial. No political relationship is known, stories like the invasion of India by Semiramis being hardly credible. Some amount of cultural influence is a natural effect of commercial intercourse, but this seems to have been very meagre. Names of Indian articles found a place in the languages of the West, as already noted above. Some common folktales current in India and the West might have been the result of such intercourse. But the Babylonian origin of the story of the flood in Satapatha Brahmana or the influence of Chaldaean astronomy and Babylonian weights and measures upon India is more problematic. The theory that India owes its alphabet to Semitic sources has also considerably lost its importance after the discovery of the picture-writing in Mohenjo-daro. On the whole, while it is unreasonable to deny the possibility or even great probability of such reciprocal influence, it would be unwise to accept superficial resemblance and partial analogy as evidence of such influence.

2. The Achaemenid Period

The rise of the Achaemenids in Persia definitely broke the barriers that shut off India, at least politically, from the rest of the world. By a series of conquests within a quarter of a century (549525 B.C.) they created a vast empire that embraced nearly the whole of Iran, Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and the ancient kingdom of Egypt. It was not long before the Persian suzerainty was extended to the Sindhu valley and probably some territory to the east of that river. 1

The common subjection to the great empire must have brought India into closer contact with the western world. A Greek mercenary, Scylax, was sent by Darius to explore the Sindhu, and an

Note 6

Indian contingent formed part of the Persian army which led the memorable expedition against Greece. These are the earliest positive evidences we possess of the close contact between Indians and the Greeks to any considerable extent. It is reasonable to infer that in spite of the failure of that expedition India and Greece came directly into each other's view, and this intimacy was not altogether lost in subsequent times. This is partly borne out* by the account of India left by Herodotus (born in 484 B.C.), the first reliable Greek account of India that has so far come down to us. Another Greek, Ctesias, wrote an account of India, but though he lived for twenty years (418-398 B.C.) as royal physician in the Persian court and had thus ample opportunity of gathering information about India, the portions of his book, which have survived in quotations and abridgments of later writers, are full of marvellous stories and contain little of historical value. An Indian philosopher is said to have visited Socrates some time before 400 B.C. 1

3. India andl Greece

The next important stage in the contact between India and the West was inaugurated by the invasion of Alexander the Great. The large number of Greeks and Indians who formed the retinue of Alexander must have given a unique opportunity to both for a proper understanding of one another, and even the short-lived Greek rule in India must have contributed to the same end. Even when the Indian dominions were lost by Alexander's successors, India had a close touch with the western world through the Seleucidan kingdom which reached its border.

The first three Mauryan Emperors had intimate connection with the Greek kingdoms of the west. Even if we leave aside the story of Chandragupta's marriage with a daughter of Seleucus, which is at best very doubtful, we have other evidences to prove that India and the western world came to a much closer relation than before. In the first place we know that first Megasthenes and then Dai'machus lived in the Mauryan court as ambassadors of the Seleucid king, and Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent an envoy named Dionysius to the same court. All the three wrote valuable accounts of India, though they are now mostly lost; and it is highly probable that there were other Greek envoys. That the Mauryan kings also sent similar ambassadors admits of little doubt. The anecdote concerning Bindusara that he had requested Antiochus Soter, successor

Note 7

of Seleucus, to send him some figs and sweet wine and also a Sophist, may not be regarded as credible, but even such a story presupposes cordial relations between the two courts. But the best evidence of this is furnished by the thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka in which five Greek rulers are specifically named, and it is claimed that on account of the activities of Asoka's missionaries his dhammn or the Law of Piety was followed in their dominions. The names of these rulers—Antiochus (of Syria), Antigonus Gonatas (of Macedonia), Alexander (of Epirus or Corinth) Ptolemy (of Egypt) and Magas (of Cyrene)—show that India had at this time intimate intercourse with the western world. The fact, stated by Megasthenes, that there was a special department in the city of Patali putra (and probably in other big cities) to look after foreigners indicates an influx of them into India about this time. Diodorus also refers to the admiration of a king of Palibothra (probably a Maury an king) for the Greeks.

4. India and Egypt

Some interesting evidence is available regarding the growing intimacy between India and Egypt. Athenaeus tells us that in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.) were to be seen Indian women, Indian hunting dogs and Indian cows, among other strange sights; also Indian spices carried on camels. The same authority tells us that Ptolemy Philopator's yacht had a saloon lined with Indian stone. 1

It is difficult to judge of Asoka's claim that his dhamma was followed by the peoples of the kingdoms mentioned by him. Greece knew nothing about Buddhism previous to the rise of Alexandria in the Christian era. Buddha is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 150-218). Centuries later Alberuni observed that 'in former times, Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic'. 2 That Indian culture spread to these regions during this period can hardly be doubted, but its extent cannot be estimated till more positive evidence is available.

The foundation of the kingdom of Parthia shut off India from any direct political contact with the Greek world of the West. Antiochus the Great of Syria, who made a final but unsuccessful effort to re-assert his authority over the eastern provinces about

Note 8

Note 9

206 B.C., was the last Greek ruler of the West to maintain any direct contact with India. The Parthian, and its successor-state the Sassanid, empire served for more than eight hundred years as a buffer-state between India on the one hand, and the kingdoms of the West, including the mighty Roman empire, on the other. 1

Several other circumstances, such as the inroads of the Scythians and the Yueh-chis into Bactria, and the growing anarchy in Syria considerably curtailed the facilities of the land-route and naturally increased the popularity and importance of the sea-route between India and the western world.

The all-sea route was not, however, much in vogue in the earlier days. The more important route, followed in the third century B.C., was by sea to the Persian Gulf and then up the Tigris to Seleucia, where it joined the overland route from India and other eastern countries. From Seleucia the old road, east of the Tigris, crossed the river at Jeizireh or Libba, and proceeded to Nisibis and Edessa, whence one road led to Damascus and Tyre, and the other, crossing the Euphrates at Zeugma, which superseded Thapsacus, led to Antioch. There was also a new Seleucid road from Seleucia, up the Euphrates, to Antioch. From Antioch a great through route ran by Tarsus and Apamea in Phrygia to the sea at Ephesus. 2

As this land route ran through the territory of the Seleucids, the Ptolemies of Egypt were naturally eager to develop the all-sea route to India, particularly after they had lost possession of Syria and the supremacy in the Aegean, at the beginning of the second century B.C.

Egypt, unlike other parts of the Hellenistic world, was directly accessible by sea, and the maritime intercourse between India and Egypt was facilitated by two important acts of Alexander, viz. the destruction of Tyre and the foundation of Alexandria, the famous port on the Mediterranean.

At first Egyptian ports were not much favoured by Indian mariners owing to the serious difficulties of the journey through trackless desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea. The merchants preferred the alternative route through Petra, to be described later.

Note 10

Note 11

The famous town of Petra was the converging ground of trade routes from all parts of Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and the Levantine ports. From these last, Indian goods travelled to Egypt by land, and to other western countries by sea. 1

Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-246 B.C.) built a port at Berenice on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea and connected it with the trading section of Coptos, on the Nile, by a desert-road, 258 miles long, furnished with convenient bases. Goods were carried along this road to Coptos, and then floated downstream to Alexandria. The desert road was furnished with watering places and the journey from Berenice to Coptos took about eleven or twelve days. In 274 B.C. Philadelphus built a new port at Myos Hormos. It was 180 miles north of Berenice and the journey to Coptos took about a week. Being also a much safer harbour than Berenice, it soon cast the latter into shade and became the most important centre for Indian trade. 2

It is probable that in the early days a large part of the Indian trade with Egypt was indirect. Merchantmen, before the first century A.D., kept close to the shore and dared not sail direct from the mouth of the Red Sea straight across the ocean to the Indian coast. Consequently Indian and western merchants met half way, probably at Muza or Aden, two ports at the mouth of the Red Sea, and transhipped one another’s goods. Most likely, the Arabs were the principal intermediaries of this trade. Agatharcides (second century B.C.), speaking of the great riches of Arabia Felix (i.e. Aden), says that they were partly due to the Indian' traders who came in great numbers from Potana (Patala), founded by Alexander on the Sindhu. 3 The same information is conveyed in the following passage of the Periplus of the

Erythraean Sea which refers to Arabia Eudaemon or Aden:—"It was called Eudaemon, because in the early days of the city when the voyage was not yet made from India to Egypt, and when they did not dare to sail from Egypt to the ports across this ocean, but all came together at this place, it received the cargoes from both countries, just as Alexandria now receives the things brought both from abroad and from Egypt. But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place." 4

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We would not, however, be justified in assuming that direct voyages between India and Egypt were altogether unknown. As early as the sixth century B.C. Scylax of Caryanda, being deputed by Darius to explore the Sindhu, sailed down this river to the Indian Ocean and ultimately reached Egypt. Strabo's statement that 'in the time of the Ptolemies scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and commerce with the Indies' 1 implies that at least some did it. The famous explorer Eudoxus twice made the voyage to India in the latter part of the second century B.C. His story, known from the writings of Poseidonius, and preserved in Strabo's book, 2 shows that he owed the idea of this voyage to a ship-wrecked Indian who had set out from India but lost his course and drifted for months till the companions had perished, one by one, of hunger. He was found in the ship by the coast-guards alone and half-dead, off the entrance to the Red Sea, and brought to Alexandria. These incidents prove that direct voyages up to the end of the second century B. C. were not unknown, though extremely rare. But the next century saw a great change in this respect.

The Ptolemies secured the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb by refounding Deine on the straits as the southern Berenice, and their ships sailed direct to India. "By 78 B.C. the general of Thebaid had become also general of the Red Sea and the 'Indian Sea', a new name which points to regular connection with India. Indian traders on their side began to come direct to the Somali ports, and Indians appeared in Egypt; one, Sophon, travelled over the caravan route to Coptos", and this visit is recorded in an inscription found in the ruins of a shrine at Redesiye on the route between Edfu, on the Nile, and Berenice. 3 The existence of an Indian colony at Memphis has been presumed by the discovery of Indian figures.

The close of the century witnessed still further development in this direct trade relation between India and Egypt. Strabo, who lived in the reign of Augustus, himself visited the port of Myos Hormos and found that about one hundred and twenty ships sailed from that port to India (probably in a single season). A few bold sailors, we are told, even reached the mouth of the Ganga. 4 On the other hand we hear of Indians, sailing for the purpose of

Note 16

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commerce, being driven by storms into Germany. 1 This was a striking change in comparison with the state of things a century earlier.

5. India and the Roman Empire

The active part taken by Indians in trading with the western countries, in the first century A.D. and earlier, is proved by certain statements in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. In the first place, the author of this work refers to the island of Dioscorida (Socotra) as inhabited by foreigners, ‘a mixture of Arabs and Indians and Greeks who have emigrated to carry on trade there.* Secondly, he states that large vessels are regularly sent from Barygaza (Broach on the Bombay coast) to the market-town of Persia called Ommana.

There are also some grounds for the belief that the Hindus had active trade intercourse with Madagascar and also settled there, as in Socotra. The Indonesian language, mixed with Sanskrit vocabulary, was current in Madagascar. The ancient name of this island was Malay, and her people have a tradition that their ancestors came from Mangalore.

Thus there is ample evidence to show that there was a large volume of seaborne trade between India and the western countries, as far as Africa, before the beginning of the Christian era.

The policy of the Roman Empire during the first two centuries of the Christian era was to encourage direct sea-trade with India, and diminish as far as possible the overland trade through the hostile land of Parthia. An expedition was sent by Augustus in 25 B.C. to secure the command of the sea-route to India, and Aden was soon after occupied by a colony of Egyptians and Greeks.

As already noted above, the direct sea-voyage was a long and tedious one, as the sailors had to keep close to the coast. This state of things was changed by the great discovery which. Hippalus made about A.D. 45. He noted the "existence of the monsoon winds, blowing regularly across the Indian Ocean," which would enable the ships to sail right across the Indian Ocean. 2 With the help of these monsoon winds, a ship, starting from Okelis, the port at the mouth of the Red Sea, would reach Muziris (Cranganore on the Malabar coast) or other south Indian ports in forty days or even less. Thus in less than three months' time Indian goods could reach Alexandria, the great emporium of the western world.

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Apart from shortening the duration of the journey, the direct voyage across the sea reduced the danger from pirates. The result was a great increase in maritime trade. Whereas before Hippalus's discovery hardly twenty ships a year made the voyage, after it, on an average, a ship a day left the ports of Egypt for the East. The whole of the western coast of India was well known to the sailors of these ships. * 1

In addition to Hippalus's discovery, two other circumstances fa 1 * ired the growth of trade between India and the western countries. The first and foremost was the foundation of the Roman Empire, which gave peace, facilitated communications and secured the trade routes. Secondly, as already noted above, 2 articles of luxury from India were in great demand in Rome. The result was an unprecedented increase in the volume of trade. We learn from a Chinese notice of the Roman province of Syria in A.D. 125 that the gain from trade with India and Parthia was ten to one. As has already been mentioned, Pliny estimated that nearly fifty million sesterces (half a million sterling) flowed every year from Rome to India to pay for the balance of trade. 3 That this statement is no mere rhetoric is proved by the actual discovery of a very large number of Roman coins in India. An idea of how large this number is may be formed from the following account of the discovery of Roman coins belonging to the period from Augustus to Nero alone (31 B.C. to A.D. 68).

Tn northern India some denarii of Augustus and Tiberius were found in the Hazara district of the Punjab, and the smallness of their number is due to the melting and re-striking of these coins by the Kushanas.

Tn southern India, we have in actual number 612 gold coins and 1,187 silver, besides hoards discovered, which are severally

Note 22

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described as follows:

‘Of gold coins “a quantity amounting to five cooly-loads ; and of silver coins, (1) “a great many in a pot,” (2) about 599 in an earthen pot,” (3) “a find of 163,” (4) ‘some,’ (5) “some thousands” enough to fill “five or six Madras measures,” i.e. perhaps a dozen quart measures; also (6) of metal not stated, “a pot-full. These coins are the product of fifty-five separate discoveries mostly in the Coimbatore and Madura districts.’

After a minute analysis of these and other coins Sewell, who has made a detailed study of these coins, 1 arrives at the following conclusions:—

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an interchange which, enabling the Romans to obtain oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died in A.D. 68.

3. From this time onward trade declined till the date of Caracalla (A.D. 217).

4. From the date of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

And as regards the object of the trade:—

(a) Under the early emperors there was a great demand for pepper, spices, fine muslins, perfumes, unguents, pearls and precious stones, especially the beryl.

(b) In the declining period between Nero and Caracalla, there was little or no demand for mere luxuries, and the activity of merchants was directed towards cotton and industrial products.

(c) Under the Byzantine emperors the trade was mostly with Travancore and the south-west coast, commerce with the interior and the Deccan having declined.

Dr, Sewell also concludes from the discovery of a very large number of Roman copper coins in different parts of Madura, including a class minted locally, that in all probability Roman merchants continued to reside in Madura and also in other parts of

Note 26

Note 27

southern India either permanently or temporarily. 1 The Peutingerian tables, which appear to have been copied from fresco paintings in Rome executed in the second century A.D., place near Muziris a temple of Augustus, but no traces of this are known to survive, and it is impossible to say to which emperor it was dedicated. Dr. Caldwell considered that these geographical tables or maps were prepared at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy.

The evidence of coins is fully supported by the south Indian literature of the Sangam age which may be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era. Reference is thus made to 'Yavanas of graceless harsh speech' who possessed many precious utensils and a large quantity of diamonds. Mention is also made of seaport towns like Mamallapuram, Puhar and Korkai. Many foreign merchants lived in these towns and reference is made to the "activities of busy customs officials and those engaged in loading and unloading vessels in the harbour." Poetical description is also given of the ships in the harbours, the flags waving on their masts being compared to huge elephants chafing at their posts. 2

We must therefore conclude that there was a large volume of trade between India and Rome during the first century A.D. As to the condition of trade in subsequent periods, it is difficult to accept the findings of Sewell as they are rejected by other authorities and are based merely on negative evidence, for, besides these coins, mostly discovered in south India, others are also known, 3 and a large number must have been lost or still lie hidden underground. Further, the coins in southern India are merely evidence of maritime trade, and we must remember that there was also a large volume of overland commerce which, in spite of the rise of the Parthian and Sassanid kingdoms, continued as an important factor for several centuries. That the trade between India and the western countries flourished even in the fourth century A.D. is proved by the fact that "silk worth in Aurelian time its weight in gold, and a luxury of the rich and noble, was in the reign of Julian sold at

Note 28

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Note 30

a price which brought it within every man's reach." 1

The famous emporia of Palmyra and Petra had now become the chief centres of Indian trade. Palmyra was reached by land from Vologesia on the Euphrates to which Indian goods were brought by sea. Similarly, goods were carried by land to Petra from the Red Sea through its two ports on the Arabian coast, viz. Aelana (ancient Ezion Geber) and Leuke Rome. At first Petra was the chief centre of distribution of goods to the Mediterranean ports of Ghaza and Rhinokolura. These consisted, among others, of fine muslins, pearls, beryls, precious stones, incense and drugs. When Petra was destroyed in A.D. 105, Palmyra gained commercial preeminence. After it was sacked by Aurelian in A.D. 273, Indian trade was diverted to Batne, near the Euphrates, and a day's journey from Edessa. About the same time or somewhat later, Alexandria, too, fell into decay and the Indian trade of the west passed into the hands of the Arabs. Adule, a petty village on the African coast, developed into the principal port of Ethiopia and became a great centre of commerce. Even when Roman trade with the East revived under Constantine, Roman vessels proceeded only up to Adule, beyond which the trade was carried on by the Indians and the Arabs. The trade between India and the western world continued in this way, and it was in a flourishing condition even so late as the sixth century A.D. 2

It would appear from what has been said above that active commerce between India and the Roman empire, through Palmyra and Alexandria, flourished till the third century A.D. We cannot therefore agree with Sewell that its decline commenced after the reign of Nero or that it ceased altogether after A.D. 217. Priaulx argued 'that it was during the reigns of Severus, his son Caracalla, and the pseudo-Antonines, that Alexandria and Palmyra were most prosperous, and that Roman intercourse was at its height.' 3 Sewell rejects this view, but it was fully endorsed by V. A. Smith. 4 Priaulx further remarks, in support of his contention, that during this period "Roman literature gave more of its attention to Indian matters, and did not, as of old, confine itself to quotations from the historians of Alexander or the narratives of the Seleucidan ambassadors, but drew its information from other independent sources."

1. G. B. Priaulx, The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Indian Em

bassies to Rome (London, 1873), p. 252.

2. Ibid. pp. 330 ff, 244.

3. Ibid. 132.

4. JASB. LVIII (1889), 158.

The correctness of this observation will be demonstrated later, and the position of Priaulx is further strengthened by the accounts of Indian embassies to Rome.

It has already been noted above that one or more Indian states sent embassies to Augustus. We also hear of other Indian embassies to Rome during the first four centuries of the Christian era. There are specific references to Indian embassies visiting Trajan (A.D. 98-117), Hadrian (117-138), Antoninus Pius (138-161), Heliogabalus (218-222), Aurelian (270-275), Constantine (323-353) and Julian (361-363). 1 Two more Indian embassies were probably sent to Justinian in A.D. 530 and 552.

One important result of the development of this commercial and political intercourse was that an increasingly large number, both of Indians and Roman subjects, visited each other's country. 2 Alexandria, according to all accounts, was the great meeting ground between the East and the West, and must have been visited by a large number of Indians, mostly traders. 3 Dio Chrysostom (c. A.D. 117) refers to Indians as forming part of the settled population of Alexandria and notes that they came by way of trade. A gravestone with wheel and trisula (trident) attests the presence of Indians in Alexandria. 4 It is interesting to note that some Brahmanas who visited Alexandria in A.D. 470 were the guests of Consul Severus. 5 By means of this personal contact both India and the Roman world gained a more correct and intimate knowledge of each other.

6. India in Western Literature

The great increase in the West's intercourse with India is reflected in its literature. Mention has already been made of Strabo, an Asiatic Greek who lived in the reign of Augustus. But Strabo derived much of his information from Eratosthenes (240-196 B.C.), the learned President of the Alexandria Library, and considered his account of India as superior even to that of Megasthenes. Eratosthenes on his part relied mostly on the data supplied by Patrocles, an officer who held an important command over the eastern provinces of the Syrian empire under Seleucus Nicator and Antiochus I. Strabo's account was thus largely based on older writers, and adds little that was true of his own times. The same thing is also true of the Indika of Arrian written about 150 B.C. Far different was, however, the work of Pliny. His Natural History, completed in A.D. 77, not only contains a fairly detailed account of the voyage from Egypt to India, but also a very interesting list of Indian animals, minerals, plants and drugs.

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About the same time was published the Periplus of the Erythraen Sea, to which a detailed reference has been made above. Next comes Ptolemy, the great Alexandrine geographer (c. A.D. 150), who wrote on the basis, mainly, of information collected by Marinus of Tyre. He showed greater knowledge of the Asiatic coast than his predecessors, but his object was not to describe the localities, but to determine their latitude and longitude. His view of the configuration of India was unfortunately very faulty, and his calculation is therefore often wrong. But, in spite of these drawbacks, his book contains much valuable geographical data.

There were a few other writers of less repute who have left some interesting account of India. Dio Chrysostom (c. A.D. 117), who has already been mentioned, states that the poetry of Homer had been translated into the Indian languages. This, however, merely refers to the general resemblances between the Odyssey and the Indian epics.

A Greek farce composed in the second century A.D. is contained in a unique papyrus discovered at Oxyrhynchus. It contains the story of a Greek lady named Chrition, shipwrecked on the Kanarese coast, and the people of the locality actually use Kanarese dialect in the drama. 1 Aelian, who flourished about the middle of the second century, noticed a number of Indian animals in his famous zoological work.

The western literature of the third century A. D. shows a more comprehensive knowledge of India. The account of Clement of

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Alexandria, who died about A.D. 220, contains a fairly accurate account of the Brahmanical doctrine of transmigration and the Buddhist worship of stupas . Bardesanes, the Babylonian, who lived in the third century A.D., also possessed an intimate knowledge of India. His work on the Indian Gymnosophists is lost, but the few quotations that can still be traced contain interesting information of both Brahmanas and Buddhists. Among other writers may be mentioned Archelaos of Carrah (A.D. 278), St. Jerome (A.D. 340), Philostratus (c. A.D. 180-250) and Dion Cassius (c. A.D. 155-230). The first two refer to Buddha and give the traditional account of his birth. 1

Different views have been held about the legendary history of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus. Rawlinson calls Apollonius a ‘prince of imposters’ and regards Apollonius’s account as purely fictitious. 2 But Priaulx thinks it may be a genuine account, in its main parts, though containing mistakes here and there.

Like literature, the Greek and Roman art also reflects a knowledge of India. Callistratus describes the statue of a drunken and reeling Hindu. 3 An ivory statuette, discovered amid the ruins of Pompeii, is a typical product of ancient Indian art and belongs probably to the first century A.D. or a somewhat earlier date. 4 In a silver dish at Lampsacus India is represented as a woman. 5

II. EFFECT OF THE INTERCOURSE 6

It may be regarded as almost a universal law that two countries which come into contact in course of trade or conquest borrow ideas from each other. Neither India nor western countries, even including Greece, can be regarded as an exception to this rule. It would be as much ridiculous to suggest that India was altogether impervious to the influence of the West, as to hold ‘that Indian civilization was a bye-product of the Macedonian or Achaemenian Invasion 5 .

1, Influence of the West on India

It is, however, very difficult to estimate even the probable effect of the intercourse between India and the western countries,

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as described above. But some of its aspects can be broadly stated. Reference has already been made to the probable influence of Babylonia and Chaldaea. The contact with the Achaemenids led to more definite results. There can hardly be any doubt that Mauryan India was affected by Persian ideas, and this can be particularly traced in the system of administration, the introduction of a number of Iranian and Greek words and of the Aramaean script and its derivative the KharoshthI, and in court etiquette and manners.

More doubtful is the influence upon art and religion, of which too much has been made by some scholars. The Graeco-Roman influence is more obvious. Indian art and coinage bear strong marks of Hellenistic influence. Indian astronomy was also considerably influenced by western systems. This is freely admitted in the following passage in the Gdrgi Samhita: "The Yavanas are indeed barbarians, but astronomy originated with them and for this they must be venerated as gods". Of the five Siddhantas (Indian astronomical works) Romaka Siddhanta and Paulisa Siddhdnta (named after Paul of Alexandria, c. A.D. 378) are evidently of western origin. More doubtful is the claim that 'Indian medical science shows distinct traces of western influence', for although Vogel finds in the works of Charaka strong traces of a knowledge of Hippocrates, his view is not shared by all. The Greek influence on Indian drama is also a very debatable point. Little reliance can be placed on the statements of some classical writers that Homer's epic and the Greek tragedies were known in India, and the view of V.A. Smith that Kalidasa could read not only Menander but Terence is now hardly credited by any scholar.

It is difficult to estimate the influence of western religion on India. There is no doubt that a large number of deities worshipped in Greece, Rome and western Asia were known in India, for we find their names and portraits on the coins of the Indo-Greek and Kushana kings. But there is little to show that they influenced Indian religion in any way. The date of the introduction of Christianity in India is a disputed point. The legend that the Apostle Thomas visited the court of an Indian ruler (usually identified with the Indo-Parthian king Gondophernes, mentioned above 1) cannot be traced earlier than the third century A.D. But it may be admitted that Christian missionaries visited India, and small Christian communities were established there before the end of the

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second century A.D. 1 The Christian Church was firmly established in south India during the two succeeding centuries, and we have references to it in the Romance History of Alexander of the PseudoKallisthenes (fifth century A.D.). But there is no evidence that Christianity exercised any influence on Indian religion. A great deal ' was at one time made of the parallelism between the Krishna legend and the Gospel story, and of the supposed resemblances between the Gospels and the Bhagavadgitd. But the discovery of the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar has proved the existence of the Krishna cult long before Christ, and no one would now seriously contend that early Vaishnava doctrines and legends were influenced in any way by Christianity. In view of the prevalence of the Brahmanical religion in western Asia before, and at the time of, the rise of Christianity, its striking resemblances, if any, to Vaishnavism should rather be ascribed to the influence of the latter. It is not necessary to discuss other views based on similarly vague data.

2. Influence of India on the West

We may now consider the influence of India on the West. We need not attach great importance to the introduction of oriental luxury in food, clothing and ornaments as evidenced by the great demand for spices, aromatic articles, fine fabrics and precious gems, which were regularly exported from India; nor need we emphasise such isolated elements as the use of elephants in wars by Hellenistic rulers and by Hannibal, which must undoubtedly be traced to Indian influence. These are comparatively minor matters; of far greater importance is the influence exerted in the domains of literature, science, philosophy and religion which was more abiding in character.

In view of the great influence exerted by Indian science and literature upon western countries in the subsequent periods as will be described in the next volume, it is legitimate to assume that such influence must have already been at work during the period under review, but it is not possible to give any precise account. It is held by many scholars that Greek physicians had a knowledge of

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Indian medical science. According to Parsi tradition, the Sassanid king Shapur I (A.D. 241-272) “caused to be included among the holy books secular works on medicine, astronomy and metaphysics found in India, Greece and other countries.” 1 It is said also that king Shapur had an Indian medical man resident in Susa. The doctor not only treated the patients but also taught medical science. After his death his pupils provided the whole of Iran with professionals in medicine. 2

It has been claimed that Indian philosophy exercised a certain influence upon Greek philosophy. 3 Clement of Alexandria even went so far as to say that the Greeks ‘stole their philosophy from barbarians.’ Sir Willian Jones was the first to point out the analogies between the Sankhya system and the Pythagorean philosophy, and many eminent scholars hold that the latter was derived from the former. These may, however, be mere coincidences. As Pythagoras lived in the latter half of the sixth century B.C., doubts have been expressed about the accuracy of this view on the ground that there was hardly any intercourse between India and Greece at this period. 4 It must be remembered, however, that the establishment of the Achaemenian empire, which touched the borders of

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India and Greece, made Persia an admirable centre for such contact. A fact recently brought to light definitely proves that, even long before the invasion of Alexander, there was cultural contact between India and Greece. Rawlinson has drawn our attention, for what it is worth, to a statement of Eusebius which runs as follows: 5 ‘Aristoxenus, the musician, tells the following story about the Indians. One of these men met Socrates at Athens and asked him what was the scope of his philosophy. ‘An enquiry into human phenomenon’, replied Socrates. At this the Indian burst out laughing. ‘How can a man enquire into human phenomena’, he exclaimed, ‘when he is ignorant of divine ones’?

Aristoxenus was a pupil of Aristotle and lived in 330 B.C. He might therefore have heard of the interview between Socrates and the Indian philosopher, from some of their contemporaries. The dialogue is highly characteristic of the difference in the Indian and

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Greek attitude of mind. But whatever we might think of it, the anecdote quoted by Aristoxenus leaves no doubt that even in the fifth century B.C. Indian philosophers travelled in the West and learnt Greek language and philosophy sufficiently well to be able to hold discourses with eminent philosophers like Socrates.

We have no reason to believe that there was any material improvement furthering the prospects of such contact during the interval between the foundation of the Achaemenid empire and the Indian invasion of Alexander the Great. There is thus no inherent impossibility that either in Greece, or somewhere in Persian empire, if not in India, Pythagoras could have come into contact with the Indians and derived his main philosophical ideas from them. As Schroeder 1 has pointed out, not one or two chance ideas, but almost all the doctrines ascribed to Pythagoras, both religio-philosophical and mathematical were current in India. As the most important of them appear in Pythagoras without connection or explanatory background, whilst in India they are rendered comprehensible by the intellectual life of the times. Schroeder definitely pronounces India to be the birth-place of the ideas. The same view was emphatically asserted by Colebrooke 2 and is shared by Garbe. 3 The lastnamed scholar has further pointed out the numerous coincidences between Indian and Greek philosophy. He has referred to the most striking resemblance between the doctrine of the One in the Upanishads and the philosophy of the Eleatics, and between the theory of Thales, the father of Greek philosophy, that everything sprung from water, and the Vedic idea of the primeval water out of which the universe was evolved. He has also traced fundamental ideas of the Sankhya philosophy among the Greek physiologers such as Anaximander, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and Epicurus.

It has been argued that these resemblances do not necessarily indicate Indian influence, for it is possible that the Greeks and the Indians reached similar conclusions independently of each other But the same argument cannot be urged in the cases of similar resemblances noticed in some mystery cults and the teachings of Pythagoras and Plato. For, these show a great departure from the Greek tradition of rationalism and humanism. In mystery cult associated with the name of Orpheus, faith in the immortality of

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soul is a cardinal feature, and the idea of transmigration is fully worked out, the wheel of birth going on until the soul escapes from it by attaining release. “Orphic religion is different from the anthropormorphic worship of the Greeks, and Orphic cosmogony and eschatology are foreign to the Greek”. But Professor Burnet has shown that it has some striking resemblances to the beliefs prevalent in India about the same time such as rebirth, the immortality and godlike character of the soul, the bondage of the soul in the body

the possibility of release by purification. If we add to them metaphors like the wheel of birth and the world egg, the Indian influence seems to be the only reasonable explanation. For it is difficult to explain all these resemblances in doctrines novel in the Greek world as due to mere natural coincidence”.

There was a close analogy between these mystic cults and the doctrines of Pythagoras who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. He enjoined asceticism and abstention from meat, believed in re-births and is said to have remembered his previous births.

The mystic tradition finds its full expression in Plato (427-347 B.C.). Attention may be drawn to a few characteristic traits of his doctrines.

1. Truth cannot always be proved. It appeals to the whole nature of man and not simply to the intellect.

2. The soul is unperceived, simple, indissoluble, immortal and has been many times reborn. It is purified by these rebirths and ultimately escapes when completely purified.

3. Body is a fetter to which we are chained and we must look forward to a future world in which we will be freed from the body.

All these and many things more are fundamentally opposed to the Greek spirit, which was more concerned with all that pleased the senses and satisfied the emotions.

Lassen denies Indian influence upon Greek philosophy in the pre-Christian period. He, however, adopts it for Christian Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism, 1 and there is a general consensus of opinion in support of this view. Barthelemy Saint-Hailaire 2 has traced the ideas of the Sankhya philosophy in Plato and believes the analogies to be too numerous to be explained away as mere coincidences. Professor Weber has traced the influence of the Indian conception

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of vdch upon the idea of the Logos, which appears in Neo-Platonism and passed from there into the Gospel of St. John. 1 Garbe has pointed out that the conception of the Logos did not first appear in Neo-Platonism, but may be traced through Philo and the Stoics ultimately to Heraclitus. This corroborates the view, noted above, of Heraclitus's indebtedness to Indian philosophical views.

That the interest in Indian philosophy continued in western countries for many centuries is proved beyond doubt by many positive evidences. Reference may be made in this connection to Scythianus, a Saracen, born in Palestine, who traded with India. During his visits to India Scythianus acquired a knowledge of Indian Philosophy and settled afterwards in Alexandria. 2 There is no doubt that Alexandria was a great international centre, where not only commercial products but philosophical and scientific ideas were exchanged between the East and the West.

The influence of Indian religion in the western countries cannot also be doubted. Reference has been made above to the spread of Buddhism in western Asia, Africa and Europe as early as the days of Asoka. The existence of Buddhism on the Persian borderland is demonstrated by the ruins of a Buddhist monastery in the terminal marshes of the Helmund in Seistan. That Buddhism had a strong hold in Parthia is shown by many references in the Chinese annals. As will be noticed later, even a Parthian prince abdicated the throne and became a Buddhist monk in the second century A.D. Alberuni has definitely stated that in former times Khorasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul and the country up to the frontier of Syria was Buddhistic.

There are unmistakable traces of Buddhist influences on the Manichaean religion, which was preached in the third century A.D. A Manichaean treatise written in the form of a Buddhist Sutra speaks of its founder Mani as the Tathagata, and mentions Buddha and the Bodhisattva. Curious parallels are also noticeable between Buddhism and Orphism.

We have also very interesting evidence that the Brahmanical religion prevailed in western Asia. According to the Syrian writer Zenob there was an Indian colony in the canton of Taron on the Upper Euphrates, to the west of Lake Van, as early as the second century B.C. 3 The Indians built there two temples containing

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images of gods about 13 and 22 ft. high. When, about A.D. 304, St. Gregory came to destroy these temples, he was strongly opposed by the Indians. But he defeated them and smashed the images, thus anticipating the iconoclastic zeal of Mahmud of Ghazni.

The facts stated above leave no doubt that, when Christianity arose, Indian culture and religion was already an important factor in the region of its early activity. The similarities which undoubtedly exist between the two may not therefore be mere coincidences. Thus resemblances betv/een the internal arrangements of the Christian church and a Buddhist Chaitya Hall, the rigorous asceticism pursued by some early Christian sects such as Thebaid monasticism, metempsychosis, relic-worship and the use of the rosary, might all have been borrowed by Christianity from Indian religious ideas. There is hardly any doubt that the Gnostics were profoundly influenced by Indian ideas. It is also a well-known fact that several religious leaders in the West took the name of Buddha, 1 and that Gautama Buddha, under the title of St. Josaphat, is still recognised as a Christian saint.

We may conclude this brief sketch with the observation that the facts definitely known are few, and hence the picture drawn is necessarily vague and incomplete. But one thing is certain. India did not, as many fondly believe, lead an isolated life, but maintained a close and intimate contact with the great civilizations of the West through trade and commerce. This led to cultural, and occasionally even political, relations, which began in hoary antiquity and continued right up to the middle of the first millennium of the Christian era and perhaps even later still.

Note 60

CHAPTER XXV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. JRAS, 1909, pp. 1094-1109; CAM. II. 13.
2. 2. These have been described in Vol. I, p. 92.
3. 3. W. W. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation, p. 211. The Caspian Sea and the Aral were joined by one or more salt water connections (ibid. 210).
4. 4. These routes are described both by Pliny and Strabo. (McCrindle, Ancient India , pp. 96, 99, 100, 110).
5. 5. McCrindle, Ancient India, pp. 204-5.
6. 1. Cf. Ch. Ill, Section I; also 1HQ, XXV. 153.
7. 1. 1AL. X. 58.
8. 1. Rawlinson, op. cit. 93-4.
9. 2. Sachau, Alberuni's India, p. 21.
10. 1. It is difficult to say how far the establishment of the Parthian and the Sassanid kingdoms affected the trade between India and the Western countries. Cunningham held the view 'that the strong Sassanian government from A.D. 230 to 450 formed a very effectual barrier to intercourse between Rome and N.-W. India' (JASB. LVIII. p. 149).
11. 2. Tarn, op. cit. 211-12.
12. 1. McCrindle, op. cit., p. 101.
13. 2. Ibid, 6, 101, Rawlinson, op. cit. 91.
14. 3. Rawlinson, op. cit. 94.
15. 4. Schoff's Transl. p. 32.
16. 1. McCrindle, op. cit. p. 98.
17. 2. Ibid, 97.
18. 3. Tarn, op. cit. 216; Rawlinson, op. cit. 99; JRAS, 1904, p. 402.
19. 4. Anc. Ind. 9.
20. 1. These Indians were presented by the king of the Suevi to Q. Metellus Celer, the Pro-Consul in Gaul (Anc . Ind. 110). Metellus became Consul in 60 B.C. Some scholars discredit the story. Cf. Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, p. 6, f.n. 10.
21. 2. This is the general view (cf. Rawlinson, op. cit. 109); but Kennedy maintains that 'the monsoons must have been known from the earliest times to all who sailed along the African and Arabian coast and that the normal trade-route from the Persian Gulf to India can never have

been along the inhospitable shores of Gedrosia' (JRAS, 1898, pp. 272-3). The direct voyage across the sea

22. is described in detail by Pliny (McCrindle, op. cit., Ill) and in the Periplus (Schoff's Transl. 45).
23. 1. Oakeshott, W.F., Commerce and Society (Oxford, 1936) p. 32.
24. 2. See p. 602.
25. 3. Rawlinson, op. cit. 103.
26. 1. JR AS. 1904, p. 591 ff.
27. G22
28. 1. Hultzsch also thinks that there was a Reman settlement and mint at Madura (JRAS, 1904, p. 403).
29. 2. NHIP, VI, 225-28; cf. also p. 603 above.
30. 3. Cunningham observes: "Roman gold coins are plentiful down to the time of Severus and Caracalla (A.D. 217). They then disappear until the time of Justin (526 A.D.), Marcian (A.D. 450), Leo (A.D. 474) and Anastasius (A.D. 491-518)." JASB. LVIII, 1889, p. 149. Reference may be made to the discovery of two Roman coins from Bilaspur (C.P.) and two from Vizagapatam districts. Of the former one is of Commodus (A.D. 189-90) and the other an imitation of a coin of Macrinus (A.D. 236-38) (JNSI . V. 171).
31. 1. For the political embassies to Rome, c/. Anc. Ind. pp. 212-3; Priaulx, The Indian Embassies to Rome; Warmington, The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 35-7. 77, 95, 99, 103, 124, 137-9. Orosius (A.D. 420) says that one of the embassies from India "reached Caesar (Augustus) at Tarraco in Hither Spain, having thus traversed the world from end to end." (Anc. Ind. p. 213). Priaulx thinks that there was only one Indian embassy to Augustus (op. ctt.).
32. 2. Priaulx (op. cit.) refers to a large number of such visits and incidental notices of India by Western writers down to the sixth century A.D.
33. 3. The presence of Indians in Alexandria is noted both by Dio Chrysostom (c. A.D. 117) and Ptolemy (Anc. Ind. p. 177; JR AS. 1904, p. 611). For the visit of Egyptians to India, cf. JRAS. 1904, p. 402.
34. 4. Tam, op. cit . 216.
35. 5. Priaulx, op. cit. 189.

36. A.I.U.—40
37. 1. For a detailed account cf. JRAS. 1904, pp. 399 If. Some scholars, however deny that there are Kanarese words (Barnett in Journal of Egyptian Archaeo
38. [°9y> Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 13-15). For other views cf. N. Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India , p. 6, f.n. 10. y
39. 1. For an account of the writers named cf. Anc. Ind. pp. 184-5.
40. 2. Op. cit. 146.
41. 3. Priaulx, op. cit., 136-7.
42. 4. ABIA, 1938, p. 1.
43. 5. JUPHS. XVI. Part II, p. 3.
44. 6. Cf. Smith, JASB, LVIII (1889), p. 197 ff; Rawlinson, JBBRAS, XXIII. 217 ff; and the authorities referred to in these articles.
45. 1. See p. 130.
46. 1. According to the story of St. Thomas, Christianity was preached in India as early as the first century A.D. But it is difficult to believe the story (EHF, p. 231 ff). Eusebius (third cent. A.D.) says that Pantaenus (second cent. A.D.), who went to India to preach Christianity, found that the Gospel had already been introduced there and some Indians had embraced Christianity (Anc . Ind. pp. 214-5).
47. 1. CAH, XII. 112.
48. 2. PIHC , V. 248.
49. 3. For a brief but comprehensive treatment of this subject cf. Richard Garbe, Philosophy of Ancient India (Chicago 1897) pp. 32-56.
50. 4. For this and other grounds against the theory cf. Keith in JR AS , 1909, pp. 569-606.
51. 5. ML. X, p. 58.
52. 1. Pythagoras und die Inder (Leipzig, 1884).
53. 2. Miscellaneous Essays, 2nd Ed. I. 436-37.
54. 3. Op. cit. 390 ff.
55. 1. Indische Alterthumskunde III. 379.
56. 2. Premier Memoire sur le Saiikhya (Paris 1852), pp. 512-22.
57. 1. Indische Studien, IX.
58. 2. Anc. lnd., p. 185, if.n. 1.
59. 3. JR AS. 1904, p. 309.
60. 1. Priaulx, op. cit., p. 174. According to Archelaos (A.D. 278) Terebinthus declared himself to be a new Buddha (McCrindle, Anc.

Ind. 185).

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

A, CENTRAL ASIA AND CHINA

As we have seen in the last chapter, India’s contact with the western world was mainly inspired by trade and commerce, though it brought in its train some cultural influence on either side. Far different, however, was the case with the countries in the north, east and south-east. Although original intercourse might have been inspired by commercial enterprise, it was soon overshadowed by missionary activity leading to a more or less complete cultural conquest over extensive regions. Besides, the Indians set up colonies and established political influence in many of these countries, which brought into existence what may properly be called Greater India.

China is the only country in this region which can boast of an ancient civilization. Broadly speaking, there were three routes in ancient times which connected India with China. The first was the great overland route which ran across Afghanistan over the passes of the Hindu Kush to Bactria and thence, through Central Asia to the western border of China. The second, also an overland route, passed from eastern India through upper Burma to the southwestern provinces of China. The third, an all-sea route, passed along the coasts of Indo-China and the islands of the East Indies. The cultural and colonial expansion of India proceeded along these three routes.

I. Afghanistan

The territory between the Sindhu and the Hindu Kush mountains may be regarded culturally as a part of India during almost the whole of the Hindu period. The reference in the Rigveda to the rivers Kubha (with its tributary the Suvastu), the Krumu and the Gomatl, which have been identified respectively with the Kabul, the Swat, the Kurrum and the Gomal rivers, and the tribes like the Alinas, Bhalanases and the Pakthas who played a prominent part in the battle of the ten kings 1 leaves no doubt that the Indo-Aryans in the Punjab were intimately associated with Afghanistan. Their

Note 1

progress towards the east gradually lessened the bond between the two countries. But the eastern regions of Afghanistan were always regarded politically as parts of India, and the rest of the territory remained Indian in culture and predominantly within the political orbit of India, although subjected, like the Punjab, to the influence of the Persians, the Greeks, the Parthians, the Scythians and the Kushanas. The Mauryas exercised effective rule over the whole of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and both Buddhism and Brahmanism had a strong influence over the whole area until the advent of Islam. Most of the dynasties that ruled in Afghanistan and Baluchistan came under the influence of Indian culture, which had taken deep root in the soil. Their coins and inscriptions, works of art. religion and literature are Indian in character and, so far as recorded evidence goes, we can hardly distinguish eastern Afghanistan and Baluchistan from India from either a political or cultural point of view. Even in the second century A.D. Ptolemy included this region in India. We learn from Isidor of Charax (first century A.D.) that Arachosia (Kandahar region) was called "White India" by the Parthians. How strong this conviction has been throughout the ages is proved by an old saying quoted by Abul Fazl that Kabul and Kandahar were the twin gates of India. The great French scholar James Darmesteter inferred from the Iranian scriptures that 'Hindu civilization prevailed in those parts (Kabul and Seistan), which in fact, in the two centuries before and after Christ, were known as White India, and remained more Indian than Iranian till the Musulman conquest.' 1

II. Central Asia

The territory beyond the Hindu Kush mountains was also profoundly influenced by Indian culture. The Mauryan Empire, which included a part of these territories, and the missionary zeal of Aioka must have contributed directly to this end. The Greeks, the Sakas, the Yueh-chi and the Parthians, who ruled later in this region, adopted Indian religion and used Indian scripts and language. As these peoples extended their rule over parts of

India, the peoples beyond the Hindu Kush came into more intimate contact with Indian culture.

We have evidence to show that Buddhism, and along with it Indian culture, was spread among the Parthians, the Yueh-chi, the Sogdians and various other peoples of Central Asia before the beginning of the Christian era. Even the Sassanians of the third century A.D. regarded Bactriana as virtually an Indian country and the Oxus, a river of Buddhists and the Brahmanas. The Greek writers always cite Bactriana with India and state that thousands of Brahmanas and Samanas (Buddhist monks) reside there. The recent explorations in Chinese Turkestan have revealed the existence of a large number of flourishing cities with rich sanctuaries, and introduced us to a new world of Indian culture which calls for a more detailed study.

Note 2

In order to understand properly the expansion of Indian culture in this region, we must have a clear idea of the different routes between India and China passing through Central Asia. The main route proceeded along the valley of the Kabul river and reached the Hindu Kush mountains through Purushapura (Peshawar), Nagarahara (Jalalabad), Bamiyan and other cities. Beyond the Hindu Kush lay Bahlika (Bactriana, modern Balkh). From this region three well-known roads led to the Tarim basin. The one, which was mostly used by the ancient caravans, "ascended the Qizil Su or Surkh Ab to the Pamir-like valley of the Alai and thence crossed the saddle above Irkeshtam to the head-waters of the river of Kashgar and thus down to the oasis itself". Another, and more northern, route crossed both the Oxus and the Jaxartes and, passing by Tashkend and Lake Issiq Kol, debouched through the passes of the Tien Shah mountains to Uch Turfan or Aqsu to the northwest of the Tarim basin. The third, and the southernmost, route went-at first almost due east from Balkh, via Badakhshan and Wakhan, and then crossed either by the Wakhjir Pass or other passes over the Pamirs, into Sariqol, south of Muztagh Ata. From Tash Qurghan, the ancient capital of this region, different tracks through very confined gorges led down to the utterly barren foothills on the sides of the Tarim basin and so on to the oases of Kashgar and Yarkand on its western border. There was also a much shorter and direct, but difficult, road from Kashmir, along Gilgit and the Yasin valleys, and through the Darkot and Baroghil Passt*s, to the lastmentioned route in the Wakhan valley.

The Tarim basin, to which all the three routes led, is popularly known as Chinese Turkestan, and corresponds to the modern province of Sinkiang. This region lies immediately to the west of China, and was for long under her political control both in ancient and modern times. It is almost entirely surrounded by mountains.

To the north is the mighty Tien Shan, and to the west the Pamir mountains. In the south the snowy Kun-lun range separates it from the plateau of Tibet. To the east the Nan Shan range, the marshes of Lop-Nor and the border of the Gobi desert separate it from China proper.

Although this region is about 900 miles long from east to west, and about 330 miles from north to south at its widest part, it is almost entirely occupied by the "huge central desert of bare sanddunes which is popularly known as the Taklamakan. Its borders to the west, north and east are marked by the belts of vegetation accompanying the Tiznaf, the Yarkand and the Tarim rivers". To the south of the desert lies a string of oases, mostly small, fed by the streams descending from the Kun-lun. Only one of these rivers, the Khotan, succeeds in making its way through the desert during a few summer months. For the rest, they are lost in the sands of the desert at a greater or less distance. It may be observed, however, that this distance has been systematically reduced in course of ages, for modern explorations have proved the existence of cultivated grounds further north than the corresponding 'terminal oases' of the present day.

On account of the lack of rain or snow-fall, cultivation was only possible by canal irrigation and was confined to a comparatively very small area between the desert and the mountain ranges encircling it. The ground capable of settled life was thus confined to strings of oases of which only a few could sustain even a moderately small community. To this may be added the extremes of climate, the sands rising to boiling point in summer, and every drop of water being frozen in winter. No wonder that the Tarim basin could never be the permanent home of a large population. But this very evil was a blessing in disguise, for it kept the region comparatively free from the depredations of the great migrating tribes of Wusun, &akas, Yueh-chi, Hunas, Turks and Mongols, to whom the big open grazing grounds on the northern slopes of the Tien Shan held far greater attraction than the narrowly circumscribed life of a cultivator in the Tarim basin. Though ready to make occasional raids, they could never think of making this region their permanent or even temporary home.

It was mainly for this reason that this inhospitable region attained an importance quite out of proportion to its resources. For more than two thousand years it served as the great highway of commercial, cultural and political intercourse between China on the one hand and India and western Asia on the other. It was subsequently a meeting ground of diverse peoples and cultures, such as Indians, Persians, Turks, Chinese, Tibetans, Buddhists, Jews, Christians and Manichaeans. Two roads passing along its northern and southern fringes led from the west of China. Kashgar, on the western border, may be regarded as the starting point of both these routes which met on the Chinese frontier in the east at a place called Yu-men-kuan or the Jade Gate, not far from the hills of Tunhwang which contain the caves of the thousand Buddhas.

A few sites on both the roads from Kashgar to China have been explored by various parties in recent times. The antiquities and archaeological remains discovered in course of these explorations have revealed almost a new world. They include ruined cities with hundreds of sanctuaries, images, wall-paintings, etc. and clearly demonstrate that Indians settled in large numbers in various localities all over this region and introduced their art, religion, language, script and system of political administration. It is almost certain that they also set up small kingdoms, some of which flourished for a fairly long period. It is not possible to write a continuous or connected history of the Indian settlements in this region, but we may give a brief account of some of the localities which can be definitely included within the zone of Indian culture and colonisation.

Along the southern route there were Indian colonies at Shule or Sailadesa (Kashgar), So-Khiu or Chokkuka (Yarkand), Khotamna (Khotan), and also at Domoko, Niya, Dandan-Oilik, Endere, Loulan, Rawak and Miran; and along the northern route at Po-lu-kia or Bharuka (Aqsu district, near Uch-Turfan), Kuchi (modern Kucha), Yen-ki (or Yen-chi) or Agni-desa (modern Qara Shahr), and Turf an, in addition to various other localities. Future exploration would no doubt considerably add to this number.

Buddhism was the prevailing religion in all these localities. This is proved not only by the discovery of images and the remains of Buddhist stupas, shrines and vikaras built after Indian models, but also by a large number of Buddhist texts, written in Sanskrit and Prakrit as well as in local languages of Central Asia, and in Indian scripts, both Brahml and Kharoshthi. Large numbers of secular documents have also been discovered. These are written in Indian languages and scripts on wooden tablets, leather, paper and

silk. The wooden tablets were used for short communications of an official character, such as instructions to the local officials by the Mahcinuava Maharaya (Mahanubhava Maharaja or the high-souled great king) or information of a personal or official nature issued by one official to another. We find therein reference to law-suits, inventories, list of provisions or presents, arrangements of guards, appointments, transport of arms, etc. Some of them contain the names of ruling princes, officials and their relations. The documents on leather and paper are similar in character. A short text on a silk strip contains fragments of a letter or order. Another document on silk contains nine inscriptions in Prakrit containing a prayer for the health of an individual and his family. It is interesting to note that some of the phrases used in the prayers are almost identical with those found in the Indian inscriptions of the Kushana period. It may be added that many documents in nonIndian languages were written in Indian script, and tables containing complete alphabets of the Brahml script have been found in Central Asia.

Most of the documents are in the form of letters with the names of the addressees written on the covering tablet. Many of the persons who wrote them, or to whom they were sent, bear names which are either purely Indian such as Bhima, Bangusena, Nandasena, Shamasena, Sitaka, Upajiva, etc. or else look like Indian adaptations such as Angacha, Kushanasena, etc. Some of the official designations are also Indian, for example, char a (spy), dutiya or duta (envoy). Stein has pointed out how the style of writing in these records follows closely the instructions given in the Kashmirian manual Lekhaprakdsa.

These documents were probably written during the first four centuries of the Christian era. The use of Indian language, style and script for purposes of administration, as far as the Lop-Nor region to the extreme east of the Tarim basin, at the very threshold of China, shows the extent of the political influence of Indian colonists.

Khotan seems to be a particularly important centre of Indian colonisation. A KharoshthI inscription refers to the Khotanese king Maharaja Rajatiraja deva Vijita-Simha. About forty coins were found here bearing Chinese legends on the obverse and Indian Prakrit ones in KharoshthI characters on the reverse. Like the documents mentioned above, these also indicate that the language and scripts used by the local administration were Indian.

The archaeological evidence certainly lends some colour to the tradition that Khotan was colonised by Indians and ruled by Indian chiefs. This tradition, with a long list of Indian kings, is preserved in Tibetan literature. Sen Konow has critically examined the different versions of this tradition and his provisional conclusions may be summarised as follows: 1

‘Kustana, the son of Asoka, is said to have founded the royal dynasty at Khotan. But Kustana’s son Ye-u-la, who is said to have founded the capital of the kingdom, is most probably identical with the king Yii-lin mentioned in the Chinese chronicles as ruling over Khotan about the middle of the first century A.D.

‘Ye-u-la was succeeded by his son Vijita-Sarhbhava, with whom begins a long series of Khotan kings whose names all begin with Vijita. 2 If there is any truth in the Chinese statement that Wei-chi or Vijita was the family name of the kings, it is of interest to note that this ‘Vijita’ dynasty, according to Tibetan tradition, begins where the Han annals place the foundation of the national Khotan kingdom.

‘Buddhism was introduced into Khotan in the fifth year of Vijita-Sambhava. Eleven kings followed, and then came Vijita Dharma who was a powerful ruler and constantly engaged in war. Later, he became a Buddhist and retired to Kashgar. We know from Chinese sources that Kashgar had formerly developed great power, but that it became dependent on Khotan during A.D. 220264. It is then probable that this was the time of the powerful king Vijita-Dharma.

‘Vijita-Dharma was followed on the throne by his son VijitaSimha, and the latter by his son Vijita-Klrti. Vijita-Klrti is said to have carried war into India and to have overthrown Saketa, together with king Kanika (or the king of Kanika) and the Guzan king. Guzan here evidently stands for Kushana.’

So much for the Tibetan version. According to the other Buddhist traditions, the colonisation of Khotan is connected with the well-known story of Kunala, son of Asoka and viceroy of Taxila, who, disgusted with the machinations of his step-mother, left the country, went to Khotan and set himself up there as king. 3

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

We need not attach much importance to these attempts to associate the ruling family of Khotan with the great Maurya dynasty, but everything indicates that it migrated from India and introduced Indian culture and civilization in this region. This probably took place in the first century A.D. and was facilitated by the extensive Kushana empire which formed a sort of connecting link between India and Central Asia.

Khotan was a very important centre of Buddhism. Its famous monastery, Gomati-vihara, was one of the biggest institutions of Buddhist learning in Central Asia. A number of able Indian scholars lived there, and many Chinese pilgrims, instead of coming to India for special instruction, stayed in Khotan. The learned monks of Gomati-vihara composed texts which were regarded almost as canonical. 1

There were other Indian colonies on the southern route like Khotan but, beyond archaeological remains, we have no historical information about any of them.

On the northern route, Kuchi (modern Kucha) was the leading centre of Indian culture. 2 Its ancient rulers bore Indian names such as Suvarnapushpa, Haripushpa, Haradeva, Suvarnadeva, etc. It was a flourishing city with a number of large Buddhist monasteries and splendid buildings. Kuchi had received Buddhism from India at a very early period and the whole of the local civilization was Buddhist. The literature discovered at Kuchi throws interesting light on the method of studying Sanskrit, the sacred language taught in the local monasteries. The students began with learning the alphabet, and many alphabetical tables have been dug out, traced by more or less skilled hands.

Sanskrit grammar was then studied according to the Katantra system, presumably because it was more fitted than Panini for nonIndians. Then the students made verbatim translations from Sanskrit into Kuchean. In addition to famous religious texts like Udanavarga, we have actual examples of astronomical and medical texts treated in this manner. This incidentally shows how, in addition to religion and its handmaid art, Indian astronomy, or rather astrology, and medicine were spread in this region. There was an extensive Kuchean literature, but all the works are based upon Sanskrit originals. At Ming-Oi, west of Kuchi, Brahml fragments in Sanskrit have been found which belong to the second century A.D. 1 Kuchi was also an important centre for the propaganda of Buddhism in other countries.

Note 6

Note 7

Beyond Kuchi, Qara Shahr was also an important Indian colony. It was known as Agnidesa and its kings had Indian names like Indrarjuna, Chandrarjuna, etc. Like Kuchi it also played an active part in the spread of Buddhism to China and other countries. Another important site is Bazaklik. It was an important Buddhist centre with hundreds of temples which had vail-paintings of Indian monks in yellow robes with names written in

Brahml to distinguish them from other monks in violet robes, with names written in Chinese and Tibetan.

It is not possible here to refer in detail to all ancient sites which were colonised by the Indians and the antiquities discovered in them. Taken as a whole, the artistic remains—architecture, sculpture and painting—and the large number of written texts, discovered in Central Asia, constitute a massive and most enduring monument of Indian culture and civilization which must have been widely spread all over the region in the early centuries of the Christian era. Although Buddhism was the prevailing religion, Brahmanical culture was not altogether absent. This is proved by the seals with effigies of Kubera and Trimukha, discovered at Niya, and the painted Ganesa at Endere. Both HInayana and Mahayana forms of Buddhism were prevalent, but by far the largest number of paintings and sculptures belong to the latter.

Among the numerous texts discovered, only a few may be noted here. A text of the Dhqmmapada was found in a place about 13 miles from Khotan. It is written in the KharoshthI character of the first or second century A.D. and contains verses of the Pali Dhammapada in a Prakrit dialect which has not been found hitherto in any other Buddhist literary work. Dr. Biihler was of opinion that the text was written in India and taken to Chinese Turkestan by a Buddhist monk. According to Sten Konow, it was composed in a dialect of north-western India but was written down in Khotan where it was discovered. He is of opinion that the language of the text has peculiarities of its own, not noticed in any other Prakrit dialect in India, and they must be due to the influence of the local dialect of Khotan.

Note 8

Fragments of some important Sanskrit texts, now lost in India, have been found in Central Asia. One is Uddnavarga , a work of the Sarvastivada school of Buddhism, which had probably the same place in the canon of that school as the Pali Dhammapada in that of the Theravada school. The work was very popular and was translated into Chinese. Tibetan and various languages of Central Asia. The work was known only in translations before the discovery of the original Sanskrit in various fragments found in Central Asia, the oldest of which from Tunhwang belongs to the Kushana period.

To the same period belong the palm-leaf manuscripts from Turfan which contain the concluding chapter of the drama ‘Sdriputra-prakarana composed by Asvaghosha and portions of two other dramas, probably by the same author. These are the earliest Sanskrit dramas so far known, and prove that most of the techniques found in later dramas had already been evolved in the first century A.D. Fragments of two dramas, written in the dialect of Kuchi, not only prove the influence of Indian dramaturgy, but also fill up the gap between the Indian and the Chinese theatres.

We need not refer in detail to various other texts found in this region. Apart from their value as evidence of a close association with Indian culture, these texts throw important light on the development of Buddhist literature in India. It has been known for a long time that, side by side with the Pali canon of the Theravadins. there was also a corresponding Sanskrit canon from an early date. There was. however, no trace of it in India until the recent discovery of Gil git manuscripts, and its existence was only known from the Chinese and Tibetan translations. The discoveries in Central Asia help us in reconstructing the original literature for, apart from the find of actual texts, there is no doubt that the translations in Khotanese, Kuchean (Tokharian) and other languages were made from Sanskrit originals.

In conclusion, we may emphasise the fact that, as in religion and literature, so in art, Central Asia was deeply influenced by India. Sten Konow has stressed “the close agreement which exists in regard to general architectural arrangement between all Turkestan stupas examined by him and the corresponding structures, extant in the Kabul valley and on the Indian north-west-frontier” He further remarks that “the art of Buddhist Khotan can be shown to have remained to the last under the predominating influence of Indian models.” Though other influences, like Iranian and Chinese, might

have been at work, the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara contributed more than any other influence to shape the development of Buddhist art in Central Asia.

III. China

The name of China was familiar' to the Indians from a very early period. It is mentioned in the Mahahharata and Manusmriti, and the varieties of Chinese silk are referred to in Kautiliya Arthasastra. It is generally held that the. name China is derived from that of the first Tsin dynasty (221-209 B.C.), and therefore the literary references to it must belong to a period later than 220 B.C. It is, however, not impossible that the name is derived from the small state of that name which existed in the fourth century B.C., and even earlier, in Chan-si in the north-west of China. It is likely that the name was first used in Central Asia, and was derived from that of the kingdom through which one entered China from that region. An analogy is furnished by the use of the name of Sindhu (Hindu) for the whole of India.

We have clear evidence that there was regular commercial intercourse, both by land and sea, between India and China, long before the beginning of the Christian era. When the Chinese envoy Chang Kien was in Bactria (c. 127 B.C.), he found to his great surprise that bamboo and textiles from south-western China w.ere sold in the local market. On enquiry he learnt that these were brought to eastern India through Yunnan and Burma, and then carried the whole way across north India and Afghanistan. Certain passages in a Chinese text, written in the first century A.D., mention trade relations of China by sea with countries along the Sea of China and the Indian Ocean. One of the places named Huang-che has been identified by some with Ranchi.

This country is said to have sent tribute from the time of emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.), which means that there were regular trade relations between it and China. During the period A.D. 1-6 the Chinese emperor sent rich presents to the king of Huang-che and asked him to send an embassy. Whatever we might think of the identification of Huang-che, the above passage clearly proves that in the second or first century B.C., the sea-route between India and China was fairly known. The Chinese are said to have come to Huang-che by foreign ships. From what we know of the trade and colonisation of the Indians all along this sea-route we can reasonably infer that Indian vessels had a large share, if not the

monopoly, of this trade. The maritime intercourse between India and China in the second century B.C. is also confirmed by the find of a Chinese coin at

Mysore. This coin most probably belongs to 138 B.C.

It may be reasonably assumed that the relations between the two countries were at first purely commercial. Chinese silk, as already noted above, was highly prized in India. The fact that the words Sindura (vermilion) and kichaka (bamboo) are derived from Chinese tsin-tung and ki-chok proves that these two commodities also came from China.

But, as always happens, ideas were carried along with wares, and led to the introduction of Buddhism in China. As this soon changed the whole aspect of the relation between the two countries, we have to examine it a little more closely.

According to Chinese tradition, Buddhist missionaries from India proceeded to China as early as 217 B.C., but this can hardly be accepted as historical. According to another account, a Chinese general, who led a military expedition to Central Asia in 121 B.C., brought a golden statue of the Buddha, and thus the Chinese first came to know of Buddhism. This is also very doubtful. It is, however, definitely known that in the year 2 B.C. the Yueh-chi rulers in the Oxus valley presented some Buddhist texts to the Chinese court.

The official account of the introduction of Buddhism into China places the event in A.D. 65. In that year the Han emperor Ming-ti saw a golden man in a dream and was told by his courtiers that it was the Buddha. He accordingly sent ambassadors to the west, who brought with them two Indian monks named Dharmaratna 1 and Kasyapa Matanga. These missionaries brought a lot of sacred texts and relics on a white horse. Hence, the monastery built for them by Imperial order at the capital city was called “The White Horse Monastery”. The two monks spent the rest of their lives in China, translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and preaching Buddhism among the people.

This story is probably substantially correct. But Buddhism must have also passed into China by the other overland route from India through Burma. There are good grounds to believe that Buddhist missionaries came by this route and were already active in China by the middle of the first century A.D.

Note 9

Thus, Buddhism must have got a definite footing in different parts of China in the first century A.D. The interest taken by the court and the nobility in the new religion, and the sympathy and support they extended to the first missionaries, encouraged other Buddhist missions to follow them. It appears from the Chinese account that these mostly came from Central Asia, and the missionaries belonged to various nationalities, such as the Yueh-chi, the Parthians, the Sogdians, the Kucheans, the Khotanese, etc. A sort of cultural internationalism was thus created through Buddhism right across the great continent of Asia.

Reference may be made to a few of these missionaries only. She-kao (Lokottama) was a Parthian prince who abdicated the throne and was converted to Buddhism at an early age. He was a profound scholar and settled in the White Horse Monastery with a collection of Buddhist canonical texts and a number of Parthian and Sogdian monks. They spent their lives there translating Buddhist texts and preaching Buddhism about the middle of the second century A.D. Seng-hui (Sanghabhadra) was born in the first quarter of the third century A.D. in a Sogdian family which had settled in India for several generations. Seng-hui's father went to Tonkin for purposes of trade and settled there. On the death of his father, Seng-hui became a Buddhist monk and carried on missionary activity in south China. He is said to have converted the Wu emperor of Nanking. He built a monastery at Nanking (A.D. 247) and founded a Buddhist school. He built temples and set up images, and Buddhism flourished in this region. 1

Fa-hu (Dharmaraksha) was the most famous of the Yueh-chi missionaries in China. He was born at Tunhwang and educated there by Indian teachers. He travelled with them all over Central Asia and visited some countries on the frontiers of India. It is said that he knew thirty-six languages, including Sanskrit and Chinese. He settled in the Chinese capital about the middle of the third century A.D., and spent his whole life preaching Buddhism and translating Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

The Chinese have preserved the names of a large number of other missionaries who distinguished themselves by similar activities during the first three centuries of the Christian era. These accounts leave no doubt that

Buddhism, and with that Indian culture, had grown into a powerful civilizing force in a wide belt of

Note 10

territory in Asia, from Parthia in the west to China on the east Tnnh-wang, on the western frontier of China, and near the junction of the two roads over the Tarim basin, became an important centre of Buddhism. In the third century, some Indian families were settled in this territory and it was the meeting place of Buddhists of all nationalities coming from the west.

It must however, be remembered that, whereas the whole of the region between the Hindu Kush and China was peopled by races with a primitive type of civilization and no developed religious faith, China itself was highly civilized and professed the Confucian faith with its high philosophy. We can therefore easily understand why Buddhism made more rapid progress in Central Asia, and the influence of Indian culture was deeper and more thorough in that region, than was the case with China. But China paid a high compliment to Buddhism when she consented to learn it from the monks of Central Asia, which was in her eyes a country of the barbarians. The Chinese had not yet come into direct contact with a large number of Indian monks, and it could hardly be expected that the higher ranks in China would be affected by Indian ideas to the same extent as the primitive peoples of Central Asia.

Nevertheless, Buddhism was slowly making its influence felt even among the Chinese scholars and aristocracy. Mou-tseu, a great Chinese scholar (second century A.D.), wrote in defence of Buddhism and pronounced it as even superior to the doctrines of Confucius. The rulers of the various small principalities, into which China was divided, patronised the new religion. The emperors of the western Tsin dynasty, who brought about the unity of China, were also great patrons of Buddhism, and under their rule Buddhism came to be an important factor in Chinese life. During the reigns of the emperor Wu (A.D. 265-290) and Min (A.D. 313-316) monasteries were built in various parts of the country, and 180 religious establishments were founded in Nanking and Chang-ngan. The total number of Buddhist monks during this period is said to have been 3,700.

The stronghold of Buddhism in China is also evidenced by a growing desire of the Chinese to visit the Holy Land. A Chinese monk named Chu She-hing started for India in A.D. 260 in order to study Buddhism under learned teachers. After visiting different centres in Central Asia he came to Khotan. As he found Buddhist texts and competent teachers there, he did not proceed to

India but stayed in Khotan till his death. From Khotan he sent a collection of Sanskrit manuscripts to China.

I-tsing records a tradition that, about five hundred years before his time, twenty Buddhist priests came from China to India by the overland route through Burma. The Indian ruler Srlgupta built a temple in Bengal for these priests, and being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This temple was known as the China temple even in I-tsing's time. It was then in ruins, but I-tsing was told by the local king that he was willing to give back the temple land and the endowment to any priest coming from China. 1 This incident illustrates the growing strength of Buddhism in China and the beginning, as early as the third century A.D., of that ardent desire of pilgrimage to the Holy Land of India, which prompted hundreds of Chinese in subsequent ages to brave the perils of the long and arduous journey both by land and sea.

We have so far dwelt upon the religious aspect of the intercourse between India and China. But although less important and less known, there were also political relations between the two countries.

Apart from what has been said above, 2 political relations may be traced as far back as the time of Kanishka. Hiuen Tsang relates that the great emperor kept a Chinese prince as hostage in a part of the Punjab, which, for this reason, came to be known as the Chinabhukti. This Chinese hostage is said to have introduced two fruits, peach and pear, into India, and these were consequently called "Chinani" and "China-rajaputra" respectively.

An interesting light is thrown on the relation between India and China by the following passage in the History of the Later Han Dynasty covering the period A.D. 25 to 220. 3

“This country (India) produces elephants, rhinoceroses, tortoise-shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin. From the west coast it is in communication with Ta-ts’in (the Roman province of Svriya) and precious objects from Ta-ts’in are found there. There are also fine fabrics, woollen carpets of good quality, perfumes of all kinds, sugar-candy, pepper, ginger and black salt.”

Note 11

Note 12

Note 13

“In the epoch of the emperor Ho (A.D. 89-105) they sent on several occasions ambassadors carrying tributes and presents. Later, the countries of the West having revolted, these relations were interrupted. Then in the years A.D. 159 and 161 they came again on two occasions from beyond Je-nan”.

It would thus appear that intercourse with China through Central Asia was interrupted shortly after A.D. 105 and was continued thereafter either by sea or by the overland route through Burma. Musicians and jugglers from Ta-ts’in passed through the latter route in A.D. 120. The embassies of A.D. 159 and 161 either followed this route or proceeded by sea. A Chinese chronicle refers to Indian ambassadors coming by the Southern Sea to China during the period A.D. 147-167.

IV. Tonkin

China proved to be an important base for the further spread of Buddhism and Indian culture towards the north, east and south. Mongolia, Korea and Japan received Buddhism from China, though we possess no definite details for the period under review. We are, however, more fortunate in respect of Tonkin, which was at that time politically subject to China. It appears from the meagre accounts that have been preserved that Buddhism was preached in Tonkin as early as the second and third centuries A.D., both by Chinese and Indian missionaries. The Indian monks proceeded there by both land and sea. As a matter of fact, Tonkin formed an important intermediate station in the sea route between India and China, and was visited by missionaries of both countries in the course of their journey from the one country to the other. According to some reliable texts, Buddhism obtained a secure footing in Tonkin about the same time as in China and had made even more rapid progress there at the beginning. 1

Tradition has preserved the names of the first Buddhist missionaries who played an important part in the introduction of Buddhism in Tonkin. The earliest of them is the Chinese Mou-tseu to whom reference has been made above. 2 When, after the death of Ling-ti in A.D. 189, civil war broke out in China, only the southern province of Tonkin remained comparatively calm and many distinguished persons of China migrated there. Mou-tseu, although a Taoist, embraced Buddhism and his example was followed by others (c. A.D. 194-195).

Note 14

Note 15

Note 16

About the middle of the third century, Seng-hui began his missionary activity in Tonkin. His origin and activity in China have been mentioned above. 1 But it was from Tonkin that he proceeded to China to convert the king of the Wu dynasty to Buddhism. He was one of the greatest translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, and some of these works were accomplished in Tonkin.

The third important missionary in Tonkin was Marajivaka or Jivaka. He was born in India and came to Fu-nan in southern Cambodia 2 in a merchant vessel. He then proceeded to Tonkin and Canton. He preached Buddhism wherever he went and largely contributed to its development all along the sea-route to China. He visited the capital city Lo Yang towards the close of the reign of emperor Houei of the Tsin dynasty (A.D. 290-306) and later, on account of political troubles in China, returned to India.

The last of the four missionaries was an Indo-Scythian, the Chinese form of whose name has been taken to represent either Kalaruchi or Kalyanaruchi.

He translated some Buddhist texts between A.D. 255 and 257.

Thanks to the efforts of these and perhaps other missionaries, Tonkin became a stronghold of Buddhism. By the end of the third century A.D. there were more than 20 chaityas and five hundred monks in the district of Leileu (now represented by the village of Lung-khe in the province of Bac-ninh). Although Tonkin did not become an Indian colony like southern Annam, a large number of Indians were settled there. A Chinese text of the fourth century A.D. mentions the presence of a large number of Indians in the entourage of the provincial governor. An Annamite text gives some particulars of an Indian named Khauda-la. He was born in a Brahmana family of western India and was versed in magical art. He went to Tonkin by sea, probably about the same time as Jivaka, mentioned above. He lived in caves or under trees, and was also known as Ca-la-cha-la (Kalacharya—black preceptor?).

Note 17

Note 18

B. SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I. EARLY TRADE INTERCOURSE AND THE BEGINNING OF

COLONISATION

To the ancient Indians, the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the East Indies were vaguely known as Suvarna-bhumi and Suvarna-dvipa, the land or the island of gold. It was a veritable El Dorado, with an abundance of spices, gold, and all precious metals and minerals. The lure of wealth attracted them and they braved the perils of the sea to seek fortunes in these distant unknown lands.

Although we have no systematic account of this early trade with the Far East, we have a number of popular stories and folk-tales that grow out of this spirit of adventure. These have been preserved in the Jatakas, the various recensions of Brihat-Kathd, the Katha-Kosa and other books of this type. We read in them how princes and merchants sailed in ships from Bhrigukachchha or Tamralipti, reached Suvarna-dvipa or Suvarna-bhumi, and returned with fabulous riches. Sometimes these trading voyages ended in disaster, though the ship-wrecked merchants often had a narrow escape according to these stories. They sometimes mention individual towns and ports as the destination of the merchant-vessels, but more often vaguely refer to Suvarna-bhumi or Suvarna-dvipa.

Intercourse with Suvarna-dvipa is also reflected in more serious literature. The Buddhist text Milinda-panha refers to sea-voyages to Suvarna-bhumi, Takkola and China. Kautilya’s Arthasdstra mentions aguru (aloe) of Suvarna-bhumi.

Indians also proceeded to the Far East by land-routes through Bengal, Manipur and Assam. They reached lower Burma through Arakan, and upper Burma through the various passes in the Patkoi range or Manipur hills. As already noted, Chinese wares passed through this land route from Yunnan and Szechwan to northern India in the second century B.C. There are good grounds to hold that this route, though difficult, was frequently used in olden times.

Indian familiarity with the Far East is reflected in the Puranic cosmology and geographical divisions into Varshas and Dvipas. There is no doubt that some of them refer to localities in this region, though it is hazardous to identify any Puranic name with any particular locality. Ptolemy (second century A.D.) and the author

of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (first century A.D.) refer to Indian intercourse with these countries. The former shows that some localities like Yava-dvipa already bore Indian names.

We get a comprehensive view of ancient Indian trade in the Far East, and the risks and troubles it involved, from a passage in the Buddhist text Niddcsa , which may be referred to a period not later than the second century A.D. It describes the various kinds of torments which a sailor experiences while, overpowered by the desire for wealth and enjoyment, he sails the high seas in a boat and visits different countries. It specially names twenty-four localities to which the merchants voyaged, and ten difficult routes which they had to follow on land. No less than eight of these localities can be definitely located in, and cover a fairly large part of, Suvarna-bhumi and Suvarna-dvipa.

The extraordinarily difficult routes mentioned in the Niddesa are explained by the story of Sanudasa, which may be summed up as follows:—

“Sanudasa joins the gang of the adventurer Achera, who is preparing an expedition to the Land of Gold (Suvarnabhumi). They cross the sea and land at the foot of a mountain. They climb up to the top by catching hold of creepers (vetra). This is the ‘creepers’ path’ (Vetrapatha). On the plateau there is a river which changes into stone everything that falls into it. They cross it by holding on to the bamboos which overhang the banks. This is ‘the bamboo’s path’ (Vamsapatha). Further on, they meet a narrow path between precipices. They light a fire with wet branches; the smoke attracts some Kirdtas who come and propose to sell them some goats; the adventurers get on those goats, the only animals sure-footed enough to be able to follow the narrow edge without feeling giddy. This is the ‘goats’ path’ (Ajapatha). The adventurers do not come to the end of it without some difficulty, as another gang is approaching from the opposite direction. A struggle ensues, but Achera’s troops are able to pass through after having thrown their enemies into the ravines. Sanudasa begins to feel indignant at the fierceness of the gold-seekers. Achera orders his followers to slay the goats and to put on their skins with the inside out. Huge birds will mistake these men for a heap of raw meat, come and carry them away to their aerie. It is there that the gold is! Sanudasa attempts to save the goat he was riding, but his companions are pitiless. Everything takes place as Achera foretold,

but the bird which carries off Sanudasa is attacked by another bird which attempts to steal his prey. The goat’s skin bursts open and Sanudasa falls in a tank which is in the heart of a luxurious forest. The next day he comes to a river the banks of which are of golden sand; near by, there is a hermitage from which a hermit comes out.”

The above story refers to several 'paths’ or ingenious means of passing through difficult territory. A few more of these paths are referred to in various early books. There is Jannupatha where one has to crawl on hands and knees. Sahkupatha was a difficult and laborious procedure for ascending a mountain. An iron hook, attached to a rope of skin, is thrown up on to the mountain-side where it gets embedded. Having climbed up the rope, the man makes a hole on the hill-side with a diamond-tipped iron rod and fixes a spear. Having caught hold of this, he detaches the hook and repeats the performance till the spear is again fixed up in the mountain. Then he ties the rope to the spear, and having caught hold of the rope with one hand, strikes it by a hammer with the other till the spear is detached. Then he climbs up again, again fixes the spear, and repeats the process till he ascends to the top of the hill. Last comes Chhattapatha, the means of coming down from a steep height. One jumps down from a precipice with an open parasol made of skin, and descends slowly to the ground on account of the resistance of the air. In other words, it acted as a parachute.

These various kinds of 'paths' give us some idea of the difficulties which Indians had to surmount while travelling in unknown foreign lands to which they were attracted by lure of wealth.

Literature is justly regarded as the echo of national life. The stories quoted above and numerous other Indian folk-tales about merchants going beyond the sea indicate that the spirit of exploration and adventure was a characteristic feature of ancient India.

We possess reliable evidence regarding the sea-routes followed by Indians. Beginning from the north, there was first the famous port of Tamralipti, which is now represented by Tamluk in the Midnapore district, Bengal. From this port there was regular sailing of vessels, which either proceeded along the coasts of Bengal and Burma, or crossed the Bay of Bengal and made a direct voyage to the Malay Peninsula, and then to the East Indies and Indo-China beyond it. There were other similar ports of embarkation, one at Palura near Gopalpur (Ganjam) in Orissa, and three near Masulipatam (Madras), from which ships sailed across the Bay of Bengal to the Far East. There was a regular coastal voyage from the mouth of the Ganga along the eastern coast of India to Cylon, and thence along the western coast up to Broach at the mouth of the Narmada river, and perhaps even beyond it. People from all parts of India came by land or river to the nearest sea-port, and then made a coastal voyage to Tamralipti, Palura, or one of the harbours near Masulipatam, whence ships made a direct voyage to the Far East across the Bay of Bengal. The South Indian peninsula as well as Ceylon also contained several harbours from which such direct voyages were made in ancient times.

The literary evidence leaves no doubt that trade was the chief stimulus of this intercourse between India and the Far East. Apart from the fact that the folk-tales deal mostly with merchants and seekers of wealth, the geographical names, applied by the Indians, all refer to minerals, metals or some industrial and agricultural products. In addition to Suvarna-dvlpa and its variant forms, we may {refer to Rupyaka-dvlpa, Tamra-dvipa, Yava-dvlpa Lanka-dvipa, Sankha-dvlpa, Karpura-dvlpa, Narikela-dvlpa, etc.

In course of time, trade and commercial activity led to the establishment of political and cultural relations. The traders spread Indian culture along with their wares and, as opportunities offered, some of them permanently settled in these places and even seized political power. Adventurous Kshatriya princes came to seek their fortunes and established kingdoms. Individual monks or bands of missionaries also came to preach their religious doctrines. It is said that Sona and Uttara, two missionaries of Asoka, visited Suvarna-bhumi. But no satisfactory evidence has yet come to light in support of this. There is, however, no doubt that as early as the second century A.D., Indians ruled over kingdoms in the remotest parts of Indo-China. Colonisation, as distinguished from the establishment of political authority, evidently took place much earlier, and the beginnings of trade relations, which preceded colonisation, may be placed at least two or three centuries before the Christian era, if not earlier still.

II. EARLY COLONIES

1. General Review

Local traditions refer to the establishment of political authority by immigrant Indians almost all over south-east Asia. According to the Burmese chronicles, Abhiraja, a prince of the Sakya clan of Kapilavastu, marched with an army to upper Burma, founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the upper Irrawadi, and set himself up as king of the surrounding region. His elder son ruled over Arakan, while the younger continued at Sankissa. Thirty-one generations later, during the time of

Buddha, a second band of Kshatriyas came from the Gangetic valley. After they had ruled for sixteen generations, they lost upper Burma and founded a new kingdom in lower Burma, with their capital at Sri-Kshetra (near Prome). According to the traditions current among the Mons or Talaings in the coastal districts of lower Burma, Indian colonists from the lower courses of the rivers Krishna and Godavari had at a remote time crossed the sea and formed settlements in the delta of the Irrawadi and on the adjoining coast. Local tradition in Yunnan (S. China) affirms that the royal family was descended from Asoka. According to the traditions of Arakan, the first king of the province was the son of a king of Banaras. The founding of Ligor in the Malay Peninsula is ascribed to a descendant A (oka. According to the Cambodian annals an exiled prince of Indraprastha founded the kingdom of Cambodia. According to another tradition current in the southern part of Cambodia, and recorded by a Chinese in the third century A.D., a Hindu named Kaundinya founded a kingdom in that region. Many legends current in Java associate the original colonists and their leader Aji Saka with the heroes of the Malidbharata ruling at Hastinapura. Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonisation of Java to the people of Kalinga. In one of them we read that twenty thousand families were sent to Java from Kalinga.

These traditions cannot, of course, be regarded as historical, but taken collectively they may be regarded as fair evidence of the early colonisation of this region by Indians. Fortunately, this conclusion is corroborated by more positive evidences. Thus, the settlement of Indians in Burma, long before the second century A.D., is proved by Sanskrit place-names, mentioned by Ptolemy, which have been located with a fair degree of certainty in Burma. The discovery of isolated Indian Brahmi alphabets on stones in Burma also points in the same direction. According to the Chinese chronicles of the third century A.D., a kingdom called Lin-yang, which has been located in central Burma, had an ardent Buddhist population of over 10,000 families, including several thousand monks. Archaeological remains in Burma also prove that the Indian language and literature, both Sanskrit and Pali, were cultivated, and Indian religions, both Brah manicai and Buddhist, were adopted by the people in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Hindus must have also established political authority in Java by the beginning of the second century A.D., for in A.D. 132 king Devavarman of Java sent an embassy to China. There were probably several other Hindu kingdoms in IndoChina and the East Indies, though we know nothing definite about them before A.D. 300. But we possess a somewhat detailed account of two kingdoms founded in Cambodia and Annam.

2. Fu-nan (Cambodia)

An account of a Hindu kingdom in Cambodia has been preserved by the Chinese. They call it 'Fu-nan'. It was founded by a Hindu named Kaun<Jinya in the first century A.D. The people of Fu-nan were almost savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks. Kauntfinya introduced the elements of civilised life among them; in particular, he made the women wear clothes. His kingdom comprised Cochin-China and the southern part of Cambodia.

Kaundinya's descendants ruled for 100 years, after which the kingdom passed to the general Fan-che-man, who was elected king by the people (c. A.D. 200). He organised a powerful navy and conquered a large number of neighbouring states, which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. Nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and the Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Funan, which thus became the first Hindu colonial empire in IndoChina. The Indian form of the name Fan-che-man cannot be ascertained, but Fan, which forms a part of every name, is evidently a corruption of Varman.

The next king Fan-chan sent an embassy to China in A.D. 243. He also sent one of his relations named Su-Wu as an ambassador to India. Su-Wu embarked at Teu-kiu-li, probably the famous port of Takkola, and reached the mouth of the Gahga after about a year. He was cordially welcomed by the Indian king and returned to Fu-nan after four years, with two envoys and some presents sent by the latter.

These four years witnessed some palace-revolutions, after which Fan-siun became king of Fu-nan. During his reign the Chinese ambassador K'ang

T'ai visited Fu-nan, probably between A.D. 245

and 250. K’ang T’ai wrote an account of Fu-nan, which has supplied us with the interesting details given above. He pointed out that the men of Fu-nan went about naked, but king Fan-siun stopped this indecent habit. Fan-siun had a long reign and sent embassies to China in the years A.D. 268, 285, 286 and 287.

3. Champa (Annam)

The Hindu kingdom in Annam was called Champa. Its capital was Champa-nagarl or Champa-pura, whose ruins lie at Trakieu, a little to the south of Quang Nam. The people were accordingly called Cham. The first historical Hindu king, so far known, is SrI-Mara, who established a dynasty about the second century A.D. He probably freed the country from the yoke of the Chinese, whose dominions included the whole of Tonkin and a considerable part of northern Annam.

The downfall of the Imperial Han dynasty in China in A.D. 220 offered an opportunity to the Hindu kings of Champa to extend and consolidate their kingdom. Some time between A.D. 220 and 230 the king of Champa sent a diplomatic mission to the governor of Kia-cha (Tonkin) at the invitation of the latter. But in A.D. 248 the Cham king made a naval attack, ravaged even the provincial capital with several other towns, and defeated the fleet that was sent against him. At last a treaty was concluded by which the district of Kiu-su, corresponding to modern Thua-Thien, was ceded to Champa.

The Hindu kings of this period are known from Chinese sources alone, and as is the case with those of Fu-nan, their names begin with Fan (Varman). Fan Hiong, who succeeded to the throne of Champa some time between A.D. 270 and 280, was probably a descendant of Sri-Mara on the female side. He continued the policy of extending his kingdom to the north at the cost of the Chinese. He made an alliance with the king of Fu-nan for this purpose and frequently ravaged the Chinese possessions in Tonkin. For ten years the struggle went on and the Chinese were reduced to great straits. At last, peace was concluded in A.D. 280, probably on terms unfavourable to the Chinese.

Fan Hiong was succeeded by his son Fan-yi who had a peaceful and prosperous reign of more than half a century and who devoted his energies to increasing the military power and strengthening the defensive works of the kingdom* He sent an embassy to the Imperial Court in China in A.D. 284 and died in A.D. 336.

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Chapter Notes

1. 1. See Vol. I, p. 246 ff.
2. 1. SBE (2nd Ed.) IV, 2. Also cf. CHI, I, 326-7.
3. 1. Sten Konow in JRAS. 1914, pp. 344 fl.
4. 2. Sten Konow at first took this word to be Vijaya (ibid), but later (IHQ. XVI. 259) definitely held that the dynastic title was Vijita and not Vijaya.
5. 3. A slightly different account is given by Hiuen Tsang who also adds other traditions. HTB, II. 309.
6. 1. Bagchi, India and China, pp. 14-15.
7. 2. Cf. S. Levi's account of Kucha in JRAS. 1914, pp. 959 ff.
8. 1. C1I, II, Part 1. p. lxxiii.
9. 1. Bagchi (op. cit.) gives the name Dharmaraksha on pp. 7 and 32 and Dharmaratna on p. 217. The last is also given in Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine. p. 4.
10. 1. BEFEO, XXXII. 212-13.
11. 1. For the location of this temple cf. HBR. 69. Srlgupta has been identified with the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. This point will be discussed in Vol. Ill in connection with the history of the Guptas.
12. 2. See pp. 122 f.
13. 3. K. A. N. Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, p. 11. The passage is, however, not an extract from the report of Pan Young as Mr. Sastri supposes (p. 10); cf. JDL. 1920, p. 73 ff.
14. 1. For an account of the introduction of Buddhism in Tonkin, cf. BEFEO, XXXII.
15. 211 .
16. 2. See p. 647.
17. 1. See p. 647.
18. 2. See p. 657.

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B.C.

623

566

558-530 544-543 c. 544-493 530-522 528

522-486

c.520

c.518

c.518

517

c.515 c. 493-462

486

486-465 c. 484-468 c.484

468

462-430 c. 430-364 c. 364-324

330

330

327-325

327 (beginning)

326 (Spring)

326 (May)

326 (July)

325 (September) 325

c. 324-300 323 321 c. 305 c. 300-273 285-247

278-239

Traditional date of Buddha’s birth.

Probable date of Buddha’s birth.

Cyrus, king of Persia.

Buddha’s death, according to tradition.

Reign of Bimbisara.

Cambyses, king of Persia.

Traditional date of Mahavlra’s death.

Darius, king of Persia.

Behistun inscription. of Darius.

Darius conquers Gandhara, Sindhu, etc. Persepolis inscription of Darius.

Darius sends expedition under Scylax to explore the Sindhu.

Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius.

Reign of Ajatasatru.

Probable date of Buddha’s death.

Xerxes, king of Persia.

Ajatasatru’s wal* with Lichchhavis.

Gosala’s death.

Probable date of Mahavira’s death.

Four successors of Ajatasatru.

Sisunaga and his successors.

Nanda dynasty.

Darius III indents upon India for a supply of troops to resist Alexander’s invasion. Alexander defeats Darius III, and burns his capital Persepolis.

Alexander’s invasion of India.

Alexander completes conquest of Eastern Iran beyond the Hindu Kush.

Alexander crosses the Sindhu.

Fight between Alexander and Porus. Alexander’s retreat from the Beas.

Alexander leaves India.

Assassination of Philippus, satrap in the upper Sindhu valley.

Reign of Chandragupta Maurya.

Alexander’s death.

Partition of Alexander’s empire at Triparadisus. Seleucus reaches Sindhu.

Bindusara.

Ptolemy II Philadelphus, of Egypt, a contemporary of Asoka.

Antigonus, of Macedonia, a contemporary of Asoka.

c. 273-236 c.269 261-246

c.250

246-226

226-223

223-187

221-209

217

c.212

c.208

c.206

c.206

c. 200 c. 190 c. 190-165 c. 187

c. 187-75 c. 187-151 c. 171-136 c. 171 c. 165

c. 165 162

c. 150 c. 150 138

138-128 128-123 c. 125

123-88

121

c. 115-90 c. 75-30 73-48 58 58

57-38

Reign of Asoka.

Coronation of Asoka.

Antiochus II Theos, of Syria, a contemporary of Asoka.

Parthia and Bactria revolt against Antiochus ll Theos.

Seleucus II.

Seleucus III.

Antiochus (III) the Great.

First Tsin dynasty.

Buddhist missionaries from India proceed to China, according to Chinese tradition. Antiochus III appears in the east.

Antiochus III turns his arms against Bactria. Demetrius concludes formal alliance with Antiochus III.

Antiochus III leads expedition against N.-W. India.

Salisuka, Maury a king.

Death of Euthydemus.

Demetrius, Indo-Greek king.

Assassination of Brihadratha, the last Maury a, by Pushyamitra; end of Maurya dynasty. Suhgas.

Pushy amitra.

Mithradates I, of Parthia.

Eucratides occupies Bactrian throne.

Yueh-chi were defeated and expelled from Chinese Turkestan.

Death of Demetrius.

Timarchus, satrap of Babylon, revolts against Seleucid Emperor.

Indika of Arrian.

Eucratides murdered by his son.

Probable date of the Chinese coin found at Mysore.

Phraates II, of Parthia.

Artabanus I, of Parthia.

Chinese envoy Chang Kien visits the Yueh-chi capital.

Mithradates II, of Parthia.

Chinese general who leads a military expedition in Central Asia brings a golden statue of Buddha.

Menander.

Kanvas.

Chinese Emperor Hsuan-ti.

Initial year of the Vikrama Era.

Vonones begins his viceregal career.

Orodes I, of Parthia.

CHRONOLOGY

C.54-A.D. 24 48-33

31-A.D. 68 c. 30

27-A.D. 14 C.20-A.D. 22 c. 18 c.18-1

C.5-A.D. 30 2

A.D. 1-6

10-40

14- 37 15

15- 65 21-50 21

c. 28-40 c. 35-79 c. 39-47 41-54 43-44

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46 65

c. 67

c. 65-75 68

c. 70-80

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c.78-101 (or 102) 89-105 98-117 102-106 105

106-138 c.106-130 117-138

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c.119-125

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Strabo.

Chinese Emperor Yuan-ti.

From Augustus to Nero.

Simuka.

Augustus of Rome.

Maues (Moga).

End of Vonones's career.

Spalirises.

Azes I, Saka king.

Yueh-chi rulers in the Oxus valley present Some Buddhist texts to the Chinese court. Chinese Emperor sends presents to the king of Huang-che (? Kanchl).

Artabanus III, of Parthia.

Tiberius.

Mahakshatrapa Son^asa.

Kadphises I.

Gondophernes.

Laika Kusuluka, viceroy of Maues.

Azilises.

Azes II.

Vardanes of Parthia.

Claudius.

Apollonius of Tyana visits Taxila, and Phraotes, a Parthian, in possession of Taxila, according to Philostratus.

Hippalus makes the great discovery of the monsoon wind.

Takht-i-Bahi inscription.

Ming-ti sees a golden man (Buddha) in dream. Kasvapa Matahga introduces Buddhism into China.

Kadphises II.

Death of Nero.

“Periplus of the Erythraean Sea” written by an Egyptian Greek.

Completion of Pliny’s Natural History.

Initial year of the §aka Era.

Kanishka.

Emperor Ho-ti.

Trajan of Rome.

Vasishka.

Destruction of the Nabatean kingdom of Petra. Huvishka.

Gautamiputra Satakarni.

Hadrian.

Kanishka II.

Nahapana.

Musicians and jugglers from Ta-tsin pass through Burma on their way to China.

C. 125

129- 30

130- 31 c. 130-159

138-161 c. 140 c. 140

c. 145-176 150-151 155-230 c. 159-166 159-165 164-66 c.167-174 16P

c. 174-203 178

c. 180-250 180-81 181-189 185 188-91 188-190

191-197 197-99 201-223 c. 203-209 208-17 c. 209-219 217

218-222 c. 219-227 c.220

222- 223

223- 237 226-241

227-239

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239- 251 247

Nahapana defeated and killed by Gautamlputra Satakarni.

Maharaja Bhimasena.

Chashtana ruling jointly with Rudradaman. Vasishthiputra Pulumavi.

Antoninus Pius.

Geography of Ptolemy.

Pulumavi on the throne of Pratishthana, according to Ptolemy’s Geography.

Vasudeva, Kushana.

Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman.

Dion Cassius.

SivasrI Satakarni.

Kausikiputra Bhadramagha of Kausambl. Kautsiputra PraushthasrI (Magha king). Sivaskanda Satakarni.

Bhadradeva (Magha king).

Yajna Satakarni.

Maha-kshatrapa Jivadaman.

Philostratus.

Kshatrapa Rudrasimha I.

Maha-kshatrapa Rudrasimha I.

Maharaja Vaisravana of Kausambl.

Rudrasimha I issued coins as a Kshatrapa. Date of coins of Mvaradatta (according to Bhandarkar).

Maha-kshatrapa Rudrasimha I. Maha-kshatrapa Jivadaman.

Maha-kshatrapa Rudrasena I.

Vi jay a (Satavahana).

Maharaja Bhlmavarman of Kausambl. Chandrasri (or Chandasrl) (Satavahana). Caracalla.

Heliogabalus.

Puloma (Satavahana).

Death of Clement of Alexandria. Maha-kshatrapa Sanghadaman.

Maha-kshatrapa Damasena.

Ardashir I Babagan, founder of the Sassanian Dynasty.

Emperor Ming.

Yueh-chi king Po-t’iao (? Vasudeva) sends ambassador to China.

Date of coins of Isvaradatta (according to Rapson).

Maha-kshatrapa Yasodaman.

Maha-kshatrapa Vijayasena.

Seng-hui (Sahghabhadra) builds a monastery at Nanking, and founds a Buddhist school there.

Table captionCHRONOLOGY

248-249 Starting year of Kalachuri or Chedi era

251-255 Maha-kshatrapa Damajadasri III.

255-257 Marajlvaka translates Buddhist texts.

255-277 Maha-kshatrapa Rudrasena II.

265-290	Emperor Wu.
270-275	Aurelian.
273	Aurelian sacks Palmyra.
275-279	Kshatrapa Visvasirhha.
278	Archelaos of Carrah.
279-282	Kshatrapa Bhartridaman.
282-295	Maha-kshatrapa Bhartridaman.
290-306	Emperor Houei-Ti of Tsin dynasty.
293-305	Kshatrapa Visvasena.

GENEALOGY

(Figures within brackets after the names of kings refer to regnal years)

I. UP TO THE END OF THE NANDA DYNASTY

(According to Mahavamsa)

A. Haryanka Kula.

1. Bimbisara (52)

i

2. Ajatasatru (32)

3. Udayabhadra (16)

i

4. Anuruddha]

I y (8)

5. Minima J

I

6. Nagadasaka (24)

B. Sisunagas.

i

7. Susunaga (18)

i

8. Kalasoka (28)

i

9. Ten sons of Kalasoka (22)

C. Nine Nandas. (22).

(According to the Puranas)

A. Sisunaga Dynasty.

1. Sisunaga (40)

2. Kakavarna (36)

i

3. Kshemadharman (20)

i

4. Kshatraujas (40)

5. Bimbisara (28)

i

6. Ajatasatru (25)

i

7. Darsaka (25)

!

8. Udayin (33)

9. Nandivardhana (40)

GENEALOGY

10. Mahanandin (43).

B. Nanda Dynasty.

11. Mahapadma (88 or 28).

12. 8 sons (12).

[N.B. The regnal years are differently given in the different Puranas. The figures given are taken from DKA pp. 68 ff.]

II. MAURYA DYNASTY

(According to the Puranas)

1. Chandragupta (24)

3.

4.

5.

6 .

2. Bindusara (25; 28 according to Mahavamsa)

3. Asoka (36; 37 according to Mahavamsa)

Matsya Purana Asoka

(Asoka's grandson) (?) Dasaratha (8)

Samprati (9) Satadhanva (6)

Vdyu and Brahmanda

3. Asoka

4. Kunala (8)

i

5. Bandhupalita (8)

6. Indrapalita (10)

7. Brihadratha (70, prob. 7. Devavarma (7)

a misreading of 7)

8. Satadhanu (8)

9. Brihadratha (7)

[Some versions of Vayu add Dasona (after Bandhupalita), his son Dasaratha, his son Samprati, and Salisuka, ruling respectively for 7, 8, 9, and 13 years. Matsya, Vishnu and Bhagavata give the total number of kings as 10 while Vayu (generally) and Brahmanda give the number as 9.]

III. SUNGA DYNASTY

1. Pushyamitra (36)

i

2. Agnimitra (8)

3. Sujyeshtha or Vasujyeshtha (7)

4. Vasumitra (10)

5. Andhraka (? Bhadraka, Ardraka, Antaka) (2)

i

6. Pulindaka (3)

I

7. Ghosha (or Ghoshavasu) (3)

8. Vajramitra (9)

9. Bhagavata (32)

10. Devabhumi (10)

IV. KANVA DYNASTY

1. Vasudeva (9)

!

2. Bhumimitra (14)

3. Narayana (12)

4. Susarman (10)

V. ANDHRA OR SATAVAHANA KINGS (According to Matsya Purana)

1. Simuka (23)

2. Krishna, younger brother of 1 (10)

3. Satakarni (10)

4. Purnotsanga (18)

5. Skandhastambhi (18)

6. Satakarni (56)

7. Lambodara (18)

i

8. Apilaka (12)

9. Meghasvati (18)

10. Svati (18)

11. Skandasvati (7)

12. Mrigendra Svatikarna (3)

13. Kuntala Svatikarna (8)

14. Svatikarna (1)

15. Pulomavi (36)

16. Arishtakarna (25)

17. Hala (5)

18. Mantalaka or Pattalaka (5)

19. Purikashena or Purlndrasena (21)

GENEALOGY

20. Sundara Satakan^i (1)

21. Chakora Satakarni (6 months)

22. Sivasvati (28)

23. Gautamlputra (21)

24. Puloma (28)

25. 6ivasri Puloma (7)

26. Sivaskandha Satakarni (3)

27. Yajnasrl Satakarni (29)

28. Vijaya (6)

29. ChandasrI Satakarni (10)

30. Pulomavi (7)

VI. INDO-SCYTHIANS

1. Maues

2. Azes

3. Azilises

4. Azes II

VII. KUSHANAS

1. Kujula Kadphises I

2. Wema Kadphises II

3. Kanishka I

4. Vasishka

5. Huvishka

6. Kanishka II

7. Vasudeva I

8. Kanishka III

9. Vasudeva II

VIII. WESTERN £AKA SATRAPS OR KARDAMAKAS

(Roman numerals denote the succession of Mahakshatrapas. The rest ruled only as Kshatrapas. The known dates in Saka years are

given within brackets).

I. Chashtana (52)

f

Jayadaman

II. Rudradaman I (72)

Table captioni i

Table captionIII. Damajadasri I (Damaysada) V. Rudrasirhha i

Table captionl ' (103-110, 113-18)

1	i	! i
Satyadaman IV.	Jivadaman (100, 119-20)	i
i	i	Damasena (14i 5-58

VI. Rudrasena I VII. Sanghadaman VIII.

(122-44)

i (144-5)

i

i !

(154-55)

Prithvlsena (144) Damajadasri II

ii ii

Table caption1 ! I I

Table captionViradaman (156-60) IX.Yasodaman X. Vijayasena XI. Damajadasri 111

(160) (161-72) (173-7)

XII. Rudrasena II (177-98)

i j

XIII. Visvasimha XIV. Bhartridaman (204-17)

I

Visvasena (215-226)

IX. LIST OF CEYLONESE KINGS

(The dates are given on the authority of W. Geiger (Culavamsa, Eng. Transl. Part II, p. IX). Figures in italics denote mere traditional dates, whereas the others rest on more or less probable calculation).

Table captionVijaya Dynasty

		B.C.
1.	Vijaya	(483-445)
2.	Pandu Vasudeva	(444-414)
3.	Abhaya	(414-394)
4.	Pan^ukabhaya \	(394-307)
5.	Ganatissa /	
6.	Mutasivd	(307-247)
7.	Devanariipiyatissa	(247-207)
8.	Uttiya	(207-197)
9.	Mahasiva	(197-187)
10.	Suratissa	(187-177)

Table captionGENEALOGY

11.	Sena \	(177-155)
12.	Guttika f	
13.	Asela	(155-145)
14.	Elara	(145-101)
15.	DutthagamanI	(101-77)
16.	Saddhatissa	(77-59)
17.	Thulathana	(59)
18.	Lanjatissa	(59-50)
19.	Khallatanaga	(50-43)
20.	Vattagamani	(43)
21-25.	Pulahattha and 4 others	(43-29)
20.	Vattagamani	

	(Restored)	(29-17)
26.	Mahachull	(17-3)
27.	Choranaga	(3 B.C.-A.D. 9) A.D.
28.	Tissa	(9-12)
29.	Queen Anula	(12-16)
30.	Kutakannatissa • • •	(16-38)
31.	Bhatikabhaya	(38-66)
32.	Mahadathikamahanaga	(67-79)
33.	AmandagamanI	(79-89)
34.	Kanirajanutissa	(89-92)
35.	Chulabhaya	(92-93)
36.	Slvall	(93)
37.	Ilanaga	(93-102)

38.	Chandamukhasiva	(103-112)
39.	Yasalalakatissa	(112-120)
	End of Vijaya	Dynasty
40.	Subharaja	(120-126)
	Lambakanna Dynasty	
41.	Vasabha	(127-171)
42.	V ankanasikatissa	(1-71-174)
43.	Gaj abahugamani	(174-196)
44.	Mahallanaga	(196-202)
45.	Bhatikatissa	(203-227)
46.	Kanitthatissa	(227-245)
47.	Khujjanaga	(246-248)
48.	Kunchanaga	(248-249)

49.	Sirinaga I	(249-268)
50.	Voharikatissa	(269-291)
51.	Abhayanaga	(291-299)
52.	Sirinaga II	(300-302)
53.	Vijayakumara	(302-303)
54.	Samghatissa	(303-307)
55.	Sirisahghabodhi	(307-309)
56.	Gothabhaya	(309-322)
57.	Jetthatissa	(323-333)
58.	Mahasena	(334-361)

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PLATE II

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Fig. 2.

Rajagriha:

Rampart walls of cyclopean masonry.

Fig. 3. City of Jetuttara—relief on the north gate of the great Stupa at Sanchi

PLATE III

Fig. 5. Palace facade—Kdrle Chaitya cave

Fig. 4. City of Kusinagara—relief from Amaravati. right end of verandah.

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Fig. 7. Pleasure palace, General view—from a relief from Mathura.

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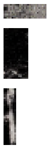

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Fig.-14. Bhdjd, Chaitya cave: Facade

PLATE VIII. Fig. 15, Kondane , Chaitya cave: Facade.

PLATE VIII. Fig. 16. Ndsik, Chaitya cave: Facade.

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Fig. 28. Rampurwa: » Bull capital.

Fig. 29. Sarnath: Lion capital.

Fig. 30. Dhauli: Forepart of an elephant

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Fig. 34.

Bharhut: Dream of Mayddevi.

Fig. 35. Bharhut: Sirima devata.

Fig. 36. Bharhut: Sudarsand yakshi.

Fig. 37. Bharhut Warrior.

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PLATE XVIII

Fig. 41. Sanchl } Great Stupa: East Gateway,

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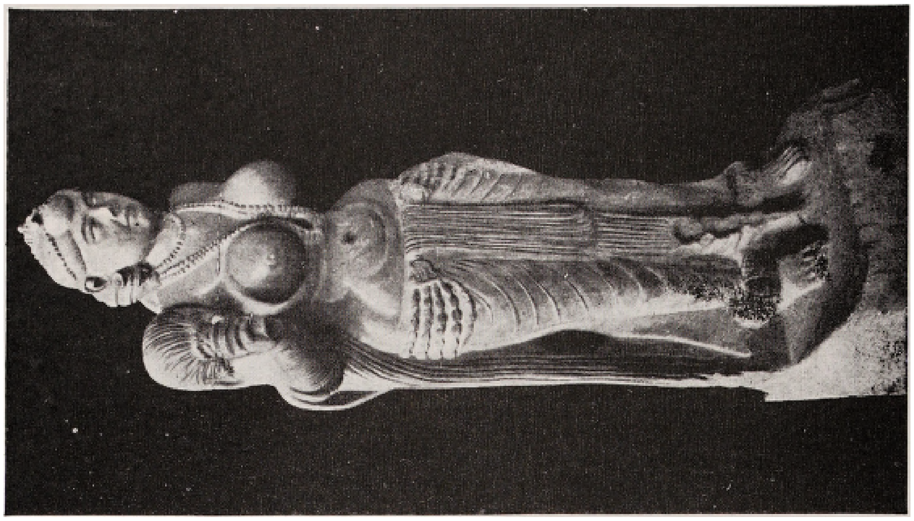

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PLATE XXIII

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PLATE XXV

PLATE XXVI

Fig. 65. Loriyan Tangai: Buddha

Fig. 66. Gandhdra: Buddha.

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Fig. 71. Udayagiri, Rani gumphd: Sculptures in upper storey.

Fig. 72. Jaggayyapeta: Relief carvings

Fig. 73. Jaggayyapeta: Pilaster figure.

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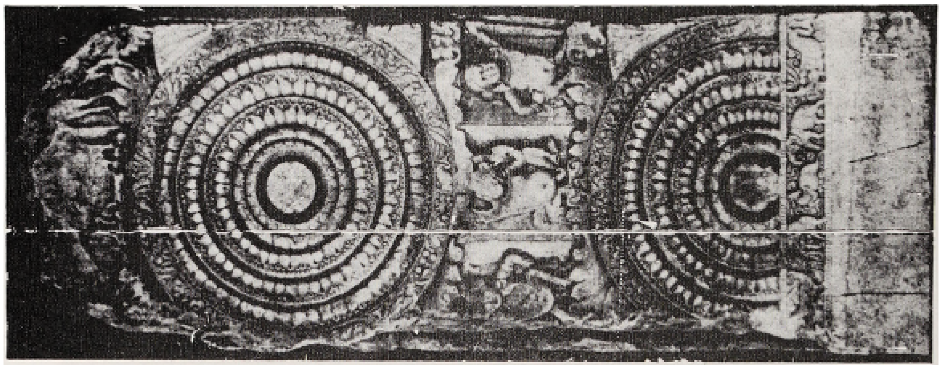

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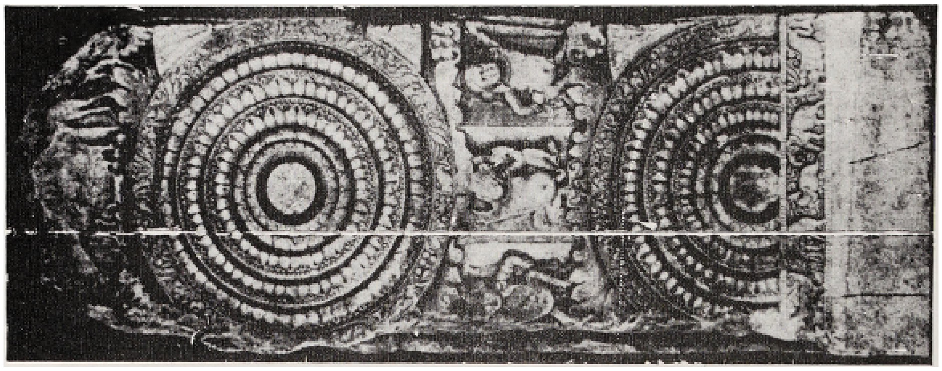

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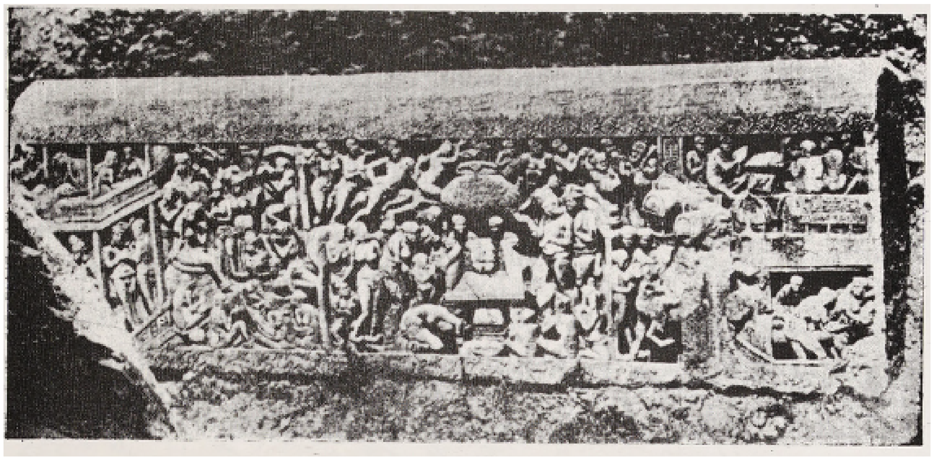

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PLATE XXXVI

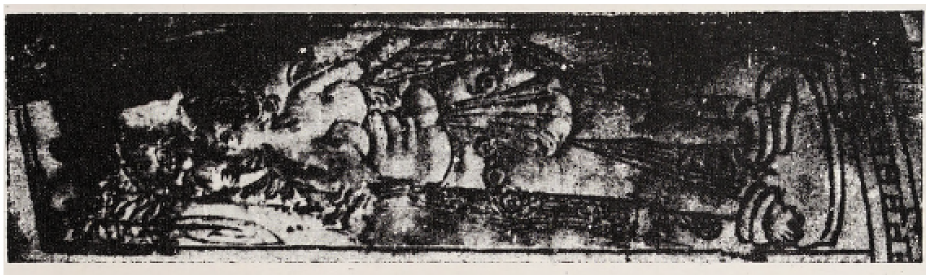

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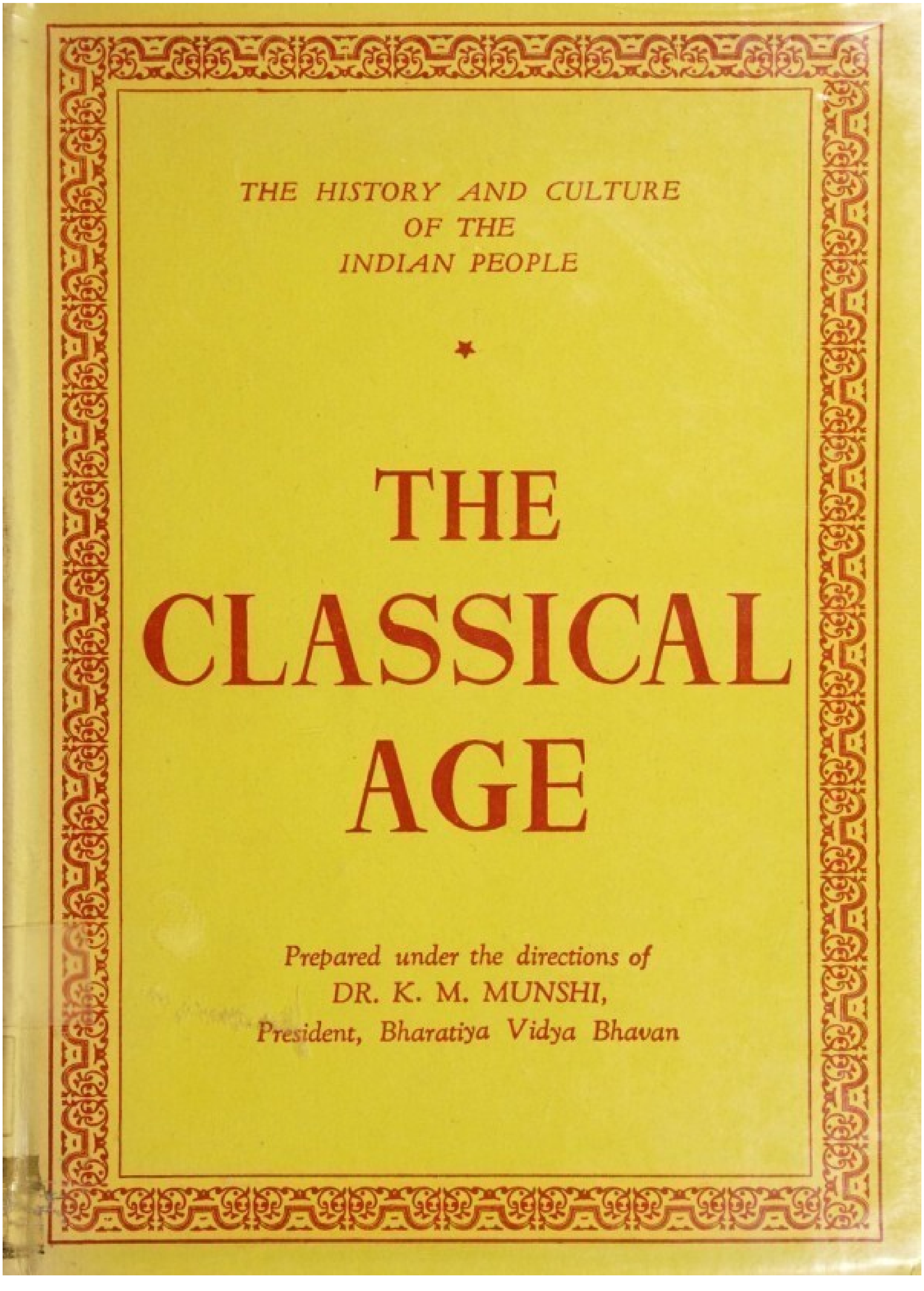

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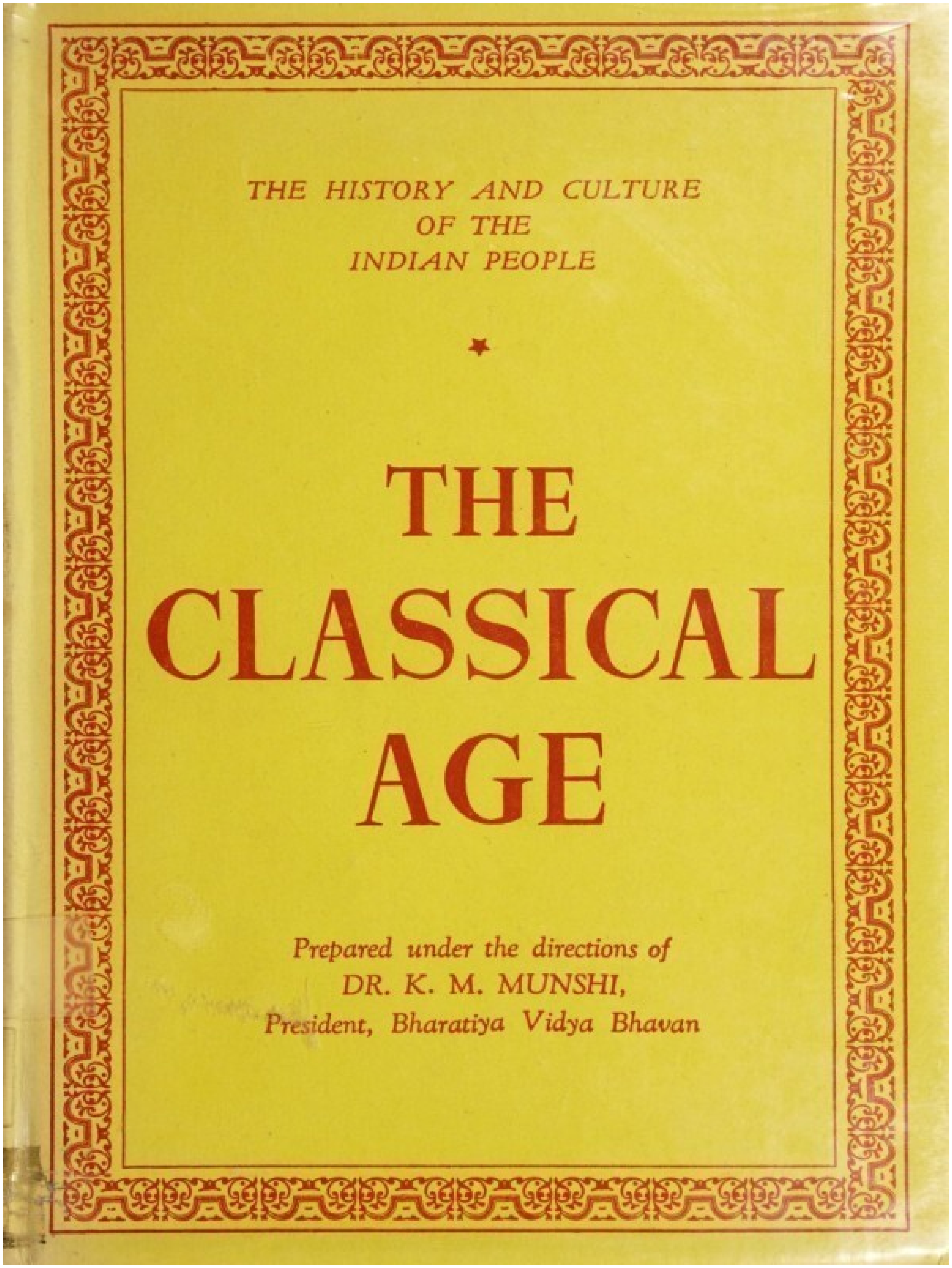

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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE

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early chapters of this Volume the authors 1 n as their focal, point in the political history

, ihe rise, decline and fall of the Gupta Empire ,ave brought the history of the subsequent period xuto perspective.

The legend of Harshavardhana as the last empirebuilder has been successfully demolished and his history reconstructed after a true sifting of all avail able evidence including that of Vakpati and Kalhana The entire historical outlook on the post-Harsha period has been changed in the light of these new conclusions.

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na.

Special emphasis has been laid on the work of the Chalukyas and the Pallavas in the South who took up the thread left by the Guptas in the North and achieved political i’*iity in the Deccan and South India, thereby r ^mg the political ideal of a federation of il-w tnree regional units. The cultural movements which accompanied these events have also been traced.

Chapters XV to XXII reveal fully for us that ‘Golden Age’, the period when India reached the high watermark of intellectual development in the most widely varied fields of art, science and literature. This was the age of Kalidasa, Dandin, Subandhu and Banabhatfa. It was then that the six systems of philosophy took real shape; Vasubandhu, Amara, Aryabhafa, Varahamihira and Brahmagupta stood out in bold relief; and Nalanda University attracted world-wide attention. In the realm of art we read of Sarnath and Ajanta whose excellence are appreciated throughout the world. During this period there were established those rock-like foundations which were to culminate in the highest peak of Hinduism; of these we may cite the Ramayana and Mahdbharata among the epics, the vast Puranic lore, and Vaishnavism and Saivism in the field of religion. Then, Sanskrit as the lingua franca of educated India cut across all disunity; but more than this, we find the cultural hands of India stretching across her natural boundaries even as far as Central and Eastern Asia, thus establishing “Greater India.*’

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43 plates adequately illustrate the best specimens of the unique artistic achievements of this period.

Foreword by Dr. K. M. Munshi.

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HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE _

VOLUME III

THE CLASSICAL AGE

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By Dr. K. M. Munshi

There has been some delay in publishing this volume because of the heavy demand for Volume II, the second edition of which had to be published soon after the first. It is now planned to publish Volumes IV and V simultaneously, and the Bhavan hopes to put them on the market by June 1954.

This Volume covers the period of Indian History from A.D. 320, when the Gupta Empire was founded, to about A.D. 740, when Yasovarman of Kanauj died. The period can suitably be divided into two; one, from A.D. 320 to c. A.D. 467 when Emperor Skandagupta died, and the other, from A.D, 467 to c.A.D. 740.

I

Rightly called the ‘Classical Age* of India, this period saw a springtime efflorescence in all spheres of life. The creative urge of the time has contributed both character and richness to the evolution of the national mind in every succeeding century. With the rise of the Imperial Pratlharas in the West, the Palas in the East and the Rashtrakutas in the South about the middle of the eighth century, there began the next distinctive period dealt with in the next volume*

Empires rise, decline and fall; communities and nations integrate or disintegrate; the latter either develop a collective mind, outlook and will, or lose one or the other only to lose them all eventually. In the one case they evolve an articulate personality; in the

other they cast it off and disappear.

The integration and disintegration of human aggregates form the basic patterns of history as viewed through continuous time. To study them, however, they must be viewed in sections, as in this volume. If such a study is to have any meaning, the volume and direction of the flowing stream must be constantly borne in mind.

As I stated in my Foreword to the First Volume, “It is not enough to conserve, record and understand what has happened: it is necessary also to assess the nature and direction of the momentous forces working through the life of India in order to appreciate the fulfilment which they seek,”

Throughout the history of India, the process of integration comprises two simultaneous movements: one owes its origin to Aryan Culture and operates by virtue of the momentum which the values of that culture possess; the other works itself upward

from the way of life of the Early Dravidian and other non-Aryan cultures in the country into the framework of the Aryan Culture modifying its form and content, though not the fundamentals, weaving a harmonious pattern continuously. The first movement provides vitality and synthesis; the second contributes vigour and variety. But it is the harmonious adjustment of both that gives to India, age after age, her strength, tenacity and sense of mission.

The adjustment made against the background of racial fusion is symbolised by the sacredness accorded both to the Nigama, the Vedic tradition, and the Agama, the Dra vidian tradition; by the equal ritualistic importance of the Vedic homa and the Dravidian puj®,* to the inseverable Godhood of the Aryan Vishnu and the non-Aryan Siva. It must never be forgotten that Vyasa, the founder and prophet of Arya-dharma , and 6rl Krishna, the World Teacher, whose message is its fundamental scripture, are both sons by high-browed Aryans of non-Aryan mothers.

Vedic culture, the culture of the Vedic Aryans, brought an increasing number of people within its fold as it spread through the country. Sweeping changes were made in the religious, social and cultural outlook and institutions of each successive age. But the vitality of the central ideas and fundamental values was never so lost as to bring about complete disintegration. In some periods, however, the two movements produced adjustments at many, if not all. levels; the vitality was converted into irresistible vigour; full nourishment was drawn from the soil of race memory and tradition. At such times a great Age, like the Age of the Guptas, would dawn in India. On the other hand, when the tw T o movements failed either by external or internal maladjustments to support each other, conflict between the two became inevitable; growth ceased to be vigorous; disintegration began as in the beginning of the eleventh century, when the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni overwhelmed parts of north India, the Age of Expansion ended, the Age of Resistance began.

II

The evolution of India, during the period of the Magadhan supremacy, dealt w r ith in the Second Volume of this series, began with the dawn of history in India in the seventh century before Christ. But long before this, Indians, who had adopted the Aryan way of life, had developed a common way of life; and their sense of unity preserved by tradition and activated by race-memory, recaptured in each generation, was expressed through common action. By vitalising the fundamental values of their culture, they had create ed vigorous adjustments necessitated by the conditions of each age During this process, the best elements in the society had, from the

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earliest times, developed a ruling purpose—the fulfilment of Rita or Dharma —which gave them the capacity to will themselves into a well-defined and vigorous social organism.

The Magadhan Period closed with the invasion of the Yueh-chis. Disintegration followed in northern and western India and was accentuated by the break up of the Kushana Empire which they had founded. The process of integration was also hindered by Buddhism which was not organically rooted in race memory and race tradition, and stood, in many respects, in antagonism to them. But it was an expansive movement and naturally attracted foreigners; in India, it stimulated the national mind and culture by impact rather than by inspiration. The Sungas and the Satavahana conquerors however drew strength from its roots.

The third century after Christ is still shrouded in obscurity. But, according to the Bhagavata^purdna, northern India was undergoing a period of disintegration. Nagas ruled in Champavatl and Mathura; Abhiras ruled in Saurashtra and AvantI; in the region of Abu and Malava the rulers were devoid of culture 'like unto the mlechchha'. In Sindh, on the banks of the Chandrabhaga, in the land of Kunti in Kashmir, the Sudras, Vratyas and the mlechchhas ruled. These rulers, the author says, lacked the power of the Spirit, disregarded Dhairma and Truth, and were 'contemptible and irascible '—phalguddh tlvramanyavah. His only hope lay in the new rulers, Visvasphani in Magadha and Vindhyasakti, a Brahmana, ruling on the banks of the Narmada.

But there is little doubt, that by the beginning of the fourth century, the forces of disintegration had lost their momentum. In Southern India the old forces were being given new forms and directions.

In spite of unsettled conditions, India was free from foreign attentions. The race memory looked back with pride on those times when chakravarti-samrdp, or universal emperors like Mandhata and Bharata held sway over the whole world. The notion of a universal emperor, supported by a universal church, so popular in mediaeval Europe, was basically different from this concept. The chakravarti was the political and military counterpart of Dharma ; like Mahavaraha—the great Boar—he was the saviour of Dharma , and the supporter of the fundamental law of the Dharma-sdstra; like Parasurama, he was the repressor of the lawlessness of kings, rajyochchhettd. He was able to conquer the world but only as the chakravarti of Aryavarta.

The popular conception was expressed by Vayu-purdna thus:

“The chakrwvartls are born in each age as the essence of Vishnu. They have lived in ages past and will come again in the future. In all the three ages—past, present and future—even in the Treta age other chakravartts have been and will be born.

“Strength, Dharma, happiness and wealth, these wondrous blessings shall characterise these rulers. They will enjoy wealth, plenty, Dharma, ambition, fame and victory in undisturbed harmony.

“They will excel the Rishis in their power to achieve results, by their lordliness, by providing plenty and by discipline. And they will excel the gods, demons and men by their strength and selfdiscipline. ”

The conception of Aryavarta, the sacred land of the Aryas, was a living one; for it was impregnated with an abiding veneration for the fathers who had lived and died so that it might live, great and eternal.

The Vishnu-purana expressed the eternal hope of the Indian heart: “Even the gods sing thus: ‘Blessed are the men who live in the land of Bharata, which is like unto the high road to Heaven and to Liberation; for they are higher than gods themselves.’ ”

In India the concept of Dharma was primarily related to Aryavarta. Bharatavarsha, Karmabhumi, was the land of Dharma, and it stretched from the oceans to the Himalayas. In the popular mind, however, the boundaries of Aryavarta extended far beyond those defined by the early Dharma-sastras . Aryavarta was the region where Aryas flourished and where the mlechchhas, if they overran it, could not abide for long. It was Aryavarta, without any frontier, geographical or political. Medhatithi, a great commentator on Manu, was to give expression to this idea some centuries later: “A king of meritorious conduct could conquer even the land of the mlechchhas, establish chdturvarnya there, assign to the mlechchhas a position occupied by the chanddlas in Aryavarta and render that land as fit for sacrifice as Aryavarta itself.”

Ill

In the beginning of the fourth century, the powerful Pallava king ^ivaskanda-varman in southern India celebrated the asvamedha. About A.D. 320, Chandra-gupta I, the founder of the Gupta Empire, revived the chakravdrtl ideal in northern India. His marriage with KumaradevS, the Lichchhavi princess, probably resulted in the union of her principality with Magadha and launched him on a career of wide conquests. Fortunately for him, there was no other

rival for imperial supremacy in northern India at the time and no foreign invader threatened the country from the north-west.

Placed between A.D. 335-380, Samudra-gupta, the next emperor, laid the foundation of an irresistible military machine which probably included a navy. With his large standing army, he wiped out the feeble kings and effete republics of the Gangetic basin. The territory from Hard war to the borders of Assam was consolidated into a compact homeland which he directly administered under a system which, with suitable modifications, was soon adopted in many parts of the country and persisted in some form even up to the British period. Samudra-gupta’s sacred horse, followed by his army, extracted tribute from the kings ruling in most parts of the country and served to bring about friendly relations with the Shahanushahi kings of the north-west. He reached the zenith of his power when he performed the asvamedha sacrifice and gave munificent donations.

Politically, this was the age of integration in India. After more than three hundred years of fragmentation and foreign domination, northern India was again united under the vigorous rule of a powerful monarch of versatile talents. A brilliant general, a farsighted statesman, a man of culture and a patron of the arts and letters, he became the symbol and architect of a mighty creative urge among the people which, while drawing vitality from tradition and racememory, took on a new shape and power.

Samudra-gupta was succeeded by his no less brilliant son, Chandra-Gupta II, known as Vikramaditya, acclaimed as the greatest of the Gupta Emperors. In his reign, which is placed between A.D. 376 and 414, the last vestige of foreign rule disappeared from the land and the direct sway of Pafaliputra extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The country to the south of the Narmada was dominated by two friendly powers —the Vakatakas and the Pallavas—who shared the Gupta emperors' enthusiasm for strengthening Dhtfrma. The dominions of the descendants of Vakafaka Vindhyasakti extended from Bundelkhand to Hyderabad. A daughter of Chandra-gupta II was married to one of them, and she ruled as regent for thirteen years; and till the dynasty disappeared, the Vakafakas continued in subordinate alliance with the Guptas. The Pallavas, who held unquestioned sway in the south, maintained friendly rela tions with the Guptas, even when they were not subject to their hegemony.

Under the leadership of Chandra-gupta II, the Gupta eagles flew over parts of IJalkh across the Hindukush. Peace, plenty and power,

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in fact, it was a hierarchy of such groups ranged according to the standard of culture attained by each, with intervening groups to accommodate products of racial fusion. The Brahmanas stood at its head as devoted to learning, culture and self-discipline. The hierarchy was cultural, not a racial one. Outsiders were allowed to enter and benefit by it, but not so fast as to destroy the social equilibrium. Opportunity was thus given to those who were aliens to Indian culture to rise in the scale of life, but never so rapidly as to endanger the stability of the existing social order.

The bed-rock of social organisation inherited from the Vedic Aryans was the patriarchal family. The father was its head; the mother, its mistress; all members of the family including the helpless had a secure asylum in it. As a corollary, the devotion of wife to her husband and to the family was imperative. Her position has never been more beautifully described than in Kanva’s advice to Sakuntala in Kalidasa’s play:—

“Wait on thy betters; act the part of darling friend unto ev’ry fellow bride

Tho’ by thy husband treated ill, in wrathfulness do not rend awry thy face;

Be vastly courteous unto them that on thee wait, in thy fortunes take no pride

thus turn to housewives, women young, while those

perverse

are the bane of all the race.”

(AbhijUdnaSakuntalam iv, 8)

Castes mixed in marriage with comparative freedom; anuloma marriages were very common; the pratiloma marriages were by no means rare.

The Dharma-sdstras were not enforced at the point of the sword. Even the backward and the immigrant classes dropped their groupcustoms and usages, and cheerfully adopted the social system prescribed by them. Thus, Aryanisation of India was not achieved by the fiats of rulers or mass coercion by superior classes, but by the willing acceptance by all those who realised that the dynamics of the Dharma-sdstra provided, for the age, the best conditions for social, spiritual and cultural uplift.

Sanskrit, a living language, elastic in structure and rich in expression, possessing a rich, varied and beautiful literary achievement, was the living embodiment of the Dharma and a powerful integrating force. Inscriptions began to be written in Sanskrit, even in the far South. A new thought or a new literary masterpiece in the language attracted the attention of all the intellectual centres. For instance the works of Kalidasa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, became the models of literary beauty throughout the country within a few years of his death.

Under the Gupta emperors, the Mahdbharata acquired a unique position as an integrating psychological force. It immortalized the proud and joyous manhood of Bhdratavarsha, and provided a common source of inspiration in courts, schools and in society as a whole.

The cultural uprising was based upon the central idea underlying Dharma from early time. It predicated an unalterable faith in human endeavour, self-restraint (samyama) and self-discipline (tapas). Emphasis was laid on individual experience and becoming rather than on belief and the scriptural word; it was reached only when a man could shed his limitations and become divine in this life. Running through a diversity of religious beliefs and social outlook, it also laid an emphasis on the observance of the great vows— mahavratas— of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession as essential steps in progress. All conduct, in order to be -worthy of respect, had to be harmonised and regulated by ethical and spiritual values calculated to help the fulfilment of this ideal.

The four Gupta emperors,—omitting, of course, the ignoble Rama-gupta,—in maintaining the ideals of a chakravartx, made the state at one and the same time, powerful, stable, dynamic and happy. The age saw the speculative thought among others of Vasubandhu and the Nayanmars; the perfect lyric and drama of Kalidasa; the astronomical discoveries of Varahamihira; the iron pillar of Delhi; the beginnings of the structural temples; the beauty of the early Ajanta frescoes; the rise of Vaishnavism and Saivism; the completion of the Mahdbharata and the composition of Vayuand the Matsya-Purdnas. The empire was not merely based on conquests or administrative efficiency; its greatness lay in its integral outlook. Its strength was based as much on military strength as on internal order and economic plenty; the sap of its vitality was drawn from the roots of ancient tradition and race memory which they maintained, re-interpreted and replenished. The upsurge of the Kshatriya hierarchs of Madhyadesa and Magadha, loyally pledged to stability, constituted the steel-frame of the imperial structure. Nor was the splendour of the empire an isolated phenomenon surrounding the individuality of the rulers. The people, having discovered in their traditional way of life something noble arid splendid, only saw it reflected in the greatness of their rulers* The Vakatakas and the Pallavas of the far south, the two

other dominant powers in the country closely allied with the Guptas, joined in availing themselves of the agency of the Brahmanas, the missionaries and instruments of Dharma, by lavish generosity.

The Gupta emperors became the symbols of a tremendous national upsurge. Life was never happier, our culture never more creative than during the Golden Prime of India.

V

In the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era, something resembling a volcanic eruption took place in the history of the human race. The Hunas, like a veritable stream of lava, issued from their homeland on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and spread over Europe and Asia. Homeless and lawless, they rode their horses awake and asleep. Their fierce yells spread terror wherever they were heard. They engaged all the civilized peoples of the world in fearful cataclysmic wars; and, wherever they could, they killed, destroyed, burnt and devastated with demoniac ruthlessness. In Europe, Attila the Hun brought about the downfall of even the powerful Roman Empire.

About A.D. 455, the Hunas began to enter India. Emperor Skanda-gupta drove them back by a supreme effort. Twelve years later, he died. The outposts of the empire, already weak, could offer no further resistance. The barbarian hordes, after passing through Persia and destroying the Kushana rulers of the north-west, began to pour into India.

A war of succession appears to have followed the death of Skanda-gupta, weakening the empire in the hour of its danger. Next in order of succession, five emperors including Narasimha-gupta Baladitya, between A.D. 500 and 570, held precarious sw T ay over parts of the empire, which in spite of its decadence was still a name to conjure with. Many parts of the empire outside the bounds of the compact core of the empire became independent.

In Saurashtra, a province of the empire, the Maitraka general practically threw off his allegiance on the death of Skanda-gupta.

By A.D. 512, the Hunas under Toramana, overran north India up to Eran in the Saugar district of Madhya Pradesh. Toramana’s son, Mihirakula, a veritable terror, spread fire and carnage from the Punjab to Gwalior and by A.D. 525 became the master of a vast territory.

Northern Indian soon recovered from the shock of the barbarian impact and resisted Mihirakula. The records which have survived are much too vague and fragmentary to indicate the nature and extent of this war of liberation. But the names of two great liberators have come down to us.

Yaiodharman Vishnu vardhana, who was possibly an ex-feudatory of the Empire, fought the Hu^as grimly. His swift victories arrested the progress of Mihirakula, and enforced allegiance. Malwa, which included central parts of what is modem Gujarat, once a province of the Empire, when liberated, formed part of the domains of Ya^odharman, and his conquests are described as having covered the territory from the Himalayas to the Ganj5m district.

Mihirakula met with no less heavy reverses in his eastern campaigns. The challenge was taken up by liana-varman Maukhari, a quasi-independent feudatory ruling over Madhyadesa represented by modern Uttar Pradesh. He barred the progress of the Hu^as to the east and in the course of several encounters inflicted a shattering defeat upon them.

Emperor Narasiihha-gupta B&laditya, the ruler of the Eastern Empire, dealt a final blow to the Huna and sent him reeling back to his dominions on the North-West Frontier only to finA, according to Hiuen Tsang, that his brother had seized his throne. Mihirakula then fell back on Kashmir which he captured, and died soon after.

Ya£odharman Vishnu vardhana blazed a meteoric brilliance and vanished into darkness. In A.D. 533, Malwa was being ruled by the governor of Isana-varman, the Maukhari conqueror. Two years later, Kumara-gupta III, son of Narasimha-gunta Baladitya, re-established the imperial sway in Malwa and declared himself ‘Lord of the three seas’. But the empire decayed rapidly, and though Gupta sovereignty was recognised by the Maitrakas till about A.D. 550, and acknowledged in Kalinga even as late as A.D. 569, it is clear that the emperor had become a 'roi faineant

Isana-varman, the great liberator, possibly overthrew the descendants of Yasodharman, conquered the Sulikas of Andhra, and on the death of Kumara-gupta III emerged as the unchallenged master of Madhyadesa and Malwa. He kept the Gau<Jas at bay and established himself at Kanauj which, thereafter, was the imperial capital of north India for close upon five centuries. Sarva-varman (A.D. 576-580), the successor of Isana-varman, maintained the supremacy of his dynasty.

The Hunas disappeared as they came. The Gupta Empire, grown very weak, was dissolved; the virile Maukharis emerged victorious. But with their rise began a new phase in Indian History. Kanauj emerged as the symbol of a new order.

The Golden Prime of India became a thing of the past; the military superiority of Magadha disappeared. Out of the welter emerged a set of new dynasties: the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Pushpabhutis of Thaneswar, the Maitrakas of Valabhl and the Chalukyas of Badami. The Pallavas of Kanchl alone among the old dynasties continued to flourish. In the west, the warrior clans of what is now Rajasthan, living in the region of Mount Abu and descended from Brahmana ancestors, emerged from obscurity as a closely knit hierarchy with the Pratiharas at their head.

VI

Due to the exaggerated eulogies of his biographer, Ba^a, and the enthusiastic Hiuen Tsang,'£r! Harsha has been given more than his share of importance. No doubt he preserved the unity of Madhyadesa, but he suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Pulakesin II of Badami and had to make terms with the Maitrakas of ValabhI. The territories he conquered were neither as extensive as the empire of the Guptas who preceded him, nor that of the Pratiharas who followed him; nor did he leave behind an empire.

We learn from the Chinese pilgrim that &rl Harsha not only followed Buddhism but also had a marked antipathy to the Brahmanical religion. But the seals, which refer to his elder brother as Buddhist, describe him as a devoted Saiva.

Sri Harsha, unlike the Guptas, was not able to release a new integrating impulse. The Emperor, with a large army, had conquered far and wide, staged spectacular festivals, made generous gifts; his character stood high. But he left no hierarchs and no successors; on his death the fabric he had erected, fell to pieces. The causes which led to this sudden collapse of Kanauj may be found not only in the circumstances that brought him to supremacy, but also in his personal character. The old Kshatriya houses in Madhyade^a, who had supported the Gupta Empire, were exhausted or hostile; Sri Harsha could infuse no new hope or strength in them. Kanauj and Thaneswar, though friendly states, were rivals. When Kanauj was faced with extinction at the hands of £a£ahka, Sri Harsha was called in as a matter of military urgency to a joint rulership over both states. But his hold over the two states was personal; the hierarchs of both kingdoms possibly hated each other. Sri Harsha failed, where Chandra-gupta I, the founder of the Gupta Empire, had succeeded so well; he was unable to create a common hierarchy which could carry forward his work.

At the height of his career Sri Harsha was an ardent Buddhist. In all probability, he held himself aloof from his ministers, and

C-A.-B

the leaders of society, superior and self-righteous. He could not restore the life-blood of the old social organisation, for he could not identify himself with its urges, nor could he revive the chakravartl tradition. The secret of establishing a military power founded on traditional strength, was not his; nor did the mass of the people feel that the conquests of Sri Harsha were their own triumph. The internationalism, for which Buddhism stood, negatived the building up of a compact unity rooted in the land. He could conquer; he could not build. The way of the Guptas was, therefore, barred to him.

The empire he had won simply disappeared. After Sri Harsha, his daughter's son, Dharasena IV, the ruler of the comparatively small kingdom of Valabhl, assumed the pretentious title of an emperor. Within fifty years of Sri Harsha's death, Yasovarman, a powerful ruler and the patron of Bhavabhuti, restored Kanauj to its glory—but for a while.

But the strength and vigour of India, between A.D. 550 and 750, was found in the South. While the Maukharis were founding an empire which had its seat at Kanauj, Pulakesin I, of the Chalukya family (A.D. 550), had already founded a kingdom in the Bijapur district of Bombay with its capital at Vatapi, modern Badami. About the end of the sixth century, his son, Klrtivarman, embarked on wars against the kings who ruled to the north of the Godavari.

Pulakesin II, who had already subdued the Pallavas of Kanchi, repelled the invasion of Sri Harsha in c. A.D. 620 and adopted the style "Lord of the three Maharashtras containing 999 villages". He annexed Veiig!, modern Godavari district, and appointed his brother Vishnuvardhana as its governor on the east coast. Four years later, Vishnuvardhana became virtually independent and founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas. Pulakesin with his warriors and elephants which 'marched to victory while intoxicated' founded the empire of Dakshinapatha. After a rule of about two centuries, during which the Chalukyas provided the greatest stabilising influence in the country, they were replaced by the Rashtrakutas.

The great Pallava king, Mahendra-varman I (A.D. 600-630) at one time defeated even Pulakesin II and captured his capital. Though the Chalukyas avenged this defeat soon after, the Pallavas remained the most powerful kings in the far south.

Phioughout the period of over four hundreds years from A.D. 320 to 750, India was administered by well-organised governments. The political interest during this time is primarily confined to the history of northern India. This was due mostly to the power

arid extent of the Gupta Empire. But the contribution of the Chalukyas and the Pallava kings in stabilising the country and fostering the integrating forces should not be under-estimated.

VII

Conditions in the north and the west zones of India, from and inclusive of Afghanistan (then a Hindu territory) up to the Narmada, were thrown into confusion. Within a few years of the death of Mihirakula, however, a new and vigorous impulse is also visible; an impulse to revive Dharma, to relate it to the new life, to fashion values to new conditions, not only in the affected zones, but in other parts of India as well, and particularly in the south. The foundations of life, shaped during the Gupta period, remained unshaken in a large part of the country; its pattern, however, soon underwent a change.

Some aspects of this new impulse, the home of which was in the south, can be easily traced. The Purdnas , some of which were redacted or newly written in the Gupta times, were the popular gospels of the new impulse. They did not serve merely a religious purpose. They revived the glories of the distant past; they invested new places in the country with stimulating sanctity, weaving the unity of Bharatavarsha; they also re-interpreted old values in the light of new conditions, giving them a new vigour.

Saivism, a popular cult long before the rise of the Gupta Empire, became a very vigorous integrating movement. The worship of Siva as Pasupati is as old as Mohenjo-daro. The new cult, which Sahkaracharya called Lakulesa Pasupata had spread over the country, and was the most influential protagonist of Dhaima and the formidable opponent of Buddhism and Jainism.

In spite of the Gupta Emperors being devoted to Vishnu, the worship of Siva was more popular. Mihirakula, the Huna king, like some early Kushana kings, was a devotee of Siva; and so were most of the members of Sri Harsha’s family; and so were the Maitrakas of Valabhl and most of the rulers of the South, including the Vakatakas. Mahendra-varman, the great ruler of the Pallava dynasty, became a convert to Saivism, and built magnificent temples in his kingdom. Kanchi became a great centre of the faith and his successors identified themselves with the renaissance associated with Saivism. Many Saiva Nayanmars who flourished during this period pressed even Vedanta into the service of Saivism.

Manikkavachakar’s Tiruvdchakam became the highest Saiva scripture in the Tamil language.

VIII

The Gupta Emperors were very catholic in their religious outlook; Buddhism was not only tolerated, but like other religions, lavishly supported. The lay Buddhists were an integral part of society regulated by the canons of the Dhxvrnuv-sdstras. Therefore, when Saivism and Vaishnavism became powerful integrating forces, Buddhism which at best was a protestant movement, never an integrating force, began to lose its hold over the masses. Its content progressively approximated to Hinduism. Its spiritual nihilism, when exposed to the Bhakti movements, tried to approximate to the latter at least in its external aspects, and finally came to be absorbed in the wide fold of Hinduism; and later when Buddha was accepted as the avatdra of Vishnu, no trace of its separate existence as a rival was left. As a cult, however, it continued for a few more centuries.

After A.D. 500 the Bhakti cults gave to the religious movements the emotional content, which, for centuries, remained of immense significance in Indian life; it helped to form enduring values which gave strength to the Age of Resistance after the cataclysmic disaster which the Turks brought in their wake. The Alvars of Tamil Nad were simple-hearted hhaktas; they loved and wooed their gods and expressed their feeling with a directness hardly surpassed in emotional content and ardent faith in the religious literature of the world.

Sanskrit continued to be the language of religion and ritual; of state-craft, learning and science; of the law texts which regulated social conduct; and of literature, thought, poetry and drama. It was the national medium of intercourse. The Sanskrit speaking world was one, all-Indian. It was with its aid that in the next century Sankaracharya, a Brahmana from Malabar, in all too short a life, was to organise religious institutions, dominate the speculative thought of the country, and inaugurate a sweeping religious and intellectual movement throughout the country.

The Mahabhdrata, the Rdmayana and the Puranas continued to be the source of countrywide unity. The Puranic literature remained simple and direct; its growth as an influence could be measured by the evolution of the literature from the meagre recitals of Matsya and Vdyu-Pumnas to the richly magnificent Bhdgavata, again a contribution of the south. The Katha became the most powerful educative and integrating force. The Pauranikas were the missionaries of the new age; an agency of social uplift which brought an ever-expanding circle of adherents into the fold of Aryan culture.

In North India, the dialects, which the higher classes spoke, were not far removed from Sanskrit. But in the south the Dravidian languages continued to develop on their own lines, no doubt influenced and enriched by Sanskrit. Elements in the population speaking dialects, not of Indo-Aryan origin, also began to find a place among the higher classes in large numbers. Cultural influences were therefore spread not only through Sanskrit, but percolated to the masses through the medium of the growing dialects which acknowledged the supremacy of Sanskrit and became subsidiary forces of integration.

Chdturvarnya was called upon to bear a severe strain due to the need of absorbing foreigners and of Aryanising non-Aryans who were given a place in it. A change therefore came over it altering the structure of society. Varmsrama took the shape—though not yet distinct—of an organisation of interdependent castes, not a fourfold social order. Society thus lost the freshness of out-look which the dvijas of India, as a class fundamentally one, had imparted to it. The history of the following centuries shows how, as the social structure grew inelastic, the political sanction of a chakravartt was denied to cultural and social solidarity, and the people ceased to have an expansive outlook.

The leading role as a highly trained and purposive agency in integration was played by Brahmanas: men of learning and teachers; literary men and religious preceptors; ‘svamins* who specialised in the sacrificial lore; the Pasupatacharyas who, feared and respected by the people, wielded vast influence over kings and founded temples and monasteries, a^Ll of which became the centres of the new socioreligious movement of power. Smdrta Brahmanas were not only interpreters, commentators and lawyers, but also expounders of Dharma. The influence of the Brahmanas was felt throughout the country. They slowly reclaimed and raised millions of backward people. Under their inspiration, communities were uplifted and the cultural and spiritual elevation of the individual secured.

During this period, the system of education did not change appreciably from what it was in the preceding age. Universities like Nalanda, great centres of learning, came into existence.

IX

i

The Aryavarta consciousness, as stated before, had three aspects; Aryavarta was the land of Dharma in which no mlechchha could abide; chdturvarnya, the social basis, was its eternal law; the chakra vartl was to maintain both. The sentiment that no mlechchha could abide in India was deep-rooted and active; equally active was the belief that Dharma prevailed in Bharatavarsha. The chakravartl idea, however, clearly lost its meaning; Dhdrma could not, and therefore need not, be linked with the duty of maintaining the whole

country within its fold. Wars of conquests lost their spiritual significance; they were not, as in the earlier periods, an expression of a people and a culture on the move; they were undertaken only for dynastic ends or, more often, to curb the aggressive intentions of neighbouring kings. People and culture were one; the Smriti law was the universal Dharma; but chdturvarnya became a social pattern in its own right. Aryavarta consciousness, in consequence, receded into race memory.

The Kshatriya community was no longer a compact military caste of Madhyadesa dominated by a single cultural tradition. It came to be infiltrated by the foreign, aboriginal and other non-Aryan groups, not yet acclimatized to Dharma. Inter-marriages between the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas became rare; the Kshatriyas busied themselves with wars and saw 7 no justification for undergoing any rigorous intellectual training.

The segregation of dvija castes into water-tight compartments and difficulty of social fusion, therefore, became disintegrating factors.

An empire could only be built on the shoulders of a hierarchy. Such a w r ell-knit hierarchy had helped to found the Gupta Empire in the days of the early emperors; it had been interested in maintaining the authority of the emperor, howsoever weak or helpless, against ambitious neighbours or recalcitrant feudatories in the interest of a common purpose which they shared with the masses. The change in the social structure created conditions in which such a hierarchy, homogeneous in culture and looking forward with faith to the political unity of Aryavarta, could not be brought into existence.

In spite of the conventional encomiums contained in the inscriptions, conquerors were continuously emerging from obscurity who cared more for dynastic power than for Dharma.

After the Guptas, conquest on a large scale became increasingly difficult. The army, from ancient times, was divided into four sections: the elephants, the cavalry, the infantry and the chariots. During the period under review, as attested by Harsha-charita and as recorded by Hiuen Tsang, chariots were sparingly used in warfare. A king rode to w^ar mostly on an elephant; and a king bent on conquest had to maintain a large number of elephants. Cavalry was used largely, but the horses were generally maintained by the feudal chiefs who brought them to the battle-field for use, just as they did their own footmen. Usually, the army consisted of Kshatriya feudal chiefs who had their own estates, their regional attachments and their code of honour prescribed by the sdstras and the traditions. In the hands of powerful leaders, they could be heroes, but not mercenaries.

They were generally rewarded by grants of land, and their leaders were mostly connected with the ruling dynasty by blood. The petty king, even in war, was no more than “the head of inter-related overlordships.” Unless, therefore, a conqueror had sufficient means to have an effective elephant force and a paid army of his own, he had in practice to depend on his feudal chiefs and could scarcely aspire to be a chakravarti.

According to an old tradition inherited from the era of small kingdoms, it was not open to a conqueror to overthrow the ruling dynasty of another territory and annex it to his own. He had therefore to find a loyal chieftain who could command the loyalty of the important Kshatriya families of the conquered territory. The Kshatriyas slowly became rooted in their own region. The successful merger of conquered territory necessarily implied the uprooting of the local chiefs and their replacement by the feudal chiefs of the conqueror and 1 his dynasty. This involved the re-distribution of fiefs in the conquered territory among the feudal chiefs of the conqueror ready to be transplanted to a new and uncongenial soil; and, the capacity in the conqueror to support his newly planted chiefs as his instrument of power without weakening his own military efficiency. These factors appear, during the period under review, to have worked against the political consolidation of states.

Many conquerors tried to disregard these factors; most of them failed. Samudra-gupta succeeded because he ruthlessly extirpated the small states of Northern India and could rely upon the military classed of Madhyade^a. With the fall of the Gupta Empire, North India split into smaller units. With the humane traditions of India, attempts at extirpating a regional hierarchy could scarcely be made except by ruthless conquerors; in consequence, the regional attachment of the Kshatriyas increased; and with their patrons, the Brahmanas who depended on them also developed regional loyalties. The kingdoms became smaller, and small-state-mindedness became a part of the national mind.

The only exception, in the period under review, was the emergence of the Pratihara, the Chahamana and the Chalukya clans, closely allied in marriage and tradition; the Paramaras and the other warrior clans of Gurjaradesa were either off-shoots of these three branches or were absorbed in the hierarchy in course of time. That was why the Pratlharas were able to found an empire.

In this climate large scale wars resulting in large scale displacement of populations were out of the question. Groups tended to be rooted in the region.

X

The third community, that of the Vai£yas—at least in north India—belonged to the same class as Brahmanas and Kshatriyas; Sri Harsha himself was a Vaisya; his daughter, however, married Dhruvasena II, styled

Baladitya, the Kshatriya king of ValabhL But they were a dynamic element in the social organisation. Between the members of the community inter se there was more equality of cultural attainments. Foreign trade and the needs of commerce brought them into close contact with common people, both Indian and non-Indian. Naturally, therefore, they were less fastidious in taste and outlook. In many parts of the country, Buddhism and Jainism, with their sympathy for the masses, had a greater appeal for them.

The fourth community, the Madras, were not a race of lower men, but what may be termed ‘the rest*. They were the redeemables of Dharma and formed an essential part of society, not looked down upon but only needing attention. Marriages between Sudras and the members of ‘other classes’ were common. Bana, the Brahmana friend of Emperor 6ri Harsha, had himself a brother born of a Sudra step-mother.

A vital movement in the social organisation of the country enabled one little connubial group, which did not originally form part of the Aryanised society, while undergoing the necessary cultural discipline, to rise from a lower to a higher status, to the Aryanised class. The movement of groups from one order of castes to another, or from aboriginal or foreign classes to recognised castes was not difficult. Intermarriage led to a free admixture of blood and prevented an impassable cleavage of cultural ideas. Only when a lower group attained the status of a higher caste, as was common, it became difficult for the group or the family to attain the high standard of culture demanded of a Brahmana or a Kshatriya except after some generations.

The administrative machinery, introduced by the Guptas in consonance with the Dharma-s&stras and adopted in the advanced parts of the whole country, continued to function. During the succeeding centuries, the administration did not depart very much from the canons laid down during the Gupta times which, with some changes, and mostly in rural areas, continues in some form even now.

For all practical purposes, administration continued to be in the hands of the same class of people and was regulated by age-old tradition and generally accepted canons of social conduct. Its efficiency continued to be enforced, less by official pressure than by the en lightened opinion of respectable members of the community, who were guided by the leading Brahmanas and Kshatriyas of the locality.

XI

About the end of the period under review, the Arabs appeared on the Indian scene, but for the first time in their meteoric rise the progress of the ‘world conquerors’ was arrested. The naval raids against Thana, Broach and Debal were repulsed. The attempts to reach India through the Khyber Pass, then guarded by the Hindu states of Kabul and Zabul, failed. Though some sort of Arab suzerainty was established with difficulty for a brief period (A.D. 700714), for the next century and a half, Kabul and Zabul maintained their autonomy practically unimpaired.

The Arabs also tried to enter India through the Bolan Pass, but the strong Jats of Kikan or Kikanan, though often defeated, never yielded, and that Pass remained sealed to the invaders.

The Arabs then attempted to advance through the Makran coast. Their army was equipped on a lavish scale; troops were requisitioned even from distant Syria. Sindh had just emerged from civil wars; Dahar, the ruler, had probably gained control over southern Sindh only a few years before the invasion. Very little resistance was offered to the Arab fleet carrying military equipment. Nehrun and Siwistan, the two main strongholds of southern Sindh, opened their gates to the invaders. The unpatriotic character of the Buddhists, the general superstition of a section of the people, and the want of loyalty towards the family of royal usurpers, left the issue in no doubt. Sindh was conquered in A.D. 712.

The conquest of Sindh was not the outcome of the military superiority of the Arabs; in fact, this was their first and the last achievement on Indian soil. After this conquest whenever they came in conflict with powerful Indian States, their spell of victory was broken. About A.D. 725 one Arab army, sent to invade north India, met a disastrous setback at the hands of Nagabhata I of the Imperial Pratlhara line; another, which had entered Lata (South Gujarat), was destroyed by Pulakesin Avanijanasraya in a battle which took place near Navsari. In spite of unremitting pressure, exerted for over two centuries, the Arabs were only left with the two petty states of Mansura and Multan in the ninth and tenth centuries. When compared with their dazzling victories over the contemporary states in the Middle-East, in Europe and over Persia, this insignificant result obtained in India was a tribute to the superior military strength and political organisation of the Indians.

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By Dr. R. C. Majumdar

General Editor

The period of history described in the preceding volume drew to a close amid chaos and confusion. The great empire of the Maury as and the political unity of India which it brought about vanished, and the hordes of foreign invaders who dominated over large parts of India gradually lost their political power. A number of new peoples and states emerge out of the political chaos, but dislocation rather than settlement seems to be the order of the day. The abundant records of the Maurya age give place to the scantiest historical materials, so much so that the third century A.D., with which Volume II closes, has been described by some historians as “one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history.”

With the present volume we enter upon a period which offers a striking contrast to the one immediately preceding in almost all these features. The main theme of its political history is the foundation of the Gupta Empire which, at full maturity, once more brings unity, peace and prosperity over nearly the whole of Northern India, It was far less extensive than the

Maurya Empire, but was more enduring, and we can study its gradual growth in much fuller detail. The historical records grow larger in number and more varied in character. The darkness of the third century passes away and we are brought into a fuller light. What is more, for the first time we get a clear outline of the political history of India in a definite chronological setting which has continued unbroken to the present day.

The volume starts with the story how the descendants of a petty chieftain named Gupta acquired and maintained and then lost an empire which was bigger than any that flourished since in Ancient India. It covers the first six chapters.

During their rule of more than two centuries the Guptas established their sway over nearly the whole of Northern India and the Imperial writ was obeyed from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The dynasty produced a succession of able monarchs who were both capable administrators and successful generals. One of them, Samudra-gupta, carried his victorious arms as far as Madras in the south, if not further beyond, and has been deservedly styled ‘Indian Napoleon’ by an eminent European historian. His son Chandra-gupta advanced probably beyond the Sindhu river, as far as Balkh, and finally extinguished the last vestige of foreign domination in India by defeating the &aka chiefs who had been ruling in Gujarat for more than three hundred years. Skanda-gupta, the grandson of Chandra-gupta, was faced with the terrible ordeal of a Huna invasion. The Hunas, notorious for their ferocious cruelty, were at that time the most dreaded scourge of humanity. They carried fire and sword over Asia and Europe, and their leader Attila was ‘able to send equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople." About the time when the two Roman Empires quailed before them the Hunas appeared at the frontier of India. But the Gupta Emperor inflicted such a crushing defeat upon them that for nearly half a century they dared not cross the Sindhu. When later, they appeared once again, the Gupta Empire was crumbling, but the heroic tradition of old days still inspired the Indians, and no less than three contemporary rulers, including the last great Gupta Emperor, claim to have defeated the Hunas.

Whether the three heroes acted singly or in concert we do not know. But it is certain that after a brief spell of success the Hunas ceased to be an important political pow 7 er in India, far less a threat to its safety and security. Judged in the context of the history of the then world, this definite check to the nomadic barbarian hordes must ever redound to the credit of the Gupta Empire.

The Gupta rulers were versed in arts of war as well as of peace. They established an efficient system of administration which became the model for succeeding ages. They ensured peace and prosperity to the people to which even foreign visitors paid eloquent tribute. During their rule India witnessed a wonderful outburst of intellectual activity and a unique efflorescence of culture to which detailed reference will be made later. There are good grounds to believe that the political system set up by the Gupta rulers and the personality of some of them played a large part in bringing about this momentous change. The Gupta Age was mostly a product of the Gupta Empire.

The Gupta Empire perished, but the memory of its greatness continued for centuries. This was echoed in the popular legends, the most famous of which is that of Vikramaditya. Whether there was an historical king Vikramaditya before the Guptas is a matter of dispute. But there is no doubt that the legend owes much of its vitality and inspiration to the lives and achievements of the Gupta Emperors, no less than three of whom actually assumed the title Vikramaditya. Like his great contemporary Salivahana, the legendiary hero Vikramaditya is to be regarded as the personification of a group of rulers rather than an individual. The cycle of Vikramaditya legends, which has been a cherished tradition of India for many centuries, may thus be looked upon as a fitting tribute to the glory of the Gupta Age of which it was a product.

The history of the Imperial Guptas cast into shade that of several contemporary dynasties which enjoyed great local importance. These are dealt with in two separate chapters (VIII, XI). One of them, the Vakatakas, received an undue importance on account of some fanciful conjectures of the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, so much so that a recently published volume in a comprehensive history of India, planned in 20 volumes, has been styled the Vakataka-Gupta Age. As a matter of fact, however, the political influence of the Vakatakas hardly ever spread much beyond the Deccan, and for a considerable period their state was an appendage to, if not a vassal of, the Gupta Empire. The same may be said of most other states which enjoyed a nominal independence. Few of them can really be said to have been quite beyond the sphere of influence of the Guptas.

Among the states that succumbed to the Gupta Imperialism special reference must be made to those ruled by republican or oligarchical clans. These formed a distinctive feature of the Indian political system since the days of Buddha, if not much earlier still, and some of them like the Lichchhavis, Sakyas and Malavas played an important role in the political and cultural history of India. The existence of these states with their republican tradition of freedom was always a thorn in the side of Imperialism. The Maurya Empire, true to the imperial policy enunciated by Kautilya, swept them away. But these clans appeared again, and indications are not wanting that many of them took a leading part in the struggle against the foreign hordes who dominated India. But the Gupta Empire made a clean sweep of them all. Some of them submitted to Samudra-gupta and continued for some time as vassal states. But with the growth of the Gupta Empire they gradually fade out of existence never to appear again. We cannot clearly trace the last stages in the dissolution of the republican system after more than a thousand years of recorded activity in Indian politics. But it is certain that Gupta Imperialism was the main cause of its final extinction.

The history of the Gupta Empire carries us to the middle of the sixth century A.D., when India is once again divided into a number of independent states. Then follows a long succession of individual military geniuses who seek in vain to re-establish the empire that fell from the grasp of the Guptas. Yasodharman, Sasanka and Harsha-vardhana, in the seventh century, and Yasovarman and Lalitaditya in the eighth,—all achieved conspicuous success in this direction and exercised sway over vast areas, but their empires perished with them. In the meanwhile the main interest in political history shifts to the Deccan and South India where the Chalukyas and the Pallavas establish powerful empires of long duration. In the second quarter of the seventh century A.D. the three natural divisions of India, viz. North India, Deccan and South India, developed into three well defined imperial zones respectively under Harshavardhana, the Chalukya king Puiakesin and the Pallava rulers Mahendra-varman I and Narasiihha-varman I. The rivalry and the struggle between the first and the second and the second and the third form the main theme of the history of this period. The brilliant political and military career of Puiakesin must have excited the admiration as well as the envy of his two neighbours. He inflicted a defeat upon Harsha-vardhana which forced the latter to give up for ever all designs of conquest of the region south of the Vindhyas. The success of the Chalukya king against his Pallava rival Mahendravarman I was even more complete, and, for a time, the Pallava kingdom almost collapsed before his mighty army. But the dazzling progress of the Chalukya Emperor was cut short by Narasiihha-varman 1, who fully avenged the defeat and disgrace of his father. The tables were completely turned. The Pallava ruler overran the Deccan; the great king Puiakesin was defeated and slain, and for thirteen years his kingdom lay prostrate before the hated enemy. The struggle continued throughout the next century' till, exhausted by the strain of long-drawn wars, the Chalukya dynasty went down about the period with which this volume closes. But it had established an offshoot in the eastern coast between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari which, under the name of Eastern Chalukyas, continued the name and fame of the house till the Chalukya power was restored by the main line or a collateral branch more than two centuries later. The Pallas r as continued to dominate South India beyond the period covered by this volume and were not finally ousted till the Cholas emerged from obscurity and became a great political power in the tenth century.

To modern students Harsha-vardhana looms large in the postGupta period of Indian history. Early European writers, in their ignorance, set the fashion of describing him as the last empirebuilder, and this has been blindly followed bj^ many modern writers who had far less excuse for this historical blunder. But the limit has been reached by V. A. Smith, the I.C.S. historian of India. To him the history of India after the death of Harsha-vardhana is merelv “bewildering annals of petty states,” and its only value lies in the notion it gives "of what India always has been when released from the control of a supreme authority, and what she would be again, if the hand of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn." The moral that V. A. Smith sought to convey need not be seriously discussed to-day when his theory has been put to the severe test of actual occurrence. We are more concerned with the justification of the historical observation that Harsha-vardhana's empire was the last in Hindu India after which her organised political life completely broke down. In the first place, Lalitaditya, and possibly also Yasovarman, ruled over an empire which we have no ground to believe was inferior in any respect to that of Harsha-vardhana. Further, the empires of the Palas and the Pratlharas, to be described in the next volume, were undoubtedly far greater in extend and far more lasting, and the latter was far more closely knit. Still later flourished heroes like Chandella Yasovarman and Kalachuri Gahga and Kama whose empires were as ephemeral as that of Harsha, and probably not less extensive. As V. A. Smith includes even the Deccan and South India within the scope of his observation we might refer to the mighty Rashtrakuta empire under Dhruva and Govinda III, the Later Chalukya empire under Vikramaditya VI, and the great Chola Empire of Rajendra Chela extending from the mouth of the Ganga to Cape Comorin and even over territories beyond the Bay of Bengal. With such examples before us it is a travesty of history to describe Harsha-vardhana as the last empire-builder of India,—even of North India,—and to credit him with a performance which was beyond the power of those who followed him.

The fact remains that Harsha-vardhana owes his high renown as much to the writings of Hiuen Tsang and Banabhatta as to his intrinsic greatness. The flattering account of his character and achievements by these two over-zealous friends was available to historians when little else was known of the history of ancient India. They were therefore in no mood to be critical and accepted, at its face value, almost everything that was said about Harsha-vardhana by these two writers. The result was a highly overdrawn picture of his life and achievements which has passed current as history ever since. An attempt has been made in Chapter IX to reconstruct his true history by a critical sifting of all available evidences. The case of Harsha-vardhana teaches us that while normally the heroes make history, sometimes history also makes heroes.

Curiously enough, while the historians have unhesitatingly accepted all that has been said of Harsha-vardhana by a court-poet and friendly chronicler, they have been unduly sceptic about the conquests made by Yasovarman and Lalitaditya as recorded respectively by Vakpati, the court-poet of the former, and Kalhana, the great historian of Kashmir. There is no reason to believe that the accounts of these two are less reliable than those about Harsha, and it is difficult to justify the differential treatment accorded to them by some eminent historians. Thus V. A . Smith, who gives a detailed and highly exaggerated account of Harsha's conquest and empire, which is not always justified even by the biassed sources, does not say a word about the conquests of Yasovarman, and only very briefly refers in vague and general terms to the military expeditions of Lalitaditya, in distant lands. The entire historical outlook of the period after Harsha, as envisaged by V. A. Smith and his followers must be thoroughly changed before we can hope to understand, in their true perspective, the momentous political events of the last half-a-millennium of Hindu rule in Northern India.

So far as this volume is concerned, the chief interest in the political history of India, therefore, centres round the rise, decline, and fall of the Gupta Empire, and the reorientation of the history of the succeeding period. Although the history of India beyond the Vindbyas occupies a place of only secondary interest, it has an importance of its own that needs special emphasis. The Chalukyas and the Pallavas ably continued the work of the Guptas. They achieved that political unity in the Deccan and South India which was the most valuable gift of the Guptas to Northern India. Henceforth the federation of these three regional units came to be regarded as the political ideal which was never entirely lost sight of in succeeding ages. Moreover, under the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, we find the further development of that remarkable renaissance of culture which was ushered in by the Guptas and characterised the entire period which is consequently known as the Gupta Age.

The Gupta Age, which forms the subject-matter of this volume, has been described in rapturous terms, as the ‘Golden Age’, the ‘Classical period’ of Indian history, etc. And fully does it deserve these appellations. It was during this period that Indian intellect reached its high watermark in most branches of art, science and literature, and Indian culture and civilization reached a unique stage jof development which left its deep impress upon succeedings ages. For the detailed justification of this claim the reader is referred to the volume itself, particularly Chapters XV and XIX. It will suffice here to state only a few broad facts. The period witnessed the highest development of Sanskrit literature, alike in prose, poetry and drama. It was the age of Kalidasa who stands unrivalled, even unapproached, as poet and dramatist. It was also the age of Dandin, Subandhu, and Banabhatta, the greatest writers in Sanskrit prose. The six systems of Philosophy, which some regard as the greatest intellectual contribution of India to the stock of human knowledge, took final shape mostly during this period, which also produced great Buddhist philosophers like Vasubandhu. It was also the age of Amara, the greatest lexicographer in Sanskrit. In the field of science, we have

the shining figures of Aryabhata, Varahamihira, and Brahmagupta, whose works in Mathematics and Astronomy are still reckoned as the greatest contribution of India to science in the ancient world. It will be enough to recall the fact that Aryabhata was the first to discover that the earth rotates on its axis and moves round the sun. Reference should also be made to the epoch-making discovery of the decimal system of notation which has revolutionized the process of arithmetical calculations and is now used all pver the world. As regards technical science, the great iron pillar at Meharauli near Delhi is a triumph of metallurgy.

The Gupta Age made equally splendid contribution in the domain of art. Some of the figures in stone at Sarnath and in colour at Ajanta are justly regarded as masterpieces all* over the world. The art is justly styled classical, for the sculptures and paintings of this period set the standard which was alike the ideal and despair of succeeding ages. They still remain the finest productions of Indian art to which modern world has appropriately paid a high tribute of praise.

Finally this was the age made memorable to three hundred million Hindus by the fact that it witnessed the evolution of that form of Brahmanical religion which they follow today. It saw the final development of the two great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahdbh&rata, and the phenomenal growth of the two religious cults, Vaishnavism and Saivism, at the cost of heterodox religious creeds like Buddhism and Jainism. The vast Puranic literature which originated, or at least took definite shape, during this period, completed the break from the Vedic Age and set on a solid foundation what is now commonly known as Hinduism, the culmination of a religious movement which had behind it the rich heritage of the diverse peoples of India.

The replacement of Prakrit by Sanskrit as the court-language and the high development of Sanskrit literature in all branches gave a position of pre-eminence to Sanskrit language which became the lingua franca of educated Indians. It served as the medium of a cultural unity which has left an indelible mark upon the people of India in spite of diversity in race and language and provincial rivalries ,and struggles in later times. This cultural unity has survived strange political vicissitudes and foreign dominations and constitutes today the one sure basis of the political unity and nationality in the Indian Republic.

During the Gupta Age this cultural unity overspread the natural physical boundaries of India and embraced within its fold a vast region lying beyond the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas, and across

the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. The beginnings of India’s intercourse with the outside world have been described in the preceding volume. During the period under review flourishing Hindu states arose in different parts of the mainland of Asia and the East Indies, such as Burma, Siam, the Malaya Peninsula, Annam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. Their rulers regarded themselves as descended from Indian colonists, and the Indian culture made a thorough conquest of the people.

Even in Central and Eastern Asia, where we have no definite evidence of political domination by the Indian colonists, the cultural influence of India was very great. The activities of Indian missionaries in China during the Gupta Age may be regarded as almost unique in the annals of cultural relations between two independent countries. We have clear and detailed evidence of the spread of this cultural influence to Tibet, Korea, Japan and even the Philippine islands in the east, and over the vast region in the north that lay along the overland route from China to India through Central Asia. Thus came into being the "Greater India" which sheds lustre on the Gupta Age no less than the cultural renaissance in India. v

The intellectual greatness which characterised the Gupta Age was typified in the University of Nalanda. The name and fame of this great seat of learning reached the remotest corners of Asia and attracted students from all parts of the vast continent. It was the symbol of the great international culture of which India was the universally acknowledged centre. This culture was promoted by the increased intercourse, during this age, between India and other Asiatic countries, particularly China. The detailed account that we possess of India's cordial relations with these countries, as given in Chapter XXIII, reveals a cultural internationalism of the Asiatic world such as has rarely been witnessed since.

Ihe facts recounted above will more than justify the appellation Perlclean Age of India' which is often applied to the Gupta period. The all-round greatness of Athens in the fifth century B.C., not only in itself but also with reference to its effect on the progress of humanity, may not unreasonably be compared with that of India under the Guptas. As in the case of Perlclean Athens, the new era of culture ushered in by the Guptas long survived their political power. The Gupta Dynasty came to an end in the middle or latter half ox the sixth century A.D., but the Gupa Age may be said to have continued for two centuries more. The spirit and genius of Kalidasa were inherited, to some extent, by Rhavabhuti and Bharavi, while Ranabhatta surpassed Dan<Jin and Subandhu as a master of prose. The rhetorician Bhamaha and philosophers like Kumarila and

Prabhakara kept up the highest tradition in these branches of literature. The form and ideal of the sculptures at Sarnath and the paintings of Ajanta caves inspired the artists who kept up the traditions for one or two centuries. Even the imperial traditions of the Guptas were never entirely lost sight of, and repeated attempts were made to revive the imperial unity, though success was always shortlived. Further, as mentioned above, the ideas of political unity were more successfully pursued in Deccan and South India by the Chalukyas and the Pallavas. Moreover the development of the Puranic religion and its predominance over Buddhism and Jainism, as well as the great development in art and literature, were equally characteristic of the Gupta and the Chalukya-Pallava period.

Thus although the Guptas did not rule over the whole of India or for the entire period dealt with in this volume, the name Gupta Age may be fittingly applied to it, for the activities of the Gupta rulers and the cultural renaissance. which followed in their wake mattered most during the whole period and have mattered most to the large majority of Indians ever since.

Little need be added to what has been said in the preceding volumes regarding the policy and principles followed by the Editor and the difficulties confronted by him. It is only necessary to draw special attention to some changes in the spelling of proper names. Since India became independent she has tried to throw off some anglicised spellings of geographical names, such as Muttra for Mathura, Ganges for Gafiga, Jumna for Yamuna and the Indus for Sindhu. Full effect could not be given to this new system as almost all the chapters were written before it came into vogue. But a beginning has been made by the introduction of the new mode of spelling in a few cases. It is inevitable that for some time to come both the old and the new spellings would occur side by side and there would be a lack of uniformity, as in this volume. Save for this minor detail this great political event has not exercised any influence on the preparation of this volume. In particular it is to be understood that in this volume, as well as in the preceding two, which have already been published, the geographical and political terms, particularly with reference to States, apply to the state of things prevailing in British India;

Chapters XVI, XVII, and XXII have been revised by the author, and the account of Nepal in Chapter VIII, section 7 and Chapter X, section 5, has been considerably modified in the light of newly discovered inscriptions. With the exception of these and slight modifications here and there, the present Volume is a reprint of Vol. III published in 1954.

In conclusion, I take this opportunity of placing on record my deep obligations to Dr. Pusalker and the contributors of this volume. I also convey, on behalf of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and on my own behalf, our hearty thanks to the Director General of Archaeology, Government of India, for having lent us blocks and photographs for purposes of illustration. The copyright of these belongs to the Department of Archaeology and no one should reproduce any illustration without its permission.

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ABORI.

Achar. Su. AHD.

AIG.

AIHT.

AIIC.

AIOC.

Amara.

AMV.

AO.

AOR.

Ap.

AR.

ASC.

ASI.

ASS.

Asv. Gr. Su. ASWI.

Baudh.

BB.

BCAI.

BDCRI.

Beal (or Life).

BEFEO.

BG.

Bharata Kaumudl.

Bh. List.

BI.

Bri.

Br. I.A.

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Iv

BS.

BSD.

BSS.

Bu-stcm.

BV.

Cat. M.M.

COM.

CGD.

Chh. Up. CII.

CP.

cv.

Dasa.

DHI.

DHNI.

Div.

DKA.

EHI.

EHVS.

EL

Stats.

FAS.

FTL.

Gaut.

G.E.

GIL.

Giles.

GOS.

GSAI.

HAL.

Har (or Harsha). HAS,

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HC.

HCSL.

H.E.

HIEA.

HIED.

HIIA.

HIJ.

HIL.

Hist. Ins.

I-IK.

HNI.

HOS.

HPL.

HSL.

HSP.

HTB.

HTW (or Watters).

IA.

IAL.

IC.

ID.

IHC.

ITIIJ.

IHQ.

Imp. Ins. Bar. St.

IP.

IRT.

IS.

JA.

JAHRS.

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JASB.

JBBRAS. .

JBORS.

JBRS.

JDL.

JGIS.

JIH.

JISOA.

JKHRS.

J.Mal.Br.R.A.S.

JMU.

JNSI.

JOR.

JPASB.

JPTS.

JRAS.

JRASB(L).

JUB.

JUPHS.

Kad.

Kam.

Kat.

Kat. Add.

Kaut.

KHDS.

KIS.

KM.

KRT.

KS.

KSS.

Kum.

Kush-Sas. Coins.

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Malav.

Manu.

MAH.

Mark. Pur.

Martin.

MASI.

Mat. Pur.

Mbh.

Meg.

Megha.

Memoire.

MKHS Papers Mlm Su. MMK.

MR.

Mri.

Mud.

MV.

Nag.

Nar.

NHIP.

NIA.

NIS.

NSP.

Num. Chr. Num. Suppl. OZ.

Pan.

Pancha.

Par.

PHAI.

PIHC.

PLC.

POC.

PR. ASI. WC.

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Pratima.

Priya.

PTS.

Pur.

Raghu.

Ram.

Ratnavali.

Record

(or Takakusu)

pitu.

Sak,

Sat. Br.

SBE.

SBH.

Sel. Ins.

SII.

Siksha.

SIS.

SJS.

Sm. C.

SP.

Sue. Sat.

Svap (or Svapna). Taitt. Ar. Takakusu (or Record)

Tar.

TSS.

Uttara.

Vas.

Vi.

Vi. Pur.

Vij.

VS.

Warmington.

Watters (or HTW).

Yaj.

ZDMG.

PraLimd-nataka of Bhdsa .

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CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF THE GUPTAS

The political disintegration which followed the dissolution of the Kushana empire continued right up to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The Kushanas still ruled over the western Punjab, but had ceased to exercise any authority further east. The Sakas ruled over Gujarat and a part of Malwa, but their power was rapidly on the decline. The rest of Northern India was divided into a number of small kingdoms and autonomous tribal states. The time was ripe for a great Indian military leader to arise and build up a mighty empire, and such a leader soon arose in a petty ruling family known as the Guptas.

1. ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY

The origin and early history of this family are shrouded in obscurity. The name or surname Gupta is not absolutely unknown in ancient Indian history. Names of officials ending in Gupta and queens of the Gupta clan or family are mentioned in old records, particularly of the Suhga and the Satavahana period. But whether all of them were connected with a parent Gupta clan or there were different families, without any such connection, who assumed the name Gupta, cannot be determined, though the latter view seems mor^ probable. In any case, the particular Gupta family, ruling in the fourth century A.D., cannot be affiliated to any ancient family or clan of that name.

The first three rulers of this family are referred to in the Gupta records as Maharaja Srigupta, his son Maharaja Sri Ghatotkachagupta and the latter's son, Maharajddhirdja Sri Chandra-gupta. The fact that the third ruler is given the higher title of Mahdrajadhirdja, whereas his father and grandfather are called simply Maharaja, cannot but be regarded as significant. We must assume that Chandra-gupta was a more powerful ruler than his predecessors and extended the ancestral kingdom.

Of the first two kings the Gupta records do not mention anything beyond their names and titles. We have, therefore, no definite information about their exact status or the locality where they ruled. The title Maharaja was often borne by feudatory chiefs, and it has been surmised that both Gupta and Ghatotkacha were subordinate to some paramount ruler. But no such paramount ruler of the period is known to us. On the other hand, even independent

rulers are known to have used the title Maharajah and it is not unlikely that the first two Gupta kings were really independent, though their kingdom was not very large.

As regards the locality of this kingdom some light is thrown by a passing observation of the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing. I-tsing, who travelled in India during the period A.D. 671-695, refers to a king Srlgupta as having built a temple for the Chinese pilgrims and endowed it with twenty-four villages. Some scholars have identified this king with the founder of the Gupta dynasty and located the temple in Magadha. Consequently they place the kingdom of the early Guptas in Magadha. But there are certain difficulties in accepting this view. In the first place, I-tsing places Srlgupta about five hundred years before his time, whereas the founder of the Gupta dynasty cannot be placed more than four hundred, or at the most, four hundred and fifty years before he wrote. The identity can, therefore, be maintained only if we regard the five hundred years as only a round approximate figure. This is not an unreasonable view, especially when we remember that the "Chinese pilgrim gives the statement on the authority of a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men." 2 The identification of the king mentioned by I-tsing with Srlgupta, the founder of the Gupta family, may, therefore, be accepted, at least as a provisional hypothesis.

There is, however, no justification for the view that the temple which this king built for the Chinese was situated in Magadha. The bearing and the distance given by the Chinese pilgrim place it in the western borders of northern or central Bengal and this is corroborated by some other details mentioned by him. We may, therefore, hold that Srlgupta’s kingdom comprised a portion of Bengal.' 3

We do not know anything of Gupta’s son and successor Ghatotkacha. But it is interesting to note that in two records of the Vakataka queen Prabhavati-gupta, 4 daughter of Chandra-gupta II, Ghatotkacha is said to be the first Gupta king. Further, in a record recently discovered at Rewa, 5 the Gupta family is traced back only

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The examples of the Lichchhavis (Nepal), the Maghas, the Bharasivas and the Vakatakas are sufficient to prove that the title Maharaja does not necessarily indicate a feudatory rank.

CGD, xv, xix.

This point has been fully discussed in HBR. 69-70 and JBRS, XXXVIIT 410-428 Prof Jagannath’s argument (IHQ, XXII. 28) against the proposed view is based on Beal s faulty translation of the Chinese passage in IA, 1881, pp. 110-11

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U U T% r a[°f. Pa P e :f re f a t th e Twelld All-India Oriental Conference (Part "rha'JZbh?'*'? i° p ? m P h ’ et the contains the expression

tnrl,Z° t ^ aCh r,~ Sa nui m w e ' ? ut wbat bas been read' a#., 'sadvamse’ is realty himself ° r ' Chhabra ’ who 1S editing the record, emended the old reading

to Ghatotkacha. It is difficult to explain why or how Ghatotkacha came to be regarded as the founder of the family, at least in some quarters in Central India and the Deccan, but these references seem to imply that he was a notable ruler in some respects.

2. CHANDRA-GUPTA I

There is, however, no doubt that it was really under Chandragupta I, the son and successor of Ghatotkacha, that the family rose to eminence. This is clearly indicated by the higher title Maharajadhirdja applied to him in the family records. Further evidence is supplied by a series of gold coins issued by him. These coins depict on one side the names and figures of Chandra-gupta and his queen Kumaradevi, and on the other, a goddess seated on a lion with the name of the Lichchhavis inscribed by its side.

Kumaradevi was a Lichchhavi princess, and evidently special significance was attached to Chandra-gupta’s marriage with her. Apart from the above coins, this is also proved by the fact that their son Samudra-gupta is always referred to in the genealogical account of the Gupta records as the ‘daughter’s son of the Lichchhavis,’ whereas we do not come across any such reference to the maternal family of the eight or ten other Gupta rulers, mentioned in the same records. It has been suggested by V. A. Smith that by means of this matrimonial alliance Chandra-gupta succeeded to the power previously held by his wife’s relations and secured a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. On the other hand, Allan thinks that the “pride of the Guptas in their Lichchhavi blood was probably due rather to the ancient lineage of the Lichchhavis than to any material advantages gained by this alliance.” It may be doubted, however, whether the Lichchhavis enjoyed at this time a very high status in society. For the ManuSamhitd, which was undoubtedly held in high respect about this time, regards the Lichchhavis as a kind of degraded Kshatriyas (Vrdtya-

Kshatriya). It appears more probable, therefore, that the marriage alliance of Chandra-gupta I was valuable from a political rather than a social point of view.

Although, therefore, we my accept the view that the political greatness of the Guptas was due, in a large measure, to their alliance with the Lichchhavis, it is difficult to define more precisely, as V. A. Smith has done, the extent of their indebtedness. For we do not know for certain anything about the power or political status of the Lichchhavis, or even the position of their kingdom at this time. As noted above, 1 the Lichchhavis ruled over the republican state of Vaisall when Gautama Buddha flourished. About the time

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of which we are speaking we find kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty ruling in the valley of Nepal. 1 We do not know whether the Lichchhavi relations of KumaradevI belonged to the ruling family of Vaisall or Nepal or of some other kingdom. The view that they ruled in Magadha rests on very dubious grounds. On the whole, it is more reasonable to regard the Lichchhavis as ruling somewhere in North Bihar, in the region between Vaisali and Nepal. It is highly probable that the Lichchhavis and Guptas ruled over adjoining principalities and that the two kingdoms were united under Chandragupta by his marriage with KumaradevI. This happy union, which enhanced the power and prestige of the new kingdom and augured so well for the future, was evidently commemorated by the gold coins jointly issued by Chandra-gupta and his Lichchhavi queen. 2

So little is definitely known about Chandra-gupta I that we have only to rely upon such provisional hypotheses for the reconstruction of his history. We may reasonably infer that his dominions must have been sufficiently large to justify his assumption of the imperial title Mahartijadhimja and to enable his son to launch upon that career of conquest which led to the foundation of a mighty empire. It is generally held on the basis of a passage 3 in the Puranas, that Chandra-gupta ruled over Saketa (Awadh), Prayaga

(Allahabad) and Magadha (S. Bihar). But apart from the uncertainty in the reading and interpretation of the passage, we cannot even be certain that it refers to the period of Chandra-gupta I. Although, therefore, no definite conclusions are possible, we may, judging from the military campaigns of his son, regard the kingdom of Chandra-gupta as comprising nearly the whole of Bihar and portions of Bengal and Awadh.

It is generally assumed that the well-known Gupta era, which commenced on February 26, 320 A.D., 4 5 was founded by Chandragupta I to commemorate his accession or coronation. 6 * Although this is a very probable view, there is no definite evidence in support of it, and we cannot altogether exclude the possibility that the era

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commemorates the coronation of Samudra-gupta, the greatest king of the dynasty and the founder of the Gupta empire. The chronology of the early Gupta kings can be fixed only with reference to this date. If we assume that Chandra-gupta I ascended the throne in A.D. 320, we may place the reigns of Gupta and Ghatotkacha between that year and A.D. 270. On the other hand, if we regard A.D. 320 as the date of Samudra-gupta’s coronation, we shall have to push back the reign of Gupta to about A.D. 250. This would be more in accordance with the statement of I-tsing who places Srigupta about 500 years before his time (c. A.D. 700).

In view of the vagueness and uncertainty of our knowledge regarding the early history of the Guptas, it would be wise not to indulge in further speculation on the subject. It has been suggested, for example, that Chandra-gupta I ‘simply drove out the Scythians and gave independence to the province of Magadha after three centuries of subjection and foreign oppression.’ We have, however, absolutely no evidence that Chandra-gupta I ever came into conflict with the Scythian rulers, or led any ‘war of liberation.’ It is also a mere gratuitous assumption that Gupta and Ghatotkacha were ‘petty landholders’ or ‘feudatory chiefs subordinate to the Kushanas.’ 1 Still more illusory is the attempt to reconstruct the history of Chandra-gupta I on the basis of the drama Kaumudl-Mahotsava. 2 It describes how the cursed Chandasena, an adopted son of Sundaravarman, king of Magadha, and the commander of his army, allied himself with the barbarian Lichchhavis and got possession of Magadha by defeating and killing the king, his adoptive father It is nothing short of ‘fantastic’ to equate Chandasena with Chandra-gupta I and to construct the history of the period from the romantic episodes described in a dramatic work of a later age, which agree so little with the data of contemporary inscriptions. An attempt has also been made to reconstract the history of the early Guptas with such graphic details as the murder of Chandra-gupta I by his son Samudra-gupta. But the passage in the BhavishyottaraPurdna which contains this and other similar episodes can be easily demonstrated to be ‘a palpable modern forgery’. 3

These vague conjectures and wild theories need not be seriously discussed in a sober history. For the present we have to rest content with the little that we definitely know about the early Guptas,

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or can reasonably infer about them, and we may sum up the position somewhat as follows:

Towards the close of the third century A.D., India was divided into a number of independent states both monarchical and nonmonarchical. Two of these in Eastern India were united by a marriage alliance between Kumaradevi, the Lichchhavi princess, and Chandra-gupta I, the grandson of Gupta and the son of Ghatotkacha. Chandra-gupta I thus ruled over a fairly extensive kingdom which probably included nearly the whole of Bihar and also parts of U.P. and Bengal. He signalised his increased power and dominion by changing the title Maharaja, adopted by his father and grandfather, for the higher imperial title Mahdrajadhirdja, and probably also by founding an era to commemorate his coronation in A.D. 320.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

1. ACCESSION OF SAMUDRA-GUPTA

Samudra-gupta, the son of Chandra-gupta I and Kumaradcvi, succeeded his father. We possess a long eulogy of this king composed by one of his officials named Harishena and engraved on the Asoka pillar at Allahabad. 1 This eulogy or prasasti gives a detailed account of the career and personality of Samudra-gupta, such as we do not possess of any other king of ancient India, except the great Maurya emperor Asoka. Thanks to this record we are in a position to describe the remarkable military exploits of Samudra-gupta which laid the foundation of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad prasasti vividly describes at the outset, how in a full session of the royal court Chandra-gupta I embraced his son Samudra-gupta, and declared, in accents surcharged with emotion: “Thou art worthy, rule this whole world.” The poet leaves no doubt that the assembly was held in a tense atmosphere, and while the royal declaration was received with cheers by most of those present in the court, it caused great discontent and heart-burning to the rival candidates of the royal family. The royal declaration is usually taken to mean that Chandra-gupta I publicly announced Samudra-gupta as the heir-apparent to the throne. The words put in his mouth, however, taken literally, mean that Chandra-gupta I formally abdicated in favour of his son. 2

In any case, Samudra-gupta was deliberately selected by his father as the next king and this evidently caused deep disappointment to the rival princes who coveted the throne. It possibly led to trouble, and it is not even unlikely that when Samudra-gupta ascended the throne he had to face a revolt of his brothers. The name of a king Kacha is known from a few coins which bear a close resemblance to those of Samudra-gupta. It has been suggested that Kacha was the eldest brother of Samudra-gupta and headed the rebellion against him. 3 But this is by no means certain, and some hold that Kacha was only the original name of Samudra-gupta. But whatever troubles might have arisen, they were quelled by Samudragupta who soon made his position stable and secure.

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2. SAMUDRA-GUPTA'S CONQUESTS

The reign of Samudra-gupta is chiefly remarkable for the series of military campaigns which he led in various parts of India. The author of the Allahabad prasasti refers to the skill he displayed in a hundred battles which left scars all over his body. Judging from the< long list of countries which he conquered and brought under various degrees of subjection, the statement need not be regarded as a mere poetic effusion or even a highly exaggerated encomium.

A number of rulers of Northern India, among whom nine are specifically named, felt the full brunt of Samudra-gupta's aggressive policy. These kings were defeated and crushed and their kingdoms were annexed to the Gupta kingdom. Two of them, Nagasena and Ganapati-naga, were rulers of the Naga family who had set up three kingdoms at Padmavati (Padam Pawaya, 25 miles north-east of Narwar in old Gwalior State), Vidisa (Rhilsa) and Mathura. * 1 Two other kings, Achyuta and Chandra-varman, ruled respectively in Ahichchhatra (near Bareilly) and Western Bengal (in the Bankura District). The dominions of the remaining five kings, viz. Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Nandin, and Balavarman cannot be located at present. 2 But we can form an idea of the territory, thus conquered and directly administered by Samudra-gupta, from the mention of the kingdoms and tribal states, situated at the frontiers of his kingdom, which paid taxes, obeyed orders and rendered obeisance in person to the emperor. Three of these kingdoms, Samatata, Kamarupa, and Nepala are well known and correspond respectively to South-East Bengal, Upper Assam and Nepal. The^ fourth, Davaka, was most probably situated in the Nowgong District of Assam. The fifth, Kartripura, has been identified with Kartarpur in the Jalandhar District, and according to some it even comprised the territory of the Katuria Raj of Kumaon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. But this cannot be regarded as certain.

These five tributary kingdoms are expressly stated to be situated on the frontiers of Samudra-gupta's dominions. The feudatory tribal states which are mentioned along with them, and were also presumably on the frontier, were nine in number, and may be easily divided into two groups. The first comprises the Malavas, the Arjunayanas, the Yaudheyas and the Madrakas. The Malavas were at this time settled in Eastern Rajputana, in the regions now known as Mewar, Tonk and Kotah. The Yaudheyas inhabited the territory still known as Johiyabar along both banks of the Sutlej on the borders of the Bahawalpur State; at one time their dominions extended up to the Yamuna and included Bharatpur. The Madrakas occupied the territory between the Ravi and the Chinab with their capital at Sakala, modern Sialkot. The Arjunayanas cannot be located with certainty, but if, as is generally believed, the names of the tribes have been recorded in a geographical order, their territory may be placed near Jaipur.

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Of the second group of five states, only the Sanakanikas may be located with some degree of certainty near Bhilsa. The Abhiras are known to have had various settlements, but the reference here is probably to the one in Central India, called Ahirawara, between Bhilsa and Jhansi. The remaining three states, viz. Prarjunas, Kakas and Kharaparikas, -cannot be located with certainty, but may be placed to the north and east of Bhilsa and not very far from it. For Eran in the Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh, about 50 miles to the N.N.E. of Bhilsa, is definitely known to have been included in the kingdom of Samudra-gupta.

If we now consider the position of the tributary states on the frontiers of Samudra-gupta’s dominions, we may form an idea ol the territory directly under the administration of Samudra-gupta. In the east it included the whole of Bengal, excepting its southeastern extremity. Its northern boundary ran along the foothills of the Himalayas. In the west it extended up to the territory of the Madras in the Punjab and probably included its eastern districts between Lahore and Karnal. From Karnal the boundary followed the Yamuna up to its junction with the Chambal, and thence along an imaginary line drawn almost due south to Bhilsa. The southern boundary ran from Bhilsa to Jubbulpore and thence along the Vindhya range of hills. Samudra-gupta is said to have conquered ail the Atavi-rajyas (forest kingdoms) which probably denoted the hilly tracts, full of dense forest, extending eastwards from Jubbulpore.

Samudra-gupta’s campaigns of conquest were not confined to North India. He made one or more expeditions to the Deccan and defeated no less than twelve rulers. The defeated chiefs included Mahendra of Kosala (Drug, Raipur, Bilaspur and Sambalpur Districts), Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara (probably forest regions in Jeypore State, Orissa), Mahendragiri of Pishtapura (Pithapuram in the Godavari District), Hastivarman (the Salankayana chief) of Veiigi (modern Pedda-Vegi, 7 miles north of Ellore between the

Krishna and the Godavari), Ugrasena of Palakka (Nellore District), and Vishnugopa (the Pallava king) of Kanchi (Conjeevaram in Chingleput District). Kings Damana of Erandapalla and Kuvera of Devarashtra probably ruled in the Vizagapatam District. 1 Four other kings, Mantaraja of Kaurala, Svamidatta of Kottura, 2 Nilaraja of Avamukta and Dhananjaya of Kusthalapura cannot be identified with certainty.

Although these four southern kingdoms cannot be located, it is clear that Samudra-gupta proceeded through the eastern and southern parts of Madhya Pradesh to Orissa and then advanced along the eastern coast up to the Pallava kingdom, probably beyond the city of Madras. 3 Samudra-gupta defeated and captured the rulers of these southern states. But he later set them at liberty and they were presumably allowed to rule over their kingdoms as feudatories of Samudra-gupta. 4

Samudra-gupta had probably other military campaigns to his credit, though we cannot speak of them with any degree of certainty. It is, however, evident that his supremacy was acknowledged by powerful rulers in the western and north-western frontiers of India, such as the Saka chiefs ruling in Western Malwa or the Kathiawar Peninsula, and the Kushana king or kings of the Western Punjab and Afghanistan referred to as Daivaputra-shahi-shahanushahi. 5 The passage describing their relations with Samudra-gupta is somewhat vague and uncertain, but it may be taken for granted that they

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sought to win the favour of the great emperor by personal attendance in his court, offering daughters in marriage, and asking permission for the use of imperial coins or soliciting imperial charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories. Whether this attitude of subservience was the result of military defeat or was merely a diplomatic move to save themselves from a worse fate, we cannot say. The discovery of some coins of the Kushana type with the names of Samudra and Chandra, and the use of Gupta type of coins by some Scythian rulers of the west, indicate that the

Guptas really exercised a sort of suzerainty over some of these frontier kingdoms still under foreign rulers, and the statement in the records of Samudra-gupta about his relations with the Saka and Kushana chiefs may not be regarded as altogether without foundation.

3. POLITICAL RELATION WITH CEYLON

Even the distant Siriihala (Ceylon) and all other islands are included in the same category of vassal states to which the &akas and the Kushanas belonged. If we remember that Ceylon and many other islands in the Indian ocean were colonised by the Indians and bear a deep impress of Gupta culture, it is not unlikely that some of them at any rate sought to maintain close contact with the most powerful empire in the mainland, and thought it politic to win the good graces of the great emperor by sending rich presents or showing respect in some other way. The reference to the homage paid by the people of all these islands cannot, therefore, be dismissed as mere rhetoric, but may be based on actual relationship, the exact nature of which cannot be determined.

So far as Ceylon is concerned, we have fortunately independent evidence of its political relations with Samudra-gupta. We learn from a Chinese text that king Meghavarna of Ceylon (c. A.D. 352-379) sent two monks to Bodh-Gaya to visit the sacred spots, but they were put to great inconvenience for want of suitable accommodation. To obviate the difficulty for future pilgrims to the holy place, Meghavarna decided to found a monastery there. He accordingly sent a mission to Samudra-gupta with rich presents and asked for permission to build a monastery and a rest-house for Ceylonese pilgrims. Samudra-gupta readily granted permission and the Ceylonese king built a splendid monastery to the north of the Bodhi tree. By the time of Hiuen Tsang it had developed into a magnificent establishment, with more than 1000 priests, and the pilgrim has described the rich decorations and massive grandeur of the buildings. Referring to the old history of its foundation, Hiuen Tsang says that the Ceylonese king ‘gave in tribute to the king of

India all the jewels of his country.’ It is likely that Samudra-gupta’s courtiers regarded the rich presents as tributes, and construed the Ceylonese king’s prayer for permission to build a monastery as an ‘application for charter confirming him in the enjoyment of his territories,' one of the forms of homage paid by the category of vassal states in which Sirhhala is included. There may be similar basis for the inclusion of the other states in this category, the offer of a daughter's hand being very common among neighbourly kings. In view of the great renown of Samudra-gupta, the neighbouring Saka and Kushana rulers might have sought to cultivate friendly relations with him and strengthen them by personal visits or matrimonial alliances. It may also be conceded that the rulers of the weaker states, situated just outside the limits of the empire, maintained diplomatic relations with Samudra-gupta and deliberately sought to win his favour and goodwill by various measures which, however derogatory to their royal status and position of equality, did not theoretically detract from their independent status. But it is difficult to believe, without more positive evidence, such as we possess in the case of some Scythian states mentioned above, that all these rulers in any way openly acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta emperor, and enjoyed their kingdoms merely as fiefs by virtue of charters granted by Samudra-gupta.

4. SAMUDRA-GBPTA'S EMPIRE

The above discussion enables us to describe the nature and extent of the empire of Samudra-gupta with an accuracy and fullness of detail rare in ancient Indian history. It comprised nearly the whole of Northern India, with the exclusion of Kashmir, Western Punjab, Western Rajputana, Sindh and Gujarat, and included the highlands of Chattisgarh and Orissa with a long stretch of territory along the eastern coast extending as far south as Chingleput, and probably even further. Of these vast territories, a considerable portion of Northern India, whose boundaries have been defined above, was directly administered by the emperor through his officials. This was surrounded on all sides except on the south by an almost continuous line of tributary states. Beyond them lay the Saka and the Kushana principalities on the west and north-west. Some of these probably acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta empire, but there is no doubt that all of them were within the sphere of its influence. The states along the eastern coast of the Deccan and the Pallava kingdom in the Tamil country beyond the Krishna were also feudatories, while Ceylon and probably some other islands in the Indian Ocean or the East Indies maintained a submissive and respectful attitude towards the emperor. Thus to use the words of

the Allahabad prasasti, was the (whole) world bound by means of the amplitude of the vigour of the arm of Samudra-gupta.

It is permissible to hold that the consolidation of Samudragupta's empire was the result of a definite policy deliberately pursued. He may have been inspired by the vision of an all-India empire, but he realised the impracticability of any idea to establish, immediately, a direct rule over the whole country or even a considerable part of it. He, therefore, created, by ruthless suppression of a number of independent states, a central block of territory over which he exercised direct sway. He thus established an imperial authority strong enough to ensure the internal peace of India by checking the disruptive tendencies of minor states. But he did not attempt to bring all the outlying kingdoms under his direct sway. That would have not only taxed his strength to the utmost, but might have even led to serious disaster for, as is shown by the history of India at all times, it is hard to conquer the frontier states and still harder to retain control over them. Instead of permanently antagonising them by a policy of subjugation such as he had followed in the centre, within a limited sphere, he tried gradually to win them over by a policy of conciliation. He allowed them internal autonomy without liberty to create discord and disunion within the body-politic of India. The frontier-states on the west might also have been retained as buffer-states in order to increase the defensive strength of the empire against foreign foes. It was left to the successors of Samudra-gupta to build on the solid foundations laid by him. With the consolidation of the empire, the directly administered areas were gradually extended in the east as well as in the west, until nearly the whole of Northern India from Chittagong to Kathiawar was ruled by the governors of the Gupta emperor.

5. PERSONALITY OF SAMUDRA-GUPTA

The vast empire of Samudra-gupta must have been the result oi numerous military campaigns extending over many years. We have no specific or detailed account of them and it is not necessary to suppose that he fought separately with every single state mentioned above as included in his kingdom or tributary to him Nevertheless when we recall the large number of states acknowledging his authority it is impossible not to feel profound admiration for his military genius. The total extermination of the nine states in Northern India demanded uncommon daring and military skill. His southern campaign, over long distances, and through comparatively unknown and inhospitable regions far from his base, must have called forth powers of leadership and organisation of the highest order. His march along the coastal regions makes it likely

that the land-operations were aided by the navy, the possession of which is implied in his dominion over islands in the sea. He is known to have performed the Asvamedha sacrifice. No historical Indian ruler, either before or after him, had greater justification for performing this time-honoured ceremony and unique method of asserting universal supremacy. V. A. Smith's description of him as the ''Indian Napoleon' 5 is by no means unmerited.

Brilliant both as general and statesman, Samudra-gupta also possessed many qualities of head and heart better suited to a life of peaceful pursuits. According to the Allahabad inscription he was not only a great patron of learning but was himself a great poet and a musician. His poetical compositions, which earned him the title of 'king of poets, 5 have not survived, but we have a striking testimony to his love of music. In one type of his gold coins the great emperor is represented as seated cross-legged on a couch, playing on a vmd (lute or lyre) which rests on his knees. The royal figure on this unique type of coins was undoubtedly drawn from real life and testifies to hij inordinate love for, and skill in music. The high eulogies of the official record in respect of his personal accomplishments were not merely conventional or courtly praises, but had a large substratum of actual fact. 1 We know from Buddhist records that a Gupta king was a great patron of letters and appointed the famous Buddhist scholar Vasubandhu as his minister. The date of Vasubandhu is not known with certainty, but if he died about the middle of the fourth century A.D., as is generally held, 2 we must regard Samudra-gupta as his patron, and this would indicate his patronage of letters to which such a pointed reference is made in the Allahabad inscription. The same record emphasises his charity and kindness. His munificence, we are told, removed the eternal discord between good poetry and plenty and he restored the kings fallen from their high estate to wealth and fortune.

Samudra-gupta was devoted to religious observances and the sacred scriptures. He was a follower of the orthodox Brahmanical cult, and gave many hundreds of thousands of cows by way of gift to Brahmanas. He is said to have revived the Asvamedha sacrifice which had been long in abeyance. This statement may not be strictly accurate, as Asvamedha was performed by Indian kings not

Note 30

Note 31

long before his time. But there can be hardly any doubt that his reign marked a distinct revival of the old glory and influence of the Brahmanical religion which had suffered decline since Asoka made Buddhism the dominant religion of India. The neo-Brahmanical doctrine that ‘the king is a great deity in human form’ is reflected in the Allahabad record which describes Samudra-gupta as ‘a god dwelling on earth, being a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind.’

There can be no doubt that Samudra-gupta was a striking, almost unique, personality; and he ushered in a new age in the history of India. It is in the fitness of things that he assumed the title Vikramanka,[1] evidently in imitation of the king Vikramaditya of legendary fame. We have a remarkable memorial of his life and reign in the rich variety of gold coins issued by him.[2] They not only indicate the power, wealth and grandeur of his empire but also give us some idea of his physical appearance and insight into his remarkable personality. Three types of coins represent him in a military garb. In one he stands fully dressed, holding a bow and an arrow, and on the margin runs the legend “having conquered the earth, the invincible one wins heaven by good deeds.” Another depicts him as holding a battle-axe with the appropriate legend “wielding the axe of Kritanta (the god of death), the unconquered conqueror of unconquered kings is victorious.” In the third the king, wearing turban and waist-cloth, is trampling on a tiger which falls backwards as he shoots it with the bow in his right hand, the left hand pulling the string back behind the ear. The legend refers to the king as ‘having the prowess of a tiger.’ These figures of the king are apparently drawn from real life, as also that of the fourth type referred to above in which the king, wearing waist-cloth, plays on a vina. The legend on this type of coins simply gives his name without any reference to his martial exploits. The fifth type of coins commemorates the Asvamedha, sacrifice. It shows, on the obverse, a spirited horse standing before a sacrificial post, and on the reverse, the figure of the queen-empress. The legend on this type reads: “The king of kings, who performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, having protected the earth, wins heaven.” These five tvpes of coins thus symbolise both the martial and peaceful pursuits of the king. The personal appearance of the king, so far as we can judge from his figure on the coins, is in keeping with the impression we otherwise form of him. Tall in stature and of good physique, he has strong muscular arms and a fully developed chest.

Note 32

Note 33

The artistic execution of the gold coins of Samudra-gupta fully illustrates the wonderful progress of art which forms such a distinctive feature of the Gupta period and justifies its designation as the Classical Age in India. Samudra-gupta, as far as we can judge of him from the materials at our disposal, was the visible embodiment of the physical and intellectual vigour of the coming age which was largely his own creation. His coins and inscriptions hold up before our mind’s eye a king of robust and powerful build, whose physical strength and prowess, matched by his cultural attainments, heralded a new era in Aryavarta (N. India). After five centuries of political disintegration and foreign domination, she again reached the high watermark of moral, intellectual and material progress. It was the Golden Age which inspired succeeding generations of Indians and became alike their ideal and despair.

Samudra-gupta probably had a fairly long reign. He died in, or a little before, A.D. 380; but it is difficult to determine the date of his accession. If he founded the Gupta era, as seems not unlikely, he must have ascended the throne in A.D. 320. But if, as is generally believed, the era was founded to commemorate the coronation of his father, the accession of Samudra-gupta may be placed between A.D. 340 or 350. Some scholars put it between A.D. 325 and 335; but there is hardly any justification for assuming such a short reign of Chandra-gupta I. 1 * *

Note 34

Note 35

Note 36

Note 37

CHAPTER III

Chapter Notes

- l. Vol. IT, pp. 6 f.
- o
- »)
- 1. See infra, Ch. VIII. 7: Nepal.
- 2. JRASBL, III. Num. Suppl., pp. 105 ff; JIH, VI. Suppl. pp. 10 ff. The view that the coins were issued by Samudra-gupta (CGD. lxiv) is no longer held by any scholar.
- 3. DKA, 53 fn. 8; IHQ, XXI. 141; NHIP . 134-5.
- 4. Or December, 20, 318 A.D. Cf. EHR 280; JRASBL. VIII. 41.
- 5. According to V. A. Smith Chandra-gupta I ascended the throne some time
- before A.D. 308 but founded a new era in A.D. 320 to commemorate his formal consecration or coronation. The reason for this long interval between accession and formal coronation is not clear, particularly when it is held that Chandra
- gupta had married KumaradevI in or about A.D. 308 (EHI. 8 279-80). According to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Chandra-gupta I ascended the throne in A.D. 320
- careey^CPHA/'MO) 5 P ° siti ° n by marr y in g KumaradevI "at some stage of his
- 1. AIG. pp. 1-5.
- 2. Jayaswal's reconstruction (ABORI . XII. 50; JBORS. XIX. 113) of the origin and early history of the Guptas, on the basis of the drama Kaumudl-mahotsava, though supported by some (JBORS, XXI. 77; XXII. 275), has been justly rejected by most other scholars (Aiyangar Comm. Vol. 359-362; 1C, IX. 100IHQ, XIV. 582; Thomas Comm. Vol. 115; JAHRS, VI. 139).
- 3. NHIP, VI, 133, fn. 2; JBRS, XXX 1 ff, IHQ, XX. 345.
- 1. CII, III. 1; Sel. Ins . 254.
- 2. Dr. Chhabra has come to the same conclusion after a critical discussion of the whole passage. He also offers a new reading and interpretation of the passage. The words of Chandra-gupta I, quoted above, are translated by him as "Come, Come! Protect thou the whole earth" (fC, XIV. 141).

- 3. ABORL IX. 83.
- For the identifications of kings and states mentioned in the Allahabad Inscrintion cf. the works of Allan, Smith, Aiyangar and Raychaudhuri, mentioned at the end under General References, and also the following:—
- (i) V. A. Smith in JR AS, 1897, pp. 87 ff.
- (ii) Fleet in JR AS, 1898, p. 368.
- (iii) D. R. Bhandarkar in 1HQ, I. 252 ff.
- (lv) R. Sathianathaier —Studies in the Ancient History of Tondamandalam (pp. 13-19).
- ur' cp+ D ilC ? r £ as su §'S este d that Rudra-deva might he identified with the W Satiap Rudradaman II or his son Rudrasena III, and Nagadatta was probably a king of N. Bengal and an ancestor of the viceroys of the Imperial Guptas whose names end in Datta (PIHC , VII. 78). p Guptas
- 1. The correct identification of Erandapalla and Devarashtra is of great historical importance. Fleet identified them respectively with Erandol (in Khandesh) and Maharashtra and held that Samudra-gupta passed through the Western Deccan after his victorious campaign in the eastern coast. This view was generally accepted until Dubreuil proposed to locate Erandapalla in the Gan jam and Devarashtra in the Vizagapatam District (AHD . 58, 160). Dubreuil’s identification is now generally accepted and the view that Samudra-gupta proceeded to the Maharashtra State is discredited. Recently some scholars have supported the old view of Fleet (ABOR1 , XXVI. 138).
- 2. Kottura has been identified by Dr. Saletore with Kottura in the Kudligi taluk, Bellary District, Madras (ABORI, XXVI. 120). This tallies with the old view of Fleet, mentioned in the preceding footnote, but as there is no positive evidence that Samudra-gupta proceeded so far to the west, it is better to identify Kottura with Kothoor in Ganjam or Vizagapatam District (PHAI 4 , 453).
- 3. Mr. Sathianathaier (op. cit.) proposes to identify, among others, Mahakantara
- with Kanker and Bastar, Kerala with Cheraia (Nugur taluk, E. Godavari District), Kottura with Kottura near Tuni (E. Godavari District), Erandapalla with Erraguntapalle in the Chentalapudi taluk of the West Godavari District, and Devarashtra with the place of that

name in the Khanapur Sub-division of the Satara District. He thus maintains, against the generally accepted view, that Samudra-gupta did not pass through Orissa, Ganjam and Vizagapatam' but first emerged on the east coast at Pishtapura (Pithapuram), and that he* also conquered Western Deccan. *

- 4. J. Dubreuil is of opinion (op. cit. pp. 60-61) that Samudra-gupta, who advanced up to the Krishna, was opposed by a confederacy of the kings of the E. Deccan, and being repulsed, abandoned the conquests he had made in the coast of Orissa and returned home. This is pure imagination, and directly contradicted by the explicit statements in the Allahabad Ins.
- 5. For details Cf. Chapter VII.
- 1. Dr. R. K. Mookerji has made a detailed analysis of the 'many-sided genius and character of Samudra-gupta' on the basis of his inscriptions and coin-legends (IC, IX. 77). But we should hardly be justified in accepting the expressions occurring in them at their face value.
- 2. Takakusu held that Vasubandhu lived from about A.D. 420 to 500 (JRAS. 1905, pp. 43 ff). Against this M. Peri maintained (BEFEO, XI. 339 ff) that Vasubandhu lived in the fourth century A.D., and died soon after the middle of that century. This view is generally accepted. Takakusu opposed it and reaffirmed his old view (Indian Studies in honour of C. R. Lanman pp. 79 ff). For other views, cf. EHI, S 328 ff.
- 1. This is inferred from the legend "6rI-Vikramah" recently found on one of his coins (JNSJ . V. 1361. Some scholars, however, do not accept Ihe view.
- 2. For the coins cf. Allan, op. cit.
- 1. It is not a little curious that even those who place Chandra-gupta's accession
- in A.D. 320 and his marriage with KumaradevI after that date, do not hesitate to
- accept A.D. 325 or 335 as the date of Samudra-gupta's accession (cf. PHAI 4 445, 447). For Samudra-gupta would then be less than 4 or 14 years of age at the time of his accession and it is difficult to believe that his father selected him, at that tender age, as his successor out of many other available candidates, on
- the ground of fitness. Cf. PHAP, 530.

THE EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION

OF THE EMPIRE

1. RAMA-GUPTA

Before we proceed with the history of the Guptas we have to consider a curious episode, concerning the period immediately following the death of Samudra-gupta, which formed the plot of the drama Devl-Chandra-gupta by Visakhadatta. This work is now lost, but a few passages from it, quoted in other books, give us a glimpse of the events narrated in it. These passages are supplemented by scattered references in literary works and inscriptions of a later period. All these, pieced together, enable us to reconstruct somewhat as follows the story which formed the central theme of the dramatic work:

‘Samudra-gupta was succeeded by his son Rama-gupta whose wife was called Dhruvadevl. In the course of a war with the Saka king he was closely besieged, and placed in such a difficult position, that in order to save his people he agreed to surrender his queen to the Saka king. His younger brother Chandra-gupta protested against this act of dishonour, and offered to go to the enemy’s camp in the disguise of queen Dhruvadevl in order to kill the hated £aka king. The stratagem succeeded and Chandra-gupta saved the empire and its honour. The incident must have raised him in the estimation of the people as well as of queen Dhruvadevl, and the character and reputation of Rama-gupta suffered a corresponding decline. There was an estrangement between the two brothers, and Chandragupta, presumably afraid of his elder brother’s design on his life, pretended madness. Ultimately, by some unknown means Chandragupta succeeded in killing his elder brother, and not only seized his kingdom but also married his widow’.

It is difficult to decide how far this strange and romantic episode can be regarded as historical. The contemporary records of the Gupta period contain no reference to Rama-gupta, and imply that Chandra-gupta II immediately succeeded his father Samudra-gupta. We have numerous coins of the Gupta period, but not even one contains the name of Rama-gupta. 1

These facts naturally cast a doubt upon the very existence of a king called Rama-gupta, and the story

1. It may be mentioned that a few coins f fourth century A.D.) of Rama-gupta have recently been found near Bhilsa (JNSL XII. 193 ff) and other places. This Rama-gupta may have been a local ruler of Malwa.

itself contains some elements which make it difficult of acceptance without strong positive evidence. The murder of a brother for the sake of a kingdom is by no means unusual, but the marriage of his brother's widowed queen by the regicide certainly clashes with our cherished notions of morality and social decorum. Besides, it is difficult to believe that the inheritor of the mighty empire of Samudra-gupta could be so decisively defeated by a Saka king that he had no means of saving his army or kingdom, or that he could, under any circumstances, consent to an act which would be regarded as the most ignominious in any age or country. These considerations make it difficult to believe that this drama had a historical basis. On the other hand, as there is independent evidence of the existence of such a tradition as early as the seventh century A.D. and of its wide-spread acceptance all over India, we can hardly dismiss it off-hand as altogether a figment of imagination. We must, therefore, suspend our judgment upon the historical character of Rama-gupta and ignore his strange but eventful reign. 1

2. CHANDRA-GUPTA II

Samudra-gupta left many sons and grandsons behind him. But we know definitely the name of only one son, born of his chief queen Dattadevi. He was named Chandra-gupta II after his grandfather but had also a second name Deva-gupta, with the variants Deva-raja or Deva-sri. Two of his queens, DhruvadevI and Kuvera-naga, are known to us. The epithet Parama-bhagavata borne by him shows that he was a staunch devotee of the Vaishnava faith.

It has been held by some that Samudra-gupta chose Chandragupta II as his successor. But this view rests on the doubtful interpretation of an expression and cannot be regarded as certain. Apart from the problematic episode of Rama-gupta discussed above, there is nothing to indicate any interval between the death of Samudra-gupta and the accession of Chandra-gupta II.

An inscription, dated A.D. 380, gives also the regnal year of Chandra-gupta II, which has been read as prathama (first) by same, and panchama (fifth) by others. The date of his accession would accordingly be either A.D. 380 or 376. The latter appears to be more probable. Chandragupta II died some time between A.D. 413 and 415, and thus enjoyed a long reign of more than thirty-three years.

Note 1

Note 2

Chandra-gupta inherited the military genius of his father and launched upon a campaign of conquest towards the west. His chief opponent was the &aka ruler of Gujarat and the Kathiawar Peninsula. The details of the campaign are not known, but there are indications that Chandra-gupta, with his feudatory chiefs and ministers, had to make a prolonged stay in Malwa. This is proved by three inscriptions: one of Virasena, his minister of ‘peace and war’, at Udayagiri hill near Bhilsa, the second, of a Sanakanlka Maharaja, a feudatory chief, in the same locality dated 82 (z=A.D. 401-2); and the third of a military officer, named Amrakardava, at Sanchl, dated 93 (=A.D. 412-13). Chandra-gupta’s success was, however, complete. The Saka ruler Rudrasiihha III was not only defeated, but his kingdom was annexed. The date on his coin falls between 310 and 319 (the unit figure is lost) of the Saka Era, or A.D. 388 and 397; the earliest date on the coin which Chandra-gupta issued in imitation of the Saka coins is 90 -{- x (the unit figure is lost) of the Gupta Era, and thus falls after A.D. 409. The western campaign of Chandra-gupta II may thus be placed in the first decade of the fifth century A.D. Thus after more than three hundred years’ rule the line of the Western Satraps came to an end and the last vestige of foreign rule disappeared from Western India. It is not unlikely that the literary references to Chandra-gupta’s wars with the Saka chief, mentioned above in connection with the episode of Rama-gupta, contain an echo of this victory.

By this brilliant conquest, the Gupta emperor not only put an end to the domination of the foreigners who had been in India for the longest period, but also added the rich provinces of Kathiawar and Gujarat to his empire which now extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The Gupta empire also controlled to a large extent the Indian commerce with the western world; and was thus brought into closer contact with western civilisation. Chandragupta's exploits naturally recalled those of king Vikramaditya of Ujjayinl who is described in Indian legend as having expelled the first Saka conquerors of India more than four hundred years before. 1 It is presumably in imitation of this legendary hero that Chandragupta assumed the title Vikramaditya, which was also probably adopted by his father and had come to be regarded as a title of distinction by mighty rulers of India famed for their military exploits.

It is also likely that some of the traditions associated with Vikramaditya, especially his liberality and patronage of learning, owed their origin to this historic king. For there are ample grounds to believe that the famous poet Kalidasa, the chief of the traditional nine gems (nava-ratna) of the court of Vikramaditya, really lived at

Note 3

the court of Chandra-gupta II. While these traditions undoubtedly prove that Chandra-gupta's name was held in great esteem by a grateful posterity, it would be too much to assume that he was the historical figure from whom the Vikramaditya legend was originally evolved. In spite of his undoubted popularity, it is difficult to maintain this claim, although upheld by several scholars, for reasons stated above. 1

It may be regarded as almost certain that Chandra-gupta had other successful military operations to his credit. Saba, a hereditary minister of Chandra-gupta, states in his record that the emperor set out fio conquer the whole world.' His general, Amrakardava, is said to have obtained great glory by winning many battles. But we have no definite information regarding the nature and result of these campaigns. The military exploits of a king called Chandra are mentioned in an inscription engraved on the Iron Pillar near Qutb Minar at Delhi. Although there is no convincing proof that this Chandra is the same as Chandra-gupta II, many scholars hold this view. [2] If we accept this identity, we must hold that Chandra-gupta II led victorious military expeditions in the eastern as well as in the western frontiers of his empire. The record says that he “defeated a confederacy of hostile chiefs in Vahga, and having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhu, conquered the Vahlikas.” Vahga denotes Eastern Bengal; very nearly the same country as Samatata which is included in the tributary frontier states of Samudra-gupta. We do not know whether there was a rebellion in East Bengal, or whether the war was caused by the aggressive imperial policy of Chandra-gupta which sought to incorporate the province into the dominions directly administered by him. In any case, it was probably as a result of this campaign that direct Gupta rule was established in this province; for we know definitely that early in the sixth century A.D. a Gupta king was ruling in this region.

Vahlika, the other country conquered by Chandra-gupta II after crossing tlm “seven mouths of the river Sindhu,” is almost certainly to be identified with Balkh (Bactria) beyond the Hindu Kush mountains. It is regrettable that we have no more definite or He tailed account of the only recorded military expedition of an Indian king in this remote region outside India. Here, too, the motive of the campaign was probably similar to that against Eastern Bengal. As mentioned above, [3] the Kushanas who ruled in this region, or at least some of them, had acknowledged the supremacy of Samudra1 7* Vol7lTp7 156 f: ef. also FJ1V. 320 f.

2. For the different views on the identification of Chandra and the location of Vahlika (which some place in the Beas Valley, bordering on Kashmir) cf. JRASBL. IX 179 ff. In addition to the references contained therein cf FJ XIV f>67: JAHRS. X. 86: JJH. XVI. 13.

3. Bet' pn. 10-11.

gupta, and either they rebelled, or Chandra-gupta II wanted to establish his authority on a firmer basis. Thus, if we accept the identity of king Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar Inscription with Chandra-gupta II, we may well presume that his victorious arms penetrated as far as the eastern limits of

India, and beyond Hindu Kush to the north-west. If we remember that he had also conquered the Saka kingdoms in Western Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar, we may regard Chandra-gupta II as having rounded off the Gupta imperial dominions in Northern India in all directions. He thus completed the task begun by his father.

Chandra-gupta II is known to have formed marriage alliances with some powerful ruling families. He married Kuvera-naga, of the Naga family, and had a daughter by her named Prabhavati-gupta. This daughter was married to the Vakataka king Rudrasena II. The geographical position of the Nagas and the Vakatakas was such that they might have been of great help to him in his campaigns against the Sakas and the Kushanas, and their hostility could easily prove to be a serious embarrassment. It is not, therefore, an unreasonable assumption that both these matrimonial alliances were deliberately made with a political object.

We learn from an inscription of the powerful Kadamba ruler Kakutsthavarman 1 of Kuntala that his daughters were married to the Guptas and other kings. It is not quite certain whether it was Chandra-gupta II or his son who married a Kuntala princess. But it is another indication of the fact that since the very beginning it was the traditional policy of the Guptas to form political alliances by marriage with the more powerful and distinguished royal families of India.

While his predecessors issued only gold coins Chandra-gupta II introduced those of copper and silver as well. The obverse of his silver coins was imitated from that of the Western Satraps as these coins were obviously meant for circulation in the territories conquered from them. But on the reverse the usual chaitya symbol was replaced by the bird Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, which figures prominently also on the coins of Samudra-gupta, as befitting a devout follower of Vishnu. The copper coins, which show no less than nine different varieties, have the same general type, viz. the king on the obverse and the Garuda on the reverse.

The gold coins of Chandra-gupta rival those of his father in grandeur and brilliance, and like them throw considerable light on his personality and imperial pomp and power. Some variations made by him in the types of his father's coins seem to be full of

[1] The correct form is Kakutsthavarman, though Kakusthavarman is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. We have uniformly used the correct form.

significance. Thus he is represented as slaying a lion instead of a tiger, and the difference is emphasised by the legend Simha-Vikrama (one who has the prowess of a lion). It is generally held that these coins indicate his conquest of Gujarat where lions were then fairly common. In his couch-type of coins he holds, not a lyre like his father, but a flower, and taken with the legend vuptikriti, this new type may be taken to represent his intellectual and physical eminence or artistic sense.

Chandra-gupta II also introduced some new types of coins. In one of these he stands with his left hand on the hilt of his sword, with a dwarf-attendant holding an umbrella over his head,—probably a symbol of his claim to universal sovereignty.[1] Another represents him as riding on a fully caparisoned horse. These as well as the lion-slayer type are fitting tributes to his personal valour and martial spirit, which was evidently not incompatible with artistic or intellectual temperament suggested by the couch-type. A coin, doubtfully attributed to Chandra-gupta II, represents the king as standing before a deity, probably Vishnu, and extending his right hand to receive the divine prasdda in the form of three sweetmeats.[2]

Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim who travelled over India for more than ten years (c. 400-411) during the reign of Chandra-gupta II, has left an interesting record of the country. Unfortunately, he has not noted anything about the political condition of India; so much so, that he does not even mention the name of the great emperor in whose wide dominions he must have lived for more than five years. Still even the little that he says about the life of the people is of value. Referring to the ‘Middle Kingdom’, which formed the heart of Chandra-gupta II’s dominions, he observes: “The people are numerous and happy; they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and their rules; only those who cultivate the royal land have to pay (a portion of) the gain from it. If they want to go, they go: if they want to stay on, they stay. The king governs without decapitation or (other) corporal punishments.” Fa-hien never refers to the lawlessness from which Hiuen Tsang, two centuries later, suffered more than once. The mild punishment of criminals referred to by him is also in striking contrast to the harsh and severe penalties mentioned by the later Chinese pilgrim. On the whole the brief account of Fa-hien gives us some idea of the peace, prosperity and contentment prevailing in the empire of Chandra-gupta II.

The reign of Chandra-gupta II saw the consolidation of the Gupta empire. The brilliant intellectual revival, manifested in arts, sciences and literature, which distinguished the Gupta age,, has been

dealt with elsewhere in this volume. But it is necessary to remember that this age was largely the creation of Samudra-gupta and Chandra-gupta II. Their conquests brought about that imperial peace which rendered possible the progress of culture and civilisation which has rightly earned the epithet 'Golden Age' or 'Classical Age' for the period of Gupta rule in India.

Samudra-gupta had begun the work of conquest. To his son Chandra-gupta II fell the task of completing it and assimilating into the organisation of the empire, not only the tribal states and kingdoms on the border but also the territories ruled by foreign hordes like the Sakas and the Kushanas. The peaceful and well-knit empire which he left as a legacy to his son must have been the fruit of long endeavour not only of a great general and able statesman, but also of a striking personality. If, as is generally believed, Chandra-gupta Vikramaditya lived longer in the memory of a grateful posterity which had forgotten his illustrious father, the explanation is not far to seek. People are more impressed by the finished superstructure, and give greater credit to its architect than the master-builder who conceived the plan and laboriously laid the foundation. Samudragupta, the victor of a hundred fights, is a hero of history. Chandragupta II, who brought to maturity the new era of political greatness and cultural regeneration, won a place in the hearts of his people.

3. KUMARA-GUPTA I

On the death of Chandra-gupta II, his son Kumara-gupta, born of his chief queen DhruvadevI, ascended the throne. 1 His earliest known date is A.D.

415 and he died in A.D. 455. He had thus a long reign of forty years or more.

The Gupta empire had now reached its zenith. No specific military campaign of Kumara-gupta is known to us, but there is no doubt that he maintained intact the vast empire he had inherited from his father. He also performed an Asvamedha sacrifice and

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assumed the title Mahendraditya. He gave great prominence to the God Karttikeya, whose name (Kumara) he bore. He issued a new type of gold coins depicting Karttikeya riding on a peacock on one side, and the king feeding a peacock on the other. He also substituted the peacock for Garuda on the silver coins.

Quite a large number of records of the governors and feudatories of Kumara-gupta have come to light. They indicate the development of the administrative machinery and the strength and stability of the empire. There is reason to believe that Kumara-gupta’s long

Note 4

reign was on the whole peaceful and prosperous, and the empire enjoyed to the full the benefits of the military victories of his father

and grandfather.

Towards the very end of his reign the peace of the empire was rudely disturbed by the invasion of an enemy whose identity is not definitely established. It is generally believed that the hostile forces belonged to a tribe whose name was Pushyamitra, but the reading of this name is uncertain. 1 Whoever might have been the adversary (or adversaries), there is no doubt that he was very powerful, and his progress must have constituted a grave menace to the empire. A contemporary inscription expressly states that the enemies ‘had great resources in men and money/ and in the course of his fight with them ‘to restore the fallen fortunes of his family/ the crownprince Skanda-gupta passed a whole night on bare earth.

In spite of obvious poetic fancies and exaggerations, the statement leaves the impression that the Gupta emperor had met with serious reverses and was threatened with utter ruin when Skanda-gupta turned the scale in his favour by inflicting a crushing defeat upon the enemy. The poet, who composed the inscription, tells us that this heroic achievement of Skanda-gupta was sung in every region ‘by happy men, even down to the children.’ The sense of relief echoed in these laudatory songs gives us a proper measure of the apprehended calamity. It is significant that in four successive verses the poet refers no less than three times to the ‘ruined fortunes of the Gupta family/ and their restoration by Skanda-gupta. This emphasises the serious nature of the crisis that was averted by Skanda-gupta, but its exact nature still remains unknown.

The reign of Kumara-gupta is generally regarded as devoid of interest and importance. But in forming a true estimate of his character and achievements we must give full importance to certain significant details which are generally overlooked. The numerous inscriptions of this age mention only one military campaign towards the very end of his reign, while they all clearly indicate a peaceful and stable administration from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal under his personal authority. Only a strong and benevolent administration could have kept the vast empire so thoroughly in check. The repulse of the Hunas and other enemies shortly after his death proves the efficiency of the imperial army and that it was preserved for nearly 40 years even under peaceful conditions reflects no small credit upon Kumara-gupta. On the whole, it is not unlikely that more credit is due to Kumara-gupta’s administration and personality than is usually given to him by modern historians. His reign is generally looked upon as a mere dark background against which shine brilliantly those of his

L The information is derived from the Bhitari pillar Inscription/” Fleet read the crucial expression as “Pushya-mitrams-cha”, but noted that the second syllable of the name is damaged (CI7, III. 54, 55 fn. 2). Dr. H. R. Divekar proposes to read the compound as “Yudhy-amitrdms-cha” (ABORI. I. 99 ff) A trib* called Pushyamitra is referred to in the Vishnu Purdna which associates it with the region near the source of the Narmada river.

two predecessors and immediate successor. But for aught we know this may be unfair to him and not in consonance with strict historical truth.

4. SKANDA-GUPTA

The aged emperor Kumara-gupta died before Skanda-gupta's return from his victorious campaign (A.D. 455-6). The official record, mentioned above, describes how Skanda-gupta reported his glorious victory over the enemies to his mother, who received him with tears as Devaki did unto Krishna. This allusion to the wellknown story might have more meaning than is apparent to us. It has been suggested that Devaki [1] was the name of the queen-mother. But the analogy might have been called forth by the similarity of circumstances as much as by a common name. [2]

It is curious that the official records of a later date omit the name of Skanda-gupta from the royal genealogical list. It is equally strange that while the genealogical portion, even in the inscription of Skanda-gupta himself, mentions the chief queens who were mothers of his three predecessors, it does not refer to his own mother. Further, an official record, composed shortly after the accession of Skanda-gupta, states how the "goddess of sovereignty, of her own accord, selected him as her husband, having in succession discarded all other princes." This idea is also probably represented in a type of coins which depicts the king, armed with bow and arrow, as standing in front of the Garuda standard while, beyond it, is a female figure facing the king and holding a lotus in her left hand and an indistinct object, probably a fillet, in her right hand. All these scattered evidences may indicate that Skanda-gupta's mother was probably not the chief queen of Kumara-gupta, and having no indisputable legitimate claim to the throne, Skanda-gupta had to fight for it with one or more rivals. [3] It is probable, for example, that

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1. Hist. Ins. 349; PHAP, 573, f. n. 3.

2. B.C. Law Vol. I. 618; EL XVIII. 242.

3. Arguments in support of this hypothesis are given in JPASB, XVII. 253 ff. They have been criticised in detail in PHAI 1 , 482 ff. The criticism seeks to establish that the conclusion does not necessarily follow from the

data; in other words, it cannot be regarded as a settled fact. Now, this was never claimed, and the views were expressly stated to be a tentative hypothesis. Besides, the criticism misses the real points of many of the arguments. Thus regarding the omission of the name of Skanda-gupta's mother in the Bhitari pillar Ins. it is merely observed that ‘the names of the mothers of kings are sometimes omitted,’ and ‘there was no rule prohibiting the mention of ordinary queens in inscriptions.’ These remarks show a lack of appreciation of the argument, viz. the omission of the name Mahndevi of Kumara-gupta I, the mother of the reigning king, in striking contrast with the mention of the other Mahddevis of earlier kings in one and the same record, cannot but he looked upon as

taking advantage of Skanda-gupta’s absence in a distant campaign, his step-brother Puru-gupta ascended the throne immediately after his father’s death, but was soon removed when Skanda-gupta returned from his victorious campaign. It should be remembered, however, that while this is undoubtedly a probable view, it cannot be regarded as an established fact.

But whether there was a war of succession or not, Skanda-gupta did not long reign in peace, and was engaged in hostilities almost immediately after his accession. Contemporary records refer to his struggle with hostile kings, including some who are described as mlechchas, but no details are given. We know, however, definitely that some time during his reign, Skanda-gupta had to encounter the invasion of the Hunas who had already proved themselves to be a formidable power and a terror to both Europe and Asia. The history of the Hunas will be treated in detail elsewhere. For the present it will suffice to state that about the middle of the fifth century A.D. one branch of the Hunas, known as the Ephthalites or White Huns, occupied the Oxus valley and threatened both Persia and India. They conquered the kingdom of Gandhara, and set up a king who was cruel and vindictive and practised the most barbarous atrocities. It is probable that they advanced still further into the heart of India and became a grave menace to the Gupta empire. Skanda-gupta had once saved the empire while he was yet the crown prince. This new danger, perhaps a graver one, again put his military prowess to a severe test. But he was equally successful on this occasion as well. The verse describing his conflict with the Hunas, though mutilated, leaves no doubt that the struggle was severe, but he won a complete victory. The utter discomfiture of the Hunas is also borne out by the fact that for- nearly half a century the Gupta empire was immune from their depredations. * 1 * *

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EXPANSION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE EMPIRE

It was a great achievement for which Skanda-gupta may well go down in history as the saviour of India. The full significance of the great task performed by him can only be understood against the background of contemporary events. Shortly before Skanda-gupta ascended the throne, the Hunas had established their supremacy in Europe, and the mighty Roman empire quailed before these barbarians. Their leader Attila, who died in A.D. 453, was able 'to send equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople.’ Shortly after their defeat by Skanda-gupta, they overwhelmed Persia and killed its king. Wherever they went, they carried devastation by fire and sword, and the most prosperous towns and villages were reduced to utter desolation. If we remember all this, we can well realise the value of the great victory of Skanda-gupta over them. All over the vast empire the people must have heaved a sigh of relief at the great deliverance and as a contemporary record puts it, the fame of Skanda-gupta was sung by everyone both young and old. This heroic feat of Skanda-gupta that saved India from the scourge of a cruel and barbaric foe fully justifies his assumption of the title Vikramaditya in imitation of his grandfather.

The arduous military campaigns must have heavily taxed the resources of the empire, and this is reflected in the coinage of Skanda-gupta. His gold coins are comparatively few and belong mostly to a single type. This, as well as deterioration in the purity of gold, was possibly due to the financial drain caused by the continual stress of wars during the reign. Happily we have also evidence of great works of public utility executed by his officers even in distant parts of the empire. An inscription, incised on the Girnar hill near Junagadh in Kathiawar, refers in detail to such an achievement by his governor Parnadatta. It refers to the great lake or water-reservoir on the Girnar hill, which evidently supplied irrigation canals over a large cultivated area, and was constructed by Chandragupta Maurya by having an embankment built across a small gap in a natural depression over the hills. This embankment having burst on account of excessive rains in the very first year of Skanda-gupta's reign, the whole countryside was threatened with ruin. But the governor Parnadatta, and his son Chakrapalita, the local magistrate, took prompt steps to repair the damage and restore

Gandhara and countries to the north of the Ganga. The young son of Mahendrasena led his father's army of two hundred thousand men against the enemy whose soldiers numbered three hundred thousand. The prince, however, broke the enemy army and won the battle. On his return his father crowned him king, saying "henceforth rule the kingdom," and himself retired to religious life. For twelve years after this, the new king fought these foreign enemies, and ultimately captured and executed the three kings.' It has been suggested that this story gives an account of the fight between Skanda-gupta and the Hunas (1HIJ. 36). But no great reliance can be placed on the details of such stories.

the embankment. Another record in the same place tells us how a similar catastrophe had occurred three hundred years before, when the embankment was repaired by the Saka chief Rudradaman. Two records on the spot thus give us an interesting history of this great irrigation reservoir over a period of more than seven hundred and fifty years.

The inscription of Parnadatta is a beautiful composition and holds out before us the picture of a strong united empire under the vigorous administration of a benevolent and popular ruler. The Gupta empire, which now stretched literally from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea, was the undisputed possession of one master whose commands were implicitly obeyed by the governors, appointed 'by him, from one end to the other of this vast region. The foundations of the empire were strong enough to survive great internal shocks, and even the redoubtable Hunas failed to break through its defences. For nearly a century the empire had stood as a symbol of the unity, integrity and independence of Aryavarta. The poet who referred (in A.D. 460) to the tranquil reign of Skanda-gupta, the lord of hundred kings, did not probably exaggerate the condition of things. We have every reason to believe that peace and prosperity prevailed over the vast empire, and the new era of cultural progress continued its course unchecked under the protective wing of the unparalleled material power and splendour of the age. When Skanda-gupta died about A.D. 467, he had the supreme satisfaction of leaving intact the mighty empire built up by his great predecessors.

CHAPTER IV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. The question has been discussed by a large number of scholars among whom the following deserve special mention: S. Levi (JA, CCIII, 1923, pp. 201 ff); R. Sarasvati (I A, LII, 1923, pp. 181 ff); A. S. Altekar (JBORS , XIV, 223 ff, XV. 133 ff); R. D. Banerji (AIG, 26 ff); Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Malaviya Comm. Vol. 189 ff); K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS, XVIII. 17 ff); Winternitz (Axyangar Comm. Vol. 359 ff); Sten Konow (JBORS, XXIII. 444 ff); V. V. Mirashi (1HQ, X. 48 ff; JA. LXII, 201 ff); N. Das Gupta (IC, IV. 216 ff). For a full discussion of the different views cf. NHIP, Ch. VIII. Sec. 1.
2. IS
3. 1. See above, Vol. II, pp. 154-7.
4. 1. It is difficult to accept Bhandarkar's view (JC, XI. 231) that. Kumara-gupta is identical with Govinda-gupta, or the theory of Jagannath (IC, XII. 167) that the latter ascended the throne after Chandra-gupta II and ruled before the former.
5. significant. It is true that almost all the facts, on which the hypothesis is based, may be explained away in a different manner. If they were not, then the view would not be a mere hypothesis, but a proved fact. But nothing has been said to indicate that the proposed view is not a probable and a reasonable inference from the facts before us. In particular no other satisfactory explanation is forthcoming regarding the assumption of royal power by Ghatotkachagupta and Prakasaditya. The analogy of the Banskhera and Madhuban plates does not, as has been suggested (PHAI. 4 483), take away the force of the argument. For here Rajya-vardhana's mother is mentioned, and as Harsha-vardhana is said to be his anuja (younger brother), the separate mention of his mother is rendered unnecessary. (Cf. also PHAI , 5 572 ff).
6. 1. ATlan finds an echo of Skanda-gupta's victory over the Hunas in a story of king Vikramaditya preserved in Somadeva's Kathasaritsdgara. According to it Vikramaditya, son of Mahendraditya, king of Ujjain, having succeeded to the throne on his father s abdication, utterly defeated the Mlechchhas who were overrunning the earth (CGD. xlix, fn. 1).

According to a Buddhist text ‘Chandragarblia-paviprichchha’ ‘king Mahendrasena, who was born in the country of Kausambi, had a valiant son. After he had passed the age of 12 Mahendra’s kingdom was invaded by three foreign powers in concert Yavanas, Palhikas and Sakunas—who took possession of

THE IMPERIAL CRISIS

It is impossible in the present state of our knowledge to give a clear account, or even a definite outline, of the history of the Imperial Guptas after the death of Skanda-gupta. We know the names of several kings, but their dates or relation to each other cannot always be definitely determined. The known facts cannot be co-ordinated in a manner that may be regarded as entirely satisfactory or even free from serious difficulties. All that can be attempted is a provisional reconstruction that appears to be the most reasonable and least open to objection. 1 2 3

1. PURU-GUPTA

The official genealogy of the later Gupta emperors traces the imperial line from Kumara-gupta through Puru-gupta and altogether ignores Skanda-gupta. Puru-gupta was the son of Kumara-gupta I and his chief queen AnantadevI, and, as noted above, it is not unlikely that he contested the throne after the death of his father. But whether he ruled, for howsoever short a period, at that time, or seized the throne after the death of his brother Skanda-gupta, there is hardly any doubt that he did reign, and the imperial line was continued by his two sons Budha-gupta and Narasimha-gupta, and the latter's descendants, not those of Skanda-gupta.

But there are several kings known from coins and inscriptions whose position in the Gupta family is not known with certainty. One is Kumara-gupta II who reigned in A.D. 474, i.e. less than seven years after the death of Skanda-gupta. He might have been a son of Skanda-gupta who was dispossessed or succeeded by Budha-gupta, but it is also not unlikely that he was an elder brother of Budhagupta. There are some other kings also whose existence is deduced from coins and inscriptions and who probably ruled about this time. Thus indications are not wanting that there were rival factions contending for the throne during the period immediately after Skandagupta's death; but we have no definite knowledge of the events of this period.

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2. BUDHA-GUPTA

The obscurity lifts with the accession of Budha-gupta, the son of Puru-gupta and his chief queen Chandradevl. Budha-gupta, was on the throne in A.D. 477 and ruled for twenty years or more. Whatever might have been the internal troubles before he came to the throne, he succeeded in establishing a firm rule and restoring peace and order over the extensive empire. Records of his governors in Malwa and Bengal testify to the continued solidarity of the empire, at least to a very large extent, though there were ominous signs of the decline of its power and authority in the outlying provinces.

In the west, the Maitraka family became hereditary rulers of the Kathiawar Peninsula. Bhatarka, the founder of this family and a general of the emperor, was appointed governor of this province with Valabhl as its capital, and he was succeeded by his son Dharasena. Both of them called themselves Sendpaiti, but the next governor, Dronasimha, a younger son of Bhatarka, assumed the title Maharaja , and it is claimed in the official records of the family that the paramount ruler in person installed him in royalty by a regular ceremony. The paramount ruler, referred to, was most probably the emperor Budha-gupta. Thus Dronasimha became a feudal chief rather than a governor, and though the family still paid nominal homage to the Gupta emperor, the Maitrakas of Valabhi were well on the way to setting up an independent kingdom.

The Parivrajaka Maharajas, so-called because they were descended from a royal ascetic (parivrajaka), ruled in Bundelkhand (Nagod and Jaso States). Maharaja Hastin (A.D. 475-517) of the family issued land-grants without mentioning Budha-gupta, making only a general reference to Gupta sovereignty.

Contiguous to the Parivrajaka kingdom was another principality with Uchchakalpa as the capital. King Jayanatha of this family issued land grants in the years 174 and 177 which probably refer to the Gupta era and therefore correspond to A.D. 493 and 496.[1] It appears from the locality and the use of the Gupta era that this kingdom was once included in the Gupta empire, but as Jayanatha’s grants do not contain any reference to the Gupta sovereignty, it is probable that by A.D. 493 he had ceased to owe any allegiance to it.

To the north and east of these two kingdoms in Bundelkhand, a dynasty called the Panduvamsa was rising into importance. King Udayana of this family, known from a rock inscription at Kalanjar (in Banda District, U.P.),[2] flourished probably towards the end of the fifth century A.D., and is to be identified with the king of the same

Note 5

2. El, IV. 257.

name whose great-grandson Tlvaradeva founded a principality in South Kosala.[1] Another Panduvarhsa or Pandu family is known from a copper-plate grant found in Rewah State, Baghelkhand, which mentions the names of four kings.[2] The first two of these bear no royal title, but the next two, Nagabala and his son Bharatabala (alias Indra), are not only styled Maharaja but also bear the epithets Parama-mahesvara, Parama-brahmanya, etc. These four kings probably ruled in the fifth century A.D. and it is evident that the family achieved complete or partial independence in the latter half of the period.

Another ruling chief, Maharaja Lakshmana, is known from two copper-plates found in Allahabad District and Rewah State.[3] Both are dated in the year 158 which has been referred to the Gupta era. Maharaja Lakshmana, who was thus ruling in A.D. 477-8 in the reign of Budha-gupta, had his capital at Jayapura, a place not yet identified. As he makes no reference to Gupta sovereignty, he was probably an independent king, at least de facto.

Similarly Maharaja Subandhu, who issued a land-grant from the ancient town of Mahishmati (Mandhata or Maheshwar) on the Narmada in the year 167, makes no reference to any Gupta suzerain. If the date is to be referred to the Gupta era, as is generally believed, he was a contemporary of Budha-gupta. 4

It is also significant that whereas the governor of North Bengal was called simply Uparika in the time of Kumara-gupta I, the epithet Maharaja was added to it in the time of Budha-gupta. Another governor of the latter, ruling the land between the Yamuna and the Narmada, was also called Maharaja. Even a subordinate to this ruler, who governed the territory round Eran, had the title Maharaja.

These instances show that while outwardly the Gupta empire suffered no diminution and its authority was still acknowledged as far as the Bay of Bengal in the east, the Arabian Sea in the west, and the river Narmada in the south, its power and prestige had considerably declined, and some of its outlying provinces like Kathiawar and Bundelkhand were already enjoying a semi-independent status. This is fully borne out by a study of the coins of Budha-gupta. His gold coins are very rare and only two or three specimens are so far known. 6

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El, vn. 104. 2. Bharata-Kaumudi, I. 215; EL XXVII 132

El. II. 364; AS I, 1936-7, p. 88. '

El, XIX. 261. Prof. Mirashi refers the date to the so-called Kalachuri era and regards Subandhu as an independent chief in A.D. 416-7 (/HQ, XXI. 82-3). According to Allan (CGD. cv) the coins of Budha-gupta are kown in silver only. But a type of gold coin, attributed by Allan to Puru-gupta (ibid, cii) m <>st probably belongs to Budha-gupta (1C. I. 691-2) Besides, two gold coins of Budha-gupta have recently been found (JNSI, X. 78- XII 112)

The reason for this decline is to be sought for both in internal and external circumstances. The probability of civil war and struggle for the throne, on the deaths of Kumara-gupta I and Skandagupta, has been referred to above. An inscription found at Mandasor refers to the period between A.D. 436 and 472 as full of troubles which saw the reigns of many kings, but the implication is rather vague.

We have also allusions to foreign invasions. The Vakataka king Narendrasena is said to have established his suzerainty over the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Malava. This would imply an invasion of Gupta dominions from the south. The date of Narendrasena is not definitely known, but he may be regarded as a contemporary of Budha-gupta. His invasion might have been primarily responsible for the decline of the Gupta supremacy in Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand noted above. The Hunas, though defeated by Skanda-gupta, reappeared, probably even during the reign of Budhagupta, but the dates are not definitely known. Thus although our information is very meagre, we may easily infer that both internal discord and foreign aggression sapped the vitality of the empire.

Budha-gupta’s last known date is A.D. 495, but he died probably about A.D. 500 1 or shortly after. It is difficult to form a proper estimate of his ability. His reign was undoubtedly the first stage in the decline of the empire, but this was not necessarily due to his faults. Perhaps, if the facts were more fully known, he would have been entitled to great credit for saving the mighty fabric of the empire from the impending ruin which overtook it almost immediately after his death. In any case he seems to have been the last Gupta emperor to enjoy sovereignty over the vast dominions bequeathed by Samudra-gupta and Chandra-gupta II. During his reign the empire passed through a critical period and emerged, not quite unscathed, but with its form intact, and its glory scarcely diminished, at least in outward appearance. At the time of his death, the imperial structure was still imposing, though cracks were already visible.

Note 6

CHAPTER V

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE

1. DISSENSIONS IN THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

The death of Budha-gupta was followed by a period of troubles. We find evidence of internal dissensions, caused by disputed succession, leading to the partition of the empire; and to make matters worse, there was renewed invasion of the Hunas with far greater success than before. It is difficult to follow clearly the sequence of events, or to understand their reaction upon one another; we can only trace the course of history in broad outline.

According to the official genealogy Budha-gupta was succeeded by his brother Narasimha-gupta and the latter by his son and grandson. The reigns of these three kings covered roughly the period between A.D. 500 and 570. But we find the records of two other Gupta kings who ruled during the earlier part of this period. The first of them is Vainya-gupta, of whom a single record, dated A.D. 507, has been found in Tippera District in Bengal. His gold coins and royal seal indicate that he belonged to the imperial family, but his exact relationship to the Gupta kings mentioned above is not known. 1 It is probable that his dominion was confined to Bengal, and that he ruled for a short time.

The other king Bhanu-gupta is also known from a single inscription at Eran (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) dated A.D. 510, but neither his coins nor any royal seal have yet come to light. The inscription records how a feudatory chief named Goparaja accompanied “the mighty king, the glorious Bhanu-gupta, the bravest man on the earth,” and fought a famous battle. Goparaja was killed in this battle and his wife accompanied him on the funeral pyre. The small pillar on which the record is engraved was thus a memorial Sail stone.

The epithet of Bhanu-gupta leaves no doubt that he was a ruler of the Gupta family. It is difficult to account for the almost simultaneous appearance of the two rulers, Vainya-gupta and Bhanugupta, in the eastern and western provinces of the Gupta dominion, particularly when we remember that neither of them is recognised in the official Gupta genealogy, according to which a third king Narasimha-gupta was ruling about the same time. The most plau

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sibie explanation seems to be that there were several rival claimants to the throne, who set themselves up in different parts of the empire and succeeded for the time being in holding their own.

The famous battle in which Bhanu-gupta and Goparaja were engaged at Eran was most probably fought against the Huna chief Toramana. For we know definitely that about this time that great Huna leader had conquered this region. But even assuming that Bhanu-gupta fought with Toramana, we do not know whether he defended the province against the Huna attack or made an attempt to recover it from Huna possession. In either case, we do not know the extent of his success or failure. Thus, in spite of the high encomiums showered on his bravery, Bhanu-gupta remains a shadowy figure and we cannot say exactly what part he played in this dark period of the Gupta empire.

Nor are we better informed about the early history of Narasimha-gupta, who followed his brother Budha-gupta on the throne and assumed the title of Bdldditya. His position vis a vis either Vainya-gupta or Bhanu-gupta is not known, and we cannot exclude the possibility that he ascended the throne after both of them had died. The only great achievement with which he may be credited is the crushing defeat he inflicted upon the Huna chief Mihirakula, the son of Toramana. But the forces of disintegration were already at work and terrific convulsions shook the empire, heralding its downfall. We must take note of these before we can proceed with the history of Narasimha-gupta.

2. THE HUN AS 1

As early as the second century B.C. we find the nomadic Hunas living on the borders of China. Their quarrel with the Yueh-chi, a neighbouring nomadic tribe, as mentioned above,^ led to the conquest of India by the Sakas and the Kushanas about the first century of the Chiistian era. Later, the Hunas, like the Yueh-chi, migrated towards the west, and divided into two main streams, of which one flowed towards the Volga and the other to the Oxus. The activities of the former figure prominently in Roman history and need notT>c discussed here. The Hunas in the Oxus valley threw off the yoke of the Juan-Juan tribe and became very powerful towards the middle of the fifth century A.D. From the name of their rulers' family they came to be known as Ye-tha, Hephthalites .or Ephthalites, and the Greek accounts refer to them as White Huns.

From the Oxus valley the White Huns advanced towards both Persia and India. Crossing the Hindu Kush they occupied Gandhara, but their further progress was checked by Skanda-gupta, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon them about A.D. 460. Persia, however, was unable to stop their ravages and in A.D. 484 the Huns defeated and killed the Persian king. This success enhanced the power and prestige of the Huns, and by the end of the fifth century A.D. they ruled over a vast empire with their principal capital at Balkh.

About the close of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D., a chief named Toramana, advancing from the Punjab, conquered a large part

1. For a general account of the Hunas cf:—

1. Chavannes— Documents sur les Toukiue Occidentaux, pp 223 ff

2 ' flT tT 1 S lf"-T The White Huns Kindred tribes in the history of the Indian North-western frontier (IA, 1905, pp. 73 ff).

3. Ghirshman— Les Chionites Hephthalites.

For the Huna activities in India cf. I A, XV. 245 34C>- 1HO TTT 1- N1A

IV. 36. For Huna coins cf. JASB, 1894, Part I. pp. 19! ff. F^th" anti^fy

P Vol n pp 3S and their actlvlty m Iran cf - Bhandarkar Comm. Vol. 65.

of Western India, and even Eran (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) was included in his dominions. The conquest of Eran must have taken place not long after the reign of Budha-gupta, for the chief who administered the district under Toramana was the younger brother of one who held the same office under Budha-gupta. Toramana is generally taken to be a Huna chief, and although there is no conclusive evidence to this effect, this may well be true. 1 His coins testify to his foreign origin and indicate his rule over parts of U.P., Rajputana, Punjab and Kashmir. It is probable that he was connected with the Huna ruling family in Gandhara and advanced from that base to effect further conquests in India. But we possess little definite information about him. According to a Jain work he was converted to that faith and lived at Pavvaiya on the banks of the Chandrabhaga (Chenab) in the Punjab. 2

Toramana was succeeded by his son Mihirakula who probably ascended the throne about A.D. 515. According to Hiuen Tsang his capital was Sakala or Sialkot and he ruled over India.

Rajatarangini, the chronicle of Kashmir, 3 refers to Mihirakula as a powerful king who ruled over both Kashmir and Gandhara and conquered Southern India and Ceylon. He is described as a king of violent disposition, and heart-rending tales of his cruelty are told at great length. Rajatarangini also refers to Toramana, but he flourished long after Mihirakula, about eighteen kings intervening between the two. The career of this Toramana hardly fits in with what we know of the Huna chief of that name from other sources, though the age assigned to him fits in with that of the latter. On the other hand, the stories of Mihirakula's cruelty, preserved in Rajatarangini, agree with those narrated by Hiuen Tsang, but the

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period assigned to his reign is too remote. Thus we can hardly accept Rdjaltarangim as a reliable source of historical information

about these rulers.

We get a fair idea of the power and influence of the Huns about this time from the account of Sung-yun, 1 a Chinese ambassador to the Hun king of Gandhara in A.D. 520. After mentioning the conquest* and occupation of this kingdom by the Huns, two generations before his time, he gives the following account of the king whose

court he visited : „

“The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. Entirely self-reliant on his own strength, he had entered on a war with the country of Ki-pin (Kashmir), disputing the boundaries of their kingdom, and his troops had been already engaged in ifc for three years.

The king has 700 war-elephants .The king continually abode

with his troops on the frontier and never returned to his kingdom. . . . ” Somewhat later in date is the account given by Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes (Indian navigator), an Alexandrine Greek, in his Christian Topography, 2 which was probably begun in A.D. 535 but not put in its final form till A.D. 547. In one place he says: “Higher up in India, that is farther to the north, are the White Huns. The one called Gollas when going to a war takes with him, it is said, no fewer than two thousand elephants and a great force of cavalry. He is the lord of India, and oppressing the people, forces them to pay tribute.” After narrating some stories about him the same writer remarks: “The river Phison separates all the countries of India from the country of the Huns.” Fortunately the author clearly says elsewhere that “the Phison is the same as the river Indus.” The date to which this account refers cannot be exactly determined but may be placed between A.D. 525 and 535.

It is generally believed that king Gollas in the above account refers to Mihirakula whose name is also written as Mihirgul. It is not also unlikely that he is the king whom Sung-yun met in Gandhara, somewhat earlier. It is interesting to note that both these accounts place the Huna kingdom proper to the west of the Sindhu, though according to Cosmas the Huna king exercised suzerainty over Indian kings and forced them to pay tribute. This appears to have been a later development, during the interval between the two accounts, which also saw the increase of the elephant forces of the king from 700 to 2000.

Note 12

Note 13

Note 14

If we proceed on this assumption, we may legitimately conclude that Toramana's power suffered a decline, and after his initial successes which carried him as far as Eran, he was forced to fall back, and the Huna authority was confined to the territory beyond the Sindhu. This might be due to a defeat inflicted upon him by Bhanugupta, to whom reference has been made above. All this is, however, vague and uncertain, and we cannot come to any definite conclusion. But whatever we might think of the end of Toramana, there is no doubt that his son Mihirakula revived the ambitious project of his father. It appears from all accounts that Mihirakula was a powerful tyrant who overran a large part of Northern India. An inscription dated in the fifteenth year of his reign (c. A.D. 530) shows that his sovereignty extended at least up to Gwalior, and probably his authority was acknowledged further beyond that territory as well. As mentioned above, according to Hiuen Tsang, he subdued the whole of India, and Cosmas also describes the Huna chief at this time as the Lord of India. But the Hunas were not destined to enjoy success for long, and Mihirakula, too, soon met his doom at the hands of two Indian rulers, Yasodharman and Narasimha-gupta.

Yasodharman, whose career will be discussed later, claims that "respect was paid to his feet by even that (famous) king Mihirakula whose head had never (previously) been brought to the humility of obeisance to any other save (the god) Sthanu (Siva), (and) embraced by whose arms the mountain of snow (i.e. the Himalaya) falsely prides itself on being styled as inaccessible fortress." The reference to the mountain of snow probably indicates that Mihirakula was ruling over Kashmir and the adjoining regions. It may be remembered that Sung-yun also related that the Huna chief was fighting with Kashmir. It would appear that while Mihirakula was advancing into the interior of India he was opposed by Yasodharman, an ambitious chief of Malwa. Mihirakula was evidently defeated, but his kingdom or power was not destroyed. With the fall of Yasodharman, which probably took place not long after, Mihirakula again came to the forefront.

The Gupta king who then occupied the imperial throne was probably Narasimha-gupta Baladitya. He was temporarily overwhelmed by the victorious raids of Yasodharman, and Mihirakula evidently took advantge of this temporary collapse of the imperial authority to extend his power. Narasimha-gupta was, according to Hiuen Tsang, forced to the humiliating position of paying tribute to Mihirakula. After mentioning Mihirakula's great power and persecution of Buddhism, Hiuen Tsang tells a long story how finally Baladitya triumphed over his rival. This may be summed up as follows:—

"Baladitya-raja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. When Mthirukula invaded his dominions, Baladitya took refuge with his army in an island. Mihirakula left the main part of his army in charge of his younger brother, embarked on boats and landed with a part of his troops on the island. He was, however, ambushed by the troops of Baladitya in a narrow pass and was taken prisoner. Baladitya resolved to execute Mihirakula, but released him on the intercession of his mother. Mihirakula found on his return that his brother had gone back and occupied the throne. He, therefore, sought and obtained an asylum in Kashmir. Then he stirred up a rebellion there, killed the king and placed himself on the throne of Kashmir. He next killed the king of Gandhara, exterminated the royal family, destroyed the stupas and sanghdramas, plundered the wealth of the country and returned. But within a year he died."

Apart from the fact that the general account of Hiuen Tsang is open to suspicion, on the ground of his placing Mihirakula "several centuries ago", it is difficult to believe many of the details in this

story.

It has been noted above that Kashmir, probably, and Gandhara, certainly, were already parts of the Huna empire in India, and Hiuen Tsang is palpably wrong in describing them as new conquests by Mihirakula. The long account of the defeat and discomfiture of Mihirakula at the hands of Baladitya, and particularly the manner in which it was achieved, undoubtedly contains a great deal of exaggeration. But in spite of all these we may, in the absence of a better or more satisfactory hypothesis, provisionally regard Baladitya as having defeated Mihirakula and saved the Gupta empire from the Huna depredations. That would explain why his name and fame as a great hero survived even two centuries later. The defeat of Mihirakula appears to have finally crushed the Huna political supremacy in India. For although the existence of a Huna community, and even of small Huna principalities, is known in later times, the Hunas no longer appear as a great power or even a disturbing element in Indian history.

Reference may be made in this connection to the defeat inflicted upon the Hunas by the Maukharis. In a record of their enemies, the Later Guptas, reference is made to the "proudly stepping array of mighty elephants, belonging to the Maukharis, which had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Hunas," It is likely that this famous victory was gained by Isana-varman, the Maukhari king, and that he fought as a feudatory of the Gupta emperor N&rasimha-gupta in his campaign against Mihirakula. It is, however, not unlikely that an independent Maukhari king, Isana-varman or his son Sarvavarman, again defeated the Hunas. Certain it is that the Maukharis issued coins in imitation of the Huna kings and ruled over territories formerly in possession of the Hunas.

The collapse of the Huna political power in India was due not only to the defeat of their chiefs Toramana and Mihirakula, but also, and perhaps mainly, to the crushing blow given to their central authority on the Oxus by the combined forces of the Turks and the Persians some time between A.D. 563 and 567. That administered the final death-blow to the Huna power in the east.

3. YASODHARMAN AND OTHER REBELLIOUS FEUDATORIES

The Huna inroads under Toramana and Mihirakula must have • •

contributed further to the disintegration of the Gupta empire, which had begun after the death of Budha-gupta. Feudal chiefs, and even high officials, gradually assumed power and authority, and finally set themselves up as independent kings. Epigraphic records frequently refer to battles in all directions about this time, clearly indicating a period of unrest and excitement. In addition to the Hunas, we know of at least one other foreign invasion. Hari-shena, the Vakataka ruler of the Deccan, invaded Malwa, and established his authority over Malwa and Gujarat.

The province of Malwa had been passing through a troublesome period on account of the invasions of the Hunas and the Vakatakas, and the hold of the Gupta emperors must have been considerably weakened in that region. Taking advantage of this situation Yasodharman, a local chief, established independent authority, and soon became powerful enough not only to defeat the Huna chief Mihirakula but also to hurl defiance at the Gupta emperor.

Nothing is known of the early history of Yasodharman. He had evidently some connection with the family of feudatory chiefs who were ruling over Malwa, or a part of it, under the Imperial Guptas about the middle of the fifth century A.D. 1 But nothing is known of this family for nearly a century when Yasodharman suddenly rose to power. All that we know of his military achievements is contained in a single record engraved in duplicate on two stone pillars al Mandasor. 2 This official eulogy claims that Yasodharman’s suzerainty was acknowledged over the vast area bounded by the Himalayas in the north, the Mahendra mountains (Ganjam District) in the south, the Brahmaputra river in the east and the ocean in the

1. This is proved by the fact that Naravarman of the feudatory family is called Aulikara (El, XXVI. 130) and Yasodharman is said to belong to Aulikara family.

2. CII, III. 142; Sel. Ins. 393. Some information is also given in another inscription at Mandasor (CII, III. 150; Sel Ins. 386).

West. We are told that he conquered countries which did not submit even to the Guptas or to the Hunas. Further, as noted above, it is claimed that respect was paid to his feet even by the famous king

Mihirakula.

The general and conventional description of universal conquest cannot, of course, be accepted at its face value, and we should hardly be justified in regarding Yasodharman as the sole undisputed monarch of Northern India. At the same time such bold claims would not probably have been made in a public record unless there was some basis for it, and we need not doubt that Yasodharman was a great conqueror. In particular we can well believe that he defeated Mihirakula. We may, perhaps, go even further and hold that he first rose to distinction and won popular favour by defeating Mihirakula and freeing Malwa and the neighbouring region from the Huna depredations. The power and prestige he gained thereby perhaps enabled him to achieve further conquests, mainly at the cost of the Guptas. But the exact limits of his empire cannot be defined. It is certain, however, that he could not finally annihilate the Gupta empire or the power of Mihirakula. There are good grounds to believe that his power was of short duration. He rose and fell like a meteor between A.D. 530 and 540, and his empire perished with him.

Shortly after the great coup of Yasodharman, and perhaps as an inevitable consequence thereof, we find the rise of several powerful feudatory principalities in the very heart of the Gupta empire. Among them the Maukharis and the Later Guptas were the most powerful and were destined to play an important part in the later history of India. Their detailed history will be narrated later. It will suffice here to state that the Maukharis, although ruling at first as feudal chiefs in Bihar and U.P., gradually rose to power in the latter region, and founded an independent kingdom perhaps about the middle of the sixth century A.D. The Later Guptas were so called to distinguish them from the Imperial Guptas, for the kings of this family had names ending in Gupta and they ruled in Malwa and Magadha. Like the Maukharis, the Later Gupta chiefs were at first feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, and perhaps fought to save the empire. But later, probably about the same time as the Maukharis, they also set up as independent rulers.

About the same time or perhaps a little earlier, Vanga, i.e. South and East Bengal, also shook off the suzerainty of the Guptas. Reference has already been made to Vainya-gupta who ruled in East Bengal with the title Maharaja in A.D. 506-7. It is just possible that although he later claimed the imperial throne, his actual power was confined to Bengal. If this is so we may trace from this time the existence of an independent kingdom in Bengal. In any event, Vanga soon attained importance as an independent kingdom under local rulers who assumed the title Mahdrdjddhirdja and issued gold coins like the Gupta emperors.

The people of Gauda (W. Bengal) also achieved prominence, and a Maukhari chief claims to have defeated them. The Later Guptas also fought against some enemies who lived on the sea-shore. The reference in both cases may be to the kings of Bengal mentioned above, and the military campaigns of the Maukharis and the Later Guptas might have been undertaken, jointly or severally, on behalf of the Gupta emperor, their nominal overlord.

The tangled history of these newly risen powers shows that Yasodharman could not maintain his authority on a stable basis or for a long period. It is possible that his dazzling military success for the time being led others to imitate his example. It thus led to a general uprising among the feudatories of the Gupta empire and Yasodharman himself was probably the first victim to perish in the conflagration that his own action had brought about.

CHAPTER VI

Chapter Notes

1. 1. For the different views on this subject cf. the works mentioned in General References and also the following:
2. 1. Pannalal, in Hindusthan Review, January, 1918.
3. 2. R. C. Majumdar in l A, 1918, pp. 161-7: IC. X. 172; JIJPHS , XVIII. 70.
4. 3. N. N. Das Gupta in B. C. Law, Vol. I. 617.
5. 1. Cll, III. 117, 121; El, XXIII. 171.
6. 1. 7A. XVIII. 227. But the reading of the symbol for 80 on a coin, from which this date is derived, is very uncertain (JA. XIV. 68).
7. 1. For Vainya-gupta's inscriptions, coins and seals, cf. IHQ, VI. 40; IX. 784, 989; XIX. 275. For the suggestion that he was the son of Puru-gupta cf. IHQ, XXIV. 67.
8. C.A.—3
9. 1. For the nationality of Toramana cf. NIA, IV. 36; 1HQ, VII. 532.
10. 2. This Jain work is Kuvalayamald, composed in 700 6aka (A.D. 778). For an abstract of its contents cf. JBORS, XIV. 28. Also cf. 1HQ, XXXIII. 253.
11. 3. I. 289 ff, III. 102 ff.
12. 1. HTB, I, xv. c.
13. 2. Translated into English by J. W. Mc'Crindle (London, 1897).
14. 36

THE FALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

1. NARASIMHA-GUPTA

It will be clear from the events described in the preceding chapter that at the time of Narasimha-gupta’s accession to the throne, or shortly thereafter, internal dissensions, foreign invasions, and the successful revolts of provincial satraps and feudal chiefs had almost completed the disintegration of the Gupta empire. The name of the emperor was still invoked as the suzerain over extensive territories, but his actual authority was confined to a comparatively small region comprising Magadha and its immediate neighbourhood. It is difficult to determine the exact effect of Yasodharman’s conquests, but it is certain that the Gupta empire survived this shock. An analysis of the epigraphic records, e.g. the 14 Valabhi Grants ranging in date between A.D. 526 and 545, does not indicate any important political change. For all these grants express, as usual, allegiance to the i Paramahhattdraka > or the paramount lord. This undoubtedly refers to the Gupta emperor; for such nominal allegiance, without any reality behind it, is offered usually only to an old established dynasty. A new authority like Yasodharman could only exact real submission or nothing. Besides, a land-grant in North Bengal, dated A.D. 543, definitely refers to a Gupta ruler (whose name is lost) and not to Yasodharman. Further, although Yasodharman claims to have established his authority as far as the Gan jam District, an inscription, 1 recently discovered at the village of Sumandala in Khallikote, Orissa, refers to the Gupta suzerainty in Kalinga in the year 250 of the Gupta Era (=3fcD. 569-70). All these facts lead tothe inference that Yasodharman’s military success was of a temporary character and made no appreciable change in the political map of the Gupta empire.

There is, however, no doubt that Yasodharman dealt a shattering blow to the prestige and authority of the Gupta empire. It stimulated all the forces of disintegration which were already at work. The Hiina chief Mlhirakuia seized the opportunity to renew his depredations. If Hiuen Tsang is to be believed, Mihirakula carried his raids even into the dominions directly ruled by Narasimhagupta and forced him to pay tribute.

Note 1

THE FALL OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

It must have been extremely galling to the Gupta emperor to acknowledge the Huna K chief as his overlord. The position, humiliating as it was, was rendered worse by the incredible cruelties of Mihirakula. At last the proud descendant of Skanda-gupta was unable to bear it any longer and made a heroic effort to remove this scourge from his kingdom. He was probably helped by the Maukharis and other feudatories in this laudable endeavour, the last great service that the Gupta emperors were destined to render to their country. How Narasimha-gupta achieved complete success has already been described on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, assuming, of course, that Baladitya, mentioned by him, is identical with Narasimha-gupta Baladitya. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to him as a great patron of Buddhism and the builder of a great monastery (Sanghdrdma) at Nalanda. An inscription found at Nalanda, and belonging to about the eighth century A.D., also refers to 'Baladitya, the great king of irresistible valour,' who, after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected 'a great and extraordinary temple at Nalanda.' Two independent traditions have thus preserved the memory of a great king called Baladitya noted alike for prowess and the construction of a sanctuary at Nalanda. The most plausible view appears to be that he is identical with Narasimha-gupta, though it cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. 1

2. THE LAST TWO GUPTA EMPERORS

Narasimha-gupta was the last great Gupta emperor. He was succeeded by his son and grandson Kumara-gupta III and Vishnugupta. 2 They issued gold coins of the same type as those of Narasimha-gupta and, like him, assumed respectively the titles Krarnaditya and Chandrd{Litya. Their reigns may be placed between A.t). 535 and 570. The continued debasement of the coins furnishes, a striking testimony to the speedy decline of the Gupta empire under these two rulers, but the very fact that they issued gold coins shows that the imperial fabric had not yet completely collapsed. This

Note 2

Note 3

conclusion is also supported by the three other facts, noted above, viz. that even in A.D. 543 a Gupta emperor is referred to as suzerain in an inscription in N. Bengal, that the rulers of Valabhi paid nominal allegiance to their (Gupta) overlord till about A.D. 550, and that Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in Kalinga even as late as

A.D. 569.

Hiuen Tsang refers to Baladitya as king of Magadha, and in view of what has been said above regarding the Maukharis and the Later Guptas, that seems to be a correct description of the Gupta emperor. The only territories outside Magadha which probably still formed part of the Gupta dominions were Kalinga and Northern Bengal. While we hear of independent rulers in Southern, Eastern, and Western Bengal, the name of a Gupta ruler is invoked as suzerain in a grant of N. Bengal in A.D. 543. Unfortunately, the first part of the name is lost, but it might well have been ‘Vishnu and refer to the last Gupta ruler. We do not know how and when the Guptas lost this last stronghold. A land-grant found in the Gaya District in the very heart of Magadha was issued in A.D. 551-2 by Nandana who is called Kurridrdrrvatya Maharaja. As there is no reference to any Gupta ruler in this record, we may conclude that by A.D. 550 the Guptas had ceased to exercise effective authority over the great part of Magadha. Nandana’s title Kumdrdmatya, however, shows that like the Viziers of Oudh in the eighteenth century he still dared not throw off nominal allegiance to the Guptas. That some Gupta emperors continued to rule for another quarter of a century seems to be proved by the continuance of the Gupta suzerainty in Kalinga till at least A. D. 569.

Indeed, from various points of view the end of the Gupta empire offers a striking analogy to that of the Mughal empire. The decline and downfall of both were brought about mainly by internal dissensions in the royal family and the rebellion of feudal chiefs and provincial satraps, though foreign invasion was an important contributory factor. There is a general belief among historians that the Huna invasion was the principal cause of the downfall of the Gupta empire. But it is difficult to subscribe to this view. The gates of India were successfully barred against the Hunas throughout the fifth century A.D. In spite of temporary successes, first of Toramana and then of Mihirakula, the Hunas never counted as a permanent factor in Indian politics, save in Kashmir and Afghanistan which lay far beyond the frontiers of the Gupta empire. So far as the evidence goes, the death-blow to the Gupta empire was dealt not by the Hunas but by ambitious chiefs like Yasodharman. The Hunas caused depredations on a large scale, but ere long the force of their sweeping success spent itself. The rift caused by Yasodharman, however, gradually widened till the mighty imperial structure was engulfed in the chasm.

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N.B.—A list of important inscriptions is given in the Bibliography at the end of this volume.

CHAPTER VII

MINOR STATES IN NORTH INDIA DURING

Chapter Notes

1. 1. This inscription has been edited in El, XXVIII. 79.
2. 1. Narasimha-gupta is known from his coins to have assumed the title Baladitya. He is therefore identified by some scholars with Baladitya, king of Magadha, who, according to Hiuen Tsang, defeated Mihirakula. The chronology of the last three Gupta emperors, as given in this work, is based on this identity which, however, is not accepted by some scholars. They place Narasimha-gupta's reign before A.D. 474, and identify his son Kumara-gupta with the king of that name who is referred to as the ruler in an inscription dated in that year (See p. 29). Dr. Raychaudhuri identifies Hiuen Tsang's Baladitya with Bhanu-gupta (PHAP, 596-7).
3. 2. The existence of Vishnu-gupta and his position in the Gupta genealogy are known from a Nalanda Seal (El, XXVI. 235; 1HQ, XIX. 119). For the coins of Kumara-gupta III as distinguished from those of Kumara-gupta II, cf. JBRS, XXXIV. Part. III-IV, pp. 20-22.

THE GUPTA EMPIRE

In tracing the history of the Gupta empire, reference has been made to the Saka and Kushana principalities. The great emperor Samudra-gupta established some sort of suzerainty over both, and the former was finally conquered by his son. The early history of both the dynasties has been already narrated, 1 and we may conveniently bring together in this chapter the little information that we possess regarding their history during the Gupta period.

1. THE SARAS OR WESTERN SATRAPS

The principality of the Western Satraps, consisting of Malwa, Gujarat and the Kathiawar Peninsula, was being ruled by the family of Chashtana for nearly two hundred years. But a break in the regular course of succession occurred at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. when Rudrasimha II ousted the legitimate heir and occupied the throne in A.D. 304 or 305. His father, SvamI Jivadaman, bears no royal title, and although it is possible that he might have belonged to a younger branch of the old royal family, his relationship to it is not definitely known. 2

Along with this change in succession we have to note two other important facts bearing upon the history of the kingdom. In the first place, neither Rudrasimha II, who usurped the throne, nor his son and successor Yasodaman II assumed the title Mahdkshatrapa, and both were content with the lower title of Kshatrapa only. This is specially remarkable in view of the fact that since almost the*very beginning the chief political power in the kingdom was regularly exercised by a Mahdkshatrapa who associated with him the heirapparent bearing the title Kshatrapa. Secondly, after the reign of Rudrasimha II and his son, extending from A.D. 305 to 332, no coins of Western Satraps are known for a period of sixteen years.

These facts indicate troublesome times though we are unable to throw much light on the cause or nature of the troubles through

1: voi. nTchsTvii-ix"

2. The historical account is based principally on the coins of the Western Satraps. These coins have been dealt with by Rapson in his Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas etc. In addition to the description of the coins (pp. 63-194) Rapson has brought together the historical information derived from them in the Introduction (pp. xcvii-clvii). Unless otherwise stated the statements regarding the coins in this chapter are based on this work.

which the principality must have passed. An inscription 1 found in the village of Kanakhera near Sanchi, however, throws some light on this matter. This record refers to some pious work done by Maha-danda-ndyaka 2 Saka Srldharavarma, son of Saka Nanda, in the 13th year of his reign. Another inscription at Eran, dated in his 27th regnal year, calls him both Raj an and Mahdkshatrapa. 3 The first inscription also contains a date, presumably in Saka era, which has been read as 241. This reading is not free from doubt, but if we accept it, we can easily conclude that Mahdkshatrapa Sri» dharavarma refused to acknowledge Rudrasimha II as legitimate sovereign and set up an independent kingdom in A.D. 306 or 307, i.e. within a year or two of Rudrasimha's accession. It may be concluded, therefore, that Rudrasimha II came to the throne by violent means, and it led to a civil war or internal dissension as a result of which Malwa was lost to the Western Satraps. For we know from the Allahabad inscription of Samudra-gupta that a number of tribal states flourished in Malwa about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and there is no evidence that the Saka Satraps exercised any authority in this province at the time.

There might have been similar revolts in other parts of the kingdom, and this internal dissension might have been the cause, or at least one of the causes, of the decline in power and authority of the Satraps Rudrasimha II and his son Yasodaman II who never assumed the title Mahdkshatrapa.

The absence of coins of the dynasty between A.D. 332 and 348 shows that the political troubles, far from being over, were accentuated during this period. As a result, the family of Rudrasimha was swept away and Mahdkshatrapa SvamI Rudrasena III occupied the throne in or shortly after

A.D. 348. He is described in his coinlegends as the son of Mahdkshatrapa SvamI Rudradaman (II), but no coins of the latter have so far been discovered. Whether Rudradaman was a mere pretender to the title or actually exercised royal power cannot, therefore, be determined. The relationship, if any, of this new family to the older members is yet unknown. It probably established its authority on a firm basis and restored to some extent the old prestige, as indicated by the revival of the title Mahakshatrapa. But if so, the success was very short-lived. For while we have silver coins of Rudrasena III representing each year from 270 to 273 inclusive (i.c. A.D. 348 to 351) they cease altogether after that year and do not reappear till A.D. 360. 1 Rere, again, the absence of coins may be taken to indicate some political troubles, though it may not be quite safe to rely upon such negative evidence alone.

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

It may be suggested that the constant troubles of the Western Satraps during the first half of the fourth century A.D. were due also to foreign invasions which were perhaps provoked by the internal dissensions referred to above. During the first half of the period the only two powers we can think of in this connection are the Vakafkas and the Sassanians of Persia. The contemporary Vakataka ruler Pravarasena I was undoubtedly a powerful king and was the only ruler of the family to assume the imperial title Samrdt. It is not unlikely that he helped or joined one of the contending parties in order to extend his political influence in this region, but there is no reference to any such attempt in the Vakataka records. As regards the Sassanians, there is no evidence that they played any part in Indian politics about this time, and what we know of their history makes it very unlikely. The only other power that we can think of in this connection, at least for the second quarter of the fourth century A.D., is the Imperial Gupta. The Allahabad inscription of Samudra-gupt^ clearly refers to some sort of political control exercised by that emperor over the Sakas. It is quite possible that the &aka Satraps did not accept this position without a fight and there was a long-drawn struggle. It led to no decisive result for the time being, but the &aka ruler must have been sufficiently humbled, and his discomfiture probably led to the weakening of his authority and internal troubles reflected in the absence of coins between A.D. 332 and 348 and again between A.D. 351 and 360. It may be recalled that according to one interpretation, the Saka Satrapy belonged to the category of subject-states which had to use the Gupta coins. 2 This might well account for the cessation of the

Note 4

Note 5

coins of Western Satraps, but such a conclusion can only be regarded as provisional. 1

The regular issue of coins from about A.D. 360 to 390 2 by Rudrasena III shows that he had re-established his power and authority to some extent. But indications are not wanting that troubles broke out again towards the close of his reign. The coins show that in A.D. 382 (and probably also in 384) his sister's son SvamI Simhasena had assumed the title of Mahakshatrapa. Either, therefore, Rudrasena III was temporarily dispossessed of his authority by his nephew, or there was a civil war, involving a partition of the kingdom, at least for some years. Only a single coin attests to the rule of SvamI Rudrasena IV, son of SvamI Simhasena, but as it contains no date we cannot say whether he ruled alone or as a rival of his granduncle Rudrasena III. In any case we soon find a new king SvamI Rudrasimha III occupying the position of Mahakshatrapa in the year 31X (the unit figure of the date on the coins is lost), which may refer to any year between A.D. 388 and 398. Rudrasimha III is called in his coins the son of Mahakshatrapa SvamI Satyasimha. No coins of the latter have been found and we do not know, therefore, whether he actually ruled or merely claimed the position of a Mahakshatrapa as against a rival. Nothing is also known of his relationship with the preceding rulers.

Thus after a brief respite of twenty years from A.D. 360 to 380 the kingdom of the Western Satraps was again convulsed by internal dissensions. The accession of Chandra-gupta II in or shortly before A.D. 380 might have had something to do with the renewal of political troubles in the kingdom over which the new emperor had been casting covetous eyes. Whether we believe in the episode of Ramagupta or not, the aggressive and imperialist policy of expansion sufficiently accounts for the determination of Chandra-gupta to put an end to this last vestige of foreign rule on the soil of India and thereby expand his growing empire to the furthest natural limits on the west. 3

Unfortunately we know little of the campaign which put an end to the rule of SvamI Rudrasimha III, the last of a long line of Saka chiefs who had been ruling over the region for nearly three hundred years. The statement in the Harsha-charita that Chandra-gupta, in

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the disguise of a woman, slew the 2§aka chief, was usually taken to refer to his final struggle with Rudrasimha III. But this simple fact has now developed into the big episode centring round Rama-gupta and Dhruvadevi which has already been narrated above. 1 If any value is to be attached to the history of the Western Satraps as narrated above, it is hardly within the range of probability that they were in a position to challenge the authority of the Gupta emperor and force him to accept the most ignoble terms which a king is ever known to have proposed to another.

The date of the final conquest of Saurashtra (Kathiawar Peninsula) by Chandra-gupta II has been discussed in connection with the his toy of that emperor. There is hardly any doubt that the downfall of the Western Satraps was hastened, if not brought about, by the internal dissensions and other troubles which marked their history almost throughout the fourth century A.D. and particularly during the last two decades. Although they disappeared from history, they left a legacy in their peculiar coins which were continued with some modifications by the Guptas and their successors for well-nigh two centuries after their fall.

2. THE KUSHANAS

The chronology of the great Kushana kings is far from settled yet and although opinions generally waver between A.D. 78 and 128 as the date of the accession of Kanishka, there is no solid argument in favour of either. 2 It is difficult, therefore, to say at what period of time fhe dynasty of the great emperor Kanishka came to an end, on the death of Vasudeva, after ruling for a century. Following the general v r iew we may provisionally accept it as happening some time between A.D. 180 and 230 and we propose to deal in this chapter with the subsequent history of the Kushanas.

Our principal sources of information are the brief references in me Chinese history and the large number of coins found in India, principally in the Punjab and N.W.F. Province. 3

According to the Chinese writer Ma-twan-lin, the Kushanas, after their conquest of Northern India under Wema Kadphises, became rich and powerful, and remained in that condition until the time of the second Han Dynasty (A.D. 221-263).* Another Chinese writer Yu Huan specifically states that about A.D. 239 Ki-pin (Kashmir?) 5

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See pp. 17-18. '

tf hi R ha rtm diSCU T J b ? fore - , See Vo1 ' n - PP- 143 '6- The latest view is that c:CXXXIV 59) wh ° places the accession of Kanishka in A.D, 144 (JA

Mr M. F. C. Martin has brought together most of the evidences both Chinese nn M S‘ Sm rik- bea ™ S “"‘he Period in JRASBh. in, Num. Suppl XLVII MartL p 25 referred t0 ” su Wtent notes as ^Martin!’

For the identification of Ki-pin, see below Ch. XXIII.

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Ta-hia (Bactria), Kao-fu (Kabul) and Tien-chu (India) were subordinate to the Kushanas. 1 There is other evidence to show that about this time the Kushanas were still ruling over territories beyond the Hindu Kush. 2 But they were soon engaged in hostilities with the newly founded Sassanian power. The sudden rise of this dynasty to greatness under Ardashir need not be described in detail. 3 It will suffice to say that after having defeated the great king Artabanus V of Parthia in A.D. 224, he conquered the western provinces of the Parthian empire and crowned himself with the title ‘King of kings’ (Shahanshah) of Iran. He then led a series of victorious campaigns in the east and conquered, among others, Seistan, modern Khorasan, Merv and Balkh. 4 5 It is also claimed that the Kushana ruler of the Punjab and Kabul valley and the kings of Turan (Quzdar, south of Quetta) and Makran recognised him as suzerain, 6 though this is somewhat doubtful.

The Sassanian supremacy over the Kushana principalities in Balkh and the neighbouring region is attested by the coins of the Sassanian governors. 6 During the reign of Shapur I (241-72) his younger brother Peroz was the governor with the title Kushan-shah (king of the Kushanas). In 252 the title was changed to KushanShahanshah (king of the Kushana kings), indicating an increase in the authority of the prince-governor. For the next 30 years the heir-apparent generally held this viceroyalty. It is to be noted that the coins issued by the Sassanian governors closely resembled the coins of the great Kushana king Vasudeva and were evidently copied from them.

Vahram II, who had been the Kushan-shah during his father’s reign, ascended the throne in A.D. 276 while his brother Hormazd

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became the Kushan-shah. In A.D. 283 Hormazd rebelled against his brother and was supported by both the &akas and the Kushanas. Vahram crushed the revolt, conquered the whole of Sakastan (Seistan) and appointed his son Vahram (III) Sakan-shah or governor of the provinces. It was the prerogative of the heir-apparent to the Sassanian throne to be governor of the most important province. The Kushana province was thus reduced in importance. This was further emphasised by the fact that the governor of the Kushana principality was deprived of the privilege of issuing gold coins which were henceforth issued in the name of Shahanshah, the Great king of kings.

Prof. Herzfeld asserts that Vahram II made extensive conquests in the east and that under him the Sassanid empire not only included Khorasan (including Balkh), Sakastan, Turan and Makran, but also the countries of the Middle and Lower Sindhu region and Kachchha, Kathiawar and Malwa. 1 This view rests upon the Paikuli Inscription which gives a list of independent kings and vassal chiefs who came to congratulate Narsih, son of Shapur I, after he had successfully rebelled against king Vahram II and occupied the throne in A.D. 293. The inscription is fragmentary and very much damaged, but Herzfeld, who edited it, has been able to read several names and has drawn interesting conclusions from it. Among independent kings we find the name of Kushan-shah and among the vassals the chiefs of Paradan (Paradas), Makuran (Makran) and the Abhlras Reference is then made to Satraps of all kinds such as Bagdat, lord of Zuradian and Mitr-(AL)asen, lord of Boraspicin. Herzfeld takes the last two as Bhagadat^a, lord of Surashtra, and Mitrasena, lord of Bharukachchha. There is also reference to an ally of the unfortunate king Vahram II, viz . Avandikan xvat(a)vya whom Herzfeld regards as the Kshatrapa of Avanti.

Now the proposed identification of Zuradian and Boraspicin cannot be regarded as certain or even satisfactory, and there is nothing to show that the Kshatrapa of Avanti, assuming the reading and interpretation to be correct, was in any case a dependent of the Sassanians. The supremacy of the Sassanians over Western India is, therefore, very problematic. If the reading Abhlra be regarded as correct the Sassanian supremacy probably extended beyond Makran to the lower Sindhu valley and the adjoining region. But as the Abhlras were something like a nomadic tribe having different settlements, it is difficult to locate them precisely. On the whole, therefore, while we may accept that Vahram II (276-93) had established his supremacy in the lower Sindhu valley and had political intercourse of a friendly character with Indian principalities in the

Note 15

interior, there is no valid ground to assume that Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa were his vassal states.

It is interesting to note that the Kushan-shah is referred to as an independent king in the Paikuli Inscription. Evidently the Kushana ruler of the Kabul valley and the Punjab is meant. The continuation of the Kushana principality in these regions after the death of the Great Kushana emperor Vasudeva is proved by a large number of coins. These coins are debased imitations of those of the Great Kushana kings Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva. Hence the rulers who issued them are called Later Great Kushanas. Some of them have old names like Kanishka (written as Kaneshko) and Vasu or Vasudeva. These coins are found in Afghanistan, as well as in Bactria and Seistan. This, as well as the fact that at least two rulers, viz. Kanishka and Vasudeva, who issued them, assumed the imperial title Shaonanoshao, shows that they represented the Great or Imperial Kushana family and possessed a fair degree of authority. Attempts have been made to arrange these three kings in chronological order, viz. Kanishka II, Vasudeva II and Vasu (or Vasudeva III) and to reconstruct their history,[1] but without much success.

In addition to this series, gold coins of Kushana type, of a later date, are also found in large numbers in the Punjab and neighbouring region. These belong to the fourth century A.D. and contain the names of a large number of rulers such as Sya (or Sasya), Sayatha, Sita, Sena (or Sena), Bhadra, Bacharna and Pasana. Neither the nationality of these rulers, nor the meaning of words like Shaka or Shllada, each of which is fpund on coins of several rulers, is clear to us. Most likely these rulers were Kushana of the Shaka and Shilada clan, the first four chiefs named above belonging to the former, and the last three to the latter clan. The findspots of these coins have not been properly recorded, but a hoard of Shaka coins was found near Peshawar. This shows that they probably held sway over Gandhara. 2

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Another clan or tribe named Ga^ahara or Gadakhara is known from coins issued by two chiefs named Peraya and Kirada. It has been suggested that these coins should be classed with those of the Little Kushanas (to be noted later), and not with those of Shaka and Shilada. But there are good grounds to believe that this tribe also

ruled in the Punjab in the fourth century A.D.

On the basis of the foregoing, we may reconstruct the history

of the Later Kushanas somewhat as follows:—

The great Kushana empire broke up some time after A.D. 230 or 240 which probably represents the end of the reign of Vasudeva or one of the later kings named Kanishka or Vasudeva. Apart from other causes the growing power of the Sassanians was the most important factor that contributed to it. The first Sassanian king Ardashir (224-241) conquered the Kushana principalities to the north of the Hindu Kush, and although Kushana chiefs continued to rule there they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sassanid king. His Governor, generally the heir-apparent, assumed the proud title of ‘Kushan-king’ or ‘king of Kushana kings’ and issued gold coins like those of Vasudeva.

We learn from a Chinese account that Po-tiao, the king of the Great Kushanas, sent an embassy to the Chinese Court in A.D. 230. * 1 This name may well represent Vasudeva, and it was probably the growing power of the Sassanids that induced him to seek help from the Chinese emperor. But evidently no help came, and in any case he was unable to check the aggression of the Sassanian king. But although Balkh was lost, the Kushana overlord, whose seat of authority was probably at Peshawar, still ruled over the other parts of the Kushana kingdom. His power and prestige were, however, considerably weakened. Taking advantage of this, Indian states one after another asserted their independence and even the Kushana governors of the Punjab and neighbouring regions followed suit. There were probably two or more dynasties belonging to Shilada, Shaka and Gadahara clans who formed independent principalities in the Punjab. The Sassanian kings in the west grew more and more powerful. When Hormazd rebelled against his brother Vahram II (A.D. 283), the Kushanas and Sakas joined him probably in a desperate effort at getting rid of the Sassanian supremacy. But the rebellion was crushed and Vahram II conquered the whole of Seistan, Makran and the lower Sindhu valley. He also tightened his hold on the Kushana principalities in Balkh.

But though shorn of his possessions in Bactria, Seistan and the Sindhu valley, the Kushana king still maintained his hold in the

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Kabul valley, and the Paikuli inscription, as noted above, refers to him as an independent king (A.D. 293). His importance is indicated by the fact that the Sassanian king Hormizd (302-9) married a daughter of the Kush an a king of the Kabul valley. 1 But later, about the middle of the fourth century A.D., the Kabul valley formed a part of the Sassanid empire. An inscription found at Persepolis, dated A.D. 310-11, refers to Shapur Sakanshah, an elder brother of Shapur II (A.D. 309-379), who has the titles "king of Sakastan, minister of ministers of Sind, Sakastan and Tukharistan," and who is accompanied by the "minister of Public Instruction of Sakastan," by the Satrap of Seistan (in the modern meaning of the name) and other dignitaries. Another inscription from Persepolis is probably dated in the year 47 of Shapur II, i.e. A.D. 356, though the figure is doubtful. It is written by Slok, i.e. "Seleucus, high judge of Kabul" who, according to this record, is paying his homage to Shapur Sakanshah as his superior, showing that even Kabul belonged to the lands governed by the Sakanshah at that time. If the date has been correctly read, Kabul must have been conquered some time before A.D. 356. 2

Thus for more than a century after the death of Vasudeva, the last Great Kushana emperor, the Later Kushanas ruled over the Kabul valley. Whether they were finally overthrown during the reign of Shapur II or they maintained a precarious existence in the lower Kabul valley and a part of the Punjab, we cannot definitely say. But the latter view seems probable and perhaps new tribal movements led to fresh Kushana migrations to this region and strengthened the kingdom.

This new movement is referred to in the Chinese annals. The 'W T ei-shu 5 or Annals of the Wei Dynasty (A.D. 386-556) refers to it as follows 3 :—•

"The kingdom of the Ta-Yueh-chi (i.e. the Great Kushanas) has for its capital the town of Lou-Kien-Chi (Balkh). They found themselves threatened on the north by the Juan-Juan, and were exposed on several occasions to their raids. They therefore migrated to the west*.and established themselves in the town of Po-lo (Balkan, on the north of the old bed of the Oxus, where it flowed into the Caspian Sea east of Krasnovodsk). Their king Ki-to-lo, a brave and warlike prince, raised an army, crossed to the south of the Great Mountains

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(Hindu Kush) and invaded Northern India where the five kingdoms to the north of Kan-tho-lo (Gandhara) submitted to him.. .. .

"Ki-to-lo, having been pursued by the Hmng-nu and havi g retired to the west, ordered his son to establish himself in this town of Fu-leu-cha (Peshawar). These people are consequen y ca e

Little Yueh-chi (Little Kushanas)."

Ma-twan-lin's encyclopaedic work also contains a brief accouru of the same event as follows:—"The capital of the Little Yueh-chi is the town of Fu-leu-cha. Their king was a son of Ki-to-lo; he was placed in charge of this town by his father when this prince was forced, by the attacks of the Juan-Juan, to march westwards."

A large number of coins have been found in North-Western India, with the Brahmi legend 'Kidara Kushana Sha,' 1 and this ruler has been identified by most scholars with the chief Ki-to-lo of the Chinese annals. 2 The silver coins of Kidara are of distinctively Sassanian type and a comparison with the Sassanian coins yields important results. Mr. Martin, who has made a special study of these coins, arrives at the following conclusions, though they must be regarded as provisional until more positive evidence is forthcoming.—

(1) That Kidara was followed by Piro and Varahran as their coins are closely connected.

(2) That Kidara was at first feudatory to the Sassanian empire, that he later became independent, and that during the reign of Piro the Sassanians re-asserted their suzerainty.

(3) That Kidara and his two successors, Piro and Varahran,

should be referred to the latter half of the fourth century A.E). l

On the basis of these hypotheses it is possible to reconstruct the history of the Little Kushanas in some detail.

We learn from Ammianus, an officer in the Roman army who fought against Shapur II in Mesopotamia, that this Sassanid king was engaged from A.D. 350 to 358 in fighting against certain tribes on his eastern frontier. The most important among these tribes were the Chionites, who had invaded Ractria, and the Euseni, which has been recognised as a textual corruption for Cuseni or Kushanas. In A.D. 358 Shapur made peace with these tribes and began his 'war of revenge upon Rome.' The army with which he besieged the Roman fortress of Amida in Mesopotamia included contingents from his new allies, the Chionites and the Kushanas. 3

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It is very likely that the Chionites, referred to by the Roman writer, and the Juan-Juan, mentioned by the Chinese, refer to the same tribe. It would then follow that about the middle of the fourth century A.D., Kidara, the Kushana ruler, was forced by the invasion of this tribe to leave Balkh and occupy the Kabul valley. These tribal movements forced Shapur II in A.D. 350 to move towards his eastern frontier. He fought with the Kushanas as well as the Chionites and ultimately concluded a treaty with them in A.D. 358. Both probably acknowledged the supremacy of the Sassanian king, as attested by their coins, and sent contingents to help their overlord in his wars against Rome. But, later, Kidara asserted his independence, as attested by his coins. The numismatic evidence is corroborated by the writings of the Armenian historian, Faustos of Byzantium. It appears from his account that the Kushanas inflicted two crushing defeats on the Sassanians in A.D, 367-8, and on one occasion even forced Shapur II to fly from the battlefield. [1]

Thus Kidara established once more an independent Kushana dynasty in the Kabul valley. According to the Chinese Annals, he invaded North India where the five kingdoms to the north of Gandhara submitted to him. It is difficult to understand the full import of this, but it is possible that Kidara's dominions included Afghanistan and a part of the upper Sindhu valley. Some of his (or his son's) provincial governors are also known from fheir coins, viz. Varo Shahi, Piroch, Bhasa and Buddhabala. [2] As Kidara flourished in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D. he was probably the contemporary Kushana king who is referred to as Daivaputra-Shahi-Shahanushahi in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Samudra-gupta had probably already imposed his suzerainty on some petty Kushana States in the Punjab, for his name occurs on the coin of a Gadahara chief. [3] Hence Kidara found it politic to be on good terms with the Gupta emperor, for his own position was far from being secure on the west. Apart from the Sassanian kings who naturally wanted to re-establish their suzerainty, he had also to reckon with the hostility of the ruling tribes in Bactria.

According to the Chinese accounts, their attacks ultimately forced him to march

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westwards, and as he evidently expected this to be a prolonged campaign he left his son in charge of the capital; in other words, probably appointed him to be regent during his absence.

The name of the tribe against which Kidara was forced to march is given as Juan-Juan by Ma-twan-lin and Hiung-nu in Wei-shu. But as the latter did not seem to have established their power till the middle of the fifth century A.D. * 1 possibly the former is the correct name. We do not know the result of Kidara's military campaign or anything else about him.

The son whom he left behind and who succeeded him was Piro. Placed between the Gupta empire on the east and the two powerful enemies, the Sassanians and the Juan-Juan on the west and the north-west, his position was precarious. The Sassanians evidently took advantage of Kidara’s preoccupations in the north-west and Ardashir II (A.D. 379-383) reconquered at least one district over which he set up Tarika as Satrap. Shapur III (383-388) reconquered several more districts and at last forced Piro to acknowledge his sovereignty. Piro’s successor Varahran also continued as a vassal of the Sassanians, whose renewed influence in the Indian borderland in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. is attested by coins. 2

It appears from the coins that the Sassanians ceased to exercise any authority on the Indian frontier after Vahram IV (A.D. 388399). 3 It has been suggested that this was due to the inroads of the Hunas about this time which also extinguished the rule of the Little Kushanas in the Kabul valley and forced them to retreat to the mountain regions around the upper Sindhu valley and Kashmir. The view that the Hunas established their political authority in Gandhara at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. rests, however, on very insufficient grounds. 4 5

The continuation of the ruling dynasty founded by Kidara is

attested by coins found in North-Western India. 6 These coins not

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only bear the name of the ruler who issued them, but have also the name Kidara, or its abbreviated form Kida, written vertically under the arms of the royal figure dressed like a Kushana king. The gold coins of these Little Kushana rulers have been found over extensive areas, from the Punjab as far as Kanauj and Kosam in the east; and even as late as 1925 a dozen of them was found in Hardoi District, U.P. 1 Among names of individual rulers may be noted Kritavlrya, Sarvayasa, Bhasvan, Prakasa, Kusala and Salonavlra. 2 These coins seem to have been current for several centuries after which they merged into the series struck in Kashmir by the Karkotaka or Naga dynasty in the seventh century A.D. 3 The long currency of the coinage as well as its findspots indicates that it was probably used by several dynasties. But it is impossible, with the meagre information available now, to arrange the kings in different dynasties and to locate them either chronologically or geographically. The Kushana principalities both in the Kabul valley and the Punjab were overrun by the White Huns about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and they set up an independent kingdom in Gandhara about A.D. 460. Whether there was a revival of the Kushana power or not depends upon the question whether later rulers like Toramana and Mihirakula were Huna or Kushana. It is probable also that the two tribes were ethnically allied and were merged into a new nation, generally known in India under the name of Huna.

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CHAPTER VIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. This inscription was first edited by Mr. R. D. Banerji (El. XVI. 230) who took it as a record of JIvadaman. It was re-edited by Mr. N. G. Majumdar (JPASB. XIX. 337) who rightly pointed out that there was no reference to JIvadaman in the inscription which is a record of J§rldharavarma, and is dated in the 13th year of his reign. Mr. Banerji read the date as 201, but Mr. Majumdar was of the opinion that the symbol interpreted by Mr. Banerji as 200 is really a sign of interpunction. But he noted that at some distance from the sign there are three numerical symbols. The first symbol is not very clear but he tentatively read it as 200, the remaining two symbols being clearly 41.
2. 2. Mahd-danda-nayaka might mean a judge or a general. The latter sense is preferable here.
3. 3. This inscription is incised on the same pillar which bears the posthumous inscription of Goparaja (above, p. 33). The inscription is not yet published but MM. V. V. Mirashi gave an account of it in the 14th Session of Indian History Congress held at Jaipur (cf. Summary of Papers, p. 16). He denies that there is a date in the »§aka Era in the Kanakhera record of 5§ridharavarman and concludes, mainly on this ground, that he did not probably belong to the Kshatrapa family of Saurashtra.
4. 1. Kapson (op. cit. cxliv) says that there were no silver coins of Rudrasena III, later than 273 and earlier than 286. But coins of Rudrasena dated 282 and 284 have since come to light (NB. XLVII. pp. 96, 97). Rapson himself describes lead coins dated 280-285 (p. 187) but these do not bear the name of any ruler.
5. 2. This point has been discussed before in connection with Samudra-gupta.
6. 1. Dr. D. C. Sircar has worked out this hypothesis in some detail. He even proposes to identify Rudradeva, one of the nine kings of Aryavarta exterminated by Samudra-gupta (above, p. 8), with the J§aka Satrap Rudradaman II or his son Rudrasena III (PIHC, VII. 78).
7. 2. Rapson does not notice any coin of Rudrasena III later than 300. But the Sonpur hoard contains two coins of Rudrasena III. one of which is

dated (3)12 and the other 310-fx, the unit figure being lost (N.S . XLVII. 96).

8. 3. The epigraphic evidence for Chandra-gupta's campaign against the Western Satraps has been discussed in connection with the history of that emperor.
9. 1. This and other Chinese evidences, referring the glorious period of the Great Kushanas to the third century A.D., have been discussed in my article on the Kushan Chronology (JDL , 1920, pp. 71 ff).
10. 2. The Sassanian coins, discussed later, clearly prove this.
11. 3. Cf. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. XII. pp. 109-114. Herzfeld also gives a brief outline of the Sassanid history in his Kushano-Sassanian Coins (MASI. No. 38) pp. 32 ff. The account in the text is based on these two authorities. The names of kings have been spelt according to the former.
12. 4. Herzfeld, Kush-Sas. Coins, p. 32.
13. 5. This is stated in Camb. Anc. Hist., XII, p. 110 on the authority of Herzfeld's Paikuli pp. 36 ff. But Herzfeld does not state this in his later work, Kush-Sas. Coins, p. 32, where he describes the conquest of Ardashir. The claim rests on the statement of Tabari that while Ardashir, after his conquest mentioned above, halted at Gor, he was visited by messengers from the kings of Kushan, Turan and Makran who expressed their allegiance. V. A. Smith finds a corroboration of it in a coin of Shllada ruler Pasana (to be referred later in the text above), which was restruck on the reverse with the symbol found on the coins of Ardashir, and the story preserved by Firishta that Ardashir marched against India and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind but returned on receiving homage and tribute from the Indian king (of Kanauj) (JRAS, 1920, pp. 221 ff).
14. 6. Herzfeld, Kush-Sas . Coins.
15. 1. Herzfeld, Paikuli, pp. 35-51.
16. 1. Mr. R. D. Banerji's reconstruction of the history of these kings, apart from being based on highly speculative theories about the coins, is vitiated by the assumed date of Gondophares (about 100 years later than Kanishka) which is now generally discarded. The significance of the various syllables or groups of syllables occurring on these coins still remains a mystery. Mr. Banerji upheld the view that they werg the initial letter or letters of the names of subordinate chiefs issuing them

and of the mint-towns or provinces from which they were issued. This view seems reasonable, but cannot be regarded as certain. The restoration of the names like Mahi(dhara), Viru(dhaka), Ga(ndhara), Khu(draka), Pu(shkalavatl), Na(garahara) etc. by supplying the portions within the brackets is, of course, highly questionable, (cf. Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians, Num. Chr. 1893, p. 119).

17. 2. For the coins of the Later Kushanas (and the Hunas) the standard authority is Cunningham, Later Indo-Scythians originally published as a series of essays in Numismatic Chronicle for 1893 and 1894. A summary of these essays, and other references on this subject are given by V. A. Smith in JASB. LXIII (1894), pp. 177 ff. cf. also CCIM, 85 ff. and Martin (op. cit.). R. D. Banerji corrected some
18. readings of names in JPASB. IV. 81 ff. and these corrections have been accepted in the text above.
19. 1. CII, II. Ixxvii.
20. 1. EHP. 274.
21. 2. For an account of these two inscriptions, cf. Herzfeld, Kush-Sas. Coins, pp. 35-36. In the statement on p. 36 that the second inscription is dated "in the year 47(?) of Shapur I—the numbers are much obliterated," Shapur I is evidently a printing mistake for Shapur II.
22. 3. Martin, pp. 24-26.
23. 1. Martin, p. 39. Cf. also the authorities referred to in fn. 2, p. 53.
24. 2. V. A. Smith was opposed to this identification and believed that the wellexecuted Kidara-Kushana coins were as early as A.D. 300 or 350 and approximately contemporaneous with the Shaka, Shilada and Gadahara coins referred to above (JASB, LXIII. 182-3).
25. 3. Martin, p. 30; Herzfeld, Kush-Sas. Coins, p. 36.
26. 1. Martin, p. 32.
27. 2. Martin, pp. 33 ff. 41 ff.
28. 3. Two of the three types of Gadahara coinage enumerated by Cunningham have been noted above, viz. those bearing the names of Peraya and Kirada. Regarding the third bearing the name of Samudra Mr. R. D. Banerji observes:— "The resemblance between this coin and the coin of Samudra-gupta is so great that it is possible to say that the Gadahara tribe at least acknowledged the suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins." (op. cit, 93). A similar

coin with the name Chandra-gupta (?) is described by Smith (JRAS, 1893, p. 145).

29. — — — — — . — 1 — "
30. 1. Chavannes (Documents sur les toukiue Occidental, p. 223) definitely says that the White Huns were subject to the Juan-Juan tribe and did not come into prolninence till the middle pf the fifth century A.D. Martin's view (pp. 35 ff.) that they had raided Peshawar prior to A.D. 400 rests on very doubtful evidence. The statement of Fa-hien, quoted by him, is misleading, as Fa-hien refers not to an Ephthalite king, as Martin says on the authority of Giles, but to a king of Yueh-^he, whom Legge takes to be Kanishka (Travels of Fa-hien p 34)
31. S U Lu h w teV r e r r we may think of this there is no authority^ taking Yueh-she as Ephthalite Huns. As regards the imitation by the Huns of the Sassanian coins of the fourth century A.D., this is not a very convincing argument, as the barbarian invaders often copied even old coins.
32. 2. Martin, pp. 34-35, 37-8.
33. 3. Ibid.
34. 4. See f. n. 1 above.
35. 5. For references, see f. n. 2, p. 53.
36. 1. JPASB, XXX, Num. Suppl. XLV. 77.
37. 2. Ibid. This is evidently the name which was wrongly read before as Siladitya.
38. 3. Martin, p. 23.

NORTHERN INDIA AFTER THE BREAK-UP OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE (SIXTH CENTURY A.D.)

For nearly half a century after the break-up of the Gupta empire, Northern India presented the usual picture of political disintegration—a number of independent states struggling for power, and, if possible, for establishing suzerainty over others. Most of these states were off-shoots of the Gupta empire, chief among them being the principalities ruled over by the Maitrakas, the Kalachuris, 1 the Gurjaras, the Maukharis, and the Later Guptas, and the kingdoms of Nepal, Bengal, Assam, and Orissa. Outside the limits of the empire, the kingdoms of Kashmir and Thaneswar on the north-west and Southern Kalinga in the south-east came into prominence. It was not till the beginning of the seventh century A.D. that a powerful ruler of Thaneswar once more succeeded in establishing a big empire and bringing back, to a limited extent and for a short time, that political unity and solidarity which Northern India enjoyed under the Imperial Guptas. It is necessary, therefore, to review separately the history of these various states during the sixth century A.D., before we can again take up the main thread of the imperial history of Northern India.

1. VALABHI

Of all the states that arose out of the ruins of the Gupta empire the kingdom of Valabhi proved to be the most durable. It has been noted above how the descendants of Bhatarka, a Gupta general of the Maitraka clan 2 and the governor of Saurashtra or Kathiawai Peninsula, gradually made themselves powerful towards the close

Note 1

Note 2

of the fifth century A.D. The first two chiefs, Bhatarka and hi 5 son Dharasena, called themselves Sendpati , but their successors styled themselves Maharaja or Mahdsdmanta Maharaja. The third king Dronasimha, the younger brother of Dharasena, is said to have been invested with the rank and title of Maharaja by his (Gupta) overlord, probably Budha-gupta. 1 Both Dronasimha and his younger brother and successor Maharaja Dhruvasena issued land-grants in the manner of independent kings, but the expression of allegiance to the paramount sovereign shows that they had not yet finally thrown off the yoke of the Guptas.

The date of the foundation of this kingdom cannot be precisely determined. The earliest land-grant of the family, so far discovered, is the one issued by Mahdrdja Dronasimha in A.D. 502. As his brother Dharasena and his father Bhatarka preceded him, the date of the latter cannot be placed much later than A.D. 475, and may be even somewhat earlier. As we have seen above, Parnadatta was appointed governor of Surashtra in A.D. 455-56. Bhatarka's date may, therefore, be provisionally fixed between A.D. 465 and 475. 2

All the royal grants are issued from Valabhl which must have been the capital city. When or under what circumstances the capital was removed from Girinagara, modern Junagadh, where Parnadatta evidently had his headquarters, it is difficult to say. It has been suggested that the capital was removed as the bursting of the Sudarsana lake was a standing menace to its safety. 3 It is true that we have records showing that such a calamity occurred at least twice, once in A.D. 150 and again in A.D. 455, but that is hardly sufficient to account for the removal of the capital, especially to such a great distance.

The extent of the kingdom of Valabhl is also uncertain. The site of the capital city is now represented by Wala or Vala (21°52' N, 71°57' E) in old Bhavnagar State in Eastern Kathiawar Peninsula. The villages, donated in the grants of the early rulers, are all situated in the neighbouring region. But as Bhatarka was the governor of

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

Surashtra, it may be presumed that the kingdom carved out by his successors roughly corresponded to that province.

An unsually large number of records of this family have come to light which enable us to reconstruct the genealogy and chronology of the kings with a fair degree of certainty. But these records contain little else of historical value. Of Dhruvasena I, for example, we have no less than 16 grants, but they do not refer to a single event of historical importance. 1 We only know that he also paid at least nominal allegiance to a suzerain, presumably the Gupta overlord, and was on the throne from at least G.E. 206 to 226 (A.D. 525-545). Dhruvasena was succeeded by his younger brother Maharaja Dharapatta of whom no record has yet been found. Dharapatta was succeeded by his son Maharaja Guhasena whose known dates range between 240 (or 237) and 248 (A.D. 556 or 559 to 567). It is significant that Guhasena's grants discard the epithet 'paramahhaltaraka-pddanudhyata/ which was used by Dhruvasena I. This shows that the Maitraka kings no longer paid even nominal allegiance to any overlord, and indirectly confirms the supposition th$t this overlord was the Gupta emperor, for it is difficult to think of any other who held this position from about A.D. 475 to 550 and then ceased to do so. The final overthrow of the Imperial Gupta dynasty between A.D. 550 and 570, as noted above, fully explains the absence of all references to its suzerainty in Valabhl records since the time of Guhasena. It is probably for this reason that in later records of the family, since the time of &Iladitya I (A.D. 606), the conventional genealogy of the royal family, as given in the landgrants, begins with Guhasena, descended from Bhatarka, the names of all the intervening rulers being omitted altogether.

Guhasena was followed by his son and grandson, Dharasena II and Siladitya I Bharmaditya. The known dates of the former range between A.D. 571 and 590, and those of the latter between A.D. 606 and 612. A single copper-plate 2 reveals the existence of a family (called Garulaka) of feudatory chiefs consisting of Sendpati Varahadasa I, his two sons Bhattisura and Varahadasa II, and the latter's son Simhaditya, the last three having the title Sdmanta-Mahardja. The change in titles is analogous to that of the Maitraka chiefs themselves. The grant was issued by Simhaditya in

A.D. 574 and he was, therefore, a feudatory of Dharasena II. The grant mentions that Varahadasa II defeated a ruler of Dvaraka, which is on the west coast of Kathiawar Peninsula. It is probable that Varhahadasa II

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

fought on behalf of his overlord (Guhasena or Dharasena II). Whether this fight denotes an extension of Maitraka power to the western extremity of Surashtra, which was till now independent, or whether it refers to a rebellion of a feudatory, it is difficult to say. The former appears more probable, for Dharasena II, in one record, assumes the paramount title Mahddhirdja^ and this claim, perhaps, rests upon an extension of territory.

The extension of the Valabhi kingdom about this time is also perhaps indicated by a statement of Hiuen Tsang. 1 2 While describing Mo-la-po, he refers to its king Slladitya, who ruled over the country sixty years before his time. This would place the reign of Slladitya about A.D. 580. In spite of slight discrepancy in dates, the identity of king Slladitya of Mo-la-po with Slladitya I Dharmaditya of Valabhi may be regarded as almost certain. For the Chinese pilgrim calls his contemporary ruler of Valabhi a nephew of Slladitya, king of Mo-la-po, and we know that Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhi in A.D. 640, was the nephew of Slladitya I.

If we assume this identity, we must hold that king Slladitya ruled over an extensive kingdom. In spite of the difference of views about the location of Mo-la-po, there cannot be any doubt that it represents the name Malava, and comprised a considerable portion of Western Malwa. 3 We may therefore hold that towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Valabhi had become the most powerful kingdom in Western India.

Hiuen Tsang pays high compliments to king Slladitya. He is said to be a “monarch of great administrative ability and of rare kindness and compassion.” He built a Buddhist temple, “extremely artistic in structure and ornament,” and held every year a “great religious assembly” to which Buddhists were summoned from all quarters. From epigraphic records we know that the king had the surname Dharmaditya, and this fits in well with the description of his character by the Chinese pilgrim.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. For the history of the Kalachuris cf. Chap. XI. B. III.
2. 2. Due to a faulty translation of the opening passage of the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings, it was erroneously held for a long time that 'Bhatarka successfully fought against the Maitrakas.' * Hultzsch was the first to point out (El. III. 320) that according to the proper construction of the passage it really means that Bhatarka himself belonged to the family or tribe of the Maitrakas, and not that he fought against it. This view is now unanimously accepted. Fleet and other scholars identified the Maitrakas with Mihiras and regarded them as sun-worshipping people of foreign origin. Fleet even went so far as to suggest that the Maitrakas were the 'particular family or clan among the Hunas, to which Toramana and Mihirakula belonged' (CII. Ill, Introd. 12) and this view has been accepted by others (1HQ . 1928, p. 457; JPASB. 1909, p. 183). But this theory, originally prompted by the wrong translation, noted above, has really no basis. (Cf. JC. V. 408-9).
3. 1. Cf. p. 30. There seems to be no reasonable ground to suppose that the overlord of Dronasimha could be either Toramana or Yasodharman, or indeed any one other than the Gupta emperor (for a discussion of this point cf. 1C. V. 409).
4. 2. There is a tradition current in Surashtra according to which, during the weak rule of Skanda-gupta, his sendpati Bhattaraka of the Gehloti race, whose forefathers were rulers of Ayodhya and displaced by the Guptas, came into Surashtra and stabilised his rule there. Two years after this Skanda-gupta died. The sendpati now assumed the title of king of Surashtra and founded the city of Valabhl-nagara (for the full story, cf. I A, II. 312). The clear epigraphic evidence that Sendpati Bhatarka never assumed the title of king shows what little reliance can be placed on these stories. The view that Bhatarka issued coins in his own name rests upon a very doubtful interpretation of the coin-legends (JRASBL, III. Num. Suppl. p. 99).
5. 3. 1C. V. 413-4.
6. 1. These inscriptions give him various titles such as Mahasamanta, Maharaja ,
7. Mahdpratihjira, Mahddandandyaka, Mahakartakritika.

8. 2. EL XI. 17.

2. THE GURJARAS OF RAJPUTANA

The Gurjaras came into prominence about the second half of the sixth century A.D. They, no doubt, took advantage of the downfall of the Gupta empire to establish their political authority. Their most important kingdom was that founded in the heart of Rajputana near Jodhpur, and this region came to be called after

Note 1

Note 2

them Gujaratra, a variant of Gujarat. The state, now known as Gujarat, was not called by that name till a much later period. • In addition to these two important regions called after the Gurjaras, there are other localities associated with the name of this people. We have, for example, place-names like Gujranwala, Gujarat and Gujar-khan in the Punjab. The district of Saharanpur was also called Gujarat in the eighteenth century, and one of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gujargarh.

These place-names indicate that the Gurjaras had quite a large number of settlements in different parts of the country. This inference is corroborated by the present distribution of the Gujars, who may be regarded as the modern representatives of the old Gurjaras. They are fairly numerous in the Western Himalayas, the Punjab, the Uttar Pradesh and western Rajputana and are also found in the hilly country beyond the Sindhu. They constitute a large part of the population of Gujarat, but are not found to the south of the Satpura mountains. 1

The origin of the Gurjaras is a subject of keen controversy. Many scholars hold the view that the Gurjaras were a foreign people who came to India along with the Hunas, and their gradual advance from the Punjab, through

Rajputana into Gujarat, is marked by the various localities that still bear their name. This view is, however, contested by others who take Gurjara to be primarily the name of a country whose inhabitants were naturally known as Gurjaras. It has been suggested that the various geographical units now called Gujarat (or allied names) were originally parts of a large homogeneous country named Gurjaradesa under the political authority of its own kings, and while isolated fragments of it have retained the old name others have lost it. 2 This view has not, however, met with general acceptance. For while there is no evidence that the mighty empire of the Pratiharas had a common geographical name and a homogeneous character as distinguished from the rest of India, several parts of it have retained distinct names throughout the duration of that empire and even later. The various localities clearly associated in old times with the name Gurjara, and the present geographical distribution of the people called Gujars, undoubtedly favour the view that the term primarily denoted a people, and the countries derived their names from them. The Malavas* offer an exact analogy to the Gurjaras in this respect. But though we can be more or less sure that the Gurjaras were originally the name of a people, there is no definite evidence that they were foreigners, and came to India in historical times in the wake of the Hunas, the Kushanas or other foreign hordes. Their sudden rise into prominence in the sixth century A.D., and the attempt of some of their royal dynasties to fabricate a mythical origin, no doubt, lend

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reference? in e jm Wi X tW ° *f raS haVe been fully bussed with

, e TT ces in fpL. X. 1 ff. For the settlement of the Gujars in Unoer Swit

/nf S Y n, i°f? Alexander’s Track to the Indus, pp. 150-51.

IHn y qq 7 vt The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Part III pp 1 ff

IHQ, X. 337, 613; XI. 167; XIII. 137; 1C. I. 510; IV. 113; JBROS. XXIV 221.'

colour to this view. But these cannot be relied upon as definite evidence, and we may cite analogous instances of the Kalachuris and the Chandellas. On the whole, this question must be left open till more definite evidence is available. 1

The earliest Gurjara kingdom, known so far, is that founded by Harichandra 2 in the modern Jodhpur State in Rajputana, about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Harichandra was a Brahmana, versed in the Vedas and other sdstras. He had two wives. The sons born of his Brahmana wife became Pratihara Brahmanas, while those born of his Kshatriya wife became the founders of the royal line of the Pratiharas. It is significant that the Kshatriya wife Bhadra is called queen while no such royal epithet is given to his Brahmana wife. It seems that Harichandra followed peaceful Brahmanical pursuits in his early life, but when, after the fall of the Gupta empire and of the empires of Mihirakula and Yasodharman, Northern India presented a favourable field for military enterprise, he gave up the sdstras (scriptures) for the sastra (arms), as many others have done both before and after him. He proved successful and founded a kingdom. He had four sons by queen Bhadra, viz. Bhogabhata, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda. They conquered and fortified Mandavyapura (Mandor, five miles to the north of Jodhpur) which presumably became their capital. The four sons of Harichandra are described as fit to hold the earth, and this probably implies that each of them ruled over a separate principality. But we do not know anything about the first two. The third Rajjila ruled in Mandavyapura. He was succeeded by his son Narabhata and the latter bv his son Nagabhata, who fixed his permanent capital at Medantaka (probably Merta, 70 miles north-east of Jodhpur). Harichandra and his three successors, mentioned above, probably ruled between c. A.D; 550 and 640. Eight more generations of this family, comprising ten kings, ruled during the next two hundred years and their history will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

3. THE GURJARAS OF NANDIPURI [1]

In addition to the kingdom in Rajputana, there was another principality in the region round Broach ruled over by Gurjara chiefs. The four earliest records of the family, dated between A.D. 629 and 641, .were issued by a king named Dadda II Prasantaraga, son of Vitaraga Jayabhata I, and grandson of Dadda I. It appears from these records that his principality extended from the river Mahi in the north to the Kim in the south, and from the sea-coast in the west to the borders of Malwa and Khandesh on the east. As all the grants were issued from Nandlpurl, that was probably the capital of the family. It has been identified by Blihler with Broach and by Bhagwanlal Xndraji with Nandod, situated on the Karjan river in the Rajpipla State. [2]

As Dadda I is expressly said to have been born in the family of the Gurjara kings, and must have flourished in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D., he may reasonably be identified with Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, the founder of the main Gurjara family mentioned above. As noted above, all the four sons of Harichandra are described as fit to bear the burdens of the earth, and it is very likely that while the third son Rajjila ruled near Jodhpur, the three other sons also established separate principalities. In addition to the kingdom of Broach we hear of another Gurjara kingdom in Malwa, with its capital at Avanti, at a somewhat later date, and as the rulers called themselves Pratiharas they might have been descended from one of the sons of Harichandra. It is, however, difficult to say whether Dadda I himself advanced as far as Broach, for we do not know whether the vast intervening region was conquered by the Gurjaras. Besides, as we shall see later, the territory over which this dynasty ruled was included in the dominions of the Kalachuri kings ^ahkaragana and Buddharaja. If, therefore, we hold that Dadda I founded this principality in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. we must suppose that he or his son lost it or became feudatories of the Kalachuris. The probability, therefore, is that Dadda I founded a principality somewhere in southern Rajputana and it was only after the collapse of the Kalachuri power that he or his son occupied Broach and the district around it. It is not improbable that the Gurjaras sought the aid of Pulakesin and voluntarily submitted to him in order to overpower the Kalachuris. It is probably by this means that the Gurjaras occupied their territories in Gujarat not long after A.D. 610, and

Note 6

Note 7

eventually Malwa, or at least a large portion of it, also passed into their hands.

Dadda I is said to have overthrown some hostile Nagas, and it is therefore likely that he carved out a principality by ejecting some branch of the Naga tribe. Dadda and his successors are called Sdmantas or feudatories, and no royal titles are given them in their records. On the other hand, these Grants do not refer to any paramount sovereign. It may be presumed, therefore, that they owed allegiance to the main Gurjara ruling family in Rajputana or to the Chalukyas.

4. THE MAUKHARIS

Maukhari is the name of a very ancient family or clan. The name was probably known to Panini. A clay-seal of the clan belonging to the Maurya period has been found at Gaya. A Maukhari general is referred to in an inscription dated A.D. 239 found in Kotah State in Rajputana. Four inscriptions 1 engraved on stone yupas (sacrificial pillars) show that there were several Maukhari families in this locality during the third century A.D. When later they came to be a great power, the Maukharis claimed to be descended from Asvapati, referred to in the Mahdbharata as king of Madra in the Central Punjab. It would thus appear that the Maukharis were widely spread over Northern India at a very early period.

In the sixth century A.D. a Maukhari family ruled in the neighbourhood of Gaya. Three kings of this family are known from three inscriptions found in the Barabar and Nagarjuni Hills in the Gaya District. These are Yajna-varman, his son Sardula-varman and the latter's son Ananta-varman. They were all feudatories to the Guptas. Ananta-varman, in whose reign all the three inscriptions were engraved, flourished at the time of the decline of the Gupta empire. For his records do not refer to the paramount sovereign, although they describe his grandfather as a feudatory chief. Nothing further is known of this family and their rule may be placed in the first half of the sixth century A.D. or perhaps a little earlier.

Another branch of the Maukharis, who ultimately became more powerful, is known from several seals and inscriptions. The royal seals give us the following genealogy:—

1. Maharaja Hari-varman = JayasvaminI

2. Maharaja Aditya-varman = Harshagupta

3. Maharaja Isvara-varman — Upagupta

4. Mahdrdjddhirdja, Tsana-varman — Lakshmlvati

Note 8

5. Mahdrdjddhiraja Sarva-varman = Indrabhattarika

6. Mahdrdjddhiraja Avanti-varman =

7. Mahdrdjddhiraja Su —

The distinction between the titles given to the first three kings and the rest leaves no doubt that the reign of Isana-varman marked the rise of the family to power and prestige. As all the inscriptions of the family, other than the small seals, and their coins have been found within the limits of the modern province of U.P., we may regard it roughly as the seat of their power. Fortunately, we possess a date of Isana-varman which is generally taken to be equivalent to A.D. 554. There can thus be hardly any doubt that the three predecessors of Isana-varman were feudatories of the Gupta empire and flourished during the first half of the sixth century A.D., and probably somewhat earlier. It would thus follow that the Maukhari families ruled as feudatory chiefs in S. Bihar and U.P. since the time of Budha-gupta, and the decline of the power of the Imperial Guptas, early in the sixth century A.D., gave them an opportunity to assert their independence. Although we have vague references to the military campaigns carried on far and wide by these Maukhari kings, we do not know anything definite of their history until we come to the reign of Isana-varman. He claims to have defeated the Andhras, Sulikas and the Gaudas. These probably refer respectively to the Vishnukundins, 1 the Sulkis of Orissa 2 and some ruling powers of Bengal. 3 These conquests indicate extensive military campaigns and great power. Isana-varman was thus fully justified in assuming the title Mahdrdjddhiraja. He was the first in his family to assume this imperial title and to issue coins. It is, therefore, very likely that he was the first Maukhari king to set up an independent kingdom and establish the power of the family. As one of his known dates is A.D. 554 his rise to power almost coincides with the downfall of the Gupta empire and may be the cause or effect of this event, or perhaps both, to a certain extent.

The Later Guptas, who came into prominence about the same time, and due to the same circumstances, challenged the power of the Maukharis. There was a protracted struggle between the two for the remnants of the Gupta empire and, as will be narrated later, the Maukhari king Isana-varman was defeated by Kumara-gupta and probably also by Damodara-gupta.

Very little is known of the history of the Maukharis after Isanavarman. Reference will be made later to their struggle with the

1. See Ch. XI, C. 1(2).

2. Cf. Vol. IV, Ch. IV, HI. 3.

3. Probably the kings mentioned on p. 77.

Later Guptas. Although they do not always seem to have met with great success, there is some evidence of the occupation of Magadha or a part of it by the next two kings Sarva-varman and Avantivarman. The Maukhari rulers must have been fairly powerful throughout the latter half of the sixth century A.D. This follows not only from the imperial titles assumed by both the kings, but also from the eulogistic expressions used by Banabhatta in the Harshacharita. He remarks that the ‘Maukharis stand at the head of all royal houses, and Avanti-varman is the pride of that race.’ 1 Even allowing for poetic exaggerations, particularly when the occasion was a matrimonial alliance of his patron’s family with the Maukharis, Banabhatta’s eulogy undoubtedly conveys the idea that the Maukhari rulers enjoyed great power and distinction up to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. It may also be noted in this connection that Ban a, in his other work Kudambarl , mentions with pride that the feet of his guru were worshipped by the Maukhari kings. 2

As mentioned above, either Isana-varman or his son Sarvavarman fought with the H€mas and defeated them. There is no doubt that both Sarva-varman and his son Avanti-varman were powerful kings and ruled over considerable territory. But it is difficult to form even an approximate idea of its limits. To judge from the findspots of coins and inscriptions, the kingdom seems to have corresponded roughly to the present Uttar Pradesh. It also included portions of Magadha. The view that Asirgadh in the Nimar District (Madhya Pradesh) was a ‘Maukhari outpost in the Deccan’ has nothing to commend itself. 3 The theory that the Maukhari dominion extended up to the Sutlej in the west also rests on very insufficient grounds. 4 Kanauj seems to have been the capital

Note 9

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Note 11

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Note 13

of the Maukhari kingdom, at least in the time of Avanti-varman and his son, but of this too we have no positive evidence. * 1

Many dated coins of isana-varman, Sarva-varman and Avantivarman have come to light. Unfortunately the numerical figures are very uncertain, and widely divergent readings have been proposed by different scholars. 2 So it is impossible to form any definite conclusions from them. Some scholars have read the dates 257, 234, and 250 on coins respectively of Isana-varman, Sarva-varman and Avanti-varman, while another scholar has read the same figures as 257, 258, and 260. Assuming these to be correct, and referring them to the Gupta era, we get A.D. 576-7 for Isana-varman, A.D. 577-8 for Sarva-varman and A.D. 579-80 for Avanti-varman. The last two dates may be tentatively accepted and cannot be very far from truth. For it may be reasonably inferred from the Harsh ®charita that Avanti-varman had died and his eldest son Graha-varman was on the throne some time before A.D. 606. If we accept the date A.D. 576 for Isana-varman, he must have ruled from c. A.D. 550 to 576, and Sarva-vaman had a very short rule between A.D. 576 and 580. We may thus provisionally accept the following chronological table:—

c. A.D. 550-576 3 c. A.D. 576-580 c. A.D. 580-600

Isana-varman

Sarva-varman

Avanti-varman

There is some uncertainty regarding the successor of Avantivarman. In Bana's Harsha-charita, king Prabhakara-vardhana tells his queen that 'Graha-varman, the eldest son of Avanti-varman, seeks our daughter.' 4 Later, we are told that an envoy extraordinary had arrived with instructions from Graha-varman to sue for the hand of princess RajyasrlJ 5 These references make it clear that

Note 14

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Graha-varman, the eldest son of Avanti-varman, had succeeded his father before he married Rajyasri in or shortly before A.D. 006. 1

But according to a Nalanda. seal 2 the son and successor of Avanti-varman is certainly not Graha-varman. Though, on account of the damaged state of the seal, the name cannot be read in full, its first letter is undoubtedly Su and the second probably va or cha. In any case it cannot be the first part of Graha-varman. This raises a difficult problem. The omission of Graha-varman's name in the seal does not, of course, conclusively prove that he did not reign, or even that he did not succeed his father, and in view of

Bana's positive statement we may reject these views. It would then follow that king Suva (?). . who issued the seal was a younger brother of Graha-varman and succeeded him. 3 Even this is opposed to the view generally held about the history of Kanauj after the tragic death of Graha-varman. But this problem will be discussed in connection with Harsh-vardhana. We may close the history of the Maukharis with the happy event of the marriage of Graha-varman and Rajyasri of which Bana has given such a picturesque account.

This marriage was rightly regarded as 'uniting the two brilliant lines of Pushpabhuti and Mukhara.' 4 But little could one foresee at the time all the consequences of this fateful alliance. For seldom did a royal marriage bring in its train so much tragedy as well as so much glory and power.

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(iii) Nalanda Seal EL XXIV. 284.

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1. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj, Ch. II.

2. R. G. Basak, History of North-Eastern India, Ch. V.

3. E. Pires, The Maukharis.

For certain views about the Maukharis which rest on very insufficient data and have not therefore been discussed above, cf. N1A, II. 354; POC, VII. 569; Woolner Comm. Volume, p. 116.

Note 19

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Note 24

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5. THE LATER GUPTAS

The history of the Later Guptas is similar in many respects to that of the Maukharis. They too were at first feudatory to the Imperial Guptas, and came into prominence and asserted their independence about the same time as the Maukharis. An inscription found at Aphsad, near Gaya, 1 gives the following genealogy of the

early kings of this dynasty:

1. Krishna-gupta

2. Harsha-gupta

3. JIvita-gupta

4. Kumara-gupta

5. Damodara-gupta

6. Mahasena-gupta

7. Madhava-gupta

8. Aditya-sena

Although no royal title is given to any of these, Krishna-gupta is called a nripa (king) and similar epithets are applied to his successors.

We do not know for certain which member of this family was the first to set up as an independent king. The Aphsad inscription describes in very general and conventional terms the military achievements of the first three kings. The third king is said to have carried his arms to the Himalaya mountains as well as to the sea. But there is nothing to show whether these campaigns were undertaken by the Later Gupta rulers as feudatories on behalf of their suzerains, or as independent chiefs. The former, however, appears more probable.

More details are available about the next king Kumara-gupta. He defeated the Maukhari king Isana-varman, who is described as 'a very moon of kings.' Kumara-gupta's success must have paved the way for the rise in the fortunes of his family. When we remember that there is no reference in any record to a Gupta emperor after A.D. 543, we may well believe that from the time of Kumara-gupta, if not before, the Later Guptas had, to all intents and purposes, assumed an independent position. That the success attained by Kumara-gupta was both great and permanent is proved by the fact, recorded in the Aphsad inscription, that he had advanced up to Prayaga where he died, and that his son Damodara-gupta again defeated the Mauhkaris, though he was probably killed or was seriously wounded in the battle. 2

Note 27

Note 28

There is no reason to discredit these claims, particularly as the Maukhari records do not claim any victory over their opponents. Whether the Maukhari king defeated by Damodara-gupta was Isana-varman or his son is difficult to say. But there seems to be little doubt that the Later Guptas had by then strongly established themselves both in Malwa as well as in the eastern parts of the Gupta empire. For Mahasena-gupta, the son of Damodara-gupta, carried his victorious arms as far as the Lauhita or Brahmaputra, and defeated Susthita-varman, the king of Kamarupa or Assam.

In spite of uncertainties regarding the original home of the Later Gupta kings, to which reference will be made later, we are on comparatively safe ground regarding the extent of Mahasena-gupta's dominions. He is described as the king of Malava in the Harsha-cha rita^ and his victory on the banks of the Brahmaputra is vouched for by the Aphsad Inscription. We must, therefore, hold'that he succeeded in bringing under his sway, at least for some time, the extensive dominions from Malava to Bengal. Reference may be made in this connection to two foreign invasions of Magadha and adjoining regions about this time. According to the Mahakuta Pillar Inscription, the Chalukya king Kirtivarman, who ruled from A.D. 567 to 597, defeated, among others, the kings of Anga, Vanga and Magadha. * 1 2 We also know from the chronicles of Tibet that its powerful king Sroh-btsan, who ruled between A.D. 581 and 600, led a victorious campaign to Central India, a term which usually denotes Bihar and sometimes also U.P. 3 The exact date and details of these campaigns, and whether they were merely vain boasts or based upon historical fact, it is difficult to determine. 4 It is not unlikely that the brunt of the alleged victorious campaigns of tile Tibetan and Chalukya kings had really been borne by the Maukharis, and that this paved the way for the triumphant march of Mahasena-gupta up to the Brahmaputra. On the other hand, if we suppose that Mahasena-gupta was really master of Magadha and

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Northern Bengal, he might have been worsted in these campaigns if at all they took place.

But whatever view we might take, there is no doubt that Mahasena-gupta, who seemed to have revived to some extent the glory of the Guptas, soon fell on evil days. As we have seen above, 1 the Maitraka king Slladitya I of Valabhi conquered a considerable portion of Western Malwa; the Kalachuri king Sankaragana was also m possession of UjjayinI in the year A.D. 595. 2 Thus pressed by two powerful enemies, Mahasena-gupta lost his hold over Malava. At the same time, evidently taking advantage of his distress, Sasanka, who was probably a feudatory of Mahasena-gupta, asserted his independence in Gauda (N. and W. Bengal) .

The fate of Mahasena-gupta, whose brilliant career ended so tragically, is not definitely known. His two sons Kumara-gupta and Madhava-gupta found shelter at the court of king Prabhakaravardnana of Thaneswar, whose mother Mahasena-gupta, as the name shows, was probably a sister of king Mahasena-gupta. The two young princes became attendants of Rajya-vardhana and Harshavardhana, the two sons of Prabhakara-vardhana.

There are good grounds to believe that one Deva-gupta soon became king of Malava, or at least a part of it. 3 A king of this name is mentioned in the records of Harsha-vardhana as being prominent among the hostile kings whose evil career was checked by R.ajyavardhana. Rajya-vardhana is also known from the HcirsKa-charita to have defeated the Malava-lord who invaded his sister's dominions and threatened his own. As the two young princes with their names ending in Gupta, who waited upon Rajya-vardhana and Harshavardhana, are explicitly referred to as sons of the king of Malava, and as the Guptas are thus definitely associated with this kingdom, there is a strong presumption in favour of identifying Deva-gupta of Harsha's inscriptions with the wicked lord of Malava, mentioned in the Harsha-charita, who was defeated by Rajya-vardhana according to both these authorities. 4

Deva-gupta's relationship with Mahasena-gupta is not known. Evidently, when following the defeat and death of the latter, his two young sons (the elder of whom was less than 18 at the time) had

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sought refuge with Prabhakara-vardhana, Deva-gupta, probably a member of a collateral branch, 1 re-established the Gupta power in Malava. The recovery of the kingdom was perhaps facilitated by the defeat inflicted upon the Kalachuri king Buddharaja by the Chalukya king Mahgalesa, some time before A.D. 602. 2 The northern advance of the Chalukya king up to the river Kim, or perhaps even to the Mahi, must have had repercussions in the political atmosphere of Malava and the neighbouring regions, and Deva-gupta perhaps seized the opportunity to recover Malava. It appears that he virtually recognized the independence of Sasahka and formed an alliance with him. It is also not unlikely that Deva-gupta himself played some part in the downfall of Mahasena-gupta, though there is no evidence to support this view.

The later history of this dynasty will be related in a separate chapter. But it will be convenient to discuss here the vexed question of the locality over which it originally ruled. As will be shown later, Adityasena, the grandson of Mahasena-gupta, ruled in Magadha, and so did all his successors. The Aphsad inscription of Adityasena gives a continuous account of the whole dynasty from the very beginning up to his reign, without indicating in any way that it had migrated from a different place. It may, therefore, be presumed that Magadha was the kingdom over which the dynasty ruled from the beginning. It has been suggested on the other hand, that all the kings down to Mahasena-gupta ruled in Malava, and it was only at a later period that his successors ruled in Magadha. 3 The principal argument in favour of this view is the fact that Kumara-gupta and Madhava-gupta, the attendants of Rajya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana, are referred to in the Harsha-charita as sons of the king of Malava. This Madhava-gupta is generally identified with the king of that name in the Later Gupta dynasty, who was the son of Mahasena-gupta, and is referred to in the Aphsad Inscription in such a way as to indicate his close association with Harsha. If we accept this identity, we must presume that Mahasena-gupta was a ruler of Malava. But this cannot be taken to disprove that he was the ruler of Magadha. For as he carried on his victorious expedition to the bank of the Brahmaputra, he must have been in possession of Magadha and Gauda. What seems most likely, therefore, is that he had to take shelter in Malava when he had lost his eastern territories, as described above. Although this cannot be definitely proved, the alternative assumption, that he was the ruler of Malava and con

Note 38

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quered all the eastern territories up to the Brahmaputra, is open to more serious objection. It is to be noted that an inscription of Kamarupa refers to a victory of the forces of Gauda which must have taken place almost immediately after the victorious campaign of Mahasena-gupta. It may be presumed, therefore, that Mahasenagupta was regarded as king of Gauda rather than that of Malava. As Sasanka, who ruled over Gauda and Magadha immediately after Mahasena-gupta, is also known as lord of Gau^a, it is very likely that the latter ruled over Magadha and Gauda which were conquered by Sasanka. Thus although it is impossible to come to any definite conclusion, it seems very reasonable to regard the Later Guptas as rulers of Gauda and Magadha with suzerainty over Malava. In other words, they came into possession of those parts of the Gupta dominions which had not been formed into independent kingdoms and were, so to say, the residuary legatees of the Gupta empire.

This does not, however, necessarily imply that the Later Guptas were descended from the Imperial Guptas. The similarity of the name endings, the common names like Kumara-gupta and Devagupta, and the fact that the Later Guptas came into immediate possession of a large part of the dominions of the Imperial Guptas, no doubt favour such a supposition, and it has even been suggested that Krishna-gupta, the founder of the dynasty, was identical with Govinda-gupta, a son of Chandra-gupta II, whom we know from a Basarh seal and an inscription. But there is not enough evidence to support this identification. On the other hand, we should remember that not even the slightest hint of any such relationship is given in the records of the Later Guptas. It is difficult to believe that the court-poets of the Later Guptas wmuld have missed such a splendid opportunity of glorifying their patrons if they had the least claim to such an illustrious lineage.

6. BENGAL

Two independent kingdoms arose in Bengal on the ruins of the Gupta empire. 1 The first, which comprised the Southern and Eastern, as also a part of Western^ Bengal, was founded in the first half of the sixth century A.D. Six copper-plate grants have preserved the names of three kings of this dynasty, viz. Gopachandra, Dharmaditya and Samacharadeva; but very little is known about any of them. They all assumed the title Mahdrdjddhirdja, and at least one of them, Samacharadeva, issued gold coins, one type of which resembled that of the last Gupta emperors.

1. For full discussions with references, cf. HBR. 51 ff.

One Maharaja Yijayasena is referred to as an influential feudatory chief and a high official in the grants of both Vainya-gupta and Gopachandra. It is quite likely that the same person is meant, though this cannot be definitely proved. If we assume this identity, we may hold that the Gupta rule in Lower Bengal ended immediately after Vaniya-gupta, and an independent kingdom was founded there by Gopachandra not long after A.D. 507.

As noted above, the Imperial Guptas maintained their hold over Northern Bengal till as late as A.D. 543. Whether they made any effort to reconquer Lower Bengal is not definitely known, but the fight of Jivita-gupta against the people on the sea-coast and the boast of Isana-varman that he forced the Gaudas ‘to take shelter in the sea’, probably refer to their attempts, on behalf of the empire, to bring back this province under the imperial authority, at least in name; for the real authority would probably have passed into the hands of the Maukharis or the Later Guptas.

But the newly-founded kingdom maintained its independence. Gopachandra ruled for at least 18 years, and was probably followed by Dharmaditya and Samacharadeva, but nothing is definitely known about their relationship, dates, or order of succession. Samacharadeva, who ruled for at least 14 years, assumed the title Narendraditya on his coins, evidently following the well-known Gupta tradition. These three kings may be referred to the period A.D. 525-575. A large number of gold coins—crude and debased imitations of the Gupta type—found in different parts of Eastern Bengal prove the existence of other kings in this locality who evidently ruled later. Of the kings who issued these coins, the names of only two can be read with some degree of certainty, viz. Prithuvira and Sudhanyaditya. All of them may be referred to the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., but it is not known whether they belonged to the older line of kings. Nor can we say how far the kingdom was affected by the alleged victorious campaigns of the Chalukya king Klrtivarman and the Tibetan king Sron-btsan referred to above.

The new kingdom may be called Vanga. For, from this period, Gauda and Vanga came to denote the two prominent political divisions of Bengal. Roughly speaking, the former comprised the Northern and Western, and the latter, the Southern and Eastern Bengal, though the terms were sometimes loosely used and the boundaries of each varied at different times. The old name Samatata, denoting Eastern Bengal, did not, however, go out of use. According to Hiuen Tsang, Sllabhadra, the head of the Nalanda University in his time, was a scion of the Brahmanical royal family

of Samatata. Whether this ruling family was connected with the kings mentioned above, we cannot say.

Nothing is known of the political condition of Gauda immediately after the fall of the Gupta empire. As has been suggested above, it was probably under the Later Guptas till the reign of Mahasena-gupta, who flourished towards the close of the sixth century A.D. His reign, as noted above, ended in a sea of troubles, and an independent kingdom was set up in Gauda by Sasahka.

Of the early life of Sasahka 1 and the circumstances under which he occupied the throne of Gauda, we possess no definite information. A seal-matrix cut in the rock of the hill-fort of Rohtasgarh records the name of “SrI-Mahasamanta Sasanka”, i.e. the illustrious great feudatory chief Sasahka. It is generally held that this Sasahka is identical with Sasahka, king of Gauda. If this identity is to be presumed, we must hold that Sasahka began his career as a feudal chief, presumably under Mahasena-gupta. 2 The view that he was also known as Narendra-gupta is based on very insufficient data, and there is hardly any justification for the belief that he was connected with the Guptas, far less that he was the son or nephew of Mahasenagupta. 3 Sasahka is referred to as king of Gauda both by Banabhatta and Hiuen Tsang. His capital-city, Karnasuvarna, cannot be identified with absolute certainty, but it is most probably represented today by the ruins at Rangamati, six miles south-west of Berhampore in the Murshidabad District. 4

Some time before the rise of Sasahka, the Mana dynasty had established a kingdom in the hilly region between Midnapore and Gaya Districts. In course of time, this dynasty extended its dominion up to Orissa. 5

Sambhuyasas, a king or a feudatory chief of this family, was ruling over Orissa in A.D. 580, and probably also in A.D. 603. Sasahka presumably defeated this king or his successor and made himself master of Dandabhukti, Utkala and Kongoda, corresponding roughly to Midnapore and Northern and Southern Orissa. For we possess records of his officers and feudatory chiefs who governed these provinces. The Sailodbhava dynasty, which ruled over Kongoda or Southern Orissa, acknowledged the suzerainty of Sasahka at least up to A.D. 619, but later set up an independent kingdom which had a long history.

1.

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3 .

5.

Ibid, 59 I., 71 ff.

The view that he was a feudatory of the Maukharis (IHQ . XII. 457) is based on the assumption that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over Magadha right nrr a? * r£ J 1 ? 1 ® ^ Sasanka’s accession. This, as shown above, is highly doubtful FHAJ 514 fa. 3. 4 . JASB. LXIII (1894), Part I. 172.

See later in this chapter, under Orissa.

Thus Sasahka not only freed Gauda from the yoke of the Later Guptas, but also extended his suzerainty almost as far south as the Mahendragiri mountain in Gan jam District. No positive evidence is available regarding the extent of his authority in Bengal, but it stands to reason that he had brought the whole of Bengal under his sway before embarking upon his southern expedition and the still more ambitious military enterprise to the west which forms the most remarkable episode in his career. In the course of this expedition, he first conquered the whole of Magadha and probably even Banaras, and then proceeded against the Maukharis which involved him presently in a fight with the Pushpabhutis of Thaneswar.

The account of Sasanka’s military campaign against the Maukhari and Pushpabhuti dynasties has been preserved by Banabhatta in his “Life of Harsha” to which detailed reference will be made later. Here we only note some general conclusions which may be reasonably deduced from this account.

It appears that Sasahka formed an alliance with Deva-gupta, king of Malava, against Graha-varman, the Maukhari ruler of Kanauj. The Maukharis were enemies of Gauda since the time of isana-varman and had been carrying on a bitter struggle with the Later Guptas for generations. Sasahka, king of Gauda, probably therefore, made common cause with the Later Gupta king of Malava against the Maukharis, their common enemy. The marriage of Rajyasri with the Maukhari king naturally led to an alliance betwee.n the kingdoms of Thaneswar and Kanauj and thereby strengthened the latter, and Sasahka’s alliance with Deva-gupta may be regarded as a counterpoise to this new union. Although details are lacking, there is no doubt that the enterprise of Sasahka and Deva-gupta was completely successful. They advanced against Kanauj, killed king Graha-varman, captured the city, and imprisoned queen Rajyasri. All these momentous events happened in quick succession, and probably within an incredibly short period. One of the causes of this brilliant and sweeping success seems to be that king Prabhakaravardhana died at this critical moment after a brief illness. It is not unlikely that Sasahka and Deva-gupta had deliberately planned the invasion of the Maukhari kingdom at this time, knowing full well that there was little possibility of any immediate military support coming from Thaneswar. Perhaps with the same object in view they made a sudden dash against Kahauj. The Maukharis were evidently taken by surprise, for no inkling of this invasion had reached Thaneswar before the Maukhari king was actually killed, and his kingdom lay prostrate before the enemy.

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Immediately after the defeat and death of Graha-varman, Devagupta probably marched against Thaneswar, leaving Sasanka to follow him after having settled affairs in Kanauj. On his way he met his doom at the hands of the new king Rajya-vardhana who was proceeding in hot haste from Thaneswar to the rescue of his sister. But Rajya-vardhana's success was short-lived. He soon had to confront Sasahka and lost his life at the hands of the latter. His army, unable to retrieve the disaster, retreated to Thaneswar, and Sasanka remained master of the situation. In the meantime Rajyasri, who was imprisoned in Kanyakubja during the Gauda trouble, was released through the action of a nobleman named Gupta, but hearing the news of Rajya-vardhana's death, she refused to take food and wandered miserably in the Vindhya forest. When this news reached Harsha-vardhana he swore eternal vengeance against the king of Gauda and ordered an army to proceed against him. He himself, however, went in search of his sister and met her while she was about to mount the funeral pile in utter despair. Having thus rescued his sister, Harsha rejoined his army on the bank of the Gahga. Bana's account abruptly ends here.

Thus, so far as Bana's narrative is concerned, Sasahka is left at the zenith of his glory. Harsha-vardhana, we are told, led an expedition against him, but about its further progress, after Harsha joined it on his return from Vindhya forest, we know nothing. A mediaeval Buddhist Chronicle, Manjusrl-Mula-Kalpa, mentions an expedition of Harsha against Sasahka in course of which he advanced as far as Northern Bengal, but had to return without doing much injury to his enemy. The authenticity of this chronicle is, however, very doubtful.

Whether Sasahka ever met Harsha-vardhana on the battlefield cannot be definitely known. But it does not appear that his power was curbed by Harsha to any considerable extent. As noted above, even as late as A.D. 619 he was referred to as the suzerain authority by the Sailodbhava king of Southern Orissa. According to Hiuen Tsang's own testimony, Sasahka was in possession of Magadha at the time of his death which probably took place not long before A.D. 637-8. For, while travelling in Magadha in that year, Hiuen Tsang noted that only a little while previously Sasanka had cut down theBodhi tree at Gaya and ordered the removal of an image of Buddha from a neighbouring temple. These and other stories of persecution of Buddhism by Sasahka cannot be accepted as true, without independent testimony. Besides, the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the capital-city of Sasahka, as described by Hiuen Tsang, is hardly

compatible with the view that he was a religious bigot and a cruel persecutor of Buddhism.

Although we do not know enough facts to form an accurate estimate of the character and achievements of &a£anka, he must be regarded as the first great king of Bengal. He had not only made Gauda an independent state, but extended its authority over the whole of southern Bihar and Orissa. He even made a bold bid for the empire of Northern India. He thus laid the foundations of that policy on which the Palas later built up their vast empire. If he had had a friendly biographer like Bana or Hiuen Tsang, he would probably have appeared to posterity almost as brilliant as Harshavardhana. But as it is, his fair name and fame have vanished and posterity knows him only as the cowardly murderer of Rajya-vardhana and a cruel persecutor of Buddhism.

7. NEPAL

Nepal is the only region in India, besides Kashmir, which possesses local chronicles, narrating its history from time immemorial. These chronicles, known as Vamsdvalis, are obtained from both Brahmanical and Buddhist sources, and have been dealt with by several eminent scholars. 1 They profess to give a continuous aocount of the dynasties, with names of kings and their regnal years, that ruled the country from the time when god ManjusrI converted a lake into the fertile valley of Nepal, through the Tretd, Dvapara and the Kali Yugas.

Leaving aside the mythical legends which have no historical value, we come to the successive dynasties of Gopalas (cowherds), Abhlras and the Kiratas. These are probably reminiscent of the period when the country was ruled by groups of pastoral and mountain tribes. The Kiratas were followed by a dynasty founded by Nimikha, who belonged to the solar dynasty of Rama or the lunar dynasty of Kuru according to different chronicles. The last king of this dynasty is said to have flourished in the year 1234 (or 1239) of the Kaliyuga. Then followed a long line of rulers belonging to the Lichchhavi dynasty.

The Lichchhavis are a well-known ancient dynasty, and the history of the republican or oligarchic principality set up by them with Vaisall as capital has already been narrated above. But we cannot say whether the Lichchhavi rulers of Nepal were related to or connected in any way with the Lichchhavis of Vaisall. Absolutely nothing is known of the whereabouts and activities of the latter

Note 40

duriiv> the five or six centuries that elapsed since the conquest of Vaisali by Ajatasatru. It may be noted that both the Lichchhavis and Mallas who figure so prominently as republican clans in North Bihar in early Buddhist and Jain literature, and who are mentioned together in Manu-Samhitd as Vratya Kshatriyas, and by Kautilya as forming a special kind of Sangha, are found in Nepal side by side in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is not unlikely that these clans, and perhaps many others, sought the safety of the hills of Nepal during the periods of political troubles in India caused by foreign inroads or internal wars. According to the Pasupati Temple inscription of the eighth century A.D. 1 , Supushpa a remote descendant of Lichchhavi, the eponymous hero of the clan, was born at Pushpapura, which probably refers to Pataliputra. This Supushpa, we are told, was followed by 23 kings, and then was born the famous king Jayadeva. After eleven more kings had ruled, flourished

Vri shade 1 va.

With Vrishadeva we stand on firm historical ground, for this king and his five successors, as named in this record as well as in all the Vcuhsavalis , are also mentioned in contemporary inscriptions. Vrishadeva was a devout Buddhist and built several viharas. He was succeeded by his son Sankaradeva. An inscription refers to him as a great and prosperous king: according to the Vamsavalis he made endowments to the Pasupati temple and founded a monastery at Patan in favour of a Brahmana. Sahkaradeva’s son and successor Dharmadeva also ruled over a large kingdom. He is said to have dedicated a large statue of Siva’s Bull to the Pasupati temple and also founded Svayambhunatha.

More historical information is available about Manadeva, the son and successor of Dharmadeva. An inscription of this king on a pillar in the temple of Changunarayana 2 (about 5 miles to the northeast of Katmandu) gives a graphic account of the events following the death of Dharmadeva. Rajyavati. the widowed queen, made a pious resolve to follow her husband on the funeral pyre. But her son Manadeva said that he would give up his own life before she did so. This dissuaded the queen from her grim resolve and she performed the last rites of her husband along with her son.

Then the king addressed his mother as follows:

“My father adorned the earth with pillars (of victory) resembling sacrificial pillars. Being initiated in the rites of the Kshatriyas, I shall depart on an expedition to the east to crush my foes (there). I shall install those princes who will remain obedient to me.”

1 Tmlraii. No. XV. Gnoli (No. LXXXI).

2. Indrnji No. I. Full text is given by Levi. (No. I) nnrl Gnoli (No. I).

Having obtained the consent of his mother, Manadeva marched to the east and reduced the turbulent feudal chiefs to obedience. He then proceeded to the west and having heard of the misdeeds of a vassal there, addressed his maternal uncle as follows:—“If he does not voluntarily submit, he must be forced to do so. This very day you cross the Gand^ki river and I shall follow your force with hundreds of horses and elephants.” He kept his word and defeated the Malla chief.

This interesting record throws a flood of light on the history of Nepal. In the first place it shows that even before the time of Manadeva the Lichchhavi power was not confined to the Nepal valley proper, i.e. the region around Katmandu in the Bagmati valley, but had spread to the valley of the Sapta-Kusi rivers on the east and Sapta-Gandaki rivers on the west. The Mailas on the west, and the hilly tribes, probably the Kiratas, on the east, were evidently, as in later days, turbulent people who chafed at the yoke imposed by the central authority, and it required constant vigilance and frequent military expeditions to keep them under control. Still it is obvious that the idea of establishing one central political authority in the region corresponding to the modern kingdom of Nepal was already cherished by the Lichchhavis, and at times successfully carried into effect, at least to a considerable extent.

The inscription of Manadeva is dated in Samvat 386. Opinions vary widely regarding the era to which this date is to be referred. In addition to well-known eras like the Vikrama, Saka, and Gupta, even a special Lichchhavi era commencing in A.D. 110 has been suggested by different scholars. 1 The Gupta era must be ruled out altogether, and the Vikrama era is also very unlikely. The choice seems to lie between the other two, and for the present, the most plausible view seems to be to refer the date to the Saka era. The inscription of Manadeva, referred to above, would then be dated in A.D. 464. As another record of Manadeva is dated in Samvat 427 (—A.D. 505), the period of Manadeva's reign may be assumed to lie between A.D. 460 and 505.

The date of Manadeva must be used as the sheet-anchor of Nepalese chronology for the present, as we know of no other dated event before his reign. As Manadeva was the 20th Lichchhavi king according to the Vamsavalis , we may place the foundation of the Lichchhavi kingdom in Nepal in the first or second century A.D.

Note 41

the classical age

The existence of the Lichchhavis as a political power, before the time of Manadeva, is known from the marriage of Chandra-gupta I and a Lichchhavi princess, referred to above. 1 Whether this Lichchhavi princess belonged to, or was connected in any way with, the ruling house of Nepal we cannot say. But it is certain that the Lichchhavis of Nepal had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Samudra-gupta. The nature and duration of the Gupta suzerainty in Nepal cannot be exactly determined. But the fact that the Lichchhavis of Nepal came into prominence only after the decline of the Gupta empire is not perhaps merely a coincidence. We may assume that they were subordinate to, or at least were kept in check by, the Gupta emperors, and the decline of the empire gave them the opportunity to rise to prominence and make themselves masters of nearly the whole of Nepal.

The task was probably begun by Dharmadeva, and successfully continued by his son Manadeva. It may be noted here that the dominance of Brahmanical religion and Sanskrit literature, which forms the key-note of the Gupta period, is fully proved in the case of Nepal by the inscriptions of Manadeva and his successors.

Manadeva founded a vihara, called after him Mana-vihara, 2 and the royal palace Mana-griha, from which his successors issued royal charters, was also probably built by him. It has been suggested that the coins called Mananka and the cult of the goddess Manesvarl in Nepal are associated with the same king. His name survives today in Nepal in the name of a clan of the Thakuris called Mana. 3

The Lichchhavi kingdom under Manadeva extended beyond the Nepal Valley proper both in the east as well as in the west, and probably included territories to the west of the Gandaki. Manadeva was succeeded by Mahldeva, and the latter by Vasantadeva. As the last-known date of Manadeva is 427 and Vasantadeva was already on the throne in 428, Mahldeva must have had a very short reign, not exceeding a few months. Vasantadeva ruled for at least 26 years, up to the year 454 (A.D. 532). At least two other kings are known to have reigned between him and §ivadeva. These are Ramadeva (year 469 or A.D. 547) and Ganadeva (years 482 and 489 or A.D. 560, 567). The Pasupati Temple Inscription which gives a complete genealogy of the kings of Nepal during this period is unfortunately of little help as a number of letters have peeled off in the line following the account of Vasantadeva. The only safe inference from what remains of the line is that some time after Vasantadeva there was a king named Narendradeva who was succeeded by Sivadeva.

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Note 44

According to one of the Vamsdvalls , the successor of Vasantadeva was defeated by the Abhlras, and after three of their chiefs had ruled in Nepal, the Lichchhavi king Sivadeva expelled them and regained his paternal kingdom. There may be some truth in this tradition.

We know, however, definitely from a number of inscriptions that early in the seventh century A.D. or towards the end of the sixth, there was a dyarchy in Nepal like the system of government that prevailed there till recent times. The Lichchhavi king Sivadeva remained only a nominal ruler, and gradually all political authority passed into the hands of the great Baron (Mahasdmanta) Amsu-varman. It appears that towards the close of the sixth century A.D, the Lichchhavi kingdom was invaded by the Abhiras, who ruled over it for some time. Ultimately, during the reign of Sivadeva, the Abhlras were driven out. It is probable that the great baron Amsu-varman took the leading part in this war of liberation and distinguished himself as a great general. For, all the grants of Sivadeva refer to the discomfiture of the enemy by the valour and prowess of Arinsu-varman. The popularity and military renown, which the latter gained by driving away the foreign invaders, secured him a very high position in the state and gradually enabled him to become its de facto ruler. 1 It is also not unlikely that he further strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of the Lichchhavi king. He chose Kailasakuta as the royal residence for himself, while the old Mana-griha continued to be the abode of the titular Lichchhavi kings. Hiuen Tsang refers to Amsu-varman as a distinguished and learned ruler of Nepal. He is said to have composed a grammar and his reputation spread everywhere. 2

According to the Vamsdvalis, the great king Vikramaditya conquered Nepal and introduced his era there immediately before the reign of Amsu-varman. This has been taken to be a veiled allusion to the conquest of the country by Harsha-vardhana, and the dates of Amsu-varman’s charters, 32 to 45, 3 have all been referred to the Harsha era. Accordingly, Amsu-varman should have ruled from A.D. 638 to 651 (or at least 647). Although this view is now generally accepted, it is not free from difficulties. In the first place, there is no positive evidence to show that Harsha-vardhana ever conquered Nepal. Secondly, Hiuen Tsang’s reference to Amsu

Note 45

Note 46

Note 47

varman as the late king shows that he must have died before A,D. 642-3 when Hieun Tsang possibly gathered his last information about the country. This is corroborated by the fact that when a Chinese embassy visited Nepal in A.D. 643 they found king Narendradeva on the throne, and there were at least two kings who reigned between Arhsu-varman and Narendradeva. The dates in Aihsuvarman's charters, therefore, cannot be dated in the Harsha era. Recently, the writer of the present chapter has shown, with the help of new inscriptions unknown to the scholars named above, that there is a very strong presumption, bordering almost on certainty, that the dates in the inscriptions of Manadeva and his successors refer to the Saka Era, and that after the year 500 of this Era, it was continued with the omission of the hundredth figure. The dates of Arhsu-varman's charters should therefore be taken as 532 to 545 Saka Era (A.D. 610 to 623).

Levi has suggested that the dates in Ariisu-varman's charter should be referred to an era of Tibetan origin commencing in A.D, 595. * 1 Whatever we might think of this, there is little doubt that about this time Nepal came under the political influence of Tibet. 2 Some time between A.D, 580 and 600 the disunited clans of that hilly region had been brought together under a powerful ruler, Gnam-ri-sroh-btsan, who extended his power up to India. His son and successor Sroh-btsan-sgam-po, who introduced Indian civilization into Tibet, is said to have conquered Assam and Nepal, and dominated over half of Jambudvipa (India). He demanded the hand of a daughter of Ariisu-varman and the latter dared not refuse. Two years later, and certainly before 641, the Tibetan king invaded China and pillaged the country as far as Szechuan. He asked for a Chinese princess, as one of the terms of peace, and the Chinese emperor was reluctantly forced to give his daughter in marriage to this barbarian king. Thus Tibet came under the cultural influence of both China and India and gained profoundly by these two marriages. But Ariisu-varman became for all practical purposes a dependent of the Tibetan king. This makes it all the more difficult to believe that Harsha-vardhana could have exercised any political

Note 48

Note 49

Note 50

Note 51

authority over Amsu-varman or that his era was ever in use in Nepal. On the other hand, the political subjection of Nepal to Tibet makes it probable that the new era introduced in Nepal was of Tibetan origin. According to Levi, it probably commenced in A.D. 595 which commemorated either the birth of Sron-btsan-sgam-po or the accession of his father. But as no such era is known to have ever been used in Tibet, Levi's theory must remain questionable.

GENERAL REFERENCES

The history of Nepal is chiefly based on the Vaihsavalis and the inscriptions.

1. On the Vaihsavalis of Nepal and its general history:

(i) Kirkpatrick —An account of the kingdom of Nepal being the substance of observations made during a mission to that country in the year 1793. London, 1811.

(ii) D. Wright —History of Nepal translated from the Parbatiya. Cambridge, 1877.

(iii) C. Bendall —Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts at Cambridge. Cambridge, 1883.

(iv) Bhagawanlal Indraji—Some considerations on the

History of Nepal [IA. XIII (1884) pp. 411-428].

(v) Le Nepal, by S. Levi. Vols. I, 11—1905; III—1908 (Referred to in the footnotes as Nepal).

(vi) Bendall—The history of Nepal and surrounding kingdom (A.D. 1000-1600). JASB. LXXII (1903).

The Vaihsavalis are recent compositions. The Buddhist recension is the work of a monk who resided in the Mahabuddha monastery at Patan at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It has been translated into English by the Indian munshi of the British embassy under the direction of Mr. Wright. The Brahmanical version, which alone is regarded as authentic by the present Gurkha government, was also composed in the nineteenth century, and the text consulted by Levi was compiled by Brahman Siddhi Narayan, an inhabitant of Deo Patan, in A.D. 1834. Both the versions are written in Parbatiya (or Khas) language introduced into the valley after the Gurkha conquest.

Both the Vaihsavalis had a common source. The Brahmanical version adds little to the Buddhist, but omits stories and legends glorifying the Buddhist church. The existence of Vaihsavalis in early periods is attested by the Pasupati Temple Inscription of Jayadeva and the inscription of Pratapamalla (dated 778 Nepala Samvat). But no ancient text has yet come to light. The Vamsdvali communicated to Kirkpatrick at the end of the eighteenth century is far more accurate than those of the nineteenth century now available and

referred to above. Bendall discovered three manuscripts, probably belonging to the end of the thirteenth century A.D., which give lists of some kings with the duration of their reigns. Two of them are written in Newari language and one in very incorrect Sanskrit.

2. The Inscriptions of Nepal are edited in the following works:

(i) Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. G. Biihler— Inscriptions from Nepal —-IA, IX (1880), pp. 163 ff. (23 Inscriptions are edited which have been referred to as ‘Indraji’ No.).

(ii) Nepal, Vol. Ill (23 Inscriptions, referred to as ‘Levi, No.).

(iii) Bendall— Journey in Nepal, pp. 72 ff. (Four inscriptions referred to as Bendall, No.). No. I was also published in 1A, XIV. 98.

Dr. R. G. Basak (HNL 242 ff) has given a combined list of these inscriptions with short summaries. But the list is neither complete, nor always accurate. He has, for example, omitted Levi, Nos. IV, V, and failed to note that Indraji No. I was re-edited by Levi (No. I) with the addition of important lines, which were hidden under the ground when Indraji wrote and were consequently omitted by him.

3. Modern works:—

(i) Fleet— Corpus Inscriptionum Indicdrum Vol. Ill, pp. 177-191.

(ii) R. G. Basak— History of North-Eastern India.

(iii) R. C. Majumdar—The Chronology of the Early Kings of Nepal (B. C. Law Volume , Part I, pp. 626 ff).

8. KAMARUPA

For nearly three centuries, from about A.D. 350 to 650, the kingdom of Kamarupa, in the Brahmaputra valley in Assam, was ruled by a single dynasty. This dynasty claimed descent from the demon Naraka, mentioned in the Epics and the Puranas as the son of Vishnu (in his Boar incarnation) and the Earth. According to traditions current in the seventh century A.D. Naraka, his son Bhagadatta, and other kings of this family ruled for three thousand years before Pushya-varman came to the throne. With Pushya-varman begins what may be regarded as the historical period of Kamarupa. The alleged descent from demon Naraka probably indicates the nonAryan origin of the ruling family, though converted to the orthodox Brahmanical religion. It is interesting to note that a line of Shahi kings ruling in the hilly region of Gilgit, about the sixth century A D > is describ ed as belonging to the family of Bhagadatta. 1 Per1. JRAS. 1944, pp. 5 ff.

haps this Bhagadatta is identical with the son of the mythical Naraka mentioned above. But we cannot say whether there was any connection between these Shahi kings and the ruling dynasty of Kamarupa.

The epigraphic and literary records of the period have preserved the names of Pushya-varman and his twelve successors as indicated in the following genealogical table. 1

1. Pushya-varman

2. Samudra-varmali = DattadevI (or Dattavati)

3. Bala-varman = Batnavati

4. Kalyaiia-varman = Gandharvavati

5. Ganapati-varman = Yajnavatl

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Wala PI. of year 269 (IA. VI. 11). In the text of the grant itself the king Is given the ordinary titles Mahasamanta Maharaja, but in the royal signature he is described as Mahddhirdja.
2. 2. HTW. II. 242. 3. EHV 323-26.
3. 1. The whole question has recently been discussed by the present writer in K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume, Part II, pp. 1-18.
4. 2. The account that follows is based mainly on the Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka (EL XVIII. 87 ff). Cf. also JDL. X. 1 ff.
5. C, A.—5.
6. 1. BG..L Part II, p. 313; Bh. List, Nos. 1209-13.
7. 2. BG. I. Part II, p. 314, f.n. 6. Indraji's view is now generally accepted, j
8. 1. El, XXIII, 42; XXIV, 251.
9. 1. Cowell and Thomas, HC. 122. 2. Introductory Verse 4.
10. 3. T. G. Aravamuthan argues "that the fortress of Asirgadh fell into the hands of the Maukharis" as "no other suggestion explains, at any rate, how Sarvavarman's seal could have migrated to Asirgadh" (Kaveri, Maukharis and San gam Age, pp. 96-97). It is well known, however, that even copper-plates, not to speak of small portable objects like a seal, can be easily carried to distant places. There is also a great deal of doubt whether the seal was actually found at Asirgadh. Fleet says that an impression of the seal was found at Asirgadh in a box containing property of the Maharaja Sindhia. As regards the seal he remarks: "It is not quite clear from the published accounts whether the original was ever found, or only impressions of it." Thus what was found at Asirgadh was not the seal, but a box of Maharaja Sindhia containing an im
11. pression of the seal. As Asirgadh at the time belonged to Sindhia, we can easily believe that the box was taken there from other parts of his dominions in Northern India. There is thus hardly any ground, even to presume that Asirgadh formed part of the dominions of the Maukharis.
12. 4. This view rests upon a copper-plate grant found at Nirmand, a village on the right bank of the upper course of the Sutlej, in the Kangra District (31° 25' N, 77° 38' E) (CII . III. 288). It refers to lands

formerly granted by Maharaja Sarva-varman to a temple in this neighbourhood. If this Sarva-varman is identical with the Maukhari king of that name, the latter must have extended

13. G9
14. his authority to this region. There is, however, nothing to support this identification, except the similarity of the name. It is not impossible, however, that the Maukhari king might have advanced so far in course of his campaign against the Hunas. In that case we must suppose that the ruler of the intervening principality of Thaneswar was either subordinate to the Maukharis or formed an alliance with them against their common foe, the Hunas. But we cannot arrive at such important conclusions from a doubtful identification based merely on a common name. Cf. POC, XV. 298.
15. 1. The story of RajyasrI, as narrated by Bana, makes it highly probable that Kanauj was the capital of her kingdom. The same conclusion follows from Hiuen Tsang's story of Harsha-vardhana. The whole question has been thoroughly discussed by Dr. Tripathi (Kanauj, pp. 32-35).
16. 2. These have been summarised and discussed by Dr. Tripathi (Kanauj, pp. 55 ff).
17. 3. We learn from the Haraha Ins. that Isana-varman had a son called Suryavarman, but there is no evidence that he ever came to the throne. The identification of this prince with the king of that name mentioned in the Sirur Ins. lests on very insufficient grounds (cf. El. XXIV. 284, where full references are given for different views).
18. 4. Cowell and Thomas, HC, pp. 122-3. 5. Ibid, p. 123.
19. 1. It has been doubted whether Graha-varman ever came to the throne (El. XXIV. 284 fn. 8). But the passages quoted above from Harsha-charita, as well as subsequent references, seem to be decisive on this point.
20. 2. EI. XXIV. 284-5.
21. 3. Mahjusrx-Mula-Kalpa indicates that Graha(varman) was succeeded by Suvra(?), which may be the name mentioned in the Nalanda seal (Suva?). According to M_MK the dynasty declined and lost regal status after Suvra (MMK, p. 626):
22. Isana-sarva pahktischa graha-surva-t.athaparah,
23. Tataste luptarajanah bhrashtamaryada sarvadd.

24. Jayaswal emends the first line as follows:—
25. isana-sarvdvantischa graha-suvrata(a)th=dparah , thus taking ‘Suvrata’ as the name of the successor of Graha(varman).— IHIJ, pp. 27, 45. This, however, violates the metre. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggests the restoration’of the last part of the seal as &ri-Sucha(ndravarmmd Maukharih) (EI, XXIV. 284. f.n. 6).
26. 4. Cowell and Thomas, HC, p. 128.
27. 1. rn in. 200.
28. 2. Fleet’s translation of the passage, conveying the Plea that the kins died in the fight, is generally accepted. Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, however, argues that
29. the passage does not refer to Damodara-gupta’s death, but only speaks of his swoon and of his subsequent awakening, i.e. regaining of consciousness (D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 191 ff.). He has also pointed out that the inscription refers to the victory, and not defeat, of Damodara-gupta, as supposed by Dr. Basak (HNI , 123).
30. 1. Kumara-gupta and Madhava-gupta, who were appointed to wait upon Rajyavardhana and Harsha-vardhana, are referred to as sons of the king of Malava (Cowell and Thomas, HC. 119). As Madhava-gupta has been identified with the Later Gupta, king of that name it would follow that his father Mahasena-gupta was king of Malava.
31. 2. I A. XIX. 7.
32. 3. Levi, Nepal, II. 147 ff.
33. 4. Fleet regards KIrtivarman’s claim, in respect of the distant kingdoms of Bengal and Bihar, as a mere.boast (Bomb. Gaz. Vol. I, Part II, p. 346).
34. 1. See p. 63. 2. See below Ch. XI.
35. 3. It has been suggested by Dr. Tripathi that Malava at this tipie denoted only Eastern Malwa corresponding to the Bhilsa District (Kanauj , p. 46), but
36. Dr. D. C. Ganguly argues that there is no authority for taking Malava in this restricted sense about this period (JBORS . XIX. 399-400).
37. 4. This view is opposed by Dr. D. C. Ganguly (op. cit. 407 fn.) but supported by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri (PHAL 5 607).
38. 1. It has been suggested that Deva-gupta was the eldest son of Mahasena-gupta, but this is very doubtful (JRAS 1903, p. 562; PHAI 5 p. 608, fn. 1).

39. 2. See below Ch. XL 3. JBORS, XIX. 402.
40. 1. See General References, below.
41. 1. Fleet advocated the Gupta era (CII, III. Introduction p. 177 ff.), while Indraji (IA, XIII. 411 ff) refers the dates to the Vikrama Samvat, Dr. R. G. Basak refers the earlv dates to Vikrama Samvat and those of §ivadeva to Gupta era (HNI 274). Levi propounds the snecial Lichchhavi era, and advocates £aka era as art alternative (Nepal, III. 49 ff. 73 ff). The whole problem was discussed by the present writer first in B. C. Law Volume Part I, pp. 626 ff. and more recently in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
42. 1. See pp. 3-4.
43. 2. The Manadeva-vihara is mentioned in Yag Bahai Ins. (Levi No. XX). The Mana-vihara mentioned in the stele of Harigaon of the time of Amsu-varman (Levi, No. XIV) evidently refers to the same monastery. This is further evidence that Manadeva flourished before 6ivadeva and Amsu-varman and not after them. The same conclusion also follows from the name of the palace Mana-griha whence charters were issued by Sivadeva.
44. 3. Nepal, II. 105-111.
45. 1. Levi has made several suggestions about the relation between Amsu-varman and Sivadeva (Nepal, III, 77) but no definite conclusion is possible until the dates of their charters are finally settled.
46. 2. HTB, II. 81.
47. 3. The unit figure is doubtful, but the date must in any case exceed 40.
48. 1. Nepal, II. 152-153. JA, 1894, Part II, pp. 55 ff. Levi first held the view that the dates in Amsu-varman's charters should be referred to an era commemorating his accession. But he discarded it on two grounds: —
49. (i) That no record of the king is dated before the year 30;
50. (ii) that the inscription dated the year 30 seems to refer to the coronation oi Arhsu-varman.
51. These objections, however, are not vital (cf. B. C. Law Volume, Part 1, p. 640). ?. The political suzerainty of Tibet over Nepal is described by Levi with full references to authorities (Nepal, II, 146-154). Dr. Basak does not believe that Nepal owed allegiance to Tibet (HNL 295), but is altogether silent about the eyidence collected by Levi. Dr. Basak also

ignores Levi’s theory about the Tibetan origin of the era of Arhsuvarman.

I

6. Mahendra-varman = Suvrata

I

7. Narayana-varman = Devavati

I

8. Bhuti-varman = Vijnanavati (or Mahabhuta-varman)

I

9. Chandramukha-varman = Bhogavatl

I

10. Sthita-varman = NayanadevI (or

(or Sthiti-varman) Nayanasobha)

I

11. Susthita-varman = SyamadevI (or

(or Susthira-varman) Dhruvalakshmi)

12. Supratishthita-varman 13 f Bhaskara-varman.

Bhaskara-varman, with whom the series end, was a contemporary of Harsha-vardhana, and his rule covered almost the first half of the seventh century A.D. The accession of Pushya-varman may thus approximately be placed about A.D. 350, or a little earlier.

Note 1

It has been already mentioned that Kamarupa was one of the feudatory states of Samudra-gupta. 1 In view of the fact that local tradition places the beginning of the historical ruling dynasty about the same time, we may reasonably conclude that the dynasty owed its rise or importance to the patronage of the great emperor. It is possible, for example, that one of the many petty local chiefs, who divided the territory among themselves, was placed as the ruler of the whole kingdom by the great Gupta emperor, following the well-known policy for ensuring the loyalty and allegiance of a frontier-state. This would at any rate furnish an explanation of the name of the second king and his queen. Samudra-varman and DattadevI were undoubtedly deliberate imitations of the names of the Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta and his queen Dattadevi, for such a similarity in the names of both the king and the queen can hardly be regarded as a mere coincidence. Unless we suppose that the actual name of the suzerain Gupta emperor was put in the royal genealogy of Kamarupa through ignorance and confusion, we must hold that Pushya-varman, out of loyalty and devotion to his overlord and patron, named his son and daughter-in-law after the great emperor and empress. The latter alternative is preferable and we have an analogous instance in the history of the Ganga kings. 2

A royal seal of the dynasty found at Nalanda calls Pushya-varman the lord of Pragjyotisha, and gives the title Mahdrdjddhirdja to the first three rulers. As these kings were almost certainly contemporaries of the early Gupta emperors, we can hardly attach much significance to their high-sounding titles or regard them as very powerful kings. The effective hold of the Guptas on this kingdom is indicated by the currency of the Gupta era in this kingdom for nearly five hundred years. Further, the kingdom of Kamarupa or Pragjyotisha did not at this time comprise even the whole of the Assam valley. For the Allahabad Inscription mentions, along with Kamarupa, the kingdom of Davaka, which has been reasonably located in the valley of the Kapili river in modern Nowgong District. 3 The existence of this kingdom in A.D. 428 has been inferred from the Chinese account of an embassy sent in that year by the king of Ka-pi-li. For this name is probably derived from the river Kapili, and denotes the kingdom of Davaka situated in the valley of that river. 4 We may thus hold that Kamrupa was comparatively a small feudatory kingdom of the Guptas in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. We do not know anything beyond the names of the first six rulers of this kingdom. But according to the royal seal, the

1. Sec p. 8.

2. The Ganpa kin£ Ayyn-varmnn, who was installed on the throne by the Pallavn kine, Sirhha-varman, named his son Madhava-Simha-varman.

3. See above, p. 8. 4. JRAS. 1920, pp. 227 ff.

seventh king Narayana-varman or his predecessor 1 performed two Asvamedha sacrifices. This evidently indicates some increase in the power of the family under him. Perhaps he threw off the yoke of the Guptas in the first half of the sixth century A.D. 2

There is, however, no doubt that under the next king Bhutivarman, Kamarupa became powerful. Not only the old kingdom of Davaka, but also the Surma valley (Sylhet District) was now included in this kingdom. In a short record inscribed on a rock in the Kapili valley, Mahdrajddhirdja Bhuti-varman is said to have per-, formed an Asvamedha sacrifice. He probably flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D, 3

In the Harsha-charita, a brief account of the royal family of Bhaskara-varman is put into the mouth of his envoy to Harshavardhana. After referring to the mythical kings Naraka, Bhagadatta and others, the envoy mentions Bhuti-varman and his successors up to Bhaskara-varman. This might be taken to indicate that Bhuti-varman was really the founder of the greatness of the family. This presumption is strengthened by what has been said above of Bhuti-varman. He evidently took advantage of the decline of the Gupta empire to establish the independence of his kingdom—if it had not already been done by his father—and to enlarge his territory by incorporating Davaka and the Surma valley, which formed parts of the Gupta empire. It is possible that the kingdom of Kamarupa at this time extended to the west as far as the Karatoya river in North Bengal which continued to be its traditional boundary. Thus an independent and powerful kingdom of Kamarupa arose out of the ruins of the Gupta empire.

Nothing is known of the son of Bhuti-varman, but his grandson Sthita-varman is said to have performed two Asvamedha sacrifices. The next king Susthita-varman, also called Mriganka, is highly

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eulogised in the Harsha-charita, and the epithet Maharajddhirdja is applied to him, while even Bhuti-varman is called simply Maharaja * Nothing, however, is known of Susthita-varman, save that he came into conflict with the Later Gupta king Mahasena-gupta 1 and was defeated by him. The causes of the hostility are not known, but it may be merely due to the natural desire of the Later Guptas to reconquer the old dominions of the Imperial Guptas. The hostility between the Later Guptas and the kings of Kamarupa probably dated frpm an earlier period, and, as we shall see, descended to the next generation. Mahasena-gupta seems to have advanced up to the Brahmaputra and won a great victory in a battle on the banks of the river. But it led to no permanent result.

Susthita-varman was succeeded by his elder son Supratishfhitavarman. He and his younger brother Bhaskara-varman were defeated by the king of Gauda who took them captives, but released them after some time,[2] probably after they offered allegiance. As has been suggested above, probably the victorious Gauda king was none other than Mahasena-gupta.[3] Supratishthita-varman was succeeded by his younger brother Bhaskara-varman who played an important role in contemporary politics as will be described in a later chapter.

9. ORISSA

Hardly anything is known of the history of Orissa during the Gupta period. It would be interesting to speculate why Samudragupta advanced to the eastern coast of the Deccan through the hilly region of Kosala (Chattisgarh), and avoided the more direct and easier route through West Bengal and Orissa. This would be all the more inexplicable if Orissa formed a part of his empire; and it is difficult to believe that he would have proceeded so far south without first subjugating Orissa. In any case no royal dynasty ruling over Orissa during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. is known to us, and we may well believe that it was included in the territory directly administered by the Gupta emperors.

About the middle of the sixth century A.D., a feudatory chief was ruling in the southern part of Orissa. We learn from an inscription discovered in a village called Sumandala near Khallikote in Orissa[4] that king Prithivl-vigraha was ruling over Kalinga, in the dominion of the Guptas, in the year 250 (=A.D. 569-70), and that his subordinate chief, Maharaja Dharmaraja, had his headquarters

Note 6

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Note 9

at Padmakholi near Khallikote. It proves that even in the last days of the Gupta empire,[1] Orissa continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Guptas. This, taken along with the fact that the Gupta era was used in this record as well as in the Gan jam Grant of 300 (—A.D. 619), to be referred to later, is a strong argument in favour of the view, maintained above, that Orissa formed an integral part of the Gupta empire for some time.

Unfortunately, we know nothing further about Prithivi-vigraha or his family. His claim to rule over Kalihga cannot be easily reconciled with similar claims made by other kings mentioned in Chapter XI (C. II), and it is very likely that his authority did not extend beyond the northern fringe of Kalinga.

The Gupta suzerainty, and therewith the rule of Prithivi-vigraha and his family, must have come to an end shortly after A.D. 570. For, in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. we find the Mana and Sailodbhava families ruling respectively in the northern and southern parts of the province. There is hardly any doubt that both of them rose to power on the ruins of the Gupta empire.

The rise of the Mana family is recorded in an inscription 2 found in the Hazaribagh District. It is said that three brothers, Udayamana, Sridhauta-mana and Ajita-mana were all merchants and went on business from Ayodhya to Tamralipti. Having made a large fortune they, on their way home, stayed for some time at a village, probably situated in the locality where the inscription was found. Through the favour of king Adisimha of Magadha, to whom this region belonged, Udaya-mana became the ruler of the village, and appointed his two brothers as rulers subordinate to him over two other neighbouring villages. Thus grew a small principality in the hilly region between Gaya and Midnapore Districts. The date of its foundation is unknown, but many generations had ruled after Udaya-mana when this traditional account was drawn up in the seventh or eighth century A.D.

In the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. a Mana dynasty, probably identical with the above, was ruling over the greater part of Orissa. We learn from two records of a ruler named Sambhuyasas 3 dated 260 and 283, that he was ruling over Northern and Southern Tosali which comprised nearly the whole of Orissa from Balasore to Puri District. The two dates, referred to the Gupta era, 4 would place the reign of Sambhuyasas between A.D. 580 and 603. Whether Sambhuyasas was himself a member of the Mana family, or a ruler merely subordinate to it, cannot be determined.

Note 10

Note 11

Note 12

But there is no doubt that the Mana family exercised suzerainty over Orissa, and its rulers assumed imperial titles. [1]

About the same time when the Manas were ruling over the greater part of Orissa, the Sailodbhavas [2] were ruling in Kongoda, a kingdom which extended from the Chilka lake, or perhaps even further north, to Mahendragiri mountains in Ganjam District, reaching in the west to the hills which now form the western boundary of the Kalahandi State. The history of the Sailodbhavas is known from several records. Ranabhlta (or Aranabhlta), the founder of the dynasty, flourished in the latter part of the sixth century A.D., and probably took advantage of the anarchy and confusion, following the dissolution of the Gupta empire, to found an independent kingdom. He was followed by three kings, his son Sainyabhita I Madhavaraja, grandson Ayasobhlta, and great-grandson Sainyabhita II Madhavaraja II. The last-named king ascended the throne some time before A.D. 619. The relation of these kings to the Mana dynasty cannot be exactly determined. It is not unlikely that they, for some time at least, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Manas, for South Tosall included the territory where Kongoda was situated. But we do not know for certain whether £ambhuyasas ruled over the whole of South Tosall or only the northern part of it.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the kingdoms of both the Manas and the Sailodbhavas soon came into the possession of Sasanka, king of Gauda. We know nothing of the military campaigns by which Sasanka made himself master of these kingdoms. But a record, dated A.D. 619, of the Sailodbhava king Sainyabhita II Madhavaraja II, shows that he had by that time become a feudatory of Sasanka. The Manas ceased to exercise any authority in Orissa which was governed by an officer of Sasanka, named

Somadatta. Later, this Somadatta was raised to the dignity of Sdmanta Maharaja and ruled both Utkala (Orissa) and Dandabhukti (Midnapore District) as a governor or feudatory of Sasanka. After Somadatta, Bhanudatta held the same position at least in Utkala, but his records do not expressly refer to Sasanka as the suzerain.

As has been noted above, Sasanka's empire collapsed after his death and Orissa gained independence. Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in this region about this time, has made the following remarks about the kingdom of Kongoda:

"Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. * The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them."

It would appear from the above that the Sailodbhavas had not only become independent but had also extended their authority over the neighbouring regions. This is confirmed by the records of the Sailodbhava king Sainyabhlta II Madhavaraja II. One of his grants, dated A.D. 619, invokes the name of Sasanka as his suzerain. But another undated grant makes no reference to Sasanka as overlord. The king issues this grant from the Jayaskandhavdra of Kongoda and claims to have exercised sovereignty over the whole of Kalinga. This may be a somewhat exaggerated claim, but possibly a large part of Orissa had passed into his hands, for Hiuen Tsang does not refer to U-Cha or Udra, which corresponds tc Orissa, as a strong or important kingdom, and is altogether silent about its political status. But, be that as it may, neither Utkala nor Kongoda was destined to enjoy

1. The Manas probably gave their name to the well-known district of Manbhum. Reference to Mana kings occurs in later records. The Kara king ^antikara II married the daughter of Simhamana and two Mana kings are mentioned in a record of the twelfth century A.D. (El, II. 333).

2. For a full account of the Sailodbhavas, cf. JAHRS. X. 1 ff.

independence for long. Soon after Sasanka’s death, Harshavardhana began his eastern campaign and by A.D. 643 conquered both the kingdoms.

CHAPTER IX

Chapter Notes

1. 1. The genealogical account is given in the Nidhanpur C.P. of Bhaskara-varman (El, XII. 73; XIX. 115 ff; 245 ff) and the royal seals discovered at Nalandi (MASl No. 66, np. 69-70; JBORS, V. 302 ff., VI. 151 ff). It is also partially given in the Harsha-charita (Nirnayasagar Ed. p. 220; Tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 217). Names of some of the kings and queens are given in slightly different forms in the different sources. The most important of these are indicated in the genealogical table within brackets.
2. 1. It is not clear whether the epithet 'performer of two Asvamedha sacrifices' is meant for the king whose name precedes or follows it.
3. 2. This is also rendered probable by the political condition of the Gupta empire described above (Ch. VI). But the view put forward by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali that the downfall of the Guptas was caused by the 'onslaught of the Varman kings of Kamarupa' (IHQ, XXI. 24) has nothing to commend it.
4. 3. We know from the Nidhanpur CP. of Bhaskara-varman that lands were originally granted by Bhuti-varman to more than 200 Brahmanas, but as the charter was lost they were re-granted by Bhaskara-varman. These lands were located by some in N. Bengal, but they were undoubtedly situated in the Sylhet region. (For the different views on the subject, cf. the authorities mentioned under Bhandarkar's List of inscriptions No. 1666, and also JRASBL, I. 419 ff; IC, II. 153 ff; IHQ, VII. 743 ff).
5. A short record of Bhuti-varman has been found in the Kapili valley (JARS, VIII. 33; X. 63; El, XXVII. 18). It was supposed to contain a date (year 234 or 244) to be referred to the Gupta Era. But there is probably no date (El XXX. 64).
6. 1. See p. 73.
7. 2. This is known from the recently discovered Doobi copper-plate of Bhaskaravarman (El, XXX. 287). It proves definitely that Supratishthita-varman ascended the throne, although his name is omitted in the Harsha-charita.
8. 3. See p. 76. It is not unlikely, however, that the Gau^a king may be Sasanka

9. 4. See p. 42.
10. 1. See p. 44.
11. 2. El, II. 343. The family name is written both as Mana and Mana,
12. 3. El, IX. 285; XXm. 198. 4. JRASBL, XI. 4 ff.

HARSHA-VARDHANA AND HIS TIME

I. KINGDOM OF THANESWAR

The origin of the kingdom of Sthanvisvara, modern Thaneswar, is shrouded in obscurity. According to Bana, 1 it was the name of a city as well as a district, situated in the country called Srikantha, and the kingdom was founded by Pushpabhuti. Bana gives a longdrawn and somewhat miraculous account of this king, 2 but he is not known from any other source. Bana says nothing of the immediate successors of the king, but begins his historical account with king Prabhakara-vardhana, born in his family. 3

The royal seals and inscriptions have, however, preserved the names of a few more kings, as represented in the following genealogical table:—

Maharaja Nara-vardhana=Vajrini-devI

Maharaja Rajya-vardhana—Apsaro-devi

Maharaja Aditya-vardhana=Mahasena-gupta-devI

Paramabhattdraka Maharajadhiraja Prabhakara-vardhana=Yasomatf-devi

Paramabhattdraka Mhdh. Rajya-vardhana

Paramabhattdraka Mhdh . Harsha-vardhana

From Banabhatta’s Harsha^charita , we learn that Prabhakaravardhana was also known as Pratapasila and that he had another son named Krishna and a daughter named Rajyasri. 4

have been, therefore, bom of another queen.

It will be seen from the above genealogy that the first three kings are called simply Maharaja, and it is Prabhakara-vardhana who is first styled Mahtirajadhirdja . As Prabhakara-vardhana, according to Bana, died shortly before Harsha’s accession to the throne in A.D. 606, we may fix the commencement of his rule about A.D. 580* If we regard his mother Mahasena-gupta as sister of the Later Gupta king Mahasena-gupta, as appears probable from the similarity of names, we arrive at the same conclusion regarding his date.

It would thus follow that the kingdom of Thaneswar did not attain much power or importance till the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. Nothing is known about its history or status before that date. The first three kings, who flourished probably between A.D. 500 and 580, might have been feudatory chiefs, acknowledging the supremacy either of the Hunas, or of the Guptas, or of both, at different times. It is also very likely that the Maukharis exercised supremacy over them, for they did not claim the rank of Mahdrdjadhirdja immediately after the fall of the Guptas and the Hunas, as we find in the case of the Maukharis, but did so some time after the death of Isana-varman, when the Maukhari power had declined. This view is also supported by the statement, put in the mouth of king Prabhakara-vardhana by Banabhatta, that “at the head of all royal houses stand the Mukharas, worshipped, like Siva’s foot-print, by all the world”. 1 It may be surmised that the dynasty really came into prominence after the death of Isana-varman, and Aditya-vardhana’s marriage with a princess of the Later Gupta family probably marks a definite step in their rise to power and importance. However, all this is mere speculation, and no definite opinion is possible till more positive evidence is available.

With the accession of Prabhakara-vardhana, the history of Thaneswar assumes a definite shape, thanks to the biography of Harsha (Harsha-charita) written by the contemporary scholar, Banabhatta.

Although Bana devotes more than one chapter to Prabhakaravardhana, all that is historically important is confined to the six qualifying epithets to the king, viz. “a lion to the Huna deer, a burning fever to the king of Sindhu, a troubler of the sleep of Gurjara king, a bilious fever to that scent-elephant, the lord of Gandhara, destroyer of the skill of the Latas, an axe to the creeper which is the goddess of fortune (or sovereignty) of Malava."[2] This poetical description leaves us in doubt whether he actually defeated these powers or was a mere threat to them. About the Hunas we are told later that shortly before his death, Prabhakara-vardhana sent a military expedition against them under his elder son Rajya-vardhana to Uttara-patha. But the result of the expedition is not known; probably no conflict took place as Rajya-vardhana was suddenly called back to the capital on account of the illness of his father which proved fatal. Whether in the pithy phrases quoted above, Bana alludes to this expedition or a previous one against the Hunas, we cannot say. It appears from some details that the Huna kingdom lay not far from the foothills of the Himalayas and we may locate it in northern Punjab.

Of the other kingdoms mentioned, Sindhu, Gandhara, Lata and Malava are well known. Whether Malava was ruled by the Maitrakas, Katachuris, or Deva-gupta about this time, is not known with certainty. The Gurjaras must be taken to refer to the kingdom in Rajputana, then known as Gurjaratra, founded by Harichandra.[1] A branch of this family was probably ruling in Lata or Southern Gujarat.[2]

The hostile powers mentioned by Bana may thus be divided into two groups of almost contiguous states, viz. Huna, Gandhara and Sindhu in the north and west, and Lata, Malava and Gurjara in the south. But it is difficult to believe that Prabhakara-vardhana could directly invade all these states, particularly Sindhu (the lower Sindhu valley) and Lata, which lay too far to the south and southwest. The probability is that he fought with two groups of confederate states or rather was on hostile terms with them. If we assume that Prabhakara-vardhana's kingdom was contiguous to both these groups we may regard it as bounded by the Yamuna (or the Ganga) and the Beas on the east and the west, and the Himalayas and Rajputana on the north and the south.

Note 1

Note 2

As noted above, when Rajya-vardhana had proceeded several stages in his expedition against the Hunas, the news of his father's illness reached him and he returned in hot haste to the capital. His father had already expired and his mother, queen Yasomati, burnt herself on the bank of the Sarasvati river to avoid widowhood. Distracted with grief, Rajya-vardhana decided to renounce the throne in favour of his younger brother Harsha and to take to an ascetic life. Harsha was, however, unwilling to accept the burdens of sovereignty and decided to follow in the footsteps of his brother and practise austerities as a hermit.

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

But all this was changed by the arrival of a messenger from Kanauj with grave news. He reported that immediately after the death of Prabhakara-vardhana—in fact, on the very day on which this news was rumoured in the Maukhari court—the king of Malava killed Graha-varman. He even imprisoned the queen RajyasrI at Kanauj and was believed to have planned an invasion of Thaneswar itself. Immediately on receipt of this news Rajya-vardhana marched against the king of Malava with a hastily collected army of ten thousand cavalry, leaving his younger brother Harsha-vardhaxia in charge of the kingdom. Rajya-vardhana routed the Malava army with ridiculous ease, but being "allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauda," was murdered by the latter. 1

II. HARSHA AND KANAUJ

As soon as the news of this calamity reached Harsha, he took a vow of vengeance against gasanka, the king of Gau<Ja. "I swear", said, he, "that unless in a limited number of days I clear this earth of Gaudas.... then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame." 2 According to Bana, he decided upon world-wide conquest, and even asked his minister to issue a proclamation throughout India asking all the kings either to accept his suzerainty or to fight with him. 3 Then a few days later, at an auspicious moment, Harsha commenced his march "for the subjugation of all the four quarters". 4 *

After he had proceeded some distance Harsha was visited in his camp by Hamsavega, a messenger from the king of Pragjyotisha (Assam) who was known both as Kumara and Bhaskara-varman. 6 The envoy reported that his master was firmly resolved never to do homage to any one except £iva, and therefore sought a perpetual alliance with Harsha. The latter gladly accepted the proposal and expressed a desire to meet king Bhaskara-varman. Hamsavega replied that his master would arrive in a few days. 6 Although nothing further is said about this alliance by Bana, it is a reasonable presumption that this alliance was concluded as a measure of safety against &asanka, king of Gauda, the powerful neighbour of Bhaskara-varman, and now a common enemy of both himself and Harsha. The results of this diplomatic move will be seen later.

Note 6

Note 7

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Note 12

llarsha continued his march for a few days more when he came across Bhandi who was returning with the remnants of Rajya-vardhana’s army and the captured troops, booty and equipments of the Malava king. After having learnt from him the details of his brother’s death, Harsha inquired about Rajyasri. Bhandi replied that he had heard a rumour that Rajyasri, after being released from confinement, entered the Vindhya forest with her train, but numerous search parties sent after her had not yet returned. 1 Harsha thereupon left Bhandi in charge of the army with instructions to advance against Gauda, and himself set out in search of his sister. He reached the Vindhya forest in a few days, and after a great deal of wandering met Rajyasri while she was about to mount the funeral pyre. Then he went back, accompanied by his sister, to his camp stationed along the bank of the Ganga.

Bana’s narrative, from which the above details are taken, abruptly ends here, and it is not possible to follow the subsequent career of Harsha either in a chronological sequence or with any fullness of detail. Our main source of information for the rest of his life is the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled all over India from A.D. 630 to 644, and was treated with marked distinction and kindness by Harsha-vardhana.

The most singular point in Hiuen Tsang’s account is that he regards Harsha-vardhana and his two predecesssors as rulers of Kanauj, and does not refer to them in any way in his account of the kingdom of Thaneswar. He describes at length how, after the death of Rajya-vardhana, the ministers, at the instance of the great minister Po-ni,[2] invited Harsha to ascend the throne; the latter, we are told, approached a statue of Avalokitesvara Bodhisatva, on the bank of the Ganga, and asked his advice. The Bodhisatva pointed out that the king of Karnasuvarna had overturned the law of Buddha, and advised him to ascend the throne in order to revive the glory of Buddhism. The Bodhisatva, however, asked him not to occupy the actual throne and not to use the title Maharaja. Thereupon Harsha became king of Kanauj with the title Rdjaputra and the style Siladitya.[3]

It would appear from what has been said above that the account of the Chinese pilgrim is confused and absurd. For. Harsha-vardhana had nothing to do with the kingdom of Kanauj at the time of his brother’s death. Nor can it be held that the statement of Hiuen Tsang really applies to the accession of Harsha-vardhana on the throne of Thaneswar. For it is contradicted by the very clear and express statement of Bana that as soon as Harsha heard the news of his brother’s death, he assumed

Note 13

Note 14

Note 15

Note 16

Note 17

sovereignty without any hesitation and vowed vengeance against his murderer. 1 The implication in the concluding portion of Bodhisatva's advice also can hardly be accepted as a fact, for Harsha-vardhana did ascend the throne and used royal titles.

But perhaps we may find in Hiuen Tsang's statement a distant echo of the manner in which Harsha came to occupy the throne of Kanauj. It is clear from Hiuen Tsang's narrative that about A.D. 636, when he visited Kanauj, Harsha had not only been the ruler of this kingdom but had also fixed his capital in that ~city for such a long time that his early association with Thaneswar had become merely a memory of a distant past. We do not know how or when Harsha came to rule over Kanauj, but it has been generally assumed that Graha-varman having left no heir, and his widowed queen being unwilling to assume the responsibilities of rulership, the ministers of Kanauj, at the suggestion of their chief Po-ni, as stated by Hiuen Tsang, offered the throne to Harsha. Harsha, after some hesitation, accepted the offer on the advice of the Bodhisatva. At first, he did not assume the title of king of Kanauj, but merely acted as a guardian or regent, but with lapse of time, when he had made his position secure, he declared himself sovereign ruler of Kanauj and formally transferred the capital of the joint kingdom to this city. 2

This imaginary reconstruction of the course of events is principally based on the assumption that Graha-varman died without leaving any heir to the throne. But. a seal discovered at Nalanda, as already noted above, proves that a son of Avanti-varman, other than Graha-varman, ruled after him. As Bana expressly mentions Graha-varman as the eldest son of Avanti-varman, we may safely conclude from this seal that a younger brother of Graha-varman succeeded him. This cuts at the root of the theory that the throne of Kanauj, being vacant, was offered to Harsha.

Now, the inscriptions of Nepal have preserved the memory of a Maukhari chief Bhoga-varman, who was probably the nephew (sister's son) of king Ariisu-varman and father-in-law of king Sivadeva II. His father's name was Surasena and he was a dutaka in a royal charter dated A.D. 637-8. It has been surmised by Dr.

1. Cf. Tripathi, HK, p. 68.

Note 18

Basak 1 that Surasena was a Maukhari prince who might have ruled at Kanauj after Harsha's death. But in view of the Nalanda seal he might be regarded as a successor of Graha-varman, particularly as his name on the seal also begins with ‘SIT. In any case it is almost certain that there was a Maukhari ruler of Kanauj after Graha-varman’s death, and we can no longer rest content with the very simple explanation of its vacant throne being offered to Harsha.

The fact that the distinguished Maukhari chiefs lived in Nepal even during the rule of Harsha-vardhana is not compatible with the view of his peaceful occupation of Kanauj. A mystery surrounds it, and Hiuen Tsang’s story, which is the result of either ignorance or clumsy effort to conceal true facts, is hardly acceptable. The Chinese work entitled Fang-chih represents Harsha as carrying on the government, along with his widowed sister. This evidently refers to Kanauj, and probably shows that Harsha first administered the government of Kanauj in the name of his sister whose cause he espoused against other rivals. Later, he openly assumed the crown and full right of sovereignty. As will be shown later, this probably took place c. A.D. 612.

But in whatever manner Harsha might have come to rule over the Maukhari kingdom, it seems to have been his first acquisition of territory, and its vast resources mast have helped him greatly in his subsequent career of conquest.

III. HARSHA’S MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Unfortunately very little is known of the early part of Harsha’s career. As noted above, his army was marching against Sasanka, when he went to find out his sister, and after the recovery of his sister, he joined the camp on the bank of the Ganga. The progress and result of this campaign are not, however, known from any source. Dr. Tripathi’s attempt 2 to fill up, by imagination, the void left by the abrupt ending of Bana’s narrative, has hardly anything to commend it. He draws a graphic picture of how ‘on the approach oi llaisna s army, Sasanka thought discretion was the better part of velour ana beat a masterly retreat;’ but unfortunately this is a mere gratuitous assumption. For aught we know, Sasanka might have left the younger brother of Graha-varman on the throne of Kanauj as his own protege, and it was by ousting him that Harsha occupied Kanauj after Sasanka had retired to his kingdom.

HNI. 290. Cf. also 1HQ. XI, 320.

2. HK, pp. 73-4.

But although we are totally in the dark regarding the progress and result of Harsha’s campaign against Sasanka, undertaken im- , mediately after his accession, there is no doubt that Harsha carried on a series of military expeditions which made him the most powerful ruler in North India. Unfortunately we know very little of his military campaigns, for Hiuen Tsang, who should have been our most valuable guide in this respect, scarcely alludes to them except in a vague and general manner. It is not possible, therefore, to give any details of Harsha’s conquests or even to follow them broadly in a chronological order. All that we can do is to name the powers with which he fought and indicate the result, as far as it is possible to do so with the very meagre materials in our possession.

We can broadly distinguish at least four main phases of Harsha’s military career which brought him into conflict with (1) the rulers of Yalabhl and Gurjara, (2) the Chalukya king Pulakesin II, (3) Sindhu, and (4) eastern countries like Magadha, Gauda, Odra and Kohgoda.

1. ValabhV

The rise of Valabhl as an important kingdom and its great power under &iladitya I Dharmaditya have been narrated above. 1 2 Siladitya who ruled at least till A.D. 612, was succeeded by his younger brother Kharagraha, and the latter by his son Dharasena III. Nothing is known of these two kings save that they were ruling respectively in A.D. 616 and 623, and that during the reign of the latter the Valabhl kingdom included Northern Gujarat.

Dharasena III was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II Baladitya some time before A.D. 629. It was during his reign that Hiuen Tsang visited India, and we learn from him that this king, whose name is written in a form that seems to correspond to Dhruvapatu or Dhruvabhatta, was the son-in-law of Harsha-vardhana. He was, we are told, of hasty temper and of a shallow mind, but he was a sincere believer in Buddhism. He attended the religious assembly convoked by Harsha at Prayaga- and probably also at Kanauj, early in A.D. 643..

Dhruvasena II certainly ruled till at least A.D. 640-641 and was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV. This king, for the first time in the history of the dynasty, assumed imperial titles, and his known dates are A.D. 646 and 650.

Note 19

Note 20

Note 21

Note 22

All the five kings mentioned above, from Siladitya I to Dharasena IV, were contemporaries of Harsha. As noted above, Siladitya I ruled over Malava. Hiuen Tsang describes Mo-la-po as an independent kingdom with several neighbouring kingdoms subject to it, but a grant of Dhruvasena II, dated A.D. 640-641, shows that he was still in possession of at least a part of Malava. As Hiuen Tsang passed through the country about the same time, it is difficult to account for this discrepancy, except on the supposition that there were constant struggles between the two with alternate success and failure. But on the whole we may assume that during at least the greater part of the reign of Harsha-vardhana, Valabhl was a powerful and independent kingdom and exercised supremacy over Northern Gujarat and a part of Malwa.

The inscriptions of the Gurjaras of Broach exultingly mention the fact that Dadda II obtained great glory by protecting (or rescuing) the lord of Valabhl who had been overpowered by the great lord, the illustrious Harshadeva. 1 This proves that a conflict took place between Harsha and the king of Valabhl, but excepting this casual reference, we have no other information regarding it. The circumstances which led to this struggle and its incidents are completely unknown. All that we can reasonably conclude is that Harsha at first gained some successes against the king of Valabhl, but the latter retrieved the situation with the help of Dadda II, and perhaps other allies. There is no basis at all for the view that Valabhl was conquered by Harsha and that its ruler became his subordinate vassal. 2

It might be wondered how the ruler of the small Gurjara state was in a position to protect the king of Valabhl against Harsha. It has been shown above that the Gurjara ruling family of Broach was an offshoot of the main family ruling over a principality further north, in Rajputana. It may be held, therefore, that they acted in unison, and either Dadda II merely aided the Gurjara king, or was helped by the latter in his efforts on behalf of the Valabhl king. But probably the Gurjaras were not the only power to help Valabhl.

It has been noted above that Lata, Malava and Gurjara were hostile to Prabhakara-vardhana, and the enmity with Malava continued in the next reign. It may be presumed, therefore, that these three principalities were hostile to Harsha also. On the other hand, according to the Aihole Inscription, the same three principalities were feudatories of Harsha's contemporary Pulakesin II, and voluntarily accepted this position, evidently for protection against some

l. I A. xni. 77-79.

2 ' HK> P ' , 109 \ Dr * D ' C * Sircar maintains the view that the king

Valabhl was a subordinate ally of Harsha (POC. XII. 525). g

other power. 1 Whether this power was the Katachchuris 2 or Harsha, we cannot definitely say. But in any event they formed a group of buffer states between Harsha and Pulakesin II, and could rely upon the protection of the latter against the aggressive designs of the former.

Whether Dadda II of Broach incurred the hostility of Harsha by taking up the cause of Malava and the defeated king of Valabhi, or from the very beginning all these states had made common cause against a common enemy, we cannot definitely say. But we can well imagine that hostility between Harsha and Dadda II directly or indirectly precipitated the conflict between Harsha-vardhana and Pulakesin II.

2. War with Pulakesin

The war between Harsha and Pulakesin has been regarded as a memorable event both by the successors of Pulakesin and by modern historians. But such a degree of importance is not reflected in contemporary records. Pulakesin's own record 3 merely says that Harsha's elephants fell in the battle and he was seized with fear. Hiuen Tsang tells us that although Harsha had conquered many countries, he could not defeat Pulakesin. Harsha, he says, "has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops." 4 This shows that Harsha took the aggressive, and implies rather that he failed in his object to conquer the enemy than that he suffered any decisive defeat. The successors of Pulakesin undoubtedly regarded his achievement against Harsha in a different light. Not only was the defeat of Harsha referred to as a matter of special pride, but it was also claimed that Pulakesin acquired the title Paramesvara "by defeating Harsha-vardhana, the war-like lord of all the region of the north." There is no doubt that the result of the battle was magnified in favour of Pulakesin by his successors, and also by those modern historians who hold that the Chalukya king inflicted a crushing defeat on Harsha.

We do not know where the battle was fought. There is nothing to support V. A. Smith's view, now generally adopted, 5 that Pulakesin 'guarded the passes on the Narmada so effectually that Harsha was constrained to retire discomfited, and to accept that river as his frontier.' The Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras are referred to as feudatories of Pulakesin in the Aihole Inscription, and there is no evidence that they ever submitted to Harsha. Hiuen Tsang also refers to independent kingdoms in Malava and Bundelkhand. We can, therefore, hardly regard the empire of Harsha as extending up to the Narmada on the south, and it is not unlikely that the actual battle was fought much further to the north. 1

Note 23

Note 24

Note 25

3. Sindh

The great southern campaign, or campaigns, in the course of which Harsha fought with Dhruvasena II of Valabhi, Dadda II of Broach, and the Chalukya king Pulakesin ended in failure. Nor was Harsha more successful in his campaign against Sindh. In a rhetorical phrase Banabhatta refers to Harsha as having 'pounded the king of Sindhu and appropriated his fortune'. [2] Sindh was hostile to Prabhakara-varman as well, and it is just possible that Harsha might have led a campaign against it. But the detailed description of Hiuen Tsang leaves no doubt that Sindh was a strong and independent kingdom when he visited it, and Harsha's military campaign, if there was any, evidently bore no fruit.

4. Eastern Campaign

We may now turn to the military campaign of Harsha in the east which was attended with brilliant success. We learn from the Life of Hiuen Tsang [3] that about the beginning of A.D. 643, when the Chinese pilgrim had gone to Kamarupa at the invitation of its king Bhaskara-varman, Harsha had completed the subjugation of Kongoda and Orissa, and was halting at Kajangala near Rajmahal on the bank of the Ganga. This shows that Harsha must have launched one or more victorious campaigns to the east before this date in the course of which he had subjugated the intervening territories. Some light is thrown on the progress of this eastern campaign by the statement of the Chinese encyclopaedist Ma-twan lin that Siladitya assumed the title of king of Magadha in A.D. 641. [1] That Harsha did not conquer Magadha long before this date is proved by the statement of Hiuen Tsang. While travelling through Magadha in A.D. 637-38 he noted that Sasanka had lately cut down the Bodhi tree at Gaya and died shortly after. Then the king of Magadha, called Purnavarma, the last of the race of Asokaraja, revived the tree by having its roots bathed with the milk of a thousand cows.

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The date of Sasanka's death is not known. His last known date is A.D. 619 and he must have died before, probably not long before, A.D. 637, when Hiuen Tsang refers to it as a recent event. 2 It would thus follow that in spite of all loud boast which Banabhatta puts into the mouth of Harsha and his solemn oath to take speedy revenge for the death of his brother, Harsha could not achieve any success against Sasanka. It was probably after his death that he conquered Magadha and carried on his victorious raids up to Kongoda, with a view to subjugate the territories which hitherto formed the dominions of Sasanka. Presumably he conquered West Bengal which intervened between Magadha and Orissa. But all this happened more than 30 years after Harsha had ascended the throne.

It is not definitely known whether Harsha ever came into actual conflict with Sasanka. The only evidence in support of it is a passage in ManjvJri-Mulakalpa according to Which Harsha marched against Pundra, the capital of Sasanka, defeated him and forbade him to move out of his country, and then returned, having (or not having) been honoured in that kingdom. 3 How far this vague and obscure statement in the mediaeval Buddhist Chronicle can be regarded as historical, it is difficult to say. But even assuming it to be a fact, this first campaign of Harsha evidently led to no permanent results. Harsha returned and, as Hiuen Tsang testifies, Sasahka regained possession of Magadha. The very fact that at least up to A.D. 619, and probably for many years after that, Sasanka ruled over Bengal, South Bihar and Orissa, with all the imperial titles, proves definitely that the earlier efforts of Harsha against Sasanka, referred to in the Harsha-charita and Mafcjiisri-Mulakalpa, did not meet with any conspicuous success.

It is a moot point whether Harsha ever got possession of that part of Bengal which lay to the east of the Bhaglrathl or north of the Padma river. While there is nothing in support of this, there is positive evidence that Bhaskara-varman, the king of Kamarupa,

1. Ettinghausen, Harsha Vardhana, p. 54. The passage is quoted below in Section VI.

2. "In recent time 6asanka cut down the Bodhi tree" (HTW II. 115) and he died soon after (Beal II. 122).

3. Verses 719-20, 726. The whole passage has been fully discussed in HBR, 64.

and the ally of Harsha, was for some time master of this territory, or at least a considerable portion of itj It is probable that he rendered substantial help to Harsha in his eastern campaign, and obtained, as his share of the spoils of war, a part of the province of Bengal. But we cannot altogether exclude the possibility that Harsha was suzerain of Bengal for a short time and it was not till after his death that Bhaskara-varman gained the same position.

5. The Chronology oj Marsha's Campaigns

Harsha-vardhana had to embark upon his military campaigns almost immediately after his accession. Although the immediate objective was to avenge the death of his brother by punishing Sasanka, Banabhatta's description also implies that he was preparing for a digvijaya or 'world-wide conquest.' Hiuen Tsang also makes a statement which confirms this, and gives fuller details. His narrative may be thus summarised: 'As soon as Siladitya became ruler, he got together a great army (a body of 5,000 elephants, 2,000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot soldiers) and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards he invaded the states which had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare, until in six years he had fought the five Indias. 1 2 Then having enlarged his territory he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry to 100,000, and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon.' 3

According to this statement, Harsha fought his battles between A.D. 606 and 611-612 and reigned in peace between A.D. 611-612 and 641-42. the eastern campaigns against Orissa and Kongoda, referred to by Hiuen Tsang, and the campaign against Magadha, as noted above, would then fall in the second period of his military activity after A.D. 641. There is thus no inherent absurdity in the statements of Hiuen Tsang, as has been supposed by some. 4 On the other hand, it stands corroborated if we accept Dr. Fleet's view that Harsha's fight with Pulakesin took place in A.D. 608-9. 5

But considering the unsettled political conditions of the time it would be unreasonable to expect that Harsha could reign in peace for 30 years without any struggle, though he had to fight hard both before and after that period. Besides, Ma-twan-lin categorically states that Harsha was engaged in severe battles in the years 618 and 627. 1 It is thus difficult to place implicit faith in the statement of Hiuen Tsang, quoted above, and reconstruct the chronology of Harsha's campaigns accordingly. Hiuen Tsang did not meet Harsha before A.D. 643 and was ill-informed about his early career, as is evidenced by his confused statement about Harsha's accession discussed above. As regards Fleet's view, it is based on the fact that Pulakesin is called Paramesvara in a record dated A.D. 612, but the hypothesis that Pulakesin assumed this title on defeating Harsha cannot be regarded as satisfactory. For according to Pulakesin's own records, he acquired it by defeating many hostile kings, and it is only in the records of his successor that the title is said to have been assumed by him on account of his victory over Harsha. The contest between Harsha and Pulakesin must have taken place before A.D. 634-5 as it is mentioned in the Aihole inscription recorded in that year; but how long before that it is difficult to say. Different scholars have suggested dates varying between A.D. 620 and 630. 1 2

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The battle with the king of Valabhi has to be placed before this date if we believe it to be one of the causes of Harsha's hostility to Pulakesin. The identity of the king of Valabhi with whom Harsha fought depends upon the date of this battle. It is generally assumed that this king was Dhruvasena, who is described by Hiuen Tsang as the son-in-law of Harsha. It has been held that Dhruvasena II, being completely defeated, was compelled to sue for peace and to accept the hand of the victor's daughter. It has been pqinted out, on-the other hand, that 'the offer of a daughter's hand in marriage which involves humility cannot be expected in a victor.' 3 But, as has been shown above, the theory of complete defeat has no ground to stand upon, and instances are not wanting where the hostilities between two contending sovereigns are closed by a matrimonial alliance. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Dhruvasena II was the king of Valabhi who was at first defeated by Harsha, but was saved by the support of the Gurjara king Dadda II. It is, however, interesting to note that the records of Dadda II, dated A.D. 629 and 641, make no reference to the support given by him to the Valabhi king, and his achievement is extolled only in subsequent records issued by his successors. The successful opposition to Harsha on the part of a petty chief is so important an event that the silence of Dadda's records in this respect requires an explanation. Some hold that Dadda fought with Harsha in the company, and merely as a feudatory, of Pulakesin who bore the brunt of the struggle, and hence Dadda did not dare take any credit for his success during the lifetime of his suzerain. 1 Others, however, hold that Harsha's battle with the king of Valabhi took place after A.D. 641, and that his opponent was Dharasena IV. It is pointed out that Dharasena's assumption of imperial titles was a direct challenge to the authority of Harsha, and he was thus forced to declare war on the king of Valabhi. 2 It may be argued that this means a war between the maternal grandfather and the grandson. But such a thing is not unknown in history, and besides, Dharasena might have been born of a queen other than Harsha's daughter. The main drawback to this theory is that it places the battle after A.D. 644 when Pulakesin was probably worsted in his fight with the Pallavas and was rot in a position to render any help to the king of Valabhi or Gurjara Dadda II. On the whole, both the date of the battle and the identity of the Valabhi king must be left undecided.

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It would appear from Hiuen Tsang's statement as well as Bana's narrative that Harsha's eastern campaign preceded his other campaigns. But then this campaign must be different from the later one in the course of which he conquered Magadha, Orissa, and Kongoda in A.D. 641 and 642. The nature of the earlier campaign and the extent of its success are alike unknown.

IV. THE EXTENT OF HARSHA'S EMPIRE

Having thus discussed briefly the military campaigns of Harsha so far as they are known to us, we may now proceed to form an idea of the extent of his empire. The treatment of this subject is rendered difficult by the extravagant estimates formed by old scholars on weak and insufficient basis. At a time when the study of Indian history was in its infancy, and people were not critical of the few contemporary data of ancient Indian history, then known, the scholars readily accepted the vague statements of Hiuen Tsang and Banabhatta and pictured Harsha as a great monarch and the last great empire-builder of Hindu India. This erroneous conception persisted down to comparatively recent times. The present writer was perhaps the first to challenge its accuracy, and it is gratifying to note a gradual change of view in the right direction. 3 Nevertheless prejudices die hard, and it is necessary to notice the subject in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary.

1. El, XXIV. 179. 2. PIHC, III, 598.

3. Cf. JBORS, 1923, pp. 311 ff. This view, expressed therein, is generally endorsed by Tripathi (HK, pp. 78 ff).

In order to form an idea of the limits of Harsha's empire, it is necessary to review briefly the political condition of Northern India as described by Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim has given a short account of all the kingdoms through which he passed. He was primarily a Buddhist devotee, and he has mainly described sites and events of religious importance, but in a good many cases he has also briefly noticed the political status of the kingdom. This invests his account with a degree of historical importance which is lacking, for example, in similar accounts of Fa-hien. In spite of uncertainties of exact identification of sites and some other minor details, we may, following Hiuen Tsang, take a bird's-eye view of political India as seen by the great Chinese pilgrim between A.D. 630, when he reached Kapisa (in Afghanistan), and A.D. 644, when he recrossed the Sindhu on his way home.

Kapisa, immediately to the south of the Hindu Kush mountains, was a powerful state under a Kshatriya king who directly ruled over the old kingdoms of Lan-po (Laghman), Nagarahara (Jelalabad) and even Gandhara, and held Fa-la-na (Bannu) in subjection. The only other important kingdom to the west of the Sindhu was Udyana which occupied the upper Swat valley.

To the east of the Sindhu, Kashmir was the first important state. The old kingdoms of Takshasila, Simhapura, Urasa, Pan-nu-tso and Rajapura, comprising nearly the whole of western and north-western Punjab, were now incorporated into it, and the kingdom thus comprised not only the whole of Kashmir but also a considerable part of the Punjab. The most important kingdom in the Punjab is called Cheh-ka, which probably stands for Takka. Its capital was near Sialkot and it extended from the Beas in the east to the Sindhu on the west. Multan, and another country called Po-fa-to (Parvata) to the north-east of it, were both dependencies of Takka.

Hiuen Tsang notices four more kingdoms in the East Punjab and the hilly regions to the north-east, viz. Chi-na-puh-ti, Jalandhara, Kuluta, and Satadru, but does not say anything about their political condition. It is probable that they were included in the empire of Harsha, but we cannot be quite sure of it. A king of Jalandhara is mentioned in the Life of Hiuen Tsang as having supplied a military escort to the Chinese pilgrim on his return journey, and although Harsha afterwards added a great elephant to this escort and provided some money for defraying the expenses of the Chinese pilgrim, it does not prove, as has been suggested, that Harsha exercised some measure of influence over this kingdom.

To the east of the Yamuna, the only states whose rulers are mentioned are Mo-ti-pu-lo, Su-fa-la-na-ku-ta-lo (Suvarnagotra),

Nepal and Kamarupa. The first was situated in Western Rohilkhand and was ruled by a &udra king. The next was in the Himalayas. It was ruled by women and was known as the kingdom of the women. The other two are well-known states and will be treated in detail later. A large number of other states in U.P., Bihar and Bengal are noted, but nothing is said about their political status. We can reasonably assume that all or most of them were comprised in Harsha’s empire.

In Central India there were three states in Bundelkhand, Gwalior, and Ujjain (E. Malava) ruled over by Brahmana kings. In Western India the most powerful kingdom was Mo-la-po or W. Malava which exercised suzerainty over three other states, viz. Kutch or Kheda, Anandapura and Surashtra. Further to the west were the kingdoms of Valabhi, Broach, Gurjara and Sindhu. The two kingdoms Pi-to-shih-lo and A-fan-tu were subject to Sindhu which thus comprised the whole of the lower Sindhu valley.

This detailed account of the important kingdoms of Northern India, based on the express statements of Hiuen Tsang, leaves no doubt that Harsha's empire could not possibly comprise any substantial territory outside U.P., Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. But M. Ettinghausen and Panikkar, the two modern biographers of Harsha, regard him as sovereign of the whole of Northern India; the latter specifically describes Harsha's empire as having extended from Kamarupa to Kashmir and the Himalayas to the Vindhyas. The more moderate estimate of V. A. Smith excludes from this area Kashmir, Punjab, Sindh, Rajputana and Kamarupa for the very simple reason that Hiuen Tsang clearly refers to them as independent kingdoms, and even mentions the states that were subordinate to some of them.

But even V. A. Smith's estimate can hardly be regarded as sober. His belief that the king of Valabhi was a feudatory or vassal of Harsha has no real grounds to stand upon. But he exceeds the bounds of probability when he includes Malava, Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiawar Peninsula within the limits of Harsha's empire. For Hiuen Tsang describes Mo-la-po to the east of the Mahi river, as a powerful kingdom and expressly states that the kingdoms of Anandapura (Ahmedabad District), K-i-ta (Kutch or Kaira District) and Su-lacha (Kathiawar Peninsula) were subject to it. There can be no doubt that Mo-la-po denotes the western part of Malwa with its dependent states and Valabhi covers the whole western region south of Rajputana. Again, Hiuen Tsang describes the three states to the east of Malwa corresponding roughly to E. Malwa (with capital at Ujjayinl), Bundelkhand and Gwalior as being ruled by

Brahmans kings. It is thus clear that Harsha's suzerainty did not extend much to the south of the Yamuna.

To the west of the Yamuna the empire of Harsha could not possibly extend beyond Jalandhara. To the north Kashmir was certainly an independent kingdom, and although Nepal is supposed by some to be subject to Harsha, the evidence in support of it is very weak. It is likely, however, that he conquered some territories at the foot of the Himalayas. 1 In the east, as noted above, there is nothing to show that Harsha exercised any suzerainty over North, South or Eastern Bengal, or that Kamarupa was a vassal state of Harsha. 2

This detailed examination forces us to the conclusion that at first Harsha's kingdom comprised merely the territories of the old states of Thaneswar and Kanauj, though he probably added some small principalities to the north and west. It may be said to have comprised the Eastern Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Towards the close of his reign, he had annexed Magadha and even pushed his conquests as far as Orissa and Kohgoda. It is not definitely known, however, whether the last two with the intervening territory were ever incorporated in his dominions.

This limit of Harsha's empire is much narrower than what is generally believed. But excluding the doubtful case of Bengal it seems impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to regard Harsha as exercising his authority over a larger area. It is significant that the find-spots of his coins and inscriptions, and the locality where the new era started by him was undoubtedly in vogue, are all situated within this limit.

V. ESTIMATE OF HARSHA

It would be quite wrong to assume, as many have done, that Harsha was the last great empire-builder in the Hindu period and his death marked the end of all successful attempts to restore the political unity of Northern India. Several empires, which did not compare unfavourably with his, rose and fell in Northern India during the next five centuries, and some of them, like the Pratihara empire, were not only bigger but more enduring. While, therefore, it would be idle to pretend that Harsha-vardhana's reign constitutes a distinctive age or marks an epoch in Indian history in any way, we cannot withhold our tribute of praise and admiration which is due to him as a great ruler, a brave military leader, a patron of arts and letters, and a man of noble impulses and distinguished personality.

Note 35

Note 36

Harsha-vardhana came to occupy the throne of Thaneswar at a most critical moment in its history. The friendly and neighbouring state of Kanauj was overrun by a powerful enemy who had designs upon Thaneswar itself, and its king met with a tragic end in an attempt to retrieve the disaster. The death of two successive rulers within a short space of time rendered the position of the young king still more difficult in the face of the heavy task that lay before him, particularly if we remember that his relations with the surrounding states were far from friendly, and hostile operations were actually in progress against one of them. That Harsha not only surmounted these difficulties, but raised the small principality of Thaneswar into the most powerful kingdom in Northern India, reflects the greatest credit upon his military skill and general ability. The disintegrating forces, let loose by the dissolution of the Gupta empire, made the task of an empire-builder particularly difficult, and he had to engage in a series of military engagements with the numerous states that arose all over Northern India. He had also to measure his sword with the great emperor who successfully emulated his own exploits in the Deccan and South India. Harsha’s military expeditions did not prove uniformly successful, but in spite of occasional failures, he built a strong and powerful empire, and established his reputation as a great conqueror. His supremacy in Northern India was undisputed, and even rulers who did not acknowledge his suzerainty stood in awe of him, and were eager to win his favour and friendship. This is well illustrated by the host of crowned monarchs that attended the religious ceremonies organised by him, and in particular by the story that Hiuen Tsang tells of his first meeting with the great emperor. Harsha was then staying in his camp at Kajangala (near Rajmahal) after his return from his Orissa campaign. On hearing that Hiuen Tsang was then staying in Kamarupa, he sent a messenger asking king Bhaskara-varman to send the

Chinese priest to him at once. Bhaskara-varman replied: “He (Harsha) can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of the Law (Hiuen Tsang) yet.” On receiving this reply Harsha sent a brief message: ‘Send the head per bearer.’ Bhaskara-varman, deeply alarmed at his own folly, now made amends by a personal visit to Harsha along with Hiuen Tsang . 1 This story need not be taken as literally true; nevertheless it reflects the high regard and consideration that Harsha commanded even from independent rulers.

Note 37

But while Harsha must be regarded as a great and powerful monarch, it is difficult to form a proper estimate of his military genius and statesmanship. To all appearances his accession to the throne of Kanauj paved the way for his future success and considerably facilitated his task. We do not know the means by which he acquired that kingdom, and we cannot say what part luck, d!p» lomacy, or military ability played in this initial achievement. As regards his campaigns, we know r of only two enemies who may be regarded as first class powers, viz. Pulakesin and Sasanka, He was defeated by one of them, and certainly achieved no conspicuous success against the other. About his other adversaries like the kings of Sindh and Valabhi, we possess too little knowledge to form any idea of their comparative sirength. The view that Harsha carried his military expeditions as far as South India has no basis to rest upon. 1

There are two extraneous evidences of the eminent position that Harsha occupied in contemporary politics. The Chalukya records state that Pulakesin acquired the title ‘Paramosvara 5 by defeating the glorious Harsha-vardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the North. Although the title ‘Sakalottarapatha-natha’ should not be literally taken to mean the lord of whole of Northern India, the references in South Indian records certainly indicate that Harsha occupied a pre-eminent position in his time.

Secondly, an era, counting from the date of Marshals accession, was probably in use even long after his death. Inscriptions bearing date as late as 298, and one of the year 563 (or 562) have been referred to this era. 2 Although in not a single instance has the era been expressly associated with the name of Harsha, its existence has been inferred from certain remarks of AlberunL Alberuni notes 3 that there was an era of &ri-Harsha prevalent in

Mathura and Kanauj, which commenced 400 years before the Yikrama era, i.e. about 458 B.C. But he adds that he read in the Kashmirian calendar that &rl-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramaditya. This would place the accession of Harsha in A.D. 606, a date now' generally accepted. It is further held on the same authority that there were two Harsha eras, the later of which, founded by Harsha-vardhana, commenced from this date. The accession of Harsha-vardhana in A.D. 606 cannot, however, be easily reconciled with a statement in the Life of Hiuen Tsang, 4 which implies that Harsha reigned for 30 years or a little more when he performed his sixth quinquennial

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celebrations at Prayaga in A.D. 643, unless we count this period from his accession to the throne of Kanauj which would then fall in c. A.D. 612. 1 In any event, it must be pointed out that there is no reliable evidence in support of the generally accepted views that Harsha-vardhana ascended the throne of Thaneswar in A.D. 606, and that an era was counted from his accession. * 2

Hiuen Tsang draws a vivid picture of Harsha as an energetic ruler who was constantly on the move, being either engaged in military campaigns, or visiting different parts of his wide empire, meting out justice to all, showing honour to the worthy, and correcting irregularities in the conduct or behaviour of all. He maintained a large standing army, and Hiuen Tsang's estimate of its strength is interesting. At first it is said to have comprised 5000 elephants, 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry. But, later, the number of elephants and cavalry were raised respectively to 60,000 and 100,000. 3 The number would appear almost incredible, and if the infantry were increased in anything like the same proportion, it must have well nigh reached almost a million. Even the army of Chandragupta Maury a, who ruled over a much bigger empire, included only 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants, besides 600,000 infantry. The statement of Hiuen Tsang is certainly open to grave doubts. That great attention was paid to cavalry is also hinted at by Bana, for we are told that the horses for the army were brought from Persia, Afghanistan, and N.-W. Frontier Province which are still famous for their good breed. 4

Harsha distinguished himself almost equally in arts of peace and war. He could wield the pen as well as the sword, and three of his dramatic plays, Ratnavati, Priyadarsikd and Nagnnanda, survive to testify to the literary skill of the royal author, which won him high reputation as a poet both from contemporaries and posterity. 15 He was, besides, a great patron of learning, and his court was graced by Banabhafta, Mayura, and other literary men of

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less renown. Hiuen Tsang observes, in his general account of India, that royal revenues are divided into four parts; one for the expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence, and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects. 1 If this picture applies to Harsha J s government, as we have every reason to believe, we may find in it indirect reference to the royal patronage of learning, which finds support from other sources of information. A story is told in the Life of Hiuen Tsang 2 that Harsha was deeply impressed by the remarkable learning and scholarship of a Kshatriya householder named Jayasena, a native of Surashfra, living in Magadha, and offered him the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa. The offer was declined, but it proves the generosity of Harsha towards learned men and his unstinted liberality to them. Harsha was also a patron of the great University of Nalanda, which was then the most renowned centre of learning in the whole of the Buddhist world. We learn from Hiuen Tsang. that he built there a magnificent vihdra and a bronze temple. 3 I-tsing tells us that "£iiaditya was exceedingly fond of literature" and that he not only "versified the story of the Bodhisatva JImu ta vahana” (i.e. Ndgdnanda) “but had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting.” 4

Even making due allowances for the pompous rhetoric of Ranabhatta and enthusiastic exaggeration of Hiuen Tsang, their narratives leave no doubt that Harsha was a ruler of versatile ability and wonderful personality. Naturally Hiuen Tsang has given more details of the religious beliefs and activities of Harsha. Any one who goes through the pilgrim’s bulky volumes is struck by his enthusiasm, bordering almost on fanaticism, in matters concerning Bilddhist religion. He was so much blinded by faith and devotion that he even describes supernatural phenomena as happening before his very eyes. He saw everything in India through the spectacles of Buddhism, and regarded its inherent superiority to all other religions as beyond question. The account of such a person about the religious proclivities of Harsha must be accepted with more than usual reserve. To judge, as we do in other cases, from the epigraphie records of Harsha, ha must be regarded as a pious and devoted Saiva. His royal seals, which refer to his three ancestors as worshippers of the Sun and his elder brother as Buddhist, describe him as a devoted &aiva, and this is corroborated by the two records that we

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possess of him. Yet the accounts of Hiuen Tsang would leave the impression that Harsha was not only a devoted follower of Buddhist religion, but even deliberately treated with scant respect the other religious sects, including halvas, as being distinctly inferior. Hiuen Tsang describes, for example, the great ceremony which Harsha performed every five years at Prayaga, at the confluence of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna, when, ajter the example of his ancestors , he ‘distributed in one day the accumulated wealth of five years.’ But we are told that an image of Buddha was first offered the most costly jewels, and the Buddhist priests, from far and near, were entertained with gifts, before his charity was extended to ‘retired scholars and recluses of other religions and the kinless poor.’ 1 This lavish distribution exhausted all the public and private wealth of the country, but in ten days the empty treasury was again filled by the gifts of the rulers of different countries. This account is of a piece with the general tenor of Hiuen Tsang's statements, and undoubtedly contains a great deal of exaggeration, and perhaps even perversion of truth.

Still more striking is his account of Harsha's religious assembly at Kanauj, 2 which was attended by Bhaskara-varman, with his immense host, and twenty (or eighteen) other kings. 3 A special tower, 100 ft. high and with a golden statue of Buddha of the size of the king inside it, was constructed at Kanauj, and every day in the midst of a huge procession, escorted by the kings, a smaller golden image of Buddha was carried on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant. On its left went king Harsha, dressed as gakra (Indra) holding a canopy, and on the right was Bhaskara-varman. dressed as Brahma holding a white Chdmara. After having reached an altar, specially constructed for the purpose, the king first washed the Buddha image in scented water, and then himself bore it on his shoulder to the tower where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments, decorated with precious gems. This worship was followed by a grand feast. After the feast the kings and followers of different religious sects gathered in an assembly and discussed the most abstruse subjects till evening when the king ietirea in state to his own residence. This programme was followed for 21 days in succession.

is nee dless to add that in the assembly for discussion Hiuen Tsang is represented as towering head and shoulders above the rest The members of the assembly were selected by Harsha himself, and included, in addition to the kings and their two hundred ministers 1, 000 r enown ed Buddhist priest s and five hundred Brahmanas and

1. HTW . I. 364.

3. The number of kings is given as IS in the Life'

Life, 177.

followers of other religious sects. Hiuen Tsang was nominated as 'Lord of the discussion,' and having selected a subject, he offered his head to any one who could find fault with his arguments. None dared challenge him for five days, and then the followers of the Hlnayana form of Buddhism plotted to kill him. Thereupon Harsha issued a proclamation threatening with instant death any one who ‘should hurt or touch’ the Chinese pilgrim. Further, he announced that ‘w T hoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out.’ No wonder, that after this ‘the followers of error withdrew’ and no one joined the discussion.

But murder seems to have been in the air of the religious assembly at Kanauj. The heretics, we are told, felt great resentment against Harsha and planned to kill him, because while he ‘exhausted his treasury in offerings to the Buddhists, he scarcely even spoke to them. 5 On the last day of the assembly the great tower suddenly caught fire, and in the confusion that ensued, a heretic, knife in hand, rushed on the king. The man was seized and confessed that he was hired by the heretics, who had deliberately set the tower on fire to get an opportunity to assassinate the king. Five hundred Brahmanas, all of singular talent, questioned by the king, confessed to their share in the plot, adding that they were “jealous of the Sramanas, whom the king had reverenced and exceedingly honoured.” The king punished the ring-leaders and banished the 500 Brahmanas to the frontiers of India.

Thus ended the strange assembly of Kanauj. The whole scene is dominated by the towering personality of Hiuen Tsang, and Harsha cuts a sorry, almost a pitiable figure. An extreme partisan of Buddhism, and a blind admirer of his illustrious guest, he even forgot his royal duties and the allegiance he owed to the faith officially accepted by him and his numerous subjects. The sight of the Buddha image carried by the king, dressed as a Brahmanical god, was sure to wound the feelings of millions who thronged the capital. It was again queer indeed to convoke an assembly for religious discussion with Hiuen Tsang as the chief spokesman, and then to declare publicly that whoever speaks against him shall hdve-his tongue cut out. The result was, of course, a foregone conclusion,—Hiuen Tsang occupying the Presidential chair in splendid isolation, with no one entering the Hall to join the discussion. Such is the picture which Hiuen Tsang presents to us of his patron and hero, but we may well doubt whether Harsha was really capable of such folly.

Hiuen Tsang’s account leaves no doubt that Harsha was greatly attached to Buddhism, and showered great honours upon the Chinese pilgrim for his learning, piety and devotion. But we should, perhaps give too much credence to it if we believe that he formally gave up his old faith, and his zeal for Buddhism and respect and reverence for Hiuen Tsang led him to show scant courtesy, if not positive disrespect, to the other religious sects and their revered

leaders.

VI. MARSHA'S RELATION WITH CHINA

Harsha's intimacy with Hiuen Tsang led to one important result. He must have been impressed with the pilgrim's description of the power and prestige of the Chinese emperor, and accordingly sent an envoy 1 to him in A.D. 641. Ma-twan-lin has preserved the following account of it:

"(In 641) Slladitya assumed the title of king of Magadha and sent an ambassador with a letter to the emperor. The emperor, in his turn, sent Liang-hoai-King as an envoy with a royal patent to Slladitya with an invitation to him to submit (to the authority of the Chinese emperor). &iladitya was full of astonishment and asked his officers whether any Chinese envoy ever came to this country since time immemorial. 'Never', they replied in one voice. Thereupon the king went out, received the imperial decree with bended knees, and placed it on his head."

Ettinghausen has inferred from this submissive attitude of Harsba that he must have been in great trouble and badly needed the help of China. Such a conclusion is absolutely unwarranted. It has been invariably the practice of Chinese chroniclers to represent customary presents given by an envoy as the tribute paid by a vassal state, and no wonder that ordinary marks of courtesy and politeness, which Harsha showed to the ambassador, were represented as an act of submission. It is impossible to believe that Harsha could really expect any material aid from such a distant country as China, of which he knew very little before he met Hiuen Tsang.

Towards the close of the year A.D. 643 a second Chinese embassy came to Magadha under Li-y-piao and Wang-hiuen-tse. They brought with them a Brahmana envoy sent to the Chinese emperor by Siladitya, probably soon after he made the acquaintance of Hiuen

1. For an account of the embassies, cf. Ettinghausen, Harsha Vardhana, pp. 54-7. Dr. P. C. Bagchi in enumerating the embassies from China does not refer to the Chinese embassy under Liang-hoai-King and takes the embassy under Li-y -piao as the first sent by the Chinese emperor in return to that sent by Harsha (India and China , p. 82). He writes Li Yi-pao and Wang Hiuan-ts'o as the names of the two Chinese ambassadors, and gives the date of the second embassy ©f the latter as A D. 647 (Sino-Indian Studies, L 69).

Tsang. This embassy brought the reply of the Chinese emperor to the king of Magadha (as Harsha was called in the Chinese account) and was received with similar honours as the previous one.

Scarcely had Wang-hiuen-tse returned to China when he was again sent back to the court of Harsha. This third embassy was probably the result of detailed communications about the Indian king which the emperor received from Hiuen Tsang on the latter's return to China in A.D. 645.

Wang-hiuen-tse left for India in 646 with Tsiang-Cheu-jenn as the second in command. But when they arrived in India the great king was no more. We may thus infer that Harsha-vardhana probably died in the beginning of A.D. 647 or towards the close of the previous year. The exact time and circumstances of his death, as well as the events following it, are unknown, and no light is thrown on them by any Indian record.

No successor of Harsha-vardhana is known, and with him ended the famous Pushpabhuti family and the mighty empire founded by his prowess and ability.

APPENDIX

The Death of R&jya-vardhema

Banabhatta's account 1 of Rajya-vardhana, summarised above, is distressingly vague and incomplete, and suffers from all the defects of partisan authorship. He does not, for example, mention even the name of either the king of Malava or the king of Gau$a, who inflicted such calamity on the house of Thaneswar. That the latter is Sasanka admits of no doubt, as Hiuen Tsang refers to the murder of Rajyavardhana by Sasanka. The inscriptions of Harsha-vardhana refer to Deva-gupta and other kings being defeated by Rajya-vardhana. As the king of Malava was the only important king defeated by Rajya-vardhana in his brief career, it is a reasonable presumption that Deva-gupta of the inscriptions and the king of "Malava denote one and the same person. 2

The first part of Bana’s narrative seems to imply that Devagupta alone defeated and killed Graha-varman and put Rajyasri in prison. But the chance mentioned of ‘Gau$a trouble’ in connection with the imprisonment of Rajyasrl, and the fight between Sasahka and Rajya-vardhana almost immediately after Deva-gupta’s death, can hardly be explained except on the theory of an alliance between Malava and Gau$a against the Maukharis.

Note 48

Note 49

There is much that is vague in the account of the allied conquest of Kanauj. Not only are details lacking about the initial stages of the campaign which ended so disastrously for Graha-varman, but no clue is given regarding the identity of the nobleman named Gupta who set Rajyasri at liberty; nor are we told how or why Rajyasri chose to betake herself to the distant Vindhya hills when she could far more easily fly to her native kingdom of Thaneswar.

The subsequent events are also not easy to follow. Why Rajyavardhana marched with such a small army against powerful foes; why Deva-gupta met him without his ally Sasahka; whether Rajyavardhana was at all aware that ^asahka’s army was near at hand, and if so why he advanced, with his depleted army, against this new enemy without re-inforcement;—these are questions to which it is difficult to give any satisfactory answer.

Similar uncertainty hangs round the story of Raj ya-vardhana’s death. Bana says he was allured by Sasahka to his house and killed when he was alone and without any weapon. Banabhatta does not mention the nature of the allurements which induced Rajya-var™ dhana to visit the house of his enemy without any guard. Sankara, a later commentator of Bana, explains the allurements by saying that Sasahka enticed Eajya -vardhana through a spy by the offer of his daughter’s hand, and while the unlucky king with his retinue was participating in a dinner in his enemy’s camp, he was killed by the Gauda king in disguise. Apart from its inherent absurdity, the story is hardly consistent with the express statement of Bana that Rajya-vardhana died while he was alone and weaponless in his enemy’s house.

Hiuen Tsang gives us a different story altogether. Sasahka, it is said, frequently told his ministers, with reference to Rajya-vardhana, that ‘if a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the mother-kingdom/ Thereupon the ministers of Sasahka asked Rajya-vardhana to a conference and murdered him. Elsewhere Hiuen Tsang quotes the following speech of Harsha’s ministers: “Owing to the fault of his (Rajya-vardhana’s) ministers, he was led to subject his person to the hand of his enemy, and the kingdom has suffered a great affliction, but it is the fault of your ministers.”

Lastly we have the express statement in the inscriptions of Harsha-vardhana that Rajya-vardhana gave up his life at the house of his enemy owing to his adherence to a promise.

il would appear from these varying accounts that while there is no doubt that Rajya-vardhana was killed by Sasahka, it is not just

or reasonable to accept the view that this was accomplished by treachery. That both Banabhatta and Hiuen Tsang were bitter against Sasahka is evidenced by their writings, and their accusations must be treated with a great deal of reserve. It is not a little curious that all the three contemporary accounts, which refer to Rajyavardhana’s murder, maintain a conspiracy of silence regarding its cause or details. It is no use stressing the fact that &a4anka*s treachery is mentioned by contemporary writers, for the varying accounts of Shivaji and Afzal Khan in Muslim and Maratha chronicles illustrate the danger of relying upon contemporary evidence if it comes from interested or prejudiced sources. On the whole, it is better to reserve judgment until further evidence is available, 1

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See p. 65.
2. 2. The translation is somewhat different from Cowell’s on p. 101. Gurjara, as noted below, is not the same as Gujarat, and ' pdtava* has been taken in the sense of ‘skill’ rather than lawlessness.
3. 1. See p. 65.
4. 2. This has been fully dealt with by me in JDL. X. 1 ff. See also, above,
5. pp. 63 ff.
6. 1. HC, p. 178. See Appendix.
7. 2. HC, p. 187. According to Hiuen Tsang, Harsha said: “The enemies of my brother are unpunished as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission; while this is so my right hand shall never lift food to my mouth.”
8. (Beal I. 213).
9. 3. HC, p. 187. 4. HC, p. 197.
10. 5. HC, p. 211; HTW, I. 348. The name Kumara also occurs in the original
11. text (p. 214), but the English translators have missed it.
12. 6. HC, pp. 223, 280.
13. 1. HC, p. 224.
14. 2. Po-ni is usually identified with Bhandi referred to above. But as pointed out
15. by Tripathi (HK, p. 75, fn. 1), if the question discussed was the throne of
16. Kanauj, as seems to be the case, this identification is hardly likely.
17. 3. HTW I. 343.
18. 2. Cf. Tripathi, HK, pp. 74 ff. 101
19. 1. For the inscriptions of the Valabhl and Gurjara kings referred to below, cf. Bh.
20. List Nos. 1330 ff. under the dates mentioned. For Hiuen Tsang’s account cf.
21. HTW , II. 246.
22. 2. See p. 63.
23. 1. EI. VI. p. 10, fn. 5. 2. See below, Ch. XI, B, III.

24. 3. EI. VI. p. 10. 4. HTB. II. 257.
25. ' 5. BG. I. Part II, p. 350; EHI. 8 350; R. Mookerji, Harsha, p. 43.
26. 1. Some writers hold that Harsha even penetrated far into the Deccan and fought with the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I. This view is based on the Gaddemane inscription assignable to the seventh century, which mentions the death of one Pettani Satyanka in a fight against the Be^a chiefs when Siliditya invaded the south and Mahendra took to flight. But as already pointed out by the author of this chapter (IHQ, V. 235), giladitya and Mahendra of this inscription should be identified respectively with Yuvaraja Sryasraya Slladitya (a son of Pulakesin II) and Pallava Mahendravarman II, both of whom flourished in the second half of the seventh century. Again, a verse of Mayura, a court-poet of Harsha, is quoted to prove his patron's success against Anga, Kuntala Chola Madhyadesa and Kanchl. But the author conceives the earth as his patron's wife and uses the words anga, etc., also in the additional sense respectively of her body, hair, cloth, chest and girdle. There is no doubt that here is a poetic imagination showing the author's knowledge of the Kamasdstra, but having nothing to do with geography or history.
27. 2. HC, Text, p. 91. 3 . Trans, by Beal, pp. 172, 159.
28. 1. Cf. Ch. X Section 6.
29. 2. According to another reading: "Harsha had brought the five Indias under allegiance" (HTW I. 343; HTB I. 213).
30. 3. Beal translates it differently (I. 213), implying that he fought for 30 years.
31. 4. Tripathi, UK, p. 127. 5. BG. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 351.
32. 1. JRAS . N. S. IV. p. 86; JASB. VI. 68.
33. 2. The date of the campaign has been fully discussed in Ch. XII. Cf. also Tripathi, (HK , p. 125); ABORL XIII. 300; PIHC. III. 596.
34. 3. PIHC. Ill 596-7.
35. 1. Banabhatta says (HC, p. 76) that Harsha exacted tribute from an inaccessible land of snowy mountains. Biihler (1A. XIX. 40), and following him, others take the country to be Nepal, while Levi (le Nepal . II, 145-6) and Ettinghausen (Harsha Vardhana, p. 47) think that it refers to the Tukhara country.
36. 2. See on this point, Tripathi (HK, p. 104), and PIHC, VI 48.
37. 1. Life, p. 172.

38. 1. Cl Tripathi, HK, p. 121. See above, p. 106, fn. 1.
39. 2. Cf. Bh. List 189 ff, Tripathi, HK, p. 123.
40. 3. Sachau's Tr. Vol. II. p. 5. 4. Trans, by Beal, p. 183.
41. 1. According to V. A. Smith 'Harsha did not boldly stand forth as avowed king* of Thaneswar until A.D. 612 and he suggests that up to that time Harsha ^considered himself to be Regent on behalf of his sister, or possibly, an infant crnld of his late brother." (EHP 338). It is absurd to suggest that his sister had any claim to the throne of Thaneswar, and as already noted above, BSna's account leaves no doubt that Harsha became king of Thaneswar immediately after his brother's death.
42. 2 ' ^estion has been fully discussed by the present writer (JHQ, XXVII,
43. 3 HTB l F< 213 fUrther discussion cf * Ibid > 321 > and IH Q-XXVIII.
44. 4. Bana saw Harsha s stable filled with the king's favourite horses from Vanayu, Aratfa, Kamboja, Bharadvaja, Sindh, and Persia (HC, p. 50).
45. **• Pp . 5 s kp ve De en entertained whether Harsha himself composed these plays. Tims has been fully discussed by Tripathi (HK, p. 185) who also cites references to Harsha s literary activities (p. 182), cf. infra Cr. XV.
46. 1. HTW. I, 176. 2. Trans, bv Beal, p. 154.
47. 3. Li/e, p. 159, HTW. II. 171. 4. 1RT. 163-64.
48. 1. HC, pp. 173, 177-8, 224, 250.
49. 2. For oth&r views on the subject, cf. 1HQ, XXXII, 431; XXXIII, 235.

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1. Contemporary Literary Works.

(a) Bajmbhatta— Harsha-charita (References are to the English Translation by Cowell and Thomas and the Nirnayasagara Edition of the Text).

(b) Hiuen Tsang’s account. Translated by Beal {Buddhist Records of the Western World) and Watters (On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India),

(c) Life of Hiuen Tsang . Translated by Beal.

2. Royal Seals.

(a) Banskhera Copper Seal (CII, III 231),

(b) Naianda Seals (EL XXX, 74; MASI, 66, p. 68).

3. Inscriptions.

(a) Banskhera Copper-plate, dated year 22 (El, W. 208).

(b) Madiiufean Copper-plate, dated year 25 (El, I. 67).

4. Modern Works,

(a) R. o Mookerji— Marsha.

(b) M. L. Et tmghausen—H arsha Vardhana.

(e) K. M. Panikkar—&n Harsha of Kanauf.

<d) R. S, Tripathi —History of Kanauj. (Chs. I1I-VIH).

Note 1

CHAPTER X

Chapter Notes

1. 1. For a full discussion of this question, cf. HBR, pp. 71 If; IHQ, XXIII. 51.

NORTHERN INDIA DURING A. D. 650-750

1. THE CHINESE RAID

It is generally held that the death of Harsha was followed by a period of anarchy and confusion throughout Northern India. This view must be considerably modified in view of what has been stated, above regarding the limits of Harsha’s empire. For there is no ground to suppose that the large number of kingdoms in Northern India outside that empire were directly affected by his death to any appreciable extent. The break-up of the empire, no doubt, led to the rise of a number of independent states on its ruins, and the period of transition might have witnessed troubles and disorders, possibly even internecine wars between rival claimants for power. No light is thrown on this by any Indian record. But the Chinese account of the embassy of Wang-hiuen-tse which, as noted above, 1 reached India immediately after the death of Harsha, has preserved some curious details of the history of this period. Accustomed as we are to the exaggeration and self-adulation of the Chinese writers, this account beats all records and reads more like a romance or a string of fables than sober history. It may be summed up as follows 2 :—

“Before the embassy arrived in India, Harsha-varGhana was dead and his minister, named A-la-na-shuen (Arjuna or Arunasva?), the king of Tlrabhukti(?), had usurped the throne. The usurper attacked the ambassador who had only 30 horsemen as his escort. Wang-hiuen-tse was defeated and the articles which the Indian kingdoms paid him as tribute were plundered. He fled alone, under cover of darkness at night, and went to Tibet to ask for help. The Tibetan king Sroh-btsan-sgam-po supplied 1,200 picked troops and Amsuvarman, king of Nepal, gave him 7,000 horsemen as escort. With these recruits, Wang-hiuen-tse, determined to take revenge,

Note 1

Note 2

advanced as far as Cha-puo-ho-lo, the capital of Mid-India, and captured it after a siege of three days. The carnage was terrible. Three thousand of the besieged were beheaded and ten thousand were drowned. The usurper Arjuna fled, rallied his scattered troops and again offered battle. He was defeated and captured, and one thousand of his troops were beheaded. The guards of the royal harem opposed the enemy's passage of the river K'ien-t'o-wei. They were defeated. The wives and children of the usurper fell into the hands of the enemy who also took 12,000 prisoners and more than 30,000 domesticated animals of all kinds. Then whole India trembled and 580 walled towns offered their submission. Kumara (Bhaskaravarman), the king of Eastern India, sent the victor large quantities of provisions and equipment. After this great triumph Wang-hiuentse returned to China in A.D. 648, taking with him Arjuna as a prisoner. The latter remained in China till his death and was given posthumous honours. His statue was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of the Chinese emperor T'ai-tsong."

It was indeed a great marvel! With only eight thousand soldiers, borrowed from two neighbouring states, Wang-hiuen-tse, far from his home, defied the great king who sat on Harsha's throne, fought a series of battles, and won an easy and complete victory in each, killing 13,000 and imprisoning 12,000 over and above a large unspecified number. He captured the enemy's capital city only after three days' siege, and 580 walled towns submitted to him, evidently out of fear, though his force consisted mainly of cavalry. And all these, including a return journey to China, were accomplished in the course of a year or a little more. Such marvels do not often or easily happen, and one might justly feel sceptical about the whole affair. In any case, it is impossible to draw any reliable conclusion from this picture of an invincible hero painted by himself. What appears to be probable is that Wang-hiuen-tse's party was attacked and pillaged by some petty chief near the Himalayas, and Wang, with the help of some Nepalese and Tibetan soldiers, retaliated. It is also quite likely that Harsha's death was followed by political disintegration and rise of ambitious chiefs who scrambled for the inheritance of the vast empire left without any strong or legitimate heir. Wang himself might have espoused the cause of one such rival and thus created enemies for himself. Apart from such a provocation, it is difficult to imagine why his camp was suddenly attacked by the minister of Harsha who had usurped the throne. No motive is alleged, and it is interesting to note that the scene of action is laid in Nepal border of North Bihar, and not anywhere near Kanauj, the capital of Harsha. It is equally difficult to account for the posthumous honours shown to the rebellious Indian ruler, guilty of wanton

violence against the Chinese ambassador. On the whole, the story of Wang-hiuen-tse has little historical value, except as a general indication of the anarchy and confusion prevailing in North Biliar and the neighbouring region after the death of Harsha. What happened to the kingdoms of Thaneswar or Kanauj we cannot say, but there is no ground to suppose that Harsha's death was followed by a political upheaval in the whole of North India.

Although the process of the disintegration of Harsha's empire cannot be traced in detail, it is clearly marked by the rise ot two or three powerful states in its component parts. We may first briefly sketch their history and then take up the other states which lay outside the empire.

2. THE LATER GUPTAS OF MAGADHA

The most important succession-state of the empire was the kingdom of Magadha, Shortly after the death of Harsha we find the Later Guptas ruling over it. Madhava-gupta, the son of Mahasena-gupta and the friend of Harsha, occupied the throne, and the records of the family leave no doubt that henceforth they ruled over a powerful principality in Magadha for nearly a century. The Aphsad stone inscription, 1 engraved in the reign of Adityasena, the son of Madhava-gupta, is the earliest record of the family, and traces its history from the very beginning. It does not refer to any break in the rule of the dynasty after Mahasena-gupta, though it is almost certain that the family exercised no sovereign authority for a fairly long time during which Deva-gupta was ruling in Malwa, and at first &asahka, then Purnavarman, and lastly Harsha-vardhana were ruling over Magadha. All the while Madhava-gupta and his elder brother Kumara-gupta were living in Thaneswar court as companions of Rajya-vardhana and Harsha-vardhana, There is a casual reference in the Harsha-dharita to the anointment of Kumara (as king) by Harsha-vardhana. 2 This Kumara has been identified with Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa. But as the latter was an independent ruler, and had ascended the throne before Harsha, this view is hardly acceptable. 3 The probability is that Kumara-gupta was anointed sovereign by Harsha-vardhana. If this supposition be correct, we must hold that Madhava-gupta succeeded his brother, though there is no mention of it in the Aphsad Inscription. On the other hand, it is equally likely that when the death of Harsha was followed by a scramble for power, either Madhava-gupta or his brother seized the opportunity to make himself master of Magadha. As noted above, 4 his ancestors were probably rulers of Magadha, and Madhava-gupta's action in that case merely amounted to a recovery of the paternal kingdom.

M&dhava-gupta must have been fairly advanced in age when he ascended the throne, and his.^reign was probably a short one. He was succeeded by his son Adityasena, the only ruler of the family about whom we know some details. His daughter was married to the Maukhari Bhoga-varman, son of the sister of king Aihsu-varman of Nepal; and Bhoga-varman's daughter VatsadevI, the granddaughter of Adityasena, became the queen of ^ivadeva, king of Nepal. The express reference to these marriage alliances in the official records of Nepal seems to indicate that the Later Gupta kings enjoyed high political and social status in Eastern India. This is further borne out by the fact that Adityasena assumed the imperial title of Mahdmjddhirdja . An inscription, 1 engraved in a temple at Deoghar (Santa! Parganas), refers to his conquest of the Chola country and performance of several sacrifices, including three Asvamedhas. The characters of this inscription are, however, of much later date, and it seems to be the copy of a record originally set up at Mannar hill, near Bhagalpur.

i. cn. III. 202.

3. Mookerji, Harsha , p. 44; THE, 104.

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Note 3

Note 4

It is difficult to place much reliance on it, and we shall not be justified in assuming, on the basis of this record alone, that Adityasena really carried his victorious arms to the Chola country. Unfortunately, no other specific event is recorded of his reign except some pious foundations by his queen Konadevi.

The date in a short record of Adityasena has been read as 66 2 and has been referred to the H&rsha era. It is accordingly held that Adityasena was ruling in A.D. 672. The reading of the date is, however, uncertain, and no definite conclusion can be drawn from it. But there is hardly any doubt that he ascended the throne in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We know the names of three successors of Adityasena, viz. Devagupta, Vishnu-gupta and Jlvita-gupta. 3 They all continued the imperial titles and were evidently rulers of some power, but we do not know much about them. Vishnu-gupta ruled for at least 17 years, 4 and Jlvita-gupta probably extended his authority to some territory on the banks of the Gomati which once formed part of the Maukhari kingdom.

No successor of Jlvita-gupta is known, and the end of the Later Guptas is obscure. When Yasovarman of Kanauj set out on his victorious campaign in the east, some time in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D., he found one king in possession of Gauda

Note 5

Note 6

1. CII, III p. 213 fn. 3. Ibid . 215.

and Magadha. 1 It has been suggested that this ruler, whose defeat and death at the hands of Yasovarman is described in the poem Ga'tida-vaho (killing of the king of Gauda), is no other than Jlvitagupta. But as the ruler is expressly called Lord of Gauda, and the poem is named Gauda-vaho, we should infer that the opponent of Yasovarman was a king of Gauda who also ruled over Magadha, rather than a king of Magadha, as Jlvita-gupta undoubtedly was, whose sway extended over Gauda. In any case, we must hold that the power of the Later Guptas came to an end in or shortly before the second quarter of the eight century A.D., the last ruler Jlvitagupta being defeated either by a king of Gauda or king Yasovarman of Kanauj.

3. YASOVARMAN OF KANAUJ

The city of Kanauj was raised to the position of an imperial capital by Harsha-vardhana, But an impenetrable gloom surrounds its history for more than half a century after his death. When the obscurity lifts we find a powerful monarch Yasovarman occupying its throne. Nothing is known of the early history and antecedents of this king, but one of his court-poets, .the famous Vakpati, wrote a poetical work in Prakrit to celebrate the victorious campaign of his patron, and this forms the chief source of our knowledge of his life and reign. The name of Vakpati's poem, (Gauda-vaho', 2 implies that the defeat and death of the king of Gauda formed the main theme of the work, but as a matter of fact this event is merely alluded to at the very end, and the rest of the work deals with the other conquests of Yasovarman. The facts narrated in the poem may be summed up as follows: —

'At the end of a rainy season, Yasovarman proceeded with his army on an expedition of conquest (vijaya-ydtm). Passing through the valley of the Son, he reached the Vindhya mountain, and propitiated the famous goddess Vindhyavasini (a form of Kali) residing in one of its caves. Proceeding further he met the king of Magadha, who fled in terror. But the vassal kings who accompanied the latter felt ashamed of their conduct and immediately returned to fight Yasovarman. A great battle ensued, and the blood of Yasovarman's enemies reddened the field. The lord of Magadha was pursued and slain by Yasovarman who then proceeded to the seacoast and conquered the king of the Vangas. The Vangas were powerful and in

Note 7

Note 8

possession of a large number of warlike elephants, but they submitted to Yasovarman and acknowledged him as their suzerain.

'The conquering hero then proceeded across the Malaya mountain after receiving the submission of the king of the Deccan (king of south). Then he reached that shore of the sea where Valin, taking the mighty Havana under his arm, roamed about at ease. Yasovarman then marched upon the Parasikas and conquered them after a protracted and hard-fought battle. He levied tributes from the regions rendered inaccessible by the Western Ghats. He then came to the bank of the Narmada and, passing by the sea-coast, marched to Maru-desa (Desert of Rajputana). Thence he advanced towards Srikantha, *the district round Thaneswar. Passing through Kurukshetra, and visiting the scenes of the war described in the Mahd bharata } Yasovarman proceeded to Ayodhya. He then received the submission of the people living on the Mandara mountains and proceeded towards + he Himalayan region.

‘Having thus conquered the world, Yasovarman returned to his capital Kanauj and the vanquished kings, who were compelled to accompany him, were sent back to their kingdoms.’

It is curious that no mention is made of the king of Gauda in the course of this narrative of the world conquest, though the poem is entitled Gauda-vaho or slaying of the king of Gauda. The event is only incidentally alluded to in a single verse towards the end of the poem. An old commentator, Haripala, took the lord of Magadha, defeated and killed by Yasovarman, to be the king of Gauda. This is at best an assumption, 1 but even this would hardly justify the title, as the number of verses devoted to the particular episode is very few, indeed fewer than those relating to other kings.

As the summary shows, the description of Yasovarman’s conquest is highly conventional, and it is difficult to accept as an historical fact that he conquered all the regions in the north and south as described in the poem. But we possess some independent evidence which corroborates in a general way his conquests in the east. An inscription, 2 found at Nalanda, refers to Yasovarman as the paramount suzerain, and it may be taken to indicate that his authority extended over Magadha. We may therefore believe that he carried his arms as far as Bengal and defeated the lord of Gautja.

The story of the southern conquests of Yasovarman appears, on the face of it, highly improbable. But there may be some basis for it. The inscriptions of the Chalukya king Vijayaditya, great

Note 9

Note 10

grandson of the famous Pulakesin II, refer to a fight with a king who is not named but is described as the 'Lord of the North, or whole of Uttarapatha (sakalottampatha-natha) The battle took place during the reign of Vinayaditya and most probably towards its eio^e, about A.D. 695. The Chalukya king defeated the enemy and obtained from him 'the symbols of the rivers Gangs. and Yamuna, the Palidhvaja banner,' and other insignia of imperial power. Now the reference to the Gahga and the Yamuna shows that the battle probably took place in the Gahga-Yamuna doab. Considering the date and the locality of the battle, and the designation of the defeated king as the 'Lord of the whole of Uttarapatha', it is not unreasonable to identify him with Yasovarman. The account of the victory, as reported in the Chalukya inscriptions, need not be taken as literally true. For there are good grounds to believe that it was in the northern campaign that Vijayadxtya, the Chalukya crown-prince, was taken captive by the enemy. Thus both sides might claim victory, and if the identification of the northern king with Yasovarman be accepted, we can easily account for the panegyrics of his courtpoet. 1

As regards his conquest in the west, there is only slight indirect corroboration. It is now generally recognised that Yasovarman is possibly identical with Yi-sha-tfu-mo, king of Central India, who sent his minister, the Buddhist monk Pu-ta-sin (Buddhasena), to the court of China in A.D. 731. 2 Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 736, and probably referred to Yasovarman as an ally. 3 It may be held that both these kings asked for Chinese help against the Arabs and Tibetans who were making inroads upon India. 4 If this view be correct, we must hold that Yasovarman had extended his power in the west. As will be shown later, the Arabs, after conquering Sindh, sent an expedition against Kanauj which did not meet with any success. The defeat of the Parasikas by Yasovarman possibly refers to his victories against the Arabs of Sindh.

But although Yasovarman took up the noble cause of defending India against foreign invaders in alliance with Lalitaditya, the two soon fell out. The imperial ambition of both was probably the real cause of the enmity, though it might have been accelerated by other circumstances. We learn from the RajatarangirfiP that there was'

1. IRQ. Xx7l83; 356-77 1A. IX, pp. i^Tff; 130~S *

2. Chavannes (Tou-kiue, Additional Notes, p. 53 f.n. 2) and Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Sino-Indian Studies , I. 71) give this name of the envoy, hut other authorities name him Seng-po-ta (Sahghabhadra).

3. Stein—Transl. of Rajatarangini, IV. 134 note.

4. Dr. Bagchi (op. cit.) thinks that Yasovarman had appealed to the Chinese emperor for intervention in his dispute with Kashmir.

5. IV. 132 If.

a prolonged struggle between Lalitaditya and Yasovarman, The war was at first cut short by a truce, but when the formal treaty was drawn up, the minister of Lalitaditya took objection to the document as it was entitled "a treaty of peace concluded between Yasovarman and Lalitaditya." thus giving precedence to Yasovarman and not to his own master. Neither party was willing to yield, and though Lalitaditya's generals 'were uneasy at the prolonged duration of the war/ he renewed the struggle. The result is described in the three following verses of the Rajatarangim . 1

"Yasovarman, who had been served by the poet Vakpati and the illustrious Bhavabhuti, upon being defeated, was reduced to the position of a minstrel to eulogize his (Lalitaditya's) virtues.

"What more need be said? The territory of Kanyakubja, from the bank of the Yamuna to the bank of the Kalika, was, like the courtyard of his residence, under his subjection.

"Passing over Yasovarman .... his army reached in comfort the eastern ocean."

It appears from the first two verses that Yaso varman was thoroughly defeated and lost his kingdom. The third verse may be taken to indicate that Yasovarman's empire extended up to the eastern ocean, and the whole of this territory passed into the hands of Lalitaditya in consequence of the defeat of Yaso varman. But though Yaso varman lost the battle, it is doubtful whether he was also slain. Kalhana incidentally remarks that Lalitaditya “tore up Yasovarman from the root.” 2 But it need not be taken literally to mean that he was killed. Whether he was killed or not, his power was utterly broken by Lalitaditya, and he fades out of history.

The date of Yasovarman is not definitely known, but his reign may be placed between A.D. 700 and 740. 3 If, as proposed above, Yasovarman can be identified with the Lord of the North defeated by the Chalukya king Vinayaditya, his accession has to be placed about A.D. 690.

4. KASHMIR

Of all the kingdoms in ancient India, Kashmir alone has the unique advantage of possessing a written history from the earliest times. This work, called R&jatarangirii, was written by Kalhana in the twelfth century A.D. Although the author was well-versed in historical methods, and was surprisingly modern in his outlook, he

Note 11

Note 12

had not got sufficient reliable materials for the early period of his history. The result is that this part of his work is full of legends, and although we meet with familiar names like Kanishka, Toramana, and Mihirakula, the whole story is too confused and fanciful for sober history. According to the scheme of chronology adopted by Kalhana, nearly the whole of the Gupta age is covered by the reign of a single king of the Gonanda dynasty who is said to have ruled for 300 years. Such an extraordinary regnal period of a king indubitably indicates the loss of true history of the period. The next two reigns of two brothers covering a period of 80 years is also of dubious authenticity.

But the detailed narrative of subsequent history beginning with a new dynasty may be taken as fairly reliable. The chronology adopted by Kalhana for this dynasty has proved to be wrong only by about 30 years. When we remember that it was more than five hundred years before the author’s time, this error appears to be surprisingly small and invests his narrative with a fair degree of authenticity.

The new dynasty, known as the Karkota or Naga dynasty, was founded by Durlabha-vardhana. He had married the daughter of the last king of the Gonanda dynasty named Baladitya, and as the latter had no son, succeeded to the throne (c. A.D. 627). During his reign Kashmir was visited by Hiuen Tsang. The Chinese pilgrim has given a very long account of Kashmir, but it contains little of historical interest. We, however, learn from him that five other states, viz. Takshasila (Rawalpindi district), Simhapura (Salt Range region), Urasa (Hazara or Abbottabad district), Pan-nu-tso (Punch), and Raj a pur a (Rajaori) were subject to Kashmir. We may thus hold that Durlabha-vardhana ruled over not only Kashmir proper, but a part of the western and north-western Punjab as well.

Nothing of historical importance is known of Durlabha-vardhana and his son and successor Durlabhaka, who reigned respectively for 36 and 50 years.

Durlabhaka was succeeded by his eldest son Chandrapida. In A.D. 713 this king sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor asking for aid against the Arabs. 'As will be noted below (§12), Muhammadibn- Qasim probably reached the frontier of Kashmir about this time. Although Chandrapida did not receive any aid from China, he was able to defend his kingdom against Arab aggression. The recall and death of the Arab leader, which shortly followed, gave a brief respite to Kashmir. According to the Chinese chronicles the Chinese emperor granted the title of king to Chandrapida in A.D. 720. This probably means no more than that Chandraphja was recognised as king by the Chinese emperor.

King Chandrap^la was renowned for his piety and justice. It is recorded by Kalhana that when the king proposed to build a temple, a tanner refused to give up his hut which was on the proposed site. When the matter was reported to the king, he considered his own officers to be at fault, not the tanner. “Stop the building,” he cried out, “or have it erected elsewhere.” The tanner himself came to the king and represented: “Since my birth this hut has been to me like a mother, witness of good and evil days. I cannot bear to see it pulled down today.” Still he agreed to give up his hut “if His

Majesty would come to his dwelling and ask for it in accordance with propriety," As soon as the king heard this, he went to the tanner's hut and bought it. The reign of this king was full of just and humane acts like this, and he may almost be said to have been a martyr to his sense of justice. Once he punished a Brahmana who had secretly murdered another Brahmana by witchcraft. The former nursed deep wrath over his punishment, and was instigated by the king's younger brother Tarapkja to use his witchcraft against the king. Thus died the noble king Chandrapwja after a reign of eight years and a half. The fratricide Tarapida then ascended the throne. His inglorious rule of four years was full of cruel and bloody deeds. He was followed by his younger brother Lalitaditya Muktapl^a, the greatest king of the dynasty.

Lalitaditya ascended the throne about A.D. 724. He was 'eager for conquests and passed his life chiefly on expeditions,' As already related, he entered into an alliance with Yasovarman, and defeated the Tibetans. Like Yasovarman, and probably for similar reasons, he sent a diplomatic mission in A.D. 733 to the Chinese emperor in order to induce him to make common cause against the Tibetans. 1 The mission was received with honour by the emperor who recognised the king of Kashmir as his royal ally, 2 but no military assistance w r as sent from China. But even unaided, Lalitaditya succeeded in defeating not only the Tibetans but also the mountain tribes on the north and north-western frontier of his kingdom, such as the Dards, Kambojas and Turks.

But the most important of the expeditions of Lalitaditya was that against Yasovarman to which reference has already been made. By that victory, Lalitaditya not only made himself master of Kanauj,

Note 13

Note 14

but also acquired the theoretical right of suzerainty over the vast conquests of his late enemy. In order effectively to assert these rights Lalitaditya, according to Kalhana, undertook a digvijaya or world-wide campaign which is described in detail by Kalhana. After defeating Yasovarman, he proceeded to the eastern ocean and reached Kalinga. The king of Gau$a probably acknowledged his suzerainty without a fight, for he sent elephants to join the army of Lalitaditya. Passing through Karnata, ruled over by queen Rafta who paid him homage, Lalitaditya reached the bank of the Kaveri and even conquered some of the islands. Turning west he overran the seven Kohkanas and advanced as far as Dvaraka (in the western extremity of the Kathiawar Peninsula). Then he conquered Avanti and many other states till he reached the hilly regions in the northwest. Here he conquered the Kambojas, Tukharas (Turks), Bhauttas (Tibetans), Daradas and also a king called Mammuni. Mention is also made of Pragjyotisha, Strlrajya (Realm of the Amazons) and the Uttara-Kurus which are more conventional and mythical than real names.

It is difficult to say how far this conventional account may be regarded as historically true. That Lalitaditya proceeded in his conquering expedition as far as Bengal in the east is corroborated by a story told later by Kalhana and by the casual mention of an image of Buddha brought from Magadha. But it is difficult to believe without corroborative evidence that he conquered the Deccan or South India. It is likely that Mammuni, whom he is said to have defeated thrice, refers to the Arab ruler. As will be noted below, the Arabs are said to have reached the frontier of Kashmir and conquered Kangra. It is very likely, therefore, that Lalitaditya met them in this legion. The fact that the Arabs could not gain any lasting success in this direction supports the view that Lalitaditya thoroughly dexeated them and freed the Punjab from their depredation. There may also be a great deal of truth in the reputed victories of Lalitaditya against the Kambojas, Turks, Dards and Tibetans who surrounded the kingdom of Kashmir. But nothing can be asserted with certainty.

Although corroborative evidence is lacking, and final judgment dbout the nature and extent of Lalitaditya s victorious campaign has to be suspended, there is no valid reason to regard the whole thing as mere fiction. It should be remembered that we have here to deal with, not a conventional poetic description in a Kavya, but a statement of facts made by a historian whose sobriety of judgment and regard for historical truth are vouched for by his work. Making due allowance for the partiality and exaggeration of a court historian and the imperfect knowledge of events which had taken place more than four centuries before Kalhana's time, we cannot but regard Lalitaditya as a great conqueror. His extensive conquests made the kingdom of Kashmir, for the time being, the most powerful empire that India had seen since the days of the Guptas. No wonder that for centuries the Kashmirians celebrated the victories of the great emperor whom, with pardonable exaggeration, they chose to call the universal monarch.

Lalitaditya lavished the great resources of this mighty empire in adorning his kingdom with beautiful towns, and decorating the towns with fine buildings, monasteries, temples and images of gods. The most famous of his works is the Martanda temple, ruins of which still form “the most striking remains which have survived of the ancient architecture of Kashmir.”

Kalhana the author of Rdjatarangini, has drawn a magnificent picture of this celebrated king. But two incidents have left an indelible stain on the character of this great emperor. Once in a fit of drunkenness he ordered the town of Pravarapura to be burnt down; though afterwards in his sober moments he repented of it, and was glad to find that the ministers had disobeyed his orders. The second incident is more revolting. He summoned the king of Bengal (Ganda) to Kashmir and promised him safe-conduct, mak-* f ing the image of Vishnu Parihasakesava the surety for his promise. All the same he had the king assassinated by hirelings. It is as difficult to find any motive for this foul treachery as to condone it in any way. The sequel of this story is interesting in the extreme. A few devoted followers of the murdered king undertook the long journey from Bengal to Kashmir, and invested the temple of the god who had been made the surety. The priests closed the gates, but they were forced open. The Bengali heroes reached the statue of Vishnu Ramasvamm, and mistaking it for that of Parihasakesava, they overturned it and broke it into pieces. While doing this, they were all cut to pieces by the Kashmirian soldiers who had just arrived from the capital. Kalhana pays a just tribute to the heroism of the small but devoted band of Bengalis. “What of the long journey which had to be accomplished, and what of the devotion for the dead lord? Even the creator cannot achieve what the Gaudas did on that occasion. Even to this day the .temple of

Ramasvamin is seen empty, whereas the world is filled with the fame of the Gauda heroes.”

Lalitaditya died about A.D. 760[1] after a reign of thirty-six years. He was followed by a succession of weak kings who were unable to maintain the power and prestige of the family. One among them, his grandson Javaplda, seems to have made a serious attempt to regain the lost ascendancy, but no conspicuous success attended his efforts. The dynasty, however, continued to rule over Kashmir till about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

5. NEPAL

The death of Amsu-varman, about A.D. 623, was followed by a period of confusion in Nepal. Jishnu-gupta, who succeeded to his position, is known from four inscriptions to have ruled over the entire valley between the years 48 and 59 (A.D. 626 and 637). It appears from the name-ending that he was probably not related to Amsu-varman although both used the same era and lived in the same palace, Kailasakuta-Bhavana. Levi has identified Jishnu-gupta with Kishnoo-gupta, one of the three Abhlra chiefs mentioned in the Vavis avails.' * 1 Be that as it may, there seems to be no doubt that Jishnu-gupta was a usurper. In one of Amsu-varman’s inscriptions, dated year 39, reference is made to Yuvamja Udayadeva. This heir-presumptive to the throne probably belonged to the Lichchhavi family. But either he died before Amsu-varman or was removed by Jishnu-gupta. The latter issued coins in his own name, but continued the fiction of the Lichchhavi sovereignty by placing on the throne of the Lichchhavis at Mana-griha, first Dhruvadeva and then Bhlmarj unadeva.

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[1] According to the data furnished by Rdjatarangini , Lalitaditya reigned from A.D. 695 to 732. But Cunningham suggested, in the light of Chinese evidence, that the dates of kings of this period, as given by Kalhana, should be brought

Jishnu-gupta was succeeded by his son Vishnu-gupta, though the fiction of the nominal suzerainty of the Lichchhavi Bhimarjuna was still continued. The known dates of Vishnu-gupta are 64 and 65 (A.D. 642-3), and he must have been ousted from the throne after a brief rule. For already in A.D. 643, or a little later, we find Narendradeva of the Lichchhavi family on the throne of Nepal. He occupies a prominent place in the Nepalese chronicles, being very intimately connected with the cult of Matsyendranatha, the patronsaint oi the valley of Nepal. Chinese sources give us some interesting information about him. They tell us that the father of Narendradeva was removed from the throne by his younger brother. Narendradeva fled to Tibet, and with the help of the Tibetan king

Note 15

Note 16

recovered his paternal throne. He consequently became a vassal of the Tibetan king. 1

It was during the reign of Narendradeva that a Chinese mission visited Nepal, for the first time, in A.D. 643 or a little later. 2 The king received, with all honours, the envoy Li-y-piao and his party who then proceeded to the court of Harsha-vardhana. The memorable mission of Wang-hiuen-tse to India in A.D. 647-648 passed through Nepal, and the envoy returned shortly after to ask for aid against the Indian king who had usurped the throne of Harsha and ill-treated the Chinese embassy. This episode has already been narrated above 3 in detail. Narendradeva helped the envoy with 7,000 horsemen, and throughout his reign maintained friendly relations with China. A large number of Chinese pilgrims visited Nepal during his reign and he sent a mission to the Imperial court in A.D. 651. The Chinese account represents Nepal, under him, as a peaceful, civilised and flourishing country. 4

For the period after Aihsu-varman the account given in the Varhsdvalis differs widely from what is given in the epigraphic records, and it is impossible to reconcile the two. The Pasupati Temple inscription informs us that Narendradeva was succeeded by his son Sivadeva and the latter by his son Jayadeva. We learn from the same record that £ivadeva’s queen

VatsadevI was the daughter of the Maukhari Bhoga-varman, and granddaughter (daughter's daughter) of Adityasena, king of Magadha. Now, Bhoga-varman was the sister's son of Aihsu-varman, and as Narendradeva reigned within 25 years of Aihsu-varman's death, the marriage between Sivadeva and Vatsadevi not only fits in with the chronological scheme, but may be looked upon as a political alliance between rival claimants to the throne. Narendradeva had a long reign of more than thirty years, his known dates extending from 69 to 103 (A.D. 647 to 681). He must have died before 109 (A.D. 687), the earliest known date of his son and successor Sivadeva who ruled till at least 125 (A.D. 703). The only known date of Jayadeva, the son and successor of Sivadeva, is 159 (A.D. 737).

Thus the two Lichchhavi kings, Sivadeva and his son Jayadeva, ruled in Nepal during the first half of the eighth century A.D. The

Note 17

Note 18

Note 19

Tibetan kings were very powerful during this period and undoubtedly exercised suzerainty over Nepal, but probably they did not interfere in the internal administration of the kingdom. Nepal revolted in A.D. 702, but was soon reconquered. In a grant of &ivadeva, dated in the year 619 (A.D. 697) reference is made to Bhotta-Vishti or 'Corvee' payable to Tibet. 1

Jayadeva married Rajyamati, daughter of Sri Harshadeva, king of Gauda, Odra, Kalinga, Kosala and other countries, who was descended from the race of Bhagadatta. The identity of this king Harsha is not yet satisfactorily established. The reference to the dynasty of Bhagadatta seems to associate him with Assam, but this is by no means certain. 2

Jayadeva assumed the epithet para-chakm-kama (desirous of the domains of enemies), and a verse of the Pasupati Temple Inscription is so worded as to yield a double meaning, one describing the personal beauty of the king, and the other implying that he had conquered or exercised supremacy over Ahga, Kamarupa, Kane hi and Saurashtra. Although some scholars have accepted this latter meaning as historical fact, 3 it would perhaps be wiser to regard it as mere poetic effusion.

The reign of Jayadeva practically closes the period under review. But a brief reference may be made to the culture and civilisation of Nepal. *Hiuen Tsang 4 remarks about the people that their manners are false and perfidious, and their temperament is hard and fierce with little regard to truth or honour. We are further told that they are unlearned but skilful in the arts, and their appearance is ungainly and revolting. This description, though hardly flattering, is more applicable to the primitive hilltribes who formed the mass of the people. But there is no doubt that there was also a cultured and civilised element in the population. This is evident from the large number of inscriptions dated between fourth or fifth and eighth century A.D. They show that in language, literature, art, religion and social ideas, Nepal formed an integral part of India and was completely saturated with its culture. It had close political and social association with India, and had not yet developed that isolation which characterised it in later ages. It was a strong centre of both Brahmanical and Buddhist

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Nepal, II. 173 ff.

™ R Ba 8 Jik Tnwwr 3 wi att ? - fam l ly ruling L" ? ilgit cf - EI ' xxx - 221 ■

effu Joif (JVeodfn m h ° we Y er ' j h i nks that the verse is merely a poetic

to the verse/ ' ' ' ' ajl 8 S ° g, y political significance

religions, and in spite of strange vicissitudes of fortune, it has still retained vestiges of its old Indian culture.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See p. 121.
2. 2. The different versions are given in S. Levi's account in JA. 1900, pp. 297 ff. Brief summary is also given by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Sino-Indian Studies, I. 89) and E. Chavannes (Documents sur les Toukiue occidentaux, p. 16 of the Additional Notes). The usurper is called the ruler of Ti-na-fu-ti, which has been regarded as equivalent to Tirabhukti. This shows that he was a local ruler rather than the imperial successor of Harsha. Levi's identification of Cha-puoho-lo with Davaka (Nowgong district, cf. p. 8 above) also points in the same direction. The river K'ien-t'o-wei has been equated with Gantfavatl, a possible variant form of Gandakl. The differences of details in the different versions have not been noted in the above summary. The whole question has been critically discussed in JASL, XIX. 37 ff.
3. 2. Harsha-Charita (Nirnayasagar) p. 91.
4. 4, See p. 75.
5. 2. Ibid . 210.
6. 4. El, XXVI. 241,
7. 1. This is very doubtful cf. HBR. pp. 94-5.
8. 2 ' 7**™ * has be en edited by S. P. Pandit, with a learned Introduction discussmg the history of Yasovarman. Mr. N. B. Utgikar has brought out a second edition, with another learned Introduction discussing recent views.
9. 1. Cf. HBR. pp. 94-5.
10. 2. El. XX. 37. For various views and inferences, cf. references in Bhandarkar's List No. 2105.
11. 1. IV. 144-46. 2. IV. 140.
12. 3. Other views on this subject are discussed in the Introduction to Gauda-vano (2nd Edition).
13. 1. Cf. Chavannes , Tou-kiue, pp. 166-8, 209. According to Dr. P. C. Bagchi official correspondence was exchanged between China and Kashmir in A.D. 724 (Sino-Indian Studies, I. 71). This possibly refers to the reign of lalitaditya.
14. 2. The Chinese official history says that "the Emperor awarded the title of the 'king of Kashmir* to Muktapl$a" (Ibid).

15. down by about 25 to 31 years. This view is now generally accepted. The whole question has been thoroughly discussed by S. P. Pandit who maintains the correctness of Kalhana’s date (Cf. Introduction to his Edition of Gauda-vaho).
16. 1. Nepal II. 157 if.
17. 1. Cf. the account of Nepal given in the History of the 'Tang dynasty. The author of Che-kia-fa7i-che, compiled in A.D. 650, also says that the kingdom of Nepal is really a vassal state of Tibet (JA, 1894, Part II, pp. 64-5 ff).
18. 2. Nepal, II. 164. Elsewhere {ibid, I. 156) Levi says that the embassy was received by Narendradeva either on its way to or back from Magadha which it visited in A.D. 643. Levi’s statement that Narendradeva was already king in A.D. 643 is contradicted by his observation that about A.D. 645 Jishnu-gupta’s successor was expelled and king Narendradeva of the legitimate dynasty had recovered the throne (Nepal, II. 162).
19. 3. See p. 124 ff. 4. For the account of the Chinese embassies cf. Nepal, 1. 155 ff.

6. KAMABUPA

We have already traced the history of Kimarupa up to the accession of Bhaskara-varman. 1 He is the best known king of the dynasty which had been ruling in Kamarupa since the fourth century A.D. We have seen how he formed a diplomatic alliance with Harsha-vardhana. This was probably due to the growing power of Sasahka who was a common enemy of both. The speech which Banabhatta puts into the mouth of his ambassador Haxhsavega supports this view. The latter said with reference to his master, that it was his “firm resolution never to do homage to any being' except 6iva, and one of the means of realising this ambition was friendship with Harsha. Harsha, too, in accepting the “imperishable alliance” offered by Bhaskara-varman, remarked: “With me for his friend, to whom save &iva need he pay homage?” 2 These statements indicate that Bhaskara-varman was apprehensive of some ruler imposing suzerainty upon him, 0 and he sought to avert this evil by forming an alliance with Harsha, There can be hardly any doubt that this dreaded ruler was Sasahka.

Nothing is known about the practical results of this alliance. Whether Bhaskara-varman offered any help to Harsha in his military campaigns, particularly those against Sasahka, we cannot say. But his main object was evidently fulfilled, as his kingdom does not seem to have suffered in any way from Sasahka or any one else. Probably the alliance bore more fruits after the death of Sasahka, for Bhaskara-varman w T as in occupation of a large part of Bengal, at least for some time. This is clear from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang.

When Hiuen Tsang was staying at Nalanda, Bhaskara-varman sent a messenger to ^ilabhadra, head of that monastery, with a request to send the ‘great priest from China' to him. Sllabhadra did not comply with it, and even refused a second request. Then Bhaskara-varman grew angry and threatened ^ilabhadra that if the Chinese priest were not sent, ‘he will equip his army and elephants, and trample to the very dust the monastery of Nalanda/ The threat had the desired effect. Hiuen Tsang visited Kamarupa and stayed there for a month. It was now the turn of Harsha-vardhana to get angry, for he, too, had asked the Chinese priest to see him,

Note 1

but his request was disregarded. He now sent a messenger to Bhaskara-varman ‘bidding him to send the priest of China to him at once.’ Bhaskara-varman replied: ‘"He can take my head, but he cannot take the Chinese priest.” Harsha was “greatly enraged,” and replied by the laconic message: “Send the head so that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it here.” Bhaskara-varman, deeply alarmed, immediately ordered his army of 20,000 elephants and his ships, 30,000 in number, to be equipped. Then embarking with Hiuen Tsang he passed along the Gahga to Kajangaia where Harsha was staying. This submissive attitude pleased Harsha, and the two were reconciled, Bhaskara-varman accompanied Harsha to Kanauj to attend the great festival, referred to before. He also attended the quinquennial assembly at Prayaga. 1

If the curious wrangle between Harsha-vardhana and Bhaskaravarman, as reported by Hiuen Tsang, be true in any degree, we must hold that the relation between the two kings had suffered a great change. It was no longer an alliance on equal terms, but such as normally subsists between a haughty powerful monarch and his weaker neighbour. But neither this story, nor the fact that Bhaskara-varman attended the religious ceremonies of Harsha can legitimately lead to the conclusion that Bhaskara-varman was a feudatory of Harsha, or was politically subordinate to him in any way. Considering the difference in power and prestige between himself and his old ally, Bhaskara no doubt thought it politic to be in the good graces of Harsha T>y avoiding unpleasant acts, but there is nothing to show that he lost his political independence in any degree or that Harsha had any pretensions to suzerainty over him. 2

On the other hand, Hiuen Tsang’s story implies that Bhaskaravarman had some political hold over Bengal. It is otherwise difficult to explain his threat to send an army to reduce Nalanda to dust, and his voyage along the Gahga with his fleet and army. This view is supported by the fact that he issued a land-grant from his victorious camp at Kama-suvama, the old capital of Sasahka. 3 This grant is not dated, and it may be argued that Bhaskara-varman came into possession of Bengal after Harsha's death. But as the other two facts relate to the lifetime of Harsha, it is more likely that Bhaskara occupied Bengal even before the death of the former. Possibly gasahka's empire was partitioned between the two, Harsha taking West Bengal, Orissa, and Kongoda, and Bhaskara-varman

Note 2

taking the rest of Bengal. But no definite opinion can be hazarded with the meagre information available.

We hear of Bhaskara-varman again in connection with the strange expedition of Wang-hiuen-tse. 1 After the latter had thoroughly crushed the power of the minister who had usurped the throne of Harsha, he received large quantities of provisions and equipments from Bhaskara-varman. Whether the king of Kamarupa was connected in any way with the strange political events that took place after the death of Harsha, cannot be determined. But the sequel was positively unfavourable to him and his kingdom. The Tibetan king Sron-btsan-sgam-po, who was drawn into Indian politics by the expedition of Wang-hiuen-tse, is said to have conquered Assam. 2 There may be some truth in this, for so far as we can judge from available records, the dynasty of Pushy a-var man came to an end with Bhaskara-varman after a rule of more than three hundred years, and the kingdom of Kamarupa was occupied by a Mlechchha ruler named Saiastambha. 3 It is not unlikely that* the downfall of the old dynasty was caused by the Tibetan invasion, though nothing definite can be said on this point. We know the names of a few successors of Saiastambha, but nothing of their history. A king of this dynasty, called both Harsha and Harshavarman, has been identified with king Harshadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty, who is referred to in a Nepal Inscription as the father of Rajyamatl (queen of Jayadeva) and the king of Gauda, U<Jra, Kalinga," Kosala and other countries. 4 5 This identification must remain doubtful until independent evidence of these great achievements of Harisha or Harsha is forthcoming. There were other dynasties in India who traced descent from Bhagadatta, 6 and it is doubtful whether Harsha had really any claim to this title. 6 On the whole, the century following the death of Bhaskara-varman may be regarded as a dark period in the history of Kamarupa.

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7. BENGAL

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The history of Bengal during the century following the death of Sasahka is obscure in the extreme. It is certain, however, that Bengal lost 'the political solidarity brought about by that great king and was divided into a number of independent principalities. Hiuen Tsang, travelling in Bengal about A.D. 638, shortly after the death of ^asahka, mentions the names of five such kingdoms, viz. Kajangala, Pundravardhana, Karnasuvarna, Tamralipti and Samatata. 1 The first roughly comprises the region round Rajmahal, the second, Northern Bengal, the third and fourth, West Bengal, and the fifth. East Bengal.

This political disintegration of the kingdom of Sasanka immediately after his death is hinted in Mailpdri-Mulakaipa . It describes the Gauda-tantra or the political system of Gau$a as reduced to mutual mistrust, leading to civil war in course of which one king ruled for a week, another for a month, and then a republic was f established. Thereafter SaSahka’s son gained the throne, but he ruled only for about eight months. 2 This anarchy and confusion were probably the causes or results of the invasion of Harsha and Bbaskara-varman, each of whom, as noted above, ruled over parts of Bengal for some time.

Soon a powerful kingdom was established in Gau$a or West Bengal by Jayanaga. He issued a land-grant 3 from Karnasuvarna, which was the capital of Sasahka and subsequently passed into the hands of Bbaskara-varman. The date of Jayanaga is not definitely known, but he flourished probably a little while after Bhaskaravarman, 4 and freed Karnasuvarna and the surrounding region from the yoke of that king. The title Makardjtidhirdja assumed by Jayanaga and the coins issued by him show that he was a powerful ruler of considerable authority, but the extent of his kingdom is difficult to determine.

We do not know the name of Jayanaga's successor or anything about the kingdom of Gau$a after his death. It has been held by some that it passed into the hands of the Later Guptas, 6 but of this we have no evidence.

Of Vahga or East Bengal we possess a little more information. According to Hiuen Tsang, Brahmana kings ruled over this territory in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and &51abhadra, the head of the University of Nalanda, was a scion of this family. 6 This

1. HTB, II. 193; HTW, II. 182. 2. IHIJ. 51. 3. El, XVIII. 60.

4. According to Dr. R. G. Basak Jayanaga was a predecessor of Sasanka (HNI y 140).

For full discussion cf. HBR. 80.

5. HNI. 128. 6. HTW , II. 109.

dynasty was overthrown by a Buddhist family, four of whose king are known to us, viz. Kha^godyama, Jatakhadga, Devakhadga, and Rajarajabhata, each being the son of his predecessor. The king' of Samatata, named Rajabhafa, referred to by I-tsing, can certainly be identified with Rajarajabhata of the Khadga dynasty. It is also very likely that king Devavarma of Eastern India, mentioned by the same Chinese pilgrim, is the same as Devakhadga. This and other evidences indicate that the Khadga dynasty was ruling in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. in East Bengal, and probably also over a considerable part of Southern and Central Bengal. 1

In the first half of the eighth century A.D. Bengal was subjected to a series ©f foreign invasions. A king of the Saila dynasty conquered North Bengal. This dynasty, which originally ruled in the Himalayan region, later spread to the east and south, and founded' branches in Ka§I, Yindhya region and

North Bengal. Nothing is, however, known of their rule in any of these kingdoms.

Later, some time between A.D. 725 and 735, Yasovarman conquered both West and East Bengal. If, as noted above, 2 it is assumed that in those days both Magadha and Gau<Ja were under one rdler, then we must hold that Magadha was conquered by Gauda, rather than that Gauda was conquered by Magadha. For otherwise, there is no rational explanation of the name Gauda-vdho (killing of Gauda) applied to the great poetical work which describes Yaso-var man's conquests. 3

Yasovarman's conquest was short-lived, but Gauda had to acknowledge the suzerainty of Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir. 4 5 Later, Gauda regained its independence, but the whole of Northern and Western Bengal was split up into a number of independent states. According to Rajaiamngmft when Jayaplda, the grandson of Lalitaditya, lost the throne of Kashmir, he came to the city of Pundravardhana (near Bogra) in North Bengal, whose ruler Jayanta was subordinate to the king of Gauda. Jayaplda married Jayanta's daughter, defeated the five Gauda chiefs, and made his father-in-law the overlord of them all. 6

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In an inscription of Nepal, Harsha, the father-in-law of king Jayadeva, 1 is described as the lord of Gauda and other countries. As Harsha is said to have belonged to the Bhagadatta dynasty it is generally assumed that he was a ruler of Kamarupa. But this is by no means certain, as kings claiming descent from Bagadatta are known to have ruled, not only in Kamarupa, but also in Orissa and other regions. We have no independent evidence that any king of Kamarupa or Orissa ruled over Bengal during this period, and we cannot say how far the assumption of the title 'Lord of Gauda' by Harsha was justified by his actual conquests. 2

Epigraphic evidences supply the names of two kings of Samatata of the Rata dynasty, viz. Jivadharana, and grldharana, and also of a few kings in East Bengal such as Lokanatha, Jayatuhgavarsha, ruling about this time, but we do not possess any definite information about their mutual relations and of their status or the extent of their kingdom. 3 The Tibetan priest Taranatha refers to a Chandra dynasty in East Bengal, the last two kings of which, Govichandra and Lalitachandra, probably ruled early in the eighth century A.D. 4

Although it is not possible to reconstruct, even in outline, the political history of Bengal after the death of Sasahka, the facts mentioned above leave no doubt that anarchy and confusion caused by political disintegration marked its course throughout the period A.D. 650-750. This was mainly due to a series of foreign invasions and rapid changes of ruling dynasties. The result was, as Taranatha so characteristically puts it, that there was no powerful ruler in either Gauda or Vanga, but every Kshatriya, Grandee, Brahmana, or merchant was a king in his own house. 6 A contemporary record describes the political condition of Bengal by the well-known term ‘M&tsyanyaya’ (like fish), which denotes a state of anarchy in which might alone is right, as in a pond where the stronger fish devours the weaker ones. 6 Such was the miserable state of Bengal for more than 100 years after the death of Sasahka.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See pp. 88-92. 2. Harsha-charita , Tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 217.
2. i. Life, 171-2. 2. PIHC, VI. 48. 3. El, XII. 65.
3. 1. See p. 125. 2. L4vi, Nepal, D. 148.
4. 3. V. 9 of the Bargaon CP. of Ratnapala (JASB, 1898, p. 99) leaves no doubt that Saiastambha belonged to a different dynasty. It has been argued on the basis of the copper-plates of Vanamala (JASB. IX. 766) and Balavarman (JASB. 1897, p. 285) that Saiastambha belonged to the dynasty of Naraka and Bhagadatta (KSS. 19; IHQ, 1927, p. 844). But v. 7 of the former and v. 9 of the latter refer respectively to Pralambha and the predecessors of Saiastambha, and not to Saiastambha himself, as descended from Naraka. The former implies that
5. kings beginning from Saiastambha and ending in Harisha belonged to a dynasty different from that to which Pralambha belonged (cf. DHN1. I. 241-2).
6. 4. 1A, IX. 179; JRAS, 1898, pp. 384-5; DHNI, I. 241. See above, p. 138.
7. 5. E.g. the Kara dynasty of Orissa. There was also another ruling in Chitral (IHQ, XIV. 841; BV. VI. 111).
8. 6. See footnote 3 above.
9. 1. HBR. 86. ^ 2. See p. 127 f. 3. HBR. 94. 4. See pp. 134, §.
10. 5. KRT. IV. 402-468. The whole episode reads more like a romance than history and can hardly be regarded as historical. As Jayaplda ascended the throne about 19 years after the death of Lalitaditya, this event must have taken place after A.D. 780 according to the chronology adopted above (p. 135). Some scholars, however, as noted'above (p. 135, f.n. 1), place Lalitaditya’s death in A.D. 732 and so JayapRla’s accession would fall about A.D. 751. The political condition of Qauda described by Kalhana would be more suitable to this earlier date. But in any case life passage preserves a memory of the political disinte
11. gration of Gauda.

8. ORISSA

The §ailodbhavas continued to rule in Kongoda even after Harsha's conquest. Several records give us an account of the family beginning with Ayasobhita born in the family of Sainya

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

bhlta. This Ayasobhlta had a son named Sainyabhita. As we have seen above, 1 a group of three kings in this family named Sainyabhita I (Madhavaraja I), Ayasobhlta and Sainyabhita II (Madhavara j a II) ruled in the latter half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Some scholars 2 think that the two groups of kings are identical. But there are two objections to this view. In the latter group Ayasobhlta is said to be a son of Sainyabhita, but in the former he is said to be born in the family of that king. It is very doubtful whether a son of a king would be referred to, in an official record, as born in his family. Secondly the alphabets of the records of the former group of kings are distinctly later. But recently one record of this family (No. 2) 3 has come to light which is written in characters not very dissimilar to those used by the other group of kings. This has no doubt strengthened the case for the identification of the two groups of kings, but this point must still be regarded as uncertain, and some scholars 4 regard the former group as different from and reigning later than the latter.

The two theories would thus give us two alternative schemes of chronology as follows:—

I

1. Ranabhita (c. A.D. 550)

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See pp. 138, 141.
2. 2. HBR. 85. For an account of the royal families in different parts of India claiming descent from Bhagadatta, cf. BV, VI, 111.
3. 3. 1HQ , XXIII. 221. 4. HBR, 88-89.
4. 5. Ibid. 183. 6. Ibid. 97.

■EL - !

2. Sainyabhita I Madhavaraja I (c. A.D. 575)

|

3. Ayasobhlta I (c. A.D. 600)

i

4. Sainyabhita II Madhavaraja II (c. A.D. 615)

II

In continuation of the above:—

5. Ayasobhlta II (born in the family of No. 4)

.6. Sainyabhita III Madhavavarman (also called Srinivasa). Those who hold that kings numbered 5 and 6 above were different from 3 and 4, place them in the seventh, eighth or even in the ninth century A.D. Those who identify them naturally fix the date on the basis of the Gan jam copper-plate according to which Sainyabhita II (4 and 6) was a feudatory of Sasanka in A.D. 619. Another copper-plate (No. 2) issued by the king is dated in the year 50, and this, referred to Harsha Era, would be equivalent to A.D. 656, The king would thus have a long reign of more than forty years.

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1. For the earlier liistory of the dynasty see above pp. 92ff.

2. N. G. Majumdar (E7, XXIV, 151), N, P. Chakravarti (El, XXI, 36), R. D. Banerji, Orissa I. 130.

3. See Bibliography, List of Inscriptions.

4. R. G. Basak (HNI. 170; E/, XXIII. 126-7), Kielhorn (El, VH. 102). For further references, cf. JAHRS, X. 5.

C.A—10

According to the last-mentioned record and several others, he was a very powerful ruler and performed great sacrifices like Asvamedha. He was succeeded by his son Ayasobhita II (or III) Madhyamaraja, who ruled for at least 26 years and performed Vdjapeya , Asvamedha and other sacrifices. The king granted lands in Katakabhukti, and if this be the same as the region round modern Cuttack, the kingdom of the &ailodbhavas apparently extended up to the Mahanadi in the north beyond the traditional boundary of Kohgoda. It would thus appear that the ^ailodbhavas recovered their independence and extended their authority, either immediately after the death of Harsha-vardhana or some time later.

Ayasobhita II (or III) was succeeded by ManabhTta Dharmaraja. During his reign there was a disastrous civil war. Madhava, a junior member of the royal family, rebelled and seized the throne, but was defeated by Dharmaraja at Phasika. Madhava then made an alliance with king Trivara, but they were defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas. This king Trivara has been identified by some scholars with the SomavamsI king Mahasivagupta Tivaradeva, 1 but as the chronology of both the Sailodfehava and the Somavariisf kings is extremely uncertain, this identification is highly problematical. Be that as it may, it reflects great credit upon king Dharmaraja that he quelled the rebellion and could pursue his enemies up to the Vindhyas.

A single record, the Tekkali grant, gives the names of three kings who succeeded Dharmaraja, but no particulars about them are known. These are (1) his son Madhyamaraja II Ranakshobha; (2) Allavaraja, paternal cousin of No. 1; and (3) Madhyamaraja III, son of No. 2. 2 It is difficult to say how long these kings ruled. That depends upon the chronology of the earlier kings. If we accept the identity of the two groups of kings mentioned above, 3 the dynasty must have continued to reign up to the middle of the eighth century A.D,, and we may presume that they were ousted by the Karas who also ruled over Kohgoda in the latter part of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. If the identification be not upheld, it may be presumed that the later kings ruled between A.D. 825 and 1000.

In conclusion reference may be made to some hypotheses usually assumed about the Sailodbhava dynasty. A copper-plate grant found at Ragholi in Balaghat District, Madhya Pradesh, gives a short account of a royal family called &ailavamsa founded by &nvardhana I. His son Prithu-vardhana overran the country of the Gurjaras. In his family was born Samvardhana, one of whose sons conquered Pa undr a (N. Bengal) and another took KasL The son of the latter, Jaya-vardhana I, conquered the Vindhya region, and there ruled his son ^n-vardhana II and grandson Jaya-vardhana II who had the titles Mah&rdj&dhimja and Paramesvara and whose kingdom included the Baiaghat District. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who edited the grant* 1 thinks that this ^ailavamsa is most probably identical with the ^ailodbhavas. He has also suggested that the Sailavaihsa was a branch of the Gangavarhsa. Both these conjectures are plausible, but cannot be definitely proved.

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It has also been suggested that the ^ailendra dynasty, which established a powerful empire in the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago in the eighth century A.D., and probably migrated from Kalinga, was connected with the Kailas or Sailodbhavas. 2 But this, too, must be regarded as a mere hypothesis lacking definite evidence,

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1. JAHRS , X. 4. This identification depends upon the date of Tivaradeva which has been discussed in Ch. XI, C. Ill, under the Panduvamsls of Mekala.

2. This genealogy is somewhat different from that given by MM. H. P. Sastri who edited the Tekkali Grant (JBORS, TV. 165), as I have accepted the interpretation given in the Ann. Rep. of South Indian Epigraphy 1935-36 pp. 64-5.

3. See p. 145.

9. VALABHI

We have already seen 3 that Dharasena IV, who ascended the throne of Valabhi about A.D. 644, assumed imperial titles and called himself a Chakravarfi. Whether this led to hostility between him and Harshavardhana, which forced him to take refuge with king Dadda II of Nandlpurl, 4 5 we do not definitely know. But two of his land-grants, dated A.D. 648, were issued from Bharukachchha (Broach), within the dominion, of the Gurjaras. As the donated lands lay in Khetsika-vishaya (Kaira District) outside the territory of the Gurjaras, these grants do not conclusively prove that Dharasena had conquered the Gurjara kingdom. It is usually held that Dharasena w r as enjoying the hospitality of the friendly Gurjara king in the latter's territory when these grants were issued. It is, however, more probable that he had reached Broach in the course of a victorious military campaign, particularly as the word ‘victorious' is prefixed to the name of the camp. 6 Gratitude in politics is seldom of long duration, and it is not surprising that the king of Valabhi should have so soon forgotten the,help rendered by the Gurjara king. The occupation of Broach was only temporary, for the Gurjaras continued to rule over that city for many years after this.

It is worthy of note that even in the later Valabhi records Dharasena IV alone, of all the kings preceding 6Uaditya III, is given

Note 1

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Note 3

imperial titles, and the title Chakravarfi; is given to no other king. Dharasena’s reign thus marks an important epoch in the history of Valabhi, and he must have increased the power and prestige of the kingdom. The great poet Bhatti lived at his court. Dharasena’s reign was, however, of short duration and he died some time before A.D. 653. His death seems to have been followed by a period of troubles, for we find a quick succession of kings in an irregular order. The position would be cleared by the following genealogical table, indicating the chronological sequence of the successors of Dharasena IV by Arabic numerals within brackets. The names of those who did not rule are put in italics and the known dates of kings are put in brackets.

Dharasena II * 1

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It is evident from this that, like Harsha-vardhana, Vajrata was a very powerful king, and the Chalukyas won great renown by defeating him. Unfortunately nothing is known of this Vajrata. According to a Chalukya record dated A.D. 685, Dharasraya-Jayasimha, a son of Pulakesin II, defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmada. There can be hardly any doubt that this Vajjada is identical with king Vajrata of the Rashtrakuta records. As he was defeated in the territory between the Mahi and the Narmada, he was probably the Valabhl king Siladitya III who had occupied the Gurjara territory, for it is difficult to conceive of any other powerful king ruling in this region in or shortly before A.D. 685. The name Vajrata is not found in the Valabhl records, but as all the kings of Valabhl after Siladitya III bear the same name, it is likely that each of them had an additional personal name. 1

If we assume the identity, it would appear that when Siladitya III conquered the Gurjaras, the latter appealed to their Chalukya overlord for help. The latter could hardly remain indifferent to \he extension of the Valabhl power to his own frontier; and so he sent an army to drive the Valabhl king out of the Gurjara province. Dharasraya-Jayasimha, who was put at the head of this army, evidently performed this task successfully.

An echo of the fight between the Valabhl ruler and the Chalukyas is supposed by some to have been preserved in a viragal found at the village of Gaddemane, in Sagar Taluk , Mysore. It commemorates the death of one Pettani Satyanka, a commander in the army of Siladitya, in a battle with king Mahendra. This king has been identified with Mahendra-varman II Pallava who ascended the throne some time after A.D. 650. It has been suggested that the Valabhl king Siladitya inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mahendravarman II and conquered a part of the Chalukya dominions which had been but a short while ago conquered by the Pallavas. 2 But, as noted above, 3 king Siladitya of the viragal should be identified with the Chalukya Yuvaraja Sryasraya Siladitya, rather than with a Valabhl king or Harsha-vardhana, none of whom is known to have carried any victorious expedition to Karnataka.

The fact that Siladitya III alias Vajrata was mentioned along with Harsha-vardhana shows the power and prestige of the Valabhl kings. This is quite in keeping with the imperial titles assumed by all the four kings, named Siladitya (IV-VII), who succeeded 6Uaditya III alias Vajrata. They were all related as father to son and

1. IHQ, XX. 131, 353, 2. Moraes, The Kadamba Kula. pp. 64-66.

3. See p. 106, f.n. 1.

the last of them, also known as Dhrubhata (i.e. Dhruvabhata), was ruling in A.D. 766-7. Although the imperial titles denote eminence and distinction, we hardly know anything of these kings whose reigns cover the period from c. A.D. 690 to 770.

It was probably during the reign of Siliaditya V that Valabhi was invaded by the Arabs. The details of the Arab invasion will be given in a separate section. It will suffice here to state that the Arabs, starting from their base in Sindh, overran a great part of Rajputana, Gujarat and Kathiawar Peninsula, and advanced as far as Uj jay ini. Although they obtained considerable success at first, their incursions led to no permanent results, and they were ultimately repulsed by the Chalukya king of Lata and the Prailhara king of Maiava. These raids took place probably during A.D. 725 to 735.

The Arab invasion is not referred to in the Valabhi records. We learn, however, from a record of the Gurjara king Jayabhata IV of Broach, that in the city of the Lord of Valabhi he inflicted a defeat on the Tajjikas (Arabs) who had caused immense suffering to numerous peoples 1 It is probable that at this crisis, too, as in the past, the Gurjaras came to the rescue of the Valabhi king.

Though the Arabs retired from the Kathiawar Peninsula, the Valabhi king was not destined to rule in peace. A record, dated A.D. 738, refers to one Jaikadeva as the lord of Surashtra-man^ala, with imperial titles, ruling at Bhumilika (modern Bhumli in Forbandar). The genuineness of this record has been doubted, 2 but we know from other sources that the south-western part of Kathiawar had passed out of Valabhi about this time and formed a separate kingdom under the Saindhavas whose history will be dealt with in the next volume.

Even apart from this, there were other troubles. The gradual advance, first of the Chalukyas and later of the Pratiharas of AvantI and Rashtrakutas. 3 must have constituted a grave menace to the state, though its exact relations with those powers in the eighth ’entury are not known.

Siladitya VII is the last known king of Valabhi. He was on the throne in A.D. 766-7, and the rule of the family came to an end probably not long after that. The city of Valabhi seems to have been destroyed about the same time or a little earlier.

“The destruction of Valabhi”, wrote Buhler in 1872, “is an event around which there hangs more than a mystery.” 4 The mystery still persists and baffles definite solution.

*• 151. in. 7: 154 f.n. 1. 2. I A. XII. 155; BG, Vol. I, Part I. 87~ 137.

6 ah is will be dealt with in connection with the history of these dynasties 4. 1A, I. 130.

We know from a famous passage in Jaina Harivaihsa that in A.D. 783 Saurashtra was being ruled by one Varaha or Ja^a varaha. 1 It is certain, therefore, that the Maitraka power came to an end some time between A.D. 766 and 783.

As there is an interval of only seventeen years between the last known date of the Valabhi king and the only known date of Varaha, it is likely that the Valabhi kingdom was overthrown by Varaha, or his predecessor. We do not know anythihg more of this Varaha, and although the passage in the Harivamsa seems to indicate that he was an independent king, it is not unlikely that he was a feudatory of a more powerful ruler. It has been suggested, for example, that Varaha was possibly a Chapa king and an ancestor of Dhara^I varaha who ruJed in Kathiawar Peninsula as a feudatory of the Imperial Pratiharas in A.D. 914. 2 Shortly before this date, we find two members of a Chalukva family ruling in Saurashtra as feudatories of the Imperial Pratiharas* Kalla, the founder of this family, was the great-great-grandfather of Balavarman who issued a Grant in A.D. 893, and must therefore have lived in the second half of the eighth century A.D. 3 It is not improbable that tbi* feudatory family was set up in Saurashtra about this time.

As will be noted later, the neighbouring Gurjara kingdom of Broach was ruled in the middle of the eighth century A.D. by a Chahamana family owning allegiance to king Nagabhata I, who founded the Imperial Pratihara family. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to conclude that the Pratihara king destroyed the kingdom of Valabhi and set up one or more feudatory families, like the Chapas and the Chalukyas referred to above, to rule over the kingdom. This seems to be the most reasonable explanation of the downfall of the Maitraka kings.

The general belief, however, is that the Valabhi kingdom was destroyed by the Arabs. This is primarily based on a story recorded by Alberuni. It is said that a rich citizen of Valabhi had a quarrel with the king and, ‘being afraid of his resentment, fled to the Arab ruler of Sindh. He offered the latter presents of money, and asked him to send a naval force against Valabhi. The Arab ruler accordingly made a night attack, killed the king and his people, and destroyed the town/ 4

The story belongs to the domain of folk-lore and is hardly credible in all details. But it may be a faint echo of some historical incidents. That the Arabs actually raided Valabhi during A.D. 725735 and reduced the kingdom to sore straits, has been already noted.

The Arab historians of Sindh record that in A.D. 758 Caliph Mansur sent Amru-bin-Jamal with a fleet to the coast of Barada- a name applied to the Porbandar range of hills. About A.D. 776 a second expedition succeeded in taking the town, but as sickness broke out among the troops, they returned without securing any permanent result. Some scholars find in this account a corroboration of Alberuni’s story by taking Barada as a mistaken form for Balaba or ValabhI. 1 But this is extremely doubtful, particularly as the more authentic account says nothing about the destruction of the town or of its royal power. On the whole, although one or more Arab expeditions might have been instrumental in causing the downfall of ValabhI, it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion about it.

What we know of the naval power of the Arabs makes it extremely unlikely that they could have overthrown the kingdom of ValabhI by a naval expedition without the strong support of an Indian power. If any credit is to be given to the story of Alberuni, we may hold that the destruction of ValabhI was caused by internal revolution or by invasion of an Indian power, aided by the Arabs. But as no such victory is definitely claimed by the Arabs, their share, if any, in causing the downfall of ValabhI was not probably of any substantial nature.

It has been suggested that the rival kingdom of Bhumilika, referred to above, in south-western Kathiawar, fought with the Maitrakas and even assisted the Arabs against them. It is pointed out in support of this theory

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1. El, VI. 195-107. 2. I A, XII. 193.

3. El, IX. Iff. 4. Alberuni s India, Tr. by Sachau, I. 192.

that the Jethva clan, to which the rulers of the kingdom are supposed to have belonged, survived till tne tenth century A.D., whereas the Maitrakas disappeared after the eighth. 2 But these speculations are of little avail so long as it u. not definitely established that the Maitraka power was destroyed by an Arab invasion.

Albeiunis story, for all we know, may be merely an echo of the Arab invasion of A.D. 725-785, and even assuming that king Jaika of south-western Kathiawar treacherously helped the Arab expedition against the Maitrakas, we cannot attribute to it the final collapse of the Maitraka power. It is, however, interesting to note .nat tne plates of Siiaditya V and his successors are issuedpnot from /alabhi, but from Khetaka and other places. The destruction of he city of V alabhi, might, therefore, have been caused by the Arabs as noted by Alberuni, in course of their raid during A.D. 725-35^

U i Jt v S 1x Certam that the Maitr &kas ruled over the kingdom for nearly half a century after that event.

1: SankaUa, Archaeolog^of Gujlrafp'lf * ** ^ aindRava3 in ~ the “ext voW

10. RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT

The territory which today we call Raj putana was not known by this name in ancient times. In the tenth century A.D. the whole or at least, a large part of it was called Gurjaratra, an older and Sanskritised form of Gujarat. As we have seen above, 1 the Gurjaras set up one or more principalities in Raj pu tana as early as the sixth century A.D., and Hiuen Tsang visited a kingdom in this area which he calls Ku-che-lo or Gurjara. It is probable, therefore, that the name Gurjaratra was applied to Rajputana as early as the sixth or seventh century A.D.

But although we cannot trace the name of the locality as Rajputana at this early period, we find there already settled a number of clans or tribes who became famous as Rajputs in later days. These were the Pratiharas, the Guhilots, the Chapotkafas and the Chahamanas.

(i) Gurjara-Pratiharas

The dynasty founded by Harichandra, whose early history has been traced above, 2 is known as Pratihara. There was another Pratihara family which rose to power in the eighth century. These two probably belonged to the same Gurjara clan and were called Gurjara-Pratihara, a name actually met with in connection with a feudatory chief of the Imperial Pratiharas.

The part played by the Gurjaras in the troubled politics of the first half of the seventh century A.D. has been noticed in connection with IJarshavardhana and Pulakesin. It is probable that the Gurjaras in the records of this age denoted the Gurjara principality in Rajputana with its feudatory state in South Gujarat, the early history of which has been related above. 3

There can be hardly any doubt that the Gurjara kingdom described by Hiuen Tsang refers to that ruled over by the descendants of Harichandra. The Chinese pilgrim describes the young Gurjara king as a devout believer in the law of Buddha, and distinguished for wisdom and courage. He may be identified with king Tata, son of Nagabhata, about whom it is said in a record of the family that, considering life to be evanescent as lightning, he abdicated in favour of his younger brother, Bhoja, and himself retired to a hermitage practising there the rites of true religion.

Hiuen Tsang refers to the capital of the Gurjara kingdom as Pi-lo-mo-lo. This has been identified with Bhillamala, modern Bhinmal. But since he notes its distance as 300 miles north of

1. See pp. 63 ff. 2. See p. 65. 3. See pp. 66 ff.

Valabhl, we should look for the capital further north, and Balmer would be a more probable site. Bhillamala is associated with the name of the famous astronomer Brahmagupta who is called Bhillamdlakdckdrya. Since Brahmagupta wrote his great work Brahma « sphuta-siddhdnta under the patronage of king \ r yaghramukha of the Chapa dynasty, it has been held by some that this dynasty had its capital at Bhillamala. This is not, however, a legitimate conclusion, as a great scholar might write a work under the patronage of a foreign king. So even if we identify Bhillamala with Pi-lo-mo-lo mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, as the capital of the Gurjara kingdom, we cannot identify the Chapas as the Gurjaras, as some scholars have done. 1

King Tata and his three successors ruled probably between A.D. 640 and 720. Nothing is known about them beyond what has been said about Tata. The next king ^iluka, great-grandson of Tata, was however an important king. He is said to have fixed the boundary between Valla and Stravanx and gained supremacy by defeating Devaraja, the Bhafti king, ^iluka evidently achieved some success against neighbouring powers and increased the power of his family by enlarging the extent of bis kingdom. If Stravani be regarded as identical with Taban of the Arab writers, which probably consisted of a part of the Punjab just to the north-West of Rajputana, SlJukats kingdom must have roughly corresponded to modern Jodhpur and Bikaner. The Bhaffi king Devaraja was probably the ruler of the Bhatfi clan who occupied Jaisalmer, and by defeating him Siiuka established his supremacy in Rajputana.

Slluka has been called V&lla-mand&la-pdlaka, This presumably refers to a confederacy of states of which he was the recognised head. It has been noted above 2 that there were probably several Gurjara states, founded by the several sons of Harichandra. One of these was in Lata or southern Gujarat with its capital at Nandlpuri. There was probably another such state in Avanti with its capital at Uj jay ini, for, early in the eighth century A.D. a Pratihara chief Nagabhata was ruling in this region. There can be hardly any doubt that his family was closely related to the Pratihara family of Jodhpur. Probably the same wave of conquest which brought one branch of the Gurjaras to South Gujarat also established another dynasty in Malwa, and the Kaiachuris had to give way to them in both these regions. The title Y alla-mandala-pdlaka perhaps denotes that Siluka was the head of this Gurjara confederacy which ruled over an extensive region including parts of Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat.

1. Cf. 1HQ, XV. 595. 2, Isee jx 85.

Either ^Iluka or his successor was on the throne when the Arabs swept over the whole of Rajputana and Gujarat, and advanced as far as Ujjayinl. The Gurjara kingdom of Jodhpur was overrun, but the Pratlhara king Nagabhafa of AvantI withstood this terrible shock and hurled back the invaders. ' The credit of saving Western India from the hands of the Arab invaders belongs to him, and he shares the glory with the Ch&Iukya king Avanijanasraya-Pulakesiraja who stopped their advance into Southern India.[1]

The Arab invasion must have brought about great changes in the political condition in Western India by destroying or weakening numerous small states. The triumphant success of the Pratlbaras of Avanti offered a sad contrast to the serious reverses sustained by other states, and in particular by the Jodhpur family which had hitherto exercised the suzerain power. The prestige of Nagabha$a must have risen very high, and it was inevitable that he should make a bold bid for the position of supremacy. It is also natural that the minor Gurjara states, and probably also others, should favourably entertain this claim of one who had proved himself their true saviour.

An indication of the sad and distracted condition of Gurjara dominions is furnished by the claim of king Prithuvardhana, of the &aila dynasty, that he overran the Gurjara dominions.[2]

The supremacy over the Gurjara confederacy passed out of the hands of SUuka's family about the middle of the eighth century A. D. The changed, condition is faithfully reflected in the family record. After describing the military exploits of Siluka it states that his son and grandson, who ruled after him, were both of a pacific nature and spent their last days on the banks of the Gahga.

King Nagabhata now occupied the supreme position and his successors were destined to raise the Pratlbaras to the highest power and glory. Their history will be dealt with in the next volume.

(ii) The Gurjdrai kingdom of Ndndipun

The small kingdom of South Gujarat continued throughout this period under the Gurjara royal family of Dadda I. The records .supply the names of the following successors of Dadda II to whom

reference has already been made.[3]

1. Cf. Bh. List, No. 1220. 2, El, IX. p. 41. See above, p. 147.

3. El, XXIV 178. See p. 66.

Dadda II—Prasantaraga

Jayabhata II

Dadda III—Bahusahaya Jayabhata III

Ahirola

Jayabhata IV

Dadda II, whose known dates are A.D. 629 and 641, gave protection to the lord of Valabhl against Harsha, but this did not save his kingdom from the greed of his powerful neighbour. As noted above, 1 the kings of Valabhl conquered this kingdom, on at least two occasions, about A.D. 648 and 685. On the last occasion, the Valabhl king was driven out by the Chalukyas. Dadda III was probably ruling at this time. He assumed the title Bahusahaya meaning that his own arms were his support. He is said to have waged war with the great kings of the east and of the west. The western king was undoubtedly the king of Valabhl. The king of the east with whom he fought, probably as a feudatory of the Western Chalukyas, might have been Yasovarman 2 or the Pratihara king of Avanti.

The Gurjaras were hemmed in by great powers on all sides. The Chalukyas had gradually established an independent kingdom in South Gujarat with Navasarika (Navsari) as capital. It appears that the northern boundary of this kingdom extended up to the Narmada. The Gurjaras probably acknowledged them as their overlord and, as noted above, drove away the king of Valabhl with their help.

When the Arab invasion burst upon his kingdom, Jayabhata IV probably saved himself with the help of the Chalukya king Avanijanasraya-Pulakesiraja who inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. As noted above, 3 Jayabhata takes the credit for having defeated the Arabs at Valabhl, and probably here, too, he fought as a feudatory of the Chalukya overlord.

The Rashtrakuta chief Indra I, a feudatory of the Western Chalukyas, is said to have married the daughter of a Chalukya king at Khetaka by the Rakshasa form of marriage. In other words, he carried off the princess by force and married her. As Khetaka has been identified with Kaira in Gujarat, the statement indicates the occupation of this part, at least temporarily, by the Chalukyas some time about A.D. 725. The Gurjaras, though saved from the Arabs, thus fell a prey to the Chalukyas. The Rashtrakutas shortly afterwards supplanted the Chalukyas in this region and Dantidurga, son of Indra I, is said to have conquered Lata and Sindhu. But the Rashtrakuta domination, too, was of short duration, and by the middle of the eighth century A.D. the Pratiharas of AvantI established their supremacy over this region. For in A.D. 756 a Chahamana was ruling in Broach as a feudatpry of Nagavaloka who has been identified with Nagabhata I, the Pratlhara king of AvantI. 1 Whether the Gurjaras of Nandlpuri refused to recognise the suzerainty of this new family, or for other reasons incurred their displeasure, we cannot say; and for the present, no definite reasons can be assigned as to why the Pratiharas of AvantI drove out the royal family, which belonged to their own clan, in favour of an outsider. Jayabhata IV is the last known king of the Gurjara family of Nandlpuri and his only known date is A.D. 735.

(iii) The Guhilots

The Guhila-putras or Guhilots of Mewar are rightly regarded as the crest-jewel of the Rajput clans, and many mediaeval Rajput legends have clustered round this name. These romantic tales and bardic traditions are of so varied a character that it is well-nigh impossible to reconstruct from them the true history of this family. There is also a wide divergence of opinion among modern writers on this subject. The scope of this work will not permit a detailed discussion of this topic, and only a brief sketch of the origin and early history of the family will be attempted here on the authority of reliable epigraphic records.

A full genealogy of the family is given for the first time in the Atpur Inscription, dated A.D. 977. It gives the names of 20 kings from Guhadatta

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1. See pp. 147, 149. 2. See p. 130. 3. See p. 150.

to Saktikumara. If we allot an average of 20 years to each reign, Guhadatta may be regarded as having flourished in the second half of the sixth century A.D. This date is corroborated by two records of SUa (Slladitya) and Aparajita, the fifth and sixth kings in the list, dated respectively in V.S. 703 (646-7) and V.S. 718 (A.D. 661-2). This demolishes the traditional account, recorded in the bardic chronicles, that Guha, the founder of the family, was the son of &Iladitya, the last king of Valabhl; for as we have seen above, the latter was on the throne till A.D. 766.

The most famous name among the Guhilot rulers is that of Bappa Rawal. His name does not occur in the Atpur Inscription,

l. El, XII. 201.

but it heads the genealogical list given in subsequent records dating from the thirteenth century A.D. According to the early records of this series, Bappa came from Anandapura, worshipped at the feet of a sage named Harita-rasi, and through his grace obtained royal fortune and became the king of Chitrakuta (Chitor). Later records state that Bappa, who obtained the favour of Harita-rasi, conquered Chitor from the Mori king Mnuraja and adopted the title of Rawal.

Now, the different chronicles agree in placing Bappa in the first half of the eighth century A.D. According to Tod, he occupied Chitor in A.D. 728 and abdicated the throne in A.D. 784, Pandit Ojha gives 734 and 753 as the dates of these two events. Other authorities give varying dates within these limits.

It is obvious from the date of Bappa that he could not be the founder of the family, and must have flourished about two centuries after the first ruler Guhadatta, mentioned in the Atpur list. He has accordingly been identified with the eighth king Kalabhoja by Pandit Ojha, and the ninth king Khommana or Khummana I by Dr. Bhandarkar. The latter theory seems preferable in view of the celebrity of the name Khummana in the history and traditions of Mewar. 1 Bappa Rawal was evidently a designation, and not a proper name. Several meanings have been suggested for each of these two terms, and it is probable that this designation was applied to more than one king. 2

Although Bappa is represented to have come from Anandapura and conquered Chitor, there is no doubt that Guhilots w 7 ere ruling in Mewar long before him. The earliest seat of their power was Nagahrada (Nagda), and its place was taken by Aghata (Ahar) in the tenth century. There is no epigraphic evidence to show that Chitor was the capital of the family till a much later period, and in a record of the fifteenth century A.D. even Bappa is said to have flourished at Nagahrada in Medapata (Mewar). Nevertheless the tradition that Bappa founded a new kingdom by conquering Chitor may not be absolutely without any foundation. It is likely that the Mauryas or Moris were ruling at Chitor when the Arabs overran this part of the country between A.D. 725 and 738. 3 The Mauryas probably succumbed to these raids and Bappa, a neighbouring chief who was more successful in his resistance to the Arab raiders, seized the fortress of Chitor. Tod states, on the authority of bardic Chronicles, that Bappa captured Chitor after expelling the mlechchhas i.e. non-Hindu foreign hordes who had attacked the Mori kingdom, and this may be an echo of his successful fight with the Arabs. It is not unlikely that the small Guhila state was also temporarily overwhelmed by the Arab invasion and Bappa restored its independence. That would surely entitle him to be regarded as the founder of the kingdom.

We may therefore sum up the history of the Guhilots as follows:—

After the fall of the Gupta empire in the middle of the sixth century A.D., a chief named Guhadatta established a small principality in the western part of the old State of Udaipur. A long line of kings, called after him Guhilas or Guhila-putras, succeeded on the throne, though nothing of importance is

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1. Banerjee, Rajput Studies, p. 25

2. PIHC, III. 817 f.n. 158

2. See p. 150.

known about them. When the Arabs overran this part of the country between A.D. 725 and 738, Kbummana I, the ninth king, called also Bappa Rawal, obtained great renown by his successful resistance to the Muslim invaders. His success was probably due as much to his valour as to the natural strategic advantages of the territory over which he ruled. In any case he took full advantage of the chaos and confusion that followed the Arab raids, and made himself master of the strong fortress of Chitor, and probably also of a part of the neighbouring region. He raised the power and prestige of the family to such an extent that posterity regarded him not only as the greatest ruler, but even as the real founder of the family. It is also likely that when in a later age Chitor became the capital of the family, popular memory clung round the name of the hero who first conquered this impregnable fortress. Bappa Rawal came to be the most revered name in the history of the Guhilots and, as usually happens, romantic episodes gathered round his name to such an extent that he became almost a legendary hero rather than an historical king. It is needless to repeat the numerous legends about Bapp§, for no historical conclusions can be drawn from them.

The Guhilots, at a later age, regarded themselves as Kshatriyas of the solar race, and claimed descent from the epic hero Rama. Of this there is no trace in the early records. On the other hand, some early epigraphic records clearly refer to the Guhila princes as Brahmanas. Guhadatta, the founder of the family, as well as Bappa are called vipra or Bx&hmana in two records dated respectively in A.D. 977 and 1274, Another record, dated A.D. 1285, tells us that Bappa exchanged brahma (priestly) for kshatra (military) splendour. In spite of the arguments of Pandit Ojha and Mr. C. Y. Vaidya to the contrary, the conclusion is irresistible that the early Guhilots professed to be Brahmanas, and never claimed to belong to the Kshatriyas of solar race till at a much later age. 1

Note 17

In addition to the dynasty ruling at Udaipur there were probably other branches of the Guhilots ruling in the neighbourhood. One such branch is known from a record found at Chatsu, a town in Jaipur State, about 26 miles south of the capital city. This Guhila branch was founded about the beginning of the seventh or the latter part of the sixth century A.D. by one Bhartripatta who, according to this inscription, “was like Parasurama endowed with both priestly and martial qualities.” This obviously means that just as Parasurama was a Brahmana by caste, but performed the feats of a Kshatriya, Bhartripatta also was Brahmana by birth, but followed the pursuits of a Kshatriya. This fully supports the view that the Guhilots were originally Brahmapas.

The earliest record 1 of the family is an inscription of Dhanika, son of Guhila, third in descent from Bhartripatta. It was found near the city of Nagara, which was a stronghold of the Malava tribe in the early centuries of the Christian era. The locality is about 50 miles south of Chatsu, and the inscription is dated A.D. 684. This Dhanika is probably identical with Guhilaputra Dhanika mentioned in a record dated A.D. 725. 2 In that case, this branch of the Guhilots ruled over an extensive region in Jaipur and Udaipur.

In this record, dated A.D. 725, Dhanika is said to have ruled in Dhavagarta as a feudatory of the Paramabhattaraka Mahdrdjddhu raja Paramesvara Sri Dhavalappadeva who is probably the same as the Maurya ruler named Dhavala. 3 Dhavagarta has been identified with the present town of Dhor in the Jahazpur District of the Udaipur State. This record has been taken as an evidence of this branch of the Guhilots being feudatory to the Mauryas ruling in Udaipur. It is, therefore, thought to be not unlikely that the main branch was also a feudatory of the sam§ family, and Bappa founded an independent State on the ruins of the Maurya kingdom destroyed by the Arab invasion. But the record of Dhanika, found at Nagar, makes this theory somewhat doubtful, as it contains no reference to any overlord.

The subsequent history of the family does not concern us here. "We do not know when it was established as a ruling power in the Jaipur State, and what was its relation with the main 4 branch" up to A.D. 750. In the following period both the branches had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Imperial Pratiharas.

Note 18

Note 19

Note 20

(iv) The Chapas

The Chapas are probably the same as the Chapotkafas or Chavotakas, commonly known as Chava^as (also as Chanda, Chaura or Chavara). According to the Gujarat chronicles 1 they ruled in Pancha^ara in Vadhiar, between Gujarat and Kutch, in the period c. A.D. 720-966.

According to these chronicles, the Chapotkafa king Vanaraja, son of Jayasekhara of Panchasara, founded the famous city of Anahilapataka (modern Patan) in A.D. 746. Leaving aside the further statement in these chronicles that Mularaja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujar&t in the tenth century A.D., was a son of a Chapa princess who destroyed his maternal uncle and seized Anahilapataka, the existence of the Chapas in the first half of the eighth century A.D. is proved by epigraphic records. An inscription, dated A.D. 738, mentions Kachchhelia, Saurashtra, Chavotska, Maurya, and Gurjara kings as being defeated by the Arabs. The Kachchhellas probably denoted the people of Kutch, and Saurashtra undoubtedly refers to Kathiawar Peninsula. The exact locality of the Chavofakas at this period cannot be determined. But as the Arabs did not proceed beyond Malwa in the east and Navsari in the south, the Chavotaka principality may be located in Rajputana or its immediate neighbourhood. The Chapa king Dharanlvaraha was ruling in eastern Kathiawar in the year A.D. 914. 2 As he is described as fourth in descent from Vikramarka, the first king, :+ is likely that the family had been ruling there for a century or more. It has been suggested that king Vyaghramukha of the Chapa dynasty, who was a patron of the astronomer Brahmagupta and was ruling in A.D. 628, had his capital at Bhiilamala. As noted above, 3 neither this view nor the identification of Bhiilamala with the Gurjara capital, noted by Hiuen Tsang, can be definitely accepted. Consequently, there is no justification for regarding the Chapas as Gurjaras. 4 As a matter of fact the Chapas are distinguished from the Gurjaras in the list of countries overrun by the Arabs, quoted above.

Thus on the whole the Chapas may be located in southern Rajputana or in northern Gujarat and Kathiawar, and they might have had more than one settlement including Panchasara or Anahilapataka referred to in the Gujarat chronicles.

(v) The Maury as

The Mauryas are evidently the same as the Mori Rajputs who, according to the bardic chronicles, ruled in Chitor. There is still

Note 21

Note 22

Note 23

Note 24

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Note 26

a sub-clan of the Paramaras known as Morya or Maurya. 1 The existence of several ruling families of this name, both in Northern and Southern India, in the seventh century A.D. and later, is proved by epigraphic records. 2 The name no doubt recalls the famous imperial dynasty of ancient India, but although Hiuen Tsang refers to Purna-varman of Magadha as a descendant of Asoka, it is difficult to regard him or any ruling Maurya clan as connected with that illustrious family.

The Mauryas are referred to in a record at Jhalrapatan dated A.D. 690. 3 Another record 4 in Kotah State, dated A.D. 738-39, refers to the local prince as a friend of king Dhavala of Maurya lineage. This Dhavala is probably the same as Dhavalappadeva who is given imperial titles and is described as the suzerain of the feudatory Guhila-putra Dhanika who ruled in Udaipur. 6 We may* therefore, give some credit to the tradition, mentioned above, that the Guhilot ruler Bappa conquered Chitor from the Mori king Manuraja. Tod gives the name as Mana, and this ruler has been identified with the author of an inscription, dated A.D. 713, found at Chitor, which will be referred to later.

It is to be noted that if Mana, ruling in A.D. 713, was the last Maurya king in Udaipur, we can hardly regard Dhavalappa also as a Maurya king ruling in Udaipur in A.D. 738. Further, as this Dhavalappadeva was the suzerain of Guhila Dhanika, we can hardly regard Bappa as occupying Chitor before

A.D. 738. In the present state of meagre information, therefore, the identity of Manuraja and Mana must be regarded as doubtful.

As already noted above, the Mauryas fell a victim to the Arab aggression, and it was probably after this catastrophe that Bappa defeated them and took possession of Chitor.

(vi) The Chahamanas

An inscription, dated A.D. 756, gives the names of six generations of Chahamana princes, ending with Bhartrivaddha II, a feudatory of Nagavaloka, who is generally identified with the Imperial Pratlhara ruler Nagabhata I. 6 Bhartrivaddha ruled in the Broach District, and if his five ancestors did the same, we must presume that the Chahamanas ruled in this region from about A.D. 600. But this is in conflict with what we know of the Gurjaras ruling in the same region during the same period. It is presumed, therefore, that either the ancestors of Bhartrivaddha II were not ruling chiefs, or

1. See above, p. 158; DHNI f II. 1154. 2. BG, I. Part II, p. 284.

3. It mentions Raja Durgagana of the Maurya family. The inscription has not been edited and there is only a short reference to it in I A, LVI. 213.

4. JA y XIX. 57. 5. See p. 160. 6. El, XII. 201.

that this ruling family migrated from some other locality to Broach after the reign of Gurjara Jayabhata IV, whose last known date is A.D. 735. The more reliable traditions locate the early home of the Chahamanas in the region round lake Sakambharl, though according to the bardic chronicles the first Chahamana or Chauhan king ruled at Mahishmati on the Narmada. 1 It is not unlikely that the Chahamanas were petty ruling chiefs in one of these regions, when Bhartrivaddha II was appointed by Nagabhata I to rule in Broach as his feudatory.

It is interesting to note in this connection that an inscription 2 dated A.D. 713, found at Chitorgadh, records a dynasty of four kings, viz. Mahesvara of the race of Tvashtri, Bhima, his son Bhoja and his son Mana. Curiously enough, the first two ancestors of the Chahamana ruler Bhartpvaddha II are also Mahesvaradama and his son Bhlmadama. Leaving out the common name-ending darna, the two sets of names and their dates agree, and it is not unlikely that they refer to identical persons. In that case we should presume that the Chahamanas originally lived in or near Chitor during the seventh century A.D. It is noteworthy in this connection that the family was originally called the race of Tvashtri, anti it was only somewhat later, with the growth of power, that the members used the name-ending dama, first met with in the names of Western Satraps, and called themselves Chahamanas.

The Chitorgadh inscription, as interpreted by Tod, would seem to imply that in A.D. 713 the territory was under the suzerainty of the lord of Malwa. But this may be doubted. The expression ‘Lord of Malava f was evidently used with reference to the date, indicating that it was a year of the well-known Malava era. Mana and his three ancestors were probably local rulers or high officials. As noted above, some scholars regard Mana as the Maurya or Mori ruler defeated by Bappa. Even if this view be accepted, it does not necessarily disprove the identity proposed above. For it is not impossible that the Chahamana clan might be a branch or offshoot of the Moriyas. But it is unnecessary to proceed further with these speculations. No historical event connected with Bhartrivaddha II or any of his five ancestors is known.

(vii) Minor States

Contemporary epigraphic records reveal the existence of several other states in Rajputana between A.D. 600 and 750.

A suzerain king Varmalata and his feudatory Rajjila are named in a record 3 found at Vasantgadh, in Sirohi State, and dated in the

1. DHNl, II. 1052 ff. 2. Bh. List, No. 16. 3, El. IX. 191.

year A.D. 625. Rajjila's father Vajrabhata Satyasraya was also a feudatory of the same king. Rajjila protected Mount Arbuda (Mt. Abu) and had his capital at Va*a which is undoubtedly represented by Vasantgadh. The king Varmalata is almost - certainly identical with the king of the same name whose prime minister was the grandfather of the famous poet Magha. Unfortunately, we know nothing of this ruler, but it is not unlikely that Hiuen Tsang, who passed through this region, referred to his kingdom as O-cha-li.

An inscription, 1 found at Shergadh in Kotah State, refers to Samanta Devadatta ruling in A.D. 790. As the names of his three ancestors end in Naga, we may hold that a Naga family was ruling in the region in the eighth century A.D., if not earlier.

11. SINDH AND OTHER STATES ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER The most important kingdom in Western India, besides Surashtra and the Gurjara states, was Sindhu. As mentioned above, 2 this kingdom was hostile to the Pushpabhuti dynasty, and is said to have been destroyed by Harsha-vardhaha. But there is no doubt that from the beginning of the seventh century A.D. it was an extensive and powerful kingdom, and though Harsha might have gained some success against it, he could not establish any permanent influence. Hiuen Tsang not only describes it as an independent kingdom, but also mentions three other states as its dependencies. It is difficult to locate these states definitely, but Sindh and its subordinate states certainly comprised the whole of the lower Sindhu valley to the south of Multan.

There is a local chronicle of Sindh called Chach-nama 3 which gives some interesting details of its history. According to this work Sahiras, the king of Sindh, ruled over an extensive territory bordering in the north upon Kashmir and in the west upon Makran.

To the north-west of Sindh were two other important states on the western borderland of India. In the north was the kingdom of Kapisa or Kabul or Kabulistan, comprising the valley of the Kabul river and the hilly tracts surrounding it up to the Hindu Kush mountains. To the south of Kabul was Zabul or Zabulistan which included the upper valley of the Helmand river and a large extent of territory both to the east as well as to the west of it.

According to Hiuen Tsang, the kingdom of Kapisa was an extensive one and exercised suzerainty over ten dependent states including Lampaka (Laghman), Nagara (Jalalabad) and Gandhara. Of Zabulistan we have no detailed knowledge, but it was also a

1. Bh. List , No. 21. 2. SecTp.li8.

3. For an account of this work and other authorities, cf. JIH, X. Supplement, pp. lift

very powerful kingdom. In the seventh century A.D. these two kingdoms formed parts of India both politically and culturally, being Indian in language, literature and religion, and ruled over by kings who bore Indian names. The king of Zabul bore the designation Shahi, and the rulers of Kapisa called themselves Kshatriyas. The boundaries of these kingdoms varied from time to time, and some of their rulers became very powerful. We know from the coins of one Vasudeva, bearing legends in Sassanian Pahlavi and Indian scripts, that he was the ruler of Bahman (Brahmanabad?), Multan, Tukan, Zabulistan and Sapardalakshan (Sapadalaksha?). AnotherVruler of the same region, and belonging almost to the same period, was Shahi Tigin, who is called'the master of Takan and Khurasan in the Pahlavi legend, and the supreme lord of India and Iran in the Indian script. These were probably rulers of the borderlands of Kabul and Zabul, but nothing definite is known about them. 1

It is not possible to give any connected history either of Kabul or Zabul. Of Sindh alone, we possess some detailed account from the local chronicle Chach-nama and some Arabic works. The details recorded in them are not always very reliable, but it is possible, with their help, to construct a general narrative which may be regarded as fairly trustworthy.

According to these chronicles king Sahiras, son of Sahasi Rai, ruled over an extensive kingdom bordering on Kashmir and Kanauj in the north and east, and extending as far as Makran in the west. The fact that Harsha-vardhana fought with the king of Sindh lends some colour of probability to this account. The central part of these territories was under the immediate charge of the king, who had his capital at Alor, while the rest was divided into four provinces, each under a governor who is also described as a tributary ruler. This account agrees fairly yyell with that of Hiuen Tsang.

King Sahiras lost his life in a fight with the king of Nimruz, a province of Persia, who had invaded his territory and entered Kirman. This took place probably at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

Sahiras was succeeded by his son Rai Sahasi II. During his reign a Brahmana named Chach gradually rose to power and high office, and ascended the throne after his master's death.

The provincial governors at first refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the usurper. But Chach marched in person against

Note 27

them and subdued them all. He also proceeded to the hills of Kashmir and definitely fixed the frontier between the two kingdoms. Taking advantage of the confusion in Persia, due apparently to the Arab invasion, Chach conquered a portion of Makran and forced the people of Kandabil (east of Kalat) to pay tribute.

Chach was thus a very powerful king according to Chach-mima , but it is difficult to accept as fact everything mentioned in this work. The date it gives for Chach's accession, viz. A.D. 602, is palpably wrong. If we believe Hiuen Tsang's statement that the ruling king of Sindhu was a Sudra, the accession of the Brahmin Chach must be placed later than A.D, 640. Although an Arabic chronicle puts the accession of Chach in A.D. 622, and this date fits in well with the chronological details of the next reigns given in Chach-nama, a date after A.D. 640 accords better with the fact that his son occupied the throne in A.D. 708.

Chach married the widowed queen of his predecessor, and had two sons by her, viz. Daharsiah and Dahar. Chach was, however, succeeded by his brother Chandar. After the death of Chandar, his son Duraj and Dahar were rival claimants for the throne. But Daharsiah ousted Duraj and the kingdom was divided between the two sons of Chach. Then after Daharsiah's death, Dahar alone ruled over the united kingdom.

This event may be dated about A.D. 700. Eight years later, Dahar's kingdom was attacked by the neighbouring king of Ramal, but Dahar easily repulsed him.

The most important event in Dakar's reign was the Arab invasion which overwhelmed him and his kingdom. This was not an isolated fact nor an unexpected event, as is generally believed, but the culmination of a continuous effort on the part of the Arabs to effect the conquest of India. In view of its great importance in the history of India this episode of the Arab invasion requires separate and fuller treatment.

12. THE ARAB INVASION

The sudden rise of the Arabs in the seventh century A.D. as the greatest military power is one of the most remarkable events in the history of the world. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the rapid military successes which made them a world-power soon after the rise of Islam. But a brief reference to it should be made in

order to understand properly the nature and results of their military

enterprise against India.

At the time of the death of the Prophet Muhammad in A.D. 632 his temporal authority did not extend beyond the Arabian Peninsula!

Within eight years thereafter his successors subjugated Syria and Egypt. Northern Africa was conquered between A.D. 640 and 709, and Spain by A.D. 713. Within a century of the death of the Prophet, the Muhammadans had advanced as far as the heart of France, when their further progress westwards was checked by the victory of Charles Martel between Tours and Poitiers in A.D. 732.

The Muhammadans attained equally rapid and brilliant successes in the east. The mighty Persian empire received its deathblow at the battle of Cadesia in A.D. 637, and within five years the whole of Persia as far east as Herat was annexed to the growing empire of the Arabs. By A.D. 650, its northern frontier was advanced to the Oxus, and all the countries between that river and the Hindu Kush mountains were included in it.

It was inevitable that the Arabs should cast their covetous eyes on India. As a matter of fact, no less than three naval expeditions were sent against India as early as the Caliphate of ‘Umar (A.D. 634-44). The first, in A.D. 637, was directed against Tanah, i.e. Thana near Bombay, and the other two were aimed at Barwas (Broach) and Debal, a port at the mouth of the Sindhu. These were in the nature of raids, and probably ended in failure; at least no conspicuous success attended any of them.

Then the Arabs advanced by land, and the first shock of their invasion was felt equally by the three border kingdoms of Kabul, -Zabul, and Sindh. It will be convenient to deal separately with the first two and the third.

(I) Kabul and Zabul

About A.D. 650 the governor of Basra sent a force to Sijistan (Seistan). The Arabs gained some successes at first in this region and advanced along the Helmand river as far as Bust. But soon they had to return, and lost everything they had gained.

During the Caliphate of Muawiyah (A.D. 661-80) a determined effort was made to conquer this region. An Arab force under Abdar-Rahman, the governor of Sijistan, proceeded up to Kabul and stormed it after a few months’ siege. From Kabul the Arabs proceeded to Zabulistan and defeated the people who opposed them. Soon after Abd-ar-Rahman was recalled, the chiefs of Kabul and Zabul threw off the Muslim yoke, and the Muslims were driven out from these two countries. The new Arab governor renewed the campaign, but concluded a treaty with these two chiefs on payment of a sum of money by them.

In A.D. 683 Kabul revolted. The governor of Sijistan proceeded against it and a great battle was fought at Junzah. The Muslim

army was completely routed. The governor himself and some distinguished members of the aristocracy lay dead on the field and the rest fled.

The king of Zabul also declared war against the Arabs, but in spite of initial successes he was killed and his army ^routed (A.D. 635). His son and successor, however, continued the struggle. He did not oppose the advance of the Arabs till they had penetrated deep into his country. Then he blocked the mountain paths and passes and forced the Arab general to conclude a treaty, by which the latter promised, on payment of a sum of money, not to raid this kingdom in future. The Caliph, however, disapproved of the treaty and dismissed the general.

Shortly after Al-Hajjaj became governor of Iraq (A.D. 695), his general ‘Ubaidullah made an attempt to subdue Kabul. The kings of Zabul and Kabul combined and inflicted a severe defeat upon the Muslim army. The retreat of the Arabs was blocked, and although they fought their way out, many perished from thirst and hunger, and ‘Ubaiduliah died of grief at the plight of his army.

It was a veritable disaster for the Muslim forces who were, according to some writers, allowed to retire only on payment of a humiliating ransom. To avenge this affront, a huge army was raised and equipped at the cost of a heavy war-cess on Basra and Kufa. Its commander Abd-ar-Rahman marched against Zabul (A.D. 699), defeated its king, and ravaged the land. Bearing in mind the recent reverses, he wanted to proceed cautiously. Al-Hajjaj, however, urged him to be more active and, when he expostulated, threatened to supersede him. Taking offence at this, he declared war against Al-Hajjaj and the Caliph, marched on Iraq, and captured Basra. Being defeated and pursued he took refuge with the king of Zabul who, however, a year or two later sent his head to AlHajjaj. Al-Hajjaj concluded a treaty with Zabul, and agreed not to make war against it for seven or nine years on condition of an annual subsidy in kind. This truce continued till the death of Hajjaj in 714. Then the king of Zabul refused to pay the tribute, and for over forty years thereafter the Arabs could not exact anything from him.

Thus the Arabs had been making persistent efforts for more than half a century to subdue Kabul and Zabul, in the course of which they gained notable successes, but also suffered serious reverses. They could achieve no permanent gain, and were ultimately convinced that the conquest of these territories was beyond their power. Henceforth the Arabs were content to leave them alone and merely sought to impose some sort of suzerainty over them. But even this was achieved with difficulty for a very brief period (A.D. 700-714).

(For the next century and a half, Kabul and Zabul maintained their authority practically unimpaired.

(ii) Sindh

The first Arab invasion of Sindh was in the form of a naval raid against the port of Debal at the mouth of the Sindhu in or about A.D. 643. The Arab historians record a Muslim victory, but according to Chach-ndma the Muslims were defeated and their leader was killed by the governor of Chach at the battle of Debal.

The defeat at Debal must have been a disagreeable surprise to Caliph ‘Umar who was accustomed only to reports of success from his armies all over the world. He now planned to send an expedition by land, and commanded the governor of Iraq to send him detailed information about‘ Sindh. The governor reported that this kingdom was very powerful and by no means willing to submit to Muslim domination. Thereupon the Caliph gave up the idea of sending any expedition against it. The next Caliph ‘Uthman also gave up the projected invasion of Sindh by land on getting similar reports from his agent.

During the Caliphate of ‘Ali, a great expedition was sent against India (c. A.D. 660). The Muslim army, which included a large number of nobles and chiefs, advanced up to Kikan or Kikanan without any serious opposition. Kikan was a state in the hilly region round Bolan pass, and is referred to by Hiuen Tsang as a kingdom whose people led pastoral lives amid the great mountains and valleys in separate clans, without any ruling chief. It was, however, according to Chach-nama, included m the central division of Sindh, under the direct administration of the king. In any case, the people of Kikan made a brave stand and repulsed the Muslim army with severe losses. The leader of the Muslim host was killed together with all but a few of his followers (A.D. 663).

Henceforth, Kikan became the chief objective of the Muslim expeditions. During the next twenty years, no less than six expeditions against this frontier post of Sindh are recorded, but they failed to make any permanent impression. The only solid gain of the Arabs during this period was the conquest of Makran.

For more than twenty years thereafter, the kingdom of Sindh enjoyed a respite from Arab aggression on its frontier. But hostilities broke out again, about A.D. 708, with Hajjaj, the governor of Iraq. A ship from Ceylon, carrying some Muslim women proceeding to Hajjaj, was captured by pirates near the port of Debal. Hajjaj wrote to Dahar, king of Sindh, to set the women free; but

Dahar pleaded inability, pointing out that he had no control over the pirates who captured them.

This gave Hajjaj a pretext for sending an expedition to Sindh. The general belief that this incident was the origin of the hostility between the Arabs and Sindh is, however, not well founded. That hostility, as we have seen, was of long standing. The incident at Debal merely provoked Hajjaj to make renewed efforts on a large scale for conquering a country which had so long defied the might of Islam. The Caliph was at first unwilling to sanction the risky expedition, but ultimately gave his consent at the importunities of Hajjaj. Hajjaj thereupon sent ‘Ubaidullah to raid fiebal, but he was defeated and killed. A second expedition was sent under Budail by way of sea from Oman. Budail got reinforcements and marched towards Debal. He was met by Jaisimha, son of Dahar. A pitched battle ensued, which lasted a whole day. At the end, the Muslim army was routed and Budail was killed.

Hajjaj then made elaborate preparations for the invasion of Sindh. He appointed his nephew and son-in-law Muhammad-ibnQasim as commander of the expedition, and provided him with soldiers, arms, and ammunitions on a lavish scale. He also obtained from the Caliph the services of 6,000 Syrian soldiers fully equipped.

Muhammad reached Debal and, with the help of heavy siegematerials sent by sea, stormed the fortress. No quarter was given, and for three days the inhabitants were ruthlessly slaughtered by the victorious foe. Muhammad settled 4,000 Muslim colonists in the city and built a mosque for them. The sea-port of Debal cannot be definitely identified. According to some it occupied the site of Thathah, while others locate it at Bhambor on the north bank of the Gharo creeks, and 3J miles to the west of the village of Gharo in the tdluq of Mirpur Sakro.

From Debal, Muhammad proceeded to Nerun which is represented by modern Haidarabad. The Buddhist priests there were already carrying on treasonable correspondence with Hajjaj, and now openly helped Muhammad with provisions. Muhammad then conquered many cities without any opposition and advanced to Siwistan (Sehwan). Here, too, the Buddhist fifth-columnists welcomed the Arabs and entered into a pact with them against their own governor, who was defeated and fled. The Buddhist sections of other towns are also said to have befriended the Arabs. This may be explained partly by their aversion to slaughter and bloodshed, and partly by their ideal of universal religious fraternity which transcended that of nation or country. Perhaps the superstitious beliefs in the alleged prophetic sayings about the conquest of India by Islamic force, also, partly account for this attitude. It should be noted, however, that all the Buddhists did not support the Muslims and some actually fought against them. On the other hand, many non-Buddhists also betrayed their king and country.

Some leading chiefs now tendered homage to Muhammad, who proceeded along the western bank of the Sindhu and pitched his camp opposite the army of Dahar. Here he entered into alliance with an important chief called Mokah, who basely deserted Dahar and promised to supply Muhammad with boats for crossing the Sindhu on receiving as reward a large stretch of the conquered territory.

Muhammad was re-inforced by 2000 select horse sent by Hajjaj and 4000 warlike Jats from Siwistan, which had revolted but was again subdued. Nevertheless Muhammad halted on the bank of the Sindhu for nearly two months, whereupon Hajjaj reprimanded him and urged him to cross the river and fight with Dahar.

Muhammad then crossed to the eastern bank of the Sindhu and was joined by the brother of Mokah who had already betrayed Dahar. By the help and advice of these two chiefs he crossed the lake between him and Dahar's army, and a pitched battle was fought near Raor. According to Chach-nama, which has described the battle in detail, Dahar fought with valour, and on the second day the Muslim army was nearly routed. "The infidels", so runs the account, "made a rush on the Arabs from all sides and fought so steadily and bravely that the army of Islam became irresolute and their lines were broken up in great confusion." As was customary with Indian kings Dahar, seated on an elephant, led the vanguard of his army. He was an easy target and an arrow struck him in the heart. The death of the king was followed by a complete rout of his army. Jaisimha, the son of Dahar, retreated to Brahma nabad, leaving the widowed queen to defend the fort of Raor which Muhammad immediately attacked. The queen put up a brave resistance, and being reduced to the last extremity, burnt herself along with other ladies to escape the infamy of falling into the hands of the Arabs.

After capturing Raor, Muhammad proceeded towards Brahmanabad. Jaisimha made elaborate preparations for defending it as well as the capital city Alor, and marched with an army to harass the enemy and cut off his supply. Although his vizier or chief minister joined Muhammad, the people of Brahma nabad fought bravely for six months when some leading citizens entered into a secret pact with the enemy and betrayed the fort.

After having subdued several other places, Muhammad proceeded to the capital city Alor which surrendered after some fighting.

After conquering a few more strongholds, he besieged Multan, which offered stubborn resistance for two months, but was ultimately obliged to surrender owing to treachery.

Muhammad-ibn-Qasim was undoubtedly a great general, and his remarkable victories gave the Muslims the first foothold on Indian soil. Unfortunately, far from his achievements being appreciated and properly rewarded at home, he met with a cruel end even while he was engaged in making further conquests. The death of Hajjaj in A.D. 714, and that of Caliph Walid in the year following, brought evil days for him. The new Caliph was an enemy of Hajjaj and wreaked his vengeance on the members of his family. Muhammad was recalled to Iraq where, with certain other adherents of Hajjaj, he was put to death by torture. There seems to be no basis for the romantic story, told in Chach-n&mci, about machinations of two daughters of Dahar, who were sent captives to the Caliph and who secured the death of Muhammad by means of false representations to the effect that their modesty was outraged by the latter before he sent them to his master.

The recall and death of Muhammad induced the chiefs of Sindh to throw off the Muslim yoke. Dakar's son Jaisimha re-occupied Brahmanabad. The Caliph sent Habib to subdue Sindh. He conquered Alor and made some minor conquests.

The next Caliph 'Umar II (A.D. 717-720) offered virtual independence to the chiefs of Sindh, under his suzerainty, on condition of their accepting Islam. Many chiefs including Jaisimha accepted the offer. But during the Caliphate of Hisham (A.D. 724-743), he apostatized and declared war against Junaid, the governor of Sindh. Junaid defeated him and took him prisoner. With Jaisimha ended the Hindu royal dynasty of Sindh.

(iii) Western India

Junaid now planned to complete the work of Muhammad-ibnQasim by extending Muslim domination over the interior of India. He himself conquered 'Bailaman and Jurz and his lieutenants proceeded as far as Uzain, overrunning Marmad, Mandai, Dahnaz, Barwas and Malibah.' Most of these places can be easily identified. Marmad evidently stands for Maru-Mara, corresponding to Jaisalmer and part of Jodhpur. Barwas is undoubtedly Broach, and Bailaman probably refers to Vallaman^ala, 1 Malibah and Uzain no doubt stand for Malava and its capital city Ujjayinl. It would thus appear that the Arabs advanced through Raj putana and proceeded as far as Malwa in the east and Broach in the south. From a con

Note 28

temporary Indian record we learn that the Arabs defeated the kings of the Saindhavas, the Kachchhellas, Saurashtra, the Chavotakas, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras, and advanced as far south as Navsari. 1 In view of the probable location of these states, mentioned above, the two accounts agree remarkably, except that Saurashtra, denoting the Valabhl kingdom, is not included by the Arab chronicler. These Arab expeditions took place between A.D. 724 and 738.

But the success of the Arabs was short-lived, and they were defeated by the Prafihara king Nagabhata 2 and the Chalukya ruler of Lata (S. Gujarat) named Avanijanasray a Pulakesiraja. The latter's heroic stand earned him the titles 'solid pillar of Dakshinapatha' and 'the repeller of the unrepellable.' 3 The Gurjara king Jayabhata IV of Nandlpuii also claims to have defeated the Arabs. 4 Apart from these claims, authenticated by contemporary records, we have traditions about several Indian rulers as having defeated the Mlechchhas, and some of them at any rate refer probably to the Arab invaders of this period. 6 It is also admitted in the Arab chronicles that under Junaid's successor Tamm, the Muslims lost the newly conquered territories and fell back upon Sindh. Even here their position became insecure. According to the Arab chronicles, 'a place of refuge to which the Muslims might flee was not to be found,' and so the governor of Sindh built a city on the further side of the lake, on which later the city of Mansurah stood, as a place of refuge for them. It is thus clear that the period of confusion in the Caliphate during the last years of the Umayyads also witnessed the decline of Islamic power in India.

(iv) North-Western India

No details are known regarding the Arab expeditions to the north of Sindh. According to Chach-nama, Muhammad-ibn-Qasim had proceeded from Multan to the frontiers of Kashmir and at the same time sent an expedition against Kanauj; but before he could achieve any material success he was put to death by the orders of the Caliph. The Arab chronicles do not refer to Muhammad's expedition against Kashmir and Kanauj, but mention his conquest of Kiraj. As Kiraj or Kira country corresponds to Kangra, Muhammad must have reached very nearly the frontiers of Kashmir and Kanauj. But the Arabs lost their conquests in this region during the turmoils that followed the death of Muhammad. Junaid again conquered Kiraj, but his success, too, was short-lived. Both Yasovarman, king of Kanauj, and Laiitaditya, king of Kashmir, seem to have stemmed the advance of the Arabs in this direction. They sent embassies to China for making a common cause against the Arabs, but although no help was forthcoming from that quarter, they were able to defeat the Arabs by their own unaided efforts. 1

Thus by the middle of the eighth century A.D. when the great revolution in the Islamic world transferred the chief power from the Umayyads to the Abbasids, the power and prestige of Islam in India was reduced to its lowest ebb, and the Arabs could only maintain a precarious hold over a part of Sindh.

(v) Retrospect

We may now critically review the main incidents narrated above in connection with the early Muslim raids on the western borderlands of India. It is well known that only four routes are open to a hostile army operating against India from the west. One way Is by the sea, and the other three lie roughly speaking through Khyber Pass, Bolan Pass and the Makran coast. From the very commencement, we find the Arabs endeavouring to penetrate into India through every one of these routes. The early naval raids against Thana, Broach and Debal, and subsequent raids in the same direction, mark their vain efforts to reach India by sea. Of the land-routes, the Khyber Pass was guarded by Kabul and Zabui while the Bolan Pass was protected by the brave Jats of Kikan or Kikanan. The long-drawn struggles of the Arabs with these powers, narrated above, mark their steady but fruitless endeavours to enter India through the two great passes. The hardy mountaineers of these regions, backed by the natural advantage of their hilly country, offered

1. ABORI, X. 31. 27 See pl55.

3. ABORI, X. 31. 4. See p. 150.

5. Cf. the history of Yasovarman, Laiitaditya and Bappa in the preceding sections (pp. 128 ff., 133 ff., 157 ff.).

stubborn resistance to the conquerors of the world, and though often defeated, ever refused to yield. If there had been a history of India written without prejudices and predilections, the heroic deeds of these brave people, who stemmed the tide of Islam for two centuries, would certainly have received the recognition they so richly deserve.

When the other three routes failed, the Arabs attempted the fourth one through Makran coast. It is not difficult to explain why the Arabs succeeded in this route while they failed in the others. While the equipment of the Arab army was made on a lavish scale, and forces were requisitioned even from distant Syria, Sindh was at the moment exhausted by civil wars, internal discords, and foreign aggression that had been going on for more than half a century. King Dahar's statesmanship and military skill were also much inferior to those of his rival. It is difficult to explain why he did not oppose the Arab fleet carrying military equipment, especially heavy siege-materials. Evidently he did not possess sufficient naval strength for the purpose. But in view of the persistent endeavours of the Arabs to reach the Indian soil, and the feasibility of the Makran coast for that purpose, the ruler of Sindh showed a lamentable lack of foresight in neglecting the navy. Possibly this is mainly due to the fact that for nearly thirty years, from c. A.D. 670 to 700, Dahar had no control over the southern part of Sindh, and it came into his possession only a few years before the Arab invasion. The same reason also explains partly why both Nehrun and Siwistan, the two main strongholds of Southern Sindh, opened their gates to the Arabs without any resistance. The unpatriotic character of the Buddhists, the general superstitions of a section of the people, and the want of loyalty towards the royal family which had usurped the throne only a generation ago, account for the desertion and treachery of the chiefs and people which ruined the cause of Dahar.

All these causes, and perhaps others which are not known, brought about the fall of Sindh. The conquest of Sindh should not, therefore, be regarded as indicating in a general way the military superiority of Muslims over

1. See above, pp. 130, 134.

Indians. This is further borne out by the fact that the conquest of Sindh was the first and the last great achievement of the Arabs in India. Junaid, no doubt, was triumphant for a time over the petty states in the neighbourhood of Sindh, but as soon as he clashed with powerful states like Kashmir and Kanauj in the north and those of the Pratiharas and the Chalukyas in the south, the spell of victory was broken. Even the greater part of Sindh was lost in a short time. Ultimately, after three centuries of unremitting efforts, we find the Arab dominion in India confined to the two petty states of Mansurah and Multan.

When we remember their wonderful military success in other parts of the w T orld, the comparatively insignificant results the Arabs achieved in India certainly stand out in marked contrast. The cause of this, however, does not lie in the religious and social peculiarities of India as old historians like Elphinstone vainly attempted to establish. The cause lies undoubtedly in the superior military strength and state-organisation of the Indians as compared with most other nations of the time. However incredible this might appear in the light of subsequent events, this is the plain verdict of history.

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"Guhilots". JPASB, 1909, pp. 167 ff.

D. R. Bhandarkar Volume , p. 311; PIHC, III. 812; IC, HI. 219.

IHQ, X. 613.

IHQ, IV. 797.

"The Guhila kings of Mewar". IA, 1927. 169.

12. The Arab Invasion

Dhar, S. N. Ghani, M. A. Majumdar, R. C.

Articles

"The Arab Conquest of Sind". IHQ, XVI. 596.

"The Advent of the Arabs in Hindusthan". POC, X. 403. "The Arab Invasion of India". JIH, X, Supplement.

CHAPTER XI

Chapter Notes

1. 1. El, IX. 41. 2. R. C. Majumdar, Suvarnadvipa, I. 226
2. 3. See p. 103. 4. See p. 104,
3. 5. THQ , XX. 358.
4. Siladitya I Dharmaditya Kharagraha I
5. j Dharasena III Dhruvasena II
6. Derabhata I
7. i Dharasena IV
8. Siladitya II (2) Kharagraha II (1) Dhruvasena III
9. Dharmaditya (A.D. 651-3)
10. . (A.D. 656)
11. (3) Siladitya III (A.D. 662-684)
12. The reversion of the crown, after Dharasena IV, to the family of Slladitya I, and the reversal of the natural order of succession in that line, both indicate some internal trouble, the nature of which is unknown. The stability of the kingdom was, however, restored with the accession of Siladitya III.
13. Slladitya III was undoubtedly a very powerful ruler. Like Dharasena IV, he assumed imperial titles and conquered the Gurjara kingdom. For, in the year A.D. 676 he granted some lands in the Bharukachchha-uishcu/a (district). This time also the occupation of Gurjara territory was of short duration and the Gurjaras
14. recovered it. In doing so, they were probably helped by the Western Chalukyas.
15. A passage occurring in several Rashtrakuta records mentions arsha and Vajrata among the enemies defeated by the Chalukyas.
16. 1. See pp. 62 ff.
17. 1. Dr. Bhandarkar holds the view that the Guhilots were Nagara Brahmanas hailing from Anandapura, who were of foreign origin (JPASB, 1909, p. 170). This view is challenged by Ojha and Vaidya. The controversy is summed up by Banerjee (op. cit pp. 8 ff). Cf. also IRQ, XXVI. 263; XXVIII. a3.
18. 1. Bharata-Kaumudi, I. p. 267.
19. 2. El, XX. 122. Dr. Bhandarkar read the date as 407 G.E. (=A.D. 725) but Mr R. R. Haider reads it as 207 and refers it to Harsha Era. Dr.

Bhandarkar’s reading seems preferable. Guhila Dhanika could not have flourished in 207 H.E. (—A.D. 813) as Harsharaja, fourth in descent from him, was contemporary of Pratlhara Bhoja I.

20. 3. See later under Mauryas.
21. 1. DHNI, II. 935; Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat, 35-36.
22. 2. Ha&lala plates (IA, XII. 193).
23. 3. See above pp. 153-54,
24. 4. Hiis is the view of Jackson and Indraji (BG, I. Part I, p. 155).
25. 161
26. C.A.—11
27. 1. Rapson, Indian Coins § 169 (pp. 30-31). A somewhat different view is taken by V. A. Smith (CCIAf, 234); cf. other texts referred to by these writers for other coins of this class.
28. 1. See p. 154.

DECCAN IN THE GUPTA AGE

Numerous ruling families flourished in different parts of the Deccan in the centuries preceding the rise of the mighty Chalukya house of Badami shortly before A.D. 542. They may be classified roughly into three groups with reference to their main spheres of influence in the Central, Western and Eastern parts of the Deccan.

A. CENTRAL DECCAN I. THE VAKATAKAS

The rise of the Vakatakas as a great power in the Deccan and a part of Central India under Vindhyasakti and his valiant son Pravarasena I has been narrated in the preceding Volume. 1 We have seen that when the latter died, about the end of the first quarter of the fourth century, he left probably a vast empire extending from Bundelkhand in the north to the former Hyderabad State in the south.

According to the Puranic account, four sons of Pravarasena I became kings. Whether this indicates a division of Pravarasena's empire amongst his four sons cannot be determined. There seems, however, to be some evidence in favour of the suggestion. Inscriptions testify to the division of Pravarasena's empire at least into two parts, one under the descendants of his son Gautamiputra with their headquarters in the Nagpur District, and another under his son Sarvasena and his successors with their capital at Vatsagulma in the Akola District. It may be suggested that during the lifetime of Pravarasena I his sons were viceroys in the provinces, and that they or their descendants began to rule independently after his death. Nothing, however, is known about the other sons of Pravarasena referred to in the Puranic account, although it is not improbable that their territories were later absorbed in the dominions of the descendants of Gautamlputra, who represented the main branch of the family. The fact that the family is not called samrd d-Va kata k a with reference to any ruler after Pravarasena I may be due to the waning of their power as a result of the division of the empire.

Note 1

1. The Main Branch of the Vakataka Family

The eldest son of Pravarasena I appears to have been Gautamlputra who possibly predeceased his father; for the Vakataka records do not attribute any royal title to him. His son by the daughter of Bhavanaga was Maharaja Rudrasena I, who succeeded his grandfather and is described in the records of his successors as a devout worshipper of the lord Mahabhairava (the terrific aspect of Siva). It is not improbable that Rudrasena I became a Saiva through the influence of his maternal relatives, the Bharasiva Nagas, who were noted for their* 5 devotion to Ssiva. The prominent mention of Rudrasena’s relation To the Bharasiva king Bhavanaga in the Vakataka records possibly indicates that he received considerable help from his relatives in making his position secure over large parts of his grandfather’s empire. As no inscription' of Rudrasena’s time has been discovered, 1 little is known about the events of his reign and the extent of his dominions.

Some scholars are inclined to identify Rudrasena I with the king of Aryavarta named Rudradeva overthrown by Samudragupta. 2 But considerable parts of Bundelkhand acknowledged Vakataka suzerainty as late as the time of Rudrasena’s son and successor Prithivlshena I. Moreover, if Rudrasena had, like his successors, his headquarters in the Nagpur District in Dakshinapatha, he has to be distinguished from the Aryavarta ruler Rudradeva, contemporary of Samudra-gupta. It is probable that the Vakataka king Rudrasena I flourished before the victorious advance of Samudra-gupta in Central India.

Rudrasena I was succeeded by his son Prithivlshena I who, like his father, was a worshipper of Mahesvara (Siva). He is described as an exceptionally pious man in the records of his descendants, and is not only called a Dharma-vijayin (one who becomes victorious through virtue), but also a “person acting like Yudhishthira.” Another remarkable epithet applied to this king describes him as “one having sons and grandsons and enjoying the continuity of treasure, army, and means of fulfilling desires that had been accumulating for a hundred years.” It may be surmised that Prithivlshena I lived for more than a century. But the fact that his son and successor is supposed to have died at a comparatively early age would render this interpretation unlikely. The more plausible suggestion would be that during the rule of Prithivlshena I (about the thiid quarter of the fourth century), a century had already elapsed since the foundation of the Vakataka empire by Vindhyasakti.

1.

2 .

Mirashi assigns an inscription at Deotek to Rudrasena See above, p. 8.

I (POC, 1935, pp. 613-22).

No record of Prithivishena I himself has been discovered as yet; but we have two inscriptions of one Vyaghradeva who claims to have been a vassal of Maharaja Prithivishena of the Vakataka dynasty. He should be identified with Prithivishena I, though some writers take him to be the second king of that name. 1 One of the records has been found at Nachna or Nachne-ki-talai in the old Jaso State and the other at Ganj in the old Ajaigarh State, both in the old Bundelkhand division of Central India, which was evidently included in the dominions of the Vakatakas. The Gupta emperor Samudragupta however seems to have extended his power over these tracts some time before A.D. 376.

Prithivishena I was succeeded by his son Maharaja Rudrasena II who married Prabhavatl-gupta, 2 daughter of Chandra-gupta II alias Deva-gupta and his queen Kuberanaga of the Naga lineage. Whether the marriage took place during Prithivlshena’s rule cannot be determined; but it is not improbable that the Vakataka king was ousted from his Central Indian possessions by the Guptas and that

Note 2

Note 3

he contracted the matrimonial alliance in order to stem the tide of Gupta advance towards the Deccan. The alliance was a turning point in the history of the Vakatakas. Rudrasena II became a devotee of Chakrapani (Vishnu) through the influence of his Gupta wife and her father, who were devout

Vaishnavas. There is reason to believe that henceforth the Vakatakas of Gautamlputra s house became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. Although the title Maharaja , applied to the early Vakataka kings, did not imply subordinate rank, it is very significant that in many cases the Vakataka and Gupta rulers are mentioned side by side in the same records, the former with the humbler title Maharaja but the latter with the dignified title M a hdrdjddhi raj a . 1 The Guptas probably received considerable help from their southern allies in their struggle with the powers of Central and Western India, especially with the Sakas of Malwa and Kathiawar.

Rudrasena II died probably before or shortly after A.D. 400. He seems to have left three minor sons, viz. Divakarasena, Damodarasena and Pravarasena, 2 by his chief queen Prabhavati-gupta. Divakarasena remained a Yuva'rdja (crown-prince) and his mother ruled the country in his name at least for 13 years. In the present state of inadequate information, it cannot be ascertained whether Rudrasena II had other queens older than the agramahishi Prabhavati-gupta, and other sons older than Yuvardja Divakarasena, and whether the throne passed to Prabhavatl and her sons by virtue of their relation to the Gupta emperors. It is also unknown if Prabhavati-gupta’s elder sons predeceased their father 3 or if her elder children, if any, were all daughters. It is, however, generally believed that Rudrasena II died in his youth after a short reign. The long period of Prabhavati-gupta’s rule as guardian of her son shows that Divakarasena was not made a Maharaja even when he had passed his sixteenth year. 4 This may have been due to some special difficulties or to Prabhavatl’s love of power. 6

1. It is impossible to think that the officials and subjects of the Vakatakas were not conscious of the difference in meaning between the two titles.

2. It is sometimes believed that Damodarasena was only another name of Pravarasena II. The theory is rendered untenable by the fact that Pravarasena II is known to have ascended the throne at an advanced age when his mother was more than 80 years old. Prabhavatl must have ceased to rule long before that age.

3. The use of the epithet jivat-putra-pautra when she was more than hundred years old may go against the conjecture. It is unknown whether epigraphic

reference to the son's sons of Prithivishena I points to the sons of Prabhavatigupta, mentioned in inscriptions.

4. This becomes striking when we find a boy, only 8 years old, on the Vakataka throne of Vatsagulma. Some unknown reasons may have prevented Divakarasena from occupying the throne as in the case of the Pallava Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa-varman. Cf. JRASBL, XII. 71 ff., XIII. 75 ff.

5. For different views on this subject, and a general discussion of the whole chronology of the Vakatakas, cf. JRASBL ,, XII. 1 ff.

The date of the Poona 1 grant is the 13th year of Prabhavati gupta's own rule as is indicated by the legend on the seal of the charter. The Grant was issued by the queen, who calls herself "Mother of the Yuvardja Divakarasena," from Nandivardhana or Nandivardhana which appears to have been the capital of this branch of the family at least from the time of Rudrasena II, if not earlier. The place has been identified by some writers with modern Nagardhan or Nandardhan near Ramtek, about 13 miles north of Nagpur, and by others with Nandpur about 21 miles north of Nagardhan. 2 There is as yet no evidence to show that Divakarasena ever ascended his paternal throne as a Maharaja. In a later inscription of Prabhavatl-gupta, dated in the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasena II, she is called "mother of the illustrious Maharajas Damodarasena and Pravarasena." As Prabhavati was more than 100 years old when the charter was issued, Maharaja Damodarasena must have enjoyed a fairly long reign in the intervening period between her own rule in the earlier part of her life and the accession of Pravarasena II during its later part. 3 Prabhavati was still living in the 23rd year of PraVarasena's reign as we know from the latter's Tirodi Grant.

The second charter of Prabhavatl-gupta was issued from the feet of the god Ramagirisvamin, identified with the deity at Ramtek near Nagpur, probably on the occasion of her pilgrimage to the holy temple. In both her records she is described as a devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu) and is credited with the gotra (the Dharana gotra) and family designation (Gupta) of her father. 4

As Prabhavatl-gupta's death does not appear to have occurred long before the end of the rule of her aged brother Kumara-gupta (A.D. 414-55), the reign of Pravarasena II may be assigned to about the middle of the fifth century. We have a number of records of the reign of Pravarasena II with dates ranging between the regnal years 2 and 27. These charters have been found in the Wardha, Chhindwara, Siwani, Nagpur, Balaghat, Amraoti and Betul Districts, and record the grant of lands usually in the neighbourhood of the find-spots of the inscriptions. Thus Pravarasena II must have ruled for at least 27 years, and over practically the whole of Berar, with the exclusion of its southern portion, but together with the western districts of Madhya Pradesh. He seems to have inherited these territories from his predecessors. The early charters of Pravarasena II were issued from the city of Nandivardhana, but the later grants from a new city called Pravarapura, apparently founded by and named after him. The new capital was built probably not far from the site of the old one, although it is sometimes identified with Paonar in the Ward ha District. The Tirodi grant of Pravarasena II was issued from the Narattangavari-sthana, probably a holy place which the king visited on a pilgrimage. The administration of Pravarasena II was characterised by the appointment of officials styled

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1. The suggestion that the Grants of Prabhavati were "drafted by a Gupta officer imported from Pataliputra" is unlikely because of the numerous mistakes of a serious nature found in their sections dealing with Gupta genealogy; cf. Sue. Sat., p. 88, note 1.

2. It is certain that Nandivardhana was not far from Nagpur; cf. NagapuraNandivardhana, the name of the district round Nagpur, in the Deoli grant of Rashtrakuta Krishna III.

3. This fact precludes the possibility of Damodarasena and Pravarasena having ruled at the same time in different parts of their father's dominions.

4. There is evidence to show that gotrdntara was not essential in the popular form of marriage in ancient India, possibly due to the want of sampradana (P1HC, 1945, pp. 48 ff.).

Senapati either as viceroys or as High Commissioners in regard to subordinate states. Some of the Sendpaltis such as Chitravarman, Namidasa, Katyayana and Bappadeva are known from inscriptions. The subordinate chiefs Satrughnaraja and his son Kon<Jaraja probably ruled the Bhojakata-mj^/a in the Amraoti District under the supervision of Senapati Chitravarman. The Arammi -rajya in the Chindwara District was in charge of Senapati Namidasa, probably the same as the rdjyddhikrita (chief minister) Navamidasa of the Tirodi grant. One of the records speaks of a rajuka which may be the same as rajjuka of the inscriptions of Asoka.

Pravarasena II of the Vakataka dynasty is usually identified with Pravarasena, author of the Setubandha Kdvya written in MaharashtrH Prakrit, although another view attributes its authorship to a Kashmirian king of that name. Some scholars believe that certain literary traditions about the author of the Setubandha throw light on the history of Vakataka Pravarasena II especially in regard to his relation with his maternal grandfather. There is a verse quoted in Rajasekhara’s Kavyarnfimaiiisa, Bhoja's Spingara-praikasa and Sarasvatikanthdbharana, and Kshemendra’s Auchityavichdracharchd which says that the king of Kuntala left the administration in the hands of some one (believed to have been Vikramaditya) and spent his days in the pursuit of pleasure. According to Bhoja, the verse embodies the report made by Kalidasa to his patron Vikramaditya who had sent him as an ambassador to the king of Kuntala. Kshemendra attributes the verse to Kalidasa’s Kuntesvaradautya, supposed to be a mistake for Kuntalesvdradautya. Bana’s Harsha-charita says that Setu or Setubandha was Pravarasena’s work; but a later work called Bharatacharita attributes the authorship to a Kuntalesa (king of Kuntala). According to Rarnadasa, who wrote the Rdmasetupradipa commentary on the Setubandha in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the poem was written by the newly installed king Pravarasena who was the same as Bhojadeva, and the work was revised by Kalidasa at the instance of Vikramaditya. Some weighty conclusions are often made on the basis of these literary traditions. It is believed that the Vakataka king Pravarasena II was the author of the Setubandha; that his territory was known as Kuntala; that he was called Bhojadeva, because the Vaka^akas were a branch of the Bhoja people; and that in the early years of his reign, he left the charge of administration in the hands of his maternal grandfather Chandra-gupta II Vikramaditya. Now, the existence of some relation between Kalidasa, who is traditionally associated with the court of Vikramaditya, most probably Chandragupta II, and the Vidarbha or Berar region is within the bounds of possibility. 1 But most of the conclusions are unjustifiable as they are against the known facts of Vakataka history. That the Vakataka king was the lord of Kuntala is rendered untenable by the fact that Pravarasena II gave his son in marriage to a daughter of the king of Kuntala which was undoubtedly the district round Banavasi in the Kanarese area. 2 The prominent mention of the Kuntala princess in the record of her son points to the importance the Vakafakas attached to the Kuntala alliance. Whatever be the value of the tradition regarding Kalidasa's embassy at the Kuntala court, a Kuntala king of the fifth century cannot possibly be regarded as any other than a ruler of the Kadamba family. It may be recalled in this connection that the Kadamba king Kakutsthavarman (c. A.D. 405-35) is known to have given one of his daughters in marriage to a Gupta prince. Again, at the time of Pravarasena's accession to the throne his mother was more than 80 years old, and so he was no longer young and his maternal grandfather had in all probability been dead long ago. That Pravarasena II was not so much under the influence of Chandra-gupta II, as is usually supposed, is probably suggested by the fact that, while the grandfather's influence caused the wide diffusion of Bhagavatism (Vaishnavism) in his age, the grandson was throughout his long reign a parama-mdhesvara (devout worshipper of Mahesvara or Siva) claiming to be "as virtuous as a person belonging to the Golden Age through the possession of the grace of Sambhu (Siva)." Pravarasena's authorship of the Setubandha may not be altogether impossible, but it is rendered doubtful by the fact that while the theme of the Kdvya is Vaishnava, the king was a devotee of &iva.

Note 4

Note 5

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Mahdrdja Narendrasena who married Ajjhita-bhattarika, daughter of the king of Kuntala. The father of the Kuntala princess may have been the Kadamba king Kakutsthavarman who claims to have married his daughters to scions of several royal houses including that of the Guptas. Narendrasena's command is said to have been honoured by the kings of Kosala, Mekaia and Malava, although the actual extent of his political influence in these territories cannot be determined. Kosala and Mekaia appear to have been the capital cities of the South-Kosala (Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region) and Mekaia (the land about the Amarkantak hills) countries, and Malava, as suggested by a commentary on the Kdmasutra, was probably East Malwa. As these regions had been under the influence of the Guptas, whose position in regard to the outlying provinces and subordinate states deteriorated in the second half of the fifth century, the claim of the Vakataka king no doubt points to the period when he flourished. Nothing definite is known about the kings of Kosala, Mekaia and Malava who probably became subordinate allies of Narendrasena; but the ruler of South Kosala seems to have been a king of Sarabhapura, and the Mekaia king, one of the Panduvarhsls. While these countries lay within the sphere of Gupta influence, Malwa formed an integral part of the Gupta empire before it was threatened by the Hunas. An epithet applied to Narendrasena in his son's record suggests that he recovered his family's fortune probably from an enemy's hold. This may refer to Narendrasena's success against the vassals of the Guptas whose subordinate allies he and his immediate predecessors had been.

Narendrasena was succeeded by Maharaja Prithivlshena II, his son by the Kuntala princess. The Balaghat record describes Prithivlshena II as a parama-bhdgavata (devout worshipper of the Bhagavat or Vishnu). Whether this indicates a revival of Gupta influence on the Vakatakas cannot be determined. It is, however, to be noted that Prithivlshena claims to have twice retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family. Although nothing definite is known as to the nature of the catastrophes referred to in the claim, it probably refers to Prithivlshena's struggles with Harishena of Vatsagulma and Bliavadattavarman of the Nala dynasty. One of Prithivlshena's charters was issued from Bembara (identified with Bembal in the Chanda District) and another probably from Padmapura (modem Padampur in the Bhandara District). Nothing is known of the history of this family after Prithivlshena II.

2. The Vakatakas of Vatsagulma

The city of Vatsagulma or Vatsyagulma is mentioned for the first time in such works as the Mahabhdrata and Vatsyayana’s Kdmasutra which, in their present forms, are assignable to the age of the Vakatakas. The site of the city has been located at modern Basim in the Akola District of Berar. The earliest epigraphic record of the Vakatakas of Vatsagulma is the Basim Grant of DharmctrMahd raja Vindhyasakti II, son of Dharma-Mahdruja Sarvasena, grandson of Pravarasena I and great-grandson of Vindhyasakti I, founder of the Vakataka dynasty. The Puranic reference to the sons of Pravarasena I, who became kings, may suggest that Sarvasena was the founder of a new kingdom in the land round Basim. The distinction between Vidarbha and Vatsagulma made in such works as the Kamasutra seems to point to the Vidarbha kingdom having been under the main branch of the Vakatakas and to the Vatsagulma territory as under a collateral branch of the family. The charter of Vindhyasakti II, issued from Vatsagulma and dated in the 37th year of his reign, records the grant of a village in the region of Nandikata which has been identified with Nander in the Hyderabad State. Thus it appears that Vidhyasakti II had a fairly long reign and that his dominions comprised the southern fringe of Berar and the northern districts of Hyderabad, probably with some of the adjoining regions.

A fragmentary inscription in one of the caves at Ajanta in the Aurangabad District of the old Hyderabad State was formerly believed to contain the names of the Vakataka kings Pravarasena I, his son (supposed to be a mistake for grandson) Rudrasena I, and the latter’s son Prithivlshena I. Of late it has been pointed out that the record actually belongs to the Basim branch of the Vakataka family and that instead of the names of Rudrasena I and Prithivlshena I we have to read respectively those of Sarvasena and Vindhyasena, the latter being supposed to be identical with Vindhyasakti II. There is no doubt as regards the correction of the name Rudrasena to Sarvasena; but the unsatisfactory preservation of the Ajanta inscription as well as the difference in the forms Vindhydsena and Vindhyasakti renders the second correction somewhat doubtful. If the new reading of this name is preferred, Vindhyasena has no doubt to be identified with Vindhyasakti II; but if the old reading is accepted Prithivlshena may be regarded as a brother of that king. In the Ajanta inscription, this ruler is represented as having defeated the king of Kuntala, apparently a Kadamba king of Banavasi ruling about the middle of the fourth century A.D. It may be remembered in this connection that, according to the Chandravalli inscription,[1] Kadamba Mayurasarman came into conflict with the Abhiras and Traikutakas who were neighbours of the Vakatakas.

The conqueror of the Kuntala king was succeeded, according to the Ajanta record, by his son Pravarasena who may be called Pravarasena II of Vatsagulma as distinguished from Pravarasena II of Nandivardhana and Pravarapura. Pravarasena II of Vatsagulma probably died early as his son and successor was only eight years old at the time of his accession. The name of this ruler cannot be traced in the preserved portion of the Ajanta inscription which, however, speaks of his son and successor Devasena in glowing terms. Mention is also made of Hastibhoja who, according to a Ghatotkacha cave inscription, was a minister of Devasena. Maharaja Devasena is further known from a charter which he issued from Vatsagulma.

The next ruler was Devasena’s son Harishena who seems to have been a contemporary of the kings Narendrasena and Prithivishena II of the main branch of the Vakataka family and flourished in the second half of the fifth century. Nothing definite, however, is known about the relations that existed between the independent Maharajas of Vatsagulma and their kinsmen who ruled from the Nagpur District. The Ajanta inscription was caused to be incised by Varahadeva,[2] a devout Buddhist, who was a sachiva of king Harishena and probably a son of Hastibhoja.

Harishena appears to have been one of the most powerful rulers of his time. He is probably described in the Ajanta record as having spread his influence in Kuntala (territories of the Kadambas), Avanti (West Malwa), Kalinga (territories of the Kalingadhipatis of the Srikakulam-Vizagapatam region), Kosala (Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), Trikuta (Traikutaka territories about the northern Konkari), Lata (Navsari-Broach region), Andhra (districts about the mouths of the Krishna) and other countries whose names cannot be deciphered. The exact relations of Harishena with the above-mentioned countries cannot be ascertained; but it is difficult to believe that he succeeded in completely subjugating any of them. It is, however, interesting to note that while the Kuntala king was a relative and probably an ally of the Vakatakas of the main line, his relation with this branch was unfriendly. South Kosala and the Malwa region are claimed to have been within the sphere of influence of both houses. It is not improbable that Harishena's success temporarily eclipsed the power of his kinsmen and that the struggle between the two houses led to their decline almost simultaneously towards the beginning of the sixth century.

Note 6

Note 7

The actual events leading to the fall of the Vakatakas are unknown. They are not mentioned amongst the powers that stood in the way of the Chalukya occupation of the Deccan in the latter half of the sixth century. The early Chalukya monarchs had to subdue the Nalas of the southern Madhya Pradesh and adjoining regions, the Mauryas of the Konkan and the Kalachuris of northern Maharashtra and the adjacent countries. It is not improbable that the major part of the dominions of both the Vakataka houses had passed to the Nalas before the middle of the sixth century as will be shown in the next section. A Rashtrakuta king named Manahka, who appears to have flourished in the Satara-Kolhapur region about the middle of the fifth century, claims to have subdued Asmaka (northern Hyderabad), Vidarbha (Berar region ahd parts of the western Madhya Pradesh) and Kuntala. It is probable that here is a reference to his contest with the Kadambas and with the Vakatakas of both the houses . 1

The Vakatakas appear to have been lovers of learning and patrons of art and literature. Some verses quoted in Srldharadasa's Saduktikarnamrita have been attributed to Yuvardja Divakara who may be identified with the Vakataka Yuvardja Divakarasena. We have seen that Pravarasena II of Nandivardhana and Pravarapura is usually regarded as the author of the Setubandha, although the matter is not free from doubt. To Sarvasena of the

Vatsagulma branch has been attributed the authorship of a poem called Haravifaya. 'Whatever be the value of these suggestions, there is little doubt that the name of the celebrated Vaidarbht riti or Berar style of Sanskrit composition is due to its having flourished at the court of the Vakatakas of Vidarbha. This is supported by the fact that, while the style was named after Vidarbha before the composition of Dandin's Kdvyddarsa in the seventh century, it was the Vakatakas who held sway over that country for several centuries down to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There is again no doubt

Note 8

that some of the magnificent caves at Ajanta with their brilliant fresco paintings were excavated during the rule of the Vakatakas, probably under the patronage of themselves and their subordinates.

II. THE NALAS

The Rithapur copper-plate inscription , * 1 which may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the first half of the sixth century, records the grant of a village called Kadambagiri by Maharaja Bhavatta-varman while he (probably with his queen) had gone on a pilgrimage 2 to Prayaga (Allahabad), "the place blest by the favour of lord Frajapati at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna." The charter, however, was actually issued from Nandivardhana by a successor of that king. We know that this city was the capital of the Vakatakas of the main line before the foundation of Pravarapura by Pravarasena II. The village of Kadambagiri has been identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmal District of Berar. It is thus apparent that a new line of kings was in possession of territories formerly occupied by the Vakatakas.

The name Bhavatta-varman is probably a mistake or Prakritised form of Bhavadatta-varman . This suggestion is supported by the evidence of coins and of another record of the family. The king is called nalair-rmpa-va^a-prasuta and apparently claimed descent from Nala, the ancient king of Nishadha. He is said to have obtained royal fortune through the grace of Mahesvara (giva) and Mafiasena (Skanda-Karttikeya). 3 The king's banner bore the tri-pataka which has been explained as (the representation of the) “hand with three fingers stretched out” or “three pennons.” The charter is dated in the king’s eleventh regnal year, but the grant is said to have been actually made for the spiritual benefit of his own parents by Maharaja Arthapati-bhattaraka, who was favoured by his dryaka, i.e. grandfather. Arthapati is sometimes taken to be an epithet of Bhavadatta-varman, but is now usually regarded as the name of the latter’s son and successor. It is, however, not unlikely that

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Bhavadatta-varman was actually the aryaka, i.e., “grandfather,” of Arthapati. 1

Another Nala inscription 2 in verse has been discovered at PogLagadh in the old Jeypore State (Koraput District) not far from the borders of the old Bastar State (M.P.). It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of a king whose name seems to be Skanda-varman although the reading of its first part is not beyond doubt. This king is described as the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family, very probably the same as Bhavatta-varman of the Rithapur grant. Skanda-varman is said to have recovered the lost (bhrashtd) royal fortune of his family and to have re-peopled the deserted (sunyd) city of Pushkarl. The city, which appears to have been situated in the Podagadh region, was probably the capital of the Nala kings. The inscription refers to the construction of a shrine (pddamula) of Vishnu by Skanda-varman, apparently at Podagadh.

There has been some speculation as regards the identity of the enemy who defeated the Nalas and sacked Pushkarl but was afterwards defeated by Skanda-varman. As there was apparently a struggle between the Nalas and the Vakatakas of the main branch, the enemy has been identified with Prithivlshena II who claims to have twice restored the fallen fortunes of his family. Skandavarman’s adversary may also have been the PanduvamsI king Nanna of South Kosala, whose occupation of practically the whole of the Western Madhya Pradesh is indicated by an inscription at Bhandak in the Chanda District. 3 Most probably, however, the enemy was the Chalukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 567-97) who claims to have subdued the Nalas, sometimes represented as the traditional enemy of the Chalukyas, and to have destroyed their residence (nilaya).

A third Nala inscription has been discovered in the village of Kesariveda 4 in the Umarkot thana, old Jeypore State, Orissa. It records a grant made by Maharaja Arthapati Bhattaraka in the year 7. As this grant was issued from Pushkarl, Arthapati seems to have flourished after Skanda-varman who is said to have re-peopled this deserted city. It is, therefore, not unlikely, that he was the son and successor of Skanda-varman.

A hoard of gold coins was discovered at Edenga, a village in the Kondegaon tahsil of the Bastar-State. 6 The issuers of the coins of this hoard were Bhavadatta and Arthapati, and another king named Varaha who may have belonged to the same family. From

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epigraphic and numismatic materials, it appears that the territories of the Nalas lay in the Bastar-Jeypore region. In the first half of the sixth century they extended their power towards the north at the expense of the Vakatakas; but their northern possessions appear to have soon passed to the PaiiduvarhsI kings of Kosala. There is, however, some indication that the Nala empire had extended over a wider area.

Inscriptions of the time of Chalukya Vikramaditya I and his son mention the Nalavadi -vishaya which was apparently named after the Nalas. As the villages situated in that vishaya have been identified with localities in the present Bellary and Kurnool Districts, it seems that Nalavadi under the Chalukyas comprised parts of .the said Districts. This may have been a Nala settlement or the southernmost province of the Nala empire originally under a viceroy of the royal blood. Whether the Nalas were responsible for the fall of the Vakatakas of Vatsagulma and the Rashtrakutas of Manapura cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient knowledge. But the suggestion is not altogether improbable.

A stone inscription 1 at Rajim in the Raipur District of the eastern Madhya Pradesh, which may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the seventh century, records the construction of a temple of Vishnu, probably by Vilasatuhga, apparently a successor (son?) of king Virupaksha who was the son of king Prithvlraja. These rulers claimed^ 1 descent from Nala, king of Nishadha, and were most probably later members of the family of Bhavadatta-varman. It seems that the Nalas, who were cornered in the Bastar region by the Panduvaihsis and the Chalukyas, retrieved their position and conquered South Kosala some time after the rule of SivaguptaBalarjuna, in the seventh century. It is not known whether they continued to rule in that country till the rise of the Somavamsis about the middle of the tenth century. If, however, they did, they were in all probability matrimonially connected with the Bana king Vikramaditya I (c. A.D. 870-95) who constructed a temple at Pali about 12 miles from Ratnapur in the Bilaspur District, 2 on the occasion of a visit that he might have paid to his relatives' kingdom.

B. WESTERN DECCAN I. THE BHOJAS

According to the Puranas, the Bhojas were a section of the Haihaya branch of the Yadu or Yadava clan, probably of the Mathura region. But the Haihayas are known to have settled in the

Note 17

Narmada valley at a very early date, while the Bhojas appear to have colonised the Berar region. An inscription of the Vakajakas locates a Bhojakata-rajya, apparently named after the Bhojas, about the Amraoti District of Berar. Kalidasa's Raghuvavisa also associates the Bhojas with Vida^bha or Berar. Probably the Bhojakas, mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka and Kharavela, were no other than the Bhojas settled in Berar. A section of these Bhojas appears to have migrated to the Goa region in the Konkan. The Mahabhojas, who are known to have been associated with the

Chutu-Satakarnis of Kuntala, were very probably the same as the Bhojas of the Goa region. 1

The Siroda copper-plate charter 2 was issued from Chandrapura in the twelfth regnal year of a king named Devaraja who is credited with no special royal title. The king is said to have belonged to the family of the Bhojas. Chandrapura, which was probably the capital of the Bhoja king, has been identified with modern Chandor in Goa which may have been originally under the political influence of the kings of Kuntala. Considering the palaeography of the Siroda inscription, king Devaraja may be assigned to the end of the fourth century. The seal of Devaraja is supposed to bear the figure of a swan, although it may actually be an elephant.

A later king of the same region was Maharaja Chandra-varman who issued the Goa copper-plate grant 3 in the second year of his reign. The charter has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the fifth century. King Chandra-varman granted a piece of land to a Mahavihara (Buddhist monastery) at Sivapura located in Goa. Since the words at the beginning of the charter, which is supposed to bear the figure of a boar, have not been deciphered, it is uncertain whether Chandra-varman belonged to the dynasty of the Bhojas.

A number of Bhoja copper-plate grants have been recently discovered in and near the Goa territory. They, have all been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the seventh century A.D. These records reveal the names of the Bhoja kings Prithivlmalla-varman, Kapali-varman and Asahkita. Asankita’s seal attached to the charter bears the figure of an elephant which seems to have been the emblem of the Bhoja royal family of the west coast. The relationship of Prithivlmalla-varman, Kapali-varman and Asahkita with one another and with the earlier kings Devaraja and Chandra-varman is not known. 1

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II. THE TRAIKUTAKAS

The Traikutakas derived their family name from the Trikuta hill in Aparanta (northern Konkan). 2 One of the Traikutaka kings is actually described in his record as ruling over Aparanta and other countries. Inscriptions of the Traikutaka kings show that their kingdom comprised the coast country, at least from the Kanheri area in the south as far as the district round Surat in the north. But their coins have been found not only in southern Gujarat and the Konkan, but also in the Maratha country on the other side of the Ghats. As the Traikutaka coin-types are closely imitated from the Kshatrapa coins, they must have been intended for circulation in districts where the Western Satraps had previously ruled and their coins had become familiar to the people. The Traikutakas appear to have ruled over substantially the same territories as had originally been under the Abhiras. Members of both the dynasties again had similar formation of names. The Traikutaka kings used the era of A.D. 248-9 which, as pointed out before, was probably an Abhira institution. Some sort of relation, therefore, might have existed between the two peoples. It is not impossible that the Traikutaka kings represented a family of Abhira origin and ruled over parts of Aparanta originally as subordinates of the Abhira kings.

The Chandravalli inscription 3 mentions separately - the Abhiras and Traikutakas as having come into conflict with the Kadamba king Mayurasarman who ruled about the middle of the fourth century. This probably shows that the Traikutakas, originally a viceregal family of Abhira extraction, had carved out a kingdom in Aparanta at the expense of the Abhira kings. There is a veiled reference to the Traikutaka kingdom of Aparanta in Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa written in the fourth or fifth century. In the second half of the fifth century, the Traikutakas were probably in occupation of the Abhira

1. EI t XXVI. 338 f; Summary of Papers submitted to the 15th Session of the AlOC, p. 99. R. S. Panchamukhi reads the dates of the two grants of Prithivimalla-varman as his 13th and 15th regnal years; but N. L. Rao suggests the readings 1st and 25th regnal years. P. B. Desai's article on Asankita's grant is being published in El. Panchamukhi speaks of another charter of a Bhoja king named Anirjita-varman; but N. L. Rao has shown

that this king belonged to the Maurya dynasty of the Konkan. The charter in question was issued by the Maurya Maharaja Anirjita-varman from Kumaradvlpa in the 29th year of his reign. It seems that the Bhojas were subdued by the Mauryas who were themselves ousted by the Chalukyas of Badami. It has to be noticed that it was not the Bhojas but the Mauryas who stood in the way of Chalukya expansion in the seventh century.

2. The Anjaneri grant (El, XXV. 225) of PrithvI-chandra-Bhogasakti, dated A.D. 709, mentions the Purva-Trikuta vishaya as a part of the Puri-Konkana vishaya.

3 . MAR, 1929, No. I, pp. 50 ff.

possessions in northern Maharashtra and had possibly extended their power over considerable parts of Gujarat in the north.

Epigraphic and numismatic evidence reveals the existence of three Traikutaka Maharajas who ruled in the fifth century A.D. They are Indradatta, his son Dahrasena, and the latter’s son Vyaghrasena. 1 Little is known about Maharaja Indradatta who seems to have flourished about the second quarter of the fifth century and founded the greatness of the family. He was succeeded by his son Maharaja Dahrasena whose copper-plate grant, issued from the camp of victory at Amraka and dated in the year 207 (A.D. 455), has been discovered at Pardi, about 50 miles to the south of Surat. Dahrasena is described as a devout Vaishnava. He is also credited with having performed an Asvamedha sacrifice which may point to the success of the Traikutakas against their neighbours including the Abhlras.

Dahrasena was succeeded by his son Maharcija Vyaghrasena whose Surat Grant was issued from Aniruddhapura in the year 241 (A.D. 489). Vyaghrasena, who is described as the lord of Aparanta and other countries, was a Vaishnava like his father. Nothing is known about the successors of this king. The Kanheri copper-plate inscription, recording the construction of a Chaitya at the Maha* vihdra (Buddhist monastery) of Krishnagiri (i.e . Kanheri), is dated “in the year 245 (A.D. 493) of the increasing rule of the Traikutakas.” It is uncertain whether the date belongs to the reign of Maharaja Vyaghrasena himself or to that of his immediate successor. Gradually the Traikutakas lost their territories, due to the aggression of the

Gurjaras 2 and Kalachuris and the rise of erstwhile subordinates such as the Mauryas and the Suras.

A copper-plate charter, 3 discovered at Banaras, is known to have been issued from Santanapura (Santanupura?) by king Hariraja of the Sura Dynasty, who was the son of Nishthuraraja and grandson of Kobhagraharaja (Kshobhagraharaja?). It records the grant of land at Amraka-nagara by the Gana of the Mahdmdtras under orders from king Hariraja and his queen who was the owner of the land. The letters of the record, which resemble the script

1. On their coins the names of the kings are sometimes read as Dahragana and Vyaghragana.

2. One of the earliest Gurjara records is probably the Sunaokala grant of the year 292 (A.D. 540), issued from Bharukachchha (Broach) by the Mahasamanta Maharaja Samgamasimha who might have been a feudatory of the Aulikaras of Mandasor.

3. Bhdratavarsha (Bengali), 1351 B.S., p. 46. The record seems to have been brought, to Banaras by a descendant of the donee who probably came to the holy place on pilgrimage. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva of Kamarupa tells a similar story about migration of conoer-plate charters. For a different view on this record see JUPHS, XVIII, p. 167.

of the inscriptions of the Traikutakas, may be assigned to the first half of the sixth century. It is, therefore, not improbable that Amraka-nagara mentioned in the Banaras grant is the same as Amraka known from the Pardi grant of Dahrasena. If this suggestion be accepted, the Sura kings may be regarded as ruling in the Surat region after the fall of the Traikutakas. It is probable that the Suras were originally vishaya-patis under the Traikutakas. They were probably subdued by the Kalachuris in the second half of the sixth century. 1

III. THE KALACHURIS

The earlier form of the dynastic name Kalachuri was Kata chchuri, though in some cases we have other variants like Kalatsuri , Kalachuti, Ktilachchuri, Kalachulrya and Kalichuri. It was apparently a word of non-Sanskritic origin and has with some amount of plausibility, been equated with the Turkish word Kuluchur indicating an office of high rank. 2 This may suggest that the Kalachuris were foreigners who probably entered India in the train of the Hunas and Gurjaras. 3 Their later claim to have been descended from the Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kritavirya and ruler of Mahishmati, suggests that they had settled in the Anupa country on the Narmada. The Kalachuris became powerful in the second half of the sixth century, when they are found in occupation of northern Maharashtra, Gujarat and parts of Malwa. The Mauryas of the Konkan probably acknowledged their supremacy. They used the era of A.D. 248-49 which therefore came to be known as the Kalachuri era; but they adopted the use of the era probably after their conquest of the Nasik and Broach regions. This is suggested by the use of the Gupta era in the Barawani grant (A.D. 486) of Maharaja Subandhu, king of Mahishmati, and in the records of other kings of the Anupa region, viz. Svamidasa (A.D. 386), Bhulunda (A.D. 426) and Rudradasa (A.D. 436) 4 whose family or families the foreigners appear to have overthrown. About the close of the sixth century, the Chalukyas of Badami attacked the kingdom of the Kalachuris from the south, while the Gurjaras gained strength in the Broach region. During the troubled period, the Kalachuris appear to have settled in Malwa; but owing to the pressure of the Maitrakas, they moved towards the east and ultimately settled in the Jubbulpore region where, after a long period of comparative obscurity, they emerged powerful about the end of the ninth century.

Note 21

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Note 24

1. Krishnaraja and Sankaragana

Epigraphic records reveal the existence of a group of three Kalachuri kings, viz. Krishnaraja, his son Sankaragana and the latter's son Buddharaja, who were all devout worshippers of the god Pasupati or Mahesvara, i.e. Siva. The greatness of the family was established by Krishnaraja whose silver coins bearing the legend paramamdhesvara-Krishnardja and the figure of a bull have been discovered not only in the Nasik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These coins are apparently mentioned as Krishnard ja-rupaka in the Anjaneri grant of Prithivlchandra Bhogasakti dated A.D. 709, and were current in the northern part of the Chalukya empire for a long time after the end of Kalachuri rule in that region. 1 King Krishnaraja's son Sankaragana was a very powerful monarch. A charter of Sankaragana, found at Ahbona in the Nasik District and dated in the year 347 (A.D. 595), was issued from the king's vasaka or residence at the victorious camp of UjjayanI in order to grant land in the Bhogavardhana vishaya which may have been another name of the ancient Govardhana (Nasik) district. There is reference in this record to a locality called Kallavana which is the same as modern Kalavan, a taluk in the Nasik District. UjjayanI, whence the charter was issued, is often identified with Ujjani near Sinnar in the same District; but in view of the fact that Sankaragana's successor is known to have issued a charter from Vaidisa, i.e. ancient Vidisa in East Malwa, it is possible to identify UjjayanI of the Abhona grant with the celebrated city of that name in West Malwa. Thus Sankaragana's territories appear to have comprised at least the Nasik District in the south and parts of Malwa in the north. The Aulikaras of Mandasor were probably subdued by this king. It is very interesting that long passages in eulogy of Sankaragana are copied verbatim from the description of Samudra-gupta as found in the Gupta records. This shows that the Kalachuri king conquered territories (probably in the Malvra-Gujarat region) that had originally been under the Gupta emperors.

Kalachuri Sankaragana is said to have acquired royal fortune by the prowess of his arms and is credited w r ith reinstating many kings who had lost their thrones. He further claims to have been the lord of the entire land bounded by the Eastern and Western Seas,

1. Gurjara Dadda I (above, p. 66) is described in inscriptions as Krishnn-hridayahit-aspada, probably in allusion to his being a subordinate of

Kalachuri Krishnaraja (IHQ, XXV. 290).

i.e. the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. Although these claims are of a conventional character and can hardly be accepted in their literal sense, .there is no doubt that Sahkaragana was one of the most powerful rulers of his time. It is probable that he succeeded in extending Kalachuri power over parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar.

The Sankheda (Baroda District) copper-plate Grant, issued about the last quarter of the sixth century, refers to a prince named Ninhullaka who was a feudatory of king Sankaragana (wrongly written Sankarana), son of Krishnaraja. The Kalachuri occupation of Gujarat suggested by this record is further indicated by a record of Sankaragana’s son. Nirihullaka may have been a Gurjara and a descendant of Samgamasimha, ruler of Bharukachchha (Broach) mentioned in the Sunaokala Grant of the year 292 (A.D. 540). The expansion of Chalukya influence over this region about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. is indicated by the claim of Pulakesin II to have subdued the Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras.

2. Buddharaja

Shortly after A.D. 595 Sankaragana was succeeded by his son Buddharaja. The Vadner grant of Buddharaja, dated in the year 360 (A.D. 608), was issued from Vaidisa (i.e. Vidisa, modern Besnagar in old Gwalior State) in order to grant land in the Vatanagara bhoga which is the same as modern Vadner in the Chandor taluk of the Nasik District. It is possible that East Malwa, of which Vidisa was the old capital, was conquered by Buddharaja shortly before A.D. 608 from king Deva-gupta of the so-called Later Gupta dynasty, who is known to have fought conjointly with the Gaudas against the Maukharis and Pushyabhutis about A.D. 605-06.

The Chalukya king Maiigalesa (c. A.D. 597-98 to 610-11) claims to have put to flight Buddharaja, son of Sankaragana, and to have appropriated the royal fortunes of the Katachchuris. The earliest reference to Mangalesa’s success against Katachchuri Buddharaja is found in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of A.D. 602. But the Vadner grant indicating Kalachuri occupation of the Nasik District in A.D. 608 shows that the Chalukya conquest of the southern provinces of the Kalachuri kingdom in the central and northern parts of Maharashtra was by no means complete before the date of the Mahakuta pillar inscription. Mangalesa's successor is known to have granted a village in the Nasik District in A.D. 630. Another copper-plate charter of Buddharaja was discovered at Sarsavni near Padra in the Baroda District. It was issued in the year 361 (A.D. 609) in order to grant land in the Bharukachchha vishaya, i.e. the district round modern Broach.

3. Nanna and Taralasvamin

The second plate of a charter containing no valuable information excepting a date in the year 346 (A.D. 594) was long ago discovered at Sankheda in the Baroda District. The charter would appear to have been one of the time of Kalachuri Sankaragana, although it was usually believed to be the concluding part of a Gurjara record. Recently the first plate of a grant has been found at Mankani not far from Sankheda and it has been suggested that the Mankani and Sankheda fragments constitute the whole of a complete charter. 1

The Mankani inscription reveals some valuable information about the history of the Kalachuris. It records the grant of the village of Mahkanika (modern Mankani) by a prince named Taralasvamin who is credited with no royal title. He is described as the son of Maharaja Nanna (written Nanna) by Dadda, apparently Nanna's queen who may have been related to Sdmanta Dadda I of Gurjara lineage. Taralasvamin is probably called sri-Surya-bh&vuka and it has been suggested that he was the sister's husband of a prince named Surya who cannot be identified. In spite of the fact that Taralasvamin is described as a worshipper of Siva, the expression may possibly be interpreted as pointing to his leanings towards the worship of the Sun-god. The most important information supplied by the record is, however, that Maharaja Nanna is called Katachchuri-kula-vesma-pradtpa, i.e. the light of the house that was the family of the Katachchuris. The normal indication' of the passage is that Nanna was a scion of the Kalachuri family, although it may also suggest that Nanna's mother was a Kalachuri princess. It is difficult to reconcile the rule of Nanna or his son

Taralasvamin in the Sankheda region, in case it is assigned to A.D. 594, with Kalachuri Sankaragana's rule at the same time and over the same area. Whether Nanna was a rival of Sankaragana and held sway over the Gujarat region for some time with Gurjara help cannot be determined with the meagre information available.

The Chalukya king Vinayaditya (A.D. 681-96) claims to have defeated the Haihayas. His grandson Vikramaditya II (A.D. 733-34 to 746) married two Haihaya princesses. These Haihayas appear to be no other than the Kalachuris who were then probably ruling in the eastern districts of Malwa and the adjoining areas.

Note 25

IV. THE EARLY RASHTRAKUTAS

1. Origin

Several theories have been put forward to explain the dynastic designation of the Rashtrakutas; but the most acceptable view seems to be that it arose like the dynastic names PraUhara, Peshwd and many others, 1 from an official designation. Officials styled Rdshtra kuta, apparently indicating "head of a rdshtra (districts), 2 are mentioned in many records belonging to kings of the Chalukya (cf. Lohner Grant of A.D. 630) and Rashtrakuta (cf. Ellora Grant of A.D. 742) families of Kanarese origin, although the viceregal style in question appears to have been prevalent in the Deccan even before the rise of the Chalukyas of Badami. As the Chalukyas in later times associated themselve often directly with the lunar race and sometimes indirectly with the solar kings of Ayodhya, the family of the Imperial Rashtrakutas is known to have introduced, in the ninth century, a claim of descent from another ancient family of epic fame. As late as A.D. 808, the date of Wani-Dindori Grant, the court-poets of the Rashtrakuta emperors were content with comparing the Rashtrakuta family with the ancient race of Yadu by pointing out that the former became as invincible with the birth of Govinda III as the latter had been with the birth of Murari (i.e. Krishna). The comparison was no doubt suggested by the king's name Govinda , which was also a name of Vasudeva-Krishna of Yadava lineage, and by the fact that Vaishnava kings often claimed to have been incarnations of

Krishna identified with Vishnu (cf. the style Sri-prithivt-vallahha adopted by the Rashtrakutas from their former suzerains the Chalukyas). The author of the Sanjan Grant of A.D. 871, however, advanced one step further by declaring lord Vira-Narayana (i.e. Krishna) to be the progenitor of the Rashtrakuta family which he identified with the Yadavanvaya. Still further development of the claim of Yadava affinity by the imperial

Rashtrakutas is noticed in later records such as the Karhad and • •

Deoli Grants of Krishna III, wherein the Rashtrakutas are made the descendants of the eponymous Ratta, born in the family of kings who were styled Tunga (i.e. high or the high-born; cf. tunga-gangakula etc.) and belonged to the Satyaki branch of the Yadu-vamsa.

Note 26

Note 27

Epigraphic evidence points to the existence of individuals with the title Rashtrakuta as well as of Rashtrakuta families ruling in different parts of the Deccan before the collapse of the Chalukya house of Badami about the middle of the eighth century. A Rashtrakuta named Govindaraja, son of Sivaraja, appears to have ruled the Satara-Ratnagiri region under the Chalukya king Vikramaditya II about A.D. 743. It is not known whether he had any relation with the earlier Rashtrakutas of the same area, who ruled in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Another family of the Rashtrakutas is known to have ruled in the Betul and Ellichpur Districts of Madhya Pradesh in the seventh and eighth centuries. The most important of the Rashtrakuta families was the one which originally flourished somewhere in the upper Deccan, probably under the Chalukya viceroys of the Gujarat region, and later became so powerful as to deprive the Chalukyas of Badami of their sovereignty of the Deccan. It is sometimes believed that the families of the Rashtrakutas noticed above were different branches of the same dynasty. But the suggestion appears to be unlikely in view of the fact that officials styled Rashtrakuta are not only mentioned in earlier records, but also known to have been in me service of later kings including the imperial Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas. In this section, we propose to deal with the early and less important families of the Rashtrakutas leaving the history of the imperial Rashtrakutas to be treated in the next volume.

2. The Rashtrakutas of Manapura

A ruler named Abhimanyu, who resided at Manapura and was the son of Bhavishya, grandson of Devaraja and great-grandson of Rashtrakuta Mananka, is known from his Undikavatika Grant. Although the find-spot of the record is unknown, scholars tried to locate the territories of this family of rulers on the basis of the identification of Manapura, apparently their capital founded by, and named after, Mananka. The city was supposed by some waiters to be the same as modern Manpur near Bandhogarh in the Rewah State in Central India. It was further suggested that king Mananka and his son Devaraja are identical respectively with king Manamatra and Sudevaraja who were, however, rulers of South Kosala with Sarabhapura as their capital. The identification of the kings of Manapura and Sarabhapura is absolutely unwarranted in view of the facts, (1) that none of the Sarabhapuriyas ever claimed to be a Rashtrakfita, (2) that the two families apparently ruled over different territories from different capital cities, (3) that the seal of the Sarabhapuriyas bears the representation of the Gaja-Lakshmi, while that of the Manapura kings the figure of a lion, and (4) that the char

ters of the kings of Manapura are not written in the box-headed script like those of the &?rabhapura kings. The recent discovery of another Grant of the Manapura family, issued by Avidheya, son

of Devaraja and grandson of Mananka, in the neighbourhood of

*

Kolhapur, points unmistakably to the fact that the royal house of Manapura ruled in the southern part of the Maratha country. Mirashi’s identification of Manapura with Man in the Satara District is generally accepted. 1

King Mananka, founder of the dynasty, is described in the Undikavatika Grant as the ornament of the Rashtrakutas and may have originally been the Rdshtrakuta or provincial governor of some other king. He seems to have flourished in the! middle of the fifth century. Whether he once owed allegiance to the Vakatakas of Vatsagulma cannot be determined. The Pandurangapalll Grant of his grandson Avidheya, however, seems to describe Mananka as the conqueror of Vidarbha and Asmaka. 2 It is probable that the names Vidarbha and Asmaka have actually been used to indicate respectively the kingdom of the Vakatakas of Berar and that of the Vakatakas of Vatsagulma who are known to have ruled at least as far south as Nandikata, i.e. the Nander District of Hyderabad in ancient Asmaka. In the same record, Mananka is also called the chastiser (prasdsitd) of the Kuntalas who are undoubtedly the Kadambas of the Kanarese country. 3

Mananka was succeeded by his son Devaraja 4 who is said to have had three sons. The Pandurangapalll Grant was issued by Avidheya, son of Devaraja. Another son of Devaraja was Bhavishya, father of Abhimanyu, who issued the Undikavatika Grant. It is uncertain whether Avidheya ruled immediately after his father Devaraja or after his brother Bhavishya or nephew Abhimanyu.

While residing at Manapura, king Abhimanyu granted the village of Undikavatika, in honour of God Dakshina-&iva, to the &aiva ascetic Jatabhara in the presence of Jayasimha, the commander of the fort of Harivatsa. As the record may be assigned to the sixth century, it is no doubt tempting to identify Jayasimha of the Undikavatika grant with Jayasimha-vallabha, founder of the Chalukya house v

Note 28

Note 29

Note 30

Note 31

Note 32

Note 33

Note 34

Note 35

of Badami. But even in that case his relation to the Rashtrakutas of

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Manapura cannot be determined with any amount of certainty, especially in view of the great influence of the Kadamba style on the documents of the Early Chalukyas. It is not known whether the rulers of Manapura were finally subdued by the Early Chalukyas or by some other power such as the Mauryas of the Konkan. Although certain records of the Later Chalukyas assert that Jayasimha-vallabha obtained sovereignty of the Deccan by overthrowing the Rashtrakuta king Indra, son of Krishna, the statement is regarded by scholars as a fabrication influenced by a reflection of events of the tenth century when Rashtrakuta suzerainty passed from the successors of Krishna III to the founder of the Later Chalukya dynasty. This is obviously supported by the fact that Jayasimha-vallabha is represented as a petty chief without any achievement to his credit in the records of the early Chalukyas of Badami, especially in the detailed description of the family's rise as found in the Aihole inscription. It seems significant that the Rashtrakutas do not figure in the list of powers overwhelmed by the early members of the Badami house, not even in the exaggerated account in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of the exploits of Kirtivarman I, the real founder of the family's greatness. It seems more probable, therefore, that the rulers of Manapura were subdued by the Mauryas or the Nalas, who were in their turn overwhelmed by the Early Chalukyas. Rashtrakuta Govindaraja, son of Sivaraja, who appears to have ruled in the Satara-Ratnagiri region during the reign of Vikramaditya II, may have been a scion of the old house of the Rashtrakutas of Manapura.

3. The Rashtrakutas of Ber&r

Four rulers of a family are known from two copper-plate charters discovered at Tiwarkhed and Multai in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh. Both the Grants were issued by Nannaraja, surnamed Yuddhasura, who was the son of Svamikaraja, grandson of Govindaraja, and great-grandson of Durgaraja. They are said to have belonged to the Rashtrakuta lineage. The Tiwarkhed grant was issued from Achalapura (modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District) which was probably the capital of this family of rulers. The recently discovered Sangalooda Plates of Nannaraja

Yuddhasura were issued from Padmanagara which may have been a secondary capital of these Rashtrakutas. They appear to have held sway over the Betul-Amraoti region of the Upper Deccan.

The date of the Multai grant of Nannaraja, expressed in words, is Saka 631 corresponding to A.D. 709. The language of the passage

recording the date of the Tiwarkhed grant is defective and yields no satisfactory meaning, although it has been so amended as to indicate the Saka year 553 (A.D. 631). But a comparison of this date with the satisfactorily worded date of the other record shows that the Saka year intended is probably 653 corresponding to A.D. 731 or 732. The date of the Sangalooda plates is Saka 615 (A.D. 693). Rashtrakuta Nanna of Achalapura therefore may be roughly assigned to the period A.D. 690-735. His great-grandfather Durgaraja appears to have flourished about the middle of the seventh century. Durgaraja may have been appointed a Rashtrakuta (provincial governor) by Pulakesin II, but ruled almost independently for some time after Pulakesin’s death when the Chalukya house of Badami was in peril. It is interesting to note that Dantivarman I, founder of the imperial line of the Rashfrakutas, seems also to have flourished about the middle of the seventh century and may have been appointed governor of a district somewhere in the northern part of the Deccan by the same Chalukya monarch. Both these Rashtrakuta houses appear to have been growing powerful during the weak rule of the later members of the imperial house of Badami in the first half of the eighth century. It seems that the Rashtrakuta house of Achalapura was subdued by Dantidurga (Dantivarman II), who belonged to another family of the Rashtrakutas and established Rashtrakuta sovereignty in the Deccan in the middle of the eighth century.

C. EASTERN DECCAN I. ANDHRA 1. The Anandas

We have seen how the Pallavas of Kanchl conquered the heart of the Andhra country about the close of the third century. The credit of freeing the region around the Guntur District from Pallava yoke would seem to go to a new family of rulers who claimed to have belonged to the Ananda gotra or to have been descendants of a great sage namea Ananda. Only three kings of the Ananda dynasty are known from inscriptions. They are Kandara, Attivarman and Damodaravarman, who appear to have flourished about the second half of the fourth and first half of the fifth century. There is considerable difference of opinion amongst scholars as regards the dynastic name and chronology of the Ananda kings. The dynasty to which the three kings belonged is sometimes called the Kandara family or the Ananda-gotra family. It cannot, however, be ignored that only the descendants of king Kandara may be described as belonging to the Kandara family and that the word gotra means

‘family’ in the Sanskrit language. As regards the chronology of the Ananda kings, different writers have placed them variously in the sixth and seventh centuries, in the period A.D. 375-500, and in A.D. 290-630. The most important fact to be considered in this connection is that the Mattepad Grant of Damodaravarman is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Prakrit and can hardly be very much later than the second half of the fourth century when Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from the field of South Indian epigraphy. There is again no reason to believe that Kandara and Attivarman were removed from Damodaravarman by long periods of time.

The name Kandara is a Prakritic corruption of Sanskrit Krishna under Dravidian influence. King Kandara seems to have been the founder of the city of Kandarapura which became the capital of the Ananda kings. It was probably situated in the vicinity of modern Chezarla in the Guntur District. An inscription at this place represents king Kandara as lord of the river Krishnavenna (Krishna), of the hill called Trikuta, the city of Kandarapura, and of two janapadas or provinces. The Trikuta-parvata of the Chezarla inscription has been tentatively identified with the Trikuta-malaya mentioned in a Vishnukundin record and with modern Kotappakonda near Kavur. One of the janapadas of Kandara’s kingdom may have been the district round Kandarapura. Kandara’s banner is said to have borne the figure of the goldhgula which is a species of monkey. It is uncertain whether the defaced seals of the copper-plate charters of the Ananda kings also bear the representation of the same animal.

The Chezarla inscription actually belongs to Satsabhamalla, who was the daughter’s son of Kandara and probably belonged to a viceregal line. The record seems to credit king Kandara with the title Prithivi-yuvamt and possibly also with victory in some battles at Dhanyakataka (Amaravati region) which is known to have been the Pallava headquarters in Andhrapatha. It is not improbable that Kandara and his feudatories drove out the Pallavas from Dhanyakataka about the middle of the fourth century. 1

King Attivarman, whose name is a Prakritic curruption of Sanskrit Hastivarman under Dravidian influence, issued the Gorantla charter. In this record the Ananda king is described as a worshipper of Sambhu (Siva) and a performer of Hiranyagarbha mahaddna. The temple of Siva, who seems to have been the family deity of the early kings of the family, was located at a place called Vakesvara, which was probably in the vicinity of the capital city of Kandarapura and may have been the same as modern Chezarla.

Note 36

The Ananda king Damodaravarman, who issued the Mattepad Grant, was a devotee of lord Saniyak-Sambuddha (Buddha). In connection with Damodaravarman's patronage of the Buddhist faith, it may be pointed out that the Kapotesvara temple at Chezarla is regarded by scholars as a structural Chaitya hall which was originally Buddhist but was later converted to Brahmanical usage. The temple is usually assigned to the fourth century which date seems to connect it with the kings of the Ananda dynasty.

King Damodaravarman is usually regarded as a predecessor of Attivarman on the throne of Kandarapura. His description as the son of a king who had celebrated the Hiranyagarbha mahaddna may, however, suggest that he was the son of Attivarman, a performer of the Hiranyagarbha.

The decline of the Anandas was probably brought about by their constant struggles with the Pallavas.

2. The Salahkayanas

In the Geography of Ptolemy, composed about A.D. 140, mention is made of a people called Salakenoi who inhabited the land to the north of Maisolia or the modern Masulipatam area. Ptolemy's Salakenoi appear to be none other than the Salahkayanas who are known to have lived in the land between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari with their capital at the city of Vengi, modern Pedda-Vegi near Ellore in the Godavari District. According to Ptolemy an important city of the Salakenoi was Benagouron which may be a Greek corruption of Vengapura or Vehglpura. The Salahkayanas must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Satavahanas; but whether they had also to submit to the Ikshvakus and to the Pallava conquerors of Andhrapatha cannot be definitely settled.

The Salahkayana charters were all issued from the city of Vengi. The Kollair Grant was issued by Maharaja Nandivarman, eldest son of Maharaja Chandavarman. This king is apparently identical with Maharaja Nandivarman II of the Pedda-Vegi Grant, who is said to have been the eldest son of Maharaja Chandavarman, grandson of Maharaja Nandivarman I and great-grandson of Maharaja Hastivarman. There is little doubt that the Salankayana king Hastivarman is the same as the king of Vengi of that name who, according to the Allahabad pillar inscription, was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta about the middle of the fourth century. The recently discovered Kanukollu Plates (first set) 1 record in Prakrit a grant made in his 14th regnal year by Nandivarman who was presumably the son of Hastivarman. The grandson of this Nandivarman I was Nandivarman II, who may be roughly assigned to the second quarter of the fifth century. The Kanteru grant (No. 1) was issued by a Salankayana Mahdmja named Nandi varman whose ancestors are not, however, mentioned in the charter. He may be identified with Nandivarman II on the strength of the common epithet parama-bhagavata .

A Mahdmja, named Skandavarman, is known from two grants, the Kanteru plates (No. 2) and Kanukollu plates (No. 2) issued by him. According to the latter he was a grandson of Nandivarman (I) and son of Hastivarman II. His relative chronological position with respect to Chandavarman and Nandivarman II is not yet known. We may thus draw the following genealogy of the &alankayanas:

Hastivarman I

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1. Ancient India, No. 5, pp. 46-7.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. II, pp. 217-221.
2. 1. Apparently the letters of these epigraphs have not been carefully compared with those of the other Vakataka records. The palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those exhibited even by the Basim grant of Vindhyasakti II, a grandson of Pravarasena I; cf. the triangular form of v and the old forms of t and j. Although copperplates often exhibit more developed alphabets than contemporary records on stone, it is strange that the palaeography of the Nachna and Ganj records is sometimes considered to be so late as to suggest the identification of Vyaghradeva's overlord with Prithivishena II who was the great-great-grandson of Prithivishena I and flourished about a century later. That Prithivishena of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions was the first Vakataka king of that name is also suggested by another piece of evidence. As pointed out by Raychaudhuri, from the time of the great-grandfather of Vakataka Prithivishena II—if not still earlier—down to A.D. 528, the princes of the Bundelkhand region in Central India acknowledged the suzerainty not of the Vakatakas but of the Gupta emperors. The rule of Vyaghradeva and his overlord Prithivishena in Bundelkhand, therefore, could not have been later than the Gupta occupation of Central India as evidenced by the Eran inscription of Samudra-gupta and the Udayagiri and Sanchl inscriptions of Chandra-gupta II (A.D. 376-414). Prithivishena II can hardly be placed after A.D. 528 as he was ninth in descent from Vindhyasakti I who cannot be assigned to the second quarter of the fourth century. It is not reasonable to ascribe more than two hundred years for the eight generations of the Vakatakas before Prithivishena II. But some scholars hold different views (cf. JRASBL. XII, 1 ff). Vyaghradeva is sometimes identified with the Uchchakalpa ruler of that name who, however, seems to have flourished about the middle of the fifth century. The identification of Vyaghradeva of Bundelkhand in Aryavarta with the Deccan ruler Vyaghraraja of the Allahabad pillar inscription is also untenable.

3. 2. There is a tradition in the Sthala-mdhdtmya of the ^risaila hill in Kumool District of Madras State according to which princess Chandravati, daughter of Chandra-gupta, conceived a passion for the god on the 6rlsaila and daily offered him a garland of maVika flowers. It is often believed that Chandravati is the same as Prabhavati-gupta. Whatever be the historical value of the tradition, which is apparently doubtful, the identification is untenable in view of the fact that Prabhkvati claims to have been a staunch Vaishnava while the god in question is 6iva-Mallikarjuna. There is no evidence to show that the Kurnool District formed a part of the dominions of the Vakatakas of Gautamiputra's house.
4. 1. The style of composition adopted by Kalidasa came to be known as the Vaidarbhi rlti (Berar style) as early as the seventh century A.D. It is also interesting to note that the poet has immortalised Ramagiri (modern Ramtek near Nagpur) in his Meqhaduta.
5. 2. Cf. Sue. Sat., pp. 215-16. The theory that Kuntala indicated the territory of the Rashtrakutas of Manapura is based on the interpretation of the expression Kuntaldndih prasasitd as "ruler of the Kuntalas." The real meaning of the passage, however, is apparently "chastiser of the Kuntalas" i.e., the Kadambas. (IHQ, XXII, 309; XXIII. 65, 320).
6. 1. It is difficult to agree with Prof. Sastri's view (NHIP, VI. 238) that the genuineness of this record is to "be doubted. For Mayura-sarman, cf. Ch. XIII, IV.
7. 2. It is not known whether Hastibhoja and Varahadeva were governors of the Aurangabad District under Devasena and Harishena. Another Ajanta inscription, probably belonging to the reign of Harishena, seems to speak of a family of feudatory rulers. Some of the Ajanta caves may have been excavated by these officials and feudatories.
8. 1. The Asmaka country had its ancient capital at Paudanya, modern Bodhan in the Hyderabad State. It usually included Mulaka, i.e. the district round Pratishthana (modern Paithan on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District) and occasionally abutted on Kalinga, Vidarbha and Avanti-Dakshinapatha. The fact that the Vakatakas of Vatsagulma ruled over northern Hyderabad at least as far south as Nandlkafa, i.e. the Nander District not far from Bodhan shows that their territories may have been styled Asmaka. See IHQ, XXII, 233, 309; XXIII, 65, 320.

9. . • — 1 ■ — 1 ■' . .
10. 1. El, XIX, p. 100 ff.
11. 2. The grant may also have been made on the occasion of the Nala king’s marriage
12. with a prmcess of the Allahabad region. B
13. 1. See infra. 2. El, XXL p. 155 f.
14. 3. Mirashi believes that the record is wrongly associated with Bhandak, and must have come from some place in Chhattisgarh (BDCRI, VIII. 4; El, XVI, 227,
15. n 2)
16. 4. El, XXVIII. 12. 5. JNSI, I. p. 29ff.
17. 1. El, XXVI. p. 49 ff. 2. Ibid, p. 53.
18. 1. Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 102, 269, etc.; Rapson, Catalogue, pp. xxxii, xliii; Sue. Sat., pp. 94, 220. Bhojaka was also often used in the sense of a Jagirdar. Cf. above Vol. II, p. 79.
19. 2. El, XXIV, p. 143 ff.; XXjVI, 337 ff. The name of the family was at first wrongly read as Gomin.
20. 3. ABORI, XXIII, 510 ff.
21. 1. A person of the same Sura family is perhaps referred to in an inscription at Sanchl of about the fifth century A.D. (Monuments of Sanchi, by Marshall and Foucher, Vol. I, p. 387).
22. 2. Proc. IHC., 1943, p. 44. The word Thakkura (modern Thdkur) is likewise supposed to have originated from the Turkish title Teghin.
23. 3. See above, p. 65.
24. 4. It is difficult to agree with Prof. Mirashi who refers all these dates to the era of A.D. 248-49. For different views on the subject, cf. ABORI, XXV. 159 ff; IHQ, XXI. 80, XXII. 64, XXIII. 156, XXIV. 75.
25. 1. Imp. Ins. Bar. St., I, p. 4 ff. The plate does not appear to be spurious as suggested by Mirashi.
26. 1. The history of the Pratlharas and the Peshwas will be dealt with in Vols. IV and VHI respectively. In this connection, cf. other old styles like Rashtrika, (Maharashtrika), Bhojaka (Mahabhojaka), etc., and present day family names like Deshmukh, Patel, Majumdar, Niyogi, etc. The crystallisation of an official title into a family name was mainly due to the fact that, in ancient India the employment of officers was often on hereditary principle and that sometimes the viceregal

families did not discard their earlier style even after the assumption of independent or imperial status.

27. 2. Cf. the word gramakuta, ‘the headman of a village.’
28. 1. ABORI, XXV. 42. The suggestion that these Rashtrakutas were in possession of wide regions including South Kosala, Central India and large parts of the
29. vvnfiln d ° n mere unwarra nted guesses (cf. PIHC. VII, p. 70; ABORI -A.A.1 V. 149-55). 1
30. 2. See above, p. 187.
31. 3 ‘ Th l r ^- 1S n ° satisfactor y evidence in support of Mirashi’s view that Mananka and h.s successors were themselves rulers of the Kuntala country and that they
32. vl£-* - l0rdS + ° f K / U A n H a T,r referred to in the K vntalesvaradautva and the
33. WQ XXIIh S 65?320 On (’ XXV - 36) ‘ F ° r KUntala ’ See SttC ‘ 215 ' 16 ;
34. 4 ‘ to a ^cept Mirashi’s suggestion identifying Devaraja of Manapura
35. with Devaraja of the Bhoja dynasty of Goa (op. cit. 43). P
36. 1. Considering the palaeography of the Chezarla Ins. it may be suggested that Kandara of this record flourished later than Attivarman and Damodara-varman and was different from the founder of the family bearing the same name.

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Nandivarman I

Hastivarman II Skandavarman

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Chandavarman Nandivarman II

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Another Salankayana Maharaja, Devavarman, who was a devotee of Mahesvara (Siva), is known from his Ellore grant issued in the thirteenth year of his reign. As the Ellore grant is written in Prakrit while the records of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman are in Sanskrit, Devavarman must be regarded as earlier than both. Some writers believe that he was a son of Hastivarman I; but there is no evidence in support of this suggestion. He might have been the predecessor of Hastivarman on the throne of Vengi and flourished about the second quarter of the fourth century. The grant describes Maharaja Devavarman as having performed the Asvamedha sacrifice. This may indicate that he flourished before Samudra-gupta’s invasion and established the greatness of the Salankayana family after successful campaigns with enemies who might have been the Pallava conquerors of Andhrapatha.

Although either Saivism or Vaishnavism was preferred by individual Salankayana monarchs, all of them claimed to have been devoted to the god Chitraratha-svamin who apparently was the family deity of the Salankayana Maharajas. As the word Chitraratha means “the sun”, the deity may have been the Sun-god. The seals attached to the copper-plate charters of the Salankayana kings bear the representation of a bull which seems to have been the crest of

the family. As the word ‘salankayana’ indicates Nandin, the bull of Siva, it is probable that the crest of the galankayana rulers was not entirely unconnected with the name of their family.

The Salankayanas held sway over West Godavari and Krishna Districts, probably with some of the adjoining regions. Their decline is wrapped in obscurity. The Mangalur Grant of Simhavarman (c. A.D. 500), the Pallava king of the Nellore-Guntur region, records a gift of land in the Vengo {sic. Vehgl) rushtra. This fact probably points to the success of the Pallavas against the Salarikayanas of Vengl about the end of the fifth century. The Vishnukundins appear to have finally subdued them about the beginning of the next century.

3. The Vishnukundins

The Vishnukundins appear to have derived their name from their original home, modern Vinukonda, about 60 miles east of the Srlsaila hill in the Kurnool District and 50 miles south of the Krishna. The kings of the Vishnukundin dynasty had the representation of the lion on their seals and were worshippers of the god Sriparvatasvamin, i.e. a deity in a temple on the Srlparvata (modern Nallamalur range including the Srlsaila peak), who was the family deity of the Vishnukundins. Whether Sriparvata-svamin has to be identified with Siva-Mallikarjuna on the Srlsaila cannot be determined.

There is difference of opinion among scholars regarding the genealogy of the Vishnukundin kings. The main cause of this difference is the relation of king Madhava-varman mentioned in Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates with the homonymous king mentioned in the Ipur (first set) and Polamuru plates. In all these plates the king is referred to as having performed eleven Asvamedha and a thousand other sacrifices. But the latter two add that he ‘celebrated the Hiranyagarbha mahdddruT and ‘caused the delight of the damsels residing at Trivaranagara.’ The celebration of eleven Asvamedha and a thousand other sacrifices is so unique in the opinion of some scholars that they believe that all the four plates refer to one and the same king. But other scholars regard the king mentioned in the first two plates as different from, and much earlier than, the king mentioned in the last two. 1 The history and

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1. As pointed out by me (7HQ, IX. 653ff), it is difficult to believe that there were more than one Vishnukundin king named Madhava-varman who performed exactly equal number of sacrifices, i.e. eleven Asvamedhas and

one thousand Agnishtomas (kratus). In a note recently published in IC, XV, p. 13 ff., Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, however, duplicates the above Madhava-varman, performer of eleven horse-sacrifices, etc. He doubts the genuineness of the claim but seems to suggest that the first Madhava-varman may have performed the sacrifices while the later king of the same name appropriated his ancestor's

chronology of the dynasty, as well as its relations with the neighbouring powers, would differ considerably if we accept the one or the other theory. The following sketch is based on the view that the same king is mentioned in all the four plates, 1 and this gives us the following genealogy.

Vikramahendra (Vikramendra-varman I) c. A.D. 500 Maharaja Govindavarman Vikramasraya

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Maharaja Madhavavarman I Janasraya. c. A. D. 535-85

Devavarman (Raja) Vikramendra- Manchyanna

varman II. bhattaraka

Madhavavarman II (Maharaja) Raja Indra

[bhattaraka]-varman c. A.D. 590-620

Maharaja Vikramendravarman (III) c. A.D. 620-631

The earliest known king of the Vishnukundin family was Vikramahendra (c. A.D. 500), who is known from his grandson's records. The correct form of king Vikramahendra's name may be either Vikramamahendra or Vikramendra. As, however, there are two rulers named Vikramendravarman among his descendants, while Vikramamahendra is otherwise unknown in the family, this king should probably be designated Vikramendra (Vikramendravarman) I of the Vishnukundin family. He was succeeded by his son

claim conventionally. Although conventional appropriation of an ancestor's claim by his successors is not entirely unknown in Indian history, Prof. Sastri's suggestion is entirely unconvincing in view of thfe facts that none of the known descendants of the noted performer of sacrifices (viz. his grandson Madhavavarman II of the second set of the Ipur plates, his other grandson Indravarman of the Ramatirtham plates, and his great-grandson Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates) applies the claim to himself, but passes it to his ancestor, and that Madhavavarman of the Polamuru plates, who claims the performance of the above sacrifices, exactly in the same numbers (conventionally, according to Prof Sastri), while speaking of his ancestors, does not mention any one bearing his name. The unique numbers of the sacrifices and the peculiarity of the claim suggest that it is based on facts whatever may be their real nature. Sastri makes much of the difference between Madhava-varman's description in his own records and in those of his descendants, but ignores similar differences between his description in his Ipur (No. 1) and his Polamuru Grants, as well as in the records of his grandsons and in that of his great-grandson. He does not also notice that his scheme of Vishnukundin genealogy was previously offered by V. S. Ramachandramurty in JAHRS, X, 193, and was commented on by me (ibid, XI, 129 ff). Sastri's (i.e. Ramachandramurty's) scheme has been characterised as "not completely convincing" in a review in JRAS, 1952, p. 83.

1. For the other view, cf. Appendix to this chapter.

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(Sovinda-varman Vikramasraya whose records have not yet been discovered.

The real founder of the greatness of the Vishnukundin family was Madhava-varman I Janairaya, who was the son and successor of Govinda-varman Vikramasraya and probably flourished in the period A.D. 535-85. That he began to rule about the middle of the sixth century is indicated by the fact that more than a generation elapsed between his advanced years and the early years of the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Jayasirhha I (c. A.D. 633-63). The village of Polamuru in the Ramachandrapur taluk of the Godavari District is known to have been granted by Madhava-varman I in the year 40 (or probably 48) of his reign to the Brahmana Sivasarman, resident of Kunlura in the Karma-rashtra, while the same village was once again granted by Jayasirhha I in his fifth regnal year to Sivasarman's son Rudrasarman who is described as residing at the Asanapura sthana (near Drdksharam in the Godavari District) and as the former owner of the agrahdra of Polamuru. Considering the facts that Brahmanas usually received agraharas from kings at the time of entering the grihastfoaSrama, that Rudrasarman enjoyed the village for some time after his father's death and before the fifth year of Jayasimha's reign, and that Rudrasarman had probably fled to Asanapura due to the troubled state of the country caused by Eastern Chalukya conquest of the Vishnukundin territories, it would seem that the difference between the dates of the two grants was about half a century. The 40th (or 48th) year of the reign of Madhavavarman I may thus be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century.

In all the records of the Vishnukundin family, Maharaja Madhava-varman I is credited with having performed eleven Asvamedha sacrifices and one thousand agnishtomas (or other sacrifices). In his own charters, he is further credited with the celebration of the Hiranyagarbha mahdddna. These were no doubt regarded as remarkable achievements.

In both the Ipur and Polamuru Grants of Madhava-varman I, the king is described as causing delight to the damsels residing at Trivara-nagara, no doubt a city that the Vishnukundin king claimed to have subdued. Trivara-nagara seems to indicate the capital city of a king named Trivara, who may be identified with the PanduvamsI ruler Tivara of South Kosala who ruled about the last quarter of the sixth century. According to the Polamuru inscription, Madhava-varman I crossed the river Godavari about the 40th (or 48th) year of his reign with a view to conquering the eastern region. It is usually believed that here is an indirect reference to

his struggle with the Maukhari king isanavarman who claims, however, to have defeated an Andhra king some time before A.D. 553. Madhava-varman I married a princess of the Vakataka family and had by her a son named Vikramendra-varman (II).

A Vishnukundin prince named Madhava-varman (II), son of Deva-varman and grandson of Madhava-varman I, is known from his charter which has been discovered at Ipur and is possibly dated in the 47th regnal year of his grandfather. Madhava-varman II is described in the record as the lord of Trikuta-Malaya which might have been the name of a province of his grandfather's kingdom and which he was possibly governing as the viceroy. Trikuta-Malaya has been tentatively identified with modern Kotappakonda near Kavur in the Narasaraopet taluk of the Guntur District, although the charter was issued from Amarapura which seems to be the same as Amaravatl.

The Vishnukundin king Madhava-varman I Janasraya was not only a conqueror and one who performed religious sacrifices; he was also a great patron of learning. A work on prosody entitled the Janasrayl Chhandovichiti was most probably written under his patronage and named after him. Several traditions may possibly be referred to this Vishnukundin king. He seems to be the South Indian monarch named Madhava mentioned in the Aryamanjusnmula kalpa. A Bezwada inscription of the thirteenth century refers to a king of Bezwada named Madhava-varman, who sentenced his own son to death for killing a poor woman's son. In a record of the sixteenth century, a general of king Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara is stated to have descended from king Madhava-varman of Bezwada. A poem entitled Srikrishnavijaya, written about the middle of that century, speaks of a migration into Telingana of four Rajput tribes under the leadership of Madhava-varman who is claimed to have been the progenitor of the royal family of Vizianagaram in the Vizagapatam District. The Razus or Rachavars of the Telugu country also claim to be descendants of Madhava-varman. Telugu literature records a legend about Madhava-varman that he was the posthumous son of Somadeva, king of Kandara, and was named after a Brahmana of Anumakonda (modern Hanmakonda near Warangal), the capital of the Kakatiyas in later times. The legend also refers to the struggle between the kings of Kandara and the king of Kataka. Whatever be the historical value of these traditions, they no doubt point to the deep impression the achievements of Madhava-varman I made on the minds of the people.

Madhava-varman I Janasraya was succeeded by his son Vikramendra-varman II, born of his queen of the Vakata or Vakataka family. This king, possibly after a short reign, was succeeded by his son Indra-varman or Indrabhattaraka-varman who was a paramomahesvara and seems to have flourished in the period c. A.D. 590620.[1] There is little doubt that he was a great conqueror; but, during the latter part of his rule, the Vishnukundin kingdom appears to have been threatened by enemies. His brilliant success against his enemies on the east is amply demonstrated by the discovery of his Ramatirtham copper-plate charter, dated in his 27th regnal year, which was issued from a locality near the sangama (confluence) of the river Purani and records a grant of land in the Plaki-rashtra in the modern Yizagapatam District lying far away from the Vishnukundin kingdom proper, between the lower courses of the Krishna and the Godavari. According to the Godavari Grant of Raja Prithivlmula, son of MoJndrdja Prabhakara, which is assignable on palaeographic grounds to the beginning of the seventh century, an Adhirdja named Indra or a chief named Indradhiraja, at whose request the Grant was made apparently within the dominions of the Vishnukundins, fought along with other chiefs who united to overthrow a certain Xndrabhattaraka. The reference is apparently to a coalition of certain eastern powers against the Vishnukundin king Indra-varman or Indrabhattaraka-varman. The fact that Indradhiraja is said to have mounted the elephant Supratlka (associated with the northeastern quarter) and to have overthrown the elephant Kumuda (associated with the southern or south-eastern quarter), as well as the grant of land within the Vishnukundin territory, points to the discomfiture of the Vishnukundin king. Indra-varman's claim in the Ramatirtham grant to have defeated many Chaturdantas (elephants) in numerous battles may refer to a phase of the same struggle, indradhiraja is usually identified with the Gahga king Indra-varman whose earliest known date is A.D. 624, but the identification is unten•uOxe because the iormer is said to have been the son of Mitavarman or Mitravarman, a Brahmana (dvijdti) of Manalkudi. A reference to ddyddas in the Ramatirtham Grant seems to suggest that some relations of the Vishnukundin king also fought with him for the throne.

Indra-varman Vishnukundin was succeeded by his son Maharaja Vikramendra-varman III (c. A.D. 620-31) who issued the Chikkulla Grant in his tenth regnal year. The king was a devout worshipper oi Mahesvara. The charter was issued from the king's vdsaka at Lendulura (modern Dendaluru near Ellore), and records the grant of a village lying to the south of the river Krishna-venna in honour

1 ' ^ ews , expressed in Sue Sat. in regard to the time of Indra-varmai

OQ V br-°u iave k een slightly modified in these pages (cf. loc. cit. no. 133-34

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be regarded as belonging to the Vishnukiznqlin family.

of God Somagirisvaranatha probably a Siva-lihga. The Vishnukurujin kingdom, which survived the disastrous foreign policy of Indra-varman, seems to have encountered another great calamity during the reign of Vikramendra-varman III. It was an attack by Pulakesin II, the powerful Chalukya king of Badami, about A.D. 631. The enemy defeated by the Chalukya king, according to his Aihole inscription of A.B. 634, in order to occupy an island fortress in the waters of Kunala (the Rolleru lake near Ellore), seems to have been no other than the Vishnukundin king Vikramendra-varman III. The kingdom of Pishtapura was conquered and the whole coastland from Vizagapatam to northern Nellore seems to have been subjugated and placed under Pulakesin's younger brother Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, founder of the Easterr^Chalukya dynasty. The Kopparam charter of A.D. 631, which records a grant of land in the Karmamshtra (northern part of the Nellore and southern part of the Guntur District) made by Prithivlyuvaraja (i.e. Vishnuvardhana) in the presence and apparently with the permission of Pulakesin II, seems to point to the success of the Chalukyas against the Vishnukundins and the Pallavas. It is usually believed that Pulakesin II conquered the country round Ven^i from the Pallavas and that Kubja-Vishnuvardhana began to rule with his headquarters in that city. Epigraphic evidence, however, proves that in the first part of the seventh century the Vehgl region was in the possession, not of the Pallavas, but of the Vishnukundins, and that the early rulers of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty ruled from Pishtapura and not from Vehgl.

II. KALINGA 1

The ancient Kaiihga country (roughly speaking the coastal land between the rivers Mahanadi and Godavari) was split up into a number of small states after the disintegration of the Chedi empire founded by Kharavela. 2 The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta, while describing the Gupta emperor's victory over the kings of Dakshinapatha, speaks of several kings who have been located in different parts of Kaiihga. They are Svamidatta of Kottura, Mahendragiri of Pishtapura, Damana of Erandapalla and Kuvera of Devarashtra. 3 Nothing is known about the history of these states. But the continued existence of Pishtapura and Devarashtra, identified respectively with Pithapuram in East Godavari District and the Yellamanchilli taluk of the Vizagapatam District, is proved by later inscriptions. Kings who held sway over these kingdoms about the fifth and sixth centuries are known from their

Note 1

Note 2

charters. A royal city named Simhapuram, modern Singupuram near Chicacole, is mentioned in some of these records, although it finds no mention in the Allahabad inscription and may have flourished after the middle of the fourth century.

1. The Pitribhaktas

A Maharaja named Uma-varman, who assumed the title Kalin gadhipati, issued charters from the cities of Simhapura, Sunagara and Vardhamanapura (modern Vadama in the Palakonda taluk of Vizagapatam District). The Brihatproshtha Grant, issued in the king's thirtieth regnal year, shows that Maharaja Uma-varman had a long reign. The seal attached to his Tekkali grant is said to bear the word Pitribhakta. Maharaja ChSnda-varman, lord of Kalinga, who issued the Tiritthana and Komarti Grants respectively in his fourth and sixth regnal years, was probably the son and successor of Umavarman. These charters were issued from the city of Simhapura and they bear seals with the word Pitribhakta engraved on them. It appears that the chief city of the kings Uma-varman and Chandavarman was Simhapura and that they used the word Pitribhakta as a sort of dynastic designation. The proximity of the reigns of these two rulers is definitely indicated by the fact that while Uma-varman was served by an official named Matrivara, son of Haridatta, Matrivara's son Rudradatta was in the service of king Chanda-varman.

Another king of the same family seems to have been Maharaja Nanda-Prabhanjana-varman whose Chicacole Grant bears the word Pitribhakta on its seal. This king is described as "the lord of the entire Kalinga country." His charter was issued from his vasaka at the victorious Sarapallika. Although Nanda-Prabhanjana-varman is associated with the Pitribhaktas of Simhapura, it is tempting to suggest that his name indicates Prabhanjana-varman of the Nanda family to which he may have been related on the mother's side. We know that a ruler of the Nanda dynasty of Pataliputra is associated with Kalinga in the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. A Nanda or Nandodbhava family ruled in the Angul-Dhenkanal region of Orissa from the ninth century, and another branch of the family flourished probably in the Jeypore-Nandapur area of the Koraput District at a later date.

2. The Matharas

When the Pitribhaktas were ruling from Simhapura in Central Kalinga, the royal family of the Matharas had their capital at Pishtapura in the south. The Ragolu Grant of the Mathara Maharaja Sakti-varman, which records a gift of land

near Chicacole, was issued in the king's 13th regnal year from the city of Pishtapura. The king bears the title "lord ot Kalinga." This shows that the Matharas of Pishtapura conquered the heart of the Pitribhakta kingdom in Central Kalinga. This is also supported by the fact that the Sakunaka Grant issued in the 28th regnal year of another Mathara king named Ananta-Sakti-varman, who enjoyed the title "lord of Kalinga," was issued from Simhapura, the former capital of the Pitribhaktas. Maharaja AnantaSakti-varman was one of the immediate successors of Sakti-varman of the Ragolu grant. This is suggested by the fact that an official, mentioned as Amatya Arjunadatta in the Ragolu grant of Saktivarman, has been credited with a higher official designation and called Desdkshapatalddhikrita-Talavara Arjunadatta in Ananta-Saktivarman's record. The Amatya was probably raised to higher offices during the latter part of his life. According to some writers, the name Ananta-Sakti-varman actually indicates 'Ananta-varman's son Sakti-varman.' It has also been suggested that Ananta-Sakti-varman was a successor of Sakti-varman, a third king named Ananta-varman probably intervening between the reigns of the two.

All these suggestions are negatived by the Ningondi copperplate inscription, 1 issued by the Mathara king Prabhahjana-varman, who was the son of Saktivarman and the grandson of Sankaravarman, from the city of Sirhhapura. This Saktivarman may be identified with the king of the same name who issued the Ragolu plates; but the relation of Prabhahjanavarman with Anantasaktivarman of the same family is not yet definitely known. The recently discovered Andhavaram Plates, however, represent Sakti-varman as the Aryaka or grandfather of Ananta-Sakti-varman, who may have thus been the son and successor of Prabhahjana-varman. The Ningondi Grant represents Sakti-varman as the ruler of the people inhabiting the land between the Krishnavenna and the Mahanadf, but the claim must be regarded as exaggerated.

3. The Vdsishthas

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Parama-mahesvara Ananta-varman, who issued the Srungavarapukota and Siripuram Grants, and flourished probably about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, was another 'lord of Kalinga' having his adhishthdna or capital at Pishtapura. King Ananta-varman was the son of Maharaja Prabhahjanavarman who was the moon in the Vasishtha family, and the grandson of the Vasishtha Maharaja Guna-varman who was the lord of Devarashtra. The Siripuram Grant was issued from Devapura, probably

Note 3

the capital of Bevarashtra in the Vizagapatam District, These facts might suggest that the Vasishthas originally ruled in Central Kalrnga and that they later subdued the Matharas of Pishtapura whither they transferred their capital. The relations of the Vasishthas with the Pitribhaktas, however, still remain a matter of speculation, although it is tempting to identify Prabhanjana-varman with Nanda-Prabhanjana-varman. If this identification be accepted it would appear that the Pitribhaktas belonged to the Vasishtha gotra . But the fact that the seal of Ananta-varman, attached to his record, does not bear the word Pitribhakta, renders the identification doubtful. The Vasishthas and Matharas of Kalinga were probably matrimonially related to many royal families represented by kings bearing the metronymics Vasishthlputra and Mathanputra.

A king named Visakha-varman, who does not claim to have been a "lord of Kalinga 5 ', is known from his Koroshanda Grant issued in his seventh regnal year from Tripura, identified with modern Siripuram in the

Vizagapatam District. Maharaja Visakha-varman appears to have flourished in the fifth century; but his relation with the other Kalinga rulers of the age cannot be determined. An unnamed ‘lord of Chikura’ is known from an inscription found at Sarabhavaram about 20 miles from Kajahmundry. He seems to have been* a feudatory of the kings of Pishtapura.

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4. The Rise of New Powers

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The history of Kalinga in the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Pishtapura and those of Central Kalinga-, especially the rulers of Simhapura, for supremacy. The use of the title Kalingadhipati by most of the rulers seems to point to the political ideal of the period which might or might not have been realised in practice. The epithet “lord of the entire Kalinga country” applied to king Nanda-Prabhanjana-varman possibly suggests that most of the Kalingddhipatis actually ruled over only parts of the country. When the rulers of central and southern Kalinga were struggling for supremacy, a new royal house was established in Srikakulam District. This was the dynasty known as the Eastern Gaiigas. The Gangas subjugated the kings of Central Kalinga in the sixth century, while the Chalukyas supplanted the rulers of Pishtapura at the beginning of the seventh century. Little is known about the relations of the early rulers of Pishtapura with Maharaja Ranadurjaya, his son \fikramendra, and the latter’s son PrithivI -Mahdrdja who issued his Tandivada grant from Pishtapura in the 46th year of his reign. It is tempting to suggest that king Prithivimula, son of Maharaja Prabhakara of the Godavari Grant issued from Kandall, was a grandson of Prithvl-Mahdrdja of the Tandivada grant. During the reign

of Raja Prithivimula or soon after, Pishtapura was conquered by the Chalukyas.

5. The Eastern Gangas

The early Gangas, who probably represented a branch of the Gahga dynasty of Mysore, had their capital at Kalihga-nagara, modern Mukhalingam in Gan jam District, and probably a secondary capital at the old city of Dantapura, identified by some with Dantavaktra near Chicacole in the same District. The Gahga kings were worshippers of Gokarnesvara whose temple stood on a peak of the Mahendra, no doubt modern Mahendragiri (Ganjam District) in the Eastern Ghats. Siva in the form of Gokarnesvara was apparently the family deity of the early Gangas.

The founder of the dynasty was Maharaja Indra-varman I who claims to have been the ‘lord of Trikalihga.’ The exact identification of Trikalihga is unknown. Some scholars think that it indicates three divisions of the Kalinga country, while others take it to mean Kalinga together with two of the neighouring countries. In the Eastern Chalukya records of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas is described as “Vehgldesa together with Trikalihga” (Vehgidesam Trikalihcfa-sahitam) , besides which we have also the description “Vehgldesa together with the Trikalinga-forest” (Vehgldesam Trikalihg-utavi-yuktam) . This seems to suggest that Trikalihga was a country of forests between the domains of the later Eastern Chalukyas of Vengl and those of the Gangas of Kalihga-nagara, probably lying to the south of Dakshina Kosala and not very far from Mahendragiri. The fact that some powerful rulers of Kalihga-nagara and of South Kosala preferred to call themselves Trikalihgddhipati suggests that the expression often indicated lordship over wide regions of ancient Kalinga or several countries in the Kalinga region.

Maharaja Indra-varman dated his records according to his regnal years. This reckoning was continued by his successors and thus gave rise to the Gahga era. The inaugural year of this era, corresponding to the first regnal year of Indra-varman, seems to have been A.D. 496 (or probably some time in the period A.D. 496-98). 1 King Indra-varman, whose latest known date is the year 39, thus seems to have ruled from A.D. 496 to A.D. 535 at least. Whether Mahasamanta-varman, known from the Saumyavana Grant 2 dated year 64 (A.D. 560), was his immediate successor cannot be definitely determined. The next Gahga king known from inscriptions is Mahd

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Note 6

raja Hasti-varman, also called Rajasimha and Ranabhita, who issued his charters in the year 79 (A.D. 575) and 80 (A.D. 576). Hasti-varman might have been the son of Indra-varman I and was probably succeeded by Maharaja Indra-varman II Rajasimha who may have been a grandson of Indra-varman I and a son of Hasti-varman. The known dates of Indra-varman II range between the years 87 (A.D. 583) and 91 (A.D. 587). He is described as a parama-mdhesvdra and as the lord of all Kalinga. Indra-varman II Rajasimha was probably succeeded by Maharaja Indra-varman III whose earliest known record is dated in the year 128 (A.D. 624). This king is usually identified with Mitra-varman's son Indradhiraja who defeated Indrabhattaraka or Indravarman of the Vishnukundin dynasty and requested Rdjd Prithivimula, son of Maharaja Prabhakara, to grant the Godavari charter. However, as the father of Indradhiraja was a Brahmana of Manalkudi and probably of non-monarchical rank, the identification is extremely improbable. The next king seems to have been Maharaja Indra-varman IV who is described as the son of Danarnava and a devout worshipper of Mahesvara. Although it is not altogether impossible that Indra-varman II Rajasimha was succeeded by Danarnava whose son Indra-varman ruled from the year 128 to the year 154, it is better to suggest that Indra-varman II had two sons, one of them being Danarnava (who probably did not ascend the throne), and that both of them named their sons after their father. The circumstances leading to the occupation of the throne by Indra-varman IV, who marked himself off from his predecessor and namesake by calling himself "son of Danarnava", are unknown. According to Hultzsch, the latest charter of Indi;avarman III is dated in the year 138 (A.D. 634), while the earliest grant of Indra-varman IV, son of Danarnava, bears a date in the year 137 (A.D. 633). If these readings of the dates are to be accepted, it may be suggested that the son of Danarnava struggled for the throne with Indra-varman III and ultimately succeeded in ousting the

latter. The latest known date of Indra-varman IV is the vear 154 (A.D. 650).
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The next known king, Parama-mdhesvara Maharaja Devendravarman, describes himself as the son of Gunarnava and claims to have achieved the overlordship of all Kalinga by his own prowess. His relationship with the preceding members of the family cannot be determined. His known dates range between the years 183 (A.D. 679) and 195 (A.D. 691). Whether Gunarnava actually ruled as king for some time before his son's accession is uncertain, though the interval of 29 years between Indra-varman IV and Devendra-varman renders 11 Devendra-varman was succeeded by his son

Maharaja Ananta-varman who issued the Parlakimedi grant in the

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year 204 (A.D. 700). King Ananta-varman appears to have been succeeded by his son Maharaja Nanda-varman (also read as Indravarman) who is known from his Santa Bommali grant of the year 221 (A.D. 717). Another son of Maharaja Ananta-varman was Devendravarman II, who issued his charters in the years 51 i.e. 251 (A.D. 747) and 254 (A.D. 750). The later history of the Gangas of Kalinganagara will be narrated in the next volume.

While the main branch of the Early Ganga dynasty was ruling from Kalinga-nagara with probably a secondary capital at Dantapura, a minor branch of the family ruled at a city called Svetaka, Sveta or Svetka. 1 The name of the city is sometimes read Schetaka which is identified with modern Chikati in the Sompeta taluk of Ganjam District. The earliest known Ganga king of Svetaka seems to have been Maharaja Jaya-varman who was originally a Ranaka, i.e. a feudatory, probably of the kings of Kalinga-nagara. One of his two Parlakimedi grants appears to be the late copy of a genuine record of the Ganga year 100 (A.D. 596), while the Ganjam Grant, originally issued by this king, seems to be dated in the Ganga year 120 (A.D. 616). This record shows that Jaya-varman granted a village in the Vartani vishaya of the Kohgoda mandala but that the region w^as later conquered by Ranaka Vishavarnava, on behalf of the Bhauma-Kara king Unmattakesarin, who reissued the charter. 2 Like the Gangas of Kalinga-nagara, Jaya-varman and other rulers of Svetaka were worshippers of Siva-Gokarnesvara. They also claim to have made the entire Kalinga empire feel the might of their arms. Another early king of Svetaka was Maharaja Samanta-varman whose Chidivalasa grant is dated in the Ganga year 185 (A.D. 681). He claims to have been the lord of the entire Kalinga country. Maharaja Indra-varman of Svetaka, known from his Vishamagiri copperplate grant, is assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Little is known of the relations of these rulers with the Ganga kings of Kalinga-nagara as well as with the later kings of Svetaka whose history will be dealt with in the next volume. The early rulers of Svetaka were possibly semi-independent feudatories of the kings of Kalinga-nagara.

III. DAKSHINA KOSALA AND MEKALA

Kosqla (also spelt Kosala) or Dakshina-Kosala (literally 'South Kosala'), comprising the present Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, was an early settlement of the Aryans in the Deccan. The fact that the epic king Dasaratha, lord of Kosala, married Kausalya. i.e. the daughter of the king of apparently an

Note 7

Note 8

other Kosala, probably points to the antiquity of South Kosala. The name of the country might suggest that it was colonised by the princes of the Ikshvaku dynasty of Ayodhya, capital of the Kosala, Uttara-Kosala or Mabakosala javlapada, near modern Fyzabad in Uttar Pradesh. The capital of South Kosala has sometimes been called Kosala.

Little is known about the early history of Dakshina-Kosala, although there is reference to some kings of Kosala in certain Puranic passages. According to the traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers, notably Hiuen Tsang, the celebrated Mahayana teacher Nagarjuna, who flourished probably in the second century, lived for some time at a Buddhist monastery in the vicinity of the capital of South Kosala, which was at that time ruled by a Satavahana king. The Satavahana contemporary of Nagarjuna is usually identified with Gautamiputra Satakarni, although Kosala finds no mention in the epigraphic list of territories over which Gautamiputra Satakarni is said to have held sway. It is better to suggest his identification with a successor of Gautamiputra such as Gautamiputra Yajna-Satakarni, who flourished about the last quarter of the second century. To the same century probably belongs king Kumaravlradattasrl known from the Gunji inscription. 1 A king named

Mahendra was reigning in South Kosala about the middle of the fourth century when Samudra-gupta led an expedition against the kings of Dakshinapatha. The influence of the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas and the use of their era noticed in South Kosala suggest that the kings of this country became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. A copper-plate grant of Maharaja Bhlmasena II, discovered at Arang in Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, was issued from Suvarna-nadI (probably the river Sone) in the Gupta year 282 (A.D. 601). 2 The record of Bhlmasena II, whose seal bears the figure of a lion, mentions his father Dayitavarman II, his father Bhlmasena I, his father Vibhlshana, his father Dayita I and his father Sura, all of whom are credited with the title Maharaja. King Sura seems to have founded the line of kings in the northern part of Dakshina-Kosala in the second half of the fifth century when the Imperial Gupta dynasty had begun to decline.

Note 9

Note 10

1. The Sarabhapuriyas

A family of kings, who had their capital at the city of Sarabhapura and called themselves pa'ramabhagavata, was ruling contemporaneously with the family of Sura. The city, which has not yet been identified satisfactorily, has been located by different writers at Sambalpur, Sarangarh, Sarpagarh and other places. However, since the charters issued from Sarabhapura have been discovered in the region of Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, the royal city was probably in the same district in the vicinity or suburbs of Sirpur, ancient Sripura, which became the later capital of the Sarabhapura rulers.

Sarabhapura seems to have been founded by a king named Sarabha who was probably the founder of the family of the Sarabhapuriyas. A king named Sarabha is actually known to have been the father of Maharaja Narendra of Sarabhapura who issued the Pipardula and Kurud grants. 1 This Sarabha may be identified with Sarabharaja, maternal grandfather of Goparaja, who was a vassal of the Gupta ruler Bhanugupta and died at Eran in A.D. 510. 2 If this identification be accepted, Sarabha and his son Narendra may be roughly assigned to the closing decades of the fifth century when the hold of the Imperial Guptas on their subordinate allies had begun to decline. The emblem of the Sarabhapuriyas was the Gaja-Lakshml which is found on the seals attached to their charters.

In the early years of the sixth century, the throne of Sarabhapura passed to a king named Prasanna or Prasannamatra whose silver coins, bearing the figure of Garuda together with the discus and conch symbols, have been discovered. Prasannamatra, who was probably the successor of Narendra, seems to have been succeeded by his son Jayaraja (sometimes called Maha-Jayaraja) who is known from Arang Grant. The successor of Jayaraja was probably his younger brother Manamatra whose second name was Durgaraja (or Maha-Durgaraja as given in a record). The identification of king Manamatra of Sarabhapura with the Rashtrakuta ruler Mananka of Manapura 3 rests on a very weak basis and cannot be accepted.

King Manamatra-Durgaraja was probably succeeded by his son Sudevaraja (sometimes called Maha-Sudevaraja) whose latest known date is the regnal year 10. Like the charters of his predecessors, all the Grants of Sudevaraja, with the exception of two, 4 were issued from the city of Sarabhapura. These Grants, dated in the king's seventh regnal year, were issued from Sripura

Note 11

Note 12

Note 13

which seems to have been founded by Sudevaraja and to have been his secondary capital or residence. In these two inscriptions the king is represented as the son of the great Durgaraja, although the legend on the seal attached to his Khariar Grant describes him as the son of Manamatra and the grandson of Prasanna.

The last known member of the Sarabhapurlya dynasty is king Pravararaja (sometimes called Maha-Pravararaja) who was the son of Manamatra and probably the younger brother of Sudevaraja. The Thakurdiya Grant of his third regnal year was issued from the city of Srlpura. Pravararaja seems to have flourished about the middle or third quarter of the sixth century, during the later part of which the Panduvamsis became lords of South Kosala. The PanduvamsI king Tivara, who issued his Grants from Srlpura, or his father Nanna probably ousted Pravararaja himself or one of his immediate successors.

2. The Panduvamsis of South Kosala

Scholars are not unanimous in their opinion as regards the date (Tivara (often styled Tivaradeva and Mahasiva-Tivararaja), the Panduvamsi (also called SomavamsI, i.e. belonging to the family of tne Moon) king of South Kosala. 1 According to some writers, his records belong to the eighth century. There are, however, reasons to believe that Tivara was a contemporary of the Vishnukundin king Madhava-varman I (c. A.D. 535-85) and the Maukhari prince Suryavarman (A.D. 553), son of Isana-varman, and flourished in the second half of the sixth century, probably about its last quarter. He issued his Kajim and Baloda grants from Srlpura in the regnal years 7 and 9 respectively. In these records, he is described as having obtained mastery of the entire Kosala (South Kosala) country, while, in the legend of his seal, he is called Kosalddhipati. The suggestion that Tivara has been called samadhigata-pahcha-mtahasabda (i.e. a feudatory) is wrong, as his records apparently use the epithet in regard to his own feudatories.

Tivara, who was a parama-vaishnava, was the son of king Nanna (called Nannadeva, Nannesvara and Kanna-rdjddhirdja), grandson of king Indrabala, and great-grandson of king Udayana who may be assigned to the last quarter of the fifth century. King Udayana of the Pandava family is mentioned in a rock inscription at Kalanjar in the Banda District of U.P. as an ancient king of that region. He is usually identified with a Sabara king of the same name who was defeated by a general of the Pallava king Nandi-varman (eighth century). This theory, based on the supposed later date of the Panduvamsls, ignores the fact that Sahara Udayana, who was defeated at Nelveli (Tinnevelly), was probably the ruler of a territory in the Far South.

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1. The Panduvamsis had the Vaishnavite emblem of Garuda on their seal; they might have emulated the Imperial Guptas in this respect.

The Sirpur inscription of Balarjuna mentions Indrabala as the son of Udayana. An inscription from Bhandak 1 in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, speaks of the four sons of Indrabala. One of them, king Nanna, who was probably a worshipper of Siva, is said to have “conquered the earth.” Bhavadeva (also called Ranakesarin and Chintadurga), who was the youngest brother of Nanna and possibly one of his military governors in the Chanda region, restored a derelict Buddhist temple built by an ancient king of that area named Suryaghosha. An inscription of Isanadeva, another brother of Nanna, from Kharod in the Bilaspur District, seems to be the earliest PanduvamsI record in South Kosala. It would appear, therefore, that the Pamjuvamsls were in occupation of wide regions of Central India, and that they invaded South Kosala during the reign of Nanna and completed its conquest during that of Tivara. But Tlvara’s title ‘lord of Kosala’ seems to suggest that he considered himself primarily the king of the South Kosala country, and there is no reason to believe that the Banda region formed a part of his kingdom. In this connection it is interesting to note that a Mahasarnanta named Indrabalaraja is known from the Sarangarh Grant to have been the sarvddhikdradhikrita (chief minister) of king Sudevaraja of Sarabhapura. If this official can be identified with the grandfather of Tivara, it is not improbable that this son of Udayana did not inherit his father’s kingdom, but went to the Sarabhapura court and accepted service under the Sarabhapurlyas, whom he or more probably his immediate successors ultimately overthrew.

Tivara was succeeded by his brother Chandragupta, 2 whose identification with the king of that name mentioned in the Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsha as having been defeated by Rashtrakuta Govinda III (c. A.D. 794-814) is doubtful in view of Tlvara’s date suggested above. The son and successor of Chandragupta was Harshagupta who married Vasata, daughter of a ruler named Surya-varman, who was probably the viceroy of his father Maukhari Isana-varman in parts of eastern U.P. Queen Vasata was a devout

Note 14

Note 15

worshipper of Vishnu and built a temple at Sripura. Iiarshagupta’s son and successor Balarjuna assumed the title Sivagupta (sometimes called Maha-

Sivagupta). He had a long reign as one of his inscriptions is dated in his 57th regnal year. 1 As he appears to have flourished about the early part of the seventh century, he was possibly defeated by the Chalukya king Pulakesin II some time before A.D. 634, the date of the latter's Aihole inscription. A Sirpur inscription mentions Sivanandin, son and viceroy of Nityananda who is usually identified with king Balarjuna. Nothing definite is known about the end of the dynasty and its exact relation with the later Somavaiiisls of Kosala who flourished in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. Epigraphic evidence seems, however, to suggest that the Nalas subdued the Panduvariisls of South Kosala not long after Balarj una's reign. The country might have been under Nala rule till the rise of the later Somavaihsis. 2

3. The Pdnduvamsis of Mekala

The old country of Mekala lay about the present Amarkantak hills and its name can be traced in that of Maikal range. Little is known about the early history of this country, although the Puranas refer to kings of Mekala which may have indicated the capital city of the Mekala country. Epigraphic evidence points to the rule of a branch of the Panduvamsa in Mekala about the fifth

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century. These Panduvariisls were no doubt related to the Panduvarhsis of Central India and South Kosala.

A copper-plate grant, 3 discovered at Bamhani in the Sohagpur tahsil of the Rewah State in Baghelkhand, mentions four members of the Panduvamsa of Mekala. They are Jayabala, his son Vatsaraja, Vatsaraja's son.by queen Dronabhattarika— Maharaja Nagabala, and Nagabala's 'son by queen Indrabhattarika— Maharaja Bharat, or Bharatabala, also called Indra (probably Indrabala). While the chiefs Jayabala and Vatsaraja are not credited with the title Mahdrdja, kings Nagabala and Bharatabala have besides the royal title, the epithets parama-mdhesvara, parama-brahmanya and parama-guru-devatadhidaivata-visesha. King Bharatabala had only one queen who was a princess of Kosala and bore the name Lokaprakasa. The theory that Lokaprakasa was born in the family of the Panduvariisls of South Kosala is untenable in view of the later date of the PanduvamsI occupation of that country. It is more probable that she belonged to the Sarabhapurlya family. As the Bamhani record seems to be palaeographically assignable to the close of the fifth century or probably to the beginning of the sixth, it seems likely that Jayabala and Vatsaraja were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, and that Nagabala and Bharatabala practically threw off the Gupta yoke in the second half of the fifth century when the imperial power began to decline. Nagabala seems to have been more or less a contemporary of king Udayana of Central India 1 who belonged to another branch of the same family.

About the third quarter of the fifth century, the Vakataka king Narendrasena claims to have his command honoured by the rulers of Kosala, Mekala and Malava. It seems that the Sarabhapurlyas of South Kosala and the Panduvarhsis of Mekala, for a time, became the subordinate allies of the Vakataka king. The suggestion that the Bahamani inscription vaguely refers to Narendrasena Vakataka as the overlord of Bharatabala is hardly acceptable.

APPENDIX

The Genealogy and Chronology of the Vishnukundins

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1. Lodhia PI. El, XXVII, 319; cf. JKHRS, I, 265. The seal of Balarjuna's charters, unlike those of, TIvara, has the couchant bull as its emblem. Balarjuna was a Parania-mahesvara unlike TIvara.

^ ^ j • p GCGn ^ discovery °f the Sarangarh grant of Sudeva would require slight modifications in the section dealing with the PanduvamsI occupation of South Kosala in A New History of the Indian People, VI, 89 ff.

3. Bharata-Kaumudi, I. p. 215; El, XXVII, 132.

The genealogy of the Vishnukundins has been reconstructed differently by different scholars, and it is desirable to set forth here an alternative view of the probable order of succession in the line together with approximate dates for each ruler: 2

Madhavavarman I (A.D. 440-460)

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Vikramcndravarman I

(460-480)

I

Indravarman (bhattaraka)

(480-515)

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Cf. “Outline of the History of Kaiihga” by R. C. Majumdar (Dacca University i Studies Vol. II, No. pp. 1 ff) which gives full reference to the inscriptions.
2. 2. Vol. II. pp. 213 ff. 3. See above, pp. 9-10.
3. l. El XXX. 112.
4. 1. For different views on the epoch of the Gahga Era, cf. El, XXVI, 326; XXVII.
5. 192 (and the references contained in the former!.
6. 2. JAHRS, XIII. 94-95.
7. 1. For a list of the inscriptions of this dynasty and its history, cf. El. XXVII. 109.
8. 2. 1HQ. XII. 492. For the Kara kings, cf. Vol. IV, Ch. IV.
9. 1. El, XXVII, 48, where the name of the king is read as Kumaravaradatta. Cf. JKHRS , I, 217-8.
10. 2. Although the first of the three symbols in the date is clearly one for 200, it has been recently suggested that the symbol in question is 100 and that the date is consequently^ 182. Great stress has in this connection been laid on the passage Samvatsara-sate preceding the symbols, and it has been pointed out that the proper expression before the date 282 would be samvatsarasatadvaye. The argument is, however, unconvincing in view of such dates as Samvatsara-sate 872 (Buchkala inscription of Nagabhata II), Samvatsaro.-sate 500 (Ponduru grant of Vajrahasta II), etc. Cf. El, IX, 342, XXVI, 228; 1HQ, XXII, 63; BDCRI, VIII, 5.
11. 1. Kurud Grant belongs to the 24th year of his reign (El, XXXI. 263).
12. 2. See p. 33. 3. See pp. 199-200.
13. 4. EJ, XXXI. 103, 314.
14. 1. Mirashi suggests that the Bhandak inscription did not originally belong to that place but came from Arang (EI. XXVI, 227). If this suggestion is accepted there is no evidence of the expansion of PanduvamsI power over the western part of the M.P. The identification of Suryaghosha with £ura of the Arang grant of Bhlmasena II, however, is not convincing.

15. 2 The Adhabhara Plates seem to indicate that Tivara was succeeded by his son Nanna (II). EI, XXXI. 219.

i

Vikramcndravarman II

(515-35)

i

Govindavarman (535-56)

i

Madhavavarman III

(556-616)

i

Manchy annabhattaraka.

Note 1

Note 2

Devavarman

Madhavavarman II (48 years)

Generally speaking, the Vishnukundins may be taken to have ruled the Andhra country in the interval between the Salankayanas and the Eastern Chalukyas. In its greatest extent their kingdom included the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts. They rose to power in the middle of the fifth century A.D. and Madhavavarman I is the first ruler of whom we have a record. He is credited with having performed eleven asvamedhas and a thousand other sacrifices. Though we may hesitate to accept such statements as literally true, there seems to be no reason to doubt that Madhavavarman I was a powerful ruler. He had a Vakataka princess for his queen, as his son Vikramendra I is called an ornament to the two families of Vakatakas and Vishnukundins. Presumably she came from the Basim branch and might have been a daughter of Devasena, if not his sister. Devavarman ‘of great valour’ doubtless predeceased his father leaving a son too young to take the throne, and so his young brother Vikramendra I became king. The records are singularly silent about him, but his son Indravarman or Indrabhattaraka, as he is also called, is described as a powerful ruler who founded many colleges of learning and gave away much wealth. He is said to have scattered his kinsmen by the mere contraction of his eye-brows. This is perhaps best explained as implying an attempt on the part of Madhavavarman II, after he grew up, to cross swords with his cousin and seek to get the kingdom into his own hands. The quarrel obviously ended in a compromise and Madhavavarman II, who is described as lord of Trikuta-Malaya and issued a grant from Amarapura in the forty-seventh year of his reign, was allowed to rule over a part of the western mountainous region in the kingdom owing a nominal allegiance to Indravarman. The Ramatirtham plates of his 27th year show that till very late in his reign Indrabhattaraka continued to be master of the bulk of Vizagapatam district, as Plaki-rashtra, where he made a grant, corresponds to the

Chikkulla and Ramatirtham plates is not the same as the homonymous ruler of Ipur plates I and Polamuru plates; though the eleven asvamedhas and 1000 other sacrifices are common to both, the latter gets in addition the epithets

Hn anyagarbha-jji asuta and Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hridaiia

nandana Again the Polamuru grant should be placed much nearer the date^of

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Chapter Notes

1. 1. See p. 220.
2. 2. The arrangement proposed above (pp 206 ff) by D. C. Sircar overlooks, or rather seeks to explain away, two important objections to it. Madhavavarman of the

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for each ruler are of course approximate. Tho datcs 8iven

northern part of this district. But, as noted above, 1 he had to face a hostile combination towards the end of his reign. His adversary was doubtless the E. Gahga ruler of Kalinga, Indravarman I, the earliest ruler of the line. He might have obtained help from the Vakataka Harishena II among whose conquests Andhra also is included in the Ajanta inscription. It is probable that as a result of

this conflict the Vishnukundin ruler lost his northern marches to his

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rising namesake of Kalinga. Of the next two rulers Vikramendra II and Govindavarman Vikramasraya, no striking achievements are recorded. But Madhavavarman III, who seems to have been the last great ruler of the line, is said to have been a hir any agar bha-prasiita, i.e. one who performed the sacred rite of hiranyagarbha which consists in the performer passing through an egg of gold which was afterwards distributed among the officiating priests. He made the grant of Polamuru when he had just crossed the Godavari with the desire of making conquests in the east. Obviously this campaign was undertaken to recover the country lost to the rulers of Kalinga by Indrabhattaraka as we have noticed above. The result of the expedition is not known. In both the grants of his reign dated in the 37th and 48th regnal years, the king is described as having caused delight to the young damsels of Trivara-nagara. This has been taken to mean the city of Trivara, i.e. the capital of Tivaradeva, king of Mahakosala, and Madhavavarman has been credited with a victory over that king. 2 Tivaradeva has been assigned to A.D. 530-550. But as the dates of both TIvara and Madhavavarman III rest on approximate calculations, the slight chronological discrepancy need not be a serious objection to the acceptance of this suggestion. Or the success might have been won against Tlvara’s son and successor Chandragupta as Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has suggested. 3 But

Tivaradeva was a powerful ruler of Kosala, and there is no evidence whatever in support of the suggestion of a war on the Somavamsis besides the rhetorical attribute given to Madhavavarman in his plates. Again, Trivara is not the same as TIvara; the expression Trivaranagara may mean three good cities, and it is not altogether impossible that the ornamental epithet means no more than that there were three flourishing cities in the Vishnukundin kingdom where the king resided by turns. Madhavavarman had also the title Janasraya, and on the strength of this title a book on prosody Janasrayi Chhandovichiti is attributed to the king himself or at least to his reign. A damaged stone record of Madhavavarman 4 in archaic characters in Sanskrit language found at Velpuru in Guntur district might be of this king. There is evidence that parts of the Vishnukundin kingdom were

Note 1

Note 2

1. See above p. 210.

2. El. XXII, pp. 19 ff.

breaking loose from it even before the invasion of Pulakesin II; for at the time of that invasion we find a certain Prithivl-maharaja ruling Pishtapura as an independent ruler, though his father’s name Vikramendra is clear evidence of the feudatory relation in which the family had stood to the Vishnukundins not long before. 1 Either Madhavavarman himself or his son Manchyanna must have been the Vehgl ruler who was defeated by Pulakesin in the battle of Kunala (Colair lake). Whether the Vishnukundins continued in a subordinate capacity for some time after the battle, is not known. Their overthrow by the Chalukya invader very near their capital is the last that is heard of them in history.

GENERAL REFERENCES

In addition to the works already cited: B. Misra, Orissa under the Bhauma kings; D. C. Sircar, Chap. IV of NHIP; A. S. Altekar, Chap. V of NHIP.

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1. hi. XXIU, No. 15, Tandivada grant.

CHAPTER XII

Chapter Notes

1. 3. Early Di/nasties of Andhradeta. p. 321.
2. 4. 581 cf 1925.

THE CHALUKYAS

I. THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI 1. Origin and Early History

. i

The Imperial Chalukyas of Badami (Bijapur District), usually known as the Early Western Chalukyas, held sway over extensive regions of the Deccan for about two centuries, from the middle of the sixth to about the middle of the eighth century, when sovereignty passed to the Rashtrakutas. They are the earliesti of the several branches of the Chalukya family known to have ruled in different parts of the country, the other important offshoots being the Eastern Chalukyas established at Pishtapura in the first half of the seventh century, the Chalukyas of Vemulavada who were the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, and the Later Western Chalukyas of KalyanI who overthrew the Rashtrakutas in the second half of the tenth century.

The Chalukyas of Badami appear to have represented an indigenous Kanarese family that claimed the status of Kshatriyas. 1 The theory identifying them with the Gurjaras seems to be untenable. The name is sometimes associated with the Chulika people of Uttarapatha who are supposed to have been identical with the Sogdians and to have given their name to the Prakrit dialect called Chulika Paisachl, There is, however, no evidence in support of the conjecture. The Sulikas, mentioned in the Haraha inscription of A.D. 553 and identified with the Sulkis of Orissa, probably had nothing to do with the Chalukyas.

In the inscriptions of the Chalukyas of Badami, the name of the family is written as Chalky a, Chalikya , and Chalukya. (rarely Chalukya) , sometimes with l for l. The Lohner grant of Pulakesin II seems to read the name as Chulukikin, but the intended reading may have been Chalukika. In later records of the branch lines, we have Chalukya and sometimes the forms Chalukki and Sdlukki, which closely resemble the form Solanki, Sanskritised as Chaulukya by the royal house of Anhilvada. It appears that the name was derived from that of an ancestor, probably called Chaika, Chalika or Chaluka. That such a personal name was not quite uncommon in the Deccan is suggested by the fact that Chaliki is actually found to form a part of the name Skandachalikirerhmanaka (with the

Note 1

masculine name-suffix anaka) in one of the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions. In later times when the origin of the family was forgotten, a fanciful interpretation of the family name was suggested. According to the Handarike inscription of the time of Vikramaditya VI, the Chalukyas Were born in the interior of the chulka (chaluka or chuluka of the lexicons, indicating 'water-pot' or 'hand hollowed to hold water') of the sage Hariti-Panchasikha when he was pouring out a libation to the gods. The Vikramdhkadeva-chairita by Bilhana, the Vidydpati (chief poet) at the court of the same king, however, says that the ancestor of the Chalukyas sprang from the chuluka of the creator Brahman when the god, at Indra's request, desired to create a hero who would be a terror to evil-doers on the earth. The Chaulukyas or Solankis of Anhilvada also believed that the god Brahman, for fear of the trouble caused by the demons, created out of his chuluka a king called Chaulukya.

The Chalukyas of Badami claimed to have been Harltlputras, to have belonged to the Manavya gotra, to have been nourished by the Seven Mothers who are the mothers of mankind, to have acquired prosperity through the favour and protection of the god Karttikeya (Skanda-Mahasena), and to have had all princes made submission to them at the sight of their varahaldnchhana or boar crest (cf. the representation of the Vardha on their seal) which was acquired through the favour of the god Narayana or Vishnu. The Manavya gotra, the metronymic Harltlputra (made Hdritiputra after its real significance had been forgotten) as well as the adoration to the god Karttikeya and the Seven Mothers appear to have been borrowed from the Kadambas and to point to an early success of the Chalukyas against that power. Whether the earlier members of the family acknowledged the supremacy of the Kadambas cannot be definitely ascertained in the present state of our knowledge. In some early records, the Chalukyas are described as meditating on, or favoured by, the feet of the holy Svamin or of Svami-Mahasena (Karttikeya). But their boar crest as w r ell as the invocation of the Varaha avatdra at the beginning of most of their records shows that the family-god of the Early Chalukyas was Vishnu (cf. also the use of the epithet Parama-Bhagavata in the family), although they are known to have patronised the Jains and Saivas, and some of the later kings appear to have actually adopted their faiths. The title sri-prithivi-vallabha (‘the enjoyer of wealth and land’ or ‘the husband of the goddesses Lakshmi and Earth’), assumed by the kings of this family, suggests that they claimed to have been incarnations of Vishnu.

The earliest authentic names in the Chalukya family are those of Jayasimha and his son Ranaraga who flourished in the Badami

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region of the Bijapur District in the first half of the sixth century. They are mentioned in a few early records of the family which, however, do not attribute any outstanding achievement to either of them. Jayasimha (often called Jayasimha-vallabha) is given the title Vallabha or Vallabhendra (the same as Vallabhdrdja), which like sri-vallabha and prithivi-vallabha seems to be a contraction of sri~prithivi-vallabha. The Aihole inscription (v. 4) suggests that prithivi-vallabha was a special title of all the Chalukya kings. Jayasimha is said to have become king after many rulers of the Chalukya lineage had passed away. Little is known about the events of the reigns of Jayasimha and Ranaraga, although, in later times, when the real facts were forgotten, legends were invented to illustrate the rise and early history of the family. The Kauthem grant of A.D. 1009 belonging to the reign of the Later Chalukya king V’ikramaditya V says that Jayasimha re-established Chalukya sovereignty after having overthrown king Indra, son of Krishna, of the Rashtrakuta dynasty that had obscured Chalukya power for a period of time. 1 In the absence of any reference to such an achievement in the records of the Badami house, especially in the celebrated Aihole prasasti which gives an elaborate account of the first century of Chalukya rule, scholars believe that the statement in the Kauthem grant is merely a reflection of the events which occurred in the second half of the tenth century when Rashtrakuta sovereignty passed into the hands of Vikramaditya’s immediate ancestors. There can be no doubt about the soundness of this view; but it is not unlikely that the earlier members of the Chalukya family had relations with their neighbours, the Rashtrakutas of

Manapura, who appear to have held sway over the Satara-Kolhapur region of the South Maratha country in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is very tempting to identify Chalukya Jayasimha-Vallabha with Jayasimha, commander of the fort (Kottanigraha , the same as Kottapdla) of the locality called Harivatsa, in whose presence the village of Undikavatika was granted by the Rashtrakuta king Abhimanyu residing at Manapura. 2 If the identification is accepted, Harivatsa may be located in the Bijapur region which may or may not have formed part of the Rashtrakuta kingdom of Manapura, As pointed out above, 3 the Rashtrakutas of Manapura were probably subdued by the Mauryas or the Nalas and not by the Early Chalukyas.

The legendary history contained in the records of the Later Chalukyas of KalyanI ascribes the origin of the Chalukya dynasty to Manu or the Moon and associates it with Ayodhya, capital of Uttara-Kosala. According to the Kauthem grant, fifty-nine kings of the Chalukya lineage ruled at Ayodhya; then sixteen more reigned in Dakshinapatha; after a temporary eclipse of their power which followed, the glory of the family was restored by Jayasimha. The Kalyan inscription of A.D. 1025-26 gives the following genealogy: the god Brahman, his mind-born son Svayambhuva-Manu, his son Manavya who is the progenitor of all those who claim the Manavya gotra, his son Harita, his son Panchasikhi Hariti, and his son Chalukya from whom sprang the race of the Chalukyas. Here is no doubt a mythological elaboration of the epithets Mdnavyasagotra and Hdritiputrci (sic. Harltlputra). Some records of the time of Vikramaditya VI say that the Chalukyas were born in the lineage of Soma (the Moon), who was created from the eye of Atri, the son of the god Brahman. The Handarike inscription of the same reign furnishes the following genealogy: Hiranyagarbha-Brahman born in the lotus emanated from Vishnu's navel, his son Manu, his son Mandavya (cf. Manavya of other records), his son Harita (who is made the father of Mandavya in some records), and his son Hariti Panchasikha in whose chuluka the Chalukyas were born; next it introduces an imaginary Chalukya king named VishnuvardhanaVijayaditya

Note 2

Note 3

who appropriated his enemies’ territories and was succeeded by fifty-nine kings beginning with Satyasraya, lord of Ayodhya; then came Jayasimha and his sixteen successors (who ruled in the Deccan), after whom the Rattas or Rashtrakutas ruled the earth. Details of the same legend, which do not exactly tally with one another, are offered by the later inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas in which the genealogy is traced to the god Brahman through his successive descendants, viz. Atri, Soma (the Moon) Budha, Pururavas, Ayu, Nahusha, Yayati, Puru, Janamejaya.... (here follow 14 names), Dushyanta, Bharata,. . . . (here follow 9 names), Samtanu, Vichitravlrya, Pandu, Arjuna, Abhimanyu, Parikshit, Janamejaya, Kshemuka, Naravahana, Satanika and Udayana. Fifty-nine kings are said to have ruled at Ayodhya after Udayana in unbroken lineal succession. Then a member of the family named Vijayaditya came to Dakshinapatha with a view to conquest and attacked the Pallava king Trilochana (an imaginary person; cf. the legend of Trilochana Kadamba), but lost his life in the encounter. His wife, who was pregnant, escaped to the abode of the saint Vishnubhatta Somayajin at the agrahdra of Mudivemu where she gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishnuvardhana. This prince married a daughter of the Pallava king, worshipped the goddess Nanda-Gaurl on the Chalukya-giri (probably an imaginary hill) and also Kumara (Karttikeya), Narayana and the Mothers, and in due course assumed all the royal insignia of the family such as the white parasol, the single conch, the five mahci-sabdas , the pdlidhvaja, the drum called pratidhakka, the boar emblem, the peacock’s tail, the spear, the makara arch, the golden sceptre and the signs of Ganga and Yamuna. He conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other kings and established himself as lord of the Dakshinapatha-seven-and-ahalf-ZaZcZi country (cf. the Rashtrakuta kingdom referred to as the Rattappadi-seven-and-a-half-ZaZch country) lying between the Setu (Rama’s bridge) and the Narmada. The historical verisimilitude is introduced by making Vijayaditya, son of this Vishnuvardhana, the father of Pulakesin I who was really the son of Ranaraga and grandson of Jayasirhha-vallabha. Scholars have rightly rejected the above accounts of the rise and early history of the Chalukyas as a mere farrago of vague legends and Puranic myths of no authority or value.

2. Pulakesin I and Kirtivarman I

The first independent ruler of the dynasty appears to have been Ranaraga’s “dear” son Pulakesin I (c. A.D. 535-66), whose name also appears in the forms Polekesin, Polikesin and Pulikesin, and may be a hybrid Kanarese-Sanskrit word meaning “tiger-haired.” He was the first Maharaja in his family and may be considered as its real founder. Pulakesin I enjoyed the titles Satydsraya and Ranavikrama and was also known as Sri-prithivi-vallabha, Sri-vallabha or Vallabha, the last being sometimes used in lieu of the king’s proper name. The Badami inscription of the Chalikya Vallabhesvara, i.e. Pulakesin I, is dated in Saka 465 (A.D. 543) and represents the monarch as Hiranyagarbha-prasiita (performer of the Hiranyagarbha mahaddna) and as having performed the Asvamedha and other Srauta sacrifices. The records of the time of his son Mangalesa describe him as not only a performer of the Hiranyagarbha and the Asvamedha but also of the Agnishtoma, Agnichayana, Vajapeya, Bahusuvarna and Paundarlka sacrifices. He is sometimes described • • • as an equal of the mythical heroes Yayati, Dilipa and others, and is said to have been conversant with the laws of Manu, the Purdnas, the Ramdyana, the Bhdrata (Mahabhdrata) and other Itihasas. Pulakesin I married Durlabhadevi of the Batpura family. His Badami inscription of A.D. 543 shows that the king laid the foundations (cf. the Aihole inscription, v. 7) of the fort of VatapI (associated in traditions with a demon of that name), modern Badami in the Bijapur District. This suggests that he ruled the region roughly comprising the present Bijapur District with his capital at Badami. Although the performance of the Asvamedha points to Pulakesin’s success against his neighbours, including the power to which the family originally owed its allegiance, he is not credited with any specific conquest. This may indicate that his successes were mainly due to his son and successor Klrtivarman who probably acted as his father’s commander-in-chief. The Chiplun inscription attributes even the foundation of Vatapi to Klrtivarman. The Mahakuta pillar inscription associates both Pulakesin I and Klrtivarman with an endowment made in favour of the deity Makutesvara of modern Mahakuta in the Bijapur District.

Maharaja Klrtivarman I (A.D. 566-7 to 597-98), who is sometimes called Klrtiraja, had the titles Satyasraya and Puru-ranaparakrama, and was also known as Vallabha or Prithivi-vallabha. He married a sister of Raja SrI-vallabha Senananda of the Sendraka family. His title "the first maker of Vatapi" suggests that Kirtivarman I began to beautify the town with temples and other buildings. An inscription, dated in the twelfth regnal year of this king (A.D. 578) and incised on a pilaster in the verandah of the Vaishnava cave at Badami, records that his younger brother Mangalesa finished the construction of the cave-temple and endowed it with the village of Lanjisvara (modern Nandikesvara near Badami) on the ^occasion of the installation of the image of Vishnu. Klrtivarman 1 is also known to have celebrated the Bahusuvarra and Agnishtoma sacrifices.

According to the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa, Klrtivarman I defeated the rulers of Vahga, Anga, Kalinga, Vatfura, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Ganga, Mushaka, Pandya, Dramila, Choliya, Aluka and Vaijayanti. There is little doubt that the claim is a boastful exaggeration of a conventional dig-vijaya or the conquest of the chakravarti-kshetra. In the Aihole inscription of Kirtivarman's son, who can hardly be expected to have suppressed the glorious achievements of his father, Klrtivarman I is described as the night of destruction" to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas, and also as having broken up a confederacy of the Kadamba kings. This is undoubtedly the more reliable of the two accounts. The history of the Nalas, who were about this time in possession of wide regions of the Deccan, with probably a settlement in the BellaryKurnool area, has already been narrated. The inscriptions of the Later Chalukyas represent Klrtivarman I as having destroyed the habitations of the Nalas. The Mauryas, apparently descendants of a Maurya governor of a district in the Deccan, ruled in the Konkan, while the Kadambas held sway over the North Kanara District of the Bombay State, the northern part of the Mysore state and the adjoining regions of Belgaum and Dharwar. About the middle of the sixth century, several branches of the Kadamba family were ruling simultaneously in different parts of the Kadamba territory, the capital of the main branch having been Vanavasi or Vaijayanti, modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District. The subjugation of the Kadamba capital is specifically recorded in the charters of the Chalukyas of Badami according to which Klrtivarman I established the banner of his pure fame in the lands of the hostile kings of Vanavasi and other cities. His victory over the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas is also echoed in the records of the Later Chalukyas. As a result of the successes of Klrtivarman I, some of which may have been achieved during the reign of his father, the political influence of the Chalukyas extended over wide regions in the southern part of the Bombay State and in the adjoining area of Mysore and the Madras State. It would seem that Klrtivarman annexed parts of the Maurya territories in the Konkan*.

3. Mangalesa

Klrtivarman I died in A.D. 597-98, probably leaving several minor children, and the throne, therefore, passed to his younger brother or step-brother Mangalesa (A.D. 597-98 to 610-11), also known as Mangalesa (sic.), Mangalaraja, Mangalisa and Mangallsvara. The new king enjoyed the virudas Rana-vikranta and Uru-ranavikranta, besides Prithivl-vallabha or SrI-prithivI-vallabha. Mangalesa has been described as a Paramabhagavata, i.e. devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu). The victory over the Katachchuris (Kalachuris) and the conquest of Revatldvlpa, referred to in the Aihole inscription and echoed in the Kauthem grant, were his greatest achievements. According to the Nerur Grant and Mahakuta pillar inscription, the Kalachuri king Buddha, son of Sankaragana, was defeated before the 12th of April, A.D. 602, and his entire possessions were appropriated, when the Chalukya king was desirous of conquering the northern region. While discussing the history of the Kalachuris, however, we have seen 1 that Buddharaja was in possession of the Nasik District as late as A.D. 608. The struggle between the Chalukyas and Kalachuris, therefore, appears to have continued for some years, after which the former came into complete possession of the central and northern Maratha country. The Nerur grant of Mangalesa also refers to the killing of the Chalukya chief Svamiraja who was apparently ruling in the Konkan and is said to have been famous for his victories in eighteen battles. Most probably this

Svamiraja was placed in the Konkan by Klrtivarman I as his viceroy; and he sided with Pulakesin II in his struggle against Mangalesa. It is also not unlikely that Svamiraja had his headquarters at Revatldvlpa in the waters of the Western or Arabian

Note 4

Sea (i.e. the fortified promontory of Redi to the south of Yengurla in the Ratnagiri District), which is said to have been conquered by Mahgalesa, and that the conqueror appointed Indravarman of the Bappura (i.e. Batpura) lineage, apparently related to his own mother, as the new governor of the region. According to a Goa Grant, Satyasraya-Dhruvaraja-Indravarman was ruling four vishayas or mandalas with his headquarters at Re valid vipa in January 610 or 611 A.D., which was the twentieth year of his government, and granted a village in the Khetahara desa (Khed taluk in the Ratnagiri District) with the permission of the Chalukya emperor of Badami. It is usually believed that Indravarman was placed as a viceroy in the Konkan by Klrtivarman I about A.D. 590, the first year of the former’s rule according to the Goa Grant. But possibly he was ruling as a subordinate ruler elsewhere and was stationed at Revatldvipa only after the conquest of that place by Mahgalesa some time after A.D. 597-98. It was as a result of the difficult days through which the Chalukya emperor was passing about this time that he appears to have become bold enough to issue the charter, dated in his own regnal year.

About the end of Mahgalesa’s reign there was a civil war between him and his nephew Pulakesin II, son of Klrtivarman. The cause of the quarrel, according to the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, was Mahgalesa’s attempt to secure the succession for his own son. As a result of this war Mahgalesa lost his life and the throne of Badami passed to Pulakesin II. The son of Mahgalesa, not mentioned by name in the Aihole epigraph, is usually identified with Satyasraya-Dhruvaraja-Indravarman of the Goa Grant. But even though his title “an ornament of the original great Bappura (Batpura) lineage” may be explained by the suggestion that his mother was a Bappura princess, the fact that Indravarman acknowledged in January A.D. 610 or 611 the supremacy of Maharaja Srlprithivl-vallabha, identified with Pulakesin II, renders the theory unlikely; because Pulakesin II could have hardly allowed his vital enemy and rival to the throne to be kept in the important position of the viceroy of the Konkan districts. As however Pulakesin’s first regnal year corresponds to &aka 532 (expired) while the date of the Goa Grant is Saka 532 (current or expired) the identification of Maharaja SrI-prithivi-vallabha, overlord of Satyasraya-DhruvarajaIndravarman, with Mahgalesa is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

4. Pulakesin II

Maharaja Pulakesin II (A.D. 610-11 to 642), whose name is also found in the forms Polekesin and Pulikesin, is best known by his viruda Satyasraya. He is also known to have enjoyed the titles

Vallabha (Vallabha-raja, Vallabhendra) or Prithivl-vallabha or Srl-prithivi-vallabha and to have assumed the imperial title Paramesvara as a second name. In later times when the Chalukyas of Radami adopted the imperial titles Makardjddhirdja, Paramesvara and Bhattaraka (usually not Paramabhattaraka), which had been popularised in northern India by the Gupta emperors, all these virudas were applied to Pulakesin II also. The Lohner (Nasik District) Grant of A.D. 630 calls him a Parama-bhagavata, i.e. a devout worshipper of Vishnu.

The civil war between Mangalesa and Pulakesin II led to a general renunciation of allegiance by almost all the peoples subjugated by the valour of Kirtivarman I and Mangalesa. When Pulakesin II ascended the throne after his uncle’s death, there was anarchy and confusion throughout the empire and, in the picturesque language of the Aihole inscription, ‘‘the whole world was enveloped in the darkness that was the enemies.” Even the home province of the Chalukyas in the Bijapur area was threatened by an attack led by two kings named Appayika arid Govinda who had advanced as far as the northern bank of the BhaimarathI (Bhlma). Thus Pulakesin II was in a precarious position, faced with the double task of saving his home province from the aggression of enemies and of subjugating the disaffected subordinates. But the young king proved equal to the situation. He pursued a policy of bheda, won over Govinda who became his ally, and defeated and expelled Appayika. The identification of this Govinda with the great-grandfather of Rashtrakuta Dantidurga (c. A.D. 742-57) is unwarranted, as the latter cannot be assigned to the beginning of the seventh century.

After having made his position secure at home, Pulakesin II launched on a career of conquest for the subjugation of his neighbours. A graphic account of his victories is given in the Aihole prasasti, composed by the Jain poet Raviklrti, who claimed equality of fame with Bharavi and Kalidasa, at the completion of a shrine of Jinendra in A.D. 634-35, In the south Pulakesin II besieged and reduced VanavasI, the capital of the Kadambas who had been formerly subdued by his father. Then the Gahgas of South Mysore and the Alupas, who are supposed to have ruled at Humcha in Shimoga District of Mysore, were compelled to submit, probably because they were allies of the Kadambas. After the struggle, the Ganga king Durvinita Konganivriddha, son of Avimtakongani, appears to have given one of his daughters in marriage to the Chalukya conqueror. 1 The Mauryas of the Konkan, previously subdued by his father, were overv/helmed and the city of Purl (either Gharapuri, i.e. the island of Elephanta near Bombay, or Rajpuri near Janjira), which was located in the Arabian Sea and was probably the Maurya capital, was invaded by Pulakesin's battleships and was captured. Further north the Latas, Malavas 1 and Gurjaras were subdued. Pulakesin's success in the Gujarat region is indicated by the establishment of a Chalukya viceroy. The Kaira grant issued from Vijayapura in A.D. 643 by the Chalukya Raja Vijayaraja or Vijayavarmaraja, son of Raja Buddhavarmaraja surnamed Vallabharanavikranta, and grandson of Jayasimha, records the grant of the village of Pariyaya (Pariya in Surat District) to the priests and religious students of Jambusaras (Jambusar in the Broach District). The Bagumra (old Baroda State) grant of the Sendraka chief Prithivivallabha Nikumbhallasakti (son of Adityasakti and grandson of Bhanusakti), dated A.D. 655 and recording a gift of land in the Treyannahara vishaya (district round Ten near Bardoli), shows that the Chalukyas were succeeded in the viceroyalty of the Gujarat region by the Sendrakas related to Pulakesin's mother. The nonmention of the overlord in both the records is probably due to the temporary eclipse of the Badami house after Pulakesin's death in A.D. 642.

Note 5

The Aihole inscription next speaks of a victory of Pulakesin II over Harsha, the mighty king of Kanauj, 2 and of the Chalukya king's presence in the region of the Vindhyas and the Reva (Narmada). That the people of Maharashtra under Pulakesin repulsed an attack of Siladitya Harshavardhana is also known from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. The struggle between the kings of Madhyadesa and Dakshinapatha apparently ensued from the attempts of both to extend their power over the present Gujarat region of the Aparanta division of India. But the suggestion that the Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras as well as the Maitrakas of Valabhl, having been threatened by Harsha, submitted to Pulakesin II in order to get his help against the Kanauj king, and that the formidable coalition thus formed led to Harsha's discomfiture, cannot be definitely established on the meagre facts available. According to a passage In the Navsari grant of Jayabhata III, the Gurjara chief Dadda II Prasantaraga (with known dates in A.D. 629-41) acquired fame by giving shelter (trfina) to the lord of Valabhl (apparently Dhruvasena II) who had been overpowered by the Paramesvara Harsha. It is suggested that the Gurjara chief could have helped Harsha's enemy only with Pulakesin's assistance. 3 If, however, Dadda II had any share in a victory over the emperor of northern India, the author of the Navsari grant would have naturally been eloquent on that achievement and would not have stopped with giving the Gurjara king merely the credit for offering shelter to the fugitive ruler of Valabhi. Moreover if the king of Valabhl applied for help to the Chalukya emperor, the author of the Aihole prasasti would probably have mentioned the Maitrakas along with the La^as, Malavas and Gurjaras in the list of Pulakesin's feudatories. Apparently the Maitrakas, who ruled from Valabhl in Kathiawad, could not have been represented as Malavas even if Malava had been conquered by them.

Some scholars believe that Pulakesin II defeated Harsha before the new moon day of Bhadra in Saka 534 (expired) corresponding to August 2, 612 A.D. (July 23, 613 A.D. according to some) which is the date of the Hyderabad grant of the Chalukya king. 1 According to this record,

1. See above, pp. 104 ff. 2. See above, pp. 105 ff.

3. JBORS, IX. 319. Also cf. above, pp. 104, 109 ff.

Pulakesin II acquired the secondary name Paramesvara "by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or, a hostile king who had applied himself) to the contest of a hundred battles," while the records of his successors say that he acquired it "by defeating the glorious Harsha-vardhana, the warlike lord of all the region of the north." But Pulakesin II ascended the throne in A.D. 610-11 and Harsha in A.D. 606 and both of them had to cope with several powerful enemies close to their capitals. The Chalukya king could hardly have advanced to measure his strength with the emperor of Kanauj before freeing his home province from the menace of Appayika and Govinda and before subduing the Kadambas and the Mauryas. It is, therefore, not improbable that Pulakesin Tl assumed the imperial title of Paramesvara as a second name after saving his homeland from enemies and restoring Chalukya sovereignty in the territories of the disaffected neighbours, but that an additional significance was later attached to it after his victory over Paramesvara Harsha-vardhana. The date of Harsha's advance towards Gujarat and ultimate defeat is no doubt earlier than A.D. 634-35 when the Aihole prasasti was composed; but it seems to be later than the beginning of the reigns of Maitraka Dhruvasena II and Gurjara Dadda II, the earliest known date of both the rulers being A.D. 629. 2 It is interesting to note that the victory is not alluded to in the Lohner grant of Pulakesin II, dated A.D. 630.

The above-mentioned conquests secured for Pulakesin II the sovereignty of the three Maharashtrakas (great kingdoms) com

1. See above, p. 107.

2. At the beginning of his reign, Harsha was seriously engaged at home with powerful enemies such as £asarika. the king of Gauda. That the attack of Harsha, who ascended the throne early in his youth, on the kingdom of Valabhi occurred long after, i.e. when he was the father of a daughter of marriageable age, is indicated by the termination of hostilities with the Valabhi king marrying Harsha's daughter. As noted above (pp. 108-9), it is difficult to accept Hiuen Tsang's statement that Harsha reigned in peace for 30 years after A.D. 612.

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prising 99,000 grumas (a phrase of doubtful significance). We know that the Chalukya kingdom was known as Maharashtra to Hiuen Tsang; the three countries comprising Pulakesin's empire, extending from Gujarat to southern Mysore, probably refer to Maharashtra, Kohkana and Karnata. The Aihole inscription next describes how the Chalukya king directed his arms towards the eastern Deccan where the Kosalas (probably the Panduvamsis of Dakshina-Kosala) and the Kalingas (probably the Gangas of Kalihga-nagara in the Ganjam District) were easily humbled. The Chalukya army then followed the coast route towards the south. The fortress of Pishtapura (Pithapuram in the Godavari District) and another fort on an island in the Kunala (the Kolleru lake near Ellore) were reduced. The ruling house of Pishtapura was overthrown, and Pulakesin's 'dear younger brother' Yuvaraja Kubja Vishnuvardhana was placed in charge of the newly acquired kingdom. He became the founder of the celebrated Eastern Chalukya dynasty which lasted until A.D. 1070 when it was absorbed into the Chola royal family. The Ellore region seems to have been defended by the Vishnukundin king Vikramendra-varman III, but he was defeated and the heart of the Andhra country passed to the Eastern Chalukyas. Further south, Pulakesin II defeated the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I (c. A.D. 600-30) whom he compelled to take shelter behind the ramparts of his capital, the city of Kanchl (modern Conjeeveram). That the Chalukya king penetrated far into the heart of the Pallava kingdom even if he did not actually besiege Kahchi, is corroborated by Pallava records (cf. the Kasakudi grant for example) which represent Mahendra-varman I as having annihilated his "chief enemies," i.e. the Chalukyas of Badami, 1 at the battle of Pallalura, a place not far from Kahchi. Next Pulakesin II is said to have crossed the river Kaverl and made friends with the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas, apparently with a view to raise them against their powerful neighbour, the Pallavas. Although the Pallava power was temporarily paralysed, the Chalukya king probably did not dare to cross the Kaveri without leaving a large army in the rear to ensure his safe return. The Pallavas appear to have barred his way, but are said to have been once again dispersed. After completing the dig-vijaya, Pulakesin II returned to Vatapi. It is sometimes believed that the Chalukya king occupied Vatapi after all his conquests described above, and since he was stationed at the city in his third regnal year when the Hyderabad grant was issued in A.D. 613, all the achievements are placed earlier than that date. The suggestion

Note 6

Note 7

is, however, entirely-unjustifiable. The date of Pulakesin's presence in the east coast countries in A.D. 631 is indicated by the Kopparam Grant. 1 The conquests of the Chalukya king, extending over wide regions between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, are hinted at in his title "lord of the eastern and western waters", found in the Lohner grant of A.D. 630.

About the year A.D. 641, Maharashtra, ruled by Pulakesin, was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who has left a vivid account of the country. The king was a Kshatriya and was obeyed by his subjects with perfect submission. His plans and undertakings were widespread and his beneficent activities were felt over a great distance. The country was about 5,000 ii (about 836 miles) in circuit and the capital, 2 about 30 li (about 5 miles) round, bordered on the west by a great river. The soil was regularly cultivated and was very productive. The climate was hot, and the people, who were tall of stature and had a stern and vindictive character, were honest and simple. They were fond of learning; were grateful to their benefactors and relentless to their enemies. If asked to help one in distress, they would forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If insulted, they would risk their lives to avenge themselves; but while seeking revenge, they would first give their enemy warning and then, both being armed, they would attack each other with spears. They would pursue the enemy when he turned to flee, but would not kill a person who submitted. In the language of Hiuen Tsang, "if a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them to fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking

Note 8

Note 9

them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants treats his neighbours with contempt."

Pulakesin II was undoubtedly the greatest king of the Chalukya house of Badami and one of the greatest monarchs of ancient India. His reputation and influence spread beyond the limits of India, and, according to the Muslim historian Tabari, Khusru II (Khusru Parviz), king of Persia, received an embassy from the Chalukya king in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, i.e. in A.D. 625-26. Tabari gives the name of the king of India as Prmesha, i.e. Paramesa or Pdramesvara (not Pulakesin as is usually supposed), which is known from epigraphic evidence to have been a second name of Pulakesin II (cf. paramesvar-apara-namadheya). The suggestion that Paramesa (Paramesvara), which is in this case a name, might be taken as the ordinary imperial title and that the king of India might have been any contemporary Indian monarch like Harsha (whose name was not Paramesvara) is unconvincing. The same may be said of the theory of some writers that a painting in one of the Ajanta caves depicts the Persian embassy presenting Khusru's reply to Pulakesin II.

Chalukya Pulakesin's attack on the kingdom of Pallava Mahendra-varman I was only a phase of the struggle between the dominant powers on the two sides of the Tungabhadra, which appears to have characterised the history of the country in all ages prior to the British occupation of India. Information of such a struggle before the days of the Chalukyas is meagre; but from the time of Pulakesin II and Mahendra-varman I, it continued, with intervals, for many centuries, even long after it had led to the overthrow of both the dynasties.

Pulakesin's success against the Pallavas was short-lived. About A.D. 642, he was defeated and probably killed by the Pallava king Narasimha-varman I (son of Mahendra-varman I) who, in retaliation to Pulakesin's attack on the Pallava capital, led an expedition against Badami and captured it.

According to the evidence of several Pallava grants, Narasimha-varman I repeatedly defeated king Vallabha, i.e. Pulakesin II (or, according to one record, wrote the word "victory," as on a plate, on Pulakesin's back which was visible as the Chalukya king took to flight), at the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala, Suramara and other places and destroyed the city of Badami. In the Ceylonese chronicle Mahavamsa, prince Manavarman

1. For further discussion, cf. Ch. XXIII, Section 7.

is represented as having taken shelter at the court of the Pallava king whom he assisted in crushing his enemy, king Vallabha. That the destruction of VatapI was not an empty boast on the part of the Pallava king is proved by his title Vatapikonda and by a fragmentary rock inscription at Bad ami itself, which seems to say that the city was conquered by Simhavishnu or Narajsiihha vishnu (i.e. Narasimha-varman I), surnamed Mahamalla.

5. Vikramdditya I

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The inscriptions of the later members of the Chalukya house of Badami represent Pulakesin II as having been succeeded by one of his younger sons, Vikramaditya I (A.D. 655-81), who claims to have been the "favourite" son of his father, but who ascended the throne several years after his father's death. It appears that after Pulakesin's death, Badami and some of the southern districts of his empire were in the hands of the Pallavas for many years, while several of Pulakesin's sons were making futile efforts to drive out the enemy, and the viceroys of some of the provinces were ruling without any reference to the overlord (but without actually assuming independence) probably because several sons of Pulakesin II were rival claimants for the throne. The Kaira and Bagumra Grants referred to above 1 show that the troubled state resulting from Pulakesin's death ensued in or shortly before A.D. 643, and that the Chalukya sovereignty was not completely restored in distant provinces even as late as A.D. 655. As no king is placed between Pulakesin II and Vikramaditya I in the genealogy found in the formal charters of Vikramaditya I and his successors, it is usually believed that the Chalukya throne remained vacant during the period A.D. 642-55. When, however, the Pallavas were apparently not in occupation of the entire kingdom of the Chalukyas, it is inexplicable why Pulakesin’s eldest son did not declare himself king in the unconquered regions of the kingdom or at the court of a faithful viceroy or ally, especially when some of the viceroys are found not to have assumed independence. It is likely, therefore, that during this period there were several claimants for the throne, although none of them succeeded in driving out the Pallavas from Badami or in asserting his authority over all the viceroys. Eventually Vikramaditya I, who was probably at first fighting on behalf of one of his elder brothers 2 and enjoying the assistance rendered by the Gahga king Durvinita, possibly his mother’s father, succeeded in freeing Badami from the enemies and in securing his father’s throne

Note 10

Note 11

Note 12

ior himself. There is a Gahga inscription which speaks of Durvinita as having acquired fame in the land of Jayasirhha-Votllabha (founder of the Chalukya house of Badami) by seizing the Kaduvetti (meaning Pallava, i.e. the Pallava king of Kahchl) and setting up his own daughter’s son, probably Vikramaditya I. 1 It appears that the sons of Pulakesin II received little help from their relatives, the Eastern Chalukyas, who had severed their relations with Badami as early as the closing years of Kubja Vishnuvardhana’s reign. One of the rival claimants for the Chalukya throne after the death of Pulakesin II appears to have been his “dear” son Aditya-varman who is described in the Karnul grant of his first regnal year as Mahdrajddhirdja-Paramesvara and Prithivi-vallcibhci and as the supreme ruler of the whole earth overcome by his own prowess. The omission of the names of Aditya-varman and other claimants for the throne from the genealogy in the records of Vikramaditya I and his successors seems to be due to the fact that they were simultaneously ruling in the provinces away from Badami, and that their title to the throne was challenged or ignored by Vikramaditya I, who ousted them. The Kauthem grant of the Later Chalukyas, however, represents Pulakesin II as succeeded regularly by his son Nedamari, his grandson Aditya-varman and his great-grandson Vikramaditya I, and this tradition, mistaken as it is, may be a reminiscence of the actual fact that two elder brothers of Vikramaditya I had claimed to have been kings.

The existence of Chandraditya, another elder brother of Vikramaditya, is known from two grants 2 of Vijayabhat^arika, the wife of the former. In both these grants, Vikramaditya is described as the dear son of Pulakesin and conqueror of hostile kings and restorer of the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. As, besides, his name is placed before Chandraditya, there is no doubt that the latter enjoyed a feudatory status though there were cordial relations between the two brothers. It is difficult to decide whether Chandraditya was alive when his wife issued the Grant.

According to the Talamanchi and Nerur grants, Vikramaditya I ascended the throne after September 654 and before July 655 A.D. Like his brother Aditya-varman, he also claimed to have been the "dear" son of Pulakesin II. Vikramaditya I had the virudas Satyasraya, Ranarasika, Anivarita and Rajamalla, and enjoyed not only

Note 13

Note 14

the epithet Sri-prithivi-vallabha (Sri-vallabha or Vallabha) but also the imperial titles Mahdrajddhirdja Paramesvara and sometimes Bhattdraka. In a few viceregal records he is described as a Paramamdhesvara (i.e . devout worshipper of Siva) and as meditating on the feet of Nagavardhana, who is supposed to have been the king's religious teacher. But the Talamanchi grant referring to Sri Meghacharya as the king's svakiya-guru is no doubt more reliable than the above records. Vikramaditya I, who recovered the southern part of the empire from the Pallavas, is said to have conquered his enemies in numerous battles with the help of his sword and his charger named Chitrakantha. It is further stated that he acquired for himself his father's royal fortune that had been interrupted by three kings, and thus brought the whole kingdom under his sway. By mere word of mouth Vikramaditya I is said to have restored the grants to gods and Brahmanas that had been confiscated by the three hostile kings. Thus the Chalukya monarch acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors after having defeated several enemies, including not improbably some of his own brothers. The Hyderabad grant shows that Vikramaditya fought with the Paliava monarchs Narasimha-varman I, his son Mahendra-varman II and grandson Paramesvara-varman I. Vikramaditya I is described in it as having obliterated the fame of Narasimha, destroyed the power of Mahendra, and surpassed Isvara (i.e. Paramesvaravarman I) in statesmanship and thus crushed the Pallavas. He is further said to have captured Kahchi after conquering Isvarapotaraja (i.e. Paramesvara-varman I). The Gadval grant describes him as the destroyer of the family of Mahamalla (i.e. Narasimha-varman I) and of the Paliava lineage. From these accounts it is clear that, for the complete recovery of the lost districts of his father's kingdom, Vikramadiya had to fight with no less than three Paliava kings in succession. The struggle must have covered a long period of time commencing some years before and ending many years after his actual accession to the throne. Later records represent him as receiving the surrender of Kahchi after defeating the Paliava king, as humbling the kings of the Cholas, Pandyas, and Keralas, and as getting obeisance done to him by the rulers of Kahchi who were the cause of his family's humiliation. Thus Vikramaditya I is said to have become the lord of the whole earth bounded by the three oceans, indicating South India, bordered by the Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea, and Indian Ocean, and sometimes conceived as a secondary chakravcirii-kshe'tra. In some records the Kalabhras are added to the list of peoples subdued by Vikramaditya I. Epigraphic records also speak of the great assistance that was rendered 1<> the Chalukya king by his son Vinayaditva and grandson Vijnyadilya.

Vinayaditya claims to have arrested at his father's command the power or forces of the trairajya-Pailava-pati or trairdjya-Kdnchi-pati and pleased his father by ensuring peace in all the provinces, while Vijayaditya is said to have entirely uprooted the assemblage of the foes when his grandfather was engaged with the enemies in the south. Vinayaditya's exploit has been explained as a success against the Pallava king of Kanchi as well as the latter's neighbours, the kings of the three kingdoms of the Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas. 1

According to the Pallava records, king Paramesvara-varman I defeated the army of Vallabha (i.e. Vikramaditya I) at the battle of Peruvalanallur and, unaided, compelled the Chalukya king, whose army consisted of several lakhs, to take to flight, covered only by a mg. The Pallava king is further said to have destroyed the city of Ranarasika (Vikramaditya I), i.e. the Chalukya capital at Badami. 2 According to the Honnur Grant 3 Vikramaditya was encamped at Malliyur-grama to the west of Kanchi in A.D. 671. The Gadwal grant of Vikramaditya shows that he emulated the exploits of his father and advanced in the south as far as the Chola capital, at Uragapura on the southern bank of the Kaverl (modern Uraiyur near Trichinopoly), where he was stationed on the 25th April, A.D. 674. This suggests that the Pallava power was temporarily paralysed once again. But the Pallava king had, according to some writers, allied himself with some of the southern monarchs including the Pandya king Kcchchadaiyan, and ultimately succeeded in driving the Chalukyas out of the southern region. But the Pandyas in this period were enemies of the Pallavas. The credit for the defeat of the Chalukyas at the battle of Peruvalanallur near Trichinopoly has to be ascribed to the military genius of the Pallava king alone.

During Vikramaditya's rule, his younger brother Dharasraya Jayasimha-varman was established in the viceroyalty of the Gujarat region with the provincial capital probably at Navasarika (Navsari). According to a Nasik grant, 4 referred to A.D. 666 or 685, Jayasimhavarman annihilated the entire army of a ruler named Vajjada in the land between the rivers Mahl and Narmada. Vajjada is naturally

Note 15

Note 16

Note 17

regarded as the Prakrit corruption of the semi-Sanskrit name Vajrata (probably standing for Vajrabhata) a king of which name, according to the Rashtrakuta records, was defeated by the army of the Chalukya emperors of Badami. This king has been tentatively identified with Siladitya III (A.D. 662-84) of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhl. 1 Yuvamja &ryasraya Siladitya (A.D. 670-92) and his father Dharasraya Jayasimha-varman probably helped Vikramaditya I in the latter's struggle with Pallava king Mahendra-varman II. The Gaddemane inscription refers to a victory of Slladitya over a king named Mahendra and to a general named Pettani Satyahka who fell fighting with the Beda chiefs. 2

6. Vinayaditya and Vijayaditya

Vikramaditya I was succeeded by his “dear” son Vinayaditya (A.D. 681-96) who had probably taken up the reins of government a few years before his father’s death in A.D. 681. Vinayaditya was known by the virudas Srl-prithivl-vallabha, Satyasraya and probably also Rajasraya and Yuddhamalla, and enjoyed the imperial titles of his father. Mention has already been made of his contest with the kings of Ranch! and the three neighbouring kingdoms during his father’s reign. Several of his own records as well as those of his successors credit him with a number of other exploits, some of which appear to be exaggerated. He claims to have reduced the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas (Kalachuris), Vilas, Malavas (Malavaraiyans of Malanadu), Cholas, Pandyas and other peoples to the same state of servitude as that of the Aluvas (Alupas), Gangas and others who were the hereditary servants of his family. Later inscriptions credit him with having levied tribute from the kings of such Dvipas as Kamera or Kavera (probably the Raven valley), Paraslka (Persia) and Simhala (Ceylon). Although the claims appear to be extravagant, it is not improbable, in view of the troubled condition in both Simhala and Persia about this period, that, a Ceylonese prince and a Persian chief had taken refuge at the Chalukya court. 3 It is said that king Vinayaditya acquired the banner called pdlidhvaja and other insignia of sovereignty by defeating, like his grandfather, the lord of the entire Uttarapatha, whose name however, is not specified. The identification of the North

Note 18

Note 19

Indian adversary of the Chalukya king is uncertain. The nonmention of the personal name of the adversary may indicate that the epigraphic passage in question actually signifies the Chalukya king’s nominal success against several North Indian rulers. 1

Vinayaditya’s rule seems to have ended disastrously. It is said that, while the Chalukya monarch desired to conquer Uttarapatha, his son Yuvardja

Vijayaditya defeated the hostile forces in front (or, in the presence) of his father and acquired the Ganga and Yamuna symbols, the 'pdlidhvaja standard, double drums, Mahmabda badges, jewels, elephants and other articles, which he presented to his father. But, in this connection, it is also said that prince Vijayaditya was captured by the retreating enemies. After the prince had somehow managed to escape, he succeeded in putting down the anarchical disturbances in his land. The above account may suggest that king Vinayaditya died during the period of his son's captivity in the hands of the enemies.

In the viceroyalty of the Lata region, Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman was associated in the administration, for a long time, with his son, Yuvardja Sryasraya £lladitya. Another viceroy of Vinayaditya was Maharaja Pogilli of the Sendraka family, who was in possession of territories in the Kanarese area previously held by the Kadambas.

Vijayaditya (A.D. 696-733), the "dear" son of Vinayaditya, next ascended the throne. He was known by the virudas Satyasraya, Samastabhuvanasraya and Sri-prithivi-vallabha and enjoyed the usual imperial titles of his father and grandfather; he was also sometimes styled Parama-bhattaraka in place of Bhattaraka (Bhatdra in Kannada). Vijayaditya's reign has been hitherto regarded to be a peaceful one. But it appears that he was involved in a struggle with the Pallavas. Probably he took the aggressive. For we learn from the recently discovered Ulchala stone inscription 2 dated in the 35th year of his reign (A.D. 730-1) that Yuvardja Vikramaditya conquered Kanchl and levied tribute from the Pallava king Paramesvaravarman (II). This was evidently the first of the three expeditions against Kanchl which Vikramaditya II is said to have undertaken. 3

Vijayaditya built the magnificent temple of Siva under the name Vijayesvara (now called Sangamesvara) at Pattadakal in Bijapur District. He was tolerant of Jainism and donated villages to Jain teachers. 4 He had probably a younger sister named Kunkuma-maha

1. See above, p. 130, where it is suggested that Vinayaditya's adversary was Yasovarman.

2. Cf. Ancient India. No. 5, p. 54. 3. IA, X. 164-5.

4. Two spurious Grants (Kielhorn’s List Nos. 26, 37) represent a Jain teacher as the priest of the king’s father, suggesting that Vinayaditya was a follower of Jainism.

2 M'S

devl who built the Jain temple called Anesejjeya-basadi at Lakslimeswar. An inscription at the temple at Mahakuta (ancient Makuta) in Bijapur District records the gifts of the courtesan Vinapoti who is described as “the soul’s darling” of Vijayaditya.

The viceroy of the Lata region during Vijayaditya’s reign, about A.D. 731-32, was Jayasraya Mangalaraja, surnamed Vinayaditya and Yuddhamalla, who was a younger brother of Yu vara ja Sryasraya Siladitya. A viceregal family of the Rashtrakutas, to whom reference will be made later, seems to have ruled in the northern part of the Chalukya empire.

7. Vikramaditya II and Kirtivarman II

Vijayaditya was succeeded by his “dear” son Vikramaditya II (A.D. 733-34 to 744-45) who had the virudas Satyasraya and Sriprithivl-vallabha and usual imperial titles. He is said to have had a younger brother named Bhima from whom the later Chalukyas claimed their descent. Vikramaditya’s chief queen was MahadevI Loka-mahadevi of the Haihaya (Kalachuri) family, who built the great temple of Siva under the name Lokesvara (now called Virupaksha) at Pattadakal. The king conferred the fillet or badge of honour called the Mume-perjerepu patta and the name Tribhuvanacharya upon the architect Gunda, surnamed Anivaritacharya, who built the temple. Another of his queens was Rdjm Trailokyamahadevl (a co-uterine younger sister of Loka-mahadevi) who constructed another great temple of Siva under the name Trailokyesvara in the vicinity of the Lokesvara shrine.

Hostilities with the Pallavas were continued during the reign of Vikramaditya II who is said to have made a sudden attack on the Tundaka country (i.c. the Pallava kingdom) with a desire to uproot completely his “natural enemy”, the Pallava. The Chalukya monarch is also said to have taken possession of the musical instruments styled Kafumukha and Samudraghosha, the dhvaja or banner called Khatvdnga (club with a skull at the top), elephants, and rubies after putting to flight the Pallava king Nandipota-varman, i.e. Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla, who was the successor of Paramesvara-varman II, grandson of Paramesvara-varman I. He then entered Kanchl, which he did not destroy, and donated heaps of gold to the Rajasirhhesvara temple and other shrines which had been built by Narasimha-varman II, father of Paramesvara-varman II. The Chalukya king then destroyed the power of the Pandya, Chola, Kerala, Kalabhra and other kings, and set up a pillar of victory on the shores of the Southern Ocean. The conquest of Kahchi by Vikramaditya II is not only mentioned in the Chalukya inscriptions, but is also proved by the existence of a fragmentary record of the

Chalukya monarch at the Rajasirhhesvara temple at Conjeeveram. Yuvardja Kirtivarman II, Vikramaditya's son by Loka-mahadevI, is also said to have joined the expedition against the "family-foe", the Paliava king of Kanchi, who proved himself unable to fight in the open country and was driven back into his fortress. After breaking the power of the enemy, the Chalukya prince is said to have captured numerous elephants and rubies and heaps of gold, which he presented to his father.

The Naravana charter of Vikramaditya II, dated January 743 A.D., records the grant of a village in the Ratnagiri District by the Chalukya king at the request of his subordinate, Rashtrakuta Govindaraja, who was the son of Sivaraja. The charter was issued when the king was camping at Adityavatika (Aitavada in Satara District). The chief was probably governing the Satara-Ratnagiri region. In the northern part of the Deccan, two houses of the Rashtrakutas appear to have been growing powerful during the weak rule of the emperors of Badami in the first half of the eighth century.

During the reign of Vikramaditya II, a formidable invasion of the Tajikas or Arabs was repulsed by the northern viceroy Avanijanasraya Pulakesin, younger brother and successor of Javasraya Mahgalaraja, as noted above. 1 For this achievement, the king conferred on Avanijanasraya Pulakesin such titles as Dakshinapatha svadharana and Anivartaka-nivartayitri. A few years later Lata was conquered by Rashtrakuta Dantidurga who seems to have extirpated the viceregal house of the Chalukyas.

Vikramaditya II was succeeded by his “dear” son Kirtivarman II (A.D. 744-45 to 757) 2 who enjoyed the virudas Satyasrava and Nripasimha, as well as the usual Vallabha names and imperial titles. He made a grant in honour of god Faramesvara (Siva) at the Ramesvara tirtha on the Tungabhadra.

8. The End of the Chalukya Kingdom of Badami

The royal fortunes of the Chalukyas of Badami which, according to the records of the Later Chalukyas, disintegrated during KirtivarmaiTs reign, passed about the middle of the eighth century to Rashtrakuta Dantidurga also known as Dantivacman II. In the Fllora grant of Dantidurga, dated A.D. 742, the Rashtrakuta ruler, who probably made Ellora his headquarters, was still satisfied with the feudatory title Mahdsamantddhipati and the epithet samadhigatapancha-mahasabda ; but the absence of any reference to the Chalukya overlord Vikramaditya II shows that he was already aspiring to

Note 20

Note 21

Note 22

independence. The Samangad grant of A.D. 754, however, shows that by that date the northern provinces of the Chalukya empire had been completely occupied by the Rashtrakutas. The Samangad and other records not only attribute to Dantidurga the imperial titles Mahamj&dhir&ja, Paramesvara and Paramabhatparaka, but say that he acquired supreme sovereignty by conquering Vallabha, i.e. the Chalukya monarch Kirtivarman II. Dantidurga is also described as the conqueror of the Karnataka army (i.e. the forces of the Chalukyas) which had previously subdued the lord of Kanchl, the king of Kerala, the Cholas, the Pandyas, the illustrious Harsha, and Vajrata. Dantidurga’s claim to have subjugated the Pallava king of Kahchi, no doubt Nandi-varman II, seems to be supported by the fact that the Pallava king named his son Danti-varman (a name unusual in the Pallava genealogy) apparently after the Rashtrakuta monarch. His success in the far south may suggest that Rashtrakuta supremacy extended also over the southern part of the Chalukya empire, and that Kirtivarman II, now confined to his home province, was compelled to acknowledge Dantidurga's suzerainty. The Vakkaleri grant of Kirtivarman II, dated the 2nd September, A.D. 757, records his gift of a village in the modern Hangal region of the Dharwar District when the Chalukya king was stationed on the northern bank of the Bhlmarathi (Bhlma) in the present Sholapur District. This may suggest that Kirtivarman II made an attempt to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his family shortly after Dantidurga's death. But soon the Chalukya king was overthrown by Rashtrakuta Krishna I who is said to have "forcibly carried away the fortune of the Chalukya family bearing the garland of waving Pali-dhvajas", and to have "transformed the great boar (the Chalukya crest), which had been seized with an itching for battle and attacked him, into a deer." Some records describe him as achieving supreme sovereignty, resplendent with numerous Pali-dhvajas, by conquering Rahapa (Rahappa or Rahapya). The reference to supreme sovereignty and the palidhvaja in relation to both the Chalukyas and Rahapa suggests that Rahapa was another name of the Chalukya king Kirtivarman II.

The dominions of the Chalukyas under Vikramaditya I and his successors extended from Gujarat in the north to the Nellore District in the south. But the struggle with the Pallavas, demanding their constant attention on the south, not only exhausted their strength and resources, but also loosened their hold on the northern provinces of the empire, where the viceroys gradually began to rule semiindependentiy. These were the main factors that led to the overthrow of the Chalukya emperor by one of his northern viceroys. 1

Note 23

II. THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS

We have seen that Pulakesin II, the Chalukya king of Badami, had a younger brother named Vishnuvardhana or Kubja-Vishnuvardhana, also known as Prithivi-duvaraja (i.e. Prithivl-yuvaraja or Prithivi-vallabha-Yuvaraja), who accompanied him in his expedition against the countries of the east coast about A.D. 631. In the Satara grant dated A.D. 617-18, Vishnuvardhana calls himself Yuvardja and claims to have been the "dear" younger brother of the king of Badami. According to this record, the Yuvardja, while he was at Kurumarathl, granted to some Brahmanas the village of Alanda-tirtha (probably Alundah about 35 miles north of Satara) on the south bank of the BhimarathT. It is clear that Vishnuvardhana was made Yuvardja early in the reign of his elder brother, and that about the year A.D. 617-18 he was ruling as viceroy of the South Maratha country. A tradition recorded in the Avantisundankathasdra seems to speak of the contemporaneity of the Pallava king Simhavishnu (i.e. Narasimha-varman I) of Kahchl, narendra Vishnuvardhana of the Nasik region, and king Durvinita {i.e. the Gahga king of that name). This might suggest that Yuvardja Vishnuvardhana was for some time ruling also as viceroy of the North Maratha country or that the province under him included the whole land from Satara to Nasik.

As noted above, 1 shortly before the end of A.D. 631, Pulakesin II subdued the king of Pishtapura and the Vishnukundin king Vikramendra-varman III, and appointed Vishnuvardhana viceroy of the newly conquered territories, extending along the coast from Vizagapatam District to the northern part of Nellore District. Soon after the return of Pulakesin II to Badami, however, Vishnuvardhana seems to have assumed the title Maharaja and begun to rule as an independent monarch without reference to the king of Badami. Thus he became the founder of the so-called Eastern Chalukya dynasty of the Andhra country. Vishnuvardhana, known as Vishnuvardhana I, was called Makaradhvaja and Vishamasiddhi, and also Bittarasa which is a Kanarese corruption of Sanskrit Vishnuraja. The extent of his dominions is indicated by the Kopparam grant as well as the charters of his independent rule and those of his successors. The Timmapuram and Chipurupalle Grants of Vishnuvardhana I, which were issued from his capital at Pishtapura, record gifts of land in the Plaki and Dimila vishayas in the present Vizagapatam District. The Plaki -vishaya corresponded to the region round the ancient town of Cherupura, modern Chipurupalle, which is the chief town of a taluk of that name, while the name Dimila is preserved in that

Note 24

of Dimile, a village in Sarvasiddhi taluk. One of Vishnuvardhana's lieutenants named Buddhavarman, who belonged to the Chaturth dbhijana or the Sudra class and was the founder of the Durjaya family, was appointed by his master governor of a tract of land called Giri-paschima or “West of the Hill”. This locality is said to have comprised seventy-three villages which have been located about Sattenapalle taluk of Guntur District. Vishnuvardhana’s queen Ayyana-mahadevI executed a grant in favour of a Jain temple at Bijavada, i.e. Vijayavaqla (modern Bezwada).

Vishnuvardhana I is said to have had a general named Kalakampa, who belonged to the PattavardhinI family, and killed in the battlefield a certain Daddara. The identity of Daddara is uncertain. There is a tradition that the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty was a patron of learning and that the celebrated poet Bharavi, author of the Kiratdrjuniya, enjoyed his patronage.

According to the records of the later members of the Eastern Chalukya family, Vishnuvardhana I ruled over the Vengl country for eighteen years. The statement probably points to a period when the Eastern Chalukya capital was transferred from Pishtapura to the ancient city of Vengl prior to its transfer to Rajamahendri or Rajamahendrapura founded by Amma II (A.D. 945-70), surnamed Rajamahendra. The Chipurupalle grant, issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse when Vishnu vardhana was himself an independent Maharaja owing no allegiance to the king of Badami, is dated on the fifteenth tithi of the fourth month of the 18th year of his own rule. It is usually believed that the date corresponds to the 7th July, A.D. 632; but it has been recently suggested that it may fall in A.D. 641 or A.D. 650. Consequently Vishnuvardhana’s rule of 18 years has been assigned by different writers to A.D. 615-33, to A.D. 624-41 and to A.D. 633-50. In spite, however, of the statement in the later records that Vishnuvardhana ruled the Vengl country for 18 years, it seems that his 18th regnal year, as referred to in the Chipurupalle grant, was counted from his Yauvar&jy-dbhisheka which, as we have seen, took place some time before A.D. 617-18. That the viceroys or subordinate rulers sometimes dated their charters in the years of their own administration even when they were transferred from one place to another is probably indicated by the Goa grant of Satya^raya-Dhruvaraja-Indravarman of Revatidvipa, dated in Saka 532 (A.D. 610 or 611) and in the 20th year of his own government, although he could hardly have been stationed at Revatidvipa before the conquest of that region by Mangalesa (A.D. 597-98 to 610-11). 1 The viceregal or subordinate rulers, who are known to have later

Note 25

assumed independence, usually counted from the actual beginning of their rule and not from the commencement of their independent reign, there being usually in such cases a period—short or long— of virtual independence and nominal dependence and no definite date of the assumption of independent status. Even if Vishnuvardhana counted his 18th year from his establishment at Pishtapura, it could hardly have been from A.D. 624 or A.D. 633, as according to the Kopparam grant, that region seems to have been conquered about A.D. 630-31. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is possibly better to assign Vishnuvardhana's rule to the period A.D. 615-33, although it would mean that he ruled in the Andhra country only for about four years prior to his death. Nothing definite can be said on this point until further evidence is forthcoming; but the fact that about half a century intervened between the advanced years of the Vishnukundin king Madhavavarman I (c. A.D. 535-85) and the early years of Vishnuvardhana's successor 1 does not appear to support the dates A.D. 624-41 or A.D. 633-50 for the founder of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. 2

Vishnu vardhana I was succeeded by his son Mahdrdja Jayasiihha I (c. A.D. 633-63) who was also known as Prithivl-vallabha, Sarvasiddhi and PrithivI-Jayasimha (i.e. Prithivl-vallabha Jayasiriiha). In later records, he is usually assigned a reign of 33 years; but sometimes only a reign of 30 years. This confusion possibly arises from the fact that in the closing years of his reign, the administration was actually in charge of his brother Indravarman. As noted above, the Pallavas defeated Pulakesin II, and occupied the southern part of his empire, including the capital city of Badami, about A.D. 642. During the long and protracted struggle that followed, Jayasimha does not appear to have rendered any assistance to his relatives in distress.

Jayasimha I was succeeded by his brother Mahdrdja Indravarman (c. A.D. 663) who was also called Indraraja, Induraja (sic.) and Indrabhattaraka, and had the virudas Siihhavikrama and Tyagadhenu. According to later records of the family, king Indravarman

Note 26

reigned only for a week; but he seems to have enjoyed considerable power in the administration during the later years of the rule of his brother Jayasimha I, One of his feudatories was Kondivarman of the Aryahu family who was probably a friend of the king's son also named Indravarman.

Indravarman's successor was his son Vishnuvardhana II (c. A.D. 663-72) who enjoyed the virudas Vishamasiddhi, Makaradhvaja and Pralayaditya, and ruled for nine years. Most of his own records as well as those of his successors represent him as a son of Indravarman. In one of his inscriptions, however, he calls himself the son of Jayasimha I. Whether this is due to mistake or whether Vishnuvardhana II was treated by his uncle as an adopted son, it is difficult to say. He was succeeded by his son Mahgi-yuvaraja (c. A.D. 672-96) who was known as Vijayasiddhi and Sarvalokasraya and ruled for 25 years.

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King Sarvalokasraya Vijayasiddhi or Mahgi-y u varSj a had several sons of whom Jayasimha II {c. A.D. 696-709), surnamed Sarvalokasraya and Sarvasiddhi, succeeded him after his death and ruled for 13 years. But the new king's brother Vijayadityavarman, who seems to have been originally the viceroy of Madhyama-Kalinga with Elamahchi (modern Yellamanchili in Sarvasiddhi taluk of Vizagapatam District) as his provincial headquarters, assumed the title Maharaja and threw off the yoke of Jayasimha II. After Vijayaditya's death, Madhyama-Kalinga passed to his son, Maharaja Kokuli or Kokilivarman, also called Anivarita and Sarvalokasraya.

When Jayasimha II died, the throne was seized by his younger step-brother Kokkili or Kokuli Vikramaditya, surnamed Vijayasiddhi, who reigned only for six months. During his short reign, he seems to have succeeded in conquering Madhyama-Kalinga from his nephew who bore his own name. But soon king Kokuli Vikramaditya was overthrown by his elder brother Vishnuvardhana III (c. A.D. 709-46). It seems that Madhyama-Kalinga remained for some years in the possession of Kokuli Vikramaditya's son named Mangi-yuvaraja after his grandfather.

Vishnuvardhana III assumed the names Samastabhuvanasraya, Tribhuvanankusa and Vishamasiddhi, and ruled for 37 years. He succeeded in annexing Madhyama-Kalinga. The Musinikonda charter of £aka 684 (A.D. 762) records the gift of a village to a Jain temple at Bijavada (modern Bezwada) built by Ayyana-mahadevi, queen of Kubj a-Vishnuvardhana. The Grant was issued by king Vishnuvardhana III; but it was executed by the queen. It has been suggested that this charter was a renewal of an old one issued during the reign of Vishnuvardhana I and that, although Vishnuvardhana III

abdicated his throne about A.D. 746, he probably lived up to A.D. 762. It is also not improbable that the charter said to have been renewed by Vishnuvardhana III was actually issued by his successor. Another charter issued in the 23rd regnal year of Vishnu- 1 vardhana III records a grant made by Prithivipothi, daughter of Maghin-duvaraja, who seems to have been none other than king Mangi-yuvaraja, father of the reigning monarch. The identification of Maghin-duvaraja with the Pallava prince Mahendra-varman III (brother of Paramesvara-varman II) is unconvincing. The word duvardja is a Dravidian corruption of Sanskrit yuvardja.

During the reign of Vishnuvardhana III, a Nishada king named Prithivivyaghra, who had let loose a horse for performing the Asvamedha sacrifice, 1 seems to have occupied the southern part of the Eastern Chalukya dominions about the northern fringe of the Nellore District. In the Udayendiram Grant of the Pallava king Nandivarman II of Kanchi, his general Udayachandra claims to have defeated the Nishada king and, having driven him out of the vishaya or territory of Vishnuraja (i.e. Vishnuvardhana III), annexed it to his master's dominions. ,

Vishnuvardhana III was succeeded by Vijayaditya I (c. A.D. 746-64), 2 his son by the chief queen Viiaya-mahadevl. Vijayaditya I assumed the titles Tribhu vanankusa, Vijayasiddhi, Saktivarman and Vikramarama, and ruled for about 18 or 19 years. His reign witnessed a great political change in the Deccan. In the middle of the eighth century, the imperial Chalukya house of Badami was overthrown by the Rashtrakutas who next fell upon the dominions of the eastern branch of the Chalukya family. The story of the long-drawn hostilities between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas, which characterise the following epoch of Eastern Chalukya history, will be narrated in the next volume.

Note 28

Note 29

CHAPTER XIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Hiuen Tsang refers to Pulakesin II as a 'Kshatriya by birth' (HTW . II. 239).
2. 1. Cf. also other records such as the Yevoor and Nilgunda grants of Vikramaditya VI, Sonavade and Miraj grants of Jayasimha, etc.
3. 2. See p. 200. 3. See p. 201.
4. 1. See p. 196.
5. 1. But cf. pp. 242, 269.
6. 1. Some writers think that the enemies referred to -were the Gangas and not the Chalukyas. According to them. Pulakesin's Pallava adversary was not Mahendra-varman, but the latter's son Narasimha-varman (1HQ, XXVIII. 60).
7. •J38
8. 1. El, XVIII. 257 ff.
9. 2. This city is said to have been 1000 li, i.e. above 167 miles from Bharukachchha or Broach, while the actual distance between Broach and Badami is about 435 miles. It has accordingly been suggested that the pilgrim refers to Nasik on the Godavari (about 128 miles from Broach) which may have been the temporary residence of the Chalukya king when he was conducting military operations against Harsha-vardhana. The suggestion, however, is not entirely convincing as the operations against Harsha are mentioned in a record of A.D. 634-35, while Hiuen Tsang visited Maharashtra about six years later. Does the pilgrim refer to Ellora which seems to have been the capital of the earlier imperial Rashtrakutas and may have been a secondary capital of the Chalukyas of Badami? It may be pointed out that Ellora has a river to its west, but Nasik has none.
10. 1. See p. 236.
11. 2. It does not appear that Vikramaditya I was a rival claimant from the very beginning, for in that case he would have probably dated the commencement of his reign in A.D. 642 and not 655.
12. C.A.—16
13. 1. Some scholars place Durvinita's reign much too early *for this (Cf. Ch. XIII. p. 269). For the date of Durvinita cf. Successors of the Satavahanas , pp. 299-302. Vikramaditya's queen Ganga-MahadevI,

mentioned in the Gadval Grant, may have been a grand-daughter of Durvinita.

14. 2. BG. p. 366. The expression Svarajya in one of the grants should be taken to mean ‘the sovereignty of ourselves (i.e. the Chalukyas).’ Vijayabhattarika may have been the celebrated poetess Vijja mentioned in the literary traditions.
15. 1. It is difficult to agree with scholars who believe that Vinayaditya defeated the Pallava lord of Kanchi, who had under him three kingdoms or a kingdom having three divisions.
16. 2. According to some scholars, the Pcriyapuranam (Siruttondar, v. 6) suggests that, when the Chalukya king v/as leading the expedition against the Pallava country,^ Paramesvara-varman I sent his general {§iruttonda to capture Vatapl. The Chalukya king’s grandson Vijayaditya possibly succeeded in repulsing the Pallava- army under 6iruttonda. The claim of Gahga Bhuvikrama, successor of Durvinlta, to have defeated the Pallava king (possibly Paramesvara-varman) at Vilinda in the Tumkur region of Mysore seems to refer to a phase of this Chalukya-Pallava struggle (IHQ , XXVIII. 63-4).
17. 3. Arch. Surv. Mysore, 1939, p. 134. 4. IHQ, XX. 353 ff.
18. 1. See above, p. 149. 2. See above, p. 106, f.n. 1.
19. 3. In Ceylon Mana-varman, who had been a fugitive at the Pallava court, fought against Pulakesin II, and had gained the throne after killing king Hastadamshtra II with Pallava help, ruled from A.D. 668 to 703. It is not unlikely that one of his rivals turned to the Chalukya king for help. Persia was conquered by the Arabs during the Caliphate of Umar (A.D. 634-44), but the total eradication of the semi-independent Satraps of the Persian empire required some time. The first colony of Parsee emigrants from Khurasan is said to have settled at Sanjan (Thana Dist.) in A.D. 735 (EHI* p. 444).
20. 1. See p. 155.
21. 2. For the date of accession of Kirtivarman II, cf. El. IX. 202.
22. 248
23. 1. Cf. 1C XV, 184-89.
24. 1. See p. 238.
25. 1. See above, p. 234.
26. 1. Cf. above, p. 208.

27. 2. A recently discovered charter has been taken to support A.D. 624 as the beginning of Kubja-Vishnuvardhana’s rule in Andhra (see Anc. Ind., January 1949, p. 49). Dr. N. Venkataramanayya accepts the above date of the foundation of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty in his recent work, The Eastern Chdlukyas of Vehgi, Madras, 1950; but he rightly points out: ‘It must not, however, be supposed that the problem of Eastern Chalukya chronology has finally been solved. Though the evidence of the early records is generally in agreement with the date suggested here for the establishment of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom, certain facts militate against it and create a suspicion in the mind that a satisfactory solution has not yet been attained’ (op. cit., p. 56). The date, AD. 624, for the foundation of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty was first suggested by B. V. Krishna Rao (JAHRS , IX, Pt. 4, pp. 1-32).
28. 1. IA, VIII. 273. Venkataramanayya suggests (op. cit., 75-6) that the horse was let loose by Nandivarman II and it was sought to be captured by an E. Chalukya feudatory, perhaps with the support of his suzerain. The Udayendiram grant actually reads as follows: uttarasydm-api disi pra (pri) thivivyaghr&bkidha (dha)nishada-patim prabaldyamdnam-asvamedha-turangamanusarttnamapatam-anusritya, etc. There is no definite indication as to who it was that performed this Asvamedha, but I think it was Prithivivyaghra or his overlord and not the Pallava king. Had Nandivarman Pallavamalla been the performer, the fact would have been given more prominence in this record and would have certainly been referred to in some of the numerous records of the later Pallavas. The epithet nishada-pati, attributed to Prithivivyaghra, might be either Nishadha-pati or nishada-pati. Considering the Dravidian inclination to nonaspiration, the former is not improbable. In that case, we have possibly to connect the king with the royal family claiming descent from Nala, lord of Nishada or the Nishadhas. There is a Nala king named Prithviraja, mentioned in the Rajim inscription; but he seems to be earlier than the contemporary of Pallavamalla.
29. 2. This date is in accordance with Fleet’s chronology. B. V. K. Rao, followed now by others, suggests the date A.D. 755-72 (op. cit., table between pp. 30-31).

DYNASTIES OF SOUTH INDIA

I. THE PALLAVAS 1 . The Origin

The origin of the Pallavas has been discussed by scholars for more than half a century; still the latest writer on the subject is constrained to say: “The origin of the Pallavas remained till now a mystery,” 1 The premises of the problem may be stated in order to consider the validity of any theory. The Pallava monuments and inscriptions associate them intimately with Tondamandalam, between the North Penner and the North Vellar dominated by Kahchi, but their kingdom is not one with its limits known to Tamil tradition, like the Chola, Parity a, and Kerala kingdoms. The inscriptions of Asoka contain no reference to the Pallava kingdom as such. The Pallavas issued their earliest known documents in Prakrit, and somewhat later, in Sanskrit, and assumed titles like Dkarmamaharaja and Asvamedhaydjin. Their early administrative system was on the lines of the Satavahana system, linking up ultimately with that laid down in the Arthasdtftra of Kautilya. They were in the beginning quite uhlike the Tamil rulers of the &angam Age who patronised Tamil literature. Therefore it is thought that the Pallava kings of Tonda-mandalam must have originally belonged to a different region. Consequently we have a multiplicity of theories attempting to indicate their original home and their immigration into Tondamandalam.

A few scholars like B. L. Rice and V. Venkayya identify the Pallavas with the Pahlavas or Parthians who, after their settlement in the Sindhu valley and Western India along with the Sakas, are supposed to have occupied Tonda-mandalam in the period of the decline of the Satavahanas. But their immigration into the Kahchi region cannot be explained objectively. Further, Rajasekhara, the great poet and playwright at the Gurjara-Pratihara court of Kanauj, who was born in the Deccan, and some of whose works are valuable for the light they throw on ancient Indian geography, assigns the Pallavas to South India and the Pahlavas to the trans-Sindhu region. Moreover, the Pallava records do not mention the Pahlavas. Foreign rulers like the Sakas did not perform the Asvamedha sacrifice, and it is difficult to believe that the Pahlavas under the name of Pallavas

Note 1

became fond of it. The theory of the Parthian origin of the Pallavas has been recently supported on the ground that one of the sculptures in the Vaikuntha-perumal temple at Kahchl depicts a crown shaped like an elephant's scalp, similar to that worn by Demetrius, the IndoBactrian king, on his coins. But similar reasoning would make the ikshvakus of Nagarjunikonda Scythians, because a 'Scythian Warrior' is found among the monuments of that place. Jouveau-Dubreuil makes Suvisakha, a Pahlava minister of Rudradaman I, the ancestor of the Pallavas of Kahchl. This view is broadly supported by the latest writer on the subject: "The Pallavas were immigrants from the North or properly speaking from Konkan and Anarta in Dakshinapatha. They came into South India through Kuntala or Vanavasa." 1 K P. Jayaswal regards the Pallavas as an offshoot of the Vakatakas for the reason that they were both Brahmanas of the Bharadvaja gotra and stresses the point that a Naga princess was married by VIrakurcha, a feudatory of the Bharasiva Nagas. 2 This marriage alliance is underlined by Jouveau-Dubreuil as well. But, was VIrakurcha the founder of the Pallava dynasty of Kahchl? The theory of a Chola prince, whose mother was a nagi, founding the Pallava kingdom, violates the premises of the problem stated above. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar regards the Pallavas as the feudatories of the Satavahanas—officers and governors of the south-eastern part of their empire—, equates the term Pallava with the terms Tondaiyar and Tondaman (people and rulers of Tonda-mandalam), and says that, after the fall of the Satavahana Empire, those feudatories "founded the new dynasty of the Pallavas, as distinct from the older chieftains, the Tondamans of the region". 3

Scholars have wandered from Persia to Ceylon in search of the original home of the Pallavas of Kahchl, on the supposition that they were foreign to Tonda-mandalam, where they rose to eminence. But, in the opinion of the present writer, they originated in Tondamandalam itself. It was a province in the empire of Asoka enjoying the benefits of the Mauryan administration for nearly fifty years, and the Pulindas, included in the list of his subject-peoples, were perhaps identical with the Kurumbas of Tonda-mandalam. Their name is reflected in Pulinadu and Puliyurkottam, two ancient territorial divisions of this region. The Vayalur Pillar Inscription of Rajasirhha mentions the name Pallava after the first seven mythical ancestors from Brahma to Asvatthama and before Asoka's name. It may, therefore, be argued that there was a Pallava ruler before Asoka. Further, Pallava may be taken to be a variant of Palada (a form of the name Pulinda in some versions of Asoka's edicts) and

Note 2

may be regarded as the southernmost people of the Maurya Empire. 1 They must have continued its traditions during the period of their independence after Asoka's death. The importance of Ton$amandalam from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. is vouched for by Patanjali and Pan Kou and by the author of the Manimekhalai. Tondaiyar is a Tamil rendering of Pallavas. The conquest of a part of Tonda-mandalam south of the Palar by Karikala Chola in the second century A.D. could not have destroyed the Mauryan system established at Kanchi. The Satavahana acquisition of Tonda-mandalam in that century must have reinforced that system. The Pallavas became feudatory to the Satavahanas and, after the collapse of the latter power about A.D. 225, converted their gubernatorial status into a royal one. Their expansion from Kanchi to the Krishna is proved by the Mayidavolu and Hirahadagaili Prakrit copper-plate grants of Sivaskanda-varman Pallava and, considering his affinity to the Satavahanas, it is not surprising that he issued charters in Prakrit and assumed the title of Dharmamahdrdja. The theory of the Tonda-mandalam origin of the Pallavas of Kanchi best explains the historical facts relating to the problem of their origin, viz. that their earliest documents are in the Prakrit and Sanskrit, not in Tamil, and that their traditions and their administrative system are, at least in the early stages, Yiot South Indian or Tamil in character.

2. Early History

The Pallava inscriptions are of three kinds. Prakrit copperplates assignable on palaeographic grounds to the period A.D. 250350; Sanskrit copper-plates to 350-600; and lithic and copper-plate records from the seventh century. The change from Prakrit to Sanskrit and the use of stone besides copper-plates were not due to dynastic considerations.

Early Pallava genealogy and chronology have given rise to acute differences of opinion among scholars and the question is dealt with in the

Appendix to this chapter. It will suffice here to state that the Prakrit charters 2 mention several kings including Sivaskanda-varman who ruled probably about the beginning of the~ fourth century A.D. He seems to have been the greatest of the early Pallavas and his dominions extended from the Krishna to the South Fenner and to the Bellary District. He performed a number of Brahmanical sacrifices like the Asvamedha, and the Mauryan character of his administrative system is clear from his Hirahadagaili grant.

Note 3

Vishnugopa comes between the kings of the Prakrit charters and those of Sanskrit charters. He was one of the twelve kings of Dakshinapatha defeated by Samudra-gupta. A fruitless attempt 1 has been recently made to revive the theory of Jouveau-Dubreuil that Samudra-gupta was defeated by Vishnugopa in league with other princes. There are sufficient reasons for thinking that the Gupta expedition was a punitive one and that it was a great success. Visnnugopa may be assigned to the period A.D. 350-375.

The Sanskrit charters mention more than sixteen kings assignable to the period A.D. 350-575. Some of them were Yuvamahdrdjas who never became kings. We know from relatively later epigraphic records that Vlrakurcha married a Naga princess and became king, and this fact is interpreted by some scholars as the foundation of the Pallava line by Vlrakurcha. But it might only mean that he strengthened his position, which must have become difficult after Samudra-gupta's Dakshinapatha expedition, by a marriage alliance. The next ruler Skandasishya is said to have seized the gkatika of the Brahmanas of Kanchl from king Satyasena, who is identified with the Western Kshatrapa Satyasimha ruling about A.D. 388, but might have been a descendant of Ugrasena of Palakka, one of the opponents of Samudra-gupta. Simha-varman I ascended the throne in 436. He crowned Hari-varman 2 (Western Ganga) about 450, in order to subdue the Banas. The charters of Siriiha-varman were issued not from Kanchl but from various camps. This, coupled with the epigraphical datum that his brother Kumaravishnu recaptured Kanchl, is responsible for the theory of a Chola interregnum, which we shall consider later. The period of the successors of Siriiha-varman I down to the close of the reign of Siriiha-varman II (c. 575) is one of which practically no knowledge is available. All the political confusion of the period is attributable to the Kalabhra invasion and their occupation of the Tamil country. Yet we know that Kanchl, the spiritual and intellectual metropolis of South Indian Buddhism, produced Aravana Affigal, Aryadeva, Dihnaga and Dharmapala. Early Pallavas like Buddha-varman and Asok a-varman must have founded the Raja-vihara (royal monastery) mentioned in the Mattavildsa-prahasana, of Mahendra-varman I.

3. Siihhavishnu and Mahendra-varman I

Simhavishnu Avanisimha (Lion of the Earth), son of Siriihavarman II, may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century. With him begins the age of the great Pallavas, and to him belongs the honour of starting the Pallavas on their grand career of political

1. Rao, op. cif., pp. 370-74.

Note 4

and cultural achievement. He is credited with the conquest of Choia-mandalam, an achievement not claimed by his son and successor, Mahendra-varman. Siirihavishnu vanquished a number of enemies including the Kalabhras. Two inscriptions testify to his sovereignty from Madras to Kumbhakonam. He is eulogised in his son’s Mattavildsa-prahasana. He was a patron of the great Sanskrit poet, Bharavi, author of Kirdtdrjuriiya. The reliefs of himself and of his two queens are found at Mahabalipuram, and it is likely that he took the first step in making that place a great centre of art.

Mahendra-varman I Vichitrachitta (c. 600-630). son of Sirhhavishnu, was one of the greatest sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty. During his reign commenced the long-drawn Pallava-Chalukya conflict in which either power became the natural enemy of the other. 1 The continuous hostility cannot be regarded as due purely to aggressive motives. Apparently Pulakesin II Chalukya (610-42) was the aggressor,/but the causes of his attack on the Pallavas may be easily surmised. It is stated in his Aihole inscription of 634 that the Pallavas had opposed the rise of his power. The close relations between the Pallavas and the Kadambas and the overthrow of the latter by their quondam feudatories, the predecessors of Pulakesin II, explain sufficiently the perennial Pallava-Chalukya hostility. The Chalukya conquest of Vehgl was followed by the defeat of Mahendra-varman. The Aihole record says that Pulakesin II "caused the splendour of the lord of the Pallavas ... to be obscured by the dust of his army and to vanish behind the walls of Kahchlpura." 2 This account is perfectly consistent with a victory claimed by Mahendra-varman at Pullalur (Pallur, near Conjeeveram). Still only the northernmost portions of the Pallava dominions were lost. Mahendra-varman's Trichinopoly cave inscriptions indicate that his kingdom extended in the south up to the Kaveri which is described as "the beloved of the Pallava".

Like some other members of his family, Mahendra-varman had a passion for titles. A few of his many surnames may be mentioned; Chetthakari (temple builder), Mattavildsa (addicted to enjoyment), Chitrakdrappuli (tiger among painters), and Vichitrachitia (myriad-minded). Mahendra-varman gave up Jainism and embraced Saivism under the influence of Saint Appar; he constructed many rock-cut temples. His Mandagapattu (South Arcot. District) inscription runs as follov/s: "This brickless, timberless., metalless and mortarless temple, which is a mansion for Brahma, Isvara and Vishnu, was caused to be created by the king Vichitra

Note 5

Note 6

chitta." 1 His Trichinopoly record refers to his adherence to the linga cult and to his rock-cut temples. Such temples of his are extant in Trichinopoly, Vallam (near Chingleput), Mahendravadi (near Arkonam), and Dalavanur (South Arcot District). He excavated a famous tank at Mahendravadi. Though he encouraged the worship of Siva and Vishnu, he destroyed the Jain monastery at Pataliputra (Cuddalore, South Arcot District); as a Jain, he had formerly persecuted the followers of other fait as.

The MattaviUsa-prahasana of Mahendra-varman is a farce written with the object of holding up to ridicule the foibles and follies of Saiva and Buddhist ascetics. The Jain paintings 2 in the rock-cut cave at Si tt anna vasal (Pudukkottai State) afford illustrations of dancing, and it is generally held that Mahendra-varman was not only a patron of that art but also the author of a work on music. His patronage of painting is reflected in his surname Chitrakdrappuli. The Sanskrit inscription at Kudimiyamalai (Pudukkottai State) relating to music is ascribed to his initiative, and he is regarded as an expert musician. Above all, his title of Vichitrachitta is symbolic of his versatility and greatness. His statue erected at Trichinopoly is not extant, but there is a sculptured portrait of the king with his two queens at Mahabalipuram.

4. Narasimha-varman I and Paramesvara-varman I

Narasimha-varman Mahamaila, son of Mahendra-varman .1, ruled from c. 630 to c. 668. His surname means the great wrestler or warrior. He was the greatest of the Pallavas, and his political achievements made him supreme in South India. He defeated Pulakesin II, the most distinguished ruler of the Chalukya dynasty of Vatapi or Badami, in three battles including that at Manimahgalam, near Kanchl. Subsequently he assumed the offensive and sent his general Siruttonda Nayanar (assigned by some scholars to a later date) to invade the Chalukya territory. Vatapi, the Chalukya capital, was captured in 642. Pulakesin II died, and his death was followed by political confusion for thirteen years during which the Pallavas seem to have been in possession of the southern part of the Chalukya dominions. 3 After recording his achievement on a rock behind the Mallikarjuna temple in the heart of Badami, the Pallava general returned from Vatapi with rich booty. Narasimhavarman thus triumphed conspicuously over the conqueror of his own father as well as of Harsha-vardhana of Thaneswar and Kanauj. He

Note 7

Note 8

Note 9

Note 10

fully deserved the title of Vdtapikonda or captor of VatapI, which he assumed.

Another striking achievement of Narasimha-varman was a successful naval expedition sent by him to Ceylon in order to reinstate the Sinhalese prince

Manavarma. The Mahdvamsa describes the vicissitudes of this prince's life —his flight to Kahchi about A.D. 640, his participation in the campaigns against the Chalukyas, and his other activities at Kahchi, the failure of the first Pallava expedition to Ceylon, and the success of the second grand expedition which sailed from Mahabalipuram. Narasimha-varman erected some monolithic shrines called Rathas at Mallai or Mahabalipuram (Seven Pagodas, near Madras), and made the place famous, though he cannot be regarded as the founder of that city.

During the reign of Narasimha-varman I Kahchi was visited by Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, about A.D. 640, and his ac, count of Tonda-mandalam is very valuable. Kahchi was about six miles in circumference. There were more than one hundred Buddhist monasteries housing over 10,000 Theravadin monks. The majority of the eighty non-Buddhist temples belonged to Digambara Jains. Though Buddhism was declining in South India, its position in Tonda-mandalam was conspicuous. The people (of Ta-to-p'i-t'u or Tonda-mandalam) esteemed great learning .... Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country." This is obviously identical with the Raja-vihara mentioned in the Mattavildsa-prahasana. According to the Chinese pilgrim, Dharmapala of the University of Nalanda belonged to Kahchi, and we have already mentioned the other famous persons of Kahchi.

After Narasimha-varman, his son, Mahendra-varman II, perhaps reigned for the brief period of two years from c. 668 to c. 670; then came the latter's son Paramesvara-varman I (c. 670 to c. 695). His great adversary was Vikramaditya I Chalukya who rehabilitated the fortunes of his dynasty after the catastrophe which had overwhelmed his father, and invaded the Pallava kingdom. We learn from his Gadval plates of 674 that he captured Kahchi and destroyed the family of Mahamalla; and further that, at the time of the Grant, the Chalukya camp was at Uragapura or Uraiyur on the southern bank of the Kaverl. The Pallava records, however, emphasise Paramesvara-varman's triumph over his enemies, particularly over Vikramaditya. Although the latter's army consisted of several lakhs, he was obliged to flee 'covered only by a rag', in a battle that took place at Peruvalanallur near Lalgudi (Trichinopoly District). Though the statements in the Chalukya inscriptions 1 cannot be taken at their face value, the fact that Vikramaditya was in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly proves his capture of Kahchl and the general success of his campaign, which had been undertaken to efface the disgrace of his predecessor's defeat. Paramesvara-varman was devoted to Siva, and built a structural temple at Kuram, near Kahchl, dedicated to that god. He also added to the edifices at Mahabali

purarn.

5. Narasimha-varman II and Paramesvara-varman II

Paramesvara-varman I was succeeded by his son Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha (c. 695-c. 722) who enjoyed a peaceful reign. He built the Kailasanatha temple at Kahchl and the Shore temple at Mahabalipuram, and assumed titles galore—about 2.50. His chief bivudas or titles are Rajasimha (lion among kings), Sahkarabhakta (devotee of Siva) and Agamapriya (lover of the scriptures). He was a man of varied tastes. He sent an embassy to China, which fixes his date, as will be discussed in the Appendix. Some scholars place Dandin, the great prose-writer and rhetorician in Sanskrit, at the court of Rajavarma or Rajasimha, and regard the extant plays attributed to Bhasa as mere stage adaptations made at Kahchl, because Rajasimha is mentioned in their colophons. Narasixhha-varman's son and successor, Paramesvara-varrnan IT, ruled probably from A.D. 722 to 730. Towards the close of his reign he had to encounter a Chalukya invasion led by Yuvardja Vikramaditya II (see Appendix).

6. Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla (A.D. 730-c. 800)

The next king Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla, son of Kiranyavarman, was descended from Bhima-varman, brother of Simhavishnu. Though the succession to the throne passed on to the younger branch of the Pallava family, there was no break in continuity, and it is not correct to speak of Nandi-varman II as the founder of a new dynasty. Paramesvara-varman is believed to have had a son named Chitramaya, a pretender to the Pallava throne, and hence Nandivarman is regarded by some scholars as a usurper. The circumstances in which Nandi-varman came to the throne are indicated in the Appendix. The sculptures in Vaikuntha-perumial temple at Kahchl and the inscriptions explaining them, coupled with some other epigraphic records, prove that Nandi-varman, a youth of twelve, was chosen king by the people. Though the constitutional position of his father, Hiranya-varman, is far from clear, it might be accepted that Nandi-varman was no usurper. One of his inscriptions at Mahabalipuram belongs to his 65th regnal year. Therefore he must have reigned from A.D. 730 to at least 795.

Note 11

A large number of inscriptions—Pallava, Chalukya and Pandya —throw a flood of light on the manifold activities of Nandi-varman. About 740, Vikramaditya II Chalukya invaded the Pallava kingdom, defeated his "natural foe", and captured Kahchi. Far from sacking the city, he restored to its temples all the valuables that had been taken away from them. Nandi-varman, however, soon recovered Kahchi. The Chalukya victory must have been achieved in the period of the Pallava-Pandya war. Shortly after his accession Nandi-varman had to face a hostile combination organised by the Pandvas, who supported the cause of Chitramaya. Rajasixiiha I Pandya claims to have won a number of victories against him in the region around Tanjofe. Nandi-varman was besieged at Nandipura (near Kumbhakonam)Abut released by his general, Udayachandra, who killed Chitramaya and won several victories in Tanjore District. He is also credited with the conquest of a part of the Eastern Chalukya territory. Dantidurga, the founder of the Rashtrakuta power, captured Kahchi, but returned home after concluding an alliance with Nandi-varman and giving his daughter Reva in marriage to him. She became the mother of Danti-varman Pallava. The Western Gariga inscriptions record Srlpurusha's glorious victory over the Pallavas—his greatest military achievement--, but a Pallava record mentions Nandi-varman's forcible acquisition of a necklace with a great gem from a Ganga king.

Nandi-varman built the Muktesvara temple, and probably the Vaikuntha-perumal temple, at Kahchi, and some temples elsewhere. He was a pious Vaishnava, The records of his reign, epigraphical and literary, show its importance in literary and religious history. Tirumahgai Alvar, saint and scholar, flourished during his reign. Nandi-varman was himself a scholar, though his accomplishments are grossly exaggerated in his inscriptions. The Udayendiram plates of Nandi-varman Pallavarnalla contain a reference to the Asvamedha : it is said that Udayachandra defeated in the northern region a chief who, ‘desiring to become very powerful, was running after the horse of the asvamedha.' > This is no adequate reason for regarding Nandivarman as an asvamedhaydjin. His numerous records contain no specific reference to such an achievement. He was succeeded by his son Danti-varman in or shortly after A.D. 795.

II. THE CHOLAS OF URAIYUR AND RENANDU

The history of the Cholas of Uraiyur (near Trichinopoiy) is exceedingly obscure from the fourth to the ninth century, chiefly

owing to the occupation of their country by the Kalabhras. Buddhadatta, the great writer in Pali, belonged to Uraiyur. He mentions his contemporary, king Achchutavikranta of the Kalabhrakula, as ruling over the Chola country from Kaveripatnam. He was a Buddhist, and Tamil literary tradition refers to an Achchuta who kept the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings in captivity. On the basis of the contemporaneity of Buddhadatta with Buddhaghosha, Achchuta may be assigned to the fifth century. Thus, after the Sahgam Age, the descendants of Karikala Chola were forced into obscurity by the Kalabhras, who disturbed the placid political condition of the Tamil country.

Some of the Sanskrit charters of the Early Pallavas were issued, not from Kanchl but from places in the Telugu country south of the Krishna. Therefore it is argued that the Pallavas lost that city to Karikala Chola and withdrew northwards. . This theory of the Chola interregnum in the period of the Sanskrit charters is not convincing. The evidence for believing that the Pallavas lost Kahchl is weak and their inscriptions do not directly support such a thesis. The statement regarding the recapture of Kahchl by Kumaravishnu in the Velurpalaiyam plates of Nandi-varman III might well refer to an incident in dynastic succession, or in the course of the Pallava conflict with the Kalabhras. Further, the age of Karikala is generally placed much earlier than the period of the Sanskrit charters.

Though the Pallavas and the Pandyas finally overthrew the Kalabhras and established their independence, the Cholas remained in obscurity for some centuries more. The Pallava, Pandya, and Chalukya inscriptions mention the Cholas, their army, their country etc., and Tamil literature, their princes and princesses. The Cholas of Uraiyur hovered around their ancestral home and maintained a subordinate position in the midst of towering political powers like the Pandvas and the Pallavas. They gradually increased their influence by marriage alliances, and steadily supported Saivism and Vaishnavism as against the heterodox creeds, Jainism and Buddhism. It is significant that Vijayalaya, the founder of the Chola dynasty of Tanjore, started as a chieftain in the neighbourhood of Uraiyur; an inscription at Tirunedungalam (Tricbinopoly District) records a gift of land according to the orders of Parakesari Vijayalaya Choladeva.

During the period of their decline, the Cholas were not confined to the Kaverl region. Some Chola princes seem to have migrated to other regions, and consequently we find minor Chola dynasties in the Telugu and Kannada countries. The most important of them were the Cholas of the Renandu country in the Cuddapah, Anantapur and Kurnool Districts. Their lithic records, as well as the Malepadu (Cuddapah District) plates of Punyakumara, may be referred to the seventh century A.D. These plates mention four generations of kings, viz. Nandivarman; his sons, Simhavishnu, Sundarananda and Dhanahjaya-varman; son of the last, Mahendravikrama-varman; and his sons, Gunamudita and Punyakumara surnamed Pormukharama. They styled themselves Chola-Maharajas and claimed descent from Karikala Chola. Their names and titles remind us of the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, and their seal with a maned lion resembles that of the Pallavas and the Vishnukundins. The dynasty of Punyakumara may be regarded as having been in power for one hundred years. Their position in Cuddapah District must have made them play a prominent part in the Pallava-Chalukya struggle, and their independence must have been to some extent nominal. After Punyakumara, his dynasty probably lost its hold over Cuddapah and was scattered in various parts of South India.

The Renandu country ruled over by the Chola-Maharajas may be regarded as Hiuen Tsang's Chu-li-ya, 1000 li (200 miles) south-west of Dhanyakataka: "The country was about 2400 li in circuit, and its capital was about 10 li in circuit. It was a wild jungle region with very few settled inhabitants, and bands of highwaymen went about openly; it had a moigt hot climate; the people were of a fierce and profligate character and were believers in the Tirthikas; the Buddhist monasteries were in ruins, and only some of them had Brethren; there were several tens of Deva-temples, and the Digambaras were numerous." 1

III. THE KALABHRAS

We have already made a few references to the Kalabhras, and to their king Achchutavikranta. The Velvikudi plates of the third regnal year of Nedunjadaiyan Pandya (c. 765-c. 815) say that Palyagamudukudumi-Peruvaludi Pandyadhiraja gave the village of Velvikudi as brahmadeya (gift to a Brahmana). It was enjoyed for long. Then a Kali king named Kalabhran, took possession of the extensive earth, driving away numberless great kings (adhirdja), and resumed the (village mentioned) above. After that . . .the Pandyadhiraja Kadungon 2 recovered the territory under the Kalabhra occupation. It would appear from the brief account that the Pandya country was seized by the Kalabhras long after Mudukudumi. They overthrew many adhirdjas and resumed even brahmadeya lands. Thus they were terrible and ruthless conquerors. Their

Note 12

Note 13

1. HTW, II. 224.

sway was put an end to by Kadungon, who may be assigned conjecturally to c. 590-620. There are other references to the Kalabhras in Pallava and Chalukya inscriptions; they are said to have been conquered by Sirhha vishnu and Narasimha-varman I and by Vikramaditva I and II.

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The identification of the Kalabhras is a very difficult problem of South Indian History. They have been identified with the line of Muttaraiyar of Kodumbalur (eighth to eleventh century). 1 Others regard them as Karnatas on the strength of a reference in Tamil literature to the rule of a Karnata king over Madura. A third view is that the Kalabhras were Kalappalar, belonging to the Vellala community and referred to in Tamil literature and inscriptions.^ But the most satisfactory theory identifies the Kalabhras with the Kalavar, 3 and the chieftains of this tribe mentioned in the 6ahgam Literature are Tiraiyan of Pavattiri and Pulli of Vehgadam or Tirupati. The latter is described as the cattle-lifting robber chief of the frontier. The Kalavar must have been dislodged from their habitat near Tirupati by the political events of the third century A.D., viz. the fall of the Satavahanas and the rise of the Pallavas, as well as by the invasion of Dakshinapalha by Samudra-gupta in the following century, resulting in political confusion in Tondamandalarn. The Kalabhra invasion must have overwhelmed the Pallavas, the Choias and the Pandyas.

Despite the various explanations given above, the Kalabhras cannot but be regarded as a mysterious people who convulsed the affairs of the Tamil country for a few centuries. Achchutavikranta caused the dispersal of the Chojas. In the Pandya country even brahmadeya gifts were not treated as sacrosanct by the predatory Kalabhras. Ultimately their power was broken by Kadungon Pandya and Sirhhavishnu Pallava, and we have referred to the Pallava and Chalukya campaigns against them in the seventh and eighth centuries.

The Muttaraiyar and Kodumbalur chiefs of Kalabhra origin, according to one view, were feudatory to the Pallavas and the Pandyas respectively, and in the contest between these two powers, they fought on opposite sides. The Muttaraiyar ruled over Tanjore and Pudukkottai as the feudatories of the Pallavas from the eighth century to the eleventh. There is a reference to PerumbiduguMuttaraiyan II who attended the coronation of Nandi-varman Pallavamalla. One of the titles of the Muttaraiyar was Lord of Tanjore. Vijayalaya Chola, who conquered Tanjore from a Mutta

1- J1H, VIII, 74-80; El, XV, 49. 2. JIH, VIII, 75.

3. Vol. II, p. 233.

raiyan in the ninth century, was a Paliava feudatory. A vindication of the law of nemesis is discernible in the victory of a Chola chief over a descendant of the Kalahhras who had overthrown the earlier Chola kingdom.

IV. THE PANDYAS

The genealogy and chronology of the Pfmdyas of the postSangam Age, from the seventh to the tenth century, are by no means settled. Our knowledge of them is mainly derived from a few copper-plate and stone inscriptions—the Velvikucii grant of Nedunjadaiyan, the larger and smaller Sinnamanur plates of Rajasimha, the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman, two Anaimalai stone inscriptions of Marahjadaiyan and Parantaka, the latter inscription dated 770. and an inscription of Varaguna II dated A.D. 870. Some identifications will have to be made for evolving a regular genealogy, principally of Nedunjadaiyan with Marahjadaiyan, Parantaka, Jatilavarman, and Varaguna I. The Anaimalai inscription of 770 may be assigned to the early years of Nedunjadaiyan, whose regnal period may well be 765-815, and his six predecessors may be given 25 years each or 150 years. Therefore the beginning of the dynasty may be roughly placed at about A.D. 600. We may provisionally fix the chronology as follows: Kaduhgon, 590-620; Maravarman Avanisulamani, 620-645; Sendan, 645-670; Arikesari Maravarman, 670-710; Kochehadaiyan Ranadhira, 710-740; and Maravarman Raiasirhha, 740-765. 1

The emancipation of the Pandya country from the Kalabhra interregnum by Kadungon must have been effected towards the close of the sixth century A.D.; and his successor must have completed the task. Hiuen Tsang describes the Malakuta or Pandya country as follows: It was a depot for sea-pearls; its people were ‘black . . . harsh and impetuous, of mixed religions, indifferent to culture and only good at trade.’ There were many Buddhist monasteries in ruins but only a few monks. The destruction of the ancient cultural tradition of Madura may be attributed to the Kalabhra occupation of the country. The third king, Sendan, is credited with warlike qualities and fair-mindedness, and his title of Vanavan suggests his victory over the Cheras.

Arikesari Parankusa Maravarman won a great victory at Nelveli, which is identified with Tinnevelly by some scholars. His other victories are on record, particularlv over the Cheras. He is said to have “extirpated” the Paravas of the coast and the inhabitants of Kurunadu. In spite of the difficulties of identifying the places

T. Sastri, K. A. Nilakanta, The Pandyan Kingdom , p. 41.

mentioned in the inscriptions, it is clear that under Arikesari began the imperial career of the Pandyas as well as their clash with the Pallavas. He is‘identified with the traditional Kun Pandya who was converted from Jainism to Saivism by Saint Sambandar and who cruelly persecuted the Jains. According to the story, 8000 of them were impaled on stakes—no doubt a palpable exaggeration. It was the Chola queen of that Pandya who had invited Saint Sambandar to Madura. The next king Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira also pursued an aggressive career, and defeated an Ay chief at Marudur (near Ambasamudram, Tinnevelly District). His title of Kohgarkoman suggests his conquest of Kohgudesa, and he is said to have overthrown the Maharathas at Mangalapuram or Mangalore.

Maravarman Rajasirhha I was also a very powerful ruler. Reference has been made above 1 to his conflict with Nandi-varman Pallavamalla, and some of its chief incidents, viz. the Pandya conquest of the Kaveri region, the siege of Nandipura, and the rescue of that Pallava by his great general Udayachandra. Hence Rajasirhha took the title of Pallavabhanjana. His conquests in the Kohgudesa included Kodumudi. He married a Western Gahga princess and defeated the Chalukyas—probably Klrtivarman II. The Velvikudi grant mentions Rajasimha’s renovation of the palaces and fortifications of Kudal (Madura), Yahji (the Chera capital) and Koli (Uraiyur). That mighty Pandya is said to have made many mohaddnas or great gifts— gosahas'ras, hiranya-garhhas and tidabhdras. He was succeeded b}^ Neduhjadaiyan, the donor of the famous Velvikudi grant.

V. THE WESTERN GANGAS

The Eastern Gahgas, or the Gahgas of Kalinganagara, traced their descent from the Western Gahgas, or the Gahgas of Mysore, who claimed to belong to the Ikshvaku family, perhaps of Nagarjunikonda. It has been suggested that the founder of the Gahga line of Kolar acted like Mayurasarman Kadamba in taking advantage of the political confusion resulting from the southern expedition of Samudra-gupta. The circumstances of the origin of the Western Gahgas detailed in their inscriptions are valueless for historical purposes. The name of the dynasty cannot be satisfactorily explained. Classical accounts mention the Gangaridae, or people of the Ganga valley, and the Gangaridae Calingae or Gahgas of Kalinga. But the connection of the two Gahga dynasties with the river Gahga is not clear. The territory of the Western Gahgas of the Kanvayana gdtra was called Gahgavadi, 96,000 and their titles were Kongunivarman and Dharmamaharajadhiraja. Their inscriptions on copper

1. See p. 263.

plates and stones, the former predominating before 680 and the latter after that date, enable us to trace their genealogy, though there are difficulties in connection with the early Gahgas. But their chronology based on the data of their copper-plates is defective in several respects. Still some definite landmarks are provided by some copper-plates, which give A.D. 750 for the 25th regnal year of Srlpurusha. We have also noticed the synchronism of Hari-varman and Simha-varman I Pallava, who ascended the throne of Kanchi in 436 . Therefore the foundation of the Western Gahga power may be assigned to the second half of the fourth century A.D.

The founder of the Western Gaiiga line was Kongunivarman or Madhava I, who ruled probably from 350 to 400, with his capital at Kolar. He is said to have been helped by Sirhhanandi, a Jain Acharya. Madhava II (c. 400-435) was a scholar who mastered not only the Nitisdstra or politics, but also the Upanishads . He wrote a vritti or commentary on the Sutra of Dattaka, a predecessor of Vatsyayana the Kamasutrakara, on courtesans. 1 Under Hari-varman (c. 450-460) the capital of Gahgava^i was Talakad (Talked, Talavanapura) on the Kaver'i, near Sivasamudram. He was crowned king by Simha-varman I Pallava with a view to crush the Banas, and therefore must have been feudatory to the Pallavas. He donated a village to a Brahmana who had vanquished his Buddhist adversary in philosophical disputation. Most of the Gahgas were Jains, but Vishnugopa, who is not mentioned in some records, was a Vaishnava and more a saint than a king, Madhava III (c. 460-500), a brawny king, married a Kadamba princess, ’worshipped Siva, and made grants to Brahmanas, Jains, and Buddhists. His coronation by a Pallava king shows the continuance of the latter’s supremacy over Gahgavadi. Avinlta (c. 500-540) became king in his infancy, and was trained by Vijayaklrti, an erudite Jain. Avirnta made donations to Jains and Brahmanas. Though a Jain, he worshipped &iva.

Durvinita (c. 540-600) had to overcome some difficulties in the way of his accession to the throne. He conquered Punnad (Southern Mysore) and Kongudesa, and maintained friendly relations with the Chalukyas, but not with the Pallavas. He is said Ho have defeated the Ka^uvetfi of Kanchi. He favoured Vaishnavism and extended his benefactions to Jains, Brahmanas and others. He was not only a man of letters in Kannada, but also a reputed Sanskrit scholar. He was a pupil of Pujyapada, 2 a Jain grammarian and author of the Sabdavatdra. and a patron of the famous poet Bharavi. Durvinita

Note 14

Note 15

Note 16

Note 17

is the reputed author of a commentary on the 15th Sarga of his protege Bharavi’s Kirdtdrjuriiya, but the commentary is regarded as a literary forgery by some scholars like A. B. Keith. Durvinita himself is said to have compiled a grammar called Sabdavatdra , and translated the Prakrit Brihatkathd into Sanskrit. In short, he was one of the greatest rulers of the Western Gahga dynasty. He was not only a conqueror, but also a scholarly king who patronised Sanskrit and Kannada learning. His successors, Mushkara, Srivikrama, Bhuvikrama and Sivamara I, belonged to the seventh century. Their part in the contest between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas is not clear, but they were friendly towards the former and hostile to the latter. All the Western Gangas from the seventh century were Jains.

Sivamara I, the great-grandson of Durvinita, ruled probably from A.D. 670-713. He was succeeded by a ruler whose name is uncertain. Then the throne was occupied by Sripurusha, the grandson of Sivamara (or son according to some) who ruled for some time as a viceroy. 1 During his viceroyalty, Sripurusha overcame the Ban a ruler Jagadekamalla or Malladeva, son of Vijayaditya I. There was a contest between the Pallavas and the Pandyas for the Kongudesa, which was occupied by Rajasimha I Pandya who married a Gahga princess, probably Srlpurusha’s daughter. Sripurusha’s greatest victory was w T on over Nandi-varman Fallavamalla, but we cannot identify the Kaduverti said to have been slain by him. The Gahgavadi 'was exposed to Rashfrakuta invasions under Krishna I from 760 to the end of the reign of Sripurusha (725-788), but that did not prevent him from assuming many titles, including the imperial title of Kohguni-R&jadhiraja-Paramesvara. He transferred his capital to Manyapura or Mamie, near Bangalore, His Gajasdstra is a treatise on elephants, and he was thoroughly acquainted with elephant-warfare. 'The Gahgas may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Sripurusha, in whose time the kingdom w~as called the Sri-rajya or fortunate kingdom.’ 2

VI. THE KADAMBAS

The name of the Kadamba dynasty is explained in the Talagun da Pillar Inscription of Kakutstha-varman as having been derived from the kadamba tree which grew near the ancestral home of the Kadambas. The successors of the Satavahanas in Kuntala (Western Deccan and Northern Mysore) were the Chutus, whose capital was VaijayantI or Banavasi. The Pallavas were the next rulers of Kuntala, and the Kadambas stepped into their place in that region.

t. M. V. Krishna Kao, Gangas of Talkad, pp. Xf, 49; Rice. Mysore and Coorg p. 38. 2. Rice, op. eit. pp. 38, 50.

The legendary accounts of their origin are found in the inscriptions of the later Kadambas of Hangal and Goa. These connect the ancient Kadambas with Northern India, but the Kadambas of Banavasi seem to be indigenous to Kuntala, and this is apparent from their very name, as well as from their claim to Naga descent. Their genealogy is well established, but not their chronology.

The Talagunda Inscription elucidates the circumstances leading to the establishment of the Kadamba power by Mayura-sarman, an orthodox and learned Brahmana belonging to the Manavya gotra. He proceeded to Paliavendra-purl (Kanchi) with his guru Virasarma in order to study pravachanam nikhiiam (the whole of the Vedas) and entered the ghatika. There he was angered by a fierce quarrel with a Pallavasvasaihstha, and sadly reflected on the physical inferiority of Brahmanas to Kshatriyas and on the fact that Brahmasiddhi (attainment of full holiness) was dependent on the king's pleasure. The usual interpretation of the above story is that Mayura-sarman went to Kanchi, a famous centre of higher learning (perhaps the seat of a Brahmanical University), and that his object was frustrated by his quarrel with a Pallava horseman. But this is doubtful. In the first place, pravachanam nikhiiam is complete study of the Vedas, one branch of which he had already studied. Secondly, ghatika does not seem to be a college or any place of higher learning, but the Brahmana quarters of Kanchi which he entered for guru kutavdsa, and it was for making arrangements for it that his old guru had accompanied him. Thirdly, asvasarhstha means not a horseman, but a mounted spy, and Mayura-sarman probably came into conflict with him for offending against the passport regulations, which must have been strictly enforced at Kanchi about the time of Samudra-gupia's Dakshinapatha expedition. 1

But be that as it may, the result of Mayura-sarman's deep chagrin was that 'with the hand dexterous in grasping the kusa- grass, the fuel, the stones, the ladle, the melted butter and the oblation vessel, he unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the earth/ Then followed a conflict, in which he defeated the antapdlas or frontier-guards of the Pallavas and occupied the forest region up to Srlparvata (read also as Triparvata) 2 or Srisailam (Kurnool District). Subsequently he subdued "the Great Bana" and foiled the attempts of the Pallavas to subdue him. So they came to terms with him; he became their feudatory and rendered valuable services to them. At last he received from them the territory bounded by the Western Sea and the Prehara, a river near Aparanta. 3 The

1. R. Sathianatbaier, Studies in the Ancient History of Tcndamandalam, pp. 48-50.

2. JIH, XII, 357. 3. AOR, V, Part 2, p. 3.

Chandravalli Prakrit inscription of Mayura-sarman ascribes to him extensive conquests, viz. those of Abhlra, Traikuta, Paliava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthana, Sayindaka, Punata, and Mokari. In the light of his extensive conquests, there might be some substance in the claim recorded in later inscriptions that he performed eighteen horsesacrifices, though the Talagunda epigraph does not mention any of them. On palaeographical grounds the record has been assigned to various dates from A.D. 250 to 300. If this opinion is confirmed, the current view about the date of Mayura-sarman will have to be revised, and there have been recent attempts to assign him to the period between 250 and 350, and even earlier. But, as mentioned above, 1 some scholars doubt the genuineness of the Chandravalli Inscription. In any case, it is more likely that Mayura-sarman flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D. We may hold in that case that he exploited the political confusion in South India consequent on Samudra-gftpta's invasion of if, and carved out a principality for himself with its capital at Banavasi. He probably ruled from c. A.D. 340-370.

Mayura-sarman was succeeded by his son Kanga-varman (read also as Skanda-varman) 2 who ruled probably from 370-395. He assumed the title of Dharmamah&rajddhirdja and changed the dynastic title from sarman to varman. He seems to have been defeated by Vindhyasena Vakataka who claims to have annexed Kuntala. 3 Bhagiratha (c. 395-420), son of Kahga-varman, appears to have been the ruler of Kuntala, to whom, according to late tradition, an embassy led by Kalidasa was sent by Chandra-gupta II Vikramaditya, perhaps with a view to concluding a marriage alliance. 4 Bhaglratha's sons were Raghu (c. 420-430) and Kakutstha-varman (c. 430-450). 5 The latter distinguished himself as a Y uvamahdr&ja. The Talagunda inscription mentions his marriage alliances with the Guptas and others. During his reign, his kingdom appears to have been prosperous. The Talagunda inscription describes his greatness at length and refers to the perfect safety of travellers in his kingdom, the respect he commanded in the neighbouring countries, and his excavation of a great tank at Talagunda.

The death of Kakutstha-varman was perhaps followed by the division of his kingdom between his two sons §anti-varman (c. 450475) and Krishna-varman. Santi-varman's son and successor Mrigesa-varman (c. 475-490), who ruled from Banavasi, is said to have defeated the Western Gangas and the Pallavas. He was well

disposed towards Jainism, which flourished in the Kadamba domi

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1 . See p. 188, n 1. 2. J1H, XII, 361. 3. See above, p. 185.

4. See above, p. 183 f.

5. For a different view about the date of this king, of. p. 183.

nions. About A.D. 475, Kumara-varman, probably a brother of Santivarman, ruled over Uchchangi. Mandhatri-varman (c. 490-497), son of Kumara-varman, enjoyed his usurped power for a short period. Ravi-varman (c. 497-537), son of Mrigesa-varman, secured the throne by defeating a combination of his enemies, including Vishnu-varman of the younger branch of the Kadambas. Ravi-varman was a distinguished and popular ruler, and triumphed over the Western Gangas. His son and successor Hari-varman, however, was a very weak king and ruled for a short time (c. 537-547). During his reign his feudatory, Pulakesin I Chalukya, revolted and established his dynasty at Badami. 1 Hari-varman came into conflict with the younger branch of the family and perished. With him ended the elder branch of the Kadamba royal family.

Krishna-varman I (c. 475-485), brother of Santi-varman and founder of the younger branch of the Kadamba line, became an independent ruler in the southern part of the Kadamba kingdom, with his capital at Triparvata, perhaps Halebid. He performed the horse-sacrifice, but was finally defeated by the Pallavas. His son Vishnu-varman (c. 485-497) was crowned by a Pallava king, to whom he appears to have been subordinate. His attempt to seize the throne of Banavasi with Pallava help failed and cost him his life.

His successor Simha-varman (c. 497-540) appears to have been subordinate to the elder branch. Krishna-varman II (c. 540565) overthrew that branch and performed the horse-sacrifice. He strengthened his position by marrying his sister to a Ganga prince. Aja-varman (c. 565-606), son of Krishita-varman II, became subordinate to Klrti-varman I Chalukya, who was “the night of doom” to the Kadambas. Bhogi-varman (c. 606-610), son of Aja-varman, tried to re-establish the independence of his dynasty, but was overpowered by Pulakesin II, who besieged Banavasi, an event mentioned in his Aihole inscription. The Kadamba dynasty came to an end with the death, probably in battle, of Bhogi-varman and of his son. The Kadambas seem to have attempted to re-establish their independent position during the interregnum in the Western Chalukya kingdom following the death of Pulakesin II in 642, but the situation turned against them with the accession of Vikramaditya I in A.D. 655. There was, however, a revival of their power towards the close of the tenth century.

VII. THE BANAS

The Banas were among the most important feudatory dynasties of South India. Their name is connected with Mahabali, the asura (demon) king, whose son was Bana. Their epigraphical records are found in Kolar and North Arcot Districts. They were particularly associated with Nandagiri (Nandidurg) in Kolar District, and with Parivipura (Parigi, near Hindupur) in Anantapur District. Their crest was a bull. We have seen Mayura-sarman’s reduction of “the Great Bana” and Hari-varman Ganga’s coronation by Simha-varman I Pallava with a view to crushing the Banas. The genealogy of the Banas is given in the Udayendiram and Gudimallam plates of Vikramaditya II. 1 Jayanandi-varman is the first ruler mentioned in the former plates, though they say that many other Bana princes had preceded him. He is described as “the unique hero of great might” ruling over ‘the land to the west of the Andhra country.’ His predecessor is

' 1. See p. 232 f.

eulogised as a Bodhisattva in compassion. 2 A Gudimallam inscription of the 23rd regnal year of Nandi-varman Pallavamalla mentions a Bana chief named Vikramaditya, who must have been different from the first Vikramaditya, mentioned in the Gudimallam plates; he must have been a successor of Jayanandivarman. 3 The Banas were the feudatories of the Pallavas, but the inscriptions of the latter do not contain sufficient information about them. At a later period, the Banas played a conspicuous part in the frontier wars.

VIII. THE ALUPAS

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The Alupa kings ruled over the Tuluva country (South Kanara) and their capital was Udayavara, south of Udipi. Their territory was a 6000 province, and they worshipped Siva. Their power must have originated in the early centuries of the Christian era; for Ptolemy (second century) refers to Oloikhora (Aluvakheda). An inscription of the fifth century justifies the assumption that the Alupas were rulers on the West coast. They were conquered by the Western Chalukyas under Kirti-varman I and Pulakosin II. Gunasagara (c. 650) was Governor of Banavasi under the Chalukyas. His son Chitravahana I (c. 675-700) was the first great Alupa ruler. Civil war broke out at Udayavara, and though Chitravahana I was successful, it continued till about 750.

IX. KONGUDESA AND KERALA

The Kongudesa (the region from the Anaimalai to the Shevaroy hills, i.e. the whole of Coimbatore and most of Salem District), which some scholars regard as identical with Asoka’s Satiyaputra, was a distinct political entity in the Sangam Age, and had active commercial intercourse with the Roman Empire. During the period

1. El, III, 78-79; XVII, 6-7. 2. Rice op. cit., p. 20. 3. JIH, XXIX. 1G8.

under review, it was invaded successively by the Western Gangas, the Pallavas and the Pandyas, as we 'have seen. After the Asokan and Sarigam ages, the annals of Kerala are mostly unknown, though we know that it was under the Perumals. Cosmas Indicopleustes, author of the Christian Topography , 1 vouches for the existence of Christianity in Malabar in the sixth century A.D.

Appendix

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS

2. Rise of the Pallavas

The Pallavas, whose name appears to be of totemistic origin like that of the Kadambas, are referred to as Kshatriya in the Talagunda inscription of the fifth century A.D. But they had probably in their veins an admixture of the blood of a Brahman a family of the Bharadvaja gotra hailing from northern India and that of an aboriginal family of the Nagas. This Naga family held sway over the district round Kanchl, modern Conjeeveram in Chingleput District, Madras State. This land lying between the northern and the southern Penner was called Aruvanadu which is apparently the same as Arouarnoi of Ptolemy's Geography (c. A. D. 140). According to the Greek geographer, Arouarnoi was, in his time, under the rule of a king named Basaronaga, no doubt belonging to an aboriginal family of the Nagas. There is cpigraphic reference to the marriage of Asvjattliaman, a descendant of the gotrarshi (Bharadvaja) of the Pallavas and the Brahmana progenitor of the family, with the Apsaras Madam, while the Velurpalaiyam inscription distinctly says that an early member of the dynasty, named Vlrakurcha, obtained the insignia of royalty along with the hand of a Naga princess. Although these are mere legends, the Naga association of the Pallavas may be deduced from Ptolemy's evidence. The Pallavas may have been originally provincial rulers under the Later Satavahanas and risen to power in the Kanchl region at the expense of the Nagas. Pallava occupation of the land round Kanchl has to be assigned to a date later than the second quarter of the second century when, according to Ptolemy, the Nagas were ruling there. But their rise must have taken place considerably earlier than the middle of the fourth century, when Samudra-gupta came into conflict with "Vishnugopa of Kanchl", undoubtedly a member of the Pallava family. The earliest records of the family are the Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallava rulers Sirhha-varman, Sivaskanda-varman and Skanda-varman, which may be assigned to the last quarter of the third and the first half of the fourth century

1. See above p. 36.

on grounds of language and palaeography. Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy in the latter half of the fourth century. The dynasty however might have established itself at Kanchl some time before, but probably not long before, the date of the Prakrit inscriptions referred to above. Certain early medieval records of the family trace its descent from Brahman, the lord of creation, through the gotrarshi Bharadvaja; but the names of the early members of the dynasty as found in them are certainly mythical and hence unreliable. The legend of the ‘Three-eyed Pallava’ is manifestly folklore; but traditions about Skandasishya subduing a king named Satyasena, Kumaravishnu capturing Kanchl, and Buddhavarman fighting with the Cholas appear to have germs of truth, although they cannot be definitely assigned to a date earlier than that of the kings known from the Prakrit inscriptions. The genealogical lists found in the later records appear to have confused the names of more than one line of the Pallava royal family.

2. Pallavas of the Prakrit Records

The Mayidavolu grant contains an order issued from Kanchipura, in the 10th regnal year of the father of the Pallava crown-prince Sivaskanda-varman, to the governor of Andhrapatha residing at Dhanyakataka (Amaravati in the Krishna District). The Hirahptdagalli grant was issued from the same city in the 8th regnal year of Sivaskanda-varman himself, who had already performed the Asvamedha to assert the then recent, at least not very old, assumption of the family’s independence. The dominions of the Pallavas of Kanchl about this time included wide regions of the KrishnaTungabhadra valleys as well as Kuntala or the Kanarese country and probably also the Ganga country in south Mysore. The Krishna-Guntur region appears to have been conquered from the Ikshvakus who became powerful after the decline of the Satavahanas in the first quarter of the third century and ruled at least for three generations.

Sivaskanda-varman refers to his father as Bappa which should be taken as the Prakrit word meaning “father” rather than as a personal name, because the word is used in the former sense in numerous royal charters and because it is quite unlike any of the many names in the traditional Pallava genealogy found in later records. A Prakrit inscription of a Pallava king named Simhavarman has been recently discovered in Guntur District. Its palaeography closely resembles that of the Ikshvaku records and is earlier than that of Sivaskanda-varman’s charters. It is not improbable that Simha-varman was the father of Sivaskanda-varman. In any case, Simha-varman appears to have ruled about the last quarter of the third century, and Sivaskanda-varman about the first quarter of the fourth.

A successor of Sivaskanda-varman appears to have been king Skanda-varman (called srivijaya- Skanda-varman) of the British Museum grant discovered in Guntur District. Some scholars believe that the word siva in the name Sivaskanda-varman is an honorific like srivijaya prefixed to the name of Skanda-varman and that $ivaSkanda-varman and 5?%ijat/a-Skanda-varman are identical. Considering, however, the facts that Sivaskanda, Bhavaskanda, etc., were quite popular names in South India in ancient times (cf. also modern Tamil names like Sivashanmukham), and that the officials responsible for drafting the charter could hardly have been unmindful of the ambiguity likely to be caused by the use of the word siva alone as an honorific prefix to the king’s name, it is better to take Sivaskanda-varman and Skanda-varman as two different kings. As the influence of Sanskrit can be felt more in the language of the British Museum grant, Skanda-varman may be assigned to a date slightly later than that of Sivaskanda-varman, It may, however, be admitted that early medieval records have confused Sivaskanda-varman with one of the many Skanda-varmans of the Pallava family. Besides king Skanda-varman the British Museum grant refers to the crown-prince Buddha-varman (whose relation to Skanda-varman is not specified) and one of the latter’s sons supposed to be named Buddhyankura. It is not possible to determine whether even the crown-prince—not to speak of his son—ever ascended the throne.

The next known Pallava king is Vishnugopa who came into conflict with Samudra-gupta about the third quarter of the fourth century, but whose relation with the kings of the Prakrit records is uncertain (cf. Genealogical Table No. 1 at the end of this Chapter).

3. Pallavas of Kdnchl known from Sanskrit Charters

There are two Sanskrit charters issued from Kanchl at a later date by two Pallava kings—the Chendalur grant of Kumaravishnu II and the Udayendiram grant of Nandi-varman. The names of the issuers are mentioned together with those of three ancestors. Of the two records the earlier seems to be the Chendalur grant issued by Kumaravishnu II, son of Buddha-varman, grandson of Kumaravishnu I and great-grandson of Skanda-varman. It is not known whether Skanda-varman of the Chendalur grant is the same as the Pallava king of that name mentioned in the British Museum grant; but the identification is not improbable. It is also possible that Kumara-vishnu I and Buddha-varman of the Chendalur record are identical with Kumaravishnu, conqueror of Kahchi, and Buddhavarman, mentioned in a later record of the family as "the submarine fire to the Chola army." But whether Kumaravishnu I captured Kanchl from a member of his own family or from enemies such as the Cholas, who may have temporarily occupied the city, cannot be ascertained. Kumaravishnu II could not have possibly ruled later than the first quarter of the fifth century.

The Udayendiram grant was issued by Nandivarman, son of Skanda-varman (III), grandson of Simha-varman I and great-grandson of Skanda-varman (II). King Simha-varman and his son Skandavarman (III) are mentioned in the Gahga records, such as the Penukonda grant, as having respectively installed on the throne the Gahga king Hari-varman 1 and his son Madhava-Simha-varman (apparently named after his father's Pallava overlord who might have been his maternal grandfather). This Simha-varman Pallava seems to be mentioned in the Jain work Lokavibhaga. The date of the composition of this work is given as the 22nd regnal year of Simha-varman lord of the Pallavas, corresponding to the year 380 of the Saka era (A.D. 458). Pallava Simha-varman thus ruled from 436 to at least A.D. 458. The four generations of the Pallava kings of Kahchi mentioned in the Udayendiram grant may therefore be assigned to the period between the first quarter of the fifth and that of the sixth century.

The king of Kahchi called Chandadanda came into conflict with the Kadamba king Ravi-varman about the first quarter of the sixth century. Whether Chandadanda was a viruda of Nandi-varman of the Udayendiram grant or of one of his immediate successors is not known. But a Pallava king named Santi-varman is known to have been the overlord of Kadamba Vishnu-varman whom Ravivarman killed. 2 It is most probable that Chandadanda was a viruda of king Santi-varman.

The Greater Pallava king Mahendra-varman I, who ascended the throne about the beginning of the seventh century, is known to have been preceded by his father Simhavishnu and grandfather Simha-varman. Whether this Simha-varman was a king of Kahchi, and whether he was a direct descendant of Nandi-varman of the Udayendiram grant, cannot be determined. The Vayalur list of the Pallava kings, which is worthless as regards the earlier names but may be of value as to the names immediately preceding those of the Greater Pallavas, places three kings, viz. Simha-varman. Simhavarman, and Vishnugopa, between Nandi-varman (of the Udayendiram grant) and Simha-varman, grandfather of Mahendra-varman I.

1. See above, p. 258. 2. See above, p. 273.

But the non-mention of Santi-varman-Chandadanda seems to render even this part of the list extremely doubtful (cf. Genealogical Table No. 2 at the end of this Chapter).

4. A Collateral Line of the Pallavas

Side by side with the house of Kanchi there ruled at least one collateral branch of the Pallava family in the northern part of the dominions of the Pallava monarchs, known from the Prakrit records* Rulers of this branch, who are known from their Sanskrit charters, flourished, roughly speaking, in the period A.D. 375-575.

The fragmentary Darsi grant was issued by a Pallava king from his residence at Dasanapura (Darsi in Nellore District). The only other known fact about this ruler is that his great-grandfather was king Virakurcha-varman. Next in point of date comes the Omgodu grant (No. 1) issued from Tambrapa in the 33rd regnal year of king Skanda-varman (II), son of Vlra-varman, grandson of Skandavarman (I) and great-grandson of Kumaravishnu who also performed the Asvamedha like Sivaskanda-varman. It is not improbable that this northern Pallava house was founded by a Pallava viceroy of the Kanchi king .shortly after the latter had been routed by Samudragupta. If such were the case, Kumaravishnu's Asvamedha probably indicated revival of the fallen fortunes of the family at least in the northern part of the empire.

Vishnugopa or Vishnugopa-varman, son of Skanda-varman II, probably remained a crown-prince even during the reign of his son Sirhha-varman when he issued his Uruvupalli grant from Palakkada, Dharmamahdrdja Simha-varman, whose latest known date is his 10th regnal year, issued his grants from places like Menmatura and Dasanapura. The last known member of the house was Vishnugopavarman II, who was the son of Simha-varman and issued the Chura or Narasaraopet grant from Palotkata (Palakkada). The house was probably supplanted by the Greater Pallava king Simhavishnu about the last quarter of the sixth century. The names of the rulers of this line appear to have been confused with those of the Kanchi house in the traditional lists of Pallava kings found in the early medieval records (cf. Genealogical Table No. 3 at the end of this Chapter).

5. Mahendra-varman andl His Successors

Although Mahendra-varman I and his successors, unlike some of their contemporaries, did not date their records according to any era, their chronology can be fairly fixed on the strength of their relations with the Chalukya kings of Badami, whose dates are known. As noted above, both Mahendra-varman I and his son Narasimha-varman were contemporaries of the Chalukya king Pulakesin II.

Narasimha-varman I captured Badami, where there is an inscripiion supposed to be dated in his 13th regnal year, and assumed the title Vatapikonda, i.e. conqueror of Badami. The Ceylonese prince Mana-varman is known to have helped the Pallava monarch in defeating the Vallabha king, i.e. Pulakesin II, about A.D. 642 and succeeded with Narasimha-varman's help in securing the Ceylonese throne about A.D. 668.

The Gadval grant of Vikramaditya I, which is supported by other Chalukya records, shows that the Chalukya king, after having defeated the Pallavas and capturing Kanchl, encamped at Uragapura (modern Uraiyur near Trichinopoly) to the south of the Kaverl on the 25th of April, A.D. 674. It is also said that, to recover the lost empire of his father, Vikramaditya I had to fight with the Pallava kings Narasimha-varman I, his son Mahendra-varman II, and his grandson isvara or Paramesvara-varman I. As Narasimha-varman I succeeded his father some time (probably 13 years) before A.D. 64243, as his grandson Paramesvara-varman I was already on the throne in April A.D. 674, and as the accession of Mana-varman can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 668, the reigns of Narasimha-varman I and Mahendra-varman II may roughly be assigned to the periods A.D. 630-68 and A.D. 668-70 respectively.

Paramesvara-varman I claims to have defeated Vikramaditya (Chalukya Vikramaditya I) and destroyed the city of Ranarasika (Vikramaditya I), i.e. the Chalukya capital Badami. These successes must have been achieved after April, A.D. 674. Paramesvaravarman I was succeeded by his son Narasimha-varman II for whose reign we have a definite date. According to the Ts'o-fou-yuan-Kouei, a Chinese encyclopaedia compiled about A.D. 1013, Che-li-Na-lo-sengkia (Sri Narasim'na), king of the kingdom of South India, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 720. He proposed to the Chinese emperor his readiness to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Tajikas or Arabs) as well as the T'ou-po (Tibetans) and others. Moreover, he asked that a suitable name be given to his army. The Chinese emperor is said to have been pleased and conferred the name "the army which cherished virtue" to Narasirhha's forces. 1 According to another passage, the emperor a few months later sent an ambassador to confer by brevet the title of "the king of the kingdom of South India" on king Che-li-Na-lo-seng-kia-pao-topamo (Sri-Narasimhapota-varman, the typical Pallava form of the king's name). According to the Kieou-T'ang-chou, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-kiato-pa, king of South India, constructed in the same year a temple for the Chinese; and the emperor was pleased to give it the name "which causes return to virtue." These Chinese notices show that Pallava Narasiihha-varman II continued to rule at least till A.D. 720. But he did not probably live much longer. His son and successor Paramesvara-varman II ruled at least up to A.D. 730 as Chalukya Vikramaditya II, still a yuvartija, claims to have levied tribute from him at Kalhchi in the year 25 of Vijayaditya or shortly before it.[1] Roughly speaking, therefore, the reigns of Paramesvara-varman I, Narasimha-varman II and Paramesvara-varman II may be assigned respectively to the periods A.D. 670-95, A.D. 695-722 and A.D. 722-30.

It is probable that Paramesvara-varman II was the king of Kf-nchi killed by the Ganga king Sripurusha (who ascended the throne in A.D. 725 but was still ruling in A.D. 788) at the battle of Vilarde. The Ganga claims to have won for himself the Pallava umbrek i (insignia of royalty) and the title Permanadi. According to the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple inscription, the Pallava kingdom was destroyed on the death of Paramesvara-varman II and anarchy prevailed, when nobody was willing to assume the reins of government. A deputation consisting of the Matras, Mulaprakritis and others waited on Maharaja Hiranya-varman (a ruling chief belonging to the Pallava family) who asked the chief potentates as well as his own sons if any of them would accept kingship. All of them refused, with the exception of Hiranya-varman's 12 year old son Nandi-varman Pallavamalla. Hiranya-varman was persuaded to risk his son in the perilous undertaking and Pallavamalla ascended the throne. These facts may point to the genuineness of £rlpurusha's claim (Cf. Genealogical Table No. 4 at the end of this Chapter).

6. Nandi-varman Pallavamalla

[1] K. A. N. Sastri, Foreign Notices of South India, pp. 116-17.

We have seen that Narasimha-varman II ruled in A.D. 720 and that his son and successor Paramesvara-varman II ruled at least up to A.D. 730 and might have died in a war with Ganga Sripurusha (acc. A.D. 725). Thus Nandi-varman Pallavamalla could not have begun to rule earlier than A.D. 730.

The precise date of Nandi-varman's accession may be determined by considering his relations with Vijayaditya's son Vikramaditya II (A.D. 733-45) who claims to have invaded the Tunclaka country (Pallava territory), defeated his natural enemy the Pallava who was king Nandipota-varman. and captured Kanchl. The occupation of the Pallava capital by Chalukya Vikramaditya II is proved

1. According to the newly discovered Ulchala Ins. of Vijayaditya, year 35 (Avriont India. No. 5, p. 54).

by his inscription found in the Raj asimhes vara temple at Conjeeveram. Another inscription discovered in Nellore District is dated in the 15th regnal year of Nandipotarasar (Nandipotaraja, i.e. Nandivarman Pallavamalla) and records gift of gold to the Subrahmanya temple at Tirubanbur made by certain persons as djnaptis or executors of the Chalukiarasar (Chalukyaraja) at the instance of the Aluparasar (Aluparaja). There is little doubt that this Chalukya king was no other than Vikramaditya II, the Alupa rulers having been the feudatories of the Chalukya house of Badami. Thus the 15th regnal year of Nandi-varman falls some time in A.D. 733-45, the reign period of Vikramaditya II, and this shows that the accession of the Pallava king could not have taken place later than A.D. 730-31. It would thus appear that Nandi-varman ascended the throne in A.D. 730. As his latest known date is his 65th regnal year, his reign ended not earlier than A.D. 795 but possibly some time later. In any case, Nandi-varman Pallavamalla's reign must have come to a close some time before A.D. 804 when his son Dantiga or Danti-varman was already on the throne of Kanchl according to a Rashtrakuta record.

GENEALOGY

1. Tentative genealogy of the Pallavas of the Prakrit records.

1. Sirhha-varman (end of the third century)

2. xsivaskanda-varman (beginning of the fourth century)

3. Skanda-varman (about the second quarter of the fourth century)

Buddha-varman

I

Buddhyankura

4. Vishnugopa (third quarter of the fourth century).

2. Tentative genealogy of the Pallavas of Kahchl known from the Sanskrit charters.

3. Skanda-varman I

Buddha-varman

l

(Buddhyankura)

4. Vishnugopa (third quarter of the fourth century).

5. Kumaravishnu I

6. Buddha-varman

I

7. Kumaravishnu II (beginning of the fifth century)

8. Skanda-varman II

9. Sirhha-varman A.D. 436-58

10. Skanda-varman III

I

11. Nandi-varman I •

12. Santi-varman Chandadanda (beginning of the sixth century

13. Sirhha-varman (c. A.D. 550-575)

14. Simhavishnu (c. A.D. 575-600)

15. Mahendra-varman I (c. A.D. 600-30)

3. Tentative genealogy of the Pallavas (c. A.D. 375-585) of the Nellore-Guntur region.

1. VIrakucha-varman

Kumaravishnu

2.

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3. Skanda-varman I

1

1

4. VIra-varman I

I

5. I

Skanda-varman II

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1

Vishnugopa-varman I

1

1

6. Sirhha-varman

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ft . Vishnugopa-varman II

4. Tentative genealogy of the Greater Pallavas.

1. Simha-varman (c. 550-575)

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2. Simhavishnu (c. 575-600)

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n	Mahendra-varman I (c. G00-30)
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4.	Narasimha-varman I (c. 630-68)
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5.	Mahendra-varman II (c. A.D. 668-70)
	1
	1
6.	Paramesvara-varman I (c. 670-95)
	1
	1
7.	Narasimha-varman II (c. 695-722)
	I
8.	1

Paramesvara-varman II (c. 722-30)

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9. Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla (c. A.D. 730-796)

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CHAPTER XIV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Rao, B. V. K., A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradesa, p. 135.
2. 1. Ibid , p. 173. 2. HIJ, pp. 179-83. 3. JIH, II, p. 25.
3. 1. But cf. PHAI. 258-59 for other views. 2. His. Ins. pp. 374-75.
4. 2. Also called Ayya (or Arya)-varman.
5. 1. See above, p. 238. 2. El, VI, 11.
6. 259
7. 1. Ibid. XVII, 17.
8. 2. K. R. Srinivasan ascribes the painting to a somewhat later time (PIHC, VII.
9. 168-73).
10. 3. See p. 241.
11. 1. See pp. 243 f.
12. 2. EL XVII, 300.
13. 2C>~)
14. 1. Dattaka-sutra, a treatise on erotics, is sometimes wrongly .taken to be a
15. treatise on adoption (cf. NHIP, VI. 248-9).
16. 2. This is regarded as highly improbable by S. S. Sastri (Early Gangas of Talakad,
17. p. 45).

CEYLON

After the death of king Mahasena (A.D. 334-362) 1 of the Lambakarna clan, whose history has been dealt with above, 2 his son Srlmeghavarna became king of Ceylon. The new ruler, who was a virtuous man, pacified the Buddhist monks and repaired or reconstructed the monasteries and other buildings that had been damaged or destroyed by his father. In the ninth year of his reign, Buddha's tooth-relic is said to have been brought from Kalinga and consecrated in a temple in Ceylon. Srlmeghavarna is no doubt the same as Chi-mi-kia-po-mo ("cloud of merit") who, according to Wang-hiuen-tse's Hing-Tchoan, sent two monks to the court of the Indian king San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to or Samudra-gupta, to secure permission for building a monastery at Gaya. 3 Srimeghavarna was succeeded by Jyeshfhatishya, who was either his younger brother or his brother's youngest son and was a skilled carver in ivory. The next ruler was Jyeshthatishya's son Buddhadasa who was a pious man and treated his subjects as if they were his children. Buddhadasa is represented in the chronicles as a great healer of diseases and is said to have appointed physicians to provide for the cure of the

1. A word of explanation is necessary for the scheme of chronology followed in this chapter. The Pali chronicle entitled Mahavamsa (with its supplement the Chulavamsa) and the Singhalese chronicles such as the Rajavaliya, Pujavaliya, Nikdyasahgrahaya and Rajaratnakaraya as well as the Narendracharitavalokana pradlpika often contradict one another, and their dates for the earlier kings, when applied to the Buddha-nirvana era of 544 B.C., now prevalent in Ceylon, are not convincing and arc sometimes contradicted by other evidence such as that derived from Chinese sources. The researches of Geiger and others have removed some of these difficulties, and Fleet's suggestion that in early times 483 B.C. was regarded in the island as the epoch of the Buddha-nirvana era is now usually accepted. But even then inexact reference to a king's rule in a round number of years or to his death in a particular regnal year (without mention of months and days) stands in the way of reconstructing a definite chronological table of the kings mentioned in the chronicles. In the following pages, Geiger's approximate chronology has been followed down

to the reign of Mahanaga, and the reign (nine years) of Lamani Singana, who is not mentioned in the Chulavamsa and was probably a collateral ruling chief, has been omitted. This has been done to rectify Geiger's error of about nine years in regard to the accession of Manavarman. According to Geiger, Manavarman ascended the throne in A.D. 676, although his accession could hardly have taken place much later than A.D. 668. From the reign of this king, therefore, we have followed the more reliable chronology proposed by Hultzsch. It may also be pointed out that Geiger's date for Jagatlpala is almost certainly wrong. On the other hand a slight modification of one year has been introduced in the chronology proposed by Hultzsch from the reigns of Mahendra I and Agrabodhi VI downwards. This is mainly because his dates for the accession of Mahendra V and Vijayabahu appear to be too early at least by one year if not by two years.

2. Vol. II, p. 241.

3. See p. 11, where the date given for Meghavarna is based on Geiger, Mahavamsa, p. xxxix.

sick in different parts of the kingdom. The ascetic Mahadharmakathin translated the Buddhist Sutras in the Ceylonese language during this reign. He was very probably the same as Ta-mo-kiu-ti, mentioned as a contemporary by the Chinese traveller Fa-hien who stayed in Ceylon about A.D. 411-12. The chronology followed in these pages seems to indicate that the monk survived king Buddhadasa. Buddhadasa was succeeded by his eldest son Upatishya whose reign was seriously disturbed by a famine and an epidemic. 1 Upatishya was murdered by his queen who later married his brother and successor Mahanaman (A.D. 409-31). During Mahanaman's rule, the celebrated Buddhist writer Buddhaghosha, an inhabitant of Magadha, reached Ceylon where he lived for a number of years. Tradition ascribes Buddhaghosha's landing in Ceylon to a date probably corresponding to A.D. 412-13. According to Chinese sources, Ts'a-li Mo-ho-nan (Mahanaman of Ceylon) sent a letter to the Chinese imperial court in A.D. 428.

After a rule of twenty-two years Mahanaman was murdered by his son Svastisena, who was himself murdered the same day by his step-sister whose husband was raised to the throne. The new king died soon and one

Mitrasena became king with the help of a minister. Soon after his accession, Mitrasena was killed by a Damila (Dravida or Tamil) named Pantfya who came from the coast of South India and probably belonged to the Parujya royal family of Madura. When North Ceylon was conquered by the Damilas, Ceylonese nobles fled to Rohana in the southern part of the island. Pandya and his five Damila successors ruled for about 27 years (A.D. 433-60), and then a Ceylonese chief named Dhatusena (A.D. 460-78), who belonged to the Moriya (Mayura) clan, expelled the foreigners and became ruler of the island. Buddhism does not appear to have been patronised by the Damila kings; but Dhatusena reinstalled the old order. He built an exceptionally large number of monasteries, dug tanks, and founded numerous other institutions. Dhatusena's rule ended in a disaster. His eldest son Kasyapa (A.D. 478-96), who rebelled against his father, took him prisoner and usurped the throne. 2 The old king was murdered after a rule of 18 years. In the 18th regnal year of Kasyapa himself, his brother Maudgalyayana,

Note 1

Note 2

who had fled to India, came back to the island with an Indian contingent and many people assembled under his banner. In the struggle that followed, Kasyapa lost his life and his brother Maudgalyayana (A.D. 496-513) became king of Lanka. There is a Chinese notice referring to king Kia-che Kai-lo-ha-li-ya who sent an embassy to the Chinese court in A.D, 527. Kia-che no doubt indicates the name Kasyapa; but it has been suggested that the king of Ceylon here referred to is the same as a later ruler named Silakaia.

Maudgalyayana is said to have freed the island from the danger of hostile attacks from India by instituting a guard for the sea-coast. He was a pious ruler who presented his umbrella, the royal insignia, to the Buddhist Sangha in token of his submission to the church. Maudgalyayana died in the 17th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son Kumaradasa or Kumaradhatusena- (A.D. 513-22). Some writers believe that Kumaradasa sent an envoy to China in A.D. 515, but the belief seems to be based on a misunderstanding. A doubtful i »

Ceylonese tradition of a later date identifies this king with Kumaradasa, author of the celebrated poem Jdnakiharana. Keith, however, points out that the date of the poem is later than that of the Kasikavritti composed about the middle of the seventh century. Kumaradasa was succeeded after a rule of about nine years by his son Kirtisena who was soon deposed by his maternal uncle Siva. This usurper of the throne was soon after killed by Upatishya (A.D. 522-24) who was the husband of Maudgalyayana’s sister and belonged to the Lambakarna clan. Upatishya'was succeeded shortly after by his rebellious son Silakaia (A.D. 524-37) whose accession to the throne, according to a tradition in the Rdjaratnakaraya, took place 1088 years after Buddha’s Nirvana and 852 years after the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon. Silakaia would thus appear to have become king in the year 1089 of the Buddha-nirvana era of Ceylon corresponding to A.D. 545. According to some writers, the date refers to the introduction of the Vetulla canon (actually a Vetulla work possibly entitled Dhammadhdtu), which tradition assigns to th^ king’s 12th regnal year. But even this emendation does not suit the chronology of Geiger who, therefore, assumes an error in the tradition. Silakaia made his eldest son Maudgalyayana governor of the Eastern Province, while his second son Damshtraprabhuti was made the governor of the central mountainous country called Malaya and also of the Southern Province. When the king died in the 13th year of his reign, Damshtraprabhuti seized the . throne, but lost his life shortly after in a struggle with Maudgalyayana, who next became king.

Maudgalyayana II (A.D. 537-56), a poet of considerable merit, was a pious ruler, loved by his subjects. After a rule of about 20 years, this king died and his son Kirtisrimegha ascended the throne. He ruled for a few days during which the queen-mother mismanaged the affairs of the state. This encouraged Mahanaga, a rebellious officer of Rohana in South Ceylon, to advance against the king. Mahanaga (A.D. 556-59) occupied the throne after having killed Kirtisrimegha and made his own sister’s son Agrabodhi the Upardja or sub-king. After about three years Mahanaga died and was succeeded by Agrabodhi (A.D. 559-921, 1 who was the builder of several monasteries, dug the Kurunduvava and Mihintale tanks, and founded numerous religious establishments and charitable institutions. Agrabodhi encouraged writing poems in the Ceylonese language. He conferred the dignity of Mahddipada (title of the heir to the throne) on his sister's son, also called Agrabodhi, and died in the 34th year of his reign. During the reign of Agrabodhi II (A.D. 592-602), who dug the Kantalai and Giritale tanks,

a prince of Kalinga and his queen came to Ceylon where they underwent the ceremony of world renunciation under the celebrated Buddhist teacher Jyotihpala. The migration of the Kalinga prince cannot possibly be associated with the Chalukya occupation of southern Kalinga under Pulakesin II as the latter event took place shortly before A.D. 630-31. Agrabodhi II is said to have dedicated his kingdom and person to the relic shrine of Buddha. He died in the 10th year of his reign.

The next ruler was Sanghatishya, who was a younger brother of Agrabodhi II according to some sources, although he may have been a relation of the latter's queen. A general of Agrabodhi II, named Maudgalyayana, revolted against the new king's authority at Rohana in • the Southern Province shortly after his accession. In the struggle that followed, Sanghatishya was killed and Maudgalyayana III (A.D. 602-08) became king, Jyeshthatishya, son of Sanghatishya, having fled for his life. After a rule of about six years, the new king was himself killed by another rebel named Silamegha varna (A.D. 608-17) who occupied the northern part of the island together with the capital. By open generosity, Silameghavarna won the heart of all classes of people. But a general named Srlnaga, who was a brother of king Sanghatishya's queen, fled to South India and came back with a large army of Damilas (Tamils) to conquer the Northern Province now under Silameghavarna. The

Note 3

king, however, succeeded in crushing the invading army completely. For a certain offence, Silameghavarna punished a large number of Buddhist monks and banished one hundred of them to India. He died after a rule of nine years and was succeeded by his young son Agrabodhi III (A.D. 617-32), surnamed Srlsanghabodhi. It is interesting to note that in later times the surnames Silameghavarna and Srlsanghabodhi were alternately assumed by the kings of Ceylon. Shortly after the accession of Agrabodhi III, Jyeshthatishya, who had been planning to regain the throne all the time since his father Sarighatishya’s death, succeeded in subjugating the Southern and Eastern Districts and then marched against the capital city of Anuradhapura. Jyeshthatishya III now became king after defeating Agrabodhi III, who fled to South India but returned after a few months with a contingent of Damila troops. Jyeshthatishya III was killed in the battle that ensued and Agrabodhi III regained the throne. But a minister of Jyeshthatishya III, -named Damshtrasiva, who had been sent to India by his master to secure the help of Damila mercenaries, now came back with an army of South Indians and marched on the capital. It was now Agrabodhi’s turn to flee to India leaving the throne for Damshtrasiva who assumed the name Damshtropatishya. But Agrabodhi III again came back with reinforcements, and the two rivals for the throne were engaged in a continuous struggle, much to the misery of the people. Agrabodhi III died in the 16th year after his accession; but the struggle against Damshtropatishya was continued by his younger brother Kasyapa II (A.D. 632-41) who compelled the rival to flee to India and consolidated his own position in the island. When Damshtropatishya next came with a great South Indian force, he was killed in battle by Kasyapa II, although Hastadariishtra, a son of Dariishtropatishya’s sister, managed to escape to India. Kasyapa II was seized by a bad illness and transferred the whole government* to his sister’s son Mana, a scion of the Ikshvaku family of Rohana. The king died after a rule of nine years when Mana was still fighting with the Damila mercenaries who had been brought from South India by Damshtropatishya and had become an undisciplined rabble. Mana now crowned his father Dappula, who had made himself an independent ruler of the state of Rohana, as king of Ceylon; but soon Hastadariishtra arrived with a fresh contingent of Damilas’. Dappula fled to Rohana and Mana to the Eastern Province. Hastadariishtra or Darhshtropatishya II died after a rule of nine years (A.D. 641-50) and was succeeded by his younger brother Agrabodhi IV (A.D. 60 O- 66), surnamed Srlsanghabodhi. A number of Damila noblemen held high offices under this king. He was a religious-minded man, and he and his officials were famous for their benevolence.

He died after a reign of 16 years and a Damila official named Pustakushtha seized the government and placed on the throne one Datta (A.D. 666-68) who belonged to the royal family. When Datta died after two years, Pustakushtha raised a young man named Hastadamshtra to the throne. But the new king was killed after a few months by Mana, Manaka or Manavarman (A.D. 668-703) [1] who was the eldest son of king Kaisyapa II. During the rule of Hastadamshtra or Daiiishtropatishya II (A.D. 641-50) he had fled to the court of the Kanduvethi (i.c. Kaduvetti or Pallava) king Narasimha in India. This Narasimha is no doubt Narasimha-varman I of the Pallava family of Kanchipura, who defeated the Chalukya king Pulakesin II about A.D. 642 and ended his rule some years before A.D. 674 when his grandson Paramesvara-varman I was on the throne. When Manavarman was living at Narasimha’s court, the Vallabha (i.e. Chalukya) king, very probably Pulakesin II, is said to have come to make war on the Pallava monarch. It thus seems that Manavarman had repaired to the Pallava court shortly before A.D. 642 and soon after the death of his father Kasyapa II. It is said that Manavarman distinguished himself by his valour in Narasimha’s struggle against the Vallabha or Chalukya king who was totally roiited. This pleased Narasimha-varman I who supplied Manavarman with an army with which the latter invaded Ceylon. But the expedition, in spite of a victory over the forces of Daiiishtropatishya II, was a failure, and Manavarman had once again to take shelter at the court of the Pallava king. He stayed there during the reign of the four kings, viz. Daiiishtropatishya II or Hastadamshtra I (A.D. 641-50), Agrabodhi IV (A.D. 650-66), Datta (A.D. 666-68) and Hastadamshtra II (A.D. 668), when the Pallava king was persuaded to supply him with a second army. This time Manavarman succeeded in defeating totally the titular king Hastadamshtra II and the administrator Pustakushtha and in seizing the throne of Ceylon some time about A.D. 668. Manavarman is assigned a reign of thirty-five years in some of the sources. His successors v/ere his sons, Agrabodhi V (A.D. 703-09) who is said to have ruled for six years, and Kasyapa III (A.D. 709-16) who probably ruled for seven years. During Kasyapa’s reign, the king’s brother Mahendra administered the kingdom as Adipada. Mahendra (A.D. 716-19) later ruled as king [2] for about three years and was succeeded

1. Geiger assigns the accession of Manavarman to A.D. 676. This is impossible in view of the fact, noted above (p. 280), that his helper

Narasimha-varman I Pallava must have died considerably earlier than April. A.D. 674.

2. Because Mahendra repudiated the ceremony of abhisheka. he was regarded as “Adipada Mahendra” throughout his reign. The title Adiwda was conferred on Die heir to the throne. When there were several Adipadas the one nearest the throne was called Mahddipdda which title was closely allied to that of Yvvarajn. Frequently the Yuvaraja was invested with the dignity of Uparaja which

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by his son Agrabodhi VI Silameghavarna (A.D. 719-59). According to a Chinese account, an Indian monk named Vajrabodhi, on his way from China to India, touched Ceylon where he was invited in A.D. 718-19 by king Chi-li-chi-lo, i.e. Srtsila, apparently an abbreviation of the name SrLSilameghavarna. The king may have been the same as Agrabodhi VI Silamegha according to the scheme of chronology followed in these pages, although he is identified by Geiger with Kasyapa III who is supposed to have assumed the same surname. From Chinese sources we also know that king Chi-lo-mikia, i.e. Silamegha or Silameghavarna sent two embassies to the Chinese court in the years A.D. 742 and 746. There is little doubt that this king was Agrabodhi VI Silameghavarna,

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H. W. Codrington —A Short History of Ceylon.

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Hultzsch—Contributions to Singhalese Chronology, JRAS, 1913, p. 517.

was a position of trust carrying with it certain rights, apparently a share in the government. The northern part of the island was called the Raiarashtra (the kings province); but the Southern Province is often described as the Yxiva raja-rashtra, while the territorial division Maya rdshtra (to the south of the Northern Province) is believed to stand for Mahadipada-rdshtra A younger son of the king was often given the dignity of Malaya-raja (lord of Malaya in the mountainous region of Central Ceylon). *

CHAPTER XV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Geiger believes that the change from the old era of 483 B.C. to the new one of 544 B.C. falls in the earliest period dealt with in the Chulavamsa covering the reign of Srlmeghavarna down to that of Upatishya I. The four kings viz. Srlmeghavarna, Jyeshthatishya II, Buddhadasa and Upatishya I, are assigned, in the Chulavamsa, reigns respectively covering 28, 9, 29 and 42 years (altogether 108 years). Geiger is inclined to believe that these four kings actually ruled for 47 years, but that their reigns have been expanded by 61 years in order to reconcile the old era of 483 B.C. with the new one of 544 B.C.
2. 2. Kasyapa had no claim to the throne as his mother was not the chief queen ot his father. Maudgalyayana was the lawful claimant for the throne.
3. 1. Certain Singhalese chronicles place the rule of a king named Lamani Singana covering nine years between the reign of Mahanaga and that of Agrabodhi. We have omitted this reign for reasons stated in footnote 1 (p. 284) and have closed up the succeeding reigns.

LITERATURE

I. SANSKRIT

The political unity and prosperity of India under the Guptas, combined with the staunch patronage that they extended to Sanskrit learning, resulted in the flourishing of Sanskrit literature in all its branches. The period under review saw the full development of the Puranas and the last phase of the Smriti literature. Possibly the Epics also got their final touches and received their present shape during this age. But the most important developments took place in secular literature. It may be fairly stated that it is this period that produced the best authors in almost all branches of literature, including even sciences like Astronomy and Mathematics. This is evident from the fact that dramatists and poets like Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Bharavi and Magha, prose writers like Dan din. Subandhu, and Bana, rhetoricians like Bhamaha, grammarians like Chandra, Vamana, and Bhartrihari, lexicographers like Amara. philosophers like Gaudapada, Kumarila, and Prahhakara, and astronomers like Aryabhata, Varahamihira, and Brahmagupta, all flourished during this period which may, therefore, be aptly described as the “Golden Age” of Sanskrit literature. It was at one time held by some scholars that there was a revival or renaissance of Sanskrit literature during the Gupta Age. This can no longer be regarded as technically correct. For Sanskrit literature was never altogether eclipsed and its influence continued throughout the centuries preceding the Gupta Age. This is proved by the writings of Bhasa and Asvaghosha referred to above. 1 The inscriptions of the Gupta period such as the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Mandasor inscription of Vatsabhatti (A.D. 437) also clearly show that the high-flown Kavya style was already in a mature state as early as the fourth or fifth century A.D. There was undoubtedly an efflorescence, but not a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in the Gupta Age. We shall now proceed to give a short account of the different branches.

1. THE PURANAS

In the older Vedic literature the word “purJna" usually in connection with “itiheisa", and originally it seems to have

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simply “old narrative” without any special significance as to the character of the narrative. According to the classical definition, however, a pur dim is supposed to deal with five topics (pancha lakshana), viz . (1) sarga or creation of the universe; (2) pratisarga or re-creation after destruction; (3) vamsa or genealogy; (4) manvantara or the great periods of time with Manu as the primal ancestor; and (5) vamsdnucharita or the history of the dynasties, both solar and lunar. But the texts that have come down to us under the title Purana hardly conform to this definition since they contain either something more or something less than the limitations set by it. If it be assumed that the definition was based on the contents of actual texts, then prima facie it would appear that the present Puranas are mutilated or revised versions of older texts.

The Puranas themselves state their number to be eighteen. They are in most cases enumerated as follows: Brahma, Padma, Vishnu, &iva or Vdyu, Bhdgavata, Ndrada, Mdrkandeya, Agni, Bhavishya, Brahmavaivarta, Linga, Vardha, Skanda, Vdmana, Kurma, Matsya, Gdruda, and Brahmanda. The Padma Purana classifies these texts according to the three Gunas and ascribes them to one or the other principal deity. Thus the Vishnu, Ndrada, Bhdgavata , Garuda, Padma, and Vardha, are Vishnuite sdttvika Puranas, and as such lead to salvation; the Brahmanda, Brahmavaivarta, Mdrkandeya, Bhavishya, Vdmana, and Brahma are the rdjasa texts devoted to Brahman and secure only heaven for their readers; lastly the Matsya, Kurma, Linga, Siva, Skanda, and Agni are Saivite and styled as tdmasa. It is surprising to note that these latter are regarded as leading to hell.

The Brahma Purana, which is also called the Adi Purana, due to the place it occupies in the lists, is narrated by Suta to the sages that had assembled in the Naimisha forest. The major portion of the work is devoted to the glorification of sacred places, and a large section deals with the Krishna legends. It also contains a good deal of matter that is common to all the Puranas—the legends of creation of the world, of Manu and his descendants, of the kings of solar and lunar dynasties and descriptions of the earth and hell. At the end, there are a few chapters dealing with the srdddhas, the duties of the castes and asramas, and the rewards of Vishnu worship,

The Padma Purana has come down to us in two recensions of which the Bengali recension consisting of five books is older than the An. SS No. 28 consisting of six books. Besides the usual accounts of creation, genealogies, and glorifications, the Purana contains numerous myths and legends including those of Sakuntala, Pururavas, Rama, and Rishyasringa. The genealogical account of this

Purana agrees with that of the Matsya. The last book gives an account of the incarnations of Vishnu. Some of the books of the longer version contain chapters glorifying the Ganesa and Siva cults.

Of all the Puranas the Vishnu Purana appears to have preserved the original text more faithfully, since it more or less satisfies the classical definition of a Purana. It declares Vishnu to be the highest being and the sole creator and preserver of the world. The first book gives the usual account of the creation of the world, of gods and demons, etc. Among the narratives and myths that it contains mention may be made of the churning of the ocean, and of Dhruva and Prahlada. The next book gives all sorts of fantastic descriptions of this world, the nether-worlds, and the heavens. In the third book we find an account of the Manus and the ages (manvantaras). The fourth book gives, in general agreement with the Vdyu account, the genealogical lists of the solar and lunar dynasties and a prophecy on the Kali age, which is described in the last book. The intervening fifth book speaks of the divine Krishna and his marvellous adventures.

The Vdyu Purana which is referred to by Sana in his Harsha charita, may also be said to have preserved much of the original text. Besides the usual matter, it contains many legends in glorification of Siva whence its second name Siva Purana. The Narada Purana, on the other hand, propagates the

Vishnu cult and has a purely sectarian character. It does not contain the usual creation accounts and the genealogies.

The Bhdgavata Purana is the most popular in this class of literature, though chronologically it belongs to a very late period. Doubts have been expressed in India and elsewhere as regards the genuineness of this Purana, and some scholars have ascribed it to the grammarian Vopadeva. It contains twelve books of which the tenth, devoted to the life of Krishna, is widely read. The other parts contain the usual Purana material. It is important to note that Kapila, the founder of the Sankhya system, and Buddha appear as incarnations of Vishnu in this Purana.

The Mdrkandeya Purana , in which the sage Markandeya appears as the narrator, is one of the oldest in Purana literature. In some of the sections neither Vishnu nor Siva is glorified, but the Vedic deities like Indra, Agni, and Surya receive attention. It is mainly narrative in character, and is comparatively free from the sectarian element which so often predominates in the other Puranas.

The Agni Purana is so called because Agni himself is supposed to have narrated it to Vasishtha. Essentially it is a Saivite work dealing with the cult of Linga, Durga and Ganesa. On account of

the variety of its subject-matter-—astronomy and astrology, geography and politics, law and medicine, metrics and grammar, marriage and death customs, etc,—it has an almost encyclopaedic character.

From the title of the Bhavishya Parana one would expect to find in it different prophecies. In fact, however, it mostly describes the Brahmanica! rites, duties of castes, and so on. The solar priests Bhojaka and Maga are mentioned in connection with the sun-worship of Sakadvipa which is related to the Zoroastrian sun and fire cult. 1 The extant work is not the original Purana of that name; and, as has been shown by Th. Aufrecht, the text which appeared in Bombay in 1897 in the Snvenkata press is a ‘literary fraud’. 2 The Bhavishya Purana is mentioned in the Apasiamba Dharraasutra 3 and hence the original Parana may go back to the fourth century B. C. But the later Bhaihskya Pnrdiia from which the Matsya , Vdyu, and the Brahmdnda copied their accounts existed only in the third century A.D. 4 The Brahmavaivarta Purana shows Brahman to be the creator of the world. The second book shows prakriti resolving itself into five goddesses—Durga. Lakshmi, Sarasvati, Savitrl and

Radha. That this Purana is devoted to Krishna can be seen not

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only from the last book which describes the life of the god, but also from the fact that the third book regards Ganesa as the incarnation of Krishna.

The Lihga and the varanas do not fit in with the original sense of the word Purana and seem to be the creations of a later age. The former is composed under the influence of the Tantras, and teaches the worship of Siva especially in the form of a lihga. The latter is mainly intended to be a manual for Vishnu-worshippers, though it contains legends of Siva, Durga, and Ganesa.

The ancient Skanda Purana is probably entirely lost to us, What remains of it is only the name to which extensive works, said to he the Samhitas or the Khandas of the original Purana, and numerous Mahatmyas claim allegiance. By some of the offshoots of this work we are informed that the Skanda Parana consisted of six Samhitas teaching the worship of Siva. The famous KdAl Khanda belonging to this Purana deals with the sanctity of the city of Banaras and narrates various legends connected with the origin of the temples and tirthas round about the city. A single ancient Manuscript of this text in Gupta characters,- belonging to the seventh century A.D., was found by Haraprasada Sastri; but even this does not agree with the five characteristics of a Purana.

1. D. H. Bhandarkar, El IX. p. 279. 2. ZDMG, LVII, pp. 276 ff.

3. II. 9. 242-6. 4. Pargiter, A1HT, pp. 50-51.

Similarly the Vdmana Purdna can hardly be accepted as the original work bearing that name. A considerable portion is devoted to Linga-worship and there are many legends about Siva and Uma, Ganesa and Karttikeya. Of the four Samhitas which constitute the Kurma Purdna only the first has come down to us under that title. Here Vishnu in the form of a tortoise (Kurma) narrates the Purana to king Indradyumna. It no doubt treats of the five themes of a Purana, but there are many of the usual Puranic additions.

The Matsya Purana is one of those few Puranas which have preserved most of the original matter. It is written in the form of a conversation between the fish (matsya) and Manu whom the former saves at the time of the great flood. As in the case of the other Puranas even this work tells many legends, such as those of Yayati and Savitrl, and gives account of various festivals and rites, and glorification of sacred places.

In the Garuda Purdna more emphasis is laid on various forms of Vishnu-worship. Like the Agni Purdna, this work too has assumed as encyclopaedic form. “The contents of the Rdmdyana, the Mahdbhdrata and the Harivamsa are retold, and there are sections on cosmography, astronomy, and astrology, omens and portents, chiromancy, medicine, metrics, grammar, knowledge of precious stones (ratnaparikshd) and politics (nlti). A considerable portion of the Yajnavalkya-Dharmasdstra has been included.” 1 Funeral rites and ancestor worship, as well as funeral sacrifices for a Sat!, are also mentioned in this work.

According to the Maltsya Purdna, the Brahmdnda Purdna was proclaimed by Brahman in glorification of the Brahman-egg. It is also supposed to have contained an account of the future Kalpas. The extant manuscripts, however, hardly agree with this description, for they contain only glorification of places and hymns of praise. The Adhydtma-Rdmdyana is considered to be a part of this Purana. It teaches Vedantic monism and devotion to Rama as paths to salvation.

Besides these Puranas there are certain texts called Upapuranas whose number is also stated to be eighteen. They are more or less the outcome of local cults and different religious sects. Among the works belonging to this class may be mentioned the Vishnu dharmottara which is often quoted by Alberuni. It is a Vaishnava work from Kashmir, and besides the usual themes it also deals with fine arts like dancing, singing, painting and sculpture, and numerous other subjects. Among other things the Bnhad-Dharma Purdna

Note 2

mentions even Valmiki and Vyasa, besides Kapila and Buddha, as incarnations of Vishnu. The Kalki Purdna describes the deeds of Vishnu at the close of the Kali age.

The original authors of the Puranas, like those of the epics, were the Sutas or the bards. 1 Thus it is that in almost all the Puranas the Suta Lomaharshana or his son Ugrasravas (the Sauti) appears as narrator. Later on, however, they fell into the hands of priests who were not well educated and lived on worship in temples or places of pilgrimage. These temple priests helped themselves by adding to the Puranas a great deal of new matter which served their own ends. Some of these additions have a local tinge so that "the Brahma Purdna may represent the Orissa version of the original work, just as the Padma may give that of Pushkara, the Agni that of Gaya, the Vardha that of Mathura, the Vdmana that of Thaneswar, the Kurma that of Banaras, and the Matsya that of Brahmans on the Narmada." 2 The present Puranas are thus more or less sectarian, carrying on propaganda in favour of a particular deity or a place sacred to that deity.

The importance of the Puranas for the development of later Hinduism can never be overrated. In fact "they afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism—its mythology, its idol-worship, its theism and pantheism, its love of God, its philosophy and its superstitions, its festivals and ceremonies, and its ethics, than any other works." 3 From the historical point of view the most important Puranas giving ancient royal genealogies are the Vayu , Brahmdnda , Matsya and the Vishnu A Besides these, some of the Puranas—and especially the Brahmdnda, Vayu and the Matsya — give also the genealogies of important Brahmana families, which are, however, defective. These genealogies of kings and sages are the only available specimens of early historical works in Sanskrit literature, as has been mentioned above. 6

According to the orthodox tradition recorded in the Atharvaveda and BnliaddrarHjaka Upanishad the Puranas are of divine

1. On the original nature of the Puranas, Pargiter observes as follows: "It is highly probable that they (i.e. Puranas) consisted at first mainly of ancient

stories, genealogies, ballads, etc., which formed the popular side of ancient literature, and were quite probably in Prakrit originally. In fact, it seems to me that they were largely in an old literary Prakrit used by the higher classes, but that, as the spoken languages diverged in time more and more from Sanskrit through political vicissitudes, that literary Prakrit became unintelligible, while Sanskrit remained the only polished language of Brahmanic Hinduism. Hence it was natural that this literature should be Sanskritized,

if it was to be preserved-' DKA, Intr. p. xvii, footnote 2. For the theory

that the Puranas were originally composed in Prakrits and later on turned into Sanskrit, cf. op. cit. pp. x-xi, and App. I. Contra, Pusalker, Acharya Dhmva Comm. Vol., Part III, pp. 101-104.

2. JBBRAS, Centenary Memorial, Volume, p. 73.

3. Winternitz, H1L, I. 529. 4. AIHT, p. 77. 5. Vol. I, pp. 47 f.

origin. Even in the Purana texts the chief speaker, who is generally Lomaharshana or his son Ugrasravas, is represented to have gathered his information through Vyasa from the Creator himself.

Though the Purana is mentioned in Vedic literature, the actual existence of the Puranas can be traced only from the Sutra period onwards. Thus some of the Dharma Sutras like that of Gautama enumerate the Puranas among the sources of law, while the Apas tamba refers to Bhavishyat Purana. These and other references to Purana in Mahdbharata seem to indicate that the original Puranas existed long before the Christian era.

That the present texts hardly represent the original Puranas can be inferred from the disparity between the old definition of the Puranas and their present contents. On the one hand, some of the Puranas largely ignore the five subjects mentioned in the definition, while on the other, the definition altogether ignores the common factor in all the existing Puranas, viz. their glorification of Siva or Vishnu and places sacred to them, description of the duties of the castes and dsramas, and so on.

It has been held by some[1] that there was originally a single Purana out of which the present texts have been evolved. While this may be doubted, it may be more reasonably surmised that several Purana texts existed before the Christian era which, revised and modified in later times, gave rise to the modern texts. The principal object of this revision was to introduce the sectarian doctrines which had come into prominence and to add extensive chapters of Hindu rites and customs so as to make them authoritative works like the Dharmasastras. The Puranas may thus be regarded as a deliberate attempt to bring the theistic religions like Vaishnavism and Saivism within the pale of orthodoxy by combining the new doctrines with a respect for Vedic rituals, customs, and beliefs, specially the orthodox ideas of caste and order (Varnasrama). These had fallen into disuse or comparative neglect, partly on account of the rise of the new sectarian religions, which were all more or less anti-Vedic and anti-Brahmanical in their inception, and partly on account of the large influx of foreign elements in the Hindu population in the wake of the successive ^invasions of the Greeks, Parthians, Sakas, and Kushanas. Necessity was therefore felt of a new class of popular literature which would reconcile the moderate heterodox cults like Vaishnavism and Saivism to the old social customs and rituals as far as practicable. The Puranas were thus revised and modified in order to serve as the religious texts of that large section of the people who, though devoted worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, were at the same time too much attached to Vedas and Smritis or Dharmasastras, particularly the Varnasrama, to abandon them altogether for the sake of the new creed. Thus a new class of sectarians arose who may be called Smarta-Saivas or Smarta-Vaishnavas. They originated what may be called modern Hinduism and the growth in their number led to the mutilation and multiplication of Puranic texts.

Dr. Hazra[1] has made a painstaking analysis to show how the different sections, dealing with orthodox rites and customs in the manner of Smritis, were added to the different Puranas at widely varying periods. Although his conclusions cannot claim finality they may be regarded as the best working hypotheses for the present. The earliest and latest probable dates for such additions to some of the important Puranas according to his theory are as follows:

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[1] Jackson, JBBRAS . Centenary Memorial Volume, pp. 67 ff; Blau. ZDMG, 62, p. 337; Pargiter, A1HT pp. 33 fl, 49 fl.

3rd to 5th cent, A,D. (some portions may be much later)

3rd to 5th cent. A.D.

3rd to 4th cent, A.D,

6th cent. A.D,'

6th to 7th cent, A.D. (some portions may be as late as A.D. 1000 or even later)

As Dr. Hazra has pointed out, "there were two main stages in the development of the Puranic Smriti materials'In the first stage, between the third and fifth century A.D,, "the Purapas dealt only with those topics on Hindu rites and customs which formed the subject-matter of the early Smritis, like those of Manu and Yajnavalkya. In the next stage from about the sixth century A.D., they dealt with new topics relating to gifts, glorification of holy places, vraia (vow), pujd (popular worship), consecration of images, sacrifices to the planets and their appeasement, etc,"

It would appear from what has been said above that the Purana texts, as we have them now, were written at different periods. It is difficult to fix their chronology, even with an approximate degree of certainty. The six Puranas, whose dates have been discussed above, were probably older than others, but as Vayu, Brahmdnda, Vishnu, and Bhdgavata Puranas mention the Guptas among the royal dynasties, they could not have been finally redacted before

1. Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Chs. II-IV. A chronological table of the Smriti-chapters in the Puranas is given on pp. 174-189.

1. Markandeya Purana

2. Brahmanda and

• •

3. Vayu Puranas

4. Vishnu Purana

• •

5. Bhagavata Purana

6. Matsya Purana

the fourth century A. D. The Vdyu Purdna is, however, mentioned in HarsYia-charita and was therefore earlier than the seventh century A.D. The same is probably the case with Mdrkandeya Purdna as Baiia's Chandisataka and Bhavabhuti's Mdlatimadhava were pfbbably inspired by the well-known section of this Purana known as Devl-mahatmya or Chandl. As Alberuni mentions the eighteen Puranas, they must all have been in existence before A.D, 1000, though there might have been additions and alterations in some of them at a later date.

2. DHARMASASTRA AND ARTHAsASTRA

Reference has already been made 1 to some of the Dharmasastras which were probably compiled in or shortly before this age. The most important Dharmasastra that can be definitely referred to this period is that of Katyayana to which a detailed reference will be made later in connection with Law and Legal Institutions. His work, which may be dated between A.D. 400 and 600, has not survived, arid is known only from quotations. The same is also the case with the Smriti of Devala who was probably a contemporary of Katyayana. Next in point of importance comes the work ascribed to Vyasa which may be dated between A.D. 200 and 500. The work comprises about 250 verses divided into four chapters. From citations made by Apararka and others it would appear that Vyasa also dealt with rules of procedure and Vyavahdrapadas and that his doctrines in most respects agreed with those of Narada, Katyayana, and Brihaspati. The extant Pardsara-smriti, a recast of an older text, has several verses identical with Manu whose views it frequently quotes. By the ninth century it had attained considerable authority; so much so that it may be placed before A.D, 500. The Brihatpardsdra, however, is only a later recast of the Smriti of Pa rasa ra. Pulastya, Pitamaha and Harita also wrote their works between A.D. 400 and 700. But our knowledge of these authors too does not extend beyond the quotations that we come across in other works on Dharmasastra.

The beginnings of the extensive exegetical activities of the commentators can also be traced to the closing years of this age which can claim to have produced at least one of the important commentators, viz. Asahaya, whose Bhashya on the Narada-smriti has been published. From quotations elsewhere, it would appear that he commented on the works of Gautama and also of Manu. Asahaya has been quoted by Medhatithi and may, therefore, be placed between A.D. 600 and 700. The only notable work on Arthasastra during this period is the Nltisdra of Kamandaka who probably flourished in the first half of the eighth century A.D. 1

1. See Vol. IT, pp. 254 If,

3. PHILOSOPHY

The principal systems of philosophy and their tenets are described in Chapter XVIII. The earliest work expounding the Sdnkhya system that we have is the Sdnkhya-kdrikd of Isvarakrishna who is sought to be identified with Vindhyavasa who corrected his master’s views as expressed in the Shashti-tantra in a set of seventy verses which Vasubandhu criticized in his Paramarthasaptati 2 This would make Isvarakrishna only an older contemporary of Vasubandhu, who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D. 3 At any rate he cannot be later than 557-569 (and must be much earlier) when the Karikd with a commentary was translated into Chinese. This work has been commented upon by Gaudapada whose identity with the author of the Kdrikds on the Mdndukya Upanishad is rather doubtful.

There is also a commentary on this work by Vachaspati, the versatile genius who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

The earliest commentary on the Yogasutra of Patanjali is that of Vyasa who gives therein a standard exposition of the Yoga principles. He is probably earlier than Magha. In the middle of the ninth century Vachaspati wrote his Tattvavaisdradl on Vyasa's Bhdshya. Another important commentary on the Sutras is the Rdjamdrtanda by Bhoja (c. A.D. 1000).

The Nyayasutra. The earliest expositor of the Nydyasutra — Pakshilasvamin Vatsyayana—may be referred to the middle of the fourth century A.D. in view of the fact that while he combats the views of Nagarjuna, he is himself criticized by Dihnaga from the Buddhistic point of view. The works of this Dihnaga, the chief of the early Buddhistic logicians, are not extant, though most of them are still preserved for us in the Tibetan language into which they were translated. Dinnaga's date can be fixed with tolerable certainty from the circumstance that he is said to have learnt the principles of the Mahay ana school of Buddhism from Vasubandhu. Dihnaga may, therefore, be dated a little earlier than c. A.D. 400. Vatsyayana, in his turn, found a champion to uphold his views in Uddyotakara, a staunch pdsupata of the Bharadvaja gotra, who flourished in the seventh century A.D. In his Nydyavdrttika , Uddyotakara has defended Vatsyayana against the attacks of Dihnaga. Dharmaklrti composed his Nydyahindu to defend Dihnaga against Uddyotakara, who was probably his senior contemporary. 4

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

The Nydyabindu was shortly afterwards commented upon by Dharmottara which again was commented upon by Mallavadin. Nor were the Jain authors unrepresented in the literature of this period. Divakara, 1 famous as a great poet and the first systematic writer on Jain logic, has written among other works a very valuable treatise qn logic—the Nyayavatara in thirty two stanzas. He stands between Haribhadra on the one hand and Dharmakirti on the other, and may therefore be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. About a century later was composed the Parikshdmukhasutra of Manikyanandin who has based it on Akalanka's Nydyavinischaya.

The Padarthadharrnasangraha of Prasastapada is much more than a mere commentary on the Vaiseshikasutra of Kanada. It gives quite a new exposition of the subject-matter and makes important additions to the original work. Prasastapada seems to have been influenced by Vatsyayana or Dihnaga and may therefore be placed in the fifth century A.D. All the commentators of Prasastapada belong to the tenth century and later. The only other name to be noted here is that of Chandra whose Dasapadartha-sastra is preserved for us only in a Chinese version of A.D. 648.

The MimdmSa sutra 2 of Jaimini and the earliest extant Bhnshya thereon by Sahara have been assigned to the fourth century B.C. and first century B.C., respectively, by some, while others assign a somewhat later date. After Sahara we find this system branching into two main schools championed by, and named after, Prabhakara and Kumarila, to which, later on, a third school was added, that of Murarimisra. Kumarila, generally known as Bhafta, the author of the Slokavarttika , the Tantravarttika, and the Tuptika, together forming his commentary on the Bhashya of Sabara, is earlier than Sankara and may be assigned to the seventh century A.D.

The other school was championed by Prabhakara, generally known as Guru. He is said to be earlier than Kumarila, and is known to have composed his Brihati, a commentary on Sahara's Bhashya , about A.D. 600. His pupil Salikanatha, refers to Dharmakirti in his famous work, the Prakaranapahchikd, which is a popular manual of the Prabhakara system. His commentary on the Brihati is known as Rijuvimald.

Of the Vedanta writers only three great names belong to this age. Gaudapada, 3 the reputed Paramaguru (teacher's teacher) of Sankara, is the first systematic exponent of monistic Vedanta. He

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

is generally assigned to the end of the seventh or the beginning* of the eighth century A.D. Walleser, 1 however, would place him somewhere about A.D, 550 on the ground that a Kdrikd from Gaudapada's work is quoted in the Tibetan translation of the Tarkajvdld of Bhavanatha. The identity of this author of the Mdndukyovanishat-kdrikd with his namesake, the commentator of the Sdnkhya kdrikd of Is varakrishna, is doubtful. 2 The views expounded in these Karikds, the phraseology used, the use of particularly Buddhistic technical terms and of the illustration of the Alata-chakra to expound his theory create a strong impression that the author of the Karikds was influenced by Buddhistic teachings and works. It is certain, however, that he was not a Buddhist. Bhartrihari's Vdkyapadlya has been already noticed. From this 'work it would appear that his views were akin to those of Sankara though he frequently betrays his Buddhistic tendencies.

4. KALIDASA

We may begin the account of secular literature with Kalidasa, the most brilliant luminary in the literary firmament of the Gupta Age who has shed lustre on the whole of Sanskrit literature. He is by common consent the greatest poet and dramatist that ever lived in India, and his works have enjoyed a high reputation and popularity throughout the ages. Yet, curiously enough, we know hardly anything about his life, and have no definite knowledge of the time when he flourished. As usual, numerous legends and anecdotes have gathered round his name, but they possess little historical value. These represent him as an idiot in early life who later became a great poet through the grace of goddess Kali, and died in Ceylon at the house of a hetaera . He is said to be one of the nine learned men (nine jewels) who graced the court of king Vikramaditya (or king Bhoja of Dhara). It is, however, almost certain that the different scholars who are referred to as his associates could not all have been his contemporaries. Most scholars regard as a historical fact his association with king Vikramaditya of Ujjain, and the deliberate change in the name of the hero of the Vikramor vasty am from Pururavas to Vikrama lends colour to it. Some regard this Vikramaditya as the ruler who, according to well established traditions, defeated the Sakas in 58 B.C. and founded an era-—the wellknown Vikrama samvat —to commemorate this fact. 3 Most modern scholars, however, do not believe that there was any king Vikramaditya in 58 B.C., or that Kalidasa flourished at so early a period.

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

The general opinion seems to be that he lived at the court of a Gupta Emperor, most probably Chandra-gupta II, who was also known as Vikramaditya, and, having defeated the Saka satraps, could well lay claim to the title Sakari which is associated with the Vikramaditya of tradition. The only definite data about the date of Kalidasa are that he must have flourished after Agnimitra (c. 150 B.C.), who is the hero of one of his dramas, and before A.D. 634, the date of the famous Aihole Inscription which refers to him as a great poet. If, as is held by competent scholars, some verses in the Mandasor Inscription of A.D. 473 indicate knowledge of Kalidasa's works, the lower limit of his date may be fixed at about A.D. 450. The theory that Kalidasa flourished in the Gupta Age is now generally accepted and is supported by various arguments, viz. that he borrowed from Asvaghosha and Vatsyayana’s Kdmasutra and revised Setubandha of the Vakafaka king Pravarasena II, that his works contain veiled allusions to the names of Gupta Emperors, that he knew of the Huna invasion, etc. 1 But these are all mere conjectures which do not carry conviction. While it may be permissible to argue that “the balance of evidence suggests that the end of the fourth century A.D. is the most probable date of the poet”, 2 we must admit that the evidence adduced in support of it is neither definite, nor direct and decisive. The safest course is to hold that Kalidasa flourished some time between 100 B.C. and A.D. 450.

A close perusal of his works shows that Kalidasa was a pious Brahmin of Ujjain and a liberal Saiva by belief, who had acquired a knowledge of the various branches of Brahmanical learning and gathered vast experience by travelling far and wide throughout India. He shows his familiarity with the whole range of Vedie literature, the philosophical systems, especially the Sankhya and Yoga, the various works on Dharmasdstra , the Kdmasutra , Ndtyasdstra, Vydkarana , Jyoiihsastra, and even fine arts like music, drawing, and painting. His versatile genius, his acquaintance with court etiquette, his shrewdness, his modesty, not without a due sense of self-respect, and his poetic talent are very well reflected in his works which are all permeated with a feeling of ease and contentment— “perfect satisfaction with the existing order of things”.

Note 12

Note 13

Note 14

The best known work of Kalidasa is his drama Sdkuntala. This play is, by common consent, 3 one of the best not only in Sanskrit literature, but in the literature of the world. Kalidasa has based the play on the story of Sakuntala as found in the Mahd bhdrata, but he has breathed quite a new and vital spirit into it by introducing several slight but effective changes in the original and also by adding to it some altogether new characters and incidents of high dramatic power. Thus, for example, while the Mahabharata shows Kanva as having gone out merely for fetching flowers etc.j Kalidasa sends him, on a plausible ground, further away, thus postponing his return to the hermitage to an indefinite future. Similarly in the original we find Sakuntala herself narrating the story of her birth to the king and later on bargaining with him before accepting his suit. Kalidasa, with his dramatic instinct, has made Anasuya, a friend of Sakuntala, narrate Sakuntala’s past (and that too with proper decorum), while the idea of bargaining has been altogether dropped, only to give us an exquisitely charming picture of the working of love in the heart of a young innocent maiden. The curse of the wrathful Durvasas, the loss of the ring, the scene of the fisherman and the concluding portion of the play, which charm the audience by creating alternately an atmosphere of suspense and relief, are the product of Kalidasa’s genius. By these dramatic touches Kalidasa has created a magnificent edifice out of the brick and mortar supplied by the Mahabharata. He has succeeded, not only in rescuing the hero and the heroine from the crudities under which they labour in the original and bestowing on them the vital qualities required in a hero or a heroine worth the name, but also in giving us a very fine portrait of an ideal king in

Dushyanta, and a bewitchingly transporting picture of the life of a truly Indian maiden in all the three important stages. A loving sympathy with nature forms the background of this play in which Kalidasa has also displayed his mastery in delineating sentiment, his wonderful skill in characterization, construction of plots, and creating dramatic situations, as well as his great lyrical gifts. The dramatic power and poetic beauties of this unique work have elicited the highest praise and admiration from scholars all over the world.

Before the Sakuntala, Kalidasa had already composed two plays, the Malavikdgnimitra and the Vikramorvasiya . The former is a court comedy wherein king Agnimitra falls in love with a maid in the service of one of his queens and, in spite of repeated obstacles on the part of the queen, at last succeeds in his project with the help of his friend, the Vidushaka. There can be little doubt that this is the first play 1 composed by the poet as is apparent from the way which he has in the prologue tried to plead on behalf of the c nava Kdvya' (new poem). In spite of several defects, the

1. Dr. De however demurs. Cf. 1HQ, XVI, p. 403; HSL, p. 136.

play bears the unmistakable stamp of Kalidasa's workmanship; and his authorship of it can hardly be doubted. The Vikramorvasiya is a fairy-tale of the love of a celestial nymph and a mortal. Mme de Willman-Grabowska considers this to be the last of Kalidasa's plays and remarks that "It already shows signs of commencing decline". 1 Some hold that the play was very probably composed on the occasion of the installation of Kumara-gupta as Yuvaraja. 2 Welding together the elements of the ancient Vedic legend found in the Rigveda and the Satapatha-Brahmana and its versions in the Vishnu and Bhdgavata Puranas and possibly also in the Brihatkatha , Kalidasa has introduced therein several incidents and scenes of his own creation. In this play he seems to have concentrated more on characterization than on plot-construction as he has done in the Mdlavikdgnimitra. But the most debated portion of the play is Act IV where the hero, distracted by separation, gives vent to his feelings in short, sweet, and pathetic lyrics. These in themselves are exquisite, but they detract from the movement and dramatic power of the composition. But it is this very defect that constitutes for posterity the peculiar charm of the work and has won for Kalidasa such a high degree of popularity. 3

Kalidasa's genius shone with equal brilliance both in drama and in poetry or Kavya. His two Mahakavyas, Raghuvamsa and Kumdrasambhava, and the lyrical poem Meghaduta are universally regarded as gems of Sanskrit poetry. The Kumdrasambhava in 18 cantos tells us the story of the birth of Kumara, the son of Siva and Parvati, who led the celestial forces and vanquished the demon Taraka. Commentators like Mallinatha have commented only on the first eight cantos of this poem, and one of them has in clear terms recorded the belief that the poem was left incomplete owing to the curse of Parvati whose anger was provoked by the descriptions in Canto VIII. It is also evident that the later cantos are much inferior in poetic power and hence they are not regarded as the work of Kalidasa. It would seem, therefore, that Kalidasa left this work incomplete; for the title of Kumdrasambhava requires that at least the birth of Kumara should be included in the poem. Kalidasa has displayed considerable skill in delineating the main characters and the poem contains several passages of enchanting beauty, such as the Rativilapa, the conversations between Parvati and God Siva in the guise of a Jatila, the description of the Himalaya in Canto I, and of the sudden advent of spring in Canto III. The poet.

1. Cf. AI1C, p. 312. Hillebrandt also is inclined to take the Vikramorvasiya as the last of Kalidasa's plays. Cf. Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, Ein Versvch zu seiner literarischen Wilrdipunp, Breslau, 1921. p. 87.

2. Cf. MM. Mirashi, Kalidasa , p. 161. 3. AUC, p. 313.

however, has exposed himself to criticism at the hands of rhetoricians like Anandavardhana by indulging in what may be called sacrilegious description in the eighth canto.

In the Raghuvaihsa the poet has set himself the onerous task of describing the varied incidents in the lives of several monarchs who, though possessed of some common characteristics, must needs have individuality of their own; and it must be admitted that he has achieved his purpose in a superb manner. The merit of Raghu vaihsa as a Mahakavya is unquestioned and the

Indian estimate of it is well reflected in the fact that our poet is pre-eminently known as Raghukara (author of Raghuvaihsa) . This poem, which is based on the Rdmaya ua and some Puranas, describes in all thirty kings of the solar race among whom Raghu appears to be singularly fortunate in having not only illustrious ancestors but also illustrious descendants for at least three immediate successors. That seems to be the reason why Kalidasa named his poem after Raghu. This poem, as we have it, is evidently also incomplete, breaking off with the description of the lascivious Agnivarna. In spite of the reports of the existence of some more cantos it is likely that Kalidasa composed it only up to the end of the 19th canto and left it there owing to illness or death. This poem also, like its compeer Kuindrasambhava, has several enchanting sections, the most appealing among them being the Aja-vilapa.

Among the lesser poems of Kalidasa, the Ritusamhara is now generally accepted as his first work, though some have recently expressed doubts about his authorship of it. 1 The neglect by rhetoricians and commentators and also its inferiority in some respects need not, however, detract from its genuineness. Its subject is so simple and so devoid of opportunities for characterization, etc. that it naturally failed to evoke much interest. It consists of six cantos describing the six seasons bearing ample testimony to the poet’s minute observation and love of nature.

The Meghaduta is, however, among the most fascinating little poems that ever came to be written in Sanskrit. In a little over a hundred verses the poet has displayed the vitality and versatility of his poetic genius. An imaginary Yaksha, separated from his beloved through his master’s curse and maddened with pangs of separation at the sight of a cloud, requests this cloud to carry his

1. Keith, JRAS, 1912, pp. 1066-70; 1913, pp. 410-2; Macdonell, HSL, p. 337; Hillebrandt, Kalidasa, pp. 66 ff; and Kielhorn, Biihler, Hultzsch and von Schroeder, among others, accept Kalidasa’s authorship of the Ritusamhara. Walter, Indica, HI, PP- 6 IT; Nobel, ZDMG, 66, pp. 275-82; JRAS, 1913, pp. 401-9; Harichand, Kalidasa et VArt Poetique de VInde, pp. 240 ff, and others dispute the authenticity of the Ritusamhara.

message from Ramagiri—for that was where he was in exile—to Alaka, the abode of his beloved, and describes in detail the path it should follow and the various places of interest that it would traverse. The poet has chosen the Mandakranta metre and has thus given us a complete picture in each one of the constituent verses. This poem has been variously called a lyric, an elegy or even a monody, though Sthiradeva would insist on calling it a Mahakavya, while Vallabhadeva would call it only a Khandakavya. Ramagiri, where the Yaksha was in exile, is now identified with Ramtek near Nagpur. The story of Ashadha-krishna Ekadasi, Yoginl-mahatmya, is said to be the source of the theme of this poem. This exquisite little poem has evoked the highest admiration of literary critics of all ages. According to a modern European writer "it is difficult to praise too highly either the brilliance of the description of the cloud's progress or the pathos of the picture of the wife, sorrowful and alone ". 1

As to the comparative merits of the different poetical works of Kalidasa, the same critic observes: "Indian criticism has ranked Meghaduta highest among Kalidasa's poems for brevity of expression, richness of content, and power to elicit sentiment, and the

praise is not undeserved.To modern taste the Kumdrasambhava

appeals more deeply by reason of its richer variety, the brilliance

of its fancy and the greater warmth of its feeling.Though inferior

in some slight degree to the Kumdrasambhava , the Raghuvariisa may rightly be ranked as the finest Indian specimen of the Mahakavya as defined by writers on poetics ". 2

Kalidasa is "unquestionably the finest master of Indian poetic style", and his inimitable skill in the use of the 'simile* has become proverbial. His charming and graceful diction, the refinement of his language and sentiments, his minute observations of man and nature, his innate sense of beauty, his masterly use of metaphors and other figures of speech, his elevation of thought and suggestiveness of expression have immortalised him, and as has been aptly expressed, his works will endure so long as human beings retain a taste for great literature.

Both in drama and poetry Kalidasa stands not only unsurpassed but even unrivalled. Nevertheless many other poets and dramatists flourished during the age and some of them were not unworthy successors of the great poet. We may now briefly refer to them.

Note 15

Note 16

THE CLASSICAL AGE

5. DRAMA (i) Bhavabhuti

In the field of drama, the best among Kalidasa's successors is undoubtedly Bhavabhuti, alias Srikantha, surnamed Udumbara, who was born of Nilakaritha and JatukarnI at Padmapura in Vidarbha (Berar). His grandfather Bhatta Gopala had performed the Vajapeya sacrifice. Jnananidhi was the name of his guru. According to Kalhana's RdjatarangiriV Bhavabhuti was the courtpoet of Yasovarman, king of Kanyakubja, who was defeated by Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kashmir some time after A.D. 736. From Gaudavaho 1 2 3 it would appear as if Bhavabhuti had not witnessed the downfall of his patron. He, therefore, cannot be placed much later than the beginning of the eighth century A.D. In his plays, Bhavabhiiti styles himself Pada-wakya-prarnanaj'na, which would show that he was well up in Vydkarana, Mimdmsd, and Nyaya. He also appears to have been an adept in Vedanta and Veda. In one MS he is identified with Urnbeka and stated to be a pupil of the famous Mimamsaka Kumarila Bhatta. This identity, however, is not accepted by Kane who places his literary activity between A.D. 700 and 730.3

Of the three plays that he wrote, two are based on the Rdmayana , while the third is a social drama—a prakarana in ten acts. The Mahdvira-charita in seven acts depicts the earlier life of Rama—Rama the warrior; while the Uttarardma-charita, the last from his pen, also in seven acts, deals with the story of the Uttara kdnda of the Rdmayana. The Mdlati-madhava treats of the love between Madhava and Malatl through different stages of development, and is often described as the 'Romeo and Juliet' of India with a happy ending. 4 5

Though in grace and felicity of language, simplicity, and perspicacity, Kalidasa stands unrivalled, Bhavabhuti may be said to surpass him in depicting sentiments—particularly the karuna (pathos or tenderness). His style is rugged, his works abound in descriptive passages and long compounds out of proportion, and yet one must admit that he excels himself when he treats of pathos. The love he treats of is more spiritual than sensuous, 6 and hdsya (humour) is rare in his works,—he being almost unique in banish

Note 17

Note 18

Note 19

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Note 21

ing off the stage that standing source of humour in Sanskrit plays, the Vidushaka. Owing to the abundance of long compounds in the prose speeches in his works it has been surmised that they were meant more for being read than staged. 1 This supposition, however, may not be well founded.

A precursor of Bhavabhuti in depicting pathos is Dhiranaga of Aralapura who composed a play in six acts and on the same theme as that of the Uttarardma-charita. He is said to have lived earlier than c. A.D. 500.

(ii) Sri-Harsha

Next in point of time is §ri-Harsha or Harsha-vardhana, king of Kanauj, whose career has been described above. 2 Himself a poet of no mean order, he was a great patron of learning and letters, and had great scholars like Bana, Mayura, and Divakara at his court. Three plays, viz. the Ratndvall, the Priyadarsikd, and the Ndgdnanda, are ascribed to him. Doubts have, however, been raised regarding Harsha's authorship of these plays, mainly on the strength of a stray remark of Mammata in his Kdvyaprakdsa, and the explanation of the same by some of the commentators. Thus Hall and Biihler ascribed all the three plays to Bana, while Pischel ascribed them to

Dhavaka, a contemporary of SrI-Harsha. Cowell, on the other hand, refused to admit the common authorship of all of them and ascribed Ratndvali to Bana, Ndgdnanda to Dhavaka, and Priyadarsikd to some unknown author. 3 But that all these emanated from the same pen is shown by their prologues, and also by various other characteristics which they have in common with one another. Nor is there any very substantial ground for doubting the authorship of Harsha who was known as an author from very early times—nay, even in his own day. Thus even Bana praises his patron Harsha as being endowed with poetic genius. I-tsing (end of the seventh century A.D.) records that king Slladitya (i.e. Harsha) versified the story of Bodhisatva Jlmutavahana and acted it on the stage. Damodaragupta in his Kuttanlmata ascribes the RatndvaU to a royal author.

The Ndgdnanda, a Nataka in five acts, depicts the story of Jlmutavahana. Though Buddhistic in its colourings, its main purpose would seem to be to bring about a harmonious blending of Buddhism and Hinduism when we take into account the parts played by Garuda and Gaurl therein. This, by common consent, is the last work of Harsha. The remaining two are very similar to one another, being for the most part composed in imitation of Kalidasa's Mdlavikdgnimitra, and having almost the same plot. But in the Priyadarsikd the author seems to have gained confidence enough

1. Ibid, p. 232. 2. See Chapter IX. 3. Konow, ID, p. 74.

to introduce into his play a new device, the garbha-tidfaka (drama within a drama)—a device adopted for the first time in.the history of Sanskrit Drama and repeated very rarely after Harsha. In fact we know of only two writers in the whole range of Sanskrit dramatic literature who have used this device—Bhavabhuti in his Uttararama-charita and Raj&sekhara in his Bdlardmayana . Ratndvali , on the other hand, is said to be the most perfect play from the point of view of the classical canons of dramaturgy, and may, therefore, be said to be the earlier of the two, its excellences being accounted for by the fact of its being a closer and more successful imitation of Kalidasa. The place of Harsha among the play-wrights has, therefore, to be judged from the Nagananda which he had not composed after any model. This play, however, appears to be a patchwork of three parts , 1 and the humour in the second part is certainly not of a high order. Credit, of course, is due to Harsha for having succeeded in investing this play with a living interest and a strong appeal to its readers. Harsha's poetic powers also are apparent in the verses in these plays.

(iii) Bhatta Ndrayana and others

To the same period belongs Bhatta Narayana of handily a Gotra, surnamed Mrigaraja. Wilson identifies him with a Brahmin of that name who was invited by Adisura from Kanauj to Bengal. As the legend of Adisura has no historical basis, we need not attach much importance to the various dates proposed for Bhatta Narayana, ranging from the latter half of the seventh to the ninth century A.D. on the strength of the identification of king Adisura. Bhatta Narayana probably flourished before; eighth century A.D., for he is quoted by Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta. His Venlsamhara is a Nataka in six acts based on the Mahdbhdrata story of Bhlma fulfilling the vow of avenging the insults heaped upon DraupadI by the wicked Duryodhana. The chief sentiment of the play is Vlra (heroic) and the author has shown considerable skill in creating a fine drama out of the crude materials derived from the Mahdbhdrata. It may be noted that like the Ratndvall , the Venlsamhara also strictly conforms to the rules of dramatic structure as laid down in books on dramaturgy and is, on that account, held in high esteem . 2

The Rdmdbhyudaya is another play, hitherto unavailable, narrating the story of Rama in six acts, composed by Yasovarman. This play is mentioned by Anandavardhana in his Dhvanydloka and also in the Dasarupaka , Ndtyadarpana, Ndtaka-lakshana-ratna-kosa , Gringdra-prakdsa and Sahitya-darpana . 3 This Yasovarman, like SrV

1. Cf. Winternitz, GIL. Ill, p. 228. 2. Cf. Schuyler, BSD. Intr., p. 12.

3. Cf. De, HSL, p. 299.

H&rsha, is a royal poet and is very probably to be identified with the patron of Bhavabhuti. Another royal play-wright to be noted is the Pallava king Mahendra-varman (c. A.D. 600-630) who has composed a farce named the Mattavilasa J To a somewhat later period is probably to be assigned Anangaharsha Matraraja, a Kalachuri king, son of Narendravardhana. He is often referred to as Mayuraja and must have flourished before the close of the eight century A.D. as Damodaragupta in his Kuttanimata 2 laments his death. From Abhinavagupta's references, we know that this royal author had composed two plays—the Udattaraghava based on the Ramayana, and the Tdpasa-vatsardja relating the story of Udayana, Vasavadatta and Padmavatl. Reference has already been made to Kaumudimahotsava 3 a nameless drama ascribed to Vijjaka, who has been identified with Vijaya-bhattarika, wife of Chandraditya, eldest son of Pulakesin II and brother of Vikramaditya I. 4 Various dates, ranging from the fourth to "later than the eighth century", have been assigned to the play, which appears to belong to our period. The work is a mediocre production.

6 KAVYA

The Kirdtdrjunlya and the Sisupdlavadha, two of the famous five Mahdkavyas, belong to this period. Bharavi, the author of the former, is mentioned in the Aihole inscription (A.D. 634) along with Kalidasa, and is also cited in the Kdsikd-vritti (c. 650). He is, perhaps, not much earlier than Bana who, however, ignores him. He may, therefore, be placed in the latter half of the sixth century A.D. His poem in eighteen cantos, giving the Mahdbhdrata story of the combat between Arjuna and god Siva in the garb of a Kirata, displays vigour of thought and language and lofty eloquence of expression. At the same time it evinces Bharavi's attempts at the artificialities of the Chitrakavya, and also several mannerisms which — unfortunately—are freely and zealously copied by later poets. Magha, son of Dattakasarvasraya, grandson of Suprabhadeva, was the first poet to vie with Bharavi in every respect in his Sisupdlavadha. Suprabhadeva is said to be the minister of a king whose name is variously read as Varmalata, Varmalakhya, Dharmanabha, Dharmalabha and so on. We have an inscription of one king Varmalata of A.D. 625, so that Magha may be placed in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. This very well accords with the fact that Magha in his Sisupdlavadha 5 makes a clear reference to the Kasikd-vritti and the Nydsa thereon, and also knew the Nagdnanda of Harsha. 6 His reference to Buddha and his teaching would seem

Note 22

Note 23

Note 24

to show that he was much in the company of the Buddhists. 1 Traditional opinion about the workmanship of Magha is well expressed in the saying “In Magha exist (all) the three qualities.” 2 Magha is rich in vocabulary and an adept in the various devices of poetry. He also displays great erudition in his work. And yet it must be said that the age of artificiality ushered in by Bharavi has been carried a step further by Magha.

Among other poets of lesser repute may be mentioned Buddhaghosha whose identity with the famous Pali scholar Buddhaghosha can hardly be seriously maintained. 3 His Mahakavya Padyachuddmani, a poem of some merit in ten cantos, describes the life of Buddha. From Kalhana we hear of a poet Mentha at the court of king Matrigupta of Kashmir from whose Hayagrwavadha one verse is quoted by Rajasekhara and Kshemendra and one more by Raghava in his commentary on the Sdkuntala. The date of Mentha depends upon that of Matrigupta who, as the predecessor of Pravarasena, may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century A.D. About a century later (between c. A.D. 675 and 775) flourished Kumaradasa who, in his Jdnakiharana, in twenty cantos, has narrated the story of the abduction of Slta by Ravana.

Slightly earlier is Bhatti, the author of the Bhattikavyai or the Rdvanavadha composed under the patronage of king Sridharasena of Valabhi. The terminus ad quern for Bhatti is therefore A.D. 648, the last known date of the last of the four Srldharasenas of Valabhi, or rather A.D. 650, the earliest known date of his successor. This poem is interesting as Bhatti has illustrated in it the rules of grammar as given by Panini in his Ashtddhydyi, and has also devoted one full canto to Alankaras. His identification with Vatsabhatti, or even with Bhartrihari (the name Bhatti is Prakritized form of Bhartri), is unfounded. He is certainly earlier than Magha, and was known to Bhamaha. On the same lines and not much later, was composed the Rdvanarjuniya by the Kashmirian poet Bhaumaka. This poem of twenty-seven cantos narrates the story of Arjuna Kartavirya and Ravana, and at the same time illustrates almost the whole of the Ashtddhydyi. Reference may be made to the Ghatakarpara Kdvya, a poem describing in 22 stanzas a message which a young wife sends by the cloud to her absent husband at the beginning of the rains. It thus describes a situation the reverse of that depicted in the Meghaduta; and is held by some to be earlier in date than that poem. But this view is not generally accepted. This poem, along with others like Nalodaya and Sringaratilaka, hasbeen attributed to Kalidasa, but this is highly improbable.

Note 25

Note 26

Lastly we may mention a class of poetical works called Satakas, i.e. consisting of one hundred stanzas. The best known are the three Satakas of Bhartrihari. The texts of these are found to vary with different versions. The author, Bhartrihari, 1 is identified with the author of the Vdkyapadiya who is said to have died in c. A.D. 650. The author of the Vdkyapadiya , we know, was a Buddhist, while that of the Satakatraya shows no trace of this faith. But we are told that Bhartrihari was constantly wavering in his creed so that the identity of the grammarian with the poet Bhartrihari is not improbable. His Sringara-, Niti-, and Vairdgya-satakas are good specimens of fine and forceful poetry. They deal with the general aspects of these three topics (i.e. love, wise conduct and indifference to worldly enjoyment), and contain sage advice on general conduct of life couched in memorable words. Slightly later comes Amaru, the famous author of the centum named after him. The Amaru-sataka also is found in four different versions having only fifty-one verses in common. In these verses Amaru or Amaruka has dealt with various aspects of love particularly depicting the relation of lovers. This Sataka has been expounded as illustrating types of heroines or some figures of speech. 2 But Amaru does not seem to have concerned himself much with either. Mayura, a contemporary of Bana, has given us a Mayura-sataka, also called the Surya-sataka, to compete with which Bana wrote his Devi-sataka. To about the same period belongs Matanga Divakara, of whom we hear only from anthologies, and who has been identified with the Jain writer Manatuhga, the author of the Bhaktamara-stotra, and perhaps also Siddhasena Divakara, the author of the Kalydnamandira^stotra . 3

7. FABLES AND ROMANCES We can easily trace several stages in the evolution of fables as a form of literature. There are first the stories or tales which are told for entertainment or amusement. Then they are definitely

framed for inculcating moral lessons and useful knowledge. Lastly they are reduced to a literary form in which the story is related in prose but verses are introduced to emphasize the point of the tale or fix the moral in the memory. Such a fable is gradually enlarged and complicated by what may be called a process of emboxment, i.e. by interweaving different fables into a single whole. This is easily done by making the different characters in the story support

Note 27

Note 28

Note 29

their points of view by allusions to other fables which they are naturally asked to develop at some length.

Although the different elements of such literature existed in India from a very early period, no earlier actual examples in Sanskrit are known than Panchatantra. The original of this work, now lost, goes back to the early centuries of the Christian era. It attained wide popularity all over India and was translated in most of the languages of the world, as will be related in Chapter XXIII. In India we have three distinct versions: the north-western, which can be traced in Brihat-kathd-manjafi and Kathasarit-sdgara; two Kashmir versions called Tantrakhydyika and two Jain recensions based on a text akin to it; a southern version from which was derived the Nepalese Panchatantra and the well-known Hitopadesa. All the extant versions, except Tantrakhydyika, whose date is not known, belong to a period later than that dealt with in this volume. The only other work of this type that has been assigned to this period is the Brihatkathd of Gunadhya, composed probably in Paisdchi prose. Its date is not later than A.D. 500, though some place it much earlier,-—even in the first century A.D. This is, however, quite conjectural. 1 The work is irretrievably lost.

After short stories come the longer and more elaborate and artificially narrated stories in the works of great masters like Dandin or Bana. These Romances are either based on historical facts or are purely imaginary. This was the main point of distinction that Amara 2 drew between the two classes of works going by the names of Akhydyika and Kathd, both of which are included under the term Romance. The other points of distinction which Bhamaha 3 sought to draw between the two are flatly denied by Dan<Jin, who even goes to the length of declaring both these as being only two names for one and the same class of works. 4 The next attempt to distinguish between the two is that of Rudrata; and later on, bf Viivanatha, the author of the Sdhitya-darpana, 5 who bases his views on Bana's Harsha-charita and Kddambairi which their author has designated Akhydyilcd and Kathd respectively. But even these attempts are futile; for the points of real distinction stated there are very flimsy and have not been regarded as such by any of the later writers. Amara's view of this matter, therefore, seems to be the soundest. And the same view again would seem to be endorsed by Bana when he compares the Akhydyika and the Kathd to a 'coSy

Note 30

Note 31

Note 32

Note 33

bed' and 'a young lady full of. love approaching the bed' respectively. 1

The oldest name in this branch of literature is that of Dantfin. 2 The theory that Dandin. was a resident of Kanchi, that he flourished under the Pallava kings, and that Ratnavarman (or Rajavarman) referred to by him is a Pallava prince, is no more than a mere hypothesis based on not very firm ground. For, the verse 3 on which the theory mainly rests is a riddle so that, in the absence of definite evidence any solution that is offered cannot but be mere guess work.

Dandin, the author of Kdvyddarsa and the Dasakumdra-charita , is earlier than Bana and even Subandhu, as is suggested by his comparative simplicity. The geographical data in the Ddsakumdracharita also seem to point to a date anterior to the empire of Harshavardhana. 4 His Kdvyddcirsa is very probably earlier than Bhamaha. Tradition ascribes to Dandin three works, of which the Dasakumdra-charita may belong to the youthful Dandin, and the Kdvyddcirsa is probably the outcome of his mature age. As for the third, Pischel takes it to be the Mrichchhakatika, while others hold that it is the Chhandovichiti that is referred to in the Kdvyddarsa itself.

There is also an allusion to the Kaldparichchheda in the Kdvyddarsa. But it is more likely that both the Chhandovichiti and Kaldparichchheda are merely the names of the chapters—and not independent works—which Dandin wanted to include in his Kdvyddcirsa; while Dandin's authorship of the Mrichchhakatika becomes highly doubtful since the verse on which the theory is based is found to be common not only to the Mrichchakafika and the Kdvyddarsa, but also to the Charudatta which is definitely from the pen of Bhasa. From quotations in Bhoja's Sringdra-prakdsa 5 it would appear that the third work of Dandin is the Dvisandhdna-kdvya, a poem with double entendre narrating simultaneously the stories of the two great epics of India. We have various imitations of this Dvisan dhanakdvya abounding in greater feats of artificiality as seen in what are called the Vilomakdvyas. The Avantisundari-Kathd is another work which has been ascribed to Dandin by scholars who doubt his authorship of Dasakumdra-charita. But it is difficult 6 to accept the former as a work of Dandin and reject his authorship of the latter. Of the three parts of the Dasakumdra-charita , the

Piirvaplthikd (introduction) and the Uttaraplthilcd (conclusion) are \ _ ^_ _ ^

1. Read introductory verses 8 and 9 of Bana's Kddambarx.

2. Read Dr, De's paper in Festschrift Kane, pp. 112-144.

3. Kdvyddarsa, III. 114.

4. Collins, The Geographical Data of the Raghuvamsa and Dasakumaracharita, p. 46.

5. See Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p. 461, n.5.

6. See Keith, HSL. Preface, p. xvi.

not from the pen of Dandin. But this does not go against the Dasa~ kumdra-charita proper being the work of Dandin.

In the Dasakumdra-charita , as the name implies, the hero (prince Rajavahana) and his nine companions, who were separated and passed through strange vicissitudes of fortune, being again reunited, relate to each other their strange adventures. This device gives a sort of unity to diverse stories which treat of different types of men and women belonging to all classes of society and in different walks of life. Dandin shows in this work great powers of characterization and drawing realistic scenes of life. His style is easy and unaffected and full of wit and humour.

Later than Dandin, but earlier than Bana, is Subandhu, the author of the Vdsavadattd, which must have been composed before A.D. 608-9, as it is referred to by Jinabhadra in a Bhashya finished in that year. 1 Subandhu would thus appear to be only an older contemporary of Bana. His Vdsavadattd is a fine Kathd —a story of love and romance, comparable to Bana’s Kddambarl, with whom he shares all the merits and defects of the prose form. Long involved constructions, unusual words, use of epithets after epithets with the verb held back for pages together, unusually long compounds, and fondness for details and descriptions even to the neglect of the main narrative and action, are the defects with which Bana is charged. But we should remember that Bana wrote mainly for the upper classes, and that too in an age when vigour (which is defined as abundance of compounds) was looked upon as the main characteristic of good prose. Passages in the simple style are not wanting in the works of Bana. In his fondness for detail again he is typically Indian. In arts like sculpture, painting or music, and even in nature, may be noticed a world of difference between the east and the west. Fullness of details is the characteristic of the east. And if Weber compares Bana’s work to 'an Indian wood’, Gray, after mature study, is inclined to liken Subandhu’s work to “India’s own architecture, where the whole structure is so overlaid with minute detail that the eye forgets the outlines of the building in amazement at the delicate traceries which cover it.” 2

Bana’s gratness can very well be seen from the fact that his works supplied ample material for later critics to base their theories on. Thus it was on the basis of his works, that Rudrata and others sought to lay down the points of distinction between Kathd and Akhydyikd. It was again after him that several varieties of prose such as Kalikd, Muktaka , Churnaka and Padyagandhi came to be recognised, whereas Dandin knows of no such varieties. The box

1. POC, XIII, Part II, pp. 113-4, 2, Gray, Vdsavadattd, Intro., p. 27.

system again, though old, is yet given a new life by Bana who has combined his boxes into one inseparable whole unlike those in works like the Panchatantra. So far as this technique is concerned he makes a decided advance even over Dandin who has shown little improvement in his Dasakumdra-charita in this respect.

Besides the Kddambari and the Harsha-charita, which depicts the life of his patron Sri Harsha of Kanauj, there are two other works ascribed to Bana, viz. the Pdrvati-parinaya J and the Chandlsataka. On the strength of a solitary reference by a commentator of the Nalachampu, Bana has also been credited with another play called the Mukutataditaka.

8. POETICS AND METRICS

The earliest writer in the field of poetics whose work has v come down to us is Bhatti. He is not known to have written any independent treatise on poetics. But one full canto of his famous Ravanavadha is devoted to the illustration of the Alankaras. The close resemblance 2 between the Rdvana-vadha 3 and Bhamaha's Kavydlankdra 4 would favour the priority of the former over the latter. It is quite certain that Bhatti is earlier than Dandin and that he is not to be identified with Bhartrihari. Attempts to identify him with Vatsabhatti also are futile for want of any very definite ground in their support. A comparison of Bhatti's treatment of the figures of speech with that of Bhamaha or of Dandin would show that he worked independently and was indebted to neither of these two great writers. 6

Dandin's Kdvyddarsa and Bhamaha's Kdvydlankdra are two great works on poetics which have exercised great influence on subsequent writers. There is a keen controversy about the chronological relation between the two, some holding Bhamaha to be the earlier and others the opposite view. Bhamaha's date may be fixed about A.D. 700 and he was probably later than Dandin. 6

Both Dandin and Bhamaha are supposed to have written on metres also, but there is no reliable evidence.

Varahamihira, who died in A.D. 587, was himself a great versifier and employed quite a large number of Classical Sanskrit metres in his Brihat-samhitd and Brihaj-jatakci. He devotes an entire

1. Pdrvati-parinaya, however, is really the work of Abhinava Bana named

Vamana Bhatta Bana, the court poet of Vemabhupala (fifteenth century).—

De, HSL, p. 299; Krishnamachariar, HCS L, pp. 215, 542.

2. See Kane, HAL, p. xxxix; HSP, p. 116; Dasgupta, HSL, p. 529.

3. XXII. 34. 4. II. 20. 5. See Kane, HAL , pp. xiv ff; HSP, p. 71.

6. For the chronological position of Bhamaha and Dandin, see Kane, HSP,

pp. 9G-125; Dasputa, HSL, pp. 530-3; De, SP . I, pp. 64-70; Keith, HSL, pp. 375-6.

chapter 1 of the Brihat-sarhhita to the illustration of about 60 such metres. Here he introduces the names of the metres in the illustrative stanzas, but nowhere does he define a metre. He displays his knowledge of the Prakrit metres such as Gatha, Skandhaka, MagadhI and Gitaka, and gives their original Sanskrit names, Viz. Ary a, Aryagiti, Vaitaliya and Narkutaka respectively.

Virahanka’s Vxittajatisamuchchaya is the next work on metres, both Sanskrit and Prakrit (in some cases even Apabhraihsa), which is composed in the Prakrit language for the most part. 2 Virahanka is very careful in defining the older Dvipadis of 4 lines each which by the time of Hemachandra had come to be considered as obsolete. Like Jayadeva, he too mentions the graphical representation of short and long letters almost in the same words. Besides, he gives all the different varieties of the Prastara and drops the Vedic metres altogether.

9. LEXICOGRAPHY

On the technical side also the Classical Age has given a rich harvest of works on various scientific subjects, though it cannot be said to have marked the beginning of any new branch as such. Thus lexicography in India can be traced back to the Vedic Nighantus, though we hardly come across any lexicon in the real sense of the term until we come to Amara’s Ndmalingdnusdsana, usually called the Amarakosa . From its commentators Kshirasvamin and Sarvananda we know that Amara was preceded in this field by Vyadi, Dhanvantari, Vararuchi, Katya or Katyayana, and Vachaspati, among authors, and by the Trikdnda, the Utpalinl and the Mala. Amara laid under contribution not only the Ndmamdtratantras and the Lingamatratantras , but also medical lexicons like that of Dhanvantari. But his greatness can be realised when we consider that like Panini’s Ashtadhydyi his work also threw into oblivion all its predecessors. Tradition makes Amara one of the nine jewels at the court of king Vikrkmaditya whose very identity it has not yet been possible for scholars to fix beyond all doubt. He is “known as a poet, and was certainly a Buddhist who knew the Mahdydna and used Kalidasa.” 3 His date is uncertain but he probably flourished before the eighth century A.D.

The frequency with which Amarakosa is quoted by commentators and the very large number of commentaries that have been composed upon it are convincing proof of the wide popularity enjoyed by this lexicon. The oldest extant, and at the same time the most important, commentary is the Udghdtana composed by

1. Chapter 103. 2. Published in JBBRAS, 1929; 1932.

3. Winternitz, GIL. Ill, p. 411; Keith, HSL, p. 413.

Kshlrasvamin, who quotes Rajasekhara and Bhoja and is quoted by Vardhamana and in the Ganaratnamahodadhi. He must, therefore, be placed in the eleventh century A.D. Gauda Upadhyaya and Giribhoja are the earlier commentators mentioned by him. The other important commentators are Sarvananda Vandyaghatlya of Bengal who composed the commentary called Tikasarvasva in A.D. 1159; Subhuti (or Subhutichandra) whose Kamadhenu 1 is extant only in its Tibetan version; and Brihaspati Rayamukutamani (or simply Rayamukuta) who wrote his Padachandrikd in A.D. 1431. Nor are commentators wanting in later centuries. Thus to the seventeenth century belong Narayanasarman (A.D. 1619), Ramanatha Vidyavachaspati (A.D. 1633), and Mathuresa Vidyalamkara (A.D. 1666), while still later are Mahadeva, Mahesvara and others.

•Amara has followed the Vedic Nighantus in having a homonymous section after the main body of the book consisting of synonyms, though there is hardly any other point of similarity between the two. Perhaps contemporaneous with Amara is the Anekartha * samuchaya 1 2 by Sasvata in which the homonyms are arranged according as the explanation takes a whole verse, a half verse, or a quarter verse, and finally come the indeclinables. The Kosa in the Agni Parana is, on the face of it, nothing but Amara’s lexicon abridged and rearranged.

The Nighantu of Dhanvantari in its original form must 'have preceded the Amarakosa; but in its extant form it must be ascribed to a later date.

10. GRAMMAR

The rise of the Chandra and Jainendra—two of the several systems of Sanskrit grammar 3 —marks this age. Chandra or Chandragomin, the founder of the former, was not only a close student of the great Acharyas of the school of Panini, but has fully utilized their works in an attempt to evolve a system of grammar free from the taditional Brahmanical element. He was a Buddhist and his grammar was very popular in Kashmir, Tibet, Nepal and Ceylon. The earliest and the latest references- to this school are those made by Bhartrihari in his Vakyapadlya and by Mallinatha in his commentary on the twenty-fifth stanza of Kalidasa’s Meghaduta respectively. The Kdsikd-vritti (c. A.D. 650) has borrowed without

Note 34

Note 35

Note 36

acknowledgement several sutras from Chandragomin’s work. Again Vasurata, the preceptor of Bhartrihari, who is said to have passed away about the year A.D. 650, acknowledged Chandracharya as his master. This would give c. A.D. 600 as the probable date of Chandra. But this date may be pushed back by a century in view of his reference to a victory of a Jarta (Gupta?) over the Hunas which probably alludes to Skanda-gupta’s victory over them. 1 This work has 3100 aphorisms arranged into six chapters of four quarters each. The Jainendra Vyakarana which gave rise to the other school in this age is nothing but Panini’s Ashtddhydyi and Katyayana’s Vdrttikas thereon, condensed as much as possible with a number of ingenious shifts. Though ascribed to Jinendi'a, the real author of this work is Pujyapada Devanandin who probably composed it in A.D. 678.

All other work in the field of Grammar during this period is in the form of commentaries. Bhartrihari, who according to I-tsing died in A.D. 650, is said to have commented on the Mahabhashya of Patanjali, though this commentary has not come down to us. His Vdkyapadiya is a metrical work on the philosophy of Grammar in three parts called Khandas. Jayaditya and Vamana wrote the famous vritti —the Kdsikd —on Patanjali’s work, and it was widely used by Chinese scholars for studying Sanskrit at the time I-tsing visited India (last quarter of the seventh century A.D.). Books I to IV seem to be the work of Jayaditya who presumably died before he could complete the work which was thereafter completed by Vamana. The Buddhist Jinendrabuddhi wrote his commentary—the Nytisa — on this Kdsikd. Magha in his Sisupalavadha 2 makes a definite reference to this Nydsa which may, therefore, be dated c. A.D. 700. 3

11. MEDICINE 4

The only great medical writer of this period is Vagbhata, who ranks only next to Charaka and Susruta. There were probably two writers of this name of whom we have two famous works—the Ashtdnga-sangraha and the Ashtdnga-hridaya-samhita. The former, like the Susruta, is in prose mixed with verse and is cited as the work of Vriddha Vagbhata. The latter, on the other hand, is entirely in verse and its author is referred to as Vagbhata only.

The saying that Vagbhata is good for Kaliyuga while the others were good for

Note 37

Note 38

Note 39

Note 40

the earlier yugas (but not for the Kali age), shows that the works going under the name of Vagbhata are later than those of Charaka and Susruta. Among the two Vagbhatas there is no doubt that the author of the Ashfanga-hridaya-samhitti laid the other under contribution to a large extent. Vagbhata the senior is the son of Simhagupta, grandson of Vagbhata, and a disciple of the Buddhist Avalokita. His work is in all probability referred to by I-tsing and may, therefore, be placed about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. It is not certain whether the younger Vagbhata was in any way related to the elder one, and very probably he is to be placed about a century later, i.e. about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. It may be noted that this younger Vagbhata also claims the same parentage as his elder namesake. Both these, however, were Buddhist and naturally enough the Ashtanga-hridaya-samhita was translated into the Tibetan language.

There were also treatises on the diseases of animals. The best known is Hasty ay urveda' 1 which, in the form of dialogue between Romapada, king of Ahga, and the sage Palakapya, deals elaborately with the diseases peculiar to elephants. Some scholars refer it to fifth or even sixth century B.C., but others regard it as of much later date. The work was probably known to Kalidasa, though this is by no means certain. A similar treatise on horses— Asvasdstra — is attributed to the sage Salihotra. We have several later works of this class but their date is uncertain.

12. ASTRONOMY

Varahamihira, who flourished in the sixth century A.D., has preserved in his Panchasiddbantikd some account of five astronomical works which were evidently regarded as authoritative in his own time. These five works or Siddhantas are referred to as Paitamaha, Romaka, Paulisa, Vasishtha and

Surya. The first of these belonged to the pre-scientific period, but the other four show a more advanced stage of thought and spirit. It has been urged by some that all these four indicate a knowledge of, if not based upon, Greek astronomy. This seems to be undoubtedly true of the second and third, for though Romaka need not be taken to refer to the city of Rome itself, it certainly alludes to the Roman empire in a general sense. The Paulisa is also most probably derived from the name of Paulus Alexandrinus. It is to be noted that both these refer to the meridian of Yavanapura. The Siirya Siddhdnta , even in the revised form in which we have it, is said to have been revealed by Surya to Asura Maya in Romaka. This may be regarded as an evidence in favour of its western origin or at least Greek influence. Thus there cannot

Note 41

be any reasonable doubt that the Indians had knowledge of Greek astronomy and were profoundly influenced by it. This view is supported by a careful examination of the contents of these works and also by various other considerations.

Although we possess some texts bearing the names of the five old Siddhantas, they are ail later than Varahamihifa's time, and evidently revised versions of the older texts, if not altogether new works under old names. The original texts, whose contents are noted by Varahamihira, may be placed between A.D. 300 and 500 though seme of them are perhaps still older.

Varahamihira refers to several other astronomers such as Lata, Siiiiha, Pradyurnna Vijayanandin, and, last but not the least, the famous Aryabhata. Of these a few works of Aryabhata alone have come down to us such as Aryabhatiya, Dasagiiikcisutra and Arydshtasata. Aryabhata was born in Saka 398 (A.D. 476), probably at Kusumapura or Pataliputra, and his Aryabhatiya was composed in A.D. 499. He was the first to treat Mathematics as a distinct subject and dealt with evolution and involution, area and volume, progressions -and algebraic identities, and indeterminate equations of the first degree. Aryabhata was also the first to hold that the earth was a sphere and rotated on its axis, and that the eclipses were not the work of Ra.hu but caused by the shadow of the earth falling on the moon.

Both these views were rejected and severely condemned by later astronomers like Varahamihira and Brahmagupta. Aryabhata also arrived at a “remarkably accurate value of tc, viz. 3.1416.” 1

One of the most important features of Aryabhata’s mathematical system is his unique system of notation. It is based on the decimal place-value system, unknown to other ancient peoples, but now in use throughout the civilised world. Whether Aryabhata invented the system or merely improved on an existing one cannot be definitely stated. But with the doubtful exception of Bakhshali manuscript, which is referred by some to c. A.D. 200, the earliest use of the system occurs in Aryabhatiya, and it is found in all later mathematical works. The importance of this system for the development of science in general and of Mathematics in particular cannot be exaggerated. On the whole Aryabhata deservedly occupies a very high place among Indian astronomers and has had many followers and commentators. 2

Note 42

Note 43

Note 44

The next in order of time comes Varahamihira. He takes the Saka year 427 as the basis for calculations, so that he may be said to have flourished towards the close of the fifth century A.D. The view that he died in Saka 509 (c. A.D. 587) rests on a passage 1 of dubious authenticity. He has given us no less than six works on all the three branches into which he divides the Jyotisha-sastra, viz. Tantra (astronomy and mathematics), Hora (horoscope), and Samhita (astrology). His astronomical work Panchasiddhantikti has been mentioned before. His work on astrology, Brihat-samhita , is an encyclopaedia of useful information in various branches of knowledge, such as movements of heavenly bodies and their effect upon men, geography, architecture, construction of images, excavation of tanks, laying out of gardens, special characteristics of the different classes of women and animals, jewellery, augury, marriage, etc. He deals specifically with auspicious times for marriage in two separate works, the Brihadvivtihapatala and Svalpavivtihapatala, and a third work Yogaydtrd is devoted to omens about wars of kings. His works on Hora will be noted later. The next writer whose works are extant is Brahmagupta whose Brahmasiddhdnta was composed in Saka 550 (c. A.D. 628). His other well-known work Khandakhtidya was very probably composed in Saka 587 which is taken there as the base for calculations. He also seems to have composed the Dhytinagraha in seventy-two verses in the Aryti metre. "Brahmagupta's work covers very briefly the ordinary arithmetical operations, square and cube roots, rule of three, interest, progressions, geometry, including treatment of the rational right-angled triangle and the elements of the circle, elementary mensuration of solids, shadow problems, negative and positive quantities, cipher, surds, simple algebraic identities, indeterminate equations of the first and second degrees, in considerable detail, and simple equations of the first and second degrees which are briefly treated. Special attention is given to cyclic quadrilaterals".

There were also many works on Horoscopy. Thus we know of the Partisan —big and small, the Jaiaka-sutra of Jaimini current in Malabar, the Bhrigu-samhitd , the Ntidigrantha, the Minardjajtitaka, also known as the Yavanajataka, the Laghu- and the Brihaj Jtitakas of Varahamihira and the Shatpanckdsikti of his son, Prithuyasas. Among these, however, we know nothing definite about the dates of any but the last two. The two works of Varahamihira show distinct traces of Greek influence.

1. "Nawdhikavanchasatasahkhyasake Vamhamihiracharyo divam gcitah" quoted by Dikshit, op. cit., p. 211.

13. MISCELLANEOUS

In addition to the subjects mentioned above, there were others on which regular texts seem to have been written during this period, but they were all superseded by later works and lost to us. In particular, mention may be made of such widely varying subjects as architecture, music, dancing, painting, and perhaps even the art of stealing.

This inference is supported by the Kdmasutra (Art of love) of Vatsyayana Mallanaga. It appears from the introduction of this work that the subject of erotics was previously dealt with by a number of authors, whose names are also known from other sources but whose works are altogether lost. The date of Vatsyayana is uncertain, but he probably flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D. though some scholars refer him to an even earlier date. The book deals with the subject in a comprehensive manner and throws much revealing light on the manners and customs of society. 1 The work is written in a style which may be regarded as midway between Sutra and Bhashya, and would have been partly unintelligible but for the excellent commentary Jayarnahgald by Yasodhara (thirteen century A.D.).

14. CONCLUSION

The broad and running survey of the Sanskrit literature produced in the Classical Age clearly shows that great advance was made in literature on every side and in every branch. Some of the important sciences such as Grammar, Mathematics, Astronomy, and Astrology almost reached their fullest development in this Age; so much so that it forms what may be called the creative period after which they produced very little of permanent value. Similarly, this age was singularly fortunate in having produced the best authors and works in almost every branch of belles lettres. Thus we have Kalidasa who combines in himself poetic and dramatic talent of an exceptionally high order. He has produced not only two of the five famous Mahakavyas, and the best Sanskrit drama, but also the best small poem which evoked admiration and imitative efforts from his successors. The Uttarartima-charita, which ranks only next to his works, belongs to this period. Poets like Bharavi and Magha also shed lustre on this period. Even prose was carried to high perfection in this period under a band of able writers like Dandin, Subandhu, and Bana. But though the best in every branch was produced in this age, it must be noted that towards its close artificiality was slowly but steadily creeping into the domain

Note 45

of literature and was destined to eclipse and stifle all real art. In general, it may be said that this age was the Classical or Golden Age of Hindu learning and literature with glorious achievements in almost every branch of artistic and scientific literature.

II. PRAKRIT

The Svetambara Jain Canon and its exegetic literature in Ardha-MagadhI Prakrit, the few religious texts of the Digambara Jains of the South in the Maharashtrl and Saurasenl Prakrits, and the commentaries on Buddhist texts written in Pali constitute the most important Prakrit and Pali literature during the period under review. These have been discussed in Chapter XVIII and we may here refer only to a few works of outstanding importance outside the domain of canonical literature.

Mention may first be made of independent religious narratives like the Vasudevahindi of Dharmadasa and Sanghadasa. This work is shown by Alsdorff 1 to contain numerous traces of the influences of the Brihatkatha of Gunadhya. Similarly a religious romance called T ctrangavati-kathd is known to have been written very early. It is mentioned in the Anuyogadvdra Sidra, which is itself a part of the Agama, fixed up at the Council of ValabhI. The author of this Romance is said to be Padalipta, who is also credited with the composition of a Prakrit commentary on a Praklrnaka called Jyotishkarandaka. Malayagiri mentions this commentary in his Tika of this work. But even comprehensive works on Jain Logic and Philosophy were composed in Prakrit during this period and one such is Siddhasena's Sammatitarka Sutra. It consists of about 167 Gathas divided into three chapters and is an important work on ancient Jain Nyaya. It is mentioned in Jinadasa's Viseshachunii on the Nisitha Sutra, and also in the commentary called Dhavald, of Virasena, on a Digambara work called the Shatkhanddgama,,

When the Pali and the Prakrit languages came to be progressively used for literary purposes, there naturally arose a tendency to preserve them in their purer form and so there arose grammars of Prakrits and Pali. Vararuchi's Prakritaprakdsa and Chanda's Prdkritalakshana are possibly the oldest among the grammars of the Prakrit languages; they are composed in Sanskrit and are moulded on the pattern of Panini. On the other hand, the grammar of the Pali language called Kdtydyanaprakarana was written in the Pali language itself. The author of this treatise is supposed to be Katyayana, who shows a close acquaintance with the Kasikd-vritti of Panini's Ashtddhydyl and with the Kdtantra Vyakarana. But the

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Kdtydyanaprakarana is not mentioned by Buddhaghosha in the fifth century A.D. and may have been composed much later.

Even the votaries of Sanskrit language and literature sometimes indulged in writing Prakrit poetry, both of the lyric and the narrative types. Specimens of the former are to be found in the large number of illustrations quoted from different Prakrit poets by Svayambhu in his work on Metres. 1

Among the Prakrit Kavyas two deserve special attention, viz * Setabemdha and Gauda-vaho. The former is a long narrative poem written in the Maharashtri Prakrit. It is also known as Rdvanavaha (killing of Ravana) and describes the story of the Ramayana from the expedition to Lanka up to the death of Ravana and the recovery of Sita. Peterson was the first to suggest, from verse 15 of the Introduction to Harsha-charita , that the poem was composed by Pravarasena, though it is not unlikely that he was merely the patron of the real author. Even assuming that Pravarasena wrote the poem we cannot definitely identify him. He is identified by some with king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, and by others with the Vakataka king of the same name. 2 The work has also been attributed, though quite wrongly, to Kalidasa. It is written in the same artificial style as the Sanskrit Kavya and exhibits all its characteristic features. 3

Vakpatiraja, the authoi* of Gauda-vaho, describes himself as a pupil of Bhavabhuti and was a court poet of king Yasovarman of Kanauj. The poem was written about A.D. 725 and is more of a panegyric than an historical poem which it claims to be. It contains information about the deeds of valour of the hero, i.e. king Yasovarman, 4 interspersed with descriptions of landscapes and seasons, sunrise and sunset, mountains, rivers and temples, in the manner of the Sanskrit Mahakavyas, but also mixed up with many mythical legends. Vakpatiraja’s style is generally free from artificial word-puns, though long compounds are not entirely wanting. He, however, excels in depicting scenes from village life which is rarely seen in the earlier Kavyas. The present work, which runs into 1200 stanzas, is probably only an extract from the original poem, leaving aside the bare historical parts which were not of much poetical value, or perhaps an abridged form of the fuller poem which was never actually written.

III. TAMIL

The Tamil literature of the period is almost wholly influenced by the religious movements in South India which will be discussed in Chapter XVIII. It will suffice here to state that although Jainism

1. Published in JBBRAS, 1935 and JUB , November, 1936.

2. See above, pp. 182 ff. 3. Winternitz, GIL, III. 63. 4. See pp. 128 ff.

and Buddhism exercised strong influence at first, they had ultimately to yield to Saivism and Vaishnavism which together may be said to constitute orthodox Hinduism.

From the sixth or seventh! century onwards, the Hindus found inspired champions of their creed in the many Saiva Nayanmars and the Vaishnava Alvars. These powerful forces of Hindu regeneration gradually succeeded in eliminating Jain influences and establishing on secure foundations the twin glittering edifices of Saivism and Vaishnavism. Join influences persisted for a considerable time in the Kannada country and contributed a glorious chapter to Kannada literature. Even in Tamil, stray Jain writers continued to enrich the literature with a new grammar, or a theological poem, or a didactic essay in verse; but supremacy in letters had for ever passed into the hands of the £aiva and Vaishnava poets.

1. The Nayanmars and the Alvars

The Saiva Nayanmars and the Vaishnava Alvars were simplehearted bhaktas' rather than philosophical or theological pundits. The Supreme, whether approached in the first instance as &iva or Vishnu, was a beloved to be wooed with love and devotion, a king to be obeyed with simple reverence and affection. The Supreme revealed Himself, not to the proud ratiocinative intellect, but to the hungering soul that felt that without His grace it simply could not live! Religion threw off in the twinkling of an eye the gorgeous draperies of dialectic and the sack-cloth and ashes of pessimistic introspection. Religion became a simple and poignant human experience; and the jiva and the Lord sought one another out, they would be together. The hitherto barred doors of Felicity were flung wide open, and the humblest of mortals found to his amazement that he could enter unafraid the sacred precincts, and claim and share the Fatherhood of God.

These Nayanmars and Alvars, whether or not they were singers equally inspired, were all of them godintoxicated people who transmitted their divine infatuation to millions of their contemporaries. But some of them were superlatively gifted singers as well and have left behind an imperishable legacy of devotional poetry which has rarely been equalled in quantity and quality and never surpassed during the whole course of human history.

We owe the collection and preservation of the devotional songs of the Saiva and Vaishnava saints to the indefatigable labours of two religious leaders, Nambi-Andar-Nambi and Sri Nathamuni. .The former arranged the available &aiva hymns into eleven T irumurais, the first seven (collectively called Tevdram), bringing together the hymns of Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar, the eighth (called

Tiruvdchakam) being the work of Manikkavachakar, the ninth (called Tiru-isaippd) being a miscellaneous collection, the tenth bringing together the mystic outpourings of a sixth century Saiva yogi, Tirumular, and the eleventh and last Tirumurai being another miscellany of poems from Nakkirar to Nambi-Andar-Nambi. Likewise, £rl Nathamuni arranged the extant Vaishnava hymns into a colossal collection, Ndldyira Prabandham, a veritable treasure-house of devotional poetry. The four thousand hymns included in this collection are the work of twelve Alvars (of whom one is the woman mystic, Andal), the major contributions being those of TirumahgaiAlvar, Nammalvar, Periyalvar, Tirumalisai-Alvar, and Sri Andal.

2. The Saiva Saints

Tirumular, author of the tenth Tirumurai , enunciates in his work (called Tirumandiram) the Saiva Siddhanta doctrine of PatiPasu-Pasam. Tirumular believed that the spirit no less than matter must be accepted as real, for it is impossible to conceive of one quite independently of the other. Likewise, Love and Sivam are not different categories of experience: Love culminates into Sivam and rests in that beatific condition. For achieving one’s salvation, it is essential that the devotee should choose a reliable guide:

The blind who spurn the guidance of the wise Will seek the guidance of the blind;

The blind and the blind will dance a blind round,

And together the blind will fall into the ditch.

Tirumnndiram is made up of 3,000 mantras and is held in great veneration by the Tamil Jsaivas.

About a century later, Manikkavachakar and the other three great Saiva Samayacharyas—Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar— flourished in the Tamil country and sounded a clarion call, a call to self-knowledge, a call to implicit self-surrender at the feet of the Supreme. It is now generally agreed that Appar and Sambandar were contemporaries, and that Sundarar lived two or three decades after Appar's death in A.D. 681. It is, however, a debatable point whether Manikkavachakar preceded or came after the three Tevdram singers. The discussions on this point are seemingly endless, but to the present writer it appears probable that Manikkavachakar also was Appar's contemporary. The dates arrived at by Mr. C. V. Narayana Ayyar seem to be on the whole satisfactory; Appar (A.D. 600-681); Sambandar (A.D. 644-660); Manikkavachakar (A.D. 660-692); and Sundarar, who "must have lived for 18 years any time between A.D. 710 and A.D. 735.

1. Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India, p. 462.

(i) Appar or Tirundvukkarasu Ndyandr

Appar was originally called by his Vellala parents Marunlkkiyar. He at first changed from Saivism to the Jain faith but again became an ardent devotee of Siva. He made numerous and life-long friendships. He bore the pin-pricks of the Jains with dignity, and once he sent this message to the Pallava king who was a Jain:

We are slaves of nobody, we fear not death;

Sinless, we shall not taste the torments of Hell;

Proud are we that we know no ill, no bondage;

Ignorant of pain, we are for ever happy.

Appars contribution to Tevdram consists of 313 hymns. Their tone and texture, their content and imagery, are conditioned by two facts concerning Appar's life. Of the four great Nayanars, only Appar lived to a ripe old age, living longer than the other three put together. His longevity helped him, as it helped Sophocles, to see life steadily and to see it whole. Accordingly, Appar's ripest and most characteristic hymns partake of the mellowness of age and breathe the persuasive gentleness that comes from experience. With the wise pensiveness of age, Appar quietly assured his followers:

He is our father and mother,

He is our brother and sister;

Of the three worlds is He creator,

The dweller in the flowery city;

He'll help us all, the Unseen God.

Secondly, being a Vellala by birth whose ancestral calling was agriculture, Appar naturally insinuated himself into the hearts of the lowly and the wretched who mostly people our villages. He read Nature's thought-processes like an open book. Birds and beasts were next of kin to him. The sea, the hills, the woods, the fields rich with crops or green grass, the winding rivers; lions, leopards, tigers, jackals, green-legged frogs; water-lilies, violets, the jasmine and the lotus, plants, creepers, trees; cascades and floods, the dazzling moon of which the cobra itself is afraid; these are the usual themes of Appar's dissolving melodies. The devotee no less than the farmer speaks in verses like:

Didst thou plough with Truth and sow the seed of Desire, Didst thou weed out Untruth and water with patient skill, Didst thou pledge with Propriety and stand by in affection, Then must you surely reach divan's place and see Him.

Verily the “King of Beautiful Speech,” Appar’s strains have the sumptuous quality of autumn, giving us the strength to face the future with courage and abiding hope.

(ii) Sambandar

Sambandar was a “marvellous boy who died in his prime.” He is reputed to have composed 10,000 hymens in his all too brief life of but sixteen summers, though only 384 of these are now known to us. Tile artless grace and mellifluous sweetness of Sambandar’s hymns have been universally praised, but they cannot be brought out in translations. The following verse, the most famous perhaps of his outpourings, is said to have involuntarily escaped Sambandar’s mouth while he Was still a boy hardly three years old:

The serpent is His ear-stud, He rides the bull, He is crowned with the pure White crescent;

He is smeared with the ashes of destroyed forests;

He is decked with a garland of full-blossoming flowers;

When of yore His devotees called Him, He came to glittering Piramapuram and bestowed His grace upon all;

He is indeed the Thief who has stolen my soul away.

Two other frequently quoted verses may be freely rendered as follows:

He will not tarry with those who sing not His praises,

We too shall avoid their godless company ....

One’s father is dead, one’s mother is dead, one’s own turn will come,

For Yama with his mace is awaiting the appointed hour to carry everyone away;

Poor soul! You hope to bide here for ever, you’ll be snatched away no less!

But Felicity is yours if you follow the lead of Tiruvarur— fear not Death.

(Hi) Manikkavachakar

This great saint’s life is narrated both in the Tiruvilaiyddal and the Vddavurar puranams. Like Sambandar, Manikkavachakar too was born of Brahmin parents. Later, Manikkavachakar became the Prime Minister of a Pandyan king, but soon lost his confidence. Realization came to him in due course, and thenceforth he dedicated himself to the Life Divine. The collection of hymns known as Tiruvdchakam is Manikka vaehakar’£ spiritual autobiography, and it takes us as it were to the very laboratory of mysticism. Reading it, we feel that we peer into the very core of this great devotee’s heart. Dr. G. U. Pope has rendered into sensitive English verse the whole of Tiruvdchakam, from which the following may be quoted in illustration of the singular quality of Manikkavachakar’s spiritual fervour:

‘‘Grass was I, shrub was I, worm, tree,

Full many a kind of beast, bird, snake,

Stone, man, and demon. ’Midst Thy hosts I served.

The form of mighty Asuras, ascetics, gods I bore.

Within these immobile and mobile forms of life,

In every species born, weary I’ve grown, great Lord!

“I dread not mighty jav’lin, dripping gore;

Nor glance of maids with jewell’d arms!

But those that will not sweetly taste His grace,

Whose glance can melt the inmost soul,

Who dances in the hallow’d court,—my Gem Unstained and pure—nor praise His Name;

Such men of loveless hearts when we behold,

Ah me! we feel no dread like this!”

It has been well said that Tiruvdchakam will melt the heart and purify all sins; that he who is unmoved by its strains is veritably a stone. Tiruvdchakam seems to bring out the quintessence of Tamil Saivism—and especially its doctrine of self-surrender to the Supreme God—even more completely than Tevaram, astonishing as is that variegated and rich collection of devotional lyrics. Sambandar’s artless and moving strains, Sundarar’s haunting lullabies of love, Appar’s home-spun similes and images bespeaking ripe wisdom and experience, all these fuse into a unity, dazzling like the midday sun and profound as night, in the fifty-one songs that constitute Tiruvdchakam; and Manikkavachakar is indeed, in his profound humility and all-embracing humanity, among the most infallible of our “ambassadors of the Absolute.”

(iv) Sundarar

Sundarar—or Sundaramurti Nayanar-—was the last of the four great Saiva Samayacharyas. During his incredibly short life of only eighteen years, Sundarar crowded a career of service in the cause of the Divine which is astounding. Of the tens of thousands of songs attributed to him, hardly one hundred have been preserved. Instinct with singular beauty and glow of colour, Sundarar’s hymns are on every devout Tamil bhakta’s lips to this day, and are sung by musicians in temples and mutts. Here is a free rendering of one of them:

I’m the slave of all His devotees true,

The slave of all the laureates of the spirit,

The slave of those whose minds do rest in God,

The slave of all the inhabitants of Tiruvarur, The slave of the priests who daily conduct the divine service thrice,

The slave of the ascetics anointed all over,

The slave of the bhaktas beyond Tamfiakam's confines,

The slave for ever of Tiruvarur's Lord.

Utterances like "O Madman, with the shining crescent-crown," "I will not die, nor be born again, nor being born will grow old again", "As I meditated on thy flower-soft feet in terms of love, my bonds burst away for ever", and scores of others from his hymns, being once heard, must reverberate in one's memory for ever.

(v) Other Saiva Saints

In addition to the eleven Tirumurais, which include only the devotional poetry of the Nayanars, there is also the Periyapumnam, a comprehensive account of the lives of the sixty-three Saiva saints held in veneration to this day. It is a stupendous work of over four thousand stanzas and fact and legend mingle freely in its pages. The sixty-three saints were drawn from every important Tamil caste then known—-kings, Brahmins, chieftains, merchants, farmers, shepherds, potters, weavers, hunters, fishermen, 'untouchables', etc. —and the Periyapumnam^ was thus a reminder to the Tamil people that God's love and salvation were quite independent of caste or profession or the other material circumstances of life. In the hagiology are also found many memorable pictures of women devotees like Tilakavatiyar, Punitavatiyar and Mangaiyarkkarasiyar. The authorship of the Periyapumimm is attributed to iSekkilar, himself the subject of a puranam by Umapati.

3. The Alvars

We now pass on to the Alvars. The word 'alvar' has been explained as 'one in deep wisdom'; and the 'alvars* are thus wise seers who exercise a spiritual sovereignty over the hearts of men. Tradition arranges the Alvars into three groups in the following order:

(1) Ancient: Poykai Alvar

4203 B.C. 4203 B.C. 4203 B.C. 4203 B.C.

Bhutattar

Peyalvar

Tirumalisai Alvar

(2) Middle: Nammalvar

3102 B.C. 3102 B.C. 3075 B.C. 3056 B.C. 3005 B.C.

Madhurakavi Alvar Kulasekhara Alvar Perialvar

An$al

(3) Last: Ton<Jara<Jippo$i Alvar .. 2814 B.C.

Tiruppan Alvar .. 2760 B.C.

Tirumangai Alvar .. 2706 B.C.

As the traditional dates of these Alvars take us to anything from five to six thousand years backwards, these seemingly precise dates are of no use whatsoever as historical data. At the same time, as Dr. S. Krishn'aswami Aiyangar points out, “it is still possible to regard this traditional order as fairly in chronological sequence.” 1 As it is impossible with the facts at our disposal to determine with any exactitude the dates of the Alvars, we have to be satisfied with the broad inference that the Alvars in all probability flourished in the period marked by the extreme limits of A.D. 500 and 850, and that it is not unlikely that some of the greatest Saiva Nayanars and Vaishnava Alvars were actually contemporaries.

The Alvars hailed from different parts of the Tamil country. The Pallava country contributed the first four Alvars enumerated above, and Chola Desa the last three; the Chera country contributed Kulasekhara; and Fandya Nadu contributed the rest, notably Nammalvar, the greatest of them all, and

Arwjal one of the supreme women mystics of the world. From this distribution it is sometimes assumed that the Vaishnava movement began first in the Pallava country in the north and then passed on to the Chola country, and finally gravitated to the south, culminating in the Tinnevelly (Tirunelveli) District, the place of the great. Nammalvar's nativity. It is also worthy of note that the twelve Alvars, even like the sixty-three Nayanars, are a cosmopolitan group, being gathered from all castes and various strata of society, their one common characteristic being their fellowship in the love of God. Nammalvar, like Appar, was a Vellala by caste; Tirumangai came from a kaUa (robber) family; Kulasekhara was a princely ascetic; Perialvar was a Brahmin. All this illustrates the noble catholicity of the Tamils of a bygone age.

The four thousand stanzas that make up the Ndldyira Prabanti ham are divided into four more or less equal parts. The first thousand stanzas include the work of Perialvar, An dal, Kulasekhara, Tirumalisai, Tondaradippodi, Tiruppan, and Madhurakavi; this part is called Tirumoli . The second part, called Peria Tirumoli, is the work exclusively of Tirumangai; the third part, called lyalpd, includes the work of the first three Alvars, and the rest of the third part is made up of Tirumalisai's, Nammalvar's and Tirumangai's contributions; the last part, Tiruvdymoli, is exclusively the work of Nammalvar. These four thousand hymns have been frequently annotated, and the verses are committed to memory and recited in temples by Tamil Vaishnavas to this day.

1. Ancient India and South Indian Culture, II, p. 738.

(i) The first four Alvars

The first three Alvars, Poykai, Bhutattar and Peyalvar have

contributed one hundred stanzas each in venbd metre in praise of »

Tirumal. The poems are richly embroidered by references to Vishnu's sports in His various avatar as; but the general key-note of the poems is love, an upsurge of mystical longing for the Lord. The traditional story is that Poykai, Bhutattar and Peyalvar accidentally took shelter in the same place in pitch darkness. Of a sudden they became conscious of a fourth person, a blazing transcendence that lifted them up from their normal consciousness and gave them for the nonce the voice of poesy. And when morning came, they gave utterance to their ecstatic thoughts. One stanza from each is here freely rendered into English:

Poykai:

The river flows to the dark agitated sea;

The lotus gazes at the rising sun;

Life gravitates towards the God of Death; knowledge wells up to reach the Divine Consort of Lakshml, sprung up from the ravishing lotus.

Bhutattar:

P'rom the knowledge of the Veda you know that its essence Is the singing of Purushottama's praise;

If the Veda is beyond you, poor folk, know that

The Veda's cream is but the recitation of Madhava's name.

Peyalvar:

This day I saw the Divine Consort by the side of Her bluetinted Lord,

I saw His glorious golden effulgence, bright as burning sun,

I saw His gold-made chakra, irresistible in war,

I saw His conch that wins the love of its beholders.

Tirumalisai, the fourth and last in the first group, appears to have been a militant Vaishnavite, giving no quarter to Buddhist, Jain or iSaiva. He was uncompromising in his monotheism, and his learning was prodigious. This is how he describes the discipline of God-realisation:

When the grooves of the senses are barred and sealed, When the high-way of knowledge is lit with Wisdom’s lamp, When intense pity melts the heart and relaxes the bones, Then only can Vishnu the wielder of the Sacred Disc be

seen.

His single-minded devotion and firm faith are revealed in an asseveration like:

Be it today or tomorrow or some future day,

Your grace is surely mine;

I shall take refuge in none other than you,

Neither will you ever abandon me, O Narayana.

(ii) Nammdlvdr

Of the five Alvars in the second group, Nammalvar and Madhurakavi may be taken together. Nammalvar was a mystic in excdsis, one of the greatest of god-intoxicated men. Madhurakavi, the Brahmin scholar and saint, sought out Nammalvar and, as it were, nursed that great mystic bud with the warmth of his devotion, till, petal by petal, it blossomed to its full amplitude and dedicated its unearthly beauty to the God of Gods. Nammalvar sang of God because the urge to trumpet His praises was in him an elemental irresistible force; and Madhurakavi took down the verses as they came, and preserved them for posterity. The sweetness, intuitive depth, and kindling imagery of Nammalvar’s hymns have been praised, but cannot be praised too highly. His poems express piercingly the varied mystic notes from self-abasement to the finality of ecstatic union. Whether he is screaming like a homesick soul eager to return to the Father, or affirming his faith in loud ringing tones, or protesting his love like one god-intoxicated in the extreme, or but describing the splendours of beatific union, equally is Nammalvar gloriously articulate and a supreme laureate of the spirit. Quotations cannot do justice to his poetry, but the following verse expresses the core*of Nammalvar’s faith:

The indwelling God is in all created things and in all the religions professed by Man;

It is in vain to reach Him through the senses; and He defies mere intellectual cognition;

Seek Him in the soul’s sanctuary, the source of all life,

In firm meditation, but free from disturbing mundane thoughts,

And the Lord can be secured for ever.

Nammalvar’s contribution to the Nalciyira Prabandham consists of the whole of the fourth part, called TiruvdymoU, and Tiruviruttam, Tiruvasiriyam and Periyatiruvaniddi , which are included in the third part. TiruvdymoU is subdivided into ten parts, and each part contains ten poems; this century of poems taking up 1,102 stanzas. Nammalvar’s poetry is encyclopaedic in its mystic range and covers the entire gamut of striving, half-lights and false trails, the nights of darkness, the burst of morning sunshine, the splendour of beatitude and the ecstasy undying. The jiva seeks Him and would be with Him, because He has already chosen and is with His devotee. The jlva sometimes is compared to a love-sick maiden hungering and pining for the divine nectar of her Lord’s love. The symbolism of love is intricate and subtly elaborate, and the whole of Tiru viruttam is cast in the form of such a symbolic love poem. Tiruviruttam indeed is one of the incandescent peaks of mystic poetry* and its century of stanzas illustrate poetically every unblemished shade of erotic symbolism. The whole poem has been done into English by Mr. J. S. M. Hooper from which the following are extracted. Nammalvar is the maid rapt in devotion to her beloved Lord, Vishnu. They have met, and after a moment’s infinity He has left her, and she is experiencing the 'dark night of the soul’:

“Love’s glow is paling, and instead, a dark And sickly yellow is spreading; —and the night Becomes an age! This is the matchless wealth My good heart gave me when it yearned and sought Keen discus-wielding Kannan’s tulasl cool! ....

The flying swans and herons I did beg,

Cringing: 'Forget not, ye who first arrive,

If ye behold my heart with Kannan there Oh, speak of me, and ask it ‘Sir, not yet Hast thou returned to her? And is it right?’. ..

Many a different way of worshipping

And many clashing creeds from different minds,

And in the many creeds their many gods Thou’st made, spreading abroad thy form! O thou Matchless, I will proclaim my love for thee !” 1

Madhurakavi was the born disciple, his whole life being dedicated to Nammalvar; his short hymn in praise of his guru is sung by all Vaishnava devotees. It is a fervent song of but eleven stanzas and concludes with the verse:

He (Nammalvar) poured the cream of the Vedas into his songs,

Singing a thousand grace-filled hymns,

To feed his devotees with the love of God:

Praise him for his peerless grace!

(Hi) Pe'riydlvdr and Anddl

Periyalvar (known also as Vishnu-Chittar and Bhattarpiran) was a Brahmin who, according to tradition, found the child An dal

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at the foot of a tree while digging in his garden and, taking her home, brought her up with more than a fatherly affection. Periyalvar’s most famous song is Tiruppalldn$tu, which he composed when he was vouchsafed the beatific vision of the Lord:

For many a year, many a year,

Many a thousand year,

Many a thousand million thousand year,

Oh Thou victor over the Mallas,

Thou sapphire-tinted strong-shouldered,

Thou effulgent mighty One,

May your shining crimson feet Be for ever and for ever blest!

That the devotee should be anxious about the All-seeing, All-powerful Eternal One is the measure of his poignant all-human love for the Lord. Periyalvar has contributed about five hundred hymns to the “Four Thousand”, and they are remarkable for their earnestness, learning, descriptive power, and metrical resilience. Periyalvar spent the best part of his life at &rivilliputtur (in Ramnad District), serving the local deity, and composing the Tirumoli, a splendid imaginative re-creation of Lord Krishna’s life.

Periyalvar’s daughter, Andal or Kodai, from the outset thirsted for the Divine, and poured forth her divine love into some of the finest poetry in the language. She saw herself as one of Krishna’s gopis, sought Him with singular fervour and determination, and achieved union with Him at last at Srirahgam. Of her two works, Nachchiydr Tirumoli and Tiruppdvai, the latter is rightly more famous. It places her alongside of great women mystics like St. Teresa, Rabia, and Mira. Tiruppdvai is a pageant, a song-offering, a lyrical essay on the dynamics of true devotion, a feast of the most marvellous music, an imperishable treasure in the hearts of Tamil Vaishnava bhaktas, especially women. An<Jal and her girl-friends bathe at dawn in the fresh waters that rain from the sky and go in procession to Krishna’s palace; of imagination all compact, they are the gopis once again,

seeking the nectar of divine love at Krishna’s hands. The processionary rhythm is in tune with the wonderful theme and winds its beauty into our hearts. The love-sick devotees know full well the efficacy of Krishna’s love:

“When thus all pure we come, strewing fair flowers, Adoring, and with songs upon our lips,

And meditating in our hearts on him—

Mayan, the child of Northern Mathura:

The Ruler of great Jumna’s sacred stream:

The shining lamp which in the shepherd caste

Appeared: Damodaran, who brightly lit His mother's womb—faults past and faults to come Cease, like to cotton that within the fire Flames into dust”. ’ 1

And their faith and their adoration are no transient things, but will abide eternally:

“ . . ,.not for today alone

Have we become thy slaves; but, Govinda,

For aye, for sevenfold births! Only to thee We’ll service give: from us do thou remove All other loves. .. . ” 2

(iv) Kulasekhara

Kuiasekhara, the remaining member of the second group of Alvars, was a king of Travancore whose god-hunger made him more and more unworldly, till at last he renounced the throne and wholeheartedly consecrated himself to the service of the Divine. Perianal Tirumoli, his contribution to the "Four Thousand,” consists of 103 stanzas, one of which may be translated as follows:

They (the worldly-wise) are but mad men to me, And I am mad too (they think);

Who benefits by this talk?

I call you, Krishna, Ranganatha!

I am mad with longing for You!

(v) Tiruppan, Tondaradippodi and Tirumangai

Of the three Alvars of the last group, Tiruppan was responsible for only ten stanzas and Tondaradippoai for fifty-five; but Tirumangai contributed no less than 1,351 stanzas, a slightly larger number than even Namrnalvar's contribution. Tiruppan was a member of the so-called 'untouchable' caste, but so great was his devotion to Lord Ranganatha that He asked the Brahmin priest of the temple to brmg Tiruppan on his shoulders to His presence. There he broke into song and Amalanddippirdn was the result. Here is the fifth stanza of this poem:

Having destroyed the burden of my long-gathered sins,

He made me turn to Him in love, and entered my heart Himself;

I know of no austerities that secured this love;

Rather have I been saved by the divine grace of Ranganatha, wearing the pearl-necklace, with Lakshmi seated on His fair bosom!

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londaradippodi, originally called Vipra Narayana, lived for a time with a courtesan and got into trouble, but was ultimately saved by Ranganatha. He now dedicated himself to God and wrote the two hymns, Tirumdlai and Tiruppalli Yeluchchi , addressed to Ranganatha. The following is from Tirumdlai:

Should men live one hundred years as the Vedas say, One half will be w T asted in sleep; the fifty remaining will be likewise wasted

In childhood, boyhood, sensuality, hunger, disease and

old age;

O Dweller in Srirangam’s temple! I desire birth no more!

The life of Tirumangai, the last of the Alvars, seems to have been a colourful and adventurous one; his career was not unlike that of St. Paul’s and his missionary fervour was catching. A prolific poet and a skilful versifier, Tirumangai’s songs have much rush and tumult and decorative matter, though as a mystic poet he has to be placed below Nammalvar. One stanza from Tirumangai is given here:

(When you met Guha the boatman) You did not deem him ignorant or strange or of low birth,

But pitied him and further showered on him your celestial

grace

And said: “This my companion (Sita) with the shy deer’s downcast eyes is your companion as well;

My brother (Lakshmana) is your brother.” When he (Guha) wished not to be left behind

You added: “You are my friend, bide here.”

These words have come down the ages and have led my heart

To Your feet, ocean-hued in colour, O Lord of Srrahgam rich with luxuriant trees!

The biographical accounts as given in the Guruparamparai mix fact and fiction so liberally that they are of little value to the historian. Be that as it may, there cannot be two opinions about the spiritual fervour and high poetical quality of the Ndldyira Prabandham.

(vi) Iraiyandr and others

This chapter may close with a passing reference to a few unclassified writers of the 3§angam and post-Saiigam periods. There was Idaikkadar, who wrote a book of fifty-four verses distinguished for their verbal conceits; there was Kalladar, the author of a poem called Kalladam; Perundevanar, author of a Tamil Mahdbhdrata, of which only a few lines have survived; there were Divakarar and Pingalar, father and son, authors of dictionaries bearing their respective names; there was Iraiyanar, of Ahapporul fame, the greatest grammarian of his day; Aiyan-aritanar, the editor of PurapporuU venbdmdlai; there was Vamanacharyar, the author of a long Jain poem giving the story of two brothers; and there were also many women poets whose verses are represented in some of the great anthologies of the Third Sangam.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. II, pp. 258 IT.
2. 1. Winternitz, HIL, I, pp. 576-77.
3. 1. Winternitz, GIL, III. 526. For further discussion about this work, cf. Ch. XVI.
4. 2. Keith, HSL, p. 488. 3. See p. 14, also n. 2.
5. 4. Keith, HSL, p. 308, and preface, p. xxii.
6. 1. Better known as Siddhasena Divakara. For his date, works, etc., see Dr. P. L. Vaidya's Intro, to his edition of the Nyayavatara , Poona.
7. 2. Radhakrishnan, IP, II, p. 376.
8. 3. For his date, works, etc., see Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Agamasastra, Introduction.
9. 1. See Radhakrishnan, IP, II, p. 452 n.2.
10. 2. Nor can the author of a commentary on the Uttara-giid and also on Durgd saptasatl be identified with the author of the Mandukya-Upanishat-Karika.
11. 3. See Vol. II, Ch, X.
12. 1. For detailed discussion of this problem and references, cf. Mirashi, Kalidasa (in Marathi), Nagpur, 1934, pp. 9-41. For a recent attempt to justify the first century B.C. theory, see Prof. K. M. Shembavanekar, JUD , 1, 4, pp. 232-42. Dr. C. K. Raja denies Kalidasa's association with Vikramaditya and makes him a contemporary of king Agnimitra (IHQ , XVIII. 128).
13. 2. NHIP , VI. p. 405.
14. 3. Oldenberg, however, criticizes it severely. Cf. Die Literatur des altcn Indien, Berlin. 1903, p. 261. AlIC, p. 311.
15. 1. Keith, HSL , 86. 2. Ibid, 86, 87, 92.
16. 307
17. 1. IV. 144.
18. 2. Verse 799.
19. 3. Cf. Kane, KHDS, I. p. 263. But as against this, read Sahkara-Gurukula-Patrika. Vol. II, Part 8; "Problems of identity—Mandanamisra Suresvara" by P. P. S. Sastri, and also his article in Festschrift Kane, pp. 405-7. Keith (SD, p. 187) places Bhavabhuti "somewhere about A.D. 700".

20. 4. Klein, Geschichte des Dramas, III, p. 135; Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 235.
21. 5. Cf. Winternitz, GIL , III, p. 236.
22. 5. See above, p. 260. 2. Verse 777. 3. See p. 5.
23. 4. Cf. Kaumudi-mahotsava (Edited by Sakuntala Rao, Bombay, 1952), pp. 11-12.
24. 5. II. 112. 6. Cf. Keith, HSL, p. 124.
25. 1. Cf. Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p. 156.
26. 2 i.e. Upama, Artha-gaurava, and Pada-lalitya. 3. Keith, HSL, p. 143.
27. 1. Ibid, 176.
28. 2. It may be interesting to note that Jnanananda has expounded this Pataka as conveying erotical as well as philosophical significance.
29. 3. It is doubtful whether this is the work of the famous author of the Nyaytiratarn (last quarter of the seventh century A.D.). This latter has composed thirtytwo stotras each comprising thirty-two stanzas. For this author, his date, etc., see Dr. P. L. Vaidya's Introduction to his edition of the Nyayavatdra.
30. 1. Keith, HSL, p. 268. 2. Cf. Amarakosa, I. vi. 5-6.
31. 3. Cf. his Kdvydlaihkara, I. 25-29.
32. 4. Cf. "Tatkath&khayiketyekd jatih samjnadvaydhkita"-Kdvyddarsa , I. 28a.
33. 5. Cf. Rudrata, Kavyalamkarasutra, XI. 20-27; Sahityadarpana, VI. 332-6.
34. 1. MSS of this commentary have been noticed by Prof. P. K. Gode, ABORI, XVI, pp. 313 f. For Subhuti's date, read his paper in Kuppuswami Sastri Comm. Vol. pp. 47-51. Also see NIA, II, p. 414.
35. 2. R. Sarma (Kalpadrukosa , intr. p. xxv) argues in favour of its being older than Amara.
36. 3. For these in general, see Systems of Sanskrit Grammar by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Poona.
37. 1. See above, p. 26 f. 2. II. 112.
38. 3. One more name may be noted here—Bhlmasena. Prof. Gode has shown that he is earlier than A.D. 600. He is known and widely quoted.—cf NIA II,
39. pp. 108 - 10 .
40. 4. For this section, see Jolly, Medicin, Strassburg, 1901 (Eng. trs. by C. G. Kashikar, Poona, 1951); Zimmer, Hindu Medicine, Baltimore,

1948; Filliozat, La Doctrine Classique de la Medecine Indienee: Ses origines et ses paralleles Grecs. Paris, 1949.

41. 1. HBR, I. 295.
42. 1. For Indian astronomy, cf. Keith, HSL, pp. 516 ff. Also cf. Bharatiya Jyotih
43. Sdstra by S. B. Dikshit, 2nd Edn., Poena, 1931. For Aryabhata and his predecessors, cf. Keith, op. cit, 517 ff, •
44. 2. For the divergent views on the origin of the decimal place-value system, cf. History of Hindu Mathematics by B. Datta and A. Singh (Lahore 1935), and also IHQ, III, 97 ff; 356 ff.
45. 1. Cf. Ch. XX.
46. 1. Apabhramsa-Studien , Leipzig, 1937.
47. 1. Hymns of the Alvars, pp. 64, 69, 87 (Tiruviruttam, 12, 30, 96).
48. 1. cit., p. 51. 2. Op. cit, p. 57.

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2. Ayyar, C. V. Narayana, The Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India.

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CHAPTER XVI

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE

ORGANISATION

I. POLITICAL THEORY

Tne political ideas of the period covered by the present volume are scattered through works belonging to various branches of our ancient literature. These are:—

1. The late metrical Smritis, especially those of Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana,

2. The group of works belonging to the first phase of the extant Purana literature, especially, the Vdyu, the Brahmdnda and the Vishnu PiXrdnas,

3. The writings of Buddhist poets and philosophers such as Aryadeva, Aryasura and Vasubandhu, to which list we may add the name of Buddhaghosa,

4. The works of the poets, dramatists and prose writers belonging to this golden Age of classical Sanskrit literature. In this list may be mentioned the names of Visakhadatta, Kalidasa, Bana and Magha,

5. The works on the technical science of polity represented by one complete specimen, namely the Nitisdra of Kamandaka.

It is impossible to give here a summary even of the principal political ideas of this period. We may consider here four of their branches, namely, (A) Origin of the social and the political order, (B) Law of the social order and the State law, (C) Relation of the temporal ruler to his subjects, and (D) Relation of Politics to Ethics.

A. Origin of the social and the political order

Narada and Brihaspati give us short accounts of the creation of the State and its institutions. When in days of yore, says Narada, the Patriarch Manu exercised sovereignty, the people were wholly devoted to virtue and were speakers of truth, but when virtue (dharma) disappeared among men, law and legal procedure (vyava hdra) were instituted, and the king was created for their administration as well as for wielding the rod of chastisement. We have a shorter version of the above in Brihaspati. This account involves the conception of a primitive State ruled by a Patriarch with highly virtuous subjects and as such without laws, and its transformation because of man's sin into the law-State under a human ruler. In the second place two parallel stories of the creation of the social order are found in the Vdyu and Brahmdnda Purdnas . In the first account we read how human beings were created by Brahma at the beginning of the present creation-period in such a way that they enjoyed complete equality as well as perfect happiness, and how the fall of man led the Gods in their own interest not only to create various crops for their subsistence, but also to divide them into four castes and prescribe their duties and occupations. The second account is practically a supplement of the first. Here we are told how the duties of the castes and the orders as laid down by Brahma in the Vedas and the Smritis were proclaimed by the seven sages at the beginning of the second creation-cycle, and how Manu created two kings when the people neglected their duties and fell into strife. This means that the Society and the State were created by the Divine Being or the semi-divine beings so as to keep pace with man's growing degeneracy and decline. In the third place we have two parallel stories of the evolution of the world and of man and his institutions in Vasuhandhu's Ahhidharmakosa and Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga . These are imperfect visions of the original story occurring in the Pali canon. The accounts tell us how "the beings" at the beginning of the cosmic Age had god-like qualities, and how they were subsequently transformed into humans. When the rice lost its self-ripening quality through their sins, they marked the boundaries of their fields. When theft and other vices appeared in their midst, they created a king who would protect their fields in return for a share of their rice. The above begins with the conception of an original State of Nature with beings enjoying perfect happiness. It then tells us how the institutions of property and the State were created in successive stages because of their growing degeneracy and decline by the processes of Social Contract and Governmental Compact respectively. 1

B. Law of the social order and the State law As regards the branch of social order, the later Smritis repeat and clarify the ideas of Manu and Yajnavalkya about the authority and sources of dharma. We may quote a few typical extracts and views to illustrate this point. No one, says Parasara, ever created the Vedas, but on the contrary the Veda was remembered by Brahma as the Smriti was remembered by Manu at each successive creationperiod [kdla). This involves the novel dogma of periodical procla

Note 1

mation of the Sacred Canon by the gods and sages during successive time-cycles, thus reconciling the old doctrine of eternity of the canon with the Puranic and late Smriti theory of recurrent evolution of the world. Again Brihaspati and Parasara repeat Manu’s dictum (I 85-6) making austerities, knowledge, sacrifice and gifts the duty (dharma) for the Krita, Treta, Dvapara and Kali Ages respectively. What is more, they quote different canonical authorities for the successive Age-Cycles. Dharma, we are further told, is earned in one year, three seasons, three fortnights and one day in Krita, Treta, Dvapara and Kali Ages respectively. Dharma w r as entire in Krita, it was three-fourths in Treta, one-half in Dvapara and one-fourth in Kali. The above extracts introduce us to the doctrine of different authorities and standards of dharma , as well as that of proportionate decline in the quantum of dharma along with proportionate increase in the facility of its acquisition for suiting man’s diminishing capacity during the successive Ages. To turn to another point, what act on being done, says Visvamitra, is approved by the Aryans versed in the canon (dgama) is law (dharma), and what they blame is held to be its opposite. This involves the important principle that enlightened opinion in the final analysis is the criterion of law. 1 To the above we have to add that the Smriti authorities of this period enumerate shorter or longer lists of what are called practices forbidden in the Kali age (KalUvarjya) . Taking the ancient custom of levirate (niyoga) as an example, Brihaspati observes that it cannot be practised by others because of the diminishing potency of the later Ages. Men in the Krita and Treta Ages, the author explains, were endowed with austerities and knowledge, while those in the Dvapara and Kali Ages are lacking in strength. According to an anonymous authority Quoted in Smritichandrikd, the above acts were forbidden for the purpose of protection of the people by men of learning and high character who made a convention (vyavasthcl) to that effect; for as the author remarks with striking boldness, the conventions (samayas) of good men are authoritative like the Vedas. The first extract repeats an old Smriti argument justifying the rejection of palpably immoral ancient practices by the transparent fiction of the superior stamina of the ancients. The second extract involves an original principle namely, that of the binding (almost canonical) authority of conventions of good men abrogating outworn ancient practices in the public interest. 2

Turning to the branch of State Law, we have first to mention that the late Smritis repeat and develop the older ideas of its sources

1. Par. I 20-24, Bri. II 4 &14, Visvamitra quoted in Krtyaratnakara p. 7 (authority and sources of dharma).

2. Bri. II 267-69, Quotation in Smriti-chandrika I pp. 30-31 (Kalivarjyas) , For other refs, see A History of Indian Political Ideas, p. 309.

and their authority. To quote a few typical extracts, Brihaspati bestows high praise upon the king who investigates suits in accordance with the canonical principles. What has been established by themselves, he continues, among the castes born in the wrong order {pratiloma) as well as the residents of inaccessible places, and in regions, castes, families and so forth, must be maintained just as they are; otherwise the subjects would be disaffected, and the people would be alienated and the king’s army as well as revenue would be lost. Persons following a number of very unorthodox practices mentioned by name, the author concludes, do not thereby become liable either for penance or for punishment by the king. Whatever convention, we are told by Katyayana in the same spirit, has been settled in accordance with the consent of the people of a particular region must always be preserved in writing and sealed with the royal seal; it should be sedulously upheld like the dictates of the Sacred Law. According to an anonymous authority, quoted by the commentator on Ndrada-Smriti, usages which are prevalent in different regions and have been handed down from generation to generation must never be overruled by the authority of the canonical texts. 1 In the first extract Brihaspati allows the authority of lav/ to the conventions of disapproved social groups as well as regional and family usages, while he grants complete immunity to people for observance of admittedly heterodox regional customs. In the second extract Katyayana grants the fullest authority of law to the popular and especially the merchants' conventions with adequate provision for their official record. In the last extract the author goes so far as to lay down the doctrine of inviolability of usages irrespectively of the canonical injunctions.

C. Relation of the temporal ruler to his subjects The ideas of the authority and obligation of the temporal ruler in the older Smritis are repeated and developed by their successors. Thus as regards the principle of authority the king is identified with Vishnu by Narada and with Indra by Katyayana. The king's person according to Brihaspati was created by appropriating portions of the lustre of seven deities. The king, says Narada, assumes five divine forms according as he fulfils as many distinctive functions. All creatures, continues Brihaspati in the context from which we have quoted above, yield themselves for enjoyment and swerve not from their duties through fear of the king; in a country without a king the occupations of agriculture, trade and money-lending do not exist, and therefore the king was created in former times as the leader of the castes and the orders. In the result Narada. reflecting the extreme

Note 2

view on this point, requires the subjects to abide by the king's command whether right or wrong and to honour him, even though he should be worthless. 1 In the above extracts the authors develop the king's authority after their predecessors on the triple basis of his origin, his office, and his functions, and they draw from the same the corollary of the subjects' obedience to their ruler.

As regards the complementary principle of the obligation of the temporal ruler towards his subjects, the king is required by Narada to protect all orders in accordance with the canonical rules, while his share of the agricultural produce is explained as his fee (vetana) for the protection of the people. The king, says Katyayana, was created for the three-fold purpose of constant protection of the people, of eradication of thorns and of honouring the Brahmanas. 2

The early Puranas repeat the three-fold basis of the king's authority as well as his obligation both in their formal statements of royal duties and in their stories of individual kings. 3 Special mention may be made in this connection of the Purana stories of the tyrant Vena and his illustrious son and successor Prithu in three more or less parallel versions. 4 We are here told on the one hand that the State of Nature without a king is synonymous with wild anarchy: even the tyrant Vena is said to be gifted with superhuman faculties, while his son Prithu is expressly indicated by his bodily signs to have been a portion of the God Vishnu. On the other hand the exclusive claim of the king to divine honours and to unlimited obedience on the part of his subjects is put into the mouth of Vena only to justify his deposition and death at the hands of the offended sages.

As regards the authors of the technical science of polity, we find in Kamandaka such statements as the following. Protection of the people depends upon the king and their livelihood depends upon protection: without the king the law would disappear and with the disappearance of the law the world would perish. This means that the king's office is the grand safeguard of the people's security as well as stability of the social order after the canonical standards. The author's position is amplified in other extracts. The king who is approved by the aged, we are told, is the cause of prosperity of this world: should the king not be a good guide, the people would suffer complete destruction like a boat without the helmsman: the king who is devoted to righteousness unites himself as well as his

1. Nar. XVIII. 13, 24-29, Kat. v. 8, Bri. I 1, 6-8 (authority of the temporal ruler).

2. Nar. XVIII. 5 & 17 Kat. 15 (obligation of the temporal ruler).

3. Cf. Vdyu 88, 49 and 69 (stories of Kings Kuvalasva and Mandhata Markandsya 27,21-5 (of Queen Madalasa).

4. Vdyu 62, 104-93=Brahm. 68. 104-93 (1st version) Vishnu I 13. 11-87 (2nd version), Bhagavata IV 13. 16-23 (3rd version).

subjects with the three-fold end of life, but he who is otherwise surely destroys both. 1 In other words, while the king with the requisite qualifications is conceived to be capable of ensuring complete security and happiness of the individual and prosperity of the State, the king without these qualifications is held to be the cause of the people's destruction.

The principle of the king’s obligation is dealt with by the Buddhist authors in a more original fashion. As his followers, says the hero of a story in Aryasura’s Jatakamala, being always intent on carrying out his orders have charged him with the burden of rulership, he has undertaken to bear the same with affection fixed on them as on his own sons. The above involves the argument that protection is a ruler's moral obligation towards the ruled in return for their obedience. A more daring line is taken by Aryadeva in his Chatuhsataka. How can you, asks the author addressing an imaginary king, feel pride,-—you who are a mere slave of the multitude (ganaddsa) fed { bhrita) by the one-sixth share (of the crops paid by the subjects)? 2 In the above the author lays down the doctrine of popular sovereignty on the basis of the old Smriti principle of the king's quasi-contractual relation with his subjects.

A few words may be said about the ideas of the masters of classical Sanskrit literature on this subject. The king is declared to be an image of the god Vishnu by Visakhadatta in the concluding verse of his Mudramkshcisa drama. An altogether different view is found in another passage. Some kings being deceived with more than mortal praises by cunning rogues, says a wise minister to a young prince in an extract of Bana’s Kddamhan, consider themselves, though mortals, to be derived from divine particles, and in trying to act like heavenly beings become the objects of ridicule to all men. 3 Here, it will be noticed, the conception of the king’s divinity is held up to scorn as an invention of unscrupulous flatterers for deceiving foolish kings.

D. Relation of Politics to Ethics

The discussion of the relation of Politics to Ethics which is as old as Kautilya’s Arthasdstra and the early Smritis is repeated by the authors of this period. We may begin with a few extracts from the stories in Aryasura’s Jatakamala . The path of virtue (dharma), we read, is lost in “the royal science” (rdjasdstra) through following (the goal of) wealth (artha): that men enter the path made unclean by the deceit associated with statecraft, the cause thereof is verily pleasure (kdma): the practices set forth in “the Kshatriya science” (Kshatravidyd) are contrary to righteousness (dharma) as following the crooked path of statecraft (nlti) and as being soiled by ruthlessness: the lesson of statecraft is that the ministers and others exist for the king’s sake and not vice versa: those skilled in the science of politics declare it to be impolicy (anaya) and calamity (vyasana) for kings to follow righteousness (dharma) which is demonstrably in conflict with wealth (artha) and pleasure (kdma). 1 The above extracts repeat the early Buddhist canonical principle of the fundamental antithesis and in fact antagonism between Politics and Ethics. Politics, it is held, is dominated by the ends of wealth and pleasure in opposition to virtue and in fact is based upon shameless and merciless exploitation of subjects in the ruler’s interest.

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In the second place we may quote an extract from Bana’s famous prose romance the Ktidambdri containing the advice of a wise minister to a prince on the eve of the latter’s consecration. In this extract the minister condemns in the strongest terms those kings for whom the treatise of Kautilya, merciless in the cruelty of his teachings, is an authority and in particular their worship of wealth, their application to the destructive sciences and their policy of exterminating devoted brothers. In the same censure the minister joins the priests habitually practising witchcraft who are the teachers of those kings and the deceitful ministers who are their advisers. It follows from the above that Politics as represented by the great work of Kautilya and as practised by worldly-minded and cruel kings and their hardhearted and tricky advisers, is based upon a creed of gross materialism, heartless cruelty and base superstition. With the above we may compare an epigram of the epic poet Magha identifying Politics with a creed of naked self-interest. Winning success for one’s own self and inflicting injury upon the enemy, in this, he says, lies the double content of statecraft (mti). 2

We may conclude this subject by quoting the views of Kamandaka in his Nitisara. Dealing with the branch of internal administration, he tells us in one place that the king is not tainted with sin for slaying the wicked, and he justifies this not only by the example of sage-like kings, but also on the principle that the good or bad opinion of Aryas versed in the sacred canon is the criterion of dharma (law or righteousness). Again, in the course of his statements on the policy of peace and war the author warns the king against trusting the enemy even after making peace, for did not the god Indra destroy the demon Vritra in the midst of a truce?

Note 6

Note 7

The son as well as his father on the throne, it is further argued, undergoes change (in the normal attitude towards each other), and therefore the behaviour of kings is held to be different from that of ordinary men. The author, moreover, while declaring the king’s selection of the vital policies of honourable and treacherous fighting to be purely a matter of political expediency, justifies the king’s killing his enemy by the example of the Epic hero Asvatthaman. 1 In the above the author develops Kautilya’s policy of sacrifice of morality for political ends in several respects. For he justifies this policy not only by the interests of the king and the community, but also by the broader principle of the characteristic selfishness of human nature and statecraft. What is more, the policy is justified at the bar of morality by the pious examples of gods and heroes. Well may we claim for Kamandaka that he contributed vigorously along with his master Kautilya to that principle of separation of Politics from Ethics which goes back to the early Arthasdstra times. 2

II. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION-—NORTHERN INDIA 1. The Imperial Guptas, their Contemporaries and Successors

The Guptas, whose history has been discussed above, 3 4 discarded the modest title of Raj an (king) which had for the most part contented the indigenous dynasties of earlier times, and adopted the high-sounding style brought into vogue by the foreign rulers of the past. The most characteristic of such titles was mahdrdjddhirdjd adopted by the Guptas from Chandragupta I onwards alike in their inscriptions, coin-legends and seals. The Gupta coins and inscriptions contain several variants of this title such as rdjddhirdja , paramardjddhirdja, rdjddhirdjarshi, and rdjardjadhiraja . 4 To the above, the great Guptas added other epithets claiming for themselves superhuman qualities which raised them almost to the level of the gods. Thus in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription Samudra-gupta is referred to as a god dwelling on the earth, and a mortal only in celebrating the rites of the observances of mankind. In the later genealogical accounts also he is habitually described as "equal to the gods Dhanada (Kubera), Varuna, Indra, and Antaka (Yama)", "who had no antagonist of equal power in the world" and "who was the battle-axe of the god Kritdnta (Yama)"J 5 In the records of North

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Bengal, the Gupta Emperors are given the trilogy of titles (parama daivata paramabhattdraka mahdrdjddhirdja) , which with the slight substitution of paramesvara for pdramadciivata became the distinctive designation of paramount rulers in later times. With the same object of claiming superhuman excellence, the coin-legends of the Gupta Emperors from the time of Samudra-gupta refer to them as having acquired heaven (by good deeds) following their conquest of the earth. 1

Next in rank to the Emperor stood the Crown Prince. The rule of succession in the Gupta Empire was hereditary descent in the male line, such as can be traced back to the Vedic period. But, as we have seen above, 2 the Emperor frequently exercised the right of selecting his heir-apparent.

The Imperial Guptas continued the traditional machinery of bureaucratic administration with nomenclature mostly borrowed or adopted from earlier times. The mantri (High Minister), whose office is known to Kautilya's Arthasdstra, 3 evidently stood at the head of the civil administration. Among other high imperial officers were included the mahdbalddhikrita (commander-in-chief), the mahddandandyaka (general) and the mahdpratlhara (chief doorkeeper, perhaps chief of the palace guards). The mahdbalddhikrita, probably corresponding to the mahasenapati of the Satavahana kings, controlled a staff of subordinate officers like the mahdsvapati (chief officer of cavalry), the bhatdsvapati (officer in charge of the regular cavalry), the mahapilupati (chief officer in charge of elephants), the sendpati, and baladhikrita. The mahddandanayaka, whose office may be traced back to the time of the Kushana emperors and the Ikshvaku kings of the Telugu country, was the controlling authority over the dandanayakas . The mahdpratlhara was similarly in charge of a staff of pratlharas. A high imperial officer, heard of for the first time in the Gupta records, but destined to have a long career, was the sdndhivigrahika (minister of peace and war, or more generally 'foreign minister'). 4

1. Allan, Catalogue, Introduction, cviii f. 2. See p. 7. 3. V. 3.

4. See El, X. 71f. (for mantri and mahdbalddhikrita); Fleet, CII III. 10, Basarh seal No. 17 in Bloch's list and Bhita seal Nos. 32, 43-44, in Marshall's list (for mahddandanayaka); Basarh seal Nos. 16 and 18 in Bloch's list (for mahdpratlhara); Basarh seal No. 18 in Bloch's list (for bhatdsvapati), Basarh seal No. 572D in Spooner's list (for baladhikrita); Bhita seal No. 32 (for mahdsvapati); IHQ, VI. 53f. (for mahdpilupati); Bhita seal No. 31 (for wadpati); ibid Nos. 44-51 (for dandandyaka) ; ibid No. 52 (for pratihdra); CII, III. 10 (for sdndhivigrahika), Mahasenapati of the Satavahana dynasty is mentioned in EJ, VIII, 67, 89; XIV !53f. while mahddandanayaka of the Kushana and Ikshvaku kings is referred to in El, IX. 242; XX. 14-18; XXIV 206. The description of Basarh seals' and sealings (with accompanying lists) by T. Bloch and D. B. Spooner occurs i n.ASI, 1903-4 and 1913-14 respectively, while that of Bhita seals and sealings (with similar lists) by J. H. Marshall occurs in ASI, 1911-12.

A link between the central and the provincial administration of the Imperial Guptas is furnished by the class of officers called kumdrdmdtyas and dyuktas. The amdlyas stand for the general body of officials in the

Arthasastra and the Jatakas, while the dyuktas (or dyuktakas) may be traced back to the yutas of the Asokan inscriptions and the yuktas of the Arthasastra. Out of the class of amdtyas the Guptas created a new order (or rank) called kumdrdrndtya to which belonged not only high imperial officers, but also officers on the personal staff of the Emperor, the Crown Prince and others as well as those in charge of districts. 1 Similarly the dyuktas (or dyuktakas) of the Gupta Empire are entrusted sometimes with the task of restoring the wealth of kings conquered by the Emperor 2 and sometimes placed in charge of districts or metropolitan towns. 3

In the branch of provincial administration the Guptas followed the older models, but with a changed official nomenclature and with some daring improvements. The provinces called bhuktis were usually governed by officers called uparikas and sometimes by princes of the royal blood with the title mahdrdjaputra devabhattd -• raka. The uparikas represented the prddesikas of Asoka’s Empire and the amdtyas at the provincial headquarters in the Satavahana administration, while the mahdrdjaputra devabhattdraka had his prototype in the kumdra viceroys of Asoka’s times. The province (bhukti) was often divided into districts usually called vishayas, which were ruled by officers called kumdrdmdtyas, dyuktakas or vishayapatisA It is characteristic of the policy of administrative decentralisation followed by the Gupta Emperors that the district officer (in the North Bengal inscriptions of this period) is habitually said to be nominated by the provincial governor, though this statement is naturally lacking where there is no mention of either of these officers.

From the series of North Bengal inscriptions just mentioned, we learn that the essential business in connection with the sale of government lands was sometimes carried out by the kumdrdrndtya (or the dyuktaka or the vishayapati or the prince-viceroy) in cooperation with the Municipal Board (adhishthd.yiddhikarana), and sometimes by the kumdrdrndtya wdth the District Office (vishayddhi

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Cf. CIL III. 10. El, 71f, XV. 130f, XXI. 81f; Basarh seals Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 20, 22 in Bloch’s list (for kumdrdrndtya); El, XV. 138, XX. 1 (for dyuktakas). On the significance of the titles mahddandandyaka and kumdrdrndtya . see the work Studies in Indian History and Culture by the present writer. Ch. XIII,

pp. 445 ff.

CIl, HI. 8. 3. El, XV. 138; XX. 61.

For references to uparikas (in charge of bhuktis) and ri.-hayapatis. etc., (in charge of vishayas) under the Imperial Guptas see El, XV. L30f; XVII, 1301, 347; XX, 61/; XXI, 8/. The uparika of TIrabhukti had his own office (adhikarana) commemorated in Basarh seal No. 20 in Bloch’s list.

karana), and at other times by the ashtakuladhikarana with the village headman (grdmika), the householders (kutumbins), and so forth. The Municipal Board in the complete examples is said to consist principally of four members, namely the Guild-President (nagarasreshthi) , the chief merchant (sdrthavdha) , the chief artisan (prathamakulika) and the chief scribe (prathamakdyastha)J The precise significance of ashtakuladhikarana is unknown, but in one example it is said to be headed by the village elders (rnahattaras), and we may take it generally to mean the Rural Board. Whatever that may be, the above records point to the association of popular representatives with the district as well as town and village administration. In particular, there is reason to think that the members of the Municipal Board other than the chief scribe were the representatives (perhaps even the Presidents) of the guilds of sreshthls, sarthavdhas, and kulikas such as are known to have flourished in North Bihar at this period. In this association of the popular element with local government we may recognise one of the boldest administrative experiments of the Imperial Guptas. We have unfortunately no detailed knowledge of the working of local administration in other provinces of the Gupta Empire. But the references to the tirakiimdrdmdtyddhikarana and vaisdlyddhishthdnddhikarana in the legends of seals recovered from the site of ancient Vaisall 2 probably indicate that the District and Municipal Boards were also functioning in North Bihar under the Guptas. On the analogy of the constitution of the Municipal Board in North Bengal, we may also surmise that its sister institution in

North Bihar consisted of representatives of the guilds of sreshthls, sarthavdhas and kulikas.

With politic generosity and in accordance with the best traditions of imperial policy laid down in the text-books, the Guptas left a number of conquered states (monarchies as well as republics) in a position of subordinate independence. We have a long list of frontier kings (pratyantanripatis) and republican peoples brought within the orbit of dependence by the victorious arms of Samudragupta. 3 In later times the so-called Parivrajaka-maharajas, 4 ruling in the modern Baghelkhand region, habitually issued their landgrants “during the enjoyment of sovereignty by the Gupta Emperors”. The status of the feudatories probably varied according to their relative strength in comparison with that of the paramount power. Under the vigorous rule of Samudra-gupta it is likely enough that the frontier kings had no other choice than to pay tribute to the Emperor, to render him general obedience and to attend his court

1. See the references under f.n. 1, p. 344 above.

2. Basarh seals Nos. 22 and 25 in Bloch’s list.

3. See above, pp. 8 ff. 4. See above, p. 30.

for offering homage. On the other hand it is remarkable that the Parivrajaka-??iaharajas are completely silent in their records about the name of the reigning Emperor, 1 while some other feudatories 2 do not even refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas in their official

records.

We have a glimpse of the general characteristics and tendencies of the Gupta imperial administration in the valuable, though brief, account of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien 3 who visited Northern India during the reign of Chandra-gupta II. We learn from him how the strong arm of the Guptas was sufficient to establish such peace and order throughout “the Middle Kingdom” that a solitary pilgrim from abroad had no reason to complain of molestation by robbers. It was the imperishable glory of these Emperors that they gave their subjects the benefits of "Gupta Peace" without having recourse to those harsh methods of police control and criminal justice that had disfigured, for instance, the administration of the Mauryas. Introducing his account of "the Middle Kingdom" to which we have referred above, Fa-hien observes: "They have not to register their households or attend to any magistrates and their rules . . . If they want to go, they go: if they want to stay, they stay." And again, "The king governs without decapitation or other corporal punishment. Criminals are simply fined lightly or heavily according to the circumstances of each case." When we remember the immemorial tradition of espionage and of deterrent punishments for crimes in this country, we cannot but regard the administration of the Guptas as marking a new era of humanitarian reform in the penal law of Ancient India. Other features of the Gupta administration are reflected in the account of Fa-hien from which we have just quoted. "The king's bodyguards and attendants", he says, "all have regular salaries". This proves that the Imperial Guptas followed the wise policy of the Mauryas in paying fixed salaries to their troops. Other aspects of Gupta administration may be gleaned from later records. From the Girnar rock inscription of Skanda-gupta we learn that when the ancient Sudarsana lake, excavated by Chandragupta Maurya's governor and reconstructed by Asoka's officer, burst its embankment in A.D. 455, it was equipped with a great masonry dam by Chakrapalita, the governor in charge of the chief city of Surashtra. The munificence of the Imperial Guptas in the cause of learning and religion is proved by the foundation of a number of monasteries at Nalanda by a succession of rulers and princes of this line. 4

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The result of the beneficent administration of the Gupta Emperors was revealed in the prosperous condition of the people under their rule. We have Fa-hien's invaluable testimony to the effect that the people of the Middle Kingdom were "numerous and happy". Certain parts of the Empire, specially Magadha and Sahkasya, enjoyed exceptional prosperity. Not without reason did the Imperial Guptas pride themselves in their records on their benevolence towards the needy and the afflicted as well as their success in elevating the moral and material standards of their subjects. 1

The decline and fall of the Gupta Empire were followed by the rise of new powers, none of which, however, succeeded in building up a lasting Empire. These powers, in general, continued the old administrative traditions of the Guptas. The Huna Toramana 2 who assumed the title of mahdrdjddhirdja, had under him a viceroy called Dhanyavishnu ruling the Airikina vishaya (modern Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh). From the fact that Maharaja Matrivishnu, elder brother of this Dhanyavishnu, is known to have exercised his authority under a Gupta provincial governor in charge of the tract between the Yamuna and the Narmada, 3 we can conclude that even the ferocious Huna conquerors sometimes left intact not only the old system of provincial administration, but also the ancient official families. A record of king Vishnuvardhana 4 who ruled Western Malwa with the title of rdjddhirdja pmamesvara mentions a certain Abhayadatta, who as rdjasihdnlya (viceroy) governed the tract bounded by the (Eastern) Vindhyas, the Pariyatra (Western Vindhyas) and the ocean. Abhayadatta was assisted in the administration of his many districts (desas) by his own ministers (sachivas) . It thus appears that like the Gupta provincial governors in North. Bengal, the governor of Vishnuvardhana was at liberty to select his own subordinates in charge of districts. 5

Among the minor dynasties of the period following the downfall of the Imperial Guptas may be mentioned that of the Maitrakas of ValabhL 6 Beginning with the modest titles of high functionaries of the Gupta Empire, the Maitrakas latterly assumed full imperial titles. The administration of the Maitrakas, while evincing the

1. Compare the description of Samudra-gupta (C/I, III. 8) and that of Skandagupta (ibid. 59).

2. CII ; III. 159f; Sel. Ins. 396-7. See above, pp. 35 ff.

3. CII, III. 89; Sel. Ins., 327; cf. above, p. 31.

4. CII, III. 152 ff; Sel. Ins., 386-92. For Vishnuvardhana alias Yasodharman, see above, pp. 39 ff.

5. The explanation of rdjasthdniya as viceroy suggested by Biihler (IA, V. 207) on the authority of Kshemendra's Lokaprakasa is supported in the present context by the reference to numerous desas ruled by Abhayadatta through his own 'ministers'. Less probable explanations are 'Foreign Secretary' (Tripath 1, History of Kanauj, 138) and 'Political Agent' (Pires, The Maukharis, 170).

6. See pp. 60 ff.

general characteristics of other Indian Governments of this period, had some distinctive features. Among the officers of the central government 1 mentioned by name in their records are included a divirapati (sometimes with the addition of the titles sandhivigrahddhikrita mahdsdmanta) , a mahasandhivigrahdkshapatalddhipati and a pramdtri, Again, the list of officials specified in the formula of the Maitraka land-grants includes dyuktakas, kumaramdtyas, drdngikas, dhruvadhikaranikas, chauroddharanikas, dandapdsikas, rdjasthdnl yas } and anutpannaddna-samudgrdhakas. It is easy to recognise in the sdndhivigrahikas of the above list officers of the same name in the Gupta records. The divirapati, as the name shows, was the head of the diviras (clerks), an office which may be traced back to a record of the Uchchakalpa Maharaja Jayanatha 2 dated A.D. 496. The dyuktakas and kumdrdmdtyas are well-known names of executive officers of the central as well as local administration dating from Gupta times. Equally well known were the drdngikas, i.e. commanders of military outposts, the chauroddharanikas and the dandapdsikas who were police officers, and the rdjasthdhlyas who were probably viceroys. Among new names are those of pramdtris probably meaning officers connected with the department of land survey, dhruvadhikaranikas apparently signifying officers charged with supervision of revenue from farmers and the anutpannaddnasamudgrahakas who were probably charged with forcible collection of the so-called voluntary gifts from the subjects. 3 It would seem from the above that the central government of the Maitrakas was sufficiently organised to include the offices of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chief Secretary and Chief Accountant besides officers in charge of police and revenue departments. A regular organisation of provincial administration under the Maitrakas is suggested by the location of the donated lands in specified pethas (or sthalls) comprised in vishayas (or dharanis or pravesyas) , which were themselves included in bhuktis. But we have no mention of the officers in charge of these districts and divisions. The high prosperity of the kingdom under the rule of the Maitrakas is testified to by Hiuen Tsang who observes that “it was very rich and prosperous”.

2. Harsha, his Contemporaries and Successors

In the first half of the seventh century A.D. king Harshavardhana of the ruling house of Thaneswar made himself the strong

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est power in Northern India by his successful wars and conquests. 1 He assumed (as his father and grandfather had already done on hardly sufficient grounds) the imperial title of paramabhattaraka maharajadhiraja. To judge from the extent of Harsha’s empire and the size of his forces, his administration must have been highly organised, but we have few details of the same. Describing the incidents preceding Harsha’s accession, Hiuen Tsang tells us how immediately after Rajya-vardhana’s murder “the statesmen of Kanauj”, acting in accordance with the advice of “their leading man Bani (Bhandi?)”, invited Harsha to ascend the throne, and how this request was pressed by “the ministers of state”. This seems to refer to a smaller and a larger State council functioning at the beginning of the reign. Among the high imperial officers of Harsha’s court mentioned in the Harsha-charita are a mahdsandhivigrahddhikrita, a mahabaladhikrita, and a mahapratihara, while officers of lesser importance mentioned in the same work are the sendpati (general), the brihadasvavdra (chief cavalry officer), the katuka (probably meaning an officer entrusted with the administration of criminal justice), 2 and a grdmdkshapatalika (village notary). Harsha’s own land-grants refer to a mahdkshapatalddhikaranadhikritasdmantamaharaja and a mahdkshapatalika-sdmantamahdrdja as writers of the charters and a mahdpramdtdra-mahdsdmanta as the executor (dutaka) of the grants. 3 In the above the mahdsandhivigrahddhikrita, the mahdbalddhikrita, and the mahapratihara, already known from earlier times, mean respectively the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Commander-in-Chief, and probably the chief of the palace guards. The mahdkshapatalika was the Head of the Accounts Office, the office of akshapatala being known from the time of Kautilya's Arthaisastra. The mahdpramdtdra was evidently the head of the pramdtris, an office which we have traced back to the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The title mahdsdmanta (or sdmantamahdrdja) attached to some of these offices would seem to indicate that Harsha utilised the services of his feudatories for the direct administration of his empire. The offices of the sendpati and the brihadasvavdra point to the organisation of the army under different commands. In the branch of provincial administration we find from the description of the donated lands in Harsha's inscriptions that his kingdom was divided into bhuktis (provinces) sub-divided into vishayas (districts). Various officers of the local administration bearing the titles bhogapati, ayuktaka, and pratipdlakapurushas are

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referred to in a passage of the Havsha-charita . 1 This would suggest an official-ridden village administration at that time. Another officer mentioned in the Harsha-charita is the grdmdkshapatalika whose title points to a regular arrangement for maintaining the village accounts. We have an insight into the general character and tendencies of Harsha's administration in the contemporary, if somewhat partial, accounts of Hiuen Tsang and Bana. Harsha's strong love of justice, his unremitting industry, and the benevolence of his rule are strikingly brought out by the Chinese pilgrim in the following words: 2 "He (Harsha) was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forgot sleep and food in his devotion to good works . . . The king's day was divided into three periods of which one was given up to affairs of state and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him".

In another context the Chinese pilgrim says of Harsha that he was "virtuous and patriotic" and "all people celebrated his praises in songs". Illustrating the king's solicitude for the good government of his kingdom, Hiuen Tsang says that he made tours of inspection throughout his dominions, not residing long at any one place and not going abroad during the three months of the rainy season. With all his vigilance, however, Harsha was unable to ensure such complete peace and security as had been achieved by the Imperial Guptas. When going down the Gahga with about eighty other fellow T -passengers on board a vessel to the east of Ayodhya, Hiuen Tsang had the misfortune of being captured by a band of pirates from whose hands he could save himself only by the miraculous rise of a storm. In the course of the account from which we have quoted above, Hiuen Tsang refers to Harsha's building rest-houses for travellers throughout his dominions besides his erection of numerous stupas and Buddhist monasteries. One of the most famous of these monasteries must have been the one built by Harsha at Nalanda which, according to Hiuen Tsang's account, was covered with brass-plates and was about one hundred feet in height. The most impressive exhibition of Harsha's benign rule is to be found in his series of quinquennial assemblies at Prayaga for the distribution of all his accumulated treasures, the sixth and last of these being witnessed and described by Hiuen Tsang.

Among the contemporaries of Harsha none was more remarkable than Bhaskara-varman, the able and fortunate king of Kamarupa. 3 In the list of officials mentioned by name in his inscription 4 are

Note 23

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included an djndsatam-prdpayitd (an officer charged with carrying the king's orders into effect), a slmdpraddtd (the officer for fixing the boundaries of the donated lands), a nydyakaranika (a judicial officer), a kdyastha (scribe), a sdsayitd (officer entrusted with execution of the charter), a bhdnddgdrddhikrita (superintendent of stores), and an utkhetayita (officer in charge of the collection of taxes?). The description of the donated lands as lying within the limits of Chandrapur! vishaya (district) and the mention of the officer (ndyaka) in charge of the same in the record just mentioned, point to the usual administrative division of the kingdom into districts. The reference to the vishayapati and the adhikarana as receiving communication of the king's grant suggests the association of the district officer with the District (or Municipal) Board**-of the kind existing in North Bengal under the Imperial Guptas.

We have a connected account of the system of public administration prevailing in India in Harsha's time from the pen of the illustrious Hiuen Tsang, who visited almost every part of the subcontinent except the extreme south between A.D. 630 and 644. Introducing his general description of India, Hiuen Tsang observes that the country was politically divided into about seventy kingdoms. Evidently, then, in spite of the rise of great Empires like those of Harsha in the North and of Pulakesin II in the Deccan, the country was far from being politically united. The Kshatriyas in Hiuen Tsang's time were traditionally held to have exercised the ruling power for centuries, the few instances to the contrary being explicitly declared to have been caused by breaches of the constitutional law. The aims of the Kshatriyas, again, were ‘‘benevolence and mercy”. In judicial administration the standard of criminal law reform set up by the Imperial Guptas was evidently maintained, if not in its fulness, at least to a great extent. For violations of the statute law and plots against the king, the offender was imprisoned for life, and though not suffering any corporal punishment was “not treated as a member of the community”. The law of treason in the seventh century was evidently more severe than in Gupta times, when according to Fa-hien, the penalty even for “a second attempt at rebellion” was only the loss of the right hand. For breach of social morality and filial duty, Hiuen Tsang continues, the penalty was mutilation or exile—a punishment which strikes one as unduly severe. For the remaining offences, the penalty was only a moneypayment. In the branch of finance, Hiuen Tsang was impressed with the moderation of the State demand and the absence of vexatious restrictions against the liberty of the subject, from which resulted a complete security of property. He writes: “As the government is generous, official requirements are few. Families are not registered, and individuals are not subject to forced labour contributions”. Again he says: “Taxation being light and forced labour being sparingly used, every man keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony”. Hiuen Tsang’s detailed reference to the condition of different parts of the country at this period may be taken to be a general comment on his description of Indian administration given above. From his account it appears that while certain areas like West Gandhara and the tract stretching from SravastI to Kapilavastu lay desolate, other regions like Kanyakubja, Varanasi, Chan-Chu (probably Ghazipur District), Pundravardhana and Karnasuvarna (most of which, it will be noticed, lay within the limits of Harsha’s empire) enjoyed high prosperity.

In the last quarter of the seventh and first half of the eighth century A.D. Magadha rose to a position of imperial greatness under the Later Guptas of Magadha. 1 From Adityasena to Jivitagupta II we find four generations of these kings assuming the usual imperial title. Corresponding to this title of the kings was the title paramabhattdrikd mahddevl borne by their queens. We have no direct reference to the king’s functions in these records, but no doubt he enjoyed the traditional headship of the civil and military administration. 2 The list of officials mentioned in the inscription of Jlvitagupta II includes dutas (ambassadors), simdkarmakaras (makers of boundaries) and other well-known designations. References to bhukti and vishaya also point to the continuance of the Gupta administrative nomenclature for provinces and districts.

III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION—SOUTHERN INDIA

1. The Dynasties of the Deccan

In the region of Vidarbha (Berar and the adjoining tracts) the illustrious house of the Vakatakas rose to power as early as the second half of the third century A.D. and their rule lasted almost down to the middle of the sixth. 3 The administration of these kings presents some striking features. Pravarasena I assumed the title of dharmamahdrdja which was justified by his performance of numerous Vedic sacrifices including the Asvamedha. His example was followed by his son and grandson. Pravarasena I also assumed the title of samrat (emperor), while his successors were content with the modest title of maharaja . We have an instance of a Queen Dowager (Prabhavatl-gupta) acting as Regent for her minor son.

1. See pp. 126 ff.

2. Pires's statement (The Maukharis, 169) that the powers of legislation were deposited in the king is wholly unwarranted and contrary to all that we know of ancient Indian kingship.

3. See above, pp. 178 ff.

Among officers of the central government of the Vakatakas we find names of the sendpati (general) and the rdjyddhikrita (Chief Minister?), the former being habitually described as writing the charters of the land-grants. The solicitude of these kings for official precedent is proved by a clause uniformly found in their land-grants, namely that the immunities allowed to the donees were such as had been approved by former kings. How much the Vakatakas prided themselves on their right of hereditary descent is illustrated by the striking legend on their seals, namely, that their royalty was obtained in course of succession. The area of the donated land, given according to 'the royal measure' in one of their records 1 , probably hints at the introduction of an official standard of measurement for land-revenue assessment. The strict control the Vakatakas maintained over their charitable endowments is illustrated by a clause in the same record by which the king, while granting a village and adjoining lands to a group of one thousand Brahman^s, expressly reserved for himself the right of resuming the grant if the donees were to commit certain serious offences.

The administration of the Imperial Chalukyas of VatapI, while partaking of the general characteristics of the governments of this period, was marked by some striking features. The later kings of this line assumed the imperial titles of paramesvara (or rdjddhirdja paramesvara), maharaja 9 and sometimes the still more ambitious style of mahdrdjddhirdja paramesvara paramabhattdraka. Among the officers of their central government is mentioned the mahdsdndhivigrahika —a title traceable to the simpler sandhivig'rahika of the Imperial Guptas. The list of informants in the formula of the Chalukya land-grants includes the vishayapati (District-Officer), the grdmakuta (village head-man), and the mahattarddhikdrins who probably represented the executive body of the assembly of mahattaras (leading householders of the village). A sadly mutilated inscription dated A.D. 725 records the grant of a constitution by the Crown Prince Vikramaditya in favour of the mahajanas and the nagdras as well as the eighteen prakritis of a certain town. 2 Probably other towns similarly enjoyed charters of liberties granted by the Crown (or the Crown representative). The record just mentioned not only describes the duties of royal officers in detail, but also specifies the taxes and other charges (in cash as well as in kind) payable by every household to the State and to the guild of oilmen. The care with which local taxes were assessed at this period is proved by the fact that the charges above-mentioned are prescribed

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on a graduated scale according as the householders are of the highest, the intermediate or the lowest degrees.

2. The Dynasties of the Telugu, Tamil and Kannada tracts .

The administrative organisation of the dynasties that rose to power in South India after the downfall of the Satavahanas was essentially of the same type as that of their North Indian contemporaries, but it had some distinctive features. While the kings of the Brihatphalayana, Salahkayana, and Vishnukundin dynasties 1 were content with the title of raja and maharaja, some Early Paliava kings 2 chose to call themselves dharmamahdrdjddhirdja (or dharmamahdrdja) indicative of their Brahmanical orthodoxy. Next in importance to the king stood, as in North India, the Crown Prince. Under the Early Paliava kings the Crown Prince (called yuvamahardja) and even his wife had sufficiently high status to make grants of land on their own authority, and issue orders to the State officers to this effect. 3 It is probable that in these cases the Crown Prince at the time of the grant was acting as Regent on behalf of the reigning sovereign. Among higher officers of State are mentioned by name a mahddandandyaka (commander-in-chief) in an inscription of the

Salahkayana Nandi-varman. In the list of officials receiving information of the king’s land-grants, the records of the Salahkayanas include desddhipatis, vishayapatis and ayuktakas besides the indefinite rajapurushas , while a record of the Vishnukundin Madhava-varman I mentions vishayamahattaras and adhikdrapurushas. In the same context the inscriptions of the Early Pallavas refer to adhikritas, dyuktas, adhyakshas, sdsanasahchdrins (messengers) and naiyogikas . The longest list is preserved in an inscription of the Paliava Sivaskanda-varman. 4 The list comprises, besides the rdjakumdras (princes), the sendpati (general), the rashtrikas (governors of districts?), the desadhikritas, the gramabhojakas (village free-holders?), the amdtyas , the arakshadhikritas (guards), the gaulmikas (chiefs of military outposts), the tairthikas (overseers of fords), the naiyogikas, the bhatamanushyas (soldiers), and the sancharantakas (spies). In the above lists some of the titles like dyuktas, adhyakshas, naiyogikas and amdtyas, evidently belong to the officers of the central as well as local governments. 5 On the other hand, the desddhipatis (or desadhikritas) and vishayapatis (or rashtrikas) would seem to represent officers in charge of provinces (desas) and districts respectively. Actually the districts are called dharas in the records of the Brihatphalayanas, vishayas in

1. See Ch. XI. 3. EI. VI. 86f; VII. 145f.

2. See Ch. XIII. 4. EI, I. 5f.

5. By way of illustration it may be pointed out that a Paliava record (El. VIII. 143f)

refers to dyuktas belonging to a village.

those of the Salankayanas, and rdshtras in those of the Early Fallavas. Again, sometimes a vyaprita is stated, as in the records of the Satavahanas, as holding charge at the provincial headquarters . 1 The vishayamahattaras , now mentioned apparently for the first time in the records of South India, would appear to signify the elders of the district, but their precise constitution and functions are unknown. The reference to the mutuda (with variants) in the records of the Salankayanas points to the continuity of the village administration under the traditional headman. The administration of the Kadambas 2 was of the usual type known to this period. The kings occasionally adopted the title of dharmamahdraja (or the more ambitious dharmamahdrdjddhirdja) , no doubt after the example of the Fallava kings just mentioned. Among the officers of the central government are mentioned the sendpati (general) and the rahasyddhi krita. Reference is also made to yuktas who were, as we have seen, members of the central as well as the local government . 3 The provinces were called vishayas. A measure of hscal reform, namely the use of the royal measure (rajamana) for land-survey, is suggested by the description of the land granted by some of the records.

Note 29

Note 30

CHAPTER XVII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Nar. Introd. p. 2, Bri. I 1.1 (stories of creation of the State)—Vdyu VIII 1-171. BroJim. VIII 1-172, Vdyu V 7-8 —Brahm. 62 (stories of creation of the social order). Vasubandhu's Ahhidharmakosa III 98, Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagqa Chap. XIII ^stories of evolution of the world). For the original version see Dlgha Nikaya Vol. Ill, pp. 84-95.
2. 1. Bri I 1. 126-31, Kat. vv. 46, 50, Asahaya's commy. on Nar., Introd. 37 (authority and sources of the State Law).
3. 1. Nitis&ra I. 9-17, II 34.
4. 2. Jatakamala, verse 15, Chatuhsataka V 77.
5. 3. Mudrarakshasa VII i9, Kadamhari, pp. 177-78.
6. 1. Jatakamala IX verse 10, XIX verse 27, XXIII 21. XXVII verse 17, XXXI. For earlier refs, see A History of Indian Political Ideas, pp. 49, 150-53.
7. -2. Kdd. pp. 177-78, Sisupalavadha II 30.
8. 1. Nltisdra IX 5-7, XIV 54-5, XXXI 54 and 71.
9. 2. For a complete account of the subject-matter of this chapter (with full refs.) see Part V Chaps. XVII-XXII of the author's work A History of Indian Political Ideas, Bombay, 1959.
10. 3. See Chs. I-VI.
11. 4. For variants see Allan, Catalogue, Introduction , cxi, cxv; CII, III. 35, 59; EL XXI. 8f.
12. 5. Allahabad pillar inscription (CII, III. 8). cf. also ibid, pp. 26, 43, 53.
13. 1. See above, p. 30.
14. 2. See pp. 2.0 ff.
15. 3. Fa-hien, tr. by Legge, pp. 42-43, 52, 79.
16. 4. HTW, II. 164-65.
17. 1. For the titles of officers and administrative divisions of the Maitrakas mentioned below, cf. El, I. 87; VIII, 108; XI. 81f, 104f, 174f; XVI. 17f; XVII. 105f; XXI. 179f; XXII. 114f, 164f; CII , III. 166; IA, XV. 186f.
18. 2. See p. 30.
19. 3. Pramdtri has also been taken to mean 'spiritual counsellor' (Biihler, El, I. 118) and 'judge' (Tripathi History of Kanauj, 140). On

dhruvddhikaranika and anutpannadana-samudgrahaka, see Hindu Revenue System, 221-222.

20. 1. See Ch. IX.
21. 2. On the significance of katuka see Studies in Indian History and Culture, 453.
22. 3. El, I. 67f; IV. 208f.
23. 1. Harsha-charita, tr. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 206.
24. 2. For the quotations from Chinese authorities in this section cf. HTW, I 140 168-177, 199, 340f, 364; II. 164-65, 246; Beal, Life, pp. 83, 86-9, 184-7.
25. 3. See pp. 139 ff.
26. 4. El, XII. 65; XIX. 118f.
27. 1. Cll, III. 236f.
28. 2. EL XIV. 190f. Barnett translates mahajanas. naqaras, and prakritis respectively as ‘Brahmana house-holders’, ‘burgesses’, and ‘classes of subjects’.
29. 1. El, VI. 86f. 2. See Ch. XIII.
30. 3. See JA. VII, 37-38; XVI, 264, etc. for references to Kadamba dharmamaharajas and dharmamahdrdjadhirajas; JA, VI, 24; VII. 37-38; El, VI 14 for references to sendpati and rahasyddhikrita of the Kadambas.

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS 1

In the history of Ancient Indian jurisprudence the period extending from the beginning of the fourth to the middle of the eighth century after Christ is of high significance. On the one hand it saw in the last metrical Smritis the close of that long line of authorities on the Sacred Law which goes back to the Aphorisms of Gautama and Vasishtha, perhaps a thousand years earlier. On the other hand it witnessed in Asahaya's commentary on Narada-smriti the dim beginnings of that line of Smriti commentators which was to reach its climax in the following centuries. We may describe the change by stating that the constructive phase of Hindu Law was passing away and its critical phase was about to begin.

The three great works of this period which form, as has been well observed, "a triumvirate in the realm of Hindu Law and procedure" are the Smritis of Brihaspati, Narada and Katyayana. Among these Narada's work alone has come to us in its complete form, while the rest have been compiled by scholars piecing together the quotations in later works. To the latter category belong likewise the Smritis of Vyasa, Parasara and others. We may broadly trace the development of Law and Legal institutions in these works under three heads, viz.

1. Courts of Justice.

2. Judicial procedure.

3. Civil and Criminal Law in some select branches.

1. Courts of Justice

The king's court, which was the highest in the land, is called by such names as sabha, dharmasthana, and dharmadhikarana ("the Hall of Justice"). We have a full account of its constitution in Katyayana who requires the king in one place to decide suits in association with learned Brahmanas, elders, and ministers well-versed in statecraft, and in another place to do so in the company of the judge, the ministers, the Brahmanas, the Purohita and the assessors. The complete apparatus of the sabhd consisting of "ten limbs" is described by Brihaspati. In this list are included the king, the chief judge, the assessors, the accountant, the scribe and the bailiff. "The chief judge", it is explained, "declares the law, the king awards the punishment, the assessors examine the dispute, the accountant counts the wealth or subject-matter of the dispute, the scribe writes down the pleadings, depositions and decisions, and the bailiff summons the defendant, the witnesses and the assessors." Vyasa describes the paraphernalia of the king's court as consisting of the Brahmanas, the ministers, the judge, the accountant, the scribe, the bailiff, the arranger of seats and the assessors. In the above it will be noticed, the king, the judge and the assessors as well as the Brahmanas constitute the king's court, while the rest are the court's assistants and nothing more. The position of the learned Brahmanas, whether they are or are not appointed by the king, is that they are entitled to state their view of the suit. Katyayana introduces an additional feature by stating that the court should consist of assessors and learned Brahmanas as well as a few merchants, these last being entitled (no doubt in mercantile bases) to listen to the cause and take part in ihe administration of justice. The king, says Narada, ia to abide by the decision of the judge, while Katyayana solemnly impresses upon the sabhyas the obligation of giving a just decision and even of persuading the king to desist from a wrong decision. In the spirit of their predecessors the late Smritis impose moral and spiritual as well as legal sanctions for purity of the administration of justice. The sin for unjust decision, we are told, is shared in equal proportions by the litigant, the witnesses, the assessors and the king. By contrast Katyayana assures immunity from sin to the assessors who administer justice in accordance with the law. Of the legal sanctions

1. For an exhaustive description of the system of law and legal institutions in the literature of the Smritis with complete references see KHDS Vol. Ill, Section Vyavahara (ibid Chapters XI-XXXI). The quotations in this chapter are from the same work.

imposed by our authors on the judge and assessors it will be convenient to speak in another place.

The State courts are divided by Brihaspati into four categories, namely those fixed in one place, those which are peripatetic, the officers appointed by the king and using the king's seal and the king himself. A complete list of courts in an ascending order is given by Narada. This consists of the kulas ('village councils'), the srenls ('corporations'), the ganas, a person appointed by the king, and the king himself. In the above list, it will be noticed, the first three are practically arbitration courts, and the last two alone are State Courts. 1

2. Judicial Procedure

From the point of view of judicial procedure this period marks the climax of Hindu jurisprudence. In the first place the transac

1. Kat. vv. 55-59, Vyasa vv. 4-5 (constitution of the king's court). Bri. p. 9, vv. 57-58 (4 kinds of sabha). Bri. p. 74 v. 87—p. 75 v. 90 (functions of 'limbs' of sabhd). Kat. 71-81 (duties of sabhyas). The terms in the original are prddvivdka ('judge'), sabhya ('assessor'), ganaka ('accountant'), hkhaka ('scribe') and svapurusha or sddhyapdla (bailiff).

tion of legal business has, according to Narada, four stages. These are "receiving information from a person, then finding out under what title of law the information falls, the consideration of the pleadings of the parties and the evidence, and lastly the decision. 5 ' According to the alternative view of Brihaspati the four stages of legal proceedings are the plaint, the reply, adducing of evidence and the decision. Vyasa mentions the successive stages of a judicial trial as consisting of the plaint, the answer, the arrest before judgment, the evidence and the judgment. 1

Beginning with the plaint Katyayana requires that 'the litigant appearing before the judge should be interrogated about the nature of the dispute or of the injury received: the judge after considering the reply along with the assessors and the Brahmanas should deliver the sealed order ("seal") to the plaintiff, or else order the bailiffs to summon the defendant, if he thinks that the suit is maintainable in law. The plaint is to be written as a draft on the ground or on a board and after amendments, if any, the final plaint is to be written down on leaf or on paper'. The plaint, continues the same authority, should have the qualities of precision, consistency and so forth: a plaint which is opposed to public policy or contains a mixture of several titles of lav/ or is indefinite, is to be rejected. Wilful disregard of the summons by the defendant is punishable with fines proportionate to the gravity of the offence. But, as Narada observes, various classes of persons (including one who is diseased and a woman of good family or of reduced circumstances) as well as persons in special circumstances (including cowherds at the grazing season, cultivators at the sowing season and artisans engaged at work) are exempted from personal attendance. The parties, says Katyayana, may be represented by recognized agents or relatives, but no representation is allowed in the case of a number of serious offences. The plaintiff, according to Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana, might keep the defendant under restraint by a process of law called dsedha till the arrival of the king's bailiff. At the beginning of the suit, according to Katyayana, sureties should be taken from each party for the satisfaction of the judgment. According to the same authority one carrying on a litigation in the absence of close relationship to or of special appointment by the party is to be punished. 2

1. Nar. Introd. I 36 (4 stages of legal proceedings). Bri. p. 28 vv. 1-3 (4 stages). Vyasa (5 stages). The terms in the original are agama vyavahdrapada chikitsd and nirnaya (Nar); bhdshdpdda uttarapada kriydpada and pratydkalita or nirnaya (Bri. in Aparарka and in G. O. S. edition p. 29) purvapaksha ut tara pratydkalita and kriya-vdda (Kat). Pratydkalita is translated by Kane, op. cit. p. 298, as "discussion or consideration among the sabhyas about the burden of proof."

2. Bri. p. 29 v. f. Kat. 86 /. (plaint). Kat. 89-91 (representation by agents or relatives). Bri. p. 22, 136 f, Kat. 104 f. (dsedha).

Unlike the plaintiff who usually gets no time for filing his plaint, the defendant, according to Narada and Pitamaha, may be granted an adjournment proportionate to the time of the transaction in dispute, the capacity of the parties to the suit and the gravity of the cause. But in certain serious cases the reply must be given at once. The reply, as Narada, Brihaspati and Katyayana observe, may be of four kinds, namely, admission, denial, special plea and plea of former judgment. Katyayana adds that defective answers, such as those ununderstandable, self-contradictory and incomplete, would lead to loss of the suit. A strict rule required that litigants who after the cause was started compromised their dispute by a private arrangement, were to pay a double fine. 1

The burden of proof, according to Narada and Harita, was to lie on the plaintiff in a reply of denial and on the defendant in a reply of special\plea or of former judgment. The proof, as all the authorities agree, was of two kinds, namely, human and divine. The former comprised witnesses, documents and possession, and the latter consisted of ordeals. Narada and Katyayana, however, convey the warning that ordeals were to be resorted to only when human means of proof were not available. A' striking dictum of Katyayana is to the effect that if the litigant fails by relying on a weak ground, he cannot raise the question again on other and stronger grounds. 2

The judgment in a law-suit was given in the form of a written document called jayapatra (document of success), which was included by Brihaspati in a longer list of State documents (rdjakiya lekhya). Katyayana, however, limits the term jayapatra to judgments given in cases of those whose claims are cast off for various reasons, without a thorough trial. He uses instead a special term paSchatkara (refutation) for judgments given after going through all the four stages of judicial proceeding. A judgment of this last kind was to set forth summary statements of the parties, depositions of witnesses, deliberation of the court and the decision. It was to be written by the king under his own hand and signed by the members of the court. 3 *

3. Civil and Criminal Law

Coming to the body of civil and criminal law, we have room only for noticing some of its principal heads. As in the older Smriti law the

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sacred canon and approved custom were to be regarded as authorities for the law. Katyayana adds that the usages which are established in the country with the people's approval and are not in conflict with the Vedas and the Smritis should be recorded in writing under the king's seal. The eighteen titles of law known to the older Smritis are expanded into 132 divisions by Narada. But both Brihaspati and Katyayana agree that the two springs of a judicial proceeding are injury and non-payment of what is due. This makes a broad approach to the logical division between civil and criminal law. 1

We may now consider some of the more important topics of the late Smriti law. These come under the heads of Succession, Strldhana, Abuse and Assault, Theft and Violence. As regards the law of succession, the most notable development in this period took place in respect of the widow's right as heir to her sonless husband. It is to be observed that earlier authorities like Apastamba, Baudhayana and Manu had omitted the widow from the list of heirs of a person dying without male issue. This view is repeated by Narada. Sahkha however admits the widow's right only after the brothers, and thereafter alternatively with the parents. The clear recognition of the widow as the foremost heir of a son-less man is due to Yajhavalkya and Vishnu. Following their authority Brihaspati and Katyayana permit the widow to succeed immediately to the estate of her deceased sonless husband, the next in order of succession being the daughters (unmarried daughters getting the preference), the father, the mother, the brother, and the brother's sons. 2

The term strldhana is used in the Smritis not in the etymological sense of all property possessed by a woman, but in the technical sense of "certain kinds of property given to a woman on certain occasions or at different stages of her life". The complete development of the Smriti law of strldhana is due to Katyayana. He first defines the six classes of strldhana mentioned by the older writers, namely, what was given to a woman before the nuptial fire iadhyagni), what was given at the time of the bridal procession (adhyavdhanika), what was given to a woman through affection (prltidatta), and what was received from the brother, the mother or the father. To the above Katyayana adds other kinds of sfrldhana, such as the bridal price (sulk a), what was obtained by a woman after marriage from the family of her husband or of her

1. Kat. 48. (record of conventions with the king's seal). Nar. I 20-25. (132 divisions of law). Bri. p. 2 v. 9 /, Kat. 29 (two aspects of vyavahdra).

2. Nar. XIII 30. Sahkha quoted by Vij. on Yaj. II 135 (omission or limitation of widow's right). Bri. p. 211 v. 92 /, Kat. 921, 926 (widow's right as the foremost heir).

parents (anvadheya), and what was obtained by a married woman in her husband's house or by a maiden in the house of her father (saudayika). In the result "all property (whether movable or immovable) obtained by a woman, either as a maiden or at marriage or after marriage from her parents or the family or relatives of the parents or from the husband and his family (except immovable property given by the husband) , is included within the scope of stridhana '. Katyayana, however, limits the amount of stndhana which can be given to a woman by her relations to two thousand panas, (silver coins), while he disallows gift of immovable property in her favour. Again, he declares wealth obtained by a woman by practising the mechanical arts or by gift of a stranger, to be outside the definition of stndhana, and asserts its ownership to lie with the husband. The woman has absolute right of disposal over her saudayika property (including immovables) as also over gifts (except immovables) made out of affection by her husband. Neither the husband nor the son, nor the father nor the mother, has a right to take the stndhana, or give it to others. Should anyone of them forcibly appropriate the stndhana, he would be liable to return it with interest and also pay a fine. As. regards the law of succession of stndhana Narada, repeating Yajhavalkya, says that it devolves on the daughters, and in the absence of her issue on her husband or on her parents as the case might be. According to Brihaspati stridhana devolves on the woman's progeny, preference being given to the unmarried daughter and the married daughter getting only a trifle. According to Katyayana the stndhana of the mother goes to the sisters whose husbands are living along with the brothers, and it devolves on the sons on failure of daughters . 1

(In the penal law of the late as of the early Smritis the punishment of crimes occupies a more important place than compensation for wrongs. It is, in other words, a law of crimes in the strict sense of the term, while the law of torts holds a subordinate position . 2

Under the head of law called Abuse and Defamation (i mkparushya) we have to mention that both Narada and Katyayana distinguish between its three varieties, namely, nishthura (“reproachful”), aslila (“obscene”) and tivra (“merciles”), while Brihaspati similarly mentions its three grades, namely the lowest, the middling and the highest. The fines for these offences depend upon the above distinctions *as well as of the castes of the parties. In the case of abuse imputing great sins, the offender is cleared from guilt only if he succeeds in establishing the truth of the imputation. Otherwise

1. Kat. vv. 594-920. Also Nar. XIII 8-9, Bri. p. 300 v. 31 (stndhana).

2. Cf. Priyanath Sen. General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence , 335-336.

he would be as guilty as the man he vilifies, and if his charge is false, he would be liable to pay the highest line. 1

The heading Assault (dandaparushya) includes not only the act of striking a person or injuring his limb, but also throwing foul matter upon his body. According to Katyayana it likewise comprises such acts as making domestic animals carry burdens at an improper time or in a tired or hungry condition, causing sacred animals to bear burdens, and destroying trees. Punishments for such offences are proportionate to the part of the body injured, the extent of the injury and the caste of the offender. The idea of compensation to the person injured is reflected in the clause that he who kills an animal must provide another animal of the same type or pay its value to the owner. 2

Theft (steya) according to our authorities is of two kinds, namely, 'patent’ and ‘clandestine’. Narada and Brihaspati following Manu include in the class of patent thieves traders employing false weights and balances, gamblers and quacks, those who counterfeit articles and those who live by magic or palmistry by foretelling good fortune or portents. Katyayana adds to this list ignorant priests officiating at a sacrifice and incompetent teachers claiming to propound the sdstras . Punishments for theft comprise mutilation, imprisonment, confiscation of property, exile and death. The old Smriti clause requiring the .king to restore stolen property, and failing this to pay its value to its owner is repeated by our authors. What is more, they extend this obligation to various classes of the king's officers and even the public at large for theft committed within their respective jurisdictions. 3

Crimes of violence (sdhasa) are distinguished by our authors from theft on the ground that the former is characterised by deliberate violence unlike the latter of which the essence is concealment. Narada,-and Brihaspati distinguish between three grades of sdhasa. "The lowest variety comprises the destruction of agricultural implements, trampling of roots and fruits and so forth; the intermediate variety comprises destruction of clothes', food and drink and household utensils; the highest variety * consists in killing with

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weapons or poison, doing violence to others' wives and so forth". Sdhasa includes in Katyayana such acts as murder, robbery accompanied with violence, assault on another's wife, causing injury to precious articles, destroying images of gods and causing damage to temples, injuring the city-walls and obstructing the flow of water running in a channel. The punishments for sdhasa ; according to

1. Nar. XV-XVI vv. 1-3, Bri. p. 169 vv. 2-10, Kat. 769-77 (Abuse).

2. Nar. XV-XVI w. 4-5, Bri. p. 173, f, Kat. vv. 779-93 (Assault).

3. Nar. App. v. i Bri. p. i78 v. 1 j, Kat. vv. 810-25 (Theft).

Narada, vary according to its grade. The blending of crime and tort is illustrated by Katyayana's clause that a person injuring or destroying valuable articles has not only to pay a fine, but also to give a similar article or its value to the owner. 1

We may notice, in this connection, a class of offences in the late Smritis which may be called offences against public justice. Witnesses not replying to what is asked, we are told by Katyayana, are to be fined: one refusing evidence, though a witness of the transaction, is to pay the debt in dispute and an equal amount of fine: a man citing a false witness is to be banished from the country. A judge and in particular the assessors conversing privately with a party are liable to punishment: an assessor who announces his decision without proper understanding of the course of the trial has to pay a double fine: an assessor causing loss to a litigant through his own fault has to make good the loss, though out of regard for the majesty of the law the decision is allowed to stand. 2

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CHAPTER XVIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Bri. p. 36 v. 1 f. Kat. 89 f. (reply) “The four kinds of reply are called mithya (of denial), sampratipatti or satya (confession or admission), karana or pratyavaskandana (of special plea of demurrer), prannydya or purvanyaya (of former judgment or res judicata) 9 ’.
2. 2. Nar. Introd. I 70, Bri. p. 45 v. 1 f, Kat. 211 /, (adducing of evidence).
3. 3. Nar. Introd. II 43, Bri. p. 64 v. 26 f, Kat. 259-65 (judgment). On rdjakiya
4. Aekhyas see Kane, op. cit. p. 310.
5. 1. Nar. XV-XVI 6/, Bri. p. 186 v. 3.f, Kat. vv. 795-809 (violence).
6. 2. Kat. vv. 402-7 (witnesses), ibid vv. 70, 79, 81 (judge and assessors).

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A. GENERAL REVIEW

The rise and spread of different sectarian religions, notably Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavism and Saivism, described in the preceding volume, radically changes the whole religious outlook of India. The Vedic pantheon and the sacrificial form of worship gradually recede into the background, and the lineaments of Vedic gods become dimmer and dimmer. Many of them are lost in oblivion, some are transformed beyond recognition, and the remaining few evoke at best memories of respect and reverence rather than spiritual fervour or even religious enthusiasm. Old ideas die hard, and some of these still receive the worship of a gradually dwindling number of orthodox votaries, but they have long ceased to be the centres of religious activity on a mass scale. The religious movement definitely swings forward from the abstract to the concrete. The ceremonial worship of the images of Vishnu, Siva, and other gods, installed in numerous temples, sometimes of magnificent proportions, takes the place of sacrificial offerings to the host of unseen Vedic gods of vague personality. Even, the austere and rigid morality of Buddhism and Jainism gives way to devotion to the concrete personalities of Buddha and Mahavlra. Soon the inevitable takes place, and hosts of lesser divinities gather,round these primary figures.

The resulting changes are great indeed in all cases, but the transformation in Brahmanical religion far exceeds that in the two heterodox sects. Having absorbed Vaishnavism and Saivism, the leaders of the orthodox religion proceed to evolve an altogether new pantheon whose history is told and glories sung in a new literature, the Puranas. These texts, whose number is ever on the increase, now come to the forefront and gradually become the principal religious literature of the people at large, in .place of the old Vedic Samhitas and Brahmanas.

The nature and scope of the Puranas has been discussed in Chapter XV. Here it will suffice to state that although they contain older material, elaborate additions are made reflecting the new religious ideas which dominate the orthodox section. The great gods Brahma, Vishnu and Siva now form the official Trinity.of major gods who tower over the rest. Although Brahma i§ theoretically acknowledged to be the creator of men and even Of gods, he never

occupies a prominent place in the actual religious devotion of the people. Vishnu and Siva overshadow him from the very beginning, as they form the central figures in the two theistic systems whose origin and development have been already described. As they grow in power, Vishnu and Siva establish their unquestioned supremacy over the other gods, most* of whom become auxiliary or subsidiary to the one or the other, and shine only in his reflected glory. To impress the imagination and stir the emotion of the people, the Puranas recite endless laudatory stories of the great gods, telling among other things how the Vedic gods like Indra often seek their protection against the demons who not infrequently drive the whole host of gods out of heaven and reign supreme till they are killed by Vishnu or Siva. They also include stories about the minor gods, describe the sacred places associated with the new gods, lay down the mode of worshipping them with pompous ceremony, and prescribe the lesser, but more popular, religious acts such as vows {vrata), pilgrimages, sacred baths, and gifts, specially to the Brahmanas. Even the whole range of social duties and privileges, including ideas, of a moral character, are brought within the orbit of this popular religious cult by suitable stories related about the gods with parables and ethical maxims interspersed throughout them. Along with this popular aspect, the Puranas often discuss also the high philosophical ideas sustaining the new religion.

It must be added, however, that the Puranas never deny, far less defy, the authority of the Vedas, and the Sruti is still regarded by them as the revelation of God,—the eternal and infallible source of religion. Though in actual life the knowledge and practice of Vedic religion was being gradually restricted to a few, this theoretical admission of its superiority serves to keep up the link between the old and the new. The Vedic texts continue to be studied with meticulous care and reverence, and the Vedic sacrifices never cease to form part of the orthodox Brahmanical religion. As a matter of fact, throughout the period under review, kings of various dynasties, all over India, boast of having performed various Vedic sacrifices. The Asvamedha, in particular, seems to be in high favour, and some kings claim to perform as many as ten of them, or even more.

Much of the minor Vedic rituals and practices such as the saihskdras 1 also continue to form an integral part of the new religion. It is thus obvious that the foundations of that phase of Brahmanical religion, which we call today Hinduism, were laid during the period under review. But though the Puranas form the basis of this new development they do not reflect the whole of it. The purely sectarian

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spirit of the Yaisiinavas and &aivas is reflected in other literature and evolves distinct philosophies of their own, which constitute as integral a part of Hinduism as the Puranas. The Bhagavadgita, which contains the earliest and the best exposition of the Bhagavata cult (which later developed into Vaishnavism), may be cited as an example. A considerable space has been devoted in Chapter XIX. Vol. II, to expound its underlying ideas which are now regarded by common consent as the basis of the highest form of Hindu life and thought. In short, Hinduism has already grown into that mosaic of various patterns, combining the religious and spiritual ideas, be i old and rew, high and low, losing nothing and eternally adding more and more from new elements introduced into society.

The same thing is true, more or less, of Buddhism, and equally strange is its transformation from the pristine simplicity of an austere moral code to the most complex system of Mahay ana leading to the still later developments of Vajrayana. Here, again, the old forms subsist, but are overshadowed by the later ones, which gradually make a closer and closer approach to the new form of Hinduism, till Buddhism is ultimately absorbed into its wide fold, leaving no trace of its separate existence.

Jainism was saved from a similar fate by its conservative character. Unlike the other religious systems it underwent little change in ideas and doctrines. Its consequent failure to adapt itself to new ideas and environments is no doubt the main reason why it never attained a popularity comparable to that enjoyed by Buddhism in and outside India. But to that very characteristic

Jainism owes a much longer life, though in a restricted sphere, than its more distinguished rival.

Reference may now be made to some general characteristic features of the religious life of the period. The first and foremost is the wide prevalence of the images of gods. The current idea on the subject has been summed up as follows in the Vishnudharmo ttara :—"Worship and meditation (of the Supreme Being) are possible (only when he is) endowed with form. The form of the Supreme deity, as he manifests himself, should be worshipped according to rites. Because the invisible condition is apprehended with great difficulty by the corporeal beings, by the Supreme Lord, through His own will, was shown that (form) and the gods (too) point out (that) form (of Him) in his various manifestations. For this reason God is worshipped endowed with form. That form is full of significance." The monographic evolution of the principal and even subsidiary gods forms a distinct trait in the religion of the period.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Another characteristic feature is the spirit of toleration among the followers of different religious sects. There are no doubt occasional references to religious persecution by individual monarchs. But, as in the case of Sasahka, 1 such stories may not always be historically true. Even if we take some cases as genuine, they are very few and can only be regarded as forming exceptions to the general rule. One aspect of this tolerant spirit was the attempt to establish the unity of different gods like Vishnu and Siva, and to combine in a single iconographic motif the attributes of different gods. The very idea of the Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva is an evidence of the same spirit, which is further displayed by regarding Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. There are various royal families whose members follow different religious persuasions, and also many kings who show reverence and respect for all of them. Harsha-vardhana of Kanauj and his predecessors 2 may be cited as the best illustration of this eclectic spirit. We find also adherents of different religious sects among the Parivrajaka and Maitraka rulers. Other royal families, such as the Imperial Guptas, though devoted followers of one sect, patronised all others and selected high officials from the members of different religious faiths.

To convey an idea of the religious condition of the period under review is rendered difficult by the complex character and the rapid development of the various religious ideas and sects which flourished side by side and acted and reacted upon one another in a manner not always easy to understand. But if we bear in mind the general elements delineated above, and also that the older features, true of an earlier age, do not altogether vanish even when making way for new developments, we shall be able to glean some idea of the general picture with the help of the following sections into which the whole subject has been divided according to the method adopted in the last volume.

B. BUDDHISM I. The Htnaydna

In a previous section, 3 it has been shown that Hmayana Buddhism became sub-divided into several sects. During the Gupta period, three or four of these sects survived and carried on their activities in different parts of India. Many seals, images, inscriptions, and manuscripts v/ritten in Gupta characters have been discovered in the course of archaeological excavations, and these fully testify to the continued vigour and energy of the early Hinayana Schools, particularly the Sarvastivadins, the Sarhmitiyas or the Vatsiputrlyas, and Thera- or Sthavira-vadins. These sects, it seems, while giving less attention to the further propagation of their particular views, exerted their utmost for the development of their monasteries into magnificent academic centres. In this effort they obtained the patronage of rulers as well as of rich devotees. The monks of each sect busied themselves with the elucidation of their particular doctrines or with the elaboration of their ecclesiastical rituals and ceremonies. In shorty the spirit of the age turned from propagation of doctrines to literary activities, and there appeared during the Gupta period a number of distinguished writers whose contributions to Indian exegetics and philosophy can be regarded as landmarks in the history of Indian literature. It is much to be regretted that these valuable writings have not been preserved in original, and we have to rest content with their Tibetan and Chinese translations.

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II. The Mahdydna

In spite of the eminence of distinguished Hinayana writers and the magnificence of richly endowed Hinayanic monasteries, the older form of Buddhism was losing its hold upon the people and was giving way to a new movement, the Mahayana, which captured the imagination of the people by its ultra-altruistic .principles, by the scope it afforded to worship and devotion, and above all, by opening its portals to all irrespective of their followers being recluses or householders. Unlike Hinayana it did not insist on a person becoming a monk or a nun in order to derive the benefits of the religion, and it allowed anyone, even an .animal, to commence the career of Bodhisattvahood. This new angle of vision swept the Hinayanists off their feet and made Mahayana an all-India, rather an all-Asiatic, religious movement. Before we proceed with the history of this new movement, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of its ethical, doctrinal and religious aspects.

1. Ethics of Mahdydna

The keynote of Mahayana ethics was extreme altruism envisaged in the development of Bodhi-chitta and fulfilment of six ' pdramitds (virtue-perfections). Effacement of self was the keynote of all Indian religions, and it was one pf the basic teachings of Buddha. It was taken up by the Hinayanists in a very practical manner in their monastic systems of life, the object of which was to make the inmates rise above all cares and anxieties for the wellbeing of their own selves. It was inculcated through the meditational exercises which helped their minds to realise that one's own body was a store-house of impurities. The exercises made the Hinayanists oblivious of their own selves and taught them self-abnegation. To the Mahayanists this procedure for effacement of self appeared wrong and wholly inadequate. They approached the problem from a totally different angle of vision. According to them the effacement of self could only be effected by dedicating one's own lif§, in his several existences, to the service of others. A Mahayanist niusf take the vow that he would not seek his own happiness, heavenly life, even Nirvana, unless and until he had been able to do his bit to make all other beings happy, attain heavenly life and ultimately realise Nirvana. This altruistic attitude was the keynote of a Mahayanist. The self-abnegation for personal benefit practised by a' HInayana monk, and his ultimate attainment of Nirvana, according to a Mahayanist, smacked of selfishness, and hence was hardly commendable.

The first condition that a Mahayanist had to fulfil was to take the vow of dedicating one’s own self to the service of others, described in the texts as the development of Bodhi-chitta. When an adept developed Bodhi-chitta , he was called a Bodhisattva. His next duty was to commence {Bodhi-prasthdna) fulfilling the six paramitas (perfections in virtues), viz. ddna (liberality), sila (moral precepts), kshanti (forbearance), virya (mental strength), dhydna (mental concentration) and prajnd (knowledge of the truth). 1 To acquire’ fully any one of the above-mentioned six virtue-perfections he was required to make the highest sacrifice, i.e., of his life. It w T as not possible to acquire all the virtue-perfections in one life, so he had to be reborn several times to complete the six paramitas. Gautama Buddha fulfilled the six paramitas in several existences, some of which are narrated in the Jdtakas and the Avaddnas. Along with the fulfilment of the paramitas , a Bodhisattva was required to study and meditate, much in the same way as a HInayana monk, with the additional feature that his love for beings, his compassion, his piety, and whatever merit he wmuld acquire w r as meant not for his own benefit but for the benefit of all beings of the countless wmrlds. It was this extreme universal altruism that distinguished Mahayana ethics from HInayana.

2. Monastic Life

In the collection of Mahayana texts, there is no Vinaya Pitaka, i.c. a code of rules governing the life of a Mahayana monk. In the later texts like the Sikshdsamuchchaya , Bodhi chary avatar a, and Bodhisattva-prdtimoksha-sutra, there are some rules of a general nature, but are not intended for rigid observance by the monks

Note 3

and nuns. In these texts emphasis has been laid mostly on firm faith in Buddha and his teaching, and on self-abnegation for others' good. The Bodhisattvas are advised to have a spiritual guide (kalydnamitra) and to study the scriptures. They are asked to practise meditation and particularly the four kinds of mindfulness (smrityupasthdna), as also to repair to the forests and meditate on the different stages of a dead body (asubha-bhdvand) . They are required to eschew all loka-dharvias such as gain, fame, and desire for food and clothes, and then they are recommended to exercise love (mcbitri) and compassion (karurid), to learn the ways of good conduct (bhadracharyd), and to practise worship (vandana) and devotion (sraddhd). In the later texts there are certain directions regarding dress, food, conduct, and atonement for offences peculiar to Mahayana. 1 From these texts it is apparent that the Mahayanists utilised the disciplinary rules of the HInayanists for their monastic life, modifying some of the latter's practices which were not compatible with the Mahayanic ideals.

Hiuen Tsang records that both the HInayanists and Mahayanists resided together in a number of monasteries, and this could not have been possible unless all the resident monks subscribed to a common code of ecclesiastical rules. I-tsing refers to some differences between HInayana and Mahayana monks relating to the eating of meat. The Lahkavatdra-sutra devotes a chapter to the evil effects of meat-eating. Perhaps with the exception of one or two such items, the Mahayanists followed the traditional Vinaya rules as preserved by the old HInayana Schools, and it was probably for this reason that Hiuen Tsang speaks of some monks as Mahayanists of the Sthavira School. His remarks about the monks of Mahabodhi Sangharama (Gaya) are particularly interesting. He writes that "in this establishment there were nearly 1000 monks, all Mahayanists of the Sthavira School, and all perfect in Vinaya observances." 2 Similar statements are made relating to the monks of Kalihga, Abhayagiri monastery of Ceylon and Surashtra. He expressly states that all the monks of Udyana were Mahayanists but they followed HInayana Vinaya. 3 I-tsing also stages that both the HInayanists and the Mahayanists agreed in the observance of the same disciplinar}^ laws. The fact that the Tibetans, who were Mahayanists, have preserved the Vinaya texts of the Mulasarvastivada School, proves the high esteem in which they held the HInayana Vinaya. The directions given in the Kriyasangrahapalnjika 4 relating to the procedure of ordination reveal that the ceremony of ordination of Mahayana w r as done on the same lines and also with the same formulae as those of HInayana.

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Note 5

The only additional feature of Mahay ana Vinaya was the formalities observed in taking the Bodhi-chitta, viz. (i) worshipping of Buddhas and chaityas (shrines), (ii) taking refuge in the Triratna and confession of sins, if any, (hi) expression of sincere approval of other's merits, (iv) entreating Buddhas to be the guide of all beings, ignorant as they are, and (v) offering up one's merits for bodhi.

3. Mahay ana Doctrines

Though the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists accepted a common code of monastic rules, there was a wide divergence regarding the doctrines and ideals of the two schools. The former were more or less realists or semi-realists, while the latter were pure negativists or idealists. The difference hinged on the interpretation of sunyatd or andtmatd, a term frequently used by Buddha without a clear definition. By the term k ' sunyam' or ' andtman the Hinayanists understood the non-existence of any real substance as diman or individuality, i.e. pudgala-sunyaia , while the Mahayanists took it to be the non-existence of individuality (pudgala or dtman) as also of the objective world (dharma). The Mahayanists hold that real knowledge or realisation of the truth cannot be obtained without the comprehension of both the sunyatds , i.e. of pudgala (individuality) and dhbrma (phenomenal existence). The two sunyatds, they assert, can be comprehended only by the removal of the two veils (avaranas), known as klesdvarana (veil of impurities) and jneydvarana (veil that covers the truth),. The Hinayanic perfects (arhats) remove the klesdvarana only by realising pudgala-sunyatd. They rise above the notion of identitv and difference between the various

objects of the world and regard them as one mass without any distinction. To explain it by a simile we may say that the Hinayanists (Sravakas) do not distinguish between an earthen jar and an earthen horse and regard the two as one and the same. The Mahayanists (Bodhisattvas) would go a step further and hold that not only the distinction between the joig and the horse does not exist, but the substance also, i.e. dharma (earth, in this case) does -

not exist. It is by the realisation of this dharma-sunyatd., that the veil covering the truth (jneya) is removed and the adept attains perfect knowledge.

This doctrine has been developed in the Prajnd-pdramiid. Samddhiraja, Saddharmapund'arlka , and other Mahayana texts thus: A Hmayanist believes that by becoming a monk and attaining perfection in the several Buddhistic practices, e.g., the Bodhipakshiyadharmas , ashpdngikamdrga and so forth, he has reached the goal. But the fact, according to the Mahayanists is otherwise. The Bodhu pakshiya-dharmas or the eight mdrgas are only make-shift arrangements devised by Buddha to attract men of .average or mediocre

intellect to religious life, and then, when they are a little advanced spiritually, to make them realise that these practices are as much matters of imagination and non-existent (sunyam) as are the conceptions of a worldly man that he has a son or property. From the standpoint of a Mahayanist, a monk's attachment to his robes, his meditational practices, and even his desire for Nirvana are as much hindrances to the realisation of the truth as are the desires of a worldly man for sons, wealth or power. These texts teach that a Mahayanist does take to Hmayana practices, bearing however always in mind that these practices are also to be eschewed just as a person eschews the temporary raft that he prepares for fording a stream. The crux of Mahayana teaching is that a being of this world, a worldly man, or a recluse, lives and moves in a world of misconceptions, derived through the six imperfect organs of sense, and that his salvation lies in realising that the misconceptions are as much unreal as the mirage or the things seen in a dream. The moment he realises this fact, he breaks through the veil of ignorance which covers the truth (jneydvarana) and visualises the truth. In order to remove jneydvaraiia, he must beforehand remove the klesdvctrana 3 the veil of impurities, like attachment, hatred and delusion.

4. Conception of Buddha

The Truth, according to Mahayana, is sunyatd (which is attributeless, negation of being and non-being) or tathatd (the state of sameness, i.e. of noumenon) or dharmadhdtu (totality of phenomenal manifestations, the universe, or the universal principle) which is identified with Nirvana or

Buddha. The Hinayanists conceived of Buddha at first as an omniscient human being, then, in course of time, attributed to him superhuman, even superdivine powers and qualities, and regarded him as superior to all beings, even the gods of Brahmaloka. The Mahayanists regarded Buddha as eternal without origin and decay, the truth, the end of existence (bhiitakoti), and as such beyond any description whatsoever. In course of time the Mahayanists indulged in certain speculations regarding Buddha’s body, and gave currency to the Trikdya (three bodies) conception. The real kdya of Buddha was (i) the Dharma-kaya, the universe or the universal principle, which had no form, infinite and eternal without appearance or disappearance. Occasionally, for the satisfaction of his highly advanced devotees, particularly Bodhisattvas in the higher stages of sanctification, Buddha assumed a refulgent richly adorned form with all the signs of great men. This body is called (ii) Sambhoga-kdya. It is so called because it is shown a3 the special acquisition of Buddha on account of merits accumulated in several lives. Generally for the guidance of common worldly men and beings, he assumes an earthly form which is subject to all human frailties. This is called (iii) the Rupa-kaya (material body) or Nirmana-kaya (created body). Gautama Buddha, according to the Mahayanists, is the Nirmana-kaya of the real Buddha. There are such innumerable Nirmana-kdyas presiding over the countless worlds that compose the universe, Gautama Buddha being the Nirmanakaya Buddha of Saha-lokadhatu.

The Trikdya conceptipns gave ample scope to the common folk for v/orship and devotion, and so in spite of the abstruse teachings of Mahayana, it made a strong and wide appeal to the masses, and surpassed in course of time the Hlnayanists in the number of adherents.

With the growth of mythological conceptions, a Mahayana pantheon came into being with five DhyanI Buddhas, viz. Vairochana, Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi, who are said to have issued out of Adi-Buddha through contemplation. Each of these Buddhas is associated with a Bodhisattva and a goddess, called Tara.

5. Conception of Bodhisattva

According to Mahayana teachings, any one who develops Bodhu chitta is a Bodhisattva, he. a being destined to attain bodhi (knowledge) and become a Buddha in the long run. In fact, every Mahayanist is a Bodhisattva, as distinguished from a Hlnayanist who is called a Sravaka. The distinction between a Bodhisattva and a Sravaka is that the former aspires for Ruddhahood while the latter aims at obtaining Arhathood.

For the spirit of complete self-abnegation the Bodhisattvas

began to rise higher and higher in the estimation of the masses till

some of them became objects of veneration. The most distinguished

of these, w r ho ranked almost as gods, were Avalokitesvara, Mahjusri,

Vajrapani, Samantabhadra, Akasagarbha, Mahasthanaprapta, Bhai

shajyaraja, and Maitreya. These Bodhisattvas were highly advanced

in spiritual perfection and could easily have attained Buddhahood,

but they refrained from reaching the goal and preferred to remain

as Bodhisattvas, because they held that Buddhas, being absolutely

free from all qualities (nirguna), were unable to render any service

to living beings, while they could alleviate the distress of beings

and help them attain happiness, heavenly life, Nirvana, or Buddha

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hood. In ' course of time, mythological conceptions were woven around some of the Bodhisattvas much on the same lines as around the Brahmanic gods.

Avalokitesvara is the personification of compassion. He is full of mercy and extends his ever helping hand to all those who seek him in distress.' According to the Chinese pilgrims, the worship of Avalokitesvara was prevalent in India from the fourth to seventh century A.D. The images of Avalokitesvara are quite common among the archaeological finds. Usually the images are richly decorated and show the Buddha Amitabha in the head-dress. In some of the images the goddess Tara appears with this Bodhisattva. The goddess Tara is the personification of knowledge (prajha j . She is so called because only with her help could people cross the world of misery. She is also known as the goddess Prajnaparamita, as it is by the fulfilment of this paramita that a Bodhisattva reaches the goal.

The next popular Bodhisattva is the ever young (Kumar abhuta) Manjusrl. He is the personification of wisdom and is sometimes associated with Lakshml (=Snmahadevi) 2 or Sarasvatl 3 or both. He imparts education to the people, teaches the Buddhist dharma, and is the instructor of Maitreya, the future Buddha. His worship was prevalent in India at the same period as that of Avalokitesvara.

III. The Forms of Worship

The Chinese pilgrims furnish us with an account of the forms of worship that were prevalent in India in their times. Fa-hien writes that the monks erected stupas dedicated to Sariputra, Maudgalyayana, Ananda and also to the masters of the Abhidharma, Vinaya and Sutras. The nuns made offerings at the stupa of Ananda because at his instance the order of nuns was formed; while the novices and the teachers of Abhidharma and Vinaya worshipped at the stupa of Rahula. The Mahayanists presented offerings to Prajnaparamita (i.e. Tara), Manjusrl, and Avalokitesvara. More details are given by Hiuen Tsang. ‘At Mathura,’ he says, ‘there were three stupas of Asoka as also stupas erected on the relics of Sariputra, Mudgalaputra, Purna Maitrayamputra, Upali, Ananda, and Rahula. There were also stupas dedicated to Manjusrl and other Bodhisattvas. The Abhidharma brethren offered worshin to Sari

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putra, the Samadhists (meditators) to Mudgalaputra. the masters of Sutra Pitaka to Purna, the masters of Vinaya to Upali, the nuns to Ananda. the novices (srdmaneras) to Rahula, and the Mahay anists to the various Bodhisattvas.' From the accounts of the two pilgrims who visited India at an interval of over two centuries, it is apparent that throughout the Gupta period the worship of Buddhas and Hinayanic saints was in vogue among the Hlnayanists, and the worship of Bodhisattvas and the Prajhaparamita or Tara, among the Mahayanists. Hiuen Tsang witnessed also the worship of Maitreya in a few places.

Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang noticed another important Buddhist ceremony, viz. procession of images. Fa-hien saw the procession at Khotan and Pataliputra. His description of the Khotan procession reads as follows: —"On a four-wheeled chariot is seated m the centre the image of Buddha with tw 7 o Bodhisattvas on the two sides. The chariot is decorated with seven precious stones, silken streamers and canopies. The Mahayanic monks of Gomati led the procession. The king prostrated himself before the image while the queen and other ladies scattered flowers. The ceremony commenced on the first day of the fourth month and ended on the fourteenth." Hiuen Tsang gives a similar account. I-tsing does not refer to such processions but gives an elaborate account of the daily ceremony of bathing images. He says that it was incumbent upon the monks of a monastery to w r ash the image of Buddha daily with scented water and other suitable requisites.

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1. Saddharmapundarika , Ch. XXIV.

2. Suvarnaprabhasa, Ch. IX. Her function is to furnish monks with robes, food, and other requisites.

3. Suvarnaprabhasa , Ch. VIII. The function of Sarasvatl Devi is to give the power of intonation to Dharma-preachers, teaching dharani, etymology, and of reviving memory, etc.

IV. Geographical Distribution of Hinaydna and Mahdydna

Although with the growth of Mahayanism, Hinayanism lost its hold upon the people, its adherents did not dwindle very much. Some of the Hinayana schools, particularly Sarvastivada, were still wielding great influence over an extensive area. The Sarvastivadins, later known as the Vaibhashikas, w r ere spread over the w r hole of Northern India, including North-West Frontier and Kashmir, Persia, Central Asia, China, and also Sumatra, Java, and Cochin-China. The Sthavira-vadins, including the Mahisasakas, were predominant in Ujjayini, Valabhi, Kanchl, as also in Ceylon, Siam, and Burma. In certain areas they were supplanted by the Sammitlyas, a sect which attained pre-eminence under the patronage of Harsha-vardhana in the seventh century A.D. The Mahasanghikas retained their ancient seat in Guntur District, but w T ere dwindling in number, due perhaps to absorption by the Mahayanists by reason of their common view^s regarding Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

All Hinayana sects and the Mahayanists were not so bitterly antagonistic as to be compelled to reside separately. In many monasteries they resided together, particularly in Magadha, in the famous academic centres like Nalanda. Vikramasila and Pataliputra.

Fa-hien, v/ho visited India in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., speaks of the existence of both Hinayana and Mahayana monks.

lie noticed the exclusive popularity of Hinayana (probably Sarvastivada) in Lob-nor, Darada, Udyana, Gandhara, Barmu, Kanauj and Kausambl, and of the Hlnayanic Sthaviravada in Ceylon, while in places like Afghanistan, Bhida (Punjab), Mathura, and Pataliputra, he found adherents of both Hinayana and Mahayana. Only in respect of Khotan he says that the monks were all Mahayanists. Fa-hien’s information about the distribution of Buddhist sects is very scanty but is important in view of its giving us a picture of Buddhism of the fifth century A.D.

The deficiency in Fa-hien’s account is made up by Hiuen Tsang (seventh century A.D.), who has not only pointed out whether the adherents of a place were Hmayanists or Mahayanists, but also mentioned the particular sect to which the adherents belonged. His account shows that many of the places, which were the rendezvous of Hmayanists at the time of Fa-hien, continued to be the seats of Hinayana adherents with occasional exceptions. The countries lying beyond the northern borders of India, as also those in the farthest north of India, e.g. Tenki, Kuchi, Poh-lu-ka, Balkh, Ka-chi, Bamian, Kashmir (including Gilgit) Tamasavana as also Sthanesvara, Srughna, Prayaga, and KosambI continued to be the exclusive centres of the Hmayanists, particularly the Sarvastivadins, except Bamian where the Buddhists were Lokottaravadins (an offshoot of the Mahasahghikas). He noticed the adherents of both Hinayana and Mahayana in Kapisa, Jalandhara, Mathura, Saketa, Nepal, Pundravardhana, Abhayagiri monastery (Ceylon), Konkanapura, Maharashtra, Ujayana, Po-fa-to, and Persia. The countries where he came across only Mahayanic adherents were Lampa, Takshasila, Kullu, Magadha, Orissa, and Vidarbha.

At the time of Hiuen Tsang the Sarhmitlya sect (Hinayana) appears to have attained great importance. He noticed the existence of the adherents of this sect in several places, viz. Viioka, Ahichchhatra, Sankasya, Sravastl, Kapilavastu, Varanasi, Vaisali,. Karnasuvarna, Malava, Valabhl, Hayamukha, Anandapura, Sindh, Kutch, Pi-to-shi-lo, and A-fan-tu (Avanta). These places were-mostly the favourite haunts of the early Sthaviravadins, and it is very likely that these Sthaviravadins, by admitting the existence of pudefala, became Sammitlyas. In Samatata and Dravida (capital Kanchlpura); he found respectively 30 and 100 monasteries with 2,000 and 10,000 monks of the Sthavira school. His statement that he found some Mahayanist Sthaviras at Bodh-Gaya, Kalinga (Rajamahendry) and

even in Ceylon, is somewhat puzzling. As stated above, it is very

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likely that he had in mind some monks who subscribed to Mahayana doctrines but observed the Vinaya rules of the Sthaviravadins. He has referred to the Mahasahghikas as a declining sect and found only

a few adherents at Andarab and Dhanakataka (Amaravati), their ancient centre. It will be observed that there is a fair amount of agreement between the accounts of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang relating to the geographical distribution of the sects, only the latter's account is more detailed. 1

Y. The Four Philosophical Schools

Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism were divided into four speculative schools, the former into Vaibhashika and Sautrantika, and the latter into Madhyamika and Yogachara, and it is to these four schools of thought, and not to the earlier schools, that reference is made in the Brahmanical works on philosophy like Sdnkarabhdshya, Sloka-vdrttika, and Sarvadarsanasahgraha.

1. The Vaibhashikas

The Sarvastivadins of Kashmir and Gandhara were designated as the Vaibhashikas on account of their acceptance of the Vibhdshds (commentaries) written on Katyayanlputra's Jiidnaprasthdnasiitra (second century B.C.), the principal Abhidharma text of the Sarvastivadins, as more authoritative than the original Sutras. The Vibhashas were compiled about the second century A.D. and were said to have been put in literary Sanskrit by Asvaghosha. These were translated into Chinese in A.D. 383-434. There are two redactions of the Vibhasha, one large in 200 parts and the other small in 14 parts. The larger one, according to Prof. Takakusu, must have been the translation of the Kashmirian Vibhasha while the shorter one of the Gandharan.

The Vibhashas were mainly studied and preserved in Kashmir. There were many distinguished teachers of the Vaibhashika school, viz. Dharmottara, Dharmatrata, Ghoshaka, Vasumitra, and Buddhadeva, each of whom held different views regarding the realism of this school. 2

Vasubandhu (fifth century A.D.), 3 who was a native of Gandhara, went to Kashmir and made a special study of the Vibhdshds

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with Sarhghabhadra. He then composed the Abhidharmakosa and its Bhdshya, in which he condensed the topics dealt with in the Vibhdshds. The

Kosa, with its Bhdshya , came to be regarded as one of the classic texts of Buddhism, and was studied by monks of both Hinayana and Mahayana. It attained so much importance that schools were started in China under this name (Kosa school), and it is still being closely studied both in China and Japan. It was translated into Chinese by Paramartha in A.D. 563-567 and by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 651-654. The former studied it at Valabhi and the latter at Nalanda.

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During the life-time of Vasubandhu, he. about the fifth century A.D., Varshaganya expounded the Sahkhya-sastra to Vindhyavasa, who went to Ayodhya and challenged all disputants to enter into discussion with him. King Vikramaditya invited the Buddhist monks to take up the challenge, but unfortunately both Manoratha and Vasubandhu were away from the country. So Buddhamitra, an old teacher of Vasubandhu, had to take up the challenge, but he was defeated by Vindhyavasa. When Vasubandhu came to know of this discomfiture of his revered teacher, he felt humiliated and composed the Paramdrtha-saptaii refuting the Sankhya views. He thereby created such a good impression upon king Vikramaditya that not only did he receive rewards from the king but Was also entrusted with the education of the crown prince Baiaditya. 1

Taranatha has given the biography of only one Vaibhashika teacher named Gunaprabha, a disciple of Vasubandhu. Gunaprabha came of a Brahmana family of Mathura and studied the Vedas and the Brahmanic sastras. He mastered the Tripitaka as also the Mahayana texts. He seems to have taken special interest in the Vinaya Pitaka; and it is said that while residing at Agrapuri-vihara in Mathura, he made the resident monks observe the disciplinary rules punctiliously. He became the spiritual preceptor of the reigning king Sri Harsha. Hiuen Tsang writes that Gunaprabha who lived in a monastery at Matipur was a monk of great intellectual abilities and a voluminous- writer. He gave up his Mahayana leanings and became a staunch Vaibhashika and remained so till his death. 2

2. The Sautrantikas

The Sautrantika school came into being in Gandhara and Kashmir as a bitter opponent of the realism of the Vaibhashikas. It derived it's name from the Sutras or Sutrantas, which it recognised as the sole authority for its philosophical views, to the exclusion of the Vibhashas and even the Abhidharmas. In the Kosa 3 this school is described as the upholder of the Vinaya Pitaka (vina yavadi) and also a. Darshtantika as it admitted examples as proofs for a thesis. As against the Vaibhashikas who held the existence of phenomenal objects on direct perception (pratyaksha), this school asserted that the external objects were appearances (prajhopti) and their existence could be proved only by inference (bdhyarthd

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1. Cf. pp. 38, 43 above.

2. HTW, I. 323.

3. viii. 32.

numeyatva) . It contended that as the fatness of a person implied that he had been taking nourishing food, so the existence of intellection implied the existence of the truth (j neya) to be realised. In the Kosa 1 it is stated that the asaihskrita, e.g. } akdsa or nirvana is not a real object (dravya)—it is only absence (abhava) of all objective elements. Takakusu writes in his Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy 2 that according to the Sautrantikas there is ‘'no substance (andtma) no duration (anitya) and no bliss (duhkha) except Nirvana (sukha).” It admitted the transference of the skandha matras (the subtlest form of elements) from one existence to another, but asserted that the skandhamdtras cease to exist in Nirvana.

The traditional founder of this school was Kumaralabdha, 1 * 3 who was a native of Takshasila. He was a celebrated teacher and was counted among the four “suns of India”, the other three being Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna and

Aryadeva. Chronologically Kumaralabdha should be placed somewhere between Aryadeva and Vasubandhu.

The other great exponent of the Sautrantika doctrines was Srllabha mentioned in Vasubandhu’s Kosa-bhdshya. He was a native of Kashmir and was a great Sastra-master. Hiuen Tsang noticed at Ayodhya a monastery where Srilabha resided for some time. He must have preceded Vasubandhu by several years.

The Tibetan historians are silent about the career of this school. Prof. Takakusu holds the opinion that the Sautrantikas developed out of the Satyasiddhi School of Harivarman, who lived in India circa A.D. 250-350. There is, however, no reference either to Satyasiddhi school or to Harivarman in any Indian work, and so it is doubtful if this school existed at all in India.

3. The Mddhyamikas

The accredited founder of the Madhyamika school of philosophy was Nagarjuna 4 who lived about the first century A.D. and wrote the Mulamadhyamakdrihd. In this work he established that the only Reality is Sunyata and that any positive description of the Reality is out of the question, and the utmost length to which one can go for giving an idea of the Reality is to negate everything conceivable. He held that the phenomenal world is a misconceived super-imposition on the Reality, hence, there is absolutely no difference between the phenomenal world (samsdra) and the Reality (sunyata or nirvana).

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The mantle of Nagarjuna fell on his disciple Aryadeva, who, as stated above, is regarded as one of the four luminaries of India. Aryadeva was the foster-son of a" king jot Sirhhala and succeeded Nagarjuna as the abbot of Nalanda. and as the spiritual head of the Madhyamika School. He achieved fame by successfully refuting the heretical teachers. He Wrote several treatises, of Which only one, viz. Chatuhsat(ikoi, has been preserved in original Sanskrit. He lived for a long time at Nalanda, and towards the end of his life he went to Kahchl where he died about the second century A.D.

His disciple Matricheta came of a Brahmana family of the north. He became highly proficient in the Vedas and Vedahgas as also in the Tantras and Mantras. He worshipped Mahesvara and composed hymns in his praise. He made a special study of dialectics. His actual name was Kala, but he w 7 as called Matricheta or Pitricheta on account of his great regard for his parents. For his uncommon ability and success in disputations he came to be known as Durdharsha Kala. After his defeat and conversion by Aryadeva, he became an enthusiastic Buddhist preacher, composed a number of treatises and propagated both Hlnayana and Mahayana Buddhism: He built at Nalanda, during the abbotship of Rahulabhadra, fourteen Gandhakutis (shrines) and fourteen monasteries. He composed thirteen works, of which the two stotras, Varnarhavarnastotra 1 in 400 verses and Satapanchdsatkarw.mastotra 2 in 150 verses are wellknown. These were recited at Nalanda by both Hlnayana and Mahayana monks.

Rahulabhadra, one of the disciples of Aryadeva, succeeded him in the abbotship/of Nalanda. He belonged to the Sudra caste and possessed immense wealth. He was a devotee of Amitabha Buddha.

It is not known who succeeded Rahulabhadra as the abbot of Nalanda. The Madhyamika teaching, as stated by Taranatha, was handed down bv Rahulabhadra to his disciole Rahulamitra, 3 who, in

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turn, handed over the same to his disciple Nagamitra. Nagamitra’s disciple was Sarhghar&kshita, who is said to have been a contemporary of Asahga 4 and probably lived about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Between Aryadeva and Samgharakshita about

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1. Prof. F. W. Thomas published the first 150 verses of this Stot.rci in Tibetan in the Indian Antiquary, 1005, pp. 145 fl. Dr. Hoerrde published a few fragments of the original text in Sanskrit in. his Manuscript Remains in Eastern Turkestan,

pp. 75 if.

2. This stotra has been edited and published by Rahula Sarhkrityayapa in JBORS , 1937 and recently by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cambridge, 1951.

S. Tar., p. 102. I-tsing (p. 64) speaks of a distinguished monk of his time also called Rahulamitra who was honoured as the head of the priests of Eastern India.

4. Tar. jj. 104,

two centuries elapsed, during which period no contribution of note seems to have been made by the intervening teachers to the Madhyamika system.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that Kumarajlva, the famous translator of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, 1 became a follower of the Madhyamika School and propagated this system of thought in China in the fifth century A.D. 2

The two great exponents of Madhyamika philosophy, Buddhapalita and Bhavaviveka, were the disciples of Samgharakshita. They may be placed towards the end of the fifth century and were senior contemporaries of Sthiramati and Dihnaga of the Yogachara School.

Buddhapalita was born in a country of the south. He resided at Dantapura (capital of Kalihga) and propagated the teaching in that area. He wrote a commentary on the Mula-madhyamofka-sutra of Nagarjuna. He adopted the prasangika (reductio ad absurdum) method of Nagarjuna and Aryadeva for establishing the thesis of Sunyatd .

Bhavaviveka was born in a Kshatriya family of Malayagiri, in the south. He came to Madhyadesa, became a disciple of Samgharakshita, and studied with him the Mahayana texts, particularly the teachings of Nagarjuna. He then went back to the south and took charge of fifty monasteries, and had a large number of disciples. After the death of Buddhapalita, he wrote an expository treatise Prajndpradipa on Nagarjuna's Mulamadhyamaka. He discarded the prasangika method of Buddhapalita, refuted some of his arguments, and established the Sunyatd doctrine of Nagarjuna by the svdiantrika (direct reasoning) method. He wrote an independent work entitled Mddhyamika-hridaya along with a commentary called Tarkajvdld, in which he dealt with the svdtantrika method as also with the functions of a Bodhisattva. 3 In this work, Hiuen Tsang says, he refuted not only the non-Madhyamika doctrines but also the Brahrnanic schools of thought. It was at the time of Bhavaviveka that a sharp cleavage took place betw r een the Madhyamikas and Yogacharas, and the two systems became separate independent schools of thought of Mahayana. There were controversies between the adherents of the two systems, particularly between Bhavaviveka and Sthiramati's disciples.

Chandrakirti is the next great exponent of the Madhyamika system, fie followed the prasangika method of Buddhapalita so closely that in some traditions he is described as the re-incarnation

Note 16

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Note 18

of Buddhapalita. His Prasannapadd, the commentary on the Mulamadhyamaka, is a masterpiece and is available in original^Sanskrit. He was born in Samanta in the south and studied the Madhyamika philosophy with Kamalabuddhi who was a disciple of Buddhapalita. He became an abbot of Nalanda, and wrote various commentaries and a treatise in verse called the Samantabhadra. He went to the south, defeated in controversy some teachers ,of Konkana, converted a large number of Brahmanas and householders, and established large monasteries. He carried on controversies for long with Chandragomin, who was a junior contemporary of his and was an advocate of the Yogachara school of philosophy. He appreciated Chandragomin's vast and varied erudition and offered him a place of honour in the monastery of Nalanda.

Chandrakirti was succeeded by Dharmapala (A.D. 635), who w T as a Yogacharin, and then for a short time by Jayadeva. 1 Jayadeva’s disciple was Santideva, the most famous writer on the Madhyamika system after Chandrakirti.

Santideva (originally Santivarman), also known as Bhusuku, was the son of king Kalyanavarman of Saurashtra. He studied the different sciences and gave up the throne for the life of a monk. He was a devotee of MahjusrL He came to Madhyadesa and became a disciple of Jayadeva of Nalanda. He converted a large number of heretics dwelling in the west of Magadha, including a ruling prince, as also some Siva-devotees of Sriparvata in the south. He composed three works, Sikshdsamuchchaya, Bodhichary avatar a, and Sutra samuchchaya. Two of these are extant in original Sanskrit. In the Sikshasamuchchaya he compiled the ethical laws which a Bodhisattva should observe, while in the Bodhichary avatar a, he delineated how a Bodhisattva makes gradual spiritual progress and ultimately realises the prajnapdramitd, in other words, the Madhyamika conception of siinyatd.

After Santideva, Sarvajhamitra (eighth century A.D.), a nephew of the king of Kashmir, became one of the principal teachers of Nalanda. He was a disciple of Ravigupta, who worked in Kashmir and Magadha, and was a Contemporary of Jayadeva. He is the author of the Sragdhardstotra, which is extant in original Sanskrit.

4. The Yogdchdrins

The origin of the Yogachara school of thought is usually placed some time after the appearance of the Madhyamika philosophy of Nagarjuna, i.e. about the third century A.D.; and its first propounder was Maitreyanatha, whose history has been made hazy by Taranatha,

Note 19

Bu-ston, and others by identifying him with Maitreya, the future Buddha. The earliest treatise dealing with Yogaehara philosophy, according to Prof. Takakusu, 1 was the Sraddhotpadasutra of Asvagliosha, composed about the first century A.D. This opinion of Prof. Takakusu about the antiquity of the Sutra is not, however, generally accepted. A few scholars regard the

Pahchavimsatisahasrikd Prajndpdramitd 2 as the earliest treatise on Yogaehara. It was adapted later to Maitreya's Abhisamaydlanhdrakdrikd. It was followed by the Dasabhiimika-sutra, Kdsyapa-parivarta and Lankavatdra-sutra. After these texts, appeared the Sandhinirmochana-sutra , which served as a link between the nebulous idealism of the canonical texts and the developed Vijhanavada of Asanga, according to which nothing but ideation exists and the outer world is only a creation of the mind. Like the Madhyamikas, it also establishes that Sunyata is the only Reality, which is without origin and decay, and is beyond all descriptions. Its only difference from the Madhyamika point of view is that this Reality is pure consciousness {Vijnaptimdtra), which however goes against the Madhyamika absolutism which rejects the attribution of any quality (guna), even of pure consciousness, to Sunyata.

Maitreyanatha lived in Ayodhya about A.D. 270-350 and composed several works systematising the idealistic thoughts. His Abhisamaydlankdra-kdrikd, Madhyantavibhaga, and Bodhisattvabhiimi are extant in original Sanskrit. The credit of propounding the Vijnanavada philosophy, therefore, should go to Maitreyanatha and not to Asanga as stated in the various traditions.

Asanga was the eldest son of the court-priest of Purushapura (Peshawar). He joined the Mahisasaka sect and was initiated into the Hmayanie conception of pudgaia-sunyatd by a monk called Pindola. As it did not give him full satisfaction, he approached Maitreyanatha for being initiated into the truths of Mahay ana. He was inspired by Maitreyanatha and received from him the Saptadasabhumisdstra (translated into Chinese in A.D. 413-421), Mahdydnasangraha , Abhidharmasamuchchaya and a few other works. He developed the cryptic sayings of Maitreyanatha, and detailed the practices to be undertaken by a Yogaehara adept and the spiritual stages through which he was to pass to attain the goal. Asanga lived in Ayodhya about A.D. 310-390, put the system on a firmer footing, and assured its future by persuading his younger brother Vasubandhu, an intellectual genius, to give up his old faith in Sarvastivada and espouse the cause of the Yogaehara school of thought.

Note 20

Note 21

Vasubandhu was at first a Sarvastivadin. 1 He was won over by his elder brother Asahga to the Yogachara school of thought. After his conversion to the new faith he made valuable contributions to Vijnanavada, of which the Vijnaptimdtratdsiddhi is a masterpiece. In twenty and thirty kdrikds, known as Vimsatikd and Trlrksikd , he propounded the Vijnanavada philosophy, as he understood it. He was not only a commentator and a philosopher but also a logician. During his time logic formed part of the science of disputation (vdda), and so all the books written by him on logic have the word vdda as a part of the title, viz. Vddahridaya , Vdda vidhi. Vddavidhdna. It is to the credit of Dinnaga, a disciple of Vasubandhu, to have separated the science of logic from that of disputation and replaced the v/ord vdda by nydya.

Vasubandhu had a long and distinguished career as the abbot of Nalanda, and had quite a large number of disciples, among whom may be mentioned Gunamati, Sthiramati, Dinnaga, Samghadasa, Dharmadasa, Dharmapala, and Vimuktasena.

Gunamati was a native of ValabhT and spent the greater part of his life there. He came to Nalanda and became one of its distinguished teachers. He is often mentioned along with Sthiramati, who was not only his contemporary but also resided with him in the same monastery at ValabhI. He wrote a commentary on the Abhidharmakosa 2 and refuted the dualistic teachings of Madhva as also the Madhyamika views of Bhavya (=Bhavaviveka). The great scholar Paramartha, who belonged to Uj jay ini, was a disciple of Gunamati. He translated Gunamati’s Lakshananusdrasdstra into Chinese.

Sthiramati hailed from Dandakaranya. He became a disciple of Vasubandhu and learned the sdstras from him. He studied both HTnayana and Mahayana philosophy and wrote commentaries on Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakosa, Abhidharmasamuchchaya and other works. He committed to memory the Ratnakuta-sutras and commented on one of its texts, the Kdsyapa-parivarta. He wrote disquisitions on Madhydntavibhdqa and Vasubandhu’s Trimsikd, both of which have been discovered in original Sanskrit. 1 2 3

Dinnaga was another distinguished disciple of Vasubandhu. He came of a Brahmana family of Kahchi (Conjeeveram), and became a monk of the Vatsiputrlya (=SarhmitIyal sect. After he became

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a disciple of Vasubandhu he gave up his old faith and became a Vijnanavadin. He specialised in logical science, on which he wrote a number of treatises, the best of which was the Pramdnasamuch chaya. Two of his works, Nyayapravesa and Prajriapdramitdpinddrtha are extant in original Sanskrit. Some of his works were translated into Chinese in A.D. 560. I-tsing furnishes us with the titles of eight of his works which were used by students as textbooks on logic. He spent the best part of his life in intellectual disputations, and his views have been criticised by Brahmanic logicians like Uddyotakara, Kumarila Bhatta, and Parthasarathi Misra. He was really the founder of the mediaeval school of logic. His predecessors like Nagarjuna, Asahga, and Vasubandhu utilised the logical science for the exposition of their doctrines, and it was Dihnaga who first formulated a systematic science of logic. He went to Odivisa, and converted the king’s treasurer Bhadrapalita who erected sixteen monasteries. He lived probably at the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century A.D., for his works were translated into Chinese in the sixth century. Dihnaga had a large number of disciples of whom Sahkarasvamin and Dharmapala deserve mention.

Sahkarasvamin belonged to Southern India and was the author of the Nyciyapravesa-tctrkcLsdstra which was translated into Chinese by Hiuen Tsang in A.D. 647.

Dharmapala was a native of KahchL Hiuen Tsang writes that he was the son of a high official of the king, while Taranatha says that he belonged to a family of chanters and that when quite young he could recite large portions of Buddhist and Brahmanic works. He was ordained by Dharmadasa, He came to Madhyadesa and became a disciple of Dihnaga. He could recite from memory one hundred large sutras. He composed many stotras and stavas. For some time he preached the religion at Gaya where Bhava-viveka wanted to meet him but failed to do so. He defeated many Hlnayana teachers in controversies at Visoka (near Kausambi). He became the abbot of Nalanda and composed a few wmrks on Yoga char a philosophy. He ordained Dharmakirti, and lived at the beginning of the seventh century. Dharmapala was succeeded in the abbotship of Nalanda by his disciple Silabhadra, with whom Hiuen Tsang studied the Buddhist texts.

Silabhadra came of a royal family of Samatata. He became a disciple of Dharmapala and acquired great distinction as a disputant. He defeated some teachers of South India in controversies, and was given the revenues of a village as a reward by the ruler of the country. With this revenue, he built monasteries and made provision for the maintenance of the inmates. Being a friend and teacher of Hiuen Tsang he has been highly spoken of by the Chinese pilgrim, who met him in the middle of the seventh century A.D. He was the last known Vijnanavadin abbot of Nalanda. The next distinguished writer on Vijhanavada was Haribhadra, who lived during the reign of the Pal a king Dharmapala. He was a disciple of Vairochanabhadra. It cannot be determined how many teachers of the Vijhanavada school intervened between Silabhadra and Haribhadra.

One of the disciples of Dinnaga was Isvarasena who lived some time after Slladitya. He expounded Dihnaga's Pramdnasamuchchaya to Dharmakirti.

Dharmakirti came of a Brahmana family of the south and was probably a nephew of the famous Kumarila. When he was sixteen or eighteen years old he became proficient in all the sdstras of the heretics. Then he realised that his own doctrine was full of shortcomings, and the sdstras were incomplete, while the excellent teaching of Buddha was just the opposite. He admired the religion and became an updsaka. On account of his great devotion for Buddha he was excommunicated by the Brahmanas. He came to Madhyadesa and was ordained by Dharmapala. He studied Difmaga's Pramdnasamuchchaya with his teacher Isvarasena, but he differed from his teacher on certain points and composed a fresh commentary on this text. He mastered the knotty points of the Sankhya philosophy and defeated the heretical teachers in controversies. He is said to have surpassed even Dinnaga in his contribution to the science of logic. His Nyayabindu is extant in original Sanskrit. Another valuable work of his was Pramdnavdrttika, on which a commentary was written by Prajnakaragupta.[1] His views have been criticised by Santarakshita in his Tattvasangraha. Since I-tsing mentions him he should be placed in the seventh century A.D.

One of the most distinguished disciples of Sthiramati was Chandragomin who made a notable contribution to the grammatical literature of India. Chandragomin was born in Varendra in the east. He studied all the sciences including grammar and dialectics. He learned from Sthiramati the Sutra and Abhidharma Pitakas , and from other teachers, Mantras and Tantras. He worshipped Tara and Avalokitesvara. He married the daughter of the king of Varendra. whose name was Tara. One day it struck him that his wife Tara was not different from his deity Tara, and so he left home, became a recluse and retired across the Ganga to a spot which came to be known as Chandradvlpa. At this place he erected temples of Tara and

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Avalokitesvara. He was a Vijnanavadin and as such he was a rival of Chandrakirti, who was a follower of Buddhapalita’s school of Madhyamika. These two scholars carried on learned discussions for several years. Chandragomin wTote many treatises on medicine, architecture, lexicography, grammar, dialectics, metrics, and poetics. His work Chdndra-vyakarana was highly appreciated. He took up the study of the Dasabkumika, Samddhirdja , Lankavatara and Prajndpdramitd , and compiled abstracts of these texts. He is the author of PradlpamdId-sastra, Samvara-vimsaka , Kdyatraydvatdra, Tdrdsadhanasataka , Avalokitesvarasddhanasataka and Sishyalekha . He visited the southern countries and went as far as Simhaladvlpa. He spent his last years at Potala in Dhanasrldvlpa across the ocean where he erected temples of Tara and Avalokitesvara.

It has been shown above, how the new movement, Mahayanism, was developing under the care of different teachers, and how Hrnayanism, though claiming comparatively a large number of adherents, was gradually being pushed off to the fringes of India and ultimately to countries outside the land of its origin. As it is not possible to present a complete picture of Buddhism during the Gupta period, we shall have to satisfy ourselves with the scrappy information left by the Chinese pilgrims supplemented by Tibetan traditions and scanty archaeological evidence,

Fa-hien came to India in the fifth century A.D. and made a brief survey of the condition of Buddhism. He commenced his tour from Central Asian countries where he found the religion flourishing. On his way to Mathura he saw countless monks and monasteries, and in most places the kings were staunch believers in the religion and showed due respect to the monks. Some of the kings made grants of land for the maintenance of monasteries. He admired the monks for their strict observance of the disciplinary rules and the lay-devotees for their great regard for the shrines and for their liberal gifts to the monks. He noticed that the householders erected chaityas and stupas and worshipped them.

From the account of Fa-hien it appears that even in the fifth century A.D. Hlnayana Buddhism was still holding its sway all over Northern India, and that Mahayana Buddhism was just rearing its head here and there. Only at Gaya and Kapilavastu did he find the monasteries empty and desolate.

Hiuen Tsang visited India about two centuries after Fa-hien. There is no reliable source from which we can fill up this gap of two centuries. There are a few traditions preserved in the Mafoju srimulakalpa, Taranatha's History of Buddhism and the records of Hiuen Tsang, but these cannot be regarded as very reliable.

Taranatha writes that some time after Rahulabhadra the Buddhist church fell on evil days. A Turushka king overran Magadha and destroyed many monasteries. The monks of Nalanda fled in different directions. The ruler of Magadha became a vassal of the Turushka conqueror and could no longer effectively help the church. A later king, nicknamed Ruddhapaksha, was a friend of the Buddhists. He entered into an alliance with the king of China through Buddhist emissaries and, with the treasure received from the Chinese king, slew the Persian invader and regained independence. 1 He re-erected the monasteries at Nalanda.

In the ManjvJrimulakalpa 2 this tradition appears in a slightly different form. The name of the foreign invader is given as "Gomi". He entered from the north through Kashmir and destroyed many monasteries and killed several monks. Then king Buddhapaksha, who was an ardent devotee of Buddhism, re-erected the stupas and monasteries. His son called Gamhhira Yaksha also built several stupas and monasteries and dug tanks and wells. As Fa-hien does not allude to this inroad of a foreigner, the time of this persecution should be placed in the sixth century A.D. or the end Gf the fifth century A.D. The only persecutor that Hiuen Tsang speaks of is Mihirakula, who was imprisoned by Baladitya. 3 The foreign ruler who destroyed the Buddhist monasteries might be Toramana. father of Mihirakula. Hiuen Tseng writes that Sakraditva was the founder of the Nalanda monastery, while his son Budhagupta and king Tathagatagupta built two other monasteries. This testimony of Hiuen Tsang proves the Buddhist leanings of some of the local kings. The names Budha and Tathagata are also reminiscent of their faith in Buddhism. Several Gupta inscriptions testify to the Buddhist leanings of kings and peoples. 4

Hiuen Tsang's account gives us reliable information about the condition of Buddhism in India in the seventh century A.D. He travelled in India from A.D. 630 to 644. In Kashmir he was received with great honours by the king who gave him twenty panditas to make copies of Buddhist works, besides a few monks to help him in his mission. After studying there for two years, he went to a place near Sakala (Si alkot) and studied the Ahhidharma Pitaka for two years with the bhikshu Vinltaprabha who was the son of a

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prince. He resided for some time at Srughna with the monk Jayagupta and at Matipur with Mitrasena, a disciple of Gunaprabha, studying the

Vibhashas and Gunaprabha’s Taitvasandesasastra. He remained for three months at Kanauj with A chary a Vlryasena and studied the treatise on VibhdshcL written by Acharya Buddhadasa at Hayamukha. Lastly he Became a student of Silabhadra, the abbot of Nalanda. He gives the number of monks and monasteries in the different states visited by him and sometimes adds interesting details and anecdotes concerning Buddhism. He carried back to China 657 pu (parts) of the Buddhist literature composed of Hinayana sutras, commentaries and disciplinary rules, Mahay ana texts and commentaries, and a few treatises on logic and etymology.

Hiuen Tsang gives a detailed account of Emperor Harshavardhana and his zeal for Buddhism. 1 But, in all probability, he exaggerated a great deal. Harsha’s widowed sister Rajyasrl became a nun of the Sammitlya school, and due to the king’s patronage the Sammitiya school spread widely in Western India and in a few places in Eastern India. Harsha-vardhana’s faith in Hinayana is indicated

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by the fact that at Malwa he erected a temple of great architectural merit and installed in it images of seven Buddhas recognised by the Hlnayanists.

Though Hiuen Tsang endeavoured to give a bright picture of Buddhism in India, it appears from his record that the progress of the religion had been arrested, and in many places it had lost its hold upon the people and was, in fact, on the verge of disappearance. In the north-western parts of India, particularly in Nagarkot, Gandhiara, Udyana and Takshasila, he found the monasteries mostly in ruins and almost deserted, and the people were mostly nonBuddhists. At Simhapura near Takshasila he noticed a spot sacred to the Svetambara Jains. Likewise in Sravasti and Vaisall the religion was on the wane, the monasteries untenanted and uncared for, while in Vaisall the Digamhara Jains prospered Similar was the condition in the eastern parts of India, in Champa and Pundravardhana. There were many Digam bar as in Punclravardhana, Samatata and Kalihga. In the south at Dhanakataka, Chola countries and Malakuta a few Buddhist monks resided in the several monasteries while there were many Digamharas and other nonBuddhists. Of the kings mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, only Harsha and Dhruvabhata (of ValabhT) were true lay-devotees and actively worked for the welfare of the religion; all the other kings were Brahmsnic in their faith, though they were tolerant of the religion which had been existing in their dominions and occasionally showed

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their sympathy for its well-being. From the above account it is apparent that the sphere of Buddhism had already contracted in Hiuen Tsang's time, and that the non-Buddhists, particularly the devotees of Siva and the followers of the Digambara sect, were growing in number and influence. But Hiuen Tsang's records distinctly prove that Buddhism, though declining, was still prevalent in important places all over India from Kashmir and Gandhara to Dravida, and from Ganjam and Samatata to Sindh and ValabhI.

In conclusion a few words may be said about the monastic life. Long before the Gupta period Buddhist as well as Jain monks and nuns had developed into important and powerful communities bound together by the strict rules of their respective orders. From the accounts of the contemporary Chinese travellers we learn how zealously the Buddhist fraternity in the seventh century sought to maintain the high intellectual and moral standards enforced by their canon. "The Brethren", says Hiuen Tsang in his general account of India, "are often assembled for discussion to test intellectual capacity and bring moral character into prominent distinction, to reject the worthless and advance the intelligent." While "those who bring out subtle points in Philosophy couched in ornate diction," continues the account, are given very high distinction, "those who are defeated in discussion are covered with ignominy and expelled." The Brethren, again, had different grades of penalties for different offences. I-tsing, who was driven to visit India by the laxity of monks in his native land, describes in great detail and with high praise the rules followed by Indian monks about food and drink, clothing and medicaments, personal hygiene and general conduct. 1 Nevertheless it is probable that there were at times not only individual but even general lapses of the Brethren from the older standards. This is proved, not so much by occasional hints in the Brahman ical literature, as by the pointed and direct reference in a Buddhist work of this period. 2 Literary evidence again shows that

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the Buddhist and Jain nuns in particular were often employed from early times in the unworthy role of go-betweens between lovers. The Gupta Age seems to show no improvement on this state of affairs. * 1

The dramas and romances of the Gupta Age have preserved for us strong traces of the repugnance felt by orthodox Brahmanas towards Buddhist as well as Jain monks whom they could not but look upon as impious revilers of the Vedas and sacrificial performances. 2 Nevertheless, as pointed out above, mutual toleration of the prevailing faiths was the general rule in the country during the Gupta period.

VII. Iconography

Numerous images of Buddha of all the varieties mentioned above 3 prove the great popularity of the icon worship. The colossal recumbent Buddha figure of Kasia, made by Dinna of Mathura in the early Gupta period, is of unique interest, for few such figures of this or later period are known. The seated Buddha image at Mankuwar (Allahabad District), dated in A.D. 448-9, partially preserves the conventional treatment of hair which we find in early Mathura images, 4 the spiral coil being left out. The Buddha type of the Gupta period, numerous specimens of which have been discovered at Sarnath and its environs, is a fully developed one ‘characterised by its refinement, by a clear delineation and definition of features, by curly hair, absence of urnd, greater variety of mudras, elaborately decorated nimbus, the robe covering one or both shoulders and extremely diaphanous clearly revealing the figure, and by a lotus or lion pedestal, usually with figures of donors. Scarcely any trace of Hellenistic plasticity is apparent.’ This classical type, sublimated out of the “animal” type of Mathura, became the chief source of all later Buddhas both in and outside India.

The Sarnath Museum also contains a number of Bodhisattvas of the Gupta period; these can be identified on the basis of their

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special iconographic features as Avalokitesvara. Maitreya and Manjusil, the images of the first being more numerous than those of the other two. An interesting re-orientation in the representation of these Gupta Bodhisattvas is now clearly discernible; almost all of them bear on their crown the miniature figures of their respective spiritual fathers—the Dhyanl-Buddhas Amitabha, Amoghasiddha and Akshobhya—a peculiarity which is so common in the case of their mediaeval counterparts. This speciality is not found in Mathura and Gandhara, though one or two comparatively late reliefs from the latter place contain it. Another iconographic change is noticeable in the treatment of Maitreya of the Gupta period; for now we see him holding a bunch of Nagakesara flowers in his hand in place of the nectar flask.

The iconographic innovations just noticed indicate that changes of an extremely far-reaching character were being introduced in the Mahayana doctrine in the early Gupta period—changes which were destined to transform it at no distant date into Vajrayana which supplied mediaeval Buddhism with its bewildering iconography. Some of the earlier motifs like those depicting the predecessors of Gautama Buddha were now falling into comparative disuse, and Dhyanl-Buddhas and Dhyanl-Bodhisattvas were coming into prominence in all their varied complexity of forms. These and a host of new entrants into the pantheon came to be most commonly represented in mediaeval Buddhist art, and many of these iconographic types were only next in order of importance to the principal cult picture. But it must be noted that the Dhyanl-Buddha figures were mainly used as accessories, inasmuch as they usually appeared either in the crown or on the top part of the prcibha of not only the Dhyanl-Bodhisattvas and their various forms but also of numerous other Bodhisattvas, both male and female, belonging to the elaborate pantheon. A much later addition to the list of the five DhyanlBuddhas is Vajrasattva whose Bodhisattva is Ghantapani. 1 Another late introduction into the elaborate hierarchy of Mahavana-Vairayana divinities was the Adi-Buddha from whom the other DhyanlBuddhas were later supposed to have originated. All these images of the Mahayana pantheon will he discussed more fully in the next volume.

VIII. Non-canon iced Pali Literature

The period following the closing of the canon is characterised by exegetic literature which was necessitated by the difficulties felt in understanding the canonical texts. Most of the works during the

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period under review are the products of the learned theras (monks) from Ceylon, the contribution from the mainland of India being meagre. The period may rightly be regarded as a brilliant epoch in the history of Pali literature of Ceylon.

The beginnings of exegetical activity may be traced in the Suttas, and the canon itself contains a few commentaries. The Buddhist monks in India and Ceylon carefully studied the canonical texts and explained them. According to the orthodox Buddhists of Ceylon the Atthakathds (explanations of the meanings, or commentaries) have been handed down since the days of the First Council. The canonical texts were explained both grammatically and lexically. They were illustrated by narratives and legends, and

augmented by the addition and insertion of old material and composition of much fresh material in imitation of old models. These works also included legends connected with the origin and history of the monastic order, which were helpful in tracing the early history of monasteries in Ceylon.

1. Niddna Kathd

We get the record of the actual life of the Master and the earliest beginnings of a Buddha legend and a Buddha epic in the canonical texts. But the first connected account of the life of the Master reconstructed from these scattered notices is found in the Niddna. Kathd (narrative of the beginnings) which preceded the Jatakatthavannand and formed part of it. The Niddna Kathd consists of three sections, Dure Niddna (beginnings in the remote past), Avidure Niddna (not very remote), and Sdntike Niddna (in the present). In the Dure Niddna, which gives an account of the previous lives of the Buddha, the prose is continually interrupted by verses from the Buddhavamsa and Chariydpitaka with which it is directly connected. The

Avidure Niddna relates how the Tusita gods importune Bodhisattva to be born again on earth, and gives the legends of Bodhisattva from his conception to the attainment of Bcdhi, interwoven with numerous miraculous phenomena. The Sdntike Niddna deals mainly with the first conversions. These three parts contain the story of the Buddha from the time of Dlpariikara Buddha, to whom the future Buddha as Sumedha pays homage, up to the grant of Jetavana to the monastic order by the merchant Anatha-pindika. The Niddna Kathd , which forms an essential part of the Jataka commentary, represents an earlier phase in the development of the Buddha legend than the Lalitavistara and similar Sanskrit works.

2. Commentaries

(i) Buddhaghosha

According to the account of the life of Buddhaghosha in the Mahavamsa / he was born in a Brahmana family in the neighbourhood of Bodh-Gaya. He was converted to Buddhism by a monk (mahdmdtra) named Revata, who induced him to go to Ceylon in order to study the authoritative and orthodox commentaries which were not available in India. So Buddhaghosha reached Ceylon in the reign of king Mahanaman (A.D, 409-31), and heard the Singhalese commentary and the Theravada tradition from Sanghapala at the Mahapadhana hall of the Mahavihara. There he composed the Visuddhimagga, and was acclaimed a veritable Metteyya Bodhisattva. He then translated the Atthakathds from the Singhalese into MagadhI, and his work was honoured by the teachers of the Theravada as a sacred text. After finishing his task Buddhaghosha returned to the land of his birth to pay homage to the great Rodhi tree.

This account was hitherto accepted as correct by almost all writers on Pali literature. 1 2 Dharmananda Kosambi, however, does not accept the view that Buddhaghosha was a native of Bodh-Gaya or that he was a Brahmana, and believes him to be a Telanga from the Telugu country of Southern India, and not a Burmese Telaing as recorded in the Burmese traditions. 3

There is a wide difference of opinion with regard to the works of Buddhaghosha. He himself mentions Visuddhimagga, Samantapasddikd, Sumahgalavildsinl, Papanchasudanl, Sdratthappakdsini, and Manor athapuranl as his works. Besides these, the Gandhavamsa ascribes to him Kankhavitaranl, Paramatthakathd, and commentaries on Jdtaka , Dhammapada , Khuddakapdtha, Suttanipata, and Apaddna. Winternitz has scarcely any doubt about Buddhaghosha's authorship of Atthasdlinl , Sammohavinodanl and the commentary on Patthdnapakarana. He believes that the Kankhavitaranl and Paramatthajotikd also most probably belong to Buddhaghosha. The commentaries on Jdtaka and Dhammapada ascribed to Buddhaghosha by Gandhavamsa are so distinct in language and style from his other works that it is difficult to ascribe them to his authorship. 4

The Visuddhimagga, so called because it explains the ways (magga) to attain to purity (visuddhi). is the first outstanding work

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Note 40

of Buddhaghosha, and is a systematic presentation of the entire doctrine of Buddha. If Buddhaghosha had written nothing else, Visuddhimagga alone would have secured for him undying fame. 1 It is divided into three parts: conduct, concentration (or mental training), and wisdom. Its style is clear and lucid, and many a dry doctrinal discussion is enlivened by occasional parables and legends. Compared to the archaic simplicity of the Pitakas, the vocabulary of the Visuddhimagga is surprisingly rich. Numerous miracles are told showing now meditation enables saints to acquire supernatural and magical powers.

The greatest service of Buddhaghosha to the progress of Buddhist knowledge was his series of masterly commentaries on practically all the texts of the Tipitaka. Samantapasddiha, dealing with the Vinaya texts, is a voluminous work, containing, besides commentary, vast material for portraying the social, political, religious, and philosophical life of ancient India. Dr. Law, however, ascribes this book and Kdhkhdvitaram (a commentary on the Pdtimokkha), to another Buddhaghosha, distinct from the author of the Visuddhimagga , on the ground that the Samantapdsadikd not only exhibits a greater maturity of judgment and a better intellectual equipment, but also represents a later development of the views advocated in the Visuddhimagga. 2 But the arguments are not convincing enough to justify the postulation of a different author. Of the commentaries on the four Nikayas, viz. the Sumahgalavildsini on the Dlgha-, Papahckasudanl on the Majjhima-, Sdratthappakdsini on the Sam* yutta and Manorathapurani on the Ahguttara the first shows Buddhaghosha’s encyclopaedic learning at its best. It contains a variety of information—social, political, economic, geographical, religious, and philosophical,—and presents a vivid picture of the sports and pastimes of the day. It also gives some particulars about the daily life of a Bhikkhu. The account of the First Buddhist Council shows a blending of the accounts in the Chullavagga and the Pali Chronicles. Buddhaghosha mentions in the PapainchaSudani that the Vedic teachers expounded the three Vedas in the Damila (Tamil), Andhaka (Telugu), or other local dialects in order to facilitate easy understanding. The Sdratthappakdsini sheds a flood of light on the everyday life in India and Ceylon. Of the Khuddaka . we have from Buddhaghosha, Pciramadthajotikd (on Khuddakapatha and Suttanipdta) Atthasalinl (on Dhammasahgani), Sammohavino dani (on Vibhahga) , and Paramatthadlpanl or Panchappakaranatthakathd (on the five texts of the Khuddakaviz. Dhdtukathd , Puggalapahhatti, Kathdvatthu. Yamaha and Pat.thd.na). Besides explaining technical terms of Buddhist psychology, the Atthasdlinl contains

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some historical and geographical information. The introduction gives the contents of the Abhidhamma texts, and discusses various textual problems. The Atthasdlini exhibits more freshness and originality in treatment, though it is less scholastic in style as compared to Visuddhimagga.]

Buddhaghosha’s authorship of the Jdtakatthavanriand (Jataka commentary) has been disputed practically by all scholars, such as Rhys Davids, 1 2 Law 3 and Malalasekera. 4 The Jataka commentary, as occurring in Fausboll's edition, contains 547 stories, each of which has (i) the canonical gdihd, (ii) atitavatthuni or stories of the past, i.e. prose narratives (iii) pachchuppannavatthuni , stories of the present, stating the occasion when the particular Jataka was told, along with samodhdndni, mentioning the characters assumed at present by the persons in the Jataka, and (iv) veyydkarandni, commentaries, explaining the verses word by word. Though both gathds and stories were based on the old Atthakathd, they were transmitted in different manners; whereas the gathds remained fixed and unchangeable, the prose portion was left to the discretion of the rhapsodist, somewhat in the nature of the Vedic Akhyanas. 5 The difference in the scenes of action between the stories of the past and present is striking; the former refer mostly to Western and Northern India (Gandhararattha, etc.), while the latter to the East (Magadharattha, Kosalarattha, etc.).

Though Winternitz, Burlingame, Geiger and others question Buddhaghosha's authorship of the Dhammapadatthakathd (Dhammapada Commentary), Law sees no reason to disbelieve the colophon w'hich ascribes it to Buddhaghosha. 6 Malalasekera ascribes it to Chulia Buddhaghosha, though he suggests the possibility of its emanating from the great commentator, on the strength of the Sinhalese Pujdvaliya. 7 The Dhammapada Commentary is a voluminous work explaining the stanzas of the Dhammapada, and like the J dtakatthavannand , contains many ancient popular stories, short edifying legends, and interesting fairy tales. Profuse references to Jataka stories, many quotations from the Jataka stanzas, and a large number of stories bearing close parallelism with the Jataka stories indicate the priority of the Jataka commentary. 8 Each story in the Dhammapada commentary contains the following eight sub-divisions: (i) gdthd (stanza) to which the story refers, (ii) person or persons to whom the story is told, (iii) pachchuppannavatthu, the story of

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the present, ending with (iv) a stanza, ur stanzas, (v) word for word commentary on the stanza, (vi) spiritual benefits which accrued to the hearer or hearers, (vii) atltcivatthu, story of the past and (viii) identification of the persons of atitavatthu with those of pachchuppannavatthu . 1 It will be seen that in general character and structure of parts there is no difference between the Jataka commentary and the Dhammapada commentary.

Visuddhimagga and the commentaries proclaim Buddhaghcsha to have been a man of remarkable erudition and extensive reading. It cannot be said that Buddhaghosha was a philosopher who cut out new paths and made an original contribution to Buddhist philosophy. 1 2 That he w r as a critical scholar appears from his consulting manuscripts of several schools and faithfully recording variant readings. His notes on rare words are valuable, and his preservation of ancient traditions entitles him to our deep gratitude. Buddhaghosha’s service to the development of Pali language was singular. “In place of the archaic, stilted, sometimes halting Sutta speech . . . Buddhaghosha left behind him in his many works a language rich in its vocabulary, flexible in its use, elegant in structure, often intricate in the verbiage of its constructions, and capable of expressing all the ideas that the human mind had then conceived.” 3

(ii) Buddhadatta

Chronologically, the first among the successors of Buddhaghosha appears to be Buddhadatta. Many scholars regard him as a senior contemporary of Buddhaghosha, 4 but Winternitz takes him toH>e a much later writer. 5 All his works w r ere written in the famous monastery erected by Kanhadasa on the banks of the Kaveri. He is reputed to be the author of Vinaya-vinichchaya , Uttara-vinichchaya, Abhidhammavatdra, Rupdrupa-vibhanga, Madhuratthavildsinl and Jindlamkdra; but according to Geiger the ascription to him of the above works except Madhuratthavildsinl is problematical. 6

The first four are mostly summaries of Buddhaghosha’s commentaries. Madhuratthavildsinl (or Madhuratthappakdsinl) is a commentary on the Buddhavamsa. Jindlamkdra is a poem of 250 stanzas containing vignettes of Buddha’s life in brilliant rhythmical cadences and elegant language. 'There are stanzas wfith internal rhymes, alliterations and other rhetorical devices exhibiting the bombastic Kavya style and artificiality in construction. There is a

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sharp difference of opinion among scholars as to the authorship and date of Jindlamkdra . 1

Buddhadatta’s scheme of expounding the Abhidhamma with the four-fold division of the compendium, viz. mind, mental properties, material qualities, and nibbana 3 appears to be better than that of Buddhaghosha in terms of the five khandhas (divisions). Buddhadatta obviously profited by the labours of his great predecessor. His style is less discursive and more graphic, his diction often less involved and ambiguous, and his vocabulary considerably richer than that of Buddhaghosha,

(Hi) Ananda

Ananda, also from the mainland of India like Buddhadatta, appears to have been a contemporary of Buddhaghosha because he wrote his commentary at the instance of Buddhamitta who was instrumental in persuading Buddhaghosha to write Papanchasiidani. Ananda’s Mulatikd or Abhidhamma-mulatXkd is the oldest commentary on the Atthakathds of Abhidhamma.

(iv) Dhammapdla

Dhammapala, who hailed from Padaratittha on the south coast of India, is credited with having written fourteen commentaries. The similarity of conceptions and the identical method indicate that he was not much later than Buddhaghosha. Paramatthadiparii (Elucidation of the True Meaning) is a commentary on the seven texts of the Khudaaka Nikaya which Buddhaghosha had left unexplained. Dhammapala’s other commentaries are (8) on the Netti, with a Tlkd on it, (9) Pdramatthamanjushd on Visuddhimagga (10-13) Llnatthavannand or Lmatthappakdsini Tlkd on Buddhaghosha’s commentary on the four Nikayas and (14) another commentary of the same name (Linatthappakdsini) on the Jdtakatthakathd. Dhammapala follows a regular scheme in his commentaries. The introduction at the beginning gives the traditional account of how the particular collection of poems came to be put together. After describing how, when, and by whom each poem originated, individual clauses are quoted and explained philologically and exegetically.

Much of Dhammapala’s work is but a recast in scholastic Pali of the earlier Singhalese or Tamil commentarial literature. It is doubtful if Dhammapala, the junior contemporary of Buddhaghosha. was the author of all these works. Probably works of later namesakes have been fathered on the earlier Dhammapala as he had made it his life’s task to supplement the commentaries of Buddhaghosha

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If he is to be identified with the Dhammapala of the Nalanda 'Monastery, the teacher's teacher of Hiuen Tsang, his date would be a century later; but Hardy and Geiger consider the identity yet unproved, 1

Dhammapala’s works show great learning, much exegetical skill, and sound judgment. In comparison with Buddhaghosha his style is simpler and less diffuse. Though Dhammapala was well read and well informed, Buddhaghosha’s knowledge was more widely diffused and more encyclopaedic; the former shows more of the grammarian and academician than of the exegetical compiler and fanciful etymologist.

(v) Upasena

To this period also belongs, according to Wickremasinghe, Upasena, author of a commentary on the Maha-niddesa (called Saddhammappajotikd) which is a mere translation into Pali of what the author found in the Ceylon commentaries. 2 There is no attempt at originality, and the w T ork is inferior to the writings of Buddhaghosha or Dhammapala. A Bodh-Gaya inscription 3 mentions one Upasena preceding and another following Mahanama among the succession of Ceylon teachers. Mahanama may well refer to the author of the Mahdvamsa, and his predecessor to our Upasena, in which case his date would be c. fifth century A.D, Any way, even if he be identified with the second Upasena, he belongs to the period under review.

(vi) Kassapa

The Anagatavamsa (history of the future one, i.e. future Buddha), a poem of about 150 stanzas, forms a sequel to the Buddhavamsa so far as its contents are concerned. It gives a detailed account of the future Buddha. Metteyya and his contemporary Chakravartin Sankha. The Gandhavamsa ascribes the work to Kassapa, the author of Buddhavamsa, and its Tiled (Andgatavamsaatthakathd) to Upatissa. There have been several Kassapas and Upatissas during various periods; so the date of this work cannot be fixed with certainty. Winternitz states that it "perhaps belongs to an earlier period," though many regard Anagatavamsa as a spurious work. 4 Malalasekera believes Upatissa's Tiled to have been based on a much earlier work. 5 It is not certain whether Kassapa, the author of the Anagatavamsa, is identical with the author

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of Mohavichchhedam f Vimatichchhedam (or - vinodinl), and Bodhi vamsa, though the Gandhavamsa 1 ascribes these works to a single author. The Mohavichchhedam is a treatise on-the Abhidhamma, and the Vimatichchhedam is a commentary on the Vinaya.

(vii) Dhammasiri and, Mahdsdmi

The Khuddasikkhd written by Dhammasiri, and Mulasikkhd by Mahasami contain a short summary of the Yinaya rules. They are mostly in verse with but a few passages in prose. Their language is simple and free from artificiality. Tradition places the works prior to the advent of

Buddhaghosha; Rhys Davids supports the tradition, but scholars differ widely on this point. 2

3. Pali Chronicles

While Buddhaghosha and his successors were busy with the collection of legends and explanation and elucidation of canonical texts, another type of literary activity in the form of Chronicles recording the chief events in the history of Ceylon and of the Buddhist monastic order was slowly evolving. In Ceylon the earliest attempt at historiography is found in the Singhalese Atthakathds, which had sections on ecclesiastical history containing the story of the introduction of Buddhism on the island, based on the legendary tales in the Buddhavamsa, Chariydpitaka, and Jatakas. These sections are a conglomeration of myths, legends, tales and history, and connect Buddhism in Ceylon with the Buddha himself. Traces of sober history are found in them as we reach the historical period. Besides ecclesiastical traditions, these Atthakathds incorporated also popular narratives and anecdotes so that they have become a storehouse of information.

(i) Dipavamsa

The Dipavamsa (History of the Island, i.e. Ceylon) represents the first attempt to put together the traditions from the Singhalese Atthakathds in an epic form. The name of the author is unknown. He has only an imperfect knowledge of Pali, and from the literary point of view, the Dipavamsa is a very poor performance. The verses are interspersed with prose passages, and there are numerous grammatical and metrical lapses. The work suffers from repetition and omissions, and is fragmentary. The author abruptly jumps from one subject to another, leaves many gaps in presentation, and frequently interceding narrative verses are lost between speeches. The Dipavamsa was composed later than the middle of the fourth century A.D,, the date of king Mahasena with whose reign it brings its account to a close, and is prior to Buddhaghosha who copiously quotes from it in his commentary of Kathavatthu.

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(ii) Mahdvamsa

Compared to the Dlpavamsa which is but a feeble attempt at composing an epic, the Mahdvamsa is a perfect epic. It attempts a conscious and intentional re-arrangement of “the historical work which the ancients composed,” which “is in some places too verbose, and in others too brief, and also contains many repetitions”, after avoiding these defects. * 1 It is ascribed to Mahanama who may be placed in the fifth century A.D. The author aims at an ornate poem, and handles his material, language, and metre with great dexterity. He has filled in the gaps in the Dlpavamsa account, and also introduced considerable new material. The Mahdvamsa has added to the story of Vijaya and his immediate successors and has developed the story of Dutthagamani into an independent epic. The account of the Mahdvamsa comes to an end, like the Dlpavamsa , with the death of Mahasena (c. A.D. 362) in the 37th canto. The continuation of the Mahdvamsa is called the Chulavamsa, which is not a homogeneous work, being written by various authors at different times. Thera Dhammakitti (thirteenth century) was the first to continue the tradition in the Chulavamsa.

According to Indian notions, the Mahdvamsa is a commentary on the Dlpavamsa. Oldenberg considers the Dlpavamsa and the Mahdvamsa as two versions of the same story. Both show great similarity in material and arrangement, and have a number of common verses. The account in both commences with the story of Gautama, and both are based on a common source, the Atthakathd Mahdvamsa of Mahavihara. Despite their love for the miraculous, credulity, superstition and exaggeration, as also lack of the historical sense and critical faculty, we cannot altogether deny historical value to these works as maintained by some scholars. That the information supplied by these authors was not quite imaginary is proved by its frequent agreement with Indian traditions. These chronicles are also supported by external sources, and their chronology is found to be fairly accurate. The authors recorded what they believed to be authentic history, and their account of historical times and of the period immediately preceding their own deserves credence.

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THE CLASSICAL AGE

4. Grammar

Kachchayana Vydkarana or Kachchayana gandha by Kachchayana is considered to be the oldest Pali, grammar. That Buddhaghosha did not follow the grammatical terminology of this author of the classical Pali grammar clearly show’s the priority of the celebrated commentator. Franke has indicated that Buddhaghosha and Dhammapala followed a different grammatical system based perhaps on the grammar of Bodhisattva. 1

Kdsikd-vritti (seventh century A.D.), which has been utilised by Kachchayana along with other commentaries on Panini and the Kdtantra of Sarvavarman, indicates the upper limit for the date of Kachchayana. Two other grammatical wmrks, Mahdniriittigandhc, and ChuUaniruttigandha are ascribed to him. The chief defect in Kachchavana’s grammar is that it ignores the historical relation of Pali to Sanskrit, and gives an exposition of Pali wholly by itself. The linguistic material is not exhaustively treated.

5. General Review

The Augustan period of Pali literature may be said to have begun with the commentaries described above, and closed with the completion of the early chronicles—the Dipavamsa and Mahdvamsa. The commentaries indicate Kanchlpura, Kaveripattana, Madura, TJragapura, and Anuradhapura as w^eil-known centres of Pali Buddhism. Subsequent to the period of the Pali chronicles, there is hardly any literary activity. Occasionally there have appeared some compilations of useful manuals and poetic compositions mainly in imitation of Sanskrit v/crks. The Pali literature described so far is deficient in many branches of secular interest. Fiction, for instance, is conspicuously absent and so is drama. Nor are there any w T orks on astronomy, astrology, medicine, mathematics, logic and polity. Whatever works are found on some of these subjects belong to a quite recent date.

C. JAINISM I. Spread of Jainism

1. North India

By the end of the third century AD. Jainism had taken firm roots throughout India. Starting from its original home in Magadha, it had slowly spread to different countries like Kalmga to the southeast, Mathura and Malwa to the west, and Deccan and the Tamil lands to the south. At the same time it appears to have lost its hold

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over Magadha, the land of its origin, and grown powerful in the v/est and the south. After some initial success in winning over royal patronage, which w r as, in part, the cause of its rapid growth and expansion, it soon lost it in the North, but retained the support of the middle classes, like merchants and bankers, for a long time. This loss of kingly support in the north, was, however, made good by the favour shown to this religion by many ruling families of the Deccan; and during the period under review, the country to the south of the Vindhyas may be regarded as forming the chief stronghold of Jainism.

But along with its spread and a shift in its centre of gravity, there also occurred changes in the organisation of its church. The division of the community into Svetambaras and Digambaras had become finally settled, and it effected a separation not only among the monks but also in the ranks of the laity. Some schools of a compromising attitude and views like the Yapanivas 1 were yet alive in this period, but they never attained the importance of these two sects. These major sects themselves were further sub-divided into

smaller groups like the Samghas and the Ganas in the south, and into Kulas, Sakbas and, later on, into Gachchhas in the north. This was but the natural result of the spread of the religion over a wide area and the wandering habit of the monk-community. The lay followers were also affected to some extent by this division in the ecclesiastical organisation, and there may have been further subdivisions among them besides the two main groups.

The age of the Gupta imperialism, which marked a revival of Hinduism and of classical literature in Sanskrit, proved a period of decline for both

Jainism and Buddhism. The .paucity of epigraphic records about Jainism in this period, and lack of literary evidence from the side of Jain writers, clearly indicate that Jainism was not very prosperous in those days; and this is partly confirmed by the absence of any reference to it in the description of the Chinese traveller Fa-hien. This decline is primarily due to the lack of royal patronage. But there are indications that it continued to be popular, as before, among the middle classes and this is indicated by a couple of inscriptions of the Gupta period.

There are two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kumaragupta, one at Mathura (A.D. 432) speaking of the dedication of a Jain image by a lady, and the other at Udayagiri in Malwa (A.D. 426) recording the erection of a statue of Parses by a private individual The Kahaum inscription of the time of Skanda-g-upta (A.D. 461) also refers to the setting up of five images of the Jain prophets in

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that village. These records show that Jainism was practised by the people of the empire, living in such distant places as Mathura, Udayagirl and Kakubha. They also suggest that the religion was popular more in the west than in the east. Further, we see that the erection of the Images of the Jain prophets was the usual mode of worship, and that the organisation of the community of monks continued to be the same as before, with its divisions into Ganas and Sakhas.

In Bihar, the country of its origin, and in Bengal to the east, the Jain religion had lost much of its influence. A little later, the Paharpur copper-plates 1 of A.D. 478 record the donation of some land by a private individual and his wife, for the maintenance of worship at the Jain Vihara at Vata Gohall, which was presided over by the pupils of the Nirgrantha teacher Guhanandin of the Pahchastupanikaya of Banaras. This vihara , of the fourth or fifth century, probably occupied the site of the great temple unearthed at Paharpur fRajshahi District). It is worth noting that the founder of the vihara was a monk, who migrated from Banaras to the East.

In the period following the disintegration of the Gupta empire, we have the testimony of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, who observes that monks of both the Svetambara and Digambara sects were to be found near Taxila to the west and Vipula to the east, and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous in Pundravardhana and Famatala in the east. The low estimate in which the Jain monks were held by the Brahmin writers at the time may be seen in the reference to the naked Kshapanaka by Bana in his Harsha-charitci and In the fun Dandin makes of the conversion of a poor wretch to Jainism in his Dasdkumara-charita.

Some welcome light on the activities of the Jain monks and literary men of the seventh and eighth centuries is thrown by the few facts recorded by Uddvotana at the beginning of his romance Kuvalayamdldkahd , 2 composed in A.D. 779. In the northern part of India, he tells us, there was a town called Pavvaiya close to the river Chandrabhaga, which was the capital of the Yavana king Toramana. The spiritual preceptor of this king was one Harigupta of the Gupta family. One of his pupils w r as Devagupta. a royal scion of the Gupta dynasty, who, in turn, had a pupil called Sivachandra. bearing the title Mahattara. In the course of his wanderings, Sivachandra took up his residence at Bhinnamala, otherwise known as grimala. One of his pupils was the far-famed Yakshadatta, while a band of his other pupils are represented as converting the whole of Gujarat to Jainism by their wanderings and preachings. One of his pupils was Vatesvara, who caused a magnificent temple of the

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Jina to be constructed in the town of Akasavapra. He had a pupil Tatvacharya, who was the teacher of Uddyotana, the author of this work. Uddyotana imbibed the knowledge of the scriptures from Vlrabhadra while he learnt logic and other sciences from the famous scholar Haribhadra. Though history does not help us in ascertaining who these Gupta kings were, and how far the Huna king Toramana was a regular convert to Jainism, we may readily believe that men of standing and petty chieftains of those times patronised the Jain faith, and bands of wandering monks formed the chief agency of spreading the religion in different parts of Western India.

The presence of Jains in Kathiawar and Gujarat in the early medieval period is indicated by literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence. But in contrast to the splendour it attained in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, due to the patronage of kings, it remained the religion of the merchant classes undistinguished by any pronounced favour from the rulers of the early dynasties of these countries. Much of the work of preaching and preserving the faith was done by the monks, and there was a good deal of literary activity, which proved of great importance to the Jain church.

In the seventh century, two Gurjara kings, Jayabhata I and Dadda II, are given the epithets ‘ Vitardga 9 and ‘Prasdntardga’ in their grants,—words which indicate that they probably patronised Jainism, though they themselves may not have been actual converts. In northern Gujarat, Vanaraja, the founder of the Chapotkata dynasty at Anahillapura, is regarded by Jain tradition as a follower and a patron of this faith.

2. Deccan

If Jainism lacked good royal support in northern India, there was greater help coming from the various ruling dynasties of the Deccan during the period under review, and consequently Jainism flourished in the Kannada-speaking territories. Many royal families of the Deccan, their ministers, and small chieftains showed decided inclination towards Jainism, and although in many cases it is difficult to prove that the rulers were actual converts to this faith, there is ample evidence to show that they were quite liberal in their help and patronage, which accounts for much of the prosperity of Jainism in this part of the country.

The Gariga kings of Mysore 1 were intimately associated with. Jainism. ? A later tradition, which appears to have grown in detail with the lapse of time, makes the founder of the Gaiiga family a disciple of a Jain teacher called Simhanandin, and suggests that all

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his successors were followers of the faith. A later ruler, Avinlta, is said to have been brought up by a Jain sage called Vijayakirti, and the famous

Digambara author Pujyapada is associated with another king of this family, called Durvimta. 'Whatever value we may attach to all such traditional accounts, the inscriptions of such Gahga kings as Avinlta, Sivamara and Sripurusha record gifts to Jain monks and building of Jain temples, along with others giving donations to Brahmanic temples. Whatever the personal religion of these rulers, their patronage of Jainism is quite apparent.

The Kadamba rulers of Vaijayanti or Banavasi[1] are often regarded as of Jain persuasion. But the tradition about Mayurasarman, the founder of the dynasty, their numerous records alluding to the performance of the Asvamedha sacrifice and their donations to Hindu gods make it more probable that the Kadamba kings were followers of the orthodox faith.[2] At the same time they showed unusual favour towards Jainism, probably the religion of a large section of their subjects. In any case, we have many records of several kings giving donations to Jain monks, erecting Jain temples and giving other help to the different sections of the Jain community. All these records of the Kadamba rulers show that the Jain

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community was flourishing under their benevolent patronage, and that many high officials and rich landlords of the country were devout followers of this religion. There were different sects among them like the Nirgranthas, the Digambara community of the south, the Yapamyas, a sect which later on disappears, the less known Kurchakas, and even the Svetapatas. Building temples, feeding groups of monks, worship of the Jina images, and celebration of festivals formed the time-honoured mode of showing religious zeal.

There is no reliable evidence that the Chaiukyas of Badami showed any particular leaning towards Jainism. A couple of apocryphal grants purport to record donations by Pulakesin I and Klrtivarman and mention a few Jain teachers. But no reliance can be placed on them. We have, however, the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, the greatest of the Chalukya rulers, whose protege Raviklrti constructed a temple of the Jinendra in that village, called the Meguti temple. There are also a number of spurious grants at Lakshmesvara, professing to be from Chalukya kings like Vinayaditya, Vijayaditya and Vikramaditya, giving gifts to Jain teachers and for the building of temples. As Dr. Altekar 3 has pointed out, even to make these spurious grants possible in later days, there must have been some tradition current about these kings as showing favour to Jainism. A Jain cave at Badami and another

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at Aihole, containing figures of Tirthakaras, belong to the early Chalukya period.

3. South India

lx is difficult to know precisely the condition of Jainism in South India in the early centuries of the Christian era. The statement of Mahdvamsa that there were Nirgranthas in Ceylon at the time of Pandukabhaya, or the obscure Brahml records found in caves in the districts of Rammad and Tinnevelly, is of no importance in tracing the history of Jainism in Tamil lands. 1 But the evidence of early Tamil works leaves no doubt about the flourishing state of Jainism in South India. Although there is no unanimity among scholars about the date to which this literature is to be assigned, there is no doubt that a considerable part of it is due to the activities of Jain writers, and this naturally indicates a large following of Jain religion for whom it was meant. Like other religions Jainism also claims the writers of Tolkdppiyam and Rural among its adherents. More valuable is the evidence of the Buddhist epic Manimekhalai, which refers to Jain monks, mostly Digarnbaras, and their doctrines in a fairly accurate manner. Other famous works like the Jivakachintdmani, Silappadikdram , Nilakesi , Yasodhara kdvya and others are obviously Jain in origin and contents, but the dates to which they can be assigned are uncertain. On the whole, they belong to a period when Jainism was flourishing in the Tamil country, and this must be anterior to the seventh century A.D. when it suffered serious reverses in South India.

Jain tradition also lends support to the prosperous state of Jainism in the south. The famous Jain author Samantabhadra is associated with the town of Kanchl. The earliest Prakrit writer of the south, Kundakunda, a famous name in Digambara literature, is brought in relation with a ruler called

Sivakumaramaharaja, whom tradition makes his disciple, and it is suggested that he is one of the Pallava kings of the Prakrit charters. From a later Sanskrit translation, we came to know that Sarvanandin, a Jain scholar, wrote his Prakrit work Lokavibhdga in A.D. 458 at the time of Siihhavarman, the ruler of Kanchl. According to some, the foreigners who invaded the south and are known as Kalabhras 2 came from Karnataka and were followers of the Jain religion.

A more precise and intimate picture of Jainism in the South can be obtained from a few facts of its ecclesiastical history. 3 The Jain community of the south formed what is known as the Mula

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sangha (the original group). Devasena tells us that one Vajranandi, a pupil of Pujyapada, founded in A.D. 470 at Madura, the Dravidasahgha, which allowed greater scope and freedom in the observance of the rule of Ahimsa. According to a later tradition four pupils of Arhadbali, a pupil of Bhadrabahu II, called Maghanandin, Jinasena, Simha, and Deva, founded the four Ganas of the Mulasahgha, known respectively by the names of Nandigana, Senagana, Simhagana, and Devagana. The evidence of inscriptions is not quite in agreement with this tradition, and further divisions and designations like Anvaya and Gachchha, which are given along with Ganas and Samghas, are not easy to arrange in a hierarchical series. In any case, the community of the Jain monks in the south was elaborately organised and showed distinctions based on locality and practices, suggesting a wide expanse. A welcome confirmation of the same is furnished by Hiuen Tsang, who speaks of a large number of the Nirgranthas in the country of the Fandyas.

As a result of vigorous preaching of the Saiva and Vaishnava saints, called the N-avanars and Alvars, Jainism lost royal support and began to decline in the seventh century. According to tradition, the famous Pallava king, Mahendra-varman, originally a Jain by faith, was converted to Saivism by the preaching of the saint called Appar, whose hymns reveal a fierce spirit of religious hatred against the Jains. Similarly another famous preacher Tirujhanasambandar succeeded in converting the Pandya king Arikesari Maravarman, known to tradition variously as Nedumaran, Sundara Pandya, and Kun Pandya, to Saivism, and thenceforth Jainism naturally lost the support of this royal family.

The picture of Jainism as a religion, which we get in this period, does not differ materially from what we know of it in later days. The community was divided into the monastic order and the lay following, with further sub-divisions, particularly among the former. The building of temples, the establishment of monasteries, the worship of the prophets, and celebration of great public festivals were the normal features of the religious life of the people. Circumstances probably led to a change of habits of some of the monks, which produced the distinction between Chaityavasa (residence in the monastery) and Vanavasa (residence in the forest). The former developed a more compact organisation which led to the establishment of a spiritual head of the community of a given locality, called the Bhattarakas, whose lists of succession called the Pattavalis, often cover long periods of time. Many religious records of these days speak of the observance of the vow of Sallekhana, the peculiarly Jain practice of observing fast unto death, as performed both by monks and laity, and we observe a steady growth of holy places to which monks and pious householders retired towards the end of their life.

II. Jain Canon

More important than this external history of the Jain religion is the internal history of its church, which underwent momentous changes in this period. We have seen how a Council of Elders, held in Pataliputra two centuries after the death of Mahavira, had succeeded in redacting the canon of the sacred writings, though the work of the council did not get the recognition of the whole community. Even after this event, the canon did not remain closed, and new additions, in the form of works of great Jain teachers of later days, were made now and then,—a process which went on along with the loss of older material. But the ninth century after Vira-nirvana (i.e.

fourth-fifth century A.D.) appears to be of greater peril to the sacred books than usual. Tradition tells repeatedly of severe famines of long duration, making the preservation of the knowledge of sacred books more and more difficult. The difficulty was further increased by the loss of great teachers who had memorised these writings in full. In spite of the constant use of the same two motifs, both appear quite likely and must be held responsible for the great changes in the history of the Ardha-Magadhi canon. The early part of the ninth century after Vlra-nirvana saw, according to tradition, two attempts at the restitution of the canon, one by Sthandila at Mathura and the other by Nagarjuna at Valabhl in Kathiawar. Though not much of their work is left to us, we have some variant readings recorded by later commentators, especially attributed to Nagarjuna, which preserve something of his attempt at settling the canon.

More fruitful in results, than these earlier attempts at settling the text of the sacred books, was another in what is generally called the Second Council at Valabhl. It was held under the able guidance of Devardhigani in either 980 A.V. or 993 A.V. (A.D. 512 or 525). It has been suggested 1 that this Council was held in the reign of king Dhruvasena I of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhl and probably under his patronage. This king is also extolled as a Jain convert in later tradition. But the association of the Council with this king is doubtful. The numerous records of the Maitraka kings of Valabhl. who were undoubtedly ruling there at the time, make no mention of it, nor do they betray any inclination towards Jainism. The Jain tradition itself does not assign this event to the time of any particular king or dynasty. All these facts would naturally lead to the

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supposition that the community did not enjoy any special patronage of the Valabhi kings, and that the whole of the Second Council was mainly the work of the Jain church. That this locality was a famous centre of Jain literary activity from early times is clearly proved by Jain tradition. The recently discovered Digambara works of the ninth century embody in them older works of Dharasena, who taught the sacred books to his pupils Pushpadanta and Bhutabali, who lived in Gir.inagar a (Junagarh). In later days, Jinabhadrakshamasramana wrote his famous Vtieshavasyakabhashya at Valabhi in A.D. 609. *

It was in this Second Council at Valabhi, that the Jain canon took its present shape. Though much of its contents and the majority of its books existed before that time and had already formed part of the sacred writings, the peculiar arrangement and the classification of these books is the work of this Council. According to the arrangement now prevailing, the canonical books are divided into six groups, called the Afigas, Upangas, Prakirnakas, Chhedasutras, Mulasutras and an unnamed group. Many of the books of the canon do not recognise some of these titles and do not incorporate them in their introductory portions. This means that they are of later origin than the books themselves and must have been added to them as art extraneous mark.

Only one of these names, viz. Ahga, is old. This part of the canon occupies an equally important position even in the older classification; at least the names of the Ahga-works are common to both the Svetambaras and. the Digambaras. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility of drastic changes in the form and contents of these books. In one glaring instance, that of Pannhavagaranal, even the later tradition of the commentators admits a complete change of contents; in fact, a totally new work has taken the place of an older work, which was lost.

Older than the other remaining names is the title Upahga, 'subsidiary Ahgas.' It occurs in the introduction of the last five books of this group (8 to 12) collectively called Niraydvaiiydo, and from this it appears that there was a time when this group consisted only of these, and were associated with corresponding works of the Ahga group. From these and other works, all of which are to be found in the older Ahga-bahira section, a new class was formed, modelled after the Ahga works, and was made to consist of 12 books in agreement with them. In both these groups, the same plan is followed. First come works dealing with points of doctrine, and then of narrative contents. The identical number later gave rise to the fiction that each Upahga is related to the corresponding Ahga.

In contrast to these two groups, which have a settled list of texts, the next group of the Praklrnakas is of indefinite extent. This is also implied by the name "miscellaneous" texts. From the different lists of these works, however, it is possible to take hold of a fixed and stable core, which is formed by those Praklrnakas which have a disciplinary character. To these older ones were added others to conform to the traditional list of ten. Most of them are metrical in form, and the late Arya metre and the modem form of language suggests for them a late origin.

Older in date than the Praklrnakas, is the group of the Chhedasutras. They represent the oldest form of the rules dealing with the discipline of the Jain monks, particularly in their corporate life in the monasteries. The older among them are written in prose and deal with various punishments for violating the rules of monastic life. The name of this group is known to the AvasyakaniryuktV in the form of Chheyaggantha, and it certainly refers to the kind of punishment called chheda, which consists in reducing the paryaya of the monks for various sins.

A more severe punishment, consisting of the complete annulling of the monkhood, is called Mula. Works which dealt with the basic principles of Jainism and which formed the beginning of the canonical study were put together and given the name of Mulasutras. They are usually reckoned as four in number. Finally two more works, Nandi and Anuyogadvara, were added to the canon. They form a kind of methodological introduction for the study of the sacred writings and are left without a group name.

Along with the process of redacting and shaping of the canon, vigorous literary activity went on among the Jain monks, which resulted in the production of a vast and rich literature of considerable merit. The earlier metrical commentaries, called the Niryuktis, were recast and greatly amplified in the form of Bhashyas by scholars like Saihghadasa, Jinadasa, and Siddhasena; while Prakrit commentaries in prose called churnis were composed on many important canonical books. We also observe a general tendency among Jain scholars to prefer Sanskrit more and more to Prakrit, as being of greater value in their discussions with other schools of thought and of greater prestige. The older commentaries in Prakrit soon gave place to Sanskrit Tikas, and nearly at the end of this period, we find the famous Jain scholar Haribhadra composing works and Tikas in Sanskrit, thus giving an impetus to a tendency which bore ample fruit in later days. The Jain philosophy received in these days greater emphasis on its logical side, and we know

1. vm. 55.

of such keen intellects as Siddhasena, Akalanka, Pujyapada and others formulating Jain dogmatics in a more logical form, defending it against the views of rival philosophical schools and developing the doctrines of Syadvada and Nayavada with admirable skill and wonderful subtlety.

In the South the Digambara Jains cultivated both Prakrit and Sanskrit with energy and zeal. The Prakrit dialect used by their early writers is generally given the name Jain Saurasenl, a dialect of the Saurasenl Prakrit with some peculiarities of its own which are also met with in other Jain Prakrits. With the loss of their canonical books, the Digambaras keenly felt the need of some authoritative works taking the place of the canon, and this was met by the composition of independent treatises on Jain religion and philosophy. Kundakunda, the most celebrated of the Digambara authors, who lived in the early centuries of the Christian era, has several books to his credit, among which Panchastikaya, Pravachanassdra, Samayasara and the Shatprabhritas may be mentioned. All these works are written in the usual Gatha metre. Other Digambara writers, who wrote in Prakrit and who mostly belong to this period, are Vattakera, the author of Muldchdra dealing with the rules of conduct of the Jain monks, Svami Kartikeya, author of the Dvadasdnuprekshd, which treats of the twelve reflections on the glaring shortcomings of the worldly life, Yativrishabha, who wrote his comprehensive survey of Jain cosmography in his Tiloyapannatti, and famous Jain patriarchs like Pushpadanta, Bhutabali and Gunadhara, to whom we owe the Siddhanta granthas. Of Digambara scholars who wrote in Sanskrit we may mention Samantabhadra, Pujyapada, Akalanka, Manatunga and others. It is worthy of note that among the Digambaras also we find the same preference for Sanskrit over Prakrit, particularly in the philosophical works, though the latter continued to be used for a short time more in dealing with dogmatic topics like the Karma-doctrine.

III. Iconography

The Khan^agiri caves at Bhuvanesvara contain some standing and seated Jina images of the later Gupta and early mediaeval periods, which are interesting from the iconographic point of view. The northernmost cave known as Satghara or Satbakhra contains on its rear wall two rows of carvings; the upper one representing the first seven of the Tirthakaras, all in sarruidhi-mudra distinguished by their individual symbols beneath their lotus seats, and the lower consisting of seven female figures guarded by Ganesa, a Jain version of the Brahmanical Saptamdtrikd with the elephant-headed deity

as the guardian angel. 1 Another section of the same cave contains two rows of figures, the upper showing the 24 Tlrthakaras, the lower, 24 female figures, most probably the corresponding Sasanadevatas of the former. The Jinas are distinguishable by their symbols most of which conform to the texts; but the iconography of the Yakshinls is extremely varied, some of them endowed with eight, ten, twelve and even twenty arms, their corresponding textual descriptions being hardly available. These and a few other mediaeval reliefs of the Khandagiri caves fully prove that the iconographic art had developed to a great extent among the Jains by the later Gupta and early mediaeval periods.

D. VAISHNAVISM

The Gupta Emperor Chandra-gupta II was a devout follower of the Bhagavata religion, one of the many names by which Vaishnavism was known. 2 He assumed the title parama-Bhdgavata , a usage followed by his successors. Although the title is not found in association with Samudra-gupta, this king is known to have adopted the emblem of Garudadhvaja and claimed to have been an incarnation of the Inscrutable Being, probably indicating Vishnu. These facts show that Samudra-gupta was also a Vaishnava, although there seems to have been a doctrinal difference between his faith and that of his parama-Bhdgavata successors. 3 The patronage of the religion by the Imperial Guptas might have been the cause rather than the effect of the growing importance of the new religious creed in the Gupta age. There is no doubt that from the end of the fourth century it gradually grew in popularity all over India, and we find many other royal families assuming the titles parama-Bhdgavata and in some cases also paramaV aishnava.

1. The Avatar as of Vishnu

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An important feature of the Bhagavata religion in the Gupta age was the popular worship of the Avataras, i.e. Descents or Incarnations, of Vishnu. Epigraphic and literary records of the period throw light on the evolution of the theory of Avatar a, the germ of which is however to be traced in the later Vedic literature. The conception of the Vamana (Dwarf) avatar a associated with Vishnu, and that of the Varaha (Boar), Matsya (Fish) and Kurma (Tortoise) avatdras not yet connected with that god, are to be found in the Satapatha and other Brdhmanas. The £atapatha Brdhmana tells a story about the contest between gods and Asuras for a place of sacrifice, in which the Asuras agreed to concede as much land as was equal to the size of the dwarf. Vishnu, the dwarf, was made to lie down; but he grew so large as to encompass the whole earth which, therefore, passed to the gods. According to the same source, “having assumed the form of a tortoise, Prajapati created offspring” and “in the form of a boar he (Prajapati) raised the earth from the bottom of the ocean.” In the Taittiriya Aranyaka the earth is said to have been raised from the waters by a black boar with a hundred arms. This work also alludes to the Nrisirhha or Man-Lion. In the story of the Great Deluge in the Satapatha Brdhmana, the Fish that towed Manu’s vessel into safety was the incarnation of Prajapati Brahman, and this is sometimes supported by the epic and Puranic literature. Later mythology, however, has transferred the functions of the Boar, Fish, and Tortoise from Prajapati Brahman to Vishnu, the most benevolent of the gods. The Gita and some other sections of the Mahabharata represent Vishnu as an ideal divinity and an almighty saviour, working for the salvation of mankind and delighting in both moral goodness and ritualistic purity, and as incarnating himself from time to time in human or animal form in order to maintain the standard of righteousness in the world. But the theory of avatdra presents only a stage of development in the Mahabharata, the earlier sections of the epic not containing any list of the incarnations. Traditions regarding the number of avatdras varied, and the later lists of the ten avatdras, sometimes adhered to, very often give different names. The avatdra theory, which apparently underwent several stages of evolution, seems to be based on old tales of strange animals with mysterious powers of assistance; but many of them had originally nothing to do with Vishnu. The Buddhist conception of the Pratyeka-Buddhas might have influenced the development of the theory.

In a passage of the late Narayaniya section of the Mahabharata mention is made only of four avatdras, viz . Boar, Dwarf, Man-Lion and Man (Vasudeva-Krishna). In another passage of the same section, the deified beings Rama Bhargava and Rama Dasarathi are added to the list making a total of six avatdras , while a third passage gives the list of ten incarnations, by adding Hamsa, Kurma, Mktsya and Kalki (Kalkin) to the above six. According to the Matsya Purana, which also gives a list of ten incarnations, there were three divine avatai'as, viz. Narayana, Narasirhha, and Vamana, as well as seven human avatar as, viz. Dattatreya, Mandhatri, Rama son of Jamadagni, Rama son of Dasaratha, Vedavyasa, Buddha, and Kalki. The same section occurs in the V&yu Purana with the substitution of Krishna for Buddha. The Harivanhsa gives a list of ten incarnations which omits Matsya, Kurma, one of the Ramas, and Buddha v but adds Lotus, Datta (Dattatreya), Kesava, and Vyasa. There are three lists of the avatar as in the Bhdgavata Puraiia; but they do not agree with one another. One of these lists, according to which the incarnations are really innumerable (cf. the avatar a theory of the Gita), mentions no less than 24 avatar as. The Ahirbudhnya Samhita % probably assignable to a date earlier than the eighth century, speaks of 39 vibhavas (manifestations) of the Supreme Being. Other Pancharatra works like the Vishvaksena-samhitd mention Buddha, Arjuna and others in the list of secondary avataras. Buddha is recognised as an avatdra in the Dasdvatdra-charita of the Kashmirian author Kshemendra (c. A.D. 1050), and in the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva (c. A.D. 1200) of eastern India. Jayadeva sings in praise of Krishna who is Vishnu himself, and of his ten avataras, viz. Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-Lion, Dwarf, Rama Bhargava, Rama Dasarathi, Rama Haladhara, Buddha and Kalki. The same names are found in a well-known Puranic verse enumerating the ten avataras, which is quoted in a

Mamallapuram (near Madras) inscription 1 of about the eighth century A.D. The Belava Grant (c. A.D. 1125) refers to Krishna as a “partial incarnation” of Hari. 2

The worship of some of the avatdras is amply attested to by the Indian epigraphic records of the period between the fourth and the eighth century A.D. The early worship of Parasurama in Western India is indicated by an inscription of the second century A.D. although his conception as an avatdra of Vishnu might not have been so early. The Nasik inscription of Saka Rishabhadatta (A.D. 119 24) speaks of the Ramatlrtha, which was known to the Mahd* bhdrata as the holy abode of Rama, son of Jamadagni. and was situated in the suburbs of ^prparaka not far to the north of modern Bombay. The usual belief 3 that the wmrship of Dasarathi Rama

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was not popular in the Gupta Age seems to be wrong. It has to be remembered in connection with the Avatara theory that the deification and worship of the incarnations are earlier than their identification with Vishnu. The poet Kalidasa (c. A.D. 400) describes in the Raghuvarhsa , canto X, how Vishnu, lying on the great serpent in the ocean of milk, with Lakshmi rubbing his feet, was born as Dasaratha’s son for Ravana’s destruction, while the Vakataka queen Prabhavatl-gupta (fifth century), the atyanta-bhagavad-hhaktd daughter of Chandra-gupta II, was a worshipper of Bhagavat Ramagirisvamin (literally, the lord at Ramagiri, i.e. modern Ramtek near Nagpur), who seems to be no other than Rama, son of Dasaratha. The suggestion is supported by the reference in Kalidasa’s Megha duta to the foot-prints of Raghupati (Rama Dasarathi) on the Ramagiri and by the worship of Rama, Lakshmana, and Slta in the temples at Ramtek at the present time. The warship of the Ikshvaku king is indicated in the sixth century by Varahamihira who formulated rules for the making of Rama’s image. The South Indian saint Kulasekhara, king of Kerala in the Malabar coast, was a devotee of Rama, The worship of the third Rama, i.e. Balarama-Sankarshana, is not however well attested by epigraphic records of the Gupta age. The Dwarf incarnation is implied by Vishjiu’s epithets

Indr-dnuja (Indra's younger brother) and Upendra (the lesser Indra) found in epigraphs like the Bihar pillar inscription of the fifth century, and also by the Junagarh inscription of Skanda-gupta referring to Vishnu "who, for the sake of the lord of the gods, seized back from Bali the goddess of wealth and splendour." Krishna's identification with Vishnu is alluded to in the name Vishnugopa 1 popular in the family of the early Pallavas from the fourth century, and also in the epigraphic passages referring to Vishnu as "the mighty bee on the water-lily which is the face of Jambavatl" (Tusham inscription) and as "Madhava whose feet are graced by the attentions of Sri (Lakshmi) and who is born from Vasudeva" (Aphsad inscription). An image of Krishna was installed in a cave in the Barabar hills by the Maukhari chief Anantavarman in the fifth century. The Narasimha incarnation is referred to in records like the Alina grant of A.D. 766. But the most important avatara whose worship was very popular in different parts of India in the Gupta age seems to have been Varaha or the Boar whose legend may have been originally associated with that of the Great Deluge referred to in the later Vedic literature. A stone image of Varaha, with an inscription of the time of the Huna king Toramana (c. A.D. 500) recording the erection of a stone temple of "Narayana who has the form of a boar," was found at Eran. A Damodarpur inscription of the time of Budha-gupta

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refers to the gods Svetavarahasvamin and Kokamukhasvamin, both representing the Varaha avatara, whose temples stood on the Himavachchhikhara (peak of the Himalayas), apparently at the present Varahachhatra (Varahakshetra) at the junction of the rivers KausikI and Koka in Nepal. An inhabitant of North Bengal, who seems to have visited the Kokamukha tlrtha or Varahakshetra in the Himalayas on pilgrimage, constructed temples for the installation of two gods of the same names in the forest region near Damodarpur in the Dinajpur District of Bengal. 1 The popularity cf the Boar incarnation in the far South of India is indicated by an early Kadamba record from Tagare belonging to the sixth century. The Early Chalukyas had the Boar as their family emblem, said to have been received through the grace of Narayana. Most of the records of the Chalukyas and their feudatories begin with an adoration to the Varaha incarnation of Vishnu.

The inscriptions of the Gupta age do not refer to the independent worship of the Vyuhas, Sankarshana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha, although the Vyuha doctrine finds a prominent place in the Pancharatra literature of this period, some of the Samhitds being composed in Kashmir between the fourth and the eighth century, according to Schrader. The Amarakosa , composed much earlier than the eighth century, mentions all the Vyuhas. But the doctrine was not popular with the ordinary Vishnu worshippers of the Gupta period. A modified form of the Vyuha-vada is noticed in the joint worship of Baladeva, Krishna, and Subhadra, or Ekanaihsa, who is sometimes identified with Subhadra but sometimes with the Devi born as the daughter of Nandagopa. Varahamihira speaks of the combined image of Baladeva and Krishna with Ekanaihsa standing between them. A later inscription from Bhuvanesvara refers to the adoratioh of Bala, Krishna, and Subhadra. In Kashmir, which was a great centre of the Vyuha cult, there developed the worship of the Vaikuntha-chaturmurti form of Vishnu wherein the four Vyuhas were comprised. The Khajuraho inscription (A.D. 954) gives the interesting history of one such image which was originally found in the Kailasa (in the upper Himalayas) and was later worshipped in the Kira country near Kashmir. These facts, as well as the celebrated Svetadvlpa and Nara-Narayana traditions, point to the popularity of the Pancharatra doctrine in the Himalayan countries.

According to some scholars, Bhagavatism and Pancharatra, which were possibly related at the beginning, became completely different in the Gupta period. 2 It is further suggested that the Vyuha-vada, exclusively associated with Pancharatra, was quite

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different from the Avatara-vada in the ideological basis. The first suggestion cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge, while the second seems to be disproved by the evidence of Pahcharatra works like the Ahirbudhnya Sarhhitd and the Vishvaksena Samhitd, noticed above. There is no doubt that the Vvuha-vadins were very much influenced by the avatdra theory as early as the age of the early Paiicharatr a Samhitas, while Krishna and Bala ram a are regarded as avatar as in the Vaishnava literature from practically the same age. It must, however, be admitted that there are some indications regarding the existence of doctrinal differences amongst the Vaishnavas of the Gupta Age, to which reference has already been made. This difference, the exact nature of which can hardly be determined with certainty, seems to be illustrated by the Harshacharita making separate mention of the Bhagavatas and the Pahcharatrikas, explained by a commentator respectively as Vishnu-bhaktas (devotees of Vishnu) and Vaishnava-bheda (a sect of Vishnu worshippers), although Pahcharatra works like the Padma Tantra would use the names Suri (cf. the Rigveda using the word in the sense of a class favoured by Vishnu), Suhrit, Bhagavata, Satvata, Pahchakalavit, Ekantika, Tanmaya and Pancharatrika. As already pointed out, it seems that originally the Pancharatrikas were devotees of the deified sage Narayana, and the Bhagavatas of the deified Vrishni hero Vasudeva, the two sects being later amalgamated in an attempt to identify Narayana and Vasudeva; but the names Bhagavata and Vaishnava were sometimes used to indicate Vishnu worshippers in general. The Gupta Age witnessed the evolution of neo-Vaishnavism from the tribal form of Bhagavatism practised originally by the members of Vasudeva's family.

2. Sri or Lakshmi, Wife of Vishnu

Another feature of Vaishnavism in the Gupta period is the conception of Lakshmi or Sri as Vishnu's wife. The early history of Lakshmi has been discussed above,[1] but her being regarded as the wife of Visionu is much later. Vishnu is mentioned in the

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Junagarh inscription of Skanda-gupta as the perpetual resort of Lakshmi who is represented in the Sarnath inscription of Prakataditya as the wife of Vasudeva. The Aphsad inscription of Adityasena refers to Damodara, the slayer of demons, and to Vasudeva's son Madhava whose feet are graced by the attentions of Sri. The GajaLakshml device, found on some early coins and sculptures, was adopted as emblem by certain royal families as those of Sarabhapura and Samatata. A Kadamba record of c. A.D. 500 begins with an adoration of Bhagavat with Sri on his breast and Brahman on

1. Vol. II, pp. 469-71.

the lotus sprung from his navel. A second wife of Vishnu was supposed to be the Earth, called Vaishnavi in some epigraphs, e.g. those of the Sarabhapura kings. Vishnu is described in his dhyana as indira-vasumati-sarnsobhi-pdrsvcidvaya and the early Chalukya emperors and their successors, who called themselves paramaBhagavata as well as sri-prithivl-vallabha (lord of Sri and PrithivI), apparently claimed to be incarnations of Vishnu.

The cult of Srl-Lakshml had probably something to do w T ith the worship of the Greek Goddesses, especially Pallas Athene, introduced in the country by the Indo-Greek kings, as indicated by their coins from the beginning of the secord century B.C. It is probable that the Sahkhya doctrine of Purus! a and Prakriti influenced greatly the conception not only of Lakshrm as the consort of Vishnu but also of the Devi as that of Siva.

3. Vishnu Mythology in Epigraphic Records

In a large number of epigraphs, including the Gadhwa inscription of Kumara-gupta I, Vishnu is mentioned only as the Bhagavat without reference to his name. In the Eran inscription of A.D. 484 the god is called Janardana and described as “the four-armed lord whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans, who is the cause of the continuance, production and destruction of the universe and whose ensign is Garuda.” There is reference to Hari as jagatpravritti-samhdra-srishti-mdyddhara in a Kadamba inscription of the sixth century. The god Changu-Narayana, i.e. Narayana on Changu or Garuda, in a temple on the Dolaparvata in Nepal, existed before king Manadeva’s inscription of A.D. 464. In different records the god is represented as the troubler of the demons called Punyajana, as the supporting pillar of the three worlds (in the boar or tortoise form), as the slayer of Madhu and Mura, and as the bearer of the discus, of the club, of the bow of horn, of the sword called Nandaka, of the jewel known as the Kaustubha, and of the garland of lotuses. There is an allusion to the slumber of Madhusudana during the four months of the rainy season in the Gangdhar inscription of A.D. 423. The Alina grant of A.D. 766 probably refers to the pdrijdta-harana episode. The Bhitari inscription of Skandagupta refers to Krishna approaching his mother DevakI after having slain his enemies. In an inscription from Mandasor, dated A.D. 404, there is probably a reference to the Sakr.a festival described as dear to Krishna. In this record, Vasudeva is called the lord who is saranya , jagadvdsa , aprameya and aja (cf. dtmabhu of the Jaunpur inscription of the Maukharis), and is represented as a great tree having the gods as its fruits, the celestial damsels as its fine shoots, the heavenly palaces as its many branches, and the showers of rain as

its flow of honey. We probably get here an imperfect allusion to the Visvarupa conception of Vishnu.

The influence of the Vishnu mythology can also be traced in the archaeological remains in different parts of India. The basreliefs at Badami, belonging to the age of early kings of the Chalukya family, some of whom are styled parama-Bhagavata , depict Vishnu lying on a serpent with Lakshmi massaging his feet, the Boar and Man-Lion incarnations, and also Hari-Hara. The Varaha, Narasnhha, and Vamana avataras are also found in the sculptures of the rockcut caves at Udayagiri and Mamallapuram. A temple at Deogarh in the Jhansi District, U.P., probably belonging to the sixth century, has the representation of Vishnu the Eternal reclining on Ananta with the gods watching from above, and also that of Nara and Narayana, A sculpture at Pathari in Central India, probably of the same century, is supposed to represent the new born Krishna lying by his mother’s side and watched by five attendants. Krishna upholding the Govardhana hill is illustrated in the sculptures of Mathura and Sarnath. The Dasavatara and Kailasanatha temples at Ellora, ascribed to the eighth century, also contain representations of the avataras and other deities of the Vishnu pantheon.

4. Vaishnavism and Other Creeds

According to some writers, the Khoh inscription of A.D. 441, which records a grant of land actually in favour of Bhagavat and Aditya-bhattaraka, points to the solar association of Vaishnavism in the fifth century. The suggestion is, however, unwarranted. The language of the record seems to suggest that a person named Vishnunandin built a temple of Bhagavat and received on behalf of the god half of a village from the king, while three merchants named Saktinaga, Kumaranaga, and Skandanaga, who had built a temple of the Sun-god, received for their deity the other half of the village. There seems to be no evidence that the same person worshipped Vishnu and the Sun-god. That the Sun was not adored by the Vaishnavas in the fifth century is suggested by the degradation of Samba, a champion of the solar cult and often identified with the Sun-god, in the estimation of the Vaishnavas, as well as by verses 21-22 of the Gangdhar inscription of A.D. 423. This record, however, speaks of a worshipper of Vishnu building a temple, full of the Dakinis, in honour of the Divine Mothers "who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy and stir up the oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion." This no doubt points to the influences of the Tantric cult of the mother-goddess on the Vaishnavas. In this connection it may be noted that, in the fifth century, the Maukhari chief Anantavarman installed an image of Krishna in one of the caves in the Nagarjuni hill and also the images (or probably a joint image known as the ardha-ndrisvara) of Bhutapati (Siva) and the Devi (Durga) in another cave in the same hill. This no doubt points to an early approach between Vaishnavism on the one hand and Saiva and Sakta worship on the other. The early Chalukyas of Badami, whose family god was Vishnu, also worshipped the god Karttikeya (associated with Siva) and the Seven Mothers. Mention may also be made in this connection of the cult of Hari-Hara (a combination of Vishnu and Siva), the Devi's role as the daughter of Nandagopa (cf. the Harivamsa and the Bala ~ charita attributed to Bhasa), and the tri~murti conception of the gods Brahman, Vishnu and Siva. The representation of Hari-Hara is found in a Chalukya cave-temple of the sixth century. Several early Kadamba inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries contain adoration to Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha or Hara-Narayana-Brahman.

5. Vishnu Worship in the Far South

Mention has already been made of the adoration to Vasudeva in the Chinna (Krishna District) inscription which belongs to the close of the second century A.D., and of a Na ray ana temple in Guntur District, as well as the name of Pailava Vishnu-gopa in the records of the fourth century. In the inscriptions of the Gupta Age there are references to temples or hag-staffs of the god Vishnu-NarayanaVasudeva throughout the length and breadth of India, in Nepal and the upper regions of the Beas in the north, in Bengal in the east, in Kathiawar in the west and the trans-Krishna region in the south where some of the Earfy Pailava and Early Gahga rulers were devout Bhagavatas. Vishnu worship was also prevalent in the Early Kadamba kingdom; but the most popular religion there appears to have been Jainism. Some of the Early Kadamba kings, who call themselves parama-brahmanya, may have been Vaishnavas. Several southern rulers, who claim to have been Kaliyuga-doshdvasanna «. dharm-oddharana-nitya-sannaddha, possibly attempted to suppress heretical creeds such as Buddhism and Jainism, to revive the Brahmanical religion and also possibly to represent themselves, like king Samudra-gupta of the north, as incarnations of Vishnu, emulating the god’s doings in the Varaha form. Another indication of the influence of Vaishnavite Brahmanism in the Far South is the importance attached in some Pailava and Kadamba records to the go-brahmana (the cow and the Brahmana) exactly as in the Vaishnava inscriptions from Eran. In the later part of the Mahdbhdrata, Vishnu is represented as the benefactor of the cow and the Brahmana (cf. go-brdhmana-hita). This points not only to the association of the Brahmanas with Vishnu worship, but also to the important position to which they rose in social estimation in the period in question.

The association of the name of the Pandya capital Madura, which is the same as Mathura, the home of the early Bhagavata sect, may have something to do with the Tamil country soon becoming the greatest stronghold of the Bhagavata religion and giving birth to the Alvars and their celebrated songs in Tamil on Bhakti and Krishna worship. The worship of Krishna and Baladeva in the Tamil land about the age of the Guptas is attested to by Tamil literature. The Silappadikdram refers to temples of the two gods at Madura, Kaviripaddinam and other cities, while the poet Kari-Kannam of Kaviripaddinam describes them as the darkcomplexioned god bearing the wheel and the w r hite-complexioned god with the flag of the palmyra.

The best evidence of the influence of Vaishnavism in the Far South, specially in the Tamil country, is furnished by the devotional songs of the Alvars of whom a short account has been given above. 1 They sang in praise of Narayana and the Krishna, Rama and Vamana avatdras. They were also familiar with Krishna's dalliance with the gopls (cow T herd maidens). One of them, a lady, regarded herself as a gopl and approached the God, her beloved, in that spirit. They revered the Vedic literature and knew the principal Puranas, but inculcated the recitation of the God's name, meditation on his different forms, and their worship at the temples such as those at Srlrangam, Tirupati and Alagarkoil. It is apparently because of the Alvars and their successors, the Vaishnava dcharyas, that the Bhagavata Parana speaks of the existence of large numbers of the worshippers of Vasudeva-Narayana in the Dravida country in the Kali age when they were rare elsewhere in India.

6. Iconography

The images of worship grew in number and variety. They may be divided into three broad classes, such as the principal Vishnu icons (Dhruva-beras), the Vyuhas (emanatory forms), and the Vibhavas (incarnatory forms). These were constructed and placed either in the main sanctum of the shrine or in subsidiary shrines and niches adjoining the former. The first of these, viz. the Dhruvaberas, can be broadly classed under three heads, viz. the sthdnaka (standing), dsana (seated) and sayana (recumbent), specimens of each of v/hich have been discovered. 2 The commonest types of such

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figures are those which are attended by Sri and Pushti in Northern or Sri and Bhumi in Southern India as the main accessories, and carry the four attributes, viz. lotus (rarely, usually a lotus mark), club, wheel, and conchshell in their four hands. According to the disposition of the different attributes in different hands, twenty-four different forms of Vishnu were distinguished. Among these the Trivikrama was the most popular mode of his representation in which the four attributes were held respectively in the lower right, upper right, upper left and lower left hands. One of the earliest

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sthanaka Vishnu images is found carved on the facade of the cavetemple at Udayagiri in Bhopal State, and though the relief is very much mutilated, enough remains to show that some of the attributes of Vishnu, viz. Sahkha and Chakra are personified, and Vishnu's back hands are placed on the top of these Ayndha-purushas, which take the place of the usual attendants Sri and Pushti.

The asana types of extant Vishnu images are not so numerous as the sthanaka ones described above, and very few of the extant specimens of this variety go back to a period earlier than the Gupta. One of the earliest of such types is found engraved on the central part of the principal architrave in the main sanctum of the Deogarh temple. Vishnu is seated in ardhaparyahka attitude on the coils of Adisesha attended by his two consorts one of whom is shampooing his leg. The god wears a square Kirlta and the seven hoods of the snake are spread canopy-wise over his head; the host of the garlandbearing Vidyadharas, singly or in couples, are shown above flying towards him in a row from either side. The whole composition is elegant and shows the characteristic excellence of the Gupta art. 1 This form of the god seems to have been the prototype of the variety of Vishnu images described as Adimurti in the Vaikhdnasdgama text. 2 One of the earliest of the Garudasana Vishnu images is the unique sculpture in greyish black stone, about 6.4" in height, found near Lakshmankati (Backerganj District) in Bengal. The peculiarities of this very interesting type cannot be explained with the help of any known iconographic text; some of these undoubtedly show Mahayana influence, and in view of this peculiarity and other features, the image can be ascribed to the eighth century A.D. 3 The sculpture No. D.37 of buff coloured sandstone in the collection of the Curzon Museum at Mathura 4 illustrates an interesting variety of

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the Yogasana-Vishnu. The whole relief is crowded with accessory figures, such as those of the triad in three miniature shrines, the personified representations of sahkha , chakra and gadd, the rivergoddesses Ganga and Yamuna, Garuda, etc. on the different sections of the prabhdvall; the central figure is seated in baddhapadmasana with his front hands in the yogamudrd, his back right and left hands holding gadd and chakra respectively. The whole composition is exceedingly well-carved, and the careful and methodical grouping of the accessories in relation to the principal deity is praiseworthy.

The Sayanamurti of Vishnu, comparatively rare in Northern India, is one of the types of Vishnu images usually enshrined in the main sanctum of the South Indian Vaishnava temples and known by the name of RahgasvamI or Rahganatha. The god is generally depicted as lying on the folds of Adisesha, with one or two of his consorts attending him, and Brahma, the creator, seated on a lotus flow r er, the stalk of which issues out of his navel; there are various other accessory figures of gods and demons clustering round him. The ideology underlying this image-type can be traced back to the tenth mandala of the Rigveda, and is the same which is found in the developed concept of the cosmic god Narayana in the epic and Puranic texts; the type visualises the state of pralaya (dissolution) in which the nucleus of creation lies latent in the One alone, from whom again creation takes place. A relief in one of the side niches in the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh (Jhansi, Central India) very characteristically portrays the iconographic motif and is one of the oft-reproduced Vishnu figures of the Gupta period. V. A. Smith is hardly justified in tracing in it marked influence of the Greek Endymion a copy of which is now housed in the Stockholm Museum. 1

Another class of Vaishnava images depict the avatar as of Vishnu which are found all over India. Their images are usually carved in a row on stone slabs originally decorating some part of Vaishnava shrines, and are sometimes shown on the reverse sides of the square stone or metal plaques (Vishnu-pattas) found in Eastern India. The elegantly carved Nara-Narayana relief in one of the side niches of the Gupta temple at Deogarh is of special interest, for it is one of the rarest iconographic motifs of ancient and mediaeval India. The four-armed figure stands for Narayana, the two-armed one being that of Nara, and both are shown in a tranquil attitude. 2 Some very fine sculptures depicting the Boar, Man-Lion and Dwarf incarnations of Vishnu are found carved in different parts of the rock-cut temples at Udayagiri (Bhopal State), Badami, and Mamallapuram belonging to the Gupta, early Chalukya, and Pallava periods

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respectively. 1 Varaha is often depicted in his animal form. Narasimha, as his name indicates, was always represented in his hybrid form, Vamana incarnation was represented in the dwarf and the giant (Vamana and Virata or Trivikrama) forms. Matsya and Kurma avatar as are usually shown in their animal forms, though hybrid ones are also not unknown. The past human incarnations of Vishnu, viz. Parasurama, Rama Dasarathi, Balarama, and Buddha were seldom supernaturalised, their images endowed with more than two hands being rare; their varieties are also fewer in number. Kalki, the future avatdra , depicted as a horseman brandishing a sword, is always found as the last figure in the Dasavatara relief. 2 There are many sculptures illustrating the stories of Krishna, and the Mathura and Sarnath figures of Krishna holding Govardhana hill are cases in point. The former carved in red spotted sandstone, the usual medium of the artists of Mathura, shows the two-armed god standing in the dvibhahga attitude with his left hand in the katyavalambita pose and the right hand uplifting the mountain Govardhana below whose shelter are shown the people and the cattle of Vraja. The Sarnath sculptures, its lower portion much damaged, is one of the most beautiful examples of Gupta art, and the serene and calm expression on the face of the god lays stress on the effortless ease with which he had performed the superhuman task. The four principal Vyuha forms of Vasudeva-Vishnu, viz. Vasudeva, Sahkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, are sometimes represented in curious composite figures with four faces and four or eight hands with usual Vaishnava attributes; the central face is a placid human one, and the face just opposite—if the image is fully in the round—is that of an ugly demon, the side faces being those of a lion and a boar. Such images, found in large numbers in the ruins of mediaeval Vaishnava temples in Kashmir, fall under the Vishnu-Chaturmurti group, and portray in a striking manner one of the cardinal doctrines of the Pahcharatra system.

V

E. SAIVISM

1. North India and the Deccan

The coming into power of the Guptas in A.D. 320 gave a fillip to Hinduism. Though most of the Gupta emperors were worshippers of Vishnu, they were not sectarians, and under their rule, Saivism flourished along with other forms of Hinduism. Kumara-gupta I (A.D. 415-455), for instance, seems to have favoured the Skanda cult, in spite of his Vaishnavism, as is evidenced by his peacock coins and by the name ‘Skanda’ he gave to his son. Kalidasa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and playwright, was a devotee of Siva; and he has immortalised the paurdnika episode of the birth of Skanda in one of his epics, the Kumdrasambhava. Bharavi, another poet of great merit who lived in the sixth century, wrote a mahdkdvya called Kirdtarjunlya , whose theme is the conflict of Arjuna with &iva in the guise of a hunter, leading to the bestowal of blessings by the god on the Pandu prince. Two of the Puranas which are devoted to Siva, viz. the Vdyu and the Matsya, are assigned to the Gupta age. The numerous temples and images of Siva during this period have been referred to elsewhere.

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If the religious beliefs of the kings and royal families may be regarded as a fair index of the popularity of a religious cult, Saivism must have made great headway during this period. Its popularity with foreign rulers continued, and the Huna king Mihirakula, like some early Kushana kings, was a great devotee of Siva. Sasahka, king of Bengal, and some members of the Pushpabhuti family of Kanauj and the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhl were also Saivas.

In the Deccan the Brihatphalayanas, the Anandas, and the Vishnukundins were followers of Saivism, and many Vakataka, Salahkayana, Kadamba and Western Gahga rulers were ardent devotees of Siva.

2. South India

In South India Saivism became a great rival of both Jainism and Buddhism. As the fortunes of a faith depended largely on the persuasion of the ruler, the exponents of different creeds vied with one another in their efforts to convert the ruler to their faith. Thus Mahendra-varman I (c. 600-630), the Paliava king, was a Jain to start with, and it is said that as Jain he persecuted the followers of other faiths. But when he came under the influence of Saint Appar and adopted Saivism, he seems to have viewed with disfavour * Jain doctrine, as a consequence of which its leading exponents fell from grace. In a Sanskrit burlesque called Mattavilasa-praha sana, which is ascribed to Mahendra, Buddhist monks are caricatured and mention is made of Saiva sects like the Kapalika and the Pasupata. After Mahendra became a convert to Saivism, Kanchl became a stronghold of this faith. He caused great temples to be built all over his kingdom, and the images of giva as well as of the other deities of the Trinity were installed therein. His successors continued the work in connection with the renaissance of Saivism.

The great upsurge in favour of Saivism was mainly due to the enormous devotional poetry that flowed from the lips of the leading.

Saiva saints who lived in this age. Many of the sixty-three ndyanmdrs or adiyars (canonical saints of Saivism) flourished during this period. The most famous among them and their literary works have been discussed above. 1 We shall give here a few further details regarding these saints, and indicate briefly the contribution they made to the progress of Saivism in South India.

Tirumular's Tirumandiram (or -mantiram) is a highly abstruse work expounding the Saiva doctrine in the light of the author's own mystic experience. The purpose of Tirumular's work would seem to have been to reconcile the Agamas with the Vedas. For he says, "The Agama, as much as the Veda, is truly the word of God; one is general and the other is special; though some hold these words of the Lord, the two antas, to be different." Tirumular uses the term Vedanta-siddhanta several times to mean that the end of both the Veda and Saiva doctrine is the same. In one place he declares: "Becoming Siva is the Vedanta-siddhanta. The remaining four {antas } viz. Nadanta, Bodhanta, Yoganta and Kalanta) are vain (teachings). If Sadasiva that becomes Siva attains oneness, the Vedanta-knowledge verily becomes Siddhanta." Tirumular speaks of four forms of Saivism: suddha, asuddha, mdrga, and kadumsuddha. The asuddha or impure variety of Saivism is that in which there is not the Vedanta-knowledge. And by contrast, Vedanta is suddha-saiva-siddhdnta. While the former is lost largely in the externals, the latter penetrates into the core of Saivism. The mdrga Saivas are those who follow the sanmarga. Though they wear the external marks of Saivism, they do not stop there. For them the true path is the path of knowledge. Caryd, kriya, yoga, and jnana are the four stages in the sddhana . When the aspirant has reached the last stage, the grace of God descends upon him; and by that he is released. The descent of grace is called Sakti-nipdta by Tirumular—a conception which plays an important part in the later Saiva-siddhanta doctrine. The last class of Saivas who are termed kadum-suddha Saivas are those who do not stand in need of the external marks of Saivas, and who have no outward show. They go straight to Siva, and ridding themselves of the bondage of desires, obtain the knowledge of Siva. Their method is analogous to the sadyo-mdrga of Advaita-Vedanta. Naturally those who are adepts in this path must be rare. The goal, according to Tirumular, is becoming one with God whom he designates Nandin or Siva. As helps in the attainment of this goal, he recognises some of the current methods like yoga and mantropdsand. But he places the sanmarga of the Siddhanta above all of them. While some are outer creeds (purachchamayas) , according to Tirumular, others are inner

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(utchamayas). He does not, however, specify them. Probably the inner creeds are the various forms of Saivism; and among them the Vedanta-siddhanta (in the sense in which Tirumular uses the term) is the highest. Thus it will be readily seen how the foundations of the system of Saivism prevalent in South India were laid by Tirumular in his Tirumandiram.

Appar, Tiru-jnana-sambandhar (or Sambandar), Sundaramurti (or Sundarar), and Manikkavachakar are the four great teachers of the Saiva creed (sammy achdry as), and are the exemplars respectively of the four main paths of devotion, viz. dasa-mdrga or the path of the servant, satputra-mdrga or the path of the good son, sakhd-mdrga or the path of the friend, and san-mdrga or the true path. All the four were inspired saints or godmen who flooded the country with a great wave of devotional poetry and thus created in the minds of men a disposition favourable for the pursuit of spirituality.

Manikkavachakar was born of Brahmana parents in the township of Vadavur near Madura. After the name of his native town, he is known also as Tiru-vadavurar. He was a prodigy and mastered all the sastras while still in his teens. His fame as a great scholar and a youth of unblemished character reached the ears of the Pandya king who sent for him, and, after satisfying himself about the youth’s intelligence and worth, appointed him as his prime minister. Manikkavachakar served his master and the people of the Pandya kingdom faithfully and wisely; and in return he was trusted and honoured, and had at his command all the luxuries and comforts of a royal court. But his mind was not in such things, as it intensely longed to pursue the Saiva path. Like the Sakya prince of old, Manikkavachakar realised the vanity of earthly splendour; and he was yearning for the help of a guru “who would teach him the mystery of the ‘five letters’ (sivaya-namah) and the ‘way of release.’ ” According to a widely current legend, this desire of his was fulfilled at Tirupperunturai whither he had gone to buy horses for his king. On the outskirts of the town, he came across a guru who, according to the legend, was no other than Lord Siva himself come down from his heavenly abode for the purpose of saving his beloved devotee; and he was transported in an instant into the ecstasy of God-love. Instead of buying horses, Manikkavachakar placed the treasures he had brought at the disposal of his guru, and at the latter’s command returned to Madura and told his king that the horses would arrive in a few days. On the appointed day the horses came, led by Siva himself disguised as a horse-dealer. But the horses were not real; they were jackals transmuted for the time being by the magic power

of the divine Magician (Mayin). And so, when the transaction had been completed, the jackals assumed their true form overnight and fled to the jungles. Seeing deceit in all this, the king got infuriated and ordered the torture of his prime minister. But the ordeals were as nothing to the saint. The unfailing hand of God saved him from the torments. The king now realised his folly and set free the songbird to go whithersoever it liked. Allusions to these incidents are to be found in Manikkavachakar's songs themselves. Plaving divested himself of temporal associations Manikkavachakar devoted the rest of his life to spiritual ministry and the service of God. He first went to Tirupperunturai, the place of his illumination, and lived with his master till the latter left for his heavenly abode. Thereafter he visited the important shrines of South India singing at each place the praise of the Lord, and finally made Chidambaram his headquarters. It was here that he met some Bauddha teachers from Ceylon and defeated them in argument. And when his earthly mission was completed, it is reported, he was received back by the Lord of Chidambaram unto Himself.

The Tiruvdchakam of Manikkavachakar occupies a place in Tamil sacred literature analogous to that of the Upanishads in Sanskrit scriptures. The various stages in the soul's progress from the darkness of ignorance to the light of divine illumination are all -portrayed in the Tiruvdchakam in the most moving terms. To Manikkavachakar the Supreme Deity is Siva, the king of kings,, the lord of all beings. The saint describes Siva by the use of such terms as 'brilliance,' 'nectar,' 'river of mercy,' and 'inner light/ Siva is not in the temples alone; he is everywhere; he has his dwelling in the heart of every being. He also comes in the form of the guru to save the souls that pine to reach His state. Manikkavachakar says: "O, Highest Truth, you came to the earth and revealed your feet to me, and became the embodiment of grace." As a poet and mystic Manikkavachakar has his place among the immortals. The name by which he is known is most appropriate to him, meaning, as it does, 'he whose utterances are gems.'

Appar was a contemporary of the great Pallava king Mahendra I (c. A.D. 600-630). He was born in a rich Vellala family in a South Arcot village and was named Tirunavukkarasu. A miraculous story is told to explain his reconversion from Jainism to Saiva faith. After this Appar toured the Tamil land, visiting every shrine, with a hoe in hand to remove the scrub from the precincts of the temples, and discoursed on the greatness of &iva to large audiences. Alarmed at his increasing popularity, the Jain preceptors induced the Pallava king (Mahendra I) to bring him to book; and the king, who was himself a Jain, put the saint to the severest of tests. With his simple and unshakable faith in Siva, Appar passed through all the ordeals unscathed. The king was so impressed by the lofty spirituality of the saint that he became a convert to Saivism. Then Appar continued his peripatetic tours; and while at Chidambaram, he heard about the miraculous way in which the grace of God had descended upon the boy-saint Sambandhar. Some time later, at this very spot there was a meeting between the two saints at which Sambandhar greeted his elder lovingly as “appa” (meaning ‘father’). From that time onwards the term ‘Appar’ stuck on to Tirunavukkarasu. The two saints travelled together several times, worshipping God wherever they went through songs charged with intense devotion and sharing with each other their rich spiritual experiences. The last years of his life Appar spent at Tiruppugalur; and, according to tradition, he was eighty-one when he passed away from this earth.

Appar’s hymns are full of wisdom and devotion, and reflect the maturity of the author’s mind as well as his deep piety. He had a thorough knowledge of the Siddhanta and had mastered the other systems of thought as well. In one of the songs, he says that Siva is beyond the twenty-five tattvas (of the Sankhyas); and in another he speaks of the ninety-six categories of the Saiva doctrine. Siva, according to him, is the immanent and transcendent Reality. He seems to recognise three forms of Siva: (1) The lowest is Siva, who is a member of the Trinity in charge of the destruction of the universe. (2) The second he calls Pardpara, a combination of Siva and Sakti, also referred to as Pdranjoti. (3) The third and the last is Stambha or the pillar of light, Consciousness-absolute. It is, in fact, beyond all conceptions, indescribable and ineffable. It is the final goal of spiritual life. The way to its attainment lies through steady concentration and unflinching devotion.

“The feet of the Sire (Siva) of the Kadamba youth (viz. Subrahmanya) can be seen,” says Appar, “if He is sought with the help of the light of wisdom issuing forth from the wick of life, fed with the ghee of contemplation in the lamp of the mind placed within the house which is the body.” In the strain of the Upanishad, the saint sings: “We have shown the way of worshipping the Isa thus: let the body be the temple and mind the worshipping slave; let truth be the sanctity (required for worship), and the jewel of the heart be the Linga ; and let love itself be the ghee, milk and water (which are accessories of worship).” Appar was never tired of stressing the need for taking the name of the Lord. “The rare jewel of the Brahmin is the Veda with its six auxiliary studies; but for us the rare jewel is the panchdkshara.” While he regarded the &iva-marga as the highest, he was not so narrow-minded as to think that there was no other path. Siva’s feet, he says, are capable of giving solace to everyone of the followers of the six samayas.

Sambandhar was a contemporary of Appar. He was born in Sir kali (Shiyali) of Brahmana parents in answer, it is said, to the latters’ fervent prayers to Siva for the gift of a son. As a child of three years, he accompanied his father one day to the local tank. While the parent w T as bathing, so goes the legend, the child cried out, whereupon Siva and Parvatl appeared and, out of a golden cup, the latter fed him with the milk of wisdom. Henceforth he became ‘Jnana-sambandha,’ one who is related to God through wisdom. And, overcome by ecstasy, he began to sing the praise of the universal Father and Mother. When the orthodox father realised that his child had been blessed by Parvatl herself, he was overjoyed and carried his darling on his own shoulders from one sacred place to another. Sambandhar visited the various temples singing the glories of Siva. When he was camping on the outskirts of Madura, he was informed by the queen-consort Mahgaiyarkkarasi and the minister Kulachchirai that the Jains had gained great influence over the king, and the saint re-converted the Pandya ruler to Saivism. Completing his ministry at Madura, the saint returned to his Chola land, and from there went on a tour to the north. The performance of several miracles by Sambandhar is recorded in the Pur ana. Even the last episode in the life of the saint was of the nature of a miracle. He was now sixteen years old, and it was proposed that he should marry. He consented to the proposal, and a bride was chosen. But before the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, the saint took his bride to the temple at Nallur-perumanam, and was merged along with her and his following in a divine effulgence that blazed forth from the deity at his request. Thus ended in glory the brief but brilliant life of the boy saint of ^Irkali.

Sambandhar's padigams are given the first place in the Tevdram collection; and this shows the importance that &aiva piety attaches to his songs. The one feature that stands out prominently in the hymns is the saint's abhorrence of the Jains. He seems to have believed sincerely that they were misguiding the common people. In one stanza he says: "O, you who get disturbed by listening to the foolish teachings of the Jains and the Bauddhas, come; by adoring the feet of the Lord of Nallur-perumanam, moksha will become easy of attainment." Sambandhar came with a mission, like the other teachers of Saivism; and that was to spread the gospel of Saivatheism as against the atheistic faiths. He is regarded as one of the

prime instruments that brought about the downfall of Jainism in the Tamil country.

Sambandhar considers £iva to be the highest God, the beginning, middle, and end of all beings. As a member of the Trinity, He is the 'first form' (mudaUuru). But. in truth, he is formless, and so neither Brahma nor Vishnu could see him. Siva is consciousness, light. Sambandhar says: "You became the end of jyotis ; the jyotis within jyotis " Attainment of the state of Siva is release or moksha . The soul should free itself from mala or impurity. For this diva's grace is necessary. The pane ha kshara is the potent means to invoke his grace, and thereby to attain ^iva^-mukti. Says Sambandhar: "The five letters are the final mantra through which one must reach 6iva." The quintessence of the saint's teachings is: 'Worship Siva with all thy heart; and thou wilt be saved.'

Sundaramurti, the last of the saints discussed here, was born in a family of Saiva temple-priests in South Axcot District. It is said that on the eve of his marriage &iva appeared in the guise of an old Brahmin and claimed him as his bond-slave. He prevented him from marrying at that stage, took him along with him, and revealed his identity as Siva, the Supreme Master of the universe. Sundarar thus attained sainthood and went from place to place singing the praise of £>iva, his saviour. He married twice, lost his eyesight and also the grace of Siva. After some time, these were restored and he gained the friendship of Cheraman Perumal, the Kerala king. It was during his stay with the king at Tiruvahj ikkalam that he passed away into the presence of God. Sundarar's songs reveal the path of the sakhd or friend. But his familiarity with God did in no way diminish his fervent devotion and longing to live in the presence of Siva. Along with the other saints of the age, he shares the honour of having stirred the deep religious emotions of his people, and of having ushered in an era of &aiva renaissance.

3. Iconography

&ivalingas of the Gupta period show how the emphasis on their real character was being gradually subdued, and the inscribed Karamdanda Linga of the time of Kumara-gupta I indicates this conscious effort at conventionalisation. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that all realism was eschewed in the Gupta S§ivalingas, for several seals of the period have been found at Bhita, which depict them in their older aspect. 1

Reference has been made above 2 to the evolution of particular types of £aiva icons, viz. Lihgodbhava-murtis and Mukhalingas. The

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former are a class of icons which portray a definite sectarian bias. The mythology connected with them relates how Brahma and Vishnu once quarrelled about their individual claims for the creatorship of the universe; how Siva appeared before them in the form of a blazing column of fire; and how they failed in their attempts to find its top and bottom. Brahma falsely asserted that he had found its top for which he was cursed by &iva that he would never have a cult of his own; but Vishnu confessed his failure to discover the ground of the column for which he was blessed by the god to have a cult which would be only next in importance to his own. The essentials of this story are depicted in one of the earliest Lingodbhava-murtis found in the Dasavatara cave, Ellora. This shows a column with flames issuing from its side, with a threequarter figure of £iva Chandrasekhara inset in its front; Brahma is shown soaring upwards on the top left hand comer and Vishnu as Varaha burrowing in the ground on the bottom right; they are repeated in their usual forms on the left and right with their natural hands in the anjali pose. The Indian method of depicting a continuous narrative by the repetition of figures in the same panel is very strikingly illustrated in this piece of sculpture, and various mediaeval reliefs belonging to different regions of India are known, which illustrate the theme in a similar manner, sometimes with modification. The columnar form of &iva is interesting to note, for many of the mediaeval Aivalingas are definitely of this shape.

The anthropomorphic figures of Siva show a bewildering diversity. One early specimen, now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, was originally found at Kosam; it bears an inscription of the time of Skandagupta. £iva and Uma stand side by side, /each with the right hand raised and the open palm turned to the front. In his left hand Siva holds a water-vessel, while Parvatl carries a trisulai ?). The head dress of Parvatl is a most elaborate construction.' Bloch remarks about this sculpture: 'It is instructive to compare the stiff and conventional manner of treatment in this older image with the suggestive posture of the divine couple in the later statues.' The rock-cut shrines of Ellora, collectively dated in the eighth century A.D., contain some very interesting reliefs which illustrate different varieties of the anthropomorphic forms of &iva. One or two panels there depict the god and goddess seated together in the company of a host of attendants on either side, with Nandi below surrounded by a number of ganas. Just one step removed from these sculptures are the Uma-Mahesvaramurtis where Parvatl is shown seated on the left thigh of her consort who is caressing her with his hands. This is the sugges

tive pose alluded to by Bloch, and the greater frequency of such sculptures in Eastern India is undoubtedly associated with the prevalence of Sakti cult in this region. The Tantric worshippers of Tripurasundari, another name of Uma and Parvatl, are required to meditate on the Devi as sitting on the lap of £iva in the Mahapadmavana 1 and these images were used as aids for their particular dhydnayoga . In the above types, the god and goddess are separately shown, but in the Ardhanarisvara one they are shown blended together. The right half of this composite figure possesses all the iconographic features of Siva, while the left half, those of Uma. The present writer recognised this interesting type in a Gupta seal impression found at

Bhita, A number of sculptures depicting this theme, to be dated from the Gupta to the mediaeval period, have been found in different parts of India, showing its popularity among the sectaries. The Badami Ardhanarisvara stone panel is a fairly representative one of such figures, with some additional peculiarities like the natural hands of the androgynous god holding vina, Nandi as bull, and emaciated Bhringi standing by the side of the male half and a female attendant by the female one; a number of ganuis in dancing and other poses are shown below. Kari-Hara or Haryardhamurtis of 6iva are not so common as the group just described, but there are some such reliefs still extant. One of the earliest and finest ones is that which is carved in a panel in the lower cave temple at Badami; in the right or Hara half of the central figure are shown Civile attributes and emblems while in the other or Hari half, the Yaishnava ones. The god is attended by Parvatl and Lakshml on his right and left, as well as by the bull-faced human figure of Nandi and Garu^a; below him, as usual in Badami &aiva reliefs, is a group of ganas dancing and playing on musical instruments.

F. MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS 1. Brahma

Reference has been made above 2 to the great transformation of the Brahmanical religion in course of which most of the gods other than Vishnu and &iva were relegated to an inferior position and made subordinate to them. The first major god to suffer in this way was Brahma. The exploits with which he was credited in the subsidiary Vedic literature were gradually appropriated by Vishnu. Though called Svayambhu (self-created), he was now conceived to have sprung out of the mundane egg or of the lotus grown in the navel of Vishnu, and saved by the latter from destruction at the hands of the demon Madhu. A vague incest-myth of the Rigveda was foisted on

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1. Saundarya-lahari, v. 40 ff.

him, and Siva was the chastising agent for his moral lapse. These legends probably indicate a general transfer of allegiance from Brahma to the two other gods of the Trinity. Nevertheless Brahma had a small following, and a belated attempt is made in the Padma Purdna to revive his glory as a supreme god. That he enjoyed considerable importance during the period under review may be inferred from the fact that both the Brihat-samhitd and the Vishnu

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dharmottara prescribe the mode of making his images, and even the late Padma Purdna lays down the mode of his worship.

Even when Brahma began to lose ground, his right to be worshipped as a subsidiary deity was admitted, and a niche found for him in the temples of Vishnu and Siva. He also figured in the image of the Trinity, though never accorded the central position, which was reserved for one of the other two. Some sacred places like Prayaga and Pushkara were specially associated with him. Though the special sect bearing the name of Brahma disappeared in course of time, his worship did not die out altogether. This is proved by the wide-spread distribution of his images from Sindh to Bengal, even though the extant images are not very large in number, and show fewer varieties. These depict him three-faced (most of them being relievo-sculptures, the fourth face is not shown; it is present only in those which are fully in the round), pot-bellied, four-armed—the hands carrying sruk, sruva , akshamdla, and pustaka ,—and either standing or seated on his mount, a swan. One of the earliest brass or bronze images of this god, fully in the round, found at Mirpur Khas in Sindh and now in the Karachi Museum, is thus of great iconographic interest, because it does not at all correspond to the usual mode of representation of the deity. The god is four-faced, but two-armed, the right hand being bent wdth the palm turned inwards as if holding a book (this hand-pose is not described in known texts), the left hand holding either an akshamdla or a water-vessel which has disappeared (its handle only is now preserved), having matted locks of hair on his heads, clad in diaphanously treated garments, and perhaps wearing a deer-skin on his torso in the upavlti fashion. This is a fine specimen of the Indian metallurgist’s art of the early mediaeval period. 1

It was not till the Smart as formulated their divine pentad (panchdyatana) that Brahma finally lost his position as a sectarian deity, and was reduced to the position of a super-annuated god. To-day in the whole of India there are only about half-a-dozen independent temples dedicated to Brahma. He has been thrust out of the inner sanctuary and placed outside as parivdra-devata in the

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temples of Vishnu, Siva, and even of Karttikeya. Even when he is included in the Trinity, he comes into the group as a matter of form, or receives worship as Surya, as in South India, showing that the solar cult also made an inroad into the cult of Brahma in certain localities.

2. Surya

Unlike Brahma, Surya not only retained, but even extended his domain. The locus classicus for our knowledge of the solar cult of the northern variety is the Bhavishya Parana which gives an account of the origin of the cult, the solar deity and his associates, the mode of worship, the solar priests (Bhojakas, Magas, Somakas, etc.), and the solar festivals. Similar accounts are to be found in Samba, Vardha and some other Puranas. It is no wonder that most of the Sun temples of the period should belong to Western India, in particular south of the present Rajasthan, where Sakadvlpi Brahmanas settled in some strength. 1 Apart from the Mulasthana or Multan (originally Sambapura named after Samba) temple, where the golden image excited wonder and admiration, epigraphic records testify to the existence of other temples of note. Reference may be made to the Mandasor inscription of the time of Kumara-gupta recording the construction of a temple by a guild of weavers in A.D. 436 and its repair in A.D. 473, the Indor (in U.P.) copper-plate recording the endowment of Devavishnu in A.D. 465 for the regular lighting of a lamp in a sun-temple, a third grant dated A.D. 511 to another temple, and the Gwalior inscription of the 15th year of Mihirakula recording the erection of yet another temple. Royal favour was also not lacking and some of the princely houses were devoted to the Sun. Three ancestors of Harsha are called paramddityabkakia in Harsha’s inscriptions, and though Harsha himself was a Saiva and later inclined definitely towards Buddhism, he did not forsake his ancestral deity altogether, for in the quinquennial assembly, attended by Hiuen Tsang, the image of the Sun was installed along with those of Buddha and Siva. One of the tutelary deities of the Saiahkayanas of the Andhra country was the Sun (Chitraratha), and at least one Valabhi ruler (the fifth one) w r as a follower of the Sun.

Reference may also be made to the Shahpur Image-inscription of Adityasena (A.D. 672) and the Deo Bar ana rk inscription of Jlvita-gupta II both of which refer to solar worship. The Martanda temple of Kashmir built by Mukiapida or Lalitaditya belongs to the close of this period. That the cult, which had at one time embraced only the western half of Northern India, soon spread to the other half also, is borne out by the large number of solar images discovered in Bengal.

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1. Vol. H, pp. 465-6.

There is no doubt that the &akadvipi Brahmanas considerably influenced the solar cult in Northern India. This is best illustrated by the two types of solar images prevalent in the north and the south. The standing Surya figures of the Gupta period, discovered in several parts of Northern India, show the alien features in a very prominent manner as the seated ones of Mathura do. The stone relief of Surya, carved inside a chaitya- window of the Bhumara Siva-temple, depicts the god as wearing a tall cylindrical head-dress, dressed in a long coat with a scarf tied at the waist, with his legs covered in long boots of soft leather, holding two lotus-buds in his hands, and accompanied by two male figures clad almost in the same manner; the chariot and horses are absent here, perhaps on account of the exigencies of space. The dress of the god and of his attendants, in these comparatively early reliefs, distinctly reminds Us of that of the inscribed statue of Kanishka and the effigies of the Kushana monarehs on the obverse of their coins. In other more elaborate representations of the same deity of the Gupta period, the horses, the arrow-shooting goddesses, the legless charioteer Arana driving the horses, etc. are almost invariably present.

The South Indian figures of Surya have the legs and feet always left bare, and instead of the long coat of Northern India we find invariably the Udarabandha. There are other minor differences too which grew and brought the differences into still sharper relief in the medieval age as will be described in the next volume. The Puranas are not all influenced by the Iranian tradition and some of them like the Kurma limit themselves to a description, of the function of the Sun as a heavenly body in punctuating the time and seasons, in maintaining the planets in their position, and fostering the life of plants and animals, and make only a passing reference to the solar family. Some like the Vishnu Purdna also make an excursion into the history of the domestic life of the deity, while others like the Matsya Purdna , while prescribing the mode of constructing the solar image, direct that the feet should be made invisible. In this way greater details are given till we get the full description of the Northern variety and even reference to Zarathushtra and Iranian beliefs and practices. But the orthodox tradition developed on the lines of the Satapatha Brahmana prescription of a golden disc to represent the solar orb and the Upanishadic doctrine of the golden Purasha in the Sun, and the philosophically inclined thought less of the “all-red” deity and more of Brahman as the Ultimate Being with which the Sun was identified. The Kurma Purdna , therefore, lays down that while Vishnu and Indra are to be worshipped by kings, Brahmanas should particularly worship Agni, Aditya, Brahma and &iva. In it is also to be found the Suxya-hridaya hymn in which Surya is eulogised as the supreme deity who includes all other deities within himself. For some time, it appears, Surya formed with Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, a kind of quadrumvirate, for in many ceremonial gifts these four go together. A lithic representation of their fusion finds a place in later sculpture, e.g. in the Chidambaram temple and the Limboji Mata temple at Delmal (N. Gujarat). As Brahma is gradually ousted from the field, a trinity of the other three is left; but not for long, for a powerful rival in the shape of &akti soon makes her appearance and becomes an important cult object.

3. &akti

The cult next in importance to the two major Brahmanical ones, Vaishnava and &aiva, was that of &akti, the energic female principle. The origin of this goddess, known by various names such as Uma, Parvatl, Durga, etc. has been discussed above. 1 By what process this goddess came to occupy a prominent position during 'this period it is difficult to say, and also, why she should have been ultimately allied with Siva. But several important factors may be noted. Perhaps following the identification of Rudra and Agni, she was identified with the tongues of fire and similarly named. The destructive aspect gave her such names as Kali (the Destruction), Karali (the Terrible), Bhlma (the Frightful), Chandl, Chandika or Chamunda (the Wrathful), etc. Another factor is her identification with Sarasvati. As Sarasvati and Yak (speech) were identified, and speech is depicted in the Brahmana literature as a source of strength, naturally the Devi or goddess par excellence became a source of power. But Sarasvati is also the goddess of learning, the revealer of divine wisdom. When Devi was identified with Sarasvati she was not only called by this name but she also got the other epithets of Sarasvati as well—Vedamata, Sarvavarna and Chhandasam mata. It is not impossible that those who ascribed the Nigama literature to the Devi at a later time had in mind this tradition of her wisdom as recorded, for instance, in the Kena Upanishad , or else ▪wished to assert her equality with 6iva in all matters, revelation not excluded. Association with some abstract qualities and virtues personified also enhanced her prestige.

Another important factor that invested the Devi with power came probably from philosophy. The Sahkhya philosophy had familiarised the idea that Purusha is by nature inactive and it is Prakrit! who is active (though in the proximity of Purusha). Even the Vedanta system in its Advaita form could claim an Upanishadic origin for its conception that Brahman becomes the creator only

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when associated with Maya, which was subsequently called the eternal capacity or function (nityti sakti) of Brahman. Lest this power should be looked upon as functioning without the active effort of the Supreme Soul, a theistic sect hastened to add that Maya was none other than Prakriti while the Mayin was Mahesvara. Now Maya in its alternative meanings signified both Prajna (Insight) and Svapna (Dream or Illusion) and Devi became both Sarasvatl and Moharatri. Hence Power, Wisdom and Stupefying capacity were added to Creative Agency to make up the composite picture of a goddess who as Mahalakshml (called Sakti in later Tantric literature) created even the gods, as Durga killed the Asuras, as Devi revealed the Sakta literature, and as Yoganidra sent all creation to sleep.

The Harivamsa refers to her worship by hill and jungle tribes and also calls her the sister of Vishnu and of Indra (as KaushikI). While the Rdmayana remains content with calling Uma the daughter of Himavat and the sister of

Ganga, and later writers make them co-wives of Siva, the Harivamsa gives a description of how one of the three daughters of Himavat (Aparna by name) got the name of TJma from her mother Mena because of her severe austerities to get Mahadeva as husband. While in the MahabhoTata Durga appears indifferently as the wife of N a ray ana and of Siva, the later associations became increasingly Saivite, though, as not absolutely unexpected, in the Vishnu Parana the Primal Energy (Adya Sakti) appears not as MahadevI but as Mahalakshml. But the hill association gains the upper hand and Uma Haimavati (and later on, Parvatl, Sailaputrl, Girija, etc.) becomes the wedded wife of Girlsa (Siva), who is therefore called Umapati, and she is called Mahesvan, Isani, SarvanI, MahadevI, Mahakall, Siva or SivanI, etc. Gaurl, who is originally the wife of Varuna, and is also a companion of Parvatl, becomes identified with Uma, and thus Girlsa also becomes Gaurlsa. Even in the Mahabhdrata reference is made to the Bhutas who accompany Siva, and the ghosts, demons and goblins who form the retinue of Rudra or Siva are matched by their feminine counterparts in the retinue of his wife; or possibly the possession of a wild and ghoulish retinue facilitated the establishment of the relationship between the two. It is difficult to say to what extent the pre-Vedic culture of India, now discovered in the Sindhu Valley, contributed to the conception of a mother goddess of the type now familiar to us as Sakti, but that the cult of the Mother Goddess was fed by indigenous and aboriginal beliefs is almost certain, judging by the qualities with which she was invested at a later time. Possibly the many Furies associated with her have left their surrogates in the many village goddesses of South India and the euphemistic designation of Mothers (matarah) was meant to cover up their diabolical nature

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which their association with Vinayaka and Virabhadra in Saptamatl*ika slabs tends to confirm. A formidable list of such Furies created by Siva to lick up the falling drops of Anahakasura’s blood (whence new Andhaka-like demons sprouted forth) and a smaller list of those emanating from Narasirhha to keep these in check are to be found in the Matsya Pur ana.

What raised the goddess to the supreme position were the exploits with which she was credited in folk-lore as recorded in the Chandi chapters of the Mdrkandeya Piirdna. As the destroyer of the demons Mahishasura, Raktavija, Sumbha and Nisumbha, C-handa and Munda, she literally fought her way into the orthodox pantheon just as Rudra had done by disturbing Daksha’s sacrifice; and her promise to come again and again to destroy the giants reminds one forcibly of a similar promise of Krishna to Arjuna.

Suffice it to say that when once a relationship was established between gaivism and Saktism, assimilation of the two creeds to each other was rapid. We have stories of the resurrection of the first wife of Siva (Sati, the daughter of Daksha) as Uma, her austerities to win her husband again, the marriage of Siva and Parvati, their idyllic domestic life on the Kailasa mount, and the dire calamities that befell those who tried to pry into the secrets of their conjugal life as represented in art by Umamahesvara, Umalingana and Ardhanarisvara figures. Into the vortex of the Siva-Sakti cult were drawn not only the cults of Ganesa and Karttikeya who began to figure as the sons of the couple, but also the cult of Tara which probably came from Buddhism. Later Saktism became very much complicated and many lower forms of belief and practice found an entry into it.

The one noticeable thing about the Siva-Sakti cult is that both Siva and Sakti were worshipped in benign as well as terrible forms, and this helped an easy alliance between the two. If of the eight forms of Siva some are ghora (terrifying) and others aghora , saumya or dakshina (benign), so also are Devi’s forms like Uma, Gaun, Parvati, Bhavani, Annapurna, Lalita, etc. of gentle mien, while other forms like Chamunda, Durga (in most of the nine kinds of later times), names ending with Kali and Ratri and including Charuja, as also Katyayani, Bhairavi, etc. are of an opposite nature. As usual, the serpent cult managed to effect an entry here also, for we are told that the breast-band of the goddess Durga is a serpent and the noose with which she binds the Buffalo Demon is also a snake. There is no doubt that whereas probably the earlier conception of her was that of a composite deity constituted by the energies (the Saptamatjrikas) of the earlier gods or contemporaneously worshipped major deities—Brahma (BrahmanI), Mahesvara (Mahesvarl), Kumar a (Kaumarl), Vishnu (Vaishnavl), Varaha (Varahl), Indra (IndranI) and Yama (Yam! or

Chamunda), and also sometimes &iva (Yogesvarl), the later belief was just the reverse, for she was regarded as capable of absorbing all these forms and resuming her unitary character as the Supreme Goddess from whom all creation, preservation, and destruction proceeded. This led to the development of the Tantra cult which will be discussed in the next volume.

Once installed as Supreme Deity, Devi or Durga gradually outgrew the terrifying character,—which was perhaps the primary material of her composition,—through her feminine nature. A Mother Goddess (ambd) is approached with greater confidence by devotees because of her kindly nature and the patent provision of maintenance that proceeds from all mothers. So when the benign nature began to grow in importance, and the deity ceased to be a colourless goddess with the feminine suffix simply added to the male counterpart, she began to be clothed with more flesh and blood and was promptly allied to a male deity as his bride. Once conceived as married, her motherhood came almost as a natural corollary, and Karttikeya and Ganesa came to be regarded as her children.

The images of the different aspects of this goddess have been discovered in various parts of India. Bengal, or rather Eastern India in general, was the homeland cf the Sakta cult and it is thus natural that many varieties of the Devi icons should be found there. From the mythological point of view these are principally associated with Siva, but types are not wanting which show some Vishnuite features. Durga, known by various names as Uma, Haimavati, Parvatl, Ambika, etc. was primarily the consort of Siva, but she was also regarded in some of her aspects such as Ekanamsa or Bhadra as the sister of Vasudeva Krishna. The Devi was also manifest as the motivating energy behind many Hindu god-concepts like Brahma, Mahesvara (Siva), Vishnu, etc., and was known collectively as the 'Divine Mothers', the Saptamatrikas, whose individual names BrahmanI, etc. have been given above. Her images, like those of giva, can also be roughly grouped under two heads, ugra and saumya, and in the former aspect she is principally the destroyer of the buffalo-demon, Mahishasuramardinl. An elaborate mythology developed round this theme and most of her images of terriffic form summarily illustrate the story as recounted in the Puranas. Extant Mahishasuramardinl images, however, can hardly be dated before the Gupta period, and some miniature stone figurines unearthed at Bhita are a few of the earliest summary representation of this aspect of the goddess. They depict her with either two or four arms,

engaged in combat with the demon in the shape of a buffalo, with no other attendant and accessory figures. These, including a lion beneath her about to maul Mahishasura coming out of the decapitated trunk of the buffalo, were not late in making their appearance, and the number of her hands holding various weapons (praharanas) was multiplied. But this multiplicity of arms is also of a fairly early date, and one of the earliest figures of this aspect of the goddess is found carved on the facade of the cave shrine at Udayagiri, where she is twelve-armed. That the number of arms in many such cult images of a later date was not uniformly increased is shown by the fine bronze figure described as Lakshana in the pedestal inscription, found by Vogel in Chamfea, one of the hill states of northern India. The Devi is depicted as driving the trident into the neck of the buffalo who is being pressed down by one of her legs with the tail being held in one of her hands; this pose, partly to be found in one of the Bhita reliefs mentioned above, exactly corresponds to the description of the ‘ChandV { Durgd-saptasaU — seven hundred verses of the Mdrkandeya Purdna describing this episode) which runs thus: Samutpatya sariidhd tam mahdsuram pddentikramya kanthe cha sulenainam atd^ayat ‘(the goddess) briskly jumped on to the body of the great demon and, kicking him in the neck with her foot, struck him with her spear (or, pressing him down with one leg thrust her spear into his neck)’. 1 Several reliefs in Mamallapuram illustrate in a very interesting manner the different phases of the struggle between the Devi and Asura. In one of them the eightarmed goddess, accompanied by several attendants (these are exact replicas of ^ivaganas, dwarfish and pot-bellied in appearance), is shown engaged in actual combat with the buffalo-headed demon and his attendants. In others, she is shown standing on the severed head of the Asura, either accompanied by attendants or not, holding in her eight hands various weapons of war as well as chakra and sankha wdiich indicate her Vishnuite features.

Unlike those of her consort 6iva, the ugra forms of the Dev! are fewer in number, but she has a variety of saumya types of images, some of which require brief notice. One of her earliest placid figures can be seen in the Mamallapuram panel which shows her standing under an umbrella as four-armed,—her back hands carrying sankha and chakra and the front ones being in the dbhaya and katihasta poses,—surrounded by ganas and two seated human figures; one of the latter seated on her proper right is shown in the attitude of cutting off his own head for offering it to her as a sacrifice. This particular feature of the relief is very interesting,

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inasmuch as it introduces a novel Tantric element in such a comparatively early piece of sculpture. 1

The popularity of the goddess Durga was shared to some extent by her two .sons Karttikeya and Ganesa. An inscription, dated A.D. 414, mentions the addition of a gallery (pratoli) to a temple of Karttikeya called Svami Mahasena. The Kadamba kings were devoted worshippers of this god while the Yaudheyas assigned to him Kalasa and conch symbols reminiscent of Lakshmi. It is also noteworthy that the Gupta emperor Kumara-gupta substituted for Garuda the peacock symbol associated with his divine namesake. Subrahmanya, under which name the god was worshipped in South India, was evidently derived from the earlier form Brahmanyadeva. The wide popularity of the god in the Deccan was specially due to his association with Siva like whom he had malformed troublesome fo]lowers, the Kumarakas, who plagued children. His temples were generally placed on hill-tops and different types of figures were prescribed for cities of various dimensions. In the extant late Gupta and mediaeval images of Karttikeya in northern India, we do not find much variety; he is usually shown there as two-armed, riding on his mount the peacock (Sikhi Paravani), and holding in his hands a. citron (matulunga) and a spear (sakti). 2 Sometimes he is attended by his two consorts, viz. Devasena and Valli, and is showm as four-armed.

Unlike Karttikeya, Ganesa had a sect of his own, known by the name of Ganapatya, in later times. His importance grew r during this period. Though the authenticity of the Ganapatiprakarana of the Ydjdavalkya Samhitd has sometimes been questioned, there is no doubt that the cult of Ganesa as both ganesvara and vintiyaka was adumbrated in the Mdnava-Ghdhya-sutra where his four names appear as Usmita, Devayajana, Salakatahkata and Kushmandarajaputra and the appeasement of the trouble-creating god is prescribed. In the Ydjriavalkya Samhitd Mita and Sammita replace the first two names while the third and the fourth are each divided into two, namely &ala and Katankata, Kushmanda and Rajaputra. The Brihatsamhitd still knows of the troublesome ganas and vindyakas . Latterly Ganesa became a single personality and the leader of the turbulent followers of Rudra (ganas). But the multiplicity of his forms remained—we have later reference to about fifty such forms, which shows the vigour of the creed. &ankaracharya, the great expounder of Advaitavada, is said to have vanquished in dispute the exponents of the tenets of its six sub-divisions, viz. the worship

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pers of Maha, Haridra, Svarna, Santana, Navanita and UnmattaUchchhishta aspects of Ganapati. Comparatively late iconographic texts not only describe the images of the different forms of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied god, but also enumerate numerous other varieties of the same with appropriate descriptions. But most of these image-groups are of an academic nature, for the simple reason that very few among them were actually represented in art. The extant images of Ganesa of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods can be broadly classified under three heads, viz. sthanaka , i.e. standing, dsana (seated), and nritya (dancing). Numerous images of Ganapati of the early and late mediaeval periods belonging to one or other of these varieties have been found in different parts of India. Their extreme popularity can be explained by the fact that as the god was the remover of all obstacles and bestower of success, he was held in great esteem not only by the various Brahmanical sectaries, but also by the followers of heterodox creeds like Buddhism and Jainism. The Buddhists were again principally responsible for carrying his image-type to the Far East and Indonesia. One of the earliest standing images of Ganapati is the Mathura sandstone figure of the elephant-headed deity in the nude. Another early form can be recognised in the terracotta plaque of the Bhltargaon brick temple, which shows him in an unusual pose—flying through the air, but the pot of sweetmeat in one of his four hands, to which his trunk is applied, as well as other characteristic traits disclose his identity. 1 Both of these Ganapati figures belong to the early Gupta period, and a profitable comparison can be made between them and two other seated figures of Ganapati, one two-armed and the other four-armed, found among the remains of the Siva temple of Bhumara which was erected some time in the sixth centurv A.D. The cult connection is clearly emphasised in the latter, which is not at all prominent in the other two; unfortunately both these figures are very much mutilated. 2 Several early images of Ganesa, in slone, metal, and terracotta, were found at Paharpur; one among them in grey sandstone of the late Gupta period shows him seated, holding in his four hands a rosary, a radish, a trident, and the end of a snake coiled round his body like a sacred thread. A mouse, the peculiar mount of the god, is crudely drawn on the pedestal and his third eye is suggested by the lozenge-shaped mark on the middle of his forehead. 3 The attributes in his hands sometimes differ and a pot of sweetmeat (modaka), a manuscript, a pen, a broken tusk, a hatchet, etc. are also seen in his hands.

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4. Vaishnuva Gods

With the rise of new gods and goddesses like Durga, Karttika, and Ganesa, some older deities lost their prestige. One notable example is Sankarshana. He becomes practically identified with Balarama, the brother of Krishna, and although he still possesses some importance it is only as an avatar a of Vishnu or one of the Vyuha forms of Vasude va-Krishna that he begins to figure now. With him are grouped Pradyumna and Aniruddha, the son and grandson of Krishna, who divide among themselves the gunas of Vasudeva. 1

As the Pancharatra school developed, the emanations began to be invested with more intricate and wide functions in the process of the evolution of the world of matter and spirit, including the various incarnations of God himself. In this scheme room was also found for Lakshmi, for she was regarded as the eternal consort of Vishnu, and sometimes she had as her co-wives other deities like Bhumi and Nila with functions of their own in the plan of creation. Thus Baladeva becomes the immanent principle of creation, while Vasudeva becomes the transcendent deity—God before creation, to quote the language of Hegel. If God in the Purusha Sukta is regarded as having four quarters, then naturally two more quarters had to be filled, and probably in this way Pradyumna and Aniruddha

came to be added to Vasude va and Sahkarshana. Sankarshana is

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no longer the deity of an ascetic sect, for he is considered to be perpetually in a state of inebriety and to be possessed of an irascible temper, which lands him in the sin of Brahmanicide. The palmyra (tala) may have been chosen for Balarama because of his drunkenness; or his inebriety may have come from the palmyra association. He continues to be paired with Vasudeva as of old, and a novel feature is that in figured representation a female associate makes her appearance. She is called Ekanamsa in the Brihat-samhitd and, together with the two males, forms the model of the JagannathaSubhadra-Balarama trio of Puri. But Balarama definitely disappears from the religious field, and though in the Paharpur excavations in North Bengal the images of Balarama are fair in number, he appears not so much as a god as a brother of Krishna, though his four-handed figure betokens something of the extraordinary in him down to the age of the Pal as. An attempt at symbolism was made later in the Vishnudharmottara where Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha appear as the four faces of Vishnu and represent his bala, jndna, aisvarya and sakti respectively. We are told further that the weapons of Balarama, the langala (ploughshare) and the

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musala (pestle), represent respectively kdla (time) and mrityu (death).

Lakshml also now becomes definitely a sectarian goddess though the abstract name she bore, namely, Sri, helped the listing of her name with many other abstract qualities such as HrI (Modesty), Medha (Talent), Dhriti (Patience), Pushti (Sustenance or Growth), Kshanti (Forgiveness), Lajja (Bashfulness), Klrti (Fame), Bhuti (Prosperity), Rati (Love), etc. This is not a new trait, for both in the Vedas and in the epics deified abstractions are quite common. The Brahmanic use of abstractions for designating gods and demons, however, did not go to the same length as the Zoroastrian, and Sri never became so abstract as did Sraddha, for instance, or the others mentioned above. Her role as the guardian angel of kings (raja lakshnvi) and cities (nagaralakshml) and the Gajalakshml (or Kamala) motif continued, as is evident from the seals of Bhita and Basarh excavations, Indo-Scythian (Pakhalavadi-devata) and early imperial Gupta coins.

The tendency to regard some of the goddesses as indispensable consorts of the major gods led to the multiple matrimonial alliances of Sri and of Sarasvatl. As noted above 1 Sri and Lakshml (regarded as two personalities) appear in the Vajasaneyi Samhita as the two wives of Aditya. Later tradition made Sri and Mahasveta the two wives of Surya, one on either side of the Sun image. This was followed by the still later conception in North India (especially Bengal) of Lakshml and Sarasvatl as the two wives of Vishnu, placed on the two sides of Vishnu image. Identification of Lakshml with Durga, Amba, Devi or Ekanamsa is also not unknown. Even Skanda’s wife Devasena has Lakshml as one of her names, and Kubera, too, claimed her as wife at a later time. Popular belief, however, made her the wife of Vishnu, and in some Puranas his creative activity; and in the Vishnudharmottdra it is mentioned that gifts dedicated to Lakshml should be given only to one well versed in the Pancharatra doctrine. Her figure appears in the lintels of Vishnu temples at Badami and Aihole, and latterly she degenerates into a parivdradcvatd in the temple of Brahma as Visvakarma. If she has not lost her hold on the veneration of men, it is because she represents the docile type of womanhood intensely attached to the husband and devoted to his service, and also because she is looked upon as the goddess of wealth in the pursuit of which all sects are equally interested.

Note 106

9 5. Miscellaneous Deities

Numerous sculptures of miscellaneous divinities, many of them loosely associated with Brahmanical cults, have been found in different parts of India. Some of them are undoubtedly regional while others are of an all-India character. The Dikpalas, who belong to the latter group, are the guardians of the four major and four minor quarters. They are, with some variations in location, Indra, the lord of the east, Yama, of the south, Varuna, of the west, Kubera, of the north, Agni, of the south-east, Nirriti, of the south-west, Vayu, of the north-west, and Isana of the north-east. A glance at the names will prove that with the exception of two, viz. Kubera and Isana who are mentioned only in the latest section of the Vedic literature,' all the others were prominent Vedic deities who were highly honoured by the Vedic seers. But now they are relegated to a much inferior place in the Hindu pantheon on acount of the rise to importance of the various sectarian gods and goddesses. Earliest sculptured representations of Indra or Sakra are to be found in Buddhist monuments of Central India, north-western Deccan, and the extreme north-west of India. A garlanded royal figure with a lotus in his hand, riding on a huge elephant and attended by a standard-bearer, carved on the verandah of the Bhaja monastery, belongs to the early Sunga period and is regarded by most scholars as one of the earliest representations of Indra. The Hellenistic Indras of Gandhara region are characterised by a peculiar basket-like headdress (probably a foreign adaptation of the Indian kirita-makuta) and a peculiar type of thunderbolt in one of his hands. 1 Indra's prominent iconographic traits are the thunderbolt in his hand and his elephant mount; another of his noticeable features, the third eye placed sidewise in the centre of his forehead, is mentioned in the Brihat-samhita and Vishnudharmottarapurana. Relief No. 29 in coarse grey sandstone among the sculptures in the basement of the main mound at Paharpur is that of Indra with his mount and peculiarly placed third eye. Agni, Yama or Varuna, and Kubera also can be recognised among the other basement sculptures of the same mound; they are shown with their respective ipdnographic features which changed very little in the subsequent period. 2 In many of the well-preserved temples, either Vaishnava or &aiva, in different parts of India, the figures of the Ashta-Dikpalas are found carved on various parts of the outside walls.

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It will not be possible to refer even briefly to the innumerable images of other deities which were connected in different ways with the Brahmanic pantheon. Many of these gods and goddesses were recruited from the folk-cults, and though they were described as demi-gods or Vyantara-devatas from the orthodox point of view, their images were originally not much less venerated by a large section of the Indians. The Yakshas, Nagas, Gandharvas, Vidyadharas, Apsarases, etc. had their individual iconic forms, and these had various architectural uses in the sense that they were displayed in different parts of the religious shrines. The separate images of the Yakshas and the Nagas were made in pre-Christian or early post-Christian periods, and these were at first undoubtedly principal cult-objects of a certain class of Indians; but like many of the members of the orthodox Vedic pantheon they were gradually subordinated to the chief sectarian gods and goddesses. The Yakshas were used as Dvarapalas or gate-keepers in Saiva shrines; the Nagas singly or in couples served as decorative devices in many temples, and one Naga in particular served as the couch of the cosmic god Narayana; the Gandharvas, the Vidyadharas, the Apsarases, etc. were used as graceful ornaments on the prabhdvall of the principal cult images. The figures of the river goddesses Gahga and Yamuna were carved at first on the topmost part of the door jambs of the Gupta temples and were shown subsequently in their lower parts. Individual images of them, however, were not unknown, and reference may be made to the Paharpur basement relief of Yamuna and the striking sculptures of Ganga from Isvaripur and Deopara. 1 Separate sculptures of Manasa, the snake goddess with a child in her lap and shaded by a canopy of snake-hoods, of the uncouth goddess Jyeshtba with her bovine sons and crow banner, of the recumbent mothergoddess with a suckling baby by her side, and the host of the divine on-lookers on the top of the relief, etc. have been found in different parts of India, and many of them can be distinctly described as regional in character. The Hindus took a great deal of pleasure in giving concrete shapes to the objects of their worship, and their love of iconism was so deep-rooted that they even anthropomorphised the emblems and attributes in the hands of their divinities. But to characterise this love of concrete images in their religious lives as pure and unmitigated idolatry would be a gross mistake. The Brahmanical Hindus as well as their Buddhist and Jain brethren only made the highest use of rational symbolism in making sensible representations of their gods and goddesses.

Note 109

G. NEW RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES FROM WESTERN COUNTRIES

One of the indirect results of India’s intimate intercourse with the West is the migration of different religious communities from this region to India. These are distinguished from various other foreign immigrants by the fact, that they have throughout maintained i their separate entities, whereas the others have been merged into Indian population without leaving any trace of their separate existence. Before the end of the eighth century A.D., no less than three such important communities settled in India, viz . the Syriac Christians, Muslims, and Parsis. The Parsis probably did not settle in large numbers till after the period covered by this volume. But the other two formed important elements in Indian population before A.D. 750. A short history of their early settlements will be dealt with in this volume, reserving for the next a detailed treatment of the Parsis.

1. Muslims

A new religious element was introduced in India during the period under review. This was Islam which, though preached by the Prophet Muhammad as early as A.D. 610, did not take a deep root in the soil of Arabia till A.D. 630. Two special features distinguished the early history of this religion from that of others known in history. Firstly, the militant character of the Prophet himself, who, unlike the founder of any other religion, had to engage in several military campaigns against his own people before they would accept his faith; and secondly, his extreme intolerance of the'existing religion. After the final conquest of Mecca, in A.D. 630, he ‘entered its great sanctuary and smashed its many idols said to have numbered three hundred and sixty exclaiming: ‘Truth hath come, and falsehood hath vanished! ?1 The militant character of Islam and its extreme intolerance of other religions, specially those which involved worship of images, marked its subsequent history at every step, and particularly in India.

It is beyond the scope of the present work to discuss the causes of the various wars waged by the Caliphs—as the successors of the Prophet were called-—or to examine their justification or expediency. But the fact remains that the spread of Islam almost invariably followed in the wake of military victories, at least during the early centuries of its history. So far as historical evidence goes, Islam got a definite footing only in those parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe, which had first been politically conquered by the army of the Caliphs, and not

1. P. K. Hitti, History of the Arabs , p. 118.

beyond that limit. This area was of course quite large, but the point to be noted is that unlike every other religion, whose history is known to us, the field of early missionary enterprise of Islam was almost coextensive with its political domains, acquired by military force. It is not the gunboats that followed the missionary, but the missionaries that followed the gunboats. There ns no real ground to suppose that India formed an exception to the rule. 1

As has already been shown above, there was maritime intercourse from very early period between India and the Western World, including Arabia and Persia, and we have definite evidence that the relation continued even after the spread of Islam in those countries. It is therefore highly probable that Muslim traders, who frequented the coastal regions, near the important ports, lived there for long or short periods, and some of them might even have settled there on more or less permanent basis. 2 But there is no reliable evidence to show, as has been maintained by some, that they settled in Malabar coast in large numbers in the seventh century A.D. Such a theory is mainly based on the traditions current among the Moplahs, Navayats, and Labbes of South India, 3 but these are on a par with

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similar traditions current among Christians in the same region which have been rejected by almost all students of history.

It is not till the beginning of the eighth century A.D. that we come across some evidence of the settlement of a large number of Muslims in Sindh. It is said in Chach-ndma that king Dahar had a body of 500 Arab troops in his service. They were Muslims and are said to have fled to India to evade punishment by the Caliph. * 1 Though this statement in Chach-ndma cannot be regarded as true without corroborative evidence, still it may be provisionally accepted, and may serve as evidence of Muslim settlements in India proper.

The defeat of Dahar and the conquest of Sindh by Muhammadibn-Qasim in A.D. 712, to which reference has been made above, 2 opened the floodgates of Muslim colonisation in this remote corner of India. As we have no detailed contemporary history of the Muslim conquest of Sindh we cannot draw any definite picture of this first Muslim settlement in India on a large scale. But the isolated facts mentioned in Al-Baladhuri's account and the Chach-ndma enable us to form a general idea of its nature. 3

It may be reasonably inferred from these accounts that even if there were Muslim settlers in Sindh at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., th^V formed quite a negligible factor. Throughout the course of Muhammad-ibn-Qasim's military campaigns from one end of Sindh to another, there is no reference to any Muslim element in the population, though there are various references to'individuals and communities, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, who helped the invader. It is equally clear from the same accounts that it was a deliberate policy of the conquerors to make Islam a dominant force

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in Sindh both by settlements and local conversion. Both these processes are in evidence from the very beginning. It is recorded by Baladhuri 1 that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad marked out a quarter for the Muslims, built a mosque, and settled four thousand colonists there.

The conversion of the people of Sindh to Islam was mainly due to the policy of humiliation and terrorisation, deliberately adopted by the Muslim conquerors towards the non-Muslims, combined with the inducements offered to them to better their social status and material prospects in life by the adoption of the new faith. We have no evidence that the conquered people of Sindh were, at any stage, offered the alternatives of 'sword 5 or the 'Quran', but a letter from Hajjaj to Muhammad, as reported in the Chach-nama , undoubtedly breathes the same spirit. On receipt of the report of Muhammad's great victory at Raor, Hajjaj wrote to him as follows:— "The great God says in the Quran: 'O true believers, when you encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads.' The above command of the Great God is a great command and must be respected and followed. You should not be so fond of showing mercy, as to nullify the virtue of the act. Henceforth grant pardon to no one of the enemy and spare none of them, or else all will consider you a weak-minded man."

Ai-Baladhuri and Chach-nama also give us an idea of the nature of mercy shown by Muhammad towards the infidels, for which he was so strongly rebuked by Hajjaj. After Ills men had scaled the walls of the fort of Debal, the besieged Indians opened the gates and asked for mercy, Muhammad replied that he had no orders to spare anyone in the town, and so. no quarter was given, and for three days the inhabitants were ruthlessly slaughtered. The local temple was defiled and "700 beautiful females, who had sought for shelter there, were all captured." The same tragedy was enacted after the capture of Raor. Muhammad massacred 8000 fighting men who were found in the fort, and their followers and dependents, as well as their women and children, were taken prisoners. 2 * * Sixty thousand slaves, including 30 young ladies of royal blood, were sent to Hajjaj together with the head of Dahar. We can now well understand why the capture of a fort by the Muslim forces was followed by the terrible jauhar ceremony (in which the females threw themselves in fire kindled by themselves), the earliest recorded instance

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of which is found in the Chach-rmma J It is interesting to note that, according to the same authority, the Muslim prisoners, both male and female, in Sindh, themselves reported to Muhammad that they had received very good treatment while they were in prison. On hearing this account Muhammad appointed to a high office the man who was in charge of the prisoners, of course, after he agreed to adopt the Islamic faith. 2 Further, we are told that when the Hindus of Sindan successfully rebelled against their Muslim ruler, they killed him, but left ‘its mosque for the Muslims to assemble in and pray/s The Muslim policy of defilement of temples and cruelty to prisoners cannot, therefore, be condoned as prevalent practice of the time in India. * 4

A perusal of the available accounts thus leaves no doubt that it was perhaps not due to any humanitarian feeling that Muhammad desisted from carrying into effect the general policy of Islam and the order of Hajjaj by massacring all the infidels in Sindh. Expediency and practical considerations probably stood in the v/ay of executing the Islamic law in letter, but he followed the spirit of it. This policy is enunciated in detail in connection with the conquest of Brahmanabad. As a clear statement of the Islamic doctrine for the treatment of conquered peoples, which formed the basis of the policy pursued by the Muslim conquerors in India, the passage may be reproduced in extenso. After stating how some Brahman as were offered pardon by Muhammad-ibn-Qasim on condition that they find out the queen of Dahar and produce her before him, the author of Chach-nama continues:

“As for the rest of the people, a tribute was fixed on them under the rules laid down by the holy Prophet of God (may the blessings of God be on him and his descendants). He who received the honour of Islam and became a convert was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and v/as not injured. Those, however, who did not accept the true faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (jizia). These latter were divided by him into three classes. The first and highest class had to pay 48 dirams of silver in weight per head. The second, or the middle class, had to pay 24 dirams in weight, and the third, or the lowest class, had to pay 12 dirams in weight only. He then dismissed them with the following words: "I let you go this day. Those among you who become Mussalmans and come within the fold of Islam shall have their tribute remitted, but those who are still inclined to be of their own faith, must put up with injuries (gazand) and tribute (jizia) to retain the religion of

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their fathers and grandfathers." Thereupon some resolved to live in their native land, but others took to flight in order to maintain the faith of their ancestors, and their horses, domestics and other property were taken away from them." 1

An intriguing question arose in respect of the right of the Hindus to maintain and construct their temples and carry on worship as before. Muhammad had begun the practice of building mosques in place of temples. 2 But after the conquest of the whole of Sindh was over, this question was placed before him by the priests of temples. They represented that 'the temples were lying desolate and in ruins', and asked for 'permission to visit the temples and to worship what they worshipped before.' Muhammad referred the matter to Hajjaj, whose decision in this matter showed a more tolerant spirit than that displayed in his previous letters. "Because after they have become zimmis (protected subjects) we have no right whatever to interfere with their lives or their property. Do, therefore, permit them to build the temples of those they worship. No one is prohibited from or punished for following his own religion, and let no one prevent them from doing so, so that they may live happy in their own homes." 3

In pursuance of the general policy Muhammad wrote letters to the rulers calling upon them all to surrender and accept the faith of Islam, 4 and appointed to high offices those who adopted the new religion. 6 This policy was continued even after the death of Muhammad. Calip ‘Umar II (A.D. 717-720) wrote to the kings of Sindh, inviting them to become Muslims and agreeing to let them continue on their thrones and have the same rights and privileges as the Muslims. Many kings including even Jaisimha, the son of Dahar, accepted Islam and adopted Arab names. 6 That the new faith was adopted more for material good than from their conviction, is shown by the fact that within a few years of his conversion Jaisimha quarrelled with the governor of Sindh, apostatised, and declared war against him. 7

The same reason that induced the ruling and official classes to accept Islam, must have operated on a larger scale in the case of the masses of people. But the new faith which they were forced or induced to accept sat very lightly on them. Towards the close of the Umayyad dynasty, when the Muslim authority was considerably weakened and Indian rulers vigorously opposed the Muslim intrusion, “the people of al-Hind (i.e. India) apostatised with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah.” 1 Thus by A.D. 750 Islam lost its footing in Sindh.

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The history of the Muslims in Sindh in the first half of the eighth century A.D. is of more than passing interest. In the first place, it shows the very slow progress of Islam in India as compared to its career in other countries. Secondly, it demonstrates the truth of the general rule, noted above, that the missionary success of Islam was almost entirely dependent upon its military success. Thirdly, it shows how the early conversions of Indians on a large scale proceeded less from choice than from practical necessity, and consequently proves how little the creed of Islam really touched the mind and heart of the people. If there was an almost wholesale apostasy on the part of the people of Sindh as soon as the Muslim authority was weakened, it is difficult to believe that Islam really made any impression upon the Ideal people in this or any other part of India.

The attitude of the Muslim conqueror of Sindh towards its people serves as a general pattern of Muslim policy towards the subject Hindus in subsequent ages. Something no doubt depended upon individual rulers; some of them adopted a more liberal, others a more cruel and intolerant attitude. But on the whole the framework remained intact, for it was based on the fundamental principles of Islamic theocracy. It recognised only one faith, one people, and one supreme authority, acting as the head of a religious trust. The Hindus, being infidels or non-believers, could not claim the full right of citizens. At the very best, they could be tolerated as zimmis, an insulting title which connoted politcal inferiorty and a low status of helplessness, like a minor under a guardian.

The Islamic State regarded all non-Muslims as its enemies, to curb whose growth in power and number was conceived to be its main interest. The ideal preached by even high officials was to exterminate them totally, 2 but in actual practice they seem to have followed an alternative laid down in the Quran 3 which calls upon the Muslims to fight the unbelievers till they pay jizia with due humility. 4 This was the tax which the Hindus had to pay for permission to live in their ancestral homes under a Muslim ruler.

Note 131

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Note 135

It will be seen from what has been stated above that Muhammadibn~Qasim followed the main principles of Islamic theocracy in his dealings with the Hindus. The one redeeming feature of his policy was the right given to the Hindus to worship freely at their temples. This is all the more noteworthy as very scant regard was paid to it by many Muslim rulers of India in later ages.

2. Christian Settlements

It has already been noted above, * 1 that Christian missionaries visited India and small Christian communities were established there, probably as early as the second century A.D. It has also been suggested on the authority of the Romance History of Alexander that the Christian church was firmly established in South India during the next two centuries. 2 But our knowledge of all these rests upon very vague and casual evidence, whose authenticity is often very doubtful. In any case, we have no knowledge of the location of these communities and their nature and activities.

The first definite information about the Christian communities in India and Ceylon is furnished by Cosmas Indicopleustes, to w^hom reference has been made above, 3 in the two following passages:—

1. "Even in Tabrobane (i.e. Ceylon), an island in Further India, where the Indian sea is, there is a Church of Christians, with clergy and a body of believers, but I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it. In the country called Male (Malabar), where the pepper grows, there is also a Church, and at another place called Calliana, there is moreover a bishop, wdio is appointed from Persia." 4

2. "The island (Ceylon) has also a Church of Persian Christians who have settled there, and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon and a complete ecclesiastical ritual. But the natives and their kings are heathens." 5

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It is quite clear from the above statements that "the constituency as well as the constitution of the Church both in Ceylon and on the west coast of Southern India was Persian", and it appears that "neither had yet begun to associate the natives of the country in Church fellowship." 1 In fact, the

Church of Ceylon would seem never to have done so, and probably for that reason, its existence was short-lived. The Church of Malabar, on the other hand, -largely cultivated the fellowship of the local people, and this probably accounts for its permanence, though other causes also might have been at work. 2

Cosmas' statement reflects the position of Christianity in India during the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. when his book was written. The Christian community was evidently of very little importance in Indian society, and there is no reason to suppose that it enjoyed greater p'ower and prestige at any time before him. Reference may be made in this connection to some facts from which conclusions to the contrary have been drawn by many scholars.

The Council of Nicaea, held in A.D. 325, was attended by three hundred Bishops representing all the dioceses of the Christian world. One of them, who is not otherwise known, affixed his signature as 'John the Bishojb of Persia and Great India'. The adjective 'great' more likely applies to the country rather than to the Church in it, and we need not draw any conclusion from it beyond the probable existence of Christain communities on the we stern borderlands of India. 3 The stories of the visit of Theophilus and Frumentius to India in the fourth century A.D. are hardly credible, and they had probably nothing to do with India, 4

It is evident that the Christians of the western coast of India in the sixth century A.D. were Nestorians, under the Church of Persia. The existence of this Nestorian community at Mylapore, on the Coromandel coast, has been inferred from the cross which was discovered on St. Thomas's Mount in 1547. It has a Pehlevi Inscription which has been assigned to the seventh or eighth century A.D. The purport of the inscription is not quite clear, but its general import has been regarded by some as characteristic of Indian Nes

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torianisrn. 1 Whatever we may think of this, the discovery of this cross and of similar ones at Kottayam in north Travancore shows that before the close of the eighth century A.D. Christian settlements were spread along the eastern as well as the western coast of South Indian Peninsula.

The influx of fresh Christian colonies in Malabar from Baghdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem, is hinted at in a story widely current in this region. These immigrants are said to have arrived in the company of merchant Thomas in A.D. 745. This Thomas of Cana (Kanaye Thomas) seems to have made a deep impression upon the local people, so much so that some have even suggested that the legend of St. Thomas was due to a confusion with this Thomas. But the historical value of the story is uncertain, and it would be unreasonable to base any important conclusions on it. 2

The Importance of the Christian community in Malabar in the eighth century A.D. has been sought to be proved by the Kottayam plate of Vira-Raghava-Chakravartin, which is now in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Kottayam, in Travancore. According to previous writers “it is dated in A.D. 774 and records a grant made by king Vira-Raghava-Chakravartin to Iravi Corttan of Cranganore, making over to him, as representative head of the Christian community there, the little principality of Manigramam.” 3 But Mr. Venkayya, 4 who edited the Plate, refers it to the fourteenth century A.D., and adds that “there is nothing Christian in the document, except its possession by the present owners.” He further points out that Manigramam was a trading corporation and not the name of a principality. This plate therefore does not prove anything about the Christian community of Malabar. No more importance, from this point of view, attaches to the other Kottayam Plate of Sthanu Ravi, which Burnell placed somewhat later.

H. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

The development of philosophy has been traced already and also partly dealt with in connection with Buddhism, Jainism,

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Vaishnavism and &aivism. Important writers on Philosophy have also been referred to in Chapter XV. Here we propose to deal with the six orthodox systems of philosophy forming three distinct pairs, the beginnings of which have been discussed above . 1

I-II. Nyaya-Vaiseshika

Whether these two systems began together in a mass of inchoate thinking, or started independently of each other, has been a matter of dispute among scholars. It is just possible that the Vaiseshika came into existence much earlier than the Nyaya. Prof. S. N. Das Gupta is inclined to think that it was originally a philosophy of the Mimdmsd type meant to buttress the validity of the Vedas with a metaphysical bulwark. Whether the two systems were different in origin or not, their similarities are so prominent that tradition has always regarded them as a conjoint pair.

As distinguished from the heterodox systems, they had a common theory about the sources of knowledge (the Vedas being one such source), and believed in soul, God, and the reality of the outside world.

The world was a conglomeration of finite things possessing different qualities. The things could be divided into smaller and smaller parts, ending in atoms or indivisible constituents of things. The atoms are of different kinds according to the element of which they are constituents. The elements are earth, water, fire and air. The world spreads out in space and in series of events which occupy time. Space and time are divisible in thought but not into atoms.

The things of the world are by themselves individual; each is distinguishable from another by a quality specially its own, which is called visesha. But they also form classes and have qualities common to them all called samanya. The distinction between one class and another, like that between one individual and another, is also a visesha , or a specific quality.

In the world of things, changes also take place, one event following another. This means there is causation. And causation implies that something new is brought into existence. The things, their qualities, and their relations in time and space are all real, and these make up the world.

In this world which is knowable, there is a self that knows. They talk of suffering and salvation. But how can there be suffering if there be no sufferer, and how can there be salvation if there be no soul to be saved? There is a soul that knows and suffers and hopes to be saved from the ills of life,

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According to this philosophy, not only is there a world that can be known and a soul that knows and experiences it, but there is also a God who made it out of the eternally existing atoms. The existence of God has to be inferred as the cause of the Universe. This God not only created the universe, but He also created the Vedas which are thus an infallible source of knowledge. It was God who gave to words the power to mean what they mean.

The Nydya philosophy laid special stress on its theory of knowledge, so much so that in later times, in Bihar and Bengal, this became the chief, if not the exclusive, pre-occupation of the thinkers of the school. As result of this emphasis on the sources of knowledge, this school discovered the syllogism as the method of inference. In Europe, the first fore-shadowings of the syllogism appear in the discourses of Socrates, and it took final shape in the philosophy of Aristotle. It mu£t be said to the credit of the Indian thinkers that they discovered the syllogism perhaps earlier than the Greeks and, therefore, independently of them. The Indian syllogism consists of five propositions whereas the Greek contains three. The classical example of the Indian syllogism is:

“There is fire in yonder mountain; for, there is smoke in it; wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in the kitchen; there is smoke in the mountain;

therefore, there must be fire in it."

This syllogism was not an unaided discovery of the orthodox thinkers. The Jain and Buddhist thinkers also wrote much on logic and contributed to its development.

The syllogism is the basis of inference. Besides inference, there were three other sources of knowledge according to this school. These were perception (pratyaksha), analogy or comparison (upamana), and authority (sahda), especially of the Vedas. The discussion of these sources of knowledge gave rise to a profuse literature.

III-IV. Sdnkhya-Yoga

This pair of systems supplement each other. The Sankhya supplies the metaphysics whereas the Yoga delineates the psychological discipline by which the results contemplated by the philosophy may be actually achieved. The Sankhya starts with the premise that life is subject to three kinds of evil and suffering. The first kind of evil is due to man's own physical and mental disorders, diseases and agonies. The second kind of evil to which man is subject arises from the action of other animals; from a mosquito-bite to an attack by a tiger, from a theft in the house to slander in the streets, there are so many ways in which animals and other men can cause pain and suffering to us. There is a third kind of evil also,

produced by the elements, fire, wind, and water. A fire may burn down your house and property, a storm may blow away your belongings, and a flood may wash away your cattle. This also is a source of suffering. Life, therefore, has so many ills to reckon with. All this may, however, be escaped by true knowledge.

What is the truth that one should try to know? The constitution of the world and mans place in it. The world is evolved out of a primitive principle, an eternal feminine, the prakriti. It consists of three gunas: sattva, rajas, and tamas: three strings woven into one, or three qualities mixed into one, or three strata pressed together; put it any way you like, but these are the three constituents of prakriti. Usually, however, they are understood to be three qualities, which being the qualities of the matrix of the universe, permeate all things—men and animals as well as inanimate objects, and even men's actions. Besides prakriti , there are an infinite number of individual souls or purushas who do not act but are, under certain circumstances, able to feel and be misled. When prakriti comes into contact with a purusha —how and why is a mystery—the world begins to be unfolded through a series of stages: Intelligence, selfconsciousness, mind or the power of attention, the five senses with the sense-organs, the five organs of action, viz. the organ of speech, hands, feet and the organs of evacuation, the five subtle elements of earth, water, fire, air and space, and the grosser elements called by the same names. This, together with prakriti as the first and purusha as the last, gives us a list of 25 tattoos (or truths).

The purusha is alw T ays inactive. Prakriti becomes active when it is in contact with a purusha; prakriti has been likened to a feminine being whose nature is to woo and win the heart of the inactive masculine by blandishments. Prakriti has even been compared to a dancing girl, who displays her art just to please her master and stops this display* as soon as she feels that she is no longer wanted. Why the purusha and prakriti come together is an unexplained mystery. And the tragedy is that while prakriti is active, she is unconscious, and purusha, who is conscious, is inactive. This is the great truth by meditating on which the evils of life can be escaped.

For Yoga, also, it is the same truth on which man should meditate. But the Yoga bestows more care in describing the mental effort necessary for this meditation and the physical discipline by which the body may be made fit for such meditation. In later times. Yoga often meant physical discipline more than anything else: the position in which one should sit, the way his hands and feet should be kept, and the various kinds of such postures, the control of breath

ing, etc. By practising these attitudes and the different kinds of meditation, many extraordinary and even superhuman powers could be acquired. The Yoga discusses these powers, too. But after all, all this is a means to an end; and the end always is the escape from the ills of life.

Is there a God whose benediction may be invoked? Sdnkhya says 'no'; for there is no evidence that there is God. The Yoga only speaks of Him indirectly as an object of meditation by pondering on whom the mind may be steadied in contemplation. The God of religion is absent from both. The Yoga, however, speaks of’Him as an existent being and as one who is immensely superior to man, because he is not touched by the evil that encircles man. And this is a point of difference between Yoga and Sdnkhya.

V-VI. The Two Mimamsas

While we make a pair of Nydya-Vaiseshika and of SankhyaYoga because of their doctrinal similarities, the two Mimamsas — the Purva Mimdmsd and the Vedanta —constituted not only a pair of similars but practically one unitary system, not so much because of their doctrinal similarities but rather because their fundamental basis was the same, Both of them were attempts at interpretation of the Vedas—the ehtire Vedic literature including Mantras, Brahma nas and Upanishads. As an attempt at interpretation of the Vedas, the two Mimamsas appear originally to have constituted one system . 1 Their philosophical affinities, however, were not so close as in the other two cases, and later on, they easily bifurcated into distinct lines of thought. About the seventh ancT eighth century A.D. the Purva Mimdmsd was divided into two schools, one led by Prabhakara and the other by Kumarila. And the Uttara Mimdmsd or the Vedanta also split up into a number of more or less important schools. But to begin with, the two Mimamsas constituted one line of thought, or one philosophical system.

The main plank on which they both rested was that the Vedas were unassailable as a source of knowledge and, therefore, as the foundation of all true philosophy. Two important dicta came out of this proposition: first, that the relation between words and their meanings was eternal, permanent, and unalterable. The Vedas were a body of words which did not owe their origin to any author, human or divine; they were, therefore, eternal. And the meanings they expressed were equally eternal and unchanging. The second dictum was that knowledge carried its own proof. If you know a thing, you know it, and there is no reason why you should require any other proof in support of it. Objects are revealed to us in knowledge,

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but we have no reason to think that they produce the knowledge. If there is an error, it may be due to a defect, temporary or permanent, in our cognitive faculty. But the possibility of such error is no challenge to the validity and self-sufficiency of knowledge as such. The words of the Vedas give us knowledge and there is no reason whatever to doubt its validity.

Are there not differences of meaning in the Vedic texts? Apparently there may be some; but it should be the endeavour of all honest and faithful interpreters to reconcile and synthesise them. The Purva Mimdmsd does this with regard to the Brdhmana portion of the Vedas or the rules of religious rites, and the Uttar a Mimdmsd or Vedanta does the same with regard to the Upanishadic portion. The Vedas, according to their conclusion, speak with one voice and in one language and speak the same truth.

As a result of this interpretation, the philosophical doctrines that emerge are:

(i) There is a Soul. Whether the soul is permanent and ultimately real or not, is another question. But there must be an agent to perform the sacrifices and one to whom the injunctions about these rites can be addressed. Even the instruction of the moksha sastra or the Upanishads must be addressed to some one. So, there is a soul, an individual being. There must be a soul to be saved. This soul is uncreated and, when liberated, lives a life of blessedness. Whether it can always, even after liberation, maintain its distinctive individuality has been a matter of dispute among later thinkers. The soul can and does act, and enjoys the fruits of its actions. And, apparently according to some, and in reality according to the Purva Mimdmsd, there is a plurality of such souls.

(ii) A world also is there, a world of things and qualities that we experience. The fact that we experience a world, no body can deny. But whether this world is as we know it, or whether our knowledge of it is after all an illusion, is a question which the Uttar a Mimdmsd or Vedanta hotly debated at a later time.

(iii) God, however, is not necessary, and therefore there is none. The world changes but was not created. Even the relation between a word and its meaning is uncreated. And Karma necessarily brings its own fruits in its trail and does not require a dispenser of justice— of reward and punishment. According to Vedanta, however, there is an ultimate substance from w T hich everything else emanates, and that is Brahma.

(iv) Karma —'The Vedas enjoin the performance of certain actions. There are different kinds of actions. There are actions

which must be done in all circumstances. They are imperative duties. There are others which should be performed only if something is desired and as means to the attainment of that something. For instance, if a man desires a son, there is a ceremony which he should perform. But in the absence of such a desire, the ceremony is not binding on him. There are certain actions, again, which must not be performed or the performance of which is a sin. There is a fourth class of action which has to be performed as an expiation of the sin of having done a prohibited action.

The Mimamsd held that the duties, belonging to the varna (caste) and adrama (the stage of life) to which an individual belonged, were imperative and must continue to be performed till death. But must they be performed even when a man had renounced the world and had attained true knowledge and was on the path to liberation? This question gradually came to the forefront and eventually brought about a divergence between the Purva Mimamdsa and some of the schools of the Uttar a Mimamsd or Vedanta.

The most important contribution of the Purva JVKmdthsd was the rules of interpretation that it developed. By a careful scrutiny of the tenses and moods of verbs, and similar other grammatical niceties, it developed an elaborate code of rules for understanding a text. The general principles so developed continued to be the basis of interpretation of legal and religious texts for a long time. And even now in interpreting the dicta of Hindu Law and religion, they are found generally helpful.

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2. Kingsbury, P. and Phillips, G. E. Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints. Calcutta, 1921.

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G. 1. Muslims

Same as those mentioned under Ch. X, Section 12.

CHAPTER XIX

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. I, pp. 474 ff.
2. 1. See pp. 80 ff. 2. See pp. 115 ff. 3. See Vol. II, pp. 379 ff.
3. 1. These have been explained above in Vol. IT, p. 386.
4.]. N. Dutt, Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism , Ch. V.
5. 2. HTW, II, 136. ' 3. HTW , I, 227. 4. RASB, Ms. leaf, 160 a
6. 1. JRAS , 1891. pp. 418 f. Hiuen Tsang's statistics run as follows:—
7. 32,000 Mahayana monks.
8. 96,000 Hinayana monks of which Sammitiyn 44,000.
9. 54,500 both Hinayana and Mahayana.
10. 2. Tar., p. 67; N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism II. 145.
11. 3. See Infra, p. 390 as a yogachara exponent.
12. 1. ii. 127. 2. Edited by W. T._ Chan and C. A. Moore. Honolulu. 1947, p. 74.
13. 3, LTttara, a contemporary of Aryadeva is also regarded as a founder of the
14. Sautrantika School. See HTW, II, p. 224.
15. 4. Vol. II, p. 388 f.
16. \. Cf. Ch. XXIII.
17. 2. Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 99.
18. Tar., p. 136
19. 1. Tar., p. 1G2.
20. 1. Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 98.
21. 2. Edited by N. Dutt and published in the Calcutta Oriental Series.
22. 1. See above pp. 383-4 as a Vaibhashika teacher.
23. 2. Watters (II, p, 108) thinks that Gunamati, the commentator of the kosa, was different from Gunamati the Yogacharin. The Kosa being a basic work of Buddhism was studied both by the Hinayanists and the Mahayanists and hence the commentator of Kosa might well have been a Yogacharin.
24. 3. JR AS, 1947, pp. 53 ft.
25. 1 Edited by Rahula Sarhkrityayana.
26. 1. Tar., p. 95; Bust on, II, 119. 2. T.S.S. No. 84, Part III, p. 620.
27. 3. See pp. 36-38.

28. 4. For other evidences of the royal patronage of Buddhism during the Gupta period, of. pp. 43, 63, 139 f, 142 f above.
29. 1. See above, pp. 117 IT
30. 1. HTW , I. 162. As an instance oi the strictness of the monastic discipline in his time, I-tsing mentions (Takakusu 63) the stringent rules observed by monks and nuns when visiting one another at a monastery in Tamralipti. In the same monastery lived a much esteemed monk who had not spoken to a woman face to face since his ordination, though this was not forbidden by the law (ibid. 64).
31. 2. In Bhasa's Chdrndatta (Act IV, p. 74) the saucy Brahmana Maitreya uses the simile of a Buddhist monk kept awake at night by thinking of his assignation with a servant girl. In Mri., however, this scandalous reference is left out in the corresponding passage. What is more, a Buddhist monk, who was till recently a shamnooer and a gambler, is mentioned ouite naturally as shrinking from touching the body of the heroine to enable her to walk to a place oi safety. bmt much stress again is to be laid upon the character of the disreputable Buddhist monk portrayed in the Mattavildsa drama v/hich belongs to a dramatic type (prahasana) characterised by its license. On the other hand it is significant that the Rashtrapalapariprichchha contains (Finot's ed. pp. 28-33) a remarkable prophecy about the decadence of the church making the monks
32. appear in the role of unabashed worldlings and hyprocitcs as well as teachers of false doctrines. This work was translated into Chinese between A.D, 585 and 592, and was probably composed not much earlier than that time.
33. 1. Dasci' pp. 85, 168 (NSP. 1951, pp. 112, 232); KamandakI in Malati.
34. 2. Cf. Mri. Act IX (meeting a Buddhist monk in a public garden regarded as inauspicious even by the virtuous Charudatta): Har. V, Mud, IV (sight of a naked Jain monk taken to be an evil omen). The grounds for the Brahmanas' antipathy towards Jain monks are well expressed in a remarkable anecdote in Dasa' p. 75 (NSP, 1951, p. 94). There we are told that a rich merchant of the Brahmana caste, reduced to poverty by the wiles of ganika, allows himself in sheer disgust to become a Jain monk. Afterwards he repents of adopting a life ‘‘where the dress to be worn is condemnable, which is the abode of excessive suffering, the fruit whereof is Hell even after one's death owing to

one's having constantly to listen to the blasphemy against the gods Vishnu, Siva, Brahma and others."

35. 3. Vol. II, pp. 391 ff. 4. Vol. II, p, 394.
36. 1. B. T. Bhattacharaya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, pp. xxiv-xxix, 2; A. Getty, Gods of Northern Bnddhisrr.
37. 1. Mahavamsa, Ch. XXXVII. 2. HI L, II. 190-91.
38. 3. Visuddhimagga. Bombay, 1940, Intr. pp. xiii fT. Law identifies Mayurasuttapattana
39. the birth-place of Buddhaghosha with Mayavaram (Buddhaghosa. p. 34). Kosambi could not locate it (op. cit, p. xv).
40. 4. cf. Winternitz, HIL, II. 192. Law, however, ascribes the last two works respectively to a later namesake of Buddhaghosha and Chulla Buddhaghosha (Buddhaghosa, pp. 71 ff; 63 fT).
41. i. Gray, Buddhaghosuppatti, Intr. p. 31. 2. Bnddhaghosa, p. 75.
42. 1. Kosambi, however, doubts Buddhaghosha's authorship of Atthasdlini "from the style, content and thn introduction" (op. at., p. xiv).
43. 2. Buddhist Birth-stories, Intr. p. lx. 3. Buddhaghosa, pp. 69 fF.
44. 4. PLC. p. 126 5. See above, Vol. I, p. 340.
45. 6. HPL, II, p. 450. 7. PLC, p. 96.
46. 8. Buddhist Legends, Part I, pp. 57 f.
47. 1. of. L.')w, HPL , II, pp. 449-50; also, Burlingame, Buddhist Legends , Part I. pn. 28-9.
48. 2. of. Law, Life and Work of Buddhaghosa , pp. 135 ff. Winternitz, HIL , II, p. 204.
49. 3. Malalasekera, PLC, p. 103.'
50. 4. Vinayavinichchaya: Buddhaghosuppatti , Ed. by Gray, pp. 49-51. cf. Malalasekera. PLC, dd. 105 ff; Law! HPL, II. p. 384 ff.
51. 5. HIL, II, p. 220. 6. Pali Literature pud Language, p. 33.
52. 1. Go.ndhavamsa pp. 69, 72; Gray, Jinalamkdra, Irstr. pp. 7 ff; HIL, II, pp. 223 f;
53. PLC, pp. 111-2.
54. 1. ZDMG, 51, pp. 103 ff. Pali Literature and Language , p. 34.
55. 2. Catalogue , p. xii, referred to in PLC, pp. 116 f.
56. 3. CII. III. 244.
57. 4. HIL, II, p. 120; De Zoysa, Catalogue of Pali, Sinhalese and Sanskrit MSS in

58. the Temple Libraries of Ceiilon, p. 5.
59. 5. PLC, p. 161.
60. 1. JPTS, 1886, p. 61.
61. 2. JPTS , 1883, pp. xiii f., 86-87; Pali Literature and Language pp. 35-36; HIL II. p. 221.
62. i. — — ▪ ~ r "~ ~ ~ , m ""- - 1 — -- - _ ▪ — "▪
63. 1. cf. Winternitz, H1L. II, pp. 211-2. Geiger takes this work to be Dlpavamsa, which Winternitz (loc. cit..) doubts. Fleet (JR AS , 1909, p. 5) designates Mahdvamsa as a “commentary” on Dlpavamsa. and Geiger (Mahdvamsa, tr., p. xi f; Pali Literatur und Sprache, p. 24) supports him.
64. 1. Gesch. und Krit. der einheim. Pali-G-rammatik, pp. 2, 3.
65. 1. Upadhye, JUB, T. Part vi. pp. 224-231.
66. 4,09
67. 1. El, XX. 61 foil. 2. ABOR1, XVI. pp. 34-35.
68. 1. See pp. 2G8-70. 2. Saletore, Medieval Jainism , p. 7 foil.
69. Ml
70. 1. See pp. 270-73. 2. Sharma, Jainism and Karnataka Culture, p. 9 foil.
71. 3. The Rashtrakutas and their Times, p. 310.
72. 1. Ayyangar and Rao, Studies in South Indian Jainism, pp. 32 foil.
73. 2. See pp. 265-67.
74. 3. Guerinot. Repertoire d’ Epigraphie Jama, p. 4. foil.
75. 1. Charpentier, Introduction to Uttarddhyayana.
76. 1. These female figures are variously depicted, ten-armed, four-armed, and twoarmed. They have for their cognizances the following:— (1) Garuda and swan, (2) elephant, (3) bull, (4) indistinct, (5) peacock, (6) vase and lotus, (7) lion. The first five on the basis of the emblems in their hands have some affinity with BrahmanI, VaishnavT, Indram, Mahesvari, Vaishnavi and Kumari; the sixth and the seventh stand for the important goddesses, Padmavatl and Ambika, the Jain counterparts of the snake-goddess Manasa and Durga. A few of them (4th, 5th and 7th) carry a small child in their arms; all of them, with the exception of number one seated on lotus-seats, sit in the ardhaparyahka or lalitasana. B. C. Bhattacharya describes the first, second, third, fifth, sixth, and seventh as Chakresvarl, Ajitadevi, Duritari or Prafnapti, Gauri or Manava, Padmavatl and Ambika; the fifth he is unable to identify.

77. 2. See above, p. 367. 3. BV, VIII. 109 ff.
78. 1. MAST, No. 26, p. 5. The beginning of Buddha's inclusion in the list of the ten ava+dras must be assigned to a da*e earlier than the eighth century. The popularity of the Fish god in the early centuries of the Christian era is not only indicated by the name of the Matsiia Purana (one of the oldest Puranas) but also by that of the chief Matsva-cupta (literally, 'protected by the Fish') mentioned in a Mathura inscription of vear 23 of the Kanishka era, probably corresponding to A.D. 101 (cf. EJ. XXVIII, p. 43).
79. 2. El, XII. 37-43. Krishna is also said to have sported with one hundred milkmaids as the leading figure in the Mahdbhdrata.
80. 3. VS, 46-7; EHVS, 174
81. 1. Cf. Kalidasa's Meghaduta, St. 15.
82. 1. IHQ, XXI. 56 ff. 2. HBR, 402; JRA.SBL, IX. 232 ff.
83. 1. See pp. 332 ff.
84. 2. The detailed Vnikhnnasdaama classification of the Dhruva-beras of Vishnu is not clearly applicable to the Gupta images, though there is every reason to believe that by the later Gupta period some of these image-groups were constructed.
85. 1. ASC, X. pi. XXXVI; Vats, The Gupta Temple at Deogarh (MASI , No. 70), p. 14 and pi. X (b).
86. 2. T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, pp. 261-3, PI. LXXVIII.
87. 3. For a detailed description of this image and remarks, cf. HBR, I, p. 431, PI. LXI-149.
88. 4. Vogel, Cat. M.M., pp. 102-3. He is wrong in describing it as 'Vishnu as Buddha'. Agarwala's description is more to the point.
89. 1. Baneriee, DHI, pp. 302-3.
90. 2. AO, XII, pp. 116-125; IHQ. XXVII, pp., 191-6, pi. I; Vats, op. cit., p. 14 and pi. XI.
91. 430
92. 1. For a detailed description of the above reliefs, see T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I, pp. 128-80 and plates XXXVI-LIII.
93. 2. For detailed descriptions of the different Avatara figures, see T. A. G. Rao, op. cit., I, pp. 119 ff. and corresponding plates.
94. 1. See pp. 328 ff.
95. 1. Banerjea, DHI, pi. X, fig. 4. 2. Vol. IX, pp. 460-61.

96. 2. See pp. 365-6.
97. 1. T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, II, pp. 509-10, pi. CXLVUI.
98. 1. Vol. II. pp. 466-67.
99. 1. Mdrkandeya Purdna , 83, 37,
100. 1. T. A. G. Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, I. pi. C.
101. 2. The figure of Karttikeya shown in a ‘Chaitya window’ of the Bhumara Siva temple exactly corresponds to the above description (MASI , 16, pi. XIII d).
102. 1. For the Mathura and Bhitargaon figures of Ganesa, cf. A. Getty, Ganesa.
103. and ASI, 1908-9. fig. 2. ' '
104. 2. MASI, 16, pis. XU (a), XV(a, b). 3. MASI, 55, pi. XXXII (d).
105. 1. See above, Vol. II, p. 447 f.
106. 1. Vol. II, p. 470.
107. 1. For the Bhaja relief, cf. HIIA, pi. VIII. Johnston, however, suggests that the figure stands for Mara riding on his elephant Girimekhala (JISOA , VTI, pp. 1-7). For the Hellenistic Sakra or Indra, cf. Grunwedel and Burgess, Buddhist Art, figs. 40, 9.
108. 2; HBR, I, pp. 462-64 and plates.
109. 1. Ibid, pp. 461-62 and plates.
110. 1. Attempts have been made by Mr. M. A. Ghani (POC, X, 403) to show that the Muslims came to India as early as A.D. 637 and settled in large numbers ‘not as fighters but as tradesmen and missionaries’, that the Indians were so profoundly impressed with “the purity of their living, their zeal for the new faith and* the principle of world-wide brotherhood,” that they eagerly embraced the new faith in large numbers, about fifty thousand being converted each year. We shall refer later to the impression that was produced by Islam on . h^ians after the conquest of Sindh in A.D. 712, and we have got ample evidence for coming to a definite conclusion on this point. As to the period preceding that event, Mr. M. A. Ghani has drawn a rosy picture of the early Muslim Colonies in India, and their happy relations with the Indians. Unfortunately, the principal authority on which he relies is Buztirg bin Shahriyar’s Aja’ib ul Hind, a book composed in the tenth century A. D. and described in the Encyclopedia of Islam as ‘mere sailor’s tales with fantastic exaggerations, though there may be some

elements of truth’. An account based on such a work does not deserve serious consideration. And some of the anecdotes relied upon by Mr. Ghani definitely belong to a much later period.

111. 2. The ship sailing from Ceylon with presents for Hajjaj (above, p. 169) contained some Muslim girls, daughters of merchants who died there (Bal&dhuri, Chach-nama I. 69-70).
112. 3. Traditional accounts of the origin of Moplahs differ materially from one another. Some of them, said to have settled on the Western coast in the seventh century are described as descendants of Hashem, expelled bv the Prophet from Arabia’ A Muslim merchant named Malik Medina, accompanied by some priests, is said to nave settled in or near Mangalore. A story is current among the Navayats that their ancestors fled from the Persian Gulf about the close of T e seventh century A.D. to escape the cruelty of a governor of Iran. Tuhfatu^-Miijahidin, a work composed in the sixteenth century A.D.. preserves the legend of a king of Cranganore, who adopted Islam, proceeded to Arabia
113. a ? < \/r Q1 i e< u ^ e f e - R 1S saic * tna1: after his death Islam was spread in all parts of Malabar, in the year 200 of the Hajira, i.e. ninth century AD (Tr bv
114. M. J. Rowlandson p 47). These are all very late traditions and cannot in any case, be regarded as evidence for large Muslim settlements in Malabar in the seventh century, as contended by some (Sturrock South Kanara Madras District Manuals, pp. 180-81; Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian
115. Culture , p. 32). Francis Day, who has recorded some of these traditions current in Malabar and studied the history of the Moplahs, is of opinion that the “Muhammadans obtained no great footing until the ninth century AD.*’ (The
116. Land of the Perumals, p. 365).
117. 1. Chach-ndma, X, 55-56. It is interesting to note that this body of Arab troops, though in regular pay of Dahar, refused to fight on his behalf against their co-religionists (Ibid, 127). Dahar’s secretary, Wazil (Ibid, 71), is also regarded by some as a Muslim (IHQ, XVI. 597), but this is by no means certain. It has been suggested also that Amir Ali-ud-Dowla, appointed by Chach governor of the fort of Sikka, according to a‘ passage in Chach-ndma, as translated by Elliot (HIED, I. 142), was also a Muslim. But the chronology followed in this book

makes Chach ascend the throne 24 years before Hijira, and it is not likely that any Muslim took service under him. Besides, according to the more reliable translation of the same passage by Fredunbeg (I. 28) “Chach appointed the greatest of the nobles of the State,” and not a person named Amir Ali-ud-Dowla, “to be temporarily in charge of the fort of Sikka.”

118. 2. See pp. 170-2.
119. 3. For these and other authorities see Arab Invasion of India, Ch. II, by R. C. Majumdar. Baladhuri’s book, composed in the ninth century A.D., is written as an historical chronicle and may be regarded as fairly reliable. The Chach-ndma, in its present form, is a work of twelfth century. It gives a more detailed count of Sindh, but is less reliable. I have used the translation of Baladhuri, Vol. II, by F. F. Murgotten.
120. — “
121. 2. Tfie accounts of Chah-namn about the massacre perpetrated by Muhammad
122. are corroborated by Baladhuri. There a^e other instances than the two given
123. above. The numbers massacred at Erahmanabad are put down as varying from 6,000 to 26,000. According to Chah-nama (I. 164) Muhammad “came to the place of execution and in his presence ordered all the men belonging to the
124. military classes to be beheaded with swords.”
125. 1. Chach-iiama, I. 154, 163. 2. Ibid, 84-5, also p. 157. 3. Baladhuri, II. 233.
126. 4. Some Christian rulers in Europe are said to have been guilty of equal or even greater cruelties towards the people of other faiths.
127. 1. Chach-nama I. 164-5. 3. Ibid. I. 168-9. 6. HIED. I. 440.
128. 2. Ibid , I. 105. 4, Ibid, I. 157. 7. Ibid. I. 441.
129. 5. Ibid, I. 85, 158.
130. 4 GO
131. 1. Balddhuri, II. 228.
132. 2. This ideal was preached by Hajjaj to Muhammad in his letter quoted above. The relevant passage in the Quran (IX. 5) runs thus: “And when the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them.” (Transl. by J. M. Rodwell. Everyman’s Library Edition, p. 471).

133. 3. IX. 29.
134. 4. “Make war upon such of those-as believe not in God.until they pay
135. tribute out of hand, and they be humbled” (Ibid, p. 473). There are slight differences in the interpretation of the last part, but the general meaning is quite clear (Ibid, fn. 6 and 7). This passage in the Quran, and the statement of Muhammad-ibn-Qasim, quoted above, do not support the view that the
136. jizia was a kind of tax for exemption from military service (cf. Syed Ameer Ali— History of the Saracens (1951), p. 33). On this point cf. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkaks article in the Special Puja issue of the Hindusthan Standard (1950).
137. 1. Vol. II, p. 628.
138. 2. This statement is based on a little pamphlet of the fifth century A.D. on the Nations of India included in the Romance History of Alexander of the PscudoKallisthenes. The writer mentions having visited Southern India. There he was the guest of Moses, Bishop of Adule (Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 147). According to MeCrindle the pamphlet belongs to “the Lausiac Histories of Palladius who wrote about 420 A.D.” (Ancient India , p. 178). If we accept tills date we can hardly accept Rawlinson’s view that the Bishop was a Nestorian Prelate.
139. 3. See p. 86.
140. 4. The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian monk, translated by J. W MeCrindle (1897), pp. 118-19. The words within brackets are not in the original but are added by way of explanation.
141. 5. Ibid, p. 365.
142. 1. G. M. Rae, The Syrian Church in India, p. 117.
143. 2. Ibid.
144. 3. This point has been fully discusser! by Mr, Rae (Ibid, pp. 79 fT.).
145. 4. Ibid. Ch. VII. The Malabar tradition, particularly the chronograms like <c rauravam devardpjam”, “Bhuvibhaga”, or <(Cherar,idn desam vrapa", representing respectively the dates A.D. 317, 344 and 343 for some important events connected, with Christianity in South India, do not deserve serious consideration in a sober history. The same thing may be said of Travancorc traditions about the immigration of Christians at Quilon in A.D. 293. For some of these traditions and chronograms, cf. 1C, XII. 19.

146. 4G3
147. 1. Rae (op. cit 121) bases this inference on Burnell's translation (L4, III. 308-16) which runs as follows: "In punishment by the Cross (was) the suffering of this One: He who is the true Christ, and God above, and Guide ever pure." Mr. T. K. Joseph of Travancore, however informs me that Dr. W. B. Henning, Professor of Cambridge, offered the following translation in a letter dated September 6, 1948:
148. "My Lord Christ, have mercy upon Afras, son of Chaharbukht, son of Giwargis who arranged this (or who set it up)." According to this translation, the inference of Rae would appear to be baseless.
149. 2. For this and similar other stories, cf. M. Rae, op. cit. (pp. 162 ff).
150. 3. Ibid , p, 155.
151. 4 ' S' 1 Y- 2 ?^ date A-D ' 774 wns onginaWy suggested by Burnell (IA, I. 229) Cf. also I A, XX. 289: XXII. 139.
152. l. Vol. II, pp. 475 ff.
153. 1. Jha, Purva-Mimahsdl, Benares, 1942, pp. 4-10; IHQ, 1928, p. 612.

ART

A. ARCHITECTURE

The period A.D. 320 to 750 marks a parting of the ways in the history of Indian architecture. In one respect, it is an age of culmination and ultimate exhaustion of the earlier tendencies and movements in architectural types and forms. In another, it marks the ushering in of a new* age, which is particularly connected with the growth and development of the temple. It is a creative and formative age with immense possibilities for the future, an age associated with the foundation of the typical styles of Indian temple architecture.

I. CAVE ARCHITECTURE

Rock-cut excavations represent an aspect in Indian architecture that had been characteristic of the earlier period. A marked persistence of this earlier aspect is no doubt due to a long familiarity with the method, an additional incentive being the fact that no great constructional problem is involved in it. Most of these excavations belong to the Buddhist faith, though Brahmanical and Jain establishments of this type are not rare.

The rock-cut architecture of the Buddhists, as in the earlier period, consists of two conventional types—-the chaiiya hall. i. e. the shrine proper, and the sanghdrdma or the vihdra , i.e. the monastery. The most notable groups are found at Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad, all within the former Hyderabad State, and Bagh in the Madhya Bharat Of these..Ajanta has had a long history dating back to a period before the Christian era. Of the twenty-eight caves at Ajanta five belong to the earlier period while the remaining twenty-three appear to have been excavated during the period under discussion. Two of the latter group, namely caves XIX and XXVI, are chaitya) caves, and the rest are vihdras.

1. Chaitya Hall

Cave No. XIX appears to have been the earlier of the two chaitya halls. Though separated by a wide gap of time from the older group of chaiiya caves, Nos. IX and X, it retains the plan of its earlier prototypes, but with extensive changes in the ornamentation of the fagade and in the designs of the pillars in the interior.

x This cave shrine belongs to a group of monastic establishments, of which caves Nos. XVI and XVII were the pious gifts respectively of a minister and a feudatory of the Vakataka king Harishena. 1 The group may thus be referred to the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Cave No. XIX (PL I, 1) is one of the smallest in size and consists of a rectangular hall, apsidal at the back end, divided into a central nave and two side-aisles by richly carved pillars going along the entire length of the hall and round the votive chaitya situated near the apsidal end. These pillars with brackets at the top support a broad and elaborate triforium, which continues right round the nave. Over this rises the vaulted roof, the wooden ribs of the earlier caves being repeated in stone. The votive stupa , a tall monolith, has an elevated platform, square in plan but with a projection in the middle of each side, as its base. Over it, and separated from it by mouldings, rises the drum of the stupa with the standing figure of the Buddha in high relief within an arched niche in front. An elaborate moulding at the top of the cylindrical drum separates it from the hemispherical dome, the niche with the figure of the Buddha extending up to the middle height of the latter. The square harmikd , with a projection in the middle of each face, ends in an inverted pyramid formed of a series of steps, and over it is placed the round shaft of the chhatravail, consisting of three concentric discs placed one above the other in receding stages, with a pot as its crowning final.

Cave No. XIX at Ajanta appears to have been originally provided with an entrance court in front with subsidiary chapels at the sides. The hall has only one doorway with a shallow entrance portico, its flat roof being supported on pillars of elegant design.

Chaitya cave No. XXVI (PI. I, 2) at Ajanta, belonging to a slightly later date, follows No. XIX in its general plan, arrangement, and architectural treatment. But the ornamentation is richer and more minute in detail, though rather coarser and lacking the proportion and rhythmic balance of that of the earlier cave. The votive stupa , overloaded with a wealth of carving, shows in front a figure of the Buddha in high relief, seated in pralambapdda fashion within an elaborately patterned niche. In front there appears to have been a broad portico extending along the entire width of the hall, which is entered through three doorways, instead of one as in cave No. XIX.

A comparison of Ajanta caves Nos. XIX and XXVI with similar earlier caves at Ajanta and elsewhere will at once show that though

Note 1

not far removed from the earlier prototypes in plan and general arrangement, there is a gulf of difference in the style of ornamentation that indicates great and significant changes in the outlook of the worshippers for whom the caves were meant. Not only are the carvings and decorative motifs far richer in design as well as in execution, but they also belong to a totally different school of thought. A significant change is that though in some respects the wooden origins of such halls still linger, the emphasis on wooden forms and technique has disappeared. The solid rock out of which the caves were excavated presented immense scope for the appearance of mass, weight, and volume, and this was fully utilised by the workmen, the wealth of carving being intended not only for decoration but also for lightening the whole structure.

The most significant innovation, noticed in these caves, is the wealth of figure sculptures which are made to cover every possible space, both in the exterior facade as well as in the interior, in place of the plainer architectural patterns of the earlier caves. The fi ade, no doubt, is a further development of the earlier types. In place of the rail pattern extending along the entire length of the fagaue there is a double roll cornice with small chaitya windows in relief all along its surface. These chaitya v/indows are much reduced in size and serve as mere frames for heads peeping out. Above the upper cornice the enormous horse-shoe chaitya window stands out in bold relief against a many-storeyed screen. Apart from this usual and conventional feature, very little of this fagade is connected w r ith those of the earlier caves. Above and below, right and left, in the walls of the excavated court (PI. I, 1), in the elaborate frieze of the triforium over the aisle pillars (PI. Ill, 5), and lastly, but most significantly, on the votive chaitya itself (PI. I, 2) appear figures of the Buddha, the ‘Worshipful One/ standing or seated, carved in bold relief. In fact, there is an excess of figure sculpture in these caves in marked contrast to its absence in the earlier shrines of this order. “From a pure atheism,” as Fergusson correctly observes with reference to these caves, “we have passed to an overwhelming idolatry.” 1

Cave No. X at Eilora (PL II, 3, 4), known as the Visvakarma cave, represents one of the latest examples of a chaitya hall of the excavated type. It closely resembles the two shrines at Ajanta, just described, although the dimensions are considerably larger. The internal arrangement is practically the same, but the decorative carvings are not as rich as in the other two. In certain respects, however, this chaitya cave marks a significant stage in the history

Note 2

of this kind of shrines. The apsidal end of the hall is entirely blocked up by the votive chaitya which, though not far removed in shape and form from those in the other two, has been almost completely relegated to a background for a colossal image of the Buddha, seated in pralarnbapada dsana between two standing attendants, that serves as the frontispiece and the principal object of veneration.

It is in the exterior facade of the shrine (PI. II, 3) that a marked change is clearly discernible. Much of the courtyard in front is now gone. The fagade itself is divided into two sections, the lower com sisting of the portico with its range of pillars, and the upper exhibiting a composition which is quite unusual in this context. The enormous horse-shoe opening, which gave such a distinctive character to the frontage of such shrines, is missed here for the first time. The design is not eliminated altogether, but being reduced in size, as we find it in the small, almost circular, opening, it loses its distinctive meaning, and also apparently its traditional significance. This transformation is probably a foretaste of what is destined to come soon. With the introduction and increasing popularity of the image the chaitya could not expect to command as much veneration as it used to enjoy in earlier times. The addition of the images of the Buddha on the chaitya altars at Ajanta and Ellora is a clear indication that the chaitya, by itself, was no longer held to be sacred enough to claim the worship of the Buddhist votaries, who have undergone significant changes in their outlook. The figure of the "Worshipful One’ was required to sanctify it. In the Visvakarma cave at Ellora the chaitya , as a mere background of the image proper (PL II, 4), had even lost whatever was left of its earlier votive character. Though the process was a long one, the image has stepped in and occupied its rightful place in Buddhist worship. The chaitya hall has thus outgrown its utility and it is not surprising that this order of shrines very soon disappears from Indian architecture altogether.

2, Sahghdmma

The sanghardma or the vihdra was naturally planned in the form of rows of cells round a central court, which in excavated examples took the shape of a central hall approached from one side and with cells leading out of it on the other three. Among the numerous vihdra caves at Ajanta, roughly twenty belong to the period under discussion. Cave No. XI appears to have been the oldest of the series and indicates a stage much in advance of caves Nos. XII and XIII belonging to the earlier group. The central hall in the earlier group of caves had been astylar. In cave No. XI, though the hall is smaller in area than that of cave No. XII, four pillars have been

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introduced in the centre of the hall (Fig. 1), evidently as supports for the roof. There are a few ceils of irregular shape around the hall which is preceded by a verandah with a row of pillars in front forming the facade. The central one of the three cells at the far end of the hall seems to have been cut through to make room for a sanctuary consisting of the seated figure of the Buddha. This sanctuary is in all probability later than the date of the original excavation of the cave. This date itself is uncertain, but from a comparison of the cave with Sri Yajha cave at Nasik it appears that a date about A.D. 400 would not be far off the mark.

Cave No. XI is perhaps the earliest example of the introduction of pillars into excavated viharas, but there appears to be a phase of hesitancy and natural vacillation before the system finds a fully co-ordinated expression, forming at once a pleasing and utilitarian feature and adding to the interior effect of the hall. Cave No. VII shows two groups of four pillars each, placed side by side, while the lower storey of cave No. VI, the only example of a two-storeyed cave at Ajanta, has four central pillars with another series of pillars all round. Neither of these arrangements was considered satisfactory, the first because of its inappropriateness and lack of cohesion in the square plan of the hall, usually followed in such cases, the second, because of the congested appearance of the hall on account of two groups of pillars, one inside the other. These experiments, however, finally led to the production of a harmonious and unified design of a colonnade on all the four sides of the hall, as we have in the upper storey of cave No. VI and in all subsequent examples. This was a more elegant system of columniation which, apart from lending support to the roof, added to the interior effect of the hall. The ordered design and rich decorative embellishments of the pillars created an effect of magnificence, enhanced further, in some of the caves, by elaborate paintings.

Of the remaining vihd.ra caves at Ajanta the most important are caves Nos. XVI, XVII, I and II, the former two excavated about A.D, 500 during the reign of the Vakataka king Harishena, and the latter about a century later. These four caves are of further interest because of the elegant paintings which enrich them. No. XVI consists of a hall, approximately 65 feet square, with a colonnade of twenty pillars around, a recessed sanctuary with a figure of the Buddha in pralambapada dsana at the back end, and a verandah with its roof supported on five pillars in front. On two sides of the verandah and the hall is recessed a series of fourteen cells, while two more appear on the innermost side of the hall on either side of the sanctuary, thus making a total of sixteen. Cave No. XVII is very

Fig. 1. Ajanta, Cave XI: Plan.

Fig. 2. Ajanta, Cave I: Plan.

similar in design. Besides the paintings, these eaves are remarkable for great variety and beauty of their pillars. Though indefinitely varied, no two of any type being exactly alike, there is, as Fergusson observes, “a general harmony of design and form, which prevents their variety from being unpleasing.” 1 Cave No. XVI is characterised by vertically or spirally fluted pillars with rounded capitals sometimes with horizontal ribs. The pillars in cave XVII are generally square at the bottom and the top and fluted in the middle. The bracket supporting the cross-beams take the shape of squatting dwarfs with face downwards. The design, though strongly reminiscent of wooden construction, is singularly harmonious and satisfactory.

Cave No. I at Ajanta is approximately of the same size and designed on much the same lines (Fig. 2). The fagade (PI. IV, 7) is one of the most elaborate and beautiful of its class, the richly carved pillars and sculptured friezes of the architrave adding an effect, at once noble and magnificent. The interior (PI. Ill, 6) is equally magnificent. Cave No. II is equally decorative, but is a superior conception on account of the regularity and uniformity of its design (Fig. 3). These two caves, which should be dated about A.D. 600 on account of their architectural style, indicate that the rich heritage of Gupta art, already on the decline in Northern India as a result of the disruption of the Giipta empire, was still yielding good harvest in the Deccan.

A few other caves were excavated at Ajanta after the completion of caves Nos. I and II, but none of them appears to have been completed. Of these caves Nos. IV and XXIV are worth mentioning, because, if finished and decorated as designed, they would have been the finest of the entire series at Ajanta. The former has a hall about 87 feet square, i.e. the largest of all the Ajanta caves, with its roof supported on twenty-eight, pillars. It is nearly finished excepting the monastic cells. The latter (Fig. 4), with a hall approximately 75 feet square planned with twenty pillars, is in a very incomplete state, only the verandah with its fagade of pillars being finished. It is unfortunate that all the pillars, with the exception of one (PI. IV, 8), have perished. But the beauty of design and masterly execution of the capitals attached to the architrave of the roof indicate that the cave was intended to be one of the most magnificently finished vihdras in the whole group. What is known as the ‘vase and foliage* capital already appears in cave No. XXI in place of the ‘cushion* capital, which is generally characteristic of Ajanta pillars. The ‘vase and foliage’ capital, so popular in subsequent

Note 3

THE CLASSICAL AGE

Fig. 4. Ajanta, Cave XXIV: Plan.

Fig. 5. Bagh, Cave II: Plan.

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Fig. 6.

Bagh, Cave IV: Plan.

Indian architecture, seems to have attained its perfection in Ajanta cave No. XXIV, and through this the Ajanta tradition may be said to have continued in other sites when work stopped at Ajanta, due probably, as some scholars say, to the defeat of Pulakesin II at the hands of Narasimha-varman Pallava in A.D. 642 and the consequent chaos in the Deccan.

The vihdra caves at Bagh in the Madhya Pradesh, about 150 miles north-west of Ajaiita, are closely related to those at the latter place in general plan and arrangement. They are, however, of a plainer and simpler type, and a fundamental divergence from the later series of Ajanta caves may be noticed in the fact that the sanctuaries at the innermost end of the hail generally contain a chaitya instead of an image of the Buddha. One of the larger vihdras again is provided with what is known as a said or schoolroom, the exact purpose of which it is difficult to ascertain at present. A further interesting feature of these caves may be recognised in an additional complement of pillars inside the usual colonnade of the central hall, introduced no doubt as additional supports for the roof, the rock being not sufficiently homogeneous and perfect.

The Bagh series consists of nine caves excavated, so far as available evidence indicates, approximately between A.D. 500 and 600. The soft nature of the rock, however, has been responsible for the decay and disintegration of most of the caves. Cave No. II (Fig, 5) conforms to the usual type of Ajanta vihdras, but with the additional complement of four central pillars. The most important of the group is the great vihdra (No IV), locally known as the Rangamahall (Fig. 6). It consists of a central hall, about 96 feet square, with a range of cells on all its sides except the front. Like cave No. IV at Ajanta it may be described as a twenty-eight pillared cave, but with an extra complement of four central pillars, usual in the Bagh series. The most interesting feature of the cave is supplied by a highly ornate porch (PI. V, 10), consisting of a deep entablature, supported on two circular columns, that projects inwards form the middle of each side except on the side of the frontal portico. This ornamental feature inside a monastic hall is singular in its appearance in this cave and is not known to occur anywhere else. Contiguous to it is a long rectangular hall (PI. VI, 11), approximately 96 feet long and 44 feet deep, joined to the previous cave by a long verandah measuring 220 feet in length (Fig. 7). The twenty pillars supporting the roof of the verandah formed no doubt an unusually impressive facade, but much, of it is now gone. This rectangular hall has usually been described as the said attached to the vihdra, and both the caves were at one time sumptuously

embellished with paintings, as elegant as, if not sometimes superior to, those at Ajanta.

The rock-cut caves near Aurangabad 1 consist of twelve excavations in three groups. Only one of the entire series is a chaitya cave, the rest being all vihdras. The chaitya cave, as appears from the style, belongs to the second or third century A.D., but the vihdras can hardly be placed earlier than the sixth century A.D. In all probability they belong to the seventh century and the important ones possibly towards the end of it. The design and decorative embellishments remind one of those of the latest series of Ajanta caves, but here the motifs, though meticulously copied, have grown mechanical and lifeless (PI. V, 9), lacking that sense of balance and cohesion which characterise Ajanta work. Of the vihdra caves the most important are Nos. Ill and VII. No. Ill is of the usual plan in which the sanctuary containing a colossal image of the Buddha is recessed at the back end of the hall. Two groups of male and female votaries are shown kneeling before the image. These figures exhibit great individuality and characterisation and are justly regarded as the most striking productions of Aurangabad artists. Indeed, the artists of Aurangabad excelled in figure sculptures, which were not only of massive proportions but were also distinguished by boldness of relief and a naturalistic and almost lifelike effect, particularly when unhampered by religious conventions. Cave No. VII is rather of unusual design. The shrine here, instead of being relegated to a cell recessed at the back end of the hall as is the usual practice, is placed just at the centre of it with a passage for circumambulation around, with cells radiating from it. As this arrangement is characteristic of excavated temples of the Brahmanical faith, the suggestion is not unreasonable that it was copied from them in Buddhist excavations. In this cave, too, there are a number of figure sculptures, including a dancing scene inside the shrine chamber proper, which in naturalness and ease, in graceful modelling and elegant effect, may be regarded as among the most significant products of Buddhist art in India.

At Ellora the excavations extend for approximately a mile on the face of a low ridge of hills overlooking a vast plain, and consist of three series of caves—Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jain. Twelve of these caves situated at the southern end form the Buddhist series and imply probably two centuries of activity, approximately between A.D. 550 and 750. This series may be subdivided into two groups, caves Nos. I to V in the southernmost extremity being possibly the earlier in date. Excepting No. V known as the Mahanwada, the others of this “group differ very little from the monastic caves at Ajanta. They are all one-storeyed excavations, and consist of a central hall approached through a verandah in front, with a shrine chamber recessed at the far end, and cells for monks on either side. Cave No. II of this group deserves mention for, instead of monastic cells recessed on either side of the hall, we have lateral galleries divided into compartments, each containing a

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l. ML. XI, 1937, pp. 1 fl.

figure of the Buddha as in the sanctuary chamber at the far end of the hall (PI. VI, 12).

Cave No. V, ie. the Mahanwada, is unique having no exact parallel in the vast range of cave shrines in India. Of considerable dimensions (117 feet x 70 feet across the two fair-sized recesses), it consists of a long rectangular hall divided into a nave and aisles by two rows of pillars, with a sanctuary cell a at the far end and cells opening out at the sides (Fig. 8). Along the length of the nave appear two low y and narrow platforms, a feature of which there is only one other instance in the so-called Durbar Cave at Kanheri. The exact purpose of such an unusual plan is difficult to ascertain. According to some scholars this arrangement might have been designed for the use of the hall as a refectory, 1 while others observe, on the analogy of Lamaistic services in the Gumphas of Sikkim, that the arrangement was ritualistic in character. 2

The second group, consisting of caves VI to XII, was presumably slightly later in date than the one just described. Of these, the Visvakarma cave (No. X) represents a chaitya hall and has been noted above. The other caves were monastic establishments and usually resemble the later Ajanta type of monasteries. No. VIII, by the side of the Visvakarma cave, is important as exhibiting a sanctuary standing free and with a passage around (Fig. 9) as in some of the Aurangabad caves.

But by far the most important of this group are the two storeyed monasteries, Nos. XI and XII, known respectively as the Don Thai and the Tin Thai. Each of them rises up to three storeys, planned on somewhat similar lines, and has an ample courtyard in front. The designation Don Thai is a misnomer, as the cave is actually a three-storeyed one. But the ground floor long rr named hidden under an accumulation of debris; and the two upper storeys, which alone were visible, were apparently responsible for the designation. No. XII or the Tin Thai is the more commodious of the two. A rockcut gateway leads to an open court at the far end of which rises a facade in three elaborate storeys (PI. VII, 13), each with a verandah on eight square pillars. Each storey is, however, differently disposed in the interior. On the ground floor the verandah, divided into three

1. HIE A. I, p. 203.

3. Br. JA, p. 69. 485

Fig. 8. Ellora, Cave V: Plan.

Ellora, Caves VII & VIII: Plan.

aisles, leads to a pillared hail with a sanctuary cella at the far end and small square cells on either side, A staircase in one of these cells leads up to the first floor, consisting again of a large pillared hall (Fig, 10) with a sanctuary recessed at the back end and a gallery for images on either side forming a kind of iconostasis., as we nave in cave No. II of the earlier group. On the topmost storey the hall may be said to have been planned in the shape of a cruciform with a long nave driven axially into the rock and a transept on each side cut at right angles to it. Pillars in regular rows have been used both in the nave and' the transepts to support the rock forming the roof. The sanctuary is placed at the far end of the nave, while the monks' cells are arranged along the sides of the cruciform.

By far the most imposing of the two three-storeyed caves, the Tin Thai is among the most interesting of its class in the whole of India.^ The fagade (PL VII, 13), rising to a height of nearly 50 feet, though severely plain, lends a majesty to the exterior appearance of the cave. The sober treatment of the fagade is amply compensated for by the rich profusion of sculptures in the interior arrangement of each storey, which, though differently treated, indicates throughout a balance and consistency of design. There is moreover a grandeur and propriety in its conception which, as Fergusson observes, 1 "it would be difficult to surpass in cave architecture.'"

3. Bmhmanical Caves

Brahmanical shrines of the rock-cut mode were also not rare, the earliest being those at Udayagiri, near Bhilsa in the Bhopal State. The Udayagiri series 2 consists of a number of such shrines, partly rock-cut and partly stone-built. Two of these contain inscriptions belonging to the reign of Chandra-gupta II, one dated in the (Gupta) year 82, corresponding to A.D. 401, These shrines, which represent one movement, may thus be dated about the beginning of the fifth century A.B.

The earliest of these shrines may be recognised in what is known as the ‘false cave’ (No. I), which is nothing but the conversion of a natural ledge of rock into a shrine by adding to it a structural portico with pillars in front. The other shrines are elaborations of the ‘false cave’ and consist of plain rectangular shrine chambers scooped out of the rock, with shallow porticos, built of stone, in front. These shrines, though partly excavated and partly structural, are allied to the traditions and conventions of contemporary structural temples, to be discussed later. Cave No. IX, known locally as the ‘Amrita cave’, is probably the last of the series, and may be considered

Note 4

Note 5

Fig. 10. Eilora, Tin Thai Cave: Plan of second storey.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. See above, p. 186.
2. l. HIEA, I, p.151.
3. 1. HIE A, I, p. 191.
4. 1 HIEA, I, p. 204. 2. ASC. X, 41 if.
5. 488

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, Badami, Caves: Plan.

as inaugurating a step forward in the development of the style. The sanctum celia is much more spacious, nearly twice the size of the others, and this increased spaciousness necessitated the use of four pillars, naturally hewn out of the rock, in the centre of the hall, to support the mass of the rock forming the roof of the shrine. It is this feature which carries forw r ard the tradition to further developments in the succeeding centuries.

The next phase of rock-cut Brahmanical shrines may be found at Badami in the Bijapur District in the south-eastern part of the Bombay State. It was the site of the ancient Vataplpura, the royal seat of the Early Chalukya dynasty, and contains a number of shrines, both excavated and structural, that are of singular interest for their architectural details. Of the caves, 1 three, closely related in style, belong to the Brahmanical faith. The third is specially important as it contains an inscription dated in gaka year 500 (A.D. 578) and this supplies a valuable landmark for determining the age of the other caves.

Compared to the earlier shrines at Udayagiri the progress in the shrines at Badami seems to have been considerable. Each of the shrines was probably provided with an open fore-court (Fig. 11) which leads in succession to the pillared verandah, the columned hall, and lastly to the small square sanctum celia cut deep into the rock at the far end of the hall. The facade is comparatively plain, and but for the pillars of the verandah (PL VIII, 15) and a long frieze of sculpture at the stylobate, no decorative or architectural effect has been attempted. The interior, however, is very rich on account of the varied designs of the pillars and the profusion of sculptures and carvings which appear on all sides.

The rock-cut caves, so widely prevalent in the Deccan, are hardly met with in the Dravida country, save in the eastern coast, where they vyere possibty introduced by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. 2 Indeed, this king, who has been described as “one of the greatest figures in the history of Tamilian civilisation,” was specially fond of such a kind of shrines, of which a large number of examples have been found. 3 They are usually of the most primitive type indicating

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

thereby that the mode and technique of rock-cutting were rather foreign to the craftsmen of the region. Each of these shrines consists of a shallow rectangular pillared hall or mem^apa, as it is locally called, with one or more cells cut deep in one or more of the interior walls. On each side of the entrance into the sanctum appears the figure of a dvarapaia or doorkeeper, carved in high relief, a feature that is also to be found sometimes on either side of the entrance to the man^apa hall. Figures of dvdrapdlas are already seen in one of the caves at Radami, and they constitute an invariable feature of Brahma nical cave temples of later days. The facade 1s composed of a row of pillars, square at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle. A heavy bracket of corbelled shape forms the capital and supports the architrave above. The earliest eaves were so plain and simple that no cornice can fee seen above the pillars to relieve the rugged appearance of the rock; but gradually there is introduced a convex roll cornice decorated with miniature chaitya window niches enclosing human heads, a motif that is locally known as the kudu .

Towards the latter part of Mahendra-varman’s rule storeyed caves begin to appear, as in Undavalli and Bhairavakon^a; but in spite of this elaboration no appreciable advancement in the design can be recognised. At Bhairavakonda, however, a significant change is to fee noticed in the design of the pillars of the fagade. The shaft of the pillar becomes slender and takes an octagonal shape with a seated lion in the lower portion. This new design no doubt indicates the beginnings of what is known as the Pallava order which is the precursor of the yali pillars, characteristic of the Dr a vidian style of architecture in its full-fledged state.

Narashhha-varman Mahamalla, the son and successor of Mahendra-varman I, also continued the cave style along with shaping out free-standing monolithic rathas from granulitic boulder-life outcrops at Mamallapuram, the sea-port city founded by him. The rathas are no doubt copies of structural shrines, and hence should properly be reserved for treatment in that connection. Of the caves of his period, specimens of which may also be seen at Mamallapuram, the Varaha (Fig, 12), the Trimurti, the Mahishamardim, and the Pandava mandapts are the most important. In plan they are similar to those of the Mahendra group, but their facades are usually more ornamental both in the design of the pillars and of the cornice.

(S. Arcot Dt.) Bezwada (Krishna Dt), Mogalrajapuram (Krishna Dt.) Undavalli (Guntur Dt.), and Bhairavakonda (Vellore Dt.). The caves at Bezwada and Mongalrajapuram in the Krishna District and Undavalli in the Guntur District have been attributed by some scholars to the kings of the Vishnukundin family. But the style seems rather to indicate that they were excavated by the P&llavas and represent some of the earliest attempts in this direction.

Fig. 12. Mamallapuram, Varaha-mandapa: Plan.

Fig. 13. Ellora, Dasavatara Cave: Plan of upper storey.

The Pallava order of pillars is found here in a finished form. Of better proportions they are singularly graceful to look at. The sedent lion supports on its head the shaft, which is usually octagonal and sometimes fluted. The capital is bulbous in shape and is surmounted by a wide abacus (locally known as the palagai) with corbelled brackets or double brackets supporting the architrave. It is for these pillars, apart from the finely sculptured panels, that the Mamallapuram mandapas are particularly celebrated, and some of the finest specimens may be found in the Varaha and the Mahishamardinl mandapas.

The Brahmanical caves at Eliora, which extend along the west face of the rock, date from about A.D. 650. There are altogether sixteen excavations belonging to this faith, the Dasavatara (No. XV), the Ravana-ka-khai (No, XIV), the Ramesvara (No. XXI), the Dhumar lena (No. XXIX) and the far-famed Kailasa (No. XVI) being the most important. The last is an extensive establishment entirely excavated out of the rock in imitation of the celebrated Kailasanatha or Rajasimhesvara temple at Kahchlpuram. The caves may be divided into three different types. The first, best illustrated by the two-storeyed Dasavatara cave (Fig. 13), consists of a pillared hall with the sanctum cella scooped out at its far end. It is closely analogous to the design of the Buddhist vihdra and appears to be the earliest among the Brahmanical caves at the site. Instead of monastic ceils on either side of the hail, we have a kind of iconostasis, 1 the walls being divided into regular lateral galleries containing images in alto-relievo in large sunken panels formed by pilasters. Though evidently modelled on the Buddhist vihdra it has an unmistakable Brahmanical touch in the detached mandapa formed out of a mass of rock left in the centre of the courtyard in front of the cave.

The second type is essentially identical with the above, but the shrine proper forms a distinct component with a processional corridor around it. The sanctum, a cubical cella with a passage around, is shaped out of a rectangular mass of rock left in the centre of the back end of the hall. This arrangement of the sanctuary is also found, though rarely, in Buddhist caves, as in Eliora cave No. VIII and some of the Aurangabad caves, indicating thereby parallel lines of development in caves of the tw T o religious denominations. This second type is represented best by the Ravana-ka-khai and the Ramesvara caves (Fig. 14) which, though agreeing with each other in the disposition of the sanctuary, exhibit distinct variations in minor details. Of these two caves, the latter is certainly the more important, not only because of the separate shrine of Nandi, the

Note 4

mount of Siva, situated in the centre of the court in front of the cave, but also on account of the magnificent wealth of sculptures overlaying all its parts, and the rich and elegant design of its massive" pillars with their graceful bracket figures (PL VIII, 16).

The third type, which appears to date from the second half of the eighth century A.D., may be recognised in the Dhumar lena, the last in the series of the Brahmanical caves at Eilora. It consists of a cruciform hall, having more than one entrance and court and with a shrine standing isolated within it (Fig. 15). The cruciform shape of the hall is obtained by a group of halls, more properly transepts, arranged on a transverse system, the beginnings of which can already be noticed in cave No. VI and the topmost storey of the Tin Thai. Usually there are three entrances, the principal one facing the shrine proper, and two others laterally on two sides of the hall. This innovation indeed marks the type as a singularly novel one in cave architecture and adds unparalleled grandeur to these excavations. Of course, such an arrangement depends largely on the nature of the terrain in which the caves were excavated. But the fact that this style of caves is also found elsewhere (at Elephanta and in Salsette) indicates that the design is premeditated and the selection of the site consequent thereto. It is possible that the cave temples of this class fall outside the chronological limits of the present volume but we may discuss them here in order to give a complete picture of the architecture of this type.

The Dhumar lena at Eilora exhibits a hall of a regular cruciform shape with three entrances, each preceded by a court on its three sides. The shrine is placed near the back end of the hall and is a massive square block with steps on four sides leading to the cella. The steps are guarded by gigantic figures on all sides. Massive pillars in regular row's support the rock forming the roof of the hall and these, coupled with the pillars of the wide entrances on three sides, lend a pleasant effect to the interior (PL IX, 17) alternated by passages of light and shade. The pillars are of massive proportions. They are square at the bottom and circular and fluted in the upper section and topped by fluted ‘cushion 5 capitals. In architectural arrangement as well as the gracefulness of its ponderous pillars and sculptures this cave is probably the finest among the Brahmanical excavations, not only at Eilora but also at other sites.

The Brahmanical cave in the island of Elephanta near Bombay, though similar to the Dhumar lena in general arrangement, is smaller and less regular in its plan (Fig. 16). There are three entrances, each with a court in front, but in spite of the transverse arrangement of the adjuncts the cruciform shape is not as explicit

Fig. 16. Elephanta, Cave: Plan.

as in the Dhumar lena. Though there is a detached Lihga shrine within the main hall, the principal sanctuary in the cave appears to be placed in the transept enshrining the image of Siva as Mahesa, justly described as one of the finest sculptures in all India (PI. XXXV, 85). The pillars (PL IX, 18) are closely analogous to those of the Dhumar lena in style, in proportions, as well as in their disposition^ Indeed, it may be said that this order of pillars with ribbed ‘cushion' capitals, which had been in use from the sixth century A.D., had reached their fullest development and beauty of form in these excavations. The sanctuary, too, as in the Dhumar lena, is flanked by colossal figures of guardians, and sculptures have been accommodated in huge panels all around the cave. In the beauty and quality of its sculptures, enthusiastically praised as marvels of plastic art, the Elephanta excels the Dhumar lena at Ellora, which, however, is a more balanced and organic creation from the architectural point of view.

The cave temple of Jogesvara in the island of Salsette, 1 of much inferior execution, may be taken to be the latest example of Brahmanical cave architecture. So far as extant remains go the followers of the Brahmanical faith began to make excavated shrines from about the close of the fourth century A.D. or the beginning of the fifth, but the more important Brahmanical cave excavations belong to a period from the close of the sixth to the eighth century A.D. Even in caves the shrines proper are more or less imitations of structural forms. The practice of excavating temples was little suited to the needs of Brahmanical worship, and it is not surprising that of the twelve hundred cave temples of India not more than approximately a hundred are Brahmanical. It is possible that the practice was inspired by the Buddhists. But its unsuitability for Brahmanical worship became more and more felt, a fact that becomes apparent in the growing desire to cut out of the rock monolithic shrines in direct imitation of structural temples with all their appurtenances.

4. Jain Caves

The number of Jain caves excavated during the period under review is very small. Mention may be made of one cave at Badami 2 and another at Aihole. Both of them appear to date from about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and are essentially similar in plan and other arrangements, not entirely dissimilar to other contemporary caves of the Buddhist and Brahmanical denominations. Each of them exhibits a pillared quadrangular hall with a cella cut out at its far end and chapels on either side.

Note 5

Note 6

The most notable group of Jain caves are to be found at Ellora among the northern horn of the ridge. Although they are not earlier than A.D. 800 and thus fall outside the chronological limits of this volume, they may be treated here for the sake of a complete study of excavated architecture. Of the five shrines of the group three are of some importance, namely, the Chhota Kailasa (No. XXX), the Indra Sabha (No. XXXII) and the Jagannatha Sabha (No. XXXIII). The first, as its name suggests, is a smaller copy of the famous Kailasa, mentioned above. The second is also partly a copy of structural form. The monolithic shrine in the centre of the courtyard (Fig. 17) and the gateway to the court, both shaped out of the rock, are essentially Dravidian in style like the celebrated Kailasa, Behind the monolithic shrine rises the facade of the cave in twostoreys (PI. VII, 14), each of which is roughly of the plan of a pillared hall with a cella at *its back end and range of cells on either side. The Indra Sabha at Ellora, particularly the upper storeys of the cave (Fig. 18), is one of the most perfect specimens among the cave temples at the site. The Jagannatha Sabha follows the Indra Sabha in general principles and in the treatment of its esential elements, but lacks the balanced and organic character of the composition of the latter.

With the Jain caves at Ellora the cave architecture of India ceases for all practical purposes. The close of this long persisting tradition is already foreshadowed when, instead of halls and shrines being axially driven into the interior of the hill side, monolithic shrines came to be shaped in direct imitation of structural forms, as we have in the celebrated Pallava rathas at Mamallapuram culminating in the great Kailasa at Ellora. The more and more frequent use of this novel practice was an indication that the doom of the rock-cut technique, which had such a long history in Indian architecture, was not far off. The structural method with its immense scope and possibility placed unlimited powers in the hands of the builders who had already been acquainted with its advantages over the rock-cut method. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the rapid progress of structural buildings this archaic rock-cut mode, in spite of its long use and its peculiar advantages, would in the end become obsolete.

II. STRUCTURAL BUILDINGS 1. Temples

The Gupta age heralded a new epoch in the history of Indian architecture. Hitherto shrines and sanctuaries, being usually constructed of perishable materials like wood, bamboo, etc., had but little scope for the proper application of the principles of architecture as an art, either in respect of form or in that of composition. Now, with a new outlook, Indian builders began to erect their monuments in permanent materials, especially brick and dressed stone. Their output was prolific. The contemporary inscriptions not only give us a fair idea of the large number of temples erected during the period, but also speak of cities of great beauty and magnificence being adorned with lofty temples and other imposing edifices.[1] Hiuen Tsang's account furnishes clear evidence how, within a comparatively short time, the country came to be literally studded with buildings of diverse orders. Most of these buildings have, however, perished. A few that have escaped destruction bear the stamp of primitiveness and insufficient technique. But these early efforts are not devoid of interest. On account of their bearing upon future development they are invaluable for the study of Indian architecture.

Fig. 17. Eliora, Indra Sabha Cave: Plan of lower storey.

Cave excavations are ill-suited to the ritualistic needs connected with the worship of images, and structural temples are required for the proper enshrinement of the deity. The new movement is, therefore, particularly concerned with the construction of structural temples widely differentiated in details of form and general appearance. It is this wide variety of forms and types that lends to the architecture of the period its special importance. It marks the period as an age of initial experiments in various types and forms until significant forms were chosen for further elaboration and final crystallisation. The following well-defined groups may be distinguished among the temples belonging to this period:[2] —

1. The flat-roofed square temple, with a shallow porch in front.

2. The flat-roofed square temple, with a covered ambulatory around the sanctum and preceded by a porch in front, sometimes with a second storey above.

3. The square temple with a low and squat tower or sikhara above.

4. The rectangular temple with an apsidal back and barrelvaulted roof above.

5. The circular temple with shallow projections at the four cardinal points.

The fourth and the fifth groups may be recognised to be survivals of earlier forms, the former from the celebrated chaitya halls of the Buddhists, the latter from stupa designs, especially those of the Andhra country of the second, third and fourth centuries A.D.

Note 7

Note 8

Fig. 19. Chezarla, Kapotesvara temple: Section and elevation.

The temple at Ter (Sholapur District) 1 and the Kapotesvara temple at Chezarla (Krishna District) (Fig. 19) 2 , both referable to the fourth-fifth century A.D., belong to the fourth group. They are relatively small structures with little pretensions to any architectural merit. They appear to have been structural chaitya halls, later on appropriated to Brahmanical usage, to which fact they owe their preservation.

The Durga temple at Aihole, 3 probably of the sixth century A.D., is distinctly connected with the above group. The roof, however, is flat and is surmounted by a sikhara over the sanctum. An outer pillared periphery runs all around the temple which stands on a high basement of several horizontal courses.

These structural temples were no doubt built upon the lines of the Buddhist chaitya hall, which was the prevailing architectural type of the earlier period. With the introduction and growing popularity of images, the chaitya hall as a votive shrine gradually went out of use.

The fifth type may be seen in the peculiar cylindrical brick structure, known as Maniyar Math, i.e. the shrine of Mani Naga, standing almost in the heart of the old city of Raj agriha. 4 Systematic excavations have revealed that the structure is the result of successive accumulations of ages, of which one definitely falls within our period. This particular stratum shows a circular wall with shallow projections at the four cardinal points and decorated with fine stucco sculptures in niches all around (PI. X, 19). It is supported on an earlier structure of a hollow cylindrical shape with a projection at each of the cardinal points, closely resembling the ay aka projections of the early stupas of the Andhra country. It has an entrance doorway in the north, and the surrounding wall, which is square now, also appears to have been originally circular. In the structure belonging to the period under review the cylindrical form is more the result of following the alignment of the earlier building beneath than a conscious or deliberate attempt towards a new form. The forms presented by the fourth or fifth group do not appear to have any marked effect on subsequent architecture, though they survived in stray and isolated instances down to a later period.

(i) The first group

The three other groups of the temples of the period may, however, be regarded as the forerunners of the mediaeval Indian archi

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Note 13

tectural styles. The first group, the flat-roofed square temple, appears to have been the basic form of which the second and the third are but elaborations. A representative example of the first may be found in the temple No. XVII at Sanchl (PI. X, 20), 1 a tiny and unpretentious shrine consisting of nothing more than a simple squafe chamber with a pillared porch in front (Figs. 20, 21). Though modest in dimensions, its structural propriety, symmetry and proportion, appreciation for plain surfaces, and restraint in ornamentation may very well compare with the best creations of classical architecture in Greece. Other temples of this group are found at Tigawa (PI. XI, 21) 2 and at Eran. 1 2 3 Numerous sculptures and architectural remains of the period have been discovered at Nachna Kuthara, 4 Garhwa, 5 Bilsad, 6 Khoh, 7 etc. but the structures themselves, probably built of bricks, are gone.

The temples at Sanchl, Tigawa, and Eran are the best preserved examples of this group. Cunningham long ago proposed a chronology of these temples on the basis of the relative proportion between the diameters and heights of the so-called ‘belP capitals of the portico pillars. Though this point need not be stressed unduly, the ornamentation of this so-called ‘bell’ offers an approximate indication as to the relative dates of the temples. Every pillar in the Eran temples shows a highly ornate s belP with elaborate turn-overs below the comers of the abacus. In the Tigawa temple (PI. XI, 21) we have just the beginnings of these turn-overs, and the stylistic indications of the carvings themselves ascribe it to a period earlier than that of the Eran temples. At Sanchl we have the ‘plain reeded bell’ without turn-overs of any kind, and the suggestion of its being the oldest structural temple 8 may be quite correct. The temple at Tigawa has been ascribed by Smith 9 to the period of Samudragupta, a date that may not be far off the mark. But his suggestion that the Vishnu temple at Eran also might belong to the time of Samudragupta is hardly acceptable. Apart from the stylistic character of the ‘bell* capital, a much later date should be inferred also from the appearance in the Vishnu temple of a buttress-like projection 10 in the middle of each of the three faces of the temple, corresponding to the projection of the doorway in front, a feature that is itself a later appearance. The plain and bare walls are thus diversified, and

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Note 15

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Note 18

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Note 20

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Fig. 20. Sanchi, Temple No. XVII: Diagram.

Sanchi, Temple No. XVII: Plan and section.

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this scheme is destined henceforth to play a most significant role in the effective distribution of light and shade in temple architecture of later days, not only in India, but far beyond its frontier, in Southeast Asia,

The group has a distinct place among the temple forms of the period as the basis for future elaborations. The ground plan of the sanctum is almost always a definite square, though a rectangular plan is also occasionally met with, as in the Vishnu and Varaha temples at Eran. The sanctum is preceded by a shallow porch with four columns supporting the architrave on which the roof rests. The intercolumniation is slightly greater in the middle than at the sides. Cunningham regards it as one of the minor marks of the style. [12] The porch is approached by flights of steps in front of the middle intercolumniation. The walls of the temple are quite plain except for a moulding around at the top in continuation of the line of the architrave of the roof of the porch—also a characteristic feature of the style according to Cunningham. The roof was composed of rectangular slabs of stone, placed side by side on the walls, occasionally with overlapping grooves, as we have in the temple at Tigawa. On the top can be found projecting spouts for the discharge of rain water. The plainness of the walls offers a striking contrast to the decorative richness of the pillars and door-frames.

The nucleus of a temple, viz . a cubical ceila (gtirbhagriha) with a single entrance and a porch (mandapa), appears for the first time in this archaic group of structural temples. Identical rock-cut shrines, each preceded by a structural porch in front, may be seen at Udayagiri, two of which, as noted above, belonged to the time of Chandra-gupta. Similar cave shrines were also possibly in existence in earlier times, and it is not unlikely that this simple primitive-looking type of buildings was, in its early stages, nothing but a translation in structural form of the plain rock-cut shrines of the earlier period. The flat roof, the plain square or rectangular form and the stern simplicity of the walls lend strong probability to this hypothesis. The structural mode at Sanchl, Tigawa, Eran and other places and the partly excavated and partly structural method at Udayagiri of approximately the same date represent what might be called the twin reverberations of the same style.

(ii) The second group

Examples of this group may be seen in the so-called Parvatl temple at Nachna Kutbara (Fig. 22), 2 the &iva temple at Bhumara

Note 22

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(Fig. 23), 1 and the Lad Khan (Fig. 24), the Kont-Gu^i and the Meguti temples at Aihole. 2 The first two are situated in Central India and the rest in the Deccan. The remains of the brick-built temple at Baigram (Dinajpur District, Bengal), 3 possibly the temple of Lord Govindasvamin to which a grant of land was made in A.D. 447-48, also exhibit a similar plan and might probably have belonged to the same type.

The type consists of flat-roofed square sanctum cella inside a similar roofed cloister. 4 5 In plan, therefore, the sanctum is a smaller square within a larger square that forms the covered gallery for pradakshhia around the inner sanctum. The bigger square is preceded by a slightly smaller rectangular porch, open and of the pillared variety, with the projection of a flight of steps in front. The covered gallery is lighted by a trellis or trellises in each of the three sides, and in the Nachna Kuthara temple the inner sanctum is also dimly lighted by two trellises in the two side walls. The doorways leading to the gallery and to the sanctum are in a line with the flight of steps in front. A variety may be noticed in the provision of an upper storey above the inner sanctum, as we see in the Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara (PI. XI, 22) and in the temples at Aihole (PI. XII, 24). The second storey being supported on the inner sanctum is necessarily set back from the bigger hall and forms a distinct scheme in the elevation of such temples. The Bhumara temple, a highly ornate example that indicates a later date, shows a miniature shrine on either side of the staircase, a design that came to be perfected in the temples of which remains have been unearthed at Nalanda. 6 With the remains of four miniature shrines, one at each corner of the temple proper, these temples at Nalanda may be said to be the logical culmination of an arrangement noticed at Bhumara. Such an arrangement is known as the Panchdyatana in the Sdstras, and may be seen in respect of temples of the subsequent period, irrespective of the style to which they belonged.

The simplicity of design and of decoration places the Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara along with the early examples of the first group, with which it is probably co-eval in date. The facade

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Fig, 22. Nachna Ku^hara, Parvat! temple: Plan.

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Fig. 23. Bhumara, Siva temple: Plan.

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Fig. 24. Aihole, Lad Khan temple: Plan and section.

of the temple bears carvings in imitation of rock-work. The exterior walls are further decorated by a few sculptures of early Gupta workmanship. The Lad Khan and the Kont-Gu^i at Aihole probably come next in the order. The walls of the hall are formed by latticed screens joined to pillars placed at intervals. The massiveness of the pillars and their design as well as the extreme simplicity of construction place these temples earlier to Badami cave No. Ill for which we have the date A.D. 578. The Siva temple at Bhumara, which is all but a ruin, was splendidly ornamented with figures of ganas, klrttimukhas , and divinities in finely wrought chaitya window niches. The carving and workmanship are in the best tradition of Gupta art and the rich arabesques of the pillars and door-frames indicate a date somewhere in the first half of the sixth century A.D., though the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, who discovered the temple, was inclined to place it about the middle of the preceding century. The Jain temple of Meguti at Aihole (PI. XIII, 26), erected in 558 Saka (A.D. 634) by one Raviktrtti during the reign of the Western Chalukyan king Pulakesin II, was thus the latest in the series of temples mentioned above. Consequently, as is naturally to be expected in a formative age, it represents, even in its fragmentary state, the most perfect example of the series, so far as its scheme and other arrangements go. Not only is there an improvement in the quality of masonry and technique, but a refinement and delicacy are noticeable in the ornamental treatment of the temple as a whole. The decoration of the outer walls by means of narrow pilasters with little bracket capitals, the intervals between the pilasters being filled up or intended to be filled up with sculptures, undoubtedly exhibits a mature mind that evolves a pleasing scheme of projections and recesses out of the primitive process of forming such walls as shown in the earlier examples. Further, the plan of the temple also marks a distinct progress inasmuch as it leads to a balanced and organic scheme. In plan the temple is a long rectangular building consisting of two parts, the shrine with its surrounding gallery and the forward hall with its roof supported on pillars and probably originally open all around. The two are joined together by a narrow vestibule or antechamber in between. This unified design, a logical outcome of the earlier attempts, had significant bearings on the history of subsequent architecture.

To about the same period as the Jain temple of Meguti at Aihole belong the rathas at Mamallapuram, the sea-port city founded by Narasimha-varman Mahamalla at the mouth of the Palar river 32 miles south of Madras. They are all free-standing monoliths, shaped out of a series of boulder-like granulitic outcrops on the sandy shore (PI. XIII, 25). Though rock-cut, they reproduce the contemporary types of structural buildings and as such exemplify an entirely novel form of expression. Of the various types furnished by these rathas one is particularly related to the temple group, now under discussion, and another to a group examined above.

Of the eight rathas the smallest is named after Draupadi, the wife of the five Panqlava brothers. It is square in plan with a square curvilinear roof which indicates it clearly as a copy of the plain and simple thatched structure. The other rathas have the characteristic pyramidal elevation of storeyed arrangement. Every storey is provided with a roll cornice decorated with miniature chaitya arches, each enclosing a human head. In spite of this general resemblance, there is a great difference in the shape and form of these excavated temples which are, to some extent, determined by the shape and plan of the cellas on the ground floor. The Nakula and Sahadeva rathas with their vaulted roofs and apsidal backs reproduce the form of the Buddhist chaitya halls, structural examples of which are found in the fourth group of temples mentioned above (cf. the Kapotesvara temple at Chezarla and the temple at Ter). This form, as has already been observed, went out of use. But among the rathas of Mamallapuram there can be recognised two other forms which have important bearings for the subsequent architectural movement in this part of the country. The Bhima and Ganesa rathas have an oblong plan. Each of them rises in gradually receding storeys topped by a rectangular barrel-vaulted roof with gables at either end. The Arjuna and Dharmaraja rathas (PI. XIV, 27), of a square shape and similar storeyed elevation, are each crowned by a domical member, known as the stupi or stupikd. It is not difficult to find in this type an adaptation of the storeyed form of the temple group, now under discussion. Indeed, the connection between these two rathas and the storeyed temples of the Gupta period is too obvious to be missed. A structural temple of this shape and form, but belonging to the reign of Rajasimha Pallava, successor of Narasimha-varman, may be seen in the Shore temple, also at Mamallapuram. With this there begins an unbroken series of structural monuments which shed lustre on the South Indian architecture of later days. The rectangular type also gradually develops into the enormous gateway building, known as the gopuram, which is a necessary, and perhaps far more imposing, feature of a South Indian temple. The various experiments through the rock-cut method in these rathas crystallised into the square and rectangular types, each of which is to exercise immense influence on the subsequent architectural activities of the Dravi<Ja country, A detailed treatment of these types of rathas in that light is therefore reserved for the next volume of this history.

(iii) The third group

The third group appears to be but an elaboration of the type represented by the first group, from which it differs very little in general plan and arrangement. But its great importance lies^ in the innovation of a sikhara or tower that caps the sanctum. In religious architecture there is always an aspiration for ascending height, and it is no wonder that in this connection sikharas or towers soon made their appearance providing a significant contrast to the early and archaic flat-roofed temples. The inscriptions tell us that already by the fifth century A.D. high and lofty towers had come into existence and they are figuratively described to be as high as the Kailasa mountain 1 or as reaching the sky.

So far as extant monuments are concerned, however, no sikhara temple can probably be placed earlier than the sixth century A.D. The most representative and well-known example of the sikhara type is the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh (Jhansi District, U.F.). 2 Among other examples may be mentioned the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara, 3 one at Pathari, 4 the brick temple at Bhitargaon (Kanpur District), 5 and the great Mahabodhi at Bodh-Gaya, as seen by Hiuen Tsang. 6 The Durga and the Hucchimalligudi temples at Aihole 7 exhibit each a tower on the top of the flat roof of the sanctum, but their plans and other arrangements differ radically from those of the temples, just mentioned, which form a distinct group by themselves.

Of the different examples of this group it will suffice to describe the Deogarh and the Bhitargaon temples as two representative specimens, the former in stone and the latter in brick. The Dasavatara temple at Deogarh (PI. XIV, 28) stands on a lofty wide basement (Fig. 25) reached by a flight of steps in the centre of each side.

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Fig. 25. Deogarh, Dasavatara temple: Plan.

The basement, which illustrates the aspiration for height and majesty, is embellished by a continuous frieze of sculptured niches on all sides. The plainness of the walls of the sanctum was also relieved on three sides by sculptured niches, each as a sunken panel between two pilasters, and on the. fourth by an elaborate doorway. 1

Towards the top of the walls there is a frieze of miniature arched niches between a double cornice from over which rises the sikhara (now in a dilapidated condition), consisting of blocks or tiers of gradually receding stone courses. In contour it appears to have been a straight-edged pyramid, and the projections of the niches on the walls of the sanctum have been carried up the body of the sikhara , the predominating decorative element of which is the chaitya window. Probably there were angle-dmalakas at the corners, 2 but the top, with whatever finial there was, has wholly tumbled down.

The brick temple at Bhitargaon (PI. XV, 30) consists of a square sanctum cella and a similar, but smaller, vestibule, connected with it by a passage. The interior passage and the outer entrance were roofed by semicircular vaults, while the sanctum and the vestibule were covered by domes, the voussoirs, in both cases, being placed, not face to face, but end to end—a mode of construction that Cunningham calls the Hindu fashion. Above the sanctum there was an upper chamber also covered probably by a similar dome. 3

The ground plan (Fig. 26) is square with doubly recessed corners, i.e. with a projection in the middle of each of three sides and the vestibule in front. The walls rise in bold mouldings, their upper part being decorated with regular terracotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters, and terminate in a double cornice of carved brickwork w T ith a recessed frieze of smaller terracotta plaques. This double cornice separates the body of the sanctum from that of the tower, which exhibits well-defined superposed courses with straight or almost straight sides. These courses are decorated with tiers of niches containing boldly projecting busts or heads or entire figurines. As each successive course recedes by several inches, the tower gradually diminishes towards the top. The projection on the body

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Fig. 26. Bhltargaon, Brick temple: Plan.

of the sanctum has been carried up the body of the tower, but as the top has tumbled down no definite idea of the crowning elements is possible here, as is also the case in the Deogarh temple. As recent excavations have shown, this temple, like those at Deogarh and Nachna Kuthara, stood on a raised platform, built on cell-like foundations.

The temple at Deogarh, by the style of its reliefs and carvings, may be placed in the sixth century A.D. There is, however, not the same unanimity with regard to the Bhltargaon temple. Cunningham, who first described it, was of opinion that it cannot be placed later than the seventh or eighth century A.D., and might probably be even older. Yogel, on the analogy of the decoration of pilasters and cornices with similar elements in the Parinirvana temple at Kasia, was inclined to place it at least three centuries earlier than the date suggested by Cunningham. R. D. Banerji observes that it cannot be earlier than the mediaeval period. The vigorous and spirited carvings of the terracotta panels, the form of the sikhara, etc. sufficiently indicate it as a product of the Gupta age; and though the date proposed by Vogel may appear to be too early, it is not probably far removed from the Deogarh temple, which it resembles in all essential features.

The great Mahabodhi temple at Bodh-Gaya has been restored and renovated so many times that it is difficult to determine its original architectural form. As it now stands (Pi. XVI, 31), it consists of a high straight-edged pyramidal tower, surmounted by a hti with a fluted dmalaka-like lower member, and with angle^dmalakas at the corners demarcating the different stages. The entrance porch, evidently later than the original temple, appears on the east. Each of the four faces of the tower presents several .tiers of niches, every one of which no doubt originally contained Buddhist figures. The front face has a tall lancet opening for the admission of light into the sanctum. At the base of the tower there rises at each of the four corners a turret, which is a replica in miniature of the main tower. In the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsang minutely describes the temple at Bodh-Gaya under the name of the ‘Mahabodhi vihara * The dimensions and general appearance and form of the temple, as given by the Chinese pilgrim, practically correspond to what we have now in the temple before us, and the suggestion that the temple in its present shape and essential elements existed in the seventh century A.D. is quite reasonable. The technique of construction in brick, the straight contour of the tower, the tall lancet opening in front, the chaitya niches on the four sides of the tower accommodating, according to Hiuen Tsang, figures of the Buddha, have close parallels in the Bhltargaon temple to which it is probably co-eval in date. Iliuen Tsang also describes the great temple at Nalanda erected by Karasimha-gupta as being over 300 feet in height, and resembling the tower at Bodh-Gaya. [1] Nothing now remains of this lofty structure except its massive basement. There is hardly any doubt that when entire, it presented a shape and form similar to those of the early sikhara temples of the period.

The chief interest of this group of temples lies in the sikhara or tower surmounting the sanctum which presents a marked contrast to the early low and fiat-roofed temples. In almost every case the tower is either badly damaged or gone altogether, but the contour of the examples that have been preserved suggests a straightedged pyramidal form, not unlike that of the present Mahabodhi temple at Bodh-Gaya. The sikhara temple at Pathari, which from the remains near about may be said to belong to about the sixth century A.D., is slightly better preserved. Its height is just twice the width of the building in strict accordance with the prescription laid down by Yarahamihira (yo vistdro bhaved yasya dvigum tat samunnatih) . [2] The straight contour of the tower, however, gradually gives place to a slight inward curvature towards the top, as we find in the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara, probably of the seventh century, and the brick temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur (PI. XVI, 32) of about the same or somewhat later date. [3] The former, a perfectly preserved example, exhibits angl e-amalakas at the corners, to demarcate the different stages of the tower, and a complete dmalaka crowning the top of the temple. The latter, a beautiful example of the early sikhara temples, consists, as usual, of a square sanctum with the porch projecting from it in front, the whole standing on a high plinth.. A greater variegation over the plan of the Bhltargaon temple may be noticed in the addition to the number of projections on each side of the sanctum, the receding planes of the walls leading to attractive effects of light and shade. It is also richer in ornament and more refined in treatment, indicating considerable experience in the art of building. The deeply recessed false windows in the centre of each of the three walls of the sanctum also constitute a noticeable feature. Unfortunately, the top has fallen down, but the crowning elements were undoubtedly similar to those of the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara. In the perfect disposition of its parts, and in the richness and refinement of its ornament, this modest brick temple at Sirpur is perhaps unsurpassed among the early sikhara temples of India.

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Note 42

(iv) The Nagara and Dravida styles

The Gupta temples described above can be easily recognised to have heralded the two important styles, Nagara and Dravida, which characterised the mediaeval temples of India to be described in the succeeding volumes. The cruciform plan and the Relzha tower which form the distinctive features of the Nagara style already make their appearance in the Dasavatara temple of Deogarh and the brick temple of Bhltargaon. The curvilinear form of the tower follows slightly later in the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara and Lakshmana at Sirpur. The sculptured niches on the three walls of the Dasavatara temple and the projection in the Bhltargaon temple even foreshadow the setting forward of the middle of each side of the square temple which is another characteristic of the ground plan of the Nagara temples.

Similarly the second group of Gupta temples shows many of the characteristic features of the Dravida style. The upper storey placed over the sanctum foreshadows the roof formed by a succession of gradually receding storeys, and some sculptured reliefs of the Gupta period even offer closer parallels. The plan of the inner sanctum with a cloistered gallery around, the scheme of the division of the walls by pilasters and niches, and the use of the roll cornice carved v/ith well-shaped chaitya arches which we find in this group of Gupta temples, also constitute the distinctive marks of the Dravida style.

It would thus appear that the characteristic features of what afterwards came to be known as the Nagara and Dravida styles had already been evolved in the Gupta period. During this period was laid the basic foundation of subsequent Indian temple architecture, the history of which is the story of the two styles, the Nagara and the Dravida, with their various elaborations and ramifications. In this respect the architecture of the period presents a picture contrary to what we find in sculpture. In the history of Indian sculpture it has truly been observed that the period marks the fulfilment of earlier tendencies. In the history of Indian architecture it is just the formative and creative age with unlimited scope for future development and elaboration.

2. Monasteries and Stupas

Although temples form the most important class of monuments, a brief reference should be made to the stupas and monasteries which were also built in large numbers during the period. The monasteries, usually built of brick, were, as before, designed as a square block formed of four rows of cells round an inner courtyard, with perhaps a sanctuary in the centre of the back end. They were

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Fig. 27. Mirpur Khas, Stupa: Plan.

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usually extensive conglomerations of religious establishments connected with famous Buddhist sites, but have mostly perished. A few of them have been unearthed in extremely fragmentary condition and these do not call for any special notice.

Of the stupas built during the period, two at least deserve particular mention, namely the stupa at Mirpur Khas (PL XV, 29), in Sindh 1 and the Dhamekh stupa at Sarnath (PL XVII, 33). 2 The former is a brick structure showing a hemispherical dome raised over a square basement. What is interesting is the existence of three chapels or cellas within the mass of the basement on the western side (Fig. 27), the central chapel having an arch constructed on the radiating principle. From stylistic indications of the decorative scheme the structure may be dated about the fourth century A.D. V certainly not later than the fifth, and the appearance of the true arch about this period clearly indicates that the principle was known to Indians long before the advent of the Muslims. 3 The Dhamekh stupa at Sarnath rises in three stages, the basement, the drum and the dome, the last having a cylindrical, instead of the normal hemispherical shape. The basement is solidly built of stone and is relieved on the outside by eight projecting faces, each with a niche for the reception of an image (now gone) and a broad band of exquisitely carved ornament, geometrical and floral (PL XVII, 34). The upper stage, the dome proper, was built of bricks, probably originally faced with stone. The rich and elegant patterns of the ornamental scheme constitute the chief beauty of the monument, the cylindrical shape of which possibly indicates a date about the sixth century A.D. One of the two stupas at Jarasandha-ka-Baithak at Raj agriha is of a similar shape and probably belongs to the same period. Because of their shape they look like towers and as Hiuen Tsang designates the stupa by the term 'tower' this shape seems to be the prevailing one during the period.

B. SCULPTURE

I. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The pivot of Gupta sculptural art is the human figure. Already at Mathura and Amaravati we have seen figures of men and women away from and independent of the animal and vegetal world that used to surround them at Bharhut and Sanchl. Now all animal and

Note 43

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Note 45

vegetal patterns are pushed altogether out of the narrative on to the borders or to panels where they keep themselves confined in their exclusiveness; carved with deep oblique cuts the rich vegetal scrolls exuberantly recoil on themselves in playful contrasts of light and shade. But such rich vegetal patterns of decoration only underline the importance of the human figure.

At Mathura and Amaravati we have seen the richness and abundance of vegetation pass on, in so far as the quantitative aspect is concerned, to the human figure itself. In the art of this period a deeper, qualitatively meaningful, transformation of the human figure takes place, and here, too, it is the vegetal life that causes this transformation. Thus the human figure itself becomes the conveyor or carrier of the unceasing flowing movement that used to reside in every vegetal device, especially the creepers and lotus stalks; the latter while moving away from the world of human beings seem to have passed on their lively rhythm and ceaseless flow in bends and curves to the human figure itself.

Since it is in youth that this inner movement of life finds its fullest expression, it is almost invariably youth that captures the imagination and engrosses the vision of the artist of this period. The body indeed seems to shine in smoothness and in the almost transparent luminosity of its texture. Whereas this illumination itself belongs to the vision of the artist, it is given perceptual form with the help of a plastic and full modelling that, in its naturalism and rarification, has hardly any parallel in any other period of Indian art. A largeness of conception endows the human figure with a mental and physical discipline that discards the earthiness of Mathura and the sensuousness of Vengl and elevates it to a stale of experience of either a subtle spiritual or a deeper rational, or a sturdier and more vital existence. The face is lit up with this experience which is 'wisdom' itself, while the eyes with drooping eyelids, instead of looking out into the visible world, seem to look within where every thing is at rest in contemplative concentration.

This is true not only of Buddhist and Brahmanical gods and goddesses, but also of ordinary mortals, whether men or women. Basically it sprang from the notion of a disciplined body and conquered mind which were sought to be achieved through centuries of conscious physical and intellectual effort. Once this bodily discipline is achieved, there remains no scope for nervous tension oi the body, conditioned by emotions or suggestive of physical energy. The body, whether seated, standing, or bending, thus reaches a poise and a balance, and the related muscular mass seems to pulsate with the glow of the vital current flowing unceasingly beneath the skin. The characteristically Gupta plastic idiom is born of the intense physical experience of this notion. Slowly it dawned that super

human strength lay not in voluminous bod} 7 and concentrated energy alone, but in a conquest of the mind itself. The wide open eyes thus began to close themselves under heavy eye-lids and look inwards; the lips began to close in calm determination and firm fulness; the body began to relax itself in ease and grow in full roundness from within.

For such an experience of existence there is obviously no need of elaborate draperies or decorative jewelleries. Indeed in the art of this period they are very sparingly employed, and that too always with a keen eye on the sensitiveness of the plastic surface, for drapery and jewelleries are but unavoidable superfluities that cloud and weigh the body that happens to be the receptacle of supreme joy and bliss.

Nor in an experience of the kind narrated above is there any scope for agitated physical or emotional action, or any argument for inter-relatedness of movements of the figures composed in a group. Each figure, whatever be its position or action, exists by itself in a slowed and subtly integrated tempo of existence rich with a deeper understanding of life. Even in attitudes and positions where two figures are supposed to be emotionally inter-related, the air they breathe is one of complete detachment, and hence, compositionally they are merely juxtaposed against the flat binding surface of the relief-ground,

II. EVOLUTION OF GUPTA SCULPTURE: MATHURA AND

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Br.IA. pp. 02-63: HIE A. II, 126-127.
2. 2. King Mahendra-varman proudly describes his cave temples as composed without bricks, mortar, metal and timber (anishtakam asudham alauham adrumam nirmapitam — Mandapagattu Inscription). The statement implies that the caves were an innovation in the south, being, in all probability, introduced by Mahendra-varman Pallava.
3. 3. Longhurst, A. H., Pallava Architecture (MAS1. Nos. 17 and 33). The caves of the early period are enumerated here:—Dalvanur (S. Arcot District), Trichinopoly 'rock temple,' Mandapagattu (S. Arcot Dt.). Pallavaram (Chingleput Dt.), Malacheri (S. Arcot Dt.), Tirukkalukkunram (Chingleput Dt.), Kilmavilangai
4. 1. For a similar arrangement in Buddhist vihdras , compare cave No. II and the first floor of the Tin Thai at Eliora.
5. 1. Br. I A. pp. 85-86. 2. Ibid . p. 64.
6. 498
7. 1. Compare the Mandasor inscription vv. 10-12 (Oil III, No. XVIII; Sircar, Select Ins. 291).
8. 2. JISOA, VIII, pp. 146-58.
9. 1. HU A. p. 47. 2. Ibid. Fig. 147.
10. 3. Ibid. Fig. 152: Cousens, H. Ancient Temples of Aihole (ASI. 1907-08, p. 194);
11. Cousen, H. Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts, pp. 38-40,
12. Pis. IX-XI.
13. 4. Quraishi, M. H. & Ghosh, A. Guide to Rajgir, pp. 23-24. PI. V.
14. 1. ASC. X, 60-62, Pis. XVI, XX; HIIA, p. 78, Fig. 151; Marshall, J. Guide to Sanchl , pp. 117-119, PI. vn, b.
15. 2. ASC. IX. 42, 45-46, Pis. X & XI; Banerji, R. D. AIG f PI. VI; Brown, Percy, Ind. Arc. Bud. & Hind. PL XXXIV.
16. 3. ASC. X, 82-89, Pis. XXV-XXX. 4. PRASI. WC, 1919, p. 61.
17. 5. ASC. X. 1-19. Pis. VI- Vn. 6. Ibid. XI, 17-18, Pis. V-VI.
18. 7. Ibid. X. 6; PRASI.WC, 1920, pp. 105-06 & Pis.
19. 8. ASC X 62
20. 9. Smith, V. A. Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period. (OZ. HI, 4).

21. 10. ASC. X, PI. XXV.
22. 1. Ibid. IX, 45.
23. 2. Ibid . XXI, 98-97, Pis. XXV-XXVI: PRASI.WC, 1919, p. 61, Pis. XV-XVI; MR.
24. XLY, 54-56; AIG. pp. 137-39, Pi. HI.
25. 1. Banerji, R. D. !§iva Temple at Bhumara (MASI. No. 16); MR, XLV, 57-58; AIG. pp. 142-45, Pis. II & IV.
26. 2. Cousens, H. Ancient Temples of Aihole (ASI. 1907-08, pp. 190, 192. 195-96); Cousens, H. Chalukyan Architecture, pp. 32-38, 29-32, Pis. V-VI, III-IV; Hl'IA. p. 79, Fig. 148.
27. 3. ASI. 1934-35, p. 42, PI. XIX, b, c, d.
28. 4. The temples are essentially all alike, though some minor variations may be noticed in some details. But these variations do not fundamentally affect the general arrangement and disposition of the type.
29. 5. Ghosh, A. Guide to Nalanda , p. 17, plan at end.
30. 1. It is not clear whether these epigraphic statements have any reference to the class of buildings, known as the Kailasa in the different texts, like Varahamihira's Brihat-sarhhita, the Matsya Parana, etc.
31. 2. ASC. X, 105-10, Pis. XXXIV-XXXVI; HIIA. p. 80; MR. XLV. 58-59; AIG. pp. 146-52; Vats, The Gupta Temple at Deogarh (MAS! , No. 70).
32. 3. ASC. XXI, 98; PRASI.WC. 1919, PI. XVI, b; MR. XLV, 60; AIG. pp. 154-55.
33. 4. ASC. X, 70-71.
34. 5. Ibid. XI, 40-50; ASL 1908-09, pp. 6-16, Pis. I-V; HIIA , p. 80; AIG. pp. 133-135.
35. 6. HTB. II, 118.
36. 7. Cousens, H. Ancient Temples of Aihole (ASI. 1907-08, pp. 194, 196-197); Cousens, H. Chalukyan Architecture , pp. 38-41, Pis. IX-XIII. The Durga temple, as has already been noted, shows a rectangular plan with an apsidal end, and the Hucchimalligudi is similar in plan to the second group of temples, described above. R. D. Banerji includes the temples at Sankargadh (PRASI. WC. 1920, p. 104, Pi. XXVII; AIG. p. 146) among the examples of Gupta temple architecture, but thinks the sikhara to be a mediaeval addition. But a

study of the carvings of the door-frame and of the decorative motifs, which are definitely of a later date, leaves no doubt that both the lower and upper members of the structure were built at one and the same time, which cannot be earlier than the tenth or eleventh century AD.

37. 1. From pillars lying on the platform on which the temple stands Cunningham thought that there were four pillared porticos on the four sides, one protecting the entrance doorway in front and the other three, the sculptured niches on the three walls. R. D. Banerji, however, thought that the whole platform was covered over with a flat roof surrounding the sanctum with its sikhara. In the present fragmentary condition of the temple, it is difficult to ascertain whether the platform was open to the sky or was wholly covered or whether tnere were narrow porticos only to protect the carvings of the doorway and of the sculptured niches. The last appears to be the most plausible.
38. 2. Burgess, J. Ancient monuments, temples and sculptures of India. Fics 248 & 2~2.
39. 3. The reconstruction of the top of the temple by Percy Brown (Br.I.A. PI. XXXIII, 5) as consisting of a barrel-shaped vault does not appear to fit the square plan and other arrangements of the temple.
40. 1. HTB. II, 167 ff.
41. 2. Brihat-samhitd (Vangavasi ed.) Chap. 56.
42. 3. H1IA. pp. 93-94, Fig. 186. The temple has recently been assigned, with very little reason though, to the 9th century A.D. (AST. 1923-24, p. 28).
43. 1. Br.IA., p. 52, Pi XXXII, 9.
44. 2. Sahni, D. R. Guide to the Buddhist ruins of Sarnath , pp. 36-37.
45. 3. There are many stray occurrences of a true voussoir arch in Indian architecture of pre-Muhammadan date, the example at Piprawa (JRAS. 1898, pp. 573 ff) and the arch-stone of possibly Maury an date (ASI. 1921-22, PI. XXXVI) being probably two of the earliest instances of its use.

SARNATH

Dated or definitely datable sculptures of the early Gupta period are few and far between; but the few we have help us to determine, howsoever roughly, the beginnings and the early stages of the evolution of the Gupta plastic conception.

So far as extant examples go, Gupta plastic conception seems to have had its birth at Mathura which, in the early centuries of the Christian era, produced the massive earth-bound Bodhisattvas of extraordinary strength and energy. The Mathura laboratory used to export its products to &ravastl, Prayag, Sarnath and presumably to other places as well The practice continued in the fourth century as well and we find Mathura artists and Mathura inspiration working at Kasia, Bodh-Gaya and also at Sarnath. A Ecdhisattva from Bodh-Gaya 1 , dated in the year 84 of one Maharaja Trikamala (PI. XVIII, 35), is perhaps the earliest example of plastic art that can be dated in the Gupta culture period. Structurally and iconographically it belongs clearly to the Mathura tradition of the first and second centuries; but the massiveness and ponderosity of an earlier age are now brought under a stem and disciplined modelling, and a firm outline and a harsh geometrical composition restrain a vigorous and monumental body of full rounded limbs within a heavy and ruthless concentration.

Note 1

In the figures of the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas of this period, the plastic theme of disciplining the body conquering the mind is perfectly clear, the body has been fully brought under discipline, but the inner world has not yet been conquered. They have not yet experienced bliss, the joy and glow of weightless existence. To this phase of the Mathura tradition belong the two remarkable threeeyed Sivaite heads, one in the Mathura Museum, 1 and the other in the Calmann galleries (PI. XIX, 38, 39) London, 2 the latter qualitatively of a higher level.

It was given to Sarnath, where Buddha first turned the Wheel of Law, to give expression to this supreme bliss in concrete plastic shape in the course of the next one hundred and fifty years. In the countless seated or standing images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, also certain Brahmanical images (e.g. the Karttikeya of the Bharat Kala Parishad, Banaras), of the Sarnath school of this period, the body sheds off all its toughness, attains full and soft roundness and exhales an aroma of complete ease and serenity. All this is achieved with the help of a soft and delicate modelling, a softly gliding, smoothly flowing, melting line, and an utmost economy of plastic differentiation. With the passage of time, the physiognomical type grows longer, the head slightly smaller and lighter, plastic treatment more delicate and sensitive, and altogether a supra-sensuous extra-mundane soaring elegance results, till finally the modelling and outline seem to throb with an almost uncanny sensitiveness. Such perfection, such pointed ecstasy of blissful experience rendered in such concrete form is almost unbelievable, and means that it must either turn the corner or vanish into formlessness. A good specimen is the well-known seated Buddha in dharma-chakrapravarttana attitude from Sarnath (PI. XVIII, 37), 3 but there are examples in the Sarnath Museum which are perhaps equally good, if,not better still.

It was at Sarnath that the Buddha preached his first sermon, and this act is referred to in the canonical texts of Buddhists as dharma-chakra-pravartiana or turning the Wheel of Law. It is represented by a seated Buddha with the fingers of the two hands held in front of the body in a special position. The Sarnath image is a fine expression in stone of the meditative and compassionate

1. Cat MM. 2. JISOA, VI. 202, PI. XLIV.

3. HU A. Fig. 161. FAS, pp. 168-9, Pi. XXXVIII.

Buddha giving his first message of deliverance to the world. The Wheel or Chakra , the symbol of the dharma, occupies the centre of the pedestal and on its two sides are the figures of the five disciples to whom the first sermon was preached. The woman with a child, whose figures are added at the left corner, is probably the figure of the donor of the image, which in some respects represents the highwater mark of the art of sculpture in ancient India.

Mathura, during all these decades, must have also gone through the same stages of experience, but the plastic formulations were of a slightly different character. There a certain heaviness of form persists for a considerable time, and despite strong influences from Sarnath, aesthetic and monographic, a certain toughness in plastic treatment of the body-surface remains. The treatment of the folds of the drapery, the eye-brows, and eyelids in their round ridges also remain traditionally Mathuraesque. Taken all together the headless seated Mahavlra image (A.D. 432-33) and the Buddhas (PL XVIII, 36) and Bodhisattvas of Mathura of somewhat later date lack the supra-sensuous elegance, sensitiveness, and high spirituality of Sarnath. The influence and tradition of Mathura are also found in distant localities, e.g. the seated Buddha image dated A.D. 448-49 from Mankuwar, Allahabad District (PI. XX, 43). 1 This image has a peculiar head-dress and also the webbed hand, a traditional mark of Buddha.

III. EARLY SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE (FOURTH TO

SEVENTH CENTURY)

1. North India

The process and experience that Mathura and Sarnath went through in the fifth and sixth centuries was largely shared by other centres as well, in varying degrees of depth and intensity according to local pre-conditions—-ethnical, social and religious.

Very few specimens from Aryavarta proper (Ganga-Yamuna valley) and Malwa register the experience of the elevated spiritual existence of Sarnath or even Mathura. Such examples as that of the Karttikeya (PL XX, 44) (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras), 2 the Lokesvara or Siva (Pl. XXI, 46) (Sarnath Museum), 3 one or two images from Gwalior (PL XXII, 51), 4 the Ekamukha Linga 5 from Khoh in the Nagcd State (PL XXI, 48), etc., which come nearest to the Sarnath plastic conception, are relatively slightly thinner in spiritual experience and hence also slightly different in treatment

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

as well. Generally speaking, the figures are relatively heavy and spread out; the modelling terse and the outline more slow and polished than gliding and melting. The Ganga relief from Besnagar (PI. XXII, 49), 1 the Durga-MahishamardinI and the bust of Siva from Bhumara have the characteristically quiet poise and balance of the Sarnath tradition, but they too partake of the qualities of relatively short and heavy appearance, terse modelling and a slow outline. The figures of the Anantasayin relief (PI. XXII, 50), Dasavatara temple, Deogarh, perhaps of a slightly later date, are heavier still, modeling relaxed without meaning and the outline almost hardened to an extent that the figures are confined within their own shape. Here, in all these examples, there is perhaps a lower level of experience—the kind is the same—-which is responsible for the difference in aesthetic treatment and achievement.

The strong accent of the common denominator of Gupta art is equally impressed on the reliefs (fifth century) from the architrave of Garhwa (PL XIX, 40-42), near Allahabad (Lucknow Museum). The equipoise and balance, the ease and spontaneity of existence, the subtle and delicate plastic treatment, and the proud but detached and self-composed disposition of the figures belong essentially to the age and the locality that produced them, in spite of the Hellenic contrapost motif learnt from Vengi and the draped garment motif from Mathura noticeable in some of the figures.

But even in Aryavarta other forces and traditions were at work.

The Siva-Parvati relief from Kosam (PL XXIII, 53) 2 and the Ramayana panels from the Dasavatara (PI. XXIII, 52), 3 Deogarh (Jhansi), bring up-to-date an older tradition of narrative reliefs, and are different in conception and treatment from those of the larger number of Sarnath relief sculptures. Whereas in the latter the figures are not only compositionallv detached but also emotionally and spiritually so, in the former, in spite of a quiet poise and detachment which are the common denominator of Gupta sculptures of the North, there is a compositional linking up of figures and planes and a certain coarseness which spring from a different level of social experience. Definitely they are much less elegant and spiritual, much less refined and luminous than the products of the Sarnath School, but more homely and more intimate which is perhaps due to a closer relation with day-to-day life.

Closely related to these in socio-religious experience, and similarly bringing up-to-date the older tradition of narrative reliefs, are such examples as the Krishna-Govardhana-dharana panel from Mandor (PL XXI, 47), 1 and the door panel from Nagari, 2 both in Rajputana and belonging to about the beginning of the fifth century. While in the physiognomical type and plastic form of a softer bodysurface of the Deogarh and Kosam examples the Sarnath idiom makes itself felt, the sturdy and broad body-type, the pronounced linear accent and a relatively general hardness of plastic treatment of the Rajputana examples belong to the legacy of Kushana-Mathura. But in both cases the quiet poise of the figures is derived from the age that produced them, while their homely intimacy and sturdiness seem to belong to a social and religious experience different from what produced the luminous Buddhist sculptures of Sarnath. It is the same difference that distinguishes the highly subtle Mabayana-Yogachara thought from the broad and homely philosophy of the Puranas, a difference reflected not only in the respective plastic formulations but also in the themes and subjects of the specimens discussed above.

This broad, and homely sturdiness of physical type and artistic vision-—an inheritance from the days of Sanchl—was understood again in a different context in Malwa. There the sturdy physical type, relatively broad and of heavy consistency, is treated in concentrated roundness and in a tough plastic idiom. This will be evident from a close comparison of the female busts from different sites in Malwa [Gahga image, Besnagar (PL XXII, 49) ; 3 Apsara, Gwalior Museum (PL XXI 45) ; 4 lintel of torana gateway, Pawaya, Gwalior Museum] 5 on the one hand and those from Banaras, Rajgir and Tezpur on the other The Malwa specimens are invariably heavy, round and tough, while the eastern ones are soft, slender and delicate. But the heavy consistency and concentrated roundness of the sturdy body is nowhere more in evidence than in those specimens where the figures are formed out of the live rock, as those of the Bdayagiri caves near Bhilsa (e.g. the Vishnu of Cave No. 2; Anantasayin Vishnu; the figure of Bhudevi of the Varahavatara relief; also the standing Siva, Mandasor; the figures of the Yasodharman pillars, Mandasor; and the Narasimha image in the Gwalior Museum). 6 Even the Buddhist images of the Bagh caves have not been able to escape this broad and heavy consistency and this concentration in height and roundness. It is not unlikely that these qualities are indirectly conditioned by local ethnic legacy on the one hand and the vigorous social thought of Puranic integration on the other.

Note 5

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Note 7

Note 8

THE CLASSICAL AGE

The monumental Varahavatara relief in Udayagiri (PI. XXIV, 55), however, stands by itself. While it fully shares in the average plastic qualities of the Udayagiri sculptures, its monumental quality belongs as much to the cosmic myth it portrays, as to the live rock itself that lends its deep impressiveness to the heaving, commanding mass of the image rendered in slow, heavy and tough plasticity. Located in Malwa, traditionally and psychologically the Varahavatara (fifth century) stretches one of its arms towards the Surya of Bhaja (second century B.C.) and the other to the sculptures of heavy but dynamic mass of Badami, Eliora and Elephanta (sixth, seventh and eighth centuries).

2. Eastern India

The soft and subtle music of Sarnath was listened to in Eastern India with rapt attention. But the Prachya country, which had inherited a culture and ethnic character different from those of Aryavarta, endowed the subtle delicacy and spiritual refinement of Sarnath with a warmth of emotion and a sensuous appeal. This is evident not only in the colossal copper image of the standing Buddha from Sultanganj (PI. XXV, 58), Bhagalpur (Birmingham Museum) 1 and the huge metal image of the Buddha from Nalanda (Nalanda Museum), but also in such examples as the stone image of the Buddha from Bihar ail (PI. XXV, 57) (Rajshahi Museum), the stucco reliefs of the Maniyar Math (PI. XXV, 59), Rajgir, and the two stone images of the river-goddesses of Ganga and Yamuna from Dah Parvatiya (PL XXVI, 60, 62), Tezpur. 2 The Sultanganj and Nalanda examples seem still to prefer the Mathuraesque treatment of the robe in conventional folds and curly fringes, but the Rajgir, Biharail and Tezpur specimens closely follow the vision and idiom of Sarnath; but everywhere, nevertheless, the unearthly sublimation of Sarnath is subtly touched by a charm and emotion that are essentially human. This is achieved by very slight variations of the form of the face and the plastic treatment of the body.

In the Brahmanical bas-reliefs on the pillars from Chandimau (PL XXIV, 56), decidedly of a homelier and more variegated character than the schematic ones from Sarnath reliefs of the same period, altogether a different aesthetic impulse and social experience seem to have been at work. Plastically the figures are concentrated in height and roundness, and if the decorative embellishments wind their curly way in a rhythmically capricious manner, the figures themselves are also poised in lively and vivacious movements. Undoubtedly these reliefs reveal a fondness for contrast in light and

1. HIIA,, fig. 160.

Note 9

shade, for vivacious and lively narration and a homelier feeling and atmosphere unknown to or uncared for by Sarnath.

3. The Deccan

The Deccan has yielded to us very few specimens that can definitely be dated in the fifth century or are representative enough for a clear understanding of the tendencies. But the sixth century introduces us to forces that are vital and varied.

The quality of the Aihole reliefs (PI. XXVII, 63) is on the whole mediocre, both compositionally and plastically, and a thin lyricism imparts to the figures of gods and their flying associates a feminine grace that has nothing to do with other contemporary sculptures of the Deccan of this period—Parel or Badami, Ajanta or Kanheri. Of the sublimated energy, deeper wisdom, and spiritual bliss of Sarnath. these reliefs have heard but hardly experienced anything. But at the same time Sarnath has imparted her quiet poise and balance and her soft and delicate plastic treatment to the supple and elongated human body of Aihole. This suppleness and elongation, however, are contributions from the South; they connect Aihole with the Andhra school on the one hand and the Pallava school on the other.

The contemporary Buddhist reliefs of the Kanheri (PI. XXVII, 64) 1 caves somewhat register the reverberations of Sarnath, but that too very feebly and without any sign of illumination or the slightest suggestion of latent energy. A stiffness of pose and a tight modelling hold the figures within their outlines, and they seem to carry their burden with a mute insensibility. Compositionally detached and without any inter-relatedness of inner idea or outer rhythm, the insensitive stiffness of the figures reveals that at least so far as Buddhist art in the Deccan was concerned, the meaning and significance of the fluid and luminous thought that produced the weightless figures of the Ganga-Yamuna valley were but little understood and experienced.

This is equally noticeable, though in a different wav, in the numerous seated or standing figures of Buddhas (Pl. XXVIII, 66) and other divinities that decorate the walls and facades of the Ajanta caves of about the same period. There the figures are condensed in height and characterised by a spongy roundness. Seemingly weighty, they have hardly any suggestion or feeling of energy and strength, either physical or spiritual, and despite a more sensitive treatment of the plastic surface and a quiet poise they seem to be mute and drowsy. Of spiritual luminosity they know nothing; and whatever physical vigour they have appears to be disintegrating under the burden of drowsy exhaustion.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Cunningham, Mahabodhi, PL XXV; KIS, fig. 54.
2. 1. FAS, p. 173, fig. 119. 3. Ibid. fig. 171.
3. 2. HIIA, fig. 175. 4. H1IA, fig. 173; KIS, fig. 60.
4. 5. MASI, No. 16, p. 5; PRASL WC, 1920, pp. 106-7, PI. XXIX.
5. 1. HII A, fig. 16 . 3. HII A, fig. 177.
6. 2. Ind. Sc., p. 172, fig. 61. 4. H1IA, fig. 175.
7. 5. AS1, 1924-25, p. 165, PI. XLIII (c) and (d).
8. 6. HII A, fig. 170; KIS.
9. 2. AS1, 1924-25, p, 98, PL XXXII (a) and (b). 528

TTHiiiCfigT:163! ~

It is not by the standards of the common denominators of the age and more particularly of the North that we can evaluate contemporary plastic achievements of the Deccan, for ethnic and geographic preconditions seem to have marked out this region for making contributions to Indian art of altogether a different character, different in vision and outlook, different in social and psychological origins, and different in method and treatment. Outstanding illustrations of this character, so far as the sixth century is concerned, hail from Badami and Parel which bring up-to-date the trends and traditions that had been at work at Bhaja and Karli.

Of heavy and monumental size and proportion are the figures of the magnificent relief from Pare! (PL XXVIII, 65). 1 The three vertical figures seem to rise slowly upwards from the formless cosmic depths of the earth's bottom; remnants of the unformed still cling to the figures of the ganas at the bottom. Deeply absorbed in themselves in supreme concentration, their dynamic but latent energy and strength, that belong to the heaving earth, seem to swell them from within with heavy solidity. The accessory figures, ranged in a vigorous and dynamic composition and connected in inherent relation, are also dynamic in movement, but they too sink themselves in deepest absorption and like the main figures, of whom they are manifestations, hold their dynamism in store, mainly in the chest which expands in breadth and roundness, but also in other parts of the body where solid masses take shape and form by pressure from within. All this is controlled by a clear but flowing outline. Such powerful plastic conception and treatment of the body surface, such latent dynamism and movement, and such radiation of energy are unknown to contemporary Sarnath; yet paradoxically enough, both proceed from the innermost concentration of mind or Yoga.

The same vision and conception of form bring forth the figures and compositions of the rock-cut sculptures of the Badami caves. What lies latent in the Parel figures or in that of the Anantaiayin Vishnu of cave III (Badami) bursts forth in powerful and dynamic gestures in the reliefs of the

Badami caves (PL XXIX, 68-71). 2 Here, too, the bodies of the principal divinities are heavy and monumental in proportion; they are full and solidly built, but unlike those of Parel the plastic treatment is slightly coarse and more generalised. What is significant is that here, too, the emphasis is cn the plastic conception and execution of dynamic but latent energy, condensed and concentrated within the physical frame, an energy that rises from deeper and more vital sources of life. These principal figures entirely dominate their respective compositions, and the actual limits of their bodies and limbs are not the connoted or suggested TTkIS, fig. 66. ~2 T ibid. fig. 67. ~~

limits of their dynamic extension. In fact, their latent dynamism extends far beyond their shapes to the limits of the panel itself and embraces all subsidiary figures which, since they have hardly anything to contribute to the main figure, are sometimes worked out more freely and elaborately. But the minor figures and the elaborate apparels of the principal divinities are all fully subordinated to the large and spreading composition of the main figures. The weightiness of their monumentalised bodies and their condensed energy, pent up within the body along with the dynamic extension of the composition, lend to the reliefs of Badami a meaning and significance unknown to Sarnath. They make the live rock the cradle of their superhuman energy and aboriginal vitality.

IV. LATER SCHOOLS OF SCULPTURE (SEVENTH CENTURY)

1, Middle and East India

No dated sculpture of the seventh century is so far known, but quite a considerable number of them can be assigned to the period on stylistic and other grounds. The first half of the seventh century enjoyed a kind of loose political cohesion under the Pushyabhuti empire, but immediately after the death of Harsha-vardhana the political fabric disintegrated into numerous warring and petty autonomous states, and not until the middle of the eighth century did Northern India settle down to comparatively secure social and political conditions. A century of regional psychology, fostered by political and geographical exclusiveness, gradually helped to bring to the fore local tastes and prejudices, and give scope for regional, social, and aesthetic ideals to slowly crystallize into concrete visual forms, and thus give rise to local regional schools. But though the process seems to have been at work already from the seventh century, this did not actually happen in any appreciable form before the middle of the eighth.

Throughout the Canga-Yamuna valley, mainly represented by Sarnath, and in Bengal and Bihar, the Gupta plastic conception of the fifth and sixth centuries was disintegrating from sheer exhaustion and almost unbearable grace and refinement. Further exploration along the same line seemed impossible, and the soft tenderness and fluid illumination held by a melting line and unbelievably sensitive modelling were slowly but surely collapsing; the result was an all round coarseness of treatment and meaningless heaviness of form.

The more important mid-Indian examples assignable to the seventh century continue to hail mainly from Sarnath (PI. XXVIII, 67) and its spiritual extension, Nalanda. A meaningless and drowsy heaviness of form, generated by a heavy and continuous feasting on the remnants of a generation, burdens ail figures. What had been creative means is now reduced to formulas that carry no significance. The plastic surface grows coarse while the outline loses its fluidity. In the subsequent century, however, Nalanda puts a brake to the process of disintegration by a tightening up of the modelling and deficiency of a firm outline. The bodily type remains throughout a legacy from the Gupta ideal and tradition of the Gahga-Yamuna valley. What happens at a later stage need not be discussed here but will form the subject-matter of the regional Eastern school of sculpture, to be dealt with in a subsequent volume.

A couple of metal images from Bengal (the Sarvani image of queen Prabhavatl, Dacca Museum; 1 bronze &iva, Ajit Ghosh collection, Calcutta) which may be assigned to the seventh century also reveal the slowing down of the high tide of Gupta tradition in its Eastern version, and very little remains in them of the latter's refined sensuousness and sensitive abstractions. The stiff and coarse Sarvani is but a forerunner of the conventional cult image of a later age. But a few stone sculptures from Paharpur, 2 assignable roughly to this or a slightly later period, cling more honestly and tenaciously for some time yet to the East Indian version of the Sarnath tradition. The plastic character of the so-called RadhaKrishna relief

(PI. XXX, 72) of Paharpur and of the lady with a bird on a jamb from Bhagalpur (PI. XXXI, 74) has all the grace and poise, and warm sensuousness and human charm of the Nagin! of Maniyar Math (Rajgir) 3 and the Ganga and Yamuna of Dah Parvatiya (Tezpur). 4

But a very deep aesthetic and social significance attaches to a good number of stone reliefs (PI. XXX, 73) from the same Paharpur monument. Of heavy and coarse features and appearance and of indifferent proportion, without any trace of refined sensitiveness or cultured sophistication, the naive and simple figures of these reliefs are modelled into form in a carefree manner. Their plasticity is in their movement and in their dynamic composition and powerful rhythm. Free from the trammels of formularisations, the art of these sculptures derives its inspiration directly from the day-to-day life around, and it is the immediate experience of the dynamism and purposeful rhythm of daily life itself that has been imparted into these sculptures. Intensely lively, powerful and human, these examples represent what must have been a submerged art of the people of Bengal, which was given but little scope for coming to the fore again before the late mediaeval period, when social and political conditions were favourable for a re-assertion of local and popular expressions in art and literature.

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2. Malum and Rajputdna

What happened to the art of Malwa and Rajputana in the seventh century cannot be definitely ascertained. A few stray examples 1 that may stylistically be dated in the period are not substantial enough to suggest conclusions.

Generally speaking, condensed plasticity, concentrated roundness and a terseness of treatment seem to characterise the products of this period. In Sanchi (PI. XXXII, 77) for example, these characteristics are visible in a number of sculptures assignable to the seventh and eighth centuries. To what extent Deccan contributed to this phase of Malwa art is difficult to say, but a certain impress of contemporary Deccanese accent seems to be indicated.

With this Malwa-Rajpntana idiom we can perhaps link up certain wooden reliefs of the Brahmor temple 2 and some large metal images of Chamba, 3 assignable to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. The essentially Malwa firmness of outline and lightness of modelling that grip a solid body are here, too, marked by an elegance that recalls the Aryavarta ideal of a previous age.

A comparison of the Malwa-Rajputana specimens of the late seventh and eighth centuries with those of Nalanda, Bengal, and Orissa of the eighth century, strikingly illustrates the interesting fact noted above that a slow but gradual transition of the plastic conception was taking place all over Middle and Eastern India.

3. The Deccan

While Aryavarta was going through the pangs of disintegration of an old tradition and the birth of a new art, Deccan was fulfilling her destined mission of carrying on the tradition of Bhaja and Karli, of Parel and Badami to its final creative perfection. The results at its most important stages are to be seen in the caves at Ellora, Pattadakal, Aurangabad and Elephanta.

Seventh century work at Ell ora (Ravana-ka-khai, Dasavatara Romes vara and Dhumar Lena caves; cf. Pis. XXXII, 79; XXXIII, 89; VIII, 16 and IX, 17) is distinguished by the same heaviness and

Note 4

Note 5

Note 6

broadness of physiognomical form, and by the same concentrated power and energy that radiate and transcend the physical frame as in Badami of a previous generation. But while in Badami a generalised modelling diffuses the total accumulated power and energy evenly to all parts of the body, in Ellora a differentiated modelling localises the widespread energy in particular parts of the body according to its flexions, attitudes, and movements, and there it is condensed and focussed. To keep harmony with such differentiated modelling and localised and condensed energy, the clear and flowing outline of Badami is replaced by one that is tense and terse in agitated restraint. What in Badami and Parel was in deepest absorption and meditation, accumulating endless power and energy, now seems to be slowly on the surge to expand and act, but is yet kept in fullest restraint. Eyes that had once been closed with the inward look have now opened and the figures are slowly emerging out into the world of creative gestures and movements; monographic gestures and movements were known in Badami as well, but there they had remained steeped in absorption.

The slow 7 emergence of this life of movement, of tension and differentiation is brought about by the character of the relief as well. The reliefs are as a rule sunk at the darkest and deep st bottom of the recesses of the caves whence the figures are made to emerge towards light and space in a slightly diagonal direction of forthcoming. This direction of emergence and movement is underlined by projecting pilasters as well as by a sideward flexion of the upper part of the body with horizontal shoulders. The modelled volume of the figures is thus given a lively play in light and darkness and the diagonal direction towards space lends to the plastic conception and composition a widened meaning and significance. Space which dwells apart thus becomes an integral part of the relief and fully plays its part in both.

The same plastic conception of volume and compositional movement characterises the relief of the Aurangabad caves (PI. XXXIII, 81) as well, where differentiated modelling of volume exploits more fully the darkness of the recesses of caves and the light of unfilled and delimited space.

Towards the middle of the eighth century the reliefs of the temples of Pattadakal register the impress of the South Indian Pallava tradition of Mamallapuram (also called Mahabalipuram) and Kanchlpuram right on their Deecanese inheritance; but the two are not yet fully blended into a creative synthesis. The figures attain a slender suppleness and elegance so characteristic of the south of a previous age. The easy, silent and graceful movements add charm to the architectonic dignity and proportion of not a few of the panels worked in high relief. Indeed, much more refined and elevated in taste and serious and condensed in spirit, the Pattadakal reliefs lift to a much higher level the light and thin plastic conception of the South.

But. in the array of the powerful and magnificent reliefs of the Kailasanatha temple of eighth century at Ellora, the process at work at Pattadakal reaches maturity, and the creative fusion of concentrated and sustained power and heaviness of form of the Deccan and of ease, grace and suppleness of the South results in mighty carvings of forceful movement and noble and dignified elegance blended into one. The slowly rising movement of the seventh century Ellora now gathers speed and bursts forth into moments of intense activity and abandon of the body and spirit. The condensation of ever-present energy and latent power now releases itself in forceful direction that bends the figures in a bowlike arch diagonally pushing forward (the Mahishamardinl relief—PL XXXV, 84) 1 or brings them in rapturous and violent embrace (the Mithuna relief) or surges them into violent gestures and vigorous movements (the scene of Havana shaking Kailasa, PL XXXIV, 82). 2 Even when they are seated or standing at ease (the Siva-Parvatl scene, 3 the river-goddess reliefs), they retain in their slender bodies an attitude of dignified command, and while flying exhibit an active and conscious effort at speed.

All this is attained by a thorough mastery of a detailed and differentiated modelling of the volume. The degree of localised tenseness and condensation of power depends upon the speed and vigour of the movement itself. The diagonal direction of forthcoming is equally potent here and is nowhere more in evidence than in the bow-like arches of principal and subsidiary figures. In not a few of the reliefs the entire composition is dictated by this direction of movement with a slight flexion of the chest and horizontal shoulders (scenes of Dance of &iva, of Vishnu, Narasimha, of Mahishamardinl, etc.). Effects of light and darkness are exploited to the full, not only according to the degree of coming forward into space, but also in accordance with the requirements of the theme and the psychological states of the actors on the stage. This is done, as required, by grading the relief with the help of receding cuts or by effecting deep and dark recesses into the rock of the cave.

If Pattadakal and Ellora release stage by stage the stored up power and energy of Bhaja, Karli, Parel and Badami into forceful and violent movements of might and command, Elenbanta 4 brings

1. KIS, fig. 75. 2 1 Ibid , fig. 78. 3. HIIA, fig. 193. 4. Ibid , figs. 194-5.

forth the final vision of primeval energy drawing its sap from the bottom of creation and accumulating it through millenniums within the limits of the human frame, till the concentrated vigour and latent power sw T ell the body to its utmost limits in solid and rounded forms of mighty proportions (PI. XXXV, 85). There it abides for all time in pristine grandeur and absorbed in deepest concentration. In Badami the tall and heavy crowns elaborately carved weighed on the gods with their downward thrusts; here they are worn lightly and accentuate the upward direction, and the curly locks and rich ornaments frame the weighty and impersonal faces of the mighty divinities in a significant plastic contrast. A simple and highly generalised modelling of the volume gives to them power and dignity unsurpassed. In concentrated and latent power and energy, in sublimated consciousness of dynamic movement, in monumental poise and grandeur, in elemental dimension and in power and balance of composition, the Elephanta reliefs are the last word in rock-cut sculptures of the Deccan. The last limit of perfection is reached and nothing remains to be explored.

The dharmachakra-pravarttana Buddha of Sarnath (PI. XVIII, 37) and the ^ivaite reliefs of Elephanta represent the two utmost heights and extensions of India’s quest in the realm of spirit reached in the concreteness of plastic vision and form, while the bronze Nataraja of the Tamil genius of a later period represents the third. But the first and second are truly classical in the strictest sense of the term and reach the highest level of supreme classical consummation.

An Ajanta inscription of presumably the fifth or sixth century records, in a moment of self-deluded exultation of the author, that Krishna, Sankara and other gods have beaten a precipitate retreat before the advance of the doctrine of the Buddha! Whatever might have been the case with Buddhism in the South in the sixth and seventh centuries, Buddhist art in the Deccan as represented by examples at Ajanta and Kanheri, we have seen, was already on the verge of collapse and disintegration. The same languorous and spongy modelling of an otherwise heavy but elegant body characterises the reliefs of the almost contemporary Buddhist caves at Lon ad, not very far from Bombay. In the eighth century, however, the rock-cut reliefs of Nasik (cave XVI) show figures whose flowing and disciplined outline seeks vainly to impart subtlety to an otherwise thin and spread-out volume of the body. On the whol°, compared with contemporary Brahmanical works at Ellora. Aurangabad, Pattadakal and Elephanta, all pregnant with the vigorous energy and dynamic movement, latent or expressed, of a renascent culture, the heavy and languorous Buddhist works bear the

mark of evident exhaustion and final collapse. In the north, we have seen, this collapse was arrested in time by a fresh process of integration with a new conception and outlook of life.

4. The South: Mdrnallapuram and Ktinchlpuram

The sea-shore rocks of Mamallapuram in the South burst forth in stately and elegant flowers in the seventh century under the great Fallavas. Enriched in the meanwhile by the experience gone through in Aryavarta, Malwa and the Deccan, they brought the inheritance of the Andhra school up-to-date and contributed to it their own share of knowledge and experience that belonged to the age.

The enormous Gangavatarana (?) relief (PL XXXIY, 83),' ! carved in epic scale, in epic breadth, simplicity, and directness, on the entire face of a cliff, is inspired by the rock itself. The theme belongs to the rock and it utilises the surface composition of the rock with its cracks, crevices, rectangles and roundels for purposes of relief composition itself. Such attempts were made at Bhaja and Udayagiri, but nowhere else than at Mamallapuram are the reliefs so organically related to the rock. Inside the enormous, conceptually unlimited expanse of the composition, and along either side of the Ganga descending from heaven to earth, is grouped a whole world of men, animals, gods, ascetics, serpent-deities and semi-divine beings. The sympathy with, and understanding of, all sentient beings and the deep and fresh love of nature that were once in evidence on the early Buddhist reliefs of Sanchi are here once more brought to the fore, and all creatures in their most loving and joyous existence are drawn together round the life-giving current of the river. That ascetic cat, so humorously realistic, or that elegant and intensely life-like pair of deer, that old and emaciated Brahmana ascetic bent with age, or on the other adjoining cliff, that intensely lively pastoral scene of the milking of a cow, or that sculptured block showing a monkey family-—all these testify to the unbounded love of this art for the little joys and little sideways of life, and to its close observation and love of nature.

The joyous and effortless existence of life is here taken for granted; everything here is thin, light and obvious and, frankly there is here no trace of spiritual quest. What gives them poise and dignity is the restrained measure of their movement. The figures just burst forth like flowers into light from the body of the rock and there they exist against a flat ground, jostling in a crowded world without vegetation or any sort of decoration. Since they all disport themselves on the flat face of the rock, any deep display of light and darkness is uncalled for; there is thus no deep mystery or intense drama of vigorous action as one experiences at Eliora or Bad ami. Everything here is clear and self-evident; a simple, clear and definite experience gone through with a cultivated detachment and disciplined strength calls for no subtlety and depth of conception or form.

There are also other reliefs at Mamallapuram (PL XXXVI, 87) which belong to temples cut out of live rock. They are in most cases made to emerge from the vertically set, low sunk, rectangular panels flanked by

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1. KIS, fig. 71. Mr. Ramachandran has recently identified the rock-cut reliefs of Mamallapuram as representing the epic and Pauranic story of the encounter of Arjuna with the Kirata (Kirutdrjuntyam). Cf. JISOA, XVIII, 54 ff.

shafts of pilasters, and are obviously architectonic in character. Of tall and slender Andhra type, but with a much simplified and generalised modelling and much more disciplined and restrained, the height of the figures is underlined by the vertical direction of the shafts and the panel itself as well as by tall and slim arms and legs and high and pointed crowns. Despite bhangas of intended grace and refinement the figures never, not even the female ones, miss their architectonic discipline. This is so even in those reliefs where no architectural device is called for, as in those of the Gangavatarana rock.

With a simplified and generalised modelling the sensuousness of the Andhra school melted away, but not the pliability which is now endowed with a cultured dignity and detachment. A consciousness of power heightened by broad shoulders in the case of male figures and by disciplined strength gives to gods and men a noble and aristocratic bearing. Gods perforce had to be formularised, but kings and queens—we are told by epigraphs that they are contemporary ‘portraits—and even ordinary mortals, despite comparative ease of posture and attitude, never fail to achieve this bearing. Female figures are much slighter and thinner with their narrow chest and shoulders, smaller breasts, minimum jewellery and apparel, and their generally very submissive and dependant attitude. Invariably they appear to lean or incline towards their male counterparts with a graceful bhang a that bases itself on a pair of firm hips. But whether it is a male or a female, a god or a king (there is nothing to distinguish them except by the inscriptions), a divinity or an ordinary mortal, a disciplined impersonal attitude characterises all facial and bodily appearances. This attitude, as already pointed out, is not born of any inner experience or meditative principle or of any deep expe rience of life. It is but formal acceptance of life with a cultured and aristocratic detachment. Indeed, for deeper or subtler experience, either in the sense of the Deccan or of Aryavarta, Mamallapuram seems to care little.

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In the eighth century reliefs of the Kailasanatha temple of Kanchipuram the thin and light plastic context of Mamallapuram has become thinner and lighter still. The collapse and disintegration is just arrested as in the North by a firmer and more precise

outline.

V. VEGETAL AND GEOMETRIC DECORATIVE CARVINGS

A word must be said about the vegetal and geometric carvings of the period. It has already been pointed out that the human figure pushed all rich decorative patterns comprising the animal and vegetal v/orld or purely abstract geometric devices out of the reliefs on to the borders or to sculptural and architectural bands and panels where they kept themselves confined in their exclusiveness. There they are vital, prolific, and brimful in their richness and exuberance, but always chaste and elegant. Precisely outlined beads and rosettes, exquisite arabesques and dentils, fully and richly modelled stalks and foliages, twisted rope-designs with hanging pearls and other ornaments, intertwined creepers and figures of ganas, men, women, and grotesques, all deeply and obliquely cut into clear and precise form, meander their sinuous and capricious courses in a curly and concentric manner, and are bathed all over in a rich display of light and darkness. The technical perfection of rich craftsmanship of the period and of imaginative fertility is everywhere in evidence.

Apart from such rich and exuberant vegetal patterns there are other devices, often side by side, of geometric abstractions, like Swastika motifs in repetitions and combinations, diamond-shaped ornaments formed by crossing of parallel lines, chess-board patterns, etc,., all cut with flat and angular surfaces—-nowhere so prominent as in the ornamentation of the Dhamek stupa of Sarnath and in certain door-frames of contemporary temples. Here too there is a pleasing display of light and darkness, but the general effect is comparatively less warm and variegated. Abstract geometrical devices had so far been very rare in Indian plastic art; the Gupta period introduces and makes them popular, and from now onwards, i.e. from the eighth century they are used in profusion throughout Northern India. 1

A study of these rich vegetal and geometric decorative patterns of the period in a geographical context showes that they are most prolifically and profusely used in the plastic art and architecture of the Gahga-Yamuna valley and the Prachva country. Already in Malwa they are but sparingly employed, while in the rock-cut reliefs

Note 7

of the Deccan and the South they are practically excluded. While this may have been due, basically, to ethnic reasons, it is not altogether impossible that it was also partly due to the respective governing ideologies of the times, at least in the Aryavarta and the Deccan. The subtle and mystical thought process of Aryavarta left in her elevated and spiritual plastic formulations of the relief, with its pivotal human figure, hardly any scope for richly imaginative and capricious decorative devices which had perforce to find their place away on the borders and architectural panels. And, since the vegetal principle was alive and potent in the human figure itself, it was already there and had to find its place somewhere. In the Deccan, rock-cut themes themselves enter into elemental depths and dimensions, and reside in realms where is eternal darkness and where there is no vegetation, no movement, no light, and no scope for any differentiation. Nor was the vegetal principle alive and active anywhere in the conception of the human figure as in the North.

VI. GENERAL REVIEW

The Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of Sarnath. of the fifth and sixth centuries represent the plastic process and final achievement of a highly subtle and mystical, fluid and luminous thought known to us as the Mahayana-Yogachara brought up-to-date by contemporary Buddhist thinkers. They are the culmination of a spiritual quest that started its career in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the context of plastic examples extant, the most important centres of this quest were Mathura and Sarnath, roughly the Ganga-Yamuna valley, though reverberations of Mathura and Sarnath were heard from Assam to the farthest North-west and from Kashmir to the Vindhyas. What we see in Aryavarta during these centuries is the fruition of this quest, so far as plastic creations, mainly Buddhist at any rate, are concerned. But contemporary Brahmanical sculptures also, at least quite a few of them and those of Aryavarta again, were inspired by this quest; it is enough to refer in this connection to the Karttikeya from Banaras and the

Ekamukha Liziga from Khoh in the Nagod State. But the majority of Brahmanical sculptures, though belonging to the common denominator of Gupta plastic vision, was not touched by this thought and spiritual quest, in a word by the Yogachara cultural outlook; it is enough to refer the readers to the Brahmanical reliefs from Rajaona, Deogarh, Udayagiri, Mandasor and Besnagar.

A study of the reiigio-philosophieal literature, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, of the period shows that from about the third and fourth centuries, Aryavarta was in a great ferment of thought and minds and ideas came into conflict with minds and ideas, and in these and following centuries combatants came roughly to be ranged on two sides, one representing the thought of Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asahga, Vasubandhu and Dihnaga, another represented by the Yogasutras and Nyayasutras, by Vatsyayana, Uddyotakara and Kumar ila, to name only a few. Out of this ferment and turmoil evolved a neoBrahmanism, sturdy and vigorous in action, robust and virile in imagination, fertile in creation and comprehensively ethnic in origin. This neo-Brahmanism found popular expression in the contemporary redactions of the Puranas and the Epics that brought upto-date the basic Indian notions of creation, preservation and des* truction of life. The more significant Brahmanicai sculptures of this period are mainly concerned with these notions and their concrete manifestations. When we are told that a Purana ought to consist, among other things, 1 of the evolution of the universe from its material cause and its recreation from the constituent elements into which it is merged at the close of each aeon, we seem to catch a glimpse of what seems to have been the vision and thought that inspired the reliefs of the Udayagiri caves of Malwa or of Badami, Ellora, Aurangabad and Elephant a, or, on a lower level, of even Mamallapuram. We seem only then to realise more fully and deeply the origin and meaning of the dynamic strength and power, latent in meditative absorption or expressed in vigorous action, in these magnificent reliefs, or of the manifold manifestations of the notions of three supreme principles, in concrete plastic terms. Here we really witness the birth of a new thought and outlook, indeed of a new culture and civilisation.

Contemporary Buddhist plastic art of the Deccan remained on the whole untouched by this new vision and thought, and with all possibilities of the sources they drew from explored and exhausted, it slowly and gradually collapsed. Contemporary Buddhist painting, we shall see, drew from other vital sources of life as well, and had other reasons for its inherent potency and strength, which enabled it to survive longer and that with refinement and vigour, but on a lower level of creation.

In Aryavarta and Eastern India, however, the older vision of a highly subtle and mystical significance and of corresponding plastic expression, after a short period of torpor, was effectively integrated by the new vision and thought of neo-Brahmanism, and its corresponding plastic expression. A new and integrated art was thus born in the following centuries as will be described in the next volume.

Note 8

C. PAINTING AND OTHER ARTS I. PAINTING 1. Scope and Nature

While the quest for form in stone during all these centuries concerned itself with themes and expressmns of a deeper and more f undamental significance, painting (also, clay-modelling and terracotta) partook oi a secular character, and was presumably more in general practice and popular demand than stone sculpture. A perusal of the literature of the period, both creative and technical, would show that painting was considered as an essential social accomplishment not only in the cities, among the members of the upper strata of society including princes and ladies and nobles of the court, but also elsewhere among the members of the various professional guilds, and was practised even by amateurs. The Kamasutra of Vatsyayana includes painting as one of the sixty-four kalds or fine arts—repeated later on in text after text—and mentions paints, brushes and drawing boards as essential furniture of an average citizen’s (ndgaraka) personal apartment. If Yasodhara’s commentary on Vatsyayana’s great work is any indication of the period under review, then it has further to be admitted that attempts were already being made to give theoretical and practical guidance to an increasingly large number of amateurs and professionals who came to practise the art. Yasoahara refers to the Shadanga or Six Limbs of Painting, viz. rupabheda, pramdnas, bhdva, lav any ay oj ana, sddrisya and varnikabhanga , which are rendered by Coomaraswamy as distinction of types, ideal proportions, expression of mood, embodiment of charm, points of view r (with reference to stance, sthdnam) and preparation of colours (grinding, levigation, etc.). The renderings are open to question, but this is not the place to enter into a discussion on this point. The Vishnu-dharmotfaram, admittedly a text of the Gupta age, in devoting a complete chapter to the art of painting, discusses the details of quite a good number of such canons and is followed, later on, by other texts as well, the Silparatna, for example. Already the Vishnu-dkannottaram introduces such technical details as vajralepa or the method of preparation of the ground for murals, preparation and application of colours, methods of shading the line, adding high lights, fore-shortening of limbs and features, different methods of treating the volume, expression of mood (bhavand) and movement (chetand), and classification of painting according to themes as satya , vainika , nd,gara and misra which Coomaraswamy translates, respectively, as realistic, lyrical, secular and mixed. All these and other references in contemporary literature

leave no doubt that the intellectual ferment of the Gupta cultureperiod led to serious and aeianed thinking about the theory and tecximque of painting, and that it was during this period that aesthetic Canuiis in respect of me art of painting Were formuiarised. Thesecanons were closely related to tne canons of the art of dancing, and bom together evolved a language of gestures (mudrds) and also a canon ot poses {okangas .), attitudes (sciwnam), and proportions (p'ramdnam), etc. Curiously, however, the theory and technique of painting had little or no concern with sculpture as plastic art. The reason is difficult to explain, but it seems that painting, terracotta, etc. were not considered as the media suitable for flightst creative expression understood in a deeper context. Of comparatively poorer and less durable materials, and usually considered as a social accomplishment, these arts were generally employed for rendering moods and movements that did not claim to be permanent, whereas stone was considered to be the most suitable material for the registration of the deepest and highest aspirations and of the most permanent values of life. But whatever the reason or reasons, even the best and profoundest remains of paintings of the period, namely those of Bagh, Ajanta, and Badami, appear to be thin and light when compared with the sculptures of the period, whether of the North or of the Deccan or of the South.

In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to the intrinsic aspect of the art of painting as understood by the Indian mind. According to both Buddhist and Jain conceptions painting is the product of the seeing faculty of the mind, seeing without the operation of the sense of sight, and proceeds from the pratyaksha or direct intuition, not from paroksha or sense knowledge by perception. Painting is thus said to originate ‘from the darsana activity of the mind, as distinct from its jndna function.’ 1 According to Indian conception the former is distinctly of a lower level than the latter.

The Vishnu-dharmottaram distinguishes different kinds of paintings suitable for religious edifices, palaces, and private houses. We have no extant remains to judge what courtly paintings or those in private houses were like; presumably both were concerned with secular themes as distinguished from ecclesiastical for religious edifices. The remains of paintings at Ajanta and Bagh, Badami and

Sittannavasal are all ecclesiastical in so far as their themes are reli• « * •

gious, and they are designed to serve religious ends. But in inner meaning and spirit, and in their general direction and atmosphere, nothing could be more secular or even more courtly and sophisticated. Despite their subject-matter their direction is towards ex

Note 9

pression of mood and unfoldment of charm, their appeal is wordiy and aesthetic, i.e. limited to sensory experience, not spiritual nor intellectual in any way. It is only in such examples as those of the Avalokitesvara and Padmapani of Cave I and the Return to Kapilavastu of Cave XIX, both at Ajanta, that contemporary painting aspired to reach the heights and depths attained by contemporary sculpture.

Contemporary literature, including the epics, reveals that fiat walls and ceilings, etc., of royal palaces and houses of the rich were elaborately decorated with mural paintings and furnished with separate picture-galleries (chitraidlas or chitrasadmas) . These picture-galleries, which were presumably decorated with portraits and portrait panels, among other things, for portrait painting, usually on wooden boards, occur as a frequent and popular device in Sanskrit dramas and romances of the period. Bhasa's pratimti-grihas were indeed sculptural portrait galleries, the devakulas of Scytho-Kushana monarchs. Chitras&lds were probably painted counterparts of such pratimd-grihas. A casual remark by Bana is respect of wall-pantings seems to indicate that the themes of murals that used to decorate the walls and ceilings of palaces and houses were generally very broad and comprehensive and embraced the entire panorama of life and nature (darsita vUvarupa). Besides mural paintings which he (also other contemporary writers) knew as hhittichitra, Visakhadatta (sixth century), the author of the Mudmrakshasa, refers to another kind of painting, presumably of a folk and popular character. Such paintings, called Yamapatas, were executed on textile scrolls and dealt with themes of a narrative-didactic nature, showing the results of Kdrma m the other world. Ruddhaghosha, the celebrated Buddhist scholar and divine of the period under review, also refers to a similar kind of painting to which he gives the name of c haranachitras which consisted of scenes of happy and unhappy destinies of men after death with appropriate labels attached to them and shown in portable galleries. There can be no doubt that these yamapatas or charanachitras are the ancestors, in form, meaning and presentation, of the patachitras that were widely current in Eastern India even in the nineteenth century and persist even to-day, as well as of the Javanese and Balinese scrolls called Wayang Beber. No contemporary example of Yamapata or charanachitra, executed presumably on fragile materials, has survived to this day; but it was evidently a folk-art of ethnic and religious significance and of wide popular appeal, an itinerant school of deep and great educative value for the rural masses.

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The way Visakhadatta uses bhittuchittra as a literary metaphor (saiveyam mama chitra-karma-rachand bhittim vind variate) seems to indicate that mural paintings were long in vogue. But in spite of their decided popularity and esteem the art does not seem to have been held in the highest estimation as creative art. Rajasekhara (c. 1000) places the ehitra-lepya-krit or mural painters (as distinguished from lekhya-chitra) in the category of Apabhrauisa poets, ie. those who wrote in the language of the common people, and not in that of classical Sanskrit poets who wrote for and in the language of the highly intellectual and cultured.

2. Extant Remains

The actual remains of ancient paintings of this period are very few in number. There are faint traces of paintings in the caves at Bedsa which have been assigned to the third century A.D. but they are not substantial enough to admit any definite conclusion. Faint traces exist also in the caves at Kanheri (cave XIV, sixth century), Aurangabad (caves III and VI, sixth century), and Pitalldiora (chattya cave I, sixth century), all in the Deccan; and in the rockcut temples at Tirumalaipuram (Digambara Jain, seventh century) and Malayadipatti (Vaishnava, between A.D. 788-840), both in the South. But more substantial remains are to be seen in the caves at Ragh (notably cave IV, c. 500), Ajanta (caves I, II, XVI, XVII, XIX), 1 and Badami (cave III, sixth century); in a Jain shrine at Sittarmavasal (seventh century), and a Saiva shrine at Kanchlpuram (Kailasanltha temple, seventh century), both in the South; and in the rock cave at Sigiri in Ceylon (sixth century). But whether such paintings hail from the North, the Deccan, or the South, the norm is supplied by those at Ajanta, and all paintings of the period belong to a common denominator, differentiated to an extent only by those at Ellora (eighth century) where a new tradition seems to emerge. Of local and regional schools it is hardly necessary to say much, since they are local only in certain conventions and idiosyncracies, physiognomical and otherwise. Basically, Bagh in Central India or Sitfanna vasal and Kanchlpuram in the South or Sigiri in Ceylon are not very much different from Ajanta except in those slight but peculiar elements that make them locally distinguishable.

3. Technique

A most interesting part of the technique of the paintings of the period is the method of preparation of the ground for painting. The Vishnudharmottaram lays down a complete prescription for laying of the ground for painting which it calls vajralepa; but judg

1. For the date and description of Ajanta (and other) eaves, cf. the previous section on Architecture.

ing from extant remains this prescription does not seem to have been used anywhere. Powdered rock, clay and cowdung, not infrequently mixed with chaff or vegetable fibres, sometimes also with mudga decoction or molass, were made into a paste-like substance which was thoroughly and evenly pressed like plaster on the hard and porous surface of the rock. The plaster was then levelled and polished with a trowel and, when still wet, was laid over with a coat of fine white lime wash so that the piaster could take the lime. The entire ground was generally allowed to dry before any colour was applied; that it was kept moist while the colours w 7 ere applied, as Coomaraswamy thinks, is doubtful. Indian mural paintings, of this period at any rate, are thus fresco secco and not true frescoes or fresco buono. After application of colours the painted surface was lightly burnished.

The outlines were drawn first, before any underdrawing in colour of the contours was made. These outlines were always and invariably boldly drawn, first in dhdturaga or red ochre; the contours were then filled in with red overlaid with a very thin monochrone terra verte that shows the red through it; then while the local colour in different tones was applied, the outline was also renewed in brown, deep red or black, with thin or broad shading by dotting, (vindu) or cross-lines (patra) to give to it an effect of rounded three dimensional volume fully modelled. Indian line thus aims not at calligraphic fineness but at bold and rounded elasticity. If the modelling quality of the line is potent in varying degrees (except in a class of paintings at Ellora), the modelling quality of colour is also equally valid. The latter was done not only by the employment of colour-shades and tones but also by laying on high lights, to suggest natonnata or different planes. It is not thus correct to say that there was no attempt at modelling at Ajanta or in other paintings of the period. Brush strokes were always and invariably free and bold, particularly firm in the outlines which are not a little responsible for the strength of the drawing. Colour too is always and invariably fully modelled which shows the figures as if bodied forth in fully rounded and plastic volumes.

The principal colours in use were red ochre (dhatiadga) , vivid red (kumkuma or sindura), yellow ochre (haritdla), indigo blue, lapis lazuli blue, lamp black (kajjala), chalk white (khadi-mdti) , terra verte (geru-mdU) and green (orpiment or powdered verdigris, jangal). Banabhatta refers to a kind of very deep lightening yellow colour produced from manahsild, an arsenic colour, which however does not seem to have been used in the extant paintings of the period. All the colours were locally available except lapis lazuli blue which may have been imported from Jaipur or from outside the country. Mixed colours were also used, for example grey, but not usually. Not all the colours are used everywhere, nor with the same consistency, which is determined by the theme and the local atmosphere. Generally speaking, classical Indian painting does not aim at contrasts of a medley of colours, but attempts at saturating the surface with highly charged and dense colours, mainly terra verte, Indian red and earth buff, in innumerable tones and shades. This charged saturation, fully modelled and shaded, adds to the classic dignity of the paintings.

4. Ajanta: Caves XVI, XVII, and XIX; Caves I and II

Only a very small fragment remains of what must once have covered the entire flat spaces of the long series of caves at Ajanta. But even these unmistakably portray a crowded world of lively and fresh vegetation, of gods and semi-divine beings, of apsarases and kinnaras, of genii and grotesques, of a rich and varied flora, of pageantry and processions, of gaiety and love, of grace and charm, of sublimity and coarseness, all bathed in the mellowed light of the softness and elegance of a highly intellectual, refined and sophisticated civilisation. The joyous naturalism of a bygone age (cf. Sanchl reliefs) seems to have come back, but not without a great difference wrought by the intervening centuries, and more by the governing ideology of the age to which these paintings belong. A dramatic panorama of rich contemporary life of princes and peoples, nobles and warriors, sages and beggars—of different ethnic and national types—a life lived in cities and palaces, in courts and forests, waysides and gardens, lived with dignity and nobility and in grace and charm amidst decorative splendour, moves before our eyes in radiant joy and freedom born of a healthy and effortless material existence. Such simple and graphic narration endowed with the richness of expression of refined emotions and sensibilities of a highly cultured society is indeed unsurpassed in the whole history of graphic art. Yet all this is lifted to a higher spiritual level by the intensity of a subtle and mystical experience approached from a direct and broad humanistic level and gone through with a noble and lofty detachment.

This attitude and outlook of life are brought out from the level of consciousness to that of vision by making the figures body forth from darkness to the light of the surface of the rock. In the process of this coming forward which Kramrisch significantly calls ‘the direction of forthcoming’, the world with its objects and events that remained crowded and compact in density, each with its own assignment in space, within the realm of consciousness, achieves a direction of movement that seemingly stops before our eyes but goes on ceaselessly in the mind. This movement of each figure and of each story is linked up rhythmically with that of the other narrative, and thus the entire painted surface is held by a ceaseless rhythm and movement which impart the joyous freedom that belongs to the scenes of life depicted, and give to the bodies of objects the reality of effortless existence, lithe and light in appearance, moving forward, backward, and sideward with ease and freedom, bending and oscillating in a disciplined but careful manner as in a dance.

Among the themes that are still recognisable in Cave XVI are the three Buddhas, a sleeping woman, and the sequel to the Shad* dania jdtaka represented by a dying princess (PI. XXXVII, 89); in Cave XVII, the seven Buddhas, the Sfahhaldvaddna, Wheel of Causation, Return to Kapilavastu, Consecration Ceremony, a love scene, the Mahdhamsa, Mdtriposhaka , Ruru , Shaddanta , &ihi, Visvaniaraand Ndlagiri jdtakas, and gandharvas and apsarases (PI. XXXIX, 92) besides; in Cave XIX (which may be slightly later in date), return to Kapilavastu and a number of Buddhas; in Cave I, the Great Bodhisattvas (PL XXXVIII, 91), Mdradharshana (PL XXXVII, 90), Pamchika story, &ihi and Ndga jdtakas f love scenes, etc,;

and in cave II, Aravasti miracle, palace and Indraloka scenes, Kshdntivddin and Maitfibala jdtakas , etc.

Horizontal bands, in which the paintings of the first phase (Caves IX and X) were laid, have now become practically coterminous with the entire area of the walls. No frames except those broad scrollborders of the cell-doors in Cave XVI hamper the free march of the narrative; even the horizontal bands have now been dissolved, though in Cave XVII veiled suggestions of horizontal arrangement remain here and there. Usually one story merges into another in unbroken continuity, and the crowded narratives move forward both horizontally and vertically, above and below.

Cave XVI shows the aesthetic validity of the direction of forthcoming to its very best. Large volumes carefully modelled in the round and fully shaded in outline crowd the painted surface with a warm impact of form (scenes from Buddha’s life and that of the conversion of Nanda—-right and left walls). Perfect poise and reserve give to ample curves of movement a quiet dignity and detachment. Certain fragments, mostly on the back wall and showing scenes from the life of the Buddha, lack this poise and dignified detachment; colour profusely modelled and outlines deeply shaded bespeak more technical awareness and efficiency, but rob the bodies of not a little of their suavity and grace.

In Cave XVII, the human figure dwindles to smaller sizes and, endowed with greater ease and added elegance, fill the space in dense

compactness and sways them in rhythmical waves. This swaying rhythm and the fullest extension of the direction of forthcoming bring forth the exhaustive and powerful compositions of the scenes of the VUvantara jdtaka and the Simhaldvaddna into their fullest maturity. But the figures themselves do not rise fully to the stature of the composition. Slender and supple and consciously elegant, they have not, despite their open eyes, the fullest comprehension of what is happening before them; they participate in the world festival with an abandon, elation and acuteness (also see scenes of bi and Hamsa jdtahas)—sharpened by flaming and acute colours and fine linearism—-that are oblivious of any deeper mystery of existence.

Cave XIX reveals the same mastery of compositional power and majesty (scene of Return to Kapilavastu), but the numerous Buddhas presage the complete coming forth of the Bodhisattva paintings of Cave I.

In Cave I the large Bodhisattvas (PL XXXVIII, 91) have grown to their full stature, both outwardly and inwardly. Of large dimensions they are yet weightless; fully bodied forth in solid rounded plasticity, they are yet melting in Karima , and seemingly in motion in the midst of a radiantly moving and rejoicing world, they seem to have become stilled into silence before a great realisation. With eyelids lowered they withdraw themselves into their own depths (Bodhisattva Padmapani and Avalokitesvara).

Not all the scenes reach to this height, nor are they all technically on the same level; some are even coarse, sodden, and blunt, and are seized by a languid torpor. A strengthening of the spread-out contour by a thick modelling in colour and a distended outline only emphasise this defect, as is illustrated by the left bottom of Padmapani scene. But the scene just above this is of a much finer texture; there the slight and small figures with their animated faces reveal themselves in a spirit of spiritual humility and surrender.

Much more comprehensive in composition than these is the scene of the Mahdjanaka Jdtaka which is on a par with that of the Visvantara jdtaka of Cave XVII, but here the modelling is less sensitive and a certain mannerism has cropped up. This mannerism is also evident in the Mdradharshana scene where, besides, both modelling and outline have become coarsened. The Sibi jdtaka scene reveals yet another aspect within the common trend; here the ample curves and plasticity of modelling are replaced by angles and coarser treatment of body surface resulting in thinness and insipidity.

In both colour and modelling, the paintings of Cave II reach the highest perfection in the direction of forthcoming. Indeed, the paintings of this cave exhaust the possibility of what colour can achieve

in solidity and in the third dimension. In other respects the majority of the scenes of this cave follow either the manner of the Mahdjanaka j at aka or that of the Sibi jataka , both of Cave I. Still in others there is evidence of exhaustion and disintegration shown in careless brush work and conventional mannerism.

It is in the paintings of these caves, so far as the modelling of volume is concerned, that painting comes nearest to sculpture, Sculpture in India was always considered to be the main exponent of artistic vision, while painting tried to come up to it with its own means. In Caves I and II, and also at Badami, Cave III, painting seems to run almost a parallel course with contemporary sculpture. It is here that painting, for once at least, reaches the elevated classic cal or Samskrita height and dignity of contemporary sculpture.

5. Bdgh: Caves IV and 111

The paintings of Cave IV of Bagh correspond to those of Caves I and II of Ajanta. There is nothing to distinguish the small fractional remains of what seems to have been an enormous output in these caves from those of the last phase at Ajanta. Stylistically too both belong to the same norm. But there is a slight difference. There can be no doubt that the Bagh paintings like those of Ajanta are affiliated to Buddhism—presumably they relate jataka stories; but whereas in Ajanta. despite a secular, even slightly pagan atmosphere, the paintings are informed by a religious spirit, and present the dominant figures of the compositions in an inwardness of vision and a superior detachment of outlook that spread like a web over the entire surface, those at Bagh are frankly secular, depicting contemporary life with its evident religious associations. The languorous drowsiness, so evident in the half-closed drooping eyelids and the soft and sensuous modelling, of a large number of figures is more the result of the intensity of participation in the joyous pageantry than of physical exhaustion or of deep spiritual experience. Yet an emotional discipline and a detached vision lift them above the transitoriness of daily life (PI. XL, 93).

Relatively more earthly and more human than those at Ajanta are also the Bodhisattva figures inside Cave IV. The supramundane and highly graceful and melting vision of Ajanta divines (Cave XVII) is here touched by an earthly nobility held by a tightened modelling and a more precise outline; no inner vision illuminates them, but an aristocratic bearing and detachment, coupled with a compassionate look, make them abide in the midst of a fresh and luxuriant, moving and teeming world.

All the technical knowledge of the age manifests itself in the scene of the female cfr rum-bearer in Cave III where a soft, delicate

but full bodied woman, bending under the weight of her full round bosoms and presented in back and three-quarter profile, reveals all the mastery of delicate and sensitive colour-modelling of volume, fine shading of the outlines, and the fullest meaning of the direction of forthcoming. Luscious and sensuously drowsy, yet restrained and detached, it integrates an intensely mundane experience with an elevated spiritual aloofness.

6. Badami: Caves 111 and 11

The earliest Brahmanical paintings, so far known, are the fragments found in Cave III (Cave II also contains slight traces) of Badami (A.D. 578). The cave is Vishnuite but the paintings themselves seem to depict Sivaite subjects, the most important and well-preserved being that of the so-called betrothal of Siva and Parvati (PI. XL, 94).

Seen on a monochrome photograph the figures look as if they have been worked out of live rock in full but soft rounded volumes, sensitively dense and malleably compact. Indeed, they* have been bodied forth by modelling the colour in full roundness, shading the outlines and profuse application of high lights where the painted relief reaches the highest point. The technique follows that of Ajanta and Bagh, but the style hardly conforms to that of any of them, not even the last phases of Ajanta with which they are considered to be contemporaneous. In Caves I and II of Ajanta the modelling is summarised to a firmness that gives a hard and tight appearance to the texture of the body; the outline, too, is shaded thickly and slightly harshly. The modelling of Badami, on the other hand, is much more sensitive in texture and expression and the outline much more soft and elastic. With a slackening of the contour the figures exhale an i; 4 mate warmth and delicacy of feel and atmosphere that are unknown to the last phases of Ajanta.

But Badami, too, belongs to the common denominator of classical Indian painting and interprets its potentialities in its own way. It is essentially a painting of volume being bodied forth on to the surface in full and round modelling; in the process of coming forth, bodies of objects crowded in the realm of mind produce an impact, the resultant movement of which abides on the painted surface. Each one centre and phase fulfils this tendency in its own way. As to the rest, namely the joyous and radiant naturalism the poise and balance, and sensuous charm and disciplined grace, the intensity of mundane experience and the noble reserve and spiritual detachment, the physiognomical norm, etc. are all products of the age characterised by a highly urbanised, intellectual and sophisticated culture to which the paintings belong.

7. £iptannavdsal: K&nehipuram: Tirumalaipuram If Bagh, Ajanta and Badami represent the classical tradition of the North and the Deccan at its best, ^itfaiinavasal and other cognate paintings show the extent of its penetration in the South. The paintings of Sittannavasal (i.e. the vdsah or abode of the Jain Siddhas) are intimately connected with Jain theme and symbology. The paintings that are still extant and are relatively better preserved are to be seen on the walls and ceilings of the Jain shrine and the pillared mandapa in front; the sides of the pillars also seem to have been originally painted over, and there remain today at least three panels, two occupied by dancing apsarases (PI. XLI, 96) and the third by a couple, identified as the Pallava king Mahendra-varman I and his wife, accompanied by another figure. The ceiling of the pillared hall is divided into three painted lotus panels of which the middle one, the largest of the three, shows a lotus pond; indeed, the green lotus blooms or white lotus buds with white scalloped lines for the petals or with black outlines shaded towards the edges, that play so prominent a part in the composition and the fresh liveliness of the painted panels, are all supposed to have been culled from this pond. The ceiling of the main shrine is also similarly painted with an analogous division, central lotus pond and lotus blooms. But whereas the latter is purely floral and relatively more spacious, the former is compact with bulls and elephants, hamsas and stirasas, makaras and human figures, etc. all intertwined with the thick growth of lotus stalks, blooms and petals. On both the ceilings there is a painted cloth canopy which is but a painted version of a textile fabric with unending abstract and flat geometrical

patterns formed of the cross, square, and trisula. Inset in the rectangles are the figures of gods and demi-gods. Despite the fluidity of curves and the general design and the slightly modelled lines and volumes, the fiat abstract geometrical vision of the cloth canopy painting is in striking contrast with the vision and treatment of the lotus pond where fresh stalks, petals, and blooms, including bodies of man, animal, etc, are all modelled in the round with a feel of their texture. While in the latter the classical tradition is at work, in the former the mediaeval tradition of flat and abstract surfaces and linearised designs is already making itself felt. This is clearly visible in the human figures of the painted cloth canopy where they are treated in a flat and linear manner with wide extended eyes and angular movements. Compared to these the figures of the lotus pond on the ceilings or those of the apsarases on the pillars (also the lotuses, animals, etc,) are treated in fuller roundness of modelling; though it must be admitted that here even the modelling is much more abstract than at the last phases of Ajanta curves shallow, and colour thin and flat. But it still suggests the fresh, living and breathing body. Physiognomically the conception of human figuration at Sittarmavasal corresponds to that of Mamallapuram reliefs.

Precarious traces of painting belonging to the end of the seventh century survive in the Sivaite Kailasanatha temple at Kahchl and the rock-cut Vishnuite temple at Malayadippati. In both these places, painting seems to correspond to the carved reliefs of the time and the locality.

The remnants of painting in the Sivaite cave temple at Tirumalaipuram are also extremely fragmentary, though it seems that the entire ceiling, wails, panels and brackets were all originally painted over. All that now remains are certain stray fragments of lilies, lotuses, scrolls, ducks, dancing ganas, human figures and part of what seems to have been a dancing and musical scene. The angularity of movement that characterises the human figures supersedes the classical tradition of ample curves and conforms to the carved reliefs of Mamallapuram. As in the temples at Kainchi and Malayadippati, mentioned above, the outline in black attains sharpness and perhaps also a nervous agitation, colour becomes thin, modelling slight, and the paintings altogether thinner in meaning and appearance. The classical tradition continues still, but in increasing abstraction. Certain human figures, small in size and proportion but with large heads, recall a similar tradition at work at Ajanta, notably in the scenes of the Sankhapala and Mahdjanaka jdtakas . There, as here, the modelling is relatively of little consequence, and the movements relatively more angular,

II TERRACOTTA

Quite a different attitude of life and artistic vision are revealed by the deluge of terracotta reliefs dug out from all over Northern India, but nowhere so profusely as in the Ganga Valley and Bengal where the riverine plains ensured inexhaustible supply of malleable earth and clay which were the average man’s material for sculptural decoration. It is curious to note that Deccan and the South have not yet yielded any substantial, or even mentionable, quantity of terracottas from any of their archaeological sites, rich usually in stone. Small in size they were usually produced from sketchy moulds in large quantities, and not unusually very carefully finished by chiselling before and after baking or burning. From traces of colour on a large number of specimens from Raj ghat (Banaras), Ahiehchhatra. Rhita and other places, it seems that painted terracottas were also quite common, colours usually employed being white, yellow, red ochre, and pink. The final paint was generally laid on a slip of neutral earth colour. It is interesting to note that Kalidasa refers to

one such painted terracotta peacock (chitrita-mrittikd-mayura) in his Sdkuntala.

Terracotta plaques and figurines belonging to the period under review are known, among other places, from Harvan, Kashmir (decorative mouled brick tiles with various vegetal, animal, and human motifs); several sites like Sahri Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi and Jamalgarhi in the Punjab (mostly Buddhist subjects and portrait heads); Hanumangarh, Bikanir, Rajputana (decorative tiles); Brahmanabad (ornamental bricks with various designs) and Mirpur Khas (carved bricks, figure heads, etc.-—Buddhas and donors —PL XXXVI, 88) in Sindh; Saheth-Maheth (Kamayana plaques), Kasia (Buddha and Buddhist figures), Bhitargaon (Brahmanical reliefs—PL

XXXVI, 86), Bhita (seals and small reliefs), Basarh (seals and small reliefs), Kosam (terracotta figurines, moulded animals, heads, etc.), Ahichchhatra (large size figures of Sivaite affiliation-—PL XLII, 98), Rajghat (rich yield representing secular scenes, human heads and figures, gods, etc., mckctra , elephant, boar, lion, horse, figurines, etc.), Pa way a (figure reliefs), Patna (Ramayana panels), Mahasthan and Bangadh in Bengal (large-size plaques and medallions—PL XLII, 97), etc.

An examination of the finds enumerated would show that terracotta plaques and reliefs were made and employed for various purposes. Temples and Buddhist establishments mainly brick-built, such as Mahasthan, Paharpur, Chausa, Bhitargaon, Mirpur Khas, etc. had their surfaces covered with plaques and figures of divine and semi-divine beings, not unoften in disregard of monographic canons, but more with themes with which the common people at large were concerned in their day-to-day life. The exterior walls of residential houses made of impermanent materials were also decorated with plaques representing gods and goddesses, narrative scenes from the Epics and Purdnas , animals and semi-divine beings; mantels and niches of private apartments and bed chambers were often decorated with plaques of amorous couples, portrait heads, toys and human and animal figures and beautiful female figurines. Different types of clay figures were made for definite vratas, pujds and socio-religious festivities. Bana testifies to the fact that a host of clay-modellers were employed on the occasion of Rajyasrfs marriage to make terracotta figures of auspicious fruits, trees, and aquatic animals as well as of female figurines holding auspicious fruits, for purpose of decoration. To what extent terracotta objects of various sizes and descriptions were employed for decorative and festive purposes would be evident from a statement of this seventh century romancer when he states that the four quarters appeared to him as if beautified by clay-modelling (pastamayaiva chakdsire kakubhah). What has come down to us must, therefore, be regarded as only a very small fraction of the total

output of those days, not only because most of the temple and house decorations have gone to dust whence they came, but those made for the round of vratas } pujds and socio-religious festivities we re, according to custom, immersed in the ponds and rivers immediately afterwards.

Made of soft, plastic and fragile materials, these terracottas present the Indian modeller-artist from a different angle. Relieved of iconographic injunctions and religious dictates, and concerned more with things on the surface of vision, the artist in clay moves and works with an intensely playful and joyous freedom of imagination and action, and uses his soft and pliable material with an easy sensitiveness of his fingers and palm. Passing moods, contemporary tastes, fashions and prejudices which have less scope in sculpture or even in painting, register themselves in the plastic idiom of the age; no claim is made of permanency, neither in material nor in form or content. Whatever the themes, they are presented in vigorous action, playful freedom and emotional abandon, and are inherently related with the life of the people as lived from day to day. The essential dynamism and rhythm of daily life with its varied associations, not usually recognised by hieratic 1 and high-bred standards, find their joyous and free expression in this inexhaustible inventory of contemporary form and social life, much more complete and variegated than either sculpture or painting. In the representations of hieratic gods and goddesses the artists had perforce to conform to certain fixed types and forms, but nowhere does everyday life find more unhampered expression than in the terracotta human figures, male and female, animal figures, and miscellaneous objects, whether presented singly or in groups and narratives. Eut whatever the action or movement, theme or presentation, the essential plastic treatment is the same as that of contemporary sculpture of the respective localities.

Yet another aspect*of the complex cultural and ethnic set-up of the age is revealed by these terracottas. Men and women of every social and economic strata of life-blue blooded aristocrats of noble bearing; courtly and fashionable ladies of high society; mendicants and beggars; dancers, acrobats, and snake-charmers; ordinary beings of every walk of life including jesters, dwarfs, elephant-riders and grooms; foreigners (Bactrian Greeks, Parthians, Sakas, Kushanas, Hunas etc.) with their distinctive facial types and dress and hair decoration, etc., richly represented by finds at Harvan, Rajghat, Kosam, Bhita and other sites including those of the Punjab and the North-west; Indian nationals both male and female, mostly female, with rich decorative coiffures curled coquettishly in spirals or twisted in short crisp ringlets or arranged in curly hanging loops, so picturesquely described by contemporary poets and romancers; charming feminine types of warmth and sensuousness—all move before our eyes in a never ending series, and always within a simple, but lively realistic and vigorous pattern of existence in which animals, real and fantastic, in abstraction or naturalistic forms, and local flora, again in abstract or naturalistic designs, vegetal scrolls, etc. play their full role.

Of special technical and aesthetic significance are the terracottas from Ahichchhatra, Raj ghat, Paharpur and Maynamati. The baking of the almost life-size terracottas of Ahichchhatra, executed in the usual plastic idiom of the Gahga valley of the period, must have presented a difficult technical problem which was successfully solved by the potters of the age whose large cylindrical pits for special kilns were 10 to 12 feet in depth. Besides their general aesthetic appeal and their value as documents of contemporary social life, the Raj ghat terracottas, especially the heads, afford interesting study of facial types and expressions as well as of playful imagination, while those from Paharpur and Maynamati are interesting aesthetic documents of immediate power, purposeful rhythm and dynamic action and movement.

Terracottas assignable to the centuries immediately following the period under review are known from but very few sites. Certain specimens are known from Belwa, Gaya, and Banaras that can be assigned to the pre-Muslim period; but generally speaking they are conventionalised forms of Gupta and post-Gupta types, somewhat mechanical and petrified. This does not however mean that terracottas were not made and the creative urge did no more seek expression in this very easy and pliable material. What seems to have been the case was that plaques and figures made for worship and decoration were left exposed to time and nature and went the way of all things, while earlier ones were protected underground and only recently dug out. In Bengal, Assam, and South India, for example, such terracottas continued to be made and used for covering the wide surfaces of brick temples throughout the mediaeval period. But they have a different aesthetic tale to tell, a different vision and a different plastic treatment.

III. POTTERY

The high skill and efficiency of baking and burning, and not unoften of colouring also, the deluge of terracotta seals, plaques and figurines, and bricks and tiles testify also to a very high standard of the potter's art in the period under review. Unfortunately our archaeological excavations uptil recent times have not been such as to enable us to set up a scientific and chronological framework

for a proper study of this important branch of art. However, at Ahichchhatra it is possible to build up such a frame and study the art right from about 300 B.C. to about the end of the early mediaeval period (c. A.D. 1100); and though important pottery finds of the period under review are known from a few sites in the Punjab and the North-west, from Brahmanabad in Smdh, Sambhar (ancient Sakambharl) in the Jaipur State, and Raj ghat near Banaras, etc., it is indeed the finds at Ahichchhatra that epitomise the styles and sequences of the art throughout the North, more particuiarlv in the Ganga-Yamuna valley and Eastern India. No important find from either the Deccan or the South can yet he assigned to this period.

The main types of the pottery of this period and their variants form a long and large series with minor differences. Generally speaking pots'were wheel-made, but mould-made pots are also considerable in number; indeed this period may be considered as the most important* for the mould-technique. Grey wares of the Sunga period disappear altogether as well as the Mauryan and pre-Mauryan painted and polished wares. The majority of the vessels of the period are ordinary red wares with a red or brownish slip; quite a number of them also show a highly polished red ground. The material is ordinary clay, but for special types of vessels mica dust was sometimes mixed with clay to impart a glossy and metallic surface. Whatever the type or variety—dishes, bowls, jars, lids, basins, caskets, etc, —-all pots of the period are characterised by fine finish and graceful designs—lotuses, rosettes and small vegetal patterns, rectilinear or curvilinear geometrical patterns, spirals, girds, zig zags, fan-shaped or ornate nandipada pendants, etc.—-either incised with blunt points or imprinted in relief by moulds or stamps. There are certain painted specimens as well where simple designs of broad or narrow bands are drawn in black on the red ground. The large number of pottery spouts assignable to this period and picked up at Ahichchhatra, Raj ghat, Sakambharl and other sites is indeed remarkable; they are mostly designed in the form of animal heads such as boar, elephant, lion, makara, etc. There is no doubt that such utilitarian devices as these spouts and lug-handles or lug-ears of cooking and drinking vessels, etc. were evolved from earlier models, with modifications. The one new invention of the period was however the intermittent groups of indentations on the rims of cooking pots. A most graceful and highly imaginative design is that of the river goddess Ganga appearing on the handles of the drinking vessels. The mould-made decorated jars and bowls are remarkable examples of fine potting; their decoration usually consists of two or three cordons with demarcating ribs or ridges and show on the reserved bands a polished red ground; on the decorated bands designs such as beads or fish scales are also in relief. Imported wares also do not seem to have been unknown; we have at least one specimen.of a jar with a pinched spout, a loop-handle twisted rope-like, a polished black surface and a black core. Presumably it belongs to the Mediterranean type of similar wares.

Cylindrical pits of large dimensions and depth laid bare at the Gupta level at Ahichchhatra seem to reveal that special kilns for the baking and burning of high class vessels, presumably of tiles and ornamental pottery, were made. The practice continued throughout the period under review when richly and elegantly designed enamelled tiles, ornamental bricks and ornamental pottery seem to have been very much in demand.

IV. COINS AND SEALS, ETC.

Imperial Gupta gold and silver coins are marked by refinement and elegance and represent the high-water mark of early Indian coinage. Whatever the type and size and the intrinsic value, they are always marked by clarity and elegance of design and lettering, regularity of shapes and forms and precision and refinement of execution. With the weakening of the imperial authority, however, Gupta and cognate coinage shows a downward grade not only in intrinsic value but also in artistic merit, so that towards the end of the period under review it reached a bottom from which recovery seemed wellnigh impossible.

The Saraswati Collection of Calcutta contains, among other things, a couple of copper seal matrices, both from Raj ghat, one containing the inscribed (Sri Jayavarma) representation of a bull, and the other that of a sedent lion, also inscribed (Sri Bhadrasya) (Pl. XLIII, 99-102). On paleographical and stylistic grounds they are assignable respectively to the fourth and fifth century A.D. A dynamic naturalism, characterises both the representations; fully modelled in high relief they are comparable to the conception and execution of animal figures of Gupta coin types and of the very interesting burnt and baked clay seals from Basarh. The lion type still smacks of Hellenistic modelling, but the bull is a typical Indian bull conforming strictly to the contemporary plastic idiom.

The clay seals from Bhita, Basarh (Pl. XLIII, 103-5) and Kosam form a large but very interesting series by themselves. The ideal of human figuration as well as their artistic form and treatment follow in the main those of Gupta stone sculpture and terracotta of the Gahga-Yamuna valley; but the animal types and treatment, though subscribing to the same plastic idiom, are more in intimate relationship. with those on Gupta coins. Among the rich specimens from Basarh, special attention may be drawn to two clay seals where an admirable and highly skilful foreshortening, that speaks of long experience and close observation, presents two bulls in full frontal view within a narrow space.[1]

There can be no doubt that early Gupta gold and silver coinage was evolved from Hellenistic and Saka-Kushana coinage, not only in design but also in treatment and execution. The dress the kings don and its treatment retain their Scytho-Kushana characteristics in quite a good number of the Imperial coins up to Skanda-gupta, and the modelling of the body-contour is appreciably Hellenistic, especially in the male figures, but less so in the female ones. Even the Hellenic contrapost, noticeable in the Garhwa relief, is conspicuous here. But the type of human figuration increasingly conforms to contemporary Indian conception. A specific example is afforded by the gradual transformation of the Ardochsho type of Kushana coins to one of characteristically Indian Lakshmi type in form and attitude.

V. OTHER ARTS

The archaeologist’s spade has not yet unearthed for us any gold or silver or any other precious jewellery that can be assigned to this period, nor any specimen of ivory w T ork pf any significance. Beads and precious stones are known, but they too are not substantial enough for building up an account of the art of jewellery of the period.

This is certainly very strange since, from painted or carved or moulded counterparts, as w T ell as from fairly elaborate and vivid descriptions in contemporary literature, 'we know that the jeweller’s art, already at a high level of demand during the preceding centuries, was brought up to a very high artistic standard of simplicity, refinement, and elegance which was exactly in keeping with the spirit of the age. Quite a good portion of the rich repertory of plastic decoration of the period is derived from, and inspired by, the jeweller’s art displayed in pearl pendants, twisted rope, or metal designs, kundalas, keyuras, and haras , etc. The high intrinsic value and aesthetic quality of Gupta gold and silver coins also suggest that the jeweller’s art in these metals must have been of a fairly high standard of excellence in design and execution.

The excellence of the carpenter’s art can easily be presumed. Forts, royal palaces, in fact all kinds of civil architecture of the upper strata of the people still continued to be made of wood. The simplicity and elegance of their structure, designs, decorations and ornamentations, etc. as w^ell as of household furniture, etc. can well be seen in the elaborate paintings of the Ajanta caves and some of the stone reliefs of the period.

Note 10

CHAPTER XX

Chapter Notes

1. 1. HBR , fisr. 147.
2. 2. NASI. No. 55, by K. N. Dikshit. Delhi, 193S, pp. 37-55.
3. 3. HU A, fig. 176. 4. See above, p. 528.
4. 1. Cf. Avalokitesvara from Sanchi (PI. XXXII. 77) and a female bust from Gwalior (PI. XXXT. 75) and the lower part of a female figure (Pi. XXXI, 76).
5. 2. Vogel, Av iquilies of Camba Slate, p. 7, fig. 2.
6. 3. Ibid. cf. Metal image of the Buddha from Fathpur, Kangra (PI. XXXII, 78).
7. 1. FAS . fig. 115, PI. XXXVII.
8. 1. See above, p. 292.
9. 1. Kramrisch, JISOA, V. 221-22* Coomaraswamy, Eastern Art , III, 218-19; Trans jormation of Nature in Art, Ch. V.
10. 1. ASR, 1913-14, PI. L. figs. 085, 798? ~ ~ ” ~ ~~

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

I. INTRODUCTORY

By the beginning of the Gupta Age a strong Brahmanical reaction had set in against the ascendancy of rival faiths like Buddhism and Jainism. In the field of social life this movement manifested itself in a tendency towards intensification of the social division into four fundamental Varnas with its corollary of the pre-eminence of the Brahmanas. As a result we find that, within India's borders at any rate, the Reform movement started by the founders of Buddhism and Jainism had lost much of its "momentum, while the Brahmanical Counter-Reformation had become a pow T er to reckon with. Simultaneously with this change successful attempts were made to solve the complex social problem created by the influx of hordes of foreigners into the north-western and western parts of the country in the preceding period. For w'hile the barbarians gradually adopted the faiths and languages as well as the manners and customs of the indigenous population, even the framers of the orthodox Brahmanical society met them half-way by conceding to them the original status of Kshatriyas. 1 During the same period the remarkable development of industry and trade with its resultant increase in w-ealth and prosperity led to a pronounced rise in the standard of living and taste for town-life, at least among the upper classes. The long peace which the Gupta Emperors in the North and their contemporaries in the South gave to the country, and which was sought to be maintained in the new grouping of states following their downfall, enabled the social tendencies of the preceding epoch to take firm root in the soil.

II. SOCIAL DIVISIONS 1. The Four Varnas

The age-old doctrine of the division of society into four Varnas is the keynote of the whole system of social life in the Smritis. We have no reason to doubt that the rules relating to the duties and mutual relations of the four Varnas in the preceding period 2 were generally observed during the Gupta Age. We may quote by way of evidence the high authority of Hiuen Tseng, himself an intelligent foreigner belonging to a different faith, who not only refers to the

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four hereditary castes of Indian society together with their respective occupations, but adds that the members of a caste group marry within the caste . 1 To this we may add that Varahamihira in his Brihat-samhita assigns the different quarters of a city to the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, as does Kautilya in his Arthasastra . 2 The distinction is carried by Varahamihira to the number of dwellings, as well as classes of chowries and umbrellas allowable to the four Varnas respectively . 3 Nevertheless there were in the Gupta Age as in earlier times undoubted departures from the strict Smriti law. This is proved by a number of authentic instances of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas adopting the occupations of the classes below them, and of Vaisyas and Sudras following those of the classes above them . 4 An inscription of the fifth century A.D. refers to two Kshatriya merchants living in a city in the upper-Ganga basin, while another inscription of the same century mentions a body of weavers from Gujarat as having gradually adopted various other occupations in their new home in Malwa. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang and his companions, escaping from a band of robbers in the Takka country, met a Brahmana who was ploughing the land, with his own hands .' 5 In the Dasakumdra-charita , 6 a contemporary prose romance, we hear even of a colony of Brahmana robbers living by the occupation of kirdtas in the Vindhya forests.

In the next place, we have in the Gupta period authentic examples of inter-marriages between Varnas, not only in the anuloma but also in the pratiloma order . 7 In the contemporary

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Sanskrit dramas and prose romances we find Brahmanas and Kshatriyas even marrying the daughters and female slaves of courtesans. 1 It follows from the above that the Smriti law in the Gupta Age, though followed by the people in general, was far from possessing the rigidity of later times. On the other hand, the Brahmana appears from the authoritative accounts of the Chinese Buddhist travellers to have retained the high social position assigned to him in the Smritis. 2 The old Smriti law, declaring exile to be the utmost penalty for a Brahmana offender and exempting him from capital punishment and confiscation of property, is repeated in the Katya ~ yana-Smriti. That this rule was followed in actual practice is to be seen from concrete references in the dramas and prose romances of the period. 3

2, Low Castes

As in the preceding age, there were also numerous mixed castes. 4 5 We know something about the condition of the Chandalas and similar classes who occupied the lowest rank in the order of the mixed castes. According to the Smriti law the Chandalas were to perform the meanest work, such as carrying unclaimed corpses and executing criminals. They were not to walk about during night in villages and towns, and even during day-time they were to move about with distinguishing marks fixed by the king. In fact they were to live outside the village. Strict rules were laid down for preventing pollution of other classes by their contact. 15 The evidence of contemporary Chinese travellers shows that these rules were followed in the Gupta Age. In Madhyadesa, at the beginning of the fifth century, as Fa-hien tells us, 6 the Chandalas were required to live outside the boundaries of towns and market places on approaching which they had to strike a piece of wood as a warning

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to others to avoid their touch. For them was reserved the occupation of hunters and dealers in fish. In the first part of the seventh century, according to Hiuen Tsang, 1 butchers, executioners, scavengers, etc. (corresponding no doubt to Chandalas and similar castes) lived in dwellings marked by a distinctive sign and lying outside the city. The references in the literature of the Gupta period confirm the above accounts. We learn from them how the Chandalas, who were confirmed meat-eaters, were habitually engaged as public executioners and were regarded as untouchables. 2

3. Aboriginal Tribes

- Removed still further from the Chandalas and other castes lying within the pale of Indo-Aryan society were the aboriginal tribes (Pulindas, Sabaras, Kiratas, and so forth) who lived in the hills and forests of the Vindhyas and other mountain ranges. In the Dasakumdra-charita, the Harsha-charita, the Kddambarl and other works of the late Gupta period we get vivid glimpses of the dress and manners as well as the religious and social customs of these tribes. We learn that the Sabaras of the Vindhya forests In the seventh century were used to such reprehensible and outlandish practices as the offering of human flesh to their deities, living by hunting, partaking of meat and wine, and kidnapping women for marriage. 3

4. Slaves

The Smriti law of the Gupta Age develops the rules about slavery in the preceding period 4 in some respects. Katyayana, while repeating the law of Yajnavalkya and Narada forbidding enslavement in the ascending order of castes, categorically declares that a Brahmana can never be a slave, and further that the sale and purchase of a Brahmana woman are to be annulled. With the same Brahmanical bias he declares, in modification of the older law, that while a Kshatriya or Vaisya apostate from asceticism is to be made a slave, a Brahmana offender is simply to suffer banishment. Introducing a new clause, Katyayana 5 says that a free woman marrying a slave herself becomes a slave, but a female slave bearing a child to her master is immediately released from servitude.

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References in the Mrichchhakatika , a drama of the Gupta Age, partly confirm and partly supplement the data given above. In the character of the gambler, who offers himself for sale in payment of a debt due to a gambling master, we have an illustration of the class of self-sold slaves mentioned by Narada. Again, the fate of the slaves Sthavaraka and Madanika shows how the treatment of slaves depended upon the temperament of the individual owners. For while Madanika is regarded by her high-minded mistress as a friend and confidante, Sthavaraka is beaten and put in fetters by his brutal master. Again, while Madanika is released by her mistress to make possible her union with her lover, Sthavaraka has to wait for his release till the disgrace of his master and the issue of an order by the new king.

III. MARRIAGE

The rules relating to marriage, formulated in the older Smritis, 1 are not materially altered during this period, but there is a growing tendency to lower the marriageable age of girls. Some texts make it compulsory for the guardian to marry the girl before puberty. According to Vishnu Pur ana the age of the bridegroom should be three times that of the bride, but according to Ahgiras the difference in age should be considerably less. 2 Vatsyayana's view of the marriageable age of girls, which may be taken to reflect the prevailing practice, is somewhat different from that of the Smritis. He quotes in one place, though anonymously, a text of Apastamba's Grihy&-sutra 3 forbidding marriage with a girl reaching the age of puberty. But this evidence is somewhat modified by his detailed rules relating to courtship by or on behalf of a suitor and conjugal relations immediately after marraige. From these rules it appears that* girls were married before as well as after puberty. Elsewhere the author declares himself definitely in favour of a man marrying a girl younger than himself by three years or more. 4

It appears from Hiuen Tsang's statement 5 that, as in the preceding age, marriage was prohibited within certain degrees of relationship, and marriage within the same caste was preferred. Vatsyayana in his Kdmasutra declares that the blessings of (lawful) progeny, fame, and public approval are obtained by a man uniting

1. Vol. II, pp. 558 ff.~

2. Vi. Pur. III. 10.16. Angiras quoted in Smritimuktaphala, Part I. 125 (bride to be 2, 3, 5 or more years younger than bridegroom). For an exhaustive account of the Smriti law about age of marriage, see KHDS, II. 1. 438-45.

3. I. 3. 11.

4. KS. III. 1. 2 (girl younger by three years); ibid. 12 (girl reaching age of puberty). An anonymous text quoted by the commentator on the second passage definitely declares that a man should marry a girl who is younger than himself by three to seven vears, neither more nor less.

5. HTW. I. 168.

himself in love according to canonical rites with a virgin of the same Varna. The contrary practice of making love to girls belonging to higher Varnas as well as to married women is forbidden. Love for women of inferior Varnas, who are sufficiently pure not to have their dishes cast off after meals, like love with harlots and re-married widows (punarbkus), is neither approved nor prohibited, as its object is only pleasure. 1 From this it follows that inter-marriages between different Varnas were hedged round with even greater restrictions in the society of Vatsyayana's time than those contemplated by the Smritis. For, according to Vatsyayana, not only is marriage in the pratiloma order absolutely forbidden, but marriage in the anuloma is put on the same low level as union with harlots.

Like the Smritis, Vatsyayana contemplates marriage as being normally settled by the parents (or other guardians) of the parties. Vatsyayana, moreover, adds a detailed account of the methods of selection of the bride that were in vogue in his time. The parents and relatives of the bridegroom, as well as his friends to whom his wishes have been made known, are to move in the matter. Girls suffering from various defects, including defective names, are to be avoided. But according to the sensible view of an old canonical authority, 2 quoted anonymously by Vatsyayana, happiness depends on the choice of a girl upon whom one’s heart and eyes are set, and not on any other. Accordingly the guardians of the girl are recommended to array her in gay clothes when giving her away, and to show her to advantage on occasions of festivities and the like. The ceremony of selection of the bride is to result in one or the other of four forms of marriage known to the Smritis, namely Brahma, Prajdpatya, Arsha and Daiva 3

Vatsyayana’s testimony also shows how r a young man could, under special circumstances, apply himself to win the girl of his choice by courtship or even by trickery and violence. The courtship is to take different forms according as the girl is a child or a young woman or a woman of advanced age, and wooing, when successful, is to be followed by a gradual winning of the girl’s confidence. 4

The account of Vatsyayana is also important as illustrating the Smriti rule allowing the girl in some instances to select her own

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husband. 1 Such a maiden is to pay court to a young man, handsome, virtuous and intelligent, with whom she had shared her affections from childhood, or to one whom she knows to be so deeply smitten with love as to be ready to marry her even against his parents’ wishes. The methods of wooing, which show considerable knowledge of human nature, are given in some detail, but they need not be quoted here. In fine, says the author, the girl should marry one in whom she would find a haven of happiness, and who would be completely devoted to her. It is better to have a husband devoted to herself, though poor, or one supporting himself alone though without parts, than a husband who, though virtuous, has many to share his affections. Nor is marriage desirable with a man of humble birth, or who is too old, or addicted to dice, or with a wife and child, and so forth. Of several equally desirable suitors, the best is one with whom there is reciprocity of love. 2

Vatsyayana's account of the methods of courtship given above leads naturally to his description (drawn no doubt from life), of the three forms of marriage known to the Smritis, namely, Gandharva, Paisdcha and Rdkshasa . 3 More details are given of the Gandharva marriage. Where the suitor cannot meet his beloved often in secret, he is to engage the services of his nurse's daughter who is to press his claims upon her. When the girl is so prepared, she should meet her lover at some appointed time and place. Then the marriage is to be solemnised by her walking thrice round a sacred fire, brought from a &rotriya's house and fed with oblations according to Smriti rules. When this is done, the parents are to be informed of the matter, for as the teachers say, marriage performed before a fire as witness can never be annulled. After the consummation of the marriage the relatives are to be informed and made to bestow the girl in the formal fashion under the fear of social obloquy and punishment in law. Unlike the Gandharva marriage, the Paisdcha and R,akshasa forms do not require to be confirmed by religious rites, and it is enough to inform the relatives after consummation of the marriage and induce them to give her away. Vatsyayana's view of the relative merits of different forms of marriage is somewhat different from that of most of the Smritis. For in the first place he makes out the Paisdcha marriage to be superior to the Rdkshasa, no doubt (as the commentator says) on the ground that the former is not accompanied with violence, though they are equally unrighteous. Again, he declares the Gandharva marriage to be the most respected and the best, as it is attended with happiness, is not

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accompanied by troubles and negotiations, and is the result of mutual desire, 1

The literature of the Gupta Age contains repeated references to Gdndharva manages between the leading characters, but these are concerned in general with ancient kings, or heroes, or with fictitious characters of princes and nobles. The popular attitude on this point is well expressed in the artful advice given by the wise nun Kamandaki to the love-lorn heroine in the Mdlatdmddhava. She says that generally fathers as well as destiny have authority over the disposal of maidens, the contrary examples of Sakuntala marrying Dushyanta, Ur vail marrying Pururavas. and Vasavadatta marrying Udayana involve rashness and therefore do not deserve to be followed. In the historical example of the Princess Rajyasri of Thaneswar, her marriage was arranged by her father, king Prabhakaravardhana, the mother meekly acquiescing in the choice with the observation that ‘the father is the judge in the bestowal of the daughter’. The literary works of the Gupta period themselves contain examples of marriage being arranged in advance by the parents on both sides in anticipation of a son being born to one couple and a daughter to another. Above all they illustrate the strong repugnance of high-born maidens, though themselves deeply smitten with love, to select their husbands by their own free will, 2

IV. POSITION OF WOMAN 1. Female Education

Long before the Gupta times the Brahmanical sacred law had denied to women Vedic study and even the utterance of Vedic mantras on the occasion of their sacraments. 3 Nevertheless we have good grounds to believe that girls of high families had sufficient opportunities for acquiring proficiency in general learning. In Vatsyay ana’s Kdmasutra princesses and daughters of nobles are mentioned among instances of women whose intellect is sharpened by the knowledge of sdstras. In particular, Vatsyay ana gives us a long list of sixty-four subsidiary branches of knowledge (angavidyd) which should be learnt by women. These include solving riddles of words, chanting recitations from books, completing unfinished verses, knowledge of lexicons and metres, and so forth. Vatsyayana’s

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picture of the good wife, again, shows how she was expected to be sufficiently educated to frame the annual budget and regulate her expenditure accordingly. 1 The literary evidence of the Gupta Age proves that girls of high families, as also those living in hermitages, read works on ancient history and legend, and were educated sufficiently to understand and even compose verses. What is more, girls of high families, and above all those living at the royal courts, were usually trained in the arts of singing, dancing, and the like. 2 Later evidence seems to suggest that there were regular institutions where girls could receive their training, sometimes in the company of male students. 3 Mention may be made lastly of the fact that the Amarakosa , 4 a work of the Gupta Age, refers to words meaning female teachers (upadhyayd and upadhyayi) as well as female instructors of Vedic mantras (dcbdryd).

2. The Ideal Wife

Vatsyayana draws a picture of the good wife, which carries into greater detail the account in the Smritis and may be taken as usual to be a faithful reflection of real life. The picture exhibits those qualities of service and self-restraint as well as sound household management which have remained the hallmark of Hindu wives down to the present day. Where the woman is the only wife, says the author, she is to devote herself to her husband as though to a deity. She is personally to minister to his comforts at table, on his reaching home and so forth. She shares in her husband’s fasts and vows, not brooking a refusal. She attends festivities, social gatherings, sacrifices, and religious processions, only with his permission.

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She engages in sports approved by him. That the husband might not find fault with her, she avoids the company of disreputable women, shows him no signs of displeasure, and does not loiter about at the door-step, or in solitary places for a long time. She is not puffed up with prosperity, and she does not give charity to anyone without informing her husband. She honours her husband's friends, as is their due, with gifts of garlands, unguents, and toilet. She serves her father-in-law and mother-in-law and abides by their commands. When in their presence, she makes no replies, speaks few but sweet words, and does not laugh aloud. She engages servants in their proper work and honours them on festive occasions. Above all, when her husband is gone abroad she lives a life of ascetic restraint: she gives up wearing all ornaments excepting the marks of her married state: she engages in religious rites and fasts: she acts as bidden by her superiors: she does not go out to visit her relations except on occasions of calamities or fetsivities: when she visits them, she does so only for a short while and in the company of her husband's people. When her husband returns home, she goes forth immediately to meet him in her sober dress, and then she worships the gods and makes gifts.

Apart from attending to her husband and his parents, relations, as well as his friends, the wife has complete and comprehensive charge of the household. She keeps the house absolutely clean, adorns it with festoons of flowers, and polishes the floor completely smooth. She looks after the worship of the gods at the household shrine and the offering of ball oblations three times a day. In the garden attached to the house she plants beds of various vegetables, herbs, plants, and trees. She collects seeds of various vegetables and fruit-trees as well as medical herbs, and sows them at the proper season. She lays by a store of various provisions in the house. She knows how to spin and weave, how to look after agriculture, cattlebreeding, and draught animals, how to take care of her husband's domestic pets, and so forth. She frames an annual budget and makerher expenses accordingly. She keeps daily accounts and makes up the total at the end of the day. During her husband's absence she exerts herself in order that his affairs may not suffer; she increases the income and diminishes the expenditure to the best of her power. In case the woman has a co-wife she looks upon the latter as a younger sister when she is older in age, and as a mother when she herself is younger .[1]

The rule of life for the virtuous wife sketched above from the Smritis and the Kdmosutra appears to have been generally followed

Note 33

In the Gupta Age. Following in the wake of the older Smritis, Katyayana declares that the wife must never live apart from her husband, she must always be devoted to him, she must worship the domestic fire, she must minister to her husband during his lifetime, and she must observe the vow of chastity after his death. Again, according to Katyayana and Veda-Vyasa, the wife is to be associated with the husband in the performance of his religious acts, but all acts done by her to secure her spiritual benefit without his consent are useless. In thorough accord with the older Smriti rules is the direction in the Matsya Purtma to worship the husband as a god, as well as that of Veda-Vyasa requiring a wife, whose husband is gone abroad, to emaciate her body and refrain from all personal embellishments. 1 Further, in the admonition addressed to the king by the sage Kanva's disciple in the AhhijndnaJakuntalam, we have echoes of the Smriti rules deprecating long residence of the wife with her paternal relatives and admitting the husband's complete authority over her. Kanva's own summary of the duties of a wife, addressed to ^akuntala on the eve of her departure for her husband's place, is based upon the Smriti and Kamastitra rules quoted above. 2 On the other hand the wife, says Daksha 3 * after Mann and other authorities cited above, must be maintained by the husband, while the Brihat-samhitd 4 repeats Apastamba's penance for the husband's desertion of his faultless wife. In the character of Dhuta, wife of the hero in the Mrichchhakatika we have a typical instance of the good wife described in the Smritis. The belief in the extraordinary powers of the devoted wife (pativratd), which is expressed in the Mahdbhdrata and other works, is reflected in a story of the Doiakumdra-charita. The attitude of high-born ladies is illustrated in another story of the same work, where a woman, repudiated by her husband, declares it to be a living death for women of high birth to be hated by their husbands, for the husband alone is the deity of such women. Still another story shows how the qualities of economic house-keeping and absolute devotion to the husband were highly prized among wives. 5

3. Unchaste Wife

As in the preceding period, side by side with ideal pictures of conjugal love and faith we come across numerous references to unhappy and even unchaste wives. Vatsyayana's evidence confirms

1. Flat. w. 835-37, Veda-Vyasa, II. 12, 19; Matsya P ., 210-18, Veda-Vyasa, II. 15.

2. &dk. XV-V. In the former Act §akuntala is admonished by her foster-father to serve her superiors, to behave towards her co-wives as towards her friends, not to turn against her husband even though angered by his fault, to be considerate towards her attendants, and not to be puffed up by pride; for thus do young women qualify for the position of the mistress of the house.

3. IT, 36. 4. LXXTV. 13.

5. Dasa. pp. 164 f, 159 f (NSP. 1951, pp. 227 f, 220 f).

that of the Smritis about the prevalence of polygamy. This practice was not confined to kings, but extended also to other people. Indeed, it appears that rich men generally married many wives who were outwardly happy in the enjoyment of affluence but inwardly miserable. A woman suffered the misfortune of getting a co-wife if she was stupid, or incontinent, or barren, or if she repeatedly bore daughters, or if the husband was fickle by temperament. 1 2 There is a separate branch of Erotics dealing with illicit love with married women, and a number of occasions is mentioned, both in Kdmasutra and Brihat-samhitd, 2 as offering opportunities for meeting between unchaste wives and their paramours. But the actual instances of seduction of married women, even in the contemporary literature of stories and fables, are limited in number. 3

According to the Smriti law, adultery ranks among the Lesser Sins (upapdtakas) which should be expiated by performances of appropriate penances. The guilty wife, so long as she does not perform the penance, is to be treated with studied scorn and neglect and given only a starvation diet. But after she has undergone penance (or according to some authorities passed her monthly period), she becomes pure and is restored to all her rights. Only in extreme cases, as when she commits adultery with a Sudra or other lowcaste man, or has conceived, or borne a child, or attempts to kill her husband, is she to be abandoned altogether. The records of the Gupta Age point to the continuance of some of the above ideas and practices. Echoing the liberal views of Vasishtha and Yajnavalkya, Veda-Vyasa, Atri and Devaia declare that a woman becoming pregnant by connection with a man of another Varna remains impure till her delivery and next period, when she regains her purity.

4. The Widow

The Smriti law of the pre-Gupta period requires the widow as a rule to live a life of strict celibacy and self-restraint, though Brihaspati 4 recommends, as an alternative, that she should bum herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. The Smritis of the Gupta Age followed the older law in prescribing a life of vows and fasts as well as of renunciation for the widow and allowing her to inherit her husband's property. 5 But Sankha and Angiras as well as Harita strongly urge her to sacrifice herself on her husband's pyre. In the case of Brahmana widows self-immolation on the fire was forbidden absolutely or conditionally by Paithlnasi, Angiras, Vyaghrapad, and Usanas, while Veda-Vyasa recommended it as an alternative course . 1 Literary references show that the custom of sati was extolled by some authors , 2 but strongly condemned by others in the Gupta period . 3 We have, again, a few instances, both in contemporary history and fiction, of actual or attempted selfimmolation of women immediately before or after the death of their husbands . 4 But a wide-spread prevalence of this practice in the Gupta Age is disproved by the complete silence of the observant Chinese travellers on this point and frequent references to widows in the Smritis and other literature. On the whole we may infer, on general grounds,

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that widows in the Gupta Age, as in earlier times, usually lived the chaste and austere life prescribed by the Smritis*

But the re-marriage of widows, and of other women , 5 though gradually coming into disfavour, was not absolutely forbidden. Hiuen Tsang's evidence is definitely against the remarriage of women , 6 but Amarakosa 7 gives the synonyms not only for the punarhhu (remarried widow 7) 8 and her husband, but also for a twiceborn man having a punarhhu as his principal wife. Katyayana 9 refers to the case of a widow betaking herself to another man regardless of her adult or minor son, and deals, under his law of partition and inheritance, with the share belonging to the son of a woman who has left her impotent husband.

In so far as the punarhhu is concerned, Vatsyayana gives us a somewhat different view of her status. The punarhhu is a widow who, being smitten with love through inability to control her passion, unites herself again with a man seeking pleasure and having excellent qualities. In choosing her mate she follows, above all, the inclinations of her heart. She possesses a degree of independence denied to the w 7 edded wife. She persuades her lover to spend money on drinking parties, garden parties, etc. At her lover's house, she assumes the role of a mistress, being affectionate to his wedded wives, generous to bis servants, and friendly with his companions. Possessing greater knowledge of the arts of love than the wedded wife, she practises them on her lover in secret. She joins in festive gatherings as well as in drinking and garden parties and other games. The punarbhu's connection, unlike that of the wedded wife, is not a permanent one. If she leaves the house of her own accord, she has to return to her lover

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all presents except those given out of affection, but if she is driven out, she need not give back anything. In other passages, the punarbhu's social status is correctly defined by placing her midway between the virgin (kanyd) and the harlot, and between the queens (devi) and the courtesans (ganika l. 1 It follows from the above that in the society of Vatsyayana's time public opinion permitted a widow to live with the man of her choice, but she never enjoyed the social status of a wedded wife.

5. The Courtesan (ganika)

It appears from Vatsyayana's Kdmasutra 2 that because of their graces of form and manners and accomplishments, a class of courtesans enjoyed high social esteem as in the older times. 3 We learn also from other contemporary literature that they were renowned for their beauty, wit, and other accomplishments, as well as their w T ealth and luxury. Occasionally, as in the character of Vasantasena in the Mrichchhakatika and those of Ragamahjari and Chandrasena in the Dasakumdra-charita, there were courtesans of the better sort, who deliberately gave up their profession and, after braving persecution, united themselves with worthy men of their choice. But in general the courtesans were notorious for their greed and wiles. In the Dasakumdra-charita story, to which we have referred above, w T e have a very vivid account, no doubt drawn from life, of their up-bringing and training with the sole object of qualifying them for squeezing money from their dupes. 4 Allied to the institution of courtesans was that of girls maintained in the great temples for the worship of the gods. Such girls were kept at the great temple of Mahakala at UjjayinI in Kalidasa's time, and at a shrine of the Sun-god in a city east of Sindh in the time of Hiuen Tsang. 5

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6. The General Status of Women

The disabilities and inferior status of the women, introduced in the previous period, continued more or less in the Gupta Age. Among the most striking changes during this period may be mentioned the increased recognition in Katyayana of the woman’s right to her property, and the remarkable rule in Atri and Devala allowing women molested by robbers and others to regain their social status. 1 That women in the Gupta Age were not disqualified from the exercise of public rights is proved by the example of queen Prabhavatl-gupta, 2 daughter of Emperor Chandra-gupta II, who ruled the Vakafaka kingdom as regent on behalf of her minor son in the fourth century^ and that of princess Vijayabhattarika 3 who acted as provincial governor under Vikramaditya I of the Chalukya dynasty of VatapI in the seventh century.

References in the general as well as technical literature of the early centuries before and after Christ seem to indicate that married women in high families did not usually appear in public 'without veils. This custom was probably continued in the Gupta Age. 4 5 The silence of Hiuen Tsang and X-tsing, however, indicates that the women did not generally observe the Purdah and remain in seclusion. For, such a peculiar custom, to which they were absolute strangers, would surely have been noticed by them. Besides, as noted above, 6 sculptured representations of female figures definitely negative the idea of a Purdah.

V. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE 1. General Character

In a vast country like India the general character of the people must have varied in different localities and among various classes. Vatsyayana has noted striking differences of temperament and habits among the people in different parts of the country. 6 In the seventh century the discerning Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, in the course of his travels extending almost over every part of India except the extreme south, recorded his opinion of the character of the people

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in each region. From his account we learn that while the people of the Ganga and the Brahmaputra basins were generally remarkable for their qualities of honesty, courage, love of learning, and so forth, those of North-Western India and of the Deccan plateau as well as the people of the extreme North, East, West and South were generally of a contrary disposition. 1 In general, however, the character of the people was marked by an exceptionally high degree of honesty. The Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas in particular were distinguished for the purity and simplicity of their lives. 2 The Indian love of charity and benevolence is proved by references in the records of the Chinese pilgrims to the endowments made by kings and private individuals for the free distribution of food and medicine to the needy and the sick and for similar objects. 3

2. Standard of Living

The literature of the Gupta Age points to the continuity of the high standard of living attained in the preceding centuries. The evidence of the Brihat-samhitti, which claims to be a compendium of works of previous masters, proves that clubs, umbrellas, elephantgoads, canes, bows, canopies, halberds, standards, and chowries were in general use. 4 5 The most costly of such articles, naturally enough, were reserved for the royal family and the officers. 6 We learn from the same work that sets of five mansions each were conventionally prescribed for kings and queens down to the ordinary

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court-officials, while four, three, two, and one mansions were reserved successively for the four Varnas. 1 Other evidences also illustrate the wealth and luxury of the people of that time. The gorgeous description of the splendours of Vasantasena’s palace at Ujjayini in the Mrichchhakatika conveys to us in a general way the lavish magnificence of women of this class in real life . 1 2 Kings and nobles adopted extraordinary rich dress and modes of living which set the fashion for the rest. In the Sikshdsamuchchaya, a Mahay ana Buddhist work probably of the seventh century A.D., the author vividly describes the luxurious life of kings in contemporary society . 3 4 Other works indicate acquaintance with the luxury of summer-houses surrounded by water (samudragriha) and of fountain-houses (dhdragriha): 4 We have a vivid description of the luxury of a king’s bath and toilette in the Kddambarl . 5 Literary evidence also shows that jewels were habitually worn not only by members of royal family but also by their attendants . 6 The wearing of jewels is recommended by the Brihat-samhitd not only for kings and queens and court-officials, but also for those engaged in religious performances . 7 The Amarakosa gives a long list of words signifying ornaments for the head, forehead, the ears, the neck, the arms and the forearms, the fingers, the waist (both for males and females), and the legs. The same authority gives technical terms not only for the upper and the lower garments, but also for women’s bodices and petticoats, for a winter cloak, and for a cloak reaching down to the feet. Women’s dresses known by the same

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and other terms are mentioned in the works of Kalidasa and Banr.

bhatta . 1

The description of the life of the people during different seasons of the year in the Srihgtira-sataka (a work attributed to Kalidasa and evidently of early date) throws some further light upon the manner;> of the times. In the spring season the people delighted in shrubberies (lata^mandapa) , vocal 'with the songs of cuckoos, and they assembled in social gatherings (goshfhts) attended by good poets . 2 In the summer seasons the girls wetted their hands with very pure sandal paste, the fountain-houses were patronised, the upper portions of the mansions were cleansed up for use, fine garments were worn, and very fragrant sandal dust was applied to the bodies . 3 In autumn the men enjoyed drinking wine at dead of night, while in the hemaaita season they put on clothes dyed with madder, and painted their bodies thickly with sandal juice . 4

The authority of Hiuen Tsang proves that in the seventh century not only did kings use rich dresses, couches and the like, but their example was followed by the people down to the rich merchants. The clothing of the people was made of silk, muslin, calico, linen and line wool of two varieties. In particular the people of Takka (tract between the Sindhu and Beas) wore glossy white clothing made of silk and muslin, and those of Kanyakubja were dressed in glossy silk. I-tsing, in the same century, implies that a piece of silk cloth formed, not unoften, a part of the equipment of the Buddhist monks .' 5 To judge from Bana’s description of a king of Vidisa sitting in state in his council-hall, the king’s public appearance was marked by lavish display of luxury and magnificence . 6 Equal pomp attended the processions of kings and princes as well as highborn ladies . 7 8

3. Toilette and Personal Hygiene

The high standard of cleanliness and comfort formed in the older times was maintained during the Gupta period. The Amarakosa 8 has a whole set of synonyms for bodily embellishments. The extensive use of tooth-sticks is proved by the

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Brihat-samhitd references to the supposed auspicious (or inauspicious) qualities of sticks made from different kinds of trees. We are introduced in the same work to a recipe for dyeing the hair and formulas for preparation of different kinds of incense, scented hairoils and hair-lotions, and other perfumes . 1 The variety ot coiffure practised by men and women is illustrated by the terracotta figurines . 2 It is also illustrated by a striking reference in the Mrichchhakatika , 3 The literature of the period contains repeated references to the use of sandal-juice, camphor, and the like as unguents, and specially as sedatives. References are also made to the use of camphor with betel, and of aloe-wood incense for perfuming drinking water . 4 5 In the first part of the seventh century Hiuen Tsang, while introducing his general account of India, mentions various sanitary rules observed by the people for their personal cleanliness as also the general use of unguents and flowers. In the latter part of the seventh century, I-tsing gives a detailed account of the sanitary practices and personal comforts of the people . 6

4. Food and Drink

References in the Sinritis and the general literature of the period do not indicate any noticeable change in regard to food and drink . 6 The Lankdvatdra Sutra 7 gives in a list of approved foods the names of sdli rice, wheat and barley, pulses of three kinds, clarified butter, oils, molasses as well as raw r and coarse sugar. But there is no doubt that the people took fish and meat and were addicted to intoxicating liquor. It is remarkable that in the contemporary dramas and prose romances even the queens and other high-born ladles are repeatedly described as drinking wine . 8 It is in the ob

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jective descriptions of the Chinese Buddhist travellers that we get the most faithful account of the habits relating to food and drink of the people in their time. In the fourth century Fa-hien declared ? doubtless with some exaggeration, that killing animals, drinking wine, and eating onions or garlic were unkown throughout Madhyadeia. More detailed and accurate is the account of Hiuen Tsang in the first half of the seventh century Introducing his general account of India, he says that while cakes and parched grain, milk and sugar with their preparations, as well as mustard-oil formed the common articles of food, fish along with the flesh of goats and sheep was occasionally taken, and some kinds of meat were forbidden. Eating onions and garlic was visited with loss of caste. On the other hand, different kinds of beverages and wines were drunk by the respective castes —syrup of grapes and of sugar-cane being drunk by Brahmanas and Buddhist monks, wines from vine and sugar-cane by Kshatriyas, strong distilled spirits by Vaisyas, and unspecified kinds of drinks by the low r mixed castes. The above account is partly confirmed and partly supplemented by the shorter notice of I-tsing in the latter part of the same century. The Indians, says this authority, did not eat onions, while the Buddhist monks in India, unlike those of ‘the islands of the Southern Sea 5 , abstained from eating even the three pure kinds of meat on the Uposatha (weekly sabbath) day. 1

5. Popular Superstitions

The use of magical incantations and spells of various kinds may be traced back in Indian literature to the Atharvaveda-samhitd. In later times the popular belief in charms and spells as w T ell as Astrology and Divination attained such proportions as to give rise to technical treatises on the subject which were afterwards utilised in the compendiums of Varahamihira called the Brihaj-jdtaka and the Brihat-samhita.' By the fourth century A.D. there arose a class of works called dhdranis (Protective Spells) within the fold of Mahayana Buddhism, and they quickly acquired immense popularity not only in India but also in the countries influenced by its culture. 2 The literature of the Gupta period contains repeated references to the belief in omens, portents and the like, prevalent among the people in all walks of life. 3 But deep and widespread as was the

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popular faith, it could not but provoke a reaction among the intelligent people. Literary evidence belonging to the Gupta times, proves that kings and princes often rose above the popular superstitions 1 and, what is more, unscrupulously exploited them for their own ends. 2

6. Town-life

In conclusion, we may delineate a typical picture of the fashionable man of the town, called ndgaraka. Such a type was not, of course, a novelty of the age, and may be traced back at least as early as the time of Panini who defines him, 3 significantly enough, as a man skilled in the arts as well as knavery characteristic of a great city. In the account of Vatsyayana's Kdmasutra not only is the nagaraka's way of life described with considerable fullness, but it is held up as a model for others to follow. 4 The picture is one of indulgence in refined Epicureanism by an accomplished young man with ample wealth and leisure at his disposal. When a man has finished his education, says the author, and entered the life of a householder with the help of self-acquired or inherited property, he has to betake himself to a large or small town, which is the abode of many good men, and adopt the life of a ndgaraka. He first builds a house and furnishes it in a manner indicating elegance and taste. The house consists of two parts, an outer one reserved for his amorous enjoyment, and an inner one meant for the residence of his wife. The garden attached to his house has a swung, shaded by trees, and raised seats strewn with flowers. The outer house is fitted with a pair of couches provided with soft pillows and white sheets. At the head of the couch is a stand for a divine image as well as a raised seat containing the requisites of the n&garaka's morning toilette (unguents, garlands, small pots of bees' wax and scents, skin of citron, and betel-leaves). On a bracket fixed into the wall are deposited his lute, picture-board, and box of painting-brushes, as well as a book and a garland of the yellow amaranth. On the floor, not far from his couch, is spread a carpet with pillows as well as boards for chess and dice-playing. Outside the room are the cages of his sporting birds, and at a secluded place lies the spot where he takes his recreation with the lathe, the chisel and so forth.

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The daily life of the nagaraka is in keeping with the above. Rising in the morning and attending to his physical needs, he arranges his toilette. He uses unguents, moderately perfumes his clothes with the smoke of burnt incense, and wears a garland. He applies collyrium to his eyes and lac-dye to his lips. He looks at himself in a mirror and chews perfumed betel-leaves. After finishing his business he takes his bath every day, getting his limbs massaged every second day and cleansed with soap-lather every third day. He shaves every fourth day, and undergoes a more extensive tonsorial operation every fifth or tenth day. He takes two meals a day—-one in the forenoon and another in the afternoon (or according to an old authority, in the evening). After his mid-day meal he amuses himself in various ways (such as listening to the talk of parrots, watching the fights of quails, codes, and rams, engaging in exhibition of artistic skill, and conversing with his companions), or else he enjoys a siesta. In the afternoon he goes out fully dressed to attend his social gathering (goshthi) and in the evening he enjoys music. Then while his room is dressed up and made fragrant with incense, he awaits the arrival of his beloved ones. In the alternative he sends a female messenger to bring them or goes out himself to seek them.

Besides his daily round of pleasures, the nagaraka has his periodical entertainments, such as the samdja and the ghatd (assemblies connected with worship of deities), the goshthi (social gathering), dpdnaka (drinking party), udydnaydtrd (garden party), and samasyd-knda (public sports). The samdja takes place on an appointed day every fortnight, or every month, when the actors and others employed by the nagaraka are gathered together at a temple of the goddess Sarasvati, the presiding deity of learning and the arts. On such occasions other actors coming from outside also exhibit their skill and receive rewards. On special occasions actors of both classes co-operate with one another and the gana (guild or club), to which the nagaraka belongs, entertains the guests. The goshthi takes place when the nagaraka, with his associates of the same age, wealth, learning, and temperament meet together for pleasant talk at the house of a courtesan or in a public hall, or at the residence of one of themselves. There they engage in poetical contests as well as exercises in arts, and end by presenting one another with bright fine dresses and the like. At the goshthi it was considered proper to speak neither too much in Sanskrit nor too much in the spoken language. Wise citizens were to avoid goshtliis which were hated by the people, or were harmful to them, or were given over to license, and attend only those which were meant to amuse, instruct, and divert the people. The ndgarakas also met at one another's houses to hold drinking bouts where the courtesans supplied them with

liquors of various kinds which they afterwards drank themselves. Similar scenes took place at the garden parties as well as at the water-sports during summer. On these occasions the nagarakas, richly ornamented and mounted on horses, went out in the forenoon in the company of courtesans and attendants, and having spent the day in various diversions, returned home in the evening with some token of the entertainment. Lastly the nagarakas joined with the common folk in various festivals prevailing in dfferent parts of the country, and on such occasions they attempted to win the greatest distinction. 1

The standard type of a ndgaraka is illustrated in the character of Charudatta in the Mrichchhakapka, In the inner portion of his house lives his devoted wife, while he himself spends the day and night, with his companions and servants, mostly in the outer portion, to which is attached a garden. The slender furniture of his outer house consists of a large and a small drum (mridanga and panava), a flute (dardura), a lute (vina), reed-pipes (vaihsa) and manuscripts. Though reduced to poverty he wears a perfumed upper garment. He also attends a musical concert in the evening, and returns late at night with sweet memories of the song and music. Although he does not go out on horse-back and in company, he sends his mistress in a covered bullock-cart to meet him in a garden outside the city.

Other references in the contemporary literature point to the gay life of townsmen in the Gupta Age. 2 In the works of poets and prose writers of the period we have glowing descriptions of the splendour and magnificence of many well-known cities of that time. 3 We can check these accounts by means of matter-of-fact notices of the observant Chinese travellers. We can conclude from this conjoint evidence that India was studded with a large number of towns which really attained a high level of wealth and prosperity. In point of splendour the royal palace towered over all other buildings in the city. References in the literary works, both of this and an earlier period, show that the palace contained many wonders such as the jewel-house (manibhumi) , the room paved with mosaic of coral (pravalakuttima) , the vine pavilion (mridvikamandapa), the summer-house, the fountain-house (dhdragriha), the concert-house

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(sahgitasala or prekshdgriha) , and the picture-gallery (chitrasala J. 1 The contemporary description of Prabhakara-vardhana’s palace at Thaneswar by Sana shows that the palace area was an extensive one and comprised several courts and chambers with appurtenances. 2

The high level of Gupta urban culture evolved also a high and relined, delicate and elegant art of toilets and cosmetics. A cross section of Vatsyayana’s ndgaraka ideal and of the dramas and romances of the period vividly presents a picture of highly sophisticated toiletting—not only by women but by men-folk as well—which included painting of long nails, scenting the body, face, and the hair with aguru incense and other perfumes, powders and pastes, massaging the body and the face with scented oils and pastes, elaborate arrangements of the hair in elegant curls and coiffures, etc. Female Prasddhihas and male masseurs, expert in toiletting and applying cosmetics, were employed by the royalty, the. nobility and the wellto-do, Indeed, whatever was done to beautify the body and the soul during this period was raised to the standard of lalitakala or fine art in which simplicity, delicacy, refinement and elegance were the main watchwords.

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CAPTER XXI

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. II, pp. 103, 122, 548. 2. Vol. IX, pp. 542 ff.
2. 1. HTW , I, 168.
3. 2. Kaut, II. 4. The northern, eastern, southern and the western quarters are assigned respectively to the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras.
4. 3. BS. LIII. 70, 91; LXXXI. 4. In LOT. 84 the comers of a city or village or house are declared to be auspicious for Chandalas and such other low castes, though unsuitable for others.
5. 4 . Historical references are:—(a) Mayura-sarman (p. 271) deliberately exchanged Brahmana's role for that of a Kshatriya warrior and eventually became the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, (b) CII, III. 89 (Maharaja Matrivishnu, great grandson of Brahmana saint Indravishnu), (c) HTW. II. 250-51 (Brahmana kings of Ujjayini, Jijhoti and Mahesvarapura in Hiuen Tsang's time), (d) EL XIV. 306 f (mahasdmanta Pradoshasarman descended from strictly orthodox Brahmana family), (e) HTW. I. 300, 343 (Vaisya kings of Thaneswar and Paryatra, (f) HTW. I, 322; II, 252; Beal, 79 (Sudra kings of Matipura and Sindh).
6. 5. CII, III. 70-71, 81-4; Beal. 73.
7. 6. P. 24 (NSP. 1951, p. 26).
8. 7. Cf. Above, p. 179 (Prabhavati-gupta, daughter of Chandra-gupta II married Rudrasena of Brahmana Vakataka dynasty); El. VIII, 24 (daughters of Kakutsthavarman of Brahmana Kadamba dynasty married to Gupta and other kings); ASWI. IV, 140 (Brahmana Soma, ancestor of minister of Vakataka king Devasena married Brahmana and Kshatriya wives); EL XV, 301 (maternal ancestor of Lokanatha was a Brahmana, but begot a son by a Sudra wife); HTW. II, 246 (daughter of Harsha of Thaneswar belonging to Vaisya family married Kshatriya king of Valabhl); Har. I (Bana's father married a 6udra wife by whom he had two sons).
9. C.A.—86.
10. 5G1
11. 1. Cf. the stories of Brahmana Charudatta marrying Vasantasena and Brahmana ^arvilaka marrying her slave Madanika in Mrichchhakatika,

and the story of a prince marrying the younger daughter of a courtesan of Champa in Dasa kumdracharita. Such marriages are approved by an ancient Kamasutra authority (fn. 1, p. 565).

12. 2. Hiuen Tsang (HTW. I, 140) says that the Brahmanas were the purest and most esteemed of the various castes and clans of the country. According to I-tsing (Record , p. 182) Brahmanas were regarded throughout the four parts of India as the most honourable.
13. 3. Kdt. V. 483 (immunity of Brahmanas); Mri. Act. IX (Charudatta, though found guilty of murder by the presiding judge is recommended for exemotion from the death penalty for his Brahmana birth); Dasa. p. 131 (NSP, 1951, p. 181) (Brahmana minister charged with treason against the king is sentenced by judge to be blinded in lieu of capital punishment).
14. 4. HTW. I. 168. For a comprehensive account of mixed castes compiled from Smritis of c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1000, see KHDS , II. 169 L
15. 5. Cf. Vi. XVI, 11. 14, Manu. X, 51-56. Bri. p. 96, V. 18 (disabilities of Chandalas). Manu. V. 85, Bri . p. 359, v. 8, Par. Ill, 24, Chyavana and Devala quoted by Vij. on Ydj. III. 30 (Brahmana touching Chan^ala to purify himself by bathing).
16. 6. Giles, 21.
17. 1. HTW. I. 147. I-tsing, though he does not refer to Chandalas by name, says (Record , p. 139) that persons engaged in clearing filth had to strike sticks when going about and anyone touching them by mistake washed himself and his garments.
18. 2. Cf. Mri. X and Mud . VII (pair of Chandalas told off to lead condemned criminal to public execution) Mud. loc. cit (person contaminated by Chandala's touch unfit to be touched by others). Lahkavatara, p. 246 (Dombas, Chandalas, Kaivartas mentioned as typical exampks of meat-eaters). Ktid. p. 21 (Chandala girl, entering king's audience-hall, strikes pavement with bamboo stick repeatedly from a distance to attract attention).
19. 3. Kdd, 59 f. 4. Vol. II, p. 570 f. 5. w. 715 ff.
20. 1. KS. I. 5. 1-3. In the same context Vatsyayana quotes (ibid 5-26) the opinions of five ancient authorities on Erotics successively allowing, in special circumstances, love with a married woman, with a widow, with a female ascetic, with an unattached daughter or female servant of a

ganikd , and with a girl of high family past her childhood, and he concludes by expressing his agreement with these authors. The author's view of such unions is illustrated by his statement that connection with a married woman even belonging to a higher varna who is known to be a wanton (svairini) with many lapses of conduct, like connection with a harlot, does not involve the breach of dharma.

21. 2. Apastamba Grihya-sfUra, I. 30, 20 f.
22. 3. KS. III. 1. 4-21. See Vol. II, p. 559. 4. KS. III. 3. 1-44.
23. 565
24. 1. Vol. II, p, 561. 2. KS . III. 4. 36-59. 3. Vol. II, p. 559.
25. 506
26. 1. KS. III. 5. 1-30. Contrast Mann. III. 34 (paisdcha marriage is most base and sinful), but cf. Baudh. I. 11. 16 (gdndharva marriage is the best).
27. 2. §ak. III (ref, to numerous daughters of royal sages marrying in gdndharva form with approval of their parents). Mdlatl. Act II (Kamandakl's advice). Harsha. IV (Raiyasrl's marriage). Dasa. pp. 109, 136 (NSP, 1951, pp. 148, 188) (marriage arranged by parents even before birth of parties). Kdd. 249 f and Mdlatl. Acts II and VI (reluctance of high-born maidens to select their own husbands).
28. 3. Vol. II, p,, 564.
29. 1. KS. I, 3. 12 ('knowledge of sdstras by princesses, etc). Ibid. 16 (knowledge of 64 arts). Ibid. IV. 1. 32 (wife's framing of family budget).
30. 2. Historical ref:— Har. TV (Princess Rajyasii grows up with daily increasing knowledge of dancing, singing, and other arts). Other references:— §dk. I (Anasuya's knowledge of itihdsa, metrical love message composed by £akuntala and written by her on lotus leaf). Ibid. TV (Anasuya's knowledge of painting or drawing); Meqha. I, 23 (lute played by exiled Yaksha's wife); Mdlav. II (Malavika trained by paid dramatic master at royal court and made to exhibit her skill in song and dance in a musical contest with female ascetic acting practically as judge); Ibid. I—II (work on the difficult chhalika dance composed by Lady Sarmishtha); Ratndvali. II (Sagarika draws picture of her royal lover); Priya. Ill (Aranyaka made to play the lute to the accompaniment of a song at performance of a mimic play); Mdlati. II (Malatl draws a picture of her lover and understands a difficult

Sanskrit verse written by him in return). In Priya. I singing, dancing and instrumental music are mentioned as the type of accomplishments in which a noble damsel should be trained.

31. 3. Kdd. 270 (Princess Kadambarl and Lady Mahasveta together learned singing, dancing and other accomplishments in their youthful days). Mdlati. I (Kamandakl sat at feet of same master with fathers of hero and heroine and with girls gathered from different lands for study). Uttara. II (female ascetic Atreyl studied with ascetic boys Lava and Kusa at Valmlki's hermitage and afterwards repaired to Dandaka forest to learn Vedanta from sage Agastya and other teachers). These accounts (except the last) may have been drawn from contemporary life.
32. 4. II. 6. 14.
33. 1. KS. IV. 1. 1-55; IV. 2. 1-38.
34. 1. KS. Ill, 4. 55-6; IV, 2. 1; IV, 4. 72-90.
35. 2. KS. I. 5. 33-4; BS , LXXVIII. 10-11.
36. 3. Dasa. pp. 102 f, 167 f, (NSP, 1951, pp. 138 f, 231 f); Tantmkhyayxka (story of cuckold artisan and his wife).
37. 4. w. 483-4.
38. 5. Rat. 626-27, Par. IV. 31, Vriddha-Marita. IX 205-10 (widow's ascetic life). Vrddha-Manu and Vriddha-Vishnu quoted by Vij. on Ydj. II. 135-36. (widow's right to husband's property).
39. 1. Par. III. 32-33, ^ahkha, Angiras and Harlta quoted by Vii. on Yaj. I. 86. Paithnasi, Angiras, Usanas and Vyaghrapad quoted by Apararka on Yaj. I. 87. Veda-Vyasa, II. 53.
40. 2. BS. LXXXIV. 16. 3. Kdd. 64, Mri. X.
41. 4 .Historical references:—(a) Widow of Goparaja (p. 33); (b) Queen Rajyavati
42. (p. 82); (c) Queen Yasomati (p. 98). Other references are: (a) Dasa. n. 132 (NSP, 1951, j. 182 f), (b) Priya, I. V
43. 5. Vol. IT, p. 565. 6. HTW. 1. 168.
44. 7. II. 6, 23. 8. Cf. Vol. II, p. 565.
45. 9. vv. 562, 571, 574-77, 860.
46. 1. KS. IV. 2. 39-59; I. 5. 4, IV, 4, 75-78:
47. 2. I. 3. 20-21. 3. See Vol. II, pp. 568-70.
48. 4. Cf. Mri. I and IV (Vasantasena skilled in acting, singing, dancing and painting but not entitled to enter the inner courtyard of the hero's

house); Dasa. p. 65 f, NSP, 1951, p. 78 f. (Ragamahjari gave a musical concert to the townsmen at a public place. Ordinary type of ganika represented by Kamamanjari, elder sister of Ragamahjari). Description of upbringing and training of ganika

49. Dasa pp. 66-68 NSP, 1951, pp. 80-4); the ganika is to be tenderly nursed by her mother from her birth; she is to be trained in the arts of singing, dancing, acting and painting, cooking, preparing perfumes, reading, writing and speaking with ready wit and in the elements of grammar, logic and astrology; she is to receive practical lessons in the science of Erotics; she is to appear with a large retinue at public festivals; her auspicious marks and accomplishments are to be advertised among townsmen and a high price set upon her favour.
50. 5. Megha, I. 36, HTW. II. 254.
51. 1. Kdt. w. 921-27; Atri. 197-98; Devala. 48-49.
52. 2. See p. 180. 3. See p. 242.
53. 4. Older references: Pan. HI. 2. 36 (asuryampasyd applied to queens); Ram. Ayodhyakanda, 116. 28 (women’s appearance in public not blamable during calamities, troubles and wars as well as at svayamvara, sacrifice and marriage); Pratimd. I (proper occasions for married woman being seen in public are marriages, calamities and residence in forests). Later references:— §dk. V (£akuntalii appears at royal court with a veil, but unveils herself when pressed to prove her identity); Bar. Ill (practice of high born ladies to wear veil);
54. ibid. IV (Princess RajyasrI wears veil of red silk when seen by bride-groom); Mri. X (heroine made to put on veil when given the status of legally married wife).
55. 5. Vol. H, p. 573. 6. KS. II, 5. 21-33; II, 7. 24-28.
56. 1. People praised by Hiuen Tsang are those of Nagar, Takshasila, Poonch, £atadru, J§rughna, Matipura, Govisana, Ahichchhatra, Kanyakubja, A-yu-to, A-ye-mu-ka, Prayaga, KausambI, Visoka, Varanasi, Chan-chu, Vaisali, Magadha, Iranaparvata, Kajangala, Pundravardhana, Kamarupa, Karnasuvarna, Dravida, Maharashtra, Mo-la-p’o, Valabhl and Mulasthanapura. People condemned by the pilgrim are those of Lampa, Gandhara, Sirhhapura, Takka, Jalandhara, Paryatra, Brahmapura, Nepal, Andhra,. Dhanakataka, Chola, Malakuta, Broach, Surat, Kliche-lo, Ujjayini and Mahesvarapura.

People having a mixed character were those of Udyana, Kashmir, Tamralipti, Ota, Kongoda, Kalihga and Sindh.

57. 2. Describing the character of the Indian people in his general account of India, Hiuen Tsang says (HTW, 1, 171):—"They are of hasty and irresolute temperaments, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and keep their sworn obligation." Elsewhere (I, 140, 168) he declares the Brahmanas to be the purest of all the castes and he speaks admiringly of the continent lives of the Brahmanas and the benevolent and merciful aims of the Kshatriyas. In yet another context (I. 151) he observes that the Kshatriyas and the Brahmanas were clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in the lives, and very frugal.
58. 3. Giles. 47-48. HTW. I. 286 , 328 ; II. 286 .
59. 4. BS. LXXII. 4 (clubs etc. of different colours declared auspicious for the four Varnas); ibid . LXXIX. 8-9 (couches and seats of diminishing sizes recommended for kings, princes, ministers, generals and priests).
60. 5. BS. LXXII. 3 (King's chowrie to be made of favourable wood decked with gold and silver and ornamented with variegated gems); ibid. LXXIII. 1-4 (king's umbrella to be white, to be made of feathers or covered with silk-cloth, studded
61. with pearls, to have pommel of crystal and stick of pure gold and to be adorned with jewels; umbrellas of others to be decorated at top with gold fillets, to be furnished with wreaths and jewels and to be made of peacock's feathers).
62. 1. BS. LIII. 4-13.
63. 2. Mri. Act IV (lofty gateway had ivory portal and doors of gold thickly set with diamonds: of its eight courts the first consisted of rows of rooms with gemencrusted, golden stairways and crystal windows, the third had a gaming table with dice of gems, the sixth was crowded with workers in gold and gems and the eighth was occupied by Vasantasena's brother and mother in suitable dress).
64. 3. &ikshd. p. 208.
65. 4. KS. V. 5. 17. Svapna. V. 194 (samudragriha); Raghu. XVI. 19, Megha. I. 61 (dhardgriha); Ritu. X. 2 (jalayantramandira, meaning a summer-house or fountain-house, used during summer).

66. 5. Kad. 31-33 (the king after taking exercise at palace-gymnasium (vydyama bhumi) went to the bathing place (srudnabhumi). This was covered with a white canopy and it contained a crystal seat for bathing as well as golden watervessel and other pitchers filled with scented water. The king, after being besmeared with fragrant dmalaka- fruit, stepped into a water-trough. Rising up from the trough, he sat on a crystal slab where he was bathed by courtesans with water-jars of emerald, crystal, silver and gold. After the bath the king put on a pair of white garments and wrapped his head with a piece of silken cloth. He then went to the toilette-room (vilepabhumi) where his body was anointed with sandal-paste, perfumed whh musk, camphor and saffron. Then he took his meal and after smoking fragrant drugs and chewing betelleaves, he repaired to the retiring hall).
67. 6. Cf. e.g. Har. I, II, IV, VII and Mdlati. VI.
68. 7. BS. LXXX. 11, 17; LXXXXII. 1, VOX. 2-3.
69. 1. Amara. II. G 102-9 (terms for ornaments): 115-19 (terms for clothes); Ritu. IV. 16, V. 8 (kurpasaka); Har. I and III (ckandataka, gatrika and kanchuka): Ritu. (I. 4-7, II. 19-25, III. 19-20, 25, IV. 2-4, V. 8, VI. 4-6, 13-24) mentions various ornaments and dresses worn by women at different seasons of the year.
70. 2. £ ringara-sataka > v. 28 3. Ibid . w. 31-32.
71. 4. Ibid. vv. 40-41.
72. 5. HTW. I. 147, 148, 151, 287, 340: Record, pp. 67-8.
73. 6. Kdd. 18f.
74. 7. Historical ref:— Har. VI (Prince Graha-vnrman's marriage procession). Other
75. refs:— Har. I (Prince DadhTcha going to his father's hermitage); Mdlatt, Act I (MalatT visiting the city-garden); Ibid. VI (Maloti visiting a temple).
76. 8. IT. 6. 129-36.
77. 1. BS. LXXXV. 1-7: LXXVII. 1-37.
78. 2. See ASL 1903-4 (terracottas of Basarh), JUPHS (1941), 1-8, JlSOA, IX (1941), 7-10 (terracottas of Raj ghat).
79. 3. Act IX.
80. 4. Raghu. VI. 60, Kum. V. 69, Dasa. pp, 41, 45, 48 (NSP, 1951, pp. 44, 48, 52), Ritu. I. 6, II. 21, 24, III. 19, IV. 5, etc. Kdd. 245, 320.

81. 5. HTW . I. 147 (floor of Indian houses purified with cow-dung and strewn with season flowers), I. 148 (garlands worn on head by Indians), I. 152 (Indians wash before every meal, throw away or polish utensils after use, chew toothsticks after meals, smear bodies with scented unguents like sandal and saffron). Record, IV-VI (utensils not used again after meals, washing mouth before and after meals, chewing tooth-stick after meals, clean water for drinking to be kept in earthenware or porcelain jar while water for cleaning purposes to be kept in jar of copper or iron), VIII (use of tooth-sticks every morning), XVIII (daily personal purification), XX (bathing at proper times), XXII (floor cleansed with cow-dung, pillow covers made of silk or linen, pillows stuffed with wool, hemp, cotton, etc. and made high or low according to season).
82. 6. Paithlnasi and Ahgiras quoted by Vij. on Yaj. III. 253 (ban against drinking wine). BS. XLVIII, 30 (meat offering to Manes). Uttara. IV (canon law requiring householder to offer heifer, big bull or big goat to Srotriya guest).
83. 7. Lankdvatdra Su. p. 250.
84. 8. Mdlav. Act. Ill (Queen Iravatl drinking wine); Kum. VII. 62; Raghu. VII. 11, IX. 36; Ritu. V. 10, VI. 10-12; Nag . Act. Ill; Kc,d. 136, 149.
85. 1. Giles, 21. HTW. I. 178, Record, p. ^6.
86. 2. See Winternitz, MIL. II. 380-87 for an excellent summary of the literature on dhdranis .
87. 3. Cf. Mri. IX (astrologer’s prophecy of kingship of cowherd); Har. IV (Queen’s dream presaging birth of two sons and one daughter, astrologer’s prediction of Harsha’s greatness at his birth); ibid. V (Prince Harsha’s dream and omens foretelling king’s death; mahdmdyiirl charm being recited at palace to avert king’s calamity; wide-scale portents on eve of king’s death); ibid. VI (Harsha’s
88. dream on eve of Rajva-vardhana’s murder, evil portents at courts of hostile kings on the eve of Harsha’s conquering expedition); ibid. VII (auspicious day fixed for Harsha’s expedition).
89. 1. Cf. Har. VII (Harsha reproves courtiers for taking the incident of his dropping an engraved seal on the ground as an evil omen).
90. 2 ‘ p ?- 39f ’ 82f ’ 116f > 178f ’ 204f > etc - (NSP, 1951, pp. 42f, 106ff, 158ff, 243f,
91. 2<3 ff, etc.). # 3. VI. 2. 128.

92. ff ac ^ one without friend or associate, one without wealth, one who has run through his fortune, one skilled in only a few arts, and one forced bv his occupation to live in a village.
93. 1. KS. I. 4. 1-52.
94. 2. Cf. Megha. I. 23 (amorous sports of young gallants with harlots at Vidisa city in stone-houses of adjoining hill); Kum. IV. 11 (girls going out at night to meet their lovers); Mud. Act III (harlots expected to crowd streets of capital on occasion of festival proclaimed by the king); Kad. p. 252 (love-messengers sent by women crowding highways and girls veiled in silk-garments going out to meet their lovers at moon-lit night).
95. 3. CIL in 74f, Blf, Megka. 1. 24, 31, 33; Kad. 84f; Malatl. Act IX.
96. 1. Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang refer to a large number of towns and the latter gives their area as 20, 30, or 40 li in circuit, one li being about one-sixth of an English mile. Cf. KS. V. 17, Svap . Ill and V. Malav. Act II, Priya. Act III (prekshdghara), Uttar a. Act I.
97. 2. Entering the palace through the royal gate Prince Harsha passed in due course to the third court where lay the White House with its vestibule, its saloon, its moon-chamber, its screened balcony for ladies and the sick-chamber of the king with jewelled pavement (Har. V). In the camp of king Harsha, Bana saw crowds of elephants, horses and camels at the royal gate and, passing through three successive courts, was ushered into the fourth court where the king sat in state with all his retinue (Har. II).

EDUCATION

I. General View

There is no appreciable change in the system of education prevailing in the preceding age / 1 But a few contemporary records throw interesting light upon if. We learn from the accounts of Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing (seventh century) that the four Vedas were studied by the Brahmanas, the term of studentship terminating, according to the former authority, at the thirtieth year. Hiuen Tsang speaks with high praise of the learning and zeal of the Brahmana teachers. He also refers to a class of wandering teachers who deliberately adopted a vow of life-long poverty for the purpose of study and instruction , 2 The practice of young Brahmanas residing with their teachers is illustrated by an incident in the early life of Sana, the celebrated author of the Harsha-charita, who speaks of his returning home from his teacher's .house when about fourteen years of age. Lastly we have seen above 2 how the Brahmana Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, before faking up the role of a warrior, had entered a gkatikd at Kahchi with the object of studying the sacred lore. The ghafika in this ease probably means a permanent educational establishment founded by a king or a great noble , 4

2. Teachers and. Pupils

In the Buddhist works on monastic discipline the rule of life of the pupil (saddhivihdrika) in relation to his teacher (upddhydya) is laid down on lines very similar to the one sketched above on the basis of Brahmanical texts. We have the testimony of I-tsing to prove that these rules were closely followed by pupil and teacher alike in the Buddhist monasteries during the latter part of the seventh century.

Describing the manner of the pupil waiting on his teacher in India in his time I-tsing says : 5 'He goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch in the night. . . The pupil rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard. Then having examined water to see wdielher insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. This is the manner in which one pays respect to one's superior. On the other hand in case of a pupil's

L Vol. II. Ch. XXII. 2. HTW, L 159-61. 3? See p. 271.

4. For a different view, see above, p. .271.

5. Record, pp. 117-20.

illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicine needed, and pays attention to him as if he was his child/ In another context I-tsing speaks of how the pupil in accordance with the Vinaya law enquired every morning about his teacher's health, and then going forth to salute his seniors in their apartments, studied the scriptures and waited for the teacher's permission to take his meals.

I-tsing further observes in the same connection: "The teacher bids him sit down comfortably. (Selecting some passages) from the Tripitakas , he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances, and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects the pupil's moral conduct, and warns him of defects and transgressions. Whenever he finds his pupil faulty he makes him seek remedies and repent." In another context I-tsing says that every morning the pupil after his salutation to his seniors studies a portion of the canon and reflects on what he has learnt. Thus the instruction was sufficiently thorough and embraced training in the canon as well as in moral discipline.

According to the same authority the pupil could live apart from his teacher after five summers when he was expected to have mastered the Vinaya , but he had still to place himself under the care of some teacher wherever he went. The pupil's tutelage ceased after ten summers, but if he still did not understand the Vinaya he had to live under the care of another teacher or sub-teacher during the rest of his life.

To I-tsing we owe the further information that monastic schools had, besides the novices, two classes of lay pupils. The former, called mdnavas (children), chiefly read the Buddhist scriptures with the intention of receiving ordination at some future date, while the latter, called hrahmachdrin (student), read the secular books alone without any intention of quitting the world. Unlike the novices who were maintained by the common fund of the Samgha , the lay pupils had to provide for their own expenses. 1

3. Advanced Centres of Learning

Among the Buddhist monasteries of the late Gupta period none became so famous as that of Nalanda in Magadha, which was renowned alike for the magnificence of its establishment and the intellectual as well as moral pre-eminence of the inmates. Owing its foundations to six successive generations of Gupta kings, it housed a population of several thousands who were maintained out of the revenues of a hundred (or more) villages specially endowed for its upkeep. The resident monks were esteemed not only for their learning but also

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for their high character, so much so that they were, according to Hiuen Tsang, looked up to as models all over India. Because of its fame, Nalanda attracted students from abroad, but so strict was the examination test that only two or three out of ten succeeded in getting admission. The monks spent their time wholly on study and debates and the monastery had a long line of distinguished alumni to its credit/ 1 The ruins of the Nalanda monastery recently unearthed by excavations testify to its grandeur and vouch for the substantial correctness of the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. The only rival of Nalanda as a centre of learning in India in the seventh century was Valabhl in Kathiawar. According to the imperfect account of I-tsing, Nalanda and Valabhl were the two places in India where advanced students generally repaired to complete their education. The eminent men who crowded to these places discussed possible and impossible doctrines and, after the testing of their views by wise men, became renowned for their wisdom. 2

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Record, pp. 105-106. In the alternative the lay pupils received food from the monastery in return for some service.

4. Curriculum of Studies

Reference has already been made above 3 to the long list of subjects of study which embraced various branches of sacred and secular learning extending from the four Vedas and the Itihasa-Purana down to snake-charms and the arts of singing, dancing and preparing unguents. The different vidyds were held by some later authorities to be fourteen, and by others, eighteen in number. In the eighteen branches of learning were included the four Vedas, the six Vedangas,

1. HTW, XL 164-65. Beal. 110-113. I-tsing, Record, pp. 65, 154-155, Memoire, 85-98 (Condition of Nalanda monastery in the seventh century). El, XX, 43 (ref. to pre-eminence of Nalanda monastery and accomplishments of its scholars in the middle of the seventh century). Names of successive royal donors of monasteries at Nalanda according to Hiuen Tsang (loc. cit.) are Sakraditya, his son Buddhagupta, his successor Tathagata-gupta, his successor Baladitya, his son Vajra and an un-named king of Mid-India. Number of resident monks given by Hiuen Tsang (Beal, 1121 as 10,000, but by I-tsing (loc. cit.) more reasonably as more than 3000 or 3500 (Memoire , 87). The buildings consisted of 8 halls besides the great college according to Hiuen Tsang (Beal. Ill) and, of 8 halls with 300 apartments according to I-tsing (Record, p. 154, Memoire, 87). Revenues of about 100 villages enowed by the local king for upkeep of Nalanda, according to Hiuen Tsang (Beal. 112), more than 200 villages bestowed by former kings upon Nalanda according to I-tsing (Record , p. 65). Names of distinguished teachers of Nalanda are given by Hiuen Tsang (HTW, II. 165) and I-tsing (Record, p. 184). Teachers of later date were Chandrakirtti, £antideva, and J§antarakshita (refs, in Wintemitz, H1L, II. 363, 366, 375). Hiuen Tsang notes the unique fact that since the establishment of the monastery there was not a single case of breach of its discipline.

2. I-tsing, Record , p. 177. Of the 60 foreign Buddhist pilgrims visiting India in the latter half of the seventh century, whose lives are described by I-tsing, many stopped at Nalanda for advanced studies in Buddhist texts (cf. Memoire. 17-18, 29-30, 32, 34, 40, 137, 145, etc.). I-tsing himself lived at

Naianda for 10 years for study (Memoire. 125). A late ref. to Valabhl as a centre of learning is found in Kathasaritsagara (XXXII. 42-43), which tells us how a Brahmana of the Antarvedi country (tract between the Ganga and the Yamuna), after completing his 16th year, prepared to proceed to Valabhl town for education.

3. Voh IX, p.p 585-589.

Purana, Nyaya, Mlmamsa, Dharmasastra, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda and Arthasastra. 1 The records of the Gupta Age prove that the fourteen (or the eighteen) vidyds were regarded as not being beyond the achievements of learned Brahmanas. 2 A long list of vidyds, with the year of commencement of each by the aspiring student, is given by Brihaspati, who may not be the famous Smriti authority of that name quoted above so often. The list comprises the arts of acting, painting, soothsaying, the knowledge of cocks, horses and elephants, the sciences of politics, astronomy, grammar and mathematics, the knowledge of the supreme soul and so forth. 3 The accounts of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims in the seventh century throw valuable light upon the curricula of studies in vogue in Buddhist as well as in Brahmanical circles at that time. In his general account of India, Hiuen Tsang observes that the children, after finishing a work called ‘the Twelve Chapters’, are Introduced in their seventh year to a group of five sciences, viz. (a) the science of sounds or grammar, (b) the science of arts and crafts, (c) the science of medicine, (d) the science of reasoning, and (e) the science of the Internal. Elsewhere Hiuen Tsang mentions the grammatical treatises in use in his time as comprising Panini’s Sutras (in 8000 slokas), an abridgement of the same by a South Indian Brahmana (in 2500 slokas), a still shorter summary (in 1000 slokas), and special treatises called Mandaka(?), Unadi and Ashtadhatu. 4 We have a more complete and accurate account in the work of Hiuen Tseng’s junior contemporary I-tsing. The children, we are told, began the work called ‘Siddha- composition’ (otherwise called ‘ Siddhirastu ’) in their sixth year and mastered it in six months. In the eighth year they took up Panini’s Sutras and the Dhatupatha which they completed in eight months’ time. In their tenth year they began and finished within three years the three Khilas, namely (i) the aslitadhdtu dealing with cases and numbers of nouns, as well as the tenses and endings of verbs, (ii) the manda (or munda) and (ill) the Unddi dealing with the suffixes of verbal roots. In his fifteenth year the young student began the Kdsikdvritti on Panini’s grammar which he finished in five years’ time. For the complete mastery of grammar four other works were studied by monks and laymen alike. These were (i) the Churni (otherwise called Mahxibhdshya of P&tanjali, (ii) Bhartrihari’s commentary on the Churnd, (iii) his Vdkyapadlya, and (iv) his unidentified work called the Pei-na. After studying the Kasikavritti, X-tsing continues, the students learnt the hetuvidyd (logic), the abhidharma (metaphysics) and so forth, while the monks learnt in addition all the Vinaya works as well as the Sutras and the Sdstras J

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The detailed account of X-tsing makes it clear, even more than the meagre sketch of Hiuen Tsang given above, that grammar formed the major part of the course of studies in India in the seventh century A.D. During the same period advanced courses were provided by such centres of learning as Nalanda in Magadha and Valabhl in Kathiawar. At the former monastery the course of studies comprised, as we learn from Hiuen Tsang, not only the works of all the eighteen schools of Buddhism, but also the Vedas , the hetuvidyd (logic), the sabdavidyd (grammar), the chikitsdvidyd (medicine), the Atharvavidyd , the Sdnkhya and so forth. 1 2

If the course of studies sketched above, evidently meant for the higher intellectual classes, appears to be sufficiently comprehensive, it was not less so for the agricultural and mercantile class. A different course of study was prescribed for them even in the early period. Thus, according to Manu, 3 the Vaisya was to have knowledge of the value of gems, pearls, corals, metals, cloth, perfumes, and condiments, of the manner of sowing seeds and the qualities of soils, of weights and measures, of the varieties of merchandise and the probable profit and loss in its traffic, of the means of rearing cattle, of the wages of servants, of different languages and different countries. The Divydvaddna, a collection of Buddhist stories, probably belonging to the fourth century A.D., contains two stories indicating the subjects supposed to have been learnt by the sons of rich merchants at that time. The list comprises knowledge of writing and arithmetic as v/ell as coins, debts, and deposits, examination of gems and houses, of elephants and horses, of young men and women, and so forth. 4 We have unfortunately no means of knowing whether any, and if so which, of these branches of knowledge were actually learnt by the Vaisyas in the Gupta Age.

The rise of the science of Arthasdstra led at an early date to the concentration of attention upon the education of the Prince who was regarded as the bey-stone of the political arch. In consideration no doubt of the multifariousness of the Prince's duties, the Smritis and the Arthasdstra prescribed for him a comprehensive course of intel

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iectual training combined with moral discipline. 1 Unfortunately we have little direct knowledge of the education of princes in the Gupta Age. The prose romances of the late Gupta period indeed occasionally give us glimpses of the education of the young prince. But the accounts are so exaggerated as to border on the grotesque. 2 We can, however, draw some inference from the known literary as well as artistic attainments of some famous kings of this period. Of emperor Samudra-gupta we are told by his panegyrist that he was skilled in music and song, and he earned for himself the title of king of poets because of his poetical accomplishments. To a later date belong the royal poets Fravarasena, Harsha, Mahendra-varman and Yaso-varman, not to speak of the mysterious ^udraka, author of the Mrichchhakatika. 3

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CHAPTER XXII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Chh. Up. VII. 1. 2, ibid. 4, ibid. 7. 1 (vidyds studied by learned Brahmanas), Vdyu Pur. 1, 61-70, Garuda Pur. CCXXIII. 20, Naishadha-charita I. 4 (14 and 18 vidyds).
2. 2. Raqhu. V. 21 (14 vidyds taught by Brahmana teacher Varatantu). Tantravdritika I. 3, 6 (14 or 18 vidydsthdnas regarded as authoritative for the knowledge of dharma). El, VIII, 287 (ins, of A,D. 517-18 referring to proficiency of Brahmana ancestor of king Samkshobha in 14 vidydsthdnas).
3. 3. Bri. p. 264.
4. 4. HTW. I. 134 f. Beal, 122. The work called ‘Twelve chapters’ by Hiuen Tsang is, as Watters notes, a Sanskrit primer containing letters of the alphabet with their combinations.
5. 1. See Record , p. 170 f with Takakusu’s remarks. The ‘Siddha-composition’ of I-ising is identical with the ‘Twelve Chapters’ of Hiuen Tsang.
6. 2. Beal. 112. 3. IX. 329-332. 4. Dlvy. 26, 99-100.
7. 1. Cf. Vol. II, p. 586.
8. 2. In Dada, pp. 21-22 (NSP, 1951, pp. 23-24), the subjects learnt by the princes at the court of king Rajavahana comprised all scripts and languages, the Vedas with their auxiliaries, poetry and the dramatic art, law, grammar, astrology, logic, rrnmamsa, political science, music and poetics, the art of war and (strangest of all) gambling, thieving and such other crooked arts. In Kdd. 125f. prince Chandraplda at the age of six is sent by his father to a specially built and closely guarded school-house (vidyamandira) outside the city. There he lives for 10 years under the guidance of teachers versed in all branches of learning. The author may have drawn this part of his description from life, but he surely indulges in fancy when he says that the royal pupil acquired during this period supreme proficiency £ in grammar, in mimdm-sd , in logic, in the science of law, in the various branches of political science.... in the use of all the difficult
9. weapons_in playing on various musical instruments-in ail the alphabets,

10. all the dialects of the country, all the mechanical arts, in the Vedas and in many other different accomplishments.'
11. 3. Cf. respectively pp. 182ff, 116f, 259f and 128ff above; for Sudraka, see Vol. II, p. 264f. Reference may also be made to the Vakataka king Sarvasena (c. A.D. 336-355) who has been plausibly identified as author of the Prakrit kdvya Horavijaya (IHQ , XXI. 193f); see above,.p. 187.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

It has been shown in the preceding volumes that long before the rise of the Imperial Guptas, India had developed an advanced system of agriculture, industry and trade. This progress was maintained during the Gupta period. The conquest of almost the whole of the Ganges Valley by Samudra-gupta and that of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar by his son and successor Chandra-gupta II ensured the blessings of a strong well-organized government for the richest and most populous regions of India. The prestige of the newly founded empire rose so high by the time of Samudra-gupta as to secure respect for the imperial authority from local rulers up to India's natural frontiers in the east as well as the west. The crisis of the decline and fall of the Gupta empire during the latter half of the sixth century could not but produce an inevitable setback. But the way was prepared for a fresh economic revival by the subsequent rise of a succession of able rulers in Northern India and of powerful dynasties in the Deccan and South India which ensured for the three great geographical zones of India the blessings of a sound administration.

1. AGRICULTURE

The development of agriculture during the period under review seems to have been continued on the traditional lines. 1 The age-long dependence of Indian agriculture upon rainfall in spite of richness of the soil and abundance of natural supplies of water in selected areas is reflected in the sixth century work, the BrihatSamhnd. The author, Varahamihira, gives numerous references to rains and rainfall and, in particular, careful forecasts of excessive, scanty and sufficient rainfall in the light of astronomical and meteorological data as well as observations of omens and portents. Varahamihira in this connection even gives us statistics of quantities of rainfall in the current (drona) measure, and refers to a standard rain gauge for measuring the same. 2 A concrete illustration of State care for agriculture is furnished by the Junagarh Rock inscription of Emperor Skandagupta belonging to the years 455-58 of the

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Christian Era. It records the restoration of the historical Sudarsana lake at Girnar by the local governor of Skandagupta. 1 The agricultural implements and lines of agricultural operations appear likewise to have been of the traditional type. The Amarakosa, a work of the sixth century A.D., gives synonyms for the plough and its component parts, the harrow for loosening the soil, the hoe and the sickle. From the Brihat-Samhita we further learn that there were two principal harvests, namely, for the summer and for the autumn crops, although a minor spring crop was also known. 2

The variety of agricultural crops and products of trees and plants during this period was as remarkable as in the preceding centuries. The Amarakosa and the Brihat-Samhita refer to rice of several varieties (one ripening in the course of 60 days), wheat, barley, peas and lentils, oil-seeds of many different kinds (such as sesamum, linseed and mustard), ginger and other vegetables, pepper and other spices, medicinal and other herbs. Sugarcane trees were grown for ,the production of raw as well as refined sugar. 3 The care for the growing of trees and plants is reflected in a chapter (Chapter 55) of the Brihat-Samhita relating to the treatment of trees (Vrikshdyurveda)—a science which is sufficiently ancient for mention in Kautilva's Arthasdstra . In this chapter Varahamihira gives rules for preparation of the soil, for grafting a tree-branch on another tree and for watering the trees at the proper season. Rules are also given for spacing the trees, for treating their diseases and for promoting the growth of fruits and flowers of the trees, creepers and shrubs. Elaborate directions are given for treatment of the seeds and for digging the pit for sowing the same. Tree-growing was to be practised as well for its aesthetic effect as for piety. For we are told that gardens should be laid out on the borders of watering places, as these would not be lovely without shading on the borders. Auspicious trees, again, are required to be grown in gardens and near dwelling houses.

We may notice in the present place some of the chief agricultural regions of this period along with their products. Saffron was a native product of the lands on the banks of the Sindhu according to the Raghuvarhsam , while the Amarakosa more specifically mentions Kashmir as its place of origin.

Sandal-wood is stated in the Amarakosa to be a product of Malaya (southern part of the Western Ghats below the Kaveri). From some allusions in the Raghuvarhsam we learn that pepper, cardamom and sandal-wood were native to the Malaya hill in the Pandya country in Kalidasa's time. 1 In the first half of the seventh century Hiuen Tsang in his general account of Indian products observed that much rice and wheat were grown, while ginger, mustard and pumpkins were also cultivated. Among the most prized fruits were mango, melon, cocoanut, jackfruit, plantain, tamarind, and wood-apple, as well as pomegranate and sweet oranges, these last being grown in all tracts. This general account is supplemented by the pilgrim's detailed notices of the different regions that he visited. Udyana, Darel and Kashmir, we are told, produced saffron, while Kashmir and Kuluta produced medicinal plants. In Poonch and Mathura, fruits were grown in orchards adjoining the homesteads. Pariyatra (Bairat) produced a variety of rice which in sixty days was ready for cutting, while Magadha grew another variety with large grains of extraordinary fragrance which was called 'rice for grandees'. 'Ota' (Ogra) produced fruits larger than those of other lands. Sandal-wood, camphor and other (fragrant) trees grew on the Malaya hill in the south of the Maiakuta (Pandya) country near the sea coast. 2

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The account of Hiuen Tsang is partly confirmed and partly supplemented by the much shorter notices of his junior contemporary, I-tsing. From this later writer we learn that non-glutinous rice, sweet-melons, sugar-canes and tubers were abundant in the country and that the fruits were too numerous to mention, but millet was scarce. We further learn that wheat flour was abundant in the North-West, rice or barley in the West, and rice in Magadha- In so far as the Sthanvlsvara tract is concerned, Hiuen Tsang's brief reference to its abounding fertility is supplemented by Sana's detailed, if somewhat poetical, account of the same area. The products of the Srlkantha region (comprising the Sthanvlsvara tract) according to Bana, consisted of rice and wheat, sugar-cane of the Pundra variety, beans of different varieties, as well as vines and pomegranates. We have a glimpse of the technical advance of agriculture in the author's statement that vines and pomegranates were grown in orchards, while the cumin was watered by means of Persian water-wheels. 3

We may notice here a few clauses of the late Smriti law for the encouragement of agriculture. A heavy fine of a hundred panas was the penalty for destroying or otherwise injuring agricultural implements, dams, roots, fruits and flowers. A smaller fine was imposed for obstructing the flow of water along the water channels.

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Cultivators, taking leases of fields, were fmed on a sliding scale for neglecting cultivation. On the other hand, a person turning fallow into arable land, or cultivating a field when the owner was unable to do the same, or was dead or was unheard of, was entitled to the enjoyment of its produce (less an eighth part) for a period of seven or eight years. 1

2. INDUSTRIES.

The branches of industry were maintained at the same high level as in the preceding period, no doubt, because of abundance of the raw materials and the skill and enterprise of the artisans and the craftsmen- Beginning with the very ancient textile industry, we have to mention that the literary works of our period mention a large variety of our clothing materials. These consisted of cotton, silk, wool and linen as well as of barks of trees. 2 These data are corroborated by the testimony of contemporary writers in the seventh century. In Bana's Hdrshacharita we are told that there were displayed on the occasion of Princess Rajyasrl's marriage garments of kshauma (linen), badara (cotton)* dukula (bark-silk), laidtontu (spider's silk?), amsuka (muslin), and netra (shot silk). In his general account of India Hiuen Tsang classifies the clothing materials of the Indians under the heads silk, cotton, linen, wool and goats' hair (?). This is confirmed by his detailed notices of the dressing materials of the people in different parts of the country. 3

The textiles were of various types. From the Amarakosa we learn that different terms were in use for finer and coarser varieties of cloth, as well as for unbleached and bleached silk and the like. In the Harshacharita we find mention of pulakabandha (gaily coloured cloth) and puskpapatta (flowered silk), not to speak of barks for the use of ascetics. A close examination of the Ajanta frescoes has revealed four distinct weaving techniques, namely, gold or silver brocade, "tie and dye work", weaving after separate dying of the warp and the woof, and the spotted muslin. 4

We may form some idea of the famous centres of the textile industry from the records of this time. From a passage in ;&antideva's Sikshd-samuchchaya (a work of the seventh century) we learn that Banaras (Varanasi) retained its ancient reputation as the

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producer of the best silk garments. A slight reference in the Harshacharita proves that the kshauma cloth of the Pundra country was sufficiently well-known to find its way into the author's village home. More specifically we are told by Hiuen Tsang that Mathura produced a fine striped variety of cotton cloth in his time. Indirect evidence of the advanced condition of the textile industry in Kamarupa in the same century is found in the list of presents sent by its King to Harsha according to Harshacharita. The list comprised bundle of kshauma, jdiipaitika (woven silk) and chitrapata (figured textiles). 1

Among the industries dealing with animal products there are two deserving special mention. As regards the leather industry the Amarakosa has synonyms for leather-fan, leather-bottle for containing oil, leather shoes and boots- Representations of human or divine figures in leather boots or shoes are found in the contemporary sculptures and paintings. As regards ivory work, repeated references are found in the literary works of this period to the use of this material by the people for a variety of purposes. Ivory seals have been recovered from Gupta levels on the site of Bhita near Allahabad. 2

We have little or no clue to the sources of the supply of metals in the Gupta period properly so-called. It would seem that copper and probably tin and lead as well had to be imported from abroad as in earlier times. The abundant supplies of gold which provided materials for the Imperial Gupta coinage were probably derived from the gold coins of the Byzantine Emperors obtained in exchange for Indian products. By contrast we have both general and particular references to the working of mines for metals in the work of Hiuen Tsang. In his general account of India he informs us that gold and silver were products of the country and were very abundant. From his detailed notices we learn that the regions of Udyana and Darel in the extreme North-west, Takka between the Beas and the Sutlej and Sindhu produced gold and silver, while copper and iron were found in the tract between the Beas and the Sutlej just mentioned- Copper was found in Nepal as well as in Kuluta (the Kulu country). 3 The location of the mines in the areas cannot be determined at present,

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As in the earlier centuries the technical sciences were utilised for the manufacture of metals. Vatsyayana in his Kamasutra includes rupa-ratna-panksha , dhatuvada and manimga-kara-jiianam (meaning probably the testing of precious stones, the smelting of metals and the technology of jewels and so forth) in his list of sixtyfour fine arts (kalds). According to Hiuen Tseng’s testimony brass {tou-si) was extensively produced in the country. A colossal copper image of the Buddha, attributed to King Purnavarman, and a brass (tow-si) temple which was then being built by King Siladitya (Harsha) were found by the pilgrim at Nalanda at the time of his visit. The former was more than 80' in height, and the latter was expected to reach a height of 100' or more. A copper statue of Buddha, 7' 1/2" in height, which belonged to this period, was discovered in modern times at Sultangunj in Bhagalpur district and is now preserved in the Birmingham Museum. The famous iron pillar of Emperor Chandra (Chandragupta II?) at Meherauli in old Delhi is over 23' high and 16' 4" in diameter, and has undergone no corrosion in spite of centuries of exposure to the weather. The representations of metallic mirrors have been traced by a competent scholar among the Ajanta frescoes. It remains to mention that the literary works'of the Gupta period contain numerous references to the use of gold and silver ornaments by the people. 1

The art of the jeweller seems to have been in the same advanced condition as in the preceding period. The Brihat-Samhita, in one of its chapters (Chapter 80), mentions no less than twenty-two jewels. The list includes diamond, sapphire, emerald, ruby, beryl, amethyst, crystal, moon-gem, azure, topaz, opal, pearl, and coral, besides agate, conch-shell and other less precious substances. Synonyms for emerald, ruby, pearl and coral as well as conch-shell are found in the Amarakosa. 2 In the working of gems use was made of ratna-parik shd (the science of testing gems). Vatsyayana, in his Kdmasutra , includes it in his list of sixty-four arts, while Varahamihira’s chapter, quoted above (Chapter 81), bears the above title. In this and the two following chapters Varahamihira deals successively with varieties of diamond, pearls, rubies, and emeralds. Of the seven sources of diamond mentioned by Varahamihira in this context, all the names are Indian, some being identifiable with the sources of diamond given by Ptolemy in the former period. 3 Varahamihira’s list of eight

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sources of pearls contains the well-known names of fisheries of Ceylon, Persia and the Pandya country. Hiuen Tsang, in the early part of the seventh century, noted white jade and crystal lens among the products of the country which were very abundant. * 1 Precious substances, he further observed, were found in Dravida. Literary evidance proves that jewels were used at the period for a large variety of purposes,—for being set in gold ornaments and seals, for adorning dresses, for covering couches and seats as well as mirrors and lamps, for decorating doorways, and for inlay of the floor of a house. Jewels were also worn as good omens. 2 The characteristics of gems were sufficiently well-known to the poets of this period to be drawn into similes in their works- We have a vivid picture of jewellers at work in a rich household in a famous description of the heroine's palace in

the Mrichehhakatika drama. 3 >• •

No branch of the jeweller's art appears to have been followed at this period with such industry and success as that of the worker in pearls. The Brihat-Samhita gives a long list (recalling that of Kautilya's Arthasastra) of the names of pearl necklaces which range from those of one thousand and eight strings to one string, and comprised other varieties with gem or gold globules set in the centre. A shorter list is found in the Amarakosa. Some of the varieties, e.g., of the pearl-necklace of a single string (ekdvali) and of twenty-seven strings (nakshatramala) are mentioned in the great literary works of this period. Pearls were also used for inlay work in the manufacture of ornaments, sword-handles and drinking vessels, as also for ornamentation of ladies' dresses. 4 5

The art of the worker in semi-precious stones which may be traced back to the prehistoric Indus culture was practised in Gupta times- Beads and other small objects of jasper, agate, carnelian, quartz, lapis lazuli and the like have been recovered from Gupta strata on the sites of Basarh and Bhita. 6

3. INLAND TRADE.

Although direct evidence on this point is somewhat scanty, we can infer that the benefits of peace and order established throughout

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Northern India by the strong arm of the Guptas helped the expansion of internal trade. This process was helped by the issues of abundant gold and silver coinage of excellent quality by the Emperors. The merchants must have travelled more or less along the well-known land- and water-routes. The Amarakosa has synonyms not only for markets and shops but also for merchants travelling by boats. Discoveries have been made on the Gupta site at Bhita of rows of shops along what have been called ‘the High Street’ and “the SideStreet.” 1

The sea-ports mentioned in the records of this period must have served as the natural outlets of the import and export trade borne along long-distance routes from the interior- A number of the most important trading stations of India is mentioned by Cosmas writing in the early part of the sixth century. The list comprises ‘Sindu’, ‘Orrhotha’ (unidentified), ‘Calliana’, ‘Sibor’ and no less than five marts of ‘Male’ (Malabar) on the west coast, as well as ‘Marallo’ (unidentified) and ‘Caver’ along this coast. 2 Among other ports flourishing during this period, may be mentioned Tamralipti at the head of the Gaiiga delta. Because of its happy geographical position at the meeting place of land and water communications, as Hiuen Tsang observes, it became the emporium of the vast trade of Eastern India across the seas. It was the true successor of the great seaports of Gange and Tamalitis mentioned by the classical writers. It was the port of call for voyagers from China, Indonesia and Ceylon to Eastern India and back. We have direct evidence of the great trade carried from it into the interior. I-tsing was accompanied on his journey from Tamralipti to Bodh-Gaya by many hundreds of merchants. Journeys of merchants from distant Ayodhya to Tamralipti are recorded in the eighth century inscription of UdayamanaIn Odra country there was, according to Hiuen Tsang, a famous seaport called Charitra, while Kongoda (modern Ganjam district), according to the same authority, grew very rich because of its maritime trade. That the people of the Gangs delta had the overwhelming share in the trade from Tamralipti is proved by reminiscences of their maritime activities in the Raghuvamsam and the Dasakumaracharita 3

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The late Smritis, like those of Manu and Yajnavalkya, contain clauses of law relating to traders under such heads, as 'Sale by one who is not an owner' and 'Repentance after purchase and sale'. Comparison of these clauses reveals one striking contrast. According to Manu and Yajnavalkya, prices of commodities should be periodically fixed by the King, Manu adding that arrangement should be made for official stamping of the weights and measures and their periodical inspection. These provisions are conspicuous by their absence in Narada and his successors. On the other hand, we have a remarkable clause in Katyayana, declaring what is fixed by the knowledgeable and honest body of neighbours to be the proper price. This is followed by the emphatic statement that what is more or less than this price even by one-eighth is deemed as the improper price and that what is sold for an improper price may be annulled even after a hundred years. 1 This clause is another index of the strong reaction characteristic of this period against the policy of administrative centralisation in the preceding centuries. For the rest, the late Smriti clauses repeat those of the earlier works. Under the title 'Sale without ownership' we read that sale by a person, not the owner, should be annulled and that the property should be restored (to the original owner. Under the head of lav/ 'Repentance after purchase and sale', we are told that a period of examination varying according to different articles should be allowed to the buyer or the seller for returning or taking back the article if he repents of the transaction. 2

4. FOREIGN TRADE.

The most important event in the economic history of Eastern and Southern Asia during this period is the development, by the third decade of the sixth century, of an inter-oceanic trade reaching from China through Indonesia and the east coast of India up to Ceylon, and extending thence along the west Indian coast to Persia and the Homerite country (in Arabia) and Adule (the port of Assuro, capital of the Ethiopian Kingdom). We learn from Cosmas that merchandise from China and Indonesia and South India was carried to Ceylon, whence it was exported to the western lands just mentioned. It would appear that India had a fair share in this trade, for we are told that Ceylon was much frequented by ships from all ports of India as well as from Persia and Ethiopia. The carrying trade in silk seems to have been monopolised by the Persians, who exported it to the Byzantine Empire. The sea-route from Tamralipti was used by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims from Fa Hian downwards on their outward or return journeys or both. Besides the overseas routes just men

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tioned a number of overland routes connected India with ChinaFrom the itineraries of Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsang we learn that a great North-western route ran by way of Central Asia and Bactria to the passes of the Sulaiman range and thence to the interior of India. A more difficult route connected China with India directly across the Karakoram range and Kashmir. In the north-east a route ran from Tonkin through Kamarupa across Pundravardhana (North Bengal) to Magadha and the regions further beyond. 1

5. OBJECTS OF TRADE.

We may begin with a list of India’s principal objects of trade with the outside world during this period. Among agricultural products the first place belongs to spices. We know from Cosrnas that spikenard among other articles was gathered at Sindhu (no doubt, from the Upper Himalayas) for export, while pejDper was exported from no less than five ports of Malabar. In the list of articles forming the subject of Justinian’s regulations on customs duties are included such typically Indian spices as cinnamon, long pepper, white pepper, costus, cardamom and other aromatics. Among the products of useful and fragrant trees sesame logs, we are told by Cosrnas, were exported from Kalyana, while the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty state that Indian sandal-wood and saffron were exported to the Roman Orient (Ta’tsin), Fu-Nan (the predecessor Kingdom of Cambodia) and Kiaochi (unidentified). We have an interesting testimony to the high value of Indian products in eastern lands, for we are told that Rudravarman, king of Fu-Nan, sent a mission to the Chinese Emperor in 519 A. D. w r lth the present of a Buddha image made of Indian sandalwood. From the Amarakosa we learn that mdshaparni, a medicinal plant, was acquired from Kamboja, beyond Gandhara, in extreme north-west, while silhaka (a kind of incense) as well as asaphoetida was supplied by Turuska, Bahlika and Ramatha (lands of Western Asia) It remains to mention that aloes, cloves and sandalwood are included by Cosrnas in the list of products reaching Ceylon from South-East Asia by way of the Coromandal ports. 2 * 4

As regards the trade in animals, the best breeds of horses, as before, were imported from Arabia, Persia and modern Afghanistan. But a local breed, reputed to be of dragon stock, was found by Hiuen Tsang in Kashmir. Among animal products the most important

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were pearls, corals, silk, and ivory. Pearls from the junction of the Tamraparnl river with the sea formed the most precious product of the Pandya country in the time of Kalidasa, while Hiuen Tsang knew the same land (under the name of Malakuta) as a depot for seapearls. To judge from the extensive references to the use of pearls in the Gupta Age, the pearl trade of the Pandya country must have been very important at that period. Pearls as well as raw silk, silk yarn and silk robes, partly at any rate of Indian origin, are included in Justinian's list of imported articles above mentioned. Corals were obtained from the sea, separating India from Ceylon, in Kalidasa’s time according to an allusion in the Raghuvamsam. The literature of the Gupta period contains occasional references to Chinese silk, while Cosmas not only mentions silk as a product of China but also includes it in the list of articles sent through Indonesia and the East Indian coast to Ceylon for export to the West- Silk from China must have likewise been brought down by the great land-routes to Central Asia. Ivory was exported from Ethiopia to India in the time of Cosmas, who adds that Ethiopian elephants were numerous and had larger tusks than the Indian elephants. An additional article of trade was musk, which according to Cosmas was procured at Sindh (no doubt, from the Upper Himalayas) for export. 1

As for the trade in mineral products copper was obtained from Mlechchha countries (of the Western Mediterranean) according to the Amarcikosa. The copper which, as Cosmas informs us, was exported from Kalyana was probably likewise imported from abroad. For Kalyana was one of the principal marts of Western India at that time. We know from the last-named authority that sapphire was imported into India from Ceylon, while emerald was imported by the Ethiopians who secured it from the Blemmves (natives of Nubia). On the other hand, Tndian iron not liable to corrosion' (Indian steel?) is comprised in Justinian's list of imported articles above quoted. Diamonds are included in the list of exports from India to the Roman Orient, Fu-Nan and Kiaochi in the passage of the Annals of the T'o.ng Dynasty cited above. 2

As regards textiles, Cosmas tells us that cloth for making dresses was exported from Kalyana- A variety of fabrics called po-Uc ('cotton brocade' or 'cotton stuffs') is mentioned in the authoritative Chinese works as an Indian product which was exported to China from Ho-Lo-Tan or Java. 3

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6. CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

It is needless to point out that capitalistic methods of production and distribution were prevalent during this period along with the age-old domestic system. The extreme form of capitalism involved the employment of forced labour and slave labour. While the use of forced labour belonged, as before, almost exclusively to the State, slaves were commonly employed by the public mostly as personal attendants. 1 The later Smritis enumerate the kinds of impure work reserved for slaves unlike the pure work for hired labourers. 2

Hired labour was employed for agriculture, animal rearing, industry and trade as well as for domestic service- We may summarize the description of the status of hired labourers according to the late Smriti authorities under the following heads:—

(i) Law of Wages.

Hired labour was divided into three grades, the first grade comprising soldiers, the second grade consisting of cultivators, and the third grade comprising bearers of loads as well as domestic servants. The terms and conditions of service were various. The labourers were employed by the day, fortnight, three months, six months and one year. They were paid in cash or in a share of the grain. Narada allows one-tenth of the grain-produce to the agricultural servant. According to the more liberal clause of Brihaspati one-fifth of the produce with food and clothing, or, else, one-third of the crop without the same, should be paid to the servants of cultivators. I-tsing, in the latter part of the seventh century, after stating how the Indian Buddhist monasteries had their lands cultivated by servants and others, observed that the Sangha provided the bulls and the fields and normally received one-sixth share of the produce. These shares were sometimes modified according to seasons- It would, therefore, seem that the share of the cultivating tenants amounted in the case of monastic lands to as much as five-sixth of the produce. 3

(ii) Law of mutual relations of labour and capital.

The late Smritis following the lines of Manu and Yajnavalkya lay down clauses for enforcement of reciprocal obligations of the master and the servant. On the one hand, the hireling committing the slightest treachery in the performance of v/ork for his master forfeits his wages and is liable to be sued in a court of law: the hireling

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receiving his wages but failing, though able to perform his work, is to pay twice as much as fine to the King and give back his wages: one not carrying out his work after giving an undertaking is to be forced to complete the same and, in case of failure, to pay a heavy fine. On the other hand, the master not paying wages after completion of the work is to be compelled by the King to pay the same, and is, besides, liable to a proportionate fine. A servant, says Katyayana, is not liable to pay for the value of the article in his keeping which is carried away by thieves or burnt or swept away by flood: a master abandoning on the road a servant, who was hired or afflicted with disease, is liable to a fine. 1

7. UNSECURED AND SECURED LOANS.

The late Smritis develop the clauses of Manu and Yajhavalkya relating to the loans. 2 We may summarise their account under the following heads:—

(i) Types of Loans.

As in the early Smritis, the loans are held to be of different types, namely, those without security, those with security (pratibhu), and those with security or pledge (ddhi). Erihaspati and Katyayana classify pledges under four heads, while three, four, and five classes of securities are mentioned by Narada, Erihaspati and Katyayana. This is accompanied by a detailed statement of the law relating to pledges and sureties. But it is not possible here to go into these details. 3

(ii) Lavj of Interest.

Narada and Erihaspati describe several types of interest, namely, what is used by the creditor for his own purpose, what is paid periodically, what is interest on interest (in other words, compound interest), what is stipulated interest, what is paid by the day, and what is paid by engagement. As in other respects, the late Smritis follow the lines of their predecessors regarding the rates of interest. Manu and Yajhavalkya had declared the legal interest to be 1J% per month, but allowed extra r *es in special eases. According to Narada and Katyayana, while nt nterest is due on loans made for friendship and without agreement, the interest should be as high as 5 r / c when the money is not paid on demand. Vyasa’s rates ar e li% 1 % and 2%

per month for loans with security, with surety, and without security, respectively. According to Erihaspati and Katyayana the debtor is

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liable to pay the stipulated interest in excess of these legal rates, if the same was promised in a time of difficulty, but not otherwise. The late Smritis likewise deal with the laws against usury- Manu and Yajhavalkya, while laying down the general rule that the interest accumulating at any time must not exceed the principal, had allowed extra interest on the loan of selected articles. The provisions in the late Smritis are on the same lines. The rates are 2, 3, 4 and 8 times the loan in the case of gold, grain, cloth and fluids respectively (Narada), 4 times the loan in the case of copper and some other articles (Brihaspati), 2 times in the case of jewels, pearls, corals, gold and silver, fruits, silken cloth and woollens, 5 times the same in case of metals other than gold and silver, and 8 times the same in case of oils, liquors, clarified butter, molasses, salt and land (Katyayana). The above differences evidently reflect the changes in the relation of demand and supply concerning a large number of consumer goods. 1

(ill) Relations between creditor and debtor.

The late Smritis provide for full security of che creditor's title. According to Brihaspati the creditor is to grant the loan after taking full pledge on a good security or a written deed attested by witnesses. Brihaspati likewise declares mortgage by means of documents and witnesses to be of superior authority over oral evidence- Katyayana gives elaborate accounts of disqualifications of sureties, of the requirements of written documents, .and of the qualifications and disqualifications of witnesses. 2 Brihaspati and Katyayana repeat the older clauses regarding the process of recovery of debt by the creditor from the debtor. The approved methods are declared to be by trickery, by force, by performance of works, by public pressure and by suit in public. There is, however, the saving clause that the creditor would lose his claim and pay an equivalent fine if he harasses the debtor desiring investigation in a court of law. 3

8. GUILDS AND PARTNERSHIPS.

It remains to notice two other types of economic organisation, namely, guilds and partnerships. The late Smritis from Manu downwards have title of law* called Violation of Compacts’ (samvit vyatikrama), or non-performance of agreements (samayayanapa krama), which relate to groups (samuhas or vargas). In this last category are included the srenl , the pug a, and the naigama. Now srenl is the familiar term for guilds of artisans and traders from the period

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of the early Buddhist literature. Pilga is defined differently by different authors, but Katyayana takes it to mean a group of merchants and so forth: naigama is. explained by Katyayana in the colourless sense of a group of various inhabitants of the same town, but it is more particularly applied in the Amarakosa to a merchant. 1 The general tendency in the late Smritis is to improve the status of guilds and associated bodies. We may discuss this point under the following heads:—

(i) Constitution of guilds.

(ii) Operation of their conventions or compacts.

(iii) Rights and duties of the individual members.

(i) Constitution of guilds.

The srenis and other bodies are contemplated in the late Smritis to be headed by high executive officers (adhyakshas or mukhyas) who are assisted by committees of two, three, or five persons called advisers for the public good (samuhahitavadins) or for public business (kdrya-chintaka). A high degree of administrative decentralisation is implied in the clauses relating to the authority of executive officers over their constituents. According to Brihaspati, the adhyakshas are permitted to punish wrong-doers by reprimand and censure as well as by excommunication. Their judgements in the discharge of their duties are required to be respected by the King, for, as the author says, ‘such powers are regarded by the sages as delegated to them.’ The opinion of the advisers, according to Narada, is to be followed by the guilds and similar bodies. On the other hand, the King is to settle disputes between the chief executive officers and the groups. 2

(ii) Conventions or Compacts of guilds.

Narada and Brihaspati give various examples of conventions or compacts made by the groups. Katyayana calls such compacts by the title of sthitipatras which he defines as a deed of convention made by the sreips and other bodies for preserving their usages intact. The corresponding title in Brihaspati is samvitpatras. The conventions of the naigamas, the srenis , the pugas, and other bodies, says Narada are to be enforced by the King, the only exceptions being made against these which are adverse to the King's interest, or are disapproved by the people, or are harmful to the public good. The members of the groups, says Katyayana, are bound to follow their respective conventions or rules in all their acts, subject to their obligation of performing their individual duties (as laid down in the scriptures) and to obey the King's order not conflicting with the same. The extreme penalty of confiscation of property and banishment is prescribed by Brihaspati for a member who fails to perform his share of the convention, though he is capable of the same.

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(iii) Rights and duties of the individual members.

Narada prohibits mutual combination and unlawful wearing of arms as well as mutual conflicts among the groups. 1 Brihaspati lays down the extreme penalty of banishment for one who injures the common interest or insults those who are learned in the Vedas. According to Katyayana, one committing a heinous crime, or causing a split, or destroying the property of the groups, is to be proclaimed before the King and 'destroyed'. On the other hand, all members, we are told by Brihaspati, have an equal share in whatever is acquired by the committee of advisers or is saved by them, whatever they acquire through the King's favour as well as whatever debts are incurred by them for the purpose of the group. 2

The evidence of the late Smriti law of guilds is corroborated in part by a certain type of clay-seals, which- have been recovered from the excavations of Gupta sites at Basarh (ancient Vaisall) and Bhita (near Allahabad). These seals bear the legend nigama in Gupta characters (Bhita) and more particularly the legends srem-kulika nigama and srenl-sdrthavdha-kulika-nigama (Basarh). These names are often joined with those of private individuals. 3 We have here a probable reference to the conventions or compacts made by local industrial and trading groups with private individuals or individual members. Such documents would be called sthitipatras or samvit patras in the technical sense of the late Smritis.

We may quote in the next place the concrete example of the working of a guild in the time of the Gupta Emperors. The Indore copper plate inscription of the Emperor Skandagupta 4 records the endowment (perpetual gift) of a sum of money by a Brahmana donor to the local guild of oilmen for the purpose of (daily?) provision of a fixed quantity of oil for a Sun-temple. No doubt, the guild invested the sum in its own or other business for meeting the necessary expense out of the resulting income. The Gupta record is in line with a number of historical inscriptions of the earlier period

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recording endowments by princes and private individuals in favour of guilds for regular performance of acts of piety or charity. The above illustrates the function of the guilds in the capacity of bankers receiving private endowments for pious and charitable trusts.

The subject of partnership is treated in the Smritis under a separate title of law called sarribhuya samuthana (business in partnership). The topics are treated in the later works on the lines of the early Smritis. Thus in the first place, as regards the assets and liabilities, we are told that the income of each member should be in proportion to his share or according to agreement. According to Katyayana the partners should share, in accordance with their agreement, the cost of merchandise, the food and other charges, the losses, the freight and the charge for supervision of valuable property. The shares of the partners dealing in cash (gold), grain or liquids shall be the same as their shares in the joint capital. In the case of artisans there are special rules evidently because of the difference of skill required from the partners. According to Brihaspati and Katyayana the four grad-es of artisans, namely, the apprentice,

(sikshaka), the advanced student (abhijna), the expert (kusalci) and the teacher (dcharya) shall divide the profit in the proportion of 1:2 : 3:4. In the case of builders of palaces, continue the same authorities, the head architect shall receive two shares of the profit. In the second place, as regards the rights and duties of the partners we read that one-tenth of the property is to be given to one who has saved it from danger and the rest is to be shared by all. A property given or a document passed by a partner with the approval of the rest is binding upon them all. On the other hand, a partner causing - loss through negligence by acting without consent or against the assent of the rest is to make good the loss. A partner who is found to have practised deceit in the matter of purchase or sale is to clear himself by an oath. In the case of suspected deceit the partners themselves are to be witnesses and examiners provided they are not prejudiced against the accused. A partner, unable to do his work himself, may have it done by an agent, but if he pursues crooked ways he is to be deprived of his profit and expelled. 1

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The high standard of living and the luxury of town-life, to w T hich the literary records of the Gupta Age bear witness, tell their own tale of economic prosperity at least among the upper classes of the people. Direct evidence of the material condition of the Indians is provided by the matter-of-fact accounts of the contemporary Chinese

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Note 55

travellers. In the beginning of the fifth century the people of the ‘Middle Kingdom.’ according to Fa-hien, were prosperous and happy. Fa-hien in particular refers to the high prosperity of the people of Sankasya and Magadha. In the first part of the seventh century, according to Hiuen Tsang, the towns and villages of Gandhara (no doubt owing to the ravages of the Hunas in the previous century) lay desolate, while a belt of country lying along the foot of the Nepal hills and comprising the ancient cities of Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Ramagrama and Kuslnagara lay deserted and was the haunt of robbers and wild beasts. A tract of country along the east coast comprising Kalihga, Dhanakataka and Chola was thinly populated, the last region being covered with jungle. Great forests extended over the territory to the east of Takka as well as south-east of Maharashtra. But the greater part of the country undoubtedly enjoyed high prosperity. This is proved indirectly by the pilgrim’s reference to the luxurious dresses of the people in certain tracts and the number of rich families in other regions. It is also demonstrated by Hiuen Tsang’s positive testimony to the affluence of the people in many areas. 1 Above all the general prevalence of peace and prosperity is indicated in an unmistakable manner by the rich and varied specimens of architecture, sculpture and painting described in Chapter XIX.

Note 56

CHAPTER XXIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. On the condition of agriculture in the preceding period, see Chapter on Economic Conditions (Post-Mauryan) (Chapter XFV) by the present writer in A Comprehensive History of India. Vol. Ill (Orient Longmans, 1958).
2. 2. See Brihat-Samhita, English Index, s.v. Rain. Rainfall. Rainy season. Ibid XXI, 32, 34, etc., XXIII 6-9 (Statistics of Rainfall); XXIII, 2 (Rain-gauge).
3. 1. Fleet, CII., III, p. 56.
4. 2. Amara, II, 9, 6f; B.S.V 21f, IX 42, X 18. XXV. 2, XXVII. 1, and XL.
5. 3. Amara, III, 9. 6f; B.S. English Index s.v.
6. 1. Raghu, IV. 6, Amara, II. 6f, 124 (saffron). Amara , II, 6, 131; Raghu IX 46-48 VI. 64 (Pepper etc.)
7. 2. HTW, I. 177-78, (India's general agricultural products); ibid, 261, 298 (products of Kashmir etc.); ibid, I. 283, 301 (Of Poonch and Mathura); ibid. I 300 II 81 (of Pariyatra and Magadha); ibid, II. 193, 228 (of Maiakuta).
8. 3. Records , pp. 43-44; Harsha, III.
9. 1. Nar. XIV, 4, Bri I. 235 (fines for destroying dams) Bri, I. 19, 53-55 (fines for
10. neglect of cultivation). Kdt vv. 764-67 (seven or eight year's enjoyment).
11. 2. Aviara, II. 6. 110-11 (doth made of bark of trees, cotton and cocoon of silkworms, wool from hair of animals). BS, 412, 51, 19 (clothes made of goat's
12. hair, silken cloth).
13. 3. Harsha, I. HTW, I. 148; II, 151. 287. 340 etc.
14. 4. Aviara, II, 6, 115-16; Harsha, T; for textiles in Ajanta frescoes see the paper of K. de B. Codrington in I A., 1930, pp. 162-69. The translation of pulakabandha is after Motiehandra in J1SOA, XII, p. 14.
15. 1. Sikshasamuchchaya, p. 208 (Banaras silk). Harsha, IV (kshauma of Pundra country and textiles from Kamarupa). HTW, I (Mathura cloth).
16. 2. Amara, II. 6. 110-11 (cloth made of bark of trees cotton and cocoon of silkfrescoes see 1A, 1930. p. 160. Also see Rayliu, XVII, 21 (ivory-

throne used at King’s coronation); Harsha, VII (ivory boxes and rings of hippopotamus ivory presented to Harsha by King of Kamarupa); Kad. 96, 113 (ivory-fan and bedstead with ivory legs); AS1 1911-12, pp. 47f, 93 (ivory seals from Gupta levels at Bhita).

17. 3. Amara, II. 9; 97 (copper from Mlechchha countries) HTW. I, 178, 225, 239, 286. 501 (gold and silver). Ibid, I, 280, 298; II, 83 (copper).
18. 1. Kamasutra. I. 3. 16 (sixty-four arts). HTW, I. 178 (tou-si); ibid. 171 and Life 119 (copper linage and brass temple at Nalanda). Fleet. C/I, III, 139 (Meherauli pillar inscription). A SI, 1911-12 pp. 89-93 (Bhita) K. de B. Codrington in I A, 1930, p. 172 (metallic mirrors in Ajanta frescoes). For copper Seals in Raj ghat see above p. 553. The translation of tou-si as brass is after Laufer, Sino-Iranica, pp. 511-12.
19. 2. BS, 80. 4-5; Arnara, II. 9. 92f.
20. 3. Thus Kosa of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 17) which has been identified with Berar up
21. to the Vara river corresponds to Kosala or Mahakosala of BS 81. 31f. Mouth of the Adams river in Ptolemy (loc. cit) corresponds to Kalinga of BS.
22. 1. HTW, I. 178. II 226.
23. 2. Sak , Act V; Raghu, XVI, 43; XVII, 13; Dasa p. 41 (NSP. 1951, p. 43f); Harsha, IV; Kad. 296, 313; BS XLIV 25-6 (ornamental use). BS LXXX, 2. 15-17; LXXI, 30; LXXXII. 6; LXXXIII (auspicious diamonds, pearls, rubies and emeralds).
24. 3. Raghu, XVIII. 32. (topaz); ibid, 42 (sapphire); ibid, XIII 48, 54; XVI 69; Megha. I. 47 (pearls necklace set with sapphire); Kum, III. 53 (ruby, gold and pearl ornaments); Raghu, XII. 13 (coral).
25. 4. BS LXXXI 31-36; Amara, II. 6, 105-06 (lists of pearl necklaces). Harsha, IV and VIII; Kad 142; Malati, Act I (nakshatramald and ekdvali); Harsha, II, IV and VII (uses of pearls).
26. 5. ASI, 1903-04 pp. 99-100; ibid 1911-12 p. 94.
27. 1. Amara, II. 20. 2; ASIAR , 1911-12 p. 38.
28. 2. Cosmas, 366-67 (list of Indian ports). In the above Sindu is evidently the port of the Indus delta; Calliana is Kalyana on the eastern coast of Bombay harbour; Sibor is Chaul situated 25 miles south of Bombay, Caver is Kaveripaddinam at the mouth of the Kaveri river. For the lists in the Periplus and in Ptolemy’s Geography, see A Comprehensive History of India Vol. II. p. 438.

29. 3. HTM, II. 190, 194, 196 (Tamralipti, Charitra and Kongoda) El, II. 95 (Udayamana’s inscription) Raghu, IV (maritime activities of the people of Suhma). Dasa, (NSP. ed.) pp. 215f (story of sea-fight between Indian galley by Prince of Suhma and Yavana vessel with a Magadha Prince on board).
30. 1. Kat 705-06. Contrast Manu , VIII, 401-03 and Ydj II. 251.
31. 2. Bri. I. 12, Sf and Kat. 612f after Manu VIII and Ydj, II. 16S.
32. 1. Cosmos 385-66 (inter-oceanic trade). For maps of Fa Hian’s and Hiuen Tsang's itineraries see Legge and HTW respectively. For the route from Tonkin via Kamarupa to Magadha see Pelliot in BEFEO, TV. 131 f.
33. 2. Cosrnas 366-67 (list of exports from Indian ports) Corpus Juris Civilis Vol. I,
34. p. 606 (Justinian’s list). Laufer Sino-lranica p. 45 (Indian exports to Roman Orient etc.) BEFEO , 270-71 (Rudravarman’s embassy to China). Amara IT,
35. 4. 138 (mdshaparni); ibid, II, 6, 128; IT, 3, 9 (silha and silhaka); ibid, II. 9, 40 (hingu).
36. 1. Amara, II. 8, 45; Raghai, IV. 70; Harsh a, II. Rac.hu, IV. 50, HTW . II. 228 (pearls). R.aghu , 3. (corals). Sak Act I; Kum, VII. 3; Mdlair. Act VI; Dasa. p. 129 (Chinese silk) Cosmas, 386 (mask).
37. 2. Amara, II, 9. 97, Cosmas, 384, 386-71. Also se-> references under f.n. 29.
38. 3. Cosmas 366; Laufer in Sino-Iranica. pp. 490-91. The translation of po-tie is after Laufer, loc. ait.
39. 1. The subject is treated in the Smritis under three heads of law, namely, Vetanasyanapakarma , Abhyupetyasusrushd and Svarnipalavivada (non-payment of wages, non-rendition of service, dispute between master and herdsman). For an exhaustive treatment of the above subjects see Kane, History of Dharmashastra Vol. Ill Chap. XX.
40. 2. Nar. V. 5-7; Brl. I. 15. 16-18 (work for slaves).
41. 3. Bri. I. 15, 15-16; Kat 657f, 173f. Record pp. 61 1
42. 1. Bri. I. 15, 3-7; 9-11, and Kat. 857-60 after Manu, VIII. 215 and Yidj, II. 193.
43. 2. See Kane, op. cit. pp. 418f.
44. 3. Bri, I 10, 38 f; ibid 73, Kat. 516f., 530f.

45. 1. Nar. I. 9S; Bri, I. 10, 4f; Kjat; 505f. and Vyasa quoted by Sulapani on Yaj, II. 37.
46. 2. Bri, I. 10, 5f and Kat, 114f. (disqualification of witnesses). Kat. 215£, (requirements of written documents), ibid 549£. (qualification and disqualifications of witnesses).
47. 3. Bri. I. 10 9f and Kat. 477, 580. (process of recovery of debt).
48. 1. Kat, 678-79 (puqa and nigama), Amara II. 9 98 (naigama). For an exhaustive study of the whole subiect of the Smriti law of groups see Kane. op. cit., Chapters XVIII and XXI.
49. 2. Bri. pp. 151 vv. 8 A.
50. 1. Ndr, X, 3-4, 7; Bri, p. 150, vv 5ff.; Kdt. 668-70.
51. 2. Ndr , X. 5-6; Bri p. 154 vv. 23ff Kdt 671-72, 677.
52. 3. For ref. see ASI 1903-4., pp. lOlf. and plates (excavations at Basarh by T. Bloch); ibid 1910-11 pp. 56ff. (excavations at Bhita by Sir Joshn Marshall) See also writer’s paper entitled On the ivorking of village assemblies economic, guilds, religious congregations and other assemblies during the Gupta period* (Journal of the Asiatic Society. Vol. I, 1959, No. 2).
53. 4. CII. p. 70f.
54. 1. Ndr. VI. If: Bri, I. 13, 1-39: Kat. 624£. On the whole subject see Kane, op. cit.
55. IT, pp. 466-70.
56. 1. HTW, I. 286, 340 (luxurious dress of people in Takka and Kanyakubja); ibid, 316 (rich families in S than vis vara); ibid, I, 296. 299, 329, 330, 340, ibid II. 47: 59, 184, 190, 191, 200, 243, 245-50 (affluence in Jalandhara, Satadru, Brahmaputra, Govisana, Kanyakubja, Varansi, Chan-chu, Pundravardhana, Tamralipti, Karnasuvarna, South Kosala, A-ta-ti, Cutch, Valabln, Anandapura, Surat, Gurjjara and UjjayinI). On the richness of the people of Tamralipti see Record, general introduction by Takakusu p. XXXIV.

INTERCOURSE WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

1. China—up to the T'ang Period

It has been described in a preceding chapter 1 how, during the first three centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism, and along with it Indian culture, had spread over Central Asia and obtained a definite footing in China. As centuries rolled by, the power and influence of Buddhism gradually increased in China and, as before, Buddhist monks of Central Asia, of sundry nationalities, took part in the missionary activity.

The monks of Kuehi took a leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in China from the fourth century A.D. The greatest of them was Kumarajlva whose life remarkably illustrates the wonderful religious and cultural internationalism of the period.

Kumarayana, the father of Kumarajlva, was born in a respectable family of hereditary ministers to an Indian state. He, however, abdicated his rights to this high office in favour of his relatives and went to Kuchi. The king of Kuchi cordially welcomed him, and he shortly rose to the high position of Rajaguru or royal preceptor. He married Jlva, a princess of the royal family who had fallen in love with him. Soon after the birth of her son Kumarajlva, Jlva became a Buddhist nun and, when her son was nine years old, took him to Kashmir. Here Kumarajlva studied Buddhist literature and philosophy under a teacher named Bandhudatta and attained great proficiency in a variety of subjects. After completing his studies, Kumarajlva, with his mother, visited a number of renowned Buddhist institutions in Central Asia, and obtained high reputation as a Buddhist scholar. He then returned to Kuchi. Shortly after, hostilities broke out between Kuchi and China. A Chinese force besieged Kuchi which surrendered after a brave fight. As was customary in those days, the victorious Chinese general took the renowned. scholar Kumarajlva to China. This happened in A.D. 383. Kumarajlva remained with the ruler of Ku-tsang in Kan-su for nearly fifteen years. The

Chinese emperor repeatedly invited him and he proceeded to the capital in A.D. 401. From that date till A.D. 412 Kumarajlva worked and stayed in the Chinese capital. He devoted his whole energy to translating Buddhist texts and interpreting Buddhist religion and philosophy. He translated more than

Note 1

one hundred Sanskrit texts and was the first to interpret Mahayana philosophy in China. His great command over both Sanskrit and Chinese, and vast erudition in different branches of philosophy, made him eminently fit for this task. His translations were a great improvement upon those of his predecessors. Many scholars from different parts of China became his disciples and he may be justly regarded as having ushered in a new epoch in the history of Buddhism in China.

The fact that Kumarajiva was taken all the way from Kuchi to Kashmir by his mother for purposes of education shows the high position held by that region in the then Buddhist world. It was, therefore, quite in the fitness of things that learned Buddhist monks of Kashmir should play the leading part in the propagation of Buddhism in China. It is said that the Buddhist scholars who went to China from Kashmir during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D. far exceeded in number those who went from the other parts of India taken together. Among these Kashmirian scholars special mention may be made of Sahghabhuti (A.D. 381-384), 1 Gautama Sahghadeva (A.D. 384-397), Punyatrata (A.D. 404), Vimalaksha (A.D. 406-413), Buddhajlva (A.D. 423), Dharmamitra (A.D. 424-442), and Dharmayasa (c. A.D. 400-424). Two of them, Punyatrata and Vimalaksha were collaborators of Kumarajiva, while Dharmayasa was a pupil of Punyatrata. They all engaged themselves in translating Buddhist texts into Chinese and expounding Buddhist philosophy, and received high honours from the people as well as the officials.

More importance attaches to another Kashmirian scholar Buddhayasa. He was born in a Brahmanical family but became a Buddhist monk. After completing his studies he proceeded to Central Asia. The king of Kashgar had invited three thousand Buddhist monks to a religious ceremony and Buddhayasa went with them. He made a profound impression on the king and was invited to live in the palace. Kumarajiva met him there and studied some sacred texts with him. When, after Kumarajlva's return to Kuchi, this kingdom was invaded by the Chinese, its king appealed for help to the king of Kashgar. The latter started with his army for Kuchi leaving the young prince in charge of Buddhayasa. Buddhayasa was very much upset by the news of the fall of Kuchi and the deportation of Kumarajiva. He stayed in Kashgar for ten years more and then went to Kuchi. A year later he went to China and worked with Kumarajiva. After the latter's death he returned to Kashmir. He was a man of strict principles and never accepted any present even from the Emperor on the ground that it was unbecoming for a monk to do so.

Note 2

Note 3

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Reference may also be made to another noble son of Kashmir, namely Gunavarman. He was born in the royal family, but became a Buddhist monk. When he was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died and he was invited by the ministers to ascend the throne. Gunavarman refused and retired to a forest life. He then went to Ceylon and preached Buddhism. Later he proceeded to Java and converted the king and his mother to the Buddhist faith. At this time Java was attacked by hostile troops and the king asked Gunavarman whether it would be contrary to the Buddhist law if he fought against the enemy. Gunavarman replied that it was the duty of everyone to punish the robbers. The king then fought with his enemy and won a great victory. Gradually, through the efforts of Gunavarman, the Buddhist religion spread throughout Java. The name and fame of Gunavarman had now spread all over the Buddhist world. In A.D. 424 the Chinese monks of Nanking requested their emperor to invite Gunavarman to China. Accordingly the Chinese Emperor sent messengers to Gunavarman and the king of Java. Gunavarman embarked on a vessel owned by the Hindu merchant Nandin, and after visiting different places on the way, reached Nanking in A.D. 431. The Chinese Emperor himself went out to receive him and put him up in a monastery called Jetavana-^ vihara after the famous monastery of that name in Sravastl associated with the hallowed name of Buddha. Gunavarman died there within a year, but so great was his industry that even during this short period he translated no less than eleven Sanskrit texts into Chinese.

A number of learned Buddhist monks from other parts of India also carried on missionary activity in China. Among these may be mentioned Gunabhadra (A.D. 435-468) of Madhyadesa (Central India), Prajharuchi of Banaras (A.D. 516-543), Upasunya of Ujjayini (sixth century), and three monks Jnanabhadra, Jinayasas and Yasogupta (sixth century) from Eastern India (i.e . Bengal and Assam. Three others, Buddhahhadra, Vimokshasena and Jinagupta hailed from the North-Western frontier. The first two claimed descent from the Sakya family of Kapilavastu. It is said that when Kapilavastu was attacked by Vidudabha, 1 king of Kosala, four members of the Sakya clan disobeyed the Buddha's law of non-violence and fought with the enemy. For this offence they were expelled, and two of them, proceeding west, became rulers of Uddi

Note 5

yana (Swat Valley) and Bamiyan (near Kabul). Vimokshasena claimed to be the descendant of the first, while Buddhabhadra, who was born at Nagarahara (Jelalabad), was probably a descendant of the second. When Buddhabhadra was in Kashmir, a Chinese monk, who accompanied Fa-hien to India, came there and requested the Buddhist community to send a learned scholar to China. Buddhabhadra, who was selected for this purpose, went to China via Burma and Tonkin and collaborated with Kumarajlva. 1

The third, Jinagupta, was born in Gandhara and was the pupil of Jhanabhadra and Jinayasas, mentioned above. They reached Ch'ang-ngan (A.D. 559) where a monastery was built for them by special orders of the Emperor. Owing to political troubles they were forced to leave China (A.D. 572). On their way home they stepped in the country of the Turks at the request of their king. Jinagupta's teachers died there; but he stayed on till 581 doing missionary work and translating Buddhist texts. He returned to China in 585 and died in A.D. 600.

We may refer, in some details, to a few other Indian monks who did missionary work in China, as their lives offer special points of interest.

Dharmakshema., born in Central India, went through Kuchi to Western China which was then an independent principality. He was engaged there from A.D. 414 to 432 in translating Buddhist texts. He wanted then to return to India, but the local ruler refused him permission lest he might go to other Chinese kingdoms. Dharmakshema, however, defied the order and proceeded on his journey, only to be murdered by the ruthless king in A.D. 433. This is a strange, though fortunately a solitary, instance of barbaric cruelty, untempered by Buddhist piety.

Of all the Indian monks who went to China, probably no name is better known in India than that of Paramartha. Born in UjjayinI he became proficient in all branches of Buddhist learning and probably settled down at Pataliputra. At that time a Chinese mission sent by the emperor Wu came to the king of Magadha and requested him to send a renowned Buddhist monk to China. The king was probably the last Imperial Gupta ruler Vishnu-gupta. He selected Paramartha who took with him a large number of Buddhist texts and reached China in A.D. 546. Although political troubles interrupted his work in A.D. 557, he stayed on till his death in A.D. 569 and translated no less than 70 Buddhist texts.

Note 6

Dharma-gupta, another famous monk, was born in Lata (southern Gujarat) and studied with some learned teachers in the Kaumudi-sangharama at Kanauj. He stayed in the royal monastery named Devavihara in Takka (N. Punjab) for some time, and then proceeded towards China. He followed the overland route through Afghanistan, staying on his way at Kapisa (Kafir istan), Badakhshan, Wakhan and Tash Qurghan. He spent two years at the royal monastery of Kashgar and proceeded by the northern route. He passed through Kuchi, Agnidesa (Qara Shahr), Turf an and Kami. These were all flourishing seats of Buddhism and their monks were eager to profit by the learning of the great Indian monk. So after staying a year or two in each of these places Dharmagupta reached Ch'angngan in A.D. 590. In addition to the usual activity of translating Buddhist texts, he is said to have composed a treatise giving minute geographical details of all the countries visited by him, and even noting down such topics as their system of government, social and economic condition, including food and drink, dress, education, manners and customs. Such a book from an Indian author would have been a unique literary production, but unfortunately no copy has survived.

The Indian monk who obtained the greatest celebrity in China was Bodhidharma. He was the third son of an Indian king (probably the Pallava king of Kanchi). He is almost a semi-mvthical figure, and various miracles are attributed to him. He was received by the Emperor Wu, and is credited with the introduction of the contemplative form of Mahayana into China. He visited China in the second quarter of the sixth century A.D. Reference may also be made to Vinltaruchi, a Brahmana of South India, who reached the Chinese capital in A.D. 582 and translated two works into Chinese. He then proceeded to Tonkin and founded the Dhyana School there. 1

The activities of Indian missionaries in China during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries A.D., which have been briefly described above, had a great effect upon the Chinese. In the first place, it aroused greater interest than before among the Chinese for Buddhism and Indian culture. Secondly, it whetted the desire of the Chinese to know Buddhism at first hand and come into direct contact with Indian culture by visiting India.

The career of the great Chinese scholar Tao-ngan, w T ho flourished in the second half of the fourth century A.D., illustrates this new

Note 7

Note 8

spirit in China. Born in a family famous for its erudition in Chinese classics and strong devotion to Confucianism, Tao-ngan became a staunch Buddhist and read Buddhist literature with the help of able teachers. He studied critically the Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, corrected them, and compiled a series of commentaries in order to explain the true meaning of Buddhist philosophy and doctrines. His scholarship and mastery over the sacred texts attracted a number of Chinese from all over the country. He trained them thoroughly and sent them to different parts of the country to preach Buddhism.

Tao-ngan also wrote a book on India in order to encourage the Buddhist monks of China to visit the Holy Land. This bore fruit and quite a large number of them undertook the long and perilous journey. Their main objects were not only to learn at first hand the true doctrines of Buddhism and the correct principles of conduct to bo observed by the monks and the laity, but also to collect Buddhist texts and sacred relics, and acquire merit by visiting the holy places associated with the Buddha.

A party of five monks under the leadership of Fa-hien started for India in A.D. 399. They met on the frontier another group of five monks who had started a little earlier, and travelled together for some time. At Tunhwang the district officer supplied them with the means for continuing the journey. Fortunately Fa-hien has left a detailed record of his travels, and this gives us an insight into the objects of their journey, the difficulties of the road, and the condition of Buddhism and Indian culture in Central Asia. The objects of the journey have been stated above. As regards the difficulties of the road, we may quote the following extract describing vividly the perils of the desert—"(Travellers) who encounter them perish all to a man. There is not a bird to be seen in the air above, nor an animal on the ground below. Though you look all round most earnestly to find where you can cross, you know not where to make your choice, the only mark and indication being the dry bones of the dead (left upon the sand)."

We are further told that "the difficulties which they encountered in crossing the streams on their route, and the sufferings which they endured were unparalleled in human experience."

Fa-hien entered India through Kashmir and travelled all over North India. He stayed at Pataliputra for three years, learning Sanskrit, reading Sanskrit books, and writing out the Vinaya rules. At Tarnralipti, again, he stayed for two years writing out his Sutras, and drawing pictures of images.

Of Fa-hien's companions, one died on the way and several went back to China at an earlier stage. Another was so deeply impressed by the dignified conduct of the Indian monks that he resolved to stay in India. "He sadly called to mind the imperfections of the monks in China and prayed that in future births he might be born in India alone."

Fa-hien, however, whose original purpose had been to secure the introduction of the complete Yinaya rules into China, returned there alone.

He embarked on a large merchant vessel from Tamralipti and after fourteen days reached Ceylon. Having stayed here for two years and collected a number of Sanskrit works not available in China, he took his passage in a merchantman bound for China. Fa-hien has vividly described the perils of the sea and how he narrowly escaped a w T atery grave. At last he landed in China in A.D. 414.

After his return to China Fa-hien, along with the Indian monk Buddhabliadra, mentioned above, translated some of the works he had brought from India. He died at the age of 88.

Of the monks of the other group who joined Fa-hien, Pao-yun studied Sanskrit in India and translated Sanskrit Buddhist texts on his return to China.

Soon after Fa-hien and Pao-yun, another group of fifteen monks led by Che-mong started for India in A.D. 404. Nine returned from the Pamirs, and one died of fatigue. The remaining five visited India and made a collection of Buddhist texts. Three died on the return journey and Che-mong reached China in A.D. 424 with only one companion.

In A.D. 420 Fa-yong started with 25 Chinese monks along the northern route of Central Asia and reached India through Kashmir After having travelled all over Northern India they returned by the sea route.

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Names of several other Chinese monks who visited India during this period have also been preserved, but no details are known.

Simultaneously with the new enthusiasm for visiting India, we notice a growing practice of inviting Buddhist scholars to China. In this matter also the initiative was taken by Tao-ngan, the great leader of the new movement in China. He invited a large number of scholars from Central Asia. His example was followed by others, and as we have seen above, in connection with Paramartha and Gunavarman, even the Emperors sent envoys and formal invitations for bringing the renowned Buddhist teachers from India to China.

Reference may be made in particular to two instances of royal solicitude for the cause of Buddhism. In A.D. 518 Sung Yun, an envoy, with a Chinese monk, was sent on an embassy to the western countries by the Empress Dowager of the Great Wei dynasty to obtain Buddhist books. Fortunately v/e have a detailed account of this embassy. They passed through Central Asia to the Huna kingdom and visited Udyana and Gandhara. They procured altogether 170 volumes, all standard works of the Mahayana sect. Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 605-617) also sent a mission to Central Asia and India.

These facts and the high honours shown to Indian teachers on their arrival in China by all ranks of people, from the Emperor downwards, reveal the great hold that Buddhism and Indian culture had over China.

This is confirmed by what we know of the development of Buddhism in China. The kings of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, like their predecessors, were great patrons of Buddhism. Two of them built four large monasteries, each accommodating one thousand monks. During the rule of this djmasty (A.D. 317-420) 17,068 Buddhist institutions, great and small, were founded all over China, and 263 volumes of Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese. Under the foreign Wei dynasty, which ruled over the northern part of China from A.D. 386 to 534, Buddhism made rapid progress. Even before this period one of their chiefs had issued an edict in 335 in which he said; “As Buddha is a foreign, god it is in the fitness of things that I should worship him. When a thing is found perfect and faultless why should they still stick to the customs of the ancient dynasties? My people are called barbarians. I grant them the privilege to worship Buddha and adopt the Buddhist faith if they like to do so.”

Such an attitude on the part of the ruling family naturally gave great impetus to Buddhism. Many Wei kings were themselves devout Buddhists and copied, recited, and explained sacred texts. The first ruler Wu-ti (A.D. 386-407) is said to have founded 15 chaityas and two monasteries, erected 1,000 golden images, and entertained every month 3,000 Buddhist monks in a religious assembly. Altogether 47 big monasteries were built by the Wei Emperors and during the period of their rule more than 30,000 temples were constructed by private families. The number of monks and nuns exceeded two million.

The rulers of the Northern Ts'i dynasty, which succeeded the Wei in A.D. 550. were also great patrons of Buddhism. One of them copied 12 Buddhist texts with his own hand and regularly maintain

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ed 3,000 monks. Another erected a chaitya in gold. Another ruler sent in A.D. 575 a Buddhist mission to the Western countries in search of Sanskrit books, and it brought back 260 texts, though the dynasty was overthrown by that time. It was during their rule (A.D. 550-577) that Buddhism was introduced among the Turks. A Chinese monk took courage to go to the chief of the Western Turks, named To' po Kaghan (A.D. 572-581), and told him that China was prosperous and mighty for having favoured Buddhism. Thanks to his teachers the Kaghan adopted Buddhism, observed its rules of conduct, and made regularly the pradakshina (circumambulation) of the stupas . He built a monastery and sent an ambassador to the Ts'i emperor for securing Buddhist books. At his request the Mahd pmnnirvana-sutra was translated into Turkish by a Chinese scholar.

Buddhism was equally favoured by the ruling dynasties of South China, viz. the Song (A.D. 420-479), the Ts'i (A.D. 479-502), and the I^eang (A.D. 502-557). The Chinese official history gives details of the personal activities of various rulers by way of copying Sanskrit texts and reciting them, founding monasteries to accommodate monks, and erecting golden statues. One of them lived like a monk, and prohibited the killing of animals either for sacrifice or for food. As usual, the work of translating Buddhist texts into Chinese was continued throughout this period with the help of Indian scholars.

An important landmark in the history of Buddhism in China was the foundation of a monastery at Lu-shan by Hui-yuan, a disciple of Tao-ngan. This attracted numerous Buddhists from all over China and their number is said to have exceeded one thousand Hui-yuan selected 17 disciples including two Indian scholars—Buddhayasas and Buddhabhadra—and founded a school known as “The School of White Lotus.” It introduced the ‘cult of Amitabha,’ based upon the Mahayana philosophy. This new doctrine plays an important role in the modern Buddhism of the Far East. The Lu-shan school made a positive contribution to Buddhism which may henceforth be regarded as a living force in the life and culture of the Chinese.

The meditative form of Mahayana was introduced in China by Bodhidharma, as noted above. One of his disciples, Chi-k’ai, founded a new school, called T’ien-t’ai according to the name of Chi-k’ai’s place of residence. He made a new classification of Buddha’s teachings and Buddhist literature, and attempted a syncretism of the different forms of Buddhism. His views were accepted by all and henceforth the Chinese respected and studied both Hlnayana and Mahayana without being troubled by any sense of contradiction. Chi-k’ai’s teachings met with great success in Japan which follows his syncretism even today.

During the rule of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 386-534), whose patronage of Buddhism has been referred to above, no less than eight embassies from North-Western India were sent to the Imperial court in China. The Chinese official history gives the following list:

Country Date of Embassy

A.D.

451, 502, 508, 517

Ki-pin

Kia-pi-sa (Kapisa)

Pu-lm-sha (Purushapura or Peshawar) Kan-ta (Gandhara)

Kia-shih-rni (Kashmir)

503

511

511

511

The identification of Ki-pin is a matter of dispute among scholars. Pelliot, in agreement with S. Levi, held that prior to A.D. 600 Ki-pin denoted Kashmir, and after that date it designated Kapisa. Rapson and Sten Konow, however, identified it throughout with Kapisa. Dr. P. C. Bagchi endorses the views of Pelliot after an elaborate discussion of the problem, giving full reference to previous writings on the subject. Dr. L. Petech, the latest writer on the subject, thinks that Ki-pin was used by Chinese historiographers, from, the very beginning, to denote Kapisa and the adjacent country politically associated with it, though the Chinese Buddhists applied the name to Kashmir from the second to the early seventh century A.D. In his opinion "the two traditions run for centuries parallel to each other, and to a great extent ignoring each other." 1

If Ki-pin denoted Kashmir, the separate mention of the two countries is difficult to explain. If, on the other hand, it means Kapisa, similar difficulty arises with regard to the second name in the above list. The third and fourth names also denote politically the same region. Petech thinks that "perhaps the local governors or tributary princes had sent embassies of their own".

Embassies were also sent from other parts of India. A king of South India, for example, sent an ambassador to China during the period A.D. 500-516. 2

2. China—T'ang Period

The T'ang dynasty ruled in China from A.D. 618 to 907. This period constitutes one of the most glorious chapters in the history of China. The whole of China came under one political authority

Note 9

Note 10

Note 11

whose power once more extended over Central Asia. The intercourse with India and the influence of Buddhism and Indian culture reached the highest peak in China during the period. Thousands of Indians—missionaries, merchants and others—thronged the principal cities in China, and more Chinese monks and royal embassies came to India in the seventh century than during any other period.

The fame of the Nalanda University[1] was now at its height and it came to be the great international centre of Buddhism which attracted Buddhist monks from all over Asia. The Chinese Buddhists also shared the general enthusiasm for studying at Nalanda, not merely Buddhist philosophy and literature, but also other subjects like Brahmanical philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. They were encouraged by the Emperors who gave them all facilities to undertake the journey.

The first Chinese monk to visit India during this period was Hiuen Tsang who played the most distinguished part in establishing Buddhism on a solid footing in China, and improving the cultural relations between that country and India. Born in A.D, 600 of an orthodox Confucian family, he became a Buddhist monk at the age of 20. Not being content with the existing translations of Buddhist books in Chinese, he decided to visit India. He started in A.D. 629 by the northern route in Central Asia. He reached Kapisa (Kafiristan) in A.D, 630 and during the next fourteen years travelled all over India. He stayed two years in Kashmir and for shorter periods in other places, for studying the Buddhist texts. He also resided in Nalanda, on different occasions, for a total period of two years, and learnt the Yogachara system from Silabhadra, the famous monk who presided over the institution, Hiuen Tsang was highly honoured by the great Indian rulers Harsha-vardhana and Bhaskara-varman, as noted above.[2] He left India with a large number of books and images at the beginning of A.D. 644 and, proceeding along the southern route in Central Asia, returned to China in A.D. 645.

Hiuen Tsang has left a long account of his travels, giving details of the various Indian kingdoms visited by him. This book, Si-yu-ki , forms an invaluable source of ancient Indian history, and has been frequently referred to in this volume. It also gives us a graphic picture of the condition of Buddhism in India and all the territories outside it through which the traveller passed,

Hiuen Tsang left India almost in a royal procession. Harshavardhana gave him a big elephant with 3,000 gold and 10,000 silver pieces for defraying his expenses, and his numerous books and images were entrusted to the military escort of king of North India

Note 12

1. See p. 580£.

called Udhita. As the elephant was drowned on the way, and he could not secure means of transport for his books, he halted at Kho~ tan and sent a memorial to the Chinese Emperor. After referring to the extreme hardships of the journey over more than 50,000 li . he returned, he said, with a mind satisfied with the accomplishment of his vows. "I have beheld the Gridhrakuta mountain, worshipped the Bodhi tree; I have seen traces not seen before; heard sacred words not heard before; witnessed spiritual prodigies, exceeding all the wonders of Nature/' This passage from the petition shows the devout spirit with which Hiuen Tsang regarded Buddhism and everything connected with it.

The Emperor sent a gracious reply. "I pray you come quickly, ?> he said, "that we may see each other." He also sent instructions to his officials at Khotan and other places on the way to help Hiuen Tsang with guides and conveyances. As Hiuen Tsang approached the border of China, the Emperor asked the Governor of the western capital to send proper officers to receive him. Hiuen Tsang arrived in a boat by way of a canal and received a unique welcome. The news of his arrival spread fast and the people came in large numbers to behold and pay homage to him. The streets were so crowded that when he wished to disembark he could not advance and had to pass the night in the canal.

On his arrival at the capital Hiuen Tsang received a royal ovation. According to his biographer, “the Emperor and his court, the officials and the merchants, and all the people made holiday. The streets were crowded with eager men and women who expressed their joy by gay banners and festive music.” Such an honour is usually reserved for kings and generals on their return from a victorious military expedition. That Hiuen Tsang was thought worthy of it on account of his prolonged visit to India speaks volumes not only for the great veneration which the Chinese had for Buddhism, but also for the new angle of vision which contact with Indian culture had inspired among the Chinese.

Hiuen Tsang spent the remaining years of his life in translating Buddhist texts, and training his pupils. He founded a new school of Buddhist philosophy in China which carried on his work after his death. His book Si-yu-ki or ‘Record of the Western countries’ gave a strong impetus to the love of Indian culture in China. His personal influence with the Emperor was probably at the root of the new policy of establishing political relations with the Indian rulers.

Hiuen Tsang translated altogether 74 different works consisting of 1,335 chapters. He had, moreover, drawn a vast number of pictures, and written out with his own hands copies of various texts. He died in A.D. 664 and was buried in the Western capital. But in A.D. 669 his remains were removed by order of the Emperor to another place where a tower was constructed in his memory.

The noble example of Hiuen Tsang induced the Chinese monks to visit India in large numbers. Chinese texts have preserved the biographies of sixty monks who visited India during the latter half of the seventh century A.D. The greatest among these later pilgrims was I-tsing. He left by the sea route in A.D. 671 and having passed several years at Sri-Vijaya, an important centre of Buddhist learning in Sumatra, arrived in A.D. 673 at the port of Tamralipti in Bengal. He stayed at Nalanda for ten years (c. A.D. 675-685). studying and copying Buddhist texts. He returned to China with a collection of 400 Sanskrit manuscripts containing more than 50.000 slokas.

He translated a number of texts and compiled a Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary. Fortunately we still possess his book entitled “A 'Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago In this he has noted in detail the rules of monastic life as practised in India, a subject in which he evidently took a special interest. He also wrote a biography of about sixty Buddhist monks who visited India. Almost all of them were associated with China, though many of them were natives of other lands such as Korea, Samarkand and Tushara (Turk) country. This biography shows the international position of Buddhism in Asia and indicates its influence in outlying countries like Korea, The fact that about sixty Buddhist monks came to India from China in one generation, shows the frequency of such pilgrimages in these days, though most of them have not been probably recorded.

The seventh century A.D., which saw the arrival of so many distinguished Chinese monks in India, also witnessed the journey of noted Indian Buddhists to China. The earliest was Prabbakaramitra, a famous scholar of Nalanda. Born in a royal family of Central India, he took to the life of a Buddhist monk and studied at Nalanda. He was later appointed a Professor there and his disciples became famous scholars in course of time. Starting with ten disciples, he reached the country of the Western Turks and taught Buddhism to their Chief. The Chinese ambassador at the Turkish court invited him to China, but the Turkish chief would not let him go. At last, at the request of the Chinese Emperor, the Turkish ruler accorded the necessary permission, and Prabhakaramitra reach ed China in A.D. 627. He was engaged in translating Buddhist texts there, and 19 scholars were appointed by the court to assist him in his work. Some translated his words into Chinese, some verified this

translation, while others wrote it down. Another group copied it and high officials, under the orders of the Emperor, examined the final redaction and supervised its execution. Prabhakaramitra died in

A.D. 633.

Another Indian scholar, Bodhiruchi, went to China in A.D. 693 at the request of a Chinese envoy, probably at the court of a Chalukya king. A regular Board was set up to help Bodhiruchi in translating Buddhist texts. It consisted of both Chinese and Indian scholars. The latter included Brahma, an ambassador of the king of Central India, and Isvara, a chief of Eastern India. The Emperor himself was occasionally present when the translation was being made and took down notes with his own hand. Sometimes the queen and other ladies of the palace and the high officials of the court were also present. Bodhiruchi translated fifty-three volumes, and died in A.D. 727.

Vajrabodhi, son of Isana-varman, king of Central India, was a famous scholar at Nalanda. He was the teacher of the Pallava king Narasimha-varman II 1 at Kahchl for some time and then proceeded to Ceylon. The king of Ceylon sent a mission to China for presenting a sacred Buddhist text and other objects to the Emperor. Vajrabodhi accompanied it and reached China in A.D. 720 Vajrabodhi propagated the mystic doctrines of Buddhism known as Tantrayana and translated a number of texts on the subject, This had great effect and the cult w T as popularised in China. Vajrabodhi died in A.D. 732. His work was continued by his disciple, Amoghavajra, who was with him in China. In 736, Amoghavajra came back to Ceylon but returned to China ten years later with 500 texts. Between A.D. 746 and 771, he translated 77 texts. He died in A.D. 774. 2

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the visits of other individual monks; and we may now refer to the development of political relations betv/een India and China as evidenced by the despatch of embassies from one court to the other. Mention has already been made above 3 of Harsha-vardhana's embassy to China in A.D. 641 and of three other Chinese embassies, the first under Liang-hoaiKing, the second under Li-y-piao and Wang-hiuen-tse in A.D. 643, and the third under Wang-hiuen-tse in 646. Wang-hiuen-tse was sent a third time in A.D. 657. A Brahmana thaumaturge (probably a Tantrik named Narayana-svamin), who claimed that he possessed the secret of prolonging life, was sent to China by an Indian king at

Note 13

Note 14

Note 15

the request of the Chinese Emperor. 1 As the Emperor was not satisfied with his skill, he was sent back with Wang-hiuen-tse. The envoy also carried presents offered by the Emperor to various Buddhist shrines in India. He was sent a fourth time to India in A D. 664 in order to bring back a Chinese pilgrim whom he had previously met in India. Wang-hiuen-tse wrote an account of his travels in India, but the book has been lost and only a few extracts from it have been preserved in other works.

Reference has already been made to an embassy to China sent by Yasovarman, and the exchanges of envoys between China and Kashmir have also been related above. 2

Many other embassies are also referred to in the T'ang history which has preserved a systematic account of the political relations between China and different parts of India. This may be summed up as follows: 3

In A.D. 717 the Emperor awarded the title of "king of Pu-lu (Bolor)" to the local chief Su-fu-sho-li-che-li-ni (Subhasri). In 719 the king of Bolor, Subhasri, sent an ambassador to the'Emperor to express his gratitude for the award. In 720 the title of "the king of Bolor" was awarded by the Emperor to the local chief Su-lin-t'oi-che (Surendraditya?). In 731 the title of "the king of little Bolor (Yasin)" was awarded to Nan-ni by the Emperor. In 733 the king of (little) Bolor, Mo-kin-mang, sent a noble named Cha-cho-na-semo-mo-sheng to thank the Emperor for the award. In 741 the title of "the king of little Bolor" was awarded to Ma-hao-lai. In 745 the king of little Bolor sent a Buddhist teacher named Kia-lo-mi-to (Kalamitra) to pay respects to the Emperor.

The political condition of Kapisa, Gandhara and Uddiyana was uncertain in this period. The two latter kingdoms were certainly dependent on Kashmir. We know from the Chinese official history that in 720 the title of the "king of Wu-ch'ang (Uddiyana)" was given to the local chief by the Emperor. The king of Gandhara sent an ambassador to China in 758 with presents to the Emperor. The title of " tegin " was awarded to the chief of Kapisa in 720.

The king of Kapisa sent an embassy to China in 710 and again about A.D. 750. In A.D. 751 the Chinese Emperor sent a mission under Wu-K'ong to escort back the Indian ambassador from Kapisa.

Note 16

Note 17

Note 18

On his arrival in India, Wu-K'ong was converted to Buddhism. He spent several years in Kashmir, visited the holy places and returned to China in A.D. 790. No less than six embassies were sent from Ki-pin to China between A.D. 619 and 750. Ki-pin has been identified with both Kapisa and Kashmir, 1 but as already noted above, 2 it referred to Kapisa from the seventh century A.D.

As early as 692 a representative of king Ti-po-si-na (Devasena) of Central India came to pay respects to the Emperor. The envoy must have been the same as Brahma (Fan-mo) who assisted Bodhiruchi in 693 in the work of translation. In 741 the son of the king of Central India came to pay respects and he was given a Chinese name Li Ch'eng-ngan.

In 692 representatives of the king of Eastern India, Mo-lo-pa-mo (Malavarman ?), and the king of Western India, Sha-lo-yi-to (Siladitya), came to China to pay honiage. We do not know who Malavarman was but the other king was certainly Slladitya III of Valabhi who reigned at the end of the seventh century. In 692 the king of Northern India, Na-na, the king of Central India, Ti-mo-si-na, and the king of Southern India, Che-lu-ki-pa-lo (Chalukya Vallabha), sent ambassadors to the Emperor. 3 The Chalukya king, reigning in 692, was Vinayaditya. The king Sha-li Na-lo-seng-kia-pa-to-pa-mo (&rl Narasirhha Potavarman) proposed to the emperor in A.D. 720 to send elephants and cavalry to fight with the Arabs and the Tibetans. Narasirhha Potavarman was the Pailava ruler of Kahchl. He sent two embassies to China, in A.D. 710 and 720, and the Chinese Emperor sent him an embassy in the latter year. The details of these embassies 4 show an intimate and cordial relation between the two.

It appears from the Chinese chronicles that China maintained diplomatic relations with Kapisa, Uddiyana, Gandhara, Magadha and Kashmir for more than a century since the first political mission was sent by Harsha-vardhana in A.D. 641. Many envoys were sent by China as well as by these kingdoms, but the details have not been preserved in all cases. Even so late as A.D. 787 we hear of the Chinese Emperor forming alliance with Indian princes against the Tibetans.

The increased intercourse with India naturally led to a further advancement of Buddhism in China, and ushered in what may be called its most glorious period in that country. The rapid growth

Note 19

Note 20

Note 21

Note 22

of this new foreign religion alarmed the orthodox section who carried on an active and vigorous campaign against it almost throughout the Tang period. In a memorial submitted to the Emperor in A.D. 624, the leader of the campaign attributed to Buddhism almost all the ills the country was suffering from—even the foreign invasions, the tyranny of the government, and the treachery of the ministers. But there were more legitimate grievances too. Apart from the neglect of religious sacrifices, the memorialist drew pointed attention to the deterioration in civic life caused by Buddhism, as the following passage shows: “The result is that the monks and the nuns now count by tens of thousands. I request you to get them married so that the country may have a hundred thousand families. They will then bring up children to fill the ranks of your army.”

The campaign had some success at first, and for a time the Tang Emperor withdrew his patronage of Buddhism. But whatever might have been his personal feelings, the issue was really decided by political considerations. All the important political powers and the petty states surrounding China—-the Turks, the Tibetans and the various peoples of Central Asia—had adopted Buddhism, and the newly founded Tang empire could hardly dare to oppose what was now a great international power in Asia. Accordingly the Tang emperors, after a brief interval, again adopted a pro-Buddhist policy, and the triumph of the new religion was assured.

The close contact with India established by Hiuen Tsang must be regarded as another important factor in this change of policy, and the success of

Buddhism in China was phenomenal. New monasteries were built in all the important cities, and increasingly larger numbers were attracted to Buddhism. Hiuen Tsang introduced a new 7 era in the translation of Buddhist works. Numerous Buddhist texts were translated and, as we have seen above, regular boards were set up to organise and expedite the work of translation. 1 Owing to this work of translation, undertaken on a colossal scale, the voluminous body of Sanskrit Buddhist literature, now almost entirely lost in India has been preserved in Chinese translation. An idea of the bulk of this literature may be had from the various catalogues compiled in China from time to time. The oldest catalogue, compiled by a Chinese scholar in the sixth century A.D., mentions 2,213 works and the official catalogue, prepared about the same time at the orders of the Emperor, gives a list of Buddhist texts numbering about 5,400 volumes. An authoritative catalogue of the Buddhist

Note 23

canon prepared in the Tang period mentions in the first section 2,487 works in 8,476 fasciculi , and in the second, 799 works in 3,364 fasciculi. There were many other catalogues to which it is not necessary to refer in detail. The printing of these texts by wooden blocks began as early as A.D. 972.

Hiuen Tsang, to whom the Buddhist literature in China owes so much, was also instrumental in establishing two new schools of Buddhism, viz. Yogachara or the Vijnanavada and the Sarvastivada school. The former belonged to the Mahayana and the latter to the Hinayana sect, and this shows the syncretising spirit in China, referred to above. A disciple of Hiuen Tsang founded the Vinaya school. The mystic or Tantric school, introduced by Vajrabodhi in the eighth century, 1 paved the way for the decline of Buddhism as in India.

We need not pursue further the history of Buddhism in China, but may conclude this review by a* brief reference to the other aspects of Indain culture which Buddhism brought along with it. The most important of these was art, which exerted a great influence on the native traditions and produced a new school of art that may be called Sino-Indian. The Wei period saw a great development of this art. A number of rock-cut caves at Tunhwang, Yun-kang and Long-men, colossal images of Buddha, 66 to 70 ft. high, and fresco paintings on the walls of the caves illustrate this art. It was inspired not only by the images and pictures and the reports and models of sanctuaries carried from India by Buddhist monks (both Indian and Chinese), but also by the Indian artists who visited China. We know the names of at least three Indian painters—&akyabuddha, Buddhaklrti and Kumarabodhi—who worked in China in the Wei period. The different early schools of sculpture in India, such as the Gandhara, Mathura, and the Gupta, are all represented in the Chinese art. The best statues of the Wei period, which have justly received very high praise from modern European scholars, recall, and seem to have been inspired by, the elegant Buddha images of Ajanta and Sarnath.

A further development of this art is noticed in the T'ang period. The construction of cave-temples was continued at Tunhwang, and these are known collectively as "Grottos of the thousand Buddhas," as there were one thousand images of Buddha in them. The later caves here show the art of the T'ang period at its best and "a progressive Chinese adaptation of the Gandhara, Gupta, and Iranian models." Gradually the Chinese artists absorbed the Indian art tradition and gave it an increasingly Chinese character. Apart from sculptures, paintings, and rock-cut caves, the Indian influence is manifest in the peculiar type of temples with superimposed storeys

Note 24

Note 25

whose origin may be traced to India. In fact the name 'Indian style' was given to a class of temples in China in the Song period. This style was very much in use in the province of Shan-si and found its way to Japan.

Among the fine arts, Indian music also seems to have exerted a great influence upon China. It was introduced by Indian musicians settled in Kuchi, and soon became very popular. A musical party went direct from India to China in A.D. 581. While the Emperor Kaotsu (581-595) vainly tried to proscribe it by an imperial decree, his successor encouraged it and got a number of new tunes composed. According to the traditions current in Japan in ancient times, two principal types of music called Bodhisatva and

Bhairo were taken from China to Japan by an Indian Brahmana named Bodhi in the T'ang period,

Indian astronomy, mathematics, and medicine were also popular in China. Indian astronomers were appointed on the official boards set up to prepare the calendars. There were three Indian astronomical schools, known as Gautama, Kasyapa and Kumara, in the capital city in the seventh century. The Indian system of nine planets was adopted in China, and the translation of a Sanskrit astronomical work, Navagraha-siddhdnta , is still to be found in the collection of the T'ang period. A number of Indian mathematical and astronomical works were translated at an earlier date, but they have been lost.

Indian medical treatises were also in great favour in China. A Chinese work, composed in A.D. 455, is either a translation of a Sanskrit text or a compilation from several Sanskrit texts. A number of medical texts are found in the Chinese Buddhist collection, and Rdvana-Kumdra-charita, a Sanskrit treatise on the method of treatment of children's diseases, was translated in the eleventh century.

The Chinese emperors and nobles were fond of Indian thaumaturges who professed to possess the secrets of longevity. On more than one occasion the emperors had them fetched from India in order to prolong their lives. Sometimes they sent an official to India in order to collect rare medicines.

The T'ang period also witnessed a great development of the seaborne trade between India and China. An account written about A.D. 749 refers to the numerous merchantmen belonging to the Polomen, i.e. Brahmanas of India, and other countries, on the river of Canton. The same account refers to three Brahmana monasteries at Canton where Brahmanas were residing. It is evident that Hindu merchants sailed in large number to this Chinese port, and had built v temples there for worship during their stay. According to Harsha*

chdrita, Chinese cuirasses were used by the chiefs of Harsha's army. 1 The discovery of coins of the T'ang Dynasty in South India may also be regarded as an interesting relic of the commercial relations between India and China during this period. 2

The foreign ships in Canton are said to be 60 to 70 ft. deep. Another Chinese work says that the foreign ships visiting Canton “were very large, and so high out of the water that ladders, several tens of feet in length, had to be used to get aboard.”

3. Central Asia

It will appear from what has been said above in regard to China that Central Asia continued to be a strong centre of Indian culture and influence, and could justly be regarded as Ser-India. As in the earlier period, we have remains of ancient stupas, temples, monasteries, images, and paintings, and also a large number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts and translations in different languages. Fortunately, we have no longer to depend upon mere archaeological finds in reconstructing the history and culture of this region, as the detailed accounts of the Chinese travellers to Indi$, notably those of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang, have thrown a flood of light on this subject.

Shen-shen, the first kingdom visited by Fa-hien on leaving China, was situated near Lop Nor at the eastern extremity of Cantral Asia. The king was Buddhist and there were more than four thousand monks in the country. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the vitality of Indian culture at this period all over Central Asia than the following observations made by Fa-hien in reference to Shen-shen:—

“The common people of this and other kingdoms, as well as the sramans (monks), all practise the rules of India, only that the latter do so more exactly, and the former more loosely. So (the travellers) found it in all the kingdoms through which they went on their way from this to the west, only that each had its own peculiar barbarous speech. The monks, however, were all students of Indian books and the Indian language.”

This general picture is fully borne out by the details given by Fa-hien of the two kingdoms through which he passed before reaching India. Hiuen Tsang supplies further particulars of Agni (Qara Shahr), Kuchi, Bharuka (Aqsu), Kashgar, Khotan, and one or two other localities which cannot be exactly identified. In all these places, Buddhism was in a flourishing condition, and Indian scripts and books were used. Buddhism was also flourishing in Turfan in the extreme eastern part of this region. There were several htrnd

Note 26

1. HC., p. 202.

reds of monasteries in Kashgar. As in the earlier period, Khotan in the south and Kuchi in the north were two powerful centres of Indian culture in the Tarim basin.

Both Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang refer in glowing terms to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Khotan. In Fa-hien ? s time the monks amounted to tens of thousands, who strictly followed the rules of discipline and possessed a high sense of decorum. The royal family and people were all Buddhists, and each family had a small stupa in front of its door, the smallest of which was twenty cubits high. There were four great monasteries of which the most distinguished was the Goraati Vihara, containing three thousand monks. These took precedence in the big annual religious processions of images carried in lofty chariots (like Rathayatra processions of modern India) of which a detailed account is given. 1 These processions, attended by the king and queen, were continued for fourteen days, each monastery being allotted a separate day for the procession of its own chariots. Fa-hien gives the following description of another big monastery:—

“The king’s New Monastery, the construction of which took eighty years and extended over three reigns, is about 250 cubits in height; it is rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, and covered above with gold and silver. The Hall of Buddha is of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, venetianed doors and windows being all overlaid with gold-leaf. The apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated beyond the power of words to express.” Fa-hien states that six kings of Eastern 'Turkestan gave all their valuables as offerings to this monastery keeping only a few things for their own use.

Hiuen Tsang also refers to the various sanctuaries and sacred sites in Khotan, and narrates the traditions connected with them.

Reference has been made above 2 to the Tibetan account of the royal family of Khotan up to the reign of Vijita-kirti. No information is available about the next ten or eleven generations during which Khotan was oppressed by foreigners. These probably refer to T'u-yii-hun (A.D. 445), the Juan-Juan (c. A.D. 470), the Hephthalites (A.D. 500-556), and the Western Turks (A.D. 565-631), who conquered Khotan.

We are next introduced to king Viiita-samgrama who evidently freed the country from the Turks. In A.D. 632 he sent an envoy, and three years later his son, to the Chinese court. The next king Vijita-simha sent his son to China in A.D. 648 and later went there hinxself. He was probably ruling when Hiuen Tsang stayed at Khotan during his return journey. The dynasty continued to rule for at least another century, and the Tibetan annals mention Vijita-klrti, Vijita-samgrama, Vijita-vikrama, Vijita-dharma, Vij ita-sambhava and Vijita-bohan. The last of them ruled in the second half of the eighth century A.D., and is probably to be identified with Visavaham, whose name occurs in two documents, found somewhere in Central Asia, which are written in Indian alphabet and an Iranian language.

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Like Khotan, Kuchi was also an important centre of Buddhism, as noted above. 1 The people of Kuchi spoke a language belonging to the Indo-European family (called by various names such as Kuchean, Tokharian, Arsi, etc,). The intimate intercourse between India-and Kuchi as early as the fourth century A.D. will be evident from the story of Kumarajiva. 2 According to Chinese records, there were nearly 10,000 stupas and temples in this kingdom at the beginning of the fourth century A.D. The History of the First Tsin Dynasty gives a detailed account of Buddhism in Kuchi in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. There were numerous monasteries and also several convents for nuns. Four of these monasteries and three convents were in charge of Buddhasvamin, the teacher of Kumarajiva. The nuns in these convents were mostly the daughters and wives of kings and princes. They received regular training and obeyed strict rules of discipline and decorum.

Kuchi was a flourishing seat of Buddhism in the days of Hiuen Tsang. It had one hundred monasteries housing more than five thousand monks. They followed Indian doctrines and rules of discipline, and studied the original Indian texts. Outside the capital city were two standing figures of Buddha, 90 ft. high, in front of which a religious assembly was held every five years for a period of ten days. These were observed as public holidays, and the king and all classes of people attended the assembly. There were also religious processions as in Khotan.

According to Hiuen Tsang the people of Kuchi excelled in their skill in playing on the lute and the pipe. We get more interesting information about it from other Chinese sources. There is no doubt that Kuchean skill in music was due to Indian influence. Not only did the Indian musical system spread to Kuchi, but Indian musicians actually went there and some even settled down in the country The Chinese annals refer to a Brahmanical family called Ts'ao (Jha or Upadhyaya?) in Kuchi who were hereditary musicians. A member of that family visited China between A.D. 550 and 577. Another musician named Sujlva went from Kuchi to China about the same

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time. These Indo-Kuch'ean musicians were so skilled that they could reproduce a tune after hearing it only once. The Chinese accounts leave no doubt that the musical system followed in Kuchi was essentially Indian, and that it was long in favour in the Chinese court Besides music, other arts and sciences of India flourished in this region. The famous Bower Manuscript, found near Kuchi, Contains seven texts of which three are medical treatises. This manuscript is written in Gupta characters, and the language is Sanskrit mixed with many Prakritisms. These texts prove the study of Indian medical science in Kuchi. Reference may also be made to the caves of thousand Buddhas excavated on the southern slopes of the Tien Shan mountains. They were decorated with mural paintings belonging to the period from seventh to tenth century A.D., and some Sanskrit manuscripts were also found in them.

Regarding the influence of Indian culture in the region to the west of the Tarim basin, our knowledge is more limited. There is no doubt, however, that Buddhism was widely prevalent all over the hilly region between the

Tarim basin and the valley of the Upper Sindhu. Fa-hien, who followed the short and direct route between KhotSn and N. W. India, has given a graphic description of the dominance of Buddhism all over the region through which he passed. The condition was more or less the same even in Hiuen Tsang's time. From the valley of the Upper Oxus, almost all along the route to Hindu Kush and back, Hiuen Tsang found abundant traces of Buddhism. Balkh (old Bactriana), to the south of the Oxus, was a great centre of Buddhism. Its capital was called little Raj agriha, evidently after the famous city in ancient India. It had one hundred monasteries containing three thousand monks. Hiuen Tsang found here many relics of Buddha and old sanctuaries. The convent called Navasangharama was a renowned Buddhist institution.

We learn from Arab chronicles that Khalid, the Vizier of Caliph al-Mansur, was the son of a Barmak , i.e. chief priest in a Buddhist monastery in Balkh called Nawbahar. This is evidently the Arabic form of Navavihara, i.e. Navasangharama. The Arab conqueror of Balkh captured Khalid's mother in A.D. 705. The son was converted to Islam and founded the famous Barmaki family. Khalid ibnBarmak came to occupy the highest office under the Caliph, and his son and two grandsons practically ruled the Abbassid Empire from A.D. 786 to 803. They were instrumental in introducing Indian astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other sciences into Arabia.

Among other localities where Buddhism flourished in the time of Hiuen Tsang may be named Tsau Kuta (Ghazni), Hwoh (Kunduz), and various places between Badakshan and Kashgar. Rulers of two

of these localities are said to have been descended from the Sakyas of Kapilavastu. Brahmanical religion also flourished in some of these places and specially at An-ta-lo-po (Andarab).

There was, however, a considerable decline in the influence of Buddhism in the land between the Oxus and the Jaxartes. On his way to India, Hiuen Tsang passed through various localities in this region. He does not mention any trace of Buddhism in the large stretch of territory between Lake Issiq Kol (immediately beyond Tarim basin on the other side of the mountain passes) and the valley of the Oxus. The people were fire-worshippers and Buddhism had no hold on them. But the influence of Buddhism was not altogether absent. The Great Khan of the Western Turks, who lived west of Issiq Kol, had a high reverence for Buddhism. He received Hiuen Tsang hospitably and asked him to expound the religious teachings. At the conclusion of it, “the Khan raising his hands bowed and gladly believed and accepted the teaching.” The Khan detained Hiuen Tsang and wanted to keep him permanently. But when he could not dissuade Hiuen Tsang from continuing his journey, he sent a reliable guide with the pilgrim to conduct him up to Afghanistan. As stated already, the Indian monk Prabhakaramitra of Nalanda stayed with the Turkish chief and taught him Buddhism. This must have deeply impressed the latter and paved the way for the great welcome that Hiuen Tsang received at his hands. Thus Buddhism had begun to exercise its influence over the Western Turks who were the dominant power in this region. Some time before the middle of the eighth century A.D., a Turkish king visited India with his queen and son, and built two temples in Kashmir and two in Gandhara. Sanghavarman, an inhabitant of Samarkand, became an eminent Buddhist monk and visited the Mahabodhi temple at Gaya. I-tsing makes some incidental references to the influence of Buddhism in Turkestan and its contact with India. He refers to the temple which the people of Tukhara (i.e. Turks) formerly built in India for the monks of their own country.’ “The temple is rich and opulent and surpasses others in respect of endowments and good management.” We are further told that “when the monks of northern countries come to India they live in the temple of which they are considered Viharasvamin.” I-tsing elsewhere informs us that the Viharasvamins formed the community proper in a monastery to whom belonged in common all its property. 1

4. Afghanistan

The testimony of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang leaves no doubt that a considerable portion of Afghanistan was still regarded as a part of India. Referring to Udyana or the Valley of the Swat river, Fa-hien remarks: ‘It is indeed (a part) of North India. The people all use the language of Central India. The food and clothes of the common people are the same as

Note 29

in that Central kingdom. The Law of Buddha is very flourishing.’ Hiuen Tsang also includes Lamghan, Jelalabad, and the regions further east including the Swat valley within India proper.

Hiuen Tsang, however, notices that the people of Bamiyan and Kapisa were considerably influenced by the rude civilisation of the Turks. As regards the former we are told that ‘their written language, their popular institutions, and their currency were like those of Tokhara, and they resembled the people of that country in appearance but differed from them in their spoken language.’ They had harsh rude ways, though they w r ere honest. The written language of Kapisa was also very like that of Tokhara, but it differed in other respects. The people were rude and coarse. The change was undoubtedly due to the large influx of Huns and other Turkish hordes in this region in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Nevertheless, Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition in both these places.

The Bamiyan valley lay at the foot of the Hindu Kush mountains. It was surrounded by hills, and commanded one of the most important passes which connect the Kabul valley with Balkli (Bactria). It was an important halting place on the overland route from India to the West. According to local traditions the royal family had migrated from Kapilavastu. Whether this is true or not, Bamiyan was an important centre of Buddhism from very early times. Caves were hewn out of the surrounding hills for the residence of monks, and Buddhist texts, written in Kushana and Gupta alphabets, have been found in these caves.

In Hiuen Tsang’s time, Buddhism was very powerful in Bamiyan, There were numerous monasteries with several thousands of monks, and many sacred relics. The king was a Buddhist and performed a quinquennial festival like Harsha-vardhana. Hiuen Tsang found here many caves and colossal figures of Buddha, carved on the hillsides, many of which exist even today.

Kapisa (Kafir is tan) was a large and powerful kingdom exercising supremacy over ten neighbouring states extending as far as the Sindhu. The king was a Kshatriya by caste and was a devout Buddhist. There were 100 monasteries, with 6000 priests, and many sacred relics and sites associated with the early history of Buddhism. There were also some Brahmanical temples. I-tsing says that there was a ‘Kapisa Temple’ in Bodh-Gaya where priests from the north dwelt.

Recent archaeological excavations have revealed the strong influence of Indian culture over the whole of Afghanistan, as far as and even beyond the Hindu Kush. The artistic remains unearthed by these expeditions show the existence of Indian art traditions, winch had their full development in Khotan, Kuchi, Turf an, Tunhwang and the other Indian Colonies in Central Asia. The site of Hadda, visited both, by Fa~hien and Hiuen Tsang, has been explored. Ruins of 531 stupas have been excavated and about 500 sculptures, mostly stucco heads, have been found. These stucco figures display artistic skill of a very high order. The important site of Bamiyan has also been explored, and a number of valuable fresco paintings and Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered. In addition to the colossal figures of Buddha and numerous caves, which were hitherto well known, some old caves, with decorative paintings, have come to light. These paintings show some Iranian influence, A Surya image and the remains of a temple of the Gupta style have been found at the hill of Khair Khaneh, north-west of Kabul. Begrum, the site of Kapiii, has yielded a large number of ivories with designs recalling the Mathura art of the Kushana period. At another site, a little to the east, have been found a number of clay modellings and mural paintings of Indian type resembling those of the Gupta and Pala periods.

5. Tibet

According to the Tibetan chronicles of mediaeval ages the founder of the Tibetan royal dynasty was the son of an Indian king. The kings of Ladakh or Western Tibet also traced their descent from the Sakya family of India, While these traditions prove the strong influence of India on the history and culture of Tibet, they cannot be regarded as historical facts.

There is no definite information about any contacts between India and Tibet prior to the sixth century A.D. In the last two decades of that century one of the local chiefs, who were hitherto ruling in different parts of Tibet, subjugated the rest and set up a powerful kingdom. This king, named Gnam-ri-sroh-btsan 1 , is said to have led a victorious campaign to Central India. 2 This statement is very doubtful, but there is no doubt that his kingdom touched the frontier of India and he might have had some relations with a few borderstates.

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The son and successor of this king was the famous Sroh-btsansgam-po who occupied the throne of Tibet during the first half of the seventh century A.D. He is said to have conquered Assam and Nepal and exercised suzerainty over half of Jambudvlpa (i.e. India). In spite of obvious exaggeration, there is no doubt that this Tibetan ruler exercised suzerainty over Nepal, and probably also over Assam and some other regions. 1

With Sroii-btsan-sgam-po begins the influence of Buddhism which was soon to transform the whole culture of Tibet. He married a daughter of king Aiiisuvarman of Nepal and also a Chinese princess. Both the queens were devout Buddhists, and the king, under their influence, adopted the religion. He had temples and monasteries built, and a number of Buddhist texts translated. Images and sacred relics were also brought from India and China.

But the most notable contribution of the king to the cultural development of Tibet was the introduction of Sanskrit language and the system of writing from India, The following account of it is culled from Tibetan sources 2 :—

“The king clearly saw that a written language w T as most essential to the establishment of religion, and more particularly to the institution of laws for the good of the people. He therefore sent Sambhota, with sixteen companions, to study carefully the Sanskrit language and thereby obtain access to the sacred literature of the Indian Buddhists. He also instructed them to devise means for the invention of a written language for Tibet by adapting the Sanskrit alphabet to the phonetic peculiarities of the Tibetan dialect. He furnished the members of the mission with a large quantity of gold to make presents to the Professors.

"Sambhota and his companions reached India and acquired a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit language, Buddhist scriptures, and Indian scripts. After returning to Tibet they framed the system of Tibetan characters and composed a grammatical work. The king ordered the intelligent class of people to be taught the art of reading and writing and many Sanskrit Buddhist books to be translated into Tibetan. He then required all his subjects by royal edicts to observe the ten virtues besides a code of sixteen moral virtues specified by him"

Whatever we might think of the details in the foregoing account, there is no doubt that the Tibetan alphabet is derived from the Indian Gupta script current from fifth to seventh century A.D. The grammar composed by Sambhota is practically the same which is in use in Tibetan schools even today. 1

Note 33

Thus the foundation of Buddhism was laid and Tibet started on her way of cultural evolution under the guidance of India. Sroiibtsan-sgam-po. who initiated the new movement, naturally loomed large in the eyes of the people when, in a later age, Buddhism became the dominant force in Tibet. He was regarded as an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Avalokita; the Nepalese queen was considered the incarnation of Bhrikuti, and the Chinese queen, that of Tara. No less than 900 monasteries, including the famous Ra-mo-che, are said to have been built by this king. He also invited to his court the Indian teacher Kumara, the Nepalese teacher Slla-manju, the Kashmiri teachers Tabuta and Ganuta, the Brahmana Li-byin and the Chinese teacher, Ha-sah-Mahadheva. 2

Sroh-btsan-sgam-po died about A.D. 650. For the next half a century we do not hear much of the new religion or of Tibetan contact with India. Some time about A.D. 702 Nepal and the border states of India threw off the yoke of Tibet and the Tibetan king died in the course of a campaign against them (A.D. 704). The next king was Khri-lde-btsug-brtan, more commonly known by his surname Mes-'ag-tshoms (A.D. 705-55). In order to avenge the defeat of 704 he led frequent raids into India. The North Indian rulers

Lalitaditya and Yasovarman, harassed by these frequent aggressions, even applied to China for help. 3

The renewed contact with India promoted the cause of Buddhism in Tibet. The new king erected temples and monasteries, and arranged for the translation of sacred texts. But soon there was a reaction. During a pestilence in A.D. 740-41 all the foreign monks were expelled from the country in order to appease the irritated gods. Thus when king Mes-'ag-tshoms died in A.D. 755 the prospects of Buddhism were not very bright in Tibet. 4

6, Other Countries in the Far East

Buddhism, and along with it Indian culture, spread from Central Asia, China, and Tibet to other parts of Northern and Eastern Asia Mongolia, Korea, and Japan were the most important countries to be affected in this way. Korea and Japan were, no doubt, greatly influenced by Chinese Buddhists, and in a later age, Tibet was an important centre for propagation of Buddhism, especially in Mongolia. But we have also evidence of direct intercourse between India and some of these countries.

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As regards Korea, we know from I-tsing that five Korean monks visited India in the seventh century A.D. Two of these set out in A.D 638, and lived and died at Nalanda. A third, Sarvajhadeva came through Tibet and Nepal in A.D. 650. The fourth monk Prajna-varman stayed for ten years in India. Another Korean monk died in India, and two more died on their way to India.

There was also direct intercourse between India and Japan. The Indian monk who is best known in this connection is Bodhisena whose history has been preserved in Japanese chronicles. 1 Bodhisena was a Brahmana of South India and his family name was Barachi (Bharadvaja gotra?). He set out for China by sea, and met on the way a ship-wrecked priest of Champa named Buttetsu. They arrived together in China in A.D. 733.

Bodhisena went to China to meet Mahjusn, who was generally believed in India to have lived there. Bodhisena could not find him there, but was told that he had left for Japan. An imperial Japanese envoy at the court of China, who was just leaving foi his country, invited Bodhisena to accompany him. Both Bodhisena and Buttetsu joined, him and reached Japan in A.D. 736. On their arrival at the port of Naniwa (Osaka) they were received with great honour by the imperial messenger, the chief priest accompanied by a hundred others, masters of ceremonies, musicians, and high dignitaries of the foreign office.

It appears that boih Buddhism and Sanskrit were already wellknown in Japan. For Bodhisena carried on conversation with the Japanese priest 'both in Sanskrit and Japanese' as if they were old friends. He was lodged in a Buddhist monastery, and the imperial court furnished him with clothes and other necessaries of life.

When in A.D. 749 a colossal image of Buddha Vairochana was installed, Bodhisena was asked to perform the consecration ceremony, and Buttetsu took charge of the musical arrangements.

In 750 Bodhisena was appointed the head of the Buddhist order in Japan and he came to be popularly known as the Bararnon Sojo (Brahmana Bishop). He taught Sanskrit and the Mahayana doctrine of Gandavyuha in three different monasteries and died in 760 at the age of 57. A stupa was erected over his remains, and one of his disciples composed an inscription for it in A.D. 770.

The arrangement of Japanese syllabary in fifty phonetic sounds, closely following the Sanskrit alphabet and undoubtedly based upon

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it, is attributed by some Japanese scholars to Bodhisena, though others relegate it to a later period. The use of the Indian alphabet in Japan, however, dates probably from even an earlier period. It is interesting to note that fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts written in Indian alphabets of the fourth century A.D. have been found in some monasteries of Japan. 1 There is also good evidence to show that the palm-leaf manuscript at the Horiuzi monastery, which cannot be later than the sixth century A.D., was brought to Japan in A.D, 609. 2

Buttetsu was not only a scholar but was highly proficient in music and dance. He spent a number of years in the famous Nara University of Japan and gave lessons and demonstrations in Indian music and dance. Hie Indian system of seven musical notes (8ha» $ja, Rishabha, etc.) was highly admired and in great demand, both in religious assemblies and at the imperial court, Buttetsu taught Sanskrit and wrote a manual for teaching this language.

7 . Western Countries 3 (i) Trade and political intercourse

Although Indian trade with the Roman empire declined to a considerable extent after the third century A.D. there is no doubt that it continued for at least two or three hundred years more. This is clearly demonstrated by the finds of Roman coins in Southern India. At Madura, for example, were found a large quantity of copper coins of Arcadius, Emperor of the East (A.D. 395-408), and Honorius, Emperor of the West (A.D. 395-423), one gold coin of Constantins II (337 - 361), one of Theodosius II (408-450), one of Zeno (474-491), and one of Anastatius (491-518). Coins of Theodosius II, Marcian (450 - 457), Leo (457-474), Zeno, Anastatius, and Justinus I (518-527) have been found in Travancore. Coins of Theodosius I (379-395), Valentinian (364-375) and Eudoxia (401-404) have been found in various places in South India. These coins as well as the Indian embassies to Roman Emperors mentioned above 4 * prove the continuity of trade between India and Rome down to the beginning of the sixth century A.D. Another evidence of the flourishing nature of this trade is furnished by the fact that when Alaric "spared Rome in A.D. 408, he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper.’ 6

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Trade relations with Western Asia were also flourishing throughout the period treated in this volume. We learn from Amianus Marcellinus 1 that Indian wares were sent to the great annual fair at the mart of Batne, not far from the bank of the Euphrates, about the second half of the fourth century A.D. Chinese Annals refer to a brisk trade between China and western countries like Arabia and Persia. This trade must have passed through India, and kept up the old trade relations between India and the -western countries* The Arabs and Persians sent a large number of vessels to China and these passed through Indian ports. I-tsing left China for India in a Persian ship. 2 We learn from the account of Vajrabodhi's journey to China in A.D. 720 3 that when he reached a port in Ceylon he saw thirty-five Persian vessels there.

There was commercial intercourse between India and Arabia even in pre-Isiaraic days. The sword made of Indian steel is proverbial in Arabic literature. 4 5 Aden is mentioned as a centre of the perfumery industry which had markets in Sindh and Hind and all parts of the world. Indian spices were imported in large quantities into Arabia, and ilrabic words like quranful are derived from Indian names (Karan-phul).

We learn from Arab literature that Daba was one of the two major ports of Arabia in pre-Islamic days. It was situated in Oman, in the south-eastern corner of Arabia. There was an annual fair at Daba to which traders came from Sindh, Hind, China, and Greece,— in short from all the countries of the world.

An interesting evidence of a close contact between India and Persia has been preserved by Tabari (A.D. 838-923), the Persian historian, on the authority of a Pehlevi work written shortly after the death of Khusru II. We learn from his account that in the 36th year of the reign of Khusru (A.D. 590-628) a king of India sent to the Persian king ambassadors carrying a letter and presents for him and his sons. The letter to one of the princes was marked ‘private* and contained the information—-a sort of prophecy—that he would be crowned king two years hence. It has been held that the Indian king was Pulakesin II, and that one of the paintings in the ceiling of cave 1 at Ajanta portrays not only the Persian king Khusru II and his famous queen Shirin, but also the scene of a Persian embassy at the court of king Pulakesin. This interpretation of the picture, as w r ell as the identification of the Indian king mentioned by Tabari with Pulakesin, has been questioned, 6 but there is no doubt that

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both the story and the painting prove an intimate connection between India and Persia. It may be also noted that according to Ranabhatta’s Harsha-charita, the stable of the emperor Harsha-vardhana was filled with horses from Persia. It appears from the same authority that Harsha’s court was familiar with Persia and other kingdoms in the west. For among the boastful expressions, uttered by Harsha’s military chiefs, occurs the following: “The land of the Turushkas is to the brave but a cubit; Persia is only a span; Sakastbana, but a rabbit’s track.” 1

We learn from a Pehlevi work that half a century before Harsha and Pulakesin another Indian king, named Devsaram (Devasarman ?), sent an embassy to the Persian king Khusru I with rich presents and a set of chessmen with board. 2

The historian Tabari, mentioned above, has preserved a number of anecdotes which, whatever may be their historical value, indicate an intimate intercourse between Indian and western Asiatic countries. According to him Anushirvan despatched an expedition to India and conquered some provinces, but the truth of this story may be doubted. 3

There is a long story describing in detail how an Indian king, with a huge army, including contingents from his vassal states in Turkey and Persia, attacked Palestine. Being defeated by divine intervention on behalf of the king of Palestine, the Indian king fled to the coast with a lakh of soldiers and tried to escape with the help of their boats. But the whole army perished in ship-wreck by a typhoon in the Mediterranean.

The Indian navy is referred to even in historical times. Ubulla, near Basra, was known in those days as the ‘gateway of India,’ and its governor is said to have “always had to fight against either the Arab Beduins on land or Indian navy on sea.”

Many kings of the west are said to have visited India, and some of them conquered, or received tributes from, different kingdoms in this country.

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THE CLASSICAL AGE

(ii) Influence of India on the West

We have positive evidence that Indian literature and sciences exerted great influence upon Western countries during the period under review.

That Indian literature was highly valued in these countries and made a deep impression upon their people is proved by the history of a single book Pahchat antra 1 which is a collection of fables containing wise maxims. It was translated in the sixth century A.D. from Sanskrit into Pehlevi, and then from Pehlevi into Arabic and Syrian. 2 The Arabic translation made the book well known all over the Western world, and it was rendered into Persian, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, Italian and various other languages of Europe and Asia, As Max Muller has remarked, the triumphant progress of this work from India to the west is more wonderful and instructive than the stories contained in it. Other Indian folk-tales also found their way to Europe and can be traced in Mediaeval collections such as the Gesta

Romanorum, and in the stories of Boccacio, Straparola, Chaucer, and La Fontaine. Jataka stories and the traditional account of Buddha were also current in Western countries. St. John of Damascus (eighth century A.D.) wrote Barlaam and Josaphat which contained numerous Buddhist legends and portrayed the life of Buddha as a pious Christian saint. As a result of this Gautama, the Bodhisattva, under the guise of Saint Josaphat, was included in the Martyrology of Gregory XIII (1582). 3

Like Hindu literature, the Hindu sciences, notably Medical Science and Arithmetic, were highly prized in the West. Many scholars hold that the later Greek physicians were acquainted with the medical works of the Hindus. Nearer home Iran also was largely indebted to India for her knowledge of medicine and other sciences. It is on record that Barzouhyeh. a subject of the Sassanid king Armshirvan (Khusru I, A.D. 531-579), visited India to acquire proficiency in Indian medicine and other sciences.

It is thus evident that Indian literature and sciences made their influence felt and that the cultural relation with the west was continued throughout the period. The religious influence was also not altogether absent, Hiuen Tsang notes that Lang-kie-Io, a country to the west of India and subject to Persia, had more than 100 monasteries and 6,000 monks, and several hundred Deva (i.e. Brahmani

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cal) temples, mostly of the Pasupata Sect. Even in Persia itself, according to the same Chinese authority, there were two or three Buddhist monasteries and numerous Deva temples.

Reference may be made in this connection to a picture found at Dandanuliq in the Chinese Turkestan. It presents a four-armed Buddhist saint or Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian, with black beard and whiskers, holding a thunderbolt in his left hand. The picture shows distinct Indian features, but it is the product of a type of Buddhist art which developed in Iran and thence travelled towards the east. It may be referred to the eighth century A.D., and proves that even up to the sixth or seventh century Buddhism was a living force in Iran and had cultural contact with India and other centres of Buddhism in Asia. The introduction of Persian figures in Ajanta, mentioned above, considered along wifh this picture, establishes, in the opinion of some scholars, a close relationship between the arts of India, Persia and Central Asia in the seventh century A.D. [1]

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5. F. W. Tomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.

[1] FAS. 310.

CHAPTER XXIV

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. II, Ch. XXV.
2. 1. The dates put within brackets refer to the known period of residence in China. The account of the Indian and Chinese missionaries and the pro,stress of Buddhism in China, unless otherwise stated, is based on Dr. P. C. Bagchi's India, *nd China and his articles in Sino-Indian Studies, Vol. I, pp. 1-17, 65-84.
3. 609
4. C.A, 39
5. 1. See Vol. H, p. 6.
6. 1. According to Anesaki Buddhabhadra arrived in China in A.D. 398, i.e. two years before Fa-hien entered India (JRAS, 1903, p. 368).
7. 1. According to Dr. P. C. Bagchi Vinltaruchi was a Buddhist monk of Uddiyana (India and China, p, 228), but cf. BEFEO. XXXII. 235, which also gives an account of his activity in Tonkin. For an account of some other missionaries, . specially those from Ceylon, who visited China, cf. JRAS, 1903, pp. 368-70.
8. G12
9. 1. Cf. Bagchi, Sino-Indian Studies, II. 42; L„ Petech, Northern India according to the Shui-Ching-Chu (Rome, 1950), pp. 63 ff. The list of embassies during the Wei period is given on p, 74 of this work,
10. 2. Sostri, Foreign Notices , 83.
11. 6*7
12. 2. See pp. 118f, 139f.
13. 1. See p. 280£.
14. 2. For a different version, cf. Sastri, op. cit., p. 17.
15. 3. See pp. 120f, 124ff.
16. 1. According to Bagchi, the Brahmana thaumaturge accompanied Wang-hiuen-tse to China in A.D. 648. He "failed to give long life to the Emperor who died in A.D. 649." Hence the new Emperor sent him back to India (Sino-Indian Studies, I. 69).
17. 2. See pp. 130, 132ff.
18. 3. This summary is based upon Chavannes, Documents Sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux (Notes Additionelles). Cf. also Dr. P. C. Bagchi's account (SinoIndian Studies, I. 70).

19. 1. JA, 1895, p. 376. 2. See p. 617.
20. 3. According to Ma-twan-lin, “the Five Indians (or five kingdoms of India) sent ambassadors to the court of the Emperor” in A.D. 667. (Sastri, op. cit., p. 117). Probably Ma-twan-lin refers to the same embassies as are mentioned in
21. the text above, and confused the date. Otherwise, we have to presume that the five Indian kings also sent embassies earlier, in A.D. 667.
22. 4. Sastri, op. cit., 116-7.
23. 1. For a detailed account, cf. B. C. Law Volume, I. 66fL
24. 1. See p. 621.
25. C.A.—iO,
26. 2. Sino-lndian Studies, I. 60.
27. 1. See p. 376, 2. Vol. II, p. 640.
28. 1. Vol. n, p. 643. 2. See pp. 608f.
29. 1. JBRS, XXXVIII, p. 411.
30. 1. The Tibetan names are written in different ways by different authorities. The system of spelling, adopted by Francke (Antiquities of Indian Tibet), has been followed here.
31. 2. According to the Chinese sources relied on by Levi (Nepal II, 147). But the Chronicles of Ladakh says that ‘some kings who dwelt in the west of India > were subdued’ (Francke, op. cit., p. 82). Cf. also Petech, op. cit., pp. 35-6.
32. G33
33. 1. See above, pp. 86, 141. 2. JASB, 1881, pp. 218-19.
34. 1. Francke, op. cit, p. 84.
35. 2. Thomas, op. cit, pp. 62, 83, 84.
36. 3. Sastri, Foreign Notices, p. 117; also see above, pp. 130, 134.
37. 4. According to some version of the Chronicles of Ladakh the reaction against Buddhism commenced in the next region. (Francke, op. cit, p. 86).
38. 1. BEFEO, XXVIII 24-26.
39. 1. JA., 1885, pp. 228-9.
40. 2. Anecdota Oxoniensia—Aryan Series Vol. I, Part III. p. 64.
41. 3. The following may be cited as general references for this section:—
42. (a) Rawlinson: Intercourse between India and the Western World.
43. (b) M. Hamidulla: Ancient India from Arabic Sources (PIHC, } V. 246-48).

44. (c) P. K. Hitti: History of the Arabs .
45. 4, Yol. H, p. 625. 5. JRAS., 1964, pp. 307 ff.
46. 6 37
47. 1. XIV. 3. 33. 2. IRT., p. XXVIII. 3. See above, p. 610.
48. 4. Schoff, Perivlus, 70-71.
49. 5. The question has been fully discussed with references to different views by
50. Sastri (Foreinn Notices, p. 9) and B. Ghose (JBRS.. XXX, 1 ff.) Cf. also the author's article "Pulakesi and Khusru II" in JIH., Vol. IV. Part II.
51. 1. HC., 2i0.
52. 2. The Persian poet Firdausi says in the Shahnama that ambassadors from the sovereign of Hind came to Khusru I (Anushirvan) with a chess-board and men asking him to solve the secrets of the game. Other Persian and Arabian writers state that Shatranj (i.e., chess, from Sanskrit Chaturanaa) came into Persia from India and there appears to be a consensus of opinion that may be considered to settle the question. Thus we have the game passing from the Hindus to the Persian and thence to the Arabians (the seventh century) and from them, directly or indirectly to various parts of Europe, at a time which cannot be definitely fixed, but either in or before the tenth century fcf. Encycl. Britannica —under chess; also H. J. R. Murray: A History oj Chess (1913)].
53. 3. Sir Percy Sykes: History of Persia, p. 456.
54. 1. See above, p. 314.
55. 2. Wintemito: GIL,, III. 294 if. According to Hitti (op. cit. 404), the basis of the famous Thousand and one nights was a Persian work containing several stories of Indian origin.
56. 3. Rawlinson: op. cit., 142, 180.

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION IN

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

I. SEA-VOYAGE TO THE SOUTH-EAST

An eye-witness has left us a thrilling account of the perilous sea-voyage to South-east Asia which he made in A.D. 414. This is the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien to whom frequent references have been made before. He embarked in a large merchant-vessel at Tamralipti (Tamiuk in Bengal), and sailing day and night, reached the island of Ceylon after fourteen days. After staying there for two years he sailed for China. The details of this journey may be told in his own words:

“Fa-hien took passage in a large merchantman, on board of which there were more than 200 men and to which was attached by a rope a smaller vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of navigation. With a favourable wind, they proceeded eastward for three days, and then they encountered a great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and water came in. The merchants wished to go into the smaller vessel; but the men on board it, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, feeling their risk of instant death. Afraid that the vessel would fill, they took their bulky goods and threw them into the water.

“In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea (hereabouts) there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west; only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, (the ship) went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the

sky became clear, they could tell east and west and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape. After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days they arrived at a country called Java-dvlpa (Java)." 1

The above account vividly describes the risks and dangers of the sea-voyage that confronted Indian colonists. Nevertheless the Hindu colonisation continued to make rapid progress during the period treated in this volume. The Hindu kingdoms in Annam and Cambodia, founded as early as the first century A.D., 2 continued to prosper; other new colonial kingdoms sprang into existence; ana we have more striking evidence of the triumph of Hindu culture all over the vast region and in almost £very phase of life.

II. INDO-CHINA 1. Cambodia

The kingdom of Fu-nan passed through great political troubles in the first half of the fourth century A.D. There were several claimants for the throne, one of whom, referred to by the Chinese as Hindu Chan-tan, took the title of the king of Fu-nan and sent an embassy to China in A.D. 357. The name of this Indian may be restored as Chandana or Chandra.

Towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. another Indian, named Kaundinya, was elected king by the people of Fu-nan. He was a Brahmana and had come direct from India. He probably represents a fresh stream of Indian influence which thoroughly Brahmanised the country.

The Chinese annals tell us a great deal about another king Jaya-varman, a descendant of Kaundinya. Jaya-varman had sent some merchants to Canton for purposes of trade. The Indian monk Nagasena joined them there, but on the return journey a storm forced them to land in Champa. The Chams plundered all their goods, but Nagasena returned safely to Fu-nan. Jaya-varman had other grievances against Champa. One of his rebellious subjects had occupied the throne of Champa and had adopted a hostile attitude towards him. Jaya-varman accordingly sent Nagasena to the Imperial court, with a petition asking for help against the Cham king. Nagasena arrived in China in A.D. 484 and presented a poem eulogising the god Mahesvara, Buddha, and the Emperor of China. The Emperor praised the god Mahesvara whose cult was dominant in Fu-nan, and condemned the king of Champa, but sent no active help against him. In A.D. 503 Jaya-varman again sent an embassy to the Imperial court with presents including an image of Buddha, made of coral. He sent two more embassies in A.D. 511 and 514, and two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan settled in China and translated Buddhist texts.

Jaya-varman's queen was named Kula-prabhavati and they had a son named Guna-varman. We possess two Sanskrit inscriptions of Guna-varman and his mother. But Guna-varman did not succeed his father. Jaya-varman's elder son Rudra-varman, born of a concubine, succeeded him after killing the younger son, born of the legitimate wife.

Rudra-varman also has left a Sanskrit inscription. He sent no less than six embassies to China between A.D. 517 and 539. During or shortly after his reign the kingdom of Fu-nan was invaded by the rulers of Kambuja which was originally a vassal state but had recently thrown off the yoke of Fu-nan. The struggle went on for some time, but Fu-nan was completely conquered before the end of the seventh century A.D.

The kingdom of Kambuja was situated in North-eastern Cambodia. According to legends current in later times the kingdom was founded by Kambu Svayambhuva, the king of Aryadesa (India), and named after him. The two earliest rulers of this kingdom, known to us, are &ruta-varman and his son Sreshtha-varman. The latter threw off the yoke of Fu-nan, and the capital of the independent kingdom was named after him Sreshthapura. It was quite close to the Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos. On the summit of this hill, called Linga-parvata, was the temple of Bhadresvara Siva, the tutelary deity of the royal family.

1. FTL, 111 f. 2. Vol. II, pp. 656-8.

Bhava-varman, who occupied the throne of Kambuja about the close of the six;th century A.D., was the founder of a new royal family, 1 and he transferred the capital to Bhavapura. He was a great conqueror and considerably increased the extent of the kingdom. His brother Chitrasenai, who assumed the name Mahendra-varman on ascending the throne, invaded Fu-nan and conquered nearly the whole of it. He died some time before A.D. 616, and was succeeded by his son Isanasena or Isana-varman. The new king continued the war against Fu-nan and finally conquered it, probably about A.D. 630. He ruled over an extensive kingdom comprising the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China and also the valley of the Mun river to the north of the Dangrek mountains. He founded a new capital

Note 1

city, called after him Isanapura. He sent an embassy to China and had probably diplomatic relations with India as well. He also played a part in the history of Champa as will be related later.

Isana-varman died some time about A.D. 635. He was followed by two kings Bhava-varman II and Jaya-varman I of whom nothing is known. Jaya-varman ruled till at least A.D. 681 and is the last known king of the family of Bhava-varman.

The history of Kambuja for the next hundred years is very obscure and will be dealt with in the next volume.

The dynasty of Bhava-varman raised the small principality of Kambuja into a big kingdom. Fu-nan gradually passed into oblivion and Kambuja took its place as the leading state. It established a powerful kingdom, comprising not only the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, but also a part of Laos. In spite of occasional vicissitudes of fortune, Kambuja continued its glorious career for nearly seven hundred years, and attained to a height of splendour and renown not acquired before or since by any other kingdom in Indo-China.

2. Champa

The throne of Champa was usurped by Fan Wen, the general of Fan-yi, when the latter died in A.D. 336. He was an able ruler and skilful general. He resolved to extend the kingdom of Champa up to the Hoan Sonh mountains in the north, by annexing the Chinese province of Nhut-Nam (corresponding to modern districts of Thua-Thien, Quang Tri and Quang Binh). When he failed to achieve his purpose by negotiations he sent a military expedition and conquered the province in A.D. 347. Two years later he again defeated, a vast Chinese army, but was wounded in the fight and died in A.D. 349.

Fan Wen carried the frontiers of Champa to its furthest limits to the north, but his aggressive policy involved his son and grandson in a protracted war with China for more than fifty years (A.D. 349413). Both sides claimed occasional successes and even great victories, but the result was indecisive.

The grandson of Fan Wen is called by the Chinese Fan-Hu-ta, but he is probably the king referred to in the Sanskrit inscriptions of Champa as Bhadra-varman. 1 He was a great general and scored some successes against the Chinese. His kingdom probably included all the three provinces of Champa, viz. Amaravati (northern), Vijaya (central), and Panduranga (southern). He was a great scholar and,

Note 2

according to the inscriptions, studied the four Vedas. He constructed a temple of &iva, called after him Bhadresvara-svami, at Myson. This temple became the national sanctuary of Champa, and the later kings followed his example of setting up images of deities named after themselves.

Bhadra-varman was succeeded by his son Gangaraja who abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the bank of the sacred Gahga river in India. The departure of the king was followed by anarchy and civil war in Champa which was brought to an end in A.D. 420 by the accession of Fan Yang Mai who founded a new dynasty.

War with China continued under Fan Yang Mai and his son who also bore the same name. Fan Yang Mai II, elated by a temporary success, sent an expedition almost every year against Tonkin. The Chinese emperor thereupon decided to crush this turbulent chief. After three years' elaborate preparations the Chinese army invaded Champa in A.D. 446. Yang Mai suffered a terrible defeat and fled. The Chinese entered the capital city Champa in triumph and secured 100,000 pounds of pure gold by melting the images in temples sacked by them.

After the retreat of the Chinese army Yang Mai II returned to his capital, but died of a broken heart (A.D. 446). He was succeeded by his son and grandson. The latter pacified the Chinese Emperor by sending rich tributes in A.D. 455, 458 and 472.

The death of this king was followed by a period of troubles in course of which a man from Fu-nan (according to some accounts the son of Jaya-varman, king of Fu-nan) usurped the kingdom, as mentioned above. But the usurper was defeated and the family of Yang Mai regained the throne. Vijaya-varman, the last king of this dynasty, sent two embassies to China in A.D. 526 and 527.

Vijaya-varman was succeeded by Rudra-varman. He was a Brahma-Kshatriya and claimed descent from king Gangaraja, mentioned above, who abdicated the throne and retired to the bank of the Ganga. Rudra-varman received investiture from China on .payment of tribute in A.D. 530. The tribute was renewed in A.D. 534.

Rudra-varman was succeeded by his son Prasasta-dharma who took the name of Sambhu-varman at the time of his coronation. He took advantage of the weakness of the Imperial Chen dynasty and stopped the customary tribute. Although he hastened to send tribute in A.D. 595 after the Sui dynasty was established on the Imperial throne, the Emperor decided to teach him a lesson. The Chinese army invaded Champa in A.D. 605. Sambhu-varman suffered several defeats and fled. The Chinese sacked the city of Champa and carried off an immense booty, including the golden tablets of 18 kings of Champa and 1,350 Buddhist works. It is said that they cut off the left ears of 10,000 Chams who were taken prisoners in the battle.

Sambhu-varman was succeeded in A.D. 629 by his son Kandarpadharma. He maintained good relations with China by regular payment of tribute, and his reign was peaceful. But internal troubles broke out shortly after his death. One Satyakausika-svamI, descended from the royal family through female line, claimed the throne, but being unsuccessful fled to Kambuja court. But shortly after Prabhasa-dharma had succeeded his father Kandarpa-dharma, the attempt was renewed and he was killed with all the male members of the family (A.D. 645). The kings of Kambuja, Mahendravarman and Isana-varman, really pulled the strings from behind in order to establish their influence over the neighbouring state. This object was fully achieved. Satyakausika-svamI ascended the throne of Champa (A.D. 645), and his grandson Jagaddharma was married to SarvanI, daughter of isana-varman. Soon after the death of Satyakausika-svamI (A.D. 653), Prakasa-dharma, son of Jagaddharma and SarvanI, ascended the throne under the title of Vikrantavarman (A.D. 657). 1 Not much is known of the history of Champa during the next hundred years. The last known king of this family is Rudra-varman II who sent tribute to China in A.D. 749 and died about A.D. 757.

3. Burma and Siam

Although we do not possess a continuous history of any other colonial kingdom, we know the existence of several such kingdoms during the period under review. Hiuen Tsang refers to several Hinduised kingdoms in Indo-China, viz. ^Hkshetra, with its capital at Prome (Lower Burma); D varava tl, comprising a large part of Siam; Isanapura (Kambuja), and Maha-champa (Champa), in addition to two other kingdoms which cannot be identified. Hiuen Tsang heard these names while in Bengal, but did not visit these countries. The fact that he refers to Kambuja as Isanapura, a name associated with his contemporary king Isana-varman, shows that there was a regular and intimate intercourse between India and these countries. Dvaravati was inhabited by the Mons or Talaings who had adopted Hindu culture. The Hindui^bd Mons also occupied the coastal regions of Lower Burma known as Ramannadesa. The Hindu

Note 3

Note 4

colonists in the Mon country spread their power and influence in the more inaccessible regions in North Siam and Laos. A number of Pali chronicles have preserved the history of many local principalities founded by them. These texts furnish a long list of royal names (mostly in Indian form) and pious foundations of Buddhist monasteries. The discoveries of Buddhist images and inscriptions fully confirm the general picture supplied by the chronicles.

Further north, Hindu colonies were also established among the Thais who occupied the southern and south-eastern part of the country, now called China, and the region intermediate between it and Burma on the west and Siam in the south. Their most important kingdom in Yunnan was known as Gandhara and one part of it was also called Videha-rajya.

To the north of the Mons in Lower Burma lived the tribe called Pyu. The Hindu colonists settled among them and founded a kingdom with ;§rlkshetra (Prome) as capital. According to local chronicles this kingdom was founded by a member of the Hindu royal dynasty of Tagaung. 1 It is, no doubt, quite possible that the Hindus who had colonised Upper Burma had spread southwards along the Iravati. It is, however, also not unlikely that different bands of colonists had proceeded to Prome, by way of sea or through Arakan. A number of inscriptions, written both in Sanskrit and Pyu languages, but in Indian script, have been found in this region. A Sanskrit inscription of the seventh century A.D., engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, mentions king Jayachandravarman. Three other kings Hari-vikrama, Simha-vikrama and Surya-vikrama ruled in Srlkshetra at a much earlier period.

We possess the record of a Hindu dynasty called :§rI-Dharma

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rajanuja-vamsa ruling in Arakan from A.D. 600 to 1000. The names of kings ended in Chandra, such as Bala-chandra, Deva-chandra, etc. The coins have preserved the names of kings Dharma-chandra, Vlrachandra, etc. According to local chronicles a Chandra dynasty ruled in Arakan with Vaisali as capital, the two previous capitals being Ramavati and Dhanyavati. The ruins of Vaisali (now called Vethaii 8 miles to the north-west of Mrohaung) testify to its former greatness. The famous Buddha image, called Mahamuni, was the tutelary deity of Arakan throughout the historical period.

4. Malay Peninsula

The geographical position of the Malay Peninsula made it the centre of carrying trade between India and the Far East. Takkola,

Note 5

Note 6

modern Takua Pa, 1 was the first landing stage of the Indian traders and colonists. From this port some crossed over the mountain range to the fertile plain on the eastern coast round the Bay of Bandon, and then proceeded by land or sea to Siam, Cambodia, Annam and even further east. Others continued the voyage through the Straits of Malacca. Ruins of shrines and images, Sanskrit inscriptions, and other vestiges of Indian settlements are found at Takua Pa, and along the trans-peninsular route to the Bay of Bandon, as well as in the Province Wellesley. These prove that there were Hindu colonies all over the Peninsula as early at least as fourth or fifth century A.D. One of these incriptions, in the northern part of Province Wellesley, records a gift by, and a prayer for the successful voyage of, the great sailor (maha-navika) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Raktamrittika. This place has been identified by some with Rangamati, 12 miles south of Murshidabad, in Bengal. 2 This, interesting inscription has perhaps preserved the name and memory of one of those mariners of India who carried the pioneers of Indian colonisation across the Bay of Bengal.

The Hindu colonists set up several kingdoms in Malay Peninsula. Some details of these have been preserved in Chinese chronicles. Unfortunately many of them cannot be definitely located, and different identifications have been proposed by different scholars. But taken collectively they leave no doubt that there were many Hindu kingdoms in the Peninsula. The Chinese account shows their intimate connection with India. About the state Langkia-su, probably in the Isthmus of Ligor, we are told that a relation of the king, on being driven out of the kingdom, went to India and married a princess. When all on a sudden the king of Lang-kia-su

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died, the high officers called back the prince from India and made him king. He died after a reign of 20 years and was succeeded by his son Bhagadato (Bhagadatta?) who sent an envoy named Aditya with a letter to the emperor of China in A.D. 515. The Chinese account adds that this state was "founded more than 400 years ago", i.e. in the first or second century A.D.

The court of another state, Pan-pan (Bandon), was frequented by Brahmanas. "They had come from India in order to profit by the munificence of the king who had very high regard for them."

Names of several other states and their kings (Gautama, Subhadra, Vijaya-varman,. etc.) are known from Chinese sources.

Note 7

Note 8

Indian literature refers to the kingdoms of Kalasapura and Karmarariga which were probably in Malay Peninsula or Lower Burma.

The archaeological discoveries in Malay Peninsula have thrown a flood of light on the Hindu colonisation in this region. The views of two eminent archaeologists on this subject may be summed up as follows:—*

'The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on thd eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley, Takua Pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim, on the western.

'The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon, Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great stupa of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines.

‘The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bav of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture,

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inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from the west. At the same time persons of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of Brahmans of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.’ 1

III. EAST INDIES

Many Hindu colonial kingdoms were also established in the various islands of the East Indies which were collectively known as Suvarnadvipa. We shall briefly refer to the most important of them.

1. Sumatra

The earliest Hindu kingdom known in Sumatra is &rI-Vijaya (Palembang). It was founded in or before the fourth century A.D. and rose to great eminence towards the close of the seventh century A.D. It had by that time conquered another Hindu kingdom named

Note 9

Malayu (modern Jambi) and established its political supremacy over the neighbouring island of Banka. In A.D. 684 it was ruled over by a Buddhist king named Sri-Jayanasa (or Jayanaga). In A.D. 686 this king (or his successor) sent an expedition against Java and issued an interesting proclamation of which two copies, engraved on stone, have reached us.

It begins with an invocation to the ‘gods who protect the kingdom of Sri-Vij aya\ It holds out threats of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to §ri-Vijaya, if they revolt, or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt, against the suzerain authority. Punishment was to be meted out not only to the actual rebels, but even to their family and clans. On the other hand, the people who would remain loyal to the government of Sri-Vijaya, together with their clan and family, would be blessed with all sorts of blessings divine.

I-tsing tells us that Sri-Vijaya was a centre of Buddhist learning in the islands of the Southern Sea, and that the king of Sri-Vijaya possessed trading ships sailing between India and Sri-Vijaya. We also learn from his memoir that the city of Sri-Vijaya was the chief centre of trade with China, and that there was a regular navigation between it and Kwan-Ttmg.

That Sri-Vijaya was fast growing into an important naval and commercial power appears clearly from an inscription discovered at Ligor (Malay Peninsula). This inscription, dated in Saka 697 (=A.D. 775), refers to the mighty prowess of the king of Sri-Vijaya. He is said to be the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings made obeisance to him. It shows that the Buddhist king of SriVijaya had extended his political supremacy over the Malay Peninsula, as far at least as the Bay of Bandon, before A.D. 775.

The inscriptions thus give clear indication, in broad outline, of a purely aggressive policy pursued by the kingdom of Sri-Vijaya during the century A.D. 675-775. By A.D. 686 it had absorbed the neighbouring kingdom of Malayu, conquered the neighbouring island of Banka, and sent a military expedition to the powerful island kingdom of Java. Before a century was over, we find its power firmly established in the Malay Peninsula. The Chinese annals state that several embassies came from Sri-Vijaya to China during the period between A.D. 670 and 741.

2. Java

There were several Hindu kingdoms in Java. Two of these, called Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan by the Chinese, sent regular embassies to China in the fifth century A.D. The names of kings in both these countries ended in Varman.

Four Sanskrit inscriptions, all found within the Province of Batavia in Western Java, mention a king Purna-varman. One of them, dated in the twenty-second year of the king, calls his grandfather rajarshi (royal sage) and another ancestor, probably his father, rajadhimja (king of kings). The latter is said to have dug the Chandrabhaga (a canal or a river) which reached the sea after passing by the capital city. Purna-varman himself dug a similar canal, called the Gomati river, and paid a fee of a thousand cows to the Brahmanas. Purna-varman's capital city was named Taruma, and he reigned in the sixth century A.D.

There were several other kingdoms in Java in this and the following century. According to two Chinese historical works of the Sui period (A.D. 589-618), there were ten kingdoms in Java. In the history of the T'ang period (618-906) reference is made to 28 feudatory kings acknowledging the supremacy of the king of Java.

The most important kingdom in Java during the T'ang period is named Ho-ling. Ho-ling is generally recognised as a Chinese form of Kalihga. The leading kingdom in Java was thus named after the well-known province of India on the eastern coast, and it may be reasonably inferred that colonists from Kalihga dominated Java, or at least a part of it. This may be due to a fresh stream of immigration from Kalihga about this time, as is generally supposed. But it is not unlikely that a region or principality in Java was called Kalihga from much earlier times, though it did not attain any eminence till the T'ang period. In any case, this name and the tradition that the original colonists of Java came from Kalihga 1 indicate a close relation between Java and Kalihga country.

It is probable that the kingdoms of Ho-lo-tan and Ho-ling mentioned in Chinese chronicles were situated respectively in Western «

and Central Java. The predominance of Indian civilisation in Western Java is proved by the Sanskrit inscriptions of Purna-varman, noted above. An inscription in Central Java, probably belonging to the seventh century A.D., shows that this region, too, was thoroughly influenced by Indian culture.

3. Borneo

The Hindu colonisation in Eastern Borneo is proved by seven Sanskrit inscriptions found at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river, an important sea-port in old days. They refer to king Mula-varman, son of Asva-varman and grandson of king Kundunga. Mula-varman

Note 10

performed a sacrifice called Bahusuvarnaka (lit. large quantity of gold), and made gift of 20,000 cows to the Brahmanas in the holy field of Vaprakesvara. 1 These inscriptions were incised about A.D. 400. We may, therefore, hold that Hindu colonists had established kingdoms in Borneo by the end of the fourth century A.D., if not before. The inscriptions testify to the great predominance of the Brahmanas and the Hindu culture in Borneo.

The grandfather of Mula-varman is called Kuntfunga, a form of Kaundinya. 2 We have already seen that an Indian Brahmana of this name was elected king of Fu-nan towards the close of the fourth century A.D. We do not know whether he is identical with the grandfather of Mula-varman, but this is not unlikely.

The Hindu colonists advanced into the interior of Eastern Borneo along the Mahakam river. A number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images were found at Kombeng, and they probably belonged to one or more temples higher up in the valley of the Mahakam river. Similarly the discoveries of archaeological remains on the banks of the Kapuas river show that the Hindus colonised West Borneo and set up a number of settlements in the valley of this river. 3

4. Bali

The Hindus had colonised the island of Bali and set up a kingdom there before the sixth century A.D. The Chinese history of Leang Dynasty (A.D. 502-557) gives the following interesting account of Bali: “The king’s family name is Kaundinya. When asked about his ancestors, he could not state this, but said that the wife of Suddhodana was a daughter of his country.” In A.D. 518 the king sent an envoy to China.

The name Kaundinya is interesting and shows the influence of

that family in all the Hindu colonies of Suvarnadvlpa. The Chinese

author gives a detailed account of the manners and splendours of

the court, and there is hardly any doubt that in the sixth century

A.D. the island of Bali was the seat of a rich and civilised kingdom

■*

ruled by Hindu colonists professing Buddhism. I-tsing also mentions that Buddhism was dominant in the island of Bali.

Note 11

Note 12

Note 13

THE CLASSICAL AGE

IV. HINDU CIVILISATION IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

We have so far discussed the history of Hindu colonial kingdoms set up in Indo-China and in the various islands of the East Indies. Of these the kingdoms of Champa and Kambuja are better known than others. The inscriptions, temples, images, and other remains of this period are so plentiful in these two kingdoms that no doubt remains of the thorough-going character of Hindu culture in these regions. But although less plentiful, similar evidence exists in regard to the other colonial kingdoms referred to above. We may, therefore, briefly review the general character of Hindu civilisation in South-east Asia as a whole.

The most important remains of the Hindu colonists are the Sanskrit inscriptions, written in Indian scripts, pure or slightly modified. They have been found all over the region, in Burma, Siam, Malay Peninsula, Annam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Java and Borneo. A perusal of these inscriptions shows that the language, literature, religion, and political and social institutions of

India made a thorough conquest of these far off lands and, to a large extent, eliminated or absorbed the native elements in these respects. The local peoples mostly belonged to a very primitive type of civilisation, and it was the glorious mission of the Indian colonists to introduce a higher culture among them. In this task they achieved a large measure of success.

These inscriptions, written in good flawless Sanskrit, show that this language was highly cultivated and was used in court and polished society. They hold out before us the picture of a civilisation moulded by, and thoroughly saturated with, Indian elements We have reference to Hindu philosophical ideas, Vedic religion, Puranic and epic myths and legends, all the prominent Brahmanical and Buddhist divinities and ideas associated with them, Indian months and astronomical system, and Indian system of measurement. The well-known habit of colonists to introduce familiar geographical names is also much in evidence. This reached its climax in Burma where we find a deliberate attempt to create a New India by locating there not only numerous places associated with Buddha and Asoka, but also scenes of subsequent episodes in the history of Buddhism and in the lives of previous Buddhas or holy men referred to in Buddhist literature. Outside Burma, too, we have not only important names like Dvaravati, Champa, Amaravatl, Gandhara, Videha, Kamboja, and Kaliriga, but also even river-names like Gomatl, Chandrabhaga and probably also Gahga.

The numerous images of gods and goddesses, found all over this wide region, corroborate the evidence of inscriptions regarding the dominance of Indian religion, both Brahmanical and Buddhist. These images and the remains of temples further prove the thorough-going influence of Indian art.

The Chinese chronicles also testify to the dominance of Indian culture in this region. The story of Gunavarman 1 shows the gradual spread of Buddhism in Java, and I-tsing has left interesting details of the influence of Buddhism in this region. Both on his way to India and back, the pilgrim stayed at SrI-Vijaya, and he later returned to it, to study Buddhism. ‘Tn the fortified city of &rlVijaya,” says he, “Buddhist priests number more than 1000 who investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in India.” Apart from its position as a great political power and a strong centre of

Buddhism, SrI-Vijaya merits distinction as the earliest seat, in this region, of that Mahay&na sect which was destined ultimately to play such a leading part in the whole of Suvarnadvipa. It was visited by several eminent Buddhists from India, such as Dharmapala, an inhabitant of Kanehi and a Professor at Nalanda (seventh century), and Vajrabodhi (eighth century). 2

On the other hand we have evidence of the colonists maintaining contact with India. Reference has already been made to kings who came to India to spend their last days on the banks of the Gahga, or had fled there for safety. One of them is even said to have married an Indian princess.

The materials for reconstructing the social system and administrative machinery in the colonies are very scanty. But such as we possess show a definite Indian stamp in both. There can be hardly any doubt that a New India had taken shape beyond the sea.

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1. See above, p. 610.

1. See above, pp. 386, 621.

Chapter Notes

1. 1. According to some scholars Bhava-varman belonged to the royal family of Fu-nan and became king of Kambuja by his marriage with a princess of this country (Coedes, J titats, p. 116).
2. 1. Some scholars identify Bhadra-varman with, Fan Fo, father of Fan-Hu-ta (Coedes, ttats, p. 84).
3. 1. This period is very obscure. For a slightly different version, cf. Coedes, fitats,
4. pp. 122-3.
5. 1. Vol. II, p. 655.
6. 648
7. 1. This is the general view, but some scholars locate Takkola a little further to the south, at Trang (J . Mai Br. R.A.S., XXII. 25).
8. 2. Some scholars, however, locate it on the Gulf of Siam in the region of P'at'alung (Coedes, ttats, p. 89).
9. 1. BCAI, 1909, pp. 184-85; 1AL, IX, 1-31.
10. 1. Vol. II, p. 655.
11. 1. The inscriptions refer to other sacrifices and various ceremonies called Mahadanas, such as Kalpa-briksha, Bhumi-dana, Go-sahasrika, Jala-dhenu, Ghritadhenu, Tila-dana and Kapila-dana (JGIS, XII. 14).
12. 2. This view is, however, opposed by Chhabra. "Why should," he asks, "a good Sanskrit inscription use this corrupt form?" It has been conjectured by several scholars that Kundunga is a Tamil name. But N. L. Rao opposes this view (J. Mai. Br. R.A.S. XV. Part III, p. 118).
13. 3. Two standing Buddha images of Gupta style have been found at Sambas. It has been suggested that Barhina-dvlpa, mentioned in the V&yu Purana, refers to Borneo (Sastri, Srivijaya, p. 23).

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LIST OF GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

Abbreviations:

B ~ Buddhist Image.

Br Brahmanical Image.

C = Cave.

CP = Copper-plate.

J — Jain Image.

P = Pillar.

S — Stone.

(Unless otherwise stated the year refers to the Gupta Era. The object on which the inscription is engraved is mentioned after the

find-place.)

Table captionSAMUDRA-GUPTA

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1 .	5	Nalanda-CP \	EL XXV, 50; XXVI, 135.

2.	9	Gaya-CP J	CIL III, 254; 1C. X. 77; XI 225.
3.		Aliahabad-P	CIL III, 1; 1HQ. I, 250; JRORS. XVIII, 207; JRAS. 1935, p. 697; EL XXII, 35.
4.		Eran-S CIL III, 18; JIH. XIV, 27: XIX, 27	
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5.	61	Mathura-P	EI. XXI, 1; IHQ. XVIII. 271: ABORI. XVIII, 166.
6.	82	Udayagiri-C	CIL III, 21.
7.	88	Gadhwa-S	CIL III, 36.
8 .	93	Sanchl-S	CIL III, 29.
9.	—	Mathura-S	CIL III, 25.

10.	-—	Udayagiri-C	CIL III, 34.
11.		Basarh Clay Seals ASR. 1903-4, p. 107. (Govinda-gupta)	
		KUMARA-GUPTA I	
12.	96	Bilsad-P	CIL III, 42.
13.	98	Gadhwa-S	CIL III, 40; cf. also pp. 264 267.
14.	106	Udayagiri-C	CIL III, 258.
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17.	116	Turoain-S	EL XXVI, 115; JOR, XVII. 205.
18.	117	Karamadanda-Br.	EI. X, 71.
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21. 128	Damodarpur-CP	EI. XV. 132; XVII, 193.
22. 128	Baigram-CP	EL XXI, 78.
23. 129	Mankuwar-B	CIL III, 45.
24. 129	Gadhwa-S	CIL III, 39.
25.	Basarh Clay Seals ASR. 1903-4, p. 107. (Ghatotkacha-gupta)	
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26. 136-8	Junagadh Rock	CIL III, 56.
27. 141	Kahaum-P	CIL III, 65; IHQ , XXVIII 298.
28. 141	Rewa-P	POC, XII. Vol. Ill, p. 587.
29. 146	Indore-CP	CIL III, 68.
30. —	Bhitari-P	CIL III, 52.
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31.	V.S. 524	Mandasor Fort Wall (A.D. 467)	EI. XXVII, 12.

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32.	—	Nalanda Clay Seal	MAS!. No. 66, p. 65.

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33.	154	Sarnath-B	ASR. 1914-5, p. 124.
34.	-—	Bhitari Seal	JASB. LVIII, 89.
35.	—	Nalanda Seal	MAS!. No. 66, pp. 66-7; IA. XIX, 225.

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38.	157	Sarnath-B (Duplicate)	ASR. 1914-5, p. 125.
37.	159	Baharpur-CP	El, XX, 61.
38.	159	Benares (Rajghat)	JRASBL, XV, 5.
39.	163	Damodarpur-CP	EL XV, 134.

40.	165	Eran-P	CIL III, 88.
41.	■	Damodarpur-CP	EL XV, 138; IC, V, 432.
42.		Nalanda Seal	MASL No. 66, p. 64; IHQ, XIX, 119,‘272.
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Vainya-gupta

Vainya-gupta

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Gunaighar

CP

Nalanda Seal

Bhanu-gupta Eran-P

Bhanu-gupta

Damodarpur

CP

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54. 156	Hastin	Khoh-CP	CIL III, 93.
55. 158	Lashmana	Singrauli-CP	ASL 1936-7, p. 88.
56. 158	Lakshmana	Pali-CP	EL II. 364.

57.	163	Hastin	Khoh-CP	CIL III, 100.
58.	167	Subandhu	Barwani-CP	EL XIX. 262; IHQ. XXI. 81.
59.	191	Hastin	Majhgwan CP	CIL III, 106.
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62.	209	Samkshobha	Khoh-CP	cn. in, ii 2 .
63.	—i	Hastin and Sarvanatha	Bhumara-CP	CIL III, 110; IHQ. XXI, 137.
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67.	193	-Do	Khoh-CP	CIL III, 125.

68. 197 -Do	-Do	CIL III, 132.
69. 214 -Do	-Do	CIL III, 135.
70. *— -Do	-Do	CIL III, 129.
71. 250 Prithivlvigraha	Sumandala CP	IHQ, XXVI. 75; Orissa Hist. Res.

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(For the era used in Nos. 64-69, cf. EL XXII! , 171; Bh. List , p. 159 fn.)

72. — Chandra Meharauli- CIL III, 139.

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73. 1 (Regnal) Toramana Eran-S C1I. III, 159.

74. 15 (Regnal) Mihirakuia Gwalior-S CIL III, 162.

75. —- Yasodharman Mandasor-P \ CIL III, 142, 150;

76. 589 (V.S.) Yasodharman Mandasor-S / I A, XVIII, 219;

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c. 430-50

431

433

433-60

435- 68 436

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436- 58

437- 38

440-60

445

446

446

c. 450-60 c. 450-75 453 455 455

c. 455 455-56

455-67

457-74

458

c. 460

c. 460

460-78 460-80 c. 460-500 c. 460-500 c. 465-75 c. 467 c. 470

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474-91 c. 475

c. 475-85 c. 475-90 c. 475-95 475-517

478- 96

479- 502

480- 515

484

484

c. 485-97 489

c. 490-97

491-518

493-96

496 (or between \ 496-98) /

496-513 496-535 c. 497-537 c. 497-540 c. 500 c. 500 c. 500-40 c. 500-50 500-56 c. 500-80

502

502-57

507

510

513

513-22

515

c. 515-30

515- 35

516- 43

517- 39 518

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518 522-24 524-37 c. 525-45 c. 525-75

526-527

530

530- 40

531- 79 535-47

535-56 c. 535-66 535-70 c. 535-85

c. 537-47 537-56 c, 540-65 c. 540-600 543 546

c. 550 c. 550-75 c. 550-76

550- 77

c. 550-640

551- 52

553

556-5Q

556 (or 559)-67

556-616

559

559-92

563-67

c. 565-606

565-631

567-97

569

571-90

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Gopachandra of Bengal, and his three successors (p. 77)

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7U

c. 575-600 c. 576-80 c. 580 c. 580-600 580-600 580-603 580-606 581

581

581-95

582

583-87

585 c. 587 589-618 590

c. 590-620

c. 590-620 590-628 592-602 595

595

595

597-98 to 610-11 600 c. 600 c. 600

600

c. 600-30 602

602-08

605

605- 17

c. 606-10

606- 12 606-47

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608

608-17

609

610-11

610-11 — 642 c. 615-19

615-33, 624-41, 633-50 616 616

617- 32

618- 907 619

619- 750 c. 620-31

620- 45

623

624 624

825-26

627

c. 627

628

c. 628

627

629

629- 41 c. 630

630- 44

c. 630-68

631

632

632

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(p. 620)

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632-41

633

633

c. 633-63 634-35 634-44 c. 635 637

637

638 638-51 640

c. 640

640-709

640-720

641

641

641, 42 641-50 c. 842

643

643

643

643 c. 643 c. 643 c. 644

645

645- 70

646

e. 646-47

646- 50

647- 48 c. 648

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648

650

650

c. 650

c. 650

650

c. 650

650- 66

651

651- 53

655

655-81

656

657

657

e. 660 661-80 662-84 663

c. 663 c. 663-72 664

664

666-68

668

c. 668-70

668-703

670-92

c. 670-95

670-710

670-713

670-741

671-95

671

c. 672-96 c. 675-700 676

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679-91

681

681

681-96

683

684

684

685 685

690-735

693

c. 695

695

c. 695-722

c. 696-709

696-733

699

700

700-40

702

703-09

705-55

709

709

709- 18

c. 709-46

710

710

710- 40

712

713 713

713

714

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714

716- 19 717

717- 20 719-59 720 720

c. 722-30 724-38

724- 43

c. 724-60 c. 725

725- 35

725-88

727

728 (or 734) 730—c. 800

731

732

733

733-34—46 735

735

736 736 736

c. 740

740-65 c. 742-57 744.45._57

746

746-64

746- 71

747- 50 749

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749

750

c. 750

751

753 (or 764) 755-72

'757

757

758

c. 760 760

c. 765-815 766-67 774 783

c. 794-814

838-923

945-70

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Vakkaleti grant of Kirtivarman II, Chalukya (p. 249)

Death of Rudravarman II of Champa (p. 647) Caliph Mansur sends Amru-bin-Jamal with a fleet to Barada hills (p. 152)

Death of Lalitaditya (p. 135)

Death of Bodhisena (p. 636)

Nedunjadaiyan, Bandy a (p. 265)

Siladitya VII, of Vaiabhi (p. 150)

Death of Amoghavajra (p. 621)

Varaha (or Jayavaraha), ruler of Saurashtra (p. 151)

Govinda III, Rashtrakuta (p. 221)

Tabari, the Persian historian (p. 638)

Amma II, Rajamahendra (p. 251)

7 IS

1. IMPERIAL GUPTAS

Srigupta

I

Ghatotkacha-gupta

I

Chandra-gupta I^Kumaradevl

i

Samudra-gupta=DattadevI

(? Rama-gupta) Chandra-gupta II=Dhruvadevi; Kuveranaga

Kumara-gupta I—AnantadevI Prabhavatl-gupta

(Mahendradity a)

Skanda-gupta Puru-gupta=Chandradevl

(? Kumara-gupta II) j |

Budha-gupta Narasirhha-gupta^Mitradevi

(Baladitya)

i

Kumara-gupta III (Kramaditya)

Vishnu-gupta

(Chandraditya)

2. LATER GUPTAS

1. Krishna-gupta

i

2. Harsha-gupta

i

3. Jivita-gupta

i

4. Kumara-gupta

i

5. Damodara-gupta

i

6. Mahasena-gunta

I _ __

i ' ~~ I

7. Madhava-gupta Kumara-gupta

8. Adityasena

I

9. Deva-gupta

I

10. Vishnu-gupta

11. Jivita-gupta

O

O.

MAUKHARIS

(A)

1. Yajna-varman

I

i

2. Sarduia-varman

!

3. Ananta-varman

(B)

1. Maharaja Hari-varman

i

2. „ Aditya-varman

i

3. „ Isvara-varman

j

4. M ahardjadhirdja Isana-varman

i

!

5. „ Sarva-varman

6. „ Avanti-varman

i

Graha-varman

4. BENGAL

1. Gopachandra

2. Dharmaditya

3. Samacharadeva

(N arendraditya)

KHADGA DYNASTY OF BENGAL

1. Khadgodyama

I •

2. Jatakhadga

i

3. Devakhadga

5,

6.

4. Rajarajabhata

LICHCHHAVIS OF NEPAL

Vrishadeva

i

Sankaradeva

Dharmadeva

Manadeva

Mahldeva

Vasantasena (Vasantadeva)

Sivadeva I 720

Suva (?)

Amsuvarman

Jishnugupta

Narendradeva

i

Sivadeva II Jayadeva

7.

8 .

KAMARUPA

1.

2 .

3.

* 4.

5.

6 .

7.

8 . 9.

10 .

11 .

12 .

&AILGDBHAVA

Pushva-varman

i

Samudra-varman

i

Bala-varman

!

Kalyana-varman

i

Ganapati-varman

i

!

Mahendra-varman

!

Narayana-varman

r

Bhuti (Mahabhiiti A varman

!

Chandramukha-varman

i

Sthit a (Sthiti)■-varman SusthitaC Susthira)-varman

i " j

Supratishthita-varman

13. B has k a ra-varman

KINGS

Kanabhita

'!

Sainyabhlta I Madhavaraja I

i

Ayasobhlta I

i

Sainyabhlta II Madhavaraja II

Ayasobhlta II

i

Sainyabhlta III Madhavavarman (Srinivasa)

C* A.—46

THE CLASSICAL AGE Ayasobhlta III Madhyamaraja I

Manabhita Dharmaraja x

i

i

Madhyamaraja II Hanakshobha Alia vara j a

I

Madhyamaraja III

9. PUSHFABHUTIS

Maharaja Nara-vardhana

Maharaja Rajya-vardhana

Maharaja Aditya-vardhana

Paramahhattdraka Mahdrdjddhirdja

Prabhakara-vardhana

i

Paramahhattdraka Mhdh.

Rajya-vardhana Paramahhattdraka Mhdh.

Harsha-vardhana

10. KARKOTAS

Durlabha-vardhana

i

i

l

Durlabhaka

Chandrapida Tarapida |

Lalitaditya Muktapida

x

I

i

Jayaplda

11. MAITRAKAS OF VALABHI

Senapati Bhatarka

Senapati Dharasena I Maharaja Maharaja Maharaja

Dronasimha Dhruvasena I Dharapatta

i

Maharaja Guhasena

i

Mahddhirdja Dharasena II

__L

1 - i

Maharaja Slladitya I Kharagraha I

(Dharmaditya) I

Derabhata Dharasena III Dhruvasena II

• •

! I

Dharasena IV

_!__ __

.1 I I

Slladitya. II Kharagraha II Dhruvasena III

I (Dharmaditya)

Slladitya III

12. GURJARAS OF RAJAPUTANA

Harichandra

_i___

i r i ▪ i

Bhogabhata Kakka Rajjila Dadda

i

Narabhata

i

Nagabhata

13. GURJARAS OF NANDIPURI

Dadda I

i

Jayabhata I Vataraga Dadda II Prasantaraga

i

Jayabhata II

i'

Dadda III Bahusahaya

i

Jayabhata III

'I

Ahirola

I

Jayabhata IV

14. SINDH

Sahasi Rai

i

Sahiras

i

Rai Sahasi II

!

!

Chach

t

1

Chandar

i

!

1

1 Dahar

t

Daharsiah i

Duraj

Jaisixhha

VAKATAKAS: MAIN BRANCH
Vindhyasakti !

•

Pravarasena I

1.

i

2.

3. Ga utamlputra !

i i

Rudrasena I Sarvasena (founder of the
Vatsagulma

i

branch)

!

4. Prithivishena I • •

l

5. Rudrasena H—Prabhavati-gunta

i

! i

7.Damodarasena

Divakarasena 8. Pravarasena II

9. Narendrasena

i

10. Prithivishena II • •

16. VAKATAKAS OF VATSAGULMA

Vindyasakti

!

Pravarasena I

1. Sarvasena (founder of the branch)

!

2. Vindhyasakti II

i

3. Pravarasena II

!

4. (name unknown)

i

5. Devasena

!

6. Harishena

17. NALAS

Bhavatta (? Bhavadatta)-varman

!

? Skanda-varman Arthapati.

JL

18. TRAIKUTAKAS

Indradatta

Dahrasena

Vyaghrasena

19. KALACHURIS

Krishna raj a

.' i

Sahkaragana

Buddharaja

20. RASHTRAKUTAS OF MANAPURA

• «»

1. Manahka

i

2. Devaraja

i. . i

3. Bhavishya Avidheya

!

4. Abhimanyu

21. RASHTRAKUTAS OF ACHALAPURA

Durgaraja

Govindaraja

s 4‘ t,rii “

Nannaraja Yuddhasura

22. VASISHTHAS

Guna-varman

'I

Prabhayxj ana-varman Ananta-varman

23. SALANKAYANAS

Hasti-varman I

i

Nandi-varman I

i i

Hasti-varman II Chanda-varman

i . i

Skanda-varman Nandi-varman II

24. PITRIBHAKTAS

Uma-varman

Chanda-varman

Nanda Prabhanjana-varman

25. RULERS OF PISHTAPURA

Ranaduriaya

\

i

Vikramendra

Prithvl-Maharaj a

26. VISHNUKUNDINS * • *»

1. Vikramahendra (Vikramendra-varman) I

2. Govinda-varman Vikramasraya

i

3. Madhava-varman I Janasraya

j Manchyanna-bhattaraka

4. Vikramendra-varman II i

| Deva-varman

5. Indra(-bhattaraka)-varman

| Madhava-varman II

6. Vikramendra-varman III

(For an alternative view, cf. p. 223)

27. EASTERN GANGAS

7

1. Indra-varman I

2. Hasti-varman, Rajasirhha, Ranabhlta

3. indra-varman II, Rajasimha

4. Indra-varman III

Danarnava

r

i

5. Indra-varman IV

i

Gunarnava

•» *

6. Devendra-varman

i

*

7. Ananta-varman

8. Nanda-varman (Indra-varman) 9. Devendra-varman II

28. DAKSHINA KOSALA (Northern Part)

1. Sura

2. Davita I

I

i

3. Vibhishana

i

4. Bhimasena I

5. Dayitavarman II

|

6. Bhimasena II

29. MATHARAS

Sankara varman

i

Saktivarman Prabhahj ana varman Ananta-Saktivarman

30. SARABHAPURlYAS

1. Sarabha

l

I

2. Narendra

3. Prasanna(matra)

f l

! _ i

4. Jayaraja 5. Manamatra-Durgaraja

r~ .i

6. Sudevaraja 7. Pravararaja

31. PANDUVAMSiS OF SOUTH KOSALA

1. Udayana

i

j

2. Indrabala

i

_i_

I I *

I !

3. Nanna Isanadeva Bhavadeva

! _

! ~ I

4. Tivara 5. Chandragupta

i

6. Harshagupta

i

i

7. Balarjuna-Sivagupta

32. PANDUVAMsIS OF MERALA

Jayabala

‘ i

Vatsaraja

I

Nagabala

Bharatabala (Indrabala)

33. CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

1. Jayasimha

!

2. Ranaraga

r

3. Pulakesm I

_ _ i__

i .

4. KIrtivarman I

!_

i ".~

6. Pulakesin II

7. Vikramaditya I

!

8. Vinayaditya

i

9. Vijayaditya

’ !

10. Vikramaditya II

1

11. KIrtivarman II

34. EASTERN CHALUKYAS

1. Kubja Vishnuvardhana I

_l_'_ ;_

2. Jayasimha I 3, Indravarman (Indrabhattaraka)

I

I ' “ I

Indravarman (?) 4. Vishnu vardhana II

l

i

5. Mahgi Yu vara j a I

6. Jayasimha II Vinayaditvavarman j

i i

Kokilivarman

I

7. Kokuli Vikramaditya

i

Mahgi Yu vara j a II

5. Mahgalesa

Kubja Vishnu vardhana (founder of the Eastern Chalukyas)

8. Vishnuvardhana III

I

9. Vijayaditya I

35. CHOLAS OF RENANDU

ft • V

Nandi'varman

Sirhhavishnu Sundarananda Dhanahjaya varman

' i

Mahendravikramavarman

Gunamudita Punvakumara

36. PANDYAS

Kadungon

Mara varman Avanisulamani

o o «

Sendan

Arikesari Mara varman Kochchadaiyan Ranadhira Maravarman Rajasixhha
I N edunj adai y a n

37. WESTERN GANG AS

1. Kongunivarman (Madhava I)

2. Madhava II

3. Ha.riva.rm an 3A. Vishnugopa

4. Madhava III

5. Avinita

6. Durvimta

7. Moshkara

8. Srivikrama

9. Bhuvikrama

10. Sivamara I

11. (name unknown)

12. Sripurusha

(For a different view, cf. Early Gangas of Talahdd

by S. S. Sastri, n. 22)

38. KADAMRAS (ELDER BRANCH)

1. May u r asarman

I

2. Kahgavarman (or Skand a varman)

3. Bhagiratba

4. Raghu 5. Kakutsthavarman

6. Santivarman

i

7. Mrigesa varman

f

l

9. Ravivarman

Kumara varman Krishna varman | (founder of the younger branch)

10. Hari varman.

8.

Mandhatrivarman

39. KADAMRAS (YOUNGER BRANCH)

1. Krishnavarman I

'I

2. Vishnu varman

' i

3. Simhavarman

|

l

4. Krishnavarman II

i

5. Ajavarman

i

6. Bhogivarman

40. PALLAVAS (See pp. 282-3)

41. CEYLON

1. Mahasena

l

s

2. Srimeghavarna

3. Jveshthatishya II (Br. or Brs S. of 2)

r

4. Buddhadasa

(

I

5. Upatishya I

6. Mahianaman (Br. of 5)

7. Mitrasena

8—13. Pandya and five Damila successors

14. Dhatusena

I

i

15. Kasyapa I

16. Maudgalyayana I (Br. of 15)

17. Kumaradasa

i

18. Kirtisena

19. Siva (maternal uncle of 18)

20. Upatishya II (husband of the sister of 16)

»

21. Siiakala

22. Damshtraprabhuti

23. Maudgalyayana II (son of 21)

i

24. Klrtisrlmegha

25. Mahanaga

GENEALOGY

26. Agrabodhi I (sister’s son of 25)

27. Agrabodhi II (sister’s son of 26)

28. Sanghatishya (? Br. of 27)

29. Maudgalyayana III

30. Silameghavarna

31. Agrabodhi III, Srisahghabodhi

32. Jyeshthatishya III (son of 28)

33. Agrabodhi III (again)

34. Damshtropatishya I

35. Kasyapa II (Br. of 31)

36. Dappula (sister’s husband of 35)

37. Hastadariishtra I or Damshtropatishya II (sister’s son of 34

38. Agrabodhi IV (Br. of 37)

39. Datta

40. Hastadariishtra II

41. Mana or Manavarman (son of 35)

i

I

42. Agrabodhi V

43. Kasyapa III (Br. of 42)

44. Mahendra (Br. of 43)

i

45. Agrabodhi VI

•H

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Adhishthdnddhikarana, 350.

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PLATE III

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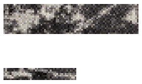

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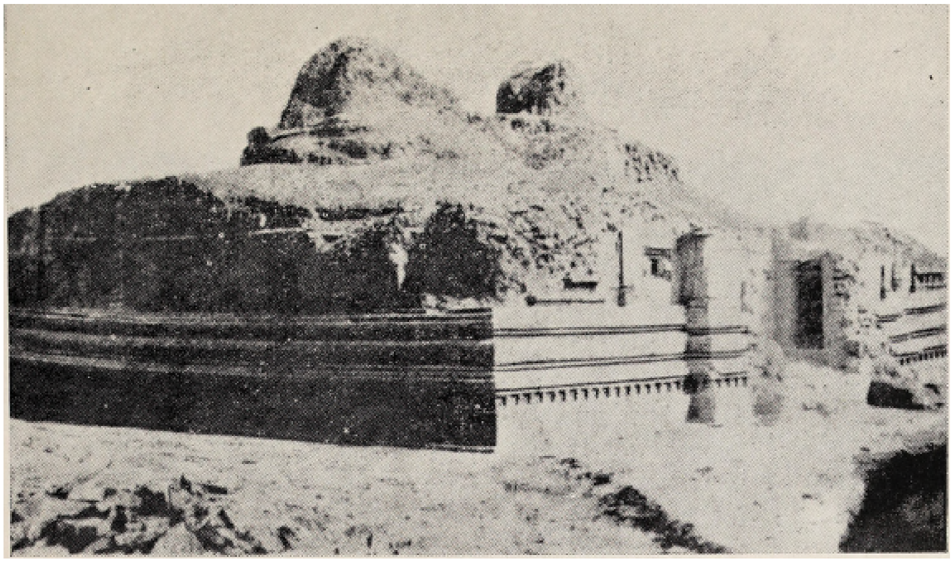

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Garhwd: Pillars

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Garhwd: Pillars

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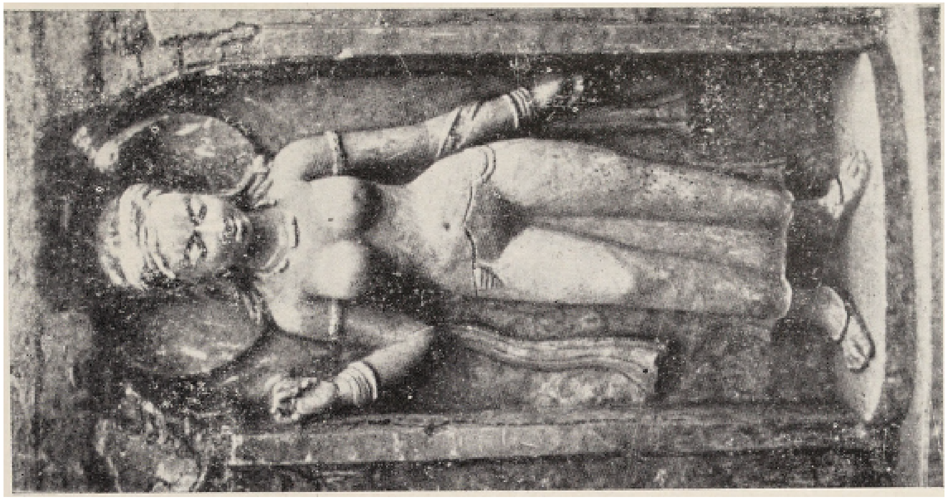

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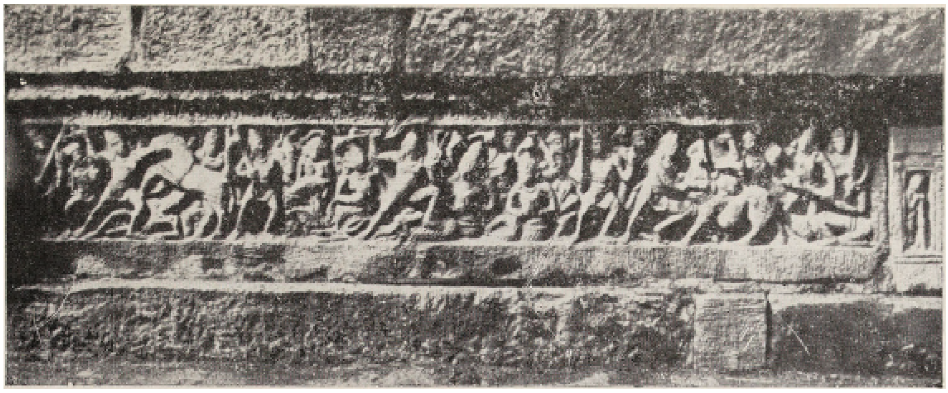

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Fig. 69. Badami: Frieze of sculptures

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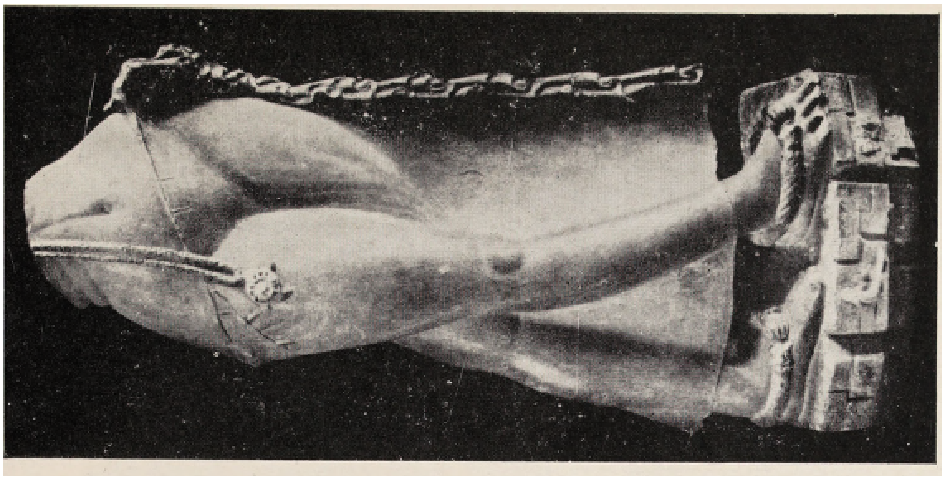

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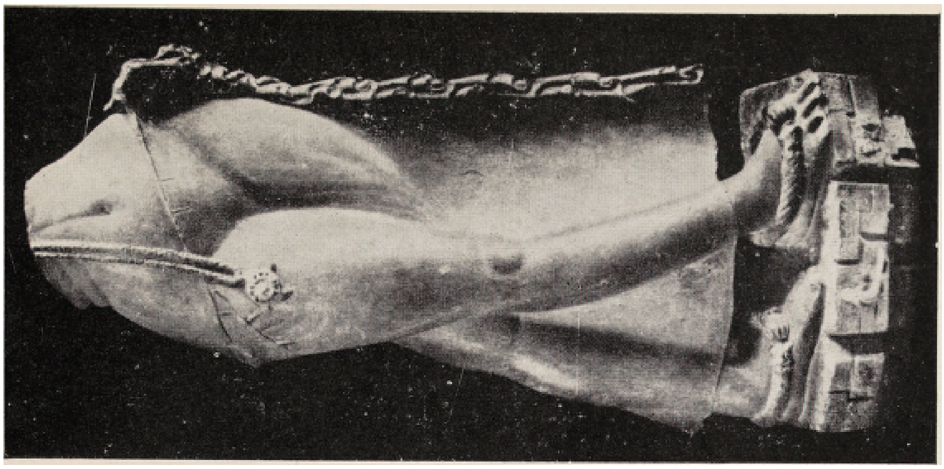

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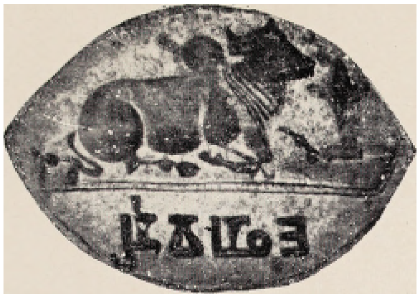

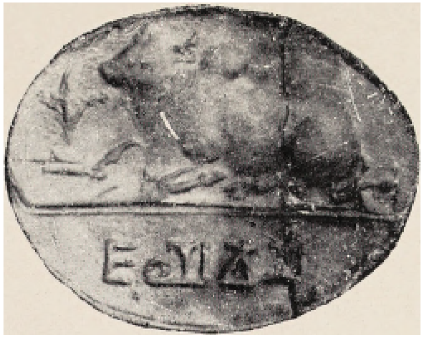

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Fig. 104.

Bhita: Inscribed clay

sealing

Fig. 105.

Basarh: Inscribed clay sealing

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BHAVAN’S BOOK UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE

OF THE

INDIAN PEOPLE

THE AGE OF

IMPERIAL

KANAUJ

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

MUMBAI

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The history of the period covered by this volume revolves round the pivot of Kanauj — from which it derives its name. The Pratiharas, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas constitute the triangle of forces fighting for supremacy, with the imperial city as the trophy. Incidentally the theory that Harshavardhana was not the last empire-builder is further sustained by the larger, and the more stable empire of the Gurjara Pratiharas which receives detailed treatment. The Rashtrakutas emerge in brilliant colours against the background of ancient Deccan. The part played by Kabul and Zabul in resisting Muslim infiltration has for the first time been brought into proper perspective.

On the cultural side we see Buddhism and Jainism eddying into regional backwaters, the pure founts of Brahmanism and Buddhism coloured by Tantrikism. At the same time an interpretative phase in the religious and secular spheres ushers. In an otherwise dull firmament we notice the stars Sankara and Medhatithi lighting the paths of religion and law. In Visakhadatta and Rajasekhara the literature of the period finds an ornate phase. Udbhata, Vamana and Abhinavagupta are names to conjure with in rhetorics. The Champu finds its orientation. Indian pathology and materia medica find their categorical enunciation in Madhavakara and Dhanvantari, The Nagara and Dravida types of architecture take definite shape. The monolith Kailasa temple at Ellora remains a unique achievement with no parallel in the history of Indian architecture. The volume ends up with a brilliant chapter on the transoceanic cultural activities of the period. A comprehensive index, exhaustive bibliography, chronology, genealogy and maps complete the uniqueness of the volume.

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Foreword by Dr. K.M. Munshi.

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Table caption3TTTT^rr:

Let noble thoughts come to us from every side — Rigveda, I-89-i

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The Age of Imperial Kanauj, with which this Volume deals, deserves a more important place in Indian history than it has been given so far. I should, therefore, be forgiven if I gave in my own way a. picture as I see it.* *

The Age begins with the repulse of the Arab invasions oh the mainland of India in the beginning of the eighth century and ends with the fateful year A.D. 997 when Afghanistan passed into the hands of the Turks.

With this Age, ancient India came to*an end. At the turn of its last century, Sabuktigm and Mahmud came to power* in Ghazni. Their lust, which found expression in the following decades, was to shake the very foundations of life in India, releasing new forces. They gave bhrth to medieval India. Till the rise of the Hindu power in Maharashtra in the eighteenth century, India was to pass through a period of collective resistance.

This Age of Imperial Kanauj, on the other hand, was an era of great strength and achievement for India. The Arabs who were on a march in three continents were repulsed. Throughout they were held on the frontiers-The Tibetan power was eliminated from Nepal. The South emerged effectively in the political life of the country, as it had emerged in the earlier age in its religious and cultural life.

This Age saw the rise and fall of three great Empires in the country: of the Rashtrakutas, founded by Dantidurga (c. A.D. 733757) and his successor, Krishna I (c. A.D. 757-773), which dominated the South till its collapse in the year A.D. 974; of the Palas in the East, which saw its zenith under Dharmap&la (c, A-D. 770810), though it revived a little at the end of the tenth century; of the Pratiharas of the West and North, founded by Niagabhata I, which saw its zenith during the reigns of Mihira Bhoja (c. A.D. 836-885) and Mahendrapala (c. A.D. 885-908), went under on account of the catastrophic blows dealt by the Bashfrakuta raids, but retained a shadowy imperial dignity to the end.

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

II

It was the Age of Kanauj or, Kanyakubja, the imperial city of Isanavarman, which dominated Madhyadesa, the heartland of India. It was the coveted prize of the three imperial powers racing for allIndia supremacy. Ultimately it passed into the hands of the Pratibara Gurjaresvaras about A.D- 815; remained the metropolis of power till A.D. 950, and continued to be the most influential centre of culture till A.D. 1018 when it was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni.

By inheritance Kanauj was the home of Indo-Aryan traditions. In the post-Vedic ages the region from Hard war to Unnao, near Lucknow, was known as Aryavarta. Later with the spread of IndoAryan culture, first, north India, and then the whole country, came to be called by that name. The original Aryavarta, then come to be known as Brahmavarta, with accretions, was called Madhyadesa during this age.

When Hastinapura met with disaster due to floods, as the recent excavations at Hastinapura corroborative of the Puranic testimony show, Nichakshu, the descendant of Janamejaya Parlkshita led the Kurus to Kausambi. In the early sixth century when the Magadhan Age opened, it was the capital of a powerful Aryan kingdom; Vatsaraja, who could lure elephants by his music, was then its rulerIt remained such capital till the end of the sixth century of the Christian Era. Then North India was overrun by the Hunas. Kausambi was destroyed. But with Isanavarman, the liberator who drove out the Hunas, Kanauj came into prominence, as the centre of power in Madhyadesa, no longer a principality of the Gupta Empire.

In the seventh century the kings of Bengal and Mialava destroyed the power of Kanauj, then in the hands of the descendants of Isanavarman. On the ruins of the Maukhari kingdom, Sri Harsha built his short-lived empire of Madhyadesa. During his forty-two years' rule (A.D. 606-647), Kanauj grew into the foremost city of India. Sri Harsha, however, could not create a hierarchy pledged to support his imperial structure. He left no able successor. His empire was dissolved soon after he died

For more than half a century thereafter, the history of Kanauj is wrapt in obscurity. At the end of it, Yasovarman, a great conqueror and the patron of Bhavabhuti and Vakpati, is found ruling Kanauj. Both Yasovarman and Lalitaditya of Kashmir joined hands against the inroads of the Arabs and Tibetans. But the allies soon fell out and Lalitaditya destroyed the power of Yasovarman.

The Classical Age of India closed with the reign of Yasovarman. This Age then opened with one Indrayudha on the throne of Kanauj,

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which had retained its metropolitan and symbolic importance as the capital of India. And the stage was set for the triangular struggle for it between the Rashtrakutas of the South, the Pratiharas of Gurjaradesa and the Palas of Bengal

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The first great conqueror to emerge on the scene, with the Age, was the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga. The son of Indra I by a Chaiukyan princess of Gujarat, he began his Napoleonic career in c. A.D. 733, became the master of the whole of Maharashtra by 753, and destroyed the Chalukyan Empire to assume an imperial status. He was succeeded by his uncle Krishna I. the builder of the Kailasa temple of Eliora. In a reign of fifteen years, he added to the empire what are the modern states of Hyderabad and Mysore,

About the same time, Gopala, elected to the position of a chieftain, consolidated Bengal. His son Dharmapala (c. A.D. 770-810) led his conquering army through the whole valley of Gangfa; reduced the ruler of Kanauj to a puppet; held courts at Kanauj and Pataliputra- For long he commanded the allegiance of most of the kings of the north.

There was ferment also in the west. In A.D. 712 the Arabs conquered Sindh. About A.D. 725 Junaid, its governor, under the orders of Caliph Hasham of Baghdad, sent an army for the conquest of India. It overran Saur&shtra, Bhillamala, the capital of Gurjara (the Abu Region), and reached Ujjayim.

Then arose an unknown hero, Nagabhata by name; possibly he belonged to a branch of the royal Pratihara family of Bhillamala, the capital of Gurjaradesa. He rallied to his banner the warriors of the allied clans of Pratiharas, Chahamanas and also, perhaps, Guhilaputras, Chalukyas and Paramaras, all of whom had their home in the region of Mount Abu- Nagabhata fought the invading army, flung it back, destroyed it.

This victory welded the clans of Gurjaradesa into a hierarchy. It gave them self-assurance and the will to conquer. With a leader and a destiny, they laid the foundations of a new power that was destined to play an important part in history.

During Nagabbata’s time Dantidurga with his conquering army swept over the north, captured Ujjayim, where the Pratihara, his fortunes temporarily eclipsed, played the host to the conqueror.

Vatsaraja, the son of a nephew of Nagabhata I, styled “the preeminent among valiant Kshatriyas”, waxed strong and entrenched

himself in a strong position in north India. The allied clans were now a well-knit hierarchy. He, however, suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Rashtrakuta Dhruva and 'had to take refuge in some unaccessible region.

Under the Pratiharas, Kanauj reached the zenith of power, learning and culture, between A.D. 815 and 940. Its rulers were called Gurjaresvaras; in a late inscription. Curj ara-Pratlbaras. One of them, as we know, was styled Maharajddhirdja of Aryiavarta. One of the last emperors of the line, when the empire was no more than a symbol, was referred to as the Raghukula^bhu-chakravarti, Universal Overlord of Raghu's race; for these Pratiharas claimed their descent from Lakshmana, the brother of £ri Ramachandra of the Ikshvaku race. They were also called kings of Jurz or Gurjara by the Arab travellers, and their empire was called Gurjara.

Undaunted by reverses, the next ruler, Nagabhata II, consolidated the territory which comprised Mar wad, M'alava and modern North Gujarat. Having secured a base, he entered the race for allIndia supremacy with the Pala kings of Bengal and the Rashtrakutas of the South.

Dharmapala marched on Kanauj, removed Indrayudha from the throne of Kanauj and installed Chakrayudha. Nagabhata II, in his turn, marched against Chakrayudha, overthrew him and made Kanauj his capital- Soon after Rashtrakuta Govinda III invaded Kanauj and inflicted a defeat on Nagabhata which, however, did not cripple his strength. Ultimately Kanauj passed into the hands of the Pratiharas. About A.D. 815 it became the capital of the Pratlhara empire.

In c. A.D. 834 Nagabhata II died. Ramabhadra, his son and successor, was in his turn, succeeded in c. A.D. 836 by Mihira Bhoja.

The new ruler of Kanauj was called Mihira Bhoja as he was born by the favour of God Surya; Adi Varaha, because he uplifted the realm like the Divine Boar, the incarnation of Vishnu; Vriddha Bhoja by later writers to distinguish him from the later Bhoja the Paramara. The Arab travellers called him Bauura, possibly a corruption of Varaha or Baraha; they also referred to him as the king of Jurz, an Arab corruption of the wdrd Gurjara.

When he came to the throne, Mihira Bhoja, then a youth, was faced with a grave situation. Under the feeble rule of his father Ramabhadra, the power and prestige of the* empire had suffered. Its outlying parts had become independent. Even Gurjaradesa, the homeland, was in open revolt. The imperial possessions extended no further than Kanauj and a small area surrounding it. Only a few of his father's feudatories stood loyal to the new ruler.

The first act of the young ruler was to restore his authority over his homeland; raise the morale of the allied clans of Gurjaradesa and make them into a compact and invulnerable hierarchy. He did this with such success that the tenacity and vigour of the hierarchic dynasties survived more than a thousand years after the fall of the empire. Many of the Rajput rulers who surrendered power in the great integration of 1947-48 were descendants of the feudatories and generals of Mihira Bhoja.

The career of Mihira Bhoja, pieced together from stray references by modern scholars, was a great factor in making Kanauj a radiating centre of political and cultural activities which made for the integration of life.

In A.D. 836, Ral-pa-can, the Tibetan conqueror of Nepal, died. A civil war followed. Nepal shook off the foreign rule and became part of the political system of India. Sarasvat a-mandala in the Nepal Terai and other Himalayan areas were merged in the empire of Kanauj.

Bihar was also annexed to the empire of Kanauj. By A.D. 876, Mihira Bhoja had burnt 'the powerful people of Bengal in the fire of his rage', obtained a decisive victory over Narayanapala and annexed considerable parts of the Pala dominions to his empire- In the time of the next ruler, Mahendrapala, the empire included parts of North Bengal.

During the reign of Mihira Bhoja, the Rashfrakutas, the inveterate enemies of Kanauj, were pre-occupied with troubled conditions in their own realm. And with occasional reverses, the armies of Bhoja and his allies pressed continually southwards till they dominated the whole of what is modem Gujarat.

A Turkish Shahiya family ruled in Kabul for a long time. The last king of this dynasty, Lagaturman, was overthrown by his Brahmana minister, Kallar or Dalllya Shahi. He was possibly supported by Mihira Bhoja. Lalliya, however, lost Kabul to the $affarid Ya'qub ibn Layth in A.D. 870 and transferred his capital to Udabhanda, on Sindhu near Attock.

The Arab conquest of Sindh was no more than ‘a mere episode in the history of India which affected only a fringe of that vast country’. Within a year of Bhoja’s accession, ‘Imran ibn-Musa, the Arab Governor of Sindh, tried to extend his hold over the adjoining territory. The Arabs, however, were driven out of Kutch between A.D. 833 and 842. A few years later, they lost the best part of Sindh.

Two petty principalities only remained to the Arabs of which Multan and al-Mansurah were the capitals. The Hindus, who had been forcibly converted to Islam, went back to their ancestral fold. Baled hurl says that in the time of al-Hakim ibn-'Awanah. “the people of al-Hind apostatised with the exception of the inhabitants of Qas^ah. A place of refuge to which the Moslems might dee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake, where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Mahfuzah (the guarded), establishing it as a place of refuge for them, where they should be secure and making it a capital. 55

Sulaiman who visited India in A\D. 851 refers to Bhoja in vivid terms. “Among them is the king of Jurz (Gurjara). This king maintains numerous forces and nOxother Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land (Saurashtra?). He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his state with silver (and gcldi in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers. 55

In A.D. 916, Abu Zaid, while completing the Silsilat-ut Tawarikh of Sulaimsan, also attests to the excellent social conditions in India. “These observations”, he says, “are especially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.”

AL-Mas’udl of Baghdad, who visited India more than once between A.D. 900 and 940, refers to the Bauiira as ‘the lord of the city of Kanauj’ and as ‘one of the kings of Sindh 5 . “He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west; for, he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings. . . .Bauiira, who is the king of Kanauj, is an enemy of the Baiharia (Vallabha Raja, the title of Rashtrakuta emperors), the king of India.” He adds: Bauiira, the king of Kanauj, “has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north was against the prince of Multan, and with the Musulmans, his subjects, on the frontier. The, army of the south fights against the Balhara, king of Mankir (Manyakheta).” According to him, Balhara is at war with Jurz, “a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army.”

Sindh was evidently rescued by Mihira Bhoja. for, according to Mas’udI, the Indus ran right through one of the cities within the kingdom of Jurz (Gurjara).

The last known date of Bhoja is A-D. 882; possibly, he died in

A.XX 888.

At the time of his death, the banner of the Ikshvaku Gurjaresvaras flew over an empire larger than those of the Guptas and Sri Harsha. It comprised north India from the Himalayas to a little beyond the Narmada, from East Punjab and Sindh to Bengal. South was quiescent. The Balas were no longer a, power. The Arabs on the north-west frontier were kept at bay; Sindh had been wrested from them, Madhyadesa was at the height of its power.

Bhoja, unlike ancient chakravartis, did not rest content by establishing an evanescent military supremacy. His empire was built on the strength of regularly paid standing armies, the loyalty of his hierarchs and, it appears, the support of popular enthusiasm. Considerable parts of his empire were governed directly from Kanauj. What he conquered he consolidated as well.

IV .

The Huna incursions had a devastating effect. The Classical Age lost its vitality. The tottering Gupta Empire was dissolved. Its hierarchs were left with little cohesion and less vigour. The race of the Kshatriyas of Madhyadesa, who formed its martial backbone, lost their vigour; perhaps it paid a heavy price in blood during the last heroic efforts it put forward to drive out the Hunas.

Vast social and cultural changes followed. Varndsra'nia--dharma > instead of being a social organisation of three higher castes more or less homogeneous in culture and traditions, became rigid. Intermarriages between the castes came to he looked upon with disfavour. Instead of being associated with the masses as its natural leaders, the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas became dominant minorities.

In the South, the Brahman as, from the beginning, were a dominant minority. Their vast influence imposed the Smriti pattern of social life there but in a form different from North India. In the South the dialects were alien in structure and vocabulary to SanskritSanskrit, therefore, from the beginning, was the language of the learned only influencing the development of the dialects.

Naturally Sanskrit, though still a powerful integrating force, instead of being the language of the educated throughout the land, developed a learned character, removed still further from the spoken dialects even in the North.

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Dharma-sastras, as the source of the fundamental law in tne country, were looked upon as sacred and unifying factors. A new Saivism had, through its strength derived from its popular contacts and beliefs, become the symbol of national resurgence. Aryavarta consciousness, which related dharma to India as a whole, also continued as an effective group sentiment, particularly in north India.

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The Age of Imperial Kanauj saw a vast religious and cultural resurgence in the country, of which the Puranas were the gospels. It harmonised beliefs and practices of most of the cults which accepted as the final source, also Buddhism. The temple architecture, which began with the majestic Kailasa of Ellora and developed into the exquisite beauty of Chandella Dhanga's Siva temple at Khajuraho, was its symbol. The cult of tirthas as a fundamental institution of religio-social significance strengthened the unity of India, carrying forward the consciousness that Aryavarta was the inviolate land of dharma . The sweeping movement of the spirit was led by Sankaracharya, the prophet of the Age and the intellectual architect of ages to come.

It was an age of catholicity. The different creeds joined hands to respect each other. The gods of differing cults were all worshipped; Siva was worshipped with his whole family, and so were the Trimurtis, the Panchayatana and the Matrikas. The kings generally patronised all religions and different rulers of the same dynasty are known to belong to different religious persuasions. Even the Arab traders were found happily settled in some parts of the country.

Though the Pala Kings were great patrons of Buddhism, Buddhism was on the decline since the days of Harshavardhana. Its disappearance from India during this period was hastened by the growing unpopularity of the Tantrik practices which it had adopted; by the Puranic pantheon accepting Buddha as an avatar a of Vishnu and adopting several of its practices and beliefs; above all, by the evangelical triumphs of Sankarachiarya.

The Pratlhara emperors formed the spearhead of this religiocultural upsurge. Some of them, like Mihira Bhoja, worshipped Bhagavati as their guardian deity; others Vishnu and Siva. They were of the people and did not stand away from their hopes, aspirations and traditions. Like the Gupta Emperors, they received the full co-operation of the Bnahmanas, who, through their intellectual achievements and religious and social influence, could maintain a sense of identity between the dominant minorities and the people.

The ruling dynasties of Gurjaradesa also maintained the tradition of being the protectors of dharma. They did not treat the old social order with contempt, nor did they deprive it of its inherent tenacity by imposing unfamiliar lines of development; in the result, they strengthened it. While they led the country to progress, they drew upon the social and spiritual energy of the people.

The reciters of the Purainas became as powerful, if not more, as Brahmanas specialising in ritualism, philosophy, or literature. Particularly the Brahmanas of Kanyakubja played a great role during this period. Even today after a thousand years, they are found all over Northern India. The Kulma Brahmanas of Bengal, for instance, and the Anavil Brahmanas of South Gujarat both claim their descent from the Brahmanas of Kanyakubja.

An illustrati0n of the prevailing Puranic atmosphere in royal courts is furnished by the Gwalior -prasasti of Mihira Bhoja composed by the poet Baladitya on the occasion of the construction of a temple of Vishnu. The whole poem pulsates with the fervour of a living belief. Manu, Ikshvaku, Kakutstha and Prithu provide the background. The primeval Narayana is born twice, as Nagabhata I, and again as Nagabhata II, descended from Lakshmana the son of Dasaratha of the line.

The prasasti begins with an invocation to Vishnu, to whom the temple is also dedicated, as the destroyer of the demon Naraka, the embodiment of evil.

The Gurjaresvaras, if the prasasti tells the truth, were cultured. Each possessed a distinct personality. Nagabhata I was a warrior; Kakkuka had a keen sense of humour; Vatsaraja was compassionate, generous and of flawless conduct. Nagabhata II, short and modest, was of resistless energy. He was virtuous, and worked for the welfare of the people and performed many sacrifices. He possessed dtmavaibhava , true greatness of soul. Ramabhadra was brave and virtuous, a pure soul, opposed to worldliness and a defender of the faith.

But Bhoja was the greatest of all. Famous as he was, he was always unperturbed. Though an adept in rooting out evil, and wooed by Lakshml, the guardian goddess of sovereignty, he was untainted by arrogance, and spotless in character. He was an ardent and unmatched administrator and a receptacle of pleasant and sweet words. When Brahma himself wanted to discover another such man, whom else could he find but Sri Ramachandra himself?

So that his life may extend beyond the ordinary span everyone desired to serve him; the ascetics in return for his protection; the

preceptors from affection, the servants from devotion; his many foes out of policy; all men in the interest of their own well-being and livelihood. And he was as worthy a recipient of these offerings as the Creator Himself- "

Men of intellect, of honesty and of virtuous deeds helped to increase his prosperity, while enemies were scorched by the flame of his anger. The oceans were guarded by his valour. Like unto Karttikeya, the god of war, he was of unbounded energy and the Earth waited upon him to hear her fate from his lips.

Thus, Baladitya the poet sings of Bhojadeva with the vanity of the poet. He expresses the hope that his prasasti would last till the end of Creation. His prayer was granted. The prasasti will last till the end of time and through it Mihira Bhoja will live down the ages.

Mihira Bhoja was not merely a Caesar, nor a pontiff, as were imperators of Rome and Byzantium. He was a conqueror and a great emperor. He was the protector of dharma. He was an Ikshvaku, a family in which God Himself had chosen to be born

Aryavarta was thus a pyramid of culture. At its apex stood Vishnu Himself, the upholder of an evenly ordered realm, the protector of happy and well-ordered governance. That is why Bhoja bore the epithet (Adi Vardha’.

V

The Puranic Renaissance gave added sanctity to the Dharmasastras. In this Age, learning tended more and more to live on the past, the commentators and the writers of digests took the place of the law-givers. Of them, the most outstanding was Medhatithi, who wrote a commentary on the Manu-smriti.

The spirit of the Age found expression in relating Varndsramadharma which was dynamic to the virile concept of Aryavarta. Aryavarta, says Medhatithi, is not limited to geographical boundaries; it is not confined to the four corners of India; it is so called because the mlechchhas, though they frequently invade the country, are not able to abide in it.

If any prince of good character belonging to the Kshatriya or other castes subdues the mlechchhas and reduces them to the position of chandalas, as in Aryavarta, and introduces chcLtv!rvarnya in the conquered country, it would be fit for Vedic sacrifices to be performed. No sanctity attaches to Brahmavarta as such; it would be mlechchhadesa if the mlechchhas subjugated it and lived there.

Impurity does not attach to the land, but to the people. Va'nidsramadharma is a dynamic and expansive social organisation to be maintained and spread- Arvavarta extended wherever the dharma is enforced and maintained.

* ' - •

This concept did not remain a mere theory; it was in active

operation. The culture having come to dominate India was on a march to wider expansion. Indians crossed the fron liars and established kingdoms, carrying religious, literary and cultural traditions with them to. far-off lands. In this way came into existence the Sailendra Empire in Java, Sumatra and Malay Peninsula (c. A.D. 778-13th century); the dynasty of Pandurahga (c. A.D. 757-860) and the Bhrigu dynasty (c. A-D. 860-985) in Champa, the dynasties of Jaya-varman II (A.D. 802-877) and Xndra-varman (e. A.D. 877-1001) in Kambuja, the dynasty of Sahjaya (c. A.D. 732-928) in Central Java, and the dynasty of Sin$ok (c. A.D- 929-1007) in Eastern Java.

This dynamic outlook was followed in actual practice in India as would appear from the Arab chroniclers and the Devala-smriti, Even though converted to Islam, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and &udras; who had been forced to do forbidden or unclean things, could be reclaimed by .purification. A woman carried away by the mlechchhas could become pure by abstention from food and sexual intercourse for three nights. •

A king, says Medhatithi, has responsibility to maintain dharma in the land. He is under a paramount duty to resist foreign invasion at all cost. There can be no compromise with the invader: if his realm is invaded and its people massacred, the king must die fighting.

For a king, the law-giver says, fame should have no meaning; what matters is securing the submission of other kings. An enemy is an enemy; he should not be given time to prepare for war; his difficulties are no concern to a king. The best time for attack is when the king feels confident of his own strength; when the morale of his forces is high; when the crop in his country is plentiful; when the subjects of the enemy are in indifferent circumstances or are to be alienated.

Once a war is declared, there should be no weakening; no consideration for the enemy's weakness; no regard for consistency, for friend or foe- In pursuit of his aim he should, if necessary, dismiss or punish his minister.

Once an enemy is conquered, the form in which he submits is immaterial; what matters is effective surrender. A victorious king should take care to destroy his enemies, but he should penalise only the wicked and the treacherous. He should uproot the weeds, but spare, wherever possible, the inhabitants of the conquered realm.

It is not easy to consolidate gains after victory, says the political sage. The learned and the pious of the conquered country should be honoured; restraints on the subjects should be removed; the poor and ailing should be treated with kindness; sports and rejoicings should be initiated. Justice and sound finance must be restored. Wise methods of governance should be introduced. Above all, a policy of non-interference in the life of the people should be adopted.

Medhatithi lays stress on sound internal administration. Ambassadors should guard against the lure of women. The king should not part with the portfolios of finance and home to anyone and in making war and peace his should be the final voice- Services —both civil and military—should be paid their salaries regularly. Irrigation and other works must be carried out to make people independent of rains. On a small holding the taxes should be light; heavier taxes should be borne by larger profits. Then comes the dictum of a man who knows human nature well. “It is neither possible nor desirable to prohibit drinking, gambling or hunting absolutely”.

The king owes his position to no divine sanction but to the wishes of the people. He is only an instrument of maintaining danda or sovereignty which is based on the fundamental law propounded by the Dharma-^sastras. This law is above the king and is inalienable; nor should custom be permitted to override it. The king must submit to the ordinances of the Smritis. At the same time Dharma-sastras are not to be rigidly interpreted. Equity is an equal authority with the Vedas, Smritis and dchara for determining the right principle of law. “Satisfaction of the learned and the virtuous,” says Medhatithi, “is a vital test; it may find what appears to be dharma as adharma and what appears adharma as dharma. When those learned in the Vedas feel that a thing is pure, it is to be deemed as pure”.

VI

Varnasrama-dharma of Medhatithi is a dynamic world force and not a static social order. A Brahmana can marry the daughter of a iCshatriya or a Vaisya. An adopted son may be of a caste other than the father’s; a Brahmana can adopt even a Kshatriya boy. A

Kshatriya and a Vaisya have the right to recite the Gdyatri-mantra. Brahmanahood is not acquired by birth alone.

A &udra has the right to offer oblations to the fire, or to perform religious sacrifices, except the Vaivdhika fire at marriage. He may not be competent to pronounce judgment according to the Smritis } but he can be one of the sabhyas in a court of justice. If any Smriti, says Medhatithi, takes away the right of a &udra or lays down any prohibition, the injunction should be very strictly interpreted, and its scope is not to be enlarged by inferences from other texts. Those smritis, which are in favour of the Sudras, should, therefore, be enforced. But these dicta are more in the nature of a protest against the growing rigidity of the social order and cannot be read as reflecting universal practice.

Medhatithi accords to women a position in refreshing contrast to some of the later authorities who wrote for the succeeding Era of Resistance.

Women can perform all samskaras; only they should not recite Yedic mantras. At a partition an unmarried sister should be given one-fourth share of the dividing brothers.

A wife is obtained from God, not secured like cattle or gold, in the market; a husband, therefore, has no ownership over his wife. Before the wife could be compelled by the husband to serve him, he must have the necessary qualifications, among others, a loving attitude towards her. Medhatithi condemns the dictum of Manu that one is to protect oneself even at the cost of one's wife; even princes should not forsake their wives, says he. The practice of Sati, according to Medhatithi, is nothing but suicide, and as such, it is not permissible.

The position which the women occupied during this age, is also evidenced by other contemporary sources. The general level of their culture was high. SilamahadevI, wife of the Rashtrakuta Emperor, Dhruva, described as paramesvari and paramabhattcirik'i, probably ruled jointly with her husband. She enjoyed the privilege of granting large gifts without her husband's consent. Several queens of the Kara dynasty ruled in Orissa. Sugandha and Didda of Kashmir administered extensive kingdoms as dowager queens. There were learned women as well as women administrators. Avantisundarl, the wife of the poet Rajasekhara, was an exceptionally accomplished woman. The poet quotes her thrice in the Kdvyamtmdmsd. His Karpuramafijari was produced at her request and Hemachandra quotes three of her Prakrit stanzas. Ubhayabharati or Sarasvati, wife of Mandanamisra, who acted as an arbitrator in her husband's disputations with gankaracbarya, was a learned scholar herself.

We have a glimpse of the social conditions of imperial Kanauj in the works of Rajasekhara, an ardent lover of Kanauj. Its women did not lag behind men in point of education. According to the poet, there were several poetesses in Kanauj. "Culture is connected with the soul and not with the sex" says the poet. The poet had met princesses and poetesses, daughters of prime ministers, courtesans and wives of court jestors who were well versed in science.

The dress worn by the ladies of the capital was adorable. "Women of other countries", says the poet, "should study the ways in which the ladies of

Mahodaya dress and bedeck themselves, braid their hair and speak their words”.

The women of Lata were noted for their beauty and elegance. At the same time, it would be untrue to accept the position of women as portrayed by Rajasekhara as reflecting the generally prevailing conditions under which women lived, for whatever it was, it was distinctly better than the position to which they were reduced under the painful pressure of the Era of Resistance.

VII

In the field of literature this Age cannot be compared with the Classical Age with its old masters like Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. Under the influence of the rhetoricians external features of literature rather than literary beauty came into fashion; scholarship replaced poetic fancy; Sanskrit acquired a learned character.

Even kings, as we find from some notable instances, were highly educated; several of them were accomplished poets. Most of them were patrons of learning as well as authors. All branches of literature were assiduously cultivated.

There were kavyas in plenty; epics, romances and champHs were composed in large numbers. Lexicography was cultivated; so were grammar, poetics, metrics and rhetorics. Anandavardhana wrote his famous Dhvanyaloka, propounding his famous theory of Dhvani . The favourite literary form of the Age was the Drama, though only one classical specimen survives in Visakhadatta’s Mudrdrdkshasa .

. Literary activity in Sanskrit abounded even in the South. Rigarthadlpikd by Venkata Madhava, in the reign of the Chola king Parantaka I, is one of the earliest of its kind in Sanskrit literature.

6aktibhadra contributed the drama A&charyachudnmani, the first Sanskrit, drama to be composed in the south, as known so far.

Literature was also cultivated in Prakrit, Haribhadra being the greatest master of the period. There was a vast non-eanonical literature in Pali and in Apabhramsa in which the works of several eminent Jain writers like Dhanapala, Pushpadanta, Kanakamara, Padmaklrti and Svayambhu have survived. During this period, several works of great value were composed in Kannada and Tamil, forming landmarks in the development of these languages.'

Philosophic literature was widely cultivated by the Bauddhas, the Jains and the Brahmanas. Of them all, gahkaracharya was the greatest. He provided a philosophic theory which undermined the barren ritualism of the Mlmarhsakas as well as the decadent Mahayana Buddhism and Jainism. He stood for monism; preached the superiority of samnyasa over ritualism. He purged many religious beliefs of their grossness. He was also a practical reformer. His organizational work, which brought cults, practices and rituals under the direction of the four great Mathas which he founded and which stood for his Vedantic monism, restored the cultural unity of the land. He also reorganized the monastic orders and infused a nobler sense of mission in them.

The Bhdgavata Parana was the culminating point of the strong theistic movement started by the Alvars and N&yahars in the South. It became the gospel of hhakti, the intense devotional ecstasy of the Alvars as well as the teachings of Bhagavadcfita. Its deep emotion and creative beauty saved the soul of India duing the following Era of Resistance.

The last literary phase of the Age is represented by Rajasekhara, who lived in the reign of Mihira Bhoja, for he was the court poet and teacher of Mahendrapala and Mahipala.

Rajasekhara’s works give us a vivid glimpse of himself and the time. The poet was born in the family of YayaVaras, a family of poets. Though a B rah maria, he married into a Chahamana family and his wife, Avantisundari, was therefore a Kshatriya.

His Bdlardmdyana was staged at the court of Mahendrapala at Kanauj. Bdlabhdrata was staged at Kanauj after Mahipala completed his campaign against the Rashtrakuta emperor Indra III, in about A.D. 916. The poet thus describes his patron who was present in the audience—

“In the family of Raghu, there was born a glorious Mahlpala

deva, who lowered the heads of the Muralas; who destroyed

the Mekalas; who drove out the Kalingas; who destroyed Kun

talas as if with an axe; who forcibly seized the royalty of the

Rama-fhas”.

Rajasekhara’s Kdvya-mimdmsd is a work of great value and gives glimpses of the life and literature of the times.

The poet was a much travelled man, and has some very interesting remarks to make about the manners and speech of the people of different parts of the country. The Magadhas and those living to the east of Banaras spoke Sanskrit well but Prakrit badly. A Gauda could not speak Prakrit properly; he should, therefore, either give up the attempt or improve his Prakrit. The Kamatakas recited poetry proudly with a twang at the end of each sentence irrespective of sentiment, style or quality. The Dravidas recited prose and poetry both in a musical way. The people of Saurashtra and Travana spoke Sanskrit but mixed it with Apabhramsa to add beauty to their speech. Kashmirians were good poets but their recital sounded like a mouthful of gaduchL

Rajasekhara had a partiality for Lata (South Gujarat). According to him, it was the*‘crest of the earth’. Its people, however, hated Sanskrit, but spoke elegant Prakrit in a beautiful way. Its women were noted for their beauty and elegance of speech. Its poets possessed distinctive literary traits; and favoured the style called ‘Lati’. Humour was its speciality.

The people of the region enclosed by the Ganga and the Yamuna, the centre of which was Kanauj, according to the poet, were the ornaments of the land.

They liked new and elegant literary works. The composition of its poets was well constructed and their recitation was sweet like honey. To him the city was the centre of the universe; a sacred place; the home of the imperial Ikshvakus; a centre from where radiated power, fashion and culture.

The whole country, therefore, in this period, had a unity of culture. Sanskrit was the language of the cultured, spoken and understood among the educated throughout the country, but was most prevalent to the east of Banaras.

VIII

Mihira Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapala, a fearless military genius, who extended the empire of Mihira Bhoja adding to it the Kamal district in the Punjab, the Nepalese terrain and the Rajsbahi district of Bengal. In A.D. 910 he was succeeded by Mahipala who also, like his father, was educated by the poet Rajaiekhara.

Within a few years of Mahipala’s coming to the throne of Kanauj, however, Indra III, the Rashtrakuta emperor, marched to the north and occupied Kanauj. But he suddenly died, possibly in battle, and his army withdrew precipitately to the South. Though the Rashtrakuta empire was already disintegrating in A.D. 940, Krishna III again re-appeared in the north, overran Malava and Gurjaradesa, occupied Kalanjara and gave a shattering blow to the Pratihlara empire.

The two raids of the Rashtrakutas had unfortunate results for

• •

the whole of India. Madhyadesa lay mauled and bleeding. The empire of the South tottered to a fall. The feudatories of both declared independence one after the other. The country was prostrate and defenceless, and the Aryavarta Consciousness was submerged by parochial sovereignties.

Out of the chaos, two powerful feudatories carved out independent kingdoms: the Paramaras of Malava and the Chandeilas of Jejakabhukti. Kanauj, however, continued to remain the metropolis of culture, but its emperor was no more than a shadow of his former self.

By about A.D. 974 the Empire of the Rashtrakutas was taken over by the Chalukya king, Taila II, a feudatory. A bitter and long drawn out war ensued between Taila II and Paramara Munja of Malava. Ultimately, Munja was captured and killed between .A.D. 995-997. Taila followed him soon after in A.D. 997-998.

In the fateful year A.D. 997 Abu-l-Qasim Mahmud, son of Sabuktigfn, captured Ghazni, developed a marvellous striking power and turned his attention to India,

Ancient India ended. Mediaeval India began.

IX

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By Dr. R. C. Majumdab General Editor

The preceding volume closed with an account of the shortlived empires in Northern India founded by Harsha-vardhana, Yasovarman, and Laiitaditya. But although they failed in their efforts to build up a stable empire, the imperial traditio^ handed down by them bore rich fruit during the period covered by this volume. The middle of the eighth century A.D., which marks its commencement, is a great landmark in Indian history. It saw the rise of three great dynasties which were destined to play the imperial role with far greater success than any of the three individual heroes mentioned above.

Of these three great dynasties the Gurjara-Pratlharas were the earliest, and the foundation of their power in Western India, shortly before A.D.- 750, has been described in the preceding volume. The two other powers, which suddenly came into prominence about the same time, were the Palas of Eastern India and the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan. The rivalry and struggle between these three great powers forms the dominant theme of history dealt with in this volume.

The city of Kanauj was raised to the dignity of an imperial capital by Harsha-vardhana. But though his empire collapsed with his death, the glamour of Kanauj was revived by Yasovarman. During the period-under review it formed the centre of attraction of all the three great powers, and they regarded its possession as a consummation to be devoutly wished for. It was finally chosen as the capital by the Gurjara-Pratlharas. Under them it rose to be the finest city in the whole of India, and continued as such till the end of the period covered by this volume. This circumstance has suggested the name of this volume, viz . The Age of Imperial Kanauj . It is hardly necessary to add that this nomenclature is only to be taken in a general sense, and is not intended to cover the entire

history dealt with in this volume. Indeed no title could be devised which fulfils this condition, and no apology is perhaps needed to name any particular volume after its dominant theme.

The period covered by this volume witnessed the rise and fall of three empires. The Palas under Dharmapala and Devapa-la established a mighty empire, and they claimed allegiance of nearly

the whole of Northern India. Then came the turn of the Pratlharas who, under Bhoja and Mahendrapala, brought under their direct administration a vast extent of territory, from the Kathiawad Peninsula in the west to Northern Bengal in the east. No such empire flourished in North India after the Guptas. For there is no doubt that the Gurjara-Pratlhara Empire was more extensive, more durable, and had a more stable and organised administration than the empire of Harsha-vardhana. The detailed account of this empire in the present volume will show the erroneous, almost ludicrous, character of the notion that Harsha-vardhana was the last empirebuilder in Northern India, to which reference has been made in the Preface to the preceding volume.

Both the Palas and Pratlharas felt the full brunt of the Rash^rakuta power. Although the Rashtrakutas ruled over the Deccan, they were fired by the ambition of conquering Northern India. They defeated the Pratlhara rulers Vatsaraja and Nagabhata and the Pala king Dharmapala. Under Dhruva and his son Govinda III they proved to be the greatest military power in India, and while the former carried his victorious campaign as far as the doab between the Ganga and the Yamuna, the latter overran the whole country up to the Himalayas. Even a century later, one of their successors sacked the imperial city of Kanauj, then at the heyday of its glory, and forced the Pratlhara Emperor to fly for his life.

The Rashtrakutas also successfully fought with the Pallavas and other powers of the South Indian Peninsula, and advanced even as far as Ramesvaram. From the political point of view the Riashtrakuta Empire constitutes the most brilliant episode in the history of the ancient Deccan. No other power, south of the Vindhyas, played such a dominant role in the history of North India, until the age of the Maratha Peshwas in the eighteenth century.

The. Pratlharas, though never a match for the Rashtrakutas, played a dominant role in North Indian politics. They stood as bulwark against the Muslims of the Sindhu valley. It has been asserted by the Muslim writers that the Pratlharas were the greatest foes of the Muslims, and could easily defeat the latter; but whenever the Pratlharas advanced, the Muslims threatened to destroy the famous image of the Sun-god in Multan, and the Pratlharas immediately retreated. The Muslims thus took advantage of the religious feelings of the Hindu Pratlharas in order to save themselves from impending ruin.

It appears that the danger of Muslim menace was not yet fully realised by the Pratlharas. Otherwise they should not have been deterred by religious scruples from exterminating Muslim rule in

India*—a feat which was easily within ‘their power. The Rashtrakutas went one step further. They befriended the Muslims and gave them all facilities for settling in their territory. They even allowed Muslim settlements to build mosques and to be ruled by their own governors. Whatever we might think of the political wisdom of the Rashtrakutas, their attitude is undoubtedly a manifestation of that spirit of religious toleration, which characterised India but was rare in that age elsewhere in the world, and offered a strange contrast to the iconoclastic fury of the Muslims.

To the west of the Pratiharas lay the kingdom of the Shahiyas. Originally ruled over* by the Turkish chiefs who claimed descent from Kanishka, it was usurped by a Rrahmana minister, and the new ruling family came to be known as the Hindu Shahiyas. They became very powerful and ruled over an extensive territory from the Hindu Kush to the East Punjab.

Although the Muslims were checked in Sindh they never gave up the idea of pushing their conquests to India. The Caliphs made repeated attempts to conquer Kabul and Zabul. Zabul made a prolonged and stubborn resistance against Arab aggression for more than two hundred years, and was not finally subdued till A.D, 870. Kabul, which was conquered at the same time, regained independence, and formed a part of the Shahr^a kingdom. The heroic resistance of these two states against the greatest military power in the world has not yet received the recognition it deserves, and has therefore been treated in some detail.

The rise of Ghazni, towards the close of the period under review, was likely to be a great peril to India, and the Hindu Shahiyas, who guarded her frontiers, were engaged in deadly conflict with the rulers of this state. The struggle began towards the very end of the period covered by this volume, and continued beyond it. A detailed account of this conflict, which inflicted untold miseries upon India and paved the way for its final conquest by the Muslims, will therefore be given in the form of a continuous narrative in the next volume.

The end of the first millennium, with which this volume closes, was a turning point in the history of India. India was on the verge of a great political transformation to which the nearest precedent is furnished by the invasion of the Aryans about three thousand years earlier. But the external invasion was not the only factor of importance. The internal change was also a momentous one. The collapse of the Pratihiara Empire brought into prominence new powers, known later under the collective name of “Rajputs”, who played a dominant part in Indian history throughout the Mediaeval period. They constituted a definite break with the old, and ushered in a new age both in political and cultural history of India.

The close of the tenth century A.D. also saw the final exit of the two great powers, the Rashfrakutas and the Pallavas, from the arena of politics in the south. The Chiaiukyas re-established their power in the Deccan after more than two centuries, while the Cholas, one of the three ancient peoples in the Tamil land, once more emerged as a great power after ousting the Pallavas. But the main activities of both these dynasties really commence after the end of the period under review, and their history will be treated in the next volume.

Generally speaking, the period is one of decline and decadence in all spheres of cultural activity. Buddhism and Jainism lost their dominant position, and became gradual^ confined to particular regions. The rise of Tantrik cults brought corruption both in Buddhism and Brahmanical religion. Literature became less creative and more artificial. The pursuits of science were less active. The age of original Smritis was passing away, ushering in the age of the commentaries. It was easily taken for granted that the era of authoritative creation, in the fields of religion, philosophy, law, manners, and morals, was now definitely closed, and all that remained for the people was to understand the past and follow it as scrupulously as possible. Nevertheless Indian genius occasionally shone forth in a brilliant manner. In the fields of religion and philosophy the name of Sankaracharya occupies an honoured place. Although he wrote only commentaries to existing works, the views he propounded through them entitle him to be ranked as one of the greatest philosophers of the world. Similarly Medhatithi, the commentator of Manu-samhiia , occupies a high place among the legal luminaries of India.

In literature Visakhadatta and Bajasekhara are great names, though far inferior to Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. But the period saw the highest development in one branch of literature, viz. theory of poetics. It was the age of the great rhetoricians like Ddbhafa, Vlmana, Rudrata, Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Kuntaia. Tins period also witnessed the growth of a new type in Sanskrit literature viz.. Champu, i.e. Kdvya written both in prose and verse. It may also be mentioned that the general output of literature during this period was not inconsiderable.

In medicine, Madhavakara brought to perfection the branch of pathology in his masterly work Rugvinischaya which, for the first

time in the history of Indian medicine, treats of all diseases together in one volume. The treatise, now known as Charaka-samhita, was also the result of considerable revision and enlargement of the original work by Dridhabala during this period. Mention may also be made of Nighanfu of Dhanvantari, the oldest medico-botanical dictionary that we have at present.

In the domain of art, there is a noticeable decline in sculpture and painting. But there is a great development in architecture. The two main types of temple architecture, known as Nagara (North Indian) and Dravida, definitely emerge during this period, but are not fully developed till the next. Further, it is not always easy to assign the temples and images belonging to the same style or school to the one or the other of these periods. We therefore thought that it would perhaps be more convenient to deal with the last phase of Hindu art, from A,D. 750 to 1300, in a single chapter in the next volume. This will enable the reader to follow the continuous development of the temple architecture and get a comprehensive idea of the Mediaeval Indian sculpture in all its local varieties from beginning to end. The omission of the Chapter on art in this volume is a departure from the general plan, but was decided upon on the above grounds. The period under review is noted for some remarkable monuments such as the monolith Kailasa temple at Ellora cut out of a hill-side, a unique achievement without any parallel in the history of art.

The colonial and cultural activities of the Indians outside India form a brilliant chapter of Indian history during the period under review. To complete the account in respect of China and Tibet, the activities in these regions have been traced down to the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

The policy and principles of editing, referred to in the preceding volumes, remain unchanged. I take this opportunity of thanking the contributors for their sincere co-operation. Dr. Pusalker has, as usual, rendered most valuable services in preparing this volume, and I am deeply grateful to him. In conclusion I must place on record my thanks for the appreciative reviews of the preceding volumes in different journals.

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2. Paid and Pratihdra Em,pires

3. South India, A.D* 320-1000

0

Abb. Rat. ABORI.

Apar.

Ap. Dh. Su. AH.

ARSIE.

ASC.

ASI.

ASS.

ASWI.

AUS.

Bala.

BEFEO.

BG.

Bhav.

Bh. List.

BI.

BKQ.

BSOS.

BSS.

Bu-ston.

BV.

CCIM.

CII.

CP.

CW.

DHI.

DHNI.

DKA.

DLP Series. DUS.

Dyn. Kan. EC.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abhidhdnaratanarndld of Haldyudha.

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Apardrka.

Apastamba Dharma-suira,

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EEL

EX

EISMS.

ERE.

F errand.

Gaut.

GIL.

GOB.

GSAX.

HAL.

HER.

HCSL.

HIED.

HXL.

HXSI.

Hir. Gr. Su. Hodivala.

HOS.

HSL.

IA.

* 1C.

ID.

IHQ.

IS.

JA.

. JAHRS.

JAGS.

JASB.

JAS,L.

JBBRAS.

JBHS.

JBORS.

JBHS.

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Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

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Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna. xVn

JPL.

JDPS.

JGJRL

JIH.

JISOA.

JKHRS.

JOI.

JOR,

JPTS.

JRAS.

JRASB, L.

JUB.

Kar.

Kav.

KHDS.

KM.

KSS.

Kutt.

List.

Manu.

MAR.

MASB.

MASI. Mbh(B). Mbh(Cr. Ed).

M. C.C. Magazine. MDJG.

Mrichchh.

NLA.

NTS.

NPP.

N. S. or NS.

NSP.

NUJ.

Num. Chron.

OC.

OHRJ.

ORLI.

Pag-sam-j on-zang. Par Madh.

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PIHC.

PLC.

POC.

P.S.

PTQ

QJMS,

Raj at. Rati.

RT.

SBE.

SBH.

Schiefner.

SD.

SDar.

Sel. Ins.

SII. SIS. SJS. Sm. C. SSG.

Taranatha.

TAS.

THK.

TSS.

Upamiti.

Vid.

Vish.

VRS.

VSS.

Yaj.

ZDMG.

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CHAPTER I

THE RASHTRAKUTA EMPIRE

We have already seen 1 how the Chalukya emperor was overthrown by one of his feudatories, Dantidurga, some time about A.D. 752. The family of the new ruler is known as Rash^rakuta. The origin of this name and the early history of the Rashtraku^as have been discussed above. 2 Dantidurga's family originally belonged to Laftalura situated in the Osmanabad District of the Hyderabad State, but it migrated to Eliichpur in Berar in c. A.D. 625, where it # carved out for itself a small principality 3 and ruled as a feudatory of the Chalukya empire for several generations. The fortunes of the faqiily began to rise during the reign of Dantidurga's father Indra I, who had married a princess of the Chalukya family. 4 Dantidurga, who is also sometimes referred to as Dantivarman. ascended the throne in c. A.D. 733. 6 He was able, ambitious, and sagacious; and managed to become the overlord of the Deccan in less than fifteen years.

1. DANTIDURGA

Two records of his reign, viz. the Samangad plates dated AJD. 754° and the undated Daiavatara cave inscription of Ellora 7 give a grandiloquent description of the triumphaj. career of Dantidurga. He is said to have fought on the banks of the Mahi, Mahanadi and Reva. and won victories over - Kahchi, Kalifiga, Kosala, Sri-iSaila, Malava, La^a, and Tanka. He is also saicT to have made liberal rewards to various rulers at Ujjayini and fixed his quarters in a Gurjara palace in that city. A later record 8 probably elaborates this when it says that Dantidurga performed Hiranyagarbha (or the Great Gift) at Ujjayini in which "kings such as the Gurjara lord and others were made door-keepers". But his crowning act of glory was the overthrow of the Chalukya king, described in several records. According to contemporary records, he defeated with a small force the formidable Karnataka army and won victories over Vallabba, the lord of all kings. In later records he is credited with having wrested the supreme sovereignty from the -Chalukyas 9 and "humbled the circle of proud kings from the Himalayas down to the limit of Setu" (i.e. Adam's Bridge). 10

While these statements leave no doubt that Dantidurga was the real founder of the greatness of the family, it is difficult to reconstruct his history by arranging his victories in chronological sequence. It is probable that some of his victories were achieved while he was yet a feudatory of the Chalukyas, and on this basis we may provisionally reconstruct his history somewhat as follows:—

His first exploits were performed during the campaign organised by his feudal lord Vikramaditya II and the latter's Gujarat feudatory Pulakesin to repulse the Arab invasion. A sanguinary battle was fought near Navsari in c. A.D. 738 in which the invaders were so completely overthrown that they never again dared to invade Gujarat. The brunt of the battle was naturally borne by Pulakesin and Dantidurga whose principalities lay in Gujarat and Berar. The Chalukya emperor appreciated the heroism of his feudatories by conferring the titles of Ch&lukyakuldlamkdra (the Ornament of the Chalukya family), Pfithvivallabha (the Lord of the Earth) and AvanijandSraya (the Asylum of the People of the World) on Pulake£in and those of Prithwvallabha and Khadgavaloka (one whose mere sight is as effective as sword) on Dantidurga. 11

Dantidurga continued to be a loyal feudatory of Vikramaditya for some years more. He accompanied his Chalukya suzerain in his expedition against KahchS in c. A.D. 743 and shared the credit for the victory over the Pallavas. 12

Dantidurga was ambitious; and he decided to take full advantage of the varied and valuable military experience he had gained in his campaigns in the north and south. When Vikramaditya II died in A.D. 747, he embarked upon a bold career of conquest, but took, care to see that his annexations were, as far as possible, not at the cost of the Chalukya empire. He wiped out the Gurjara kingdom of Nandipun (Nandod) and appointed his nephew Karkka to rule over the region. 124 Then he led an expedition into Malwa; and proclaimed its conquest by performing Hiranyagarbha-ddna. ceremony at its capital Ujjayini. Next he proceeded against eastern Madhya Pradesh and brought it under his political influence. By c. A.D. 750 he had thus become the master of Central and Southern Gujarat and the whole of Madhya Pradesh and Berar.

Kirtivarman II, the Chalukya emperor, could now no longer ignore the rising power of his nominal feudatory and decided to challenge it. The armies of the two claimants to the overlordship of the Deccan probably met somewhere in Khandesh and Dantidurga was victorious. As a result of this victory, he became the master of the whole of Maharashtra by the end of A.D. 753. He now assumed full imperial titles Mdhardjddhiixija

Paramesvara Paramabhatftiraka . He, however, did not survive his victory for long but died some time before A.D. 758. This is the earliest known date of his successor, his uncle Krishna I, who, we may presume, was a valued lieutenant of his ambitious nephew in his military conquests. 13

2. KRISHNA I • •

Dantidurga had defeated Kirtivarman, but had not extinguished his power. The Chalukya emperor retired to Karnatak and proceeded to reorganise his forces for a further trial of strength. The challenge was so successfully met by the new Hash^rakuta ruler that the Chalukya empire was wiped out of existence by c. A.D. 760. Krishna then proceeded against the Gahgas ruling in Mysore and occupied their capital Manyapuram for some time. Later on he sent his son, the crown-prince Govinda, to invade the dominions of Vishnuvardhana IV, the Chalukya king of Vengl, who being a ruler of a Chalukya branch was naturally hostile to the new power that had swept away the Chalukya supremacy from Western Deccan. The expedition was successful and, as a consequence, the whole of the former Hyderabad State was incorporated in the Rashtrakuta empire in c. 772. Silabhattarika, a daughter of Vishnuvardhana IV, is known to have been a queen of Dhruva, a younger brother of Govinda. Probably her marriage followed the conclusion of the peace.

Krishna I also defeated a king called Rahappa, whose identity is uncertain. He brought under his sway southern Konkan and placed it in charge of Sanaphulla, the founder of the Silahara family. The Bhandak plates prove that practically the whole of Marathispeaking part of Madhya Pradesh was under Krishna.

Krishna was great not only as conqueror but also as builder. The famous rock-cut Siva temple at Ellora, which is justly regarded as a marvel of architecture, was constructed at his orders, and bears an eloquent testimony to the high level of skill attained by India in the arts of sculpture and architecture under the Rashtrakuta patronage. Krishna had the titles Subhatunga and Akdla-varsha.

3. GOVINDA II AND DHRUVA 14

Krishna I died about A.D. 773 and was succeeded by his eldest son Govinda II, Prabhutavarsha Vikramdvaloka. He had been nominated as yuvardja by his father and had distinguished himself on the battlefield by defeating Vishnuvardhana IV of Vengi. He is also credited with some conquests after his accession; but he proved an utter failure as a ruler. Soon after his accession, he abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and debauchery and practically left the whole administration To his younger brother Dhruva. The latter

took advantage of the situation to secure ail power for himself. Govinda realised this and immediately removed Dhruva from the administration. Evidently it led to some confusion including a rebellion of feudatories and Dhruva made it an excuse for revolting openly against his brother. It has been stated in a record of the time of Dhruva that he proceeded to fight his brother, not so much to gain the throne for himself, as to prevent the danger of the Rasherakula family itself being ousted from the throne. Such excuses, however, should not be taken at their face valu^. In any case Govinda II refused to abdicate without resistance as he was urged to do. He sought help from the rulers of Kahchl, Gangava^I, Vengl and Malwa. But Dhruva defeated his brother and usurped the throne before the other kings could come to Govinda’s aid.

Dhruva must have ascended the throne before the end of A.D. 780. He assumed the titles Nirupama Kali-Vallabha, Dharavarsha, and $?i-Vallabhd, and is sometimes referred to as Dhora, a Prakrit form of Dhruva. Shortly after his accession, he proceeded to punish the kings who had supported his brother.

The Ganga king Srfpurusha Muttarasa was defeated, his crownprince ^ivamara was taken prisoner, and the whole of Gangavatjl was annexed to the Rashtrakuta empire, whose southern boundary was thus pushed to- the Kaverl. The victor then proceeded against the Pallava ruler Dantivarman, who however conciliated him by offering an indemnity of elephants. The ruler of Vengl, Vish$uvardhana IV, was also humbled and sued for peace.

These victories made Dhruva the undisputed overlord of the entire Deccan, but he was not satisfied with this achievement. He wanted to be the overlord of Northern India as well, and decided to make a bold bid to attain that position. 15

Since the days of Harsha, Kanauj enjoyed the status of the premier city of Northern India, but Indrayudha, who was ruling there at this time, was a mere titular emperor like Shah Alam II ruling .at Delhi in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Palas of Bengal and the Gurjara Pratiharas of Rajputana were rising to prominence, and seeking to establish their own hegemony over Northern India by conquering Kanauj and making its nominal emperor a creature of their own. Vatsaraja, the Gurjara Pratthara ruler, first marched upon Kanauj and succeeded in occupying it. He, however, permitted Indrayudha to rule as a puppet emperor under his protection as the Marthas did with Shah Alam II towards the end of the eighteenth century. The success of Vatsaraja roused the jealousy of his Pala rival Dharmapala who challenged his power and marched into the Dbab, only to be defeated by Vatsaraja.

Dharmapala, however, soon rallied his forces and proceeded to make a second bid for hegemony in the north. At this time when Dhruva had decided to try his luck as a third claimant to the kingdom of Kanauj in c. A.D. 786, the army of Dharmapala was heading towards the Doab and Vatsaraja was once again on the way to meet it.

Dhruva planned his northern expedition with great skill. He collected a strong force on the banks of the Narmada and put. his able and energetic sons Govinda and Indra in charge of the different sections. He could cross the Narmada and occupy Malava without much opposition, as the main army of Vatsaraja was in the Doab. He then advanced towards Kanauj, and Vatsaraja had to withdraw his forces from the advanced position in the Doab to meet this new danger from the south. The two armies met somewhere near Jhansi, and the Deccan invader inflicted such a crushing defeat upon the forces of Vatsaraja that he had to fly to Rajputana to take shelter in its sandy deserts. Flushed with this sensational victory, Dhruva decided to measure his strength with Dharmapala as well, whose forces were hovering on the outskirts of the Doab. The Goddess of Victory once more smiled on the Deccan emperor, and Dharmapala had to flee from the battlefield leaving behind his white imperial umbrellas. The victor spent some v*eeks on the banks of the holy Ganga and Yamuna and, as a memento of this sojourn, these famous rivers were incorporated in the Rashtrakufa Imperial banner.

Dhruva could not press home his victories by marching upon and occupying Kanauj. He was too far away from his base; he was also getting old and had to settle the problem of succession. He therefore returned to the south in c. A.D. 790, laden with rich booty.

At the close of Dhruva's reign the Rashtrakuta power had reached its zenith. The Ganga crown-prince was in the Rashtrakuta prison, and the Pallava king could save himself only by surrender; Vatsaraja had fled, and Dharmapala had been overthrown. There was no power in the country to challenge the Rashtrakuta supremacy.

Dhruva had several sons, the names of four of whom are known. The eldest Stambha (or Kambha) Ranavaloka was the viceroy of GangavadT, and the other sons were also capable administrators. In order to prevent a struggle for succession after his death, Dhruva chose the third son Govinda as his successor. The latter was formally appointed as yuvardja and invested with a kanthika or necklace which was the insignia of the heir-apparent. But as the old emperor still apprehended trouble, he proposed to abdicate in favour of the heir-apparent. Though Govinda is said to have opposed this proposal, some records state that he was invested with the royal

state by his father at a formal coronation. Unless we take these expressions to refer to his installation as a yuvardja —though rdjddhirdja-parame$varatd would hardly bear that sense—we must conclude that in spite of Govinda's real or pretended opposition, Dhruva actually abdicated in favour of his son Govinda III who assumed the-titles Jagattunga , Prabhutavarsha^&rivallabha, Janavallabha, Kiriihidrdyana and Tribhuvdnadhavala.

According to an inscription of the time of Govinda III, Dhruva chose Govinda as his successor because he was the ablest and worthiest among his sons. Normally no great importance attaches to a statement like this, but the career of Govinda III fully justifies his father’s choice if it was based upon any such consideration.

4. GOVINDA III

Govinda III ascended the throne in A.D. 793 and, as was ejected, his accession did not go unchallenged. For a time Stambha kept quiet, but when he was assured of the support of a number of feudatories and neighbours, he brok£ out in open revolt against his brother. Govinda, however, quelled the rebellion of M twelve kings headed by Stambha” and took his brother prisoner. He, however, treated him leniently and, being convinced of his loyalty in future, Govinda took the magnanimous step of reinstating him in the Ganga viceroyalty. Throughout the rest of his life, Stambha remained loyal to his plighted word.

Sivamara, the Gahga prince in the Rashtrakuta prison, had been released by Govinda soon after his accession, evidently to act as a check on Stambha’s ambitions. Sivamara, however, joined the side of Stambha, contrary to Govinda’s expectations. When the two brothers became reconciled, they jointly marched against Gangavad5, captured Sivamara, and once again put him into prison. Next came the turn of the Pallava king Dantiga, who also was compelled to submit. Vishnuvardhana IV of Vengi was the maternal grandfather of Govinda and so was not disposed to challenge his supremacy. When Govinda III thus became the undisputed overlord of the Deccan in c. A.D. 795, he decided to intervene in the political tangle of Northern India. Subsequent to the retirement of his father from the Ganga valley in c. A.D. 790, considerable changes had taken place in the political situation. Dharmapala recovered from’ his defeat earlier than Vatsaraja, and eventually succeeded in putting his own nominee Chakrayudha on the Kanauj throne. Vatsaraja’s successor Nagabhata II, however, soon turned the tables and reoccupied Kanauj after defeating Chakrayudha and Dharmapala. Such was the situation in the north on the eve of Govinda’s invasion.

The northern expedition of Govinda was skilfully planned and boldly executed. Indra, the younger brother and loyal supporter of Govinda, was the viceroy of Gujarat and Malava; he was entrusted with the task of keeping watch over the Vindhyan passes in order to prevent Nagabhata from bursting into the Deccan, when the main Rash{rakuta army was away in the North. A number of detachments were kept in Central India to keep the local rulers in check and secure the lines of communication.

After taking these prudent precautions, Govinda marched into Northern India via Bhopal and Jhansi, Kanauj being his main objective. Nagabhafa marched out to meet the invader. The two armies probably met in Bundelkhand. Victory once more favoured the southern army and Nagabhafa fled to Rajputana, leaving the Doab at the mercy of the conqueror. Chakrayudha, the puppet ruler of Kanauj, was quick to realise the futility of opposition and came forward with unconditional surrender. Govinda was satisfied and did not deem it necessary to march upon Kanauj. Dharmapala also offered submission, as he too thought it politic and prudent to do

so. He knew that Govinda could not long remain in Northern India %

and he was really grateful to him for having shattered the power of his mighty rival, Nagabhata II. Besides the powerful GurjaraPratlhara and Pala kings, other rulers of Northern India were also humbled by Govinda III. A detailed account of his conquests is given in the Sanjan plates of his son and successor which seem to describe the events in chronological order. Even at the risk of repetition, we may therefore sum up as follows the verses referring to the glorious conquests of Govinda III:—

After defeating Nagabhata and Chandragupta, a king whose identity is not certain, Govinda III uprooted other kings but afterwards reinstated them in their dominions. He then proceeded as far as the Himalaya mountains, and it was presumably on the way that Dharmapala and Chakrayudha submitted to him. He returned and “following again the bank of the Narmada. .. .and acquiring the Malava country along with the Kosala, the Kalinga, the Vanga (or Vengi), the Dahala, and the Odraka, that Vikrama (i.e. Govinda III) made his servants enjoy them”. After having subjugated his enemies he returned to the banks of the Narmada and established himself in a befitting manner in a capital city at the foot of the Vindhyas, performing pious deeds by constructing temples.

While he was encamped there, Maraiarva or Sarva, the ruler of a small principality with his capital at Snbhavana (modern Sarbhon in Broach District), submitted and presented to Govinda III valuable* treasures which he had inherited from his ancestors. 16

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Govinda III stayed for some time in his capital and there his son and successor Amoghavarsha was born. It is somewhat curious that most of these details of the northern campaign are not found in the records of Govinda's reign and known only from an inscription recorded nearly 70 years later. But still, as they are substantially corroborated by contemporary records* we need not dismiss them as altogether fictitious though there may be some amount of exaggeration.

The date of the great northern campaign of Govinda III has been a subject of keen controversy among scholars. For a long time it was believed that it took place about A.D. #06 or 807. But it is now generally held that all these conquests were achieved before A.D. 802, most probably in A.D. 800. 17

Vishnuvardhana IV of Vengfi died in A.D. 709 and was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya II. The new ruler challenged the Rashtrakuta supremacy, but Govinda defeated him and put his-younger brother Bhfma Salukki on the Vehgi throne in c. A.D. 802. The new ruler naturally enough became a loyal henchman of Govinda.

Taking advantage of Govinda's absence in the north, the Pallava, Pan<jya, Kerala and Ganga rulers formed a confederacy against him. Govinda marched against them with lightning speed and scattered them all before the end of A.D. 802. The occupation of Kanchl by the Rashtrakuta forces created a tremor in the heart of Hie king of Ceylon, who tried to ingratiate himself into Govinda's favour by presenting him two statues, one of himself and the other of his premier. Govinda installed one of them in the Siva temple at Kanchl to serve as a column of victory to proclaim to the subjects of his enemy his great power and might.

Govinda III was undoubtedly the ablest of the Rashtrakuta emperors, unrivalled in courage, generalship, statesmanship, and martial exploits. His invincible armies had conquered all the territories between Kanauj and Cape Comorin, and Banaras and Broach. Vengi was governed by a nominee of his; and the power of the Dravidian kings in the extreme south was completely broken. Even the ruler of Ceylon was terrified ipto submission. Never again did the prestige of the Rashtrakuta empire rise so high.

5. 6ARVA OR AMOGHAVARSHA

Govinda HI was succeeded by his son &arva, better known as Amoghavarsha, in A.D. 814. He assumed the titles Nripatunga, Maharajashxmda,'Vtra-N&rayana, and Atisaya-dhavala. The new emperor was a boy of 13 or 14, and his father had arranged that Karkka,

who had succeeded his father Indra as the viceroy of Gujarat, should assume the reins of government during his minority.

The arrangement worked satisfactorily for two or three, years, but a formidable revolt broke out in A.D. 817. It seems to have been led by the Vehgi ruler Vijayaditya II who, though ousted from the throne by Govinda III, had subsequently managed to regain it. 18 A number of disgruntled officers, relations, and feudatories swelled the ranks of rebels; and they eventually gained the upper hand. The boy emperor had to flee and the Rashtrakuta power was for a time completely eclipsed ab.aut A.D. 818. Karkka, however, soon retrieved the situation and 7 reinstated his ward upon the imperial throne some time before A.D. 821.

After spending five or six years in restoring order and authority in the different provinces of his empire, Amoghavarsha launched an attack on Vijayaditya of Vehgi and inflicted a severe defeat upon him in c. A.D. 830. It appears that the Rashtrakuta forces were in occupation of Vengi for about a dozen years thereafter. The city was recaptured by Panduranga, a general of Vijayaditya II, shortly before A D. 845.

An almost continuous war was going on between the Rashtrakiitas and the Gangas during the first twenty years of the reign of Amoghavarsha. Eventually the latter were able to drive out the Rashfrakuta forces from the major part of their country. Amoghavarsha also did not make any serious effort to regain his ascendancy in that province. In c. A.D. 860 he married his daughter Chandrobalabbe to a Ganga prince named Butuga, which put an end to the hostility between the two houses and ushered in an era of co-operation between them.

According to the Sirur plates the rulers of Anga, Vahga, Magadha, Malava, and Vengi paid homage to him. The reference to the last is easily intelligible. As regards Malava, it was a bone of contention between the Rashtrakutas and the Pratlharas and. in spite of casual victories on either side,'it ultimately passed into the hands of the latter. The first three countries in the list were included in the Pala dominions, and it is interesting to note that the Pala emperor Devapala claims to have defeated the Dravida king who is usually identified with Amoghavarsha. It is probable, therefore, that hostilities occasionally broke out between these two: and that first Devapala, and later Amoghavarsha had some success. It is difficult to believe that the latter actually invaded Anga and Vanga (Bengal and Bihar), though its possibility cannot be altogether ruled out.

Amoghavarsha built the city of Manyakhe^a and established his capital there. This city is now represented by Malkhed in the Hyderabad State, about 90 miles to the south-east of Sholapur. It is difficult to say where the capital was situated before this. Various suggestions have been made locating it at Mayurakhindi or Morkhind (Nasik District), Nasik, Sooloobunjan near the Ellora caves, and Ellichpur. But there is no satisfactory evidence in support of any of these views.

The later part of the reign of Amoghavarsha was also full of rebellions. Even the crown-prince Kjish^a appears to have been involved in them. Bahkeya, the great general of the king, who distinguished himself in the wars against the Gahgas, succeeded in crushing these rebellions. But the most unfortunate, and in some N respects the most serious, rebellion was that of the Gujarat Branch of the Rashtrakutas founded by Indra. When Amoghavarsha attained majority and assumed the reins of government in c. A.D. 821, his cousin Karkka, who was carrying on the regency administration, retired to Gujarat as viceroy. His relations with Amoghavarsha continued to be cordial till his death in c. A.D. 830. He was succeeded by his son Dhruva I. The friendly relations between the two Rashtrakuta families terminated soon after the accession of Dhruva. Either

Amoghavarsha was ungrateful or Dhruva became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father who had won the throne for Amoghavarsha. Whatever the real cause, protracted hostilities raged between Amoghavarsha and his cousin which lasted for about 25 years. Dhruva I was eventually killed in this struggle and* was succeeded by his son Akalavarsha in c. A.D. 845. The latter succeeded in winning back his throne, but the tables were soon turned against him when Bahkeya, the famous general of Amoghavarsha, assumed the command of the imperial army. Eventually peace was concluded between the warring houses when Akalavarsha was succeeded by his son Dhruva II. By this time the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Bhoja I had become very powerful and cherished designs to avenge the defeat inflicted upon his grandfather Nagabhata II by Govinda III, the father of Amoghavarsha I. Dhruva II could never hope to meet the Pratlhara invasion single-handed, and Amoghavarsha had little chance to emerge victorious unless his viceroy in Gujarat and Malava gave him wholehearted support. The tragic and long-drawn war, therefore, came to an end in c. A.D. 860. The threatened Pratlhara invasion did not materialise; there were only frontier skirmishes, and the Rashfrakulas were able to hold their own and confine the enemy to the other side of the Narmada.

Amoghavarsha was no born military leader, but he was nevertheless able not only to reconquer his kingdom and establish peace

and order but also to send an expedition against the Palasi The arts of peace attracted him more than feats of war. He was a liberal patron of literature and his court was adorned'by a number of famous Hindu and Jain writers such as Jinasena, the author of the Adipurdna, Mahaviracharya, the author of Ganitasdrasamgraha. and Sakatayana, the author of Amoghavritti. He was himself the author of Kavirajamdrga, the earliest Kanarese work on poetics. He treated all creeds with impartiality and his own life was a striking synthesis of what was best in. Hinduism and Jainism. He revered Mahavira as profoundly as Mahalakshml, and on one occasion proffered to the latter a finger of his own in the belief that such sacrifice would abate a severe epidemic. Kings rarely bleed for others; usually they make others bleed for themselves. Towards the evening of his life from c. A.D. 860, he used off and on to retire from the work of administration in order to devote himself as much as possible to religious worship. Amoghavarsha’s name will endure as of a ruler who established peace and order in his kingdom, encouraged art and literature practised the principles he preached, and did not flinch even from offering a limb of his body by way of sacrifice, when he thought that public welfare demanded, it.

6. KRISHNA II • •

Amoghavarsha I died about A.D. 878 and was succeeded by his son Krishna II who, like bis illustrious namesake, assumed the titles Akdlavarsha and Subhatunga. He married the daughter of the Chedi ruler Kokkalla I and received substantial help from his wife’s relations in the arduous struggles of his reign.

Several Rashtrakuta records 19 make a bold claim on behalf of Krishna II that he terrified the Gurjaras, destroyed the pride of UL\a , taught humility to the Gau^as, deprived the people on the seacoast of their sleep, and that his command was obeyed by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Ganga, and the Magadha, waiting at his gate. Much of this is, no doubt, mere conventional praise based upon a kernel of historical truth. But there is no doubt that his reign was full of wars.

The most arduous of his campaigns were those against the Pratiharas and the Eastern Chalukyas. Several records refer to his fight with the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Bhoja 20 , and the Begumra plates, dated A.D. 914. state that even then old men remembered the great battle and talked of it. It is clear from the records of the Lata f Gujarat) Branch of the Rashtrakutas that they, particularly their chief Krishnaraja took a distinguished part in the

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campaign against the Pratlharas. Although the advance of Bhoja was checked, the Lata Branch seems to have come to an end shortly after. Kpshnaraja is known to have been on the throne till at least A.D. 888, but no successor of his is so far known. Whether he died without leaving any issue, leading to the lapse of his kingdom, or whether there was a further war between the main dynasty and the Lata Branch which wiped out the existence of the latter, we do not know.

The war with the Eastern Chalukyas was a more serious affair, and at one time even threatened .the very existence of the Rashtrakufa kingdom. The campaigns will be more fully described in connection with the Eastern Chalukyas in Chapter VI and a short summary here must suffice.

Vijayaditya III, the contemporary of Krishna II on the Vehgi throne, had freed his kingdom from the Rash$rakuta yoke during the reign of Amoghavarsha; the advent of a new king on the Rashtrakuta throne emboldened him to take the offensive, and he was for a time successful. In the south he attacked the Nolambas and the Garigas, who were Rashtrakuta feudatories, and in the north his invading forces penetrated right into the heart of.Berar. For a time Krishna was defeated all along the line. But in a few years he reorganised his forces,, summoned the battalions of his feudatories, and hurled back the Chalukya invaders. His victory was decisive, and the Chalukya king Bhlma, who had succeeded his father, was taken prisoner. Eventually, Bhlma was released after a few years and permitted to rule his kingdom as a feudatory. In course of time, however, he once again challenged the Rashtrakuta overlordship, but was again defeated in a sanguinary battle, in which his crown-prince lost his life.

Krishna II seems to have had political relations with the Cholas. One of his daughters was married to the Chola king Aditya I, and there was a son by this marriage named Kannara. On the death of Aditya, his other son Parantaka ascended the throne. Thereupon Krishna II invaded the C!ho]a kingdom in order to secure the throne for his grandson, But he was decisively defeated at Vallala (modern Tiruvallam in North Arcot District).

The wars of Krishna II thus generally ended in failure and sometimes in disaster in spite of his initial brilliant victories against the'Eastern Chalukyas.

7. INDRA III

Krishna II died towards the end of A.D. 914 after a reign of about 36 years. Like his father he had a leaning towards Jainism.

He was succeeded by his grandson Indra III, whose , father Jagattuhga predeceased Krishna. Indra assumed the titles Niiyavarshu, Raftakandarpa, Kirttindrayaiia, and Rajamdrtanda.

Indra III was a youth of 30 at the time of his accession, and he had inherited the military dash and daring of Govinda III. Soon after his accession, he emulated his great ancestor by declaring War against the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor Mahlpala. It has been suggested by some writers that he did this in sympathy with his Chedi relations, 21 who had espoused the cause of Mahlpala's rival and half-brother Bhoja II. There is, however, no positive evidence in support of this, and Indra's expedition against the Gurjaras may be merely a phase of the long-standing hostility between the two powers. The southern army followed the Bhopal-Jhansi-Kalpi route, crossed the Yamuna at the last mentioned place, and marched upon Kanauj and occupied it. The capture of Kanauj, the imperial city of Northern India, was a sensational achievement and immensely enhanced the prestige of the Rashtrakuta arms. Mahlpala fled and Indra sent his own Chalukya feudatory, Narasimha II of Vemulavada, in pursuit. This campaign has been dealt in detail in the next chapter.

The war with the Vehgls continued in the reign of Indra also, but with no conspicuous success on either side. Inara died some time after A.D. 927 22 and was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha II. The latter fell a prey to the foul play of his younger brother Govinda IV; his widow fled to Vehgl, and lived under the protection of its ruler A mm a I, as she did not feel that either her honour or her son would be safe anywhere within the empire over which her husband once ruled. Govinda naturally did not like this action of Amma I, and when the latter died in 925, he intervened in the war of succession for the Vengl throne that ensued, and eventually succeeded in putting his own nominee Tadapa upon it.

8. GOVINDA IV AND AMOGHAVARSHA III

Govinda was a youth of about 25 at the time of his accession, and soon gave himself up to a life of vicious pleasures. His administration became tyrannical and unpopular, and his ministers and feudatories felt that his removal was necessary in the interests of the empire. They therefore made overtures to Amoghavarsha, an uncle of Govinda, and requested him to displace Govinda. Amoghavarsha had a high reputation for character and integrity, and when he marched against Malkhed with the assistance of his Chedi relations, he was openly welcomed by the distressed people who had become disgusted with Govinda's vices and excesses.

Amoghavarsha found no difficulty in overthrowing Govinda and ascending the throne in A.D. 936. 23 Whether Govinda was killed in battle or was put in prison, we do not know.

Amoghavarsha III was aged about 50 at the time of his accession, He was religious by temperament and did not take any active interest in administration. During his short reign of three years, therefore, the government was entirely carried on by his able and ambitious son Krishna. The latter sent an expedition into Gahgava^I, and deposed its king Rajamalla with a view to enthrone the latter's younger brother Butuga, who had married a sister of Krishna. As crown-prince, Krishna also led an expedition into Bundelkhand and captured the important forts of Kalanjar and Chitrakuta. During this expedition a misunderstanding and possibly a conflict arose between him and his Chedi relations, which put an end to the long-standing entente cordiale between the two royal families. 24

9. KRISHNA HI

Krishna III Akdlavarsha succeeded to the throne as the de jure emperor on his father's death towards the end of A.D. 939. Soon af*ter his accession he planned an invasion of the Choja kingdom in collaboration with his brother-in-law Butuga, ruling in Gahgavadi. The two brothers-in-law led a lightning expedition to the south and captured the important cities of Kanchi and Tanj ore some time in A.D. 943. Parantaka, the Choja king, soon rallied his forces and repulsed the invaders, who could retain effective possession only of Tondamajjdalam, consisting of Arcot, Chingleput and Vellore Districts. In A.D. 949 the Chola army penetrated into Arcot District with a view to drive out the invader, but sustained a signal defeat at the battle of Takkolam, in which the Cho]a crown-prince Rajaditya, who was leading his forces, was killed in his howdah by Butuga. Krishna pressed home his victory by marching down to Rame£varam, where he set up a pillar of victory; then he came back to North Arcot and encamped for some years at Melpa<Ji. He built the temples of Krishnesvara and Gandamartandaditya at or near

Ramesvaram to shine there ‘as resplendent hills of fame.’ Krishna eventually decided to annex only Tondamaijdalam which remained an integral part of his empire to the end of his reign.

In recognition of the valuable help rendered by h'is brother-inlaw, the Ganga king, Krishna bestowed upon him the governorship of Banavasi 12000, Belvola 300, Purigere- 300, Kinsukad ¥0, and B&genad 70.

In c. A.D. 963 Krishna led a second expedition into Northern India in which Marasimha, the successor of the Gahga ruler Butuga, offered valuable assistance. Krishna seems to have marched into Bundelkhand; but his objective is not definitely known. 24 * Later on he led an expedition into Malwa against the Paramara ruler Siyaka and occupied Ujjayinl.

Krishna succeeded in bringing Vehgi effectively under his control by championing the cause of Ba^apa against Amma II, and putting him on the Vehgi throne in A.D. 956. Though Ba^apa remained a loyal Rashtrakuta feudatory till the end of his life, Amma II soon regained the throne and put an end to the Rashfrakuta influence.

Krishna III was one of the ablest monarchs of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. Possibly he was not as successful in his northern campaigns as Dhruva, Govinda III, or Indra III. But there is no doubt that, unlike any of his predecessors, he was the lord of the whole of Deccari (Sakala-dakshhya-dicj-adhipatij in the full sense of the term. Govinda III conquered Kanchl, but could not penetrate to Ramesvaram and thus effectively break the power of the Dravi^a kings. Vengl was a source of trouble to him; duririg the latter half of Krishna’s reign, it was ruled by a submissive feudatory. Krishna was in effective possession of a large part of *the Chola kingdom and his temples of Kfishnesvara and Gan<Jamarta$daditya at or near Ramesvaram proclaimed his conquest of the extreme south of the Peninsula. No other Rashtrakuta king was the overlord of the entire Deccan in so complete a sense of the term as Krishna was in c. A.D. 965.

10. KHOTTIGA AND KARKKA II

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Krishna III apparently had no issue living at the time of his death, since he was succeeded by his younger brother Khottiga in A.D. 967. The new ruler was an old man at the time of his accession and seems to have lacked military capacity. At any rate he was unable to repulse the invasion of the Rashtrakuta dominions by the Paramara king Siyaka, who was keen on avenging his defeat by the previous Rashtrakuta emperor. Siyaka crossed the Narmada and advanced straight upon Malkhed. The Rashtrakuta capital was captured, and plundered in the spring of A.D. 972. The imperial treasury was completely sacked and the raider carried away even the office copies of copper-plate charters lodged in the record office. Khottiga died of a broken heart soon after this calamity, probably in September, A.D. 972.

Khottiga was succeeded by his nephew Karkka II, son of Nirupama. The prestige of the empire had been already shattered by the sack of its capital, and matters were worsened by the maladministration of the new emperor and his two vicious ministers. This naturally aroused imperial ambitions in the minds of the feudatories, and one of them eventually deprived Karkka of his sovereignty over the Deccan within eighteen months of his accession.

This feudatory was Taila II of the Chalukya family. He was ruling over a small fief at Tarddava^i in Bijapur District as a submissive feudatory of the Rashtraku^as from the time of Krishna III down to A.D. 965. He, however, believed that he was a direct descendant of the Imperial Chalukya family of Badami, and his ability and military capacity urged him to make a bid for the imperial status snatched from his ancestors by the Rashtrakutas. He made elaborate but secret preparations, and by the end of A.D. 973 openly revolted against the authority of Karkka. The latter marched against him, but was signally defeated in a sanguinary battle fought. somewhere in northern Karnataka. The notorious ministers of Karkka were killed in the battle, but Karkka himself escaped and managed to carve out a small principality for himself in Sorab taluk of Mysore State, where he continued to rule up to A.D. 991. Though Karkka gave up the task of restoring Rash{rakuta supremacy as hopeless, it was attempted by the Ganga ruler Marasimha on behalf of his nephew Indra, a grandson of Krishna III. This effort also failed, as Taila succeeded in crushing his enemy’s forces in A.D.

974, Both Marasimha and Indra turned Jain monks and died by the Sallekhana vow, and Taila became the overlord of the Deccan by A.D. 975. His reign and the history of his family will be described in the next volume.

11. RETROSPECT AND REVIEW

The period of Rash^rakuta ascendancy in the Deccan from about A.D. 753 to 975 constitutes perhaps the most brilliant chapter in its history. No other ruling dynasty in the Deccan played such a dominant part in the history of India till the rise of the Marafhas as an imperial power in the eighteenth century. No less than three of its rulers, Dhruva, Govinda III, and Indra HI carried their victorious arms into the heart of North India, and by inflicting severe defeats upon its most powerful rulers changed the whole course of the history of that'region. Their success in the south was equally remarkable, and Krishna III literally advanced as far as Rameivara in course of his victorious career. All the great powers of India, the Pratiharas and the Palas in the north, and the Eastern Chalukyas and Cholas in the south, were subjugated by them at one time or another. They,

no doubt, suffered reverses at times but on the whole their military campaigns against powerful adversaries were repeatedly crowned with brilliant success.

N.

The Rashtraku^as also excelled in arts of peace. The Kailasa Temple at Ellora, to be described elsewhere, y/}\\ keep alive for ever the name of its builder Krishna I. Amoghavarsha, though not renowned like his father and grandfather as a conqueror, was a remarkable personality. By virtue of his literary accomplishments and religious temperament he occupied a unique position among contemporary sovereigns. The Arab writers who visited Western India for {rade or other purposes speak very highly of the Rash{rakuta kings whom they refer to as Balhara, no doubt an abbreviation of Ballaha-raya, a Prakrit form of Vallabha-raja, According to these foreigners the Balhara was recognised as the greatest king in India and homage was paid to him by all the other princes. It is further said: “He gives regular pay to his troops and has many horses and elephants and immense wealth". On the other hand Mas'udi says: "His troops and* elephants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains." 26 Both the king and his subjects are described as being friendly to the Muslims, and according to some writers Muslims were appointed even as governors of cities in the kingdom. 26 Mas'udi says: "There is none among the rulers of Sindh and Hind who in his territory respects the Muslims like Raja Balhara. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected. And for them mosques and congregational mosques, which are always full, have been built for offering prayers five timds." 27 All these undoubtedly testify to the liberal and progressive views of the Rashtrakuta kings.

1. Vol. in, pp. 248-9.

2. Vol. Ill, pp. 198-202. In later times the Rashprakutas regarded themselves as having been descended from Yadu, and one record describes them as belonging to the Satyaki branch of Yaduvamsa. There is hardly any doubt that these Rashtrakupas were of Kannada origin; at least Kannada was their mother tongue.

3. According to Mirashi, Dantidurga's "ancestors were ruling, not over Vidarbha, but over the Aurangabad District (ancient Mulake) where the earliest inscriptions of the family have been found." (POC. XV Summary of Papers, p. 98).

4. It is said in the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha that "Indraraja, in the (marriage) hall, namely Khetaka, seized in battle the daughter of the Chalukya king by the rakahasa form of marriage" (El, XVIII 252). This is also referred to in other records which give the name of the princess as Bhavagana. Khetaka is modem Kaira, where a battle must have taken place, though we do not know the cause of it. The princess probably belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Chalukyas. The eircumstances relating to the battle and the forced marriage are shrouded in obscurity.

5. The Ellora plates of Dantidurga, the earlk ,c record of the family, arc dated in Sarii. 663. This has been referred to the Saka era, and the resulting date is A.D. 742 (El, XXI. 26). Prof. V. V. Mirashi, however, reads the date

as 463 and refers it to the Kalachuri era of A.D. 250-51 (POC. XV. Summary of

Papers pp. 97-8). The equivalent Christian date being AJD. 715, it pushes back the accession of Dantidurga by more than 25 years. If we accept this interpretation, Dantidurga must have had a long reign of more than 40 years, as his other known record, Samangad plates, is dated A.D. 754.

6. I A, XI. 111.

7. ASWf, V. 92.

8. El, XVIH. 252.

9. El, IV. 287.

10. El, XVUI. 252. - ,

11. This para is based upon the inference suggested by the Navsari plates of Pulakesin and Ellora plates of Danticjurga.

12. Vol. HI, pp. 247-8, 263.

12a. For a different view on this point, cf. next chapter (pp. 20-21. fn. 14).

13. According to some records (/A, XII. 264) Dantidurga died without a son, and Kannara (i.e. Krishna) succeeded him. According to the Baroda plates of A.D. 812-13 (lA, XII. 158), Krishna I had replaced a relative who had gone astray. The view that Dantidurga was deposed by his uncle Krishna lot oppressing his subjects cannot be upheld. For a full discussion of the point, cf. Altekar, Rdshprakufas, pp. 41-2.

14. For the reign of Govinda II, cf. Alas Plates (El, VI. 208), Daulatabad Plates (El, IX. 195), and Bhor State Museum Plates (El, XXH. 176).

15. A large number of inscriptions refer to the conquests of Dhruva and Govinda III. Among them may be specially mentioned:

(i) Radhanpur and Wani plates of Govinda HI (IA, XI. 157).

(ii) Baroda Plates (IA, XII. 158).

(iii) Nilgund, Sirur, and Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha (El, VI. 98; VII.

203; XVIH. 244).

16. This deta^ is found in Radhanpur and other plates, but not in Sanjan plates which merely refer to the birth of his son in Sarva’s kingdom.

17. The vexed problem of the chronology of the campaigns of Govinda. Ill was discussed by the author of this chapter and Mirashi, in D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 153 ff. and El, XXIH. pp. 214-7, 293-7. The views given above are slightly different from those held previously by the author. Cf. also El, XXXII, 159 (Ed.).

18. This will be described more fully in Chapter' VI.

19. Karhad PI. (El, IV. 287).

20. This will be described more fully in Chapter II.

21. Indra himself, his father Jagattunga, grandfather Krishna H, and son Amogha varsha II had all married princesses of the Chedl family of Tripuri,

22. According to one view, he ruled till at least A.D. 927 and was succeeded by his elder son Amoghavarsha who was removed by Govinda TV in A.D. 930 (Ef, XXVI. 162-3). Some scholars believe that he ruled till the end of A.D. 928 (El, XXXII. 50). The date 922, for the death of Indra HI as given in the first edition (p. 13) by the late Dr. Altekar has been proved to be wrong by epigraphic records and has been changed to 927 (Ed.).

23. Some authorities place it in A.D. 934 (El, XXVI. 163-4).

24. This is denied by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri (JOR, XVI. 155).

24a. For a different view, cf. Ch. V, Section H.

25. HIED, I. 3, 13, 21.

26. A1 Istakhr! (ibid. 34) says: “There are Musalmans in its (land of Balhara) cities, and none but Musalmans rule over them on the part of the Balhara. There arc Jama Masjids in them (where Muhammadans assemble to pray).” The bracketed portion is added by Ibn Haukal (ibid) who repeats the rest.

27. POC, X. 406.

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CHAPTER II

Chapter Notes

- * I have incorporated without quotation marks several paragraphs from my study of the period in The Glory that was Gurjaradesa (2nd Ed. Revised and in part re-written),
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- VII

RISE AND FALL OF THE PRATIHARA EMPIRE

The early history of the Gurjara-Pratlharas has been dealt with in the third volume. 1 We have seen how the Pratihara dynasty, founded by the Brahmana Harichandra, carved out a powerful kingdom in Rajputana, and various other Gurjara families, probably branches of the same dynasty, set up small principalities to the south and east. The southern branches ruled in La{a with its capital at Nandipuri, 2 but we have no definite information about the capital of the eastern branch or the exact locality and extent of its dominions. Some scholars hold the view that Bhillamala was the early capital of this family, as they identify it with the capital city of the Gurjara kingdom mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. But apart from their identification being doubtful, that kingdom was ruled, as has been shown already, 3 by the main branch. As a matter of fact, the eastern branch did not come into prominence till about a century later, and as the main branch in Jodhpur continued to rule for 150 years more after that, there is no valid ground for taking Bhillamala as the original capital of the eastern branch. 4 The only clue to the original location of the family is furnished by the details available about the fourth king Vatsaraja. There are grounds to believe that he ruled over both Jalor and Avanti. But these are disputed points and will be treated more fully later, in connection with that ruler. For the present we may accept as a probable hypothesis, though not as a proved fact, that he and his ancestors ruled over Avanti and had their capital at Uj jay ini.

1. NAGABHATA I

The family came into prominence in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. by the successful resistance it offered under Nagabha^a I to the Arabs. He is described in the Gwalior Inscription as “having crushed the large armies of the powerful Mlechchha king.” It has already been noted above 6 how he saved Western India from the Arabs and gradually brought under his sway a large number of states that had been overrun by them. In particular, he established his supremacy over the Gurjara kingdom of Nandi purl, and probably also over the Pratihara family of Jodhpur. A new feudatory family the Chahamanas—was set up in Broach, but the old dynasty of Harichandra. continued at Jodhpur. Siluka, whose history has been related above, 6 was'perhaps the last indepen

dent ruler of this family. His two successors Jhota and Bhilladitya are said to have proceeded respectively to the BhagirathI and Gangadvara, and no martial glory is ascribed to them. 7 This would indicate that the Jodhpur family was politically insignificant during the latter half of the eighth century A.D. It is obvious that Nagabhafa and his descendants now attained the supremacy and leadership of the Gurjara confederacy, so long enjoyed by the Jodhpur chiefs.

It is unfortunate that we know practically nothing of the ancestors of Nagabhafa I. Very likely they had carved out a kingdom in Eastern Rajputana and Malwa about the same time as the other branch had conquered the region round Broach. Like the latter, - they too probably acknowledged the suzerainty of the Jodhpur Pratiharas until Nagabhafa established the independence of his kingdom on a firm footing in the wake of the political disruption that followed the disastrous Arab raids.

The date of Nagabha^a’s accession is not definitely known, but since he successfully opposed the Arabs* he must have ruled in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. Whether he defeated Junaid or his successor Tamin 8 it is difficult to say, but in any case, he must have ascended the throne within a few years of A.D. 730. He ruled probably till A.D, 756 as will be noted below.

About the time when Nagabha^a was laying the foundations of the future greatness of his family, another powerful dynasty arose in the Deccan, immediately to the south of Malwa. These were the Rashfrakutas whose history has already been dealt with in the preceding chapter. The Rashtrakufa king Dantidurga, who reigned between c. A.D. 733 and 758, is said to have defeated the Gurjara king and made him serve as a door-keeper (pratihara) when he performed the Hiranyagarbha-dana ceremony at Ujjain. 9 It has been suggested by some scholars 10 'that there is a pun on the word pratihdra and an allusion to the Pratihara king of Avanti. Though this view is not accepted by all, 11 there is no doubt that a Gurjara king had to submit to Dantidurga, who went to the extent of occupying the palace of the vanquished ruler. 12

Dantidurga also claims to have = conquered Lafa (Southern Gujarat) and Sindh. Since Dantidurga died before A.D. 758, it is more or less certain that his Gurjara adversary could not have been anybody else but Nagabhaja I. But since the latter is acknowledged as suzerain by Bhartrivaddha, the Chahamana ruler of Broach, in A.D. 756,^ it does not appear that Dantidurga's military victory was followed by any permanent conquest. 14 Both Nagabhata I and Dantidurga fished in the troubled waters caused by the Arab raids.

Though Dantidurga gained some initial successes, he could not conquer permanently the territory north of the Kim river, i.e. the old Gurjara principality of Nandipuri. Perhaps the impending conflict with his Chalukya overlord forced him to abandon his aggressive designs in the north. In any case there are good reasons to believe that in spite of initial discomfiture Nagabhafa was able to leave to his successors a powerful principality comprising Malwa and' parts of Raj pu tan a and Gujarat. The Gwalior Inscription describes him as the image of Narayana, and there can be no doubt whatever that he achieved distinction as a great national hero by defeating the Arabs

2. VATS A RAJA

Nagabhafa I was succeeded by his brother's sons, Kakkuka and Devaraja, of whom nothing is known. Devaraja's son Vatsaraja was, however, a powerful ruler. The author of a Jain work, Kiivalayanuild, says that he composed the work in the year 700 (— A.D. 778) at Javalipura (modern Jalor) which was at the time ruled by the Ranahastin (war-elephant) Vatsaraja. 16 This Vatsaraja has been generally identified with the Pratlhara ruler. Another Jain work, Jinasena's Harivaihsa-purana , contains a reference to Vatsaraja and his kingdom, but unfortunately the interpretation of the passage is not free from difficulty, and has given rise to a keen controversy. 16 Jinasena gives the names of kings who flourished in different directions when he finished his work at Vardham'apapura in the year'705 (— A.D. 783). The first two lines of the verse tell us that in that year Indrayudha was ruling in the north, and Sri-Vallabha, son of king Krishna, in the south. The next two lines of the verse run as follows:— r

Purvvam Srimad—Avanti-bhubkriti nripe Vatsadirdje=pardm

Sauranam^adhimavidale(lara) jaya-yute vxre Vardhe=ivati |

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According to some scholars 17 it means that Vatsaraja, the ruler of Avanti, was the king in the east, while victorious Varaha (or Jaya-Varaha) was ruling over the Sauras in the west. Others, 18 however, point out that Av anti-bhubhrit (king of Avanti) must be distinguished from Vatsaraja, as otherwise the v/ord nripa (king) is redundant. They accordingly infer from the passage that the ruler of Avanti was the king of the east and Vatsaraja of the west, while Varaha was ruling over the Sauras. This interpretation is, however, open to serious objections. In the first place, the name of the eastern king is omitted, while the names of all other kings are given. No purpose is served by saying that the ruler of Avanti was the eastern king, which would be almost tantamount to stating that the ruler of the eastern kingdom is the king of the east. Second

ly, it appears from the general tenor of the verse that the author proposes to name the four rulers in the four directions. The proposed translation adds a fifth without indicating its connection or relevancy to the context. It is urged by some that the fifth ruler has been named because he reigned over Vardhamanapura where the work was composed. But if we accept the identification of Vardhamana with Wadhwan in Kathiawar Peninsula, we can hardly regard Vatsaraja as a western ruler, even though his kingdom was in Rajputana, as is argued by scholars who do not accept the other translation locating, it in Avanti. To obviate this difficulty one scholar proposes to identify Vardhamana with Badnawar, ^about 40 miles to the south-west of Ujjain. 19 But in that case, we cannot assign any reason why the fifth king should be mentioned at all. Thus there are difficulties in the second translation which are of a more serious nature than those of the first. For, as regards the redundance of the word tifipa, it should hardly surprise us if we remember such expression as Gurjaresvara-pati used with reference to the son of the same Vatsaraja, in a record dated A.D. 812, 20 i.e. less than thirty years after Jinasena wrote. On the whole, therefore, it is a more reasonable view to regard Vatsaraja as the' king of Avanti in A.D. 783. This view is also corroborated by what has been said above regarding the Gurjara king defeated by Dantidurga.

The two Jain works would thus prove that the Pratihara king Vatsaraja ascended the throne in or before A.D. 778, and his kingdom comprised both Malwa and eastern Raj pu tan a. That he ruled over Central Rajputana also is proved by two epigraphic records. 21 Some idea of the extent of his kingdom may be gained from the^ fact that the northern king named by Jinasena as his contemporary was Indrayudha, who was probably king of Kanauj. 22 There is no doubt that Vatsaraja gradually extended liis dominions in the north. The Gwalior inscription of his great-grandson records that he forcibly wrested the empire from the famous Bhantfi clan. This Bhan<Ji clan has been taken by some to refer to the ruling family founded by'Bhai^dif the maternal uncle of Harsha. 23 It would then follow that this clan wielded imperial power, probably with its seat of authority in Kanauj, though we have no independent evidence of this. But whatever we might think of these probabilities, there is no doubt that VfitsarSja was ambitious of establishing an empire in Northern India and attained a great deal of success. We learn from the Rashfrakuta records 24 that he defeated the Lord of Gau^a, who must be identified with a Pala king of Bengal, probably Dharmapala; and carried away his umbrellas of state. Vatsaraja was aided in this expedition by his feudatory chiefs, one of whom, the Chahamana Durlabharaja of SakambharT, is said to have overrun the whole of Bengal up to the confluence of the Ganga and the sea, 26 But as this occurs in a poetical work composed about four centuries after the event described, it is difficult to take it as literally true. As the kingdom of Gau<Ja at that time extended up to the Ganga-Yamuna Doab, it cannot be said definitely whether Vatsaraj a actually invaded Bengal, or met and defeated the lord of.Gau^a somewhere in the Doab. 26 Be that as it may, Vatsaraja must have established his supremacy over a large part of Northern India and laid the foundations of a mighty empire. He thus appears to have scored over Dharmapala who was equally ambitious of founding an empire. Unfortunately the imperial dreams of both were rudely shattered by the invasion of the Rashtrakuta king Dhruva. While Vatsaraj a and Dharmapala

were fighting for the empire in the north, the Rashtrakuta king Dhruva seized the opportunity to emulate Dantidurga by renewing the attempt to conquer the north. The details of his campaign are not known, but, according to the Rashtrakuta records, 27 Dhruva inflicted a crushing defeat upon Vatsaraja, who was forced to put the desert of Rajputana between him and the invading army. Dhruva next turned against Dharmapala and defeated him somewhqre between the Ganga and the Yamuna. :

Thus began that triangular struggle between the Gurjaras, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas for supremacy in Northern India which was destined to be an important factor in Indian politics for more than a century. The city of Kahauj, which was raised to the position of imperial dignity by Harshavardhana, seems to have been the prize coveted and won by each, with a varying degree of success. It is very likely, though not known with certainty, that Vatsaraja took possession of it before marching towards Gau<Ja. Dharmapala, the king of Gau^a, was also proceeding towards the west With the same object, and thus ensued the fight between the two rival claimants, probably somewhere in the Doab. Although both Dharmapala and VatsarSja were defeated by Dhruva, the Pratlhara king seems to have fared worse. For Dharmapala, in spite of his successive defeats, was in possession of Kanauj not long afterwards, and held a durbar there in the presence of a host of rulers of northern states including Avanti, all of whom acknowledged his imperial position. 28

As we have seen above, Indrayudha was the ruler of the north in A.D. 783. As Dharmapala is expressly said' to have conquered Kanauj by defeating Indraraja and others, it is generally held that Indraraja was the same as Indrayudha. If, as is presumed, Vatsaraja had conquered Kanauj before Dharmapala, he, too, must have defeated Indrayudha and permitted him to rule as a vassal.' But

Dharmapala placed on the throne a new ruler Chakrayudha, whose name-ending shows that he was probably connected with the ruling family.

3. NAGABHATA XI

After his defeat at the hands of Dhruva/ Vatsaraja passes completely out of our view. Nothing is known of him or of his kingdom during the palmy days of Bala imperialism under DharmapSla. It is probable that his power was confined to central Rajputana. His son and successor Nagabhata II, however, retrieved the fortunes of his family. The Gwalior Inscription of his grandson tells us that the rulers of Andhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha and Kalinga succumbed to him, that he defeated Chakrayudha and the lord of Vanga, and forcibly seized the hill-forts of the kings of Anartta, Malava, Kirata, Turushka, Vatsa, and Matsya. 29 The records ctf some of the families feudatory to him corroborate and supply details of these conquests. On the other hand, the Rashtrakuta records categorically assert that Nagabhata was defeated by Govinda III who overran his dominions and reached the Himalayas. .

Although we thus know a great many details of the eventful career of Nagabhata II, it is not easy to arrange then chronologically, and view his reign in a correct perspective. We do not know, for example, whether his discomfiture at the hands of the Rashtrakutas nreceded or followed his victories,—in other words, whether his reign began in disaster and ended in glory, or whether the reverse was the case. No wonder, therefore, that different views have been adopted by different scholars about the life and career Of this great emperor, 30 The following reconstruction of his history may be regarded as merely provisional:—

The forcible seizure of the hill-forts of Anartta, Malava, etc. is said to have begun even in his boyhood. It has been suggested that some of these events might actually have taken place in the reign of Vatsaraja. 31 But as the same record refers to the achievements of Vatsaraja, and is silent about them, this view is not probable. They may, therefore, be regarded as the earliest military exploits of Nagabhata II. The geographical position of the rulers shows that Nagabhata advanced towards North Gujarat (Anartta) and Malwa in the south and east, and this probably brought him into conflict with the Rashtrakufas, which is referred to in the records of both the parties. Indra, the Rashtrakuta ruler of Lata, is said to have defeated the Gurjara king who fled to distant regions. 32 On the other hand Vabukadhavala, a feudatory chief of Nagabhata n, is said to have defeated the Karnatas, which apparent ly refer to the Rashtraku^as (Inscription No. '3). 32ft It may be concluded, therefore, that no party gained a decisive victory, though Nagabhata probably retained some of the captured hill-forts. HU similar enterprises in the north (Matsya), east (Vatsa), and west (Turushkal were probably more successful, but we possess no details of these campaigns. The Turushkas undoubtedly refer to the Muslim rulers of the west against whom he scored some success, 33 and the Kiratas represent some primitive tribes, probably of the

Himalayan region.

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The initial successes of Nagabhata in these military raids emboldened him to carry on further campaigns which resulted in the submission of the Saindhava chiefs, ruling in Western Kathi&war, and the rulers of Andhra, Kalihga and Vidarbha. It is difficult to believe that Nagabhata actually advanced as far as Andhra or even Kalihga country on the eastern coast of the Deccan. 34 It is not, therefore, unlikely that he entered into a confederacy with them, though, as usually happens in such cases of unequal alliance, they became, for all practical purposes, subordinate, rather than independent, allies. Although this view has been challenged, 36 it seems to be true at least in the case of the Saindhavas of whom alone we possess any contemporary records. It appears from the contemporary copper-plate grants 30 of the Saindhava chiefs that while they were devoted and loyal to the PratTharas, they did not invoke their name as suzerains as was done by the Chapas and Chalukyas of the Kathiawar Peninsula—the other feudatories immediately to their east.

Nagabhata's- next move seems to have been to reconquer Kanauj. As already noted, its ruler Indrayudha had probably acknowledged Vatsaraja's suzerainty and was, perhaps for that very reason, defeated by Dharmapala, who put instead Chakrayudha on the throne. Nagabhata defeated Chakrayudha and conquered his kingdom. 37 He probably occupied Kanauj which later became the permanent capital of the Pratiharas. It was a challenge to the power of Dharmapala, and both sides made preparations for the inevitable conflict. Nagabhata was joined by at least three of his feudatory chiefs in this momentous struggle for the empire. These were

Kakka, of the Jodhpur Pratlhara family, Vahukadhavala, the Chalukya chief of Southern Kathiawar, and the Guhilot Sankaragana. The family records (Ins. 2-4) of these three refer to the first as having fought the Gaudas at Monghyr, the second as having defeated king Dharma, and the third as having defeated Gau<Ja and made the whole world, gained by warfare, subservient to his overlord. All the three evidently refer to the great battle between Nagabhafa and the lord of Vanga, described in the Gwalior Inscription, in

which the latter, though possessed of "crowds of mighty elephants, horses, and chariots", was vanquished by the former. There ifc no reference to this encounter in the Pala records, but the combined testimony of the four different records, coming from four different sources, and particularly the fact that the Pratlharas advanced as far as Monghyr^ almost in the heart of the Pala dominions, leave no doubt that Nagabhata scored a great victory over his Pala rival Dharmapala.

But Nagabhata's success was not destined to be more permanent than that of his father. Once more the hereditary enemies from the south upset the grandiose imperial scheme of the Pratlharas. Nagabhata, as noted above, had already come into conflict with the Rashtrakutas in the early part of his reign. This took place probably about A.D. 794-95, early in the reign of Govinda III, when the new king was engaged in the south in putting down the rebellion of his brother and fighting with the Gahga ruler. The brunt of the attack fell upon his viceroy of the north, Indra, who * alone' is said to have defeated the Gurjara lord. But, as noted above, the Pratlharas also claimed victory, and probably gained some hill forts in Malwa. The northern frontier was, however, guarded effectively by Indra and his son Karkka, who says in one of his records that the Rashtrakuta king had "caused his arm to become an excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of Gurjaras." 38

But the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III could not be content merely with a defensive policy against the Pratlharas. As soon as he was free from internal troubles, he made preparations to invade the north as his father Dhruva had done before. Like the latter he achieved phenomenal success, though probably more than one campaign was necessary for the purpose. He “destroyed the valour of Nagabhata”, who “in fear vanished nobody knew whither”, and then having “devastated his home” and overrun his dominions, proceeded up to the Himalayas. 39 Even making allowance for exaggerations, there can be hardly any doubt that govrftda inflicted 4 crushing blow on Nagabhata and shattered his dreams of founding an emipre.

A Rashtrakuta record 40 informs us that Dharmapala and Chakrayudha surrendered of their own accord to Govinda III. If we remember that both of them were defeated by Nagabhata II, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that they had invited the Rashtrakuta king, or at least made common cause with him against Nagabhata II, their common foe. This would satisfactorily explain the triumphant march of Govinda III right up to the Himalayas and the complete discomfiture of the Pratlharas for some time to come.

If the success of Govinda III matched his father’s in brilliance, it was equally ephemeral. He was called to the Deccan on account of internal troubles that had broken out during his long absence in the north, and for nearly half a century the Rashfrakutas ceased to play any dominant part in north Indian politics. The field was thus left free to tfre two rival powers, the Palas and the Pratlharas. The reverses of Nagabhata II gave an opportunity to Dharmapala and his son Devapala to re-establish the power and supremacy of the Palas, and there was a decline in the Pratlhara power for the time being. t

It is difficult to fix the date of the great victory of Govinda III over Nagabhata II, but it must have taken* place before A.D. 809-10. 41 Although Nagabhafa’s imperial ambitions were curbed, his power was not destroyed. A record, 42 dated A.D. 815, found at Buchkala in Bilada District, Jodhpur, gives him all the imperial titles and describes the locality as sva-vishaya, or his dominions proper. In addition to the three feudatories who helped him in his wars against the Palas, we know of another, Guvaka I, the founder of the Chahamana dynasty of Sakambharl (near Ajmer), who was his vassal (Ins. 6). Whether they threw off their allegiance to him after his discomfiture we cannot say, but this does not appear very likely. For, though the record (Ins. 2) of Bauka, the Pratihara king of the Jodhpur dynasty, dated A.D. 837, would lend some colour to such a supposition, we should remember that Nagabha^a’s grandson Bhoja was able to enlist the support of his feudatories within a few years of his grandfather’s death. On the whole we may conclude that Nagabhafa II continued to exercise his sway over the greater part, if not the whole, of Rajputana and Kathiawar Peninsula. In the east his sway extended up to Gwalior, 43 and probably further east so as to include Kanauj and Kfilanjara. 44

We learn from a Jain book, Prabhavaka-charita , 46 that king Nagavaloka of Kanyakubja, the grandfather of Bhoja, died in 890 V.S. (=A.D. 833). This Nagavaloka is undoubtedly Nagabhata H, and if we can rely on this passage, his death must have taken place in A.D. 833. It would also appear that Nagabhata II had fixed his capital at Kanauj. But although Kanauj was the capital of Bhoja, we have no independent evidence that it was the Pratlhara capital before his time. The reference to Kanyakubja in Prabhavakacharita may be explained by the fact that Kanauj had been the wellknown capital of the Pratlharas long before the thirteenth century A.D. when this book was composed. The reference to svavishaya in the Buchkala record, noted above, and the claims of Dharmapala and Devapala in the Pala records cannot be easily reconciled with the renewed imperialist ambition of Nagabhafa II as would be n'ecessarily indicated by his permanent transfer of capital to Kanauj. The admittedly inglorious reign of his son is also against such a supposition. The fact that the grandson of Nagabha^a II was on the throne within three years of the date of his death, as given in PrabhaVaka-cfiarita, throws doubt on the whole passage, but even if we accept as true, we can only presume that the capital was changed towards the very end of his reign. The same passage in Prabhavaka-tifiarita also tells us that Nagabhata II put an end to his life by immersion in the holy waters of the Ganga—a religious process adopted in later years by Ramapala of the Pala dynasty and Amoghavarsha, the Rashtrakuta king. This shows his religious temperament, which is also testified to by his performance of religious ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas. An active religious sentiment is further proved by the eclectic spirit of the royal family—for four generations of Pratlhara kings beginning from Devaraja were devotees respectively of Vishnu, Siva, Bhagavatl, and Surya. 4G

In spite of doubts and uncertainties, due to the paucity of data, the reigns of Vatsaraja and Nagbbhata II occupy a prominent place in the contemporary history of India. Both of them were remarkable personalities and had a’high degree of military fckill; and the ultimate reverses at the hands of the Rashtrakufas cannot minimise the glory they had achieved by extensive military conquests from one end of north India to the other. They raised a provincial principality into a first-rate military and political power, and although their dreams of founding a stable empire were not actually realised, they laid its foundations so well that ere long king Bhoja succeeded in the great task even in the face of very strenuous opposition from his hereditary foes, the Palas and the Rashtrakutas.

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Nagabhafa II was succeeded by his son Ramabhadra, who had a very short and inglorious reign of probably three years. His kingdom, which certainly extended up to Gwalior in the east, 47 but' probably no further, seems to have been overrun by hostile forces. 48 It is curious, as two copper-plate charters 49 record, that two grants, made by his father, had lapsed during his reign, and had to be confirmed by his successor. All this shows a period of weakness and trouble,, probably brought about by the aggressive policy of the Pala emperor Devapala as’ will be noted in the next chapter.

4. BHOJA

With the accession of Ramabhadra^ son and successor Bhoja, a new and glorious chapter begins in the history of the Pratlharas. The earliest record of the king is the Barah copper-plate 50 which

he issued in A.D. 836 from his camp (skandhdvdra) at Mahodaya in order to confirm an endowment in the Kalanjara subdivision (mandala) of the division (bhukti) of Kanyakubja which had been obstructed during the reign of his father. It shows that Bhoja had ascended the throne in or before A.D. 836, and was already in possession of the region round Kalahjara (Banda District, U.P.). If Mahodaya denoted Kanauj, as is generally supposed, we must further presume that he was also in occupation of that city and probably had his capital there. It has been urged, however, against this view, that Mahodaya, in this record, was not identical with Kanyakubja which is mentioned separately as such, and that the epithet skandhdvdra or camp could not have been appropriate for a rdjadhdm (capital) like Kanauj. The latter objection may be easily ruled out, as even famous capital cities like Pafaliputra and Vikramapura have been referred to as skandhavara in the re* cords of the Pala and Sena kings. The other objection, though more valid, is also not decisive. For the older name might have been used for the big Division, while the city proper could be referred to by the alternative name. On tljie whole it is likely, though not certain, that as early as A.D. 836, B^oja had fixed his capital at Kanauj, and obtained mastery of the region round it, which had been probably lost during his father's reign.

The Jodhpur Pratlharas, whose history has been dealt with above, 61 also came into prominence and probably regained independence during the inglorious reign of Ramabhadra. This seems to follow from the family records of both rthe branches. The Jodhpur Inscription, as noted above, 62 describes the two successors of Slluka as practising austerities, an unmistakable indication of the decline in their political and military authority. But the next king Kakka is described as a great fighter who, as noted above, accompanied Nagabhafa II in his expedition against the Pala king of Bengal. But although he acknowledged the suzerainty of Nagabhafa II at first, he seems to have practically behaved like an independent king in later years. In the Jodhpur Inscription dated A.D. 837 (Ins. 2), Kakka's queen-consort is called a Mahdrajni, and the career of their son Bauka is described in terms which make him out to be an independent king, at least de facto , if not de jure. This conclusion is corroborated by the Daulatpura copper-plate of Bhoja 63 which records that a piece of land in Gurjaratra, the home-territory of the Jodhpur Pratlharas, which was originally granted by Vatsaraja and continued by Nagabhafa II, fell into abeyance, and was renewed by Bhoja in A.D. 843. This indicates like the Barah copper-plate, that there was obstruction in the enjoyment of land during the reign of Ramabhadra, and this fits in well with the view that the Jodhpur

Pratiharas threw off the yoke of this king. The copper-plate further shows that by A.D. 843 Bhoja had reasserted his authority over Gurjaratra or Central and Eastern Rajputana. The success of Bhoja was undoubtedly due to the loyal devotion of some of his feudatories, one of whom, the Guhilot prince Harsharaja, son of Sahkaragana, 64 is said to have overcome the kings in the north and presented' horses to Bhoja (Ins. 4).

It is thus clear that Bhoja succeeded, within a few years of his accession, in re-establishing, to a considerable extent, the fortunes of his family. But soon he had to measure his strength with the Pala king Devapala. Bhoja was defeated, and his triumphant career was arrested, as will be related in the next chapter. He now turned his attention to the south, no doubt tempted by the distracted condition of the Rashtrakutas. 13 Some time between A.D. 845 and 860 he

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seems to have invaded the Rashtrakuta dominions, but was defeated by Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta chief of the Gujarat branch. 6 * Thus the growing power of the Pratiharas was once more checked by their two hereditary enemies. Bhoja was also defeated by the Kalachuri king Kokkalla (c. 845-880). 67 It is interesting to note that • the Rashtrakuta inscription, which records the defeat of Bhoja, refers to him in very flattering terms, and describes him as "united to fortune and surrounded by crowds of noble kinsmen," and having "conquered all the regions of the world." This shows that Bhoja had already raised his kingdom to a position of eminence. But there Is no doubt that the defeat at the hands of the Palas, the Rashtrakutas, and the Kalachuris was a great blow to his rising power which perhaps declined to a considerable extent.

An indication of this decline is seen in the renewed power of the Jodhpur Pratiharas. Bauka-'s step-brother and successor Kakkuka refers in two of his inscriptions, dated A.D. 861, 68 to Gurjaratra and other provinces as forming part of his own dominions. Thus Bhoja must have lost his hold over this part of Rajputana some time between A.D. 843 and 861. It appears that after some initial successes Bhoja's attempt to re-establish the glory of his family proved a failure.

But Bhoja did not lose heart and bided his time. An inscription, 69 dated A.D. 876, refers to his resolve "to conquer the three worlds", and there is no doubt that he renewed his aggressive career some time in the third quarter of the ninth century A.D. The death of Devapala removed a thorn in his side, for the next two kings of the Pala dynasty, who ruled during the second half of the ninth

century A.D., were weak and peace-loving. Fortunately for him the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, who ruled from A.D. 814 to c. A.D. 878, was also of a religious disposition, and did not have the aggressive imperialism or military ambition of his two illustrious predecessors, Dhruva and Govinda III. Nevertheless Amoghavarsha came into conflict with the Pala rulers, and prpbably, after his conquest of Vengl, invaded the Pala dominions from the south and gained some successes. Perhaps taking advantage of the weakness of the Pala rulers and their distracted condition due to the Rashtrakuta raids, Bhoja planned a campaign against Bengal. The combined testimony of several records indicates that he was helped in this enterprise by Gunambhodhideva, the Chedi ruler of Gorakhpur, and the Guhilot chief Guhila II, son of Harsharaja. 60 Assisted by these powerful chiefs Bhoja appears to have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Pala king Narayanapala and conquered a considerable part of his western dominions.

Bhoja was also engaged in a prolonged struggle with the Rashtrakutas. 61 Reference has already been made to his fight with Dhruva of Gujarat. It was renewed during the reign of Krishna II (c. A.D. 878-914). Bhoja probably took the offensive and gained considerable success. A Prailhara record 62 refers to the defeat of Krishna II, probably on the banks of the Narmada, and his retreat to the south of the river. After having thus occupied Malwa, Bhoja advanced towards Gujarat. The Rashtrakuta records admit that not only Khetaka (Kaira District) but also the region round it fell into his hands. They, however, assert that Krishna II recovered them, and there was a sanguinary battle between the two hosts at UjjayinI which made a deep impress even upon posterity. 63 It is generally held that Bhoja lost Malwa as a result of this defeat, which took place some time between A.D. 878 and 888. But this is by no means certain. An inscription 64 at Partabgarh, in Southern Rajputana, refers to a local Chahamana dynasty which was a source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva. It has been suggested, with a great degree of plausibility, that these Chahamanas helped their overlord Bhoja in his wars against the Rashtrakutas. This Chahamana dynasty acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pratlharas in the time of Mahendrapala II (A.D. 946), and asked for some favours from the representatives of their overlord at UjjayinI and Mantfapika (Mai^Ju) about the same time. It would thus appear that Malwa formed a part of the Pratlhara dominions even so late as A.D. 946, and as we know that it was conquered by Bhoja, it is more reasonable to suppose that it continued to be in the possession of the Pratlharas rather than that it was reconquered by his successors all of whom, except his son Mahendrapala I, were too

weak to be credited with any such hew acquisition. In any case, we may take for granted that the Partabgarh region formed a part of the dominions of Bhoja, and Malwa, even if lost, was reconquered by Mahendrapala I.

Although Bhoja lost his hold upon Khetaka or Kaira District, he maintained supremacy over probably the whole, of Kathiawar Peninsula. 65 In the north-west his dominions extended to the Punjab. In the east the Kalachuris of Gorakhpur were his feudatories, and probably the whole of Awadh (Oudh) was included in his dominions. The Chandellas of Bundelkhand also acknowledged his overlordship. Bhoja' thus consolidated a mighty empire in Northern India for which Vatsaraja and Nagabhaja had fought in vain, and raised Kanauj, his capital, once more to the position of .an imperial city.

Bhoja had a long reign of more than 46 years, two of his known dates being A.D. 836 and 882. 66 An Arab account of India, composed in A.D. 851 and generally attributed to Sulaiman, refers to the great power and resources of the king of Juzr. As Juzr undoubtedly stands for Gurjara, the Arab account may be taken to refer to Bhoja. As such it is an interesting commentary upon his reign and personality and may be reproduced in full:—

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‘‘This king maintains numerous forces and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still, he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India, there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than . he. His territories form a longue of land. He has got riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) in dust, an.d there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers.*’ 67

It is thus evident that Bhoja had the reputation of a strong ruler, able to maintain peace in his kingdom and defend it against external dangers. He stood as a bulwark of defence against.Sluslim aggression, and left this task as a sacred legacy to his successors.

Bhoja was undoubtedly one of the outstanding political figures of India in the ninth century, and ranks with Dhruva and Dharmapala as a great, general and empire»-builder. Unfortunately, we know very little of his personal history, 68 except that he ysras a devotee of Bhagavatl and was known by various names such as Prabhasa, Adivaraha, and Mihira, in addition to Bhoja which was most commonly used.

5. MAHENDEAFALA

Bhoja probably died about A.D. 885, and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapala I, whose earliest known date is AD. 893 (Ins. 3). A verse in RdjatarangvnX, the meaning of which is obscure, seems to indicate that he lost some territory in the Punjab, gained by his father, to S&hkaravarman king of Kashmir. 69 But, with this doubt* ful exception, Mahendrapala not only maintained intact the vast empire inherited by him, but also further expanded it towards, the east. No less than seven of his records have been found in South Bihar and North Bengal with dates ranging from years 2' to 19. These indicate that shortly after his accession he conquered Magadha and pven a part of Northern Bengal, the home territory of his hereditaiQr enemy, the Balas. Mahendrapala's records have also been found in Kathiawar Peninsula, Eastern Punjab, Jhansi District and Awadh (Oudh), and we may say, without much exaggeration, that his empire extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from the Eastern to the Western ocean.

The name of Mahendrapala is also written in slightly varying forms such as Mahindrapala and Mahendrayudha, and he was also known as Nirbhaya-narendra or Nirbhayaraja. 70 His guru, or spiritual preceptor, Rajaiekhara, is a famous personality in Indian literature. Although his writings do not throw any light on the career or personality of Mahendrapala, they refer*in unmistakable terms to the glory and grandeur of the imperial city of Kanauj.

6. MAHIPALA

Mahendrapaht’s last known date is AD. 907-8, 71 and he probably died not long afterwards. The succession to the throne after him is a matter of dispute, as the available data lend themselves to various interpretations. He had at least two queens, Dehanagadevi and MahTdevI (or Mahadevi). 72 The son of the former, Bhoja II, ascended the throne before Vinayakapala, the son of the latter, one of whose known dates is AD. 931 (Ins. 9). Mahipala, 73 a son of Mahendrapala, is known to have ruled in AD. 914 74 and AD. 917 fins. 8), while a king Kshitipala is known to be the father of king Devapala ruling in AD. 948-9 (Ins. 7). There are good grounds to believe that the last two kings also belonged to the same family. A king Devapala, with the epithet Hayapati (lord of horses), son of Herambapala, is mentioned in another contemporary inscription, 76 and it is held by some that this Devapfila is identical with his namesake, ruling in A.D. 948-9. Thus his father would be Herambapala alias Kshitipala, and as these are synonymous respectively with Vinayakapala and Mahipala, the identity of all the four

is generally presumed, and the genealogy is drawn up as follows 76 :— Dehanagadevl = Mahendrapala I = MahldevI (or MahadevI)

Bhoja II Vinayakapala

(alius MahlpSla

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alias Kshitipala altos Herambapala)

(A.D. 914, 917, 931)

Some scholars, however, do not accept the identification of the two kings named Devapala, and therefore regard Vinayakapala as different from Mahlpala alias Kshitipala. 77 Others again identify the latter.with Bhoja IL 78 It is impossible, with the insufficient data now available, to prove or disprove any of these hypotheses. So we may provisionally accept the genealogy drawn up above.

It is significant that while the Grant of Vinayakapala, dated A.D. 931, refers to his elder brother Bhoja II as his predecessor, the earlier Grant, dated A.D. 917 , makes no reference to Bhoja II, and represents Mahlpala Us having succeeded Mahendrapala. It has been suggested that this omission may be due to short duration of Bhoja's reign or to a struggle for succession between the two. 79 But it may be easily explained by the not uncommon practice of tracing only the direct descent of the ruling king by omitting all references to collateral line. The short duration of reign is not a satisfactory explanation, and if we accept the identification of Mahlpala and Vinayakapala, we can hardly explain the omission in one Grant and not in the other as due to rivalry. It has been urged that with the lapse of time the memory of the old rivalry faded away, and hence the reference to the reign of the elder brother was made in A.D. 931 but not in A.D. 917. But this is questionable.

A struggle for succession to the throne has been inferred from the statement in the Kalachuri records that Kokkalladeva I ‘‘set up Bhojadeva" and "granted him freedom from fear." These expressions have been taken to mean that Bhoja II invoked the aid of Kekkalla in the war of succession against his brother. 80 But apart from the fact that it is uncertain whether Bhoja here refers to the father or son of Mahendrapala, 81 we need not assume that any help that Kokkalla might have rendered to Bhoja II was necessarily against his brother. For a Rashtrakuta record seems to imply that Krishna II invaded the dominions of the Pratiharas and occupied the Yamuna-Ganga Doab. The veracity of this claim has been

doubted by many scholars, but there may be some truth in it, 82 and if Bhoja II sought the help of Kokkalla, it might have been on such an occasion.

On the whole, we have no definite knowledge of the events that followed the death of M&hendrapala. The weakness of the empire, as revealed by the advance of the Rashtrakutas to the very gates of the imperial city and its destruction by them, not much later, about A.D. 916, undoubtedly lends colour to the theory of internal dissensions, but we must remember that the

Rashtrakutas achieved similar successes even during the reigns of powerful kings like Vatsaraja and Nagabhata II.

In any case there are no good grounds against the view that when Mahlpala ascended the throne, about A.D. 912, the empire enjoyed peace and prosperity. An inscription, dated A.D. 914, proves his suzerainty over the Kathiawar Peninsula. A1 Mas'udi,* a native of Baghdad, who visited India in the year. A.D. 915-16, refers to the great power and resources of the Pratihara king of Kanauj, and the' wide extent of his kingdom, which touched the Rashtrakuta kingdom in the south, and the Muslim principality of Multan in the west, with both of which he was at war. He was, we are told, rich in horses and camels, and maintained four armies in four directions, each numbering 700,000 or 900,000 men. 83

The poet Rajasekhara, who graced the court of Mahlpala, as that of his father, refers to the former as "the pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu" and "the Maih&raj&dhiraja of Aryavarta". He also describes the conquests of Mahlpala in a grandiloquent verse according to which the emperor defeated the Mural&s, Mekaias, Kalingas, Keralas, Kulutas, Kuntalas, and Ramathas. 84 This would mean the suzerainty not only of nearly the whole of Northern India, but also of a part of the Deccan where the Rashtrakutas ruled. Even making due allowance for the panegyrical exaggerations of the courtpoet, it may be reasonably held that Mahlpala not only maintained intact the empire inherited by him, but probably even extended it in the early part of his reign. 88

But once more the eternal enemies, the Rashtrakutas, were to prove the doom of the Pratihara empire. Leaving aside the boast of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II that he advanced up to the Gahga, there is no doubt that his successor Indra III conducted a campaign against the Pratihara dominions some time between A.D. 915 and 918. According to a Rashtrakuta record, 86 Indra III advanced through Malwa, crossed the Yamuna, and completely devastated the city of Kanauj. According to a Kanarese poem, Pampabhdrata , Indra's feudatory Narasimha (Chalukya) took a

prominent part in inflicting a crushing defeat upon Mahipaia. It is said that "Mahipaia fled, as if struck by thunderbolts, staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up; while Narasimha, pursuing, bathed his horses at the junction of the Ganga/’ 87

Thus according to the Rashtrakuta version Indra III had a complete victory. He occupied the capital city of his enemy and sacked it, while Mahipaia fled for his life, hotly pursued by the hostile forces as far as Allahabad. But, as on previous occasions, the Rashfrak&tas did not stay long enough to consolidate their conquests in the north.

It redounds to the credit of Mahipaia that he survived this

terrible shock and re-established the fortunes of his family. This

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was due mainly to the help of his powerful feudatories. According to a Chandella record, 08 king Harsha placed Kshitipala on the •throne. It refers most probably to the help rendered by the powerful Chandella chief to Kshitipala or Mahipaia in regaining the throne after the Rashtrakuta debacle. 89 The Guhilot chief Bhatta, grandson of Harsharaja, who helped Bhoja I, is said to have defeated in battle the king of the south, at the command of his paramount lord, at a time of great danger when the kingdom was invaded by foreign soldiers and everything was in confusion (Ins. 4). This also probably alludes to the defeat inflicted upon the Rashtrakutas after they had overrun the Pratlhara dominions. The recovery of Malwa is hinted at by the vainglorious claim made by Bhamana, the feudatory Kalachuri chief of Gorakhpur, that he conquered Dhara (Ins. 5).

Whether Mahipaia succeeded in recovering all the territories he had lost is difficult to determine. But we have literary and epigraphic records to show that in A.D. 931 the empire of MahlpalaVinayakapala extended up to Saurashtra (Kathiawar Peninsula) in the west** 5 and Banaras in the east (Ins. 9), and in A.D. 942-3 up to Chanderi (Narwar) in the south. 91 Even so late as A.D.-946, the Pratlhara empire included Malwa (Ins. 10). It would thus appear that Mahipaia recovered at least a large part, if not the whole, of his dominions, but there can be no doubt that the prestige of the Imperial Pratlharas suffered a severe blow from which they never fully recovered. 92 The feudatory chiefs and provincial governors slowly. asserted independence, and new dynasties rose to power. This will be evident from the history of the Chandellas, Chedis, and Paramaras dealt with in a separate chapter. The decline and the process of disintegration of the Pratlhara empire offer a close parallel to the fate which overtook the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century

Towards the close of Mahipala's reign the R&shtrakutas seem to have again invaded the north. It is said in a E5shtrakula record, 93 dated A.D. 940, that "on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds (by Krishna III) in the southern regions simply by means of his angry glance, the hope about Kalahjara and Chitrakuta vanished from the heart of the Gurjara." It has been inferred from this that these two forts of the PratSbaras were occupied by the Rashfrakuta army shortly before A.D. 940. 94

7. MAHIPALA'S SUCCESSORS

Vinayakapala ruled till at least A.D. 942, 96 and was succeeded by his son Mahendrapala II, 96 whose known date is A.D. 945-6 (Ins. 10). During the next 15 years there is a succession of no less than four kings, viz . (1) Devapala (A.D. 948-9), son of Kshitipala (Ins. 7); (2) Vinayakapala II (A.D. 953-4); (3) MahipalaH (A.D. 955); 9T and (4) Vijayapala (A.D. 960), successor of Kshitipala (Ins. 11). Whether all these were distinct rulers or two or more of them were identical, it is difficult to say. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies Mahendrapala II with Devapala, and takes the kings Nos. 2 , 3 and the predecessor of No. 4 to be the same person. 98 Dr. N. Ray 99 takes No. 1 to be son of Bhoja II, whom he identifies with Mahlpala alios Kshitipala, but distinguishes him from Vinayakapala. He also suggests that No. 2 was probably a son of Mahendrapala II, No. 3 a son of No. 1, and No. 4 a son of No. 3, who was also called Kshitipala. Dr. Tripathi 100 regards Nos. 1 and 2 respectively as a brother and a son of Mahendrapala II, and No. 4 as a brother or half-brother of No. 1. He argues that there is not sufficient ground to hold that No. 3 was a Pratihara emperor, and he might have been a vassal ruler who, as Raj or Inscription (Ins. 11) shows, often assumed imperial titles. 101 It is also doubtful whether No. 2 is a separate king ruling in A.D. 953-4, or is to be identified with Vinayakapala I whose name appeared in a record long after his death. 102

The different views are quoted above just to indicate the great uncertainty prevailing about the succession to the imperial throne between A.D. 945 and 960. There is, however, no doubt that there was a steady decline in the power and authority of the empire during this period. The Chahamanas of Partabgarh, in south-east Rajputana, acknowledged Mahendrapala II as overlord, and the imperial officers were posted at Ujjayim and Mandapika (Mandu) in A.D. 945-6 (Ins. 10). But in a record dated A.D. 954, we find the Chandellas taking credit for defeating the Gurjaras and forcibly taking possession of^fhe famous fort of Kalanjara, though they still refer to Vinayakapala as protecting the earth. 103 An inscription dated A.D. 960 (Ins. 11), found at Rajorgarh, about 28 miles southwest of the town of Aiwa r, records an order issued by the Maha

rajadhiraja, Parameivara , the illustrious Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihara lineage, residing at Rajyapura (i.e. Rajor), to his officials. This record leaves no doubt that although, like the Chandellas, he invoked the name of the Pratihara Emperor Vijayapaladeva as his suzerain, yet he ruled as a de facto independent king.

Most probably the Rashtrakiita king Krishna in led a second expedition to Northern India about A.D. 963. His feudatory, Gahga chief Marasimha, distinguished himself so much in this northern campaign that he came to be known as the king of the Gurjaras. This proves that the main brunt of the attack fell upon the Pratiharas. The great success of the Bashfrakuta king is proved by his Kanarese record incised on a stone slab found at Jura, 12 miles from Maihar Railway Station in Bundelkhand. 104

Although the Rashprakutas could not achieve any permanent success they probably gave the final blow to the Pratihara domination in Central India. The Chandella ruler Dhanga (A.D. 9501000) claims to have attained “supreme lordship after indicting a defeat over the king of Kanyakubja.” Even Gwalior, which was a stronghold of the Pratiharas ever since the time of Ramabhadra, if not earlier still, fell into the hands of . the Chandellas. A few years later the Kachchhapaghata chief Vajradaman conquered it after^ defeating the Pratihara Emperor. 106

The Chahamanas of &akambhan, many of whose chiefs helped their Pratihara overlords as noted above, 106 asserted their independence, and so did also the Guhilas 107 and perhaps some other vassals. While the feudatories were gradually defying the imperial authority, there arose new powers like the Kalachuris in Central India, the Paramaras in Maiwa, and the Chaulukyas in Gujarat to weaken still further the declining authority of the Pratiharas.

The history of these powers, which is related in detail in a subsequent chapter, leaves no doubt that about the middle of the tenth century A.D. the Pratihara empire disintegrated and was gradually reduced to the territory round about Kanauj. We do not possess any record of the Pratihara emperors for nearly half a century after Vijayapala, who was on the throne early in A.D. 960. When the curtain rises again in A.D. 1019, the Pratihara empire had vanished and. North India presented the same political features as inevitably followed the disruption of an empire. Rajyapala, the successor of Vijayapala, ruled over the small kingdom of Kanauj, but the old imperial name and fame still lingered for a decade, to be finally swept away by the invasions of Sultan Mahmud. Trilochanapala, 108 the successor of Rajyapala, ruling in A.D. 1027, is the last of the Imperial Pratiharas known to us.

Attention may be drawn to the fact that three of the powerful succession states that arose out of the ruins of the Fratthara empire were those of the Chahamanas (Chauhans) in Rajputana, Chaulukyas (Solankis) in Gujarat, and the Faramaras (Pawars) in Malwa. It is interesting to note that these three, along with the Pariharas (Pratiharas), are described in bardic traditions as Agnikula, originating from a sacrificial fire-pit {agnikun^M) on Mount Abu. Whatever we might think of this mythical legend, it is not unlikely that these four tribes were connected by ethnic ties or some other close association, and we may therefore hold that a considerable part of the empire of the Pratiharas, specially their home-territory and original dominions, passed into the hands of kindred peoples who had hitherto accepted their suzerainty.

8. THE PBATiHARA EMPIRE—A GENERAL REVIEW

The Pratlhara empire, which continued in full glory for nearly a century, was the last great empire in Northern India before the Muslim conquest. This honour is accorded to the empire of Harsha by many historians of repute, but without any real justification; for the PratlMra empire was prdbabiy larger; certainly not less in extent, and its duration was much longer. It recalled, and to a certain extent rivalled, the Gupta empire, and brought political ‘Unity and its attendant blessings upon a large part of Northern India. But its chief credit lies in its successful resistance to the foreign invasions from the west. From the days of Junaid (c. A.D. 725) to those of Mahmud of Ghazni, the Pratiharas stood as the bulwark of India’s defence against the aggression of the Muslims, This was frankly recognised by the Arab writers themselves. Historians of India, since the days of Elphinstone, have wondered at the slow progress of Muslim invaders in India, compared to their rapid adr vance in other parts of the world. Arguments of doubtful validity have often been put forward to explain this unique phenomenon. But now there can be little doubt that it was fhe power of the Pratlhara arms that effectively barred the progress of the Mus-. lims beyond the confines of Sindh, their first conquest, for nearly three hundred years. In the light of later events this must be regarded as the chief contribution of the Pratiharas to the history of India.

The Pratlhara empire was the logical end of the tripartite struggle for power that characterised the history of India for nearly a century (A.D. 750-850). Dhruva and Govinda III, as well as Dharmapala and Devapala, played the imperial role, and then came the turn of the Pratiharas under Bhoja and Mahendrapala. Though in each case the empire, like waves of the sea, rose to the highest

point only to break down, the Pratiharas had a longer spell of success than either of their rivals.

The Pratlhara line was distinguished for its long succession of able rulers. Apart from the hero who founded the royal dynasty, four such remarkable personalities as Vatsaraja, Nagabhata II, Bhoja, and Mahendrapala, ruled almost uninterruptedly for a century and a half with a short break of three years. They created the tradition of an imperial glory which long endured and survived many rude shocks. It is reflected in the literary works of Rajasekhara, the last Indian poet who could, with justifiable pride, refer to his royal patron as “the Mahdmjddhirdja of Aryavarta” (KingEmperor of Northern India). But the best testimony to the power and glory of the

Pratiharas is the eloquent tribute paid to their wealth and resources by their inveterate enemies, the Arabs.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. R. C. Majumdar, Hie Gurjara-Pratiharas. JDL. X. 1-76 (abbreviated as GP).

2. R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj (abbreviated as THK).

3. A. S. Altekar, The Rashprdkufas and their times (abbreviated as AR).

4. D. Sharrna, The Imperial Pratiharas—a revised study. (JIH, XXIL 93).

5. N Ray, A note on the chronology of the Later Pratiharas. (I A, LVU. 230).

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS (Referred to in the text by the serial No.)

1. Gwalior Stone Inscription of Bhoja, El, XVUI. 99.

2. Jodhpur Inscription of Bauka, El, XVIII. 87.

3. Two Grants of Chahikya Chiefs of the Time of Mahendrapala, El, IX. 1.

4. Chatsu Inscription of the Guhilot chief Baladitya, El, XII. 13.

5. Kahla Plate of Xalachuri Sodhadeva, El, VII. 88.

6. Harsha or Haras Stone Inscription of the Chahamana Vigraharaja, El, II. 119 ff; IA, XLU. 60 ff.

7. Siyadoni Inscription, El, I. 162.

8. Asm Inscription of Mahlpala (A.D. 917), IA, XVI. 173.

9. Bengal Asiatic Society’s CP of Vinayakapaia (A.D. 931), IA, XV. 138.

10. Partabgarh Inscription of Mahendrap&la U (A.D. 946), El , XIV. 176.

11. Rajorgarh Inscription of Vijayapala (A.D. 960), El, HI. 263.

12. Barah CP of Bhoja, El, XIX. 15; XXIII. 242.

13. Dauiatpura CP of Bhoja, El, V. 208; JBBRAS, XXI. 410.

14. Gwalior Ins. of Bhoja, dated V. 932. El. 1.154.

1. Ch. X, pp. 153 ff.

2. Cf. Vol. Eft, p. 155.

3. Cf. VoL m, p. 153.

4. Cf. JDL, X. 10 and the authorities referred to therein.

5. Vol. m, pp. 155, 173.

6. Vol. m. p. 154.

7. Cf. Ins. No. 2, given above.

8. Vol. HI, p. 173.

9. Sanjan CP. El, XVffl. 235.

10. JDL, X. 25; El, XVIII. 239; THK. 226-7; AR. 40 (fn. 32).

11. IHQ, VI. 753; ABORI , XVUI. 396; IC, XI. 161.

12. Curiously enough this fact, mentioned in the Ellora Ihs. (ASWI , V. 87), is not referred to by any of those who oppose the view that Vatsaraja ruled in Malwa.

13. Cf. Hansof PI. H, XU. 197. The name of the suzerian king is given as Nagavaloka, but he is generally identified with Nagabhata I (ibid, 200). The grant was issued from Broach and records the gift of a village in Akruresvara-vishaya which has been identified with Anklesvar taluk on the left bank of the Narmada. We may, therefore, regard the Chahamana

principality as extending up to the Kim nver and thus corresponding to the old Gurjara kingdom of NandlpurT.

RISE AND FALL OF THE PRAT1HARA EMPIRE

14. It has been urged (JIH, XXIL 94) that according to Antroli-Chharoli pi. (JBBRAS , XVI. 105), dated A.D. 757, "Karka II, a feudatory Rashfi-akuta chief of Gujarat, gave away villages from practically the same region, showing thereby that sometime between AJ3. 756 and 757 the Rashtrakuta ruler Dantidurga had succeeded in defeating the Pra$Iharas and ending their supremacy in Lata." But the villages granted lay to the south of the Kim river. Dr. Altekar argues (AR . 11) that "since the donee hailed from Jambusara in the Broach District" this region was included in the dominions of Karka II. But this assumption can hardly be justified. On the whole, there is nothing to indicate that Nagabhata lost his supremacy over the feudatory principality of Broach which extended up to the Kim river in the south (see preceding note).

15. ABORT, XVHL 397-8.

16. For various opinions, cf. JDL, X. 23-25. Also, 1C, XI. 161 ft.

17. Fleet (El, VI. 195); Bhandarkar (El, XVIII. 238-9); Altekar (AM. 39); Tripathi (THK. 225-6).

18. J. C. Ghosh (IHQ , VI. 755); Dasaratha Sarma (ABORT, XVIII. 396; JIH XXHL 43); H. L. Jain (1C, XI. 161).

19. H. L. Jain, op. tit. But in the map on p. 165, Badnawar is placed to the northwest of TJjjain.

20. Baroda PL Of Karkaraja, 1A, XII, 163.

21. Daulafcpura CP. (El, V. 208); Osia Ins. (AST, 1908-9, p. 108; JRAS, 1907, p. 1010).

22. THK. 213.

23. I proposed the identification-of die Bhandis with the Bhaffis (JDL, X. 28), and this view was accepted by Tripathi (THK. 229). Their identification with Bha$#i*s family was proposed by Ojha and is accepted by many. BharkU is referred to in Harsha-charita, but we do not know anything about him dr his successor, not even whether he was a ruling chief.

24. Radhanpur and Wand Grant of Govinda III (El, VI. 248; I A, XI. 157).

25. IHQ , XIV. 844.

28. Cf. HBR. 105, in. 1, 2 and also Ch. HI. §2, below.

27. Cf. in. 24.

28. Vide infra, Ch. HI, § 2.

29. Hie identification of these places has been discussed in JRAS, 1909, pp. 257-8. Anartta is northern part of Kathiawar Peninsula, and Vatsa probably represents the region round Kausambl, or Rewa country, further to the south, which is associated with the name of Vatsa.

30. Cf. JIH , XXEL 99 ft, PIHC, XL 141.

31. JIH, XXH. 103.

32. Baroda PI. 1A, XU, 163; Sisavai Grant, v. 15; El, XXIH, 209.

32a. References are to the list of “Important Inscriptions” given at the end of this

Chapter.

33. Vide infra, Ch. V, I VI.

34. For a possible conflict or alliance between Nagabh&ta II and the E. Chalukya long Vijayaditya n, cf. Ch. VI.

35. JIH, XXIL 102-3.

36. El, XXVL 185.

37. The Barah CP (EX, XIX. 15) shows that the KiUonjara-mandala in the Kanyakubja-bhulcti was included in the dominions of Nagabhata II.

38. Baroda PI. 1A, X33, 163.

39. The victory of Govinda HI is referred to in many Rashtrakuta records of the main and Gurjara branches. Nagabhata is mentioned by name in Sanjan CP. (El, XVm. 235) which also refers to Govinda's advance up to the Himalayas. The Pathari Pillar Ins. (El, IX. 255) refers to file hasty retreat* an# 'devastated home* of Ntitg&valoka, who has been identified with Nigabhata H, Karkka, to whom the credit for this achievement is given, probably accompanied the Ra&trak&fe king Govinda HI (IA , 1911, 239).

40. Sanjfcn CP. v. 23 (El. XVXXL 245).

41. Dr. Altekar has shown good grounds for the belief that Govinda QI led more than one expedition to Northern India, and has given a revised chronology of his campaigns (D. K. Bhandarkar Vol. 153). But he has somewhat changed his views in the preceding chapter.

42. El, IS. 198.

43. SI, L 156-7.

44. El, TOX. 15.

45. THK . 236; JIH, XXU. 104.

46. This appears from the epithets given to the various kings in the official genealogy contained in the royal charters.

47. El, I. 154.

48. This seems to be hinted at in v. 12 of the Gwalior Ins. (No. 1).

49. El, XIX. 15; v. 208.

50. El, XIX. 15; XX3U. 242.

51. Vol. HI. pp. 153 ff.

52. See p. 20.

53. El, V. 208.

54. See above p. 25.

55. S£e above, p. 10.

56. Begumra PI. 1A, XII. 179.

57. See later, Ch. V. §11.

58. JRAS, 1895. 513; El, IX. 277.

59. El, I. 156.

60. Tripathi thinks that Guhila II accompanied Mahendrapala I in his expedition against Bengal (THK . 250-255; cf. also Ch. V. §VH. 2). Hie question cannot be definitely decided one way or the other.

61. For a detailed account, cf. PIHC, VI. 166.

62. EJ, XIX. 174.

63. Begumra Grant of Krishna (IA, XIH. 66); Begumra Grant of Indra III, No. I, v. 15, El, IX. 31.

64. El, XIV. 176.

65. This follows from the description of Arab writer Sulaiman that Bhoja’s territory formed a tongue of land. It is also confirmed by a tradition in the Skanda Purdna to which Dr. Raychaudhuri drew attention (1HQ . V. 129-133).

66. Pehoa Ins. (El, I. 184).

67. HIED, I. 4.

68. According to the story in the Skanda Purdna, referred to in fn. 65 above, Bhoja, king of K&nyakubja, abdicated his throne and went on a pilgrimage to the holy sites of Saurashtra. But this story, mixed up with myths and fables, can hardly be regarded as historical. Dr. Raychaudhuri has sought to prove the abdication by reference to epigraphic data, but without success (cf. THK. 245).

69. For full discussion on this point, cf. JDL, X. 55.

70. The name read by Fleet as Mahlahapala in the Asni CP. (IA, XVI. 173) is obviously a misreading for Mahlndrapala.

71. Siyadoni Ins. (El, I. 162).

72. This form occurs in Partabgarh Ins. (El, XIV. 182).

73. Tripathi is wrong in’his statement that according to Asni Ins. Mahlpala was bom of Mahldevi (THK. 254). This (or any other) inscription does not give the name of Mahlpala's mother.

74. Haddala CP. 1A, XU. 190; XVUI. 90.

75. Khajuraho Ins. El, I. 122.

76. JDL, X. 58-63; THK. 257.

77. El, XIV. 180.

78. I A, LVII. 230.

79. THK. 255.

80. Ibid.

81. See later, Ch. V, §H.

82. PIHC, VL 169.

83. HIED. X. a.

84. For full discussion, cf. JDL. X. 63; THK. 263.

85. As RSjaiekhara was the guru of Mahendrapala also, it is likely that he wrote his. poems in the early part of Mahlpala’s reign.

86. El, m 38.

87. AR . 101-2; THK. 260; JDL, X. 66.

88. Khajuraho Ins. ET, I. 121.

89. Some scholars hold that the incident refers to the help that Mahlpala received in his struggle against his brother (THK. 256). But, as already noted above, we have no evidence of any such struggle for the throne.

90. Harisena associates Vinayadikapala, in AD. 931, with Vardhamanapura, usuallv identified with Wadhwan (above, p. 22). Cf. IC, XI. 162.

91. AS1, 1924-25, p. 168.

92. This is strtragly denied by Tripathi (THK. 262, 270). He, however, observes that the Chandella ruler Ya&ovarman gave 'a great blow to the prestige of the PratftriLras’ (ibid. 272).

93. Deoli PI. (v. 25). El, V. 188.

94. THK. 267-8; AR . 113. But this does not seem very likely. Possibly the two forts were conquered by a third power (Kalachuris or Chandellas) allied to the Rashtrakutas, and the Gurjara-Pratihiras gave up all hopes of recovering them (cf. JOR. XVI. 155-58). For a critical discUSfeiorv’of Mahlpala’s reign cf. J/H, XXXVIII, 611-26.

95. ASI, 1924-25, p. 168.

96. Bhandarkar infers from Ins. 10 that Vidagdha was an epithet of Mahendrapala II (List No. 61. fn. 3).

97. Bayna Ins. (E/, XXII. 122).

98. List of Ins. p. 400.

99. 1A, LVH. 234.

100. THK. 271-4.

101. Ibid. 275.

102. The Khajuraho Ins. of Dhahga, dated A.D. 954 (El, I. 122), mentions, in the last line, Vinayakapaladeva as protecting the earth. There is no doubt that he was the Pratihara ruler of Kanauj to whom the Chandellas still paid at least nominal allegiance. He was formerly identified with VinayakapwLla I whose last known date is AD. 942. But as he must have died before AD. 946, the known date of his son and successor Mahendrapala II (ins. 10), it was held that the inscription, though originally drafted earlier than AD. 946, was actually set up in AD. 954, without any modification of the suzerain's name. But this explanation is not accepted by some scholars who regard him as a different ruler Vmayakapala H (THK. 273; I A, LVII. 232).

103. See preceding note. If, as noted above, the fort of K&lanjara had been seized by the R$shtrakutas, the Chandellas probably recovered it from them. But even then they conquered it on their own account and not on behalf of their Gurjar a-Pr atlhara overlord. It is possible that the successful reconquest of this region from the Rashtrakutas made the Chandellas virtually an independent power.

104. El, XIX 287. Altekar takes quite a different view of the expedition (AR. 121), but does not meet the argument of Mr. N. L. Rao (El, XIX. 289) that the northern campaign of Krishna HI took place in AD. 963-4. The reference to the Gurjaras makes it unlikely that the campaign was directed against a Paramara king, as Altekar thinks. Evidently Altekar has changed his view; cf. above p. 14.

105. I A, XV. 36. This must have taken place before AD. 977 when Vajradaman was already in possession of Gwalior (JASB,. XXXI. 393).

106. See pp. 22, 27, 31.

107. Vide infra, the history of the Guhilas and Chahamanas in Ch. V.

108. Jhusi CP. 1A, XVTH. 33. Another king Yas&hpala is known from Kara Ins. (JRAS, 1927, p. 692), but it is not definitely blown whether he belonged to the Imperial Pratihara family.

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CHAPTER III

THE PALAS

1. THE RISE OF THE PALAS

Reference has been made above 1 to the political disintegration of Bengal resulting in anarchy and confusion for more than a century after the death of &a£ahka. But about the middle of the eighth century A.D. a heroic and laudable effort was made to remedy the miserable state of things. The people at last realized that all their troubles were due to the absence of a strong central authority and that this could be set up only by the voluntary surrender of powers to one popular leader by the numerous chiefs exercising sovereignty in different parts of the country. It reflects no small credit upon the political sagacity and the spirit of sacrifice of the leading men of Bengal that they rose to the occasion and selected one among themselves to be the sole ruler of Bengal to whom they all paid willing allegiance. 2 It is not every age, it is not every nation, that can show such a noble example of subordinating private interests to public welfare. The nearest parallel is the great political change that took place in Japan in' A.D. 1870. The result was almost equally glorious and the great bloodless revolution ushered in an era of glory and prosperity such as Bengal has never enjoyed before or since.

Tie hero who was thus called to the throne by the popular voice was named Gopala. We do not know anything of his early history, but may very well presume that he was a leading chief who had already made his mark as a ruler and a general. 3 His father Vapyafa is said to have destroyed his enemies, and was perhaps a military chief of renown, but we cannot say whether he was a ruling chief. Dayitavishnu, the grandfather of Gopala, is only described as a learned man and evidently had no military achievements to his credit. Gopala was thus the real founder of the ruling dynasty which came to be known as Bala, from the last part of his name which formed the name-ending of all his successors

•n,

•—affording an almost exact parallel to the Gupta dynasty. Gopala was a Kshatriya, or at least came to be regarded as such, and it was only at a very late age that his family claimed any mythical pedigree such as descent from the Sun or the Ocean. Gopala was a Buddhist and so were all his successors. According to Tibetan tradition, Gopala founded a monastery at Nalanda.

In a poetical work Rdmacharita 4 , written by a court-poet of a later Bala king, Varendri or North Bengal is said to be-the fatherland (janakabhu) of the Palas. At the same time, there are good grounds to believe that Gopala's original kingdom was in Vahga or East Bengal. We may, therefore, readily accept Taranatha's account according to which Gopala was born of a Kshatriya family near Pundravardhana (Bogra District), but was subsequently elected ruler of Bhahgala, which was undoubtedly a corrupt form of Vangala or Vahga. Taranatha seems to imply that the election was only in respect of this kingdom which formed a part of Bengal. But the Khalimpur copper-plate (No. l) 4a of Gopala's son Dharmapala speaks of his having been elected without any such geographical limitations. But whatever might have been the original limits of his kingdom, it is probable that before his death he consolidated his rule over the whole of Bengal. 6 His reign-period is not definitely known but probably extended from A.D. 750 to 770. 6

2. DHARMAPALA (c. A.D. 770-810)

When Dharmapala ascended the throne of Bengal, the political horizon was gloomy in the extreme. The Pratiharas, who had established their power in Malwa and Hajputana, were gradually extending their territories in the east, and the newly established Rashtrakufa power in the Deccan also cast covetous eyes on the rich fertile plains of the north. 7 Dharmapala was shortly involved in a struggle with these two powers—whether deliberately out of imperial designs, or as a means of defence against aggressive enemies, we cannot say. The course of events in this long-drawn struggle cannot be definitely traced in chronological order, but some of the main incidents can be broadly noted. The first encounter took place between the Pratihara ruler Vatsaraja and Dharmapala, probably somewhere in the Gangetic Doab, 8 in which the former gained a complete victory. He is said to have 11 ‘appropriated with ease the fortune of royalty of the Gauda” and “carried away Gauda’s umbrellas of state.** But before Vatsaraja could collect the spoils of his victory, he was defeated by the Rashtrakuta king Dhruva and forced to take refuge in the deserts of Raj putana. Dhruva then advanced to the Doab 9 and defeated Dharmapala, but shortly after his victory he retreated to the Deccan.

It would appear that Dharmapala gained more than he had lost by the incursions of the Rashtrakutas. For while Vatsaraja’s power was effectively destroyed, Dharmapala did not suffer much either in power or prestige. The Rashtrakutas not only freed him from the Pratihara menace, but left in the harried and devastated Northern India a free field for his military ambitions. He was

not slow to take full advantage of the situation, and by a series of victorious campaigns, made himself the suzerain of nearly the whole of Northern India.

Although the details and chronology of Dharmapala’s campaigns are not known to us, we can form some idea of their nature and extent from the description of the durbar which he held at Kanauj. His main object in convoking the great assembly was to proclaim himself as the suzerain and install Chakrayudha on the throne of Kanauj in place of Indrayudha whom he had defeated. 10 The durbar was attended by a number of vassal chiefs among whom are mentioned the rulers of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira, who uttered acclamations of approval, “bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling.” This categorical and specific statement, occurring in a contemporary record, cannot be lightly brushed aside, 11 and we must hold that Dharmapala must have enjoyed, at least for some time, the unique position of a paramount lord in Northern India. This view is supported by the fact that even in a poetical work composed by a Gujarati poet 12 in the eleventh century A.D., Dharmapala is referred to as the “Lord of Northern India” (Uttardpathasvdmin). 13

We know very little of the different states, mentioned above, which acknowledged the suzerainty of Dharmapala, but most of them are well-known names. Gandhara represents the Western Punjab and the lower

Kabul valley. Madra was in the Central Punjab, while Kira, Kuru, and Matsya correspond respectively to Kangra, Thaneswar and Jaipur regions. Avanti denotes the whole or a part of Malwa, and the Yavana must be taken to refer to a Muslim principality in the Sindhu valley. The location of Yadu and Bhoja, though these are very well-known in ancient Indian history, offers some difficulty. The Yadus or Yadavas had various settlements such as Simhapura (Punjab), Mathura, and Dvaraka (Kathiawar Peninsula), and probably the first is meant here. The Bhojas probably ruled over Berar or a part of it.

These states were not annexed by Dharmapala, but their rulers acknowledged his suzerainty, and were evidently left undisturbed so long as they paid homage and fulfilled the other conditions imposed on them. 14 The kingdom of Kanauj was, however, on a different footing. Its ruler Indrayudha, who was probably a vassal of Vatsaraja, 15 was defeated and dethroned, and another ruler, Chakrayudha, probably a member of the same royal family, was placed on the throne by Dharmapala. It was the visible symbol of the most significant change in the political situation of the time, viz, the transfer of supreme power in Northern India from the Prataharas

to the Palas and the formal assumption of imperial authority by the latter. Kanauj thus became once more ^ the seat and symbol of imperialism, 16 though it was ruled directly not by Dharmapala, but by his nominee Chakrayudha.

The empire of Dharmapala may thus be broadly divided into three distinct parts. Bengal and Bihar, which formed its nucleus, were directly ruled by him. Beyond this, the kingdom of Kanauj, roughly corresponding to modem U.P., was a close dependency, whose ruler was nominated by, and directly subordinate to, him. Further to the west and south, in the Punjab, Western Hill States, Rajputana, Malwa and Berar, were a number of vassal states which did not form an integral part of the dominions ruled over by Dharmapala, but whose rulers acknowledged him as their overlord and paid him homage and obedience. According to a tradition preserved in the Svayambhu-Purana , Nepal was also a vassal state of Dharmapala. 17

The position of supremacy attained by Dharmapala must have been the result of a series of victorious military campaigns. We are told that, in the course of these, Dharmapala *s army visited such holy places .as Kedara and Gokarna. The former is even now a famous place of pilgrimage on the Himalayas in Garhwal and may be regarded as a landmark in the northern campaign of Dharmapala in course of which he subdued Kuru, Madra, Kira and probably other neighbouring states. The location of Gokarna is somewhat uncertain. It has been identified with a holy place of that name in the North Kanara District of the Bombay State, 18 as well as with a sacred site in Nepal 19 on the bank of the Bagmati river. The latter view is more probable. If we accept the other, we have to presume that Dharmapala marched over the whole of the Deccan right across the entire length of the Rashtrakuta dominions. We have no independent evidence of such a brilliant military campaign, and if there was any basis for it, it would surely have been prominently mentioned in the Pala records.

Dharmapala’s triumphant career did not remain unchallenged for long. Nagabhata II, the son and successor of Vatsaraja, revived the fortunes of his family and adopted an aggressive imperialist policy like his father. He achieved great success and even conquered Kanauj and drove away Chakrayudha. This was really a challenge to Dharmapala whose protege Chakrayudha was. A struggle for supremacy between the two rivals was inevitable, and Nagabhata made extensive preparations. 20 According to the Pratlhara records, a pitched battle was fought, probably near Monghyr, in which Nagabhata defeated the mighty lord of Vanga “who appeared

like a mass of dark, dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses, and chariots”. 21

The Pala records make no reference to this struggle, but the very fact that the Pratiharas advanced up to Monghyr supports their claim to a great victory. Unfortunately, Nagabhata II had to suffer the same fate as his father. Once more it was the Rashtrakutas who decided the political issue in Northern India, Govinda III completely defeated Nagabhata II and forced him to give up the dream of founding an empire in India. 22

The Bashtrakufa records tell us that both Dharmapala and Chakrayudha submitted of their own accord to Govinda III. 23 Considering the great advantages which these two had derived from the timely intervention of the Rashtrakuta king, this is by no means surprising or improbable. Indeed it is even possible that they appealed to Govinda III for aid to save themselves from Nagabh£t&*s domineering power, and secured it by a formal acknowledgment of his suzerainty. But in reality this meant nothing, for, as they could have easily anticipated, Govmda III soon left for the Deccan and Dharmapala was once more free to pursue unchecked his imperial ambitions.

On the whole there are good grounds to believe that the great success of Nagabhata II was a passing phase that ended with the ' Rashtrakqta invasion, and Dharmapala continued to rule as a mighty emperor till the end of his life. When he died at an advanced age, after a reign of 32 years or more, he left intact 24 his extensive dominions to his son Devapala.

Although we know so little of the personal history of Dharmapala, there is enough to indicate that his career was a remarkable one. He was the hero of a hundred fights and passed through many crises, when not only his own fortunes, but the fate of Bengal hung in the balance. But he never faltered; he overcame all difficulties, and in the end achieved phenomenal success. His triumph in the political field seems almost miraculous. Bengal, which had lost all political homogeneity and had almost been eliminated as a factor in Indian politics, suddenly emerged under him as the most powerful state in Northern India. The country, which was hopelessly divided by internal dissensions and trampled upon by a succession of foreign invaders for more than a century, was raised by him to the position of a strong integrated state exercising impe^al sway over a considerable part of Northern India. £a&anka’s dream of founding a great Gau^a empire was at last fulfilled. The new imperial status attained by Bengal is reflected in the records of Dharmapala. He assumed full imperial titles Parame£vara, Paramabhattaraka,

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Mahdvdjddhiraja. Reference has been made above to the great imperial durbar which he held at Kanauj. A grandiloquent description is also given (Ins. No. 1)' of the pomp and splendour of the court which he held at the other imperial city Pa^aliputra, “where the bed of the Ganga was covered by his mighty fleet and the daylight was darkened by the crowd of his mighty elephants and the dust raised by the hoofs of numberless horses presented by the kings of the north, some of whom also attended in person with their innumerable infantry.” These are no doubt poetic embellishments, but they reflect the new spirit of the people.

The credit for this great transformation of Bengal is no doubt mainly due to the spirit of self-sacrifice and the sense of political wisdom displayed by her people and leading chiefs when they volun• tarily surrendered their power and authority to their elected chief, Gopala. Verily a remarkable act produced a remarkable result, of which there are few parallels in the history of India. But king Dharmapala is also entitled to a large share of the credit. He personified the new energy and vision of the people, and led them to the Promised Land. His grateful subjects fully realized what they owed to* him, and his name and fame were sung all over the country. It is a strange irony of fate that he should have been forgotten in the land of Ills birth but his memory should be kept green in Tibet. According to Tibetan tradition, 25 he was a great patron of Buddhism and founded the famous Vikramasila monastery which developed into a great centre of Buddhist learning and culture, 26 second only to that of Nalanda. It was located at the top of a hill, on the banks of the Ganga in Magadha, and most probably the hill at Patharghata near Bhagalpur represents the site of this great university. It was named after the great emperor who had a second name Vikramasila. Dharmapala also founded a great vihara at Somapuri in Varendra, the ruins of which have been recently excavated at Paharpur in the Rajshahi District. 27 According to Tibetan authority, Dharmapala also founded a big and splendid monastery at Odantapurl in Bihar, but others give the credit for this achievement to Devapala or Gopala. Dharmapala was the patron of the great Buddhist author Haribhadra and. according to Taranatha, founded fifty religious schools. He thus distinguished himself also in the peaceful pursuits of life in.spite of his untiring activities in the field of war and politics.

Dharmapala married Kannadevi, the daughter of the Rashtrakuta king Parabola. A Rashtrakuta king of this name is known to have ruled in Central India in A.D. 861. 28 Although he is usually regarded as the father-in-law of Dharmapala. it seems very doubtful in view of the fact that Dharmapala must have died more than half a century before this date. It is not, of course, beyond the range of possibility that out of political considerations Dharmapala married at a fairly advanced age a young lady of the Bashtrakuta royal family. The issue of this marriage was Devapala who succeeded his father about A.D. 810. The last known date of Dharmapala is his 32nd regnal year (Ins. No. 1). According to Taranatha he ruled for 64 years; but such a long reign is not supported by any other positive evidence. We may, therefore regard Dharmapala as having ruled from c. A.D. 770-810.

3 DEVAPALA (c. A.D. 810-850)

Devapala was a worthy son of a worthy father. Not only did he maintain intact the great empire inherited by him, but he even appears to have extended its boundaries. He is said to have exacted tributes from the whole of Northern India from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas and from the eastern to the western ocean. 29 More specifically we are told that his victorious campaigns led him as far as Kamboja in the west and Vindhyas in the south, 30 and that he exterminated the Utkalas, conquered Pragjyotisha (Assam), curbed the pride of the Hunas, and destroyed the haughtiness of the lords of the Dravidas and Gurjaras. In these victories he was considerably helped by the diplomacy and wise counsels of his ministers, Darbhapani and his grandson Kedaramisra, and the bravery and military skill of his cousin, Jayapala. 31

It would appear from these statements that Devapala, like his father, followed an aggressive imperialist policy and spent a great part of his life in military activities. He was materially helped by his cousin Jayapala, son of Dharmapala’s younger brother Vakpala. Jayapala was the commander of the army, and we are told that on his approach the king of Pragjyotisha (Assam) submitted without any fight and the king of Utkala fled from his capital city. 32 It is likely that both the kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pala empire but, as will be shown below, threw off the yoke within a short time.

On the opposite extremity of the empire lay the Hunas. They had several principalities, one of which was situated in Uttarapatha near the Himalayas. This was probably subjugated by Devapala, who then proceeded to the Kamboja territory which lay still further to the west in the North-West

Frontier Province. Unfortunately, we do not know the details of his campaign or the extent of his success.

The Gurjara lords against whom Devapala fought must have been the Pratlhara rulers. It is possible that Nagabhata n tried to assert his power after the death of Dharmapala and if, as some scholars believe, he transferred his capital to Kanauj, he must have achieved some success. But Devapala soon re-established the Pala supremacy, and it was possibly after his successful campaign against the Pratiharas that he advanced to the Huna and Kamboja principalities. Nagabhata’s son, Ramabhadra, probably also had his kingdom invaded by Devapala. The next Pratihara king Bhoja also, in spite of his initial success, suffered reverses at the hands of Devapala, and could not restore the fortunes of his family so long as the Pala emperor was alive. Thus Devapala successfully fought with three generations of Pratihara rulers, 33 and maintained the Pala supremacy in Northern India.

The Dravida king defeated by Devapala is generally supposed to be the Rashtrakuta ruler Amoghavarsha. This view is not unlikely in view of the part played by Dhruva and Govinda III in Northern India, and the weakness and pacific disposition of Amoghavarsha. But Dravida, it should be remembered, normally denotes the land of the Tamils in the south and not the Deccan, the territory of the Rashtrakutas. From this point of view, it has been suggested that the Dravida king defeated by Devapala was most probably his contemporary Pandya king Sri-Mara &rI-Vallabha who claims in an inscription to have defeated a hostile confederation consisting of the Gangas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalihgas, Magadhas and others. 34 The Magadhas in this list obviously refer to the Pala forces, and it is not unlikely that the conquest of Utkala brought Devapala into contact with the southern powers. As the Rashtrakutas were common enemies of these powers and the Palas, an alliance between them might have been dictated by political exigencies. Unfortunately, we know little of this phase of Pala diplomacy, and cannot say anything definite about the expedition of Devapala to the far south. But some victorious campaign in this’region may be the basis of the claim put forward in the Monghyr copper-plate (No. 2) that the empire of

Devapala extended from the Himalayas in the north to Ramesyara Setubandha in the south.

But whatever we might think of Devapala's victory in the extreme south, there cannot be any doubt that he occupied the position of a paramount ruler in North India. It does not appear that his direct rule extended beyond Bengal and Bihar, but as his victorious arms, reached the frontier both in the east and the west, there is no reason to doubt that he effectively maintained the suzerainty which he had inherited from his father. His great rivals, the Praiihiiras, in spite of some initial successes, could not re-establish theii power till after his death. The Rash^rakOtas left North India alone

during his reign, and Devapala probably carried the fight to their dominions. He certainly led his army as far as the Sindhu and claimed an imperial position in North India, a feat to which no other ruler of Bengal could lay claim during the next thousand years.

Devapala had a long reign of about forty years. 35 He was a great patron of Buddhism like his father, and his fame spread to many Buddhist countries outside India. About this time a powerful Buddhist dynasty, the Sailendras, ruled over an extensive empire in the East Indies, 56 Balaputradeva, a king of this dynasty, sent an ambassador to Devapala, asking for a grant of five villages in order to endow a monastery at Nalanda. Devapala granted the request. 37 Another record informs us that a learned Buddhist priest, hailing from Nagarahara (Jelalabad), received high honours from Devapala and was appointed the head of Nalanda monastery. 38

The reigns of Dharmapala and Devapala constitute the most brilliant chapter in the history of Bengal. Never before, or since, till the advent of the British, did Bengal play such an important role in Indian politics. A brief but interesting account of the Pala empire at the height of its glory is given by the Arab merchant Suiaiman who visited India and wrote his account in A.D. 851. 39 He refers to the Pala kingdom as Ruhmi, 40 a name which cannot be satisfactorily explained. According to him the Pala ruler was at war with his neighbours, the Gurjaras and the Rashtrakutas, but his troops were more numerous than those of his adversaries. "We are told that the Pala king took 50,000 elephants in his military campaigns, and ten to fifteen thousand men in his army were “employed in fulling and washing cloths.”

The Tibetan records claim that some of their rulers, who were contemporaries of Dharmapala and Devapala, conquered the dominions of the Palas, and specifically refer to Dharmapala as submitting to Tibetan supremacy. This is not, however, corroborated by any independent evidence, and we cannot say how far the claims can be regarded as historically true. It is not unlikely that Tibet exercised some political influence in Eastern India during the period A.D. 750-850, and the occasional reverses of the Pala rulers at the hands of the Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas may be partly due to Tibetan aggression. 41

4. FALL OF THE PALA EMPIRE

Devapala was succeeded by Vigrahapala. He was most probably a nephew, descended from Vakpala, the younger brother of Dharmapala, but some scholars regard him as a son of Devapala. 42 After a short reign of probably three or four years he abdicated the

throne and retired to an ascetic life. His son and successor Narayanapala, who ruled for more than half a century, 43 was also of a pacific and religious disposition. During the «reigns of these two unmartial kings the Pala empire fell to pieces. Some time after A.D. 860 the Rashtrakutas defeated the Pala rulers.^ 4 The Pratiharas took advantage of the distress and weakness of their rivals; and their rulers Bhcja and Mahendrapala gradually extended their power to the east. Narayanapala not only lost Magadha (South Bihar), but for a time even North Bengal/the homeland of the Paias, passed into the hands of the Pratihara king Mahendrapala. 45

The triumph of the Pratiharas encouraged the subordinate chiefs to throw off the yoke of the Paias. King Harjara of Assam assumed imperial titles and is credited with many victories; and the Sailodbhnvas established their power on a firm footing in Orissa. 45

The disintegration of the Pala empire was thus almost complete, and for a time the rule of Narayanapala was probably confined to a part of Bengal. He. however, recovered North Bengal and South Bihar from the Pratiharas some time before the year 54 of his reign, 47 which probably corresponds to about A.D. 908. This was probably due to the Rashtrakuta invasion of the Pratihara dominions —the factor which had saved the Paias more than once in the past. The Rashtrakuta king Krishna II, who defeated the Pratiharas, however, also claims success against the Gaudas and it is not unlikely that Narayanapala was defeated by him. 48 But peace was estab-, lished and |probably cemented by a marriage alliance. For the' Rashtrakuta Tunga, whose daughter was married to Narayanapala's son Rajyapala (Ins. No. 5), is most probably to be identified w^th Jagattunga, 49 the son of Krishna II. In any case. Narayanapala reestablished the Pala supremacy in Bengal and Bihar before his death which took place about A.D. 908. He was succeeded by his son Blajyapala. '

The Pala kingdom steadily declined during the reigns of Rajyapala and his two successors, Gopala II and Vigrahapala II, which covered a period of about eighty years 60 The collapse of the Pratihara empire might have offered some respite to the Paias, but they suffered equally from the new powers that arose out of the ruins of that empire. The records of both the Chandellas and the Kalachuris 51 refer to the defeat inflicted by their rulers upon Gauda. Radha, Anga, and Vangala. The mention of these separate units 5 -' indicates a disintegration of the Pala kingdom into a number of independent or semi-independent principalities. And we definitely know the existence of at least two such states within the boundaries of Bengal.

The first is a kingdom in West Bengal ruled by a Kamboja family. We know the names of three rulers of this family, viz. Raj yap ala and his two sons Karayaoapala and Nayap&la. In a charter 53 issued by Nayapala in which both he and his father are given imperial titles, Paramesvara, Paramabhaffaraka and Mahdrdjddhiraja, lands are granted in the Vardhamana-b hukti, i.e. Burdwan division in West Bengal. The Kamboja rule in North Bengal is testified to by an inscribed pillar found in Dinajpur District which mentions a lord of Gauda belonging to the Kamboja family. 64 The date of this record has been interpreted as 888 (Saka), though this is doubtful. But there is no doubt that both the records belong to the latter half of the tenth century A.D. and-probably refer to the same family. The names of the three kings who thus ruled over both North and West Bengal were all borne by the Pala kings of Bengal and, what is curious, Raj yapa la's queen is named BhagyadevI, as is also the case with the Pala king Rajyapala. Nevertheless we cannot identify the two without more evidence. It is held by some scholars that the K&mbojas, a hill tribe from Tibet or other regions, conquered Bengal. But it is more likely that some high official of the PSlas, belonging to the Kamboja family or tribe, took advantage of the weakness of the Pala kings and set up an independent kingdom. Its capital was Priyangu which cannot be identified.

A copper-plate found at Chittagong 65 mentions a Buddhist king of Harikela named Mahdrdjddhirnja Kantideva. Harikela primarily denotes Eastern Bengal, or a part of it comprising the Sylhet and portions of neighbouring districts, though it was sometimes used in a wider sense, as a synonym of Vahga (East and South Bengal). 66 The capital of KSntideva was Vardhamanapura. If it denotes the modem city of Burdwan then his kingdom must have comprised a portion of West Bengal also, but this is very doubtful. The date of Kantideva is not definitely known, but he probably reigned during the century following the death of Devapala.

Kings with natnes ending in - chandra also ruled in East Bengal as independent kings after Kantideva. One of them is Layahachandra 57 whose record dated in his 18th ‘ regnal year has been found near Comilla. Two Buddhist kings, Trailokyachandra and his son &richandra, ruled over Harikela and Chandradvlpa (Bakarganj District). Srlchandra, who ruled for no less than 46 years, 58 pro* bably flourished towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Later, this dynasty extended its power to South Bengal. The original home of this dynasty was Rohitagiri which has been identified by some with Rohtasgadh, and by others with Lalmai or Mainamati hills near Comilla in Bengal.

Gopala II is known to have ruled in East Bengal in the first, and North Bengal in the sixth year of his reign. 50 But gradually he or his son and successor Vigrahapala II lost hold of nearly the whole of Bengal and ruled only in Bihar. The Pala kingdom had thus reached the very nadir when Mahipala I, the son of Vigrahapala II, ascended the throne about A.D. 988. The new king was, however, made of sterner stuff, and succeeded to a large extent in recovering the old glory of his family. A full account of his reign will be given in the next volume, and it will suffice here to state that before he had reigned for three years he had reconquered nearly the whole of North and East Bengal “after defeating the usurpers who had seized his ancestral kingdom” fins. No. 5). Thus by the year A.D. 1000, with which this volume closes, the Palas had once more become a powerful ruling family in Eastern India.' Mahipala. who is justly described as the second founder of the Pala kingdom, gave it a new lease of life which continued, with strange vicissitudes, for nearly another century and a half.

GENERAL REFERENCE

1. HBR. Ch. VI. (It contains a full reference to authorities for topics discussed in this chapter).

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS

1. Khalimpur OP of Dharmapala, year 32. El, IV. 243.

2. Monghyr CP of Devap§la, year 83. El. XVIII. 304.

3. Bhagalpur CP Nar^yanapala, year 17. I A, XV. 304.

4. Badal Pillar Inscription. El. II 160.

5. Bangadh Grant of Mahipala. El. XIV. 324.

(All the above inscriptions arc edited in Gaitdalekluniialn a Bengali work, hv Akshaya Kumar Maitreya).

1. Vol. Ill, pp. 142 ff.

2. The election of a ruler by the prakritis or people of Bengal in order to remove misrule and anarchy is referred to in Ins. No. 1. and also described by the Tibetan historian L^rna Taranatha (History of Buddhism in India. Tr. by A. Schiefner). Taranatha's work v/as written in AD. 1608, but he had evidently access to old traditions and records now lost. His statements about the Pala kings, though interesting and informative, should not be accepted r.s historical unless corroborated by independent evidence.

The common meaning of the word prakrili is 'subject*. and hcp.ee it is generally held that Gopala was elected king by the general body of the people. But we cannot think of a general election in the modern sense. The choice was evidently made by the leading chiefs and endorsed by the. people.

3. Military skill and administrative capacity must have been the indispensable qualifications of a leader in those troublous times.

4. A fuller account of this work .will be given in connection with the history of Ramapala in the next volume.

4a. References are to the list of ‘‘Important Inscriptions” given above.

5. It is said in Ins. No. 2 (v. 3) that his conquests extended up to the sea.

G. The chronology of the Pala kings is not yet definitely settled. The view adopted here is based on HBR (Ch. VI, App. II, p. 176).

7. The history of the Rashtrakutas and the Pratiharas has been dealt with in Chapters I and II.

8. Some scholars take the view that Vatsaroja advanced as far os Bengal and actually conquered it up to the sea. This docs not seem likely, and the only evidence in support of il »s a. casual verse in a poetical work composed four centuries after thus event.

9. It is definitely said in the Bashtrakuta records that Dhruva met the king of Gauda between the Ganga and the Yamuna and carried off his umbrellas of stab# (Sanjan CP. v. 14; El, XVffl. 244). It has been recently urged by a scholar (/HQ, XX. 84) that Dhruva did not defeat the king of Gautfa, but really got his state umbrellas from Vatsaraja when the latter was returning from hi* expedition to Bengal. In his opinion, it was Vatsarija whom he met and defeated between the Gangs and the Yamuna, but the writer of the Bashprakuta records, who knew that Dhruva captured the white umbrellas belonging to the Gauda king, naturally, but erroneously, thought that the

Gaud& king was defeated by Dhruva. This theory is no doubt ingenious and even plausible, but cannot be accepted in view of the categorical statement in Sanjan CP, so long at least as we have no evidence in support of it.

10. The full significance of v. 12 of Ins. No. 1 which contains an account of this assembly has been discussed in HBR, 107.

11. Cf. e.g. THK. 216, 230.

12. The IJdayanasundari-kathd Jay Scddhala (G. O. S. edition), pp. 4-6.

13. Uttarapatha technically means the western part of North India, but applied to Dharmapala, ruler of Bengal and Bihar, it evidently means the overlordship of North India.

14. This is clearly indicated by Ins. No. 2, v. 8.

15. Cf. Ch. II, p. 23 above.

16. It is significant that all three contending powers, the Palas, the Pratlharas, and the Rashtrakutas, had their eyes fixed upon Kanauj. The Pratlharas finally transferred their capital to this city. The Rashpraku(a king Dhruva and Govinda IH overran this region, and one of their successors, Indra III, captured and ruthlessly sacked this city which was then the imperial capital of the Pratlharas.

17. /C, IV. 266.

18. 1A, 2892, p. 257, fn. 6.

29. 1C, TV. 266. The capital of the Kiratas was situated in the jungles of Gokarna to the north-east of Pasupati (Levi, Le Nepal. II. 83)^

20. For Nagabhata's history and military campaigns, cf. Ch. H, pp. 24 ff.

21. Gwalior Ins. of Bhoja, v. 10 {El, XVIII. 112). The description shows the strength . of the Pala army and may be contrasted with the 'easy victory' obtained by

Vatsaraja against the king of Gau^a referred to above.

22. Cf. Chapters I and II.

23. According to Sanjan CP, "Dharma and Chakrayudha surrendered of themselves" to Govinda III (El, XVIII. 253). There is no evidence in support of the view that Dharmapala was defeated in a battle by Govinda 1H (JBORS. XII. 362).

24. Iris. No. 2, v. 12.

25. For authorities, cf. HBR. 115.

26. It consisted of a central temple surrounded by 107 others—all enclosed by a boundary wail. It provided for 114 teachers in different subjects (JASB, N. S. V (1909), pp. 1 ff.).

27. For detailed description, see Vol. V, Ch. XVI.

28. El, IX. 248.

29. Ins. No. 4, v. 5.

30. Ins. No. 2, v. 13.

31. Ins. No. 4, v. 13; No. 3. v. 6. Darbhapani's father Garga was a minister of Dharmapala.

32. Ins. No. 3, v. 6.

33. For details see<2h. II.

34. For a full discussion of this point, cf. ROC, VIII. 537; S. K. Aiyangar Com. Vol. 197; HBR. 120-21. But K. A. N. Sastri opposes this view (India Antique, 254).

35. The last known date of Dev&pala depends upon the reading of the figure for his regnal year in the Nalanda CP. It is usually read as 39 (El, XVII. 318), but seems to-be really 35 (JRASBL. VII. 215).

36. Vide infra, Ch. XV.

37. Nalanda CP. (El, XVII. 318).

38. Goshrawa Stone Ins. (1A, XVII. 307).

39. HIED, I. 5, 25. But some scholars doubt whether the account was really written by Sulaiman (cf. Arab Geographers ’ Knowledge of Southern India by S. M H Nainar, pp. 7 ff).

40. IHQ , XVI. 232.

41. HBR. 124. Cf. also Ch. IV, 81.

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42. The whole question has been fully discussed in HBR: 188.

43. His latest known date is year 54 (1A, XLVII. 110).

44. According to Sirur Ins. dated A.D. 866 (l A, XII. 218), Ahga, Vahga and Magadha paid homage to king Amoghavarsha, who could not possibly have undertaken an expedition against the Palas before his conquest of Vengi which took place about A.D. 860.

45. Several inscriptions of Mahcndrapala have been found in South Bihar (Palas of Bengal. 64) and one in Paharpur (North Bengal) (MASI, 55. 75).

46. See next Chapter.

47. This is proved by an image found in Bihar with an ins. dated in the year 54 (IA, XLVII. 110). Inscription No. 3 shows that Narayanapala was in possession of Bihar in the year 17. So the Pratiharas conquered it propably during the interval between these years (c. A.D. 870-908). As Mahendrapala did not ascend tlie throne till after A_D. §82, his conquest of Bihar and North Bengal may be placed between A.D. 890 apd 900.

48. According to v. 5 of the Dcoli CP, Krishna II was the preceptor “charging the Gaudas with the vow of humility” and that *‘his command

was obeyed by Ahga, Kalihga, Gahga and Magadha" (El, V. 193). The Rashtrakufa king was probably accompanied by Malta, p chief of Velanandu (in Krishna District), for the latter claims to have subdued the Vangas, Maghdhas and the Gaudas (Pithapuram Ins. v. 11; El, TV. 40).

49. For other views, cf. HBR, I. 131, £n. 4.

50. The Pala records have nothing to say about them except that Rajyapala dug tanks deep, like the sea and constructed temples high as the mountains (cf. Ins. No. 5, vv. 7-10). In a verse applied to Gopala II and Vigrahapala II in two different records (No. 5 and Jajilpara CP of Gopala II. JASL, XVII. 137) their elephant forces are said to have wandered in the eastern regions, western deserts, Malaya mountains in the south and the Himalaya in the north. These aimless wanderings were formerly regarded by some scholars as a coveil allusion to the loss of ancestral kingdom by Vigrahapala, but as the same verse is now known to apply to the earlier king Gopala II also, this interpretation is doubtful (cf. HBR. 136). But the verse may indicate the hopelessly weak position of both the kings.

51. For the history of these dynasties, cf. Ch. V. For the effect of Chandella invasions on Bengal, cf. IHQ. XXVIII. 177.

52. As noted above, some of these units are separately mentioned also in the Rashtrakutta records (cf. fn. 44 and 48 above).

53. Irda CP. El, XXII. 150; XXIV. 43.

54. JASB, VII. 619.

55. El. XXVI. 313.

56. Cf. 1C. XII. 88.

57. El, XVII. 349.

58. HBR. Ch. VII. The year 46 is found in Madanpur Plates (El, XlXVIII. 51, 337).

59. Cf. Mandhuk (Tippera District) Ins. of Gopala II year 1 (IHQ, XXVIII. 55) and Jajilpara CP. of the same king (JASL, XVII. 137).

CHAPTER IV

EASTERN INDIA DURING THE PALA PERIOD

Having dealt with the history of the Palas who were the leading political power in Eastern India, we may now turn our attention to the several independent kingdoms which flourished in Nepal, Kamarupa (Assam) and Utkala (Orissa).

I. NEPAL

The history of Nepal, during the two centuries following the death of Jayadeva II, 1 is very obscure, as the Vaihiavalis (chronicles are hopelessly confused and there are no epigraphic records to help us. One strange episode at the beginning of this period has been preserved in R&jatarangim? It tells us how, in the course of his victorious campaign, Jayaplda, the grandson of Lalitaditya, 3 came to Nepal, was captured by its king Araxnudi, effected his escape through the self-sacrifice of his minister, and conquered the kingdom. Like his other adventure concerning Jayanta, 4 this also reads more like a romance than real history, and Stein rejects it as mythical, L4vi has, however, pointed out that the name Aramudi is Tibetan, and as we know'from Tibetan sources that Nepal was at this time, under the political subjection of Tibet, and there was hostility between this country and Kashmir, there may be some basis for the story. According to the Chronicles of Ladakh , the Tibetan king Khri-sron-lde-btsan (A.D. 755-97) carried his victorious arms to India. 6 According to another Tibetan text, composed in the ninth century A.D., his son conquered a large part of Jambudvlpa. 6 The next important king Ral-pa-can (A.D. 817-836) is said to have conquered India as far as the confluence of the Gang a and the sea. 7 As noted above, 8 there is no independent evidence in support of these claims. But, according to some Nepalese chronicles, the Tibetan king Namoyati ruled over Nepal after the reign of Vasantadeva, and we may regard the Tibetans as having exercised a general supremacy over Nepal. This Namoyati may be identified with king Aramu<Ji who defeated and imprisoned JayapTda, as mentioned above. But it is very doubtful if

Aramudi is a Tibetan name. 68 In addition to the Tibetans, the Palas also appear to have exercised some sort of supremacy over Nepal, 9

These foreign conquests may explain the political confusion in Nepal which is reflected in its chronicles. The year A.D. 879, the

epoch oi‘ the Newarl era, which is current even now it) Nepal, probably marks an important political event in its history. According to Prinsep and Cunningham the new era, dating from October 20, A.D. 879,. was inaugurated by king Raghavadeva. S. Levi, however, rejects this view, as this king does not occupy any prominent place in the local chronicles. He suggests that the new era was simply the Saka era with the omission of the eight hundred. In his opinion, after the end of the Saka year 800, the Nepalese, who had a superstitious dread for the figure 8, began to count the year afresh as 1, 2. etc. without any reference to the figure for hundred. This view gains additional strength from the fact that we have now good grounds to believe that of the two earlier Nepal: eras, the first one was rcallv the Saka era, and the second, the same era with the omission of 500. 70 It would thus appear that the Nt-palese adopted the Saka era before the end of its fourth century, and continued to use it ever since, dropping the hundredth figure, first after 500 and then, again, after 800 years of that era. The last-named era probably came into use during the reign of Raghavadeva. and hence he was regarded by posterity as the founder of that era.

Raghavadeva is mentioned in two old Chronicles, which assign to him a reign-period respectively of 43 and 63 years. The names of his successors are also given differently in them. It is not unlikely that the two Chronicles refer to two different lines of kings ruling simultaneously over two regions. King Vikramadeva and his three successors are, however, common names in both the lists. Narendr 2 deva. who succeeded Vikramadeva, is known from the colophon of a manuscript to have ruled in A.D. 999. Henceforth the royal lists in the Chronicles can be checked with the help of colophons and epigraphic records. Thus, we reach a firm ground in the history of Nepal only at the close of the period dealt with in this Volume. 71

A great deal of uncertainty, however, prevails in respect of the chronological and genealogical position of king Gunakamadeva, who is mentioned in all the Chronicles as having played a great role in the history of Nepal. His name is placed in the two old Chronicles immediately after Narendradeva. These assign him a reign of 85 years while the modern Chronicles give it as 51. All this is impossible, for Gunakamadeva’s reign must have come to an end by A.D. 1000, as his successor is said to have ruled for 51 years, and the next king Nirbhaya is known ta have jointly ruled with Rudra in the year 128 (— A.D. 1007). 12 Gunakamadeva was evidently a king of some eminence, and a great many traditions have gathered round his name. He probably extended the boundaries of his dominions beyond the valley towards the east. He is said to have been owner of fabulous wealth, and to have spent a large amount in rcligious endowments, including many benefactions to the God Pasupati. He is the reputed founder of the capital city of Katmandu, where he instituted a religious festival in honour of Lokesvara Khasarpana. Levi thinks that Kantipura, the old name of this city, is derived from Gunakama, both kdma and kanti being derived from the same root. The other cities, Patan and Sanku, are also said to have been founded about the same time. The foundation of new cities pro-, bably indicates the growth of trade and commerce. Nepal was at first mainly an agricultural country, but its contact with Tibet and China made it a valuable highway for trade between India and these countries. Whereas the epigraphic records of the earlier period refer only to villages and rural community, the Chinese History of the T’ang dynasty (A.D. 618-905) shows that merchants were numerous, and cultivators scarce, in Nepal. There was also a development of arts and crafts. This transformation from rural to industrial economy probably explains the great wealth of the king.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. Levi— Le Nepal, Vol. IT, 172-187.

2. DHNI, I. Ch. IV.

II. KAMABUPA

King Harsha of Salastambha family 13 was followed by Balavarman, and probably one or two others, 14 after whom we find a king Salambha on the throne of Kamafupa. He is referred to in several inscriptions as belonging to the dynasty of Salastambha, 15 . but at least one record 16 seems to imply that he restored the sovereignty of the Naraka dynasty, i.e. the family to which Bhaskara-varman belonged, though it draws prominent attention to the somewhat strange character of the name. Another record, however, omits the name of this king and clearly states that after many rulers of the. family of Salastambha had reigned, Harjara became king of Kamarupa. 17

It is, therefore, difficult to say definitely whether Salambha founded a new family, and if so, whether it was connected in any way with the earlier rulers of Kama rupa ending with Bhaskaravarman. We are not also quite sure about the name of the ruler, for another copper-plate gives the name as Pralambha. 18 He probably flourished about the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. 19 It is, therefore, probable that the change in the royal dynasty of Kamarupa was caused by the successful invasion of the Palas referred to above, 90 for it is not unlikely that Devapala drove away or killed the king and put his own nominee on the throne. He might have selected a scion of the old ruling family in order to make the political change less unacceptable tfi the people.

Nothing is known of Salambha, but his son or nephew 21 Hurjaruvarman was a king of some eminence. One of his records (No. i). 22 dated in the year 510 of the Gupta era {— A.D. 829), gives him the fu)l imperial titles Maharajdclhirdja Paramesvara Paramabhaiulruka, It is also probably not without significance that in another record of IhU family (No. 4) the name of Salambha or Pralambha is omitted, and the royal line begins with Harjara. On the whole, it would be fair to conclude that Harjara-varman threw off the yoke of the Pa las and ruled as an independent king. It is not unlikely that as his predecessors had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Paia's, their names were omitted in the records of later kings who did not like to recall those inglorious days of the family'.

No particulars of the reign of Harjara are known. He was succeeded by his son Vanamala-varmaw who was probably associated in the government as yuvardja during his father’s rule. 23 Vanamalavarman is said to have had a long reign (No. 5). One record (No. 3) of his reign refers to a grant of land to the west of the Trisrota river. This is undoubtedly represented by the modern Tista, and wc must, therefore, conclude that the kingdom * of Kamarupa included a part of North Bengal. This supports the traditional account that the river Karatoya formed the western boundary of Pragjyoti.sha or Kamarupa. /

Vnnamala was succeeded by his son Jayamala, who assumed the

name of Viravahu after his accession to the throne. 24 Nothing is

known of him or of. his son and successor Bala-varman. But we

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know from a later inscription 25 that when Tyagasirhha. the twentyfirst king after Salastambha. died without any issue, the people chose Brahmapala, a kinsman of the deceased ruler, as king. Tyagasimha was probably the last king of the dynasty of Silambha.

The dynasty, of Salambha ruled from A.D. c. 800 to c. 1000. The kings were devotees of Siva, and their capital was Haruppesvara on the bank of Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra river. Although no detailed account of their reign is known, it may be presumed that under Harjara and his descendants Kamarupa flourished as a powerful independent kingdom.

GENERAL REFERENCES

). DHN1, I. Ch. V.

2. KSS —All the inscriptions are edited in this work.

LIST OF IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS

1. Tczpur Rock Inscription of Hnrjara-varman, dated 510 G.E., JliOHS. Ill: 508.

2. Haivungthal CP. of Harjara-varman (Noticed in IHQ, III. 838, 811, B4L Edited in KSS).

3. Tczpur CP. Vnnamaln, JASB. IX. (1840), p. 76G.

4. Parbatiya Plates of Vannmalavarmadeva, El. XXIX, 145.

5. 4 Nowgong CP. of Baln-varman, JASB. LXVI. 121, 285; LXVIt. 103.

6. Howraghat Plates of Bala-varman, El, XXXII. 283.

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THE AGE OF IMPERIAL KANAUJ III. UTKALA (ORISSA)

We have already discussed 26 the history of the Sailodbhavas whose rule terminated probably about the middle of the eighth century A.D. or somewhat later. During the two centuries and a half that followed, we find several dynasties ruling in different parts of Orissa. Unfortunately, neither their chronology nor the boundaries of their kingdoms can be definitely ascertained, nor do we know anything of their exact status and mutual relations. The most powerful of them were the Karas, who ruled along the eastern seaboard, exercising authority in the districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, and a part of the corresponding hinterland. The Bhanjas set up several states which covered a large part of what were till lately known as the feudatory Orissa States. In addition to these two, steveral minor dynasties ruled in these regions from time to time. Whether the Sailodbhavas continued to rule over Kongoda cannot be exactly determined, but this region, corresponding to the northern part of Ganjam, not only passed from time to time under the political authority of both the Karas and the Bhanjas, but we find there other dynasties such as the Gangas of Svetaka who occasionally acknowledged the supremacy of the Karas. Towards the middle of the tenth century A.D. the Somavam^l kings of South Kosala conqnered Orissa and continued to rule it till the advent of the Eastern Gangas more than a century later.

The history of Orissa during this period offers certain peculiarities. An unusually large number of inscriptions have come to light, far exceeding those we have for a bigger province like Bengal during the corresponding period. But apart from royal names, they hardly eVer give any details of historical interest. Although many of them are dated, the years are more often regnal or refer to an era which is. unknown. Their palaeography, too, is often of no great help in determining their age, as the letters, even of the same time and locality, are sometimes written in different styles which give erroneous impressions about their antiquity. As a matter of fact, in the case of no other region in India do we notice such a wide difference of opinion among scholars regarding the age of the records. To add to the difficulty, we have very often the same name borne by a mlmber of kings, and several alternate names borne by the same king which are indiscriminately used in official records. All this makes it almost impossible to arrive at any conclusion which would be generally acceptable, and all that we can do is to arrange the known facts under some system of chronology, which appears to be the most reasonable. With, these preliminary remarks we proceed to give a short account of the different dynasties with the ex

ception of the Somavamsis whose history will be dealt with in the next volume,

1. The Karas

About the time when the Palas established their power in Bengal we find a new dynasty ruling in Orissa. It was called bqth Bhauma and Kara. The former designation shows that the dynasty claimed descent from Bhumi or Earth, and the latter was no doubt derived from the fact that the names of all the kings of the family ended in ~kara , There is nothing to show that the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa was connected in any way with the dynasty of Kamarupa 2 '" to which Bhaskara-varman belonged, though that was also descended from Naraka, the son of Bhumi (Earth), The Vishnu Puriina refers to Mahendra-Bhauma along with Kalihga and Mahishika as being protected (?) by Guha (or Quhas). 28 These Bhaumas living in Mahendra hill may be regarded as the ancestors of the Bhaumas of Orissa, and the conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the capital of the latter was called Guhadeva-pataka or Guhesvarapataka, apparently named after Guha (or the Guhas) with whom the Bhaumas are associated in the Vishnu Purdna. It has been suggested that the Bhunas, now inhabiting the northern hill tracts of Orissa, are the representatives of the Bhaumas, and in this connection attention has been drawn to the fact that a class of people, living to the south of the Mahanadi river, call themselves Mafi-vamsa or family sprung from the Earth. 29

No less than seventeen records *of this family have so far come to light. They enable us to draw the following genealogy of the family. Many of these contain dates which, however, cannot all be read with certainty. These are put in brackets after the names. Most of the kings had one or more alternative names which are added after the name ending in Kara, though in some records these alternative names alone are used. The order of succession is shown by Homan figures.

I. Kshemankaradeva

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II Sivakaradeva I alias Unmatfasimha alias Bharasaha (20 or 50) 30

III. Subhakaradeva I (54 ?) 31

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IV. Sivakaradeva II (73 ?) V. Santikaradeva I = VIII. TribhuvanaI alias Gaya$a I Mahadevi I (110)

alias Lalitahara I (93)

VI. Subhakaradeva II (100) 32 isf

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VII. Subhakaradeva III ahas Simhaketu alias

Kusumahara I (103)

IX. Santikaradeva II alias Gaya^a II alias Lonabhara I

X. Subhakaradeva IV alias XL Sivakaradeva III (149) alias

Kusumahara II (145) Lalitahara II

=:XII(a). Tribhuvana-MahadevI II 33 |

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XII. Santikaradeva III XIII. Subhakara V = XIV. Gaurl

alias Lavanabhara II = XVI. Vakula

= XVII. Dharma* Mahadevi

Mahadevi

XV. Dandl-Mahadevi (180, 187) 3 *

As will be seen from the above table, there were five kings bearing the name Subhakara. The first king of that name is known from Neulpur plate, but as the characters of the newly discovered Khadipada (now Cuttack Museum) inscription of Subhakara seem to be older than those of the former, it has been suggested that there was an earlier king bearing that name. 36 On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the palaeographical differences between the two inscriptions are “not so great as to render the identification of these two Subhakaras impossible.” 36 The identity of these two kings has been assumed in the above table, but it is not unlikely that there was an earlier king of that name, who even preceded No. I.

It has been stated in Hindol Plate that when kings like Lakshmikara and others of the Bhauma family “had gone to heaven,” there flourished in that family king Subhakara (No. III). It may be inferred from this that there was a king called Lakshmlkara, who was either identical with No. I or his predecessor, immediate or remote. But there is nothing to justify the assumption that Lakshmlkara was the father of No. I. 3T

The chronology of these kings has been a matter of dispute. At a time when the relation between these rulers was not definitely known, it was held on palaeographic grounds that the king -No. Ill flourished about eighth century A.D. 38 and the Queen No. XIV, as late even as thirteenth century A.D. 39 In spite of uncertainty in the reading of some figures, there is now no doubt that all the monarchs ruled in an unbroken line of succession, and as their known dates «te*id from 20 (or 50) to 187 of the same era, the rule of the entire dynasty must be placed within a period of two centuries, notwithstanding indications of palaeography to the contrary.

Fortunately, there is some independent evidence in support of the conclusion, based on palaeography, that the first three kings flourished about the eighth century A.D. Professor Levi drew attention to the .fact that in the year A.D. 795 the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong received an autographed Buddhist manuscript from the king of Wu-ch'a (U^ra=:Orissa) whose name is translated as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." Levi has shown that a name like Subhakara corresponds very well with the Chinese translation, and he accordingly identifies Subhakara (No. Ill) as the king who sent the manuscript. 40 It has been argued that the name is really Subhakara which means 'the store of purity' and that the emendation of the name to Subhakara "one who does what is pure'' is unwarranted. 4 1 This difficulty can be avoided if we identify the king of U<Jra (Orjssa), who sent the manuscript in A.D. 795, not with Subhakara, but with his father Sivakaradeva,- as Siva and Subha mean the same thing. Besides, Sivakaradeva had another name Unmattasimha. and the last part of this means 'the lion', which forms a part of the name in the Chinese translation. It would thus follow that king No. II flourished in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. and the dynasty was evidently founded about the middle of that century.

This view goes against the assumption that the dates of the Kara kings are to be referred to the Harsha era. 42 This theory is open to several objections. In the first place, the ruler of Orissa about A.D. 795 would be a queen (Nos. XIV-XVI) who was a Saiva and not a Buddhist. The Buddhist ruler of Orissa in A.D. 795, who, according to the Chinese source, "had a deep faith in the Sovereign Law'', must be identified with one of the first three Kara kings who are called respectively 'Paramopasafca', 'Paramatathagata* and *Paramasaugata', and not with any of their successors who were devotees of Mahesvara. Secondly, according to Taranatha, there was political disintegration both in Bengal and Orissa shortly before the time when Gopala was elected to the throne. As his statement has proved to be true with regard to Bengal, we may give credit to it in respect of Orissa as well. It is more probable, therefore, that the Karas, who ruled for two centuries in an unbroken line of succession, established a powerful kingdom about the middle of the eighth rather than the seventh century A.D. Thirdly, if we refer the date of the Kara records to Harsha era, king No. Ill would flourish about the middle of the seventh century A.D., but the scripts of his plate are so distinctly later than the Ganjam plate of Sasanka that it has been assigned to the latter half of the eighth century A.D 43 Fourthly, if the date of king Unmattakesarl, recorded in the Ganjam grant, is really 20, we can hardly refer it to the Harsha era as Orissa had not yet been conquered by Harsha.

On these and other grounds it is more reasonable to refer the foundation of the Kara dynasty to the middle of the eighth century A.D. In that case wc cannot refer the dates in their records to any known era, and must presume that it was a case of continuous reckoning of the regnal year of the first king by his successors which has given rise to so many local eras, including the Ganga era in Kalihga.

Very little is known of the detailed history of the long line of rulers belonging to the Kara dynasty. As mentioned above, kings Nos. I-IIX were all devout Buddhists. The Neulpur plate, issued by No. Ill, refers to the first two as kings and gives the title Maharaja to the third. In a record of No. IV, however, both Nos. Ill and IV are given the higher imperial titles Paramabha{\draka Mahdrdjddhirdja Paramcsvara. These titles were borne by all their successors, whose charters have so far come to light, and these charters are also drawn in characteristic imperial style, the royal order being addressed to Mahasamantas, Maharajas, t Rdjaputras and a host of high officials. This shows that the kings were independent and powerful, but we have no reason to believe that their permanent authority extended beyond the boundaries of Orissa or even over the whole of it.

The Talcher plate, dated 149, tells us that Unmaylasimha (No. II) defeated in battle the king of Ra$ha and carried away his daughter, while his son Subhakara X INo. Ill) subjugated the Kalihgas. It is somewhat singular that neither the Neulpur plate issued by £ubhakara I himself nor any other record refers to any such exploits.

But some corroboration about the conquests of the Kara kings at this time is obtained by the Ganjam Grant of Jayavarmadeva. This record indicates that Jayavarman of the £vctaka Branch 44 of the Gahgas, who ruled in the northern part of Ganjam District, acknowledged the supremacy of king Unmattakesari of Virajas. This Unmatt^kesari may be identified with the Kara king No. II. It would then follow that even in his time a part of Kohgoda was included within the dominions of the Karas, and the next king §ubhakara had probably extended his conquests further south to Kalihga. But as Kohgoda formed a part of the dominions of the Gahgas of Kalihga, it is also not unlikely that Subhakara himself achieved a victory over them in his father's reign, and hence his name was associated with the conquest of Kalihga in later days.

Although the dates of Subhukara I and his son Sivakara II. read respectively as 4 54 and 73, are somewhat doubtful, we may

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take as certain the date 93 of &antikaradeva L He therefore flourished in the second quarter of the ninth century A.D, It was perhaps during his reign, or that of his brother and predecessor 2»ivakara~ deva II, that Devapala subjugated Utkala. 45 There is perhaps a covert allusion to it in the Dhenkanal Plate dated 110. It distinctly says that after the death of eminent Maharajas like Unmaftakes&ri (No. II) and Gaya^a (No. V), “the Kara family had to depend upon nothing but their past glory”, and “the kingdom looked like the sky bereft of refulgent stars and a female with distressful heart.” Tribhuvana-Mahadevi (No. VIII), the daughter of Rajamalla, a renowned Naga chief of the south, and the queen of Lalitahara (No. V), then ascended the throne being “entreated by a great circle of chiefs to be pleased to protect the fortunes of Kara kingdom,” as Devi GosvaminI did in old days. In the Talcher plate, dated 141, it is said that after the death of Kusumahara (No. VII) his mother Tribhuvana-MahadevI took up the burden of administration of the entire kingdom and abdicated in favour of her grandson Lonabhara when he had come of age. None of these plates mention king Subhakara II (No. VI) who evidently ruled during this period. All these would indicate that some time before A.D. 860 the Kara kingdom was visited by a great calamity and suffered much in power and prestige, but the situation was saved by the queen-mother, probably with the aid she received from her father Rajamalla. It is not unlikely that the invasion of the Pala ruler Devapala was the cause of the calamity, but then the boast of the Palas that the Utkalas were exterminated can only be regarded as the usual exaggeration of court poets, for the Kara dynasty soon re-established its power, and the kings continued to use the imperial titles. Possibly the collapse of the Pala empire after Devapala gave Utkala the requisite opportunity. It is worthy of note that shortly before the Pala invasion the Kara kings gave up the Buddhist religion, and henceforth the sovereigns were mostly Saiva, though Tribhuvana-Mahadevi was a devotee of Vishnu. Whether this change of religion had any political significance in the relations between the Palas and the Karas, it is difficult to say.

Nothing is known of the four successors of LonabhSra (Nos. XXIII). The last of them, Subhakara V, was succeeded on his death by his queen, named Gauri. After her. her daughter Dan^I-Mahadevi ascended the throne. Two of her charters dated 180 and 187 are known. According to the newly discovered Taltali plate 10 she was succeeded by her step-mother Vakula-Mahadevi. and the latter by Dharma-Mahadevi, queen of Lavanabhara. undoubtedly .a Sanskritized'form of Lonabhara. As we know from.the Angul plate that Dharma-Mahadevi was the name of the queen of Santikaradeva, HI, we must presume that Lavanabhara was another name of Santikara

dcva III. It is no doubt very singular that there was a regular succession of four queens on the throne, which passed after DandiMahadevI to two senior ladies of the royal family. All the three ruling queens of the family whose charters have so far come to light, viz. Tribhuvana-MahadevI (No. VIII), Dantfi-Mahadevi (No. XV) and Dharma-Mahadevi (No. XVII), assumed imperial titles Paramo.bhattarika , and Maharajadhiraja-Paramesvari.

It is interesting to note that Vakula-Mahadevi is described in a verse as “an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Bhanja kings.’ , This verse is a verbatim copy of one applied to Dantfi-Mahadevi in the Kumurang plate, with the substitution of Bhanja for Kara. There is hardly any doubt that Vakula-Mahadevi belonged to the Bhanja family, and it is also not unlikely that her paternal relations played some part in the politics of the Kara kingdom at this period. The succession of four queens one after another probably indicates troublesome times for the Kara dynasty which led to its downfall at no distant date, and the Bhahjas might have played a prominent part in the final stage.

Nothing is known of the Karas after Dharma-Mahadevi who probably flourished about the year 200 of the Kara era, i.e. about A.D. 950. Probably the family was ousted by the Somavamsis. who are known to have conquered Orissa about the middle of the tenth century A.D. 47

Wc can get a fair idea of the dominions of the Karas from the names of villages mentioned in their land-grants. In addition to the coastal territories comprised in the modern districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, their dominions included Angul, the did feudatory states of Hindol, Dhenkanal, Taleher, Pal Lahara, a part of Keonjhar, and the northern part of Ganjam District. These territories are sometimes referred to as included in North and South Tosali, but the name Utkala also occurs in the records.

The northern part of the Ganjam District is referred to as Kvngoda-mantfala in South Tosali. It »is definitely known from their land-grants that the rulers Nos. II, VII, and XV exercised authority in this region, but, as we shall see later, we find there also the records of the Bhanjas as well as of a branch of the Gangas of Kalinga. As noted above, one of the latter, Jayavarman, refers to Unmattavarman as his overlord, but neither the other rulers of this family nor the Bhanjas refer to the Kara overlord in their landgrants. There can be hardly any doubt that spme of these Bhanja and Gahga rulers were contemporaries of the Karas. Either, therc

fore, this region must have frequently changed hands, or the feudatories issued land-grants without any reference to their Kara overlords.

All the land-grants of the family are issued from the same place, which is called Guhadeva-pataka in the earlier records and Guhesvara-pataka in the later ones. This town was evidently the capital of the family. A late tradition places the foundation of the Kara kingdom in Jajpur. The Gan jam grant also refers to the second king of the dynasty as king of Virajas, evidently a variant of Viraja, which is a well-known name of Jajpur. It may be presumed therefore that this town represents the site of the ancient capital of the Karas. 48

GENERAL REFERENCE

Brnayak Misra —Orissa under the Bhauma Kings.

- Section I of this book gives a list of Kara inscriptions, and either edits or contains a short account of them. The historical discussion in Section II is, however, not always helpful or reliable. Five new inscriptions have been discovered since the above work was published. They are referred to in the footnotes.

2. The Bhanjas

More than thirty records of kings with names ending in Bhahja have so far come to light. The task of arranging them in a genea-' logical or chronological order has proved a difficult one and scholars differ widely on the subject. But we can easily distinguish two important branches, one ruling at Khinjali, and the other at Khijjinga. The latter is undoubtedly the same as Khiching in Mayurbhanj whose ruins still testify to its great antiquity. Khinjali, which lay far to the south, cannot be definitely identified. The records refer to twb Khinjalis, and it has been suggested that one lay to the north and the other to the south of the Mahanadl. But there is no doubt that the kingdom of Khinjali corresponded, at first, to the old feudatory states of Baud and Sonpur in Orissa and its immediate neighbourhood, though later its boundaries extended further south to the northern part of the Ganjam District. 49 *

Whether the Bhahja ruling chiefs of Khinjali and Khijjihga belonged to the same family, or were connected in any way, is not definitely known to us. Some scholars held this view and tried to draw up a genealogy of them all on this basis, 50 but the' result has been very unsatisfactory. On the whole, although it is quite possible that the different Bhahja chiefs had a common ancestor, there is no evidence in support of it and the question must be left open.

C9

A. The Bhanjas of Khinjali

The rulers of this family, so far known from their records, are represented in the following genealogical table:—

I. Yathasukha

i

. II. Mallagambhlra

III. Silabhahja I (Ahgaddi)

I

IV. Satrubhanja iGandhata; Mahgalaraja)

I

V. Banabhanja

VII. Digbhahja Disabhahja)

fKalyanakalasa I) |

VIII. Silabhahja II iTribhuvanakalasa)

*> a

i

IX. Vidyadharabhanja (Amoghakalasa)

i

1

X. Nettabhanja II iKalayanakalasa II)

The first four rulers are known from the Tekkali plates of &alrubhahja, r ‘ The rulers Nos. IIX-X are known from other records. While there is no doubt about the genealogy of these rulers t III-X . doubts have been entertained regarding the identity of Silabhahja, and his son 6atrubhanja, mentioned in the Tekkali plates, with the rulers bearing the same names and the same relation in the other list.'^ Their identity has been challenged on the ground that the opening verses of the Tekkali plates resemble those of the later, and not earlier, Bbanja rulers of the family. But as Nos. Ill to X ruled in an unbroken line of succession, the four rulers mentioned in the Tekkali plates can only be regarded as collateral »?.(?. contemporaryor posterior, to No. X. The latter view is untenable as the characters of the Tekkali plates are undoubtedly much earlier than those of No. X. and there are not sufficient grounds fPr the former view. The identity of names of two generations naturally leads to the presumption of the identity of the persons, and the genealogy has accordingly been drawn on this basis.

Even the identity of Banabhanja mentioned in the different records has been challenged, and Ranaka Banabhanja and Maharaja Banabhanja have been held to be different persons."" But here, again, there are not sufficient reasons to reject the normal presumption about their identity.

A recently discovered plate, not yet published, adds the name of another Bhahjn kinrr. who-evidently flourished after No X. and

probably belonged to the same family. It was issued in the 13th regnal year of Ranaka Nettabhanja Tribhuvanakalasa, son of Rayabhahja and grandson of Prithvibhanja. It has been surmised that the last named was not far removed from No. X and might have been his brother, son or grandson. 54

There can be hardly any doubt that the name-ending Bhanja of No. Ill was adopted by his successors and gave rise to the name “Bhahja dynasty.” even as we find in the case of Guptas, Palas and Karas. It may be presumed, therefore, that Silabhanja was the real founder of the kingdom. A charter of the Somavarhil king Mahasivagupta Yayati refers to a village called Silabhanja-pSti in the 0<Jra country. 5 It has been reasonably inferred that the village was named after king Silabhahja who must, therefore, have been earlier than the Somavathsi king;

The earliest known charter of the royal family is that issued by Satrubhanja.'" 5 He is called Ranaka, but the seal in his charter is referred to as Mahurajakiya mudrd. There is. therefore, no reason to doubt that both he and his father were at least de facto independent kings, whatever might have been the status of the first two rulers; The charter may be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. on palaeographic grounds.

Ranabhanja. the son and successor of Satrubhanja, had a long reign of more than 58 years. His death marks the end of one epoch and the beginning of another in the history of this family. Both Ranabhanja and his father are styled in their charters * ‘Lord of Khihjali’. but this title is not applied to their successors. That this is no mere accidental omission, but denotes a ’great change, is indicated by the fact that whereas the charters of Ranabhanja and his father were issued from Bhritipura, those of his successors were issued from Vijaya-Vanjulvaka. Further, while all the villages granted by the former, so far as they have been identified, are situated in the States of Sonpur and Baud, those granted by the latter arc situated in the Ganjam District or its immediate neighbourhood. All these seem to indicate that after the death of Ranabhanja his successors shifted to the south and changed their capital. Their kingdom seems to have been confined to the northern part of Gat^Sm District and the Nayagadb State. Reference may be made in this connection to a ruler named Neftabhanja. who is known from the Baud Grant 57 to have ruled in the regibn corresponding to Angul and Athmallik States. The date of his charter has been read as 98. but it seems to be reslly 85. It may be referred to the era used bv the Kara kio^. and the date would then be equivalent 4o about A.D. 835, It is thus quite probable that he drove out the dynasty of Ranabhanja from

the northern part of Khinjali. Nettabhahja is not given any royal title in his Grant, but issues commands to Samantas, Maharajas, and others without any reference to any overlord. He was thus a de facto independent ruler, but not unlikely a feudatory, either of the Karas or the Palas, who defeated the Bhanjas and set him up as their protege. He might have been related to Ranabhanja.

We do not know what became of this kingdom during the period when the descendants of Ranabhanja (Nos. VI-X) were ruling in Ganjam. Some light is thrown by the Jurada charter 58 of Mahdmandalesvara Nettabhahjadeva, son of Ranabhanja, and grandson of Mahdmandalesvara Nettabhahja, granting a village, within the jurisdiction of Khihjali-mandaia. This village, as well as the place from which the charter was issued, has been located in the Ganjam District. This region was not perhaps originally included in the Khihjali kingdom, at least in the time of the immediate successors of Ranabhanja (No. V), for otherwise they would not have given up the title of Lord of Khinjali. It is highly probable, therefore, that the family of Nettabhahja, who ousted Ranabhanja's family from Khinjali, ultimately conquered the;southern region also and included it within the bounds of the Khinjali kingdom. If this view be accepted we may identify Nettabhahja, the grandfather.of the donor of the'Jurada charter, with the king of the same name who issued the Baud grant in the year 85. 59 Jn that case we must suppose that he and his two successors were ruling in Khinjali proper while the' five successors (Nos. VI-X) of Ranabhanja were ruling in the Ganjam District. The last of these was (defeated by Nettabhahja who issued the Jurada grant.

Another Bhahja family of six kings is known from two copperplates 60 issued by the last two rulers, Yasobhanja and x his brother Jayabhanja. No grants of the first four kings have come to light, but Devabhanja, the founder of the family, is called Rdjadhirdja , and Yasobhanja is described as the lord of the whole of Khinjali. As these rulers flourished after Nettabhahja of the Jurada grant, they probably obtained possession of the kingdom by defeating him or his family.

The date of these Bhahja kings cannot be determined with certainty. The date of the Tekkali plates of Satrubhanja, the earliest charter of the family, was read as Samvat 800 (= A.D. 742) by R. D. Banerji, but this is very doubtful. 61 On palaeographic grounds this charter may be referred to the ninth century A.D., but Orissan epigraphs of this period, on account of the variety of scripts employed even in contemporary records, cannot be relied upon as a very safe guide in matters of chronology. The only positive clue in this

respect is furnished by the.fact that Vijya, the queen of Ranabhanja. was the daughter of Rdnaka Niyamama. This Niyarnama has been identified with the Kadamba chief Niyarnnava, grandfather of Rdnaka Dharmakhedi, who is mentioned in a charter dated in the year 520 of the Ganga Era. 62 The epoch of this era is not yet definitely determined, but is generally placed at the end of the fifth century A.D. Dharmakhe^i may thus be taken to have lived in the early part of the eleventh century A.D., and his grandfather, about the middle of the tenth century A.D. If we accept the identification of the latter with the father-in-law of Ranabhanja, this Bhanja king may be placed in the second half of the tenth century A.D.

In spite of some uncertainties this date may be provisionally accepted as a working hypothesis. Silabhanja I, who seems to have laid the foundations of an independent Bhanja kingdom, may therefore be placed at the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

Although Ranabhanja had a long reign of at least fifty-eight years, his five successors must have reigned for short periods as the same goldsmith served under all of them. 63 The reigns of the Bhanja kings of Khinjali, discussed above, some of whom might have been contemporaries, may thus be regarded as having covered the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. The dynasty may be regarded as having risen to power on the decline of the Karas, and, as already noted above, 64 might have played an important part in the last stage of their history.

' If the dates proposed above be accepted, we may regard the removal of the Bhanja capital from Dhritipura to Vanjulvaka, as due to the invasion of Orissa by the Somavariisis who forced them to take shelter in the south.

It is quite probable that the Bhanjas continued to rule even' beyond A.D. 1100, either as independent or as feudatory chiefs. In any case, their rule in Khinjali can be traced down to the mediaeval, period. A copper-plate 65 found at Baud introduces us to a line of three kings, viz. Solanabhanja, his son Durjayabhanja, and the latter’s son Kanakabhanja, who ruled in the neighbourhood of the Tel river, i.e. in old Khinjali, about the fifteenth century A.D. There are still Bhanja families living in a place called Kinjili between Aska and Berhampore in the Gan jam District. 66 This Kinjili might be an echo of the old Khinjali.

On the other hand there are good reasons to believe that many Bhanja chiefs flourished before those rulers whose history we have discussed above. A verse in the copper-plates of the early- Bhanja kings 67 says that many Bhanja kings, thousands in number, flourished in the past, and in their family was born ^ilabhanja (No. Ill),

Even allowing for the obvious exaggerations, this verse may be taken to testify to the existence of one or more Bhahja ruling families long before the eighth century A.D. This theory is supported by a short record below a tempera-painting on a rock-shelter in the village of Sitabhinji, Keonjhar District. “The subject-matter of the painting is a procession relating to a king on elephant who is preceded by footmen, a horseman, and a dancing woman and followed by an attendant woman. A painted inscription below the king gives the name of the king as “Maharaja 6ri Disabhanja”.

Mr. T. Ramachandran, from whose account the above description

is quoted; refers the inscription to the fourth century A.D. and says

that this date is “corroborated by an ensemble of evidence furnished

by other associative antiquities.” 68

%

Dr. D. C Sircar, on the other hand, thinks that the characters of the epigraph belong to a much later date, between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D. 69

There is no doubt that the Orissan inscriptions, even of the same king, employ a variety of scripts, so that palaeography is a very uncertain factor in determining chronology. This is amply illustrated by the widely differing views about the dates of Kara, Sailodbhava and Bhanja kings. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the characters of the short record at Sitabhinji can by no means be regarded as later than those of the charters of the early kings of Kalihga who have been unanimously referred to the fifth century A.D. 70 Dr. D. C. Sircar's proposed identification of Disabhanja of the Sitabhinji record with the king Digbhanja-Disabhanja (No. VII), mentioned above, cannot therefore be upheld, and until more definite evidence is available, Disabhanja of Sitabhinji may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhanja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D. The painted scene and the locality seem to indicate that he was a powerful ruler whose kingdom included the Keonjhar State. If we accept this view, we may well believe that the Bhanjas had been ruling in Orissa almost continuously since the fourth or fifth century A.D., though their power and status must have varied in different ages. The territory called Bhanjabhumi or Bhanjbhum, which includes the present Mayurbhanj,. was evidently named after the Bhanjas.

B. The Bhanjas of Khijjihga

The records of this dynasty closely resemble each other and are distinguished in some essential respects from those of other Bhafijas described above. They are issued from Khiijlhga and give a traditional account of the origin of the family. The Adi-Bhanja

or the first Bhanja, called Vlrabhadra Ganadan$a, is said to have come out of the egg of a pea-hen and to have been brought up by the sage Vasishtha. They refer next to Kottabhanja who may be regarded as the first historical ruler of the family. The names of the successors of Kottabhanja are, however, given differently in different records. But since all the kings ruled in Khijjihga it is probable that the differences are due mainly to the same king having different names as we find in the Kara dynasty. On this assumption we may tentatively draw the following gnealogy of the kings known to us. 71

Vlrabhadra

Kottabhanja

Digbhanja alias Durjayabhanja I alias Vibhramatunga I

Ranab

rianja

Narendrabhanja I

Rajabhanja Vibhramatunga II Satrubhanja alias

| Frithvibhanja

i ' i

Durjayabhanja II Narendrabhanja II

(Yuvardja) Kottabhanja

Vlrabhadra is described as ‘Chakravartisamah’ (like an emperor), and ^atrubhanja is called Mahdmarujia.i-ddhipati-MahardjddhirajaParamesvara. Ranabhanja is called both Maharaja and Maharajadhirdja. These titles and the fact that they issued charters without reference to any overlord indicate that they were at least de -facto independent rulers.

As regards chronology, we have two specific dates for Ranabhanja, viz. 288 and 293. 72 These cannot be referred to the era used by the Karas, as the royal Kara dynasty is not known to have continued beyond the year 200 of that era, and there is nothing to indicate that their era was in use after them. The other possibilities are the Harsha and the Gahga eras. Jf we assume the former, which appears more probable, Ranabhanja nourished towards the close of the ninth century A.D., and the dynasty must have ruled roughly between A.D. 850 and 1000. We may then assume that it rose to power out of the chaos and confusion in Orissa caused by the invasion of the Palas under Devapala, and took full advantage of the downfall of the Pala empire.

Although we'know very little of the history of this dynasty, special interest attaches to it for more than one reason. In the first place, the ruins of temples and images at Khiching, the old capital of the dynasty, testify to a very high development of art and architecture under the Bhanjas/ 3 Indeed some of the sculptures found here have been justly regarded as among the best products of mediaeval sculpture in India. This rich artistic treasure gives us a clear idea of the high culture and civilization of the people of Utkala under the Bhahjas.. It may also be noted that the art of Khiching shows close affinity with the art of the Palas rather than of Orissa, and this may be easily explained by its geographical position as well as the political influence of the Palas which was naturally more effective in this region than that lying further south.

Secondly, there are good grounds to believe that the Bhahjas of

Khijjinga are represented by the dynasty lately ruling at Mayurbhanj.

This dynasty had its capital at Khiching until comparatively recent .

times, and Us rulers all bore names ending in Bhahja. In a royal

sanad. dated A.D, 1713-14, the ancestor of this family is described

as having been born of the egg of a pea-hen and nursed by the sage

Vasfshtha. This tradition, which we find in the old charters of the «

family, is current even today with the result that their insignia is a pea-fowl, and the killing of this bird is prohibited throughout the state. According to a local tradition, recorded by Hunter, the chiefs ruled till 200 years ago over both Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar, the region where the Bhanjas of Khijjinga ruled about a thousand years ago. 71

This striking agreement in respect of the family name and tradition, the capital, and extent of the kingdom leaves no doubt that the modern ruling chiefs of Mayurbhanj are linked up with the old Bhanja rulers of Khijjinga; and makes it highly probable that they form one continuous royal line which has ruled for more than a thousand years in an uninterrupted line of succession. Such a phenomenon is very rare in Indian history, and the case of Mayurbhanj may be regarded as almost unique.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. K. D. Banerji—Omsa.

2. I?, C. Majumdar, Outline of the History of the Bhanja Kings of Orisa (Dacca University Studies , Vol. HI, No. 2, pp. 337-70). It contains a complete list of the inscriptions of the dynasty with references. This aiticle is abbreviated as BKO,

. Inscriptions discovered since then are referred to in the footnotes, and in 1HQ, XXVIII. 225 ft

3. Binayak Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa.

3. The Minor Dynasties

In addition to the Karas and Bhanjas several minor dynasties flourished in Orissa during the period under review. One of them, the Svetaka branch of the Gangas, has been dealt with in connection with Kalihga. Another is the Tunga dynasty 7r> comprising two

kings, Salanatunga and his son Gaya^atuhga, born in the line of Raja Jagattunga who came from Rohitagiri (Rohtasgarh in Shahabad District). Gayadatuhga, who is described as Samadhigata-pancha make sab da and the ruler of Yamagarta, has been identified by some with king Gaya^a of the Kara dynasty, 70 but this is not very likely. Perhaps the dynasty was at first feudatory to the Karas and assumed independence after their decline. The Talcher Plate of Sivakaradeva, 77 dated 149 (=c. A.D. 900), records a grant of land in Purvarashtravishaya by the Kara king at the request of Ranaka Sri Vinltatuhga, This Ranaka is probably the same as is mentioned in the Bonai Grant 78 together with his son Khadgatunga and grandson Vimtatuhga II, ruler of Eighteen Gondamas including Yamagarta. Gayadatunga probably belongs to this family 79 which is also said to have migrated from Rohitasva and ruled in parts of Talcher, Pal Lahara and Keonjhar State. A ruler, Jayasimha, with feudatory titles, issued a Grant 80 from the banks of the Mandakini river. As the donated lands belonged to Yamagarta -mandala, he ruled in the same region as the Tuhgas.

Another Bonai Grant refers to the Buddhist Mayura-vaihsa which originally came from the Chitrakuta mountain and ruled over Vanai -mandala, which is evidently the same as Bonai. It mentions Uditavaraha, his descendant Tejavaraha, and the latter's son Udayavaraha with the titles Paramasaugata Samadhigaia pancha-mahasabda Maharaja Ranaka. 6 1 This, too, was probably a feudatory line, assuming de facto independence. As the Grant of this family has some verses in common with those of the Tunga plates, the two families were probably closely connected and ruled over the same or neighbouring territories.

More importance attaches to the Sulkis (called also Sulkikarhsafamily) who are probably identical with the "Sulikas with an army of countless horses" referred to in the Haraha Inscription of the Maukhari king Lsanavarman. 82 A number of records 63 give us the genealogy of the family, but there are some variations. It is not easy to reconcile them, and different views have been entertained by different scholars. The following genealogy may be tentatively offered as the most satisfactory:—

Kanchana-stambha

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Kalaha (or Kanada) -stambha alias Vikramaditya . Raoa-stambha alias Kula-stambha 84

i •

Jaya-stambha

Nidaya-stambha

It is probable that the second king was known as Kula-stambha. A Grant of Rana-stambha contains a date which has been interpreted as 103. It may be referred to the era of the Kara kings. Ranastambha had the title Mahdrujadhiraja as well as Samadhigata pancha-mahasabda. denoting a feudatory rank. 88 Like Vinltatunga II, Rana-stambha is described as lord of Gondama, and the Sulki family probably ruled in Talcher and Dhenkanal States. They might have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Karas, but were de facto independent rulers. The name Sulki has been regarded by some as variation of the name Chalukya or Solahki. Others have identified Sulkis with the modern Sulkis of Midnapore and the Saulika of the Brihat-samhitti and Markandeya Puruna , 86

The Tonga kings, Jayasimfia, and the Sulkis all claim to have ruled over the whole of Gondama (or Gondrama) wrhich is sometimes specifically referred to as Eighteen Gondamas. Gondama has been taken to mean the Gond tribe, but it probably denotes a territory which cannot be exactly defined.* 7 It has been suggested that Gondama denoted the entire hilly tract extending from Bonai and Barnra in the north up to Jeypore in the Visakhapatnam District in the south, but this is very doubtful. 88

Another dynasty, called the Nanda, ruled over the same region, Gondama, probably at a somewhat later' date. Four inscriptions supply us with the names of the following kings:-— 89

Jayananda

I

Paranananda /

&ivananda

!

Devananda I

Vilasatuhga * Vilasatuhga

Dhruvananda Devananda II

Dhruvananda is said to be Parama-saugaia (i.e. a Buddhist) while Devananda was a Parama-mahesvara (i.e. Saiva).

The name or surname Vilasatuhga and the sovereignty over Gondama indicate some relationship with the Tun gas. The plates are issued from Jayapura which has been identified with Jaipur in the old Dhenkanal State, and mention the maiuiala of -Airavata, which has been located in the Cuttack' District. 90 The Taimul plates of, Dhruvananda contain a date which has been variously read 91 but the correct reading seems to be Samvat 383. It may he referred to the Ganga Era, though this is by no means certain.

TS

A copper-plate Grant, now in the Madras Museum, gives us the name of a king named Narendra-dhavala, who is not known from any other source. Some internal evidence shows that he was either a contemporary of the Bhahja king Silabhahja I or ruled before his time, and his reign may be placed in the tenth century A.D.

Kings with names ending in ‘dhavala’ are known to have ruled in Medieval Orissa, and even now the members of the Dompara Kaj family of the Cuttack District have similar name-endings. There was evidently a ‘Dhavala’ ruling family of whom the only ancient ruler so far known is Narendra-dhavala. The territory known as Dhavalabhumi or Dhalbhum may be presumed to have derived its name from this ruling family. 92

GENERAL REFERENCES

1. DHNI, I. Ch. VII.

2, B. Misra, Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa.

FOOTNOTES

1. Vo!. Ill, p. 138.

2. IV. 529-80.

3. Vol. Ill, p. 135.

4. Vol. Ill, p. 143.

5. Francke, Antiquities of Tibet, Part II, p. 87; Dr. Petech in IHQ, XV. Supplement, 65. The name of the king is written as K'ri-srofx-lde-btsan (by Petech) and Khri-Sroh Lde-Brtsan (JRAS, 1952. p. 149).

6. F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Turkestan, p. 270.

7. Francke, op. cit.. 89-90. According to Francke Ral-pa-can ruled from A.D. 804 to 816, but Dr. Petech (op. cit. 81) gives the date A.D, 817-836.

8. See p. 52.

8a. Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal, 29.

9. See above p. 47.

10. JAS, vol. I. No. r, 1959, p. 47.

11. Petech, Mediaeval History of Nepal, 28-32.

12. A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Drirhar Library of Nepal by H. P. Sastri, p. 21.

13. Cf. Vol. Ill, p. 141.

14. This is implied by the Haiyunglhal plate of Harjara-varman, though, on account of some lacunae, the meaning of the passage is not quite clear.

15. Haiyungthal Plate and the Bargaon CP, of Ratnapala (v. 9).

26. Tezpur GP. of Vanamala, w. 6-7.

17. Now-gong CP. of Bala-varman, v. 10.

18. According to the published reading of the Tezpur CP. of Vanamala the name is Pralamba. But as this reading goes as far back as 2840, and the original plates are lost, we have adopted die reading Salambha which is quite clear in the newly discovered Farhatiya Plate of Vananiala. (EL XXIX, 145).

19. For, as noted below, his son or nephew was on the throne in A.D. 829.

20. See p, 50.

21. Harjara-varman has been hitherto regarded as the son of Pralambha. But the newly discovered Farbatiya plate of Vanamala, referred to in fn. 6 above, shows that Harjara was the son of Arathi, brother and successor of Salambha. This was first pointed out in P1HC, XII. 157-9 by Sri K. Dutta.

22. References are to the “List of Important Inscriptions” given on p. 61.

23. This is inferred from Ins. No. 2 which contains an order issued by Yuvardja Vanamala.

24. Ins. No. 4, Hoemle took Jayamala and VIravahu to be separate kings, but Kielhom regards the two as identical. This view is also accepted in KSS (cf. DHNI , I. 246).

25. Bargaon CP. of Ratnapala, JASB (LX VII. 99.

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Voi. in, pp. 141 n.

Mr. R. D. Bunrrji thinks that “most probably they (the Karas) also claimed descent from Naraka, like the early kings of Kamantpa." (EL XV. 2.) Cf above, Vol. Ill, p. 88.

DKA. 51.

■'list a, op. rit. 80-82,

For the date, ci. Ganjam Grant of Jayavarma-deva (1HQ, XII. 4S9). The date ef tLis inscription has been toad as 50 by Mr. Misra who edited the Plates, but the facsimile published by him shows that the symbol should be read as 20. Mr. Misra docs not seem to notice that the symbol is different from that m Nculpur Plate which he reads as 50 (o/>. c»c. 7; cf. also the chart facing p. 56). •

The date has been read as 8 by Mr. R. D. Banetji {El, XV. 1), 54 by Misi.i (op. cit. 7), and 204 by Bhandarkar (List No. 1751).

The name and date of this king are known from a newly discovered plate, now in tbe Utkal University, Cuttack. Dr. D. C. Sircar, while announcing this discovery (JOR , XVIII. 49), considcrtu it possible, .though not veiy likely, that this king might be identical with No. VII. But later he seems to have excluded this possibility and definitely regarded the two as separate rulers (JASL , XVII. p. 16, fn. 1). This seems to be the more reasonable view.

An unpublished article of Dr. D. C. Sircar refers to the recently discovered Baud plates of Tribhuvana-Mahadevi II, dated in the year 158. According to'those, the kings Nos. X and XI having died without leaving any issue, the throne passed lo Tribhuvana-Mahadevi II. the queen of No. X. This statement is in conflict with the later records which vouch for the existence of two sons of No. XI (Nos. XII, XIII), who actually ascended the throne after XI. The only reasonable explanation seems to be that there was a party in the state who. for some reason or other, did not recognise Nos. XII and XIII to be legitimate sons of No. XI and set up Tnbhuvana-Mahadcvi II as a rival claimant to the throne after the death of No. XI. Evidently she was overthrown, probably after a short .reign, and No. XII obtained undisputed possession of the kingdom. For further discussion about her reign, cf. the section on Somavamsis. Cb. VI. III. The dates have been read as 280 anti 287 by Bhandarkar (Lists; Nos. 1413. 1416). The second date -was read as 387 by Panday (JBORS, V. 571). But ef. El, XXIX, 81.

El, XXVI. 248.

PIHC. XII. 69.

Mr. Misra has made (his assumption;, cf. the genealogical table on p. 71 of his bock.

El, XV. 1.

El, VI. 136.

El, XV. 36^ Mr, S. C. Do, who supports this view, even goes fm llicr and regards &bbhbkara as the king of Orissa who initiated Rahulabhadrn in Mantrayana {PIHC, XII. 69).

Misra, op. c it. 76. In the ^eulpur plate the dkdra is indistinct, but it is quite clear in the other inscriptions. There is no doubt that the name should be read as J§ubhakar@.

Misra, op. cit. 72 IT. Misra’s statement that Kielhom took the ‘era of the Ganjam Plate of Dundi-Mahadevi as the Harsha era’ is wrong. Keilhom referred the plate dated 187 to the thirteenth century A.D. (El, VI, 136). Dr. D. C Sircar also refers the date of the Karas to Harsha Era (JKHRS , II. 103-4). But he has recently informed me in a private letter that a newly discovered inscription in' Orissa ‘seems to suggest that the era used in the inscriptions of the BhaumaKaras started from a date about the beginning of the 3th century AD.”

Cf. R. D. Banerji’s view about the date of the Neulpur Plate (EL XV. 1). On the other hand, Mr. A. Ghosh thinks that the characters of the Khadipada in mor L.°. r less similar to those of the Ganjam plates of Ssusahka" (El, XXVI. 247), This would support the theory of Harsha Era.

There «an be hardly any doubt that Jayavarroan of the Ganjam Grant- (IHQ XII. 488) is to be identified with the king, one of whose copper-plates has been published in El, XXIII, 261. For the &vetakas, cf. VoL HI. plzii!

See above, p. 50.

IHQ, XXI. 218. '

P ; B t aner ieo points out the '"striking similarity" between the scripts of the laltak Hate of Vakula-Mahadevl and those of the• Somavaj&il kings which can be dated about the middle of the tenth century A.p. (JASL, XVH. 247).

48. Misra. op cit. 87. Thisview is supported by Dr. D. C, Sircar who has discovered a fragmentary inscription of 6ubhakara I amid the ruins of the Hamsesvara temple at Sivadasapura, not far from the celebrated Viraja temple of Jajpur. This is the only record of the Karas so far found within the boundaries of modern Jajpur (JAS L, XVII. 15).

49. JBORS, XVII. 105; XV. 83-4; BKO. 147.

50. El, XVIII. 286.

51. Edited by R. D. Banerji (JBORS, XVIII. 387) and S. Rajaguru (JKHRS , I. 181), and commented upon by Dr. D. C. Sircar (IHQ, XXVIII. 229). The name Yathasukha was read as Pathasukha by Rajaguru, and the name of Mallagambhlra as Paliagambhira by R.' D. Banerji. The date was read as 800 by Banerji, as 1012 by Rajaguru, 17 by Dr. B. Misra (op. cit. 105.), and 14 by Dr. Sircar. The first figure may be easily read as 10, but the second one .is very unusual and cannot be read with certainty. In any case, the date seems' to be a regnal year and not one in Samvat or £aka era as held respectively by Banerji and Rajaguru.

52. Dr. Sircar (op. cit.) regards the rulers, mentioned in the Tekkali plates, as belonging to a collateral line, ruling contemporaneously with the Bhanjas of Vanjulvaka. But his chronological ideas are not very clear. In one place (p. 229) he says that Satrubhanja flourished considerably after the reign of Ranabhanja (about the middle or the third quarter of tenth century). Brt on the very next page he remarks that "the use of the numerical symbols instead of decimal 'figures in the record of Satrubhanja Mangalaraja (i.e. Tekkali Plates) would, however, suggest that he flourished before the eleventh century."

53. ABORl, XVII. 393.

54. IHQ, XXVIII. 228.

55. JBORS, XV. 85.

•56. Tekkali PI. cf. fn. 51 above.

57. JBORS, XVII. 104.

58. EL XXIV. 15.

59. It is, however, possible to identify him also with king No. VI or X. In Hint case we shall have a new branch or a continuation of the old family.

60. Antirigan CP. El, XVII. 282, 298.

61. See above, fn. 51.

62. This was originally suggested by B. Misra (op. cit. 104) and Dr. Bhandarkar (List No. 2053, fn. 2), and later by Dr. D. C. Sircar (PIHC, XII. 128).

63. Cf. IHQ, XXVIII. 228.

64. Sec above, p. 67.

65. Baud Plate, JBORS, II. 356.

G6. JAHRS, VII. 109.

67. Cf. Sonpur CP. of Satrubhanja (El, XI. 99) and Chakradharpur (Daspalla) CP. of Ranabhanja (JBORS, VI. 269).

68 . JAHRS, XIX. 191.

69. IHQ, XXVIII. 227-8.

70. Above, Vol. Ill, pp. 221 ff,

71. For detailed discussion and alternate views, cf. BKO, 137 ff.

72. JASB, XL (1871), 161; El, XXV. 147.

73. ASI, 1922-3, p. 124; 1923-4, p. 85; 1924-5, p. 111. Generally speaking, the architecture and sculpture of Orissa during this period show a far greater progress and development than we could reasonably expect from the petty principalities ruling there. We have, therefore, devoted more space to its history than would be justified by its political importance.

74. It may be more than a thousand years if we regard Disabhanja of Sitabhinji ins. as flourishing in the fourth century A.D. (see fn. 68 above).

75. For inscriptions, cf. JASB, V (1909). 347; XII. 291.

76. DHNl, I. 420.

77. Misra, Orissa under the Bhavvxa Kings , p. 41.

78. JBORS, VI. 236. Bhandarkar thinks that the record refers only to Vinitatunga, the donor, and his son Khadgatunga. (Bh. List No. 1747).

79. There are striking resemblances between the wordings of the Bonai Grant and the Tonga charters. Both again refer to the king Vanaryasatru.

80. JBORS. II. 417. The Editor reads the date of the Grant ns 99, but this is very doubtful.

81. JBORS, VI. 241; XXXI 159. Bhandarkar thinks that the plate only mentions Uditavaraha or Udavavaraha and his son Tejavaraha (List No. 1754).

82. Vol. Ill, p. 68.

83. For the inscriptions of this dynasty, cf. El, XII. 156; JASB, LXIV (1895). 123 ff;

JBORS, II. 168 if; 395 ff. All the plates are issued from Kodalaka or Kodaloka which has. been identified with Kualu in the Dhenkanal State (JBORS, XVI. 453). •

84. H. P. Sastri takes Rana-stambha I as son of Kula-stamhha (JBORS, II., 460), but cf. El, XII. 1.58.

85. According to MM. H. P. Sastri he made a land-grant in Ra$ha,-mandala or West Bengal. The village granted, named Jara, according to Sastri, still exists in tine Hooghly District, and a section of its inhabitants still call themselves Sukli (JBORS, H. 168-71). But as Dr. D. C. Sircar has shown, this view is erroneous and there is no reason to suppose that Rana-stambha conquered any part of West Bengal as Sastri supposed (JOR, XVIII. 45).

86. El, XIV. 112; JASB, 1895, p. 124; 1911, pp. 443, 447; DHNJ, I. 439.

87. The Bonai Grant refers to Yamagartla-mandakx as situated in the Vishaya of Eighteen Gondamas (JBORS, VI. 237, 239),

88 . JBORS, XVI. 462-3.

89. JBORS, v XV. 87; XVI. 457. El, XXVI. 74; Ancient India, No. 5, p. 50; Misra (op cit. 35) takes D hr u van an da (or Dhxivananda as read by him) as another name of Devananda. The relation between the last three kings is not Certain/ For ,the views adopted, cf. El, XXVI. p. 76, fn. 2.

90. Ancient India, No. 5, p. 50.

91. See references under footnote 89. Misra (op. cit.) reads the date as 193 on p. 35 and 183 in the plate facing p. 96. Dr. Bhandarkar reads the date as

293 (List, No. 2643). Hie hundredth figure, however, seems to denote 300, as there are two distinct adjuncts, one above and one below the letter l which is usually read as 100. The decimal figure resembles the one used in the plate of Dandi-MahadevI, read as 80. If we read the date_as 183, the date may be referred to the era used by the Kara kings, and we may assume that the family was feudatory to the Karas but assumed de facto independence towards the end of their rude. Bhandarkar refers the date 293 to the Harsha Era.

92. FIHC, XII. 127.

CHAPTER ¥

' CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA

I. THE CHANDELLA DYNASTY

- After the break-up of the Pratihara Empire a number of dynasties rose to power in Central and Western India. One of them, known as Chan dell a or Chaodratreya, held sway over the country now called Bundelkhand.

The Chandelias trace their descent from the sage Ghandratreya, who was born of the Moon. Their social status was equal to that of the Chahamanas. The bards mention them as one of the thirtysix Rajput clans. The dynasty was founded by Nannuka in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D, Epigraphic records connect the early kings of the family with Kharjuravahaka, the modern village of Khajraho, in old Chhatarpur State, Bundelkhand. Nannuka appears to have ruled over the country around this place, which was the early capital of his family. At .this time the Pratihara Empire under Nagabha$a II extended up to Kalanj ava-mandala (Kalinjar) which is nearly forty miles north-east of Khajraho and is situated in the Banda District, in Uttar Pradesh. Deogarh, in the Jhansi District, Uttar Pradesh, was within the kingdom of the Pratlharas. Khajraho, which lies between Deogarh and Kalinjar, was^obviously under the supremacy of the Pratihara kings, and the early rulers of the Chandella dynasty may therefore be regarded as vassals of the Pratlharas of Kanauj. Nannuka was succeeded by his son Vakpati, who probably flourished in the second quarter of the ninth century. The Vindhya hill is said to have been the “pleasure ground” of Vakpati. It probably means that he fought battles in this region, for at this time the Vindhya hill was the target of attacks of £ number of kings, viz. the Pratihara Bhoja, the Pa la Devapala, and the Kalachuri Kokkalla I. Vakpati had two sons, Jayasakti and Vijayasakti. Jayaiakti, who was also known as Jejjaka and Jeja, succeeded him on the throne. Henceforward the Country ruled by the Chandelias was called Jejakabhukti after his name. Jayasakti appears to have had a daughter named Nafta who was given in marriage to the Kalachuri Kokkalla I. Jayasakti was succeeded by his younger brother

Vijayasakti, also known as Vijjaka. Both these brothers may be taken to have flourished in the third quarter of the ninth century. The Khajraho inscription states that Vijaya subdued the neighbouring countries, and “on his warlike expeditions reached even the

southernmost point of India.” This has led Dr. R. C. Majumdar to suggest that Vijaya was probably an ally cf king Devapala of Bengal and accompanied him in his southern expedition. 1 Vijaya was succeeded by his son Kabila. There is a village named Rahilya, two miles south-west of Mahoba, in the Hamirpur District, Uttar Pradesh. A tank in this village, on the bank of which stands an old ruined temple, is known as Rahilyasagara, and tradition ascribes the foundation of both to Rahila-varma. If Rahila-varma is identical with the Chandella king of this name, Mahoba, the ancient Mahotsava-nagara, must have been included in the Chandella kingdom during this period. After the death of Rahila, his son Harsha ascended the throne.

Harsha ruled approximately from A.D. 900 to 925. . The Chandellas evidently exercised greater political power during the reign of this king. The Khajraho inscription reports that Harsha established king Kshitipaladeva on the throne. As has been mentioned above,' 2 it is generally held that Kshitipaladeva is identical with the Pratihara Mahipala I, and Harsha helped him to recover his throne of Kanauj after it was captured by the Rashtrakuta Indra III about A.D. 914. This valuable military service, rendered by Harsha, won for his family a high political status. 3 Harsha married a Chahamana lady named Kanchuka, who probably belonged to the Chahamana family ruling in the Malava region.

After the close of Harsha’s reign (c. A.D. 925), his son Yasovarman, also known as Lakshavarman, assumed the royal state, j^s noted above, the disintegration of the Pratihara Empire began about this time, and Mahendrapala II’s successor Devapala 1 was unable to keep in check the revolutionary forces. Yasovarman, who was a contemporary of Devapala, made use of this opportunity for enhancing his political power and defied the authority of the Pratiharas. The Khajraho inscription states that he was a scorching fire to the Gurjaras. He conquered Kalanjara, which had been in the possession of the Imperial Pratiharas. and pushed the northern boundary of his kingdom up to the banks of the Yamuna. He is said to have made the Yamuna and-the Gangs his pleasure lakes when he went out for the conquest of the regions. After consolidating his position in Bundelkhand, Yasovarman directed his army against his southern neighbours. About this time, the Kalachuri Yuvaraja I was ruling the Chcdi country from his capital Tripurl near Jubbulpore, and the Piramara Slyaka II was governing the adjoining country of Malava as a vassal of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III. Yasovarman fought successfully with both Yuvaraja I and Slyaka IT. and pushed the southern boundary of his kingdom up to the borders of

Chedi and Malava. In the course of these campaigns he seems also to have come into conflict with the SomavaihsI kings of Southern Kosala, who suffered defeat at his hands. He is also known to have led expeditions against distant countries.

In the middle of the tenth century Bengal was passing through a period of stress and strain. The Kambojas deprived the Palas of their sovereignty of Gauda and established their supremacy over that country. The Pala king Gopala II was forced to take shelter in Magadha and Mithiia. During this period of turmoil Yasovarman invaded the territories of the Palas and the Kambojas. He is said to have conquered Gautfa and Mithiia. The Khajraho inscription states that Yasovarman “equalled 6 the forces of the Khasas, the Kasmiri warriors perished before him, and he was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees.” Yasovarman’s contemporary kings of Kashmir were Yasaskara, Samgtamadeva, and Parvagupta. Lohara, modern Lohrin, in Kashmir, was under the rule of the Khasa chiefs. About this time Chanduraja seems to have been on the throne of Lohara, and the Tomaras of Delhi were in possession of Kurukshetra. It does not seem likely that Yasovarman, in the course of conquest, went as far as Kashmir forcing his way through the Punjab. This statement may, therefore, be taken as a vain panegyric of the poet.

Yasovarman was undoubtedly a general of high order. He appears to have come to terms with his overlord Devapala, whose nominal sway he continued to acknowledge. He received an image of Vishnu from Devapala, 'which in turn had been received by Devapala’s father Herambapala 6 from Sahi, king of Kira or Kangra Valley. Sahi obtained it from the lord of Bhota or Tibet. Yaiovarman erected a magnificent temple at Khajraho, which is now identified with the Chaturbhuja temple, and installed in it this image of Vishnu. He also dug a beautiful tank. He was succeeded by his son Dhahga.

Dhahga and his successors took pride in calling themselves the lords of Kalanjara. Dhahga acknowledged the supremacy of Vinayakapala, the successor of the Pratlhara Devapala, at least up to A.D. 954. 7 At this time the Chandella kingdom extended “as far as Kalanjara and as far as Bhasvat, situated on the banks of the river of Malava; from here also to the river Kalindi, and from here also to the frontiers of the Chedi country and even as far as that mountain called Gopa.” Bhasvat is the modern Bhilsa on the Betwa river in old Gwalior State, Kalindi is the Yamuna, and Gopa is Gwalior. Thus in the early part of the reign of Dhahga, Gwalior, the Yamuna, Kalanjara. northern border of the Jubbulpore District, and Bhilsa were the extreme limits of his kingdom. He obviously inherited this kingdom from his father Yasovarman. He could not, however, retain Gwalior for a long time as some time before A.D. 977 Vajradainan, son of Lakshmana, of the Kachchhapaghata family, invaded Gwalior and forced Dhahga and his overlord, who seems~“to have been the Fratihara Vijayapala, to surrender it to him. It is claimed that Vajradaman conquered Gopagiri by defeating the king of Gadhinagara, i.e. Kanauj. A stone inscription of the reign of the Maharajtidhiraja Vajradaman, dated V. S. 1034 (= A.D. 977) has been found at Gwalior. This discomfiture of the king of Kanauj seems to have encouraged Dhahga to rise against him. He invaded his kingdom and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. The eastern portion of the Fratihara kingdom to the north of the Yamuna now passed into the hands ofuthe Chandellas. In A.D. 998 Dhahga issued an inscription from Kasika (Banaras). Probably from the base at Banaras, Dhahga led a successful military campaign against Ahga or Bhagalpur, which was within the kingdom of the Palas, and Had ha or West Bengal. The Pa la kings Vigrahapala II and Mahlpala I were his contemporaries. In the first quarter of the eleventh century Southern Ra$ha was under the rule of Ranasura of the £ura family. Ranasura’s predecessor probably had to bear the brunt of Dhanga’s attack. The SomavarhsI kings of Kosala had also to yield to his forces. During his southern campaigns he seems to have come into conflict with the kings of Andhra and Kuntala. ’ Andhra was under the rule of the

Eastern Chalukyas. The "Rashfrakuta supremacy in Kuntala was put to an end by Taila II of the Chalukya dynasty in c. A.D. 972,\The king of Kuntala, who was an adversary of Dhahga, cannot be identified. The claim of the court-poet that Dhahga defeated the kings of Kratha, Simhala, and Kahchi seems to be a hyperbole.

Firishta relates" that Jayapala, king of the Punjab, in order to save his kingdom from the attack of Arnir Sabukligin, sought help from the kings of Northern India, and the Raja of Kalinjar was one of those who responded to his call. The confederacy of the Hindu chiefs met Sabukligin near Larnghan and was badly defeated about A.D. 989. The Raja of Kalinjar was evidently Dhahga. The authenticity of the statement that the chiefs of Hindusthan joined in this battle has been called in question, as it does not find mention in the records'of earlier authorities. There is, however, definite evidence to prove that Dhahga came into conflict with the Muslims. An inscription from Mahoba states that he, :< by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Harhvlra." It Is obvious that Harhvlra

refers to a Yaminl king of Ghazni, who bore the title Amir. So

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Firishta's report may be accepted as historical.

Dhahga was the first independent king of the Chandelia dynasty. He bore the title Mahamjadhimja, which indicates his independent sovereign status. A number of temples were erected at Khajr&ho during his reign. Frabhasa, bom in the lineage of Gautama Akshapada, who was competent to explain the Nyaya doctrine* was appoint® ed his chief minister. The dates of the inscriptions of Dhahga's reign range from A.D. 954 to 1002. He died shortly after A.D. 1002, at the age of one hundred, at Frayaga. He was succeeded by his son Gancja.

II. THE KALACBURIS 1. The Kaiachuris of Tripun

The kingdom of the Chandellas was bordered on the south by that of the Kaiachuris of the Chedi country. The Kaiachuris, also known as the Haihayas, were an ancient race. 8 The Kaiachuris of Chedi are sometimes referred to as the kings of Pahaia-r/mn^Ia, the capital of which was Tripurl, now a village known as Tewar, six miles west of Jubbulpore, Madhya Pradesh. The earliest known king of this Kalachurl dynasty is Kokkalla I. 9 ^ahalA-man^ala was ruled by a king named Lakshmanaraja in A.D. 841-2. It is known from the San jin copper-plate of Amoghavarsha that the Rkshprakuta Govinda III (A.D. 794-814), after conquering the p&hala country, placed one of his servants there. This Bashprakuta officer, who was made the governor ©f J^ahaia, was probably Lakshmanaraja or his predecessor. Kokkalla I, whose relationship with La&himana t&ja is not known, ascended the throne of pahala shortly after A.D. 842. 10 The date of his accession may be fixed approximately at A.D. 845. Kokkalla was one of the greatest generals of his age. Shortly after his accession he involved himself in a war with the Pratlh&ras of Kanauj and their feudatories. The Pratihara Bhoja I failed to check the invading Kalachuri army. The Kalachuri Sankaragana (of SarayupSra in U.P.) the Guhila Harshartja (of Dhavagarfa, i.e. Dhod in Me war) and the Chahamana Guvaka II of Sakambharl (near Ajmere), all of whom were vassals of Bhoja, yielded to the forces of Kokkalla, who is said to have carried away their treasures. Kokkalla granted Bhoja and his feudatories ‘freedom from fear’, which probably means an assurance that he would not lead any mpre aggressive campaign against their territories. 1 r In the course of his marauding excursions in Rajputana Kokkalla seems to have come into clash with the Turushkas, who were obviously Turkish soldiers in the service of the Arab governors of Sindh. The Turushkas had to acknowledge defeat at his hands. To the east Kokkalla is said to have reached Vanga or East Bengal in the course of his military campaign, and plundered the wealth of that country. The king of Vanga at this

time was in all probability Kantideva, 12 who was in possession of Harikela, which is a synonym for Vahga. In the latter part of his reign Kokkalla was engaged in a war with the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan. Kokkalla vanquished the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II (A.D. 878-914) who was his son-in-law, and invaded Northern Konkan. Konkan was at this time ruled by a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas named Kapardin II of the Silahara dynasty, who readily submitted to the Kalachuri army. A treaty was ultimately concluded between the Kalachuris and the Rashtrakutas.

All these conquests made by Kokkalla, though they did not enable him to acquire new territc ries, certainly raised the Kalachuri dynasty to the rank of the imperial ruling families of the age. Kokkallk married a Chandella princess, who seems to have been the daughter of King Jayaiakti. 13 He had eighteen sons, al] of whom, except the eldest, were made rulers of different man(lalas or Divisions. A descendant of one-of these younger sons of Kokkalla subsequently founded a kingdom in Dakshina-Kosala, the capital of which was Turnmana. Kokkalla had a daughter who.was given in marriage to the Rashtrakuta Krishna II during the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The names of only two sons of Kokkalla are know** Sankaragana and Arjuna. &aukaragana, also known as- Sahkila an £ahkuka, was evidently the eldest and succeeded him to the throne Kokkalla was a contemporary of tfye Rashtrakuta king Kristina T who ascended the throne in c. A".D>. 878. Sahkarngana was on the throne of Dahala when Gunaka-Yijayaditya III of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, whose reign terminated in A.D. 888. was the king of the Andhra country. Hence Kokkalla must have been succeeded by §ankaragana some time between’A.D. 878 and 888.

Sahkaragana assumed the titles Mugdhatuhga , Prasiddhadhavala , and Raa.vig.raha. He fought with a SomavarhsI king of Kosala. and conquered; from him Pali, twelve miles north-west of Ratanpur, in the Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh. He could not utilise his energies for further conquests as his help was sought by his'brotherin-law, the Rashtrakuta Krishna II, against the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya III, who had invaded the Deccan. Sankaragana, at .the head‘of the Kalachuri army, joined Krishna II at Kiranapura! now a small town in the Balaghat District, Madhya Pradesh. A great battle was fought there with the Eastern Chalukvas in which both Sahkaragana and Krishna II were worsted. The Kalachuris and the Rashtrakutas were forced to retreat, and Kiranapura was burnt by the Chalukya general, Panduranga. The Maliyapundi grant of Amma .II states that Vijayaditya III “terrified Sankila. the lord of the excellent Dahala. who was joined by the fierce Vallabha.

and burnt Kiranapura.” The Pithapuram inscription reports that Vijayaditya frightened Sahkila, residing in KiranapuVa and joined by Krishna. Thus

Sahkaragana’s engagement with the Eastern Chalukyas resulted in his complete discomfiture. The claim of the Bilhari inscription that he raided the Malaya country does not seem to have any historical basis He had two sons, Balaharsha and Yuvaraja I, and a daughter named Lakshmi. Lakshml was married to Jagattunga, son of the Rashtrakuta Krishna II. Lakshmi gave birth to Indra III, who succeeded to the throne of his grandfather. Vijamba, the grand-daughter of Sankaragana’s younger brother Arjuna, was given, in marriage to Indra III. Sahkaragana died in the latter part of the ninth century and was followed on the throne by Balaharsha. Nothing particular is known about the reign of Balaharsha. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvaraja I, who assumed the title Keyuravarsha.

Yuvaraja flourished in the second quarter of the tenth century. He inherited the military skill of his father and grandfather. In the course of his conquests, he reached the Gau$a country and defeated its king, who was either Rajyapala or his son Gopala II of the Pala dynasty. Kalinga, which was at that time ruled by tKe Garigas, had to bear the brunt of his attack. In the latter part of his reign he had, however, to suffer some military defeats. The Chandella Yasovarman. in his endeavour to push the boundary of his kingdom further south, came into conflict with him. Though the Chandellas claimed to have won a victory over him..they did not seem to have been able to acquire any part of the Kalachuri kingdom. At this time the. Rashtrakutas reduced him to a very critical situation. He ga;ve his daughter Kundakadevi in marriage to the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha III Vaddiga, who ruled from A.D. 936 to 939. Amoghavarsha’s son by this Kalachuri princess was Krishna III, who ascended the throne of the Deccan in A.D. 939-40. Krishna III led a successful expedition against Kalanjara during the reign of his father. Some time after his accession Krishna III invaded the kingdom of his maternal grandfather Yuvaraja I. The Kalachuris failed to rise equal to the occasion and suffered a heavy defeat with a disastrous result. The whole of Dahala-mandala was now at the mercy of Krishna III.. The Karhad inscription of this Rashtrakuta king, dated A.D. 959, states that he “conquered Sahasrarjuna (i.e. the Kalachuri king)» though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife.” A stone-inscription at Jura, in old Maihar State, Baghelkhand, proves that the Rashtrakuta Empire extended at least for some time up to Maihar during the reign of Krishna III. The Rashtrakutas could not, however, keep the kingdom of the Kalachuris under their subjugation for long, Yuvaraja I rallied his forces and succeeded in driving them out of Pahala. The Bilhari inscription mentions his victory over the Karnatas and the Latas. Lata or the Southern Gujarat formed part of the Rashtrakuta Empire. The great poet Rajasekhara evidently refers to this battle when he states that ‘‘Yuvaraja (I) won a victory over Vallabha, who formed a confederacy with other chiefs.” This achievement of Yuvaraja was a memorable event in the history of the Kalachuris. To celebrate this victory Rajasekhara staged his drama Viddhasdlabhanjikd at the court of Yuvaraja. The authenticity of the statement in the Bilhari inscription that Yuvaraja I raided Kashmir and the Himalaya may well be doubted. It has been noticed above that the Khajraho inscription puts forward similar claims on behalf of the Chandella Yaiovarman, the northern adversary of Yuvaraja I.

Yuvaraja 1 helped the Saiva ascetics in preaching their doctrine in his kingdom. There was a famous Saiva monastery known as Golaki-matha in the pahala-manduZa, which was founded by Durvasa. Sadbhavasambhu, a remote successor of Durvasa, and the high priest of the Golaki-malha, received from Yuvaraja a large number of villages foj* the maintenance of that monastery. Yuvaraja I married Nohala, the daughter of the Chaulukya Avanivarman, who resided at the city of Mattamayura. There was a Saiva monastery in this city, which exercised tremendous influence over that part of the country during this period. Yuvaraja I invited Prabhavasiva of this monastery to his kingdom and entrusted to him the charge of a monastery, which was built at great cost, and which was richly endowed by the king. At Chandrehi, twenty-nine miles south of Rewa, Bagheikhand, there are remains of a temple of 2§iva and a monastery. This might have been the monastery over which Prabhavasiva had been placed in charge. Yuvaraja built a magnificent temple at Gurgi, twelve miles east of the Rewa town. The place is now in ruins. The queen Nohala erected a temple of Siva at Bilhari, in the Jubbulpore District, and granted seven villages for its maintenance.

The poet Rajasekhara, who lived for some time at the court of the Pratlhara Mahendrapala and his son Mahipala of Kanauj, was also intimately connected with the Kalachuri kings of his time. The poet remarks that “of rivers the Mekalasuta (i.e. Narmada), of kings Ranavigraha, and of poets

Surananda are the ornaments of the country of Chedi.” This obviously refers to the poet’s association with the court of Tripuri during the reign of Sankaragana Ranavigraha, the father of Yuvaraja I. Rajasekhara says that he wrote the drama Viddhasdlabhanjikd to please Yuvarajadeva, and as already men

tioned, it was staged in the court of the Kalachuris at the orders of the assembly of Yuvaraja (Y uvaraja-parishad). He seems to be identical with the ‘wonder-struck poet Rajaiekhara,’ mentioned in the Bilbao inscription of the time of Yuvaraja II, grandson of Yuvaraja I. Bhakamiira was the chief minister of the king. Yuvaraja I was succeeded by his son Lakshmanaraja,’ who probably flourished in the third quarter of the tenth century,

Lakshmanaraja pursued the traditional expansionist policy of his predecessors. His father, as has been noticed, plundered Gau^a; He raided the Vangala country or East Bengal* which was at this time probably ruled by Trailokya-chandra of the Chandra dynasty. It was apparently during this eastern campaign that he came in contact with the king of Odra or Orissa, and obtained from him an effigy of the serpent Kaliya, wrought in jewels and gold. About the same time Lakshmanaraja won laurels by inflicting a defeat on the king of Kosala, who may be identified with Mahabhavagupta, son of Siva gupta, of the Soraavaihia. After finishing his eastern conquests, Lakshmanaraja invaded the western region with all his infantry, cavalry, elephant forces and feudatory chiefs. He humbled the chief of Lata, who seems to have been a feudatory of the Rashtraku^as of the Deccan, and won a victory over the king of Gurjara, who was evidently Mularaja I, the founder of the Chaulukya. dynasty in Anahilapa^aka, modern Patan in Northern Gujarat. Thereafter he reached Somanathapattana, probably defeating Graharipu of the Abhlra family, ruling in Junagadh, in his way, • On that occasion he dedicated the effigy of Kaliya, which he had received from the king of Odra, to the god Some£vara. The statement of the Gaharwa inscription of Karna that Lakshmanaraja conquered Kashmir and the Parity a country is obviously an exaggeration.

Like his father Lakshmanaraja also extended his patronage to the Saiva teachers. He handed over the monastery of the holy Vaidvanatha, which was situated at Bilhari or in its neighbourhood, in the Jubbulpore District, to the iSaiva teacher Hfidayasiva of the Mattamayura sect. His minister Bhatta Some^vara Dikshita, son of Bhakamiira, prime-minister of Yuvaraja I, built a temple ,of Vishnu at Karitalai, in the Mudwara sub-division of the Jubbulpore District, Lakshmanaraja himself, his queen Rfiha<Ja, and his son Sankaragana made donations for its maintenance. The Lakshmana* sagar tank at Bilhari was probably dug by this king. Besides Sankaragana, he had another son named Yuvaraja II, and a daughter named BonthadevI, who was married to the Chfilukya Vikramftditya IV. Bonthadevi‘s son Taila II put an end to the rule of the Imperial Hashtrakutas, and re-established the sovereignly of the

Chalukyas in the Deccan. Lakshmanaraja was succeeded by his son Sankaragana, who was a great devotee of Vishnu (paramaVaishnava). His reign was uneventful and he appears to have ruled for a very short period. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvaraja II.

Yuvaraja II ruled in the last quarter of the tenth century. He reconstructed the city of Tripuri in order to enhance its beauty and grandeur. Both Yuvaraja II and his brother Sankaragana. lacked that military prowess which brought success to their predecessors. The enemies of the Kalachuris took advantage of this situation and declared war on them. Chalukya Taila II, the king of the Deccan, notwithstanding the fact that Yuvaraja II was his maternal uncle, attacked his kingdom and carried on raids in the Chedi country. Munja, the Paramara king of Malava, who made a bid for paramount position.in Central and Western India, also fell upon the Kalachuris. In vain did Yuvaiaja II try to defend his capital. Munja made a triumphal entry into the city of Tripuri and held it for some time. Some Kalachuri generals lost their lives in the battle, and Yuvaraja appears to have fled from his capital. After the withdrawal of the

Paromaras from the Chedi country the chief ministers did not allow

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Yuvaraja II to assume royalty owing to the abject cowardice he had shown on the approach of the Paramaras, but placed his son Kokkalla II on the throne.

Yuvaraja II is said to have made donations to the holy Somesvara. His reign appears to have come to a close before the death of Munja, which took place between A.D. 993 and 998. The Kalachuris regairted their power and prestige under the guidance of Kokkalla II. Kokkalla led an expedition against the Gurjara country, and defeated its king, who may be identified with the Chaulukya Mularaja or his son Chamundaraja. He also avenged the defeat inflicted by the Chalukya king Taila II on his father by a successful invasion of the Deccan. He is said to have forced the king of Kuntala to live in Vanavasa. About this time Kuntala (Deccan) .seems to have been ruled by the Chalukya Satyasraya. There seems to be a pun in the word Vanavasa, which may be referring to Banavasi, modem Shimoga Taluq in Mysore, which was situated in the kingdom of tile Chalukyas of the Deccan. To the cast, Kokkalla advanced up to the Gauda country, which was then ruled by the Pala Mahlpala I. Kokkalla is said to have forced the Gauda king to take shelter in the watery fort of the sea. Thus Kokkalla succeeded in re-establishing the authority of his family, which had suffered an eclipse during the reign of his father.

2. Kalachuris of Sarayupara

At the time when Kokkalla I and his successors were on the throne of Tripurl, a collateral branch of the Kalachuri family was ruling on the banks of the Sarayu, modem Gogra, which flows by the Bahraich and Gonda Districts, U.P. The territory over which it ruled was known as Sarayupara. The earliest king of the family is Rajaputra, who flourished in the latter part of the eighth century. Rajaputra captured the Turagapati Vahali, destroyed the fame of Kirtfin and other princes, and curbed the power of the kings of Prachl (east). Vahali and Kirilin cannot be identified. The leader of the kings of Prachl might have been Dharmapala of Bengal. Rajaputra probably defended his kingdom successfully when Dharmapala was making conquests in Uttar Pradesh, Rajaputra’s son and successor was Sivaraja I. Sivaraja I was succeeded by Sankaragana, who suffered a defeat at the hands of the Kalachuri Kokkalla Ij Sankaragana flourished in the middle of the ninth century. He was succeeded by his son Gunambhodhideva, also known as Gui^asagara I, who ruled in the second half of the ninth century. Gunambhodhideva defeated the king of Gautfa. It has been suggested that he joined the Pratlhara Bhoja when the latter invaded the kingdom of the

Palas. 14 It might have been in recognition of this service that Bhoja granted some territories to this Kalachuri chief.

To the east of the territory of the Kalachuris lay the kingdom of the Malayaketu dynasty. Two inscriptions of this family have been found in the Gorakhpur District, U.P. The capital of the dynasty was Vijayapura, which was situated in the Uttara-girikafaka. The city seems to have been situated at the foot of the Himalayas in the northern part of the Gorakhpur District. Three kings of this dynasty are known, viz. Maharajadhiraju Jayaditya I, his son Maharajadhiraja Dharmaditya, and the latter’s son Maharajddhiraja Jayaditya II. Jayaditya II was ruling in A.D. 870. Later members of the Kalachuris of Sarayupara are found ruling over the territories up to the banks of the Gandak, which included the Gorakhpur District. It is not unlikely that the Pratlhara Bhoja I, after putting an end to the rule of Jayaditya II, handed over the latter’s kingdom to Gunambhodhideva. After Gunambhodhideva’s death, his two sons Ullabha and Bhamanadeva successively occupied the throne. Bhamanadeva distinguished himself in a war with the king of Dhara, the capital of Malava, which was at this time ruled by the Paramara Vairisirhha II as a vassal under the Rashtrakutas of the Deccau. In the second quarter of the tenth century Malava passed into the hands of the Pratlharas for some time.

Bhamanadeva seems to have helped the Pratihara Mahipala I in wresting Malava from the Paramaras. 1 - He was followed on the throne in succession by Sankaragana II Mugdhatunga, Gunasagara II, Sivaraja II Bhamana, Sankaragana III, and Bhlma, each being the son of his predecessor. Bhlma, who flourished in the early part of the eleventh century, is said to have lost his kingdom by the decree of fate. The cause of his dethronement is not known, but probably he was worsted in a civil war. In A.D. 1031 Vyasa, son of Gunasagara II, was raised to the throne. Vyasa’s son and successor was the MaharcLjddhiraja Sodhadeva. who was ruling in A.D. 1079. So^hadeva’s kingdom extended from the Sarayu or Gogra to the Gandak, and comprised the Bahraich, Gonda, Basti, and Gorakhpur Districts, in U.P. Nothing is known of the dynasty after Sodhadeva.

III. THE PARAMARAS

The kingdom of the Paramaras of Malava was conterminous with that of the Kalachuris of Chedi. It is generally assumed that the original home of the Paramaras was Mount Abu, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana. This assumption is based on a story related by Padmagupta Pari mala in the latter part of the tenth century, and repeated in the later inscriptions of the Paramaras. According to this story the sage Vasishtha had a Kamadhenu (wish-granting cow) which was stolen by the sage Visvamitra. In order -to recover it. he made sorpe offerings to the sacrificial fire on Mount Abu with holy incantations. A hero sprang out of the fire, forcibly carried the cow from Visvamitra, and returned it to his creator. Vasishtha, in recognition of this service, gave him the name Paramara, which means 'Slayer of the Enemy/ and made him king. In the lineage of this hero was born Upendra, who is the earliest known king of the Paramara dynasty. This story of the origin of the Paramaras is not mentioned iii the inscriptions of the family issued prior to the second quarter of the eleventh century. The earliest known >pigraphic record of the Paramaras, viz. the Harsola grant, which was issued nearly half a century before the time of Padmagupta, relates on the ofher hand, that the kings of the Paramara dynasty were bom in th$ family of the Rashtraku^as of the Deccan.

Dhara, modern Dhar, in Madhya Bharat, was the capital of the main branch of the Paramaras. Since it is known that VakpatiMunja, the seventh king of the dynasty, commenced his reign about A.D. 972, Upendra, who was also known as Krishnaraja, may be taken to have flourished in the first quarter of the ninth century. Shortly before A.D. 812 the Rashtrakuta Govinda III conquered Malava by defeating the Pratihara Nagabhata II and handed it over to one of his followers. As the early Paramara chiefs are known to have been vassals of the Rashfraku$as of the Deccan, the follower of Govinda III, who was made the ruler of Malava, was probably Upendra. Govinda III realised that Nagabha^a II would make an attempt to reconquer his home-territory of Malava. and Upendra would not be able to resist him. So he commissioned Karkkaraja, the chief of lA\a r to defend Malava against the incursion of the Pratiharas, Nagabha^a II could not reconquer Malava though he succeeded in capturing some of its outlying hill fortresses.

Upendra had two sons, Vairlsiihha I and pambarasimha. Dambarasimha and his successors ruled in Vagada, corresponding to modern Banswara and Dungarpur, until the early part of the twelfth century, as vassals of the main branch at Dhara. Vairisirhha I ascended the throne of his father. He was succeeded by his son Sly aka I, whose son and successor was Vakpati I. Padmagupta does not mention the names of Vairisimha and Siyaka I, but merely states that there ruled in the Paramara dynasty more than one king between Upendra and Vakpati I. The Rash^rakuta Arnoghavarsha I, who was a contemporary of Upendra, Vairisimha, and Siyaka I, claims that he was worshipped by the king of Malava. The Udepur Pra^asti mentions Vakpati I as the king of Avanti. It was probably during his reign that the Rash{rakufa Indra III halted at Ujjain while advancing with his army against the Pratlhara Mahlpala I. It is not unlikely that Vakpati I accompanied Indra III in that expedition. The Udepur Praiasti mentions that he led his army up to the tanks of the Gahga. Vakpati’s son and successor was Vairisimha II, also known as Vajrata. The successors of Indra III were busy with their own affairs at home till the accession of Krishna HI in AJD. 939. Mahlpala I, who had suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of Indra III, took advantage of the situation and invaded the Rashtraku\a Empire. Vairisimha II could not resist the invading army. Mahlpala and his subordinate, the Kalachuri Bhamanadeva, the chief of the Gorakhpur Division, conquered all the territories up to the banks of the Narmada including Uj jay ini and Dhara. A Pratlhara governor was posted at Uj jay ini. The Paramara sovereignty in Malava had ceased till after A.D. 946 when Mahendrapala II, son of Mahlpala I, was on the throne of Kanauj. Shortly after this date Vairisimha II reconquered Malava, apparently with the help of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III. The Udepur Prasasti avers that Vairisimha proved by the strength of his sword that Dhara belonged to him. He was succeeded by his son Siyaka II, who was known also as Harsha.

Siyaka IT owed allegiance to the Rashfrakuta Krishna III. He ascended the throne at a time when the Pratlhara Empire was gradually disintegrating. His kingdom extended on the west up to the Sabarmati river beyond which lay the kingdom of the Chaulukya Mularaja

I. The chief, of Khe^aka-man^aia, modern Kaira, in Gujarat, was his ally. Slyaka defeated a chief named Yogarajk and, while returning to his capital, encamped on the banks of the Mahi river. This vanquished chief may be identified with tho Chalukya Avanivarman Yogaraja II, the ruler of Saurashtra. To the north-west of Malava was situated Huna-raandaZa, which was ruled by a chief named Jajjapa in the second half of the ninth century. Slyaka II claims to have defeated a Huna chief, who was obviously one of the successors of Jajjapa. On the north-east, Siyaka II had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the Chandella Yasovarman of Khajraho. Yasovarman pushed the boundary of his kingdom up to the Malava river, which is probably identical with the Vetravati, modern Betwa.

In the latter part of his reign Siyaka II decided to throw off the yoke of the Rashtrakut>as, and the death of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III presented a favourable opportunity. He refused to avow allegiance to Khottiga, successor of Krishna III, and openly revolted. Khottiga marched against the rebel, and was opposed by the latter at a place known as Kalighafta, on the banks of the Narmada. In this fateful battle Slyaka was assisted by the Paramara Kamka, also known as Chachcha, the ruler of Vagada, and the successor of Dhanika, a descendant of Dambarasimha. Kamka died fighting bravely with the enemy. Slyaka succeeded after a hard fight in dispersing his adversaries. He pursued Khottiga up to Manyakheta, the capital of the Rashfrakutas, which for the first time experienced the invasion of a foreign army. The city was plundered by the Paramaras without encountering any opposition (A.D. 972). The encampment of the Emperor was, however, bravely defended by the Ganga Marasimha II. Siyaka had eventually to withdraw from the Deccan, but he pushed the southern boundary of his kingdom up to the Tapti. He deserves credit for achieving the independence of his dynasty. On the north Siyaka’s kingdom was bounded by that of the Mahardjadhirdja Chamundaraja, who was ruling in old Jhalawar State in A.D. 971.

Siyaka had two sons, Munja and Sindhuraja. Merutuhga relates that Munja was not the son of Slyaka. Slyaka was, we are told, without afiy issue for a long time. Once, while touring the countryside, he picked up a new-born child from a tuft of Munja grass. He gave him the name Munja and adopted him as his heir. Subsequently a child was born to him who was named

Sindhuraja. The birth of the child did not, however, lead Siyaka to lessen his affection

towards Munja. He arranged that he should be succeeded by Munja and Sindhuraja successively. In the latter part of his reign he adopted the life of an ascetic- and "clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage." Munja succeeded him to the throne some time between A.D. 972 and 974.

Munja was also known as Utpala and Vakpatiraja II,. and assumed the titles Snvallabha, Pj-Uhvivallabha, and Amoghavarsha . He inherited a kingdom which extended on the north up' to the southern border of Jhalawar, on the east up to Bhilsa, on the south up to the Tapti and on the west up to the Sabarmati. He directed his energies towards its further expansion. On the east, he defeated the Kalachuri Yuvaraja II and plundered his capital Tripurl, but could not annex any part of the Kalachuri kingdom. He led an extensive campaign against numerous states in Rajputana. The Hunas of Huna-mandala yielded to his sword. The Guhilas of Medapata were the next victims of. his attack. He^ destroyed the elephant forces of the king of the Guhilas, who was either Naravahana or his son Saktikumara, and plundered his capital Aghafa, modern Ahar, in Udaipur, Rajputana. The vanquished chief saved his life by taking shelter with the Rashtrakuta Dhavala of Hastikun<JI. This success brought Munja on the border of the kingdom of the Chah&manas of Na&lula, modern Nadol, in Jodhpur. He wrested from the Chahamana Baliraja Mount Abu and the southern part of Jodhpur up to Kiradu, sixteen miles north-west of Balmer. His attempt to conquer Nad^ula was, however, foiled by this Chahamana king. The conquered territories were divided between the princes of the Paramara dynasty for efficient administration. Munja's sons Aranyaraja and Chandana were made the governors respectively of Mount Abu and Jabalipura, modern Jalor, in Jodhpur. His nephew Dusala, son of Sindhuraja, was placed in charge of Bhillamala or Srlmala, modem Bhinmal, in Jodhpur. Successors of -these princes ruled their respective territories for many years. Munja invaded the kingdoms of Anahilapataka and Lata on the west. Mu la raj a of the Chaulukya dynasty, king of Anahilapataka, being worsted, fled with his family to the desert - of Mar war. His army had at last to take shelter with the Rashtrakuta Dhavala of Hastikundi for safety. Munja's adversary in Lata was the Chaulukya. Barappa, the general of the ;

Chalukya Taila II of the Deccan. Taila II, who had established his authority over the Deccan after overthrowing the Rashtrakutas, considered himself the master of the whole of the Rashtrakuta Empire. In order to recover the territories; which seceded from it, he sent his general, Barappa, to Lata and himself led ’successive campaigns against Malava. Munja defeated Barappa and repulsed Taila’s attacks six times. Then, v in order to get rid of this menace once for all by crushing the military power of his sworn enemy, he thought of an aggressive campaign. His veteran minister Budraditya did not approve of this, and tried to dissuade him from it. On being unsuccessful he requested the king not to cross the Godavari under any circumstances. Muhja led his army to the Deccan and crossed the Godavatf in pursuit of the enemy, totally disregarding the advice of his minister. On receipt of this news Budmdifya, who had a premonition that a dire calamity would befall his master, committed suicide. The faithful minister preferred death to the shock of seeing the dismal fate of his master. Munja was soon entrapped in the country of his enemy and taken prisoner. Taila II took possession of the southern part of the Paramara kingdom, possibly up to the banks of the Narmada, and kept his adversary confined in the prison of his capital. Munja’s officers went there in disguise, and made a secret plan for his rescue. But the plan was detected and on the orders of Taila the captive king was executed. Such was the tragic end of a great king, who was not only a great general and a great poet, but also a great, patron of art and literature. The poets Dhananjaya, Bhafta Halayudha, Dhanika, Padmagupta, Amitagati and many others benefited from his munificence. He also dug many tanks and built a number of temples.

The death of Munja took place between A.D. 993 and 998. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhuraja, who assumed the titles of Kumarandrdyana and Navaa&hasdnka. He defeated the Chalukya Satya^raya, king of the Deccan, and recovered the territories which Munja had to surrender to Taila II. The poet Padmagupta, who lived in his court also, composed a book Navasdhasdnka charita or the life of Navasdhasdnka Sindhuraja. The book narrates how a king of the Naga dynasty, whose kingdom lay two hundred miles south of the Narmada, sought help from Sindhuraja against a neighbouring demon-king named Vajrahku£a. Sindhuraja, along with the Vi dyad haras, reached the country of the demons after crossing the Godavari and killed the demon-king in a battle. In gratitude the Naga king gave his daughter gaiiprabha in marriage to the victor. That the outline of this story, narrated by Padmagupta, is based on historical facts is admitted on all hands. It has been suggested that the Naga king was a chief of the Naga dynasty ruling in old Bastar State, and the demon-king was a chief of the Non-Aryan Mana tribe of Vajra, modem Wairagarh, in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh. The Vidyadharas were the Silaharas of Thana, whose ruler at that time was Aparajita. Sindhu

raja is known to have conquered Aparanta. It was probably during his campaign against Wairagarh that Sindhuraja plundered the territory of the SomavamsI kings of Kosala. On the north Sindhuraja scored a victory over the chief of the Huna-man^ala. The Paramara Chantfapa, son of Kaihka, ruler of Vaga<$a, tried to assert his independence, but was readily put down by Sindhuraja. Sindhuraja was also involved in wars with the Chaulukyas of Lata and Anahiiapafaka. Though he could easily subjugate Lata, which was then ruled by Barappa's successor^Gohgiraja, his attempt to assert supremacy over northern Gujarat was frustrated by Chamuri^araja, son of Mularaja I. His reign came to an end about A.D. 1000 and he was succeeded by his son Bhoja.

IV. THE MINOR DYNASTIES OF GUJARAT

AND KATHIAWAR

During the period under review, Saurashtra was ruled by a number of dynasties like the Saindhavas, the Chalukyas, the Chapas, and others, whose history may now be briefly related.

1 . The Saindhavas^

The Saindhava dynasty, also known as the Jayadratha dynasty, ruled the Western Saurashtra (apara-Saurdshfra-man^ala) from its capital Bhutambilika, also mentioned as Bhumilika, modern Bhumili or Ghumli. in Kathiawar, twenty-five miles north-east of Porbandar, in a gorge of the

Barda hills. The earliest known king (kshitipati) of the dynasty is Pushyadeva, who flourished in the second quarter of the eighth century. It was probably during the reign of this king, in or before A.D. 739, that the Arabs of Sindh invaded the kingdom of the Saindhavas. 17 Pushyadeva appears also to have suffered a defeat at the hands of the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga. He was succeeded by his son Krishnaraja, whose son and successor was the Mahasamanta Agguka I. Agguka ruled in the last quarter of the eighth century. During the reigns of these two chiefs the Arabs made fresh attempts by sea to establish their supremacy over Saurashtra. About A.D. 756 Hisham was appointed governor of Sindh, Hisham sent "Amru bin Jamal with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada." Barada obviously is the tract of the country along the Barda hills. The fact that the Saindhavas called themselves masters of the western sea (apara-samudrddhipati) indicates that they had strong naval forces. As the Muslims do not claim any victory on this occasion they were certainly routed by the Saindhavas under the leadership of Krishna. Twenty years after this incident, about A.D. 776, the Arabs sent another naval expedition against Barada. It is stated that they cap

tured a city there but had to withdraw from the country because of the outbreak of an epidemic, which carried away a large number of their soldiers. After this disaster the Caliph Mahdl "gave up the project of conquering any part of India/' The town which was conquered by the Arabs may be identified with Ghumli. The real cause which forced the Arabs to withdraw from the shores of Barda was not, however, the outbreak of epidemic in their military camps. That was probably the report which the Arab generals sent to the Caliph to save their skin. There is evidence to prove that Agguka I inflicted a defeat on them and freed his country from their designs. An inscription states that Agguka I "showed the greatness of Varaha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies." This obviously refers to Agguka's victory over the Arabs.

Agguka I was succeeded by his son Kanaka, who seems to have ruled in the first quarter of the ninth century. During this period the Partlhara Nagabhata II led an expedition against Saurashtra and won a victory over the Saindhavas. Kanaka had by his two queens two sons, Kl*ishnaraja II and

Jaika I. The king (raja) Krishna raj a II succeeded his father to the throne. From this time there was a protracted war between the Saindhavas and the Chapas of Vardhamana. Krishna II fought successfully with the chief of the Chapas, who may be identified with Vikramarka. He is stated to have brought happiness to the inhabitants of Parvata, which probably refers to the Barda hills. Krishna II died at an early age and was succeeded by his young son Agguka H. Jaika I, the stepbrother of Krishna II, acted as a regent of this young prince. Jaika issued a charter as regent in A.D. 832 and professed that "though Kamala (Royal Fortune) was anxious to be united to him in preference to Agguka, her rightful lord, he spurned her wily overtures and decided to be the disinterested guardian of his young and inexperienced nephew/' But later Jaika is found occupying the throne of Bhutambilika, and it is not unlikely that he deposed his nephew. He is credited with a victory over the Chapas of Vardhamanapura. He had two sons, Chamun^araja and Agguka III. Chamui?<Jaraja ascended the throne after his father, and was succeeded by his younger brother Agguka III, whose son was Ranaka II. It is stated that after being on the throne for a long time Agguka III decided to crown his son, noticing how "Lakshml, the goddess of Royal Fortune, had become eager to be united with his son Ranaka, who had become quite capable of bearing the burden of administration." It appears that Agguka III abdicated in favour of his son Ranaka II in order to establish the right of the latter to the throne in supersession of

the claim of his nephew Agguka IV, son of Chamun^araja. Ranaka IPs known date is A.D. 874. His son Jaika assumed the position of the Yuvardja, but after Ranaka II, Agguka IV is found occupying the throne. This suggests that he succeeded in overthrowing his cousin. He was ruling in A.D. 886. After his death his son Mahd sdmantadhipaiti Jaika II came to the throne whose known dates are A.D. 904 and 915. He is the last known king of his family. His successors were probably overthrown by the Abhira chief, Graharipu.

The Saindhavas ruled Western Saurashfra as feudatory chiefs, but we cannot definitely say who their suzerain lords were. It is not unlikely that they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pratlhara Nagabhata II and his successors, whose Empire is known to have extended at least up to Junagadh, which bordered the kingdom of Bhutambilika on the west.

2. The Chdlukyas

A Chalukya dynasty ruled in some part of Saurashtra, possibly in Junagadh', contemporaneously with the Saindhavas. Their history is based entirely on two copper-plate inscriptions 18 found in the town of Una, in Junagadh. The earliest known king (mahipati) of this dynasty is Kalla, who was succeeded by his brother Mahalla. These two royal brothers flourished in the latter part of the eighth century. The successor of Mahalla was Kalla's son. This ruler, whose name cannot be deciphered from the inscription, was succeeded by his son Vahukadhavala. Vahukadhavala ruled in the first quarter of the ninth century. About this time the Chalukyas came under the sway of the Pratlharas of Kanauj, whose king Nagabhata II conquered all the territories up to Western Saurashtra. Vahukadhavala claims to have defeated Dharma, Karnata army, and -"rhany other imperial kings. Dharma was evidently Dharmapala of Beh-^ gal, and the Karnata army refers to the forces of the Rashtrakufas of the Deccan. It is obvious that Vahukadhavala fought these battles under the leadership of the Pratlhara Nagabhata II. Vahukadhavala's son and successor was Avanivarman I, who was succeeded by his son Mahasdmanta Balavarman. Balavarman acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratlhara Mahendrapala I, and was ruling in A.D. 893. He won a victory over Jajjapat of the Huna-man$ala to the north-west of Malava. After Balavarman, his son Avanivarman II, also known as Yoga, ascended the throne. Avanivarman was ruling in A.D. 899 as a vassal of the Pratlhara Mahendrapala I. He led an army against the Chapas of Vardhamanapura, and defeated their king Dharanlvaraha, who was a feudatory of the Pratlhara Mahipala I, son of Mahendrapala. This clash between the feuda

tones of the Pratiharas shows that about this time the latter had lost effective control over the outlying provinces of their Empire. Avanivarman had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the Paramar a Slyaka II in the latter part of his reign which extended up to the middle of the tenth century. The rule of the Chalukyas in Saurashtra was put an end to by the Abhlras in the third quarter of the tenth century.

3. The Ahhiras

The Abhlras established their supremacy over the Southern and Western Saurashtra under their king Graharipu in the second half of the tenth century. Their capital was Vamanasthali, modem Vanthali, nine miles west of Junagadh. Graharipu, who is described as a Mlechchha chief, carried on anti-Brahmanical activities. He ate beef, and plundered the pilgrims to Prabhasa tirtha (Somanatha). In order to end this menace, the Chaulukya Mularaja, king of Anahilapataka, marched with his army against Graharipu. Graharipu strengthened his position by securing assistance from Laksha, son of Phula, king of Kachchha-deic, also known as Jartra-deia, modern Kutch. A great battle was fought on the banks of the Jambumali river in which Laksha lost his life and Graharipu was taken prisoner. 19

4. Vardhas (?) of Saurya-Mandala

In the third quarter of the eighth century a king named Mahavaraha was: ruling somewhere in Saurashtra. He came into clash" with the Rashtrakuta Krishna I (c. A.D. 758-773) of the Deccan. The Baroda plate, dated A.D. 812, states that he attacked Krishna I, but was repulsed. 20 A fragmentary stone inscription, now deposited in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar, states that Krishna was made to retreat along the banks of the Narmada by a king whose name ends in Varaha. Dr. Bhandarkar is inclined to restore the name as Mahavaraha, who, in his opinion, was identical with the chief, of this name, referred to above*: 21 The battle between Kpishna and Mahavaraha was indecisive. Mahavaraha seems to have been succeeded by Jayavaraha, who, as noted above, 22 is known to have been ruliqg in A.D. 783 in the territories of the Saury as to the west of Vardhamana, modern Wadhwan, in Kathiawar. Nothing is known of this dynasty after Jayavaraha.

5. The Chapas

The Chapas were also known as Chava^as, Chavotkatas, and Chapis. There were two branches of the Chapa dynasty. One of

them ruled from Vardhamana and the other from Anahilapataka, modern Patau, in Northern Gujarat, which was the capital of the Sarasvata-mau^aia. The first known king of the family at Vardhaman a is Vikramarka, who ruled in the first quarter of the ninth century. He had apparently to bear the brunt of an invasion by the Pratlhara Nagabhata II. He was succeeded by his son A<J<Jaka, after whom the country around Wadhwan, including Limbdi, came to be known as A<Jdanaka-de£a. A<J<Jaka*s son and successor was PulakeSi, who had two sons, Dhruvabhata and Dharanlvaraha. Dhruvabhata ascended the throne in the closing years of the ninth century. Dhruvabhata and his predecessors fought a series of battles with the Saindhavas of Western Saurashfra. After Dhruvabhata, his younger brother Dharanlvaraha became king, Dharanlvaraha, who was ruling in A.D. 914 as a vassal of the Pratlhara Mahipala I, had to submit to the forces of the Chalukya Avanivarman II Yogaraja. His kingdom was invaded by the Chaulukya Mularaja, who captured his throne and drove him out of SaurasKtra* In his distress, he saved his life by taking shelter with the Rashtrakuta Dhavala of Hastikundi. 23 Addanaka-deia was annexed to the kingdom of the Chaulukyas.

Vanaraja was the founder of the other branch of the Chapa dynasty ruling in Anahilapataka. It is stated that Vanaraja built this city and established there the supremacy of his family in A.D. 745. After him ruled Yogaraja, Ratnaditya, Kshemaraja, Akadadeva, and Bhuyadadeva or Bhuyaga<Jadeva, also known as Samantasimha. The story runs that once Samantasimha held a cavalry parade. It was attended by three brothers Raji, BTja, and Dan^aka, sons of Bhuvanaditya, king of Kalyana-kataka, in femauj, who halted at Anahilapataka in the guise of beggars on their way back to Kanauj from Somanatha. Raji, by his wise criticism of the cavalry movement, attracted the attention of the king who, taking him to be a member of a royal family, gave his sister Liladevi in marriage to him. Liladevi died while giving birth to her son, who was given the name Mularaja. Mularaja served his maternal uncle as a general for some time and then usurped his throne after putting him to death in A.D. 942. The authenticity of this story, narrated by the Gujarat chroniclers, may reasonably be doubted. But that Mularaja put an end to thet rule of the Chapas admits of no doubt. The Vadnagar Prasasti states that Mularaja carried away “the fortune of the kingdom of the Chapotkata princes.’* The traditional date of the end of the rule of the Chapas and the accession of the Chaulukya Mularaja in A.D. 941-42 is corroborated by an epigraphic record.

V. THE CHAULUKYAS

It is generally assumed that the names Chalukya and Chaulukya are synonymous. But the traditional belief of the Chalukyas in regard to their origin is different from that of the families calling themselves Chaulukyas. The existence of at least three branches of the Chaulukya dynasty is known. The oldest of them ruled at Mattamayura, which was situated in Central India in the neighbourhood of Malava and Chedi. The earliest known chief of this branch is Simhavarman, whose son and successor was Sadhanva. Sadhanva's son and successor was Avanivarman, who ruled in the last quarter of the ninth century. Avanivarman gave his daughter in marriage to the Kalachuri Yuvaraja I. He was a patron of the Saiva ascetics residing in his kingdom.

Mdlaraja I, as has already been noticed, was the founder of another branch of the Chaulukya dynasty, which in course of time rose to imperial eminence. He established his capital at Anahilapataka, which was also known as Anahilapura, Anahilanagara, Anahilapattana, and Anahilavada. His inscription states that he conquered Sarasvata-manuala (i.e. the country on the banks of the Sarasvati river) with his own arms and resided in the city of Anahilapataka. He was an ambitious king, and chose Saurash^ra as the field of his first military excursion. He forced the Chapa Dharanivaraha to flee from his capital Vardhamana, and annexed his kingdom. He led successive invasions against Kachchha-desa, modem Cutch, but was repulsed, by its ruler Laksha or Lakh a. About this time the antiBrahma nical activities of the AbhTra chief Graharipu of Vamanasthali prompted him to lead an army against him. In this religious war he is said to have been helped by contingents from the chiefs of Abu, Srlmala, Marava^a and other places. Lakha, king of Kachchha, came with his army to assist Graharipu. In the battle that followed Lakha lost his life and Graharipu was taken prisoner. Mularaja brought Kachchha-desa under his sway.

Mularaja had to fight defensive wars in other directions. Once his kingdom was invaded on the north by the Chahamana Vigraharaja, king of Sekambhan. To make the situation worse, the Chaulukya Batappa, the chief of Lata, and a general of the Chalukya Taila II, made an onslaught on the southern border of his kingdom. In this predicament he, on the advice of his ministers, retired to the fort of Kantha, modern Kanthakot, in Cutch, to bide his time, hoping that Vigraharaja would withdraw to his own country during the following rainy season. But contrary to his expectation Vigraharaja, disregarding the obstacles caused by the rains, overran SSrasvataynanddla and Lata and reached the banks of the Narmada. Being thus hard pressed, Mularaja concluded a treaty with the Chahamanas. [24] After the departure of the Chahamana army he sent his son Chamun^araja against Barappa who was killed in the battle. Mularaja's fight with the Paramara Munja proved disastrous for him. He, along with his family, had to withdraw to Marwar, and his army had to take shelter under the Rashtrakuta Dhavala. Though Mularaja eventually succeeded in recovering his kingdom, he had to suffer another defeat at the hands of the Kalachuri Lakshmana. The historical value of the report of the Gujarat chroniclers that he fought successfully with Sindhuraja and the king of North Kosala cannot be ascertained.

Mularaja's kingdom extended on the north up to Sanchor in Jodhpur, and was bounded on the east and south by the Sabarmati river. He founded a temple at Man<Jali, modern Mandal, in the Viramgam Taluk, Ahmadabad District. He also built two temples at Anahilapataka. The dates of his reign, known from epigraphic sources, range between A.D. 942 and 994. Meratunga's Vichdrasrem mentions V.S.1052 (=A.D. 995) as the date of the end of his reign. He abdicated his throne in favour of his son Chamun<Jaraja.

Chamun^araja defended his kingdom against the incursion of the Paramara Sindhuraja, the brother of Munja. But he had to yield to the forces of the Kalachuri Kokkalla n, the son of Yuvaraja n. He committed a grave social crime and, being penitent, started for Banaras for expiation after handing over the charge of the government to his son Vallabharaja. While passing through Malava, he was forced to give up the insignia of royalty by the king of that country, who was evidently the Paramara Bhoja, son of Sindhuraja. On his return from Banaras he asked his son to punish the king of Malava for his impudence. Vallabharaja marched with an army against Malava, but died of small-pox on the way. Chamunqiaraja then handed over the sovereignty to his second son Durlabharaja. According to the Gujarat chroniclers, Chamun<Jaraja's reign ended in A.D. 1008.

Barappa founded the supremacy of another line of the Chaulukya dynasty in Lata, the capital of which was Bhrigukachchha, modern Broach in Southern Gujarat. A collateral branch of the Rashtrakuta dynasty ruled in Lata till the first half of the tenth century. In A.D. 948 Khetaka-mari^aZa, modem Kaira, was ruled by a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas, who was an ally of the Paramara Sly aka II. Barappa, who is described as a general of Taila II, king of the Deccan, established his supremacy over Lata by defeating the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas after the fall of Manyakheta. Barappa could not

enjoy his throne peacefully. His kingdom was invaded by the Para

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raara Munja. He tried to gain some advantage over his northern neighbour, the Chaulukya Mularaja, when the latter's kingdom was invaded by the Chahamana, Vigraharaja. Eventually he lost his life in an encounter with Yuvamja Chamundaraja, son of Mularaja. who took possession of his territory for some time. Barappa's son and successor Gongiraja succeeded in recovering the territory from his northern rival, for he claims to have relieved his country, which had been seized by powerful enemies,

VI. THE CHAHAMANAS

There were several branches of the Chahamana dynasty. The earliest known branch ruled in La$a up to the middle of the eighth century. 26 Another branch established its supremacy in the £akambhari-pradesq, the capital of which was Sakambhari, modem Sambhar, in Jaipur, in the early years of the seventh century. The territory over which .this branch ruled was also known as Sapadalaksba country, Vasudeva was the founder of this line. In his lineage was bom Samanta, who was followed on the throne by Purnatalla, Jayaraja, and Vigraharaja I in succession. Vigraharaja's son and successor was Ghandraraja who Nourished in the middle of the eighth century. After Ghandraraja, his younger brother Go pendraraja ascended the throne. Gopendraraja’s successor .was his nephew Duriabhsraja I, son of Ghandraraja I, who ruled in the last quarter of the eighth century. About this time, the country of Sakambhari was included in the kingdom of the Prat'ihara Vatsarajp, which extended from Avanti to Didwana, in Jodhpur, Burlabharaja is said to have defeated the king of Gauqa, and to have reached Ganga-sagara in the course of conquest. This seems to refer to his participation in the battle between his overlord Vatsaraja and Dinarmapala of Bengal. Burlabharaja’s son and successor was Govindaraja I, also known as Guvaka I, who is said to have attained preeminence in the court of Nagavaloka, ie. the PratShara Nagabhata II. The Prabandhakosa , a work of a later period, mentions that the Chahamana Govindaraja repulsed an attack of the Sultan Vega Varisa. Vega Varisa is identified with Bashar, son of Da’ud, who was the governor of Sindh under the Caliph Al-Ma’mun (A.D. 8f3-833). It Is also known from Khurarndma-Rdso that the Guhila Khommana II, along with many other Indian chiefs, resisted the onslaught of the Arabs under the Caliph Al-Ma’mun. The Pratlhara Nagabhata II, as has already been noticed, came into conflict with the Muslims. It seems that Bashar, the Arab governor of Sindh, during the Caliphate of Al-MaTnun, attacked the western part of the Pratlhara Empire, but Nagabhata II with the help of his feudatories, Govindarija I and Khommana IT, succeeded in repulsing him. After the

close of Govindaraja’s reign, his son Chandraraja II, also known as Jsasinripa, ascended the throne, Chandraraja had a son named Guvaka II and a daughter named Kalavatf. Guvaka II, after his accession to the throne, gave his sister in marriage to the king of Kanauj, who seems to have been the PratHiara Bhoja I. The king of Sakambhari, who was worsted by the Kalachuri Kokkalla I, 26 seems to have been Guvaka II. Guvaka ITs son and successor Chandana killed in battle Kudrena, a king of the Tomara dynasty. Chandana’s queen laid the foundation of some religious buildings at Pushkara-tlrthu. His son and successor was Vakpati-raja, who ruled in the first quarter of the tenth century, Yakpatiraja I is stated to have harassed Tantrapala, who was on his way to Atlantagochara with a message from his overlord. The overlord of Yakpa tiraj a I was apparently the Pratihara MahTpala I. Anantagochara seems to have been the name of the country round Sikar. The above statement makes it clear that about this time the Chahamanas had acquired enough power to defy the authority of the Fratiharas. Vakpatiraja built a temple of 5§iva at Pushkara. He had three sons, Simharaja, Vatsaraja, and Lakshmana, Lakshmana founded a kingdom at Naddula, in Southern Marwar, where his successors ruled for several centuries. Simharaja ascended the throne after Vakpatiraja. 27 He defeated a Tomara leader named Salavana, and put into prison a number of princes, who were feudatories of the Fratiharas of Kanauj. In order to liberate them, the king of the Pratihara dynasty, who was one of the successors of Mahipala I, possibly Devapala, came to his house in person. Subsequently Simharaja freed his territory from the suzerainty of the Fratiharas, who had about this time lost their imperial position. He is the first among the Chahamana kings of Aakambharf to assume the title Mahdrdjddhi raja. He granted a number of villages to the temple of Harshanatha, which was constructed in A.D. 956, and lies near the village of Harshanath, about seven miles south of Sikar, in the Shaikh a wati Province of Jaipur, He was succeeded by his son Vigraharaja II. who was ruling in A.D. 973. Vigraharaja invaded Gujarat, forced the Chaulukya Mularaja to take shelter in the fort of Kanthakot, in the Kachehha-dcsa, and led his victorious army up to. the banks of the Narmada. He built a temple of the Goddess Asapuri at Blrrigukachchha on the bank of the Narmada. Subsequently Mularaja came to terms with him and regained his kingdom. After Vigraharaja II, his younger brother Durlabhariaja, also knowil as Durianghyameru, came to the throne. He was ruling in A.D. ▪ 999, and hia kingdom extended up to Farbatsar, in Jodhpur,, on the west. He conquered Hasosittana--rmrndala ? which cannot be identified, He also invaded the territory of the Chahamana Mahendra, king of Naddula,

Mahendra failed to stand up to his adversary and sought protection under the Rashtrakuta Dhavala of Hastikun^jS.

In the closing years of the tenth century, the kingdom of the Chahamanas of Sakambharl extended at least up to Sikar on the north, the town of Jaipur on the east, Pushkar near Ajmere on the south, and Parbatsar, in Jodhpur, on the west.

It has been noticed above that Lakshmana, the youngest son of the Chahamana Vakpatiraja I of Sakambharl, founded a kingdom at Na&lula, modern Nadol, in Jodhpur. Lakshmana was succeeded by his son Sobhita, who annexed Mt. Abu in Sirohi to his kingdom. His son and successor was Baliraja, who had to surrender Mt. Abu and the adjoining territory to the Paramfira Muhja. Muhja, as has already been noticed, established the princes of his family to rule over Mt. Abu, Jalor and Bhinmal, which lay to the southern border of the Chahamana kingdom of Nadol. After Baliraja's death his cousin Mahendra, also known as Mahendu, son of Sobhita's brother Vigrahapala, ascended the throne. During this time the Chahamanas of Sakambhari became hostile to their kith and kin at Nadol. It has been mentioned above that when king Durlabha of Sakambharf overran the kingdom of Nadol, Mahendra saved his life by taking shelter under the Rashtrakuta Dhavala. Mahendra, however, regained his position within a short time. He had two sons, AJvapala and Anahilla, and was succeeded by the former.

A branch of the Chahamana family ruled in Dholpur in the ninth century, apparently as a feudatory of the Imperial Pratlharas of Kanauj. Three chiefs of this family are known. They were Isuka, his son Mahisharama, and the latter's son Chantfamahasena. Chan<3amahasena was ruling in Dhavalapuri, modem Dholpur, in A.D. 842. He claims to have been served by the Mlechchha lords, who settled on the banks of the Charmanvati, i.e. the Chambal river. These Mlechchha lords cannot be identified. Chamjamahasena built a temple at Dhavalapuri. Nothing is known of his successors.

Another branch of the Chahamana family ruled in Partabgarh as a feudatory of the Imperial Pratlharas. 28 The first known chief of this family is Govindaraja, one of whose predecessors is said to have been a source of great pleasure to the Pratihara Bhoja, After Govindaraja, his son Durlabharaja occupied the throne.. Durlabharaja's son and successor was the Mahastimanta Indraraja. Sometime before A.D. 942 Indraraja built a temple of the Sun-god in the village of Ghont&varshika, in the Western Pathaka of Dasapura. The village is identified with Ghotarsi, seven miles east of Partabgarh. It is not known how the rule of this family came to an end.

VII. THE GUHXLAS 1. Guhilas of Mewdr

Adjoining the kingdom of the Chahamanas of Na^ula to the south-east lay that of the Guhilas of Medapa^a or Mewar, whose early history up to the reign of Bappa has been discussed in the third volume. 29 Bappa is said to have abdicated the throne in A.D. 753, and this date may be regarded as approximately correct. As noted above, Bappa’s name does not occur in the genealogical list given in the epigraphic records of the dynasty, but he may be regarded as identical with either Kalabhoja or Khommana of that list. After the close of Khommana I’s reign, Mattata, Bhartppatta I, Simha, and Khommana II occupied the throne one after another. It has been noticed above that Khommana II joined hands with the Pratlhara Nagabhata II and the Chahamana Guvaka I in a battle with Bashar, the Arab governor of Sindh. Khommana II was followed in succession by Mahay aka, Khommana III, and Bhartjripatta II. Bhaptfip a tta is given the title Mahdrajadhirdja, which signifies that he enjoyed independent position. A stone inscription of his reign, bearing the date A.D. 943, has been found in Ahar, ancient Aghata, a few miles north of Udaipur. From this time, Aghata is known to have been the capital of Medapata. In A.D. 942 the Mahdrdjddhirdja Bhartripatta granted a field in the village Palasakupika to the temple of the Sun-god Indradityadeva, founded by the Chahamana Indraraja- in Ghontavarshika, modern Ghotarsi, seven miles east of Partabgarh. His kingdom, therefore, seems to have extended on the south-east up to the border of Partabgarh. 30 His son and successor was Allata, whose known dates are A.D. 951 and 953. Allata killed Devapala in battle. This adversary of the Guhilas might have been the Pratlhara king of this name ruling in Kanauj, whose known date is A.D. 948, and whose reign ended before A.D. 954. About this time a Pratlhara king of Kanauj, who was apparently Devapala, came to Sakambharf to liberate his feudatories, who were imprisoned by the Chahamana Simharaja. On that occasion Devapala seems to have come into conflict with Allata and lost his life in the encounter. Allata married a Huna lady named HariyadevT. During this time Aghata became a great centre of trade frequented by merchants from Karnata, Lata, Madhyade£a, and Takka. After Allata, his son Naravahana ascended the throne and ruled till at least A.D. 971. His queen belonged to the Chahamana family. He was succeeded by his son Salivahana, whose son and 'successor was Saktikumara. Three stone inscriptions of ^aktikumara’s reign have been found at Ahar. One of these bears the date V.S. 1034 (r=A.D. 977). It was probably during the reign of Saktikumara that the Paramara Munja

. destroyed Agha$a, the pride of Medapafa. ^aktikumara had five sons, Ambaprasada, Suchivarman, Naravarman, Anantavarman, and Kirttivarman. He ruled up to the close of the tenth century. It appears from the inscriptions of ^aktikumara and his predecessors that Samoli, in the Bhumat District, Ahar, and Ekalingaji, north of Udaipur, were included in the kingdom of the Guhilas which extended up to the border of Partabgarh on the south-east. Chiirakula, modern Chi tor, nearly sixty miles north-east of Ahar, is not known to have been included in the kingdom of this branch of the Guhilas at least up to the tenth century.

2. Guhilas of Dhod

Reference has been made above 31 to another branch of the Guhila dynasty ruling in the north-eastern part of Udaipur and to its ruler Dhanika with his capital at Dhavagarta, modern Dho4 in the Jahazpur District, Udaipur. After Dhanika, his son Auka and his grandson Krishna ruled one after the other. Krishna, who flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century, seems to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratlhara Vatsaraja, whose kingdom extended from Malava to Jodhpur. Krishna’s son and successor was £»ahkaragana, who defeated a general of the Gaupa king, and presented the latter’s kingdom to his overlord. The Qau^a king was' Dharmapala, and the king, who was Sahkaragana’s overlord, was apparently the Pratlhara Nagabhata II. S§ankaragana obviously helped Nagabhata II in wresting the kingdom of Kanauj from Dharmapala. ^ankaragana was succeeded by his son Harsha, who was a feudatory of the Pratlhara Bhoja. Harsha claims to have conquered the kings of Udlchya, i.e. Uttarapatha, and presented to Bhoja horses, which were expert in traversing the Sindhu. This seems to refer to Harsha rendering assistance to Bhoja in conquering the Eastern Punjab. Harsha had to suffer defeat at the hand of the Kalachuri Kokkalla I. If Chitrakuta -bhup&la, mentioned in the Banaras copper-plate of the Kalachuri Karna, really refers to Harsha, Chitrakuta or Chitor is to be taken to have been the capital of this branch of the Guhila dynasty.

As regards the history of Chitrakuta during, this period, it is known that it was in the possession of the Gurjaras during the reign of the Rashtrakuta Govinda III. The place was also under the sway of the Gurjaras when it was invaded by the Rashfrakufa Krishna III shortly before A.D. 939. As there is no evidence to prove that the early Guhila kings of Medapafa were in any way connected with Chitor, there is nothing against the view that Harsha was the ruler of Chitrakuta. Harsha is mentioned

in the inscription of his great-grandson as a dvija, i.e. Brahmana, He was succeeded bv his son Guhila II, who is said to have conquered the king of Gauda and levied tribute from the princes of the east. He seems to have joined Bhoja 32 or helped Mahendrapala in conquering the Gau<Ja country by defeating king Naravanapala of the Pala dynasty. Some silver coins, discovered at Agra, bearing the legend ^ri-Gu.hila, are ascribed to him. He married a Paramara princess, who gave birth to a son named Bhatta. Bhafta. who succeeded his father, seems to have been a contemporary of the Pratlhara Mahipala I. He defeated the king of the Deccan at the behest of his master. He apparently joined hands with the Chandella Harsha to help Mahipala in his war against the Rashtrakuta Indra III. Bhafta's son and successor was Baladitya, who married a Chahamana princess, the daughter of king &ivaraja, Baladitya erected a femple of Vishnu at Chatsu, in Jaipur, where an inscription of his reign has been found. The history of the predecessors of Baladitya is known mainly from this epigraph. He is the last known king of his family, and although he had three sons, nothing is known about his successors.

VIII. THE TOMABAS

The kingdom of the Chahamanas of &akambharl seems to have been bordered on the north-east by that of the Torharas. Tomaras are included in the thirty-six Rajput clans by the bards. They ruled the Hariyana country from their capital Dhillika, modern Delhi. The tradition runs that the Tuars, a contraction of Tomaras. founded Delhi in A.D. 736. The earliest reference to the Tomara r is found in an inscription at Pehowa, ancient Prithudaka, in Karnal District, Punjab, of the reign of the Pratlhara MahendrapaJa I. It states that there was the king (raja) Jaula of the Tomara dynasty, who "obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of a king." He was apparently in the service of an unknown king in the early years of his life, and subsequently attained royal position. In the lineage of Jaula was bom Vajrata, who seems to have flourished in the middle of the ninth century. About this time the Tomaras of Delhi must have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pratlhara Bhoja, whose kingdom extended up to Sirsa and Karnal Districts in the Punjab. Vajrafa's son and successor was Jajjuka, who was again succeeded by his son Gogga. Gogga, who is known to have been a feudatory of the Pratlhara Mahendrapala I, is described as bhundtha or the lord of the earth. Gogga and his two step-brothers Purnaraja and Devaraja, built at Prithxldaka, on the banks of the Sarasvatl, three temples of Vishnu, during the reign of Mahendrapala I. Kielhorn remarks that these three Tomara princes were probably connected with Delhi,

and they might not have any political connection with Pehowa, a place of pilgrimage, where they, like many others from different parts of India, founded religious establishments. According to Firishta Thaneswar, about 20 miles east of Pehowa, was within the kingdom of Delhi in the early part of the eleventh century. In the tenth century the Tomaras came into conflict with the Chahamanas of Sakambhari. A Tomara chief named Budrena (Rudra?), who was probably a descendant of Gogga, lost his life in a battle with the Chahamana Chandana, son of Guvaka II. Chandana's grandson Simharaja, who flourished in the third quarter of the tenth century, won a victory over the Tomara leader (nayaka) Salavana, and captured a large number of his soldiers. The Tomaras continued to rule the Hariyana country till the middle of the twelfth century when they were overthrown by the Chahamana Vigraharaja III Visaladeva.

IX. THE SHAHIS (OR SHAHIYAS)

It has been noticed in a previous chapter that the Eastern Punjab, up to Sirsa, if not up to the Sutlej, was within the Pratihara Empire in the second half of the ninth century. In the early years of the tenth century, Sankaravarman, king of Kashmir, deprived the Pratihara Mahendrapala of his territories in the Punjab and handed them over to one of his officers, who belonged to the Thakkiya family. 33 In the latter part of this century a king (raja) named Satrughnadeva is found ruling from Tribhandapura, modern Bhatinda, in Patiala, where a stone inscription of his reign has been discovered.

A Turkish Shahiya family ruled the Kabul Valley and the Gandhara country for a long time. Kallar, a Brahmana minister of king Lagaturman of this dynasty, overthrew his master and occupied the throne. Kallar, who thus founded the Hindu Shahi dynasty in the second half of the ninth century A.D., is identified with Lalliya Shahi referred to in the Rajatarangini. Lalliya could not keep Kabul under his control for a long time. It was taken possession of by the §affarid Ya'qub ibn Layth in A.D.* 870. Lalliya then fixed his capital at Udabhanda, modern village of Und, on the right- bank of the Sindhu, fifteen miles above Attock, in Rawalpindi District. Lalliya's kingdom is stated to have been situated between those of the Turushkas (Kabul valley) and the Darads (Kishanganga valley in Kashmir). Alakhana, the king of Gurjara, who ruled the "upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, south of Darvabhisara, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east," was his protege. King Sahkaravarman (A.D. 883902) of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir invaded the kingdom of Alakhana and wrested from him Takka-land, which was the country adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab. Next the Kashmir king invaded the territory of Lalliya but failed to gain any advantage. Kalhana highly praises the valour and achievements of Lalliya, and states that Lalliya's glory outshone that of all the rulers in the north, and many kings found safety in his town Udabhan^a. Lalliya had a son named Tor a man a. After his death, his throne was usurped by a scion of the Shahi family named Samanta. Some.coins, found in Afghanistan, bearing the legend Srl-Samanta, are ascribed to him. Prabhakara, a minister of 6ankaravarman's son and successor Gopalavarman, plundered Udabhantfa, dethroned the rebellious Shahi, and placed Toramana on the throne of that country: 34 He gave Toramana a new name Kamaluka. Kamaluka is mentioned by Al-Blrunl as Kamalu, and is called Kala(Kamala)varman in an inscription of his successor. Muhammad 'Aufi (c. A.D. 1211) mentions him as the Rai of Hindustan. Fardaghan, the governor of Zabulistan (region round Ghazni) under 'Amr ibn Layth (A.D. 879-900), the brother and successor of Saffarid Ya'qub ibn Layth, plundered Sakawand, a place of Hindu pilgrimage, which was within the kingdom of the Shahis. Kamaluka organised a large army against the Muslims in retaliation. But he abandoned the project on receipt of the news that the Muslims had collected a strong force to oppose him. Baihaki (A.D. 1059) mentions Sakawand as a pass to Kabul from India. It was situated at or near Jalalabad.

After the death of Kamaluka his son Bhlma ascended the throne. A stone inscription of the reign of Mahardjddhirdja Paramesvara Shahi Sri-Bhimadeva has been discovered at Dewai, Gadun territory. 35 Bhlma gave his daughter in marriage to Simharaja, king of Lohara, identified with the valley of Lohrin, comprising the mountain Districts, south-west of Kashmir, in the hill state of Punch. Didda, the queen of Kshemagupta (A.D. 950-958) of Kashmir, was the daughter of Simharaja and daughter's daughter of Bhlma. On account of this relationship it was possible for Bhlma to exercise influence over the royal court of Kashmir. He built a magnificent temple of Vishnu, richly endowed it and called it the shrine of Bhlmakesava. It is identified with an old temple at Bumzu, near the sacred springs of Martantfa (Bavan), which has now been converted into a Muslim Ziarat. The temple possessed valuable treasures even during the reign of Harsha (A.D. 1080-1101). Some silver coins bearing the legend SrT-Bhlmadeva, found in Kabulistan, are assumed to have been issued by the Shahi Bhlma.

The fact that Bhlma's grand-daughter (daughter's daughter) Didda was married to Kshemagupta, who ruled from A.D. 950 to 958, shows that Bhlma must have been born not later than A.D. 900. It is also clear from the Kashmir Chronicle that he was on the throne

at least during a part of the reign of Kshemagupta. But the dates of his accession and death are not definitely known.

The Muslim chroniclers refer to Jaipal or Jayapala as the next king. But the Rdjaiaranginl is silent about him, though it mentions another Shahi king named Thakkana in the reign of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-72), the son of Didda. Some scholars take the nameending of Jayapala as indicating a change of dynasty, but this view is refuted by well-known examples of similar changes in royal names in the same family. The fact, however, that Firishta describes Jaipal as the son "of Ishtpal (probably Ishtapala) may be taken to indicate that Jayapala was not the son of Bhlmapala and there might have been one or more kings between the two; Jayapala probably ascended the throne in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D.

A fragmentary stone inscription of the reign of Paramabhafoaraka Mahardjadhiraja 6rI-Jayapaladeva has been found on a hill north of Bari Kot, in Upper Swat, 36 It records that some persons founded something at Vajirasthana. Rai B'ahadur Daya Ram Sahni identified the king, mentioned above, with the Shahi Jayapala, and Vajirasthana with Waziristan. Vajirasthana seems to have been the country round Bari Kot, where the stone inscription has been found. This proves that the Shahi kingdom during this period extended up to the Swat valley.

The Adah ul Muluk wa Kij&yat ul Mamluk , composed by Muhammad bin Mansur during the reign of the Sultan Xltutmish (A.D. 1210-1236), gives an account of Jayapala’s war with the chiefs of Lahore. It relates that Hah, son of Bhadra, founded the town of Lohur, and ruled there for seventy-five years. He was overthrown by his son Bharat, who imprisoned him in the fort of Kahlur. Bharat built a fort at Lohur, and founded a village on the bank of the river Biyah. He made an audacious bid to conquer the salt mines of Nanduna, the district of Jhelum, and Takeshar, which were in the possession of Jayapala. He crossed the Chandrahah river with his army and attacked Takeshar where he was opposed by Jayapala’s son, Anandapala. After a short engagement, Bharat was defeated and made a prisoner. Anandapala marched towards Lohur and captured the town. On receipt of a large sum of money, he allowed Bharat to rule his territory as a feudatory. After the departure of Anandapala, Bharat was dethroned by his son Handrat, who usurped the throne. Jayapala sent Anandapala with an army to chastise Handrat, Handrat was defeated and imprisoned and his sons took refuge with Sam ah Kora Rav of Jalandar. Jayapala annexed the kingdom of Lohur in A.H. 389 (= A.D. 999). 37

Jayapala thus ruled over a large kingdom extending from Sirhind to Lamghan (or Laghman) and from the borders of Kashmir to Multan, Roughly speaking it included the Western Punjab, N.W.F. Province and Eastern Afghanistan. Unfortunately for him a powerful Muslim kingdom was establised about this time in the immediate vicinity with Ghazni as capital. The history of Jayapala and his successors is, practically speaking, the history of a long-drawn struggle with this kingdom. They fought with valour and tenacity for nearly half a century, but in vain, and the great Shahi kingdom ultimately collapsed before the repeated onslaughts of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. That story will be told in the next volume.

X. KASHMIR 1. Karkota Dynasty

Lalitaditya Muktapl^a of the Karkota dynasty, whose career has been described above, 38 was followed on the throne of Kashmir by his tw f o sons Kuvalayapida and Vajraditya Bappiyaka one after the other. Vajraditya, who ruled from c. A.D. 782, is said to have sold many men to the Mlechchhas and introduced into his kingdom practices which befitted only the Mlechchhas. These Mlechchhas seem to have been the Arabs of Sindh. It is known that Hisham ibn J Amr at-Taghlibl, the governor of Sindh (A.D. 768^-772), raided Kashmir and secured many prisoners and slaves. This invasion is likely to have taken place during the reign of Vajraditya, who thus came in contact with the Mlechchhas. Vajraditya had three sons: Ppithivyapl$a, Saihgramapl^a I, and Jayapida. Ppthivyapl^a, who ascended the. throne after the death of his father, was overthrown by his stepbrother Samgramaplda. S am g ramapRi a died seven days after his accession, and the sovereignty was then assumed by Jayapida. Jayapida, who was also known as Vinayaditya, was a valiant general like his grandfather Lalitaditya. In the early part of his reign he launched an expedition against the eastern countries. Kalhana narrates that during Jayaplda's absence from Kashmir, his brotherin-law named Jajja usurped his throne. The soldiers who.accompanied him gradually deserted his camp in large numbers and returned to Kashmir. At Prayaga he left the remainder of his troops who were still with him, and began to travel incognito from country to country. Once, while residing ip the city of Pundravardhana, he earned the good grace of its king named Jayanta by killing a big lion. Jayanta, who soon discovered his identity, gave his daughter in marriage to him. Jayapida defeated the five chiefs of Gauda and honoured his father-in-law by making him their sovereign. Kalhana's narrative of Jayapltja's adventure in Gauda contains obvi ously a touch of romance. The report that the king won victories over some chiefs of that country, however, seems to have a historical foundation. From Gautfa he is said to have gone back to Prayaga to meet his troops and thence started for Kashmir. On his way he defeated the king of Kanyakubja, who seems to have been Indraraja. As soon as he reached the Kashmir valley he was opposed by the usurper Jajja, who was easily defeated and slain. After a period of three years' absence from his country, he made a triumphant entry into his capital.

Kalhana states that some time afterwards Jayapida again went out for conquests. He invaded the kingdoms of Bhimasena of the eastern region and Aramutfi of Nepala. On these occasions he fell a captive into the hands of his adversaries, though he eventually succeeded in effecting his escape. His last expedition was against the 'Stri-rajya'. The authenticity of this report of Jayapida's military excursions may be doubted, for the existence of a king named Bhimasena in the eastern region or of a king named Aramudi in Nepal is not known from any other source. 39 Jayapi^a's court was graced by learned scholars like Kshira, Bhatta, Udbhata, Damodaragupta, and others. In the later years of his life, he is said to have incurred unpopularity by oppressive taxes. A conspiracy of the Brahmanas brought about his end in the thirty-first year of his reign. He ruled from c. A.D. 770 up to the closing years of the eighth century. Thereafter his sons LalitapI<Ja and Sarhgramapida II occupied the throne in succession. After the death of Sarhgramapida, who bore another name Prithivyapi<Ja, Lalitaditya's son Chippatajayapltfa, born of a concubine named JayadevI, became king. Chippatajayapi^la, who was also called Brihaspati, was very young at the time of his accession. 'Important offices of the State were held by his maternal uncles, Utpalaka and four others, who were sons of a spirit-distiller. Chippatajayapida was killed in c. A.D. 813 through the intrigue of his maternal uncles, who then began to fight among themselves for power. They ruled Kashmir without hindrance by setting up puppet kings for nearly forty years. Thus Utpalaka placed Ajitaphja, grandson of Vajraditya Bappiyaka, on the throne by force of arms. Ajitaplda was overthrown by a rival faction, which set up Anahgapltfa, son of Sarhgramapida II, as king. Sukhavarman, son of Utpalaka, removed Anahgaplda and placed Utpalapltfa, son of Ajitaplda, on the throne* During this time the merchant Nara of the Khaia tribe established his authority over Darvabhisara and the

neighbouring territories. Sukhavarman, who became the de facto ruler, was killed by his own relative. The minister &ura thereupon dethroned Utpalapitfa and declared Avanti-varman, son of

Sukhavarman, as king in A.D. 855-56. Thus the rule of the Karkota dynasty came to an end.

2. The Utpala Dynasty

Avanti-varman was the founder of the Utpala dynasty. He devoted his energies to the amelioration of the economic condition of his subjects, who had suffered badly during the last few decades. The overflowing water of the Mahapadma (modem Vulur) lake caused frequent floods, damaging crops in the neighbourhood. Lalitaditya had tried to get over this difficulty by draining off the surplus water, but his successors did not take any interest in the matter. Avantivarman engaged his able minister Suyya to remove this danger permanently. Suyya undertook the work in right earnest, and removed the boulders which had rolled down from the mountains into the bed of the Vitasta, obstructing the normal flow of the water. Stone embankments were built along the banks of the river to prevent further landslides from the mountains. He shifted the place of the confluence of the Vitasta (Jhelum) with its tributary the Sindhu by diverting their courses, and thereby made the extensive lands in the neighbourhood fit for cultivation. As a result of these engineering operations the annual output of grains increased to an enormous extent, and their prices correspondingly fell.

The prime minister Sura exercised great influence over the king. He killed a powerful Damara (a feudal land-owner) named Dhanva for misappropriating temple funds in the Lahara District. The king extended his patronage to men of learning like Muktakana, Sivasvamin, Anandavardhana, and Ratnakara. His death in A.D. 883 was followed by a civil war between a number of the descendants of Utpala. The'chamberlain Ratnavardhana declared Avanti-varman's son Sankara-varman as king. Karnapa, a councillor, set up Sukhavarman, a nephew of Avanti-varman. as Yuvaraja. Sankara-varman, after a strenuous fight, put down Sukha-varman and other rivals and made himself the absolute ruler of the country.

£ankara-varman made- an > attempt to restore Kashmir to its former position as a great political power by launching expeditions against the neighbouring chiefs in the south. He subjugated Darvabhisara, the territory between the Jhelum and the Chenab to the north of Gujrat, in the Punjab. Its king Naravahana, son of the Kha£a Nara. wa^ allowed to rule for some time, but was subsequently killed together w^jth his followers by £ankara-varman, who suspected him of treachery. After being deprived of his sovereignty, Naravahana's son Phulla founded a kingdom in Lohara, where he was followed in succession by Satavahana, Chanda, Chanduraja, Gopala

and Simharaja. About this time Ppthivfchandra, the king of Trigarta, modern Kangra, acknowledged Sankara* varman's supremacy without opposition, &ahkara-varman next invaded the Gurjara country, modern Gujrat in the Punjab, and forced its king Alakhana to surrender to him the fakkadand which was to the east of the Chenab. His military operation against Lalliya Shahi of Udafehan$a, who lent his support to Alakhana against him., did not meet with success. The Pratihara Mahendrapala also had to cede his territories in the Punjab to Sankara-varman who handed them over to a member-of the Thakkiya family. After finishing his conquests, Sankara varman returned to his capital with glory. However, he was addicted to vices and did not prove an efficient administrator. He oppressed his subjects by numerous exactions. His son Gopalavarman tried to save the people from his father's greed, but failed. Taking advantage of the disturbed,state of things, the Kayasthas appropriated a large slice of territory.

banker a-varman met his death under tragic circumstances. His officer in charge of the passes leading into Kashmir in the western border of his kingdom lost his life in an affray at Vlranaka, the seat of the Khalas, identified with the village Viran, in the Vitasta Valley between Muzaffarabad and Kathai. This led Sankara-v&rxnan to march with an army to punish the offenders. After destroying Virlnaka he proceeded to Uttarapatha and compelled a number of chiefs ruling on the banks of the Sindhu to submit to him. When he was passing through Urasa, modern Hazara, the inhabitants of the country objected to the quartering of his army there. In the conflict that ensued, an arrow discharged by the enemies from the summit of a hill pierced his neck, and he succumbed to the injuries within a short time. For the safety of the army, the news of his death was kept concealed by the Kashmiri officers. After six days* march, the minister Sukharaja, along with the army, reached Bolyasaka, which was within the borders of Kashmir. The place is identified with the village of Buliisa on the old route from Muzaffarabad to Kashmir, on the right bank of the Jheium, four marches below Baramula. There the funeral rites of the king were performed.

Sankara-varman's son Gopale-varman ascended the throne shortly before A.D. 900. 40 As he was still young, his mother Sugandha carried on the administration of the State. She fell in love with the minister Prabhakara. Prabhakara led an expedition against the ShIM kingdom and secured the throne of UdabMn$a for Lalliya Shlhi's son Toramana-Kamaluka by defeating the usurper Samanta. Prabhfikara killed Gopaia-varman by a stratagem and placed Sankapt, an alleged son of Sankara-varman, on the throne. This new king died ten days after his accession. As there was no direct heir to the throne, the queen Sugandha assumed the royalty at the wishes of the people. At this 'time, the Tantrin infantry formed a powerful political organisation in Kashmir and made their power felt in making and unmaking kings. The queen tried to secure the throne for Nirjita-varman, also known as Pahgu, who was the grandson of Sura-varman, a half-brother of king Avanti-varman. But the Tantrins deprived the queen of her sovereignty, and placed Partha, the son of Nirjita-varman, who was ten years old, on the throne in A.D. 908. Sugandha left the royal palace and took her residence at Hushkapura. Eight years later, in A.D. 914, with the help of the Ekahga troops, a military body, rival to the Tantrins, she advanced towards the capital to regain her power. But the Tantrins defeated the Ekahgas and put Sugandha to death. Nirjita-varman, with the sanction of the Tantrins, became the guardian of his son Partha. He maintained his position by paying heavy bribes to the Tantrins, and oppressed the people with numerous fiscal exactions. At this time, in A.D. 917, a great famine broke out in Kashmir, causing the death of a large number of people. In A.D. 921 Nirjita-varman deposed Partha with the help of the Tantrins and himself assumed the royalty. In A.D. 923 he placed his other son named Chakravarman on the throne, and died soon after. Chakra-varman ruled for ten years under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother. The Tantrins, eager for more money, overthrew him and placed his half-brother &ura-varman I on the throne. After a year, Auravarman had to yield his throne to Partha, who had regained the fayour of the Tantrins. A year later, in A.D. 935, Chakra-varman got back the sovereignty by paying a higher price. Shortly afterwards Chakra-varman, having failed to meet the demands of the Tantrins, fled in fear. Thereupon the minister Sambhuvardhana, by offering handsome bribes, purchased the throne for himself. Chakravarman sought the help of the Damaras (feudal landowners) who were hostile to the Tantrins. The Damara Sarhgrama took up his cadse and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Tantrins near Padmapura. Chakra-varman entered the capital ^rlnagara, where he was received with honours by the feudal lords, chiefs, ministers and the Ekahgas. Sambhuvardhana was taken prisoner and executed. Chakra-varman abandoned himself to vicious pleasures, and alienated the sympathy of the people. In A.D, 937 he lost his life at the hands of robbers. Unmattavanti (Mad Avanti), son of Partha, was.then raised to the throne by the ministers. He was one of the most vicious and tyrannical kings that ever occupied the throne of Kashmir. At his instigation, his subordinates killed his father in a most diabolical manner.

He had an able minister in Kamalavardhana whom he feared. Just before his death in A.D. 939 he declared a child named Sura-varman II as his son and placed him on the throne. After the death of the king, Kamalavardhana put down the Damaras, who had been exercising great influence over the rulers of Kashmir from the time of Chakra-varman, entered the capital with his army after overcoming all opposition offered by the Ekangas, Tantrins and the feudal chiefs, and dethroned £ura-varman II. He could have secured the throne for himself without any difficulty. But he foolishly left the election of the king to the assembly of the Brahmanas, fondly hoping that the choice would fall on him. But the assembly offered the crown to a Brahmana named Yasaskara, son of Prabhakaradeva, treasurer of the kings Sankara-varman and Gopala-varman, who had earned great reputation as a man of learning. The rule of the Utpala dynasty thus came to an end in A.D. 939.

3. Dynasties of Yasaskara and Parvagupta

Yasaskara restored peace and order in the country. Though his career was occasionally marred by vicious actions, he administered his kingdom with success. He built a matha (monastery) for the residence of the students coming from Arya-desa to Kashmir for higher education. Once when he became seriously ill, he wanted to place Varna^a, the sqn of his paternal grand-uncle, on the throne in preference to his son Samgramadeva, who however as a matter of fact was not begotten by himself. But the designing minister Parvagupta ultimately persuaded the king to hand over the sovereignty to Samgramadeva. After the installation of Samgramadeva, Yasaskara left the royal palace unceremoniously and took his residence in his matha where he was poisoned by his attendants in A.D. 948. A year after the death of Yasaskara, Parvagupta killed the young king Samgramadeva and captured the throne for himself.

Parvagupta was the son of Samgramagupta and grandson of Abhinava, who was a writer. He died in A.D. 950 leaving the throne to his son Kshemagupta. Kshemagupta married Didda, the daughter of the Khasa Sirhharaja, king of Lohara, modern Lohrin valley in the. territory of Punch, and the daughter's daughter of Bhlma Shahi of Udabhantfa. 41 Didda, who was a woman of keen intelligence, played an important role in Kashmir politics in the second half of the tenth century. Kshemagupta died after an inglorious reign of' eight years, and was succeeded by his young son Abhimanyu. Didda. who. became the regent for her son, tried to assume all the royal power into her hands and had no scruples in removing anybody who stood in her way. She quarrelled with the prime minister Phalguna

and dismissed him. She put down the revolt of Yasodhara and his associates and won over some ot them to her side by offering them high posts in the government. Yasodhara was made the commanderin-chief of her army. He led an expedition against the Shahi Thakkana and forced him to submit. But he soon) fell into the ill graces of the queen and was dismissed. His old associates again revolted and besieged the royal palace. The queen, with the help of her faithful minister Naravahana and some othei^ officers, brought the situation under control. Shortly after this the queen, on the report of'^malicious persons, lost confidence in Naravahana who, in order to avoid disgrace and humiliation, committed suicide. About this time the Damaras were also trying to raise a revolt. The situation was made worse for the queen by the death of Rakka, the commanderof the army. In order to cope with the situation Didda recalled Phalguna and made him the chief of the army. Phalguna conquered’ RajapurT, the modern hill state of Rajauri.

King Abhimanyu died in A.D. 972 after a rule of fourteen years, leaving behind three sons Nandigupta, Tribhuvana and Bhlmagupta. Nandigupta assumed the royalty. Didda received a severe shock by the death of her son. For a year she kept her evil propensities under control and engaged herjself exclusively in establishing religious foundations and building new cities. But soon after, she resumed her vicious activites. She brought about the death of Nandigupta. He was succeeded by Tribhuvana, who also shared the same fate two years later (A.D. 975). The young Bhlmagupta was then placed on the throne. He Was allowed to enjoy this position for onlv five years. About this time Phalguna died. The queen then killed Bhlmagupta and ascended the throne in A.D. 980.

Didda made the Kha£a Tuhga of the Parnotsa country her prime minister. The appointment of Tuhga, who was formerly a herdsman of buffaloes, caused great resentment among the people. Vigraharaja and Sarhgramaraja were the two sons of king Udayaraja of Lohara, the brother of Didda. The refractory elements brought the prince Vigraharaja to Kashmir to help them against Tuhga. Vigraharaja rallied the Brahmanas against the queen. But Didda succeeded in bringing the Brahmanas back to her side by heavy bribery. All attempts to dislodge Tuhga failed. Tunga earned great renown by leading a successful expedition against Prithvlpala, the king of RajapurT, who had become hostile. As Didda had become fairly old she appointed her nephew Samgramaraja of Lohara as her successor. She died in A.D. 1003 and was followed on the throne by Samgramaraja. The supremacy of the Lohara dynasty was now established in Kashmir.

XI. THE HILL STATES OF CHAMBA

A number of dynasties were ruling in the hill states of Rajapurl, Darvabhisara, Trigarta (Jalandhar), Kira (Kangra), Chamba, Kulu (Kuluta), etc. during this period. Of them the history of the Mushana family of the Chamba State can be traced chronologically with the help of the Vamsdvali and the epigraphic records.

The Mushana dynasty established its supremacy over Chamba in the sixth century A.D. The capital of its early kings was Brahma* pura, modern Brahmaiur, about twenty-five miles south-east of the Chamba town. The^king Ajita-varman of this family flourished in the middle of the eighth century. After him ruled Suvarna-varman, who was succeeded by LakshmI-varman. The Vamsdvali narrates that during the reign of LakshmI-varman a large number of people died as the result of an epidemic. Taking advantage of this situation the Kiras (of the Kangra valley) killed the king and took possession of the country. Lakshmi-varman’s son'Mushana-varman recovered his throne after defeating the Kiras. Mushana-varman was followed on the throne by Hamsa-varman, Sara-varman, Sena-varman, and Sajjana-varman in succession. According to Dr. Vogel, Sajjanavarman founded the city of Chanpaka (Chamba) and transferred his capital there.

An inscription of the tenth century, engraved on a rock at Proli* ragala on the Dhauli Dhar, belongs to the reign of a king Mrityunjav a-varman, who is not mentioned in the Vaihsdvali . Dr. Vogel suggests that this king succeeded Sajjana-varman. Epigraphic records refer to another king Sahilla-varman who fought successfully against a confederacy of the Kira forces, the lord of Durgara (Jammu State), and the Saumatikas. The king of Trigarta (Jalandhar) sought his alliance softer suffering a defeat at his hands, and the chief of Kuluta (Kulu) sought his favour for granting him royalty for services rendered. The VamMvali states that the war between Sahilla-varman and the Kulu chief continued for twelve years. It is also known from an inscription that Sahilla-varman routed the forces of the Turushkas in a battle. He probably joined with the Shahis in repulsing an attack of the Turks in the Kabul valley during the reign of Alptigin. After achieving all these victories, he assumed the epithets Sahasdnka , Nis$ankamalla, and Matamatasimha. He is also said to have assumed the title Karivarsha after making a gift of elephants to the Sun-god at the time of a solar eclipse at the holy Kurukshetra. His reign came tp a close in the middle of the tenth century, and he was succeeded by his son Yugakara-varman, whose son and successor was Vidagdha-varman. Both Yugakara-varman and Vidagdha-varman issued inscriptions from their capital at

Chanpaka granting lands in the Maridalas of Brahmaputra and Tavasaka. Vidagdha-vartnan’s successor Dodaka-varman, known from a single inscription, ruled in the closing years of the tenth century. In the eleventh century, Salavahana, his son Soma-varman, and the latter's son Asa£a of the family ruled the Chamba State.

XII. KUMAUN AND GARHWAL

A detailed analysis of six ancient inscriptions of Kumaun and Garhwal is available to scholars, 42 although it is not based on quite satisfactory transcripts of the original records. Only one of these records has been satisfactorily edited, 43 while the rough transcript of another'has also been published. 44 The texts of the remaining four inscriptions still await publication.

The inscription, of which only a tentative transcript was published in 1838, is the one on a stone-slab in the temple of Siva called BageSvar (Vyaghresvara) situated at the junction of the Gomati and Sarju in PottI Katyiir in Kumaun (Almora). The inscription contains no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyaghresvaradeva. The defective nature Of the published transcript renders it difficult to be definite about the names of the two kings mentioned in the first and probably the, earliest of the three charters as they are given in the absurd forins £ri~Bhasantanadeva (also Masantanadeva or Basantanadeva) and £dya-svairam-svairam-dadau. 46 The names of the kings mentioned in the second of the three charters have been read as &ri-Kharparadeva, his son Srl-Kalyanarajadeva, and his son Sri-Tribhuvanarajadeva. It seems that these rulers flourished later than those mentioned in the first charter referred to above, but before the "kings known from the third charter. The third and last grant incorporated in the Bagesvar inscription mentions four generations o^ kings. The third name in this list of four kings is that of LalitaSuiradeva who is also known from two other of the six ancient inscriptions from Kumaun and Garhwal referred to above. These are two copper-plate grants dated in the 21st and 22nd years of Lallitasuradeva's reign, preserved in the temple of Yogabadari at P an dukes var i n the Garhwal District. Both the charters were issued from the city of Karttikeyapura by Paramabhaftdraka Maharaja dhirdja Paramesvara Lalitasuradeva, the son of P.M.P. Ishtaganadeva and Mahadevi VegadevI and the-grandson of Nimbara and Mahadevi Naiudevl. Nimbara, who is not endowed with imperial titles in the records, was probably the founder of this line of kings. Their capital was probably at the city of Karttikeyapura which has been identified with modern Baijnath or Vaidyanatha in the "Almora

(Kumaun) District. According to tradition, the city was built by a Katyur! king of the Katyur valley in Kumaun on the ruins of an ancient city named Karavirapura. It is not improbable that the name of Karttikeyapura is a S 2 nskritized form of the aboriginal name Katyur. Possibly Kartripura of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta was just another Sanskritized form of the same name.

The astronomical details of the dates of Lalitasuradeva's grants appear to suggest that his 21st and 22nd regnal years corresponded respectively to A.I}. 853 and 854. The reigns of his father and grandfather may thijis be ascribed roughly to the period A.D. 790-832. According to the Bagesvar inscription Lalitaiuradeva was succeeded by his son Bhudevadeva whose reign may be tentatively assigned to the third and fourth quarters of the ninth century.

The three remaining inscriptions out of the six ancient records of Kumaun and Garhwal disclose the names of five generations of rulers who belonged to a different dynasty and apparently succeeded the house of Nimbara. The earliest of the three records of this new family is a copper-plate charter preserved at the temple of Balesvar in East Kumaun (Almora). It was issued from Karttikeyapura in the fifth regnal year of P.M.P. Desa{adeva who was the son of P.M.P., Ichchhatadeva and the grandson of Salonaditya. The two other charters of the family are preserved in the temple at Pan<Jukesvar. One of them was issued from the same Karttikeyapura in the 25th regnal year of P.M.P. Padmatadeva, son of Ichchhatadeva, while the 6ther was issued from the city of Subhikshapura in the fourth regnal year of P.M.P. Subhiksharajadeva, son of Padmatadeva. Subhikshapura, apparently named after Subhiksharajadeva, was probably the name of a new city built by this king in the vicinity of the old city of Karttikeyapura. These five kings seem to have ruled abbut the last quarter of the ninth as well as in the tenth century It appears that the last member of Nimbara's family was overthrown by Salonaditya who founded a new dynasty; but the events

leading to this dynastic revolution are unknown. Little is known about the history of Kumaun and Garhwal after Subhiksha

i

Raja’s death.

An earlier line of kings of the Kumaun-Garhwal region is known from two plates found at Talesvar in Almora District. 46 The records have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century A.D. One of the copper-plate grants was issued in the fifth regnal year of Paramabhatttiraka Mahdrdjddhirdja Dyutivarman. In the legend on the seal attached to the plate, the king is repre

sented as the son of Agnivarman, gradson of Vrishavarman and great-grandson of Vishnuvarman I. The other charter was issued in the twenty-eighth regnal year of Paramabhaftdraka Maharaja dhiruja Vishnuvarman II, son of Dyutivarman. The family to which the kings belonged is described as ‘the lunar dynasty’ as well as ‘the lineage of the moon and the sun’, while it is also specifically called ‘the Paurava line of kings.’ Both the charters were issued from the city of Brahmapura which was apparently the capital of the Paurava kings of the Almora region. They record certain grants of the kings made in favour of the god Viranesvara who is described as an incarnation of Ananta or Vishnu. The god was apparently installed in a temple at Brahmapura and was probably the family deity of the Pauravas. In the seventh century A.D. the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited the country of Brahmapura, no doubt meaning the kingdom of which the city of the same name was the capital. The same country is also mentioned in Varahamihira’s Bj-ihat-samhitd composed in the sixth century A.D. Both Varahamihira and Hiuen Tsang appear to refer to the kingdom of the Pauravas of Brahmapura, although the inscriptions apply the name Parvatakara to their rdjya. Little is known about the relation of the Paurava kings mentioned in the Taleivar plates with the later rulers of the Kumaun-Garhwal region known from other sources and discussed above.

XIII. THE ARABS IN INDIA 1, Kabul and Zabul

The early attempts of the Arabs to conquer Kabul, Zabul and Sindh have been noted in the preceding volume, and we have seen that, by the middle of the eighth century A.D., although they maintained a precarious hold on Sindh, they could not establish their authority in the other two kingdoms.

This was partly due to the decline in power of the central authority in the Islamic world. The Caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty were gradually weakened by internal dissensions and other causes and were supplanted by a new dynasty, the ‘Abbasids, in A.D. 749. Under a few able rulers the ‘Abbasids restored the power and glory of the Caliphate and its effect was also felt in India. During the reign of Al-Man§ur, the second Caliph of this dynasty, who ruled from A.D. 754 to 775, Kandahar was conquered, and the Muslim governor of Sijistan again demanded tribute from the king of Zabul. The latter sent some camels, tents, and slaves, buf reckoned each article at double its value. The Muslim governor

thereupon invaded Zabul but evidently could not subdue its ruler. For we are told that during the next three Caliphates (A.D. 775809) the Muslim officers collected tribute as best as they could (or according to their strength and weakness). When Caliph AlMa mum (A.D. 813-833) visited the eastern region, the ruler of Zabul paid double tribute to him.

It is said that the Caliph sent an army against Kabul and forced its ruler to submit and pay taxes. But evidently both Kabul and Zabul regained independence. Two more expeditions were pro- r bably sent against Kabul in A.D. 769 and 786, but without any conspicuous success. It was not till about A.D. 870 that both Kabul and Zabul were conquered by Ya’qub ibn Layth, the founder of th$ $affarid dynasty, who began his life as a brigand iiji Sijistan and ultimately became the ruler of Persia and the neighbouring regions in the east. The king of Zabulistan was killed and the people embraced Islam. Henceforth this petty state, that had carried on a prolonged and heroic resistance against the Arab aggression for more than two hundred years, ceased to belong to India either politically or culturally. But Kabul probably regained independence and formed a part of the Hindu Shahiya kingdom, whose history has been narrated above. 47

The story of the successful resistance of the tiny states of Kabul and Zabul against the Arabs has not obtained its due place in the history of India. It is worthy of note, however, that they defied the conquerors of the world and ultimately succumbed, not to the political power of the Caliphate,' but to the local principalities that arose on its ruins.

2. Sindh

The ‘Abbasid Caliphs made a determined effort to consolidate the power of Islam in India. They sent expeditions to drive away the old officers of the Umayyad dynasty who refused to recognise the new authority. Hisham, who was appointed governor of Sindh by Al-Manjur (A.D. 754-775), took possession of Multan and Kunduhar, usually identified with Kandahar. He is also said to have conquered Kashmir, but this must be regarded as extremely doubtful. For it has been reasonably inferred from a statement in the Rajatarahgini that Lalitaditya Muktapl^a thrice defeated a ruling chief of the Arabs. Possibly the Arabs made a successful border raid into Kashmir, but the fact'that we do not hear of any further Arab invasion of that country seems to indicate that Lalitaditya successfully defended his kingdom against Arab aggression.

According to A1 Idrisi, the famous city of Mansura, which became the capital of Sindh, was founded by the ‘Abbasid Caliph Al-Man$ur; but Baladhurl tells us that it was built by a son of Muhammad ibn-Qasim when Hakam was the governor of Sindh under the Umayyads. Probably the town was founded in the time of Hakam but finished in the time of the ‘Abbasid Caliph AlMan§ur. This great and opulent Muslim capital of Sindh, of which we get a detailed account from Muslim writers, was founded on the ruins of the Hindu city of Brahmanabad and lay 43 miles northeast of the modern city of Haidarabad and eight miles south-east of the railway station of Shadadpur.

Caliph Al-Mahdi (A.D. 775-785), who succeeded Al-Man^ur, sent a naval expedition against India but it could not gain any success. 48 During the Caliphate of Harun Al-Bashld (A.D. 786-809), his governor is said to have conquered a few places in Western Sindh. The Muslim army had also to fight with the hardy Jaths of Kikanan who are known to have resisted the Arabs as far back as A.D. 662. Evidently they were not completely subdued even during this long interval. There were also frequent conflicts between the Muslims on the one side and the Jaths and Meds on the other in the neighbourhood of Alor, the old capital of Sindh. Sometimes We hear of a successful Hindu rising. Thus the Hindu chiefs of Sindan, a place conquered during the Caliphate of Al-Ma'mun (A.D. 813-833), rose against its ruler and killed and crucified him. According to Baladhurl the Hindus became masters of the city but "left its mosque for the Muslims to assemble in and pray for the Caliph."

On the whole, it would appear from a study of the Muslim chronicles that the 'Abbasids, even in their palmiest days, could not gain any conspicuous success in their Indian expeditions. They not only failed to extend their dominions beyond Sindh, but were even unaible to consolidate their conquests in this province. This was undoubtedly due to the active vigilance of powerful Indian states bordering on Sindh. The Pratlharas, whose chief Nagabhafa I saved Western India from Arab aggression 49 in the eighth century A.D., founded a strong principality which proved to be a bulwark against any further Arab aggression. King Nagabha^a II of this dynasty, 60 who was a contemporary of the great Caliphs Harun Al-Rashld and Al-Ma'mun, is described in an almost contemporary record as having captured the strongholds of the Turushkas. The reference is probably to the Muslim rulers of Sindh some of whom originally belonged to Tukharistan. The Pala king Dharmapala, who also belonged to the same period, claims in his own record that a Yavana vassal chief made obeisance to him. Here again the reference seems to be to a Muslim ruler of Sindh. An inscription, dated A.D. 842, states that powerful Mlechchha rulers on the river Chambal made obeisance to the Chahamana king. These and similar other isolated references 51 point to the fact that since the initial success of the Arabs in Sindh, in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., they were unable to make much headway in India owing to the vigour and alertness of the Indian chiefs.

The decline of the 'Abbasid power about the middle of the ninth century A.D. had its natural repercussions on Sindh. During the Caliphate of Al-

Ma’mun (A.D. 813-833), Bashar, the governor of Sindh, rebelled but was defeated by Ghassan. The latter took Bashar as captive to Baghdad, leaving Musa as his deputy in Sindh. Musa nominated his own son as his successor, and henceforth the governors of Sindh ruled practically as independent chiefs. Later, it formed a part of the dominions of the $affarids (A.D. 872-903). After the fall of the $affarids the Muslim territories in Sindh were divided into two independent states, viz. those of Mansura and Multan. The former extended from the sea to Alor> and the latter comprised the upper valley of the united Sindhu up to this city. Little is known of their history, but it appears that the greater part of the administrative authority was left in the hands of the Hindus.

Neither^of the two states was very powerful. Multan was always in dread of the mighty Pratlhara power. The Pratihara army frequently marched gainst Multan, and its Muslim ruler secured his safety by playing upon the religious sentiments of the Hindus. There was a famous image of the Sun-god in the city of Multan which was venerated all over India. We learn from Al-Ma’sudi that “when the unbelievers march against Multan and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol and their enemies immediately withdraw.” I§takhri, who makes a similar statement, adds that “otherwise the Indians would have destroyed Multan.”

The other Muslim state in Sindh, viz. Mansura, was equally exposed to the attacks of the Hindus. According to Al-Ma’sudi, “it was constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a rdpe of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind.”

The older generations of historians like Elphinstone felt surprised at the slow progress of the Islamic conquest of India, ^nd sought to explain it by various hypotheses which have no foundation in fact. The real matter for surprise, however, is that the

vestige of Arab authority continued in Sindh for three hundred years. Even according to the testimony of the Muslims, the Pratiharas could have easily conquered Multan that guarded the flank of every possible route which a future Muslim conqueror from the outside would have to follow. That they were deterred from doing this by the fear that the holy images at Multan might be broken by the Muslim ruler of the place, only shows a lack of foresight and statesmanship and a deplorable want of rationality on the part of the Hindu leaders. If they had possessed even a general knowledge of the political condition of the lands immediately outside the borders of India on the west, they would have made serious efforts to defend India against the almost inevitable danger of Muslim invasion. The first steps in this direction should have been to drive away the Muslims from the petty principalities which they still held in Sindh and to establish a strong garrison in Multan and other strategic places in the Punjab. The Shahis and the Pratiharas were both powerful ruling dynasties who could have easily accomplished this task. But they did not do so. Either they were ignorant of the new political situation created by the rise of strong Muslim states on the frontiers of India, and of the consequent dangers threatening their country, or they were too parochially minded to take a broad view of the interests of India as a whole. This, how’ever, can hardly apply to the Shahis, who were too near the danger to ignore it and whose own interest, in this case, coincided with that of India. The united stand made at a later date by the Indian chiefs on the invitation of the Shahi rulers proves that a real sense of patriotism was not altogether absent in them. We can, therefore, only conclude that the lack of knowledge of the outside world, or failure to grasp the real significance of contemporary events, was the principal cause of the indifference of the Hindu chiefs to the great danger that was destined to overwhelm them at no distant date.

The danger was brought home to the Shahi rulers by the foundation of the state of Ghazni in the last quarter of the tenth century A,D. Ere long the inevitable conflict broke out and the Shahi rulers were worsted in the fight. Then the horrors of Muslim invasions, inspired by greed and animated by fanatic religious zeal and iconoclastic fury, were let loose on the fair temples and cities of India. She paid dearly for her remissness in the past, but somehow escaped the great doom which had overtaken Persia, Egypt and other countries. The history of this great crisis will be dealt with in the next volume.

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1. HER, 121. Cf. above, pp. 50-52.

2. See pp. 33-4.

3. Harsha, the adversary of Kalachuri Kokkalia I, is wrongly identified with the Chandelia king of this name. He is identical with Guhiia Harsha of Dhavagarta. Cf. 7HQ, XIII. 485.

4. See p. 37.

5. This is the translation of Kielhorn {El, I. 122); but Dr. R.C. Mazumdar suggests that the correct translation would be ‘defeated* (IHQ, XXV. 213).

6. See pp. 33-4.

7. See p. 37.

8. Vol. I, pp. 274, 278 ff, etc.

9. The name is also written as Kokkala and Kokalla.

10. Prof. MLrashi thinks that Lakshmanaraja belonged to the Kalachuri Dynasty and was a predecessor of Kokkalia 1.— El, XXIII. 255.

11. Tire Bilhari inscription {El, I. 264) mentions that Kokkalia I set up two columns of his fame—Krishna on the south and Bhoja on the north. The Benares copperplate (Ibid, II.*306) states that Kokkalia granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharaja, grl-Harsha, king of Chitrakuta, and the king ^ahkaragana. These two reports are taken to imply that Kokkalia helped the Rashfrakuta Krishna II and the Pratihara Bhoja I in consolidating their sovereign position, which was threatened by their enemies. But in view of the information supplied by the Amoda plates (El, XIX. 78) that Kokkalia I raided the treasuries of Kamata, Gurjara, and those born of the Raghu family, this king of the Kalachuris cannot be regarded as an ally of the Rashfrakutas and the Pratiharas, As Kokkalia I is known to have been succeeded by his son SanJcaragana before A.D. 888, his adversary Harsha cannot be assumed to have been the king of this name of the Chandelia dynasty, who ruled from c. A.D. 900-925. It has been suggested that

Chitrakuta, referred to, is the hill of this name in the Banda District, U-P., 25 miles north-east of Kalinjar, and its king was evidently the Chandelia Harsha. The Chandelia Harsha, the king of Khajraho, was not, however, in possession of even Kalinjar, about 40 miles north-east of Khajraho. Chitrakula hill was outside the Chandelia kingdom, at least up to A.D. 954, when it was bounded on the east by Kalinjar. The expression ‘Chitrakutabhupdla s may not, therefore, be referring to the Chandelia Harsha. This king, whose name has not been mentioned, and who was the ruler of Chitor, might have been another adversary of Kokkalia. For detailed discussion, cj. IHQ, XIII. 482 ff.

Dr. R. C. Majurndar has recently expressed a different view on the subject (P1HC, Xll. 123 ff). He points out that ‘not a single record of the 9th or 10th century A.D. refers to the Kalachuris as a great power in the period of Kokkalia I, and that the posthumous military glories of this king gradually grew with passing years’. He holds the view that Kokkalia was a dashing military chief who joined with one great power against another as suitable opportunity offered itself, and that far from exercising supremacy over the Pains, Pratiharas mid the Rashtrakutas he probably owed allegiance first to the Rashtrakutas and then to the Pratiharas. He also points out that Kokkalla’s daughter was married to Krishna II long before the latter ascended the Rashtrakuta throne. On the other hand we have to remember the following facts. Harsha, king of Chitrakuta, Sankaragana (king of Sarayupara), kings of Gurjara and &akambhari, mentioned in the Benares and Amoda plates as adversaries of Kokkalia, are known to have been feudatories of the Pratibara Bhoja, and the king of Konkana mentioned as another adversary of Kokkalia in the Amoda plates only, was a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta Krishna. It appears that when Kokkalia fought with Bhoja and Krishna, his adversaries were assisted by their feudatories. It is thus obvious that when Bilhari inscription mentions only the two chief adversaries of Kokkalia, the Benares and Amoda plates furnish more details of the conflicts by mentioning the names of the feudatories of those two adversaries who participated in them. Amoda plates, however, mention two new military adventures of Kokkalia, viz. that he won victories over the king of Vanga and the Turushkas, which arc not found referred to in the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions. Dr. Majumdar- has virtually accepted elsewhere {HER, I. 136) Ihe statement of the Amoda pbtes that Kokkalia conquered Vanga as authentic.

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12. See above, p. 54.

13. See above, p. 83.

14. See above, p. 31.

15. See above, p. 36.

16. The history of this family is principally based on the copper-plates (El, XXVI. 185) discovered at Ghumli in 1936.

17. See above, Vol. Ill, p. 173.

18. EI t IX. 1 ff.

19. This account is based on chronicles only and is not supported by epigraphic evidence. Cf .^DHNI, II. 941.

20. IA, XII. 159, i. 13. The inscription states that Mahavaraha, kindled with the rays of the sun, attacked Krishna I (Sauryy-o$hma-samdipitam — .dpatantam). Kielhorn corrects Sauryya as £auryya, meaning bravery. But N there is no difficulty in accepting the reading of the passage as it occurs. In my'opinion there is a pun on the word Saurya, which may be taken to mean also the people of this name (cf. Sauryaroam — adhimarulale etc., in Jain Harivamsa). The verse purports to say that Mahavaraha, being strengthened by the support of the Sauryas, attacked Krishna I.

21. El, XIX. 175. Also cf. Bh. List. No. 210G in. 1

22. See p. 21.

23. The Rashtrakufa Dhavala’s grandfather Vidagdha was ruling in A.D. 916, and his father’s known date is AD. 939. In his old age Dhavaia abdicated his throne in favour of his son Balaprasada, who is found ruling

in A.D. 997. So it is not unlikely that the Chapa Dharanivaraha was a contemporary of both Dhavaia and the Chaulukya Mularaja, who ascended the throne in A.D. 942.

24. According to Nayachandra Suri's Havimira-Mahdkdvya, Mularaja was killed by the Chahamana Vigraharaja. This seems to be unlikely,

25. Cf. Vol. Ill, pp. 162-3.

26. See p. 87.

27. The Bijoli Rock Ins. (El, XXVI. 91) mentions Vindhyanripati as the successor of Vakpati I. For the account of Sirhharaja and his predecessors, cf. El, 11 .116 ff.

28. El, XIV. 176.

29. Ch. X, pp. 158 ft.

30. The nature of the political relation of Bhartripatta II with the Imperial Pratiharas cannot be ascertained from the Fartabgarh inscription (El, XIV. 176). All that can be gathered from it is that the Maharajadhiraja Bhartripatbi made a grant to the temple of Indradityadeva in AJD. 942 and the Maharaja Mahcndrapaia II from his residence at MahGdaya donated land to the same temple in A.D. 946.

31. Vol. Ill, p. 160.

32. See p. 31.

33. See pp. 33, 118.

34. Karnalu ascended the throne in or before AD. 900. As he obtained the sovereignty during the reign of Gopala-varman who, according to Kalhana, began his rule in A.D. 902, the date of the latter's accession is to be shifted back by a few years.

35. El, XXI. 298.

36. El, XXI. 301.

37. Firishta mentions Lahore as the capital of Jayapala. This does not seem to be correct. Al-BirunI describes Luhavur (Lahore) as a country, the capital of which was Mandahukur (Sachau, I. 206).

33. Vol. Ill, pp. 133-136.

39. S. Levi (Le Nepal, II. 176-77), however, thinks that there may be some historical basis of the story of J&yapida's fight with Nepal. Nepal was at that time a protectorate of Tibet and there was a long-standing hostility between this kingdom and Kashmir. According to Levi a story-teller would hardly invent an uncouth and barbarous name like Aranvudi, who was perhaps a Tibetan general sent to oppose Jayaplda, The river Kala Gandika, on the banks of which the battle is alleged to have taken place, almost certainly represents the Kala Gandaki, the westernmost branch of the seven Gandakis, which was the first natural barrier against an invader coming from the west.

40. For the date of Gopala-vannan, sec fn. 34 above.

41. See above, p. 113. .

42. E. T. Atkinson, The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.W.P.), 1884, pp. 496-85. Cf. BV, XII. 149-52.

43. I A, XXV. 177 ft.

44. JASB, Vol. Vir, 1838, pp. 1056-58.

45. This name apparently begins with sri or srimat and ends with deva.

46. El, XIII. 109. The editor of the inscription regarded them to be forged without sufficient justification. Cf. Bhandarkar, List Nos. 1786-7. Bhandarkar does not notice all the inscriptions analysed by Aktinson.

47. See pp. 112-115.

48. See pp. 99-100.

49. Vol. Ill, p. 155.

50. See pp. 24 ff,

51. See pp. 20, 25, 39.

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CHAPTER VI

THE DECCAN

I. THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS

When Vijayaditya I died after a rule of 18 or 19 years about A.D. 764, his son Vishnuvardhana IV became king and ruled the Vehgl country for 36 years, i.e. down to about A.D. 799. Shortly before A.D. 769-70, the Rashtrakuta king Krishna I sent his son, the crown-prince Govinda II, to invade the Vehgl country. According to the Alas grant 1 of the Rashtrakuta crown-prince, issued in A.D. 769-70 from the camp of his victorious army at the confluence of the Krishnavsna and the Musi, the king of Vengl was humbled and ceded his treasury, forces and kingdom. Soon after A.D. 779, there was a struggle for the Rashtrakuta throne between Govinda II and his younger brother Dhruva, in which the former managed to get the assistance of the rulers of Malava, Kahchl, Gangavadi and Vengl, all of whom had been previously subdued by the Rashfrakutas and were apparently eager to improve their position by exploiting the situation arising out of the fratricidal war. But Govinda II was defeated by Dhruva who next ascended the Rashtrakuta throne. Govinda II having been eliminated, Dhruva now set himself with full vigour against his brother's allies. An epigraph of A.D. 802, 2 supported by the Radhanpur grants 3 of A.D. 808, says that "at half a word from the mouth of Dhruva's letter-bearer, the king of Vehgl, wherever he was, constantly performed his service without inter- mission, by his own wish, and built for him an outer wall, lofty as the sky, of'marvellous splendour, with the constellations around its head like a garland of pearls." Although the exact nature of the claim is difficult to determine and although the capital city of Manyakhe^a is said to have been built by Amoghavarsha, some writers go so far as to suggest that Vishnuvardhana TV was himself compelled to construct a wall for Manyakheta (modern Malkhed in Hyderabad State). It is, however, probable that the Vengl king was forced to become a subordinate ally of the Rashtrakuta monarch. The Jethwai grant 4 dated A.D. 786 speaks of his daughter SllamahadevI who was married to Dhruva.

Vishnuvardhana IV had several sons, viz . Vijayaditya II, BhlmaSalukki (i.e. Bhlma-Chalukya) and Npiparudra (born of a Haihaya or Kalachuri princess). About A.D. 799, Vijayaditya II became king, and assumed the tiiles Narendramrigaraja, Chalukyarjuna and

Tribhuvandnkusa. The duration of his rule is variously given in different records as 40, 41, 44 or 48 years. Fleet accepted 44 years as the proper duration of the reign although from the actual date of the accession of the king's great-grandson Chalukya-Bhlma _ I, it now appears that Vijayaditya II ruled for 48 years and died about A.D. 847. The real cause of the discrepancy regarding his regnal period seems to be that for some years during this reign the Eastern Chalukya throne was occupied by a rival. The king built a large number of &iva temples in different parts of his dominions.

Vijayaditya II, who assumed the titles Paramabhattdraka Maharajadhiraja-Paramesvara, was one of the most powerful rulers of the family. But his early years witnessed a series of failures. His brother Bhlma-Salukki deserted him and joined the Rashtrakutas. The king was utterly defeated by the Rashtrakutas under Govinda III and their allies the Gahgas, and Bhlma-Salukki was raised to the throne of VengT. But Vijayaditya II continued the struggle and, when after the death of Govinda III (A.D. 814) his minor son Amoghavarsha I ascended the Rashtrakuta throne and was facing a rebellion of his officials and feudatories, the Chalukya king succeeded in recovering his throne by overthrowing Bhima-Salukki in spite of the assistance the latter received from the Rashtrakutas and Ganges. This success was pursued by Vijayaditya II with redoubled vigour. The Eastern Chalukya army now overran considerable portions of the Rashfrakuta empire and reached the city of Stambha (modern Cambay in Gujarat) 5 which they plundered and devastated. In the records of his successors, Vijayaditya is said to have fought 108* battles in a continuous struggle of 12 years with the Rashtrakutas and Gahgas, to have destroyed the Dakshina Gahga (the southern Gangas), and to have taken possession of Vengi-man^ala by extirpating his younger brother Bhlma-Salukki. The records of the Rashtrakutas-themselves cf. Navsari grant 0 of Indra III) admit that, in the early part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. the glory of the RaRa (Rashtrakuta) kingdom “was drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas” who had “completely devastated the city of Stambha.But the success of the Eastern Chalukyas against the Rashtrakutas was shortlived. Amoghavarsha I. who received considerable help from Karkka, the Rashtrakuta viceroy of Gujarat, is said to have later raised the glory of the Rashtrakutas once again. The rebellious feudatories were subdued and the Eastern Chalukya army was driven out of Rashtrakuta territory. In the records of his successors. Amoghavarsha I is described as having destroyed a large host of the Chalukyas at the battlefield of Vingavalli. The hostilities continued in spite of the marriage of a Rashtrakuta princess named SilamahadevI (probably a daughter of Dhruva by SllamahadevT who

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was a sister of Vijayaditya II) to Vishnu-vardhana V, son of Vijayaditya II. The Eastern Chalukyas had to acknowledge Rashtrakuta supremacy.

Vijayaditya II came into conflict with a Naga king probably of the Bastar region. But the reference may also be to Nagabha^a II of the Gurjara Pratlhara dynasty, with whom he fought, according to the Gwalior inscription 7 of Bhoja I, probably in connection with his Gujarat expedition.

The next king of Vengl was Vijayaditya’s son Vishnuvardhana V, also called Kali-Vishnuvardhana (Kali-Bittarasa), Sarvalokasraya and Vishamasiddhi. He ruled only for 18 or 20 months and died about A.D, 848. He left several sons, viz. Vijayaditya III (born of the Rashtrakuta princess SllamahadevI), Ayyaparaja, Vikramaditya (I) and Yuddhamalla (I). Vijayaditya iIII succeeded him on the throne of the Vengl country and ruled for 44 years (A.D. 848-92). The new king had a number of virudas such as Gunaka (Gunaga), Parachakrardma, Ramarangasudraka, Manujaprahara, Vikrama dhavala, Nrpatimartanda, Virudangabhlma, Bhuvanakandarpa, Arasankakesarin , Tripuramartyamahesvara and Tribhuvanankusa.

Like his grandfather, Vijayaditya III was bent upon Digvijaya in which he was assisted by his able minister Vinaya<Jisarman and by two reputed generals, namely Ka<Jeyaraja and his son Pan<Jaranga. In the south, he conquered the city of Nellura (Nellore), probably from the Pallavas of Ranchi. Vijayaditya III is said to have carried away gold from the Pallavas. He is further credited with a victory over the Pandyas and with giving

shelter to the Chola king. Having been goaded to retaliation by the Raffa. or Rashtrakuta king (rattesa-surhchodita) , he cut off the head of Mangi, king of Nolambarashtra in Mysore, in a great battle, and also defeated the Gahgas completely in the west. Next turning to the north, the Eastern Chalukya king defeated the combined forces of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna II[8] and the latter's brother-in-law (wife's brother) and ally, the Kalachuri king £ankila or Sahkuka (5ahkaragaj>a), lord of Dahala (the Jubbulpore region), at the great battle of Kiranapura, probably modern Kiranpur in the Balaghat District, Madhya Pradesh. Like his grandfather, Vijayaditya III overran the Rashtrakuta empire and burnt Achalapura (modem Ellichpur in Berar). Vijayaditya III is also said to have defeated Baddega, very probably the Chalukya chief of Vemulavada who was the grandfather of Narasimha (a feudatory of Indra III, grandson and successor of Krishna II). He is further said to have burnt the city of Chakrakuta in the old Bastar State, captured the elephants of the king of Kosala (South Kosala in Chhattisgarh and the adjoining area), and taken by force the gold of the Ganga king of Kalihga, from whom he also received elephants as tribute. Vijayaditya III appointed his younger brother Vikramaditya his heir apparent, but the latter probably predeceased him. After Vijayaditya's death the throne passsed to Chalukya-Bhima I, son of Vikramaditya.

Fleet suggested that Chalukya-Bhima I ascended the throne in A.B. 883; it is however now known from the Attili inscription[9] that this king's coronation took place in 6aka 814 corresponding to A.D. 892. Chalukya-Bhima I was also known as Vishnuvardhana and had the virudas TribhuvCLndnkusa, Droharjuna, Sarvalokdsraya and Jftitasiddhi. He is often called Paramabrahrnanya. He ruled for 30 years and died about A.D. 922. He is said to have fulfilled the desires df distressed and helpless persons and of the ascetics just like their parents, friends and preceptors.

The Anakapalle inscription[10] of Chalukya-Bhima I proves his control over Devarashtra in Ela m ahc h i -Kalin g a d e£ a, i.e. the Yellamanchili tract of Visakhapatnam District. He made Pandaraiiga his general. Another general of Chalukya-Bhima I was Mahakala who was the son of a daughter of the king's foster-mother.

During this reign, the struggle with the Rashtrakutas continued. According to the Pampa-Bhdrata or Vikramdrjuna-vijxiya by the Kanarese poet Pampa, the Chalukya' chief Ba$$ega (probably feudatory of Krishna II) defeated Bhlma, apparently Chalukya-Bhima.. and took him prisoner. The forces of Krishna II overran the Andhra country as far south as Guntur and Nellore Districts and the Rashtrakuta king actually appointed his own officials in charge of various forts in the Eastern Chalukya country. Pan^arahga, general of Chalukya-Bhima 1, made attempts to overthrow the domination of the foreigners. At the battle of Niravadyapura—one of the many that took place between the Rashtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas — Chalukya-Bhima ! s son killed a Bashtrakuta Daiu^Lesa (general) named Gundaya, but was also himself killed. Pan^arahga captured some 12 strongholds from Vaso-Boya, probably a Bashtrakuta partisan, and also the hill-forts of Vehglnandu (the Vehgl country). ChalukyaBhima I, who was evidently released after some time, is said to have illumined the Vehgl country which had been overrun by Bafta (Bashtrakuta) chieftains "just as by dense darkness after sunset" and to have defeated the army of Krishnavallabha (Krishna II) and his allies, the kings of Karnata and Lata. Chalukya-Bhlma's successes may have been achieved during the latest years of the reign of Krishna II.

Chalukya-Bhima I had at least two sons, viz. Vijayaditya IV and Vikramaditya. of whom the former succeeded him about

A.D. 922. Hostilities with the Raahtrakutas continued unabated. Vijayaditya IV defeated the HashtrakQta forces but lost his life after a reign of 6 months, at the battle of Virajapurl to the south of the Krishna. The city is said to have been the capital of a viceregal family known as the Parichchhedins who ruled "the country of 6000" lying on the southern bank of the Kj-ishnavena (Krishna).

Vijayaditya IV had at least two sons, viz. Amma I, alias Vishnuvardhana, and Chalukya-Bhlma II (bom of Melamba), of whom the former succeeded him about the end of A.D. 922 with the virudas Rajamahendra and SarvalokcLsraya. Amma I ruled for 7 years, i.e. till about A.D. 929. The Pulivarru inscription 11 records the grant of a village by the king in favour of Indaparaja, grandson of Indaparaja of the Maha-Hattavarh^a who was the lord of the city of Manyakheta. There is apparently reference here to a grandson (named Indra) of the Kashtrakuta king Indra III of Malkhed. It has been suggested that the donee may have been a son of Ampghavarsha II (c. A.D. 927), who might have taken shelter at the Eastern Chalukya court when his father was overthrown by the latter's younger brother Govinda IV (c. A.D. 927-36). The non-mention of Amoghavarsha II in the Eastern Chalukya record may, however, suggest that the father of the donee was not a crowned monarch.

Two sons of Amma I, viz. Vijayaditya V and Bhlma, are known from records; the former succeeded (A.D. 929) him under the name Kanthika-Vijayaditya or Kanthika-Beta. A fortnight after the installation of Vijayaditya V, the young king was overthrown by Tala (Talapa, Talapa or Tatja), son of Yuddhamalla and grandson of Vishnuvardhana V. Tala's success was specially due to the assistance he received from the Rashtrakula king Gojjiga or Govinda IV and from Ayyappa, king of Nolamba-rashtra. Vijayaditya V was imprisoned and Tala declared himself king (A.D. 929), Vijayaditya however escaped from captivity and took shelter at the court of the Chdlukya ruler Arikesarin II (great-grandson of Ba^tega and patron of the poet Pampa), ruler of Vemulava^a and a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas.

The new king Tala was, however, ousted after only a month by another claimant to the throne named Vikramaditya (II) who was a $on of Chalukya-Bhlma I. Vikramaditya is said to have ruled over the Vengl country together with Trikalinga for nine or eleven months or for a year (A.D. 929) when he was himself overthrown by Bhlma II who was a son of Amma I and a brother of Vijayaditya V. But after a rule of 8 months (A.D. 930) Bhlma II was killed by one Malla, Mallapa or Yuddhamalla (II), who was a son of ,Tflla and a prot6g4 of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda IV. This king, who ruled for seven years (A.D. 930-36), built the Mallesvarasvami temple at Vijayawada. During Yuddhamalla's rule, the Rashtrakutas were all powerful in the Andhra country. An inscription 12 of Amma II naively admits that the Sabara chiefs, the commanders of the army of Vallabha (the Rashtrakuta king), and others apportioned the Eastern Chalukya kingdom among themselves for seven years (i.e. the duration of Yuddhamalla's reign). With Rashtrakuta help, however, Yuddhamalla succeeded in holding his position against a number of rival claimants to the throne, including Chalukya-Bhlma II who was a son of Vijayaditya IV and a step-brother of Amma I; but Yuddhamalla was ultimately ousted by Chalukya-Bhlma II. According to the Maliyapundi grant, 13 the five years following the death of Vikramaditya II witnessed the princes of the family who coveted the kingdom, viz. Yuddhamalla, Rajamartanda, Kanthika-Vijayaditya (V) and others, fightipg for supremacy and oppressing the people like Rakshasas; then ChalukyaBhlma “slew Rajaraayya in battle, made Kanthika-Vijayaditya and Yuddhamalla] go to foreign country and despatched to, the abqde of death many others who, though respectable kings, had sho^n themselves puffed up by evil conduct and were causing distress \o the country.” Another record 14 says that Bhlma (ChalukyaBhlma II) ruled for 12 years (A.D. 935-46) after having extirpated Yuddhamalla and other claimants to the throne. The Kalachumbarru inscription 16 of Amma II says that Chalukya-Bhlma II slew the glorious Rajamayya, the mighty Dhala^a the fierce TataBikki (or Tata-Vikyana, i.e. Tata Vikramaditya), Bijja always ready for war, the terrible Ayyapa (the Nolamba king), the army of Govinda (Govinda IV Rashtrakuta), Lova-Bikki who was the ruler of the Cholas, and Yuddhamalla. Western Ganga records 16 refer to a struggle between the Nolarhba king Ayyapa and Mahendra (i.e. Chalukya-Bhlma II).

Chalukya-Bhlma II was also known as Bhlma, Raja-Bhlma and Vishnuvardhana. He bore the virudas Sarvalokdsraya , Tribhuvandnkusa , Rajamartanda and Ganda-Mahendra. One of his feudatories was Vijjaya of the Panara dynasty. An important official was the Velanandu chief Malliya. Chalukya-Bhlma II had several sons, viz. Amma II (born of Lokamahadevi), Danarnava (born of Ankidevi) and Kama. Of these Amma II, who was younger than Danarnava, became king (probably because he was the son of the chief queen) after his father’s death in Saka 867 corresponding to A.D. 946.

Amma, II, who became yuvardja at the age of 8 and king at 12, was also known by the name Vijayaditya and bore the virudas

Rajamahendra, Tribhuvanankusa' and Samastabhuvanasraya. There is a tradition which connects the foundation of the city Raj amah endrl or Rajamahendrapura (which probably became the capital or a secondary capital of the later Eastern Chaiukyas) with a Chalukya king named Vijayaditya-Mahendra. This king seems to have been no other than Amma II who was known both as Vijayaditya and Hajamahendra. He married the daughter of Nripakama, lord of Saras or Kolanu (Colair lake) in Godavari District. Durgaraja, great-grandson of the celebrated warrior Pandarahga, was the king’s general. His minister was Kuppanayya (son of TurkkiyaYajvan) who was also known as Vipranarayana. Amma II is described as lord of both Vehgi and Kalinga and is known to have made grants of lands in the Barupunan^Ju-uishaya in Elamanchi-Kalinga, i.e. the Yellamanchili tract of Viiakhapatnam District. One of his records refers to the yuvardja Ballaladeva Velabhata, sumamed Botftfiya, son of Pammava of the PattavardhinI family. At the request of Chameka (a courtesan loved by the king) of the same family, the king granted a village in favour of the Jain temple of SarvalokaSraya Jinavallabha. He is also known to have made gifts to the Jain temples at Vijayavajika (Bezwada). One of his grants was in favour of the temple of Siva Samastabhuvanasraya built by Narendrampigaraja at Vijayavata (Bezwada).

After Amma H had ruled for eleven years, i.e. about A.D. 956, he was driven out of the Vehgi country by Badapa 1 ., son of king Yuddhamalla. Badapa became king with the help of the Rash^rakuta king Karna or Kannara, i.e. Krisha IH (e. A.D. 939-67), and Amma II proceeded to the Kalinga country (Elamanchi-Kalihga) owing to Krishna's (Krishna ni Rashtrakuta) wrath against him. Shortly afterwards, Amma II regained his kingdom.

Badapa styled himself Vijayaditya and Samastabhuvana&raya. One of his officers appears to have been Gan<Janarayana, son of Nripakama of Saras (father-in-law of Amma II). This Gan^anarayana, who was a famous archer, earned the appellation Karmukarjuna and Satyavallata.

Badapa was succeeded by his younger brother Mahdr&jddhir$ja Tala (n), sumamed Vishnuvardhana. His minister was Kuppanayya, son of Makariyaraja and grandson of Kalivarman of - the family of Pallavamalla (probably king Nandivarman of Kanchi). Tala was slain in battle after a short reign by Amma II,* who was slain in turn by his elder brother Danarnava in A.D. 970. Amraa’s death was avenged by his wife's brother

Jata Choda-Bhlma who defeated and killed Danarnava in A.D. 973 and made himself king of Vehgi. The sons of Danarnava went into exile at the Choja court

until Rajaraja conquered Vengi for them from Jata Choda-Bhima in A.D. 999. 17

The inscriptions of the descendants of Danarnava do not recognise the rule of Badapa and his successors. They record that “after Danarnava, through the evil action of fate, the country of Vengi was without a ruler for 27 years (c. A.D. 973-99), after which the son of king Dana (Danarnava), that glorious Saktivarman who resembled the king of gods, having overcome the enemies by force of his valour, protected the earth for 12 years (c. A.D. 999-1011)”. Saktivarman, also called Chalukya-Narayana, Chalukya-chandra and Vishnuvardhana, is said to have risen to fame even in his youth by his victory in a battle with the Cholas (probably the Telugu-Chodas). He put to flight one Badyema-Maharaja and killed Chola-Bhlma (i.e. the Telugu-Choda chief, Jata Choda-Bhima). As Bhlma is also said to have been killed by Rajaraja I, it is clear that Saktivarman joined Rajaraja I in his campaign against Vengi in A.D. 999. Jata ChodaBhima was defeated and killed, and Saktivarman became the ruler of Vengi in that year.

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II. THE EASTERN GANG AS (e. A.D. 750-1000)

The Early Eastern Gangas of Kalihganagara were rulers of a small territory in Srikakulam District. At a later date, the members of a branch of this family, who are usually called the 'Later Eastern Gahgas* but may be styled the 'Greater or Imperial Gangas*, extended the Gahga power over wide regions of the coastal area from the lower course of the Bhaglrathl in the north-east to that of the Godavari in the south-west. The history of the Eastern Gangas till the middle of the eighth century has already been narrated. 18

1. Later Members of the Early Ganga Family

Of the later rulers of the Early Gahga dynasty mention may be made of Rajendra-varman I (who seems to have been the successor of Devendra-varman II, c. A.D. 747-52) and his son Anantavarman II known from records dated in the Gahga years 284 (A.D. 780-82)

and 304 (A.D. 800-02). 19 Ananta-varman II was succeeded by his brother Devendra-varman III who issued charters in the Gahga years 308 (A.D. 804-06) and 310 (A.D. 806-08). 20 The successor of Devendra-varman III was Rajendra-varman II, son of the former's brother Ananta-varman II. King Rajendra-varman II is known from his records with dates ranging between the Gahga years 313 (A.D. 809-11) and 342 (A.D. 838-40). 21 This king was succeeded by his cousin Satya-varman who was a, son of Devendra-varman III and issued a charter in the Gahga year 351 (A.D. 847-49). 22 The next three rulers appear to have been Ananta-varman III (Gahga year 358), another son of Devendra-varman III, Bhupendra-varman Marasiriiha, 23 and his son Devendra-varman IV who issued the Cheedivalasa grant in the Gahga year 397 (A.D. 893-895). 24 A grant issued by the son of a king named Devendra-varman in the year 393 (A.D. 889-91) has been recently published. 25 This king's name has been taken to be Manujendra-varman, although the reading intended may be Rajendra-varman.

No definite history of the Eastern Gahgas is available for about a century after Devendra-varman IV. The earliest records of the Greater Gahgas have to be assigned to the close of the tenth century. There is some evidence to show that during this century, the Gahga kingdom was split up into five tiny principalities, mostly under different branches of the royal family. One of these appears to have been under the Gahga house of Svetaka and another was probably under the Kadambas of Jayantyapura. During this period the Eastern Chalukyas appear to have encroached upon the Gahga territories. King Vijayaditya III (A.D. 844-92) is said to have taken by force the gold of the Gahga king of Kalinga and received elephants as tribute from that country. Eastern Chalukya influence seems to have been at the root of the introduction of the Saka era in the land that had previously used the era; of the Gahgas themselves.

2. Rise of the Greater Gahgas

The earliest definite and undisputed date in the history of the Greater Gahgas is the 9th of April, 1038 A.D. 26 when VajrahastaAnanta-varman, father of Rajaraja and grandfather of the great Ananta-varman Cho<Jagahga, was crowned. The records of Vajrahasta and his son as well as the earlier ones of his grandson give the following information about the early history of this branch of the Gahga family. 27 In the Atreya gotra and the Gahga family (a Brahmana family according to Muslim chroniclers) was born Gunamaharnava who acquired the glory of samrdjya; his son Vajrahasta united the earth which had been divided into five kingdoms

and ruled for 44 years; the next rulers were his three sons, viz. Gundama (3 years), Kamarnava (35 years) and Vinayaditya (3 years); thereafter Kamarnava's son Vajrahasta-Aniyankabhlma became king and ruled for 35 years; he was followed by his three sons, viz. Kamarnava (6 months) who married Vinayamahadevi of the Vaidumba family (holding sway in the land about Arcot, Cuddappa and Nellore Districts from the ninth to the thirteenth century), Gundama (3 years) and Madhukamarnava (19 years). VajrahastaAnanta-varman, who was crowned in A.D. 1038, was the son of Kamarnava by the Vaidumba princess. This account evidently suggests that Gunamaharnava was the first king of this branch of the Ganga family, that the Ganga kingdom had been divided into five principalities apparently owing to the weakness of the central government, and that Gunamaharnava's son Vajrahasta succeeded in reuniting the diverse units under his sole sway. But though this account of the rise of the Greater

Gangas is not altogether improbable, at least in regard to the broad outline, it has to be noted that the tradition recorded in the later records 28 of the family, from the latter part of the reign of Ananta-varman Chodaganga, is somewhat different.

The later account represents the Ganga family as a branch of the lunar dynasty and reminds us of the fabricated genealogy of the Pallavas, Eastern Chalukyas and others. It traces the descent of the family from Ananta (Vishnu), Brahman born of Vishnu's navel, > his mind-born son Atri (the gotrarshi of the Ganga family), and Atri's eye-born son Sasanka (Moon). From the moon to Yayati's son Turvasu, the Puranic account of the lunar dynasty is followed. It is then said that Turvasu had, through the favour of the goddess Ganga, a son named Gangeya whose descendants were known as Ganga. The seventeenth descendant of Gangeya, as enumerated in the list, was Kolahala (also called Ananta-varman) who is said to have built Kolahalapura (modern Kolar in Mysore) in the Gahgava^i vishaya. Here is an attempt to trace the descent of the Eastern Gangas of Orissa from the Western Gangas of Mysore, who however claimed to have belonged to the Kanvayana gotra and the solar dynasty of Ikshvaku. 29 Kolahala's son was Virochana in whose lineage, after 81 kings had ruled at Kolahalapura, flourished Virasirhha. Virasirhha's son Kamarnava presented his own territory to his paternal uncle and set out to conquer the earth with his four brothers, viz. Danarnava, Gunarnava. Marasimha and Vajrahasta. He came to Mount Mahendra in Kalinga (in Ganjam District)! and worshipped the god Gokarnasvamin (Gokarnesvara). Through the god's favour, Kamarnava obtained the Vrishabha-lanchhana (bull crest) and the insignia of sovereignty. He then took possession of the Kalinga country after having defeated £abaraditya and ruled for

36 years at Jantavura (Dantapura or Jayantyapura?). He was succeeded by his brother Danarnava, who ruled for 40 years, while to his other brothers were assigned the districts called Ambavadi-vishaya (Ambavalli in Parlakimedi), Sodaman^ala (Soda in Parlakimedi) and VarahavartanI (Tekkali-Chicacole area). Danarnava's *son Kamarnava; who ruled for 50 years, built a city named Nagara and a temple of Isa (Siva) under the name Madhukesa. His son Ranarnava ruled for five years and was succeeded by his two sons, viz. Vajrahasta (15 years) and Kamarnava (19 years). The son

and successor of this Kamarnava was Gunarnava, who is said to have ruled for 27 years and is apparently the same as Gun-amaharnava mentioned in the earlier account as the founder of the Greater Gafiga family. But in the present account the successor of Gunarnava (Gunamaharnava) is said to have been his son Potankuia (15 years), who was himself succeeded by his brother's son Kaligalahkuia (12 years), followed by Potankusa's brothers Gundama (7 years), Kamarnava (25^years) and Vinayaditya (3 years). It has been suggested that this Kamarnava and Vinayaditya are mentioned in the Conjeeveram inscription of Jata Choda-Bhima, dated A.D. 982, as having been killed by that chief. 30 The next king was Kamarnava's son Vajrahasta who is the same as Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhlma of the first account. It will be seen presently that we are on surer grounds from this reign. The account of the predecessors of this king up to Gunarnava (Gunamaharnava) is extremely doubtful at least in regard to details, while the tradition about the earlier history of the family, not found in the earlier account, seems to have been entirely fabricated. Some scholars find in the reference to the construction of the city called Nagara a historical allusion to the foundation of Kalinganagara. This is impossible in view of the fact that the builder of Nagara is placed about eight generations before a king who was crowned in A.D. 1038, while the city of Kalinganagara is known to have existed at least as early as the sixth century A.D.

If Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhlma (35 years) was succeeded by his three sons, Kamarnava (6 months), Gundama (3 years) and Madhukamamava (19 years) who was followed by Vajrahasta-Anantavarm'an, crowned in A.D. 1038, the regnal periods of these kings may have been as follows: Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhlma, A.D. 980-1015; Kamarnava, A.D. 1015-16; Gundama, A.D. 1016-19; Madhukamarnava, A.D. 1019-38. This chronology appears to be supported by epigraphic evidence. To Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhlma (son of Kamarnava), A.D. 980-1015, no doubt is; to be assigned the Ponduru grant issued by king Vajrahasta, son of Kamarnava, in the Ganga year 500 (A.D. 996-998). 31 The Mandasa grant of the Kadamba chief Dharmakhedi, son of Bhimakhe^i, was issued during the reign of the

Ganga king Ananta-varman in the Saka year navasatakasaptarasa. Navasataka no doubt indicates 900 and saptarasa is probably a hybrid Sanskrit-Prakrit word standing midway between Sanskrit saptadasa and

Prakrit sattarasa meaning 17. 32 This epigraph, dated in Saka 917 (A.D. 995) and referring to the Ganga king Anantavarman, suggests that Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhima, like his grandson, was also known as Ananta-varman. The suggestion seems to be supported by the Chicacole grant of the Ganga year 526 (A.D. 1022 24) which was issued by the Ganga king Madhukamarnava represented in the record as the son of Ananta-varman. This king is apparently no other than Madhukamarnava who was the son of Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhima and ruled in A.D. 1019-38. The Kadamba chief Dharmakhedi, who issued the Mandasa grant in A.D. 995, later issued the Santa-Bommali charter 33 in the Ganga year 520 (A.D. 1016-18) during the reign of t*he Ganga king Devendra-varman, son of Ananta-varman (Vajrahasta-Aniyahkabhima). Devendra-varman seems to have been a second name of either Kamarnava (A.D. 101516) or Gundama (A.D. 1016-19) who were both sons of VajrahastaAniyahkabhlma-Ananta-varman.

The later history of the family from Vajrahasta-Ananta-varman (crowned in A.D. 1038), who is styled Vajrahasta III (according to the genealogy given in his own records) or Vajrahasta V (according to the fabricated genealogy found in the later records of his successors) and was the real founder of the family's greatness, will be discussed in the next volume. But we might consider here the plausible suggestion that the rise of the Greater Gangas was a result of the Chola expedition against Kalinga in the reign of Rajaraja Chola (A.D. 985-1016). Rajaraja Choja claims to have conquered Kalinga some time before A.D. 1003, 34 while his son Rajendra is known to have set up pillars of victory, 35 probably during his father's reign, on Mount Mahendra in Kalinga. The omission of Kalinga in the list of countries conquered by Rajendra Chola's generals shortly before A.D. 1023 36 seems to suggest that the Ganga king was then regarded as a subordinate ally of the Cholas. The Greater Gangas, who gained power probably under the patronage of the Chola conquerors, are known to have employed Chola officials and contracted matrimonial alliances with the Cholas. The Vaidumba relative of Vajrahasta-Aniyankabhlma-Ananta-varman might have been Vishnudeva Duraiarasan who was a feudatory of Rajaraja Chola and is known from an inscription of A.D. 992. 37

3. The Ganga House of Svctaka

Reference has already been made to the rise of the viceregal Ganga house of Svetaka, no doubt at the expense, and owing to the

weakness, of the Ganga kings of Kalinganagara. 38 The earliest known .rulers of the Svetaka house were Jaya-varman (Ganga years 100 and 120 falling in A.D. 596-616) and Samanta-varman (Ganga year 165 or 185). A group of later rulers of Svetaka were Mahindravarman, his son Prithvl-varman, and the latter's sons Indra-varman and Danarnava. King Bhupendra-varman, son of Kailasa, seems to be a later member of the same house which probably continued its separate existence till the last quarter of the eleventh century. The last ruler of the Svetaka house appears to have been king Devendra-varman mentioned as the overlord of Kadamba Udayaditya, son of Dharmakhedi, in the Kambakaya grant probably dated in &aka 1003 (A.D. 1081). 33 He is also known from the Gara inscription 40 of an uncertain date, the Draksharama inscription 41 of Kulottuhga Chola's 33rd regnal year (A.D. 1103), and the Kalingattuparcmi. A recently discovered copper-plate grant was issued in Saka 988 (A.D. 1066) during this king's reign. The Svetaka house appears to have been completely extirpated by Anantavarman Chodaganga about the close of the eleventh century.

4. The Kadambas of Jayantydpura

We have referred to the Mandasa and Santa-Bommali grants of the Kadamba chief Dharmakhedi issued during the reigns of Vajrahasta-Aniyankabhlma-Ananta-varman and Devendra-varman (Kamarnava or Gundama) in the period A.D. 995-1018. Like their overlords, these Eastern Kadambas appear to have represented a branch of a western ruling house, viz. the Kadamba family of the Kanarese country. R&naka Mahdmandalesvara Dharmakhedi, son of Bhlmakhedi and grandson of Niyarnava, ruled over five districts from his capital at Jayantyapura. Dharmakhedi's grandfather Niyarnava seems to be no other than the Ranaka Niyarnama mentioned as the father of Mahadevi Vijya in a record of Rdnaka Ranabhanja (son of Satrubhanja and grandson of Silabhanja) who ruled Khinjali -mandala from Dhritipura. Reference has already been made to Udayaditya who was a son of Dharmakhedi and a feudatory of Ganga Devendra-varman, probably of Svetaka, and issued the Kambakaya grant in A.D. 1081. A Parlakimedi inscription 42 of the time of Vajrahasta (crowned A.D. 1038) refers to a feudatory named Ugrakhedi of the Nidusanti clan and the Kadamba family. This epigraph also contains a later record of Ranyaka Udayakhedi who is possibly the same as Udayaditya of the Kambakaya grant. A recently discovered copper-plate grant of A.D. 1066 mentions Bhlmakhedi, son of Dharmakhedi, as a feudatory of Ganga Devendra-varman, probably of Svetaka. Nothing is known about these Eastern Kadambas after the eleventh century A.D.

in. THE SOMAVAMSIS

•The early history of the Pan<J uvamsa, also called the family of the Moon (Somavamsa), which ruled in South Kosala with Sripura (modern Sirpur in Raipur District) as the capital, has been already discussed. 43 The rulers of this family were called lords of Kosala, although their records have been mostly found in the western part of this janapada , 44 Their early charters had the Vaishnavite emblem of Garu^a on their seal while the later ones bore the Saiva symbol of the couchant bull. Little is known of this family after king 6ivagupta (Mahaiivagixpta) Balarjuna, who seems to have flourished at the close of the sixth and the first half of the seventh century A.D. 46 Another group of kings, some of whom bore the names Sivagupta and Mahasivagupta and had names ending in the word kesarin (like some members of the Pan<Juvarhsa), is also known to have claimed descent from the Somavamsa (family of the Moon) and suzerainty over Kosala. The records of the early members of this family, which have been found in the Sambalpur tract in the eastern part of the ancient South Kosala country, cannot, however, be assigned to any date earlier than the tenth century. The kings moreover have the distinctive epithet Trikalingadhipati, and never claim to have been descended from the Pantjuvam^a. The seal of their early records bears not the Garuda or the bull emblem but the Gajalakshml symbol (although they were &aivas) like that of the Sarabhapunyas and the Kalachuris. The relations of the Somavamsls under discussion with the earlier ruling families of South Kosala cannot be definitely determined in the present state of insufficient information.

The founder of this later Somavamsa was king Sivagupta. His records have not yet been discovered but he has been assigned imperial epithets in the records of his son. That the later members did not regard him as the founder of the family seems to indicate that his son and not he was the real founder of the family’s greatness. His reign may be roughly assigned to the first half of the tenth century (c. A.D. 915-35). It has been suggested that he was possibly the Kosala king from whom Mugdhatunga, the Kalachuri king of .Tripurl (in Dahala or the Jubbulpore region), claims to have conquered a locality called Pall which has been identified with a village of that name near Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District. If the early members of the Somavamsa actually held sway over Chhattisgarh, they must have been gradually ousted from that area by the Kalachuris of Dahala, although permanent occupation of Chhattisgarh by the Kalachuris has to be assigned to the eleventh century

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Sivagupta was succeeded by his son Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta I alias Dharma-kandarpa (c. A.D. 935-70) whose earliest and latest records (dated in the regnal years 3 and 34) were issued from. Suvarnapura (modern Sonpur in the old Sonpur State). Some other charters of the king were issued from such places as Murasima. (modern Mursinga in the old Patna State) and Arama (supposed to have been a pleasure garden near Suvarnapura). The king who was a devout worshipper of Mahesvara (Siva) is sometimes specifically mentioned as king of Kosala, and some of the villages granted by him are said to have been situated in Kosaladesa. According to the Bhuvaneswar inscription of Uddyotakesarin, Mahabhavagupta I captured the royal fortune of the king of the Odra country, roughly corresponding to the lower part of modern Orissa, which was in this age under the rulers of the Kara dynasty. This king, like other members of the family, called himself “the lord of Trikalinga.” 46 As has been pointed out above, it is not definitely known whether the name Trikalinga indicated three countries (e.g. Kosala, Kalihga, and Utkala or Odra) collectively, or a particular tract of land lying probably between Kalihga - and South Kosala. But, as has been indicated above, the country of Utkala or Odra was in this age comprised in the dominions of the Karas with whom the Somavamsi monarch may have come into conflict. The exact boundaries of the dominions of Janameyaja Mahabhavagupta I cannot be determined. Kalachuri Lakshmanaraja, who ruled about the third quarter of the tenth century and claimed to Have defeated the lord of Kosala, possibly came into conflict with thfs king.

An important official of the king was his minister for war and peace, named Malladatta, who was the son of Dharadatta and served the Somavamsi ruler at least from the sixth do the thirty-first year of his reign. Malladatta was succeeded in the office by a second Dharadatta who was probably his son. The history of the ministerial family of the Dattas, which solves a number of problems in the genealogy of the Somavamsi rulers, illustrates the interesting ancient Indian custom of the hereditary appointment of ministers referred to in the Udayagiri inscription of Chandra-gupta II of the Gupta dynasty.

Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta I was succeeded, some time after his thirty-fourth regnal year, by his son Yayati Mahasivagupta I, who assumed the title Paramamahesvara like his father, and seems to have ruled in the second half of the tenth century (c. A.D. 070-1000). The earlier records of this king were issued from Vinitapura which has been identified with modern Binka in the old Sonpur State; but the charters dated in his twenty-fourth and twenty-eighth regnal

years are found to have been issued from Yayatinagara on the Mahanadl, a city apparently founded by, and named after, the king. Some writers believe that Yayatinagara was the name given by king Yayati Mahasivagupta I to Vinitapura. His charters, like those of his father, often record gifts of land specifically in Kosala or Dakshina Kosala, although an inscription 47 of his ninth regnal year is known to record the grant of a village in South Tosala which formed an integral part of the dominions of the Karas. In one of his charters, an official of the king is specially mentioned as the Sandhi vigrahin of Kosaladesa. Dharadatta II, who served Janamejaya as minister for war and peace during the later years of his reign, continued in office till at least the twenty-fourth regnal year of Yayati, and was later succeeded as minister for war and peace by another member of the Datta family, named Simhadatta, who was the son of Harshadatta and probably a grandson of Dharadatta II.

The latest known record of Yayati Mahasivagupta I is dated in his twenty-eighth regnal year. The later records of the king describe him as having captured 32 big elephants and defeated a certain ruler named Ajapala of whom nothing is known.

A short supplement, comprising three verses, engraved at the end of a charter of Yayati Mahasivagupta, 48 tells us that a king of Kosala of the lunar dynasty (soma-kula), named Svabhavatuhga, defeated the Chaidyas or Kalachuris of Dahala (modern Jubbulpore region). It seems further to say that certain lieutenants of the Chedi (Kalachuri) king, headed by Bhatfa-Pedi, were honoured by their master for invading the Somavamsi kingdom and carrying away a number of women, but that the Somavamsi monarch, aided by a general named Lakshmaiia, pursued the Chedi forces into the enemy’s territory, killed Bhatfa-Pe<Ji and rescued the captured women. It also describes how Svabhavatunga’s son (whose name is not mentioned) cared little for the Chaidya (Kalachuri king) named Durgaraja and burnt the land of Dahala (the Chedi country) rendering it depopulated. v

As the only Somavamsi king mentioned in these supplementary verses is Svabhavatuhga, it may be regarded as another name of Yayati Mahasivagupta I himself. If this identity be presumed, we get valuable information regarding the political relations between the Somavamsis and the Kalachuris in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

The unpublished Baud plates of the Kara queen Prithvlmahadevl alias Tribhuvanamahadevi II, dated in the year 158 of the Kara era, state that shejvas the daughter of king Svabhavatuhga of the lunar dynasty of Kosala, who fnay be none other than the Somavamil monarch mentioned above, and therefore identical with Yayati Mahasivagupta I. We have seen above how this SomavaihsI king granted in his ninth regnal year a village in. the Kara territory. Another inscription of the same king records the grant of a village in the Gandhatapatl (modern Gandharadhi in the old Baud State) mandala (district), apparently named after 6atrubhahja I Gandhafa of the Bhahja dynasty of Dhritipura, which owed allegiance to the Karas. This seems to suggest that it was Yayati Mahasivagupta I who was responsible for driving the descendants of &atrubhanja’s son Ranabhanja from Dhritipura in Upper Orissa to Vahjulvaka in the Ganjam region. 43 These two facts, pointing to the success of Yayati Mahasivagupta I against the Karas, do not appear to be unconnected with his daughter’s accession to the Kara throne which, as noted above, was a disputed one. It is very probable that Ppithvlmahadevl succeeded in occupying the Kara kingdom with the active help of her father Yayati Mahasivagupta I. Possibly in connection with his successful campaign against his daughter’s rivals for the Kara throne the SomavamsI monarch granted the village of Chandragrama in Dakshina-Tosala, identified with modem Chandgan, about 32 miles from Cuttack. 60 It may be, pointed out in this connection that the year 158 of the Kara era, when Ppithvimahadevl was on the throne, does not appear to have been far removed from the ninth regnal year of Yayati Mahasivagupta I. 61

1. El, VI. 208.

2. Eastern Chalukyas, 44.

3. El, VI. 242.

4. El, XXII. 105.

5. Some scholars, however, identify it with modern Cunbum in Kurnool District.

6. El IX. 39.

7. El, XVIII. 107.

8. Some scholars interpret rattesa-saihchodita as “ordered by the Rashtrakuta king” whom they identify with Amoghavarsha I. They hold that after the death of this king, Vijavaditya threw off his allegiance to the Rash^rakutas and thus war endued with Krishna II.

9. ARSIE, 1913, p. 131.

10. Ibid, 1909, p. 108.

11. Ibid, 1924, pp. 10, 98.

12. Ibid, 1917, p. 117.

13. El, IX. 47.

14. I A, VII. 18.

15. El, VII. 177.

16. EC, VI. 49.

17. This is based on the reconstruction of the history of Ja{a Ghoda-Bhlma by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (PIHC, III. 605 ff). See now the same author's The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, pp. 200 ff. Cf. also B.V. Krishna Rao, JAHRS, X. 16.

18. See Vol. Ill, pp. 215 ff.

19. El, III. 18.

20. El, XVin. 312.

21. 3h. List, No. 2051.

22. 1A, XIV. 11.

23 He is said to have been the son of Vajrl (Vajrahasta). See Bh. List, p. 386.

24. JASL, XVIII. 77.

25. JAHRS, XX. 161.

26. Bh. List, No. 1090.

27. Ibid, No. 1091.

28. Ibid, No. 1103. See El, XXVIII. 235ff; ARS1E, 1935-6, pp. 61-3.

20. There is absolutely no evidence in favour of the conjecture that the Gahgas

were the descendants of the ancient people called Gangaridae by classical writers.

For the Indian name of the Gangaridae, see Sircar, ‘The City of Gahga’,

PIHC, 1947, pp. 91-98.

30. The two kings, who are also mentioned in the earlier account, lost their lives respectively about A.D. 977 and 980. They probably fought with the TeluguChoda king on behalf of the Eastern Chalukyas.

31. JKHRS, I. 219.

32. The expression is usually taken to be a combination of the words sapta (7) and rasa (6). In that case the date may be Saka 913 (A.D. 991). But I have no doubt that saptarasa stands for 17. See JKHRS, I. 219-21.

33. Bh. List. No. 2053.

34. EC, X. Mb. 123.

35. El, VI. 347.

36. El, IX. 229.

37. Sewell, HISI, 54.

38. See Vol. Ill, p. 217.

39 JKHRS 1 I 219

40. ARSIE, 1932-3, pp. 56-7. If the inscription is really dated in Saka 1005 (A.D. 1083) and in the 7th regnal year of the king, his name Devendravarman may be regarded as a mistake for Anantavarman (i.e. Chodagariga, son of Rajaraja I Devendra-varman, c. A.D. 1070-78).

41. El, XXII. 138 ff.

42. El, III. 223.

43. Vol. Ill, pp. 220 ff.

44. A recently discovered record, dated in the 57th regnal year of Balarjuna, contains the names of two villages which have been located in the old Kalahandi State. This probably suggests that the rule of the Panduvarhsis extended over the eastern part of the janapada as well (JKHRS, I. 265-6). In El, XXVIII. 322-3, the villages have been located in Sambalpur District, Orissa.

45. Vol. Ill, p. 222.

46. The published eye-copy (JRASB, L. XIII. 74) of the Bhuvaneswar Inscription (1.2) suggests the reading of a word in a damaged section as triling-ddhipa in connection with this king. It is uncertain whether Janamejaya is himself called the lord of Trilinga or one who defeated the Trilinga king.

47. El, III. 351; Misra, Dynasties of Medieval Orissa, pp. 63 ff.

48. It was originally published in JPASB, 1905, pp. 14-16. See now JASL, XIX. 117 ff.

49. IHQ, XXVIII. 227; also cf. above, Ch. IV. III. 2.

50. Misra, Dyn. Med. Orissa, p. 68.

51. The Daspalla plates of 6atrubhanja, recently edited in El, offer astronomical details suggesting the beginning of the era in A.D. 831. Cf. IHQ, XXIX. 148 ff. [This is not compatible with the view of Kara chronology adopted above on p. 63. Cf. also p. 79, fn. 33.—Ed.]

CHAPTER VII

SOUTH INDIA

I. THE PALLAVAS

1. Danti-varman and Nandi-varman III

Danti-varman, whose inscriptions range from his second to his fifty-first regnal year and cover a large part of the Pallava dominions, was the son of Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla by Reva (Rkvaka), the Rashtrakuta princess. Danti-varman, who was thus the grandson of Dantidurga Rashtrakuta, married a Kadamba princess. About A.D. 804 Rashtrakuta Govinda III invaded Kanchl which had earlier been attacked by his predecessor, Dhruva. We do not know how the relations between the Pallavas and the Rashtrakutas changed for the worse. An inscription in Tamil of Danti-varman in the Parthasarathi temple, Triplicane (Madras), describes him as “the ornament of the Pallava family,” belonging to the Bharadvaja gotta, the gotra of the previous Pallava sovereigns as well. This record proves the antiquity of that temple which was built by an earlier Pallava ruler. The reign of Danti-varman witnessed a recrudescence of the Pandya aggression, and Varaguna I occupied the Kaveri ! region. The inscriptions of Danti-varman are significantly ^absent from that region from his sixteenth regnal year to the end of his reign, while some records of the Pan<Jya king are found there. The Banas were feudatory to Danti-varman.

Danti-varman’s son, Nandi-varman III, known by his conspicuous surname of TeUarrerinda, worshipped &iva, patronised Tamil literary savants like Perundevanar, author of the BhcLratavenba, and married £ankha, the daughter of Amoghavarsha I Rashtrakuta. Nandi-varman’s other surnames like Avani-naranan, Varatungan and Ugrakopan are mentioned in a contemporary Tamil work, the Nandikkalambakam. It throws a flood of light on his. military activities—his achievements at Tellaru (North Arcot District) and several other battle-fields. It is clear that Nandi-varman III heroically rolled back the swelling tide of Fan<Jya aggression, which had come to a head during his predecessor’s reign; he inflicted a decisive defeat

on the enemy at Tellaru and pursued him, it is said, to the banks of the Vaigai. The battle of Tellaru must have been fought early in the reign of Nandi-varman, seeing that it is described in his Velurpalaiyam plates issued in his sixth regnal year. The literary work referred to above mentions him as the ruler of the

Kaveri region, the Kongudesa, etc., and enumerates his chief cities Kanchl, Mallai (Mahabalipuram) and Mayilai (Mylapore, Madras). Like Danti-varman, Nandi-varman was the overlord of the Banas.

2. Nripatunga-varman and Apardjita

Nripatunga-varman, the son of Nandi-varman III by the Rashtrakuta princess, maintained the integrity of his empire and received the allegiance of the Banas. His inscriptions are found as far south as Pudukkottai. His warlike policy towards the Pandyas was successful. His Bahtir (Vahur, near Pondicherry) plates record his victory over them on the banks of the Arichit (Arisil or Arasalar, a distributary of the^ Kaveri). This battle is regarded by Jouveau Dubreuil to have taken place at Kudamukku or Kumbhakonam. The Bahur plates mention the grant of three villages by the minister of Nrinatunga-varman in the eighth regnal year to a Vidyasthdna or Vedic college as a Vidvabhoqam i.e., for the promotion of learning, and as Brahmadeya. According to one interpretation of verses 24 to 26. the college made provision for the study of fourteen divisions of learning, viz. four Vedas, six Ahgas, Mlmamsa, Nyaya, Pur ana, and Dharmasastra. Whatever may be the correct interpretation of the word in question viz. choturddasa-gana , there is no doubt that the Ghatikd of the earlier period developed into the Vidvfisfhjnna of the ninth centurv A.D. In the sphere of education, as in other fWds. the Pallavas anticipated the great achievements of the Cholas of Taniore and Gahgaikondacholapuram.

Aparajita is the last known prince belonging to the imperial line of the Pallavas. His name is connected with a great victory and a decisive defeat. The campaign against the Pandyas culminated in their defeat at &rlpurambiyam near Kumbhakonam about A.D. 880. The victorious Pallavas were aided by their feudatories Prithvlpati I (Western Gariga) and

Aditya I (Chola). “At the head of the great battle of Sripurambiyam this hero (Prithvlpati I) quickly defeated Varaguna II, the lord of the Pandyas, and having, at the expense of his own life, secured that his friend was Aparajita (unconquered) in fact as in name, he ascended to heaven.” 1 The battle of Sripurambiyam or Tiruppurambiyam is an epic event in South Indian history. The imperial position of the Pandyas was completely lost, but their imperial successors were not the Pallavas, who were soon after overthrown by the Cholas under Aditya I. At his hands the victorious Aparajita suffered defeat about A.D. 893 and the victor

became master of Tondamandalam.

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With Aparajita, the Pallava imperial line came to an end. There were branches of the dynasty like the Nolamba-Pallavas or.

IYolambas holding sway over the region called Nolambavadi. But in Tondamandalam, the main theatre of Pallava glory, we find in the thirteenth century a great chieftain named Ko-Peruhjihga who defied the Chola authority in the days of its decline. He claimed Pallava descent, but we cannot connect him genealogically with the imperial Pallavas.

II. THE CHOLAS OF TANJORE 1. Vijaydlaya and Aditya 1

The founder of the Cho}a dynasty of Tanjore was Vijayalaya, a feudatory of the Pallavas. His dynasty rose to high eminence and lasted for more than two centuries. Vijayalaya rose to power near Uraiyur, the capital of the Cholas of the Sangam Age. ' An inscription at Tirunedungajam (Tiruchirapalli District) records a gift of land in accordance with the orders of Parakesari Vijayalaya Choladeva. The titles Parakesari and Rajakesari were alternately assumed by the Choja sovereigns from the time of Vijayalaya. Though he cannot be connected genealogically with the Cholas of Uraiyur (Karikala and his successors), his rise in the Uraiyur region is not without significance. He may be assigned to the period, c. A.D. 850-871, and his son and successor Aditya I to c. A.D. 871-907. Vijayalaya captured Tanjore from the Muttaraiyar, who had their headquarters at &endalai, near Tanjore. They were for long feudatories of the imperial

P^Jlavas and were now under the Pandyas. As there was hostility and open conflict between the Pallavas and the Pandyas, Vijayalaya, a feudatory of the Pallavas, felt justified in seizing Tanjore from the *Muttaraiyar oh behalf of his overlord. It is also probable that he took advantage of the political confusion in the Kaverl region, the borderland between the Pallava and Pandya kingdoms, in order to promote his own interests. After the conquest of Tanjore, Vijayalaya built a temple there for Durga; and his successors also were staunch £aivas. The territory acquired by him extended between the North and South Vellar rivers along the lower course of the Kaverl and the Coleroon.

Aditya I (c. A.D. 871-907), the son and successor of Vijayalaya, took part in the great battle of Sripurambiyam in which, as mentioned above, the Pandyas were defeated by his Pallava suzerain. He reaped the fruits of the victory and obtained additions to his territory near Tanjore from the grateful king Aparajita. But Aditya's loyalty did not long endure. Not long afterwards he fought with his overlord and defeated him. An inscription states that in a battle Aditya "pounced upon and slew the Pallava king

who was seated on the back of a tall elephant" and that he earned the surname of Kodandarama. This event, which may be assigned to about A.D. 893, gave Aditya mastery over Tondamandalam. Subsequently he conquered the Kongudesa (the districts of Coimbatore and Salem) from the Pandyas and the Western Gangas probably with the aid of the Chera king, Sthanu Ravi, with whom he maintained cordial relations. Aditya is also credited with the seizure of Talakad the capital of the Western Gangas. Prithvlpati II recognised the overlordship of Aditya, whose kingdom now stretched from Kalahasti and Tirukkalukkunram to Pudukkottai and

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Coimbatore and included Talakad. Aditya married a Pallava princess and had two sons Parantaka and Kannaradeva. He built several temples for Siva. Though the nucleus of the Chola kingdom was created by Vijayalaya, the real founder of its power was Aditya I, a prince of striking ability, energy, and wisdom.

2. Pardntaka I

Aditya was succeeded by his son Parantaka who ruled for more than forty-five years (A.D. 907-953). The date of his accession is definitely known and may be said to be the bed-rock of Chola chronology. The reign of Parantaka was an eventful one and he led numerous military campaigns with the help of his allies, viz. the Western Gangas, the Kerala ruler and the Kodumbalur chiefs. By these successful wars he built up the Chola Empire which attained the pinnacle of fame and glory under his successors.

The most important among the conquests of Parantaka was Madura, and it was achieved gradually during the first half of his long reign. Soon after his accession to the throne he raided Madura and won the title of Madhurantaka or destroyer of Madura. In his third regnal year he assumed the title of Maduraikonda or captor of Madura. Consequent on his defeat, the Pandya king, Rajasimha II, sought and obtained the aid of the Ceylonese ruler. About A.D. 915 a famous battle was fought at Vellur (south-west of Madura) where the Pandyas and the Sinhalese were beaten. A third campaign effected the expulsion of Rajasimha about A.D. 920, and three years later Parantaka described himself as Maduraiyum llamum Koiida or captor of Madura and Ceylon. But towards the close of his reign, he failed in his attempt to obtain from the Ceylonese ruler the insignia of Pandya royalty left with him by Rajasimha, who had fled to Kerala. The conquest of Madura was, however, by no means easy, and Parantaka was engaged throughout the latter half of his reign in reducing tlhe conquered country to order and obedience. In subduing Madurai, he received the help of the Kerala ruler and of the Kodumbalur chiefs.

About A.D. 915 the Banas were ‘uprooted’ by Parantaka with the aid of Prithvlpati II, the Western Gahga ruler, upon whom were conferred the titles of Banadhirdja, Hastimalla and Sembiyan Mdvalivdnardyan. About A.D. 915 Parantaka also defeated the Vaidumbas of the Renan^u country who were the allies of the Banas. The coalition was perhaps headed by Rashtrakuta Krishna II, and the decisive victory was won by Parantaka in a battle at Vallala (Tiruvallam, N. Arcot District). Parantaka smashed the remains of the Pallava power and conquered the country as far north as Nellore. By these successive victories, he enlarged his empire which extended from the North Pennar to Cape Comorin and was bounded on the west by the Chera and Western Gahga kingdoms.

Not long after the Cholas had thus extended their power far and wide, the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III invaded Tondamandalam with the support of Butuga II, the Western Gahga chief. A decisive engagement took place at Takkolam in A.D. 949 in which the Chojas were completely defeated and the crown-prince Rajaditya lost his life. It was the death knell of the imperialist ambitions of Parantaka, who lost Tondamandalam as well as his control over the Pandya country.

Eleven queens of Parantaka are mentioned in his inscriptions, and one of them was a Kerala princess. He had five sons—Rajaditya, Gandaraditya, Arikulakesari, Uttamaslli and Arihjaya, the last being the son of the Kerala princess. Parantaka had also two daughters. He was devoted to Siva and constructed many temples. He provided the Nataraja shrine at Chidambaram with a gold roof. Some of his titles have been mentioned; his other titles are Para kesari-varmanVlrantimyana, Devendra ChakravarU, Panditavatsala (one fond of learned men), Kunjaramalla or wrestler with elephants, and Surasiilamani or the crest-jewel of heroes.

3. The Rashtrakuta Interregnum in Tondamandalam

The Rashtrakuta invasion of Tondamandalam was not a bolt from the blue. It was the result of many factors such as the rapid territorial expansion of the Cholas, the aggressive policy of Parantaka I towards the Banas and the Vaidumbas, the death of Prithvlpati II in A.D. 940, followed by the accession to the Western Ganga throne of Butuga II, the husband of Krishna Ill's sister, and above all, the growing power of Krishna III, the last great Rashtrakuta ruler who possessed ability and enterprise and aimed at avenging the defeat of Krishna II at Vallala and rivalling the achievements in South India of Govinda III, the greatest of the Rashtrakutas. The Banas and the Vaidumbas also appealed to Krishna against the rising tide of Chola aggression and imperialism. Parantaka I was not oblivious of the dangers inherent in his own policy and concentrated on the defences of Tondamandalam by entrusting its administration to his eldest son, Rajaditya.

Krishna Ill's invasion of Tondamandalam took place some time before A.D. 949, the date of the battle of Takkolam, fixed with reference to the Atakur inscription of Butuga II. The Atakur record says that "when Kannaradeva was fighting the Chola, Butuga made the howdah battle-field, and aimed at, pierced and killed Rajaditya." Consequently the Cholas lost the battle, and Butuga II was lavishly rewarded with grant of territory by his grateful brother-in-law. We have already detailed the consequences of the Chola disaster at Takkolam. The Rashtrakuta occupation of Tondamandalam must have taken a few years and we have no genuine inscriptions of Krishna III in Tondamandalam earlier than A.D. 953. The Rashtrakuta interregnum must have lasted for at least fifteen years,—A.D. 953 to 968. During this period, ever a dozen inscriptions of Krishna III testify to the activity of the village assemblies at Uttaramerur, Ukkal, Kavanur, Tirukkalukkunram, Bahur, etc. This seems to indicate that the rule of the Rashfrakutas was not prejudicial to the progress of the Mahasabha in Tondamandalam, the activity of which was characteristic of the reign of Parantaka I. Several inscriptions of Krishna found in Tondamandalam describe him as the captor of Kanchi and Tanj ore. Some records refer to the progress of the Rashtrakutas southwards through the Chola dominions as far as Ramesvaram, where a pillar of victory is said to have been erected. It is difficult to estimate the truth contained in such statements. Probably there were occasional raids into the southern Chola territory. But there are no inscriptions of Krishna III or of his feudatories, south of Pondicherry. Therefore the Rashtrakuta interregnum was most probably confined to Tondamandalam.

4. Gandciraditya , Parantaka II, and Uttama Chola

The interval between the death of Parantaka I (c. A.D. 953) and the accession of Rajaraja I in A.D. 985 is a confused period in Chola history.. The dynastic genealogy and chronology during that period are largely uncertain and the course of history is not sufficiently clear. Parantaka I was succeeded by his second son Gandaraditya, his eldest son having perished at Takkolam. Gandaraditya's queen, Semhiyan MahadevI, who died in A.D. 1001, was a pious and charitable lady fond of building temples and esteemed by all the members of the royal family, including Rajaraja I, who was the brother of

Aditya II and son of Sundara Parantaka II (son of Gandaraditya's brother, Arihjaya). Uttama Chola was the son of Gandaraditya. During the short reign of the latter (A.D. 953*957) the need for recovering Tondamandalam was not lost sight of. He is regarded as the author of a single hymn on the Chidambaram temple.

Gandaraditya was succeeded by Arihjaya and the latter in his turn by Sundara Chola or Parantaka II (A.D. 957-973). He was active against the Pandyas, who were independent under Vira Pandya* and the latter was defeated in spite of the Sinhalese aid he had secured. The Pandya war led to an expedition to Ceylon. In these military expeditions, the Kodumbalur chiefs 2 played an important part, and inscriptions portray the active role of prince Aditya II. In spite of the Chola success, the Pandya campaigns were, on the whole, indecisive. But Tondamandalam was recovered from the Rashtrakutas, It is significant that Sundara Chola died at Kahchl, and Vanavan MabadevI, the mother of Rajaraja I, committed sati. Another queen of Sundara Cho]a belonged to Kerala. He was a patron of literature, both Tamil and Sanskrit. A little before his death, his son Aditya II was murdered at the instigation of Uttama Chola, who coveted the throne, as he belonged to the senior branch of the royal family.

Uttama Chola (A.D. 973-985) was the wicked son of his admirable parents, Gandaraditya and Sembiyan Mahadevl. Tondamandalam enjoyed peace after its recovery from the Rashfrakutas. The earliest Chola coin is a gold piece belonging to the reign of Uttama Chola. Five of his queens are mentioned in his inscriptions. His son was Madhurantaka Gandaraditya, but Rajaraja had been made the heir apparent of Uttama Chola.

The reign of Rajaraja, which extended beyond the period under review, marks the beginning of that ascendancy which made the Chojas the paramount power over a large part of India. It will be therefore convenient to treat his history along with that of his successors in the next volume.

III. THE FIRST PANDYA EMPIRE 1. Nedunjadaiyan

Nedufijadaiyan, the son of Maravarman Rajasimha I, is also known as Maranjadaiyan, Parantaka, Jafila or Jatilavarman and Varaguna I. His inscriptions range from his third to his forty-third regnal year, and it is not unreasonable to assign to him a regnal period of fifty years, A.D. 765-815. The Vejvikudi grant dated in his third regnal year possesses a unique importance. It gives an

account of the vicissitudes of the Pandya country from the time of its invasion and occupation by the Kalabhras. It tells us how Kaduhgon effected their overthrow and was followed by Avanisulamani and Sendan; of Arikesari Maravarrnan and his great victory at Nelveli; his destruction of the Paravas and the people of Kurunadu and his triumphs over the Chera king at Puliyur; Kochchadaiyan’s victories at Marudur and Mangalore; and Maravarrnan Rajasiihha I’s numerous victories and his pre-eminent position. This account is followed by a description of the greatness of Neduhjadaiyan, who is called Panditavatsala and Pardntaka (destroyer of his enemies); he won a great victory over the Kadava (Fallava) at Penniagadam near Tanjore, on the southern bank of the Kaverl and crushed a rising of petty chieftains headed by Ayo-ve], the ruler of the mountainous country between Tirunelveli and Travancore. Then follows an account of the revival of the old grant of the village of Velvikudi, which had been abrogated by the Kalabhras.

The Madras Museum plates of the seventeenth regnal year of Jafilavarman (Neduhjadaiyan) mention his further military successes. He conquered the A^igamans of Tagadur (Dharmapuri, Salem District) and brought Kongudesa under his control in spite of the aid they had obtained from the Chera and Pallava rulers. He also annexed Venad or southern Travancore after the conquest of Viliham, but the conquered country was a source of trouble for a long time. He therefore strengthened his position by fortifying Karavandapuram or KaJakka<J (Tirunelveli District). He thus waged several wars during the first half of his reign. He was the greatest imperialist of his dynasty, and successfully encountered the opposition of the Pallavas and the Cheras. His conquests made him the master of Tanjore, Tiruchirapalli, Salem and Coimbatore districts and also of Southern Travancore. He was an enthusiastic builder of temples for Siva and Vishnu, and some scholars connect his name with the Saiva saint, Manikkavasagar. The king’s uttaramantri or chief minister was Madhurakavi, who was succeeded by his brother; the other members of his family were also in the service of Neduhjadaiyan.

2. Srimdra Srwallabha and his Successors

Srlmara Srlvallabha, the son of Neduhjadaiyan, may be assigned to the period A.D. 815-862. According to the larger Sinnamanur plates of Rajasiihha II, Srlmara won victories over a number of enemies. He assumed the titles Ekavira and Parachakrakolahala and combated a destructive invasion of the Pandya country caused by the intrigues of Mayapandya or the Pandya pretender. Srlmara is said to have fought at Vilinam and triumphed over the Kerala ruler. 8

Above all, the Pandya king won a great victory at Kudamukku or Kumbhakonam against a combination of the Gahgas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kalirigas, Magadhas and others. He was, however, subsequently defeated at Tellaru by Nandi-varman III Pallava and at the Arichit by his successor Nripaturiga-varman. Srlmara was succeeded by Varaguna or Varaguna-varman II (c. A.D. 862-880) 4 wdio as noted above, sustained a crushing defeat about A.D. 880 at Sripurambiyam at the hands of Aparajita Pallava, assisted by Frithvlpati I Western Gahga and Aditya I Chola. It ruined Varaguna and the Pandya empire.

Varaguna II was followed by Parantaka Viranarayana (c. A.D. 880-900). He triumphed at Kharagiri, destroyed Peninagadam, and waged war in Korigudesa, according to the larger Sinnarrianur plates. His queen was Vanavan Mahadevi, a Kerala princess. His son and successor was Mar a varman Rajasirhha II, the donor of the larger Sinnamanur record, who ruled from c. A.D. 900 to c. A.D. 920. We have narrated above Parantaka I Chola's conquest of Madura and the defeat of Rajasiihha II followed by his flight first to Ceylon, where he left his crown and other valuables, and then to his mother's home in Kerala. "Encircled by the fire of his (Parantaka's) prowess, *he Pandya, as if desirous of cooling the heat caused by it, quickly entered the sea (embarked for Ceylon), abandoning his royal state and the kingdom inherited from his ancestors." 5

The battle of Takkolam in A.D. 949 created unrest in the Pandya country and led to the overthrow of the newly established Chola authority. Vira Pandya assumed, the title of 'one who took the head of the Chola' and triumphed for some time. It is suggested that the Chola king who was beheaded was Gandaraditya or Sundara Chola. But the expression

Talaikonda may only mean that the defeated .king fell at the feet of the victor, and consequently Vira Pandya’s title may indicate no more than his victory over the Choja. He succeeded in frustrating Gandaraditya’s attempt to re-establish Chola authority in the Pandya country. But Sundara Chola defeated Vira Pandya in the battle of Chevur arid forced him to seek refuge in the forests. The Tiruvalarigadu plates say that he was killed by Aditya II but according to the larger Leiden plates of Rajaraja I, “that young boy (Aditya) played sportively in battle (at Chevur) with Vira Pandya just as lion’s cub (does) with a rutting mad elephant proud of (its) strength.” There are not convincing reasons for believing that a Chola king’s head was cut off by Vira Pandya nor for accepting the statement that the latter was killed by Aditya II. We do not know whether IJttama Chola’s title of Madhurdntcika was inherited by him, or whether he undertook any campaign against the Pan$yas. The fact that they were independent and powerful till their reconquest by Rajaraja I is clear from his Tanjore inscription (twenty-ninth regnal year) which states that he “deprived the Seliyas (Parujyas) of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendent (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped everywhere.”

IV. THE WESTERN GANGAS

1. Sivamara II to Prithvipati II

Although the Western Ganga kingdom became most prosperous under Srlpurusha and deserved the name of Srircijya } he did nothing' to remove the danger to it from the rise of the Rashtrakutas in the Deccan. Krishna I invaded Gahgavadi, was encamped at Manne in A.D. 768, and effected a military occupation of the country. Sripurusha had four sons: Sivamara II (A.D. 788-812), Vijayaditya, Duggamara and Sivagella, the last predeceasing his father. Duggamara disputed Sivamara’s succession but the latter triumphed with the support of his feudatory, Nolamba Sihgapota. Krishna 1 Rashtrakuta was succeeded by Govinda II, whose vicious life and neglect of royal duties resulted in hn supersession by his younger brother, Dhruva (A.D. 780-793). Sivamara had espoused the cause of Govinda II. Therefore Dhruva invaded Gahgavadi, imprisoned Sivamara and appointed his own son Stambha as the Viceroy of Gahgavadi. Govinda III Rashfrakuta

(A.D. 793-814) was confronted at his accession with the hostility of his eider brother Stambha in league with a number of neighbouring princes. The former released Sivamara from “the burden of his cruel chains” and sent him’ back to his country. But he asserted his independence and supported Stambha. Govinda overcame his brother but treated him generously by re-appointing him to the Western Ganga Viceroyalty and thus secured his loyalty permanently. Sivamara again became a prisoner but was released and reinstated as ruler of Gahgavadi so that his co-operation might be secured in Govinda’s campaigns against the Eastern Chalukyas. Sivamara was a very learned man. He mastered several subjects such as logic, philosophy, drama, grammar, etc., and composed the Gajasataka in Kannada. The vicissitudes of his fortunes during the time of Dhruva and Govinda III resulted in the partition of the Western Ganga kingdom between the son and the brother of Sivamara,—Marasimha and Vijayaditya. Thus was founded the collateral line of Marasimha I, whose brother was Prithvipati T. The latter’s son and grandson were Marasimha II and Prithvipati II.

Govinda Hi was. succeeded by Amoy/havarsha 1 (A.D. 0X4-878), a young boy. Consequently the Rashtrakuta feudatories, including the Western Gahgas, revolted, and t ? ne boy-king was dethroned. From this anarchy the Rashfrakuta Empire was saved, as noted above, and Ainoghavarsha regained 7 nis regal position in A.D. 821. Though he waged war successfully with the Eastern Chalukyas about A.D. 860, he practically acquiesced in Western Gahga independence.

Sivamara II was followed by his nephew (his brother Vijayaditya’s son) Rajamalla I (A.D,, 817-853),' 6 who continued the main branch of the Western Gahgas. He allied himself with the Nolambas by dynastic marriages and triecl to exploit the difficulties of Amoghavarsha I, who failed to achie ve his ambitious project of '"uprooting the lofty forest of fig trees of Gahgavadi difficult to be cut down.” The Rashtrakuta force invading Gahgavadi was withdrawn, and Rajamalla succeeded in restoring the integrity- of his kingdom. Therefore in his inscriptions he is likened to “Vishnu in the form of a Boar, rescuing the earth from the infernal regions.”

Rajamalla I was suecceeded by his son Nitimarga 1. (A.D. 853870) who continued with success the struggle for Western Gangs independence. He triumphed over the Banas and the Rashtrakutas. Amoghavarsha gave Ms daughter, Chandrobelabba, in marriage to B-utuga I, the younger* son of Nitimarga L His elder son, Rajamalla-II (A.D. 870-907), was ably assisted by his younger brother, Butuga I, in the wars, with the Eastern Chalukyas. The two brothers helped the Pallavsis against the Pandyas. Butuga predeceased his brother, who was consequently succeeded by Nitimarga 11 (A.D. 907-935), the son of Butuga I. Nitimarga II consolidated his position in Gahgavadi, and had three sons, Narasirhha, Rajamalla III, and Butuga II. After a short reign, Narasirhha was followed by Rajamalla III, who was ousted by Butuga II in A.D. 937.

The collateral line of the Western Gahgas was represented by Prithvipati I (A.D. 853-880), son of Sivamara II, and by the former's son Marasimha II (A.D. 880-900), and grandson, Prithvipati II

(A.D. 900-940), ruling over Kolar and the north-eastern portions of Gahgavadi, A Bana king married Kundavvai, daughter of Prithvlpati I. This Gahga ruler acquired fame by co-operating with the Pallavas against the Pandyas in the battle of ^ripurambiyam and dying on the battle-field. We have referred to Parantaka Ps campaign against the Banas and the help rendered to him by Prithvipati II, who gained the titles of Bdnddhirdja, Hastimalla, and gembiyan Mdvaluxinarayan . According to his Udayendiram plates, Parantaka "uprooted, ttfo Banas." The death of Prithvipati II in

A.D. 940 after the passing away of his son, Vikkiyanna or Vikramaditya, led to the enthronement of Butuga 11 in Gahgavadi with the aid of Krishna III Rashtrakuta,, their alliance resulting in the Chola catastrophe at Takkolam in A,LX 949.

2. Butuga II io Rakkasa Gahga

The Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha III (A.D. 936-939) was of a religious turn of mind, and consequently he handed over the administration to his energetic son, Krishna III (A.D. 939-967). His sister Revaka was married to Butuga II, who killed his brother Kajarnalla III, and became king of

Gahgavadi. We have mentioned the part played by Butuga in the battle of Takkolam by killing Rajaditya, and this service was rewarded by Krishna with the gift of the province of Banavasi. Butuga was proficient in Jain philosophy and is said to have triumphed over a Buddhist in doctrinal disputation. In short, Butuga II played an active and successful role in the annals of Gahgavadi for more than twenty years, though he fully acknowledged the overlordship of the Rashtrakutas. He had a son named Maruladeva by Revaka; Manila died soon after his father and was succeeded by Marasimha III, Butuga's son by another queen.

Marasimha III (A.D. 960-974) was faithful to the Gahga-Rashtrakuta alliance and co-operated with Krishna III in his campaigns in Gujarat and Malava, but failed in his attempt to restore Indra IV to the Rashtrakuta throne against the opposition of Taila II, the Western Chalukya king, Chamunda Raya, the Gahga general, captured Uchchangi, the chief stronghold of the Nolambas, Marasiriiha's campaign against them secured for him the title of Nolambakulaniaka or destroyer of the Nolamba family. Finally, he committed Sallekhand, or suicide by starvation, in the Jain fashion.

Marasimha III was succeeded by his elder son Rachamalla or Rajamaila IV (A.D. 974-985), Attempts at usurpation of the throne were foiled by Chamunda Raya, the great minister who was a good Jain and a famous general with the title of Viramdrtanda or sun among heroes, and Ranarahga-simha or lion on the battle-field. He had distinguished himself in the campaign against the Nolambas during the previous reign. He was a master of Kannada, Sanskrit and Prakrit. In A.D. 978 he wrote the Kannada work, the Chamunda

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Raya Pur ana which contains, among others, an account of the twenty-four Jain Tlrthankaras or prophets. About 982 he erected a hasti or Jain temple named after himself, at Sravana Belgoia. Above all, he executed about A.D. 983 a colossal statue of Commatesvara, "larger than any of the statues of Rameses in Egypt," which “in daring conception and gigantic dimensions (561 feet in height) is without a rival in India/’ He truly earned the title of Raya.

Rajamalla IV was followed by his younger brother, Rakkasa Gahga, during whose reign (A.D. 985-1024) the Cholas captured Talakad (A.D. 1004). His inscription, dated A.D. 1024, mentions Rajenclra Chola as his overlord, but gradually the Gahga rule came to an end. Some later Gahga chiefs are, however, known. A Gahga Raja was the minister of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the twelfth century, and another Gahga Raja of Sivasamudram defied Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar early in the sixteenth century.

V. THE BANAS

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The Banas were feudatory to the Pallavas under the successors of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Western Gahgas and the Nolambas combined against the Banas, though Kundavvai, the daughter of the Gahga ruler Prithvipati I, was married to Vikramaditya I Sana or Banaviayadhara. Pie may be assigned to the period A.D. 868-890. In the battle at Soremati or Sorernacli (Anantapur District) about A.D. 878 the Western Gahgas and the Nolambas were defeated by the Banas and the Vaidumbas. An inscription of A.D. 892-93 records that the Nolamba chief Mahendra I, called Mahendradhiraja, destroyed the Banas, but the latter continued to be active. Their inscriptions of A.D. 898, 905 and 909 during the period of Vijayaditya II Bana are dated in the Saka era, and mention no overlord. He and his successor, Vikramaditya II, must have enjoyed an independent status. But soon the Banas came into conflict with Parantaka I and we have narrated how he dealt with them and the consequences of his aggressive policy. Vikramaditya III Bana, described as the friend of Krishna (III), secured the support of the Rashtrakuta power against the Cholas, and joined the battle of Takkolam which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Cholas in A.D. 949. Therefore Parantakta Ps ‘extirpation 5 of the Banas did not close their story. Their chiefs appear in South Indian history up to the sixteenth century and their movement from district to district (originally from Andhradesa) took them to the far south, inz. the Pandya country w 7 here they were Governors of Madura under the Rayas of Vijayanagar. The history of the Banas during more than a thousand years possesses a singular interest in that it Illustrates the survival of a tribe or dynasty by migration.

VI. THE NOLAMBAS AND THE VAIDUMBAS

The Nolambas or No]amba Pallavas (Nolambas claiming Pallava descent) ruled mainly over Nolambavadi 32,000 or the Chitaldrug district of Mysore. Their principal cities were Uchchangi, Iienjeru (Hemavati) and Chitaldrug. The Nolamba chief Singapota was feudatory" to givamara II and the latter's imprisonment by the Rashtrakutas led to their control of the Nolambas. We have noticed Rajamalla Vs policy of dynastic marriages with them. Polalchora, the grandson of Singapota, married the daughter of Rajamalla I, and their son was Mahendra I. With the support of the Western Gahgas, he sent his general Kaduvetti Muttarasa to invade the Pulinadu belonging to the Banas. They and the Vaidumbas were attacked at Soremati about A.D. 878 but the Nolambas were repulsed. Mahendra was subsequently killed in battle by Nltimarga II, who consequently assumed the title of Mahendmntaka or destroyer of Mahendra. His great-grandson, Nanni Nolamba, came into conflict with Marasimha III, who conquered and annexed Nojambavadi, and assumed the title of Nolambakulantaka. The Gahga victory was followed by a general massacre of the Nolambas, but three princes escaped and revived the fortunes of their dynasty after the death of Marasimha III in A.D. 974.

The Vaidumbas were in possession of the Renandu (7000 country) in the ninth century. The first known chief was Irigaya. Ganda Trinetra led the Vaidumba forces to the aid of the Banas against the Western Gahgas and the Nolambas at Soremati about A.D. 878. Apparently the Vadumbas were feudatory to the Banas. To the tenth century belongs Sandayan Tiruvayan I. Probably he Was the Vaidumba chief defeated by Parantaka I Chola after his subjugation of the Ba-nas. Sandayan Tiruvayan II was known as Srlkantha. Like the Banas, after their defeat by the Cholas, the Vaidumbas appealed for help to the Rashtrakutas. Thus the Vaidumbas also had their share in compassing the ruin of the Chola empire at Takkolam in A.D. 949. Subsequently they entered the service of the Cholas. Armjaya Chola married a Vaidumba princess, and their son was Sundara Chola.

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VII. ALUVAKHEDA, KONGUDE&A AND KERALA

Chitravahana II (c. A.D. 800) and his successors ruled over Aiuvakheda for several centuries till it was annexed to the Hoysala kingdom in the fourteenth century. Kongudesa became the bone of contention between the Western Gahga, Pallava and Pandya imperialists, and we have noticed the overthrow of the AtRgamans of Tagadur by Neduhjadaiyan Pandya and the establishment of his authority in the Salem and Coimbatore Districts. Aditya I Chola annexed Kongudesa by overcoming the Western Gahgas and the Pandyas.

The last of the Perumals of Kerala was Cheraman Perumal, and the end of his rule may be connected with the origin of the Kollam or Malayalam era in A.D. 824-25, though some scholars would explain it as marking the foundation of Kollam or Quiion. The latest writer on Cheraman Perumal assigns him to A.D. 742-826, rejects the story of his conversion to Christianity or Islam, and maintains that his pilgrimage towards the close of his life was not to Mylapore or Mecca but to Chidambaram. The Arabs, who. settled inMalabar in the ninth century, married the women of the country, and thus the Moplah population came into existence. Sthanu Ravi was on very friendly terms with Aditya I Chola, Though the immigration of the Jews is assigned to the first century A.D. the first definite proof of their colony near Cranganore on the west coast is the Tamil charter of Bhaskara Ravivarman (A.D. 978-1036) to Joseph Rabban giving him and his descendants certain lands and privileges. Kerala princesses graced the Pairdya and Chola courts as queens, like the queen of Parantaka I who was the mother of Arinjaya. Several Chola officers, including a general named Vellangumaran, belonged to Kerala, and Chaturanana Pandita was the guru of Raj aditya.

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1. Udayendiram Grant, SII, II. 382.

2. Arokiaswami, M., The Early History of the Velldr Basin (Madras, 1954), pp. 108-10. For a different view, cf. Pandarathar, T. V. Sadasiva, PirkdlachCholar-Charittiram (in Tamil) Part I (Annamalainagar, 1949), pp. 76-78.

3. For his victory in Ceylon, cf. Chapter VIII.

4. For an account of his accession, cf. Ch. VIII.

5. Tiruvalanga^u PL of Rajendra Chola I. For the help rendered to the Pandya king by the Ceylonese ruler, Kasyapa V, cf. Ch. VIII.

6. The last known date of §ivamara II is A.D. 812, and the earliest known date of Rajamalla is A.D. 817.

APPENDIX

THE GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALL A V AS 1. The Successors of Nandi-verm an PallavCimalla

Nandi-varman Pallavamalla was succeeded by his son Dantivarman, whose latest known date is the regnal year 51. As stated above, 1 he ascended the throne some time before April 4, A.D. 804, when Govinda III was returning from the Pallava country after having levied, tribute from Dantiga (Danti-varman) king of Kanchi. Danti-varman's successor was his son Tellarrerinda Nandi-varman (i.e. Nandi-varman who defeated his enemies at Tellaru in the Wandiwash taluk of North Arcot District), whose latest known date is the year 22 of his reign. This king married the Rashtrakuta princess Sahkha (probably a daughter of Amoghavarsha I Nripatuhga, son of Govinda III) and was succeeded by his son by her, called Nripatunga-varman (probably named after his maternal grandfather). The latest known date of king Nripatunga-varman is his 41st regnal year. 2 Thus we find that the four generations of Pallava kings, viz. Nandi-varman Pallavamalla, Danti-varman, Tellarrerinda Nandi-varman, and Nripatunga-varman ruled for 179 (65 -}- 51 -j22 -[- 41) years,'i.e. nearly 45 years per generation. This is rather abnormal. It may be that, like many of the Chola rulers, the reigns of the Pallava kings and their successors often overlapped. If, however, the above regnal periods be regarded as successive, and if the latest known dates of the kings in question be regarded as the last years of their reigns, Nripatunga-varman probably ceased to reign in A.D. 910 (731 4- 179). Nripatunga's inscriptions have been found all over the region from Gudimallam in the north to Pudukkottai in the south. The Ban a king

Banavidyadhara, i.e, Vikramaditya I, was a feudatory both of Nandi-varman Tellarrerinda and of Nripatuhga, 3

Inscriptions disclose the names or virudas of several Pallava rulers such as Apara jita-varman (regnal years 3 to 18), Kampa-varman (regnal years 6 to 25), Vayiramegha-varman (regnal year 2), Narasimha.-varman (regnal years 3 to 24), Isvara-varman (i.e. Paramesvara-varman, regnal years 12 and 17), Chandraditya and Kattirai. Of these Kampa-varman (probably named after Rashtrakuta Stambha or Kamba who may be supposed to have been his maternal grandfather) was possibly also known as Nandikampa which has been interpreted as "Kampa-varman son of Nandi-varman (Tellarrerinda)", although it very probably indicates "Nandi-varman surnamed Kampa-varman," The second suggesion (involving another that Danti-varman Pallava married a daughter of Stambha) is probably supported by the tendency of cross-cousin marriages between two royal families in successive generations among South Indian rulers. Kampa-varman may thus be regarded as identical with Nandi-varman Tellarrerinda (whose latest known date in that case would be the regnal year 25 instead of year 22), Vayirameghavarman may have been another name of Danti-varman who was apparently named after the Rashtrakuta king Danti-varman (Dantidurga) surnamed Vairamegha. Naraisimha-varman and Isvaravarrnan may be the same respectively as Narasirhha-varman II and Paramesvara-varman I; but these may also have been secondary names of two of the later kings. Kattirai and Chandraditya were probably local Pallava chiefs under Pallava or Chola overlords.

According to Chola records, the Chola king Aditya I overthrew Pallava Aparajita and killed him towards the end of the ninth century A.D. From an inscription at Tirumalpuram near Kahchl we learn that Tondaiman Arrur-tuhjina-udaiyar (Aditya I) granted a village in the heart of the Pallava empire in the 21st year of his reign. The date of Aditya's accession is now usually believed to have been A.D. 871, which would make his 21st year correspond to A.D. 892-93. But as there is no evidence regarding the nature and duration of the Pallava Chola struggle of this period, it is impossible to say that Aparajita was already extirpated by A.D. 892-93.

According to the Udayendiram grant, the Gahga king, Prithvlpati I, in order to help his friend (overlord) Aparajita, defeated Pandya Varaguna II at the battle of Sripurambiyam (near Kumbhakonam) but lost his life in the engagement. As the same Gahga king is referred to in the Ambur inscription of the 26th year of Nripatuhga as one of the Pallava king's feudatories, Aparajita could not have ceased to rule before this year. If Nripatuhga-varman ruled till A.D. 910, as noted above, we cannot regard the two as identical and can only presume that they ruled over different parts of the Pallava dominions. It would also then follow that the Pallava sovereignty was not extinguished with Aparajita's death, but continued till at least A.D. 913. This view is supported by the Karandai Plates of Rajendra I which refer to the success of Parantaka I against the Pallavas. 4

2. Tentative genealogy of the Later Pallavas

Hiranya-varman (great-great-grandson of Bhlma-varman who was a brother of the Greater Pallava king Simhavishnu)

I*. Nandi-varman Pallavamalla (married Rev-a, probably the daughter of Bantidurga-Danti-varman-Vairamegha), c. A,D. 731-96,

2. Dantiga-Banti-varman-Vayiramegha-varman (probably married the daughter of Stambha or Kamba, son of Dhruva, who was a cousin of Dantidurga-Danti-varman-Vairamegha), c. A.D. 796-847.

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3. Tellarrerinda Nandi-varman-Kampa-varman v married Sankha, probably^ the daughter of Amoghavarsha I, son of Govinda III, who was a

brother of Stambha or Kamba), c. A.D. 847-72,

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4. Nripatirnga-varman (A.D. 872-913).

It has to be admitted that the reigns of the four kings may have overlapped to a considerable extent. It is also uncertain whether the latest known dates of these kings were actually the last years of their reigns.

1. Vol. Ill, p. 282.

2. Ancient India, No. 5, p. 54.

3. J1H, XXIX, 174.

4. JOR, XIX, 148.

CHAPTER VIII

CEYLON

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

Agrabodhi VI was succeeded, after a rule of about 40 years, by his brother Agrabodhi VII (A.D. 759-65). He was famous for his sense of justice and knowledge of medical science. After he had reigned for six years, Mahendra II Silameghavarna (A.D. 765-85), son of Agrabodhi VI, seized the throne. The new kings's authority was, however, challenged by Dappula, who was the son of a sister of king Agrabodhi VI and became a constant source of trouble throughout the 20 years' reign of Mahendra II. Anarchy prevailed almost throughout the land. The next king Udaya (sometimes styled Dappula II, A.D. 785-90) was a son of Mahendra II. The new ruler is said to have helped his son-in-law Mahendra to conquer Rohana in South Ceylon, and to drive out the latter's father Damshtrasiva, collector of revenue at Rohana, to take shelter in India. Udaya died after a reign of about five years and was succeeded by his son Mahendra III Silameghavarna (A.D. 790-94) who ruled for about four years. The next king was Agrabodhi VIII (A.D. 794805), a brother of Mahendra III. This ruler was exceptionally devoted to his mother whom he allowed to offer his own person as a gift to the Buddhist church and then freed himself by paying to the church a sum considered equal to his own value. He died after a rule of 11 years, and his younger brother Dappula II (or III, A.D. 805-21) next reigned for 16 years. The successor of Dappula II (or III), his son Agrabodhi IX (A.D. 821-24), had to fight with Mahendra (son of king Mahendra III) who was the real heir to the throne according to the Ceylonese law of inheritance. 1 Prince Mahendra was compelled to flee to South India. After a short rule of three years, Agrabodhi IX was succeeded by his younger brother Sena (A.D. 824-44), surnamed &ilamegha. Sena removed a potential danger by having Prince Mahendra killed by his agents in India. But he had to face an attack of the Pan<Jya king of Madura in South India, who had probably given shelter to Mahendra.

The Pandya king, who led an expedition against Ceylon, conquered the northern part of the island, and the defeated king Sena fled to the mountainous region of Malaya. The victorious Pandyas took away all the valuables in the Ceylonese king's treasury and elsewhere in the island, including gold images and plates belonging to

the monasteries. Then king Sena submitted to the Pandya king, and the latter returned to his own country. The Panclya king was probably Srlmara Srlvallabha who gained a victory in the island of Ceylon according to the Sinnamanur grant. 2 Sena died after a reign of about 20 years, and was succeeded by his brother's son Sena II (A.D. 844-79). During his reign a rebel son of the Pandya king took shelter at the Ceylonese court. In retaliation for the Pandya invasion during the rule of Sena I, Sena II sent a large army against the Pandya country. Ceylonese forces besieged Madura and completely defeated the Pandya king who lost his life. The Pandya capital was plundered and the valuables, including the golden images brought from Ceylon, were all taken back to the island. The son of the deceased Pandya king was placed on the throne. It may be suggested that the reference is probably to the accession of Srimara's son Varaguna II in A.D. 862. The successful war of Sena II against the Pandyas is mentioned in a number of inscriptions. The king died in the 35th year of his reign, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Udaya II (or I, A.D. 879-90), surnamed Silameghavarna. Klrtyagrabodhi, a member of the royal family, rebelled against the new king and made himself master of Rohana; but the rebellion was soon quelled. The king died after a rule of about 11 years, and his brother Kasyapa IV Srisanghabodhi (A.D. 890-907) succeeded him. One of the new king's ministers was Cholaraja whose name seems to connect him with the Chola country in the Tanjore-Tiruchirapalli region in South India. Kasyapa IV is said to have ruled for 17 years and was succeeded by a son of Sena II named Kasyapa V (A.D. 907-17), called Abhaya Silameghavarna in his inscription.

During the rule of Kasyapa V, the Pandya king of the MaduraRamnad-Tirunelveli region was vanquished by his neighbour, the king of the Chclas, and he applied for help to the Ceylonese ruler. Kasyapa V sent an army to the Pandya king's help; but the expedition was unsuccessful. The Chola king appears to be no other than Parantaka I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 907 and claimed victories over the Pandya king Rajasimha (Maravarman Rajasimha III) and over an army of the king of Ceylon. 3

Kasyapa V died in the 10th year of his reign. His successor Dappula III (or IV, A.D. 917-18), who ruled for a few months, was probably one of his step-brothers. The next king was Dappula IV (or V) Silameghavarna (A.D. 918-30), who was probably a brother of the preceding ruler. During his rule, the Pandya king, whose country was subjugated by the Cho]as, took shelter at the Ceylonese court; but having failed to secure any help, the Pandya ruler left his diadem and other valuables behind and betook himself to the Kerala country in the Malabar coast of South

India, although there is a tradition about the Ceylonese king’s victorious fight with the Damilas who came from the Chola country. Dappula IV (or V) died in the 12th year of his rule, and was succeeded by Udaya III (or II, A.D. 930-33), who was a brother’s son of Sena II and died in the 3rd year of his reign.

The next king Sena III (A.D. 933-42), probably a brother of the preceding ruler, died in his ninth regnal year, and was succeeded by Udaya IV (or III, A.D. 942-50) whose relation to his predecessors is unknown. During this king’s rule the Chola king, who had conquered the Pandya country, demanded from the Ceylonese monarch the diadem and other valuables left in the island by the Pandya ruler in the reign of Dappula IV (or V). The demand not having been complied with, a mighty Chola army invaded Ceylon and occupied large tracts of the island. King Udaya IV (or III) fled with the crown and other valuables to Rohana. The Chola king can be no other than Parantaka I (A.D. 907-53) who calls himself “conqueror of Ceylon” in his records. 4 It is claimed in the Ceylonese chronicles that the Ceylonese king’s general now laid waste the borderland of the Chola monarch and compelled him to restore all the valuables carried away from the island as booty. But the invading Chola army appears to have actually left Ceylon owing to the Rashtrakuta invasion of the Chola country under Krishna III about A.D. 949, the year of the great battle of Takkolam. Udaya IV (or III) died in his eighth regnal year, while his successor Sena IV (A.D. 950-53) ruled for three years. The next king Mahendra IV Srisanghabodhi (A.D. 953-69), who was probably his predecessor’s brother, married a princess of the royal house of Kalinga in India. During his rule, the Vallabha king sent a force to Nagadvipa (identified by some writers with north-western Ceylon, but by others with Jaffna) to subjugate Ceylon; but the war was concluded by a peace between the two powers. The Vallabha is apparently king Krishna III (A.D. 939-6 7) of the family of the Rashtrakutas, who were the successors of the Chalukya Vallabharajas and were known to the Arabs as the Balharas of Mankir (Vallabharajas of Manyakheta). There are epigraphic and literary records 5 referring to the subjugation of Ceylon by Krishna III before A.D. 959. although the Rashtrakuta expedition appears to have been merely a raid. Mahendra IV is also said to have repulsed a Chola invasion under Parantaka II, who led an attack against the island as its ruler had helped-the Pandya king in his revolt against the Cholas.

Mahendra IV restored certain monasteries that had been previously burnt by the Cholas. After his death in the 16th year of his reign, his 12-year-old son, Sena V (A.D. 969 79), became king.

During his rule, there was a rebellion headed by a general, also named Sena, as a result of which the king had to flee to Rohana. The country was ravaged by Damila forces whose help was requisitioned by the rebellious general. Ultimately the king and the rebel entered into a pact; but the former died in the 10th year of his reign, still young in years. The next king was his younger brother Mahendra V (A.D. 979-1027) 6 who had to face numerous difficulties owing to the disturbed condition of the country. He made his brother's widow his queen and, on her death which took place shortly afterwards, raised his brother's daughter to the rank of Mahishi. The new king was unable to keep his troops contented by regular payment. The Kerala (Malayali) mercenaries in the king's army once besieged the royal residence at Anuradhapura, although the king managed to escape by an underground passage to Rohana. In other parts of the country complete anarchy prevailed, and Kerala and Karnata (Kanarese) as well as Ceylonese chieftains carried on the government as they pleased. On hearing of this anarchical condition of Ceylon from a horse-dealer, the Chola king sent a strong army to invade the island. The Chola king was no doubt the mighty Rajaraja, v/ho not only conquered the northern part of Ceylon but gave it the name Mummudi-Cholamanclalam (cf. the names Rajarajapuram and Jagannathamahgalam applied respectively to Mantai or Matota and Polonnaruva) and even granted Ceylonese villages to the great temple at Tanjore. 7 The southern part of the island appears to have been conquered by the Chola king Rajendra, son and successor of Rajaraja, in or shortly before A.D. 1017, when, according to Ceylonese chronicles, the Cholas captured not only the Ceylonese king's Mahishi, but also "the jewels, the diadem that he had inherited, the whole of the royal ornaments, the priceless diamond bracelet which was a gift of the gods, the unbreakable sword, and the relic of the torn strip of cloth." 8 The king, who had fled to the jungle, was captured on "the pretence of concluding a treaty." Mahendra V was then sent with all his treasures to the Chola king in India where the Ceylonese monarch d*ied 12 years later. According to the inscriptions of the Cholas, Rajendra, after heavy fighting in Ceylon, captured "the crown of the island" (indicating the capture of the king), "the beautiful crown of the queen of Ceylon" (indicating the capture of the queen) and "the crown of Sundara and the pearl necklace of Indra" which the Pandya king had given to the king of Ceylon. The Cholas carried away many costly images of gold, destroyed the Buddhist monasteres, and stripped the island of all valuables. With Pulatthinagara (modern Polonnaruva) as their base, the Cholas held complete sway over Rajarashtra or North Ceylon.

The people of the island were secretly bringing up the young prince Kasyapa in the southern country due to fear of the Cholas. When the Chola king heard that the boy had reached his 12th year, he sent a force to seize him. An army of 95,000 men now ravaged South Ceylon.

In the meantime king Mahendra V died at the Chola court in the 48th year after his coronation. Kasyapa, the young son of Mahendra V, was then made king under the name Vikramabahu (A.D. 1027-39); but he declined to undergo formal consecration so long as Rajarashtra was in the occupation of the foreigners. He continued to rule at Rohana and died in the 12th year of his reign. Thereupon an official named Kirti exercised royal authority for a few days after which he was murdered by Mahalanaklrti (A.D. 1039-42) who became ruler of Rohana, He was defeated by the Cholas and lost his life in his third regnal year. The Damilas took away his treasures, diadem, and other valuables which were sent to the Chola country. Mahalanaklrti's son Vikramapandya (probably connected with the Pandya royal house of Madura on the mother's side) carried on the government in a small tract from his headquarters at modern Kalutara at the mouth of the river Kaluganga in south-western Ceylon, for about one year (A.D. 1042) according to the Pali chronicle, but thiee years, according to the Sinhalese sources on which Geiger relies. He was slain in battle by Jagatipala, said to have been a SuryavamsI prince coming from Ayodhya; but Jagatipala (A.D. 1042-46) was himself killed by the Cholas, probably after a rule- of four years. His queen and daughter, together with all valuables, were sent to the Chola country. Parakrama or Parakramapandya (A.D. 1046-48), who is often regarded as the son of a Pandya king of Madura but may have actually been a son of Vikramapandya, was also slain by the Cholas, probably after a rule of two years. The Chola king Rajadhiraja, son of Rajendra, claims in a record of A.D. 1046 9 that he nad deprived four Ceylonese kings of their crowns, namely (1) Vikramabahu, (2) Vikramapandya, (3) Vlrasilamegha hailing from Kanauj (apparently the same as Jagatipala), and (4) SrI-vallabhamadanaraja (possibly another name of Parakramapandya or of some other unknown Ceylonese chief) who is said to have lived for some time at the court of Kannara, i.e. the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. Another ruler killed by Rajadhiraja was Manabharana, who may have been a Ceylonese chief, although Hultzsch takes him to be a scion of the Pandya royal family. The Chola king also claims to have captured the queen-mother of Ceylon and to have cut off her nose, the reference probably being to the capture of Jagatlpala's queen. The Chola records would thus suggest that the rule of Jagatipala, if not also of Parakramapandya, ended in or shortly before A.D. 104G. The records of Rajendra, younger brother and successor of Rajadhiraja, say that some time before A.D. 1057 the Chola king killed Virasilamegha, "king of the Kalihgas" (probably a Ceylonese prince connected with Kalinga on his mother's side), and captured the two sons of Manabharana, "king of the people of Lanka." Virasilamegha and Manabharana, mentioned here should be identified with the princes of these names referred to in the records of Rajadhiraja, although they are usually supposed to be different. In an inscription 10 of A.D. 1069, Rajendra's successor, Virarajeqdra, also claims to have subdued Ceylon.

Towards the middle of the eleventh century, when the whole island was under Chola occupation, the Ceylonese chronicles place the rule of two chiefs named Lokesvara (six years, A.D. 1048-54) and Kesadhatu Kasyapa (six months, A.D. 1054-55), who had their headquarters at Kajaragrama (modern Kataragam on the Menikgahga not far from Magama, the chief city of Rohana or Southern Ceylon). These chiefs had a rival in the person of a scion of the Ceylonese royal family named Klrti, later styled Vijayabahu I Srlsanghabodhi (A.D. 1055-1110) C 1 one of the greatest generals of Ceylon, who succeeded in extirpating Chola rule from the island in the 15th year of his reign. Vlrarajendra's claim of subjugating Ceylon about A.D. 1069 seems tc refer to the great Chola victory over Vijayabahu's forces in a battle near Anuradhapura in the 12th year of the Ceylonese king's reign which probably corresponds to a date ncrt much earlier than A.D. 1069. A Siva Devale (temple) at Polonnaruva contains inscriptions of Rajendra Chola I and of Adhirajendra who ruled for some time about A.D. 1070. The liberation of Ceylon by Vijayabahu thus seems to have taken place shortly after A.D. 1070 in the 15th year of his reign.

II. FINE ARTS

Ceylon is an offshoot of India not only geographically but also culturally. The literary 12 and art traditions of the island as well as its religious, political, social and economic life show how deeply they were regulated by the conventions of Indian life and thought.

In early times Indian Bhikshus in Ceylon lived in very simple monasteries, mostly stone caves such as those of Mihintale, Vessagiriya, and Isurumuniya in Anuradhapura, and Situlpahuva (Chittalaparvata) near the Menikgahga, and in groves like the Mahameghavana in Anuradhapura. Although information about the* exact nature of the buildings used by the early inhabitants and ruling chiefs is meagre, there is evidence of the gradual growth of a grand monastic architecture inspired by Indian tradition. The great Stu

parama was built at Anuradhapura in the middle of the third century B.C., ana an offshoot of the Bodhi tree was planted in the island. Unfortunately remnants of the early structures are usually found enclosed in later additions. Numerous Vihdras or Buddhist monasteries were built in the early period, some of the most famous of them being the Tishyamaharama (dating from the second or third century B.C. according to some scholars) at Magama or Mahagrama, capital of Rohana (South-West Ceylon), and the Stuparama, Mahavihara, Abhayagirivihara (built by VattagamanI Abhaya or

Valagamba in the first century B,C.), and the Jetavanarama (built by Mahasena in the fourth century A.D.). The monasteries usually covered wide areas, and were meant for accommodating a large number of Bhikshus. The Jetavanarama is 251 feet high and stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent, while the space within the walled enclosure measures nearly 14 acres. Generally the monasteries had stone foundations, the upper structures being always of wood, clay or brick. There w r ere residential quarters, a refectory, and an Uposatha house where the Sangha assembled on the fortnightly fast day of the new moon and the full moon. The Viharas had a Chaitya or Stupa, called Ddgaba in Ceylon. In the first century B.C. the great builder DutthagamanI built the Lohaprasada (Lohamahaseya) or Brazen Palace (so called from the gilt bronze dome that once crowned it) and the Ruvanavaliseya in the Mahavihara at Anuradhapura, the former being the Uposatha house and the latter the Ddgaba. The Ceylonese Dagabas were usually built essentially on the pattern of the Indian Stupas like those of Sanchi, although they differed a good deal in details. They had the shape of a heap of paddy or a hemisphere, and were erected on three circular terraces, standing on a round or square basement, approached by one or four stairways. Above the hemispherical dome there was a square called Hataras kotuva , on which stood the round Devata kotuva ("citadel of the gods" corresponding to the Indian Harmikd), forming the base of the pointed ringed spire. The spire represented an earlier chhatravall (umbrellas).

The early extant examples of Ceylonese sculptures are usually made of limestone and belong to the style of Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda. The specimens representing the great miracle of Sravasti and Maya's dream in the Colombo Museum may be actually the work of South Indian artists. But other specimens representing Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and Nagas were apparently works of local artists inspired by Indian tradition. Many of the Ceylonese images were originally plastered and coloured, and "the rough, weatherworn blocks, now visible, do not produce the effect designed by the artists."

In the following period Ceylonese shrines of simpler structures, consisting of two sections (one forming the real shrine and the other used for the beating of drums) standing on two platforms connected by a huge slab, were giving way to great vaulted building's with massive brick walls and door-posts of stone. These “huge masses of masonry' 5 had usually a Mandapa or porch, a nave, a communication passage, and a Dagaba. The Dagabas were sometimes small in size and stood on square platforms. The celebrated temple, called the Gedige, at Nalanda (an old military post between Malaya and Anuradhapura) is built entirely of stone in South Indian style. Some writers believe that it was built for the use of the Pallava troops who accompanied Mana-varman to Ceylon in the sixth century, but others ascribe its construction to the age of Chola occupation in the first half of the eleventh century.

A number of Hindu temples, called Devales and Kovils, were built at Polonnaruva and other places (e.g. Kotaragama, Kandy and Ratnapura) in the time of Chola occupation and in Chola style. One of them, a Siva temple originally known as Vanuvanmadevi Isvaramudaiyar and made of granuiiite and limestone, consists of a Gar bhcigriha , Antardla, Ardhamandapa) and Mandapa with a four-storied Vimdna.

King Kasyapa* I built, in the fifth century, the great rock fortress of Sigiriya or Sirhhagiri, so called from its fagade in the form of a huge seated lion. This rock fortress, on the top of which the king erected a large number of buildings, its galleries and the wall round them covered with white plaster, and the celebrated frescoes done in the Ajanta style, have immortalised the name of Kasyapa I in the cultural history of Ceylon.

Some of the sculptures of this period are made in gneiss. The influence of the Gupta style is clearly marked in the bas-relief of “the man and woman” and in the meditating Buddha images at Isurumuniya (Anuradhapura), as well as in the Moon-stone (a semicircular slab carved elaborately in low relief and placed at the foot of a staircase in Ceylonese art) at the entrance of the queen’s palace at Anuradhapura. The carving of the elephant figures on the rock of Isurumuniya and the sage Kapila with horse’s head (representing Sagara’s sacrificial horse) show great influence of the Pallava style, especially of the famous bas-reliefs at Mamallapuram.

A number of bronze and copper images dating from the fifth century A.D. have been found. The Badulla Buddha (fifth or sixth century) in the Colombo Museum exhibits pure Gupta style. The fine small figures of

Avalokitesvara and Jambhala (Kuvera), now in the Boston Museum, have been assigned to the eighth century. Numerous bronze or copper images of various Hindu deities and

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South Indian saints in pure Dravidian style have been recovered from the Devales and Kovils. These include images of Siva, especially of the Nataraja type, Parvatl, Ganesa, Karttikeya, Vishnu, Lakshmi, Balakrishna, Hanuman and Surya, as well as of Sundaramurtisvami, Manikka Vasagar, Tirujnana Sambandhasvami and Apparasvaml. There is no doubt that these were works of South Indian artists; but whether most of thtm were cast in South India or at Polonnaruva, the Chola headquarters in Ceylon, cannot be determined with certainty. Some of the specimens are very fine. An excellent bronze image is that of the goddess PattinI Devi which is now in the British Museum. PattinI is the guardian of female chastity, but has power also over epidemics. Her cult went to the island from South India.

The frescoes of Sigiriya closely resemble in style those in the Ajanta caves. They portray, either singly or in couples, twenty-one figures and probably represent celestial damsels (all covered by clouds below the waist), though some writers would take them to be queens and princesses with their ladies in waiting. Colours used by the artists are red, yellow, green, and black. The figures are graceful and sensual, and the brush work exhibits sound knowledge of modelling and technique. But their standard compares rather unfavourably with that of the best frescoes in the Aianta caves. The painting in the Pulligoda Galkomde near Polonnaruva, representing five nimbate seated male figures, may date from the seventh century; but the rock-paintings at Hindagale, representing Buddha in the thirty-third heaven, appears to be of a later date.

1. The rule of succession was that the next younger brother of the king succeeded him on the throne. Only when there was no brother did the crown pass to the next generation, and in that case also the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation became king. The sister’s son of the king enjoyed a certain preference This remnant of an earlier matriarchy was at times a disturbing factor in the right of succession. A conflict between matriarchy and patriarchy is noticeable in the rivalry of Mahendra II and Dappula for the throne.

2. SII, III. 461.

3. JRAS, 1913, p. 526.

4. Sastri, Colas , I. 148.

5. Altekar, Rdshtrakutas, 118-9.

6. The accession of Mahendra V is assigned by Geiger to AD. 981 but by Hultzsch to A.D. 978. Considering the fact that his 36th regnal year corresponded to a date in A.D. 1016 or 1017, it seems that he ascended the throne in AD. 979 or more probably in A.D. 980.

7. SII, II. 241, 424 if. Rajaraja's inscription at Padariya in Ceylon is dated in his 27th year corresponding to A.D. 1011-12 (SII, II. p. v.).

8. Sewell, HISI. 62.

9. SII, HI. 51 ff.

10. Ibid. 20-2-3.

11. The accession of Vijayabahu is assigned by Hultzsch to A.D. 1054, and Geiger to A.D. 1059. But the fact that he was defeated by the Cholas in his 12th regnal year, probably falling shortly before A.D. 1069, and that he recovered the island from the Cholas in his. 15th regnal year or shortly after AD. 1070 would suggest that he ascended the throne in AD. 1055-56.

12. For an account of the Pali literature of Ceylon, cf. Vol. HI, pp. 394 ff.

CHAPTER IX

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A. SANSKRIT I. BELLES-LETTRES

The famous poets of the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D., such as Bharavi and Magha, presented a queer combination of real poetic merit with pedantry or artificiality. Of the two sides thus displayed the latter was not only the easier to imitate but was also the more attractive owing to the external show that it could present. The lesser p^ets that followed these masters, therefore, naturally fell a prey to the temptation and produced works which are noted more for their artificiality than for any intrinsic merit. This love of pedantry v/as increased to no small extent by the fact that Sanskrit literature was mainly composed not only by the Pavditas but also for them. It is, therefore, no wonder if we find pedantry and artificiality to be the general characteristics of the great bulk of literature produced during this and the following ages. It would, however, be wrong to suppose that this age had nothing of real value to contribute to Sanskrit literature. It saw the rise of a special form of prose composition—the Champu. It is this age, again, that gives us our earliest anthology, a class of works of no mean importance to the student of Sanskrit literature. But by far the most important contribution of this age to Sanskrit literature is in the field of poetics which reached its high watermark of development during this period.

i

1. Drama

Great importance attaches to the politico-historical play, the Mudrarakshasa, of Visakhadatta, son of the Maharaja Bhaskaradatta or minister Prithu, and grandson of Vatesvaradatta, a feudatory, of what prince we are not expressly told. The attempt to place Visakhadatta in the fifth century A.D. on the hypothesis that Vatesvaradatta was a Samanta of Chandra-gupta II is not well founded. Nor is there any solid ground to assume that he belonged to Bengal. On the strengh of the variant “Avantivarman” occurring in the Bha ratavdkya of the play, some place him in the seventh century at the court of the Maukhari Avantivarman, while others would place him under the Kashmirian Avantivarman in the middle of the ninth century A.D. But both these theories are considerably weakened by

the fact revealed in Hillebrandt's critical edition of the play that the variant is in all probability spurious. 1 Nor is there any definite proof for Jacobi's identification of the eclipse referred to in the play as that of December 2, A.D. 860 when, according to him, the play was enacted. 2 Visakhadatta is certainly earlier than the tenth century A.D. as he is referred to by Dhananjaya in his Dasarupaka and also by Abhinavagupta 3 in his commentary on Bharata's Ndtyasdstra. Viiakhadatta is, therefore, to be assigned very probably to the seventh or the eighth century A.D.

The MudrarukthascL 4 is a play in seven acts, unique in Sanskrit literature as being wholly based on some political or historical theme, and avoiding not only the erotic feeling but also the erotic atmosphere. It is a drama without a heroine. Its author must rank very high indeed owing to the great success he has achieved in creating a highly captivating play out of the dry historical material; and that, too, without the aid of the most inspiring of sentiments—the sringura. The pla}' deals with the astute manoeuvres of Chanakya to win over Rakshasa, the faithful, clever and honest minister of the exterminated Nandas, to the side of Chandragupta.

There are two other plays ascribed to Visakhadeva who is very probably the same as Visakhadatta. One of these, the Devichandragupta, dealing with the story how DhruvadevI was saved by Chandra-gupta from the ignominy of being surrendered to a &aka ruler, 5 is known to us only from citations in the Ndtyadarpana by Ramachandra and Gunachandra. Abhinava and Bhoja similarly quote from another play, the Abhisarihavafichitaka (or bandhitaka) based on a love legend or Udayana, which tells us how Padmavati regained the lost love of her husband by playing the role of an abhisarikd in the guise of a Tabari.

On apparently the same theme as that of the Mudrdrdkshasa is based the Praiibhdchdnakya of Bhima, or Bhimata. This is only one of the five dramas composed by Bhima of which the Svapna das&nana won him chief fame. As the Pratibhachdnakya is'modelled after the Mudrdrdkshasa, Bhima may be placed somewhere in the ninth century A.D There is positive ground for connecting him with the Chandella king Harsha. 6

To the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century belongs Murari, son of Vardhamana of the Maudgalya Gotra and Tantumati. Some scholars place Murari between A.D. 1050 and 1135 on the strength of the fact that no rhetorician earlier t than Mankha refers to him. 7 But Ratnakara (middle of the ninth century) makes a clear reference to him in his Haravijaya, and the author

of the Prasannaraghava also seems to have imitated him. 8 The attempt to make him a contemporary of Ramachandra, a pupil of Hemachandra, is, therefore, futile. 9 From the reference to Mahishmati as "cgra-mahishi" in act VII of his play, Konow 10 infers that Murari was a protege of a Kalachuri prince at Mahishmati. This suggestion, if accepted, would place his date prior to the middle of the eighth century A.D. when Mahishmati ceased to be the capital of the Kalachuris. 11 His work, the Anargha-raghava, is a play in seven acts depicting the early life of Rama up to his return from the forest, and bears ample testimony to the linguistic abilities of its author, though as a drama its defects are too obvious. 12

Saktibhadra. the author of a play called the Chuddmani (or Ascharya-Chuddmani), also probably belongs to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. To the ninth century belongs the Jain author Hastimalla, 13 son of Govinda of Srivatsa Gotra, who was a remote disciple of Gunabhadra. He seems to be a voluminous writer; besides several poems he has given us no less than eight plays including the Vikrdnta-kaurava (also called the Sulochand Ndtaka), the Subhadrdharana , and the Maithilikalytina.

Slightly later is the polymath Rajasekhara, who certainly is a great master of w T ords but lacks originality and polish, and cannot, therefore, rank high as a playwright. 14 He has, among other works, composed four dramas. The Bdlardmdyana is a Rama play (a mahandtaka) in ten acts with an embryo act (Garbhanka) in the third. The Bdlabharata, his next, is only fragmentary. Then comes the Ndtika —the Viddhasalabhanjika —in four acts, which is followed by the Karpuramanjari , 15 a sattaka wholly in Prakrit (the only play of its type that has come down to us), composed and staged at the request of Avantisundari. These works were followed by the Bhuvanakosa f purporting to be a detailed geography of the then known universe, which is known to us only from a reference made to it by the author in his Kdvyarriimdmsd, an elaborately planned work on poetics. Besides these, Rajasekhara is known to have composed one more work, the Harivildsa which, as we know from Hemachandra, is a Svandmdnlca Kdvya (an epic bearing the name of its author). This, from citations by Hemachandra and Ujjvaladatta, seems to be a Mahdprabandha and may, as such, be taken to be a product of Rajasekhara^ mature age.

Rajasekhara was the “son of the minister Darduka and gllavatl, grandson of Akala-jalada, and descendant of Surananda, Tarala, and Kaviraja, all poets of name”. He belonged to the Yayavara family of Maharashtra, and was a moderate Saiva by faith. His wife, Avantisundari, was an accomplished princess of the Chahamana

family and Rajasekhara’s great regard for her is evinced by his references to her views in his Kdvyarnimdrhsd, Rajasekhara was the guru of king Nirbhaya alias Mahendrapala; while his B&labharata 16 was composed for his successor, Mahipala. 17 Again, on the one hand he quotes from Vakpatiraja, Udbhata, and Anandavardhana, and praises Bhavabhuti; while he himself is referred to by Somadeva and Dhananjaya and eulogised by Sod^hala. He must, therefore, be placed at about A.D. 900.

Kshemlsvara 18 composed his Chandakausika for Mahipala 19 whom H. P. Shastri identifies with the Pala prince of that name, and Pischel with the Pratlhara Mahipala of Kanyakubja, the patron of Rajasekhara. According to the former identification Kshemlsvara would belong to the eleventh century, while the latter would take him back to the tenth. His grandfather Vijayakoshtha or Vijayaprakoshtha also was a man of learning. The Chandakausika in five acts deals with the Harischandra legend of the Mdrkandeya Purdna without displaying any distinct dramatic merit or even high poetical ability. His other work is the Naishadhdnanda 20 in seven acts based on the story of Nala.

To the tenth century belongs also the Mahdndtaka which holds a unique position in Sanskrit literature in more respects than one. It is found in two recensions differing very widely from each other. The Bengali version has fourteen acts and gives the name as Mahdndtaka; while the Devanagari, which gives the name as Hanumanndtaka, has only ten. The latter ascribes the work to the monkey of the Ramiayana fame. Several and varied indeed are the legends [21] current about this play; and though differing in details they are agreed that what is now extant of this unique work is only a recast or reconstruction of the original which is lost. According to one legend it was revised by Madhusudana at the command of Vikramaditya, while another makes one Damodara revise it at the command of Bhoja. The chronology of these versions is hard to fix with any definiteness. It is clear, however, that in its present form the work contains verses not only from the Ramdyana and the Hitopadesa, but also from the Bdlardmayana and the Anctrgha rdghava; and is in its turn drawn upon by Subhata of the thirteenth century. But it must be noted that a great portion of this work must be much older, as is suggested by the legends, and also by the fact that three verses from this play have been quoted by Anandavardhana in his Dhvanydloka ,[22]

The Mahdndtaka is not a Nataka in the exact sense of the term. It is something between an epic and a dramatic composition comparable to Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda, which can be enjoyed simply as

such, and is at the same time capable of a quasi-dramatic presentment. It is often described as a Chhdyd-ndpaka (shadow-play) on the ground that it resembles in many respects the Dutmigada, a Chhaya-ndtaka, which was acted on the stage on March 7, 1243, at the command of the Chaulukya king Tribhuvanapala.[23] It is, however, doubtful whether the play can be called a shadow-play at all. In fact the exact meaning of the term Chhaya-ndtaka is unhappily uncertain; and while Pischel and Konow take it to mean shadowplay, it may also denote a “drama in the state of a shadow.”[24] According to Subandhu,[25] this is a Samagra type of dramatic composition which, he says, combines in itself all the different characteristics of all the types of Nataka . But for want of any further elucidation on this point, the view of Subandhu must remain vague and uncertain. The only statement, therefore, that we may safely make about this play for the present, is that it is a literary drama, a play never intended to be acted, as seems to be shown by the several peculiar features such as the prevalence of verse over prose, absence of Prakrit, the large number of characters, the omission of the Vidushaka, and its plagiarisms from earlier Rama dramas. 26

In conclusion, a brief reference may be made to Bhdna or monologue play. Four Bhanas viz . Ubhaydbhisarikd, Padmaprdbhritaka, Dhtirtavitasamvdda and Padataditaka, ascribed on the strength of a traditional verse respectively to Vararuchi, Sudraka, Isvaradatta and &yamilaka, have been published under the title Chaturbhani. Contrary to Keith 27 who holds none of these plays to be older than A.D. 1000, De fixes the lower limit for Padataditaka (and the rest), by references of Abhinavagupta, Kuntala, and Kshemendra before" the end of the tenth century, and takes these plays to be much earlier than Dhananjaya. 28 Thomas 29 takes the Padataditaka to be considerably older than Abhinavagupta, and places it “in the time of Harsha of Kanauj or even that of the latter Guptas,” i.e., sixth or seventh century. These Bhanas are different from the later Bhanas.

2. Kdvya

In the field of Kdvya notable contributions have been made during this period by both Buddhist and Jain authors. The Buddhist ▪Sivasvamin has given us epic, the Kapphandbhyudaya in twenty cantos, describing the conversion of king Kapphana who had marched against king Prasenajit of SravastT. He wrote under Avantivarman of Kashmir and is highly influenced by Bharavi and Magha.

The Digambara Jain, Jinasena, a disciple of Virasena of the Senasangha, is referred to in Harivamsa , composed in A. D. 783 by another Jinasena, disciple of Kirtisena, and may thus be referred to the eighth century A.D. 30 He has given us the Pdrsvabhyudaya

kavya which embodies within it the whole text of Kalidasa’s Meghaduta f and has also composed the first forty-two chapters of Adi purtina . To this chulikd, comprising five chapters, has been added by the author’s own pupil Gunabhadra, who has also composed the Uttarapurdna , a continuation of the AdiptCrdrna giving the lives of the Tirthankaras after Rishabha.

Lokasena added a further continuation in A.D. 898. Ravishena's Padmapurana was composed in A. D. 678. 31 Asaga is another Jain author who has given us a long epic in eighteen cantos called the Vardhamdnacharita or the Mahaviracharita or the Sanmitracharita. According to the Prasasti 32 occurring at the end of a MS. of this work, Asaga composed eight works, including the present one, at Dharala in Choladesa, in Samvat. 910 (c. A.D. 853). Mention may also be made of another Jain author Kanakasena Vadiraja, whose Yasodharacharita was composed prior to A.D. 950. 33

The Haravijaya, a long epic in fifty cantos, narrating the story of Siva killing the demon Andhaka, shows a strong influence of Magha. It is composed by Rajanaka Ratnakara, son of Amritabhanu, who flourished under Jayapida and Avantivarman of Kashmir. In spite of the presence of some good stanzas the work betrays a deplorable lack of proportion and excessive fondness for Yamakas. The last four cantos of this work are held to be spurious on the ground that Alaka, the author's pupil, has commented only up to the middle of the forty-sixth canto. The Vakroktipanchasika is another small poem of the same author.

Another Kashmirian poet of this period is Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, whose fifth ancestor Saktisvamin was a minister of Lalitaditya Muktaplda. He refers to Rajasekhara as a contemporary 34 and is quoted in his Lochana by Abhinavagupta. His father Jayantabhatta in his Nydyamanjari refers to Sankara varman as the ruling prince of Kashmir. 315 Abhinanda must, therefore, belong to the close of the ninth century A.D. His Radambari-Kathasdra is an epitome of Bana's Rddambari in an epic form. In the introduction to this work he tells us that his ancestors hailed from Gaudadesa. This suggests his identification with another poet of whom we know only from anthologies where he is styled Gauda Abhinanda. Although there is no chronological difficulty in the way of this identification it cannot be regarded as certain. 36

Quite different, however, is the author of the Rdmacharita, a long epic in thirty-six cantos, also named Abhinanda, son of Satananda. The date of this author is sought to be fixed on the strength of the reference he makes in his epic to Haravarsha Yuvaraja, son of Vikramaslla, probably identical with Dharmapala of Bengal. 37

There is one more Abhinanda, also styled Gauda, who has given us an epitome of the Yogavdsishtha in forty-eight cantos divided into six prakaranas. His identity with the author of the epitome of the Kadambari is also not yet definitely proved. 38

One more name that must be mentioned here is that of Vasudeva, son of Ravi and pupil of Bharataguru, who has given us three long epics. The Yudhishthiravijaya, narrating the story of Yudhishthira up to his coronation in eight dsvasas, was composed during the reign of Kulasekhara; while the Saurikathodaya and the Tripura dahana mention Rama as the ruling prince. All these poems very well display their author's fondness for Yamakas which has led scholars to ascribe to him even the Nalodaya , 39 It is difficult to fix the date of Vasudeva, for we have no definite clue regarding the identity of his patron Kulasekhara. Pisharoti and Ayyar would place him in the ninth century A.D, but Keith declares this date to be improbable. 40

Dhananjaya, the Jain author of Dvisandhana (or Rdghavapdndaviya), has wrongly been identified by Keith and Winternitz with Dhananjaya Srutakirti, the author of Namamdld (A. D. 11231140); for Dhananjaya Srutakirti, the author of Dvisandhana , is quoted by Vardhamana .and eulogised by Somadeva and Jalhaija. 41

The historical kavya is very meagrely represented in Sanskrit literature as a whole, and causes of this phenomenon are perhaps to be found in the peculiarities of the Indian mind. The inscriptions, which form an important source of our knowledge of the history of the ancient days, and particularly the Prasastis or encomia, are often metrical in form and sometimes contain no little poetical merit. But the value of these compositions as poetry varies enormously. It must, however, be said that they represent a first step towards Prasastis of the eighth century A. D. composed by Ramachandra who styles himself Kavisvara. He displays his mastery over language in a poem of fourteen stanzas applying equally well to Siva and Parvati. A similar phenomenon is observed in the inscription of Lalitasuradeva of the ninth century A. D. 42

The only important historical kdvya belonging to this period is the Navasdhasdnkacharita of Padmagupta alias Parimala, son of Mrigankagupta. This w r ork in eighteen cantos narrates a purely imaginary story of the winning of the princess Sasiprabha with a covert reference to the history of king Sindhuraja Navasahasanka of Malava. Padmagupta is mentioned by Bhoja, Kshemendra and Vardhamana. He must, therefore, be placed about A.D. 1000. 43

In the field of lyrical poetry very little has been preserved for us between Kalidasa and Govardhana, a contemporary of Jayadeva.

In fact the only source of our knowledge of this branch of literature during this age is the anthologies which naturally enough have preserved for us only fragments of the works of poets of whom again nothing more than mere name has been told. There are also cases where even the names have been lost. Thus from anthologies we know v of one Panini whose skill as a poet of love is evident from the poems ascribed to him. The grammatical inaccuracies noticeable in these, however, clearly show that he is not to be identified with the great grammarian. To Vakkuta and Ladahachandra are ascribed elegant stanzas voicing forth the condition of the lover at various situations. Silabhattarika is yet another poetess having pretty stanzas ascribed to her, and having the unique honour of being ranked with Bana in point of style.

We are, however, more fortunate in the case of hymns (stotras). After the Mayurasataka and the Chcindisataka of Mayura and Bana respectively, and after several very pithy hymns ascribed (in some cases rightly) to Sankara the philosopher, we have the Devlsataka of Anandavardhana. In these hundred stanzas addressed to goddess Bhavani, the author, even against his own theories so ably expressed in his Dhvanydloka, pays more attention to the embellishments than to suggestion, in keeping with his own admission again that the latter is only of secondary importance in hymns. To the first quarter of the tenth century belongs Utpaladeva’s Stotravall consisting of twenty short hymns addressed to &iva. About the same period was composed the Mukundamdla which is a hymn in honour of Vishnu by

Kulasekhara, 44 who very probably is dfferent from the patron of Vasudeva, the author of the Yudhishthiravijaya. The date of the §yamaladandaka as well as its authorship is now fortunately settled on the strength of the evidence supplied by a MS. which leaves no doubt that the v/ork was composed, not by Kalidasa to whom it is traditionally ascribed, but by one Purantaka, son of Mahadeva, a worshipper in the temple of Mahakali. From the same source we learn that king Bhoja of Dhara showed his appreciation of the work by granting a hundred agrahtiras in A.D. 1Q01. 45 This work is in a peculiar variety of prose called Dandaka which has a fixed melody. Mention may here be made of two Jain authors, ,§obhana and Manatunga. The former, also known as &iromani, was a staunch Jain of the court of Dhara in the tenth century, and has given us a hymn in honour of Tirthankaras variously called Chaturvvmsati-Jinastuti, or Tirthesastuti or Sohhanastuti. This has been commented upon by his brother Dhanapala. 46 Manatunga, the famous author of the Bhaktamarastotra, was, according to a Pattavali of the Brihad-Gachchha, a minister of Vairisimha of the Paramara dynasty of Malava. In the Prabhdvakacharita his life is given after that of Bappabhatti

who died in Sam vat 895; but at the same time we are told that he was a contemporary of Mayura and Bana at the court of king Harsha. 47 It is thus difficult to foe the date of this author* though we may be sure that he was earlier than A.D. 1000. 48

Of the didactic poems we may note only three. The earliest is the Ku\tan%mata of Damodaragupta, a minister of king Jayaplda of Kashmir. This is a very highly interesting small poem and may be said to be a sort of manual for the guidance of the hetaerae. To the ninth century belongs the Bhallatasataka of Bhallafa who wrote under king Sankara varman of Kashmir. This is a collection of a hundred stanzas in different metres carefully elaborated. Curiously enough it contains one stanza of Anandavardhana. The Jain Somadeva, author of the Yasasiilaka champu (tenth century), composed the NUivakyamrita which, though definitely more moral in its tone, is yet almost entirely based on Kautilya's Arthastistra to which it may well serve as a sort of commentary. It advises kings to behave well and prudently rather than with cunning.

The Kichakavadha , 49 narrating in five cantos the story of Bhima killing Klchaka and his followers, is one of the earliest specimens of Alaska and Yamaha and similiar devices pressed into the service of poetry. It has been quoted, as is but natural, by grammarians, rhetoricians, and also lexicographers, the earliest being Namisadhu who composed his commentary on Eudrata's Kdvydlam kdra in A.D. 1069. But beyond his name, Nitivarman, we know nothing about the author of this work. Similar, though of poor workmanship, is the Rakshasakavya (or K&vyamkshasa) which is variously ascribed to Kalidasa, Ravideva, and Vararuchi, though Keith 50 is inclined to accept Ravideva as its author. Wintemitz 61 sees stylistic and other similarities of this poem with the Nalodaya, and ascribes both to Ravideva, son of Narayana. The Nalodaya, narrating in three cantos the story of Nala, is again a highly elaborate poem ascribed to Kalidasa. There can, however, be no doubt that it is not from the pen of the author of Raghuvamsa , who never indulges in elaborate metres or rhymes. Keith 52 ascribes this work to Vasudeva, the author of the Yudhishthiravijaya. Whoever be tfye author of the Rjdkshasakdvya , its date can tolerably be fixed on the strength of the fact that a manuscript of some anonymous commentary thereon was copied in Sam vat 1215 (c. A.D. 1159). It may, therefore, be presumed that the poem itself was composed much earlier than the twelfth century. 63

The anthologies, as a class of literary works, first make their appearance in the tenth century. These, of course, are collections of stanzas composed by poets of old, arranged according to various

principles. It is, therefore, futile to seek any originality in these and yet they are important since they preserve, at least in parts, the work of many early poets that would otherwise have been totally lost to us. The only work of this class that we have to note here is the Kavindravachana-samuchchayap 4 the earliest anthology as yet known to us. It differs from some other anthologies only in having one section devoted to Buddha and another to Avalokitesvara. It is noteworthy that none of the poets, whose stanzas have been preserved in this collection of 525 stanzas, flourished later than about A.D. 1000. Among the royal poets 55 revealed by these anthologies may be mentioned Yasovarman of Kanauj, Jayapida and Avantivarman of Kashmir, and Vakpatiraja II of Dhara.

Budhas vamin’s Slokasamgraha 56 (an abridgement in verse of Guniadhya’s Brihat-katha) is an important poem. For it is more faithful to Gunadhya’s work than the well-known collections of tales in Kathdsaritsagara and Brihatkathdmanjari which can now be regarded as representing only the Kashmirian recension of the original. Unfortunately, however, we have only a fragment of this works so that it is difficult to form an exact estimate of Budhasvamin’s workmanship. It is, however, apparent that he has shown considerable art in his work and deserves praise. He is definitely earlier than Kshemendra and Somadeva. Nor can the gulf of time removing him from Gunadhya be very wide. There is, hbwever, no strong ground on which to fix the date of this author; and Lacote’s view that he belongs to the eighth or the ninth century is only a conjecture based on the manuscript tradition.

3. Romance

In the field of romance, we have to note two works, the Mddhavd nala~Kamakandald~Katha and the Tilakamanjan. The former is the well-known love story of the Brahman a Madhavanala and the dancer Kamakandala who, after a long and painful separation, were at last married to each other through king Vikramaditya, The story is narrated in simple artless prose in Sanskrit interspersed with numerous verses in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, many of which appear in the Vetalapanchavimwtika and also in anthologies. 67 It is composed by An and a, a pupil of Bhatta Vidyadhara about whose date, however, we know nothing definitely. The Tilakamanjan is a romance composed admittedly in imitation of Bana’s Ktidambafi by Dhanapala, 68 son of Sarvadeva, brother of &obhana who converted him to Jainism. He was a contemporary of Halayudha, Padmagupta, Dhananjaya and Devabhadra and enjoyed the patronage of kings Slyaka and Vakpati of Dhara. Before his conversion he composed the Prakrit Lexicon Pdtyalachchhi 69 in A.D. 972-3, and it was after

becoming a Jain that he composed the Rishabhapanchaisihal 6 0 in fifty Prakrit stanzas. Merutuhga, in his Prabandhachintdmani , has narrated the incident which induced Dhanapala to name his romance after his daughter.

4. Champu

Whatever may be said to be the origin of the Champu, it is certain that it is the most elaborate and artificial form in Sanskrit literature, calculated to afford to the poet the amplest opportunities to display not only his erudition but also his command over prose as well as verse in one and the same composition. Up to the tenth century, compositions were either in prose or in verse almost exclusively; and even when they were in prose and verse intermingled, the latter was used only occasionally and for some definite purposes. But the yearning of poets to display their mastery over both simultaneously seems to be responsible for the rise of this altogether new form in Sanskrit literature. Though the earliest traces 61 of this form can be found in the Jatakamalu and the inscription of Harishena, yet the earliest work of this class, written in full Kavya style, belongs to the tenth century A.D., so that the Champu may be said to be one of the contributions of this age to Sanskrit literature.

The word Champu itself is of obscure origin. Nor has the form any very definite technique. Visvanatha defines it merely as a Kavya in,prose and verse. 62 which shows that its technique was apparently the same as that of Kavya, but for the intermingling of prose and verse. Nor is there any fixity as regards the purposes which are to be served by prose and verse respectively.

The earliest work of this class that has come down to us is the NalachampH, also called Damayantikatha , of Trivikramabhatta. It is only a torso in seven chapters narrating the famous epic story of Nala. Trivikrama does not seem to be a very good poet in spite of his own boasts, though his erudition and linguistic art must be admitted as being pretty high. The Maddlasd champu is another work of this class composed by this very Trivikrama, son of Nemaditya 63 and grandson of 6ridhara of Sandilya Gotra. He belonged to the beginning of the tenth century and was a poet at the court of the Rashtrakuta king Indra HI, for whom he composed the text of the Navsari inscription in A.D. 915.

To the middle of the tenth century belongs the Digambara Jain Somadeva, the author of the Yasastilakachampu composed in Saka 881 (c. A.D. 959) during the reign of the Rashtrakfita king Krishna III. Though Somadeva is known from his work as belong ing to Devasarhgha, Yasodeva of the Gaudasamgha is mentioned in the Lemulavada grant as his grand-preceptor. Again in the Champu , Somadeva twice addresses the king as Dharmavaloka which title was borne by Tuhga of the Bodh-Gaya branch of the Rashtrakutas. It would, therefore, appear that Somadeva was originally a pupil of the Gaudasamgha in the Gau^adesa and was probably patronised by the Bodh-Gaya Hashfrakutas, from whom he went to Lemulavada under the Rashtrakuta feudatories Arikesarin and his successors. And as the Rashfrakutas had intimate contact with the Chedis and the Gurjara Pratlharas of Kanauj, it is not unlikely that Somadeva came into contact with Mahendrapala (probably II) of Kanauj, and at his instance composed the Nxtivdky&mrita as is declared in some anonymous commentary. 64 Before this, however, Somadeva had composed the Shamxavatipraktirana, the Yuktichintdmani and the Mahendramdtalisanjalpa as we know from the colophon of his Nitivdkyamrita . All these, however, are to us no more than mere names as yet.

The Y (isastilakachampu narrates the story of the legendary king Yasodhara of IJjjain in seven chapters in full Kavya style, and shows the great erudition and linguistic attainments of its author. From it again we learn that Somadeva, from his childhood, had made a deep study of Tarkastistra , 66 which, however, did not banish all poetic abilities from him. But our main interest in this work centres round the fact that its last three chapters are devoted to a discussion of the Jain dogmas, so much so that this part is often taken to be a manual of Jainism for laymen.

Lastly, mention may be made of Udayasundarlkathd, which is sometimes regarded as a Champu . It was composed by Soddhala who describes himself as a Vallabha Rayastha of Lata. He flourished about A.D. 1000 and lived in the court of king Mummuniraja of Konkan. 66

II. SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE 1. Lexicography

The Dhanvontari Nighantu , the earliest extant medical lexicon, in its present form belongs to this period, though in its original forjn it may be much older. Of the ordinary dictionaries (kosa) only one can with some accuracy be assigned to this period, and that is the Abhidhana-ratnamdla of Halayudha who has followed the authority of Amaradatta, Vararuchi, Bhaguri and Vopalita. 67 The arrangement of the work is almost like that of the Amarakosa. The synonymous portion extends over four handas called Svarga, Bhumi.

Pataia and Sdmdnya y and is followed by the Anekarthakanda, the fifth and the last, which forms the homonymous portion including the indeclinables. The earliest author to quote from this Kosa is Mahkha who lived in the first half of the twelfth century A.D. It may also be noted that though Kshirasvamin, in his commentary on the Amarakosa, quotes a very large number of works and authors, he has not quoted Halayudha or his Kosa . This Halayudha has been identified 68 with the author of the Kavirahasya and the commentary called the Mritasanjlvini on Pihgala's Chhandahsutra. The latter was composed in honour of king Muhja Vakpati of Dhara between A.D. 974 and 995; while the former is an elaborate poem, meant to illustrate the modes of the formation of the present tense in Sanskrit literature, and is at the same time a eulogy of king Krishnaraja III of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, who ruled over the Deccan between A.D. 939 and 967.

2. Grammar

In grammar we come across the name of Maitreyarakshita, a Buddhist, who wrote a commentary on the Nydsa of Jinendrabuddhi under the title of Tantrapradipa, and has also to his credit the Dhatupradipa, based on the Diidtup&tha of Panini. It is difficult to fix the date of this author; for the only thing we know about him is that Sarvananda (A.D. 1159), the commentator of the Amarakosa, is the earliest writer to quote him by name. His Dhatupradipa refers to, and is therefore later than, the Tantrapradipa . Another rival commentary on Jinendrabuddhi’s Nydsa is the Anunydsa composed by Indu or Indumitra who may have flourished earlier than Maitreyarakshita. One more vmter, of the ninth century, is Yimalamati who is known to have composed the Bhdgavritti , 69

^akatayana, 70 the founder of a new school, belongs to the ninth century. There can be no doubt regarding the historicity of the writer; and his date also has been fixed beyond all dispute on the strength of a reference made by him in Ms Amoghavritti to an historical event of the reign of king Amoghavarsha, the great Rashtrakuta king who ruled between A.D. 814

and 878. His main work is the Sabdanusdsana, which, however, has little originality though at one time it seems to have attained very high popularity, not only among tpe &vetambara Jains for whom it was intended, but also among other non-Jain authors.

Durgasirhha, who probably flourished about A.D. 800, is the oldest known commentator on Katantra grammar or Kalapa, as it is otherwise known. In addition to his Vritti, on wMch he himself wrote a Tiled, we have also another commentary, viz. &ishya hitany&sa by Ugrabhuti (c. A.D. 1000). Though Katantra may

have been very old in its origin, we have at present no work of this school earlier than that of Durgasimha. This school spread over Bengal and Kashmir, Among the Kashmirian writers may be mentioned Bhatta Jagaddhara and Chhichhubhat|a who composed the Bdlabodhini and the Laghuvritti respectively about A.D. 1000. 71

3. Poetics 72

Greater and more fruitful activity was evinced during this age in the field of poetics, 73 To this age belonged great rhetoricians like Udbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, and Kuntaka (or Kuntala), It is this age again that saw the rise and growth of the various theories of poetics laying stress respectively on factors like Alamkdra (ornament or poetic figures), RUi (style), Dhvani (tone, suggestion), and Vakrokti (crooked speech) as the essence of poetry. This age may, therefore, be said to be the golden age of Sanskrit poetics.

The mightiest champion and. representative of the Alamkdra school is Udbhata whose name is associated with several doctrines in Alamkdramstra, Thus the theory of drthabheddt sabdahhedah or the twofold division of &lesha (double meaning), its inclusion among figures of sense, and regarding it as stronger than other .figures are often referred to as peculiar to Udbhata, who also seems to have elaborated for the first time the divisions of Upamd (simile) on the basis of grammar. He often differs from Bhamaha, the earliest exponent of the Alamkdra school, on some important matters. He exercised such great influence on Sanskrit poetics, and attained such high celebrity, that he easily eclipsed his predecessor Bhamaha and threw him into oblivion for a long period. His magnum opus is the Alamkdrasdrasamgraha, defining forty-one figures in about seventy-nine verses, and illustrating them in about a hundred illustrative stanzas, taken mostly, as we know it from the commentator, from his own Kumdrasambhava which, to judge from the verses we have before us, very much resembled Kalidasa's poem of that name. The work is divided into six chapters (varga) and was commented upon by Pratiharenduraja about the middle of the tenth century A.D. Udbhata is often quoted in the Dhvanyd lok a, and Kailiana tells us that he was Sabhdpati of king Jayapida of Kashmir. 74 Udbhata must, therefore, have flourished in the second half of the eighth century A.D.

Next to Udbhata comes Kudrata, the author of the K&vydlarhkdra which, in seven hundred and thirty-four verses, divided into sixteen chapters,"deals with all the important topics of the Sdhitya sdstra, and reviews the whole field of that science. He declares

that Kavya must have Rasa (sentiment), and thus indicates his acquaintance with the Rasa theory. But this does not prove that he belongs to the Rasa school. The Rltis (styles) he refers to only casually, and neglects Gunas (qualities) altogether. But to Alamkaras he attaches great importance which may justify the view that he was a writer of the Alamkdra school. His partiality to figures appears not only from the fact that he defines a greater number of them, than, is done by Bhamaha, Dandin, and Udbhata, but also from his exposition of the figures which is more systematic and scientific than theirs. No predecessor has been mentioned by name by Rudrata, though he seems to refer to Bharata and to Mayura, the author of the Mayurasataka, This shows that he must be later than these two writers. He must again be much earlier than A.D. 1068-69 when a commentary on his work was composed by Namisadhu, a Svetambara Jain and pupil of Salibhadra. Again he is quoted by numerous writers from the tenth century onwards. Thus he is quoted or referred to by Rajasekhara, Pratlharenduraja, Dhanika, Abhinavagupta, and Mammata. Thus Rudrata cannot be later than A.D. 900, and his acquaintance with the Dhvani theory coupled with his great affinity with Bhamaha and Udbhata shows that he must have flourished between A.D. 800 and 850. It appears from Namisadhu’s commentary on Kdvydlamkdra 75 that Rudrata was also known by the name Satananda, and that his father's name was Vamuka.

Mention may be made of another work which is based on Rudrata's Kdvydlamkdra. It is the Sringdratilaka which, in three chapters called Parichchhedas, deals with the Rasas, the Bhdvas (emotions), the kinds of Ndyaka (hero) and Ndyikd (heroine), the Vipralambha Sringdra in its various stages, the six updyas (means) of winning one's offended beloved, the other Rasas, and the four vrittis. Very often the author of this work, whose name is Rudrabhatta, is confounded with the author of the Kdvydlamkdra. But there seems to be very little solid ground for the identification of these two authors. Thus, for example, while Rudrata has not one word to say in favour of the courtesans, Rudrabhatta, even after admitting all strictures against them, has yet to offer some defence on their behalf. But on the whole there is a remarkable similarity between the two, not only of thought but even of phraseology, which can be accounted for only on the assumption of one of the tw r o being the borrower. Rudrabhatta must, therefore, be placed after Rudrata and as such may be said to have lived between A.D. 900 and 1000 the lower limit being roughly determined on the strength of the fact that the earliest writer to quote from the Sringdratilaka is Hemachandra.

A marked advance over the Alamkdra school is made by the Riti school, the foremost champion of which is Vamana, the author of the Kdvydlamkdrasutravrtti . The representatives of the former looked upon the Alamkdms as the soul of poetry, and were thus yet far away from the real essence of poetry. Vamana, however, for the first time emphatically asserted that the soul of poetry was Riti, which consists in such a peculiar arrangement of words that they would exhibit Gunas. The real essence of poetry had not yet been discovered, for the Riti school was not yet aware of what the Guna belong to. But credit is due to Vamana for having made a very close approach to the soul of poetry which it was left for his successors to realise in full. Vamana's work comprises three hundred and nineteen Sutras, divided into five parts (pa richchheda), whicii are subdivided into twelve adhydyas , with a vritti thereon composed by the author himself and illustrations derived from various sources. Besides the main theory of Riti being the soul of poetry, there are other doctrines which are recognised as being peculiar to Vamana. Such, for example, are the distinction between Gunas and Alamkdras, the inclusion of Vakrokti among figures of sense, and the peculiar definition of Viseshokti and Akshepa . Vamana quotes from Magha and Bhavabhuti among others, and is himself quoted by Raj asekhara and Pratiharenduraja. Kalhana mentions Vamana as one of the minister^ of king Jayaplcla of Kashmir. Vamana would thus appear to be a contemporary and perhaps even a rival of Udbhata who w T as a Sabhdpati of the same king.

But by far the most important school of poetics that arose in this age is the Dhvani school championed emphatically by Anandavardhana, the author of the famous Dhvanydloka. Like many other works on poetics this also comprises three parts, the Kdrikd, the Vritti and the Uddharana. The last is derived from the vast field of Sanskrit literature; but there is a keen controversy regarding the authorship of the other two. According to Winternitz, Keith, Be, and others, the author of the Kdrikd is to be distinguished from that of the Vritti . The former is, according to them, in all probability Sahridaya, while the latter is Anandavardhana or simply Ananda. Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, 76 on the other hand, has argued in favour of the identity of authorship of the Kdrikd and the Vritti with no fresh material to adduce in support of his view. The problem therefore remains unsolved. According to Kalhana, Anandavardhana lived at the time of Avantivarman of Kashmir. He may, therefore, be said to have flourished about the middle of the ninth century A, D. Besides the epoch-making Dhvanydloka, Anandavardhana has also composed the Devtsataka, before which, however, he had already composed the Tridasdnanda and the Anandakathd, which

are only other names of the Arjunacharita and the Vishamabcuiialild respectively. 77 From Abhinavagupta again we learn that Anandavardhana had also written the Dharmottamd which is a commentary on the Prammavinischaya of Dharmakirti. The Tattvdloka is yet another work in which he has discussed the relation between S&stranaya and Kdvyanaya. About Anandavardhana himself, however, we know hardly anything beyond tne fact that he was the son, of Nona, and that the author of the

Kdrikds in the Dhvanyaloka, if at all he was different from Anandavardhana, was in all probability his guru.

In the Dhvanyaloka, comprising one hundred and twenty-nine Kdrikds divided into four chapters (Uddyota), Anandavardhana has stated several views regarding Dhvani (tone or suggestion), including his own, given its classification on the basis of Vyangya and also on that of Vyahjaka, tried to fix the place of Gunas and Alamkdras in poetry, and ultimately stated his view regarding Pratibha and the province of poetry. It was in this work that the theory of Dhvani in rhetorics found its first expression in clear and definite terms, though it might have been in the air for some time before it.

It must, however, be noted that even this admirable work, propounding an equally admirable theory, had to pass through the ordeal of very severe criticism before it found general acceptance. In due course, however, it established itself to such an extent, that even a fastidious author like Jagannatha declared that Anandavardhana had settled all the important problems of poetics. Before dealing with the critics, however, we must note its commentator Abhinavagupta, who refers to and criticises an older commentary called Chandrikd composed by someone belonging to Abhinava’s own family. Abhinavagupta was the son of Chukhala and grandson of Varahagupta and elder brother of Manoratha, as he himself tells us in his Pardtrimsik 5vivarana. He has several works to his credit, and appears to have at least three gurus . In his Lochana he refers to Bhattenduraja and Utpala as his guru and paramaguru respectively. Bhatta Tauta, the author of the Rdvyakautuka, is also referred to in the same work as his guru; while Lakshmanagupta seems to have been his teacher in §aiva philosophy. His literary activity may be said to have extended from A.D. 990 to 1020, since we know that he composed his Bhaira vastotra in A.D. 993, and his PratyabhijndvimcCrsini in A.D. 1015.

Pratlharenduraja, Kuntaka, Bhattanayaka and Mahimabhatta made very severe criticisms against the views of the Dhvani school. Pratlharenduraja is the commentator of Udbhata, and is one of the oldest commentators in the field of poetics. He has taken up all the examples of Dhvani given by Anandavardhana, and has shown that they are one and all merely examples of Alarhkaras. Bhattanayaka, the author of the Hridayadarpana . flourished between A.D. 900 and 1000; while Mahimabhatta came shortly after A.D. 1000. Kuntaka is perhaps the mightiest of the critics of the Dhvani school, and is the founder of a new theory called Vakrokti (figurative speech). This theory he has explained in his V akroktijivita in four parts (unmeshci). Like many other works on poetics it contains Kdrikds , Vritti } and Udaharanas, the two former being his own work and the last being borrowed from various authors. In this work he defines Vakrokti as a speech that charms by the skill of the poet, and then goes on to give the several varieties of Vakrokti together with t illustrative examples. His contention is that Dhvani cannot have an independent existence as the soul of poetry. It comes only under Vakrokii which, therefore, must be admitted as the soul of poetry. Kuntaka quotes Anandavardhana, Rudrata, and Rajasekhara, and is himself quoted by Mahimabhatta in his Vyaktiviveka , and his views are summarised in the Alamkarasarvasva. He would thus belong to the latter half of the tenth century A.D., slightly later than Abhinavagupta who makes no reference to Vakroktijlvita.

The Kdvyamimdmsd of Rajasekhara, whose works have been already noticed above, is important and interesting not so much for the theory it preaches, but from various other points of view. Instead of dealing with the Rasas, Gunas and Alamkdras directly, it treats of various topics which are very useful to the poet. This work may be said to be a practical handbook of a poet. From the introductory chapter it would appear that the extant work is only the first part of what was originally planned by Rajasekhara. Two more authors whose names may be mentioned are Mukulabhafta and Bhatta Tauta. The former, the son of Kallata and a contemporary of Rajasekhara, flourished in the reign of king Avantivarman of Kashmir. In his Abhidhavrittimatrikd , the only work that has come down to us, he discusses in fifteen Karikas, with Vritti thereon, the two powers of words, viz. abhidhd and lakshand. Bhatta Tauta is known to us as Abhinavagupta’s guru and the author of the K&vyakautuka, known only from citations. Abhinavagupta in his Lochana tells us that he had written a Vivarana on his work. Kshemendra, Hemachandra, and Somesvara refer to and quote from him. He is credited with the famous definition of Pratibhd as ‘Prajna navanavonme shasdlini pratibhd mata * He held the Santa as the most important of the Rasas, and one more peculiar doctrine of his that may be mentioned is that Kavi, the Nay aka and the reader (Srota) pass through the same experience so far as Rasa is concerned. Evidently again, he was against the view of Sankuka, viz . ‘anukaranarupo

rasah * He must have flourished about A.D, 960-990 and had greatly influenced Abhinavagupta.

On dramaturgy there are, indeed, very few works that have come down to us; and almost all that we know at present, with the exception of Bharata’s Na$yastistra, is later than about A.D. 1000. Only two works that are slightly earlier than A.D. 1000 are the Dasarupaka and Nat a ha ratnakosa (or Nataka-iakshanaratnakosa). The former belongs to the latter half of the tenth century A.D. approximately, since we are told that the Kdrikds were composed by Dhananjaya at the time of king Muhja (A.D. 974-994). Dhanika, very probably his younger brother, commented on this work slightly later. The Nd$akaratnakosa 7Q is a similar work composed by Sagaranandin. From the views expressed in his work, Sagaranandin would seem to be earlier than Dhananjaya. Besides this work he seems to have written another work, a play named Janakiharana.

In conclusion, even at the risk of some repetition, we may make a general survey of the development of the theory of poetics and shew how rhetoricians began by emphasizing the purely external constituent of poetry, viz. the figures of speech, and ultimately succeeded in discovering the real soul of poetry in suggestion or Dhvani. The Rasa theory was evolved by Bharata mainly with reference to dramatic works and could be applied to complete poetical compositions alone. But nobody ever knew then how it could be applied to single verses also. It was only after a lapse of some centuries that the Dhvani school arose and extended the Rasa theory to even stray verses. The earliest rhetoricians, however, looked upon the Alamk&rds as the most important constituent of poetiy. Thus Bhamaha, Udbhafa, Dandin, Kudrata, and Pratlharenduraja not only devoted a major portion of their works to Alamk&ras, but also gave a very systematic and detailed treatment thereof. They were not quite unaware of the Rasa theory or even of the suggested sense or Dhvani. But they could not apply that theory to poetry and naturally subordinated Rasa to Alarnkaras , thus giving figures like 'rasavat, preyas , and urjasvi, . Another important result of the Alamkdra theory was the exuberant growth of figures of speech in general and the sahddlamkdras in particular. The importance gained by the sabddlamkdras naturally gave a sort of impetus to what is known as the Chiira kavya. Alamkdra , however, is only an external matter and has little to do with the soul of poetry as is suggested by the name itself. Varnana, therefore, set aside the Alarhkdras and hit upon something more internal— more essential—, viz. Riti and declared it to be the soul of poetry. That the Riti school wielded great influence is evident from the fact that Riti forms an important

topic in almost every work on rhetorics after Yamana, It must, however, be observed that the importance already gained by the Alamk&rcis was never on the wane. This is evident from the fact that every rhetorician of note has devoted a major portion of his work to them. \ amana has certainly made a real advance over his predecessors, but yet even he could not reach the goal and was only groping in the dark. He could see that the Alamkdras were too extraneous to deserve the title of the soul of poetry. But he could not discover the real soul thereof, which it was left for Anandayardhana to do. The Dhvani school founded by Anandavardhana is, in fact, an extension of Rasa theory. Taking his cue from the tenet that Rasa is only vyangya, he propounded the theory that vyangya artha , Dhvani f is the soul of poetry; and further based his classification of poetry on the relative prominence enjoyed by the vdchya and the vyangya arthas therein. Thus though, while classifying poetry Anandavardhana admits Chitra as the third variety, he holds that poetry in the real sense of the term can be only of one type, and that is Dhvani kdvya. He runs down Chitra kdvya in very strong terms v/ith the natural result that the prominence enjoyed by it along with Alamkdras , both of sound as well as sense, dwindled into insignificance. And had no later rhetorician like Kuntaka said something calculated to revive it, Chitra kdvya in all probability would not have waxed so strong at all in Sanskrit literature. The views of Anandavardhana had, however, to pass through the fiery ordeal of penchant criticism at the hands of Pratiharenduraja and others before they found general acceptance. The influence and importance of the Dhvanydloka is evident from the fact that it has been looked upon as almost the last word on poetics by no less a rhetorician than Jagannatha Pandita. About a century later Kuntaka with all his critical acumen tried to criticise the Dhvani theory and founded a separate school of his own declaring vakrokti as the soul of poetry. From Kuntaka's definition of vakrata and its classification it is evident that Kuntaka wanted to make his vakrata as comprehensive as possible so as to include all classes of kdvya within its purview. According to Anandavardhana Chitra kdvya is kdvya onfy by courtesy; but Kuntaka would admit it as kdvya without any grudge. For according to him any composition that is possessed of vakrata- in any of its six varieties deserves the name of kdvya. Kuntaka thus, it would appear, tried to effect a comnromise among all the three different schools before him; and in this he seems to have succeeded very well as can be seen from the fact that in the later centuries we find the Chitra aspect of the kdvya also receiving great attention. From this point of view, however, one cannot help thinking that Kuntaka did more harm than good to Sanskrit kdvya when

one finds that once Chitra kdvya and the sabddlaihkdras got a sort of sanction at the hands of Kuntaka, they cropped up in such exuberance as to stifle real poetry or Dhvani kdvya. It is true that Kuntaka had very few followers among the rhetoricians; and yet it cannot be denied that poets of the later centuries finding Dhvani kdvya perhaps much beyond their capacities, for want of the most important requisite, pratibhd 9 turned their attention more to the other type of kdvya which afforded better opportunities for a display of learning and scholarship and which it was easier to compose even in the absence of pratibhd . In fact even writers possessed of pratibhd did not remain satisfied by composing simple suggestive poetry without any display of the various feats with the help of words and their sounds. This is evident from works like the Gita govinda. Later rhetoricians right from Mammata down to Jagannatha Pandita championed the Dhvani theory, no doubt; but even they could not deny a place to Chitra kdvya in their classification of poetry, with the result that its growth could not be retarded. There was, indeed, little in the field of poetics after Anandavardhana (or perhaps after Kuntaka) which can be said to be new; and the reasons for such a state of things are perhaps to be sought in the social, religious and even political condition of India during these centuries.

4. Metrics

As regards metrics, the only important writer on Sanskrit Metres is Utpala who lived in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. In his commentary to chapter 103 of Varahamihira’s Bpihatsamhitd, he has given us about sixty definitions of the Sanskrit Akshara-Gana Vrittas. About forty of these definitions have been bodily reproduced from Jayadeva’s work. 79 Utpala also quotes two illustrations from Prakrit which contain the name of the metre as well as its illustration. This would show that Prakrit metrics too had well developed by that time, so much so that the Prakrit metricians had begun to compose their own illustrations like the Sanskrit metricians, instead of quoting stanzas from already, existing Prakrit poems. This naturally indicates a late stage in the development of Prakrit metrics.

Svaydmbhuchhandas is a very important 80 work so far as the history of Prakrit poetry is concerned. The author Svayambhu is an early Jain writer and is known to have composed two long poems in the Apabhramsa language. He is later than Mayura and gxiharsha and probably lived in the tenth century A.D. He is respectfully mentioned by Hemachandra in his ChhandonuS&sana, and by Pushpadanta in his Mahdpuvana in A.D. 905.

5. Medicine

Though the principal Samhitds of medicine had already been composed, it was left to this age to bring to perfection the branch of pathology in the masterly work called Rugvinischaya , known also as Madhazm-niddna after its author, or simply Niddna. This work of Madhavakara, son of Indukara, for the first time in the history of Indian medicine, treats of all diseases together and has often been laid under contribution by later writers on this subject such as Chakrapanidatta and Vahgasena. The numerous commentaries on this work show that it enjoyed high popularity. It is not clear whether Madhavakara is earlier than Dridhabala, son of Kapilabala, who is said to have revised and enlarged the Charaka-samhitd of Agnivesa in the eighth or the ninth century A.D. He is generally assigned to the ninth century A.D. 81

The Siddhiyoga (also called V rindamadhava) is another curious work belonging to the same period which closely follows the order of diseases and treatment as found in the Madhava-niddnsa . Its author Vrinda himself admits his indebtedness to the work of Madhavakara with whom he need not be identified; 82 and since he is drawn upon by Chakrapanidatta in the eleventh century he may be placed about A.D. 1000.

Interesting again is the Nighantu of Dhanvantari, the oldest medico-botanical dictionary that we have at present. Older works of this class, if there were any, have all been lost to us. The Dhanvantarxya Nighantu itself is found in two recensions comprising seven and nine chapters respectively. Amara is said to have used this work in his Ko§a. But what was used by Amara must be some older version of the extant work which cannot be older than about the eighth century A.D. since it refers to quicksilver. The idea of the earlier and the later editions of this Nighantu , thus suggested, finds some corroboration in a stanza found in a manuscript of the work stating that the original work of Dhanvantari was revised 'by Kasyapa. 83

Another important branch that was just cropping up in the medical science is the one dealing with the preparations of quicksilver and other metals. The importance of quicksilver grew to a large extent, because its preparations were deemed to give perpetual youth, life for thousand years, invisibility, invulnerability, and other goods things. The earliest work on this topic that can be dated fairly accurately is the Rasaratnakara of Nagarjuna, who is placed in the seventh or the eighth century by Ray, and in the tenth century by Wintemitz, 84

6. Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology

In mathematics 85 we read of Sridhara who had written a work similar to the Lildvati of B ha ska rac hary a. He is perhaps the same as the author of the Ganitasdra who is referred to by Mahavlra in his Sdrasa 7 hgraha . The date of this latter can be fixed at about A.D. 850, since he tells us that he enjoyed the patronage of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha I. To the last quarter of the ninth century belongs the Brihanmdnasa of Manu on which, according to Al-Birum, is based the Laghumdnasa which Munjala composed about A.D. 932. From AI-Blrunl again we know of Balabhadra, a resident of Kanauj, as the author of several independent works on all the branches of Jyotihsdstra, and also commentaries on several works including the Yogasutra of Patahjali. Another writer of the same period is Vatesvara (Vittesvara of AI-Blrunl) probably belonging to Kashmir. But the most important author of this age is Aryabhata II, the author of the

Aryasiddhdnta, who is certainly later than Brahmagupta, but earlier than Bhaskaracharya, who mentions him. As Bhattotpala does not cite any passage from this Aryasiddhdnta, Aryabhata II cannot be much earlier than A.D. 966. Among other writers of the tenth century may be mentioned Prithusvami (a mere name to us), Bhattotpala, and Vijayanandi, the author of the Karanatilaka, all of whom are noted by A1 Blrunl. Of these Bhattotpala made a deep and accurate study of his predecessors in the held. He has commented upon several works and possibly also composed an independent work on the Ganitaskandha. His commentaries are all learned and prove the accuracy of their author. But more interesting and important than the rest is, perhaps, that on the Brihatsamhitd, a study of which is calculated to give its reader a good idea of the history of this science in India in the earliest stages. This commentary was composed in Aaka 888 (c. A.D. 966). The only other work that remains to be noted is the Sdrdvali of Kalyanavarman. This work is perhaps the same as that referred to by Bhattotpala, so that Kalyanavarman must be earlier than the tenth century A.D. On the strength of the fact that he calls himself Vatesvara 86 he is said to have lived in the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. But from internal evidence of the Sdrdvali itself it appears that in A.D. 966 Bhattotpala revised the original work of Kalyanavarman which at that time was about three hundred years old. It would, therefore, seem to belong to the seventh century A.D. 87

7. General Review of Secular Literature

We may now close this survey by a few critical observations on the mass of literature produced during this age. The first thing that we have to notice is that Sanskrit was steadily losing its position as a spoken language, pari passu with the growth of the canonical languages of the Buddhists and the Jains and of the various other DesabhasMs . It is true that Sanskrit continued to be used as the chief language for exchange of thought among the learned down to a very late date. But this very fact, it may be observed, led to its estrangement from the generality of the people, so much so that the literature that came to be composed in Sanskrit had its appeal more or less to the Panditas rather than to the common people of India. It is this gulf that arose between the language of the people and that of literature that seems to be responsible for*the several features noticeable in Sanskrit literature of this age. Thus in Kdvya we notice the sameness of theme in several works. More often than not the theme is drawn from the epics or the Puranas, so that by itself the theme being too well known has but little interest for the poet or the erudite reader. What interests the poet now is a display of his erudition, of his mastery over sound and sense, his infinite vocabulary, and his power to execute some wonderful and intricate devices. The readers of these works, naturally Panditas, also do not care for the theme so much as for these extraneous factors. This explains how there arose a tendency in Sanskrit literature to be pedantic and artificial,—a tendency which, as is natural, grew stronger and stronger as the gulf between the language of the people and that of the learned gradually widened. The natural effect of this is that Sanskrit literature and the Sanskrit speaking Panditas were as a class torn away from the masses and remained for long an object of awe and admiration, but hardly of love and sympathy. As a natural result, therefore, the poet always sought to appeal to the Panditas by rigidly following the poetical canons and, within the limits set by them, to exercise his talents. This rigidity in its turn practically eliminated the personal element of the poet, so much so that in Sanskrit literature we miss the revelation of the poet's personality in their poems. This impersonal character of the Kdvya is further enhanced by the theory of the rationality of the world order which was recognised in India from very early ages. To balance these defects, however, there are qualities such as mastery over emotions and sentiments in all their shades, intimate and real love of nature, a sympathetic outlook, power of description,, and capacity to produce fine word pictures in a short space beautified by appropriate metre. This is why we find many poets producing exquisite lyrics though they may be no good at epic poetry or even dramas. For dramas were composed, later, not for the stage, but merely as linguistic and poetical exercises.

All this weakness in belles lettres was, however, more than compensated by the theory of poetics which saw its fullest development in this age at the hands of these very Panditas, This shows that the age as such was the age of critics and not of poets, and explains the marked difference in quality between artistic and scientific literature during the period as a whole. We have already seen how medicine, philosophy, and even astronomical science were steadily growing and producing some special branches in their fields. The Panditas naturally took greater and keener interest in the sciences, and directed their attention to expounding fresh theories and exploring new avenues of thought.

It may thus be seen that belles lettres had little living interest for the masses. Nor had it any such interest for the learned specialists or original thinkers who worked upon it as merely a means to an end. Literature to them was merely a hand-maid to poetics. The scientific literature, however, had a living interest for the specialists, though the masses in general were certainly averse to it. Hence we observe that in the mass of literature surveyed here the scientific side is more living and dynamic than the other which was slowly and gradually freezing to a static condition.

HI. RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

The two great epics had now practically reached their final form, though interpolations of-isolated verses, passages, and even entire chapters possibly continued till quite a late date. The Dharmasastras and the Puranas had no doubt attained a sanctity which should have normally made its rank closed to new accessions. But as these texts served as sources of civil law as well as religious beliefs and practices, there was always the vital need of keeping them abreast with changing times. This led to the composition of pseudo-Smritis and Upa-Puranas passing under the names of renowned sages or rather their namesakes who were even older or greater than they, such as Greater or Older Manu, Narada, etc. But there were other ways of attaining the same object, viz. extensive additions to the existing Puranas, and commentaries on the Dharmasastras. If we add to these the compilations and digests of the latter we shall practically complete the picture of these two branches of literature.

1. Puranas

It is now agreed on all hands that large additions were made to the Puranas during the period under review. To the texts of the original Puranas, which may be pretty old, were added several topics, at different times by different hands, i.e . whenever need for these was felt. Thanks to the patient researches of Dr. Hazra , 88

we are now in a position to assign approximate dates to several sections of these works. Thus sections on the consecration of Lingo,, the Pdsupata-vrata, the Panchakshari mantra, Dikshd, Purascharana. Y atidharma , great gifts, and mystical rites and practices were added to the Lingo Purdna between A.D. 800 and 1000. During the same centuries again the Vardha Purdna got into its text sections on holy places, Dikshd } penances, and funeral sacrifices, while those on hells, Karmavipdka, gifts, and Stridharma (duties of women) were interpolated into it in the tenth century. Sections on Yugadharma, vows, worship, tithis, and funeral rites, however, seem to be as old as A. D. 800. Similar sections were introduced in the Brihanndradiya between A.D. 850 and 950; while the Ndradiya got them between A.D. 875 and 1000. It was again during the ninth century that sections on holy places, Varndsramadharma, marriage, Achdra , Grahamakha, Grahasdnti, Rdjadharma and similar other topics were added to the Agni Purdna; while sections on Dikshd, Nydsa, Mawnjiban dhana , Pratishthd, funeral sacrifices, Yugadharma, etc., got into the Garuda Purdna during the tenth; and the Vdmana Purdna took in sections on Karmavipdka, Vdriidsramadharma , vows, Vishnupujd etc. during the ninth and the tenth centuries. Similar sections were again added to the Karma Purdna during the eighth century; while sections on Janmdshtamivrata and Ekddasivrata were added to the Brahmavaivarta during the eigth century, and were again recast by Bengali authors between A.D. 1000 and 1500. On the whole it may be observed that the sections thus added to the Puranas: have hardly any counterpart in the older Smritis like those of Manu and Yajhavalkya. This explains why these sections were interpolated into several Puranas almost simultaneously. The topics dealt with in these may be designated Puranic rites and ritual which seem to have dominated the society in India during this period.

2. Dharmasdstras or Smritis

The two compilations Chaturvimsatimata and Shattrimsanmata probably belong to this age since they have been quoted by Vijnanesvara in his Mitdkshard and also by Apararka, but not by Visvarupa and Medhatithi. 89

The first contains a summary of the teachings of 24 sages. The second, known only from quotations, was also probably a work of the same type. It is interesting to note that both are decidely anti-Buddhist, and the latter even prescribes a bath for touching Bauddhas, Pasupatas, Jains, atheists, and followers of Kapila. On the whole, however, it has to be observed that the age of original literature in Dharmasdstra is now over and that commentators and writers of digests have taken up the field. Visvarupa wrote his Bdlakrldd on the Ydjhavalkya-smriti before Vijnanesvara who thrice refers to it in his Mitdkshard. Visvarupa quotes, among others, the Slokavdrttika , and is very probably to be identified with Bhavabhuti.[90] Ho is generally sought to be identified with his namesake, the disciple of Sankara. But that does not appear to be a correct view.

The next great name of this period is that of Medhatithi who is the oldest commentator of the Manu-smriti whose commentary has come down to us. A northerner, probably a Kashmirian, he was erudite and was throughly conversant not only with Dharmasdstra but also with Mimdmsd . He quotes Asahaya and Kumarila by name, and most probably cites the view of Sankaracharya. Vijnanesvara looks upon him as an authority on Dharmasdstra . His activity must, therefore, fall somewhere between A.D. 825 and 900. Among other writers on Dharmasdstra may be mentioned Bharuchi, Srikara, and Yogloka who are known only from quotations. The last named is often criticised and taunted by JifAutavahana who appears to be much junior to him. Bharuchi's date probably falls between A.D. 950 and 1050. Slightly older than Bharuchi is Srlkara who probably lived in the ninth century.

3. Philosophy

The greatest name of this age in philosophy is that of Vachaspatimisra, the versatile and erudite genius that shows himself an adept in every branch of the orthodox systems of Indian Philosophy. Richly, therefore, does he deserve the epithet Sarvatantrasvatantra or Sarvadarsanavallabha that is generally applied to him. Before composing his commentary on the Nyayavdrttikatdtparya he composed an index to the Nydyasutras which he himself has dated A.D. 84X. 91 This date is confirmed by other considerations. Besides commenting on several works, he has also written some independent treatises on some of the darsanas. The Tattvakaumudi and the TatU vasdradi r <? are the names of his commentaries on Isvarakrishtna's Sdihkhyokdrikd and Vyasabhdshya on Patanjali's Yogasutra respectively. His Nydyavdrttikatdtparyafikd contains a brilliant defence of the orthodox logicians against Buddhistic onslaughts. The Nydyasuchini-bandha and the Ny ayasutroddhdra are two more Nydya works from the same pen. The Nydyakanilcd is his commentary on the Vidhiviveka of Mandanamisra, while the Tattvabindu is an independent work on the Bhatta Mimdmsd in which, it may be noted, Vachaspati distinguishes between two schools of the Prabhakaras as old and new Bhamati on Sankara's Bhdshya on the Brahmasutras, of course, is too well known. One more Vedanta work of Vachaspati is the Tattvasamikshd which is a commentary on the Brahmasiddhi, a Vedantic work of Mandanamisra alias Suresvara. From Vachaspati's own statement 93 in the BMmatl it appears that before it he had already composed several of these works. Vachaspati wrote under the patronage of king Nriga whose munificence was unsurpassed. It has not yet been possible to identify this king, though it is certain that Vachaspati flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

In Yoga there are only three works belonging to this age, viz. the Rajamartanda t the Yogavarttika f and the Y ogasdrasamgraha. The first is an excellent commentary on Patanjali's Yogasutra composed by Bhoja, who probably is to be placed in the tenth century A.D. The other two are works of Vijnanabhikshu who probably belongs to the same period. The former is a running commentary on the Yogabhashya of Vyasa while the latter is an independent tract aiming at a brief exposition of the Yoga system. It may be noted that in both these Vijnanabhikshu has criticised some views of Vachaspati.

Next to Vachaspati stands Udayana who composed the Tattva suddhi (Tatparyaparisuddhi), a commentary on the Nydyavdrttikatdtparyatika, in A.D. 984. Like his illustrious predecessor, Udayana also has defended the orthodox views in his Atmatattvaviveka, which is a 'defence of the doctrine of the eternity of soul; while in his Bauddhadhikkdra he has assumed even the offensive and taken cudgels against Buddhistic views. The Nydyaparisishta, which is a sort of commentary on the Nydyasutra, is also ascribed to the same author. Two more authors of the Nyaya school deserve to be mentioned here. Jayanta, the author of the Nydyamanjari, which is an independent commentary on the Nydyasutras, stands between Vachaspati whom he quotes and Ratnaprabha and Devasuri who quote him. He also refers to Sankaravarman as the ruling prince of Kashmir. He must, therefore, belong to the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. The other writer is Bhasarvajha whose Nydyasdra is a survey of the Nyaya philosophy. He belongs to the tenth century A.D.

The literary activity of the Vaiseshikas in this period is restricted mainly to the commentaries of which the earliest is Lakshanavali composed by Udayana in A.D. 984. 94 His Kiranavall, found in two sections, viz. Dravyakiranavall and Gunakiranavall, is a sort of running commentary on Prasastapada’s Bhashya on the Vaiseshikasutra. On the same text was composed in A.D. 991 a commentary under the title Nyayakandoli by Srldhara Bhafta, son of Baladeva and Abboka and grandson of Brihaspati, who lived at Bhurisreshthi in Dakshinaradha (West Bengal) and enjoyed the patronage of one Pandudasa. The other works that gridhara refers to in this commentary as his

own are no more than mere names to us for the present. The Nyayakandali 9 however, is highly important, since Sridhara has therein, for the first time in the history of the system, given us a theistic interpretation of the Nydyavaiseshika , 95 The Vyomavail is another commentary on the same text composed by Vyomasekhara; while the fourth commentary on the same text again is the LildvaU of &rivatsa who probably belongs to the eleventh century A.D. One important work of Udayana that must be mentioned here is the Kusumdnjali or the Nyayakusumanjali t comprising seventy-two Karikds together with the author’s own commentary thereon, in which the existence of soul is established from the Nyaya point of view. In this work Udayana criticizes not only the aesthetic doctrine of the Mimamsakas, but also the theories of causation propounded by the Samkhyas, the Vedantins, and the Buddhists. 90

Vachaspati’s works in the field of Mimamsa have been already noticed. In Vedanta, besides Vachaspati we have Sarvajnatmamuni, the pupil of Suresvara and the author of the Samkshepasdnraka which is only an epitome of Sankara’s Bhashya on the Brdhmasutra. Among writers of other schools of Vedanta may be mentioned two of the predecessors of Ramanuja. One is Nathamuni, the author of the Nydyatattva and the Yogardhasya; while the other, Yamunacharya, the uncle of Ramanuja, has given us the Agamaprdrwdnya, Mahdpurusha-Nirnaya, Siddhitraya , Gita-Safagraha, and several other works. The Yogavasishthas&ra of Gauda Abhinanda also belongs to the same period. It is, of course, like the original text, partly philosophical and partly theological. Saivism was also developing systematic schools, along the lines of Vaishnavism, in great affinity with the Vedanta. Thus in Kashmir we get two schools of Saivism, the Spandasdstra and the Praiyabhijndsdstra . The former was founded about the ninth century by Vasugupta to whom god Siva revealed the Sivasutra , the main sutra work of the school. Another equally important work of this school is the Spandakarikd, comprising fifty-one verses, composed by Kallata on the basis of the instructions imparted by his preceptor Vasugupta. Kallata lived in the reign of Avantivarman (A,D. 854). The important works of the Pratyabhijna, school, are the Sivadrishti and the Pratyabhijna sutra , composed by Somananda and his pupil Utpala respectively in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The latter of these is more important and has been commented upon by the famous rhetorician Abhlnavagupta, the commentary being called the Pratyabhijndvimarsint (composed between A.D. 991 and 1015). Abhinavagupta has also given us two more works of this school; the T antraloka and the Paramdrthasdra. In the latter, it may be noted, Abhinavagupta has combined the monistic teaching of Advaita with the

practices of the Yoga and the Bhakti of Saivism and Vaishnavism in such a manner that it can be said to strike a new path altogether. In this work of a hundred Karikas he has laid under contribution what he calls the Adharakarikas ascribed to Adisesha (Patanjali), a work which has not come down to us. 97

B. PRAKRIT

During this period, the Prakrits had already passed beyond the stage of a spoken language on the one hand, and were being supplanted by Sanskrit on the other, both in the field of exegesis and •enlightenment, among the learned of all classes and sects. The result was their comparative negligence even among the Jains. The Jains respected the Prakrits as their holy language, since their Agamas were composed in them. Yet they could not wholly keep themselves aloof from Sanskrit, which had still retained its influence on the minds of the learned and was respected as the cultural language of the nation as a whole. Any new religious worships, philosophical dogmas or spiritual experiments had to be submitted through the medium of this language to the circles of the free-thinking leaders of the society for their judgment and approbation. Without their sanction no system had any hope or chance of being respected or continued in the higher strata of the community. Indians in ancient and middle ages were a highly free-thinking people by their nature, education and equipment. They would not accept anything on the mere recommendation of this or that person, howsoever great he may be. Everything had to be proved by means of reasoning on the generally accepted lines of argumentation which had been developed through a long period. So that when the wise men of Jainism clearly saw that the learned circles would not care even to look at their precious theories unless and until they were presented through this cultural language of the nation, they gradually took to writing in Sanskrit for establishing their claim to a place in the midst of the respectable philosophers of the land. They not merely explained their Prakrit Agamas in Sanskrit, but also wrote independent treatises in that language, either for conversion of intelligent men to their faith or at least for their thoughtful consideration. Siddhasena Divakara was probably the first among the Jain Panditas who thus turned to Sanskrit for the propagation of his faith and philosophy. Haribhadra, pupil of Jinabhata and known also as Virahanka, was the next great writer of this school. He describes himself as the son of Mahattara Yakini, who, an ordinary nun, had become instrumental in his conversion to Jainism according to tradition. He lived in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. and wrote many commentaries in Sanskrit on the Agamas, which before

him were generally explained by means of Prakrit commentaries like Niryukti, Churni.and Bhashya. Haribhadra's example was followed by others and the tendency found its culmination in the great Hemachandra of Gujarat, who lived at the court of king Kumarapala in the twelfth century A.D.

In spite of this growing tendency to neglect the Prakrits and to adopt Sanskrit for their literary works among the Jain Panaitas, the inherent beauty of the Prakrit languages and a sense of sanctity attached to them by the Jains prevented them from falling into oblivion. Naturally the simplicity and homeliness which characterized the early Prakrits gradually disappeared from them and artificiality and ornamentation took their place. Haribhadra was the first great Prakrit writer of this period. His principal Prakrit works are Samai'dditya-Katha (Samar aichcha-kaha) and Dhurtdkhy&wa. But. his Sanskrit commentaries on the Agamas often contain illustrative stories narrated in simple Prakrit and probably reproduced from the floating mass of the Prakrit story literature orally transmitted among the followers of Jainism.

Sam,araditya-katha is a religious, tale, (Dbarmakathd) , divisible into nine parts, which describe the cycle of nine'lives through which the hero Samaraditya and his antagonist have to pass in succession as a result of their actions. In addition to this main story many popular legends find their place in the work by way of illustration or corroboration. Samaraditya-kaiha is written in a simple and fluent narrative prose rarely interspersed with long descriptive passages in the ornate style of the Sanskrit writers. Here and there it contains short and long metrical passages usually in the Gatha metre, but written in a slightly more artificial style than that of the prose. Dhurtakhyana, on the other hand, is composed entirely in verse, containing 485 Gathas in a simple style. It is a collection of absurdlooking tales narrated with a good deal of wit and ironical humour with the obvious intention of disparaging the religious legends of the Brahmanas found in their Epics and Puranas. It is divided into five chapters called the Akhyanas where five professional cheats (Dhurta), a woman being one of them, narrate their imaginary experiences about some strange events which they may have seen. Before they began, they made a condition that any one who did not believe what was being narrated, saying merely ‘It is a lie’, must admit defeat and supply food to all who had gathered there. But any one who supported it by quoting parallel stories from Epics and Puranas shall be deemed to have won and shall not give any thing to any one. Ultimately, - the woman-cheat is represented to have outwitted the rest by telling them in the course of her story that

they all were her slaves who had run away from her, two days back, with tjie clothes which they wore but which were her property According to the condition the other rogues could either corroborate it and actually be her slaves, or admit defeat by saying ‘it is a lie’, and supply food to all. They were naturally silenced by this dilemma and accepted her as their undisputed leader, openly confessing that woman was wiser than man by her very nature. The tales of the cheats are fantastic and extremely amusing owing to their imaginativeness. But their cutting sarcasm becomes quite apparent when similar tales from the Epics and Puranas, suspposed to contain the truths of the Brahmanical religion, are placed side by side with them. Both this and the other work of Haribhadra amply prove his close acquaintance with folk-tales and legends of all kinds. But in addition they also show his creative genius which admirably fills up the gaps left by the existing story literature.

The next important work of this period is Kuvalayamdld, which is a religious tale (Dharmakatha) narrated in Prakrit prose and verse on the pattern of the Sanskrit Champu-hdvya. Its author is Uddyotanasuri, also called Dakshinyachihna, pupil of Tattvacharya. He was very well versed in all Prakrits and pretty well acquainted with the important provincial languages current in his times. He mentions 18 such provincial tongues, quoting some 2 or 3 characteristic words from each, in the course of the story of his hero when he visits a busy market of a great commercial town. The principal Prakrit employed in the work is the Maharashtri, but short and long passages, usually of a descriptive nature, are also found in the Apabhramsa and even in Paisachl language. For the metrical parts of the work Gatha, DvipadI, Doha and Dandaka metres are employed, the first being the most predominant one. Uddyotana describes Haribhadra as one of his Vidyagurus and mentions Padalipta, Satavahana, Jatacharya and Ravishena as his predecessors in the art of story-telling. The work takes its name from the heroine like Rana’s Kddambari. It was composed in the £aka year 700, i.e. A.D. 778. An abridged version of this story in Sanskrit was made in the fourteenth century by one Ratnaprabhasuri.

Upadesamala of Dharmadasagani consists of over 500 stanzas in the Gatha metre. It is a work of a very early origin, but a Prakrit commentary on it was composed in Sam. 913 (about A.D. 857) by Jayasimhasuri, pupil of Rrishnarshi. Mah esva r astir i, pupil of Sajjana Upadhyaya, composed a religious tale called the Jndnapancharrvikathd in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. It is a poem in Prakrit containing about 2000 Gathas and illustrates the religious importance of the JnanapanchamI, which is a name given to the fifth

day in the first half of the month of Karttika. Sllacharya, pupil of Manadeva of the Nivritti Kula, composed another religious poem on the life of 54 important men of Jainism (Mahapurushas or &alakapurushas as they are generally called) in Sam. 925 (A.D. 869-70). Similarly, Vijayasinha, pupil of Samudrasuri of the Nagila Kula composed a Bhuvanasundrikatha in A.D. 975. It is composed in the Gatha metre and contains a total of about 9000 stanzas. To this period also belongs Nandishena, the author of Ajita-Santi-stava, a Prakrit poem in various rare and artificial metres. The work glorifies Ajita, the second, and Santi, the 16th Tirthankara together, because both are said to have spent the rainy season in the caves of the &atruhjaya mountain. This hymn is recited by special singers at the confession festivals. In all these Prakrit works, whether written in prose or in verse, a great change in style is noticeable when compared with the earlier works written in Prakrit. The old simple conversational style is abandoned in favour of a flowery one characterized by Alamkdras like Alesha, and other literary devices of an artificial nature in partial imitation of the Sanskrit writers of that period.

There are many stray Prakrit stanzas attributed to different authors numbering more than fifty, and quoted by Svayambhu in his metrical work, called Svayambhuchchandas composed before A.D. 1000, for illustrating the various metres defined by him. Most of these authors are non-Jain and otherwise unknown, two being women among them.

C. NON-CANONICAL PALI LITERATURE

The period dealt with in this volume is one of decadence, so far as Pali literature is concerned, both in India and Ceylon. There is hardly any work from continental India, and the political conditions in Ceylon adversely affected literary productions in Pali in the island. The advent of Mahinda IV (A.D. 953-69), who encouraged the study of Dhamma by patronising monks well versed in the Vinaya, kept the torch of learning from being extinguished and brought about some revival in the study of Pali literature. A few of the authors who flourished during this period are noted below. 98

(i) Chulla Dhammapala

Though assigned to Ananda in the Saddhamma-Samgaha the Sachchasankhepa (Elements of Truth) has been ascribed to Chulla Dhammapala, a pupil of Ananda, in the Gandhavamsa 100 and the colophon supports this ascription. The Sachchasankhepa is a short treatise of 387 stanzas dealing in five chapters with the Abhidhamma

topics riipa (form), vedand (feeling), chitta (thought), khandha (miscellanea), and nibbana (nirvana). Chulla Dhammapala appears to have been earlier than Anuruddha (twelfth century) as the latter's work is said to have superseded the Sachchasankhepa as a vade mecum . 101

(ii) Mahanama

Mahanama is said to be the author of Saddhammappakdsml, a commentary on the Patisambhidamagga. In the epilogue the author states that he finished the work in the third year after the death of king Moggalana, while residing in the Uttaramanthiparivena of the Mahavihara. Though some scholars identify this Moggalana with Moggalana I in the first half of the seventh century, B.C. Law prefers to identify him with Moggalana III, father and predecessor of Vijayabahu I (A.D. 1055-1110). 102 Malalasekera believes this Mahanama

to be the second Mahanama appearing in Bodh-Gaya inscription after Upasena II and to have been later than the earlier Mahanama by a couple of centuries. 103

(iii) Khema

Khemappakaraiia (also called Paramattha-dlpa) by Elder Khema contains short descriptions of the chitta, and definitions of kusala and akusald dhamma, a list of twenty-eight mnemonic verses briefly giving the meaning of some abhidhamma terms. It is more appropriately called N&ma-rupa-samtisa in Ceylon. With its short disquisitions on various subjects concisely written in simple, easy style, the work serves as a little handbook for the study of medieval Abhidhamma. References to the author in the Nikayasamgraha and the Saddhamma-ratndkara, the latter calling him Tipitaka-pariyattidhara (versed in the text of Tipitaka), indicate that the book was held in high esteem in Ceylon. Vachissara Mahasami of Ceylon wrote a commentary on it in the twelfth century.

(iv) Upatissa

Though the book itself says nothing regarding its authorship, the Bodhivamsa (or Mahdbodhivamsa } History of Bodhi tree) has been ascribed to Upatissa of Ceylon by several authors. It is a prose work, there being gathas only at the ends of chapters and towards the end of the whole book. Beginning with a history of Buddha Dlparhkara, it gives a brief account of the life of Bodhisattva under previous Buddhas, life of Gotama, his enlightenment, planting of Bodhi tree at Jetavana by Ananda, parinibbdna, three councils, landing of Mahinda in Ceylon and establishment of Buddhism there, planting of the tree, and starting of ceremonies connected with its worship.

The Mahabodhivamsci has largely drawn on the Nidanakathd for its first chapter, and its account is usually shorter. The Samantapdsadikd and Mahdvamsa serve as sources for the later chapters, there being identity in the concluding verses of some chapters of the Mahabodhivamsa and the closing chapters of the Mahdvamsa. Though thus borrowing from other works, the Mahabodhivamsa has a style different from them, more artificial and affected. The author is fond of long periods and ornamental epithets. The work shows distinct traces of the influence of Sanskrit on Pali and may be regarded as inaugurating the -era of Sanskritised Pali.

Identifying Dathanaga at whose instance the Mahabodhivamsa was written, with Dattha who is said to have induced Buddhaghosha to write Sumahgala-vildsini, Strong assigns the author to the period of Buddhaghosha. But Dathanaga and Dattha are not identical. Dathanaga has been identified with his namesake who was appointed by Mahinda IV (A.D.

953-69) to discourse on Abhidhamma, and Geiger and Wickremasinghe place the work in the tenth century. [104]

(v) Telakatahagdthd

Reference may be made in conclusion to T elakatdhagdthd (stanzas of the oil cauldron), a short poem in 89 stanzas, purporting to be religious exhortations of Kalyanlya Thera, condemned to be cast into a cauldron of boiling oil on suspicion of complicity in the intrigue with the queen-consort of Kalani Tissa (third century B.C.). It appears that a Vihara was built later on the spot where the Thera was put to death.

The Mahdvamsa relates the story in brief, but instead of the boiling cauldron, speaks of the Thera as being slain with his attendant and thrown into the sea. The Rasavdhini by Vedeha (c. fourteenth century) gives greater details of the story.

There is no reference to the name of the author or his date in the work. The language and style most definitely disclaim the pretensions of the work to be the stanzas uttered by the Thera (c. third century B. C.) in the boiling cauldron, and point to a much later date. Fervently exhorting men to lead a good life, the work incorporates fundamental tenets of Buddhism and shows a great depth of religious and metaphysical learning. Though well acquainted with Sanskrit, the author does not overburden his Pali with Sanskritisms. Malalasekera assigns the work to the tenth or the earlier part of the eleventh century, while Winternitz regards it hardly earlier than the twelfth century. [106]

D. APABHRAMSA LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1. Origin of Apabhraihsa

The last stage of the Prakrit languages is represented by the Apabhramsa, which has considerable importance on account of the fact that the modern Aryan languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali have all evolved from it. The earliest mention of Apabhramsa in relation to language is found in the Mahdbhashya of Patahjali when he says: “Each pure word has several corrupt forms—‘Apabhramsas’ such as Gam, Goryt } Gota } Gopotalikd and others for a single word ‘Go’” It is obvious from this that

Apabhramsa was not yet the name of any particular language or dialect, but was used to denote all deviations from the normal Sanskrit. As such, even Pali and Prakrit were probably known as Apabhramsa about 150 B.C.

In the Natyasastra of Bharata we find a lot of information about the languages of the time. It tells us that language is of two kinds, namely, Sanskrit and Prakrit, the latter being only the corrupted or unrefined form of the former. Prakrit, again, has expressions of three kinds, namely, Similar, Corrupt, and Local (Samaria, Vibhrashta and Desi). We have then a scheme of the distribution of Sanskrit and various Prakrits or Desi Bhash&s amongst the actors of play. The Desi Bhashas mentioned are seven in number, namely, Mdgadhi, Avanti, Prachyd , Sauraseni, Ardhamagadhi, Balhika. and Ddkshinatya. In addition to these, we are told, there are the languages used by the Sabaras, Abhiras, Chanddlas Secharas , Dravidas , Odras, and Vanacharas which are of an inferior type and are known as Vibh&shd. The distribution of these languages in a drama according to professions and regions is interesting. Pulkasas, charcoal-makers, hunters, and wood- or grass-sellers use Panchali with the sibilants. Those who trade in elephants, horses, goats, camels and the like, and those who dwell in pastoral settlements use the Sahara language. The countries between the Vindhya and the sea have a language abounding in the nasal sound. Abhiras speak Sabari and Dravidas the Dravidi. The countries between the Ganga and the sea have a language abounding in e. Surashtra, Avanti and the regions situated on the Vetravati have a language abounding in ch. People belonging to Himavat, Sindhu, Sauvlra, and others use a language abounding in u.

The comprehensive view of the languages presented by Bharata is very useful and important for linguistic studies. What, however, interests us particularly in connection with our study of the Apabhramsas is that the Himalaya-Sindhu region is said to possess a

language in which the u sound was predominant. It is well known that amongst all the Prakrits it is the Apabhramsas alone that have their nominative and accusative termination u, and in several positions o is reduced to u; therefore they abound in this sound. North-Western India appears, therefore, to be the original home of the Apabhramsas.

But the Apabhramsa known to the author of Ndtyas&stra as Vibhrashta or Vibhasha was only a dialect: it had not yet developed a literary standard. The exact date of the Naty&sdstra is not known, but there is no doubt that it belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era. By the sixth century the Apabhramsa had developed to such an extent that rhetoricians like Bhamaha and Dandin had to recognise it as a vehicle of poetic literature almost as exalted as Sanskrit and Prakrit, in which both prose and verse compositions were produced. Dandin throws some welcome light upon the position of Apabhramsa in his time. According to him, theorists continued to call all linguistic vehicles other than Sanskrit by the name of Apabhramsa, while, in the realm of poetry, the languages of the Abhlras and others were known as Apabhramsa. There is no doubt that Dandin had in his mind the view of Patahjali when he called all non-Sanskrit forms Apabhramsa. The view of Bharata about the language of the Abhiras has been noticed above. It is this language, according to Dandin, which, amongst others, came to be utilised for poetic compositions. The history of Abhlras is important, but it is not yet fully and properly explored. From the scattered notices of the Abhiras referred to above 106 it is clear that they spread from the North-West and Punjab to Central India and further south between the first and the fourth centuries A.D. The language of the Abhiras must have grown in importance along with their political power and influence. Besides the testimony of Bhamaha and Dandin, we find a copper-plate inscription praising the proficiency of king Guhasena of Yalabhl (A.D. 559-567) in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa poetry.

Rudrata in his Kavyalamkara (ninth century) not only includes Apabhramsa among his six languages of poetry, but also says that Apabhramsa has several varieties according to countries.

2. Nature of Apabhramsa

The Apabhramsa language that prevailed in the early centuries of the Christian era in the Himalaya-Sindhu region possessed the following characteristics■

(1) Retention of ri.

(2) Retention of r as second member of a conjunct.

(3) Retention of the intervocalic consonants in their original or softened form.

(4) Nominative singular termination u, and possessive ssa.

(5) Use of rhymed metre.

This language might be called ancient Thakki. As the language spread towards south to Sindh with the expansion of the people who spoke it. the Abhlras, it developed the tendency of ch and j being indistinctly pronounced with y sound preceding them (as laid down by the grammarians for Vrtichada).

Apabhramsa had attained the literary form before the time of Hemachandra, as is proved by the illustrations in his Prakrit Grammar, and by the literature available so far and known to be of an earlier date. It is probably for this reason that Hemachandra has not noticed the varieties which have been enumerated by the grammarians who followed him and who went by the conventional dialect distinctions rather than by the actual literary form that held the field.

The word Apabhramsa literally means corrupt, and the grammarians regarded the language as such. But the poets themselves never admitted this and they have called their language, not Apabhramsa but Desl } i.e. of the land.

3. Apabhramsa in Sanskrit Dramas

We know that the sixth case-ending ‘ho’ is a peculiarity of Apabhramsa. In the Sariputraprakarana of Asvaghosha (second century A.D.) we come across a form makkadaho (Sk. markatasya). In the Pahchardtra of Bhasa (c. fourth century), the MagadhI put into the mouth of the cowherds contains the nominative and accusative suffix u which is known to be the characteristic of Apabhramsa, e.g. Sadamandalu suyyo (Sk. gatamandalah suryah), & aw am ghoshum viddavanti chold (Sk. Sarvam ghosham vidravanti chaumh). If scholars doubt the genuineness of these readings, it is only because they hesitate to accept such an ancient date for Apabhramsa. But the history of the language, as traced above, shows, beyond doubt, that the occurrence of Apabhramsa forms in dramas during that period is not at all surprising. The language used by Mathura in the second act of Mnchchhakatika abounds in u and so it may be called the MagadhI Apabhramsa. The Mathura is presumably a person hailing from Mathura, the centre of the western part of the country, and he has obviously imported the tendency of his homeland into the eastern language. The commentators have called the language dhakki which is probably a mistake

for thakkl. Markandeya calls it Takki and remarks that Harischandra likes to call this language Apabhrariisa which the learned use in their dramas and other compositions. 107 There are sixteen verses in Apabhrariisa in Kalidasa’s Vikramorvasiya which can now safely be accepted as early examples of Apabhrariisa lyric.

4. Apabhrariisa Dohas

The earliest poetry in pure Apabhrariisa appears to have been produced in the Doha metre, i.e. couplets of varying measure. In the available Apabhrariisa poetry the Doha verses are more universal and less grammatically regulated than the other forms of poetic compositions. This metre has been adopted by almost all the modern languages of North India, where the medieval saints used it as their favourite vehicle of expression. The Doha compositions fall into two classes according to their subject-matter, the romantic , and the dscetic. The former class is represented by single verses depicting'the sentiment of love, pathos, or heroism. They appear to be mostly the compositions of bards. Examples of these occur in the grammar of Hemachandra.

The latter class is represented by a large number of works composed by Jain and Buddhist saints. Paramappayasu and Jogasdru of Joindu (sixth century), Pdhuda-Doha of Ramasiriiha Muni, S&vayadhamma-Dohd of Devasena (tenth century), and Vairdgyasdra of Suprabhacharya are some of the best examples of Doha works in Jain literature. The theme is the spiritual unity of the universe which discountenances all differences of caste and creed. In Devasena’s Nayachakra, a Prakrit work on logic, we are told that the work was originally composed in the Doha metre; but it was subsequently transformd into Gathas by Mailla-dhavala because a critic, remarked that Doha metre was not suitable for a serious subject like logic. The date of

Devasena, as recorded in one of his works, is V. S. 990 (=A.D. 933). It appears that up to his time the learned Panditas had not reconciled themselves to the use of the Doha form of composition.

The Buddhist saints who wrote Doha verses are Tillopada, Sarahapada, Kanhapada and others. Their works are found collected in the Dohdkosa, first compiled by Haraprasad Sastri and later re-edited by Dr. Shahidullah and by Dr. P. C. Bagchi. Many more examples have been brought to light by Rahula Samkrityayana. Their subject-matter may be termed mysticism, showing the same traits as the Jain Dohas mentioned above, as well as the compositions of the later saints like Kablr, Dadu, and Nanak. The traditional name for the language of these works is { Sandhyd Bhdshd,' i.e. Twilight Tongue, which is very significant when we remember that

Apabhraihsa forms a link between the older classical languages Sanskrit and Prakrit on the one hand, and the modem languages on the other. i07a The period of these Doha compositions may be fixed from the sixth to the twelfth centuries A.D.

5. Epic Poems

Epics form a very important, well-developed and voluminous part of ancient Indian literature. The same is true of Apabhraihsa literature as well. In form and style epic poems in Apabhraihsa are as highly polished and conventionalised as the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mahakavyas. But they possess some very characteristic features. The Kadavaka , consisting of about 8 rhymes in Alillaha or Pajjhatika metre followed by a Ghatta or Duval verse, is the normal unit of this poetry. This style could easily be recognised as the forerunner of the Chaupai-Dohd style of Hindi poems like the Padmavata of Jayasi and the Rdmacharita-Mdnasa of Tulasidasa. A number of Kadavakas , normally ten to fifteen, constitute a Sandhi or canto which sometimes opens with a Dhruvaka verse, and the metre and the style frequently change in consonance with the movement of the narrative, so as to harmonise with the sentiment to be expressed. The rhetorical qualities of Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry are fully reproduced in Apabhraihsa as well.

The subject-matter of the epic poems so far discovered is mostly the lives of the 63 super-men called Said kd-Purushas (i.e. remarkably great men) in

Jainism, the purpose being entertainment as well as social and religious instruction.

The earliest epics available in Apabhraihsa are the Paiimachariu and Harivamsa Pur ana of Svayambhudeva, which are the Jain versions of the Rdmdyana and the Mahdbhdrata , respectively. The former contains 90 Sandhis arranged in five Kdndas, the total number of Kadavakas being about 1300, calculated to be equal to 12000 slokas. The latter contains 112 Sandhis and about 2000 Kadavakas, being equal to 18000 slokas. In the introductory part of the Harivamsa Parana, the poet admits his indebtedness to Indra, Bharata, Vyasa, Pingala, Bhamaha, Dandin, Bana, Harsha and Chaumuha for the diverse requisites of excellent poetry. His debt to Chaumuha is of particular interest, since it was from him that the poet derived his style of Paddhadid metre with Duval and Dhruvaka . Obviously Chaumuha was either the originator of this Apabhraihsa style or he was the first to make extensive use of it. In a few old verses found prefixed to the Paiima-chariu, Chaumuha is praised for his excellent diction, DantI for his charming meaning, and Svayambhu as excelling in both. We also find Chaumuha extolled for his Goggahakahd } and Bhadda for his Goggahana and

Machchhaveha. It appears that the three were the precursors of Svayambhu and they probably wrote the Mahdhhdrata story partly or fully in Apabhramsa poetry. Unfortunately, their works have not yet been discovered. Svayambhu is also credited with works on Apabhramsa prosody, rhetoric and grammar. 108 Svayambhu left Paiima-chariu and Hariv&msa Pur ana incomplete, but they were ably completed by his worthy son TribhuvanaSvayambhu, and a few chapters at the end of Harlvamsa Purdna were added by Yasahkirti about A.D. 1500. Perhaps the greatest Apabhramsa poet so far come to light is Pushpadanta who wrote his Mahapu'rdnd, Jasahara-chariu and Ndyakumdra-chariu at Manyakheta under the patronage of the ministers of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III and his successor. Pushpadanta carries to perfection the possibilities of Apabhramsa as a vehicle of poetry. His charming style, striking figures of speech and occasional double entendres recall the best traditions of classical Sanskrit poetry. In his Mahdpurdna he has beautifully delineated the lives of the 63 great men, while in the other two works he has narrated the lives of two other religious heroes. The poet himself tells us that his parents were originally Brahmanas and belonged to the Saiva faith, but later on they‘got converted to Jainism. The poet lived at the court of some prince; but some calamity befell him there which compelled him to undertake the long journey to Manyakheta where his poetic genius was rekindled by Bharata, the minister of king Krishna. In one of the verses prefixed to various sandhis of his Mahdpurdna, the poet makes mention of the ravages of Manyakheta by the king of Dhara. Obviously, this event is no other than the invasion by Slyaka II of Dhara during the reign of the Rashtrakuta king Khoftigadeva, the successor of Krishna III. This event, according to the author of Pdiyulachchhi-nama-mdld, took place in V.S. 1029 (=A.D. 972), and the mention of it by Pushpadanta proves that his literary activity continued fox at least seven years after the completicn of his Mahdpurdna in &aka 887 (=A.D. 965).

The Karakanda-chariu of Kanakamara, admittedly inspired by the poetry of Pushpadanta, is noteworthy for its subject-matter and historical references. In ten sandhis it narrates, in comparatively easy and lucid style, the life of Karakanda who is recognised as a Pratyeka^uddha by the Jains and the Buddhists alike. The hero’s compaign in the south gives occasion to the description of the Jain caves at Terapur which are identifiable with the existing caves at Dharasiva in the vicinity of Osmanabad, which, according to the details furnished by the poet, may belong to the time of the early &ilahara princes. The author gives a short account of himself according to which he was a Brahmin of the Chandra-rishi gotra. but

adopted the Digambara Jain faith on account of a feeling of renunciation. The work may be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

The Bhavisayattakaha of Dhanapala is a poem in twenty-two sandhis, and narrates the life of a merchant who suffered immensely on account of the jealousy of his step-brother. Though there is no evidence to determine the age of the composition, Dr. Hermann Jacobi assigns the work to the tenth century A.D.

Nemin&ha-chariu of Haribhadra is an Apabhramsa poem of high merit. The prominent metre here is Raddd as distinguished from the normal Paddhadid . Only a portion of this work called Sanakumara-chariu has been edited and published. It contains 343 Raddd verses which constitute verses 443 to 785 of the original. The whole book contains more than 8000 slokas. The hero of the poem is one of the twelve Chakravartins, and the poet names his teacher as Chandra and mentions the date of his work as V.S. 1216.

Paiimasiri-chariu of Dhahila is a poem in four sandhis, and narrates the life of a female devotee to illustrate the evil results of deceitful conduct. Though the editor assigns the work to the twelfth century, the evidence on which he has relied is rather weak.

Kir til at a of Vidyapati (fourteenth century) narrates the life of Kirtisimha who was a contemporary of Nawab Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur. Thus, it is of much historical importance as well. Linguistically, it illustrates the Magadhi tendencies of Apabhramsa, makes use of Raddd and other metres, divides itself into pallavas instead of sandhis , and thus indicates the advent of modern linguistic tendencies. The epics described above, except the Harivamsa Purdna, have all been critically edited and published.

Pdsandha-chariu or Pdsapuranu of Padmaklrti, which still remains in manuscript and for the most part critically unexamined, deals with the life of the twenty-third Tlrthankara in eighteen sandhis, equal to more than 3300 slokas. The spiritual precursors of the poet were Chandrasena, Madhavasdha, Jinasena and Padmaklrti of the Sena Samgha. He completed the poem, according to his own statement, on the new moon day of Karttika in V.S. 999 (=A.D. 942).

6. Short Stories

Another important and interesting branch of Apabhramsa literature is short stories meant for entertainment as well as moral and religious instruction. We know that the Pali literature is dominated by tales and legends, such as the Jatakas and Avadanas intended to point a moral. The Jain literature from the earliest time is replete w r ith parables and anecdotes exemplifying religious principles. Ethical works, in particular, make frequent mention of persons who observed the rules in spite of much suffering and thus reaped the reward in this life or the next. The ethical principle laid down for the monks is that they should observe non-violence and perfect equanimity of body and mind even at the risk of their lives. The laity are recommended to observe the same in a less rigorous form, and to discipline and train themselves gradually for higher spiritual life. Religious instruction was imparted in two ways. Those professing a different faith were sought to be converted by stories revealing the absurdities and incongruities of the other creeds; while those who belonged to the true faith had to be strengthened in the same and persuaded to observe the religious vows and practices by inspiring examples from the past.

The earliest literature of the first kind in Apabhramsa is the Dhamma-Parikkha of Harishena, who acknowledges his debt to the work of his predecessor Jayarama in Gdthd metre. Evidently, Jayarama's Dharma-Parikshd was written in Prakrit verses and it became the source of similar works in Apabhramsa and Sanskrit. Harishena's work is satirical and is of the same kind as the Dhurttikhyana of Haribhadra Suri written in Maharashtn Prakrit during the eighth century. But until Jayarama's work in Gdthcis is brought to light and its date is determined, it is difficult to say who was the originator and who the imitator of this style. The DhammaParikkha of Harishena is composed in eleven sandhis comprising in all 234 Kadavakas, equal to more than 2000 slokas. The poet admits that he was originally a resident of Chitor in Mewad and belonged to the Dhakkada family. He migrated to Achalapura (probably modern Ellichpur in Amraoti District), where he studied metrics and rhetoric, and wrote his magnum opus in A.D. 98?. As his predecessors in the field of Apabhramsa poetry, he mentions Chaturmukha, Svayambhu, and Pushpadanta. The subject-matter of the poem is didactic, with a number of stories and fables intervening, and is similar to that of the Dharma-Patikshd of Ami to gat i in Sanskrit composed in A.D. 1014. This latter work is known to bear in its language marked traces of Prakritism, which cannot all be traced to the present work. It may, however, be presumed that Amitagati, when writing his work, had before him the present poem composed a quarter of a century earlier.

E. DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

I. Kannada Literature

With the exception of Tamil, Kannada is the most ancient of the Dravidian languages. The word “Canarese,” the Europeanized corrupt form of “Kannada,” owes its origin to the early Portuguese settlers on the West Coast. The word “Kannada” itself is apparently derived from “Karnataka,” a popular name for the great Empire of Vijayanagar, or from the more ancient name “Karunadu”. There are a couple of references to “Karunatar” in the second century Tamil classic, the Silappadik&ram, and this fact may be taken as a proof that Karnataka started on its independent existence, with its own local variation of the parent Dravidian tongue, nearly two thousand years ago. The word “Kannada” is construed in various ways—the country of the black soil, the big or the high country, the sweet or fragrant country, etc. 109

Next to the Telugu and Tamil speaking peoples, the Kannada speaking people are the largest unit among the Dravidians. The vast bulk of the Kannada population is comprised within the geographical boundaries of Mysore, Western Hyderabad, Kanara, the Dharwar, Belgaum, and Bijapur districts of the Bombay State, and a few outlying regions as well. We owe to Nripatunga, a ninth century rhetorician and poet, the following account of the Kannada country and its people:

‘Twixt sacred rivers twain it lies—

From famed Godavari,

To where the pilgrim rests his eyes on holy Kaverl. . .

The people of that land are skilled To speak in rhythmic tone;

And quick to grasp a poet’s thought,

So kindred to their own.

Not students only, but the folk Untutored in the schools,

By instinct use and understand The strict poetic rules. 110

The Jains, Vlrasaivas, and Vaishnavas have all enriched Kannada literature, and hence it is often divided into three periods, called the Jain, Vlrasaiva, and Vaishnava periods respectively. But this is misleading, for the so-called periods overlap considerably and hence this classification is chronologically not of much value. If we take the Kavirdjam&rga of Nripatunga as our starting-point, for about three centuries (A.D. 850 to A.D. 1150) Jain predominance seems to be clear enough; for the next three centuries, Jain and Vlrasaiva writers flourish together; and from A.D. 1450 onwards, Vaishnava authors also are increasingly in evidence, and Kannada literature accordingly gains in length, breadth and depth. Muslim and Christian influences are by no means imperceptible in the literature of recent times, while it is likely that the early Jain period

was itself preceded by a Buddhist period, although no works of that period have come down to us. Buddhism, Saivism, Vaishnavism, Islam, Christianity—the major world religions, in fact—have all thus played a part in shaping Kannada literature, just as they have played a part in shaping Tamil literature.

A characteristic member of the Dravidian group, Kannada nevertheless owes a good deal to Sanskrit. Its script is not dissimilar to the Tamil-Grantha script, and both ultimately derive from the Asokan Brahml script. The Tamil alphabet and the Kannada alphabet differ in certain particulars, e.g. Tamil has no aspirated letters, it has two different letters for the “n” sound and it uses the same symbol for surds and sonants (the two ‘p’s and two ‘b’s for instance). Sanskrit seems to have influenced even the pronunciation of the Kannada language, and certain old Dravidian sounds like “1” (as in “Alvar”) and strong “r” are no longer current in Kannada. “The chief reason for the differences between the Tamil and Kannada alphabets”, says K. Narasimhacharya, “is to be found in the fact that the grammar of the Tamil language was, to a great extent, systematized independently of Sanskrit influence, and that Sanskrit modes of pronunciation being almost unknown to the Tamilians, their alphabet, though originally derived from the same source, was greatly altered so as to suit their peculiar phonetic system. The same independence of Sanskrit influence cannot be claimed for the alphabet of the Kannada language, which has mostly adhered to the alphabetical system of Sanskrit. The same is the case with grammar. . . Nevertheless, the grammatical structure of the two languages (Tamil and Kannada) will be found to be essentially similar." 111 From this it is natural to conclude, not only that Kannada and Tamil are sister languages, but also that "Kannada was less developed than Tamil when it received the impact of Sanskrit." 112 Generally speaking, Kannada writers are apt to incline more towards Sanskrit, though not quite as much as Telugu or Malayalam writers. Many of the Kannada men of letters were good Sanskritists also, and in some respects Kannada can lay claim to be a bridge between Aryan and Dravidian, between the North and the South.

A prose work, Vodda-avadhana, recently discovered, is probably the earliest of all extant Kannada works. Its author, Sivakotyacharya, was a Jain, and its prose style has been much praised. Like many Jain works, Vodda-aradhana, too, has a professedly didactic aim. It seems, however, not to be clearly established that Vodda-aradhana belongs to a period earlier than A.D. 850, the probable date of Kavirdjarmrga. In any case, these two early

Kannada works must have clearly been preceded by some centuries of literary activity. Kannada, as a distinct literary entity, must have taken shape at least from the time of the earliest inscriptions in that language. The Chikmagalur inscription takes us back to the fifth century, and the Sravana Belgola inscription perhaps belongs to an earlier period still. It is thus reasonable to conclude that there was an early period of Kannada literature extending from at least the fourth or fifth century to the eighth or ninth, when many writers flourished and laid the foundations of the future development of the language and literature; but their works are now totalty lost, and it seems unlikely that we shall recover them.

From the very beginning, Kannada literature seems to have enjoyed the patronage of many kings and minor ruling chiefs. Some of these were themselves good scholars and writers. For instance, the author of the Kavirajamarga was the famous Rashtrakuta king, Amoghavarsha, also known by the name Nripatuhga. Among the royal families that patronized Kannada literature, special mention may be made of the Hoysalas, the Rashtrakutas, the Chalukyas, and the kings of Vijayanagar and Mysore. Gold, elephants and other costly presents were given to distinguished poets, and titles like "kavi-chakravarti" were bestowed upon them. Each royal court had generally its own poet, an Astana Vidvan. The Dravidian literatures could hardly have achieved what they have, but for liberal royaj. patronage all along. Many of the kings who encouraged Kannada poets also likewise encouraged Telugu poets. In fact, the relation between these two literatures has been so intimate that some writers have distinguished themselves equally in both.

The early period of Kannada literature, extending from the fifth to the ninth century, is well reflected in the Kavirajamarga and in other early works. Nripatuhga mentions several of these early writers. Of these, Samanta Bhadra seems to have belonged to the sixth century, and to have been a capable Jain controversialist and a widely-travelled man. Another Jain writer, Pujyapada, probably belonged to the seventh century, and he seems to have been proficient alike in Kannada and Sanskrit. The third, Kaviparameshthi, of whom even less is known than of the others, was perhaps the earliest of them all. Nripatuhga also mentions such early writers as Udaya, Vimala, Jayabandhu, Durvinlta, and 6rivijaya; but these are but mere names to us, since their works are lost and are apparently irrecoverable.

Notwithstanding the references to these writers of an early age and the traditions concerning them, the starting point for the Kannada literary historian is Nripatunga’s work on Poetics, Kavi

rdjamdrga, which has been mentioned more than once already. Nripatunga was a royal poet, a scholar with a mastery of both Sanskrit and Kannada, and a purist who vehemently deprecated the reckless borrowings from other languages. Kavimjamdrga contains sentiments as beautiful as they are original. It lays down that a poem, if it is to stand the test of greatness, must deal with nature, and describe the sea and the mountains, the sunrise and the moonrise, the waxing and the waning of the seasons. Other themes of poetry are heroic life, romance, adventure, games and festivities; and, of course, it is the poetic fire that in the final analysis turns the mere themes into imperishable poetry. Nripatunga throughout illustrates his principles by .frequent citations, and it is plausible to assume that he was generally guided in his work by Dandin’s Sanskrit classic, K&vy&darsa.

Another early writer, Gunavarma I, was the author of Sudraka and Neminxtha Pur ana (also called Harivarhsa), and was almost certainly a later contemporary of Nripatunga.

The tenth century brings us to one of the great periods of Kannada literature. It w T as in this century that the three “gems” —Pampa, Ponna, and Hanna—flourished, and it was in this century that Nagavarma I wrote the first Kannada treatise on Prosody entitled Chhandombudhi or the “Ocean of Prosody,” which is even now reckoned as one of the classics on the subject.

Pampa I, or Adi Pampa, is usually regarded as the greatest Kannada poet. His father, a Brahmin, was converted to the Jain faith; and the son remained a staunch Jain. Pampa appears to have been the court-poet of a minor prince earned Arikesari. In A.D. 941, when Pampa was thirty-nine years old, he composed the two great poems, Adi Purdna and Vikramdrjuna Vi jay a (also called, more popularly, Pampa Bharata). The former of these is a history of the first Tirthakara, 113 in other words, the first of the brave heroic souls who have crossed the disturbed and muddy sea of human frailty and misery, and reached the shores of unending indefinable peace. Jain chronicles name twenty-four of these Tlrthakaras, the last of them being the great Mahavlra himself. The life-histories of the various Tlrthakaras are held in high esteem and reverence by the Jains, much as the story of the various avatdras of Vishnu is held sacred by the Hindus. No doubt, in these Jain Puranas as indeed in all Puranas, fact and fancy, myth and legend, mingle in curious proportions. The first Tirthakara, for instance, is described as the father of Bharata, the king who gave his name to Bharata-varsha, i.e. India. Pampa’s Adi Purdna tells in beautiful language the story of Rishabha, the first Tirthakara,

and to the Jains it constitutes a n Aeneid and Book of Genesis combined.

Ponna, who was Pampa’s contemporary, was also a Jain convert. ITis chief claim to fame is Santi Purdna, the life-history of the sixteenth Tlrthakara, who is said to have ruled over Hastinapura and held suzerainty all over India. The third, Ranna, a bangleseller by caste, commemorated the traditional history of the second Tlrthakara in his Ajita Purdna. This poem was composed in A.D. 993, and thus brings us almost to the close of the tenth century. A contemporary of Pampa, Ponna, and Ranna, and the patron of the last, was Chavunda Raya. He wrote the Chdvundaraya Purdna, a comprehensive history of the twenty-four Tirthakaras. It is important both as hagiology and as the first—or almost the first— extant considerable work of prose in the Kannada language. Chavunda Raya is also known to fame as the man of vision responsible for the Colossus at Sravana Belgola called Gommatesvara.

Pampa, Ponna, and Ranna were preoccupied with Jain tenets, traditions, and interpretations. But they also wrote on other themes. Pampa's Vikramdrjuna Vi jay a and Ranna's Sdhasa Bhima Vijaya (also called Gada-Yuddha) are both secular poems based on Vyasa's immortal epic, the Mahdbhdrata . These are no mere translations or adaptations, but independent poems by virtue of their conception and execution. While the theme is no doubt Vyasa's, there is in Pampa s Vikramdrjuna Vijaya a greater effort towards simplicity and concentration. This is achieved principally by identifying in the person of Arjuna the fortunes of the Pandava House. Besides Arjuna, Karna and Duryodhana also are very powerfully delineated in Pampa Bhdrata. According to Pampa, Arjuna alone marries DraupadI; he is the de facto hero of the epic; and he and his wife Subhadra are crowned at the conclusion of the Great War at Hastinapura. While all this makes for greater simplicity in design and clarity in presentation, Pampa's persistent identification of Arjuna with his own prince, Arikesari, produces a jarring note that somewhat detracts from the glory of this poetic symphony. It is worthy of note also that Pampa's love of his country is revealed in a passage like this: "When the breeze from the south touches me, when I hear good words from some one, when sweet music delights my ear, when I see the jasmine flower in full bloom, when I sea lovers unite as if they were one soul, and whenever the spring festival is held—O! what shall I say—my mind remembers the Banavasi land even if I am pierced with goad." 114

Ranna too worked on the principle of deliberate limitation. The Gadd-Yuddha is plso the Mahdbhdrata in brief, but a Mahd

bMrata seen from a single angle, the hostility between Bhima and Duryodhana. Draupadi is humiliated in Duryodhana's court; she unbraids her tresses and takes the oath that she will not gather them up again till the evil-doers are adequately punished; and Bhima too declares that he will avenge the immitigable insult to Draupadi. The story rushes precipitately on till Bhima and Duryodhana meet in the fatal fight with clubs.

With anger-driven blood-shot eyes, and ghastly frowns,

Fearful, immense in their aspect,

Fronting each other with their beginningless hate,

They engaged in the battle of petrifying stares.

To the four goddesses of East, West, North and South,

Bhima and Duryodhana offered due sacrifice;

Streaming blood and glowing surging eyes Made the crimson hibiscus of the sacrifice;

As if the sun-flushed eastern hill and the western,

flushed with the setting sun—

Two vastnesses of pent-up rage—

Dashed one against the other in mad consuming hate,

So with their giant maces Bhima and Duryodhana charged.

“This for the pride of your erstwhile victories;

This for the killing of all my brothers;

And this especially for Duhsasana, the drinking of his blood”: Taunting Bhima thus, Duryodhana dealt three successive blows. “This for the lac-house trap, this for the poisoned food,

This for the deceitful game of dice, this for the outrage on

Draupadi,

And this for your ridiculous plight in the Hall of Mirrors:"

With these taunts, Bhima drove at Duryodhana's feet, hands,

chest, cheeks and forehead. When at last Bhima struck at Duryodhana's vulnerable thigh, He fell aslant and bit the earth, as if even then his anger had not

abated:

Like a colossal mountain torn out of the base,

Fell the Lord of the Kauravas and breathed his last.

Bh'ma has fulfilled his vow, and Draupadi braids her tresses up once again. Ranna's Gada-Yuddha is one of the few Indian epics that fulfils the Aristotelian canons of form and concord of parts. Ranna is an adept at exploiting the resources of onomatopoeia, and the mere recitation of his verses often suggests the full amplitude

and roar and thunder of the action. As in the Pampa Bkdrata, so in the Gadd-Yuddha, the hero is again and again embarrassingly identified with the poet's own patron, Ahavamalla. But, then, patronage would demand its "pound of flesh"—and we have no right to complain ! 115

II. Tamil Literature

The Saiva and Vaishnavite revival culminated, as we saw in an earlier chapter, 116 in the celebrated Tevaram and Tiruvdchakam hymns of the Saiva Samayacharyas on the one hand, and the no less celebrated Naldyira Prabandham of the Vaishnava Alvars on the other. The four Nayanars flourished in the period between A.D. 600 and A.D. 750, while the twelve Alvars flourished in the period indicated by the extreme limits of A.D. 500 to A.D. 850. After three centuries of such inveterate mystical striving, punctuated by those thousands of rhapsodies of the spirit, Buddhist and Jain influence in the Tamil country declined to almost vanishing point. A period of comparative inactivity set in, and the literary development presented a bleak prospect for a time. No doubt, the Saiva and Vaishnava hymns were still tremendously potent influences, and there were not wanting bhaktas who boldly struck the lyre of devotional or mystical poetry. Some of the Saiva hymns composed during this period were later included in Tiru-isaippa, the ninth of the Tirumurais collected together by Nambi-Andar-Nambi. Tiru-isaippa consists of twenty-nine sacred poems, dedicated to various South Indian Saiva temples, and comprises about 300 stanzas. The contributors to Tiru-isaippa are Tirumalikai Tevar, Senthanar, Kariir Tevar, the tenth century prince Kandar-athithan, Purushothama Nambi, and some others.

One of the poems of Tirumalikai Tevar is a fulsome eulogy of Siva’s divine personality, limb by limb, a form of praise dear to devotees, and somewhat akin to Tiruppanalvar’s famous Amala ndthippiran. Beginning with Siva’s “lovely feet adorned with the crowns of the worshipping Deva kings”, Tirumalikai Tevar proceeds to describe the legs and the navel, and ends with the lotus face and the plaited red hair mattressing the head. Senthanar likewise sings of Siva in picturesque terms:

The lump white crescent, the spreading plait,

The three-fold dagger, the blue neck,

The sparkling eye adorning the beautiful forehead;

and the words of homage continue in strains of melting devotion.

Kandar-athithan’s intensity of devotion is no less striking, for the cry is wrung from his heart:

I cry like the separated calf from its mother!

Pattinathar, author of Koil-ndnmanimdlai, also belonged to this period—probably to the latter half of the ninth century. His outpourings on the occasion of the death of his mother, coming from a yogi like him, are touchingly human:

When shall I see again the mother

Who bore my burden in her aching limbs for ten tedious months,

Nursed me as a child with ambrosial milk

Holding me close with both her affectionate arms?

Pattinathar's fulminations against the tribe of Eve, whose spoilt child he had once been, may sound misogynous to/modern ears; but there is a metallic ring in his clear-cut ethical asseverations in Tiruv e kampa-md lai:

Man is a stringed puppet that dances as long as the string is

intact.

Nothing is good but the friendship of the good and devotion to God. The rest—wife, relations, children, and all life's

vanities—is illusion,

Whjr were these people born, O Ekambara of Kanchipiji.ra?—

The cantankerous, the evil-minded, the lecherous!

Pattinathar's pupil, Pathira Giriar, exchanged in a mood of renunciation the sceptre for the begging-bowl, and moved from place to place singing divinely intoxicated verses d la Smart's Song to David or Piers Plowman. This rather lean period in Tamil letters was but the inevitable interregnum dividing the Age of the Nayanars and the Alvars from the great age of Kamban that was to follow not long afterwards.

1. De, "VisakhadattaB.C. Law Volume, I, pp. 50-57.

2. Keith, SD, p. 204.

3. He refers to Visakhadeva who is very probably to be identified with Visakhadatta—cf. De, Op. Cit, p. 57 n.

4. For an appreciation of this play read Devasthali, Introduction to the study of Visakhadatta and his Mudru-Rakshasa.

5. Vol. Ill, p. 17.

G. Konow, ID, p. 86; Keith, SD, p. 239.

7. Bhattanathaswami, I A, XLI, p. 141.

8. Keith, SD, pp. 225-6; Konow, ID, p. 83.

9. Hultzsch's view noticed by Keith, SD, p. 225.

10. ID, p. 83.

11. Durgaprasada places him in the middle of the ninth century. Cf. Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 241 n. 4.

12. For these, see Keith, SD, p. 229.

13. Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p. 641 f.

14. Pischel quoted by Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 241.

15. This is probably the first play of Rajasekhara according to Keith, SD, p. 232; but Winternitz (GIL, III, p. 240) holds just the opposite view, viz. that Rajasekhara must have composed this play after he had made a name by composing his Sanskrit plays. For the chronology of Rajasekhara's works in general, see Mirashi, Pathak Comm. Vol., pp. 359-366.

16. Also known as Prachandapdndava.

17. See above, pp. 33, 89.

18. He is also known as Kshemendra, but not to be identified with the Kashmirian poet of that name.

19. For several views about his identity, see Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 249, n. 4; also De, NIA, II, pp. 267-8 (Ross Comm. Vol., pp. 83-4).

20. Peterson, Third Report, pp. 340-2.

21. For these, see Konow, ID, p. 89.

22. Konow, ID, p. 89; Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 242; Keith, SD, p. 271.

23. Winternitz, GIL, III, pp. 244-5.

24. For a full discussion, see Keith, SD, pp. 53-74; also De, IHQ, VII, pp. 537-8.

25. Cf. De, Jha Comm. Vol. pp. 139-44.

26. Keith, SD, p. 56.

27. SD, p. 185 fn. 3.

28. JRAS, 1926, pp. 87-8, 90.

29. JRAS, 1924, pp. 262-5.

30. For both Jinasenas, see Velankar, Jinaratnakosa, Vol. I, p. 29 (under Adipurana) and p. 460 (under Harivamsapurdna I).

31. Keith, HSL, p. 498; Velankar, Jinaratnakosa, p. 233.

32. See NIA, IV, p. 396.

33. Keith, HSL, p. 142.

34. Winternitz, GIL, III. p. 74, n. 4; Keith HSL, p. 135.

35. Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p' 163.

36. HBR, p. 310.

37. HBR, p. 123.

38. Keith, (HSL, p. 480) tacitly accepts this identity; but De expresses doubt (NIA. II, p. 269 n. 7, Ross Comm. Vol. p. 85 n. 7).

39. Ayyar, QJMS, XIV, pp. 302-11.

40. Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p. 326, n. 3; Keith, HSL, p. 97, n. 5 and 98.

41. Winternitz, GIL, III, pp. 75, 415; Velankar, Jinaratnakosa, p. 185; Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p. 169; HSL, p. 137.

42. Keith, HSL, p. 150; Winternitz GIL, III, pp. 43-4; also Biihler translated by Ghate in IA, XLII, pp. 29 ff., 137 ff., etc.

43. The work is said to have been composed about A.D. 1005—Keith, HSL, p. 151.

44. For details and references, see Krishnamachariar, HCSL, pp. 325-6, and 326 n. 3.

45. See Andhra Patrikd, Annual Number (1917-18), p. 224, quoted by Krishnamachariar, HCSL, p. 492 and n. 1.

46. See Jinaratnakosa, Vol. I, p. 387 (Sobhanastuti); and Peterson, Fourth Report, p. cxxi (Sobhana).

47. Peterson, Fourth Report, p. xcii (Manatuhga; author of the Bhayaharastotra) .

48. Keith (HSL, p. 215) holds that Siddhasena Divakara composed his Kalyana mandira in deliberate imitation of the Bhaktdmarastotra. But as this Divakara flourished between A.D. 650 and 750, Manatuhga may have to be placed in the first half of the seventh century A.D.

49. NIA, II, p. 268 (Ross Comm. Vol., p. 84).

50. HSL, p. 98.

51. GIL, III, p. 65. 0 orT ,

52. HSL, p. 98; also see Krishnamachariar, HCSL, pp. 236 n. 3, 169 n. 2, 271 n. 17

and 372 n. 1 for further references.

53. Gode, J1H, XIX, pp. 312-9.

54. Edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas from a Nepalese manuscript of the twelfth century

—Keith, HSL, p. 222.

55. For quotations from these, see Krishnamachariar, HCSL, pp. 399-401.

56. Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 316 and n. 1 (also n. 2); Keith, HSL, p. 273.

57. Winternitz, GIL, HI, p. 341.

58. Peterson, Fourth Report, p. lxii (Dhanapala).

59. Keith, HSL, p. 331.

60. This is also called the Dhanapalapahchdsika. Cf. Velankar, Jinaratnakosa, Vol. I, p. 58.

61. Oldenberg has adduced analogous cases in the Jataka book. For references, see Keith, HSL, p. 332, n. 2.

62. SDar, VI, 336.

63. Devaditya according to Keith, HSL, p. 332, where the legend about th6 composition and the unfinished state of the work is also given.

64. Raghavan, NIA, VI, pp. 67-9.

65. Cf. Yasastilakachampu (NSP), I. 17.

66. HSL, p. 336.

67. Ramavatara Sarma, Kalpadrukosa, Intro, p. XXV.

68. Bhandarkar, CW, II, p. 71.

69. De, NIA, II, pp. 272 and n. 2, 3, 4 and 6 (Ross Comm. Vol. p. 88 and n. 2, 3, 4 and 6).

70. Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 401 and n. 2.

71. Belvalkar, SSG, p. 91.

72. It has been necessary to use in this section many technical terms which cannot be adequately translated or explained within the short scope of this chapter. For their full significance the readers are referred to standard works on the subject mentioned in Bibliography.

73. Kane, HAL, pp. XLI-XCV, Revised 2nd edn. pp. 125-246.

74. See above, p. 115.

75. V. 12-14.

76 . B.C. Law Volume, Part I, pp. 179-193.

77. Cf. Devisataka, stanza 104 and commentary thereon (KM, IX, p. 30).

78. NIA, II, pp. 412-419. Ndtakaratnakosa forming only a part of Kumbha’s Samgltardja, cf. Raghavan, ABORI, XIV, pp. 259-63.

79. C. K. Raja Commemoration Volume, pp. 141-152.

80. JBBRAS, 1935; JUB, 1936.

81. Keith, HSL, p. 511; Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 550. For a discussion regarding other works ascribed to this author see De, NIA, II, p. 274 (Ross Comm. Vol., p. 90).

82. Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 550 and n. 4; contra, Keith, HSL, p. 511 and De NIA, II, p. 274 (Ross Comm. Vol. p. 90).

83. Cf. Devasthali, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Bombay, No. 278, p. 113.

84. Ray, History of Hindu Chemistry, ii, Sanskrit Texts, p. 14; Keith, HSL, p. 512; Winternitz GIL, III, p. 552.

85. Dikshit, Bharatiya Jyotislia Sdstra (in Marathi), 2nd ed. pp. 229-236, and 312-315.

86. Dikshit, op. cit, p. 486 and n.

87. POC, Summaries of Papers, XI, 1943, p. 64.

88. R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs r Dacca, 1940.

89. Cf. Kane, KHDS, I, pp. 224, 239.

90. Festschrift Kane, pp. 405-407.

91. Chitrav, Madhyayugina Charitra Kosa s.v. Vachaspati.

92. Also called Tattvavaisaradi.

93. Read the concluding verses of Bhamati.

94. Dr. D. C. Bhattacharya gives the date as A.D. 1054 (JGJRI, XI, pt. 4).

95. De, NIA, II, p. 271 and n. 3 (Ross Comm. Vol. p. 87 and n. 3).

96. Winternitz, GIL, IU, p. 466. The same Udayana is also the author of the Lakshandvali a Vaiseshika work composed in A.D. 984 (ibid, p. 474).

97. A work in 85 karikas ascribed to Ad Lesha (Patahjali) printed in Pandit, Vol. V, 1871, pp. 189 ff, and TSS, No. 12, 1911, is different from the one referred to by Abhinavagupta—cf. Winternitz, GIL, III, p. 446 and n. 3.

98. Pali Language and Literature, pp. 34-5.

99. Saddhamma-Samgaha, Ch. IX.

100. JPTS, 1886, pp. 60, 70.

101. JPTS, 1917, p. 2.

102. Buddhaghosa, p. 77 n. 3.

103. PLC, pp. 144-5; CII, III, pp. 274 ff.

104. Dipavamsa und Mahdvamsa, p. 79; Catalogue, p. xiv.

105. PLC, p. 162; HIL, II, p. 223.

106. See Vol. II, pp. 221-3.

107. Prdkrita-sarvasva, 16.2.

107a. H. P. Sastri (Bauddha Gan O Doha, Intr.) called this language Sandhyd-bhashd. or "twilight language". V. Bhattacharya (IHQ, IV. 287-296), P. C. Bagchi (IHQ, VI. 389-396) and F. Edgerton (JAOS, 1937. 185 f), however, have / shown that the correct name is Sandhabhasha, meaning "symbolical or intentional speech". Winternitz (HIL, II. 393) and De (HBR, I. 329), among others, accept this meaning.—Ed.

108. See above, pp. 197, 209.

109. R. S. Mugali, The Heritage of Karnataka (1946), p. 22.

110. E. P. Rice, Kanarese Literature, p. 29.

111. History of Kannada Language (1934), p. 56.

112. Mugali, The Heritage of Karnataka, p. 29.

113. Written both as Tirthakara and Tirthahkara.

114. Prof. R. S. Mugali’s translation.

115. For the section on Kannada Literature, I am greatly indebted to Dr, S. C. Nandimath and the late Prof. S. S. Basawanal.

116. Vol. Ill, Ch. XV, Sec. III.

CHAPTER X

POLITICAL THEORY, ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION, LAW AND LEGAL

INSTITUTIONS

I. POLITICAL THEORY

The stream of political thought which in the preceding period ran principally along the channels of the late Smritis and the early Puranas, as well as Kamandaka's 'Essence of Polity' (Nitisara), was continued in the present epoch in the Smriti-commentaries of Medhatithi and Visvarupa and the later Puranas, as well as 'the Nectar of the Sayings of Polity' (Nitivakydmrita) of the Jain Somadeva (tenth century A.D.). We shall attempt in the present chapter to consider some of the leading political ideas of these works, specially as regards the theory of kingship.

Medhatithi, while repeating the old Smriti view of the comprehensive scope of rajadharma, brings out clearly the dominance of the king's public functions. Explaining the term rajadharma in the opening verse of Manu's seventh chapter, he takes this to signify the (whole) duty of the king. This duty, he continues, comprises that which relates to visible affairs (drishpdrtha) , such as the six types of foreign policy, and that which is concerned with invisible things {adrishtdrtha) , such as the fire-offering (agnihotra) . It is the former, he observes, which are chiefly dealt with in the present place, for these alone are generally known as rajadharma. In other words rajadharma, while equivalent to the Whole Duty of the king, comprises chiefly his public acts, or to put it more generally, is synonymous with Politics. Corresponding to this double composition of rajadharma, Medhatithi indicates its twofold source. For he says in the same context, that the duties here described are based not wholly upon the Vedas, but upon other sources as well. Explaining the scope of the latter, he observes, on the authority of a text of Katyayana, that the duties which are not contrary to Dharma sastra are laid down here. Rajadharma , then, has a twofold source, namely, the Vedic and the non-Vedic (Arthasdstra) , the latter being subordinate to the former.

As regards the idea of kingship Visvarupa as well as Medhatithi introduces info the Smriti literature a discussion which was started by the early

Mlmdmsa writers in the field of Vedic ritual.

This is concerned with the question of eligibility of individuals to the royal title (rajan). These authorities, adopting the strict dogmatic attitude, confined the application of this title to the Kshatriya alone, though they were led by the logic of facts to recognise its extension to non-Kshatriyas in accordance with the maxim of representation. A more logical attitude is adopted by the Smriti writers above mentioned. Thus Visvarupa in one place 1 quotes Manu 2 to show that the royal title belongs to one who possesses a kingdom, and not to a Kshatriya alone. In another place 3 Visvarupa, after affirming on the authority of Manu 4 and Yajnavaikya 6 that the designation rdjan belongs to the Kshatriya, adds the qualification that the title to dominion (rdjya) belongs not to every Kshatriya, but to one who has the attributes of coronation and so forth. Very similar is the view of Medhatithi . 6 For he includes within the connotation of rdjan any territorial ruler {janapadesvara), although of non-Kshatriya caste, while on the other hand he excludes Kshatriyas who have not received consecration. Medhatithi's originality consists in his justification of this interpretation. While the use of the term Kshatriya in the text, he argues , 7 proves that a Kshatriya alone is eligible to rulership, a substitute is permitted in the Kshatriya's absence, for otherwise the subjects would perish. Again he says 8 that while according to Manu 9 the Kshatriya is to live by bearing arms and weapons, other castes who live by the Kshatriya's occupation are likewise entitled to rulership. For, as is stated by an anonymous (Smriti) text, whoever protects the people is known as king (nripa) and this duty has been ordained for the purpose of ensuring the welfare of the people in general. Manu's use of the generic word pdrihiva for king, Medhatithi concludes, makes his teaching applicable not to the Kshatriya alone but to any other territorial ruler, for otherwise the kingdom would not be stable. Medhatithi, therefore, while fixing the stamp of legitimacy upon rulers irrespectively of their Kshatriya caste, bases his view upon the principle that kingship is essential for the security of the State as well as the people.

As regards the mutual relations of the ruler and his people Medhatithi 10 hints at the principle of the king's unlimited executive authority. Here, while explaining Manu's warning against incurring the king's anger, he-observes that other men may forgive a fault because of difficulties in placing complaints before the king, but when the king makes up his mind to destroy a man, the latter is surely ruined because the king is all-powerful. Medhatithi, however, is careful to lay down the limitations on the authority of the king's executive edict. The 'law' (dharma) laid down by the king for the people's observance, he says ,[11] refers to the executive arrangement (kdryavyavasthu) that is not contrary to the canon as well as custom. More particularly he observes that the king has no authority over the castes and orders as regards religious matters such as the fire-offering, for otherwise there would arise the occasion for conflict with other Smritis. In the above the author evidently applies the fundamental Smriti principles of the supremacy of the canon and the binding authority of custom to limit the scope of the king's executive edict. Medhatithi likewise discusses the nature of the twofold obligation of protection imposed upon the king by the old Smriti law. The point is fully discussed by him while explaining Manu's text[12] promising the reward of heaven to the king who protects those following the Aryan rule of life. Medhatithi's first interpretation distinguishes between the king's contractual and his general obligation of protection. It is proper, we are told, that the king should go to heaven by protecting the poor, the friendless and the learned Brahmana who pay no taxes and no duties. In the case of others, however, the king, by not performing his obligation, incurs sin, for their protection is purchased by payment of the king's means of subsistence. On the other hand the king attains immunity from sin, but not the reward of heaven, by paying the ransom in the shape of offering protection. This means that the king's contractual obligation is a compulsory (nitya) duty in contrast with his general obligation which is optional (kdmya). This is explicitly supported by the old Smriti argument that taxes are the purchase-money paid to the king for the service of protection. According to Medhatithi's alternative explanation, Manu's text should be understood to refer to fulfilment of the rule regarding the king's livelihood. This simply repeats the old Smriti conception that the king's general obligation of protection is imposed upon him by his distinctive occupation. Another view, quoted by Medhatithi, does away with the distinction between the king's contractual and his general obligation. Dismissing the reference to the king's reward of heaven as a mere declamation, this view maintains that the protection of those who do not contribute to the king's livelihood is likewise fixed by the king's occupation, for these people also form part of the kingdom (which it is the king's obligation to protect). Supporting the above by an argument from analogy, the author observes that artisans plying their craft for a living are made by the king to perform some work in lieu of taxes 13 and similarly the king, engaged in his livelihood in the shape of protection of his subjects, is made by the canon to protect the Aryas as a compulsory duty. Again the author applies the analogy of a householder kindling the sacred fire, who performs obligatory rites not for winning heaven or for any such reward. The king's obligation of protection, in other words, is compulsory since

it is bound up with his occupation which is imposed upon him by canonical authority. Adding in this context the sanction of political danger to that of spiritual penalty for non-observance of the king's contractual obligation, Medhatithi says : 14 "He who receives taxes and still fails to slay thieves, incurs a double blame, namely in this world the disaffection of his subjects and in the next the loss of heaven: it is but proper that he who receives the taxes and yet fails to give their requital should incur (this twofold) blame".

The old Smriti law from the time of the Dharma-sutras onwards mentions a number of civil rights of individuals which they are entitled to defend by force of arms, if necessary. These rights are explained and amplified by Medhatithi. Construing the relevant verses of Manu 16 as two different sentences, Medhatithi takes the first verse to mean that 'the twice-born classes' may take up arms on all occasions. Medhatithi rejects the contrary interpretation which would by making the two verses a complete sentence confine their scope to the specific occasions mentioned by Manu and no other. This is justified in part by the characteristics of desperadoes (dtaidyl) who do not wait for the other party to take up arms. The other argument is based upon the important principle of insufficiency of the State administration to ensure universal security. It may be urged, Medhatithi argues, that one may take up arms when one's religious duties are disturbed and when disorder is produced in evil times in consequence of the king's death, but at other times when the kingdom is well governed the king himself gives protection. To this argument Medhatithi replies that the king cannot stretch his arms so as to reach every man within his kingdom. There are, he explains, some wicked men who attack the most valiant of the king's officers, but are afraid of persons bearing arms. From this it follows that the people are justified in bearing arms at all times. This is evidently a plea for giving the individuals (specially of the upper classes) the permanent right to carry arms for self-defence. Continuing his argument Medhatithi puts the question whether bearing arms is intended only to strike terror, and he answers it emphatically in the negative. The slayer of a desperado, he observes, is liable neither to punishment by the king nor to penance, and he can kill the latter by all means, either publicly in the presence of other people, or secretly by administering poison and so forth. This obviously gives the individuals the fullest right to self-protection even at the cost of secret murder of their assailants. Finally Medhatithi, while paraphrasing Manu's list of occasions justifying killing of desperadoes, adds that one may take up arms for the protection of his family or property. He also quotes an anonymous view which extends this right to the protection of

others as well on those occasions. One may, Medhatithi observes in the same context , 16 unhesitatingly fight for self-defence. The individual's right of self-defence, in other words, extends to the protection of his family and property and, according to one view, to the protection of others as well.

As regards the political rights of individuals Visvarupa assumes an attitude which brings him into line with Mcihabharata texts 17 justifying the subject in slaying a tyrant. When the king, we read , 13 is guilty of a grave crime, he should be slain by throwing even a mighty clod of earth against him. For, he argues, the destruction of the army, the revenue and so forth would otherwise be inevitable, as all these have their roots in the king. The people, in other words, are entitled to slay the tyrant in the interest of the State.

It will be seen from the above examples that boldness and originality of political ideas are by no means wanting in the Srnriti commentaries of this period. Such is, however, not the case with the thought of Lakshmidhara, author of the oldest known Srnriti Digest called Kritycikalpataru. We shall deal here with the section of this work dealing with rajadharma (Rdjadharmakdnda). As regards the origin of kingship, Lakshmidhara 19 quotes Manu's dogma of divine creation of the king out of particles of the eight Regents of the Quarters, so as to make him a superman. With the same mechanical exactitude he quotes 20 the old Srnriti texts relating to the nature of kingship. Such are the texts regarding the parity of the king's executive and judicial functions with the attributes of multiple deities and those enjoining the individual's obligation of honouring and obeying the king. To the same category belongs his quotation 21 of the R&mayana text on the evils of a kingless country. The king, then, according to the author, is a superman by virtue of his divine creation, while his functions are comparable with those of various deities. The king's office, again, is the grand safeguard of security and welfare of the people. From these conceptions follows the people's obligation of honouring and obeying their ruler. As a set-off against the above principles bearing on the king's authority, the author 22 quotes the old Srnriti passages enjoining the ruler's obligation of protection by means of the usual sanctions.

Compared with the political ideas of the Smriti-commentators analysed above, those of the late Puranas are singularly wanting in originality. As regards the origin of kingship the legends of creation of the social order in these works 23 involve the principle that the Kshatriya is divinely ordained for the purpose of protection. We are moreover specifically told that the Self-existent One created the king out of particles of the gods so that he might inflict chastise

merit for the protection of all creatures , 24 According to Brihad* dharma 25 Brahma created the king's body by taking lordship from Indra, prowess from Agni, cruelty from Yama, good fortune from the Moon, riches from Kubera and goodness from Ramajanardana, and the king alone atid no other should be recognised as Indra. Again we read 26 that the king assumes different divine forms by virtue of his different functions or attributes. The king then is a multiple deity literally by virtue of his creation out of divine particles by the Highest Deity and metaphorically because of parallelism of his attributes and functions with those of various divinities. In the composite account of the origin and nature of kingship in Vishnu dhcir mo tiara 27 , the author first shows, by means of his picture of a 'State of Nature' without a king, how the king's office is the foundation of the institutions of family and property, as well as the/grand security of observance of duties by the castes and the safeguard of the people against providential and human calamities. This is accompanied by the author's statement of the doctrine of the king's divinity in the literal sense of the term. The king is born among men by being strengthened with Vishnu's lustre and by bearing the divine attributes on his person. The fundamental importance of kingship in the interest of the people is illustrated by a passage in Garuda 28 which includes a land without a king in a list of places where one should not live.

The above ideas of the king's office and functions are pressed into service in the late Puranas (as in the Smritis) for justifying the obligation of the people towards the ruler. In the extract quoted above 29 the Vishnudharmottara observes in the words of a Mahfibharata text 30 that the chiefest duty of the people of a certain territory (rashtra) is the consecration of the king. Again we are told that honouring and obeying the ruler is the divine as well as the human obligation of the people. "When the king is pleased the gods themselves are satisfied and when he is angry the people are filled with anger: the king indeed is born because of his high spiritual merit and therefore the whole world submits to the king's command"- The king,, says Brihaddharma , 31 should not be harmed or reviled or slighted or abused, for the gods move about on earth in the form of kings. The same work mentions 32 propitiation of the king among the duties of the Vaisya, while it includes 33 the act of seeing the king among the householder's daily and periodical duties.

The principle of the king's authority is balanced in the late Puranic theory (as in the theory of the Smritis) by that of the ruler's obligations. How t protection is the divine purpose of the Kshatriya's

and the king's creation is told in the stories of their origin mentioned above. The king, according to Brihaddharma , 34 is a Kshatriya devoted to the protection of the people. According to Vishnudhar mottara 35 the king immediately after his selection by the chief men in the State shall take the vow (vrata) that he would protect all of them who are righteous. As in the older thought, this obligation is enforced by the promise of spiritual rewards and the threat of spiritual penalties . 36 Some clauses of positive law in the late Puranas (like those in the Smritis) reflect the principles of the king's authority and obligation. Agni 37 repeats the penalties for such offences against the king's dignity and authority as violation of the Queen, miswriting the king's edict and mounting the king's conveyance. On the other hand Vishnudhar mottara 3S repeats the ancient Smriti clause requiring the king to restore stolen property to owners of all castes.

The late Purana versions 39 of the old Mahdbhdrata legend of Vena and his son Prithu throw some light upon the authors' ideas of the nature of the king's office. It must be observed at the outset that these versions are given, not (as in the Mahdbhdrata account) for explaining the origin of kingship, but in the context of geiiea

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logical narratives of the Patriarchs, or at the most in answer to questions about the origin of the earth and the mixture of castes. Nevertheless we learn from the Matsya and Brihaddharma accounts that the motive for selection of the king (Prithu in the former and Vena in the latter case) was fear of anarchy. This of course involves the old Smriti view that the king's office is essential for the security of the people. In the different accounts of Prithu we are told that he bore the mental aspect of Vishnu (Garuda), that Vishnu having consecrated Prithu to universal lordship appointed kings over different orders of beings (Agni), that Prithu was an incarnation of God Vishnu (Brihaddharma), and that he was Vishnu in human form (Vishnudharmottara) . This involves the doctrine that the first legitimate king (or universal ruler) was created by the great God Vishnu and was His human incarnation. The king, then, derives his authority not only from his divine creation, but also and above all from his divine personality as a representative of Vishnu. On the other hand the story of the remonstrance of the sages addressed to the tyrant Vena implies the doctrine of supremacy of Justice (or Righteousness) or else of canonical injunctions over the king.

The Nitivakyamrita of the Jain monk Somadeva Suri announces itself as a manual of instruction to kings and others on the subject of general morals including statecraft. The author's political thought bears little trace of his Jain beliefs and principles,

but on the contrary is inspired throughout by the old SmritiArthasastra tradition. Somadeva 40 accepts in toto the ancient Arthasastra category of four sciences (namely, 'the Sacred Canon', 'Philosophy', 'Economics' and

‘Politics’) which he aptly designates as ‘the royal sciences’. Explaining the place of ‘the Sacred Canon’

(tray I) in this list he says , 41 in words recalling Kautilya, that the castes and orders are fixed in their duties and are dissuaded from their opposites through it, and that both the king and the people attain the threefold end by avoiding confusion of their distinctive duties. This repeats the old and fundamental Smriti principle that Society is an association for the complete fulfilment of the individual in accordance with the law of his appointed duties and that the source of this law is the Sacred Canon.

As regards the nature of kingship Somadeva in the first place repeats the complex view of the king’s origin and office found in Manu-smriti and other works. The king, we read, is a great deity and bows to none else except to his superiors . 42 Again we are told 43 that all the Regents of the Quarters attend upon the king who is therefore described as the best of his class. In another place the author exalts the king to the level of the three Highest Deities of the Brahmanical pantheon. The king, we read , 44 becomes Brahma in his childhood when as a student he resides in his preceptor’s household and studies the sciences; he becomes Vishnu when after attaining sovereignty and receiving the ceremonial initiation at his consecration he attracts the love of his subjects by his qualities; and he becomes &iva when with increased strength and with the possession of the highest authority he sets about extirpating thorns of the State and becomes a conqueror. Elsewhere Somadeva, applying the old conception of the supremacy of righteousness, distinguishes between the consequences of the king’s attitude towards this vital principle. When the king is unrighteous, every one else becomes the same . 45 But when the king justly protects his subjects, all quarters fulfil the desires of people, the rains fall in time, and all

beings live in peace , 46 The king in this sense is the cause of time.

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As a corollary of his view of the king’s authority Somadeva, like the authors of the Brahmanical Smritis, enjoins upon the people the obligation of honouring and obeying their ruler . 47 Repeating the Smriti view of the king’s obligation towards his people the author further observes 48 that protection is the duty of the Kshatriya and that the king’s duty consists in cherishing the good and chastising the wicked. Protection, indeed, is the supreme and distinctive obligation of the ruler. He is no king who fails in his duty of protection : 49 the king’s dharma does not consist in shaving

the hair, wearing matted locks and so forth. Following the same Smriti authority Somadeva 0 enforces the king’s obligation of protection by the promise of spiritual rewards. On the other hand the author, probably under the influence of the Jain doctrine of ahimsd, so far from repeating the advanced Smriti ideas of resistance against the evil ruler, resigns himself passively to the latter’s acts. The king’s wrong-doing, he says,' 51 like the ocean’s crossing the shores, the Sun’s causing darkness and the mother’s devouring her own children, is a characteristic of the Iron Age.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION—NORTH INDIA

The Pratlharas were the most dominant political power in North India in the latter part of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D. In their stone records, they ordinarily assumed the imperial title of mahdrdjddhirdja , though in their copper-plate inscriptions they usually chose to be called by the more modest sty ie of maharaja. The territory under the direct administration of these emperors was divided info the traditional bhuktis (provinces), subdivided into mmidalas (districts), which were further split up into vishayas . Among the officers of the central government mentioned by name in their records are the dandapdsika (police officer), rnahdpratilwra (chief of the palace guards), dandanayaka (general), and balddhikrita (commander of forces). A remarkable inscription of A.D. 876 52 shows how the affairs of Gwalior (and probably of other important cities as well) were conducted in the time of Bhoja I. A certain Alla was appointed by the Emperor as the officer in charge of the fort (kottapdla), while Tattaka was commander of the forces (balddhikrita) , and a Board consisting of two sreshthis (guildpresidents) and one sdrthavaha (caravan-leader) was apparently entrusted with the civil affairs of the town. Not only then was the civil administration of the town separated from the military, but further, the command of the fort was distinct (no doubt, for reasons of security) from that of the troops stationed thereabout. The concluding lines of the record give us some further indications of the character of the civil administration. Here we read that the whole town (sakalasthdna) made a gift of land in two specified villages which were in its own possession (svabhukti) . It would therefore appear that besides the town executive just mentioned, there -was a town Council (or Assembly) which owned some adjoining villages. The description of the donated land as being measured by the imperial cubits (paramesvariya-hasta) suggests that the official standard was used by the town authorities for the survey of lands in their possession. In the above record, Alla is mentioned as guardian of the fort by Bhoja I's appointment. From another inscription

of the same reign 33 we learn that Alla's father was born in a Brah~ rnana family and was appointed 'Warden of the Marches' (maryadadkurya) by Emperor Ramabhadra. Afterwards Alla succeeded to this office and was further appointed guardian of the fort by Bhoja I. This proves that Brahmanas at that time sometimes adopted a military career and that offices went by hereditary succession.

Outside the territory directly governed by the Emperor lay the tracts ruled by chiefs belonging to various clans, such as the Chahamanas, the Tomaras, the Chapas, the Chalukyas, and the Pratiharas. There were besides the great feudatory families like the Chandellas and the Paramaras who were destined for a long and independent career as ruling powers after the fall of the Pratiharas. What is more, we find the donated village in two records of A.D. 893 and 899, 54 described as belonging to a group of eighty-four villages. This was exactly the standard size of the clan-chief's estate in mediaeval Rajputana. In the light of the above facts it is possible to trace back the type of clan-monarchies, as they have been called by BadenPowell, at least to the period of the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj. The administration of the Pratihara feudatories possessed the usual complement of officers known to Northern India from older times. The list of persons receiving information of the donor's grant in the record of A.D. 893, mentioned above, consists of the raja (prince), the rdjanyas (nobles), the rajasthdnlyas (viceroys), the uparikas (governors), the amdtyas (ministers), and the dandapdsikas (police officers). Another record of a feudatory chief, mentioned above, refers to a sandhivigrdhika (minister of foreign affairs) as the writer of the charter. From the well-known Siyadoni inscription 35 we learn that this town was in possession of chiefs bearing the lofty title mahdrdjddhirdja in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. We have some hints of the policy of the imperial government in keeping the feudatories in check. In the two records of A.D. 893 and 899, referred to above, the grant of lands by the donor required the approval of an individual described as tcintrapala of the reigning emperor. Probably the tantra pala held an office similar to that of the Political Agent in an Indian State during the British rule. The grant by Mahendrapala II of a village in the holding of a certain talavargika in A.D. 946 probably points to the Emperor’s right of alienating lands in the possession of the smaller feudatories. Nevertheless we find even in the reign of Mahendrapala I reference to a fight between two mahdsdmantas in a memorial tablet of V.S. 960. The decline of the Imperial Pratihara power gave the opportunity to many of the clans—the Kachchhapaghatas of Gwalior, the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, the Haihayas of Dahala, the Paramaras of Malwa, and so forth—to assert their virtual independence.

The contemporary Arab observers were greatly impressed with the military strength of the Imperial Pratiharas whom they called Ba’urah and kings of Jurz. 66 What concerns us here is to note the high tribute paid by one of them to the efficiency of the Pratihara administration. “There is no country in India,” says Mas’udI, 57 “more safe from robbers.”

By far the most important of the dynasties of Northern India contemporaneous with the Imperial Pratiharas were the Palas of Bengal, their rivals for the prize of empire. The Pala monarchy vras distinguished from nearly all other governments of this period by the peculiar circumstances of its origin. It was to stem the tide of anarchy that Gopala, the founder of the line, was called to the throne by the prakritis, meaning probably the leading chiefs. 58 Such a momentous beginning failed to lay the foundation of a truly constitutional monarchy in ancient Bengal, probably because there was i-J permanent and regularly constituted Council of Ministers (or Assembly of the People) at that time. In the later records of the Palas, their government is wholly assimilated to the pattern of a personal monarchy, and there is no question of any constitutional restraint upon the king’s authority. The Palas from the first assumed the usual imperial title of paramesvara paramabhatpiraka mahdrdjddhirdja, for which the precedent had been set by the Imperial Guptas in their North Bengal inscriptions. As regards the offices of the central government, a mantr'l is mentioned only in later Pala inscriptions belonging to the times of Mahlpala I, Vigrahapala III, and Nayapala. But we have the record 59 of a distinguished Brahmana family which furnished a succession of what can only be called Chief Ministers from the time of Dharmapala to that of Narayanapala. Making due allowance for evident exaggeration in the claims of these ministers, we may conclude that they exercised a commanding influence on the Early Palas. But this influence was due entirely to their personal capacity, and not to the constitutional status of the office in question. From the list of officials given in the formula of the Pala land-grants, we can infer that the central government of the early kings comprised a number of Departments. These Departments with the officials belonging to each may be enumerated as follows:—Finance (shashtha dhikrita, torika, tarapati, and saulkika), Police (dandasakti, danda* pcLsika, and chauroddharanika) , Army and Navy (sendpati, gaulmika, ndvddhyaksha, and baladhyaksha). Besides, there were executive officers with functions imperfectly known (rajdmdtya, daiihsadhasadhanika, duta f khola, gamdgamika, abhitvdramdna, tadayuktaka, and viniyuktaka) , as well as superintendents (adhyakshas) of the royal herds and studs. The later records point to the creation of new officers representing the Departments of Finance (pramdtri), Police (dan

dika), Justice (dasapamdhika), Army (prdntapdla, kottapdla, and perhaps kfutndaraksha) , besides the more indefinite sarabhanga, kshetrapa f and so forth. Some names like senapati , bhogapati, shashthadhikrita f and dandasakti, on the other hand, drop out of the picture altogether. The later inscriptions testify to the creation of a whole set of High Imperial officers of the type known to the Imperial Guptas. Such are the mahdsdndhivigrahika (minister of Foreign Affairs), mahdkshapatalika (Chief Accounts Officer), mahdsendpati (Commander-in-Chief), Mahddan^andyaka (Chief Commander of forces?), mahcikart&kritika, mahddauhsddhasddhanika, and mxihdkumdrdmdtya (three classes of executive officers).

Among the dignitaries mentioned in the formulas of the Pala land-grants are included the uparika , the vishayapati f the vishaya vycivahcrins (comprising the jyeshthakdyastha or leading scribe and the mahdmahattaras, mahattamas, and mahattaras who were elders of three grades), as well as the ddsagrdmika (lord of ten villages), and the grdmapati (village headman). The uparikas and the vishayapatis were respectively in charge of provinces (bhuktis) and districts (vishayas) into which the Pala kingdom is known from other records to have been divided for administrative purposes. The office of ddsagrdmika seems to show that the unit of local administration known to Manu and the Mahabhdrata Q0 existed in Bengal at this period. The vishayavyavahdrins suggest a body of leading householders of the district. The grdmapati points to the continuance of the traditional village administration under a headman. 61

In the ninth century Kamarupa was ruled by kings of the line of Salas tambha who are commemorated by a number of inscriptions one of which bears the date corresponding to A.D. 829. The kings adopted the usual imperial title of mahamjadhiraja paramesvara paramabhattdraka , or more shortly mahdrajddhirdja. Though the succession to the throne was usually hereditary in the male line, we have a remarkable instance 62 of two Princes Chakra and Arathi being passed over in favour of the latter’s son for the offence of disregarding the opinion of their elders. Among the chief officers of State are mentioned a mahdsainyapati, a mahadixirddhipatya, a mdhdpratihdra , a mdhdnvdtya, a Brahmairndhikdra, and a number of balddhyakshas . The mahdsainyapati and the baladhyaksha may be identified respectively with mahdbalddhikrita and baladhihrita of the Gupta records, while the mdhdpratihdra is an old Gupta official title. The mahdmdtya probably stood at the head of the civil administration, while the mahdsainyapati and baladhyaksha represented the military chief and his assistants. From the description of the donated land in one of the records, it appears that the kingdom

was divided into the usual vishayas. The same record refers to rural people headed by the vishctyakaranas and the vyavahdrikas , but the precise nature of their functions is unknown.

We can form some idea of the general characteristics and tendencies of administration in Kashmir during this period from Kalhana’s account. The succession to the throne was by hereditary descent, subject to breaks caused by usurpation and the like. The accession of Yasaskara (A.D. 939) after the extinction of the Utpala line was a striking exception to the general rule. For Yasaskara was elected by an assembly of Brahmanas. 63 But this revolution was barren of constitutional results like the still more famous revolution in Bengal in the shape of Gopala's election to the throne. As regards the organisation of the administration, we find Lalitaditya, the greatest king of Kashmir, being credited in the Rdjatarangim 64 with the creation of five new offices (karmgsthdnas) over and above the eighteen older offices attributed to the semi-legendary king Jalauka 65 . The five offices were those of mahapratihara, mahdsdndhivigrahika, mahdsvasdla, mahabh&ndagarika, and mahdscidhanabhdga. Of these, the first two, known from Gupta times, mean respectively the Chief of the Palace Guards, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, while the last three probably mean Chief Officer of Cavalry, Chief Treasurer, and Chief Executive Officer respectively. Other State offices are incidentally referred to by Kalhana in the course of his description of the subsequent reigns. Some of these like nagaradhipa (Prefect of the city), pratlhdra (Chief of palace guards), dandandyaka (general), and rdjasthariiya (viceroy?) had their counterparts in the kingdoms of the plains. 66 Common to both again was the akshapatala (accounts office), although the ekdngas of the Rdjatarangini, forming a sort of military police attached to the same, are unknown elsewhere. Other offices like those of the paddgra (revenue collector?), the dvdrapati (commander of the frontier passes), the mandalesa (governor), and the kampa* nesa (commander-in-chief) are more or less peculiar to Kashmir. 67

Kalhana has preserved 68 anecdotes of two well-known kings, Chandraplda and Yasaskara, testifying to the exceptional wisdom and equity of their judicial decisions. Incidentally we have in these •examples a concrete illustration of the well-known Smriti rule requiring the king personally to look after the administration of justice. The interest that the Kashmir kings took in works of public utility is illustrated by Kalhana's remarkable account 69 of the extensive drainage and irrigation works carried into effect by an exceptionally able officer called Suyya in the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-383). The history of financial administration, on the

other hand, is on the whole a dreary record of unjust exactions inflicted by a succession of tyrants. 70

III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION—SOUTH INDIA

The Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta were the heirs of the Cbalukyas of Vatapi in the imperial sovereignty of the Deccan. Though the Rashtrakutas were at first content with the feudatory title of mahdsdmantddhipati, they afterwards adopted full imperial titles. Next to the king in dignity, if not in authority, stood the Crown Prince. In contrast with their successors, the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Queens and Princesses of the Rashtrakuta line hardly exercised any political influence. We have only one record 71 of a Queen granting a village on her own authority. Among the high officers of State are mentioned those bearing the titles of mabascindhivigrahika (Minister of Foreign Affairs), bhandagarika (Treasurer), battdhikrita, dandandyakci, and mahdprachcmdcidaridanayaka (three grades of military officers) and the officer connected with the court of justice. One record 72 mentions a mahas&ndhivigrahika as being the son of a baladhikrita, which indicates a tendency towards the selection of high officials by hereditary descent.

The structure of local government under the Rashtrakutas partook of the regional variety of their empire. In Maharashtra and South Gujarat the donated villages are often described as lying within groups of 12, 24, and 84, while sometimes such a village is located within a bhukti . The numerical groups are reminiscent of the typical clan-chief's estate and its sub-divisions to which reference has been made above. The bhukti is the old administrative division known from the Gupta times. In the Kannada region, on the other hand, the villages are included in groups having larger or smaller numerical endings. 73 These figures, as Fleet 74 pointed out long ago, refer to the real or supposed number of villages comprised within the groups. The policy of the central government often allowed combination of the larger and smaller divisions under the same officer. We also hear of separate officers (nahgavwfbdas , translated as county-sheriffs) in charge of smaller groups of 300 and the like. We have reasons to think that the office of the countygavunda was one of high authority and dignity. In one record 75 the county-gavunda in charge of two groups of 300 each bears the title of dharmamakartija known to the Early Pallava and Kadamba kings, and he expressly reserves for his own share a fixed revenue along with the king's share, while granting some lands to a temple. The county -gavurida, either singly nr jointly with other gavunfas, could endow lands, transfer revenues, and grant remissions for pious objects. 76

The machinery of town and village administration under the Rashtrakutas was as varied as that of the administration of the provinces and districts. In North Konkan, which was ruled by the Silahara feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, the towns were in charge of purapatis or nagarapatis (Town Prefects). In the Kannada tract the towns were ruled by ur-gdvundas (sheriffs). In Maharashtra and South Gujarat the villages had their headmen called gramakutas 9 the number of these in a single village being sometimes as many as six or twelve. 77 By the side of the headman there was the group of mahattaras (elders) with an executive board bearing the title of adhikarins. 78 In the Kannada area the villages had their bodies of mahajancis , who not only attested gifts by private individuals and received assignments of local taxes from provincial and district officers, but also made grants of land for pious purposes. 79

The feudatories of the Rashtrakutas constituted an important factor in the State administration. The great feudatory families like the Gangas of Gangavadi 96000 were invested with military commands, and they fought w T ars on behalf of their paramount sovereign. The court and administration of the great feudatories were modelled on those of the paramount power. Thus the Rashtrakutas of Gujarat who bore the title of mahasamantadhipati had on their staff, as we learn from the formula of their land-grants, the sandhi vigrahika, the rdshtrapati, the vishayapati, the g'rdmakuta, the niyuktaka, and the yukta } —a sandhivigrahika (or mahasandhivigrahika) being mentioned as usual as the writer of charters. Nevertheless the status of the feudatories must have differed greatly according to their importance. While the higher class could assign taxes and alienate lands without the consent of the paramount power, 80 the lower grades had to submit to alienations of their lands at the orders of the ruling sovereign or his ministers. 81 The semiindependent position of the great feudatories is expressed by the conventional phrases indicative of their rule which differentiate it at once from the rule of the paramount Emperor and the government of mere State officials. 82

The administration of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, whose -rule, beginning before the Rashtrakutas, survived their downfall, has some interesting features. Among their high dignitaries of State are mentioned, besides the yuvavdja (Crown Prince) and the senani (Commander-in-Chief) known to other dynasties, a body of five ministers and the katakadhisa (Superintendent of the Royal Camp). The provinces were called vishayas and the leading member (perhaps the governor) had the title of 'rashtrakuta. We have some glimpses into the working of the village administration under

the rule of this dynasty. In one case 83 the king is said to have granted the office of grdmakiifa in perpetuity to an individual. This proves that the village headman, at least in some cases, could be nominated by the king. Another record 84 states that the mahdjanas of a village elected the members of a Brahmana family on the Committee of five (pancha-vctra) , because of their eloquence in committee assemblies. From this it may be inferred that the Vehgl country under the Eastern Chalukyas, like the Chola Empire in later times, knew self-governing village assemblies with elected committees for the transaction of business.

Few details have been preserved of the administration of the Pandya kings in the first period of their ascendancy (from the beginning of the seventh to that of the tenth century A.D.). There are, however, clear indications of the existence of a well-organised government under their rule. A distinguished family of the time of the Early Pandya king Jatila Parantaka (c. A.D. 765-815) furnished a number of high officials with the titles uttcCramantri (Prime Minister) and mahdsdmanta to the State service. We hear, besides, of officers for executing the king’s orders for a pious gift as well as of other revenue officers. Reference is made to the sen&pati (general), while other records mention an officer in charge of elephants (matangajddhyaksha) as well as troops in the service of the king or other leaders. 86 Not only therefore was the army in charge of the supreme general, but there were separate commands for its different branches, while the king as well as other leaders maintained troops in their service. The lowest unit of the local administration was the gramam (village) and a number of these formed the kurram or nadu sometimes Sanskritized into rashtra. In the working of the village administration the assembly (sabhd or ur) played an important part.

Such was the reputation of these bodies for integrity and efficiency, that kings often placed permanent endowments of gold coins in their hands for meeting the expenses of worship in temples out of the interest accruing therefrom at specified rates. 86 Again, the body of temple servants and the representatives of the village assemblies were sometimes jointly constituted as trustees for the proper administration of the temple funds. 87 The assembly also owned lands which could be granted by the great men of the village, and its approval was necessary when a Brahmana donee of a village granted lands to his kinsmen. 88 From a record of A.D. 800 89 we learn that the assembly used to meet at a stated hour in a fixed public place. According to the rules framed by the assembly on this occasion, it was to be open to all land-owners, but only those who had a certain property qualification along with the prescribed intellectual and moral attainments

were to take part in its deliberations. Only those possessing the requisite qualifications were to be admitted to the committees (variyctms) of the assembly. This important record proves that self-governing village assemblies with elected executive committees, such as can be traced more fully in records of the time of the Chola Parantaka I, existed in the Bandya kingdom about a century earlier.

The administration of the early Imperial Cholas assumed a high degree of complexify with the march of time. A record of the reign of Sundara Chola 90 points to a relatively simple administrative machinery and procedure for executing the king's order for a pious grant of land. The king’s oral order was first communicated by the proper executive officer to the local authorities. Afterwards the record of the transaction was drawn up and attested by a number of witnesses who were either local magnates, or government officers. Far more complex is the process indicated in the larger Leiden plates of Rajaraja I 91 recording the Emperor’s grant of a village to a Buddhist shrine. Here the king’s order is successively committed to writing by the proper official, signed by four Chief Secretaries, and ordered to be entered in the Accounts Register by a Secretary and arbitrators. The entry is made by four officers of the Tax Department and three other officials called ‘maintainers of tax system’. Then a Superintendent and five other officials are deputed for the marking of the donated village. Finally, the royal order is sent to the Assembly (n&ttar) of the district to present themselves on the spot and to draw up and grant the deed of assignment to the donee. The advanced organisation of the Chola Empire is illustrated by the fact that a general survey of lands with a record of rights was carried out about the middle of Rajaraja I's reign, while fresh surveys were undertaken from time to time thereafter. Cases were decided by the judge with the help of learned Brahmanas at the dharmasana (probably meaning the king's court).

The lowest unit of the local administration was the self-governing village of which there were two principal types. The first type had an assembly called the ur and an executive body called the tilunganam (sometimes shortened into ganam). The second type, which was specially represented by villages of Brahmanas, had an assembly called the sabha and various committees (variyams) of the same to carry out its executive work. The working of this second type is best illustrated by some records of the reign of Parantaka I relating to the Brahmana village of Uttaramerur. At first the sabha of this village by a resolution (vyavastha) fixed the mode of appointment (by a mixed method of lot and election) to its five executive

committees. Shortly afterwards, the sabha adopted another resolution amending the rules of election. After some time the sabha, by a fresh vyavastha, arranged for appointment of a committee for assaying gold for the village people. 92 It was to consist of experts to be chosen by lot from those who paid taxes and lived in different quarters of the village. It was to be responsible to the Tanks and Annual Committees and (unlike the sabha and its committees) was to receive a monthly remuneration. It is reasonable to think that the above method of entrusting executive work to elected committees was followed by other sabhas as well. The sabhas exercised a wide range of powers. They kept their own records relating to the rights of the villagers. They decided disputes that did not fall within the jurisdiction of other groups. They granted lands; for maintenance of services and sacred teaching in the temples. They founded and maintained hospitals and took charge of all charitable endowments in the village. They controlled a number of taxes which they could assign or remit at their pleasure. They had their own staff of officials such as the madhyastha, who assisted in the proceedings of the assembly without sharing in its deliberations. 93

IV. LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

The period from A.D. 750 to 1000 is definitely associated with the works of the great Smriti commentators and makers of Digests in place of the metrical Smritis. The change, as already observed, 94 marks the advent of a new stage—the critical in place of the constructive—in the history of Hindu Jurisprudence. Among these famous Smriti commentators Medhatithi and Visvarupa, who wrote commentaries on Manu and Yajnavalkya respectively, deserve special notice. Reference has also to be made to -the Smritisamgraha, a Digest by an unnamed author. 95

1. Visvarupa

Visvarupa's opinion on the law of partition and inheritance is marked by resemblances and differences with Vijnanesvara's thought. He anticipates Vijnanesvara in holding that ownership does not arise for the first time on partition, but that partition takes place of what is already jointly owned. But, unlike Vijnanesvara, he interprets Yajnavalkya 96 to mean that the father, distributing his property in his lifetime, has absolute discretion in giving equal or unequal shares to the sons. Again, he takes Yajnavalkya 97 to imply that the father, giving equal shares to the sons in the case just mentioned, shall allow the husband's share to his wives, as also to the widows of his pre-deceas-ed sons and grandsons who have not been provided with stndhana. Vijnanesvara, on the other hand,

would take the text in its literal sense to apply to the father's own wives alone. Similarly Visvarupa understands Yajnavalkya 98 to mean that what a man acquires by himself, without detriment to his father's interest, as well as a nuptial present and what he gets as present from a friend, shall not be shared by him with his co-parceners. He also takes Yajnavalkya" to mean that what was gained by learning shall not be given to the co-parceners. These views differ completely from those of Vijnanesvara. In the case of a man without a son, Yajnavalkya 100 mentions the order of succession as follows:—wife, daughters, both parents, brothers and their sons, etc. Commenting on these passages Visvarupa says that the wife shall succeed if she were pregnant at the time of her husband's death, and the daughter shall do so if she was an "appointed" daughter. This is quite different from the view of Vijnanesvara who would allow the widow to succeed without any restriction save that of chastity, and the daughters to do so without any qualification save that the unmarried has precedence over the married, and the unprovided over the endowed daughter.

2. Medhatithi

Passing to the views of Medhatithi, we may first notice his statements on the constitution and functions of the courts of justice. Referring to the members of the king's court, Medhatithi 101 shows by a concrete example that the Brahman as assisting the king have to be versed in polity, while he quotes an alternative view to the effect that, whereas the mantris (counsellors) should have knowledge of the details of the case, the Brahmanjas should have the quality of impartiality. More important than the above is the fact that Medhatithi extends membership of the court in special cases to other parties as well. For he says: 102 "Where the parties, e.gr. traders, cultivators, and cattle-breeders belong to the same profession, and where other persons belonging to this profession feel that they would be affected by this decision, they are entitled to take part in the investigation." 103 In the same context Medhatithi throws an interesting light on the nature of the hierarchy of courts. Taking Narada 104 as his text, he defines kula as 'the body of relatives', srenl as 'a body of traders and others following the same profession', ganas as 'persons who always move about in groups', and unlike sreriis act collectively. He also takes 'an authorised person' to mean 'the Brahmana learned in the Vedas.' It follows from the above that the srertHs corresponded to trade- and craft-guilds, and the ganas to wider and more closely knit Associations. The family courts, Medhatithi goes on, through fear of relations do not always exercise a check upon persons deviating from the right path. Hence

a party not having confidence in them is entitled to carry his case to the Guilds. The Guilds are very jealous of their independence; in fact they take care not to let any matter within their purview go before the king, lest the king's officers should take the opportunity to interfere with their work. It is their practice to take sureties for satisfaction of judgment from both parties at the beginning of the suit, the surety being liable to a fine in the case of his party not accepting the decision. The Associations investigate cases by themselves, and they appoint committees (upasad) for enforcing their decision. Their practice of collective action makes them dreaded by all. The king, because of his great power, is superior to all other courts, so that a case decided by him cannot be re-opened. From the above discussion Medhatithi draws the important conclusion that the other courts (“Brahmanas and others”) are entitled to pronounce judgments, though the king alone has the right of inflicting punishment. Medhatithi takes this opportunity to point out the essential difference between the standpoints of the king and other authorities in judicial trials. The motive of the king, he says, in looking into cases is the proper administration of his kingdom, while that of others lies only in settfing doubtful points for the benefit of the people. In another context Medhatithi 105 explains the difference between the spirit of the king’s executive and judicial administration. “When he is seated upon his royal throne, the king regards wealth (artha) as the most important matter even in preference to morality (dharma). But when he is engaged in deciding suits, he regards morality as the most important thing.”

The rationale of judicial proceedings consists, according to Medhatithi 106 , in ensuring the immunity of the people from seen and unseen troubles along with preservation of the kingdom which would otherwise be destroyed. In this we have a remarkable illustration of the Smriti view of the identity of interests of the king and his subjects. Medhatithi’s views on various points of judicial procedure treated by the older authors indicate the remarkable independence of his thought, combined with good sense and love of fair-play. Dealing with Manu’s rule requiring the king to take up cases of suitors in the order of their respective castes, Medhatithi observes: “This order of investigation based upon castes is to be observed only when the troubles of all the suitors are of the same degree: when, on the other hand, the business of the lower caste is very urgent or very important, then it should be taken up first.” Medhatithi justifies this rule on the remarkable ground that the public interest overrides the written text. (Salus populi est suprema lex) For he says: “The investigation of cases is for the purpose of maintaining

order in the kingdom, so that the rules laid down need not always be followed literally.’ , In connection with the question of time allowable for filing the plaint and its answer, Medhatithi 107 argues that the plaintiff already knows the amount of his dues or the man who has wronged him. On the other hand when the defendant is dragged before the court, he does not know the nature of the complaint against him and cannot find the right answer. The plaintiff, therefore, must complete his plaint on the same date, or he may be granted two or three days' time. The defendant should be granted a postponement which, however, must be only for the period regarded as a fair interval for the understanding of the suit and the finding of the answer. The text of Gautama 108 allowing postponement of the answer for one year, Medhatithi emphatically says, should not be followed in practice, as he pertinently asks, if nonunderstanding is sufficient cause for delay, why should it cease to be so after the lapse of one year only?

From the benefit of the rule allowing postponement of the ans-. wer, Medhatithi expressly excludes the group of heinous offences. His argument in support of this contention indicates his clear grasp of the essential difference between civil and criminal cases. "In the case of non-payment of debt and the like," he says, "if the parties settle it themselves, it is no business of the king to interfere. But in the case of a criminal, it is the duty of the king to punish him even though he may have come to terms with the plaintiffs." In other words, civil suits are the concerns of the private parties, while crimes are essentially offences against the State. The different procedure adopted in the two classes of suits is explained by Medhatithi while discussing Manu's text 109 which forbids the king or his servants to promote a suit. "This applies", he says, "to non-payment of debt and similar subjects: as for thieves and criminals who are like thorns in the kingdom, these the king shall capture and punish even when he catches them himself." Dealing with the law of evidence, Medhatithi categorically rejects Narada's statement that documentary evidence is superior to witnesses. As he cogently argues, "Documentary evidence is of two kinds—those written by the party himself and those written by another person. This last again is of two kinds—(a) those written by a scribe who volunteers to do the writing, and (b) those written by an authorised scribe. Now, a document written by another person is in every way of the

nature of a .witness.No reliability attaches to what has been written by a single man, just as it does not attach to a single witness. It may be argued that it is only when witnesses set down their hands to something that they become documentary evidence. But this difference cannot make the one superior to the other.... 'Being

authorised' also cannot be regarded as a ground of distinction, because as a matter of fact all persons authorised by the king are not necessarily thoroughly tested."

Medhatithi's ideas of the law of ownership may be illustrated by one example. Dealing with the question of the king's title to the property lost but claimed by the owner thereafter, Medhatithi 110 quotes a view to the following effect:—"Even after the lapse of three years, it will not be right for the king to take or possess what belongs to another person, and hence what is meant is that after the lapse of three years, if the rightful owner does not turn up, the king shall enjoy the usufruct of the property." This doctrine which implies that title cannot be lost by any extent of adverse possession is quoted by Medhatithi only for refutation. But it was destined to be adopted afterwards by Vijnanesvara and his school.

We have referred above to some of Medhatithi's views on partition and inheritance. But some other points may be noted. According to an unnamed authority quoted by Medhatithi, 111 Manu's rule assigning additional portions of the family property to the eldest, the middle-most, and the youngest sons at the time of partition refers to past times and is not meant to be observed during the current Age. Medhatithi rejects the above view on the authoritative ground that no such restriction as regards time is allowed anywhere. In so far as the unmarried sister is concerned, Medhatithi 112 quotes a view which objects to her being given a share in the family property on the ground that the girl is entitled by custom only to the benefit of her marriage being performed. Rejecting this view Medhatithi says: "The direct assertion of the Smriti is definitely more authoritative than custom. As a matter of fact, however, the custom referred to is by no means universal."

3. The Smritisamgraha

We may conclude this chapter with some reference to the views of the Smritisamgraha Digest, which are often of great historical interest. Ownership, according to the author, is indicated by the sdstras and is not an affair of the world—a view which was afterwards to become classical through its adoption by Vijnanesvara and his school. Elsewhere the Smritisamgraha observes that the son's ownership is created in the father's property by partition—a view which was afterwards to be vigorously opposed by Vijnanesvara. In another passage the Smritisamgraha takes the view quoted by Medhatithi only for refutation, namely that Manu's allowing an extra share to the eldest son at the time of partition is not followed in the present Age. In the order of heirs enumerated in the Smriti

scirhgraha, the paternal grandmother takes the property after the mother and before the father—a view followed afterwards by Dharesvara. Finally the Smritisamgrahci allows the widow of a separated co-parcener without sons to succeed only if she submits to niyoga under the instructions of the elders. This doctrine which was destined to be vigorously opposed by Vijnanesvara is interesting as marking a mile-stone on the road to the childless widow's acquisition of an absolute right to succeed to her husband's property. 113

1. TSS Edition, p. 98.

2. I. 109.

3. op. cit., 181.

4. VII. 2.

5. I. 119.

6. On Manu, III. 119, IV. 84, 110, V. 93, VII. 1-2.

7. On Manu, VII. 2.

8. On Manu, VIII. 1.

9X9

10. On Manu, VII. 12.

11. On Manu, VII. 13.

12. IX. 253.

13. Manu, VH. 138.

14. On Manu, IX. 254.

15. VIII. 348-49.

16. On Manu, VIII. 350.

17. (Cr. Ed.) XII, 93.9; (B) XII, 92.9; XIII, 61. 32.33.

18. TSS Edition, p. 192.

19. Ibid, p. 2.

20. Ibid, pp. 2-6.

21. Ibid, pp. 7-8.

22. Ibid, pp. 83-86.

23. Bhavishya, I, 2. 120-24; Garuda, I. 217. 12.

24. Matsya, CCXXVI. 1; Vislinudharmottara, II, 71.1.

25. Brihaddharma, III, 3, 8-9.

26. Matsya, CCXXVI. 3-12; Brihaddharma, III, 3.6.

27. II, 2. 2-16.

28. CX. 26.

29.11,2.2-16.

: 30. (Cr. Ed. and B.) XII, 67. 2.

31. Ill, 3. 7.

32. Ill, 4. 1.

33. Ibid, 6. 1, 56.

34. Ill, 3. 1.

35. II, 4. 2.

36. Brihaddharma, III, 3. 10-11; Agni, CCXXIII. 9-10; Vislinudharmottara

II, 61. 18-27. '

37. CCXXVII. 63-64.

38. II, 61. 49-50.

39. Garuda, I 6. 5-8 ; Agni XVII. 11-18; XIX. 22-29; Matsya, X, 3-16;
Brihad 40 y a £™ a ' ***' 4-59, 14. 1-74; Vishnudharmottara, I. 108-09.

41. VII. 2, 3; ibid, 20.

42. V. 67.

43. XVII. 52.

44. XXIX. 16-19.

45; XVII. 33.

46. Ibid, 51.

47. XVII. 25-27; XXXII. 66.

48. vn. 8.

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49. VII. 21.

50. VII. 23.

51. VII. 49.

52. El, I. 159.

53. El, I. 156.

54. El, IX. 4 ff.

55. El, I. 175 f.

56. Cf. the observations of Sulaiman (A.D. 851) and Mas’udI (A.D. 941-943) quoted in HIED, I. 4, 21, 23.

57. HIED, I. 4.

58. El, IV. 243 f. For the above explanation of prakritis, cf. HBR, I. 98.

59. El, II. 150.

60. Manu, VII. 118-119; Mhh, (Cr. Ed.) XII. 88. 3, 6; (B) XII. 87. 3, 6.

61. On the Pala administration, see HBR, I. 273-80, 285-87; Benoy Chandra Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (Pre-Muhammadan epoch), Calcutta, 1942 (Part III). The most important references are El, IV 243, XXIII. 290, XVIII. 304, XVII. 318, XV. 293, 304 and JASB, LXIX. Part I, 68. On the significance of the titles of khola and khandaraksha see U.N. Ghoshal, The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Essays, 151-153.

62. Kamarupasdsandvali by P. Bhattacharya, pp. 48 ff.

63. Rdjatarahgini, V. 476-77.

64. Ibid, IV. 14i-43.

65. Ihid, I. 118-20.

66. Stein (Rdjatarahgini) translates dandanayaka as ‘Prefect of City’ and rajasthaniya as ‘Chief justice.’

67. For references to the above titles, see Stein’s Rdjatarahgini, Tr. II. Index s.v.

68. RT, IV. 55 f., 85 f; VI. 14 f.

69. Ibid, V. 84 f.

70. For a detailed account of the above, see U. N. Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System, 249-252 and IHQ, XVUI. 307-9.

71. El, XXII. 105.

72. El, X. 85 f.

73. Such were Banavasi 12,000, Kundur 500, Purigere 300, and Kandarage 70.

74. Dyn. Kan. p. 298 fji. 2.

75. El, XIV. 365 f.

76. El, XIV. 365 f; XVI. 278 f. Altekar (The Rashtrakutas and Their Times, 158160) thinks that the rdshtramahattaras and the vishayamahattaras referred to in El, VIII. 186 and I. 55 (actually the former inscription mentions rashtragrdmamahattaras) refer to councils of notables and elders in the provinces and the districts respectively. But the evidence is clearly inconclusive.

77. JBBRAS, X. 283 f; El, XIV. 144 ff.

78. El, X. 85 f; XIV. 150; XVII. 249 etc. According to Altekar (The Rashtrakutas, 196) the dyuktas, niyuktas and upayuktas mentioned in the Rashtrakuta land-grants after the grdmakutas and before the grdmamahattaras were no other than village accountants and their assistants.

79. El, XXI. 208; VI. 102 f. 353; VII. 201 f.

80. IA, XIII. 136; El, in. 310.

81. I A, I. 141; El, XVin. 248.

82. The phrase applied to the feudatories is ‘ruling with pleasure of agreeable or friendly interchange of communications’. This is distinguished on the one hand from the grandiloquent formula applied to the paramount ruler, namely, ‘the virtuous reign, augmenting with perpetual increase, being current so as to endure so long as the moon and sun and stars may last’, and on the other hand from the simple style of purely subordinate officials, namely, ‘to govern with punishment of the wicked and protection of the good’. Cf. Dyn. Kan, p. 428, f.n. 4.

83. El, VII. 185 f,

84. El, V. 135 f.

85. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pandya Kingdom 60-61, for references to the uttaramantri and the mahasarnanta, and ibid, 85-86, for reference to the matahgajddhyaksha.

86. In the adjoining territory under the rule of the Bana kings we have similar records (El, XI. 227-228) of village assemblies receiving endowments of gold from a queen and a magnate for providing worship in temples out of the resulting interest.

87. El,-IX. 92 f; XXI. 109 f; etc.

88. El, XVII. 298 f.

89. El, XXII. 9 f.

90. El, XV. 50.

91. El, XXII. 238 f.

92. El, XXII. 149.

93. The above is based, where references are not given, upon K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cholas II (Part I) 277 f.

94. Vol. Ill, j 356.

95. According to Kane (KHDS, I), Medhatithi “most probably flourished between 825 and 900 A.D.” (p. 225), Visvarupa, between 750 and 1000 A.D. (p. 261) and Smritisamgraha “was probably completed between the 8th and 10th centuries of the Christian era” (p. 242).

96. YAj, II. 118.

97. Ibid, II. 119.

98. Ibid, II. 122.

99. Ibid, II. 126.

100. Ibid, II. 139, 140.

101. On Manu, VIII. 1.

102. On Manu, VIII. 2.

103. The present and following translations of extracts from Medhatithi are taken from the work Manu-Smriti, The Laws of Manu, with the Bhdshya of Medhatithi, translated by Ganganath Jha, (published by the University of Calcutta).

104. I. 8.

105. On Manu, VIII. 23.

106. On Manu, VIII. 1.

107. On Manu, VIII. 56.

108. XIII. 28.

109. VIII. 43.

110. On Manu, VIII. 30.

111. On Manu, VIII. 112.

112. On Manu, VIII. 118.

113. For references to the texts of Smritisamgraha quoted above, see Smritichandrika, Vyavaharakanda, 257, 259, 266, 294.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A, GENERAL REVIEW

The fundamental features of religious ideas and practices, which characterised the previous period, 1 continue during the period under review. But the relative importance of the different religious sects undergoes a great change. - The Puranic Hinduism, in the forms of Saivism and Vaishnavism, now gradually dominate the field, and vie with each other for supremacy. Both Buddhism and Jainism are gradually ousted from the Tamil land and other parts of South India. Jainism for a time gains an ascendancy in the Deccan, and retains its stronghold in Western India, while Buddhism, as a living force, is practically confined to the dominions of the Pala kings in Bengal and Bihar. Both these heterodox creeds are still followed by isolated groups all over Northern India, but there is ample evidence that they were fast losing their importance, save in very restricted areas. Two notable characteristics of religious life in the preceding period, viz., toleration and worship of images, not only continue in full force but are ever on the increase. The temples grow in number and massive grandeur, and the images are multiplied almost without any limit. These two features of the religion are not noticed separately in the present volume, but will be dealt with in the next, which will afford an opportunity to trace their development in an unbroken line, down to the last days of Hindu rule.

The spirit of toleration displayed by the followers of different religions led to a Catholicism which overrode narrow sectarian views, and members of the same royal family are known to have been votaries of different religious cults. The most typical example is furnished by the Imperial Pratiharas. The founder of this family was a devotee of Vishnu, while his three descendants were worshippers, respectively, of Siva, Bhagavati and Sun-god. The Pala Emperors, though staunch Buddhists, employed orthodox Brahmanas as their hereditary chief ministers and attended the religious ceremonies of the latter. Many other examples of this type will be met with in the history of the different royal dynasties treated in this volume.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the period brings into prominent relief the reciprocal influence of different religious sects upon one another. Both Buddhism and Jainism develop theistic tendencies on the analogy of Saivism and Vaishnavism. Buddhas and Jinas are regarded as gods, and their images are worshipped in temples with devotional songs, accompanied by rites and ceremonies which clearly betray the influence of the devotees of &iva and Vishnu. Jina is described as the Universal spirit-—a very near approach to the conception of God—manifesting itself as 6iva, Sugata, and Vishnu, while Buddha and Jinas are accepted as avataras or incarnations of Vishnu. The idea of Hari-Hara, or personification of the two gods Siva and Vishnu in one image, is another illustration of the same spirit. On the other hand the cult of ahimsa, which still manifests itself in many spheres of Indian life, notably in the vegetarian diets of upper class Hindus in large areas of India, is a permanent memorial of the influence of Jainism and Buddhism upon Brahmanical sects.

One of the potent factors in the evolution of the religious ideas of this period is the emergence of the Tantrik cult which profoundly influenced Buddhism and transformed it almost beyond recognition. The same ideas also pervaded different Brahmanical sects and radically changed their views and practices.

The fundamental unity of ideas underlying these changes not only explains the characteristics of religious transformation in general, but the gradual assimilation of Buddhism with the Brahmanical religion in particular. Jainism alone withstood these new currents and largely maintained, as before, its rigid orthodoxy. This is one of the reasons which enabled it to continue as a distinct cult while Buddhism slowly but steadily lost its separate existence in India.

While the growth of Tantrik ideas was sapping the vitality of Buddhism, Brahmanical religion was enthroned on a high pedestal by philosophers like Sahkaracharya. His triumphant career finally assured the victory of orthodox Brahmanical religion over the heterodox sects. Though he was a Saiva by persuasion and undoubtedly gave a great fillip to that sect, his philosophical dissertations were conducive to the revival of other Brahmanical sects as well. The predominance which £aivism acquired from this dominant personality was further helped by the growth of a special school in Kashmir which did away with many outlandish practices that disfigured that sect. Vaishnavism also developed an intellectual and philosophical aspect, as opposed to the emotional fervour of the preceding period, in the Tamil land. The Acharyas took the place of Alvars, and Nathamuni, who flourished during this period, was the forerunner of a band of distinguished religious leaders who shed lustre on the succeeding age. We find already the beginnings of that great controversy about the respective place of bhakti (devotion), jnana

(knowledge) and karma (Vedic rites and ceremonies), in the scheme of final salvation. These three ideas which clustered round the Vaishnava Acharyas and the two Schools of Mimamsa associated with the names of Sankara and Kumarila still form the main planks or bases of the Hindu religion.

B. BUDDHISM I. DOCTRINAL CHANGES 1. Emergence of Tantrikism

The period under review witnessed not only the decadence of pure Hmayana and Mahayana Buddhism but also the appearance of a new phase of the religion, in which the original ethical and philosophical principles were superimposed in such a way by an esoteric Yogic system, combined with endless rituals and forms of worship, that it could hardly be called Buddhism any longer. As we have seen above, Buddha’s rational and ethical teachings, free from worship and rituals, gradually gave way in the early centuries of the Christian era to a popular form of the religion with a new ethical and devotional outlook, while his philosophical teachings received a new interpretation at the hands of the masterminds like Asanga, Nagarjuna, Vasubandhu, and Aryadeva. With Chandraklrti and Santideva, Dinnaga and Dharmakirti ended the glorious days of Buddhist logic and philosophy. Then came the days of stotras and stavas begun by Sarvajnamitra of Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. 1a The religion lost itself in the maze of mysticism and was engulfed by a host of mudras (finger-gestures or physical postures), mandalas (mystical diagrams), kriyds (rites and ceremonies) and eliaryds (meditational practices and observances for external and internal purity). The teachings of one of the noblest minds were thus deformed into a system of magical spells, exorcisms, spirit-beliefs, and worship of demons and divinities.

It is strange that the promulgators of the new system sought their justification from the ancient words of Buddha and the philosophical teachings of Asanga and Nagarjuna, and succeeded in conjuring up before the eyes of the masses a religion with immense possibilities. It must however be admitted that this new type of sddhanas or yogic practices did confer on the adepts some superhuman powers and also led many to the realization of high spiritual states, and that there were among the adepts some who, in purity and knowledge, ranked in no way inferior to some of the best ariiats of the past. In fact this new phase of Buddhism was not a hocus-pocus or a ruse for debauchery but envisaged something very deep and subtle

to be realized only by those who were initiated into the secrets by their spiritual teachers. At the same time it must be admitted that the human mind can be worked up into any type of perversity through faith, logic and reasoning derived from the same religion which once upheld the noblest ideals of human life and the same philosophy which unfolded the deepest mysteries of the universe. Be it ancient India or Egypt, mediaeval China or the Middle East, modem Europe or Japan, we find the same story, viz. that in the name of religion and philosophy, necessity and circumstances have debased human mind to the lowest conceivable vulgarity.

The mission of Buddha to wean the Indian mind from the blind faith in the efficacy of worship and rituals passed into oblivion, and the leaning of the Indian mind towards the worship of divinities and the awe and veneration for rituals and mystical utterances (mantras) re-asserted itself. The belief in the efficacy of the Atharvavedic mantras, the superhuman powers acquired by the mystics (sadhakas), the arts of divination, necromancy and the hundred and one superstitious beliefs could not be totally eradicated from the Indian mind, however arduous might have been the efforts of Buddha in that direction. The huge sacrificial literature (the Srauta sutras) that grew up in the post-Vedic period permeated the Indian mind to such an extent that it was almost impossible to separate religion from ritualistic worship and mystical utterances (mantras). Buddha had to repeat his warnings to his disciples and devotees to disabuse their minds of the efficacy of the mantra rituals, but the sequel shows that he failed in his mission. In as early a text as the Digha Nikaya there is one complete suttanta (Atdnatiya) 2 which is described as a rakkha (protecting spell) to be memorised for averting evils from yakshas, gandharvas and other evil spirits. The anomaly of the occurrence of parittas (=rakkhd— protecting spells) in the Pitakan texts has been discussed in the Milindapanha . 3 The Mahdmayurtdhdrant appears in the Vinaya-Pitaka of the Sarvastivadins. Hence it must be admitted that throughout the career of Buddhism, the use of incantations or mystical utterances was in vogue, and so Taranatha 4 rightly said that in general the origin of Sutras and Tantras could not be distinguished in regard to time, place and teacher, and the utmost that could be stated is that the Tantras (excluding the Anuttarayogatantra) appeared at the same time as the M.cihdydna-sutras. The tradition is that the yogic practices propounded by Asanga led to the growth of esotericism, which in course of time became Tantrikism. Tantrikism is not confined to Buddhism and represents a common phase of development both in Buddhist and Brahmanical religions. A more detailed account of its nature and progress will be given in a later section of this chapter. Here it will suffice to note only its characteristic features so far as Buddhism is concerned.

2. Dharanis

The earliest literature which may be called precursor of Tantra was known as the Dharanis and formed a part of the Mahaydna sutras. At the time of composition of the Lalitavistara! 5 or Sandhinirmochana-sutra 6 (about second century A.D.), the special sense of Dhdrani was unknown and its earliest use as a mantra was made in the Kdranidavyuha 7 of about the fourth century A.D. It is a text devoted to the glorification of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara who with Tara formed the chief deities of worship in the early Tantra literature. In most of the early Mahayana texts, e.g., in the Suvarnaprabhdsa-sutra Q there is a section exhorting the gods and demons to protect those, who read and write the Sutra, from harm. In the Saddharmapundarika 9 there are a few Dharanis which, if uttered by the reciters of the Sutra , would protect them from all harm. In course of time a large number of Dharanis were composed, and the utterance of these Dharanis not only protected the reciters from ndgas, yakshas, rakshasas and other evil spirits, but also from king's punishments, snakes, ferocious animals, fire, theft, diseases, deadly sins and all causes of untimely death. The utterance of Dharanis again conferred all kinds of blessings on the reciters like peace and happiness at the time of death, a desirable rebirth, and even a strong desire for Bodhichitta and ultimate emancipation.

In course of time, the mantras were written on birch-bark and used as amulets for particular purposes. 10 The utterance of the Dharanis or Mantrapadas was preceded and followed by an elaborate ritualistic worship of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other deities. These were represented either by images or by paintings, for which also there were directions in the texts. The priests, who officiated in these ceremonial worships, w r ere called Vidyddharas whose function was to recite the Dharanis or Mantras which, in some special instances, were designated as Vidydrdjm (e.g. Mahd mdyuri-vidyavdjni), for the benefit of the xorshipper (yajamand).

The growth of the Dhdrani literature took place between the fourth and eighth centuries A.D.- A large number of manuscripts containing Dharanis have been discovered in Gilgit, Eastern Turkestan and Central Asia. These are written in Upright Gupta characters of the seventh ceutury A.D. Some of these appear also in the languages current in Central Asia.

The Dhdranls or Mantrapadas had very little to do with the secret yoglc practices of Tantrikism. The efficacy of the Dhdranls rested mainly on the repetition of mantras on the auspicious days of a month along with some ceremonies for the worship of Avalokitesvara. There is no place for Sakti in these ceremonies nor in the mudrds and mandalas, kriyds and charyds.

3. Avalokitesvara and Tara

The only deity invoked in most of the earlier Dhdrams is the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, who was a devotee of Buddha Vairochana. The abode of Avalokitesvara is placed at Potalaka, a place somewhere in the south, near Srldhanyakataka (Amaravati). In the Kdrandvyuha (fourth century A.D.) this Bodhisattva is glorified as the first god to issue out of the primordial Buddha (AdiBuddha Adinatha—Va jra) and to create the universe. In this text, the goddess Tara does not appear-while there are references to Mahesvara and Uma, as devotees of Avalokitesvara. It seems that in course of time this Uma-Mahesvara conception was superimposed on Mahayana and paved the way for the advent of Tantrayana.

It is in this text again that we come across for the first time the well-known mantra e Om manipadme hum 3 with an account of the immense magical merit derived by the utterance of the six syllables. This mantra is said to be the innermost core (hridaya) u of Avalokitesvara and the quintessence of all knowledge (including the navdhga —nine divisions of the Tripitaka) and was known as the shadakshalrl-mahdvidydrtijni. Repetition of these words not only conferred all the conceivable earthly and heavenly blessings, but also led to the attainment of the highest knowledge, the truth.

Thus, we see that up to the fourth century A.D., Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara was the chief object of worship, and the goddess Tara had not yet been included in the Buddhist pantheon.

In the Manjusrlmulakalpa , the Bodhisattva Manjusri is glorified, but the goddess Tara is also recommended for worship by those in distress seeking relief. In the Guhyasamdja 12 Buddha Vairochana appears as the primordial Buddha, from whom emanated many Buddhas in the female forms of Lochana, Mamaki, Pandaravasini and Samayatara. In the Manjusrlmulakalpa , 13 the names of different forms of Taras are Bhrikuti, Lochana, Mamaki, Sveta, Pandaravasini, and Sutara and these are described as Mahamudras (great aids for yoga). In the text the goddess Tara is described as the Vidyarajnl, full of compassion and given to the alleviation of sufferings of worldly beings. Her sphere of action is the east but she wanders over the whole world. 14

The elevation of Tara to the position of the highest deity is found for the first time in the Mahdpratyangird-dhdranl, a fragment of which was found in Central Asia written in Upright Gupta characters of the seventh century, and transliterated in Chinese characters by the famous Tantrik teacher, Amoghavajra (A.D. 704=774). In this

treatise Tara is described as goddess of white colour and noble mien, wearing a garland of vajras , holding a vajra in her hand, and having the figure of Vairochana on her crown, and so forth. The Kashmirian poet Sarvajiiamitra of the eighth century composed a stotra in praise of Tara called the Sragdhara-stotra, in which the goddess is described as a giver of strength to the weak and solace to the distressed, the saviour of all beings from sufferings.

It is from the seventh century A.D. onwards that we find the exuberance of Tara-stotras, and goddess Tara (Prajna or Prajnaparamita) raised to the mothership of all Buddhas and made a companion of Avalokitesvara, the personification of love (maitn) and compassion (karwnd). This notion reminds us of the Hindu Tantrik conception, 15 in which Brahman is placed as the primoraial cause, the unmanifested Purusha and Sakti. Brahman, being neuter and incapable of creation, produced Siva and Sakti, of whom Sakti is the cause of liberation (moksha), Siva or Purusha, the cause of bondage (samsdra) . The Buddhist conception runs almost parallel to the above and we may equate Brahman to Adi-Buddha, Sakti to Tara or Prajna, the cause of liberation, and Siva to Avalokitesvara, the only deviation being that Siva or Purusha is the cause of samsdra while Avalokitesvara is the embodiment of love and compassion.

It did not take long to reach the Tantrik conception that Tara as such was Buddha’s sakti and the relation of Buddha to Tara was similar to that of Siva to ParvatT, the dual manifestations of AdiBuddha or the monistic Brahman.

4. Early Tantrik Texts (i) The Manjusrimulakalpa

The earliest works dealing with Tantrik Buddhism are the Manjusrimulakalpa and the Guhyasamdja. The composition of both of these works took place some time after the Kdrandavyuha and before the Mahdpratyangird-dhdravd, i.e. about the fifth or sixth century A.D. 16 Though both may be classified as Tantrik Buddhist texts, the topics of the two treatises are quite different. The Guhyasamdja deals with yoga and anuttarayoga and incidentally with mandalas, while the Manjusrimulakalpa gives an exposition

of endless mudrds (finger-poses), mandalas (mystical diagrams), mantras (mystical spells), kriyds (rites) and chary as (duties of an officiating priest in worship). This text teaches that observance of moral precepts (sila), vows (vratas), cleanliness in acts (saucha chard), religious austerities (niyama), offering of oblations (homa), muttering of prayers (jdpa) and meditation (dhyana) are the prerequisites for success in the Mantra cult. The directions regarding the above are given by the Mandaldchdrya (spiritual preceptor proficient in diagram, paintings, etc.), who gives the initiation (abftisheka) and then imparts the mantra . After a long time, when the teacher feels that his disciple has advanced spiritually, he teaches him the duties for secret tantra-mudrd . 17

By far the best part of the treatise is the section devoted to pafavidhana, i.e. directions for drawing pictures of different Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Tara and other goddesses as also of the Krodharajas, Yamantakas, Yakshas and Yakshinis. 18 The drawing of diagrams (mandalas) forms another important section of the treatise. Each mandala as well as each pata is associated with certain rites and ceremonies for worshipping the deities or propitiating the evil spirits. Within and outside the mandalas, images of deities including Buddhas and Bodhisattvas had to be painted, and the text abounds with detailed directions of the paintings of a mandala and the group of deities to be placed within the same. Even the deities like Siva with a trident seated on a bull, the well-adorned Uma, the ever young Karttikeya seated on a peacock are included in the paintings. 19 This text contains mantras for both Hindu and Buddhist deities. It makes an important contribution to the art of painting by describing how the abstract qualities like dana (charity), maitrt (love)', and prajna (knowledge) are to be depicted.

Apart from mantras and directions for patas (paintings) and mandalas (diagrams) the text furnishes us with a list of the holy places for quick success in Mantra cult and recommends particularly Srlparvata as the most suitable for such practices. This list includes all those countries which became later the chief seats of Tantrik Buddhism. 20 In this text there is very little of the secret Yogic practices envisaged in the Tantrik literature. The practices recommended are mostly rites and ceremonies for worship of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other deities, and utterances of mantras . There is an admixture of Hinayana and Mahayana doctrines with mantras and rituals. It depicts the stage just preceding the development of full-fledged

Vajrayana or Tantrayana and may be described in the words of Taranatha 21 as Kriyd and Karma tantras, on the decline of which appeared the Yoga or Anuttarayoga tantra.

(ii) The Guhyasamdja

The Guhyasamdja, devoted to Yoga afid Anuttarayoga, contains also several mantras and a few direction^ for mandalas , but its chief aim is to explain the Tathdgata-guhya f i.e. the unknowable reality, the source of all Tathagatas as also of the phenomenal world, and how to realise it. Its importance as an early text of Vajrayana lies in the fact that it indicates the new ways and means for realising the reality, the guhya, the vajra, with the help of mantras and masalas, rites and ceremonies. The Tathdgata-guhya is so deep and subtle that lt can be described as the secret of all secrets; it is the unchangeable eternal reality, the Vajra, the Sunyata of Nagarjuna, and the Vijnaptimdtratd of Vasubandhu. It is unfortunate that the word (guhya > has tempted a few scholars to trace in the text sexual ritualistic practices, and Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, in his introduction to the Guhyasamdja , 22 has done injustice to the work by isolating, from the topic and trend of exposition, the verses which have references to the conception of sakti, by interpreting certain verses superficially without any reference to the theme of the passages preceding and following them, 23 and also by misinterpreting a few verses. 24

The Guhyasamdja, as stated above, gives repeatedly the exposition of the Truth which, according to the text, is the Vajra, or oneness of the universe, in which there is no distinction between a man and a woman, between a wife and a sister or a mother, between the excreta and the meat of any animal, even of a human being. The Truth or the Vajra is immanent in the phenomenal world of rupa (from), rasa (taste), gandho. (smell), sparsa (touch), etc., hence the adepts are asked to realise the fact that Vajra is as much identical with the phenomenal world as with the Truth. 25 The text 26 states that even ragacharyu (acts of passion) is included in the functions of Bodhisattvas because it is not different from the Truth, the Vajra, just as all objects are in space and space is in all objects. Dvesha (hatred), moha (delusion), rdga (attachment), chintdmani (Bodhichitta) and samaya (doctrine') are the five hulas and constitute the means of escape from kdma.

27 The first three as also chintdmani (Vajra) are called ratis, but they are really Buddhas in female form. This Imagery wants to establish that dvesha, moha, and rdga are as much emanations of Buddha or the Truth as is the Bodhichitta. The Bodhisattvas are instructed to develop their body, speech, and thought in such a way that they may become V air as, i.e. remain unaffected by the worldly affairs. 28 In this text chitta, developed into chitta-vajra stage, is identified with Bodhichitta, and so the conception of Bodhidhitta is different from that of the Bodhicharyavatdra

and other Mahayana texts. The Bodhichitta or Chitta-vajra in this text 29 means the realisation of the unity, the non-duality (advaya madvaidhikaram) of the Truth and the universe.

5. Two Schools of Tantrik Teachers

Among the Tantrik teachers, the Vajracharyas, there were two schools of thought; one adopted the Madhyamika and the other the Yogachara. The conception of Vajra, as given in the Guhyasamdja and in the works of Anahgavajra and Indrabhfiti, is that of sunyata or extreme advayavdda of Nagarjuna, while that in the Dohas and Cliarydpadas of Lui-pa, Kanhu or Bhusukupada is the idealism or Vijnaptimatratd or Chittamatra of Asanga and Vasubandhu. The Tibetan tradition speaks of two lines of Vajracharyas, one commencing with Padmavajra and the other with Saraha. 30 It is not improbable that the Tantrik teachers had differences not only in regard to the methods of sddhanas, i.e. kriyd, charya, mantra, and yoga, but also about the conception of Vajra.

6. Distinction between Tantrikism and Mahayanism

The difference between Tantrikism and Mahayanism (i.e. the Madhyamika-Yogachara systems) was in the ways and methods of realising the highest truth. The Tantrikism takes the aids of mudrds, mandalas and mantras for inducing concentration of thoughts (yoga) and even takes recourse to hatha-yoga (meditation with artificial aids). With these mudrds and mandalas are associated freely the conceptions of goddesses and yoga-minded women of any caste or origin. The sole underlying object of such association was to make the adepts realise that the female sex, believed to be the source of all our worldly sufferings, was as much an appearance as the male sex, and that in the order of worldly creation, the place next to Adi-Buddha is that of 6akti (female energy), i.e. Tara of the Buddhists and Uma of the Brahmanas. It is stated in the Guhyasamdja 31 that a few Buddhas issued out of the body of the Vairochana Buddha in the form of female goddesses as Lochana, Mamaki, Fandaravasinl, Samayatara, some in the shape of Rupa (form), Sabda (sound), Gandha (smell) and Sparsa (touch), some as Dvesharati , Moharati, Rdgarati and Vajrarati, some as the four elements, earth, water, air and fire, and others as the five constituents of a being, viz. Rupa (physical elements constituting form), Vedand (feeling), Samjnd (conception), Samskdra (impression) and Vijnana (consciousness). In the same text 32 it is also stated that earth is represented by Lochania, water by Mamaki, fire by Pandaravasini and air by Tara, while the five constituents of a being are represented by the five Dhyanl-Buddhas. 33 Thus an important and early Tantrik text teaches that all the causes of our worldly attachments, viz. the four elements, five constituents, the objects of the organs of sense are in reality emanations of Buddhas, who are in turn emanations of the Vairochana Buddha, i.e. the Adi-Buddha. In other words, the universe represents the variety of the unity, the Adi-Buddha.

On account of the abuses made of the Tantrik practices by quite a large number of religious sects, there is a general notion that all the Tantriks advocated the use of five Makaras, viz. madya (wine), rmmsa (meat), maithuna (sexual union), matsya (fish) and mudra (finger-poses). In the Guhyasamaja and a few other early texts, there are references to meat-eating, union with females, and fingerposes, but not to the use of wine and fish, which were probably later additions. It is a pity that a religion, with the highest monistic philosophy and the noblest ideals, recommended such ways and methods for the quick realisation of the Truth, and that it resulted more in abuses than in the proper utilisation of the aids. Although Tantrikism has been generally condemned, it still retains its hold and works unconsciously upon the Indian mind.

II. HISTORICAL REVIEW 1. Traditional Account by Taranatha

Taranatha presents us with a picture of the state of Buddhism during the period which immediately preceded the reign of king Gopala, i.e. the first half of the eighth century A.D., when lived and worked the famous logician Dharmakirti. He writes that during the time of Dharmakirti and earlier, Buddha’s teaching was shining likethe sun. The Acharyas of the Mahayana schools were very scholarly and the members of the Sanghas were excellent. The number of monks of the Hinayana schools was very large. After Dharmakirti there appeared many distinguished Acharyas but they could not stand in comparison with the stalwarts of the earlier period and were unable to maintain the high traditions of their teaching. He then furnishes us with a list of such scholars. One of these was Acharya Vinltadeva, who wrote commentaries on some of the works of Dharmakirti, 34 and a few independent works on logic. He was also the author of the history of the eighteen sects of early Buddhism. Other teachers who dealt with logic and taught the Sutra and Vinaya texts were 6llapalita, Santisoma, Acharya Jnanagarbha, and Acharya Srlgupta. In the east there were a few Naiyayikas (Logicians) who wore pointed caps and defeated the non-Buddhist Naiyayikas in disputations. Taranatha speaks of a number of Vinaya teachers, who evidently belonged either to the Sarvastivada or the Theravada

sects. They were Dharmamitra, a Vibhajyavadin of Tukhara, Punyaklrti of the Maru country, and Matricheta of Kashmir. The only Sautrantika teacher mentioned by Taranatha is Subhamitra.

From the time of Arya Asahga, there appeared many distinguished Mantracharyas, but their teaching of Anuttarayoga was transmitted secretly to a few deserving disciples. Though it did not spread widely, it superseded the prevailing Kriyd (rites) and Chdrya (observances) tantras. Taranatha 35 criticises those who are doubtful about the indigenous origin of the Tantras and try to trace foreign influences. He is of opinion that the Tantras appeared at the same time as the Mahayana Sutras, but the texts of Anuttarayoga tantra which are full of deep meaning were produced gradually in the following order:—

(i) Buddhakapala-tantra of 6ri Saraha;

(ii) Yoginisamcharya of Lui-pada (or Lui-pa);

(iii) Hevajra-tantra of Kambala and Padmavajra;

(iv) Samputa-tUaka of Krishnacharin;

(v) Krishnayamari-tantra (3 sections) of Lalitavajra;

(vi) Vajrdmrita of Gambhiravajra;

(vii) Mahamayti of Kukkuri; and

(viii) Kalachakra of Pifo.

Taranatha writes that at the time of Dharmakirti there were three Acharyas headed by Saraha and his disciple Lui-pada, and the four distinguished Tantrik Acharyas, viz., Kambala, Lalitavajra, Padmavajra and Indrabhuti. At that time there were two chief centres of Tantrikism, one at Nalanda and the other at Udyiana.

Lui-pa, the head of a line of Tantrik teachers, was also a contemporary of Asahga, and claimed Saraha as the founder of his line of Acharyas. Lui-pa was born in Ujjayini, and was a writer of a king of the west called Samantasubha. 36 He was initiated into the Chakrasambara mandala by Smasanapati and reached Bhangala (Bengal). He initiated the king of Odivisa (Orissa), Diarika, and his minister Tehgi into Tantrik rites. 37 In the Tibetan Catalogue, the following works are attributed to Lui-pa besides the Yogim-samcharyd mentioned above:— Sribhagavadabhisamaya, Vajrasattvasndharia, Abhisamayavibhanga and Buddhodaya. The common practice among the disciples of adopting the names of some distinguished Acharyas has created a good deal of confusion. It is very likely that Lui-pa of Asahga’s time was different from the Lui-pa, the composer of Dohas. Acharya Kambala attained some siddhi. He wrote Praj ndpdramitd-navosloka-pinddrtha and Svasamvedanaprakritasdstra.

i

He, along with Padmavajra, brought the He-vajra-tantra (He—dgyes — cheerful) from Udyana to Nalanda. One of his contemporaries was Acharya Lalitavajra, who was a teacher of Nalanda. He also brought from Udyana a few Dharanis, Kriskriayamari-tantra and a few works on Tantrik rituals (Kalpa-kramas) , and propagated the same in India. He taught Vairochana-mayujdla-tantra. Taranatha writes that he was a contemporary of Naravarman, 38 a petty nonBuddhist prince of the West.

Acharya Padmavajra, in one Tibetan tradition (vide Cordier Catalogue), is placed at the head of a line of spiritual heads (guru). He composed the Guhyasiddhi 39 in which he gave an exposition of the Vajra-conception and the means of attaining it almost on the same lines as the Guhyasamaja } dealt with above. He wrote Utpattikram a-sadhana and a few other works.

Anahgavajra succeeded Padmavajra. He wrote a number of works, of which one, the Prajnopaya-vinischaya-siddhi, is available in original in Sanskrit. 40 In this short treatise he explains the Truth almost in the same way as Nagarjuna did in his works. His contribution is that the Truth can be attained only by the combination of knowledge (prajnd) and compassion (updya---karuna), and that the adept must take the aid of a spiritual preceptor as also of mudrus and mantras to realise the same.

Acharya Indrabhuti, who succeeded Anahgavajra, was a king of Sambhala, one of the two dominions into which Udyana was divided, the other being Lahkapuri, which was ruled over by Jalendra. Indrabhuti took to Tantrik practices even when he was ruling the kingdom. He received Acharya Lalitavajra with due veneration when the latter visited his kingdom, and learnt from him more of the Tantrik sadhanas. He was also the author of several works, one of which, the Jrvanasiddhi, is available in original Sanskrit. 41 His name appears also in the Sadhanamala 42 as the author of Kurukullasadhana. In the Jnanasiddhi, he points out that neither mudrd nor mandala nor japa nor mantra can help one to attain the Truth. It is with the help of the Guru, and by following his directions that one must realise the Truth. Indrabhuti does not actually discard the efficacy of the artificial aids, but what he wanted to impress upon his disciples was that these were to be treated as mere aids and not the means for the realisation of the Truth. He composed also the Sahaja-siddhi.

Acharya Indrabhuti was succeeded in the spiritual leadership by his sister and disciple Lakshmimkara who had also a few works to her credit. One of her ^orks, Advayasiddhi, has been found in original Sanskrit. In this work, she more or less reiterated the views of her brother Indrabhuti.[43] She is believed to be the preacher of Sahaja-yana.

Lakshmlmkara’s disciple and successor was Acharya Lllavajra[44] who wrote several works, some of which were on Sahaja-yana. He was consecrated at Udyana. He belonged to the Nyaya-madhyamika school and invoked ManjusrI. He attained perfection and lived some time after the demise of king Devapala, about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

2. The Patronage of the Pala Kings

The patronage of the Pala kings forms one of the most important factors in the history of Buddhism during the period under review. The Pala rulers were all Buddhists, and during their long rule, extending over nearly four centuries, Buddhism found a safe refuge in Bihar and Bengal after it had ceased to have any footing in the rest of India, with the exception of Kashmir, Nepal, and a few isolated regions.

While the numerous inscriptions of the Palas leave no doubt about their adherence to Buddhism, they do not tell us much about their activities in furtherance of this faith. For this we are indebted mainly to the traditions recorded by Tibetan historians like Bu-ston and Taranatha and in texts like the Manjusnmulakalpa .

(i) Gopala

It is said about Gopala, the founder of the royal dynasty of the Palas[45], that he was a devotee and benefactor of Buddhism.[46] He revived the Nalanda monastery, erected several new monasteries in his dominion, and offered lavish gifts to the Buddhist clergy. At his time Kashmir continued to be an important centre of Buddhism to which place resorted the monks “from the western countries. In the west, his contemporary king of Kachchha, Vibharatta, had Buddhist leanings, but his ministers had

Brahmanic faith. For this reason the temples erected in that part of the country contained images of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist gods. Here was one famous temple, called Amritakumbha, consecrated by the Tantrik Acharya Viriipa, the junior. 47

It is said that during the reign of Gopala, an upastuca built the towering Odantapurl (Tib. hyed hphur=zf[ying high) monastery, spending immense gold, which he obtained miraculously. The walls and the rooms of the monastery were superbly executed and the best of workmanship was displayed in the erection of the monastery. This structure served as a model for the first monastery built in Tibet.

The great philosopher and dialectician &antarakshita lived and worked during the reign of king Gopala and passed away from this world at the time of king Dharmapala. At the invitation of the Tibetan king Khri-sroh-lde-tsan, son of the Chinese queen of Sron-tsangam-po, he went to Tibet and stayed there up to A.D. 762. In Tibet he was called Pandita Bodhisattva or Dharmasantighosha. He came of a royal family of Bengal and became a distinguished Acharya of Nalanda. He belonged to the Svatantrika-madhyamika school, 46 though in his work Tattva-samgraha 49 he is found to be supporting the Yogachara views. He wrote a commentary on Dharmakirti's Vddanyaya but his masterpiece was the voluminous work Tattvasamgraha in which he discussed and refuted the views of several Brahmanic as well as Buddhist philosophers and dialecticians.

(ii) Dharmapala

The next king Dharmapala was a great admirer of the teachings of the Prajhaparamita-sutras and made Haribhadra, the great commentator of the Prajnaparamitd-sutra and exponent of the Yogachara philosophy, his spiritual preceptor. He erected as many as fifty monasteries for the study and teaching of the same. In Vikramasilavihara, founded by him, he granted allowance to those who studied these texts. Taranatha acknowledges that the teachings of the Prajnapdramitds spread widely under the auspices of this king. 60 After the demise of Haribhadra, Dharmapala made Haribhadra's disciple Buddhajnanapada his spiritual preceptor. At the advice of this new preceptor, the king supported also the study and teaching of the Guhyasamaja .

Acharya Haribhadra (his full name being Haribhadrapada) came of a royal family. He studied the Madhyamika t€ixts with Santarakshita, and the Yogachara texts with Vairochanabhadr^. He was inspired by Ajita Maitreyanatha in a dream and preferred the Yogachara teachings. He wrote commentaries on the Ashtasahasrika * Prajndpdramitd and other texts. His commentaiy (Aloka) on the Ahhisamayalankdra, a treatise interpreting the Prajnapdramitdsutras from the Yogachara standpoint, bespeaks his vast and deep knowledge of the Buddhist doctrines. He resided in the Traikutakavihara and died about twenty years after Dharmapala's accession to the throne. 61

One of the best disciples of Haribhadra was Buddhajnanapada, who, after the demise of Haribhadra, became the .spiritual preceptor of the king. He propagated the rituals and teachings of the Kriyd and Yoga tantras particularly of the Guhyasamaja, M&yajtila, Chan draguhyatilaka* and Manjusrtkrodha. He performed the consecra

tion ceremony of the Vikramasila monastery and became its spiritual head, the Vajracharya.

Besides these two teachers, there were a number of distinguished monks, specialising in certain branches of studies. They are as follows:—

(i) The Tantrik Acharyas Prasantamitra, Buddhaguhya and

Buddhasanti, disciples of Buddhajhanapada, Rahulabhadra

and Acharya Padmakaraghosha of Kashmir.

*

(ii) The commentator Kamalaslla.

(iii) The dialecticians (Naiyayikas) Kalyaina-rakshita, Sobhavyuha, Sagaramegha, Prabhakara, and Purnavardhana and Dharmakaradatta of Kashmir.

Prasantamitra was a disciple of Jhanapada. He studied the Pro jna* paramit&s and some sections of the Kriyd and Yoga tantras and attained Y amantaka-siddhi. He built a monastery called Amritakara to the south of Nalanda.

Dharmapala founded the Vikramasila monastery in the north on the top of a mountain near the Ganga in Magadha. Around the central monastery, there were fifty-three cells suitable for Tantrik esoteric practices and fifty-four rooms for general use of monks; in all there were 108 chambers. These were surrounded by a wall having six gates. One hundred and eight monks (Panditas) were in charge of this monastic institution; and each had a certain specified duty, viz. making offerings to deities, performing homa, giving initiation, looking after pigeons, temple-attendants, and so forth. Some of these monks were entrusted with the duties of teaching different subjects, e.g. grammar, metaphysics, logic, ritualistic practices, etc. Not only were these 108 Panditas maintained by the state, but even the students or listeners to the discourses were given food and money. There was provision for the award of diplomas to the monk-students who showed proficiency, and the reigning kings took interest in the award of the diplomas. 62 The income of the establishment was shared equally by the 108 Panditas.

This monastery grew up to be an important academic centre, to which flocked students not only from all comers of India but also from Tibet and other foreign countries. At this monastery many Sanskrit texts were translated into Tibetan. Jinarakshita, the commentator of Sarvajnamitra’s Sragdhcird’Stotra , 63 lived in this monastery and so also did Dharma-srlmitra, mentioned in the Brihat-sva* yambhu-piirdna. 5A Dharmapala’s second spiritual preceptor Acharya Buddhajhanapada was put in charge of the monastery at its commencement.

In Chapter 38 of his work, Taranatha gives an account of the succession of the Vajracharyas of the Vikramaslla monastery. He writes that there were five generations of Vajracharyas, but actually there are twelve names, preceding the six dvara-panditas, viz. Buddha jnanapada — Dlpankarabhadra — Jayabhadra — Sridhara 1 —- Bhavabhadra — Bhavyaklrti — Lllavajra — Durjanachandra — Krishnasamayavajra — Tathagatarakshita — Bodhibhadra — Kamalarakshita; — then the six dvdra-p audit as — Dlpahkara-Srljnana and others and then — Abhayakaragupta — ^ubhakaragupta and others.

During the reign of Dharmapala, the Saindhava-sravakas created some troubles at Vikramaslla-vihara. They came to the monastery soon after its erection. They destroyed the metal image of Heruka and burnt the Mantra-treatises. They preached that Mahayanism (i.c. Tantrikism) did not represent Buddha’s teachings and converted many pilgrims coming from Bengal to their faith. These Sravakas were mostly bhikshus of Simhala. King Dharmapala was enraged at this attempt of the Sravakas and was going to punish them, but he desisted from doing so at the advice of his spiritual preceptor Buddhajnanapada.

The revival of Hlnayanism by the monks of Simhala and of Sindhu is an important event in the history of Buddhism. The fact that they decried the Mahayana and Tantrayana teachings at such a late date as the ninth century, and still later during the rule of the Sena kings, speaks highly of their courage and firm faith. It seems that they obtained the patronage of the Gurjara rulers who asserted their sovereignty in the east during the Pala period.

The successors of Dharmapala did not interfere with the endowment 5 ' 3 and so this monastic establishment carried on its work quietly for a century without any event of extraordinary importance. About the tenth century A.D. Vikramaslla monastery became a famous academic centre with six renowned dvara-pariditas, whose function was not only to admit students into the monastery, but also to enter into controversy with the teachers of other religious faiths. The names of these dvara-panditas are as follows:—

i) Ratnakarasanti in charge of eastern gate;

ii) Vagisvarakirti of Banaras in charge of western gate;

iii) Naropa in charge o£ northern gate;

iv) Prajnakaramati in charge of southern gate;

§

v) Ratnavajra of Kashmir, the first Mahastambha, and

vi) Jnanasrlmitra of Gauda, the second Mahastambha.

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(iii) Devapdla

Devapala was a zealous advocate of Buddhism. 56 His remarkable achievement was the restoration of the sand-buried temple, 6rl Traikutaka, and its enlargement. This temple in course of time came to be known as the new Somapurl-vihara the ruins of which have been discovered at Paharpur. 57 Haribhadra states in the colophon of his work, Abhisamayalahkaraloha, that he resided in the excellent monastery Traikutaka, which was adorned with learned men.

In the Nalanda stone-inscription 58 of Vipula-srlmitra, it is stated that he was a disciple of Asoka-srlmitra, who again was a disciple of Maitrl-sHmitra. The teacher of Maitrl-srlmitra, Karunasrlmitra, while residing at the Somapuri monastery, was burnt to death by an army of Vangala. At the time of Dharmapala, the Saindhava-sravakas burnt the image of Heruka and Tantrik books. The dvdra-pandita of Vikramasila was Jnana-srlmitra, who was at first a Saindhavasravaka and then became a Tantrayanist. It seems that the inscription refers to a deadly quarrel between the Saindhava-sravakas, whose names probably ended with the words “Srimitra”, and the Tantrayanists of Bengal.

Another event of outstanding importance in the history of Buddhism is the communication of the king of Suvarnadvipa, Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty, to Devapala, to which reference has been made above. 59 In this connection, we may refer to Chapter XL of Taranatha’s History in which it is stated that Buddhism was propagated in ancient days in the small islands called Siiiihaladvlpa, Yavadvlpa, Tamradvlpa, Suvarnadvipa, Dhanasrldvlpa and Pahgudvlpa. In the last two islands only there were Mahayanists and a few in Simhala.

(iv) The Successors of Devapdla

As Taranatha's account of the Pala kings after Devapala is hopelessly confused, it is impossible to give a chronological list of the Buddhist teachers mentioned by him. He refers to a number of distinguished monks. Four of them, viz. Sarvajnadeva, Jinamitra, Danaslla of Kashmir and Dharmakara went to Tibet at the time of Ral-pa-can for translating the Buddhist texts. 60 In the colophon of Dul-va (= Vinaya), it is stated that in the ninth century, the text was translated by Sarvajnadeva and Dharmakara, and revised by Vidyakaraprabha. From among the Tantrik teachers we may mention the names of Tilopa, Gambhlravajra, Amrita-guhya, Bhaga and Anandagarbha. Tillipa or Tilopa is counted as one of the 84 mahdsiddhas. He was the guru of Naropa, one of the six dvara-pcvnditas of Vikramasila, who. lived in the tenth century. It was his disciple

Mar-pa, who founded the Kar-gyu-pa sect in Tibet in the eleventh century. This line of teachers propagated the Tantrik teachings widely in MagacLha.

A king whom Taranatha calls Mahapala, but whose identity cannot be established, was a supporter of the Sthavira-vadins, whose centre was in the western parts of India. They are referred to by Taranatha as Saindhava-sravakas and bhikhus of Simhala. 61 Taranatha writes that the king showed great honour to the Saindhavasravakas who must have lived in large numbers in the Odantapurivihara, and for whose accommodation, the king made an annexure, called the Uruvasa-vihara. This king enlarged the monasteries of Nalanda and Somapuri-Traikutaka. At his time the Kdlachakr at antra was introduced by Pito. Among the distinguished Acharyas of his time, the names of Jetari and Krishnasamayavajra may be mentioned. The former was a disciple of Buddha jnanapada and was recognised as one of the his ecclesiastical successors. Acharya Jetari was exceedingly intelligent. He learned quickly the various scripts and sciences, the Abhidharma, and other works. He at first failed to obtain the royal diploma of Vikramasila and it was after he had made himself famous by defeating in controversies many Painditas of other lands, that he was granted the diploma of Vikramasila. He delivered discourses in the Vikramasila monastery and wrote short commentaries on Santideva^s Sikshdsamuchchaya and Bodhi charydiiatara, on Akdsagarbhasutra } and other texts. He wrote three treatises on logic, viz. Hetutattava-upadesa, Dharma-dharmi-vinischayn and Bdldvatdrcttarka.

III. ICONOGRAPHY

Numerous standing and seated images of Buddha of the mediaeval period have been discovered in different parts of India, his independent recumbent figure illustrating his Mahaparinirvajna being extremely rare. Mahaparinirvana of the Master is depicted in mediaeval Buddhist art in a secondary manner. Many sthanaka and dsana types of Buddha are extant which contain on their prabhavall summary representations of seven of the principal miracles; the miracle—and every incident in the life of the Master is a miracle according to the pious Buddhists — of the great decease is invariably shown on the top centre of the back-slabs of such reliefs. The eight miracles, including that depicted by the main central seated or standing image, were connected with the four principal incidents, Buddha's birth, enlightenment, preaching of the first sermon and great decease, and the four others, such as his taming of Nalagiri, the wild elephant that was set upon him by his cousin Devadatta at Rajagriha, his descent at Sankasya from the Trayas

trimsa heaven after preaching the law there to his departed mother, the acceptance of the honey ottered by a monkey at Vaisaii, and lastly the great miracle, in which he simultaneously multiplied himself in the presence of king Prasenajit of Kosala and a host of his own followers and other Tirthikas at Sravastl. The Eastern Indian School of mediaeval sculpture contains numerous examples of such standing and seated figures of Gautama, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, alone possesses a large number of such images, mostly hailing from Bihar and Bengal. The central figure in these compositions usually depicts Buddha seated in baddhapadmasana with his hands mostly showing the bhusparsa , indicating that it represents the Master's victory over Mara at Bodh-Gaya preliminary to his attainment of the enlightenment, the other seven miracles in miniature being shown in well-arranged groups on his either side on the back-slab. The main image with its hands in the dharmachakramudra f illustrating the preaching of the first sermon, is comparatively rare, as is also the standing type with the seven miniatures on the background. The much mutilated figure in the collection of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum, Calcutta (No.) is thus of some interest, for it shows Buddha standing in the sarnapddasthdnaka attitude on a double-petalled lotus {visvapadma) below which the Buddhist formula 62 is written in ninth century script, flanked on either side by three parallel rows of two scenes each with that of Mahaparinirvana just on the top. The rarity of such compositions can be accounted for by referring to the artistic sense of symmetry required in the display of the miniatures. In this particular relief, if the central figure is connected with the descent from the Trayastrimsa heaven, then the explanation of the miniature standing Buddha on the right in the middle row is difficult; the one on the left in the same row undoubtedly stands for the taming of Nalagiri, the wild elephant of Raj agriha, and the Safikasya and Raj agriha miracles are the only two in which the standing posture is necessary. The birth-scene, of course, would necessitate the showing of Maya in the same pose, but it is almost invariably carved in the right lowermost corner of the prabhavali and it does not jar at all with the artistic sense. Many standing Buddha images again, which do not contain these illustrations of the stereotyped set of miracles, fall either under the Devavatara or Nalagiri-taming types; the first of the two is more common and is often shown attended on either side by 6akra and Brahma. Just to emphasise the act of descent, the artists sometimes indicate stairs beneath the feet of the three, thus reminding us of the early Buddhist convention of showing the same scene with three stairs side by side, the middle one having one footmark on its topmost rung and another on its lowermost one. 63

Numerous seated images of Buddha have been found, which can be classified under different groups according to their association with one or other of the miracles, clearly indicated by their different hand-poses and sitting postures. The Sddhanamdlu describes one iconographic type, named by it as Vajmsana Buddha, in which Buddha is seated in baddhapadmasana on a visvapadma with his hands in the bhHspcirsamudrd) attended by Avalokitesvara on the left and Maitreya on the right, the respective iconographic cognizances of the acolytes being a lotus and a bunch of Nagakesara flowers . 64 Other dsana Buddha figures, which do not contain the seven miracles in miniature in the prabhavali, show Buddha preaching the first sermon, which event is suggested not only by the dharmachakramudrd peculiar to this motif, but also by the presence of a wheel (dharma chakra) flanked by two couchant deer on the pedestal. A good many mediaeval compositions have been found in eastern India which show Buddha seated in a similar manner with his hands in the same mudra, but we do not find the wheel and deer indicative of the locality of Sarnath on the pedestal, in the place of which are shown the Naga kings, Nanda and Upananda, on either side of the lotus stalk; figures of miniature seated, standing, and rarely recumbent, Buddhas are gracefully arranged round the central image. These undoubtedly represent the Great Miracle of Sravasti which seems to have been a very favourite theme with the artists of mediaeval India. A comparatively rare type of seated Buddha depicts him with an alms-bowl placed on his hands, joined over his lap, and a monkey carved on the pedestal or by his side; this is nothing but an illustration of the scene of the monkey’s offering honey to Buddha at Vaisali. An interesting relief in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, depicting this variety of seated Buddha, contains an additional detail by his side, the monkey climbing a tree for bringing down the honey to be offered to Buddha. The usual sitting posture of these Buddhas is baddhapadmasana or yoqasana in which the legs with soles upwards are interlocked on the lotus-seat. But there is another rarer sitting mode in which the legs are shown hanging down the edge of the seat, which is described by many scholars as “being in European fashion”. Its textual name seems to have been paryahkasana, different from ardhaparyahkdsana in which one leg is tucked up on the seat and the other dangles down. It was at one time the practice to name the Buddha figures shown in this way as those of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future; but this identification cannot be accepted, for the particular sitting posture is often shown in the scene of the Great Miracle of SravastI where Gautama Buddha is the principal actor. Moreover, such figures are dressed in monk’s robes which would ill fit with Maitreya. But a number of standing and seated Buddhas have been found in northern and eastern India, who, though attired like a monk, wear a jewelled crown and two short necklaces, no other parts of the body being adorned with ornament. These crowned Buddhas were assumed by some to stand for Adi-Buddha who appeared late in the pantheon; but this view is hardly tenable, for most of them, if not all, are associated with the incidents in the life-story of Gautama Buddha, and are thus none but so many of his representations . 65 Another point of interest with regard to the standing Buddhas is that miniature figures of seated, and rarely standing, Buddhas are often depicted on the top section of their prabk&vciVi, and these presumably were meant to represent some of the Dhyanl-Buddhas, whose cult, described above , 66 was further developed during this period.

The cult of the Dhyani-Bodhisattvas also underwent a great transformation. It has already been said that the special cognizance of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future and thus a Bodhisattva, in the mediaeval Buddhist art is a bunch of Nagakesara flowers placed in one of his hands in place of the earlier nectar-flask. Another distinctive mark of this Bodhisattva is a miniature stupa placed in his crown or by its side. This refers to the stupa of Kasyapa Buddha in the Kukkutapada-giri near Bodh-Gaya; on descending to earth from the Tushita heaven Maitreya would go to it from which Kasyapa would come out and present to him the garments of a Buddha. Maitreya can hardly be found now represented singly; he is either shown as a well-dressed secular figure in the company of the seven ManushI Buddhas very rarely represented, or as one of the acolytes of Vajrasana Buddha. But several of the Bodhisattvas of a different category, the Dhyani-Bodhisattvas, were extremely popular iconographic motifs of the mediaeval age. That Padmapani-Avalokitesvara among them should be the most important one can be explained by the fact of his having been the Dhyam-Bodhisattva of Gautama Buddha, and thus numerous varieties of him have been described in the s&dhanas; mediaeval images, more or less corresponding to some of these descriptions, have been found mostly in northern and eastern India. If a careful analysis is made of the iconographic traits of some of them, there is hardly any difficulty in recognising in a good many of them the Mahayanistic adaptations of two of the principal Brahmanical cult-icons, viz. Vishnu and Siva. The iconography of ~the general form of Avalokitesvara and of a few others of his special ones has some analogy to that of Vishnu, and the ideology underlying both these gods, especially relating to their character as gods of preservation and deliverance, is one and the same. But the particular aspect of Siva, when he appears in the role of a benignant deity and a healer of diseases after proper propitiation, is none the less discer nible in certain other forms of this Dhyani-Bodhisattva; a few others of his less common ones, again, portray in a way the dire and terrific aspect of this Brahmanical deity. One particular variety among the different types of Avalokitesvara, Hari-Hari-Harivahanodbhava Lokasvara, undoubtedly owes its iconographic presentation to sectarian rancour. As many as fifteen variants have been selected from those described in the SddhciuaTTULld > of which five or six at most have been recognised among the numerous Buddhist sculptures of eastern and northern India. These are Shadakshari Lokesvara, Siihhanada, Khasarpana (named after a village in the ancient Khadi-Truxriciala, modern Twenty-four Pergannas, West Bengal), Lokanatha and Nilakantha. The others are mostly to be found among sculptures and paintings of the northern countries like Tibet and Nepal and they are usually dated after A.D. 1300. Shadakshari Lokesvara shows a composition with the figure of the four-armed Bodhisattva, its front hands being in the namaskdra-mudrd and the back ones holding a rosary and a lotus, and having a smaller male replica of him to his right and another similar but female one to the left; these two are none other than Manidhara and Shadakshari Mahavidya, the respective male and female attendants of this variety of Avalokitesvara. A very interesting mediaeval relief depicting it was discovered by Oertel in course of his excavations at Sarnath; it was wrongly identified by him as representing the three jewels of Buddhism, viz. Dharma, Buddha and Samgha. 67 The two-armed god Siihhanada Lokesvara is described in the texts as three-eyed, seated in the mahamjalila pose on a roaring lion, wearing a tiger-skin garment but no ornaments, having a miniature figure of Amitabha on the jatd mukuta on his head, with a trident entwined by a white serpent to his right and a sword placed on a lotus flower to his left, the lotus stalk being held by his left hand resting on the seat; the three eyes, the tiger-skin garment, the absence of ornaments, the matted locks, the snake-entwined trident, — all these traits definitely associate him with &iva, and the Dhdranis of Siihhanada refer to him as the healer of diseases. The beautiful sculpture of Siihhanada Lokesvara found at Mahoba closely corresponds to the description given above. That the Khasarpana variety of this god was a popular object of worship in eastern India is proved by a number of such images discovered in different parts of Bihar and Bengal. The principal type of this deity depicts him gracefully seated in the lalitdsana pose on a mahambuja, decked in all sorts of ornaments and holding a fully blossomed lotus flower by its stalk in his left hand, the right one being in the varada pose. He is almost invariably accompanied by Tara and Sudhanakumara to his right and BhrikutI and Hayagrlva to his left; the five Dhyam-Buddhas are very often carved on the upper part of the prabhavali with Amitabha, his spiritual father, placed in the centre. The finely carved image corresponding in most of its details to the above description, found at Vikrampur and now in the Dacca Museum, is a representative specimen of this type of Avalokitesvara. Many standing images of Avalokitesvara endowed with four and sometimes with six arms have been found in northern and eastern India; some are in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and a few are in the Patna Museum. These have been usually described as Lokaniatha, but the description given of this variety of Avalokitesvara in the Sddhanamald does not tally with the sculptures. The four-armed figures show vara, akshamala, bhringdra and padma in the lower right, upper right, upper left and lower left hands respectively," Suchlmukha and Hayagriva to the right and left are the usual attendants in these cases. The six-armed standing figures, on the other hand, have a vara, mdtulunga, akshamdld in the right hands, and a bhringara, pdsa and padma in the left ones; here both the attending figures are female and very probably represent Tara and Bhrikutl. Standing images of Lokesvara with more than six arms are, though rare, not unknown; reference may be made to one twelvearmed variety of this god in the collection of the Indian Museum, its additional hands holding such emblems as ankusa, kartri and a few other indistinct objects. 68 The Lokanatha aspect of Avalokitesvara, however, as described in the Sddhanamald, is two-armed, the left hand holding a lotus, the right being in the varada pose; one of the sddhanas of this deity refers to the mandala of eight gods like Maitreya, Kshitigarbha, Vajrapani and others surrounding him. But Lokanatha is generally depicted alone, seated or standing, only occasionally accompanied by Tara and Hayagriva. Nilakantha, as described in only one sadhana, is similar in appearance to his spiritual father Amitabha; he is not decorated with any ornaments, and has two serpents on his either side; the name and the iconographic traits of this type of Lokesvara fully show that he is one of the Mahayanistic adaptations of Siva. Several other types of Lokesvara images of the mediaeval period have been found, which do not conform to the descriptions of any of the varieties given in the SadhanamMa; this fact proves that as in the case of the Brahmanical iconography, our collection of Buddhist iconographic texts is also incomplete, and many must have been irretrievably lost. As regards the mediaeval images of the other Dhyam-Bodhisattvas, whose names have been already given, it may be observed that whatever literary importance they might have had in the period, they apparently had no prominence in the hieratic art of the time.

ManjusrI is the general name of another group of interesting Bodhisattvas who, though not strictly belonging to the category of the Dhyanl-Bodhisattvas, occupied an important place in the developed Mahayana pantheon. He was comparatively late in making his appearance, and his inclusion in the pantheon could not have been much earlier than the Gupta period. References in mediaeval Buddhist literature seem to connect him with China and Nepal, and the way in which he is mentioned seems to suggest that there v/as some historicity behind him, and his human original was perhaps connected in some way or other with the introduction of civilisation in Nepal from China. Thus, there was a great deal of difference between Avalokitesvara and ManjusrI, the former having an abstract ideological background, while the latter a concrete human base, which was, however, subsequently assumed to stand for and illustrate some abstract qualities like knowledge and wisdom. The Stidhanamala contains a number of sadhanas describing as many as fourteen different varieties of this god-concept, some of which were associated with Akshobhya or Amitabha, while others were either independent or had some association with the group of the five Dhyani-Buddhas. The usual emblems of ManjusrI are a sword (Prajnd-kkadga or the sword of wisdom) and a book (book of knowledge — prajncL), the idea being that the god severs the coils of ignorance with the sword and imparts knowledge from the book; he is thus in a way the Mahayana counterpart of Brahma and Sarasvatl of the Hindu pantheon. A good many extant figures of him, including several variants, have been discovered in different parts of northern and eastern India, and this fact shows that his was a popular cult-image, specially in eastern India. Several of the mediaeval representations of this god can be identified as Mahjughosha and Siddhaikavira (emanations of Akshobhya), Arapachana and Sthirachakra who have no definite association with any of the Dhyani-

Buddhas. These varieties are usually differentiated on the basis of particular sitting and standing postures, hand-poses and the nature of the attendants. Images of Manjuvara and Arapachana are more numerous; the former is characterised by his lion seat and the dharmachak'ra-mudrd, with the book Prajrvdparamitd placed on lotus on his left, while the latter is shown seated in baddhapadmasana, his right hand brandishing a sword and the left with the book placed on his breast, his attendants being Kesini, Upakesinl, Siiryaprabha and Chandraprabha who are shown as exact miniature replicas of the central figure. That Arapachana form of ManjusrI was held in great respect by the Mahayanists of the mediaeval period is proved not only by the number of his images discovered in eastern India, but also by a few found in Indonesia. The Javanese sculpture of this

form of Manjusri, now in the collection of the Leyden Museum, Holland, is a fine specimen of Indonesian art. Manjughosha, like Manjuvara, has a roaring lion for his mount, but his other peculiar cognizances are lotus on his left side and vyakhyfinamudrd. A very fine sculpture of the early mediaeval period in the collection of the Sarnath Museum, unfortunately much mutilated, corresponds to a great extent to the textual description of Siddhaikavlra, who has a blue lotus in his left hand and varamudrd in his right. This form of Manjusri, which is comparatively rare, has some similarity with the usual iconographic type of Lokanatha, a form of Lokesvara, but the figure of Akshobhya on the crown of the former discloses his real identity. Sthirachakra is another rare form of this Bodhisattva and is characterised by a sword in his left hand and varamudra in his right. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat sculpture of Manjusri, seated in ardhaparyankasana on a double-petalled lotus, probably depicts this variety; it, however, holds the stem of a nilotpala in its left hand, over the blossom of which is placed the sword.

A reference to the images of a few of the numerous varieties of gods and goddesses who were associated with one or other of the Dhyanl-Buddhas will not be out of place here, although the concepts of many of them seem to have been subsequently added. Some of these deities again were textually connected with more than one Dhyani-Buddha at the same time, and other images bore on their crown the miniature figures of either one or the other of these meditative Buddhas. Thus, Jambhala and Tara (especially her form known as Mahachina Tara) were emanations of Akshobhya, but the same god and another variant of the goddess, viz. Khadiravabi Tara could also emanate from Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddha respectively. Jambhala and Vajra-Tara, again, in some of their aspects, were associated with all the five or four of the DhyanlBuddhas; in these cases, the miniature figures of the latter are usually shown on the top part of the prabhavali of these images. Many of these deities of the developed Mahayana pantheon again can be shown either from their names or their attributes to have been directly or indirectly derived from various members of the Brahmanic order. Thus the gods like Saptasatika Hayagrlva, Heruka, Yamari and Jambhala, the first an emanation of Amitabha and the last three of Akshobhya, have their prototypes among the various Brahmanical gods, as their names or iconographic traits show.

Hayagrlva, according to the Puranic mythology, was primarily a demon to kill whom Vishnu assumed the form of a horse-headed

man. The special cognizance of Saptasatika-Hayagnva is the scalp of a horse over his head; another aspect of the same god, which is associated with Akshobhya, is three-faced and eight-armed, and the number of arms as well as the emblems in the hands distinctly connect it with the Hayagriva incarnation of Vishnu.

The fierce god Heruka, whose two-armed varieties have been found in eastern India, is characterised by the dancing pose, a corpse below him, emblems like vajra and kapala in his hands, a khatvdnga along the left side of his body, ornaments like a garland of skulls (mwiidamala) and other features which leave no doubt that this particular god-concept was based on the terrific aspect of &iva. The Dacca Museum image of Heruka, though it shows a doublepetailed lotus beneath its left leg in place of a corpse (preta), corresponds in other respects to the textual description, and is a wellcarved specimen of the mediaeval Buddhist art of eastern India.

Yamari, as its name indicates, is based on one of the various Samharamurtis of Siva, Kalari or Kalantaka-murti, in which form Siva punished Kaia or Yama, the god of death, for his audacity in attempting to take the life of Markandeya, a great Saiva devotee. Some of the iconographic traits of Yamari, however, are taken from the very god of death whose enemy he is supposed to be, while others are clearly derived from the fierce form of the Hindu god. Like Yama, he has a buffalo for his mount and a mace with a skull painted on it or a vajra on its top as his emblem; like Siva, he wears a tigerskin, snake ornaments, and holds a noose (pdsa) in one of his hands.

Jambhala is undoubtedly a Buddhist counterpart of KuberaVaisravana, as some of his characteristic traits indicate. Like the latter, he is connected with wealth and treasure; mediaeval representations of him are known, in which he is shown seated in lalitdsana with one of his legs resting on an upturned coin-jar by the side of which are placed seven more jars. The number of the jars, eight, distinctly proves that they stand for eight treasures (ashtanidhi) of Kubera; like the Brahmanical deity his figure is also potbellied, though the bag in his prototype's hand is replaced by a mongoose vomitting jewels. In the Brahmanical mythology, Kubera is associated with Lakshmi or Sri, the goddess of fortune who is the presiding deity of the ashtanidhis ; 69 in the Mahayana adaptation of him, however, Vasudhara (another name of the earth goddess, Bhumi or Prithivi) appears as his consort. A good many figures of Jambhala, mostly seated ones, with many of the above-mentioned iconographic traits have been found in different parts of eastern and northern India.

Ganapati is another male deity recruited from the Brahmanic faith into developed Mahayana pantheon, and he is identical in his mediaeval iconic forms to his Brahmanical prototype. He is generally depicted as being trampled down under the feet of such goddesses as Aparajita and Parnasavarl. His independent form as one-faced and twelve-armed, dancing on the back of his mount (a rat), is described in a late sadhana, but corresponding icons of the mediaeval period are not known; there is nothing in the texts to show that his face was that of an elephant.

Interesting varieties of goddesses are associated with one or other cf the Dhyanl-Buddhas, and they seem to be more numerous than those of the gods. The worship of the female principle was comparatively more prevalent in eastern India in mediaeval times, and this fact is also emphasised by the large number of images of the Buddhist goddesses discovered there. The cult of Tara and her various forms was strong in this part of India, and Tara, a great object of veneration in the Brahmanical

Tantrik cult, appears to have been borrowed directly from the developed Mahayana pantheon. Mahachma-Tara, one of the principal forms of this goddess, however, as her attributive epithet indicates, was an importation from Mahachma, a land outside India, which has been identified by some scholars with Tibet. Mahachlna-Tara, also known in BuddhistTantrik literature as Ugra-Tara, is an emanation of Akshobhya, and she was most probably the original deity from which various other aspects of this goddess were derived. The popularity of Tara among the Mahayanists is indicated by the fact that it is the common appellation of many Buddhist goddesses such as Janguli, Parnasavarl, Ekajata and others. She is described in the sddhanas as of terrific appearance, four-armed, standing in the pratyaUdha pose on a corpse, her right hands holding a sword and a chopper (kartri), and left ones, a lotus flower and a skull-cup (kapala); a miniature figure of Akshobhya is within the ‘crown of chignon’ (ekaiata) on her head. 70 The iconographic trait of ekaiata of this goddess gave rise to the concept of another terrific deitv of the Mahayana cult. Ekaiata by name, who was also an emanation of Akshobhya; several mediaeval images of her have been found in eastern India.

The most common form of Tara, however, numbers of whose images have been found in the north and east of India, is the one which is described in the sadhanas as Khadiravani-Tara, also known as £yama-Tar.a, an emanation of the Dhyanl-Buddha Amoghasiddha. She is depicted either standing or seated in a graceful pose, her right hand showing the vctrada-mudrd , and the left one holding a lotus with a long stalk; her two attendants are Asokakanta Marlchl on her right and Ekajata on her left. In the extant mediaeval representations of this variety of Tara, sometimes curious miniature figures of eight goddesses or eight illustrative scenes are found carved on the prabhdvall on either side of the principal deity. One such image in the collection of the Dacca Museum shows the former feature, and it has been suggested that these miniature goddesses individually stand for each of the syllables of the eight-syllabled Tara -mantra (Om Tare tu Tare Svdhd). 71 On an image of this goddess, originally hailing from Katnagiri (Cuttack district, Orissa), we find the other feature which collectively stands for the ashtamahdbhayas (eight great fears) from which she saves her devotees 72 .

Another variety of Tara, described several times in the Sddhanamduij is the Vajra-Tara who is simultaneously an emanation of the groups of five or four Dhyanl-Buddhas. She is four-faced and eignt-armed, and is seated in the vajraparyahhdsana on a doublepetalled lotus inside a mardala which consists of encircling attendant deities like Pushpa-, Dhupa-, Dipa- and Gandha-Taras, and Vajrahkusl, Vajrapasi, Vajrasphofl and Vajraghanta; the mandala, in order to be complete, should also contain the figure of Ushnishavijaya on the top and that of Sumbha below. It should be noted that the number of the companion goddesses is ten, which exactly corresponds to that of the ten-syllabled mantra of the principal goddess, Om Tare tu Tare ture Svdhd, and it is presumed that the former individually stand for the respective syllables. Another interesting feature worth noting in respect of most of these attendant divinities is the fact that they are nothing but the personifications of the upachdras (materials used in ritual worship) and weapons or emblems held by the principal deity in her hands (these roughly correspond to the ayudhapurushas of the Vaishnavite icons). Vajrasphotl and Ushnishavijaya are, on the other hand, associated, the former with the holy sound that is uttered during the ritualistic performances, and the latter with the peculiar physical characteristic of the Buddha. Several metai images of the mandala of Vajra-Tara have been found in eastern India; the Indian and Dacca Museum specimens correspond fairly well to the above description. 73

Reference has already been made to Vasudhara, the consort of Jambhala, who is also like him either an emanation of Akshobhya or Ratnasambhava; she is the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Vasudhara, PrithivI, or BhudevI, who, as one of the consorts of Vishnu, holds a blue lotus in her hand. But Vasudhara is characterised by varada-mudrd in her right hand and an ear of corn in her left, and the latter object fittingly symbolises her corn-producing capacity. Several stone and metal images of this goddess,

both single and in the company of her consort, have been discovered in the north and east of India.

Another Mahayana goddess, also emanating from Akshobhya but, unlike the last-mentioned, one of a terrific character, is Nairatma who resembles to some extent the Brahmanical Kali. She is shown dancing vigorously with right leg raised and bent inwards, the left firmly planted on a corpse (preta) lying on its back, holding kartri (short sword) and kapala (skull-cup) in her two hands; she looks terrible with bare fangs, protruding tongue, a garland of human skulls, and a khatvanga placed along the left side of her body. Her general pose and appearance remind us of those of Heruka discussed above, - though their respective emblems are somewhat different. Her images are extremely rare, and the Indian Museum specimen may be regarded as unique. 74

Parnasavarl, another female member of the Mahayana pantheon, is of great iconographic interest on account of certain features appertaining to her. She is both an emanation of Akshobhya and Amoghasiddha, and her iconography is the same in both of her aspects. The sddhanas describe her as three-faced and six-armed, her right hands holding vajra, sara and parasu , her left ones, parnapichchhika (a cluster of leaves), dhanu and tarjampdsa (a noose round the indexfinger in the tarjanlmudra); she stands in pratyalldha pose either on personified representations of various diseases or pestilences or on obstacles personified (Vighnas—the same as Brahmanical Gainesa, the remover of obstacles, Vighnantaka), and is clad in leaf garments. Her mantras describe her as a Pisdcto (ogress) and sarvamariprasamdrn (healer of all epidemic diseases). This fact, as well as her very name which associated her with the leaf-clad Savaras, one of the aboriginal tribes of India, distinctly proves that she was recruited from a non-Aryan cult, as a few of the particular constituents of Durga, the Brahmanical goddess, were adapted from aboriginal cult deities. Two extant images of PamasavarT found in East Bengal closely follow the textual descriptions, and both have the figure of Amoghasiddha on the top centre of their prabhdvall. 75

Prajna-Paramita is a goddess of benign aspect and was held in great veneration by the mediaeval Buddhists of India and Indonesia. She was regarded as the personified form of the Mahayana treatise Prajndptiramitd, which is said to have been recovered from the nether regions by Nagarjuna, the principal expounder of.the reoriented Buddhism. She is usually recognised by vydkhyana-mudrd and the manuscript Prajnapdramitd on a lotus; one of the finest images of this benign Mahayana goddess originally hailed from Java and is now in the collection of the Leyden Museum. 76

A very interesting goddess of this cult is Marichi, an emanation of Vairochana, the first of the Dhyani-Buddhas. Several images of her have been found in eastern and northern India and this proves that she was held in esteem in this region. Her iconographic features show that she was an adaptation from the north-Indian Surya and her name means ‘One who has rays’. She is usually depicted as three-faced (the left one of which is that of a sow) and eight-armed, her hands holding such attributes as a needle, a string, an elephantgoad, a noose, a bow, an arrow, a thunderbolt, and a bunch of Asoka flowers; she stands in the arrow-shooting pose on a chariot drawn by seven pigs, and driven either by a goddess with no legs or Rahu, only a head with no body attached to it. Some of these eight-armed and three-faced figures of Marichi are attended by four goddesses bearing peculiar names such as Varttali, Vadali, Varali and Varahamukhi, all sow-faced and four-armed carrying several weapons and emblems similar to those in the hands of the central deity. The very fine image of Ashtabhuja Marichi, originally found at Sarnath and now in the collection of the Lucknow Museum, corresponding mostly to the description given above, contains, however, the figure of the Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha in its crown —a striking departure from the texts. 77 Another variety of Marichi, one-faced and twoarmed, the right hand being in the varada pose and the left touching an Asoka bough, is generally depicted as an attendant deity of Khadiravani-Tara.

Another goddess of the developed Mahayana pantheon, who is sometimes wrongly regarded as identical with Marichi, is Vajravarahi, the chief consort of the fierce god Heruka discussed above. 78 She is either two-armed or four-armed, and her attributes and pose resemble those of her consort. Her images of the mediaeval period are not common like those of Marichi.

Such independent goddesses as Sarasvati, Aparajita, Grahamatrika, etc. have, as their nomenclature shows, distinct Brahmanical association, but their Buddhist adaptations came to have definite iconographic re-orientation. Vajrayogini, as the sadhanas describe her form, clearly reminds us of the Tantrik goddess Chhinnamasta who was held in great veneration by the Sakti-worshippers of Bengal; she was one of the ten Mahavidyas whose cult was an important one in mediaeval and later Bengal. In a comparatively late period the Tantrik aspect of the Sakti worship seems to have adopted much from the Mahayana-Vajrayana cult and it is sometimes extremely difficult to fix up the definite cult-association of one or other of the individual deities.

The brief study of Buddhist iconography given above shows what bewildering diversity the religious art of the later Buddhists attained in the mediaeval period. The comparatively simple and general character of the early Buddhist art was made extremely complex in its later phase and various factors were at work for this re-orientation. The most important of these was the gradual assimilation in various ways of the god-concepts of many contemporary rival sects, most, if not all, of which belonged to Brahmanical religion. Many of the numerous images of the Mahayana-Vajrayana cult illustrate this fact in an interesting manner. Another important point not to be lost sight of in the study of them is the deep esoteric symbolism which underlies many of them in spite of their bizarre forms. The numerous unnamed artists, whose services were requisitioned for the satisfaction of the religious needs of the pious Buddhists, were not half-hearted in their work, and some of the specimens which they turned out were enduring works of art.

C. JAINISM I. ' INTRODUCTION

As in the preceding period, Jainism lacked royal support in northern India, but this was compensated by the popularity of the religion among the trading classes in the north, and the extensive royal patronage it enjoyed in the South.

This is the most flourishing period in the history of Jainism in the Deccan. There was no serious rival for it, and it was basking in the sunshine of popular and royal support. Dr. Altekar 79 surmises that probably one-third of the population of the Deccan was following the gospel of Mahavira during the period under review. Jainism received a serious set-back shortly afterwards owing to rapid spread of the Lingayata sect.

Important commentaries on the Digambara Canon were composed towards the close of this period. 80 During the tenth century, Uddyotana started 84 gachchhas through his disciples. 81 The Jain Philosophy reached its high-water mark as evidenced by the masterpieces of Akalanka, Haribhadra, Vidyananda and others. Literary output also was immense. The Jain writers inaugurated an Augustan period in Kannada literature, and composed outstanding works in Tamil too.

It may be noted as one of the remarkable features of Jainism of this period that it saved itself from the influence of the all-pervading Saktism. 82 That the fortunes of Jainism were unaffected by the

revival of Hinduism has been ascribed to the state patronage, and the influence of the pious Jain saints. 83

It is interesting to note how Jain gurus achieved their ends by adopting well devised and comprehensive methods. The austere routine, pious life and the absence of possessive instincts seem, in the case of Jain monks, to have always led to their being admired and honoured in the society. As king-makers they secured royal patronage for generations. By winning over generals, feudal lords and provincial governors, their success at provincial centres was assured under the aegis of these officials. By securing popular support, they had among their followers the most important section of the middle class, the Vira Banajigas and the commercial class, whose financial help went a long way in the cause of Jainism. It enabled them to construct magnificent Jinalayas and images. Their spectacular effect, along with the active royal support, made Jainism popular and strong. These Jain gurus themselves owned nothing and wanted nothing. And further their insistence on the observance by the rich of the Jain doctrine relating to the four gifts (learning, food, medicine and shelter) helped a great deal in winning the allegiance and devotion of the masses, as it answered the primary needs of humanity. This resulted in drawing large sections of populace wdthin the Jain fold.

II. JAINISM IN THE NORTH

Except in the west and perhaps Malwa, Jainism appears to have lost its hold over the rest of the north during the period. It had already lost its importance in Magadha, the land of its origin. The Nirgranthas, who formed a dominant religious sect in Bengal in the seventh century, seem to have wielded no appreciable influence there during our period, and there is no reference to them in the numerous inscriptions of the Palas.

The Chapa rulers 84 were patrons of this religion. Vanaraja Chavtfa, the founder of the line, was installed on the throne, according to the Jain Prabandhas, by his Jain guru Silagunasuri. Though the official religion was Saiva and &akta, most of the influential persons in the realm, like Mahajanas, were Jains and occupied high positions in the state. Vanaraja's prime minister was a Jain varvik named Champa, the founder of Champaner. Ninnaya, a merchant prince whom Vanaraja regarded as father, built a temple of Rishabha at Anahilava<Ja. Ninnaya's son Lahora was a general in Vanaraja's army. At the suggestion of his guru 6llagunasuri, who refused the gift of the kingdom, Vanaraja built a temple known as Pancbasarachaitya in which the idol of Parsvanatha brought from Panchasar

was consecrated He and his successors also built other temples. These rulers tried to keep in check the rivalries among priests of different sects in their kingdom. The Pratlharas also figure prominently in the Jain literature. 85 Vatsaraja (or Ama, as he is called in Jain Prabandhas) is said to have built a temple at Kanauj, 100 cubits high, and consecrated a golden image of Mahavira; at Gwalior he established an image of Mahavira, 23 cubits high. He is said to have built Jain temples at Kanauj, Mathura, Anahilavada, Modhera, etc. His son Niagabhata II is said to have been converted to Jainism and the latter's grandson Bhoja was also a great patron of the religion.

Many famous Jain writers like Dhanesvarasuri, Dhanapala and Santisuri flourished in the court of Paramara kings.

It was during this period that in the contest between Digambaras and Svetambaras, as the Prabandhas report, the sacred Girnar-tirtha was declared to be Svetambara. Pradyumnasuri is credited with the conversion of the rulers of Sapadalaksha, Tribhuvanagiri, etc. to Jainism.

III. JAINISM IN THE DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA

Several dynasties, such as the Gaiigas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Kadambas and their feudatories held sway over Deccan during the period under review, either successively or as contemporaries. We shall deal with the state of Jainism under these rulers in the above order.

The Gahga rulers were great patrons of Jainism. Nltimarga and his second son Butuga were devout Jains. Marasiihha was a disciple of Ajitasena, and was a staunch Jain. He actively supported renowned Jain scholars, maintained the Jain doctrine, caused basadis and vriMnastambhas to be erected at several places, and, after abdication, ended his life by Sallekhand (slow starvation). His minister Chamumjaraya, one of the triumvirate of the special promoters of Jainism, was a brave general and possessed several exceptional virtues including liberality. Nemichandra and Ajitasena were his preceptors. He gave many endowments for the cause of Jainism; caused the colossal image of Gommata to be set up at Sravana Belgola; constructed a hasadi on -Chikkabetta at &ravana Belgola; and patronised the Kannada author Ranna. His example was followed by his successors and feudatories.

The Rashtrakutas were tolerant of the several religious sects of the time, and many of the rulers of the dynasty were not only great patrons of, but even showed distinct inclinations towards, Jainism. The great Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha I Nripatunga was more a Jain

than a Hindu; he followed the Syddvada and also revered the Hindu family deities. His chief preceptor was Jinasena and he had appointed Gunabhadra as the preceptor for his son Krishna II. Authorship of the ritual of Jain monasteries in Banavasi is attributed to Arnoghavarsha. His other works and the literary activity of the Jains during this period will be dealt with later in this chapter. Amoghavarsha abdicated more than once, probably to observe the vow of a kinchancita . How he accepted Jain-dikshd is graphically described in a contemporary work Caiiita-<sara-samgraha of Mahavlracharya 86

The age of the Rashtrakutas (A.D. 754-974) was immediately followed by a Saiva reaction under Tailapa II 87 and his immediate successors. It is alleged that they persecuted the Jains, but the temporary withdrawal of their patronage was due more to political than to religious causes. 88 On the contrary we read that Tailapa II had strong attachment to Jainism, and patronised Ranna, Kaviratna, the author of Ajita-purdna , who received the title kavichakravartin from the king. 89 Tailapa’s son Satyasraya constructed a monument (nisidhi) in honour of his Jain guru. One of his successors, Jayasimha HI, caused a basadi to be constructed at Balipura.

Though the reigning monarchs of Andhradesa were invariably Parama-MahesvarCLs, members of the royal family, high state officials, vassal kings and feudal lords sometimes followed Jain faith, and were either srdvakas or sravikas. Some of the Eastern Chalukyas were Jains or patrons of that religion and made pious endowments to that faith. Three records of Ammaraja II speak of Jainism as a very popular religion in the tenth century, and show that the ruler, though Saiva, extended his patronage to Jainism.

An inscription at Ramatlrtham near Vizianagaram indicates that Jainism continued to flourish till the beginning of the eleventh century, and that the Ramatlrtham hill was regarded as a place of pilgrimage by the Jains since early days. A Kannada inscription of the reign of king Vimaladitya states that Trikalayogin Siddhantadevamuni, Acharya of Deslgana, who was a guru of the king, paid respects to the Ramatlrtham hill. With the reign of Rajarajanarendra, son and successor of Vimaladitya, Jainism lost royal patronage and sympathy.

At Vijayawada, the support of the Eastern Chalukyas to Jainism was counter-balanced by the Parichchhadi Pasupati rulers who followed Hinduism. These, along with Kota kings and Kakatiyas, were responsible for the disappearance of Jainism from Andhradesa.

Though Hindus by religion, some Kadamba rulers were also patrons of Jainism. 90

We know from various contemporary records that the feudatories and high officials of the various ruling dynasties were supporters of Jainism. Mention may be made of a few important ladies in this connection. Jakkiabbe, who was appointed Ndl-gdvwnda in her husband’s place in Rashtrakuta Krishna Ill’s reign, performed the vow of Sallekhana, Attimebbe, daughter of Tailapa’s commander Mallappa and wife of Nagadeva, was an ideal devotee, and an exemplary patron of learning who got prepared one thousand Mss. of Ponna's Santi-puraina in Kannada and had them circulated all over the country. Jakkisundari caused a basadi to be built in A.D. 968. Pembabbe, elder sister of Butuga, performed penance for thirty years.

Thus we find that during the heyday of its power there was not a single dynasty in the Deccan that did not come under the influence of Jainism at one time or another. Non Jain rulers also patronised Jainism. Ministers, generals, women—all played their part as devout Jains.

The story of Jainism in the Tamil area is one of decadence during our period. The rise of the 6aiva Nayanars and their organised efforts to stamp out Jainism, the conversion of Kun Paindya by Sambandar and that of the Pallava king Mahendra-varman by Appar, led to the downfall of the Jains in Tamil land about A.D. 750. Jains were subjected to further humiliation at the hands of the Vaishnava Alvars, till in the ninth and tenth centuries, they do not seem to have enjoyed any prominence in the land. After Nayanars and Alvars, the rise of the great Acharyas aided the evolution of Hinduism.

As a result of all this, the Jains left the Pallava and Pandya kingdoms and migrated possibly to Koppana, Sravana Belgola and surrounding territory where they were patronised by the Gahga and other rulers. The few that remained led an obscure life in Tamil land. A perusal of the literature produced by the Jains indicates that they generally lived in large numbers in Mylapore, Nedumbai and Tirumalai.

It may be noted that the Alvars and Nayanars, who led the opposition against Jainism, adopted the very methods of the Jains to subvert their religion, and to attract the populace to the newly rejuvenated Hinduism. In the first place, they adopted the four-fold dana (dhdra , abhaya, bhaishajya and sastra) in their system to counter the most effective missile of the Jains. Further, the 6aiva saints aimed at the highest altruistic principles, discarded caste system, and recruited people from the lowest grade in their fold. Like the Jains, the &aiva saints instituted a hierarchy of sixty-three saints, and composed hymns in honour of local deities. Their potent

weapon was the winning over the good grace of the king, thereby securing political patronage of the state. Gradually, as different kings became converts or reconverts to Hinduism, which was now made more attractive and receptive to the general public, Jainism lost its hold and receded into the background.

There were other causes peculiar to Kamatak that worked the disintegration of Jainism there. Beginning with castes and subcastes taken over from Hinduism, Jainism was progressively adopting a number of Hindu practices and beliefs, with the result that it was gradually becoming almost indistinguishable from the surrounding creeds. It thus lost its characteristic mark, and its adherents there fell a prey to the prevailing proselytising forces.

IV. LITERATURE

The Jain literature of this period, written not only in Sanskrit, but also in Prakrit, Apabhraihsa and the DesabhashcLs , is extremely rich and varied, its characteristic features being the Jain dogmatics and ethics, legendary literature in the form of the Puranas and didactic tales, and logic. In the south, the honour of the creation of the Kannada literature and of enriching it with classics of abiding value goes to the Jains. Their contribution to the Tamil literature is also valuable; and we find that most of the major and minor epics, which are the pride of Tamil literature, are composed by Jain authors.

Haribhadra, originally a Brahmana, was the outstanding personality among the Jain writers of the period. He has written a large number of books in Sanskrit and Prakrit. He is the earliest Sanskrit commentator of the canon, and his contributions to Jain logic are outstanding. His Dhurtakhyana is a remarkable satire in Indian literature. He inaugurated a new era in Yoga literature by employing new terminology and an extraordinary and descriptive style. He has also compared the Jain terminology with the Yoga prakriyas in Patanjali. In his Shad-darsana-samuchchaya he gives a brilliant exposition of the different systems of philosophy of the day. Among other Jain writers of the period, mention may be made of Bappabhatti, Silanka, 6obhana and Dhanapala. The work of elucidating canonical texts in Sanskrit, begun by Haribhadra and SHanka, was continued by Abhayadeva (eleventh century) and Malayagiri (twelfth century), gobhana, Dhanapala, Devendragaipi and Devabhadra produced innumerable romantic tales, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, followed by Hemachandra and the writers of the Prabandhas and Charitas, who pertain to the subsequent period.

Turning to the authors in the South, we may begin with Akalanka, whose date has been a matter of controversy. 91 He was a

great logician, whose famous works are Rajavarttika and Ashtasati. Jinasena’s Harivamsa-purdna 92 is one of the earliest Jain versions of the Pantfava tale. Another Jinasena, who was the preceptor of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, wrote the Adi-purana, which was completed by his disciple Gin?abhadra. 93 Amoghavarsha’s reign produced a galaxy of Jain writers, including the king himself, who is credited with the authorship of Prasnottaramalikd on Jain ethics, and Kavirdjamdrga in Kannada on rhetorics. Mahavlracharya wrote G<inita-sara-samgraha under Amoghavarsha. Sakatayana, a grammarian, called his work Amoghavritti in honour of his patron. Vidyananda, Maijikyanandi and Prabhachandra—a triumvirate of famous Jain logicians—were probably all contemporaries, and lived about A.D. 800. Under the Rashtrakutas were produced the Yasasti laka (to which reference will be made later) and NHtivdkydmrita of Somadeva.

To the ninth century belong the famous commentaries Dhavala and JayadhavaW, composed by Virasena and Jinasena, the latter being the author of Adi-purdna noted above. Amritachandra was a brilliant commentator who expounded Kundakunda’s works and also wrote the Tattvarthas^ra y Purushdrthasiddhyupaya } etc. Towards the close of the tenth century Nemichandra produced a number of fresh philosophic compendiums of considerable importance. It was during this period that Pushpadanta composed his monumental Apabhramsa work at the Rashtrakuta capital of Manyakheta (or Malkhed).

V. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The most important contribution of Jainism in cultural field is the principle and philosophy of Ahimsd. Though Ahimsd preached by Jainism is in a more extreme form than Buddhism, it has been duly graded for the householder and for the monk in view of the circumstances of life in which they are placed, and had no emasculating effect on the people. Jainism gave to India men who turned Ahvmsd into a philosophy of action, and numerous instances on record show that the Jain generals and kings did not spare themselves on the battlefield, and were not less averse to warfare than their contemporaries of Brahmanical faith.

The Jain householders were not led astray by ascetic ideals, but they did their duties as true householders without ignoring the practical considerations. The Jain kings or soldiers, who killed their enemies on the battlefield, were following the Jain precept of doing one’s duty. Such killing, as the hanging of a murderer, being in pursuance of the enjoined duty, does not constitute violation of Ahimsd , as prescribed by the code of a 6ravaka.

It may also be noted that the principle of Ahimsa was responsible for ending the himsd in Yajna and other Vedic rites, and also for introducing vegetarian diet in a large part of India.

The Jains also enriched the fine arts. The subject will properly be dealt in the Chapter on “Art”. Here we may simply draw attention to the colossal image of Gommata at Sravana Belgola, which is the most distinctive contribution of Jainism. Koppanja, Belgola Haleb id and other places are studded with spacious and massive temples with beautiful images, many of which belong to this period. The free-standing pillar (stambha), found in front of almost every basadi or Jain temple in Karnatak, is another peculiar contribution. Some of the cave temples of this period also show how Jainism has enriched this field.

A flood of light is thrown on the state of Jainism during the period under review by Yasastilaka, a literary romance in Sanskrit prose and verse, composed by Somadeva in A.D. 959. 94 Devotion to Jina, goodwill towards all creatures, hospitality to all, and an altruistic disposition were the religious ideals of the true Jain according to Somadeva. He emphasises the four gifts of protection, food, medicine and religious instruction; but would prefer that hospitality and charitable assistance should be confined mostly to the believers in the Jain faith. The frequency with which Somadeva defends certain practices of the Digambara ascetics such as nudity, abstention from bath and ablutions, and eating their food while standing, indicates that the non-Jains looked on these as unattractive features of

Jainism, and it was deemed necessary to remove all misconceptions in order to facilitate propagation of Jain faith among the masses.

Somadeva's testimony clearly indicates that though eager to propagate their faith, the Jains were opposed to admitting undesirable elements within their fold and welcomed only those who voluntarily accepted the religion. Considerable latitude, however, was shown to such converts as were unable to completely forego their former customs and beliefs. The process of infiltration of non-Jain elements in the religious practices of the Jains had already set in, and gradual transformation of Jainism was already at work, when Somadeva accorded recognition to them and tried to bring them into harmony with the orthodox position of the faith. He describes the five yatv/is of Jain householders which are clearly modelled on the pancha-mahayajnas , though he means ddna by yaina. South Indian Jain literature shows that the Jains were not onposd to fire ritual as such so long as it involved no animal sacrifice. Somadeva sums up the position bv observing that it is legitimate for the Jains to follow any custom or practice sanctioned by popular usage so long as it does

not come into conflict with the fundamental principle of the Jain faith or the moral and disciplinary vows. In the light of this, thq provision for balicharuddna , vaisvadeva and agnihotra in some Rashtrakuta grants for Jain establishments appears to be legitimate and permissible. Despite their attacks on the Hindu caste system we find it to be prevalent among the Jains, at least in certain parts of the country, even at the time of Somadeva,

In many other respects, too, Jainism was strongly influenced by the faiths and practices of the Brahmanical religion. Jina and his mystical predecessors came to be looked upon as gods, and many hymns to Jina were sung as devotedly and fervently as the Brahmanical ones, often using similar words but with a different sense. Jainism is described along with Buddhism as a theistic religion, in the sense that it accepts God as a spiritual ideal but not as a Creator, in the Shad-darsana-samuchchaya by Haribhadra. Further, Jina is described as the Universal Spirit who is Siva, Dhatri, Sugata, and Vishnu, possibly to accommodate Jainism to the spirit of the age. 95 Bhakti, again, is taken as the supreme means of salvation, and Jina became the saviour of souls, in the sense that his words lead them to

Moksha. The temple ritual with grants for the upkeep of temples, and anointing images with milk, decorating them with flowers, etc. also speaks of the influence of Hinduism. It may, however, be noted, that the image worship and ritual indicated above arose among the laity and not among the monks. We notice the influence of Hinduism to a larger extent, particularly in the South, where we find not only the four castes, but the caste marks, prohibition of widow marriage, and such other things.

Finally, as already stated, the various Gachchhas originated in the north with the 84 disciples of Uddyotana. According to the Kharataragachchhapattavali he flourished 550 years after Devarddhi. 96 Gandhani inscription on the back of the metal image of Sri Adinatha, dated V.S. 937 (A.D. 880), refers to Uddyotana's two disciples. The inscription shows that he became Acharya in A.D. 880. Pattavalis give 994 V.S., i.e. A.D. 937 as the year of his death. The inscription does not mention Gachchhas as these arose after each of his disciples. 97 Most of those Gachchhas have become extinct, and some new ones like Tapa, Kharatara., Anchala, etc. have come into existence. Uddyotana died on a pilgrimage which he had undertaken from Malavadesa to Satrunjaya to worship Rishabha. 98

VI. ICONOGRAPHY

Parts of Raj put ana and Central India, Kathiawar Peninsula, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and some parts of southern India (specially the central and western Deccan) possess Jain sculptural and architectural remains of the early and late mediaeval periods. There is no doubt that much of the ancient religious art of the Jains has been destroyed, and only a limited number of the extant Jain images go back to a period before the early mediaeval.

Jain images of a comparatively early period are very few in number in Bengal and certain parts of Bihar, but in other parts of Bihar and Orissa, they are fairly common. The image of Rishabhanatha found at Surohor (Dinajpur District, Bengal), and belonging to the tenth century A.D., is of unique iconographic interest, on account of its certain rare features. The sculpture is shaped like a shrine containing in its centre the main figure seated in dhydnasana, with the miniature figures of the twenty-three other Jinas similarly seated inside small shrines all round it; the latter are also characterised by their peculiar marks which we do not find in the Lucknow Museum composition of the Gupta period noticed above." The two male chauri-bearers on either side of Rishabhanatha, the flying garlandbearer, Vidyadhara couples on his top right and left, the two-tiered pedestal with a wheel and two lions on the upper tier and the bull and the figure of the donor on the lower, are all arranged with delicate skill and refinement. Another mediaeval composition depicting the same theme in a different manner was found at Barabhum (Midnapur District, Bengal) and is now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Three other Jina images, all hailing from Bengal, are characterised by the presence of the miniature figures of the Navagrahas on either side of the main figure standing in the K&yotsarga pose. Two of them representing Parsvanatha with his snake-hood show four of the grahas on each side, the presence of the ninth in the list, Ketu, being indicated by the snake cognizance of the Jina; the third, recognisable as Santinatha from his Idnchchhana, the antelope on the pedestal, displays four grahas on the right and five on the left, the fifth in the left side standing for Ketu. The sculptures all belong to the late mediaeval period and their execution is not indifferent. Some mediaeval Jina images hailing from other parts of India do not fail to show the formal stereotyped character, but the attendant Jinas and other figures are displayed in different ways. Thus the seated Rishabhanatha from Sravasti (Gonda District, U.P.) shows the miniature seated Jina figures on the rectangular prabhdvali in four rows of eight, two, six. and eight. The standing figures of Ajitanatha and Chandraprabha, both from Deogarh (Jhansi District, Central India), have only eight and four figures of standing Jinas carved on the back slab. The sculptors, however, have failed to carve the

individual marks below the attendant Jinas in these reliefs, perhaps due to exigencies of space. Some other seated and standing Jina icons of the mediaeval period, though they do not contain the figures of attendant Tlrthahkaras, are very rich in the number and variety of other types of accompanying figures which are displayed on their prabhdvali in a very interesting manner.

Reference may be made to one very well-carved seated image of Santinatha in the collection of the Fyzabad Museum, which shows the dancing Navagrahas in the lowermost section of the pedestal, the Upasaka, Sasanadevata, an antelope on either side of a wheel on the simhdsana above it, two beautifully carved chauri-bearers, one on each side of the central figure, two elephants with pitchers carrying riders on lotuses parallel to the head of the Jina, and lastly on the topmost section of the rectangular prabhdvali the two garland-bearing Vidyadhara couples on the right and left and one single garland-bearer over the triple umbrella above the Jina's head,— all three being depicted in the flying posture. In spite of the formal character of the principal theme, the whole composition is marked by subdued grace and beauty.

The Dilwara group of marble temples at Mount Abu, of which the most important are those of Vimala and Tejahpala (c. A.D. 1032-1232), display some of the finest examples of Jain figuresculpture, chiefly from the point of view of their exquisite delicacy of carving and severe simplicity. These images are very similar in appearance, and "representing nothing more than the skilled realisation of a fixed formula" are each a note in the whole scheme of the religious representation. What a contrast between these dream-like figures of beauty and the colossal Jain sculpture at Sravaga Belgola (Hasan District, Mysore), one of the largest-free-standng images in the world! The topmost section of the granite hill Indragiri was fashioned with marvellous success into this gigantic statue of Saint Gommatesvara, the son of the first Jina Rishabhanatha, who resigned his kingdom to become an ascetic. The saint is represented in the immovable serenity of one practising the K&yotsarga austerity, undisturbed by the serpents about his feet, the ant-hills rising to his thighs, or the growing creeper that has already reached his shoulders. This huge sculpture (57 feet high), whose plastic treatment is very formal, was carved under the orders of Chamun<Ja Raja about A.D. 983. Most of the extant Jain images from the early mediaeval period onwards are stereotyped in their treatment and were executed according to a set formula in which much that is common to the cult-icons of the rival Indian creeds is present.

It has already been shown that the subsidiary deities of the first class in the Jain pantheon are the Yakshas and the YakshinSS, known also as Upasakas and Sasanadevatas. The Jain text Pravachanasaroddhara describes the Yakshas as devotees of the Tirthankaras, and they, with their female counterparts, are the principal attendants of the Jin as. Though they are usually shown as accessory figures in many medieavel Jain sculptures, separate figures of some of them were well represented in the Jain temple-carvings of the post-Gupta and later periods. Their names and their iconographic features distinctly indicate the Brahmanical association of many of them. Thus, Gomukha, the Yaksha of Rishabhamatha, from his bull face and bull mount as well as such of his attributes as battle-axe, noose, etc. shows his distinct affinity with Siva; the name of his principal, Rishabhanatha, and the special cognizance also prove the latter's affiliation to the same Brahmanical deity. The tenth Yaksha, known as Brahma, is distinguished by four faces and a lotus seat and such attributes as citrus, rosary, abhaya or varamudrd } club, noose, etc.; though some of the latter attributes are foreign to the Brahma Prajapati of the Hindu pantheon, yet the name, the number of faces, the lotus-seat etc., closely connect him with the first member of the Brahmanical triad. Similarly isvara and Shanmukha Yakshas, the eleventh and thirteenth in the list, can be associated with Siva and Subrahmanya on the basis of their names, mounts and attributes. But such association in the case of many others in the list is not apparent, though their names seem to point towards similar affiliation. A reference to the iconography of Kumara, Garuda, Kubera, Varuna and others will prove this point. It seems that their names were adopted from Brahmanical religion, but their elaborate iconography was developed according to the ideology of the Jains. As regards many of their female counterparts also, their names alone do not always explain their Brahmanical association, though in some cases their names, attributes and mounts distinctly indicate it. Ambika or Kushmainidini, the 6asanadevata of Neminatha and consort of Gomedha, falls under the category of the latter, and her iconographic features leave little doubt that she is a Jain adaptation of the Hindu goddess of the same name. But the Jains developed a mythology of their own, which had very little in common with the stories connected with her Hindu original. She is one of the Jain goddesses whose images have been found all over India and her two-, four-, eight-, and even twentyarmed varieties of the early and late mediaeval periods are known. The wall paintings of the Vardhamana temple at Tiruparuttikunram (Jaina-Kanchi) in the Madras State illustrate the story of Agnita and her two sons Subhankara and

Prabhankara; Aenita was the name of Ambika in her human birth according to the Digambara version

of the story of the YakshinI’s origin. The Svetambara and Digambara accounts taken together help to explain almost wholly the iconographic traits of Ambika; her symbol of a bunch of mangoes and a child or sometimes two children near her with her lion mount are her characteristic cognizances. Sometimes she is shown accompanied by seven dancing female figures by her side (probably another adaptation of the Saptamatrika), and at other times she is seated or standing by her consort Gomedha. Several mediaeval reliefs in the collection of the Varendra Research Society’s Museum, Rajsbahi (Bengal), show a couple seated underneath the spreading branches of a tree with children in their laps; miniature figures in Yogasana are placed above the branches of the tree. These sculptures may be taken as the eastern mode of representing Gomedha and Ambika, and there is little doubt that they are adaptations of the figures of Panchika (Kubera) and Hariti, associated with Mahayana Buddhism. Padmavati, like her spiritual father, the Jina Parsvanatha, is associated with snakes and her Brahmanical or popular counterpart is the folk-goddess Manasa, one of whose names is also Padmavati or Padma.

D. &ATVTSM AND VAISHNAVISM I. SATVTSM

1. Growth and General Popularity

§aivism attained a dominant position in India during the period under review. This is testified to by the adherence of a large number of royal families to this faith and the building of richly endowed temples, 100 some of which have attained world-wide fame. Alongside this material manifestation of religious fervour, there was also a parallel philosophical movement which tended to fix the tenets of Saivism. While the main principles remained the same, there were local variations and consequent doctrinal differences. It has been stated in an earlier volume that very early in the development of Saivism there came into being several sub-sects. Most of these sects, or rather schools, were the result of different philosophical tendencies among the worshippers of Siva. Just as in Vedanta we have Dvaita, Visishtadvaita and Advaita, besides many other points of view, even so in Saivism we have schools ranging from pluralistic realism to monistic idealism.

2. K&shmir Saivism

There is a form of Saivism, popularly known as Kashmir Saivism, which is a kind of monism or non-dualism. The names by which the system is known are: Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhifm , 101 The name Trika primarily refers to the triple principle with which the system deals, viz. Siva-sakti-anu or pati-pdsa-pasu. Though the other schools of Saivism also accept these three categories, Kashmir Saivism regards the individual soul and the world as essentially identical with Siva, and so the three, according to it, are reducible to one. The term Spanda indicates the principle of apparent movement or change from the state of absolute unity to the plurality of the world. And the expression Pratyabhijna, which means ‘recognition’ refers to the way of realising the soul’s identity with Siva.

The beginnings of Kashmir Saivism are to be traced to the &iva~ sutras whose authorship is attributed to Siva himself. The sutras are said to have been revealed to a sage by name Vasugupta who lived towards the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. A succession of talented exponents of the system followed Vasugupta. Kallata, 102 who was Vasugupta’s chosen pupil, wrote, among other works, Spanda-sarvasva in which he explained the meaning of the £iva-sutras as taught by his master. Somananda, the author of Siva-drishti and a vritti thereon, was probably another pupil of Vasugupta. Among other teachers of Kashmir Saivism, who flourished during the period under review, we find the names of Utpala, Ramakantha and Abhinavagupta. The last named was a prolific writer on a variety of subjects. The period of his literary activity extended over a quarter of a century, from about A.D. 991 to 1015. His best known work on Kashmir Saivism is the Paramdrthasara which is an adaptation of an earlier Advaita work of the same name by Adi Sesha.

The Ultimate Reality, in Kashmir Saivism, as in every school of Saiva philosophy, is Sambhu or Siva the Supreme God. Siva is the Atman, the self of all beings, immutable and ever perfect. He is pure consciousness (chaitanya), absolute experience (para samvit), supreme lord (paramesvara) . He is the ground of all existence, the substrate of all beings. He is beginningless and one; he resides in all that moves and all that moves not. Time and space do not limit him, for he transcends them, and they are but his appearance. He is both immanent (visvamaya) and transcendent (visvottiriia) . The world does not exhaust him, for he is infinite. He is called anuttara, the reality beyond which there is nothing. In the familiar strain of the Upanishads, the teachers of Kashmir Saivism tell us that the Ultimate Reality is beyond the reach of thought and language. Yet both mind and speech attempt to understand and express the Real in its relation to the universe.

The pure consciousness, which is the Supreme Reality and is referred to as Siva, is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. This view is much the same as the one sponsored by Advaita-Vedanta as regards Saguna-Brahman. God or Reality is the substance of which the world is made as well as the instrument which makes it. Fundamentally there is no difference between the cause and the effect. But while for Advaita the manifested world is nonreal, for Kashmir Saivism it is real.

By means of several illustrations the writers on the Pratyabhijna system explain the creation of the universe from and by Siva. The world is very often compared to the reflected city in a mirror. “As in the orb of a mirror pictures such as those of a town or village shine which are inseparable from it, and yet are distinct from one another and from it, so from the perfectly pure vision of the supreme Bhairava, this universe, though void of distinction, appears distinct, part from part, and distinct from that vision.” 103 And again, “As syrup, molasses, jaggery, sugar-balls, candy, etc., are all alike juice of the sugar-cane, so the diverse conditions are all of Sambhu, the Supreme Self.” 104 The illustration of the rope appearing as the snake is also employed, though not with the same implication as in Advaita-Vedanta. Another familiar analogy used to explain creation is the appearance of ideas in the mind. The creation-theory of the Pratyabhijna school is known as abhdsavdda, i.e. the view which holds that the universe consists of appearances which are all real in the sense that they are aspects of the Ultimate Reality.

The manifestation of the universe is effected through the Power (sakti) of Siva. And Power is not different from the Possessor thereof. Sakti is Siva’s creative energy, and is spoken of as his feminine aspect. There are innumerable modes of Sakti. But the most important of them are five. They are: (1) chit-sakti, the power of intelligence or self-luminosity, which means that the Supreme shines by itself without dependence on any other light and even in the absence of all objects; (2) ananda-sakti, the power of independence (svdtantryCL) which is bliss or joy, and by virtue of which the Ultimate Reality is self-satisfied;(3) ichchha-sakti, the power of will or desire, the wonderful power of the Lord to create; (4) jnana^sakti, the power of knowledge by virtue of which the objects are brought together and held together in consciousness; and (5) kriyd-sakti , the power of action which is responsible for the actual manifestation of objects and their relations. By these powers the supreme Siva in his aspects as Sakti manifests himself as the universe. He manifests himself by his own free will (svechchhayd) and in himself as the substrate (svabhittau) . That is, there is nothing other than Siva. If the universe appears as if different, such appearance is a delusion. With the opening out of Sakti, the universe appears; and when Sakti closes

herself up, the universe disappears. Srishti (creation) and pralaya (dissolution) alternate; and this process is without a beginning.

As in the other schools of ^aivism, thirty-six categories or tattvds are recognised in Kashmir Saivism. The tattva which is counted as the thirty-sixth but which is first in the logical order is Siva, the Ultimate Reality, as it holds the potentiality of creation. It is of this reality, as we said, that the universe is an appearance. The £aivatattva is the first stage in the process of world-manifestation. Of the five aspects of gakti, chit or intelligence predominates over the others at this stage. The next category or tattva is sakti . It is not proper to call it the second stage, for it is by virtue of its operation that the manifestation of the £iva-tattva is made possible. When sakti is counted separately, what is meant in reality is the manifestation of its dnanda aspect—-the aspect of bliss and self-satisfaction which is the precursor of the manifestation of a variety of forms. The other categories need not be discussed in detail as they are mostly abstruse philosophical principles.

The supreme aim of the Pratyahhijnd system is to enable the individual soul to find its salvation. The salvation consists in the soul's recognition of its identity with the Ultimate Reality. As bondage is the result of ignorance, release is to be attained through knowledge. The knowledge which liberates, however, is not mere intellectual awareness; it is spiritual intuition of the fundamental unity. The intuition is gained by dikshd, which is the name for the act whereby spiritual knowledge is imparted and the bondage of innate ignorance is removed. The intellectual knowledge of the Pratyahhijnd system is also necessary, because without it dikshci will not be efficacious.

This is how the process of recognition is illustrated and explained; "A certain damsel, hearing of the many good qualities of a particular gallant, fell in love with him before she had seen him, and agitated by her passion and unable to suffer the pain of not seeing him, wrote to him a love-letter descriptive of her condition. He at once came to her, but when she saw him she did not recognise in him the qualities she had heard about; he appeared much the same as any other man, and she found no gratification in his society. So soon, however, as she recognised those qualities in him, as her companions now pointed them out, she was fully gratified. In like manner, though the personal self be manifested as identical with the universal soul, its manifestation effects no complete satisfaction so long as there is no recognition of those attributes; but as soon as it is taught by a spiritual director to recognise in itself the perfections of Mahesvara,

his omniscience, omnipotence, and other attributes, it attains the whole pleroma of being." 105

Mere human effort will not be of much avail in the path to mcksha. What really moves here is the Divine Will. Besides^the three powers of creation, sustentation, and destruction of the universe, God has the powers of concealment and grace. His real nature is concealed from the soul; and after the soul has played out its part in scimsdra } God's grace descends on the individual; and the individual is released. The descent of Divine Grace is called sakti-nipdta.

Moksha, according to the Pratyabhijnd system, is a return to the original state of perfection and purity of consciousness. Abhinavagupta describes it thus: “When thus the imagination of duality. has vanished, and he (the released soul) has surmounted the illusive mdyd } he is merged in Brahman, as water in water, as milk in milk. When thus through contemplation the group of elements has been resolved into the substance of Siva, what grief, what delusion can befall him who surveys the universe as Brahman?” 106

3. Sankardchdrya

In the south Saivism received a great impetus from the life and work of a spiritual genius who was born in the Chera country about the year A.D. 788, and who, in the short space of terrestrial existence granted to him, revolutionised the spiritual outlook of men in India. Though he is primarily known as the greatest exponent of Advaita Vedanta, Sankara was nevertheless the Acharya par excellence who cleansed the Hindu faiths of the excrescences that had gathered round them due to accidents of history, and taught each aspirant to follow the way that was best suited to him. Besides the commentaries which he wrote on the Upanishads, the Bhagavad-gitd } and the Brahma-sutras, he composed hymns in praise of the major gods of Hinduism. Several of these hymns glorify Siva as the God of gods. Sankara was himself a Saiva by birth. And tradition has it that he was an incarnation of Siva, born for the purpose of consolidating Hindu dharma, and in answer to the implorings of Sivaguru and Aryamba at Kala^i. In the course of his digvijaya, Sankara met in argument several groups of pseudo-Saivas who were responsible for the prevalence of left-handed practices, and by quelling them freed the followers of Saivism from their baneful influence. At Ujjain, for instance, which was famous for the worship of Mahakala, he is said to have vanquished in argument a Pasupatacharya. It is also recorded that he visited Kashmir. And it is not unlikely that his doctrine of Advaita influenced, in some ways, the formulation of the Pratyabhijnd system. 107

4. Iconography

The tendency to multiply the variety of Saiva images was carried to its fullest extent in the early and late mediaeval Saiva reliefs, most of which illustrate numerous stories current about the god. Those that do not seem to be associated with any particular mythology retain the early form, and can be generally described on the basis of later iconographic texts as Siva Chandrasekhara. These are standing figures; seated types of such images, depicted singly or in company with Uma and Skanda, are usually known as Sukhasanamurti, Uma-Mahesvara-murti, Somaskanda-murti, etc., the last of which was known only in South India. They represent the placid (sdumya) aspect of the god, while there are other mediaeval imagetypes, usually^ designated as Bhairava, which emphasise his terrific (ugra) one. The numerous figures of Siva of the post-Gupta age, hailing from different parts of India, which are illustrative of various Saiva mythologies, can also be sub-divided into two principal groups, viz . samhdra (destructive) and anugraha (gracious), corresponding to his ugra and sdumya aspects. These two aspects remind one of malignant-benignant concepts underlying Vedic Rudra; an epic passage refers to the two bodies of Siva, one auspicious and the other fierce (dve tdnu tasya devdsya. . .ghorarii anyam sivcim anyam . . .). Other graceful forms of Siva are known which are called Dakshina-murti and Nritya-murti etc. in the Saivagamas like Suprabhedagdmd; they do not illustrate any story, but portary the god as a master in various arts such as dancing, playing on musical instruments, expounding the sastras, as also in the practice of Yoga. Reliefs depicting the themes of the marriage of Siva and Uma (Kalyana-sundara-murti), Siva’s expiation of the sin of Brahmahatya (Kankala-murti, Bhikshatana-murti), descent of the Gahga on Siva’s head (Gangadhara-murti), granting of Pasupatastra to Arjuna by Siva (Pasupatastra-dana-murti)-—really a form of Anugraha-murti, joint forms of Siva and Uma (Ardhanarlsvara) and of Siva and Vishnu (Hari-Hara), etc., are also known from fairly early period; they usually come under the god’s sdumya form. Ardhanarlsvara and Hari-Hara motifs emphasise in their own way the attempts to harmonise different cult-deities such as Siva, Sakti and Vishnu. Another group of images were mostly evolved in South India in the mediaeval times, which like the Chaturviihsatimurtis in the case of Vaishnavism, were intended to symbolise some of the principal tenets of Saivism. Sadasiva-murti, Maha-Sadasivamurti, Mahesa-murti, etc. belong to this category. This bewildering diversity in the anthropomorphic way of representing Siva is all the more noteworthy wbm it is remembered that the principal object

of worship enshrined in the main sanctum is almost invariably an aniconic symbol.

Reference has been made above 108 to the nature and significance of the Ardhanarisvara-murti. The Purapara image in the Rajshahi Museum shows a less common way of representing this divine aspect, where the god shown fully in the round is two-armed and ithyphallic; it is a fine piece of sculpture and can be regarded as one of the best specimens of the late Pala period.

Mediaeval sculptures representing the marriage of Siva and Parvatl, usually described as Kalyana-sundara or Vaivahika-murti, are common in several parts of India, one of the most outstanding examples of which is the very much mutilated Elephanta relief, a fine and sublime product of the Indian artistic genius. The easy grace of the standing pose of Uma and Siva, the tasteful grouping round them of the accessory figures, the eager and wistful attitude of the latter who appear as regular participants in the main scene, have been expressed with great skill by the unknown sculptor. The Vaivahika-murtis, found in Bengal, do not stand comparison with the Elephanta sculpture in point of artistic execution, but they portray some local marriage customs. The Vangiya Sahitya Parishat (Calcutta) specimen of such an image is a representative one of this group. 109 The Dakshina-murti types of Saiva sculptures are principally south-Indian in character, and such figures as Yoga-, Jhana-, Vyakhyana-, and Vinadhara-dakshina-murtis have seldom been found in northern and eastern India. 110 But if, as we have suggested above, the Nritya-murtis of Siva are included among such Saiva images, it can be shown that particular types of this variety of Dakshina-murti of Siva were fairly prevalent in other parts of India as well. The south Indian Nritya-murtis of Siva at first show a well-marked variety which, however, came to be merged in one outstanding type, the Siva Nataraja, a sublime creation in the domain of art. The Ellora and Chidambaram temples, as well as several other Saiva shrines of the Deccan, contain figures of Siva shown in various dance poses, such as Chatura, Katisama, Lalita , Lalatattl^ka , Talasamsphotita, etc.; but these gradually gave place to the ideal Nataraja type which, mostly in bronze and rarely in stone, became common in South India. 111 Rao says: “In all Siva temples of importance a separate place is allotted to Nataraja which is known as the Natana Sablid or simply Scibha. The most important of these sabhas is that at Chidambaram.” 112 This Nadanta dance mode of Siva Nataraja shows him with his right leg firmly planted on the back of the wriggling Muvalaka (Apashmarapurusha, the evil personified), his left leg raised high up in a slant, his front left

hand in the dola- or gajci-hasta pose pointing to the lifted foot, the front right hand in the abhaya pose, the back right and left hands carrying a kettle-drum and a ball of fire respectively; the whole composition is placed on a well-decorated pedestal on which rest the ends of the circular or elliptical prabhd (tiruvasi in Tamil) which encircles it. The sublime ideology underlying this very characteristic dancing type of Siva images has been elaborately expounded by A.K. Coomaraswamy . 113 The Tamil text, called Unmai vilakkam, explains the symbolism underlying the cosmic dance as follows: “Creation arises from the drum, protection proceeds from hand of hope (the abhaya pose in the front right one), from fire proceeds destruction, the foot held aloft gives mukti” (the same as anugraha or release). Thus, in a way, it practically embraces all the five-fold activities of the lord,—his panchakrityas , viz., creation, preservation, destruction, grace, and obscuration, the tiruvasi round him symbolising the last of the activities. A different variety of Nataraja seems to have been evolved in Bengal and eastern India, which shows the ten- or twelve-armed god dancing in deep ecstasy on the back of his mount, Nandi, surrounded by a host of accessory figures. Such ten-armed images closely follow the description of the dancing Siva given in the Matsya Purdna, and the Dacca Museum specimen, originally collected from Sankarabandha, a village in the Dacca District, can be regarded as the most representative of this group. It is a fine piece of artistic work of the Pala period and portrays with characteristic vigour the intense movement accompanied by rhythmic grace . 114 The Anugraha-murtis of Siva have been found both in northern and southern India, but Some of their varieties Ike Chandesanugraha-murti are typically south Indian in character. Ravananugraha-murti figures are often found carved in mediaeval Saiva temples, and one of the Ellora reliefs, depicting the theme, has been adjudged as one of the best artistic remains of ancient India . 115 Partially broken square stone pillars from Chandimau and Rajaona (Bihar), now in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, characteristically portary the scenes of Siva releasing the goddess Ganga from coils of his jatds (matted hair) after being propitiated by Bhagiratha, and the Kiratarjuna story in which Siva in the guise of a hunter (Kirata) fights with Arjuna, and being satisfied with the latter's prowess, grants him the Pasupatastra . 116 A huge stone boulder at Mamallapuram (Madras) contains an elaborate scene carved on its surface, which was supposed to illustrate the Kiratarjuna episode; it was later explained as illustrating some phases of the story of the descent of the Ganga. But it has now been proved beyond doubt that the earlier suggestion about its character is correct . 117

Among the different types of terrific or Ugra forms of Siva, some oi wmcn do not seem to illustrate any particular Saiva mythology, mention may be made of his Bhairava-, Aghora-, Virabhadra-, ana V irupaKsna- murtis. The first is also sometimes described as Branmasirascnnedaka-murti of Siva, and the Pur anas and the Agamas try to explain this aspect of Siva, cutting off one of the heads of the polycephalous Brahma, by different stories. But there seems to be very little real connection between these varying myths and the iconic types. The Agamic texts enumerate as many as sixtyfour Bhairavas, divided in groups of eight, each group being headed, respectively by such names as Asitahga, Ruru, Chanda, Krodha, Unmatta-Bhairava, Kapala, Bhlshana, and Samhara. They are the consorts or guardians of the sixty-four Yoginis referred to in the Tantrik form of the Sakti worship. The particular type of Bhairava commonly found in India is, however, known as Batuka-Bhairava (literally youthful Bhairava), who is usually shown as a nude figure, terrifying in appearance, with fangs protruding from the corners of the mouth parted in a weird smile, with eyes round and rolling, and hands holding such objects as a sword, a khatvanga or Sula, and a kapala; he wears wooden sandals and is accompanied by a dog. One Ellora stone panel is of unique iconographic interest, inasmuch as it contains a figure of Atiriktahga Bhairava, one of the eight headed by Samhara; it shows the extremely emaciated standing figure of the god resting his weight on his three legs (the third leg is the extra limb —atirikta anga) and attended by other ghostly emaciated figures, one of whom is Kali. Rao observes, about this remarkable relief, that "though grotesque, the sculptor has executed his work with great skill." 118 Some Aghora and Virupaksha forms of Siva have been found in Bengal, and one of the latter, in the collection of the Dacca Museum, depicts in a very striking manner the uncanny horror underlying such concepts of the god. 119 Another type of less terrific image of the deity is his Kankala-murti, in which he carries on his trident the skeleton of Vishvaksena, the gate-keeper of Vishnu, who was killed by Siva for his refusal to admit him into the presence of Vishnu. Such images of the late mediaeval period are comparatively common in South India. Bhikshatana-murti of Siva, which is mythologically associated with the Kankala-murti is, however, of a placid type, and it shows the deity as a wandering youth of the untouchable order (the bell tied round one of his legs emphasises social degradation), usually nude, holding a kapala in one of his hands, and somtimes accompanied by a frisking deer; it may be observed that the above two types do not appear to have been used as cult objects in northern and eastern India. 120 Among the images of the god portraying his

terrific nature, which illustrate different episodes in his divine career, mention may be made of Gajasurasamhara-murti, Tripurantakamurti, Andhakasuravadha-murti, Kalari-murti, Kamantaka-ra.urti, etc. The first three of these forms portray the destruction of the different demons like Gajasura, or the demon in the shape of an elephant whose hide he wore as his garment after destroying him, the three Asuras of the three castles (tripura), and Andhakasura. Some of the finest sculptures of the early mediaeval period represent these motifs, and the much mutilated Ellora and Elephanta panels, depicting the Tripurantaka and Andhakasuravadha-murtis of Siva, reach sublime heights of artistic creation; in the multi-handed awe-inspiring god in both of them is very skilfully portrayed the dynamic energy with which he destroys the demons of evil. It is worth noting, in connection with the myths underlying such images, that some of them seem to be regular developments of Vedic epithets associated with Rudra, one of the constituents of the composite god Siva of the Epic and Puranic period. Thus, in the satarudrlya section of Yajurveda one of the names of Rudra is Krittivasa, i.e. a god who has the hide of an animal (an elephant) for his garment; it will not be an exercise of our imagination, if we say that the whole episode of Gajasurasamhara-murti is an indirect development of the above epithet. Tripurantaka-murti appears also to have developed out of some concept associated with Rudra. Gajasurasamharamurti is a very favourite theme in the south, and this type of Saiva images is also found, though comparatively rarely, in northern India. Kalari-murti, in which form the god chastised Kala or Yama, the god of death, for his attempt to take away the life of Markandeya, a great devotee of Siva, while he was engaged in worshipping his deity, is fairly common in South India and reference may be made to the striking Ellora sculpture depicting the theme. Kamantaka-murti is seldom represented in mediaeval art.

There are certain types of Saiva images which seek to illustrate some of the tenets of the Suddha-Saiva doctrine. As such they are not very old, for they presuppose a time when the philosophy underlying the Suddha-Saiva system was fully developed. A comparison can be fruitfully instituted between such Saiva icons with the Vaishnava ones falling under the Vyuha category. The latter also, as has been shown earlier, are associated with one of the principal tenets of the Pancharatrins: but unlike most of such Saiva images, those of the two principal Vvuhas of Vasudeva-Vishnu, viz. Vasudeva and Samkarshana, are of a very early date. No Sad^siva and Mahasadasiva-murtis of Siva, which idealise the whole philosophy of the Suddha Saiva school of Saivism, can be ascribed to the Gupta age; all the known specimens can be dated in the mediaeval and

late mediaeval periods. They are mostly of south Indian origin, being associated principally with a cult which attained its development in that region. The Agamanta Saivism seems to have been originally evolved in North India, for some of its ideas and concepts are closely parallel to those of the Pahcharatra system whose northern origin is beyond any doubt. But it was subsequently fully developed in all its ideological ramifications in its south Indian surroundings, and that explains why these Saiva images mostly hail from different parts of the Peninsula. The Sena kings, of Bengal, whose orginal home land was the Karnata country, were devout worshippers of Sadasiva, and they used a five-faced arrdf ten-armed figure of the god as their seal-device. It was owing to their patronage that Sadasiva cult gained some importance in Bengal, as is proved by the discovery of several Sadasiva images from its various parts. This variety of icons is described in the Makdnirvdnatantra. the Uttara-kdmikdgama and the Garuda Purdna. The last two texts describe the god as endowed with five faces, ten arms, seated in the baddhapadmasana pose, showing in his right hands abhaya-, and varada-mudrd } sakti, trisula and khatvanga f and in his left ones, sdrpa, akshamald, damaru, nilotpala and vijapura. The five faces typify the different aspects of Siva—the Panchabrahmas or isanadayah, viz., Sadyojata, Vamadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha, and Isana, who in their turn are supposed to have emanated from the five particular powers of the supreme deity, Siva, viz . Para-sakti, Adi-sakti, Ichchhasakti, Jnana-sakti, and Kriya-sakti. These five aspects again are also known as five sadakhyas or tattvas such as Siva-sadakhya, Amurtta-sadakhya, Murtta-sadakhya, Kartri-sadakhya, and Karmasadakhya, each being dependent on or emanating from its immediate predecessor. It will not be possible here to go into further details about the ideologies underlying the Sadaiiva-murti, but even a cursory study of it will enable one to be aware of the deep mysticism behind the concrete icon. The importance in which it was held in the developed cult is emphasised by the fact that its sectaries thought that all the different ‘ lildmurtis 9 of the supreme god Siva (these are the various types of saumya- and ugra - murtis, a brief account of which has been given above) are so many manifestations of the Mahesa-murti which is itself derived from a thousandth part of the last of the tattvas, viz. Karma-sadatattva or Karmasadakhya mentioned just now. Rao was of opinion that the so-called Trimurti of Elephanta cave, as well as the central image of Rana Mokalji’s temple at Chitorgadh (MewarJ, really represents the Mahesa-murti of Siva. The Mahasadasiva-murti is a further complicated aspect of Sadasiva-murti, being endowed with twenty-five heads and fifty arms; each of the five heads of the latter being

replaced by the same number of heads makes up the requisite number, which again symbolises the twenty-five tattvas of Indian philosophy. The way in which “these heads are arranged in tiers in arithmetical progression”, in some of the extant south Indian specimens of this variety of a late date, distinctly reminds us of the multi-headed forms of Avalokitesvara worshipped by the Buddhists of Tibet and Nepal. There are other Saiva images such as those of Ekadasa-Rudras, Murtyashtakas, Vidyesvaras, etc., which either emphasise the Rudra or Vedic part of the composite god Siva or illustrate in their own way one or other of the philosophic concepts of the Saiva system. But these images are comparatively late and rare.

Mention may be made now of another image-type which does not illustrate any Saiva tenet, but emphasises the highest position of Siva amongst the orthodox Brahmanical Triad. This is the Ekapada Trimurti of the god, in which he is shown as standing onelegged, holding his usual attributes in his hands, with four-armed Brahma and Vishnu issuing respectively from his right and left flanks, their front hands showing the anjalimudra and back ones carrying their respective emblems. If we leave out these flanking figures, the one-legged central deity reminds us of the god-concept Aja-Ekapada, one of the eleven Rudras (Ekadasa Rudras), which is one of the Vedic constituents of the composite god Siva. This type of Siva image, again, was at the root of another little-known Vaishnava one in which the central figure is that of Vishnu, the flanking ones being those of Siva and Brahma; there can be no doubt that it was the direct outcome of sectarian jealousy, the Vaishnava sectary retaliating, in this curious manner, the lowering of the position of their own cult-god by the Saivas. Another very little-known Saiva image-type, known as Sarabhesa-murti, distinctly owes its origin to the sectarian rancour, for Siva is said to have killed Narasimha (the Man-lion form of Vishnu) after assuming this curious hvbrid form, in which the features of man, bird, and beast were combined, when the latter got out of hand after he had destroyed Hiranyakasipu, a great devotee of Siva. 121 These two image-groups are, however, mainly south Indian in character, as are those of the sixtythree Nayanmars 122 or Siva-bhaktas of the Tamil land, which were sometimes placed in particular sections of important Saiva temples of southern India.

II. VAISHNAVISM 1. The Achdryas

We have seen how, under the patronage of the Imperial Guptas, Vaishnavism became a great force in the religious life of both

northern and southern India and how some of the Tamil saints (Alvars), who flourished during that age, gave a new impetus to south Indian Vaishnavism. In the post-Gupta period, the influence of the Vaishnava faith can be traced in every corner of northern India; some of the notable kings of various dynasties flourishing in different north Indian tracts are known to have favoured this religion. The same was also the case with South India. It must however be admitted that the greatest stronghold of Vaishnavism in post-Gupta India was the Tamil country where it flourished at first under the impetus of the Alvars up to the eighth century and then under another class of saints known as the Acharyas. While the Alvars represented the emotional side of Tamilian Vaishnavism, the Acharyas, who were their successors, represented its intellectual or philosophical side.

The earliest of the Acharyas was Nathamuni, otherwise called Ranganathacharya, who was a native of Vlranarayanapura (modern Mannargudi in the South Arcot District). The traditional date of his death is given as A.D. 920. This date appears to be too early for Nathamuni’s death, but may actually be the date of his birth. Another tradition makes him the contemporary of a Chola king residing at Gangaikondacholapuram and thus assigns his death to a date not earlier than the reign of Rajendra Chola I who founded the above city in the first half of the eleventh century. This date for Nathamuni’s death is now usually accepted.

Nathamuni lived at Srlrangam and was the author of the Nyaya tattva which gives an elaborate exposition of the philosophy of the Visishtadvaita school. The essential doctrine of this school is that of the prdpatti which is absolute surrender to God in renunciation and faith and is based on the Gita and the early Pancharatra works. It is said that this doctrine was first brought into practise by Nammalvar or Sathakopa and was later elaborated by Nathamuni and his successors, the greatest amongst them being Ramanuja. The sect founded by Nathamuni became known as the &rlvaishnava. Nathamuni was inspired by the songs of the Alvars, especially by those of Nammalvar or Sathakopa. He is said to have recovered all the songs of Sathakopa and to have arranged those as well as the extant songs of the other Alvars into four collections of about one thousand stanzas each.

The school founded by Nathamuni did not approve of Karmon done for worldly results and favoured renunciation of all results of deeds. It was a reaction against the Purva-mlmamsa school of such teachers as Prabhakara, Sabarasvamin, Kumarila and Mandana, according to which salvation may be attained by the faithful per

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formance of ceremonial rites prescribed by the Sruti and Smriti literature, as well as against the Advaita (Absolute Monism) school of Sankara (ninth century) which laid the greatest stress on Juana, making religion more an affair of the head than of the heart. The history of this school of Vaishnavism under Nathamuni's successors will be treated in the next volume.

2. Iconography

Images of Vishnu and of his avatdras (incarnations) belonging to the post-Gupta period are found in large numbers all over India. An interesting variety of the asana-Vishnu of the mediaeval times in the collection of the Khajuraho (also spelt Khajraho) Museum shows the god with the forefinger of his main left hand raised to the height of his lips, with the usual accompanying figures clustering round him. The peculiar hand-pose, indicative of silence, not recorded in any of the known varieties of the Vishnu image, reminds us of the bronze statuette discovered by Marshall at Sirkap and identified by him as the child-god Harpocrates. There is no reference to such figures as the Vishnu maunavratin of Khajuraho in any of the well-known iconographic texts. 123

Images of several incarnatory forms and manifestations of Vishnu, whose early and late mediaeval representations are known, are of great iconographic interest. The textual description of one such, viz. Yajnapurusha or Yajhesa, corresponds to a very great extent to one image in the eastern gateway (gopura) of the Chidambaram temple. It shows a two-headed, four-horned, seven-handed and three-legged figure with a bull by his side, and symbolises the Vedic sacrifice in a very interesting manner. In the £atapatha Brahmana, Vishnu, originally an aspect of Surya, is regarded identical with sacrifice, and this is why the symbolical representation of Yajna is called in some Pahcharatra texts and Puranas an avatara of Vishnu. 124 Another incarnatory form of the god is Dattatreya or Hari-Hara-Pitamaha who can be recognised among some mediaeval sculptures of India. It either shows the three members of the orthodox Brahmanical triad, namely, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, placed side by side, or it may appear as a four-armed Vishnu whose Brahma and Siva aspects are indicated by their respective mounts carved on the pedestal by the side of Garuda. The standing and seated images of this god, hailing respectively from Ajmere (Rajputana) and Badami (Deccan), are unique specimens of the second variety of Dattatreya images. 125 Visvarupa and Hayagriva are two other avatdras of Vishnu, whose images, though rare, are not absolutely unknown. The former, a twenty-armed deity with various attributes in the respective hands, characteristically portrays the

all-powerful and all-pervading god. A partially broken image from north Bengal, though it does not fully conform to the textual description of this aspect of Vishnu, seems to stand for Visvarupa. 126 Hayagriva or Vadavavaktra, as the name indicates, is another composite form of the god, in which the head of a horse is placed on a human body. This peculiar form is said to have been assumed by Vishnu in order to chastise a demon of that shape, who had despoiled the Vedas. Though images of Hayagriva are comparatively rare in India, it is interesting to note that this iconic type travelled to the countries of the Far East. 127

Kamadeva, the same as Pradyumna, the son of Krishna by RukminI, was represented in mediaeval India. His characteristic attributes are a sugarcane bow and arrow in his hands, and his special cognizance is a makaradhvaja; he is usually shown accompanied by his two consorts Rati and Trisha. 128 Garuda is usually carved on one corner of the Vishnu images with his hands in the navnaskdramudrd; sometimes he is shown carrying his master on his back. But separate figures, which served as capitals of columns erected in front of Vaishnava shrines, are also known. The Besnagar Garudadhvaja of the second century B.C. had one, but unfortunately it is lost. The bird-mount of Vishnu is shown with the face and limbs of a man, stylised locks of hair rising from his head, and with the beak, wings and claws of a bird; when used as a capital piece, he is sometimes janiform. His comparatively rare four-armed types show a snake, the mortal enemy of the Garuda, in one of his hands. The earliest representations of Garuda are to be found on the coins of the Imperial Gupta rulers. A fine specimen of janiform Garuda capital is in the collection of Rajshahi museum (Bengal), belonging to the tenth century A.D.; it has three eyes and snake ornaments.

Of the goddesses associated with Vishnu-Krishna, Lakshml, Sarasvati (Sri and Pushti) and Bhudevi are the most represented ones. They usually appear as attending consorts of the cult-god, though their independent figures are also not wanting. In the north and east Indian Vishnu reliefs, Sri and Pushti are almost invariably shown as the principal companions, while in the south Indian ones, the place of Pushti is taken by Bhudevi. Sri or Lakshml, when depicted alone, is usually shown as Gaja-Lakshml, the lotus-carrying goddess bathed by two elephants, a very familiar motif which can be traced to the second century B.C., if not earlier. Other varieties of this goddess, two-armed and four-armed, are also known. Reference to one eleventh century bronze figure of four-armed GajaLakshml, hailing from north Bengal and now in the collection of the Rajshahi Museum, may be made in this connection; one of its

hands is broken, the other three hold a citron, an elephant-goad, and a jewel-basket. A Bharhut railing pillar contains a standing female figure playing on a harp; it may be regarded as the earliest representation of Sarasvati in Indian art. Her separate figures from the late Gupta period onwards, however, are comparatively common. Two-armed images of the goddess are shown playing on a Vina, but in four-armed ones, the back hands carry a rosary and a manuscript; her usual vehicle is a swan, but in some Bengal sculptures of the Devi a frisking lamb takes its place. 129 One of the finest mediaeval figures of Sarasvati is in the Rajshahi Museum; it was found in a village in the district of Bogra (Bengal).

The above brief summary gives only a glimpse of the infinite iconographic variations of one of the most important Brahmanical cults of India. There is little doubt about their evolution being gradual, but presumably by A.D. 1300, most of these came to be displayed in one or other parts of the different Vaishnava shrines of India according to their relative importance. Rao tells us that many of the minor avatar as and manifestations of Vishnu were used as avaranadevabcis, i.e , f deities placed in small subsidiary shrines in various corners of the dvaranas or enclosures of Vaishnava temples. The Jagannatha temple at Puri and the big Srlrangam temple of comparatively late date illustrate this ancient Vaishnava practice. These iconic types may appear to the uninitiated as mere aberrations of human art instinct; but to the appreciative and the initiated they are nothing more nor less than attempts through the medium of the language of symbolism to portray the different aspects of the principal deity.

(E) TANTRIK RELIGION

The word Tantra has been sought to be derived in the Kasikavritti from the root tan, to spread, with the suffix shtran added. Some philosophical commentators have traced it to the root tatri or tantri, to originate or to know, while the two roots tan and tantri have elsewhere been identified and used also in the sense of spreading or weaving. In its present widely accepted sense Tantra means a literature which spreads knowledge, and particularly knowledge of profound things with the aid of mystic diagrams (yantra) and words possessing esoteric meanings (mantra), and helps the attainment of salvation. As a matter of fact, however, out of about three dozen senses in which the term Tantra may be used, quite a number is utilized in different philosophical systems in an ordinary non-religious sense, and it is only in later literature, from about the fifth or sixth century A.D., that Tantra as a special religious or philosophical concept gradually came into use. The earliest uses of the word Tantra, as in Srauta-sutras, the Harivamsa, Susruta, Saihkhya philosophy, and didactic fables, did not bear the meaning of a special literature dedicated to the cult of Sakti. The worship of Mothers and reference to Dakinis attending them may be traced to Gangdhar inscription 129a of the fifth century A.D., and the images of Mothers are referred to in the Brihat-samhitd. But neither Amara in his Kosa nor Bana in his works refers to the followers of Sakti, though both know the Divine Mothers and Amara knows also that the mantras have power (sakti).

It is necessary at this stage to issue a note of warning. Though Saktism and Tantra are now so much identified that the word Tantra is almost reserved for the religious literature of the Saktas, while the term Agama is confined to the Saivas and Saihhita, Kainxja, or Ratra (knowledge) to the Vaishnavas, the earlier use of the word Tantra was quite fluent, and it could be applied to Vaishnava and Saiva sacred literature as well. The conventional division of Brahmanical religious literature was into Veda, Smriti, Puraina, and Tantra, arranged in the chronological order and assigned to the four ages of the world. The only justification for this is that it is after the Puranas had established the pre-eminence of Vishnu, Siva, and Sakti, that the Tantras could get under way. It does not mean, however, that these different types had nothing in common between them. The contents of the Tantras were obviously modelled on those of the Puranas to a great extent, while some portions of the Purana literature would read almost like a Tantra manual. In fact, both claimed to be in some sense the fifth Veda; but as this honour was claimed by other types of literature also, e.g. the Mahabharata , the science of Music, and Tamil Saiva literature (called Tamil Veda), we may understand the designation 'Tantra' as intending all sacred literature and art in which all could participate irrespective of caste and sex, being unlike the Vedas in this respect. While one class understood by the word Agama an adventitious literature coming from non-Aryan sources, i.e. from outside, another class took the word in the sense of the Veda itself, which is also called Agama, being revelational in character. In fact, the relation between Agama , Siva's revelation of ultimate truths through Parvatl, and Nigama, Parvatl's discourse in reply to Siva's query, was sometimes conceived of as similar to that between Sruti and Smriti; naturally the Sakta Tantras could not accept this inferior position and claimed the highest authority for themselves. They claimed to have superseded all previous types of religious tenets and practices in the Kali age.

Xhe antiquity of the Tantras, in the present acceptance of the term, is difficult to determine. We learn from an inscription in Cambodia 12 b that the Tantrik texts were introduced there from India at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Tantrik manuscripts of seventh to ninth century have been found in Nepal, and Buddhist Tantras are known to have been translated into Chinese in the eighth, and into Tibetan in the ninth century. The origin of the Tantrik cult and the composition of special texts may thus be dated about the sixth century A.D.; some Buddhist Tantras may be even older.

Some of the Tantras themselves give their number as sixtyfour, though the number of texts available is much larger. The number sixty-four is exclusive of the Saiva Agamas, which fall conventionally into two groups of ten and eighteen, and the Vaishnava Samhitas which, though conventionally numbered as one hundred and eight, are more than double the number in available texts. The Tantras, which are extolled as the best of the four sdstras included within Kalpa (namely Agama, Yamala, Damara, and Tantra

) and supposed to hold sway in the present Svetavaraha Kalpa (the first thirtieth'period of the month of Brahma), deal with an exhaustive list of topics; namely, origination and dissolution of the universe, ascertainment of mantra , installation of deities, description of places of pilgrimage, the .duties of the different stages of life (asrama), support of Brahmanas, maintenance of other creatures, ascertainment of yantras, theogonic speculation, knowledge of trees, location of heavenly bodies, purveying of traditional history (purCina), disquisition on precious things, description of sacred vows (vrata), determination of cleanliness and uncleanliness, delineation of hells, description of cycles of existence [harachakra) , signs of masculinity and femineity, duties of kings, modes of charity, contemporaneous obligations (yugadharma) , customs (or legal procedure), and spiritual elevation. These contents are classified into four pddas (quarters): jnana (philosophical doctrines, sometimes of an occult character), yoga (meditation, specially meant to acquire magic powers), kriyci (activities connected with temple-building and idolworship) and charyd (observances, rites, etc.). Some of the Tantras are credited with enormous length in later accounts, while others are said to be of moderate dimensions, but the number of slokas in each, as traditionally known, is meticulously recorded in enumerative lists.

We get a fair idea of the general principles of Tantrik belief from the Mahdnirvdna Tantra which, though of later date, is one of the most popular and well known Tantrik texts. Almost like a

Vedantic text, it deals with Brahman, which, according to the Saktas, is nothing but Sakti, the eternal dynamic source of all beings. It is perceived that all life proceeds from the womb of a woman; so we should think of the ultimate creative principle in terms of the ‘mother’ and not of the ‘father’. Philosophical concepts like Prakriti and Maya, and mythological figures like Parvatl, Durga, Lakshml and Radha constitute the female principle of creation, and are merely different names of the jaganmatcL (Mother of the World). All gods including Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, are contained in and issue out of the Divine Mother. This sect, therefore, looks upon every woman as an incarnation of the Universal Mother to whom proper respect should be paid.

The Tantrik cult lays special stress upon the mantras, i.e. prayers and formulae, bljas f i.e. syllables of mystic significance peculiar to each deity, yantras , i.e. diagrams drawn on paper or inscribed in precious stone, metal, etc., mudrds, i.e. special positions of fingers and movements of hands, and nyasas, i.e. placing the deities on the different parts of the body by touching them with finger-tips and the palm, mostly of the right hand. These are the means by which the Sadhaka (the aspirant after perfection) invokes, and identifies himself with, his chosen deity (ishtadevatd). Though occasionally they have been utilised in dark and magical practices to control men and gods (abhichdra), the primary aim of the Sakta worshippers in using them has been to become one with the deity and to attain salvation.

The Tantra texts justify their existence on the plea that the Vedas are a sealed book to the majority and hence an easier cult is necessary for the people at large. Moreover, the Tantra form of worship is open to women and Sudras also. As a matter of fact, however, it became equally popular with the higher castes and classes once the indispensableness of Tantrik initiation (dikshd) was recognised.

Perhaps no religious literature of India has raised such controversy in evaluation as the Tantras. On the one hand, they have been extolled as the repository of sublime truths, rigorous discipline, catholic outlook and indispensable means to the attainment of the highest spirituality. On the other hand, they have been branded as a type of composition containing unmeaning jargon, mysterious mummery, veiled and open obscenity, and revolting antinomianism of different kinds. Theurgy and thaumaturgy jostle with high philosophy and deep devotion, dark rites and liberal thoughts go cheek by jowl with one another, and accurate knowledge alternates with occult science. We have, in fact, a strange mixture of higher and lower thoughts, of strenuous discipline and moral laxity,

of sound understanding and primitive credulity, that presents a chequered pattern, bewilders the curious in enquiry and confuses the novice in practice. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the language used is sometimes enigmatical and has both an exoteric and an esoteric meaning, and without the help of an adept or an interpreter, the proper sense is likely to be missed. Hence diksha (initiation) by a guru (preceptor or spiritual guide) is essential for getting access to the esoteric or real meaning of a\particular word or sentence,—a meaning handed down traditionally Indifferent Tantrik schools and not communicated to those who would not join the particular fraternity. It is the guru who opens the eyes of the disciple to the true meaning of texts, guides him through dark, devious and dangerous practices to the realm of light, and anoints him (abhisheka) as a peer of the spiritual kingdom. Getting the better of his stupefying intellect (tamasa) and unintelligent activity (rdjasa), the bound soul (posit) heroically (i fir a) severs the bond (pdsa) of subjection to various restraints and, with the help of the pure element in his mental constitution (stittvika) , attains the divine (divyabhdva) that is latent in every finite spirit.

It is obvious that such a complicated system, in which the lower and the higher elements of human nature tussle with one another, could not have been a matter of sudden growth, nor could it have been derived from a single source, particularly if we consider the complexity of its practices and the diversity of the creeds involved. On a priori grounds it may even be surmised that systematization must have been preceded by popular beliefs and rites connected with the worship of female deities, of which the cult of the Mothers (matriganci) latterly became the most prominent. These dark forces of nature embodied man’s fear of the mysterious and the terrifying, without and within, and his hope that they could be pacified and controlled by appropriate incantations, sacrifices and meditations. That they appealed to something universal in man in his primitive thinking is attested by the presence of similar beliefs in many other cultures of widely distributed areas of the globe. That Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism should all develop or incorporate occultism in course of time and fall back upon the use of magic syllables (mantra) and mystic diagrams (yantra) proves that they had to take note of some basic needs of the human mind in a composite population drawn from different social and cultural strata and diverse tribal and racial strains. Magic, religious ministration and meditation naturally figured in an ascending order, and as intellectual coherence was demanded by the inherent logic of the human mind or by the necessity of meeting hostile criticism, methodical philosophy gradually grew in importance. The different components of

Tantra owe their existence and emphasis to these diverse needs as they developed in space and time.

It is natural that after claiming to be the final revelation for mankind in the Kali-yuga the Tantras should draw up a scale of excellence among the aspirants treading the path of spiritual progress. The successive rungs of the spiritual ladder are constituted by three states (bhava) or paths (mdrga),— the pasu (the natural man living a life of routine like animals) following the conventional moralities of society; the vira (the bold or heroic soul) daring to indulge in antinomian rites and practices under rigid rules of discipline; and the divya (the divine who is above all dualities) unconcerned about all distinctions as befitting one who has gone beyond all empirical variety and attained union with the Absolute. Stated in the language of religious classification, though not meant to be taken in the literal sectarian sense, these three were supposed in later compendia to fall mainly into seven subdivisions (dchara), four being included within the pasu stage, two in the vira stage, and one in the divya stage. The first group of four is constituted by Vedachara, Vaishnavachara, Saivachara, and Dakshinachara (sometimes the whole group being roundly described as Dakshinachara); the second group of two is made up of Vamachara and Siddhantachara; and the last solitary stage is constituted by Kaulachara. In the first group external worship, devotion to Vishnu, meditation on Siva, and mental approach to Devi or Sakti find respective expression in the four stages. In all these the observance of social morality and the performance of prescribed rites and ceremonies find full sway;— avoidance of cruelty to animals, abjuration of intoxicants and unlawful enjoyments, conjugal fidelity, control of the senses, austerity, practice of charity, regular worship of the gods in a pure bodily condition, etc, constitute the main elements of spiritual culture, though in the fourth stage the acquisition of magical powers by some secret innocuous Tantrik rites is not barred out altogether. The fifth ushers in a new outlook and technique, for the correct understanding of mystic rites, generally performed in secret at night, requires proper training at the hands of a guru and the acquisition of the necessary courage to disregard social conventions about sexual purity, to defy taboos about food and drink, and to look upon all women as manifestations of Sakti (kulandyiha, bhairavi or yogini) and all males as representatives of Siva (bhairava), there being no bar to the use of any married woman (kulastri) for furthering personal perfection by rites, prohibited to the ordinary members of a society, which might include the use of intoxicants and of the peculiar feminine impurity as an item of bodily decoration during worship. Still, the Vamachara tries to avoid publicity in the matter of disregarding fear, shame, pity, caste convention, etc. which his secret rites involve. The aspirant (s&dhaka) practising Siddhantachara, however, is not afraid of following socially disapproved practices openly. He is relentless in the pursuit of what he thinks to be true, and is not, therefore, troubled by the opinions of others regarding what he eats and drinks, enjoys or hurts, for he holds that there is nothing that cannot be purified by appropriate means. The use of the five M's (panchatattva or panchamakdra) —madya (wine), matsya (fish), maihsa (meat), mudrd (parched grain) and maithuna (coition) —under certain prescribed conditions of discipline could be made without secrecy in appropriate places and times, and was intended to further the progress of the aspirant towards the elimination of all empirical distinctions and the attainment of complete freedom. The Kuldrnava Tantra virtually tells us that just as one rises with the help of the very ground on which one has fallen, so also it is through drinking life ta the very lees that one has to make the spiritual ascent. A thorn has to be eradicated with the help of another thorn; similarly indulgence must be forced to yield satiety and higher value. Wine that merely intoxicates is a sinful beverage, but as the producer of a euphoric condition, in which care and anxiety are absent, it is a desirable drink. Similarly, flesh that nourishes the body, fish that increases sexual potency,* grain that invigorates the system, and coition that brings about a blissful condition (mcihasukha) and prolongs the race at the same time, are all intended to keep the sddhaka in a fit condition of body and mind to pursue spiritual aims. It is obvious that in the case of some gross minds they failed to serve their legitimate purpose, specially when promiscuity was permitted with different types of women, mostly coming from lower castes and dubbed as saktis. There was, however, a general prohibition against using any woman except one's wife for the purpose of the last of the five tattvas (maithuna) , and there were also other restrictions. The idea was that a sddhaka must go beyond dualities of all kinds—of love and hate, merit and demerit, touchable and untouchable, forbidden and non-forbidden, or delectable and nauseating, in food and drink, prohibited and non-prohibited in sex relation, male and female, friend and foe, etc.,—and cultivate not only equanimity in himself but also equality towards all.

It is only when this state of mind is acquired that the last stage of sanctification is reached, namely, Kaulachara. This is the divyd condition, for then the aspirant transcends the likes and dislikes of earthly life like God himself to whom all things are equal. Pity and cruelty are equally unmeaning in an ultimate reference, and so also approbated and unapprobated conduct. Just as one of the Upanishads has said that to one who has attained Brahma-knowledge no sin attaches for any kind of antinomian act, so also the Tantras place the Kaula (worshipper of kula or Sakti) above all moral judgments, and put no prohibitions and restraints in his way as being unnecessary for one who has pierced the veil of space and time, process and differentiation. A Kaula roams in all dehdras at will, being at heart a Sakta, outwardly a Saiva, and in social gatherings a Yaishnava. He sees himself in all things and all things in himself. It appears, however, that the later (uttara) Kaulas preferred the gross to the symbolic, just the reverse of what was fancied by the earlier (purva) Kaulas, and the Samayins alone discarded both gross sex and symbolic yantra and restricted themselves to mere mental imagery in celebrating the worship in a circle (Srlchakra). As usual, we have very exalted explanations of the origin, nature and objective of Kaula ®adhana, and in the Kaulajndnanirnaya, which probably belongs to the eleventh century, we have a description of the various dehdras, which must have been crystallised some time before this work was written. In fact, we have the information purveyed by the same work that there were various Kaula schools prevalent at the time, as also that very many methods of yoga (yogaprandli) were followed by these schools. We have incontestable evidence also that both the Buddhists and the Nathists, too, countenanced the Kaula method of selfrealisation.

Elaborate rules are laid down as to the proper persons from whom initiation is to be taken. While the Vaishnavas, Sauras and Ganapatyas can initiate one belonging to their respective sects, the &aktas and &aivas are privileged to initiate all sects, including their own. Orthodoxy must have been alarmed, as at the time of Mahavira and Buddha, by the popularity of the ascetic and homeless wandering mendicants, and so it put a virtual, though not absolute, ban on the initiation of householders by their fraternity. But it made a compromise by admitting that Tantrik initiation was essential even for Brahmanas and indispensable for women and non-Brahmanas. who had no right to Yedic initiation, and it ignored, when not extolling, the union with a sakti (woman partner) who was not the legally married wife of the sddhaka; but it preferred a married man as guru, even though he might indulge in vdmachara practices in the mystic circle, where eight pairs of yoginis or ndyikds and their bhairavas (male partners) used to meet. We are interested in the information, furnished by the Dakshindchdra-tantrardja , that Gauda, Kerala ana Kasmlra (with Kalika, Tripura and Tara as goddesses, respectively, according to a later account) are the homes of the purer (Dakshindchara) sects. Elsewhere (Brihat-Gautamiya Tantra) it is stated that, of gurus, those coming from the west are the best, those from the south are middling, those from Gauda and Kamarupa are inferior

to the preceding, and those from Kalihga are the worst. An amplified description in Jdbdia (quoted by Vidyadharacharya) puts the gurus from Madhyadesa (Aryavarta), Kurukshetra, Lata, (Nafa, Nata), Konkana, Antarvedi, Pratishthana and AvantI at the top, those from Gaud a, Salva, Sura (?), Magadha, Kerala, Kosala and Dasarna in the middle, and those hailing from Karnata and the banks of the Narmada, the Reva and Kachcha, the Kalindas, the Kambalas (or Kalambas) and the Kambojas (probably in Assam) at the bottom of the scale. The Kuldlikdmndya mentions five celebrated seats of Tantrik cult in different parts of the country, namely, Guyana, Jala (Jalandhara), Purna (-giri), Matanga (Srisaila) and Kamakhya. In the Sddhanamdld the four celebrated Tantrik pithas are Kamakhya, Sirihatta, (with Arbuda or Jalandhara replacing Sirihatta in some texts), Purnagiri and Uddiyana. Kamakhya or Kamarupa in Assam is well known and Sirihatta is Syihet. Purnagiri has been identified with Poona, but location in Assam has also been suggested for it. Uddiyana has been identified with Kashgarh (Sylvain Levi), Swat valley (Waddell, S. C. Das), Orissa (H. P. Sastri), and Western Assam (B. Bhattacharyya). These areas for Tantrik gurus of different grades of excellence, and these Tantrik centres, throw an interesting light on the diffusion of the creed and the probable place of its origin. When to this is added the information that northeast India had active interchange of thought with the trans-Himalayan regions like Tibet, it has not been unreasonably concluded that Tantras originated in this Indian area, and foreign elements like the cult of Tara came from Buddhism of the adjoining regions mentioned above. From about the tenth century a composite Tantra, drawing materials from Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Nathist circles, grew up, and some deities, adepts, cults and practices became common to all of them, though the traditions did not always tally among the different communities and localities. ' Denominationally and geographically considered, Veddchdra is patronised in Maharashtra, Vaishnavdchdra among the Ramanuja and Gauda schools, Dakshindchara among the &ankarites of the south, &aiva~chdra and Vrrdchdra among the Lingayats and Vlrasaivas, and Vdmdchdra, Siddhantdchara and Kauldchdra among the &aktas of Kerala, Gauda, Nepala and Kamarupa. The first three disfavour both Vlrdchdra and Bauddhachdra, while the others extol them.

Let us turn now to certain other specific beliefs and speculations of the Tantras, and try to trace their antecedents. The &aiva Agamas, the Vaishnava Samhitas and the &akta Tantras agree on one point, namely, that a female principle representing the sakti or energy must be associated with the ultimate reality or the source or locus of power considered as male. This power is not only the cause of manifestation, but is also responsible for differentiation, and hence a diversified world in time and space, including finite individuals, comes into being because of the association of the male and the female, as in the generation of the world of living things. An elaborate philosophy developed in all the Schools—Saiva, Sakta, and Vaishnava, professing to explain the different types and stages of evolution, the first two approximating each other in their main outlines and the last perhaps slightly antedating them both. This origin of the cosmos is to be distinguished, however, from the birth of children to the divine pair as in Puranic accounts of the birth of Ganesa and Karttikeya, for instance, when Siva and Sakti are considered anthropomorphically. The universe, so originated, has a systaltic process, inasmuch as the created world returns to its source in course of time, when Sakti comes to repose in the Lord, either temporarily in pralaya at the end of a cosmic cycle (the philosophers of Karma and the Pauranikas mostly favouring this partial dissolution), or finally by the efforts of finite souls who, by religious practice, yogic concentration, contemplation and meditation realise their oneness with God and annul their finitude. The general tendency of the Tantras is to accept the world in both its physical and mental aspects as real, only that matter or prakriti , as such, was not accorded independent existence as in the Sarhkhya system, but was supposed to be under the control of the spirit and, in fact, the body was regarded as the seat of the divine in every part thereof.

The mystery of speech is an ancient tradition in India and from the Vedic times onwards Vach (Speech) has been a prominent goddess and a revealer of wisdom. Transcendental and phenomenal forms of speech (para, pasyantz, madhyamd f and vaikhan) and the association of word (sabda) with meaning (artha) were speculated upon; and as ages rolled on, the power of the spoken word, whether as boons or as curses, as prayers or as incantations, grew in popular esteem. In the Tantras and Agamas a systematic attempt was made to relate sound (nada) to reality and its different vocal symbols or seed-words (hija-mantra). It was believed, in fact, that just as intense imagination might cause a kind of visual hallucination and bring about the perceptual presentation of concrete figure through thinking alone, so also intense meditation on certain mystic words, which were supposed to stand for certain deities, would produce photic phenomena and bring before the sadhaka's eye an image of the divinity concerned. Starting with a single letter, the mantra might consist of a string of such letters (mala, garland). Not only each deity but each aspect of the deity has its own special btjamantra . The time and place of initiation, the initial letter of the

initiate's name, and even the rosary for uttering the mantra have to be suited to the chosen deity.

Once it was accepted that varnas (letters) are the stuff of reality, a rapprochement between the worshipper and the worshipped deity became almost inevitable. Thus the body of a deity was supposed to be composed of the letters of the alphabet (lipi), the number being generally fixed at fifty. A true worshipper would find a correspondence between the different parts of his own body and the letters of the alphabet that make up the divine body. By the process called nydsa (placing) a worshipper would place these letters in different parts of his own body and consider himself to be possessed of a body of mantras. But until the necessary purification is effected one cannot divinise himself. So the purification of the elements that make up the human body (bhutasuddhi) has to be done first. The other purifications refer to the seat (sthcma), the words or formulae (mantra), the materials (dravya), and the image of the deity (deva). Surrounding himself with a circle of water, as if by a wall of fire, the worshipper is to go through the process of identification with the deity by meditating on the Vedantic formula of Jiva-Brahman identity and by sending, by the way of the central of the three nadis (nerves)— idd, snshumnd and ping ala, his finite self along with the knlakundalini sakti through the six psychic centres (shafchakra) up, till she unites with the infinite Self (Siva or Paramatman) in the thousand-petailed lotus (sahasrara) in the cranium and the entire paraphernalia of finite existence is dissolved. By prdndydma (regulation of breath) the evil that is in one's own self (pdpapurusha) is to be thrust out and burnt, and then alone will the body be fit to receive the 'mother' letters (mdtrikamantra) in the various external (bdhya) parts of the body and in the differently numbered petals of the various lotus-centres or chakras inside (antar) the bodily system, and thus be entirely pervaded by the deity. No wonder that before the recognition of the fifty-one Sakti-pithas distributed all over India, pilgrimages to sacred places should have been considered unnecessary by Saktas, who located these symbolically within their own body.

But while mantras are located in the body by nyasa they are also placed outside in a yantra (diagram) which represents, as it were, the body of the deity. The Vedic gods were invoked without any image and on the sacred grass (barhis, kusa) in a sacrificial field, and the sculptured deities that followed were seated on lotuses, perhaps through a wrong interpretation of the word padmdsana, a bodily posture. A yantra has, like the sacrificial field, gates or doors (dvara) and a painted or inscribed seat; and all together or in the

various petals of the lotus, inscribed or drawn, or in the different parts of other types of diagrams are inserted the letters of the bijamantra of the deity worshipped. Coloured rice-powder is sometimes used to fill in the geometrical figures created by the drawing, just as five differently coloured substances are used to cover the ground of a mandala (e.g. Sarvatobhadramandala). In Jainism small images used to be put in the spaces in a yantra during worship; from this the transition to the incision of figures there is an easy process; and when the letters form the body of the deity, as in Tantrik belief, the placing of letters inserted is not difficult to explain. In Buddhism we can effectively and easily trace the process of transition from the Sutra to the Hridaya-sutra, thence to Dhdranl, from this to mantra, and lastly therefrom to Bija. As drawings and paintings are ephemeral, it was directed that if possible a more permanent yantra should be made. For this purpose some metal like gold, silver and copper, or an alloy of the three metals (trilauha) , or some precious stone like crystal, emerald, ruby, coral, etc., should be inscribed with the yantra and care should be taken that the yantra does not get mutilated, faded out by use, cracked, burnt or broken, in which case it was directed to be thrown into a sacred stream or place of pilgrimage or the ocean. Every deity has his or her own yantra, but the most famous of these yantras is the Sr ly antra on which lavish praise has been bestowed. In its various parts it is supposed to represent the origin, maintenance and dissolution of the world of things, the dot in the middle representing the unitary world-ground. The hija-mantra of the &akti goddess is mentally placed in the various projections of its constituent triangles and lotuses and in its circles and squares. Elsewhere we are told (e.g. in the Rudraydmala) that the six chakras represent the Bauddha, Brahmya, Vaishnava, &aiva, Saura and &akta diagrams, the last being central; in later literature they have been compared to the six systems of Indian philosophy. Elaborate rules about the choice of place and the creation of a proper atmosphere of worship have been laid down, and it has been reiterated pretty frequently that external worship (puja, stava, etc.) is less efficacious than japa (muttering) and homa (oblation or dedication), and these less than dhydna (meditation). Here is a fine description of Tantrik piijd from Avalon’s Principles of Tcontra: “Meditation. Worship, Japa, and Homa are the four hands of the Yajna or worship; Matrika, Shodha and other Nyasas form its body; knowledge of the real truth as to Xshtadevata is its Atma; devotion is its head; reverence is its heart; and the act of performing is its eye. Knowing the body of Yajna to be composed in this manner, a good Sadhaka should perform it in all its limbs, and not divide and make it limbless.... It is by His union with the supreme £akti which arises out of the effort to accomplish all those limbs that the x ajhapurusha produces Siddhi”. And here is the culminating ph&oe of external worship with flowers: 4 The knowing ones regard the following as the ten flowers to be used in worship:—non-ignorance (amayd), non-egoitv or non-appropriation (anahamkara) , nonattachment (ardga), non-vanity (amada) y non-delusion (amoha), nonpride (adambha ,), non-calumniation (aninda), non-perturbation (akshobka), non-jealousv (amdtsCLrya) and non-greed (alobha). But better than these are the five virtues which make up the other group of flowers:—non-injury or non-violence (ahimsd), self-control or subjugation of the senses (indr iya-nigr aha) , charity or kindness (dayd), forgiveness (kshamd) and knowledge (jhdna).” This surely is religious teaching at its highest. Again and again in India when the letter was threatening to kill the religious life, the spirit came to the rescue. In their attempt to provide a comprehensive scheme of social life, individual perfection, and religious devotion, the Tantras failed occasionally to keep the baser elements in proper check among a motley population of different grades of culture. But the innate moral sense operated here as elsewhere to redeem men from the thraldom of desire and selfishness. Perhaps we shall never recapture the atmosphere in which the Pur-anas and the Tantras were written, but we cannot afford to undervalue the devotion and thought that went into their composition, or their ennobling influence in the long run on the very composite population of an entire subcontinent. They certainly brought the gods nearer the hearts and homes of men and inspired their devotion, prompted their collective action for charity, and gave a fillip to the building of religious edifices all over the country.

CF) MINOR RELIGIOUS SECTS I. POPULAR BRAHMANICAL RELIGION 1. Religious Syncretism

By the time the period opens the main elements that constitute the religious life of India have already made their entrance into popular faith. It is now a question of making alliances and settling precedence among the major gods and of composing suitable religious literature to establish the superiority, if not theLsupremacy, of the chosen deity. The days of the early Puranas are over now, but there was still scope not only for new compositions but also for working up the older literature and adding and altering contents. The religious unity of India was almost achieved; and though local tradition and patriotism were sometimes responsible for making extravagant 'diaims on behalf of local deities and sacred spots and rivers, the different religious communities acknowledged almost

the same set of major gods and made an earnest effort to make a rapprochement with other communities even when pushing the claims of their own cults in distant areas and making converts. Buddhism was dying in the south but was still a living creed in the northern part, where it became the inspirer of religious art in Bengal and Bihar under the Palas; Jainism had still a strong following in the south and was having a running fight primarily with £>aivism. Brahmanism had to reckon with both, specially as the former was developing a well organised pantheon and the latter-was trying to win and retain popular support by absorbing theistic elements from the contiguous Brahmanic culture.

Archaeological evidence is not wanting to show that the (hostility of the creeds was not often quite mild arid that the appropriation of the sanctuary of one religion by another and effacing the religious symbols of the former by the latter were sometimes practised. As popular instruction in religious cult extended from the scriptures. to the temples, it became increasingly necessary for each major religion ter possess gorgeous temples of its own to attract pilgrims and evoke religious sentiment in the faithful; and fortunately devout patrons were not wanting to endow places of religious worship and build costly and spectacular houses of gods or saints. The scribes continued their work no doubt, but the sculptor was gradually becoming a more efficient instrument of popular edification and education in religious matters. East, west,-north, south-^-everywhere gods and saints were decently, if not gorgeously, housed and the carvers’ art purveyed to the hungry souls'not only delectation of the spirit but also feasting of the eye. The high aesthetic and spiritual banquet served must have whetted religious appetite and excited the spirit of imitation and emulation. From the seventh century onward temples grew in honour of different deities in different parts of India and the rock-cut and structural temples, which are at present the wonders of the world and of which Elura (Ellora) and Khajumho are respectively the most prominent examples, came into existence and often in close proximity to one another as a trial of artistic strength among rival faiths. And no Wonder, because during this period flourished the mighty Pratlharas, Palas, Chandellas, Eastern Ghalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas of Kalyani, Pallavas and Cholas who professed diverse creeds and were zealous champions and liberal patrons of their respective creeds.

But rivalry is only one of the features of the religious life of the times. ' Side by side there developed a syncretistic attitude in religion—a' spirit of tolerance and mutual give-and-take. A modified monolatry, which maintained the'supremacy of the particular supreme'deity of the community while at the same time admitting

the existence and right to worship of other gods, made its appearance. £>ankaracharya has been credited with the initiation of the panchd yo-tana pujd —the worship of the five gods Vishnu, Ssiva, Sakti or Devi, Surya and Ganesa, the principal deity of the worshipper being placed in the middle and the other four in the four corners of a square.

But whether it is Sankara or Kumarila or somebody else that introduced it, the fact remains that the idea caught the imagination of the public as the best solution of the rather perplexing problem of harmonising monotheism with polytheism and allaying communal bitterness and religious quarrel. Was the Paliava cave-temple at Trichinopoly, with Vishnu and Siva images inside in two sanctuaries and Brahma, Surya, Ganesa and possibly Subrahmanya sculptured outside at the entrance, an anticipation of this new cult? The Smartas not only -followed the practice of worshipping the five gods (and sometimes many more) but also compiled Puranic handbooks, in the different parts of which the major gods got their due laudations, and even an Upnishad—-the Atharvasiras —-turned up to give the new method of worship a holy and hoary antiquity. It appears that there was some hesitation in counting the five major deities, for while the first four were almost constant features, Brahma sometimes displaced Ganesa, thereby indicating that the revealer of the Vedic sruti was hard to dislodge from popular veneration and Ganesa was still looked upon as a plebeian god. Even in the tenthcentury Chola temple of Koranganatha near Trichinopoly not only Brahma but also his spouse Sarasvatl appears, the latter forming with Lakshml and Dakshina Kali a trinity of divine saktis as in many other parts of India. That Ganesa continued to figure in the doorlintels of the temples of other gods, specially &iva, must be regarded as a sign of his inferiority to the rest. How Karttikeya, who appeared probably earlier and more frequently in sculpture with &iva in the Paliava Somaskanda figures and held his own against Ganesa « in the period of the Badami and Aihole caves, failed to maintain his position and how in the Paliava architecture Ganesa began to supplant Karttikeya from the Rajasirhha period onward in the divine family group cannot be satisfactorily explained. It must be admitted, however, that in the Mahishamardini mandapa at Mamallapuram it is Karttikeya or Mahasena, and not Ganesa, that is seated on Paryatfs knee, and in the far-off Paharpur temple in North Bengal, in the scene of diva's drinking of poison, it is Karttikeya who clings to the terror-stricken Burga. It stands to reason that as diva's position in popular reverence increased, Karttikeya and Ganesa (and also Nandi, Rishabha or Vasava, the bull) also should receive popular homage, and that they should be even provided with separate build

ings at a later time instead of remaining as mere ornamentations of the temple or the aureole (prabhdvaU) of Siva, and thus become cult objects themselves.

One of the most noticeable features of the religious development of the period is the place found for other divinities (including those supposed to be antagonistic) in the temple of a sectarian deity. If figures of Karttikeya or Ganesa or Mahakall or Parvatl are found in Siva temples, as in the Mahaiihgesvara and other temples near Konur and in the Badami, Aihole and Ellora caves, ready explanation can be found for it in the fact that they are related to Siva as son or wife. For the same reason the Gajalakshml image would be quite appropriate in the Varaha temple at Mamallapuram (being, according to Burgess, the first to appear in a Hindu garb though the Buddhists had used it from the time of the stupa of Bharhut). Similarly, Kalabhairava and Saptamatrikas (Seven Mothers) may make their appearance in Siva temples as associated with the deity himself or Durga. Likewise Ganesa and Karttikeya images are quite relevant as adjuncts of Devi images, as, for example, of the image from Mandoil or that from Nowgong in the District of Rajshahi. But when Vishnu and other gods appear in chaitya windows, niches and elsewhere in a Siva temple (as, for example, in the earlier Bhumara temple in the old Nagod State, or in the

Kadaroli Temple in Belgaum District, or Dhumar Lena Cave at Ellora) or vice versa (as, for instance, in the Badami Caves dedicated to Vishnu), or when in a Vishnu or Dasavatara temple appear the figures of many other gods and goddesses, such as Surya, Brahma, Siva, Soma, Ganesa, Ganga, Yamuna, etc. as in some mediaeval temples of Kathiawad (e.g., at Kadvar) and Central India (e.g at Janjgir in Bilaspur District) and even in the earlier cave-temples of Badami, Aihole, Ellora, Undavilli, etc., the motive could either be to belittle their importance by relegating them to inferior positions or reducing them to mere decorations or, what is more probable, to admit, like the tolerant mediaeval Puranas, that they too were worshipful, the location (whether, for instance, as a part of the deity as in Ardhanarisvara, Trimurti, Hari-Hara and such composite figures, or by the side of or sprouting out of the main deity, or inside the temple, or outside it in medallions in windows, or as figures in niches, or as bas-reliefs on door lintels or in architraves or in dados or in jambs of doors or windows or in ceilings) and the size and the state of fullness of the figure indicating the imoortance of the foreign deity. This would exolain, for instance, the figures of Ganapati, Brahma. Siva, Vishnu and Karttikeya carved in a row on the top of the nointed stele of the two-handed Durga image hailing from DakshinaMuhammadnur (Tioperah) and in the slab of the four-handed Ugra Tara figure of Sikarpur (Bakarganj), the figures of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu on the top of the Mahesvarapasa (Khulna) Devi figure and the different divine figures in the early Durga temple of Aihole. The figures of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu on door lintels at Khajuraho, in the stele of a standing image of Vishnu of the Pala period in the Stuart-Bridge Collection in the British Museum, and in the panel above the door-frame in the Sandera and Ruhavi temples of Gujarat indicate the continuation of the conventional Trimurti even after Brahma had ceased to be a major deity. In fact, even in Surya temples of a later time, as at Modhera and Delmal, Brahma continued to be figured. This is because in Gujarat the cult of Brahma continued to be a living creed at the beginning of this period, judging by the Trimurti-temple at Kasara dedicated to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, and the slightly later Brahma temple at KhedBrahma in the old Idar State. Even now the very few Brahma temples of North India, still used for worship, cluster in this western area, being located mostly either in Gujarat or in Rajputana, the other few temples being found distributed in South India.

More strange decorations are found, for instance, in the Buddhist temple of Paharpur (Somapura Vihara) which was destroyed in the eleventh century. Here many Brahmanical deities — Siva Balarama, Krishna, Ganesa, Karttikeya, Durga, Yama, Agni, Vishnu, Brahma, etc.—get artistic representation either in stone or in terracotta plaques on the outside. In Jain temples too many Hindu gods are to be found, but here they have been mostly adopted or adapted from Brahmanism by the Jains themselves, which need not have been the case with the Buddhists who had a well developed pantheon of their own and were not in need of Hindu deities as decorative motifs. We must suppose, therefore, that at this period toleration of other creeds went to the length of presenting the national religious beliefs in various works of art so that devotees visiting any temple might be au courant with the multiple devotion of the community at large and regaled with graphic representation of ancient religious history. It is almost like a religious art exhibition without reference to the particular deity enshrined. This will explain display of Vaishnava and Saiva images at Badami, of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain sculptures side by side at Ellora, the co-existence of Vaishnava, Saiva, Saura, Bauddha and Jain temples at Khajuraho, and an almost similar group of small temples at Sarangarh in Bankura Distrct, constructed in the later part of this period. At Khera in the old Gwalior State the principal Hindu deities are similarly grouped together — Mahishamardinl, Ganesa, Surya, Siva and other gods. In the temples relevant figures were naturally the first to be utilised—in the Dasavatara temple at Ellora, for example,

Vamana, Trivikrama, Varaha and Narasimha fill niches in the Vaishiiava temple. Sometimes these forms started minor religious cults —the cult of Dattatreya (the Trinity in fusion) is one such; at other times a particular form of the god was accepted as the patron deity of this or that royal family.

But composite and fused deities also made their appearance. Even in the Badami and Aihole caves such fused figures are to be found, c.g. f Ardhanarlsvara and Hari-Hara, and the practice was continued in Elephanta, Mamallapuram and Ellora. In fact, new combinations were made in later centuries, for example, Surya-Narayana of Madaun, Sdrya-Brahma of Mahendra (Dinajpur District), Martanda»Bhairava of Manda (District Rajshahi), Trimurti Surya in a Delmal (N. Gujarat) temple, at Chidambaram and elsewhere, Triniurti (Mahesa) of Elephanta and Ellora Caves, the Ekapada-Trimurti of later times in which Vishnu and Brahma sprout forth from a central Siva figure, and Brahma-Vishnu-Siva-Surya of the Dula-Deo temple at Khajuraho. Outside India, at Thaton in Burma, we have the figure of Narayana from whose navel issues a lotus stalk which branches out into three lotuses on which are seated Brahma, Vishnu and Hiva, just as in the Tantras they were supposed to have come out of ^akti and in Mahayanism they were considered to be emanations of Vairoehana. At the same time old associations were being broken. Vasudeva and Sankarshaaia appear now as Krishna and Baiarama; but the former gradually outdistances the latter until Baiarama becomes either an emanation or an avatdra or one of the twenty-four forms of Vishnu distinguished in iconography. Dasarathi Rama and Parasurama attained some importance even in the Mahdbharata, and the former is mentioned, along with Bali, son of Viroehana, as a subject of cult image by Varahamihira. But though the temporary interest in the Vyuha doctrine had exalted Pradyumna and Aniruddha (and rarely Samba in the place of Aniruddha) also, it does not appear that they ever became deified—they represented philosophic concepts rather than religious objects except that they began to be regarded as two out of the twenty four forms of Vishnu. What is more interesting is the attempt made in the Kurraa Purana to reduce Siva and Brahma to manifestations of Vishnu when in some of the other Purana s like Mar kandeya, Brahma, Agni and even in the Kurma Purana itself and in the Padma Tantra the indefinite number of Vishnu's avatdras was being reduced to ten and distributed among the different vyuhas of Vishnu. But while popular sentiment in favour of incarnations was reflected in the increasing sculpturing of Varaha, Viamana (Upendra) or Trivikrama and Narasimha, Rama and Parasurama practically find no lithie representation in temples except in the Dasavatara group, the latter's devotion to Siva and defeat by the former going heavily against his deification to the fullest extent. A standing figure in the Kadvar temple, which was probably a Dasavatara temple carrying on Gupta tradition, has been identified by Cousens as Parasurama and by Sankalia as Rama, but the date of the image is uncertain. At Mamallapuram in the temple of Varaha

Svami the figure of Rama, worshipped by Maruti (Hanuman), is said to occur, but obviously with minor importance. What interests us more is the inscribed image of Hanuman at Khajuraho belonging to the end of the ninth century, as that indicates not only the prevalence of the cult of Rama but also the coming importance of the monkey-god in popular devotion.

2. Solar Cult

Meanwhile the solar cult, of which Multan was a strong centre in the seventh century, was slowly diffusing itself all over the country. The Sun figure appears in the early Christian centuries in Gandbara and Mathura regions, obviously modelled on HeliosMithra. It is found in early Buddhist monuments at Bhaja, BodhGaya, Khan^agiri, and Lala Bhagat near Kanpur and in &aivite and Vishnuite monuments like Mamallapuram, Trichinopoly, etc. Again, already in the Lankesvara cave at Ellora, Surya is sculptured among the major gods, though not clad in the northern fashion, and he appears again in cave No. 25 (Suresvara temple). The gift of the Rashtrakufa king Govindaraja to the temple of the Sun (Jayaditya) at Kavi shows that princely support was not altogether lacking in later times and even the Valahhi rulers could be occasionally found to patronise this faith. Though the theory has been recently questioned, Kashmir may have had some hand in popularising the worship of the Sun in the western part of India, the early Rathiawad temple-specimen in the Kashmirian style being the Sun-temple at Gop. In Kashmir itself was built towards the middle of the eighth century the magnificent Martanda temple. The multiplicity of the Sun temples in the southern part of Kathiawad, where tribes emigrating from Kashmir and worshipping the Sun probably lived, indicates that in this part of India the cult of the Sun was quite vigorous. The temples at VisaVada, Kinderkheda, Modhera, Somanatha-Pattana, Than, Sutrapada and other places are fairly well packed in time to justify the conclusion that devotees to this deity continued their allegiance and ceremonial worship in fair numbers during a fairly long period of time in this part of India. A Sun-temple at Dholpur, perhaps of the ninth century, a tenth century temple at Osia, a pro

bably earlier Sun figure at Hansi Fort (District Hissar), temples in the old Jodhpur, Sirohi, Bharatpur and other States, and temples found or referred to as existing in the western part of the present Uttar Pradesh indicate that the cult of the Sun was well patronised in north-western and western India during mediaeval times. Possibly the Durga temple at Aihoie and the Papanatha temple at Patfadakal were associated with Sun worship at a slightly earlier date, and towards the close of this period the Sun temple in the Kliajuraho group reared its head. Judging by the increasingly accurate reference in Indian religious literature of the time on this subject to the Persian belief, it may be presumed that the Magas, Bhojakas or Sakadvlpl Brahmanas spread out over Northern India within a short time and popularised the solar cult. It should be added, however, that the southern tradition, as embodied in the Surya figure in a shrine near Lad Khan's temple at Aihoie and Parasuramesvara temple at Gudimallam, was also not slow in diffusing itself, for in Bengal images of both northern and southern types have been found and, in fact, even earlier tradition is not unrepresented as, for instance, in the Kumarpur and Niyamatpur reliefs. Further, in Bengal we find an evolution of new r er and more complex forms; witness, for instance, the seated character of the deity in the octo-alloy miniature from Chauddagram (District Tipperah) and the twelfth century Bairhatta image in addition to the usual standing figure, the gradually increasing number of attendants (including Mahasveta or PrithivI), the number of hands increasing from two (as in the eighth and early ninth century figures from Bihar, now in the Indian Museum, and the ninth century figures in the Rajshahi, and South Kensington Museums) to four, and from four to six, and even coalescence wth other deities, e.g. the Martanda-Bhairava three-headed (the fourth head being invisible in relief) figure with ten arms belonging to a later date. All this tends to prove that the solar cult was not moribund even in Bengal and Bihar. Orissa and adjoining regions took up the solar cult in right earnest during the succeeding centuries, and the many temple ruins in Orissa (e.g. Khiching and Konarak) and the settlement of many Sakadvlpl Brahmanas (called Angirasas in Orissa and Acharyas in Bengal), who looked after the solar temples as priests and actively pursued the profession of astrologers and averters of astral influences (grdh.asa.nti, which is referred to in the Matsya Purana), bear testimony to the vigour of the solar worship in Eastern India. In Gujarat a Trimurti with Surya as the principal god is not unknown, and it appears that the ScLradatilalca Tan tra provides even for a four-faced and eight-handed form. In the extreme south early temples to the Sun are rare, but in inscrip

tions of the eighth and ninth centuries solar temples (Adityagrihas) in the northern part of the old Madras Presidency are referred to* At a later date even an attempt to establish a trinity of Surya, Siva and Vishnu, with prominence given to the first, was made in Traipurushadeva temples. This is in accordance with the Matsya Purmia prescription that vows are to be made to Siva, Surya and Vishnu.

We may well believe that some difference of opinion existed at first about the composition of the group of major deities and that local tradition may have had some hand in fixing the number and personality. In the Pallava temple at Tiruttani near Arkonam in Madras State the deities which find a niche on the walls or the porch are Vishnu, Siva, Brahma, Durga and Ganesa, which shows that in that area Brahma was still holding his own against Surya who does not appear to have been a favourite god in South India. In the Gondesvara temple at Sinnar near Nasik, on the other hand, Surya is included in the group and at Nalanda, Surya is seen with Mahishamardini figure. Surya is found combined with the other three major deities in different places-—with Vishnu in Surya-Narayana figures (Vishnu being himself an Aditya), with Siva in Martanda-Bhairava figures, and with Brahma in the image of a slightly later date from Mahendra (District Dinajpur). The Matsya Parana dictum that Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and Surya are identical or non-different (abheda) ? the Kurma Purdna statement that it originally consisted of four Samhitas—Brahmi, Bhagavati, Sauri and Vaishnavi,—and the division of the Skanda Purdna into six Samhitas, namely, Sanatkumara, Suta, Vaishnavi, Brahmi, Sahkari and Sauri, seem to indicate that these four gods were associated together in some places and times. But this group was liable to alteration, as when the Ndradlya Purdna ascribes to the second part of the Vdmana Purdna four Samhitas, namely, Mahesvari, Bhagavati, Sauri and Ganesvarl, thus belittling the importance of Brahma and extolling that of Ganesa. The Garuda Purdna reserves the highest position for Vishnu but prescribes modes of worship of Siva, Durga, Ganesa and Surya also in the full Smarta manner, while the Bkavishya Purdna gives different groupings in different parts and, though conceding the importance of Surya in some parts, reserves pre-eminence for the old triad — Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. That the solar cult was popular in Eastern India may be inferred from the fact that in an inscribed sculpture of the reign of Dharmapala the images of Surya, Siva and Vishnu are found together, the first replacing Brahma. Surya replaces Vishnu in the enormous door-lintel of the ruined tenth century Siva temple at Tezpur in Assam with Brahma and Siva on the two sides.

He appears also in thei much earlier pre-Ahom temple at Dah Parvatiya near by. The deliberate attempt to lower the status; pi Brahma in Saivite literature took the form of showing him as the officiating priest in the marriage of Siva and Parvati, as the charioteer of Siva in Tripurantaka images, as punished for his moral lapse by Siva who tore off one of his heads, and as cursed by Siva for having falsely declared to have reached the top of the lihga when Vishnu had not reached its bottom in a contest for superiority with the latter. His origin out of the navel of Vishnu or out of the mundane egg thrown into water by the Primal Being was exploited by the Vaishnavas to show his inferiority. The Padma Purdna (Srishii-Khanda) made a belated attempt to revive the cult of Brahma, but did not succeed in rehabilitating him in popular favour.

That Surya retained some importance in worship can be made out from the fact that his images are widely distributed and latterly assumed a varied character according to the diverse fancies of local potentates and sculptors, or divergent traditions of the Puraipas and the Silpa-sastras. The old associates — w T ives and attendants — are mostly retained, and new-ones, such as the Adityas, the planets and zodiacal signs, and even the seven Rishis (who appear, by the way, as reliefs in a Trivikrama image recovered from Si wan and worshipped in the Kashipuri temple at Kaithal in Kurukshetra) and the seven Matrikas find their way into some of the images. The number of hands varies from two to ten in Bengal alone. If, as is sometimes supposed, .Donda (Dandl or Kun«Ji) stands for Skanda and Pihgala for Agni, then the superiority of Surya over these two is indirectly asserted by placing them as attendants by his side. Incidentally it may be observed that Sarasvati or Aruta-Devi, the goddess of learning as depicted in Jainism, carries symbols of both Surya and Brahma in her different forms (Vidyadevls) and, in fact, in a Sarasvatl figure from Pin dawara in Sirohi not only is the lotus symbol present but the Sun is represented above the crown;

and occasionally in Jain Nava-graha slabs Sarasvati appears at one of the ends, which also shows her solar association. But the wide prevalence of Navagraha figures in Jain images, specially of the Tlrthankara Aantinatha .and occasionally of Neminatha, below, round or on the sides of the main image, and their presence below the figure of the Mahayana goddess Dasabhuj a-sita-Marich I (Marlchi being the Buddhist female counterpart of the Hindu male deity Surya and regarded as an emanation or the wife of Vairochana) indicate that they were becoming fashionable as temple decorations, for they are not only found in a panel (separate images being extremely rare) on the doorframe on the entrance door-way and sometimes on the tor ana

of a Surya temple in Rajputana and Gujarat and elsewhere, but also in Saiva sculptures (e.g. Vaiv-ahika or Kalyanasundara figure in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum, Calcutta) and in the Mother-am-child images. It has not been unreasonably surmised that when these figures are in bold relief, as in the Khari (24Paraganas) Navagraha slab, the set was regarded as a cult-object and used in grahay&ga or svastyayana to avert evil. The discovery at Khiching of a Navagraha-chakra of a later date is therefore of some interest in this connection. Perhaps what happened in the case of their occasional associate, Ganesa, occurred in their case also. To avert their wrath or evil influence people started with placing them outside their shrines and then they began to worship them. In this way popular devotion was canalised from the major adoration of principal deities to the channels of minor piety.

3. Sakti Cult and the &aiva Deities

The most notable religious revival of the age centred round Siva who practically swept the other gods off their feet. Sectarian Purainas in laudation of this divinity did not make their appearance all at once, but came in regular succession. From Kashmir to Cape Comorin there was a stir in the religious world and some of the most famous cave temples of India owe their origin to contemporary religious fervour directed towards Siva. Ellora, Salsette and Elephants bear- eloquent testimony to the excavator’s art, while the builder's skill is manifested in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchl at the opening of this period, and in the Great Temple of Tanjore at the end of this era. In Orissa also the Bhuvanesvara group of temples dedicated to Siva began to rear their heads in this period. As by now the affiliations of the Saivite group of divinities had been firmly established, the stocks of this group soared high in popular estimation. Naturally, Siva's consort and children began to shine in a kind of reflected glory—-at any rate, their importance was materially enhanced. They began to be placed in independent charge of divine exploits and even some Upanisbads were written to extol their power and beneficence. By the twelfth century the Saivite momentum spent itself and Vishnu, who never lost support at any time even during the preceding epoch, began to dominate sculptural representation. In the mediaeval temples of Rajputana, however, the figure of Lakullsa on the door-way continued to be a favourite device.

But there was a deeper reason for this emergence of family alliance of divinities. The period synchronised with the rise of a new philosophy and a new attitude towards divine consorts. At the root of the speculations of the period lay the philosophical theory that not God as such but God as associated with his power (sakti) is responsible for the creation, maintenance and destruction of the universe, and hence the mysterious association of the Supreme God with this Sakti must be admitted. Thus while in the Vedantic school of Sankara it is the eternal Maya sakti of Brahman that become responsible for the origin of the world of diversity, in the theistic schools of the Vaishnavas and the Saivas this sakti got greater personification and became the wife of the supreme deity. Whether this conjugal ideal was preached to counteract the ascetic tendency of Buddhism and Jainism must remain an open question, for we find that in Jainism too the sasana-devatas appear in pairs and Mahayana Buddhism also recognised very soon female deities side by side with the male Buddhas and their emanations. It is difficult to establish conclusively the beginnings of this Sakta tendency in Saivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism, for sexual esoterism is a very old phenomenon in Indian religious history. In India of the period we are discussing, popular religion influenced, and was in its turn reinforced by, speculation and mythology alike. The Vaishnava Samhitas, the Saiva Agamas and the Sakta Tantras were tumbled down upon the votaries of the different faiths in a multitudinous heap, and for the first time the right of the language of the people to be the medium of expression for religious exaltation and religious devotion was recognised in the south. The new religious sentiment, as affected by philosophical speculations, became mellowed in temper and began to be directed to a God of grace, united with a practically eternal partner, conceived as a female principle, whether philosophically as sakti or prakriti or religiously as Lakshmi, Sarasvati or Uma. The new motif appears in gradually increasing representation of Lakshmi-Naray ana, Brahma-Sarasvati and Siva-Parvatl in templeniches, as for instance in the temple at Ruhavi (and later in the Navalakha temple at Gumli) in Gujarat and in many Haihaya monuments, as for example in the Viratesvara temple at Sohagpur in the old Rewa State where over the doorway an eight-handed male figure is flanked by Brahma and his wife, and Vishnu and his wife, and the figures of Parvatl and Ganesa also make their appearance in the architrave. In the struggle for recognition the first bout of victory went to the Siva-Sakti cult, strongly supported in the north by Kashmir Saivism and in the south by Tamil Agamism. That there was keen rivalry among the warring creeds can be easily made out from the volume of the Saiphita, Agama and Tantra literature of the time.

In the new devotion to the Saivite household both the terrible and the benign aspect of the deities received equal and wide attention. The marriage of Siva with Uma and the peaceful householders's life of Siva with Parvatl and infant Ganeia or Skanda find, as in Pallava sculpture, equal lithic representation with Durga killing the buffalo demon either as a decorative bas-relief or as a principal image in Mamailapuram in the seventh century and with Ganesa, Virabhadra and Chamunda appearing in the Saptamatrika slabs. One of the earliest dated pleasant images is that of Sarvani in bronze or octo-alloy, discovered in Chauddagram near Tipperah and belonging to an earlier period, but other benign types of Devi images, mostly with an iguana as vehicle, are also known in Bengal. It appears also that earlier Puranic motifs of art were resuscitated with greater elaboration and freer reins to fancy. Judging from images, the earlier MahishamardinI figures seem to have had their inspiration from some other source than the Mdrkandeya Purdna as the Devi's leonine mount is absent from some of the earliest images. Again, there is variation in the mode of the presentation of both the lion and the buffalo demon. Durga sometimes fights dismounted from the lion, sometimes she sits on her mount with both legs on one side, and sometimes she sits astride the lion. The demon too is sometimes half-human and halfbuffalo, sometimes he is human-bodied but buffalo-headed, and sometimes he is wholly human in appearance but with two buffalo horns sticking out of his forehead—a mode of representing theriomorphic powers of which Egyptian parallels would come readily to one's mind. Similarly, the hands of Durga could be two, four, six, or eight, or even ten or twelve at a later time. In fact, the Devi with sixteen, eighteen, twenty and even thirty-two hands has been represented in Bengal. The ten arms may represent the combined ten hands of the four-handed Brahma, the four-handed Vishnu and the two-handed Siva, seeing that Durga was considered to be Maha -Kali, Maha-Lakshml and Maha-Sarasvatl in one. As a matter of fact, Hemadri in his description of Katyayam mentions that she should imitate the three deities, by which are obviously meant Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. He also describes a ten-handed Durga with a slightly different set of weapons and also a twenty-handed Chandl with many more weapons in her hands. As he wrote his Chaturvarga-clnintdmani in the thirteenth century, apparently he was recording later varieties of the Durga image. But the twenty-handed image from Sirala (District Rajshahi), belQnging to the tenth century and now lost, has a good deal of resemblance with Chandl described by him. In fact, the

Puraaias and sculptural remains vary considerably on this point of the number of &akti's hands, and their attributes.

The MarkaV'deya Pumna, which grew by accretion during the early centuries of the Christian era and is the locus classicus for the exploits of the &akti goddess in the Chandl or Devi-nw,hdtmya or Sdptasati chapters, includes the Mahishamardini episode in addition to some other accounts of ^akti's achievements as also the promise of her periodic appearance whenever the demons would threaten the peace of gods. It is also responsible for popularising the cult of the Mothers, generally seven in number, who are the energies (&akti) of the different major gods that came to the assistance of the Divine Mother (Ambika, Durga, Chaindika, Katyayani), armed with the mount and vehicles and weapons of their respective lords. Whereas the MahishasuramardinI was herself formed by the coalescence of the Saktis of many more deities than seven and was endowed by them all, Chandika maintained an independent position in her light against Sumbha and Nisumbha and even withdrew the Seven Mothers within herself as her vihhuiis when taunted by Sumbha for fighting with extraneous aid. In the Saptamatrika slabs appear the saktis of the principal gods from left to right, with occasional variations here and there, in the following order-— Brahman! or Sarasvati, Mahesvari or RaudrI, Kaumari or Karttikeyani, Vaishnav! or Lakshml, Varahi, Indranl or MahendrI, and Chamunda or Chamundl. NarasimhI replacing Chamunda (as in the Mdrkandeya Piirdna) or Yarn! replacing Varahi is not unknown. To the list is sometimes added Mahalakshmi or Yogesvarl to make the eighth. Hemadri mentions Chandika herself as the eighth Mother; he also gives other lists of Mothers in which abstraxt qualities and concrete personalities are mixed up together. Even an image with Vagisvar! replacing Vaishnav! has been discovered in Bengal. The Saptamatrika figures are hanked on the left by Siva (Virabhadra) or Skanda and on the right by Ganesa (and occasionally by Kaia or Bhrihgi), but Ganesa is here not a young boy of diminutive size, as in Siva-Parvati images, but is of the same size as the Mothers as befitting a leader who, alternately with &iva, sometimes forms, in fact, the vanguard of the group of divine Saktis. He appears as such in the Chedi country also, as in the Vaidyanatha Mahadeva temple where not only the Saptamatrikas but also the Navagrahas figure, as they do in some other temples, of this area like the temple at Marai in the old Maihar State.

The Puranas and the Brihat-saihhitd had recognised the existence and worshipfulness of the Mothers; the Kadamba and Chalukya kings had worshipped them; and bas-reliefs in caves and temples

had presaged their coming splendour. But the growing importance of the Sakti cult brought them into greater prominence and distributed their cult far and wide—-from the Kangra valley to Cape Comorin and from the Jhelum to Sadiya. In Eastern India specially they got independent representation. The colossi of the Eight Mothers from Muktimandapa near Jaipur (Yirajakshetra} and the Eight Mothers with Sivaduti on the bank of the Vaitarani indicate their popularity in this part of East India. In Bengal also some of the Mothers have been separately sculptured and Chamunda of various forms, such as Rupavidya, Siddha-yogesvarl and Dantura, has found independent lithic representation. Even a Sakti of Ganesa (Ganesani) was subsequently conceived when Ganesa became a major deity.

Reinforcement to the Sakti cult came from a contemporaneous Buddhistic revival in which Tara, the Sakti of Avalokitesvara, played a prominent part. This goddess, of whom the nearest Brahmanical equivalent is Tarim and the Jain parallel is the sasanadevata Sutaraka or Sutara, was absorbed at first as a yogini and then as a deity along with Ekajata, Kurukulla and other Mahayana female divinities in the north, and found early representation in the different cave temples and also stone and metal embodiment under the Palas . fe.g., the bronze eighteen-armed Tara found in Nalanda). The adventurous mariners who carried Indian civilisation by sea to the Far East during the Pala period invoked her as the patron of navigators through a pardonable identification of the meanings of Tara, which signifies both a star and a goddess. In the later Tantras, which are products of the fusion of Buddhistic and Brahmanical beliefs, many of the Buddhistic female deities were identified with Brahmanical Sakti goddesses, and even the Jain pantheon, by matching each male attendant of a Tirthankara with a female, recognised the strength of the popular feeling in favour of pairing male principles with their female counterparts. In Jainism not only were Vasudeva and Baladeva (with the snake-canopy) and Ganesa and possibly also Kartth keya taken over from Brahmanism but also Sarasvat! and Lakshmi, and its own cult of Padmavatl became quite vigorous at a slightly later date.

That the Mothers hovered between lower (yogini) and higher (dein) divinities is proved by the fact that, barring the 6akti of &iva, none became a definite cult object, though isolated images of Lakshmi (sometimes Ashta-Lakshml, including Gajalakshml, corresponding to the eight Saktis of Vishnu, as in the Padma Purana), Sarasvati, Ganga, Yamuna and other female deities are found here and there all over India (e.g., in the Haihaya monuments). And this is natural

because the fame of most of them rested on the assistance they rendered to Durga, Chandika or Ambika in her struggles against the demons that threatened heavenly peace. It is very likely also that the £iva-£akti cult was a federation of two originally independent faiths and Durga had already been so separately extolled that it was not possible to bring her into a completely subservient relation to Siva. This will explain why in the Mah&bhdrata she appears at one place as the wife of Narayana and at another as the wife of Siva, and in the Durgd-saptasatx of the Mdrkandeya Puvana she is more a Vaishnavi Sakti than a Saivite one, though her names betoken her Saivite association. Sarasvati and Lakshmi, though widely worshipped as the respective patrons of learning and riches, practically remained wives of Brahma and Vishnu in Brahmanism. It is really in the heterodox systems of Jainism and Mahayana Buddhism that Sarasvati attained greater independence and evolved many forms and was surrounded by personified abstractions. In Jainism Lakshmi too enjoyed a similar independent status. That Sarasvati should appear both as a sasanadevata and as an independent deity may provide a clue to the exact position of these minor goddesses. Like the Yakshas they never rose to the highest position in any pantheon and yet they supplied artistic models for decorating temples and even providing loci of minor veneration. Ganesa, for instance, hovered between a yaksha and a deity, as when Sri Vinayaka the deity became reduced to Ganesa the yaksha door-keeper with sounding bells, both in India and outside. Kubera also hovered between a major deity (one of the dikpdlas) and a yaksha-chief.

The name ‘Mothers’ had apparently something to do with the placing of children on the laps or by the side of these mothergoddesses, who were virtually looked upon as the guardian angels of small children. The Mahayana deity Haritl, it may be remembered, had a similar figure and function. She had ectypes in Manasa, the serpent goddess, and also &Itala, the goddess of smallpox, who begins to figure towards the end of this period in temples in Kathiawad and Gujarat (e.g. at Sejakpur and Sunak). Later on the goddess Shashthi took over this protective function from the Mothers. The occasional absence of a child on Sarasvati’s knee or side may be responsible for the association of ‘six’ with the protection of children, unless we believe that Shashthi has something to do with the six Krittikas that suckled the infant Karttikeya.

Probably the name ‘Mothers’ was euphemistic when extended to the Yoginls and was designed to cover up their destructive or terrible aspect (as in the cases of &iva and Ganesa) as befitting agencies that came into existence to aid a supreme female deity in battle and to assist her in preventing the generation of new demons out of the blood-drops of the slain by licking these up, as represented in the Andhakavadha scene at Tewar. Their number was rather fluid, but when the lesser Saktis were added to the major ones it swelled to seven or eight, and then, by the usual process of multiplication, it rose from eight to sixteen, and then to sixty-four or more in Puranic and even Jain accounts, and they were then considered as Yoginis. In the Chausant YoginI temple at Bheraghat on the Narmada near Jubbulpore, where there is a circular colonnaded enclosure, are to be found together not only the sixty-four Yoginis but also the eight Saktis, three rivers, four other goddesses, Siva and Ganesa, thus making a total of eighty-one figures together with three more spaces at the entrances. At Khajuraho the sixty-four Yoginis appear in an oblong temple, but in other places like Ranipur-Jural and Coimbatore such circular temples have been found

and in Kalahandi there occurs the Surada temple containing sixty

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five cells. Many of these are hypaethral, which shows that the deities enshrined were of minor consideration in the devotion of men. The Bheraghat figures have suffered, like other monuments, the fanatical fury of the iconoclasts; but most of them fortunately retain their names inscribed in the sixty-five peripheral chapels. A perusal of the names discloses the fact that they are not all canonical Some were obviously incorporated from popular cult objects of the time and the locality, and some were actual or corrupted forms of Brahmanic originals. A comparison with the list given by Hemadri about three centuries later shows that there was no fixity in the names of the Yoginis though their cult was fairly wide-spread. Even the eight Yoginis now worshipped in Bengal have titles not to be found in Hernadri’s list; in fact, the East Indian names of the sixty-four Yoginis do not have any terribleness about them, being mostly names of Durga herself, as the names in Hemadri’s list have. Thus, barring the convention that the Yoginis must be sixty-four, there is very little common in the different lists of names. What interests us in the Bheraghat icons is the presence of §rI-Teramva, a Mahishamardinl figure with sixteen hands, and of SarvatomukhI with a lotus under-seat containing the Tantrik emblem of crossed triangles (shatkona), with the b:ja word Hrim in the centre. Images of Brahma, Vishnu, Surya, Ganesa, Karttikeya, some of the Divine Mothers, and Ganga and Yamuna have been found in the ruins of the Bheraghat temple, in the centre of which probably stood an Uma-Mahesvara group according to Coomaraswamy. It is probably at a later period that this Smarta method of combining the principal gods in the same sanctuary was adopted.

Once Saktism became popular it was merely a question of time as to how exaggerated emphasis would be laid upon the diverse modes of divine manifestation. Thus Durga might herself be conceived as many, and this gives us Nava-Durga (of which the Navalihgas of Kukkanur might be considered as the late male counterparts) or nine forms of the goddess known under different names. One set of such names—Sailaputri, Erahmacharinl, Chaindaghanta, Kushmanda, Skandamata, KatyayanI, Kalaratri, Mahagauri and Siddhidatri—-practically sketches her career and functions. Another better known set is composed of Ugrachanda, Praehanda, Chaodogra, Chandanayika, Chanda, Chandavati, Chandarupa, Atichandika and Rudrachanda—-all signifying the wrathful aspect of the deity. .A rare image of Nava-Durga in relief with an eighteen-handed central figure surrounded by eight sixteen-handed miniature figures was discovered at Porsha (Dina j pur) and is now in the Rajshahi Museum. Nava-Durga, Kalika and Chandika have been found enshrined in Jagesvara in Kumayun during this period- Similarly, just as Parvatl was differentiated into Durga, Chamunda, Mahishasuramardim and Mahalakshmi, so also Chamunda was herself viewed under the three forms of Karali or Bhadrakali, Kalabhadra and Kali or Mahakali, and was endowed with various numbers of arms under different names. Reference has already been made to the diverse forms of Chamunda in Bengal sculpture.

By the side of these major Sakti deities we have other goddesses like Jyeshfha, the elder sister of Lakshmi but associated with misfortune (Alakshml), reference to whose temple is made in an eighth century inscription near Madura. An inscribed four-handed Vaglsvari image of c. A.D. 940 from Nalanda, seated on a lion and tormenting a demon, is now in the Indian Museum, and another figure of the same goddess in octo-alloy, with eight hands, is in the Rajshahi Museum. A little later than the period we are discussing came, in the wake of Tantrik revival, the Dasa-

Mahavidyas—Kali, Tara, Shodasi, Bhuvan-esvan, Bhairavi, Chhinnamasta, Dhumavati, Bagala Matahgi and Kamalatmika (Gaja-Lakshmi), obviously modelled on the ten avatar as of Vishnu; but isolated deities like Kali, Ugra-Tara, Vindhy a vasini, etc. came earlier and had other associates, both fierce and benign, like Praiyahgira, Dhumavati or Dhumrakalf, Lalita, Tripurasundarl (often identified with Shodasi'), Kajaraje-svarl, etc. added at a later time.

It appears also that Karttikeya was progressively losing contact with this Sakti group even though his Sakti (Kaumari or Karttikeyani) forms one of the Mothers and he himself occasionally turns up in Seven-Mother slabs. Mentioned as Subrahmanya in the

Manasara, he still retained considerable popularity in the South under the titles of Velayudha, Muruga, etc., specially with nonBrahmana classes, was assigned two wives—Valli and Devasena (or Devayana)—and had many shrines dedicated to him. In the Gujarat area too Karttikeya or Mahasena receives the homage of the Chaulukyas and at Ellora he finds lithic representation thrice. Judging by the Gurgi inscription, his image along with those of Uma, Uma with Siva, Sarasvatl and Ganapati, was placed round a central image of Siva in the area of the Gurgaj mound, where huge images of Durga or Parvatl have also been discovered. In the torana removed to Rewa, Karttikeya and Ganesa also figure with the Mothers, as do the major gods (Brahma included) and the planets, in Siva’s marriage procession scene.

Ganesa, however, retains and, in fact, improves upon his position; he not only accompanies the Mothers but also attends and imitates the dance of Siva in sculptural representations and acts as a defender of the Brahmanical faith by guarding temples. Even a five-faced Ganesa, in imitation of his five-faced (panchanana) father, has been unearthed both in Orissa and in the ruins of Rampal (Dacca). His figure has been found on the door lintel of one of the ruined temples at Saidabad in Kashmir. No wonder that some terrible forms of Buddhistic deities should be represented as curbing his power in the shape of trampling upon his prostrate body (and sometimes that of his Sakti also)—Mahakala, Aparajita and Black Manjusri being the most noted Mahayanic oppressors of the elephant-headed gcd of the Brahmanical pantheon. It must be acknowledged, however, that Buddhism entertained an ambivalent attitude towards this deity, for it itself worshipped Vinayakas of different kinds. Similarly Baia-Ganapati and the conch-shell symbol of some Ganesa images betrayed occasional attempts at a rapprochement with Vaishnavism, but they did not prove a very successful venture. His place in temples, however, was assured; he adorns the door lintel of practically every major god in Gujarat —Siva, Brahma, Surya, Devi, etc.,—and also in Haihaya Saiva temples, just as Gaja Lakshml did in many Chalukya temples

Ganesa's star of fortune became definitely ascendant towards the close of this period, for, under the name of Ganapati, he became a popular cult object, particularly in Western India, and had a distinct sect, the Ganapatyas, devoted to his special worship. With heads ranging from one to five and arms correspondingly increased, with one, two or more tusks with the trunk variously disposed, and with many of the ornaments, attitudes and even the shapeless lingaform (of red stone) borrowed from Siva, Ganapati became the centre of a popular cult, open and esoteric, the rival of Siva himself, and even superior to the other gods who sought his aid and approached and placated him when in distress. When the new fervour arose, there was a revival of the ancient number of six, of whom the five Sakti-Ganapatis are the most prominent, namely, the red fourarmed Uchchhishta-Ganapati, the red ten-armed Maha-Ganapati, the yellow six-armed Urddhva-Ganapati, the tawny-coloured six-armed Pingala-Ganapati, and the white four- or eight-armed Lakshmi Ganapati. Haridra-Gamapati with yellow 7 colour and four arms was also regarded as the supreme deity. In Anandagiri's enumeration Navamta, Svarna and Santana Ganapatis replace Urddhva, Pingaia and Lakshmi Ganapatis. It is probable that some of the names owe their origin to the materials with which the Ganapati figures were made-—cream or butter (navanita) 9 gold (svarva), turmeric (haridra),—or to the degree of their yellowness. The devotees of these six forms formed esoteric sects. Theogonic speculations tried to give Ganapati a mystic origin out of &iva, and Tantrikism invested him with yantras and mantras suited to different purposes. The image of his &akti, labelled as &rI-AinginI, as also his own image is to be found among the Bheraghat icons and in the Indian Museum collection, and Ganesa himself with his Ganas also finds sculptural representation. The five heads, as in H era mb a - Gana pat i, sometimes get separate forms under Buddhistic influence at a later time as in the Nritya Ganapati of Nepal. In fact, images of Ganesa with other Buddhistic influences, e.g- Bhumisparsa-mudra, are also known from other countries, which is not unnatural, seeing that latterly he became a Buddhistic loan deity. The ashta-siddhis came to be construed into his &akti in Tantrik belief. In the Navagraha slabs he occupies the extreme right position—just the reverse of what he does in the Saptamatrika slabs. His association with the Diggajas of the four cardinal points can be made out from the Ghativala column near Jodhpur (with four Ganesa images at the top facing the four quarters) with a dated inscription of the ninth century A.D., while in a slab from Sonarang (Bengal), Ganesa is found sculptured on the right and the Saptamatrikas on the left of a Surya temple. The Ghatiyala figure installed in a market place perhaps marks his association with success in trade.

The end of this period virtually closes the origin of new divinities. Henceforward local variations, elaborations and fusions characterise the evolution of new forms. The most outstanding religious upheaval was furnished by the Tantras which necessitated an understanding with the deep-seated craving of the human heart and an acceptance of the female principle in religious worship. After

Mahay anism had reached its zenith and given a new pantheon, a rapprochement with that cult was also found necessary, and when Buddhism degenerated and declined, its elements were utilised with suitable modifications to serve the needs of the newly absorbed Buddhist population. There was a fusion of Buddhistic and Brahmanical cults also and a revival of interest in the occult was responsible for the popularity of Gorakshanatha and other Siddhas. A new esoteric literature was born as a result of this new type of interest.

II. ICONOGRAPHY 1. Sdkti

Images of Devi or &akti, both of Ugm and Saumya types, 130 are met with in large numbers. Numerous eight- or ten-armed images of the MahishasuramardinI have been discovered in different parts of eastern India, and their principal type, with certain additional features, came to be the accepted iconic model of the composite clay image in the autumnal Durga worship in Bengal. An image, unique of its kind, retrieved from a north Bengal village in the Dinajpur District, portrays in a very interesting manner the nine Burgas (Nava-Durga) ; m the central figure of MahishasuramardinI is eighteen-armed with eight other sixteen-armed miniature figures of the same type grouped round it. The all-powerful and allembracing character of the Divine Sakti is further emphasised by another unique stone image of the thirty-two-armed Devi engaged in combat with demons (not the buffalo-demon in particular), found in the said district; on the top part of its prabhdvali are shown the miniature figures of Ganapati, Surya, &iva, Vishnu, and Brahma. 132

A four-armed standing figure of the goddess, of the saumya type, found in one of the rock-cut shrines of Ellora, exactly corresponds to the description of Parvatl, one of the six varieties of Gaurl, viz., Uma, Parvatl, Sri, Rambha, To tala and Tripura, as described in the Rupamandana. She holds in her four hands, from the lower right onwards (i.e. lower right, upper right, upper left and lower left), a rosary, &ivalihga, a miniature figure of Ganapati, and a water vessel, and has two pots of fire placed on her either side. 133 A comparison between this rare type of Devi image from Ellora, and a particular form of her four-armed standing figures of the mediaeval period commonly found in Bengal, will be of interest here. The latter shows her standing erect, with such attributes as a boon {vara) or pomegranate, a &ivalihga, a tridandi or a trident in her

hands in the above order, and an iguana (godhihd) carved on the pedestal. There are different varieties of this type which can be dubbed Chandl on account of the godhikd on the pedestal of many of them (this animal had particular association with the story of Chandl and Kalaketu, current in Bengal). An inscribed stone image of the Devi, dated in the third regnal year of Lakshmanasena, now in the collection of the Dacca Museum, shows a couchant lion for her vehicle; she holds vara , ankusa, padma, and kamandalu in her hands and like Gaja-Lakshmi, is being bathed by two elephants* The pedestal inscription describes her as Chandl; but Bhattasali denominates it as Bhuvanesvarl on the authority of the Sdraddtilakatantra. 134

Separate images of the Devi of the dsana variety are comparatively rare, she being usually depicted sitting on the lap of her consort Siva in such types of Saiva images as Uma-Mahesvaramurti discussed above. Several seated images, however, have been discovered in Bengal, and a few of them can be called Aparajjita, Mahalakshmi, etc., on the basis of various iconographic texts. A very interesting sculpture, found among the ruins of ancient Vikrampur (Dacca), shows a Sivalinga, "out of which emerges the half-length figure of a four-armed goddess, with her front hands in the dhydnamudrd , and the back right and left hands holding a rosary and a manuscript respectively"; Bhattasali identifies the image as that of Mahamaya or Tripura-Bhairavi* 135 The Matrika group of images have been found in different parts of India, but the earliest of them does not go back to a period earlier than the Gupta. The Gangdhar stone inscription .of Visvavarman, of the time of Kumara-gupta I, refers to the construction of the temples of the Divine Mothers, which are described as "terrible abodes' (vesmdtyugram) . The extant images of the Matrikas, however, with the exception of that of Chamunda, do not indicate anything fierce or terrific; most of them are shown as exact female counterparts of their corresponding male divinities with the complete cognizances and attributes of the latter. Varahi and Chamundi alone are different; the former, a sow-faced female seated on a buffalo, and the latter, an extremely emaciated figure with a scorpion mark on her shrunken belly, seated on a corpse (pretdsand). To emphasise the mother-aspect, these goddesses are sometimes shown as carrying a suckling baby on their laps, and the Ellora Saptamatrika panel is a striking example of this type of Matrika images. Figures of Vlrabhadra and Ganesa are usually carved on either side of the row of the Mothers, for the myths describe them as their guardians. Chamunda seems to have been one of the most important cult-goddesses in the Tantrik pan

theon, and this is proved by her several peculiar forms, such as Rupavidya, Siddha-Yogesvari and Dantura, whose images have been discovered in Bengal. An image of the last-mentioned aspect of Chamunda, showing a two-armed goddess sitting on her haunches, found originally in a Burdwan village and now in the collection of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum, Calcutta, strikingly portrays the weird and the uncanny "with its bare canine teeth, rounded eyes, ghastly smile, emaciated body, lean and pendulous breasts, sunken belly, and peculiar sitting posture". 136

2. Ganesa

Reference has been made above 137 to the different varieties of the images of Ganesa. His standing and seated figures are usually four-armed, but when he is shown dancing, he is endowed with more hands. An eleventh century six-armed stone image of the god, hailing from north Bengal and now in the collection of the Indian Museum, shows him dancing on the back of his mount, attended by two other dancing figures, one on each side, playing on musical instruments; objects like the tusk, hatchet, rosary, blue lotus, pot of sweetmeat, etc- are displayed in his hands, and there is a bunch of mangoes carved on the top centre of the pointed stele. It is a finely carved sculpture, and the artist has handled the theme of a grotesque nature with great balance and sense of proportion. 133 Another rare type of Ganesa is that with five heads and ten arms seated on the back of a roaring lion; this variety is described in the text as Heramba Ganapati. Several such figures of the late mediaeval period have been found in India, and one unearthed from the ruins of Rampal (Dacca), contains on the upper part of its stele six other miniature figures of Ganesa, perhaps the cult pictures of the six sub-divisions of the Ganapatya sect. 139 Another type of Ganesa, mostly found in southern India, is the UnmattaUchchhishta variety in which the god is shown in company with his consort in a suggestive pose; several of its extant specimens are rather of an indelicate character. 140

3. Kdrttikeya

The South Indian images of Subrahmanya display a multiplicity of forms which are given various names in the Tantrik and Agamic texts; but most of these are late in point of date. The Ellora stone panel shows a four-armed figure of the god with a cock placed in his front left hand, and two goat-headed attendants, one standing on either side of him. The latter evidently stand for such mythological personalities as Negamesa or Harinigamesi. A late

relief from Tirupparankunram temple in southern India represents a unique variety of Karttikeya figure, viz . Devasena-Kalyanasundara-murti, the theme of which is the marriage of Devasena and Karttikeya; it is evidently based on the Kalyanasundara-murti of Siva, as the Nritya-Ganapati figures are modelled on his dancing types. 141

4. Surya

The iconographic representation of Surya came to be far more elaborate in course of time and several accessories were added. The figures of Kundl bearing pen and ink-pot, on the proper right and of Daridi holding a staff on the proper left, are already present in some late Gupta reliefs of Surya; the figures of several spouses of the god, such as Nikshubha, Chhaya, Sarhjna or Rajhi, Suvarna and Suvarchasa, with the goddess Mahasveta and other attendants, are now depicted crowding round the main deity. The legs of not only the central figure but also of those of the various attendants, both male and female, are shown encased in some sort of leggings; but the long coat has completely disappeared, and the close covering of the upper part of the body is just suggested by some delicately carved lines on the torso and the arms. The lotus flowers held in the hands are not mere buds but fully blossomed ones shown parallel to the ears, and the seven horses are almost invariably represented on the chariot. The Surya image, found at Kotalipada (Faridpur) and now in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Museum, Calcutta, dated in the eleventh ventury A D., is a representative specimen of such icons of northern India; but it contains such additional features as agm-kundas carved on the saptaratha pedestal, from which issue lotus-flowers whereon the god and his principal attendants are standing. Another eleventh century stone relief of the god, procured from a Dinajpur village for the Rajshahi Museum, shows a unique mode of representation; he is depicted six-armed, his natural hands hold two fully blossomed lotus flowers, the four added ones showing vara , akshamala, abhaya and kamandalu . The Visvakarmavatdra Sdstra description of Dhatri, the first of the Adilyas in the Dvadasaditya group of divinities, partially corresponds to this type; the former, however, is four-armed, the third pair of arms showing the vara - and abhaya-mudras being omitted. Fourarmed standing and seated Surya images, though rare, are not absolutely unknown in northern India. If a comparison is made between the normal two-armed Surya figure of the north with the same of the south, both belonging to the mediaeval period, some remarkable differences may be noticed; the nature of the most important

among them seems to prove that the southern Bury a figures did not come under any foreign influence, for their legs are always left bare- 142 Seated

Sun images of the mediaeval period are comparalively rare, and an inscribed one, acquired from a Dinajpur village, is ail the more interesting, for the pedestal inscription of the eleventh-twelfth century A.D. refers to the god as samasta-rogdiidm hartta (remover of ail diseases). Composite reliefs of the Sun-god from northern as well as southern India, combining in them the features of several members of the orthodox Brahmanica! triad, are known. These sometimes are joint representations of Surya and Narayana, or Surya and Siva, and very rarely the attributes of Surya, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are all combined in a single monographic motif. The eight-armed and three-headed figure in the Chidambaram temple, with Arixna and the seven horses carved on the pedestal, and his hands carrying such attributes as a conchshell, a discus, a pair of lotus-buds, etc. evidently represents the last. The so-called Trimurti figures found in Bundelkhand region are really typical combinations of Surya and Vishnu, and are even sometimes described as Surya-Narayana. A unique three-headed and ten-armed sculpture of the twelfth century A.D., found at a Rajshahi village, typifies in a very characteristic manner the combined form of Surya and Siva; its three faces—the central one placid, and the side ones terrific—, its ten hands holding such attributes as sakti f khatvdnga, nilotpala f darnaru and the usual lotuses, and other iconographic traits closely correspond to the description of Marttanda-Bhairava given in the &draddtilaka-iantra. uz All these composite types of images perhaps show indirectly the part which the Sun-god played in the evolution of many of the god-concepts connected with several of the important Brahmanical cults

Several mediaeval sculptures of eastern India, showing a rider with a drinking cup in his hand and accompanied by a host of followers, were at first wrongly described as those of Kalki. But they have now been correctly identified as those of Revanta, the son of Surya. Both of them are shown riding on horseback, but the distinctive feature of Revanta is that, he should be shown a-hunting accompanied by a host of attendants. The Brihat-samhita description of the god (Revanto-svdrudho mrigaya-kri<Mdi~parivdrah) gives us the correct clue to his identity, and several stone reliefs depicting him have been found in eastern India, mostly in Bengal. These represent him as a rider in company with male and female followers, two-armed, booted, holding in his left hand the reins of the horse

and a drinking cup in his right hand; the artists even include among the accessories a retriever dog. The late mediaeval Ghatnagar (Dinaj

pur) basalt image of Revanta, however, does not follow the above description in all its details, and presents the god in a novel manner. The M&rkandeya Puruna 144 says that Revanta was made the lord of the Guhyakas by his father, and his special task was to deliver mortals in distress "amid the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and robbers"; the Ghatnagar relief shows the god engaged in combat with a band of robbers who were about to disturb the peaceful pursuits of the village people- 145

5. Navagrahas

The worship of the Navagrahas was also of special importance in times of danger, and they were duly propitiated by means of grahayaga and svastyayana by different Hindu sectaries. So their images were in great demand throughout India and they were usually carved in a row on the lintel of the main sanctum of a Vaishnava or a &aiva temple. The Siva temples of Bhu vanes vara (Orissa) bear this feature- Sometimes these are also shown on the prabhti of other cult divinities. Separate representations of these deities are, however, very rare, and the presence of two of them, Chandra and Rrihaspati, among the basement reliefs on the main mound at Paharpur, are of great iconographic value. 146 The Navagraha slab in the collection of the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University, is a very fine sculpture; it shows the nine so-called planets: Ravi, Soma, Mangala, Budha, Brihaspati, Sukra, £ani, Rahu, and Ketu, standing side by side on lotus pedestals, holding their respective attributes in their hands with Ganesa in the front of the row, and their respective Hnchchhanas carved below. 147 The big Navagraha slab, which served originally as the lintel piece of the Sun temple at Konarak (Orissa), shows the deities as seated ones.

(G) THE PARSIS 147a

Numerically, the Parsi Community forms an almost insignificant element in the Indian population. But it deserves an honoured place in Indian history, chiefly for two reasons. In the first place, it is the only living remnant of Zoroastrianism,—a splendid culture and civilisation of ancient times, which has very nearly vanished from its homeland, and is to be found almost exclusively in Western India and the Bombay State. The importance of this point is further enhanced by the fact that Zoroastrianism is closely associated with the Vedic Culture of India to which detailed reference has been made in Vol. I. 148 Secondly, the Parsi Community has furnished quite a large number of eminent men—leaders in politics, and captains of trade, industry, and commerce—who have played a prominent role in the making of modern India.

Though the Parsis have made India their homeland, they have, like the Muslims, carefully preserved their separate entity. But unlike the Muslims they have not increased their ranks by local conversion and have no association—ideological or spiritual—with any community outside the boundaries of their adopted land.

The Iranians—as the Parsis were known in old days—must have settled in India in small or large bands from time immemorial. But they were thoroughly absorbed by the Indian population, and have left no trace of their existence save in such elements of culture which India might have borrowed from them. The present Parsi Community, in India represents one or more of the last waves of migration from Iran (Persia) after the conquest of the country by the Muslim Arabs.

The Sasanid King of Iran, Yazdagird III, was first defeated at Qadisiyya in A.D. 637 and his power was finally shattered in the battle of Nehawand in A.D. 641. That the Muslim occupation of their country, which followed this conquest, forced colonies of Zoroastrian Iranians to seek refuge in India, admits of no doubt. There is also a general agreement that the first batch of these emigrants settled at a town called Sanjan, situated some 90 miles to the north of Bombay- But considerable difference of opinion exists about the date of their arrival.

A Persian poem, Qissa-i-Sanjan, composed by Bahman Kaykobad Sanjana about the year A.D. 1600, recounts the tale of the wandering of the band of Iranians who ultimately settled at Sanjan. The author does not give any specific date, but mentions the duration of the stay of the emigrants in different places, mostly in round numbers. It would follow from this that the emigrants arrived at Diu in Kathiawad about A.D. 806, and after staying there for 19 years, settled at Sanjan in A.D. 825. But most scholars refuse to take the poem as historical and regard it as merely a figment of fancy. 149

Dastur Aspandiarjl Kamdin, in a small book, published in A-D. 1826, gives a specific date, Samvat 772 (= A.D. 716), for the settlement of the Iranians at Sanjan. It is possible that he relied upon a much older tradition. Unfortunately the details about month and tithi, given along with the date, do not fit this year. Besides, the date A.D. 716 seems to be too early, if we are to believe in the Iranian tradition that the emigrants wandered for a considerable period in Iran before leaving for India- Hodivala, who has considered the

whole question in great detail, suggests that the figure for the year is really 992, and as 9 and 7 were written very much alike such a confusion may be easily explained. The main support of his argument is that the details of the date given fit in with the year 992. 150 So it would appear that Hodivala’s suggestion might be accepted and the date of the first Pars! settlement in India (at Sanjan) may, therefore, be provisionally fixed at Samvat 992 (— A D. 936).

The earliest positive date for the settlement of these Iranian emigrants in India is furnished by two inscriptions found in Kanheri caves. 151 These record the names of two parties of Iranian tourists who had visited the caves, and like many modern visitors, chiselled their names on the rocks. The first inscription gives the names of seventeen men, and the second, of ten men, including four of the first; and these are dated respectively in A.D. 999 and 1021. The script as well as the language of both the inscriptions is Pahlavi and the personal names are, without exception, purely Iranian. As the Farsis in India freely adopted Hindu names, it has been argued that the arrival of the Iranians in India could not have been very old at the time the inscriptions were engraved. This in a way supports the date A.D. 936 suggested above.

The Pars! tradition mentions that the ruler who gave permission to the first emigrants to settle at San j an was named Jadi Rana. According to the

Qissa-i-S&njan, he belonged to the race of the ‘Shahrayas\ Neither the name nor the race is otherwise known. But here, again, Hodivala 152 suggests that the original word Shdhrdydn is a misreading or mistake for Shilharayan, which denotes the Silaharas. This is quite plausible. In that case we may also accept his other suggestion that the king referred to was Vajjada-deva. Vajja^a might easily become Jadi, and as the emigrants, fresh from Iran, would not like to address their benefactor as ‘deva’, which had in the Zoroastrian literature a meaning entirely the reverse of that which it bears in Saqskrit, they added the epithet ‘Rand’.

The Silahara king Anantadeva made a grant to ‘KharasanMandalf in A.D. 1081. Hodivala suggests that this refers to the Parsi Community. 153 As the Pars! records always speak of the first emigrants as having ‘‘come from Khorasan”, it is a reasonable presumption that for some time after their arrival they were known as “Khorasan-Mandair ’.

Hardly anything is known of the Parsis in India during the period under review. Their later history will be dealt with in a subsequent volume.

H. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

1. The Bhdshyas

We have traced in the preceding volumes the rise of heterodox religions which crystallised into Jainism and Buddhism, their development as great and powerful sects challenging the supremacy of the orthodox Brahmanical religion, their reaction upon the latter, and the resulting contest between various schools in the arena of philosophy. This battle of wits became acute between A.D, 600 and A.D. 1000. As Winternitz remarks: 154 “The second half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth century A.D. was a period of lively philosophical disputes. Kumarila, the great Mimaihsa philosopher and representative of Brahmanical orthodoxy, attacked the Buddhist and Jinistic logicians, including among the last-named the prominent teachers Samantabhadra and Aka lank a, whilst Prabhachandra and Vidyananda defended their co-religionists against Kumarila.”

The intellectual war that was waged found expression not so much in new writings as in exegeses on old ones. It was now the period of bhashyas or expositions of the sutras. Less important commentaries and expository summaries were also written and bore the titles of vrittis t kdrikds, etc., besides the general name of tt?oa- 155

2. Orthodox and Heterodox Schools

Much of the philosophical discussion turned on the two main points at issue between the orthodox and heterodox schools. Heterodoxy challenged the authority of the Vedas as a source of knowledge.

I But, asked orthodoxy, what was its own position? The word of Buddha or of Mahavlra was regarded as infallible and sacrosanct. But if the word of human teachers can be invested with such sanctity and infallibility, the Vedas, which are not attributed to any human authorship, must be regarded as a more authoritative source of knowledge. In popular debates and in sober arguments, this point was hammered into the minds of men with continued application and vigour.

Not only in epistemology, but in ontology also, heterodoxy had its weak points. Buddhism denied, in some form or other, a permanent soul and a permanent world. If everything was momentary as the Buddhists asserted, then what are we to deal with? And if the soul was but a stream of consciousness, if there was no permanent substance behind the changing states and processes of consciousness, whose salvation is philosophy to think of? And if, again,

no definite statement — no definite affirmation or denial — about anything could be made, as the Jains said, then also how was a philosophy possible at all? Again, the Buddhist theory of the impermanance of the soul and the theory of karma (action) and transmigration conflicted with each other. If there was no soul that endures, to whom does karma cling and who is it that migrates from body to body and is bom again and again? Thus the affirmations and denials of heterodoxy both contained weak points; and the battery of orthodox arguments continued to be directed against them for centuries after Buddha.

That orthodoxy eventually overcame its enemy on these points is a fact. But the heterodox thinkers developed a powerful logic— an organon of thought and debate — which could not be brushed aside. It was assimilated by those who opposed its discoverers. The development of logic in orthodox schools was considerably influenced by Jain and Buddhist writers on the subject.

It was not in logic alone that heterodoxy vanquished its victor. In metaphysics, too, its gifts were very great and largely accepted by its victor, though in a modified form. The Buddhist theory of extreme idealism and the doctrine that all is ultimately a void (sunya) influenced the philosophy of the great Vedantist, Sankara, to such an extent that later critics of Sankara did not hesitate to dub him as a 'Buddhist in disguise', even though he had criticised the Buddhists in his commentary on the Vedanta-sutras.

Though the germs of the theory of karma and transmigration can be traced as early as the Upanishads, its fuller development owes a good deal to Jain-Buddhist thinkers. And a popular, though somewhat fanciful, shape was given to it in the Jataka stories of Buddha.

We cannot attempt an exhaustive catalogue of the many ways in which the Jain and Buddhist thinkers have influenced the philosophy of the land. But there is one thing which ought to be emphasised. Their ethics have considerably influenced — may we add, and improved—the ethics of the orthodox fold- The doctrine of ahirhsa or non-injury (non-violence) to the animal world is specifically a Jain-Buddhist doctrine though the Yoga system also accepts it as one of the forbearances. They regarded pure life and pure thought as a higher religion and morality than mere ablutions in water or offerings in fire. The theory of the brotherhood of man is another of their contributions. Monastic life received a new valuation and new impetus at their hands.

But with all its great contributions, heterodox philosophy had to own defeat by the end of the eighth century A.D. and, though not yet a spent force, had to be satisfied henceforth with an inferior place assigned to it.

3. Vedanta's Bid jor Supremacy

When heterodox philosophy was a power to reckon with, all the orthodox philosophies had a common cause to fight for and they were allies. But when heterodoxy began to sink beneath the surface and was ousted from learned societies, these allies began to fall out among themselves. The differences between them were not absent before; but they were overlooked and sidetracked in face of a common enemy. When that enemy was crushed, these differences came to the forefront. The Sutras of Vedanta attempted to refute every other system, either orthodox or heterodox, including even such minor philosophies as the doctrines of the Pancharatra school. Sahkhya-Yoga attacked Nyaya-Vaiseshika and vice versa . The quarrel was mainly over the fundamentals of metaphysics. The Sahkhya theory of unconscious prakriti was assailed and its apparent or real godlessness received no less attention. On the other hand, the Nyaya-Vaiseshika theory of atoms was equally castigated. The Sahkhya believed in what was called satkdryavada or the theory that the effect was latent in the cause and was only a metamorphosis of it. The Nyaya opposed it with the theory that the effect was something new (drambhavdda), not present in the cause. These disputes have been carried on till quite recent times.

While the different systems carried on their disputes in this way, the Mimamsas made a bid for supremacy over all. They— the two Mimamsas —had this advantage that they were more really loyal to the Vedas than the other systems; and the Vedas had established their right to be heard. The loyalty of Sahkhya-Yoga and Nyaya-Vaiseshika to the Vedas was after all a lip-loyalty; for they did not squeeze their conclusions out of the Vedas. The Mimamsas, both of them, on the other hand, were more thoroughly dependent on the Vedas, drew all their inspiration from that source and did not utter a line that was not supported by some text or other of the Vedas. This was a great advantage, specially when the Vedas, after the battle with heterodoxy, were again rehabilitated in popular esteem. To this must be added the fact that able and famous professors of these philosophies like Kumarila and Sankara toured the whole country, from east to west and north to south, threw out a general challenge to all scholars of rival schools to meet them in open debate and either to vanquish them or own defeat and accept their philosophy. Half historical and half mythical accounts of these peregrinations have been preserved, and these tend to show how the philosophies emanating from the Vedas eventually triumphed over all other philosophies and conquered the whole country. Of course, it was never a complete victory, for the rival systems of thought are still alive. But the Mimamsas and their source, the Vedas, had won a great position and an immense prestige in the thought of the country.

Originally the two Mimamsas, as we have seen before, spoke and preached like one philosophy and with one voice. But gradually there was a split between them over an issue which was accentuated in the philosophy of Sankara. The Vedas speak of two things—-action (karma) and meditation (jntina) —and accordingly there are two distinguishable parts of the Vedas, The Upanishads (or Vedanta, i-e. the concluding portion of the Vedas) speak of meditation more than anything else. The question arose: were the works enjoined in the earlier part of the Vedas—the rites and ceremonies—necessary for all and at all times? Two extreme views were advocated. One was that they could never be avoided; so long as a man was in his body, Le. until death, the duties enjoined upon a man according to his caste (varna) and the stage of life (airama) in which he was, must continue to be performed. The other view was that these duties were only hypothetically imperative, and were indicated as means to an end. If a man wanted to live a life of happiness here and of bliss hereafter, the works should be done. But if one felt no interest in these things, if he rather desired salvation from all bondage (or moksha), these duties were not binding on him. Such a man should renounce the world forthwith, cut off all earthly bonds, give up all works, and live the life of contemplation and of a hermit. There was also a third view according to which it was only in the last two of the four asrarrms (stages of life), that meditation could exclude works. The duties prescribed in the Sastras, rightly performed, cleansed the soul and prepared it for proper meditation and intimate illumination. The beauty of the whole thing was that texts from the Vedas could be cited for each one of the extreme views; and for the third also there were authoritative sources. It was not really a philosophical question; but it meant a difference and provoked a quarrel; and separated the Uttar a Mimdm&d or Vedanta from its erstwhile ally, the Purva Mlrnamsd.

The Purva Mimamsd claimed that the essence of the Vedas was directions for works. As the Upanishads did not contain such directions (vidhis), or very few of them, they had only a secondary importance and the philosophy based on them was of inferior value.

But the Vedanta in some of its forms brought the quarrel to a head by professing a total disregard for the works of religion which the Mlmamsa supported. The cleavage between the two is nowhere so sharp as in the life and teachings of Sankara, the author of a celebrated commentary (bhdshya) on the Vedanta-sutras.

4. The Philosophy of Sankara ; (c . A.D. 788-820) 156

There are certain points on which all Vedantists must agree. The theory of pramdina or source of knowledge is one of them. Then, the apparent discrepancies in the texts of the Upanishads can and must be reconciled; and after such synthesis they yield but one philosophy, viz. that of Brahman as the Ultimate Reality. Regarding the evolution and dissolution of the world, too, there is little difference among Vedantists. There is yet another point in which they are at one. It is the superiority of the Vedanta as a philosophy as against all other philosophies. But regarding the sectarian philosophies, such as that of Vaishnavism or Saivism, all Vedantists have not agreed. If a Vedantist belonged to some such sect, as many of the later Vedantists did, then he would urge that Vedanta was consonant with the philosophy and worship of this sect. If a Vedantist did not belong to any sect, he would look upon a sectarian philosophy as hostile to Vedanta and, therefore, as one which must not be countenanced.

On points on which all Vedantists agree, Sankara has little original to say. The most striking feature of his philosophy, however, as he wrings it out of the sutras of Vedanta, is his extreme monism which makes Brahman alone real and the self and the world of things only an appearance, an illusion of the finite mind in its state of ignorance. All that we see around us and all that we feel, consist of such stuff as dreams are made'of—a stupendous Maya or Illusion. Brahman, the one Ultimate Reality, is only an existence, without any qualities by which it could be described. Brahman is pure consciousness; not a subject knowing an object, for there is nothing other than Brahman of which Brahman could be conscious. In our ordinary knowledge there is the relation between a subject that knows and an object that is known. In Brahman's consciousness, however, such a relation was not possible; for, there was nothing that could be an object of thought to Brahman. And the Maya , by which a world of things and selves was fabricated, was neither an existence nor a non-existence and was, therefore, indescribable.

Sankara stands out as a notable milestone in the progress of Vedantic thought. His style is easy and persuasive; but his personality was more persuasive and imposing. We are told by tradition and by his admiring biographers that he travelled through the length and breadth of the country, met all kinds of philosophers and pseudo-philosophers—even those who practised human sacrifices—and vanquished them all in debate, and thus spread his philosophy far and wide. He established sanctuaries in distant parts of the country, and placed some of his ablest and most devoted disciples in charge of them to propagate his philosophy from there. From philosophy it grew into a missionary movement which has not yet died. There are still well-known sanctuaries associated with the name of Sankara which continued to be centres of Vedanta culture.

In his travels, Sankara gained many disciples, sometimes directly by persuasion, and sometimes indirectly by defeating rivals in debate. One of the more famous of those disciples was Mandana Misra,[157] a staunch follower of the Purva Mlmamsa. Being defeated in a debate, at which his wife presided as judge, he took to the monastic life, assumed the new name of Suresvara and wrote on the Vedanta on the same lines as Sankara. How far the many anecdotes current about Sankara may be regarded as historical it is, of course, difficult to say.

Sankara's great claim to our recognition and to a permanent place in history lies in the fact that he created an extraordinary position for Vedanta. This is evident from the fact that he was followed by a number of able and distinguished writers on Vedanta; and gradually several different schools of Advaita Vedanta arose. What is more important is that writers belonging to established sects of religion, such as Vaishnavism and Saivism, began to utilise the Vedanta as the philosophical basis and background of their respective creeds. This is done by a subtle identification of the god of their creed with the Brahman of Vedanta. Thus a Vaishnava like Ramanuja would say that Brahman is no other than Vishnu of his worship. Some like Vallabha would go so far as to say that Brahman is no other than Krishna of Vrindavana. And a 6aiva like 6rlkantha would say that Brahman is identical with 6iva of his worship, who is called by other names also, such as Pasupati, Rudra, etc. The actual development of these schools, however, takes us beyond A.D. 1000. The only notable commentator on the Brahma sutra , other than Sankara, falling within this period, is Bhaskara who taught the Bhedabheda doctrine (co-existence of distinction and unitv in intimate relation with each other in Brahman) and severely criticised the mairavada of Advaita Vedanta. The period also saw the origin and development of the important philosophical School of Kashmir Saivism, known as the Trika system, which, in spite of its theistic tendency, gradually leaned towards Advaitism.

1. Vol. Ill, Ch. XVIII—A.

la. Taranatha surveys the career of the religion in these words: There appeared more than half of the eighty-four famous Buddhist Acharyas who had gained the Siddhi, after the time of Dharmaklrti down to the time of king Chanaka. At the time when the six jewels (Hiuen Tsang speaks of four luminaries, viz. Asvaghosha, Aryadeva, Nagarjuna and Kumaralabdha, see Watters, I, p. 245; Taranatha. perhaps added Asanga and Vasubandhu) stayed on earth, the Mahayana Acharyas were very scholarly and apart from the fact that the monks were excellent, the number of 6ravakayanists was much higher. Starting from this time on, the teachings growing weaker and weaker went down in a short time in the south, although in other countries it declined gradually. During the time of the seven Palas, the religion was widely spread in Magadha, Bengal, Odivisa and the other border countries and in Kashmir. In other countries, except a few, it did not exist; in Nepal it was much spread. In these countries the Mantrayana and Mahayana were much spread; there also existed a great many Sravaka sects. See Schiefner, Geschichte des Buddhismus, 201 - 2 .

2. Its Sanskrit version has also been discovered in Eastern Turkestan.

3. The parittds mentioned in the Milindapanha (150-51) are Ratanasutta, Khandhaparitta, Moraparitta, Dhajaggaparitta, Atanatiyaparitta, and Ahgulimalaparitta.

4. Taranatha, 275.

5. Lalitavistara, 2; sarva-Bodhisattva-dhdrani-pratibhdna pratilabdhaih sarva Bodhisattva-dhdrani-pratilabdhaih.

6. Sandhinirmochanasutra, 124; Sruta-dharani. Samddhiraja-sutra (p. 531) also calls itself a Dhdrant.

7. Kdranftavyuha, ch. vii; Tais-ch-api Tathagatair-iyam dharanim bhdsitum

drabdhah _ Omchale chule chule svdha.

8. Suvarnaprabhdsa-sutra, Chs. XI, XII.

9. Saddharmapundarika, 396, 477.

10. Gilgit Manuscripts by Dr. N. Dutt, I. 44.

11. Very likely Mani represents Prajnd, the producer of Tathagata, placed on Padma, the Avalokitesvara, or Mani may mean Vajra, the Bodhichitta.

12. Guhyasamdja, 2.

13. Manjusrxmulakalpa, 508.

14. Ibid, 647-48.

15. See Avalon, Principles of Tantra, 324.

16. There has been some controversy over the date of composition of the Manju srimulakalpa between Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya and Prof. Wintemitz, the former holding the opinion that the original form of this text was much shorter and was composed about the second century A.D., while the latter Was inclined to the view that its composition should be placed in the sixth or seventh century A.D. The Manjusrxmulakalpa in its present

form must have been composed about the eighth century A.D., as it gives an account of king Gopala’s accession to the throne but does not refer to the activities of Dharmapala or Devapala. The word “Mahlpala” occurs in two stanzas. Some provincial dialects as also some places in Bengal and Assam which became noted at a later period as most suitable for secret yogic practices are also mentioned in this text.

17. Guhyasamdja, 93-4. The Guhyasamdja is mentioned by Santideva (seventh century A.D.) in his Sikshasamuchchaya, and by Indrabhuti in his Jhdnasiddhi. It is listed as one of the texts of the Vajra School (Pali Vajiriyas) in the Nikaya Samgraha, a Sinhalese work of the fourteenth century.

18. It is very likely that the Bengali artists called Pa^uyas still maintain the traditions of the Manjusrimulakalpa.

19. Guhyasamdja, 93-4.

20. Ibid , 87-8.

21. Schiefner, 20.

22. See Guhyasamdja, Intro, xiii and Text, 120.

23. See Intro, xi and Text Ch. VII.

24. See e.g., his Intro, xi; “place it (the hand of 6akti) on the hand of the dis

ciple” The hand here is not of the Sakti but of the Guru. See 161.

25. Guhyasamdja, Ch. VII.

Sarva-kdm-opabhogaisz=cha sevyamdnair—yathechchhatah Anena khalu yogena laghu Buddhatvam-dpnuyat

This stanza should be read in the same light as the following stanza of the Mddhyamika-Kdrika (Ch. XXV, 19).

Na samsdrasya nimdndt kim-chid—asti viseshanam Na nirvdnasya samsdrat him-chid—asii viseshanam

In other words a Bodhisattva should try to realise that there is not the slightest difference between nirvana and samsdra (phenomenal world) as the latter is only an imaginary superimposition on the former. This superimposition appears only to the unwise and not to the fully enlightened, the Buddha. The Guhyasamdja, on the basis of this identity of nirvana and samsdra, regards the enjoyment of samsdra as not harmful so long as one does not distinguish samsdra from the nirvana .

26. Guhyasamdja, 37.

27. Ibid, 6.

28. Ibid, 129.

29. Ibid, 137.

30. Sddhanamdld, II, Intro., xli.

31. Guhyasamdja, 2-3.

32. Ibid, 137.

33. See Indrabhuti, J fumasiddhi, Ch. II.

34. Vidyabhusana, Indian Logic, 321-22.

35. Tdrandtha, 275.

36. Mystic Tales of Lama Taranatha, 11.

37. There were more than one Darika, and the Darika initiated by Lui-Pa was different from the Darika of Dohdkosha.

38. Cf. B. C. Sen, Some Hist. Aspects of the Ins. of Bengal, 201; Sircar, Set. Ins., 377: Mandasor stone ins. of the time of Nara-varman (A.D. 404).

39. See Sddhanamdld, Intro, xlviii.

40. G.O.S. No. XLIV.

41. G.O.S. No. XLTV.

42. Sddhanamdld, 353.

43. See Sddhanamdld, II, Intro. 60.

44. This LUavajra should be distinguished from Lalitavajra’s disciple Lilavajra (Taranatha, 191) who lived about the seventh or eighth century.

45. See above, p. 43f.

46. Cf. Manjusnmulakalpa, 631.

47. Cf. Pag-sam-jon-zang, 111.

48. Waddell, Buddhism of Tibet, 31.

49. Tativa-samyraha, (G.O.S. Nos. XXX, XXXI), 184.

50. This confirms the statement about the propagation of these texts occurring in the Ashpisdhasrika (225).

51. His colophon to the commentary (Aloka, 563-64, G.O.S.) corroborates the statement of TaranMha.

52. Tdrandtha, 232, 243.

53. Commentary on Sarvajnamitra’s Sragdhardstotra, 50.

54. Brihat-svayambhu-purana, 320-21.

55. Tsranatha, 229.

56. Taranatha, 211.

57. Cf. Ch. XII.

58. El, XXI. 97.

59. See p. 51.

60. See Waddell, op. cit., 33.

61. Tlranatha, 221.

62. The formula is *Ye dharmd hetu-prabhava hetum teshdrh tathdgato hyavadat, teshdrh c ha yo nirodha evarh vddt rnahdsramaiiah*. It contains one of the principal maxims of Buddhism and is very frequently found engraved on different parts of the mediaeval Buddha and Bodhisattva reliefs.

63. R. D. Banerji, EISMS, PI. XXIX (a); B. M. Barua, Bharhut. Ill, PI. XLVII.

64. Sddhanamdld, I, Nos. 3-5, pp. 18-25; H, PI. I.

65. For these crowned Buddhas, cf. R. D. Banerji, op. cit.. Pis. XVH (b). XXI (c). XXXI (b) & (c), XXIII (b), XXIV (c), XXVI (d) etc.

N. G. Majumdar identified them as Adi-Buddha figures, VJLS. Annual Report

1926-27; but A. K. Coomaraswamy challenged this interpretation, JRAS, 1928, 837, PI. V, fig. 8.

66. See above, Vol. Ill, 393.

67. B. T. Bhattacharyya, Indian Buddhist Iconography, 34, PI. XVIII a.

68. R. D. Banerji, op. cit., PI. XXXTV, fig. (a); for the four and six-armed figures of Lokesvara, cf. ibid, pis. XII (a) VIII (a) and (d). The four-armed types in the collection of the Patna Museum hail from the interior of the Cuttack district of Orissa.

69. DHI, 116, 370-71; the ashtanidhis are the concrete manifestations of the Padrninl-vidya, of which Sri or Lakshml was the presiding deity.

70. The description of the Brahmanical goddess Tara as given in Brahmananda’s Tdrarahasya and Krishnananda Agamavaglsa’s Tantrasdra exactly corresponds to the above; B. T. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 77.

71. B. T. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 107, pi. XXXII (e).

72. These great fears as can be seen from this relief are majjana-bhaya, dasyu bhaya, simha-bhaya, sarpa-bhaya, agni-bhaya, yaksha-bhaya, bandhana-bhaya, hasti-bhaya; these are depicted by miniature scenes in which the person in danger in each case is shown praying to the miniature replica of the goddess shown above.

73. B. T. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 123-26; 129-30, pi. XXXVI b; Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, 45-53, pi. XV-XVII.

74. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 90-2, pi. XXX (a).

75. R. D. Banerji, EISMS, pi. XXXIX, (b).

76. E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, pi. XIV.

77. B. T. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 97, pi. XXXI a.

78. For Bhattacharyya^ refutation of the view that Vajravarahl and Marlchl were the two aspects of the same deity, cf. op. cit., 93-4.

79. AR. 313.

80. Cf. Farquhar, ORLI. 218,

81. Buhler, Indian sect of the Jainas, 77. List of the Gachchhas is given on pp. 78 f.

82. ORLI, 213.

83. AR. 272.

84. See above, pp. 101 if.

85. Above, pp. 19 ff; cf. also “Bappabhattisuricharita” in Prabhdvakacharita (SJS) pp. 85 ft.

86. Cf. Jain, Jaina Siddhdnta Bhdskara, IX, No. 1, on Amoghavarsha.

' 87. See above, p. 15 ff.

-88. Cf. Vaidya, History of Medieval Hindu India, HI. 403; Sharma, Jainism and Kamatak Culture, 25.

89. Sale tore, Medieval Jainism, 42 ff.

90 Fleet IA VI. 34.

91! Upadhye,* NIA, II. 132 f; Saletore, JBHS, VI. 10-33.

92. See above, p. 181.

93. Some writers have taken these Jinasenas to be identical. But the names of their patrons and the different dates of composition prove them to be distinct persons separated by years.

94. This and the following two paragraphs are based on Dr. Handiqui’s excellent monograph, Yasastilaka and Indian Culture , especially Chs. 1, 6, 9, 10 and 13.

95. Cf. I A, Vlll. 106; Rice, Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, 203.

96. I A, ,XI. 248.

97. Nahar, Jaina-lekha-samgraha, III. 164.

98. The writer is indebted to Dr. A. N. Upadhye and Prof. H. D. Velankar for having gone through the section on Jainism and making a number of suggestions.

99. Vol. II, p. 420.

100. See pp. 28, 61, 89, 122, 138, 146, etc.

101. There are other names also such as Shatfardha-sastra.

102. According to Rdjatarangini Bhat^a Kalla$a, a pupil of Vasugupta, was a contemporary of Avantivarman who ruled from A.D. 855 to 883.

103. Abhinavagupta’s Paramdrthasara , w. 12-13; cf. JRAS, 1910. 723.

104. Ibid, 728.

105. Cf. Sarva-darsana-samgraha of Madhavacharya. Tr. by Cowell and Gough, p. 136.

106. Paramdrthasdra, w. 51-52; JRAS, 1910. 734.

107. For the philosophy of &ankara, see below, section H. 4.

108. Vol. Ill, p. 435.

109. HBR , I. 436.

110. For such south Indian icons, cf. Rao, op. cit., II. 273-92 & Pis.

111. These are described and illustrated by Rao, EHI, II. 108 kinds of dances carved on either side of a gopura in the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram correspond with 108 modes of dance as described in the Bharata-Ndtyasdstra. A book named Tdndavalakshanam, published some years ago, contains a full idea about them.

112. Rao, op. cit., II. 229.

113. A. K. Coomaraswamy, Dance of £iva. Rao, op. cit, II. 231-52,

114. HBR, I. 443-44; N. K. Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, 112-13, pi. XLII. 2.

115. E. B. Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting, 49-52, pi. XXII.

116. R. D. Banerji, ASI, 1911-12.

117. J1SOA, XVIII. 54 ff.

118. Rao, op. cit., II. 181-82, pi. XLIII.

119. N. K. Bhattasali, op. cit., 118-20, pi. XLVII (a). HBR, I. 447.

120. For an elaborate description of the Kankala- and Bhikshatana-murtis of Siva cf. Rao, op. cit., II. 295-309, and pis.

121. For these types of images refer to Rao, op. cit., I. Introduction, 44 pi. E.

122. See above, Vol. III. pp. 328 ff, 428 ff.

123. JISOA , I. 99-100, 103, pi. XXX.

124. For this ideology and the description of the image, see Rao, op. cit., I. 248-49. Krishna Sastri who reproduces the Conjeevarajn relief, is wrong in his description of this figure as Agni; South Indian Gods and Goddesses, 242-3, fig. 147.

125. Rao, op: cit., I. 251-56, & pi. LXXII, fig. 2 and pi. LXX1H. Dattatreya concept of the god refers indirectly to a conscious attempt of harmonising the different cults.

126. HBR , I. 437, pi. Ill, fig. 12.

127. Van Guliq in his monograph on ‘Hayagrlva’ shows the migration of this divinity outside India.

128. For two interesting east Indian reliefs illustrative of this god, cf. HBR, I. 438, pis. V, 14 and 15.

129. Is a clue to this peculiar cognizance to be found in the Satapatha Brdhmana passages (XII. 7.1.3 and 14; XII. 7.2.3 and 7) which closely

associate rams and ewes with Sarasvati? N. K. Bhattasali refers to ram-fight and ram-sacrifice in Bengal on the occasion of the Sarasvati-piija— Cat., 188-190, pi. LXHI.

129a. CII , HI. 74.

129b. R. C. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, pp. 362 ff.

130. See above, Vol. Ill, 441 ff.

131. The nine Durgas are sometimes named, Ugrachanda, Rudrachanda, Prachanda, Chandogra, Chandanayika, Chanda, Chandavati, Chandarupa, arid Atichandika. In the Devikavacha of the Devxmahatmya their names are Sailaputri, Brahmachar ini, Chandraghanta, Kushmanda, Skandamata, KatyayanI Kfilaratri, MahSgaurl and Siddhidatri.

132. For these two Devi icons, cf. HBR, I. 453-54, pis. XIII, 35 and I, 5.

133. The Rupamandana verse reads,— Akshasutram Sivam devam ganddhyaksham kamandalum, Pakshadvaye 'gnikunde cha murtissa Pdrvatx smrita. Rao, op. cit., I, pi. CVI1I (fig. 1). App. C., Praiimdlakshanam, p. 120.

134. N. K. Bhattasali, Icon. Dacca Museum, 202-3, pi. LXIX. HBR, I. 451. pi. LXXVTI: 180.

135 . HBR, I. 452, pi. VI. 19.

136. HBR, I. 455, PI. XTV. 36. Several other figures of Dantura have been found in north Bengal.

137. See Vol. HI, 444 f.

138. ASI, 1934-35, pi. XXIV (a).

139. Bhattasali, op. cit. 146-47, pi. LVT (b).

140. Rao, Iconography, 53-5, PI. XI (fig. 2) & PI. XII.

141. For the Ellora and Tirupparankunram reliefs of Karttikeya, cf. Rao. oo cit

I. 445, 448, PI. CXXIV & CXXIX. '

142. These differences have been enumerated by T.A.G. Rao, op. cit., I. 311-12. Several South Indian Surya figures of late mediaeval period are illustrated by him in Plates LXXXVII—LXXVIH, XCI, XCII & XCIV etc. of the same volume.

143. Sdraddtilaka-tantra, patella xiv. For the Chidambaram relief, cf. H. Krishna Sastri, South Indian Gods and Goddesses, p. 236, fig. 144; for the SuryaNarayana images cf. I A, 1918, 136 ff.; for the Marttanda-Bhairava relief now in the Rajshahi Museum, cf. VRS —Rep, 1929-30, 9-10, fig. 2.

144. Markandeya Purdna, CVHI, vv. 22-3.

145. VJRS-Rep., 1927-28, 1, fig. 2. HER, I. 459, pi. XVI. 42.

146. S. K. Saraswati, Early Sculpture of Bengal, 65-7, fig. 17; MASI, No. 55, 53-4, pi. XXX (b) and (c); Dikshit's identification of these two reliefs as Siva and Brahma is unacceptable.

147. HER, I. 459, pi. XVII. 43.

147a. General references.

S. H. Hodivala, Studies in Parsi History . Bombay, 1920.

I. J. S. Taraporewala, The Exact Date of the Arrival of the Parsis in India

(Kane Festschrift, pp. 506-514).

148. Ch. XI: "Indo-Iranian Relations".

149. Hodivala, Studies in Parsi History, 1-36.

150. Ibid, 70 ff.

151. The inscriptions have been translated in the Zarathoshti Abhydsa, HI. 160; TV 212

152. Op. tit', 74 ff.

153. Parsi Prakdsa, X. 80.

154. HIL, II. 478.

155. Some writers of the period are:—

Buddhism: Santarakshita, Kamalaslla, Dharmottara.

Jainism: Akalanka, Vidyananda, Manikyanandl, Prabhachandra.

Nyaya-Vaiseshika: Vachaspati, Jayanta, Udayana, and Srldhara.

Sankhya: Probably the Sutras themselves were finally redacted during this period. Gaudapada, the commentator of Sankhya-Karika, belongs to this period.

Yoga: Vachaspati, who wrote on other systems also.

MImarhsa: Mandanamisra. Parthasarathi, according to Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, flourished during this period.

Vedanta: Sankara, Suresvara (see footnote 157 below), Padmapada, Anandagiri, Sarvajnatmamuni, Bhaskara.

156. For various views about the date of Sankaracharya placing him between sixth and ninth century AX)., cf. GIL, III, 434, fn. 1. An inscription in Cambodia mentions the very interesting fact that Sivasoma, the guru of king Indra-varman, was a disciple of Bhagavan Sankara who is presumably no other than Sankaracharya. As king Indra-varman ascended the throne in Saka 799, Sankaracharya cannot be placed much earlier than

the beginning of the ninth century AX). Attention to this passage was drawn many years ago by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in a short note in Indian Review (Madras) and also by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri in JOR, XI. 285. But it has not yet received much attention from students of Indian Philosophy. The question has been recently discussed by Pandit B. Upadhyaya in his Hindi work entitled "Sri Sahkardcharya" (Ch. IV) (Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1950). But his arguments against the evidence of the Kambuja Ins. are unconvincing.

157. Among the disciples of Sankara the most prominent are Suresvara, the author of the famous Vdrttika, and the Naishkarmyasiddhi; and Padmapada, the author of the Panchapadika which has been commented upon by Prakasatman about A.D. 1200.

Scholars hold different views regarding the identity of Suresvara and Manqlana.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

L EDUCATION 1. Courses of Study

The old Smritis are completely silent about the methods and processes of primary education. But the later Smriti authorities introduce us to a new sacrament, significantly called vidyarambha (commencement of education), and alternatively aksharasvtkriti or akshardbhydsa (training in the alphabet). According to them the initiation is to take place in the boy’s fifth year, or at any rate before his investiture with the sacred thread. On an auspicious day, during the prescribed season, various deities and sages are to be worshipped to the accompaniment of offerings to the sacred fire, and honour shown to Brahmanas. Then the teacher, seated facing the boy, is to give him his first lesson. According to an unnamed Smriti authority the curriculum is to consist of a primer (mdtrikanyasa) and arithmetic (ganita). 1

The ancient Brahmanical sacred law laid down a comprehensive scheme of Vedic education for students belonging to the first three classes of the Hindu social system. This is supplemented and modified in some important points by the later Smriti authorities who, however, often differ from one another. Thus as regards periods of study, perpetual studenthood is included by Ndradiya Pur ana 2 and long-term studentship by Aditya Purdna 3 among practices to be eschewed in the Kali Age. On the other hand Medhatithi, 4 following the authority of Manu, 5 recognises two kinds of religious students, viz. the life-long student (naishphika) , and the student who offers some return to his teacher at the end of his training term (upakiCrvana).

As for the courses of study, it is strange to find the metrical Vasishtha~, Ktitydyana-, and the Laugdkshi- Smritis 6 strongly condemning the study of a Vedic recension other than one's own. This is quite unlike the catholic attitude of Medhatithi who requires 7 the pupil to study three, two, or one recensions of each of the three Vedas instead of an equal number of recensions of one single Veda. In the same context Medhatithi asks the student to undertake, in the interval between the end of his training-term and his marriage, a course of study in grammar and the like for helping him to understand the meaning of the Vedas. Turning to another point, we find Parasara, Vyasa, and Laghu-Vyasa 8 insisting upon the comprehension of meaning of the Veda in place of mere reading of the text. Medhatithi, 9 however, argues that the comprehension of meaning follows naturally after hearing the text.

The Smriti authorities of this period, unlike those of the Gupta and preceding ages, seldom refer to technical education. 10 We have a concrete account of the training of a young merchant in the Bhdvisayattakahd f a tenth-century Jain prose romance, but it is too exaggerated to be of much practical value. We leam from it, however, that young merchants of rich families used to be sent for residence at the teacher’s house, and that not merely intellectual training but also the development of character was aimed at by the teacher. 11 We may refer likewise to Medhatithi’s vivid and obviously authentic account 12 of the high technical equipment expected from a Vaisya, the rudiments of which at least must have been acquired in boyhood from a master of the craft. 13

Medhatithi 14 recommends the Vedic student, even after marriage, to go abroad for acquiring further proficiency in sciences (sdstra). The value of foreign travel as a means of general edu^ cation is indicated by an expressive simile in Kuttanimatam. 15 Here it is averred that those who do not learn the dress, manners, and speech of other lands are like oxen without horns.

2. Student Life

Medhatithi insists upon the strict enforcement of the old Smriti law requiring a Vedic student to beg daily for his alms. The student, he says, 16 must not beg alms one day and live by them next day after mixing the same with butter and so forth; on the contrary, he is to beg for alms and partake of them the same day. For the period intervening between the end of his studentship-term and his marriage, the student, according to him, 17 shall continue to observe the vow of continence, though he need not observe other vows about abstaining from honey, meat, and so forth. A curious rule in the palak&pyasamhitd 18 which recalls the Smriti law relating to intermarriage between the varnas, requires the Brahmana to teach three, the Kshatriya two, and the Vaisya one varna, but forbids teaching even a virtuous Sudra. A text of Yama 19 and Kurma Purdna 20 condemn a teacher putting off instruction to a pupil who has lived with him for a year. As to the relations between the Vedic teacher and his pupil, the teacher's duty of using persuasion in the first instance

and of applying the rod only in a mild form and in the last resort is inculcated by Medhatithi. 21 On the admissibility of receiving fees from pupils the Smriti authorities of this period are sharply divided in their views. Following the authority of Manu and Yajnavalkya, Vartiha Pur ana 22 includes the Brahmana teaching for a stipulated fee (bhritakadhyapaka) among those who must not be invited at a funeral repast. On the other hand, Matsya Purdna 23 clearly sanctions the acceptance of a fee from a pupil beforehand by his teacher, for it says that one who does not teach a science (vidyd) or a craft {silpa) after taking a fee (mulya) shall be fined the whole of this sum by a just king. Medhatithi carefully distinguishes between the cases where teaching for a fee is allowable and those where it is not permitted. According to his view 24 teaching in return for a fee is blameworthy only when the payment is made a condition precedent for the teaching, while receiving instruction from a paid teacher is to be condemned only when the fee is paid by the student himself. 25 Elsewhere 26 Medhatithi declares that the conferring of some benefit upon the teacher by the pupil, prior to his return home after finishing his course of study (samdvartana), is not precluded by the text of Manu 27

As regards the service to be done by the Vedic pupil, Medhatithi 28 gives in different places examples of the kinds of household work to be performed by him as well as those forbidden to him. 29

3. Female Education

Long before the present period the Smritis had denied the right or privilege of Vedic study to women. By progressively sanctioning early marriage of girls, they further destroyed the chances of higher education of women. How backward was the state of higher studies among girls in general during the present age is proved by the significant omission of all references to women teachers in the contemporary lexicographical works, and still more by the testimony of Medhatithi 30 to the general ignorance of the Sanskrit language among women. Nevertheless we have reasons to believe that women, including those not belonging to the higher classes, had some opportunities, as in the preceding Age, for liberal education as well as training in the fine arts. Rajasekhara 31 refers, in justification of women’s competence in poetical skill, to examples of princesses, of daughters of high officials (mahdmdtra) 1 of courtezans, and of concubines, who were poetesses as well as adepts in sciences (sdstra) 9 In Avantisundarl, the accomplished wife of Rajasekhara, we have a striking illustration of a lady deeply learned in Sanskrit lore. 33 The dramas and prose romances of this Age also illustrate the contemporary state of learning among women. In the plays of Rajasekhara, 33a we find that court-ladies and even the queen’s maids-in-waiting are capable of composing excellent Sanskrit and Prakrit verses. Again, we have a number of stories pointing to the skill of princesses in the fine arts, specially those of painting, music and versification. 34

4. Some Educational Centres and Establishments

In Vikramasila monastery, referred to above, we have an outstanding example of an advanced centre of learning like Nalanda and Valabhi in the seventh century A.D. We have also sufficient evidence to prove that there existed at this Age organised educational institutions which were founded and maintained by the people from the king down to humble individuals. To begin with Northern India, king Avantiyarman of Kashmir (A.D. 855/6-883) appointed a certain well-known r teacher to expound grammar in a Vaishnava temple .founded by himself, while another ruler Yasaskara (A.D. 939-948) founded a hostelry (matha) for the residence of students hailing from Aryadesa for education. 35 Turning to Western India, we find a village-chief (grdmapati) in A.EL 945 granting lands to a community of scholars (vidydrthisamgha) and a dwelling house to the teacher of a school (said) which had been founded by a minister of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III. It was further agreed that the Brahmanas of this village were to contribute to the same scholarly body sums at stipulated rates on occasions of tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread and marriage, while the Parishat was to feast the same body whenever a feast was given to Brahmanas. The school was afterwards rebuilt by another chief. 36 In South

India the documents as usual are fuller than those of any other part of the country. A college -(vidyasthdna) at Bahugrama (modem Bahur near Pondicherry) received an endowment of three villages from the Chief Minister of the Ganga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nripatungavarman. At the time of the grant it was being continued by the residents of the village and it provided for the teaching of fourteen branches^of learning. 37 At Kanchlpuram there lay to the east of Rajasimhesvara temple a college (kalluri) which is referred to in an inscription of Rajendra Chola I. 38

II. SOCIAL LIFE

1. Social Divisions and Sub-divisions

The old spirit of caste segregation is reflected in a passage of Medhatithi 39 which requires the dead bodies of Sudras, Vaisyas, Kshatriyas, and Brahmanas to be carried out of the city by the

south, west, north, and east gates respectively. As regards Brahmanical privileges, Matsya Purdna prescribes for a Brahmana guilty of serious offences, banishment and branding with distinctive signs instead of the death penalty. Going a step further Medhatithi 41 forbids not only corporal punishment, but even a moneyfine, to be inflicted upon a guilty Brahmana. From this he draws the corollary that if a Brahmana of learning, good conduct, and noble birth casually commits a crime, he should not be punished even with a fine for the first offence. Like Brihaspati and Katyayana before their time, Sumantu 42 forbids slaying of an dtatayi (desperado) in the case of his being a Brahmana, while an un-named Smriti authority 43 includes the killing of dtatayi Brahmanas in righteous warfare among forbidden acts. Finally Skanda Purdna, 44 developing a line of thought in Manu 45 observes that he who makes a gift in a straightforward fashion, without scrutiny (into the qualities of the Brahmana donee), satisfies the manes as well as the gods. While thus following the older precedent relating to Brahmanical immunities and privileges, the Smritis of this period equally pursue the older tradition in condemning Brahmanas of particular types. Like Manu and Yajhavalkya, Vardha Purdna 46 gives long lists of Brahmanas wdio, because of their physical appearance or occupation or conduct, must not be invited to a funeral repast. Among these is the devalaka (defined as a Brahmana worshipping a deity for money for three years) who, according to an un-named Smriti authority, 47 is so impure that a man touching him must purify himself by bathing with his clothes on. A list of six classes of Brahmanas who, though born as such, are not Brahmanas at all, occurs in Sdtdtapa quoted by Apararka. 48 The Brahmanas, again were degraded by residence in various foreign lands. As Matsya Purdna 49 says, Brahmanas living in the mlechchha countries of Trisahku, Barbara, G$ra (Orissa), Andhra (Telugu country), Takka (Punjab), Dravida (Tamil country), and Konkana must not be invited to a funeral repast. What is more singular still, some Smriti authorities of this period do not exempt the dtatayi Brahmana from being executed. Thus Vriddha-Hdrita and Matsya Purdna repeat Manu's famous text 50 condoning, if not enjoining, the killing even of a learned Brahmana who is an dtatayi. More radical is the view of Visvarupa 61 who allows immunity not only to the slayer of an dtatayi Brahmana, but also to one who has killed a Brahmana in battle, and one who has done so for money at the instigation of another.

We now turn to the class of 6udras who stand at the other end of the social scale. The later Smritis follow and even surpass their predecessors in emphasising the social and religious disabilities of this class. Thus, according to a text of Pa rasa r a, 5 2 eating a gudra's

food, association with a Sudra, sitting on the same seat with a Sudra, and taking lessons from a Sudra are acts dragging down even a 'blazing' person. An un-named* Smriti 63 includes a Sudra's cooking of food for Brahmanas and the like in the list of practices forbidden by the consensus of virtuous men at the beginning of the Kali Age. A new departure is marked by a few texts which go to the length of declaring the touch or even sight of a Sudra to be an act of pollution. Thus, according to an un-named Smriti, 64 a twice-born man, on seeing a Sudra, must stop performance of his rite, while one touching him must take a bath. According to Gargya, a twice-born man, on touching a Sudra or a Nisbada, must purify himself by ceremonial sipping of water. 64a With these rules may be contrasted the texts of the ancient Grihya-sutras and Dharmasutras which, by requiring the feet of Brahmana and other guests to be washed by Sudras, do not at least contemplate the Sudra to be an untouchable. 65 The old Smriti ban on Vedic teaching to Sudras is repeated during this period by Laghu-Vyasa 6 6 who forbids the Veda to be taught in the vicinity of Sudras. Similarly according to K&sikhanda, 67 a Brahmana must not let a Sudra hear a Vedic mantra.

We may now turn to the views of Medhatithi which are sufficiently important and distinctive to be considered separately. Thus, as regards the Sudra's social status, Medhatithi 68 observes that Manu's text, inculcating the Sudra's divinely ordained duty of servitude and his incapacity for emancipation, is a pure declaration (arthavada), since another text of Manu declares the Sudra eligible to release from servitude under special circumstances. Slavery, continues Medhatithi, 59 instead of being innate in the Sudra, is voluntary with him, for he acquiesces in it only with a view to acquiring merit and, even then, he cannot be given away or pledged, unlike a bought or house-born slave. In fact, concludes Medhatithi, a Sudra does nothing wrong if, being in possession of wealth, he lives without dependence upon a Brahmana. This discussion clearly shows that Medhatithi recognises the Sudra's absolute right to personal freedom. What is more, Medhatithi 60 explains Manu's term gudrasisshya (pujpil of a Sudra) to mean that Sudras were sometimes teachers of grammar and other sciences. Dealing with the Sudra's religious rights, Medhatithi, in the fashion of the Makdbhdrata , 61 excludes the Sudras from stages of life other than that of the householder. As he observes, 62 the Sudra, by serving Brahmanas and living as a householder, attains through service of Brahmanas the fruit of all dsramas except salvation, which is the fruit of the fourth dsrama alone. As a householder the Sudra is not entitled to perform Smdrta rites of marriage,

but he is not prohibited from uttering the name of a deity according to the views of revered teachers. 63 Again, according to Medhatithi, 64 while Srauta rites are not open to a Sudra, because of his ineligibility for initiation, there is no prohibition against his performing those that are prescribed for all in the Smritis. Referring to Manu, who censures a Brahmana for performing the Agnihotra rite with money obtained from a Sudra, Medhatithi 65 observes that this does not apply to cases of compulsory rites already undertaken, and that it applies in fact only to the Fire-laying ceremony (agnyadheya) mentioned in the text. Similarly Visvarupa 66 observes that; the naming ceremony and other sacraments are to be performed for Sudras, but without mantras. In short, the Sudra, according to Medhatithi, has limited duties corresponding to his limited rights. As he observes, 67 the Sudra incurs sin only if he commits acts that are expressly prohibited to him; the Sudra is not entitled to initiation and similar sacraments, and he incurs no sin for failure to bathe and fast and worship the deities.

The Smriti authors of this period deal also with various ethnic and professional groups known to the Brahmanical sacred law from ancient times as mixed castes. According to Medhatithi 68 sons of twice-born classes, born out of women of lower varnas other than Sudras, are entitled to the ceremony of initiation, and thence to all the privileges of a twice-born man. Among individual castegroups the Ambashthas are declared by Usanas and Vaikhdnasa Smartasutra, after Manu, 69 to be descended from the union of Brahmana males with Vaisya females, and to have various occupations including agriculture and perhaps surgery. The Ambashthas are definitely included among Sudra castes in Brihaddharma Purdna. 10 Usanas 71 mentions a similar caste-group called Bhishak, which is supposed to be the offspring of Brahmana males and Kshatriya females, and to be occupied with the study of medicine, astronomy, astrology, and mathematics. The caste of Karana, derived in the older Smritis 72 from the union of Vaisya males with Sudra women or in similar ways, is included among Sudra castes in the Brihaddharma Purdna passage just cited. Again, the term Kayastha, signifying a royal official in the earlier Smritis, inscriptions, and general literature, 73 occurs in V edavydsa-Smriti 14 in a list of Sudra castes. The largest number of texts deals, naturally enough, with Chandalas known to the Smriti law from early times as occupying the lowest rank in the order of mixed castes. Reproducing the provisions of the older law, Agni Purdna 76 declares that Chandalas shall be employed for the execution of criminals, they shall wear the clothes of the dead, while they must live outside the village and must not touch others. Medhatithi 76 assigns to Sopakas (supposed to be born of Chandalas by Pukkasa women) the tasks of executing criminals, of carrying away unclaimed corpses and taking their clothes, of eating cakes offered to the dead and the like. Like the earlier Smriti law, that of the present age lays down strict rules for preventing the pollution of other classes by the touch of Chandalas. 77 Medhatithi, again, gives examples of the distinctive signs 78 that should be borne by Chandalas when going about their business. Elsewhere 79 Medhatithi extends the rule about untouchability of Chandalas to other pratiloma castes such as the Suta, the Magadha, and the Ayogava. A new question taken up for discussion by the Smritis of this age, and testifying to an intensified spirit of caste exclusiveness, relates to the impurity of the Chandala's shadow On the one hand Atri, Angiras, Satatapa, and Ausanasa-Smriti 80 go to the length of prescribing purification by bath for crossing a Chandala's shadow, while Vyaghrapada and Brihaspati 80a would have the Chandala kept beyond a prescribed distance. On the other hand, £ivadharmottara 81 says that the shadow of Chandalas or outcastes does not pollute a man. It is to the credit of Medhatithi 82 that he sides with the latter group of Smritis in declaring that the Chandala's shadow cannot pollute the others.

In the Smritis of this period we also catch reflections of the Brahmanical view relating to social intercourse with various heterodox sects. It appears that not only the touch but even the sight of these sects was regarded by some authorities as involving pollution. Thus Brahmanda Purdna 83 enjoins that one should bathe with his clothes on after touching Saivas, Pasupatas, Lokayatikas, and others. According to a similar text of Shattrimsanmata 8A one should do the same if he touches Bauddhas, Pasupatas, Laukayatikas and others. Vriddha-Harita 85 enjoins purification by bath on touching Saivas and on entering a Saiva or a Buddhist temple. An unnamed Smriti 86 lays down that one should look at the Sun for purification on seeing Jains, Pasupatas, Bauddhas, Kaulas and so forth, and should purify himself by bath on touching them.

Such are the scattered references found in the Smriti law of this period to the divisions and sub-divisions of the Hindu social system. In the contemporary historical records we have some evidence of the extent to which this law was observed in actual practice. 87 In so far as the Brahmanas are concerned, the inscriptions of this period repeatedly describe the Brahmana donees of land as being devoted to the study of the Vedas and engaged in the performance of their religious rites. And yet it is remarkable that Brahmanas occasionally followed occupations permitted only in times of distress or even positively degrading according to the

Smriti law. 88 Like the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas sometimes followed occupations not allowed to them ordinarily. 89 Other records introduce us to the various sub-divisions among the four fundamental castes. Thus as regards the Brahmanas, the Niagara (or Sapadalaksha) section of them has been traced with the help of inscriptions to the kingdom of the Maitrakas of Valabhi. 90 Referrences to various sub-divisions of the mercantile castes have been found in the inscriptions as well as general literature of this period. 9 ^

Among the mixed castes, certain inscriptions of the latter half of the eighth century, belonging to the Pandya kingdom, refer to members of a Vaidya lineage (vaidyakula) occupying high offices of State. 92 Again, we find in inscriptions and literary works of the sixth century and thereafter, occasional references to individuals of the Karan a caste who filled high governmental offices, though the alternative sense of a scribe is not unknown down to later times. 93 Inscriptions and works of general literature from the latter half of the ninth century onwards refer to a caste destined to attain great importance in later times, viz. the caste of Kayasthas. 94

As regards the foreign races that had settled in India in the preceding centuries, the records of this period show that with the exception of the Muslims they had been thoroughly assimilated within the Hindu social system. These races, to begin with, must have adopted everywhere the indigenous language—we hear even of a &aka poet Kapila composing a record of the Saindhavas of West Kathiawad. 95 Still more important is the fact, to be noted later, that the inscriptions of this time have preserved for us a few examples of Hunas and other chiefs being married into Brahmana families.

Compared with the abundant data of the pre-Gupta and Gupta periods about slavery, we have very scanty information about this institution in the present Age. The humane treatment of the slave as well as of his wife and son is recommended by Medhatithi. 96 In South India, under the Imperial Cholas, not only did the temples acquire slaves by purchase, but poor people sometimes voluntarily sold themselves into slavery to temples to escape starvation during, times of famine. 97 Finally we have a story in

Upamitibhavaprapanchakathd 98 which shows that the aboriginal Bhillas traded in slaves.

2. Marriage Rules

The Smyiti authorities of this period treat the older marriage rules sometimes with considerable independence. As regards inter-caste marriages, Medhatithi 199 would make marriages of

X

Brahmanas with Kshatriya and Vaisya women altogether exceptional, while forbidding the marriage of a Brahmana with a Sudra girl. Nciradiya Pitraria 100 declares that marriages of twice-born men with girls of other varnas are forbidden in the Kali Age. In another context Medhatithi gives the general rule about the status of sons born of inter-caste marriages. In the case of marriages in the natural (anuloma) order, we are told, the son takes the caste of the mother, and in the case of marriages in the reverse (prdtiloma) order, he takes the caste of the father. Marriage with the daughter of a maternal uncle is condemned both by Medhatithi and Visvarupa. 102 Among forms of marriage, the gandharva (marriage by mutual love), which was sanctioned by some old Smriti authors and condemned by others, is definitely censured by Medhatithi. 103 In fact Medhatithi, following the authorities of the Gupta Age, contemplates the girls to be given in marriage, as a general rule, by their guardians. 104 As regards the marriageable age of girls, Medhatithi agrees with the views of the authorities of the preceding age. Girls, says he, 10? should be given away in marriage when they are eight or six years old and called nagnika. Again he says 106 that the right time for giving away a girl in marriage is between her eighth year and her attaining puberty. The relative ages of the bridegroom and the bride laid down by Manu, says Medhatithi in another context, 107 must be taken not in a literal sense, but generally to mean that one should marry a girl very much younger than himself, such being the practice of cultured men.

When the guardian, for some reason or other, is unable to bestow the girl before her marriageable age, she is allowed by the old Smriti law to choose her own husband after waiting for a short term. Referring to this rule Medhatithi 108 explains that a girl should stay in her father's house for three years after attaining puberty (in her twelfth year), and then she may choose her husband without fear of sin. In case the bridegroom dies after payment of the nuptial fee, the girl, says Medhatithi, 109 should be asked to choose her own husband. In the same context 110 Medhatithi lays down appropriate rules for disposal of the fee according as the girl chooses to marry a husband other than the younger brother of the dead bridegroom, or else elects to remain a life-long celibate.

Medhatithi's rule relating to the repudiation of a girl after her betrothal reflects his view of the inviolability of the marriage sacrament. According to him 111 repudiation of a maiden suffering from physical or mental defects, even after acceptance, is allowed before the performance of the marriage. Writing in a prosaic strain, he says in another context 112 that while other commodities

can be returned even after ten days with mutual consent, this rule of law does not apply to girls given away in marriage. Just as used and worn-out clothes cannot be restored to the seller even within ten days' time, so a maiden who has been married cannot be abandoned. Even when girls are given away for a fee, Medhatithi continues, they may be treated like other commodities only before marriage, while a girl who has been given away according to the approved forms cannot be revoked at all. Concluding his argument, he observes that Yajnavalkya's rule, 113 allowing a girl to be taken back for a better bridegroom even after her betrothal, holds good before and not after the seventh step (at the nuptial ceremony) is taken; V? hen both parties have necessary qualifications, the betrothal cannot be revoked even before marriage, while even a defective wife (other than a non-virgin) cannot be abandoned after marriage.

As regards re-marriage of women, Agni Pur&na 114 repeats the remarkable texts of Narada and Parasara permitting a woman to take a second husband in the event of five calamities, viz . when the husband is lost (i.e. unheard of), or is dead, or has adopted the life of a recluse, or is impotent, or has become an outcaste. Likewise Visvarupa 115 seems to sanction remarriage of women, for he quotes an authority permitting a father to give away his daughter, though no longer a virgin. On the other hand, it is forbidden by Brahma Purina and Medhatithi. 116

As to the custom of niyoga, Visvarupa 117 permits it in the cases of a Sudra and a royal family without a successor. Medhatithi 118 forbids the connection of a widow with another man for the sake of her maintenance, or for progeny. But elsewhere 119 he follows the authoritative tradition in allowing niyoga to widows. What is more, he amplifies the law of niyoga by saying 120 that the elders entitled to authorise the act are the mother-in-law, the father-in-law, and other members of the husband's family, but not those of the wife's own family. The process of authorisation, Medhatithi continues, may be repeated in the event of a daughter or a blind or a deaf son being born. The law of niyoga , he further observes, 121 applies not only to a widow, but also to a woman whose husband is impotent, and so forth.

The general literature also reflects the current ideas and practices regarding marriage. AbhidhanaratnamdW 22 contains the words varshd and patimvara meaning a girl choosing her own husband, as also the words punarbhu and didhishu meaning a remarried woman. We learn from a number of tales in Upamitibhavaprapanchakathd that while love-marriages were known, they were

regularly solemnised only after approval of the girls' guardians. It appears, however, that marriages were often arranged by parents or other guardians of the parties, sometimes even before the latter were born. Sometimes girls, with the approval of their parents, bhose their husbands at a svayamvara ceremony. No social obloquy was attached to marriages between first cousins. But a woman took it to be a grave misfortune to become a co-wife. 123 The historical records of this period tend to show that notwithstanding the ban of the Smriti-iaw on this point, inter-marriages of Brahmanas with Kshatriya women were still prevalent. 123a

3. Law of Adultery

Medhatithi's view 124 of the law relating to adultery agrees with the strict ideas of Gautama and Manu who would have the guilty pair put to death with torture. He prescribes severe punishment even for those who have just begun to make approaches to other men’s wives, while he lays down the death penalty for a nonBrahmana committing adultery with a woman of the twice-born caste, as well as for a man guilty of forcible connection with a family-woman (kulastri) of lower caste whose husband is alive. And yet it would appear from notices in the contemporary literature that there were, as in former times, various classes of notoriously frail women, while other women occasionally committed sin. The evil reputation of women of the former type is illustrated by AbhidhanaratnamaW 25 which applies to the actor (nata) a synonym (jayajiva) signifying his dependence upon the earnings of his wife, as well as by Ratirahasya 126 which includes the wives of dancers and singers (charana) among those who are easily amenable to seduction. Similarly Medhatithi 127 mentions that the wives of char anas, though not exactly prostitutes, admitted paramours into their houses with the permission of their husbands. The list of women who easily succumb to the seducer’s wiles is given in Rati~ rahasya and in Upamitibhavaprapanchdkathd , 128

The historical records support the Smriti law. In an inscription of A.D. 992, belonging to the reign of the Western Chalukya king Ahavamalla, 129 a list of penalties is laid down for various offences according to which the adulterer is to be put to death, while the adulteress shall suffer amputation of her nose. The general application of the strict Smriti law in actual practice is testified to by the Arab writer Abu Zaid, who says (c. A.D. 916) that in the case of adultery both the man and the woman are put to death, while the man alone is punished if the woman is found to have been forced against her will. 130

4, The Position of Women

In so far as the status of the wife is concerned, the Smriti authorities of the period, like their predecessors, emphasise the duty of absolute obedience and devotion of wives to their husbands. Medhatithi illustrates the wife’s duty of personal service towards her husband by saying 131 that she shall shampoo his feet and render him such other service as befits a servant. But this is subject to the all-important condition that the husband follows the righteous path and is free from hatred as well as jealousy towards his wife. For the husband, so runs Medhatithi’s memorable dictum, has no dominion (prabhutva) over his wife. The husband and the wife, says he in another connection, 132 differ only in their bodies but are entirely united in their functions. Equal right of the husband and the wife to seek legal remedy against each other in the last resort is emphasised by Medhatithi. For he says 133 that the wife, very much persecuted by her husband, like the husband^yery much troubled by his wife, has the remedy of appealing to the king for decision of their disputes. Other passages deal with the wife's right to maintenance by her husband. According to a verse attributed to Manu and quoted by Medhatithi and Vijiianesvara 134 the virtuous wife must be maintained even by committing a hundred bad acts. Similarly Daksha 136 includes the wife in the list of those whom one is bound to maintain. Even the wife's fault does not make her liable to abandonment or forfeiture of her possessions. As Medhatithi says, 136 the wife, even though guilty of grievous sins, must not be turned out of the house. The punishment of confiscation prescribed by Manu for a wife hating her husband, Medhatithi continues, is meant simply as a warning to bring her to her senses, and it does not sanction the confiscation of all her belongings. After this, it is not surprising that Medhatithi 137 requires a husband, when going abroad, to make provision for his wife. Indeed, according to him, the husband must not journey abroad leaving his wife behind except for the specific purposes mentioned by Manu. The law on the subject of the wife's maintenance is summed up by Medhatithi in another context. 138 Here he says that the faithful wife must not be abandoned, even though she may be disagreeable in look, or harsh in speech, and the like. On the other hand, the unfaithful wife may be confined in a room when she has been guilty of a single act of transgression, but if she repeats the offence, she is to be abandoned. Referring to Yajnavalkya's text 139 allowing a mere subsistence to an unfaithful wife, Medhatithi observes that it applies when the husband is able and willing to maintain her, but if he is not willing she may be abandoned. The wife, concludes

Medhatithi, must be maintained even if she hates her husband, but if she becomes an outcaste she may be abandoned.

As to the husband's right of correcting his wife, Matsya Purina repeats Menu's injunction 140 authorising the husband to beat his erring wife (though not on the head or the back) with a rope or a split bamboo. With more humanity Medhatithi 141 takes Manu to enjoin not the actual beating of the recalcitrant wife, but only a method of putting her on the right path. From this he draws the corollary that verbal chastisement is also to be inflicted on the wife, while beating may be occasionally resorted to, according to . the gravity of the offence. Going a step further Visvarupa 142 says that the guarding of wives consists in being really devoted to them and not in beating them, and he quotes in this connection a saying of those acquainted with worldly ways about the delicacy of Pahchala women. That the imposition of money-fine was also one of the methods of correction open to the husband is apparent form Medhatithi. 143 Here we read that the husband, being lord (prahhu) of the wife, 144 may inflict the prescribed fine (of six krishnalas) upon the Kshatriya or other wife, and a heavier fine upon a Brahmana wife, for drinking wine or for visiting shows, when forbidden to do so. Medhatithi 145 justifies Manu's rule of repudiation of a wife who is barren, or who bears only daughters, or whose children die, on the ground that the husband would otherwise violate the injunction about laying of the sacred fire and the begetting of sons. But he refuses to follow Manu in sanctioning the repudiation of a wife who is harsh of speech. In the same context 146 Medhatithi extends Manu's two conditions of such supersession (viz. that the wife's consent has been obtained and that she is not disgraced) from the case of a devoted and modest but sick wife to those of a barren wife and a w r ife bearing only daughters.

On the question of the alternatives open to a wife after she has waited for the prescribed period for her husband's return from abroad, the views of the authorities of this epoch, as we learn from Medhatithi, 147 reflected their different standpoints from one of extreme puritanism* to one of considerable latitude. After the prescribed period the wife, according to one authority, must live by pursuing unobjectionable occupations. Modifying this strict view, Medhatithi urges that while she must live by unobjectionable occupations before the expiry of her waiting term, she may live by objectionable pursuits thereafter. Basing his opinion on Parasara's text quoted above in favour of the remarriage of women, a third authority goes so far as to allow the stranded wife to deviate from chastity. A fourth author, taking the vital word pati in Parasara's text in the sense of ‘protector,’ recommends her to accept another man’s protection in the capacity of toilet-maid and the like. In such a case even if the wife has entered into six month’s or one year’s contract, the husband on his return from his travel may take her back immediately. The fifth and the last authority would allow the wife to marry another husband according to the practice of punarhhus (remarried women), in which case the husband cannot interfere with her after his return, and she continues to be the wife of the second husband.

As regards the status of the widow, the life of strict celibacy and self-restraint enjoined upon her by the old Smritis was sought to be enforced during this period. As long as a widow remains faithful to her husband’s memory, says Medhatithi, 147 * she deserves, to have her property looked after by the king; but in the contrary case, she is not only to be disqualified for possessing property, but is to be banished (in the sense of being driven out of the main building and provided with a separate dwelling-house as w T ell as separate food and clothing).

As in the former period, the dread rite of satl at this time was enjoined by some authorities, but condemned by others. 148 According to the Arab writer Sulaiman, 149 wives of kings sometimes burnt themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, but it was for them to exercise their option in the matter. The actual occurrence of this grim rite is testified to by a few historical examples of queens and other ladies of high families thus scarifying their lives. 160 But the view, that the custom was still mainly confined to royal families and had not yet spread among the masses, 161 is hardly supported by a passage in Kuttanimatam ^ 52 which recognises it as one of the general virtues of a wife.

The custom of dedicating maidens for service in temples, which may be traced back to older times, was continued in this period. Reference to this class is found in Medhatithi 163 as well as in inscriptions of this period. 164 Abu Zaid 154a also speaks of courtezans attached to Indian temples.

The class of prostitutes, known from early times, existed as a distinct social unit in the present age. Matsya Ptirena 165 lays down a list of their duties and rights (vesyadharma) as well as the special clauses of law applicable to them. The deliberate settlement of such women in public places is hinted at by an early Arab geographer, While others notice it as a peculiarity of Indians that they held this profession to be lawful. 166 Several passages in the literature of this period deal with the class of accomplished courtezans (ganika) whose virtues and vices are celebrated from the earliest Buddhist

times. In two stories of Upamitibhavaprapanchakatha'^ • we find concrete instances of the better type of ganikas as well as of those of the common variety. It is above all in Ku\tanxmatam that we have the fullest notices of the life of a ganika during this period. It relates a story 168 which shows that connection of a Brahmana with a ganika (such as was not disapproved in the times of Bhasa and Sudraka) was now regarded as a disgraceful act. We may also refer to a passage in Kut\anvmatam illustrating at any rate the author's view of the very high qualifications, both of body and mind, that a ganika was expected to possess at this period. 169

In general, the position of woman was patterned on the same lines as in the preceding period. Amplifying the old Smriti doctrine of the perpetual tutelage of women, Medhatithi 160 observes that women should have no freedom of action regarding the great objects of human existence (viz. virtue, wealth, and pleasure), but should obtain permission of their husbands or other male relations before spending money on such acts. Women who are addicted to singing and similar acts, Medhatithi continues, shall be restrained by their male guardians. Arguing that a woman's mind is not under her control, and that she lacks the requisite strength, Medhatithi 161 concludes that she shall be guarded by all her male relations at all times. Turning to the specific disabilities of women, we find Medhatithi 162 justifying their general incapacity for giving evidence as witnesses. As he observes, unlike other qualifications which are acquired and hence liable to lapse through carelessness and so forth, fickleness is inherent in women. But elsewhere 163 he admits that there are women who are as truthful and as steady as the best expounders of the Vedas, and they may appear as witnesses.

On the other hand, a more humane view is taken of the husband^ authority over his wife. The wife, according to Medhatithi, must not be forsaken unless she becomes an outcaste, and 'forsaking' in this case means not that she is to be deprived of food and clothing, but that she is to be cut off from all intercourse and forbidden to do household work. According to Matsya Parana the mother must never be abandoned, while Medhatithi observes that the mother must not be turned out of the house even for failure of her maternal duties, for to the son the mother never becomes an outcaste. 164 Medhatithi's view of the law relating to female outcastes in general follows the humane lines indicated above. Referring to Manu's penalty of banishment for outcaste women, he 166 explains it to mean that they shall be provided with a separate dwelling-place as well as food and clothes, and they may retain what they have saved. Again he says 166 that female outcastes, not performing the prescribed

expiation, are to be allowed food, drink, and clothing of an inferior quality, and permitted to live in a separate hut close to the main building.

As regards the custom of Purdah, Abu Zaid furnishes the very important information that most Indian Princes, while holding court, allowed their women to be seen unveiled by the men present, whether natives or foreigners.

5 . Some Social Types

The early Arab geographers belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries noticed the paucity of towns as a distinctive characteristic of India in contrast with China. 167 No doubt it is because of this preponderance of the rural element in Indian life that we miss in the literature of this period any special reference to the type of the city-bred man of fashion (nagardkd), so well described in Vatsyayana's standard work on erotics. We have on the contrary in Kutpanimatam 168 a remarkably full and vivid picture, doubtless drawn from real life, of a typical country-squire who should, according to this authority, be the first object of a courtezan's attentions.

The hero of this account is a young son of an officer (bhatta) in the king's service, who is his own master as his father constantly resides in the royal capital. His dress and manners are sufficiently showy. He wears long hair with a thick tuft, which is bound with a long-handled and sharp-toothed comb and is done up with a multicoloured tassel. He wears finger-rings as well as ear-rings of a distinctive sort, while his neck is adorned with thin golden threads. All his limbs were dyed yellowish with saffron rubbed on his body. He wears ornamental shoes, while his clothes have a gold border and are dyed yellow with saffron. A very showy fellow, he makes his public appearance in the company of a train of attendants. In the huge dancing-hall which is crowded with guild-masters, merchants, parasites and gamblers, he sits with his followers on specially provided seats. He is served by a young betel-casket bearer with painted finger-nails, with a garland of thick glass beads around his neck and with conch-shell bangles on his wrist. He is surrounded by five or six armed attendants accustomed to speak freely and bearing a haughty mien. Equally conceited and foolish, he recites verses incorrectly and intrudes upon the conversation of intelligent people sitting by his side, while he makes known the king's confidence in his father. He inwardly enjoys the extravagant praise of his attendants for his knowledge of song, instrumental music and dramaturgy, his charities and his love of hunting. He compliments, without understanding, the performances of the female dancers. 169

In contrast with the life-like description of the country-squire given above is the slightly idealised picture of the life and surroundings of a poet that is given by Rajasekhara 170 —a picture which reminds us in some respects of Vatsyayana's nagdraka. The poet, we are told, should be pure in speech, mind, and body. Purity in speech and mind is derived from the sdstras, while for ensuring bodily purity the nails of the feet shoul be cut, betel-leaf should be chewed, the body should be anointed a little with unguents, the clothes should be costly but not gaudy, and the head should be decked with flowers. The poet's residence should be swept clean; it should have various sites suited to the needs of the six seasons; it should take away sweat and fatigue; the attached garden-house should have its awning of numerous trees. The house should have a miniature hill for sporting; it should have tanks and ponds; it should have a collection of tame birds and animals comprising peacocks, deer, pigeons, ruddy geese, sw r ans, partridges, herons, ospreys, parrots, and starlings; it should have a shower-house with excellent floor, a creeper-bower as well as swings and hammocks; the poet's male and female servants, his scribe, his friends, and the ladies of his family should have appropriate specified qualifications and should serve him in the specified manner.

6. Some Groups and Associations

There are good grounds for believing that a number of groups and associations belonging to towns and villages played an important part in the social life of this age. Giving an instance of the co-operative efforts of villagers, Medhatithi 172 says that the people of one village, afflicted by constant encroachment on their grazing-grounds and their water-reserves by the people of another village, would form a compact for defence of the ancient privileges of the village (praktanigrdmasthiti), and any one breaking the compact and joining the other party would be liable to the penalty of banishment, or in the alternative, to the milder punishment of a fixed money-fine (six nishkas or four suvarnas) as laid down by Manu. To the above we may add that Medhatithi 173 , includes samghas (associations) of the same or different castes among those whose members are liable to a fine for breach of compact under Manu's law. From this it follows that not only village groups, but also associations of single and multiple castes, were engaged in collective enterprises based on mutual compacts recognised by law. The important functions performed by the organised village assemblies in South India in receiving and managing trust-funds will be treated elsewhere. But a few similar examples may be given here. From a Kannada inscription of A.D. 978 174 we learn that a trust, then created in favour of an

aimshouse (sattraj } was placed under the control of thirty households of the town. Other records speak of the activities of temple committees (goshthi) whose history can be traced back to a few early Sanchl inscriptions 175 and a body now mentioned for the first time, namely, the community of goldsmiths {sauvarnnikoimahafana), placed in charge of temple funds. Purchases of house sites on 99 years' lease by the sauvarnnikamahdjanfis as well as the goshlhis of a certain temple out of the temple funds are commemorated in a series of documents bearing dates between A.D. 865 and 904 and belonging to the region of the Upper Ganga basin. 176 An inscription of A.D. 882-83 177 mentions that the management of certain charities, made by a few horse-dealers in Pyithudaka (Peheva in Karnal District), was entrusted to the goshthikas . This involved the collection of various self-imposed taxes from the horse-dealers and purchasers as well as their distribution for specified purposes. An association of weavers, entrusted with the management of a temple, is referred to in an inscription of the reign of Uttama-Chola. 178

7. Standard of Living

The high standard of living of the people prevailing generally in earlier times seems to have been maintained during the present period. The names of a number of professions mentioned by Medhatithi 179 reveal a state of luxurious living. Such are the professions of a bath-man (snapaka), a toilette-man (prasddhaka) f and a professional cook fpachaka) as well as a maid-in-waiting (sairandhfi). The variety of garments and ornaments current in these times was remarkable. Abhidhanaratnamdla^o gives the synonyms for an upper garment (pravarana) and a woollen blanket (dvika) as well as women's bodice (kurpasa) and petticoat (chandataka), while it knows 181 technical terms (kutha, etc.) for blankets thrown over the backs of elephants. Similarly it refers to ear-ornaments (tatanka) t armlet (keyura), neck-ornament (graiveya) y finger-rings, waist-bands, and women's leg ornaments (nupura) } In a list of things delightful to the touch found in Upamitibhavaprapanchdkathd 182 are included couches (sayana) with soft cotton sheets, seats filled with goose feathers, gowns (brihatikd) and other soft garments, upper garments (prdvdra), woollen-cloth (? rdllikd or rakshikd), silks, home-grown (patt&Thsuka) and Chinese (chtn&miuka), as well as musk, aloes, sandal, and other unguents. Girls before marriage used to wear blue bodices (cholikd), while after marriage they tied the knot (ruin) to their garments. 183 Women's golden as well as jewelled girdles (kanchi and rasand) and large ear-ornaments (tatanka) are mentioned in verses quoted by Rajasekhara. 184 Ladies of high families habitually delighted in the display of ornaments and the use of various unguents. In Rajasekhara's elaborate description of the heroine's toilette, arranged by the queen just after her bath, we are told 185 that her limbs were anointed with saffron and her eyes with collyrium, her lovely locks well arranged, her hair was decorated with flowers, while her person was adorned with ear-rings, rows of bracelets, a ruby-encrusted girdle, and emerald-anklets. The same princess, while on the swing, wears a pearl-necklace, bracelets (valaya), a girdle with small bells attached to it, and jewelled anklets. Almost the same ornaments are worn by the heroine in another of Rajasekhara's dramas while playing with a ball. 186 The same lady at night-time appears in a robe of Chinese silk with a pearl necklace around her neck, camphor powder on her bosom, and sandal paste thickly applied to her limbs, so that in the admiring sight of the king she looks like a goddess descended from the moon. 187

The little cameos descriptive of the seasons and the nights that we find in Rajasekhara's dramas also reflect the contemporary style of living. In a description of the end of the winter and the beginning of the spring season, we are told 188 that the maidens no longer put bees' wax on their lips, they do not anoint their braids of hair with fragrant oil, they do not put on a bodice, and they are indifferent to the use of thick saffron for their mouths, while they again set their hearts on sandal-juice. Again we are told in a description of the evening 189 that the jewelled roof-terraces (manimayavalabhi) and the picture galleries (bhittinivesa) are being opened for pleasure, the couches (paryanka) are being hastily spread out by the attendants, and the maids-in-waiting (sairandhrl) are incessantly moving their fingers on the silks. At the rise of the full-moon, we read, 190 aloes are burnt as incense at the pleasure-houses (lildgara), where likewise the lamps are lighted, the festoons of rare pearls are suspended, the charming pleasure-couches (kelisayana) are being prepared, and hundreds of female messengers (duti) are conversing together. Among the delights of summer are mentioned 191 those of rubbing sandal-paste at mid-day, playing , in bathing-pools until night-fall, and drinking cool liquor (surd) at evening, as well as listening to the cooling sound of the flute. In a description of a dark night we find 192 that the girls then go out with garlands to seek their lovers after decking their ears with peacock-plumes, their arms with emerald-bracelets, their bosoms with sapphire necklaces and their cheeks with musk. In summer women cooled their bodies with sandal-juice. 193 To the above, may be added the evidence of UpamitibhavaprapanckdkatM 194 according to which quantities of aloe-wood incense as well as woollen blankets (rallaka-kambala) were used in winter.

The description of the typical poet in Kavya.mimd.msd and of the typical country-squire in Kuttanimatam, to which we have already referred, widely as they differ from each other, illustrates at least the prevailing view of luxury of these classes. It was, however, in the royal palace that pomp and ostentation reached their zenith. Among the luxuries of the palace, we find a plantain-arbour (kadalxgriha) with a raised emerald seat inside, 135 a king's sleeping-chamber with perforated columns and a jewelled quadrangle, 196 and a crystalhouse with picture of a king, queen, jester, betel-box bearer, chowrie-bearer, dwarf, and monkey painted on the wall. 197 The female personnel of the queen's apartment in Karpuramanjarl consisted of armed groups of five chowrie-bearers, five maids-in-waiting, five betel-box bearers, and five bath-keepers guarding her on the four sides, as well as a group of five overseers with golden staves in their hands. 198

To the above testimony drawn from the indigenous literature we may add that of the contemporary Arab writers who agree in declaring the love of ornament to be characteristic of the Indians. According to Sulaiman, Indians, both male and female, decorated themselves with golden bracelets and precious stones. Indians, says Ibn al-Faklh, used to wear ear-rings, and both males and females adorned themselves with golden bracelets. According to Abu Zaid, Indian kings wore necklaces of precious red and green stones mounted on gold, while they held pearls in the greatest esteem. Speaking of the tract from Kambay to Saimur (Chaul) Ibn Haukal says that because of the extreme heat the men used fine muslin garments. 199

8. Popular Amusements

The popular amusements of these times were similar to those of the preceding period. It was the fashion for high-born girls to play with balls (kanduka). Especially in the spring season and on the occasion of the Swing Festival, they used to enjoy the swing from trees in a garden. A very spectacular scene was presented by the charchari (musical or dancing) performance. On this occasion maidens, richly adorned with pearls, performed various dances known by appropriate technical terms, and thereafter they sprinkled one another with water from jars sometimes adorned with jewels. Or else, suitably attired and posed, they paraded as savage mountaineers, or even enacted cemetery scenes with offerings of human flesh in their hands. 200 Dancing for recreation by ladies and dramatic representations in honour of deities are referred to in the inscriptions of the period. 201

Other amusements described in the literature of this period remind us of the diversions of the ndgaraka described in Vatsyayana’s Kdmasutra. In Rajasekhara’s account of a poet’s daily life* 02 we read that he is to arrange a poetical assembly (kavyagoshthi) after his mid-day meal. Elsewhere reference is made to the goshthl of persons in high life, of a queen and of other women. 203 Abhidhdnaratnamdld gives us technical terms for drinking-parties (dpdna and panagoshthi) as well as for drinking in company (sahapiti and sahapdnaka), 204 Ratirahasya 205 tells us how young pleasure-seekers used to meet their mistresses at night in well-lighted and scented houses amid amorous assemblies (narmagoshthi), to the accompaniment of sweet music. According to the same authority 206 excursions to gardens (udyanay&trd), excursions for drinking (pdnaydtra), and water-sports (jaldvatdra) gave opportunities to unchaste wives to meet their lovers. A vivid description of the spring revels in a capital town, breathing the spirit of a true saturnalia , is found in Upamiti bhavaprapanchdkathd. 207 Describing the scene at the mythical town of Bhavach&kra (‘Round of re-birth’) the author tells us how the people trooped out of the city into the garden and sported beneath valuka, asoka, and other trees, while drunken revellers engaged themselves in amorous sports, and gallants took up goblets of scented wines from bejewelled drinking-vessels and placed them to the lips of their mistresses. Amid songs and dances the revellers formed themselves into numerous drinking bouts (dpdnaka). The climax was reached when the king, mounted on a huge elephant and surrounded by a large retinue, emerged out of the town and joined in the revelry. His appearance was greeted with music from various instruments, sprinkling of sandal and saffron juice, song, dance, laughter, and other exuberant manifestations. The long, having Worshipped the goddess Chandika, strangely enough, with libations of wine, formed a drinking party with the assembled people. The end of the revels was marked by tragic scenes. Princess R&tilalita, wife of the king’s brother, being pressed by her intoxicated husband, danced much against her will in the presence of the assembly. This excited the evil passion of the king, who tried to lay violent hands upon her when all the others were stupefied by drink. Escaping from his clutches the princess sought the protection of her husband who challenged the king to a duel. In the resultant melee the king was killed by his brother in single combat.

9. Lawful Food and Drink

On the subject of lawful food the Smriti law of thi^ period follows, with some explanations, the traditional lines. Brahma Purdna 208 declares a number of herbs and vegetables as well as cereals to be forbidden food. Medhatithi 208 * lays down at great

length the occasions on which the eating of meat is lawful, and he seeks to define clearly the animals whose meat is or is not lawful food. From this it appears that notwithstanding Manu's general list of prohibited birds and animals, the peacock, the horse, the white ass, the female sparrow, the wild cock and the wild pig counted distinctly as lawful food, while certain kinds of web-footed and fisheating birds were classed optionally as such. Medhatithi again gives 209 the cow, the goat and the deer as instances of animals with one line of teeth which according to the text are fit to be eaten.

As regards the use of intoxicating drinks, we seem to mark in the authorities of our times a distinct tendency towards relaxation of the strict rules of their predecessors in the case of the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes. Both ¥Ianu and Yajnavalkya forbid the three upper classes to drink different classes of wines, and impose penances ranging up to death upon those guilty of indulging in the same. But Medhatithi 210 and Visvarupa 211 understand Manu's text to mean that while the three kinds of sum (viz. those made from rice-flour, molasses, and honey or grapes or madhuka flowers) are forbidden to Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas are permitted to drink the last two kinds. It is the Brahmana drinker of surd alone, explains Medhatithi, 212 who is guilty of mortal sin (mahdpdtaka) , and as such is liable to corporal punishment notwithstanding the injunctions of the Smritis to the contrary. Summing up the settled law (vyavasthd) on the subject, Medhatithi 213 observes that while the penance for intentionally drinking wine made from rice-flour is death, that for intentional drinking of other kinds of wine involves performance of only the lunar penance (chdndrdyana) . Among original authorities Aditya Parana 2 1 3& and Brahma Purdria 214 include the drinking of wine (madya) among practices to be eschewed by twice-born men in the Kali Age. On the other hand Vishnudhalrmottara 216 mentions ten kinds of wines (including those prepared from madhuka flower, from grape-juice, and from honey) which are forbidden to Brahmanas, but permitted to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

We have so far dealt with the Smriti rules relating to food and drink. There is every reason to believe that the old Buddhist and Jain canonical laws on this point were still regarded as authoritative during the present period. As an illustration of the continuance of the Jain ban against meat-eating and drinking, we may refer to the long and severe sermons on the evils of both put into the mouths of some observant princes. 216

The references in the general literature and the historical records enable us to find out how far the above rules were observed in

actual practice. In Rajasekhara's description of the six seasons, partaking of pork along with newly husked rice by the people is said to be common during the cold (hemanta) season, while the essences of deer and quails, as also wine mixed with water, are mentioned among the dainties of the summer season. 217 But elsewhere Rajasekhara mentions eating of pork among the practices of uncultured people. 218 The literary evidence further shows that both men and women, other than Brahmanas, freely drank wine. According to a verse quoted by Rajasekhara, 219 drinking wine (madhu), after partaking of pepper and betel, was the general practice among Southern (Dramila) ladies. Medhatithi says 220 that while Bhahmana women did not drink wine at festivals, Kshatriya and other women, to whom drinking was not forbidden, indulged in excessive drinking when they gathered together on festive occasions. In view of these statements it is reasonable to infer that the testimony regarding abstinence from wine by Indians, which is repeated by early Arab authors one after another, 221 is a rash generalisation based upon imperfect acquaintance with facts. On the other hand, we may accept the testimony of Mas'udl 222 about the eating of rhinoceros's flesh by the Indians to be true.

10. Toilette and Personal Hygiene

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The high level of personal cleanliness and comfort reached in the preceding age was well maintained during this period. As regards personal hygiene, Agni Pur ana, 223 lays down elaborate rules for daily observance of purification of the body (saucha), cleaning of the teeth with twigs, and bathing by the householder. Bathing, again, is divided into several kinds according to its object by some Smriti authorities. 224 The observant Arab writers noticed these habits as distinctive of the Indian people. According to Suiaiman and Ibn al-Faklh 22 * 5 the Indians, unlike the Chinese, cleansed their teeth with tooth-picks and bathed daily before taking meals.

As regards toilette, we have elsewhere noticed how the literature of this period refers to the use of unguents and ornaments of different kinds, especially by high-born ladies. Mention has also been made of the vivid and life-like picture of the dress of coiffure of the country-squire in Kuttanimatam. 22Q We may notice here some further references to personal adornment. Abhidhanaratnamala knows not only the synonyms for saffron, sandal, musk, camphor, and aloes, but also the marks (tilaka) made on the body with such unguents. 227 The tilaka and similar other decorations made on the cheeks of maidens are referred to in two verses quoted by Rajasekhara. 228 We get a fairly complete list of unguents used

in different seasons in Kdvyamtmdms <i. 229 From this account we learn that sandal, agallochum, saffron and musk were used in the rainy season, saffron with bees-wax was applied to the mouth and fragrant oil to hair in the cold (hemanta) season, crushed saffron was applied by women to their bodies in winter, and camphor powder was used in the summer season. References are also made to the use of other artificial aids to beauty. Thus Abhidhdnaratnamald 230 knows technical terms (sthdnaka and hastabimba) for a particular method of perfuming the body with unguents as well as those (patravalli) for decorations made on women’s bodies by experts on beauty culture. Ratirahasya contains various recipes for removing bad odour from the mouth and other parts of the body, and for beautifying the complexion of men as well as women. 231 A satirical account in TJpamitibhavaprapanchdkatha shows how old men were sometimes not above using these beauty aids. Describing the attempts of old and decrepit men to appear young, the author says that they used hair-dyes of various sorts, frequently cleansed their bodies with various oils, carefully concealed the wrinkles on their cheeks, drank the elixir of life, and constantly applied cosmetics to their persons. 232 We may refer, lastly, to Rajasekhara’s works to illustrate how different fashions prevailed among

ladies in different parts of the country. We learn that Martha girls specially applied saffron-paste to their cheeks and collyrium to their eyes. 233 The chewing of betel-leaf with areca-nut and camphor was the characteristic of the Kerala people. 234 The Nepalese women used musk-paste in the summer season. 236 In a description of the characteristic dress and toilette of women of different regions, we are told that the women of Bengal (Gauda) painted their bosoms with wet sandal and coloured their bodies like durva grass with aloe, those of, Kanauj (Mahodaya) wore large ear-ornaments and necklaces or large pearls dangling down to their navel, those of Malabar (Kerala) had their peculiar style of coiffure and method of tying up their garment-knots, while the men of Malwa (Avanti) followed the style of dress of the inhabitants of the Upper Doab (Pdnchdlas) and their women followed the style of the Southerners. 236 Rajasekhara, with evident partiality for his adopted country, says that fashions of dress and coiffure as well as ornaments of ladies of Kanyakubja were\ followed by fashionable ladies all over the country. 237

11. Beliefs and Superstitions

The records of this period point to the continuance of the agelong belief in omens and portents. Basing its account upon the older astrological works, Matsya Purdna 238 gives a long and systematic account of omens, classifying them under appropriate heads

and prescribing adequate remedies for averting their evil effects. The same work devotes a separate chapter 239 to rules for propitiation of planets. The extent of popular superstition is illustrated by a passage of Medhatithi. 240 Malevolent rites (abhichdra) , says he, are those causing sudden death by incantations and the like, magicspells are those meant to bring others under control, while sorcery (krityd) produces by means of magical incantations such conditions as insanity and distrust against friends and relations. The abhichara, Medhatithi adds, is of two kinds, viz. the Vedic which is illustrated by the syena and similar sacrifices, and the non-Vedic which is exemplified by such practices as taking off the dust of one's feet and pricking it with a needle. Repeatedly in the literature of this period we have concrete instances of such superstitions holding high life in their grip. In Upamitihhavaprapahchdkathd we are reminded of the steps taken by the ministers to avert the evil eye (durjanachakshurdosha.) from affecting a certain king and queen. 241 In the same work 242 a queen's dream, in the last watch of the night, of a handsome man entering her womb is interpreted by the king as presaging the birth of an excellent son, and the prophecy is fulfilled in due course. In Karpiiramahjart we read how the soothsayers prophesied that the heroine's husband would be an emperor, and the queen herself accordingly arranged her marriage with the king. 243 In Viddhasalabhahjikd we find the king using a ghost-trick with success not only against the queen's maid-in-waiting, but against the queen herself. 244 After this, it is not surprising that the restoration of the right of a village to make offering of boiled rice to ghosts should be solemnly recorded in an inscription of A.D. 958 belonging to the modern Dharwar District. 245 The Arab writer Abu Zaid also refers to the 'most astonishing feats' of the diviners and those who drew omens from the flight of crows in India. 246

In conclusion we may refer to a few other beliefs of the people mentioned in the records of this period. The ban against sea-voyage, which is laid down by some older Smritis, 247 is reported by Ndradiyamahapurdna , 248 Suicide was resorted to both as a quasireligious rite and as a relief against bodily ailments. We have an example 249 from the Kannada country of a loyal subject giving up his head to a goddess on the birth of the king's son in fulfilment of his vow (c. A.D. 991). According, to Abu Zaid and Mas'udi a body of king's companions, who had shared in taking rice with him at his coronation, would burn themselves to the last man after! his death. Again, it appears from Abu Zaid and Ibn Khordadbah that persons on getting old would often commit suicide by drowning or by burning themselves.^ 50

12. Pious and Charitable Works

The Smriti law of this period, following the older tradition, declared the gift of land as the most meritorious or all gifts, 251 Again Matsya Parana, which is followed by Linga PiCrdna, describes at great length a set of 16 great gifts (mahaddnas) involving the distribution of large quantities of gold to Brahmanas. 232 The Smriti law of this period also follows the older precedent in enjoining upon all castes (including the Madras) such pious acts as digging of wells, ponds, and tanks, construction of temples, distribution of food, and laying out of gardens. These are collectively called purta by way of distinction from ishta meaning the performance of Vedic sacrifices. 253 The inscriptions and other historical records of this period offer many instances of the observance of these rules. Apart from numerous examples of construction of temples and donation of lands to Brahmanas and others, we have several instances of kings performing the ceremonies of tuldpurusha and hiranyagarbha which are included in the list of 16 mahaddnas mentioned above. 254 Other records refer to the construction of monasteries and almshouses, digging of wells and similar activities. We have again several instances of gift of land for the encouragement of learning.

13. General Estimate of Character

From the detailed survey of social conditions, it would not be difficult for the reader to form a general estimate of the character of the people during this period. Nevertheless, a few points which are sure to strike the observant critic may be emphasised. We cannot but condemn the illiberal attitude towards &udras, and particularly towards the Chandalas and other castes; we must also censure the illiberal treatment of women, and in particular their exclusion from Vedic sacraments and studies and the lowering of their age of marriage. On the other hand, we may well admire such features of the Indian character as the love of learning, the spirit of charity and benevolence, and the high standard of fidelity and devotion maintained by the wife. We may conclude with the remarkable tribute paid to the mental as well as physical qualities of Indians by an intelligent Arab observer whose work became, in the words of Ibn Khaldun, ‘the prototype of all historians.’ “The Hindus,” says Mas’udi, “are distinct from all other black people in point of intellect, government, philosophy, strength of constitution, and purity of colour.”

1. Cf. the quotations in Apararka on Yoj. I. 131, Sm. C., I. 26, and Saihskaraprakdsa, pp. 321-26. A connected and complete account of the Vidydrambha ceremony is given in the late mediaeval SaThskararatnamala (904-07) of Gopl

natha DIkshita, which also quotes a few other authorities like Sridhara and Garga.

2. I. 24, 13 -16,

3. Quoted in Sm. C., I. 29.

4. On Manu, III. 1.

5. Ibid, II. 108 and 243 f.

6. Quoted in Samskaraprakasa, 506-07 and Sm. C., I. 133-35.

7. On Manu , III. 2.

8. Quoted in Samskaraprakasa, 507-08.

9. On Manu, III. 1.

10. There are scattered references in literature, but these are not of much use.

11. In the story (Bhav . II. 1-3) the young Bhavisayatta, son of Dhanapati, a rich and virtuous merchant of Gajapura, is sent to his preceptor's house (ujjhdsdla) where he learns quickly the lore of the Jain canon, grammar lexicography, astronomy, spells and charms, as well as knowledge of weapons, archery, hand-to-hand fight, wrestling, and the ways of elephants and horses. Returning from his preceptor's house he was complimented by his parents on his acquisition of knowledge and character. On the date of Dhanapala, author of Bhav., see Jacobi (Bhav. ed., Introd. 3 f) followed on independent grounds by C. D. Dalai and P. D, Gune (GOS ed. Introd. 3-4).

12. On Manu, IX. 329-31.

13. The Vaisya, says Medhatithi (ioe. cit.), shall know in what region and at what season gems, pearls, corals, metals like copper, iron and bronze, woven cloth, perfumes and condiments fetch a higher price than in another. He shall know, Medhatithi continues, what seed is sown thickly and what sparsely, what soil is suited for a particular kind of seed, what harvest is expected from a particular type of soil. He shall also know what commodities (skins and the like) are spoilt if kept for a long time, in what country large supplies of grains are available, at what season barley is

profuse, what is the custom of a particular country, by using what fodder and salts cattle are likely to improve and so forth. This implies a thorough knowledge not only of the marketing conditions and other characteristics of various articles but also of much miscellaneous information.

14. On Manu, IX. 76.

15. Kutt, 212.

16. On Manu , II. 182.

17. Ibid, III. 2.

18. Quoted in Samskaraprakasa, 513.

19. Quoted in Sm. C., 1. 143.

20. Quoted in Samskaraprakasa, 515.

21. Manu, II. 159. Introducing the text Medhatithi explains that the author's object is to prohibit excessive chastisement in the form of beating, chiding and the like to which the teacher takes recourse on finding his pupil to be inattentive. Addressing the pupil as his child, the teacher should, according to Medhatithi, ask him gently to finish his lesson quickly so that he might afterwards play with boys of his own age. But if the boy still remains inattentive, he should be beaten with a bamboo slip as mentioned in the text. Writing elsewhere (on Manu, II. 70) in a humorous vein, Medhatithi observes that the boy, at the time of Vedic. study, should wear light dress, because if he were to be clad in woollen clothes he would not feel the strokes of the rope administered by the teacher for inattention and, not feeling the strokes, he would not study in the proper manner.

22. Manu, III. 156; Ydj, III. 230; Vardha Parana , XIY. 5.

23. Quoted by Apararka on Ydj, II. 198.

24. On Manu, III. 156.

25. He who stipulates to teach the Veda, Medhatithi says (loc. cit.), in return for a specific payment is called a bhritakddhydpaka (‘teacher for a stipulated fee’). Such form of payment is known among bearers and others. But one does not become such a teacher, if he teaches a pupil without first making a verbal stipulation for payment of a specific sum for a specific teaching, and receives the fee afterwards. In fact teaching in return for payment of an unstipulated fee has been actually sanctioned. Similarly one is said to be taught for a stipulated fee if he studies with his teacher after paying the fee himself. But one does not incur blame if, in the absence of any other

teacher, his father or other guardian has paid the fee and placed him under a teacher.

26. On Manu, II. 112.

27. Manu, II. 235.

28. On Manu, II. 108, 182, 191.

29. Commenting on Manu, II. 108, which requires a student to perform acts of service to his teacher, Medhatithi mentions, as an example of such acts, the fetching of water in jars for the teacher’s use. Again while explaining Manu, II. 182, Medhatithi says that the student should do all household work that is not degrading, but he must not be made to perform such acts as eating remnants of food, other than that of his teacher, and sweeping the floor. Explaining Manu, II. 191, Medhatithi observes that the student should do unasked such acts for his teacher as fetching water in jars and massaging his body when he is fatigued.

30. On Manu, II. 49.

31. Kdv. X, p. 53.

32. Suktimuktdvalx (GOS Ed. 47) of Jalhana, a twelfth century anthology, contains verses written by Rajasekhara in praise of five such poetesses, viz . 6llabhattarika, Vikatanitamba, Vijayanka, PrabhudevI, and Subhadra.

33. In Kdv. (Chaps. V, IX, XI) Rajasekhara quotes no less than thrice the views of his wife on difficult questions of rhetoric.

34. Upamiti, pp. 354, 453-59, 875-92.

35. Rdjat , V. 28^9; VI. 87.

36. El, IV. 60 f.

37. El, IV. 180-tel.

38. ARSIE, Ins. No. 240 of 1930-31.

39. On Manu, V. 91.

40. Matsyapurdna, CGXVII. 163 f.

41. On Manu, VIII. 124.

42. Quoted by Vijnanesvara on Ydj, II. 21.

43. Quoted in Sm. C., I. 30.

44. Quoted by Apararka on Ydj, I. 224.

45. III. 149.

46. Manu, III. 150-67; Ydj, I. 222-24; Vardha Purdna, XIV, 4 f, CXC. 83 f.

47. Quoted by Apararka on Ydj, III. 30.

48. On Ydj, I. 20. The list consists of one who has taken service with a king, one who performs sacrifices for many persons, one who performs sacrifices for a whole village, one who is in the service of a village or town, and lastly, one who does not perform the twilight ceremonies (sandhyd) in the morning and in the evening.

49. XVI. 16.

50. VHddha-Hdrxta, IX. 349-50; Matsya Purdna, CCXXVH. 115-17; Manu, VIII.

51. SMS* nr. aa,

52. Samskdraprakasa , 513.

53. Quoted in Sm. C ., I. 31.

54. Quoted by Apararka on Ydj, III. 292.

54a.Ibid.

55. Cf. Hir. Gr.-su, I. 12, 18-20; Ap. Dh.-su, XI. 3, 6, 9-10.

56. Quoted in Samskdraprakasa, 525 and Sm. C. t I. 137.

57. Quoted in Samskdraprakasa, loc. ci£

58. On Manu, VIIL 413-14.

59. Ibid, VIII, 415.

60. Ibid, III. 156.

61. Mbh. (Cr. Ed. and B), XII. 63, 12-14.

62. On Manu, VI. 97.

63. Ibid , III. 67 and 121.

64. Ibid, X. 127.

65. Ibid, X. 42.

66. On Ydj, I. 13.

67. On Manu , X. 126.

68. Ibid , X, 41.

69. Usanas, w. 31-2; Vaikhdnasa-Sindrtasu.tra, 10. 12; Manu, X. 47. etc.

71. Vv. 26-27.

72. Gaut. IV. 17; Manu, X. 27; Ydj, I. 92, etc.

73. Cf. Vish. VII. 3. Ydj, I. 322; Mrichchha , IX: Rdjat, V. 180-84; VIII. 23, 83; £/, XV. 130 f.

74. I. 10-11.

75. 151. 10 f.

76. On Manu, X. 38.

77. Cf. the quotations in Apararka on Ydj, III. 292 (various penances prescribed for touching Chan^alas); Medhatithi on Manu . V. 12 (wood and things of wood as well as walls of houses said to be defiled by Chan<lalas* touch); ibid . on Manu, X. 51 (vessels other than those of gold and silver in which Chan^alas and 6vapakas have eaten to be thrown away).

78. Viz. the signs of the thunderbolt and the like fixed by the king, or else the executioner's axe or other weapon to be carried on their shoulders (i bid. on Manu, X. 55).

79. On Manu, X. 13.

80. Atri 288-89; Ahgiras, quoted by Vijnanesvara on Ydj, III. 30; J^atatapa quoted by Apararka on Ydj, III. 292; Ausanasa-smriti, IX. I. 552.

80a. Quoted by Vijhanesvara on Y£j, III. 30 and in Sm. C., 1. 17,

81. Quoted by Apararka on Ydj, I, 193.

82. On Manu, V. 133.

83. Quoted by Vijhanesvara on Ydj, III. 30.

84. Quoted by Apararka on Ydj, loc. cit.

85. IX, 359, 363-64.

86. Quoted by Apararka, loc. cit.

87. For Arab accounts cf. HIED, I. 6, 16-17, 76; Hodiwala, p. 19.

88. Cf. El, I. 186 f (3 sons of a Bhatta mentioned in list of horse-dealers. Cf El, II. 161 f (Brahmana Garga and his descendants served as ministers of Pala kings Dharmapala and Devapala); EL V. 123 f (a Brahmana and a Vedic scholar advised king Vijayaditya II in defeating an enemy); El. XIII. 189 (Brahmana Superintendent of buildings praised for fighting an invader); El, IV. 60 f (Brahmana chief minister and minister of peace and war); El, XIII. 389 (two distinguished Brahmana dandanayakas) ; El, II. 217 f (Brahmana rajadauvdrika or king’s door-keeper); El, XV. 58 f (a Brahmana minister); SU, II. Nos. 31 and 39 (a Brahmana general).

89. Cf. El, I. 159 f (son of Kshatriya mentioned as cultivator of field); Ef, XIX. 58 f (Kshatriya merchant mentioned in record of A.D. 893).

90. It has been inferred (IHQ, VI; 1A, 1932, pp. 43-46) from the occurrence of the same name-endings and the same tutelary deity in certain ins. from Eastern India that colonies of Nagara Brahmanas were settled in Sylhet (c. A.D. 500), Tippera (c. A.D. 750), and Orissa (c. A.D, 795). But this theory lacks confirmation.

91. Cf. El, XIX. 58 f (individuals of Vanik-varkkata, Lamba-kanchuka and Mathura castes mentioned as vendors or purchasers of lands, houses and shops in records of A.D. 864, 896 and 898). Dhanapala, author of the Bhavisayattakahd, belonged to the Dhakkada-Bani caste (GOS ed., XX. 9).

92. See 1A, 1893, 57 f; El, VIII. 317-21; 'El, XVII. 291-309.

93. For the caste significance, cf. IHQ, VI. 53 f (Karana-kdyastha mentioned as minister of peace and war of Gupta Emperor Vainya-gupta); El, XV. 301 f (chieftain Lokanatha described as Karana); Ramacharita, Kaviprasasti v. 3 (poet’s father described as foremost of Karanas and as minister of peace and war). For the professional significance, cf. Medintkosha and Vaijayantx s.v.

94. For the earliest known epigraphical reference to Kayastha caste, see El, XVIII. 243 (writer of charter of A.D. 871 bom in Yalabha-Kayastha varhka). For other early epigraphic and literary references, cj. El, XII. 61 (Gauda-Kayastha family mentioned in record of A.D. 999); Nydya-kandali of Srldhara, Benares ed. 269 (work written in A.D. 991 at the instance of Pantfudasa, headmonk of Kayastha lineage).* But Kayastha in the old professional sense of a scribe or other official is found even in later records dated A.D. 995 (El, X. 78-79); Trikdndasesha, II. 10.2. It has been held (IHQ, VI. 60 f and I A, LXI. 51) that the Kayasthas of Bengal are descended from Nagara Brahmanas who had settled in Eastern India as early as in the sixth century A.D. But this startling theory, as has been rightly pointed out (HBR, I 589), lacks confirmation.

95. El. XXVI. 200 ff.

96. According to Medhatithi (Manu, VH!. 299) Manu's rule, allowing an erring slave, wife or son to be beaten with a rope or a split bamboo, enjoins a method of correcting them and not the actual beating. Hence, verbal cnastisement, Medhatithi continues, shall be applied to correct them, beating being resorted to only where the fault is serious.

97. For refs. cf. ARS1E, Nos. 216-19 of 1925, 94 of 1926, etc. These records are of uncertain dates.

98. Upamiti, 404-05. . . ,

99. On Manu, III. 14. In times of difficulty or in the event of not finding a girl of one's own varna, says Medhatithi, girls of two other varnas may be .married by a Brahmana but not a 6udra girl. We learn from Kar. I that Rajasekhara, the Brahmana guru of the Pratihara king, married a Chahamana princess.

100. I. 24. 13-16.

101. On Manu, X, 6.

102. Medhatithi on Manu, II. 18, and Visvarupa on Ydj, HI. 254.

103. On Manu, VIII. 366.

104. Medhatithi breaks new ground when he says (on Manu, V. 151) that the father can give away the girl only with the mother's consent, for the husband and the wife have joint title to all things, and the daughter belongs to both.

105. On Manu, IX. 88.

106. Ibid, IX. 4.

107. Ibid , IX. 94.

108. Ibid, IX. 90-91.

109. Ibid, IX. 99.

110. Ibid, IX. 97.

111. Ibid, IX. 72.

112. Ibid , VHI. 227.

113. I. 65.

114. CUV. 5.

115. On Ydj, I. 63.

116. Brahma Purdna, quoted by Apararka on Yaj, I. 68-69; Medhatithi on Manu, VIII. 225.

117. On Ydj, I. 69.

118. On Manu, V. 158.

119. Ibid, V. 165.

120. Ibid, IX. 59.

121. Ibid , IX. 60.

122. II. 328.

123. Upamiti , pp. 353-64; 369-86; 400 ff; 453 ff; 872-91.

123a. I A, XXXIX, 191 (inscription of the Guhila Chieftain Saktikumara, dated A.D. 977, stating that while the founder of his dynasty was a Brahmana, his grandfather, great-grandfather and great-great-grandfather married respectively a Rashtrakuta, a Huna and a Chahamana princess). Rajasekhara's Karpuramanjari, Act I (the author's wife belonged to Chahamana lineage, while he himself was a Brahmana and guru of the Gurjara Pratihara king Mahendrapala).

124. On Manu, VIII. 359.

125. II. 437.

126. XIII. 29-34.

127. On Manu, VIII. 362-63.

128. Rati, XL 31; Upamiti, 896.

129. SII, IX, No. 77.

130. For Arab writers quoted in this chapter reference may be made to HIED, Ferrand and Hodivala.

131. On Manu, IX. 1.

132. Ibid, I. 32.

133. Ibid, IX. 1.

134. Respectively on Manu, IV. 25; and on Ydj, I. 224 and H. 75.

135. H. 36.

136. On Manu, IX. 77.

137. Ibid, IX. 74.

138. Ibid, IX. 95.

139. Ydj, I. 70.

140. Matsya Purdna, CCXXVII. 153-55; Manu, VIII. 299-300.

141. On Manu, VIII. 299.

142. On Ydj f X.. 80,

143. On Manu, IX. 84.

144. This contradicts Medhatithi’s dictum quoted above denying to the husband dominion over his wife.

145. On Manu, D£ -.« 81.

146. Ibid, IX. 82.

147. Ibid, IX. 76.

147a. On Manu, VIII. 28.

148. Apararka on Ydj, I. 87; Medhatithi on Manu, V. 156.

149. HIED, I. 11.

150. Among the examples of satis during this period are a queen of king Yaiaskara of Kashmir and a queen of his successor Kshemagupta (Rdjat, VI. 107, 195-96); a lady probably early in the reign of the Chola King Parantaka I (Ins. No. 376 of 1903); a queen of Sundara Chola (Ins. No. 236 of 1902 and SII. 393 f).

151. AR. 344.

152. V. 480.

153. On Manu, IX. 135.

154. Cf. Bayana (Bharatpur State) ins. of queen Chittralekha dated A.D. 955 (El, XXII. 122 f); Tumbagi (Bijapur District) ins. of West Chalukya king Satyasraya dated A.D. 1004 (El, XVII. 8 f); Ins. No. 149 of 1036-37 belonging to the reign of Parantaka I; Ins. of Rajaraja I, recording transfer of 400 temple women from other temple-establishments in Chola land to the king's own temple at Tanjore (SII. II. No. 66).

154a. HIED. 11.

155. LXX. 28 f; CCXXVIII. 144 f.

156. Cf. Abu Zaid, quoted in Hodivala , 12 (Indian custom of settling prostitutes in inns built for travellers); Ibn Khordadbah, Ibn al-Faklh, and Ibn Rosteh quoted in F&rrand, 28, 63, 73 (Indian custom of regarding prostitution as legal). As an illustration of the kind of service performed by this class of women in the royal household, cf. Upamiti (p. 385) which states that on the occasion of marriage between prince Nandivardhana and princess Kanakamahjarl the bridegroom was bathed by prostitutes.

157. Ibid. pp. 374 if and 618 if.

158. Kutt, vv. 256 ff.

159. In this passage (vv. 106 f) the female messenger sent by Malatl to her lover describes not only her physical beauty in full detail, but also mentions her thorough knowledge of the works on erotics of authors like Vatsyayana, Dattaka, Vifaputra, and Rajaputra, as well as her exceptional skill in the dramatic manuals of Bharata, Visakhila, and Dantila, in the science of medicine for trees (v%ikshayurveda), in the art of painting, sewing and drawing lines on the person (patrachchhedavidhdna) , modelling (pusia), cooking, playing musical instruments, dancing and singing.

160. On Manu, IX. 2,

161. Ibid, IX. 3.

162. Ibid, VIII. 77.

163. Ibid, VIU. 68.

164. Matsya P. CCXXVII. 150; Medhatithi on Manu, VIII. 389.

365. Ibid, VIII. 28.

166. Ibid, X. 188.

167. Ibn al-Faklh (F errand, 63) observes with evident exaggeration that in India there are no towns unlike China where there are large towns. Sulaiman (Ferrand, 63 n) says more cautiously that in India, the greater part of the country is without towns, while in China fortified and large towns are found in every part of the country.

168. The following translation is based upon the Bengali rendering of Tridiva Nath Ray in his work called Kuttanimatam, Calcutta, 1360 B.S., pp. 12-15.

369. We have a historical reference to Bhattaputras in ARSIE, No. 281 of 1936-37 which mentions two groups of them as recipients of a village granted by Rashfrakuta king Krishna HI in A.D. 964.

170. Kdv . X, p.' 49.

171. On Manu, VIIL 219-20.

172. On Manu, VIII. 219-20. Medhatithi however adds the saving clause that the compact must be such as is beneficial to the village and so forth, is in conformity with canon law and custom, and is not harmful to the interests of the city and the kingdom.

173. On Manu, VIII. 221.

174. El, XVI. 2 ff.

175. El, II. 99, 100, 102,

176. El, XIX. 58.

177. El, 1.186.

178. SII, IH. No. 128.

179. On Manu, IX. 76, 143.

180. II. 321 f.

181. Ibid, II. 153.

182. Upamiti , 220.

183. Vid . I.

184. Kdv. VI, p. 27.

185. Kar, II.

186. Vid. H.

187. Ibid, III.

188. Kar. I.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid, III.

191. Ibid. IV.

192. Vid. III.

193. Ibid, H, IV.

194. Upamiti, 584.

195. Kar. II.

196. Vid, I.

197. Ibid.

198. Kar. IV.

199. Ferrand, 63, HIED, I. 39.

200. Cf. Kar. II; Vid. II; Kdv . XVHI; Upamiti, p. 354. On the significance of charchari see Kuttanimatam, Bengali Trans, by Tridiva Nath Ray, pp. 192-3, f.n.

201. IA, XII. 13; El, V. 23.

202. Kdv, X, p. 52.

203. Cf. Vid. I, IV; Rati, IV. 22.

204. II. 173-75.

205. X. 1-2.

206. Ibid, XIII. 93.

207. Upamiti, 590-603.

208. Quoted by Apararka on Yd), I. 176 and in Chandesvara’s Grihastharatndkara, 359.

208a. On' Manu, V. 14 ff., 27, 41-2.

209. On Manu, V. 18.

210. Ibid, XI. 93-94.

211. On Yd), III. 222.

212. On Manu, IX. 235-36.

213. Ibid, XI. 146.

213a. Quoted in Sm. C. I. 29.

214. Quoted by Apararka p. 15; Sm. C. I. 12; Par. Mddh, I. 1. 133.

215. XXII. 83-4.

216. Upamiti, 603-04; 627-29.

217. Kdv, XVIII, pp. 102, 107.

218. Ibid, VIII, p. 39.

219. Kdv. VIII. p. 39; cf. also Kdv. XVIII, Upamiti, 590 ff.

220. On Manu, IX. 84.

221. For references, cf. Sulaiman (HIED, I. 7), Mas'udI (ibid, I. 20), Ibn Khordadbah (Fei'rand, 28) and Ibn Rosteh (Ferrand , 70).

222. Ferrand, 105.

223. CLV. 1 f; CLVI, 14 f.

224. Cf. Daksha 11.48. Sahkha VIII 1-17; and Agni P.. CLV. 3-4. For fuller details see KHDS, II. 1. 658 f.

225. Ferrand , 62 and n.

226. With the above we may compare the description in Kutf. 149 f. of the dress and get up of a gantkd at the time of entertaining her lover. She should wear clothes that are soft, washed, and fumigated with incense; she should put on elegant ornaments, and she should perfume her mouth with a boiled deletion.

For the last-hamed we have a parallel in. the description of the king’s bath in Bana’s Kadambari (cf. above, Vol. Ill, p. 571 n 5).

227. Abh. Rat. II. 386, 388-90.

228. Kav. XIII. p. 70.

229. Ibid , XVIII.

230. II. 385, 387.

231. XV. 85-92, 94-101.

232. Upamili, 545.

233. Kar, I.

234. Bala, X.

235. Kav, VIII, p. 39.

236. Ibid, III. pp. 8-9.

237. Bala, X.

238. CCVIII-CCXXXIX.

239. XCIII.

24C. On Manu, IX. 290.

241. Upamiti, 158.

242. Ibid, 156.

243. Kar. IV.

244. Vid. III.

245. El, IX, 6.

246. HIED, I. 10.

247. On Manu, III. 158, 166-67; and Ausanasa, IV. 525-26.

248. I. 24. 13-16.

249. EC. VIII.

250*. HIED, I. 9, 10, 164. Hodivala, 9-10.

251. Cf. the quotations in Apararka on Yaj. I. 210, 289-90; Agni Pur dim. CCIX, 23-24. The most well-known names in the list are tuldpurusha and hiranyagarbha. The first involves the weighing of the donor on scales against gold which is thereafter distributed among the Brahmanas, while the second involves the performance of sacraments on the donor seated in a golden vessel which is thereafter broken and distributed among the Brahmanas. For the complete list of the mahaddnas and summaries of their procedure, see KHDS, II. 2. 870-77.

252. Matsya Purana, II. 274-89; Linga Purana, II. 28 f.

253. Cf. Atri, 43-46; Likhita, 6; Yama, 68-70; Agni Purana, CCIX. 2-3 (def. of ishta and purta).

254. Cf. El, XVIII. 243 f. (Rashfrakuta Dantidurga performed hiranyagarbha); El, IX. 33 f (Rashtrakuta Indra III performed tuldpurusha in A.D. 914); El, VII. 36 (Rashtrakufa Govinda IV performed tuldpurusha); El, I. 140 f (tuldpurusha by Chandella king Dhanga).

CHAPTER XIII

ECONOMIC LIFE

1. AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND TRADE

In the records of the present period we have abundant evidence of that advanced state of agriculture which we have found to be a characteristic of the Gupta and preceding ages, Abhidhanarat71amala mentions a large variety of cereals and other food-grains with their synonyms. 1 The list comprises salt rice of three varieties, coarse grain (kodrava), mustard (sarshapa) of two varieties, long pepper or saffron or ‘‘Italian millet' 5 (priyamgu), wild sesamum (jariila). wild rice (nlvdra), as well as pulses of four different kinds (masura } kaldya, ralld t and ddhaka). A group of 17 articles (including rice and barley) is included by the Smritis in the category of grain (dhdnya), according to Medhatithi. 2 Again, Medhatithi 3 mentions sugar-candy (ikshukhanda) and sugar (sarkard) along with sweetmeats and milk products as illustrations of the varieties of cooked food. The excellence of Punqlra (North Bengal) sugar-cane, which yielded juice even without a pressing instrument in contrast to a variety of sugar-cane (kosakdra) with its mass of flowers, is pointed out in a verse of K dvyamimdihsd , 4 Similarly Vishnudharmottara , quoted in Mitramisra’s Paribhdshdprakdsa , gives a list of five kinds of grains (dhdnya), viz. barley, wheat, paddy, sesamum, and edible grains of two varieties (kahgu or sydmaka and chinaka). 5 Among other agricultural products, camphor and aguru are given as examples of costly articles by Medhatithi. 6 The gosirsha variety of sandalwood is included in a list of specially precious products in Upamitibhavaprapahchdkatha . 1 Other evidence indicates the knowledge of scientific agriculture. From Abhidhdnaratnamdld we learn that soils were classified variously as fertile (urvard), barren (iriria), fallow (khila), desert (maru), and excellent (mrit&d or mritsnd), as well as those green with grass (sddvala) or abounding in reeds (nadvala), those which were black or yellow, and those which owed their fertility to rivers or rains. 8 Abhidhdnaratnamdld . further states that different kinds of fields were selected for different classes of crops. It gives 9 synonyms for fields producing several varieties of rice (vrihv, sali , kodrava and a variety ripening in 60 days), of beans (mudga and masha), of oil-seeds (sesame and linseed) as well as those producing hemp, barley, and vegetables. Machines (yantra) for crushing big sugar-canes are mentioned in a description

of*4he winter season in Upamitibhavaprapanchdkatkd . 10 Fields irrigated by Persian wheels (arahata) and by leather buckets are mentioned in a record of A.D. 946, 11 Again, it appears from Medhatithi 12 quoted above that the Vaisya {the agriculturist par excellence) was expected to know among other things what seed was to be sown thickly and what sparsely, what soil was fitted for a particular kind of seed and what soil was not so fitted, and what harvest was expected from a special variety of seed.

The early Arab writers 13 of the ninth and tenth centuries refer to the fertility of the soil and the rich cultivation, both of grain and fruits, specially in Western India with which they were particularly acquainted. Some cities in Gujarat grew mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons, and rice in great quantities, and likewise produced quantities of honey. One such city also grew canes and teak trees, while Malabar produced pepper and bamboo.

One of the oldest Indian industries is the textile. The progress of this industry in the Gupta epoch appears to have been continued during this period. The records of this period 131 * mention a great variety and different qualities of textiles such as woollen and hempen yarns, garments made of silk and of Ranku deer’s hair, and of sheep’s and goat’s wool. The professions of the weaver, the tailor, and the dyer (in three different colours, viz . red, blue, and yellow) are mentioned in contemporary literature. 131 * Medhatithi 14 says that wives, left unprovided for by their husbands, are to live by such unobjectionable occupations as spinning (kartana) and lace-making (jdlikakarana), and widows forced to live by their own labour are to subsist by the same occupations.

The working of metals was pursued with as much success as in the preceding epoch. The list of metals found in contemporary literature 54 "* includes copper, bell-metal (or brass), iron, lead, tin, silver, and gold. Certain centres of metal industry were famous. From the synonyms given in the Abhidkdnaratnamdld we learn that Surashtra was famous for its bell-metal, while Vanga was wellknown for its tin industry. 35 No less than five centres manufacturing swords are mentioned in Agni Parana 16 along with the distinctive qualities of their products. These are Khatikhattara and

Rishika (unidentified), ^urparaka (Sopara), Vanga (East Bengal), and Anga (Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts). Ibn Haukal 17 mentions the city of Debal in Sindh as famous for the manufacture of swords. Of the metal-work of this period we have extant specimens in some of the older Cho]a bronzes. Again, the inscriptions of the Great Temple at Tanjore mention the gifts of images, ornaments and vessels of gold, copper, and silver whose recorded weight reaches a very high

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figure. A colossal copper water-pot weighing 3083 palas for crown- 1 ing the copper pinnacle of the same great shrine was presented by Rajaraja L 18

The art of the jeweller appears to have maintained its old level. Lists of jewels are preserved in various texts, 19 the longest being found in Agni Purana which mentions no less than 33 kinds of gems and analyses the good qualities of diamond, emerald, ruby, pearls, sapphire and vciiduryci , 20 The Tanjore temple inscriptions to which reference has been made above, distinguish betv/een numerous varieties of diamonds, rubies, and, above all, pearls, and they point out the flaws to be found in these gems. 21 The lists of presents recorded in these inscriptions include various kinds of gems and indicate the uses to which they were put in actual practice. The number and weight of the objects, which are always given with scrupulous care, occasionally reach formidable proportions. 22 The list of presents given by Rajaraja I, according to one of these records, included quite a few nine-jewelled rings with one diamond, one sapphire, one pearl, one topaz, one cinnamon-stone, one coral, one emerald, one lapislazuli and one ruby set on each. 23

On the extent and direction of Indian internal trade the records are almost completely silent. 24 Scattered references indicate that India’s trade with the outside world was carried on both by land and sea. To the overland routes described above 25 we may add one more from India to China through Tibet. 25a As regards maritime trade, we know that enterprising Arab merchants from Southern Arabia had built up by this time, across the Indian Ocean, extensive trade relations not only with India, but also with the countries of the Far East as far as China. Of the share of Indians in this trade we have but scanty knowledge. According to Mas’udi, ships from

India along with those from Basra, Siraf and Oman, from Bjawaga and Champa, ascended the Khanfu river to reach Khanfu (—Canton), at a distance of six or seven days' journey from its junction with the sea. Coming to Indian sources we find in Trikanda$esha, as explained by the commentator, a list of names (hoda, tarandhu, and vahana) for vessels plying on the high seas. 26 More important are the reminiscences of voyages made by daring Indian merchants, apparently to the rich lands of South-East Asia, which are found in the contemporary prose romances. 27

It is chiefly from the accounts of the early Arab geographers that we get a list of the principal Indian sea-ports during the present period. On the coast of Sindh, near the mouths of the Sindhu, lay Debal, "a large mart and the port not only of this but also of the neighbouring regions." On the Gujarat coast were Kambay,

Thana, and Sopara, and further south lay Sindan (modern Sanjan, 88 miles north of Bombay), from which was exported pepper. On the Malabar coast lay the important port of Kaulam Malaya (modern Quilon) where the ships sailing from Muscat took in fresh water before crossing the sea of Harkand (Bay of Bengal) for the journey to Kalah-bar 28

Turning next to articles of trade, it will be appropriate to begin with a list of India's exports. As regards agricultural products, Ibn Khordadbah 29 writing towards the end of the ninth century, mentions Indian exports consisting of diverse species of aloe-wood, sandalwood, camphor and camphor-water, nutmeg, clovepink, cubele, cocoanut, vegetable stuffs, and textures of velvety cotton. The early Arab writers give us detailed reports of exports from different parts of the country. Thus costus, rattan, camphor-water, indigo, and bamboos were exported from Sindh. It appears that costus from the Himalayas and indigo from Gujarat, as well as camphor and rattan, probably from Malay and Sumatra, were brought to the ports of Sindh for export. According to Kdvyamlmdmsd pine and deodar trees, grapes, saffron, and jujube were products of Uttarapatha (NorthWest India), 30 while birch-barks are mentioned as products of the Himalayas in a verse quoted in the same work. 31 According to Ibn Bosteh, teak was exported from the Rashfrakuta kingdom of Western India where it was extensively grown. The pepper which was exported from Sindan, and the sandals for which Cambay was famous, according to Arab writers, were sent probably from South India noted from early times as the home of these products. Kdvyamimdnhsd mentions among products of Western India (Paschaddesa) varieties of bamboos, palm trees, bdellium, and date trees. 32 The characteristic products of Malaya Hill (Western Ghats below the Kaverl) in South India consisted of sandalwood, pepper, cardamom and various perfume-bearing plants. 33 From the extensive reference to the use of sandalwood which is found in the literature of this period we can infer that a large and valuable trade in this article was carried on by South India with the rest of the country. As regards Eastern India, Purvadesa (defined as the land to the east of Banaras) grew, according to Ravyamimamsa, different species of fragrant plants and trees {lavali creeper and granthiparnaka tree) as well as aloes and grapes. 34 Again, Kamarupa, according to Abu Zaid, 35 produced a variety of aloe-wood called k&marubi which was valued sometimes at 200 dlndras per maund. It was, he says, of the highest quality, and was so tender as to retain the impression of the seal stamped on it. It was brought all the way from Kamarupa to the temple of the Sun-god at Multan, where the merchants bought it from the priests of the deity. If Abu Zaid's reference to Kamarupa is to be

taken as correct, it would point to aloe having been the most valuable article of export from Assam. It should, however, be mentioned that another Arab writer Mas'udi, probably with better reason, substitutes Khmer (Cambodia) for Kamarupa in the corresponding passage. Of another kingdom called Rahma (or Ruhmi) by the Arabs, we are told that it produced Indian aloe-wood and a remarkably fine variety of cotton fabrics. The textiles of Rahma, according to Ibn Khordadbah, were of velvety cotton, while Sulaiman declared them to be so light and fine that a robe made of that cloth could be passed through a signet ring. If the identification of Rahma with the Pa la kingdom could be accepted as correct, it would follow that cotton textiles of unique fineness were manufactured in Bengal at this period and exported to other lands. 36

As regards animals and animal products Kavyarntmamsd includes skins and chowries made of chamara deer's tail among the products of Uttarapatha, and musk among those of Purvadesa. 37 In the extreme south the Tamraparn! river in the Pandya kingdom, at the point of its junction with the sea, was still famous for its pearl fisheries. 38 According to Medhatithi, 39 precious stones and pearls in the South, horses in the West, elephants in the East, as well as saffron, silks, and woollens in Kashmir were royal monopolies, and private trading in them was punished with confiscation of all the property of the offender. We may refer, lastly, to the testimony of two Arab writers, Sulaiman and Mas'udi, that horns of rhinoceros were exported from the kingdom of Rahma to China for being made into fashionable and costly girdles. 40 The same writers supply the information that the kingdom of Ruhmi produced "samara" (yaktail) hair from which fly-whisks were made.

As for mineral products, antimony (srotQnjana), rock-salt (sain dhava), and beryl (vaidurya) are mentioned by Rajasekhara 41 among the characteristic products of Uttarapatha, The rock-salt must have come from the famous Salt Range in the Punjab. As regards precious metals, Sulaiman and Mas'udi 41a heard reports of the •existence of gold and silver mines in the kingdom of Gudjra (Gurjara-Pratihara kingdom of Kanauj), while they definitely declared that gold and silver were found in the kingdom of Rahma (Pala kingdom?) above mentioned. These statements, vague and inconclusive as they are, lack corroboration.

We now turn to the import-trade. The paucity of horses in India has attracted the attention of foreign observers at all times. We have during this period the testimony of Sulaiman and Ibn al-Faklh 42 that the Indians, unlike the Chinese, had few horses. The best breed of horses known to India at this period, as in former times, came

from Western and Central Asia. Abhidhdnaratnamdld mentions as examples of excellent horses those of Persia, Vanayu, Kamboja, Bahlika (Balkh), Sindhu, and the land bordering on the Sindhu. 43 Upamitibhavaprapanchdkatkd singles out Bahlika, Kamboja, and Turushka horses as the best. 44 Horses are also included among the characteristic animals of North-West India in Kuvyamimdmsd . We may well believe that an extensive and valuable export trade in horses was carried on with India by the countries on her western frontier. The importation of wine from Kapisa is hinted at by the synonym Kapisayana given for wines in Abhidhdnaratnarndld .^ 5 Ibn Said, 46 an Arab writer of later date, mentions the import of dates from Basra into Daybul in Sindh. The phrase chlndmsuka (Chinese silk), found in the literature of this period as in former times, suggests that this fine stuff was still being brought from China. It is permissible to infer from the stories in the Upamitibhavaprapahchdka thd that gems came from South-East Asia. Again, if Abu Zaid and Mas'udi are correct in their statements, it would follow that the costly aloe-wood presented to the Sun-god at Multan was imported from distant Cambodia.

2, THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The guilds and similar associations continued to play an important part as in the previous centuries. We learn from Medhatithi that both industrial and mercantile guilds functioned in his time, for he defines 47 the guild (srenl) as consisting of people following common professions, such as tradesmen, artisans, money-lenders, coachdrivers, and so forth. From Medhatithi's illustration of the laws of guilds in the same context we find that they sometimes compounded with the government for payment of a fixed sum in place of the usual share of their profits; in return they took advantage of the Smriti clause guaranteeing the inviolability of their agreement, and cornered the market for their own profit. 48 More important than the guild as an example of mercantile organisation was the samgha. In its generic sense samgha is defined by Medhatithi 49 as a community of persons following the same pursuit, though belonging to different castes (jdti) and regions (desa), This is illustrated by the example of sarhghas of mendicants (hhikshu), of merchants (vanik), and of those versed in the four Vedas. The mercantile samgha , then, unlike the guild, was an association of traders comprising different castes and inhabiting different regions. As Manu's text 60 imposes the penalty of banishment upon those violating the compact made under oath with a samgha , it follows from Medhatithi's interpretation just quoted that the mercantile associations, like the guilds, had the right of making bye-laws that were binding on their members.

Besides the sreni and the samgha there were associations of labourers, and doubtless of capitalists as well. Illustrating Manu's law on the subject Medhatithi 51 lays down the rule that among architects, masons, carpenters, and the like the wages shall be distributed on the principle that he who does the most difficult part of the job shall receive more, and he who does the easier part shall get less.

In the inscriptions of this period we have concrete examples, not only of different classes of guilds, but also of their constitution and functions. Among the guilds specially mentioned are those of weavers, potters, gardeners, and artisans. Mention is made of single as well as multiple headmen (mahattaras) who evidently formed (as in the old Smriti law of Yajnavalkya and Narada) the executive of these bodies. The guilds collectively made endowments for pious objects or received them on trust to provide for such objects out of the accruing interest. In either case they arranged for distributing the task among themselves, evidently in accordance with the old Smriti rule giving legal authority to the agreement of guilds. 82 Sometimes the guilds, no doubt because of their proved honesty, were entrusted with the task of auditing the accounts of temples, 63 Finally we have in the inscriptions of South India evidence of the working of two famous trading corporations. The first is the manigmmam whose history can be traced from the end of the ninth down to the thirteenth century. It was apparently a non-denominational institution open to Hindus as well as Christian settlers, and its activities were carried on in the coastal as well as in the inland towns of South India. The second is the famous Nanadesa-Tisaiyayirattu

Ainnurruvar which was destined to extend its activities to Burma • •• •

and Sumatra in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is reason to believe that it was already established by the time of the early Imperial Cholas, Vijayalaya and Parantaka I. 64

While on the subject of guilds and mercantile associations we may notice the important role of the village-assemblies in the public economy of this period. Repeatedly, in the ninth and tenth century inscriptions of South India, we find village-assemblies called sabhd and ur receiving deposits of money or gifts of land on trust for pious and charitable purposes. Out of the interest accruing from these sums, or the income derived from the land, they undertook to provide for the objects stipulated by the donor. This implies that like the guilds described above, the village-assemblies often acted as bankers and public trustees. 65 We have even examples of specified markets within various town-limits functioning similarly as bankers for pious and charitable persons. 66

3. INTEREST AND WAGES

The old legal rate of interest, laid down in Vasishtha at 15 p.c. per annum, had ceased to be binding, and the usage had outgrown even the somewhat flexible rules of later Smriti texts. But Medhatithi generally upholds the older law relating to usury against later interpretations. As regards Manu's higher scale of rates (2%, 3%, 4%, and 5% per month) to be paid respectively by Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, Medhatithi says 57 that these alternatives are allowable to a money-lender v/ho cannot maintain his family at the l\% rate, or to one who has only a small capital, or in case of the borrower not being a specially righteous person. To this, however, Medhatithi adds the saving clause that the above rate must not be exceeded by even a half or a quarter. Like the older Smriti writers Medhatithi permits a series of special rates of maximum interest, but unlike them he makes these higher rates dependent upon the fact (or even chance) of the debtor's success with his loan. If the money-lender, he says, 38 has been reduced to poverty and the debtor has grown opulent with the wealth earned from the borrowed grain, the interest shall be five times the principal, but otherwise it shall only be four times the same. Even where the creditor, continues Medhatithi, 69 has reason to believe that the debtor is about to carry on an extensive business with the capital lent, he may take the maximum rate of 5% irrespective of the debtor's caste and of the articles lent.

The violations of the Smriti law, arising no doubt from the pressing need for capital, were sometimes so frequent as to harden into regular (if unauthorised) customs. For Medhatithi mentions 60 that in some countries, grains are lent out during spring and double the quantity is realised in autumn, and sometimes a mortgaged article is enjoyed even after the value of the produce so enjoyed is equal to double the amount of the original debt. Such customs, Medhatithi adds, violate Manu's rule 61 that the accumulated debt and interest shall not exceed double the principal, as well as that of Yajnavalkya 62 limiting the amount of the accumulated interest to 80% of the principal.

The variations in the rate of interest are repeated in the contemporary historical records. In a West India record of A.D. 854, belonging to the reign of the Rashtrakuta Amoghavarsha, 63 the donor, endowing a certain sum of money in favour of a monastery, declares that after his death the interest (7cm) is to be fixed by competent persons. In the inscriptions of South India 64 we find a bewildering variety in the rate of interest such as 25, 20, 15, 12£ and even 5 per cent per annum.

The Smriti lav/ relating to wages can be gleaned from Medhatithi. 64a The wages which were paid in cash or in kind were fixed by contract according to the nature of the work to be done, the contract sometimes extending over a period of six months or even a year. Wilful breach of the contract rendered the labourer liable to forfeiture of his wages as well as to payment of compensation to his employer. Inscriptions of South India during the sway of the Imperial Cholas give us lists of wages of different classes of skilled as well as unskilled labourers employed in the temples. These are specified in terms of the daily supply of paddy and the yearly allowance of coins, in the yearly supply of paddy, and so forth. 65

4. INFLUENCE OF CANON LAW UPON ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT

The old Smriti attitude, viewing the pursuit of agriculture, industry, and trade with high disfavour, is continued in the present period. This general standpoint is reflected in a passage of Medhatithi 66 where he takes the original text to mean, not that the Vaisya shall be made, against his will, to perform the occupations of agriculture, money-lending, trade, and cattle-breeding, but that the king shall punish any other man who does this work except in times of distress. Coming to particular industries, Medhatithi 67 regards handicrafts as very low occupations, and he illustrates them by the examples of cooks and weavers. Again, with reference to Manu’s text including the execution of great mechanical works among minor sins (upapdtakas), Medhatithi 66 gives as illustrations the construction of bridges and of embankments for regulating water-flow. Medhatithi’s view of the relative status of different occupations is similar to that of Manu. 69 For he says 70 that among the Vaiiya’s occupations agriculture is the worst for a Brahmana, then comes trade, and next the tending of cattle and so forth.

5. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION

The above survey provides broad hints of the general economic condition of the people during the present age. That the state of agriculture, industry, and trade in these times was at least as advanced as in the preceding centuries is borne out, as shown above, by the joint evidence of general literature, historical records, and foreign writings. It is worth remarking that those parts of the country like Sindh and Gujarat, which came specially under the observation of the Arab visitors, are specially noted for their fertility and good cultivation. The variety and excellence of Indian textiles and metal-work, and above all of Indian jewellery, are

attested to by literary as well as epigraphic evidence. The sea and land routes of Indian teachers visiting China, Central Asia, and Tibet, as well as South-East Asia, were no doubt followed by the Indian merchants as well, reminiscences of whose unrecorded adventures have been partially preserved in the form of stories in the contemporary Jain prose romances. The daring and enterprise as well as the profit-motive of the merchants, of which we get such vivid accounts in the Jain stories, no doubt more than compensated for the discouragement held out by the traditional Smriti law. About the condition of the people, it is possible to form a general opinion. The quantity and richness of the presents in gold, silver, and jew y els offered by Rajaraja I to the Tanjore temple, and the fabulous wealth of Indian temples described by Muslim writers, specially in connection with Sultan Mahmud’s invasions, illustrate the high prosperity not only of the Imperial courts but also of the great shrines of this period. Some of the Imperial capitals must have attained considerable magnitude. In the reign of Rajaraja I the city of Tanjore, according to two contemporary inscriptions, 71 contained at least 25 streets, bazaars and quarters. 72 That the high level of prosperity was a fairly general one, at least in some regions, may be proved not only from the broad descriptions of the standard of living given above, but also from subsidiary evidence recorded in literature.

1. Abh. Rat. , II. 425-29.

2. On Manu, VIII. 320.

3. Ibid , VIE. 326 f.

4. Kdv, XII.

5. Paribhashdprakdsa, 115.

6. On Mann, VIII. 321.

7. Upamiti . 420.

8. Abh. Rat, II. 3-6.

9. Ibid, n. 7-9.

10. Upamiti, 585.

11. El, XIV. 182..

12. On Manu, IX, 330.

13. HIED, I. 15-16, 24, 27-8, 35, 37-40; Ferrand, 117.

13a. Cf. Medhatithi on Manu, II. 98; VIII, 321; VIII. 326; Kar, I.

13b. Abh.Rat., 11.433 f; Matsya Pur ana, (quoted by Apar^rka on Yg.j, II. 289-90).

14. On Manu, IX, 75.

14a. Abh. Rat., II. 15-9; Bhavishya Purdna (quoted in Paribhashdprakdsa, 115).

15. Abh.Rat, II. 15 f.

16. CCXLV, 21 f.

17. HIED, I. 37.

18. Cf. SII, II. Nos. 1, 2, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38, 39; 42-44, 46-52, 55, 56, 79-81, 84, 91.

19. Abh. Rat, II. 20-1; Aditya Purdna (quoted in Paribhashdprakdsa, 115). UpcCmiti, 420.

20. Agni Purdna, CCXLVI. 1 f.

21. For a convenient summary with full references, see Sll, II. Introd. 16-17 and n.

22. Thus among donations given to the temple by Rajaraja I are mentioned (SII, II. No. 93) gold necklaces, armlets, bracelets, arm-rings etc. set with rubies, emeralds, diamonds, sapphires, pearls, amethyst and crystals, sandalwood coated with plates of gold and set with various kinds of jewels and so forth. The gifts of Rajaraja I's queens included (ibid, Nos. 34, 46, 51) ornaments on which

were strung pearls, coral, lapis lazuli, and sapphire. Ornaments sets with pearls of three varieties, coral, lapis lazuli, and so forth were presented (ibid, No. 6) by Rajaraja I's elder sister. Presents given by Rajaraja I's general comprised (ibid, No. 3D) golden ornaments set with pearls, diamonds, crystals and so forth. The temple manager donated to the shrine of Ganapati at the same temple a magnificent ring made of gold and set with eight rubies, two crystals, 14 diamonds, and 119 pearls (ibid. No. 86). Among presents made to the temple by a private donor in Rajaraja I's reign were included (ibid, No. 79) golden ear-rings set with pearls, pearl-ornaments, a gold marriage-badge set with five diamonds and one ruby, sacred foot-strings set with pearls, and so forth. In a list of treasures belonging to the same temple are included (ibid, No. 59) a diadem containing more than 343 karanju of gold, ten diamond crystals, 64 corals, and no less than 13328 pearls as well as nine golden girdles adorned with crystals, pearls, and coral. Another list of treasures belonging to the same temple dated in the reign of Rajaraja I includes (ibid, No. 3) sacred girdles and bracelets of gold set with pearls, a sacred crown of gold set with diamonds, crystals, and pearls, a sacred garland of gold set with crystals and pearls, and a sacred outer parasol of gold set with crystals and pearls. Many of the sacred girdles contained more than 1500 pearls each, while the outer parasol contained 1372 pearls.

23. SII, II. No. 93.

24. Cf. however, the story in Kdv. Ill, describing the sale of a pearl, found in S. India at Kanauj.

25. Vol II, pp. 606, 613, 617 ff, 644.

25a. Cf. Ya'kubi's list of products imported into India (Ferrand, 50-52).

26. Trikandasesha, I, 19.6.

27. Bhat?. Ill-VI; Upamiti, 860-904, 996-1002.

28. For references, see HIED, I. 15, 37, 441; F err and, 32, 38-40. 55, 57; 64, 95. On the above see also Hobson-Jobson s.v. Cambay, Deul-Sind, Quilon, SaintJohn's, Sopara and Tana.

29. Ferrand, 31.

30. Kdv. XVII. 94.

31. Ibid, XIV. 81.

32. Ibid, XVII, 94.

33. Abh. Ratn. II. 388; Kar . I; Kdv. XIV, XVII; Bala. 670,

34. Kdv. XVII, 93.

35. Ferrand, 88.

36. Ramha identified with Pala kingdom of Bengal (HBR, I. 122) but Ferrand (29 and 43 n) identifies it with Pegu and Qoedes (Hisioire Ancienne des Etais Hindouises d'Extreme-Oricnt 135) with Lower Burma. Probably the Arab accounts have jumbled together the records of the two kingdoms of Bengal and Lower Burma.

37. Kdv., XVII. 93.

38. Cf. Kdv. V. XIV; Bdla, 671; Kar. III.

29. On Manu, VIII. 399.

40. These girdles were prized so highly by Chinese royalty and grandees that they sometimes fetched 2000 or even 4000 dindras each (Ferrand, 44, 105). To the above we may add the curious statement of Ibn al-Faklh (Ferrand, 57), that perfumed rats were exported from Sindh to Zabag.

41. Kdv., XVII. 94.

41a. Ferrand, 43, 104.

42. Ferrand, 62 and n.

43. II. 284.

44. Upamiti, 474.

45. II. 174.

46. Ferrand , 48 n.

47. On Manu, VIII. 41.

48. Certain principal tradesmen, says Medhatithi (loc. cit.), offer to the king his royal dues fixed verbally by declaring before him: “We are living by this trade, let the tax thereupon be fixed at such and such a rate, be our profits more or less.” Now on the king agreeing to this proposal, the tradesmen join together and" lay down certain rules among themselves tending to bring them large profits and injure the interest of the kingdom, e.g. such and such a commodity should not be sold during such and such a time. If any one among them transgresses these rules, he shall be punished for breach of the guild-laws

49. On Manu % VIH. 219.

50. VIII. 219.

51. On Manu, VIII. 211.

52. Cf. EL I. 159; VI. 166; XIII. 192; XXIV. 333; S1I. III. No. 91.

53. Cf. Ins, of reign of Uttamachola SIX, III. No. 124 (local merchants join with village-assembly as well as temple-officers in making up accounts of gifts of gold to a temple).

54. On Manigrdmam see El, IV. 248 and ARSIE, 1926-27, pp. 93-94 giving a number of references. On Nanadesa Tisaiyayirattu Aihhurruvar see K, A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Cholas, Vol. II Part I, 419-20 and the references quoted there.

55. Cf. ARSIE, 469-70 of 1925-26; App. B. of 958 and 963 A.D.: 109 of 1932-33; 503 of 1929-30; App. B.; SII, III. No. 44 of 888 A.D.. ibid, No. 1. SII, II. Nos. 7, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35; SII, XII. Nos. 75, 87, 90; El, XXVI. 234-35.

56. Cf.^ SII, II. Nos. 24 and 37. In El, XXI. 109 f a pious endowment of 1400 kdsus is deposited by Pandya king Varaguna Maharaja II with Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical village assemblies (sabha and ur) as well as a towncouncil (nagar attar).

56a. On Manu, VIII. 151.

57. On Momt, VIII. 142.

58. Ibid, VIE. 151.

59. Ibid, VIII. 152.

60. Ibid, VIII. 3.

61. Manu, VIII. 151.

62. Ydj, HI. 37.

63. I A, Xin. 134.

64. El, IX. 89 XI. 228 XXI. 109; XXVI. 234; SII, XU Nos. 75, 87, 90; HI. Nos, 94,

103, 105, 186, 190,128; II. Nos. 6, 9, 24, 25, 26, 28, 35, 37.

64a. On Manu, VIII. 215.

65. For a list of wages mentioned in Tanjore Temple Inscriptions, see SIX, II. Introd. p. IB. Also see Altekar, AR, 395-98, for some calculations of equivalents of salaries and wages figuring in Karnatak and South Indian Inscriptions of this period.

66. On Manu, VIII. 410.

67. Ibid, X. 99.

68. Ibid, XI. 64.

69. X. 80 f.

70. Manu. X. 85.

71. S

72. F

CHAPTER XIV

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

I. THE SAILENDRA EMPIRE

The outstanding fact in the history of South-East Asia in the eighth century A.D. is the rise of a great empire which comprised Sumatra, Java, Malay Peninsula, and most of the islands of the Indian archipelago. The rulers of this empire belonged to the 6ailendra dynasty. They put an end to the supremacy of Sri-Vijaya in Malay Peninsula, 1 and occupied a large part, if not the whole, of it by the end of the eighth century A.D. Some time before A.D. 778 they had conquered Western and Central Java. It is generally held that they were originally rulers of &ri-Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) and extended their authority gradually over Java and Malay Peninsula; but this view rests upon a very slender basis. It is equally likely that the Sailendras first rose to power either in Java or in Malay Peninsula.

We do not possess sufficient data to reconstruct an outline of the history of the &ailendras. The names of a few early kings flourishing in the eighth century A.D. may be traced in contemporary epigraphic records. One of them is probably Rajadhiraja Vishnu. Another, king Dharanlndra, is described as “the ornament of the ^ailendra dynasty who has conquered kings in all directions, and who has crushed the most powerful hero of the enemy.” Another, king Sangramadhananjaya, is also mentioned in a record of the last-mentioned king, but the relation between the two is not specified.

The Nalanda Charter of the reign of Devapaia, mentioned above, 2 refers to three generations of ^ailendra kings. It first mentions the great king of Yava-bhumi. His proper name is not mentioned, but we are told that it meant ‘tormentor of brave foes\ The original Sanskrit expression *mra-vairi-mathana. 9 immediately recalls the epithet ‘vairi-iiara-vira-vimardana’ applied to the Sailendra king Dharanlndra mentioned above, and the two may be regarded as identical. The son and successor of Dharanlndra is named Samaragravlra. This king married Tara, daughter of a king whose name has been read both as Varma-setu and Dharma-setu. The former reading seems preferable. Those who adopt the latter reading suggest his identification with the Emperor Dharmapala of Bengal,

The Son of Samaragravlra and Tara was Balaputradeva, who is called king of Suvarnadvipa, a term which denotes in a general way the whole of Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago.

More definite information is, however, available in respect of the extent of the empire and its wealth and grandeur. This is mainly derived from the accounts of various Arab writers in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. They refer to the country as Zabag or Zabaj and call its king Maharaja . According to Ibn Khordadbah (A.D. 844-848) the daily revenue of the king amounted to two hundred mans of gold. Sulaiman (A.D. 851) says that Kalah-b^r (i.e. the country round the Isthmus of Kra in the Malay Peninsula) is a part of the empire of Zabag. Ibn al-Faklh (A.D. 902) adds that there is no country in the south after Zabag and its king is very rich. Ibn Rosteh (A.D. 903) remarks about the great king of Zabag that 4 he is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India, because he dwells in the islands.' But he adds: "No other king is richer or more powerful than he and none has more revenue."

Abu Zaid Hasan (A.D. 916) gives a more detailed account of the kingdom of Zabag. "The area of the kingdom," says he, "is about 900 (square) par sang s (1 par sang = 3 miles). The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1,000 parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (Sri Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) parsangs, the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) parsangs , and the maritime country of Kalah with an area of 80 (square) parsangs"

Mas'udi (A.D. 943) also gives a long and interesting account of Zabag which, he says, separates India from China and is comprised within the former country. About the extent and wealth of Zabag he remarks: "In the bay of Champa is the empire of Maharaja, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world gets as much wealth from the soil”.

Al-Biruni (A.D. 1030) tells us that “the eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zabaj, called by the Hindus, Suvarna-dvlpa, i.e. the gold islands ... because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country.” This common geographical name Suvama-dvipa, roughly denoting the Sailendra Empire, perhaps owes its origin to that great historical fact.

These accounts of the Arab writers, to which others may be added, leave no doubt that the Sailendra empire was extensive and powerful and comprised a large part of the Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago collectively known as Suvarna-dvipa. There are , also good grounds to believe that the ^ailendras exercised supremacy over Kambuja till Jaya-varman II freed his country early in the ninth century A.D. It is also likely that the frequent Javanese naval raids on Annam (Champa) and Tonkin, to which reference will be made later, were really carried out by the Sailendras who then occupied Java. Thus the Sailendras were the leading naval power in the East, and their influence was felt on the eastern coast of Indo-China as far as the border of the Chinese empire.

This naval supremacy enabled the &ailendras to control the sea-borne trade between China and the Western countries. Mas’udI observes that formerly there was direct voyage between China and ports like Siraf and Oman, but in his time the port of Kalah served as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries.

As noted above, Kalah was in Malay Peninsula within the dominions of Zabag. Abu Zaid Hasan also informs us that “the town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles.” He adds that there was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman. .

The control over the vast maritime trade of those days explains the fabulous wealth of the Maharaja of Zabag referred to by most of the Arab writers. Several of them record a curious story which is narrated by Abu Zaid Hasan as follows: “There is one very extraordinary custom in Zabag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this, the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank, and the remnant is distributed among the poor."

The Chinese annals contain frequent references to a kingdom called San-fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Sailendra empire.

It sent embassies to China in A.D. 904 or 905, 960, 961, 962, 971, 972, 974, 975, 980 and 983.

The trade relations with China were also revived in the tenth century. A regular shipping house was opened at Canton in A.D.

971 and two more at a later period, which were frequented by merchants from San-fo4si and other places in the East Indies.

We further learn from Chinese sources that towards the close of the tenth century A.D. there were bitter hostilities between Sanfo-tsi and Java. About A.D. 990 Java invaded San-fo-tsi and at first obtained some success. San-fo-tsi sought the protection of China, for she was reduced to such a state that her envoys could not voyage safely from China back to their country. But in A.D. 1003 San-fo-tsi recovered sufficient strength to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from Java. Three years later Java was completely crushed, as we shall see later, and the Sailendras were no longer threatened by that power.

The foundation of the Sailendra empire was an epoch-making event. For the first time in its history Malayasia, or the greater part of it, achieved a political unity under an empire, and a common geographical name Suvarna-dvipa was applied to it. It will appear from what has been said above that the power of the Sailendras reached its zenith in the latter half of the eighth century A.D. In the ninth century both Kambuja and Java threw off their yoke as will be described later. Nevertheless the Chinese and the Arab accounts clearly show that the Sailendra empire continued to be a powerful and extensive one throughout the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

The Sailendras introduced in Java a new type of Indian alphabet which differed considerably from the current one locally evolved from an older form of Indian alphabet. Another significant fact about this time is the adoption of a new name, Kalinga, for Malayasia, at least by foreigners. These seem to indicate that the Sailendras were fresh arrivals from India, but there is no positive evidence in support of this view. There is, however, no doubt that they had a close and intimate connection with India. The Sailendra rulers were devoted followers of the Mahayana form of Buddhism and they evidently derived it from Bengal. The Sailendra emperor, Dharanindra-varman, who ruled in A.D. 782, had as his guru or preceptor an inhabitant cf Gauda (a part of Bengal) named Kumaraghosha. About the middle of the ninth century A.D. king Balaputradeva of the Sailendra dynasty, mentioned above, built a monastery at Nalanda, and requested the Pala emperor Devapaladeva of Bengal 3 to grant five villages for its upkeep. Devapala complied with the request, and this fact is recorded in his copper-plate grant which also gives a short account of Balaputradeva. Similarly the Sailendras had intimate connections with the Chola rulers of South India in the eleventh century A.D. as will be described later.

The Sailendras introduced a new type of culture, the most prominent memorials of which are the splendid monuments in Java

such as Barabudur which still excites the wonder and admiration of the world.

II. KAMBUJA 1. Jaya-varman II and III

The mighty and extensive kingdom founded by the family of Bhava-varman was split up into a number of states in the eighth century A.D. Two of these are referred to by the Chinese as ‘Kambuja of the land’ and ‘Kambuja of the water.’ The exact limits of these two kingdoms are not easy to determine. In all probability the former denoted the territory, full of hills and valleys, to the north of Cambodia proper, including a large part of Laos and touching the Chinese province of Tonkin and the Thai kingdom of Yunnan. This kingdom, which extended along the middle course of the

Mekong, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 717, but five years later sent an army to help an Annamese chief who had revolted against China. But friendly relations with China were restored, and in 771 the king visited the Imperial court. The last embassy was sent to China in A.D. 799.

The ‘Kambuja of the water’, or Kambuja proper, comprised the lower valley of the Mekong river. A number of kingdoms flourished in this region in the eighth century, and inscriptions refer to three of them with capitals respectively at Sambhupura, Vyadhapura, and Aninditapura. The first of these is represented by modern Sambor on the Mekong. Vyadhapura was situated most probably at the foot of the hill called Ba Phnom, and possibly this kingdom represented ancient Fu-nan. The site of Aninditapura is probably to be looked for in the region east of Angkor on the northern side of the Great Lake. No detailed account of any of these kingdoms is known, though inscriptions have preserved the names of a number of kings. It is interesting to note that the rulers of Aninditapura regarded themselves as descendants of Kaundinya, the reputed founder of the Hindu kingdom of Fu-nan, and Soma, the local Naga princess married by him.

The political disintegration of Kambuja in the eighth century A.D. made it an easy victim of the neighbouring powers. King San jay a of Java (A.D. 732) conquered the country, and possibly the Sailendra Emperors of Java, Sumatra, and Malay Peninsula also exercised supremacy over it in the latter part of the eighth century A.D.

But Kambuja threw off the foreign yoke and rose to prominence early in the ninth century A.D. under its famous king Jaya-varman II.

This king spent his early years in Java, in what capacity we do not know. But he came to Kambyja and became its king in A.D. 802. He moved from one capital to another till he fixed it on the top of the hill called Mahendraparvata (Phnom Kulen, to the north-west of Angkor Thom). There he invited a Brahman a named Hiranyadama from Janapada (probably in India) to perform some Tantrik rites, so that Kambujadesa might no longer be dependent on Java but have a paramount ruler of its own. Hiranyadama instituted the cult of Devaraja, and initiated Sivakaivalya, the royal guru (preceptor), into the rituals of this worship. Jaya-varman II took a vow to employ the family of Sivakaivalya and none else to celebrate the worship of Devaraja. The king then returned to his old capital city of Hariharalaya (Lolei, 13 miles to the south-east of Angkor) and reigned there till his death.

This short account of king Jaya-varman II is derived from a long record incised in A.D. 1052 by a descendant of Sivakaivalya, whose family had filled the post of Royal Priest from the reign of Jaya-varman II till that time,—a period of 250 years. It is a long record of 340 lines containing 130 verses in Sanskrit and 146 lines of prose text in the native Khmer language. It describes in detail the Tantrik rites performed by Hiranyadama and proves the great hold of Indian culture in these distant colonies.

Although we do not possess any record of the time of Jayavarman II, we may form a fair idea of his life and reign from scattered notices in later inscriptions and literary traditions. It is obvious that he did not ascend the throne of Kambuja by hereditary right, though it is very likely that he was remotely related to some royal families of Kambuja. Why he went to Java and how he became the ruler of Kambuja remain unknown, but there is no doubt that he freed the country from foreign yoke. The most interesting thing in his early career is the frequent change of capitals, no less than five of which are mentioned in the record referred to above. Although the sites of all these capitals cannot be definitely determined, it appears that Jayavarman fixed his first capital—Indrapura—not far from the ancient royal seat of Sambhupura, and that he was a native of this region. Then we find a gradual change of the royal seat towards the west, first towards Angkor, then further west towards Battambang, and lastly back again to Angkor. It is generally held that these changes were either due to royal caprices or inspired by a desire to find a suitable site for the capital of the newly founded kingdom. But it is equally likely that the changes indicate troubles which forced the king to take refuge in different parts of the country at different times. Or it may be that it took him many years to establish his supremacy over the country as a whole, and the different capitals merely indicate the different stages of political consolidation from the east to the west; ultimately, when the whole country had been subdued, he fixed his capital finally at Hariharalaya in the central part of the kingdom.

It is stated in an inscription of Hari-varman, king of Champa, dated A.D. 817, that his army ravaged Kambuja and advanced up to the very heart of the kingdom. If is not unlikely that this forced Jaya-varman II to leave the eastern and central part of the kingdom and betake himself to the western region.

On the whole, although we do not know of many specific events in the reign of Jaya-varman II, there is no doubt that he played an important part in the history of Kambuja. After a century of political disintegration and foreign conquest he restored the freedom and unity of the kingdom of Kambuja, and gave it a stability which put it on the road to a splendid and glorious career for many centuries. Posterity remembered him as one of the greatest kings, and most flattering references are made to him in inscriptions centuries after his death. Even now the Kambuja tradition represents him as a divine hero, the son of Indra. The sacred sword of Kambuja, which is still used by its kings at the ceremony of coronation and is jealously guarded by priests who claim descent from the old Brahmanas, is believed to be a relic of Jaya-varman II, who remains the national hero and a great landmark in Kambuja history. Popular tradition also ascribes to him most of the'grand monuments in ancient Kambuja, but we cannot definitely associate any of the existing buildings with his name. The cult of Devaraja instituted by him, which continued to be the state religion for many centuries, was a form of Tantrik Saivism. He died in A.D. 854 and received the name of Paramesvara after his death. Henceforth it became a fashion to give such posthumous names to the kings, and these were usually formed by adding the word loka or pada to a divine name (Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Indra, etc.). All these go to prove the thorough-going influence of Indian culture on Kambuja.

Jaya-varman II was succeeded by his son Jaya-varman III who ruled from A.D. 854 to 877. Except his inordinate passion for elephant-hunting, we do not know anything about him. With him ends the direct line of Jaya-varman II. According to a Chinese chronicler, who visited his kingdom in A.D. 862, it included the whole of Laos in the north and almost touched the frontier of Yunnan. How much of it was acquired by him or by his father, it is difficult to say. But it is fairly certain that under Jaya-varman II and his son the kingdom of Kambuja had grown into a powerful empire.

The Arab writers give us a glimpse of the history and culture of Kambuja of this period. Ya’kubI. (c. A.D. 875) describes the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the king of which receives homage of other kings. Ibn Kosteh (A.D. 903) says that “there are eighty judges in the Khmer country. Even if a son of the king appears before them they would judge equitably and treat him as an ordinary complainant.” Several Arab writers bestow high praise on the Khmers for their abstinence from drinking and debauchery in general. Ibn Khordadbah (A.D. 844-848) says: “The kings and peoples of India abstain from drinking wine but they do not consider adultery as an illicit act, with the sole exception of the Khmer king who forbids both drinking and adultery.” This is repeated by several other Arab writers. It is interesting to note that in the passage quoted above, Khmer is included in India.

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2. Dynasty of Indra-varman

King Indra-varman, who succeeded Jaya-varman III and founded a new royal line, was but very remotely related to the latter. His queen IndradevI was connected with the royal families of the three kingdoms of Sambhupura, Aninditapura, and Vyadhapura mentioned above. The mother of IndradevI, named RajendradevI, was descended from a royal family founded by Agastya, a Brahmana from Aryadesa (i.e. India). These facts, interesting in themselves, and indicating the importance of both Indra-varman and his queen, do not show that they had any hereditary right of succession. It is probable that Indra-varman was the ruler of one of the vassal states in Kambuja, and had somehow managed to secure the throne. The respectful terms in which the inscriptions of the new family refer to Jaya-varman II and III preclude the idea of any open rebellion by Indra-varman.

But the change in the royal family did not affect in any way either the extent of the kingdom or its political importance. On the other hand Indra-varman claims in his record that his commands were respectfully obeyed by the rulers of China, Champa, and Yavadvipa. Such specific claims cannot be dismissed as mere figments of imagination. As we have seen above, Kambuja was made to suffer a great deal by both Champa and Java (Yavadvipa) towards the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. It is very likely that she turned against her old enemies and scored some success. There are also good grounds to believe, as we shall see later, that Indra-varman extended his sway over the province of Yunnan, and it is evidently in this region that he came into conflict with China.

Indra-varman was a great builder, and the extant monuments of his reign belong to an intermediate stage between the Primitive and Classical art of Kambuja. His inscriptions refer in detail to his building activities. We are told that he excavated a big tank called Indra-ta^aka, constructed a simhdsana (royal throne) according to his own design, the vehicle called Indra-yana, Indra-vimanaka, and Indra-prasadaka (probably two palaces), all made of gold, built various temples and installed images therein.

Indra-varman died after a reign of twelve years (877-889) and was succeeded by his son Yaso-varman who occupies a place of honour in the history of Kambuja. He founded a new capital city which was at first called Kambupuri and later Yasodhara-pura. For a long time this city was believed to be the same as Angkor Thom whose magnificent ruins still excite the admiration of the world. But it is now generally held that the new capital was situated on the top of the hill called Phnom Bakhen, but it extended beyond the hill and included a large part of the present site of Angkor Thom. This region remained the centre of Kambuja power and culture till their decline and downfall.

Yaso-varman has left quite a large number of inscriptions, which throw interesting light not only on his life and reign, but on the new type of civilisation, associated with Angkor, which was largely his own creation, and whose glory and splendour form the most brilliant chapter in the history of Kambuja.

Yaso-varman is credited with numerous military campaigns, including a naval expedition, and is said to have reinstated vanquished kings and married their daughters. But no specific details are stated. There is, however, no doubt that he ruled over a vast empire. On the north it included Yunnan and reached the frontier of the then kingdom of China. On the west it was bounded by the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers

Menam and Salween. The eastern and southern boundaries were formed respectively by the kingdom of Champa and the sea.

Yaso-varman was not only a great patron of art and literature but was himself a great scholar. He was fond of Sdstras and Kavyas and is said to have composed a commentary on Patanjali’s Mahibhtishya. He was liberal in his religious views, and though a devoted follower of Saivism, patronised Buddhism generously. He founded numerous asramas or abodes of religious communities, and made elaborate regulations for them, many copies of which, engraved on stone, still exist and mark the spots where these sacred hermitages stood. These and numerous other records of the time

indicate a happy, prosperous and peaceful kingdom ruled over by an able and wise monarch who took all possible measures to ensure the welfare of the kingdom in all its aspects, political, economic, religious, and social. Even making due allowances for the usual exaggerations of court-poets, we must regard Yaso-varman as a brave general and an ideal king who excelled both in the arts of peace and war. There was undoubtedly some basis and justification for the statement in these records that the glory of Yasovarman was sung, even after his death, by the people “in their games, on their beds, and in their travels.” It reminds us of a similar verse in praise of Dharmapala 4 with whom Yaso-varman may be aptly compared.

Yaso-varman died about A.D. 900 and was succeeded by his two sons, Harsha-varman I and Isana-varman XL But the latter was overthrown some time before A.D. 928 by Jaya-varman IV, the husband of a sister of Yaso-varman. The usurper removed the capital as well as the tutelary deity Devaraja to Koh Ker (Chok Gargyar), situated in a wild barren country about 50 miles to the north-east of Angkor. The only known important event in the reign of Jaya-varman IV is his successful fight with Champa, whose ruler he is said to have crushed.

Jaya-varman IV was succeeded by his son Harsha-varman II in A.D. 941 or 942. Next came Rajendra-varman, the son of another sister of Yaso-varman. °-It is likely that there were struggles for succession to the throne in which Rajendra-varman came out victorious. He ascended the throne in A.D. 944 and removed the capital back again to Ya^odhara-pura which had been deserted for a long time. Rajendra-varman has left a large number of long records, which credit him with victorious campaigns in all directions. But the only specific event that we know of is'his successful invasion of Champa in the course of which he advanced as far as the Khan-hoa province and desecrated the Po Nagar temple.

Rajendra-varman died in A.D. 968 and was succeeded by his son Jaya-varman V. Although &aivism remained the official religion, the king was an ardent champion of Buddhism, and issued regulations and instructions for the propagation of that faith. He was also a great builder and led a successful invasion against Champa, He died in A.D. 1001 and with him ended the direct line of Indravarman.

3. General Review

The two centuries that intervened between the accession of Jaya-varman II and the death of Jaya-varman V were marked by a

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rapid growth of the Kambuja empire, and constitute an important chapter in the history of Indian cultural and colonial expansion in Indo-China. In order to understand this properly we must take a bird's-eye view of the general political condition of Indo-China in the tenth century A.D.

The Chinese annals give a broad and comprehensive survey of the political geography of Indo-China about the year A.D. 960 when the Song dynasty began its rule in China. The whole of Tonkin, with the two districts in Annam immediately adjoining to the south, constituted the Chinese province of Ngan-nan; but it became an independent state under an Annamese chief in A.D. 968, and its name changed to Dai-co-viet. To the north and north-west was the independent Hinduised Thai principality of Nan-Chao or Mithilarashtra (North Yunnan) that had thrown off the Chinese yoke about A.D. 730. To the south and west of these two lay the well-known kingdoms of Champa, Kambuja, and Bamahhadesa (Lower Burma). The central region of the Peninsula, surrounded by these states, was peopled by the Thais who had imbibed the rudiments of Hindu civilisation and set up a number of principalities which bore Hindu or Hinduised names.

The extension of the political supremacy of Kambuja beyond its northern boundary can be definitely traced as far back as A.D. 862 when the kingdom of Alavi-rashtra,- comprising the southern part of Yunnan, formed a part of the Kambuja empire according to a Chinese chronicler who visited these regions in that year. In the light of this we cannot dismiss, as fanciful, the claim of Indra-varman that his commands were obeyed by the king of China, and of Yaiovarman that his empire reached up to the frontier of China, Possibly they conquered Mithila-rashtra or North Yunnan, and thus reached the very border of what then formed the kingdom of China. Many local chronicles have preserved reminiscences of the Kambuja rule along the valley of the Upper Mekong as far north as Yunnan.

The Kambuja kingdom also expanded along the valley of the Menam river in the west. Lavapurl, which comprised the territory extending from the Gulf of Siam in the south as far as Kampheng Phet on the north, formed an integral part of the Kambuja kingdom, which also exercised political authority over the numerous petty states in the northern part of Siam (or Thailand). The northernmost of th^se bore the very significant name Khmera-rashtra or the kingdom of the Khfners (the people of Kambuja), and touched the Kambuja kingdom of Alavi-rashfra mentioned above.

To the south of Siam, the part of Malay Peninsula lying to the north of the Isthmus of Kra belonged to Kambuja. The rest of the Malay Peninsula belonged to the Sailendras who also ruled over Java and Sumatra, Indra-varman’s claim of supremacy over Java may refer to a successful contest with the Sailendras, though nothing is definitely known.

As regards the kingdom of Champa, references have been made to frequent fights between it and Kambuja almost throughout the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. There seems to be no doubt that Kambuja gained the upper hand in these struggles at least in the tenth century A.D.

It is thus apparent that under the two powerful dynasties founded by Jaya-varman II and Indra-varman, Kambuja had emerged from comparative obscurity into the most powerful kingdom in Indo-China. Its power and magnificence impressed the Arab travellers, and one of them Ibn a!-Fakin (A.D. 902) describes the Khmer kingdom as having an extent of four months' march.

III. CHAMPA

1. The Dynasty of Pdnduranga (c, A.D, 757-860)

On the death of Rudra-varman II 5 the throne of Champa was occupied by Prithivlndra-varman (A.D. 757). We learn from epigraphic records that "he enjoyed the land by having conquered all his enemies by his own power", and that he destroyed all the thieves. This indicates a period of internecine war and anarchy in Champa. The express statement in the same record that he enjoyed the whole of Champa shows that he succeeded in consolidating the entire country under his authority.

Prithivindra-varman was succeeded by his nephew (sister's son) Satya-varman in or some time before A.D. 774. During his reign the coast of Champa suffered a great deal from the raids of sea-men from Java, referred to as "vicious cannibals coming by means of ships." Whether these were pirates or regular mariners it is difficult to say. But they wrought great havoc. There was a sacred temple in Champa, founded, according to popular tradition, by king Vichitrasagara "in the year 5911 of the Dvapara yuga." In A.D. 774 the Javanese raiders burnt this temple and carried away the image, viz. a Mukhalinga of &iva. Satya-varman inflicted a crushing defeat upon them in a naval engagement, but could not recover the image as it had been destroyed. He, however, installed a new image and hence came to be regarded as the second Vichitrasagara or an incarnation of that king.

Satya-varman was succeeded by his younger brother Indravarman. There was another Javanese raid in A.D. 787 causing the destruction of another famous shrine containing an image "established there for many thousands of years." Indra-varman re-installed the deity under the name of Indra-bhadresvara. This Indian custom of associating the name of the king with that of the divine image set up by him was very often followed in Champa. Indra-varman himself installed two other images called after him Indra-bhogesvara and Indra-paramesvara, and endowed many religious establishments. Indra-varman is said to have fought with many enemies and ruled over the whole of Champa. He renewed diplomatic relations with China, and sent presents of rhinoceros and buffaloes to the emperor in A.D. 793.

Hari-varman, the husband of Indra-varman's sister, next ascended the throne (c. A.D. 801). In one of his records, dated A.D. 817, he claims to have defeated the Chinese. According to Chinese history a king of Champa conquered the two Chinese districts of Hoan and Ai in January, A.D. 803, and renewed the expedition in A.D. 809; but the Chinese governor forced him to retreat by inflicting a crushing defeat upon him. Most likely this occurred in the reign of Hari-varman and forms the basis of his claim for victory over the Chinese. One of his generals led a victorious expedition against Kambuja. He seems to have advanced into the heart of the country and ravaged its towns. Its probable effect upon Kambuja has been discussed before in connection with the history of Jayavarman II. 6 The successful aggressive policy of Hari-varman against his two very powerful rivals undoubtedly gave him justification for assuming the proud title of "Rdjddhiraja Sri Champapura-Paramesvara" (king of kings, Lord of Champa).

Hari-varman was succeeded by his son Vikranta-vlarman III (c. A.D. 820-860). He was the governor of Pandurahga during his father's reign. Since all the inscriptions of this dynasty have been found in this southern region, it has been suggested that it was probably the original seat of the royal family and the main stronghold of the rulers of this dynasty. But they ruled over the whole kingdom and had their official capital in the city of Champa. Vikranta-varman III died without issue, and with him ended the dynasty which is usually referred to as the dynasty of Pandurahga.

2. The Bhj-igu Dynasty (c. A.D. 860-985)

The first notable king of the new dynasty that ruled Champa for more than a century was Indra-varman II. The epigraphic records give him a mythical pedigree reaching back to God Siva. But although his father and grandfather are referred to as kings, it is explicitly stated in more than one inscription that Indra-varman gained the kingdom of Champa “by the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence, not from his grandfather or father.” Most likely the immediate ancestors of Indravarman were mere local rulers, and he made himself master of the whole kingdom by his own prowess. His original name was “Sri Lakshmindra Bhu mis vara Gramasvamin,” and after he became king of Champa he assumed the title “Sri Jaya Indra-varman Maharajadhiraja.” The epigraphie records refer to his family as Bhrigu dynasty, presumably because, according to the mythological account of the origin of the family, Bhrigu was sent to Champa by Mahadeva himself.

Not mucn is Known about Indra-varman II except his religious endowments. In spite of his faith in Saivism the king had evident leanings towards Buddhism, for he erected a Buddhist temple and a monastery. He must have enjoyed a long and peaceful reign (c. A.D. 860-895); and he sent an embassy to China in A.D. 877.

Jayasirhha-varman (c. A.D. 896-905), who succeeded Indravarman II, was probably related to him, but nothing is definitely known. The epigraphie records give us a long list of his pious donations. Reference is frequently made to the wealth and splendour of Indrapura which was probably the real capital of this dynasty, though Champa was still officially recognised as such. The king is said to have spread his power to other lands, though no specific event is recorded except that he sent a diplomatic mission to Java. This was renewed by Bhadra-varman III (c. A.D. 905-910), who succeeded the son of Jayasimha-varman. The epigraphie records refer repeatedly to his victories over enemies and also to the multitude of royal ambassadors coming to his court from different countries. One of his ministers is expressly credited with sufficient linguistic talents to understand thoroughly the messages sent by kings from different countries. All these indicate that Champa was now recognised abroad as an important and powerful kingdom and the country played its part in international politics.

Bhadra-varman’s son and successor Indra-varman III was a distinguished scholar. We are told in one of his records that he mastered the different systems of philosophy (shat-tarka) including Mlmamsa, as well as Buddhist philosophy, the grammar of Panini together with its commentary

Kasika, and the Uttara-kalpa of the &Mvites. But the king could not pursue his studies in peace. The king of Kambuja, probaby Rajendra-varman, invaded his dominions, advanced far into the interior, and even carried away a golden image of the deity which the king had installed in a temple at Po

Nagar. The invasion had no permanent result* but the kingdom of Champa suffered a great deal.

The kings of Champa had stopped their customary embassies and presents to China during the troublesome period following the overthrow of the T'ang Dynasty. Indra-varman resumed the practice and sent an embassy to China with various presents in A.D. 951. Seven more embassies were sent by him during the period between A/D 958 and 971.

3. The Annamese Invasions

Indra-varman III enjoyed a long reign of about 60 years from about A.D. 911 to 971. He was succeeded by Praramesvara-varman who sent no less than six embassies to China, between A.D. 972 and 979. As noted above, an Annamese chief had founded an independent kingdom immediately to the north of Champa in A.D. 968. This ruler, named Dinh Bo Linh, died in A.D. 979. A rival Annamese chief, who was defeated by him and had taken refuge in Champa, now planned to seize the throne of Annam with the aid of Paramesvara-varman. The latter led in person a naval expedition against the capital city of Tonkin and reached within a few miles of it. But a storm destroyed the whole fleet with the exception of the royal vessel, and though Paramesvara-varman returned safely to his kingdom, the whole expedition had a tragic end (A.D. 979). The newly elected Annamese Emperor Le Hoan sent an ambassador to Paramesvara-varman, but the latter imprisoned him against the diplomatic conventions of all ages and countries. In order to avenge this grave humiliation, Le Hoan personally led an expedition against Champa. Paramesvara-varman was defeated and killed at the first encounter, and although Indra-varman IV was hastily proclaimed king in Champa he could not save the situation. Le Hoan ravaged the capital city and occupied a large part of the kingdom. Then, after making arrangements for its administration, he returned (A.D. 982) with an immense booty, about 100 ladies of the royal harem of Champa, and an Indian Bhikshu (monk).

Indra-varman IV, who had taken refuge in the southern part of his kingdom, now sent a Brahmana envoy to the Chinese court, complaining against the Annamese occupation of Champa, but received no help from that quarter. Shortly after, internal dissensions among the Annamese chiefs enabled one of them, Lu*u-KyTong, to seize the throne of Champa, and Le Hoan was unable to dislodge him. After the death of Indra-varman IV he was officially proclaimed king of Champa. But soon a national hero appeared, who freed the country from foreign yoke. He ascended the throne in

A.D. 989 under the name of Vijaya Sri Hari* varman (II) at Vijaya, in Binh-Dinh, but later removed to the old capital at Indrapura,

Le Hoan now again ravaged the borderlands of Champa. Harivarman sent an embassy with rich presents to the Chinese Emperor who commanded Le Hoan to keep within his own territory. Harivarman also conciliated the Annamese king by refusing assistance to a rebel Annamese chief. Le Hoan appreciated this act and in return stopped his incursions and released a number of Cham prisoners (A.D. 992). During the same year Hari-varman was gratified beyond measure by receiving a rich present from the Chinese Emperor consisting of magnificent horses, standards, and other equipments of war, Hari-varman wrote back to the emperor that thanks to the imperial favour his kingdom was again enjoying peace, and his neighbours no longer entertained any desire of ruining him. It is evident, however, that the imperial favour emboldened the Cham king to ravage the Annamese territory to the north, although outwardly he was on friendly terms and sent diplomatic missions to Le Hoan, This undercurrent of hostility between Champa and her northern neighbour continued during the next half a century and ultimately proved her ruin. For the time being, however, things went on well, though Hari-varman’s successor, called in Chinese chronicles Yan Pu Ku Vijaya Sri, who ascended the throne some time before A.D. 999, transferred the capital permanently to Vijaya, far to the south, as a precautionary measure.

XV. JAVA

1. The Kingdom of Mataram

A powerful kingdom was founded in Central Java by king Sannaha in the first half of the eighth century A.D, Sanjaya, the successor of Sannaha, is known to have been ruling in A.D. 732. He is described in the Changal Inscription as “conqueror of the countries of neighouring kings"; and a literary work, composed much later, gives details of his conquests which included Sumatra, Kambuja, and probably also Malay Peninsula. It is difficult to say how far this later tradition can be regarded as historical. But Sanjaya was undoubtedly a great hero as his name figures prominently even in later epigraphic records. Some scholars have even gone so far as to regard him as the founder of the &ailendra Dynasty mentioned above; but this view rests upon very slender foundations. There are, however, good grounds to believe that Sanjaya was the founder of the kingdom of Mataram which, after a career of glory in the early period, again flourished in the sixteenth century as an important principality under a Muslim Sultan. The old capital of this

kingdom was situated probably at or near Prambanan in Central Java which is famous for its big temples.

Shortly after the death of Sahjaya, if not during his reign, the Sailendras conquered Central Java, probably, during the period A.D. 742-755. The successors of San jay a were forced to shift their headquarters about 150 miles to the east, and they ruled in Eastern Java for nearly a century. But they recovered their old capital about the middle of the ninth century A.D., evidently after the Sailendras had voluntarily left or were overthrown by them- A passage in a Chinese history describes Java as a powerful state at this period, and its supremacy was acknowledged by twenty-eight small states on all sides. Although epigraphic records give the names of a number of kings belonging to this dynasty, we know hardly anything about them till we come to Balitung. Besides his proper name Balitung which was Indonesian, he assumed different coronation names such as Uttuhgadeva, Isvara-Kesavotsavatuhga, isvara-Kesava-Samarottuhga, and Dharmodaya Mahassambhu. His dominions certainly included both Eastern and Western Java, and his known regnal years are A.D. 898 and 910. It has been suggested that Balitung was originally a ruler of Eastern Java, and by marrying a princess of Mataram, became also ruler of that kingdom in Central Java. This, as well as the view that the famous temple of Lara

Jongrang was the burial temple of Balitung, can only be regarded as probable hypotheses.

Balitung or Dharmodaya Mahasambhu was succeeded by Dakshottama in or shortly before A.D. 915. He occupied a high office during the reign of his predecessor, and probably belonged to the royal family. He certainly ruled over both Central and Eastern Java, and so probably did his two successors Tulodong and Wawa. But the kingdom of Mataram came to an end during the latter's reign, about A.D. 928. Wawa was thus the last of a long line of kings who ruled in Java for two centuries, and for the first time, in recorded history, politically united Eastern and Central Java.

A stone inscription at Dinaya, to the north of Malang, refers to king Devasimha, his son Gajayana, and the latter's daughter Uttejana. Her son was the king who issued the inscription to commemorate the consecration of a stone image of Agastya in A.D. 760 with elaborate rituals performed by priests versed in Vedic lore. Whether the kings mentioned in this record belonged to the family of Sanjaya, or were independent of it, it is difficult to say.

2. End oj Hindu Civilisation in Central Java

Petty dynasties were thus probably ruling in Java even during the period when the greater part, even if not the whole, of Central and Eastern Java was included in the kingdom of Mataram, which had its headquarters in Central Java, except for the brief interlude of Sailendra supremacy. But with the death of Wawa and the end of the old royal dynasty, the centre of political authority definitely shifted to Eastern Java, and what is even more striking, there was a complete collapse of culture and civilisation in Central Java. It is difficult to account for this dual change, and various theories have been put forward to explain it. According to one view, the governor of the eastern province revolted against the central authority and perpetrated massacres and ravages in Central Java on a large scale. But this can hardly account for the complete extinction of a flourishing culture, and the theory is belied by the fact that the large number of monuments in Central Java bear no signs of wilful destruction. Another theory attributes the wholesale desertion of Central Java to some natural phenomenon or visitation, like the eruption of a volcano or a violent epidemic which superstitious people might have interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure. But there are facts to prove that the migration of the people or the obliteration of culture in Java was not so sudden as the above theory would imply. According to a third view the rulers of Eastern Java deliberately laid waste the whole of Central Java in pursuance of what is now known as a 'scorched earth policy' against a possible invasion by the &ailendras. It is, however, difficult to believe that such wholesale destruction would be undertaken merely at the apprehension of an invasion.

It seems more probable that ever since the king of Mataram was forced to shift his capital to the east on account of the conquest of Central Java by the ^ailendras, the centre of politics and culture was transferred to that region, and remained there, even though a vain attempt was made, after about a century, to revive the old glory of Central Java by transferring the capital back again to that region. This view is supported by the fact that even during the century that followed this formal re-transfer of capital, most of the inscriptions, so far discovered, belong to Eastern Java. Slowly but steadily the political and cultural life continued to flow towards the east, and gradually Central Java lost its political importance as well as cultural pre-eminence. This might have been obscured from the ordinary view by the glamour of the court-life, but the process of change was nevertheless a reality. Some unknown factors, such as a violent volcanic eruption, epidemic, or ravages by the Sailendras, might have hastened the progress of the decay which was in any case rendered inevitable by the original transfer of capital in the middle of the eighth century A.D.

But whatever may be the reasons, there is no dispute about the stark fact that Hindu culture and civilisation lost its hold on Central Java about the middle of the tenth century A.D., and we have here a repetition of what took place in Western Java five hundred years earlier. Since the eleventh century A.D., Eastern Java remained, for another period of five hundred years, as the only stronghold of Hindu culture and civilisation in Java.

3 . Eastern Java—Dynasty of Sindok

Sindok, the first ruler in Eastern Java, was regarded as a famous king by posterity, and relationship with him was claimed, even if no direct descent was traced, by many kings for centimes. Yet Sindok appears to have been intimately connected with the old royal family, and occupied such high offices of state under his two predecessors as are only held by an heir-apparent to the throne. Probably he was not the son of Wawa, but belonged to a different family, and hence, though he succeeded to the throne in the natural course, he was regarded as the founder of a long line of Javanese kings. It has been suggested that he married the daughter of king Wawa and acquired the throne by the right of his wife. But this as well as the suggestion that he was a grandson of Daksha is highly problematical.

Sindok ascended the throne in c. A.D. -929 and assumed the name Sri Isana-Vikrama Dharmottuhgadeva at the time of* his coronation. Nearly twenty inscriptions of his reign have been discovered so far, but they do not record any specific events of his reign. To judge from the findspots of these inscriptions the kingdom of Sindok comprised merely the valley of the Brantas river, but it possibly extended far beyond this area.

The last known date of Sindok is A.D, 947. He was succeeded by his daughter &rl Isanatuhgavijaya, who ruled as queen and was married to ^rl Lokapala. She was succeeded by her son &ri Makutavamsa-vardhana, who is said to have belonged to the family of Sindok and owed the throne to this king and not to the family of his own father Lokapala. It is not likely, therefore, that Lokapala ever ruled as king, though we possess three records issued by a king bearing this name.

King Makutavamsa-vardhana had a daughter, Mahendradatta, also known as Gunapriya-dharmapatm, who was married to Udayana. The princess, with her husband, ruled over the island of Bali without any royal title. The fact that her name precedes that of her husband in contemporary records proves that she ruled in her own right as the daughter of the king of Java. Incidentally it proves that the king of Java had established his suzerainty over Bali.

No other important event in the reign of Makutavamsa-vardhana is known. Nor do we know anything definite about the succession to the throne. It is known from a later record that king Dharmayamsa ruled in Eastern Java towards the close of the tenth century A.D., but we do not know whether he was the immediate successor of Makufavariisa-vardhana or, even, if he belonged to the same royal family. It has been suggested that he belonged to a different family but married the daughter of Makutavamsa-vardhana.

The two most important events in the reign of Bharmavamsa are renewal of diplomatic relations with China and the struggle with the &ailendras. The two are probably not altogether unconnected, and show an aggressive or imperial policy on the part of Java which had probably begun earlier as evidenced by the conquest of Bali.

In A.D. 992 a Javanese envoy visited the Chinese court. He represented, with the assistance of an interpreter, that a great Chinese merchant, who owned many vessels, had come several times to Java, and he availed himself of the merchant's guidance to come to the Imperial Court. This shows that Java had not been in touch with China for a long period.

The Javanese envoy to China reported "that his country was in enmity with San-fo-tsi and that they were always fighting with each other." We learn from an envoy of San-fo-tsi that he left the Chinese court in A.D. 990, but on reaching Canton learnt that his country had been invaded by Java. So he rested there for about a year and proceeded to Champa with his navy in the spring of A.D. 992. But as he did not receive any good news there he returned to China and requested the emperor to issue a decree making San-fo-tsi a protectorate of China.

As noted above, San-fo-tsi undoubtedly refers to the Sailendra kingdom. It is evident that even though the &ailendras left Java, the animosity between the two continued and broke out into open hostilities in or some time before A.D. 990. In that year Java took the offensive, invaded the kingdom of the gailendras, and reduced them to such straits that they had to seek the protection of China. It is very likely that Java also sent envoys to China as a counterpoise to this move on the part of her rival. But though Java had achieved great success in the beginning, it was short-lived. In A.D. 1003 San-fo-tsi recovered sufficient strength to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from Java. It is evident that the &ailendra

king had succeeded in his resistance and hurled back the invaders from his country.

In spite of this set-back, king Dharmavaihsa enhanced the glory and prestige of Java in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the origin and incidents of his struggle with the Sailendras are not known, but it may not be unconnected with the tragic end of the Javanese king less than four years later. We learn from a record of his successor and son-in-law Airlangga that in A.D. 1006 Java was destroyed by a great catastrophe (pralaya) which overwhelmed it like the sea. "Then the flourishing capital city," so runs the record, "which was hitherto a seat of joy and merriment, was reduced to ashes, and the great king met his end in the year 929 (— A.D. 1007)."

It is held by some that the above passage refers to a natural calamity like a volcanic eruption. But this is hardly borne out by the detailed story of Airlangga's flight, his fugitive life, and the recovery of the kingdom after arduous fight with various enemies. There can be hardly any doubt that the calamity was caused by a hostile attack. It is natural to infer that the enemies who destroyed the political life of Java were either the Sailendras or some powers backed by them. But there is no evidence in support of it, and the absence of any reference to the Sailendras in the detailed account of the subsequent struggles of Airlangga makes it very unlikely. But whoever might have been the enemy, his triumph was complete. King Dharmavamia died and his kingdom perished with him in A.D. 1007. The story of its recovery by Airlangga will be narrated in the next volume.

V. BURMA

The Hinduised Pyu kingdom, 7 with its capital at Srlkshetra (Prome), was the most powerful kingdom in Burma during the period under review. According to Chinese accounts it included nearly the whole of the country, except the Mon kingdom in the coastal regions of Lower Burma, and probably also Arakan. For we are told that the Pyu kingdom touched Kambuja on the east and India on the west, extended .up to the sea on the south and adjoined Dvaravati on the south-west (evidently a mistake for south-east, if it refers to the well-known Hindu kingdom in Siam). It is said to have been 500 miles from east to west and 700 to 800 miles from north to south. It extended up to the Thai kingdom of Yunnan in the north and claimed supremacy over 18 subject kingdoms. The Chinese account also gives us a list of eight or nine garrison towns and of the 32 most important among the 298 tribes or settlements. The capital city, 27 miles in circumference, was surrounded by a wall

faced with glazed bricks, and this was protected by a moat whose banks were also faced with brick. The city had twelve gates with pagodas at the four corners. It contained several thousands of families, and over a hundred Buddhist monasteries, with courts and rooms all decked with gold and silver.

The detailed account of the Pyus, particularly their sincere devotion to Buddhism, social customs, trade and currency, arts, crafts and ornaments, and high proficiency in music proves that they had attained a high degree of civilisation and had imbibed a large measure of Hindu culture. The rise of the powerful Thai kingdom in Yunnan, known as Nan-chao or Mithila-rashtra, about A.D. 730 has been noted above. 8 The frontier between this kingdom and that of the Pyus qn the west followed roughly the Sino-Burmese frontier of to-day. Nan-chao rapidly grew powerful, and its king Ko-lo-fong inflicted a defeat upon the Chinese in A.D. 754. He next turned his attention to his western neighbour and invaded his kingdom. The Pyu king submitted and henceforth Upper Burma was dominated by the Thais. When at the end of the eighth century the grandson of Ko-lo-fong acknowledged the suzerainty of China and sent embassies to the Imperial Court, the Pyu king also followed suit. Two more embassies were sent to China in A.D. 802 and 807. The former was led by the king's brother (or son) Sunandana, governor of the city of Sri (perhaps Bhamo or Tagaung), who took some court musicians as a present to the Chinese emperor.

The peace with Nan-chao, however, did not last long. In A D. 832 the ruler of Nan-chao invaded the Pyu kingdom, plundered the capital city, and took more than 3000 persons as prisoners. This was a severe blow to the Pyu power and marks the beginning of its decline. But it did not bring about a sudden end to the Pyu kingdom or its culture, as some scholars hold. For we find that even in A.D. 882 an embassy from this kingdom visited China. But little is known of its history after the ninth century A.D. It is probable that the Mons in the south grew powerful and conquered the southern part of the

Pyu kingdom, forcing the Pyus to remove their capital further north to Pagan on the Ira wadi. Soon a new tribe, the Mrammas (Burmans), came into prominence in this region. Pressed by the Mons from the south and the Mrammas from the north the Pyus gradually lost their power and were ultimately absorbed by their two powerful neighbours. From the eleventh century A.D. the Mrammas ruled as the dominant power in Burma with Pagan as their capital.

THE AGE OF IMPERIAL KANAUJ

VI. CIVILISATION IN THE HINDU COLONIES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The Hindu culture in all its aspects permeated the life of the people in these colonies to an extent which it is difficult to convey fully within the short scope of this chapter. We shall therefore confine ourselves to the delineation of a few prominent characteristics under the broad heads of society, religion, art, and literature.

1. Society

The caste-system,. which is the most distinctive characteristic of Hindu society, and may be regarded as its fundamental basis, was introduced in Java, Madura, Sumatra, Champa and other colonies. For we have not only references to “Chdiurvarnya” or four castes, but there is also specific mention of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and ^udras, both in literature and inscriptions. This caste-system was not, however, as rigid as we find it in India to-day, but rather resembled what was in vogue here in ancient times. We can get some idea of the caste-system in these remote colonies by studying the main features which prevail even to-day in the island of Bali. Thus, as laid down in Manu-smriti, marriage among different castes is prevalent, but while a man may marry a girl of his own or lower caste, a woman may only marry one of equal or higher caste. The children of mixed marriages belong to the caste of the father, though they differ in rank and status according to the caste of the mother. The marriage of a woman with a man of lower caste is punishable with death.

In Bali the ^udras are not despised or regarded as impure and untouchable. Nor are the castes tied down to specific occupations. Thus men of all castes take to agriculture, and the Sudras, in addition, follow other arts and crafts. We also find another characteristic feature of ancient Indian caste-system, viz . inequality in the eyes of law which lays down, for the same offence, punishment in inverse ratio to the superiority of caste of the offender, and in direct ratio to that of the offended.

In some places, as in Champa, although there was a theoretical division into the four castes, practically there was no sharp distinction among the people outside the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, and even these two formed classes rather than castes. Nor did the Brahmanas occupy a position of unquestioned supremacy. They enjoyed great dignity, and the murder of a Brahmana was regarded as a particularly heinous crime. But they did not dominate the king and the state to the same extent as in India. It is interesting to note that in many instances where the two classes are mentioned

together, the Kshatriyas are placed before the Brahmanas, as we find in Buddhist and Jain texts in India. In Bali, even to-day, the ruling princes, be they of Kshatriya or' Vaisya caste, are regarded as superior to their Brahmana subjects, and although theoretically a prince is not allowed to marry a Brahmana girl, this is often done by the legal subterfuge of expelling a Brahmana girl and adopting her in the house of the prince.

The position of woman in many of these colonies seems to have been much better than in India, at least so far as political rights are concerned. As noted above, 9 Gunapriya ruled in her own rights, and her name was placed before that of her husband. There are instances in later history of a daughter succeeding to the throne, although she had two brothers, and acting as regent for her mother although she had a grown-up son. Some ladies occupied the highest offices of state, and wives of officials are stated in inscriptions to have * received presents from the king along with their husbands on ceremonial occasions. The old literature as well as the present day customs in Bali indicate that there was no purdah system and women freely mixed with men. The system of burning the widow along with the dead husband was in vogue. Sometimes even the slaves and concubines of the dead perished with him. This is now forbidden to the Sudras, and generally the Sati rite is confined to royal families.

In addition to the social division into castes there was also distinction between the aristocracy and common people. The two divisions were overlapping to a certain extent, and though the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas formed the bulk of the aristocracy it certainly included other people. The external symbols of aristocracy, as in India, were (1) special articles of dress and ornaments, (2) right to use special conveyances, such as palanquins and elephants, to the accompaniment of music, etc., and (3) the claim to be seated, near the king.

As regards dress, the sculptures represent, as in India the upper part of the body above the waist as uncovered, both in the case of males and females. The Chinese accounts, too, refer to similar dress. As is well-known, in Bali, even to-day, the women do not cover the upper part of the body. So this seems to be an old practice, at least in some of the colonies, and to judge from the sculptural representations, it was possibly not unknown even in India.

2. Religion

The Puranic religion had a strong hold on almost all the colonies, Although Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva were all worshipped, the cult of &iva was undoubtedly the most popular. Next came Vaishnavism. As in India, the worship of Brahma never attained great popularity. The images of Trimurti, i.e, the three gods combined together, as well as of the composite god &iva-Vishnu, are found in Java and Kambuja. As a matter of fact the entire Puranic pantheon was known in these countries, and we come across images of Hindu gods and goddesses in their innumerable names and forms as known in India. The mystic philosophy of the Upanishads, and even later outgrowths such as Tantrik rites, can also be traced. Indeed Hindu religion in all its aspects, both canonical and popular, appears in such fullness in these colonies, that to describe it in detail would be to recount at length the religious conditions in India.

The study of Indian religious literature was a special feature of the religious life. In Java the period under review saw the beginnings of that extensive Javanese religious literature, based on Indian texts, which will be noticed in the next volume. The inscriptions of Kambuja frequently refer to Brahmanas versed in Veda, Vedahga, Samaveda, and Buddhist scriptures, and kings and ministers- possessing a profound knowledge of the Dharmasastra. Arrangements were also made for the daily recitation of R&mayana, Mahahkarata , and the Puranas, and it was considered a pious act to present copies of these texts to temples.

Buddhism was also popular, particularly in Suvarna-dvipa, i.e. East Indies. Although the Hlnayana form was prevalent in the seventh century, it was almost ousted in the eighth by Mahavana, which had a triumphal career in Java and Sumatra during the period of ^ailendra supremacy. It has left undying memorials in the famous stupa of Barabudur and several magnificent temples. As noted above, 10 Buddhist teachers from Bengal exerted considerable influence in Java, and the ^ailendras were in close contact with the Pa la kings and such famous Buddhist centres in India as Nalanda. As in the case of Puranic religion, almost the entire hierarchy of the Mahayanist gods make their appearance in Java, not only in identical forms and names, but also with the familiar postures called mudrd. We possess also an interesting work Sang hyang Kamakayanikan, a somewhat free Javanese version of a Sanskrit original interspersed with a number of original Sanskrit verses, which gives an exposition of the sacred principles of Mahayana.

Buddhism had also prevailed in Champa. Even as early as A.D. 605 a victorious Chinese general carried away 1350 Buddhist books from this country. From the eighth century A.D. we hear of many kings constructing Buddhist temples and monasteries and installing Buddhist images. The site of Dong Duong indicates the

great hold of Buddhism in this country. For its ruins contain the remains of a Buddhist temple far greater in dimensions than the largest Brahmanical temple in Champa, and a fine standing image of Buddha, which is regarded as the most artistic representation of a god so far found in that country.

The Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambuja, to which reference will be made later, throw a great deal of light on the religious developments. These inscriptions reflect the life and society in Kambuja and testify to the thoroughness of the Indian cultural conquest of these far-off lands. They prove that the people fully imbibed the tenets and practices, the theology, rituals, and the iconography of the various religious sects of India. The numerous temples, images of gods and goddesses, and pious foundations show the powerful hold which religion had over the popular mind. But the inscriptions prove something more; they clearly show that there was in Kambuja, beyond the external forms of religion, that higher and deeper spiritual view of life which is the true essence of all religions and. formed such a distinctive characteristic of ancient Indian culture and civilisation. These inscriptions reveal a spirit of piety and renunciation, a deep yearning for emancipation from the trammels of birth and evils of the world, and longing for the attainment of the highest bliss and salvation by union with Brahman, the Ultimate Reality. These ideas, which form the keynote of Indian spiritual life, are frequently expressed with beauty and elegance, and in language at once stately and serene.

Generally the true religious spirit is chiefly found among the common people. But in Kambuja even the kings, high officials, and the aristocracy were inspired by the high ideals portrayed above. This is probably due to a close association between secular and spiritual heads. The inscriptions tell us that the kings usually received their early education from eminent religious Acharyas and members of the family of hereditary royal priests. 11 There are also many instances of kings and members of the royal family becoming high priests and Acharyas. The intermarriage between royal and priestly families was also very common. The predominance of a family, whose members supplied royal priests for 250 years in unbroken succession, is both an index and the cause of the extreme religious outlook of the king and the people.

At least two special circumstances may be pointed out as being mainly responsible for this growth of religious and spiritual life in Kambuja. The first is a constant and intimate contact with India, and the second is the establishment of a series of dsramas or hermitages. Both require some detailed notice.

Apart from the indirect evidence furnished by inscriptions, actual examples of contact with India, are recorded in Kambuja inscriptions. Reference has been made above to Agastya, a Brahmana from India, who founded a royal family in Kambuja. Rajalakshmi, the daughter of Rajendra-varman, was married to a Brahmans, named Bivakara Bhatta, who is said to have been born on the banks of the river Kalindi sanctified by association with Krishna's early life. This undoubtedly implies that Divakara Bhatta was born in India on the banks of the Yamuna river and, having migrated to Kambuja, obtained a high position there. We have similar instances, both in earlier and later times, of learned Indian Brahmanas, noted for their spiritual powers, being invited to Kambuja and received with high honours. The Brahmana named Hiranyadama, who performed Tantrik rites for Jaya-varman II, lias been mentioned above. 12 Another eminent Saiva Brahmana named Sarvajnamuni, versed in all the Vedas and Agamas, came from India, and his descendants occupied high offices. The people of Kambuja also visited India to acquire knowledge and spiritual instruction. The most important example is that of 6ivasoma f the guru (preceptor) of Indra-varman. It is stated in a contemporary record that he learnt the s&stras (sacred scriptures) from Bhagavat Sankara, who is undoubtedly the famous ^ankaracharya.

Coming to the second factor, the asramas, these hermitages were the abodes of pious devotees who dedicated their lives to study and meditation, A large number of these institutions existed all over Kambuja. King Yaio-varman is said to have founded one hundred asramas , and this is supported by the actual discovery of a large number of inscriptions recording the foundation of individual asramas in different parts of the kingdom. These inscriptions are fairly long, and give detailed regulations for the management of the asramas and the conduct of persons visiting them or living therein. These regulations indicate the high moral and spiritual ideal which inspired these institutions, and the great humanitarian spirit in which their actual work was carried on. These asramas remind us of the hermitages in ancient India of which we get such a vivid picture in ancient Indian literature and on which they were evidently based. They formed powerful centres of Indian culture in Kambuja, from which it radiated in all directions and gained in purity, strength, and stability.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that there was a spirit of religious toleration in all the colonies. Although various Brahmanical sects flourished along with Buddhism, there was no animosity between their followers. On the other hand kings and people alike

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paid reverence to all religious sects. The same king endowed both Saiva and Buddhist religious establishments or installed images of different sectarian gods. In this respect the Indian colonists maintained the best traditions of their motherland.

3 . Art

Every Hindu colony contains numerous monuments of artistic activity in the shape of temples and images which show distinct traces of Indian influence and inspiration in varying degrees. While some are close imitations, almost replicas, of Indian models, others show refreshing development of local styles by the addition of special, sometimes characteristic, features to Indian ideas. None excels in this respect the Indo-Javanese art which reached its high watermark of glory and splendour during the period under review, and needs a more detailed treatment than the rest.

(i) Indo-Javanese Art

Art in Java, as in India and her other colonies, was the handmaid of religion. The religious structures in Java are known by the general name Charidi, and most of them are temples, built on a more or less uniform plan with variations in details. Each temple consists of three distinct parts, viz. (1) a high decorated basement, (2) the square body of the temple with a vestibule in front and projections on all other sides, and (3) the roof consisting of a series of gradually diminishing storeys each of which is a minor replica of the main temple with four turrets at four corners of the same design. The interior of the temple is a plain square chamber, whose vertical walls support a series of projecting horizontal courses of stone which form an inverted pyramid of steps and is terminated by a high and pointed hollow cone.

The decorative ornaments consist of well-known Indian motifs, and one which occurs very frequently is known as Kala-Makara. Really Kala and Makara are two separate motifs though they are often found united. The first is a grotesque form of Indian Kirttimukha, and represents a conventional lion's head with protruding eyes, broad nose, very thick upper lip, and two big projecting teeth on two sides. The Makara closely resembles its Indian prototype.

The arches in these temples are constructed on the horizontal principle as in India, but columns and pillars are conspicuous by their absence. There is often a large group or cluster of temples formed by one or more big temples in the centre with numerous smaller temples surrounding them.

The earliest temples in Java are those on the Dieng plateau, which is 6,500 feet high and surrounded by hills on all sides. They are Brahmanical temples named after the heroes and heroines of the Mahahhtirata, and belong probably to the eighth century A.D. Although comparatively small in dimensions, these temples and the sculptures in them are characterised by a sobriety and dignity which is usually associated with Indian temples of the Gupta period.

The Prambanan valley contains several groups of important temples. Among the Buddhist temples may be mentioned Chandi Kalasan, Chandi Sari, and Chandi Sevu. The first is a magnificent specimen of temple architecture, and was built by a 3ailendra king in A.D. 778 for the goddess Tara. The complex of temples known as Chandi Sevu contains no less than 250 temples with the main temple in the centre of a paved courtyard measuring about 600 ft. by 540 ft.

Still more famous is the Lara-Jongrang group of Brahmanical temples. It consists of eight main temples, three in each row with two between them, with three rows of minor temples making a total of 156. The three main temples in one row contain images of Brahma, Vishnu, and &iva, the &iva temple in the centre being the most magnificent. Tlie balustrade round the temple contains a continuous series of relief sculptures in 42 panels, depicting the story of the Ramayana. These exhibit a high degree of skill, and may be reckoned among the very best to be found in Java.

Midway between the Dieng plateau and the Prambanan valley stands the Kedu plain, which contains a number of fine temples, among which Chandi Mendut and Chandi Pavon deserve special mention as beautiful specimens of Indo-Javanese art.

But by far the most magnificent monument in Java is the famous Barabudur, a colossal structure justly regarded as a veritable wonder by the whole world. It is situated on the top of a hillock commanding a fine view across the plains of Kedu to the distant ranges of hills. This noble building consists of nine gradually receding terraces, the six lower ones being square in plan, and the upper three circular. The whole is crowned by a bell-shaped stupa f which stands at the centre of the topmost terrace and is accessible from it by a series of circular steps. The three uppermost terraces are encircled by rings of stupas , each containing an image of Buddha within a perforated framework. The five lower terraces are each enclosed on the inner side by a wall supporting a balustrade, and the four successive galleries thus formed contain eleven series of sculptured panels depicting the life of Buddha and other Buddhist

stories. The balustrade consists of a row of arched niches resembling temples and containing an image of Buddha. There is a staircase with a highly decorated gateway in the middle of each side of the gallery leading to the next higher one

The most notable feature of Barabudur is its massive proportions. It impresses the visitor with a feeling as if a hillock has suddenly come to view. It is difficult to convey an $xact idea of this feeling by measurements alone., but still that is the only concrete way of expressing it. The lowest terrace, including projections on two sides, has an extreme length of nearly 400 ft., and the topmost one a diameter of 90 ft. The temple niches, each containing a fine image of Buddha, are 432 in number. The total number of sculptured panels in the galleries is about 1500.

These figures give some idea of the massive grandeur of Barabudur which strikes a visitor v/hen it first comes to his view. But as he approaches closer to the structure, he is no less deeply impressed by the fine quality of its immense decorations, extensive relief sculptures, and the numerous images of Buddha. It is difficult to name any product of art, either in India or anywhere else in the world, where such a high standard of excellence has been maintained over such an extensive range. This combination of massive quantity and fine quality invests Barabudur with a unique character. It has hardly any parallel in the world, and it may be truly remarked of its artists that "they conceived like giants and finished like jewellers."

The construction of Barabudur may be roughly dated towards the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. when the &ailendras ruled in Java and were the dominant political power in Suvarna-dvipa. There is hardly any doubt that this great monument is the result of their patronage.

Although Lara Jongrang and Barabudur have cast into shade all the other structures in Java, many of them are fine specimens of Indo-Javanese architecture, and some of the sculptures, such as those of Mendut and Banon, show perhaps even a greater degree of refinement and delicacy than those of the two justly famous monuments.

(ii) Art in Indo-China

The art of Kambuja may be broadly divided into two classes, the primitive and the classic. The latter, which is associated with Angkor and shows the high watermark of its glory, dates from about the tenth century and will be dealt with in the next volume.

The primitive art began from the age of Fu-nan, and was developed by natural stages of evolution to the classical art. But as most of the monuments of Fu-nan were made of perishable materials like wood or brick, there are not enough remains to enable us to reconstruct the history of its art. The brick temples, roughly resembling those of Java, show some affinity with Gupta art, which is even more evident in some of the sculptures discovered both in Siam and Cambodia. It may be safely presumed, therefore, that the primitive art of Kambuja and Siam was directly derived from India. Some scholars are even of opinion that the artists and craftsmen who built the temples and made the images of gods came from India. But be that as it may, there is no doubt that the primitive art of Kambuja was purely Indian, and from Fu-nan this Indian art of the Gupta age spread over a wide territory in Indo-China along with other phases of Indian culture.

There are also a large number of temples in Champa. In addition to many isolated examples there are three important groups of temples, viz. those of Myson, Dong Duong, and Po-Nagar, the second being Buddhist and the other two Saivite. These temples are generally built of brick and belong to one standard type. Their most characteristic feature is the roof which has three different forms. The first or the normal form consists of a series of four receding storeys crowned by a curvilinear pyramidal slab. The second form consists of two storeys, the upper one having the shape of an elongated arched vault with ogival ends. The third form consists of a curvilinear pyramidal dome, springing directly from the walls of the sanctuary and surmounted by an dmalaka such as we find in the iikharas of Northern India. All these forms or types are found in the rock-cut temples at Mamailapuram in Madras, and there can hardly be any doubt that the architectural style of Champa was derived from India.

Although neither Champa nor Kambuja produced during this period any structure that can even make a remote approach to what we find in Java, there was a fair amount of artistic activity in vboth, full of future promise. In Champa, due perhaps to the political conditions, these promises never materialised. But in Kambuja the art developed in rapid strides after tenth century A.D. and produced some remarkable monuments which almost rivalled those of Java.

4. Literature

The Sanskrit inscriptions discovered in Kambuja, Champa, Malaya Peninsula, and Java leave no doubt that Sanskrit literature, in ail its branches, was highly cultivated in all the Indian coloniesAs we have seen above, 13 we can trace its beginning to a much earlier period. But the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions—about 30 in Champa and 70 in Kambuja—during the period under review, indicate very great progress in the study of Sanskrit. Reference has already been made above to religious literature, but even in secular literature the achievements were remarkable. Inscriptions, earlier than the ninth century A.D., refer to many of its branches such as grammar and philology, philosophy, political science (Arthasastra), and Kavya. The literary accomplishments of king Indravarman III of Champa and Yaso-varman of Kambuj a have been mentioned above. Yaso-varman's minister was an expert in astrology. All these throw interesting light on the zeal and enthusiasm with which all classes of peopk igh and low, took to the study of Sanskrit.

The cultivation of Sanskrit language and literature reached its highest development in Kambuj a during the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. This may be easily deduced from a careful study of the large number of Sanskrit inscriptions composed in beautiful and almost flawless Kavya style. Many of these run to great lengths. Four inscriptions of Yaso-varman contain respectively 50 75, 93, and 108 verses each, and two inscriptions of Raj endra-varman contain respectively 218 and 298 verses. The authors of these inscriptions give clear evidence of a thorough knowledge of alrhost all the Sanskrit metres and the most abstruse rules of Sanskrit rhetoric and prosody, intimate acquaintance with various branches of literature such as Veda, Vedanta, Purana, Dharmasastra, Buddhist and Jain literature, different schools of philosophy, and Vyakarana, specially the works of Panin! and Patahjali. Specific reference is made to Vatsyayana and Viialaksha as the authors respectively of Kamasutra and a book on polity, to Manu-smriti, from which a verse is actually quoted, and to the famous medical treatise of Susruta. Both the form and contents of the inscriptions indicate a mastery of Sanskrit Kavya. An inscription of Eajendra-varman contains four verses which are evidently copied from Raghuvamsa with slight modifications. Some inscriptions of Yaso-varman refer to Pravarasena and Mayura as the authors of Setubandha and Suryasataka „ and to Gunadhya as a writer in Prakrit with an allusion to the legend about him contained in the KathdsariUsdgara. The inscriptions themselves are sometimes writtten in such a fine Kavya style as would do honour to a reputable Sanskrit poet of India. They certainly excel in literary merits the Sanskrit inscriptions so far discovered in India. As to the legends and mythology, derived chiefly from the Puranas and the epics, and the allusion, alliteration, and simile etc.

which usually abound in Sanskrit Kavyas, they occur so frequently in these records that their authors seem to be saturated with them.

Such a state of knowledge and proficienby clearly implies a close and constant contact between India and Kambuja. M. Qoedes,* while editing a Kambuja inscription, has pointed out that it so strikingly exhibits all the characteristic features of the Gauda style, that its author must have been either an inhabitant of Gauda (Bengal) or one who had lived in that country for a long time. As a matter of fact similar remarks may perhaps be made in respect of many other records. On the whole the series of inscriptions may be taken as a definite evidence of the flourishing state of literature in Kambuja and her intimate contact with India.

VII. CHINA

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The most active and fruitful period of intercourse between India and China came to an end with the eight century A.D. 14 The last century of T'ang rule (A.D. 618-907) was full of troubles, and the Arab incursions in Central Asia probably interfered with the free intercourse of the Buddhists between India and China. In any case we hear very little of the cultural or political relations with Ehdia about this time. But the Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) revived the old traditions and the active intercourse was resumed for another century.

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In A.D. 972 forty-four Indian monks went to China. Next year Dharmadeva, a monk of Nalanda, was received by i:he emperor of China with great honours. He translated a large number of Sanskrit texts and died in China in A.D. 1001. A number of other Indian monks, including a prince of Western India named Manjusii, visited China between 970 and 1036. According to the Chinese chroniclers there were never so many Indian monks in the Chinese court as at the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. A large number of Sanskrit manuscripts were brought from India by these Indian monks as well as the Chinese pilgrims. In 982 the Chinese Emperor appointed a Board of Translators with three

Indian scholars at the head. They translated more than 200 volumes between A.D. 982 and 1011.

A large number of Chinese pilgrims also came to India between A.D. 950 and 1033. In A.D. 964, 300 Chinese monks started for India, and this pilgrimage lasted for twelve years. Two years later the Chinese Emperor issued an appeal to the Buddhist monks, and 157 of them went in pursuance of it to pay imperial homage to the holy places in India. They were furnished with letters patent ordering

all the kings of Central Asia and Northern India to help them with guides. These monks were sometimes asked to carry out certain religious duties in India, on behalf of the Emperor.

Five of these Chinese pilgrims have left short inscriptions at the sacred site of Bodh-Gaya. One of them records the visit of the monk Che-yi in A.D. 950- Three others, dated A.D. 1022, refer to the construction of stone stupas by three Chinese monks. The last inscription is more interesting. It is dated in A.D. 1033 and records the construction of a stupa in honour of Emperor T'ai-tsong by the Emperor and the Dowager Empress of the great Song dynasty. We are told that the Emperor and the Empress "respectfully charged the monk Huai-wen with the task of going to the country of Magadha in order to erect a stupa by the side of the Vajrasana dedicated to Emperor T'ai-tsong." This inscription still remains as the last monument of the Chinese pilgrimage to India which began about a thousand years ago.

The last Chinese piligrim left India shortly after A.D. 1033. and a group of nine Indian monks went to China in A.D. 1036. Only a single Indian monk is known to have visited China after that date, in A.D. 1053, and the official chronicle terminates its notice on India from A.D. 1036. This date, therefore, marks the close of the long and intimate cultural intercourse between India and China. The cause of this sudden end is not easy to determine, and it naturally led to a decline in the popularity of Buddhism. "The number of Buddhist monks and nuns in China in A.D. 1021 were respectively 3,97,615 and 61,240; in 1034, 3,85,520 and 48,740; but in 1068, only 2,20,660 and 34,030." 16

There was political relation between South India and China during the Song period. A Chola embassy visited the Imperial Court in A.D. 1015. Details of their journey are given in Chinese annals which show that it took, in all, 1150 days, though they were actually under sail for only 247 days. The Chola king is said to have sent as presents, among other things, 21,000 ounces of pearls, 60 elephants' tusks, and 60 catties of frankincense. The envoy added 6600 ounces of pearls and 3300 catties of perfumes. In A.D. 1033 and 1077 the Chola king sent two more embassies to China.

The sea-borne trade between India and China continued throughout this period, but it is difficult to say how far the Indians took any share in it. The Song Annals do not include India among the countries whose merchants traded at Canton in A.D. 971. Chou Ku-fei, writing in 1178, refers to Quilon as an important centre of trade with China, but does not mention India among the countries

engaged in that trade. It may be argued from these that the Arabs were gradually ousting the Indians from the Chinese trade. 16 But the discovery of 15 coins in Tanj ore District, representing practically the entire Song period, may be cited as an evidence that the commercial relations between South India and China, which flourished in the Tang period, 17 probably continued uninterrupted throughout the Song period. 18

Yin. TIBET

According to the chronicles of Tibet her kings exercised political domination over parts of India during the period A.D. 750-850. The Tibetan king Khri-sroh-lde-btsan, who ruled from A.D. 755 to 797, is said to have subdued the frontier provinces including 'China in the east and India in the south.' His son Mu-Khri-btsan-po (or Mu-tig-Btsan-po) who ruled from A.D. 798 to 804 subjugated two or three (parts of) Jambudvipa and forced the Pala king Dharrnapala and another Indian king to pay tribute. The next important king Ral-pa-can (A.D. 817-836) 19 conquered India as far as Gahgasagara which has been taken to represent the mouth of the Gahga.

How far these Tibetan claims of conquest and supremacy in the Indian plains can be regarded as historical, it is difficult to say. We have no reference in Indian sources to any military campaign of the Tibetans in

India or to their exercising political suzerainty in any part of the country. On the other hand, Chinese sources confirm the great military strength and the aggressive military campaigns of the Tibetans both against China and India. One Chinese author says that some time about A.D. 787 the Emperor of China made an alliance with the Caliph of Baghdad and some Indian princes, for security against the Tibetans. 20 It is also to be noted that both I§takhri and Ibn Haukal call the Bay of Bengal as Tibetan Sea, thus indirectly indicating the advance of the Tibetans to the heart of Bengal. While, therefore, there may be some foundation for these claims, we cannot come to any definite conclusion, until further evidence is available.

It is interesting to note that the same period (A.D. 750-850). in which Tibetan domination in India is said to have reached its climax also witnessed the supremacy of Buddhism in Tibet. The king Khri-sroh-lde-btsan, mentioned above, was a great patron of Buddhism, and was regarded as an incarnation of Bodhisattva Manjuiri. He invited Santarakshita, the High Priest of the University of Nalanda, and appointed him the High Priest of Tibet. He made Buddhism the state-religion of Tibet in place of Bon, a sort of demon-worship. Santarakshita introduced the system of Buddhist monarchism which is now known as Lamaism in Tibet. He was helped in this onerous task of reorganising the religious system by another Indian monk named Padmasambhava. A scholar named Ananta from Kashmir also translated sacred texts and preached Buddhism. At this time a Chinese Buddhist missionary visited Tibet and preached doctrines which were different from those of &antarakshita and Padmasambhava. The latter, unable to refute him, induced the king to invite the great Buddhist philosopher of Magadha named Kamalasila. Kamalasila visited Tibet and, in the presence of the assembled court, came out victorious over the Chinese sage. The king of Tibet placed Kamalasila at the head of the metaphysical branch of the Buddhist church. The orthodox section of the people were at first hostile to the new religion, but all opposition gradually died down. King Khri-sron-lde-btsan built the famous temple of Bsam-yas in imitation of the temple of Odantapuri in Magadha. This temple still exists and is situated about 35 miles from Lhasa.

The names of a large number of Indian scholars who taught different aspects of Buddhism about this time in Tibet have been preserved. Among them may be mentioned Dharmakirti, Vimalamitra, Buddhaguhya, and Santigarbha. They introduced Tantrik ritual and taught mysticism based on Buddhist Tantrism.

But the names of Santarakshita and Padmasambhava are held in special veneration. The former introduced the observance of the "ten virtues." Padmasambhava was the greatest teacher of Tantrik doctrines which spread all over the country. He became almost a legendary and mythical figure in Tibet.

The reign of Khri-sron-lde-btsan thus saw the final triumph of Buddhism in Tibet. According to Tibetan chronicles "the Bon religion was suppressed and the holy religion was made to spread and flourished" during the lifetime of this king. They quote a verse mentioning gantarakshita, Padmasambhava, Kamalasila, and Khri-sron-lde-btsan as the four persons through whom "like sunrise in the dark country of Tibet, the light of the holy religion spread as far as the frontiers." "These holy men," so the verse concludes, "all Tibetans will for ever reverently salute".

The successors of king Khri-sron-lde-btsan followed his policy of translating sacred books, erecting temples, and inviting Panditas from India. Ral-pa-can, mentioned above, was a great patron of Buddhism. As there were conflicting interpretations in the large number of Tibetan translations of sacred scriptures, he invited the

Indian Panditas Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Silendrabodhi, Bodhimitra, and Dhanaslla to Tibet. He was a great lover of Indian culture and introduced even the system of Indian weights and measures in Tibet. All this provoked a reaction during the reign of his successor Glan-dar-ma who persecuted Buddhism. But he was murdered, probably by a monk, and his son, who owed the throne to the help of the Buddhist monks, restored the supremacy of Buddhism. This king (A.D. 842-70) and his successors invited Buddhist scholars from India, erected temples, and had sacred books translated into Tibetan. Eminent Tibetan scholars also visited India in order to learn the Buddhist doctrines. 21

Tibetan Chronicles have preserved a most circumstantial account of the part played by an Indian scholar named Dipahkara Srljhana, called also Atisa. Even making allowances for natural exaggeration and somewhat romantic character of the story, it shows in a striking manner to what extent India was regarded as their spiritual home by the Tibetans. The story must be read in full in order to understand the reverential attitude of the Tibetans towards India. Here we can only give a summary.

Dipahkara was born in Bengal in c. A.D. 980. After attaining proficiency in both Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophy and scriptures he went to Acharya Chandraklrti, the High Priest of Suvarnadvipa, and studied with him for twelve years. On his return he was acknowledged as the hierarch of Magadha and, at the request of king Nayapala, accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaslla.

About this time Lha Lama Ye-ses-hod, king of Tibet, wanted to reform Buddhism which had become greatly debased by the admixture of Tantrik and Bon mysticism. Accordingly he sent a number of young Tibetan monks to India to study Buddhist scriptures and to invite to Tibet renowned scholars like Dipahkara, Ratnavajra and others. Out of the 21 Tibetan monks who thus came to India, only two survived and returned to Tibet after completing their studies. They made inquiries about Dipahkara, but were told that any invitation to him to visit Tibet would be premature. But the king, on hearing of his high renown and scholarship, sent an envoy to Magadha with one hundred attendants and a large quantity of gold. The envoy presented to Dipahkara the king's letter with a large piece of bar-gold as a present from his -sovereign, and begged him to honour his country with a visit. Dipahkara declined the present and the invitation. The envoy wept bitterly, but could not change the decision of Dipahkara.

Shortly after this the king of Tibet fell into the hands of an enemy and died in captivity. Before his death he sent a message which so touched the heart of. Dipahkara that he decided to visit Tibet.

Atlsa was received with high honours at the frontier of Tibet. Four generals, with one hundred horsemen, received him and he was escorted in a procession carrying flags and playing various musical instruments. His journey through the country was in the nature of a royal tour, and he was everywhere hailed by all classes of people. The king arranged a grand ovation for him in the capital. Dipahkara spent the remaining 13 years of his life in Tibet, preaching the pure doctrines of Buddhism and writing sacred texts. He reformed Buddhism in Tibet by eliminating Tantrik elements, and wrote about two hundred books. He was the spiritual guide and teacher of Bromton, the founder of the first grand hierarchy of Tibet. He died in A.D. 1053, and is even now remembered with deep veneration all over upper Asia or wherever the Buddhism of the Tibet variety prevails.

Throughout the Pala period Tibet was in close touch with India, particularly with the great Universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila. She adopted many traits of Indian culture along with religion, such as the 60 years' cycle system. Many Indian monks visited Tibet and preached the new developments of Buddhism. In particular the mystic schools of Buddhism like Vajrayana and Sahajayana found great favour there. The vast literature of this religion, now lost in India, has been preserved in Tibetan translations, in the two voluminous collections known as Bstan-hgyur and Bkahhgyur. We possess only a bare knowledge of the names and general contents of the texts included in them, as most of them have not yet been studied in detail. But the systematic catalogue prepared by Csoma de Coros and Cordier, and works of several other scholars show that these works are very large in number and varied in nature. They furnish positive testimony to the intimate connection between the two countries and the profound influence exercised by India upon the development of religious thought and literature, as well as many other aspects of culture in Tibet.

IX. WESTERN COUNTRIES

We have abundant references to a very close contact between India and the Muslim world . 22 Baghdad was at this time the centre of Muslim world, and Indian culture reached it both directly as well as through Iran. Indian literature, at first translated into Persian, was later translated from Persian into Arabic, The most prominent

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example of this is furnished by the fables of Kalila and Dimna based on Panchat antra, 23 and probably the famous medical treatise Char a k as am h i td was first known to the Muslim court in this way.

The direct intercourse between India and Baghdad is prominently noticeable during the reigns of Al-Mansur (A.D. 754-75) and Harun Al-Raslhd (A.D. 786-809). As Sindh was under the actual rule of Al-Mansur, several Indian embassies came to his court. These embassies were accompanied by Indian scholars who taught the Arabs both mathematics and astronomy, as well as various other subjects. Al-Biruni tells us that the “star-cycles, as known through the canon of Alfazari and Ya’kub Ibn Tarik, were derived from a Hindu who came to Bagdad as a member of the political mission which Sindh sent to the Khalif Almansur, A.H. 154 (A.D. 771).” 2i Again, we learn from the same source, that the Hindu traditions regarding the distances of the stars were communicated to Ya’kub Ibn Tarik by “the well-known Hindu scholar who, in A.H. 161 (A.D. 778), accompanied an embassy to Bagdad.” 26 Two other Indian embassies are known, from other sources, to have visited Baghdad in the year 136 (A.D. 753) and 156 (A.D. 773). 26

The scholars who accompanied these embassies brought several works on mathematics including the Brahma-sphuta-siddhcinta and the Khandakhadyaka of Brahmagupta. With their help these works were translated into Arabic by Arab scholars (Alfazari, perhaps also Ya’kub Ibn Tarik) and it was thus that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. Both the works exercised a profound influence on the development of astronomy by the Arabs who learned from Brahmagupta earlier than from Ptolemy. It is probably also through these scholars that the Hindu numerals were first definitely introduced amongst the Arabs. It is well known how this new system, known as decimal notation based on the place-value of the first nine numbers and the use of zero, simplified and revolutionised the Science of Mathematics all over the world. Whether Europe derived this knowledge directly from India or through the Arabs is a disputed question, but there is a general consensus of opinion that the world is indebted to India for this epoch-making discovery. In this connection reference may be made to a remarkable statement by Severus Sebokht, a learned Syrian scholar who lived in a convent on the Euphrates about the middle of the seventh century A.D. He pays a very high compliment to the Indians for their “subtle discoveries in the science of astronomy, discoveries that are more ingenious than those of the Greeks and the Babylonians." He then refers to their system of "computing that surpasses description" and remarks: "I wish only

to say that this computation is done by means of nine signs. If those who believe, because they speak Greek, that they have reached the limits of science, should know these things, they would be convinced that there are also others who know something/' 27

Without going into further details we may conclude with the following expression of opinion by an eminent European scholar: "In Science, too, the debt of Europe to India has been considerable. There is, in the first place, the great fact that the Indians invented the numerical figures used all over the world. The influence which the decimal system of reckoning dependent on those figures has had not only on mathematics, but on the progress of civilisation in general can hardly be over-estimated. During the eighth and ninth centuries the Indians became the teachers in arithmetic and algebra of the Arabs, and through them of the nations of the West. Thus, though we call the latter science by an Arabic name, it is a gift we owe to India." 28

During the Caliphate of Harun Al-Rashld contact with India was further promoted chiefly by the efforts of the ministers of the Barmak family, then at the height of their power. The founder of this family was a Buddhist high-priest in the Naubehar (—Nava Vihara or New Monastery) in Balkh. Although converted to Islam they still had great leanings towards their old culture. They induced Indian scholars to come to Baghdad and engaged them to translate into Arabic Sanskrit books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, algebra, arithmetic and other subjects. Arab scholars were also sent to India in large numbers to learn those sciences at first hand from Indian authorities.

We learn from several Arab works written between the tenth and thirteenth century A.D. that a number of standard Hindu treatises on medicine, materia medica and therapeutics were translated into Arabic by order of the Caliph Harun Al-Rashid (A.D. 786-809). These included, among others, such famous works as the Charaka, the Susruta, the Niddna, and the Ashtanga of Vagbhata. The Su~ sruta was translated by an Indian whose name is written in Arabic as Mankh. He cured Harun Al-Rashid of a severe illness and was appointed by the grateful Caliph the head of the Royal Hospital.

The names of a number of Indian scholars who visited Baghdad are preserved in Arabic works, but unfortunately it is hardly possible, even in a single case, to restore the original Indian form from the Arabic transliteration. Sachau's attempts in this direction are praiseworthy, but not convincing. Thus he suggests that the names of the authors of three books on 'drinkables', 'philosophy' and 'signs

of swords' are respectively Atri, Vedavyasa and Vyaghra. He also thinks that the Hindu physician who was director of the hospital of the Barmaks in Baghdad and is mentioned as the son of DHN, was probably named Dhanya or Dhanin, and connects it with Dhanvantari, the mythological physician of the gods.

Islam was influenced by India not only in literature and science, as noted above, but also in various other ways. Such influence has been traced even in religious ideas, notably in the growth and development of Islamic mysticism or Spufiism. As Titus has pointed out, "here the contribution seems to be made in thought, religious imagery of expression, and pious practices, which come from both Buddhist and Vedantic sources." 29 An earlier form of such influence is manifested in Zuhd or asceticism, which is not identical with §ufiism, 30 "The Aghdni has preserved for us at least one portrayal of an unmistakable Buddhistic view of life, and the Zindlq monks described by al-Jahiz (ninth century A.D.) were either Indian sddhus, Buddhist monks, or their imitators." 31 In any case, "the presence of wandering Indian monks was a factor of practical importance to the adherents of Islam as early as the time of 'Abbasid Caliphate". 32 No doubt they were instrumental in preaching Indian ideas which influenced even Arab philosophers. One of them, Abu-al-'Ala' al-ma'arri (A.D. 973-1057), who is described as the "philosopher of poets and poet of philosophers", was so much inoculated with Indian ideas that he adopted a vegetarian diet and a life of seclusion. 33 It is known that Buddhist works were translated into Arabic during the 'Abbasid period, specially in the reigns of Al-Mansur and Harun Al-Hashfd. 34 Even in building mosques they were indebted, both for craftsmen and architectural ideas, to India. 36 Early Arab geographers derived from India the notion of a world-centre, which they called Arin, a corrupt form of Ujjayini, which was famous for its astronomical observatory [36] Many of their musical terminologies are of Indian origin. [37]

The Arab merchants visited India in increasingly large numbers, and many of them wrote interesting accounts of India, the earliest of them being dated about the middle of the ninth century A.D. [38] There were Muslims settled in India for whom mosques were built by the Indian kings.

We learn from Ibn Haukal (tenth century A.D.) that “several important cities in Western India had Jama Masjids where the Muhammadan precepts were openly observed”. The same writer tells us that in the dominion of the Rashtrakutas “Musulmans lived in many cities and none but Musulmans ruled over them on the part of the ruling authority”. This is a remarkable concession to the foreign settlers. It does not appear, however, that the Muslim population was quite considerable in the friendly state of the Rashtrakutas. Even in Sindh, we are told, there was a large population of infidels. [39]

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1. See above, Vol. Ill, p. 640.

2. See p. 52.

3. See above, p. 52.

4. See above, p. 49.

5. See above, Vol. Ill, p. 636.

6. See above, p. 417.

7. See above, Vol. Ill, p. 637.

8. See p. 421.

9. See p. 429.

10. See p. 414.

11. See pp. 414, 416.

12. See p. 416.

13. See Vol. in, p. 643.

14. Vol. Ill, pp. 597-616.

15. SIS, I. 164.

16. Sastri: Foreign Notices, 23-25; SIS, II. 157.

17. Vol. Ill, p. 612.

18. SIS, I. 60.

19. TTie date of Ral-pa-can is given on the authority of Petech (p. 81). Francke gives A.D. 804-816 as the period of his reign (p. 80).

20. Sastri: Foreign Notices, 17.

21. Petech holds the view that Buddhism practically disappeared from Tibet after

the persecution of Glan.dar-ma and was revived after two centuries by Atisa (pp. 82-3).

22. For a general treatment of the subject, cf. Sachau's Eng. Tr. of Alberuni's India. XXX ft.

23. See Vol. IH, p. 314.

24. Sachau: Alberuni's India, II. 15.

25. Ibid., II. 67.

26. Ibid., II. 313.

27. JA., II, 1910. 225-27. Also cf. History of Hindu Mathematics by B. Dutta and A. N. Singh, I. 95 ff; P. K. Hitti: History of the Arabs, 307-308, 573-4.

28. Macdonell, HSL. 424.

29. M. T. Titus, Indian Islam, 149.

30. Ibid.

31. Hitti, op. cit., 435; Goldziher, Vorlesungen iiber den Islam, Tr. by Seelye, 172-3.

32. Titus, op. cit., 147.

33. Hitti op. cit., 458-9.

34. T. J. De Boer, History of the Philosophy of Islam, 9.

35. Hitti, op. cit., 265, 417.

36. Ibid, 384.

37. Ibid., 428.

38. These have been translated in HIED, I.

39. HIED, I. 34, 38.

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(xiv) Belles-Lettres.

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Chapter XIV

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13. Lohara Grant, 6.734 (=A.D. 812): El, XXIII. 212.

14. Surat Plates, 6.743 (==A.D. 821): El, XXI. 133.

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16. Kavi Grant, 6.749 (=A.D. 827-8): IA, V. 113.

17. Barcda Grant, 6.757 (=A.D. 835-6): IA, XIV. 196.

18. Nilgund Ins., 6.788 (=A.D. 866): El, VI. 98.

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Abbreviations CP Copper-plate

I Image

S Stone

P Pillar

Serial No.	Year	Find place	Name of the king.	Reference
1	26	Bodh-Gaya-S	Dharmapala	JASB. IV. 101.

2	32	Khalimpur-CP	If	El, IV. 243.
3	• •	Nalanda-CP	ft	FJ.XXIII. 290.
4	33	Monghyr-CP	Devapala	El,XVIII. 304.
5	35 (or 39) Nalanda-CP	I 9	El, XVII. 318; Monograph No. 1 of Varendra Research Society; JR asbl; VII. 215.	
6	» •	Ghoshrawa-S	ft	1A, XVII. 307.
7	3	Bihar-I	fiurapala	JASB.IV.108. JR ASBL,IV. 390.
8	5	Rajauna-S		IHQ.XXIX.SOI,
9	17	Bhagalpur-CP	Narayanapala	IA.XV. 304.
10	54	Bihar-I	ft	7A.XLVII.110.

11	• »	Badal-SP	ft	El, 11.160.
12-14	28,31.32	Kurihar-I	Rajyapala	JBORSJ CXVI. 246.
15	• •	Bhatuniya-S	ft	El, XXXIII. 150.
16	6	Jajilpara-CP	Go pala H	J AS, L, XVII. 137.
17	VS. 1083 Sarnath-I	Mahipala	J A, XIV. 139.	
18	3	Baghaura-I	)>	EL XVII. 355.
19	9	Bangarh-CP	ft	JASB.LXI.77. EI.XIV. 324.
20	5	Belwa-CP	tf	El,XXIX, I ff.
21	48(?)	Imadpur-I	ft	7A,XIV. 165 (f.n.17). JRASBL, VII. 218; XVI. 247.

22	15	Gaya-S	Nayapala	Pdlas of Bengal, 78.
23	15	ft	ft	JPASB,LXIX. 190.
23a	11	Belwa-CP	Vigrahapala III	E7,XXIX.9.
24	12	Amgachi-CP	ft	E7,XV.293.
25	17	Bangaon-CP	ft	E7,XXIX,48.
26	3	Tetrawan-I	Ramapala	JASB,1V. 109. JRASBL, IV. 390.
27	42	Chandimau-I	ft	Pdlas of' Bengal, 93.
28	8	Manahali-CP	Madanapala	JPASB, LXIX Part 1,68.
29	14	Jaynagar-I	ft	ASC,III.125; JRASBL, VII. 216.

Table caption3© Saka 1083 Valgudar Madanpala JAS. L,XVII.27.

Table caption$ 1 , XXVIII. 145.

Table captionInscriptions connected with the Bala Kings.

31	• •	Dinajpur-P		JASBy 11.619.
32	• •	Irda-CP	Nayapala	E/,XXn.l50;XXIV.43.
33	4	Kamauli-CP	Vidyadeva	Erjl.350.
34	4	Bihar-X	Mahendrapala	A SJ,1923-4,p . 102.
35	5	Paharpur-P	D	Memoir, ASJ, No. 55. p.75
36	9	Gunariya	9t	JASB^KVI. 278.
37	19(?)	Bihar	tf	Pdlas of Bengal, 64,

Table captionInscriptions Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 9,11, 17, 19, 23, 24, 28 and 33, along with a few other inscriptions of the Pala kings, have been edited in Gaudalekhamdla t a Bengali Work, published in B.S. 1319.

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CHAPTER V

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(Note: No lists of inscriptions have been attached to this chapter in view of the facts that they are few in number and that complete lists of inscriptions will be attached to the chapter in Vol. V, which is in continuation of this chapter.)

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A.D.

559-567

605

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c.625

637

641

662

678

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716

717 722

725

€.730

c.730

c. 730-756 c.731-796 732

c. 733 c. 733-758 c. 738

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755- 797

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c. 756

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c. 757-860 c. 758-773 759-765 c.762 c.764

c. 764-e. 799 765-785 c. 765-815

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768-772

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c.770 c. 770-810 771

c. 772

c. 773 774

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790-794

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793- 814

794- 795

794-805

795

c.795

c. 796-847

798-804 799" c. 799

c. 799-847 c.800 c. 800

c.800

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c.802

802, 807 803

€.804

804- 816

805- 821 808

€.810-850

812

c.813

813- 833

814

814- 878

815- 862

815

817

817-836

817-853

c.820-860

€.821

821-824

824-825

824-844

825

829

c.830

c.830

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836,862 c. 841-842

841

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844-848

844-879

c.845

c.845

c. 845-880 c.847 c. 847-872

c.848

848-892

850

c. 850-871

851

c. 853

853-870

853- 880

field

854- 877 c. 855-856

855/56-883

e.857

c. 860

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c.870

810

870-907 o. 871-907 872-903 872-913 874 c.875

877-889

c,,878

c.878

878- 914 879, Oct. 20

879- 890 879-900

879- 926 880

c.880

880- 900

c. 880-900 883

883-902

c.685

886

888

890-907

892-922

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c.900

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Karkka I

Indra I 2. Krishna I

1. Dantidurga 3. Govinda II 4. Dhruva

Stambha Karkka 5. Govinda III Indra (of

Gujarat branch)

6. Amoghavarsha I (or Sarva)

7. Krishna II d. Chandrobalabbe (m. Butuga)

' 1 '

Jagattunga

8. Indra III 11. Amoghavarsha III

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9. Amoghavarsha II 10. Govinda IV 12. Krishna III 13. Kho^iga Nirupama

' 1 ' 1

X 14. Karkka II

I

15. Indra IV

2. Rashtrakut a s: Gujarat Branch

1. Indra

2. Karkka Suvarnavarsha Govinda

3. Dhruva I Dharavarsha

1

4. Akalavarsha

5. Dhruva II

1

Govinda

6. Dantivarman

I

7. Krishnaraja.

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3. The Pratlharas

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i

1. Nagabhata I

X

2. Kakkuka

3. Devaraja

4. Vatsaraja

5. Nagabhata II (or Nagavaloka)

I

6. Ramabhadra

7. Bhoja (Prabhasa, Adivaraha, or Mihira)

DehanagadevI

9. Bhoja II

= 8. Mahendrapala = MahldevI (or Mahldevl) (Mahendrayudha, Nirbhayanarendra, or Nirbhayaraja)

10. Vinayakapala I (Mahlpala. Kshitipala or Herambapala)

11. Mahendrapala II 12. Devapala

13. Vinayakapala II

14. Mahlpala II

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15. Vijayapala

◆

16. Rajyapala

17. Trilochanap&la 18 (?) Yasahpala.

(N.B.—For the different views about the relationship of kings Nos. 13-15, cf. above, p. 37 f).

4. The Palas

Dayitavishnu

I

Vapyata

. I

2. Dharmapala

1. Gopala

l

3. Devapala

l

Vakpala

I

Jayapala

I

4. Vigrahapala I

5. Narayanapala

6. Rajyapala

l

7. Gopala II

I

8. Vigrahapala II

l

9. Mahlpala I

1. Salambha (or Pralambha)

2. Harjara-varman

l

3. Vanamala-varman

l

4. Jayamala (Viravahu)

I

5. Bala-varman ♦

(? Tyagasimha)

1. Raghavadeva

2. Jayadeva

3. Vikramadeva

4. Narendradeva ♦

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5. Gunakamadeva I *

*

6. Udayadeva

7. Nirbhayadeva and Kudradeva

7. Karas of Utkala (See above, p. 63)

8. Bhanjas of Khinjali (See above, p. 69)

9. Bhanjas of Khijjinga (See above, p. 74)

19. Sulkis (See above, p. 77)

5. Kamarupa

6. Nepal 1

11. Tungas

Raja Jagattuhga Salanatunga

s

Gayatfatunga

12. Mayuravamsa

Uditavaraha

Tejavaraha

Udayavaraha

13. Nandas (See above, p. 78)

14. Chandellas of Kharjuravahaka

1. Nannuka

l

2. Vakpati

3. Jayasakti (alias Jejjaka)

l

(d. Natta=m. Kokkalla I)

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l

4. Vijayasakti (alias Vijjaka)

I

5. Rahila

I

6. Harsha

l

7. Yasovarman (alias Lakshavarman)

8. Dhahga

I

9 Ganda

15. Kalachuris of Tripurl

1. Kokkalla (m. Natta, d. of Ch and ell a Jayasakti)

I

!- I ~~~ 1

2. Sankaragana (alias Sankila) Arjuna d. (=m. Rashtrakuta Krishna II)

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3. Balaharsha 4. Yuvaraja I (alias d. (=m. Rash^rakuta

Keyuravarsha) Jagattunga)

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5. Lakshnianaraj a

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6. 6ahkaragana EC 7. Yuvaraja II

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8. Kokkalla II

16. Kalachuris of Sarayupara. 2

1. Rajaputra

i

2. &ivaraja I

l

3. Sahkaragsqia I

l

4. Gunambhodhideva (altos Guixasagara I)

5. Ullabha 6. Bhamanadeva I

I

7. ^ankaragana II (alias Mugdhatunga)

I

8. Gunasagara II

S. ^ivaraja II Bhamana 12. Vyasa

I l

10. Sahkaragana HI 13. So^liadeva

I

11. Bhlma

17. Malayaketus of Vijayapura.

1. Maharaj adhiraj a Jayaditya I

l

2. „ Bharmaditya

l

3. „ Jayaditya H

18. Paramaras of Malava.

1. Upendra (alias Krishnaraja)

__I_.

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2. Vairisimha I Pambaraslmha • (ruled in Vaga$a)

l

3. Slyaka 1

l

4. V&kpati I

I

5. Vairisimha II (alias Vajra^a)

6. Slyaka II (alias Harsha)

I l

7. Munja (alias Utpala, 8- Sindh uraja (alias

alias Vakpatiraja) KuinaranSrayaja, alias

I] Nav as a h aga n ka)

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Arpoiaja Chandone #. Bhoja Dusala

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Paramaras of Yagada.

pambarasimha

Dhanika

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Kamka or Chachcha Chancapa

Saindhavas of Saurashtra.

1. Pushyadeva

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2. Krishna raj a I

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3. Agguka I

i

4. Kanaka I

i

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5. Krisknaraja II 7. Jaika

l ‘ J

6. Agguka II |

8. Chamundaraja

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11. Agguka IV

i

12. Jaika II

Chalukyas of Saurashtra.

X

1. Kalla

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3. X

i

4. Vahukadhavala

l

5. Avanivarman I

l

6. Baiavarman

l

7. Avanivarman II (alias Yoga)

Varahas of Suryaman<Jala.

Mahavaraha

Jayavarlha

2 .

Chapas of Vardhamana.

1. Vikramarka

2. Ad^aka

3. Pulakesi

9. Agguka HI

l

10. Kanaka II

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Yuvaraja Jaika

Mah alia

4. Dhruvabhata

5. Dharanivaraha

24. Chapas of Anahilapataka

1. Vanaraja

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2. Yogaraja

I

3. Ratnaditya

I

4. Kahemaraja

l

5. Aka^adeva

6. Bhuyadadeva (alias Bhuyagadadeva. alias Samantasimha)

25. Chaulukyas of Mattamayura

1. Simhavarman

l

2. Sadhanva

l

3. Avanivarman

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d. Nohala (=m. Kalachuri Yuvaraja I)

26. Chaulukyas of Anahilapataka

1. Mulara j a

l

2. Chamundamja

._L__

I I

3. Vallabharaja 4. Durlabharaja

27 . Chaulukyas of Lata

Barappa

i

Gongiraja

28. Chahamanas of &akambhari 3

1. Vasudeva

2. Samanta

l

3. Piimatalla

l'

4. Jay a raj a

l

5. Vigraharaja I

l

7. Gopendraraja

6. Chandra raj a I

l

8. Durlabharaja

9. Guvaka (alias Govindaraja I)

I

10. Chandrarajja II (alias Sasinripa)

i i

11. Guvaka II d. Kalavatl (m. king of Kanauj)

f

I

12. Chandana

13. Vakpatiraja

]

14. Simharaja Vatsaraja Lakshmana (founder of the

Naddula branch)

15. Vigraharaja II 16. Durlabharaja (alias Durlahghyameru)

29. Chahamanas of Nad$u!a

1. Lakshmana

_L_1_

I !

2. ^obhita Vigrahapala

3. Baliraja 4. Mahendra (alias Mahendu)

I

5. Asvapala Anahilla

30. Chahamanas of Dholptir

1. Isuka

2. Mahisharama

l

3. Chan^amahasena

31. Chahamanas of Partabgarh

1. Govindaraja

2. Durlabharaja

3. Mahasamanta Indr ana j a 520

32. Guhilas of Mewar 4

1. Khommana I (alias Bappa, alias Kalabhoja)

2. Mattata

3. Bharirripatta I

4. Sixhha

!

5. Khommana II

l

6. Mahayaka

l

7. Khommana III

l

8. Bhariripatta II

l

9. Allata

i

10. Naravahana

l

11. §alivahana

I

12. Saktikumara

Ambaprasada 6uchivarman Naravarman Anantavarman KIrtivarman

33. Guhilas of Dhod 5

Guhila I

i

1. Dhanika

l

2. Auka

!

3. Krishna

I

4. ^ahkaragana

l

5. Harsha

l

6. Guhila II

I

7. Bhatta

I

8. Baladitya

34. Tomaras

Jaula

1. Vajrata

!

2. Jajjuka

Purnaraja Devaraja 3. Gogga

«

Rudrena

35. Hindu Shahis

1. Kallar (alias Lalliya Shahi)

2. Samanta

3. Toramana (alias Kamaluka)

4. Bhlma

Is ht a pa la

5. Jayapala

6. Anandapala

36. Kashmir; Karkota Dynasty

1. Lalitaditya Muktaplda

_ ! _

I I

2. Kuvalayapuja 3. Vajraditya Bappiyaka

i ‘ i I

4. Prithivyaplda I 5. Samgramaplda I

l

6; 8 Jayaplda (alias Vinayaditya)

: I

7. Jajja (usurper)

_ l

i i

9. Lalitaplda 10. Samgramapida (alias Prithivyaplda)

• •

*

11. Chippata Jayaplda (alias Brihaspati) son of 1)

▪

12. Utpalaka and 4 others (maternal uncles of 11)

13. Ajitaplda (gr. son of 3)

14. Anangaplda (son of 10)

*

15. Utpalaplda (son of 13)

9

*

16. Avantivarman 528

37. Kashmir: Utpala Dynasty

Utpala (or Utpalaka)

Sukhavarman

— ,

1. Avantivarman Suravarman

I I

i i

2. Sankaravarman (^=5. Sugandha) Sukhavarman

_I__ l

3. Gopalavarman 4. Samkata 7; 8 Nirjitavarman (alias Pahgu)

i

I

r ▪ ' i i

6; 11 Partha 9, 12; 14 Chakravarman 10. Suravarman I

I . i

15. Unmattavanti 13. Sambhuvardhana (usurper)

*

a

16. Suravarman II

17. Yasaskara

38. Kashmir: Yasaskara Dynasty

Prabhakaradeva

i

■I

1. Yasaskaradeva

I

I

2. Sarhgramadeva

3. Parvagupta

39. Kashmir: Parvagupta Dynasty

Abhinava

I

Sarhgramagupfca

1. Parvagupta

l

2. Kshemagupta (=7. Didda)

l

3. Abhimanyu

l

5. Tribhuvana 6. Bhlmagupta

I

7. Didda (w. of No. 2)

8. Samgramaraja (nephew of No. 7) 529

4. Nandigupta

A.I.K.—‘>L

40. Kashmir: Kingdom of Darvabhisara and Lohara 6

Khasa Nara

i

Naravahana

Phulla

i

Satavahana

l

Chanda

l

Chanduraja

Simharaja o£ Lohara

[

Udayaraja

Kantiraja

Gopala

d. Didda (m. Kshemagupta)

41. Chamba: Mushana Dynasty

1. Ajita-varman

2. Suvarna-varman

3. Lakshml-varman

4. Mushana-varman

5. Harhsa-varman

6. Sara-varman

7. Sena-varman

8. Sajjana-varman

8A. (? Mrityuhjaya-varman)

9. Sahilla-varman

!

10. Yugakara-varman

I

11. Vidagdha-varman

12. Dodaka-varman

»

Salavahana

I

Soma-varman

I

Asa^a

42.

43.

44.

Kumaun-Garhwal: Pauravas of Brahmapura.

1. Vishnuvarman I

'I

2. Vrishavarman

I

3. Agnivarman

4. Dyutivarman

I

I

5. Vishnuvarman il

Kings of Kumaun and Garhwal

1. Nimbara (m. NasudevI)

I

i

2. PMP Ish^aganadeva (m. Vegadevl)

3. PMP Lalitasuradeva

l

4. Bhudevadeva

1. Salonaditya (of a new dynasty)

2. Ichchhatadeva

3. Desatadeva

Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi

4. Padmatadeva

l '

5. Subhiksharajadeva

1. Vijayaditya I

I

2. Vishnuvardhana IV

3. Vijayaditya II Bhima-Salukki Nripamdra

I

i

4. Vishnuvardhana V (alias Kali Vishnuvardhana, etc.)

5. Vijayaditya III Ayyaparaja Vikramaditya (I) Yuddhamalla I

! I

6. Chalukva Bhlma I 10. Tala (or Tadapa, etc.)

_ j _ i

I j 13. Malla or Yuddhamalla

7. Vijayaditya IV 11. Vikramaditya (II) \

16. Badapa 17. Tala (II)

8. Amma I 14. Chalukya Bhlma II

9, Vijayaditya V 12. Bhlma II 19. Danarnava 15; 18. Amma II Kama

: r

20. Jala Choda Bhlma f

l

21. Saktivarman

531

45. Eastern Gangas

1. Devendravarman II

2. Rajendravarman I

!

3. Anantavarman II 4. Devendravarman III

—j—

i i

5. Rajendravarman II 6. Satyavarman 7. Anantavarman III

«

8. Bhupendravarman Marasimha

ı

9. Devendravarman IV

46. Greater Gangas (Earlier Account)

1. Gunamahamava

I

2. Vajrahasta

_ ! _

I i i

3. Gundama 4. Kamamava 5. Vinayaditya

I

6. Vajrahasta-Aniyankabhlma

l

f I I

7. Kamamava 8. Gundama 9. Madhukamarnava

• • • •

47. Greater Gangas (Later Account)

1. Virasimha

!

1 1 i i ,, i

2. Kamamava I 3. Danamava Gunarnava I Marasimha Vajrahasta

I

4. Kamamava II

!

5. Ranamava

l '

ı

6. Vajrahasta II 7. Kamamava III

f

8. Gunarnava II (Gunamahamava in the preceding account)

___ ! _

r~. r i i. i

9. Potankusa X 11. Gundama 12. Kamamava IV 13. Vinayaditya

I I

10. Kaligalahkusa 14. Vajrahasta III (Vajrahasta-Aniyankabhlma,

No. 6 in the preceding account)

48. Gangas of §vetak?

Jayavarman

Samantavarman

*

1. Mahmdravarmari

I

2. Prithvlvarman

__j_

i I

3. Indravarman 4. Danarnava

K ailas a

i

Bhupendravarman

*

Devendravarman

49. Kadambas of Jayantyapura

Niyamava

l

Bhlmakhedi

I

Dharmakhedi

l

! I

Udayaditya Bhlmakhedi

50. Somavarrisls of Kosala

6ivagupta

l

Janamejaya Mahabhavagup I

!

Yayati Mahasivagupta I

51. Pallavas 7

1. Nandi-varman II Pallavamalla

i

2. Danti-varman

!

3. Nandi-varman III Tellarrerinda

l

4. Nripatunga-varman

5. Aparajita

52. Chojas of Tanjore

1. Vijayalaya

2. Aditya I

!

i — I

3. Parantaka I Kannaradeva

1 _

l-1 —p—- - , _

Rajaditya 4. Gandaraditya Arikesari Uttamasili 5. Arinjaya

7. Utiama Chola 6, Sundara Chola (or Parantaka II)

i _I_

Madhurantaka Gandaraditya

Aditya II 8. Rajaraja I

53. Pandyas 8

1. Maravarman Rajasimha I

l

2. Nedunjadaiyan (Parantaka, Ja^ila, or

Maranj adaiy an)

'I

3. §rimara ^rivallabha

' 1

4. Varaguna II

5. Parantaka VIranarayana (brother of 4)

I

6. Maravarman Rajasimha II

7. Vira Pandya

54. Western Gangas: Main Line

1. Srlpurusha

_I_.

i i n ~n ,,

2. Sivamara II Vijayaditya Duggs agella

M.JL. .i.,

(Collateral line)

4. I^Itimarga I

_ A _

! 1

5. Rajamalla II Butuga I

I

6. Nitimarga II

I

i ’ r a

7. Narasimha 8. Rajamalla III 9. Bufiiga XI

_ 1

i i .

10. Maruladeva 11. Marasirhha III

l

12. Rachamalia (or Rajamalla IV)

13. Rakkasa Gahga

55. Western Gangas: Collateral Line

Sivaimra

l " l

Marasimha Prithivlpati I

' !

Marasimha II

i

Prithivlpati II

• %▪

Butuga II of the Main. Line

56. Barias

Vikramaditya I Bana or Banavidyadhara

Vijayaditya

«

e

Vikramaditya II Vikramaditya III

57. Nolambas

Sihgapota

X

l

Polachora

l

Mahendra I

NItimarga II (Mahendrantaka)

\ I

X

I

X

I

Nanni Nolamba

58. Vaidumbas

Irigaya

Ganda Trinetra ' •

gandayan Tiruvayan I

Sandayan Tiruvayan II alias ^iikan^ha

59. Ceylon

1. Agrabodhi VI

2. Agrabodhi VII (brother of 1)

3. Mahendra II Silameghavarna (son of 1)

I

4. Udaya (or Dappula II)

5. Mahendra III Silameghavarna
6. Agrabodhi VIII (brother of 5)
7. Dappula II (or III) (brother of 6)
8. Agrabodhi IX
9. Sena Silamegha (brother of 8)
10. Sena II (nephew of 9)
11. Udaya II (or I) Silameghavarna (brother of 10)
12. Kasyapa IV Srisanghabodhi (brother of 11)
13. Kasyapa V Abhaya Silameghavarna (son of 10)
14. Dappula III (or IV) (probably stepbrother of 13)
15. Dappula IV (or V) Silameghavarna (probably brother of 14)
16. Udaya HI (or II) (nephew of 10)
17. Sena III (probably brother of 16)
18. Udaya IV (or III)
19. Sena IV
20. Mahendra IV Srisanghabodhi (probably brother of 19)
21. Sena V
22. Mahendra V (brother of 21)
23. Vikramabahu
24. Kirti

25. Mahalanaklrti

l

26. Vikramapandya

27. Jagatlpala

♦

Parakramapandya (? son of 26)

60. Kambuja

1. Jaya-varman II

!

2. Jaya-varman III

•

3. Indra-varman

I

I

4. Yaso-varman.

5. Harsha-varman I 6. Isana-varman II

7. Jaya-varman IV (husband of a sister of 4)

8. Harsha-varman II

9. Rajendra-varman (son of another sister of 4)

!

10. Jaya-varman V

61. Champa: Dynasty of Panduranga

1. Prithivlndra-varman

*

2. Satya-varman (sister’s son of 1)

3. Indra-varman (brother of 2)

»

4. Hari-varman (sister’s husband of 3)

I

5. Vikranta-varman III

62. Champa: Bhrigu Dynasty

1. Indra-varman II

#

2. Jayasiihha-varman

I

3. Jayasakti-varman

4. Bhadra-varman III

I

5. Indra-varman III

6. Paramesvara-varman

7. Indra-varman IV

*

8. Lu’u-Ky-Tong (Annamite usurper)

9. Vijaya £rl Hari-varman II

10. Yan Pu Ku Vijaya Sri

63. Central Java: Kingdom of Mataram

1. Sannaha

2. Sanjaya

c

m

3. Balitung (Dharmodaya Mahasambhu)

4. Dakshottama

5. Tulodong

6. Wawa

64. Eastern Java: Dynasty of Sindok

1. Sindok (Sri Isana-Vikrama Dharmottungadeva)

_ ' !

2. Sri fsanatungavijay^ (daughter of 1)

I

i

3. Sri Makutavarhsa-vardhana

m

Dharmavamsa

NOTES ON GENEALOGY

1. Cf. Bendall's Historical Introduction to Sastri's Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected nap er MSS belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, p. 21.

2. According to Bh. List, p. 403, Vyasa (No. 12) was the son of Sankaragana III No. 10) and step-brother of Bhima (No. 11).

3. Cf. DHNI, II. 1062, 1137. Contra, Bh. List, p. 381, where Purnatalla (No. 3) is omitted, and Vindhyanripati is inserted between Nos. 13 and 14.

4. Cf. Bh. List, pp. 388-9.

5. Cf. DHNI, II. 1208. Bh. List, pp. 390-1, shows no relationship between Nos. 2 and 3.

6. Cf. Stein, RT, I, Introduction, App. II, p. 145.

7. Cf. K. A. N. Sastri, History of India, I. 300.

8. Cf. op. cit., p. 299.

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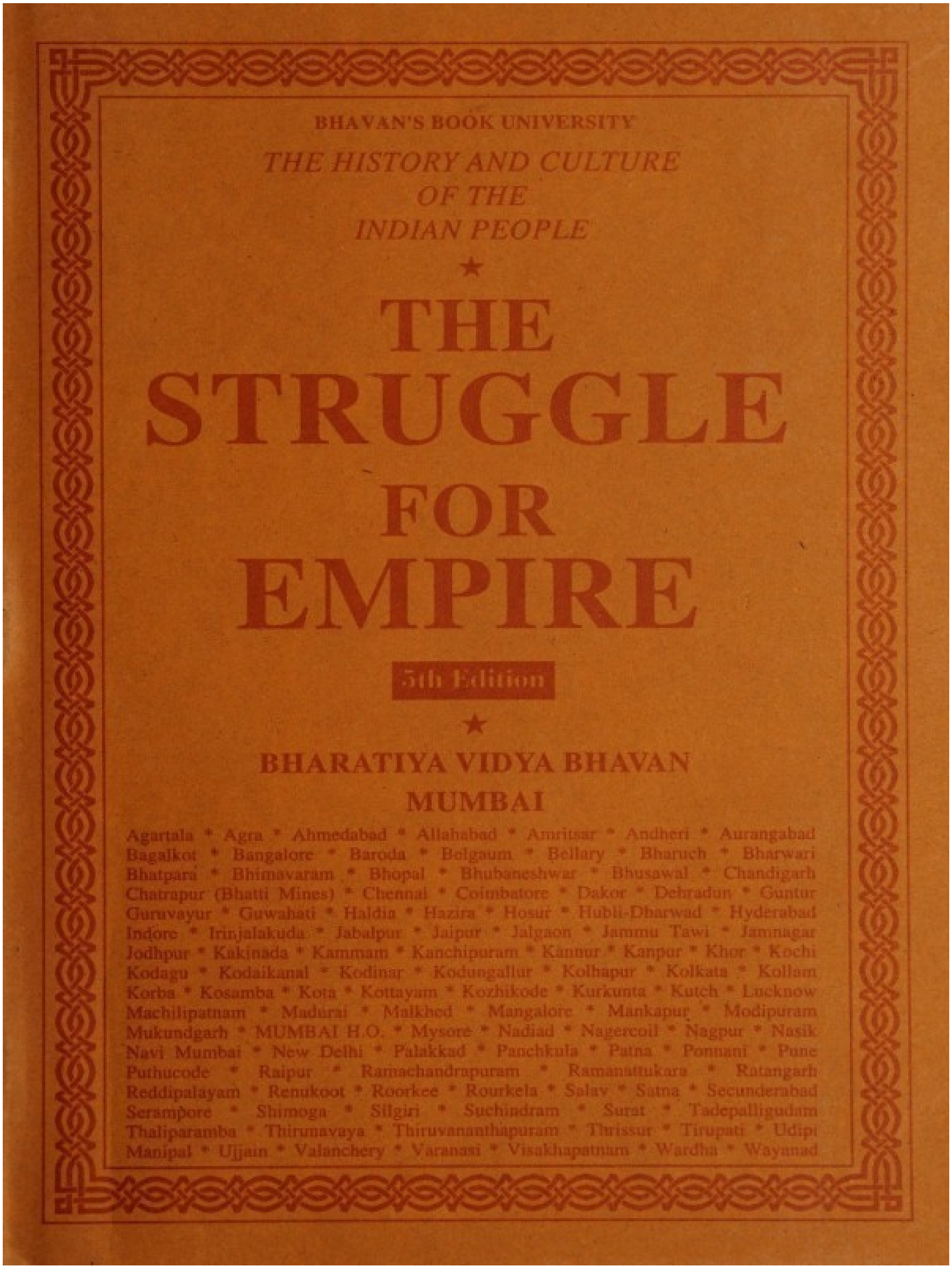

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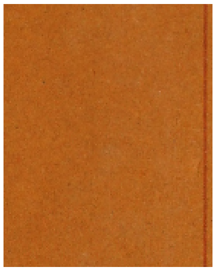

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One of the objects of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the Institution which sponsors this Series, is the “study of the forces, movements, motives, ideas, forms and art of creative energy through' which it expressed it (Indian Culture) in different ages as one continuous process”. An attempt has, therefore, to be made, consistently with this object, to present a view of the Age in flowing time.

I do so in all humility. I fully realise my inadequacy to do so; for, I have to rely upon whatever little study I have made and whatever I have observed, during the last fifty years, of the collective responses of our people to the events, movements, customs, institutions and values as also to men who have, through their life and teachings, evoked the unseen forces which have shaped the life of India.

The most crucial Age in Indian history began in A.D. 998, when the Turkish conqueror, Mahmud, captured Ghazni; it ended in A.D. 1292, when the Khalji Chief, Jalal-ud-din, proclaimed himself’the Sultan of Delhi. It can, however, be conveniently divided into two periods, the first ending in A.D. 1193, when Mu‘izz-ud-din Ghuri defeated Prithviraja Chahamana of Ajmer in the Battle of Tarain or Taraori and opened the gates of Madhya Pradesh to the foreign invader; the second ending in 1299.

This period, in my opinion, has not yet been studied from India’s point of view; from the point of view of file trials she passed through; of the sufferings she underwent when foreign elements forced their way into her life-blood; of the manner in which she reacted to the situation; of the means which she found to meet, or to mitigate, the dangers that confronted her; of the ways in which she reconstructed, achieved and fulfilled herself.

Such a study is difficult for two reasons. First, the chronicles written by the proteges of the invaders or their successors throw a dubious but concentrated light on the narrow sector of life which their patrons dominated. This generally leads to the unconfessed impression that the vastly broad sector, which lies in obscurity for want of historical material, either did not exist or does not matter as much.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Secondly, the magnificence of Akbar's achievements in the sixteenth century, by an illusory retrospectivity casts a reflected glamour on the period of the Sultanate. Because the Mughal Empire was an experiment in a national monarchy presided over by a Muslim monarch, one comes to assume, by an easy transition, that the Muslim-dominated Sultanate was the chrysalis from which it sprang.

Unless, therefore, the period is viewed from a right perspective, its true picture cannot possibly emerge; nor would it be possible to assess the factors which, coming into existence during this period, affected the life of the people through the intervening centuries, and which still confront it with unsolved problems.

II

The year A.D. 1000 was a fateful year for India. In that year, Mahmud of Ghazni first invaded it. That event, in my opinion, divides Ancient from Medieval India.

For over 2000 years before this event, that is, from before the days of king Janamejaya Parikshita, referred to in the Brdhmanas , the culture of the dominant classes, developing in almost unbroken continuity, had brought large sections of the people within its fold. It was, however, disturbed on occasions, for instance, by the raids of Alexander; by the influx of the Bactrian Greeks, the Kushanas and the Sakas; by the invasion of the Hunas; by the Arab incursions in Sindh. But these inroads were only temporary episodes; the vitality of the culture and social organization found it easy to absorb most of the alien elements which were left behind in the country after they were closed.

This continuous vitality is a phenomenon, without appreciating which it is difficult to study the epochs of Indian history in continuous time. Several factors have maintained it. Of them, perhaps the most important was the 'Aryavarta-consciousness' which threw up values and institutions of great vigour and tenacity.

It was based on the faith that Bharatavarsha, in its ideal aspect often referred to as Aryavarta, was the sacred land of Dharma, 'the high road to

Heaven and to Salvation'; where ‘men were nobler than the Gods themselves; 1 where all knowledge, thought and worship were rooted in the Vedas, revealed by the Gods themselves; where the Dharmasastras prescribed the fundamental canons of personal life and social relations; where Chaturvarnya, the divinely

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ordained fOur-fold order of society, embraced all social groups; where, whatever the dialect of the people, Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, was the supreme medium of high expression.’

The Dharmasastras—and by that is meant not only the Smritis beginning with the Manu-smriti, but the Mahabharata 2 —have played a very big role in the life of the country. Particularly Manusmriti, as the Dharmasdstra of divine origin, has had an all-pervading influence from the time historical memory could reach back to moulding the mind and the life of men, not only in India but in the India beyond the Seas, in Burma, Siam, Annam, Cambodia, Java and Bali.

With the Mahabharata and the R&mayana, it has provided a background of continuity to the social and moral life; modified customary laws of tribes and communities in different stages of civilization; and built up the Collective Unconscious of our people, that subconscious source of integrative vitality which keeps a people together, leads them to feel and react as one in the face of certain circumstances, and provides the urge to collective action of a recurring character.

Century after century, the system, first formulated by the Manusmriti , was accepted throughout the country, never by force of arms, less by royal fiats than the sanction implied in the belief that ‘God gave it and the ancestors obeyed it’. It was found so acceptable because it had a revealing basis of reality: of a frank recognition of the temperamental inequalities of man; of the predominance of hereditary influences over environments; of the need for a synthetic framework for widely differing social groups in a vast country where culture had been staggered from not only region to region, but often from one group of villages to another. Its fundamental aim was to produce a synthetic urge towards human betterment, which treated economic, social, material, and ethical and spiritual well-being as indivisible; an aim which has yet to be improved upon by any other system.

These values gave continuity to the way of life of even those sections who did not accept the divine origin of the Vedas or Chdturvarnya. They also provided homogeneity to widely differing communities and religious cults and forms. The universal urge which they provided to go on a pilgrimage, generation after generation, to the mountains, rivers, towns of ancient fame, and holy spots and shrines which were conceived as the physical manifestations of the

2. Sankara and Ramanuja both treat Bhagavadglta as a snuriti.

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Land of Dharma, also kept alive an emotional awareness of unity and sanctity.

The ‘Aryavarta-consciousness’ was mainly religio-cultural in content. Its political significance which, though often belied in practice, exercised considerable influence with the kings of an earlier age in North India when they faced foreign invasion; it is summed up by Medhatithi thus: “Aryavarta was so called because the Ary as sprang up in it again and again. Even if it was overrun by the mlechchhas, they could never abide there for long”. 3 The tradition also had it that whenever a crisis arose, a chakravartin, a worldemperor, would rise in the land and re-establish Dharma. South India, however, which accepted the religio-cultural aspects of ‘Aryavarta-consciousness’ and Manu’s system, knew no such significance, for it had never to face the problem of the mlechchhas till the fourteenth century.

The consciousness in its political aspect had all but disappeared during the few decades which preceded A.D. 1000 on account of the recurring upheavals in North India. The empire of Kanauj, which had stabilised North India for well-nigh 150 years and supported the Shahi kings of the North-West, 4 has disintegrated. Now Raghu kulabhuchakravarti, ‘the World-Emperor of Raghu’s race’, was merely a symbol of a vanished greatness, ruling over a small territory around Kanauj on the sufferance of his erstwhile feudatories. Some of them, however, like the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, the Kalachuris of Dahala and the Paramaras of Malava were engaged in struggling to found an empire on the ruins of old one, but with

little success.

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In Eastern India, the Palas, the Chandras, the Varmans and the Gangas fought each other with fluctuating success, struggling to retain whatever they had or to filch what they had not.

The Rashtrakutas, the rivals of the Pratlhara-Gur j aresvaras, had faded away; their empire, which for well-nigh two centuries had dominated most of South India, had also been dissolved. The Paramaras of Malava and the Western Chahikyas, both feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, at one time or the other, were locked in a life and death struggle, while Rajaraja Chola (A-D. 985-1014), who ruled over the extreme South, was just emerging as a powerful and wise monarch.

At the turn Of the tenth century, therefore, there was no generally accepted national focus in the country, as Kanauj had once

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been, and no military power in North India strong enough to keep the warring kings in check, or to co-ordinate their activities against any foreign invader. Thus, when Mahmud began his raids, India was ill-equipped for successful resistance.

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After the Hunas had been repulsed in the sixth century, the country had been free from any serious foreign visitation for about two centuries. The Arab conquest of Sindh in the eighth century had only been a frontier episode and the Pratiharas in the ninth century appear to have reclaimed some parts which had been overrun by the Arabs- The Indian mind, thus lulled into self-complacency, was indifferent to, if not unaware of, the vast shifts of power which were taking place across the frontier.

When the Samanid Princes, Turks recently converted to Islam, had grown weak, Alptigin, a slave of one of them, established himself at Ghazni on the borders of India as a quasi-independent chieftain. His successor, Sabuktigin (A.D- 977-997), when he was safely entrenched in power, began nibbling at the possessions of the Shahi kings, which included parts of Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab.

On Sabuktigln's death, his son Mahmud, with swift audacity, captured Ghazni, which his father had left to another son. He was a military leader of the highest order, gifted with a rare personality. Developing a marvellous striking power, by A.D- 1000, he extended his sway over considerable parts of Central Asia, Iran and Seistan, Then he turned to India, giving her people a foretaste of total war with which they had not been familiar since the days of the Hunas

The Indian kings, all of whom accepted, at any rate in theory, the law of the Dharmasastras as inalienable, waged wars according to certain humane rules. Whatever the provocation, the shrine, the Brahmana and the cow were sacrosanct to them. War being a special privilege of the martial classes, harassment of the civilian population during military operations was considered a serious lapse from the code of honour. The high regard which all the Kshatriyas had for the chastity of women, also ruled out abduction as an incident of war.

The wars in Central Asia, on the other hand, were grim struggles for survival, for the destruction of the enemies and for appropriating their womenfolk. No code circumscribed the destructive zeal of the conqueror; no canon restrained the ruthlessness of their

hordes- When, therefore, Mahmud's armies swept over North India it saw torrents of barbarians sweeping across its rich plains, burning, looting, indulging in indiscriminate massacre; raping women, destroying fair cities, burning down magnificent shrines enriched by centuries of faith; enforcing an alien religion at the point of sword; abducting thousands, forcing them into unwilling marriage or concubinage; capturing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, to be sold as slaves in the markets of Ghazni and other Central Asian markets.

Delhi, Kanaaj, Jejakabhukti sent men and money to help the Shahi kings to defend their frontiers. But the invader swept everything before him- All that the three generations of the Shahis, ‘men of noble sentiments and noble bearings’, who, according to AlBlrunl, ‘in their grandeur never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and rich’, could do was, like heroes of frustrated destiny that they were, fight and die bravely.

Mahmud annexed the Punjab, thereby opening the way to the hungry men from the steppes of Central Asia to descend upon this rich and fertile land in search of plunder. Nothing would withstand the Central Asian raiders eager to plunder and destroy. In a few years, Thaneswar, Mathura, Kanauj and Prabhasa Pattana were smoking ruins. The ruler of Kanauj accepted submission on abject terms. The raids of the Turk were, however, halted in the east by Vidyadhara Chandella at Kalanjara and in the south-west, where after destroying the temple of Somanatha, Mahmud had to beat a hasty retreat through the desert of Sindh for fear of the federated armies of ‘Paramadeva’, whom I would identify with Bhoja Paramar a of Dhara (A.D. 1000-1055).

In spite of the havoc worked by the raids of Mahmud, life returned to normal as soon as their pressure disappeared- For instance, within five years of the invasion, in the course of which Mahmud destroyed the temple of Somanatha, Gujarat, richer and more powerful than before, had not only rebuilt the temple on a more magnificent scale, but created the artistic wonders of the Dilwara temple. About the same time, the neighbouring kingdom, which included Malwa and parts of Gujarat, was enjoying great prosperity associated with enthusiastic pursuit of learning, literature and art.

5. Munshi, Imperial Gurjaras, p. 139.

IV

However, the destruction and the humiliation inflicted by Mahmud’s raids shocked India’s sense of ancient superiority, bringing into play several political, social and psychological factors. With the Yamlnls, the successors of Mahmud, firmly established in the Punjab, the 'Aryavarta-consciousness' lost whatever significance it had. The belief that Chaturvarnya was a divinely appointed universal order, characteristic of the land, was shaken; for now a ruling race in the country not only stood outside it, but held it in contempt and sought its destruction.

Nationalism, familiar to the modern mind, is a non-religious group sentiment. It is associated with a fierce possessiveness over one's own land however vast it may be, entertained by a people who have willed themselves into a quasi-organic solidarity. Naturally, the Indian kings could not develop it, because the country was too vast and the times unfavourable to the development of a non-religious group sentiment of this nature- Five more centuries had to elapse before nationalism became a force in Europe and two hundred more years had to pass before it was to become a human value in Asia

i The storm that blew in the wake of Mahmud's armies was sudden and overwhelming. It came before any of the feudatories of Imperial Kanauj could win the race for an unchallenged hegemony; when it blew over none was left strong enough to win it. The kings of South India, where the political aspect of the 'Aryavarta-consciousness' had been so much as penetrated, also presented too persistent a menace to enable them to combine against a foreign enemy from the North-West. In the result, loyalties came to be confined to one's own region, accelerating the* trend to social and political particularism.

During this Age, the dvijas had long ceased to be a compact, social group created by anuloma marriages and a common education received from Brahmana preceptors. The Brahman as, the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas were now separate castes to which was denied the dynamic fluidity throughout the country which it had under the earlier social order. To this was added another factor. The dynastic pride, always a great factor in stiffening the morale of royal houses, had deteriorated into vaingloriousness which grew in proportion as the kingdoms shrunk in extent- A king, instead of being the only source of power, was no more than the first among the equals, the head of inter-related overlordships, never in a position to overrule the wishes of his feudal lords

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In consequence, the loyalties of the Kshatriyas became rooted in the region over which they and their king held feudal sway. This rendered annexation, the only possible source of establishing the core of an empire, extremely difficult. Even after a smashing victory, a conqueror sometimes seems to have found it expedient to restore the vanquished enemy or a member of his family to the throne in order not to alienate the local chieftains; but no sooner was his back turned, than they, more often than not, declared independence.

Under these conditions, scarcely any king could leave his realm for any length of time exposing it to the greed of his neighbours. He was always hard put to save his own kingdom and, on accession, had to make peace even with a foreign invader and divert his attention to his neighbour. In this way, social stagnancy and regional consciousness led to what has been called “sxnall-state-mindedness’, the sure forerunner of political disintegration.

V

About the middle of the twelfth century, the Turks, then in occupation of parts of Central Asia, were forced first westwards and then eastwards by the pressure of their enemies. In A.D. 1175, the Turkish chief, Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad, the nephew of the ferocious ‘World-Burner’ of Ghur, invaded India. The impact of the invasion was borne by three powerful princes: Prithvlraja Chahamana of Ajmer, Jayachandra Gahadavala of Kanauj, and Mularaja II, Chaulukya of Gujarat. Each one of them was powerful enough to defeat the invader singly; Mularaja drove him back in 1178; Prithvlraja, in A.D. 1191; but no two of them would combine. When the brave Prithvlraja lost the second Battle of Tarain in 1192, the turning point of history, came. W T hen Jayachandra Gahadavala, next to be vanquished, died fighting, the Turkish cavalry swept over the plains of the Ganga.

In A.D. 1206, Qutb-ud-din Tibak, who succeeded Mu‘izz-din Muhammad, established the Turkish Sultanate of India at Lahore. It was transferred later to Delhi. The Sultanate was foreign in personnel and outlook, for “The Forty” as the leading Turkish chiefs, originally the slaves of Mu‘izz-ud-dln, were called, owned it in fee. Its principal concern was loot and conquest; and the slogan of jehad, supported by the ‘ Ulama, came in useful to maintain the fanatic zeal of the army. To these invaders nothing was sacred. The description given by Padmanabha in Kahnadade Prabandha (c. A. D. 1456)

of what the armies of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji did, would equally apply to the campaigns of the Turks:

“The conquering army burnt villages; devastated the land, plundered people’s wealth, took Brahmans, children and women of all castes captive, and flogged them with thongs and raw hide, carried a moving prison with it, and converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks.”

In the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, in the words of ‘Utbi, “the blood of the infidels flowed copiously and apostasy was often the only way of survival.” On the testimony of so liberal a Muslim of this age as Amir Khusrav, “the land had been saturated with the water of the sword and the vapours of infidelity (i.e. Hindus) had been dispersed.” Will Durant, in his Story of Civilization, aptly says: “The Mohammedan conquest of India is probably the bloodiest story in history. It is a discouraging tale, for its evident moral is that civilization is a precarious thing, whose delicate complex of order and liberty, culture and peace may at any time be overthrown by barbarians invading from without or multiplying within”. And neither the ferocity nor the persistence of the invader could lead the Indians to develop the military organisation or the ruthlessness needed to match the opposing savagery.

The conquests so exultantly referred to by the court chroniclers of the Sultanate had an Indian side of the picture. It was one of ceaseless resistance offered with relentless heroism; of men, from boys in teens to men with one foot in the grave, flinging away their lives for freedom; of warriors defying the invaders from fortresses for months, sometimes for years, in one case, with intermission, for a century; of women in thousands courting fire to save their honour; of children whose bodies were flung into the wells by their parents so that they might escape slavery; of fresh heroes springing up to take the place of the dead and to break the volume and momentum of the onrushing tide of invasion.

About the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mongols had already established themselves in Afghanistan. In A.D. 1254, they had taken Lahore; in A.D. 1255 they had entered Sindh. With his retreat to the original homeland thus cut off, the Turk, compelled to look to India as his permanent home, clung to the precariously held kingdom of Delhi with tenacity. However, in spite of military operations conducted for a century, the core of the Sultanate only comprised the central military base of Delhi and the surrounding districts within a radius of about 250 miles of it. The frontier districts were no better than garrison outposts from which the Turkish satraps carried on raids against the Indian chiefs, who held the rural areas- But even when the resistance was overcome, the satraps had to administer the conquered areas with the aid of hereditary Indian chiefs and officers, who were always on the look out for an opportunity to revolt. Some of the Indian chiefs carried their expeditions to the walls of Delhi and even across the Yamuna into the Doab. From the Indian point of view, therefore, the territory of the Sultanate in the thirteenth century was only an arena of resistance which neither wavered nor tired.

VI

This resistance was nowhere more characteristically symbolised than in the epic heroism associated with the Chahamanas of Ranthambhor- From A.D. 1192, when Prithvlraja Chahamana lost the battle of Tarain, till A.D. 1301 when his descendant, the heroic Hammlradeva, fell fighting in the battlefield and the fortress fell to ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji, they defied the Sultanate year after year and generation after generation. And so did the Katehrs who were no less unyielding in their resistance.

The Indian kings, steeped in their tradition of tolerance, could scarcely envisage the danger to which their policies towards Islam exposed them. In spite of what was happening in North India, Indian kings permitted foreigners to settle freely in their kingdoms and granted them free exercise of their religious practices. Even before the Turkish invasion, some sects of Islam had drifted into the country and their religious and proselytising activities had not been interfered with. Jayasimha Siddharaja of Gujarat (A.D. 1094-1143) punished some of his subjects for interfering with the worship of Muslims. Proselytising activities were freely carried out in the days of the Yadavas by a Sufi teacher, Mumin ‘Arif, who settled near Devagiri in the South, and by Jalal-ud-dln Ganjrawan (died in A.D. 1254) another Sufi from Iran. Sarangadeva (A.D. 1294-1297) of Gujarat gave a grant for a masjid to the local Muslim community of Prabhasa Pattana with the blessings of the high-priest of Somanatha when, for decades, the Turks had been destroying thousands of temples in Varanasi and other sacred places.

Once the Turkish Sultanate was installed at Delhi and Islam came to be enthroned in political power, wherever the writ of the Sultans ran, the proselytising activities of Islam became active; the Hindus were denied the right to public worship and were subjected to civil disabilities and other indignities; and many communities, particularly in the lower strata of society, took to the new faith in order to escape these hardships- This led to the emergence of a distinct element in the population of the country, termed ‘Mussalmans’. This community comprised the Turkish conquerors and their retainers; the foreign mercenaries pressed into their service from time to time; the divines, scholars and adventurers who migrated to India from foreign lands; the men taken prisoners in war or forced into slavery; the converts who sought the new faith to secure royal favour or protection; the Hindu women captured in war or abducted and their progeny.

This element in the population, which had behind it the political and military support of the Sultanate and its governors, slowly acquired the conquistador spirit of the Turks- Ever on the increase, it began to look down upon the people from whom most of its members had come, as infidels to foe despised and converted or killed, and in any event to be fought and overcome. It was this element that in opposition to the ruling Turkish ‘Forty", supported the Khal» jls, who were not considered pure Turks, to capture the Sultanate in A.D. 1290.

The aggressive attitude of this new element in the population led to the religious, cultural and psychological resistance on the part of the people of the country, who, in contra-distinction to it, came to be referred to as ‘Hindus’- The Hindus fought the conquistador spirit of the Muslims by developing a challenging superiority complex. They made compromises with the rulers when compelled to do so; they served them when they could not help doing so. But they would not let them defile the sanctity of their homes or castes, social and religious observances by encouraging indiscriminate contact with the Muslims.

The people while countering the invader by armed resistance to the best of their ability succeeded in confining his authority wherever he had acquired it, within the narrowest limits. They also tried to protect religion, culture and social order, rebuilding on the old foundations wherever they could. The Dharmasastras were given a higher sanctity; the edge of social ostracism was sharpenedWomen were segregated in their homes; infant marriages became almost universal. Self-immolation by heroic women on the funeral pyre, when their husbands lost their life in battle, became the supreme form of martyrdom, which kept a sense of religious and cultural superiority at white heat. Caste divided and sub-divided, but remained unmixed. Even the process of social betterment through which lower castes were progressively raised to a higher status was slowed down or halted

At the same time, the conflicts and tensions, bitter and persistent though they were, provided areas of contact, and therefore of adjustment. The slaves captured in war and women acquired as wives or mistresses, were Muslims only in name. The new converts and their children wore Islam more as an official badge, rarely giving up all the inhibitions and practices of the Hindus- Even the Sultan or his satrap, however intolerant, had to adjust himself to his Hindu feudal chiefs and officials, and, in spite of frequent protests from the ‘Ulamti, framed his policies so as not to create strong disaffection among them.

Rebels from either camps sought refuge with the other. There was intercourse between the two communities in courts, fairs and festivals. Hindu artists, musicians and dancers thronged the courts and the camps of the Sultans and their governors and reaped a rich harvest. Hindu and Muslim saints, not unoften, had a common appeal to both the communities, and the sects of both the religions, by way of action and re-action, and sometimes by challenge, influenced each other. The Mahanubhava sect, a non-idolatrous Krishna cult, founded by Chakradharasvami (died in A.D-1272) about the time the first Sufi saints settled in Aurangabad, is an instance in point.

The Hindus remained in the spheres of trade, commerce and banking. The Muslims, however intolerant, therefore, had to treat the Hindu mercantile community with consideration, though it was inspired by seif-interest and often grudging. The foreign trade, on which the Sultanate depended, was mostly in the hands of Hindus of the west coast, who traded with Persia and Arabia. The extravagant young Muslims also found it impossible to indulge in a life of gaiety without the money, which the Hindu banker was not unwilling to provide in order to secure freedom from harassment or indignity.

These areas of contact would have hastened far-reaching adjustments had not the perennial streams of Muslim adventurers and divines continued to flow through the North-Western passes- To feed their rapacity or fanaticism these immigrants kept alive virulent antagonism for the people whom they had come to exploit.

Except for a few buildings like the Qutb-minar, there is nothing to relieve the dreary military character of the thirteenth century Sultanate. It made no contribution to the sphere of culture,, except a little in the field of historiography and Persian literatureSome of the Sultans, it appears, encouraged some new ideas and modes in architecture, paving the way for the Indo-Saracenic style

of the future. They also made some crude experiments in administrative policies as well as the fiscal revenue and currency systems^ In self-interest they also began to build a line of defence against th£ Mongols in the North-West, halting their irresistible march. But the harvest of whatever little they sowed was to be gathered in the next age in the reigns of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq.

VII

Even within the areas in which Turkish armies operated, the India of the age belonged to the heroes of resistance; outside this area lay considerable parts of the North and the whole of the South—in fact, three-fourths of the country, where India followed its unbroken way of life, where the Dharmasastras were honoured and obeyed and where Hinduism flourished unobstructed.

Where the Indian kings ruled, their regional pride, exaggerated though it was, had its compensatory feature. They vied with each other in making their courts brilliant centres of art, learning and literature. They gave generous grants to the poor and the learned, built beautiful temples and lavished patronage on poets. People lived within the regulated order which, though circumscribed by ancient customs, was in no way oppressive.

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In North India, girdling the area of military resistance, were the old kingdoms of Dahala, ruled by the Kalachuris (11th century to 1212); Jejakabhukti, ruled by the Chandellas (9th century to 1315); Malwa, ruled by the Paramaras (10th century to AD. 1305); and Gujarat, ruled by the Chaulukyas and Vaghelas (A.D. 940-1299), the most opulent and powerful of them all

In the South, the Western Chalukyas (A.D. 973-1189), the Yadavas (A.D. 1185-1317), the Kakatiyas (c. A.D. 1050-1322), the Eastern Chalukyas (A.D. 999-1271) and later, Pan<Jyas (A-D. 11th to 14th centuries) and Hoysalas (c. A.D. 1106-1343) ruled over flourishing kingdoms and in the middle of the thirteenth century the Pandyan conqueror Jatavarman Sundara Pan<Jya established hegemony over several of them. Some of these kingdoms, at one time or the other, were more powerful than the Sultanate except perhaps during the reign of Iltutmish and Balban. If the prosperity and welfare of the people, the patronage of art and literature provide any test, most of them were decidedly great

But the most important of them in extent and power—not excluding the Sultanate at its best—and the most brilliant in cultural achievements, was the empire of the Cholas of Tanjore (A.D- 985

1250), When North India was being raided by Mahmud, Rajaraja Chola (A.D. 985-1014), one of the greatest rulers in Indian history, was laying the foundations of an empire- A pious man, he conquered far and wide, set up an efficient administration and ruled his people wisely and well. A great patron of art and literature, he built the Brihadisvara (or Rajarajesvara) temple at Tanjore, the most beautiful of Tamil edifices in the country. His empire at his death included the whole of South India up to the Tungabhadra, the Maldives and a part of Ceylon, with Andhradesa in feudatory alliance.

Under his son, Rajendra Chola Gangaikoi?$a (AD- 1012-1044), the empire reached its zenith, comprising, besides the territories that had been acquired by Rajaraja, parts of what is at present Madhya Pradesh, the whole of Andhra, Ceylon, and parts of Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. The Chola Emperors were the first to recognise the value of naval power. Their navy controlled the Bay of Bengal, which became a ‘Chola-Lake’, and won a colonial empire which embraced Ceylon, the Nicobar Islands, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. Their administrative organisation had a strong centralised machinery and an efficient system of audit. They constructed the famous anieuts across the Kaveri in the Tanjore District; had land surveys made of their territories; built magnificent temples; established schools of Vedic and Sanskritic learning. Under them literature blossomed and art flourished and the south contributed valuable works in the field of philosophy, Dharmasastras, ^aivism. dramaturgy, music and dancing.

During this period, the Hindu kingdoms of Suvarpadvlpa, which comprised the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, kingdom of the &ailendras, Pagan and Kambuja in South-East Asia, formed part of Dvlpantara-Bharata, 'India beyond the Seas’. They had close contacts with India, and South India and Bengal influenced them considerably.

Within fifty years of the conquest of the great Sailendra empire of Malaya by the Chola conquerors, the royal dynasty re-established its power to some extent, which came to an end only about A.D. 1264. The empire of

Kambuja (Cambodia) reached its zenith in the twelfth century, when Suryavarman II built the great temple of Angkor Vat, reckoned as one of the wonders of the world. At the end of the twelfth century, the Hindu kingdom of Champa (Indo-China) under Jayavarman VIII, extended from the Bay of Bengal on one side to the Sea of China on the other; it continued to flourish till A.D. 1312 when the Emperor of Annam reduced it to vassalage. Java also continued to be a powerful Hindu kingdom till the fifteenth century.

When overpowered by the Muslims, the Hindu rulers, rather than renounce Hinduism, migrated with a large number of people to the small island of Bali, which had already been colonised by the Hindus. Hinduism flourishes in Bali even now. Several massive monuments like Angkor Thom in Kambuja and Barabu$ur in Java attest to the grandiose art of this glorious period of Dvipantara-Bharata.

In A.D. 1044, the Hindu king, Aniruddha, ruling from Pagan or Arimardanapura in Burma, brought the whole country, excluding Tenasserim, under his rule. One of his successors, Nkrasimhapati, in A.D. 1271, defied Kublai Khan for many years, till about the end of the thirteenth century, a grandson of Kublai Khan marched to Pagan which ‘perished amidst the blood and flame of the Tartar's terror’.

As a result of the resilience of the social order as had been developed under the influence of the Dharmasastras, most of the social activities were in the hands of autonomous groups outside Hie sphere of royal authority. The king waged wars. He lost battles or died fighting. His army was massacred. But the villages, more or less self-sufficient economic and social units, continued to lead their own life; the local panchayats continued to dispense justice; the Brahmanas, to impart education and direct religious rites and duties; the Kshatriyas, to give protection; and the autonomous castes, to provide social security and to safeguard human relations.

During this age, therefore, in spite of the ravages of the Turks, India was still the land of great achievements.

¥111

By the end of the tenth century, Hinduism, with its vigorous cults inculcating the worship of Siva, Sakti and Vishnu, had absorbed Buddhism; asserted its universal supremacy; re-interpreted its popular doctrines, charging them with high philosophy, and thrown up vast movements of the spirit.

The Brahmapas continued to exercise tremendous influence in the mind and faith of the people. In the main devoted to learning, rituals, worship, they led the renaissance, which can appropriately be called Puranic. Sanskrit, which remained their passport to a semi-divine status and their instrument of unifying the country, continued to be the language of religion, philosophy and sciences; of the courts where learning was lavishly patronised; of the Universities where the &astras were studied and re-interpreted. The Indian kings of the period, whatever their other faults, never failed to promote

or to honour learning. But by the end of the thirteenth century, intellectual expansion of North India halted abruptly. This can only be traced to the vast destructions of the Universities and centres of learning in North India by the Turks.

In spite of the destruction of some great shrines and Universities in North India, literature in Sanskrit flourished in most parts of India. Whatever of it has come down to us includes mahdkdvyas and kavyas, lyrical, didactic, satirical and historical poems; dramas of different varieties; prose romances and charnpus; tales, romantic and didactic; treatises on metrics, poetics and dramaturgy, on politics, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, architecture and philosophy.

It was the age of polymaths: of Kshemendra, Bhoja and Hemachandra. Though Kalidasa's Raghuvmhsa and Meghaduta and Bapa's Kddambari provided the model for many of the creative works, they tended to be learned, rather than living. The fashion of the time required that even epics should be so composed that every word had a double or treble entendre . For instance, every verse of the Dvydsraya-mahdkdvya of Hemachandra illustrates rules of grammar as also the history of the Chaulukyas.

Though most of the kavyas were second-rate, Nawhadhtya can stand comparison with the best of them. Kalhapa's Rdjatarangini is the best work on history in Sanskrit. The greatest creative work of the period—-Jayadeva’s Gfita-govinda—in which sound, sense and emotion have been mingled in exquisite harmony, and the beauty of words is invested with the intensity of erotic emotions, is a unique poem in the literature of the world, rare and exquisite, though oppressively scintillating.

IX

In the tenth century the castes were comparatively fluid and reconversion to Hinduism not impossible. But in this age the fundamental values of Dharmasastras were readjusted not only to restore continuity and stability to the social order, but to provide defensive ramparts in order to present a solid front to an aggressive alien culture and religion. The dynamic outlook of Medhatithi and Devala-smritij therefore, gave place to a conservative outlook.

During this period, the great Dharmasastra texts— Mitdkshard, Ddyabhdga, Smriti-chandrikd and Apardrka tika —reinterpreted the regulatory canons of life laid down by the earlier texts. Their authority, as judicial decisions show, held good till yesterday when in

parts it was superseded by the amendments of the Hindu Code. Chaturvarnya, as envisaged by these texts, was the ideal pattern for the society to conform. Lapses might be many and varied, but provision was made to condone or remedy them by appropriate rituals. These law-texts, universally accepted as authoritative, more than any single factor, helped to conserve the social structure and the pattern of conduct in all human relations, which were held traditionally sacrosanct from the days of Manu.

XI

Sanskrit had been placed on a pedestal of scholarship and sanctity, assuming a more learned character. Prakrit and Apabhrarhia had receded in the background. Some of the dialects of the regions— desabhashds — thereupon had become the vehicles of the living thought and emotions of the people. This Age saw the literary activities in these dialects which laid the foundation of the modern Indian languages and their literature, including Marathi, Bengali, Tamil, Kannada and Telugu, as also Old Gujarati, sometimes called the Western Rajasthani, of which modern Gujarati, Jaipuri, Marwari and Malvi are the descendants.

With miraculous adaptability Brahmanas and non-Brahma$as also carried to the masses the vision and the hope of the Epics and the Puranas, through the media of these languages. This brought about the later phase of the Puranic Renaissance, which kept ancient ideals and traditions through the desabhashds. This movement spread over many parts of the country. To the poets it gave fresh inspiration; to the P&uramkas, the readers of the Purar;as, a new vocation; to the philosophers, a new outlook; to the village sects, something to live for. It made the glamour of the past, of which the people were already proud, live again. It displaced cumbrous ritual and abstruse doctrine, to make way for the bhakti —-devotion—associated with joy, dance and prayer.

Before the rise of Sankaracharya, the Vaishgava mystics and saints, known as Alvars in the South, had invested bhakti with the attributes of earthly love. When the Bhdgavata Parana, one of the literary masterpieces of the world, recreated Sri Krishna as the supremely lovable child, youth, lover—God Himself— Kftshnas^ tu Bhagavdn svayam , out of the statesman, World Teacher and a vatdra of the Epic and the earlier Puranas, it was accepted as the gospel of bhakti throughout the country.

During this period, an aspect of bhakti also received a new emphasis. After A.D. 1000, Yajnunacharya began his apostolic career under the Chola kings. He propagated prapatti “Surrender to God”. Ramanujacharya, who succeeded him, not only developed the doctrine by providing it with a philosophic background, but raised it to the level of a monotheistic religion. In this bhakti school of thought, which challenged the supremacy of the Vedanta of Sankara, living dedication to God became the master idea giving the powexdul emotional content to the bhakti.

When Radha came to be associated with Sri Krishna in the popular imagination, the bhakti movement received a still more powerful impetus. About A.D. 1150, Nimbarka founded a new school in Andhradesa, stressing the bhakti both of Sri Krishna and Radha, “We worship”, he says, “Radha, the daughter of Vrishabhanu, the goddess who joyfully adorns the left lap of the great deity Sri Krishna, as beautiful as Sri Krishna Himself, surrounded by thousands of damsels. She is the one who fulfils all desires”. Madhva in Karnatak laid the foundation of a yet more vigorous Vaisbnava cult.

These A chary as were not merely philosopher saints. They were ardent evangelists, with an inspired sense of their mission. They and their followers travelled from one place of pilgrimage to another; worshipped at holy places or well-known shrines, particularly those associated with Sri Krishna; established contacts, composed philosophic treatises, held discourses and made disciples who wandered from countryside to countryside, singing the praises of the Lord.

The concept of bhakti , to which shape had been given by Sri Krishna in the Bhagavad-gfita , and by the early founders of the Fancharatra doctrines, had already contributed a vital element in the Puranic renaissance. Later romantic and emotional elements were added to it by the devotional songs of the Alvars, the human appeal of the Bhdgavata and the glamour of the Radha-Krishaja sports of Gita-govinda setting the imagination of the people aglow Slowly, it penetrated, though often unperceived, into the dark undergrowth of frustration which had been taking possession of the Collective Unconscious of the people. Ever a vibrant force, in a hundred and fifty years, it was to blaze forth as the Bhakti Renaissance to give India the raptures of a fresh joy, which enabled her to save her soul.

XI

We have a fairly reliable picture of the economic condition of Gujarat in the ample materials which are available. Similar conditions are likely to have prevailed in some other parts of the country where the Turkish armies did not operate. The evidence shows that

the soil of Gujarat was fertile; its people adventurous, hard-working and well-behaved. Agriculture yielded bountiful harvests; industries flourished; internal trade and maritime commerce was brisk and profitable. In general, the masses in the country lived simply but well, drawing sustenance from a rich soil. Hie middle classes lived in comfort; the upper classes in wealth, plenty and pomp. Important shrines and Universities were richly endowed.

By the end of the thirteenth century, the textile industry of Gujarat had reached its high-water mark; Baroji and Kambayati, manufactured in Broach and Cambay respectively, are referred by Marco Polo and Al-Newayri as the outstanding varieties of textile. It was also famous for its tanning and leather industries, “What more shall I tell you”, writes the astonished Marco Polo, “you must know in every truth that in this kingdom are made the best and finest leather goods in the world and the most costly,”

No less important were its industries of manufacturing gur and sugar, and the building industry. Hie flourishing condition of the latter is evidenced by the large residential quarters in the cities like Anahlllapataka. Dholka, Cambay and Broach; by the magnificent temples of Somanatha, Abu, and Moflhera; by the forts, the remnant of one of which can still be seen at Dabhoi; by the elaborate step-wells of the period which still survive. The use of iron implements of extreme fineness is also indicated by the exquisite stone carvings.

Trades were organised into guilds with a department of the State to look after them. Broach and Cambay, the two ports of Gujarat, carried on a large international trade. Idrisi speaks of the residents of Broach as being rich and engaged in trade. “They freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for vessels coming from China and is also for those of Sind.” Spices, dyes, leather goods and textiles formed the principal items of export; and so were locally made perfumes, which had a world wide demand. Imports comprised gold, silver and other commodities, particularly horses, of which 10,000 are recorded as passing annually through the port of Cambay alone. Prabhasa was also an entrepot and its religious importance invested it with great prominence.

Large part of the overseas trade of Gujarat was controlled by Indians, though merchants of Arabia settled in different parts of the land had also a share in it. Jagadu, a merchant of international renown, is stated to have traded regularly with Persia and trans ported goods to and fro in his ships. A brisk trade was carried on with Sumatra and Java. The wealth brought from the latter country has passed into a proverb: “He who goes to Java never returns; but if he does, he brings so much wealth that his grand-children’s grand-children will not be able to exhaust if.” Al-Idrisi testifies that Indian merchants were known for justice, good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements. Merchants of Lata (South Gujarat) received special encomium from Marco Polo, who says: “I assure you that these Brahmanas are among the best and most trustworthy merchants in the world; for nothing on earth would they tell a lie and all that they say is true.”

There is also evidence, though not so complete, of the conditions in other parts of the country. Date and cocoanut trees grew at Sandan and the latter were found in abundance at Saymur. Magadha was rich in rice, and Kalihga produced its best varieties suitable for the royal kitchens. Ginger and cinnamon came from the Paotfya kingdom; camphor, from the mountain slopes between Quilon and Madura; cardamom and pepper, from Malabar. Bengal produced spikenard and other spices, ginger, sugar and cotton. The Malaya hills supplied sandal-wood, while from Kashmir came yellow sandal, saffron and grapes. Indigo of a fine quality was produced in Quilon. The Chola-mafidala abounded in ivory.

The textile industry also flourished in Vahga, Kalihga, the Chola -mantfala and Multan. Malwa provided large quantities of cotton cloth; Malabar manufactured “very beautiful and delicate buckrams;” Warangal, fine cotton fabrics and carpets; cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads formed part of the products of Cholamantfala. The temples at Bhuvanesvara, Purl and Konarak testify to the skill of the ironsmiths in manufacturing iron-beams of unwrought iron. The iron pillar at Dhara is reputed to have been the highest pillar of its kind in the world. Palnad in South India specialised in iron manufactures including arms.

Malabar had important centres of pearl fisheries. Warangal produced diamonds of large size in abundance. At many centres in the country, articles of gold and silver of high artistic value were manufactured, and the art of jewellers had reached a high degree of specialised skill.

Malabar also had international centres of trade, visited by ships from the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea as also from South China.

Its imports included metals, textiles, fabrics, frankincense, etc. Spices, precious stones, pearls, cloths of silk and gold, and ivory figured among the exports. Horses constituted by far the largest item among the imports. Chau Ju-Kua refers to the Arabs taking their horses to Quilon for trade. The merchants of Quilon and the officials of the Chola government employed in the port have been praised for their integrity by the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela.

XII

The pall of the purdah had not yet descended upon the 1 land. Men and women, simply dressed but richly ornamented, moved about freely. Fairs and feasts were held in plenty. Flowers were in general use as personal ornaments. Dance, drama and music, vocal and instrumental, were very popular. So was wrestling and duel. Fights between birds and quails were often staged to popular delight. Large temples, built by kings or the pious rich were community centres where the humbler folk gathered, received instructions, held their fairs and festivals; where dramatic performances were held. Apart from the Sanskrit dramas, there were also entertainments of a popular variety. Hemachandra tells us that sometimes during such entertainments "even the sophisticated townsmen were impelled to laugh like villagers, at fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, fiat-nosed men, men with dishevelled hair; by ash coloured men, by men with buttockbells, by the musicians of the armpit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of the speech of other people."

After the Classical Age, this age was the most glorious epoch of Indian art, particularly in the spheres of architecture and sculpture, though their traditions had grown up in the earlier period. This was India's great age of temple-building. In several parts of North India, remnants of some of the magnificent temples of the period survive; many of the important ones in the South are still intact. More than anything else, they bear eloquent testimony to the faith and opulence of the times; to the high degree which artistic execution had attained in the country; above all, to the inspiring and conditioning factors in the social and emotional life of the people which nourished such a great art.

At the close of the age, or perhaps a decade or two later, when the armies of the Turkish and Khalji Sultans overran the country, the creative vitality in terms of plastic art came to an end.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

These remains also indicate the vigour of the religious movements which sustained the life of the people. Though the worship of Vishpu was popular among the well-to-do and the intellectual classes, the worship of &iva and &akti ? more than t any other cult, exercised the most active influence and claimed the devotion of the bulk of the people. Most of the great temples of this age, which survive to-day, are dedicated to Siva. Perhaps the shrines of the twelve jyotirlingas, to the deity, as the guardian deity of the universe, situated in different parts of the country, began to command the veneration of the whole country during this period. Anyway two of them—the one of Somanatha at Prabhasa, and the other of Mahakala at Ujjain—were shrines held in such veneration before Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the country. Temples dedicated to Siva also abounded on the banks of most of the rivers and in villages; for, he was the god whom the poor universally loved.

▪feiva and Parvatl, with their colourful family, entered into the life of the people as devoted lovers, as affectionate parents, as dread destroyers, as the defenders of the righteous. As the destroyers of the demons Tripura and Mahishasura, they were not only the powers who supported the righteous in their crusade against the wicked, but were the presiding deities of conflict, whether of attack or defence.

Siva, as the wielder of the mighty trident, therefore, had an unchallenged place in the Indian heart not only in these three centuries but in the preceding and the succeeding centuries as well. His name was a challenging refrain in all heroic appeals. From before the medieval period, the warriors generally went to battle , with his name on their lips. And they were to do so not only throughout the Era of Resistance, which began with this Age, but even till 1857, when Eani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and her heroic followers, in their fight against the British, courted martyrdom with ‘Kara Kara Mahadev’ on their lips.

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- 1. Vishnu , II. 3, 4.
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- 3. Medhatithi on Manu: II, 22.
- 4. Munshi, Imperial Gurjaras, p. 86.

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By Dr. R. C. MajumdaR General Editor

This volume covers the period, roughly speaking, from A.D. 1000 to 1300. But there has been a slight departure from these limiting dates both at the beginning as well as at the end. In the First Chapter the rise of the Ghaznavids has been traced from the very beginning in the latter half of the tenth century A.D. In Chapter V the history of the Delhi Sultanate is brought to a close with the accession of Sultan Jalal-ud-dln Flruz Shah in AIX 1290. In both the cases the departure has been made with a view to giving a complete account of the Ghaznavids in this volume and of the Khaljls in the next. For a similar reason the history of some Hindu ruling dynasties has been brought down to the fourteenth century A.D. when they were incorporated in the Delhi Sultanate. The most notable instances are the Yadavas of Devagiri, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the Hoysalas and the Paodyas of South India. But only a very brief outline is given in this volume of their history after A.D. 1300. More detailed account will be given in the next volume in connection with their Muslim conquerors. In some cases all controversial issues have been omitted in this volume and reserved for the next. For instance, the current and generally accepted views of the date of the first invasion of Devagiri by ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl and the name of the crown-prince who opposed him have been stated, but different views on both these points will be discussed fully with reference to authorities in the next volume.

This volume deals with the transition period that marks, the end of independent Hindu rule and the beginning of the dominance of Turkish tribes over a large part, if not the whole, of India. Such dominance of foreign peoples, even from the same region in Central Asia, was no new thing in Indian history. Successive waves of Turkish hordes submerged a great portion of Northern India during the period that intervened between the fall of the Maurya and the rise of the Gupta Empire. And all these, like the later Turkish invaders, came to stay in this country.. Nevertheless, they did hot mark any turning-point in the history of India, nor any sudden break in the continuity of her history and culture. For they slowly and silently merged themselves into the population of the country, and became one with them in all respects without leaving any trace of their separate entity. This was, however, not the case with the later invaders. They not only kept severely aloof, and formed a distinct unit, politically, socially and culturally, but drew into its vortex a considerable number of indigenous people to swell their ranks. The result was the emergence of a new element of considerable power and magnitude, having hardly anything in common with the old, excepting the land which they adopted as their own.

This was solely due to the religious faith, Islam, professed by these peoples, which fundamentally differed from the religion they found in India. Al-Birum, who flourished at the very beginning of the period under review, tersely, but very correctly, observed: “The Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect. We believe in nothing in which they believe, and vice-versa ” This radical difference in religion and social usages and customs operated as an almost insurmountable barrier between the two which even nine hundred years* residence as close neighbours failed to break down. Henceforth this difference constitutes the underlying thread which wove the Indian history into an altogether new pattern.

The intrusion of Islam and its existence as a separate unit in India introduced, for the first time, the generic name Hindu. The alien Muslim conquerors used this name, along with Kafir (infidels), to denote the conquered peoples of India as a separate unit distinct from them. It bore the same connotation as the term ‘non-Muhammadan’ used in the Indian constitution during the last days of British rule. The use of the term Hindu in a narrower sense, to denote the followers or orthodox Brahmanical faith, belongs to a later date.

The efforts of the Muslim Turks to obtain a permanent footing in India and the resistance which the Hindus offered, or failed to offer, to avoid this great catastrophe, forms the principal subjectmatter of this volume in so far at least as Northern India is concerned.

The first Muslim invasion, ending in the conquest of Sindh, was merely a passing phase, which hardly affected the history of India. The triumphant progress, which marked the career of Islam in other regions of the world, was checked by the powerful rulers of India at this frontier state for more than four hundred years, and even then the Arab rule in Sindh was more nominal than real. But the advance of the Turks from Ghazni, with which this volume opens, led to a very different result. They had their base much nearer to India and were led by two distinguished generals of considerably more than average military skill and ability. On the other hand, India lacked any powerfully organised empire like that of the Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas. The Shahi rulers, who guarded the frontier of India, offered heroic resistance to the foreign invaders, and were loyally supported by the Indians from the interior. But nothing availed against the repeated and stubborn onslaughts of Sabuktigln and Mahmud. The resistance collapsed, and then the horrors of barbarian invasions, fired with the fanatic zeal for demolishing idols and temples, born of the crusading spirit of Islam, were let loose on the fair plains and cities of Hindusthan. It is not possible to recount fully the sad tales of those dark and evil days, as we have no record from the side of the Indians; but the picture depicted by the victors themselves enables us to get a faint echo of the great tragedy which befell India during the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. It was a tragedy big with future consequences. Not only was India drained of enormoi* wealth and man-power, but, what was far worse, the Muslims obtained a permanent footing in the Punjab which commanded the highway to her interior.

But a still more sublime tragedy was the comparative indifference of the Indian chiefs to this growing menace and the fancied security in which they chose to repose during the period intervening between the death of Mahmud and the next invasion by the Ghurls. Some Indian kings defeated the Muslims, and checked their further aggressive campaigns. One of them even claims to have exterminated the Mlechchhas (Muslims) so that Aryavarta again became true to its name, i.e. abode of the Ary as. But this rare evidence of a sense of national consciousness makes it all the more a matter of surprise, that instead of uttering such vain boast the Indian chiefs should not have taken concerted action in removing the thorn in their flesh by driving the Turkish conquerors out of India. Innumerable opportunities offered themselves to render this task a comparatively easy one. The kingdom of Ghazni passed through critical days and was overtaken by many dangers, both internal and external, till the nemesis overtook it, and its beautiful capital city, built on the ruins and plunder of India, perished in flames. But the powerful Indian chiefs, far from taking advantage of any such opportunity during the long period of a century and a half, were more intent upon aggrandising themselves at the cost of their neighbours than turning their whole-hearted attention to the great national task of freeing the Punjab from the yoke of the foreigners of an alien faith.

An attempt has been made to delineate the essential features of the political history of India during this eventful period on the basis of reliable data. But our sources of information are scanty, and the picture is necessarily incomplete. Enough remains, however, to make this history a painful reading to every Hindu. Instances are not wanting that when a Hindu state was invaded by

Muslims, a neighbouring Hindu ruler seized the opportunity to invade it from the rear. It may appear ungracious to emphasise this humiliating and degrading aspect of Hindu character, but no nation can hope to survive if it seeks to avoid truth or fears to face it, and fails to learn the lessons of history. A genuine endeavour has been made to tell the unvarnished ®truth of the past, and to point to the morals that history teaches us, though it may appear unpalatable to some. The haze of glory in which Prithviraja lives in Indian memory is considerably dimmed, if one realizes the effect of his failure to take full advantage of his great victory at Tarain for removing the imminent danger which involved him and his country in a common nun within a year. But it is the noble, though somewhat painful, task of history to demolish the false in order to enthrone the true.

On account of the vast size of India, its history cannot always be brought within one general category. The same period that saw the debacle of North India before the hammering blows of the Ghaznavids, witnessed the rise of a great power in full glory in the South. The Chojas established a vast empire that stretched along the eastern coast of India from the banks of the Gahga to Cape Comorin, and even beyond to Ceylon. But they did more than this. They fitted out a naval expedition that crossed the Bay of Bengal and laid lew the mighty empire of the Sailendras in Malay Peninsula and Indonesia. Such an oversea campaign by an Indian ruler against a powerful foe is an achievement of outstanding importance, with immense possibilities for the future, but unfortunately it remains a unique event, almost a passing episode in the history of India, that has left no trail behind. It adds one more to the number of puzzles or insoluble riddles of Indian history.

It appears to us as passing strange that India, south of the Yindhyas t seems to have lived in a world apart from the rest of the country. Undisturbed by the ominous tidings of Muslim aggression, the ruling powers in the Deccan and South India were as busy as before with their petty domestic quarrels and dissensions, and military campaigns of aggrandisement against one another. During the hundred years that kept the Muslims fully engaged in consolidating their power in the North, the South went on in fancied security, as if nothing had occurred to disturb its equanimity or threaten the continuity of its history and culture. So little was the* Muslim danger thought of even in the region immediately to the south of the Yindhyas that the powerful Yadava rulers of the Deccan attacked from the south the Chaulukyas of Gujarat at the very moment when they were engaged in a life and death struggle with the Muslim invaders from the North. Such incidents give a rude shock to the idea of fundamental unity of India.

But the fact has to be clearly recognised that India south of the Vindhyas was under Hindu rule during the thirteenth century. Even in North India, during the same century, there were powerful kingdoms, not yet subjected to Muslim rule or still fighting for their independence. As has been clearly shown in Chapter V, even in that part of India which acknowledged the Muslim rule there was continual defiance and heroic resistance by large or small bands of Hindus in many quarters, so that successive Muslim rulers had to send well-equipped military expeditions, again and again, against the self-same region, though the patriotic Muslim chroniclers construed every one of them as a decisive victory against the infidels. As a matter of fact, the Muslim authority in Northern India, almost throughout the thirteenth century, was tantamount to a military occupation of a large number of important centres without any effective occupation, far less a systematic administration, of the country at large.

In view of all this, we feel justified in including the history of the Mamluk or Slave Dynasty in this volume, rather than relegating it, in conformity with the normal convention of the historians of India, to the next volume which deals with the Muslim period of Indian history. Even the long-standing usage and practice can hardly make the epithet Muslim appropriate to a period of Indian history in which the Muslims had no hold over more than half of India, and exercised a very .limited political authority over only a part, however large, of the rest of the country.

The period covered by this volume is marked by the unsuccessful efforts of the early Turkish invaders in North India, of the Chalukyas in the Deccan, and of the Chojas in South India, as well as of individual rulers both in the north and in the south, to found an empire in India. Hence the title ‘Struggle for Empire’ has been adopted for this volume. It closes with the accession of the Khaljis to power. Though the new dynasty was a short-lived one, it was destined to establish the first all-India Muslim empire on the ruins of the Hindu kingdoms, and usher in a new era in Indian history in which the Muslims played the dominant role for more than four hundred years. That era had its own glory and triumph, in full measure, as will be described in the next two volumes.

The three centuries dealt with in this volume witnessed not only the gradual decay of the political authority of the Hindus, but also a definite set-back in the progress of their culture. Except in the domain of art, particularly the temple architecture, we find a steady process of decline and decadence, which had already set in in the preceding period, in almost all spheres of cultural activity.

The process was perhaps accelerated by the intrusion of Islam as a new element. The effect of the impact of aggressive Islam on Hindu religion and society cannot be clearly perceived during the period under review; at least our sources of information do not indicate that any great change took place in Hindu society and religion. Nevertheless, the destruction of temples and other seats of culture, and the proselytising activities of the Muslims, of which we have clear evidence, must have had their repercussion on the minds of the Hindus, and henceforth their main energy was directed to conserve rather than to create. But, on the whole, the picture of Hindu civilization given in this volume represents its final phase before it came into close contact with, or was affected by, Islam.

The progress of temple architecture is an index of the effect of aggressive Islam on Indian culture. The period under review witnessed the most brilliant epoch in the development of this art. But, as will be shown in Chapter XX, so far as extant monuments indicate, this art flourished mostly in those regions which were at a safe distance from centres of Muslim power, viz., in India south of the Vindhyas, and in Orissa and territories ruled over by the Chandellas and Chauiukyas who resisted the Muslim invasion till the end of the period under review. It is not merely an accident that the rich valleys of the Sindhu, the Gangs and the Yamuna, dominated by the Muslims, have nothing to show that could bear any comparison with the temples built in the regions just mentioned. The temples that existed there were ruthlessly destroyed, and the Hindus evidently did not feel inclined to build new temples which they were unable to protect. The obvious inference, which holds equally true for succeeding centuries, may be stated in the form of a general statement that the progress of temple architecture was in inverse ratio to the establishment of effective Muslim authority in any particular region in India.

Although the period dealt with in this volume is, generally speaking, one of decline and decadence, still it serves a very useful purpose in the study of Indian history. It holds out before us a complete picture of Indian culture and civilization just before it came into contact with Islam. If we compare it with the culture of the Hindus before the impact of Western influence gave it a new character, we can form a reasonable idea of the extent to which it has been influenced by Islam. Such a comparison alone would enable us to answer the question whether there is any such thing in present-day India which we may regard as 'Hindu' culture, or the present culture should more properly be called an 'Indian' culture which is neither Hindu nor Muslim, but a composite of both.

The Muslims, generally, are under no illusion in this respect, and they speak of Islamic culture in India as a distinct entity, separate from Hindu culture. It is for the Hindus to judge, in a dispassionate manner, free from prejudice or conventions engendered by recent politics, how far the main aspects of Hindu culture, viz . religion and philosophy, social conditions, art, language and literature, law and legal institutions etc., as described in this volume, were left intact at the end of the Muslim rule. Of course, additions or alterations in non-essential features, and among restricted groups of peoples or in limited localities, should be regarded as negligible factors when we think broadly of Hindu culture in India as a whole. The result of such a comparison is of great value in determining whether the Hindu culture, such as it was towards the end of the thirteenth century A.D., continued substantially in the same form, with normal evolutions, till it came under the influence of Western civilization, or lost itself by the impact of Islam into an all-embracing Indian culture. From this point of view the present volume is bound to be of absorbing interest to every student of Indian history.

For reasons, already explained in the Preface of Volume IV (p. xxxvii), the Chapter on Art in this volume contains the survey of the whole period from A.D. 750 to 1300. As this period is the most important so far as the temple architecture is concerned, the subject has been treated at some length with the result that this volume has been much bigger in size than any of the preceding ones. The Muslim architecture of the thirteenth century A.D. has not been included in this chapter as it ▪will be more convenient to treat the Muslim art from the very beginning to the end of the Sultanate in the next volume.

The policy and the principles of editing referred to in the preceding volumes remain unchanged. I am grateful to the contributors for their sincere co-operation. I have to record, with deep regret, that one of our most valued contributors, Prof. H. D. Bhattacharyya, passed away while this volume was in the press. His profound knowledge of Indian philosophy and religion is evident in the sections which he has contributed to the different volumes of this history. His death has left a void in Indian scholarship which will be difficult to fill up. Death has also snatched away another eminent scholar, Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala. He contributed the section on the Parsis in the preceding volume and promised to continue their history in the subsequent volumes. He was a great scholar in Comparative Philology and his death is a distinct loss to Indian scholarship. I take this opportunity to place on record my deep sorrow at the death of these two scholars and my appreciation of the great services rendered by them to the cause of Indian history.

My esteemed colleague Dr. A. D. Pusalker, who has been working as Assistant Editor since the conception of the plan of this History, has intimated his desire to retire after the publication of this volume. I take this opportunity of placing on record my deep obligations to him for the valuable assistance which he has rendered to me in preparing the first five volumes of this series. His industry, scholarship, honesty, and amiable temper have not only been of inestimable value but rendered our close association in this work a source of great pleasure to me. On behalf of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and on my own behalf I offer my most cordial thanks to him, and have no hesitation in saying that whatever success The History and Culture of the Indian People has attained is, to a large extent, due to his valued co-operation.

In conclusion I beg to thank the editors of the various journals for their appreciative reviews of the preceding volumes. I also express my gratitude to those who have helped us by lending photos and blocks for illustration. Reference has been made in details separately under ‘acknowledgments*.

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CHAPTER I

GHAZNAVID INVASION

1. THE RISE OF THE GHAZNAVIDS

It has been shown in the preceding volume that the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs was merely a passing episode in the history of Islam. The Arabs established one or more principalities in this region at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. and maintained a precarious hold over them for nearly three hundred years. But Islam, which had conquered a large part of the world from the Pyrenees to the borders of China, had not extended much beyond the Sindhu, and had an uncertain footing even in the valley of that river. But what even the mighty ‘Abbasid Caliphs failed to achieve was accomplished by petty Turkish dynasties that arose from the ruins of their empire. In order to understand this properly it is necessary to pass in rapid review the great political changes that took place in the eastern regions of the Caliphate since the beginning of the ninth century A.D.

The powerful ‘Abbasid Caliphate, founded in A.D. 749, began to show signs of decline even before the end of the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. Tahir, the trusted general of al-Ma‘mun (A.D. 813-833), was rewarded in 820 with the governorship of Khurasan, which comprised all the territories east of Baghdad. He, however, soon assumed independence for all practical purposes, and his successors extended their dominion to the frontiers of India.

In A.D. 872 the Tahirids were superseded by a new dynasty founded by Ya‘qub ibn-Layth al-Saffar who started life as a coppersmith in Sijistan. His conduct as the head of a band of brigands attracted the attention of the local governor who placed him in command of his troops. Saffar succeeded his patron as governor and soon ruled over almost the whole of Persia. He also conquered Kabul, Zabul and Sindh as already mentioned above. 1

Towards the close of the ninth century A.D. the Samanids of Transoxiana rose into importance. They were descended from Saman, a Zoroastrian noble of Balkh, and in A.D. 903 seized Khurasan from the Saffarids. During the reign of Nasr II (A.D. 913-43) the Samanid empire embraced Sijistan, Karman, Jurjan, Tabaristan, Transoxiana, and Khurasan. Though nominally vassals of the ‘Abbasids, the Samanid rulers were virtually independent. The Samanids finally brought the whole of Transoxiana under Muslim rule, and their capital Bukhara, together with the city of Samarqand, rivalled and sometimes almost eclipsed Baghdad, the renowned capital city of the Caliphs, as centres of learning and culture.

The mighty kingdom of the Samanids experienced the usual fate. In the last decade of the tenth century A.D. two Turkish families divided it between themselves. The Ilak Khans of Turkistan, who captured Bukhara in 990 and nine years later gave the final blow to the Samanids, became masters of all their territories lying to the north of the Oxus. The portion of the Samanid kingdom lying to the south of that river passed into the hands of the Yaminl dynasty, better known to the modern students of history as the Ghaznavids. As it was the rulers of this dynasty that repeatedly invaded India and paved the way for the final Muslim conquest of the country, their history requires a fuller treatment.

2. SABUKTIGIN

The Yaminl dynasty claimed descent from Yazdijurd-i-Shahryar, the last of the Persian monarchs. During the Caliphate of ‘Usman Yazdijurd-i-Shahryar lost his life at the hands of his enemies in a water-mill in the vicinity of the town of Marv. The family of the deceased fled to Turkistan and settled in the district of Nakhistan. They intermarried with the people of that country, and after two or three generations the descendants passed as Turks. While residing there, Sabuktigin, the founder of the Yamlni dynasty in Ghazni, then only twelve years old, was taken prisoner by a neighbouring tribe. He was sold as a slave to a merchant named Nasr, the Haji, who after three or more years’ time brought him to Bukhara. There he was purchased by Alptigin, the Lord Chamberlain of the Samanid ruler of Khurasan, who took a fancy to him. Sabuktigin accompanied his new master to Tukharistan and Khurasan of which places the latter was governor. Subsequently Alptigin quarrelled with the Samanids and left Tukharistan. He seized Zabulistan together with its capital Ghazni from the Amir Abu Bakr Lawik in c. A.D. 963, and there established an independent kingdom. He raised Sabuktigin to the position of a general. According to an authority quoted by Firishta[2] Sabuktigin was engaged in frequent wars with the Indians and defeated them during the fifteen years’ rule of Alptigin. But as the latter did not rule for more than a year, the statement about frequent raids into India by Sabuktigin can only refer to the interval between the death of Alptigin and his own accession to the throne which really cover a period of 15 years. Dr. Nazim says that Alptigin conquered a part of the kingdom of Kabul,[3] but quotes no authority. It may be presumed from subsequent events that the Shahi kingdom did not suffer any material loss before the reign of Sabuktigln.

Alptigln died in A.D. 963, and was succeeded by his son Is-haq. After the death of Is-haq, in A.D. 966, Balkatigln, the commander of the Turkish troops, succeeded to the throne. Sabuktigin, who had married the daughter of Alptigln, served both Is-haq and Balkatigln. When the reign of Balkatigln came to an end in A.D. 972, Pirai,[4] a slave of Alptigln, succeeded to the throne. Pirai was a cruel king. So the people invited Abu ‘All Lawlk, son of Abu Bakr Lawlk, to invade Ghazni. The Shahis of India, whose kingdom extended up to the Hindu Kush, and who looked with disfavour upon the establishment of a powerful Muslim kingdom just on the border of their own, made a common cause with Abu ‘All Lawlk against Pirai. The Shahi king, who in all probability was Jayapala, sent his son with an army to assist his ally in the invasion of Ghazni. When the allied forces reached near Charkh, a place on the east bank of the Lohgar river on one of the routes from Kabul to Ghazni, they were suddenly attacked by Sabuktigln who killed a large number of them and took many prisoners to Ghazni together with ten elephants. This victory greatly enhanced his prestige. Misdeeds of Pirai brought about his downfall in A.D.977, and Sabuktigin was raised to power. Sabuktigin’s accession received approval from the Samanid king Nuh II of Bukhara. Sabuktigln obviously enjoyed an independent political status, though perhaps he nominally acknowledged the supremacy of the Samanids. 5

Shortly after his accession Sabuktigln added to his kingdom Bust, Dawar, Qusdar, Bamlyan, Tukharistan, and Ghur. He also led frequent expeditions against the kingdom of the Shahis of Udabhanda, which, as has already been noted, extended as far as the Kabul Valley. ’Utbl regards these military campaigns as holy wars for the propagation of Islam. Sabuktigin plundered forts on the tops of hills in the outlying provinces of the Shahi kingdom, captured many cities, and acquired immense wealth. The Shahi Jayapala obviously could^not ignore these incidents. He organised his forces, which included huge elephants, and set out to punish Sabuktigin. At some place between Lamghan and Ghazni he met with Sabuktigln and his young son Mahmud. The battle between the two armies continued for several days. 6 According to Muslim chroniclers the Hindu army was rapidly gaining ground, and so Sabuktigln took recourse to unchivalrous means. There was near Jayapala’s camp a lofty mountain, called the ‘Ukba Ghuzak, in one of whose ravines there was a fountain of water. There was a popular superstition that if it

was contaminated with any filth, “black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose, the summits of the mountains became black, rain fell, and the neighbourhood was filled with cold blasts, until red death supervened.” At the instance of Sabuktigln his men secretly threw dirty substance into the fountain and the dreadful consequences followed. There were hail storms, blast, and thunder; black vapour collected around the Hindu army impeding their progress, and many of them perished in the cold. Jayapala saved himself by concluding an ignominious treaty with the Amir. But as soon as he safely reached his own country he repudiated the treaty. Enraged at this treacherous conduct of the Shahi king, Sabuktigln forthwith led an army against him. After a strenuous fight Sabuktigln defeated his enemy, and succeeded in establishing his authority as far as the city of Lamghan, which was famous for its immense wealth and strong fortification. Jayapala decided to make a determined effort to re-establish his control of it, and collected an army consisting of more than one hundred thousand troops. Firishta states that the Rajas of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjara, and many other neighbouring countries supplied contingents to help the Shahi king on this occasion. This statement of Firishta is very important, as a confederacy of Indian rulers, united in opposition to foreign invasion, is a rare event in Indian history. If Firishta's statement could be accepted as true, it would go a long way in absolving the Indian rulers of the charge commonly levelled against them that they could not unite even in the face of a common danger threatening the safety of their motherland. Unfortunately, we have no independent testimony corroborating Firishta's statement, and, meagre as it is, it does not enable us to identify the rulers who joined Jayapala in defending their motherland against the onrush of Islam. The three capital cities mentioned by Firishta seem to suggest that the Tomaras, Chahamanas and the Chandellas sent troops to the aid of Jayapala. Even though we do not know the names of any of the "many other neighbouring countries" which joined the holy war against Islam, it is legitimate to conclude from Firishta's statement that Northern India was fully aware of the grave peril caused by the menace of Islam, and her people gave practical evidence of their love for their country and religion by willingly offering to sacrifice their lives in the bleak hills of far distant Afghanistan which was almost a terra incognita to* them.

On receiving news of the advance of the Hindu army Sabuktigln stationed his troops in a strategic position on a lofty hill near Lamghan. Having made a general survey of the countless forces of Jayapala from his post, he divided his soldiers into batches of five hundred men, and sent them in succession to attack a particular point

of the enemy line. Soon a confusion arose in the Hindu camp, and then all these detached squadrons made a united attack. There followed a close fight in which only swords could be used, and Hindus were killed in large numbers. After a short resistance the Hindu army fled in utter confusion leaving behind their property, arms, provisions, elephants, and horses. This is the account handed down to us by the Muslim historians, and we have no means to check it by comparing it with the version of the other side. Sabuktigin annexed the whole of the territory between Lamghan and Peshawar and introduced Islam among the people of this region who were probabty followers of Buddhism.

During the reign of the Samanid king Nuh II, son of Mansur, Abu ‘Ali-i-Sunjur, governor of a part of Khurasan, revolted. Nuh II succeeded in putting down the revolt with the help of Sabuktigin and the latter’s son Mahmud. In recognition of this service the Samanid king conferred the title Nasir-ud-din wa’d-Daulah on Sabuktigin and Saifu’d-Daulah on Mahmud. Mahmud was made the captain-general of the forces of Khurasan, and his headquarters were fixed at Nishapur. In A.D. 995 Abu ‘All-i-Suujur made a fresh attempt to capture Nishapur, but Sabuktigin and Mahmud succeeded in repulsing the attack.

Sabuktigin died on the Balkh frontier in A.D. 997 at the age of fifty-six. He was a king of great valour, and ruled his kingdom with equity and moderation. He left behind him four sons, Mahmud, Isma‘il, Nasr, and Yusuf. Before his death he was prevailed upon by Ismafil, who was living with him, to nominate him as his successor. Isma'il declared himself king, and lavished wealth upon the soldiers to gain their support against his brother Mahmud. Hearing of this news of Isma'il’s assumption of the royal power, following the death of his father, Mahmud wrote a letter to him proposing that he should give up his claim to the throne as he was inexperienced in the art of government, and that he could be given charge of the administration of the provinces of Balkh and Khurasan if he so desired. Isma'il rejected the proposal and advanced towards Ghazni, but was defeated by Mahmud. He was subsequently taken prisoner and was kept in confinement till his death. He ruled only for seven months.

3. SULTAN MAHMUD

Mahmud ascended the throne of Ghazni in A.D. 998. He was born in A.D. 971, and in his youth received education in sacred literature and in the art of warfare and government. It has already been mentioned that he fought under his father against Jayapala and Abu £ Ali-i-Sunjur. After his accession Mahmud consolidated his position in Herat, Balkh, and Bust, and was engaged in a conflict with the Samanid king £ Abd-ul-Malik and his associates in order to reestablish his authority over Khurasan. He achieved his end by defeating his enemies in two successive engagements, and in A.D. 999 was recognised as the sovereign of all these countries by the Caliph al-Qadir Billah, who sent him a robe of investment and conferred on him the titles of Yamln-ud-Daulah and Amm-ul-Millah. Mahmud is said to have made a vow to lead an expedition against India every year, and there is a general consensus of opinion that he had no less than twelve such expeditions to his credit. But the actual number is difficult to determine on account of the conflicting evidence of the different authorities.

In A.D. 1000 he led the first expedition against India, and seized some fortresses, which seem to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. In the following year Mahmud again advanced with an army consisting of 15,000 picked cavalry, men, and officers, and encamped in the outskirt of the city of Peshawar. On receipt of this news Jayapala marched with 12,000 horsemen, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants to resist the invader, and pitched his camp near that city. He avoided taking direct action for some time awaiting the arrival of more troops from the tribal area. Mahmud realised the situation and attacked the enemy without further delay. The cavalry and elephant forces of Jayapala, amidst beat of drums, plunged themselves into the thick of the battle, but before noon the Hindus were routed and 5,000 of them lost their lives. Jayapala was captured together with his sons and grandsons, and they were detained at a place known as Mirand. Mahmud obtained a huge booty, and succeeded in conquering the province around Peshawar, which was larger and more fertile than Khurasan. He next advanced on Waihind, which is to be identified with Udabhanda, the capital of the Shahis, and pitched his tent near that city. At his approach the Hindus retreated to the passes in the neighbouring hills and the forests and jungles. While they were devising plans for an effective resistance, Mahmud despatched an army against them, and dispersed them with a great deal of slaughter. He released Jayapala on his promise to pay 250,000 dinars and to deliver 25 elephants, and detained a son and a grandson of his as hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty. After Jayapala's return to his own kingdom his son Anandapala, who was at that time residing somewhere to the east of the Sindhu, sent the stipulated sum of money and elephants to Mahmud, and secured the release of the Shahi princes. But Jayapala, having suffered three successive defeats at the hands of the Muslims, considered himself unworthy of the throne and burnt himself on a

funeral pyre, which he is said to have kindled with his own hands. Anandapala succeeded him shortly after A.D. 1001.

Mahmud devoted the greater part of A.D. 1002 and A.D. 1003 to the war in Sistan and during these two years India enjoyed a respite from his attacks.

In A.D. 1004 Mahmud renewed his invasion of India. He passed through Walishtan, modern Sibi, in Baluchistan, crossed the Sindhu near Multan, and reached Bhatiya. The city was surrounded by a wall of unusual height and a moat of great depth and breadth. It possessed enormous riches and was well-equipped with armaments and troops. The place has been variously identified with Bhera under the Salt Range, Uch, and Bhatinda, but none of these identifications can be regarded as certain. It was at this time ruled by Baji Ray. Firishta says that Baji Ray, who was a vassal under Anandapala, antagonised the latter by refusing to pay him tribute. He is said to have also enraged Mahmud by his hostile activities against the Muslim governors, whom the latter appointed to rule his Indian possessions. But these informations are not supplied by the early authorities. Baji Ray was a brave general. He came out of the walls of the city with his elephant forces and took the aggressive. The battle continued for three days and nights. The

Muslims lost heavily and were on the verge of defeat, when, on the fourth day, the Sultan made a last desperate attack, and succeeded in capturing some elephants which were defending the centre of Baji Ray's forces. Baji Ray resisted at every point, but by the evening was forced to withdraw into the fort. Mahmud forthwith occupied the gates of the city, filled up the moat, and widened the entrances. When Baji Ray realised that the city could not be defended any longer, he fled to a forest on the bank of the Sindhu, and took refuge on the top of a hill with a few of his followers. As soon as Mahmud learnt of the enemy's flight, he sent off a contingent in hot pursuit. Baji Ray was soon taken by surprise, and surrounded by the Muslim army. As there was no way out of this impasse left for him, he put an end to his life by plunging his dagger into his heart, and his attendants fell fighting bravely with the enemy. Mahmud took Bhatiya easily by storm, and pillaged the city. All the wealth there, together with hundred and twenty elephants, fell into his hands. He stayed there for some time, making arrangements for the permanent annexation of the country and for conversion of the Hindus to Islam with the help of some competent teachers. He started for Ghazni in A.D. 1005 during the rainy season. As the rivers of the Punjab were full and surging at that time, he lost almost all his booty while crossing them. His passage was also obstructed from time to time by his enemies in the mountainous country.

In A.D. 1005-6 Mahmud resolved to lead an expedition gainst Multan to punish its ruler Abu-'l-Fath Daud for his heretical activities. Daud's grandfather Shaikh Hamid Lodi had entered into a friendly relation with Sabuktigln, and the alliance between the two families was maintained for some time. But Daud's acceptance of the doctrine of the Isma'ili sect made him hostile to Mahmud, who was a zealous defender of the Islamic faith. Mahmud, as he marched towards Multan, found the Sindhu in a flooded condition after the rain, making it difficult for his cavalry to cross it. So he requested Anandapala to allow him a passage through his kingdom. Anandapala, who was an ally of Daud, refused to comply with the request. This led to a battle near Peshawar in which Mahmud severely defeated Anandapala who fled to the Kashmir hills. The Sultan now found an easy route to Multan through the Shahi kingdom. Daud lost all courage to meet the Sultan when he heard that a powerful king like Anandapala had failed to cope with him. The Sultan reached Multan without encountering an opposition, besieged the city for seven days, and forced the defenders to capitulate. The people who had endured extreme hardship, were forced to pay 20,000,000 dirhams. Daud was, however, allowed to rule over the kingdom on his promise to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhams, and to follow the tenets of Islam.

About this time the Sultan received news of the invasion of the northern part of his kingdom by the Turks under their leader Ilak Khan. He left Sukhapala, grandson of Jayapala, who was formerly converted to Islam under the name of Nawasa Shah, to look after the affairs of Hindustan, and himself rushed to Khurasan to meet the invader. When he was engaged in fighting with Ilak Khan, Nawasa Shah declared independence, dismissed all the Muslim officers, renounced Islam, and made an alliance with the Indian chiefs. After the termination of his battle with the Turks in A.D. 1007 the Sultan marched to India to punish the rebel. Nawasa Shah fled to the hills, but was captured. The Sultan took possession of his treasures, amounting to 400,000 dirhams, and after settling affairs in Hindustan returned to Ghazni.

In the following year (A.D. 1008) Mahmud led an army against Anandapala to punish him for his conduct during the invasion of Multan. Mahmud was opposed on the bank of a river near Waihind (Udabhanda) by Brahmapala, son of Anandapala. The Shahi army was well equipped with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and huge elephants. According to Firishta many Rajas of Hindustan despatched, on the appeal of Anandapala, big contingents to his aid, as they did, about thirty years earlier, during the reign of his father, on a similar occasion. The Khokars or the Gakkhars of the Punjab also joined the Shahis in full strength. The contending parties did not engage in any struggle for forty days. Mahmud did not think it wise to take the offensive, and wanted his enemies to attack his entrenchments. He engaged six thousand archers to incite them to make the first move, and his plan met with success. The Khokars, 30,000 in number, with various weapons advanced swiftly against the enemy line and made a vigorous attack on it. In the dreadful battle that ensued 5,000 Muslims lost their lives within a short space of time, and it seemed as if the Sultan was on the point of losing the battle with disastrous consequences. But suddenly the battle took a different course, when a number of the Sultan’s personal guards attacked the rear of the invading Hindu army. There was confusion and the Hindus fled in panic. Firishta says that an untoward incident led to the final defeat of the Hindus on this occasion. The elephant, which carried the leader of the Hindu army, i.e. Anandapala, was struck by arrows showered by the enemies, got out of control, and fled from the battlefield with its riders. This was taken as the signal for flight by the Hindu army, which then deserted the battlefield in confusion. The same authority relates that ‘Abdullah Ta’i with 6*000 horses and Arsalan Jazib with 10,000 soldiers pursued the Hindus and killed 20,000 of them. The Sultan himself joined in the pursuit, and followed the remainder of the fleeing Hindu army up to Bhimnagar, also known as Nagarkot, modern Kot Kangra. The fort of Bhimnagar was built on the top of a steep and lofty hill surrounded by deep water. Great riches, presented by neighbouring chiefs and devotees from different parts of India during successive generations, had been accumulated there. Such an immense quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls was not to be found in the treasury of any king in India. The Sultan besieged the fort and made a vigorous onslaught with his archers. The Hindus inside the fort lost heart at the sight of the vast host of Muslims spreading over the spurs of the hills. After three days’ resistance they surrendered and threw open the gates of the citadel. The Sultan entered it without any opposition, and seized control of the treasury which consisted of 70,000,000 royal dirhams, gold and silver ingots, 7,00,400 mans in weight, jewelleries, and precious stones. Among the booty were superfine, soft, and embroidered cloths and garments, a house of white silver, 30 yards in length and 15 yards in breadth, parts of which could be disjoined at will, a canopy made of fine linen, 40 yards in length and 20 yards in breadth, provided with two golden and two silver poles, and a very costly throne. The Sultan himself took charge of the jewels and placed his two chamberlains Altuntash and Asightigin in charge of the gold, silver and other valuables. He

appointed one of his reliable officers to take charge of the fort, and returned to Ghazni carrying the booty and the treasure on the backs of camels. He could not keep Nagarkot under his control for any length of time. But on this occasion he succeeded in annexing all the territories to the west of Sindhu including the Shahi capital Udabhanda. On reaching Ghazni he held an exhibition of the jewels, pearls, rubies, emeralds, diamonds and other articles, secured from Nagarkot, in the court-yard of the royal palace. Even ambassadors from Turkistan and other foreign countries came to see this fabulous wealth which he had acquired.

In A.D. 1009 Mahmud led an army against Narayan, situated in the heart of Hind. The place is identified by Cunningham with Narayanpur, in the old Alwar State, Rajputana. The king of Narayan fought bravely in defence of his country, but was defeated. The Sultan broke the idols and returned to Ghazni with his booty, the captured elephants and horses. In the following year Mahmud invaded the small country of Ghur, situated between Ghazni and Herat, took its ruler Muhammad bin Surl prisoner, and placed on its throne the latter's brother Abu-'Ali.

In the latter part of A.D. 1010 Mahmud had to lead an expedition against Multan to bring it finally into a state of subjugation. Daud, the ruler of the country, had turned hostile again, and the Isma'Ili sect was increasing in popularity. The Sultan killed a large number of the heretics, took Daud prisoner, and re-established his authority over that country.

These successive victories of Mahmud made Anandapala realise the futility of carrying on further wars against him. He entered into a treaty with the Sultan agreeing to send him annually 50 big elephants, laden with valuables, and accompanied by 2,000 men for service at the court of Ghazni. The Sultan on his part promised not to lead any more invasion against the Shahi kingdom. Both parties strictly observed the conditions of the treaty till Anandapala's death. The relations between the two kingdoms became so cordial during this period that the caravans moving between Khurasan and Hind enjoyed full security.

Mahmud received information that Thaneswar possessed elephants of Ceylon breed, which were very useful for military purposes. There was also an idol in a temple there, which was held in high veneration by the people of Hindustan. In A.D. 1011 Mahmud started with his army from Ghazni with a view to plundering that city. Anandapala, in accordance with the treaty he had concluded, allowed Mahmud a safe passage through his kingdom, though the latter rejected his fervent appeal to spare the sacred city of Thaneswar from plunder in return for adequate compensation. The Sultan, in course of his march, reached the bank of a river, where he was opposed by a Raja named Rama, the chief of Dera, who was also anxious to save the sacred city from pillage. The river, which is identified by some with the Sutlej, flowed swiftly through a mountain pass. Its banks were precipitous and its bottom was full of large stones. Rama, together with his elephants, cavalry, and infantry, took up his position in the ravines. At the Sultan's command two contingents of the Muslim army forded the river at two points and attacked the enemy on both sides. While the battle was in progress a third contingent marched up the stream, crossed the river, and attacked the vital position of the enemy. The fight continued fiercely till evening, when the Hindus fled from the battlefield leaving their elephants behind. After gaining complete victory over his enemies, the Sultan resumed his march. On receipt of the news of Mahmud's advance, the Raja of Delhi, in whose kingdom Thaneswar was situated, sent messengers to other chiefs of Hindustan requesting them to join him in defence of the sacred city. It was emphasised that if the invader was not checked at Thaneswar, the whole of Hindustan would be overwhelmed by the Muslims. But before the Hindus could rally their forces, Mahmud reached Thaneswar, plundered the city, and broke a large number of idols, sparing the principal one, which was carried to Ghazni and placed in a public square for defilement. 7 He intended next to invade Delhi, but had to abandon this project as he could not rely fully on the co-operation of Anandapala. So he marched back to Ghazni, and on his way received due hospitality from the Shahi chief.

After the death of Anandapala (c. A.D. 1012) Mahmud renewed his hostility against the Shahis, whose capital at this time was Nandana, in the Salt Range. In the winter of A.D. 1013 Mahmud advanced with his army towards Nandana to crush the power of Trilochanapala, son and successor of Anandapala. As soon as he reached the border of Hind his passage was blocked by a heavy fall of snow. The roads, passes, and valleys were all lost under the snow drifts. He had to wait there until spring, securing additional supplies and army from the neighbouring provinces. After two months' troublesome journey over the hills and dales, and across torrential and deep rivers, the Sultan reached the vicinity of Nandana. He now divided his cavalry into three groups placing Amir Nasr, Arsalan Jazib, and Abu 'Abdulla Muhammad in charge of each of them. The central part of the army was placed under the leadership of Altuntash. Trilochanapala, who was not prepared for this sudden invasion, put the whole of his army under the command of his son Bhimapala, and sent invitations to his vassals to join him with their forces.

Bhimapala posted himself together with his forces behind large blocks of stone in a narrow mountain pass, barring the entrance with elephants and awaiting the arrival of the vassals. On learning the design of the enemies, Mahmud all on a sudden attacked them in that position with his Dailamite warriors and Afghan spearmen. The battle continued without a break for several days. But the Sultan could not dislodge the Shahis from their strategic position. At this time Tunga, the general of the Lohara king Samgramaraja of Kashmir, who was sent with an army to help Trilochanapala, suffered a defeat at the hands of the Sultan for his injudicious movement. As soon as reinforcements came, Bhimapala left the pass and came out into the plain to give battle against the Muslims. The elephant forces under him made a violent,attack on the enemies, but were repulsed by the showers of arrows. Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad, while fighting bravely in the midst of the enemies, received many wounds in his head and body, but was rescued by the Sultan's personal guard. An all-round battle continued for some time, and though the Shahis fought bravely and contested every inch of ground, they were ultimately routed. A large number of them lost their lives on the slopes of the hills and in the valleys and ravines, and a host of elephants, which protected their defence lines, fell into the hands of the Muslims. Bhimapala, along with his father, withdrew to the valley of Kashmir, leaving a strong garrison behind for the defence of the capital. The Sultan readily marched to the capital and besieged its fort. Having failed to capture it by ordinary means, he ran mines under the walls and forced the defenders to surrender. He then entered into the fort without opposition, seized the treasure and other valuable articles, and appointed Sarugh as its Superintendent. The western and central portions of the Shahi kingdom were annexed to the Empire of Ghazni.

From Nandana Mahmud marched towards the Kashmir valley where Trilochanapala had rallied his surviving forces. Trilochanapala resisted him but, when he was defeated, he fled to the Eastern Punjab, probably Sirhind, Mahmud plundered the Kashmir valley, took many prisoners, converted some to Islam, and returned to Ghazni with a large amount of booty. On this occasion he carried with him such a large number of Indians as prisoners that they were sold as slaves at a very cheap price in Ghazni. Men, who occupied high positions in India, were seen to serve the shopkeepers there as slaves.

In A.D. 1015 Mahmud came back to the Kashmir valley in order to put down some refractory chiefs, and also to capture some forts which he could not conquer on the previous occasion. The hill-fort of Lohkot, modern Loharin, on the southern slopes of the central

Pir Pantsal, was his first objective. The fort was famous for its invincibility. The Sultan made a fruitless effort to capture it before the end of the summer season. The situation became worse for the Muslim army when, as winter approached, there was a heavy fall of snow. In the mean time the Kashmirians made their position stronger by fresh reinforcement of troops. In this circumstance the Sultan had no other alternative but to raise the siege and retreat towards Ghazni. On his return journey he suffered incalculable miseries. Once, his guides misled him and his army into a big marsh, and a large number of men were lost. After struggling hard for several days he succeeded in extricating the surviving portion of his troops.

Mahmud could not lead any expedition against India in A.D. 1016 and 1017 as he was engaged in putting down revolt in Khvarazm. As soon as he was free from that trouble he formulated a plan to penetrate further into the heart of Hindustan, and to attack the imperial city of Kanauj. For this ambitious enterprise he raised a big army of 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, recruited from Turkistan, Mawarau-n nahr, Khurasan, and other neighbouring provinces. Towards the end of A.D. 1018 he started from Ghazni and, marching through the Punjab, crossed the Sindhu, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej. The chiefs of the countries through which he passed submitted to him. Janki, 8 son of Shahi, grandson of Bamhi, who controlled the southern passes leading into Kashmir, offered his services to the Sultan as a guide. The Shahi Trilochanapala, who was ruling in the Eastern Punjab, refused to pay allegiance to the Sultan, and fled to the Paramara kingdom of Malava. After a long and tedious journey through forests and jungles, the

Sultan reached the Yamuna and crossed it on 2nd December 1018. Having overcome some hill-forts on the way he reached Baran, modern Bulandshahr, in U.P. The ruler of the place, Hardat, who was filled with alarm at his approach, did not put up any resistance against him. 'Utbl states that Hardat surrendered to Mahmud with 10,000 men and was even willing to embrace Islam to save them from disaster. Gardlzi and Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad, however, relate that Hardat fled away, leaving the fort in charge of his followers. The garrison found their position untenable and purchased peace by paying the Sultan 1,000,000 dirhams and 30 elephants. From Baran Mahmud advanced to attack Mahaban, on the Yamuna, in the Mathura District. It was at that time ruled by a chief named Kulachand, who owned a large number of forts and maintained a strong army. Many neighbouring rulers had to submit to his military power. It is known from some epigraphic records that in the eleventh and twelfth cen

turies Mahaban and its environs were ruled by the Yadu dynasty, and Kulachand was possibly a member of this family. As soon as Mahmud invested Mahaban, Kulachand, along with his army and elephants, retreated to a fort in a dense forest, and kept every thing ready for battle. The Sultan, after a careful search, discovered the fort where Kulachand had concentrated his forces. A hand to hand fight with swords and spears ensued between the two armies. The Hindus, having failed to defend their position, jumped into the Yamuna and tried to cross it over in search of safety. Kulachand, finding no other way to escape, killed his wife first and then killed himself. Nearly 5,000 Hindus lost their lives, and the Sultan secured a large booty together with 185 war elephants. 9

The Sultan next directed his attacks against the sacred city of Mathura. The city was surrounded by a massive stone wall, in which were two lofty gates opening on to the river. There were magnificent temples all over the city and the largest of them stood in the centre of it. The Sultan was very much struck by its grandeur. In his estimate it cost not less than 100,000,000 red dinars, and even the most skilful of masons must have taken 200 years to complete it. Among the large number of idols in the temples, five were made of pure gold, the eyes of one of them were laid with two rubies worth 100,000 dinars, and another had a sapphire of a very heavy weight. All these five idols yielded gold weighing 98,300 miskals. The idols made of silver numbered 200. The city is said to have been within the kingdom of the Raja of Delhi, but the Sultan captured it without meeting any opposition. He seized all the gold and silver idols and ordered his soldiers to burn all the temples to the ground. The idols in them were deliberately broken into pieces. The city was pillaged for 20 days, and a large number of buildings were reduced to ashes.

From Mathura the Sultan marched on Kanauj. On his v/ay he conquered many forts and obtained much booty. Sometimes he encountered strong resistance from the Hindus, but he triumphed over them. Kanauj, which served as the capital of so many successive imperial ruling dynasties, was a well fortified city, defended by seven lofty forts, and contained 10,000 temples. At Mahmud’s approach king Rajyapala of the Pratihara dynasty fled to the other side of the Ganga, and took refuge in a place known as Bari. Kanauj was deserted by a large number of its citizens, who were anxious to save themselves from the fury of the Muslims, and in the absence of any strong resistance, ail the seven forts fell easily into the hands of the Sultan. At his command the city was plundered, the inhabitants put to the sword, and the idols destroyed.

After plundering Kanauj Mahmud invaded Munj, which is identified by some with Manjhawan, 10 miles south of Kanpur (Cawnpore), and by others with the place of this name, 14 miles north-east of Etawah. It was known as the fort of the Brahmans. The garrison resisted the invader for 25 days, but it was of no effect. At last a large number of inhabitants threw themselves into fire together with their wives and children. Some sallied forth from the fort and dashed towards the enemy, only to be killed by the latter. Others threw themselves down from the battlements to embrace death. It was eventually found that not a single soul survived in the fort. Mahmud took possession of all the valuables there and then advanced towards Asi, which is identified with Asni, 10 miles north-east from Fatehpur. The fort of Asi was surrounded by a wide and deep moat, and around it lay dense jungle full of venomous reptiles. Its ruler, Chandrapal Bhur, was one of the most powerful chiefs of Hindustan, and earned a great reputation as a military leader by inflicting defeats on many kings. He even succeeded in repulsing an attack of the Pratiharas of Kanauj after a prolonged fight. But his courage failed when Mahmud invaded his fort, and he fled, leaving it to the mercy of the latter. At the Sultan's order the fort was plundered and demolished, and the inhabitants were put to death. The Sultan next marched with his army to Sharva, which is identified by Cunningham with Sirsawa to the east of the Yamuna, near Saharanpur. The fort there, made of massive stone, was of immense height. Its chief, Chand Rai, held a high position among the rulers of Hindustan. Hearing the news of Mahmud's advance, Chand Rai stealthily went out of his fort with his army and treasure, withdrew to a lofty hill, and hid in a thick forest. The Sultan plundered the fort of Sharva, and then pushed his way through the jungle, in pursuit of Chand Rai. After covering a distance of 15 parasangs he succeeded in detecting the place where the enemy was residing. In the action that followed a large number of Hindu soldiers lost their lives. Chand Rai seems to have fled away leaving his treasure behind. The Sultan secured for himself a huge amount of gold, silver, and pearls worth 3,000,000 dirhams, and many elephants. A large number of Hindus, rich and poor, were carried off as slaves, and eventually sold to the merchants of Mawarau-n nahr, 'Iraq, and Khurasan. After his victory over Chand Rai, which took place in January, 1019, Mahmud returned to Ghazni with a huge booty and a large number of war prisoners. The expedition against Kanauj made the Sultan master of wealth amounting to 20,000,000 dirhams , 53,000 prisoners of war, and 350 elephants. Firishta states that after this glorious expedition the Sultan founded at Ghazni the famous Jami Mosque, which was universally known as 'Celestial Bride.' Adjacent to this mosque the Sultan established a University well equipped with books in various languages, and a Museum full of natural curiosities.

Before we resume the story of Mahmud's invasion of India we may refer briefly to his great adversary, the Shahi king Trilochanapala, whose dominions were now confined to the Eastern Punjab. As Kalhana says, he "displayed great resolution even after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants, endeavoured to recover victory." In his new retreat at Sirhind, Trilochanapala secured a respite from Muslim invasion for about five years. But during this period he had to fight a series of battles against Chand Rai, ruler of Sharva, mentioned above. These engagements resulted in a heavy loss of men and warriors on both sides. A peace was ultimately concluded between the two kings and, in order to make it a lasting one, Trilochanapala sought the hand of his rival's daughter for his son Bhlmapala. As soon as the Shahi prince reached Sharva for marriage, Chand Rai put him into prison and demanded retribution for the losses he had to suffer in the previous engagements. Trilochanapala could not lead any big expedition against Chand Rai lest any serious harm was done to his son. Stray battles, however, took place from time to time between the two kings, until Mahmud, on his way to Kanauj, reached that part of the country in A.D. 1018. Trilochanapala left his kingdom and took shelter with the Paramara Bhoja of Malava.

As mentioned above, Mahmud, after plundering Kanauj, returned to Ghazni in A.D. 1019. But in A.D. 1020-21 he again came to Hindustan to chastise the Chandella Vidyadhara, who had attacked the Pratlhara king Rajyapala and killed him for his cowardly submission to Mahmud. On that occasion Trilochanapala made an alliance with the Chandeilas. So, when in A.D. 1020-21, the Sultan advanced with his army to punish Vidyadhara, and after some time reached the banks of a big river, he was opposed by the Shahi Trilochanapala. 'Utbl mentions the name of this river as Rahib, and Firishta and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad call it Yamuna. Trilochanapala camped on the eastern bank of the river with his infantry and elephants, and showed grim determination to fight. The Sultan hesitated to make an attempt at crossing the river as it was very deep and its bottom full of mud. He ordered eight men of his camp to swim over to the other bank on inflated skins. As these men were approaching, Trilochanapala sent a contingent with five elephants to prevent them from landing. But these few Muslim soldiers succeeded in forcing their way through, throwing their enemies into wild confusion as they discharged their arrows. When the Sultan's plan had achieved this result, he ordered his troops to follow the same process. The

Muslims readily jumped into the river and reached the other bank without any loss of life. Trilochanapala attacked them with all his forces, but being defeated, fled from the battlefield. Many Hindus lost their lives in the encounter, and 270 elephants fell into the hands of the Sultan. Trilochanapala now made an attempt to join Vidyadhara, but, on his way, was killed by some Hindus. His son Bhimapala, who had obviously effected his escape from Sharva at the time when Mahmud plundered the fort in A.D. 1019, survived him for five years without holding any royal position. The entire Shahi kingdom now formed a part of Mahmud's dominions.

The Shahis bravely resisted the Muslims for more than twentyfive years. The collapse of their power made a deep impression upon the minds of the people of that age. Al-Blruni remarks with a note of pathos: "The Hindu Sahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing." The same sentiment is also echoed by Kalhana in the twelfth century in his book Rajata rangivti.

After defeating Trilochanapala Mahmud advanced towards Bari, where the Pratiharas had shifted their capital after the sack of Kanauj. But before the Sultan reached that place the Pratihara Trilochanapala, son and successor of Rajyapala, fled away in fear. The Muslims entered into the city without any opposition, and at the Sultan's command razed it to the ground.

After the capture of Bari Mahmud directed his attack against Vidyadhara who was ready to meet him on the border of his kingdom with 45,000 infantry, 36,000 cavalry, and 640 elephants. 10 The Sultan sent an envoy to Vidyadhara asking him either to embrace Islam or to agree to pay an annual tribute, but the Chandella king rejected both the proposals with scorn. The Sultan, before issuing order for the attack, went to an elevated place to make an estimate of the strength of the enemy. His courage failed when he saw the vast gathering of Vidyadhara's army, and he repented of undertaking this perilous expedition. In his despair, he fell flat on the ground, praying to the Almighty for assistance. In the evening there was a skirmish between Mahmud's general Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad at-Ta'i and a detachment of the Hindu army, in which the latter suffered a reverse. Greatly disheartened by the defeat, Vidyadhara, being panic-stricken, fled away with his army during the night under cover of darkness, leaving his bags and baggages behind. On the following morning the Sultan was surprised to hear that his enemies had fled. At first he suspected foul play, but when no trace of the enemy could be discovered in the neighbourhood, he entered the deserted camps and seized everything of value including elephants numbering 580.

Shortly after his return to Ghazni the Sultan led expeditions against Qlrat and Nur, places situated between the borders of India and Turkistan. Elliot identifies these places with Swat, Bajaur, and part of Kafiristan. The inhabitants of these places, along with their rulers, were worshippers of idols. The chief of Qlrat surrendered to Mahmud without a struggle, and adopted Islam. Mahmud's general Amir 'All overcame the ruler of Nur, sacked his territory, demolished a Hindu temple of great antiquity, and forced the people to embrace Islam. Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1021, the Sultan led an army against Lohkot, in Kashmir, which he had failed to capture on a previous occasion. However, he did not fare better this time. After making a fruitless attempt for a month to take possession of it, he raised the siege.

In A.D. 1021-22 Mahmud again launched an expedition against the Chandella Vidyadhara. On his way he attacked the fort of Gwalior, which was then in possession of the Kachchhapaghatas. The chief of the Kachchhapaghata dynasty, who seems to have been Klrttiraja, after successfully defending his position for four days, lost courage and sued for peace. The Sultan received some valuable presents and 35 elephants from his adversary, and then resumed his march. He soon reached his destination and laid siege to the fort of Kalanjara. The siege had continued for a long time when Vidyadhara sent an emissary to the Sultan with the proposal for peace. He offered 300 elephants and other valuable presents for raising the siege. Hearing that the Sultan agreed to his terms Vidyadhara, to test the bravery of the Muslim soldiers, let loose the elephants, without riders, outside the gate of the fort. At the Sultan's command his Turkish soldiers brought them all under control and mounted them. The Hindus in the fort were amazed at this bold feat of their opponents, and no longer had any desire to fight. Vidyadhara sent over to the Muslim camp a verse in the Indian language in praise of the Sultan, who w'as very much pleased with the compliment paid him. He reciprocated this friendly gesture by bestowing on the Chandella king the government of 15 fortresses, and returned to Ghazni. It would appear from the above account in the Muslim chronicles that Mahmud came all the way from Ghazni to Kalanjara only to be satisfied with a few hundred elephants and some rich presents. It would be more rational to hold that his invasion of Kalanjara was not a great success, and possibly a failure.

India enjoyed respite from the invasion of Mahmud in A.D. 1023 because the Sultan in that year was busy fighting in Transoxiana. In the following year (A.D. 1024) he resumed his expedition against Hindustan. The object of his attack this time was the famous temple of Somanatha on the sea-shore, in Kathiawar, containing a Sivalinga. The temple stood on huge blocks of stone, and its roof was supported by 56 wooden pillars “curiously carved and set with precious stones''. The pyramidal roof was made of 13 stories, and was surmounted by fourteen golden domes. The girth of the linga was 4 feet 6 inches, and its height above the base was 7 feet 6 inches.[11] A portion of the linga, 6 feet in height, was hidden beneath the base. Adjacent to it under its pedestal there was the treasury containing many gold and silver miniature idols. The canopy over it was set with jewels and was decorated with rich embroidery. The dark chamber in which the linga was installed was illumined by jewelled chandeliers. In front of the chamber there was a chain of gold, 200 mans in weight, attached to a bell, which was rung by shaking the chain from time to time for specific purpose. One thousand Brahmanas were appointed to perform the worship of the linga and for conducting the devotees into the temple. There were three hundred barbers for shaving the heads and beards of the pilgrims. Three hundred and fifty persons, both male and female, were employed to sing and dance before the linga every day. All these people received daily allowances from the temple funds. The income of the temple was derived from the 10,000 villages endowed to it, and from the offerings of the devotees. The temple possessed vast wealth in gold, silver, pearls, and rich jewels which had been accumulated in course of centuries.

The Hindus entertained a belief that Mahmud could demolish so many idols in Northern India simply because these deities had forfeited the sympathy and support of Somanatha. It is stated that when Mahmud heard of this belief of the Hindus he decided to destroy Somanatha with a view to striking at the root of their faith in the divinity of their chief idol. Mahmud marched from Ghazni to Multan at the head of 30,000 cavalry and a multitude of volunteers. Thence he decided to advance along the desert route to reach his destination. Soldiers were provided with food, water, and forage for many days. Two hundred camels were employed to carry additional water and provisions to meet any contingency. In course of his wearisome journey the Sultan first reached Ludrava, modern Lodorva, 10 miles north-west of Jaisalmer, which was defended by a strong citadel and a body of brave soldiers. The Sultan captured it, and then, after a prolonged march through Mallani, reached the Chikudar (?) hill, which is identified with Chiklodarmata hill, 17 miles north of Palanpur, in Gujarat. Next he advanced towards Nahrwala, identical with Anahillapataka, the capital of Gujarat. At the sudden and unexpected appearance of the Sultan, the king of the country, Bhlma I, who belonged to the Chaulukya dynasty, fled, probably to Kanthakot, 16 miles north-east of Anjar, in Kutch (Cutch). The Sultan occupied the city and collected fresh provisions there. From this place he marched to Mundher and thence to Dewalwara, modern Delvada, 40 miles east of Somanatha. In the course of his advance through the desert between Mundher and Dewalwara, he had to fight his way through 20,000 enemy troops. He also met with stiff resistance at Dewalwara, which he succeeded in breaking down after a short encounter. The people of the place were put to the sword and their temples demolished.

Mahmud reached Somanatha in the middle of January, 1025, and found their a strongly defended fortress on the sea-shore. The Hindus, who assembled on the rampart of the port, were passing their time in merry-making, fondly believing that Somanatha had drawn the Muslims there only to annihilate them for the sins they had committed in demolishing idols elsewhere. Their morale was high even though their leader had fled away in cowardice with his family to a neighbouring island. The following day the Sultan began the assault, and forced the Hindus to leave their position on the wall by discharging showers of arrows at them. The Muslims then speedily placed a ladder and climbed up to the battlements. This action w T as followed by a fierce fight in which a large number of people lost their lives. But before the Muslims could consolidate their position they were attacked violently by a fresh batch of Hindus, who came out of the temple of Somanatha after a prayer for strength and courage. The Muslims were unable to withstand this onslaught, and were forced to retreat from the city. Next day the Sultan renewed the operation with greater intensity, against which the brave resistance offered by the Hindus was of no avail. Having failed to check the enemy's advance, they all crowded in front of the gate of the temple of Somanatha. The Muslims pursued them there, and then followed a terrible carnage. Bands of Hindus in succession entered the temple to pray with all their hearts for victory, and then coming out of it rushed against their enemies, only to be killed. In this way more than 50,000 Hindus sacrificed their lives to defend the honour of their deity. The few survivors, who attempted to escape by sea, were pursued by the Muslims and put to the sword. The Sultan made a triumphal entry into the temple, broke down the Siva -linga into pieces, and took possession of the vast wealth it contained, said to have been worth 20,000,000 dirhams. The temple was then razed to the ground. The fragments of the

Siva -lihga were carried to Ghazni, where they were made to serve as steps at the gate of the Jami Mosque—an act of profanity imitated by later Muslim rulers.

Mahmud halted at Somanatha for a fortnight. He was very much concerned about a safe return journey to Ghazni with the vast wealth he had acquired. The iconoclastic zeal which he showed at Somanatha deeply wounded the religious susceptibility of the neighbouring chiefs, who, under the leadership of Paramadeva, were now ready to obstruct him en route. So to avoid any major clash he decided to follow the way through Kutch and Sindh. In the course of his homeward march he arrived at an inlet of the sea between Kathiawar and Kutch. He forded it where it was shallow, at the risk of being submerged, and came in front of the fort of Kandahat, identified with Kanthakot, in Kutch, where the Chaulukya Bhlma 1 had taken shelter. 12 Bhlma fled when he heard the news of the Sultan's advance. The Sultan took over the fort and continued his march through Kutch. 13 He crossed over to Sindh, and engaged a guide to conduct him safely over the desert. The guide, who was a devotee of Somanatha, and was looking for an opportunity to avenge himself of the wrong done to his god, led the Muslim army to a dreary part of the desert where there was no water available for miles around. The treachery was immediately detected, and the guide was put to death, the Sultan, in despair, resumed his march praying to the Almighty for deliverance, and luckily reached a place where he got the necessary supply of water. He proceeded from that place to Mansurah, about 43 miles north-east of Haidarabad, defeated its ruler Khafif, an apostate Muslim, and then, following the upper course of the Sindhu, advanced towards Multan. On his way thither he was greatly troubled by the Jats. His long and perilous journey ended in A.D. 1026 when he reached Ghazni. Countries far and near showered praise on him for his success at Somanatha. The Caliph sent him a congratulatory letter, and conferred titles on him and on his two sons and brothers. He further communicated to him that whoever among his sons would be nominated by him as his successor to the throne of Ghazni would receive his recognition.

In A.D. 1027 Mahmud again came to India to punish the Jats, who gave him so much trouble on his return journey from Somanatha. As soon as he reached Multan he realised that a strong navy was necessary to overcome these enemies. So he ordered 1,400 boats, each to be provided with three projected iron spikes, one in the prow and one at either side. These iron bars were fixed up in order to smash into pieces the enemy's boats making an attempt to strike against them. Twenty soldiers with bows and arrows were placed in each boat. The Sultan advanced with this flotilla in the Sindhu to attack his enemies. The Jats also made great preparations to meet the invader. They sent their women and children to the islands for safety, and themselves boldly came forward with 4,000 boats, each filled with valiant fighters. The battle between the two armies began with terrible intensity. Almost all the boats of the Jats were broken into pieces as they dashed against those of the Sultan. A large number of Jats were drowned in the river, and those who survived were killed by the Muslim archers. The Sultan next plundered the islands where the families of the Jats were kept with their valuables, and then returned to Ghazni. This was the last expedition of Mahmud launched against India, and he died three years later, in A.D. 1030.

The Muslim chroniclers naturally regard Mahmud as one of their greatest kings and a great champion of Islamic faith. His welldeserved title to fame rests on the great military skill he displayed on innumerable occasions. Even making allowances for the flattery of the court historians, his repeated invasions of India, carried out with consummate ability and success, and his brilliant victories mark him out as the greatest general of his age, comparable with the military leaders of the first rank that have appeared in the world from time to time. His patronage of art and literature in his own kingdom also distinguishes him as a great king. But his iconoclastic zeal and avarice, beyond measure, which figure so conspicuously in his Indian expeditions, inevitably loom large in Indian eyes, and all his great qualities pale into insignificance. By his ruthless destruction of temples and images he violated the most sacred and cherished sentiments of the Indian people, and his championship of Islam therefore merely served to degrade it in their eyes such as nothing else could. He drained India of enormous wealth and destroyed much of India's manpower by his repeated expeditions. This exhaustion of economic resources and manpower told upon the future political destiny of India. In particular the destruction of the Shahi kingdom, which barred the gates of India against foreign invaders, dealt a severe blow to its future independence. The inclusion of the Punjab and Afghanistan in the kingdom of Ghazni made the Islamic conquest of India a comparatively easy process. It was no longer a question of whether, but when that mighty flood would overwhelm the country as a whole.

1. Vol. IV, p. 125.

2. Briggs, I. 23.

3. The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna by M. Nazim, p. 26.

4. This is the form of the name according to CHI, III. 11, but according to Dr.

Nazim it should be Piri or Piritigin (op. cit., p. 27).

5. The Muslim chronicles differ regarding the history of Ghazni as given above.

Cf. HIED, edited from Aligarh (1952), pp. 264 ff; Hodivala, Studies in Indo

Muslim History, p. 190, and the authorities cited therein.

6. The battle probably took place about A.D. 986-7 (Nazim, op. cit., p. 29).

7. 'Utbl gives an incomplete description of Mahmud's conquest of Thaneswar after narrating his invasion of Nandana, which took place in 404 A.H = A.D. 1013. Ibnu'l-Athlr puts the date of Mahmud's conquest of Thaneswar in 405 A.H. A.D. 1014. But Gardlzl, a contemporary authority, fixes the date of this invasion in 402 A.H. = A.D. 1011. According to this authority the invasion of Thaneswar took place three years prior to that of Nandana. This finds corroboration in the chronicles of Firishta and Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad. Elliot, W. Haig, and M. Nazim accept the chronology of Mahmud's invasion as given by 'Utbl. W. Haig, however, points out that "al-'Utbl's topography is faulty, and he appears to be confounding this (i.c. Thaneswar) expedition with another" (CHI, IH, 18 fn.). That 'Utbl had a confusion in his mind on this particular matter is also suggested by the fact that he abruptly closes his narrative after describing Mahmud's victory over Hama, a chief of the Punjab, on his way to Thaneswar. So the chronology of Mahmud's invasion as given by Gardlzl, Firishta and Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad, mentioned above, has been adopted.

8. Nazim, op. cit., p. 106. Elliot calls him Sabli (HIED, II, p. 42).

9. The names Hardat and Kulachand evidently stand for Haradatta and Kulachandra.

10. According to Firishta. Nizam-ud-dln gives the number of infantry as 145,000 and that of elephants as 390 (Bih. Ind., p. 12). But according to some manuscripts of this work the numbers are respectively 105,000 and 640.

11. The description of the temple is based on Muslim chronicles which differ in details. On the ruins of the particular temple destroyed by Mahmud

several others were erected by later kings, as often as they were demolished by the fury of the Muslims. Steps are now being taken to erect a magnificent temple on the same spot. Cf. Somanatha, the Shrine Eternal, by K. M. Munshi. The description of the temple broken by Mahmud, as given here, is based on the views of M. Nazim (op. cit., pp. 209 ff.).

12. Nazim, op. cit., p. 119. The site is described as an island in CHI, III. 25.

13. The Muslim chroniclers give conflicting accounts, both of Mahmud's march to Somanatha and of the part played by Bhima. Thus Firishta states that Mahmud came to Somanatha by way of Ajmer (Sambhar), and returned to Ghazni via Anahillapataka, where he went from Kanthakot. W. Haig has accepted this view (CHI, III. 23, 25).

Firishta also says that Bhima joined in the fight against Mahmud in front of the temple at Somanatha. But this is not corroborated by any other authority. There are, however, reasonable grounds to believe that Bhima, after leaving the capital city, organised his forces to resist Mahmud, and it was mainly to avoid him that Mahmud, chose for his return journey a shorter and less frequented, but more difficult, desert route. The army which opposed Mahmud at Kanthakot was perhaps sent by Bhima for this purpose, but it is doubtful whether Bhima was there in person (DHNI , II, 953 ff).

CHAPTER II

NORTHERN INDIA DURING THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

I. THE PAL AS 1. Mahlpala

When Mahipala I ascended the throne after the death of his father Vigrahapala II about A.D. 988, the once mighty empire of the Palas had been shattered to the dust, and the territory ruled over by them was confined to Magadha or South Bihar. By a strange irony of fate they had lost their ancestral kingdom in Bengal and were forced to seek refuge outside its border. This is frankly admitted in the Bangarh Grant which extols Mahlpala for having recovered his paternal kingdom which was usurped by others. Who these usurpers were the inscription does not tell us, but other evidences indicate, as noted above, 1 that the rulers belonging to Kamboja family were in possession of North and West Bengal, and the Chandras were ruling in South and East Bengal.

The details of the struggle by which Mahlpala recovered Bengal or at least a large part of it are not known to us. An inscription found on an image in a village in the Tippera District is dated in the year 3 of the reign of king Mahipala. There are good grounds to identify this king with Mahipala I, though there is no conclusive evidence in support of it. But if we accept this identification we must hold that Mahipala re-established his authority in East Bengal during the first two or three years of his reign. It also indirectly proves his hold over North Bengal before that time, for without it he could not have proceeded to East Bengal from his base in South Bihar. His possession of North Bengal is, however, definitely proved by his Bangarh Grant dated in his 9th regnal year. But although we are thus on sure grounds in respect of the recovery of Northern and Eastern Bengal by Mahipala, we cannot estimate the amount of success gained by his endeavour, if any, to reassert his authority over the other parts of Bengal. On the other hand, it would appear from the account of the Chola invasion, referred to below, that Mahipala had no hold over either South or West Bengal except perhaps a portion of the latter.

But Mahlpala was more successful in his attempt to re-establish Pala suzerainty outside Bengal. His inscriptions have been found

in North Bihar while those of his three predecessors have been found only in South Bihar. It may be concluded, therefore, that he also recovered North Bihar. We learn from an inscription dated A.D. 1026, found at Sarnath near Banaras, that Mahlpala built and repaired many sacred structures in that holy site of the Buddhists. It has been inferred from this record that Mahlpala's kingdom extended up to Banaras. It may be argued that Banaras or Sarnath, being sacred places of almost international reputation, the construction of sanctuaries therein does not necessarily imply political control over them. But as the whole of Bihar was certainly included within the kingdom of Mahlpala, it is not an unreasonable assumption that the neighbouring region in the West up to Banaras was also part of it, so long as we do not find any evidence to the country.

It was during the reign of Mahlpala that Rajendra Chola invaded Bengal. This Chola invasion has been dealt with more fully in Chapter X. It appears that the Chola king successively defeated Dharmapala of Dandabhukti, Ranasura of Southern Radha and Govindachandra of Vangala, and then fought with Mahlpala and conquered Northern Radha. Dandabhukti corresponds roughly to the present district of Midnapore, and Radha, the rest of the Burdwan Division. Vangala denotes Southern, and probably also a part of Eastern, Bengal where two inscriptions of Govindachandra have been found. The Chola records seem to indicate that Dandabhukti, Vangala, and Southern Radha were independent kingdoms at the time of the Chola invasion (c. A.D. 1021), but Northern Radha formed a part of Mahlpala's dominions.

The object of Rajendra Chola's invasion was to take sacred water of the Ganga in order to purify his own country. According to some Chola records the vanquished kings of Bengal were made to carry the water of the Ganga on their heads. As Prof. N. Sastri has observed, this is probably a mere boast without any foundation. He seems to be also correct in his assumption that Rajendra Chola's campaign "could hardly have been more than a hurried raid across a vast stretch of country.” In any case there is no reason to suppose that it made any deep impress upon the political condition of the country. Towards the close of his reign Mahlpala had to face the invasion of another powerful enemy, the Kalachuri ruler Gangeyadeva. The latter claims to have defeated the ruler of Anga who cannot be any other than Mahipala I. This claim is indirectly supported by a statement of the Muslim writer BaihaqI, that when Ahmad Niyaltigin invaded Banaras in A.D. 1034 it was in possession of Gang, who has been plausibly identified with the Kalachuri king Gangeyadeva. As noted above, Mahipala was probably in possession of Banaras in A.D. 1026. It may be reasonably inferred, therefore, that the conflict between Mahipala I and Gangeyadeva, resulting in the conquest of Banaras region by the latter, took place some time between A.D. 1026 and 1034.

As we have seen above, the reign of Mahipala I coincides with the period of repeated incursion of the Ghaznavid rulers against India. Mahlpala’s name, however, does not figure in the confederacy of Hindu rulers organised by the Shahi kings to defend their country against the Muslim onslaught. Some writers have severely criticised Mahipala for this lack of patriotism, or indifference to the cause of Hinduism on the part of a Buddhist ruler. But such criticism does not take into account the difficulties he had to confront almost throughout his reign. His early life was spent in recovering his ancestral dominions, and before he had completed this task, he had to face invasions of his territory by two most powerful rulers of India of his time. Threatened by disruption within and invasion from abroad, Mahipala can hardly be blamed for not frittering away his strength and energy by sending a military expedition to the distant corner of the Punjab or North-West Frontier.

Nobody can dispute the fact that Mahipala not only saved the Pala kingdom from impending ruin, but also restored to a large extent the old glory and power of the Palas, and that this was achieved against tremendous odds. His success in this great task is highly creditable, and it is idle to regret that he had not done more. His achievements are remarkable and he rightly takes his rank as the greatest Pala Emperor since Devapala. It is not without reason that of all the Pala Emperors his name alone figures in popular ballads still current in Bengal.

Indeed Mahipala may justly be regarded as the founder of the second Pala Empire. This revival of the glory of the Palas was fittingly demonstrated by Mahipala by constructing and repairing a large number of religious buildings in such important places as Banaras (including Sarnath) and Nalanda. We learn from contemporary records that “hundreds of pious works” were made and some old famous Buddhist monuments of Sarnath were repaired by the orders of Mahipala. Further we hear that two temples were constructed at Bodh-Gaya, and several monuments at Nalanda, after they were damaged or destroyed by fire, were repaired and restored during the reign of Mahipala. His name is also associated with a large number of tanks and towns in Bengal. The long reign of Mahipala extending over nearly half a century was thus a memorable period in the history of Bengal.

2. Successors of Mahipala

After the death of Mahipala I in c. A.D. 1038 his son Nayapala ascended the throne. Nayapala’s kingdom extended on the west up to Magadha, beyond which lay the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripurl. He is referred to as the king of Magadha in the Tibetan record. The Kalachuri Gangeyadeva’s son Karna cherished an ambition for pushing the boundary of his Empire further to the east at the cost of the Palas. This involved the Kalachuris and the Palas in a protracted war. Karna marched his army into Magadha and tried to capture a city, which may be taken as identical with Uddandapura, modern Bihar, in the Patna District. Having failed to achieve his end he sacked the Buddhist monasteries in the open country, and destroyed the foodgrains. Nayapala soon rallied his forces and inflicted a crushing defeat on the invading army. At this time Dlpankara Srijhana, also known as Atlsa, the Rector of the Vikramasila monastery, was residing in the Mahabodhi monastery at Vajrasana. He gave shelter to Karna and his vanquished forces and made arrangements for their safe departure to their own country. The great Buddhist teacher, who was in indifferent health, took the risk of travelling into the Kalachuri kingdom to the west of a great river more than once in order to establish peace between the two kings. A treaty was eventually concluded on condition of mutual restitution of the captured articles and payment of compensation except for the foodgrains which were destroyed. This battle between Karna and Nayapala took place in the early part of the reign of the former. In this battle Nayapala seems to have been materially helped by a Brahmana named Sudraka. Probably in recognition of this service he conferred on him the charge of the Gaya-maridala.

Mahasivagupta Yayati, a SomavarhsI king of Kosala, who flourished in the second quarter of the eleventh century, raided Gauda and Radha. His adversary in Gauda seems to have been Nayapala. Nayapala ruled at least for fifteen years, and was succeeded by his son Vigrahapala III in c. A.D. 1055.

During the reign of Vigrahapala the Kalachuri Karna renewed hostility with the Palas. He invaded Gauda but was ultimately worsted by the Pala king. A treaty seems to have been concluded between the Palas and the Kalachuris in accordance with which Karna gave his daughter Yauvanasri in marriage to Vigrahapala III. Shortly before A.D. 1068 Vigrahapala had to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, who invaded Gauda on behalf of his father Somesvara I, king of the Deccan.

Inscriptions of Vigrahapala’s reign prove that he was in possession of both Gauda and Magadha, and that he ruled for more than thirteen years. Besides the Kalachuri princess he had another queen, who was the sister of the Rashtrakuta Mathanadeva, chief of Anga. He had three sons, Mahlpala II, Surapala II, and Ramapala. Ramapala is known to have been born of the Rashtrakuta princess. It is not unlikely that Mahlpala II was the son of the Kalachuri princess. Vigrahapala died in c. A.D. 1070, and was succeeded by Mahlpala II.

Mahlpala II ascended the throne at a time when the foundation of the Pala kingdom had been shaken by the successive foreign invasions. Taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority the feudatories became very powerful. One of them was Visvaditya, son of Sudraka, the ruler of Gaya -ma^dala. The other seems to have been Jsvaraghosha, the chief of Dhekkarl. The situation became worse when Mahlpala took some drastic measures against his two younger brothers. Mahlpala was on the whole a good and a generous monarch, and was at first affectionate towards

Surapala and Ramapala. But on the report of some mischievous people that his brothers were conspiring against him, and without verifing the thuth of it, he threw them into prison and made them suffer all sorts of indignities. Thus Mahlpala, “heedless of protecting truth and polity,” deprived himself of the support of his brothers which he needed very badly in that critical period. When he was thus embroiled in his domestic affairs, a large number of vassals formed a confederacy and advanced to crush his power. Disregarding the advice of his competent ministers, he advanced with a small body of ill-equipped soldiers to meet the rebels, but had to pay very dearly for this impolitic action. The rebels inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. It follows from Sandhyakaranandi’s Rama-charita, which deals in detail with the history of the Palas of this period, that this invasion of the feudatories was part of a general revolt and not undertaken in protest against the incarceration of Surapala and Ramapala. Mahipala’s suffering, however, did not end with his defeat. An officer of the State named Divya, who was a Kaivarta by caste, and “who took to fraudulent practice as a vow,” brought about the death of the forlorn king, and occupied Varendri (North Bengal). Divya, obviously to screen his nefarious action, put forward the pretension that he undertook the heavy responsibility of the State from a paramount sense of duty. During this period of disorder and confusion, Surapala and Ramapala succeeded in escaping from the prison. After the loss of Varendri the Pala kingdom was limited to Northern and Central Bihar. Surapala ruled there for about a couple of years, and was succeeded by his younger brother Ramapala in c. A. D. 1077.

3. Ramapala

Divya ascended the throne of VarendrI in c. A.D. 1075. He could not assert his supremacy over any other part of the Pala dominions, though he made violent attacks on Ramapala, apparently for the extension of his kingdom. He was himself attacked by Jatavarman of the Yadava dynasty of East Bengal, who claims to have won a victory over him. Divya was succeeded by his brother Rudoka, and the latter by his son Bhima. The fact that the three kings of the Kaivarta family ruled Varendri one after the other indicates that they succeeded in consolidating their power and position there. Even Sandhyakaranandi, who was inimical to the Kaivartas, candidly confesses in his book that Varendri became prosperous under the happy rule of Bhima. The poet further states that Bhima maintained excellent cavalry and elephant forces, and possessed great wealth; he was a man of learning, properly rewarded the virtuous men, and was a sincere devotee of &iva. Bhima, however, could not enjoy his prosperity for long. The Paramara Lakshmadeva invaded his country. Ramapala was not also inactive. The Pala king realised that the army, which he commanded, was not strong enough to cope with Bhima. Moreover he was confronted with a fresh danger, probably due to the establishment of a new Karnataka dynasty in Mithila in the northern border of his kingdom. So he approached his feudatories, who were virtually independent, for military assistance. The most important of these allied chiefs was his maternal uncle Mathanadeva, ruler of Anga, who joined him with his two sons Kahnaradeva and Suvarnadeva and his nephew Sivarajadeva. The other allied chiefs were—

1. Bhimayasas, king of PRhi, and lord of Magadha.

2. Vlraguna, king of Kotatavi, in the south.

3. Jayasirhha, king of Dandabhukti.

4. Vikramaraja of Devagrama.

5. Lakshmisura, the lord of Apara-Mandara, and the headjewel of the circle of feudatories of the forest.

6. Surapala, ruler of Kujavati.

7. Rudrasikhara, ruler of Tailakampa.

8. Bhaskara or Mayagalasimha, king of Uchchhala.

9. Pratapasimha, king of Dhekkarlya.

10. Narasimhar j una king of Kayangala-mcmdala.

11. Chandarjuna of Sankatagrama.

12. Vijayaraja of Nidravali.

13. Dvorapavardhana, ruler of Kauiambl.

14. Soma of Paduvanva.

Of all the places mentioned above Magadha (Central Bihar), Aiiga (Bhagalpur), Dandabhukti (Midnapore District), and Kayahgala or Kajangala (south of Rajmahal) can be definitely identified. The other places, though they cannot be located with certainty, were in all probability situated to the south of the Ganga. It was no doubt a great humiliation for Ramapala to beg help from his own feudatories, but the result was highly satisfactory. All the chiefs readily agreed to help the Pala king and sent their forces to fight with the Kaivartas. After making a preliminary survey of the enemy's position with the help of Sivaraja, Ramapala, along with the main body of his army, crossed over to the northern bank of the Ganga in Varendri. Then followed a severe battle between the forces of Ramapala and Bhima. The two kings fought with each other at close quarter, and Ramapala ultimately succeeded in taking Bhima prisoner. This unnerved thousands of Bhima's soldiers who became panicky and fled, but Hari, a friend of Bhima, rallied the Kaivarta forces, and made a violent attack on Ramapala. Ramapala's son won Hari over to his side and this completed his victory. Bhima, with all his relations, was killed, and Varendri, after a long time, again passed into the hands of the Palas.

After the re-conquest of Varendri, Ramapala undertook the work of reconstruction of the houses which were destroyed by the enemies. It is not unlikely that the city of Pundravardhana was also considerably damaged. This might have prompted him to found a new capital city, which was named Ramavati after him. Ramapala relieved the people of Varendri from oppressive taxes, which were imposed on them by the Kaivarta rulers, and normal cultivation of lands was resumed under his patronage. He honoured Hari by raising him to a position of great influence.

After consolidating his position at home Ramapala tried to restore the former glory of his family by launching expeditions against the neighbouring states. He pressed heavily on the Varmans (Yadavas) of East Bengal. The Varman king, who appears to have been Harivarman, surrendered to him chariots and elephant forces, and thereby saved his country from devastation. Ramapala sent an allied chief, who seems to have been Timgyadeva, to conquer the countries in the east. Timgyadeva conquered Kamarupa, and was made the governor of that country. Ramapala despatched an elephant force against the Gahadavalas of Kanauj some time between A.D. 1100 and 1109, but it was repulsed by the Gahadavala prince Govindachandra. Ramapala wanted to assert his supremacy over Utkala where two rival factions were quarrelling for power. One of them was backed by Anantavarman Chodaganga of the Ganga

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dynasty, and the other was supported by the Pala king. Karnakesarl, who seems to have been supported by the Gahgas, and who was once defeated by Ramapala's feudatory Jayasimha of Dandabhukti, appears to have secured the throne by superseding the claim of his rival, who belonged to the Somavamsa. Ramapala took up the cause of the latter and placed him on the throne after defeating Anantavarman. But he could not maintain his influence there for long. Some time before A.D. 1112 Anantavarman succeeded in re-instating either Karnakesarl or his successor on the throne of Utkala. Ramapala gave protection to a king of the Naka dynasty, who was harassed by the Nagas. He is said to have even captured the Niaga capital. The Nagas, referred to, might have been those of the old Bastar State, whose capital was Chakrakota (Chakrakotta).

In the latter part of his reign Ramapala entrusted the cares of the government to his son Rajyapala. On hearing the news of the death of his maternal uncle Mathanadeva, who was very dear to him, Ramapala committed suicide by drowning himself into the Ganga near Monghyr in c. A.D. 1120.

Such was the tragic end of an eventful and remarkable career. We are indebted to the Rdma-charita of Sandhyakaranandl for supplying these details of Ramapala's reign. He had passed through strange vicissitudes of fortune, but like Mahipala I he succeeded in restoring the fallen fortunes of the Palas. The circumstantial narrative of how he did it fills our mind with admiration for his strength of mind, resourcefulness and wonderful personality. He had to struggle hard with adversity and tasted the bitter cup of humiliation to the full. But nothing daunted him or swayed him from his grim resolve to recover the dominions and restore the glory of his forefathers. His long life was full of military campaigns, but it was crowned with success. His romantic death was a fitting end to a career which is more suited to a drama than matter-of-fact history.

4. Successors of Ramapala

Ramapala was succeeded by his son Kumarapala, and it is probable that Rajyapala, who had acted as his father's deputy, predeceased him. At the time of Ramapala's death his kingdom comprised a large part, if not the whole, of Bengal, together with Bihar and Assam. But the signs of disintegration were already visible. Some petty chiefs of Magadha assumed the position of independent monarchs. One of them was Yakshapala, son of Visvaditya of Gaya -mandala. Another was Varnamana, who is described as the lord of Magadha, and whose son Rudramana is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1138. Nanyadeva, king of Mithila, clamis to have defeated the king of Gauda, who might have been Kumarapala. Western Magadha up to Dinapore sub-division passed into the hands of the Gahadavaia Govindachandra before A.D. 1124. In their fight with the Palas the Gahadavalas were helped by their allies, the Kalachuris of Tuihmana. Vallabharaja, a feudatory of the Kalachuri Ratnadeva II (c. A.D. 1114-1141), is said to have reduced the king of Gauda. Anantavarman Chodaganga invaded South and West Bengal. Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumarapala, resisted the invader for some time, but had to hurry to Kamarupa in order to put down the revolt of Timgyadeva. Taking advantange of his absence Anantavarman conquered all the territories up to Hooghly on the bank of the Ganga. Vijayasena of the Sena family, who allied himself with Anantavarman Chodaganga, grew very powerful in Radha. Vaidyadeva, after putting down the revolt of Timgyadeva, became the governor of Kamarupa, and subsequently, probably in the next reign, became independent. Kumarapala, who was obviously a weak ruler, was thus engulfed in a sea of troubles, and when he died in c. A.D. 1125, he left a tottering kingdom to his son Gopala III. Gopala III, who ruled for more than fourteen years, died an unnatural death, but the exact details of the incident are not known. He was succeeded by his uncle Madanapala, the youngest son of Ramapala, in A.D. 1144.

Madanapala tried to save the Pala kingdom, but failed. Until the third year of his reign, his kingdom extended up to the Bihar Hill, but some time before A.D. 1146, the Gahadavalas under Govindachandra conquered all the territories up to Monghyr. Madanapala, however, reconquered Monghyr from the Gahadavalas before the 14th year of his reign, i.e. before A.D. 1157, with the help of his relation Chandradeva, son of Suvarnadeva, and the grandson of the Rashtrakuta Mathanadeva, who was a Mandaladhipati of Aiiga. Madanapala also destroyed the power of Govardhana, who cannot be identified, but was probably a rebellious feudatory. Madanapala carried on hostilities with the Gangas of Kalinga and Orissa, who occupied a large portion of Radha. It is known from the Ravia-charita 2 that he was looking for an opportunity to crush the power of the Snake king of Kalinga (Kalinga-Phanabhujam, i.e. Ananta, the lord of serpents), who may be identified with Anantavarman Chodaganga. Madanapala manfully struggled against all these neighbouring rulers. But his greatest enemy was inside Bengal. The growth of the power of the Senas of Radha, who had already made themselves masters of East Bengal, became a menace to the very existence of the sovereignty of the Palas. Madanapala fought a severe battle near the Kalindl river, in the Malda District,

with an enemy, presumably the Senas under Vijayasena. He succeeded in pushing the enemy to the Kalindl river but, some time after the eighth year of his reign, he had to surrender Varendri to Vijayasena. After being deprived of his home dominion, which never came back to the Palas, Madanapala withdrew to the Anga country where he ruled till c. A.D. 1161. He is the last known king of the family of Gopala and Dharmapala.

A king named Govindapala, who calls himself the lord of Gauda, is known to have been ruling in the Gaya District in the sixth decade of the twelfth century. He was probably related to Madanapala, but nothing is definitely known. His power seems to have collapsed in A.D. 1162. The colophons of some manuscripts and stone inscriptions bear dates which appear to have been the number of years counted, not from the beginning of The reign, but from the destruction of the kingdom of Govindapala. Thus the Pala dynasty, which at one time rose to the rank of the foremost imperial rulers of India, lost its sovereign power after a rule of nearly four hundred years.

II. BENGAL AFTER THE PALAS 1. The Yadavas of Vang a

Govindachandra of Vahgala, who was defeated by Rajendra Chola, was probably the last ruler of the Chandra dynasty. 3 After the fall of the Chandras, the Varmans came to power in East Bengal, in the second quarter of the eleventh century. The Varmans claim to have belonged to the Yadava race, which was graced by the birth of Krishna. The Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman states that the Varmans dominated Simhapura. This has led some scholars to suggest that Simhapura was the original home of the Varmans wherefrom they came to East Bengal. Attempts have been made to identify the place variously with Simhapura near Salt Range in the Punjab, referred to by Hiuen Tsang, Simhapura in Kalinga mentioned in the cpigraphic records, and Simhapura in Radha mentioned in the Ceylonese Chronicle Mahavamsa and identified with Singur in the Hooghly District, which bears ancient ruins. But none of these identifications has gained general acceptance. The earliest known member of the Varman dynasty is Vajravarman, who is said to have been “the welfare (itself) of the victorious war expedition of the Yadava armies, and the god of Death to his enemies.” This seems to be referring to the conquest of East Bengal by the Varmans under his leadership. It cannot be ascertained from the Belava inscription, the only record mentioning the name of Vajravarman, whether he was a royal personage.

This epigraphic record does not also mention the successors of Vajravarman definitely as kings in the introductory portion. In the prose portion only Bhojavarman, the author of the inscription, and his father Samalavarman are given the title Maharajtidhirdja. The fact that Vajravarman belonged to a royal dynasty of Simhapura and that he led successful expeditions against his enemies suggest that he occupied royal position. Some scholars, however, think that the Varmans occupied East Bengal after the death of Vajravarman, and that his son Jatavarman was the founder of the greatness of the family. It was probably during the reign of Jatavarman that the Kalachuri Karna invaded Vanga and conquered it. As Kama is known to have given his daughter Vlrasri in marriage to Jatavarman, it may be presumed that a treaty was eventually concluded between the Kalachuris and the Yadavas. During the reign of Jatavarman there was a great political upheaval in North Bengal, which, as noted above, led to the accession of the Kaivarta Divya on the throne of .that country. Jatavarman led an expedition against Divya and won a victory over him. The Vangala army which, according to a Nalanda incription, sacked the Buddhist monastery at Somapura, modern Paharpur, in the Rajshahi District, was in all probability the army led by Jatavarman on this occasion. Jatavarman's victory over Divya brought him to the border of the Anga country, which was then ruled by the Rashtrakuta Mathanadeva or his predecessor. Jatavarman is said to have succeeded in asserting his supremacy over the Anga country. Though he won victory over Divya and Mathanadeva he could not permanently annex their territories to his kingdom. The anti-Buddhist propaganda carried on by Govardhana, the father of Bhatta-Bhavadeva, in East Bengal, was probably responsible for the persecution of the Buddhists by the Vangala army in VarendrI. Jatavarman invaded Kamarupa and defeated its king, who may be identified with Harshapala. Prithu and Govardhana, who had to yield to the forces of Jatavarman, cannot be identified.

Jatavarman issued an inscription from Vikramapura which appears to have been the capital of the Varmans. He had two sons Harivarman and Samalavarman by the Kalachuri princess, and the former succeeded him on the throne.

Harivarman's minister of peace and war was Bhatta-Bhavadeva, who had the curious epithet Bdla-Balablu-bhujanga. BhattaBhavadeva's grandfather Adideva was minister of the king of Vanga, who may be identified with Vajravarman. Bhatta-Bhavadeva studied Siddhanta, Tantra, Ganita, and Astrology and wrote books on Horoscopy, Dharmasastra, and Mlmamsa. He rose against Buddh

ism and enhanced the cause of the Brahmanical religion in Vanga. He built a temple of Ananta, Narayana, and Nrisimha. There is now good ground for rejecting the view, unanimously held for a long time, that this temple is identical with that of Ananta-Vasudeva at Bhuvanesvara, in Orissa, on whose wall was fixed the slab containing the inscription. It must have been carried there from Bengal.

As noted above, Harivarman was probably subjugated by Ramapala. It seems that during his reign Nanyadeva of Mithila raided Vafiga. Harivarman ruled for more than forty-six years, and probably died at the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. He had a son, whose name is not known, but was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Samalavarman.

Samalavarman had a number of queens, the chief of whom was MalavyadevI, the mother of Bhojavarman. Bhojavarman, who succeeded his father, ruled for more than five years from the city of Vikramapura. He or his successor was overthrown by Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty in the middle of the twelfth century A.D Varmans are not known to have asserted their supremacy on any country beyond East Bengal.

A number of Kulapanjis (genealogical books) of the Vaidika Brahmanas mention that a remote predecessor of their family settled in Bengal in S. 1001 (— A.D. 1079) during the reign of Samalavarman. A single manuscript, however, states that it took place during the reign of Harivarman.

2. The Senas of Bengal

The Senas of Bengal call themselves Karnata-Kshatriya, Brahma-Kshatriya, and Kshatriya. They claim their descent from the mythical Vlrasena and others, who are said to have been the kings of Dakshinapatha. It may, therefore, be held that the original home of the Senas was in the Kannada speaking region in the south. There was in the Dharwar District, Bombay State, a family of Jain teachers, who belonged to the Sena family (Senmvaya). It cannot be ascertained whether the Senas of the Dharwar District had any connection with those of Bengal. Nor do we know how and when the Senas came to Bengal from Dakshinapatha. It is known from the records of the Palas that the kings of this dynasty, from Devapala downwards, appointed as officers many foreigners among whom were also the Karnatas. It may be that a remote predecessor of the Senas of Bengal, hailing from the Deccan, accepted service under the Palas, and then his successors gradually rose to power and settled in Radha. It is not also unlikely that the founder of the Sena family accompanied one of the Chalukya rulers who invaded Bengal, and ultimately settled there.

The earliest known member of the Sena dynasty of Bengal is Samantasena, who is said to have been born in the family o£ the Rajapueras, who adorned Ragiia. Rajaputra means a prince, but also designates an otiice, and generally scholars have taKen the word Rajaputra to mean prmce in this case. Samantasena, whose home was ooviously Radha, is said to have defeated, in the southern quarter, an enemy who plundered the resources of the Karnata country. It is generally assumed that Samantasena fought this battle in the Deccan on the side of the Chalukyas against the Cholas. Some are, however, inclined to think that Samantasena defended his adopted country against the incursion of the southern king Rajendra Chola who, after vanquishing the Chalukya Jayasimha, king of the Karnata country, and many others, invaded Bengal. In his old age, Samantasena devoted his time to religious practices, and frequented the sacred hermitages in the forests on the bank of the Gahga. Though he is not definitely known to have assumed royal position, he may be taken to have been a ruling chief in Radha. He was succeeded by his son Hemantasena, who is given the title Mahdrdjddhirdja in the record of his successor. Hemantasena seems to have consolidated his position in Radha during the trou blous times that followed the occupation of that country by the Kalachuri Karna. The epithet, "the skilful protector olT kings," given to Hemantasena in the record of his son, may have some reference to his giving shelter to Surapala and Ramapala after their escape from the prison of Varendri. He was succeeded by his son Vijayasena in c. A.D. 1095.

Vijayasena was the greatest king of the Sena dynasty. In the early part of his life he married Vilasadevi, a princess of the Sura family, who gave birth to his son Vallalasena (Ballalasena). This Sura family may be identified with the Sura dynasty whicn ruled in Apara-Mandara about this time under its king Lakshmlsura. 4 It seems that when the disintegration of the Pala kingdom began after the death of Ramapala, Vijayasena made a bid for the conquest of the whole of Bengal. He strengthened his position by making an alliance with Anantavarman Chodagahga, king of Kalinga, who extended the boundary of his kingdom up to the Hooghly District. Vijayasena's ambitious military scheme soon brought him into conflict with a number of rulers, and he defeated them all. He subdued VIra and Vardhana, who may be identified respectively w'ith Viraguna of Kotatavi and Dvorapavardhana of Kausambi, the allies of Ramapala mentioned above. 6 He led a naval expedi

tion in the west along the course of the Ganga, probably against Govindachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty of Kanauj. Most likely it was on this occasion that he invaded Mithila and inflicted a defeat on its king Nanyadeva. About the middle of the twelfth century he overthrew Bhojavarman of Vikramapura and conquered East Bengal. He also invaded VarendrI, which was then ruled by Madanapala. Though he seems to have suffered a reverse near the Kalindl, he eventually succeeded in wresting North Bengal from the Palas. The Deopara, Barrackpore, and Paikore inscriptions of his reign prove his supremacy over Gauda, Vahga and Radha. On the south his kingdom comprised Khadl-mandala in the Twenty-four Parganas. He invaded Kamarupa and drove away its king, but could not establish his supremacy over that country. His adversary was probably Rayarideva, king of Kamarupa, who is said to have resisted the elephant forces from Vahga in battle. Vijayasena, who was friendly to Anantavarman Chodaganga of Kalinga, became hostile to his family after his death. In the latter part of his reign he invaded Kalinga and defeated Raghava, the second son of Anantavarman. Vijayasena thus established a powerful kingdom in Bengal and made his influence felt in the neigh* bouring countries. He assumed the title Ariraja-vrishabha-Sankara and built a temple of Pradyumnesvara Siva in the Rajshahi District. The poet Umapatidhara lived in his court and composed the famous eulogy (Deopara Prasasti) from which we know the details of his reign. His queen VilasadevI performed the Kanaka Tulapurusha Mahddana ceremony in the royal palace at Vikramapura, which was one of the capitals of the Senas. The other one was Vijayapura, which seems to have been identical with Nadiva. Vijayasena was succeeded by his son Vallalasena in c. A.D. 1158.

Vallalasena assumed the title Nihsanka-Sankara. He claims to have defeated the king of Gauda, which probably means that he put an end to the rule of Gaudesvara Govindapala 6 in A.D. 1162. It is known from literature of a later period that he invaded Mithila during the reign of his father Vijayasena, and that his kingdom comprised Vahga, Radha, Bagdi, VarendrI, and Mithila. It is also recorded that Gaudapura, Vikramapura, and Suvarnagrama were the three capitals of this king. The authenticity of these reports cannot be verified. But an inscription, dated in the ninth year of Vallalasena, found at Colgong, on the Ganga, in Bihar, proves that the neighbouring region was comprised in his dominions. 63 Vallalasena was a man of learning. He learnt all the Puranas and Smritis under the guidance of his preceptor Aniruddha, and was an author of repute. He completed his book Danasdaara in § 1091 (— A.D. 1169), and had begun the composition of another book named

Adbhutasdgara one year before that. He died before he could finish this book, and it was completed by his son Lakshmainasena. Tradition ascribes the introduction of the social system, known as Kulinism, in Bengal to Vallalasena, but this does not find corroboration in any contemporary record. Vallalasena married Ramadevl, the daughter of a Chalukya king, who may be identified with the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. Vallalasena was a Saiva, though he was inclined towards Vaishnavism. In his old age he handed over the reins of administration to his son Lakshmanasena, and retired along with his queen to a place known as Nirjarapura on the Triveni.

Lakshmanasena ascended the throne in A.D. 1178 and assumed the title Ariraja-Madana-saiikara. Altogether seven copper-plate inscriptions of his reign have been found in different parts of Bengal. Five of them, which were executed within six years after his accession, were issued from Vikramapura. The Madhainagar Grant, the date of which cannot be restored, and the Bhawal plate, which is dated in the 27th year of his reign, were issued from Dharyagrama. It seems that Lakshmanasena passed the early part of his career mostly at Vikramapura, and later resided at Dharyagrama. His inscriptions prove that he succeeded in maintaining his supremacy over Gauda, Vanga, and Radha during the early part of his reign. Before the sixth year of his reign, probably out of administrative necessity, he separated northern Radha from the Vardhamana-Bhukti, and placed it within a newly constituted Bhukti named Kankagrama.

Lakshmanasena was a great military leader and the contemporary records give an account of his victories. While he was still very young he defeated the king of Gauda, which probably means that he participated in the battle which was fought by Vijayasena with the Pala Madanapala. He is also said to have defeated the king of Kalinga in his youth, and it is not unlikely that he fought this battle also under the leadership of his grandfather. During his reign he entered into a war with the king of KasI, who must be the Gahadavala Jayachandra. Some time between A.D. 1183 and 1192 Jayachandra succeeded in pushing the eastern boundary of his kingdom at least up to Bodh-Gaya in Magadha. By defeating him Lakshmanasena seems to have succeeded in checking the eastward progress of the Gahadavalas. He also invaded Pragjyotisha or Kamarupa, and won a victory over its king. The inscriptions of the successors of Lakshmanasena refer to the king's victory over the rulers of Kalinga and KasI, and add that Lakshmanasena set up pillars commemorating his military victory at

Puri, KasI and TrivenI (Allahabad). This may be an exaggeration of the facts mentioned in the Madhainagar and Bhawal copper-plates of Lakshmanasena. These two inscriptions, one of which was issued long after the close of Lakshmanasena's career of conquest, do not mention any thing about his conquest of Allahabad.

The kingdom of the Senas began to disintegrate in the closing years of the twelfth century. Khadl-raarcdala was under the sway of Lakshmanasena in the early part of his reign. But in or before A.D. 1196 one Dommanapala set up an independent kingdom in this region. While the Sena power was weakened by disruption within, it had to face the invasion of the Muslims who had by this time overrun the greater part of Northern India. Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji, a Turkish officer, conquered the city of Bihar, and entered Bengal with a large army. According to the account given by Minhaj-ud-dln in his Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, the news of the advance of Muhammad Khalji created such a panic into the minds of the citizens of Nadiya, the capital city of Lakshmanasena, that most of them took to flight, but the king stayed on in the almost deserted city. Muhammad Khalji, at the end of his march, advanced with only eighteen soldiers a little forward from the main body of the army, and entered Nadiya without any opposition, as the guards and inhabitants of the city took them to be horse-dealers. By the time Muhammad reached the royal palace, the main body of his soldiers also got into the city, and Muhammad forced his way through the palace-gate with a drawn sword. The royal guards being attacked unawares, raised a hue and cry which reached the ears of Lakshmanasena, when he was taking his mid-day meal. The king at once fled by the back door, and proceeded to Vahga. Minhaj does not say from whom he heard this narrative, but it is clear that he had no reliable source of information. The whole story, however, reads like a romance and is hardly credible. It is, for example, very difficult to believe that though Lakshmanasena knew that the Muslims were advancing against him, he awaited their arrival in the capital without making any proper arrangement for its defence, or that a body of Muslim horsemen would be admitted into the city without any question. That Nadiya was conquered by Muhammad Khalji by defeating Lakshmanasena admits of no doubt, but the details of the conquest, as given by Minhaj, cannot be accepted as the whole truth. Even if we accept his story, we must admit that Lakshmanasena showed great bravery by not deserting his capital in the company of the other panic-stricken citizens long before the actual attack by the Muslim army, and considering the circumstances which forced him to leave the city, we can hardly blame him or regard it as an act of cowardice.

Muhammad Khalji conquered Nadiya in c. A.D. 1202, and shortly afterwards wrested North Bengal from Lakshmanasena. But East Bengal, and probably also South Bengal, remained under the control of the Senas. In the 27th year of his reign (A.D. 1205), i-e. three years after the loss of Nadiya, Lakshmanasena granted lands in the Bhawal Pargand of the Dacca District.

Lakshmanasena changed his ancestral faith and became a devout Vaishnava. He was not only a distinguished soldier, but also a great poet, and some verses composed by him found place in Sridharadasa's Saduktikarndmrita. It has already been noticed that he completed the text of Adhkutasdgara, which was begun by his father. His court was graced by a number of famous poets such as Jayadeva, the author of Gitagovinda, and Dhoyi, the author of Pavanaduta, as well as scholars like Halayudha, the author of Brahmanasarvasva, and Sridharadasa, the son of the Mahasamantachuddmani Vatudasa. Sridharadasa himself was Mahdmdndalika under Lakshmanasena. The great writer Halayudha was his chief minister, and Sankaradhara, the minister for peace and war. Lakshmanasena had a number of queens, viz., SriyadevI, Kalyanadevi and ChandradevI and two sons, Visvarupasena and Kesavasena.

An era which was in use in Bihar after the downfall of the Senas is associated with the name of Lakshmanasena. Different records yield different dates, ranging from A.D. 1108 to 1119, as the initial year of this era. If Lakshmanasena was the founder of this era, it is curious that he did not use it in his own records. Moreover, Lakshmanasena was probably not even born in A.D. 1119. For Minhaj states that at the time of the Muslim invasion of Nadiya Lakshmanasena was eighty years old, and this fixes the date of the king's birth in c. A.D. 1122. Laghubhdrata, a late work, states that Vallalasena received the news of Lakshmanasena's birth when he was marching against Mithila. If there is any truth in this statement, Lakshmanasena was obviously born after the death of Ramapala in c. A.D. 1120 when alone Vallalasena could have led an expedition against Mithila. As a matter of fact the origin of the Lakshmanasena era cannot be ascertained now.

Lakshmanasena probably died shortly after A.D. 1205, his last known date. He was succeeded by Visvarupasena, who assumed the title Vrishabhdnka-Sankara. Visvarupasena granted lands in the region of Vikramapura from his victorious camp at Phalgugrama. Minhaj states that about this time the Muslims ruled Radha and Varendrl from their capital Lakhnawati, and in A.D. 1226 Ghiyas-uddin Twaz, the Sultan of Lakhnawati, made an abortive attempt to

conquer Vanga. This is corroborated by the Sena records according to which Visvarupasena defeated the Yavanas, i.e. the Muslims. He had two sons Kumarasena and Purushottamasena. but these princes are not known to have ever ruled. Visvarupasena ruled for more than 14 years and was succeeded by his younger brother Kesavasena who assumed the title Asahya-Sarikara® h He also granted lands in the region of Vikramapura from Phalgugrama. Minhaj relates that Malik Saif-ud-dln (A.D. 1231-1233) sent an expedition to Vanga where he captured some elephants. Kesavasena, in all probability, succeeded in repulsing this invasion, for he is also stated to have won a victory over the Yavanas. The descendants of

Lakshmanasena thus frustrated successive attempts of the Muslims to assert their supremacy over Vanga. How long Kesavasena ruled cannot be ascertained. It appears from Minhaj that the Senas occupied the throne of Vanga at least up to A.D. 1245, if not up to A.D. 1260. They were supplanted in Vanga by Danujamadhava Dasarathadeva of the Deva family not long after the middle of the thirteenth century. Both Visvarupasena and Kesavasena were devotees of Surya. But a king known as Madhusena, who was a devotee of Buddha, is known to have been ruling in some part of Bengal in A.D. 1289. His relation with the Senas of Vikramapura is not known.

3. The Royal Family of Pattikera

The Varmans and the Senas are not known to have ever asserted their supremacy over that part of Bengal which lay to the east of the Brahmaputra. From the eleventh century onward the capital of this region seems to have been Pattikera, the extensive ruins of which have been discovered on the Mainamati Hills, in the Tippera District. All memory of this kingdom is lost, but even now there is a Pargana named Patikera, or Paitkera which extends up to the Mainamati Hills. A miniature label in a Nepalese manuscript, copied in A.D. 1015, mentions the city of Pattikera. According to the Burmese chronicles, the kingdom of Burma, under Anoratha (A.D. 1044-1077) was bounded on the west by Patikkara. These Burmese sources narrate romantic stories which indicate that there was a close and intimate contact between the rulers of Pattikera and Burma in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Unfortunately the Burmese annals do not mention the name of any king of Pattikera. We learn from an inscription, discovered in the Mainamati Hills, that a king known as Harikaladeva Ranavankamalla ascended the throne of Pattikera in A.D. 1202-1203, and ruled there at least up to A.D. 1219. Harikaladeva or his successor was overthrown by the Deva dynasty.

4. The Deva Dynasty oj Samatata and Vanga

The earliest known member of the Deva family is Purushottama, who was a headman of a village (gramani), possibly under the royal dynasty of Pattikera. His son Madhusudana, also known as Madhumathana, is described as a king (nripati), and seems to have founded an independent principality in the southern part of the kingdom of Pattikera. His son and successor was Vasudeva, who was again succeeded by his son Damodara. Damodara, who claims to have been the overlord of all kings, issued inscriptions dated A.D. 1234 and 1243. He granted the village Mehara (now in the Chandpur subdivision of the Tippera District) in the Samatata - mandala, and seems to have put an end to the rule of Harikaladeva's family in Pattikera. King Danujamadhava Dasarathadeva of the Deva family, who issued an inscription from Vikramapura, was the son and successor of Damodara. He claims to have obtained the kingdom of Gauda through the grace of Narayana. This probably means that he wrested Vanga from the Senas, who claimed to have been the lords of Gauda even long after its conquest by the Muslims. As will be noted in Chapter V, Sultan Balban came to Sonargaon (now a Par gana, in the Narayanganj sub-division, Dacca District) in A. D. 1283 and entered into an agreement with Danuj Rai to guard against the flight of Tughril Khan by water. There is no doubt that this Danuj Rai is identical with Danujamadhava Dasarathadeva. The Ta'rikh-iMubarak Shahi mentions an interesting episode connected with tjie meeting of Balban with Danuj Rai at Sonargaon. After the reign of Dasarathadeva in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. the kingdom of the Deva dynasty passed into the hands of the Muslims.

III. ASSAM

It has been mentioned above 7 that after the death of king Tyagasiihha, the last ruler of the Salambha or Pralambha dynasty, towards the close of the tenth century A.D., the people elected his kinsman named Brahmapala as the king of Pragjyotisha. The capital of this newly established dynasty was at Durjaya, which is identified by some with Gauhati. Brahmapala may be placed in the first part of the eleventh century. He was succeeded by his son Ratnapala who granted lands in Uttarakula, which seems to be referring to the north bank of the Brahmaputra river. He is said to have fought successfully with the kings of Gurjara, Gauda, Kerala, and Dakshinatya, and with the Bahikas and Taikas. This seems to be a hyperbole. The kings of Gurjara, Gauda, and the Deccan about this time were respectively the Chaulukya Bhima I of Gujarat, Nayapala, and the Chalukya Somesvara I. Bhima I and Nayapala are not known to have led any expedition against Assam, but Somesvara Fs son Vikramaditya VI is known to have led a successful expedition against Kamarupa shortly before A.D. 1068. Ratnapala ruled for more than twenty-six years. His son Purandarapala, who was a poet, predeceased him. So after the death of Ratnapala Purandarapala's son Indrapala ascended the throne. He is described in his own inscription as the light of the East (Prdchi-pradlpa). It was probably during his reign that Jatavarman of the Yadava dynasty of East Bengal invaded Kamarupa. Indrapala was succeeded by his son Gopala, who was again succeeded by his son Harshapala. Harshapala's son and successor was Dharmapala, who may be taken to have flourished in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Dharmapala is mentioned as the king of Kamarupanagara, which was probably identical with Durjaya. He was a man of learning, and composed a part of his own inscription discovered on the bank of the Pushpabhadra. He was the last ruler of the family founded by Brahmapala and seems to have been overthrown by Timgyadeva, in the reign of Ramapala of Gauda. As already mentioned, Timgyadeva revolted and was defeated by Vaidyadeva, who subsequently ruled Kamarupa as an independent king. Whether he was succeeded by his brother Budhadeva is not known.

A copper-plate inscription from Assam mentions that in the Chandravamsa there was Bhaskara, whose son was the king Rayarideva Trailokyasimha. Rayarideva is said to have vanquished the king of Vanga, who may be identified with Vijayasena. He was succeeded by his son Udayakarna Nihsankasimha, and the latter by his son Vallabhadeva, one of whose known dates is A.D. 1185. It is probable, therefore, that the three kings Rayarideva, Udayakarna and Vallabhadeva ruled in Kamarupa after Vaidyadeva. Vallabhadeva was probably the king who suffered defeat at the hands of Lakshmanasena.

Minhaj states that in A.D. 1205 Muhammad Bhaktyar Khalji advanced with an army via Bardhankot along the bank of the Begmati river (identified with Karatoya) for the conquest of Tibet. Before ten days had elapsed he had to cross a stone bridge within the territory of the king of Kamrud (Kamarupa). While returning from the Tibetan expedition he found the bridge broken by the Hindus of Kamrud and, realising the gravity of the situation, ordered his army to take shelter in a neighbouring temple. The ‘Rae of Kamrud’ attacked the Muslims and killed a large number of them. Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji, with a few followers, jumped into the river and swam to the opposite bank. Mr. Blochmann

places this bridge near Darjeeling. An inscription on a rock at Kanaibarshi, a mile to the north-east of North Gauhati, states that in A.D. 1205 the Turushkas, who came to Kamarupa, were slain. There is a broken old stone bridge on the channel of the Barnadi, eleven miles to the west of Kanaibarshi. Some scholars are inclined to identify this bridge with that mentioned by Minhaj. This view does not seem to be convincing as Gauhati lies far off from the normal route to Tibet from Lakhnawati. As a matter of fact the genuineness of the Kanaibarshi inscription may be doubted. There is, however, no doubt about a conflict between Muhammad Bakhtyar Khaljl and the king of Assam in which the former suffered severe losses. It cannot however be said definitely whether Vallbhadeva or his successor was the adversary of Muhammad Bakhtyar Khaljl.

The chronology of the Kamarupa kings after Vallabhadeva cannot be definitely determined, but their conflict with the Muslim rulers continued. In A.D. 1227 Ghiyas-ud-dln Twaz of Lakhnawati made an abortive attempt to conquer Kamarupa. In A.D. 1257 Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yuzbak Tughril Khan invaded Kamarupa and at first obtained some success. Subsequently the Sultan was defeated and captured. He died of his wounds and his army was destroyed. The invasion of Kamarupa by Mahmud Shah in A.D. 1337 also ended in disaster for the Muslim army.

In the first half of the eleventh century the Mahamdndalika Isvaraghosha was ruling at Dhekkarl. He granted land after bathing in the Jatoda river in the Gallitipyaka-insha^a of the Piyolla

mandala . The Kdlika Pur ana mentions that the Jatoda flows

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through Kamarupa. The river now passes through Jalpaiguri and Cooch-Behar. Isvaraghosha ruled for more than thirty-five years, and was either a feudatory under the Palas of Gauda or a vassal under Ratnapala of the Pala dynasty of Kamarupa.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries a line of kings ruled in the kingdom of Srihatta. There were kings Kharavana, Gokuladeva, Narayana, Kesavadeva, and isanadeva, each being the son of his predecessor. Isanadeva ruled for more than seventeen years. Srihatta or Sylhet was conquered by Sikandar Khan GhazI in A.D. 1303 during the reign of the Sultan Firuz Shah.

The Ahoms, a branch of the Shan tribe, started under their leader Sukapha from Maulung in A.D. 1215, and crossed the hilly country of Patkai. They came in course of their wandering march to Eastern Assam, and settled at Charaideo in A.D. 1253. Sukapha was succeeded by his son Suteupha, during whose reign the Kacharis gave the country to the east of the Dikhu river to the Ahoms.

Suteupha, who died in A.D. 1281, was succeeded by his son Subinpha, and the latter by his son Sukhanghpha in A.D. 1293. During this period the Ahoms carried on a protracted war with the Raja of Kamata which was concluded by a treaty. Sukhanghpha married RajanI, the daughter of the Raja of Kamata, and died in A.D. 1332. The Ahoms, who thus consolidated their kingdom in the thirteenth century, gave the name Assam to the country which was called Kamarupa and Pragjyotisha in ancient days.

In the thirteenth century the Kacharis also founded a kingdom along the south bank of the Brahmaputra from Dikhu to Kallang. It also included the valley of Dhansiri and the North Kachar subdivision.

IV. NEPAL

As we have seen above,[8] the dynasty of Guijakama was ruling in Nepal at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. and king Nirbhaya was ruling jointly with Rudra in A.D. 1007. Rudradeva was succeeded by Bhoja. It appears from a palm-leaf manuscript, dated A.D. 1015, that when Bhoja was ruling, half the kingdom was enjoyed by Lakshmlkamadeva. Some take this to mean that Bhoja and Lakshmikama ruled conjointly. But an undated manuscript refers to the reign of Bhoja only, and another manuscript, dated A.D. 1033, mentions the name of Lakshmikama alone. According to the

Tibetan sources, when Dipankara Atlsa visited Nepal in c. A.D. 1039, on his way to Tibet, the king of the country was Grags-pa-mtha-yas, which is restored as Anantakirtti. The relation between Anantakirtti and Lakshmikama is not known. Lakshmlkama’s successor was Jayakama, also known as Vijaya. Jayakama revived the worship of Naga. The tradition runs that he had no issue, and after his death the Thakuris of Nayakot elected one of them, named Bhaskaradeva, as king.

Bhaskaradeva is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1046. He is stated to have “repaired his paternal crown,” which probably means that his remote predecessors were royal personages. He was succeeded by Baladeva, also known as Balavantadeva, who was ruling in A.D. 1059. Baladeva’s successor Pradyumnakamadeva, also known as Padmadeva, is known to have been on the throne in A.D. 1064 and 1065. Pradyumnakamadeva was followed in succession by Nagarjunadeva and Sankaradeva. The known dates of Sahkaradeva range from A.D. 1068 to 1077. Vamadeva of the Thakuri family of Patan, a remote descendant of Amsuvarman, overthrew the Thakuris of Nayakot in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Vamadeva is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1081. He may be taken as identical with Vamadeva, son of king Yasodeva, whose inscription on the pedestal of an image of Surya, found at Lalitapattana, is dated A.D. 1083. Vamadeva’s successor Harshadeva was ruling in A.D. 1090 and 1093. The Vamsavall of Nepal mentions a date of Harshadeva as N.E. 219 (= A.D. 1098), which Bendall takes as the year of the king’s death. After Harshadeva the throne was occupied by Sivadeva. The Vamsavall, discovered by Bendall, mentions him as the son of Sahkaradeva. This shows that the Thakuris of Nayakot again came to power. The known dates of Sivadeva’s reign range from A.D. 1118 to 1123. The tradition relates that he built a city named Klrttipura near Kantipura and Lalitapattana. He secured a large amount of gold by raiding the neighbouring countries and built with it a new roof for Pasupatinatha. He introduced a new coin, made of copper and iron, and marked with the figure of a lion. His son and successor Indra, also called Mahendra, is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1128. The next king was Manadeva. An inscription of the Rajadhiraja

Manadeva, dated A.D. 1139, has been found near Katmandu. He was associated in the government with his son Narendradeva (Narasirhha), the known dates of whose reign are A.D. 1134 and 1141. Narendradeva’s successor Anandadeva is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1146 and 1166. Anandadeva is mentioned as the son of Sihadeva who may be taken as identical with Narasiihha (Narendradeva). Anandadeva was succeeded by Rudradeva who, according to the chronicle, abdicated his throne, after seven years’ reign, in favour of his son, and devoted himself to religious practices. Wright’s chronicle mentions the name of this son of Rudradeva as Mitradeva. Bendall’s chronicle, however, states that Amritadeva, who was the other son of Sihadeva (Narasiihhadeva), succeeded Rudradeva. Amritadeva (A.D. 1176) was followed in succession by Ratnadeva (A.D. 1183) and Somesvaradeva, son of Mahendra. After Somes vara ruled Gunakamadeva II (A.D. 1187), Lakshmlkamadeva (A.D. 1193), Vijayakamadeva (A.D. 1196, 1197), Arimalladeva (A.D. 1201, 1216), Ranasura (A.D. 1221) and Abhayamalla (A.D. 1223-1252) one after the other. It is probable that Arimalla referred to above, was the founder of the Malla dynasty in Nepal. During the reign of Abhayamalla there were frequent earthquakes and a famine in Nepal. Wright’s chronicle mentions that Abhayamalla had two sons, Jayadevamalla and Anandamalla. Anandamalla founded a city named Bhaktapura (Bhatgaon), and established his headquarters there. He also founded seven more towns, viz. Banapur, Panavati, Nala, Dhankhel, Khadpu, Chankot, and Sanga. Jayadevamalla (A.D. 1255, 1257), who ruled in Patan and Kantipura, was followed in succession by Jayabhima (A.D. 1260), Jayasaha(slha)malladeva, and Anantamalla (A.D. 1279-1307). Tradition relates that during the reign of Anantamalla the Khasas and the Magars of the western mountains, under the leadership of Jayatari and Mukundasena, led a series of invasions against Nepal, some time between A.D. 1287 and 1290, and carried on depredations and plunder. A pestilence, which broke out there about this time, forced the invaders to withdraw. Anantamalla was followed in succession by Jayanandadeva (A.D. 1318) and Jayarudramalla (A.D. 1320, 1326). Jayarimalla was a co-regent of •Jayarudramalla, who died in A.D. 1326. Some time before his death Nepal was invaded by Harisirhha of the Karnataka dynasty of Simraon. Henceforth Harisimha and his successors were the supreme rulers of the Nepal valley, and Jayarudramalla's successors, Jayarajadeva (A.D. 1347-1355) and Jayarjunamalla (A.D. 1363-1376), ruled Nepal as their subordinates.

V. BIHAR

1 . The Karnataka Dynasty of Mithila

The Palas of Gauda, as we have seen above, held sway over Magadha and Tirabhukti for a long time. Tlrabhukti (modern Tirhut), which was also known as Mithila, was bounded by the Gandak, Kosi, Himalaya, and the Ganga. Some time about A.D. 1097 Nanyadeva of the Karnataka dynasty established his supremacy over this region, probably with the help of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, who is known to have invaded Nepal shortly before A.D. 1068 Sylvain Levi thinks that Nanyadeva at first accepted service under an unknown king and, taking advantage of the weakness of his master, wielded the sovereignty. It has already been noted that the Palas of Gauda had under them many Karnata officers. It is not unlikely that Nanyadeva was an officer under the Palas, and established a kingdom in Tirabhukti during the Kaivarta revolt. "A new danger" which confronted Ramapala on the eve of his fight with the Kaivarta Bhlrna, mentioned in the Rama-charita, may be referring to this incident. The capital of the Karnataka dynasty was at Simaramapura, modern Simraon, within the border of Nepal north of the Champaran District.

Nanyadeva came in conflict with kings of Gauda and Vanga, who seem to have been respectively the Pala king Kumarapala and the Yadava ruler Harivarman. Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty of Radha invaded Mithila and won a victory over Nanyadeva. Tradition relates that Nanyadeva conquered Nepal. If it be true, he could not certainly keep the conquered country under his control for a long time. For the contemporary king of Nepal, §ivadeva, and his successors are known to have assumed the title Rdjddhirdja. According to tradition Nanyadeva ruled for fifty years. He was succeeded by his son Gahgadeva. A manuscript of Rdmdyana was copied in Tlrabhukti in Sam. 1076 during the reign of the Maharajadhiraja Gangeyadeva of the Soma family. Bendall, referring the date to Vikrama Sam vat, takes it as equivalent to A.D. 1019, and identifies Gangeyadeva with the king of this name belonging to the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, by referring the year to Saka era, identifies Gangeyadeva with Gahgadeva, successor of Nanyadeva. Tradition assigns forty-one years' reign to Gahgadeva. He was succeeded by his son Nrisirhha, who is said to have ruled for thirty-one years. Nrisimha's son and successor Ramasimha is assigned thirty-nine years' rule. Ramasirhha's successor Saktisimha, after a rule of fifty-eight years, was succeeded by Bhupalasimha. Bhupalasimha was succeeded by Harisimha, also known as Harasimha.

The famous jurist Chandesvara, his father, Viresvara, and his grandfather Devaditya served Harisimha as ministers of peace and war one after the other. Devaditya's second son Ganesvara also acted as a minister under the same king. Ziya-ud-dln BaranI states that in A.D. 1324 Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq invaded Tirhut, whose king submitted without any fight. Firishta relates that after conquering Tirhut Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq handed it over to Ahmud Khan. But it is known from other contemporary sources that Harisiriiha and his minister Chandesvara succeeded in repulsing the attack of the Suratrana (Sultan). It seems, therefore, that Harisimha was able to resist the Muslims for some time. Chandesvara claims that he conquered Nepal for his master and then performed the religious gift of Tuldpurusha in A.D. 1314; but the traditional date of the conquest of Nepal by Harisimha is A.D. 1324. Henceforward the chiefs of Nepal ruled their territory as vassals of Harisimha's family. Tradition relates that Harisimha established himself at Bhatgaon and ruled Nepal from that city. This indicates that, having failed to defend Tirhut along with Simraon against the incursion of the Muslims, he transferred his capital to Bhatgaon. That Tirhut was lost to the Karnatakas is proved by the fact that Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq's son Muhammad Tughluq issued coins from the mint of Tirhut. The Vamsavali of Nepal mentions Harisimha's successors as rulers of Nepal.

2. The Guptas of Jayapura 9

In the twelfth century A.D., a Gupta dynasty ruled from Jayapura, identified with modern Jayanagar, near Lakhisarai, in the

Monghyr District. King Yajnesagupta, alias Jay a, was succeeded by Damodaragupta, also known as Chamundaraja, whose son and successor was king Devagupta. These three kings, who may be taken to have flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, were obviously feudatories of the Palas, for, as mentioned above, Monghyr formed a part of the Pala kingdom up to the middle of the twelfth century, though for a short period in the fourth decade of that century it was occupied by Gahadavala Govindachandra. Devagupta was succeeded by his son Mahtirajadhiraja Mahtimandalika Rajadityagupta. It appears from these titles that after the decline of the power of the Palas Rajadityagupta assumed independence. His son Rajaputra Krishnagupta seems to have predeceased his father. Rajadityagupta was succeeded by his grandson Mahdrajadhiraja MakdmdndaUka Samgramagupta, the son of Krishnagupta. Samgramagupta may be taken to have been a contemporary of Lakshmanasena, as the inscriptions of both have been referred on palaeographic grounds to the same period. He ruled for more than seventeen years. The power of the Guptas seems to have been destroyed by Muhammad Bakhtyar Khaljl.

3. The Senas of Pithi

A Sena dynasty is known to have ruled in Pithi, w T hich included the region round Gaya. Names of only two kings of this family are known. They are Buddhasena and his son Jayasena, who are to be placed in the second half of the thirteenth century.

4. Khayaravala Dynasty of Jdpila

The Khayaravala dynasty ruled in the Shahabad District, which formed part of Magadha, in the twelfth century A.D. Sadhava is the earliest known member of this family. His son was king Ranadhavala, whose son Pratapadhavala is referred to as a Mahanayaka of Japila. Stone inscriptions of Pratapadhavala dated A.D. 1158 and 1169 have been found in the Shahabad District. He acknowledged the supremacy of the Gahadavala Vijayachandra. Pratapadhavala’s son and successor was king (narapaU)

Sahasa. He had two sons Vikrama and Indradhavala who occupied the throne of their father in succession. Indradhavala, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1197, is mentioned as a great king (maha-nripati) and Japilya. Nothing definite is known of the family after Indradhavala. A king named Pratapa. who is known to have been ruling in the Shahabad District in A.D. 1223, might have been a successor of Indradhavala.

VI. KANAUJ 1. The Rashtrakutas

As we have seen above, 10 the Imperial Pratiharas ruled Kanauj up to A.D. 1019, and Rajyapala was the last king of this dynasty to be associated with that city. After the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni Rajyapala and his successors ruled from Bari, about 30 miles to the east of Kanauj, which was in ruins even when Al-Biruni visited it some time before A.D. 1030. But an inscription of the Chaulukya dynasty of Lata, dated A.D. 1050, associates a Rashtrakuta dynasty with Kanauj. Another inscription, found at Budaun, gives some account of a Rashtrakuta dynasty ruling in the Panchala country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The fourth king of this dynasty Gopala is mentioned as the ruler of Gadhipura i.e. Kanauj, and it may be assumed that the early members of this Rashtrakuta family were all associated with this imperial city. The first known king of this family is Chandra, who seems to have established his supremacy over Kanauj during the period of disorder that followed the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. He was succeeded by his son Vigrahapala, and the latter by his son Bhuvanapala, who may be taken to have flourished in the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. During this period Chalukya Somesvara I of the Deccan and the Chola Virarajendra of South India invaded Kanauj. Bhuvanapala’s son and successor was Gopala, who, as has already been noticed, is referred to as the king of Gadhipura. It was apparently during the reign of Gopala that Mahmud, son of the Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni, conquered Kanauj. After this disaster the Rashtrakutas appear to have settled at Vodamayuta or modern Budaun which soon grew into importance. Hasan Nizami states that Budaun is “one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind.” Gopala was succeeded by his eldest son Tribhuvana. Tribhuvana’s younger brother and successor was Madanapala, who was ruling in A.D. 1119, and whose kingdom extended up to Sahet Mahet, in the Gonda District. Madanapala repulsed an attack of

Sultan Mas’ud III of Ghazni. He was succeeded by his youngest brother Devapala. By the year A.D. 1128 Sahet Mahet passed into the hands of the Gahadavalas. Devapala was followed in succession by Bhimapala, ^urapala and Amritapala, each being the son of his predecessor. Amritapala was succeeded by his younger brother Lakhanapala, who ruled in the closing years of the twelfth century. In A.D. 1202 Qutb-ud-din conquered the kingdom, probably from Lakhanapala, and made Iltutmish its governor. In the early years of the thirteenth century the Mahasamanta Bharahadeva of the Rashtrakuta dynasty ruled

somewhere in the country of Kanyakubja (Kanyakubja-desa). He might have been a successor of Lakhanapala. The Gahadavala Adakkhamalla was probably his overlord.

2. The Gahadavalas

In the latter part of the eleventh century a dynasty known as Gahadavala came to power in Kanauj. No authentic evidence has hitherto been discovered to support the theory that the Gahadavalas are identical with the Rashtrakutas or the Rathors. Yasovi

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graha, the earliest known member of the family, is said to have flourished when the kings of the Solar race departed from this world. His son Mahlchandra, also known as Mahitala and Mahlyala, is described as a king, and ruled in some part of Uttar Pradesh. Mahlchandra’s son and successor was Chandradeva, during the early part of whose reign there was a great upheaval in the kingdom of Kanauj. After the invasion of Northern India by Ahmad Niyaltigln in A.D. 1034 the Muslims did not launch any military campaign against Hindustan for some time. The cause of this inactivity on their part is not far to seek. During this period the Paramara Bhoja and Kalachuri Karna, who occupied dominant position in Northern India, struck terror into the minds of the Muslims by their military power. Both are known to have led expeditions even into the heart of the Muslim territory of the Punjab. 11 After the death of Bhoja (c. A.D. 1055) and Kama (c. A.D. 1072) the Muslims again cast their greedy eyes on Hindustan. Some time between A.D. 1086 and 1090 prince Mahmud, the governor of the Punjab, plundered Kanauj and Kalanjara and invaded Ujjain. 12 On that occasion he found an ally in Kanauj named Chand Rai, who may be identified with Chandradeva. During the troublesome period that followed the departure of Mahmud from Northern India Chandradeva seized the throne of Kanauj from the Rashtrakuta ruler Gopala, mentioned above. The inscriptions of the Gahadavalas, dating from A.D. 1090, mention a tax called Turushkadanda . Some suggest that it was an impost on the subjects of the Gahadavalas to meet the expenses of resisting the invasion of the Muslims. Others think that the Gahadavala kings realised this tax from the people in order to make annual payment of tribute to the Sultans of Ghazni. If Chandradeva really got some political advantage from Mahmud, the latter view seems preferable. It was probably to enforce the regular payment of this tribute that the Muslims led expeditions against Northern India from time to time.

Chandradeva is said to have defeated the Gajapati, Narapati, Trisankupati, and the ruler of Panehala. The ruler of Panehala was obviously the Rashtrakuta ruler Gopala. Chandradeva claims

to have protected the holy places of Kusika (Kanauj), Kasi, UttaraKosala (Ayodhya) and Indrasthana. His further progress towards the east was checked by Bhlmayasas, ruler of Magadha. The inscriptions of Chandradeva, the dates of which range from A.D. 1090 to 1100, prove that he was in possession of Kanauj, Banaras, and Ayodhya. He conquered all the countries from Allahabad to Banaras from the Kalachuri Yasahkarna, king of Dahala. Banaras (Kasi) was made the second capital of the Gahadavalas. Some are inclined to identify Indrasthana with Indraprastha or Delhi, and take it as the western boundary of Chandradeva's kingdom. But this is hardly likely, as about this time the Tomaras were ruling independently in Delhi. There was a city named Indrapura, modern Indore, in the Aramshahar sub-division of the Bulandshahar District. Indrasthana may be identified with this, but no definite conclusion is possible. Chandradeva was succeeded by Madanachandra, also known as Madanapala, some time between A.D. 1100 and 1104.

Madanachandra's inscriptions bear dates A.D. 1104 and 1109, and prove that he was in possession of Banaras, Bithaur subdivision of the Etawah

District, and a part of ancient Panchala country. According to Muslim chroniclers Ala-ud-Daulah Mas'ud III (A.D. 1099-1115) invaded Hindustan, the capital of which was Kanauj. He took Malhi, king of Kanauj, prisoner, who purchased his release by paying a large sum of money. 13 Malhi is evidently identical with Madanachandra. Govindachandra, son of Madanachandra, is known from Indian records to have defeated the Muslims during the lifetime of his father. It is not unlikely that he forced the Muslim chief to release his father. 14 Govindachandra, who was the de facto ruler of the country during the reign of his father, also repulsed an attack of Ramapala of Gauda. He ascended the throne of his father before A.D. 1114.

About forty-two inscriptions of Govindachandra's reign, bearing dates extending from A.D. 1114 to 1154, have been discovered. They prove that his kingdom extended at least up to Banaras, Fatehpur and Kanpur Districts on the south, Kanauj on the west, Gonda and Gorakhpur Districts on the north, and Dinapur, in the Patna District, in Bihar, on the east. Shortly after c. A.D. 1143 he conquered all the countries up to Monghyr from Madanapala. But he had to surrender Monghyr to this Pala king some time before A.D. 1158. He conquered the Gonda District from the Rashtrakuta Madanapala 15 or his successor before A.D. 1129.

The Prakritci-paihgalam states that the king of KasI fought successfully with the kings of Gauda, Vanga, Kalinga, Telanga, Maharashtra, Saurashtra, Champarana, Nepala, Bhota, China Lohavara (Lahore), Odra, and Malava. There are good grounds to believe that the king of Kail, referred to, is Govindachandra. That Govindachandra came into conflict with most of the kings mentioned above can be proved by other evidence. His wars with the Palas of Gauda and the Muslims of Lahore have already been noticed. The king of the West against whom Vijayasena advanced through the upper course of the Ganga was in all probability Govindachandra. It is not unlikely that Govindachandra checked the westward progress of Anantavarman Chodagahga, king of Kalinga and Orissa, who conquered the countries up to the bank of the Ganga. Nanyadeva of Mithila was the immediate neighbour of Govindachandra, and there might have been a clash between these two kings. Somesvara III, the Chalukya king of the Deccan, who invaded Magadha, must have come into conflict with Govindachandra.

It cannot be ascertained whether Govindachandra came into clash with the Kakatiyas of Telihgana. It may be mentioned in this connection that the Kalachuri Jajalladeva, king of DakshinaKosala, to the south-west of which lies the Telihgana country, proudly asserts that he was honoured with fortune on account of his prowess by the king of Kanyakubja. This king of Kanyakubja was evidently Govindachandra. Nayachandra's RambhamanjarH states that Govindachandra conquered Dasarna (Eastern Malava) on the day of the birth of his grandson Jayachandra. Dasarna was in the possession of the Chandella Madanavarman (A.D. 1129-1163), who is known to have been at war with the king of KasI. Saurashtra formed a part of the kingdom of the Chaulukyas of Anahillapataka. Jayasimha-Siddharaja of this dynasty is stated to have sent a diplomatic agent to the court of Jayachandra, king of Banaras, which seems to be an error for Govindachandra in view of the fact that the Chaulukya king closed his reign in c. A.D. 1143. The statement that Govindachandra invaded Nepala, China, and Tibet is obviously an exaggeration. It will appear from the above observations that Govindachandra came into conflict with the Palas, Senas, Gangas, Kakatiyas, Chalukyas, Chandellas, Chaulukyas the Muslims, and the Karnatakas of Mithila.

Govindachandra sent his ambassador Suhala to the court of king Jayasimha of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir. An incomplete Inscription at Gangaikondachola-puram, the capital of the Imperial Cholas, which was executed shortly after A.D. 1111, draws the genealogy of the Gahadavalas from Yasovigraha to Chandra. It seems that the inscription was issued by a Gahadavala princess,

who was married to a king or a scion of the Chola dynasty, with a view to record some grants made by her. This reminds us of the inscriptions of the Vakataka queen Prabhavatidevi, who took scrupulous care to mention in them the names of her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. Gold and copper coins of Govindachandra have been found. The king was acquainted with the various branches of arts. He had a number of queens one of whom was Buddhist Kumaradevi, the daughter of Devarakshita, king of PithI and daughter's daughter of the Rashtrakuta Mathanadeva, maternal uncle of Ramapala. Govindachandra had three sons, Asphotachandra, who was appointed a Yuvardja, Vijayachandra, and Rajyapala. Asphotachandra seems to have predeceased his father, and Vijayachandra succeeded to the throne some time after A.D. 1154.

The known dates of Vijayachandra are A.D. 1168 and 1169. Pratapadhavala of the Khayaravala dynasty was his vassal in western Magadha. Vijayachandra repulsed an attack of the Muslims, which was probably led by Khusrav Malik. He was succeeded by his son Jayachandra in A.D. 1170.

The inscriptions of Jayachandra bear dates ranging from A.D. 1170 to 1189. They prove that his kingdom included the Gaya District besides the Doab, Allahabad, Banaras and Patna. The Gaya District is known to have been ruled by Govindapala up to A.D. 1162. 16 Probably in his attempt to extend the boundary of his kingdom further east Jayachandra was opposed by Lakshmanasena of Bengal. The Sena king claims to have defeated the king of Kasi, who was obviously Jayachandra. The bards narrate a romantic story about the marriage between Jayachandra’s daughter Samyogita and the Chahamana Prithviraja III of Ajmer, but its authenticity has rightly been doubted by modern scholars. Jayachandra was a patron of poets, and according to some scholars, Srlharsha, the author of Naishadha-clnarita, lived in his court. Jayachandra ruled his kingdom peacefully for more than two decades, but in the latter part of his reign he met with a severe disaster. Mu‘izz-ud-dm Muhammad Ghuri, after conquering Delhi and Ajmer from the Chahamanas, advanced with a large army against Jayachandra in A.D. 1193. Jayachandra opposed him with all his forces in the vicinity of Chandawar in the Etawah District. In the battle that followed Jayachandra lost his life when seated on an elephant, and the Gahadavala army was totally defeated. The Muslims next captured the fort of Asni (in the Fatehpur District) where the treasure of the king of Banaras was deposited. They then proceeded to Banaras and plundered the city. The government of the country was entrusted to a responsible officer, but the Muslims could not keep their hold on the newly conquered territory for a long time. As Harischandra, son of Jayachandra, who was only 18 years old at the time of the battle of Chandawar, was in possession of Kanauj, Jaunpur, and Mirzapur Districts in A.D. 1197, it is obvious that he succeeded in wresting his paternal kingdom from the hands of the Muslims. The Chandella king

Trailokyavarman won a victory over a king of Kanyakubja, who may be identified with Harischandra. Adakkamalla, w T ho belonged to the Gahadavala dynasty, seems to have been Harischandra's successor. During the reign of Iltutmish one Bartu was the ruler of Awadh. Bartu fought with Iltutmish and is said to have killed one hundred and twenty thousand Muslim soldiers. He was overthrown and killed by Malik Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah, the eldest son of Iltutmish, in A.D. 1226. Bartu might have been a feudatory of Adakkamalla, and it is not unlikely that he is identical with Bharahadeva of the Rashtrakuta family. 17 Kanauj was finally conquered by Iltutmish. After being deprived of his paternal kingdom Adakkamalla settled in the Nagod State, Central India. His feudatory Mahamandadeva is known to have ruled there in V.S. 1294(= A.D. 1237). The name of the successor of Adakkamalla is not known.

VII. THE YADUVAMs! KINGS OF BAYANA-SRIPATHA

Tradition relates that a Yadu dynasty ruled in Bayana, the modern Bayana, in the old Bharatpur State, Rajputana the ancient name of which was Srlpatha. The traditional list of kings of this dynasty, as given by the bards, is partly verified by the epigraphic records. These records prove that the kingdom of this dynasty comprised the old Bharatpur State and the Mathura District. The king Jaitapala of the traditional list may be placed in the first half of the eleventh century. His successor was Vijayapala, who may be identified with the king Vijaya of the Bayana inscription, dated A.D. 1044. Vijayapala's successor was Tahanapala who, according to tradition, built the fort of Tahangarh, 14 miles south of Bayana. Tahanapala was followed in succession by Dharmapala, Kunwarpala and Ajayapala. Cunningham suggests that there is a chronological error in placing Kunwarpala before Ajayapala. It is known from the Mahaban prasasti, found near Mathura, that Maharaja dhiraja Ajayapala was ruling in A.D. 1150. The tradition mentions Haripala as the son and successor of Ajayapala. An inscription of Haripala, dated A.D. 1170, has been found at Mahaban. Haripala was succeeded by Sohapala. An image inscription of the reign of Sahanapaladeva, dated A.D. 1192, has been discovered at Aghapur, in the old Bharatpur State. The traditional list describes Anangapala as the successor of Sohapala or Sahanapala. But Sohapala's successor seems to have been Kunwarpala who, according to tradition, was the predecessor of Ajayapala. For Taj-ul-Ma’asir states that in A.D. 1196 Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad Ghuri defeated Kiinwarpala, the Rai of Thangarh (Tahangarh), and handed the fort over to Baha-ud-dln Tughril. Anangapala may be taken to have ascended the throne after Kunwarpala. Anangapala was followed in succession by Prithvipala, Rajapala and Trilokapala, the last of whom may be placed at the end of the thirteenth century A.D.

VIII. THE KACHCHHAPAGHATAS

The Kachchhapaghatas are generally taken to be the predecessors of the Rajput clan Kachwaha, but this assumption is not based on any historical evidence. Three branches of the Kachchhapaghata family are known. They ruled in Gwalior, Dubkund, and Narwar.

The earliest known chief of the Gwalior (ancient Gopadri) branch is Lakshmana, but the territory over which he ruled is not known. Gwalior was under the sway of the Chandella Dhanga, a feudatory of the Pratihara Vinayakapala of Kanauj, in the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. In or before A.D. 977 Maharajadhiraja Vajradaman, son of Lakshmana, established his supremacy over Gwalior by defeating the king of Gadhinagara (Kanauj), who may be identified with the Pratihara Vijayapala. 18 Vajradaman was followed in succession by Mangalaraja and Klrttiraja. Klrttiraja repulsed an attack of the king of Malava, who may be identified with the Paramara Bhoja. It is probably Klrttiraja who surrendered to Mahmud of Ghazni when the latter invaded Gwalior in A.D. 1021. He was succeeded by Muladeva, Devapala and Padmapala, one after the other. Padmapala probably had no son and, after his death, his brother (cousin?) Mahlpala, son of Suryapala, ascended the throne. Suryapala was probably a brother of Devapala. Mahlpala, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1093, was succeeded by his son Ratnapala some time before A.D. 1104. Names of the successors of Ratnapala are not known. In A.D. 1196 the Muslims conquered Gwalior after repeated assaults extending over a year, as will be related later.

During the weak rule of Aram Shah (A.D. 1210-11), son of Qutb-ud-din, the Pratihara chief Vigraha established the supremacy of his family in Gwalior by defeating the Muslims. His son and successor Malayavarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1220, married the daughter of the Chahamana Kelhana of Nadol.

Cunningham ascribes some coins, the dates of which extend from A.D. 1223 to 1230, bearing the name Malayavarman, to this king. Iltutmish conquered Gwalior by defeating Dewbul (Devavarma?), probably the successor of Malayavarman. It was probably during the rule of Rukn-ud-dln, son of Iltutmish, that Gwalior was reconquered by Nrivarman (Naravarman), brother of Malayavarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1247. Naravarman's successor seems to have been Hariraja, who suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chandella Viravarman. Balban conquered Gwalior in A.D. 1258 and placed Malik Nusrat-ud-din in charge of it.

A branch of the Kachchhapaghata family ruled apparently from the city of Chadobha, which is to be identified with Dubkund, on the Kunu river, 76 miles south-west of Gwalior. The earliest known ruler of the family is Arjuna, the son of Yuvaraja, and a feudatory of the Chandella Vidyadhara. He killed the Pratihara Rajyapala of Kanauj, and his son and successor Abhimanyu was an ally of the Paramara Bhoja. Abhimanyu was succeeded by his son Vijayapala, who was again succeeded by his son Vikramasimha, the known date of whose reign is A.D. 1088.

A third branch of the Kachchhapaghata family ruled in Narwar, the ancient Nalapura. Three generations of kings of this family are known to us. They are Gangasimha, his successor Saradasimha, and the latter's successor Virasimha, who issued an inscription from the Nalapura-dwrgfa (fort) in A.D. 1120.

In the first half of the thirteenth century the Yajvapala or Jajapella dynasty established its supremacy over Narwar. The earliest known chief of this dynasty is Ya(Pa)ramadiraja, whose son was Chahadadeva. Chahadadeva captured Narwar and established his supremacy there. He was the greatest of the kings in the region of Gwalior, Chanderi, Narwar and Malava during this period. He had 5000 cavalry and 200,000 footmen. He built a fortress among the defiles and passes near Narwar, and inflicted a severe defeat on Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tayasai, a general of Iltutmish, on the bank of the small river Sindh in A.D. 1234. Tayasai is said to have never shown his back to the enemies in Hindustan except on this occasion. In A.D. 1251 during the Sultanate of Nasir-ud-dln his general Balban inflicted a defeat on Chahadadeva and plundered his fort but could not establish his supremacy there. Chahadadeva's coins bear dates extending from A.D. 1237 to 1254. He was succeeded by his son Nrivarman, who was again succeeded by his son Asalladeva. Asalladeva ruled from A.D. 1254 to 1279 and was succeeded by his son Gopala, who suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chandella VIravarman. The reign of Gopala's son Ganapati covers the period A.D. 1291 to 1298. Ganapati conquered Kirttidurga, which is identified with Deogarh, in the Jhansi District. Nothing is known of the family after Ganapati.

IX. THE CHANDELLAS

The Chandella king Dhanga, who raised his family to the rank of the principal ruling dynasties of the age, was succeeded by his son Ganda some time after A.D. 1002. Ganda's son and successor • • • • was Vidyadhara whose feudatory, Kachchhapaghata Arjuna, killed the Pratlhara Rajyapala. Once in A.D. 1019, and again in A.D. 1022, Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Kalanjara, but could not plunder it. He received a large amount of money from Vidyadhara, and established a friendly relation with him. Vidyadhara fought successfully with the Paramara Bhoja, and Kalachuri-chandra, who seems to have been no other than Kokalla II of Tripurl. Vidyadhara's son and successor Vijayapala won a victory over the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva. Vijayapala was succeeded by his son Devendravarman, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1050. After Devendravarman his younger brother Kirttivarman ascended the throne some time before A.D. 1073. In the early part of his reign the Kalachuri Karna defeated him and occupied his kingdom for some time. But eventually Gopala, the chief of the vassals of Kirttivarman, succeeded in defeating Karna and reconquering the country for his master. Some time before A.D. 1090 Kirttivarman fought successfully with Mah« mud, governor of the Punjab under the Ghaznavids, who invaded Kalanjara. Kirttivarman, who is described as the crest-jewel of Pltasaila, and who is known to have resided for some time in the Pita mountain, fought a battle there with an enemy, who was probably Vapullaka, a general of Kalachuri Karna. His minister Vatsaraja wrested from the enemy the whole of the Mandala and built the fort of Klrttigiri, which, as already mentioned, is identified with Deogarh, in the Jhansi District, where Kirttivarman’s inscription has been found engraved on a rock. Some gold coins of his reign have been discovered. He was succeeded by his son Sallakshanavarman, who plundered Malava after defeating the Paramara Naravarman, and won a victory over a Chedi king who was probably the Kalachuri Yasahkarna. Sallakshanavarman crushed the refractory elements in the AntarvedI (the land between the Ganga and Yamuna), which was then ruled by the Gahadavalas. In or before A.D. 1117 he was succeeded by his son Jayavarman who, after a short reign, abdicated his throne in favour of his uncle Prithvivarman, younger brother of Sallakshanavarman. Prithvlvarman was succeeded by his son Madanavarman, the extreme known dates of whose reign are A.D. 1129 and 1163. Madanavarman’s inscriptions prove that his kingdom included Bhilsa, Mau in the Jhansi District, Ajaigarh, 20 miles south-west of Kalanjara, and Chhatarpur, besides Khajraho (also spelt as Khajuraho), Mahoba, and Kalanjara. He annexed Bhilsa by defeating the Paramara Yasovarman. He fought with the Gahadavala Govindachandra, who also claims to have conquered Dasarna or the Bhilsa region. He vanquished in a fierce fight the king of Chedi, who is to be identified with the Kalachuri Gayakarna. The Chaulukya Jayasimha-Siddharaja of Gujarat invaded Mahoba after his conquest of Dhara. Madanavarman successfully defended his capital, though he had to surrender Bhilsa to the invader. The coins of Jayavarman, Prithvlvarman, and Madanavarman have been found. Madanavarman was succeeded by his grandson Paramardi, son of Yasovarman, shortly before A.D. 1165.

Inscriptions of Paramardi’s reign, which bear dates ranging between A.D. 1165 and 1201, prove that he succeeded in maintaining his paternal kingdom intact for a very long time. The fact that he assumed the title “the lord of Dasarna” indicates that he was able to recover Bhilsa from the

Chaulukyas some time after A.D. 1173, up to which date it is known to have formed a part of the kingdom of Gujarat. In or before A.D. 1182 the Chahamana Prithviraja III defeated Paramardi and overran Jejakabhukti-mandaZa. In A.D. 1202 Qutb-ud-din invested Kalanjara. After offering some opposition Paramardi concluded a treaty with the Muslim general on condition of payment of tribute and elephants. His minister Aj Deo (Ajayadeva) disapproved of the ignominious conduct of his master, killed him before he could fulfil the treaty conditions, and renewed the fight. Ajayadeva had ultimately to surrender after a valiant defence due to shortage of water in the fort. Qutb-ud-din plundered Kalanjara and conquered Mahoba. Hazabbar-ud-dln Hasan Arnal was appointed governor of Kalanjara.

The Muslims could not keep Kalanjara under their control for a long time. Paramardi’s son Trailokyavarman, also known as Trailokyamalla, inflicted a severe defeat on the Muslims at Kakadadaha, modern Kakadwa, south-east of Bedwara, some time before A.D. 1205, and recovered all the territories including Kalanjara. His inscriptions, which bear dates from A.D. 1205 to 1241, prove that Lalitpur, Chattarpur State, Panna State, Ajaigarh State, and Rewah State were included in his kingdom. In A.D. 1211-1212 he wrested Rewah, in Baghelkhand, and probably the whole of Dahala-matidala from the Kalachuri Vijayasirhha. Dahala formed a part of the kingdom of his grandson Hammlravarman. Samanta (feudatory) Sallakshanavarman of the Kaurava Vamsa, whose headquarters were at Kakaredika, modern Kakeri on the border of the Panna and the Rewah States, owed allegiance to the Kalachuris. His son Hariraja and his grandson Kumarapala transferred their allegiance to Trailokyavarman. One Bhojuka overran Bundelkhand and reduced Trailokyavarman to a critical position. Vaseka, an officer of Jayadurga i.e. Ajaigarh, defeated and killed Bhojuka and “made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of the princely families.” Kielhorn identifies Bhojuka with the father of Abhayadeva, who is known to have lived in the neighbourhood of Ajaigarh in or before A.D. 1268 during the reign of the Chandella Viravarman. Vaseka’s brother Ananda, who was in charge of Jayadurga, claims to have established peace and order in the kingdom of Trailokyavarman by subduing the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Sabaras, and the Pulindas. Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tayasal, a general of Iltutmish, invaded Kalanjara, and obtained vast wealth by plundering the townships of that territory. Trailokyavarman had not, however, to suffer any loss of territory on that occasion. He was succeeded by his son Viravarman whose earliest known date is A.D. 1254. Viravarman's inscriptions prove that he succeeded in maintaining intact the kingdom which he had inherited from his father. His officer Mallaya won victories over Hariraja of Gwalior, Gopala of Nalapura (Narwar), and the king of Mathura. His subordinate Rauta Abhi showed great valour in a tussle with Dabhyuhadavarman in a battle at Sondhi, which is identified with the Seondha fort, now called Kanhargarh, on the bank of the Sindh river in old Datia State. Viravarman -was succeeded by Bhojavarman, who was probably his son, some time between A.D. 1285 and 1288. Bhojavarman ruled for a very short period and was succeeded in A. D. 1289 by Hammlravarman, who seems to have been his younger brother. Hammlravarman's inscription, dated A.D. 1289, draws the genealogy from ParamardI, but does not mention the name of Bhojavarman. It gives the title Shahi to all the Chandella kings it mentions. Hammlravarman's inscriptions prove that he was in possession of the Damoh and Jabalpur Districts, which were situated in the ancient Dahala country. The last known date of his reign is A.D. 1308. In A.D. 1309 'Ala-ud-dln Khaljl wrested Damoh District from Hammlravarman or his successor. The next known king of Bundelkhand is Viravarman II, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1315. Nothing is known of the successors of Viravarman II.

NORTHERN INDIA DURING 11th AND 12th CENTURIES X. THE KALACHURIS 1. The Kalachuris of Tripurl

The Kalachuris of Dahala, the country round Jabalpur, in Madhya Pradesh, acquired more power and prestige during the reign of Kokalla II's son Gangeyadeva, who assumed the title Vikramdditya. He involved himself in a number of wars with his neighbours for the expansion of his kingdom. He made a confederacy with the Paramara Bhoja and Rajendra Chola, and invaded the Deccan, which was then ruled by the Chalukya Jayasimha II. But the Chalukyas succeeded in dispersing them. An inscription, dated A.D. 1019, states that Jayasimha defeated Bhoja and put to fight the confederacy of Malava. This indicates that Gangeyadeva came to the throne before A.D. 1019. He invaded Kosala, and defeated its kings, who seems to have been the Somavaiiasi Mahasivagupta Yayati. It is known from another source that Mahasivagupta Yayati laid waste the Dahala country after defeating the Chedis before the 8th year of his reign. His adversary on that occasion was either Gangeyadeva or his father Kokalla II. After victory over the Somavamsls Gangeyadeva conquered Utkala and reached the shore of the sea.v He was assisted in that expedition by Kamalaraja of the Kalachuri family of Tummana. It was probably after this that Gangeyadeva assumed the title ‘Trikalingadhipati’ or the lord of Trikalinga. Subsequently he quarrelled with his former ally Bhoja, who inflicted a defeat on him. His attempt to assert supremacy over Bundelkhand was frustrated by Chandella Vijayapala. On the north-east, however, he achieved a unique success. He was already in possession of Baghelkhand. Some time before A.D. 1034 he conquered Banaras and annexed it to his kingdom. Banaras formed part of the kingdom of Chandella Dhahga but, as suggested above, Pala Mahipala I was probably in possession of it in A.D. 1026, and Gangeyadeva conquered it from him. As about this time Pratihara Yasahpala was in possession of the Allahabad region, Gangeyadeva could not evidently extend his supremacy beyond Banaras on the west. On the east he led a successful expedition against Anga or Bhagalpur, which was within the kingdom of Mahipala I of Gauda, but could not annex any part of Magadha or Tirabhukti. In A.D. 1034 Gangeyadeva had to bear the brunt of an attack of the Muslims. Ahmad Niyaltigin, governor of the Punjab under the Ghaznavids, plundered Banaras, and carried away immense riches. Gangeyadeva launched a success ful expedition against the Kira country, modern Kangra valley in the Punjab, which was under the sway of the Muslims.

Gold, silver, and copper coins of Gangeyadeva have been found in large number. He is said to have died in the sacred city of Prayaga (Allahabad) along with his one hundred wives. He was succeeded by his son Lakshmlkama better known as Karna. The latest definite date of Gangeyadeva’s reign is A.D. 1034 when, as Baihaqi tells us, Gangeyadeva was ruling in Banaras. The date of the Paiwan rock inscription of his reign is read by Cunningham as (K.E.) 789 (= A.D. 1038), but both Kielhorn and Bhandarkar regard it as doubtful. Karna performed the annual sraddha ceremony of his father in A.D. 1042 and this has been taken by some to prove that Gangeyadeva died in A.D. 1041. But this inference can hardly be regarded as correct. Attention may be drawn to the fact that Gahadavala Govindachandra performed in A.D. 1117 the annual sraddha ceremony of his father Madanachandra, who died before A.D. 1114. So the date of Kama's accession to the throne is to be placed between A.D. 1034 and 1042.

Karna was one of the greatest generals of the age. His inscriptions prove that Banaras and Allahabad were included in his kingdom and that he occupied Radha (West Bengal) for some time. He wrested Allahabad from Pratihara Yasahpala some time after A.D. 1037 and, in course of conquest, reached the Kira country where he won a victory over the Muslims. His kingdom in U.P. was bounded on the west by that of the Rashtrakutas of Kanauj. On the east he led two expeditions, one against the Pala Nayapala, and the other against the latter's son Vigrahapala III. Both these expeditions eventually proved to be abortive. He concluded a treaty with the Palas by giving his daughter Yauvanasri in marriage to Vigrahapala. Though he could not assert his supremacy over any part of the kingdom of the Palas he succeeded in occupying Radha probably by defeating king Ranasura or his successor. He invaded Vahga, and claims to have conquered it. The king of Vahga at this time was Jatavarman who concluded a treaty with him and married his daughter Virasri. The Rewah inscription of Kama, dated A.D. 1048, states that "the ship of the king of the Eastern country (Purvavanirajapota), being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (i.e . Karna's) forces, its joints being rent by (dashing against) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants." It means that a king of the eastern country led an aggressive campaign against Karna but was repulsed by the latter. According to the lexicographers of this age Purva-desa or the Eastern country lay to the east of Banaras. So it is difficult to ascertain whether the king of the eastern country, referred to, was Nayapala of Gauda, Vajravarman or Jatavarman of Vanga, or a successor of Ranasura of Radha. How long Kama succeeded in keeping his hold over Radha cannot be ascertained. After the decline of the supremacy of Karna in that country, the Sena dynasty rose into power.

NORTHERN INDIA DURING 11th AND 12th CENTURIES

Karna led successful expeditions against Odra and Kalinga. His adversary in Kalinga was Vajrahasta V of the Ganga dynasty. He overran Kanchl-vishaya, modern Conjeeveram, Madras, which was then ruled by the Chola Rajadhiraja or Rajendradeva. He claims to have defeated the Pallavas (of Nolambavadi), the Kungas of Salem and Coimbatore Districts, Madras, the Muralas of the Malabar coast, and the Pandyas of Madura. It is not unlikely that the chiefs of all these countries formed a confederacy under the leadership of the Chola king, and opposed Karna. Karna won a victory over the king of Kuntala, who was obviously the Chalukya Somesvara I. His invasion of Southern India and the Deccan must have been completed before A.D. 1048, the date of the Rewah inscription, which mentions his fight with the people of those countries. Some time after A.D. 1051 Karna captured Bundelkhand by defeating the Chandella Klrttivarman. Subsequently Gopala, a feudatory of the Chandellas, drove him out, and helped Klrttivarman in regaining his throne. Karna raided the Huna-raancZala, which was situated to the northwest of Malava. He made an alliance with the Chaulukya Bhlma I of Gujarat for a simultaneous attack on the kingdom of the Paramara Bhoja from the east and west. When the battle between the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas on one side and the Paramaras on the other was in progress, Bhoja died of a disease in c. A.D. 1055, and Malawa was taken possession of by the invaders. In that difficult circumstance Bhoja’s son Jayasimha appealed to the Chalukya Somesvara I for help. Somesvara I sent his son Vikramaditya VI to render assistance to the Paramaras. Vikramaditya drove out Karna and Bhima and secured the throne of Malava for Jayasimha. Subsequently a quarrel broke out between Karna and Bhima on the division of the spoils of their victory in Malava. Bhima invaded Dahala with a large army and forced Karna to surrender to him the golden mandapika, which he had wrested from Bhoja together with elephants and horses. Thus though Karna fought a number of battles with many powers far and near, throughout the greater part of his life, he did not get much material advantage from them. Allahabad is the only country which he succeeded in adding to his paternal kingdom.

Karna assumed the title Trikalingadhipati. He built a temple at Banaras and founded a city near Jabalpur. He married Avalladevi of the Huna family, who gave birth to a son Yasahkarna. In his old age Karna seems to have abdicated his throne in favour of Yasahkarna shortly before A.D. 1073.

In the early part of his reign Yasahkarna led two aggressive campaigns, one against Champaranya, modern Champaran in North Bihar, and the other against the Andhra country, which was then

ruled by Vijayaditya VII of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. He had to fight a number of battles in defence of his kingdom. Jayasimha, younger brother of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, raided Dahala before A.D. 1081, while Chandradeva of the Gahadavala dynasty wrested Allahabad and Banaras. Paramara Lakshmadeva plundered his capital Tripuri, and encamped on the Reva for some time. The Chandella Sallakshanavarman claims to have defeated a king of Chedi, who was in all probability Yasahkarna. All these successive foreign invasions weakened the foundation of the Kalachuri kingdom. Yasahkarna was succeeded by his son Gayakarna some time in the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D.

Gayakarna suffered a defeat at the hands of the Chandella Madanavarman. Merutunga relates a story that Karna, king of Dahala, led an army against king Kumarapala of Gujarat. Once in course of his march when he fell asleep on the back of his elephant in the night time his necklace, caught in a branch of a tree, hanged him to death. If there is any truth in the narrative, the Dahala king, referred to, is to be identified with Gayakarna, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1151. He was succeeded by his elder son Narasimha before A.D. 1155. Some time between A.D. 1159 and 1167 Narasimha was succeeded by his younger brother Jayasirhha. The Kauravas of Kakaredika, modern Kakeri, on the border of the Panna and Rewah States, were his vassals. In the early part of his reign Jayasimha fought successfully with the king of Gurjara, evidently Chaulukya Kumarapala, and the king of Kuntala, who is to be identified with the Kalachuri Bijjala of the Deccan. About this time he repulsed an attack of the Turushkas. This Turushka invasion is obviously the one led by Khusrav Malik which was repulsed by the Gahadavala Vijayachandra. It cannot be said definitely whether Jayasimha made a common cause with the Gahadavalas against the Muslims on that occasion. Some time between A.D. 1177 and 1180 Jayasiriiha was succeeded by his son Vi jayasimha, the last known king of this branch of the Kalachuri dynasty. Inscriptions of Vijayasimha's reign prove that he succeeded in maintaining his hold over Baghelkhand and the Dahalamandala up to A.D. 1211, but within a year Chandella

Trailokyavarman wrested from him Baghelkhand, and possibly the whole of the Dahala-mandala. He had a son, named Mahakumara Ajayasimha, but nothing is known of him.

2. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur

Kalihgaraja, a remote descendant of one of the younger sons of Kokalla I, the founder of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri, conquered Dakshina-Kosala and established his capital at Tummana, modern

village of Tumana, in the Lapha zamindari, Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh, in the early years of the eleventh century. He ruled there as a feudatory of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. His son and successor Kamalaraja helped his overlord Kalachuri Gangeyadeva in conquering Utkala. Kamalaraja was succeeded by his son Ratnaraja, who founded the city of Ratnapura, modern Ratanpur, 16 miles north of Bilaspur. Ratnaraja was succeeded by his son Prithvldeva, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1079. It was probably during his reign that Ratanpur was made the second capital of his family. His son and successor Jajalladeva I, who issued an inscription in A.D. 1114, became independent during the latter part of Yasahkarna's reign when the power of the Kalachuris of Tripuri began to decline. He was in friendly relation with Gahadavala Govindachandra and Chandella Sallakshanavarman. He took as prisoner Somes vara, the Naga ruler of Chakrakota (in the Bastar State), who had occupied a part of Dakshina-Kosala. He invaded Orissa and defeated Bhujavala, the chief of Suvarnapura, modern Sonpur. He claims to have received tributes from the chiefs of the Mandalas of Dakshina-Kosala, Andhra, Khimidi, Vairagara, Lanjika, Bhanara, Talahari, Dandakapura, Nandavall and Kukkuta. Khimidi is Khimidi in the Ganjam District, Orissa; Vairagara is Wairagarh in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh; Lanjika is Lanji in the Balaghat District, Madhya Pradesh; and Dandakapura may be identified with Dandaka on the border of Seuna -dcsa. It is hardly likely that he levied any tribute from Andhra, which was within the kingdom of Kulottunga Chola I. Jajalladeva was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II before A.D. 1126.

Ratnadeva II repulsed an attack of Anantavarman Chodaganga, who was joined by one Jatesvara, and of Gokarna, a feudatory of the Kakatlya Prola

II; and his minister Jagapala conquered for him Talahara-bhiimi. He was succeeded by his son Prithvldeva II some time between A.D. 1128 and 1141. Prithvldeva II also repulsed an attack of king Jatesvara, and his minister Jagapala conquered the forts of Saraharagadh, Mavakasiha(va), and Bhramaravadradesa, and took Kantara, Kusuma-bhoga, Kandase(hva)ra, and Kakayara-desc. His younger son Jajalla II succeeded him after A.D. 1158, and this new king's reign period covered the years A.D. 1161 to 1167. Jajalla II succeeded in averting the trouble created by one Dhlru, who reduced him to such a critical position that he was about to lose his sovereignty. He was succeeded by his elder brother Jagaddeva who lived, before his accession, in the Eastern country {prag-desa). Some time before A.D. 1181 Jagaddeva was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva III, who was followed on the throne by his sons Prithvldeva III and Pratapamalla in succession. Pratapamalla was a boy at the time of his accession and his kingdom seems to have been invaded by Vishnu, a minister of the Ganga Anahga-Bhima III of Kalinga. He reigned at least up to A.D. 1218, but nothing definitely is known of his successor.

Petty chiefs of a Kalachuri family are known to have ruled in the region of Kasia in the Gorakhpur District, U.P., from the ninth to twelfth century A.D.

XI. THE PARAMARAS 1. The Paramaras of Mdlava

The Paramaras, who consolidated their power and position under Munja and Sindhuraja, 19 rose to imperial rank during the reign of Sindhuraja's son and successor Bhoja, who ascended the throne of Malava in c. A.D. 1000. Inscriptions of his reign bear dates ranging from A.D. 1020 to 1047, and his kingdom extended up to Chitor, Banswara, Dungarpur, Bhilsa, Khandesh, Konkan, and upper courses of the Godavari. In the early part of his reign he made a confederacy with the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva and Rajendra Chola of Tanjore for an invasion of the kingdom of the Chalukya Jayasimha of Kalyana. Though he and his allies at first won some victories they were ultimately routed by Jayasimha. Jayasimha's son Somesvara I, who came to the throne of the Deccan in A.D. 1042, avenged himself of the wrong done to his father by plundering Dhara, Ujjain, and Mandu, and forcing Bhoja to flee away from his capital.

During his southern campaign Bhoja inflicted a defeat on Indraratha, the ruler of Adinagara, or Nagara, modern Mukhalingam, in the Ganjam District, Orissa. He probably fought this battle in association with Rajendra Chola, who also claims to have defeated this ruler of Adinagara. In A.D. 1020 Bhoja conquered Konkana, apparently by defeating the Silahara Kesideva, and annexed it to his kingdom. Klrttiraja of the Chaulukya dynasty of Lata or southern Gujarat, whose kingdom lay to the north of that of the Silaharas, had also to bear the brunt of his sword. Bhoja's attempt to assert his supremacy over Bundelkhand was frustrated by Chandella Vidyadhara. Bhoja made an alliance with Kachchhapaghata Abhimanyu of Dubkund and received military assistance from him in his northern campaigns. He tried to capture Gwalior but was stoutly resisted by the Kachchhapaghata Klrttiraja. About this time he seems to have come into clash with the Rashtrakutas of Kan

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yakubja, but could not gain any material advantage over them. He invaded Sakambharl and forced Chahamana Viryarama to submit. His endeavour to conquer Nadol, in southern Marwar, by defeating the Chahamanas met with disaster. The Chahamana Anahilla killed his general Sadha, and routed the Paramara army. Bhoja's general Suraditya claims to have stabilised the royal fortune of Bhoja by killing one Sahavahana in the battle. In A.D. 1008 Bhoja sent an army to help the Shahi Anandapala against Mahmud of Ghazni. About A.D. 1019 he gave shelter to Anandapala's son Trilochanapala, who was hard pressed by Mahmud. In A.D. 1043 he seems to have joined a confederacy of the Hindu chiefs and conquered HansI, Thaneswar, Nagarkot and other dependencies of the Muslims and besieged the fortress of Lahore for seven months. 20 Bhoja's contribution to the defence of Northern India against the incursions of the Muslims was remembered by the Gahadavalas even long after his death. 21

Bhoja's relation with his western neighbour, the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, was anything but friendly. In the early part of his reign he humiliated the Chaulukya Chamundaraja, son of Mularaja, by forcing him to give up his royal robe when the latter was passing through Malava in course of his pilgrimage to Banaras. Chamundaraja's two sons Vallabharaja and Durlabharaja naturally assumed a hostile attitude towards the Paramaras. Bhoja sacked Anahillapataka, the capital of Gujarat, during the reign of Durlabharaja's successor Bhlma I, who had wrested Mt. Abu from the Paramara Dhandhuka, a protege of Bhoja. Bhlma, probably realising that he alone would not be able to cope with the Paramaras, looked for an ally. Fortunately for him Bhoja also antagonised his eastern neighbour, the Kalachuris of Tripurl, by waging war against his former confederate the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva, who had to yield to his forces. Now Bhlma found a good ally in Gangeyadeva's son Karna against Bhoja, and invaded Malava. While engaged in conducting the war against his neighbours in the east and in the west, Bhoja died of a disease, and Malava fell into the hands of the Kalachuris and Chaulukyas in c. A.D. 1055.

Though Bhoja fought numerous battles throughout his reign he could not acquire any new territory except Konkana. He was not only a great soldier but also an erudite scholar. The authorship of more than twenty-three books on varied subjects is ascribed to him. He established schools for the education of his subjects. Dhanapala, Uvata, and many other men of letters lived in his court. He founded a city named Bhojapura and built a large number of temples in honour of Siva. All these attainments of Bhoja in different spheres of life establish his claim to be regarded as one of the greatest kings of mediaeval India. He was succeeded by Jayasimha, who was probably his son.

Jayasimha got back his throne with the help of prince Vikramaditya VI of the Deccan, who forced the Chaulukyas and the Kalachuris to leave Malava. Henceforward Jayasimha became a staunch ally of Vikramaditya. He accompanied the Chalukya prince in his invasion of the Andhra country and occupied Vehgl. The Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya VII eventually drove them out of the Andhra country with the help of the Chola Virarajendra. Jayasirhha, by establishing friendly relation with Vikramaditya, antagonised king Somes vara II, who suspected that his younger brother Vikramaditya was conspiring against him. In order to punish Jayasimha king Somesvara II made an alliance with the Chaulukya Karna, son of Bhima I of Gujarat, and invaded Malava. In the battle that followed Jayasimha lost his life and Malava was occupied by Somesvara II and Karna. In that serious situation Udayaditya, a brother or cousin of Bhoja, sought help from the Chahamanas of Sakambharl. He recovered Malava after inflicting a severe defeat on the invaders with the help of the cavalry which the Chahamana Vigraharaja III had sent to his assistance.

The inscriptions of Udayaditya’s reign bear dates A.D. 1080 and 1086. His kingdom extended at least up to the Nimar District on the south, Jhalawar State on the north, and Bhilsa on the east. He built the famous temple of Nilakanthesvara at Udepur, in Bhilsa. He had a number of sons and, according to an inscription dated A.D. 1104, two of them, Lakshmadeva and Naravarman, ruled one after the other after his death.

Lakshmadeva’s name is not found in any other record. He raided Gauda which was then under the supremacy of the Kaivartas, and plundered Anga and Kalinga, which were respectively ruled by the Rashtrakuta Mathanadeva and Anantavarman Chodagahga. During this campaign he seems to have come into clash with the Cho]a Kulottunga I whose kingdom extended up to Andhra. The statement that he conquered Pandya and Ceylon is an obvious exaggeration. He won a victory over the Kalachuri Yasahkarna and repulsed an attack of Mahmud, governor of the Punjab, when the latter invaded Ujjain. On the north he is said to have led his army to the Kira country, i.e. Kangra valley in the Punjab.

It is known from various contemporary records that Udayaditya had a son named Jagaddeva, who is mentioned in some Hoysala inscriptions as the Emperor of Malava. As regards his military achievements it is known that he invaded Dorasamudra in alliance with Chalukya Vikramaditya VI, but was ultimately repulsed by the sons of Hoysala Ereyahga. He conquered Chakradurga in old Bastar State, and defeated the kings of Malahara and the Andhra country.

He also defeated near Mt. Abu the king of Gurjara, who may be identified with Chaulukya Karna. There are good grounds for assuming that Lakshmadeva and Jagaddeva are identical. Jagaddeva was the youngest of the sons of Udayaditya. After a rule of some years he abdicated his throne, apparently in favour of Naravarman, “for fear of incurring the sin of superseding the elder brother.” On being invited by Vikramaditya VI he went to the Chalukya court and lived there for some time. After his abdication he ruled, at least up to A.D. 1112, the southern part of the Paramara kingdom which included the Yeotmal District in Berar and Adilabad District in the Hyderabad State. The Prabandha-chintamani states that Jagaddeva was given a province to rule by Vikramaditya VI. Jagaddeva’s military valour was proverbial and formed the theme of many romantic stories in the folk-lore of Western India in the subsequent ages.

Naravarman, who assumed the title Nirvana-N dray ana, ascended the throne of Malava before A.D. 1094, which is the earliest known date of his reign. His kingdom extended up to old Bundi State on the north, and Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, on the south. The Nagpur region, which was under the sway of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI in A.D. 1087, passed into his hands before A.D. 1104. Naravarman had to acknowledge defeat at the hands of the Chandella Sallakshanavarman and the Chahamana Ajayadeva of §akambharl, who took prisoner Sulhana, the commander of the Malava army. A Pallava general under Vikrama Chola claims to have won a victory over a Malava king, who was in all probability Naravarman. But Naravarman received the most severe blow from the Chaulukyas of Gujarat.

After fighting for twelve years with Chaulukya JayasimhaSiddharaja he fell a prisoner in his hands. He succeeded no doubt in securing his release, but his discomfiture on this occasion shook the foundation of the imperial power of the Paramaras. He gave shelter to Bhikshachara, a fugitive from the court of Kashmir, in or after A.D. 1128. He was a poet and patron of men of letters.

Yasovarman, who succeeded his father Naravarman before A.D. 1133, inherited a kingdom which was greatly shattered by the invasion of the Chaulukyas. It produced disruptive forces which he failed to control. One Vijayapala established an independent principality in the Dewas State in the heart of Malava. Chandella Mada~ navarman forcibly occupied the Bhilsa region. Last of all the Chaulukya Jayasimha-Siddharaja, accompanied by the Chahamana Asaraja of Nadol, fell on him and took him prisoner. Jayasiihha annexed the whole of Malava, and assumed the title Avantinatha. Malava remained under the sway of Jayasimha up to A.D. 1138. What happened to Yasovarman is not definitely known, but his son Jayavarman seems to have succeeded in recovering Malava during the closing years of Jayasimha's reign. He issued an inscription from his residence at Vardhamanapura, which cannot be identified. He could not retain Malava under his control for a long period. Chalukya Jagadekamalla of Kalyana and the Hoysala Narasimha I invaded Malava, destroyed his power, and seem to have placed one Ballala on the throne of that country. Shortly after A.D. 1143 the Chaulukya Kumarapala, successor of Jayasimha-Siddharaja, dethroned Ballala, and annexed the whole of Malava up to Bhilsa to his kingdom.

For nearly twenty years Malava remained a part and parcel of the kingdom of Gujarat. During this period the princes of the Paramara dynasty, designated as the 'Mahakumaras', ruled Bhopal and the districts of Nimar, Hoshangabad and Khandesh as petty rulers. But in the seventh decade of the twelfth century Vindhyavarman, son of the Paramara Jayavarman, recovered Malava by defeating the Chaulukya Mularaja II.

Vindhyavarman could not rule his newly conquered ancestral kingdom in peace. The decline of the power of the Chalukyas in the Deccan gave him no relief as the Hoysalas and the Yadavas, the successors of the Chalukyas, led successive invasions against Malava. Some time before A.D. 1190 Vindhyavarman, in alliance with the Cholas, invaded the Hoysala territory in order to crush the growing power of the Hoysalas, but Ballala II succeeded in repulsing them. Yadava Bhillama plundered Malava some time before A.D. 1189.

In spite of all these, Vindhyavarman ultimately succeeded in repulsing his enemies, and when he died, shortly after A.D. 1193, the Paramara kingdom was firmly consolidated. His son and successor Subhatavarman turned his arms against the kingdom of Gujarat which began to decline after the death of Ajayapala. He forced the Chaulukya feudatory, Simha of Lata, to transfer his allegiance to him. He plundered a large number of Jain temples at Dabhoi and Cambay, stormed Anahillapataka, and reached Somanatha with his army. There his progress was checked by Sridhara, the governor of that place under Bhima II. Eventually Bhima's minister Lavanaprasada forced him to withdraw from Gujarat. Subhatavarman had to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Yadava Jaitugi. He was succeeded by his son Arjunavarman before A.D. 1210.

Arjunavarman fought successfully with Jayasiihha, who had usurped the throne of Gujarat for some time by dethroning Bhima II. Arjunavarman's marriage with the daughter of Jayasiihha, following a battle between the two kings, is the main theme of the drama named

Pdrijatamanjari or Vijayasri, composed by Arjunavarman's preceptor Madana. Arjunavarman, like his predecessors, miserably failed in his contest with the Yadavas, who were then led by king Singhana. In this encounter Arjunavarman's feudatory Sindhuraja, brother of Siihha of Lata lost his life. Arjunavarman wrote a number of books and his court was graced by Madana, Asadhara, and many other men of learning. Some time between A.D. 1215 and 1218 he was succeeded by Devapala, son of Mahakumdra Harischandra, grandson of Mahakumdra Lakshmivarman, who was the younger brother of Jayavarman.

Devapala's kingdom extended from Broach District, Bombay, to Bhilsa, and included Nimar and Hoshangabad Districts. Singhana, the Yadava king, attacked Lata and took prisoner Devapala's vassal Samgramasimha, also known as Sahkha, son of Sindhuraja. Sahkha was released and a treaty was concluded between Singhana and Devapala. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the absence of the Chaulukya minister Viradhavala, who went to the north to resist an invasion of the Muslims, Devapala and Sahkha, in alliance with Singhana, attacked southern Gujarat. Vastupala, governor of Cambay under Viradhavala, averted the danger by bringing about a dissension between Devapala and Singhana with the help of secret emissaries. Subsequently Viradhavala wrested Broach from Sahkha. Malava was invaded by the Muslims during Devapala's reign. In A.D. 1233 Iltutmish captured Bhilsa and plundered Ujjain, but the Muslim victory was shortlived. Devapala was succeeded by his son Jaitugideva before A.D. 1243.

During the reign of Jaitugi Malava suffered a series of invasions. Krishna, the Yadava king, raided Malava; in A.D. 1250 Balban invaded it and, about the same time, Vaghela Visaladeva, king of Gujarat, sacked Dhara. Jaitugi was succeeded by his younger brother Jayavarman II before A.D. 1256. After Jayavarman II the succession of the Paramara kings can be traced only with the help of the known dates of the kings who followed him, but their relation with one another cannot be ascertained. The next known king after Jayavarman II is Jayasimha II, who was ruling in A.D. 1269 and 1274. 22 The kingdom of Jayasimha II was invaded by the Chahamana Jaitrasimha of Ranthambhor. The Paramara army was worsted by the Chahamanas at Jhampaithaghatta, and Jayasimha himself was forced to retire to the fort of Mandapa (Mandu). After his death in c. A.D. 1270 a quarrel broke out between his successor Arjunavarman II, who was probably his son, and his minister. After a severe contest each of them occupied a part of Malava. During the reign of Arjunavarman II the Chahamana Hammlra of Ranthambhor, the Yadava Ramachandra, and the Vaghela Sarangadeva invaded Malava. The next known king after Arjunavarman II is Bhoja II, who came to the throne shortly after A.D. 1283. During his reign Malava was again plundered by the Chahamana Hammira, and Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khalji also carried on depredation in that country. After Bhoja II we find Mahlak Deo ruling in Malava in A.D. 1305 when 'Ala-ud-din Khalji invaded the country. Mahlak Deo, having lost his general Kokaaeva in the battle, took shelter in the fort of Mandu. There he was killed by 'Ala-ud-din’s general ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Malava was finally conquered by the Muslims.

2. Minor Branches of the Paramaras in Rajput ana

(i) Mt. Ahu

In the latter part of the tenth century Vakpati-Munja, king of Malava, placed his son Aranyaraja on the throne of Mt. Abu, Sirohi State, Rajputana, with its capital at Chandravati. Aranyaraja’s successors were Krishnaraja, Dharanivaraha, Mahipala alias Dhruvabhata (A.D. 1002), and Dhandhuka. Dhandhuka was dethroned by the Chaulukya Bhlma I of Gujarat before A.D. 1030, but was subsequently restored to power by the Chaulukya king at the request of Vimala of the Pragvata family. Dhandhuka had three sons, Purnapala, Dantivarman, and Krishna II, all of whom ascended the throne one after the other. Purnapala (A.D. 1042, 1045) declared independence, but Bhlma I brought Mt. Abu again under his control in the later part of his reign. Since then the country remained a part and parcel of the Chaulukya kingdom. Krishna II was succeeded by Dantivarman’s son Yogaraja, who was succeeded by his son Ramadeva. After the reign of Ramadeva the throne of Mt. Abu seems to have been usurped by Krishna II’s son Kakaladeva, who was succeeded by his son Vikramasimha. Vikramasimha revolted against the Chaulukyas but was defeated and thrown into prison by king Kumarapala, who then placed Ramadeva’s son Yasodhavala on the throne of Mt. Abu. Yasodhavala, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1145 and 1150, fought with Ballala, king of Malava, on behalf of his overlord Kumarapala, and killed him. He was succeeded by his son Dhar&varsha some time before A.D. 1063. Dharavarsha helped Kumarapala in his war against Mallikarjuna of Konkana, and his younger brother Prahladana saved the power and prestige of the Chaulukya Ajayapala, successor of Kumarapala, by defeating the Guhila Samantasirnha of Medapata. It is stated that Ranasimha, son of the Paramara Vikramasimha, defeated the warriors of Malava on the banks of the Parla and obtained Antara. It is further stated that Dharavarsha got back his territory through the favour of Rajnasimha. It may only be suggested that Ranasimha, son of the deposed Vik ramasimha, usurped the throne of Mt. Abu some time after the death of Kumarapala, but restored Dharavarsha to power after a short reign. Dharavarsha repulsed an attack of the Chahamana Prithvlraja III against Bhima II of Gujarat. In A.D. 1197 he suffered a defeat at the hands of Qutb-ud-din's general Khusrav near the foot of Mt. Abu. He helped Viradhavala of Gujarat in repulsing an attack of Sultan Iltutmish, and was succeeded by his younger brother Prahladana after A.D. 1219. Prahladana is the author of the drama Partha-parakrama. Some time before A.D. 1230 Prahladana was succeeded by Dharavarsha's son Somasimha, who declared independence. Somasimha's son and successor was Krishnaraja. Krishnaraja's son Pratapasimha, also known as Patala, reconquered, with the help of the Vaghelas, his paternal throne, which was occupied by Guhila Samarasimha. He ruled his kingdom as a vassal of the Vaghela Sarangadeva, and was succeeded by his son Arjuna, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1290. Some time before A.D. 1320 Mt. Abu passed into the hands of Chahamana Luntiga of South Marwar.

(ii) Vagada

In the middle of the tenth century A.D. Dhanika, a remote descendant of Dambarasirhha, younger son of Upendra, 23 founded a kingdom in Vagada, modern Banswara and Dungarpur States, the capital of which was Utthunaka, modern Arthuna in the Banswara State. Dhanika's successor Chachcha fought on the side of Slyaka II against Rashtrakuta Khottiga, and lost his life in the battle. Chachcha was followed by Chandapa and Satyaraja one after the other. Satyaraja assisted Bhoja in his war against the Chaulukyas. After Satyaraja ruled Limbaraja, Mandalika (A.D. 1059), Chamundaraja (A.D. 1079, 1100), and Vijayaraja (A.D. 1108-09). About the middle of the twelfth century Vagada was occupied by the Guhilas.

(Hi) Jalor (Jabalipura)

Vakpati-Muhja's son Chandana was the first king of the Jalor branch of the Paramara family. He was followed in succession by Devaraja, Aparajita, Vijjala, Dharavarsha, and Vlsala (A.D. 1117). The last known king of the family is Kurhtapala, who had to surrender Jalor to the Chahamana KIrttipala of Nadol in the latter part of the twelfth century.

(iv) Bhinmal

Sindhuraja’s son Dusala is the founder of the Bhinmal branch of the Paramara dynasty. In the early years of the eleventh century Devaraja of this family obtained Maru-mandala from the Chahamana Durlabharaja of Sakambhari. Krishnaraja (A.D. 1060, 1066), grandson of Devaraja, was put into prison by the Chaulukya Bhlma I. He was released by the Chahamana Balaprasada of Nadol and ruled as an independent king. After Krishnaraja his son Sochharaja, Udayaraja and his son Somesvara (A.D. 1140, 1161) occupied the throne. Udayaraja’s might is said to have spread as far as Choda, Gauda, Karnata and Malava, but his son Somesvara is said to have regained his lost kingdom through the Chaulukya Jayasimha-Siddharaja. The next known king after Somesvara is Jayatasimha (A.D. 1182), who seems to have been succeeded by Salakha. In the early years of the thirteenth century Bhinmal came under the supremacy of the Chahamanas of Southern Mar war.

XII. THE CHAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT

By the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the Chaulukyas had firmly established themselves in Gujarat. In A.D. 1009-10, king Chamundaraja, after the death of his son Vallabharaja, handed the sovereignty over to his second son Durlabharaja to whom Chahamana Mahendra gave his sister in marriage in a svayamvara scibha (an assembly for the selection of bridegroom) at Nadol. The chiefs of Malava, Mathura, Huna country etc., the disappointed suitors for the hand of the princess, attacked Durlabha on his way back to his own country, but he defeated them all. He plundered Lata, which was then ruled by Kirttiraja (A.D. 1018), son of Gohgiraja, and grandson of the Chaulukya Barappa. Lata was not, however, annexed to the kingdom of the Chaulukyas on that occasion. After Kirttiraja his son Vatsaraja and his grandson Trilochanapala ruled Lata at least up to A.D. 1051. In his old age in c. A.D. 1022, Durlabha abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew Bhimadeva I, son of Nagadeva.

Bhima had to suffer a great disaster three years after his accession. In A.D. 1025 Mahmud of Ghazni overran Gujarat and plundered Somanatha. Bhima had fled to Kanthakot in Kutch at the approach of the Muslim army, but returned to his capital after the departure of the invader. Some time before A.D. 1031 he wrested Mt. Abu from Paramara Dhandhuka, and appointed Vimala of the Pragvata family as its governor. Vimala built there the famous temple of Adinatha. Subsequently Bhima restored Dhandhuka to power, whose son Purnapala is known to have been ruling there in A.D. 1042 as an independent chief. The Mt. Abu inscription of Bhima, dated A.D. 1062, proves that the country again passed into his hands in the closing years of his reign. It remained a part of the kingdom of Gujarat till the end of the thirteenth century. Bhima annexed Bhinm&l and threw its ruler, the Paramara Krishnaraja, into prison. His

attempts to assert his supremacy over southern Mar war were, however, baffled by the Chahamana Ahila of Nadol and the latter's successor Anahilla. Anahilla's son Balaprasada forced him to release Krishnaraja. The Dvyasraya relates that Bhlma went to the Punjab, crossed the Sindhu by means of a stone bridge built by him, and defeated Hammuka, ruler of Sindh. Merutuhga relates that during this time, taking advantage of Bhlma's absence, the Paramara Bhoja's general Kulachandra plundered Anahillapataka. After his return to Gujarat Bhlma sent batches of soldiers to Malava from time to time for marauding purposes. It has been noticed above that in the middle of the eleventh century Bhima and his ally the Kalachuri Karna made an organised attack on Malava. Bhlma's final battle with Bhoja and his subsequent quarrel with Karna have been noticed above. 24 The statement in the Dvyasraya that he won victories over Bhadrabhat, the ruler of the distant Gajabandh desa, and defeated the kings of Dasarna, Kasi, Ayodhya, and Yantri desa, does not find support in any other record. The same source relates that the rulers of Pundra and Andhra entered into friendly relation with him.

Bhima had three sons, Mularaja, Kshemaraja, and Karna. Mularaja predeceased his father, and Kshemaraja, whose mother was of low birth, declined to ascend the throne. So Bhlma handed the sovereignty over to Karna in c. A.D. 1064, and retired to a place of pilgrimage for penance.

The kingdom of Karna, who assumed the title Trailokyamalla, extended on the south up to Navsari, in Bombay State. In alliance with the Karnatas, he conquered Malava by defeating and killing Paramara Jayasimha, but was ultimately repulsed by the Paramara Udayaditya. In the latter part of his reign he had to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Paramara Jagaddeva. He subdued a Bhilla chief named Asa, residing at Asapalll, modern Asaval, near Ahmadabad. His invasion of Southern Mar war was repulsed by the Chahamana Prithvipala of Nadol. He married MayanalladevI, the daughter of the Kadamba Jayakesin, king of Goa, and was succeeded by his minor son Jayasimha in c. A.D. 1094. MayanalladevI acted as a regent for her son for some time.

Jayasimha, who assumed the title Siddharaja, was one of the greatest kings of his dynasty. Inscriptions of his reign prove that his kingdom extended up to Bali in Jodhpur and Sambhar in Jaipur on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and Kathiawar and Kutch on the west. He put down the revolt of the non-Aryan Barbara, who was troubling the ascetics of Siddhapura. After a protracted battle he defeated and imprisoned Navaghana, the chief of the AbhTras of Saurashtra, and appointed his Dandadhipati Sajjana governor of that country. On the north he annexed Bhinmal by defeating the Paramaras before A.D. 1129, and continued his hereditary fight with the Chahamanas of Nadol. It seems that when Jayasimha was young, Chahamana Jojalla sacked Anahillapataka. Jojalla’s successor Asaraja submitted to Jayasimha and ruled his territory as his vassal. Jayasimha pushed his arms further north and conquered Sakambharl, modern Sambhar, after defeating the Chahamana Arnoraja. He gave his daughter in marriage to Arnoraja and allowed him to rule his territory as his vassal. He conquered Vagada, and being assisted by Asaraja of Nadol, invaded Malava. After a longdrawn battle he took Paramara Naravarman prisoner, but subsequently released him. Some time before A.D. 1138 he took Naravarman’s son Yasovarman prisoner and annexed Avanti to his kingdom. He invaded Kalanjara and Mahoba, and forced the Chandella Madanavarman to surrender Bhilsa to him. On the south Jayasimha came into conflict with the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI of Kalya na and won a victory over him. He was in friendly relation with the king of Dahala, who seems to have been Gayakarna. During the closing years of his reign Jayasimha could not keep his control over some of the newly annexed territories. The Paramara Jayavarman, son of Yasovarman, became independent in Malava, and the Chahamana Asaraja of Nadol, having freed himself from the control of the Chaulukyas, declared hostility against Jayasimha.

Jayasimha was a devotee of Siva and built the temple of RudraMahakala at Siddhapura. He established schools for learning Jyotisha £astra, Nyaya Sastra, and Purana , and his court was graced by the great Jain scholar Hemachandra. The last known date of Jayasimha is V. S. 1200 (= A.D. 1143). He had no son, and Kumarapala, the great-grandson of Kshemaraja, who was a son of Bhlma I by a concubine, was a claimant to the throne. In view of the low origin of Kumarapala Jayasimha did not approve of his claim, and adopted Bahada, the son of his minister Udayana, as his successor. Kumarapala's father Tribhuvanapala was killed, and he was driven into exile. But after the death of Jayasimha, some time between A.D. 1143 and 1145, Kumarapala secured the throne for himself with the help of the Jains and his brother-in-law Krishna. Bahada fled to Sakambharl, and took service under the Chahamanas.

The inscriptions of Kumarapala's reign show that his kingdom extended up to Barmer in Mallani, Pali in Jodhpur, and Chitor in Udaipur on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and Kathiawar on the west. Immediately after his accession Kumarapala put to death the ministers who conspired to kill him, and blinded for insolence his sister's husband Krishna, who had helped him in securing the throne.

NORTHERN INDIA DURING 11th AND 12th CENTURIES

In the early part of his reign he was threatened with invasions by his northern and eastern neighbours. The Chahamana Arnoraja of Sakambharl took up the cause of Bahada and made an alliance with Ballala, king of Ujjain, and the chiefs ruling on the banks of the Para river against Kumarapala. Arnoraja and Ballala made a simultaneous attack on Gujarat from the north and the east. Kumarapala despatched his generals Vijaya and Krishna against Ballala, and himself marched with an army to meet Arnoraja. Arnoraja received a severe wound in the battle, and concluded peace which was cemented by the marriage of his daughter to the Chaulukya king. Kumarapala then attacked Mt. Abu, dethroned Paramara

Vikramasimha, who had become hostile to him during his war with the Chahamanas, and made the nephew of the latter, Paramara Yasodhavala, its king some time before A.D. 1145. He, then, along with Yasodhavala, joined his generals Vijaya and Krishna, who were fighting with Ballala. Ballala was killed in the battle and the whole of Malava up to Bhilsa was again annexed to the kingdom of Gujarat. At this time Sumvara, a chief of Saurashtra, revolted, and the Chaulukya minister Udayana lost his life in an attempt to put him down. Kumarapala sent another contingent to Saurashtra and brought Sumvara under his control. The Chahamana Ahladana, son of Asaraja of Nadol, gave him substantial help on this occasion and probably in recognition of this service he gave him Kiratakupa (near Barmer) and some other territories to rule. Kumarapala defeated Rajyapala of Nadol and handed the kingdom over to his Dandanayaka Vaijalladeva, who administered it from c. A.D. 1154 to c. A.D. 1159. Paramara Somesvara of Bhinmal, whose kingdom extended up to Kiradu, acknowledged his sway. In A.D. 1150 Kumarapala led an aggressive campaign against the Chahamana Arnoraja of Sakambhari, as the latter had insulted his queen, the daughter of the Chaulukya Jayasimha. He devastated the Sapadalaksha country and defeated Arnoraja, but allowed him to rule his territory. Some time between A.D. 1160 and 1162 he despatched his minister Ambada with a large army against Mallikarjuna of Konkana, who was killed and whose kingdom was annexed to Gujarat. The Paramara Dharavarsha and prince Somesvara, second son of the Chahamana Arnoraja, assisted the Chaulukya army in this battle.

The Jain chronicles of Gujarat claim that Kumarapala came under the influence of Hemachandra, the erudite Jain scholar and author of a large number of books, who lived in his court, and embraced Jainism. This is corroborated by an epigraphic record which further shows that the king changed his creed before A.D. 1164. The Gujarat chroniclers state that the king forbade animal sacrifice, and his order was obeyed in Saurashtra, Lata, Malava, Abhlra, Medapata, Meru, and Sapadalaksha. The Brahmanas, who were not allowed to violate this order, had to offer sacrifices of grains. There are epigraphic records to prove that Kumarapala’s feudatories in Southern Marwar issued order prohibiting the slaughter of animals. The inscriptions of Kumarapala show that though he changed his creed, he was reverential to his family deity Siva, and built temples for both the Jains and the Brahmanas. He abrogated the law empowering the State to confiscate the property of those who died intestate, and stopped gambling, which was very popular both with the nobles and the common people.

After the death of Kumarapala in A.D. 1171-72 there was a struggle for the throne between his sister’s son Pratapamalla, who was apparently backed by the Jains, and Ajayapala, son of Kumarapala’s brother Mahipala, who seems to have been supported by the Brahmanas. Ajayapala came out victorious, and ascended the throne. He maintained his control over the kingdom of Malava, which extended up to Bhilsa on the east, and Purna-Pathaka, on the bank of the Purna, on the south. He led an army against Sakambhari and forced its king Somesvara to surrender to him a golden manda pika as a tribute. The Guhila chief Samantasimha of Mewar invaded Gujarat and wounded Ajayapala in the battle. On that occasion the Paramara Prahladana, younger brother of Dharavarsha of Mt. Abu, saved the prestige of the Chaulukya king by inflicting defeat on the invader. The Jain chronicles allege that Ajayapala was a persecutor of the Jains, that he demolished Jain temples, mercilessly executed the Jain scholar Ramachandra, and killed Ambada, a minister of Kumarapala, in an encounter.

Ajayapala lost his life at the hands of the Pratlhara Vayajaladeva in c. A.D. 1176, and was succeeded by his young son Mularaja II, whose mother, queen Naikidevi, the daughter of the Kadamba Paramardin, king of Goa, acted as regent. In A.D. 1178 Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad Ghuri attacked the kingdom of Gujarat. Naikidevi, “taking her son (Mularaja) in her lap,” led the Chaulukya army against the Muslims and defeated them at Gadaraghatta near the foot of Mt. Abu. Though the Muslim historians mention the name of Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad Ghuri’s adversary on this occasion as Bhlma (II), the overwhelming internal evidence leaves no doubt that the battle was fought during the reign of Mularaja II. About this time the Paramara Vindhyavarman wrested Malava from the Chaulukyas.

Mularaja II died in the early part of A.D. 1178, and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhima II, who was obviously a minor.

Bhlma IPs inscriptions, the dates of which extend from A.D. 1178 to 1239, prove that he was in possession of Barmer, Godwar in Jadhpur, Dungarpur, and Kathiawar. Internal disorder and foreign invasions reduced Bhima to the position of a titular king, and taking advantage of his young age the provincial governors and the ministers divided the kingdom among themselves. In that predicament Bhlma had to rely on the support of the Vaghelas who rose into prominence in Bhlmapalll under Dhavala of the Chaulukya family, the husband of Kumarapala’s maternal aunt. Dhavala’s son Arnoraja had fought on the side of Kumarapala against the chiefs of Medapata and Chandravati. In recognition of this service Kumarapala granted him the village Vyaghrapalli, 10 miles south-west of Anahillapataka, where he settled along with his family. It is after the name of this village that the successors of Arnoraja are called Vaghelas. Arnoraja came to the rescue of young Bhlma II, and brought the recalcitrant elements under control, but lost his life while thus consolidating the power of Bhlma. Arnoraja’s son Lavanaprasada then took charge of the administration on behalf of the Chaulukya king. He fixed his headquarters at Dholka, the chief city in Khetaka, modern Kaira, and the two brothers Tejahpala and Vastupala of the Pragvata family served him as ministers. The weakness of the sovereignty of the Chaulukyas invited the foreigners to invade Gujarat about this time. The Yadava Bhillama and his son Jaitugi led successive expeditions against Bhima. The Paramara Subhatavarman annexed Lata and overran Gujarat, but was ultimately routed by Lavanaprasada. The Muslims under Qutb-ud-din occupied Ajmer in A.D. 1193-94. In 1195 Bhima sent an army to help the Mhers against the Muslims, and the Chaulukya army pursued the Muslims up to the vicinity of Ajmer. In A.D. 1197 Qutb-ud-din, with a fresh contingent from Ghazni, invaded Gujarat. He forced his way through Mt. Abu by defeating Rai Karan and Dharavarsha, and plundered Anahillapataka, but shortly after withdrew from Gujarat. In the early years of the thirteenth century the Chaulukyas under Bhima established their supremacy over Godwar, in Jodhpur, by defeating Samantasimha, and posted there the Chahamana Dhamdhaladeva as their governor.

Some time before A.D. 1210 one Jayasirhha usurped the throne of Anahillapataka. The usurper, who had suffered defeat at the hands of the Paramara Arjunavarman of Malava, was dethroned by Bhima II some time between A.D. 1223 and 1226. Bhima is not known to have taken any part in defending Gujarat against the aggression of the foreigners, and all arrangements for defence were made by Lavanaprasada and his able son Viradhavala. They put Tejahpala in charge of Dholka and posted Vastupala at Stambha

(Cambay) as a governor to defend southern Gujarat. Lavanaprasada repulsed a number of invasions led by the Yadava Singhana. On one occasion, when Singhana reached the Mahi river with his army, Lavanaprasada and VIradhavala had to hurry to the north to meet the attacks of some Maravada chiefs, who made an alliance with the Chahamana Sankha of Lata and Ghughula, king of Godraha. Though Singhana did not press his advantage further, his ally Sankha attacked Vastupala, but was defeated in the battle at Vatakupa. Lavanaprasada and his son succeeded in repulsing the attacks of the Maravada chiefs and making their position secure on the north. On another occasion Singhana, in alliance with Devapala of Malava and Sankha, attacked southern Gujarat', just at the time when the Muslims under Iltutmish had invaded northern Gujarat. VIradhavala, leaving Vastupala in charge of the southern frontier, himself went to the north and repulsed the invaders. Vastupala also succeeded in dispersing Singhana and his allies. Lavanaprasada entered into a treaty with Singhana before A.D. 1231, and the wo countries maintained friendly relation for some years. Shortly after A.D. 1231 Lavanaprasada retired and VIradhavala became the de facto ruler of Gujarat. VIradhavala killed the two rebel chiefs Sangana and his brother Chamun^a of Vamanasthall, subjugated Bhlmasimha of Bhadresvara, and took king Ghughula of Godraha prisoner. VIradhavala had three sons, Pratapamalla, VIrama, and Visvamalla (Vlsala). Pratapamalla died at an early age leaving behind a son named Arjuna. How long VIradhavala ruled Dholka cannot be ascertained. Mahamandalesvara Virama is found ruling from Vidyutpura as a vassal of Bhlma II in A.D. 1239. A colophon of a manuscript of the Yogasastra bears the date V.S. 1295 (=A.D. 1238) and is stated to have been written during the reign of the Mahamandalesvara Vlsaladeva. The Gujarat chroniclers state that the two brothers were hostile to each other, and Vlsala forced Virama to take shelter in Jabalipura (Jalor) under his father-in-law Udayasimha, where he was killed at the instigation of Vastupala. The authenticity of this account cannot be verified. The Sundha Hill inscription (A.D. 1261), on the other hand, states that Chachiga, son of Udayasimha (A.D. 1206-49), destroyed the Gujara lord Virama. It follows from this evidence that Virama occupied the throne of Gujarat, and was defeated by Chachiga some time after A.D. 1249. This, however, goes against the testimony of the Jain literature, according to which Virama never occupied the throne and his brother Vlsala became king in A.D. 1243.

The last known date of Bhlma IPs reign from his inscriptions is A.D. 1239. He was succeeded by Tribhuvanapala, who was ruling in Anahillapataka in A.D. 1242. It seems that during the reign of

Tribhuvanapala the Yadava Singhana, the Paramara Jaitugi of Malava, and the Guhila Jaitrasimha of Mewar invaded the kingdom of Gujarat. Vlsaladeva helped Tribhuvanapala in routing all these enemies. Tribhuvanapala seems to have been superseded by Virama, who was again deposed by his brother Visala before A.D. 1251. Vlsala abdicated the throne of Anahillapataka in favour of his nephew Arjuna, son of Pratapamalla, between A.D. 1261 and 1264. Arjuna had two sons, Rama and Sarahgadeva, and was succeeded by the latter in A.D. 1274. It is known from Sarahgadeva’s inscriptions that Kaira in Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kutch, and Anahillapataka were within his kingdom. Some time before A.D. 1285 he was reduced to a precarious condition by the Muslims under Balban, but succeeded ultimately in repulsing them with the help of the Guhila Samarasiihha. Subsequently this Guhila chief became hostile to Sarahgadeva, who thereupon helped the Paramara Pratapasimha in reconquering Mt. Abu from Samarasiihha. Sarahgadeva won a victory over Arjunavarman II of Malava and repulsed an attack of the Yadava Ramachandra of Devagiri. He was succeeded by his nephew Karna, son of Rama, in A.D. 1296. In A.D. 1299 Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, two generals of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl, wrested the whole of Gujarat from Karna and captured his queen Kowladevi (Kamaladevi) who was subsequently admitted into the harem of ‘Ala-ud-dln. Karna fled with his daughter Devaladevi to Baglan in Nasik where he ruled for some years. Shortly after A.D. 1306 Alaf Khan, governor of Gujarat, attacked Baglan. Karna sent

Devaladevi, who was betrothed to the Yadava Sankara, to Devagiri under an escort. But on the way she was captured by the Muslims and sent to Delhi. Kama fought bravely for some time with Alaf Khan but, having failed to cope with the invader, fled to Devagiri. His subsequent career is not known. He was the last king of the dynasty, and evidently died a fugitive.

Xni. THE CHAHAMANAS 1. The Chahamanas oj Sakambhari

The Chahamanas of Sakambharl, as we have noted above, 26 were already a rising power under Durlabharaja at the close of the tenth century. Govindaraja II, also known as Gandu, son of Durlabharaja, seems to have come into clash with Mahmud of Ghazni, but did not suffer much. Govindaraja IPs successor Vakpatiraja II defeated Guhila Ambaprasada. The next king VIryarama, younger brother of Vakpati II, was badly worsted in a battle with the Chahamana Anahilla of Nadol and subsequently lost his life in a battle with the Paramara Bhoja. VIryarama was followed in succession by his brother Chamundaraja, Simghata and Dusala (Durlabharaja III)* Durlabha, the brother of Simghata, lost his life in a battle with the Matangas, i.e. the Mlechchhas, and was succeeded by his brothers Vlrasimha and Vigraharaja III one after the other. Vigraharaja helped the Paramara Udayaditya with a cavalry force against the Chaulukya Karna. Vigraharaja's son and successor Prithviraja I, who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1105, killed 700 Chaulukvas who went to Pushkara to rob the Brahmanas. From the time of Prithviraja I's son and successor Ajayaraja, the Chahamanas of Sakambharl began to launch aggressive campaigns against their neighbours in order to establish an empire. Ajayaraja invaded Ujjain and captured in battle Sulhana, the commander of the army of the king of Malava, who seems to have been the Paramara Naravarman. He killed three kings, viz. Chachiga, Sindhula, and Yasoraja, in engagements, and founded the city of Ajayameru, modern Ajmer. Silver and copper coins of his reign have been found, some of which bear the names of his queen Somaladevi. He was succeeded by his son Arnoraja, also known as Anaka and Annalladeva, before A.D. 1133.

Arnoraja defeated and killed a large number of the Turushkas, i.e. the Muslims, who attacked the Sapadalaksha country by way of Marusthali (desert). He overran the kingdom of Kusavarana, which cannot be definitely identified. He had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chaulukya Jayasimha, w T ho gave him his daughter Kanchanadevi in marriage, and suffered two defeats at the hands of the Chaulukya Kumarapala who married his daughter Jalhana. His wars with these two Chaulukya monarchs have been described above. In addition to Kanchanadevi Arnoraja had another queen named Sudhava, who was the daughter of a chief of Avlchi in the desert. Kanchanadevi gave birth to a son Somesvara, while Sudhava had three sons. Arnoraja was killed by the eldest son of Sudhava, for some unknown reason, before A.D. 1153. This parricide, who may be identified with Jugadeva, ruled for a short time, and appears to have been supplanted by his younger brother Vigraharaja IV, also known as Vlsaladeva.

The known dates of Vigraharaja extend from A.D. 1153 to 1163. The Chahamanas established a big empire for the first time during his reign. He conquered Dhillika (Delhi) from the Tomaras, and took possession of Asika, modern HansI in the Hissar District in the Punjab. While carrying on conquest in the Punjab, he fought a number of battles with the Muslims. In the south he plundered Pallika (Pali in Jodhpur), burnt Jabalipura, modern Jalor, and sacked Nadol. All these territories were in the kingdom of the Chaulukya Kumarapala, and the Paramara Kumtapala was his adversary at Jabalipura. Vigraharaja is said to have also defeated one Sajjana. Delhi Siwalik Pillar inscriptions of his reign prove that his kingdom extended up to the Siwalik Hill, Saharanpur, U.P., on the north. The epigraphic records of his reign also establish that Jajpur District, in Udaipur, was within his territory. Vigraharaja composed the Harakeli-nataka, fragments of which are found engraved on a stone at Ajmer. The Mahdkavi Somadeva composed in honour of this king the Lalita-Vigraharaja-nataka, some portions of which are found engraved in a mosque at Ajmer. Vigraharaja was a king of great power and strength, and his claim that he made Aryavarta again the land of the Aryas by repeatedly defeating the Mlechchhas or the Muslims is not an empty boast. He was succeeded by his son AparaGangeya, who died young. After Apara-Gangeya Prithvlbhata or Prithvlraja II, son of the eldest son of queen Sudhava, occupied the throne. As Prithvlbhata claims that he defeated the king of Sakambhari, it seems that he wrested the sovereignty from young AparaGangeya. His inscriptions bear two dates, A.D. 1168 and 1169. He put his maternal uncle, the Guhila Kilhana, in charge of Asika (Hansi) to keep the Muslims in check. Kilhana burnt a city named Panchapura, which is identified with Panchapattana on the Sutlej, and took its ruler prisoner. His adversary on this occasion appears to have been Khusrav Malik of the Yaminl dynasty, who came into conflict with the Gahadavala Vijayachandra of Kanauj. Kilhana also defeated a prince named Vasata.

Prithvlraja II was succeeded by his uncle Somesvara, son of Arnoraja by the Chaulukya princess Kanchanadevi, in A.D. 1168-69. In the early part of his life Somesvara lived in the court of Gujarat during the reigns of his grandfather Jayasimha and Kumarapala. While living there he fought on the side of Kumarapala against Mallikarjuna of Konkana and is said to have killed his adversary. About this time he married a Kalachuri princess, who gave birth to two sons, Prithvlraja (III) and Hariraja. After the death of Prithvlraja II, Somesvara went to Sapadalaksha on the invitation of the ministers of State, along with his queen and two sons, and ascended the throne. His kingdom extended up to Bijoli in Udaipur on the south. He was succeeded by his son Prithvlraja III in A.D. 1177. The career of Prithvlraja III and the circumstances under which the rule of the Chahamanas came to a close in Ajmer will be discussed in the following chapter.

2. The Chahamanas of Ranastambhapura

A collateral branch of the Chahamanas of Ajmer ruled in Ranastambhapura, modern Ranthambhor, in Jaipur, in the thirteenth century. The kings of this family claim to have been born in the lineage of Frithvlraja III. The statement in Nayachandra Suri's Hamrnira-Mahakavya that Govindaraja, the founder of the family, was a grandson of Prithvlraja III, cannot be accepted as true in view of the fact that Prithvlraja III was a minor in A.D. 1177. Govindaraja, who came to power in the closing years of the twelfth century, was a scion of the Chahamana family of Ajmer. It is stated that having been banished by Prithvlraja III he founded a kingdom at Ranastambhapura; and that after the capture of Ajmer by the Muslims, the family and followers of Hariraja, younger brother of Prithvlraja III, took shelter with Govindaraja, who was very much affected at the news of Hariraja's death, and received them cordially. According to the Muslim source, however, Ranthambhor came under the influence of the Muslims during the reign of Hariraja, and its ruler was their protege. Govindaraja was succeeded by his son Balhanadeva, generally identified with Gadhapati Valanadeva, who was ruling in A.D. 1215 as a feudatory of Sultan Iltutmish, and whose kingdom extended up to Manglana, 19 miles west of Maroth, in Jaipur. Balhana probably threw off the yoke of the Muslims some time after A.D. 1215, but in A.D. 1226 Iltutmish led an army against Ranthambhor and conquered it. It appears from Tabaqdt-i-Nasiri that Ranthambhor was under the supremacy of Iltutmish till his death in A.D. 1236, but after the close of his reign the Hindus laid siege to that fort. Raziyya sent to its rescue her general Qutb-uddln Hasan Ghurl who took the Muslim army out of the fort, demolished it, and returned to Delhi. It is difficult to reconcile the reports of the Muslim historians with that supplied by Nayachandra Suri's Hammira-Mahdkdvya, which is virtually the only authority that gives a continuous narrative of this branch of the Chahamanas. Nayachandra relates that Balhana had two sons, Prahlada and Vagbhata. As he grew old and feeble he installed Prahlada on the throne and appointed Vagbhata as his Prime Minister. Prahlada lost his life in a hunting excursion, and was succeeded by his young son Vlranarayana. It is said that once when Vlranarayana started for Amarapura (Amber) to marry the daughter of the Kachchhavaha prince of Jayapura he was attacked on his way by Sultan Jalal-uddin of Delhi. Having failed to overcome him the Sultan invited him to Delhi and killed him, and Ranthambhor fell into the hands of the Muslims, Subsequently Vagbhata who, being insulted by Vlranarayana, had left his service and proceeded to Malava, killed the Malava king and wrested Ranthambhor from the Muslims. The fact that no Sultan of the name of Jalal-ud-din is known to have ruled in Delhi about this time casts doubt on the whole story. It may only be suggested that Iltutmish occupied Ranthambhor by defeating

Viranarayana, and Vagbhata reconquered it during the reign of Raziyya. Ulugh Khan (Balban) led two invasions against Ranthambhor in A.D. 1248 and 1253, when it was ruled by Bahar-deo, who is described as the greatest of the Rais of Hindustan by Minhaj. On both these occasions the Muslims had to rest content only by securing some spoils. Bahar-deo may be identified with Vagbhata who. according to Hamrriira-Mcihakavya, stationed a large number of forces at different places along the frontier to keep off the Muslims. He was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha.

The Balvan inscription of Hammira supplies some valuable information about Jaitrasimha's military activities. The king harassed a chief named Jayasimha in Mandapa, who is generally identified with the Paramara Jayasimha of Malava. The Paramara Jayasimha was in possession of Mandapa, i.e. Mandu in Dhar State, but there was a Mandapa -durga where Balban stopped while advancing towards Ranthambhor from Delhi and a lake called Jaitrasagara was situated near that. Jaitrasimha defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the Malava king at Jhampaithaghatta, and kept them as prisoners at Ranthambhor. He killed a Kurma king and a king of Karkaralagiri. According to Hammira-Mahaltavya Jaitrasimha paid tribute to the Sultan of Delhi, and he was probably the king of Ranthambhor who, according to Minhaj, was defeated by the army of Sultan Nasir-ud-dln in A.D. 1259. Jaitrasimha had three sons, Hammira, Surattrana, and Virama, and was succeeded by Hammira in A.D. 1283.

Hammira's kingdom included Seopur District in the Gwalior State, and Balvan in the Kotah State. Sarngadhara, whose grandfather Raghava was a courtier of Hammira, refers to this king as a ruler of the Sakambhari country in his Paddhati, composed in A.D. 1363. It is not unlikely that the kings of this family held sway over Sakambhari from the time of Balhana, whose kingdom is known to have been extended up to Maroth in Jaipur. The Hammira-Mahdkdvya gives a description of Hammira's digvijaya. The king defeated Arjuna of Sarasapura, an unnamed chief of Ga$hamandala, and Bhoja II of Dhara. He marched to Chitrakuta, ravaged Medapata, and extorted submission from the ruler of Abu. Then he sacked Vardhamanapura, modern Wadhwan in Kathiawar, and proceeded to Pushkara by way of Ajayameru (Ajmer). From Pushkara he went to Sakambhari, plundering on his way a number of towns, and from that place to Ranthambhor. His adversaries in Medapata and Mt. Abu were respectively the Guhila Samarasimha and the Paramara Pratapasimha, a subordinate of the Vaghela Sarangadeva of Gujarat. The Balvan inscription of his reign mentions his victory over Arjuna, king of Malava. This suggests that he led two expeditions against Malava, once during Arjunavarman’s reign and again during the reign of Bhoja II. The Prakrita-paingalam relates his victory over Malava and Gurjara and describes his prolonged fights with the Muslims of Delhi. It is known from the Muslim source that Jalal-ud-dln Khalji led an unsuccessful invasion against Ranthambhor in A.D. 1290. ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji also declared war against Hammlra because the latter stopped the payment of tribute and gave shelter to some rebels from Gujarat. He sent a number of expeditions against Ranthambhor under his general Ulugh Khan, but failed to overcome the enemy. Then ‘Ala-ud-dln himself led the army. After a strenuous fight he defeated and killed Hammlra and captured Ranthambhor in A.D. 1301.

3. The Chahamdnas of Nadol

The Nadol branch of the Chahamanas played an important role in the history of this period. In the early years of the eleventh century Asvapala was on the throne of Nadol, and his son and successor Ahila repulsed an attack of the Chaulukya Bhlma I. Ahila’s paternal uncle and successor Anahilla, son of Mahendra, defeated the Chaulukya Bhlma I, killed Sadha, a general of the Paramara Bhoja, captured Sakambharl, which was then ruled by the Chahamana Vlryarama, and fought successfully with the Turushkas, i.e. the Muslims of the Punjab. Anahilla’s son and successor Balaprasada forced the Chaulukya Bhlma I to release the Paramara ICrishnaraja of Bhimmal. Jinduraja, the brother and successor of Balaprasada, whose inscription is dated A.D. 1075, won a victory in a battle at Sandera, modern Sanderao in the Jodhpur State. Jinduraja’s son Prithvipala repulsed an attack of the Chaulukya Kama. Prithvlpala’s brother, king Jojalla, whose inscription is dated A.D. 1090, captured Anahillapataka for a short time, probably during the early part of Jayasimha’s reign. Jojalla was succeeded by his youngest brother Asaraja, whose inscriptions bear dates from A.D. 1110 to 1143. Asaraja had to surrender Nadol to his nephew Ratnapala, the son of Prithvipala, between A.D. 1115 and 1119. Ratnapala was succeeded by his son Rayapala, whose inscriptions bear dates from A.D. 1132 to 1145. Asaraja, being deprived of his supremacy over Nadol, ruled in Bali in Godwar. He acknowledged the sway of the Chaulukya Jayasimha and helped him in his war against the Paramara Naravarman. In the closing years of his reign he became hostile to Jayasimha, though he obeyed the authority of the latter in A.D. 1143. Asaraja’s son Katudeva occupied Nadol for a short time in A.D. 1143-44, but Rayapala reconquered it before A.D. 1145. He had, however, to surrender it to the Chaulukya Kumarapala before A.D. 1154, and his son Punapakshadeva ruled as a vassal in the region of Ratanpur in Jodhpur. His other son Sahajapala was the ruler of Mandor, north of Jodhpur. Kumarapala’s general, the Chahamana Vaijalladeva, took charge of the administration of Nadol before A.D. 1154 and continued till A.D. 1159. Alhanadeva, second son of Asaraja, helped Kumarapala in his war against Saurashtra, and probably in recognition of this service he obtained from the latter Kiratakupa (Kiradu, Mallani), Latahrada, and Siva before A.D. 1152. He got back the throne of Nadol through the favour of Kumarapala some time between A D. 1159 and 1161. Alhanadeva’s kingdom extended on the north up to Mandor, north of Jodhpur. About this time Vigraharaja IV of Ajmer plundered Na<Jol.

Alhanadeva had four sons, Kelhana, Gajasiihha, KIrttipala, and Vijayasiihha. He was succeeded by Kelhana, the dates of whose inscriptions extend from A.D. 1163 to 1192. Some time after A.D. 1178 Kelhana declared independence. He was assisted in his royal business by his brother KIrttipala, also known as Kitu, and the two brothers, in alliance with the Chaulukyas, repulsed at Kasahrada an attack of Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad Ghurl who plundered Na$ol in A.D. 1178. KIrttipala conquered Mewar by defeating the Guhila Samantasimha, but was driven out of that country by Samantasirhha’s brother Kumarasimha. He also defeated Asala of Kiratakupa, the vassal of Chaulukya Bhlma II, and wrested Jabalipura from the Paramaras. KIrttipala’s successors, known as Sonigaras, ruled in Jabalipura or Jalor for more than a century, Kelhana repulsed an attack of the Yadava Bhillama, and was succeeded by his son Jayataslha before A.D. 1194. During Jayataslha’s reign Qutb-ud-dln invaded the kingdom of Nadol in A.D. 1197. Maharaja Samantasimha, who was ruling in Godwar and over a part of the Sirohi State from A.D. 1199 to 1201, might have dethroned him or might have been his legitimate successor. Dr. Bhandarkar’s identification of this Samantasimha with the Guhila king of the same name is untenable on chronological ground. Dhamdhaladeva, son of one VIsadhavaladeva of the Chahamana family, ruled Godwar as a vassal under the Chaulukya Bhlma II from c. A.D. 1209 to 1226. The Chaulukyas were superseded there by the Chahamana Udayasimha of Jalor, and Godwar remained under the rule of the Chahamanas even in the fourteenth century.

4. The Chahamanas of Jabalipura (Jalor)

It has been noticed above that KIrttipala of Nadol is the founder of the Sonigara branch of the Chahamanas at Jalor. The name Sonigara is the contraction of the name Suvarnagiri, a hill-fort at Jalor. KIrttipala was succeeded by his son Samarasiihha, who issued inscriptions in A.D. 1182. Samarasimha had two sons, Manavasimha alias Mahanasimha, and Udayasimha, and one daughter LiladevI, who was married to the Chaulukya Bhima II. After Samarasimha, Udavasimha ruled at Jalor. Manavasimha, whose successors constituted the Devada branch, is not known to have occupied the throne of his father. Udayasimha, whose inscriptions bear dates extending from A.D. 1205 to 1249, asserted his supremacy over Naddula, Jabalipura. Manclavyapura, Vagbhatameru, Surachanda, Ratahrada, Kheda, Ramasainya, Srimala, Ratnapura, and Satyapura. Mandavyapura is Mandor, Vagbhatameru is Barmer, Surachanda is Surachand, Ratahrada is Raddhuda in Mallani, Kheda is in Mallani, Ramasainya is Ramsen, Srimala is Bhinmal, Ratnapura is Ratanpur, and Satyapura is Sanchor. Udayasimha’s kingdom thus extended from Mandor to Sanchor and from Mallani to Godwar. He reconquered Nadol after A.D. 1226 from the Chaulukya Bhima II, and defeated the Chahamana Sindhuraja of Lata. Iltutmish invested the fort of Jalor between A.D. 1211 and 1216. Udayasimha, who capitulated after a strenuous resistance, was allowed to rule his territory by the Sultan. Some time later, while Iltutmish advanced against Gujarat counting upon the support of Udayasimha, the latter joined the Gujarat army, and helped the Vaghela Viradhavala in repulsing the Muslims. According to some Jain writers of Gujarat, Udayasimha gave his daughter in marriage to the Vaghela Vlramadeva. He was a man of learning and mastered the works of Bharata, i.e. Bharatiya

Natya-sastra. He was succeeded, before A.D. 1262, by his son Chachiga who claims to have destroyed the power of the Vaghela Vlramadeva and defeated some princes named Salya, Patuka, Sahga, and Nahara. Chachiga was succeeded by Samantasimha between A-D. 1277 and 1282, and the latter by his son Kanhada after A.D. 1296. In A.D. 1310-1311, ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl defeated and killed Kanhada and his son Vlrama, and captured Jalor and Sanchor.

5. The Chahamanas of Satyapura (Sanchor) and Devada

Vijayasimha, son of king Alhana of Nadol, was the founder of the Satyapura (Sanchor in Jodhpur) branch. He was followed in succession by Padmasimha, Sobhita, and Salha, all of whom were feudatories of the Chahamanas of Jalor. Salha claims to have liberated Bhinmal from the hands of the Muslims, and probably wrested it from ‘Ala-ud-dln or his successor after A.D. 1310-11, when the southern part of Jodhpur was occupied by the Muslim army. Salha was succeeded by Vikramasimha, Sarhgramasimha and Pratapasiriiha (A.D. 1387) one after the other.

The Devada branch of the Chahamanas was founded by Vijada also known as Devaraja, the son of Pratapa, and grandson of Manava

simha, who was the son of Samarasirhha of Jalor. The name Devada is said to have been derived from Devaraja. Vijada-Devaraja is referred to as the lord of Marusthali-mandala. He had four sons, the eldest of whom, Luniga (Lavanyakarna), succeeded his father, and conquered Mt. Abu from the Solankis (Vaghelas) with the help of his brothers. His successor was his younger brother Luntiga (Lundha), who is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1315 and 1320. Luntiga was succeeded by Luniga’s son Tejasirhha (A.D. 1330, 1336), who was succeeded by his son Kanhadadeva in A.D. 1337.

XIV. THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR

After the termination of the reign of the Guhila Saktikumara in the closing years of the tenth century 26 his son Ambaprasada ascended the throne of Medapata or Mewar. From this time Aghata, modern Ahar, in Udaipur, served as the second capital of this dynasty. Ambaprasada lost his life in a battle with the Chahamana Vakpati II of Sakambhari. After Ambaprasada the throne of Medapata was occupied by Suchivarman, Naravarman, Anantavarman, Kirttivarman alias Yasovarman, Yogaraja, Vairata, Hamsapala, Vairisimha, Vijayasimha, Arisimha, Chodasimha, Vikramasimha, and Ranasimha alias Karna. Of them Vijayasimha, whose father-in law was the Paramara Udayaditya and whose son-in-lav/ was the Kalachuri Gayakarna, is definitely known to have been ruling in A.D. 1108 and 1116. Karna had three sons, Mahana, Kshemasimha, and Rahapa. The successors of Kshemasimha were known as Raval or Rajakula, and the successors of Rahapa, wmo ruled as vassals of the Ravals at Sisoda, were known as Ranas. Karna was succeeded by Kshemasimha, whose son and successor Samantasimha is known to have been ruling in Mewar in A.D. 1171. The Chaulukya Kumarapala was in possession of Chitor in A.D. 1151, but it is not certain whether he could bring the Guhilas of Medapata under his sway. Kumarapala’s successor Ajayapala invaded that country but received a severe wound in a battle with Samantasimha, and the Paramara Prahladana of Mt. Abu saved the Chaulukya king from disaster on that occasion. Shortly after this battle Kirttipala, the younger brother of Kelhana of Nadol, took possession of Medapata by defeating Samantasimha, who thereafter ruled only over a part of the Jodhpur State. Kirttipala was driven out from Mewar by Kumarasirhha, younger brother of Samantasimha who, with the help of the Gurjara king, established himself at Aghata. The Gurjara king might have been Ajayapala or Mularaja II. Kumarasimha occupied Mewar before A D. 1182 and was followed in succession bv Mathanasimha, Padmasimha, and Jaitrasimha.

The Guhilas of Mewar gained a high political status during the reign of Jaitrasimha whose known dates range between A.D. 1213 and 1252. Chitrakuta, modern Chitor in Udaipur, is known for the first time to have been included in the Guhila kingdom during his reign. In the early part of his reign the Muslims under Sultan Iitutmish overran Mewar and destroyed the Guhila capital Nagahrada. Jayatala, who was obviously Jaitrasimha, king of Mewar, suffered a heavy loss of men and property on that occasion. But on receipt of the news that the Vaghela Viradhavala was advancing with his forces to render assistance to Jaitrasimha the Muslim army withdrew.

Jaitrasimha plundered Nadol where his adversary seems to have been the Chahamana Udayasimha of Jalor. He invaded the territory of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, and one of his generals lost his life in a battle while capturing Kottadaka from the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapala. He was ultimately repulsed by the Vaghela Visaiadeva. Madana, son of Jaitrasimha’s officer Kshema, fought on behalf of Jesala with the Pafichalagudika Jaitramalla on the battlefield of Utthunaka, which is identified with Arthuna, the capital of Vagada. Jesala may be taken as identical with Jaitrasimha, who was also known as Jayasimha. Jaitramalla is identified with the Paramara Jaitugideva of Malava but he seems to have been a chief of the Guhila dynasty of Vagada. Jaitrasimha fought successfully with a king of Sakambharl, who may be identified with a Chahamana king of Ranthambhor. The Sindhuka army, which he defeated, cannot be identified.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasiihha, who is known to have occupied the throne of Aghata before A.D. 1260. An inscription of his reign, which refers to Chitrakuta-mahadurga, has been found at Chitor. This is the earliest known epigraphic record of the Guhilas of Mewar found at Chitor. Tejasiihha was succeeded by his son Samarasimha between A.D. 1267 and 1273. Samarasimha’s inscriptions, which bear dates ranging between A.D. 1273 and 1301, prove that his kingdom extended from Chitor to Mt. Abu. He wrested Mt. Abu from the Paramara Krishnaraja, but could not hold it for long as Krishnaraja’s son Pratapasimha reconquered it with the help of the Vaghela Sarangadeva between A D. 1285 and 1287. Some time before A.D. 1285, while the Turushkas, apparently under Sultan Balban, overran Gujarat, Samarasimha helped the Vaghela Sarangadeva in routing the Muslims, but in the closing years of the thirteenth century, when Ulugh Khan, the brother of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji, was marching against Gujarat, Samarasimha saved his country from devastation by paying homage to the Muslim general. Samarasirhha was succeeded by his son Ratnasimha, one of whose known dates is A.D. 1302. Ratnasimha met with a severe catastrophe after a rule of a couple of years. ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji, desiring to assert his supremacy over India, invaded Chitor and pitched his camp on the bank of a river in the vicinity of that place. Ratnasimha resisted the Muslims for two months. He had a daughter named Padmini, who was married to the Guhila Lakshmanasirhha of the Sisodiya branch. Lakshmanasirhha, along with his sons Arisimha and others, came to help Ratnasimha in that perilous war. Ratnasimha, despairing of his success, stealthily got out of his fort without consulting his relatives and lieutenants, flowed down the river, reached the Sultan's camp, and ignominiously surrendered to him. The Sultan put him under restraint and made a vigorous attack on the fort. Lakshmanasimha and his sons lost their lives in their endeavour to defend the citadel, while the relatives of Ratnasimha, along with Padmini, fled to the hilly tracts. 'Ala-ud-din made a triumphant march into the fort of Chitor in A.D. 1303, posted there his son Khizr Khan, and returned to Delhi along with the captive king Ratnasimha. He expressed his willingness to release the Guhila monarch if he agreed to make an arrangement for the surrender of his daughter Padmini. 27 The proposal was communicated to his relations by Ratnasimha and the Guhilas utilised this opportunity to effect the release of Ratnasimha by a device. The conquest of Chitor, which was only an outlying fortress in the Guhila kingdom, did not make 'Ala-ud-din the master of Nagahrada and Aghata, which served as capitals of the Guhilas at least up to the time of Samarasirhha. After his release Ratnasimha carried on depredations in the territories around the fort of Chitor, and the Sultan did not think it safe to keep Khizr Khan there any longer. He recalled him, and handed the fort over to his ally Maladeva, younger brother of the Chahamana Kanhadadeva, and the sister's son of Ratnasimha. Maladeva ruled Chitor for seven years as a vassal under 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. Nothing more is known of Ratnasimha.

It has been noticed above that the Sisodiya branch of the Guhilas was founded by Rahapa, the son of Ratnasimha alias Kama. The Ekalingaji inscription, dated A.D. 1652, mentions that Rahapa's successors were Narapati, Dinakara, Jasakarna, Nagapala, Karnapala, Bhuvanasimha, Bhimasirhha, Jayasimha, Lakhanasimha, Arasi (Arisimha), Hammira, etc. An inscription of Rana Kumbhakarna, dated A D. 1439, states that Jajasirhha was the son of Bhuvanasimha, and Lakshmanasirhha had two sons, Ajayasimha and Arisimha. The gallant fight of Bhuvanasimha, Lakshmanasirhha, and Arisimha, against ‘Ala-ud-din for the defence of Chitor has already

been noted above. Hammira overthrew Jeso, the son and successor of Maladeva, and established the supremacy of the Sisodiyas over Chitor some time after the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq.

XV. THE PUNJAB UNDER THE YAMiNl DYNASTY

The great conqueror Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni died in A.D. 1030, leaving behind three sons, Muhammad, Mas‘ud I, and ‘Abd-urRashld. Muhammad and Mas‘ud were born on the same day. Mahmud expressed his desire that after his death Muhammad would be the ruler of Ghazni and the country of Hind, and Mas‘ud would receive Khurasan, ‘Iraq, and Persia. As soon as Mahmud died the nobles of the court placed Muhammad on the throne of Ghazni. Mas‘ud, who was at ‘Iraq about this time, marched towards Ghazni and defeated his brother, who had been on the throne only for seven months. Muhammad was blinded and thrown into prison by Mas‘ud, who ascended the throne of Ghazni in A.D. 1031. Ariyaruq, who was appointed governor of the Punjab by Sultan Mahmud, still held that post, but his tyrannical and oppressive actions led Mas‘ud to call him back. Though he avoided his presence by excuses for some time, he was imprisoned and subsequently put to death. Mas‘ud then appointed Ahmad Niyaltigin governor of the Punjab. Niyaltigin, after assuming his office, began to quarrel with Abu-’l-Hasan, ‘the Shirazi Qazi’ who was in charge of the revenue administration of the Punjab. Both submitted complaints to the Sultan charging each other with serious offence. Mas‘ud supported Niyaltigin, asking the Qazi to limit his sphere of work to the collection of revenue. Being thus secured in his position, Niyaltigin launched expeditions against the Indian chiefs. In A.D. 1034 he exacted tribute from the Thakurs, crossed the Ganga, and following its left bank quite unexpectedly arrived at the city of Banaras, which was within the kingdom of Gang, i.e. the Kalachuri Gangeyadeva. He plundered the markets of the drapers, perfumers, and jewellers from morning till mid-day, and returned to the Punjab with a large amount of gold, silver and jewels. The Qazi, who was very much dejected at this success of his rival, sent a report to the Sultan that Niyaltigin deposited only a portion of the riches which he had obtained as tributes from the Thakurs and also by plundering Banaras. The Sultan also received letters from independent sources mentioning Niyaltigin's association with the Turkomans and numerous turbulent chiefs of Lahore. All these alienated the Sultan from Niyaltigin, and he sent a force under the command of a Hindu named Tilak against him. Tilak reached Lahore and defeated Niyaltigin in a severe engagement. Niyaltigin

fled away but was killed by the Jats, while Tilak returned to the royal court after settling the affairs of the country. In A.D. 1036 Mas'ud sent his second son Majdud as the governor of the Punjab and next year organised a big army to fight for the expansion of his empire in Hindustan. In vain did his advisers try to persuade him to give up the project in view of the fact that the Saljuqs were threatening to conquer the northern part of his empire. The Sultan marched to the Punjab and encamped on the bank of the Jhelum near Dinarkotah. Thence he went to Hansi, in the Hissar District, Punjab, and invested the fort. After a strenuous fight Hansi fell into his hands. He then marched to Sonpat and defeated its governor Dipal Har. From Sonpat he advanced towards the kingdom of Ram Rai, who saved himself from molestation by offering him valuable presents.

Mas'ud had very soon to pay the penalty for wasting his resources in Hindustan. In A.D. 1040, being hard pressed by the Saljuqs, he left Ghazni and proceeded towards Hindustan with his family, including his blind brother Muhammad, and treasure. On his way, in the pass of Marigala, his Turkish and Hindu slaves revolted, took him prisoner, and declared Muhammad as king. In the same year Mas'ud was slain in the fort of Girl.

On receipt of these news, Mas'ud's son Maudud, who was at Balkh, hastened to Ghazni, ascended the throne, and marched towards India to punish his uncle. Muhammad had enjoyed royal position only for four months. He confronted his nephew at Nangrahar between the Sindhu and Ghazni, but fell a captive in the battle along with some of his sons. All of them were soon put to death, and Maudud returned to Ghazni. Muhammad the blind had appointed his younger son Nami governor of Peshawar and Multan. Maudud despatched an army against Nami, who lost his life in the engagement. Maudud's brother Majdud, who was appointed the governor of the Punjab by Mas'ud and was then in the possession of the country from

Hansi to the Sindhu, refused allegiance to him. So the Sultan sent an army against him from Ghazni. Majdud also marched from his residence at Hansi to resist his brother’s army and reached Lahore, where Maudud’s forces arrived a day or two later. The two armies were preparing for the final battle, when one morning Majdud was found dead on his bed. The next day his vizier Khwaza Ayaz was also found dead. It was suspected that they were secretly poisoned. Majdud’s army now joined Maudud, and the Punjab easily passed into the hands of the latter.

Though Maudud succeeded in asserting his supremacy over the Punjab, his position at Ghazni was made miserable by the successive attacks of the Saljuqs. The situation became worse when, in A.D. 1043, some Indian chiefs formed a confederacy under the leadership of the Raja of Delhi to put an end to the Muslim rule in the Punjab. They wrested HansI, Thaneswar and other places from governors who were posted there by Maudud. After capturing Nagarkot they marched to Lahore and invested it for seven months. The Muslims, in despair, sallied forth from the fort and attacked the invading army which, being taken unawares, took to flight. The Indian chiefs retained their hold over Nagarkot, HansI and other conquered places for some time. The Raja of Delhi, who led the confederacy, was obviously a chief of the Tomara dynasty. The Paramara Bhoja, the Kalachuri Karna, and the Chahamana Anahilla were probably among those who formed the confederacy.[28]

After the death of Maudud in A.D. 1049 some of the royal servants placed Maudud’s young son Mas‘ud II on the throne. But after a few days the ministers and the nobles deposed the young boy and declared his uncle ‘All Abu-’l-Hasan, son of Mas‘ud I, as king. During the reign of ‘All, in A.D. 1049, an officer named ‘All bin Rubia broke open the treasury, secured a heavy amount of gold and jewels, and fled to Peshawar with some household troops. There he raised an army from the natives and reduced Multan and Sindh. In A.D. 1051 Sultan ‘All was dethroned by Tzz-ud-daulah ‘Abd-ur-Rashld, the sixth son of Sultan Mahmud, who was released from prison after a long confinement. The new Sultan succeeded in persuading ‘All bin Rubia to come back to Ghazni, and appointed Nushtigln

Hajib the governor of the country to the east of the Sindhu. NushtL gin captured Nagarkot, which had been in the possession of the Hindus since A.D. 1043. ‘Abd-ur-Rashld was dethroned and murdered by Tughril Hajib, a slave of Sultan Mahmud, who declared himself king of Ghazni in A.D. 1052-53. Tughril was on the throne for forty days only. He asked Nushtigln to owe allegiance to him, but Nushtigln refused to obey his order, marched to Ghazni, and took an active part along with the nobles in destroying his power. He placed Farrukhzad, a son of Mas‘ud I, on the throne in A.D. 1052 and himself became his vizier. The new Sultan ruled till A.D. 1059, and was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, another son of Mas‘ud I.

Ibrahim led many expeditions against Indian chiefs, and conquered Tabarhindah (modern Sirhind), Buria (modern Burya on the Yamuna in Ambala), Dhangan, Jalandhar, Ajudhan (modern Pak Pattan), and Rupal on the summit of a hill, and reduced the fort of Darah, in the neighbourhood of Rupal. In A.D. 1075 he appointed his son Mahmud governor of the Punjab. Mahmud led an expedition into the heart of India, and conquered Agra by defeating its chief Jaipal. Kanauj, which was ruled by a Rashtrakuta family, passed into his hands, and he engaged Chand Rai, apparently Chandradeva of the Gahadavala dynasty, to look after his elephant forces there. He next invaded Ujjain, but was repulsed by the Paramara Lakshmadeva. He also invested the fort of Kalanjara, which was then ruled by the Chandella Kirttivarman. Mahmud’s expeditions against the Indian chiefs were nothing more than plundering raids.

Ibrahim was succeeded by his son ‘Ala-ud-Daulah Mas‘ud III in A.D. 1099. During the reign of Mas‘ud III Amir ‘Uzd-ud-Daulah was in charge of the government of the Punjab. Hajib Tughatigin, an officer under the Sultan, crossed the Ganga and carried on conquest in Hindustan. Malhi, the king of Kanauj, who was in all probability the Gahadavala Madanachandra, was taken prisoner by the Sultan’s army. Madanachandra’s son Govindachandra defeated the Muslims, and secured the release of his father. In A.D. 1099 Mas‘ud conferred the sovereignty of Ghur on Malik Tzz-ud-dln Husain, who kept on terms of friendship with the Sultans of Ghazni. This proves that the ShansabanI chiefs of Ghur still acknowledged the supremacy of the

Sultans of Ghazni. But during this time the Saljuqs deprived the Ghaznavids of a large portion of their kingdom, and Lahore virtually became the seat of the royal family.

Mas‘ud was succeeded by his son Kamal-ud-Daulah Shlrzad in A.D. 1115. Shlrzad ruled only for a year and was succeeded by his brother Arsalan ‘Abd-ul-Malik. Arsalan, after his accession, imprisoned all his brothers except his step-brother Bahrain, who succeeded in escaping to his maternal uncle Sultan San jar Saljuq, in Khurasan. Arsalan also treated Bahrain’s mother with indignity. Sanjar took up the cause of his nephew and invaded Ghazni. Arsalan, being defeated, fled to Lahore, and Sanjar, having placed Bahram on the throne, retired to his own dominion. But as soon as he withdrew from Ghazni Arsalan came back and wrested it from Bahram, who again took shelter with his uncle. In A.D. 1118 Bahram, with an army supplied by his uncle, captured Ghazni. Arsalan, who was taken prisoner, was released, but shortly afterwards he was put to death for conspiring against Bahram.

Bahram led an expedition to the Punjab, and forced Muhammad Bahllm, who was appointed governor of that country by Arsalan, to acknowledge him as his master. After the departure of the Sultan, Bahllm shifted with his family and treasure to Nagaur where he built a fort, and declared independence. He organised an army and plundered the adjoining territories of the Indian princes. Sultan Bahram marched against the rebel and defeated him in a battle at Multan. Bahllm and his sons died of an accident while fleeing for safety. Bahram handed over the charge of the administration of the Punjab to Salar Husain, son of Ibrahim Alvi. In the latter part of his reign Bahram came into conflict with the ShansabanI princes of Ghur, who acknowledged the supremacy of his predecessors. Qutbud-din Muhammad, Malik-ul-jibal of this family, quarrelled with his brothers and withdrew to Ghazni. Bahram had him killed by poison on receipt of the news that he was plotting against him. This led to the outbreak of hostility between the Mahmud! family and the Shansabanls, which lasted for a long time and brought about disaster on the former. Qutb-ud-din’s younger brother Saif-ud-din, king of Ghur, in order to avenge the death of his brother, marched against Bahram, defeated him, and captured the throne of Ghazni. Bahram fled to Lahore, and Saif-ud-din established himself at Ghazni, being the first Sultan of his family to rule there. He placed his brother Baha-ud-din Sam in charge of Ghur, and sent there the major portion of his army at the approach of winter. As soon as the cold set in, and the roads and passes from Ghur to Ghazni were blocked by snow, Bahram came back from Hindustan and conquered Ghazni in A.D. 1149. Saif-ud-din was treated with indignity and then cruelly murdered. On receipt of this news Baha-ud-din Sam marched from Ghur with a large body of soldiers to punish Bahram. But as soon as he reached the district of Kidan he fell ill and died. When the news of Baha-ud-dln’s death reached Ghur his brother ‘Ala-ud-dln Husain, whom he had left in charge of administration there, rallied his forces and lost no time in leading an expedition against Bahram. He defeated his adversary in three successive engagements and forced him to flee to Hindustan. He took the city of Ghazni by storm, carried on arson and plunder there for seven days and nights, and completely destroyed the magnificent city. For this work of destruction he was known in history as “Jahansuz,” “the world-burner.” After pillaging the edifices and palaces of the Mahmudi dynasty in the city of Bust, ‘Ala-ud-dln returned to Ghur. Shortly afterwards, when ‘Ala-ud-dln was engaged in a battle with Sultan San jar Saljuq, Bahram recovered Ghazni. He died in A.D. 1152, and was succeeded by his son Khusrav Shah, during whose reign the larger portion of the empire of the Mahmudi dynasty passed into the hands of the Sultans of Ghur. Shortly after A.D. 1157 Khusrav Shah was driven out of Ghazni by the Ghuzz (Turks), and Ghazni was lost to the Mahmudi dynasty for ever. Khusrav Shah proceeded to Lahore where he ruled till A.D. 1160. He was succeeded by his son Khusrav Malik during whose reign the governors and the chiefs under him assumed almost independent powers. About this time there was a change in the government at Ghur. Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dln Husain, “the world-burner,” had put into prison his two nephews Shams-ud-din Muhammad and Shihab-ud-dln Muhammad, sons of Baha-ud-din Sam. £ Ala-ud-din’s son and successor Saif-ud-din released them. After the death of Saif-ud-din, Shams-ud-dm, under the name of Ghiyas-ud-din, ascended the throne of Ghur. Ghiyas-ud-din wrested Ghazni from the Ghuzz in A.D.

1173, and placed on its throne his brother Shihabud-dln Muhammad, who was known as Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad after his success in Khurasan. Mu £ izz-ud-dln Muhammad made incursions against Hindustan every year, and in A.D. 1181 reached the gate of Lahore. Khusrav Malik concluded a treaty with him, and surrendered as a hostage one of his sons, whom Firishta mentions as Malik Shah. In 1184 Muhzz-ud-din Muhammad again invaded Lahore but, having failed to capture it, ravaged the neighbouring districts. On his way back he captured the fort of Sialkot, and posted there Husain, son of Khar-mll. As soon as he left Hindustan Khusrav Malik invaded Sialkot, but met with failure. In 1186 Mu £ izz-ud-dln Muhammad, for the third time, led an army against Lahore. Khusrav Malik got frightened and sued for peace. As he came out of the fort to settle the terms of the treaty, Muhzz-ud-dln seized him and captured Lahore. Thus the rule of the Yamini dynasty came to an end. Khusrav Malik, along with his son Bahram, was sent to the Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad at Flruzkuh. In A.D. 1192 when Ghiyas-ud-din and Mu £ izz-ud-din were involved in a quarrel with Sultan Shah Jalal-ud-dln Mahmud of Khvarazm, Khusrav Malik and his son Bahram were put to death in order to avoid future trouble.

XVI. KASHMIR 1. First Lohara Dynasty

The Lohara dynasty came to power in Kashmir in the early years of the eleventh century. 29 Samgramaraja, the first king of the dynasty, sent his minister Tunga to help the Shahi Trilochanapala against Mahmud of Ghazni. Mahmud led several expeditions to conquer Lohara during his reign, but failed to achieve his end. Samgramaraja was succeeded in A.D. 1028 by his son Hariraja, who died after a rule of 21 days and was succeeded by his younger brother Ananta. Vigraharaja, the elder brother of Samgramaraja, advanced with his army to dethrone his nephew, but lost his life in the engagement. Ananta put down the revolt of the Damaras and repulsed an attack of the Darads. His queen Suryamati, a princess of Jalandhara, helped him in the administration of his kingdom. Being thus relieved of the burden of looking into the affairs of the state he devoted his energy to launching expeditions against his neighbours. He overthrew Sala, also known as Salavahana, the ruler of Champa (Chamba), and placed his own nominee on its throne. He asserted his supremacy over Darvabhisara, Trigarta, and Bhartula, but his invasions against the hill states of Urasa and Vallapura met with failure. In A.D. 1063 he abdicated in favour of his worthless son Kalasa under the influence of his queen. . Very soon they realised their error and resumed the royal power, though they allowed their incompetent son to occupy the throne. About this time the Lohara king Kshitiraja, son of Vigraharaja, and cousin of Ananta, bestowed his sovereignty upon the young Utkarsha, the second son of king Kalasa, to prevent his rebel son Bhuvanaraja from succeeding him. Ananta forced the chiefs of Rajapuri and the neighbouring states to pay him tribute, but when he was thus acquiring new fortunes, the licentious habits of Kalasa greatly marred his domestic happiness. He could not keep him under restraint due to the intervention of Suryamatl, who had a weakness for her son, and so in disgust he left Srlnagara, and settled at the Tlrtha of Vijayesvara in A.D. 1079, taking with him his troops and treasure. The queen also accompanied him there, but the quarrel between the father and the son continued for some time. Ananta tried to place Harsha, son of Kalasa, on the throne, but Kalasa crippled his father's power considerably by setting fire to the town of Vijayesvara and destroying a part of his treasure. He also pressed him for going into exile at Parnotsa. In order to get rid of all these diffiulties Ananta committed suicide in A.D. 1081, and Suryamatl also followed him to the funeral pyre. The death of his parents brought about a change in the mind of Kalasa for the better. He made up his difference with his son Harsha, and carried on administration with success. He sent his army twice to assist the young king of Rajapuri, named Samgramapala, against his uncle Madanapala, who was trying to usurp the throne. Madanapala was ultimately taken prisoner to Kashmir. Kalasa's general conquered Urasa and, after crossing the Krishna (Kishanganga) river, raided Abhaya's kingdom. In A.D. 1087 the rulers of eight hill states, viz. Kirtti of Baddhapura (?), Asata of Champa (Chamba), Kalasa of Vallapura, Samgramapala of Rajapuri, Utkarsha of Lohara, Sangata (?) of Urasa, Gambhirasiha of Kanda, and Uttamaraja of Kashthavata assembled in his capital. Though Kalasa's foreign policy met with conspicuous success, he could not close his reign in peace. His son Harsha gave him so much trouble that he had to put him into prison, though reluctantly. To make matters worse he again indulged in debauchery which he had given up after the death of his parents. Immediately before his death in A.D. 1089, his ministers brought his son Utkarsha from Lohara and inaugurated him as king. Utkarsha took stringent measures to keep Harsha under restraint.

Within a few days after his accession Utkarsha alienated his ministers by his injudicious acts. *His step-brother Vijayamalla revolted and attacked the royal palace. In order to secure the support of Harsha he released him, but Harsha joined Vijayamalla, captured the throne for himself, and took Utkarsha prisoner. Utkarsha committed suicide in his captivity.

Harsha’s character was a strange admixture of virtue and vice. He displayed energy and activity in the early part of his reign and brought prosperity to his kingdom. Vijayamalla, who fled to the country of the Darads (Darad-desa) after his failure to obtain the throne, led an expedition against Kashmir, but was accidentally killed by an avalanche. Harsha, with the help of his commander Kandarpa, succeeded in maintaining his hold over Lohara, and in subjugating Samgramapala, ruler of Rajapurl, who had turned hostile. But he soon lost the valuable support of Kandarpa by suspecting his loyalty, for Kandarpa, along with his family, retired to Banaras. In order to replenish the exchequer Harsha plundered the properties of temples and imposed various taxes on his subjects. He also became addicted to debauchery, and the state of things degenerated to an alarming extent. Harsha led an expedition against the chief of Rajapurl, who again became hostile, but met with failure. Similar result followed w T hen he tried to capture from the Darads the fort of Dugdhaghata, modern Dudakhut, which guards the pass leading to the Darad territory of the Kishanganga valley. On this occasion two brothers Uchchala and Sussala, who belonged to a collateral branch of the Lohara dynasty, attracted his attention by their bravery. A serious situation developed when, in A.D. 1099, the country was visited by a devastating famine and the king still levied oppressive taxes. Uchchala and Sussala fled for their lives from the capital in A.D. 1100 as the king suspected them to be the rivals of his son Bhoja for the throne. Shortly afterwards the two brothers, with the help of the Damaras, forced their way into the capital and burnt the royal palace. The king took shelter in a hut below Srinagara where he received the news of the treacherous murder of his son Bhoja. He himself lost his life in an encounter with the enemies in A-D. 1101. He was a man of learning and a patron of poets. He introduced the system of wearing head-dress and ear-ornament among the Kashmirians.

2. Second Lohara Dynasty

Uchchala, who now ascended the throne, is regarded as the founder of the second Lohara dynasty. He was descended from Kantiraja, an uncle of Samgramaraja, the founder of the first Lohara dynasty in Kashmir. He tried to appease his ambitious brother by

making him an independent king of Lohara. This did not satisfy Sussala, who led an expedition against him from Lohara, which, however, met with failure. Uchchala condemned to death Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja and grandson of king Harsha, apprehending that his royal position might be challenged by him. Bhikshachara saved his life by taking refuge with the Paramara Naravarman of Malava. About this time the birth of Sussala's son Jayasimha brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers. The rise of the Damaras, a class of barons, became a source of danger to Uchchala and a menace to the Kashmirian politics of this period. In A.D. 1111 Uchchala lost his life at the hands of the city-prefect named Chudda, whose brother Radda occupied the throne for a night only. He was killed by a powerful Damara of Lohara named Gargachandra, who set up Salhana, a half-brother of Uchchala, on the throne. Gargachandra also repulsed an attack of Sussala who, at the news of the death of his brother, rushed with his army to capture the throne of Kashmir. Not long afterwards, Gargachandra, finding that Salhana was friendly to his rivals, formed an alliance with Sussala who easily captured the capital and took Salhana prisoner in A.D. 1112.

After his accession Sussala could not keep on friendly terms with Gargachandra. After a protracted quarrel he put Gargachandra and his three sons to death in A.D. 1118. He dethroned Somapala, the ruler of Rajapuri, and placed Nagapala on the throne. But as soon as he left Rajapuri Nagapala lost his throne. In A.D. 1120 Bhikshachara, who had returned from Malava and had been intriguing for the throne for some time, defeated Sussala with the help of the Damaras, and declared himself king. Sussala fled to the fort of Lohara. In A.D. 1121 he inflicted a crushing defeat on Bhikshachara's army which was advancing to conquer Lohara, and within a short time succeeded in recovering the throne of Kashmir. Bhiksha chara retired to the village Pushyananada, which was within the territory of Somapala of Rajapuri. Sussala could not destroy the power of the Damaras, who led successive invasions against him. The situation was aggravated by a devastating fire in the city, which was followed by a famine. The death of the queen about this time added to the misery of the king, who in disgust brought his son Jayasimha from Lohara and abdicated in his favour in A.D. 1123. But Jayasimha soon fell into the disfavour of his father, who retained his hold over the main business of the state and looked for an opportunity to put him in prison. In A.D. 1128 Sussala fell victim to a conspiracy and lost his life.

Jayasimha won over the powerful reactionary forces to his side by his diplomatic skill. In A.D. 1130 he succeeded in putting to

death Bhikshachara, who made frequent attacks to regain the throne of Kashmir. Sussala's half-brother Lothana revolted in Lohara and Jayasimha's army, sent against it, met with disaster. In A.D. 1131 Lothana was deposed by his own partisans. Mallarjuna, a halfbrother of Jayasimha, then occupied the throne, but in A.D. 1132 Jayasirhha wrested Lohara from him. He deposed king Vikramaditya of Vallapura and placed Gulhana on its throne. Yasodhara, king of the Darad country, was friendly to the kings of Kashmir. After his death two rival factions fought for the throne. Jayasimha, in order to maintain his supremacy over that country, took up the cause of one of them. But Viddasiha, the leader of the opposite party, who usurped the whole power, frustrated his object. He also encouraged Lothana, the deposed ruler of Lohara, to renew hostility against Jayasimha. Lothana formed alliance with Alamkarachakra, a powerful Damara of Karnaha, Vigraharaja, a half-brother of Javasimha, and Bhoja, a son of the king Salhana, and advanced against Kashmir, but Jayasimha besieged them in the fort of Slrahsila. Bhoja managed to escape from the fort, while Alamkarachakra purchased peace by surrendering Lothana and Vigraharaja to the royal army. Bhoja surrendered after making a futile attempt to defeat Jayasimha with the help of Viddasiha of the Darad country and some Mlechchha chiefs of the upper Sindhu valley. Javasimha put down all the refractory Damaras and ruled his kingdom in peace during the remaining part of his life. He crowned his minor son Gulhana as a king of Lohara and was in friendly relation with some kings of India. The Gahadavala Govindachandra sent his ambassador Suhala to his court, which was also visited by Tejakantha, the ambassador of the Silahara Aparaditya of Konkana. Jayasimha ruled up to A.D. 1155, 30

Jayasimha was followed on the throne by his son Paramanuka (A.D. 1155-1165) and his grandson Vantideva (A.D. 1165-1172) one after the other. Vantideva was the last king of the dynasty.

3. Advent of the Muslim Rule

After the close of Vantideva’s reign the people elected one Vuppadeva as their king. Vuppadeva was succeeded in A.D. 1181 by his brother Jassaka, and the latter by his son Jagadeva, in A.D. 1199. Jagadeva was poisoned by one of his officers in A.D. 1213, and a rival faction placed his son Rajadeva on the throne. Baladhyachandra, the chief of Lohara, defied the authority of Rajadeva and occupied half of §rlnagara. Rajadeva was succeeded in A.D. 1236 by his son Sarhgramadeva during whose reign the sons and relations of Kalhana assumed great power. They forced him to take refuge with the ruler of Rajapurl, and though some time afterwards the king recovered his power, he was killed by his enemies. He was succeeded in A.D. 1252 by his son Ramadeva, and the latter by the Brahmana Lakshmadeva, whom he adopted as his son, in A.D. 1273. A Muslim named Kajjala killed Lakshmadeva in a battle in A.D. 1286 after which anarchy broke out in Kashmir. One Simhadeva succeeded in establishing his authority but lost his life in a love intrigue. In A.D. 1301 his brother Suhadeva asserted his supremacy over the whole of Kashmir, but during his reign the kingdom was overtaken by a severe calamity. Dulucha, a general of a great king Karmasena, overran Kashmir with an army of 60,000 men consisting of the Tajikas, Turushkas, and the Mlechchhas. The situation became worse when just at this time a Tibetan named Rinchana plundered the capital. Dulucha, being afraid of the excessive cold of Kashmir, left the country, taking with him a large number of Kashmirians as slaves. Suhadeva, who showed abject cowardice all along, seems to have lost his life in A. D. 1320. According to Ain-i-Akbart Dalju (Dulucha) was the commander-in-chief of the king of Kandahar. One Ramachandra, probably a relation of the deceased king Suhadeva, fought with Rinchana, but was treacherously murdered by his adversary. Rinchana, who assumed the royal power, fell victim to a conspiracy, and died in A.D. 1323. His young son Haidara was deposed by his officer Sahamera, a Muslim, who placed Udayanadeva, a relative of his master, on the throne. After the death of Udayanadeva in A.D. 1338 Sahamera, under the name Shams-ud-din, seized the throne of Kashmir where his successors ruled for a long time.

1. Vol. IV, p. 54.

2. IV. 47.

3. See above, p. 25.

4. See above, p. 25.

5. See above, p. 29.

6. See above, p. 33.

6a. IHQ, XXX. 211-2.

6b. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar there was no king named Kesavasena, but Suryasena, a son of Visvarupasena, occupied the throne for some time during the lifetime of his father (IHQ, XXX. 216-7). This theory, however, rests on a very weak basis.

7. Vol. IV, p. 61.

8. Vol. IV, p. 59.

9. The account of this dynasty is based on Panchobh C. P. (JBORS, V. 5S2 ff).

10. Vol. IV, p. 38.

11. Author’s History of the ParamJara Dynasty, 100-101; El, I. 235, V. 19; the Kalachuri Karna raided Kira or Kangra Valley in which was siiuated Nagarkot, an outlying fortress within the kingdom of the Yamlnls of Ghazni.

12. HIED, IV. 518 ff; Author's "The Historical Value of Dlwan-i-Salman," Islamic Culture , October, 1942, Vol. XVI, 424 ff; Author's History of the Paramdra Dynasty, 156 ff.

13. HIED, IV. 518 ff; Islamic Culture , October, 1942, p. 424.

14. Islamic Culture, October, 1942, p. 426; I A, XVIII. 18.

15. See above, p. 50.

16. See above, p. 33.

17. See above, pp. 50-51.

18. Vol. IV, p. 38.

19. Vol. IV, pp 95 ff.

20. Brigg's Firishta, I, 118; Author's History of the Paramara Dynasty, 101.

21. Author's 'Early History of the Gahadavala Dynasty' in Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 533 ff.

22. An inscription from Atru, in the Kotah State, belongs to the reign of king Jayasimha. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who first noticed it, read its date as 14 and referred it to the Siriiha era which would make it equivalent to A.D. 1127. Subsequently he changed his view and restored the date as (13)14, which, referred to the Vikrama era, corresponds to A.D. 1257. If the latter view proves to be correct the inscription is to be referred to the reign of the Paramara Jayasimha II, who will have to be identified with the Paramara Jayavarman II.

23 Vol. IV, p. 94.

24. See p. 63.

25. Vol. IV, pp. 106 ff.

26. Vol. IV, pp. 109-10.

26. Vol. IV, pp. 108-9.

27. Amir Khusrav does not state anything about ‘Ala-ud-din’s relation with the Guhilas after his conquest of Chitor. He does not also mention anything about Padminl. Firishta pursues the narrative and introduces the PadminI episode which is also referred to by other later sources. Amir Khusrav’s silence on the incidents relating to Padminl has led some scholars to suggest that the entire episode is a myth (cf. e.g. G. H. Ojha, History of Rajputana: K. R. Quanungo, Prabdsi , a Bengali monthly, 1337 B. S. Falgun; R. R. Haider, IA, LIX, 235). It does not, however, carry conviction as it is based on negative evidence. Firishta’s statement that ‘Ala-ud-dln conquered Jalor finds support in contemporary Sanskrit literature, though Amir Khusrav is silent about it. It does not follow from this that ‘Ala-ud-din’s conquest of Jalor is a myth. As a matter of fact Firishta’s account of this matter may be taken as a supplement to that of Amir Khusrav. Prof. Habib thinks that there is an indirect reference to Padminl in Amir Khusrav’s book (JIH , 1929, p. 369 f: IHQ, VII, 287 f).

28. Brigg’s Firishta, I. 118. Author’s History of the Paramara Dynasty, p. 101; El, n. 11, 15; IX. p. 75, v. 17.

29. Vol. IV, p. 121.

30. The Rajatarangini, from which we derive the detailed information of Kashmir, closes with the reign of this king, and relates the history of Kashmir only up to A.D. 1148-49. For the subsequent history that follows we are indebted to Jonaraja’s supplementary work which continues the narrative from that year and is known as Dvitiya Rajatarangini.

CHAPTER III

THE AGE OF PRITHVIRAJA III

The Chahamana Somesvara, as noted in the preceding chapter, lived in the court of Gujarat in the early part of his life. He married there Karpuradevi, the daughter of Achalaraja of the Haihaya dynasty of Tripuri, who gave birth to a son named Prithvlraja. In the opinion of some writers the astronomical data in the Prithviraja-vijaya indicate that the birth of the prince took place in A.D. 1166. But the correctness of this conclusion may reasonably be doubted. The Prithviraja-vijaya relates that Karpuradevi's second son Hariraja was younger to Prithvlraja at least by one year and eight months, and that both were born during the lifetime of king Vigraharaja IV. The last known date of Vigraharaja IV is V.S. 1220. He was succeeded by Apara-Gangeya, who was again followed on the throne by Prithvlraja II. The earliest known date of Prithvlraja IPs reign is V.S. 1224. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the reign of Vigraharaja IV was over some time before V.S. 1224, and Prithvlraja was born prior to V S. 1223 (=A.D. 1166). As the prince is known to have been a minor in A.D. 1177 his birth may be dated some time between A.D. 1162 and 1165.

In A.D. 1168-9 Somesvara went along with his queen and two sons to the Sapadalaksha country from Gujarat, and ascended his paternal throne. During the reign of Somesvara, Prithvlraja was properly educated in letters and military science. Somesvara died in c. A.D. 1177 when Prithvlraja was still a minor, and his mother Karpuradevi acted as the regent. At this time Kadambavasa served him as the chief minister of the State. He is said to have "guarded the six virtues of Prithvlraja and sent the imperial armies in all directions to add to the glory of his sovereign." Karpuradevi appointed as the commander of the army Bhuvanaikamalla, who was a scion of her father's family of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. Prithviraja-vijaya states that "as Rama and Lakshmana suffered trouble owing to Meghanada's sarpapasa (serpent noose) and Garuda eventually saved them from the pasa (noose), so, in this birth, Bhuvanaikamalla, the incarnation of Garuda, ever served Rama and Lakshmana (Prithvlraja and Hariraja) loyally." The enemies who proved dangerous to the safety of these two Chahamana princes were evidently the Nagas, whom Bhuvanaikamalla is said to have exterminated. The country of these Nagas cannot

now be definitely identified. During the regency Ajayameru or Ajmer became very prosperous. The city was densely populated, and it was beautified by many gardens, parks, and wells. The period of regency does not seem to have covered more than a year as Prithvlraja appears to have assumed the charge of the government in A.D. 1178.

The Prithvirajci-vijaya refers to Prithviraja's forthcoming marriage with a princess of extraordinary beauty. But as the manuscript of this book is incomplete, further details of the marriage and the name of the bride are not known. The PrithvTraj Raso of Chand Bardal, a work of a very late period, states that Prithvlraja had a number of queens, the eldest of whom was Ichchhanldevl, the daughter of the Paramara Jaita, king of Mt. Abu. The name of another queen is given as Sasivrata, the daughter of Bhana of the Yadava dynasty, king of Devagiri. But the throne of Mt. Abu was occupied by the Paramara Dharavarsha at this time, and no king of the name Bhana is known to have ruled in Devagiri during this period. The youngest of Prithviraja's queens, according to Raso, is Samyogita, the daughter of the Gahadavala Jayachandra of Kanauj. The story runs that Samyogita entertained a keen desire to become the consort of Prithvlraja when she heard of his prowess. As her father Jayachandra was a hereditary enemy of Prithvlraja, she had to keep her desire secret. She, however, carried on correspondence with the Chahamana king without the knowledge of her father. Jayachandra called an assembly of the princes at Kanauj for the selection of a bridegroom by his daughter. In order to humiliate Prithvlraja he did not send him any invitation on that occasion, but placed his statue at the entrance of the hall in the position of a door-keeper. In the assembly Samyogita did not choose any of the attending princes as her husband, but moved to the door, and, to the surprise of all garlanded the statue of the Chahamana king. Prithvlraja, who was hiding nearby with his attendants, rushed to the spot and rode off with the princess. The army of Jayachandra, which pursued them, was strongly opposed by the followers of the Chahamana king. Prithvlraja, safely reached his capital and married the

Gahadavala princess. This marriage is said to have taken place in the interval betkeen the first and second battles of Tarain. The details given by Raso in connection with the above marriage are so improbable and romantic that the authenticity of the whole story may reasonably be doubted.

Besides Kadambavasa and Bhuvanaikamalla, Prithvlraja had a number of other officers of great ability. Sodha was the minister of peace and war to king Somesvara. He had two sons Skanda and Vamana, who were given the posts of the chief councillors of Prithviraja. In addition to this the Chahamana king conferred on Skanda the post of the commander of the army, and entrusted Vamana with the post of the minister of peace and war. Udayaraja, a resident of the Gauda country, was another military officer, and Somesvara, another minister of Prithvlraja.

After his assumption of the charge of the government, Prithvlraja found himself confronted with grave dangers. In A.D. 1178 Shihab-ud-din Muhammad, also known as Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad, marched towards Gujarat by way of Multan, Uch, and the tractless desert. At this time he sent a diplomatic agent to the court of Prithvlraja at Ajmer for negotiation, as he learnt that the latter was bitterly hostile to the Muslims. The details of the representations made by him cannot be known, as the relevant pages of the Prithviraja-vijaya are missing. Subsequent incidents, however, show that his mission to establish an alliance with the Chahamana king miserably failed. Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad reached Kiradu, near Barmer, in Marwar, in A.D. 1178, and plundered the temple of Somesvara there. He then took possession of Nadol (Naddula), the capital of a collateral branch of the Chahamanas. When the news of the fall of Nadol reached Ajmer, Prithvlraja resolved to crush the invaders, but refrained from taking any hasty action on the advice of his minister Kadambavasa, who deemed it wise to allow the enemy to exhaust himself by fighting with the Gurjaras. Just about this time a messenger from Gujarat came to Ajmer and informed Prithvlraja that the king of Gujarat had utterly routed the Muslim invaders. This obviously refers to Mu‘izz-uddin Muhammad’s defeat at the hands of the Chaulukya Mularaja II at Kasahrada at the foot of Mt. Abu. Prithvlraja was greatly delighted at this news and handsomely rewarded the messenger. He also showered high praises on Kadambavasa for the valuable advice he gave in that critical moment.

During this period Prithvlraja had to fight with his own cousin named Nagarjuna, the son of his uncle Vigraharaja IV. The young age of the king seems to have encouraged Nagarjuna to raise the standard of revolt. He captured a city named Gudapura, which cannot now be identified, and established himself there. Prithvlraja left behind Kadambavasa and Bhuvanaikamalla, and himself marched against the rebel. He besieged the city of Gudapura wherefrom Nagarjuna fled like an abject coward. The army of Nagarjuna resisted him for some time under the leadership of Devabhata (?), apparently a lieutenant of Nagarjuna, but all the chief

combatants lost their lives in the encounter. Gudapura was occupied by Prithvlraja, who took the mother, wife, and the attendants of Nagarjuna prisoners. He then proceeded to Ajayameru along with the captives, and is said to have hung the severed heads of his enemies on the gates of the fort of that city. This he did probably to serve as a deterrent to Nagarjuna and his surviving associates.

Some time before A.D. 1182 Prithvlraja invaded the country of the Bhadanakas, which cannot be identified but probably comprised the modern Rewari Tahsil , Bhiwani and its adjoining villages, and a part of the old Alwar State. The chief of the Bhadanakas resisted the Chahamana king with his powerful elephants but was severely defeated.

The Kharataragachchha-pattavali of Jinapala states that Prithviraja went out for digvijaya (conquering of the quarters) in A.D. 1182, but does not mention the names of the countries which were invaded by the Chahamana king. It is known from other sources that in this year Prithvlraja led an army against Jejakabhukti or the modern Bundelkhand. The tradition relates that the Chandella Paramardi, also known as Paramal, king of Jejakabhukti, had two able generals named Alha and Udal, sons of Jasaraja of the Banafar clan. The king grew suspicious of the loyalty of these two brothers on the report of a designing man, and dismissed them. Thereafter the two generals left Jejakabhukti and accepted service under the king Jayachandra of Kanauj. Shortly afterwards Prithvlraja invaded Jejakabhukti, forcibly captured Sirswa on the Pahuj, a tributary of the Sind, and reached the border of Mahoba. At this Paramardi got frightened and sent a messenger to Kanauj to bring Alha and Udal. The two brothers at first refused to leave Kanauj, remembering the ill-treatment they received from Paramardi. Subsequently their love for their motherland triumphed over every other consideration, and they returned to Mahoba. In the battle that ensued they fought bravely and sacrificed their lives. Prithvlraja defeated Paramardi and plundered Mahoba and Kalanjara. The authenticity of this story, as narrated by the bard, cannot be verified. But that there was a conflict between Prithvlraja and Paramardi is known from reliable sources. Merutunga, in his Prabandha-chintamani, makes a confusion between Paramardi, who is identical with the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI of the Deccan, and the king of this name of the Chandella dynasty. He associates Paramardi with Siddharaja-Jayasimha in one place, and connects him with Prithvlraja of the Sapadalaksha country elsewhere. Paramardi in the latter reference is evidently the Chandella king of

this name. It is stated that this king entered into a war with Prithviraja, but his army was defeated and he fled to his capital. The Sarngadhara-paddhati also refers to this conflict. Madanpur is a village 35 miles south-south-east of Lalitpur. Some stone inscriptions found there in a temple of Siva state that Prithviraja, son of Somesvara of the Chahamana family, devastated Jejakabhukti in A D. 1182. All these leave no doubt that Prithviraja defeated ParamardI in a battle and plundered the Chandella kingdom in A.D. 1182. The Chahamanas could not, however, maintain their control over Jejakabhukti for a long time. Two inscriptions from Kalanjara and Mahoba prove that the Chandellas were in possession of them in A.D. 1183.

Prithviraja entered into a war with the Chaulukya Bhima

II of Gujarat, whose kingdom extended up to Kiradu and

Nadol in southern Marwar. The Chahamanas of Nadol and the • •

Paramaras of Mt. Abu were vassals of the Chaulukyas. The Prithvimja-vijaya states that Kadambavasa advised Prithviraja not to involve himself in a war with Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad, pointing out to him that it would be to the advantage of the Chahamanas if the Muslims and the Chaulukyas, both of whom wanted to assert their supremacy over Sakambhari, exhausted themselves by fighting with each other. This shows that the relation between the Chaulukyas and the Chahamanas was inimical from the very beginning of Prithviraja's reign. Shortly before A.D. 1187 Prithviraja launched a campaign against the kingdom of Gujarat. The Paramara Dharavarsha and Jagaddeva Pratlhara, the prime minister of Bhima II, opposed his advance. Dharavarsha claims that he repulsed a night attack of Prithviraja, the king of the Jahgala-desa. The Jahgala-desa comprised Bikaner and the northern part of Jodhpur. Its capital was Ahichchhatrapura or Nagapura, modern Nagaur, in the old Jodhpur State. Jagaddeva Pratlhara also is stated to have won a victory over Prithviraja. But the result of the battle was not very much unfavourable to the Chahamana king. Bhima II ultimately concluded a treaty with his adversary, which he tried to observe with meticulous care. In A.D. 1187 some people from the Chahamana kingdom visited Gujarat with some valuable articles. The Dandanayaka Abhayada sent a messenger to Jagaddeva Pratlhara seeking his permission to seize the property of these visitors. Jagaddeva Pratlhara is said to have replied that he had recently concluded a treaty with Prithviraja after taking a lot of trouble. "If Abhayada therefore laid his hands on the people of Sapadalaksha, he would have him sewn in the belly of a donkey." On the receipt of this peremptory order Abhayada treated the travellers with care, and allowed them to proceed to their destination.

All these wars waged by Prithvlraja against his neighbours do not seem to have resulted in any acquisition of territory. He inherited from his predecessors a kingdom which extended up to Hissar and Sirhind, in Patiala, on the north-west, and Delhi on the north. It was bounded on the south by the kingdom of the Guhilas of Mewar, and the territories of the Chahamanas of Nadol, who were vassals of the Chaulukya Bhima II; on the east by the kingdoms of the Yaduvariisls of Bayana-Sripatha, the Kachchhapaghatas of Gwalior, and the Gahadavalas of Kanauj; and on the north-west by the kingdom of the Yaminis of Lahore. Altogether six inscriptions of Prithviraja's reign have been discovered, with dates ranging between A.D. 1177 and 1188. The Kashmirian poet Jayanaka, the author of Prithvircija-vijaya, lived under the patronage of Prithvlraja. The Jain teacher Asadhara, the author of a large number of books, lived in

Sapadalaksha in the early part of his life. It is known from the Kharataragachchha-pattavail of Jinapala that the poets Vidyapati Gauda and Vagisvara Janardana visited the court of Prithvlraja III. Prithvlbhata served this king as the royal bard. Some silver and bullion coins issued by Prithvlraja have been found.

Prithyiraja could not enjoy his well established kingdom for many years. Mu‘izz-ud-din Muhammad of Ghur, who was replused by the Chaulukya Mularaja II near Mt. Abu in A.D. 1178, overthrew in A.D. 1186 Khusrav Malik, the last ruler of the Yamini dynasty of Ghazni, and strengthened his position by the annexation of the western Punjab. This brought the kingdom of the Maliks of Ghur up to the border of that of the Chahamanas. Mu‘izz-ud-din carried on successive .military excursions into the kingdom of the Chahamanas in the Punjab for some time. 1 He then made a bid for the conquest of Hindustan. He marched at the head of a well-organised army from Ghazni and reached Tabarhindah, 2 which was situated in the kingdom of Prithvlraja. Tabarhindah may be identified with Sirhind, in the old Patiala State. The Sultan took the fort by storm and placed it under the charge of Malik-Ziya-ud-din. Twelve hundred horsemen were posted there with adequate munitions of war. They were instructed to hold it for eight months until the Sultan returned from Ghazni. The advance of the Muslims as far as Sirhind caused great consternation into the minds of the feudatories of the Chahamanas in the west. Chandraraja, son of Govindaraja, the governor of Delhi, came to Ajmer along with other chiefs on deputation to Prithvlraja. Chandraraja reported to the king that a Muslim named Shihab-ud-din “had pillaged and burnt most of their cities, defiled their women, and reduced them altogether to a miserable plight. There is scarcely a moun

tain-pent valley in the country but is filled to suffocation with Rajputs who have fled thither for protection from his tyranny. The noblest of the Rajput families have disappeared before him, and he has now established his capital at Multan.” The chiefs of the west sought his assistance against this unrelenting enemy. Prithviraja was very much excited when he heard this woeful tale, and readily agreed to render all possible help. He set out with two hundred thousand horses and three thousand elephants to punish Mu‘izz-uddin Muhammad. Govindaraja of Delhi and many other Indian princes accompanied him. While making arrangement for departure from

Tabarhindah Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad received the news of the advance of Prithviraja against him. He met his enemy in the battlefield of Tarain, 14 miles from Thanesw T ar and 80 miles from Delhi, in A.D. 1190-91. When the battle was in progress, the right and the left wings of the Sultan's army broke down and fled. The central division also became very thin. At this time the Sultan was informed by one of his confidential attendants about the disintegration of his army, and was advised to retreat. He scornfully rejected the advice, unsheathed his sword, and along with the few soldiers still sticking to their posts rushed to attack the enemy. His movement suddenly caught the attention of Govindaraja, who forthwith drove his elephant towards him with all speed. The Sultan finding him in front darted a spear, which succeeded in breaking two of his teeth. Govindaraja in return threw a javelin which caused a deep wound in the Sultan's arm. The Sultan was about to fall from his horse in agony when a Khaljl soldier rushed to his rescue. The valiant warrior sprang on the horse with a lightning speed, gave him support with his arms, and took the horse out of the battlefield. The Sultan was carried to a place 40 miles off where he met his fleeing forces. After the departure of the Sultan there was disorder in the Muslim army in the battlefield and it was readily overpowered by the Chahamanas. Skanda, the general of Prithviraja, took a prominent part in this battle, and brought success to his master. According to Hammira-Mahakavya Prithviraja took Shihab-ud-dln captive in this battle but subsequently released him and allowed him to go back to Multan. This seems to be an exaggerated account of the victory of Prithviraja over the Muslims.

After his success in the battle of Tarain, Prithviraja marched with his army to Tabarhindah, and besieged the fort. The commander of the fort, Malik Ziya-ud-dln, defended his position for thirteen months and then capitulated. Prithviraja took possession of it and the supremacy of the Chahamanas was re-established in the Punjab.

In order to avenge himself of the defeat sustained at the hands of Prithvlraja, Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad organised at Ghazni, after a strenuous labour, an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men. He came with this force to Lahore via Peshawar and Multan. The Hammira-Mahakavya relates that the Sultan, in order to strengthen his forces, sought help from the king of the Ghataika country, who readily complied with the request by despatching many horses and men. The Ghataika country cannot be identified. About this time the Sultan sent an emissary named Rukn-ud-dln Hamzah to Ajmer with a proposal to Prithvlraja for embracing Islam and acknowledging his supremacy in order to avoid the dreadful consequence of the war. The Chahamana king treated the proposal with the contempt it deserved, and rallied his forces, which consisted of 300,000 horse, 3,000 elephants and a large body of infantry. Many Rajas of Hindustan helped him, and one hundred and fifty chiefs joined him with the determination of either defeating the Muslims or dying on the battlefield. The Hammira-Mahakavya’s report that Prithvlraja, elated with his former success, marched on this occasion with a small body of soldiers to meet the Muslims, does not seem to be correct. Skanda, the commander of the army, who brought success to Prithvlraja’s arms in the last battle with the Muslims, was engaged in a war elsewhere, and could not accompany the king. Another lieutenant named Udayaraja, who was to join him, delayed in starting from the capital. Govindaraja of Delhi joined him on the way. When Prithvlraja was advancing against his enemy, the minister Somesvara tried to persuade the king not to proceed further. The king suspected him of treachery, cut off his ears, and dismissed him. Somesvara turned a bitter enemy of the king and joined the Muslims. Prithvlraja, with his vast army, reached the battlefield of Tarain. Mu‘izz-ud~ din Muhammad, after conquering Tabarhindah, met him there. Prithvlraja sent a letter to him, requesting him to withdraw his army, being content with the possession of Tabarhindah and the Punjab. This gave the Sultan an opportunity to defeat his enemy by a stratagem. He replied that he could not retreat without the permission of his brother at whose command he led this invasion. He, however, agreed to a truce till he received instruction from his brother on this matter. The Chahamana army, relying on the assurances of the Sultan, went on merrymaking during the night. The Sultan instructed a batch of soldiers to keep the light in the camp burning in order to make a show before the enemy that the Muslims were encamped, and made preparation for a sudden attack. He marched with the main body of his soldiers throughout the night by a different route, forded the river before dawn, and attacked the rear of the enemy. A confusion broke out in the Chahamana army. But Prithvlraja skilfully brought out his cavalry and frustrated the attempt of the

Sultan, who returned discomfited to his camp. He now took recourse to a new artifice. He divided his army into five divisions, one consisting of 12,000 cavalry, and the remaining four of 10,000 light-armed horsemen each. These four smaller divisions carried on successive attacks on the Chahamanas on the right, left, front, and the rear from the morning onward. Each time the latter made counter-attacks on them with their elephants, cavalry, and infantry, they retreated, pretending flight. By the afternoon the Chahamanas got extremely tired, when the Sultan with the bigger division made a vigorous attack and completely overpowered them. One lakh of the Hindu soldiers lost their lives. Govindaraja, the chief of Delhi, fell fighting on the battlefield, and the Sultan recognised him through the absence of his two teeth which he had broken in the last engagement. In this predicament Prithvlraja got down from his elephant and, mounting a horse, fled away. He was overtaken by the Muslim army in the neighbourhood of SursutI, which seems to be identical with the Sarasvati, and was taken prisoner. This battle took place in A.D. 1192. After conquering HansI, SursutI, Kuhram or Guhram, and Samana, the Sultan marched towards Ajmer with the captive king, and took that city by assault. He demolished the temples there, and built mosques and Islamic colleges on their ruins. The captive Prithvlraja, who was granted immunity from punishment, made an intrigue against the Sultan. The conspiracy was detected and at the order of the Sultan Prithvlraja was executed.

The above account of the defeat and death of Prithvlraja at the hands of Mu‘izz-ud-dm Muhammad is based on the authority of the early and later Muslim historians. The Sanskrit sources also throw light on this subject. The Viruddhavidhi-viddhavamsa , a nearly contemporary authority, states that when Prithvlraja’s general Skanda “went to another battle, the king, whose intellect was shrouded by the vice of sleep, who, though alive, was as good as dead in battle, was slaughtered by the Turushkas.” The Prabandhachintamani relates that the minister Somesvara, who was dismissed by Prithvlraja, conducted the Muslims to the camp of the Chahamana king. At this time Prithvlraja was enjoying a deep sleep, and a severe encounter took place between the Muslims and the heroes of Prithvlraja’s vanguard. Prithvlraja was taken prisoner when he was still excessively drowsy. The king of the Muslims took the Chahamana king to the latter’s capital, and resolved to reinstate him on the throne. But the sight of a picture in the royal palace, depicting the Muslims as being killed by a drove of pigs, greatly infuriated him and he readily put Prithviraja to death.[3] It is difficult to take these accounts seriously.

Prithviraja was evidently a general of high order, but he lacked political foresight. It was a grave defect with the Indian chiefs that in their fight with the Muslims they always chose to be on the defensive. The result was that their adversaries, even when they were defeated, could escape annihilation if they could only withdraw from the battlefield. Prithviraja was not free from this drawback. At this time the rule of the Maliks of Ghur was not firmly established in the Punjab. Prithviraja ought to have pursued the disabled Sultan to the Punjab after his victory in the first battle of Tarain, and made an attempt to root out the Muslim rule there. His task would have been easy, as it was not possible for his opponents there to avail themselves of the service of their great leader. But far from doing this, and even without making any suitable arrangement for the defence of the fort of Tabarhindah, which guarded his north-western frontier, he retired to Ajmer, and the dreadful consequence followed.

The defeat of Prithviraja in the second battle of Tarain not only destroyed the imperial power of the Chahamanas, but also brought disaster on the whole of Hindustan. The morale of the ruling princes and the people completely broke down, and the entire country was seized with panic. Many of those who were accustomed to peaceful pursuits fled with their family and settled in the south. The Jain teacher Asadhara states that when Sapadalaksha was conquered by Shihab-ud-dln, he, for fear of being molested by the conquering armies, left his native country, and migrated with his family to Malava. This state of things obviously made it easier for Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad and his generals to establish a firm footing in the heart of Hindustan.

The Viruddhavidhi-viddhavamsa states that after the death of Prithviraja his general Skanda placed the king’s brother Hariraja on the throne of Sakambharl. The Hammira-Mahakavya relates that on the death of

Prithviraja his brother Hariraja performed his funeral ceremonies and then ascended the throne. Hasan Nizami, on the other hand, reports that after the execution of Prithviraja Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad placed the deceased king’s son on the throne. As Prithviraja was a minor in A.D. 1177 his son was apparently very young at this time. After settling the affairs at Ajmer the Sultan marched to Delhi and invested the fort. After a short resistance the son of Govindaraja and his lieutenants sur rendered and agreed to pay him tributes regularly. The Sultan left for Ghazni, posting an army in Delhi, and appointing his gene

ral Qutb-ud-din governor of Guhram and Sam ana. Shortly after wards Qutb-ud-din finally took possession of Delhi. But about this time he received a report, sent by Rukn-ud-din Hamzah from Ranthambhor, that Hiraj (Hariraja), the brother of the Rai of Ajmer, had gone into rebellion, and threatened to invade Ranthambhor. The son of Prithviraja was also living in Ajmer in a precarious condition. Qutb-ud-din forthwith marched towards Ranthambhor, and at his approach Hariraja fled away with his army. Qutb-uddin presented a robe of honour to the son of Prithviraja, and received from him immense wealth for the service of the State.

After Qutb-ud-din’s return to Delhi, Hariraja, with the help of the general Skanda, overthrew the son of Prithviraja and wielded the sovereignty of Ajmer. The Indian sources, referred to above, do not mention the events which happened between the fall of Prithviraja and the accession of Hariraja. A stone inscription of Hariraja’s reign, dated A.D. 1194 proves that he was in prossession of Ajmer in that year. He sent an army to the borders of Delhi, which oppressed the Muslims and plundered their property. This induced Qutb-ud-din to lead an invasion against him. Hariraja’s position in Ajmer was not very strong. He fell into disfavour of his subjects due to his licentious habits. Bhima II, the king of Gujarat, in order to be friendly with him, presented him some dancing girls. Hariraja was so much enamoured of their beauty that he spent day and night in their association, and squandered the revenue. When Qutb-ud-din invaded his kingdom, he was not prepared for resistance. He did not, however, choose to sacrifice his honour by surrendering to the enemy. He entered into the fort and died along with all the members of his family by ascending the funeral pile. Hariraja had no son. His followers, in despair, left Ajmer and took shelter under Govindaraja of Ranthambhor. Ajmer fell into the hands of Qutb-ud-din without any fight. Hasan Nizami fixes the date of this conquest of Ajmer by Qutb-ud-din in A.D. 1193. This is obviously an error as Hariraja, as has already been noted, was ruling in Ajmer in A.D. 1194, and Qutb-ud-din's conquest of Ajmer must, therefore, have taken place after this date. Qutb-ud-din settled the affairs in Ajmer, posting there a governor, and returned to Delhi. Thus the rule of the Imperial Chahamanas came to an end.

1. The account of the war between Prithviraja and Mu'izz-ud-dln Muhammad is found in the nearly contemporary works, viz. Viruddhavidhi-viddhavamsa, Jamiu-l Hikayat, Taj-ul-Ma'dsir, and Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, and later works, viz. Prabandha-chintamani, Hammira-Mahakavya, Firishta, Tabaqai-Akbaxi, etc.

2. Commenting on the name of the fort Tabarhindah Raverty observes that all the copies of the text have Tabarhindah or Tabarhind. Ta'rikh-i-Alfi, Zubdatut-Tawarikh, and BudaunI have Tarhindah. Budaun! says that it was the capital of Jaipal. The printed text of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, and many works of late date, viz. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Mir'at-i-Jahan-Numa, and Khulasat-utTawarikh-i-Hind says that Tabarhindah is now known by the name Bithandah (Raverty, Tabaqat-i-N asiri, p. 457, n). Some are inclined to identify the place with Bhatinda, in Patiala, and some again take it as identical with Sirhind, in the same State. As the distance of Bhatinda from Tarain is double that of Sirhind I am inclined to agree with the latter view.

3. The Hammira-Mahakavya narrates the final battle between Prithviraja and Mu'izz-ud-din in a different way. It states that Shihab-ud-dln (Mu'izz-ud-dln) succeeded in seducing Prithviraja's master of the horse and the royal musicians. As soon as the Muslims made an onslaught on the camps of the Chahamanas a confusion broke out. The master of the horse designedly supplied a horse named Natyarambha for the use of the king at this critical juncture. When the king mounted on it the musicians played on a tune favourite to him. Natyarambha started dancing, and the king, being attracted by the music, forgot the grave task he was to perform. Taking advantage of the king's indifference the Muslims made a severe attack on the Chahamanas. Prithviraja got down from his horse, and killed many

Muslims with his sword, but he soon fell a captive, and was taken to Delhi. When Udayaraja besieged the city for the release of his master, the Sultan, in order to avoid future trouble, threw the captive king into the fort. The king died there a few days after, and Udayaraja. in despair, rushed upon the Muslims and died fighting. The Hammira-Mahakavya's report goes against the testimony of Taj-ul-ma'asir.

CHAPTER IV

THE TURKISH CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA

1. THE MUSLIM STATES IN THE EAST

A brief reference has been made above, in Chapter II, to the part played by the Saljuq Turks and the Shansabanis of Ghur in bringing about the fall of the Ghaznavids. In order to understand more clearly the background of the events that followed and ultimately led to the Muslim conquest of India, it is necessary to review briefly the history of these and other Muslim states in the east in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A.D.

As noted above, Sultan Mahmud had to bear the brunt of ilak Khan's attack and to buy peace by allowing him to capture the rich plain north of the Oxus. But soon another and far more numerous horde, the Ghuzz Turks, rose into prominence. Starting from the Kirghiz steppes of Turkistan, their chieftain named Saljuq had settled in the region of Bukhara about the middle of the tenth century A.D. His grandsons, Chaghri Beg and Tughril Beg, rose to power by helping the Samanids against Ilak Khan. But soon after Mahmud's death they crossed the Oxus, conquered Merv and Nlshapur from the Ghaznavids, and brought under their sway the whole of Khurasan and northern Persia, the petty kingdoms of the land falling before them just as the Indian kings had succumbed before Mahmud. In A.D. 1054 Tughril marched against Baghdad, revived the dying Caliphate, and gave it a lease of life for another two centuries. The greatest service that the Saljuqs rendered to Islam was to re-unite middle Asia from Afghanistan to the Mediterranean under one political authority, which made it possible for the Muslims to check the progress, first of the Byzantine Emperors, and later of the Crusaders.

The next important event in the politics of Central Asia in this age was the rise of the house of Khvarazm Shah. Khvarazm (the modern Khiva) was bounded on the west by the Caspian, on the east by Bukhara and the Oxus, and on the south by Khurasan. It passed from the hands of the Samanids to the Ghaznavids, and from these to the Saljuqs. Ever since the Samanid days the governors of Khvarazm had enjoyed the title of Khvarazm Shah. In the last quarter of the eleventh century the Saljuq Sultan Malik

Shah appointed his cup-bearer Anushtegin governor of Khvarazm. Either he or his son Atsiz declared himself independent, and founded the dynasty of Khvarazm Shah, which was destined to play for a century the leading role in the history of Central Asia.

At this time there entered into the arena of Central Asiatic politics a new force, the Qara Khitai Turks, who moved westward owing to the pressure of the Mongols and Chinese from the East. These Turks were not Muslim. In A.D. 1141 their leader (known as Gur Khan or Universal Lord) inflicted a crushing defeat upon Sultan Sanjar and shattered the power of the Saljuqs beyond recovery. This left the field free for the Khvarazm Shahs to increase their power and possessions at the expense of the Saljuqs, and the Ghurids or Chiefs of Ghur to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the Ghaznavids. Thus the two great powers, the Saljuqs in Persia and the Ghaznavids in Afghanistan and Khurasan, were supplanted respectively by the Khvarazm Shahs and the Ghurids. At a later date ‘Ala-ud-din Khvarazm Shah (A.D. 1199-1220), the more powerful of the two, drove the Ghurids out of Khurasan, and the Qara Khitais back into China, and extended his sway from Persia to Bukhara and Samarqand. In A.D. 1214 he also drove out the Ghurids even from Ghazni and Afghanistan. But before we come to this period we shall deal in some detail with the ruling house of Ghur which laid the foundation of the Muslim empire in India.

2. THE GHURIDS

The Ghurids inhabited the region between Ghazni and Herat. Some writers think that they were Afghans, but most probably they were eastern Persians. With the decline of Ghaznavid Sultans they gradually asserted their power and finally the nephew of the “World-burner,” Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad, 1 ascended the throne of Ghur as Sultan in A.D. 1163. He drove the Ghuzz Turks from Ghazni and made his brother Shihab-ud-din Muhammad governor of that province in A.D. 1173. The latter, also called Mu‘izzud-dln Muhammad bin Sam, tried to emulate the exploits of Sultan Mahmud and led several expeditions against India.

The early expeditions of Muhammad were made through the Goma.1 Pass, west of Dera Ismail Khan, and not through the Khyber, because the former was the safer and shorter route. Consequently Multan and Uch, which were the first to fall on his way, were wrested from their Qaramitah chiefs in A.D. 1175. By A.D. 1182 the Sumra chief of lower Sindh was compelled to acknowledge Muhammad's suzerainty. So far the direction followed by Muhammad was correct. But when he attempted to cross the desert and penetrate

into Gujarat, forgetting the experience of Mahmud, he was acting against the dictates of geography. It would seem that some Turkish warriors had been frequently raiding the Rajput kingdoms from that quarter in the twelfth century, but all the attacks had been repulsed by the Gujarat rulers. Following this tradition Muhammad crossed the desert and reached the foot of Mt. Abu in A.D. 1178, with an exhausted and famished army. The Turkish army was beaten with great slaughter by the forces of Mularaja II, the Chaulukya king of Gujarat, 2 but Muhammad luckily managed to escape with the poor remnant of his ruined army. This reverse left no other course for him except that of entering India by the northern route and, consequently, of first wresting the Punjab from the Ghaznavids. Soon an opportunity offered itself. Chakradeo, the ruler of Jammu, invited the Ghuri Sultan to help him against Khusrav Malik, the Ghaznavid, as the latter was supporting the tribesmen, known as Khokars, who had rebelled against the authority of the Jammu chief. Muhammad accordingly invaded India. Peshawar was taken in A.D. 1178, Sialkot fell in A.D. 1185, and the following year Lahore was captured by treachery from Khusrav Malik, the last of the Ghaznavids, as has been described above.

Muhammad's fight with the Chahamana or Chauhan king Prithviraja, ending in the defeat and death of the latter in the second battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, has been described in the preceding chapter.

After this great victory Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad conquered Delhi, but, as noted above, Hindu chiefs were allowed to rule both in Ajmer and Delhi as tributary kings. He then occupied and garrisoned the military outposts of Hansi, Kuhram, Sursuti and Sirhind. After these brilliant victories

Muhammad returned to Ghazni, leaving his favourite general Malik Qutb-ud-dln Aibak with an army at Indarpat, about ten miles from Delhi.

3. QUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK’S CONQUESTS

Qutb-ud-dln Aibak had full powers to deal with the Hindu chiefs and to make further conquests. A Hindu chief having besieged the garrison at Hansi (A.D. 1192), Aibak at once rushed to its relief and defeated and slew the chief near Bagar. Then he captured and garrisoned Meerut and Baran (modern Bulandshahr) in the upper Doab, the latter place having fallen because of the treachery of Ajaipal, a relation of the Dhor chief, who was a vassal of the Gahadavalas. These two places served as military bases for operations in the east.

For consolidating the conquest it was necessary to settle at a central place. Indarpat being only a temporary camp. Aibak, therefore, drove away the Chauhan chief, who was suspected of hostile designs, from Delhi, and made it his capital early in A.D. 1193. Aibak had already occupied and garrisoned the mighty fort of Ranthambhor, but the Chahamanas, under the leadership of Hariraja, brother of the late Prithvlraja, recovered both Ajmer and Ranthambhor. Aibak immediately moved against them, and on his approach they withdrew. Meanwhile the dispossessed chief of Delhi again revolted, and Aibak had to go against him leaving Hariraja unsubdued. In the midst of all these preoccupations the Turkish general was called away by his master to Ghazni, probably to help him against the Khvarazmian menace, and was away for six months. It is surprising that this long absence of Aibak was not utilised by the Indian chiefs to make an effective combination to drive out the foreigners from the land and to prevent their future entry into it. A splendid opportunity was thus missed by them. There were only stray risings and revolts which were easily put down, and soon after the conqueror returned, he occupied the Doab as far as Kol (Aligarh) and garrisoned it.

(i) The Gahadavalas

All this happened within a year and Aibak had prepared the ground for another avalanche from Ghur. In A.D. 1193 Mu‘izz-uddln marched with fifty thousand cavalry against the Gahadavalas, and was met by

Jayachandra near Chandawar on the Yamuna, between Etawah and Kanauj. A hard contest followed, and Jayachandra had well nigh scored a victory, when he received a deadly wound from an arrow and fell. His force was thrown into confusion and the lucky invader turned it into a rout. An orgy of extensive and ruthless massacre, rapine, and pillage followed. Temples and shrines were razed to the ground and relieved of their fabulous treasures. Banaras and the fort of Asni which contained the treasury of the Gahadavalas were the first to be occupied. One thousand temples are said to have been destroyed at Banaras alone, and mosques raised in their places. This victory added extensive territory in Hindustan, as far east as Banaras and Chandravati, to the dominions of the conqueror. But, as noted above, the Gahadavalas recovered some of the territories. 3

(ii) Ajmer , Gujarat, Bay ana and Gwalior

Muhammad gathered the hoard of treasures and departed for Ghazni, leaving Aibak to deal with the affairs in India. Aibak had enough work on hand to keep him occupied. The Hindu chiefs

were far from being effectively subdued, and the country was seething with hostility and revolt. Kol was being besieged by Dhor Rajputs; Ajmer was invested by Hariraja again, and an army led by Jhat Rai, under Hariraja's direction, was proceeding to recapture Delhi. But Aibak, nothing daunted, proved equal to the task. Detaching a part of his force to guard the capital, he proceeded towards Ajmer and cut off Jhat Rai on the way. The latter fell back to Ajmer which was then closely besieged by Aibak, reducing Hariraja to such straits that he, finding escape impossible, burnt himself on a funeral pyre to save himself from the humiliation of defeat and captivity. Aibak then set aside his protege, the son of Prithviraja, and appointed one of his officers to govern it. Ajmer was thus annexed to the Delhi dominions in or shortly after A.D. 1194. It was at this time that Aibak erected the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque at Delhi from the materials of 27 Hindu or Jain temples which were demolished. This was followed about A.D. 1196 by the erection of another mosque, which came to be popularly known as Adhai-din-ka-Jhompda, at Ajmer on the site of the Sanskrit college of Visaladeva. This mosque was completed in A.D. 1200.

In A.D. 1195 Mu‘izz-ud-din returned to round off the conquest of Northern India by annexing the petty principalities of Bayana and Gwalior. The chief of Bayana, Kunwarpala, 4 evacuated his capital and entrenched himself in the neighbouring fort of Thangarh (Tahangarh), but surrendered after a short siege. The several strongholds and strategic outposts of the locality were then occupied and garrisoned, and the command of this frontier between Rajputana and Doab was entrusted to Baha-ud-din Tughril. The latter founded another military station, which he named Sultankot, to serve as a base of operations both in the east and the west. After this the Ghuri chief laid siege to the mighty fortress of Gwalior. This fort was not easy to subdue and the siege was prolonged. Therefore when the Parihar chief Sallakshana opened negotiations for peace, Muhammad welcomed the opportunity, raised the siege, and retired, leaving Tughril to complete the reduction of the fort. The latter then so harried the Parihar chief by his frequent forays for more than a year that he was compelled to surrender his fort which was thus annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

There was however no respite for Aibak. In A.D. 1195-6 the Mher tribes of Ajmer combined with the Chaulukyas to expel the Turks from Rajputana. Aibak had to rush to the help of the Turkish governor of Ajmer. Finding the Mhers camping near Ajmer he engaged them in a battle, but when the enemy were reinforced by the Chaulukya ruler’s army, Aibak was forced to withdraw into

the city. Here he was closely besieged and his position became very precarious. But the fortunate approach of reinforcements from Ghazni at this critical moment saved him. On the approach of this force the Rajputs raised the siege and retired.

. To avenge this attack Aibak early next year mustered a powerful army and advanced on Anahillapataka (Anhilwara). It seems that Bhima II of Gujarat, on the approach of Aibak’s force, retired to some distant fortress. But, as noted above, 6 Rai Karan, assisted by Dharavarsha Paramara of Abu, collected a huge army and awaited the Turks at the foot of the Abu hills. Aibak quailed before this enormous horde or perhaps he feigned fright, and resorted to shock tactics. When the Rajputs, thinking that Aibak was trying to avoid engagement, came out into the open, the Turks made a sudden onslaught. The superior manoeuvres and quicker movement triumphed over superior numbers, and the Rajputs met with a terrible reverse. Fifty thousand men are said to have been slain and twenty thousand taken captive. The Muslims mercilessly sacked the capital city Anahillapataka, defiled and demolished its temples, and plundered its palaces. According to Firishta a Muslim officer was placed in charge of Gujarat and Aibak returned to Delhi. But, shortly after, Bhima came out of his hiding place, and the Turks were gradually driven out of Gujarat. Some scholars suppose that it was due to the valour shown by Bhima II that the Turks did not venture to attack Gujarat for one full century. But the immunity of Gujarat from Turkish invasion was probably due mainly to its being situated at a long distance from the capital with the important territory of Rajputana intervening between the two. These obstacles were not easy to overcome for a general who was kept preoccupied with insurgence and revolt rampant in the country around the capital.

(in) Northern Dodb and Rajputana

In the following year the country beyond the Ganga, Katehr and Budaun (Badayun), was reduced to submission, and Chandawar and Kanauj had again to be captured. Some expeditions’ were also probably undertaken into Rajputana which compelled the Chahamanas (Chauhans) of Nadol to migrate to safer places. These Chauhan chieftains founded the houses of Kotah, Bundi and Sirohi. Nevertheless Aibak could not establish a firm and lasting foothold over Rajputana.

(iv) The Chandellas (Chandels)

The conquest of the northern Doab and the surrounding country being complete, it was now the turn of the next great kingdom which touched the south-eastern border of the Turkish dominions. This was the kingdom of the brave Chandellas of Jejakabhukti (modern Bundelkhand). Their kingdom extended as far as Kalpi and Asni in the north and beyond the line of the Yamuna in the east. Their country was rugged, full of ravines, and waterless, and they possessed a number of mighty forts perched on the summits of hills, the mightiest of these being

Kalanjara (Kalinjar) and Mahoba. The king of the Chandels at this time was Paramardi or Paramal (c. A.D. 1163-1203).

Border raids and hostilities had been going on between the Turks and Chandels ever since the former's occupation of the northern country. But the final attack by Aibak was made in A.D. 1202 Paramardi withdrew and shut himself in the fort of Kalinjar, which was besieged by Aibak. Cut off from contact with the outside world and deprived of the necessary supplies, Paramardi was constrained to sue for peace and offered to pay tribute. But before the terms of the treaty could be put into execution the Chandel ruler died, and his minister Ajayadeva, relying on a newly discovered supply of water, repudiated the treaty and decided to continue hostilities. He, too, however, could not resist long and retired to Ajayagarh fort, leaving Kalinjar, Mahoba and Khajuraho to the Turkish general. Hasan Arnal was entrusted with the government of this territory.

4. IKHTIYAR-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTYAR KHALJI

In their original design of conquest neither Mu'izz-ud-din nor Aibak had probably dreamt of penetrating beyond the Gahadvala dominions in the very first thrust. It was due to the sheer daredevil adventure of a reckless soldier that the eastern lands were also added to the dominion of the Turks.

Among the many free-lances who had come in the entourage of Muhammad Ghuri, was a daring adventurer named Ikhtiyar-uddin Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji. The handicap of an uncouth personal appearance stood in the way of his getting employment at Ghazni and Delhi. Nothing daunted by these disappointments, he at first took up a humble soldier's job under Hijabr-ud-din Hasan Adib of Budaun in A.D. 1193, and some time later, under Malik Hisam-ud-din Aghul Bak, who had established himself in Awadh. Here he was entrusted with the work of reconnoitring the adjacent territories and was assigned some villages for his upkeep. This afforded him an opportunity to give full play to his adventurous spirit. From his small income he got together a small contingent of adventurers and, about the year A.D. 1200, commenced raids on the

Magadha territory beyond the Karmanasa which was probably the western boundary of the Sena kingdom. It is surprising that he met with no opposition whatsoever by the Sena ruler who, indeed, seems to have taken no notice of these raids. Within a short time Bakhtyar amassed enough fortune from his plunders to build up a large force. Finding these districts utterly prostrate and incapable of any resistance, he was emboldened to push as far as the Vihara (monastic University town) of Odantapurl (Bihar) and, obtaining permission from Aibak, made a final attack upon that town. There were no soldiers to defend it. But some feeble resistance was offered by the helpless shaven headed §ramanas (Buddhist monks), who were taken by Bakhtyar to be Brahmin priests and were slaughtered.

After capturing Odantapuri Bakhtyar visited Aibak at Budaun and secured permission for further conquests, but on condition ol relying on his own resources without expecting any help from the chief. Within a year of the Bihar expedition Bakhtyar set out on his campaign against Nadiya. How he captured this city and conquered a large part of Bengal has been described above. 6

Nadiya was not occupied permanently; presumably on account of its strategic position it was not easy, and probably even dangerous, to hold it. Bakhtyar therefore sacked it and retreated to a safer place which he could also use as his military base for further operations. This place was Lakhnawatl (Lakshmanavatl), the northern capital of the Senas on the Ganga (near the site of Gaur, in District Malda). Bakhtyar’s phenomenal success in Bengal had fired him with the ambition of conquering even Tibet. He therefore marched with a large army, led by a Koch guide, presumably along the Brahmaputra, and arrived at a spot where there was a stone bridge across the river, leading into the hills. Here his guide took leave of him and, as the Khaljl warrior was about to proceed, he received a message from the king of Kamarupa (Assam) advising him to postpone his campaign till the following year when he would reinforce him. Bakhtyar paid no heed to this and plunged forward, reaching on the 16th day the open country of Tibet. Here he met with a tough resistance and heard that an army of 50,000 Turks was on its way to meet him. This report unnerved him and his forces, and he decided to beat a hasty retreat. Due to the hostility of the hillmen, it became a veritable rout, and much of the force was destroyed on the way. When he reached the bridge where he had crossed the river, he found that it had been demolished by an Assamese army, and he was forced to seek shelter in a neighbouring temple. But, on being besieged there, he dashed out with the remnant of his followers, and all desparately threw themselves into the river to ford or swim across it. The river was deep and the current very swift, so that most of his men were washed away. Bakhtyar managed to reach the shore with hardly a hundred men. Here his guide met him and conducted him back to Devakot. Crushed and broken by the weight of this disaster Bakhtyar sickened and rapidly sank until the merciful knife of one of his own lieutenants, ‘All Mardan, relieved him of all his troubles (c. A.D. 1206).

5. END OF THE GHURI DYNASTY

We may now revert to the last days of Mu‘izz-ud~dm Ghuri’s career. The Khvarazmian house constituted the greatest menace to the rise and expansion of the Ghurids. Instigated by the Caliph of Baghdad whom the Khvarazmian Takash had offended, and taking advantage of a civil war which had ensued on the death of Takash (A.D. 1200) between his son and grandson, the Ghurid princes occupied Khurasan and captured its important towns, Nishapur, Tus, and Merv, early in A.D. 1201. Their triumph was, however, shortlived. ‘Ala-ud-din, who eventually succeeded Takash, proved to be more than a match for the Ghurids. He soon recovered Nishapur and other Ghurid conquests including even Herat (A.D. 1201).

Ghiyas-ud-din, the elder brother of Mu‘izz-ud-din, died in A.D. 1202, and the latter ascended the throne of Ghur. The hostility with the Khvarazmians continued, and in A.D. 1205 Mu‘izz-ud-din sustained such a severe defeat at their hands at Andkhui that his military reputation and prestige in India suffered a fatal blow. The Khokars and other tribes in India rose in rebellion and defeated the governor of Multan. They also plundered Lahore and closed the road between that city and Ghazni. Mu‘izz-ud-din, bent upon taking revenge against the Khvarazmians, at first asked Aibak to deal with the outbreak, but was ultimately convinced by the seriousness of the situation that his presence was necessary. He accordingly left Ghazni on October 20, 1205, and within a month defeated the Khokars in a hotly contested battle between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers. The Khokars fought bravely from the morning to the afternoon, and were on the point of gaining victory, when the arrival of Aibak with the forces of Hindustan turned the tide against them. The Khokars were treated with ferocious cruelty. Large numbers were killed and taken prisoners, and a body of them, who took shelter in a dense jungle, perished miserably as the Muslims set the forest on fire. Mu‘izz-ud-dln reached Lahore on February 25, 1206, and after settling affairs there, proceeded towards Ghazni. On the way he was stabbed on March 15 in his tent at Damyak on the bank of the Sindhu river.

The identity of the assassins has not been satisfactorily established. Some hold that they were Khokars who had lately suffered so severely at his hands. But others believe that they were “fanatical Shiahs of the heretical Isma‘IlI Sect” who got possession of Khurasan and held it until they were crushed by Muhzz-ud-din in A.D. 1199.

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The body of Muhzz-ud-din was carried to Ghazni and buried there. But the Ghurid empire did not long survive him. His nephew and successor Mahmud had to acknowledge the Khvarazm Shah’s suzerainty, and after his death the bulk of the Ghuri empire passed under the sway of the Khvarazmians. For a short while Taj-ud-dln Yildiz, a slave of Mu‘zz-ud-din, managed to retain hold of Ghazni. With his expulsion in A.D. 1215, the Ghuri empire in Central Asia came to an end, and the Khvarazm Shah took the place of lords of Ghazni. The Indian conquests of the Ghurls, however, proved far more stable. The story of this empire will form the subject of the next chapter.

6. CAUSES OF THE COLLAPSE OF HINDU RULE

The astounding rapidity of the Turkish conquest constitutes an important problem for the students of Indian history. It is puzzling, nay almost baffling, to explain the almost complete collapse of Northern India, within an incredibly short time, before the onslaught of invaders whose power and resources were hardly equal to those of some of the bigger Hindu States, not to speak of a combination of them. It is natural that men should seek to solve the mystery and find out the real causes that lay behind the great political catastrophe that overwhelmed India. History would appear to be meaningless if facts of such outstanding importance cannot be viewed in their true perspective against a proper background. It is no wonder, therefore, that various speculations have been made and diverse solutions offered to the problem.

Certain general considerations must, however, be borne in mind, while we approach the question in a critical spirit. To begin with, we are not sure of the essential facts on which all theories must necessarily be based. The history of the Muslim conquest of India is known, almost in its entirety, from the chronicles written by the Muslims. Apart from a few incidental notices or brief allusions, the Hindu sources are silent on this great episode. But the picture of a victor, as painted by himself alone, can hardly be regarded as a reliable representation, or even an approximation to truth. The general outline may indeed be fairly correct, but it is impossible to accept, without question, those numerous details which colour the narrative and necessarily form the principal materials for our judgment. This is well illustrated by the current story about the conquests of Muhammad Bakhtyar, mentioned above.[7] On the face of it, it appears incredible that Lakshmanasena should not have taken adequate steps to defend his frontier against a probable, one might say a known, danger, or that his guards should have admitted, without question, the Turkish horsemen inside the capital city at a time when an invasion was apprehended at any moment. The extreme improbability of the situation almost necessarily implies that we have not the full story before us, and that if the defenders' version were known, much that appears incredible to-day would have appeared in a different light and we could have taken a more rational view of the whole situation.

So long, at least, as the main facts are not definitely established, it is idle to speculate on the causes that led to the debacle of the Hindus. It is equally unwarranted to attribute it solely to the social and religious peculiarities of the Hindus, for our ideas about them are also vague and indistinct, and based on no sure knowledge of facts. It is true that we have a mass of literature and other data on this subject, but it is difficult to explain their bearing on the social evolution in different parts of India at different periods of time.

We have thus to grapple with the great difficulty caused by the uncertainty in regard to facts—political, social and religious—which must form the essential data in any endeavour to probe the deeper cause underlying the broad fact of the Turkish conquest of India. This should make us pause in our laudable attempt towards a philosophical interpretation of historical facts, and turn our attention to the serious defects underlying all suggested solutions of the very interesting problem. In any case, we must moderate our zeal and fully realise that while it is incumbent on us to discuss the problem, any solution that we may offer at the present state of our knowledge cannot claim any scientific basis, far less, finality in character.

Subject to these natural limitations we may refer to some of the causes of the downfall of the Hindus that appear probable in the light of the available data. The foremost among these seem to be the iniquitous system of caste and the absence of contact with the outside world. The first resulted in a fragmentation of Indian society into mutually exclusive classes, among whom the privileged minority preserved their vested interests by depriving the masses of many civic rights, specially of education and of free intercourse and association on equal terms with their fellowmen, and further, by imposing on them the most irritating disabilities on the one hand, and a tremendous weight of innumerable duties and obligations towards the privileged classes on the other. And this evil led to another. It bred among the leaders of the Indian people a vain pride in isolationism and insularity and that attitude of arrogance which has been noticed by Al-BIrunl. “The Hindus”, says he, “believe that there is no country but theirs, no king like theirs, no science like theirs.... If they travelled and mixed with other nations they would soon change their mind.” Al-BIrunl also remarks that “their ancestors were not so narrow-minded as the present generation.” This spirit of exclusive superiority was created and maintained by a process of intellectual fraud, inasmuch as almost the entire literature of the period was utilised for this purpose and the masses were asked to follow it blindly in the name of the Holy Writ, to question whose authority was an unpardonable sin. It became thus a part of the Hindu dharma not to cross the seas or even the territorial limits of certain hallowed areas! This insularity contributed largely to the supineness of the Indian chiefs, and their utter lack of appreciation of the higher values of patriotism and national freedom in the context of India as a whole, apart from the narrow geographical regions in which they lived. Consequently they were unable to comprehend the far-reaching importance of, and the proper measures for, frontier defence, in view of the great political changes and evolution in military tactics which were taking place in the world outside.

The degraded level to which the majority were pushed down made them indifferent to country-wide dangers and kindred problems. This alone made possible the woeful situation that while the invaders swept across the country, the masses mostly remained inert. The people of the land, with a few exceptions, were indifferent to what was happening around them. Their voice had been hushed in silence by a religio-social tyranny. No public upheaval greets the foreigners, nor are any organised efforts made to stop their progress. Like a paralysed body, the Indian people helplessly look on, while the conqueror marches on their corpse. They look staggered, for a moment, only to sink back into a pitiable acquiescence to the inevitable to which they have been taught to submit.

Then, again, the false ideals of Kshatriya chivalry, taught them by their mentors, made the Rajput princes paralyse one another by perpetual internecine conflicts, and what was more fatal, made them oblivious of a broad national vision and patriotic sentiment.

This alone can explain why, or how, at a time when the country was threatened with a grave peril, the rulers of the land devoted the best part of their energies in mutual fighting. The enormous wealth of the country was spent in building and enriching the temples which they proved unable to protect, whereas the most appropriate use for these resources should have been to organise a common defence against the invaders, backed by a national effort. On the contrary it was the very fabulous wealth of these defenceless temples and sacred towns which invited the foreigners and contributed greatly to consequent disaster.

History had no meaning for the Hindu kings who presided over the destinies of this woe-stricken land. The repeated warnings of the past went unheeded. The onslaught began with the Arab conquest of Sindh in the eighth century when the Hindus got a foretaste of what might happen in the future. But it assumed formidable proportions under the lead of Mahmud at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century. The next century and a half witnessed a cessation of this onslaught, barring a few comparatively minor and irregular raids. But when the offensive was resumed by another Turk, even though he was far inferior to Mahmud, he found the victim as ready for slaughter as it was two centuries earlier. As noted above, it is passing strange that Prithviraja had not taken any adequate measure after his victory at Tarain to prevent the second invasion of Mu‘izz-ud-dln Ghurl. Nor is there any evidence to show that the great Sena king bestirred himself early enough to stop the marauding excursions of Muhammad Bakhtyar in Bihar and Bengal. While individual courage and bravery were certainly not wanting, there was lack of wisdom and statesmanship, of the knowledge of the outside world, and of a desire to keep abreast with the spirit of the time. No realistic adjustment, no far-sighted approach to the problem which had stared them in the face for centuries and threatened their very existence, no improvement in outlook, no elevation of political vision from their petty jealousies and parochial ideals, and consequently no preparation for a concerted defence commensurate with the extent of the danger—these were the conspicuous traits of the Hindu rulers and their priestly conscience-keepers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. National consciousness, love of country, and pride of freedom were smothered under the weight of a mass of rituals and social conventions, a petty-minded vanity, and narrow selfishness. Add to this the not infrequent cases of treason and treachery on the part of ministers and other officials, and we shall have a fairly complete picture. But whether it fully reveals the reasons of the collapse or not, one thing seems to be reasonable certain. The utter and precipitate prostration of such a vast and ancient land, endowed with resources far superior and greater to those of her invaders, can be the result mainly of internal decay and not merely of external attacks, which wore its effect rather than the cause. 8

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1. See above, pp. 96-7.

2. See above, p. 78.

3. See pp. 54-5.

4. See above, pp. 55-6.

5. See p. 79.

6. See pp. 39-40.

7. See p. 39.

8. Cf. ‘Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions’ by R. C. Majumdar in M. M. Potdat Commemoration Volume , pp. 341-51.

CHAPTER V

THE MAMLUK SULTANS OF DELHI 1

I. QUTB-UD-DiN AIBAK AND ILTUTMISH

The victories of Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad Ghurl, related in the last chapter, had only initiated a process whose completion, requiring sustained military direction, seemed foredoomed by the implications of his sudden death on the bank of the Sindhu. The Andkhul disaster 2 had robbed him of his Central Asian empire; his assassination at Damyak threatened Ghazni itself. For, the Khvarazm Shah was now free to extend his empire beyond the Hindu Kush and the annexation of the Ghur kingdom was only a question of time. Because of their affiliation with the doomed kingdom, the Indian provinces also lay exposed to the perennially unstable politics of Central Asia where, towards the east, stirrings of a yet another racemovement could already reach the discerning ear. Within India, the tide of Turkish conquest seemed to be turning. Even before Bakhtyar’s disastrous defeat in Assam, Kalanjara was reconquered by the Chandellas, while in the Doab, Gahadavala princelings held out in defiant independence. 3

A unified command in India, unhampered by considerations of trans-Indus politics, was urgently called for, but to achieve this was in itself a major task. For, Mu‘izz-ud-dln left no son but a band of slaves to claim his dominions. His nephew Ghiyas-ud-dln Mahmud, “a prince in whose disposition, conviviality, pleasure and jollity were dominant”, 4 was satisfied with his ancestral principality of Firozkoh and nursed no greater ambition than to be asked to manumit the bond-slaves of his family. Among these was the able and ambitious Taj-ud-dln Yildiz who, purporting to fulfil his master’s wish, possessed himself of Ghazni and so felt qualified to claim suzerain status. To this was opposed the ambitions of two of his coslaves, Nasir-ud-dln Qabacha and Qutb-ud-din Aibak, both holding extensive commands in India. The latter enjoyed an extra distinction as being placed in general charge of his master's Indian con^ quests and thus exercising de facto authority of a viceroy from Delhi.

Aibak's assumption of supreme power in Lahore, in June 1206, therefore, meant no formal change in the government, for he adopted no sovereign titles and issued no coin of his own. But the step implied severance of India's ties with Ghazni and so forestalled Yildiz's claims. In order to keep himself ready for the latter's enmity, Aibak mostly lived in Lahore, and the task of extending authority over the outlying areas could receive only his passing attention. Qabacha, in any case, could not be immediately interfered with in his sovereign authority over Sindh, nor could military action be resumed to arrest the revival of native powers in India. For, on the west the situation was changing fast. In A.D. 1208 the Khvarazm Shahi pressure forced Yildiz out of Ghazni, and as he sought shelter in the Punjab, Aibak, fearing an extension of Khvarazmi aggression to India, promptly drove him out an,d then moved to occupy Ghazni. The venture, however, failed, for the citizens secretly facilitated Yildiz's sudden return and Aibak had to beat a hurried retreat. 5

Except for a passing attention to the affairs of Lakhnawati where Khaljl lieutenants of the deceased Bakhtiyar had set up a clannish oligarchy and so had to be forced to admit Delhi's suzerainty, 6 Aibak remained preoccupied with the problem of preserving his government's separate entity and of establishing a political frontier. That, task was still unaccomplished when he died in A.D. 1210. But he had successfully initiated a State and outlined its foreign policy.

As an instrument of this State a dynastic leadership was, however, essential, and in* the circumstances a contest appeared the only means of stabilizing it. While his son, an untried youth named Aram, succeeded Aibak in Lahore, a more powerful faction at Delhi favoured his son-in-law, Iltutmish, lately the muqti (Governor) of Baran and an officer of proved ability and tact. The schism, though lasting not more than eight months and ending with the death of Aram while leading his forces on Delhi, intensified the immediate problems. Qabacha pushed to Multan and extended his hold over Lahore, Bhatinda, and even Sursutl; the Hindu feudatories showed increasing defiance, and Ranthambhor, originally placed under Prithvlraja's son, ceased to own vassalage; the Pratlharas, commonly known as Pariharas, reoccupied Gwalior; 7 and in Lakhnawati Aibak's nominee 'Ali Mardan declared independence. A more pressing danger came from the north-west where Yildiz was fast losing ground to the Khvarazm Shah and yet waxing in imperial pretensions.

Iltutmish eschewed Aibak's impetuosity and acted with circumspection. His own position was still insecure, and a fierce rising of the jandars (guards) of Delhi in support of Aram was suppressed with difficulty. He therefore preferred to placate his rivals and even pretended to accept an investiture from Yildiz. He also

affected complete indifference when the latter's troops expelled Qabacha from Lahore and occupied most of the Punjab. But he took advantage of the vacuum and quietly tightened his grip on the cis-Sutlej districts of SursutI, Bhatinda and Kuhram. By the time political developments across the Sindhu came to a head, and a decisive action on his part became unavoidable, he had greatly strengthened his position and established a firm hold on the country up to Banaras. When, therefore, Yildiz was finally driven out of Ghazni in A.D. 1215 and, falling back on Lahore, sent imperious orders to send forces from Delhi to aid him, Iltutmish faced him with confidence, and captured him in an open battle at Tarain. 8

A straight march on Lahore would have been a natural sequal to the victory, but Iltutmish preferred to measure his steps. Qabacha's reoccupation of the city was therefore acquiesced in, while he reorganised his newly extended western frontier. Two years later he seized upon an alleged breach of agreement and moved his troops across the Beas to Lahore. Qabacha fled in haste to Uch, and Delhi officers took the city without any opposition. 9

This steady advance towards the Sindhu basin, however, received a serious set-back when, like an avalanche, the Mongols of Tartary swept across Central Asia and drove an incalculable number of refugees—princes and people alike—into the safety of the Punjab. The Khvarazmi empire was rolled up in the process, and the crown-prince of Khiva, Jalal-ud-dln Mangbarni, chased through Khurasan and Afghanistan, was sent flying across the Sindhu. There Chingiz Khan stopped, posted troops to watch the border of the Sindhu and search for the fugitive prince, and returned to die shortly after in A.D. 1222.

These sudden catastrophic changes gravely imperilled the kingdom of Iltutmish. All his exertions to keep away from the trans-Indus power-politics appeared frustrated when Jalal-ud-dln’s continued sojourn in the Punjab threatened to invite Mongol operations. It severely taxed Iltutmish’s diplomacy to refuse the prince’s request for shelter and armed assistance against the pagan Mongols, and yet show his solidarity with the Muslim cause. To the irresistible Mongols he gave a wide berth, and when they came to search for Mangbarni in the Salt Range, he pretended not to take offence. He took no action when the prince moved away from the Mongols towards Lahore but got an army ready to oppose his progress further eastwards. Thus confined, the prince forced an alliance on the Hindu chief of the Salt Range, gathered a straggling army of fugitive tribes and, moving up and down the Sindhu valley, caused enormous devastation in Qabacha’s kingdom. The region north of Multan became practically a no man’s land, and it was therefore sought to be made a Khvarazmian principality. When MangbarnI passed through lower Sindh on his final exit via Kerman, he set fire to Uch, seized Sehwan, and put the ruler of Debal to flight. To follow up the territorial advantages secured - by such methods, he left two of his officers, Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Pai who, pressed inexorably by the Mongols from the west, steadily fell back on lower Sindh as a thorn in Qabacha’s side. Following a Mongol siege of Multan shortly after, the first of a series of such raids, a large horde of Khalji tribesmen broke into Sehwan for shelter, and the effect of all this left Qabacha gasping for breath. 10

All this advanced Iltutmish’s plans against his rival, if not his scheme for the consolidation of the frontier. Advancing from Lahore, which he reoccupied shortly after Mangbarni’s departure, he forced Qabacha out of Multan and Uch, and, almost without a battle, drove him to seek shelter in the island fortress of Bhakar, and eventually to a watery grave in the Sindhu (A.D. 1228). 11

Delhi’s frontier now ran along the lower courses of that river, but in the north Iltutmish found himself facing a far more difficult problem. The

Sindhu basin had become a Mongol operational area with a tendency to spread eastward as Hasan Qarlugh and Uzbek Pai continued to yield ground. They were useless as buffers, and assistance to them meant inviting Mongol aggression, and yet their complete elimination would bring the unwelcome Mongols nearer still. Iltutmish v/as thus constrained to watch the situation, while instructing his officers on the border to reduce the Chenab and Jhelum valleys without giving direct offence to the Mongols. Before his death he managed to extend his rule up to Sialkot and Hajner in the north, but failed to make much headway on the west beyond a preliminary advance on Nandana in the Salt Range.

Nevertheless, Iltutmish had solved the major problem of territorial integration under a single command. Immediately after Mangbarni's departure from India Iltutmish recovered enough confidence to attempt a reconquest of Lakhnawati, the province in the east, where 'All Mardan's misrule had been followed by the assumption of power by Hisam-ud-din Twaz Khalji, one of Bakhtyar's junior associates. The latter had assumed sovereign status, and by good government and profitable raid into neighbouring Hindu states had increased his resources. By a show of force Iltutmish succeeded, in A.D. 1225, in inducing the Khalji king to agree to a limitation of his sovereignty and to relinquish his hold on Bihar.

Within a year, however, Twaz broke the agreement, and seized Bihar. This brought upon him Iltutmish's crown-prince, Nasir-uddin Mahmud, who, from his base in Awadh (Oudh), swooped on Twaz's capital and slew him in battle. But the province did not immediately settle down to a subordinate status. Within two years Nasir-ud-dm Mahmud died in Lakhnawati, and a Khalji chief, who acknowledged Delhi's suzerainty, was pushed out by another named Balka whom Iltutmish had to defeat by a personally conducted campaign in A.D. 1229. 12

With equal energy and determination, but with less decisive results, he set to work to wrest the military initiative from the Hindu princes. In the area south of the Chambal, the Pariharas, starting from the recaptured Gwalior as their base, had expanded their rule over Jhansi and Narwar. 13 At Ranthambhor the Chahamana (Chauhan) family under Govindaraja had also found strength to follow an independent course of expansion and to impose paramountcy over the neighbouring states, despite a nominal allegiance to the "Suratrana Lititimishi (Iltutmish) of Yoginipura (Delhi)

A collateral branch, ruling at Jalor in apparent repudiation of the vassalage imposed by Aibak, also extended overlordship over a large area in south-west Rajputana and claimed even to have repeatedly humbled the Turks. 14 In the north, the YaduvamsI or Jadonbhattis controlled the approaches to Alwar and so practically sealed off Bayana, Thangir and even Ajmer.

The extent of the revival of Hindu Powers and the difficulties facing the Delhi troops were heavily underlined by the inconclusive results of Iltutmish's operations in Rajputana. Opening the campaign in A.D. 1226, he took Ranthambor and Mandawar and humbled Jalor, but was repulsed with heavy losses by the Guhilots from Nagda. Rajput records speak also of his failure in an attack on the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. A similar expedition, conducted by one of his officers against the Chauhans of Bundi, also ended in failure. While he recaptured Bayana and Tahangarh, and widened the Ajmer base by garrisoning the neighbouring positions of Lawah, Kasili and Sambhar, the success proved temporary, for it failed to arrest the Chauhan revival. A seemingly successful raid into Malwa in A.D. 1234-35 similarly gave Iltutmish more plunder and righteous satisfaction than political or military advantage, for the Paramaras remained in undisturbed possession of the country for the rest of the century. 16

No more decisive results attended his efforts along the southern frontier. He recaptured and garrisoned Gwalior, but his raids produced no effect on the Chandellas whose hold on the country as

far as Jhansi showed no sign of slackening. A foretaste of the rising power of a new dynasty was also provided to the Delhi commander, Malik Tayasai, who led an expedition through Central Indian defiles against the Chandellas. On his return march he was defeated by the powerful "Rana Chahir Ajari", Chahadadeva of the Jajapella (Yajvapala) dynasty which was just rising to power around Narwar (Gwalior State) and was to supplant the Pariharas in Gwalior. 16

Even in the heart of the kingdom, the Ganga-Yamuna area, Iltutmish launched operations whose successful termination he was not destined to see. Although Harischandra, the last of the imperial Gahadavala line, is not heard of again, in the districts north of the Ganga round Budaun, Farrukhabad, and Bareilly, numerous Hindu chiefs had found sheltered bases against the Turkish posts in the Doab. In Anola the Katehriya Rajputs had formed a strong hold and, with the remnant of the Rashtrakuta family of Budaun, not only barred Turkish expansion across the Ganga but encroached even on Awadh, which area, in itself, harboured not a few resisting chiefs. Iltutmish's operations in the region are not sufficiently detailed, but the inclusion by his chronicler of Budaun, Kanauj and even Banaras among his conquest, can be understood only in this context, for these places had figured in Aibak's initial conquests also. Since the Katehriyas continued to engage the Sultanate's forces throughout and far beyond the thirteenth century, Iltutmish's reported capture of Katehr can only indicate the range of his operations. Some idea of the nature of the fighting in these areas may be formed from reference to Prince Nasir-ud-din Mahmud's waging continuous "holy wars against the refractory Hindu tribes" and to his overthrowing a chief "named Bartu, beneath whose sword a hundred and twenty thousand Mussalmans had attained martyrdom". Armed insurrection prevailed in the Doab also, and governors emphasised their success by such reports as the capture "of the son of the Raja of Chandwar". 17 Most of these were, however, personal triumphs, shortlived and local in effect, and they could do little to help the Delhi Government in reducing the extent and power of the Hindu resistance.

Iltutmish died in A.D. 1236. His greatest achievement was the initiation of a dynastic monarchy, and in ultilising it in welding the loosely conquered territories into a political unity. To have preserved the Sultanate's separate entity and escaped the repurcussions of earlier affiliations with Central Asia when Chingiz Khan swept through the Continent was a very difficult task which he accomplished with great foresight and skill. It was sheer ability which

earned him, an ex-slave, almost a sacrosanct right to the crown, and the Caliph's investiture, received in A.D. 1229, 18 only confirmed the status which his dynasty and state had acquired. Working on the outlines drawn by Aibak, he filled in the details of a military state and richly deserved his position as its first king.

II. WEAK SUCCESSORS OF ILTUTMISH

For thirty years after the death of Iltutmish the Sultanate was confronted with problems which nearly destroyed its structure. Due to the absence of well-defined rules of succession, struggles for power recurred frequently, and the Government, with its energies distracted by such internal strife, was unable to maintain continuity of action against the Mongols or the Hindu States.

On the unexpected death of his crown prince, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, in A.D. 1229, Iltutmish had nominated, after some hesitation, his eldest daughter, Raziyya, to succeed him, in supersession of his other grown-up sons. No legal difficulty bothered him or his courtiers; nor was any doubt entertained about her abilities, for she had been tested frequently when her father left her in charge of the government during his campaigns. But practical considerations of pitting a young woman against the jealousy of her grownup brothers and of the proud nobles seemed to have weighed with him towards the end, for, before his death, he summoned his eldest surviving son, Firuz, from Lahore with a view, as was interpreted by interested parties, to his succession. The prince, in any case, secured the support of the provincial governors who had assembled in the capital to join the king's last expedition which his illness caused to be abandoned, and got himself proclaimed king on the night of his father's death.

If he had abilities he could possibly have disarmed all opposition, but he proved a colourless rake who left all power to his mother Shah Turkan, a low-born, jealous woman, whose vicious rule almost immediately drove her own supporters to revolt. The governors of Multan, Lahore, Hansi, Budaun and Awadh, resolved to end this petticoat rule, moved their forces towards Delhi, from where even the wazir, Junaidi, deserted his post to join them. Firuz marched out to meet the rebels, but his own army officers revolted on the way, murdered his body-guards, and returned to the capital, to find that during the Friday prayer the aggrieved Raziyya had cleverly exploited the popular discontent against Shah Turkan and, in the name of her father, had induced the populace to seize and throw her into prison. The army officers completed the process by proclaiming Raziyya's accession, and so Firuz returned only to find the shack les ready for him. His death in prison followed an inglorious reign of seven months.

The new sovereign received popular acclaim when she asked for a chance to prove her abilities “far better than any man”; but the coup displeased the insurgent governors who were converging on Delhi with the obvious intention, not only of deposing Firuz, but also of making their own choice of a king. Opposing not so much the new ruler as the method by which she captured the throne, they encamped opposite the city and began a siege by cutting all communication with the outlying provinces. But the queen proved equal to the task. Having no strong military force at her command at the moment, and unable to summon reinforcements from loyal provinces, she resorted to the well-known trick of dividing her enemies. She persuaded two of the insurgents to agree to join her secretly and betray their comrades, and then spread this nevrs among the latter who thereupon took fright and fled. Many were pursued and slain while the wazir died a lone fugitive in the Sirmur hills.

Raziyya’s reign of three years forms a brief interlude in a decade of oligarchic misrule increased by factiousness. Aware of the powers claimed by her father’s’ freedmen, and aware also of the need for vigorous exercise of the Crown’s authority in a state which was still military in nature and function, she tried to compensate for the disability, supposedly attaching to her sex, by foresight, firmness and kingly demeanour which her courtiers hardly expected from a young woman. She discarded female attire, rode out in public, and held open court; she selected for high offices men of her own choice and, deliberately, not always from among\Iltutmish’s freedmen who came to be known as ‘the Forty.’ 19 Apnong these new appointees was the Abyssinian Jalal-ud-din Yaqut whose promotion to the post of Amir-i-Akhur (Master of the Stables), a sinecure carrying more prestige than power, was obviously calculated to counter the Forty’s monopolistic control of all such offices. Like her father Raziyya showed a realistic prudence when she firmly but tactfully turned down an invitation to form an alliance with Hasan Qarlugh, the Khvarazmi representative, who was then struggling singly against the Mongols in the western Sindh Sagar Doab. 20

The ‘Forty’ could hardly tolerate such calculated undermining of their position. By the third year of Raziyya’s reign a conspiracy was set afoot to depose her or at least to curb her liberty of action. With Aitigin, the Amir-i-Ha]ib (Grand Chamberlain), at the head, and with all the Turkish officers in and outside the court in collusion, the conspirators tried to stage a coup. Since this was not found possible during her stay in the capital, where she enjoyed strong popular support and kept a vigilant watch, they planned to decoy her to a distant province where they could isolate her by force while partisans seized the capital. A revolt was accordingly staged by the governor of Lahore early in A.D. 1240, but the queen confounded the conspirators by the energy and speed with which she marched out, chased the rebel as far as the Chenab, and compelled him to surrender unconditionally, before his friends could join him. Within a fortnight of her return, however, another rebellion was reported from Bhatinda, then under the command of Malik Altuniya. Disregarding the heat and the inconveniences of the month of Ramazan, the queen again marched out with all available forces. On arrival the conspirators in her retinue rose against her, murdered Yaqut and her other supporters, and imprisoned her in the Bhatinda fort. Working on a pre-arranged plan, and before the return of the ring leaders, the Delhi partisans immediately occupied the palace and proclaimed the accession of their nominee, Iltutmish’s third son, Mu‘izz-ud-din Bahram (April, 1240). 21

Bahram’s installation was the reward, as it transpired, for his agreeing to leave all effective power to the conspirators; he was to retain his prerogatives but the government was to be entrusted to one of their nominees designated Naib-i-Mcimlikat (Deputy of the State) for “at least one year”. It was an experiment with immense possibilities for constitutional progress, although its immediate aim was to assure the continued domination of the ‘Forty’ so dangerously threatened by the late queen. 22

As the leader of the conspiracy, Ikhtiyar-ud-dln Aitigln’s appointment to the new post was proclaimed on his return from Bhatinda. Aitigin, however, soon piqued the young king Bahram by marrying one of his sisters and by violating the royal prerogative by keeping an elephant and naubat at the entrance of his house. Within three months the king's annoyance impelled him to take decisive action, and so the deputy was murdered in his office with Bahram's connivance.

The crime shook the power of the 'Forty' but did not improve matters for the king, for his Amir-i-Hajib (Grand Chamberlain) Badr-ud-din Sunqar now quickly assumed control over the administration. Some of the 'Forty' left the court to organise another rebellion with Altuniya who was closely guarding the captive Raziyya, while the wazir, resentful of the new domination, planned revenge. Aitigin's murder had ruined Altuniya's hopes for a due share of reward for his part in the late conspiracy, and he now t

found it wiser to ally himself with his captive and thus to acquire the latter's rights in support of his demands. Raziyya agreed to marry him, and the two organised an advance on Delhi to wrest back her crown. But their mercenary troops, recruited mostly from the Khokar tribe, proved no match for the regulars of the Delhi government, and they were easily repulsed. Flying before the pursuing troops Raziyya halted at Kaithal, where her mercenaries deserted, and she was murdered by Hindu robbers while resting under

a tree (25 Rabi I, 638=13 October, 1240). 23

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Meanwhile, a timely betrayal by the wazir of a conspiracy organised by the Amir-i-Hajib and a few ecclesiastics to depose Bahrain, had led to the fall of Sunqar and, in the resulting vacuum, the wazir was ruling with a great show of power. Nursing his earlier grudge against Bahram the wazir rejoiced when the king offended the ecclesiastics by brutally killing one of their members, on the instigation of a darvish. In A.D. 1241 the report of a Mongol advance on Lahore gave the wazir a chance to overthrow the king. He accompanied the troops sent to reinforce the besieged city, but as they neared Lahore he spread consternation and anger among the officers by disclosing the king's alleged secret order for their execution. The army at once revolted and turned back to depose the tyrant. On this news Bahram sent the Sheikh-ul Islam to reassure and remove their suspicions, but as a promoter of the plot, the latter worked for the opposite effect. The troops returned to find the king’s partisans put up a gallant defence of the capital, but an insurrection organised by the wazir’s men aided the attackers, and when the city fell, Bahram was seized and executed (May, 1242).

Although exactly the same conditions were imposed on the new king, 24 Iltutmish’s 16-year old grandson ‘Ala-ud-din Mas‘ud, and a Naib with wide powers was appointed in the person of the refugee prince Qutb-ud-din Husain of Ghor, it w r as yet the wazir who naturally monopolised all power. He filled the administration with his own nominees, mostly ecclesiastics and dissidents from Aitigln’s party, and even attempted to exclude the ‘Forty’ from positions of power. The latter therefore leagued once again and murdered the wazir, appointed the submissive Najm-ud-din Abu Bakr to the vacant post, and nominated one of their junior members named Balban for the office of Amir-i-Hajib.

By superior ability Balban soon overshadowed his party men, and with a correct understanding of the problem, diverted their energies to campaigns against Mongols and Indians. With apparent tranquillity Mas‘ud’s reign thus lasted four years until in A.D. 1246, a secret plot, apparently motivated by personal ambition, and in which Balban also seems to have shared, led to his replacement by Iltutmish’s youngest son, Mahmud, who was proclaimed as Sultan Nasir-ud-dln Mahmud. 26

The new reign meant no change in the policy, for Balban, now in firmer control, filled the key positions with his nominees and set about to break the power of his erstwhile comrades. He gave his daughter in marriage to the king, obtained the post of Naib for himself, and nominated his younger brother Kashli Khan as the Amir-iHcijib, while his cousin Sher Khan got the important governorship of Lahore and Multan. Mahmud proved a pliant sovereign and willingly left all initiative to the deputy. The latter’s policy of monopolising all offices for his own kinsmen, however, provoked an opposition in which the non-Turkish elements, headed by an Indian Muslim named Tmad-ud-din Raihan, took the leading part. Raihan managed to secure for himself the important post of Wakil-i-dar (Superintendent of the King’s Household establishment) and then contrived to replace Balban and his kinsmen by his own supporters. As could be foreseen, this ‘Hindi rule’ proved loathsome to the Turks, who entertained an extreme feeling of racialism and considered the Delhi Sultanate as their exclusive heritage. A countermove, therefore, soon started in which Balban took the leading part. Most of the Turkish officers posted in the provinces round Delhi joined their forces and prepared to march on the capital to end the non-Turkish domination. Mahmud was advised to resist and the royal forces set out to oppose the insurgents. But near Samian a, despite Raihan's best efforts to encourage the king to adhere to his decision even at the cost of an armed conflict, Mahmud lost heart and was glad to end the tension by accepting the opponents' terms. Raihan and his associates were accordingly dismissed from court and Balban regained his former ascendancy. 26

Except for this brief interruption (A.D. 1253-54), Balban held all effective power during the whole of Mahmud's reign, and is even reported to have used the royal insignia. His period of viceregency can thus be said to have shaded off into his reign when, on the death of the childless Mahmud in A.D. 1265, he assumed the crown, thus starting a new dynasty but no new regime.

III. INTERNAL DISORDER

Of the problems which had accumulated through all these years of changes on the throne, one of the most serious was the increasing tendency among the provincial governors to flout the king's authority and thus to threaten the unity which Iltutmish had envisaged. Military ineffectiveness of the Central government tempted the officers in the western provinces to lean conveniently on the neighbouring Mongol power, who was thus enabled to extend its pressure across the Sindhu and the Chenab rivers. In the East, the governors fought each other and even declared independence at will while the Awadh and Doab provinces, because of their proximity to Delhi, sharply reacted to events in the capital. All this, in turn, heartened the Hindus to greater and concerted aggressions. It was almost a miracle that the Sultanate escaped total dissolution.

Even in Iltutmish's lifetime Lakhnawati had become a problem province. His final arrangement, effected after three expeditions, proved ineffectual.

Tughan Khan, whom he had appointed to succeed Saif-ud-dln Aibak in Lakhnawati, forcibly seized Bihar and, although he kept up a show of loyalty during the reigns of Raziyya and Bahram, early in A.D. 1242 he advanced to take possession of the provinces of Kara-Manikpur and Awadh. The Awadh governor's appeal brought little help from Mas'ud's government, and Tughan Khan's easy occupation of the town was averted only by the persuasion of the respected ecclesiastic Minhaj who was then on his way to the eastern province. On his return to Lakhnawati Tughan repulsed an Orissan attack on his frontier and pursued the retreating Hindus into Jajnagar. At Katasingh (near Midnapore) he was, however, routed, and as he fell back, the Orissan forces came up in close pursuit. While he sent an urgent appeal to Delhi, the Hindu forces captured his frontier post of Lakhanor and advanced to besiege Lakhnawati itself. A timely report of the despatch of reinforcements from Delhi, however, saved the situation, for the Orissan commander thereupon raised the siege, plundered the countryside, and withdrew. Reinforcements arrived shortly after, but instead of pursuing the Orissans, the commander picked up a quarrel with Tughan and blockaded his capital. The latter defended himself ineffectually and was at length obliged to hand over his province to the commander, Tamar Khan. Balban's hand in this curious proceeding becomes evident when we find Tughan Khan being compensated with the vacant governorship of Awadh where he died two years later. 27

This camouflaged imposition of Delhi's authority could hardly last. Yazbak, who was appointed to the province some time after A.D. 1249, followed Tughan's example, occupied Awadh, and even had the khutba read in his name. Although a reported approach of Balban's troops made him withdraw, he crowned his insubordination by proclaiming sovereignty immediately on Balban's return. Even his death in course of a rashly conducted invasion of the Brahmaputra valley soon after failed to restore Delhi's authority, for within two years the officiating governor, Yahya, was dispossessed, and killed in open violation of authority by Arsalan Khan, the governor of Kara and Awadh, who thereupon installed himself in Lakhnawatl. He is not known to have assumed full sovereignty, but against his continued unauthorised occupation of the provinces of Awadh, Bihar and Lakhnawatl Mahmud's government could take no effective action, so that Arsalan's son Tatar Khan, who quietly succeeded to the position, boastfully called himself "Chief of all the Maliks of China and East". 28

Although comparatively tranquil during the earlier years, Awadh and Doab also latterly reacted against the manner of Balban's restoration to power. Following his dismissal from the court, and transfer to Bahraich, Tmad-ud-din Raihan allied himself with Qutlugh Khan, the king's step-father who held Awadh and was noted for his antagonism to Balban, and prepared to negative Mahmud's authority in the trans-Ganga region. An armed expedition, which was ineffectually opposed by Qutlugh as it passed through Awadh, however, eventually succeeded in driving Raihan from Bahraich. But when Qutlugh was transferred to Bahraich, he revolted and defeated a Delhi force. On Balban taking the field in person he fled to the Himalayan foothills, but returned immediately on the former's departure, seized Awadh and even threatened Kara-Manikpur. He was, however, repulsed by the local governor and took refuge with the chief of Santurgarh who refused to give him up, suffering, in preference, the ravaging of his territories by Balban in A.D. 1257.

IV. MONGOL RAIDS

It was on the west that Delhi's hold was most seriously jeopardised by continued Mongol pressure. Soon after the accession of Uktai to the supreme Mongol Khanate in A.D. 1229, aggressive campaigns were launched along the Sindhu basin, and by A.D. 1241 they were extended up to Lahore. Its reinforcement was undermined, as noticed earlier, by the intrigues of the wazir and it had consequently to be evacuated by the governor. The Mongols plundered the city, destroyed the fortifications and withdrew, but Lahore province henceforth became "the frontier". By A.D. 1247 it became a Mongol dependency when a close siege, unrelieved by any hope of aid from Delhi, compelled the governor to pay tribute and accept Mongol suzerainty. 29 Control over Multan and Uch proved equally insecure. These two cities, held rebelliously by Kablr Khan throughout

Mas‘ud’s reign, suffered, in turn, an occupation by Hasan Qarlugh, the Khvarazmi representative finally driven from the west, and then by the Mongols who came in his pursuit. Balban managed to recover temporary control by quickly garrisoning the towns immediately on the Mongol withdrawal, but the new governor, Kishlu Khan, had to face another Mongol raid and then lost Multan once again to Hasan Qarlugh. He was dispossessed of Uch by Sher Khan, the governor of Bhatinda, who, in accordance with Balban’s wish, refused to restore it to Kishlu. In revenge, the latter joined Raihan and, on Balban’s dismissal in A.D. 1253, was reinstated over the two provinces. On Balban’s return to power Kishlu broke with Delhi and, shortly after A.D. 1255, made a present of the whole Sindh province to the Mongols by formally transferring his allegiance to Hulagu Khan, the Mongol viceroy of Iran. 30

A further constriction of the western frontier resulted from the Mongol help secured by prince Jalal-ud-din Mas‘ud, Mahmud’s younger brother, who, dissatisfied with his status in life, had betaken himself to the Mongol Khan, Mangu, at Qaraqoram, and was given armed assistance for installing himself as the vassal over the territories extending from the Sindhu to the Sutlej. Although the prince, following the failure of an attempt to get reconciled with Mahmud’s government, is reported to have disappeared from the scene, and Sher Khan, despite his treasonable contact with the Mongol court, was soon after reconciled and was induced to take action against the Mongol protege, yet the boundary line was not appreciably advanced on the west. Within a couple of years it even receded to the old bed of the Beas up to which the Mongols moved freely “to harass the frontiers of Delhi” 31 A grave danger threatened the government when in A.D. 1257 Kishlu Khan, now a Mongol protege and holding Sindh, marched his troops along the Beas to attack Delhi in conjunction with Qutlugh Khan whom Balban had failed to draw out from the Sirmur Hills. They had partisans among the Delhi ecclesiastics who promised to deliver the city. The rebels therefore evaded Balban’s forces sent out to oppose them at Samana, and reached the capital, only to learn, however, that their partisans had been discovered and banished. Kishlu thereupon withdrew and shortly after journeyed to Iraq to induce Hulagu to sanction a full-scale invasion of the Delhi Sultanate.

Hulagu refused, but promised him protection. The Mongol forces, stationed in Sindh under Sali Bahadur, were ordered to destroy the Multan fortifications, but they were not to cross the Delhi frontier under any circumstances. 32 This forbearance, suggesting a desire to stabilise the frontiers, was quickly reciprocated by the Delhi Government, who disbanded the special force raised to meet Sali Bahadur's expected invasion. Mahmud's government thus

tacitly acquiesced in the loss of Sindh and the Punjab west of the Beas line. An anxiety to avoid hostilities, even with the Mongol vassals, was evident when, in A.D. 1258, Balban transferred Sher Khan to the interior provinces of Kol and Gwalior from the frontier area of Bhatinda where he was conducting operations against Kishlu Khan for the possession of Uch and Multan. Balban even made friendly overtures to Hulagu, who warmly responded and in A.D. 1259 sent a goodwill mission to Delhi, where the envoys were accorded a magnificent reception. 33

Whether a formal agreement resulted from all this is not definitely known, but Balban must have discerned some change in the attitude of the Mongols towards their protege Kishlu Khan to feel encouraged to dispossess him of Multan a few years later. Kishlu is reported to have taken refuge in Baniyan, the area west of the Sindhu, and to have made fruitless attempts to recover Upper Sindh which, from the beginning of Balban's reign, appears in effective control of Delhi. 34 Whether the Mongol forces withdrew across the Sindhu under military pressure, or in accordance with the agreement, is equally uncertain. But they remained in undisturbed possession of west Punjab, and Lahore was not reannexed until a few years after Balban's accession.

V. REVIVAL OF HINDU POWER

Dominating the entire background, however, were the Hindus whose revived striking power, only feebly met by Iltutmish's efforts, found fresh opportunities during the weak regime of his successors. Along the undefined border, and inside the vaguely dominated country, the Sultanate was normally confronted with a standing military challenge which intensified with every local or individual disaffection. The difficulties of ensuring the governor's loyalties had made Lakhnawatl, for example, an uncertain possession; within eight years of Iltutmish's death Orissa's confident aggressions threatened its very existence. The failure of Tughan Khan's private adventure in the Awadh province and his implied rejection of Delhi's authority offered Narasimha I his chance of striking at the Lakhnawatl frontier in A.D. 1243. Although promptly repulsed, the attack signified more than it accomplished, for it highlighted the role which the Hindu power now began to play on all the contiguous areas. As mentioned earlier, Tughan Khan's counter-attack also failed, and he was chased back to his capital which the Orissan forces closely besieged. Until aid from Delhi could arrive, the Hindu forces had a free run of the country, and even when they withdrew across Lakha

nor which they plundered, military action for its recovery was hardly possible.

Although of no major territorial consequence, the episode put Lakhnawati on the defensive, with Orissa free to substantiate her claim to have "despatched the Yavanas of Ria^ha and Varendri". 36 Her progress in this direction is not evidenced in the records, but when, under Yuzbak, Lakhnawati resumed military action ten years later, the earlier pattern was repeated. After two minor triumphs, a major reverse in Orissa obliged him to seek Delhi's aid with which he captured what he thought was the 'Rai's capital', but which, from its name "Arzbadan" (or Umurdan), is probably to be identified with the village now known as Garh Mandaran, on the Hooghly-Midnapore border, thus indicating the region along which the successive campaigns were fought. The Lakhanor area evidently remained with Orissa, but Yuzbak gained in the south what he lost in the west; for he occupied Nadiya and the adjacent BhagirathI basin effectively enough to commemorate it by a special issue of silver coins in A.D. 1255 "struck from the kharaj of Arzbadan and Nodia". 36 But the success did little to affect the overall pattern of the military situation, for Orissa's frontier remained on the lower BhagirathI till a subsequent push, towards the end of the century, completed the annexation of the coastal region.

From East Bengal, where the Sena dynasty still continued, the Turks apprehended no great danger, but in the Brahmaputra valley their offensive power suffered an unparalleled set-back when, encouraged by his success in southern Bengal, Yuzbak launched a similar campaign in the north-east, against the Kamarupa kingdom, then comprising the country from the Karatoya to Gauhati. As he crossed the river, the Kamarupa Raja withdrew his troops, thus allowing the invader to march unopposed to Gauhati, where he proclaimed himself king of Lakhnawati and Kamarupa. He spurned the Raja's request for reinstatement as a tributary vassal and, assured by the rich crop then ripening in the fields, even foolishly sold his own grain stock to the latter's agents. His folly dawned on him only when he found the standing crops totally destroyed by floods caused by the Raja's cutting the embankments of the swollen rivers. Yuzbak was forced to retreat, which ended in disaster. Trying to avoid the flooded valley he moved along the unexplored and hostile GarcJaintia Hills, and in the defiles was caught between the hill tribes and the Kamarupa forces. He was taken prisoner and died of his wounds while his army was annihilated. 37

This disaster emphasised once again the altered military situation which was perceptible almost simultaneously in other parts of the kingdom. Turkish hold on the narrow riverine strip of the Patna-Monghyr-Bhagalpur districts was rendered precarious by the extended activity of the surviving Hindu princes of South Bihar whose existence was never seriously affected by the conquest. Round Bodh-Gaya were the Sena rulers of Pithi to whose continuous occupation of the district the votive records of the Hindu chiefs of Sapiadalaksha and Kumayun bear indirect evidence. Extension of Muslim rule in Shahabad, where power of the Mahanayakas of Rohtasgarh could not have entirely disappeared, was hardly possible, and it is only the late Tibetan traditions which ascribe Turkish suzerainty over Bodh-Gaya. Early in Mahmud's reign even the town of Bihar had to face Hindu assaults, and the local governor lost his life in resisting what was evidently a siege. The attack failed, but it was a defensive achievement which retained control over the route to Lakhnawatl. 38

More positive evidence of Hindu revival comes from the Sultanate's southern frontier. The Chandellas had effected a speedy recovery, and by A.D. 1241 had earned recognition as overlord by the Mahdrdnaka of Kakare^ika (modern Rewah). They advanced steadily towards the west and claimed, in an inscription of A.D. 1263, to be ruling over Jhansi; a subsequent record implies overlordship over Nalpur (Narwar), Gopal, Madhuban (Mathura), and Gopagiri (Gwalior). The situation became grave for the Sultanate as these localities formed ihe nucleus of the growing power of the Jajapellas (Yajvapala), who already in Iltutmish's reign had compelled notice as the dominating power in the country round Narwar, "the greatest of all the Rais of Hindustan". Their pressure on Gwalior latterly increased to such an extent that reinforcing the garrison proved ineffective and, as mentioned before, Raziyya was obliged to abandon the fortress. By A.D. 1251 the dynasty, under Chahadadeva, had extended its power to Chanderi and even to Malwa, and Balban's expedition in that year against the "Rana Chahir Ajari" produced no more abiding result than a temporary capture of Narwar and Gwalior; for in the dynasty's epigraphic and numismatic records these places continue to figure uninterruptedly to as late a date as A.D. 1298. 39

Just south of the Yamuna, between Mahoba and Hamirpur, the Bhar Rajputs threatened the security of the Doab province. The rising power of the Vaghelas in Rewah who, in two generations, acquired control over most of the country south of Chunar and along the Tons river, not only barred Turkish expansion southwards but even endangered the cis-Yamuna area. Exertions put forth by the governor of Awadh against the territory of "Bhatigor" (an old name of the Tons valley) failed to control this rising power; even a full

scale expedition led by Balban in A.D. 1247 into the country between Kalanjara and Kara achieved little beyond raiding the chief's stronghold. 40

Even within the provinces administered by the Sultanate an intensification of Hindu resistance was in evidence. The half-subdued countryside offered enough manoeuvring space for the local tribes who, in the absence of organised military leadership, took to a form of guerilla warfare. Balban was obliged to wage two sanguinary campaigns to obtain even a temporary control over the Aligarh District, where local tribes, infesting the highways and forests, were to engage the government's undivided attention even in the next reign. In A.D. 1247 it required another campaign to recover portions of the Kanauj District from a Hindu chief. In the northern fringe of the present Uttar Pradesh Delhi government encountered heavier and more protracted resistance from the Hindus. Notable among these were the tribes settled in Budaun, Sambhal and Aonla, described as the Katehriyas, whose aggressions involved the Delhi government in bloody campaigns even far into the fourteenth century. Their frequent raids on the towns of Budaun and Sambhal rendered Delhi's power in those parts almost nugatory. In order to supplement the local governor's attempts against them, Balban conducted a big expedition in A.D. 1254 and pushed through Bijnaur as far as the Ramganga. The Katehriya resistance caused heavy casualties in the Delhi forces, and if the campaign could be described as a success, it was so only as a retaliatory measure, for control over the trans-Ganga districts remained as costly a process as it was before. The reported success of the governor of Meerut in overthrowing "Ranahs and other independent Hindu tribes inhabiting places as far as Rurki and Miapur", and in reducing the Bijnaur area, could have meant no more than preliminary operations for the establishment of a military station in Amroha.[41]

The most serious set-back was in Rajputana. Iltutmish's death found the Chauhans pressing on Ranthambhor, and Raziyya was obliged, as in the case of Gwalior, to withdraw from the fortress which thenceforth became the seat of the later Chauhan dynasty under Vagbhata.[413] It became the centre from which Chauhan power radiated over a lengthening arc enclosing northern Rajputana and the collateral houses of Kotah, Bundi and Jalor. In inscriptions of even the smaller principality of Mewar, ranging in dates from A.D. 1213 to 1252,[42] victory over the Turushkas provides special items of laudation. Against this tide of Rajput power, the military hold over Ajmer could be of little consequence, for loss of the recently established defensive outposts at Lawah, Kasili and Sambhar practically sealed it off.

Punitive expeditions availed but little to arrest this trend of the military situation. In A.D. 1248 Balban's raid on the Chauhan strong-hold was repulsed; ten years later we read again of similar but apparently ineffective raids into the territories “of the infidels of Ranthambhor, Bundi and Chitrur”. A factor which very seriously hampered Delhi’s striking power in Rajputana was the continuing depredation of the turbulent people of the northern Alwar region designated as the “Koh-payah” of Mewat. These were the Yaduvamsi Rajputs who, following the loss of their strongholds of Bayana and Tahangarh, spread themselves over the countryside, and kept up an armed resistance which intensified as the century progressed, and which increasingly tended to merge in the general Rajput offensive. They harried the districts of Siwalik, Harianah, and Bayana, and towards the end of Mahmud’s reign, terrorised even Delhi itself. Heavily distracted by their raids, which in A.D. 1256 reached as far as HansI, Balban had to follow up his earlier exertions by two full-scale campaigns in A.D. 1258. But he could accomplish little beyond plundering a few Mewatx villages and capturing some of their leaders. Although not directed by the Chauhans, the Mewatis yet appear to have operated as their spearheads which kent Delhi engaged in its neighbourhood while Ranthambhor accumulated strength and territory. 43

VI. BALBAN RESTORES THE AUTHORITY OF SULTANATE

An effective solution of these multiplying problems called for a stable central direction which, in the circumstances, could only come from a strong king, realistic in approach and severely efficient in execution. For, external dangers arose as a direct consequence of internal weakness, which was due to the state’s incomplete consolidation. The need for concentrating on this primary task was therefore the lesson which the politics of the last three decades clearly brought home to Balban. The initial expansionist motives of Muhzz-ud-din and Aibak had qualified Iltutmish’s attention to internal problems and had become a political tradition with his dynasty. To break with this tradition and reverse the emphasis, therefore, required unquestioned power and strong resolution.

Such power Balban had in effect wielded as the Deputy of the State (Ndib-i-Mdmlikat); he was even known to have used some of the royal insignia. He gave form and content to Mahmud’s kingship in such a personal manner that when his name formally appeared on the coins on the latter’s death in

A.D. 1265, 44 it evoked little comment or disapproval, for it seemed a natural process that

the old dynasty would merge in his family. Old loyalties were thus continued, but the new king sought to reinforce them still further by formulation of theories of dynastic monarchy expressed in such regalia and decorum that it set the standard for future kings. Like Iltutmish, he also belonged to the Ilbari clan of Turks, but while the former's supreme status rested more on practical ability than on inherited distinction, Balban tried to buttress his crown and also his undoubted abilities with claims of noble lineage; for he regarded himself as descended from Afrasiyab, the Turkish hero of Persian mythology. On the gradually spreading myth of Turkish racial superiority was thus superimposed a cult of family prestige which effectively replaced the acquired status of the older dynasty.

A supporting theory of kingship was also formulated on the lines of the Sassanian monarchy. Balban ignored Islamic constitutional principles, and far outreached his master when he spoke of kingship as a "divine gift", and of the king as a "unique personage". Such a king ruled not merely by protecting Islam, but by insisting on the absolute acceptance of his superhuman status. This involved a technique of government which must suppress all notions of Tribal or Islamic republican equality, and which therefore depended on the king's undoubted ability to compel the people's unquestioning obedience. 45

Acting on such ideas, matured during his deputyship, and in sharp contrast to the conduct of the meek, unassertive Mahmud, Balban inaugurated his reign by adapting the court ceremonial to the new conception. This included a rigid insistence on the zaminbos and paibos (prostrating before and kissing the king's feet or the throne), two of the non-Islamic practices which Iltutmish was vainly requested by the jurists to regard with disfavour. Since the king's person was 10 be unapproachable, Balban surrounded himself with body-guards,—a picked band of impressively uniformed, fearsome soldiers with drawn sabres glittering in the sun. In public, he never talked except to his officials, and that only through the Grand Chamberlain; once he administered a sharp rebuke to a courtier who pleaded with him to grant an interview to a private citizen, a rich merchant of Delhi, who offered all his wealth for this honour. Even in private life, the consciousness of his ‘unique’ status hampered his naturalness, for he was never seen even by his immediate attendants to laugh. When his eldest son died in battle, the sorrow corroded his heart, but, god-like, he remained unmoved, and his conduct or countenance showed no trace of his inner feelings. Acting on the same motive he gave up his earlier habit of drinking and prohibited the same to his courtiers. The fear and dignity which he sought

to earn by such frightful correctness of conduct was heightened by the effects of the Mongol conquests which sent princes and eminent scholars flying for asylum to his court.

Even more emphatic were the governmental expressions of his autocracy which had to justify itself by pitiless efficiency. As one of the departments through whose working the king’s power and correctness are usually assessed, the judiciary received his vigilant attention. Justice was administered with ruthless impartiality, for it was not so much the Law which had to be vindicated, as the King’s god-like power which can suffer no distinction in its exercise. The exemplary punishment he gave to the governors of Budaun and Awadh, for reported cruelty to their domestic servants, 453 was not so much a judicial act, as the exercise of the king’s right to seek out and punish those who impinged on his absolute guarantee of security to all. To this end he improved the espionage service and reporters were selected with the greatest care.

The prevailing insecurity round the capital afforded him fuller opportunity to vindicate this sovereign guarantee. The mounting Rajput offensive, added to the Mongol pressure and the rebellious uprising of the Turkish chiefs, had created a situation which strained the government’s resources almost to the breaking point. Robbers stalked the countryside, communications were unsafe, and dense forests near Delhi sheltered marauders who menaced even the city life. In the Doab and Awadh Hindu peasants suffered little control, and with the ever-turbulent Katehriyas holding Budaun and Amroha under constant threat, the king’s prestige was at a fearfully low ebb. Balban studied the problem carefully, and almost immediately on his accession set to work on it with fierce determination and sense of urgency. Within a year forests round the capital were cleared, and robbers hunted out. On the south-western approach to the city he erected military posts and garrisoned them with seasoned Afghan troops to guard against the Mewatls. Other approaches were similarly fortified. Next year operations were extended to the east, and the affected areas of Awadh and the Doab were divided into military commands, with troops detailed to campaign relentlessly against the insurgents. This concentrated drive produced quick results, and within a year brigandage ceased, forests were cleared, and peasants returned to normal obedience. In the neighbourhood of Kampil and Patiali (Farrukhabad District), where the later Gahadavalas had founded strongholds, Balban conducted the operations personally, clearing forests and building new roads. Fortresses were erected at strategic points, and permanent colonies of Afghan soldier-farmers were established in and around to ensure their safety and provide a

local militia. News of a fresh Katehriya incursion on Budaun interrupted the king's operations in these areas. In terrible anger he returned to fit out a larger force from Delhi and, moving as on a hunting expedition, suddenly fell on Katehr like lightning. A frightful slaughter of the besieged insurgent population then followed, their houses were burnt and bodies lay rotting for days on end, the stench fouling the area as far as the Ganga. This calculated ferocity thoroughly cowed down all potential rebels in the neighbourhood, and the districts returned to peace. Forests were cleared and a network of roads spread to facilitate administrative control.

With security problems as his primary occupation, Balban thus kept an unceasing watch on the slightest manifestation of those ailments which had paralysed the government during the past few decades. The conquest was yet to lead to settlement in the country; the governmental machinery had to shed its inchoate and improvised character and had to work primarily towards integrating the loosely co-ordinated provincial army commands. There was no longer any organised Hindu opposition on a large scale in the conquered area, but, ill-defined though it was, the Sultan's government had to fight its way through the countryside. All round the state were Indian powers, whose energies the Sultanate's recent weakness had tended to revive to such an extent, that the original war of conquest seemed once again to be in progress. A supremely dangerous complication was the Mongol who controlled the major areas of the Punjab and pressed on up to the Beas. As a foreigner the Turk was cut off from his homeland, and shortage of man-power therefore threatened his dominating position in the Sultanate.

During his deputyship Balban had made a correct appraisal of these recent developments, and inevitably decided on adopting the only possible course of action, namely conservation of strength primarily for consolidation rather than expansion. This involved a departure from the policy hitherto guiding the Sultanate, and when his courtiers, unable to outgrow the earlier tradition, urged him to acquire new territories, he told them that he could ill afford to employ his limited man-power and resources in occupying hostile states, for it will endanger internal security. The problem of safeguarding the western frontier governed his foreign policy and limited his striking power. With regret—for he was no pacifist—he had to restrain himself from the temptation of leading "his well-prepared forces to capture the distance Ranas". He constantly reminded himself of the prudent counsel not to overstrain oneself by trying to subjugate others. He would certainly defend his borders against aggression, but if he was to maintain the dominant position of the

Turks in India, as he was determined to do, he could not extend his military commitments. 46

This last point deserves attention. It explains the ruling temper of the Mamluk state which had resulted in the main from the racemovements conditioning the initial conquest. A feeling of racial superiority sustained the otherwise, loose federation of the conquering Turks both against the Hindus and the Mongols. The State inevitably took the character of a Turkish proprietary concern, and the non-Turk Indian Muslim found as in the early years of Mahmud's region, that any attempt to claim a share in the administration intensified the opposition of the ruling race. The House of Iltutmish jealously championed this racialism.

In itself, this was an untenable policy; the effect of the Mongol conquests made it dangerously so. Pure-born Turks were rapidly diminishing in number, for no more immigrants came through the Mongol barriers. Mixing of blood was fast producing a generation which had little direct contact with the racial traditions of the Turks, and had greater community of feeling with the Indian Muslims. Even as regards the Hindus, a sense of community of interest had to be fostered in order to put forth the maximum resistance to the Mongol barbarian. And through all these years, by immigration and conversion, non-Turki elements tended to increase as much in number as in quality. What was therefore easy for Iltutmish was impossible in the age when Balban reigned. His striking power was limited by his racialism, for he had to extend the basis of his state in order to command those forces which proved so irresistible when used later by the Khaljis.

But Balban sought to resist this process of time and employed his extraordinary energy and will-power to perpetuate a racial polity which, in its ultimate form, merged with his absolutism. He symbolised the primacy of the Turk, with his own power exercised primarily in the interest of his race. Expansion of the kingdom was therefore of less immediate importance than perfecting the coercive instrument with which to vindicate this superiority. In devoting his energies to this end he, however, helped in a necessary historical process, though with an objective which, as will be seen presently, could not stand the ultimate pressure of events.

Since defence required improvement of the army, Balban expanded it with more and abler personnel. Defects in the cavalry organization, discovered in course of an expedition to Lahore early in the reign, were remedied by reallotting the revenue assignments among better recruits and cashiering the unserviceable men, to make

that radical approach to the problem of army organization which brought outstanding result to his successor dynasty.

His vigilance nevertheless proved a compensating factor, and along the western border defence measures against the Mongols proved effective. Balban’s cousin Sher Khan held the frontier provinces of Multan and Dipalpur till his death a few years after the Sultan’s accession, and was reported to have been “like the walls of Gog and Magog to the Mongols”. When appointing a successor, Balban decided on reducing the extent of the governor’s administrative responsibility so that his striking power remained unhampered. While Multan and Dipalpur were placed under his eldest son Muhammad, the eastern district of Bhatinda was separated to become the forward base of the Sunam-Samana provincial command which, under his second son Bughra Khan, was detailed to hold the Beas line. While Prince Muhammad was made the supreme commander of the entire frontier region, under each of the two commanders a picked force of eighteen thousand horsemen was provided to hold the strategic points, while an equally strong reserve force, based on Delhi, was to supplement the defence as occasion demanded. The result of this arrangement was a vast improvement in the defence strategy, ensuring quick and co-ordinated action. Although Lahore remained as a border region, yet the Mongols were effectively checked, and we are told that whenever they tried to cross the Beas, the three forces quickly converged, and "as a result of the several victories obtained over them they never dared to approach the river any more". A greater concentration was effected towards the end of the reign when, in view of Bughra's proposed transfer to Lakhnawati, the Sunam-Samana command was divided into smaller regional units, all co-ordinated to work under the overall command of Prince Muhammad. The effect of this strategy was soon felt by the Mongols, for the prince easily kept them beyond the Sindhu, and annually sent to Delhi captives taken from among the raiders.[47]

Contemporary accounts bear eloquent testimony to the security which directly resulted from all these measures. The king was held in awe, and the governing machinery worked with ruthless efficiency for peace. The only incident which marred this picture was a rebellion in the distant Bengal, but its costly failure only emphasised the terrible strength of the will which worked that machine. Lakhnawati had shown persistent disapproval of her subservience to Delhi, and throughout the Mamluk period the province was in chronic distemper, distance and climatic hazards adding to the ease with which ambitious governors often flouted the central government. During the last decade of Mahmud's reign Lakhnawati enjoyed, as mentioned earlier, unmolested autonomy under Arsalan Khan, who annexed Bihar and bequeathed the territories to his son Tatar Khan. One of the latter's inscriptions, dated A.D. 1265, claims almost imperial status for him, but he appears to have avoided open proclamation of sovereignty, and even to have placated Balban by sending token presents. Whether he died or was removed shortly after is uncertain, but Delhi's control over the province was firm enough to enable one of Balban's freedmen, named Tughril, to be appointed governor. Tughril, however, lost no time in imbibing the country's political tradition, for, having earned popularity by liberal and efficient administration, and increased his resources by raids into the neighbouring Hindu states, he allowed, as the chronicler puts it, "the bird of rebellion to lay eggs in his brain". Balban's alleged infirmity, due to advanced age, was considered to offer a good opportunity, and so, some time in A.D. 1280, Tughril signified his rebellion by withhold ing the king's share of the booty captured in his latest expedition. This he followed up by a formal declaration of sovereignty, clothed with the regal title of Sultan Mughls-ud-dm. He defeated the force sent by Balban under Amin Khan, the governor of Awadh,—most of the Royal troops deserting to his side, as Hindu tribes harassed their retreat.

The news of this reverse hurt Balban's pride and the vanquished general was hanged for his failure to vindicate the king's authority. But when the next two succeeding expeditions also met with a similar fate, the king decided to stake everything on this challenge to his prestige. Vowing never to return without the rebel's head, he set out personally at the head of a large force of provincial and special troops, and ignoring the hazards of the rainy season he marched expeditiously through Awadh and North Bihar. He encountered no opposition, and found on arrival that the city of Lakhnawati had been evacuated by the rebel. Tughril was frightened by the unexpected hardening of the octogenarian king's will, and was reported to be hiding in the eastern districts. His plan was obviously to depend on the climate and the water-logged country to wear out the king's forces. But Balban pushed towards Sonargaon where the local ruler Danujamadhava of the Deva dynasty was persuaded to co-operate in preventing the rebel's flight by the water-routes of his kingdom, which, it appears, extended to the Feni river. 48 With the rivers thus closed to him, Tughril moved by land towards the Tippera frontier, but Balban scented his trail and sent detachments to scour the countryside. One of these eventually came upon the rebel camp, fell on the unsuspecting troops, and cut.off Tughril's head as he tried to escape. With the rebel's adherents in chain, Balban returned to Lakhnawati to execute everyone suspected of the slightest sympathy with him. Their corpses, hung on gibbets, lined the main bazaar, and while advising his son Bughra Khan, whom he left in charge of the province, he tellingly pointed to these emphatic proofs of the king's unconquerable power.

As he returned triumphantly after three years, governors and chiefs hastened to congratulate and to reaffirm their subservience. Perfect peace and order prevailed in every part of the kingdom, and the Sultan's prestige was at its height. Balban could feel legitimate pride in restoring order and in completing Iltutmish's work, for he had almost recreated the Sultanate. This he never tired of instilling into the mind of his heir apparent, his eldest son Muhammad, a prince whose qualities evoked warm praise from all his contemporaries. Muhammad, however, was not destined to succeed his father, for early in A.D. 1286 he was killed in a fierce engagement with the Mongols in course of one of their periodical raids on the Lahore-Dipalpur border. This meant no military set-back, as the Mongols were eventually expelled, but the prince's death, frustrating all his hopes, came as a fatal shock to the old monarch. For Bughra Khan was no substitute. The iron king remained calm in public but melted in tears in his nightly solitude.

Balban lived for a year more, weighed down by sickness and anxiety. He summoned Bughra to be near his death-bed and assume the eventual responsibility. But the prince, avoiding a direct refusal, waited for the king to recover slightly, and then slipped away from the hazards of the Delhi throne to the enervating ease of Lakhnawatl. On the way he heard of his father's relapse but he stuck to his decision. With his end approaching fast, and thus left with a choice between his two grandsons, both adolescents, the king, resigned to his predicament, nominated Kaikhusrav, son of the deceased Muhammad. In so doing he only provided for his dynasty, but for carrying on his policy he depended ultimately on his friends, notably the Kotwal and the Wazir, to whom his dying request was to render the prince all necessary help and guidance. He breathed his last in A.D. 1287.

In keeping alive the traditions of the Sultanate's founders, Balban had ruthlessly held back the new forces which insistently demanded adjustment. His achievement lay in the strength with which the State was regenerated, and it was obvious that he was irreplaceable in the scheme in which the

Sultanate was meant to function. His courtiers, therefore, had reason to mourn the death of this stern king, for, as the Kotwal put it, he was their only guarantee "against every upstart who would now aspire to the crown", and against the consequent "destruction of the old aristocracy". 49

VII. THE END OF BALBAN'S DYNASTY

Since Balban resisted the new social forces, adjustment through violent process became inevitable when his ruthless will was stilled by death. The history of the next reign of three years was a quickening of this process, the king's incapacity giving a handle to his jealous and more conservative nobles to raise a wall round their power without the necessary ability to reinforce it. The bursting that resulted was less violent than it could have been, but more revolutionary in implications that what Balban had striven to oppose.

How his pervasive strength of will was necessary to divert the latent factiousness of the Turk was seen, by contrast, when on the night of his death, and flouting his wish, the Kotwal, who bore personal animosity to prince Muhammad's family, manoeuvred Kaikhursrav out of the capital and had Kaiqubad, Bughra Khan's son, proclaimed king. Kaikhusrav was sent off as governor of Multan and his supporters, headed by the Wazir , were all imprisoned and exiled. The government thus became a family oligarchy in which the Kotwal*s scheming and able son-in-law Nizam-ud-din was enabled quickly to gather the strings of power.

Nizam-ud-din sedulously encouraged the youthful king's thirst for sensuous pleasure, denied to him by the austere grandfather. Wine, women and song kept the Sultan busy, and the gaiety soon infected the court and became the norm of city-life. The administrative machine was kept going only by the momentum gathered in the last reign, and the frontier defences retained enough strength and cohesion to repeat the earlier triumphs over the Mongols. Nizam-ud-din possessed the dictator's ability, and although officially only the city-magistrate (Dad-beg) of Delhi, his authority as the de facto ruler was openly admitted. With the king completely under his control—he sent his wife to supervise Kaiqubad's harem —the dictator used his opportunities towards consolidating his power for the final usurpation which to everyone appeared inevitable and even necessary.

Within six months Kaikhusrav was murdered, supposedly under the king’s orders; the new Wazir , Khwaja Khatlr, was next removed, and a charge of sedition was trumped up to replace a large number of influential officers by Nizam-ud-din’s own creatures.

But he was not to reap the fruit of his labour. Report of Kaiqubad’s heedless gaiety and his impending fall reached his father in Lakhnawati, and the family shirker was at last roused to a sense of paternal responsibility. Letters and messages being of no avail,

Bughra eventually decided to meet his son, and a meeting was arranged on the border of Awadh. Some writers, including Amir Khusrav who wrote a long poetical account celebrating the occasion, refer to political motives actuating the fathe? ■ In any case, moved in full military strength. Kaiqubav. ruarcned with an army to the camp on the Saraju river and, under Nizam-uddin’s instructions, insisted on the Lakhnawatl ruler coming over from the other side and paying respects due to the Sultan of Delhi. A protracted exchange of arguments on points of procedure, punctuated by occasional threats, was ended by the father finally agreeing to do homage to Balban’s successor. The meeting that followed is one of the tenderest incidents of medieval history. Kaiqubad affected stern dignity as Bughra Khan, bowing and kissing the ground, approached his feet, but his feeling welled up at length, and the audience broke into sobs as the son tearfully clasped his father. For three days Bughra Khan gave him paternal advice to mend his ways and realise his responsibilities, repeating what he had himself heard in vain from Balban, and, while taking leave, whispered a request to “get rid of men like Nizam-ud-din”.

Kaiqubad’s impulsive resolution to heed his father’s advice and correct his ways, however, gave way even before he reached Delhi, but Nizam-ud-dln’s rivals sought opportunities to remind him of Bughra’s parting advice. The dictator lacked the daring and quick decision of a soldier, and so used backstairs method to destroy his rivals while putting off the final action. The governor of Multan provoked his jealously by his famed victories over the Mongols, and so was killed; Malik Tuzaki, the recently appointed army minister, was similarly removed. But then, in a drunken fit, Kaiqubad, reminded of his father’s advice, ordered Nizam-ud-din to proceed to Multan as governor, and on his hesitating to comply, caused him to be poisoned.

The sudden disappearance of this one dominant and stable factor in the government, however, created a vacuum which neither the king nor any of his courtiers was able effectively to fill. Ziyaud-din BaranI pictures the resulting state of affairs as a chaos in which jealous, power-loving men of no ability kept pursuing each other, while the king sank rapidly under the cumulative effects of his excesses. Two of the new court functionaries, the Amir-i-Hajib Malik Kachhan and the Barbak Malik Surkha, controlled the king’s establishment, and so were enabled to initiate policy. Seeking to safeguard their power as guardians of Balban’s heritage, they planned a rigid enforcement of his racialism which, as evidenced by some of the recent appointments, was tending to lose its primary stress. Deciding to begin with a purge of all undesirable non-Turki elements in the administration, they drew up a list of men whose elimination was to be effected urgently and under the king’s authority. As the afflicted Kaiqubad had become unserviceable even as a titular head, the policy-makers took the radical step of finding a new king for their use, in the person of the three year old prince Kayumars who was formally proclaimed king as Shams-ud-din. In A.D. 1289 Kaiqubad’s reign thus faded into that of his son.

But before the Regency Council, formed by Kachhan, Surkha and the Kotwal, could begin implementing the new programme and strike at the listed men, the initiative was seized by the opposing forces. Heading the black list was Malik Yaghrash Firuz, leader of an influential and numerous clan known as the Khalji, who, because of their early separation from Turkistan, were universally, though erroneously, believed to be of non-Turki stock. His recent appointment to the army ministry was considered a dangerous violation of Balban’s principles, but since his open dismissal was likely to prove ineffective as he had the army’s support, Kachhan had volunteered to assassinate him. One of his servants, named Ahmad Chap, however, happened to be the Khalji chief’s nephew, and so apprised the latter of the conspiracy. Firuz thereupon collected his kinsmen, and shifted his headquarters from Delhi to the suburban village of Giyaspur where an army muster had been scheduled. Unaware of all this, and anxious to decoy him from his people, Kachhan one day rode up to deliver an urgent summons from the king's court. Firuz begged for time to finish the parade, and then as Kachhan relaxed in the tent-shade, cut off his head. He followed it up with an immediate raid into the king's palace, and carried away the boy-king before the Delhi citizens could realise the significance of these happenings. But the initial coup provide decisive. On the persuasion of the Kotwal the citizens restrained themselves from streaming out to an unequal contest, and a feeling of hopelessness seized most of the Turkish officers. With the king now in his control, Firuz was able to legitimise his victory and dispense the offices. Both the Kotwal and Balban's nephew having disdained to receive the office of the Naib (Deputy of the Kingdom) from him, Firuz accepted it himself, and for three months continued this fiction of Balban's dynasty. How this fiction was finally closed and Kayumars disappeared from history, is not recorded, but Firuz only gave form to the realities of the situation and symbolized the coming of a new age, when he proclaimed his own accession 60 as Sultan Jalal-ud-dln Firuz on June 18, 1290.

I. This dynasty is usually referred to as Slave Dynasty in Indian history. But of the nine rulers, only, three, Aibak, Iltutmish and Balban, began their political career as bond-slaves; all the others were freemen. Among the three it was only Aibak whose manumission followed his accession to sovereign power, Iltutmish and Balban both having obtained their freedom early in their life. None of these rulers in any case assumed the insignia of royalty while still a slave. To describe the entire series of these rulers as the Slave Dynasty, is, therefore, inappropriate, even if it is overlooked that they belonged not to one but to three dynasties or families. And yet they have obvious difference with the later Turkish dynasties,—difference emphasised by the domination of freedmcn grouped round leading members of the same class and functioning as a closed oligarchy and seeking reinforcement only from similar bondsmen. These features are exactly paralleled in contemporary Egypt where the Turks, supplanting the Ayyubide dynasty in 1250, ruled up to the Ottoman conquest through a series of ex-slaves recruited and trained by means of a rigidly controlled organization and who never cared for the principle of hereditary succession. To mediaeval historians they are known as the Mamliiks, lit. 'owned' (from Arabic ‘raalaJc’, to possess), based on the Quranic term for a slave, “and what your right hands possess” (xvi, 77). Being of such long usage in Muslim history and indicative of what seems to be a widespread Turkish practice in the Middle Ages the term Mamluk has thus greater applicability to the thirteenth century lulers of Delhi than the word ‘slave’ which implies a lifelong servitude.

2. See above, p. 124. Andkhul is also spelt as Andkhud.

3. The long-drawn struggle between the Indian States and the Sultanate of Delhi has been described in detail in connection with the history of those states in Chs. II and III above.

4. TN, pp. 88-89.

5. Hasan Nizami, I.O. Ms. f. 202 a; TN, p. 140. For Yildiz’s position in Ghur and the Khvarazmi pressure, see Mir Khvand, Rauzat-us-Safa, IV, pp. 126-27. For Qabacha’s coins see JASB, 1887, p. 171.

6. TN, p. 158.

7. For coins evidencing Parihara rule, including those of Malayavarmadeva, in Narwar, Gwalior and Jhansi, see Ojna, Rdjputdne-lca-ItiJiasa, I, p. 166; I A. 1918, p. 241; also Cunningham, Arch. Sur. Reports, II, 315, 378-381. Account of Ranthambhor’s recovery of independence under Govindaraja is to be found in the fragmentary Rajput ballad, Hammira-Mahdkdvya, I A, 1879, p. 69. See also a reference to Ranthambhor’s suzerainty over Jaitra Singh of Manglana, in IA, XVI, p. 86.

8. TN, p. 135; Hasan Nizami, op. cit., f. 230 b.

9. Ibid, op. cit., f. 245; TN, p. 171.

10. For Chingiz Khan’s operations against Khvarazm Shah and the flight of the prince Jalal-ud-dln, see Juwaini, Ta’nkh-i-Jahan Kusha, II, pp. 140 sq.; Howroth, History of the Mongols, I, p. 90; Nessawi, Sirat-i-Jaldl-ud-din Mangbarni, ed. Scheffer, pp. 83-84; see also TN, pp. 171, 293. A detailed account is in Habibullah, Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, pp. 191-97.

II. TN, p. 144; Aufi, Jwamiul Hikdyat, I.O. Ms. f. 3a.

12. TN, pp. 160-164; 174, 231-232. For ‘Iwaz’s coins, see Thomas in JRAS, VI p. 348; Wright, Coins and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi , pp. 15-16. For reference to the conflict of the Senas with the Garga-Yavanas, see JASB, 1896, pp. 5-6; X (N.S.) pp. 99-104; HBR, I. 226. For Orissa and Kamarupa,, see JASB, 1898, pp.317-327; 1903, p. 109; El, XIII, p. 150; Barua, Early History of Kamarupa, p. 224; Gait, History of Assam, p. 37. For ‘Iwaz’s public works see Abid Ali, Gaiir and Panduah.

13. See note 7 above.

14. El, IX, pp. 72-73; IA, XVI, p. 36.

15. Hasan Nizami, (Elliot’s trans.) HIED, II, p. 241; Ojha, op. cit. I, p. 272 II, p. 462.

16. TN, p. 175. Cf. Hiraman Munshi, Gwalior Namah I.O.Ms. f. 11; see El, VII, pp. 223-224, ami IA. 1918. p. 242. for a wrong identification of this Chnhndndeva wilh C'hnhadadeva of Kanlhuinbhor. See above, p. 07.

17. TN, pp. 170, 179, 247; Cf. Ray, DHN1, I, p. 547.

18. TN, p. 174. For a silver commemorative coin, see Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, no. 28, and Wright, op. cit. p. 18, no. 50c.

19. These Turks had, during the reign of Iltutmish, divided among themselves all the great fiefs and all the highest offices in the State.

20. TN, p. 392.

21. Ibid, pp. 184-89, 235 and 253; Isami, Futuh'us-Salatin ed. Mahdi HJusain, pp. 127-29; Ibn Batuta, Kitabur Rihla, ed. Defremery & Sanguinetti, II, pp. 25-26.

22. TN, pp. 191-192, 253.

23. Idem, See also Haji Dabir, An Arabic History of Gujrat, ed. Ross, II, p. 704; TA, I, p. 68. For a full account of Raziyya’s reign, see Sultana Raziah,

in IHQ, 1940.

24. TN, p. 197.

25. Ibidl, pp. 189, 201.

26. For Raihan’s episode, TN, pp. 217, 280 & 298.

27. For Tughan Khan's Orissan campaigns, ibid, pp. 243-246; Banerji, History of

OHssa, I, p. 263. On Katasingh, see N. Vasu, Vangiya Sdhitya Parishad Patrika XVI, p. 132, note 1. ,

28. Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1913, pp. 23-24; Barahdari inscription, Bihar.

29. TN, p. 195.

30. Ibid, pp. 212, 214, 217, 270-71. Tarikh-e-Wassdf, British Museum Ms. f. 254b.

31. Ibid, p. 314.

32. Ibid, p. 322.

33. Ibid, pp. 317 319.

34. Isami, op. cit. pp. 147-150.

35. JASB, LXV, pp. 223-257; Banerji, op. cit. I, p. 267.

36. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, II, p. 146, no. 61. For Arzbadan, see JASB, (N.S.) V, pp. 215-17.

37. TN, pp. 263-65; also, Barua, op. cit. p. 199.

38. TN, p. 259. For the rulers of PIthI, see I A, 1875, p. 366; 1919, p. 47; JASB, V p. 658; IA, X, p. 346; JASB, 1913,' pp. 72-73; El, XII, p. 27;

HBR, I, pp. 259-61; also IA, 1887, p. 341, 7; JASB. (N.S.) XVII, p. 222.

39. IA, 1918, p. 241. On the Jajapellas, see also, El, VII, pp. 223-24.

40. TN, p. 291. On the Vaghelas, see JASB, 1881, p. 34; Cunningham, op cit. XXI, p. 106; Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 21, p. 12; also, Ray, op. cit. II, p. 720.

41. TN, p. 280.

41a. See above, p. 85.

42. I A, 1928, p. 32; Vienna Oriental Journal, "the Chirwa Inscription", in Vol. XXI; also Bhavnagar Inscriptions, p. 93.

43. TN, p. 285; also pp. 313-315.

44. Mahmud's latest coin is dated 664, although Baranl places Balban's accession in 1263; see Wright op. cit. p. 54, No. 224; Balban's earliest coin was also in the same year, see ibid, p. 59, No. 242a. For converting the Hijra into Christian date, Wolseley Haig's Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian dates (London, 1933) has been used. Christian dates given in the text indicate only the beginning of the Hijra year. On the correct date of Balban's accession, see Haji Dabir, op. cit. II, p. 725, and also Ta'rikh-i-Alfi, British Museum Ms. f. 61a.

45. Baranl, pp. 34-35, 37, 40, 70-71.

45a. For a detailed account, cf. CHI, III. 74-5; HIED, III. 101.

46. For a full account of his discourses, see Baranl, pp. 50-53.

47. Ibid, pp. 75, 81. ,

48. For this prince and his dynasty, see above, p. 42 and HBR, I, pp. 254-59. For a fuller account of the whole episode see Habibullah, op. cit. pp. 164-168.

49. Baranl, p. 123.

50. Baranl wrongly dates the event in 1289, p. 175; FIruz KhaljTs earliest coin—a gold piece—is dated 689/1290; Wright, op. cit. p. 83, No. 280. For details of events leading up to his accession, see Habibullah, op. cit , pp. 175-187.

CHAPTER VI

LATER CHALUKYAS AND KALACHURIS

OF KALYANA

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1. TAILA II (A.D. 973-997)

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Taila II, who re-established the sovereignty of the Chalukyas in the Deccan after overthrowing the Rashtrakuta Karkka II in A.D. 973-74, claims to be a remote descendant of the Chalukya dynasty of Badami. The Chalukya KIrttivarman II of that dynasty, who was dethroned by the Rashtrakuta Dantidurga in the middle of the eighth century, 1 is said to have had an uncle whose name was possibly Bhlma. Bhima was followed in succession by KIrttivarman III, Taila I, Vikramaditya III, Bhlma II, Ayyana I, and Vikramaditya IV. 2 Of them Ayyana I is known to have married the daughter of the Rashtrakuta Krishna II of Manyakheta, and Vikramaditya IV married BonthadevI, the daughter of the Kalachuri Lakshmana of Tripurl. Vikramaditya IV's son and successor was Taila II. Two inscriptions, dated A.D. 957 and 965, disclose that Taila II was, in the early part of his life, a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta Krishna III in Tardavadi 1000 country. Tardavadi is now represented by the small village of Taddewadi on the south bank of the Bhlma, in the Indi Taluk, Bijapur District, Bombay State. The Bagewadi Taluk of this district was also included in it. It may be assumed that the predecessors of Taila II also ruled this country as feudatories of the Imperial Rashtrakutas. A number of other Chalukya

families also ruled in the Deccan as vassals of the Rashtrakutas

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during this period, but their relation with the main line is not known.

Circumstances leading to the overthrow of the Rashtrakutas by Taila II in A.D. 973-74 have been described above 3 Taila II was variously known as Tailapa, Tailappa and Tailappaya. He assumed the titles Ahavamalla and

Bhuvanaikamalla, and his capital was Manyakheta at least up to A.D. 993. Immediately after his accession Taila II devoted his energies to the consolidation of his power. He found in Ganga Panchaladeva, who made himself master of the kingdom of the Ganga Marasimha II, his strong rival. Pahchaladeva's kingdom included Mulgunda 12 (modern Mulgund, in the DharWar District) in Belvola 300, in A.D. 975, and is said to have extended up to the Krishna on the north. Panchaladeva, who

is described as the 'Chalukya-pahchanana,' i.e. a very lion to the Chalukyas, challenged the authority of Taila II. Taila II, along with his general Nagadeva, the Ganga Bhutigadeva, and many feudatory chiefs, confronted his rival in the battlefield. Bhutigadeva, who was the governor of Kogali 500, the country round the village Kogali, in the Hadagalli Taluk , Bellary District, Madras State, under the Rashtrakuta Khottiga in A.D. 972, seems to have been dislodged from his position by Panchaladeva. In the initial stage of the battle that followed Panchaladeva reduced Taila II into a very precarious condition, as the Chalukya feudatories, who were in the rear, took to flight. The situation was eventually saved by Bhutigadeva, who succeeded in defeating and killing Panchaladeva. In recognition of this service Taila II honoured him with the title Ahavamalla, and made him the feudatory of Toragale, modern Torgal, on the confines of the Dharwar District. The defeat of Panchaladeva, which took place before A.D. 977, enabled Taila II to establish his supremacy over the countries up to northern Mysore. The central and southern Mysore were under the Ganga Rachamalla, son and successor of Marasimha, in A.D. 977. About this time Taila II defeated and killed Ranastambha, who was an ally of the Rashtrakuta Karkka II. Some time before A.D. 980, Taila II came into conflict with the Chola king Uttama Chola and won a victory. After settling the affairs in the south Taila II looked for conquest towards the western region. The strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea and between the Purna river and Goa was known as the Konkana country (Konkan). A branch of the Silahara dynasty had been ruling in Southern Konkan, with its capital at Valipattana and as vassal of the Rashtrakutas, from the second half of the eighth century. Taila II with the help of his general Kesa(va)jiya brought Southern Konkan under his sway, and the Silahara Avasara III or his son Rattaraja acknowledged his supremacy. The Northern Konkan, which had its capital at Thana, and was at this time ruled by Aparajita Mriganka of a collateral branch of the Silahara dynasty, remained outside the limits of the kingdom of the Chalukyas. The Yadava Bhillama II, ruler of Seuna-desa (the country round Daulatabad, in the Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State), transferred his allegiance from the Rashtrakutas to the Chalukyas. Taila II made an attempt to assert his supremacy over the countries in the north, which once formed parts of the Rashtrakuta empire. He invaded Lata (the country between the Sabarmati river in Gujarat and the Ambika river in Surat, Bombay), conquered it, and placed it under his general Barappa of the Chaulukya family. To the north of Lata was the kingdom of Gurjara, ruled by the Chaulukya Mularaja I. About

this time, when the kingdom of Mularaja was invaded by the Chahamana Vigraharaja I of Sakambharl, Barappa attacked Mularaja from the south. He gained some success, for an inscription credits Taila II with a victory over the Gurjaras. But Vigraharaja overran the Gurjara country, and reached Bhrigukachchha forcing his way through the kingdom of Barappa. The Chahamana occupation of Gurjara and Lata was, however, shortlived. Mularaja concluded a treaty with Vigraharaja and sent his son Chamunqlaraja to fight with Barappa, who was killed in the battle. It cannot be ascertained whether Taila II could maintain control over the successors of Barappa who ruled Lata for some time.

Taila II wanted to assert his supremacy over Malava, which was formerly included in the Rashtrakuta empire. He led six invasions against that country, but was repulsed on all those occasions by the Paramaras under their king Munja, also known as Utpala. At last Munja took the offensive in order to put a stop to the further aggressions of the Chalukyas. He crossed the Godavari, and led a campaign against Taila II. Taila II, with the help of his feudatory the Yadava Bhillama II of the Seuna-desa, defeated him and took him prisoner to his capital Manyakheta. The general Kesa(va)jiya claims to have won the admiration of Taila II for the military skill which he showed on the bank of the Godavari. It seems to have referred to the last battle of Taila II with Munja. Taila IPs victory over the Paramaras on this occasion made him master of the southern portion of the Paramara kingdom. Munja was kept confined in the prison of the Chalukya capital. The story runs that Taila IPs sister Mrinalavati, who was detailed to attend the captive king, fell in love with him, but when she came to learn that Munja's ministers made secret arrangements for his escape, she reported the matter to her brother. Thereupon Taila II treated Munja with great indignity and executed him shortly afterwards.

Taila II and his successors are mentioned as kings of Karnata, Kuntala, or Rattapadi seven and a half lakh country. The kingdom of the Chalukyas at this time included the Shimoga, Chitaldroog and Bellary Districts in the south, Southern Konkan and the border of Northern Konkan in the west, and extended up to the upper course of the Godavari, and possibly even the Narmada on the north. Taila's feudatory Brahmarasa governed Banavasi 12000 and Santalige 1000. Banavasi comprised the Shikarpur and Sorab Taluks of the Shimoga District, and Santalige, Nagar and Tirthahalli Taluks of the same district. The tract of the country round Davanagere Taluk of the Chitaldroog District was known as Kadambalige 1000. It was governed by the feudatory Mulugun<Ja Sinda Jatarasa. The Kadamba

Aryavarman and the Kadamba Adityavarman administered in succession Kogali 500, Kisukad 70, and Sundavatti. Sundavatti is identical with Sindavadi, which is to be located in the Alur Taluk of the Bellary District. Kisukad is the modern Lingsugur, Hyderabad. The Ratta feudatory Karttavirya I ruled the Kundi country from its capital Venugrama, modern Belgaum, in the Bombay State. 6antivarman of the Baisa family administered Saundatti, now in the Belgaum District.

Taila II married Jakabba, the daughter of the Ratta Bhammaha, and had by her two sons Satyasraya and Dasavarman also known as Yasovarman. Dasavarman acted as a Governor during the reign of Taila II. The last known date of Taila II from inscription is A.D. 996. He ruled for twenty-four years and was succeeded by Satyasraya in A.D. 997.

2. SATYASRAYA (A.D. 997-c. 1008)

Satyasraya, also known as Sattiga and Sattima, assumed the titles Irivabedanga, Ahavamalla, and Akalankacharita. The earliest known date of his reign from inscription is A.D. 999. Satyasraya came into conflict with his northern neighbours soon after his accession. The Parmara Sindhuraja led an army against him and reconquered territories which were wrested from Munja by Taila II. The Kalachuri Kokalla II of Tripuri claims to have forced the king of Kuntala to live in exile (vanavasa). There is obviously a pun on the word Vanavasa which refers to the country of Banavasi. The Kuntala king, who was Kokalla II's adversary, seems to have been Satyasraya.

The Silaharas of Northern Konkan, who did not submit to Taila II, fell a victim to the attack of Satyasraya. Satyasraya reduced the Silahara Aparajita to a precarious position. It is stated that "hemmed in by the sea on one side, and the Satyasraya's army on the other, Aparajita trembled like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire". Aparajita eventually saved himself by taking resort to the sea. Satyasraya burnt the city of Amsunagara in the kingdom of the Silaharas, received twenty-one elephants from them, and asserted his supremacy over all the territory up to the sea shore. Aparajita and his successors were, however, allowed to rule Northern Konkan as feudatories of the Chalukyas. After his conquest of Konkan Satyasraya seems to have invaded the Gurjara kingdom and inflicted a defeat on the Chaulukya Chamun^araja, son of Mularaja I.

Satyasraya had to face a grave situation in the southern part of his kingdom. Chola Rajaraja, the Great, the successor of Uttama

Chola, invaded the Deccan with 900,000 soldiers, and after conquering the southern divisions of the Chalukya kingdom, viz. Santalige, Banavasi, Kadambalige, and Kogali, captured the fort of Unkallu, modern Unkal, in the DharwSr District. Lenka Keta, the commander of the fort, gave up his life in the battle with the Cholas while defending the stronghold. Rajaraja next pitched his camp at Dhanvur, modern Donur, in the Bagewadi Taluk of the Bijapur District. An inscription of the third year of Rajendra Chola, son of Rajaraja, states that Rajendra Chola conquered Idituraі-nadu, Banavasi, and Kollipakkai. Idtiurai -nddu is the same as Ededorenad, the country comprising a large part of the Raichur District between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, and Kollipakkai is the modern Kulpak, about 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad. These conquests seem to have been made by Rajendra Chola during his father's campaign against Satyasraya, Rajaraja, while encamping at Donur, ravaged the surrounding country, killed women, children and the Brahmanas, forcibly carried away the Brahmana girls, and gave them in marriage to the people of different castes. Satyasraya made a desperate attempt to free his country from the tyranny of the Cholas, and a fierce battle ensued. §rutiman Nakkan Chandiran, the chief of the elephant forces of Rajaraja, made a charge on the enemy at the order of his master, but lost his life. Rajaraja, being defeated, made a hasty retreat, but Satyasraya pursued him and captured a large train of his baggage wagons. Rajaraja returned to his own kingdom with some booty of gold flowers, which he dedicated to the temple of Tanj ore. Satyasraya then led aggressive campaigns against his southern neighbours. He brought all the territories up to the Kurnool and Guntur Districts under his sway. A stone inscription of the reign of Satyasraya, found in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District, is dated A.D. 1006. In A.D. 1004 Satyasraya is known to have been residing in &riparvata, also known as Srlsailam, in the Markapur Taluk of the Kurnool District.

Bhimarasa continued to govern Banavasi during the reign of Satyasraya. Sobhanarasa ruled Belvola 300, Kundur 500, Purigere 300, Halsasige 12000, and Kukkanur 30. Masavacji was administered by Taila, and one of Satyasraya's officers governed Panuhgal 500. Satyasraya had a feudatory named Kundamarasa, often described as his son, who distinguished himself in the Chola war. Satyasraya's younger brother Dasavarman had three sons, viz. Vikramaditya V. Ayyana II, and Jayasiihha II, and one daughter, Akkadevl. Satyasraya was succeeded by his nephew Vikramaditya V.

3. VIKRAMADITYA V (c. A.D. 1008-1014)

Vikramaditya V assumed the titles Tribhuvanamalla and Vallabha-narendra. Dates of the inscriptions of his reign range from A.D. 1008 to 1013-14. During this period the Chalukyas turned their attention to the expansion of their kingdom towards the east. The general Kesavajiya, who was sent with an army in that direction, claims that he pleased Vikramaditya (V) by his conquest of the Kosala country. At this time, the king of Kosala, i.e. South Kosala, appears to have been SomavariisI Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta II. It may be noted in this connection that a SomavariisI king, who cannot be definitely identified, claims that he defeated the king of the Karnata country.

Kundamarasa ruled Banavasi 12000 and Santalige 1000 as a governor under Vikramaditya V, the Dandanayaka Kesava administered Belvola 300 and Purigere 300, and Vikramaditya V's sister Akkadevl was the Governor of Kisukai 700 in A.D. 1012.

4. JAYASIMHA II (A.D. 1015-1043)

Vikramaditya was succeeded by his younger brother Ayyana II in A.D. 1014. Ayyana II did not rule for more than a year, and was succeeded by his youngest brother Jayasiihha II in or before A.D. 1015.

Jayasiihha II, also known as Sirigadeva, assumed the titles Jagadekamalla II, Trailokyamalla , Mallikamoda, and Vikramasimha. The dates of his inscriptions range between A.D. 1015 and 1043, Shortly before A.D. 1019 the Kalachuri Garigeyadeva, the Paramara Bhoja, and Rajendra Chola formed a confederacy and made simultaneous attacks on the Deccan. Jayasiihha claims to have repulsed all of them, but Bhoja succeeded in annexing Northern Konkan to his kingdom. Rajendra Chola claims that he defeated Jayasiihha at Musarigi, which is identified with Maski in the Raichur Doab, and conquered Rattapadi seven and a half lakh country. There is no doubt, however, that Jayasiihha succeeded in driving out the Cholas from his kingdom. Along with his general Chavanarasa, he pursued Rajendra Chola up to the Gangavadi and the Chera countries. He plundered Dorasamudra, modern Halebid in Mysore, and Baleyavattana, modern Beliapatam, in the Chirakkal Taluk, Malabar, and the country of the Malepas. Some time before A.D. 1024 Jayasiihha II and his general Chavanarasa reconquered Konkan, apparently after defeating the Paramara Bhoja.

The general Chavanarasa claims to have conquered Pannala, also called Praijala and Parnala, modern Panhala, 12 miles north

west of Kolhapur, which was then apparently ruled by the Silahara Jatiga II, and stormed the fortress of Bijavodi. Jayasima IPs feudatory Bijjarasa, the officer in charge of Santalige, is said to have defeated Bhillama and Chattuga, seized Bhatta, and conquered Paftarali, Patahakota, and Toragale. Bhillama, referred to, is Bhillama III of the Yadava dynasty of Seuna -desa, who married the daughter of Jayasirhha II. All these facts indicate that the Chalukya kingdom was torn asunder by internecine quarrel for some time during the reign of Jayasimha. This assumption is confirmed by an inscription, which states that the generals and vassals of Jayasimha II revolted, and even made a plot to murder the king. Jayasimha II succeeded in averting the danger and bringing under control all the hostile forces with the help of his general Kalidasa.

The kingdom of Jayasimha II included Shimoga, Tumkur, Anantapur and Cuddapah Districts in the south. Its boundary on the east lay beyond Kulpak, 45 miles north-east of Hyderabad. Several inscriptions, dated in A.D. 1028 and subsequent years, prove that Jayasimha II ruled from his capital Kalyana or Kalyani, modern Kalyani, in Bidar, Hyderabad. The Chalukya capital was shifted there from Manyakheta some time after A.D. 993. Kundamarasa governed Banavasi and Santalige from the capital Balipura, modern Belgami, in the Shikarpur Taluk, Shimoga District, at least up to A.D. 1031. A certain Satyasraya administered Santalige under him. Vikramaditya V's sister AkkadevI ruled Banavasi, Belvola, and Puligere jointly with Mayuravarman from A.D. 1037. The Kadamba Shashthadeva, ruler of Gove or Gopaka-pattana, modern Goa, acknowledged his supremacy. Jagadekamalla Nolamba-Pallava Udayaditya governed Kadambalige, Kogali, Ballakunde, Ededore etc. from his headquarters at Kampili, modern Kampli, in the Hospet Taluk, Bellary District. The Haihaya Revarasa administered the Gulbarga District, and the Sinda Nagaditya was in charge of the administration of Bagalkot, Bijapur District. Jayasimha II was succeeded by his son Somesvara I in A.D. 1043-44.

5. SOMESVARA I (A.D. 1043-1068)

Somesvara I assumed the titles Ahavamalla, Trailokyamalla and Rajanarayana, and was also known as Vira-Martanda. Dates of the inscriptions of his reign range from A.D. 1043 to 1068. Immediately after his accession in A.D. 1043-44, he was involved in a protracted war with the Cholas. The Chola Rajadhiraja invaded the Chalukya kingdom with a big army. He was opposed at Pundi by Vichchaya or Bachcharasa, feudatory of the Chalukyas in the Rayadurg Taluk , in the Bellary District, who subsequently fled away.

The northward march of the Cholas was next opposed by the Chalukya generals Nulumba (Nanni-Nolamba), Chamunijaraja, the ruler of Banavasi, Kalidasa, Kommayya, and Villa vara j a. But it was of no avail. The next resistance to the advance of the Cholas was given by Somesvara I at Koluru, on the bank of the Bhima, near Chitapur Railway Station, in the Shorapur District, Hyderabad Though the Cholas suffered a heavy loss on this occasion, they forced Somesvara I to withdraw. Rajadhiraja next made a triumphant march to the Chalukya capital Kalyana, pillaged the city, and burnt the royal palace. He celebrated his victory there by performing the Virdbhisheka, and assuming the title Vijayarajendra. It was probably from Kalyana that he advanced towards Kollippakkai. Somesvara, along with his son Vikramaditya, Vijayaditya of Vengi and his commanders Sangamaya, Gandappaya, Gangadhara and others, gave the Cholas here a stiff resistance, but Kollippakkai could not be defended. Gandappaya and Gangadhara lost their lives in the encounter and Somesvara I fled away like a coward. Rajadhiraja returned to his kingdom after overrunning the Deccan.

Some time before A.D. 1047 Rajadhiraja led another campaign against Somesvara I, defeated the Chalukya generals Ga^^ar-Dinakara, Narayana, Ganapati, and Kalidasa’s son Madhusudana, and captured Kampili. After sacking the city of Pun<Jur, on the bank of the Krishna, where there was a cantonment, he seized a place named Mannandlppai. In consequence of these Chola invasions the normal life in the Deccan was greatly disturbed. An inscription, dated A.D. 1050, from the Dharwar District, states that some ministers and administrative officers granted the renewal of corporate constitution of some Settis, which was partly broken down in the stress of the war with the Cholas. Somesvara I, however, did not suffer any loss of territory on this occasion. His general Chamun<Jaraja, governor of Banavasi, succeeded in driving out the Cholas before A.D. 1047.

In A.D. 1051-52 Rajadhiraja invaded the kingdom of Somesvara I for the third time, and was accompanied by his brother Rajendra on this occasion. He seized Kollapuram, burnt down many Jain temples, and defiled and damaged the Jain sanctuaries. Somesvara I took a bold stand, and not only checked the further progress of the Chola army, but even pursued the enemy which was retreating southward. For the final trial of strength the Cholas and the Chalukyas confronted each other in the battlefield of Koppam, a celebrated place of pilgrimage on the bank of a big river. Some suggest that the place is identical with Khidrapur on the right bank of the Krishna, about 30 miles east by south of Kolhapur. Some again think that it is to be identified with the ancient Kopana or Kupanapura,

modern Kopal, on the left bank of the stream Hirehalla, a tributary of the Tungabhadra in Lingsugur. When the battle was in progress Rajadhiraja, seated on an elephant, was mortally wounded by Somesvara I's feudatory Per(ma)la Madarasa. At the death of their king the Cholas were retreating in confusion, when the deceased king's brother Rajendra II rallied the Chola forces with great skill and renewed operations against the enemy. Somesvara I's brother Jayasirhha, and the Chalukya generals Pulikesin, Dasapanman, Nanni-Nolamba, Asokaiyan, Araiyan, Mottaiyan and many others lost their lives in the battle. Somesvara I, together with his generals Vanniya-Revan, identified with the Haihaya feudatory Revarasa, Tuttan, Kundamayan, and many others fled away. After this victory Rajendra II crowned himself king in the battlefield and returned to the Chola country, but he could not annex any part of the Chalukya kingdom.

The earliest known date of the inscriptions referring to the battle of Koppam is A.D. 1054. In that year Somesvara I was encamping at Kampili on the Tungabhadra, and led some aggressive campaigns against the Cholas from time to time. Shortly before the battle of Koppam he, along with his general Pulikesin, who lost his life at this battle, invaded Kanchl and captured that city, wherefrom the Chola governor fled away. Bilhana's statement of the conquest of Kanchl by Somesvara I is corroborated by an inscription of the reign of this king dated A.D. 1058. In A.D. 1058-59 Somesvara I is known to have led another expedition to the Chola country. Some time between A.D. 1059 and 1061 Somesvara I, together with his son Vikramaditya and his general Valadeva, made an attack on the kingdom of the Cholas. The Chola Rajendra II and his son Rajamahendra advanced to resist the invaders. A battle took place at Mudakaru, which seems to be the same as Mudakakere on the bank of the Tunga river, in the Channagiri Taluk , Shimoga District. Somesvara I suffered defeat and fled away with Vikramaditya and the general Irugaiyan, while Valadeva lost his life in the engagement. The intensity of the struggle between the Chalukyas and the

Cholas greatly increased during the reign of Rajendra's successor Virarajendra. An inscription issued in the latter part of Virarajendra's reign states that the king saw the back of Ahavamalla five times in battle. It means that he fought with his adversary at least five times. Somesvara, along with his son Vikramaditya and some feudatories, met Virarajendra first in the battlefield of Gangava^i, i.e. central Mysore. They were defeated and pushed back to the bank of the Tungabhadra. The next battle between the two kings was fought in the Andhra country.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Some time before A.D. 1049 Somesvara asserted his supremacy over the Eastern Chalukya king Rajaraja of the Andhra country. A stone inscription of Somesvara's reign, dated A.D. 1057, has been found in the Ramchandrapur Taluk of the Godavari District. Somesvara Vs son Somesvara II, while serving his father as a governor in A.D. 1049 and 1053, assumed the title 'the lord of Vengi.' Vijayaditya VII, successor of the Eastern Chalukya Rajaraja, turned hostile to Somesvara I, and sought the protection of Virarajendra. After the battle of Gangavadi Virarajendra marched to Vengi, the capital of the Andhra country, to lend support to Vijayaditya against his enemies. In the battle that followed, the Chalukya general Chamundaraja, the governor of Banavasi, lost his life, the nose of the queen of Irugaiyan, who was the daughter of Chamundaraja, was cut off, and the Chalukya army under the leadership of Irugaiyan was routed.

Shortly after his success in the Andhra country Virarajendra met Somesvara I at KudaFsahgamam, also mentioned as Kudal. According to Fleet it is the confluence of the Pahchagahga and the Krishna in the neighbourhood of Khidrapur. Mr. V. K. Pillai takes it to be the junction of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna. Mr. Rice identifies it with Kudali at the junction of the Tunga and Bhadra. It is known from a record of Vikramaditya VI that in A.D. 1073 he granted land to the god Samgamesvara at Kudal. This Saihgamesvara temple is situated in the village Singepalle in the Rayadrug Taluk of the Bellary District. Kudal-sangamam may be identified with this place. Somesvara I, along with his two sons Vikramaditya and Jayasimha, his feudatory Singan, who was the chief of Kosal(ai), his lieutenants Kesava, Kettarasan, Marayan, Pottarayan, Irechchayan, Annalan, and

Maduvanan, fought with all their might in the battle, but failed miserably. Singan fell fighting and Somesvara I, together with his sons and generals, fled away. Virarajendra claims to have seized Somesvara’s wives, family treasures, parasols etc. on this occasion. The victory at Kudal was one of the greatest military achievements of the Cholas of that age, and they remembered it with pride for many generations.

In A.D. 1063-64 Somesvara led an expedition against the Cholas and encamped at Mudukakere on the Tunga, in the Shimoga District. He was opposed by Virarajendra there and was defeated. Virarajendra claims to have won victory over the Chalukyas at Mutfakkaru, which, according to some, means a winding river, but may be taken as identical with Mudukakere. It appears that not long after this engagement Virarajendra fought a sanguinary battle on the bank of a river with a number of generals, who seem to have been the officers of Somesvara I, and killed many of them. Shortly afterwards Virarajendra accepted the challenge of Somesvara to try his strength with him again at Kutjal and reached with his army at Kandai, a place in the neighbourhood of Kudal. Somesvara, instead of meeting his adversary there at the appointed time, fled to the western coast, and his generals Devanathaiv&itti and Kesi retreated. Virarajendra, having waited for the enemy for a month, overran Rattapadi and planted a pillar of victory on the Tuhgabhadra. About this time Somesvara I succeeeded in regaining his position in the Andhra country, and so Virarajendra moved from the Tuhgabhadra towards Vehgi. He inflicted a defeat on the Chalukya generals Jananatha of Dhara, Rajamayan, and Mupparasan on the bank of the Krishna near Visaiyavadi (Vijayawada), and claims to have restored Vijayaditya of the Eastern Chalukya family to power. All these wars between Somesvara I and the Cholas were fought before the fifth year of Virarajendra’s reign (A.D. 1067). In A.D. 1067-63 Vikramaditya, son of Somesvara I, marched against the Chola capital Gangaikonda and plundered it. Somesvara I fought with the Cholas for nearly a quarter of a century, and yielded to their military forces on many occasions. His enemies, however, could not wrest from him any part of his kingdom.

Besides the Cholas Somesvara I had to fight with many other ruling dynasties of his time. The Silahara Aparajita of Northern Konkan had two sons Vajjada II and Arikesarin (A.D. 1017). Vajjada II had three sons Chittaraja, Nagarjuna, and Mummuni. After Arikesarin his nephews Chittaraja (A.D. 1026) and Mummuni ruled in succession. There was a civil war in Northern Konkan during the reign of Mummuni. Some time before A.D. 1047 Somesvara I, together with his generals, the Kakatlya Prola, Kadamba Chamundaraja of BanavasI, the Yadava Ajjavasa, the Haihaya Revarasa, Madhusudana alias Madhuva, and Pulikesin, invaded that country, overthrew Mummuni, and placed his own nominee on its throne. 4 How long Somesvara kept Konkan under his control cannot be determined. Mummuni's nephew Anantapala, son of Nagarjuna, claims that he defeated those enemies "who at a time of misfortune from relatives that had become hostile, having obtained power, devastated the whole Konkana district, and harassed the gods and Brahmanas." Anantapala's adversaries seem to have been the Chalukyas. About this time Somesvara I raided Lata and Gujarat. His adversary in Gujarat was the Chaulukya Bhlma I, and in Lata the Chaulukya Vatsaraja or his successor Trilochanapala. He also invaded the adjoining territory of Malava with the assistance of his generals Nagadeva, Gundamaya, Jomarasa, and Madhusudana, and plundered Man^apa (modern Mandu, in Dhar, Madhya Bharat),

Ujjaiyini, and Dhara, the capital of the Paramara Bhoja, who fled away. In A.D. 1055, when the Kalachuri Kama and the Chaulukya Bhlma forcibly took possession of Malava, Vikramaditya VI, at the order of his father Somes vara I, defeated them and restored Jayasimha, successor of Bhoja, to power. Some time before A.D. 1048 Somesvara came into conflict with the Kalachuri Kama. Bilhana states that Somesvara I utterly destroyed the power of Kama, who, on the other hand, claims that he defeated the king of Kuntala. Prakrita-paingalam mentions that Kama vanquished Vikrama, i.e Vikramaditya VI.

Somesvara I and his feudatory, the Kakatlya Prola, raided Kosala, and conquered Chakrakota, in the Bastar State, after defeating a king of the Naga dynasty. It is not unlikely that he came into clash with Vlrarajendra and Rajendra Chola II at Chakrakota. Prola claims to have defeated a chief named Bhadranga (?) Kadparti, and killed Gonna, the chief of Purakuta.

Vajrahasta V, king of Kalinga, suffered defeat at the hands of Somesvara I. Some time before A.D. 1047 Somesvara I, assisted by his son Vikramaditya and his feudatory Chamundaraja, invaded Kerala or Malabar coast and defeated and killed the king of that country. Nagadeva, the general of Somesvara I, subdued the revolt of the Yadavas of Seuna-de.sa shortly before A.D. 1060. Somesvara I's feudatory, the Kadamba Jayakesin I, son of Shashthadeva, who is referred to as the king of Konkana, conquered the Alupas, king of Kapardikadvipa, and uprooted Kamadeva.

Several inscriptions of Somesvara Fs reign with dates commencing from A.D. 1050, mention that he conquered Vanga, Magadha, Nepala, Kanauj, Panchala, Kuru, Khasa, and Abhlra. Bilhana states that the prince Vikramaditya VI led expeditions against Gauda, Kamarupa, Pandya, and Ceylon. But one may doubt the authenticity of all these claims, though there may be historical basis for some of them. In any case he must be regarded as a great king.

Somesvara I had four sons, viz. Somesvara II, Vikramaditya VI, Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya, and Jayasimha, all of whom occupied administrative posts under him. Somesvara II was in charge of Belvola and Purigere, Vikramaditya VI governed Gahgavadi, Banavasi, Santalige, and Nolambavadi, and Jayasimha was in charge of Uchchangi, Mandali, Sulungal etc. Jayasimha acted as subordinate of Vikramaditya VI. In recognition of the Kakatlya Prola's military service Somesvara I granted him the Anmakonda -vishaya, modern Warangal District, Hyderabad. Somesvara I's kingdom extended in the south up to Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Anantapur, and

Kurnool Districts. He appointed his son Somes vara II as his successor, and died in March, 1068.

6. SOMES VARA II (A.D. 1068-1076)

Somesvara II, who assumed the title Bhuvanaikamalla, was involved in a war with his brother Vikramaditya immediately after his accession. Vikramaditya strengthened his position by marrying the daughter of Vlrarajendra who, in or before the sixth year of his reign (A.D. 1068-69), led an expedition against Somesvara II to secure the throne of the Deccan for his son-in-law. Vlrarajendra burnt the city of Kampili, set up a pillar of victory at Karadikal (modern village of Karadi, in the Lingsugur Taluk, Raichur District, Hyderabad), and declared Vikramaditya as the king of Rattapadi seven and a half lakh country. Somesvara II, with the help of his cavalry forces, routed Vararajendra and established peace and order in his kingdom. After this Vikramaditya submitted to his brother and lived with him cordially, at least up to A.D. 1074. After his victory over the Cholas, Somesvara II made a confederacy with the Chaulukya Kama of Gujarat, defeated the Paramara Jayasimha, successor of Bhoja, and occupied Malava. He could not retain possession of it for a long time as the Paramara Udayaditya, with the help of the Chahamanas, drove him and his ally out of Malava.

Vikramaditya VI is known to have been governing Bellary, Anantapur, Chitaldroog, and Dharwar Districts from his headquarters at Govindavadi (modern Govindavada, a village in the Rayadrug Taluk, Bellary District), at least from A.D. 1071 to 1074. In A.D. 1072 Jayasimha, the younger brother of Vikramaditya, was in charge of Chitaldroog District. As all these territories are known to have been within the kingdom of Somesvara II during this period, both the princes must have administered them as his subordinates. That Vikramaditya was in the service of Somesvara II and was in cordial relation with him is proved by the Nrialgi inscription, dated A.D. 1074, which states that the Mahamandalesvara Vikramaditya and Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya were then at Bankapura (in Dharwar District) in the service of the king Bhuvanaikamalla. After the death of Vlrarajendra there was anarchy in the Chola country. Vikramaditya VI, as a feudatory-/of Somesvara II, put down the revolt and placed Vlrarajendra’s son Adhirajendra on the throne. Shortly afterwards, when Rajendra Chola II alias Kulottunga I occupied the Chola throng after the death of Adhirajendra in a popular commotion, Vikramaditya marched against the usurper but failed to dethrone him. Bilhana’s statement that about this time, i.e. in A.D. 1070, Vikramaditya overthrew Somesvara II is erroneous.

Inscriptions of Kulottunga I supply much information about his conflict with Vikramaditya VI during this period. An inscription of the year A.D. 1074 records his victory over the king of Kuntala, and another of A.D. 1076 mentions that Vikramaditya and Jayasimha, having suffered defeat at his hands, plunged into the river. His inscription of A.D. 1080 states that he fought with Vikramaditya VI between Nahgili (in the Kolar District) and the Tuhgabhadra and captured two countries Gangamandalam and Singanam. But in the midst of these conflicts with the Cholas Vikramaditya seized the Chalukya kingdom.

The Vikramankadeva-charita and a number of inscriptions of Vikramaditya Vi’s reign state that Somesvara II became vicious and neglectful of his royal duties; so Vikramaditya VI, with the help of the Hoysala Ereyanga and Pandya of the Chola family, defeated Somesvara, took him prisoner, and wielded the sovereignty of the Deccan. It is difficult to say whether this represents the whole truth. Unfortunately no further details of this palace revolution are known to us. The last known date of Somesvara IPs reign is A.D. 1078 which is also the year of Vikramaditya Vi’s accession.

7. VIKRAMADITYA VI (A.D. 1076-1126)

Vikramaditya VI, also known as Permadideva, assumed the title Tribhuvanamalla. Immediately after his accession in A.D. 1076 he started a new era, called after his own name. An inscription dated in the second year of the Chalukya-Vikrama era has been found. Jayasimha governed Banavasi, Santalige, and Kadur as a subordinate of his brother Vikramaditya VI at least up to A.D. 1082. Some time after his marriage with the Silahara princess Chandralekha, Vikramaditya received the news that Jayasimha had turned hostile to him and advanced with his army to the bank of the Krishna, where he was joined by many feudatories. He opposed his brother there and suffered defeat at the initial stage of the battle. Even tually he succeeded in taking Jayasimha prisoner, but released him shortly afterwards.

After a long period of peace following his accession Vikramaditya VI marched against the Cholas and took Kahchl some time before A.D. 1085. Some time between A.D. 1091 and 1093 he, along with his general Govindarasa, burnt Vengl, defeated the Velananti Gonka I, and wrested Andhra from Vlra-Choda, son of Kulottunga Chola I. In the latter part of A.D. 1099 Kulottunga reconquered Vengl from the Chalukyas and retained his control over it till A.D. 1117. In the closing years of Kulottunga’s reign, when his son Vikrama Chola, the viceroy of Andhra country, left for the Chola capital to secure his succession, Vikraaditya VI annexed it again to his kingdom. Inscriptions of Vikramaditya prove that he was in possession of the Andhra country from A.D. 1118 to at least 1124.

Vikramaditya VI came into conflict with the Hoysalas of Gaugavadi, which included Hassan, Turnkur, and part of the Mysore Districts, and had its capital at Dorasamudra. The Chalukya Somesvara I had married a Hoysala princess, and the Hoysala Nripakama's son Vinayaditya (A.D. 1047-1101) acknowledged the supremacy of Somesvara I, Somesvara II, and Vikramaditya VI. Shortly after his death the Hoysalas tried to assert their independence. About this time the Paramara Jagaddeva abdicated the throne of Malava in favour of his brother Naravarman, and became an ally of Vikramaditya VI. The Chalukya emperor sent Jagaddeva to put down the revolt of the Hoysalas. The Hoysala princes Ballala, I, Vishnuvardhana and Udayaditya, sons of Ereyahga, and the grandsons of Vinayaditya, gave stiff resistance to the Chalukya army under Jagaddeva, and won some initial successes over the invader. But Jagaddeva eventually succeeded in forcing his way into Dorasamudra and bringing the Hoysalas under control. A Sravana Belgola inscription, dated A.D. 1118, states that the Hoysala Vishnuvardhana's general Gangaraja made a night attack on the army of the Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla, encamped at Kannegal under the command of the twelve samantas, and defeated it. The Sinda chief Acha II of Erambarage is stated to have pursued and prevailed against Hoysala at the command of the universal emperor Vikramaditya. Vishnuvardhana's inscriptions claim that the king conquered Belvola, Hanungal, Banavasi, and Nolambavadi, and his horses, in course of his victorious march, bathed in the Krishna river some time before A.D. 1120. These, no doubt, reflect the different phases of the conflict between the Hoysalas and the Chalukyas in the early part of the twelfth century. Though the relation between these two dynasties became acrimonious from time to time, the inscriptions of Ballala I and Vishnuvardhana, dating from A.D. 1101, prove that they acknowledged the supremacy of Vikramaditya.

The Kadamba Jayakesin I of Goa, son of Shaashthadeva, owed allegiance to Vikramaditya VI at least up to A.D. 1071. Jayakesin I had two sons, Guvaladeva II and Vijayaditya. Guvaladeva was ruling in A.D. 1098. His successor Vijayaditya seems to have revolted against the Chalukyas. The

Sinda Acha II of Erambarage, at the order of Vikramaditya, took Gove, burnt it down, and put to flight Lakshma, a commander of the Kadamba army. Thereupon the Kadambas submitted to Vikramaditya. Vijayaditya's son Jayakesin II, whose known regnal years are A.D. 1125 and 1147, married MailaladevI, daughter of Vikramaditya VI, and ruled his territory along with Konkan 900, Halasige 12000, Payve 500, and Kavadi-dvlpa 125000 jointly with his queen as a subordinate of the Chalukyas. Acha II also put down the revolt of a Pandya chief of Uchchahgi.

A branch of the Silahara dynasty ruled at Karahataka, modern Karad, in the Satara District, from the tenth century A.D. Kolhapur and Panhala were the other headquarters of this family. The Chalukya Jayasiriiha II asserted his supremacy over it. Vikramaditya VI married Chandralekha, the daughter of a king of this family, who seems to have been Marasimha. Marasimha had five sons, Guvala II, Gangadeva, Ballala, Bhoja and Gandaraditya, who ruled in succession. Bhoja, who came to the throne after A.D. 1086, revolted and attacked the territory of the Sindas of Erambarage, but the Sinda Acha III succeeded in repulsing him. Vikramaditya VI led an expedition against the rebel Bhoja and encamped at Appayanadakuppa on the Bhlmarathl river in A.D. 1100. But as Bhoja is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1108, he could not evidently he brought under control.

An inscription, dated A.D. 1078, states that Seven Konkanas became like bracelets to Vikramaditya through the aid of his brother Jayasimha. Vikramaditya's conquest of Konkana is mentioned in another inscription. An inscription, dated A.D. 1113, records that the Pandya Kamadeva ruled the Konkana-ra.shtra as a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI.

The Yadavas of Seuna-desa, whose kingdom extended from the Ahmadnagar District to the Narmada, were feudatories of Vikramaditya VI. Iramadeva, son of Seunachandra of this family, acknowledges the supremacy of Vikramaditya VI in an inscription dated A.D. 1100. Vikramaditya VI put down the revolt of the Yadavas, who declared hostility against him about this time.

Some time before A.D. 1088 Vikramaditya crossed the Narmada and brought Kanama and some other chiefs under his control. It was probably on this occasion that he plundered Lata and burnt the city of the Gurjara king, who seems to have been the Chaulukya Kama. A fragmentary inscription relates that Vikramaditya's feudatory Bijjala, son of Pitta, had some relation with Jayasimha of Gurjararashtra, i.e. Jayasimha-Siddharaja, son of Kama. The Kalachuri king Jajalladeva of Ratanpur (the capital of DakshinaKosala) pushed the western frontier of his kingdom near the border of the empire of the Chalukyas, but Vikramaditya checked his further advance towards the west. Some time before A.D. 1124 his feudatory Pandyadeva of Nojambavadi chased at his command the king of Ratanpur, who was apparently Jajalladeva I. A large number of Vikramaditya Vi's inscriptions, with dates beginning from A.D. 1077, state that he conquered Gurjara, Dahala, Konkana, Maru, Nepala, Barbara, Kashmir, Sindhu, Turushka, Abhira, Nallura, Vidarbha and Vanga. Vikramaditya probably made some of these conquests before his accession, but much of it seems to be mere panegyrics.

Vikramaditya Vi's empire extended up to Hassan, Tumkur and Cuddapah Districts in the south, Khammamett District in Hyderabad and Godavari District in the east and south-east, and the Narmada in the north. The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, Kadambas of Goa, Pandyas of Nolambavadi, Santaras of Patti-Pomburcha (modern Humcha in the Nagar Taluk, Shimoga District), Sindas of Erambarage, Yadavas of Seuna-desa, and the Kakatiyas of Telingana were his vassals. Vikramaditya VI had at least three sons, Mallikarjuna, Jayakarna, and Somesvara III. Mallikarjuna was the governor of Tardavadi, and Jayakarna administered Kaladgi and Belgaum Districts. In A.D. 1083 Vikramaditya VI sent an embassy to the court of Vijayabahu, king of Ceylon. The Kashmirian poet Rilhana, the author of Vikramankadeva-chariia, and Vijnanesvara, the author of Mitakshard , graced his court. He erected a big temple and founded a city, which was given the name Vikramapura. The last known date of his reign is A.D. 1126. He was succeeded by his son Somesvara III in that year.

8. SOMESVARA III (A.D. 1126-1138)

Somesvara III assumed the titles Bhulokamalla and Tribhuvanamalla . The Hoysala Vishnuvardhana led an expedition against the kingdom of the Chalukyas during his reign, captured Banavasi, assulted the Uchchangi fort, and laid siege to Panuhgal, ruled by the Kadamba Mallikarjuna. The Hoysalas were, however, ultimately routed by the Chalukyas. It is known from an inscription found in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District, dated A.D. 1129, that Somesvara III came to the south in course of an expedition and encamped in Hulluri tirtha. He had to surrender the Andhra country to Kulottunga Chola II before A.D. 1134, though he is credited with conquests of Andhra and Dramila countries in an inscription of this period. The statement that he conquered Magadha and Nepala cannot be verified, but it probably refers to the rule of Karnata dynasties in these kingdoms.[6]

Somesvara III, who was given the title Sarvajna-bhupa or Sarvajna-Chaki'avartti for his extensive knowledge, composed the book entitled Manasollasa or Abhilashitdrtha-chintdmaniS He had two sons, Taila III and Jagadekamalla II. Taila III governed Sindavadi in A.D. 1120 under Vikramaditya VI, and continued to hold that position during the reign of his father. The Kadamba Taila administered Banavasi as a feudatory of Somesvara III, and Vira Pandya was the vassal of this Chalukya monarch in Nolambavadi, the capital of which was Uchchahgi. Somesvara III was succeeded by Jagadekamalla II in A.D. 1138.

9. JAGADEKAMALLA (A.D. 1138-1151) AND TAILA III (AD. 1151-1156)

Either in the latter part of the reign of Somesvara III or in the early part of that of Jagadekamalla, the Hoysalas of Gangavadi, the Kadambas of Goa, and some other feudatories revolted, but the Sinda Permadideva, son of Acha II of Erambarage, helped the Chalukyas in putting down the revolt. An inscription of Permadideva issued during Jagadekamalla II's reign, states that Permadideva defeated Kulasekharanka, besieged Chatta and beheaded him, pursued Jayakesin, invested Dorasamudra, and pursued the

Hoysala Vishnuvardhana as far as Belupura and took the city. He finally came to the mountain pass of Vahadi in pursuit of his enemy. Jayakesin referred to is Jayakesin II of the Kadamba family of Goa. Chatta seems to have been Chatta II, ruler of Toragale (modern Torgal), whose grandson Barma is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1188. The Hoysala Vishnuvardhana increased his power and prestige and stationed himself at Bankapura in Dharwar, but paid nominal allegiance to the Chalukyas.

About the year A.D. 1143 Jagadekamalla, together with the Hoysala Narasimha, invaded Malava, dethroned the Paramara Jayavarman, and placed one Ballala on the throne. It was probably on this occasion that Jagadekamalla plundered Lata and won a victory over the Gurjara king, who was Kumarapala. In the south Jagadekamalla fought successfully with Chola Kulottunga II and Anantavarman Chodaganga of Kalihga, and also put down the revolt of a Nojamba-Pallava chief. Vira Pandya of Nolambavadi, Goravadevarasa of Banavasi, Jagaddeva Santara of Pomburcha, Kesvagovinda of Belvola etc., Iruhgulachola of Anantapur, and Sinda Permadideva of Erambarage were his feudatories. The last known date of Jagadekamalla II is A.D. 1151 in which year he was succeeded by his brother Taila III.

Taila III, who assumed the title Trailokyamalla, was also known as Nurmadi Taila. His inscriptions prove that he was in possession of Shimoga, Cuddapah, and Kurnool Districts in the south. Some time before A.D. 1153 he succeeded in repelling the attacks of the Chaulukya Kumarapala and the Chola Kulottunga II. At this time, the Kakatiyas of Telifigana revolted. Taila III, along with the Santara Jagaddeva, marched to Warangal to punish the rebels, but was taken prisoner by the Kakatiya Prola, who is said to have released him forthwith out of devotion for him. This incident gave a crushing blow to the prestige of the Chalukyas. Ere long the Chalukya empire was shattered by internal revolts. In A.D. 1156 the feudatory chief Bijjala of the Kalachuri dynasty practically wielded the sovereignty of the Deccan. Bijjala and the other feudatories, however, acknowledged the nominal sway of the Chalukyas till the death of Taila III. An inscription from Hanamkonda, dated A.D. 1163, states that Taila III died of dysentery for fear of the Kakatlya Rudradeva. The Deccan was ruled by Bijjala and his successors for nearly a quarter of a century, 7 till the fortunes of the Chalukyas were restored by Somesvara IV, son of Taila III.

10. THE KALACHURI USURPATION (A.D. 1156-1181)

Bijjala, who wrested the sovereignty of Kalyana from Taila III, was a member of one of the many branches of the Kalachuri family, which ruled in different parts of the Deccan as feudatories of the Chalukyas. Krishna, an early member of this family, is said to have conquered Kalahjara and Dahala. In his lineage was born Kannama, who flourished in Mahgaliveda, in the country of Tarikadu in Kuntala. Mahgaliveda is the modern Mangalvedha, in the old Sangli State. Kannama's son was the king Raja, whose sons were Ammugi, Sankama I, and Jogama. Jogama, who is said to have attained to the mighty splendour of primitive kings, was succeeded by his son Permadi, also called Hemmadi. Hemmadi is known to have been governing Taradavadi (in the Bijapur District) in A.D. 1129 as a feudatory of the Chalukya Somesvara III. He was succeeded by his son Bijjala before A.D. 1147, in which year the latter served the Chalukya Jagadekamalla II as a feudatory. Bijjala also served Taila III in that capacity for some time, and got the charge of the administration of the southern divisions of the Chalukya kingdom, which included Banavasi and Nolambavadi in addition to Tardavadi. Taila Ill's defeat at the hands of the Kakatiyas of Telingana encouraged Bijjala to bid for the sovereignty of the Deccan. With the help of the gilahara Vijayaditya, son of Gandaraditya, rulej of

Karahataka, and the Dandadhinatha Racha, the officer in charge of Nagarakhanda in Banavasi, he seized the throne of the Chalukyas.

Bijjala assumed the titles Tribhuvanamalla, Nissahkamalla, Sanivarasiddhi, and Giridurgamalla. Several inscriptions of his reign prove that he ascended the throne of the Deccan in A D. 1156 and occupied Kalyana before A.D. 1160. He, however, acknowledged the nominal sway of Taila III so long as the latter was alive. He devoted the early years of his reign to putting down disturbances in the south. Some time before A.D. 1162 he is known to have been encamping at Balligave in the Banavasi-nad in order to subdue the southern region. He destroyed Tagarate in the Shimoga District, defeated the Santara Jagaddeva of Pomburcha, and laid siege to the fort of Gutti (Gooty in Anantapur), which was destroyed. The Hoysala Narasimha I suffered a reverse at his hands on the bank of the Tungabhadra. The Pandya chief Vijaya Pandya, also known as Kama, who refused to acknowledge his supremacy, was brought under control. Bijjala fought successfully with the Cheras of the Malabar coast, the Chola Rajaraja II, Velananti Rajendra-Choda II of Andhra, the Gahga Raghava of Kalihga in the south, and the Chaulukya Kumarapala, whose kingdom included Gurjara, Lata, Saurashtra, and Malava, in the north. He inflicted a defeat on the Kalachuri Jayasimha of the Chedi country, but his victory over this Kalachuri monarch was not decisive, as the latter also claims to have won a victory over the king of Kuntala. The statements in some inscriptions of the successors of Bijjala that he invaded Simhala, Nepala, Turushka, Anga, Vanga, and Magadha are obviously hyperboles. Kesapayya-Nayaka of Banavasi, Vijaya Pandya of Nolambavadi, Barma or Bammidevarasa of Sindavadi, Sinda Chavunda II of Erambarage, Sridhara of Tardavadi, Kadamba Somadeva of Hangal (Hanungal), Silahara Vijayaditya of Karahataka, and the Ratta Karttavlrya III of Saundatti were his feudatories.

Some works of the late period, viz. the Basavapurana, Channabcisavapurana, and Bijjalardya-charita narrate stories referring to Bijjala’s quarrel with Basava, son of Mladiraja, the founder of the Lingayat sect. It is stated that Bijjala, a patron of the Jains, appointed Basava as his minister, but soon quarrelled with him as he was using his office for the propagation of his creed. Basava murdered the king through his agents and himself committed suicide to avoid the extreme punishment at the hands of the son of the deceased king. The authenticity of the story may reasonably be doubted as the contemporary evidence proves that Bijjala abdicated the throne in favour of his son. An inscription of this period from Ablur states that Ekantada Ramayya, a great devotee of Siva, who brought discredit on the Jains by performing some miracles, won the admiration of Bijjala. Bijjala gave him a jaya-patra (a certificate of victory) over the Jains and honoured him by laving his feet.

Bijjala had four sons, Somesvara, Sankama, Ahavamalla and Siiighana, and one daughter SiriyadevI, who was given in marriage to Sinda Chavunda II of Erambarage. An inscription reports that in the 16th Kalachuri (Bijjala) year (S. 1090 = A.D. 1168) Bijjala abdicated his throne in favour of his son Somesvara. Another inscription, dated A.D. 1165, mentions Somesvara as the king of Kuntala. It seems that Somesvara was associated in the government with his father from A.D. 1165.

Somesvara, also known as Somadeva and Sovideva, assumed the title Raya-Murdri. His inscriptions fix the date of his accession in A.D. 1168. The Shimoga District was included in his kingdom. He was also in possession, in A.D. 1174, of the Krishna District which was probably annexed by Bijjala. Somesvara is said to have conquered Chola, Gurjara, and Lata countries before A.D. 1172. At this time the Chola country was ruled by Rajaraja II, and Gurjara and Lata were ruled by Chaulukya Kumarapala. Some time before A.D. 1174 Somesvara is stated to have plundered Khasa, Kalinga, Kimmira, Turushka, Chera, and Saurashtra. During this period Kalinga and Kimmira (Kimida), modern Kimide, in the Ganjam District, were under the sway of the Gahga Rajaraja II. Somesvara’s feudatory, the Kadamba Sovideva, took prisoner in battle the Changalva king Mahadeva, who ruled western Mysore and Coorg. Somesvara’s minister Bayalike Kesimayya governed Banavasi, Sindavadi, Tardavadi, and Hanungal. The last known date of Somesvara’s reign is A.D. 1177, which is also the earliest known date of the reign of his younger brother and successor Sankama.

Sankama II had an able general named Kavana, who had seventy-two officers to serve him. Kavana, defeated the Velananti Rajendra-Choda II of the Andhra country, won victory over the Chola Rajaraja II, led an expedition to the south through Banavasi, and fought successfully with the Hoysala Ballala II. The Kadamba Vijayaditya of Goa and the Silahara Aparaditya II of Northern Konkan yielded to his forces. He claims to have worsted in battle the king of Gurjara, who was the Chaulukya Bhlma II. An inscription of his reign makes the very extravagant claim that he conquered Gauda, Magadha, Turushka, and Sirhhala. The Sinda

Isvara-bhupa, who governed. Banavasi, Edevatte etc., and the Sinda Vikkayya, son of Chavunda II of Erambarage, were his feudatories. He was succeeded by his younger brother Ahavamalla.

Ahavamalla's inscriptions fix the date of his accession in A.D. 1130. Like his predecessors he carried on campaigns against his neighbours. With the help of his generals Kesimayya, Lakshmana, and Chandugideva, he defeated the Velananti Gonka III of the Andhra country, plundered Kanchl after defeating Kulottuhga Chola III, won victory over the Hoysala Ballala II, and subdued the Kadamba Vijayaditya of Goa. He also worsted in battle the Silahara Aparaditya II of Northern Konkan, and the Par am, ar a Vindhyavarman of Malava. An inscription, dated A.D. 1181, gives him credit for conquering the Chaulika army. This may be referring to his success in frustrating an early attempt of the Chalukya Somesvara IV to conquer the Deccan. His governor in Banavasi, Santalige, etc., was his general Kesimayya. In A.D. 1181 Somesvara IV succeeded in wresting from Ahavamalla the larger portion of the Deccan including Kalyana. After this discomfiture Ahavamalla continued to rule Belvola and Banavasi for two more years. The last known date of his reign is A.D. 1183, and he was succeeded by his youngest brother Singhana in that year. In A.D. 1183-84 Singhana surrendered to Somesvara IV Belvola and Banavasi, and acknowledged his supremacy. An inscription, dated A.D. 1184, mentions him as a feudatory of Somesvara IV. There is no trace of the rule of this branch of the Kalachuris after this date.

11. SOMESVARA IV (A.D. 1181-c. 1189), THE LAST CHALUKYA RULER

The political status of Somesvara IV, son of Taila III, during the rule of the Kalachuris is not known. Some suggest that he resided at Annigere in the Dharwar District during this period. In any case he ascended the throne in A.D. 1181-82 and assumed the title Tribhuvanamalla. Within two or three years, as noted above, he defeated the Kalachuri rulers Ahavamalla and Singhana and recovered his ancestral kingdom. In this he was greatly helped by his general Brahma, also called Bomma and Bammayya.

An inscription from Kurgod, in the Bellary Taluk of the Bellary District, states that in A.D. 1181-82 Somesvara IV was on the throne of Kalyana and that, under him, the Sinda Rachamalla ruled over Ballakunde from the fort of Kurugodu, modern Kurgod. Other inscriptions of his reign prove that Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary and Bijapur Districts were included in his kingdom. Kamadevarasa

of Banavasi and Hanungal, Hoysala Ballala II of Dorasamudra, and Vijaya Pandya of Nolambavadi were his feudatories.

Somesvara IV invited the Saiva Ekantada Ramayya to his palace and showed him reverence. He ruled the Deccan up to the Godavari river in the north till at least A.D. 1184, and the last known date of his supremacy over the Bellary and Shimoga Districts is A.D. 1189. He was deprived of his sovereignty of the Deccan by the Yadava Bhillama in or before that year. He then took shelter with the Kadamba Jayakesin III of Goa, who acknowledged his suzerainty at least up to A.D. 1198. Nothing further is known of Somesvara IV.

1. Vol. IV, p. 2.

2. This genealogy, given in later grants, is not regarded as reliable by either Bhandarkar or Fleet (Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Part II, pp. 211, 378-9, 427). Altekar takes the same view (Rashtrakutas, p. 127).

3. Vol. IV, p. 16.

4. An inscription in the Ambarnath temple belongs to the Mahamandalesvara Mamvaniraja (KL. No. 308). Some identify this chief with the Silahara Mummuni. The date of the record is read by some as S. 982=A.D. 1060'. If the reading of the date is correct, Mummuni is to be taken to have been overthrown after A.D. 1060. But Kielhorn remarks that the reading of the second numerical figure as 8 is doubtful.

5. See p. 47.

6. Cf. Ch. XV for the contents of the Mdnasollasa.

7. About this time some chiefs of the Chalukya dynasty were wielding political power in the southern part of the kingdom of the Chalukyas. As inscription, dated A.D. 1160, found in the Sagar Taluk, Shimoga District, states that the Santara Jagaddeva ruled Banavasi and Santalige as a feudatory or Bhulokamalla. An inscription from the same Taluk, issued in the same year, mentions Trailokyamalla as the overlord of Jagaddeva. Some inscriptions, dated A.D. 1164, relate that the Chalukya Tribhuvanamalla was ruling Shimoga. Tumkur, and Kadur Districts, and the Hoysala Narasimha of Gahgavadi was his vassal. Another epigraphic record reports that in A.D. 1170 Mallideva Chola-Maharaja was ruling Govindavadi as a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla. An inscription, dated A.D. 1164, from Davanagere Taluk, Chitaldroog District, records that when the Chalukya Jagadekamalla, who conquered Lata, Pallava, and Kalihga, was ruling his kingdom, the king Bijjala's feudatory Vijaya Pandya was ruling Nolambavadi. Another record, dated A.D. 1165, from the same locality, states that Vijaya Pandya ruled Nolambavadi as a subordinate of Jagadekamalla. An inscription discloses that when in A.D. 1169 Jagadekamalla was ruling from Kalyana, his vassal Mallideva Chola was administering Anantapur District. The Chalukya Jagadekamalla is known to have been ruling the Bellary and Tumkur Districts in A.D. 1173, 1179, 1181, and 1183. The Hoysala Ballala's acknowledgment of the supremacy of Jagadekamalla is proved by his inscriptions dated A.D. 1187 and 1194. The identity of these three Chalukya kings Bhulokamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, and Jagadekamalla cannot be established.

APPENDIX

THE SILAHARAS

Reference has been made above, more than once, to the Silaharas. There were three distinct families of this name, ruling respectively in Northern Konkan, Southern Konkan, and the South Maratha country comprising the districts of Kolhapur, Miraj and Karhad. They were founded in the times of the Rashtrakutas and were feudatories to them. The title Tagarapura-varadhlsvara, borne by all of them, indicates that they once ruled at the city of Tagara.

The first two of these dynasties, founded about the middle of the ninth century A.D., passed through vicissitudes of fortunes during the suzerainty of the later Chalukyas of Kalyana. These have been referred to in course of the general narrative in this chapter.

The third &ilahara family, founded in the tenth century A.D. by Jatiga, with his capital probably at Karhad, had a more distinguished career. The chiefs ruled as independent or semi-independent sovereigns after the fall of the Rashtrakuta empire. Southern Konkan was added to their dominions some time before A.D. 1058.

Gandaraditya of this family, who ruled in the first half of the twelfth century A.D., was a famous figure, and is said to have fed a hundred thousand Brahmanas. He constructed a large tank called Gandasamudra (sea of Ganda) in the Miraj District, placed on its margin images of Buddha, Jina and Siva, and assigned land for the maintenance of each.

Vijayaditya, the son and successor of Gandaraditya, enabled the Northern Silaharas to recover their independence, and aided Bijjala in his revolt against the Later Chalukyas. During the reign of Bhoja II, son and successor of Vijayaditya, the Kalachuris wanted to establish their authority over him, but without success. Bhoja II formally declared independence, but Sihghana defeated him and annexed his principality to the Yadava dominions, as mentioned above.

The &ilaharas carried the Suvarna-Garuda-Dhvaja (banner of a golden Garuda), and used the title Sriman-Makdlakshrrvi-labdhavara-prasada. Thus Mahalakshml was their tutelary deity and they were followers of the Puranic and Vedic religion. An epigraphic record 1 describes the Silahara family as “the best of the Simhala kings”, indicating some real or fancied connection with the island of Ceylon. According to the same record, the Silaharas were descended from Jlmutavahana, the lord of the Vidyadharas, son of Jimutaketu, who gave his life to Garuda.

1. El, III. 292.

CHAPTER VII

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIR1

The predecessors of the Yadavas of Devagiri ruled over a country comprising Khandesh, Nasik, and Ahmadnagar Districts in the Bombay State, as vassals of the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta and the Chalukyas of Kalyana for more than three hundred years. The founder of this feudatory family was Dridhaprahara, who is said to have been the son of Subahu, king of Dvaravatipura, modern Dw.araka, in Kathiawar. Dridhaprahara flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.D., and established his capital at Chandradityapura, modern Chandor, in the Nasik District. His son and successor Seunachandra I founded a city called Seunapura and also gave the name Seuna-desa or Sevuna-desa to his kingdom after his own. It was situated on the confines of Dandaka, and included Devagiri, modern Daulatabad, in the Aurangabad District. The successors of Seunachandra are referred to as the Sevunas in their own inscriptions as well as in those of their neighbours. A remote successor of Seunachandra was Karina, whose son Bhillama V was the first independent king of the dynasty. 1

1. BHILLAMA V

Bhillama ascended the throne in A.D. 1185, when there was a great political upheaval in the Deccan. Though the Chalukya Somesvara IV Tribhuvanamalla succeeded in recovering his empire from the Kalachuris with the help of his general Brahma, he failed to consolidate his power by putting down all the refractory elements. This offered a favourable opportunity to Bhillama to bid for paramount power in the Deccan. He had a number of able generals, such as Jaitrasimha, Peyiya SahanI, Mayideva, and Lakhkhana. With their help he organised an army of more than two lakhs of infantry and twelve thousand cavalry, and launched an aggressive campaign. He wrested from Somesvara IV not only Kalyana, the capital of the Chalukyas, but also Kisukad-nad, the capital of which was Erambarage (modern Yelburga, Lingsugur, Hyderabad), Tardavadi-ndd (country round Mutgi in the Bagewadi Taluk, Bijapur District), Belvola (country around

Gadag, in the Dharwar District), and the adjoining territories. The Chalukya Emperor, in his distress, took shelter with the Kadambas of Goa, and was acknowledged as suzerain by the Kadamba Jayakesi III

at least up to A.D. 1198. About this time the chief of Mangalaveshtaka (modern Mangalvedha in the old Sangli State) lost his life in an engagement with the Sevunas (Seunas). Bhillama next invaded the kingdom of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, who had also taken advantage of the weakness of the Chalukyas to declare independence about this time. In vain did Ballala II, the king of the Hoysalas, try to defend his kingdom against the incursion of the Sevunas. Bhillama overran the Hoysala kingdom and reached Seringapatam, in the Mysore District. During this campaign he also invaded the territory of the Cholas and won a victory over Kulottuhga III. In the meantime Ballala II organised another strong army, and confronted the Sevunas at Ingalakupe, 2 modern village of Ingalaguppe, in the Seringapatam Taluk. In A.D. 1188-1189 he inflicted a severe defeat upon Bhillama which forced the latter to withdraw from the Hoysala country. Inscriptions of Bhillama's reign refer to his supremacy over Belvola, Tardavadi, and Madagihal in the old Jath State. The Silaharas of Northern and Southern Konkan, Kadambas of Goa, and the Rattas of Saundatti do not seem to have acknowledged his suzerainty.

Bhillama also led expeditions against his northern neighbours. He wrested the city of Srfvardhana, near Nagpur, from a chief named Antala. At this time the Paramara Vindhyavarman was ruling in Malava, the Chaulukya Bhlma II was ruling in the Gurjara country, and the Chahamana Kelhana was ruling in Nadol (Naddula). Bhillama overran Malava and Gurjara after defeating Vindhyavarman and Bhlma II and reached the border of the Nadol kingdom in the old Sirohi State. Kelhana proved himself equal to the occasion and baffled all the attempts of the Sevunas to make further advance in that direction. After this discomfiture Bhillama retired to his own kingdom. The other adversaries defeated by Bhillama, viz. the Varalas, Malla, Malluji, Munja, and Anna cannot be identified. The statement of the Mutgi inscription of his reign that he won victories over the Kalingas, Gaudas, Vangas, Angas, Nepalas, and the Panchalas seems to be a hyperbole.

In the closing years of his reign Bhillama was again engaged in a terrible struggle with the Hoysalas. Ballala II launched an aggressive campaign against the Sevunas and readily captured Virata's fort (Hangal), Gutti, and Rattapalli. The Hoysala army next attacked the fort at Soratur, twelve miles south of Gadag. Jaitrasimha, Bhillama's general of the southern forces, finding his position untenable there, withdrew to the fortress at Lokkigundi, modern Lokkundi, six miles east of Gadag, where there was a big concentration of the Sevuna army. Ballala II pursued him there and compelled him to surrender the fort. After this unique achievement Ballala advanced towards Erambarage, which was defended by a number of fortresses. Within a short time the city was besieged and taken possession of by the Hoysala army, which finally advanced up to the Krishna river in pursuit of the Sevunas. All these conquests, which were made between A.D. 1191 and 1192, made Ballala master of Huligere (the country around Lakshmeswar, Dharwar District), Belvola, Kisukad and the adjoining territories up to the Heddore, i.e . the Krishna river. After finishing his northern conquest he encamped at Lokkigundi for some time in A.D. 1193. He made Erambarage his capital for the northern countries and is known to have resided there in A.D. 1196.

According to Hemadri Bhiilama founded the city of Devagiri and presumably transferred his capital there. The earliest mention of Devagiri as the capital of the Sevunas is found in an inscription of Jaitugi, also known as Jaitrapala, son of Bhiilama, dated A.D. 1196. The last known date of Bhiilama is A.D. 1193, but an inscription of Jaitugi is dated A.D. 1192. Another inscription of this king bears a date corresponding to A.D. 1196, which was the sixth year of his reign. All these point out that Bhiilama associated with him his son Jaitugi in the government from A.D. 1191 and died shortly after A.D. 1193.

2. JAITUGI

Jaitugi failed to dislodge Ballala II from Kisukad and Belvola. He however succeeded in wresting the eastern portion of Sindavadi country in which was situated the modern Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District. Though he claims victory over the Pandyas, apparently of Nolambavadi, who were feudatories of the Hoysalas, he could not push the boundary of his kingdom further south. Ballala II is known to have been ruling the Siraguppa and Bellary Taluks of the Bellary District even after the death of Jaitugi.

About this time the northern part of the Kurnool District seems to have passed into the hands of the Sevunas. The extension of the kingdom of the Sevunas up to the confluence of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra brought Jaitugi near the border of the kingdom of the Kakatlyas and he now pressed hard on them. The Kakatlya Mahadeva, who ascended the throne shortly after A.D. 1195, used all his forces to resist the advance of the enemies, but failed. In the engagement that followed he lost his life, and his young son Ganapati was taken prisoner. The whole of the Kakatlya kingdom lay prostrate before Jaitugi. About this time Jaitugi seems to have successfully fought with Anangabhlma II of

the Gahga dynasty of Kalinga and Kulottunga III of the Imperial Chola dynasty. Subsequently Jaitugi took compassion on the young Ganapati, released him, and placed him on his paternal throne.

Like his father Jaitugi also waged wars against his neighbours to the north of the Narmada. The Paramara Subhatavarman and the Chaulukya Bhima II yielded to his force and their kingdoms were plundered by the Sevuna army. Probably about this time Jaitugi came into clash with the forces of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who were carrying on depredation in Gujarat in A.D. 1197.

Jaitugi’s minister was Murari Kesava, and two brothers, Mallideva and Sahadeva, were the commanders of his army. The king ruled at least up to A.D. 1198 and was succeeded by his son Singhana about the year A.D. 1200.

3. SINGH ANA

Singhana, who was the most distinguished member of his family, made an extensive preparation for establishing an empire in the Deccan. But the Hoysalas proved a great obstacle to the further expansion of the Sevuna kingdom in the south. With the assistance of his able general Blchana, Singhana launched an expedition against the Hoysala Ballala II in A.D.

1211. Vikramaditya of the Sinda family, who was ruling the Kisukad country from his capital Erambarage as a vassal under the Hoysalas, submitted to him. Belvola, Huligere, Masavadi, and Hanungal (Hangal) fell before him one after the other. Vlra-Vikramaditya II of the Gutta family of Guttal, near Haveri, in the Dharwar District, transferred his allegiance to him. All these conquests brought Singhana to the northern border of the Banavasi country, the capital of which was located at Balligrama, modern Belgami, in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District, Mysore. The country consisted of at least three divisions, viz., Nagarkhanda, Jiddulige and Edavatte. The headquarters of Nagarkhanda were at Bandanike, modern Bandalike, in the Shikarpur Taluk, and those of Jiddulige at Uddare, modern Udri, in the Sorab Taluk of the Shimoga District. Adjacent to Banavasi was Santalige, the country round the village of Punedahalli, in the Shikarpur Taluk , the capital of which was at Hosagunda. Mallideva of a collateral branch of the Sinda family was at this time ruling Banavasi and Santalige as a feudatory under the Hoysalas. Ballala II made extensive preparations for the defence of Banavasi. But a fiercely contested battle soon enabled Singhana to establish his authority over Balligrama. The Sevuna king then advanced towards Bandalike where Ballala gave him a stiff opposition. But the Hoysalas capitulated as soon as they

found that their grain store was seized by the Sevuna army. Within a short time Uddare shared the same fate with Balligrama and Bandalike. By the year A.D. 1213 Singhana conquered the whole of Banavasi and Santalige and reached the banks of the Tuhga river. This brilliant success emboldened him to make a bid for the whole of the Hoysala kingdom, and he marched towards Dorasamudra. Yelavare, son of Malleya-Nayaka, an officer of Ballala, lost his life in an attempt to arrest the advance of the Sevuna army.Singhana, like his grandfather Bhillama, reached the Kaverl river in course of his conquest, and defeated Jajalladeva, the ruler of Rahga 3 or Seringapatam, Mysore. About this time he also defeated Kakkalla, king of Virata. But he had eventually to withdraw to the north of the Tunga river which formed the southern boundary of his dominion. Stone inscriptions of his reign have been found in large numbers in the Shikarpur and Sorab Taluks. Singhana directed another expedition against the Hoysalas. Two Sevuna generals Vikramapala and Pavusa lost their lives in that engagement.

Singhana also turned his arms against the petty chiefs of the western coast of the Bombay State. The Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla, son of Jayakesi III, king of Gove (Goa), and Karttavlrya IV of the Ratta family of Venugrama, modern Belgaum, which was the capital of the Kundi country, submitted to him. Singhana put an end to the rule of the Kolhapur branch of the Silahara family by overthrowing Bhoja, II, who resided at the fort of Pranala, modern Panhala, twelve miles to the north-west of Kolhapur. An Abhlra chief named Lakshmideva, ruler of Bhambhagiri, presumably modern Bhamar in Pimpalner Taluk of the West Khandesh District, submitted to him. Singhana does not seem to have made any attempt to bring the Silaharas of Northern Konkan under his sway. On the south-east he annexed the larger portion of the Anantapur District, Madras State, apparently by defeating the Hoysalas. His attempt to extend his power into the Kakatlya kingdom, which lay to the east of Anantapur, was foiled by the Kakatlya Ganapati. On the east Singhana, in course of his conquest, reached Chahanda, modern Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh, where he inflicted a defeat upon the Paramara Bhoja, who belonged to a minor branch of the Paramara dynasty ruling in that part of the country. Hemadri, whom the Sevuna king worsted in a battle, was the king of Parnakheta, which seems to have been situated in Berar.

After making himself master of the Deccan, Singhana turned his arms against his hereditary enemies, the Paramaras of Malava and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. About this time the country of Lata with its capital Bhrigukachchha formed a part of the kingdom of the Paramara Arjunavarman, and was ruled by a chief named Sindhuraja. Singhana, assisted by his Brahmana general Kholesvara, crossed the Tapti river and attacked Bhrigukachchha. Arjunavarman and his feudatory Sindhuraja gave battle but were defeated, and the latter lost his life. The Sevuna army next invaded the Gurjara country, which was passing through a crisis under the weak rule of the Chaulukya Bhlma II. Lavanaprasada of the Vaghela family, who was the de facto ruler of the country, failed to withstand the onslaught of the invaders, who after a successful raid withdrew to their own country. Some time afterwards Singhana again attacked Lata and defeated Sankha, son of Sindhuraja. During the reign of Sankha, also known as Saihgramasiihha, the son and successor of

Sindhuraja, Singhana led two more expeditions against Lata. Though on the first occasion Sankha succeeded in repulsing the invaders, he fell a captive in their hands on the second occasion. When Sankha was produced before the Sevuna king he succeeded in securing his release by asserting his influence over the victor. Henceforward he acted as one of the allies of the Sevunas.

Singhana also led two more expeditions against Gujarat. During the first campaign when his approach was announced in the Gurjara country, the people became very much panicky. In apprehension of the tyranny of the foreign army, they gave up the work of the construction of new houses and also of the storing up of foodgrains, and thought only of securing large numbers of carts for the transport of their valuables from the war zone in times of emergency. As Singhana advanced nearer and nearer, burning villages on his way, the crowd of the Gurjaras retreated farther and farther, ascertaining the position of the enemy from the smokes arising out of the burning villages. Lavanaprasada and his son Yiradhavala arrayed their army on the bank of the Mahl against the Sevuna king. But the situation became perilous to the Gurjaras as Lavanaprasada w^as forced to hurry to the north to meet the invasion of a confederacy of the Maravada chiefs. But curiously enough Singhana, for some unknown reasons, did not avail himself of this opportunity, and retreated to his own country. Some time between A.D. 1221 and 1229 he made a confederacy with the Paramara Devapala, king of Malava, and his vassal Sankha, ruler of Lata, for another invasion of the Gurjara country. On receipt of this news Vlradhavala made arrangement for a suitable resistance. But the disquieting news of the advance of the Muslim army against northern Gujarat compelled him to rush to the northern border of the Chaulukya kingdom, leaving his minister Vastupala in charge of the defence of the southern front. Vastupala

thought it injudicious to confront the vast army of Singhana and his allies with the forces at his command, and took recourse to a skilful stratagem. Some well-trained spies employed by him soon succeeded in creating suspicion into the mind of Singhana about the integrity of his allies. The Sevuna king, in disgust, dissolved the confederacy, and abandoned the project of the invasion of Gujarat. Some time before A.D. 1231 he concluded a treaty with Lavanaprasada, which laid down that “the contracting parties should not encroach on each other’s territory and should be confined to the limits of their respective kingdoms. If either of them was attacked by a strong enemy both should join hands in resisting him. A recalcitrant prince from the countries under the contracting parties should not be given shelter.” As a guarantee for the proper observance of these conditions, the contracting parties had to give suitable surety. Singhana acted upto these conditions so long as Lavanaprasada and Vlradhavala were alive, but renewed hostilities against Gujarat during the early years of the reign of Visaladeva, successor of Vlradhavala. The Sevuna army crossed the Narmada under the leadership of Kholesvara’s son Rama, but was repulsed by the Vaghela chief, and Rama lost his life in the battle. Thus Singhana’s aggressive operations in the north ended in signal failure. During one of these campaigns he came to clash with the Turushkas. His Muslim adversary might have been Sultan Iltutmish, who is known to have plundered Malava in A.D. 1233-34. 4

Singhana’s empire extended from Khandesh up to the Shimoga and Anantapur Districts, and from the western coast (excluding Northern Konkan) up to the eastern parts of Hyderabad and Berar. Nikumbha family of Durgapura (Khandesh), Rattas of Venugrama, Kadambas of Goa, and the Sindas of Erambarage ruled their territories as his vassals. Dennayaka, whose headquarters were at Ambadapura, modern Amrapur in the Buldana District, was his governor of Berar. His officer for the administration of the Sindavadi country was Jagadala Soma Nayaka. He appointed Vankuva Ravuta the viceroy of the southern countries, viz. Belvola, Huligere, Banavasi and Basavura. Mallideva, governor of Belvola, the Guttas of Guttal, and the Sindas of Banavasi were placed under his supervision.

The astrologers Changadeva and Anantadeva received patronage from Singhana. During the reign of this king Sarngadhara wrote a treatise on music entitled Sahgitaratnakara. Singhana was on the throne at least up to June 1247. He had two sons Jaitugi II and Sa(m)rnapani. Jaitugi predeceased his father leaving behind two sons Krishna and Mahadeva. It seems that after Singhana’s death a civil war broke out between Sa(rh)rnapai?i and the sons of Jaitugi for the throne. Krishna gained the upper hand and forced his uncle to leave the kingdom of the Sevunas 6 Sa(m)rnapani in his distress took shelter with his hereditary enemy, the Kakatlyas of the Telihga country. He was ruling Panungal in A.D. 1267 under the Kakatiya Rudramba. 6

4. KRISHNA • •

Krishna ascended the throne in the latter part of A.D. 1247. He continued the foreign policy of his grandfather, which aimed at the expansion of the Sevuna dominions in all directions. He sent his general Chamunda against Somesvara, the king of the Hoysalas. Chamunda succeeded in wresting only the Kogali Division, which consisted of Hadgalli Taluk in the Bellary District, and the Devanagere Taluk in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, and which was situated in the Nolambavadi country. Krishna also sent another contingent under Malla against the Silaharas of Northern Konkan, who ruled the Thana, Alibag, and Ratnagiri Districts, and the southern part of the Surat District. Though Malla claims victory over the king of Konkan, who appears to have been the Silahara Somesvara, he could not make any territorial gain in that direction. Malla also claims to have defeated the Pandyas, who seem to have been those ruling in Nolambavadi. On the east Krishna led his army as far as the South Kosala country, modern Raipur and Bilaspur Districts, Madhya Pradesh. During this campaign he seems to have come into clash with the Kakatiya Ganapati. He also carried on the traditional hostilities with the Paramaras of Malava and the Vaghelas of Gujarat, and gained some success. About this time the Sevuna army encountered some Muslim forces, probably those who invaded the Paramara kingdom in A.D. 1250 under the leadership of Balban. Krishna fought successfully with the Abhlras and two other chiefs, Hendari-Raya and Kamapala.

Stone inscriptions of Krishna have been found in the Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, and Belgaum Districts. Obviously he succeeded in maintaining the dominions he had inherited from his grandfather. His viceroy of the southern countries, viz., Belvola, Banavasi, Hanuhgal, Tardavadi, and Kogali, was Chaundisetti. The existence of the rule of the Rattas over the Kundi country cannot be traced after A.D. 1228. During the reign of Krishna Malla-Setti was the governor of this country, the capital of which was Venugrama. Krishna's chief administrative officer in the Sindava<Ji country was Jagama Rahuta, and his feudatory in Goa was the Kadamba Sivachitta Shashthadeva II. Jalhana, the author of Suktimuktavail, was his counsellor and the commander of the army

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI

Although he had a son named Ramachandra, Krishna appointed his brother Mahadeva, his heir apparent (Yuvaraja), shortly after his accession. He probably made this arrangement in recognition of the service rendered by Mahadeva during the civil war. Mahadeva succeeded him on the throne in A.D. 1261. 6a

5. MAHADEVA

Mahadeva continued hostilities with the Hoysalas, the Silaharas of Northern Konkan, the Vaghelas of Gujarat, the Paramaras of Malava, and the Kakatlyas of Telunga country. He made an abortive attempt to penetrate into the heart of the Hoysala kingdom The Hoysala Narasirhha III claims that he forced Mahadeva to flee away leaving behind his cavalry forces. Chanagiri Taluk of the Shimoga District, which is on the other side of the Tunga river, and which was under the sway of the Hoysalas at least up to A.D. 1233, is known for the first time to have been included in the Sevuna empire from an inscription of Mahadeva.

The most noteworthy achievement of Mahadeva is his annexation of Northern Konkan. The Silahara king Somes vara lost his life in a naval engagement with him. After this victory Mahadeva seems to have appointed one Jaitugi the governor of that country. Mahadeva also advanced against Gujarat and won a decisive victory over the Vaghela Visaladeva. Hemadri refers to Mahadeva's invasions of Malava and the Telunga countries. It is stated that at this time Malava was ruled by a king who was an infant, and Telunga was ruled by a woman named Rudrama. Mahadeva defeated both of them in successive fights but did not kill them as one was a child and the other was a woman. The Malava king seems to have been the Paramara Jayasimha II, and Rudrama was evidently the daughter and successor of the Kakatiya Ganapati.

Hemadri was the minister of Mahadeva. A particular style of architecture is called Hemadpanti after his name. Mahadeva closed his reign in A.D. 1270-1271. After his death a civil war broke out between his son Amana, and Ramachandra, son of king Krishna. Amana assumed the royalty of Devagiri, which, Ramachandra thought, really belonged to him. It was not, however, possible for him to capture the impregnable fort of Devagiri with the forces at his command. So he had to take recourse to unchivalrous means in order to achieve his end. One evening he introduced a body of soldiers in the guise of dancers into the fort for giving a musical performance. When Amana and his retinue were absorbed in the entertainment, the soldiers threw off their mask and took the royal guards by surprise. 7 The palace revolution continued for some time

causing heavy casualties. Cart-loads of wounded soldiers were sent out through the villages. The neighbouring villagers got panicky at the news of the turmoil and fled away pell mell. Amana fell a captive into the hands of Ramachandra who subsequently blinded and killed him.

6. RAMACHANDRA

In the early years of Ramachandra's reign the Sevunas made a desperate attempt to crush the power of the Hoysalas, and a large body of soldiers, under the leadership of the most eminent generals, was despatched against the Hoysala kingdom. Saluva-Tikkama, Jeyideva, Haripala, and Irungala-Chola II of Niragunda overran the Belavadi country, modern Belur in the Hassan District, Mysore, and besieged Dorasamudra. A detachment of the Sevuna army under the great general Kannaradeva, and the ministers Chavundarasa and Vanadevarasa attacked Dordvadi, in the Kurugodu country, modern Karugodu, in the Manjarabad Taluk of the Hassan District. Though Singeya-Nayaka, the officer-in-charge of the place under the Hoysalas, succeeded in killing Vanadevarasa, he had to yield to the invading army. The Sevuna army engaged in storming Dorasamudra, however, could not achieve its end. Chikkadeva, Anka Nay aka, and Khandeya Raya Raney a, generals under the Hoysala Narasimha III, killed a body of 12000 Sevuna cavalry and pursued the retreating Saluva-Tikkama and his associates up to Dummi on the border of Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts. This was the last invasion of the Sevunas against the Hoysalas, which ended in disastrous failure. Ramachandra’s military operation against Gujarat was also foiled by the Vaghela Sarangadeva. He was, however, successful in his campaigns against the chiefs of Dahala (modern Jabalpur and the adjoining territories), Bhandagara (modern Bhandara in Madhya Pradesh), and Vajrakara (modern Wairagarh in the Chanda District, Madhya Pradesh), and also defeated the petty chiefs of Palli, Mahima, Sanga, and Kheta. The claims that he drove out the Muslims from Banaras, and that the king.pf Kanyakubja submitted to him are evidently without any historical value.

Inscriptions of Ramachandra prove that in the early years of his reign he succeeded in maintaining intact the empire he had obtained from his predecessors. His Ramtek and Lanji inscriptions further prove that he succeeded in pushing the eastern boundary of his dominions up to the Nagpur and Balaghat Districts. BhimadevaRane and Vasudeva-Nayaka were his governors in Sindavadi and Kisuka^ respectively. Northern Konkan was governed by AchyutaNayaka, Krishna, and Jaideva in succession. The Santara chief

Timmarasa ruled Santalige as a vassal of Ramachandra. Hemadri, Srldhara and Purushottama served him as ministers. But the most trustworthy officer of the king was Raghava, who administered the Empire as his deputy. 8

When Ramachandra was peacefully ruling his empire, £ Ala-uddin Khalji, who was the governor of Kara under his uncle FIruz Shah Khalji, invaded Devagiri by way of Ellichpur in A.D. 1294. At this time a large body of the Sevuna army was away from the capital, and was engaged in escorting Ramachandra’s son Sankaradeva and the queen to places of pilgrimage. Ramachandra made a fruitless attempt to resist the invader at Lasura in the vicinity of Devagiri and ultimately withdrew to the citadel. ‘Ala-ud-dm pursued him there and pillaged the city. The Sevuna king was forced to conclude a treaty on payment of a heavy amount of gold. On receipt of the news of the invasion of Devagiri by the Muslims Sankaradeva hastened back to Devagiri and, disregarding his father’s advice, attacked the retreating Muslim army. He was overpowered by £ Ala-ud-dm who then forced Ramachandra to agree to more stringent terms. Though £ Ala-ud-dm withdrew from the Deccan, the signal failure of Ramachandra even to save his own capital from rapine and plunder irretrievably impaired the political prestige of the Sevunas. Their hereditary enemies in the east and south now began to press hard on them. In the early years of the fourteenth century the Kakatlya Prataparudra succeeded in pushing the western border of his empire at least up to Medak and Raichur in Hyderabad. In A.D. 1303 the Hoysala Ballala in, successor of Narasimha III, sent his general Gangeya Sahani with a big contingent for the invasion of the Sevuna dominions. Gangeya Sahani encamped in Banavasi and fought a battle at Sirise in the Kadambalige country with the Sevunas. In A.D. 1305 Ballala III himself led an army against Ramachandra and wrested from him Banavasi, Santalige, and Kogali. There is no evidence to prove that Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts were within the Sevuna empire after A.D. 1300. On the other hand a minister of Ballala III is known to have been administering Santalige in A.D. 1307.

When the Sevunas were fighting for the defence of their dominions in the south the Deccan was again raided by the Muslims. The story runs that some time after the conquest of Gujarat £ Ala-ud-dm Khalji ordered his officers to capture Vaghela Kama’s daughter Devaladevi, who was betrothed to Sankaradeva. When Sankaradeva’s younger brother was conveying the princess from Nandurbar, in West Khandesh, to Devagiri, she was seized by the Muslims, who then sent her to Delhi. If there is any truth in this story the untoward incident certainly made the relation between the Sevunas and the Muslims acrimonious. In any case Ramachandra swerved from his allegiance to the government of Delhi, and in A.D. 1307 ‘Ala-ud-dm Khaljl sent Malik-Naib Kafur with an army to the Deccan to chastise him. Malik-Naib overran the Sevuna kingdom and took Ramachandra prisoner, who was then carried to Delhi. After a period of six months Ramachandra was released with honour and was allowed to rule his kingdom as a vassal under the Sultanate of Delhi. In 1308 Malik-Naib, on his arrival at Devagiri with his army for an invasion of Telingana country, received substantial help from Ramachandra. Ramachandra also furnished the Muslim army with equipments when Malik-Naib marched against Ballala III of Dorasamudra in February, 1311.

7. SANKARADEVA AND HARAPALADEVA

The last known date of Ramachandra from the epigraphic source is September, 1310. He was succeeded by his son Sankaradeva some time after February, 1311. Sankaradeva antagonised the Sultan by his hostile activities. In A.D. 1313 Malik-Naib, with the consent of ‘Ala-ud-dm, directed an expedition against the Deccan, killed Sankaradeva, and assumed the government of Devagiri. But he had soon to leave Deccan as his service was urgently needed by the ailing Sultan. The government of Delhi was passing through stress and strain on the eve of ‘Ala-ud-din’s death. Taking advantage of this situation Harapaladeva, who was the son-in-law of Ramachandra, and seems to have been identical with his general Haripala, revolted and declared independence. He captured the fort of Devagiri with the assistance of Raghava, who was the deputy and minister of Ramachandra. In A.D. 1317 Mubarak, son and successor of ‘Alaud-dm, recovered Devagiri after defeating and killing Harapala. Raghava, with 10,000 cavalry, retreated to a hill where he was pursued by Khusrav Khan, the commander of Mubarak’s army. Raghava received a severe wound in the engagement and fled. 9 The kingdom of the Sevunas then finally passed into the hands of the Muslims. 10

1. These chiefs claimed descent from the Yadavas who, it stated, were at first lords of Mathura, and then, from the time of Krishna, became sovereigns of Dvaravatlpura. The usual Puranic geneology from Brahma, through Atri, Soma, Yadu, etc., appears first in a record of A.D. 1000 and is given more fully in Hemadri’s Vratakhanda (thirteenth century A.D.). According to this authority, Subahu was a universal sovereign, but he is not mentioned in any epigraphic record. His son Dridhaprahara, who is mentioned in the Bassein grant of A.D. 1069 (IA, XII. li9), may be regarded as the first historical king of this family.

It may be mentioned that the kings of this dynasty had the hereditary title of Dvardvati-puravar-adhisvara (supreme lord of Dvaravatl, the best of towns) and Vishnu-vaThsodbhava (born in the race of Vishnu). They carried the Suvarna-Garuda-dhvaja (banner of a golden Garuda), which also appears as the device on the seals of their charters, sometimes alone, and sometimes along with the figure of Hanuman. In at least one case, the monkey-god alone appears as lanchhana or crest.

Not much is known of the twenty chiefs who flourished between Dridhaprahara and Bhillama V, though their names are given both in Vratakh-anda and the epigraphic records. According to these, the queen of Bhillama II was probably the daughter of a §ilahara chief and "sprang on her mother's side from the Rashtrakuta family". Bhillama is said to have fought against Muhja on behalf of Ranarahgabhlma, who has been identified with Tailapa. Bhillama's father Vaddiga is, however, represented as a follower of Krishnaraja, probably Krishna III of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. The family thus transferred their allegiance from the Rashtrakutas to the Chalukyas of Kalyana when the latter overthrew the former.

There is a curious discrepancy among the different authorities, about the parentage of Bhillama V. While Vratakhanda and several inscriptions of the thirteenth century A.D. give his father's name as Mallugi, a record of the time of Bhillama himself, dated A.D. 1191, definitely says that his father was Kama. It is no less curious that in Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part II (pp. 230 ff, 511 ff), which may be regarded as the chief authority for the history of Yadavas so far published, the two different views are supported respectively by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (p. 238) and Dr. Fleet (pp. 516 ff).

2. EC, XIV. 207, No. 255.

3. Ibid, XI, Jg. 30, p. 155. But the Panungal inscription mentions Jajalla as the king of Kimidi (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 13).

4. Inscriptions of Sihghana make extravagant claims that he defeated the kings of Anga, Vahga, Kalinga, Magadha, Nepala,KasI, Mathura, Sindh, Barbarika, Chera, Chola, and Turagapati.

5. El, XIX. 19, v. 12 lilonmulita-rdshpra kantaka-chamu-chakrara etc.

6. Hyd. Arch. S. No. 13.

6a. Cf. Kalegaon copper-plate grant of Mahadeva—Summaries of Papers, AIOC, 1955, p. 88.

7. El, XXV 221, v. 14.

8. Ibid, 7.

9. HIED, III. 558. Khusrav Khan's fight with Raghu has been mentioned in Amir Khusrav's Nuh Sipihr, the historical value of which has been ignored by the modern scholars without reason. Raghu, mentioned here as the deputy and minister of Ramachandra, is most probably identical with RSghava of the Ramtek inscription (El, XXV. 8, 11. 16-17), who was the most important of the officers of Ramachandra.

10. Dates of the Yadava kings are given differently by different authors (cf HSI, 190 ff.; JOR, XII. 47-52).

CHAPTER VIII

DYNASTIES OF EASTERN DECCAN

1. THE KAKATIYAS

The Kakatiyas, who were members of the Durjaya family, were Sudra by caste. They believed that their remote ancestor Karikalachola founded or first settled in Kakatipura, which cannot be now identified. 1 The kings of the Kakatiya dynasty always took pride in calling themselves the “lords of Kakatipura”, though they are sometimes referred to as kings of the Andhra or Teluhga country. The earliest known king of the dynasty is Beta I, who is said to have belonged to “the feudatory family of the working class.” 2 Beta I was a subordinate of a Pallava king, and was overthrown by the Cholas, probably during Rajendra Chola Fs northern campaigns. Some time after the departure of the Chola Emperor, Era, a subordinate of Beta I, defeated the Chola governor and placed his master on the throne. Beta I flourished in the first half of the eleventh century and ruled the Koravi country which included at least a part of the Nalgonda District of Hyderabad State. He was succeeded by his son, the Mahamctndalesvara Prola I.

Prola I acknowledged the supremacy of the Chalukya Somesvara I Trailokyamalla (A.D. 1043-1068). He fought successfully, apparently on behalf of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, against the Nagas of Chakrakota, Silaharas of Konkana-mandaia, Bhadranga, and the son of Dugga of Kadparti, and killed in battle Gonna, the chief oC Purakuta. Probably in recognition of this military service he “obtained permanently from king Trailokyamalla, by way of grant, Anmakonda-ins/iaya,” the country round Hanamkonda, in the Warangal Taluk (Warangal District, Hyderabad State). Prola was succeeded by his son Tribhuvanamalla Beta II, who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1126) of Kalyana.

Stone inscriptions of Beta II’s reign, dated A.D. 1079 and 1090, have been found in Hanamkonda and Kazipet. Some time before A.D. 1090 Beta II won victories over the Paramara Udayaditya. king of Malava, and Kulottunga Chola I of Tanj ore, obviously under the leadership of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. Evidently after this achievement he saw the Emperor in his capital, who rewarded him with the ownership of Sabbisayira one thousand. Sabbisayira

one thousand seems to be identical with Sabbinaruju, which is located in or near the Karimnagar District, in Hyderabad State. Beta II established his capital at Anmakon^a where he built a tank called Sivapurl and a temple after his own name. He was succeeded by his son Prola II, 3 whose earliest known date is A.D. 1115.

In the early years of his reign Prola II owed allegiance to Vikramaditya VI, after whose death in A.D. 1126 the Chalukya empire began to disintegrate. Taking advantage of this situation Prola II revolted and attacked the feudatories of the Chalukyas in the Telingana and Andhra countries. He defeated Govindaraja and handed his kingdom Kondapalli, in the Krishna District, over to Udaya or Chododaya, whose brother Mahamandalesvara Gokarnachoda was ruling as his feudatory near Panugal (Nalgonda District). He also defeated and killed Gunda, also described as Mantena or Manthanya Gunda, ruler of Mantrakuta (modern village of Mantena, in the Nuzvid Taluk, Krishna District) and annexed his kingdom. Prola's attempt to push his arm further into the Velananti kingdom was frustrated by the Mahamandalesvara Chodaraja. Hostile activities of the Kakatlyas led the Chalukya Tailapa III (A.D. 1151-1162) to invade the Telunga country along with his feudatory Jagaddeva of the San tar a family of Patti-Pomburchapura. They advanced as far as Anmakonda and besieged it. But Prola rose equal to the occasion, took Tailapa III prisoner, and forced Jagaddeva to withdraw his army. The Emperor was subseqently released. Henceforward the Kakatlyas began to rule as independent chiefs and even cherished an ambition for the establishment of an empire. Prola had two sons, Rudra I and Mahadeva. Rudra succeeded him on the throne some time before A.D. 1158.

Some time before A.D. 1162 Rudra I attacked Tailapa III and dealt the final blow on him. It is stated that out of fear for him “the king Tailapa with body completely overcome by dysentery died”. During the early part of the reign of Rudra I there was a general revolt of the feudatories in the Kakatiya kingdom. The king brought under control Domma and Meda, who was a chief of the Pakhal Taluk to the north-east of Warangal, and deprived Mailigideva of his kingdom of PoiaVasa -desa (modern Polas, in the Yelgandal District in Hyderabad State). The Kakatiya army burnt the city of Chododaya, the ruler of Kondapalli, who is said to have died about this time out of fear for the king. Bhlma, who poisoned his brother Gokarnachoda to death, fled to the forest leaving his capital Vardhamanapura at the mercy of the Kakatlyas. Thus by the year A.D. 1162 Rudra succeeded in establishing peace and order in the Kakatiya kingdom. To the south of his kingdom was the

kingdom of Andhra, consisting of the Kurnool, Guntur, Krishna, and the Godavari districts, which was ruled by the Velananti chiefs as feudatories of the Imperial Cholas. Shortly before A.D. 1173 the supremacy of the Cholas in the Andhra country was ended by the Kalachuri Sovideva of Kalyana. Loss of the support of the Cholas greatly weakened the military strength of the Velananti chiefs, who were forced to surrender Kurnool District to Rudradeva some time before A.D. 1185.

Rudra I was a well-known writer, and the Sanskrit work Nitisara is said to have been written by him. During his reign temples were built in Anmakonda, Pillamari, and Mantrakuta. The city of Orungallu, modern Warangal, was at this time rising into prominence; Rudra founded there a number of quarters and built a temple of Siva. He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahadeva shortly after A.D. 1195. 4

Mahadeva was devoid of princely qualities. He came under the influence of the Saiva teacher Dhruvesvara, and devoted his time to religious performances. An inscription, apparently of his reign, states that after acquiring the sovereignty he “cared a straw for it and became one completely engrossed in the worship of Siva.” He had, however, to pay the penalty for his neglect of administrative duties. The Yadava Jaitugi, king of Devagiri, attacked the Teluhga country with all his forces. In vain did Mahadeva and his son Ganapati try to resist the invader. Mahadeva lost his life in the battle, and Ganapati, whose life was spared, was taken prisoner.

Subsequently, Jaitugi took compassion on the young prince and installed him on his paternal throne.

Ganapati ascended the throne in A.D. 1198. He was a contemporary of the last three Chola Emperors, Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216), Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1246), and Rajendra Chola III (A.D. 1246-1279). Chola empire began to disintegrate from the time of Kulottunga III. A protracted struggle began between the Kakatiyas, Hoysalas, and the Pandyas for supremacy over the territories of the Cholas. Ganapati occupied the kingdom of Andhra to the west of the Godavari river by putting an end to the rule of the Velananti chiefs, and forced the Ganga Anangabhlma III, king of Kalin ga, who only shortly before carried his arms into the Vengi country, to surrender to him the Godavari District to the east of the Godavari river. Kotas of Amaravati, Telugu-Chodas of Guntur, Nathavadi chiefs of the Krishna District and many other chiefs acknowledged his supremacy. He next conquered Nellurapurai (Nellore) after defeating Manuma Gandagopala. Gradually all the territories up to Kanchi or Conjeeveram passed into his hands. The extension of the Kakatlya kingdom up to the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts brought it to the border of the kingdom of the Hoysalas, who had asserted their supremacy over the Bellary and Anantapur Districts. Though Ganapati claims to have won a victory over the Karnatas i.e. Hoysalas, he could not wrest any territory from them. In the third decade of the thirteenth century Singhana, king of Devagiri, ousted the Hoysalas from the Bellary and Anantapur Districts and established there the authority of the Yadavas. Somewhere in this region Ganapati seems to have come into conflict with king Singhana. As both the kings claim victory, the result of the battle was evidently indecisive. In the north-east Ganapati fought successfully with a chief of Tummana, in the Bilaspur District, Madhya Pradesh. 6

Stone inscriptions of Ganapati’s reign have been found in the Warangal, Nalgonda, and Mahbubnagar Districts, in the Hyderabad State, and in the Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Kurnool, Nellore, Cuddapah, Chittur, and Chingleput Districts, in the Madras State. His empire thus extended from the Godavari District up to Chingleput, and from Yelgandal, in Hyderabad State, up to the sea. He put two of his able generals, viz. Samanta-Bhoja and Gangeya Sahani, in charge of the defence of the bordering districts in the west. Samanta-Bhoja, who issued an edict of the Emperor from Kahchl, was connected with Chingleput and Chittur. Gangeya Sahani, who successfully repulsed the attacks of the rebellious chiefs Damodara of the west and Rakkasa-Gangarasa, administered the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts. Ganapati, however, could not keep this newly established empire intact up to the end of his reign. Some time after A.D. 1250 Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (A.D. 1251-1268) of Madura, after subduing the Cholas and the Hoysalas, invaded Kahchl. A sanguinary battle was fought between the Kakatlyas and the Pandyas at Mudugur "in which the dead bodies were strewn up to the banks of the Peraru." Ganapati was defeated, and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya conquered Kahchl and occupied Nellurapura. Stone inscriptions of this Pandya king have been found at Conjeeveram and Nellore.

Ganapati transferred his capital from Anmakonda to Orgungallu (Warangal), also known as Ekasilanagarl, which enjoyed that privileged position till the final collapse of the Kakatlyas. Ganapati encouraged over-sea trade by abolishing oppressive taxes on the foreigners. Motupalli, now in the Krishna District, was an important sea-port in his kingdom, frequently visited by cargo vessels. Beautiful temples were erected at Ramappa, Palampet, Pillamari and in many places during his reign. He himself built the

beautiful gateways in the Warangal fort. Under his benevolent patronage the great Saiva teacher Visvesvara Sambhu, an inhabitant of West Bengal, established useful institutions in the Andhra country for the benefit of the villagers. Ganapati had no son, and only two daughters, Rudramba and Ganapamba. He designated Rudramba, who was married to Chalukya Virabhadresvara, by a male name Rudradeva, and associated her with the government from A.D. 1258-59. The last known date of Ganapati's reign is A.D. 1261.

After the assumption of the royal power Rudramba had to encounter a series of troubles. The Yadavas of Devagiri were the sworn enemies of the Kakatiyas. Some time after the death of the Yadava Singhana the Kakatlyas gave shelter to his younger son Sa(m)rnapani, who was deprived of the throne of Devagiri by his brother Jaitugi IFs sons Krishna and Mahadeva. This Yadava prince was appointed to rule the territory of Panungal, modern Panugal (Nalgonda District). The Yadava Mahadeva (A.D 12611271) could not tolerate his rival to the throne of Devagiri flourishing under the care of the Kakatlyas. He invaded the Teluhga country and captured some elephants and musical instruments by defeating Rudramba, but spared her life as she was a woman. This victory of the Yadavas greatly impaired the political power of Rudramba. Her feudatory Ambadeva-maharaja, whose head-quarters were at Valluri-pattana, established friendly relation with her enemies, the Yadavas and the Pandyas, and declared independence in the Kurnool and Cuddapah Districts. He also defied the power of the Kakatiyas by placing one Manuma-Gandagopala, who was formerly dethroned by Ganapati, on the throne of Nellurapura. The Kakatiyas could not reconquer Nellore, Cuddapah, and Kurnool during the reign of Rudramba. About this time the Pallava KopPerunjinga of Sendamangalam, who took possession of Kanchi in A.D. 1260, won a victory over the Kakatiyas.

The Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who visited Motupalli about A.D. 1293, speaks highly of the administrative qualities of Rudramba. Rudramba had a daughter named Mummadamba, who was given in marriage to Mahadeva. Rudramba adopted Mummadamba’s son Prataparudra as her successor to the throne, 6 and associated him with the government from A.D 1290.

Immediately after his accession Prataparudra engaged himself in the task of restoring the lost territories of the Kakatiyas. Ambadeva was dethroned and his kingdom was annexed. Prataparudra’s general Adidamma attacked Nellore and killed its ruler Manuma-Gandagopala, but could not take possession of the city. Vijaya-Gandagopala alias Raja-Gandagopala, presumably a successor of the deceased chief, ruled Nellore at least up to A.D. 1315. In the early years of. the fourteenth century the war-like activities of the Muslims under the Sultan ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji created an alarming situation in the Deccan. Prataparudra had to postpone his military campaigns in the south in order to make suitable arrangements for the defence of his kingdom against the new danger. He fought bravely with Malik Kafur, the general of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji, when he invaded Warangal in A.D. 1309-1310, but despairing of victory purchased peace by surrendering all his treasures to the invader. Some time after the departure of the Muslim army Prataparudra re-opened his southern campaigns. He wrested Nellore from Vijaya-Gandagopala and having captured Kanchl by defeating Ravivarman Kerala, installed there as governor his own protege named Manavira. This brilliant achievement encouraged Prataparudra to push his arms further south. Within a very short time he conquered all the countries up to Trichinopoly, which was then ruled by the Hoysalas, and even defeated the Pandya king. 6 a He also fought an indecisive battle with the Yadava Ramachandra. Stone inscriptions of his reign have been found in the Trichinopoly, Chingleput, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Nellore, Guntur, Krishna and Godavari Districts in the Madras State, and in the Nalgonda, Warangal, Raichur, and Medak Districts in Hyderabad State. Thus in the latter part of his reign the Kakatlya kingdom extended from the Godavari river to Trichinopoly and from Medak to the sea. Prataparudra could not enjoy this vast empire for a long time. In A.D. 1322 Ulugh Khan, son of the Sultan Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq, invaded Warangal and took Prataparudra prisoner. The whole of Telingana was conquered by the Muslims, who appointed their own officers for its administration. According to Shams-i Siraj' Afif Prataparudra died on his way to Delhi. But this seems to be erroneous in view of the fact that a stone inscription of Prataparudra's reign, dated A.D. 1326, has been found in the Guntur District. Nothing further about the political activities of this monarch or his successor is known. 7 He was a patron of poets. His court was graced by Vidyanatha, the author of Prataparudra-yasobhushana.

II. THE EASTERN CHALUKYAS

As noted above, 8 the Andhra country was torn asunder by civil war towards the latter part of the tenth century A.D., and £aktivarman I, son of king Danarnava, who ascended the throne in A.D. 999, restored peace and order by putting down all refractory elements. He was succeeded by his younger brother Vimaladitya in A.D. 1011. The Eastern Chalukyas ruled the Andhra country as

proteges of the Imperial Cholas. Vimaladitya married Kundava, the daughter of the Chola Rajaraja the Great, who gave birth to his elder son

Rajaraja. His other queen, also a Chola princess, gave birth to his younger son Vijayaditya. He was succeeded by Rajaraja in A.D. 1018.

Rajaraja's coronation took place in A.D. 1022. He maintained friendly relation with the Cholas, but could not rule peacefully due to the hostile activities of his half-brother Vijayaditya. The latter revolted, carved out a small kingdom in the eastern corner of the Chalukya kingdom in the Visakhapatnam District, and performed his coronation ceremony there in A.D. 1030. Rajaraja married Ammangadevi the daughter of his maternal uncle, the great Rajendra Chola I, who gave birth to his son Rajendra Chola II, later known as Kulottunga Chola I. In the early part of his life Rajendra Chola II lived in the Chola capital under the care of his grandmother, the queen of Rajendra Chola I. In A.D. 1069 a serious disaster befell Rajaraja. His half-brother Vijayaditya usurped the throne of Vengi when he was away from the capital.

Vijayaditya abdicated the throne in favour of his son Saktivarman II, whose coronation took place in A.D. 1061. After a rule of one year Saktivarman died and Vijayaditya again assumed the royalty. About this time Vehgi became the target of attacks of the neighbouring kings. Vijayaditya was dislodged from his throne by the combined forces of the Chalukya Vikramaditya VI and the Paramara Jayasimha. But the Chola Virarajendra (A.D. 1063-1070) came to his rescue, and having defeated the Chalukyas and the Paramaras reinstated him on the throne. Vijayaditya enjoyed his kingdom without further trouble so long as Virarajendra occupied the Chola throne. Within a short time after the death of that monarch there was a civil war in the Chola country, which ended in A.D. 1070 with the accession of Rajendra Chola II alias Kulottunga Chola I, nephew of Vijayaditya. After consolidating his position in the Chola country Kulottunga Chola demanded the throne of Andhra from his uncle. The situation became worse for Vijayaditya when, shortly before A.D. 1073, the kingdom of Vehgi was plundered by the Kalachuri Yasahkarna of Tripurl. It was not possible for him now to check the onrush of the Chola army. He surrendered the Andhra country to Kulottunga and took shelter with the Ganga Rajaraja I of Kalinganagara, who allowed him to rule over a small territory on the western part of his kingdom. Kulottunga annexed the Andhra country to the Chola empire in A.D. 1076. He and his successors, who were in reality princes of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, occupied the throne of the Cholas up to A.D. 1271.

III. THE EASTERN GANGAS

The history of the Eastern Gangas, up to the accession of Vajrahasta Anantavarman, has been traced in a preceding chapter. 9 This king, Vajrahasta V, was anointed king in A.D. 1038. He issued a number of inscriptions from the capital Kalinganagara, and assumed the title Trikalihgadhipati. His mother was a Vaidumba princess, and he himself married the daughter of a Haihaya king. During his reign Kalinga was invaded by the Kalachuri Kama, who also assumed the title Trikalingadhipati. He was succeeded by his son Rajaraja I Devendravarman, who was crowned in A.D. 1070.

Rajaraja antagonised Kulottunga Chola I by giving shelter to Vijayaditya VII, the deposed king of the Andhra country. Kulottuhga sent his son Mummadi-Choda with an army to chastise the Ganga king shortly after A.D. 1076. Rajaraja, who was then associated with his son Anantavarman Chodaganga in the government, succeeded in repulsing this attack. About this time the grave political situation in the Utkala or Orissa country, which was under the rule of the Somavamsi kings, encouraged Rajaraja to make an attempt for the expansion of his kingdom in that direction. The last known king of the Somavamsi dynasty from epigraphic sources is Uddyotakesari, 9a who flourished some time in the eleventh century. In the latter part of this century there were two rival claimants to the throne of Orissa. Rajaraja supported the cause of one of them, whose name seems to have been Karnakesari, and succeeded in placing him on the throne. He had an able general named Vanapati, who claims to have defeated the king of the Choda country, the army of Utkala, the king of Vengi, kings of Kimidi, Kosala, and the Gidrisingi countries, and killed one Daddarnava. Rajaraja’s queen was Rajasundarl, the daughter of Kulottunga Chola I, who gave birth to his son and successor Anantavarman Chodaganga.

Anantavarman Chodaganga was anointed king in A.D. 1078. In the early part of his reign Kulottunga Chola I sent a big army against Kalinga under his general Karunakara. The Chola army took possession of Visakhapattana (Visakhapatnam) and changed its name to Kulottuhgasolapattanam.

Anantavarman could not resist the advancing Chola army. The whole of Kalinga up to the border of Orissa fell into the hands of Karunakara, probably shortly after A.D. 1083, the date of a stone inscription at Mukhalingam of the reign of Anantavarman. If there is any truth in the claim that Rajaraja Chodaganga (A.D. 1084-1088), son of Kulottunga Chola I, and the viceroy of Vehgl, held sway over a territory extending up to the Mahendra mountains, the position of Anantavarman must have been very serious indeed. But even in this predicament he did not lose heart. Within a few years he not only recovered his throne, but also wrested the Visakhapatnam District from the Cholas before the year A.D. 1090. After the death of Kulottunga the Chalukyas under Vikramaditya VI captured the Andhra country and ruled dt for some years. As soon as Vikramaditya VI died (A.D. 1126) Anantavarman attacked the Andhra country and brought all the territory up to the banks of the Godavari under his sway. But he could not enjoy this new possessions in the Godavari District for a long time. Some time before A.D. 1134 Kulottunga Chola II, with the help of his feudatories Manda II and Velananti Rajendra-Choda, drove out the Gangas from the Godavari District. Visakhapatnam District, which was ruled by the Eastern Chalukyas for several centuries, became a part and parcel of the kingdom of the Gangas from the time of Anantavarman.

Anantavarman also looked for the expansion of his kingdom to the east. About this time Karnakesarl, king of Utkala, and a protege of the Gangas, was overthrown by Ramapala, king of Bengal, who placed his own nominee on the throne of that country. Anantavarman could not take this challenge lying down. He defeated the nominee of Ramapala and restored Karnakesarl or his successor to power. Some time before A.D. 1118 the whole of Orissa was annexed to the kingdom of the Gangas. Henceforward the kings of the Ganga dynasty assumed the title “the lord of Utkala” along with the title “the lord of Trikalinga”. After the death of Ramapala the kingdom of the Palas began to break up. The weakness of the Pala kings made their feudatories in south Bengal helpless. This offered Anantavarman a favourable opportunity for further expansion of his kingdom. His advance into south Bengal was held back by Vaidyadeva, the minister of Kumarapala, son of Ramapala, for some time. But as soon as Vaidyadeva was called to Assam by a more critical situation 11 , Anantavarman renewed his military operations. He defeated the chief of Mandara, pillaged his capital Aramya, modern Arambagh (Hooghly District) and pursued him up to the bank of the Ganga. During these wars he seems to have received the co-operation of Vijayasena, a ruling chief in Radha. The kingdom of Anantavarman now extended from the Ganga up to the Godavari, and his epigraphic records and those of his successors boldly claim that he exacted tributes from his subjects living in the countries between these two rivers. His attempts to push the boundary of his realm further to the north were, however, frustrated by the Kalachuri Ratnadeva II (A.D. 1120-1135), king of Southern Kosala, and the Paramara Lakshmadeva (A.D. 1088-1094), king of Malava. Stone inscriptions of his reign have been found in

the Ganjam and Visakhapatnam Districts, and in Draksharama, in the Ramchandrapur Taluk of the Godavari District.

Anantavarman founded the magnificent temple of Jagannatha at Puri. Satananda, a resident of Puri, composed the astronomical work Bhasvati during his reign, in A.D. 1099. Anantavarman had a number of queens and had by them four sons, Kamarnava VII, Raghava, Rajaraja II, and Aniyankabhlma or Anangabhima II. He anointed Kamarnava VII king in A.D. 1142. The last known date of Anantavarman is &. 1072 (= A.D. 1150).

Kamarnava VII (A.D. 1148-55) 12 was succeeded by his halfbrother Raghava (A.D. 1157-1170) during whose reign Vijayasena put an end to the supremacy of the Gangas in south Bengal and established there the authority of the Senas. After Raghava his two half-brothers, Rajaraja II (A.D. 1171-1192) and Anangabhima II (A.D. 1192), ruled in succession. From the time of Anangabhima’s son and successor Rajaraja III (A.D. 1205-1206) Orissa (Jajnagar) became a target of attacks of the Muslims who had firmly established themselves in west and north Bengal. In A.D. 1205 Muhammad Bakhtyar sent Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmad-i-Sheran at the head of an army towards Lakhanor and Jajnagar. But the premature death of Muhammad Bakhtyar forced the Sheran brothers to retreat to Devakota. Rajaraja III wrested the Godavari District to the east of the Godavari from the Velananti chiefs. During the reign of his son and successor Anangabhima III (A.D. 1216-1235) Khaljl Ghiyas-ud-dln ‘Iwaz, the Muslim ruler of Bengal, invaded Orissa, but was repulsed by the Gangas. This invasion took place some time between A.D. 1211 and 1224. Anangabhima III led a successful military campaign against the Kalachuri ParamardI of Tummana and established a friendly relation with him by giving his sister in marriage to him. From the time of his father Rajaraja III the Godavari was the western boundary of the kingdom of the Gangas. Anangabhima III invaded Vengl to wrest the Andhra country from the Velananti chiefs. Though he won some preliminary victories the Kakatlya Ganapati forced him to surrender even the whole of the Godavari District to the east of the Godavari river some time between A.D. 1230 and 1237.

Anangabhima III was succeeded by his son Narasimha I in c. A.D. 1238. His reign marks a glorious period in the history of Orissa. He was one of the few Hindu kings of this age who thought it more prudent to launch aggressive campaigns against the Muslims than to play the defensive part. The Muslims were now in possession of the greater part of Radha (W. Bengal), but large parts of Hooghly and Nadia districts were still unsubdued. Towards the end of A.D. 1243, Narasirhha sent an army to Bengal, and the Muslim historian Minhaj-i-Siraj characteristically refers to it as ‘molesting’ the kingdom of Lakhnawati. Tughril-i-Tughan Khan, the Muslim ruler of Bengal, took the field against Narasirhha in March, A.D. 1244, and the historian Minhaj also joined in “this holy war”. The Orissan army made a strategic retreat, without fighting, to the fortress of Katasingh on their frontier, a region full of dense jungles and cane-bushes. In April, 1244, the Muslim forces made an assault on the fort and obtained some initial success. But while they were taking rest at mid-day, the Hindu soldiers appeared both in their front and rear. The Muslim army was seized with panic and fled in hot haste, pursued by the Orissan forces. Tughril Tughan was unable to make a stand even in his own fort of Lakhanor, 70 miles north-west of Katasingh. It was a veritable disaster for the Muslims.

Narasirhha I captured Lakhanor and put an end to the Muslim rule in Radha. He then invaded Varendra (N. Bengal) and advanced as far as Lakhnawati (March 1245). Tughril, who had already sent swift messengers to Delhi asking for military assistance, shut himself in his capital city. Fortunately for him the Sultan ordered the Governors of Kara-Manikpur and Awadh to proceed at once to "exterminate the infidels" of Orissa. Their united forces reached the vicinity of the Rajmahal hills when Lakhnawati was besieged by Orissan forces. On hearing of this reinforcement, Narasirhha raised the siege of the capital city but maintained his position in Radha. His dominions now extended to the Ganga river which, according to one of his inscriptions, "assumed the dark countenance of the Yamuna by the collyrium-stained tears of the Yavana women of Radha and Varendra (West and North Bengal)."

It was not till the end of A.D. 1253 that the new Muslim Governor of Bengal, Yuzbak, made an attempt to recover Radha. He was stubbornly opposed by a feudatory of Narasirhha who is called Savantar in Muslim chronicles, which probably stands for Oriya Santra. This feudatory chief was a son-in-law of Narasirhha and ruled as his vassal over a strong principality with its capital at Madaran in Hooghly District. Three battles were fought in the last of which Yuzbak suffered a defeat with heavy loss and implored assistance from the Sultan of Delhi. Towards the end of A.D. 1255 Yuzbak again invaded Radha and captured Madaran. He succeeded in re-establishing Muslim authority over Radha.

Although Narasirhha could not maintain his hold in Bengal, his aggressive campaign and success against the Muslim forces for a period of ten years entitles him to a high place of honour among the Hindu kings of Northern India during this age. He has also

earned undying fame by building the magnificent Sun Temple at Konarak, which has been described in the chapter on Art.

The reign of Bhanudeva I (A.D. 1264-79), son and successor of Narasimha I, was an uneventful one, from political point of view. But during the reigns of Bhanudeva I and his son Narasimha II (A.D. 1279-1306) the great religious teacher Narahari TIrtha lived and preached in Orissa, and gave a great impetus to Vaishnava religion which replaced Saivism as the dominant creed of the country. As the reign of Narasimha II introduced a new phase in the history of Orissa, it will be treated in the next volume.

IV. THE SOMAVAMsIS

The history of the Somavamsis up to the death of Yayati Mahasivagupta I has been narrated above. 13 Yayati Mahasivagupta I was succeeded by his son Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta II who ruled probably about the beginning of the eleventh century (c. A.D. 100015). During this reign, Simhadatta continued to serve as minister for war and peace. One of the feudatories of Mahabhavagupta II was the Mathara chief Puhja who resided at Vamandapafi, possibly the same as modern Bamragarh in the old Bamra State. Puhja was a Parama-mahesvara like his overlord but was also devoted to the goddess Kalesvarl (probably a form of Kali, the consort of Siva in Hindu mythology), has been described as Samadhigata-pancha mahdsabda, Mandalika-Rdnaka and Panchadasa-pallikddhipati (i.e. “lord of fifteen small villages”). His seal bears the swan emblem.

The latest known date of Bhimaratha is the thirteenth year of his reign. According to the Balijhari 14 (Narsinghpur State) and Bhuvaneswar 15 inscriptions of Uddyotakesarl, Bhimaratha Maha-> bhavagupta II was succeeded by his son Dharamaratha (c. A.D. 101520), probably styled Rajamalla and Mahasivagupta II. Dharmaratha dfed without leaving a son and was succeeded by his brother Nahusha (Naghusha), probably styled Mahabhavagupta III. There is^evidence to show that Nahusha ruled in troublous times (c. A.D. 1020-25). According to the Bhuvaneswar inscription, which does not mention Nahusha, some time passed after Dharmaratha had died without leaving a son, when various combatant chiefs (bhatas) were devastating the whole rashtra (i.e. the Somavamsi dominions) and a great hero, no doubt pointing to Chandihara (Yayati) belonging to the royal family, was passing his days elsewhere. This Chandihara, who was the son of Abhimanyu, grandson of Vichitravira, and great-grandson of Janamejaya Mahabhavagupta I, was then raised to the throne by the amatyas (ministers). The new king (c. A.D. 1025-55) freed both the rashpas (Kosala and Utkala) from enemies. The Balijhari inscription says that Nahusha was succeeded by his anuja (younger cousin in this case) Yayati (Chan^Ihara), styled Mahasivagupta III, who freed both the rashtras of Kosala and Utkala which had been seized (avashtabdhaj by combatant chiefs (bhatas). It is thus clear that Kosala and Utkala were regarded as two component parts of the Somavarhsi dominions about the middle of the eleventh century, and that both the countries had been overrun by enemies shortly after the death of Dharmaratha. But when and under what circumstances exactly the dominions of the Karas passed to the Somavarhsis cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Who moreover were the enemies of the Somavamsis with whom king Nahusha seems to have been engaged in a struggle for existence? Although there is evidence to .show that the Kalachuris were encroaching upon Somavarhsi territories about this time, it is tempting to suggest that the enemies referred to were the Cholas who, according to their records, defeated and seized king Indraratha of the Chandrakula (i.e. Somavamsa), together with his family, at the battle of Yayatinagara, 16 and captured, probably as a result of this success, Odravishaya and Kosalanadu, shortly before A.D. 1023. There is no doubt that Indraratha, also known from the Udayapur prasastV 7 to have been defeated by the Paramara king Bhoja, belonged to the family of Bhimaratha and Dharmaratha, but he can hardly be placed between any two of the Somavarhsi rulers discussed above without disturbing the probable regularity of the alternate occurrence of the two names Mahabhavagupta and Maha sivagupta in the family. It is, therefore, not improbable that Indraratha was just another name of Nahusha Mahabhavagupta III who was a brother of Dharmaratha and possibly a son of Bhimaratha. It may be mentioned in this connection that a Chola chief named Yasoraja, whose successors are known to have acknowledged the

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suzerainty of the Chhindaka-Nagas of Bastar, is said to have carved out a kingdom in Kosala about the middle of the eleventh century. It is unknown whether Yasoraja’s success was at the expense of the Kalachuris or the Somavarhsis.

Thus Chandihar a-Yayati Mahasivagupta III seems to have freed Kosala and Utkala (apparently the same as Odra of the Chola records), probably from Chola occupation, some time in the. second quarter of the eleventh century. He appears to have been a powerful ruler. To him no doubt belongs the Maranjamura (also called Jatesinga-Dungri) inscription 18 written by the Mahasandhivigrahin Hudradatta, who was the son of a brother of Simhadatta (minister under Mahasivagupta I and Mahabhavagupta II) and the grandson of Harshadatta. According to this record Mahasivagupta III conquered Trikalihga by his own prowess 19 and became the lord of

Kalihga, Kohgoda (in the Ganjam District), Utkala and Kosala. He also claims to have come into conflict with the kings of Karnata, Lata, Gurjara, Radha and Gauda. Although the description may, no doubt, be taken as a mere eulogy (yrasasti), it may be noted that it suits Mahasivagupta III better than any other king of the family bearing the same name. The reference to his struggle with the Karnatas probably points to a date earlier than the eastern expeditions of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. A defective passage of the record seems to speak of the king’s success against Bhiivita which may be a mistake for Dravida meaning the Cholas. 20 The king is further described as a Parama-mahesvara and as Mahabhavagupta-pddanudhyata, possibly pointing to his predecessor Nahusha, who, as suggested above, appears to have been also known as Indraratha and Mahabhavagupta III. The Maranjamura grant was issued in the king’s third regnal year. The actual duration of the rule of Mahasivagupta III cannot be determined.

Chandihara-Yayati Mahasivagupta III was succeeded by his son Uddyotakesarl Mahabhavagupta IV (c. A.D. 1055-80) some time about the middle of the eleventh century. Uddyotakesarl was a devout Saiva like hh ^ather. His hold over both the Sambalpur tract and lower Orissa is proved by the Balijhari charter issued in the fourth regnal year from Yayatinagara, recording a grant of land in Odradesa, and by the Bhu vanes war inscription recording the construction, in his eighteenth regnal year, of the temple of the deity Brahmesvara at Ekamra (i.e. Bhuvaneswar) by the king’s mother Kolavatl who was born in the solar dynasty. His father’s minister for war and peace, named Rudradatta, who is known from the Maranjamura grant to have been the grandson of Harshadatta and the nephew of Simhadatta, is mentioned in the Balijhari grant of the earlier year of Jddyotakesarl’s reign as the Mahascindhivigrahin for both the countries of Utkala and Kosala. The same minister Rudradatta* is mentioned as the son of Devadatta in the Kesarkella grant 21 of the eleventh regnal year of king Mahabhavagupta who seems to have been no other than Uddyotakesarl. The seal attached to this charter bears the Saivite emblem of a horned bull surmounted by a crescent. The mention of Rudradatta as minister for Utkala and Kosala is interesting as the earlier ministers of the Datta family were only in charge of the Kosala country. This seems to suggest that the Utkala country formed a part of SomavamsI kingdom some time about the second quarter of the eleventh century.

Uddyotakesarl Mahabhavagupta IV was the last great king of the family. The Bhuvaneswar inscription credits him with victory over the rulers of Dahala, Odra, and Gauda. 22 That he came into

conflict with the Kalachuris of Central India and the Palas of Bengal is not improbable; but the ruler of 0$ra was probably one of his father’s adversaries. Uddyotakesari, whose latest known date is his eighteenth regnal year, appears to have been a contemporary of the Gahga king Anantavarman Vajrahasta III (A.D. 1038-70 of Kalihganagara (in the Srikakulam District) and the latter’s son Rajaraja I (A.D. 1070-78) who claims to have defeated the kings of Utkala and Kosala. Rajaraja’s son Anantavarman Chodaganga (A.D. 1078-1150) is described as having, at first, reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala, and later, not only as having defeated the king of Utkala, but also as having been decorated with the full sovereignty of the whole of Utkala. The claims that Chodaganga exacted tribute from the whole land as far as the Ganga in the east, and that he destroyed the capital of the king Mandara (probably Garh Mandaran in the Hooghly District), show that by A.D. 1112, which is the date of Chodagahga’s Korni grant, 23 independent SomavamsI rule must have been terminated in lower Orissa by the Gangas and that Uddyotakesarl’s rule had ended some time before that date.

The king of Utkala named Karnakesarl, mentioned in the Rama charita as having been defeated by Jayasimha, the feudatory ruler of Dandabhukti under king Ramapala of Bengal, seems to have been a successor of

Uddyotakesari and probably a subordinate ally of Chodaganga who shortly afterwards extirpated SomavamsI rule from Orissa.

Ranakesarl, another king probably of the same family, is known from his Govindapur (old Nayagarh State) inscription which seems to be dated in the Ganga year 611, 24 corresponding to A.D. 1107-09. He may have been a subordinate ally of Chodaganga and a claimant for the SomavaihsI throne. According to the Mddalapanp, which gives a legendary account of the SomavamsI rulers that is hardly reliable, Suvarnakesarl was the last SomavamsI ruler extirpated by Chodaganga. But nothing definite is known about him.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the capital (or secondary capital) of the Somavamsls in Utkala was probably Jajpur (in Cuttack District), apparently a corruption of Yayatipura , named probably after Yayati Mahasivagupta III, who seems to have been the first SomavamsI king of lower Orissa. In the days of the Somavamsls, Jajpur seems to have been called both Yayatipura and Yayatinagara, the latter being also the name of the capital of the Somavamsls in Kosala. The Muslim chronicles referred to Orissa as the kingdom of Jajnagar, probably because Jajpur (Yayatipura or Yayatinagara) became for a short period a secondary capital of the Gangas after the extirpation of the Somavamsls from Utkala.

DYNASTIES OF EASTERN DECCAN

The Somavamsls, who were ousted from the southern part of their dominions by the Gangas, also lost Kosala. In the first half of the eleventh century, probably during the reign of Kalachuri Gahgeya of Dahala, a Kalachuri prince named Kalihgaraja established himself at Tummana (modern Tumana in the Bilaspur District) in the Western part of Dakshina-Kosala, and apparently became a thorn in the side of the SomavamsI kings. His son Kamalaraja endeavoured to equal Gangeya in prosperity and claimed, like Gangeya himself, a victory over the ruler of Utkala, probably a SomavamsI king. Kamalaraja’s grandson Prithvldeva I, whose Amoda grant 26 of A.D. 1079 describing him as Mahamandalesvara and Samadhigata panchamahdsabda shows that he was still a feudatory of the house of Dahala (Tripurl), seems nevertheless to have been a semi-independent ruler who assumed the title Sakala-Kosalddhipati (lord of the entire Kosala country), apparently as the result of a successful campaign against the Somavamsls. Prithvldeva’s Son Jajalla I, whose Ratanpur inscription 26 is dated A.D. 1114, claims to have defeated and captured Somesvara, while another record 27 refers to his victory over Bhujabala, king of Suvarnapura (SonpUr in the eastern part of Dakshina-Kosala in the kingdom of the Somavamsls). Nov/ the northern enemies of the Somavamsls stood face to face with their southern adversaries, and it is interesting to note that Jajalla’s son Ratna II claims to have defeated Chodaganga.

We have seen that the greatest achievement of Jajalla I (A-D. 1114) is described as a victory over Somesvara in one record and over Bhujabala of Sonpur in another. This may suggest that Bhujabala or Bhujabalamalla was a viruda of Somesvara. Somesvara, defeated by the Kalachuris of the western part of DakshinaKosala in the early years of the twelfth century, seems to be no other than the SomavamsI Kumdra Somesvara, lord of Paschima-Lanka (probably the district round Sonpur), who issued the Kelga plates from Suvarnapura. Somesvara calls himself Kumdra and Kumar ddhirdja (cf. the case of the Paramara Mahakumaras), but also assumes the imperial titles Paramesvara and Paramabhattaraka . He seems to have ruled over the district round Sonpur when the other parts of the SomavamsI dominions were occupied by the enemies. He issued the Kelga plates 28 after the end of the rule (atita-rdjye) of Abhimanyu who had been installed in the Kosala kingdom presented to him by Uddyotakesarl. It appears that Uddyotakesarl, during the latter part of his rule, made Abhimanyu, apparently a prince of his own family, a sub-king of that part of his kingdom which lay in Kosala, while he himself ruled in Utkala. This arrangement might have been devised to check Kalachuri and Chhindaka-Chola encroachment upon Kosala and Ganga aggression against Utkala. As Somesvara seems to have ruled in the early years of the twelfth century, Abhimanyu may be assigned to the last quarter of the previous century. The position of Somesvara and Abhimanyu in the genealogy of the Somavamsis cannot be determined; but the latter may have been a grandson of Abhimanyu (son of Vichitravlra and grandson of Mahabhavagupta I) and a brother or cousin of Uddyotakesari. As to the extirpation of Somavamsi rule from Kosala, it may be pointed out that the Chhindaka (Naga) king Somesvara (c. A.D. 1090-1110) of Bastar, and Yasoraja, who was probably a Chola feudatory of the Chhindakas and flourished in the middle of the eleventh century, 29 claim to have conquered Kosala or parts of that country. Ysoraja's great-grandson Rdnka Somesvara, who called himself "lord of the whole of Kosala" and flourished probably in the first quarter of the twelfth century, actually issued his charters from Suvarnapura (Sonpur). Considering the date of this Chola lord of Kosala (Somesvara), who appears to have been a feudatory of his Chlpndaka-Naga namesake (Somesvara, c. A.D. 1090-1110), it seems very probable that these two Somesvaras were responsible for the extirpation of their Somavamsi namesake, Kumar a Somesvara, lord of Paschima-Lanka.

The name of the Somavamsi Kumara may suggest that for a time the Somavamsis acknowledged the suzerainty of the ChhindakaNaga king Somesvara I. This is not improbable in view of the Telugu-Choda influence on the style of Somavamsi Somesvara's charter. In that case, Kumara Somesvara's short rule may have been the result of a successful revolt against Chhindaka-Nagaauthority.

V. THE NAGAS OR CHHINDAKAS

A number of inscriptions of a dynasty of rulers belonging to the Chhindaka family of the Naga race have been found in Bastar in Madhya Pradesh. These Chhindaka-Nagas are sometimes described as the kings of Chakrakotta (also called Chakrakuta, Chakrakota, etc.), which was the old name of Bastar. They appear to have ruled from Barasuru (modern Barsur about 55 miles from Jagdalpur, chief city of Bastar). They belonged to the Kasyapa gotra and had the snake-banner and the ' tiger-with-cub' crest. One of their significant titles was "the lord of Bhogavati (Bhogavatl), the best of cities." Bhogavati was the mythical capital of the snake-demons, called Nagas, who lived in Rasatala, forming a part of Patala or the subterranean world.

The above informations about the Chhindaka-Nagas of Bastar clearly point to their close relationship with the Sindas of the

Kannad country. 30 The land of the Sindas, called Sinda va^i, comprised parts of northern Mysore, Bellary, Dharwar and Bijapur, and is mentioned in a record of A.D. 750. The Sinda families ruled from Bagalkot and Yelburga in Bijapur and Hollavur and Belagutti in Mysore. There is no doubt that the family name Chhindaka, preferred by the Nagavamsis of Bastar, is the same as Sinda, although the Sindas fabricated a mythology to explain their family name as derived from the name of the river Sindhu. The fabricated genealogy of the Sindas sometimes says that the eponymous progenitor of the dynasty was a "long-armed" Sinda who was the human son of a snake king named Dharanlndra and that he was born at Ahichchhatra near the Sindhu and was reared by a tiger. Elsewhere, however, the same mythical Sinda is described as the son of the god Siva from the river-goddess Sindu and as brought up by the snakeking with tiger's milk. We have no such explanation of the family name in the inscription of the Chhindakas; but it is quite significant that, like them, the Sindas also claimed the Naga lineage, the snake-banner (sometimes explained as the banner having the figures of the Naga-chiefs Ananta, Vasuki and Takshaka represented on it), and the hereditary title "lord of Bhogavatl, the best of cities." It may be suggested that the Chhindakas left their original home in the Kannada country before the fabrication of the above genealogy by the Sindas> some time after the middle of the eleventh century.

The earliest Nagavamsi inscription in Bastar is a fragmentary record 31 from Errakot, about ten miles from Jagdalpur. The name of the Chhindaka-Naga king mentioned in it cannot be fully read, but may be Nripatibhushana (or Kshitibhushana?). It is said that the inscription bears a date in Saka 945 (— A.D. 1023). This date seems to suggest that the Chhindakas entered Bastar in the train of the army of the Choi a king Rajendra I, which is known to have' invaded the said area some time before A.D. 1023. It should, however, be noted that personal names in this family like Dharavarsha and Kanhara would suggest its original subservience to the imperial house of the Rashtrakutas, while the popularity of the name Somesvara in this dynasty and also in that of its TeluguChoda feudatories seems to indicate that both of these houses acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukya monarch Somesvara I Ahavamalla (A.D. 1043-68) of Kalyana. ' This may have been a result of the expedition led by

Vikramaditya VI, son of Ahavamalla, against the East Indian countries some time during his father's reign.

An inscription 32 from Barsur, which bears a date in A.D. 1060, refers to the reign of a Chhindaka-Naga king named Maharaja Dha

ravarsha alias Jagadekabhushana. It is stated that his feudatory Mahamandalesvara Chandraditya -maharaja, who belonged to the Telugu-Choda family and was the lord of Ammagrama, built a Siva temple and excavated a tank at Barasuru (modern Barsur, the findspot of the record in question). Chandraditya is further said to have purchased a village from his overlord and dedicated it in favour of the deity installed in the temple. King Dharavarsha Jagadekabhushana is stated to have been present when this transaction was made. Now the above fact appears to indicate that the feudatory chief Chandraditya had his headquarters at Ammagrama while his Chhindaka-Naga overlord ruled from the city of Barasuru.

King Dharavarsha Jagadekabhushana does not appear to have survived long after A.D. 1060 as the Chhindaka-Naga throne was occupied by another member of the family, named Madhurantaka, some time before the fifth of October, 1065, the date of the latter's Rajapura plates. 33 It cannot be determined whether the fragmentary Dantewara inscription 34 of A.D. 1061 belongs to Dharavarsha or Madhurantaka. King Madhurantaka was soon ousted from the throne by Dharavarsha's son Somesvara I wliose earliest known date is A.D. 1069. The names of these two rivals of the same family for the Chhindaka-Naga kingdom of Bastar may^ suggest that Somesvara was supported by the Chalukyas of Kalyana, while Madhurantaka received help from the Cholas. It is interesting to note in this connection that a Chola inscription 35 of A.D. 1074 refers to certain victories achieved by Kulottuhga I at an earlier date in Vayiragrama (Wairagarh in the Chanda District) and Sakkarakottam (Chakrakotta).

The Rajapura copper-plate inscription of Madhurantaka, bearing the date A.D. 1065, records the grant of the village of Rajapura (findspot of the record, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur) in the Bhramarakotya(Bhramarakotta)-?na?idaIa, probably as a compensation for supplying victims for human sacrifices. The Bhramarakotta-raa?idala was either identical with Chakrakotta or a part of the latter. The king was a

Saiva and had the banner bearing the representation of a lotus and a plantain leaf on the back of Airavata instead of the snake-banner used by other members of the family.

Somesvara I, son of Dharavarsha Jagadekabhushana, is known from several records, the earliest of which, as indicated above, is dated in A.D. 1069. The latest known date of this king is A.D. 1097. One of the two Kuruspal (22 miles from Jagdalpur) inscriptions 36 of DharanamahadevI, the second queen of the Chhindaka-Naga king Somesvara I, bears a date in the Khara Samvatsara which fell in

A.D. 1069. Two other inscriptions 37 of the reign of the same king, one from Kuruspal and another from Gadia, are dated in A.D. 1097.

The most important record of the reign of Somesvara I is a fragmentary inscription from Kuruspal. 38 This epigraph mentions the king’s son Kanhara and seems to have been engraved late in his reign. Somesvara is stated in the inscription to have acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakiita (Chakrakotta) through the grace of the goddess Vindhyavasinl. He is further said to have killed king Madhurantaka who is undoubtedly the issuer of the Rajapura plates of A.D. 1065. Madhurlantaka was a ruler of Chakrakuta of which Somesvara I claimed to have been the hereditary king. The record also credits Somesvara with many other military activities such as the burning of Vengi, the subjugation of Bhadrapattana and Vajra, and the seizure of the six lakhs and ninety-six villages of Kosala (South Kosala). Vengi, the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas, was now a part of the Chola-Chalukya empire, and Vlrachoda, also mentioned in the record under review, was governing it in A.D. 1078-84 and 1088-92 as the viceroy of his father Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1120). We have already noticed that Kulottunga

claimed some success against Wairagarh (probably the same as Vajra in Somesvara’s record under discussion) and Chakrakotta, achieved by him some years before A.D. 1074. Bhadrapattana of the inscription has been identified by scholars with modern Bhandak in the Chanda District. According to the Padma Purdna , 39 the conventional or traditional number of gramas in Kosala was ten lakhs , although this is certainly an exaggerated statement if the word grama or village is taken in the ordinary sense of the term. 40 The Chhindaka-Naga king Somesvara I thus seems to have claimed the possession of a large part of South Kosala. This success may have been achieved at the expense of both the Kalachuris and the Somavamsis. In this connection, we cannot ignore the fact that Yasoraja I, father of the Telugu-Choda chief Chandraditya who was ruling at Ammagrama as a feudatory of Somesvara's father, also claimed to have carved out a kingdom in Kosala. It is not altogether unlikely that Ysoraja I entered Kosala as a lieutenant of Somesvara I and was rewarded by the governorship of a portion of the country he had conquered on behalf of his overlord. Another interesting fact is that Kumdra Somesvara of Suvarnapura and Paschima-Lanka, who belonged to the Somavamsa that was overthrown by the descendants of Yasoraja I, was probably named after the Chhindaka-Naga king Somesvara I. This may suggest that for a time the later Somavamsis had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Chhindakas. The suggestion seems to be supported by the influence of the Telugu-Choda grants on the style of the copper-plate charter of Somavamsi Somesvara. The inscription of Chhindaka Somesvara I under review also mentions the king of Ratnapura (capital of the Kalachuris of South Kosala) as one of his antagonists and points to the fact that he came into conflict with the Kalachuris as well. Some scholars are inclined to identify the king named Somesvara, whom the Kalachuri king Jajalla I claimed to have seized in a battle some years before A.D. 1114, 41 with the Chhindaka-Naga ruler Somesvara I.

According to the Kuruspal inscription, besides the antagonists mentioned above, Chhindaka Somesvara I came into conflict also with the kings of Udra (Orissa), LanjI (in Balaghat District) and Lemna (Lavana in Balaghat District). The king of Udra was possibly the Somavamsi ruler Uddyoktakesari.

The Narayanpal inscription 42 of A.D. 1111 mentions GunqlaMahadevI who was the queen of Dharavarsha, mother of Somesvara I, and grand-mother of Kanhara. It is clearly stated that Kanhara was then ruling after the death of his father. Thus Somesvara I must have ended his reign some time before A.D. 1111.

A Barsur inscription, 43 dated Saka 1130 (A.D. 1208), mentions Ganga-MahadevI as the queen of the Chhindaka-Naga king Somesvara, who may be identified with king Rajabhushana Somesvara II known from the Gadia inscription. 44 Rajabhushana-mahardja is also known from an undated Dantewara inscription. 45 An inscription 46 from Barsur similarly mentions a king named Kanhara who seems to be a later member of the family and may be styled Kanhara II. Hiralal, however, believed that the date of Ganga-Mahadevfs inscription is a mistake for Saka 1030 (A.D. 1108) and that she was a queen of Somesvara I, son of Dharavarsha Jagadekabhu

shana.

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The Jatanpal inscription 47 of A.D. 1218 and the Dantewara inscription of A.D. 1224 speak of a Chhindaka king named Jagadekabhushana Narasixhha who seems to be identical with Maharaja Jagadekabhushana mentioned as the worshipper of the goddess ManikyadevI (modern Danteswari of the Dantewara temple) in an inscription from Bhairamgarh. 48 The undated Sunarpal inscription mentions another king of family, named Jayasimha, whose relation-with Jagadekabhushana Narasimha is unknown. King Harischandra of Chakrakota, possibly a later member of the Chhindaka-Naga family, is mentioned in the Temmara inscription of A.D 1324 49

VI. THE CHOLAS OR TELEGU-CHODAS

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The . Kumarisimha 50 and Patna Museum plates 51 were issued by a king named Somesvara II, the first in the eleventh and the second in the seventeenth year of his reign. He belonged to the Kasyapa gotra and* the Chola or Choda family which is described as the race of the sun. He was a devotee of Siva as well as Vishnu, and is described as a worshipper of the god Vaidayanatha whose temple is situated on the Tel, about 12 miles from Sonpur. A significant title of the king is Kaverlnatha (lord of the river Kaverl) which points to his claim of descent from the Cholas of Karikala’s house. He claims to have enjoyed the title “lord of the entire Kosala (South Kosala),” although his subordinate position is clearly indicated by the feudatory titles Ranaka , Mahamandalesvara, and Mahavyuhapati. The king is also called Ayyana-gandhavarana, which was a Kannada title known to have been assumed by the feudatories and generals of the Chalukya emperors of Kalyana. He had the rakta-dhvaja or blood-red banner and the simha-lanchhana or lion crest. The Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates of Somesvara II of the Chola or Choda family were issued from Suvarnapura which had been previously one of the capitals of the Somavamsis of Kosala. This Somesvara appears to have flourished about the first quarter of the twelfth century and have been responsible for the final expulsion of the Somavamsi Kumar a Somesvara from Suvarnapura.

The Kumarisimha plates describe Somesvara H as the son of Yasoraja II and the grandson of Chandraditya, while the Patna Museum plates inform us that Chandraditya was the brother of Somesvara I, son of Yasoraja I, and grandson of Challama of the Chola family sprung from the sun. Yasoraja I is stated to have carved out a kingdom in the Kosala (South Kosala) country.

The Barsur and Potinar inscriptions 52 of A.D. 1060 speak of Mahamandalesvara Maharaja Chandraditya, ruler of Ammagrama, as the feudatory of the Chhindaka-Naga king Dharavarsha Jagadekabhushana, who had his headquarters at Barasuru, modern Barsur in Bastar. The date of these records would suggest that Chandraditya and his brother Somesvara flourished in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Thus Chandraditya's son Yasoraja II and grandson Somesvara II may be roughly assigned respectively to the last quarter of the eleventh and the first quarter of the twelfth century A.D. Similarly his father Yasoraja I and grandfather Challama may be roughly placed in the first half of the eleventh century, although, as indicated above, Yasoraja I may have been serving as a general of the Chhindakas even after A.D. 1060.

Chandraditya is stated to have built a temple of the god Chandr adityes vara, excavated a tank called Chandradity a-samudra, and planted a garden called Chandradity Si-nandanavana, all at Barasuru, the capital of his overlord. He also granted two villages (one of which is said to have been purchased from his Chhindaka overlord Dharavarsha) for the maintenance of the temple and the garden. All the epithets of the Telugu-Chodas are attributed to Chandraditya who is further stated to have been a scion of the Karikala family ruling from the city of Orayuru (modern Uraiyur near Trichinopoly) and holding sway over the region of the Kaveri.

These Cholas of Bastar and South Kosala enjoyed the same birudas as the Telugu-Chodas flourishing in different parts of the Cuddapah, Kurnool and Anantapur Districts. 63 There is, therefore, little doubt that they migrated to Bastar from the Telugu country. As many of the Telugu-Choda chiefs of the Andhra country are known to have owed allegiance to the Chalukya emperors of Kalyana, it is not unlikely that Challama or his son entered Bastar in the train of Vikramamaditya VI who is known to have led an expedition against the eastern countries some time during the reign of his father Somesvara I Ahavamalla (A.D. 1043-68). The popularity of the name Somesvara among the Chhindakas and their Telugu-Choda feudatories, the Kannada title Ayyana-gandhavarana assumed by these Telugu-Choda chiefs, and the history of the Rashtrakutas of Vagharakotta discussed separately suggest that these ruling families acknowledged the supremacy of the Chalukyas of Kalyana at least for some time.

The Mahada plates were published long ago with an inaccurate transcript, and the charter was wrongly assigned to a ruler named Yogesvaradevavarman. 64 Actually this grant was issued by a Telugu-Choda chief named Somesvaradeva-varman who was the son of Dharalladeva-varman and the grandson of another Somesvara. The date of the charter is the issuer's twenty-third regnal year. It is stated that the grant was made when the ruler in question was standing before Lankavarttaka on the banks of the Chitrotpala (Mahanadi). Lankavarttaka seems to indicate a deity that was worshipped on the Lankesvarl hillock in the bed of the Mahanadi at Sonpur. The description of the issuer of the Mahada plates is strikingly similar to that of the Telugu-Choda chiefs of Chakrakotta and Kosala, and there is no doubt that he was closely related to Somesvara II who issued the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates. But Somesvaradeva-varman of the Mahada plates appears to have flourished at a later date and may have been a grandson of Somesvara II. The comparative lateness of the Mahada plates is suggested by the fact that the issuer of the charter is endowed with the epithets Panchamahasabda-sarnanvita, Mahamahimandalesvara, Mahdbhiipati and Chakravarttin. In these we find a combination of both paramount and subordinate titles, which shows that Somesvaradeva-varman owed only a nominal allegiance to the family of the overlords of his predecessors. This is further indicated by the fact that Mahamahimandalesvara and Mahdbhiipati are clearly deliberate modifications of the feudatory titles Mahamandalesvara and Mahavyuhapati enjoyed by Somesvara II. Moreover, the issuer of the Mahada plates as well as that of the Kumarisimha and Patna Museum plates apparently ruled over the same region with headquarters at the same city (Suvarnapura or Sonpur). We are therefore inclined to take Somesvaradeva-varman of the Mahada plates as Somesvara III, grandson of Somesvara II. He 7 seems to have flourished about the middle of the twelfth centifry. Nothing is known about his father Dharalla.

VII. THE RASHTRAKUTAS

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Various Rashtrakuta ruling families are known to have flourished in different^ parts of India. But so far no family of Rashtrakuta origin was traced in Orissa. The recently discovered Bargarh plates of Parachakrasalya prove the existence of a Rashtrakuta ruling family in the Sambalpur tract of Orissa about the twelfth century A.D.

The Bargarh plates may be assigned to the twelfth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. The charter is dated in the year 56, probably of the Chalukya Vikrama era of A.D. 1076. The date of the grant thus seems to be A.D. 1131. It was issued by Ranaka Parachakrasalya who was the son of Dhariisaka and grandson of Mahamandalesvara Mahdmdndalika Ranaka Chamaravigraha who is described as a devotee of Siva and an ornament of the Rashtrakuta lineage. As Dhamsaka is mentioned without any epithet, he seems to have predeceased his father, and Parachakrasalya probably succeeded his grandfather. In spite of the Saiva religion preferred by the family, the seal of the Bargarh plates bears the figure of Garuda, Vishnu’s vdhana. An interesting epithet of Chamaravigraha is Llatalora-vinirgata, apparently pointing to the original home of the family at Llatalora. This

Llatalora is undoubtedly the same as Lattalura, otherwise called Lattalur, Lattanur, Latanaura, etc., the traditional home of the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan. A feudatory of the Western Chalukya emperor Vikramaditya VI (A.D. 10761126), who belonged to the Maha-Rashtrakuta lineage, is described

as "emigrated from Latalaura" 55 exactly like Chamaravigraha in the Bargarh inscription.

The description of Chamaravigraha as having the Garudadarpanadhvaja reminds us of the fact that the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan enjoyed the Pdlidhvaja , Oka-ketu and Garuda-lanchhanci. Chamaravigraha claims to have frightened his enemies with the sound of the trivali, which undoubtedly refers to the musical instrument of the same name which is known to have heralded the Rashtrakuta rulers of the Efeccan in public. Chamaravigraha is further stated to have enjoyed the white umbrella and the yellow chowrie.

The description of the issuer of the Bargarh plates and his grandfather and predecessor may raise the suspicion that these Rashtrakutas had really nothing to do with Orissa, although the plates were found in a locality in the Sambalpur tract. Such a contention is, however, completely negatived by the epithet cishtadasa-ghattaGondrarri'adhipati applied to Chamaravigraha. "Lord of the eighteen Gondrams" or "lord of all the Gondramas" is a typical epithet of many early rulers of Orissa. The "eighteen" (really meaning "many") Gondramas are now believed roughly to indicate the same thing as Oriya athara-gcida-jatci, a collective name for all the native states recently merged in Orissa. The earliest reference to the "eighteen" states in an Orissan record seems to be that in the Kanas plate of A.D. 599-800 which describes the kingdom of Tosali (Orissa) as comprising eighteen atavl-rdjyas.

The Bargarh plates were issued from Vagharakotta, which was apparently the name of a fort. Vagharakotta, which was no doubt the capital of Rashtrakuta Parachakrasalya, may be modern Bargarh in Sambalpur, although it is difficult to be definite on the point. The Rashtrakutas appear to have ruled over a small district around their capital. Their relations with other ruling families of Upper Orissa are as yet unknown.

These Rashtrakutas of Kannada origin may have entered Orissa in the train of the eastern expedition led by Chalukya Vikramaaitya VI some time before the death of his father 1068. This seems to be suggested not only by the history of the ChhindakaNagas and Telugu-Chodas, discussed above, but also by the establishment, some time in the eleventh century, of the Senas, claiming Karnata descent, in Bengal and of the Karnataka family in Mithila.

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VIII. THE TAILAPAVAMsIS

Like the Rashprakutas of Orissa, another ruling family of Kannada origin, settled in the Eastern Deccan in the same age, is known from an inscription 56 discovered at Upalada in the Parlakimedi Taluk of the Gan jam District. The epigraph may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh or twelfth century. It records the grant of the village of Upalavada (the same as Upalada where the inscription was found) by Rdnaka Ramadeva.

Ramadeva was a feudatory ruler. This is indicated by his title Rdnaka as well as by his epithet samadhigata-pancha-mahasabda. Rdnaka Ramadeva was a devout worshipper of the god Siva; but he also claims .to have enjoyed the favour of the goddess AgidevI, apparently a form of the Mother-goddess.

It is stated in the Upalada inscription that Rdnaka Ramadeva sprang from the Tailapa-vamsa, i.e. the Tailapa dynasty. Tailapa, from whom Ramadeva apparently claimed descent, seems to be none other than the Western Chalukya monarch Tailapa II who overthrew the Rashtrakufas and re-established Chalukya sovereignty in the Deccan about A.D. 973. He was the great-great-grandfather of Vikramaditya VI who is known to have led an expedition against Eastern India. It is not unlikely that Ramadeva or one of his immediate predecessors came to the east coast country in the company of Vikramaditya VI in his eastern expedition. But the way in which Ramadeva claims descent from the Chalukya emperor Tailapa seems to suggest that he was not a member of the Chalukya family, but was merely the son or descendant of a princess of the Chalukya house.

1. There were villages Kakati-khan^i and Kakati-pallika in the Visakhapatnam and Ganjam Districts (El, V. 109, IMP, Gj. 167). Gariga Sahani, a feudatory of the Kakatlya Rudramba, who ruled in the Cuddapah District, calls himself a prince of Kakatlyapuram (IMP, Cd. 63).

2. Sdmanta-vishti-vamsa.... (IND, p. 25).

3. The Kazipet inscription (IND, 30) seems to be suggesting that Dugga Tribhuvanamalla was the son and successor of Beta II. There is no other evidence to corroborate it.

4. Hemadri, in his Vrata-khaiida, states that the Yadava Jaitugi killed Raudra, king of Tillanga (EHD, 243, v. 41). Sir R. G. Bhandarkar takes Raudra, which means the son of Rudra, to be error for Rudra. But in view of the fact that Jaitugi killed Mahadeva, brother and successor of Rudra, the expression ‘Raudra’ seems to be referring to this unfortunate Yadava king.

5. The Pakhal inscription of Ganapati gives a long list of countries conquered by the king (Hyd . Arch. Series, No. 4; IND, p. 52).

6. Pratapatudriyam of Vidyanatha gives a long list of countries conquered by Prataparudra when he was a Yuvaraja (BSS, LXV, Int. XIV, XV).

6a. Cf. Ancient India, V. 56.

7. For the condition of Telingana and’ Andhra after Prataparudra, cf. JAHRS, V 217; EIM, 1923-24, p. 13.

8. Vol. IV, Ch. VI.

9. Vol. IV, Ch. VI.

9a. The latter part of the name of these rulers is written either as “kesari” or “kesarl.”

10. V. Rangacharya wrongly reads the date of a stone inscription of Kulottunga Chola I in the Vizagapatam Dist. as of §i 1021 (cf. Hist. Ins. 91).

11. See p. 32.

12. The extreme known dates of the kings mentioned in this para have been given in the parenthesis. No attempt has been made to determine the years of their accession with the help of stone inscriptions bearing regnal years along with dates in §aka year, as there is no agreement between them. Sometimes regnal years given in the stone inscriptions exceed the reign-periods mentioned in the copper-plates. In order to meet these difficulties M. M. Chakravarti suggests that regnal years given are as a matter of fact ahka years which will have to be calculated by a particular method in order to get the actual figures (Cf. JASB, LXXII, 100; G. Ramdas, JBORS, XVIII. 285; Subba Rao, JAHRS, VI. 208). But the application of this system also does not lead to the correct solution of the problem.

13. Vol. IV, pp. 145-8.

14. JBORS, XVH. 15 ff; IHQ, XXH, 300 ff.

15. See JRASBL, XIII, 63 ff. The Bhuvaneswar inscription actually reads the names of Yayati I (1.4), Bhimaratha (1.5) and Dharmaratha (1.6). The reading of the second and third names as Dirgharava and Apavara is not supported by the published eye-copy.

16. The name of the Chandrakula king is often believed to be Dhiratara of Adinagara. But this seems to be wrong. The Chola records appear to suggest some relation of this king with 0$ra and Kosala mentioned without reference to rulers; cf. PIHC, IV.66-67.

17. El, I. 235.

18. JBORS, n 52. /

19. It is sometimes suggested that the epithet sva-bhujoparjita-trikalingadhipati would indicate only the first king of the family of the SomavamsI lords of Trikalinga. This is not convincing, as the title could be assumed after averting any danger to the succession or to the state; cf. the epithet sva-viry-ddhigata rajya applied to Pallava Skandavarman (I) of the

Omgodu grant No. 1, who was not the first of the Pallava family (Sue. Sat., p. 201).

20. The character records the grant of two villages in the Ungo^a and Gandharava^i districts, both attached to Kosala. Gandharavddi seems to be no other than Gandhatapati mentioned in an inscription of Mahasivagupta I, which has been discussed above. Gandhatapati is the modern Gandhara^hi in Baudh.

21. El, XXII. 138.

22. The eye-copy suggests the reading ddhalam ch—odra-gaudau and not sinhhalam choda-gau^au.

23. JAHRS, Vin. 40.

24. The date was read by B. Misra as 811.

25. El, XIX, 78.

26. El, I. 32.

27. El, XXI. 159.

28. El, XU, 239; XXVIII, 321.

29. See Sections V, VI, above (pp. 214-221).

30. Bom. Gaz. I, ii, pp. 572 ff; El, III, 230 ff; Sewel, HISI, pp. 392-3 etc.

31. Hiralal, ICPB, 2nd ed. p. 166 (No. 285).

32. Ibid, pp. 158-59.

33. Hiralal, op. cit., 163-64.

34. Ibid, p. 165.

35. Sewell, op. cit., p. 84.

36. Hiralal, op cit., pp. 162-63.

37. Ibid, p. 163.

38. El, X. 25 ff.

39. Kumarika-khanda, ch. 39.

40. See JBRS, XL, i, 8 ff.

41. El, I. 38.

42. Ibid, IX. 311 ff, 161-62.

43. Ibid, IX. 162.

44. Hiralal, op. cit., p. 170.

45. Ibid, p. 166.

46. Ibid, p. 169.

47. Ibid, p. 164.

48. El, X.40; Hiralal, op. cit., p. 169.

49. Hiralal, ibid, p. 165.

50. JKHRS, I. 229 ff.

51. El, XIX. 97 ff.

52. Hiralal, op. cit., pp. 158-59.

53. El, XI. 343-44.

54. Ibid, XII. 218 ff; XXVIII, 283 ff.

55. Bomb. Gaz. I, ii, p. 384, note 4.

56. El, XXII. 141 ff.

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CHAPTER IX

THE HOYSALAS

1. ORIGIN OF THE HOYSALAS

The Iioysalas had their origin in the hilly tracts to the northwest of Gangavadi in Mysore. The original home of the Hoysalas is traditionally located in a village in Mudgere Taluk of the Kadur District, Mysore, where there is a Vasantika temple. The story runs that a Jain resident of the locality went to the Vasantika temple for worship and found in the temple a Jain ascetic wrapt in meditation in front of the goddess and oblivious to all else outside. A tiger from the forest, finding him in that condition, was about to spring upon him but, at the word of the ascetic "poy, Sala"—"strike, Sala", the lay worshipper, without the slightest hesitation, drew out a dagger from his waistband and killed the tiger after a struggle. Appreciating the achievement of the man, the saint bespoke the favour of the goddess Vasantika and promised him sovereignty over the territory round about; hence the line of kings was called Poysala or Hoysala. This is the legend recorded in the earliest inscriptions of the Hoys^as. We find, however, a similar story of a wrestle with a tiger ending in its death mentioned as the distinct achievement of another immigrant chieftain of the locality, Irungo Vel of Araiyam, who came 48 generations after the Mahabharata war. This is found in an address by the poet Kapilar, who appealed to the chieftain to accept for his spouse one of the daughters of his friend, the patron Pari, who died before marrying off the girl suitably, Like the Hoysalas, this early Tamil chieftain also claimed descent from the Yadava stock.

The Hoysala kingdom lay between the Chola and the Later Chalukya territories, a region much disputed between the rival powers. Ever since the emergence of the Chalukyas in A.D. 973 they became heirs of the Rashtrakutas to the rivalry against the Cholas for the possession of Gangavadi. Since the days of the Chola Rajaraja the Great, Chola authority superseded that of the Gangas in this region, viz. the Gangavadi 96,000 and parts of Nolambavadi in the neighbourhood reaching up to the borderland of Banavasi to the north-west of both. Rajaraja's authority in that region became well established before A.D. 1000, and hostilities went on, as noted below, 1 during the subsequent reigns of Rajendra and his sons with undiminished vigour on both sides.

In course of the struggle between the Chalukyas and the Cholas, the hill chieftains in the intervening region had their opportunities to display their valour and acquire small principalities. The most successful of them seems to have been the Hoysala chieftain, who distinguished himself in various wars and ingratiated himself with his liege lord, the Chalukya ruler. The Hoysala chieftains thus achieved prominence and became in a way the trusted lieutenants of the Chalukya emperor on this border. Rising from this subordinate position, they created a kingdom for themselves under the Chalukya supremacy. When the Chalukya power declined, the Hoysalas stood forth as the independent successors in authority over the southern territory of the Chalukyas.

2. EARLY KINGS

Sala, the first chieftain of the line and the hero of the tiger story, may perhaps be identified with Nripakama, though some deny any connection between the two. The achievement of killing the tiger seems to have been a historical fact, as the later Mackenzie manuscripts definitely state that Nripakama was engaged in hunting and killing the tigers of the locality and was rewarded by the payment of an annual fee of one pana for the service. This seems far more likely than the other story about the tiger and the saint; but it might as well be a rationalization of the legend. He gradually made himself headman and hero of the locality round about his village, Sosavir, or in Sanskrit &asakapura. He seems to have been a man of ability and assumed the title Rajamalla Peruman Adi, which superseded his ordinary name Kama. Hoysala. His son and successor, Vinayaditya, was a feudatory of the Chalukyas under Vikramaditya VI. Vinayaditya’s reign-period coincided with that of the protracted struggle between the Cholas and the Chalukyas for the possession of the Gangavadi province. As stated above, the Cholas were in possession not only of Gangavadi, but of a considerable part of NolambaVa$i, right up to the frontier of the Western Ghats and Banavasi. These had to be conquered after a severe struggle which provided the opportunity for a talented chieftain, well placed on the frontier, to achieve a position for himself. Both Vinaj^aditya and his son Ereyanga fought loyally for the Chalukyas, and the latter was known as the right-hand man of the Chalukya emperor. Some of the Hoysala inscriptions credit Vinayaditya with rule over the territory bounded by Konkana, AJuvakhetfa, Bayalna$u, Ta]akad, and Savimalai. This is exactly the bpundary of Gangavadi, which we find later on under Hoysala Vishnuvardhana. In all the campaigns of Vinayaditya, his son was associated with him until he predeceased his father. When Vinayaditya died in A.D. 1101, his eldest grandson Baliala I succeeded him. He shifted the capital from Sosavlr to Belur (or Velapura), although Dvarasamudra (modern Halebid) was an alternative capital. He married the three daughters of a military officer in the same pavilion, as one of his grants declares. He conducted a campaign against the Changalvas in A.D. 1104 and, along with his brother Vishnu, made a successful invasion of the Pandya dominion of Nolambavadi. He is also said to have repulsed the Paramara prince, Jagaddeva, as noted above. 2 The incriptions of Ballala’s time are all dated in the Chalukya-Vikrama era, which means that he regarded himself as a feudatory of the Chalukya emperor.

3. BITTIGA OR VISHNUVARDHANA • • •

When Ballala died some time about the year A.D. 1106, his younger brother Bittiga or Bittideva succeeded to the throne. This Bittdeva, generally known by the synonymous title Vishnuvardhana assumed by him, is the real maker of the Hoysala kingdom, corresponding to modern Mysore. The name Bittideva is the vernacular equivalent of what in Sanskrit would be Vishnudeva; the somewhat sacerdotal title Vishnuvardhana is thus not exactly a new name, but only the old name put in a new form. The first mention of him occurs in A.D. 1100 in association with his brother Ballala, the last of whose records is dated A.D. 1106. It is ten years later that inscriptions speak of him and his exploits. He began by carrying on successful invasions against Nolambavadi and Gangavadi, and it is the conquest of most of these two divisions after years of war that constitutes his title to greatness. The capture of Talakad in A.D. 1117 marks the climax of this conquest, credit for which is claimed by Bittideva as well' as a number of generals. The capture of Talakad seems to have been a decisive event as after that he assumes the titles Viragahga and Talakadu-gonda. He toured through his dominions and advanced as far as the eastern frontier of Kolar, as a record of his mentions his having been in Bethamangalam, when his younger brother Udayaditya’s daughter died. He had to carry on an expedition against Nolambavadi again in which he won a victory at a place called Dumme on the border between Shimoga and Chital-droog Districts. By A.D. 1117 Vishnuvardhana had become ruler of Gangavadi and claimed portions of Nolambavadi. He is said to have defeated successively one after the other, the various chieftains who occupied territories in the immediate neighbourhood, and built up a little kingdom for himself, the boundaries of which are given as Nangili in the east, Kongu, Cheram and Anamalais in the south, Barakanur in the west and Savimalai in the north. This would mean that he had already taken possession of what came to be recognised as the Hoysala kingdom later on. Nangili is the village on the eastern frontier of Kolar. The Kohgu country is Salem and Coimbatore Districts, Cheram is the Chera country westward, and Anamalais are the hills to the south of the Palghat gap; Barakaniir is in S. Kanara at the end of the main road leading over the Western Ghats from the Shimoga District into the coast region. Savimalai is yet unidentified, but the northern boundary at one time extended to the Krishna.

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We have a record of A.D. 1121 which shows Vishnuvardhana, resident at Dvarasamudra, his capital, making a grant to the Siva temple, which apparently was a foundation of the Cholas. The remarkable fact about this is that he made the grant in full durbar with his Jain queen SantaladevI and the five great ministers, who were responsible advisers, most of them, if not all, being Jains. His younger brother Udayaditya died and Vishnuvardhana made a grant for the merit of his soul. He made the grant of a village to his Jain wife SantaladevI, which was converted into a Brahmana settlement with 220 houses. It is a big Brahmana village even today, and goes by the name Santalagrama. In A.D. 1125 he made a grant to a Jain divine Sri Pala. He is found in his palace at Yadavapura in A.D. 1128 and from there makes a grant to Marbaiatlrtha, the &iva temple on the Chamundi hill. This grant exhibits his catholic attitude in religion, for he had adopted the Vaishnava teachings of Ramanuja and was proclaimed a Vaishnava.

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Having secured the southern frontier against the Cholas he began to carry on wars of aggression in the north. He was in possession of Gangavadi, and had annexed a good part of Nolambavadi to his territory. This attracted the attention of emperor Vikramaditya, who directed a number of his Mahdmandalesvara in the neighbourhood to check the advance of Vishnuvardhana. Though Bittideva's generals claim a victory against the imperialists, his advance towards the north must have been checked. His preoccupations during these years were all along the northern frontier. An inscription, dated A.D. 1131, claims for him rule over Gahgavadi 96,000, Nolambavadi 32,000, the Banavasi 12,000 and Hanuhgal 500. This would mean the whole of the modern state of Mysore and considerable portions cf the borderland outside the Mysore frontier in the north. Along with the Pandya of Uchchahgi and Kadamba Jayakesi II, Bittiga advanced up to the Krishna, but Vikramaditya, aided by Sinda Achugi II, drove him back to his territory and enforced the acknowledgement of his suzerainty.

In A.D. 1131 Bittiga also made a grant to the Siva temple at Maddur, which was otherwise called Narasimhachaturvedimangalam, the land granted having been claimed as a gift by the Gahga king Sivamara, whose copper-plate grant was exhibited in evidence. The same year his queen SantaladevI died, and two years later his right-hand man, general Gangaraja, who captured Talakad, also died. This Gangaraja had the reputation of having restored all the Jain shrines destroyed in course of the Cho]a invasions. His son Bappa, who succeeded him as Vishnuvardhana's commander-in-chief, built a Jain shrine at Halebid in honour of his father and got it consecrated by a Jain divine Nayakirti. This shrine is in existence now, and is exhibited to visitors. The consecrated food from this shrine was sent to Vishnuvardhana while he was in camp on the banks of the Krishna in course of his northern campaigns. Simultaneously messengers came bringing the happy news that his queen Lakshmldevl had given birth to a son and heir. These messengers reached him as he was returning victorious to his camp from the battlefield. Hence he ordered his baby son to be named Vijaya Narasirhha and the Jain shrine Vijaya Parsvanatha.

Vishnuvardhana's records proclaim him as a feudatory of the emperor Somesvara III. He had his capitals at Talakad in the south and Bankapura in the north, two fortified places which he occupied as occasion demanded. It was in A.D. 1137 also that he performed the great ceremony of Tulapurusha, which may be interpreted as the symbol of his assuming royal power. The next year, however, he had to campaign again beyond the Tuhgabhadra. The emperor Somesvara III died in that year and was succeeded by his son. Vishnuvardhana is described as being encamped at Bankapura, vicorious against his enemies, in the year A.D. 1147. He ruled probably up to A.D. 1152, possibly till A.D. 1156, but the date cannot be definitely determined. 3 Vishnuvardhana may be regarded as the maker of the Hoysala kingdom, although he did not assume independence, which was to come half a century later under his grandson.

4. BALLALA II, THE FIRST INDEPENDENT KING

Vishnuvardhana Hoysala was succeeded by his son Vijaya Narasimha I, who was associated in the government with his father almost from his very birth. On his death in A.D. 1173, he was succeeded by his son Ballala II. Ballala successfully maintained the position of precedence that Vishnuvardhana had established in the course of his long and active reign, though he had to fight hard against the Nolambas and the Kalachuris, two of the most active feudatories of the Chalukya empire. His prolonged fight with the Yadavas has been discussed above in Chapter VII. After the first twenty years of his rule, marked by hard fighting, he felt confident that he could assume independence. The empire proved to be powerless to assert its authority against the Kalachuri usurpers and had to struggle for existence against the powerful feudatories, the Yadavas, who were rising into prominence. Vira Ballala himself was constantly engaged in fighting against the imperial feudatories, primarily the Kadambas in the south-west corner of the Banav&si division, and it was as the result of a successful campaign against them that he felt that the empire was as good as non-existent. He, therefore, solemnly declared himself ruler of his territories in the year A.D. 1193, from which time we may date the independence of the Hoysala kingdom. He aided the Chola Kulottunga III and Rajar*aja III against Sundara Pandya whom he compelled to restore the Chola country to its rulers (A.D. 1217). He seems to have died about A.D. 1220, and was succeeded by his son Narasirhha, the second of the name in the dynasty.

5. NARASIMHA II AND THE HOYSALA EMPIRE

Narasirhha’s reign began about A.D. 1220 and lasted on to A.D. 1234. From the beginning of his reign, the northern frontier of the Hoysalas was exposed to attacks by the Yadavas. Narasirhha Hoysala had to intervene again to save the Cholas from Pandya aggressions. Maravarman Sundara Pandya I claims great achievements against the Chola kingdom; among others, to have burnt down the capital cities of Tanjore and Uraiyur. Simultaneously Rajaraja III was very hard put to it to hold his own against his refractory vassal, the Kadava Kop-Perunjinga, round about Cuddalore and Kanchi. Narasirhha II intervened in A.D. 1231, defeated Sundara Pandya -at Mahendramangalam on the Kaverl, and released and restored to the throne Rajaraja III who had been thrown into prison by Kop-Perunjinga. In the course of these activities, it became clear that the Chola kingdom was in constant danger of being overwhelmed by the aggressive Pandyas, and Narasimha’s son and successor, Somesvara (A.D. 1234-1263), felt it necessary to establish himself in the south for the protection of the Chola kingdom against the Pandya menace. He built for himself a capital at Kannanur, about four to five miles from &rirangam, on the northern bank of the Coleroon, and renamed it Vikramapura. From there he was able to offer effective protection to the Chola against his powerful feudatories, the Sambuvarayas of North Arcot and Kop-Perunjinga of Cuddalore, not to mention the others. He had to leave the

administration of his kingdom proper to his elder son Narasimha HI and keep with him the younger prince Ramanatha. He had to fight against the Papayas vigorously, and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya lays claim to several victories over him. The wars between the Pandyas and the Hoysalas became very frequent and grave till at last the Pandya ruler could boast of having driven Somesvara from his southern capital, taken possession of the Chola kingdom, and marched northwards unmolested. Somesvara's fight with the Yadava Krishna and consequent loss of territory have been mentioned above.

6. THE FALL OF THE HOYSALAS

When Somesvara was killed in course of one of these campaigns, ^about A.D. 1263, his kingdom was partitioned. The elder son Narasimfts III took possession of the Hoysala territory proper, while the southern region was governed by his younger brother Vira Ramanatha from the southern capital at Kannanur. As mentioned above Narasimha repulsed the Yadava invasions under Mahadeva and Ramachandra, and held the Hoysala frontier in the north successfully against Yadava aggressions till A.D. 1291, when he died. Meanwhile Ramanatha and his ally, the Chola Rajendra III, suffered defeat at the hands of Pandya Maravarman Kulasekhara in A.D. 1279. Ramanatha, who thus lost his kingdom in the Tamil land, now started a war with Narasimha and occupied part of his territory which he ruled from Kundani in the Bangalore District. After he died, his son had but a brief rule of a few years, and the two parts of the kingdom were united again under Ballala III, the son of Narasimha. Ballala ruled from A.D. 1291 to his death at Trichinopoly in A.D. 1342. 4 His successful aggressive campaigns against the Yadavas have been noted above. He had also to fight hard against the powerful rebellious feudatories of the empire. He ably ruled over his kingdom and protected his southern frontier against powerful Pandyan rulers, inclined to be aggressive if opportunity offered. He recovered Kinga, Mugadai, and Tondainad, and Kanchi and Tiruvannamalai became his subsidiary capitals. He thus maintained his kingdom successfully till about A.D. 1310 when Malik Kaffir invaded it during the reign of 'Ala-ud-dln Khalji to which a detailed reference will be made in the next volume. The Hoysala had to pursue a policy of alternately submitting to the superior power and trying to re-establish his authority. His capital was overthrown in one of the Muhammadan invasions, and his son was sent as a prisoner to Delhi. The capital itself suffered destruction and Ballala had to reconstruct it. When at last the Khalji

rulers were supplanted by the Tughluqs, Ballala had to defend himself against invasions of Muhammad Tughluq and his generals. Subsequently, when the Tughluq empire fell, a Muhammadan dynasty ruled over Madura, with a strong garrison of Muhammadans established at Kannanur! These were like nails driven into the coffin of the Hoysala kingdom. Vlra Ballala, as he is called, struggled hard in order to clear South India of these Muhammadan garrisons, but after years of campaigning he lost his life in a battle against the Madura Muhammadans at Trichinopoly, almost at the moment of victory. That is the last we hear of the Hoysala kingdom, although a son of his succeeded and ruled for a short while. The Hoysala dynasty, from the time of Vishnuvardhana, ruled in great glory for more than a century, but came to an inglorious end at the moment of success, and it was left to another Hindu dynasty to achieve what its last ruler attempted to do, viz. to turn out all the Muhammadan garrisons from South India and to assure Hindu independence. This was successfully accomplished by Vijayanagara at a later date, but the way was paved for it to a great extent by the struggle of the Hoysalas, particularly the last one, Vira Ballala 111.6

1. See pp. 234 ff.

2. See p. 175.

3. Rice fixed A.D. 1141 as the date of Vishnuvardhana’s death, but cf. K. A. N. Sastri’s views in PIHC, XI. 129.

4. There is some difference of opinion among scholars regarding the dates of Hoysala kings. Cf. The Hoysala Vamsa by W. Coelho (Bombay, 1950).

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri has suggested the following dates in his latest publication, A History of South India (1955), p. 215:

1. Nripakama (1022-47); 2. Vinayaditya (1047-98); 3. Ereyahga (1063-1100);

4. Ballala I (1100-10); 5. Vishnuvardhana (1110-52); 6. Narasirhha I (1152-73);

7. Ballala II (1173-1220); 8. Narasimha II (1220-38); 9. Somesvara (1233-67);

10. Nayasimha HI (1254-92); 11. Ballala III (1291-1342).

5. Further account of Vlra Ballala will be given in Vol. VI..

CHAPTER X

THE CHOLAS

I. POLITICAL HISTORY Rajaraja the Great (A.D. 985-1014)

Rajaraja I, the son of Sundara Chola, ascended the throne in June-July, 985. His brother Aditya II was murdered at the instance of Uttama Chola, 1 who had made Rajaraja heir apparent. Con- * sequently, he was enabled before his accession to the throne to acquire extensive knowledge of public affairs during several years.. His early titles were Rajakesari Arumoli and Mummadi Chola, the latter meaning "three times Chola", similar to the surnames Immadi (twice) and Nurmadi (hundred times). The inscriptions of Rajaraja range from his second to his thirty-first regnal years. He started the practice of prefixing 'historical introductions' to his inscriptions, which was followed by his successors, and these official records of public events are thus of great help to the historian of the Cholas. No other contemporary accounts of Rajaraja are extant.

The Tanjore inscription of the twenty-ninth regnal year of Rajaraja mentions his warlike achievements in its 'historical introduction.' "He was pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kandalur-Salai, and conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles, Vehgai-nadu, Gangapadi, Tadigaipadi, Nolambapadi, Kudamalainadu, Kollam, Kalingam, ilamandalam (which was the country) of the Singalas who possessed rough strength, the seven and a half lakshas of Irattapadi and 'twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea', deprived the Seliyas of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendent (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped everywhere." The first great triumph of Rajaraja was secured early in his reign when he destroyed the Chera navy at Trivandrum. The Tamil expression ' Kandalur salaikKalamarultaruli" means "pleased to destroy the ships in the roadstead of Kandalur (Trivandrum)". We learn from another source that Vilinam was destroyed before the seizure of Kandalur Salai. Inscriptions state that Kollam or Quilon was attacked separately. The Kerala ruler during this period was Bhaskara Ravivarman (A.D. 987-1036). Rajaraja next conquered Madura and seized Amarabhujanga Pandya; subsequently he turned his attention to

Kudamalainadu or Coorg and got into possession of the stronghold of Udagai,

in order to check the power of the Pandyas and the Cheras. The expedition to ilamandalam or Ceylon resulted in the dislodgement of Mahendra V and the annexation of the northern part of the island. Rajaraja ruined Anuradhapura, made Polonnaruva his capital, and built there a substantial stone temple, the Siva Devale.

Gangavadi, Tadigaivadi and Nolambavadi were political divisions of the Western Ganga country. Rajaraja conquered them all about A.D. 991 and they remained a part of the Chola empire till about A.D. 1117. The Chola army invaded Irattapadi or the kingdom of the Western Chalukyas during the reign of Satyasraya, and ravaged it so mercilessly that children and Brahmanas were massacred and women dishonoured according to a Chalukya inscription of A.D. 1007. But soon Satyasraya succeeded in recovering his position and confining the Cholas to the South of the Tungabhadra.

Rajaraja’s interference in Eastern Chalukya affairs was the result of the distracted condition of the Vehgi kingdom during the tenth century. As noted above 2 he helped Saktivarman to secure the throne after the long interregnum from A.D. 973 to 999. The Chola emperor did so partly in order to frustrate the scheme of Satyasraya to combine the resources of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas against the Cholas. Putting an end to the civil war in Vehgi, Rajaraja claimed to be its conqueror. The alliance between the powers was cemented by the marriage of Kundava, Rajaraja’s daughter, with Vimaladitya (A.D. 1011-1018), the younger brother of Saktivarman I. Ultimately this marriage prepared the way for the union of the Eastern Chalukyas and the Cholas.

Rajaraja’s conquest of Kalinga must have followed his subjugation of Vehgi, as Kalinga sought to aggrandize itself at the expense of its southern neighbour. Lastly, Rajaraja conquered the Maidive islands, “the 12,000 ancient islands” of the inscription. His empire included the whole of South India up to the Tungabhadra, the Maldives, and a part of Ceylon; the Andhradesa was in feudatory alliance with him. Some of his titles reflect his achievements: Mummadi Chola; Cholamartctnda; Jayahgonda; Pdndyakulasani; Kcralantaka; Sihglcintaka and Telingakulakdla.

Rajaraja was one of the greatest sovereigns of South India, a famous conqueror and empire-builder, an administrator of ability, a pious and tolerant man, a patron of art and letters and, above all, an amiable personality. He not only conquered extensively, but saw to it that he conquered territory was properly administered. He started a great land survey in A.D. 1000, strengthened the imperial administration, and encouraged local self-government throughout his dominions. In A.D. 1012 he associated in the government of

the empire his only son Rajendra who had already been active on the battlefield, and the latter's reign period was reckoned from his coronation as yuvardju. This system improved the administration by placing, in future, the energies of several princes at the service of the empire. It prevented struggles for succession and familiarised the heir apparent with imperial affairs. This sort of joint rule accounts for the overlapping dates of the Chola dynastic history. Rajaraja, who was devoted to Siva, assumed the title of Sivapadasekhara. The great Raj arajes vara temple at Tanj ore, the most beautiful and perfect Tamil temple, was completed in A.D. 1010, and was maintained by the revenue of many villages scattered throughout the empire. Rajaraja's policy of religious toleration is indicated by some Buddhist sculptures in the Tan j ore temple and the erection of temples for Vishnu which enjoyed his patronage and that of his sister. He co-operated in the construction of the Chu<j!amani Vihara, a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam, by the Sailendra Emperor Maravijayottunga-varman. (of Malay Peninsula, Java and Sumatra) in A.D. 1006 and gave away the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddha of that monastery. 3 The great and solid work of Rajaraja was the foundation upon which Rajendra built; the work of the son is the most authentic testimony to the work of the father. Rajaraja had several queens including Loka MahadevI, the greatest of them all; one son and three daughters including Kundava. His mother, Vanavan MahadevI, was a Malaiyaman princess and she committed sati on the death of her royal husband in A.D. 973. The most respected lady of the imperial household was &embiyan MahadevI, the queen of Gan<Jaraditya, w ho lived on till

A.D. 1001. The Chera queen of Sundara Chola also lived till that date. Rajaraja had a sister also named Kundava.

2. Rajendra I, Gangaikonda Chola (A.D. 1012-1044)

As noted above, Parakesari Rajendra took an active part in public affairs before his accession to the throne, and was associated with his father in the government of the empire. He ruled from A.D. 1012 to 1044, and made his son Rajadhiraja heir apparent as early as A.D 1018. The inscriptions of Rajendra describe his wars and conquests and exhibit his greatness as a conqueror. The famous Tiruvalangatju grant (thirty-one copper-plates) of his sixth regnal year (A.D. 1017) recites his achievements, and additions were made to the account in Sanskrit about A.D. 1025 after his conquest* of Kataha or Ka^aram.

Another important record of Rajendra is his Tirumalai rock inscription issued in his thirteenth regnal year (A.D. 1024), which

gives a complete list of his continental conquests. “Parakesarivarman alias the lord Sri Rajendra Choladeva,... seized by (his; great, warlike army (the following): Idaituraina^u; Vanavasi .... Kollippakkai; Mannaikkadakkam, the crown of the king of ilam....; the beautiful crown and the necklace of Indra which the king of the South (i.e. the Pandya) had previously deposited with that (king of Ilam); the whole Ilamandala.. ., the crown praised by many and the garland of the sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting (king) of Kerala rightfully wore; many ancient islands... .,the crown of pure gold .. .., which Parasurama, having considered the fortification of Sandimattivu impregnable, had deposited (there) when, in anger he bound the kings twenty-one times in battle; the seven-and-a-half-lafcshas of Ira^tapadi, (which was) strong by nature (and which he took), together with immeasurable fame, (from) Jayasiriiha, who turned his back at Musangi and hid himself; Sakkarakkottam, whose warriors were brave; Madura-maij^ala. . . ., Namanaikkonam...., Panchappalli. .. ., the good Masumdesa. .. ., Indraratha of the old race of the Moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place (at) Adinagar....; 0$<?a-vishaya, which was difficult to approach. . . ., the good Kosalai-nadu where Brahmaijas assembled; Tantjabutti, in whose gardens bees abounded (and which he acquired) after having destroyed Dharmapala (in) a hot battle; Takkanaladam, whose fame

reached (all) directions (and which he occupied) after having forcibly attacked Ranasura; Vangala-desa,' where the rain-water never stopped (and from which) Govindachandra fled....; elephants of rare strength, women and treasure (which he seized) after having been pleased to put to fight on a hot battlefield the strong Mahlpala together with Sangu.. ..; Uttiraladam. . . ., and the Ganga. .. . ”

Regarding the identification of the names mentioned above, there is no agreement among scholars in some cases. Idaiturrainadu is the Raichur Doab; Vanavasi is Banavasi; Kollippakkai is Kulpak, near Hyderabad; Mannaikkadakkam is Manyakheta, Malkhed; Ilam is Ceylon; “many ancient islands” refer to the Maldives; Sandimattivu is an island in the Arabian Sea famous in legend; Iraftapadi is the Western Chalukya country; Jayasiihha (II) is the Western Chalukya king f Jagadekamalla I) who ruled from A.D. 1015 to 1043; Musangi or Muyahgi is Maski in Hyderabad State; Sakkarakkottam is a place in Bastar; Madura-mandala, Namanaikkcw?am and Panchappalli may be regarded as parts of Masuoriidesam or Bastar under the Nagavamsi rulers; Adinagar is Jajnagar in Orissa; Indraratha was probably a Somavamsi king; Odda-vishaya is Orissa; Kosalai-nadu was on the banks of the Mahanadi; Tandabhukti is Dai>dabhukti (Midnapore District); Dharmapala, Ranasura and Govindachandra were

local rulers in Bengal; Mahipala was Mahipala I of the Pala dynasty of Bengal and Bihar 4 and Sangu was probably his general; Takkanaladam and Uttiraladam were southern Radha and northern Radha which together comprised that part of Bengal which lies to the south of the Ganga; and Vangaladesa was eastern and southern Bengal.

The Tirumalai inscription refers at the beginning to the military achievements of Rajendra as Yuva^dja. In A.D. 1018 Ceylon was completely conquered, followed by destruction and looting on a large scale. Rajendra redeemed Parantaka I’s failure by seizing the Pandya crown and other royal insignia in the custody of the Sinhalese ruler; he also took away the crowns of the king and queen of Ceylon. The conquered country was governed as a province, and several Siva and Vishnu temples were erected. In the same year he deprived the Chera ruler also of his crown. In A.D.

1018-1019 Rajendra appointed his son as viceroy of Madura, where a palace was built, and Kerala was subsequently added to his charge. Though Jayasimha was defeated at Musangi (Maski) in A.D. 1021, he soon recovered the Raichur Doab, re-established his authority up to the Tungabhadra and even penetrated into the Bellary region. Therefore the statement in the Tirumalai inscription that Rajendra conquered the whole of Irattapadi can only be regarded as royal rodomontade.

The next military effort of Rajendra was the expedition to Eastern India, which was entrusted to his general. Crossing the Godavari and passing through Bastar and Orissa, the Chola army reached Western Bengal, defeated two rulers, crossed the Ganga, overthrew another ruler, recrossed that river, triumphed over Mahipala I and returned home. The victorious general received the congratulations of his sovereign on the banks of the Godavari. Water was brought from the Ganga and poured into the Cholagangam, the large irrigation tank excavated near the new capital, Gangaikondacholapuram (U<Jaiyarpalayam Taluk , Trichinopoly District; near Chidambaram), built by Rajendra who assumed the title ‘GangaikOTidachola’. The northern raid was not perhaps without some permanent results. Some scholars attribute to it the settlement of some South Indian chiefs in Bengal and Mithila leading to the foundation of the Sena principality of Bengal and the Karnata dynasty of Mithila. Besides, we have clear evidence of the establishment of Saivas from Northern India in the Tamil country.

The Tamil epigraphical account of the campaign of Rajendra against Kadaram runs as follows: “(who), having despatched many

ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught SangramaVijayottuhga-varman, the king of Kadaram, together with the elephants in his glorious army, (took) the large heap of treasures which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) Srivijaya ....;

Pannai....; the ancient Malaiyur.; Mayirudingam....; Ilahga

soka. .. .; Mappappalam....; Mevilimbangam; Valaippanduj:....; Talaittakkolam; Madamalingam.. . Ilamuridesam. . . .; Manakkavaram. .. .; and Kadaram of fierce strength which was protected by the deep sea.”

Srivijaya was a kingdom in Sumatra; Paipnai was on the east coast of the same island; Malaiyur was probably between Srivijaya and Pannai; Mayirudingam may be located near Ligor in Malaya, to its south was Ilahgasoka; Mappappalam was probably near the isthmus of Kra. The next two places cannot be identified. Talaittakkolam is identical with Takkola and was near the isthmus; Madamalingam was perhaps near the Bay of Bandon in Malay Peninsula; Ilamuridesam (mod. Lamri) was in northern Sumatra; Manakkavaram is the Nicobar Islands; and Kadaram may be identified with Kedah, near Penang. 5 Thus Rajendra's overseas expedition was confined to Sumatra and Malay Peninsula.

It seems that Rajendra seized the various divisions of the kingdom of Sangrama-Vijayottunga-varman and finally his capital Kadaram, in one and the same campaign. It is, however, difficult to guess the real object of the expedition. For the Sailendra emperor was the successor of Mara-Vijayottunga-varman, who had founded a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam in the twenty-first regnal year (A.D. 1006) of Rajaraja I, and Rajendra, at the commencement of his reign, had renewed his father's grant of the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddha of that monastery. We cannot say how the friendly relation between the two great powers changed into one of hostility during the decade between Rajaraja's death in A.D. 1014 and Rajendra's expedition to Kadaram about A.D. 1025. Probably the Chola emperor desired to increase the prestige that had accrued to him from his Gangetic expedition, by a naval demonstration against the Sailendra empire. It is also not unlikely that the Cho]a king was actuated by the motive of controlling the rich trade between India and the Far East. We do not also know whether his mastery over this region was only temporary and whether his conquests in* Sumatra and Malay were maintained by him and his successors.

Rajendra's warlike activities did not cease after the conquest of Kadaram. About A.D. 1029 a struggle for independence started in Ceylon. There were also rebellions in the Pandya and Chera countries, which were put down by Rajadhiraja, the heir apparent since

A.D. 1018. The last years of Rajendra witnessed the Chola invasion of the Western Chalukya dominions ruled over by Somesvara I Ahavamalla (A.D.

1043-1068). Rajadhiraja won a victory at Pundi on the Krishna, sacked Kalyana, and brought home the dvarapdlaka (doorkeeper) image which is now found at Darasuram (Tanjore District). The Chola invasion was particularly ruinous and humiliating to the Western Chalukyas. Minor campaigns were conducted in some parts of Mysore, with the result that "cows were carried off and women's gridles were unloosed." The Cholas offended seriously against the ethics of warfare even in the days of Rajaraja the Great and Rajendra the Gangaikondachola.

Rajendra, the greater son of a great father, was active for about thirty-two years in extending the power and prestige which the Chola Empire had acquired during the previous reign. His most famous titles epitomise his greatness: Mudikonda, Gangaikaxida, Kadarangonda and Pavdita Chola. The first title means that he captured the crowns of the Painty a, Kerala and Ceylonese kings; the second and third indicate his great continental and oversea achievements; the fourth receives substance and reality from an inscription at Ennayiram (South Arcot District), assignable to about A.D. 1025, which records the provision made at an important Vaishnava centre for a Vedic College with 340 students learning the Vedas, Vyakarana, Mirndmsd , and Nyaya under fourteen teachers. Three of them taught the Rigveda; four the Yajurveda ; two the Sdmaveda; and five the Sutras , the Rupdvatara (a work giving the elements of grammar), Vyakarana, the Mlmdmsd of Prabhakara and Vedanta. Teachers and pupils received a daily allowance of paddy which was supplemented by a money payment. The highest salary was paid to the teacher of Vyakarana, but the teacher of Vedanta received no money payment. This institution was maintained from the produce of forty-five veils of land. The educational policy of Rajendra was continued by his successors. Inscriptions mention four of his queens. His three sons, Rajadhiraja I, Rajendra II, and Virarajendra I ascended the throne in succession, and his daughter, Ammangadevi, was the queen of Rajaraja I of Vengl and mother of Kulottuhga I.

3. Rajadhiraja I (A:D. 1018-1052) and Rajendra II (A.D. 1052-1064) 6a

Rajadhiraja was made joint ruler with his father as early as A.D. 1018. During his independent reign from A.D. 1044 to 1052 the Ceylonese troubles continued. Drastic steps were taken to remove them, including barbarities like the mutilation of the nose of the

Ceylonese queen-mother, and in most parts of the island Chola authority was maintained intact. The war with the Chalukyas, also characterised by the destruction of their cities and buildings, culminated in A.D. 1052 in the hard fought battle of Koppam, 6 in which the Chalukya king Somesvara was defeated, but the Chola emperor lost his life. His younger brother Rajendra II, who had been chosen heir apparent, in supersession of the claims of Rajadhiraja's sons, crowned himself on the battlefield, where he had distinguished himself by his bravery. He advanced to Kolhapur and erected a pillar of victory there. In spite of the frequent defeats of the Chalukyas and the serious injury done to some parts of their dominions, the Cholas failed to reduce them to vassalage or annex permanently any portion of their territory. Rajadhiraja performed a horse sacrifice about A.D. 1044 and pursued an uninterrupted martial career for more than thirty years. An inscription of A.D. 1048 at Tribhuvani, near Pondicherry, mentions a Vedic college with an endowment of seventy-two veils of land and with 260 students and twelve teachers, who were exempted from service on the committees of the local assembly. The inscriptions of Rajadhiraja's successors refer to him as Anaimerrunjina or "who died on the elephant back."

Rajendra II (A. D. 1052-1064), the hero of Koppam, marched against Somesvara in A.D. 1062 in order to check the growth of his power and prevent his interference in the affairs of Vengi and defeated him as mentioned above. 7 Rajendra's eldest son, Rajamahendra, became Yuvaraja about A.D. 1059, but after his death his place was occupied by Vlrarajendra I. Rajendra's daughter Madhurantaki married the Eastern Chalukya prince Rajendra who was later known as Kulottuhga I.

4. Vlrarajendra I (A.D. 1063-1070) and Adhirdjendra (A.D. 1068-70)

Rajendra II was succeeded by his younger brother, Vlrarajendra I (A.D. 1063-1070), who invaded the Western Chalukya empire in A. D. 1067 in response to a challenge of Somesvara to meet him at Ku<Jal^Sangamam again. But the latter did not turn up, and the Chola army returned home after erecting a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra and

offering insults to the effigy of Somesvara, who was then suffering from an incurable fever which subsequently led to his suicide by drowning in the Tungabhadra. The Chola inscriptions say that Vlrarajendra “saw the back” of (defeated) Somesvara five times. The Chola emperor proceeded to Vengi, defeated the Western Chalukyas near Vijayawada, strengthened his hold on Vengi, and returned to Gahgaikondacholapuram, the Chola,

capital from the days oi Rajendra I. Virarajendra sent an expedition to Ceylon and crushed the rebellion there. He is said to have conquered Kadaram and placed a friendly ruler on its throne about A.D, 1069. Virarajendra came into conflict with Somesvara II (A.D. 1068-1076), the son of Somesvara I, and both sides claimed victory. It seems that Somesvara II and his younger brother, Vikramaditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), quarrelled, and on the latter’s appeal to the Chola emperor, the former was forced to surrender a part of his dominions to his brother, who married a Chola princess. Virarajendra assumed a number of titles like Ahavamallakulakala or destroyer of the family of Ahavamalla (great in war) Somesvara I, and Vallabhavailabha, or lord of the Western Chalukyas who called themselves Medinlvallabhas or lords of the world. An inscription of A.D. 1067 mentions the provision made for a Vedic college with a hostel and hospital at Tirumukkudal (Chingleput District), and the medical staff consisted of two doctors, two nurses and others. There were beds for fifteen in-patients, and water scented with cardamoms and Khas Khas (cus cus) roots was brought from Perambalur (Trichinopoly District).

Virarajendra I was succeeded by his son Adhirajendra, who ruled from A.D. 1068 to 1070 with his father, and only for a few months as a sole monarch. His unnatural death and the accession of Kulottuiiga I resulted m the extinction of the Vijayalaya line. It is not easy to explain the confusion which followed Vlrarajendra’s death, the intervention of Vikramaditya VI and his return, the death of Adhirajendra in the rebellion which broke out and the part played hi these affairs by Kulottunga I. Adhirajendra is regarded by some as the Krimikantha (diseased neck) Chola of Vaishinava tradition; he seems to have been the persecutor of Ramanuja though some scholars regard Virarajendra I or Kulottunga as the enemy of that Vaishnava saint and philosopher.

5. Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1120)

Rajendra II Eastern Chalukya or Kulottunga Chola I was the great-grandson of Rajaraja I Chola in two ways: his mother, AmmangadevI, was the daughter of Rajendra I Chola (son of Rajaraja I Chola), and his father, Rajaraja I Eastern Chalukya was the son of Kundava (daughter of Rajaraja I Chola) and Vimaladitya of Vengl. Thus Kulottunga I was seventy-five per cent Chola by blood. The career of this Chalukya-Chola from the death of his father in A.D. 1060 to his own occupation of the Chola throne in A.D. 1070 is obscure. During this period he fought successfully with some chiefs of Bastar and even with Vikramaditya VI as prince. It is likely

that Kulottunga was on good terms with Virarajendra I and helped him in the re-establishment of Chola authority in the kingdom of Vengi in A.D. 1067 against the encroachments of the Western Chalukyas. It is probable that his accession to the Chola throne was regarded with satisfaction as the confusion of the previous reign necessitated the restoration of the integrity and strength of the empire, though in the light of the conflicting evidences we, cannot satisfactorily account for his advent to the Chola throne. No doubt the internal confusion in the Choja empire afforded a good opportunity, but the supposition of a struggle between him and Adhirajendra, or of a prolonged fight for the throne, is untenable.

About A.D. 1073 Yasahkanna Kalachuri raided the Vengi country without any appreciable results. Vijayabahu (A.D. 1055-1110) of Ceylon took advantage of the anarchy in the Chola empire before the accession of Kulottunga, captured Polonnaruva about A.D. 1070, crowned himself king of Ceylon in A.D. 1073, and became independent of the Cholas; Kulottunga made peace with him in A.D. 1088, and gave his daughter in marriage to a Sinhalese prince. The Chola conflict with Vikramaditya VI broke out in A.D. 1076, and in the statement of its result, the Chola and Chalukya records are not in agreement. Anyhow it is clear that the great emperor of Kalyaina persistently thwarted the plans of Kulottunga, especially the union of the Eastern Chalukya and the Chola kingdoms. After the death or ejection of Vijayaditya VII Eastern Chalukya in A.D. 1076, Kulottunga appointed his sons as viceroys of Vengi. The troubles of Kulottunga during his early regnal years led to the revolt of the Paindya and Chera countries, but they were reconquered. Military colonies (nilaip padai) were established in these countries to keep them under control, but in matters of internal administration they were left free. Kulottunga claims to have destroyed Kadaram, but about A.D. 1090 an embassy came from its king and at his request, Kulottunga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery at Negapatam. The rebellion of Venad about A.D. 1098 was put down by Naralokavira, a famous general of Kulottunga.

Kulottunga twice invaded Kalinga. His first expedition about A.D. 1096 quelled the revolt of Southern Kalinga, a part of the Vengi province. The second and more important expedition in A.D. 1110 is dealt with in the Kalirngattupparani of Jayahgondar, the court poet of Kulottunga, in which both the bright and seamy sides of warfare are brought out. The expedition started from Kanchl and was led by a reputed general of Kulottunga, named Karunakara Tondaiman. He was a Pallava chieftain ruling over Van<Juvanjeri (Tanj ore District), or Vandalur (Chingleput District) according to some scholars. Anantavarman Chcxjaganga (A.D. 1078-1150) of Kalihganagara, the son of the Chola princess Rajasundari, was defeated. We do not know exactly why the Choja emperor waged war with Kalinga; but the failure of its ruler to send in the annual tribute is mentioned in the poem of Jayangon4ar. Anyhow the second Kalinga war led to no annexations.

Kulottunga’s inscription of A.D. 1111 shows his friendly relations with the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. About A.D. 1115 the Chola empire was almost as extensive as in the days of its glory, except for the loss of Ceylon. But within two or three years from that date Kulottunga lost the Gangavadi and Vengl provinces.

As noted above, Vishnuvardhana Hoysala conquered the Choja provinces of Gangavadi and Nolambavadi, captured Tajakad and assumed the title of Ta\alcd(jiugon^a; he is also said to have invaded the Tamil country and raided it as far as Rame£varam. An inscription states that his attempt to carry away some images from Aduturai (Trichinopoly District) to Halebid was frustrated. About A.D. 1118 the province of Vengl came under the control of Vikramaditya VI, who maintained it till his death. This was his greatest victory over Kulottunga with whom he had always been on terms of hostility. Thus during the last decade of his long reign, Vikramaditya realised the object, cherished from the beginning of his reign, of separating the Eastern Chalukyas and the Cholas.

Though Ceylon was permanently and wholly lost to the Chola empire, Vehgi and parts of Gangavadi were later recovered. It was Kulottunga who for the first time made Vengl an integral part of the Chola empire, but he was wise enough not to make any attempt to alter the Tungabhadra frontier. He gave a fresh lease of life to his empire by conferring on his subjects the benefits of internal peace and benevolent administration. Though Gangaikondachojapuram continued to be the imperial capital, the importance of Kanchi steadily increased. Kulottunga assumed the titles of Tribhuvana chakravartin (Emperor of Three Worlds), Virudarajabhayankara (a terror to Virudaraja i.e. Vikramaditya), and Suhgandavirtta or who abolished tolls, but the character of this fiscal reform is not known. He ordered a land survey in A.D. 1086, the date of Domesday Survey of England by a strange coincidence; and another survey was made in A.D. 1110. Kulottunga's queens were MadhurantakI who died about A.D. 1100, Tyagavalli and others. Seven sons and a daughter of his are known. Among the sons, Chodaganga, Mummadi Chola, Vlra Choda, and Vikrama Chola were viceroys of Vengl under their father; his daughter married a Ceylonese prince.

6. Vikrama Chola (A.D. 1118-1135) and Kulottunga 11 (A.D. 1133

1150)

Kulottunga I was succeeded by his son Vikrama Chola who became sole ruler in A.D. 1120. He seized the opportunity afforded by the death of Vikramaditya VI in A.D. 1126 to restore the Chola power in the Vengl kingdom, and also recovered Kolar and some other parts of Gangava^i. About A.D. 1125 North and South Arcot Districts suffered from floods and famine. The year A.D. 1128 is memorable for the king's handsome donations to the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram which had been favoured by the Chola emperors since the days of Parantaka I and which had become particularly important in consequence of the change of the capital from

Tanjore to Gangaikondachojapuram, not far from Chidambaram. Vikrama Chola toured frequently, and was living in his palace at Chidambaram in A.D. 1130. His surnames, Tyagasamudra and Akalanka, suggest his liberality and moral purity. An inscription of A.D. 1121 refers to a Medical School at Tiruvaduturai (Tanjore District) teaching the Samhitd of Charaka and the Ashtdngahridaya Samhitd of the younger Vagbhata.

Vikrama Chola was succeeded by his son Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-1150) > who became independent ruler after his father's death in A.D. 1135. He continued his predecessor's benefactions to the Chidambaram temple. He, however, exhibited religious intolerance by throwing the image of Govindaraja into the sea, though the antiquity of the Vaishnava shrine is proved by Manikkavachakar's reference to it. Kulottunga II has been identified by some scholars with the Krimikantha Chola of Vaishnava literature, the Chola whose neck was diseased, or infected with germs, because of his impiety. 8 His reign is an epoch in literary history; he and his feudatories patronised Ottakkuttan, Sekkilar and Kamban.

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7. Rajamja 11 (A.D. 1146-1173) and Rajadhiraja 11 (A.D. 1163-1179)

During the reign of Kulottunga II's son, Rajaraja II, a civil war broke out about A.D. 1169 between Parakrama Pantjya and Kulasekhara Pandya, and the latter seized Madura and killed his opponent along with some members of his family. The help sought for by Parakrama Pandya from Parakramabahu the Great, king of Ceylon, came too late. Lankapura, the Sinhalese general, conducted a destructive campaign in the Pandya country necessitating Chola intervention on behalf of Kulasekhara, won a victory over him, and put Vlra Pandya, the son of Parakrama Pan<Jya, in posession of the country. But soon Kulasekhara was reinstated by the Cholas, who invaded

Ceylon. Parakramabahu changed his policy suddenly and allied himself with Kulasekhara, who in consequence turned against the Cholas. Therefore they also changed their policy and enthroned Vira Pandya. This protracted warfare continued beyond the reign of Rajarija II till about A.D. 1177. Thus, a century after the accession of Kulottunga I, the growth of trouble from the feudatories reached its climax and revealed the central weakness of the Chola empire. Rajadhiraja II ((A.D. 1163-1179), the successor of Rajaraja II and another grandson of Vikrama Chola, brought the Pandya Civil War to

a close.

8. Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216)

Kulottunga III was chosen by Rajadhiraja II to be his successor but the relation between the two is not known. Though the help of Rajadhiraja secured the throne for Vira Pandya, the latter intrigued with Ceylon and turned against the Cholas. Probably about A.D. 1182, he was dethroned by Kulottunga who enthroned Vikrama Pandya, perhaps related to Kulasekhara Pandya. About A. D. 1189 Vira Pandya again created trouble with the aid of the Kerala king, sustained defeat at the hands of Kulottunga, and took refuge in Quilon. Ceylon joined in the fray as usual, and while Kulottunga claims a victory over her, Nihsankamalla, the Sinhalese ruler, is said to have invaded the Pandya country thrice, and appears to have seized Ramesvaram. Between A. D. 1190 and 1194 the Chola authority was asserted in the Kongudesa. The relations of Kulottunga with his Telugu-Choda feudatories, who occupied the region between the North Arcot and Nellore Districts, were generally good, but about A. D. 1196 he recovered Kanchl from them after their occupation of it for some time. About A. D. 1205 the third Pandya expedition was sent against Jatavarman Kulasekhara, probably the son of Vikrama Pandya, who was defeated "but reinstated. Kulottunga, however, ravaged the country and destroyed the coronation-hall at Madura. He despatched an expedition to the Andhradesa about A. D. 1208. Towards the close of his reign Kulottunga reaped the fruit of his harsh Pandyan policy; he was overpowered by Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (brother of Jatavarman Kulasekhara) who could not however exploit his victory fully because of the Hoysala intervention on behalf of the Cholas.

Gahgaikondacholapuram remained the capital of the Choja empire. Kulottunga gave much attention to Pandya affairs and was largely successful except at the end of his reign. He assumed the title of Maduraiyum Pandiyanmufattalaiuam Kondaru\iya “who was pleased to take Madura and the crowned head of the Pandya.” He exercised firm control over the Telugu-Chodas. Famine conditions

prevailed in A. D. 1201 and 1202 and relief works were started by private agency, according to an inscription at Tiruvannamalai (North Arcot District). An inscription of A.D. 1213 mentions an institution for the study of Vyakarana at Tiruvorriyur near Madras. Kulottuhga was active in building temples and improving them and the finest work of his reign is the temple at Tribhuvanam (Tanjore District), with striking Ramdyana reliefs. Though he maintained his empire and its administrative system intact, his difficulties bring into relief the dangers that threatened his position. His personal qualities were responsible for the continuance of the empire under him, and he may be regarded as the last great Chola. Many feudatory chieftains rose to power, such as Telugu-Chodas, Banas, 6ambuvarayas, Kadavas, Malaiyamans, Adigamans and Others, and this impaired the strength of the central authority. At last, the imperialism of the Pandyas ruined the Chola empire in the thirteenth century.

9. Rajaraja III (A.D. 1216-1246) and Rajendra III (A.D. 1246-79)

The relationship of Rajaraja III to his predecessor or successor is not definitely known, and his inscriptions refer to Kulottunga III as Periyadevar or the great king. Perhaps he was the son of Kulottunga, and father of Rajendra III. Rajaraja was confronted with a difficult political situation, consequent on the rise of the Pandyas, the Hoysalas, the Kadavas, the Telugu-Chodas, and the Kakatiyas, and his incompetence and folly aggravated his difficulties. He brought about a conflict with the Pandyas by violating the treaty with them. They inflicted a sanguinary defeat on him and seized his capital. A contemporary historical romance, the Gadyakarndmrita of Kalakalabha, refers to the flight of Rajaraja, his capture after a battle by the Kadavaraya, Kop-Perunjinga, and the Hoysala intervention in his favour.

One of the queens of Hoysala Ballala II (A. D. 1173-1220) was a Chola princess. His son, Narasimha II (A. D. 1220-1234), provoked by the audacity of Kop-Perunjinga, who had imprisoned Rajaraja at Sendamangalam (South Arcot District) and ruined the Chola country and its temples, left his capital Dvarasamudra and pitched his camp at Pachchur, near Srirangam. After directing his generals against Kop-Perunjinga, Narasimha, who had captured Srirangam and Kanchl, marched as far as Ramesvaram where he is said to have erected a pillar of victory. The Tiruvendipuram (South Arcot District) inscription of Rajaraja III, dated A. D. 1231-2, narrates the story of Kop-Perun jinga's revolt, of his imprisoning the king, of the march of the Hoysala generals, Appanna and Samudra Goppayya, to Sendamangalam, of their liberation of the royal prisoner, and the death of a Ceylonese prince who had befriended the Ka<Java. Narasirhha became famous as the Cholardjyapratisthdpandcharya , or the founder of the Chola kingdom. After the defeat of the Pan^yas, the Hoysala king entered into matrimonial relations with them. Thus Rajaraja became dependent on the Hoysalas. The administration of the Chola country deteriorated, and the feudatories freed themselves from imperial control. Though the Hoysalas saved the Chola power from extinction for the time being by their intervention, they consolidated their position in the Chola country and attempted with success to play the role of arbitrators in the affairs of the Tamils. Narasiriiha's son Somesvara (A. D. 1234-1263) established his position at Kannanur, near Trichinopoly, about A. D. 1239 and played a part in the affairs of the declining Chola empire.

Rajendra III (A. D. 1246-1279), more capable and energetic than Rajaraja III, attempted to increase his power and prestige with the help of the Telugu-Chodas. It is probable that he triumphed over Maravarman Sundara Pandya II, and the Hoysalas then inclined towards the Pandyas against the Cholas. But the accession of Jatavarman Sundara Pan<Jya I, the greatest of his line, changed Somesvara's hostile attitude towards Rajendra into one of friendship and co-operation. About A. D. 1250 Kanchl was occupied by Ganapati Kakatlya. Taking advantage of this state of affairs Jatavarman Sundara Pandya executed a grand military march which almost revolutionized the political condition of South India. Somesvara was defeated and slain in battle. The Cholas. were subdued; KopPeruhjinga was converted into a subordinate Pandya ally; the Telugu-Chodas were vanquished; the Kakatiyas were expelled from Kanchl; and Nellore was

seized. Rajendra’s political position was consequently that of a Pandyan feudatory from about A.D. 1258 to 1279. Thus the mighty royal power founded by Rajaraja and Rajendra came to an ignoble end. Gangaikondacholapuram continued as the capital down to the last days of the Chola empire.

10. Kop-Perunjinga

The career of Kop-Perunjinga or Maharajasirhha (A.D. 1229-1278) of Sendamangalam best illustrates the decline of the Chola empire. He started as a loyal feudatory of Rajaraja, but defeated him about A.D. 1231 at Tellaru, near Wandiwash, and imprisoned him at Sendamahgalam. After the intervention of Hoysala Narasirhha II Kop-Perunjihga again became a Chola feudatory. But in A.D. 1243 he assumed titles indicative of his independent status Kop-Perunjinga defeated the Hoysalas in A.D. 1252-3 at Perambalur (Trichinopoly District), seized their ladies and expiated his guilt by gifts to the temple at

Vriddhachalam. But Jatavarman Sundara Pandya besieged Sendamangalam, reduced him to vassalage in A.D. 1255, and secured his cooperation in his own northern campaigns.

The inscriptions of Kop-Perunjinga are largely found in the South Arcot, North Arcot, and Chingleput Districts and to a lesser extent, in the Tanjore, Kurnool and Godavari Districts. He claims to have conquered the Cholas, the Hoysalas, the Pandyas and the Kakatlyas. From his stronghold at Sendamangalam he controlled Cuddalore, Chidambaram, Vriddhachalam and Kanchi. He was devoted to God Nataraja at Chidambaram and built the eastern Gopura of the temple there. His titles are not only political, military and religious but also literary. There is some truth underlying the titles Pdndyamandala-sthdpana-sutradhdra, Sahodarasundara, Karnatalakshmi-luntaka, Kathaka-kula-tilaka , and Penndnadindtha. There is ample justification for his titles of Sarvajna Khajr gamalla, Vdlbalaperumdl and Kanakasablndpati-sabha-sarvakdrya sarvakdla-nirvahaka. But whether his literary titles like Kavisdrvabhauma and Sdhitya-ratndkara are well founded is more than one can say, though the title Bharata-malla may be justified by the sculptures of dance-poses he caused to be engraved on the eastern gateway of the Chidambaram temple; he shows self-restraint in describing himself as Kdveri-kdmuka. He claims to be a Kaduvetti or Pallava by descent. His character and achievements before and after A.D. 1243 exhibit a remarkable inner unity. During an age of stress and storm, he established his power and prestige and his forceful personality and unbounded energy made his name and family famous in the triangular political contest among the Pandyas, the Hoysalas, and the Kakatlyas for control of the fast declining Chola empire.

II POLITICAL ORGANISATION 1. Central Government

The extent and resources of the Chola empire increased the power and prestige of its sovereigns. The pomp of kingship was augmented not only by the great capitals like Tanjore, Gahgai-kondacholapuram, Mudikondan 9 and Kdnchi, the large imperial household and imposing state banquets, and the magnificent ddnas or donations made in lieu of the Asvamedha and other sacrifices of old, but also by the giving of royal names to idols and the installation and worship of the images of kings and queens in temples. The system of hereditary succession to the throne was occasionally modified by the ruling king's choice as Yuvardja of a younger prince in preference to his seniors. The princes were associated with the ruling

sovereigns and actively employed in war and peace. The absolutism of monarchy was tempered both by a ministerial council and by an organised administrative staff, the heads of departments being in close contact with the king, and often consulted by him. Royal tours contributed to the efficiency of the administration and the officers were paid by land assignments, and honoured and encouraged by titles. The higher officials enjoyed the status of perundaram, and the lower ones sirutaram. Administrative activities, as well as military and trade movements, were facilitated by peruvalis or trunk roads. There was brisk commercial intercourse with China, Sumatra, and Java in the east, and Arabia and other countries around the Persian Gulf in the west. Some merchant guilds were gigantic international organisations. Industries were in a flourishing condition, particularly jewellery and metal work, weaving, and manufacture of salt. Public revenue was derived mainly from land and collected in kind, or in cash, or in both, by village assemblies. Land was possessed by individuals and communities. There were peasant proprietorship and other forms of land tenure. Agricultural prosperity was ensured by the special attention given to irrigation by government as well as local authorities. The proper utilisation of the water of Kaverl and other rivers was supplemented by great tanks. Village assemblies were to perform the functions of maintaining tanks in good condition and of reclaiming forest and waste lands. The state's demand of land revenue seems to have been one-third of the gross produce in the time of Rajaraja I. This proportion was fixed after an elaborate land survey and we have already mentioned the surveys ordered by that emperor and by Kulottuhga I. There were periodical revisions of the classifications of land and of the assessment of land revenue. The other items of public income were customs and tolls, taxes on various kinds of profession, mines, forests, saltpans, etc. The numerous taxes, though uneconomical from the modern point of view, were intended to supplement the land revenue with its fluctuations due to remissions in hard times. There were occasional famines, general or local; the visitation of A.D. 1152 evidently belonged to the former category. Unpaid labour was frequently employed. Though there is evidence of the sympathetic administration of the tax system—Kulottuhga I earned fame by abolishing tolls—some cases of oppression are on record. Further, the rise into power of the feudal chiefs must have increased the tax burdens of the people. Failure to pay the land revenue involved the sale ofLthe land in question, not excluding temple lands. The chief items of public expenditure were: the king and his court, army and navy, civil administrative staff, roads, and irrigation tanks and channels besides temples and religious endowments.

The army consisted of elephants, cavalry and infantry— munrukai-mahasenai or the great army with three limbs. As many as seventy regiments, named after royal titles, are mentioned in inscriptions. They possessed a corporate organisation, participated in civic life, and made grants to temples. Attention was given to their training and discipline, and cantonments (kadagam or padai vidu) existed. There were recruits from Kerala in the army. The strength of the elephant corps was 60,000 and that of the whole army, about 150,000. It was composed chiefly of Kaikkolas (lit. men with strong arms) or Sengundar (lit. spear-wieldersj. The Velaikkaras were the body-guard of the monarch, sworn to defend him with their lives and often ready to immolate themselves on his funeral pyre. Very costly Arabian horses were imported in large numbers in order to strengthen the cavalry, but most of them were short-lived in South India. Kings and princes led armies, and Rajaditya and Rajadhiraja I died on the battlefields of Takkolam and Koppam. Commanders enjoyed the rank of Nayaka, Senapati, or Mahadandanayaka; they were Vellalas, Brahmanas and others. Wars sometimes started with cattle-lifting. Titles like Kshatriyasikhamani were conferred upon men with a distinguished record. The terrible character of Chola warfare was exhibited in the invasions of Irattapa<Ji, Pandyamandalam and Ceylon. Much injury was done to the civil population, women not excepted, and mutilations like nose-slitting are on record. When we speak of the glories of temples and of the luxuries of kings and chieftains, we cannot forget that they obtained enormous spoils of war by the infliction of unspeakable miseries on their neighbours. Even the sanctity of ambassadors was sometimes violated.

The naval achievement Of the Cholas reached its climax during the reign of Rajaraja the Great and his successor. Not only were the Coromandel and Malabar coasts controlled by them, but the Bay of Bengal became a Chola lake. But we cannot form any idea of the technique of their naval warfare or of other details related to the navy. Some think that merchant vessels were employed in transporting the army and that Chola naval fights were land battles fought on the decks of ships.

The empire of Rajaraja the Great was divided into about eight mandalams or provinces, and the latter, into va\anadus and nodus. The next administration sub-divisions were kurrams or kotpams each consisting of a number of autonomous villages playing a vital and conspicuous part in the administration. We have seen that princes were in charge of the provinces of Vehgi and Maudura.

2. Local Self-Government: the Mahasabha and the Vdriyam

Though there was corporate activity in economic and religious life and in territorial divisions like nadus and nagarams (towns), it was the village assemblies that exhibited the greatest and the most comprehensive group activity. The village and town assemblies were primary assemblies while those of nadus were representative institutions. Of the two kinds of assemblies called the Ur and the Sabhd or Mahasabha which were gatherings of the adult male members of the local community, the former was of the general type and the latter was the assembly of the agrahara or Brahmana settlement, and it is this type that looms large in Chola inscriptions.

Inscriptions referring to the Mahasabha or describing its activities are largely found in Tondamandalam and Cholamandalam. The assemblies are found concentrated in certain regions, the major concentration being around Kahchi and a minor one encircling Madras.

The two Uttaramerur records of Parantaka I of A.D. 919 and 921 contain the resolutions passed by the local Mahasabha on the constitution of variyams or Executive Committees, the second resolution improving on and superseding the first. According to the regulations of A.D. 921, each of the thirty wards of the village was to nominate for selection persons possessing the following qualifications:—Ownership of more than 1/4 veil (about an acre and a half) of land; residence in a house built on one’s own site; age between thirty-five and seventy; the knowledge of the Vedic mantra-brah manas; in the alternative one-eighth veil of land and knowledge of one Veda and a Bhashya. The following among others were excluded:—those who had been on any of the committees for the past three years; those who had been on the committee but had failed to submit the accounts, together with all their specified relations; those who had committed incest or other great sins as well as their relations (specified); those who had stolen the property of others; etc.

From among the persons duly nominated, one was to be chosen for each of the thirty Kudumbus or wards by Kudavolai (lit. potticket) or lot for a year in the manner prescribed. Of the thirty so selected twelve, who were advanced in age and learning and had served on the garden and tank committees, were assigned to the samvatsara-variyam or annual committee;

twelve to the tottauariyam or garden committee; and six to the erivariyam or tank committee. Two other committees were similarly selected—the panchavara-vdriyam (a standing committee) and the pon-vdriyam (gold committee). The lot system was worked on the following lines:

Names of eligible persons were written on palm-leaf tickets which were put into a pot and shuffled, and a young boy was directed to take out as many tickets as there were members to be chosen. Inscriptions in other places than Uttaramerur mention additional committees for justice, wards, and fields, the udasina committee and so on. The term udasina has been interpreted as ascetics, but it is better to take it as referring to strangers or foreigners. The number of committees and of members varied from village to village ; and no payment was made for their services. The members of the committee were called Vdriyupperumakkal; the Mahasabha was called Perunguri and its members, perumakkal. Ordinarily the assembly met in the village temple and occasionally under a tree or on the bank of a tank. There are no references to voting or to a quorum. General questions were discussed in the assembly and resolutions (vyava sthai) were passed and recorded.

Membership of the Committee required very high qualifications, regarding age, property, learning, capacity for committee work, and moral purity not only of one’s self but also of one’s relations; and no membership of any of the Committees was permitted until three years had elapsed from the period of last service on a Committee. Such a personnel rendering honorary service would have been available only in prosperous, enlightened and virtuous villages. To run the Mahasabha successfully, a village should have men, honest and true, learned and capable, self-supporting and experienced. The lot system would produce the best results only under such conditions. Otherwise it may give a chance to anybody irrespective of his qualifications; without the principle of rotation in office, it may do injustice to competent candidates. Uttaramerur avoided the pitfalls of the Kudavolai system and it was the model for other sabhas in the Chola empire.

3. Functions of the Mahasabha; Fiscal, Judicial and Ministrant

The extent of village autonomy may be gauged from the functions performed by assemblies. The Mahasabha possessed proprietary rights over communal lands and controlled the private lands within its jurisdiction. It did everything preliminary to conveyance of property, which required the sanction of the central authority. The Mahasabha was concerned with the reclamation of forest and waste lands. It co-operated with royal officials in estimating the produce of cultivated land and assessing the land revenue due from the village. It collected that revenue and in cases of default had the power to sell the land in question by public auction. Disputes about land and irrigation rights were settled by it and in special cases assemblies from the neighbourhood were requested to co

operate with it in reaching a decision. General surveys were undertaken by the Central Government, but the approval of the Mahdsabhd was necessary for any change in the classification of land within its sphere. It had powers of taxation for purposes connected with the.village, and of remission of such taxation for specific reasons. Instead of paying land revenue every year, a landowner might pay a fixed sum to the assembly and compound all his future dues to the local and central authorities, the assembly regularly paying all such dues thereafter in perpetuity. Such arrangements were made in the case of lands set apart for charitable purposes.

The Committees looked after the village administration with the assistance of paid officials, who detected crime. The judicial committee, Ny ay attar, of the assembly settled disputes, pronounced on the innocence or guilt of the accused, and awarded punishments. The establishment of the guilt by a popular committee is the basis of the remark that the jury system prevailed under the Cholas. Inscriptions reveal that various forms of homicide were distinguished and capital punishment was not inflicted in all cases. When death was caused by accident as in hunting, the guilty man was required to endow a perpetual lamp to be lighted in the village temple for religious merit of the deceased. Even in some cases of murder, the extreme penalty of the law was not meted out. The Chola administration of justice may thus be regarded as unduly lenient. The Uttaramerur inscriptions discussed above emphasise the gravity of such offences as incest, adultery, theft, and forgery, and hint that “riding on an ass” was a punishment for some serious crimes.

The Mahasabha performed other functions like the maintenance of roads and irrigation works including tanks (the major public works being executed by the Central Government as their construction was beyond the resources of local bodies), supervision of endowments (religious, medical and eleemosynary) by the dharmavdriyam, and provision for learning, etc. from its own limited resources. Thus the Central Government concerned itself with external defence, the maintenance of internal peace and order, the promotion of the general prosperity and cultural progress of the empire, and left the village assemblies largely to themselves, exercising a general control and interfering in their affairs only in cases of conflict or other exceptional situations. Unions of villages might be effected with the approval of the Central Government. The administration of villages was well organised on popular lines, conducive to the progress and prosperity of their inhabitants, and it was such villages exhibiting corporate activity which, though in a state of decline, early in the nineteenth century, formed the "little republics" that extorted the admiration of famous Anglo-Indian administrators.

THE CHOIhAS

1. Contra Pandarathar, Pirkdlach-Cholar-Charittiram, (in Tamil), Pt. I (Anna malainagar, 1949), pp. 76-78.

2. See Vol. IV, p. 139.

3. Cf. Suvarnadvipa, by R. C. Majumdar, Part I, p. 168, and also infra, Ch. XXI.

4. See above, pp: 24-26.

5. For these identifications and the Chola conquest of this region, cf. Suvarnadvxpa by R. C. Majumdar, Part I, pp. 167 ff, who holds that "the Chola emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant oversea empire, at least for nearly a century"

5a. The dates of these and some subsequent kings are given somewhat differently by different writers. Thus K. A. N. Sastri gives the following dates in his second edition of the 'Colas' (published in 1955) which differ from those given above*

Riijadhiraja I (A.D. 1018-1054).

Vlrarajendra (A.D. 1063-1069).

Kulottunga III (ruled upto A.D. 1217-18).

ilin 'A History of South India', also published in 1955, K.A.N. Sastri gives A.D. 1016 as the date of Rajaraja's death' (p. 200) instead of A.D. 1014, as given in the text above, and also in his 'Colas' (p. 183).

6. See above, pp. 169-170.

7. See above, p. 170.

8. But cf. above, p. 242.

9. Mudikontfa-Cholapuram; known as Palaiyarai (near Kumbhakanam) and Nandipuram before the eleventh century (Pandarathar, op. cit., 82).

CHAPTER XI

THE LATER PANDYAS

1. INTERVAL BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

The first empire of the Pandyas was ruined by their* defeats at Tejlaru, Arichit, and Sripurambiyam, and Rajasimha II was overthrown by Parantaka I about A.D. 920. But the battle of Takkolam revived their importance and Rajaraja I found them to be very powerful. He reconquered them and Rajendra I seized the Pandya crown from Ceylon, appointed one of his sons as the Chola-Pan$ya Viceroy and constructed a great palace at Madura. But his successors were troubled by Pandya princes in alliance with Ceylon. The anarchy during Adhirajendra's reign gave scope for their intransigence which was put down with a strong hand by Kulottunga I, who changed the system of administration by Chola princes and established military colonies on the highways of the Pandya country without, howeverr, attempting to control its internal affairs. The further marks of Pandyan subordination were the Chola names given to places and the payment of tribute. The inscriptions of the Pandyas increase and those of the Cholas diminish in number during the period of Kulottunga and his successors. The steady growth of Pandya power was however paralysed by a civil war, which lasted from A.D. 1169 till about A.D. 1177. This gave the Cholas another chance of asserting their power in the southern kingdom. We have sketched above 1 the three Pan<Jya campaigns of KulottungaJII about A.D. 1182, 1189 and 1205. In the last of these campaigns, he overpowered Jatavarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1190-1216) who was a great ruler and the harbinger of his country's independence. His inscriptions are found in the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly Districts, and Travancore was subordinate to him. He seems to have assumed the title of Rajagambhna.

2. MARAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA

Maravarman Sundara (A.D. 1216-1238), probably the brother of Jatavarman Kulasekhara, inaugurated the second empire of the Pandyas which lasted right through the thirteenth century. An inscription of his third regnal year describes him as Soriaduvalangiyaruliya, "who was pleased to effect the rendition of the Chola country.” Quite at the beginning of his reign he invaded the kingdom of Kulottunga III, burnt Uraiyur and Tanjore, drove the Chola king into the wilderness, and marched as far as Puliyur or Chidambaram. Hoysala intervention prevented Sundara Pandya’s reaping the full benefits of his victory, and he had to give back the conquered territory to the vanquished enemy who accepted the position of a vassal. Kulottunga died soon after his reinstatement. Maravarman’s later inscription states that “the Chola (Rajaraja III) no longer considered it the proper course to owe allegiance to the Pandya who had bestowed the crown on him on a former occasion. He began once more to feel that his security lay in his own fertile country and declined to do the usual honour to the commands (of the Pandya), refused to pay the usual tribute, and instead despatched a large army”. Rajaraja’s violation of the peace proved disastrous to his kingdom, and again Hoysala intervention was necessary for repairing the effects of his stupidity. Maravarman defeated the Chola, and occupied large parts of his territory. Rajaraja was seized and imprisoned by his vassal, Kop-Perunjinga, and the Hoysalas interfered, released the prisoner, defeated the Pandyas, invaded their country and obliged them to acquiesce in the restoration of the Chola emperor. Thus both the victories of Maravarman against the Cholas were rendered nugatory. But he ruled over a powerful kingdom. Besides his own country his dominions included parts of the Trichinopoly District and Pudukkottai, and he assumed titles indicative of his seizure and rendition of the Chola country. He was succeeded by Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (A.D. 1238-1251), whose weakness was taken advantage of by Rajendra III. The inscriptions of the latter describe him as “an expert in cutting off the crowned head of the Pandya”, “who plundered the Pandya country”, etc. It is probable that his overlordship was acknowledged by Maravarman Sundara Pandya II.

3. JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYA I

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (c. A.D. 1251-1268) was the greatest king of his line. His grand imperial career started with the defeat of the Chera king, Udayamartanda. Jatavarman overcame the Hoysalas at Kannanur near

Trichinopoly, caused their withdrawal from the Kaveri region, reduced the Chola to subordination, proceeded against Sendamangalam (the capital of Kop-Peruninga), rejected the Kadava’s offer of tribute, defeated him and seized his territory, but subsequently reinstated him as a subordinate ally. Between A.D. 1254 and 1256 Northern Ceylon was reduced to vassalage. Thus, during the first six years of his reign, Jatavarman conquered the Chera, Hoysala, Chola, Kadava and Sinhalese powers, and his authority extended from Travancore to the South Arcot District. Subsequently, he marched against Gandagopala the TeluguChoda chief, defeated and killed him, captured Kanchi, overcame Ganapati Kakatiya, and reached Nellore, where he celebrated his victories by a Virabhisheka. We are in the dark regarding the exact order of Jatavarman’s conquests. He annexed the Kongudesa, and in another conflict with the Hoysalas killed their king Somesvara in the neighbourhood of Srirahgam in A.D. 1262.

Jatavarman Sundara Pandya’s imperialism was thorough-going, and the Chola kingdom was incorporated in the Pandya Empire; in the language of his inscription the Ponni (Kaverl) land: (the Chola country) became the Kanni land (the Pandya country). The whole region from Ceylon to Nellore and Cuddapah, excluding Mysore, was under his imperial control. He assumed many imposing titles: Samastajagadadhdra or support of the whole world; Emmandalamum KondaruUya or who was pleased to take every country; Hemdchchhadanaraja or the king who covered (the temple) with gold; Maharajadhiraja-sriparamesvara; Markata-prithvl-brit or the emerald king; Kanchlpuramkon^dn; Ellandalaiyandn or supreme over all. His conquests made him exceedingly rich and he largely endowed the Chidambaram and Srlrangam temples. His numerous gifts to the latter temple, amounting to eighteen lakhs of gold pieces, are enumerated in his £rlrahgam inscription. He provided the Chidambaram and Srlrangam temples with golden roofs and built a golden hall in the Chidambaram temple. He crowned himself at Nellore and Srirangam and performed many tulabhdras at these two places. His records emphasise his warlike qualities, his liberality, his love of pomp and display, and above all, his profound appreciation of the extent of his empire and of the credit accruing to him therefrom. His Srlrangam inscription begins by recording the death of “the moon of the Karnata family” (Somesvara Hoysala), and mentions the overthrow of the king of Kathaka (Kop-Perunjihga) besides specifying the king’s various gifts to god Ranganatha. Further, his superiority as “the Sun among kings” is emphasised by the frequent use of the phrase Rdjatapana and its numerous synonyms.

The chronology of the later Pandyas is characterised by overlapping dates. Thus we find Jatavarman Vira Pandya (A.D. 12531275) ruling along with Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I. Marco Polo refers to the “five Royal Brothers,” and the reference is supported by Chinese evidence. The Muslim historian, Wassaf, mentions the king’s three brothers who were independent rulers. Hence arose the theory of the joint rule of five Pandya brothers. But overlapping dates occur in Chola and Sinhalese chronology as well, and are explained with reference to the position of the Yuvardjas. Inscriptions do not exhibit the Pandyan kingdom as divided into five separate parts. Moreover the rule of five brothers is hardly ever

feasible. Therefore it is generally held that the later Pan^yan monarchy was a single monarchy, of which the unity was by no means impaired by the presence of ‘sub-kings/ Most of the achievements, with which Jatavarman ^Vira Pandya is credited in his records found in the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnelvelly districts and in Pudukkottai, are those of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I himself. Therefore the former must have played a prominent part in the affairs of the realm during the reign of Sundara.

4. MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA PANDYA • •

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During the reign of the last great Pandya Maravarman Kulasekhara (c. A.D. 1268-1310), the following four princes co-operated with him in the administration of the empire: Jatavarman Sundara Pandya II. Maravarman Vikrama Pandya, Jatavarman VIra Pandya II, and Jatavarman Sundara Pandya III, who came to power in A.D. 1276, 1283, 1296 and 1303 respectively—the two last being sons of Kulasekhara. The emperor assumed the titles: “the conqueror of all countries,” “who had no equal,” and “captor of Kollam” (Quilon). His inscriptions say that he conquered Kerala Kohgu, Cholamandalam, Tondamandalam and Ceylon. He inflicted final defeat on Rajendra III Chola and Hoysala Ramanatha in A.D. 1279, and annexed their territories. About A.D. 1284, his general, Arya Chakravarti, invaded Ceylon and returned home with the Tooth Relic of Buddha during the interregnum in Ceylonese history from A.D. 1283 to 1302. Parakramabahu III (A.D. 1302-1310) submitted to Kulasekhara and recovered the Tooth Relic by peaceful negotiation during a visit to Madura.

The greatness of Maravarman Kulasekhara is vouched for by Marco Polo and Muslim historians like Wassaf. Marco Polo, who visited the Pandya country about A.D. 1293, observes: “The great province of Ma‘bar (the coast of South India from Quilon to Nellore) .... is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies. .. .the finest and noblest in the world. At this end of the province reigns one of those five royal brothers, who is crowned king, and his name is Sonder Bandi Davar (Sundara Pandya Devar). In his kingdom

they find very fine and great pearls- Cail (Kayal at the mouth

of the TamraparnI) is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar (Sekhar?) the eldest of five brother kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis (an island in the Persian Gulf) and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale.... There is a great business done in this city. .. . The king possesses vast treasures and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and ex

tends great favour to merchants and foreigners so that they are very glad to visit his city.” The Venetian travellers’ account of social life refers to the king's 500 wives, the nakedness of the people and absence of tailors, the prevalence of satl } the belief in omens and astrology, and the dancing girls attached to temples. Marco Polo draws pointed attention to the speedy death of most of the imported horses, owing to mismanagement and absence of farriers, and to the consequent colossal financial loss. He also notes the poor fighting equipment of the warriors who are described as “most wretched soldiers.”

The remarks of Wassaf are very valuable. “The curiosities of Chin (China) and Machin (Canton) and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships. . . .sailing like mountains with the wings of the winds on the surface of the water are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries from Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum (Turkey) and Europe are derived from Ma‘bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.... Kales Dewar (Kulasekhara Devar), the ruler of Ma‘bar, enjoyed a highly prosperous life, extending to forty and odd years, during which time neither any foreign enemy entered his country nor any severe malady confined him to bed. His coffers were replete with wealth inasmuch that in the treasury of the city of Mardi (Madura) there were 1200 crores of gold (dinars) deposited. .. . Besides this there was an accumulation of precious stones, such as pearls, rubies, turquoises and emeralds more than is in the power of language to express.” Muslim historians inform us further that some Arab merchants occupied a high place in the councils of the Pandyas. Abdur Rahman is described as Prime Minister in charge of the customs to which office his son and grandson succeeded.

Maravarman Kulasekhara had two sons, the legitimate Jatavarman Sundara Pandya and the illegitimate Jatavarman Vira 1 Pandya. The association of Vira Pandya in the government as early as A.D. 1296 and choice of him as heir apparent caused Sundara Pandya to usurp the throne after murdering his father in A.D. 1310. Expelled from Madura by Vira Pandya, Sundara Pandya appealed for help to ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji or Malik Kaffir. Vira Pandya aided Vira Ballala III Hoysala (A.D. 1291-1342) against Kaffir. Malik Kaffir who would probably have invaded Ma‘bar in any case, as a part of the imperial policy of the Khaljis even if there had been no Pan<Jya war of succession, or any other cause of complaint, led an expedition against the Pandya kingdom. The sequel of this invasion will be described in the next volume.

1. See p. 246.

CHAPTER XII

CEYLON

The story of the liberation of Ceylon by Vijayabahu I Srisanghabodhi (c. A.D. 1055-1110) from the Chola yoke about A.D. 1070 has been narrated in the previous volume. 1 The period of about a century and a half after Vijayabahu’s success against the Cholas is regarded by historians as the Polonnaruva age of Ceylonese history. Vijayabahu changed the name of the city from Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) to Vijayarajapura. An important feature of the history of this period is the rivalry between the Pandya and Kalihga factions at the Ceylonese court.

Vijayabahu I invested his next younger brother Vlrabahu with the dignity of Uparaja, and made over to him the province of Dakshina-desa. On his youngest brother Jayabahu he conferred the dignity of an Adipada, and bestowed on him the province of Rohana Lilavatl, daughter of king Jagatipala (c. A.D. 1042-46) who was a former ruler of Ceylon, escaped from the Chola country and came back to the island. She was consecrated by Vijayabhahu I as his Mahishl (Queen). The king’s daughter from Lilavatl was married to Viravarman who was made viceroy of the province of Merukandara. The king also brought to the island princess Trilokasundari of the royal family of Kalihga and consecrated her as his Mahishl. Trilokasundari must have been related to the contemporary Imperial Ganga monarch Rajaraja I (A.D. 1070-78) of Kalinganagara. 2 She gave birth to Vikramabahu and several daughters. Her kinsmen Madhuk5rnava (Madhukamarnava?), Bhimaraja and Balatkara came from the Kalihga capital Simhapura and settled in Lanka on receipt of befitting maintenances from the king. Trilokasundari’s daughter Ratnavali, married to Manabharana, gave birth to Parakramabahu who became the ruler of the island in the latter half of the twelfth century. A sister of the Kalihga princes settled in Lanka, named Sundari, and queen Lilavati’s daughter’s daughter bearing her name, were given in marriage to prince Vikramabahu. Two of Vijayabahu’s daughters from Trilokasundari were married to his younger brothers Virabahu and Jayabahu. On the death of Virabahu the king made Jayabahu the Uparaja and Vikramabahu an Adipada, conferring on the latter the viceroyalty of Rohana. King Vijayabahu gave his sister Mitra in marriage to a prince of the Pandya royal house of South India.

Vijayabahu built many Buddhist monasteries, repaired a number of tanks and viharas, and invited and settled in his kingdom numerous monks from Ramanya (Ramarmadesa, Lower Burma). He tried to maintain diplomatic relations with the Karnata (Western Chalukya) and Chola kings. In the 30th year of his reign (c. A.D. 1085) the king declared war against the Cholas; but the Tamil mercenaries settled in Ceylon and known as the Velakkaras were unwilling to fight with their kinsmen across the sea and rebelled. Vijayabahu succeeded in subduing the revolt. In the 45th year (c. A.D. 1100), the king was preparing for defence against a Chola attack; but the Cholas did not appear. The king ruled for 55 years (50 or 80 years according to some traditions).

On Vijayabahu's death in c. A.D. 1110 his sister Mitra with her Pai?dya husband's help raised Jayabahu to the throne at Polonnaruva and her own son Manabharana to the dignity of Yuvardja although prince Vikramabahu of the Kalinga faction was entitled to this latter position. This led to a struggle between North and South Lanka. Vikrambahu (II), who was the viceroy in the South, conquered Rajarashtra and made Polonnaruva his headquarters; but he lost the South to his enemies. He, however, did not crown himself as king. Vikramabahu had also to fight with an invader called Viradeva, who is described as the lord of Aryadesa and the sovereign of Palandvipa and was apparently an Indian adventurer. Viradeva is stated to have occupied Rajarashfra for a time, but to have been soon afterwards killed. There was also constant fight between the partisans of the North and the South.

On the death of Jayabahu, Mahadipdda (Yuvardja) Manabharana, also styled Virabahu, considered himself his successor. He soon died, leaving his young son Parakramabahu. His brothers Klrtisrlmegha and Srlvallabha now led the partisans of the Southr

Vikramabahu II (c. A.D. 1116-37) died after a rule of 21 years (28 years according to some traditions) and was succeeded by his son Gajabahu (c. A.D. 1137-53) at Polonnaruva. In the South, Klrtisrlmegha died and Parakramabahu succeeded him in his dominions. Parakramabahu assumed the title Mahddipada with an eye to the succession to the throne of Polonnaruva after Gajabahu’s death. He organised a huge army and, as a first step, conquered the mountainous district called Malaya. A protracted war then ensued between Gajabahu and Parakramabahu, in which the former was ultimately captured along with the princes Chodagahga and Vikrantabahu. About this time, prince Manabharna, the son of Parakramabahu’s uncle Srlvallabha from queen- Sugala, rose against Parakramabahu, occupied Polonnaruva, and got Gajabahu in his

power. But his army was soon overpowered by Parakramabahu’s forces that reconquered Polonnaruva. Gajbahu succeeded in taking shelter at Koshthasara (probably near Kantalai) and Manabharana repaired to Rohana with the sacred relics of the Buddha. Gajabahu then made Gangata^aka (Giritala, about 7 miles west-north-west of Polonnaruva) his residence. He died after having reigned in all for twenty-two years according to one tradition, although it is difficult to be definite on the point. Before Gajabahu’s death there was a tripartite civil war disturbing the peace of the whole island. But essentially it was part of a long struggle between the North and the South, Parakramabahu was for a time compelled to take shelter at Vikramapura, not far from the city of Polonnaruva. But he succeeded ultimately in recovering the city and Manabharana fled to Rohana where he died.

Parakramabahu I (c. A.D. 1153-86), surnamed Arirajavesyabhujanga, ruled for thirty-three years (thirty-two years according to one tradition). As we have seen, his grandmother Trilokasundarl, queen of Vijayabahu I, was a princess of the Ganga dynasty of Kalihga. He married Rupavati born in the family of king Klrtisrimegha. Parakramabahu was a powerful king and a great builder. He was learned in the science of medicine and founded many hospitals and other charitable institutions. The city of Pulatthinagara (Polonnaruva) and old Anuradhapura, destroyed by the Cholas, were rebuilt by him. He laid out many gardens and built numerous religious edifices. He reorganised civil and military administrations, and his irrigation works led to the prosperity of his dominions. He also reorganised the Buddhist Church. But he oppressed the subjects with heavy taxation.

Parakramabahu I suppressed a rebellion of the Sinhalese and Kerala (Malayali) mercenaries of Koshthasara (a military garrison not far to the east of Polonnaruva) who combined themselves with the Dravidian military corporation known in Sinhalese history as the Velakkaras.

Queen Sugala, wife of Srivallabha and mother of Manabharana, was ruling independently over the province of Rohana from Uddhanadvara (probably Galabada near Monaragala). She was in the posession of the sacred relics (Buddha's tooth and alms-bowl) which were a source of great income and prestige. An expedition was sent by Parakramabahu against Rohana, which was conquered, and the sacred relics were secured for the king of Ceylon. But the king's authority could not be firmly established in Rohana and another rebellion in the region had to be suppressed in the 8th regnal year. Among the generals who conducted the expeditions in Rohana was a Damila (Tamil) named Raksha.

There were formerly friendly relations between Ceylon and Ramanya (Lower Burma). The Burmese contemporary of Parakramabahu I, however, ill-treated the Ceylonese envoys. He raised the prices of elephants and refused to sell them to Ceylon. He also did away with the old custom of presenting an elephant to the vessel carrying the Ceylonese king's presents to him, and on one occasion seized a princess sent by the Ceylonese king to the king of Kambuja (Cambodia). These incidents provoked Parakramabahu I to order a Damila (Tamil) general named Aditya to organise a naval expedition against Arimardanapura (Pagan, the Burmese capital). Ships were built for five months and were equipped with rice and other food-stuff, armours and many hundred thousands of sharp-pointed Gokarnaka arrows of iron for defence against elephants, different kinds of medicines in cow-horns for wounds caused by poisoned arrows and for treating diseases caused by poisoned water, iron pincers for extracting arrow-heads, skilful physicians and nurses, etc. It is said that some of these ships succeeded in landing Ceylonese soldiers in Ramanya, and that they defeated the Ram any as, killed their king, and established Ceylonese supremacy in that country. The Ramanyas are stated consequently to have agreed to pay tribute in elephants. Although the story greatly exaggerates the amount of Ceylonese success against the Burmese, an inscription 3 of Parakramabahu I actually refers to the king's resolve to send an expedition against Bhuvanaditya, the king of Aramana (Ramanya), in the twelfth year of his reign.

When Madura, capital of the Pandya king Parakrama, was beseiged by his rival Kulasekhara (c. A.D. 1167-71) backed by the Cholas, Parakrama Pandya appealed to the Ceylonese monarch for help. Parakramabahu I agreed to help the Pandya king who had, however, been defeated and killed before the Ceylonese army landed in the Ramesvara region under the generals Lankapura and Jagadvijaya (called Jagattraya in Chola records). The chronicles speak of successful engagements of the Ceylonese forces against the lieutenants of Kulasekhara, and of the installation of Vira Pandya, son of the deceased Parakrama Pandya, on the throne of Madura by the Ceylonese generals. But the story is abruptly closed and available evidence shows that it is not a faithful account of the whole campaign. The Chola records admit the initial success of the Ceylonese forces and refer to Lankapura's return to the island some time before A.D. 1167-68, the date of the Arpakkam grant, as brought about by divine aid. 4 This apparently points to the first phase of

the war. But the Pallavarayanpettai inscription 5 of the eighth regnal year (A. D. 1170-71) of the Chola king Rajadhiraja II (A.D. 1163-79) says that Lankapura was defeated and killed, that his head was nailed to the gate of Madura, and that Kulasekhara was reinstalled in the Pandya capital. This was the second phase of the struggle. The third phase of the war is referred to in the Tiruvalahgadu inscription 6 of the 12th regnal year (A.D. 1174-75) of the same king. This record tells us how Kulasekhara later allied himself with the king of Ceylon and how the Chola king deposed him and replaced Vira Pandya on the Pandya throne. It also refers to the help the Chola king rendered to Srlvallabha, nephew of the Ceylonese king, in his struggle against Parakramabahu I. The next phase of the war is indicated by the records of the Chola king Kulottunga III (A.D. 1178-1216), which refer to the expulsion of Vira Pandya and the Ceylonese soldiers being driven into the sea by the forces of the Chola king. 7 Vira Pandya had been won by the Ceylonese king and the Chola monarch was now supporting Vikrama Pandya, as stated above. 8

The next ruler was Vijayabahu II who ruled for one year about A.D. 1186-87. He was the son of a sister of the previous king who had been apparently married to a prince of the Gahga house of Kalinga. According to a Polonnaruva inscription, 9 Vijayabahu II was staying at Simhapura, capital of Kalinga, when Parakramabahu summoned him to Lanka. Vijayabahu II, who was a great scholar, is stated to have contracted a friendly treaty with the king of Arimardanapura (Pagan, Burma).

Mahendra VI of the Kalinga clan then killed the king. But Kirtinihsahka or Nihsankamalla, who was born in Kalinga and was the Uparaja of Vijayabahu II, killed Mahendra VI after five days and became king. He ruled for nine years (c. A.D. 1187-96). The inscriptions 10 of Nihsankamalla state that he was born at Simhapura in Kalinga as the son of king of Lanka to take over the administration. This Jayagopa seems to have been a scion of the Ganga royal family and the ruler of a district under the contemporary Imperial Ganga monarch.

Nihsankamalla built many temples, excavated a number of tanks, and made numerous gardens. He set up mile-stones at every gavyuti on the main roads. The king regularly visited the sacred places on the island. In his inscriptions 11 he claims to have fought successfully with the Cholas, Pandyas and other peoples of South India, although the real nature of the claim cannot be determined. He also claims to have built the Nihsankesvara temple at Ramesvara

on the Indian coast and to have had diplomatic relations with distant lands like Rajputana and Cambodia. 12

On Nihsankamaila’s death, his son Virabahu II seems to have been murdered after a rule of one night. The next king was Nihsahkamalla’s younger brother Vikramabahu III (or II) who ruled for three months. He was killed by Chodaganga (c. A.D. 1196-97) who was a sister’s son of Nihsankamalla. The name of the new ruler shows that he claimed relations with the Imperial Ganga monarch Anantavarman Chodaganga of Kalinganagara. After a rule of nine months Chodaganga was deposed by the general Kirti who raised Lllavatl (c. A.D. 1197-1200), the first Mahishi of king Parakramabahu I, to the throne.

After a period of three years, Sahasamalla of the Ikshvaku clan, who was really a step-brother of Nihsankamalla, ascended the throne on the 23rd August, A.D. 1200. 13 He was deposed after a rule of two years (c. A.D. 1200-1202) by the general Ayushmat who raised Kalyanavatl, the first Mahishi of Nihsankamalla, to the throne. Kalyanavatl (c. A.D. 1202-08, ruled for six years (six months according to a tradition).

Thereafter general Ayushmat raised to the throne a boy of three months, named Dharmasoka. After a rule of one year, the young king was killed together with his general by Mahadipada Anlkanga (Aniyanka), who was the father of Dharmasoka and came from the Cho]a kingdom with a great army. But Anlkanga was himself killed after a rule of seventeen days by a general named Vikrantachamunakra who reinstalled on the throne queen Lllavatl, the first Mahishi of Parakrambahu I, and conducted the administration for one year (c. A.D. 1209-1210). Then Lokesvara (c. A.D. 1210-11) came from South India with a large Damila (Tamil) army, subdued the whole of Lanka and ruled for nine months (five months according to some traditions) at Polonnaruva. After this a general named Parakrama raised queen Lllavatl again to the throne. The queen ruled for seven months (four months according to one tradition) after which Parakrama Pandya came from the Pandya kingdom with a Pandya army, deposed the queen, and ruled for three years (c. A.D. 1211-14). It is difficult to determine whether he was a member of the Pandya branch of the Ceylonese royal family or a scion of the Pandya dynasty of Madura. Parakrama Pandya was deposed by Magha (or Magha) who came from Kalinga with 24,000 soldiers including a large number of Kerala (Malayali) mercenaries. Magha (c. A.D. 1214-35) then ascended the throne and ruled for twenty-one years (nineteen years according to one tradition). He

was stated to have oppressed the Buddhists of the island and destroyed many Buddhist monasteries.

The Polonnaruva period of Ceylonese history ends with Magha. Th$ later kings mostly ruled from places like Dambadeniya (Kurunegala District), Gampola, etc. But Polonnaruva did not completely lose its importance all at once. Parakramabahu II (c. A.D. 1236-71) temporarily occupied the city, and Vijayabahu IV (c. A.D. 1271-73) and Parakramabahu III (c. A.D. 1302-10) ruled from there. But none of the later rulers enjoyed supremacy over the whole island. The Tamils were in occupation of wide areas since the days of Magha. The Pandya kings of Madura invaded the island several times and, for nearly two decades about the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Pandyas were the dominant power in the island. Parakramabahu III acknowledged the supremacy of the Pandya king Maravarman Kulasekhara (A.D. 1268-1310). The Tamil's founded the kingdom of Jaffna which for some time owed allegiance to the emperors of Vijayanagara. The Rajput mercenaries appear also to have exercised some influence, and Bhuvanaikabhau I is stated to have succeeded in gaining the throne about A.D. 1273 with their help. About the middle of the thirteenth century the island was invaded by a Javanese of Tamralinga, named Chandrabhanu, with a mixed host of Pandyas, Cholas and Javanese. The Ceylonese king Vira Alakesvara or Vijayabahu VI is known to have been captured by the leader of a Chinese embassy and carried off to China in A.D. 1411. All this shows a period of gradual decline which ultimately led to the Portuguese occupation of the island.

GENERAL REFERENCES

1 The Polonnaruva Period (Special Issue of the Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. IV, 1954-55), ed. by S. D. Saparamadu.

2 Art and Architecture of Ceylon by S. Paranavitana, 1954.

1. Vol. IV, p. 173.

2. Ch. 59 of the Chulavaihsa refers to Vijayabahu's marriage with the Kalinga princess Triloksundar! and the settlement of the three Kalinga princes of Simhapura, capital of Kalinga, in his kingdom. In this connection Geiger (Chulavaihsa, Eng. trans., Part I, p. 213, note 1) observes "SIhapura (Simhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. Mhvs. 6.35) was founded in Lala (Radha) by Vijaya's father Sihabahu. Lala borders in the north of the Kalinga kingdom, the home of Triloksundar!, as must be inferred from Mhvs. 6. 1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutia Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum." It has, however, to be noticed that in the age of Vijayabahu I (really from about the end of the sixth at

least to the end of the twelfth century A.D.), the name Kalinga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Gangas of Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam), who styled themselves as Kaling-ddhipati. Simhapura (mod. Singupuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the Kalinga-adhipatis in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was no longer the capital of Kalinga, but may have been the residence of some scions of the Ganga family. Radha and

Kalinga do not appear to have had contiguous boundrries ir any known period of Indian history. Simhapura in Ra<jihii (probably modem Singur in the Hooghly District) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kalinga capital of the same name, identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. The representation of Simhapura as the capital of Kalinga in the Mahdvamsa tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century while the Ckulavamsa appears merely to have continued the same tradition, although the later capital of the country was at Kalinganagara.

3. H.C.P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District, A.S.C., 1892, pp. 73 ff.

4. Sewell, HISI, p. 116; JRAS, 1939, p. 519.

5. El, XXI. 184.

6. Ibid,, XXH. 86.

7. Sewell, op cit ., p. 123.

8. P. 246. Cf. SII, 206 ff., 217-18; ARSIE, 1908, para. 64; El, XXH. 88.

9. EZ, II. 179 ff.

10. Cf. EZ, II. 98 ff.

11. See Geiger, Ckulavamsa, trans., Part II, p. 128; n. 6.

12. EZ, I. No. 9; H, No. 17; H. W. Codrington, A Short History of Ceylon, p. 63; G. C. Mendis, The Early History of Ceylon , p. 65.

13. JRAS, 1909, pp. 327, 331.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE

ORGANISATION

I. POLITICAL THEORY

During the period under review political speculation was continued in the Smriti commentaries as well as in independent works on Nitisastra. Examples of the former are the justly famous commentaries of Vijhanesvara and Apararka on Yajnavalkya and of Kulluka on Manu, while those of the latter are the Laghv-Arhanmti-sdstra of Hemachandra and the well-known Sukrariitisara attributed to Sukracharya, the preceptor of the demons. A link between the two is presented by the Rdjadharma sections of voluminous Smrti Digests like the Raj adharmakanda of Lakshmidhara's Krityakalpatru . 1

Beginning with the Smriti commentaries, we have to observe that Vijhanesvara agrees with the liberal view of Medhatithi on the vexed question of connotation of the term 'king.' He writes 2 :— "Though this aggregate of kingly duties has been laid down with reference to the king, this duty should be understood to apply to one of another caste also who is engaged in the task of protecting the province, the district, and so forth". Justifying this view by a textual argument the author first quotes the separate use of the generic term rlripa (king) in Manu-smriti. 3 The second and the more important argument is based upon the old Smriti conception of the relation of protection to taxation. Levying taxes, we are told, has protection for its object, and protection in its turn depends upon the infliction of punishment (dayda). In other words the wide connotation of the term 'king' so as to make it applicable irrespectively of caste or status is justified by the fact that taxation imposes upon the ruler the obligation of protection. Apararka in his commentary on the same verse of Yajnavalkya justifies a similar interpretation of the term rdjan (king) by a general as well as a particular argument. All these duties (dharma), he says, have been prescribed for a Kshatriya ruler of the kingdom. When, however, a non-Kshatriya does this work, he should perform the whole set of these duties. This view is supported in general terms by the maxim (nyayd) that from the performance of a particular occupation follows the acquisition of its corresponding obligation

(dharma). More particularly ws are told that the protection of subjects is involved in the acceptance of taxes. Everyone who contributes wealth, it is explained, expects a benefit accruing to himself, while paying taxes has no other object than self-preservation and therefore one who takes the taxes is bound to protect the people? In other words taxation and protection are the two sides of a bargain between the ruler and his subjects. Thence follows the corollary that kingship is independent of Kshatriya-birth. 4

Of the other Smriti writers belonging to this period reference may be made to Gopala who wrote a Digest called the Kamadhenu. According to Gopala the king is one who has been consecrated, since the protection of subjects depends upon performance of the king's consecration, and knowledge of kingly duties cannot be acquired without it. In another passage, however, Gopala declares that the coronation rites mentioned in the works on rajanlti are merely illustrative, and that the king may be proclaimed simply by being seated on the throne according to the particular usages of countries and families. We may mention, finally, that Gopala repeats Ankara's view about the claim of the indigent and other classes to the king's wealth and about the evil of rule of the 'Many'. 5

Lakshmidhara's ideas of the origin and nature of kingship as well as of the mutual relation between the ruler and his subjects are based on the old Smriti text of Manu and Narada. He believes in the dogma of the king's divine origin as well as the principle of the people's absolute obligation of honouring him and obeying his command. He also holds with Manu that the penal authority of the king (or the State) is the grand security of the social and the political order. The author also quotes 6 a number of Smriti passages inculcating, often by means of moral and spiritual sanctions, the king's obligation of protecting his subjects. On the other hand it is significant that he is completely silent about the texts justifying the subjects in resisting their evil ruler. In Hemachandra's LaghvArhanniti we have an interesting theory of the origin of rajamti, 7 which ascribes its creation to the mythical prophet-king Hishabha. This is evidently due to the Jain author's attempt to mark the science as of Jain origin. 8

The Sukranitisara , 9 which announces itself as a summary of the archetypal riitisastra work of the god Brahma from the pen of the sage Bhargava (Sukracharya), is distinguished from early mediaeval complications of a similar nature by the freshness and originality of its outlook upon some important political ideas. As regards the scope of the science, Sukra 10 introduces his work with the statement that it has been prepared for the benefit of kings and others. In accordance with this wider conception of the science, we find that

Sukra devotes a separate chapter 11 of his work to the subject of general (sadharand j nitisastra applicable to all and sundry. Thus Politics (or more properly the art of government) in Sukra's system is not (as in Kamandaka) an independent branch of knowledge for instruction of kings in statecraft, but is merged in a science of general morals. As the interests of the rulers form the core of this science, nitisastra is primarily the science (or art) of good administration. But since it fulfils a more general purpose than the interest of the king, its use must extend over a wider field. This is explained by the author 12 by means of an estimate of the relative values of nitisasira and the parallel sciences. Other sciences, we read, enlighten the people on only one aspect of their activities, but nitisastra is the source of subsistence of all classes and it maintains the established usages of men.

The ideas of kingship in the Sukranitisdra are largely based upon the thought of the older writers, but they present some points of remarkable, if not original, interest, &ukra is a great believer in the doctrine of karma, for he says 13 that karma alone is the cause of good and evil conditions on this earth. Elsewhere 14 we are told that men are directed towards virtue and vice by means of desires assuming such forms as would help the fulfilment of deeds done in a previous birth, and that most certainly everything happens in accordance with such deeds. This doctrine is applied by §ukra to explain the basis of the king's authority over his subjects. The king, we are told, 16 acquires his prowess and becomes a protector and director and the source of delight through his austerities, and he sustains the earth by his deeds done in a previous birth as well as his austerities. This repeats an idea of Narada, namely, that the king's authority is derived from his own karma. The same doctrine is repeated in other passages. In 1.71-72 the author, while boldly altering (as it appears) a well-knpwn text of Manu, observes that the king becomes a lord of the movable and immovable beings through his own austerities (tapas), taking (for that purpose) the eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the moon, and of the lord of Wealth (Kubera). Lordship, we are told in another place, 16 is the reward of austerities, while servitude is the penalty for sin. Elsewhere 17 we read that lordship which is superior in every way to the mastery of riches is the fruit of no little austerities. With the above idea of the basis of the king's authority in his own karma, Sukra combines the old conception of Manu and Bhlshma in the Mahdbharata about parallelism of the king's functions with those of the Regents of the Quarters. In 1.73-76 he shows how the various administrative functions of king correspond to the respective attributes of the gods Indra, Wind, the

Sun, Yama, Fire, Varuna, the Moon and Kubera. In another verse 18 he declares the king's attributes to comprise those of the father, the mother, the preceptor, the brother and the friend as well as the gods Kubera and Yama, in other words the best human and divine attributes. Sukra likewise supports by some fresh arguments 19 the notion of Manu-smriti and the Mahabharata about the influence of the king upon the time-spirit ("Zeit-geist"). According to him, the king stamps himself upon his Age through his enforcement of the customs and duties of the people by the arm of his political authority. With this conception may be compared the Mahabharata idea 20 that the king is a maker of the Age-cycle through the degree of his performance as well as non-performance of dandariiti.

As regards the idea of mutual relations of the ruler and his subjects, Sukra in the first place repeats Kamandaka's verses relating to the fundamental importance of kingship under proper conditions for the fulfilment of the people's needs. In his view the security and prosperity of the people and in short their complete life depend upon the intellectual and moral quality of their ruler. This leads the author to discuss the question of mutual dependence of the ruler and his people. The people, he says, 21 do not observe their duties without protection by the king, but the king does not flourish without the people. Elsewhere the author employs a bold mythological simile to the effect that the people like the Queen of Indra must never be without a lord. 22 It is in the light of this conception that we have to understand the author's references to the obligations of subjects towards their ruler. Describing the behaviour of the people visiting the king the author says 23 that they should salute the king as if he were an incarnation of Vishnu. More specifically he observes 24 that they should not divulge the king’s secrets, nor even think of injuring or slaying him. In another place 25 in the course of his description of the people’s obligations, he enjoins them to honour the king along with the gods, the ascetics, the preceptor, the fire and learned men.

Sukra asserts with equal emphasis the king’s obligations which include protection of the people and chastisement of the wicked. The author supports the king’s obligation with the usual moral and spiritual sanctions. Thus he includes 26 in a category of three persons whom the gods kill and cast down, the king who fails in his duty of protection. In an earlier passage 27 the author enjoins the king by the promise of rewards and the threat of penalties to enforce the observance of their specific duties by the subjects.

The climax of this principle of the king’s obligation is reached in a striking passage applying the dogma of the king’s divine creation to the old Smriti conception of the co-ordination between taxation and protection. The king, we read, having the aspect of a master was ordained by Brahma for the service (dasyatva) of the people with his own share of the produce as his fee (bhriti) for the purpose of their consistent protection.

Besides insisting with the older thinkers upon the king’s obligation of protection, Sukra follows them in making righteousness the rule of the king’s conduct. It is in this connection that Sukra draws, practically for the first time among our ancient thinkers, a sharp contrast between two contrary type of rulers, namely, the divine and the demoniac. The king who is righteous, we read, 29 is a portion of the gods, while his reverse, who destroys righteousness and oppresses the people, is a portion of the demons. With this may be compared another passage 30 where a king endowed with various good qualities is declared to be a portion of the gods, while his opposite is held to be a portion of the demons and destined for residence in hell. In another passage 31 Sukra applies the philosophical doctrine of the three qualities of substances to kings. There are, he says, three types of austerities, namely, those marked by Goodness (,sattvika), Darkness (tamasa) and Passion (rdjasa), and the king assumes his distinctive character according as he practises very much one or other of them. In the following lines Sukra, after defining the three types of rulers, declares that the sattvika king assimilates the particles of the gods, the tamasa type those of the demons and the rdjasa type those of men.

We may conclude this brief survey of Sukra's political thought with some reference to his attitude towards the old Smriti idea of the rights of the subjects with reference to their rulers. Brahmanas, he says in one place, 32 incur no sin by destroying very wicked Kshatriyas even by fighting them with weapons: even so when Kshatriyas are oppressed by lowly folk, Brahmanas should quickly destroy them in battle. This passage repeats an important principle inculcated by Bhishma in the Mahdbharata 33 namely that of the Brahmana's right of armed resistance against very oppressive Kshatriyas and against lowly oppressors of Kshatriyas. As regards the rights of the people in general with respect to their ruler, Sukra in one place 34 it is true, counsels resignation to the will of a bad king as to the unnatural acts of parents and the inscrutable ways of Providence. A bolder line is taken up in other passages. The people are asked to leave the land ruled by an unrighteous king and constantly to frighten him by going over to his virtuous and very powerful enemy. 35 In another passage 30 the author concedes to the people's representatives the right of deposing the bad ruler. If

the king, although high born", we read, "becomes averse to good qualities, policy and strength, and is unrighteous, he should be repudiated as the destroyer of the kingdom. In his place the Purohita should install a virtuous prince of his family for protection of the subjects after obtaining the approval of the latter."

II. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

NORTH INDIA

The decline and fall of the Imperial Pratiharas of Kanauj paved the way for the rise of new powers in different parts of North India. Such were the

Kalachuris of Chedi, the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, the Paramaras of Malwa, and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. The administrative organisation of these and other contemporary dynasties was, as might be expected, of the same general type, but there were some important differences.

1. The Kalachuris

The Kalachuris of Chedi assumed the usual imperial titles. The most famous kings of this dynasty, namely, Kama, Yasahkarna, and Jayasimha of the Tripurl line added to these titles the epithets of asvapati, gajapati, narapati , and rdjatrayddhipati (king of horses, king of elephantr. king of men, lord of the three grades of kings). 37 Next in importance + o the king was the Crown Prince (maharaja putra) who is often mentioned in the legal formula of the Kalachuri land-grants. The Kalachuri records, both of the Tripurl and the Ratanpur lines, speak of officers bearing the titles of mantripradhana (or pradhanamatya or amdtyamukhya) (chief minister) and also of a dharmakarmadhikdri (minister in charge of religious endowments). 38 We can judge the high status of the amatyamukhyas from the fact that Kokalla II is said to have been raised to the throne by them. 39 The list of dignitaries occurring in the formula of land-grants of these kings included the mahdmdtya, the dharmapradhdna, the dasamulika, the sandhivigrahika, the pratihara, the. dushtasadhya, the akshapatalika , the pramattavdra, the asvasddhanika, and the hhdnddgdrika . 4 ° In the above, mahdmdtya and dharmapradhdna correspond respectively to pradhanamatya and dharmakarmadhikdri mentioned above, while sandhivigrahika, akshapatalika and hhdnddgdrika are old familiar offices. The dushtasddhya may perhaps be equated with the dauhsddhsadhanika of the Pala records. The other titles are new and difficult to explain. The later records of the Kalachuris* 1 substitute (or add) high imperial titles of the type known to the Gupta period. Such are mahasandhivigrahika, mahapratihdra , mahdkshapa\alika, mahasvasddhanika,

mahabhandagdrika mahdpramatd and mahadhyaksha . As regards the branch of local administration we find that the donated village is located in one record 42 in a group of 12. This reminds us of the system of chiefs' estates in the Rajput clan-monarchies, for 12 is an exact fraction of the standard size (84) of such estates. The reference to pattakila (identified with the modern Patel) in another record 43 points to the continuation of the traditional type of village administration under a headman.

2. The Chandellas

The Chandellas of Jejakabhukti used the conventional imperial titles. A record of the beginning of the thirteenth century 44 mentions among their officers of State a mantrl (minister) bearing the titles of mahdmahattaka and mandalika, a sandhivigrahika (minister of foreign affairs), a kottapala (city prefect) and a sreshthi (banker) who was also the writer of deeds. The last three formed a Board of pahchakula as well as the dharmddhikarana (court of justice) for adjudicating upon the disputes of merchants. The care of administration for the families of deceased soldiers is illustrated by an unusually interesting inscription of A. D. 1205, 45 which records the grant of two villages by way of maintenance for death on the battlefield. In the branch of local government, we find villages being grouped into vishayas or pathakas (districts), but we have no reference to the titles of officers placed in charge of them. Some light is thrown upon village administratipn by the fact that the adhikritamahattamas are sometimes 46 mentioned in' the list of persons to whom the king’s grant of land is announced. These officers apparently correspond to the mahattarddhikdrins (the executive Board of the assembly of mahattaras) who are met with elsewhere.

3. The Paramaras

The Paramaras adopted the usual imperial titles. Among their high officers of State are mentioned the mahasandhivigrahika (minister of foreign affairs), the dandadhlsa (commander-in-chief) and the like. 47 In Merutunga’s account of king Munja (Prabandha chintamani) reference is made to a faithful mahamatya of the king, who committed suicide in sheer despair when he found his master embarking on an expedition against his advice 48 The villages in the Paramara kingdom were grouped into larger units called in the ascending order, pratijagaranaka, pathaka (or bhoga or vishaya) and mandala . They were also gathered into units bearing the name of the chief village with various numeral endings (12, 16, 17,

36, 37, 48 and 84). The villages were in charge of the usual pattakila (headman).

4. The Gahadavdlas

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The heirs of the Imperial Pratiharas in the sovereignty of the Middle Ganga valley were the kings of the Gahadavala dynasty who ruled for more than a century (c. A.D. 1090-1193). The Gahadavala kings adopted the usual imperial titles, to which king Govindachandra added the epithets of asvapati, gajapati, narapati, and rajatrayadhipati mentioned above. 49 The Queens assumed the corresponding dignified titles of pattamahadevi and mahardjni, and they claimed to be invested with all royal prerogatives. 60 The Crown Prince (mahdrajaputra) , who was similarly invested with all royal rights, is sometimes 51 further said to be consecrated to yauvarajya. The Mahdrajaputra Yuvaraja Govindachandra made the largest number of his land-grants in his father's life-time without even the formality of the king's permission. Among the officials mentioned in the formula of the grants are included the mantri, the sendpati , the pratihdra, the bhdndtirika, the akshapa talika , and the duta. 52 All these offices are known from earlier times. The same formula mentions adhikaripurushas in charge of districts (vishayas) and towns (pattanas). This suggests the usual type of local government with State officers placed in charge of districts and towns. The donated villages as a rule are located in pattalas which may refer to fiscal rather than administrative divisions.

5. The Senas

The Senas of Bengal, on the whole, continued the administrative organisation of their Pala predecessors, but there were some new developments. From the time of Vijayasena the kings assumr ed the usual imperial titles. The later kings used the additional titles of asvapati, gajapati and narapati known to us from the records of the Kalachuri and Gahadavala kings. The list of persons mentioned in the formula of the Sena land-grants comprised a number of High Imperial Officers of the types known to the Gupta Empire. Such were the mahadharmadhyaksha (chief justice), mahasandhivigrahika (minister of foreign affairs), mahasendpati (commander-in-chief), mahdmudradhikrita (keeper of the Great Seal), mahdkshapatalika (chief accounts officer), mahapratihdra (chief of palace guards), mahavyuhapati (or mahabhogapati) (probably a military title), mahapilupati (chief trainer of elephants), and mahdganastha (apparently a military title). Other officials mentioned in the same formula are the rdjdmdtya (senior order of

amatyas), the antarahga, the brihaduparika, the dauhsadhanika, the chauroddharanika (police officer), the gaulmika (probably a military officer), the dandapdsika (police officer), the dandanayaka (general) and the vishayapati (district officer). Among these, the offices of mahasdndhivigrahika, the mahakshapatalika, the mahdsenapati and the mahapratihdra as well as those of the rajtimatya. the dauhsadhanika , the chauroddharanika , the gaulmika , the dandapasika, and the vishayapati were known to the Pala administration. The other names are mostly new and of uncertain meaning. A striking feature of the Sena administration was the political influence of the Queen and the purohita who are now mentioned for the first time in the formula of the Bengal land-grants. The Senas continued some of the Pala administrative divisions (bhukti) with their nomenclature. 63 A uniform standard measurement for the cultivated lands was still wanting, for the size of the donated lands is given in the different records according to the different local or royal standards. 64 The Senas, however, carried out a bold measure of land-revenue reform in the shape of cash assessment of the land at standard rates. 55

6. The Chahamanas

The administrative organisation of the Chahamanas, both of the main line of :§akambhari and Ajmer and of the branch lines ot Marwar. 56 has some striking features. One of the oldest records of the main line 67 bearing the date 1030 V.S. (A.D. 973) mentions various estates as being held by the king and junior princes of the clan. This description fits in with the type of Rajput clanmonarchies to which reference has been made above. In the same record the gift-villages are located in one case in a group of 12 comprised ’within a vishaya . This illustrates the super-imposition of the new system of clan-chief’s estates upon the older division into vishayas. We have a unique document dated 1198 V.S. (A.D. 1141) illustrating the municipal administration in vogue under the Chahamanas of Nadol. In this record 68 the whole people of a town headed by sixteen Brahmanas (two being selected from each ward) tender a document signed with their own hands. By it they solemnly promise to find out in accordance with the custom of the country whatever is lost by (or snatched away from) the bhatas, the bhattaputras, dauvdrikas , and others on their way. A large number of witnesses (including the whole class of bankers) bears witness to this document.

III. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

SOUTH INDIA

1. The Chalukyas

The Chalukyas of Kalyana, who succeeded the Rashtrakutas in the sovereignty of the Deccan, adopted the usual imperial titles. To this they addded such characteristic epithets as samastabhuva nasraya (refuge of the whole world), sriprithivivallabha (favourite of fortune and the earth), Satydsrayakulatilaka (forehead-ornament of the family of Satyasraya) and Chalukyabharana (ornament of the Chalukyas). Among their high officers of State are mentioned the dandanayaka (general), the. mahaprachandadandanayaka (great august general), the dharrrvddhikdrin (superintendent of religious affairs, according to Barnett, or better perhaps, chief justice), the mahdpradhdna (high minister) and the sandhivigrahika (minister of foreign affairs). A new tendency towards specialisation of officers is illustrated by such titles as tddeyadandandyaka (general in charge of reserves), Lala-sandhivigrahika (minister of peace and war for the Lala country), Heri-sandhivi grahika and Kannada-sandhivigrahika (minister of peace and war for the Kannada country). 69 A record 60 commemorates a Brahmana family, whose ancestor was the king’s chief preceptor, and which furnished three generations of dan^anayakas to the State service. Another Brahmana, whose father held the post of treasurer, was successively appointed sdndhivigrahika of two different varieties and was invested with all the insignia of royalty by the kings. 61 Like other imperial dynasties the Chalukyas allowed the combination of different offices in the same hands. We have the example of a dharmddhikdrin who was also a mahdpradhdna and a dandandyaka . 62 Another dandanayaka held the offices of mahdpradhdna, Kannada-sandhivigrahika and maneverggade (master of the household) together with the title of mahasamantadhipati (great lord of feudatories). 63

When we turn to the branch of local administration, we find that the towns and villages belonging to the South Maratha country were grouped into Districts containing small numeral endings (30 etc.), which again were united into Divisions with higher numeral endings (1000 etc.). Reference is also made to units of 70 and 300 villages which were comprised within the larger groups of 500 and 2000 respectively. 64 The districts were ruled by officers called mahamandalesvara and the like, whose office was sometimes shared by their wives.® 6

In the Kannada tract under Chalukya rule, the local administration was somewhat more complex. We hear of administrative

divisions with numeral endings varying from 32,000, 12,000, etc. through 3,000, 2,000, 1,000, etc. to 500, 300, etc. Reference is also made to kampanas (counties) of 20 and 30 comprised in a group of 500. 66 In one instance 67 five towns are said to be included in a group of 140. Elsewhere, 68 in complete disregard of the system of numeral endings, we are introduced to a number of nddus included in two desas. The larger administrative divisions were governed by Princes, high officials (like dan^anayakas) and feudatories. Frequently the governors of the larger divisions also held charge of smaller divisions of 500, 300, etc. or of groups of towns, or even of special departments of taxation. 69 Sometimes they held additional appointments like mahdpradhana, ‘President of the Intendants’, ‘Steward of the Household,’ ‘Provincial Registrar,’ and ‘Minister of peace and war.’ The smaller divisions were often governed 70 by officials such as prabhus, ndl-gdvundas , and dandanayakas , or else by feudatories. Sometimes 71 they held charge of two groups of 300 and 70, of two desas and the like. In one remarkable instance 72 a nddu is found to be governed jointly by a dandanatha and a mahapradhana. This would suggest a division of civil and military command in the district administration.

The administration of the provincial governors and district officers in the Kannada area was modelled on that of the central government. The governors had under them officers called mahaprachandadandandyaka (great august general), sandhivigrahadhikara (minister of peace and war) and the like, who often had the additional offices of mahdpradhana (chief minister), steward of the royal household and so forth. 73 . A Chalukya

Princess AkkadevI, while governing three groups of 60, 70, and 140, had under her a council of seven ministers comprising the mdne-perggade (steward of the household), the two tantrapalas (councillors), a pradhana (minister), an ally a (meaning unknown), a steward of the betel-bag and a secretary to the council. 74 Under the same administration we find ministers of State (pradhana) along with the ndda-p erg gage, the secretary, and the chief justice (dharmadhyaksha) joining together in granting statutory constitution to a temple. The constitution was renewed four years later by the administrative officials (karanas), headed by the steward (perggade). 75 There were, besides, separate officers charged with the administration of different branches of taxation. Not.only the ndl-gdvundas, but also the taxation officers, had the right of assigning portions of the revenue for pious objects. 76 The officers in charge of groups of 500 and the like had the right of assigning towns for the same purpose. 77

A remarkable feature of local administration of the Chalukyas is the frequent appointment of ladies to the governorships of provinces and minor administrative divisions. We have an instance 78 of a Chalukya Queen administering a group of 12,000. During the period from Saka 937 to 976 the Princess Akkadevi governed a group of 70 to which were afterwards added groups of 60 and 140. *What is more, she governed for some time a province of 12000 along with a mahamandalesvara . 79 Another Chalukya Princess governed in company with her husband a province of 12000 along with smaller tracts in A.D. 1125, while in the next year she herself governed a division of 900 along with other groups. 80 The high official status of the wives of governors also appears in some recorded examples. Thus we find a petition being addressed through a mahdmandalesvara and his wife to the Emperor for grant of an estate. 81 In another record the wife of a governor herself grants lands to a temple. 32

In the Kannada tract the towns and villages often enjoyed a corporate constitution. The Chalukya records repeatedly introduce us to assemblies of mahajanas consisting of 1000, 200, 104, and the like. 83 We have a peculiar instance 84 of a town having a larger assembly of 1000 mahajanas along with a smaller assembly of 100. Ordinarily the assemblies had at their head officers called ur-odeya (mayor), gavunda (sheriff) or perggade (steward). But there are instances of a single village having as many as three gavundas at its head, 85 of towns being in charge of a committee of 30, 86 and of six gavundas and eight setthls controlling the affairs of a town for no less than 74 years (Saka 932-1006). 87 An interesting record 88 shows how a town enjoyed a statutory constitution guaranteed by

official charter. From this document we learn how 8 setthls and 80

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households, representing a town, obtained from the local council of ministers and administrators, headed by the county-sheriff, a renewal of their corporate regulations, in so far as they had broken down owing to the calamities of the Chola invasion. These regulations were concerned with taxes and penalties for various offences that were payable by the townsmen. A comparison with the similar charter of A.D. 725 granted by Prince Vikramaditya of the earlier Chalukya dynasty, to which reference has been made above, perhaps may be taken to prove the greater extent of administrative decentralisation under the later dynasty.

The Chalukya records also give us glimpses into the functions of these local bodies. The queens, the high officials and private individuals, when making permanent endownments in favour of temples, frequently appointed the ur-odeyas (or the gavundas), the committee in charge of the towns, or the assembly of mahajanas, to be trustees

for their charities. 89 Again, the ur-o^eyas (or the gdvundas) and the assemblies sometimes sold or donated lands (evidently owned by themselves) to private individuals 90

Like other imperial dynasties of ancient India, the Chalukyas of Kalyana wisely allowed a number of feudatories to enjoy a limited autonomy under the suzerainty of the paramount power. The great feudatory families like the Kadambas of Hangal, the Sindas of Sindavadi and the Silaharas of Northern Konkan bore the title of king or maharriandlesvara, or both. They had a staff of officials similar to that of the paramount power. Frequently they allowed the combination of different offices in the same hands. Thus a twelfth century record of a Sinda chief 91 refers to an officer bearing the titles of sarvadhikarl (general officer, or perhaps chief minister), mantrichudamani (crest-jewel of ministers), mahdpradhana (high minister) and bearer of the betel-bag. Definite reference is made to a council of ministers in a record 92 of a feudatory Chalukya chief belonging to A.D. 1079. In this council were included, among others, an amatyakesan (chief minister), a sdmanta, a parabola (military commander), an amdtya (minister) and the amdtyas of two Queens. 93 In the record just mentioned the reference to the amdtyas of queens suggests that the wives of feudatories held administrative posts under them. We have records of Kadamba chiefs who ruled jointly

with their Queens. 94 The feudatories often had sub-feudatories

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holding seigniories (manneyas under them, this last being sometimes in possession of the same family for, several generations. 96 The feudatories and even the holders of manneyas had sufficient freedom to freely assign lands on their own authority. 96

2. The Cholas

The administration of the Imperial Cholas from the time of Rajaraja I (A. D. 985-1014) onwards was a continuation of that of their predecessors with the added magnificence derived from their political greatness. It is a- sign of their increased dignity that the Cholas assumed such high-sounding titles as ‘Chakravartigal’ and ‘Emperor of the three worlds.’ We even find temples being raised over the mortal remains of kings and princes, and images of kings and queens being set up in temples for worship. Though the Cholas do not seem to have possessed a regular council of ministers they had a body of executive officers (udan-kutfam) in immediate attendance on their persons. These last may have served as liaison officers between the king and the bureaucracy. The Chola officials enjoyed distinctive titles which practically marked them off as a separate order of nobles. Even the higher and lower grades of the service were distinguished by similar titles. We have observed elsewhere

the composite administrative machinery and the complex official procedure involved in the royal grant of lands in the time of Rajaraja I. A record of

Virarajendra, 97 ordering certain contributions paid by a village to be chargeable thenceforth on the public revenues, illustrates the same complex process. The king's oral order was first committed to writing by a Secretary and then signed by three Chief Secretaries. It was then ordered to be entered in the Accounts by three authorising officers and was endorsed by 38 officers belonging to the department of royal attendants (udan kuttam) and the department of officers issuing permits and arbitrations. This was followed by a meeting of thirty-two officers of the Accounts department, when four authorised the entry, one read the order, one made the entry, and one issued the revised account.

We have a record 98 of two great ministers of Rajadhiraja II. One of them first helped to secure the succession of the young king after the death of his predecessor. Then the minister distingushed himself in a campaign against the Sinhalese invaders allied with a claimant to the Pandya throne. Finally, applying himself to the task of administration he appointed persons (as we are told) capable of bearing the burden of government after his death. The other minister won a great victory over the Pandya king who had treacherously allied himself with the Sinhalese invaders against the Chola sovereign.

In the later Chola period the village assemblies continued to function on the whole as in the earlier period." Two inscriptions of A.D. 1185 and 1190 supply us with instances of Chola kings laying down, on the initiative of the State officials, rules for the election of the executive by the village assemblies. But other records belonging to A.D. 1232 and 1233 prove that the village assemblies could frame rules as before, regarding the meetings and qualifications of their executive. We have an unusually interesting record of A.D. 1225 which mentions a series of decisions by the mulaparishat of a temple on the question of election of the executive body of an assembly and its management of the village revenues. This seems to suggest that the villa ge-mahasabha, failing to reach satisfactory decision on matters vitally affecting its activities, sought the assistance of another local authority. 100

3. The Yddavas

The administration of the Yadavas of Devagiri was substantially a continuation of that of their Chalukya predecessors in the sovereignty of the Deccan. From the time of Bhillama (A.D. 11851193) the kings assumed the title of maharajadhiraja, sometimes with

the addition of the other titles. 101 Among their chief officers are mentioned the mahapradhana, the senapati, the dan^anayaka and so forth. The Yadavas seem to haVe introduced a new nomenclature (desas subdivided into khampanakas) for their administrative divisions in the Maratha country. But the old numeral endings (12000, 140, etc.) were continued in the Kannada area. Like their Chalukya predecessors, the Yadavas had feudatories and lords of manneyas (Seigniories) under them. We have an interesting record 102 illustrating the attempt of the paramount power to bring the holder of a manneya under control. It tells us how, while the manneya was being held by a mahdmandalesvara, a special commission was appointed by the central government for its administration.

4. The Hoysalas

We now turn to the administration of the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra who became the leading power in the Mysore region after the downfall of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. The Hoysalas at first were content with the feudatory title of mahdmandalesvara, indicating submission to the Chalukya paramount power. But Vlra Ballala H assumed the full imperial titles of his Chalukya predecessors, namely, samastabhuvanasraya (refuge of the whole world), sriprithivivallabha (favourite of fortune and the earth) ,mahdrdjddhirdja, paramesvara, and so forth. Among the high officers of State under the Hoysalas are mentioned the mahapradhana, the sarvddhi kart, the senapati , the darujindyaka, and the mahqprachandadandanayaka. We have frequent instances of the combination of different offices under the same officer, e.g. of mahapradhana and d^ndandyaka, of mahapradhana and sarvddhikdri and so forth. 103 We hear of two groups of 70 being governed by a mahapradhana senapati danda nay aka and of a district (nod) being ruled by the samastasenadhipati of a mahapradhana. 10 * The village assemblies under the Hoysalas retained their old functions. We have instances of a village mahar sabha (assembly) receiving gifts of money for providing worship in a temple out of the resulting interest, and of village mahajanas receiving another village tax-free. The village assembly enjoyed its own revenues and owned its own lands. We hear of the mahajanas of a village granting certain customs duties for the benefit of a temple, and of these, along with certain gdvundas and prabhus , granting lands to a temple. We have an interesting reference to a judicial trial by a collective body of villages in a record which says that when a dispute arose about the boundary of a field, men of nine nodus assembled together and gave their decision after examination of the boundaries. 106

5. The Pandyas

The administration of the later Pandyas, who became the leading power in Southern India in the thirteenth century A.D., followed the same general lines as that of their Chola predecessors. The greatest Pandya king, Jatavarman Sundara Pandya (acc. A.D. 1251), assumed the titles of mahardjadhiraja, paramesvara and so forth. A peculiarity of the later Pandya administration was the institution of joint rulers (or “co-regents”), which is specially noted by the contemporary foreign observers. 106 Among the high officials of the Pandya State is mentioned 107 the Prime Minister who received grants of land that were purely personal. We have good reason to believe that there existed under the later Pandyas an elaborate official procedure for the royal grant of revenue-free lands to Brahmanas and temples. Justice in the Pandya kingdom was administered in the first instance by village assemblies and other local authorities. Only in case of their failure were the disputes carried to the king’s officers, or, in the extreme cases, to the king himself. The village assemblies continued to function as in the earlier times. Mention is made of a committee of justice in one village and of an executive committee in another. We have also a record of a village assembly buying a plot of land and letting it out on permanent lease at a fixed rental. There is a remarkable instance of collective action on the part of the people of eighteen provinces (visho.yas) who assembled together and made an agreement to collect funds for the building of a temple. 108

1. Kanda XI. For the Smriti works in the above list we have followed the chronology of Kane. Hemachandra was a contemporary of Kumarapala of

Gujarat (above, pp. 76-8).

2. On Yd], I. 368.

3 . vn. 1.

4. The keen interest displayed by the Smriti commentators of this period on the subject of incidence of kingly duties is perhaps to be explained by the then current political situation. It seems probable that the upheaval of the Muslim invasions of Northern India gave the opportunity to provincial and district officers, not always of the Kshatriya caste, to assert their authority in various parts of the country. The question of status of such persons could not but be a matter of practical interest to the Hindu jurists of the time. (The view put forward in the present place is somewhat different from that presented for the first time in the author's work A History of Hindu Political Theories, 2 p. 195) .

5. For the passages of Gopala’s Kamadhenu mentioned above, see quotations in Chandesvara’s Rdjamtiratnakara, 2 and 85.

6 . KrityakaIpataru, Rajadharma Kdn<jia, pp. 83-86.

7. I. *8-17.

8 . For full details, see Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, A History of Hindu Political Theories , 2 pp. 203-4.

9. The standard Edition of Gustav Oppert has been followed. [The SukraruUsarc was first edited by Gustav Oppert (Madras, 1882) and has been translated by B. K. Sarkar in S.B.H. series. Oppert regarded it as an early work, belonging to the period of the “Smriti and the early epic literature” (preface, p. viii).

Others have referred it to Gupta period (Dr. Syamlal Pandya— Sukra ki Rajanlti (in Hindi), Lucknow, 2009 V. S. Ch. IX). On the other hand, modern scholars generally regard it as of a late date (KHDS, I. 116).

According to Keith, it “is a work of quite late date which mentions the use of gunpowder and is of no value whatever as evidence for early Indian usage or philosophy” (HSL, 464). Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, the author of this chapter, regards it as a work of the early medieval period and has discussed this question in his forthcoming work, A History of Indian political ideas—The Ancient period and the period of transition to the Middle Ages (Ch. XXVTII).

While it is obvious from the detailed reference to fire-arms that the SukranitisaJa did not assume its present shape till after the sixteenth century A.D. it is difficult to believe that the whole work was conceived at such a late date. It may be regarded as almost certain that some portions of it were much older though it is difficult to distinguish them. It appears to be somewhat incongruous to ignore it altogether in the discussion of political theories during the Hindu period. Reference has, therefore, been made in this chapter only to the political theories which reflect the general spirit of the writers on polity of the Hindu period.—Editor].

10. 1. 2-3.

11. Chapter III.

12. I. 4-12.

13. I. 37.

14. I. 45-47.

15. L. 20.

16. I. 122.

17. IV. 3.3.

18. I. 78.

19. I. 21-22, 60.

20. Xn. 76. 6-25.

21. I. 66.

22. I. 95.

23. II. 212.

24. II. 231.

25. HI. 50.

26. I. 121.

27. I. 25-28.

28. I. 188.

29. I. 170.

30. I. 84-87.

31. I. 28-35.

32. IV. 7. 332-33.

33. XII. 79. 15-20.

34. m. 48-49.

35. III. 43-46; TV. 1.1.3.

36. II. 274-75. „ , ,

37 . El, XI. 142; XII. 210; XXI. 95. For the significance of the above titles see E.J. Rapson's paper in Woolner Commemoration Volume. Less satisfactory is the explanation of R. S. Tripathi, History of Kanauj , 338, namely, that they signify various classes of feudatories, or else stand for lordship over three branches of the Army.

38. El, II. 175; XXI. 163.

39. El, Xn. 207, 210.

40. El, XXI. 95.

41. EI. XL 142; XII. 20.

42. EI, II. 175.

43. EI, XXI. 95.

44. EI, XXV. 5.

45. EI, XVT. 271.

46. EI, XVI. 12, 274.

47. I A, VI. 191; EI, X. 76.

48. See-above, Vol. TV. p. 97.

49. EI, X. 95; XIX. 293.

50. EI, V. 117.

51. EI, IV. 118.

52. EI, XI. 22; XIV. 193, 197.

53. EI, XIV. 159; XV. 282.

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54. El, XII. 6; XIV. 156, 161; XV. 282.

55. For the administrative system of the Senas, cf. B. C. Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (Part III), and HBR, 280-83 and 287-88. For land-revenue assessment, cf. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Hindu Revenue System, pp. 265-6.

56. See above, pp. 81-89.

57. I A, XLHL 60.

58. Ely XI. 39.

59. El, XII. 274, 334.

60. El, XV. 27.

61. El, Xn. 274.

62. El, XV. 350.

63. El, Xin. 41.

64. El, XU. 154, 283, 313.

65. El, XV. 27.

66. El, XVI. 37, 70.

67. El, XV. 335.

68. El, XVI. 338.

69. El, XV, 94, 331; XVI. 28, 32, 46.

70. El, XVI. 74, 77.

71. El, XV. 95; XVI. 37, 54, 77, 330.

72. El, XVI. 37.

73. El, XVI. 28, 32, 54, 59, 330.

74. El, XV. 78.

75. El, XV. 82.

76. El, XVI.32, 37, 77.

77. El, XVI. 37.

78. El, XVI. 338.

79. El, XV. 76, 82, XVI. 77.

80. El, Xin. 301, 320.

81. El, XV. 27.

82. El, XV. 331.

83. El, XV. 336; XIX. 218f, 232.

84. El, XVin. 171.

85. El, XV. 335.

86. El, XVI. 3.

87. El, XV. 76-100.

88. El, XV. 78.

89. El, XIII. 41; XV. 95, 101, 336; XVI. 3, 28, 67, 70; XVIII. 8; XIX. 218f, 232.

90. El, XVI. 28; XVIII. 171.

91. El, XIV. 270.

92. El, XVIIL 188.

93. A. S. Altekar takes (El, XVIII. 188f.) pahchapradhana in the above to mean ‘a body of five ministers.* But see the remarks of the Editor, El, loc cit.

94. El, XIU. 170; XVII. 18.

95. El, XVI. 37; XIX. 180.

96. Ibid.

97. El, XXI. 230.

98. El, XXI 189.

99. For a detailed account, cf. above, Ch. X, Section H.

100. For the full account see K. A. N. Sastri, The Colas, 2 Chs. XVI, XVII].

101. El, XXV. 211.

102. El, XIX. 194.

103. MAR, 1932, No. 46; 1940, No. 9, 29, 33.

104. MAR, 1929, No 62, 1937, No 52.

105. MAR, 1930, No. 49; 1942, No. 26; 1938, No. 73; 1937, No. 18; 1932, No. 12.

106. Cf. the observations of Marco Polo (Yule and Cordier, Travels of Marco Polo, 370-371), Wassaf (HIED, III. 32.) and the Sinhalese Mahavamsa (XC). See also Ch. XI.

107. El, XII 45.

108. The above is based upon the account in K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, The Pdndyan Kingdom, 215f.

CHAPTER XIV

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

I. NORTH INDIA

The period under review was marked by a vigorous development of the juristic activity that had characterised the preceding epoch. Among the legal authorities to whom this development is traceable two stand out conspicuously from the rest. These are Jlmutavahana, the famous author of the Dayabhaga Digest, and Vijnanesvara, the eminent commentator on Yajnavalkya-smriti, who became the foremost representatives of the two great, schools of Hindu law still extant. With Jlmutavahana we may join together Kulluka and Govindaraja, well-known commentators on Manu-smriti , as well as the two authors of Digests, namely Dharesvara and Lakshmldhara, as they all belonged to Northern India. We may similarly associate with Vijnanesvara, as natives of South India, Apararka, the commentator on Yajnavalkya-smriti, and Devannabhatta, the author of a well-known Digest . 1

Before considering the works of Jlmutavahana we may pause to cast a glance at the views of his immediate predecessors. One of these, Jitendriya, declares that whatever is acquired by a person without the means or materials jointly owned by the members of his family is his exclusive property. On the law of inheritance he says that the widow shall succeed to the property of her deceased husband, whether he was separated or was a member of the joint family at the time of his death. He also lays down that the daughter's son shall succeed immediately after the daughter. We may next quote the views of two somewhat obscure authors, namely, Balaka and Yogloka, on a vexed question of the law of prescription. They held, along with Srlkara, that adverse possession of immovables for twenty years and movables for 'ten years with the owner being present but taking no steps to assert his right, entailed loss of title . 2

The VyavaharamMrikd of Jlmutavahana covers within its purview a wide range of topics bearing on legal procedure and positive law. Such are the constitution of the court of justice, the grades of courts, the four stages of judicial proceedings, arrest before trial, the role of agents (or representatives), sureties for satisfaction of judgment, the order of hearing of suitors, the amendment of the plaint, its defects, and the time allowed for filing the same, the four kinds of reply and the defects thereof, and above all, and in a special measure, the kinds of proof (namely, witnesses, documents and possession). Of the eighteen titles of law, says the author, fourteen are concerned with ‘wealth’, and the remaining four have their roots in himsti (injury). This evidently corresponds to the division between civil and criminal law. Judicial proceeding, according to the author, shall be conducted without violation of dharmasdstra and arthasastra; where these are at variance, the former is to be preferred to the latter: where the dharmasdstras themselves are at variance, popular usage (which is identified with reason) is to be observed. The sabhyas who are guilty of giving unjust decision, of taking bribes and so forth, are to be banished. Similarly a judge or a sabhya speaking secretly to a plaintiff or a defendant on a case under trial is to be punished. While disputes of son with father, of pupil with preceptor, of slave with master and the like, are not to be entertained, serious offences must be taken cognisance of by the king: such are the cases of the preceptor inflicting improper punishment upon the pupil, of a father intending to waste his property on women and the like, or to sell or give away his only son, of a husband intending to sell his virtuous wife, or a master desiring to sell his obedient slave. Among the kinds of proof, namely, possession, documents, witnesses, and inference from examination of the parties, each preceding one is more important than the one immediately following: where even inference is wanting, recourse should be had to ordeal. Possession for three generations must not be disturbed, provided it was not simultaneous but successive . 3

The Dayabhaga of Jimutavahana deals authoritatively with many points of the law of ownership, partition and inheritance, that had long continued to agitate the minds of the Smrtti writers. Dealing with the concept of ownership, Jimutavahana ranges himself on the side of the school that held svatva (ownership) to be exclusively indicated by the Sdstras, and not based upon popular recognition. This view represents the dogmatic standpoint that the Sdstras do not merely summarise modes of acquiring ownership known to popular usage, but that popular usage on the contrary follows Sastric rules laying down conditions for the acquisition of ownership. In the second place, ownership, according to Jimutavahana,' implies absolute competence of the owner to dispose of his property at his will. Illustrating this point Jimutavahana says that alienation of property by a father without the consent of his sons, though forbidden by some texts, is not invalid. For, as the author says, this alienation is operative by reason of ownership

which is inherent in the father to the exclusion of his sons, and "a fact cannot be altered by a hundred texts."

Jimutavahana's views on the law of transfer of ownership are equally important. Svatva (ownership), he says, is created by mere gift on the part of the donor and it need not depend upon acceptance by the donee. But property becomes capable of enjoyment when it is accepted by the donee and not before. According to this view, therefore, though property is transferred to the donee by the mere act of the donor, it is liable to be defeated by a refusal of the donee to accept the gift or else to be perfected by his acceptance thereof. 4

The central theme of Jlmutavahana's work is concerned with his law of partition and inheritance. He defines daya as wealth in which ownership dependent upon relationship to the last owner arises on cessation of his ownership thereof. In other words, ownership even in the case of sons arises only after death of the father or on his becoming patita or samnyasin. 5 Connected with the above is Jlmutavahana's view of partition (vibhaga). According to him it "consists in manifesting or particularising by the casting of lots or otherwise a property which has arisen in lands or chattels, but which extended only to a portion of them and which was previously unascertained, being unfit for exclusive appropriation, because no evidence of any ground of discrimination existed." In other words, before partition none of the parties can say that he is the owner of the whole, and there is nothing to show that a particular portion of a property is his. Partition makes this ownership definite by throwing an indicative sign on a certain portion of the property in question. 6

A cardinal feature of the rule of succession in Jimutavahana is the principle of spiritual benefit conferred by the heir, which is based principally upon a famous text of Manu. 7 This passage is thus translated by Buhler: “To three (ancestors) water must be offered, to three the funeral cake is given, the fourth (descendant is) the giver of these (oblations), the fifth has no connection (with them). Always to that (relative within three degrees) who is nearest to the (deceased) sapiv4 a the estate shall belong; afterwards a sakulya shall be (the heir, then) the spiritual teacher of the pupil.” Basing his order of succession on the high authority just quoted, Jimutavahana says that a kinsman belonging to the familv of the deceased but of different male descent, like his own daughter’s son or his father’s daughter’s son, or belonging to a different family like his maternal uncle, is a sapinda, as they are allied together by presenting offerings to the three anscestors in

the paternal and the maternal line. In the result “the bandhus (daughter’s son and other cognates) are sifted in and out among the agnates, heirs in the female line frequently taking before very near sapindas in the male line on the principle of superior religious efficacy”. 8

Unlike Vijnanesvara Jimutavahana defines stndhana in a strictly technical sense to mean that which a woman is entitled to give, sell or enjoy independently of her husband. Differing likewise from Vijnanesvara Jimutavahana fixes his rule of succession to a woman’s strldhana, and declares that such property devolves equally upon the sons and the unmarried daughter.

We shall next consider the fragments of the Smriti work of Dharesvara which have been preserved in quotations by later writers. On the old question whether ownership was deducible from the Sastras alone, or else was a matter of worldly recognition, Dharesvara decides in favour of the former alternative. Connected with the above is his view that the sons have no ownership in the father’s property while the father is alive, and that this ownership is acquired by them for the first time after partition. Dealing with the law of partition, Dharesvara says in agreement with Vijnanesvara that the father has no right to give unequal shares to his sons in ancestral property divided by him in his life-time. As regards the law of succession, Dharesvara gives only a grudging recognition to the rights of the widow. For he says that the widow is entitled to inherit her husband's property, provided he was separated at the time of his death and she herself is willing to raise up issue to him. Similarly he observes that the father's mother shall take the property in preference to the father, "because wealth taken up by the father may go even to sons dissimilar in class, but what is inherited by the paternal grandmother goes to such as only appertained to the same class." On both the points last quoted Vijnanesvara expresses his dissent from Dharesvara. On the other hand Dharesvara's view allowing the daughter's son to succeed immediately after the daughter agrees completely with that of Vijnanesvara. 9

II. SOUTH INDIA

We may begin our survey of the great jurist Vijnanesvara with an analysis of his views on the constitution of the court of justice. Referring to the members of the king's court Vijnanesvara says 10 that the learned Brahmanas play only a subordinate role, so that in the event of default in the investigation or of false decision, the guilt lies not with them but with the king. Amplify

ing this point, he observes 11 that unlike sabhyas who are appointed by the king, the Brahmanas are not so appointed, so that while the sabhyas incur blame if they fail to dissuade the king from acting unjustly, the Brahmanas incur sin only if they speak a falsehood or do not speak at all. In the same context Vijhanesvara quotes Katyayana's authority for the association of a few merchants with the court, adding that this is necessary for the satisfaction of the people. Again, while he desires the sabhyas to be selected only from the Brahmana caste, he is equally clear 12 that the sabhyas , by virtue of their Brahmana birth, are not exempted from the penalty of a double fine for a wilfully unjust decision. Lastly, while referring to the grades of courts, Vijhanesvara 13 observes that each of them (hula, sreni, puga, ‘an authorised per-* son’, and the king) is entitled to hear appeals from the one immediately preceding, but not vice versa.

As regards the branch of judicial procedure Vijhanesvara 14 says that the plaint shall be written twice, one at the time of the first complaint when the cause of action alone is written, and again, in the presence of the defendant, when the year, the month and other particulars are to be recorded. This specification of the year and the month, we are further told, is essential in trials concerning deposits and pledges, gifts, and sales, while that of the country, place, etc., would apply only to transactions concerning immovables. Revision and correction of the plaint, Vijhanesvara adds, may be made only while the defendant’s answer has not yet been filed, and not thereafter, for “otherwise there would be the risk of the proceeding never coming to an end.” As regards subsequent changes in the plaint Vijhanesvara 16 says that in suits relating to property or title the plaintiff becomes thereby liable to punishment but does not lose his suit, while in disputes arising out of acts of violence the plaintiff further loses his claim if he makes a false statement.

On the much discussed question of the origin of ownership Vijnanesvara’s views are eminently sane and reasonable. To begin with, he contradicts with a great wealth of argument the statement that ownership is deducible from Sastras alone (sastraika samadhigamya). His own conclusion is that it is understood from worldly transations (laukika). This view brings Vijhanesvara into line not only with the famous authors of Digests like Mitramisra but also with the renowned authorities on Mimamsa like Prabhakhara, Kumarila, and Parthasarathi Misra. 16 Connected with the above is Vijnanesvara’s view on the vexed question, whether ownership arises on partition, or partition takes place of that which already belonged to one’s own self. In deciding in favour

of the latter alternative, Vijnanesvara relies partly on the argument that the son’s ownership by birth is well known to people.

On the subject of transfer of ownership Vijnanesvara makes some striking comments. Gift, he says, 17 means transfer of ownership from one to another “if the other accepts it as his own and not otherwise.” This view, differing completely from that of Jlmutavahana quoted above, evidently means that ownership is transferred to the donee only with acceptance. Now acceptance, according to Vijnanesvara, is of three kinds, namely, mental, verbal and physical. In the case of movable property all the three kinds of acceptance may take place at the same time. But where immovable property is concerned, complete physical acceptance, involving enjoyment of its profits, cannot take place all at once. Hence, says Vijnanesvara, acceptance of land, etc. shall be by possession for however short a time, otherwise a gift or a sale does not become complete. To put the above in technical language, "delivery of possession is not absolutely essential to constitute a valid gift, but a gift unaccompanied by possession is of a very risky kind, because in case of conflict between two apparent titles, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that which is accompanied by possession must prevail." 18

The topic of possession as the basis of title forms in Vijnanesvara the basis of some important remarks. Explaining Yajhavalkya 19 he observes:—"in case of possession within memory, it has evidentiary value only when it co-exists with the means of knowledge of title ... In case of immemorial possession, however, long-continued possession is itself evidence of ownership, independently of the knowledge of title because in that case there is an absolute absence of the means by which want of knowledge of the origin or title is accounted for." 20 In other words, "under ordinary circumstances mere possession does not exclude an enquiry into the title, for possession may be with one person and title with another .... It is only when the origin of possession is lost in obscurity by reason of its having commenced beyond living human recollection that enquiry into the question of title is superseded, and possession standing alone is justified, for in such a case the presumption is that possession as a matter of fact followed the title." 21

We may consider in this connection Vijhanesvara's view on the effect of adverse possession upon the title. According to a famous text of Yajhavalkya, 22 he who sees his land enjoyed by another for twenty years or his money for ten years without asserting his right, loses them. Explaining this verse Vijnanes vara says that omission to assert one's title does not lead to loss of ownership, "non-protest not being known either in popular usage or in the Sastra as a cause of extinguishing ownership." Similarly, possession for twenty years does not confer title, "because possession is not the means of proof of ownership." Vijnanesvara's own conclusion is that the loss referred to in the text means the loss of profit of the land as well as of the wealth, and not that of the corpus itself or of the right of a suit at law. It therefore follows that "the owner shall not be entitled after the prescribed period to recover the profits already appropriated by the person in possession, but the title to the property itself and the right to recover the same shall remain intact." 23

Vijnanesvara's view on the subject of partition and inheriance entitles him to be regarded as the principal representative of his school on the subject. Introducing Yajnavalkya, 24 he defines ddya as wealth which becomes the property of another solely by reason of his relationship to the owner. Comparison with the parallel definition of Jlmutavahana indicates the fundamental difference between the two masters. According to Jlmutavahana, ownership to a person's property by virtue of relationship to him arises only when his own ownership comes to an end. On the other hand Vijnanesvara thinks that certain relations acquire ownership at the moment of their birth and in fact become, along with the previous owners, co-owners in the same property. As regards the extent of the son's right in the father's property Vijnanesvara 25 explains that this right extends over the whole of the father's property whether ancestral or self-acquired, but the son cannot prevent alienation by the father except in the case of ancestral property. With this may be connected Vijnanesvara's view given in another context, 26 that unequal distribution of property by the father among his sons is allowable only for selfacquired, but not for ancestral property. Introducing a text of Yajnavalkya quoted above, 27 Vijnanesvara defines partition as the "adjustment of diverse rights regarding property held collectively by assigning severally (to individuals) particular portions of the aggregate." Comparison with the corresponding definition of Jlmutavahana given above reveals an essential difference in the conception of co-ownership between the two schools. This diffeence is usually indicated by saying that "a Dayabhaga co-parcener holds the property in quasi-severalty as if he were a tenant-incommon, whereas a Mitakshard co-parcener holds the entire property and every part of it as if he were a joint tenant."

By contrast with Jlmutavahana, Vijnanesvara 28 bases his rule of succession mainly, though not exclusively, upon the prin

ciple of propinquity. In the result all agnates (relations through males) are allowed by him to succeed in preference to all cognates (relations through females), the only exception being the daughter's son who comes just after the daughter and before the parents. As between the claims of the daughters, Vijnanesvara shows his good sense by preferring the unmarried to the married, and the unprovided to the endowed daughter. The striking originality of Vijnanesvara's thought is illustrated by his giving the sonless widow the right to succeed to the whole estate of her husband who had died separate, on the sole condition of her chastity. It is also shown by his allowing (as Vishnu alone among the Smritikdras does) the daughter's son to succeed immediately after the daughter, and before the mother and the father. In the same spirit Vijnanesvara allows the mother to succeed before the father, "for the father is a common parent to the other sons, but the mother is not so, and since her propinquity is the greatest, it is just that she should take the estate in the first instance."

As regards strldhana Vijnanesvara 29 takes it in its etymological non-technical sense to include property acquired by a woman "by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure or finding." Equally distinctive is Vijnanesvara's rule of succession to the strldhana. In respect of two kinds of strldhana called anvddheya and prltidatta (what was obtained by a woman after marriage from the family of her husband or of her parents, and what was given to a woman through affection), daughters are allowed to succeed equally, and on their failure sons are given the succession in the same manner. As regards other kinds of strldhana such as what was given to a woman before the nuptial fire (adhyagni)) the heirs are given in the following order:—unmarried daughter, unendowed married daughter, endowed married daughter. In case of the bridal price (sulka) the heirs are the uterine brethren alone. The strldhana of a childless woman, married according to the four approved forms, goes to her husband, and that of one married after the four unapproved forms goes to her parents.

Apararka's views on various points of law cannot compare in depth or originality with those of Vijnanesvara, and it will be enough to illustrate them by a few examples. Apararka takes Yajnavalkya, II, 24, to mean that adverse possession of immovables for twenty years and movables for ten years, with the owner being present but taking no steps to assert his right, definitely extinguishes his title. As regards the law of succession Apararka prefers the brother to the grandson and the great-grandson on the ground of superior spiritual benefit conferred by the former upon the deceased—a principle which brings him into line with Jimutavahana. As between the claims of the parents, Apararka interprets the vague text of Yajnavalkya 30 to mean that the father succeeds before the mother—a view just the reverse of Vijnaneivara's opinion quoted above.

We shall conclude this chapter with a few references to Devannabhatta, whose Digest called the Smriti-chandrika takes almost equal, but not the same, rank with Vijnanesvara's commentary as the leading authority on Hindu Law in South India. Like Vijhanesvara the author of the Smriti-chandrika assails with numerous arguments the view that ownership is deducible from the Sastras alone, and he concludes that it is based upon worldly transactions. The same agreement is found in the view of our author that sons acquire by very birth ownership in ancestral property. On the other hand, the Smriti-chandrika expresses its dissent from Vijnanesvara's view that unequal distribution of property by the father among his sons should not be resorted to as being repugnant to the people. The order of succession in the Smriti-chandrika, again, is somewhat different from that of Vijhanesvara. It prefers, as between the claims of the daughters, one having sons to one who is sonless, for the former unlike the latter is capable of conferring spiritual benefit upon the deceased. Again, instead of allowing with Vijhanesvara the mother to succeed before the father, it declares that the father and the mother shall succeed together. 81

Table caption1. The works of Smriti authors of this period with their place of origin and approximate dates according to Kane (KHDS.. I. 296; TV. x-xi) are given below:—

Name of author.	Name of work	Place of origin.	Date
JImutavahana	1. VycLvaharamatrikU 2. Dayabhaga	Bengal	Between A.D. 1100 and 1150
Kulluka	Manvarthamuktavall	Bengal	Between A.D. 1150 and 1300
Govindaraja	Manuptka	North India	Between A.D. 1080 and 1110
Dharesvara (Bhoja I, king of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa)	Unknown	Malwa	Between A.D. 1000 and 1050 Cf. also Ch. II.
Lakshmldhara	Krityakalpataru, XII	Middle	Between A.D. 1100

	(Rajanitikandia)	Ganga Valley Maharashtra	and 1130
Vijhanesvara	Mitdkshara	Between A.D. 1080 and 1100	
Apararka	Yajhavalkyadharma sdstranibandha	Konkan	Between A.D. 1110 and 1130
Devannabhatta	Smriti-chandrika		Between A.D. 1200 and 1225
Gopala	Kdmadhenu		Between A.D. 1000 and 1100

Table captionFor different views, particularly about the date of Mitdkshara, cf. Ch XV 4 (II) [Ed.].

2. For the above passages in Jitendriya, B&laka and Yogloka, see quotations in Ddyabhaga of Jlmutavahana and Vyavahdratattva of Raghunandana.

3. For references, see the Vyavaharamdtrikd of Jlmutavahana edited by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, MASB, IH, No. 5, 277, 283, 285, 314, 341.

4. Cf. Priyanath Sen, General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence, 67.

5. It is nevertheless remarkable that Jlmutavahana does not allow the father, when dividing his property with sons, to make unequal distribution of the ancestral movable property, corrody and slaves.

6. The above is based upon the discussion in Kane, Vyavaharamayukha of Bhatfca Nllakantha, Notes, 134.

7. IX. 186-7.

8. Mayne, Hindu Law (10th Edition), p. 702.

9. For the above passage see quotations in Viramitrodaya , 528-536, Vyavaharamayukha and Mitdkshara on Yajhavalkya II. 135-136 (J. R. Gharpure's Tr.).

10. On Ydj, H. 1.

11. On Ydj, II. 2.

12. On Ydj, H. 3-4.

13. On Yaj, II. 30.

14. On Yaj, II. 6.

15. On Ydj, II. 9.

16. Cf. Priyanath Sen op. cit., 46.

17. On Ydj, II. 27.

18. Priyanath Sen, op. cit., 70-71.

19. II. 27.

20. In the present and following passages the translations from Vijnanesvara are taken from the work Ydjnavalkya-Smriti with the commentaries of

Mitdkshara, Viramitrodaya and Dipakalika, Vyavaharddhy&ya, translated by J. R. Gharpure, Bombay, 1937-38.

21. Priyanath Sen, op. cit, 118-119.

22. II 24.

23. Priyanath Sen, op. cit., 104-105.

24. II. 114.

25. On, Ydj, II. 121.

26. On Ydj, II. 114.

27. II. 114.

28. On Ydj, II. 135-136.

29. On Ydj, II. 143.

30. II. 135-136.

31. For the above references, see Smriti-chandrika, Mysore ed., Ill, Part II, 6016Q3f, 621, 686, 688.

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A. SANSKRIT

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1. INTRODUCTION

The close of the last period, as we have already seen, 1 witnessed the decline of Sanskrit literature in poetry, drama, and other branches. The literature lost touch with common man, began to cater for the Pandit and the court, and gradually tended to become a copy-book pattern according to rules of poetics, dramaturgy, etc. There was an ever-widening breach between the languages of the drama and those in every-day life. The highly cultivated poetry meant for the cultured audience, indicating the general prevalence of scholastic learning, showed a wide gulf between literature and the common man. All these characteristics equally marked the period under review.

The break-up of the empires during the previous period saw the rise of small principalities whose ruler encouraged Sanskrit learning. But although the output was thus maintained, the literary productions are all stereotyped and laboured; they lack vigour, inspiration, and originality. They are merely mechanical reproductions of earlier models, without their vitality and living touch. It is an age of scholastic elaboration and systematic analysis, of technical skill and learning, of commentaries and subcommentaries, and of manuals and sub-manuals. Practically all branches of literature are well represented during this period and their volume is also immense. But there is no life in the whole range of literature. It is imitative, insipid, artificial and laboured, not spontaneous and natural. The creative age was over by the tenth century, and the process of decadence had already set in. No genius or inspired poet or dramatist arose during the period, and there was no originality either in conception or execution.

Muslim incursions can hardly be regarded as responsible for the decadence in Sanskrit literature. For the decadence, as we have seen in the previous volume, had already set in, and the literature may well be said to have come to its natural end. Foreign rule and its attendant disturbances during this period are not known to have actively discouraged literary production, nor affected the 'atmosphere' surrounding the literary craftsmen. In fact, in the

next period we find a number of Muslim rulers patronising Sanskrit learning. Special interest attaches to the Sandesa-rasaka, a Sandesa-kavya in Apabhrariisa composed in the twelfth century by a Muhammadan, Abdala Rahamana (Abdul Rahman).

The tightening up of the Smriti rules and the insular tendency it created contributed not a little to stifle the free spirit. All this resulted in the growth of stereotyped literature. With the loss of contact with the outside world our literature became stagnant and lost freshness of outlook. The general surrounding was uncongenial to the rise of a genius or development of an imaginative spirit, and all writers of the period were mere intellectuals concerned with multiplying according to pattern.

Before making a survey of the different branches of literature, it would be interesting to note some prominent charecteristics of this period. In the first place, the large number of royal authors and patrons of learning is striking. Bhoja, Yasahpala, Somes vara, Kuiasekhara, Apararka, Ravivarman, Prahladanadeva, Vigraharaja (Visaladeva), and Ballalasena figure among the crowned men-ofletters who composed poetry, drama, poetics, Dharmasastra, etc. Another important feature is the growing number of polymaths, such as Kshemendra, Bhoja, Hemachandra, and Ramachandra. There were also encyclopaedic works like &rihgaraprakdsa , Mdnasollasa, Krityakalpataru, Chatiirvargachintamani, etc. The contribution of Jain monks, especially to the Kavya literature, is considerable. The regional survey indicates that from Kashmir and Gujarat comes the bulk of literary contribution, with Bengal and the South coming next.

2. BELLES-LETTRES I. Kavya

In common with the other branches of literature, poetry of this period shows lack of originality and independence. It is artificial, unimaginative, and stereotyped, but lofty, cultivated and exclusive. It was apparently composed for an urban and sophisticated audience, and was out of touch with common life and common realities. Tendency to uniformity also rendered poetry of this period a monotonous reading.

(A) Mahakavya

The only outstanding work of this period is the Naishadha charita of £rlharsha, son of Srihira and Mamalladevi, who probably flourished under Jayachandra and Vijayachandra of Kanauj in the latter half of the twelfth century. The poem, as it exists today,

comprises twenty-two cantos, though tradition makes it run into sixty or even a hundred and twenty cantos, and describes the life of Nala up to his marriage with Damayantl. 2 Indian tradition has recognised the merit of this work by raising it to the status of a Mahakavya and by placing Srlharsha by the side of Kalidasa, Bharavi and Magha. An anecdote is, however, current which is a merciless criticism of this poem. According to it Mammata, the celebrated rhetorician, found Naishadha-charita full of poetic blemishes of all kinds. The poet no doubt shows undue fondness for double entendre and other sound plays, and for this there runs the proverbial expression 'Naishadham vidvadaushadham,' but these defects should not overshadow the merits of the poem. It is a repository of traditional learning, and a storehouse of literary dexterity. The work "unquestionably has a definite interest in the history of Sanskrit literature, for it exhibits the application to the charming episode of the Mahabharata, familiar to all students, of the full resources of a master of diction and metre, possessed of a high degree of skill in the difficult art of playing on words, and capable of both delicate observation of nature, and of effective expression of the impressions thence derived." 3 Twenty different metres are employed, and it is the last masterpiece exhibiting the industry and ingenuity that a Mahakavi is capable of. §riharsha is also credited with the authorship of some other works, among which ranks the Khandana-khandakhadya, a philosophical treatise in support of the standpoint of Sankara.

Kshemendra, the eleventh century polymath and court-poet of king Ananta of Kashmir, gives us the epitomes of the two great epics in his Rharata-manjari and Rdmdyana-manjan; his PadyaKadambari is the metrical rendering of Baina's masterpiece; the Dasavatara-charita, which is not strictly a Mahakavya nor a religious poem, describes the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The life of Buddha is told in the ninth canto, in which the Buddha and Krishna legends have been intermingled. Kshemendra, surnamed Vyasadasa, was the son of Prakasendra and grandson of Sindhu, and his literary activity extended also to the period of Kalasa, son and successor of Ananta. 4

Mankha or Mankhaka, son of Visvavarta, was another Kashmirian poet of the twelfth century. His brothers, Srihgara, Bhahga, and Alamkara were, like himself, scholars and employed as state officials. His gnkantha-charita narrates in twenty-five cantos, the destruction of Tripura by Siva in the usual epic style. The last canto, however, is of some historical and literary interest. It gives us a glimpse of the way in which compositions of learned scholars found

publicity in those days. The Haracharitachintamani of Jayadratha, 5 belonging to the same century, is not really a Mahakavya but a Mahatmya. It is important only in so far as it embodies some old and new Saiva practices and legends, some of which are directly connected with places of pilgrimage in Kashmir. In the same century again Kaviraja wrote his Parijdtaharana describing the removal by Krishna of the heavenly tree from Indra's garden. Surat hotsava of Somesvara, son of Kumara and Lakshml and court-poet of Vlradhavala and Visaladeva, describes in fifteen cantos the mythical story of Suratha, comprising his penance in the Himalayas and slaying the demons. Because of its allusion to Vastupala the account of the poet and his patrons at the end, the Surathotsava has been regarded as a political allegory, but Dr. De demurs to this view. 6 Lolimbaraja, who probably flourished in the eleventh century, but whom Prof. Gode places in the sixteenth century, against the views of Drs. Keith, Krishnamachariar, De and others, 7 relates the early exploits of Krishna up to his slaying Kamsa in the Harivildsa , in five cantos.

Although Slesha (paronomasia) was a favourite figure of speech with Sanskrit poets, regular practice of Slesha-kavya does not seem to have been cultivated before the eleventh century. The device of the Slesha, by which an entire Kavya is made to have a twofold or even threefold significance applicable to totally different themes, is possible only in Sanskrit on account of its special characteristics. Its pliability and adaptability, flexible and complex grammatical forms, multiple meanings of the same words with delicate subtleties, peculiar modes of compounding different words, and the various ways in which compound words or sentences can be split up, render Sanskrit an ideal language for the practice of Slesha-kavya.

With the exception of a single canto in the Kichaka-vadha which is in Slesha, the first sustained instance of a Slesha-kavya is the Rama-charita of Sandhyakaranandin, which will be dealt with under the 'Historical Kavya.' It describes both the story of Rama and the life of king Ramapala of Bengal. Dhananjaya and Kaviraja, who come next, have each written a Raghava-Pdndaviya in which the stories of the two epics are simultaneously narrated. Dhananjaya, known as Dhananjaya Srutakirti, was the son of Vasudeva and Sridevi. His Raghava-Pdndaviya or Dvisandhdna , when read from left to right (in the usual way) describes the story of Rama; but while read from right to left it gives the story of the Pandavas. The Raghava-Pdndaviya of Kaviraja, whose personal name was probably Madhavabhatta, and who flourished under

Kadamba Kamadeva, is better known. It delineates in thirteen cantos the double story of Raghava and the Pandavas. Vidyamadhava, the court-poet of the Chalukya king Somadeva, evidently Somesvara III (A.D. 1126-1138), similarly describes in his Parvati Rukminiya , in nine cantos, the marriages of Siva and Parvati and of Krishna and Rukmini.

This device of handling different tales in the same poem has been very fruitful in later imitations, which develop it further to treble entendre, relating three stories at a time. Hemachandra is reputed to have composed a poem Saptasandhana (having seven applications) which is not extant. The highest degree of alternative interpretations is found in the Satartha-kavya of Somaprabhacharya, written about A.D. 1177, in which a single verse is interpreted in a hundred ways! 8

Some Jain writers have adopted the form and spirit of the Mahakavya for presenting the Jain legends in a poetic garb, as also for historical or biographical accounts. Among the Jain epics may be mentioned the Yasodhara-charita of Kanakasena Vadiraja (tenth century) and of Manikya

Suri (eleventh century), the former being the Digambara and the latter the gvetambara version of the same narrative. Superior in merit and extent is the Trisha shti-saldkapurusha-charita of Hemachandra (twelfth century) describing in ten cantos the lives of the sixty-three best men according to the Jain belief. To Vaghbhata of the same period is assigned the Neminirvana dealing with the life of Neminatha. 9

The Jains have made a considerable contribution to the Sanskrit Kavya during this period, and reference can be made here only to some of the important works. 10 The Kshatrachudd mani of Odeyadeva Vadlbhasimha, pupil of Pushpasena, treats of the Uttarapurdna legend of Jivandhara in eleven chapters, mostly in Sloka metre, and is said to be, in most places, a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil work Jivakachintamam - 11 Abhayadeva, who received the title of Vadisiihha from the king of KasI, relates the birth and life of Jayanta in his Jayantavijaya (composed in V. S. 1278, i.e. A.D. 1221) in nineteen cantos. The Pandava-charita by Maladharin Devaprabhasuri, pupil of Munichandra and tutor of Devananda, describes in eighteen cantos the story of the Mahabhdrata mainly with the object of glorifying virtue. It remodels many details, but hardly rises above the Puranic style. Another epitome of the Mahabhdrata is the Balabharata in nineteen cantos by Amarachandra, a pupil of Jinadatta, who flourished under Visaladeva of Gujarat. Abhyachandra appears to have composed several works

on poetics, metrics, and technical sciences. At the request of minister Padma, he wrote the Padmananda Mahakavya which, though intended to give the lives of all the twenty-three Jinas, describes in nineteen cantos only the life of Rishabha, the first Jina, in an ornate style. Vastupala’s Naranarayanananda, which is full of imagery, describes the friendship of Krishna and Arjuna in eighteen cantos, the abduction and marriage of Subhadra coming at the end. Vastupala was a patron of learning,«who patronised Somesvara, Arisimha, Harihara and Nanaka. Vastupala’s religious teacher Udayaprabha Suri wrote, in collaboration with Narendraprabha, a Mahakavya entitled Dharmabhyudaya or Sahghadhipati-charitra which was composed on the occasion of Vastupala’s pilgrimage to the Jain shrines in Western India. Dharmakumara’s Salibhadracharita tells in seven cantos the legend of §alibhadra which was already dealt with briefly by Hemachandra. Amama-charita by Muniratna, a pupil of Samudragupta, describes in melodious verses the life of x^mamasvami in thirty cantos. Munisuvrata-charita is another poem by Muniratna giving the lives of some Suris of his clan.

These Jain productions possess practically all the regular features of the Kavyas. They deal with the usual Kavya topics and contain elaborate descriptions of nature, seasons, battles, and erotic sports, the last topic, curiously enough, being treated with equal zeal by the Jain monks, including even the pious Hemachandra.

(B) Shorter Poems (a) Lyrics

In the direct line of Bhartrihari and Amaru come during this period Bilhana and Jayadeva. The former has written the Chaura panchasika, a small but elegant poem of fifty stanzas describing in a simple style a variety of love scenes. The title of the poem has given rise to various interpretations, some of which involve the author himself in a love intrigue with a princess. The poem itself narrates how a robber, when making love to a princess, was discovered and condemned to death, and as he was being taken to the execution ground, gave expression in these stanzas to the love enjoyed by him with his beloved.

To Bengal goes the credit for having produced in Jayadeva a master of Sanskrit diction who'in his Gita-govinda has attained to very great heights of Sanskrit lyric poetry. He lived in the court of king Lakshmanasena of Bengal (twelfth century) and was a devout worshipper of Krishna. The poem describes in a very attractive style the love of Krishna and Radha. The hero and the heroine are in separation and both long to meet each other; when Krishna presents himself, Radha feigns anger and pretends reluctance to meet him; but in the end these minor difficulties are smoothed and reconciliation brought about by Radha’s friend. The form of the poem is extremely original and so it has been variously styled as a pastoral (Jones), a lyric drama (Lassen), a melodrama (Pischel), an opera (Levi), and a refined Yatra (von Schroeder). 12 It soon became so popular that it inspired many other works of similar nature. The various stanzas are accompanied by indications as regards the tala and raga. Still the work is a blending of the stanzas that are to be recited and those to be sung. Jayadeva's style, despite the occasional use of long compounds, is very simple. His poetry is the best specimen in the whole of Sanskrit literature of complete harmony in sound and sense. "It has all the perfection of the miniature word-pictures which are so common in Sanskrit poetry, with the beauty which arises, as Aristotle asserts, from magnitude and arrangement. All the sides of love, save that of utter despair and final separation, are brilliantly described; all the emotions of longing, of awakened hope, of disappointment, of hot anger against the unfaithful one, of reconciliation, are portrayed by the actors themselves or Radha's friend in songs which are perfect in material form and display at its highest point the sheer beauty of words of which Sanskrit is pre-eminently capable." 13

A contemporary of Jayadeva was Govardhana whose Arydsaptasati is a collection of seven hundred erotic stanzas in the Arya metre. Govardhana seems to have used Hala's Sattasai, a Prakrit poem, for his model. The stanzas are arranged in an alphabetical order and the scenes depicted lack the variety of Hala's poem. Bhikshdtana by Utprekshavallabha (before fourteenth century) is more an erotic than a religious poem, while his Sundansataka in Arya metre, composed at the request of king Madanadeva, eulogises the beauty of the female form in a highly artistic style.

The Meghaduta of Kalidasa was responsible for the production of numerous Duta-Kavyas in this epoch of imitations and counter feits. These show innumerable variations in the form and motif which have been utilized in different ways and for different purposes. Notable among them is the Pavanaduta of Dhoyl in which princess Kuvalayavatl, a Gandharva maiden of the Malaya hills, sends the wind as a messenger to king Lakshmanasena of Bengal.

(b) Devotional Poems

Erotic poetry is closely associated with the devotional and didactic poetry of this period, as Sringdra (Love), Niti (Wisdom), and Vairdgya

(Renunciation), though differentiated in commonsense and poetics, are often found to intermingle. The trio goes hand in hand,—the lover, the moralist, and the devotee each adding a zest and piquancy to the other. The devotional poetry of the period is found in two different strands, which occasionally blend, but do not stand in any constant relation. In contrast to the Stotra literature of a descriptive or philosophical character, there are highly impassioned devotional poems which pass through the whole gamut of erotic motif, imagery and expression.

The majority of the Vedantic Stotras, Kashmirian Saivite poems, South-Indian Vaishnava and Saiva panegyrics of deities, Bengal Tantrik and Vaishnava glorifications, as well as the Jain and Buddhist Mahayana hymns owe their inspiration to the various religious tendencies of the period. The literary stotra-kavyas either give a highly sensuous account of the amorous adventures of the deities, or describe elaborately their physical charms. The erotic element has been carried to an excess by Lakshmana Acharya who describes the breasts of Chandi in fifty verses in his Chandi-kucha-panchasika. The Bhaktisataka of Ramachandra Kavibharati of Bengal, who went to Ceylon about A.D. 1245 during the reign of king Parakramabahu II and became a Buddhist, is interesting as an example of the application of Hindu ideas of Bhakti (devotion) to an extravagant eulogy of Buddha in the regular kavya style and diction. The Jain poets, besides eulogising individual saints or Jains, extol all the twenty-four Jinas, in stotras known as Chaturvimsati Jinastuti or Chaturvimsika .

(c) Didactic and Satiric Poems

The traditional form of Sataka is generally used in the didactic poetry like the erotic and devotional. §ambhu wrote in the eleventh century his Anyoktimuktalatasataka, a collection of 108 stanzas. The Drishtantasataka of Kusumadeva is more simple. It derives its title from the fact that every stanza illustrates a particular maxim. Kashmirian Silhana, perhaps to be identified with the famous Bilhana, wrote his gantisataka in the twelfth century. Still later is the Bhavasataka of king Nagaraja of the Taka family, or of his protege Bhava. The Upadesasataka of Gumani moralises on some myths and legends from the epics and Puranas.

The Kashmirian polymath Kshemendra has written on several subjects, and is a versatile, accomplished and methodical writer. In his Samayamatrika, which deals with the snares and trickeries of harlots, he gives clever instructions to novices in the profession. Inspired by Damodaragupta, the author gives the story of a young courtesan Kalavati in eight chapters composed mostly in Sloka His Kalavilasa in Arya metre speaks of numerous occupations and the tricks and follies of wandering singers, doctors, goldsmiths, and astrologers. The Darpadalana, in seven sections, seeks to establish the vainness of pride felt by a man endowed with wealth, knowledge, beauty, etc., which springs from seven sources. Sevyasevakopadesa in sixty-one stanzas displays shrewd observations on the relation of master and servant. Charucharya is a century of Slokas on virtuous conduct. Desopadesa and Narmamald give pen pictures of the oppression, hypocrisy, and corruption prevalent in contemporary Kashmir.

The Mugdhopadesa by Jalhana contains reflections on the lures and tricks of the traditional, rather than real, courtesan in sixty-six stanzas in Sardulavikridita metre. The style is erotically didactic rather than satiric. Amitagati's Subhashitaratnasandoha deals with Jain ethics, while the Dharmaparlkshd constitutes an attack on Brahmanism. Somaprabha's Srihgaravairdgyaiarahgini, in forty-six stanzas, utilises the device of Slesha for two simultaneous themes.

(d) Anthologies and Women Poets

Of anthologies, a literary form which originated shortly before A.D. 1000, there are several valuable specimens during the period under review. The importance of anthologies for a historian of literature cannot be overemphasised. They rescue from oblivion many an unknown author, bring forth unknown "beauties" of wellknown authors not found in their extant works, and often form important landmarks for fixing dates. The earliest anthology during this period, the Subhashitavall of Vallabhadeva, is definitely prior to A.D. 1160 as it is quoted by Vandyaghatlya Sarvananda. 14 In its present form, however, the text is not earlier than the fifteenth century. The Subhashitavall is an extensive anthology, incorporating 3527 stanzas in 101 Paddhatis or sections. The number of poets cited, according to Peterson, is about 360. The author, a Kashmirian, has mostly drawn on works from the North. Srldharadasa, son of Vatudasa, compiled his Saduktikarndmrita in A.D. 1206 during the reign of Lakshmanasena. The book is divided into five Pravdhas (streams) or parts, which have various Vlchis (waves) i.e. sections, each containing five stanzas. The total number of stanzas is 2370,

that of the poets and works cited being 485. The SuktimuktavaU was compiled on the model of Vallabhadeva's Subhashitavail by Jalhana in A.D. 1257. Jalhana was the son of Lakshmidhara, and the minister of the Yadava king Krishna. Though there appear to have been two recensions, short and long, the printed edition gives the eclectic text comprising 2790 stanzas divided in 133 sections, the number of poets and works referred to being over 240. At the outset there are traditional verses on Sanskrit poets and poetry, of great interest for literary history.

These anthologies bring to light several women authors of whom some have been dealt with in the previous volume. Their works, from which the stanzas were extracted, are unknown. It would certainly be unjust to judge these writers from the meagre specimens of stray stanzas; but if an opinion may be hazarded, the specimens show neither originality, nor imagination, nor variety. There is nothing specifically feminine about the stanzas, which could well have been written by men. The specimens do not illustrate the highly artistic or creative productions of women, if there were any.

(C) Historical Poems

"Real History finds no place in Sanskrit literature, nor is there any conscious historical element in any of the works comprising it"—thus observes Whitney in his introduction to A Sanskrit Grammar. 15 The more recent pursuits of scholars in Sanskrit literature have not yet unearthed anything which would modify the learned savant's remark. Before Kalhana there does not seem to have been any author who took to historical writing with a degree of seriousness. The Purana works aoart, even the Harsha-charita of Sana smacks more of romance than of history.

It is indeed curious that despite her achievements in other branches as also her abundance of intellect, India failed to produce any historical works in the modern sense. The so-called historical Kavyas are more poetical works than historical documents. Though dealing ostensibly with historical themes they are mainly concerned with the poetic, dramatic or romantic possibilities, and consequently are indifferent to chronology, mix divine and human action, believe in magic and miracle, and have deep faith in the incalculable human destiny. Differnt scholars seek to explain the absence of any clear, consistent, and adequate historiography as due to various causes. It is said, for instance, that the idea of composing realistic history aiming at objective accuracy is entirely out of harmony with the spirit of Sanskrit literature and its conception of art with

its emphasis on imaginative and impersonalized creation. Thus it is that in historical Kavyas authors cared more for poetic merit than for historical accuracy. It is also held that Indian mind was little interested in historical incident as such. Then, again according to the Indian view, as presented in the Mahabhdrata and other works, truth is not mere verbal accuracy or objective agreement of words with facts, but that which is beneficial for humanity. Truth is therefore valid so far only as it leads to human good. The poet, further, was to concentrate on the creation of ideals and aesthetic emotion which he achieved by descriptions, portraying of sentiments, exaggeration of facts through imagery, etc. It is also likely that it was the firm belief of Indians in the doctrine of Karman that prevented them from making any realistic and historical survey of the events in the nast.

JL

We may now refer to the few historical works whose existence is so far known to us. According to Kalhana, Sankuka wrote the Bhuvanabhyudayci describing the battle of Mamma and Utpala (c. A.D. 850), but unfortunately nothing is known of this work. Padmagupta or Parimala, son of Mrigankadatta, wrote early in the eleventh century his Navasahasahka-charita describing in eighteen cantos the life of king Sindhuraja Navasahasanka of Malwa. 16 That the author does not aim at history is obvious from the fact that the work primarily deals with the mythical event of the winning of the Naga princess Sasiprabha by Sindhuraja.

Of a little more historical interest is the Vikramdnkadeva-charita of the Kashmirian Bilhana, son of Jyeshthakalasa and NagadevL It glorifies the life of the author’s patron king Vikramaditya VI, the Chalukya king of

Kalyana . 17 The work begins with the origin of the Chalukya dynasty and goes on to describe, in the usual style of a Mahakavya, the battles fought and the pleasures enjoyed by king Vikramaditya. The last canto, like the first Uchchhvdsa of the Harsha-charita, gives us an account of the author himself and his literary adventures, of his family, his country and its rulers. As a piece of history the work is full of blemishes. It seeks the inter* vention of Siva to explain away certain unhappy incidents in the life of the king. Accurate chronology is also lost in the medley of vague expressions. As a piece of poetry, on the other hand, Bilhana s work deserves much praise.

After Bilhana comes the celebrated Kashmirian Kalhana who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century. He gives us in the Rdjaiarangini the chronicles of the kings of Kashmir right from the beginning to his own days. A Brahmana by birth and devoted to Siva,

he was free from the narrow sectarian outlook. From his work it appears that he had carefully studied the epics, the works of classical authors and earlier historians, and many other sciences. As a basis for his excellent Rdjatarangini Kalhana seems to have used the works of early chroniclers in the field, and also gathered first-hand information from inscriptions, copper-plates, various eulogies, and family records. Yet there is very little element of historicity in the first three chapters of the work which are devoted to earlier dynasties. With the dynasty of Karkota, however, we come across historical realities more and more. Even in this work, belief in the working of fate, magic and witchcraft is responsible for some blemishes. At the same time it must be noted that Kalhana does not spare even his patron from honest criticism. “All that we have points, therefore, to a mind very busily in contact with reality, observing intently the process of current events in lieu of becoming a mere book-worm, and endeavouring to find satisfaction for a keen intellect in recording the events around him and those of earlier days in lieu of the participation in affairs traditional in his family and congenial to his tastes.” 18

Reference has already been made to the Rama-charita of Sandhyakaranandin, who calls himself Kalikala-Valmiki. The work simultaneously tells in four cantos the story of Rama and the history Of

Ramapala. It deals mainly with the successful revolution in North Bengal, the murder of Mahipala II, and the restoration of the paternal kingdom by Ramapala. The story is continued even after Ramapala's death, and ends with Madanapala. 19 The work possesses great historical value as a contemporary record, but fails as a poetical composition. It was soon forgotten on account of its limited and local interest.

Among the few other minor historical works of this period none is comparable, even distantly, with the work of Kalhana. Atula's Mushikavamsa (eleventh century) narrates in fifteen cantos the line of kings which ruled over the Mushika kingdom, i.e. south Travancore. Sambhu (eleventh century) wrote the Rajendrakarnapura in praise of his.patron Harsha. Similarly Jalhana wrote Somapalavilasa in honour of the king of Rajapuri. Jain writers also proved their ability in this branch of Sanskrit literature, and among Jain writers of the period prominent place must be given to the polymath Hemachandra. He narrates the life of king Kumarapala of Anahilwad (Anahillapataka) in the Kumdraptila-charita . The poem is also entitled Dvyasraya-kavya , either because it is written both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, or because the work, besides being a history, also serves the purpose of illustrating the rules of grammar. To the

end of the twelfth century belongs the unfinished Prithvirdja-vijaya of unknown authorship (probably by Kashmirian Jayanaka), 20 which describes the victories of the Chahamana king Prithvlraja of Delhi over Sultan Sihab-ud-dln Ghuri. To the thirteenth century belong the two panegyrics, the Kirtikaumudi of Somesvaradatta, and the Sukritasamkirtana of Arisimha, both in praise of Vastupala, a minister of the Vaghela princes of Gujarat. The former, which has some poetic value, deals with the history of the Vaghela dynasty of Gujarat. The first two cantos of the latter give an account of the Chapotkata and Chaulukya rulers. There is also a short eulogistic poem on Vastupala, called Sukritakirtikallolini , by Udayaprabha Suri. Another work on the rulers of Gujarat, and dealing with the various episodes in Vastupala's career, is the Vasantavilasa of Balachandra Suri, pupil of Haribhadra Suri. Jinaprabha, the prolific writer of numerous stotras, has also written a Dvydsraya kavya (A.D. 1300) on the life of Srenika.

II. Drama

The dramatist was not a poet of the people but of the court, and drama, like poetry, was isolated from real life. There was a wide separation of the language of the drama from the language of the people. Instead of becoming pictures or mirrors of life, dramas became rigid exercises in literary skill and ingenuity, and strict adherence to dramaturgic injunctions became a general feature of these works.

(A) Legendary Plays

The legendary plays derive their plots from the epics and the Puranas. The Kashmirian polymath Kshemendra speaks of a drama, Chitrabharata, by himself, which has not survived. 21 The earliest extant drama during the present period is probably the Prasannardghava of Jayadeva, who is to be distinguished from several namesakes by his statement that he was the son of Mahadeva, of Kaundinya gotra , and Sumitra. 22 The Prasanna-mghava is a Nataka in seven acts describing the life of Rama from his wedding to his return from Lanka. The author does not strictly follow the story in the epic and takes some liberty with the original. Umapatidhara, a contemporary of Jayadeva, author of Gita-govinda, wrote Pdrijataharana dealing with the fight between Indra and Krishna for the celestial flower. Of the polymath Ramachandra, pupil of Hemachandra, two dramas are available, viz. Nalavilasa, dealing with the story of Nala, in seven acts, and Nirbhayabhima, a one-act Vyayoga

on the slaying of Baka. The Kerala king Kulasekhara, whom Dr. De places between the first half of the tenth and the first half of the twelfth century, treats of the Mahabharata stories in his two plays: Tapati-Samvarana treats of the legend of the Kuru king Samvarana and Tapati, the daughter of the sun god, in six acts; and SubhadraDlnananjaya, in five acts, deals with the well-known story of the marriage of Arjuna and Subhadra. The marriage of Draupadi is dramatized in two acts by Vijayapala, son of Siddhapala, in his Draupadisvayamvara. The Pradyumndbhyudaya of another Kerala prince Ravivarman (thirteenth century) is also based on the Krishna legend. The Harakelinataka of the Chahamana king Vlsaladeva Vigraharaja of Sakambharl (twelfth century) having the same theme as Bharavi's poem, is only partially known from a few fragments inscribed on a stone which has been built up in mosque at Ajmer

(B) Court Comedies

There are a few Natakas which deal generally with stories of court life based on legendary, semi-historical or fictitious themes. The Karnasundart of Bilhana is a Natika in four acts celebrating the marriage of king Karnadeva of Anahilwad under the guise of a romantic story. It is, however, a poor recast of the Ratndvalt and Viddlicisdlabhanjikd. To the same dramatic category belongs the Vi jay air I or Pdrijdtamanjari of Madana Balasarasvatl (thirteenth century), preceptor of the Paramara king Arjunavarman. It depicts the marriage of king Arjunadeva with the Chaulukya princess who is introduced into the play as a garland of Parijata flowers which, on dropping on the breast of the king, is miraculously transformed into a beautiful maiden. In honour of the Chahamana king Vlsaladeva was written the Lalitavigraharajandtaka by his protege Somadeva describing the king's love for princess DesaladevT of Indrapura; the play is partly preserved in a stone inscription at Ajmer. In a similar vein Vidyanatha wrote his model play, the Pratdparudra kalyana, which serves the double purpose of eulogising the king of Warangal and illustrating the author's views on dramaturgy.

The extreme reaction of the dramatic conventions on the mind of the aspiring dramatist is reflected in a series of six dramas, of which four are mythological and two erotic and comic, deliberately written to illustrate six out of ten types of Sanskrit drama. They are the work of Vatsaraja, minister of king Paramardideva of Kalanjara. There is a Vyayoga named Kirdtdrjumya, based on the well-known epic of Bharavi, in which the Sutradhara recites the Nandi verses twice; an ihamriga named Rukminiharana; 23 a

Dima called Tripuradaha ; 24 and a Samavakara called Samudramanthana. These deal with mythological subjects. There is a Bhana, Karpura-clnarita, on the love of a gambler with a courtesan, and a Prahasana, Hasyachudmani, in which a preceptor of the Bhagavata school is ridiculed. Attention may be drawn in this connection to another Vyayoga named Parthaparakrama of Prahladanadeva (twelfth century) describing how Arjuna won the cows of Virata. Two points in particular deserve notice here

—the author claims to excite in the audience a new sentiment, diptarasa, and the final benediction is invoked not by the hero but by Vasava.

(C) Erotic and Farcical Plays

Bhana and Prahasana, types of one-act plays, are farcical in character, the former being predominantly erotic and having merely a prolonged monologue sustained by suppositious dialogues. Though dramaturgic treatises mention several Prahasanas, only a few have survived. After the Chaturbhwni, described in the last volume, the earliest instance is the Karpura-charita of Vatsaraja. which has already been dealt with in the previous section along with his other works. The Latakamelaka of Sankhadhara Kaviraia (twelfth century), written during the reign of Govindachandra of Kanauj, describes in two acts the conference of rogues at the house of a go-between Dantura, for winning the favour of her daughter Madanamanj ari.

(D) Prakaranas and Semi-historical Plays

Later writers of Parakaranas, which deal with middle-class life, follow the Malatimadhava rather than the Mrchchliakatika as their general model. There is little of poetic realism but free use of fancy, sentiment, magic and marvel. Out of the four Prakaranas mentioned by Ramachandra in the Natyadarpana, only the Kaumudi-Mitrananda by the same Ramachandra is published. It describes the adventures of a merchant’s son Mitrananda and his wife Kaumudi. The story resembles those of the Dasakumara-charita. The Prabuddharauhineya of Ramabhadra, pupil of Jinaprabha Suri (thirteenth century), narrates in six acts the circumstances which led the robber Rauhineya to change his profession. The Mudritakumudachandra of Yasaschandra, son of Padmachandra, records in five acts the controversy between two Jain teachers, Svetambara Devasuri and Digambara Kumudachandra, in which the latter was completely sealed up (mudrita).

Of the type of Mudrarakshasa, having a historical interest, is the Hammiramadamardana by a temple priest Jayasiihha Suri (thirteenth century) of Broach, written at the instance of Vastupala's son Jayantasimha. The drama is full of intrigues and incidents and, though purported to commemorate the victory of king Viradhavala over the Mlechchha ruler Hammira, in reality eulogises the two ministers Vastupala and Tejahpala, describing Vastupala's skill in diplomacy and repulsion, by him, of the Muslim invasion of Gujarat.

(E) Allegorical Dramas

Though one of Asvaghosha's fragments contains personification of abstract virtues as dramatis personae , there is yet no evidence that allegorical drama played any important part in the evolution of the dramatic literature in Sanskrit. The Prabodhachandrodaya of Krishnamisra (eleventh century) is the earliest known drama of this type. It is an allegory glorifying the Advaita form of Vishnuism. It derives its name from the prophecy that there will be the rise of Knowledge (prabodha.) and Judgment (vidyd) from the union of Discrimination and Theology. The Moharajaparajaya of the Jain Yasatipala (thirteenth century) mixes allegory with reality as it introduces real human beings like king Kumarapala and the Vidushaka with different personifications of good and bad qualities. The play depicts the conversion of the king to Jainism and in consequence his promulgating the doctrine of ahimsa and prohibiting the practice of confiscating the property of those who died without heirs.

(F) Irregular Dramas

The question about the so-called shadow-plays, irregular types of dramas, has already been dealt with in connection with the Mahdnataka , 25 The Dutdngada of Subhata exhibits similar features. Outwardly dramatic in form, it is devoid of any dramatic action, being merely a collection of poetical stanzas. The work styles itself as a Chhaya-nataka, and has been taken as a typical instance of the shadow-play. In four scenes, it describes the embassy of Angada in connection with the recovery of Slta from Ravana. There are longer and shorter recensions of the work. Some other plays also call themselves Chhaya-nataka in their prologue or colophon; but they cannot be taken as instances of the shadow-play. Probably, these pieces were intended for popular entertainment, and it is not necessary to postulate the existence of the shadow-play to explain the peculiarities possessed by these plays . 26

III. Prose Romances and Champus

There is not much prose outside scholastic and exegetical writings, and the small amount of literary prose is not of much conse

quence. The prose romances and Champus being usually heavily constructed and dexterously stylistic, one has to turn to story literature for simple and direct prose style.

(A) Later Romances

None of the later authors had composed anything comparable to the earlier works of Bana, Dandin, and Subandhu. Soddhala (eleventh century), who was patronised by Chitta, Nagarjuna, and Mummuni Raja of Konkana, wrote the Udayasundankatha describing the marriage of a Naga princess with the king of Pratishthana Odeyadeva or Vadlbhasimha (twelfth century)?, a Digambara Jain, closely imitates the Kadambari of Bana in his Gadyachintamani. It describes the life of king Satyadhara and his son Jivandhara. The Gadyakarndmrita of Vidyachakravartin describes the battle between the Hoysala Narasimha II and the combined forces of the Panijya, Magadha, and the Pallava kings.

(B) Champus

A peculiar type of literary composition written in indifferent prose and verse, styled as Champu, became popular with authors from the tenth century onwards and was a special favourite of South India. A part of the Ramdyanachampu leading the Rama story up to the Kishkindhakanda is ascribed to Bhoja (eleventh century), and the remainder was finished later by one Lakshmana Kavi who also wrote another work, the Bharatachamputilaka. Abhinavakalidasa (eleventh century), which sounds more like a title than a personal name, wrote the Bhagavatachampu and the Abhinavabharatachampu.

IV. Story Literature

(A) The ‘Brihatkatha’ and its Later Versions

The Brihatkatha of Gunadhya, which is supposed to have been written in the Paisachi Prakrit, is unfortunately lost to us almost beyond any hope of recovery. Still we can form some idea of the original from the three versions—two Kashmirian and one Nepalese —that are available to-day. From these versions it appears that the form of the original was metrical, but Dandin probably hints that it was prose. The main theme of the narrative was no doubt the marriage of Naravahanadatta with Madanamahchuka who, like Vasantasena, was a courtesan. It is also possible that the original work contained many other stories of the love adventures of the hero. As regards the date of the original it is very difficult to dogmatise, though its influence over Bhasa suggests first century A.D. as the probable period of its composition.

One of the three versions of the Brihatkatha is the Brihatkathislokasamgraha of Budhasvamin, the manuscripts of which are from Nepal. It may be dated in the eighth century A.D. The work is available only in a fragment; still a comparison with the other versions shows that this one is more faithful to the original than the two Kashmirian versions. The stories here are told with a sense of moderation and the language betrays a few Sanskritizations of Prakrit.

The Brihatkathd-manjari of Kshemendra (eleventh century) is one of the two Kashmirian versions. Both Kshemendra and Somadeva, the author of the Kathdsaritsagara, have added much matter, to wit the Panchatantra and the Vetalapanchavimsatika, to the original narrative of Guinadhya, and from this fact it seems permissible to surmise that the two Kashmirian authors had before them not the original Brihatkatha but some later and enlarged version of it. When compared with Somadeva’s work, Kshemendra’s version looks like an abridged edition, so much so that his brevity has sometimes led to obscurity.

The Kathdsaritsagara , the other and the more important Kashmirian version of the Brihatkatha 9 was undertaken by its author Somedava (eleventh century) to divert the mind of Suryamati, the wife of king Ananta of

Kashmir. While writing, it was the avowed aim of the author to narrate the substance of the work before him and at the same time to endeavour to produce a unified effect and maintain the flow of the narrative. As already remarked, Somadeva, in the course of his narration, tells much more than what Kshemendra and Budhasvamin do. Thus there are numerous stories of faithful and adulterous women, of fools and rogues, thieves and gamblers, false ascetics and forest tribes. Wonderful events and feats of adventure are found in abundance, and magic and witchcraft are a matter of everyday routine. In spite of the vast material contained in the book the author has certainly succeeded in narrating the stories in an easy, flowing style. From the point of view of sociology the work is a mine of information about ancient customs and manners.

(B) Romantic Tales

The Vetalapanchavimsatika narrates how an ascetic tried to beguile king Trivikramasena, who was eventually saved by a vampire whose riddles were correctly answered by the king. It has come down to us in more than one version—the Kashmirian version, incorporated in the works of Kshemendra and Somadeva, the version of Sivadasa in prose and verse, the one of Jambhaladatta, and still another of Vallabhadasa. From these versions it is very difficult to decide whether the original work was in prose or poetry or even both. The date of the original is similarly uncertain, though the version of Sivadasa may have belonged to the twelfth century A.D. As regards its language Hertel has tried to show that it was much influenced by old Gujarati vocabulary and syntax . 27 Later versions substitute Vikramaditya's name for that of Trivikramasena.

The Sukasaptati has come down to us in two recensions of uncertain date—the simplicior and the ornatior of Schmidt. The former seems to have been written by a Svetambara Jain and the latter by a Brahmana, Chintamani Bhatta. The framework of the book consists of the stories, mostly of faithless women and cunning hetaerae, narrated by a clever parrot to the wife of a merchant in order to guard her chastity while her husband had gone abroad.

The Simhasanadvdtrimsika is known by different names and is available today in at least three important versions. It is said that king Bhoja of Dhara (eleventh century) discovered a throne that was once presented by Indra to Vikramaditya. When the king tried to ascend the throne, each of the thirty-two statuettes on it told him a story of king Vikramaditya and obtained release. The date of this work seems to have been somewhere between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries A.D . 28 Similar in substance, but of less importance, is the anonymous Vikramodaya narrating tales of king Vikramaditya in verse. The Viracharita of Ananta, an epic in thirty-two cantos, describes the events of the life of king Salivahana. A similar work, though partly in prose, is the Sdlivahanakatha of Sivadasa.

(C) Didactic Tales

The Parisishtaparvan of Hemachandra is an appendix to his Trishashtisaldkapiirusha-charita and deals with the lives of the oldest of the Jain teachers. It also includes some strange legends about king Chandragupta Maury a and some other folk-tales. The Prabhavaka-charita of Prabhachandra and Pradyumna Suri (thirteenth century) forms a continuation of Hemachandra’s work.

(D) Fables

The earliest glimpses of a fable are found in the Mahdbharata where at one place a particular policy recommended for adoption is illustrated by means of a beast fable. But this does not mean that the fables were collected and written down in a book form from the epic period itself. There are numerous similarities in Greek and Sanskrit fables, but the problem of their mutual relationship is rather difficult of solution. The earliest work on fables in Sanskrit is the Panchatantra, its purpose being to give instructions to some princes in morals and rules of worldly life. It is written in mixed prose and poetry, the former being employed for the narration of the story, and the latter for summing up its moral and also for incorporating certain verses of didactic import.

As with the Brihatkathd, the original work, usually entitled the Panchatantra, on which are based numerous versions, is lost to us. 29 Its author is said to have been Brahmana Vishnusarman who perhaps lived in the Deccan some time between A.D." 200 and 400. Book I of the work deals with the topic of separation of friends, Book II with winning of friends, Book III with war and peace, Book IV with loss of one's earnings, and Book V with dangers of hasty action. Within the framework of the main narrative in each book are inserted numerous other fables illustrating general rules of life. The author employs a fairly simple style which in general is free from poetic elaborations.

Of all the derivative forms 30 of the original Panchatantra, the Tantrakhyayika, of unknown date, is comparatively more akin to the original than the others. The textus simplicior is a Jain version prepared c. A.D. 1100, and differs considerably from the original. To the year A.D. 1199 belongs another Jain version, the Panchdkhydyika, prepared by monk Purnabhadra. The Brihatka tha-manjari and the Kathasaritsagara have each a version of the Panchatantra representing the form which the original work assumed in the north-west of India. The southern Panchatantra is available in five recensions and seems to be a shortened account of the original. The Bengal version is represented by the Hitopa desa ascribed to Narayana (eleventh or twelfth century). The work includes many new tales not found in other versions, and incorporates even large sections from the Kamandakiya-Nitisara. Not satisfied with this the author also rehandles the arrangement of the books. The provenance of the work in Bengal is made probable by a story which describes a ritual in honour of Gauri, showing the influence of Saktism. The style of the author is as simple and attractive as that of Vishnusarman.

3. SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE I. Lexicography

The earliest lexicographer in this period appears to be Yadavaprakasa, the author of Vaijayanti, who has been identified with the preceptor of Ramanuja. 31 Yadavaprakasa was born near Kanchlpuram. Originally a staunch follower of Sankara, he was later converted to Vaishnavism by his former pupil Ramanuja. The Vaijayanti has two portions, synonymous and homonymous, which arc fuller than the Amarakosa. The homonymous section arranges the words in the alphabetical order of their initial letters, and there are three Kaodas containing homonyms of 2, 3, or more syllables. The Namamdlika 31a of Bhoja is of the nature of a compilation (Sarin * grihita). Its author has been identified with king Bhoja of Dhara who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. The work has been much influenced by the Vaijayanti of Yadavaprakasa. Purushottamadeva, a Buddhist, wrote three lexical works, Trikaindasesha, Har avail, and Varnadesana. The first, as indicated by its title, is a supplement, in three parts containing 1050 verses, to the Amarakosa. It adopts the Paribhasha (terminology) and division of the Amarakosa, and aims to give only the words left out by the Amarakosa. In the short extent of 278 verses, the Hdravali deals, in two parts, with the synonymous and homonymous words not in common use. The Varnadesana, which is in prose, deals with orthographical variations giving a collection of differently spelt words, and mentions such cases of confusion as between ksh and kh which, according to the author, is due to the similarity of the characters employed, among others, .by the Gauqlas. An Ekaksharakosa and Dvirv.pakosa are also attributed to him, of which the latter is a brief work of 75 stanzas, dealing with words spelt in two different ways. In view of the quotations by Vandyaghatlya Sarvananda (A.D. 1159), Purushottamadeva cannot be placed later than the first half of the twelfth century; but he is not much earlier, as one of his works is stated to have been composed at the request of Lakshmanasena, apparently before he became king.

Visvaprakdsa and Anekarthakosa are homonymous lexicons with words arranged in the alphabetical order of final consonants. Visvaprakdsa by Mahesvara, as stated in the last verse, was composed in A.D. 1111. Mahesvara was the son of Srlbrahma and grandson of Krishna, and his work gained fame even during the century of its composition, as is seen from quotations by Sarvananda and Hemachandra. Mankha, the author of the Anekdrthakosa, is identified with his namesake, the author of the

Srlkantha-charita, who lived in the reign of Jayasiihha of Kashmir (A.D. 1128-55). Anekdrthasabdakosa by Medinikara, also known as MedinI, appears to be a mere remodelling of the Visvaprakdsa. Medina was the son of Prainakara. As he is quoted by Rayamuku^a (A.D. 1431), Medini must be placed in or before the fourteenth century, but he is probably much earlier, because the authorities cited by him are earlier than A.D. 1159, being all referred to by Sarvananda. 32 Nanarthasamgrahci of Ajayapala, available only in MSS., contains about 1730 words mostly found in the Sasvatakosa , arranged after initial letters. Ajayapala was a Buddhist, and is quoted in Gainaratnamahodadhi (A.D. 1140), by Sarvananda, Kesavasvamin and others. Kesavasvamin's Ndndrthdrnavasamkshepa, the biggest homonymous lexicon known so far, contains about 5800 stanzas, which are divided into six Kaindas according to the number of syllables. In each Kanda, words are arranged after the initial letters. Kesava's patron was Rajaraja Chola, son of Kulottunga. Two or three such persons are known during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The printed text of Dhananjaya's Ndmamdla (in Dvadasakosasamgraha, Benares, 1865, 1873) has only a synonymous portion in 200 verses, which appears to be the original recension. There are, however, other recensions which contain, in addition, a homonymous section in 50 stanzas, while a Tanjore MSS. has three chapters, viz. Sabdasamkirnarupana, Sabdasamklrnaprarupana, and Sabdavistirnarupana. Dhananjaya was a Digambara Jain and native of Karnatak. He was also the author of Dvisandhanakavya, quoted in Ganaratnamahodadhi (A.D. 1140). 33

The Gujarat polymath Hemachandra wrote four lexical works, Abhidhdnachintamani, Anekarthasamgraha, Nighantusesha, and Desindmamdla. The first two deal respectively with synonyms and homonyms, the third is a botanical nighantu, and the last is a Prakrit lexicon. The Abhidhdnachintamani, containing nearly 1542 stanzas, is divided into six Kandas; Devadhideva, dealing with Jain gods and religious terms; Deva, on Hindu and Buddhist gods and terms; Martya, human beings in their various relations; Naraka, nether world; and Samanya, abstract notions, adjectives, and indeclinables. The author has written his own commentary. Anekdrthasamgraha , also in six Kandas, contains nearly 1829 stanzas. The Kandas are arranged after the number of syllables, and in a twofold alphabetical order after the final and initial letters—and a supplementary Kanda is added on the Avyayas (indeclinables). Later than Hemachandra is Mahipa who in his Anekdrthatilaka 33a gives a dictionary of homonyms.

This period also witnessed some important commentaries on the Amarakosa. The earliest extant commentary is the Amarakosodghatana by Kshlrasvamin, who may be assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century. The commentary is lucid and simple, and elucidates and criticises the text with the help of over a hundred authorities. Next in time and importance is the Amarakosatikdsarvasva written in A.D. 1159 by Sarvananda Vandyaghatiya, son of Artihara, to whom frequent reference has been made in this chapter. This learned and valuable commentary, written with the help of ten previous commentaries, has been the basis of the works of all later Bengal commentators including Rayamukuta. Kdmadhenu by the Buddhist Subhuti or Subhutichandra, which is often quoted by Bengal commentators, is available in a Tibetan version. The author is mentioned in the Durghatavritti of Saranadeva (A.D. 1173).

Kshlrasvamin, Sarvananda, and MedinI refer to and quote from several lexicographers about whom nothing further is known.

II. Grammar

The period after A.D. 1000 marks the stage of progressive deterioration in the study of grammar. There is in the first place the rise of a number of new and popular schools of grammar intended to simplify the science for the enlightenment of the laity. There are also numerous recasts of the Ashtadhyayi. Among the works of the Paninian school may be mentioned the Dhdtuvritti of Kshlrasvamin. the famous commentator of the Amarakosa. Kaiyata, son of Jaiyyata, probably a native of Kashmir, wrote his Pradlpa on the Mahabhashya of Patanjali. The Padamanjari by Haradatta is a valuable commentary on the Kasika. Haradatta was the son of Padmakumara and a resident of the Telugu country. The only complete work on Paniniya Ganapatha is Vardhamana's Ganaratnamahodadhi, which is a metrical arrangement of the Ganas followed by a commentary by the author. Durghatavritti , written by a Buddhist writer, Saranadeva, under the supervision of Sarvarakshita, deals with the difficult passages of Panini's text.

Among non-Paininian systems, the Chandra school disappeared from India during the period under review. But it is still extensively studied in Tibet and Ceylon, thanks to the BaMvabodha, a popular recast of the Chandra grammar by Kasyapa, a Ceylonese Buddhist monk. The Jainendra school is represented by a few works in this period. Only two commentaries have been preserved; one by Abhayanandi (c. A.D. 1250), and the other, £abdarnavachandrika by Somadeva composed in A.D. 1205. Somadeva, resident of Ajurika (Ajre, in the old Kolhapur State), was the contemporary of Silahara king Bhojadeva (Bhoja II). The Panchavastu is a recast of the Jainendra grammar to facilitate its study by beginners.

Arya Srutakirti is mentioned as the author in the introductory portion. 34 For the Sakatayana school, there is the Rupasiddhi of Dayapala, pupil of Matisagara, and a fellow student of Vadiraja (or Jayasiihha II, Chaulukya). It is an abridgment of Sakatayana's grammar, somewhat similar in scope to the Laghukaumudt. Prabhachandracharya's Nydsa is another work of the school which is in the nature of a commentary on the Amoghavritti. From its non-mention by Bopadeva, the author of Mugdhabodha, the origin of the Sarasvata school cannot be placed much earlier than A.D. 1250. The school arose in response to a demand, probably from the Muslim rulers, who deemed it necessary to promote the study of Sanskrit Brevity of treatment and simplicity are the principal features of the Sarasvata school. As against 4000 Sutras of Paindni (3000 of Jainendra, over 1400 in Katantra, and 1200 of Bopadeva), the Sarasvata treats the entire subject in only 700 Sutras. Anubhutisvarupacharya, the traditional founder, who wrote Sdrasvataprakriyd, possibly had one or two predecessors. Vardhamana, a protege of Karnadeva, probably a ruler in Gujarat, wrote Kdtantravistara, a commentary on Durgasirhha's Vritti which belongs to the Katantra school. Shortly after Vardhamana, Trilochanadasa, son of Megha and father of Gadadhara, of the Kayastha class, composed Katantra vrittipanjikd. Another work of the school is Sabdasiddhi, a commentary written by Mahadeva, of which a MS. is dated Sam vat 1340. The Gujarat polymath Hemachandra founded the Hemachandra school. His Sabdanusasana has, like the Ashtadhydyl , 8 Adhyayas of 4 Padas each, the total number of Sutras being 4500. Nearly a fourth of these form the last Adhyaya dealing exclusively with the Prakrit languages. Mugdhabodha by Bopadeva is the chief text of the Bopadeva school. Bopadeva, the son of Kesava and a pupil of Dhanesa, was a native of Berar. He was a voluminous writer, his other works being Muktdphala, Harillldvivarana, Sataclofci, etc. His object in writing a new treatise on grammar was to combine simplicity with brevity. Religious element pervades this work, illustrative examples referring to Hari, Hara or Rama. To Bopdeva belongs also the Kavikalpadruma 34a which is a metrical Dhatupa^ha. It not only gives the roots and their meanings but also certain other information about the roots from the grammatical point of view and their usage. Kramadlsvara was the founder of a new system, which however came to be known as Jaumara school from the name of Jumaranandl, the most celebrated writer of the school. Kramadlsvara wrote Samkshiptasara, which was revised by Maharajadhiraja Jumaranandi. Rasavati is the name of a Vritti by Jumaranandl, who also revised the Paninlya Dhatupatha for this school.

III. Poetics and Dramaturgy (1) Poetics

The interval between Anandavardhana and Mammata represents, according to Dr. De, the definitive period in the history of Sanskrit poetics, during which details of the new system were precisely set up. 35 The writers of this period concerned themselves with summarising the results of earlier speculations and presenting them in the form of concise text books. The complete scheme of poetics with the Dhvani theory at its centre, harmonising the divergent theories of earlier writers, finds its expression in the Kavyaprakdsa of Mammata in the middle of the twelfth century. Some reactionary theorists like Mahimabhatta and Kuntala flourished during this time. The period following Mammata was, in tune with the general literary tendency, a scholarly one of critical elaboration, which unquestioningly accepted the Dhvani theory. Despite some writers who tried to expound the old surviving traditions like Bhoja or Vagbhata, no new theory was propounded, the creative days of the science being over long ago. Besides a number of commentaries there was also a large production of popular books for the general reader as also manuals and school books.

Rajanaka Mahimabhatta, the son of Sridhairya and pupil of Mahakavi Syamala, severely criticises the Dhvani theory in his Vyaktiviveka. He accepts only two senses of Sabda, viz. the vachya (the actually expressed) and the anumeya (inferable), and includes under the latter both laksliya and vyangya whose independent existence he controverts. Despite his logical acumen, deep insight and great scholarship, the work failed to evoke interest mainly because he adds nothing to the larger problems of poetics. The avowed object of the book is polemical. It was forgotten in later times and the author is cited only for refutation, probably on account of his pitting himself against the most formidable theory of Dhvanikara and Anandavardhana which was destined to supersede his by attracting the best thinkers of later times. Later theorists never recognised the Anumana theory. As his views are summarised in the Alarakdrasanmsva, Mahimabhatta is earlier than A.D. 1100, and as he criticises Vakroktijivita and Lochana, and quotes the Bala rdmdyana, he is later than A.D. 1000. He therefore probably flourished between A.D. 1020 and 1060. The Alamkara portion of the Agni Purana, which belongs to this period, apparently follows a tradition different in many respects from the orthodox systems. Bhoja further develops the definition of poetry given in the Agni Purana by expressly adding Rasa among its essential characteristics.

Bhoja's Sarasvatikanthdbharana is a voluminous work, divided into five Parichchhedas, but more or less a patient compilation. Apparently following Agni Purdna, Bhoja regards Upama, Akshepa, Samasokti, and several others as figures both of Sabda and Artha. He enumerates six Ritis: Vaidarbhl, Panchall, Gaudiya, Avantika, Latlya, and MagadhI. He raises alb six Pramanas of Jaimini to figures of speech, and looks upon even Gunas and Rasas as Alamkaras. Though speaking of eight Rasas, his way of treatment shows that he looked upon Sriiigara as the only Rasa, which he has expressly stated in his Sringdraprakasa. The Sringdraprakasa in 36 Prakasas is the largest known work in Sanskrit Poetics, and has been drawn on by Hemachandra and &aradatanaya. In the first eight chapters, the author deals with grammatical technicalities and the theory of Vritti; the next two deal with faults and merits of thought and expression; the eleventh with the Mahakavya, and the twelfth with drama; and the last twenty-four are devoted to Rasas. Bhoja was a prolific author who wrote on a variety of subjects. He was the king of Dhara and known as Bhojadeva. 36

Another voluminous writer on a number of subjects, and about whom we have already said a great deal, is the Kashmirian Kshemendra. His contribution to poetics was, however, meagre, and did not exert any appreciable influence on the Alamkarasastra. His Auchityavicharacharchd contains Karikas with his own Vritti, and illustrations taken from various works. He states that Auchitya (appropriateness or propriety) is the essence of Rasa. Propriety is the life of all poetical compositions because Guna, Alamkara, and Rasa, used improperly, not only do not beautify the poem, but lose their own beauty also.

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The Kdvyaprakdsa of Mammata occupies a unique position in the Alamkara literature, analogous to the Sdnkarabhdshya in Vedanta or the Pdtanjalabhashya in grammar. Summing up in itself all the activities that preceded it in the field of poetics, it becomes itself the fountain-head of fresh streams of doctrines. It combines fulness of treatment with conciseness, traversing the whole field in 142 Karikas (or Sutras). The work comprises the Karika, Vritti, and Udaharanas and is divided into ten Ullasas, dealing with all topics of poetics except dramaturgy. A late tradition, mostly obtaining in Bengal, imputes the authorship of the Karikas to Bharata and of the prose Vritti to Mammata; but this is unauthentic and fanciful. 37 The earliest known commentator of the Kdvyaprakdsa , Manikyachandra (A.D. 1159-60), and an early MS. of the work, dated A.D. 1158, refer to the joint authorship of the Kdvyaprakdsa by Mammata and Alaka, 38 and later commentators follow them. It

appears, however, that the joint authorship related only to the seventh and tenth Ullasas. According to Kasnmirian Pandits Mammata was the maternal uncle of Sriharsha, author of the Naistia dtiiya. As Mammata quotes Abhinavagupta and refers to Bhoja, he cannot be earlier than A.D. 1050; ana as the earliest commentary on the Kdvyaprakasa is dated 1159-60, he is earlier than A.D. 1150. Thus A.D. 1100 appears to be the probable date of the Kdvyaprakasa, and, as shown by Dr. Gode, the latter part of Mammata’s life synchronised with the early literary activities of Hemachandra, whose senior contemporary Mammata was. 39 The value of Mammata consists not in his originality but in the concise and orderly discussions of the main issues, the definitions, and the general treatment embracing the whole field covered by his predecessors.

Rajanaka Ruyyaka or Ruchaka, 4 - 0 son of Rajanaka Tilaka, came immediately after Mammata, and his Alamkdrasarvasva shows a remarkable degree of insight and independence of judgment. ' He is a staunch advocate of the Dhvani school, and briefly summarises the views of Bhamaha, Udbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, Vakroktijivita, Vyaktiviveka, and Dhvanikara on the essence of poetry. The work consists of the three usual parts, Sutra, Vritti, and Udaharana. The Alamkdrasarvasva is important for its acute analysis of the scope and nature of the individual poetic figures. Ruyyaka quotes from Vikramdnkadeva-charita, and criticises Vyaktiviveka and Kdvyaprakasa, which show that he cannot be earlier than A.D. 1100; his lower limit is supplied by his pupil Mankhaka, who wrote Snkanthacharita between 1135 and 1145; thus Alamkdrasarvasva was composed about A.D. 1125.

Hemachandra’s Kdvydnusdsana, written in the form of Sutra and Vritti, along with its commentary, called Viveka, composed by the author, indicates extensive learning, and constitutes a complete manual of poetics in eight chapters. The work, however, displays hardly any originality or independence of judgment. It is chiefly a compilation; the doctrines of Dhvani, Rasa, Guna, Dosha, and Alamkara appear to have been closely, and somewhat uncritically, copied from Mammata. The Sutra, Vritti, and commentary are respectively called Kdvydnusdsana, Alamkarachudqimani, and Viveka.

The Bhavaprakdsana of Saradatanaya is an extensive work dealing with Rasas, Bhavas, and dramaturgy. The author is a staunch follower of the Rasa school, according to which Rasa is the soul of poetry, whereas the other principles, Guna, Rlti, Alamkara, etc., are mere subsidiaries. It may be noted that according to the Dhvani school, Rasas hold the predominant position over Alamkara, Guna

and Riti. Its followers advocate the method of Rasa-Dhvani, accord's '

ing to which, the Alamkaras, Gunas and Ritis should beautify the soul, Rasa, and these should be so chosen as to develop the Rasas. The book is divided into four sections and ten chapters. The first two divisions deal respectively with Bhava and Rasa; the third describes the relation between the words and meanings, and in the fourth we find the different types of dramas. The last section of the work will be dealt with later when we come to dramaturgy. Saradatanaya quotes extensively from the Sringaraprakasa and the Kavyaprakasa, and Singabhupala, Kumarasvamin, and Kallinatha quote from him; Saradatanaya, therefore, flourished between A.D. 1175 and 1250.

The Chandrdloka by Jayadeva or Plyushavarsha, son of Mahadeva and Sumitra, is an elementary treatise on poetics in the Anushtubh metre in a lucid and easy style. The language is flowing and sonorous, and the work is admirably suited for the beginners. The author, as already stated earlier, is identical with the author of the Prasanna-raghava , and flourished before A.D. 1300. Rasaratnapradlpikd by Allaraja, son of Hammlra, the Chahamana king, is also a small treatise intended for beginners.

Sobhakara in his Alamkdraratnakara, which was considerably popular in Kashmir, deals with the whole field of poetics in 112 Sutras. He has elaborated them in his commentary and illustrated them by examples drawn from varied sources; in what are known as Parikaraslokas, he has summarised his views on particular topics. Yasaskara, in his Devisataka, wrote verses in praise of Devi in illustration of the figures of speech defined in the Sutras of this work. Sobhakara criticises Ruyyaka's work, and Jayaratha, author of the Virnarsini (first quarter of thirteenth century), defends Ruyyaka against our author's attacks. iSobhakara, therefore, must have written this work in the latter part of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century.

Older and younger Vagbhatas make considerable use of Mammafa, but do not admit Dhvani and owe allegiance to the pre-Dhvani schools. Dandin is of considerable authority with them, and the younger Vagbhata admits some of Rudrata's poetic figures. However, they cannot be directly affiliated to the older Alamkara and Rlti schools on account of the influence of the new school on them. Both were Jains, and the Vagbhatalamkdra, by the senior Vagbhata, is a small work of 260 Karikas divided into five chapters. The object of both was to present a popular and easy epitome of the subject, without adhering to any particular school, but following the traditional notions in an eclectic spirit without critically systematising them with reference to a central theory.

The chief merit of the Ekavali of Vidyadhara lies in its systematic compilation and arrangement. Consisting of Karika, Vritti, and examples, the Ekavali is divided into eight unmeshas, the first following the

Dhvanydloka. The work is modelled on the Kavya prakasa, while the treatment of poetic figures is mainly based on Ruyyaka. The examples are by the author and contain panegyrics of his patron, king Narasimha I of Orissa. As the Rasarnavasudhakara of Sihgabhupala (c. A.D. 1330) refers to the Ekavali, and as either the Gahga king Narasimha I or Narasimha II was the patron of Vidyadhara, it appears that the work was composed at the end of 1;he thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

(2) Dramaturgy

There are only two works dealing mainly with dramaturgy which appeared during this period. Natyadarpana by Ramachandra, a pupil of the Jain polymath Hemachandra, deals with the science of dramaturgy in four sections called Vivekas. The first, Natakanirnayaviveka, gives a complete description of the Nataka; the next, Prakaranadyekadasarupanirnayaviveka, deals with the remaining eleven forms of Sanskrit drama; Vritti (dramatic styles), Rasa (sentiment), Bhava (emotion) and Abhinaya (gesture) are considered in the third Viveka; and the fourth deals with Lakshanas (particulars) common to all Rupakas (dramatic compositions). Ramachandra divides dramatic compositions into twelve kinds, the eleventh being Natika (which other writers on dramaturgy take as an upa-rupaka, a sub-variety) and the twelfth, PrakaranI; but no illustration is given of the last type.

&aradatanaya, in the last section of his Bhavaprakasana, describes ten types of drama and twenty types of Nritya. In regard to the nature and functions of a Nataka, &aradatanaya mainly follows Bharata and Dhananjaya and mentions the views of Kohala and Matrigupta whenever these two differ.

IV. Metrics

Kshemendra of Kashmir, who lived in the middle of the eleventh century, had also composed a work on Sanskrit metres, in addition to his works on various other subjects. This work of his is called Suvrittatilaka and contains three chapters. The first defines about twenty-six Sama-Varna Vrittas of four lines each, which are common, easy, agreeable, and suitable to all sorts of poetry. The second and the third chapters are, however, more important, since in them Kshemendra discusses and illustrates the defects and merits of some

metres as also their suitability for particular situations and events. Such a discussion is done by Kshemendra alone, and no other writer appears to have done this. In this connection, Kshemendra points out how some poets show a fondness for one particular metre even though they employ many different metres. This would indicate that he had tried to analyse the metrical practice of a few at least among the distinguished poets.

Vrittaratnakara is a very important work on Sanskrit metres. An early manuscript of this work is dated Sam vat 1190. It lies at Jaisalmer and forms part of the same palm-leaf manuscript which contains Jayaklrti's Chhandonusasana and Virahanka's Vrittajdtisamuchchaya. The author, Kedara, could not have been much older than Hemachandra, who did not evidently know him because he does not allude to him in his otherwise exhaustive work on metres. Nevertheless, it is an old work and has suffered from many variant readings introduced by different scribes and commentators. This would show that the work was very widely used and was highly popular in different parts of India.

Hemachandra, the famous Jain monk and versatile writer of Gujarat, composed his Chhandonusasana about A.D. 1150. This is a very exhaustive work on Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhraihsa metres. It is really Hemachandra who gave a final sanction and sanctity to the Apabhraihsa language and literature by his two works, viz. the Chhandonusasana and the &dbdanusasana. The one exalted the Apabhraihsa poetry while the other rendered a similar service to the Apabhraihsa language. Before his time both the Apabhraihsa language and literature were neglected and even despised by Jain monks and other learned men of ancient India. Sanskrit was indeed the cultural language of the nation as a whole; but even the Prakrits had assumed a sanctity for the Jain monks, since their religious literature, particularly their Agamas, were composed in the Prakrit language. No such position was possible for the poor Apabhraihsa, which was for several centuries a language of the ordinary masses, used for men's daily transactions, but considered unfit for literary compositions, whether of a religious or of a philosophical nature. It was, however, the high poetical faculties of poets like Svayambhu and Pushpadanta, both of whom were Jain laymen, which compelled the attention and admiration of appreciative critics among the Jain monks and secured a place of honour for the Apabhraihsa language and literature. Hemachandra's Chhandonusasana is clear, methodical, and exhaustive like all other scientific treatises composed by him. It consists of three parts, viz. the Sutras, the Vritti, and the illustrations composed by Hemachandra himself. This last feature

of the text has somewhat diminished the value of the otherwise most valuable work for the study of the history of the Apabhraihsa poetry. But we cannot blame Hemachandra, since he elected to compose his illustrations, rather than select them from the existing Apabhraihsa poems, because he wanted to introduce the names of the metres in the illustrative stanzas themselves, as he had done in the case of the Sanskrit metres as well as the Prakrit ones.

Jayaklrti's Chhandonusdsana was composed just about this time, though Jayaklrti and Hemachandra do not seem to have known each other. It is, however, more likely that Jayaklrti was an older contemporary of, but was not known to, Hemachandra, when the latter composed his Chhandonusdsana. Jayaklrti was a Digambara Jain and probably hailed from the Kannada districts in the South. In the seventh chapter of his work, Jayaklrti defines several old Kannada metres, of course in Sanskrit. He does not give any illustrations, though he mentions a few Digambara poets by name. He defines only Sanskrit metres in the remaining chapters and does not show his knowledge of any Prakrit poetry or metres. As in the case of the other metricians of the Middle Ages, Jayaklrti's definitions serve as illustrations as well and contain the name of the defined metre. From the names of some of the Sanskrit metres used by Jayaklrti, it would appear that he belonged to a different tradition from that of Hemachandra. The only manuscript of Jayaklrti's Chhandonusdsana is lying at Jaisalmer and is dated Sam vat 1190. 40a

Kavidarpana by an unknown author is the last important work of this period. This work closely follows Hemachandra and at times quotes him. It is composed in the Prakrit language, except the fourth chapter which deals with the classical Sanskrit metres and is written in Sanskrit. The mode of treatment in this work, however, materially differs from that of Hemachandra. It sometimes quotes from older poets. The only known manuscript of this work is accompanied by an exhaustive commentary, again of an unknown author who vastly quotes from Hemachandra. The Kavidarpana is alluded to by Jinaprabha Suri in Sarhvat 1365, in his commentary on Nandisena's Ajitasdntistava.

V. Politics and Practical Life

The Arthasdstra of Kautilya does not seem to have inspired works of similar nature, so that the only work of some importance during this period is the Laghv-Arhanniti of Hemachandra which again is only an abridged form of his big work in Prakrit. Written in a metrical form it deals with such topics as war, punishments,

law, and penances. In his treatment of law he generally follows the Manu-smriti . Of still less importance are the Yuktikalpataru ascribed to Bhoja, the Nitiratnakara of Chandesvara, and a few others. Reference has already been made above 40b to Sukranitisdra which, in its present form, belongs to a later period. Some scholars, however, believe that the original text was composed in this age.

VI. Medicine

Chakrapanidatta (eleventh century) from Bengal, son of Narayana, and a Kullna of the Lodhravali family, wrote commentaries called Ayurvedadipika and Bhanumati, respectively on Charaka and Susruta. His Chikitsdsarasamgraha, besides being an authoritative work on the subject, is important in the history of Indian medicine for marking an advance in the direction of metallic preparations which had been introduced since the time of Vagbhata and Vrinda. He also wrote Sabdachandrikd, a vocabulary of vegetable as well as mineral substances, and Dravyagunasamgraha, a work on dietetics. Suresvara or §urapala, court-physician to king Bhimapala, was another Bengali writer of this period. His father and grandfather were court-physicians to kings Ramapala and Govindachandra respectively. Suresvara wrote Sabdapradipa and Vrikshayurveda on medical botanical terms, and Lohapaddhati or Lohasarvasva on the medical use and preparation of iron. Vangasena (middle of eleventh century) , very probably an inhabitant of

Bengal,' relied on the works of Susruta and Madhava in the preparation of his Chikitsdsdrasamgraha. The $dlihotra 40c of Bhoja (eleventh century?) is an interesting book giving information about the horses, their diseases

and remedies. Milhana wrote his Chikitsdmrita in A.D. 1224.

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Sarhgadhara's Samhita mentions the use of opium and quicksilver, and stresses the importance of pulse in diagnosis. Among the works which deal with the metallic preparation calculated to give perpetual youth, invisibility, etc., are the Rasarnava (c. A.D. 1200), and the Rasaratnasamuchchaya, ascribed in some texts to Vagbhata and in others to Asvinikumara or Nityanatha, which has been assigned conjecturally to A.D. 1300.

VII. Mathematics and Astronomy

First in point of time comes the Trisatd of Sridhara (eleventh century), but the most important treatises on Mathematics are the two chapters entitled the Lilavatl and the Bljaganita in the Siddhantasiromani of Bhaskaracharya (twelfth century). The form of the Lilavati is quite unique, since a beautiful maiden is addressed by the author. As regards contents, it is based on the earlier works of

Brahmagupta and Srldhara and deals with combinations. The Bljaganita forms the most complete and systematic work on Alegebra.

On Astronomy we have the Rdjamrigdrika, ascribed to Bhoja, and the Bhdsvati of Satananda, both belonging to the eleventh century. Two chapters from the Siddhantasiromani, viz. the Grahaganita and the Gola, are the most valuable writings on Astronomy. The Karanakutuhala was written by the same author a little later. As in Mathematics, so in Astronomy, no scholar contributed anything of importance after Bhaskaracharya.

VIII. Music

The Sangitamakaranda, attributed to Narada, perhaps belongs to the eleventh century. It deals with music and dance in two separate parts. To the twelfth century belongs Jagadekamalla Pratapachakravartin, whose Sangttachudamani deals with music and dancing in five chapters. The encyclopaedic Manasolldsa (which will be dealt with in the concluding section) of Somesvara devotes 2500 verses to music and musical instruments, and touches on new phases of music, specially prabandhas. The most comprehensive treatise on the subject is the Sangitaratnakara of Sarngadeva, son of Soddhala and Auditor-General of the Yadava king Singhana of Devagiri. The Sangitaratnakara, in seven chapters, not only embraces the views of all ancient writers, but also contributes original definition and discussion. It deals with musical notes, melodies, technical terms, measures of time, musical instruments, dancing, acting, etc. Parsvadeva, son of Adideva and Gauri, a Jain writer of the same period, has also written a similar work, the Sangitasamayasdra , dealing with all aspects of music in nine adhikaranas.

IX. Ancillary Sciences

Most of the works dealing with the ancillary sciences are of a late date, and in spite of the fact that some of them do not strictly belong to this period they are all brought here together for the sake of convenience.

Silpasastra or Architecture is the subject of various anonymous works like the Mayamata, the Sanatkumdravdstusdstra , the Mdnasara, and the Silparatna of Srlkumara (sixteenth century). The Hasty ay urveda, dealing with elephants, is in the form of a dialogue between king Romapada and sage Palakapya. The Matangalild of Narayana pertains to the same subject. On horses and their diseases we have many works like the Asvasastra ascribed to Salihotra, the

Asvtiyurveda of Gana, the Asvavaidyaka of Jayadatta and Dlpankara, and the Asvachikitsa of Nakula. On the subject of jewels may be mentioned the Agastimatq, the Ratnaparikshd of Buddha Bhatta, and the Navaratnapanksha of Narayana Pandita.

On the science of love nothing has been written to dislodge the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana from the status that it enjoys today. The Pahchasdyaka of Jyotirisvara and the Ratirahasya of Kokkoka belong to the twelfth century. Of the later glosses on the Kamasutra may be mentioned the Jayamangala of Yasodhara (thirteenth century) which explains some of the obscure words in the Kamasutra.

On the subject of omens we have the Samudratilaka, begun by Durlabharaja in A.D. 1160, and finished by his son Jagaddeva, who ahso wrote an independent work on dreams, the Svapnachintdmani. Similarly the Adbhutasagara was begun by Ballalasena of Bengal and completed by Lakshmanasena. The Narapatijayacharyd Svarodaya of Narahari (twelfth century) describes how the results of war and of other adventures can be prognosticated with the help of diagrams. A late work dealing with geomancy is the Ramalarahasya of Bhayabhanjanasarman.

4. RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

I. Pur anas

The corpus of the Puranas was complete in the Gupta Age, and additional matter was incorporated during the subsequent period. 41 There was not much activity in this direction in our period. Dr. Hazra’s researches on the chronology of the Smriti chapters in the Puranas reveal that the bulk of most of the major Puranas, as we have them at present, was finalised by the end of the ninth century A.D. Only a few chapters dealing with topics such as holy places, varnasramadharma, yugadharma, strl-dharma, glorification of the Brahmanas, worship of &alagrama, tulasl, planets, Devi etc., merits of digging tanks, dedicating trees, gardens and reservoirs, etc., were interpolated during the period under review in the Vayu, Matsya , Padma, Brahma, Brahmavaivarta, and Garuda Puranas. The Smriti chapters of the Skanda Purdna are generally late, not earlier than the tenth century A.D. 42

II. Dharmasastra: Commentaries, Nibandhas, and Ritual Literature

In the Dharmasastra literature the present period represents the phase of commentators and writers of Nibandhas (digests). As compared to commentaries on particular Smritis, the digests contained a synthesis of all the dicta of the ancient Smritikaras on various topics of

Dharma. The general tendency from the twelfth century onwards was to compose digests rather than commentaries. The reputation of the Mitdkshard, Vijnanesvara's celebrated commentary on the Ydjnavalkya-smriti, has thrown into shade all the digests, anterior or contemporary, with the result that digests have not hitherto received sufficient attention. The Gaekwad's Oriental Series has recently made available some volumes of the encyclopaedic Krityakalpataru by Lakshmldhara. In our survey of the Dharmasastra literature we shall describe in brief, in a chronological order as far as possible, important writers and their contributions.

Dharesvara, or Bhojadeva of Dhara (A.D. 1000-1055), composed several works on different branches of learning, such as poetics, grammar, medicine, astrology, yoga, etc. 43 Views of Dharesvara or Bhojadeva have been cited in various works on Dharmasastra. It is not known whether his work (or works) on Dharmasastra was a commentary or an independent digest. Jitendriya and Balaka are two writers from Bengal on Dharmasastra who are known only from frequent references in the works of Jlmutavahana, Raghunandana, and Sulapani. Jitendriya, who flourished about A.D. 1000-1050, wrote an extensive work on Dharmasastra which was completely eclipsed by the learned treatise of Jlmutavahana. Balaka, 44 from East Bengal, also before A.D. 1100, wrote on several branches of Dharmasastra, such as Vyavahara and Prayaschitta. Halayudha, the jurist, who is frequently quoted by Lakshmldhara, Chandesvara, Harinatha, Raghunandana, Mitrami£ra, and others was another Bengali writer of the same period. His work on Dharma is now lost, and the author is to distinguished from several namesakes. 46 Bhavadevabhatta of the Savarna gotra of the Kauthuma school of Sdmaveda, born in Siddhalagrama in Radha (W. Bengal), was the son of Govardhana and Sangoka, and flourished about A.D. 1100. He was a versatile genius and composed several valuable works on Dharmasastra. Vyavahdratilaka is his work on judicial procedure, hitherto undiscovered; Karmdnushthdnapaddhati (or Dasakarmapaddhati , or Dasakarmadipikd) deals with the ten principal rites and ceremonies to be performed by Samaveda Brahmanas; Prayaschittanirupana describes various modes of expiations; and Tautdtitamatatilaka is on the doctrines of Mimamsa from the standpoint of Kumarila. Govindaraja was the son of Madhavabhatta and lived on the banks of the Ganga. He wrote a commentary on the Manu-smriti, and Smritimarija'ri dealing with all principal topics of

Dharmasastra. The Mitakshard, which mentions Medhatithi and Bhojaraja, is silent about Govindaraja, and the Haralata of Aniruddha (c. 1160) quotes Govindaraja, so that the time of Govindaraja was between A.D. 1080 and 1140. 46

The Krityakalpataru of Bhatta Lakshmldhara occupies a unique position among digests, and has exercised great influence on early writers of Mithila, Bengal, and Northern and Western India. Bhat{a Lakshmldhara, son of Bhatta Hridayadhara, was the minister for peace and war of king Govindachandra of Kanauj. 47 He was well read in Smritis, Puranas, Mimaihsa and all branches of Vedic learning, and was a critical and conscientious compiler who evaluated his sources and selected the correct text. The Krityakalpataru has been composed according to a wellconceived plan, and its different topics follow the sequence of the different stages and activities of life as laid down in the &astras. No other digest attempts such a logical and comprehensive presentation of the Smriti material. The book is divided into fourteen Kandas, and helps one to discharge the Rinatraya (three debts, viz. that to seers, manes, and gods). The first Kanda (Brahmacharikanda), which deals with the duties of a boy up to the end of his studentship, sets out the means for discharging the debt to seers (Rishirina). The directions about discharging the debt to the ancestors (Pitririna) are found in the next three Kandas. The second, Grihastha-kanda, treats of the duties of the householder, the third, Ahnika-kanda, deals with the daily ritual, and the fourth Sraddhakanda, tells about the offerings to the manes. In the fifth, Dana-kanda, we get an encyclopaedic treatment of gifts; consecration of images is dealt with in the next part, Pratishtha-kanda; worship forms the subject of the seventh, Puja-kanda; pilgrimage to holy places is treated in the Tirtha-kanda, the eighth; and various vows in the Vrata-kanda. These show the means discharging the Devarina. Purificatory rites are described in the Suddhi-kanda, the tenth, and all kinds of propitiatory rites in the Santi-kanda, the thirteenth. These two Kandas show how to attain peace of mind (santi) which is preliminary to final release (moksha). Viramitrodaya is the only other book that deals with moksha, which forms the last part of the Krityakalpataru. Duties of kings are dealt with in the Rajadharma-kanda, the eleventh, and civil law and procedure in the Vyavahara-kanda, the twelfth. These two are concerned with man's civil environment and its tuning to the progress towards ultimate beatitude.

In the Dharmasastra literature the position of Vijnanesvara's Mitakshard is analogous to that of Patanjali's Mahabhdshya in Grammar, or Mammata's Kavyaprakasa in Poetics. It represents

the essence of Dharmasastra speculation that preceded it, and became the fountain-head from which flowed fresh streams of exegesis. In several matters of Hindu law Mitakshara is of paramount importance in modern law-courts in the whole of India, except Bengal (where Dayabaga prevails) and Maharashtra (where Mayukha prevails). The Mitakshara is not a mere commentary on the Yajnav alky a-smriti, but is in the nature of a digest of Smriti materials. It brings together numerous Smriti passages, explains away contradictions among them on the basis of the Mimamsa rules of interpretation, brings about order by assigning proper scope to various dicta, and effects a synthesis of apparently disconnected Smriti injunctions. Vijnanesvara, of Bharadvaja gotra , was the son of Padmanabhabhatta, and pupil of Uttama. He wrote the Mitakshara when king Vikramarka (Vikramaditya) was ruling in Kalyana. 48

Apararka or Aparaditya, a Silahara king (twelfth century A.D.), wrote a commentary on the Ydjhavalkya-smriti in the nature of a digest far more voluminous and extensive than the Mitakshara.

Bhatta Lakshmidhara, Vijnanesvara, and Apararka were contemporaries. Contrary to the view of MM. Kane who stated that Vijnanesvara is named in the Kalpataru, Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar shows that the references are spurious, and that the Mitakshara was composed between A.D. 1118 and 27 (c. A.D. 1120), i.e. 20 years later than the latest date assigned to it by MM. Kane. 49 The known dates of Govindachandra, the Gahadavala ruler of Kanauj, who was the patron of Lakshmidhara, range between A.D. 1114 and 1154, and Krityakalpataru was probably composed in the early part of his patron's reign. Apararka's commentary was composed after A.D. 1126. Both Lakshmidhara and Vijnanesvara were commissioned by their respective patrons, powerful rulers claiming Samrajya, to compose a work on Dharmasastra which would be a fitting memorial to their regime. The

Silahara king also was fired by the same idea. The production of these three cardinal works in the same generation is a mark of the powerful wave of Hindu feeling stimulated by the Muslim incursions and the rise of new states.

To the same period probably belongs Jimutavahana, the first of the celebrated Bengali triumvirate. Only three of his works are known, viz. Kalaviveka, Vyavaharamatrika, and Dayabhaga. Kalaviveka contains discussions as to appropriate times for the performance of religious rites and duties, etc. Vyavaharamatrika deals with the elements of judicial procedure and the eighteen titles of law, etc. Dayabhaga is the principal authority in Bengal in modern law-courts in matters of inheritance, partition, stri

dhana, re-union, etc. Some of its peculiar doctrines, which are sharply opposed to Mitakshara, have been discussed above. 493 Jlmutavahana has been variously placed, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century, but he most probably flourished in the first half of the twelfth century. 60

grldhara's Smrityarthasdra deals with the usual Dharmasastra topics. He was the son of Nagabhartri Vishnubhatta of Visvamitra gotra. As he quotes the Mitakshara, Kalpataru, and Govindaraja, and as he is quoted by Smriti-chandrikd and Hemadri, his period is between A.D. 1150 and 1200. Aniruddha was a resident of Viharapataka on the Ganga, and was a Dharmadhyaksha. He is one of the early and eminent Bengali writers on Dharmasastra. His Hdralatd, intended for the Samavedins, deals with the observance of impurity consequent on birth and death. In his Pitri dayita (or Karmopadesinipaddhati) Aniruddha speaks of rites and observances connected with Sraddha, and also includes a treatment of general duties. Aniruddha is probably identical with the guru of Ballalasena. Ballalasena composed at least five works of which two are known to exist. His Danasagara is an extensive digest in 70 sections on matters relating to gifts; Adbhutasdgara is a comprehensive work on omens and portents, their effects and means of averting them; Acharasagara, Vratasdgara, and Pratishthasagara are yet to be unearthed. 51 Halayudha, son of Dhananjaya of Vatsa gotra, was the Dharmadhyaksha of king Lakshmanasena. His Brahmanasarvasva is a guide for the Kanva Sakha Brahmainas of the Sukla

Yajurveda to the Vedic mantras employed in the daily rites and periodical ceremonies, and deals also with the various daily duties.

The Smriti-chandrikd of Devannabhatta is a well-known and ex• • • • •

tensive digest on Dharmasastra, the printed text dealing with the Samskara, Ahnika, Vyvahara, Sraddha, and Asaucha Kandas. There was probably a Kanda on Prayaschitta also. Devaninabhatta (or Devana, Devananda, or Devagana) was the son of Kesavabhatta and a Somayaji. He quotes most profusely from various Smritis, and thus affords valuable assistance for reconstructing and checking MSS. and text-editions. As Devannabhatta refers to Vijnanesvara, Apararka, and Smrityarthasdra, he is later than A.D. 1150, and Hemadri's quotations from Smriti-chandrikd fix A.D. 1225 as the lower limit for Devannabhatta's date. Almost contemporaneous with Devannabhatta, or slightly earlier (as he does not refer to Apararka), was Varadaraja according to K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar; MM. Kane, however, places Varadaraja between A.D. 1200 and 1300. 62 Varadaraja's Vyavaharanirnaya is the foremost digest, held in

high esteem in South India. It is a comprehensive work dealing with both procedure (Vyavahara-matrika) and substantive law (Vyavahara). Complete and self-contained, the work shows originality in interpretation, independence, and mastery of Mimaihsa and Nyaya. No writer or work later than the Mitdkshara is quoted in the Vyavaharani'rnaya (or Varadarajiya). Another writer from the South, or at least very familiar with its usages, is Haradatta who has several commentaries to his credit, which may be regarded as models of ideal commentaries. He wrote Anakula on the Apastamba Grihya-sutra, Anavila on the Asvalayana Grihya-sutra , Mitdkshara on the Gautama Dharma-sutra and Ujjvald on the Apastamba Dharma-sutra . He also wrote Padamanjari, a commentary on the Kcisika of Vamana and Jayaditya. He lived between A.D. 1150 and 1300, very probably nearer the earlier limit.

Hemadri, son of Kamadeva and grandson of Vasudeva, of Vatsa gotra, was a very voluminous writer. Chaturvargachintamani is an encyclopaedia of ancient religious rites and observations, quoting frequently from the Smritis and Puranas. Hemadri was a profound student of the Purva Mimaihsa. He was in charge of the imperial records of Mahadeva, the Yadava king of

Devagiri (A.D. 1261-71). Hemadri is said to have written a commentary on Saunaka’s Pranavakalpa; Kaivalyadipikd, a commentary on the Muktdphala of Bopadeva, the famous author of Mugdhabodha grammar, who was a friend and protege of Hemadri; Srdddhakalpa (different from Srdddhakanda) according to the rules of Katyayana; and Ayurvedarasdyana, a commentary on the Ashpangahridaya of Vagbhata. Hemadri’s name is associated with numerous temples built in a peculiar style of architecture (called Hema^apantl), and he is said to have invented the Modi script current in Maharashtra.

Kullukabhatta, author of ManvarthamuktdvaVi, the most famous of the commentaries on the Manu-smriti, came of a Varendra Brahmana family of Bengal residing in Nandana, and was the son of Bhatta Divakara. He wrote the commentary in Kasi. The commentary is concise, lucid, and to the point, never prolix. It is not an original work, but is based on the commentaries of Medhatithi and Govindaraja. Kullukabhatta also composed a digest named Smritisdgara. As he mentions Bhoja, Govindaraja and Halayudha, Kullukabhatta’s date falls after A.D. 1150, but it is before A.D. 1300 since Chandesvara’s Rdjamtiratrmkara quotes his explanations. So his period is between A.D. 1150 and 1300, probably A.D. 1250. Sridatta Upadhyaya, one of the earliest of medieval Mithila Nibandhakaras, is the author of several works. His Acharadarsa is a manual of religious duties of Sukla Yajurvedins, while the daily duties for Samavedins are treated in the Chhandogahnika. In the Samaya pradipa he describes the proper time for various observances, while the Pitribhakti and Srdddhakalpa are manuals on Sraddha rites respectively for the Yajurvedins and Samavedins. As he names Harihara and Halayudha, Sridatta flourished after A.D. 1200, but prior to AD. 1325, as his Samayapradlpa is mentioned by Chan^esvara.

III. Philosophy

Gahgesa’s Tattvachintdmani (last quarter of twelfth century) is a standard text of the modern Nyaya school. The tradition was continued by his son Vardhamana, whose Nydyanibandhaprakdsa (A.D. 1225) is a commentary on Udayana’s Nydyatatparyaparisuddhi. Ruchidatta’s Makaranda develops Vardhamana’s views. Among Jain logical works may be mentioned Devasuri’s Pramananayatatt vdlokalamkara and Prabhakara’s Prameyakamalamdrtanda. The Buddhist and Jain thinkers stressed the purely logical aspects of the Nyaya, rather than its metaphysical implications, and thus paved the way for modern Nyaya which is pure logic and dialectics. Later Nyaya works openly accepted the Vaiseshika categories, and Varadaraja’s Tdrkikarakshd is an important treatise of the syncretic school which brings the twelve objects of the Nyaya as well as the six categories of the Vaiseshika under Prameya. Tarkasam graha by Anandajnana (or Anandagiri) refutes the Vaiseshika theory of atomic creation, while Kesavamisra’s Tarkabhasha combines the Nyaya and the Vaiseshika views.

Srlvatsa’s Lildvati (eleventh century) is a commentary on Prasastapada’s Padarthadharmasamgraha. Sivaditya’s Saptapadarthi presents Nyaya and Vaiseshika principles as parts of one whole. Bhoja’s Rdjamdrtanda is a work of considerable value in the Yogasastra.

Srlharsha’s Khandanakhandakhadya is the greatest work on Advaita dialectics. It points out the vanity of philosophy as the human mind is unable to compass those exalted objects which are suggested as worthy of pursuit by its speculative ingenuity. Amalananda’s Kalpataru is a commentary on the Bhamati, and Padmapada’s Panchapadikd is commented by Prakasatma in his Panchapddikdvivarana.

Yadavaprakasa, for some time teacher of Ramanuja, lived at Kanchl in the eleventh century. In his independent commentary with Advaitic leaning, he holds that Brahman is changed into chit (spirit), achit (matter), and Isvara (God), while according to Rama

nuja, the distinction between Brahman and Isvara is unauthorised. Born in griperumbu<Jur about A.D. 1017, Ramanuja learnt Vedanta from Yadavaprakasa. Besides commenting on the Brahmasutra and the Bhagavadgita, he wrote the Vedantasdra, Veddrthasamgraha, and Veddntadlpa. He preached the doctrine of salvation through bhakti , which he made out to be the central teaching of the Upanishads, the Bhagavadgita, and the Brahmasutra. His commentary on the Brahmasutra was accepted as

the commentary by the Vaishnavas. He restored many Vaishnava temples, and converted many people to Vaishnavism. His influence is seen throughout the later history of Hinduism,—Madhva, Vallabha, Chaitanya, Ramananda, Kablr, Nanak, and others being largely indebted to his theistic idealism.

Nimbarka, a Telugu Brahmana of Vaishnava faith, lived between the period of Ramanuja and Madhva. His commentary on the Brahmasutra , called Parijatasaurabha, is an exposition of his theory of Dvaitadvaita, or dualistic non-dualism, in which Jlva, Isvara, and Jagat are considered distinct.

Madhva (or Purnaprajna, or Anandatirtha), the promulgator of the dualistic philosophy, was born about A.D. 1198 53 near Udipi. He holds Vishnu to be the supreme godhead, and pleads for the prohibition of bloodshed in connection with sacrifice. He wrote commentaries on the Brahmasutra, the Bhagavadgita, and the Upanishads, as also an epitome of the Mahdbharata, and a gloss on the Bhagavata Purana. These works, along with his Anuvyakhydna,

. help to elucidate his philosophy.

5. GENERAL REVIEW

We may conclude this survey by noticing certain important contributions of this period to Sanskrit literature. In the domain of Kavya, this period witnessed Naishadhlya, the last of the Mahakavyas, and the growth of anthologies, which had made a beginning in the previous epoch. The historical Kavyas reached the high watermark in Kalhana’s Rdjatarangini, a critical work of outstanding merit. In lyrics, special mention must be made of Jayadeva’s GUa-govinda, which occupies a distinctive place in the history of Sanskrit poetry. In its novelty and completeness of effect, the Glta-govinda is unique and marks the beginning of a new literary

genre.

Under technical and scientific literature, some valuable work is found in grammar, lexicography, poetics, and music. Three new grammatical systems were started during this period, and the tendency to write popular and scholastic texts is found in poetics

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and grammar. Among various lexical works Vaijayanti, Visva prakdsa, the voluminous Ndndrthdrnavasamkshepa, and the works of the polymath Hemachandra merit special reference. Kdvyapi'akdsa, Marnmata’s standard work on poetics, is a valuable legacy of this period, and Bhoja’s Sringdraprakasa also is an important contribution. Sarangadeva composed the most comprehensive work on music, which received great impetus during this period.

The most valuable contribution, however, is to the Dharmasastra literature in the shape of both commentaries and digests (nibandhas) which reached a high watermark of perfection and comprehensiveness. Among commentators the period shows a galaxy of celebrities like Vijnanesvara, Apararka, Kulluka, and Govindaraja; the nibandhakaras include Lakshmidhara, author of the voluminous Krityakalpataru , Ballalasena of Acharasagara, Ddnasdgara, Adbhutasdgara, etc., Varadaraja of Vyavaharanirnaya , Devannabhatta of Smriti-chandrikd, Hemadri of Chaturvargachinta mani, and several others. Mention must also be made of Jlmutavahana, the promulgator of the Dayabhaga law.

Another valuable contribution is the encyclopaedic works, which made their first appearance during this period. Reference has already been made to the &ringdraprakasa, Krityakalpataru , and Chaturvargachintdmani. We may also refer here to the Mdnasollasa or Abhilashitdrthachintdmani by king Somesvara. 64 This encyclopaedia, in five Prakaranas of twenty chapters each, deals with one hundred different topics connected with the royal household and royal court. The first Prakarana explains general and religious ethics, social service, manufacture of idols, and diseases and their remedies. Polity, under seven heads, and private and inter-state law are dealt with in the second Prakarana, while the third concerns itself with architecture, picture-drawing, and painting in all details, iconography, and pleasures of domestic life. Various forms of amusements and recreations form the subject of the last two Prakaranas, which incidentally treat of arithmetic, preparation of calendars, astrology, augury, omens, palmistry, and training and medical treatment of horses and elephants. There are also particulars about such diverse topics as mining, alchemy, gems and precious stones, marriage and child-rearing, cookery, liquor, beverage, music (which has already been referred to earlier), conveyances, and scents. It is a veritable thesaurus.

Though the period is not rich in creative art and works of outstanding merit, the general output is prolific, and the performance is on the whole creditable, comparing favourably with the earlier period, especially when the disturbed political conditions are taken into account.

B. SANSKRITIC I. PALI 1. Language

Pali, the language of the sacred canon of the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, has a long history since the third century B.C. The language in its early stage shows a composite nature, and some well-marked stages in its evolution can be discerned in the earliest literature. This evolution, however, stopped after some time and the language became completely stereotyped since the period of Pali commentaries (fifth century A.D.). It is in this stereotyped Pali that most of the non-canonical works of the Buddhists are written, with this difference that as time went on the language came to be more and more approximated to Sanskrit under the influence of later classical Sanskrit literature. There are very few archaic forms used in later non-canonical literature.

The Pali of non-canonical literature therefore shows in general the same linguistic features as are seen in the early prose of the canon. The consonant clusters of Sanskrit are generally simplified and there are noticed other changes also due to assimilation, etc. In Morphology the cumbrous Sanskrit grammar is much simplified, though some of the old forms are still preserved. In the process of simplification analogy plays a great role. The dual is completely lost both in declension and conjugation. Similarly the dative and ablative cases are lost except in masculine and neuter nouns in -a. In conjugation, the distinction between special and general tenses and moods is lost. Most of the roots of other classes are brought over to the first or the sixth class. Even the distinction between the two Padas and voices is obliterated in most cases.

This period of the Pali non-canonical literature is marked by later chronicles, literary pieces, manuals, commentaries and some scientific works on grammar, poetics and metre, and law. Even then it lacks works of secular interest such as those on astrology and astronomy, mathematics and logic. Though there are some works on the life of the Buddha, there are few works of the type of Kavya or dramas.

2. Non-canonical Literature (a) Chronicles

Some of the works of the semi-historical nature which we may notice during this period are the renderings into Pali of old Simhalese works.

1. The Bodhivamsa or the Mahabodhivamsa of Upatissa, which has been assigned by some to the first half of the eleventh century A.D., has already been referred to above. 54a

2. The Dathavamsa or the Dantadhatuvamsa is an epic in five cantos by the monk Dhammakitti, narrating the history of the toothrelic of the Buddha. Originally the work was written in the Simhalese in the first half of the fourth century A.D., but later on it was rendered into the Magadhlbhasa by Dhammakitti at the request of Parakkamo, the commander-in-chief of Ceylon. This rendering took place in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. The work is important for the knowledge of the history of the toothrelic, which, according to this work, was brought to Ceylon by prince Dantakumara of Ujjain from Dantapura, the capital of Kalihga. It also narrates the early life of the Buddha and his work in Ceylon, the distribution of Buddha’s relics, and the various miracles worked by the tooth-relic. The work is a specimen of fine poetry written in different metres Its language is artificial Pali having long compounds.

3. The Thupavamsa of Vachissara also belongs to the thirteenth century. It gives in three chapters not only the account of the Topes erected over the relics of the Buddha, but also the previous births and the life of the Buddha, and the account of the missionary activities carried on in different countries by the Buddhist monks.

4. The Chulavamsa is not an independent work but forms an appendix to the Mahavamsa of Mahanama (sixth century A.D.). It consists of various addenda written by different authors at different times. The first author to continue the chronicle of Mahanama was monk Dhammakitti who lived in the thirteenth century A.D. Both the early chronicles, Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa, end with the reign of king Mahasena (fourth century A.D.). The Chulavamsa begins with the reign of Mahasena's son, Sirimeghavanna, and ends with king Sirivikkamarajasiha (A.D. 1798-1815), giving an account altogether of more than a hundred kings.

5. The Attanagaluviharavamsa gives in prose and verse the history of the temple of Attanagalla, giving an account of the life of king Siri-Samghabodhi and his wife. The date of the work is the second half of the thirteenth century A.D.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE (b) Literary Pieces

Ihe tendency towards Sanskritisation of Pali, noticed sometimes in the Pali chronicles, is more markedly felt in the literary pieces.

1. The Andgatavamsa of Kassapa, 645 perhaps of the eleventh century A.D., is a continuation of the Buddhavamsa, inasmuch as it gives an account of the future Buddha. The manuscripts of this work do not agree with each other in form or content. One of the manuscripts is in prose and verse, and contains a dialogue between the Buddha and Sariputta on the future decline of Buddhism. Another manuscript is in complete prose, and narrates the account of the ten future Buddhas including Maitreya. A third manuscript is in verse alone, giving an account of the future Buddha Maitreya and his contemporary Chakravartin &ahkha. According to this

account this future Buddha would be born in a rich Brahmana

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family and would later on renounce the world. Having obtained the highest knowledge he would then set in motion the wheel of law. As this account of the future Buddha is not given in the extant Bud dhavamsa, Dr. Law considers the present Andgatavamsa a later elaboration of an earlier account which formed the closing section of the original Buddhavamsa .' 54c

2. The Jindlfrmkdra of Buddharakkhita, written in A.D. 1156, is a Kavya of the type of ornate poetry. It describes the life of Buddha till he attained the highest knowledge. 54d

3. The Jinacharita of Vanaratana Medhamkara is another poem of a similar nature, describing the life of the Buddha according to the narrative in the Nidana-kathcL. The author lived in the reign of Bhuvanaikabahu I (acc. c. A.D. 1273). The language of the work is simple and natural.

4. The Pajjamadhu of Buddhapriya is a Pataka type of poetry 134(5 praising the Buddha in 104 stanzas. It describes the beauty and the wisdom of the Buddha in a language which is very Sanskrit tised. The date of the work is the thirteenth century A.D.

5. The Saddhammopayana describes in 629 stanzas the various topics and the ethical doctrines of the Buddhist religion. Its date is probably the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D. It resembles, in content, though not in form, the Telakatdhagdtha. €A1

6. The Rasavdhini is a collection of 103 narratives having their settings in India and Ceylon. The work was originally written in Simhalese, but later on translated into Pali by a monk Ratthapala, and afterwards corrected by Vadehathera in the thirteenth century A.D. The work is written both in prose and verse giving edifying legends exhorting the people to follow the Dhamma.

(c) Manuals

The art of writing manuals in Pali has its origin in early days but it was only in later centuries that they came to be written in large number, presenting their themes in concise forms. Three such works may be noted in this period.

Reference has already been made above to the Khuddakasikkhd of Dhammasiri and the Mulasikkha of Mahasami which are two short summaries of the Vinayapitaka . 64 « The works are very popular in Burma. The same popularity is also shared by the Abhidhamma manual, the Abhidhammattha-samgaha of Anuruddha. It has given rise to a large number of commentaries. The Ceylonese tradition refers the work to the first century B.C., but the work was probably written in the twelfth century A.D. 64h The work deals with psychology and ethics from the Buddhist point of view. Para matthavinichchhaya and Namarupaparichchheda are two other philosophical works attributed to Anuruddha.

(d) Commentaries

The activity for supplying commentaries to canonical works, though started very early, was given a great impetus by the Council which the Thera Mahakassapa is reported to have called during the reign of Parakramabahu I (A.D. 1153-1186). The Tlkas prepared by this Council include such works as the Saratthadipani (on Samantapasadikd), Pathamasaratthamanjusa (on Sumangalavilasini) and many others, but of these only the Saratthadipani by Sariputta is preserved. Sariputta is also credited with another commentary Linatthapakasana on the Papanchasudam and an independent work V inayasamgaha.

This exegetical activity was carried on further by Sariputta's pupils, and one of them, Chhapada, a native of Burma, is known to have written a large number of commentaries. It has been already mentioned above that many exegetical works gathered round the Abhidhammattha-samgaha of Anuruddha in the twelfth century A.D., and one of these was written by Chhapada. The Vamsatthapakasini , a commentary of unknown authorship, on the Mahdvamsa, was also probably written in the twelfth tentury A.D.

(e) Scientific Literature

(i) Grammar

The grammatical works of Pali have been put into three categories: (i) works of the school of Kachchayana: (ii) those of the school of Moggalana; and (iii) the Saddaniti.

To the school of Kachchayana in this period belong the Nydsa of Vimalabuddhi and the Suttaniddesa of Chhapada (twelfth century). The Sambandhachinta of Sarhgharakkhita, dealing with Pah Syntax, also belongs to the twelfth century. To the following century belongs the Rupasiddhi or Padarupasiddhi of Buddhapriya (the author of the Pajjamadhu) which is only a reshuffling of Kachchayana's work.

Thera Moggallana founded a new grammatical school with his Vyakarana called the Saddalakkhana and a commentary on it, the Moggalldyanapahchika. The author, who belongs to the twelfth century, has drawn upon old Pali and also Sanskrit grammars. Piyadassin, one of the pupils of Moggallana, prepared a summary of his teacher's work in his Padasddhana. Vanaratana Madhamkara (different from the author of the Jinacharita) wrote about A.D. 1300 the Payogasiddhi which is considered to be the best work in this school.

The Saddaniti of the Burmese scholar Aggavarhsa (A.D. 1154) is based on the grammar of Kachchayana and some other Sanskrit grammatical works. The first eighteen chapters of the work are called the Mahasaddaniti and the remaining nine are called the Chul lasaddanlti.

(ii) Lexicography

The Abhidhanappadipikd of Moggallana (different from the grammarian) belongs to the end of the twelfth century. It is worked out on the model of Amarakosha and is divided into three parts dealing with synonyms, homonyms, and indeclinables.

(iii) Poetics and Metre

There are very few works in Pali on these subjects. The Subodhalamkara of Sarhgharakkhita belonging to the thirteenth century, deals with Pali poetics. The Vuttodaya, by the same author, and the Kamandaki and the Chhandovichiti are Pali works on metre.

(iv) Law

The oldest Burmese law-book is the Dhammavilasa-Dhammasattha written by monk Sariputta or Dhammavilasa (thirteenth century) . It is a very important work for it forms the basis of the later legal literature of Burma.

II. THE JAIN MAHARASHTRI AND OTHER

PRAKRITS

1. Narrative

The Prakrit literature of this period is mostly of the narrative type. It deals with the life of the Jain teachers and heroes and incidentally narrates other stories. The principal language used for the purpose is the Jain Maharashtrl, which is primarily the language of the non-canonical works of the Jains and gives us a number of important narrative works. Its use is attested since the second or third century A.D., and is continued up to the fourteenth century. Besides the lives of Jain teachers it also gives us somebeautiful romances. There are also some stotras and works of scholastic interest composed in Prakrit. It may be added that most of the works detailed below are in verse.

The Surasundari-chariya of Dhanesvara was written in A.D. 1038 in the town of Chandravatl. It is a big romantic work containing 4000 gathas which are divided into sixteen parichchhedas. The main story narrates in an easy style the love affair of a Vidyadhara chief, but many other stories are also included within this framework. To the second half of the eleventh century A.D. belongs the work of Chandraprabhamahattara which describes the life of VijayaChandrakevalin^ It contains 1063 gathas and gives eight stories describing the eight different ways of worshipping the Jinas.

The Mahavira-charita of Gunachandra, 63 who belonged to the Chandrakulmagachchha, was composed in A.D. 1082. It describes the life of Mahavlra on the basis of various legends up to his attaining the supreme knowledge. It also describes the former lives of Mahavlra. The work is composed in prose and poetry, employing a variety of metres, and contains about 50 Apabhramsa verses. The language of the work is grammatically chaste. “This is mainly due to the influence of classical Sanskrit works, that always exercised their influence over Prakrit throughout its career and later became more and more dominant so as to render it servile and imitative. The style of Gunachandra is obviously influenced by writers like Kalidasa and Bana, from whose classics he derives many of his ideas and expressions. The result of his Sanskrit studies is the use of long and intricate compounds, figures of words only based upon paranomasia, and rare poetic words only to be met with in Sanskrit. It also led to the decrease of purely Desi words which were substituted by tatsama and tadbhava words". 56

The life of Rishabha is described by Vardhamana in his Adi natha-charita composed in A.D. 1103. It has 11000 gathas and

contains many Apabhraihsa verses. Another work by the same author is the Manorama-charita in 15000 gathas and written in A.D. 1083. Another work describing the life of a Jina and containing many Apabhraihsa verses is the Santinatha-charita of Devachandra, the teacher of the famous Hemachandra. The author belonged to the Purnatallagachchha and wrote his work in A.D. 1103. In A.D. 1104 Santi Suri wrote his Prithvlchandra-charita in 7500 verses and in A.D. 1108 Devabhadra wrote Pdrsvanatha-charita, describing the life of the 23rd Tirthakara, at Bhrigukachchha. The Sumatindthacharita by Somaprabha was composed in the second half of tho twelfth century and describes the life of the 5th Tirthakara.

The greatest Jain writer of the twelfth century was the famous Hemachandra who bore the title Kalikala-Sarvajna. He was born at Dhandhfika in A.D. 1088 and died in A.D. 1172. He was patronised by Chaulukya king Jayasimha Siddharaja and was responsible for the conversion to Jainism of his successor, king Kumarapala. He is the author of various works—scientific and literary. The Kumar apala-charita was written by him mainly to illustrate the rules of Prakrit Grammar. The last two cantos of the work are written in various Prakrit dialects like Saurasenl, Magadhi, Paisachi and Apabhraihsa.

Of the other biographies of the twelfth century mention may be made of the Neminatha-charita in 5000 gathas composed by another Hemachandra, an elder contemporary of the above and belonging to the Maladharigachchha. His pupil Srlchandra wrote a big epic, the Munisuvratasv ami-char ita, in

A.D. 1135. His co-student, Lakshmanagani, wrote Supasandha-chariya in some 8000 gathas in A.D. 1142. Besides narrating the life of the 7th Tirthakara, the author also gives various stories to illustrate the vows of Jainism. Another Srichandra of the Chandragachchha composed the Sanat -• kumara-charita of 8127 verses in A.D. 1157. The story of Sanatkumara, the Chakravartin, is full of all sorts of romantic and supernatural elements.

There are also some Prakrit works of the type of life stories. In the twelfth century Haribhadra wrote the Mallindtha-charita giving the life of the 19th Tirthakara. Another work by the same author is the Chandraprabha-charita in 8000 verses. Somaprabha, a younger contemporary of the famous Hemachandra, is the author of the Kumdrapala-pratibodha written both in prose and verse. In five prastdvas it enumerates various kings of the Chaulukya dynasty and contains a dialogue between king Kumarapala and his teacher Hemachandra on the precepts of Jainism. Some parts of the work are also written in Sanskrit and Apabhraihsa. Another work by the

same author, the Sumatinatha-charita, as stated earlier, describes the life of the 5th Tirthakara and also narrates various stories illustrating the principles of Jainism. Towards the end of the thirteenth century comes the Malayasundan-katha of unknown authorship. It gives the love story of a prince Mahabala and princess Malayasundari and also many other popular tales based on miracles and magic feats. The prince and the princess are often separated, but are reunited every time. In the end the prince becomes a monk and the princess a nun.

2. Stotras and Didactic Works

The Jains have composed numerous stotras, many of them being in Sanskrit. Of the Prakrit stotras of this period mention may be made of the Ullasikkama-thaya of Jinavallabha and the Ajiyasanti thaya of Viraganin. The former is in glorification of Ajita, the second Tirthakara, and the latter that of Santi, the 16th Tirthakara. The Mahavira-stava is written in an elaborate style in which the same words are used in different meanings. Some of the stotras are composed in more than one language. Thus the Shadbhdsha nirmita-Pdrsvajinastavana by Dharmavardhana, written about A.D. 1200, is in six languages, viz. Sanskrit, Maharashtri, Magadhi, Saurasenl, Paisachl, and Apabhraihsa.

The Silovaesamdld by Jayakirti is a didactic poem in 116 Prakrit gdthds. Its date, however, is uncertain. The Gdthakosa by Munichandra (twelfth century A.D.) is a Prakrit anthology of moral sayings. Another work of a similar nature is the Bhavavairdgyasataka describing the vanity of existence and such other things.

Of scholastic interest is the Navapaya in Prakrit, with a Sanskrit commentary, by Jinachandra Ganin, written about A.D. 1015. He has also written Navatattva-Prakarana , a treatise on the nine fundamental truths of Jainism, viz. jwa, aftva, puny a, papa, dsrava, samvara, bandha, nirjara and moksha. Another important work of the eleventh century is the Jivaviydra by Santi Suri in 51 Arya verses. It discusses the nature of beings after dividing them into various classes. In A.D. 1113 Maladhari Hemachandra Suri wrote Bhavabhavana in 531 gdthds. Devendra Suri wrote in the thirteenth century the first five karmagranthas which describe in great details the entire doctrine of karman.

2. Grammars

The most complete grammar of Prakrit languages was produced in this period by the famous Hemachandra. In the eighth chapter

of his Siddhahemachandra he deals with Maharashtri, Saurasem, MagadhI, Paisachl, Chulikapaisachi and Apabhrariisa. He has also supplied us with his own commentary which has come down in two recensions, long and short. Hemachandra has also composed a Desmamamdld which is a lexicon of Prakrit words.

After Hemachandra comes Kramadlsvara who flourished in the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. The eighth chapter of his Samkshiptasara is devoted to the treatment of Prakrits. In his discussion he generally follows Vararuchi. But Trivikrama, who flourished in the thirteenth century, follows Hemachandra in his Prakrita-sabdanusdsana . He belonged to the Western school of grammarians which is based on the so-called Vdlmikisutras. From his teaching arose the grammars of Hemachandra and others belonging to this school. The other representatives of the school are Lakshmidhara, who composed Shadbhdshachandrikd, and Siriiharaja, the author of the Prakritarupavatara. The Eastern school of Prakrit grammarians which originated with Vararuchi and descended through Larikesvara and Kramadlsvara is represented by Purushottama, Ramasarman and Markandeya. Purushottama’s Prdkritanusasana was written in A.D. 1265 and has come down to us only in a single manuscript in Newari characters. The other two authors are rather late, Ramasarman’s Prdkritakalpataru being assigned to the sixteenth century and Markandeya’s Prdkritasarvasva to the seventeenth century. They all divide Prakrits into four categories — Bhasha, Vibhasha, Apabhrariisa and Paisachika—and discuss the principal Prakrits under Bhasha.

4. Language

The various processes of phonetic changes that are observed in Pali are carried still further in the Prakrits. Thus the change of n>n occurs more in Prakrits than in Pali. The vowels l and u are softened to e and o and y to i. Surds are often changed to sonants and the mute element of aspirates is dropped. There is also a tendency to drop uninitial consonants. In morphology, analogy has played a great role in the simplification of the inflexional system. The dual and dative are wanting in declension and some more terminations are added. The distinction between the masculine and feminine declension is, however, preserved. In conjugation, the roots are generally brought over to the a type. Of the various tenses and moods those that mostly prevail are the present, the future, and the imperative. The past is generally expressed by participial constructions.

III. APABHRAMSA 6 7

1. Literature

The important works in Apabhramsa during the period A.D. 1000-1300 noted below show that they have originated among the Jains. Most of them narrate the lives of Jain teachers or heroes or are collections of tales preaching the practices of Jain religion.

1. The Pajjunna-kaha (Skt. Pradyumna-katha) of Siihha narrates in fifteen cantos the life of Pradyumna Kumara, son of Krishna and the 21st

Kamadeva out of the twenty-four recognised in Jain hierarchy of remarkable persons. Siddha, who died after writing the first eight cantos, belonged to Bambhanvada 68 in the domain of Ball'ala. If this Ballala was the Malava king said to have been killed by Yasodhavala, a feudatory of Kumarapala, Siddha may be placed in the early part of the tenth century. The work was completed by Simha who added the last seven cantos.

2. The Kathakosa 59 of Srlchandra contains 53 tales intended for moral and religious instruction. It belongs to the tenth or the eleventh century A.D. The Sanskrit Prasasti tells us that the author was the pupil of Virachandra of the Kundakunda line of teachers.

3. The Pdrsvapumna of Padmakirti describes in eighteen sandhis the life of the 23rd Tirthakara. It also probably belongs to the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

4. Somaprabha in the twelfth century wrote a hymn in honour of Parsva in an extremely artificial style.

5. The Sukurrmla-chariu by Sirihara (Skt. Sridhara) describes the life of Sukumara who later became a saint. Paumaeva (Skt. Padmadeva) referred to the story of Sukumala Svami in his sermon in a Jain temple at Valada 60 ruled over by king Govindachandra. The poem was composed by Sridhara at the instance of Kumara, one of the listeners at the sermon who was directed to Sridhara by the saint, on his desire to know more about the story. The work records Monday, 3rd day of the dark fortnight of Agrahana in 1208 (presumably V.S.=A.D. 1151) as the date of composition.

6. The Sudarsana-charita of Nayanandi narrates in twelve sandhis the life of a Jain hero. The author, who composed his work in A.D. 1043, was the pupil of Manikyanandi of the Kundakunda line of teachers.

7. The Kalasvarupakulakam is a didactic poem in 32 rhymed verses. It was written by Jinadatta Suri (A.D. 1075-1154), a contemporary of Hemachandra.

8. The Nemindha-chariu 60a was written by Haribhadra, the pupil of Srichandra. He was a contemporary of Hemachandra, and completed his

work in A.D. 1159 on the day of the conversion of king Kumar apala. He was also the author of the Prakrit work Mallinatha-cliarita. The work is written in a poetic style describing many scenes from nature.

9. There is yet another Neminaha-chariu (Skt. Neminathacharita) by Lakshmadeva (Skt. Lakshmanadeva) in four cantos. The poet was the son of Rayana (Skt. Ratnadeva) and was born at Gonanda in Malava. The work does not mention the year of its composition though the days of commencement and completion are given. The MS. records that it was a gift made in V.S. 1510 (—A.D. 1453), so that it was composed earlier.

10. The Yogasdra or Dohasara of Yogichandra Muni belongs to the twelfth century. It contains 108 stanzas on spiritual didacticism. The Vaimgyasdra by Suprabhacharya is a similar poem in 77 dohd verses teaching general moral principles of Jainism. The author was a Digambara Jain. His Apabhraihsa belongs to the Eastern school represented by Ramasarman Tarkavagisa. 61

11. Amaraklrtigani’s Chhakkammovaesa (Skt. Shatkarmopadesa) in fourteen cantos deals with the sixfold duties of householders (viz. worship of god, attendance on the teacher, study of sacred texts, self-restraint, austerity, and charity) with illustrative stories. Fifth in succession from Amiyagai (Skt. Amitagati), probably the famous author of the Dharmaparikshd, Subhashitaratnasandoha, etc. who flourished at the end of the tenth century, our poet belonged to the Mathurasangha. The poem was composed on Thursday, the 14th day in the second fortnight of Bhadrapada, V.S. 1247 (=A.D. 1190), at Godahaya in Mahiyadadesa of Gujjaravisaya, probably identical with Godhra in Mahikantha Agency in Gujarat. 62 Amarakirti records seven other works composed by him, viz. Neminaha-chariu, Mahavira-clnariu, Jasahara-chariu, Dhammachariya tippana, Suhasiyarayananihi, Dhammovaesachudamani, and Jhdnapaiu.

12. Another work dealing with the religious vows of Jain house-holders is the Anuvaya-rayana-paiu (Skt. Anuvrata-ratnapradipa) by Lakkhana (Skt. Lakshmana) in eight cantos. Lakshmana was the son of Sahula and Jaita of the Jayasa (Jayaswal) family. He dwelt at Rayavatfdiya on the Yamuna, which was also the residence of his patron Kanha, the great minister of

Ahavamalla of the Chauhan family. Chhandavatfa on the Yamuna was the capital of Bharatapala, Ahavamalla’s fourth ancestor. Rayavad<Jiya and

Chhandavada have been respectively identified with modern Raibha and Chandwar near Firozahad in Agra District. 63

Besides its language and subject matter the work is important for shedding light on a whole line of rulers of Chauhan family ruling near Agra in the thirteenth century. The work was completed on Thursday, the 7th day of the dark fortnight of Kartika, V.S. 1313 (=A.D. 1256).

13. The Sanjamamanjar'l is a work on ethics in 35 doha verses with an exhaustive commentary. It was composed in the thirteenth century by Mahesara Suri. It teaches the practice of self-control as the sure way to obtain release.

14. Peculiar interest attaches to the Sandesarasaka, probably the only non-religious Apabhraihsa work of the Rasa type, by Abdul Rahaman, son of MIrasena, a weaver of the Muslim community, residing in the western part of India. The author was well versed in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraihsa. The work consists of 223 stanzas divided into three sections called Prakramas. The first is introductory, while in the second section, we have an interesting account of the message sent by a love-lorn lady from Vijayanagara or Vikramapura (in old Jaisalmer State) to her husband who had gone to Khambhaitta (Skt. Stambhatlrtha) or Khambhata (Cambay) to earn riches and had not cared to return for years. The messenger is a traveller going to Cambay from Mulasthana (Multan). The last section gives a description of the six seasons in the context of Virahini (lady in separation). The portrayal of sentiments is vivid and natural, and common experience is found reflected in the picture of the various seasons. The work has been assigned to the twelfth century A.D. 64

2. Language

The origin and nature of Apabhraihsa have been discussed above. 643 Vararuchi, the oldest Prakrit grammarian, does not mention Apabhraihsa.

Hemachandra is the first grammarian to treat this language with other Prakrits in his Haimavydkarana , and later grammarians like Trivikrama, Lakshmidhara and Siihharaja have merely followed him.

Linguistically Apabhraihsa occupies a position midway between the Prakrits of the dramas and the modern Indian languages. The tendencies of assimilation of consonant clusters, elision of intervocal consonants, and such others observed in the Prakrits are carried still further in the Apabhraihsa. Some of the other distinguishing features are the weakening of the final vowels (e.g. > -ct), -s and -ss > -n-, -ra- > nasalised -u-, and nasalisation of vowels.

In declension as well as conjugation many of the suffixes disappear. Thus the distinction between the nom. and acc. sg. is completely lost. As in other Prakrits the general tendency in the Apabhramsa is to reduce the inflexional system to a particular norm. The most distinguishing features of the language are the nom. sg. ending in - u, nom, pi. - a, inst. -era and -him, gen, sg. -i aha, assa and the preponderance of h in terminations of nouns and verbs. There is also to be noticed the use of half words -kara, -kanna, etc. to emphasise case relations. In pronouns the large variety of Prakrit forms is much reduced. In conjugation the present and future are of course used; to denote past tense past participles are used; though the imperative is employed, optative becomes less frequent; the use of fortifying pleonastic affixes like -ilia, -alia , -da is also witnessed. To form absolutives we get a number of suffixes like -i, -iu, -avi, -evi, -evinu, -eppinu, etc. The vocabulary of the language is further enriched by the addition of many desi words.

The Apabhramsa represents an important stage in the development of Indo-Aryan languages—a stage “in which the Prakrits die and out of which the Bhdshas or vernaculars are born.” Already during the preceding period (A.D. 750-1000) Western or Saurasenl Apabhramsa came into use as a pan-Indo-Aryan literary speech binding together the spoken provincial dialects. It continued right down to the end of the period under review and established itself as a literary language, nearest to the vernaculars, from

Bengal to Western Punjab and Sindh, and from Kashmir and Nepal to Maharashtra. The birth of these vernaculars or the New IndoAryan speeches which gradually came to their own in their respective areas was the most important cultural event of this period (A.D. 1000-1300).

IV. MARATHI

Marathi is one of the most important modern Indian languages having a very vast literature extending over a period of 700 years, 615 and so far as the literature of the pre-British period is concerned, almost half of it still lies unpublished. 66 It contains a very valuable and unique record of the spiritual experiences of the mystic saints from almost every class of society in Maharashtra. The classical Marathi poetry bears witness to all the poetical excellences set forth by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. It is extremely rich in ballad-poetry and folk-songs of a superior type, and after the renaissance in the nineteenth century, it has produced masterpieces which are the pride of any land.

Marathi, with its different dialects, reigns supreme in the region which extends from the river Tapi, in the north, to the TUngabhadra in the south. Bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea, it includes four districts of the Madhya Pradesh, four districts of the Hyderabad State, the whole of Berar and ten districts of Maharashtra proper as well as the old Maratha States on the border,—not to speak of the remnants of the Maratha conquests in the north, in Central India, in the south, and the eastern parts of India. Marathi is claimed as the mother-tongue by over 21,800,000 souls, and covers an area of about 149,120 square miles. 67

The origin of the Marathi language is shrouded in mystery. According to some, it goes back to the early Vedic settlements of Agastya in Janathana, when the first Vedic Apabhramsa must have been formed as the earliest nucleus, which grew in the course of centuries, owing to several kinds of culture-contacts and vicissitudes of fortune, and came to be recognized as Marathi in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The earliest epigraphical record 68 is that of the &ravana Belgola Inscription of Chamundaraja, the Prime-Minister of Rachamalla Gahga, dated A.D. 983, which contains a regular Marathi sentence: “Sri Cl^vuvdcLvdjem karaviyalem.” Similarly, the earliest reference to Marathi literature is the quotation of a Marathi song in the well-known work Mdnasollasa or Abhilashitartha-chintdrnani of the Chalukya king Somesvara III written about A.D. 1130, wherein it is also mentioned that Maharashtra women were in the habit of singing oin-songs while cleansing the rice of its husk. 69

The first great author of note in Marathi is Mukundaraja (latter half of the twelfth century), who wrote, among others, his well-known philosophical work Vivekasindhu, in A.D. 1190. He was a great Sanskrit scholar, a veritable sage, endowed with miraculous powers, a follower of &ri Sankaracharya in his Advaitism, and a spiritual preceptor of Jaitrapala or Jayatpala who probably was a petty chief in Berar. Other works ascribed to him are Paramamrita, Pavanavijaya, Mulastarribha, Panchikarana, etc. They are all philosophical treatises. 70

Three great religious sects dominated Maharashtra at this time. The Natha - sampradaya, which is said to have originated with Adinatha Sankara, was renovated by Matsyendranatha, at the beginning of the tenth century A.D. 71 Gorakh-nath, his chief disciple, was a great propagator of this School, throughout the

length and breadth of India, preaching the doctrine of Yoga and

salvation through meditation. There are a few Marathi songs

attributed to Gorakh-nath, and the remnant of the Goraksha

Amarandtha-Samvd da preserves one of the oldest specimens of

Marathi prose/ 2 His disciple Gahinlnatha was the chief exponent

of Nathism in Maharashtra/ 3 It was he who initiated Nivritti

• •

natha, the elder brother of Jnanadeva, the celebrated author of Jhdnesvari, which is the crowning achievement of this sect in Marathi. It is undoubtedly one of the great masterpieces of the world. Though a mere commentary on the Bhagavadgltd , 74 one finds in it philosophy and poetry of the highest kind flowing in complete unison, sending its readers into veritable raptures on account of its sweet melody, homely style, wealth of illustrations, depth of feeling, flights of fancy and the most lucid exposition of the philosophy of the Bhagavadgltd. Jnanadeva was a precocious saint and a very great genius. He wrote this immortal work at the early age of 19 only. Amritdnuhhava is another great work of his, dealing with the Upanishadic philosophy, and more than 25 smaller works have been ascribed to him, besides a collection of over a thousand poems in the Abhanga metre. 76 This Gdtha or collection of the Abhanga poems and Jndnesvarl are among the chief works of the Varakari-sampraddya which believed in Bhakti or devotion as the means of salvation. After receiving his initiation from Nivrittinatha, Jnanadeva initiated his younger brother Sopanadeva and his youngest sister Muktabai, all of whom were great Vedantins and known for their saintliness. All of them wrote in Marafhl, but only a few works of Nivrittinatha, Sopanadeva and Muktabai have come down to us. They voluntarily put an end to their own life as soon as they thought that the mission of their life was over, and when they were just in their twenties. 76

The Mahanubhava is a reformist sect of the Hindus with a philosophy 77 and a code of manners 78 of their own, and was founded by Chakradhara in A.D. 1263. 79 Chakradhara hailed from Gujarat, but adopted Maharashtra as his field of action and Marathi as the language of his new faith which he preached in the latter part of his life. Like Gautama Buddha he did not leave behind him any particular book of his own which could be regarded as the Book of Faith. His teachings have been collected from the memoirs of his immediate disciples who were learned Pandits and who wrote their works in the first half of the fourteenth century. Nagadev§charya, 80 the chief disciple of Chakradhara, was the organising genius of the sect to which he gave a definitive form and a book of tenets. The self-exclusive rigour of the Varnasrama

dharma of the caste-Hindus was not observed by this sect which threw open the path of self-renunciation (Sannyasa) to all. They did not believe in the image-worship, but at the same time regarded Srlkrishna of Dvaravati and SrI-Dattatreya of Mahur (Hyderabad State) as the most perfect forms of the God-head which are believed in by the Hindus in general. A peculiar sanctity is attached to the spots and places visited by the Founder, which arey enshrined and worshipped. After the death of Nagadevacharya the sect was split up into thirteen different branches (amnayas), and they are called after the names of the principal disciples of Nagadevacharya. They had originally thirteen code-scripts which were later on increased to about twenty-five. The Mahanubhava sect can reasonably boast of having contributed richly to the formal side of Marathi literature, and, after the manner of Sanskrit, the Mahanubhava writers have introduced such types of literature as the sutras, the commentaries, the expositions, the lexicons, works on rhetorics, prosody, and grammar, etc. Like the Buddhists and the Jains they had their legendary biographies and memoirs. They even prepared descriptive indices of the place-names and of the legends associated with the life of their Founder. Their monumental works were written within the first three centuries, but owing to the secretive character of the followers of this sect, most of this literature still remains in the dark. 81

Of the published works, Chakradhara-Siddhdnta-Sutre 82 and DrishtcLnta-patha 83 of Kesobasa (written about A.D. 1280) deal with the doctrine of the sect, LUacharitra (A.D. 1288) of Mhai'mbhata, 84 is the legendary biography of the founder, Vachchhaharana (about A.D. 1278) of Damodara, 8 ' 5 Rukmimsvayamvara (A.D. 1292) of Narendra 86 and Sisupalavadha (A.D. 1200) of Bhaskarabhatta 87 are some of the longer narrative poems of great poetical value. Uddhavagltd 88 (A.D. 1300) of Bhaskarabhatta is a Marathi commentary on the 11th Canto of the Bhagavata Purdna. Mahadaisa was their earliest poetess 89 who composed nuptial songs, called Dhavale, some time before A.D. 1287 so far as the first part is concerned; the second is said to have been written within the next 16 years. 90

After Jnanadeva, the literary Maharashtra was dominated by the poet-saints of the Bhagavata School who worshipped the God Vitthala of Pandharpur. Namadeva 91 was the greatest exponent and propagator of this School. They believed in the ultimate merging of the Individual Soul into the Supreme Soul, through the path of Devotion (Bhakti), which consisted of nine varieties, whose common features were the perpetual repetition of the name ‘Rama-Krishna-Hari’, or ‘ Vitthala periodic peregrinations to Pandharpur and also to Aland! where Jnanadeva and his living burial, fasting on the 11th day of each fortnight of the Hindu calendar month and on Mondays, feeding the Brahmanas and chanceguests (atithis), service to saintly persons, abstinence from meat and wine, listening to Hariklrtanas and reading of religious books. This sect, on account of its periodic peregrinations to Pandharpur, was known as the Varakari -sam'pradaya, and it is alleged that it existed in Maharashtra since the ninth century A.D., or even earlier. 92 This sect regarded all castes alike and did not observe any restrictions of untouchability, etc., in their religious association.

Namadeva is said to be a contemporary of Jnanadeva and is supposed to have been the youngest of the galaxy of poet-saints who belonged to different castes and whose lyrical outbursts are very popular throughout the length and breadth of Maharashtra. Gora, the potter, headed the list which comprised Sena, the barber, Samvata, the gardener, Chokha, the pariah, Narahari, the goldsmith, Joga, the oilman, etc. 93 Their close association has contributed very largely to bridge the gulf between the higher and the lower castes in Maharashtra, and by their poetry and saintliness they have popularised the teachings of the philosophy of Vedanta in all the strata of society.

Namadeva was a tailor by caste, 94 but was as great a saint as he was a gifted poet. He had a very large family consisting of more than a dozen members, including his personal attendant Janabal, all of whom had turned poets and had, it is alleged, contributed their mite in fulfilling the vow of Namadeva to compose a hundred crore Abhahgas. A small remnant of a few thousand Abhahgas is all that we have got today, but they show genuine marks of rare beauty, possessing sweet melody, naive simplicity, and a direct appeal which are generally the distinguishing characteristics of spontaneous lyrics. Namadeva’s vigorous and extensive propagandists tours in the cause of the Bhagavata Dharma and enchanting Kirtanas led to the creation of a definite school of poetry in Maharashtra which held sway for more than four centuries, and of which the celebrated poet-saint Tukarama was the direct product. Namadeva’s fame had spread far and wide 95 in his own days and he had the privilege of being quoted in the Granthasaheb of

Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion. 95 He had a long life of 80 years and died at Pandharpur in A.D. 1350.

Janabal, the female attendant of Namadeva, was a poetess, whose devotional songs form a class by itself in the Abhanga

literature. They are known for their simplicity, depth of feeling, and all-absorbing devotion. Her life was a life of dedication and she had the same unbounded love for Namadeva as she had for Vhtthala. Though she claimed constant companionship of God, she was essentially a woman, and the charm of her poetry is heightened on account of this.

The spread of the Bhagavata Dharma in Maharashtra had resulted not only in the fusion of the warring sects of the Vaishna vites and the Saivites in this part of the country, but also affected the followers of other religions as well, especially the Muslims, who had come under the influence of Kabir. 97 They also wrote devotional songs and spread the gospel of toleration in religious outlook, recognizing and respecting different manifestations of the Supreme Spirit. In literature this new cult laid great emphasis on singing the glories of the early youth of the Lord Krishna, on the teachings of the Bhagavadgitd and the Bhagavata Purdna in general and on the stories from the epics like the Rdmayana and the Mahdbharata . The celebrated commentary on the Bhagavadglti by Jnanadeva inspired generations of scholars to vie with him in writing commentaries on the Lord’s Song, and we have more than a score of them, but none attains the great poetical and intellectual height set by the model. The Kirtana -sampradaya, which is peculiarly Maharashtrian, gave a great impetus to a colourful variety in poetry and music, and the special technique that was evolved was strictly adhered to throughout the centuries that followed. The first part consists of a spiritual sermon on a suitable text, and the second part contains an entertaining story illustrating the truth of the philosophical discussion or the moral teaching of the first part, interspersed with music composed by the KIrtanakara himself or called to memory from the compositions of other poets. It is thus an admixture of prose and poetry of a highly eloquent nature accompanied by excellent music. It was a very great and effective weapon in the hands of these religious preachers and almost the only recreation of an intellectual type for all the classes and the masses. The moral teachings and the philosophical truths were supplied by our Epics and the Puranas which have dominated the literature of Maharashtra ever since. Many a poet, young or old, has chosen to sing of the Rdmayana and Mahdbharata, and more especially of the life of Srlkrishna, in general, so that the major part of Marathi poetry, from this period onwards, deals with topics concerning these only. There are more than twenty epitomes of the Mahdbharata and not less than a hundred and twenty versions, great or small, of the Rarmyana 98 —not to speak of the individual legends and episodes! These great monuments of Aryan

culture have an important part in the formation both of the national character and of the peculiar culture of Maharashtra.

In addition to the utterances of the devotional prayers to Vishnu or Vitthala by the poet-saints of the Bhagavata School and the Akhyanas (lengendary episodes) composed by them for the Kirtanas, we also find the traces of the Avadhuta cult, of the Jangamas and the Lingayats, the Ganapatyas and a number of other religious sects in the poetical remains that belong to the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries of the Christian Era. In this classical period, poetry meant essentially a religious poetry."

V. BENGALI 1. Language

The Aryan languages of Eastern India, viz. the three Bihari speeches of Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi (the latter two are very close to each other, and some regard them as dialects of the same language), and Oriya and Bengali-Assamese, all originated from the Magadhi Prakrit, the evolution of which has been described above. 100

The people of Eastern India, as in the Gangetic plains generally, represented a mixture of different races before the Aryan-speakers came—Mongoloids (speaking various dialects of the Sino-Tibetan languages like Bodo and Kuki), Austrics, or Austro-Asiatics (speaking various Kol or Mirpda dialects, which latterly developed into Santali and its allied speeches, and also Mon-Khmer dialects, one of which is Khasi of Assam at the present day), and the speakers of the various Dravidian dialects as in Gangetic India and elsewhere. All these three language, culture or racial groups were welded together into one Aryan-speaking people after the advent of the

Aryan language in Eastern India. This Aryan language had attained its easternmost frontier up to the southern bend of the Ganga river in Eastern Bihar before the time of Buddha. At that time Bengal appears not to have received the Aryan speech. It would seem that from the Maurya period onwards there was a powerful movement of Aryan-speakers from Bihar passing on into North and West Bengal, and from thence spreading to Assam in the East and to Orissa in the South. These Aryan-speakers, themselves of mixed origin, as much as the people of Bengal, took with them the speech of Magadha; and it was known as MagadhI-Prakrit and later as Magadhi-Apabhrarhsa 101 when the Aryan speech was established in Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Definite eastern or Magadhan characteristics appear to have developed in the entire Aryanised area of

Assam, Bengal and Bihar during the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. Bengali, Assamese and Oriya formed a very closely connected group, and these languages showed the greatest amount of agreement among themselves. On the other hand, Maithili and Magahi, as representing a sort of Central Magadban speech and Bhojpuri, as representing Western Magadhan (as distinct from the Ardha-MagadhI still further to the west), also similarly developed in the Central and Western Magadhan tract. By AJD. 1000, judging from the specimens of Bengali, Assamese and Oriya that we have at about this date and a little later, these languages had become fully established, although the relationship between Bengali and Assamese was a little closer than between these two and Oriya. Thus A.D. 1000 may roughly be taken as a convenient date for the development of the New Indo-Aryan stage in the history of the Aryan speech. About this time, the Bengali language was fully characterised, and Oriya was also characterised with a few special peculiarities,. while Assamese remained still much closer to Old Bengali.

2. Literature

The oldest specimens of Bengali are to be found in place-names and personal names in early inscriptions of Bengal, from the fifth century A.D. down to A.D. 1000 and later. This epigraphical material has been studied by S. K. Chatterji in his Origin and Development of Bengali Language and Literature . The place-names as well as the personal names are both indicative of the advance made in the language. Connected specimens of Bengali in literature are to be found in the fifty Charydpadas which were discovered in Nepal by MM. Haraprasad Sastri, and subsequently by one or two other scholars, many years ago. Sastri published these Charydpadas in Old Bengali along with specimens of Apabhramsa (sSaurasenl or Western Apabhramsa) literature, similarly obtained from Nepal, in a volume entitled ee Hdjdr Bachharer Purdna Bdngdld Bhdshay Bauddka Gan O Doha ” which was published in the Bengali year 1323 (A.D. 1916) by the Bahglya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta. The forty-seven Charydpada songs found in this work alone have a claim to be regarded as Old Bengali, and the other portions of the work are not in Old Bengali, but in a Western Apabhramsa. These fortyseven poems were really parts of a collection of fifty, but owing to some pages in the manuscript being missing, three poems have not been found; but subsequently their Tibetan translations have been discovered and this has enabled us to reconstruct them and complete the fifty. These poems relate to the esoteric ideas and practices of the Vajrayana School of late Mahay ana Buddhism of Eastern India.

They are in Old Bengali, and it is easy to get their outward sense, but for the inner meaning a commentary is necessary. This commentary (by a later writer) has been furnished in the manuscript in the Sanskrit language, and it is very helpful in understanding the philosophical and other notions behind the poems. The poems were composed by a class of religious teachers known as the Siddhas. Traditionally they were eighty-four in number, and they were claimed by both the later Mahayana Buddhists of India and Tibet as well as by the followers of Saiva Sect of Goraksha-natha (Gorakhnath). Some twenty-four poets are represented in the Charydpadas. They composed short lyrics of generally five couplets, in a metre which is commonly the Padakulaka metre from which the modern Hindi Chaupad on the one hand and the Bengali Payar on the other have both evolved. There are a few slightly longer poems with other metres. The style and the technique of these poems were continued in later early Bhojpuri, Bengali and Western Hindi poetry, and this school, which is represented in the Charyapada songs, also had something to do with the mediaeval North Indian Sant poets and reformers. The Charyapada poems have been claimed in their language as belonging to both Assamese and Oriya, and even to Maithili. All these demonstrate how a thousand years ago from now these eastern speeches converged into a common basic type of speech—a kind of Magadhi Apabhramsa with local variations.

The Charydpadas have been edited and commented upon by various scholars after the first edition by MM. Haraprasad Sastri came out—S. K. Chatterji, Muhammad Shahidullah, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Manindra Basu, and Sukumar Sen. The Charydpadas cannot be accorded a very high place from literary point of view, though occasionally they breathe a true poetic spirit and are marked by beauty of expression, fine conception and imagery, and a deep sensibility and emotion. Their main value and importance are linguistic and doctrinal. 102 They are however good lyrics written in a variety of metres. These lyrics were evidently meant to be sung, for the manuscript gives the names of the ragas against each. But the main characteristic of these verses is their religious and emotional appeal which found a fuller development in later Bengali literature in the Sahajiya songs, Vaishnava padas, Sakta hymns, Baul songs, etc. The Buddhist Charydpadas may therefore be regarded as the prototypes or precursors of these later forms of literary development in Bengal.

It is not easy to determine the date of these Charydpadas. The only positive clue is furnished by the names of the Siddhas who composed them. There are traditions about the succession of gurus among these Siddhas, and on the basis of a Nepalese tradition about one such line of succession, Dr. M. Shahidullah referred these compositions to the seventh century A.D. But Dr. P. C. Bagchi has shown the unreliable character of the Nepalese tradition. The general view is that these Charydpadas were composed between A.D. 950 and 1200, and most probably during the earlier part of this period. This is about the time when most of the New or Modern Indo-Aryan languages were taking shape.

Apart from the Charydpadas and the names found in the inscriptions mentioned above, other specimens of Bengali literature prior to A.D. 1300 are to be found in a few verses in the Prakritapaingala (c. A.D. 1400), which is a treatise on Prakrit and Apabhramsa versification with examples of all the various forms of verse-type described. Some verses in this work, which in all likelihood are modified from Old Bengali, have been discussed by S. K. Chatterji in his Origin and Development of the Bengali Language and Literature. Similarly in the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia, the Manasollasa, which was compiled in Western India about A.D. 1130, Chatter ji has found a few Old Bengali verses and lines in the section relating to music and songs. Similarly Sukumar Sen, in the first volume of his big book on the history of Bengali Literature, notes a few lines in Old Bengali in some early texts in Sanskrit. The Charyapada tradition was carried down to late mediaeval times in Bengal and, in spite of the Turkish conquest, there was no break in it, either in subject matter or in form. The poems in the Prdkritapaingala give us specimen of literature in the Brahmanical tradition, as the Charydpadas give us the Buddhist Vajrayana tradition. Right up to A.D. 1300 these are the only specimens we have of Bengali literature. 1023 But this is quite enough to give us some of the actual vernacular literary forms which were current in Bengal.

It has been also suggested, although the point has been disputed, that in the twenty-four songs of the Gita-govinda of Jayadeva, which give us a different type of prosody or verse-form from that of classical Sanskrit, we have the reflex in Sanskrit of the vernacular or Apabhramsa tradition in literature. Lassen suggested long ago that these twenty-four songs were originally not in Sanskrit but in Apabhramsa (or some speech like Old Bengali), and then they were rendered into Sanskrit and incorporated in the Gita-govinda. Considering that Apabhramsa song and Old Bengali verses echoing these songs of the Gita-govinda have been found in the Prakrita-paihgala and other works, this would be quite a justifiable theory.

Poets in Bengal before A.D. 1300 used not only Bengali, but also Western Apabhramsa, in addition to Sanskrit, which was the

language of the educated classes. As in the Buddhist Dohd-Koshas by Saraha and Kanha which have been edited by MM. Haraprasad Sastri along with the Charyapadas, and further commented upon and translated into French in comparison with the Old Tibetan translations by Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah, other verses in Apabhramsa composed by writers of Bengal have also been found. The Western Apabhramsa was like a kind of Khartboli Hindi of a thousand years ago, and was current all over India, people in the various tracts using both this Apabhramsa and their local speeches.

The Old Bengali Literature, in the compositions of the Siddhas, has exerted some influence in North India also. Gorakh-nath, the great Sant of Northern India and founder of the sect of the Kanphata Yogis of the Punjab and North India, is intimately connected with the legends of the Siddhas in Bengal. In certain works attributed to Gorakh-nath and his disciples, like the Gorakh-Bodh, the manuscripts of which have been found in Bikaner and elsewhere, we have specimens of poems in a language which is undoubtedly Old Bengali but masquerading as a form of "Old Hindi". Any one knowing Old Bengali will find such verses plentifully in the works of early mediaeval times, ascribed to Gorakh-nath, which have been published by late Prof. Barthwal, and the tradition has continued right down to our days. Wandering Saints (Sants and Sadhus), and latterly Fakirs and Darveshes, carried the same religious ideologies, and the Sant philosophy, from one part of the North Indian Plains to the other, whether from West to East or from East to West. Through them linguistic influences easily passed from one part to other parts of North India. Ancient Bengal in this way can be said to have influenced the rest of North India through her Chnrydpada literature.

C. DRAV1DIAN I. TAMIL 1. Poetry

By the end of the first millennium after the birth of Christ, Buddhist and Jain influence in the Tamil country was nearly eliminated and the Brahmanic religion, in its twin forms of Saivism and Vaishnavism, was securely in the saddle. The Tevdram and the Tiruvdchakam hymns and the Vaishnava hymns in the Nalayira Prabandham had now a wide currency, and the Nayanars and the Alvars were deemed to be at least semi-divine, truly the apostles of God. Tamil ruling chiefs supported the Brahmanic religion with fervour—and occasionally even with fanaticism—and gave considerable encouragement to Tamil men of letters. Men's minds were slowly turned to the treasures of Sanskrit literature, and poets came forward to give Tamil versions or adaptations of standard Sanskrit works. Epics, Puranas, philosophical treatises, alamkarasastras, grammars, all appeared in Tamil, inspired to a greater or lesser extent by Sanskrit models. Already, in the 6ahgam Age, Perundevanar had rendered the Makdbharata into Tamil, but that work is now lost. The poets of the Brahmanic period turned their attention to the Ramayana and the Makdbharata or other Puranic stories and produced Tamil adaptations, some of which at least acquired the dignity and excellence of creative literature. During this period, three names stand prominent in poetry. Like the three "gems" of Kannada poetry, the three Tamil "gems"—Kamban, Ottakkuttan and Pugalendi—were also contemporaries, and they too are usually named together. Making all allowance for the accretions that the traditional accounts of their history have gathered, it seems none the less clear that it was during the period between A.D. 1118 and 1178 that not only Kamban, Ottakkuttan and Pugalendi, but perhaps also gekkilar, Awai II and the commentator Adiyarkunallar flourished and made it a great age in the history of Tamil literature.

(i) Kamban

Kamban is undoubtedly one of the greatest figures in Tamil poetry. His father died when he was quite young, and hence he early came under the protection of a generous landlord by name Sadayappa. By and by, Kamban's unusual talents caught the attention of Kulottunga Chola, and the poet went to the king's court. Rivalry between Kamban and Ottakkuttan, the court poet seems to have given rise to many piquant, if not worse, situations. The king apparently decided to capitalize the rivalry, and set them both to write the Ramayana in Tamil verse. Ottakkuttan fared rather badly in the contest, and in a fit of depression decided to destroy his poem. Kamban interrupted his great rival's act of vandalism in time to save the Uttara-Kanda, and, along with Kamban's own earlier Kandas, it now constitutes the Tamil Ramayana, popularly known as Kamba Ramayana. Comparisons are invidious, and there are not wanting partisans who cry up Kamban at the expense of Valmlki, a thing that Kamban himself might have deemed sacrilegious. Kamban's poem is a great Tamil classic; and even though it is an adaptation from the Sanskrit original it is none the less a masterpiece. Well versed in classical Tamil and Sanskrit literatures, Kamban cast his poem on a heroic mould and gave it the flavour and finish of a typical literary epic. It has been remarked that while “Valmiki is diffuse and simple, Kamban abridges and elaborates;” it is, perhaps, nearer the truth to say that Valmlki’s poem is akin to a vast elemental forest, while Kamban’s is more akin to a limited but luxuriant garden. Here is a well-known verse from the Sundara-Kanda, where Sita gives utterance to her joy after listening to Hanuman:

Be it the demon himself, or another god; or else

The lord of the monkey host; be it cruelty

Or pity; here he came, and named my lord,

Revived my heart, and gave me life; peerless the service!

In recent years, Kamba Ramayana has been widely popularized in Tamil Nad by two enthusiastic ‘tasters’ and critics, P. Sri and T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar. Although Kamban wrote other poems also, he is to the multitude only the semi-divine author of the Tamil Ramdyana; and yet Sadakopar-anthathi and Erelupathu deserve to be more widely read than they are at present.

(ii) Ottakkuttan and Pugalendi

Ottakkuttan often came into conflict with Pugalendi also. According to tradition, Pugalendi was the Pandyan king’s court poet. When the Pandyan princess married the Chola king, Kulottunga, Varaguna Pandya sent Pugalendi as a part of his daughter’s dowry to the Chola court. Innumerable incidents are narrated about the rivalry of the two court poets, and Ottakkuttan is invariably the loser in every trial of wits! At this distance of time it is difficult to sift the truth from the fanciful fabrication of later partisans. Probably, all the three poets, Kamban, Ottakkuttan and Pugalendi were contemporaries and had frequent opportunities of coming together. Kamban by his towering genius and Pugalendi by his audacious and nimble wit, seem to have as a rule got the better of the heavy and proud but meritorious Ottakkuttan. On this basis tradition has reared many a fanciful structure and the stories are repeated in every life-history of these poets.

Pugalendi’s most important work is Nala Venba, a Tamil version of the story of Nala and Damayantl. Written in the flowing Venba metre, the poem is one of the most melodious in Tamil poetry. Echoes from Sanskrit and the Rural and other ancient classics give a peculiar charm to the poem. But the central inspiration is Pugalendi’s, and the metrical and verbal felicity is all his own; and truly the vivacity and exuberance of his poetic art are seen in every stanza of this poem. Pugalendi also composed a number of narrative poems

in a flowing metre—somewhat in the ballad style—dealing with various Mahabharata episodes and also popular stories of tradition and history. Some of these poems, Alii Arasani, Pavalakkodi, etc., are on the lips of the common people to this day. The verses have a gay and easy swing, the language is simple and chaste, and poetry is here seen to come to the market-place without vulgarizing itself in the least. Another of Pugalendi’s poems, Kalambakam, is a commemoration poem in honour of the king of Chenji.

Ottakkuttan’s Uttara-Kanda, though a little inferior to the rest of the Tamil Ramdyana, is still a meritorious work. One verse may be rendered as follows:

The relations desire a bridegroom of noble birth;

The fathers would rather have

The undiminishing power of knowledge;

Wide-ranging riches and the strength they give

Are chiefly sought by the mothers;

But the beautiful girls themselves desire only these,

Youth and grace of form.

Ottakkuttan seems to have specialized besides in war-chants called paranis and ulas, describing respectively war campaigns and triumphant processions. Ottakkuttan’s Takka-Ydgapparani and Muvar-TJla are among the finest specimens in these two classes of poems. Miivar-Ula is a group of Ulus dedicated to three Chola kings. All things considered, Ottakkuttan seems to have been a great master of literature rather than a supreme creative writer; and no wonder posterity has come to think of him as a personality rather than as a poet.

(iii) Avvai

Various poetical works and innumerable impromptu verses are attributed to a woman poet by name “Avvai.” She figures in the Sangam Age as also in the Age of Kamban, and hence it is now presumed that there were two Avvais, gifted poets both of them. Avvai I, supposed to be a sister of the great Tiruvajluvar, wrote Attisoodi, Kondraivendan, Muthurai and Nalvali, works which like Hamlet have gone into general currency in Tamil speech. The second Avvai composed Nannurkovai , Kalviolukkam, Anunthamil malai, and some other works. Several interesting stories are current regarding the way in which Avvai’s mother-wit turned the tables against her contemporaries, notably Kulottunga Chola, Kamban and Ottakkuttan. Her repartees are classical in their aptness and memorability, her humanity is deep and abiding, her sense ot humour is radiant and unfailing. The composite “Avvai” is certainly the most popular of Tamil poets, verily the beloved matriarch of Tamil poetry. One verse from the second Avvai is here rendered freely:

Rare, O rare is human birth;

Rare, among humans, to be born With no impediment in eye, ear or leg;

Rare, with an unblemished body To unite a mind accomplished and wise;

Rare, for wise and learned minds,

To engage in acts of piety and pity;

But these rarest of the rare Merit Elysium indeed.

2. Saiva Siddhanta Literature

This literature, which is very considerable in quantity and is of a very high quality as well, is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil. The latter is conveniently studied under two heads: preMeykan^eyan and post-Meykandeyan. The principal figures in pre-Meykandeyan literature are Tirumular, the Tevaram and Tiruvachakam hymnists, and the other contributors to the Tirumurais like Nambi-Andar-Nambi and Sekkilar. Nambi-Andar-Nambi, who belongs to the eleventh century, is sometimes referred to as the Tamil Vyasa, because it is due to him that we have the extraordinary collection of Saivite hymns, the eleven Tirumurais. The twelfth Tirumurai , the Periapurdnam, was the work of Sekkilar who is usually assigned to the middle of the twelfth century. The Periapurdnam is a work of hagiology—half history, half myth— containing the lives of the sixty-three canonized Saiva saints, and the work is held in much reverence and is very popular to this day

Although the Sanskrit works of Aghorasiva, Sadyojyotis and Bhojaraja had already settled the general outlines of the Saiva Siddhanta-sastra, it became a real power and reached the masses only when teachers like Meykanqla, Arulnandi and Umapati used Tamil as the vehicle for the exposition of the sastras. These Tamil Siddhanta-sastras are fourteen in number, of which the three most famous are Siva-jnana-bvdham by Meykan<Ja Deva, Siva-jnana-siddhiyar by Arulnandi-sivaeharya and Sivaprakdsam by Umapati-sivachSrya. Meykanda was, according

to tradition, Sadayappa's daughter's son. Since Sadayappa was Kamban's contemporary and patron, Meykanda must have flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. Although a Vellala, Meykanda was acknowledged as a great teacher. One of his many disciples was Arulnandi, a Brahmana, whose voluminous £iva-jnanasiddhiyar is less a commentary on Meykanda's work and more an independent work, although generally inspired by $iva-jnanabddham. Umapati was a disciple of Marai-jnana-sambandhar, himself a disciple of Arulnandi. Again, Marai was a Vellala while Umapati was a Brahmana. Umapati brings us to the close of the thirteenth century. Corresponding to the four great bhaktas —Appar, Sundarar, Manikkavachakar and Sambandhar—the Tamil Saivas have also these four Santanacharyas, —Meykanda, Arulnandi, Marai-jnanasambandhar, and Umapati.

Saiva Siddhanta admits three entities, viz. the Lord (pati), the individual soul (pasu), and matter (pdsa). The terms, pati, pasu and pasa, really mean, respectively, master of the herd, the herd, and the bond between the two or the entanglement. These are the three Paddrthas or central categories of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy. Wedged between pati and pdsam, the soul now inclines this way, lured by His glory, anon staggers that way attracted by the earthcrust. Although by asserting the existence of three such eternal entities Saiva Siddhanta turns its back on pure Advaita, the Siddhantins none the less call their philosophy restricted Advaita since the relationship between pati-pasu-pdsam is of the nature of an inseparable union or is a unity in diversity. The Lord is the subject, and the soul and matter are objects; it is the Lord who gives illumination to the soul and support to matter, but is Himself uninfluenced by either. 102b

Meykan<Ja’s Siva-jnana-bddham, the corner-stone of the Tamil Saiva Siddhanta, is cast in the form of a commentary on twelve verses of the Rauravagama. Arulnandi’s £iva-jndna-siddhiyar is a more voluminous work, consisting of about 550 verses. The first part is devoted to a criticism of various schools of philosophy like the Buddhist, the Jain, the Lokayata, the Prabhakara, the Pancharatra, etc. Arulnandi attempts to show that these philosophies are inadequate to meet the clamorous needs of humanity. The second part of Siva-jnana-siddhiyar is an elaborate exposition of the main tenets of the &aiva Siddhanta. Sivaprakdsam by Umapati is based on the classical treatises of Meykanda and Arulnandi but is neither as cryptic as the former nor as elaborate as the latter, and is accordingly the best guide to the §aiva Siddhanta. Umapati wrote many other works as well, one of which—the controversial

Sankalpa Nirakaranam —being composed as late as A.D 1313. Mr. Nallaswami Pillai has published English versions of Siva-jndnabddham and Siva-jnana-siddhiyar , while Mr. H. R. Hoisington of the American Mission has published an English version of Sivaprakdsam.

II. KANNADA

The leanness of Kannada literature during the eleventh century offers a striking contrast to the splendid achievements of the tenth and the varied achievements of the twelfth century. However, there were two Brahmana authors during this century, Nagavarmacharya and Chandraraja, who wrote respectively Chandrachuddmani-Sataka , a poetic eulogy of vairagya, and Madana-Tilaka, a sheer tour de force in technique. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was a succession of eminent Jain writers, who nobly carried on the tradition of Pampa, Ponna and Ranna. But a new force was also discernible, and presently it made its mark in religion, social life, and literature. This was the rise of the Vlrasaiva or the Lingayat movement, inspired and organized by the great Basava.

1 . Vlrasaiva Literature

Scholars like Dr. S. C. Nandimath hold that Basava was not the actual founder of the Vlrasaiva or Lingayat religion, but that he reorganised it and put it on firm foundations. 103 The Vlrasaivas look upon the Tamil Saiva Samayacharyas as their own spiritual guides. Besides, the Vlrasaivs trace their gotra from hoary semidivine acharyas, like Revana, Marula, Ekorama, Pan<Jita and Visvesvara. Originator Or but reorganiser, Basava is certainly the dominating figure in the history of Vlrasaiva religion and literature.

Basava was born in a Brahmana family in a place called Ingaleshwar-Bageva<Ji in the Bijapur District about A.D. 1125. He refused to undergo the upanayanam ceremony and embraced the Vlrasaiva faith. He succeeded his uncle as Chief Minister to king Bijjala of Kalyana. He set up the Anubhava Mantapa , something analogous to an academy of religious experience, to serve as the focal point of the Vlrasaiva religion. Its president was the venerable Allama Prabhu, spiritually the most austere among the Vlrasaiva teachers. Chief among Basava's contemporaries were Channabasava, Siddharama, Harihara, Raghavanka, Padmarasa and the woman mystic and poet, Mahadevi Akka. Channabasava was the subtle metaphysician of the faith, while Mahadevi Akka was its piercingly radiant melodist. Some of the VIrasaiva writers wrote poetry of the traditional patterns, to which we shall refer presently. But the vachana was the unique mode in which Virasaiva writers and poets chose to express themselves. Thus arose a very considerable body of "vachana sastra" the

work of as many as 213 distinct writers, consisting of “twice eighty crores” of vachanas . But only a fraction of this colossal output has survived. Even so, enough remains to give us an idea of the weight, the amplitude and the spiritual depth of this unique literature.

The vachana sastra no doubt embodied a new philosophy of life and religion, not indeed with the rigour and detail of a system, but rather through suggestions, exhortations, lyrical heart-searchings, and ecstatic asservations. The influence of Tamil devotional poetry like the Tevaram and Tiruvdchakam hymns is apparent in the vachanas sustained by bhakti . On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the philosophy of Visishtadvaita, as taught by Ramanujacharya, gave a suggestive turn to the Vlrasaiva philosophy of the shatsthala. The shatsthala or the “six stages” are steps that the individual soul treads on its spiritual journey before it reaches and becomes one with God. The eager aspiring soul progresses from a feeling of isolation and wretchedness, through the intermediate stages of increasing awareness of and proximity to God, to the ineffable reality of God-realization and mvkti. On the way, the devotee exploits the ash$avarna — the eight beneficial associates, e.g. the guru , the rudrdksha, the vibhuti , etc.—till at last he achieves bayalu nirbayalu or the peaceful void that defies and transcends mere understanding. In the social plane, Basava advocated the abolition of castes, extolled the dignity of labour, and gave women an equal status with men.

Basava’s vachanas are about seven hundred in number. The term “vachana” means literally “sentence;” although a “ vachana ” taken by itself, is a pointed or casual observation, the vachana sequences appear to have a certain continuity and underlying intensity of purpose. Basava and his contemporaries, eager to reach the masses, used the expressive conversational idiom of their time, shorn of all Sanskritic profundity and pedantry. Giving up the regularity of traditional verse patterns, they nevertheless gave music and memorability to the vachanas by having recourse to alliteration, balance and antithesis. Like the Japanese haikku, the vachana is a unique literary form: like the verses in Tiruvallu

var s KutuIj the best vachanas , too, have gone into general currency. A few Vachanas are here given in a free English rendering;_

The fire enkindled in the hearth

may be extinguished with the earth;

Should the earth itself be ablaze,

what charm can quench its rage away?

Should the very embankment drain off the water in its confines,

Should even the fence nibble away the corn stalks within,

Should the mother's own milk envenom her suckling child—

Should thus the Preserver himself Destroyer turn,

Where lies the anchor of my hope,

O Lord, Kudala Sangama!

Your grace can stir dry 'roots

with the freshness of spring;

From your grace can the sterile cow derive abundant milk;

Poison itself can your grace transform into holy nectar.

Your grace is the source of all good,

O Lord, Kudala Sangama! 104

Kudala Sangama was Basava's tutelary diety, to whom he addressed all his vachanas. Mahadevi Akka likewise addressed her vachanas to Mallikarjuna Deva. Here is a rendering of one of Mahadevi's best-known vachanas:

Ye parrots singing

in mirthful ease;

And oh ye swans

frolicking near the lake;

And ye joyous cuckoos

piping full-throated;

And ye proud peacocks

strutting up and down in glee, over hill and dale— tell me, O tell me, ye one and all, did you ever chance to see, my lover,

my own Chennamallikarjuna! 105

One other example may be given,—from Allama Prabhu or Prabhudeva. The Virasaiva teachers did not attach importance to fasting, dietary self-limitations, and other forms of penance. This is seen in the following vachana by Prabhudeva:

“Those who take a vow of living on milk will be born as cats; those living on grams, will be reborn as horses; those living on flowers, will become bees; those living on water, will reappear as frogs. These shall never have knowledge of shatsthala. Guhesvara does not like those wanting in firm devotion.”

Elsewhere Prabhudeva gives fervent expression to the idea of the omnipresence of God:

“Deva! You are in fields, in valleys, in caves and in mountains; wherever we cast our eyes, there You are. Impossible to conceive; impossible to see. Here, there everywhere You are, Oh Guhesvara!” 106

Among other Virasaiva writers may be named Harihara, who probably belongs to the latter half of the twelfth century, and was the author of Girija-Kalyana and Sivasarana Ragalegalu. The former is woven round the popular theme of the marriage of Siva and Parvatl, while the latter is a series of biographies in verse, commemorating the lives of great Saiva and Virasaiva devotees. Harihara’s nephew^Jtaghavanka, is another great figure in Kannada poetry. His Harischandra-Kdvya has been described as “the most fascinating and artistic presentation of that theme in the whole field of Indian literature.” 107 His other works include Somanatha Charite and Hari hara-mahatva. It was Raghavanka who first used and popularized the shatpadi —the six-lined stanza—as a vehicle of Kannada verse.

We have space now barely to mention Kereya Padmarasa, known also as Tarkika Chakravarti and Sarana Kavi, whose principal work is Diksha-bodhe in ragale form; Somesvara or Palkurike Soma, whose works include Basavannana Pancha Gadya, Sadguru Ragale , Slla Sampadane and perhaps Somesvara Sataka as well; and Deva Kavi and Somaraja, both of whom wrote romances.

2. Jain Writers

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, alongside of the Virasaiva vachanakaras, many Jain writers also flourished, some of them being among the greatest in Kannada literature. Nagachandra or Pampa II (“Abhinava Pampa”) wrote Mallinatha Parana, the life-story of the nineteenth TIrthahkara, 107a and a Jain version of the Rdmdyana with the title Ramachandra-charita-purCina (popularly known as the Pampa Rdmdyana). Nagachandra makes many departures from Valmiki’s Rdmdyana, partly with a view to emphasizing the Jain atmosphere of the poem and partly with a view to minimizing the supernatural elements in the original Sanskrit version. The Jain foot-rule with which every episode and every character is sought to be measured is apt to be irritating to readers familiar with Valmiki’s great national epic. However, Nagachandra’s ethical tone is unassailable and its dignified style and champu form make it a popular literary treasure. Here is an extract from the work in Mr. Rice’s effective English rendering:

“Then Angada, heir to Kishkindha’s wide soil,

Determines himself Ravana’s penance to spoil.

He mounts on Kishkindha, his elephant proud;

And round him his ape-bannered followers crowd.

He rides through the suburbs of Lanka's fair town,

Admiring its beauty, its groves of renown.

He enters the palace, goes alone to the fane;

With reverence he walks round Santisvara's shrine,

And in lowliness worships the image divine.

When—sudden—he sees giant Ravana there,

Seated, still as some mountain, absorbed in his prayer!" 108

Although there have been subsequent attempts to render the Rdmdyana into Kannada, Nagachandra's version still retains its position of pre-eminence.

Prominent among other writers were Nemichandra, author of a romance called Lildvati; Janna, author of a Purana on the life of the fourteenth Tirthankara as also of the tragically rich poem Yasodhara-charitre; Kanti, a woman poet, who was Nagachandra's contemporary; Nayasena, author of the ethical work Dkarmamrita; and Nagavarma II and Kesiraja, authors respectively of the standard grammatical works Karnataka Bhasha Bhushana and £abdamanidarpana. Nagavarma II wrote also a treatise on poetics entitled Kdvyavalokana, which remains the standard work on the subject. "Nothing is more striking", says Mr. Lewis Rice, "than the wealth of quotation and illustration from previous authors which these grammatical writings contain, and this gives them a high scientific as well as historical value." 109

Throughout this period, Jain writers engaged themselves in the devout task of composing Puranas on the lives of the various Tirthankaras. Three Puranas were thus composed on the life of

Neminatha, the twenty-second Tlrthankara; Gunavarma II wrote the Pushpadanta Parana on the life of the ninth Tlrthankara; and Achanna and Kamalabhava wrote on the twenty-fourth and sixteenth Tirthahkaras respectively. Karnaparya's Neminatha Purdna incidentally tells the Mahabhdrata story.

Mallikarjuna, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century, is known to fame as an anthologist. His Sukti-Sudhdrnava is the Kannada equivalent of a Golden Treasury from the Best Kannada Poets.

m. TELUGU 1. The Origin

Telugu, the third of the Dravidian languages to attain a separate individuality and forge its own unique history, is today spoken by a little under thirty millions, the great majority of whom are contained within "a semi-circle drawn with the line joining Rajahmundry and Madras as diameter." Adjoining areas like Hyderabad, Mysore, and Orissa account for a considerable number, while there are also Telugu-speaking people in small scattered groups all over Tamil Nad, just as there are the Podur Dravidas, speaking Tamil, in the Telugu country.

While the Telugu country is called Andhra Desa, its language is referred to as Telugu. Much ink has spilt in the attempt to determine whether or not the Andhras and the Telugu-speaking people are one and the same. Three hypotheses have been advanced, in this connection, on the origin of the Andhras, and these have been summarized as follows by the late Dr. C. R. Reddy:

"(1) A North-Indian Aryan tribe with an Aryan language but which adopted non-Aryan culture and thus incurred the contempt of the Aryans; (2) A North-Indian non-Aryan tribe which adopted the culture and the language of the Aryans; and (3) A South-Indian tribe which assimilated Aryan culture and some elements of Prakrit, but retained both racially and linguistically its essential Dravidian character." 110

The third of the above hypotheses seems to be closest to truth. Aryan and Dravidian have acted and reacted upon one another in the crucible of South India so long, and often with so much fury, that it is an idle enterprise today —and this is especially so in the Telugu country—to seek to dissociate one constituent from the other. On the other hand, it seems no less idle to deny the Dravidian ancestry—near or remote—of the people as well as of the spoken language of Andhra Desa.

Telugu, the language of the Andhras, is construed in different ways. Tene in Telugu (like Ten in Tamil) means honey; hence Telugu is explained as the language that is as sweet as honey. Telugu is also derived from 'Trilinga', the country which contains the three lingas, at &rlsaila, Kalesvara, and Draksharama respectively. The Telugu script is phonetic, after the manner of Sanskrit, and bears a close resemblance to the Kannada script.

We referred in an earlier chapter 111 to the Agastya myth relating to the origin of Tamil. There is a similar myth relating to the origin of Telugu, with even less plausibility. Agnimitra of the Krita Yuga, having become blind, prayed to Surya, the Sun-God. The latter taught Agnimitra a new language that had efficacy enough to restore his eyesight. This new language, Andhra Bhasha, assumes a new manifestation in every Yuga and the language of the Kali Yuga is supposed to be the handiwork of Nandivardhana and his pupil, Devala Raya.

2. Desi and Mdrgi

In their excellent handbook on Telugu Literature in the Heritage of India Series, Mr. P. Chenchiah and Raja Bhujanga Rao posit "the existence in Telugu literature of two streams; an earlier one called Desi, and a later one called Mdrgi ". 112 Desi literature was rural, popular and independent of Sanskrit. Here we feel the very heart-beats of the unsophisticated Telugu children of the soil. Folk-songs the world over have a certain unmistakble family resemblance, since all alike derive their inspiration from what is elemental and permanent in human nature. The worker over the plough is busy in the countryside, the housewife in her humble cottage cooks a modest meal or lulls her child to sleep, and the maid and her man talk in terms of love even as they reap and bind the corn. Ageless and changeless, these basic realities remain. In Hardy's words,

Yet this will go onward the same Though Dynasties pass...

War's annals will fade into night Ere their story die.

Likewise, the various strains of Desi poetry in Telugu—the Lali Pdtalu (Songs of the Cradle), Javalilu (Love songs), Udupn Pdtalu (Harvest songs), etc.—are as life-giving and perennial as the air itself. This Desi or indigenous Telugu literature had "affinity with the Dravidian rather than Aryan literature," 113 since as a rule foreign influences do not easily reach the rural population, and this

was particularly so in those remote times when means of transport and agencies for the dissemination of culture were primitive or scanty.

The Margi literature was a deliberate concoction at first—a rich, exotic and stimulating beverage, meant for the sophisticated court and urban population. Nanniah's Mahabharata, which was composed in the first quarter of the eleventh century, stands at the head of Margi literature. A classic like that could not have emerged out of a mere vacuum. The inscriptions of Yuddha-Malla and Mopur take Margi literature back by a century. And yet, however reason may demur, it does appear as though it was Nanniah who, working no doubt on a few indifferent models, organized and gave form and life to this heavily Sanskritized Margi literature. The religious revival was then in full swing. There was an extraordinary desire on the part of the sophisticated to be initiated into the mysteries of Sanskrit literature. The Mahabharata of Vyasa was the 'open sesame' to the splendours, the mysteries, the ardours and the achievements of the Aryans; and its encyclopaedic range, its innumerable evocations of humanity in its diverse attitudes and altitudes, its heights of ethical striving, its tense dramatic situations, its vaulting poetry and sobering thought, all seized Nanniah's imagination and set it aflame. And at that moment formal Telugu literature was born.,

3. Telugu Mahabharatam

Although Nanniah began the great work of giving Vyasa's Mahabharata a Telugu habitation and a name, he was able to complete only the first two parvas (cantos) and a part of the third, the Aranya Parva. Various superstitions are current about the Mahabharata. It is said, for instance, that the whole epic should not be read at one stretch, that the Aranya Parva is something of a dynamite to be handled with care! Nanniah ignored this convention, and lo! he became mad and was thereby prevented from completing his translation of the third canto and of the epic as a whole. Thus for two centuries the Telugu Mahabharatam remained where Nanniah had left it. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, however, there arose another poet, Tikkanna, who was quite the peer of Nanniah. Beginning with the fourth, the Virata Parva, Tikkanna completed the translation of the fifteen cantos left untouched by Nanniah. It was Errapragada who, fifty years after Tikkanna, took up the unfinished Aranya Parva and put the coping stone to the grand and glittering arch of the Telugu Mahabharatam.

Nanniah, Tikkanna and Errapragada (Errana) are the Great Trio or the "Kavi Traya" of Telugu literature. Nanniah lived in

the reign of Rajaraja Narendra, the Chalukyan ruler of Vengi, and attempted his Mahdbhdrata translation on the king's suggestion. It is not unlikely that he received some help from his friend, Narayana Bhat. Although other works are attributed to Nanniah, he is remembered and honoured as the first of the Great Three who reduced Vyasa's epic into draksha paka in mellifluous and all but transparent Telugu. Although he uses more Sanskrit than Telugu words—in the proportion of two to one—his simplicity and ease are irresistible. Like Nanniah, Tikkanna also was a Brahmana, and in addition to his contribution to the Telugu Mahabharatam, he wrote a poem covering Rama's life after his triumphant return from Lanka. His style is described as that of an intellectual. Tikkanna was not unfamiliar with statecraft, and used this knowledge with advantage in his rendering of the Udyoga Parva. His style, although realistic, is often knotted with a pregnant obscurity and ruggedness. There are times, however, when his work is suffused with passion and emotion. The scene of the wooing of DraupadI by Kichaka is rightly famous, and Dr. P. T. Raju translates a passage from this scene as follows:

"O delicate Maid! Why glance you not at me,

The lustrous beauty of your white eyes displaying?

Why does not your sweet smile double the beauty of your face? Lotus-eyed one! Why speak you not Love's word,

The rays of your pearly teeth accompanying?

Lotus-faced Lady! Why do you not hint Playfully the love of your heart?”

Thus speaking, the rogue, Kichaka, makes eyes,

Approaches and longs to hear her sweet words. 114

Tikkanna’s characters and situations are never wooden but are rather endowed with abounding vitality. Err ana, too, like the others, was a Brahmana and besides finishing the Aranya Parva composed two more works, Harivavnsa and Nrisimha Purdna or Ahobala Mdhdtmya . His style is said to be “a happy blend of the styles of Nanniah and Tikkanna.” 115 Popular appreciation has given these three poets titles like Vdganusdsana or the lawgiver of the language, Kavibrahma or the poet-creator and Prabandha-Paramesvara or the supreme lord of the Prabandha. It may be noted here that all the three contributors to the Telugu Mahabharatam wrote in the c hampu form, a singular but convincing mixture of prose and poetry. The Telugu version is not close to the original like a paraphrase, but is close in form, spirit, and the general arrangement of scenes and even sequence of ideas. There is less philosophy, more luxurious description, less depth but more humanity. Just as there are partisans of Kamban who say that his Tamil Ramayana is superior to Valmlki’s there are not wanting Telugu scholars who claim for the Telugu Mahabhdratam superiority over Vyasa’s original. Kamban, Nanniah, Tikkanna and Errana would themselves be shocked by such partisanship, and indeed such judgments defeat their purpose. Outstanding as all of them are, Nanniah is the first of the Telugu poets and Tikkanna the greatest,—holding positions analogous as it were to those held respectively by Chaucer and Shakespeare in English literature. And, in fact, Nanniah has been described as being more of a poet and Tikkanna as being more of a dramatist. 116

4. The Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Apart from the great work of Nanniah, these two centuries saw little original literary activity in the Telugu country. At any rate, they are “terra incognita in Telugu literary history.” 117 However, mention must be made of Pavuluru Mallanna and Eluganti Peddanna, both of whom wrote Mathematical treatises in Telugu, based on or translated from Sanskrit originals. The twelfth century saw the rise of Virasaivism in the Kannada country, and this faith, along with the earlier Vaishnava movement initiated by Ramanuja, exerted no little influence on Telugu life and letters. Prataparudra, the Kakatiya prince, and Somanatha were both Virasaiva writers, the latter of whom wrote Basava Pur ana and Anubhava Sara in Telugu. Another twelfth century poet was Nannechoda, whose chief work is Kumarasambhavam. This work was only recently discovered by Ramakrishna Kavi in the library of Raja Sarbhoji at Tanjore.[118] At one time it was believed to be a pre-Nanniah work, but authoritative opinion now gives it a much later date, between Nanniah and Tikkanna. Although obviously inspired by Kalidasa's poem, Nannechoda's Kumar asambhav am is by no means a mere copy or slavish imitation of the older and greater poet. The following translation of the passage describing the flight of the discomfited gods from Daksha's sacrifice may be quoted in illustration of Nannechoda's graphic art:

Brahma ran to mount his swan and fell In fear trembling ...

Vishnu escaped creeping . ..

To his white elephant Indra ran

And with his thousand eyes like a peacock appeared

By hunters chased to the White Mount escaping.

Yama like a coward fell across

His buffalo, while the Ganas hooted.

In a hurry of fear.

Like a weaver Varuna fled . . .

To mount his man Kubera forgot;

He placed him on his own shoulders instead

And fled in consternation.[119]

5. The Thirteenth Century

During the thirteenth century two meritorious versions of the Ramayana appeared, and both have maintained their popularity till the present time. Of these, the version in couplets attributed to Ranganatha is the earlier, and is said to be particularly popular in the Ceded Districts. Ranganatha was apparently the court-poet of a chieftain by name Euddharaju, and perhaps his guru as well. Buddharaju's sons later added the Uttar a Kanda; and from this fact it is sometimes argued that Buddharaju himself wrote the earlier Kandas and dedicated the work to Ranganatha out of respect. The other version of the Ramayana, although a composite work which claimed the labours of Hulakki Bhaskara, his son Mallikarjunabhatta, his friend and his friend's disciple, Ayyalarya and Rudradeva respectively, is nevertheless known as Bhaskara-Rdmdyanam. This work is in champu form. Although widely read, the two versions of the Ramayana do not, either of them, reach up to the beauty or grandeur of the Telugu Mahdbharatam.

Of other thirteenth century writers we may make a passing reference to Atharvana, who wrote a grammatical treatise; Ketana, who rendered Dandin's Dasakumdra-charita into Telugu; Beddanna, who wrote a book of political aphorisms; Marana, who wrote the Markandeya Pur ana.; and Manchanna who wrote the Keyurabdhucharita.

D. NISHADA AND KIRATA

The cultivated languages of India, Aryan and Dravidian, are alone capable of being historically treated in their origins and in their early literatures. But for the uncultivated speeches, Dravidian on the one hand and Nishdda or Austric (Kol or Munda, and Khasi) and Kirdta or Indo-Mongoloid (Sino-Tibetan—Tibeto-Burman and Thai) on the other, there is no history. We have no indication whatever about the lesser known and backward Dravidian tongues—

Tulu, Kodagu, Kota, Toda, Kolami, Gondi, Kuvi or Kandh, Oraon, Malto and Brahui. It is not unlikely that Kodagu, Toda and Kota formed one speech, which approached much more Chen-tamizh and Pazhagannda, and Gondi, Kuvi, Oraon and Malto were equally a single speech or close dialects of one common North-East Dravidian speech. Tulu was nearer

Kannada than now, Kolami was merged in early Telugu, and Brahui was maintaining a separate and vigorous existence over a wider area in Baluchistan and Sindh. As there are no specimens of these dialects or speeches available for any period prior to the middle of the last century when European writers and missionaries took note of them, it is impossible to find out in what condition they were nearly a thousand years ago. Toponomy of the areas where they live and of the surrounding tracts might only furnish meagre but nevertheless some very precious material for their study.

The situation is analogous, though even worse, for the Nishada and Kirata speeches. As short and convenient native Indian terms, indicating the 'linguistico-ethnico-cultural' groups of the Indian Austro-Asiatics and the Indo-Mongoloids respectively in their separate ensembles, we shall be using these ancient Sanskrit words, which have on the whole quite a precise employ from very early times. The Nishada speeches were probably in three groups; a Kherwari group including Santali, Mundari, Ho, Bhumij, etc., the 'KoF speeches of the present day; a Korku group, including Korku of the present day and possibly the lost Bhil speeches of Malwa and Rajasthan; and the Gadaba-Savara group of Orissa. The difference between these groups was very slight a thousand or eight hundred years ago. The Nishada people appear to have been spread over the whole of India from the Punjab and Kashmir in the North-West through the Ganga valley right up to Assam and Burma, with ramifications in Central India, the Deccan and South India, and large masses of them, more or less mixed with the Dravidians who came later and settled among them also in North India (although South India we find to be the place where large masses of Dravidian speakers were established), became ultimately Aryanised in speech and were transformed into the present-day Hindu and other Indian people of North India. This was happening ever since the Aryans came into India and started expanding along the valley of the Ganga. While the transformation was steadily going on, with substitution of the Nishada (and in the sub-Himalayan slopes and in Eastern India of the Kirata, who in those days were divisible into a smaller number of groups than at present when speech-differentiation has brought in a large number of dialects) speeches by dialects of Middle In do-Ary an and then New In do-Aryan, there was no attempt to preserve specimens of these decaying or moribund non-Aryan speeches for which no one, not even its speakers, felt any sympathy or interest or curiosity. In this way pockets of non-Aryan speech in a more or less Aryanised North India were being liquidated, and those non-Aryan speeches, Nishada and Kirata, as such, were not preserved even as specimens, being the despised vulgar speeches of backward or aboriginal castes or tribes; and any oral or written literature which may have existed in them was not taken note of. But judging from what we see in later times, it is easy and perfectly allowable to assume that the Nishada and Kirata peoples, where they were not absorbed in an Aryan-speaking Hindu people, did possess a mass of oral literature, as an expression of their cultural and socio-religious life—their communal existence. Songs, religious and secular (the latter relating to love, hunt, war and other matters of fundamental importance to a primitive community), were doubtless there, but these have not survived when the language passed out of existence, though some of the cachets, the situations and figures, and perhaps, metres, may have survived in the folk literature in the Aryan vernaculars replacing the non-Aryan ones. And the more serious religious literature, including narration (in prose or verse, or in both) of legends relating to the creation and beginning of things, to the Gods and Goddesses and to Heroes and Heroines, possessing a "story stuff" which cannot be lost even in translation, would appear to have been adopted in the Aryan speeches and to have formed the basis of those popular legends and stories relating to divine or semi-divine beings and heroes which still live on in the mouths of the people as something essentially connected with their village cults—the legends of the grama devatds and of the persons who obtained their favour. These village cults have all been loosely linked up with Puranic Hinduism. In an earlier epoch, prior to A.D. 1000, pre-Aryan legends were rendered from current Prakrit versions into Sanskrit and found a place in one or the other of the numerous Purdnus, Upapurdnas, Sthala-purdnas and Mdhatmyas, and Tantras or even in the Mahabhdrata, and so were raised up to a level of pan-Indian acceptance. The old method of adapting popular legends into a common Indian heritage of the Sanskrit Purdnas continued during the period under review, and even beyond that! Witness works like the Yogirii-tantra and the Kalikd Purdna, and the later Brahmavaivarta Purdna which all probably belong to this side of the tenth century. When these legends and tales could not be exalted to a place in the Sanskrit Purdnas they were taken over in books in the New IndoAryan languages which started extending their literary career from this period—books of a supplementary Puranic character like the

Sunya Pur ana of Bengal—ih which some legends and cults of preAryan Bengal have found a place. A conscious and compact literary life of the Nishadas and Kiratas as they were becoming Aryanised cannot reasonably be expected, and there has been quite a large inroad of Aryan or Hindu stories and ideas into the original mythology and ideology of even those Nishada and Kirata tribes or groups which have not formally declared themselves to be Hindu or have not been affiliated to Hindudom formally or loosely. Such legends are now being collected by Christian Missonaries and others, and by scientific ethnologists and anthropologists, from the third quarter of the last century onwards. L. O. Skrefsrud and P.O. Bodding, J. Hoffmann and A. Nottrott, and Sarat Chandra Hoy worked among the Kol tribes; Hutton and Mills, Playfair and Endle, Stack and Lyall, Gurdon and Shakespeare and Smith among the Assam tribes; and recently Verrier El win, Shamrao Hivale and W. W. Archer have been collecting the folk-tales and songs of the Nishada and Kirata peoples of the present day—folk-tales and songs which may go back (at least in the case of the tribal legends) to the period A.D. 1000-1300, and even earlier. The true implication of these legends and tales has been grasped by Verrier Elwin who, on the basis of these as culled from among the Gondi and other nonAryan speaking as well as Aryan-speaking tribes and castes of the Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar, is compiling what he has quite properly and felicitously called ‘an Aboriginal Purana*

Thus in the non-cultivated pre-Aryan Nishada speeches like ‘Old Kol* (or Old Kherwari) in which were merged the Santali, Mundari, Ho, Kharia and other speeches of the future, ‘Old BMP which survives in Korku, and ‘Old Savara* from which are descended Gadaba and Sora, there was in all probability an oral literature of legends and tales and songs and poems, the prototype of similar literature at the present day. Unfortunately none of these Nishada languages were ever written down prior to the middle of the last century. So nothing more can be said about them.

With regard to the Kirata speeches in India, the situation appears more promising. The earlier the age, the smaller is the number of dialects and languages in a speech family or in one of its branches. Eight hundred years from now, probably there was a single Naga speech and not the large number of distinct Naga speeches or dialects that we see now. So the Bodo speeches of today, the various dialects known as Bodo, Rabha, Mech, Koch, Garo, Kachari or Dimasa and Tipra or Mrung, were not yet developed—there was a single Bodo speech, eight hundred years ago, and this will be quite reasonable to accept. And this single Bodo, a sort of

Proto-Bodo or Old Bodo, and Old Naga as one and undivided speech, were closer to each other than now. The various Kuki or Chin dialects of which Meithei or Manipuri is the most advanced speech now, formed likewise a single speech, a sort of 'Old Khyan'. The position of the other members of the Kirata family is not known— e.g. Mikir and the North Assam Speeches, as well as the various groups of the Nepal and Sikkim dialects. The language the Ahoms brought was Shan, and Old Shan of those days was the same as Old Thai or Old Siamese. The Austric (Mon-Khmer) Khasi and Synteng were also one language which we may call 'Zainteng' or 'Old Jaintia'—an Austro-Asiatic speech spoken by a Kirata people.

Of all these speeches, three only have written characters—the Newari of Nepal, Lepcha of Sikkim and Darjeeling, and Meithei or Manipuri of Manipur. The Newars were the original people of Central and East Nepal. In the centuries round about Christ and during the early Christian centuries, their tribal name Nepdlu, whatever its origin, gave the name to the country. Later, probably after A.D. 1000, Nepala, or Nepal changed to Newar, and now it has been further altered in Newari mouths to Newdli. The earlier kings of Nepal were either pure Kiratas or mixed Hindu and Kirata. Retaining their Kirata (Tibeto-Burman) speech, they came in line with the people of Hindu civilization probably 2000 years ago, and gradually adopted the Indian script and borrowed words from the Aryan language (Sanskrit, the Prakrits and the Bhashas or Modem Indo-Aryan speeches like Maithili, Bengali, Kosali, and Gorkhali). Sanskrit and other Aryan words now form near about half of its vocabulary, if not more, and all its culture-words came from Sanskrit. The Nepali or Newari scholars, prior to the establishment of Gorkha rule in A.D. 1767, not only preserved for posterity the Sanskrit literature of Mahayana Buddhism, but also increased its extent by composing original works and commentaries; and they also cultivated their own Kirata language, Newari, and the New IndoAryan speeches, viz. Bengali, Maithili and Eastern Hindi, and recently Gorkhali. We may be allowed to assume the existence of a Newari literature during A.D. 1000-1300, considering the earlier cultural history of Nepal and the later vigorous literary cultivation of Newari in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries. The oldest Newari book that has come to us is a chronicle going back to the eighties of the fourteenth century. There is still a rich mass of unexplored Newari literature in Nepal and elsewhere, and it is quite conceivable that Newari works going back to the period under review will be available. During the early centuries of Turki conquest, Nepal was outside the pale of operations of the Turks, but early in the fourteenth century, we have repercussions of events in India affecting Nepal also, as Hari Singh, king of Mithila, retired into Nepal and carved out a kingdom there for himself when his own realm was conquered by the Turks (A.D. 1324).

The Turks came in touch with Assam early in the thirteenth century when Ikhtiyar-ud-di ibn Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji, the conqueror of West Bengal, made a most ill-conceived expedition into Assam, and met with disaster from the Bodo people and their rulers. The Ahoms, a Shan people speaking a form of Siamese, were not yet in West Assam, having established themselves in East Assam in A.D. 1228. The Bodo people, who formed by far the largest and most compact Kirata element in North Bengal and Assam (Brahmaputra Valley), had already been largely Hinduised, but they were rapidly adopting the Aryan language in the form of Old Bengali and Old Assamese, and no record of their oral literature has been preserved; probably their language was never written down, so that it is not possible to say anything about the earlier literature in a Bodo speech. In later times, Ahom, the language of the new conqueror of the Brahmaputra valley from the east, predominated over other Kirata languages, and the Bodo-speaking people and their rulers everywhere became supporters of the Aryan speech —the Koches, Tipras and Kacharis adopting Bengali, and the Rabhas, Meches and others adopting Assamese. The Tripura ruling house formally accepted Bengali as their cultural and court language from the fifteenth century.

The Ahom power was established in Assam in the thirteenthcentury. The Ahoms brought their own script (a form of the Indian alphabet as adopted by the Thai people from the Khmers of the South), and their priests had the living tradition of handing down the tribal or national chronicles, called in Ahom Buranjis. A number of these Buranjis in Ahom are extant; only one, a late one, has been edited and published with an English translation. The Buranji literature of Ahom may go back to the thirteenth century, but not a single one as old as that is preserved. The Ahoms gradually took up the Aryan Assamese and became completely Hinduised; and their language, preserved till recently only by the families of Old Ahom deodhais who ministered to the old tribal religion (more and more brought in line with official Brahmanism), is now obsolete. But the tradition of writing histories together with the word Buranji meaning "history, or history-book," was passed on to the Aryan Assamese language from the sixteenth century onwards. We have no record of any other kind of literature in Ahom.

The Meitheis, the ruling people of Manipur, claim to have been in possession of the country from the beginning, and the present ruling house traces its origin to Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata. Definite dates are assigned to the rulers of this line from the second century A.D., and these become plausible only from the tenth century, previous to which kings are made to rule for long periods of 99 or 118 or more years which are not humanly possible. A fairly early affiliation of the Kuki people of Manipur and the Indo-Burman borderland, east of the Bodos, to Gangetic Hindudom is quite likely, considering that Hindu (Brahmanical and Buddhist) religion and culture passed on through overland routes along the Pattikera kingdom (Comilla and Sylhet Districts) through Manipur hills at least in the early centuries of the Christian era. Meithei legends, of proper Kirata origin, were synthesised with Hindu Purdna and Mahdbhdrata legends to give what may be called a Manipura Purdna , such as we find in a floating oral form among Manipur people (who are now staunch Vaishnavas of the Gauqilya or Bengal School, followers of Chaitanya) and in a written form in a Manipur chronicle like the late Vijaya-pdnchdli. In this, the Meithei gods have been identified with Puranic deities, and old legends not known outside Manipur have been retained. From the days of a lengendary king who reigned for 120 years in the second century A.D., viz. Pakhangba, known also by his Sanskrit name of Yavishtha, a kind of register of records, called the Cheitharol Kumpaba, was first started. The early history of Hinduism among the Kuki-Chin Meitheis is not known. It is certain that during the reign of Kiyamba (fifteenth century—he is credited with an incredibly long reign) Vaishnavism was already established in the Manipur royal house. Manipuri is now written in the Bengali script, which replaced an earlier script, in which the language is said to have been written down to about A.D. 1700, during the reign of king Charairongba or Pitambara Simha in the second half of the eighteenth century. This old and now obsolete alphabet of Manipur is based on the Indian system, but the letters have peculiar shapes, and its exact affinities are not known. Takhelgnamba and Samsokgnamba are two chronicles, among the oldest MSS. in Manipuri in this old script, but their exact time is not known. Manipuri has a rich ballad literature, and the popular ballads dealing with the romantic loves and adventures of the hero Khamba and the Princess Thoibi may in their original forms go back to the second half of the twelfth century. Khamba and Thoibi lived during the reign of king Loyamba who ruled from A.D. 1127 to 1154, so that centering round the story of Khamba and Thoibi a popular literature may have commenced in Manipuri during the twelfth century.

Siamese, Burmese and Tibetan are three great Sino-Tibetan languages outside India which use forms of the Indian alphabet. Among Indian Sino-Tibetan or Kirata speeches, Newari, Manipuri and Lepcha of Sikkim became written languages through indigenous enterprise. The Lepcha sript was devised early in the eighteenth century by a king of Sikkim, and its history falls outside the scope of the present chapter. Only for Newari and Manipuri we can assume some literary life at least during the period under review.

The Khasi people (as Jaintias) came under Hindu influence from the fifteenth century; prior to that there is no evidence of any liteature in the Khasi speech. In the eighteenth century the Bengali script was used in writing Khasi, but from the second half of the nineteenth, Christian missionaries have given it a literature and stabilised the language by writing and printing it in the Roman alphabet.

1. Vol IV, Ch. IX.

2. The Uttaranaishadhiya was written by Vandaru Bhatte in the nineteenth century. It consists- of sixteen cantos.

3. Keith, HSL. 140.

4. For a list of the works of Kshemendra, see De, SP, I. 139-43; Kane, HAL. XCVIII f; HSP. 254 f. Kshemendra is again referred to while dealing with poetry, poetics, story literature, etc.

5. Keith (HSL. 137) gives the name as Jayaratha. But the printed text (KM, 1897) and Buhler's account have the form Jayadnatha. According to De (HSL. 323 n 2) our author was probably the brother of Jayaratha, the commentator

on Abhinavagupta's Tantraloka and Ruyyaka's Alamkarasarvasva.

6. HSL. 332; contra, Das Gupta, op. cit. 678; Keith, HSL. 173.

7. Gode, IC, VII. 327-33; 447-56; De, HSL. 332; Das Gupta, op. cit. 617; Keith, HSL. 137; Winternitz, GIL, III. 73; Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 193.

8. Kum&rapalapratibodha, intr; Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 193.

9. This Vagbhata, who wrote under Jayasimha of Gujarat, need not necessarily be identified with the author of the Vdgbhatalamhara. The Dharmasarmdbhyudaya of Harichandra, describing the life of Dharmanatha, perhaps belongs to the fifth or sixth century A.D. cf. Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 146. The Padyachudamani, dealing with the life of Buddha, is ascribed to Buddhaghosha, but his identity with the great Pali scholar may be doubted.

10. For an account of the Jain writers in Sanskrit of the period, see Winternitz. HIL, II. 512 ff; 535 f; 555 ff; Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 196 ff. Historical Kavyas by Jain writers have been considered in the next section.

11. Cf. HCSL. 477.

12. De, HBR. 370.

13. Keith, HSL. 194 f.

14. De, JRAS, 1927. 471-7; BSOS , V. 499 f; HSL. 413; contra, Keith, BSOS , V. 27 f.

15. Fifth edition, p. xx, Leipzig, 1924.

16. See Vol. IV, pp. 97-8, 183.

17. See above, pp. 174-7.

18. Keith, HSL. 161. For an appreciation of Kalhana, cf. Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

19. See above, pp. 31-2.

20. Belvalkar conjectured Jayanaka to be the author; the new edition of the poem from Ajmer also makes Jayanaka the author. Cf. De, HSL. 360 n 2.

21. This, along with his LalitaratnamcLla, is known only in name.

22. And hence identical with the author of Chandraloka, a popular text-book on rhetoric. Cf. De, SP, I. 215 ff; HSL. 462.

23. The Viravijaya of Krishnamisra and the Sarvavinodandtaka of Krishna Avadhuta are of the same type.

24. The Krishnavijaya of Venkatavarada and the Manmathonmathana of Rama are the late varieties of Dima.

25. Vol. IV, pp. 180-1.

26. Cf. De, “The Problem of the Mahanataka,” IHQ, VII, Nos. 3 and 4.

27. Hertel, Streitherg Festgabe, pp. 135 ff, referred to by Keith, HSL, Preface, xi-xii.

28. Edgerton, HOS , 26, p. lii.,

29. For an attempt to reconstruct the original Pahchatantra, see Edgerton, The Pahchatantra Reconstructed , 1924.

30. One of these was translated into Pahlavi as early as the sixth century A.D. and this Pahlavi translation formed the basis for all other foreign versions (cf. Vol. Ill, p. 629).

31. R. Sarma, Kalpadrukosa, intro, xxvii.

31a. Edited by E. D. Kulkarni. Poona, 1955.

32. Cf op. cit. xl; Gode refers to the quotation from the Medinl in the Varnaratnakara, a Maithill work, by Jyotirisvara Kavisekharacharya who was patronised by Harisimhadeva (between A.D. 1300-1325)— NIA, VII. 171-5.

33. According to Pathak, Dhanahjaya §rutaklrti Traividya wrote the poem shortly after 1045 Saka (= A.D. 1123)— I A, XIV. 14.

33a. Edited by M. M. Patkar. Poona, 1953.

34. Pathak places one Srutaklrti in A.D. 1123—See previous footnote; also Belvalkar, SSG. 88.

34a. Edited by G. B. Palsule. Poona, 1954.

35. SP, I. 337.

36. See above, pp. 66-7.

37. Kane, HAL. CIII f; HSP. 257-60; De, SP, I. 164-7.

38. Cf. Kane {HAL. CV, HSP, 261) who, on the evidence of ancient MSS., considers Alaka to be as good a Kashmirian name as Alafa. De, however, prefers the form Allata to Alaka and Alata, as it is given in Stein’s Jammu MS (SP, I. 163).

39. JSML, I. 9-13. For the date of Mammata, see De, SP, I. 157-60; Kane, HAL. CVI. HSP. 263; Keith. HSL. 394.

40. Cf. Kane, HAL, CVIII-CX; HSP. 265-7.

40a. See Jayadaman , edited with introduction, list and index of Sanskrit metres, etc. by Prof. H. D. Velankar, and published by the Haritosh Samiti (Bombay, 1949).

40b. Cf. pp. 270 ff, 284 n 9.

40c. Edited by E. D. Kulkarni. Poona, 1953.

41. Vol. IV, pp. 201-2.

42. Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, Ch. IV.

43. For the works of Bhoja, see Kane, HAL. XCVII f, HSP. 249-52; KHDS, I. 276 f; 719; Catalogus Catalogorum, I. 418; II. 95; III. 90; Bhoja Raja. 69 f; El, I. 231 f; VIII. 241-60; Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 500-4; 750 f; 845.

44. Kane thinks, with some hesitation, Balarupa to be identical with Balaka {KHDS, I. 285).

45. De, HBR, I. 357 n 2; also Kane, KHDS, I. 297 f. Halayudha, the author of Brahmanasarvasva and other works, who was the Dharmadhyaksha of Lakshamanasena, has been considered later in this section.

46. Kane, KHDS, III. xviii.

47. See above, pp. 52-3.

48. See above pp. 174-7.

49 Krityakalpataru, Danakanda, Intr. 24-35; KHDS, I. 290; IV. p. x.

49a. C*f. pp. 290, 293 f.

50. De, in HBR, I. p. 323; Kane, KHDS, 1. 325-7; III. xii.

51. HBR, 353. For Vratusagara, cf. IC, XI. 144; IHQ, XXVI. 330.

52. Vyavahdranimaya, intr. xlix ff; KHDS, III. xix; Gode, Mimahsa Prakdsa, III. 15-18.

53. For other views, cf. HCSL. 293, f.n. 7.

54. See above, p. 178.

54a. Above, Vol. IV. 210.

54b. For a discussion of the date of this work, cf. Vol. III. 400.

54c. HPL, II. 613.

54d. Above, Vol. III. 398.

54e. The Bhakti Sataka by Ramachandra Kavibharatl is in Sanskrit. The author is a Bengali Brahmin of the thirteenth cent. A.D. who was later converted to Buddhism. In stanzas written in ornate style it praises Buddha as the great teacher and saviour of mankind.

54f. Above, Vol. IV. 211.

54g. Law, HPL, II, 609-10. Above, Vol. III. 401 .

54h. Winternitz, H1L, II. 222.

55. Another Mahavira-charita was written by Devendra Ganin in A.D. 1085.

56. Dr. A. M. Ghatage, Narrative literature in Jaina Maharashtrl, ABORI, XVI. 38.

57. Nos. 1, 5, 9, 11, 12 and 14 in Apabhramsa works listed here have been added by jAl D Pusslkcr

58. Identified with Bamanwad in Sirohi State of Jodhpur (NUJ , VIII. 81 ff).

59. There is another Kathdkosa of unknown authorship. It is written in bad

Sanskrit with Prakrit verses.

60. Identified with Valad in Ahmedabad District. NUJ, VIII. 81 ff.

60a. Above, Vol. IV. 218.

61. H. D. Velankar, ABORI, IX. 272-280.

62. Cf. NUJ, VIII. 81 ff.

63. Cf. NUJ, VIII. 81 ff.

64. Cf. Sanaesarasaka, Preface, p. 13.

64a. Above, Vol. IV. 212 ff.

65. For printed works, see “Marathi-Grantha-suchi” by Shankar Ganesh Date, Poona, 1943.

66. For unpublished works, see:

(i) 'Maharashtrlya Santa-kavi-kavya-suchi’—By G. K. Chandorkar. It deals with authors and their works ranging from Saka 1100 to Saka 1740.

(ii) Sri RamadasI Sarhsodhana, Vols. I-II, Dhulia.

(iii) M. S. Sarasvati-Mahal Library, Tanjore, Marathi Catalogue, Vols. I-II.

(iv) ‘Mahanubhava-kavi-kavya-suchi,’ By V. L. Bhave, 1924.

(v) MSS. Catalogues of the Bharat Itihasa Sarhsodhak Mandal, Poona, Raj wade Sarhsodhana Mandal, Dhulia, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, etc. ,

(vi) There are also small collections of MSS, at the Universities of Bombay, Nagpur, and Poona, as well as in some public and institutional libraries in India and outside. Individual collections are to be found in almost every important village, and are still untouched, and their value unassessed by any scholar.

67. Introduction to "JnanadevI,"—A critical and Philological Edition of Jnanesvarl, Chapter I, pages, 73-76 by R. G. Harshe.

For further information consult:

(i) Introduction to Jnanesvarl by V. K. Raj wade.

(ii) "Maharashtracha vasahatakala," by V. K. Rajwade, ltihdsa dni Aitihasika, Vol. I.

(iii) "Ancient Civilization and Geography of Maharashtra," by P. V. Kane, JBBRAS, No. 21.

(iv) Prdchina Maharashtra, by S. V. Ketkar.

(v) "Marathi bhashechi. kalanimaya," by C. V. Vaidya and P. D. Gune, Vividhajnanavistdra, 1922.

(vi) Mardthl bhdsha f udgama va vikasa —by K. P. Kulkarni.

(vii) Formation de la langue marathe —by Jules Bloch.

For the summary of different views see:

Supplement to the Mahaxdshtra-Sdrasvata of V. L. Bhave by S. G. Tulpule and Introduction to Vols. Ill and IV of the Maharashtra Sabdakosa, by Y. R. Date, and others.

68. Dr. M. G. Dikshit has discovered an early copper-plate dated Saka 982 (A.D. 1060). Cf. "Maratthi bhashetlla adya tamrapata," Sahyadri , June 1949, Poona.

69. Cf. Maharashtra Sdrasvata, 4th ed. pp. 13-14. Out of the five parts of this work only two have so far been published in the G. O. Series, Baroda.

70. As the language of the works of Mukundaraja is modernized there is still a controversy as regards his date.

71. P. C. Bagchi, Kaulajnana-nirnaya, Introduction, p. 28. The problem is extremely complicated on account of the conflicting theories of many scholars.

72. B.I.S.M. Quarterly, XI. 32.

There are also such works as Datta-Goraksha-Samvada , Goraksha-Kanthaftabodha, Goraksha-lila, Gorakshakrita Yogdhgem, etc. in Marathi, which are ascribed to Gorakh-nath (Sri R.amadasi Samsodhana, Vols. I-II).

73. Goraksha-gita and a few Abhangas exist in the name of Gahinlnatha in Marathi.

74. Cf. ‘Natakritatandavavikatah panditatlkah sphuranti gltayah/Rambhalasyavilasa jayati Jnanesvarl t4su.’

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75. It is alleged that there were two Jnanadevas and that the author of Jhanesvari was different from the author of the Gdtha. —see Jnanadeva va Jnanesvara by Bharadvaja.

76* The life of Jnanadeva or Jnanesvara needs careful investigation. The only authentic document, supposed to have been contemporary, is “ Jhanadevachi Adi” by Namadeva, in which it is said that Nivrittinatha, Jnanadeva, Sopanadeva, and Muktabal were the excommunicated progeny of a sannydsin. turned a householder. If this is the work of Vishnudasa Nana who was a Mahanubhava, it is easy to imagine how this story must have been concocted. In the first place, there is no reference to any caste disability in the works of Jnanesvara. Secondly, the punishment meted out to their parents, Vitthalpant and Rukminlbal does not find support in Dharmasastra. (MM. Sridharasatri Pathak, Jnanesvara-darsana, I. 20-39). The Mahanubhava writers are in the habit of running down the Brahmanical works by inventing stories (The story of the Kurmavatara for instance, in the Padma-purdna of Damodara: verses 1581-1603. See also Vitthaiaviru kathana lild referred to by G. K. Chandorkar in Mdnbhava kwh Bauddha, pp. 273-74). In every important detail the life of Jnanesvara and others is full of conflicting evidence and further researches are therefore needed in the matter.

77. See Mahdnubhdvdhchem tattvajhdna —by V. B. Kolte, Nagpur.

78. Mahdnubhavdnchd achdradharma —by V. B. Kolte, Mahdnubhdva-Pantha —by Balakrishnasastri, Nagpur.

79. According to G. K. Chandorkar this sect must have its origin towards the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. Vide, Mdnbhava kim Buddha , Aithihasika Vividha Vishaya, pp. 273-304.

80. His life is given in a contemporary work called Smriti-sthala, composed chiefly by his disciples Narendra and Parasarambasa (A.D! 1308) and edited by V. N. Deshpande.

81. Mahanubdviya Marathi Vahmayo. —by Y. K. Deshpande.

82. Edited by N. B. Bhavalkar and H. N. Nene, Nagpur.

83. Ed. by H. N. Nene.

84. In three parts, edited by H. N. Nene.

85. Editions of V. L. Bhave and D. S. Pangu.

86. Ed. by V. B. Kolte.

87. Ed. by V. L. Bhave.

88. Ed. by V. B. Kolte.

89. Adya Marathi Kavayitri, Ed by V. N. Deshpande.

90. The dates quoted here are mostly taken from the Supplement to the Maharashtra Sdrasvata of V. L. Bhave by S. G. Tulpule, Poona, 1951.

91. There is a great controversy regarding the date of Namadeva. If he is a contemporary of Jnanadeva, as is usually believed, he could not have written the biographies of later saints which are ascribed to him. We have, therefore, to believe in the existence of two Namadevas, the earlier and the later. Scholars are inclined to regard Namadeva and Vishnudasa Nama as two different personalities whose Abhangas are mixed up in the published Gathas. Again this Vishnudasa Nama is believed to have turned Mahanubhava at the end of his career. Bhave mentions a Namadeva who was the disciple of Chakradhara (M.S. , p. 98). There is also Nama Pathak who was the grandson of Kanho Pathak, the youngest contemporary of Jnanadeva. He was a voluminous writer and it is likely that during the dark ages that followed the Muslim conquest, the works of the different Namadevas got mixed up. A thorough research and an analytical study of their works will throw some light on the most intricate problems of authorship and chronology.

92. For further details see, Vdrakari sampradaydchd itihasa by S. V. Dandekar, 1927.

93. For the collected works of all these saints, see Sakala-santa-gatha, edited by T. H. Awate.

94. For the life of Namadeva consult:

(i) Bhaktavijaya —by Mahlpati.

(ii) Marathi Vdhmayachd Itihasa, Vol. I. by L. R. Pangarkar.

(iff) Maharashtra Kavi-charitra, Vol. VIII, by J. R. Ajgaonkar.

(iv) Sri-Ndmadeva Charitra —by M. A. Mulay.

95. It is alleged that Namadeva had undertaken a pilgrimage tour of the north in the company of Jnanadeva, in his early life. His popularity and personal contacts in this trip are perhaps responsible for his being called back again in the north, especially in the Punjab, where he seems to have stayed for many years.

He had a number of followers in that region which still possesses many temples dedicated to him.

96. Sikh Religion, Vol. VI.—by Macauliff; Bhakta-siromani Namadeva ki nai jivani, nai Paddvali —by Moliansingh, Amritsar; Panjabdtila Namadeva — S P. Joshi.

97. We have a number of Muslim poets in Mamthi, who in imitation of the poets of the Bhagavata School, wrote devotional songs to Vitthala. Cf. Shaikh Mohammad and others. Hussain Ambar wrote a commentary on the Bhagavadgita and Shahamuni a philosophical treatise callel Siddhantabodha. Shaikh Mohammad has also written several works of this type.

98. Moropant alone has composed 108 Rdmdyanas of different kinds and in different metres!

99. Cf. Sahityadarpana, I. 2, which mentions the four highest human objectives, namely, religion (dharma), wealth (artha), ambition or desire (kama) and the final liberation from the Cycle of Birth and Death (mokshu).

100. See above, Vol. II, pp. 281 ff.

101. See above, Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff.

102. The following English translation of a Charyapada would convey some idea of the nature of these poems.

‘The Ocean of Being is deep, and it flows with mighty force:

On two sides, mire,—in the middle, no bottom.

For the sake of dharma, Chatila builds a bridge;

People who go across pass on in full reliance.

Splitting the tree of ignorance, he joins the planks:

With the strong axe of Advaya (Monism) he strikes at Nirvana.

Do not turn right or left on mounting the bridge:

Bodhi (Supreme Wisdom) is near—do not go far.

O ye men, if ye will be goers-across,

Ask of Chatila, the master without a peer.'

102a. There is in Bengali, as in other languages, a little spruche literature of proverbs and proverbial distichs relating to agriculture, divination, astrology, morals and good form for the guidance of men and women in their social relations. These are known as the Sayings (bachan) of Dak and Khana and Varaha-mihira.]?ak is a sage or seer of unknown antecedents, while Varaha-mihira is the well-known astronomer of ancient India, and Khana, his daughter-in-law. The late Dr. Dines Chandra Sen referred these distichs and verses to pre-Muslim times in Bengal. Similar verses and distichs have been found in Assam. While a fairly high antiquity is quite likely for this literature, in the form in which they occur they are very late, and generally in late Middle or early Modern Bengali. We cannot refer them to the period, A.D. 1000 to 1300, in their present form, although their contents may be as old as that, or even older.

102b. This will be discussed in detail in Ch. XVI. E.

103. A Handbook of Virasaivism (1941), p. 4.

104. S. S. Basawanal and K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Musings of Basava: A Free Rendering (1940), pp. 49, 118.

105. Ibid., p. 124.

106. S. C. Nandimath, A Handbook Virasaivism, p. 170.

107. R. S. Mugali, The Heritage of Karnataka, p. 182.

107a. Also written as Tirthakara.

108. Kanarese Literature, p. 40.

109. Quoted in Rice. Kanarese Literature, p. 112.

110. Introduction to P. T. Raju's Telugu Literature (1944), pp. viii and ix. See Vol. I, pp. 154 ff on the origin of the people speaking Dravidian languages.

111. Vol. I, Ch. XVI, B.

112. A History of Telugu Literature, p. 38.

113. Ibid., p. 39.

114. Telugu Literature (P.E.N. Book), p. 95.

115. D. Sambamurty, The Indian P. E. N. (August 1939).

116. Royaprolu Subba Rao in Triveni (June 1939).

117. Chenchiah and Bhuianga Rao, Telugu Literature, p. 50.

118. A critical study of this work has been published by the University of Madras.

119. P. T. Raju, Telugu Literature 3 pp. 94-5.

APPENDIX

B. SANSKR1TIC VI. GUJARATI 2. Language

Although several of the Middle Indo-Aryan (popularly called ‘Prakrit’) dialects attained literary status at diverse points of their history and became eventually standardized, highly stylized, and thus quite resistant to revivifying development, the numerous spoken idioms concurrent with them naturally remained subject to the continuous process of change.

Udyotana in his Kuvalayamdla (A.D. 779) refers to the distinct dialects of merchants hailing from Madhyadesa, Takka, Sindhu, Maru, Malava, Gurjara and Lata. 1 But it was not till the end of the first millennium after Christ, that the numerous spoken idioms all over North India were transformed to such an extent, as to justify recognition of a distinctly new stage in the evolution of IndoAryan, that marks it off from the preceding stage through certain well-defined characteristics. Reference has been already made above 2 to this third and the last stage of Indo-Aryan, called the New Indo-Aryan.

It is from about this period that the predecessors of the modern languages of Rajasthan and Gujarat are found to have followed a line of development different from the rest of the §aurasenl group which eventually developed into Hindi.

This Rajasthani-Gqjarati group later on, that is, after the period here dealt with, further bifurcates into the Jaipuri and GujaratiMarwari-Malwi groups and the latter of these ultimately divides into Gujarati, Marwari and Malwi. As preservation of neuter gender and some other traits in Modern Gujarati suggest an unbroken linguistic tradition, and as parts of West Rajasthan and North Gujarat were known between the eighth and the eleventh century as “Gujjaratta” or “Gurjaratra” 3 it would be more appropriate to call the language of that area by the name “Old Gujarati” instead of “Old Western Rajasthani” as coined by the late L. P. Tessitori 4

The name “Gujarati” is based on the regional name “Gujarata”, earlier, “Gujjaratta” (Sanskritized ‘Gurjaratra’), which, on linguistic grounds, 5 can be shown to have the meaning ‘the Gurjaras en masse’ and later ‘Gurjaradom,’ ‘the domain of the Gurjaras’.

Though the Gurjaras are found by the seventh century A.D. to be completely naturalized and absorbed into the Aryan fold, even to the extent of never once referring to their origin (they were foreigners, according to the more probable view), it is well-nigh impossible to believe that their original native speech yielded to the idiom of their adopted land without leaving behind any traces whatsoever. It is quite likely that a good portion of the underivable ‘desya’ element in the exclusively Gujarati word-stock was inherited from the native idioms of the foreign settlers—chiefly the Gurjaras.

We may briefly recount here the most salient features of Old Gujarati that for practical purposes can be considered to distinguish it from the previous stage.

In phonology: (1) Simplification of the consonant cluster along with lengthening of the preceding short vowel (which was also nasalized if the cluster began with a nasal) under favourable conditions. This was the most outstanding feature and Gujarati shared it with most of the New Xndo-Aryan languages. This development is indicative of a basic shift in the earlier accent system and, by reestablishing the Old Indo-Aryan state of intervocalic stops, it makes it possible to borrow Sanskrit words entirely unchanged, in contrast with the Middle Indo-Aryan stage, which, in general, modified most of the Sanskrit loans. (2) Loss of an intervocalic h in the terminational elements and of -v- in certain positions. (3) Development of an intervocalic - 1 - into the retroflex -Z-. (4) Unrounding of the

final -w- to -a-. (5) Contraction of the contiguous vowels.

In morphology: (1) Greatly accelerated practice of using postpositions in place of case-terminations. (2) Constitution of the forms of the pleonastically extended stems into a separate declension. (3) Emergent tendency to employ auxiliary and participial tense forms. (4) Use of -tau- instead of the earlier -nhtau- as the present participle formative—strictly speaking a phonological development. (5) Creation of a new passive present participle in -itau-.

In syntax: Old Gujarati developed various new constructions, terms of expressions and usages, several of which (along with some of the characteristically Apabhramsa stuff that was conserved in Old Gujarati) continue in living use even to this day. 6

In vocabulary: Words of ‘desya’ (i.e . foreign, obscure or unknown) origin and onomatopoetic, reduplicative and jingle elements were now playing a role far superior to what was found in the previous stage. Words of Perso-Arabic origin, which later on came to be absorbed in hundreds, were as yet the rarest exceptions. 7

The variety of Apabhramsa, which is found in some of the illustrative stanzas in the Apabhramsa portion of the Siddhahema (c. A.D. 1143) of Hemachandra, reveals several modern traits as compared with the Classical Apabhramsa of Svayambhu (not later than the ninth century) and Pushpadanta (mid-tenth century). It has to a certain extent a transitional character that further develops into Old Gujarati and Old Hindi. This is clearly seen from the use, side by side, of nominative singulars in - au - as well as -a-, 8 of the dative postpositions -tanena- as well as -kehi 9 ; and of words retaining an intervocalic -m- as well as those changing it to -mv-. 10 These traits later become specialized respectively to Old Gujarati and Old Hindi. On the other hand, “even when the Modern Indo-Aryan languages had fully come to their own and had essayed their beginnings in literature, the Apabhramsa tradition continued either in the form of pure Apabhramsa, or in the form of a strong colouring of the vernacular with Apabhramsa orthography and Apabhramsa vocabulary and idiom, Apabhramsa cachets and atmosphere, to give a sort of semi-Apabhramsa semi-NIA literary speech.” 11

2. Literature

The Old Gujarati literature of this period appears to manifest but very few basic departures from the just preceding Apabhramsa literature in point of literary trends, types, and forms of expression. It directly inherited and continued a good part of the Apabhramsa literary traditions. Hence, more in case of the literature than in case of the language, it is not possible to say exactly when Apabhramsa ended and Old Gujarati began. One cannot be quite specific on this point, only because much of the Apabhramsa and early Old Gujarati literature of the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding A.D. 1100 is either lost for good or remains unearthed so far.

Apabhramsa had developed its own literary forms. Its Sandhi-bandha or the epic narrative of the Puranic or the charita type which, in its ornateness and elaboration, was a successor of the ornate Mahdkdvya of Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit, is unrepresented in the earlier period of Old Gujarati literature. But its Rdsa-bandha, a semi-lyrical, semi-narrative form of modest compass (somewhat reminding us of the Khanda-kavya of Classical Sanskrit), continued in Old Gujarati and became more and more prolific and altered in its original character with the course of time right down to the nineteenth century.

Besides the Rasa form, Old Gujarati prosody and poetic phraseology, too, supply us with sure indications of unbroken Apabhramsa literary traditions. This is further confirmed by the fact that early Old Gujarati literature, like Apabhraihsa literature, has almost exclusively a poetic form. Verse in both cases is the only medium of literary expression. Another such trait commonly shared by these two literatures is that all the available compositions are religious-didactic, and, with rare exceptions, Jainistic. Most probably, however, this is due to historical conditions, and not an indication of a total absence of Brahmanical activity in these fields. The Jains evidently took far greater and better care for the preservation of the manuscripts of their works than was done by the non-Jains. But works of pure literature in Apabhraihsa and Old Gujarati, being of a non-religious nature, could not be expected to have had the same favourable chances of preservation. Jain compositions themselves, however, can be looked upon as indirect evidence for the existence of such purely literary works, because, the former had always a derivative character. Jains had a practical approach to literature. They valued it as the most effective vehicle for propagating their teachings and ideals, and hence they were ever ready to adopt, imitate, and press into service whatever literary languages, types, subjects, styles and fashions from time to time became popular.

Some direct evidence for the existence of non-Jain and purely literary works is provided by the contents of a few of the illustrative stanzas (e.g. 8.4.339, 442 etc.) cited by Hemachandra in the Apabhraihsa portion of his grammar Siddhahema. These citations are important from another point of view, too. Not only that their language, as stated already, forms in certain points a link between Classical Apabhraihsa and Old Gujarati, but not a few of them, with slight changes in spelling or wording, also continue to appear in Old Gujarati literature of several succeeding centuries. Hemachandra's Apabhraihsa illustrations breathe directness, ease, poignancy and freshness that are characteristic of a genuinely popular literature. Their themes pertain to love, valour, general morality and wisdom. As remnants of a lost poetry that throbbed with full and intense life, they are highly precious.

It should be remembered that for centuries after the employment of New Indo-Aryan languages for literary purposes, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraihsa, too, continued in use side by side with them as parallel literary mediums. Most of the early Old Gujarati writers were Jain monks, who had as a rule some works in one or more of the three classical languages also to their credit. It is clear that their compositions in the Desa Bhasha were undertaken with

the specific purpose of administering instruction with entertainment to the general lay followers mostly having very modest educational or spiritual equipment. This fact obviously imposed an inherent limitation on the general character and scope of such works.

Most of the twenty and odd Old Gujarati poems that are available to us onwards from about the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D. are in the Rasa form, though in view of some literary devices and specialised character of the subject-matter they have different styles like Rasa , Barahamdsd, Matrikd and Vivdhala.

As indicated above, our specimens are, in all probability, Jain imitations of the then most popular literary types that have continued to be productive down to the end of the eighteenth century.

The Rasa had a long and varied past. It was known to several Puranas and Sanskrit rhetorical works 12 as a type of group dance specially associated with the divine cowherd Krishna and the Gopis and hence, by implication, also with the cowherd community of the Abhiras. In rhetoric tradition, Rdsaka is treated also as a variety of minor Rupakas , essentially operatic and involving a big troupe of dancing pairs. 13 Obviously some poetic compositions, too, employed as texts for these Rupakas that were performed on festive occasions, came to be called “Rasakas”. The general form of these compositions was called Rdsa-bandha, and as a characteristic and widely popular Apabhramsa literary genre it has been described, though very briefly, by two eminent Prakrit prosodists, Virahanka (before the ninth century) and Svayambhu. 14 From their obscure and inadequate account, this much at least can be gathered that the Rasdbandha was a poem having either a specific rhythm-controlled organic structure or a sustained form that used one specific metre for the general frame, and other choice metres, if necessary, for variation. Unfortunately, however, not a single Rdsaka poem of the classical Apabhramsa period has been preserved to us, and hence earlier stages of the development which culminated in the Old Gujarati Rasa remain mostly in the dark.

The Old Gujarati Rasas, falling within the period under our survey, were mostly composed to be sung in accompaniment with the Rasa dance that was performed usually in Jain temples, especially to celebrate religious festivals. They turned around some narrative, biographical, purely doctrinal, or didactic subject, always with a religious moulding.

The earliest available specimens, viz., the Bharatesvara-Bdhu bali-ghora (c. A.D. 1170) of Vajrasena and its expanded version, the Bharatesvara-Bdhubali-rdsa (A.D. 1185) of §alibhadra, narrate the

mythological incident of war between the kings Bharata and Bahubali, sons of the first Jain Tirthankara Rishabha. In the latter, consisting of fifteen sections (each composed after a specific metrical pattern), descriptions of warlike preparations, Bharata’s march and a few battle scenes have been done with some power. The diction does not lack picturesqueness, nor is the style without vigour. In Vajrasena’s poem (which has five sections), on the other hand, the sequal is characteristically Jainistic. Bahubali, in the very moment of his victory, is shown becoming at once disgusted with the worldly life, taking to asceticism, and eventually, as he cures himself of pride, attaining omniscience; the account of the previous life of the principal characters is briefly touched to illustrate the working of the law of karman; and finally, the moral is spotlighted: he who gives up pride and deceitfulness and practises contemplation gets very rich rewards.

The Chandanab ala-rasa (A.D. 1201) of Asiga, the Jambusvtimi-chariya (A.D. 1210) of Dharma, and the Gayasukumala-rdsct (possibly c. A.D. 1250) of Delhana sketch the instructive life-stories/ of some saints of Jain mythology and legendary history. Chandanabala is known to the Jain tradition as the first pravartinl (head-nun) in the first monastic order founded by the Tirthankara Mahavlra. Jambusvamin was the fourth pontiff in the pontificate that started with Mahavlra. Gayasukumala (Sk. Gajasukumara) was, according to the Jains, a younger brother of Krishna Vasudeva. As an ascetic, he remained unswerved in his meditation in the face of extreme physical torture, and consequently attained omniscience. Poetically these compositions hardly contain anything saving them from banality.

Of the remaining Rasas , the Revantagiri-rasa^ G (c. A.D. 1232) of Vijayasena eulogizes in four Kadavas (sections) the greatness of mount Girnar in Saurashtra (and especially, of the temple of Nemi, the twenty-second Tirthankara, newly constructed thereon) as a place of pilgrimage. The second Kadava weaves in the swinging rhythm of the Madanavatara metre a picturesque description of the mount. The Abu-rasa (A.D. 1233) of Palhana too commemorates the erection of a temple of Nemi on mount Abu by Tejahpala, the famous minister of king VIradhavala (first half of the thirteenth century). Similarly the Pethada-rasa (c. A.D. 1300), about the merchant Pethada, who took out a mass pilgrimage from Patana in Gujarat to mount §atrunjaya in Saurashtra, has a commemorative purpose.

Among the three Rasas of a purely religious-didactic character, the Buddhi-rasa (c. A.D. 1200) of Salibhadra is a collection, in four sections, of moral sayings, proverbs, pithy maxims and religious instructions given as a summary list of “do’s” and “don’t’s”. The Jivadaya-rasa (A.D. 1201) of Asiga, consisting of fifty-three stanzas, has a similar though more restricted purpose in that it concentrates on religious instructions. The Saptakshetri-rdsa]Q (A.D. 1271) gives in 119 stanzas a detailed description of the seven prescribed channels of religious charity.

The compositions generally labelled as Barahamdsd, Mdtrikd and Vivahala can be aptly described as Rasas that are characterized by some special literary device or subject-matter. In the Bar ahamdsd, the theme, preferably of love, is interlaced with the monthto-month description of varying seasonal characteristics and of the corresponding changes in the life-routine of the people at large. It introduces a new variant in the long tradition of seasonal poems initiated with the Ritusamhara. Out of the two specimens of this type the Nemi-Rdjula-bdrahamdsd of Palhana (c. A.D. 1233) possibly served as a model for the later and more poetic Neminatha-Chatush padikd 19 of Vinayachandra (end of the thirteenth century). The poems describe nature, in the order of the months, from the angle of love-lorn and expectant Rajimati, whose wedding with prince Nemi failed to come off because the latter decided at the eleventh hour to renounce the world and become a monk. Palhana's poem has fuller descriptions, but it is Vinayachandra who has succeeded in giving us, we can say for the first time, a genuine artistic piece.

The central mood in the Neminatha-Chatushpadikd is effectively highlighted by delineating the situation in the form of small bits of tete-a-tetes between Rajimati and her confidante. That Vinayachandra had an artistic sense of form, rather exceptional in that period, cannot be denied. Its forty chatushpadikds (chaupdls) are organized in thirteen uniformly patterned units. Each unit begins with a nature cameo, is followed by the confidante's loving, comforting, and practical advice, and is rounded off with Rajimatfs words that reveal a heart at once noble, loving, all-dedicating and bleeding.

Another Bdrahamasd of the thirteenth century, viz. Jinadharmasuri-bdraha-navau is still in the manuscript form.

The Matrikas give moral and religious instructions in verses, each of which begins with a letter of the Sanskrit syllabary in its serial order. This device is as old as the Buddhist sacred text Lalitavistara. We have got no less than three such specimens for our period: the Matrikd-chailpdl 20 the Samvegamdtrikd 21 and the Samyaktvamdi-chaiipdl of Jagadu —all the three to be dated before the end of the thirteenth century.

Lastly, the Vivdhala type is illustrated by the Jinesvara-surisamyarnasri-vivdha-varTiana-rdsa 23 (A.D. 1275) of Somamurti. As is clear even from the title, in such compositions the occasion of ordination of some well-known person was metaphorically described as his wedding with the lady Self-control. Somamurti's poem relates to the ordination of one Ambada (A.D. 1189-1275), who, as Acharya Jinesvara Suri, became well known in the Kharatara Gachchha.

There are indications that a few other types, too, e.g. Kulaka, Phdgu, Charchari, Dhavala, etc. were current in the thirteenth century. But the materials being still unpublished, it is very difficult to gather positive information about them.

All these types of compositions remain very popular for centuries to follow. Monk after monk goes on mechanically turning out Rasas, Phagus , Mdtrikas, Vivdhalas and Char charts with the admitted purposes of instructing, earning merit and religious drilling. Very few of them succeed in reaching the literary level.

Structurally Old Gujarati Rasas reveal two distinct types: that which is made up of a number of sections, each constructed after a specific pattern; and that which is constructed throughout in one particular measure which is occasionally provided with a refrain repeated after every stanza. In the first type the main topic of the section runs in rhymed verses (distichs or three-lined) and frequently it is rounded off with a stanza in a different measure. Of course this general pattern permitted some minor variations. The Bharatesvara-Bahubali-rdsa, Revantagiri-rasa, and Pethada-rasa, among others, have this pattern. The other pattern is illustrated by the Nemindtha-chatushpadika, Nemi-Rdjula-bdrahamasd, Chandanabdlarasa, Gayasukumala-rasa, and others.

1. Apabhramsakdvyatrayl, ed. L. B. Gandhis GOS. 37, 1927, pp. 92-93.

2. Above p. 350.

3. Ghatiyala Inscription No. 2, v. 60, JRAS, 1895, p. 513; Ghatiyala Inscription No. 1, El, IX. 279. For fuller references, see K. M. Munshi, The Glory That was Gurjaradesa, Vol. Ill (1st Ed.), pp. 10-13.

4. L. P. Tessitori, "Notes on the Grammar of the Old Western Rajasthani" etc. I A, XLIII, 1914, pp. 21-22.

5. The nominal derivative suffix -at (feminine) 'aggregate, status, office' is attested in Modem Gujarati words, jivdt, 'germs and small insects collectively' (from jlv 'a creature'), Bhtldt, 'the Bhil community' (from Bhxl), thakrdt 'fief (from thakar 'a feudal chief').

6. Ike usage max jania 'I thought' recurs in one of the Apabhramsa stanzas of disputed authorship found in the fourth act of Kalidasa's Vikramorvaslya (S. JP. Pandit's edition, Appendix I, st. 7), in a stanza cited by Hemachandra in the Apabhramsa portion of his Siddhahema (8.4.377) and in Modem Gujarati in the form mem jdnyum.

7. Sabdna, 'small tent' (per. sdyban) is used in the Bh-aratesvara-Bahubali-rdsa (A. D. 1185), ed. Jinavijaya Muni, 1941, st. 135.

8. IJnhau and slala in the Siddhahema, 8.4.343 (1).

9. Siddhahema. 8.4.425.

10. Ibid, 8.4.397.

11. S. K. Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi, 1942, 99.

12. Vide Bhagavata , 10.33.2; Brahma, 188. 21. 31; Natyadarpana of Ramachandra and Gunachandra, p. 218; Bhdvaprakasana of §aradatanaya, p. 266. Cf. also the definitions of Rasaka given in Dhanapala's Paialachchhindmamaia (word No. 872) and in Hemachandra's Abhidhanachintamani (8.62).

13. Bhdvaprakasana pp. 263-265; Kdvydnusasana of Vagbhata, Nirnayasagara edition, 1894, p. 181.

14. Vrittajdtisamuchchaya of Virahanka (ed. H. D. Velankar, JBBRAS, V, 1929), 4.37-38; Svayambhuchchhandas of Svayambhu (ed. H. D. Velankar, JUB, 1936), 8.49-50; cf. Chhandonusasana of Hemachandra, Com. on 5.3.

15. Prachina-Gurjara-kdvya-samgraha, ed. C. D. Dalai, pp. 41-46.

16. Ibid, pp. 1-6.

17. Ibid, pp. 25-29.

~ 18. Ibid, pp. 47-58.

19. Ibid, pp. 8-10.

20. Ibid, pp. 74-78.

21. L. B. Gandhi, Pattanastha-Prdchina-Jaina-Bhandagariya-Granthasuchi p. 190.

22. Ibid, pp. 78-82.

23. Jain Aitihasik Gurjar Kdvya Samchay . pp. 225-227.

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

A. GENERAL REVIEW

The outstanding fact in the religious history of the period undei review is the triumphant revival of Brahmanical religion. Buddhism disappeared from the land of its birth and Jainism maintained its stronghold only in one corner of India, viz. Gujarat. But Brahmanical religion had scarcely recovered its dominant position, practically over the whole of India, when it had to face the disastrous effects of the destructive inroads of Islam. The full effect of this was not apparent till a later age, but before the close of the thirteenth century A.D. Islam had effected permanent, though scattered, settlements all over Northern India, which were big with future consequences. For the first time in the history of India, the country was permanently divided, from a religious and social point of view, into two distinct entities, the gulf between which even seven centuries of peaceful existence side by side has not been able to bridge. This religious and social aloofness places the Muslim invasion of India on an entirely different footing from similar invasions elsewhere. Analogy has been drawn, for example, between Saxon and Norman invasions of England and the Turkish invasion of India in order to prove that since the invaders became the children of the soil, they can hardly be regarded as foreigners, and the ‘foreign conquest’ of India is a misnomer so far as the pre-British period is concerned. This analogy is however fallacious. For while within a century or two of the conquest of England by William, the Duke of Normandy, nobody could possibly distinguish the Saxon, Norman or other elements of which the English people were composed, it does not require a moment’s thought today to draw a clear line between the Hindu and Muslim population, even though more than seven hundred years (in the case of Sindh, twelve hundred years) have elapsed since the Muslims first settled in the country. 1 Nor can we reasonably visualise a period when this difference will cease to exist.

It is by way of distinction from the Muslims that the term Hindu came into use. It is probable that the name was chosen by the Muslims in order to give a common designation to the people whom they found in India. This indirectly proves the essential unity of the creeds, beliefs and religious practices of the latter, in the eyes of the

former. In any case the term Hindu comes into general use during this period and it would be convenient to refer henceforth to the Indians, other than Muslims, and their religion as Hindu. As is well known, Hindu, a modified form of Sindhu, 2 was originally a geographical term used by the western foreigners to denote, first the region round the Sindhu river, and then the whole of India. The Indians, however, never called themselves by this name before the Muslim conquest. It was re-introduced' after that event, with the added significance of a particular form of religious persuasion. Historically, therefore, ‘Hindu’ really signifies the aggregate of peoples in India and their culture and religion, as distinguished from Muslims. The common use of the term Hindu, as opposed to Buddhist, Jain or follower of any other religious sect in pre-Muslim India, is therefore quite erroneous.

The period under review thus brings into relief the emergence of Hinduism as the dominant faith with the menace of Islam as a disturbing element. The cloud was not as yet bigger than a man’s hand, but ere long it grew in dimensions and cast its doleful shadow over the whole land. For the time being, however, this remote possibility was not visualised by the Hindus.

This leads us to one important question, viz. the result of the impact of Islam on Hindu religion during the period under review. So far as doctrinal changes are concerned, we could hardly expect any during the period under review when the Muslims were still a merely militant force and had hardly come into close or peaceful contact with the Hindus. To the latter, the Muslims were not only foreign and mlechchha (unclean and boorish) conquerors, but they had deeply wounded their religious susceptibilities by indiscriminate demolition of temples and destruction of images of gods cn a large scale. The Hindus would therefore be hardly in a mood to take any lesson from the teachings of Islam, and the time was too short to produce even any indirect and unconscious effect.

But the Hindus kept themselves severely aloof in order to save their purity against the unclean aliens. This led to a change in their religious and social outlook and induced them to adopt stringent rules in regard to both which vitally affected their progress and future development. This would form the subject of discussion in the next volume.

While our main attention is naturally drawn to the intrusion of Islam as an effective factor in the religious history of India, it is necessary to refer to some other features in the evolution of Indian religion which characterised the period under review. The most important among these was the growing influence of Tantrik ideas over both Buddhism and Brahmanical religion. The high ideals of Mahayana, which aimed at the salvation of all and were actuated by the noble spirit of universal love for all mankind, soon yielded to gross superstitions and immoral practices so far at least as the general masses were concerned. Belief in the efficacy of mantra, mandala and other elements of esoteric practices as the easiest means for attaining salvation retarded the growth of spiritual ideas, while the conception of ultimate reality as a duality of male and female energy —Upaya and Prajna in Buddhism, and Siva and Sakti in Brahmanical religion—, paved the way for the dominance of erotic and sensual practices which undermined the sense of moral values. Whatever views may be entertained regarding the ideals and practices of Tantra in their essence and origin, there can be no denying the fact that they led, in not a few cases, to gross debauchery and perversion of morals and ethics. It may be conceded that the fundamental principles of Tantra were conceived by great minds with the best of intentions, but the way devised for salvation was very risky and dangerous to the ordinary and unwary devotee and, as could be easily foreseen, most of the pilgrims fell victims to temptation and perished on the way before they could reach the promised land of bliss.

There has been much speculation regarding the causes of this general degradation of religious life in India. It is a significant fact that the same period also witnessed a great decline in the general intellectual and cultural level of the people in India. But whether the first is the cause or the effect of the second, or whether, and if so, how far, they reacted on each other, it is not easy to determine. It has been suggested that the universal appeal of

Buddhism which brought within its fold peoples of diverse views and beliefs, in all stages of cultural development, wrought its own ruin. For, in order to satisfy the masses Buddhism had to come down from its high pedestal to their level and present itself in a popular garb which they could understand and appreciate and for which they felt an emotional urge in their own hearts. But by an inevitable process it also incorporated to a large extent the crude ideas, beliefs and religious practices held by them. A popular religion has little scope for an appeal to the intellect, and it has to strive its utmost to win the hearts of the people. This process, with its inevitable result, was in full swing during the period under review.

But whatever may be the cause, the most regrettable feature was the degradation in ideas of decency and sexual morality brought about by the religious practices. How far this evil corroded the whole society would be plain from a study of contemporary literature. A great Sanskrit poet of the period gave a vivid description of the deva-dasis in a temple of Krishna and added that they made one feel as if the goddess Lakshml had come down on earth to attend her lord the god Murari . 3 Contemporary epigraphic records also refer in rapturous terms to the personal charm and beauty of the hundreds of deva-dasis assigned to a single temple . 4 It is impossible to describe in a modern book some of the worst features of Tantrik theories and practices which have been described by an eminent Indian scholar to be “at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of .” 5 Fortunately the esoteric character of Tantrik religion limited its field of operation, and it may be conceded that such debased forms of religious practices were exceptional and not normal. Even then we have to admit that the general effect of such religion was calculated to degrade rather than elevate the morals and general character of the people at large.

If we remember that religion in all ages has had a profound effect on Indian minds, the state of religion during the period under review cannot be regarded as an isolated topic, but has to be reviewed in the context of the general history of India, in particular its political history, social and economic condition, development of art, etc. The overall picture is one of decadence in every respect as compared to the high standard of older times.

It may therefore be urged, with some degree of plausibility, that the overthrow of Hindu rule was as much due to internal as to external causes. The wealth and luxury with its enervating effect upon character on the one hand, and the degraded religious and social life on the other, sapped the vitality of the people and destroyed its manhood. The great fabric of culture and civilisation, reared up in course of centuries, was tottering, and it was no longer a question of whether but when it would fall. Foreign invasions merely accelerated the process of decay and hastened the downfall which was inevitable in any case.

Next to the growing evil of Tantrik practices, and not altogether unconnected with it, is the almost complete disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its birth. This question has been discussed at some length in the section on Buddhism. It will suffice to state here that the principal reason seems to be the destruction by foreign invaders of the numerous monasteries in Bihar and Bengal which formed the stronghold of that religion. For the rest, it was partly assimilated to Brahmanical religion and partly survived in disguise or in a modified form in various medieval religious cults, specially in Bengal. M. M. Haraprasad Sastri even regarded the very little

known cult of Dharma-Thakur as a living relic of Buddhism in Bengal.

The Brahmanical religion has always showed its catholicity by absorbing powerful rival religious sects. At a much earlier period it brought the cults of both Krishna-Vasudeva and Rudra-Siva within its fold. 6 Now it repeated the same process in regard to Buddhism by declaring the Buddha to be an incarnation of Vishnu. The developed doctrines and rituals of Mahayana and Brahmanical religion made such a near approach to each other, specially through the stress upon faith and devotion, worship of images of numerous gods and goddesses, and the use of Sanskrit in liturgical texts, on the part of the Buddhists, and the acceptance of the principle of ahimsa, specially in regard to diet, on the part of the Brahmanas, that a merger of the two was not only rendered quite easy but became almost inevitable. The identification of the Buddha with Vishnu by means of the theory of incarnation completed the process, and Buddhism silently merged itself into Brahmanical religion. Even today images of Buddha are worshipped as Siva or Vishnu in many places in Bengal. It is also interesting to note that Siva and Buddha were identified in Java, and in modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of Siva. Further, Siva, Vishnu and Buddha were all regarded as identical and so were their Saktis. These no doubt truly reflected the religious conception of the motherland.

The Jains were more fortunate than the Buddhists. Under the patronage of the Later Chalukyas and the Hoysalas Jainism maintained for long a position in the Deccan and South India, but with the growing influence of Vaishnavism and Saivism it gradually lost its importance in both these religions. The Hoysala rulers, though converted to Vaishnavism, supported the Jain religion, but the Cholas and the Pandyas were bigoted iSaivas, and are said to have persecuted the Jains. The successful revolution of the Saiva Lihgayat sect against the Kalachuri ruler Vijjala, who was a Jain, was also an important factor in the decline of Jainism, specially in the Deccan. Due to all these causes, Jainism gradually lost its hold in the Deccan and South India before the close of the period under review.

Jainism was also affected by the assimilating power of Brahmanical religion, but to a much less extent than Buddhism. This is due to the innate rigidity and conservative character of Jainism which enabled it to maintain to a certain extent its special characteristics vis-a-vis Brahmanical religion. The result is that while Buddhism disappeared from India, Jainism is still a powerful force in Gujarat and Rajputana. This is also partly due to the fact that these two strongholds suffered less from the iconoclastic fury of the early Muslim invaders than Bihar and Bengal where Buddhism found its last refuge.

One great thing to be noted about Jainism is that it was never subjected to the contaminating influence of Tantrik ideas, which proved ruinous to Buddhism and Brahmanical religion in North India. The Vaishnava sects of Southern India were also largely free from the degrading Tantrik ideas of the North. This was mainly due to the rise of the great Acharyas like Ramanuja and Madhva who shed lustre on this age. The great Advaita doctrine of Sankara, which had a triumphant career in the preceding period, cut at the very root of bhakti-vdda, i.e. the doctrine of love and faith, for if there is only one universal spirit, there was no scope for love or devotion, which necessarily postulates two separate entities, the lover and the beloved, the devotee and the object of devotion. Ramanuja solved his problem and placed the bhakti-cult on a firm philosophical basis by expounding the famous doctrine of Visishtadvaita-vada, which was a qualified form of Sankara's Monism and a reply to his challenge. In the system of Vaishnavism preached by these Acharyas there was no place for the cowherd girls (gopis), an element which so profoundly affected the Vaishnavism of the North and ultimately degraded it to the level of the gross form of Tantrik religion referred to above.

But the South did not altogether escape the contamination of the North. If the Bhdgavata Purdna were really composed in South India, as many believe, we have an indisputable evidence of the dominance of the gopi element. Still later, Nimbarka, a Tailanga Brahmana, also stressed the gopi element. Krishna, surrounded by thousands of gopis , with Radha as his principal beloved, forms an essential element of his doctrine. It is, however, not without significance that Nimbarka, though hailing from the South, lived and preached in North India with his centre at Vrindavana (near Mathura), the reputed centre of Krishna's dalliance with the gopis. The followers of Nimbarka are also mostly to be found in North India. The Radha cult preached by him was further stressed by Chaitanya in the sixteenth century and it is still the most popular aspect of North Indian Vaishnavism.

The gaivas and Saktas were more affected by Tantrik ideas than the Vaishnavas. The Sakti cult almost became a synonym for Tantrik rites, often of a degrading character. Among the gaivas also, both in the North and the South, sects like Kapalikas and Kalamukhas followed most repulsive and obnoxious practices associated

with wine and women.

The growing menace of Tantrik ideas and practices should not, however, blind us to the fact that purer and higher forms of religious ideas and practices continued to flourish, at least among the higher classes, even in those regions in North India which were most contaminated by the debased ideas. Further, as noted above, there were also large areas, particularly in Deccan and South India, where Tantrik influence was hardly perceptible.

The growth of big temples, both Saiva and Vaishnava, constitutes an important feature in the religious development, particularly in South India. Rich endowments made to them by kings, merchants, and other men of wealth made them not only important centres of higher education, but also centres of missionary activity and spiritual inspiration like the Buddhist monasteries of old. The mathas, which grew up in large numbers, not only supplemented these activities, but also took up humanitarian work like feeding the poor and tending the sick. It is interesting to note that many Buddhist monasteries were actually converted to such mathas.

Reference has been made above to the persecution of Jains by the Saiva rulers of the South. According to Tamil Puranas, the Saiva religion was firmly established by the cruel torture inflicted on the Jains. Specific reference is made to a case of an earlier period when 8000 Jains were impaled on stakes. But according to some scholars the story is apocryphal. 7 There are also stories that Ramanuja and his followers were subjected to persecution by the Cholas who were ardent Saivas. It is difficult to say how far these stories can be relied upon as true, though some support is given to them by the fact that Ramanuja had to withdraw to Mysore and live there for more than twenty years, before he could return to Srirangam. 8 But these cases, even if partially true, form an exception to the general rule, and on the whole the Hindus, even during this period, did not show any lack of the spirit of toleration which marked the religious evolution in India throughout the ages. This spirit was displayed even towards the Muslims 9 in the face of the greatest provocation caused by their iconoclastic fury.

B. BUDDHISM I. DOCTRINAL CHANGES

1. Tantrik Buddhism

The development of Tantrism, during the period under review, effected a radical change in the outlook and character of Buddhism. The Tantras, whether of the Saiva or Sakta schools or of the Buddhists, primarily pertain to the sddhand, i.e. religious exercises or practices, as contrasted with any abstract philosophy. They have little to do with metaphysical speculations, since their leading object is to expound practical methods for the realisation of the ultimate truth. These methods and practices, sometimes of highly erotic nature, comprise, besides esoteric Yoga, a medley of hymns, rites, rituals, etc. So far as theological speculations and philosophical doctrines are concerned, the Saiva and Sakta Tantras accept the Brahmanical philosophical systems as authority, and utilise their fundamental tenets, while the Buddhist Tantras likewise adopt and put to use the Buddhist, or more precisely, Mahayana, principles. It should not be supposed that Buddhism, in the process of development, had evolved Tantrism at a certain stage of its growth, within its own spheres, or out of its own materials. For there is absolutely no inherent relation between Tantrism and Buddhism proper. In point of fact, Buddhism in the later phases of Mahayana had adopted, or had been engrafted into, these esoteric principles and practices which had an entirely independent growth and an independent history of their own. But, as pointed out above, 9a Tantrik ideas may be traced in Buddhism from a very early period.

Mahayana Buddhism does not recognise Sunyatd or perfect knowledge 10 to be the highest truth, which, according to its postulation, is a state where Sunyatd and Ko,rund are united together. Thus the emphasis of Mahayana is divided; as a system of religion it is characterised by its stress, no less if not more, on Karuna or universal compassion, a feature that is conspicuous by its absence in Hinayana. The final goal of Hmayana being the attainment of Arhathood, its followers are supposed to dedicate themselves to the selfish hankering for personal liberation and to be thus busy with themselves only. On the contrary, the avowed object of Karuna is to stimulate one to make use of one's perfect knowledge in missionary activities for the welfare of the suffering world and the salvation of all beings. These missionary activities mainly consist of preaching the gospel to all the laity in order to banish their shroud of ignorance and make them realise the truth.

Sunyatd } or perfect wisdom, and Karuna, or universal compassion, being associated together, generate in one's mind, according to the Mahayana conception, the Bodhi-chitta, which is that mental state in which nothing else remains but a firm determination to attain bodki or perfect knowledge, mixed up with a strong emotion of compassion for the redemption of all suffering beings of the world. The Bodhi-chitta next proceeds on an upward march through ten different stages (bhumis), and when the last stage, known as Dharmamegha, is reached, one becomes a perfect Bodhisattva. To the Mahayanists, the ultimate goal is not final extinction

through Nirvana z 1 but to transcend the states of both bhava (existence in the world of birth and death) and Nirvana (in the sense of extinction), and to attain Buddhahood through different stages of Boddhisattvahood. Every human being, nay, any creature of the world, is according to Mahay ana, a potential Buddha, and has within him all the possibilities of becoming a Samyak-sambuddha, i.e. the Perfectly Enlightened One; but this hidden possibility can find tangible expression only by the attainment of the Bodhi-chitta, which is a unified state of Sunyata and Karund.

This broad outlook of Mahayana, coupled with the spirit of benevolence and humanity, elevated it to the sublimity of a religion of love and tender sympathy for all sentient beings, and formed an important factor in popularising Buddhism far and wide. For the liberation of all people being the sacred pledge of Mahayana, it stood out prominently as a religion for all. From this standpoint, it had to concern itself with, and accommodate within its fold folks of all grades, shades, and tastes. But this zeal of popularisation did overstep its limits, and ultimately brought about degeneration in Mahayana, inasmuch as an influx of heterogenous elements of faith and religious practices into the enclosure of Buddhism was rendered inevitable. What is, to the ordinary or plebian section of people, a religion, if it be not something that consists of belief in a pantheon of gods and goddesses and of the performance of rites and ceremonies and some esoteric practices along with the muttering of mystic formulas, etc. with which they had been hitherto only too familiar? So, in order to satisfy the ideas and sentiments of what is called the mass mind, manifold ceremonies and rites and rituals of very popular and homely nature had to be incorporated, and at the same time elements of mantras, dhdranis , mudrds, manda las , etc. introduced into the religion of the Buddha. Gradually, however, a section of people of higher intellectual level, too, became convinced of the efficacy of the mantra- charms as the simplest and most suitable means for the realisation of the ultimate truth. Just at this stage of development Mahayana was subdivided into two distinct schools, Mantra-ydna or Mantra-nay a and Pdramita-yana or Pdramitd-naya, and the former may justly be regarded as the initial stage of Tantrik Buddhism. In this stage the emphasis was laid mainly on the elements of mantra, dhdram , mudra, mandala, abhisheka, etc. But these elements of esoterism have by nature a propensity to generate beliefs in magic, sorcery, charms, etc., having their application to gods, demigods, ghosts, goblins, demons, fiends and the like. And when to these were added the elements of yoga or sexo-yogic practices, it was full-fledged Tantrism. It may

thus be said that the Mahayana doctrine of Karuna was, directly or indirectly, responsible for introducing Tantrism in Buddhism. This doctrine of universal compassion, as such, was also adopted and utilised to the full by the Tantrik Buddhists themselves. All their teachings, all their mystic rites and ceremonies and practices, bear the impress of Karuna on them, and every thing they do is professed to be undertaken with the set purpose of saving the world from all miseries.

It should, however, be borne in mind that there is no fundamental difference between the esoteric sadhana (religious endeavours) of the Brahmanical and Buddhist Tantrism. Both the schools lay equal stress upon the theological principles of duality in non-duality, and hold that the ultimate non-dual reality possesses in its nature the potency of two aspects or attributes, viz. the negative and the positive, the static and the dynamic, the principle of pure consciousness and the principle of activity. In the Absolute Being these two aspects and attributes lie merged together in a state of absolute non-duality. In the process of phenomenalisation, however, come separation and duality, which mean bondage and suffering, the ultimate escape from which is liberation. The final goal of both the schools is to destroy all principles of dualism and to attain the final state of non-duality.

These two aspects of the absolute reality are conceived as Siva and Sakti in Brahmanical Tantrism and as Prajna and Up ay a in Buddhist Tantrism. The terms Prajnci and Upaya are not of its coinage but are copiously used also in Mahayana literature, and are practically synonymous with Sunyata and Karuna respectively. Sunyata is Prajna because it represents perfect wisdom, i.e. knowledge of the void-nature of the self and the dharmas.

Karuna or universal compassion is called Upaya because it is the means or medium for the attainment of the Bodhi-chitta for the realisation of the highest goal. Prajna or Sunyata (perfect knowledge) represents a static or negative state of mind which separates the individual from the world of suffering beings; it makes one observe the world of existence from a point of view where there is neither suffering nor happiness and, therefore, no opportunity left for displaying the spirit of benevolence; it makes a man altogether static. Upaya or Karuna) on the other hand, operates in one's mind like a dynamic force, draws one's attention to the world of suffering, and as the symbol of universal compassion removes the miseries of the suffering world. Through Prajna, which is the one universal principle underlying the diversity of the phenomenal world, one's mind is purified, while Upaya is that principle which brings down one's perfectly purified mind to this phenomenal world, the world around us, where the helpless beings are suffering the miseries of life. If Upaya impels one to benevolent activities for the removal of sorrow, those moral activities are to be yoked with and conducted by Prajnd. Prajnd or Sunyata, standing for perfect wisdom, is regarded as absolutely passive and negative aspect of the reality, while Upaya or Karuna , with its active inspiration and because of its dynamic nature, is conceived as the active and positive aspect of the same. The nature of Prajnd is non-existence, and that of Upaya existence; Prajnd is essencelessness, while Upaya is of positive nature; so the whole truth is the unity of both these positive and negative aspects.

The first, as also the foremost, innovation that the Tantrik Buddhism effected was the conception of these two cardinal principles of Sunyata and Karuna or Prajnd and Upaya of Mahayana as the female and the male. Accordingly, Prajnd or Sunyata is the female, and Upaya or Karuna, male. The Tantrik Buddhism differs from the Saiva and Sakta Tantras as well as some other Indian systems of philosophy in regarding the negative, static or unqualified aspect of the reality as the female, and the positive or active counterpart as the male. Nevertheless, the most important thing in the Buddhist Tantras is the stress on the union of Prajnd and Upaya both in the philosophical and in the esoteric Yogic senses. Prajnd is declared to be bondage, if unassociated with Upaya, and so is also Upaya bereft of Prajnd; when the one is conjoined with the other, the two, being one, become liberation. In other words, the truth is both Prajnd and Upaya united together. The commingling of Prajnd and Upaya, like that of water and milk, in a state of nonduality, constitutes a state perfectly pure from the defilement of reality and unreality and subjectivity and objectivity, and it has only to be realised by intuition.

This ultimate state of non-duality, on the destruction of all principles of dualism, is called by the Tantrik Buddhists the state of Yuganaddha, which is variously called in other esoteric systems as Advaya, Maithuna, Samarasa, etc. One reaching the stage of Yuganaddha has attained perfect enlightenment and eternal tranquillity and has crossed the sea of birth and death. This is in fact perfect enlightenment of Buddhatva, and this is the way in which, according to the Tantrik Buddhists, innumerable Buddhas have attained perfection.

The Tantrik Buddhists share in common with other esoteric schools the notion that practices of austere penances, difficult vows, fasting, going in pilgrimage, etc., only inflict torture upon the body

and mind of a man, make him morbid, disfigure his face, and so on, but can never bring forth perfection. To them this very approach appears to be unnatural, and perfect enlightenment is attainable only through an easy process, viz. through enjoyment. This either supplements or is supplemented by another conception of momentous consequences, viz. that the male and female represent in this world the division that exists in the nature of the Absolute as Upaya and Prajna (cf. Siva and Sakti), the union of which is the highest reality. As such, to obtain the highest spiritual experience, men and women must first of all realise themselves as manifestations of Updvya and Prajna and be united together in body, mind, and spirit; the supreme bliss that emerges from that union is the highest religious gain. All esoteric sadhand must, therefore, be performed by the male and female together, and this is precisely the easy process of realising the highest truth. The son of Mayadevi, Lord Buddha, was the incarnation of Upaya, and his wife Gopa that of Prajna, and the Buddha attained, we are told, supreme bliss (Mahasukha) of the nature of Nirvana in union with the Prajna Gopa. 12

If in the Buddhist Tantras, therefore, Prajna, the female aspect of the absolute, is viewed as the goddess (Bhagavati), it is also a term often used to imply the Mudrd, which technically denotes the woman to be adopted in the Yogic practice. She is also called Vajra-kanya, Yuvati (young woman) and so on. In some Tantras, a beautiful girl of sixteen to be adopted for the sadhand is styled as Prajna, while, again in some places Prajna is the word for the female organ, because it is the seat of all pleasure, which is great bliss (Mahasukha). Prajna and Upaya, as the symbol of the female and male, are also called, respectively, the lotus (padma) and the thunder (vajra), the former symbolising the female, and the latter, the male organ.

The Yogic practices involving the physical and physiological union of the Prajna and the Upaya lead to the inner union of the two, and through this Yogic union is produced supreme bliss (Mahd sukha) which, according to the Buddhist and all other schools of Tantra, is the very nature of the Absolute. One realises the Absolute only when one realises one’s own self as perfect bliss. The ultimate end is, therefore, to attain this state of perfect bliss. In our ordinary life we do feel like experiencing intense pleasure in our sex-experiences, but between the sex-pleasure and perfect bliss, which constitutes the ultimate nature of our self, there is an abyss of difference. The experiences of sex-pleasure, extremely transitory and of defiled character as they are, only fasten us to a lower plane of life, as against ministering to our progress towards self realisation. But the sexo-yogic sddhana of the Tantriks is a sadhana which is calculated to be capable of transmitting “even gross sex-pleasure into the realisation of infinite bliss in which all the activities of the mind are absolutely lost and in which the self and the world around are lost in an all-pervading oneness”. This is what is reckoned as Nirvana 13 by the Tantrik Buddhists;

With the identification of Mahdsukha with Nirvana and that of the principles of Prajna and Upaya with the female and male organs, the

Mahayana conception of the Bodhi-chitta was destined to undergo a thorough change in Tantrik Buddhism. The Bodhi-chitta is no more the state of the mind in which reigns only a strong determination to attain perfect wisdom (bodhi), but signifies the production of an extremely blissful state of mind through the Yogic union of the male and the female. This is further elaborated by the identification of the different philosophical concepts with the various parts of the nervous system of the human body and the conception of the attainment of the final bliss as a physical process, which is too technical and intricate to be explained here.

2. Vajra-ydna

This system of Tantrism, compounded with the principle of sexo-yogic practice, is conventionally known by the general name of Vajra-yana, or the Adamantine path. But perhaps we should rather take Vajra-yana merely as the name of a school of Tantrik Buddhism, though undoubtedly the largest school. The justification of the name of the school is to be sought in its preference of the use of the term Vajra in place of Sunyata. In this system Vajra connotes the unchangeable adamantine void-nature of the self and of the dharmas. Thus Vajra-yana is the way for the realisation of the vajra - nature or the changeless and impenetrable void-nature of the self and all entities. It has been rightly suggested that Vajra-yana may also be designated as &unyatd-ydna . 14

Notwithstanding the considerable emphasis laid by Vajra-yana upon the secret Yogic practices, absolute confidence was not reposed upon them as the only method of realising the truth. This is evinced by the high degree of importance attached at the same time to the worship of various gods and goddesses of an extensive pantheon that it evolved, to the numerous rites and practices that it developed, to the efficacies of mantra- charms, mudrds , mandalas, and so on. A singular peculiarity that marks out Vajra-yana is that it considers everything as vajra. For instance, in worshipping a god, it is not only that the god adored is meditated on as of vajra (void) nature, but also the image of the god, the mantras , the processes of worship, the worshipper himself, etc., are all supposed to be vajra . This vajra bias is so acute in the minds of the followers of the system that even the articles of worship including the image, flowers, lamp, conchshell, bell, jar, incense, sesamum, fried paddy, etc., all bear the mark of vajra on them. The idea underlying this apparently queer pursuit is, however, simple; anything stamped with vajra before one's eyes conduces to the realisation of the voidnature of the self and the dharmas.

The most outstanding feature of Vajra-yana is the identification of the ultimate reality with the conception of a Lord Supreme (Bhagavan) as Vajrasattva, sometimes also called Vajradhara. This monotheistic conception is the most significant departure of Vajrayana from earlier Buddhism. This Vajrasattva is not merely of the nature of Sunyatd, but is as well the non-dual state of Sunyata and Kanina. He is thus the Being of infinite wisdom and universal compassion. Hence it is that Vajrasattva is often identified with the Bodhi-chitta. He who realises Vajrasattva becomes himself Vajrasattva. To realise Vajrasattva is to bring home to one's mind that all existence is nothing but &unyata in its pure nature, and as soon as one attains to this knowledge, one becomes Vajrasattva. 16

The evolution of the idea of Vajrasattva as the Lord Supreme ushered into being a new and expanded pantheon of gods and goddesses in Vajra-yana. Vajrasattva as the Primal Enlightened One is Adi-Buddha. The Primal Lord is possessed of five kinds of knowledge conceived as his five attributes, from which proceed five kinds of meditation (dhyanas); from these, again, emanate five deities known as the five Dhyam-Buddhas or Tathagatas, viz. Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi and Akshobhya. These Dhyam-Buddhas, who are the presiding deities over the five skandhas or elements whose aggregate constitutes the body, have each got a divine consort or gakti of his own, viz. Vajradhatvlsvarl, Lochana, Mamaka, Pandara and Arya-Tara respectively. Each Dhyanl-Buddha has again a particular Bodhi-sattva as a son as it were, and also a particular human Buddha (Manushi Buddha). The consort of Vajrasattva himself is variously called as Vajra-sattvatmika, Vajra-Varahi, Prajna-paramita, etc. We have the injunction of many a sadhana that the god to be worshipped is to be meditated on as in union with or deeply embraced by his Sakti or Prajnl, filled with erotic emotion and as enjoying great bliss (Mahdsukha). This illustrates the principle of Yuganaddha or Advaya. Thus we find that Vajrasattva and some other gods are depicted in sculp ture as “in sexual union touching at all points of contact”, representing the knowledge of non-dual union.

Some idea of the actual process of worship and nature of meditation in Vajra-yana may be had from the description of a particular sddhan'a of a deity. First, the Lord Supreme should be meditated on with the five Dhyani-Buddhas, and then flowers are to be offered. Then these five with their five respective Saktis are to be adored with offerings of flowers, incense, lamp, etc. Then follow some other details including the devotee’s confession of his sins before the Lord and taking refuge in the three jewels, Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. “Then he takes the resolution of producing the Bodhi-chitta for the well-being and deliverance of all, and adopts the path followed by the Sugatas and their followers. Then he should think of the world, both static and dynamic, as all void, and place himself in the void with the mantra, ‘Om, I am of the nature of the immutable knowledge, of the void’. Then he should realise that all the dharmas are pure by nature and he, too, is pure by nature, and then he should read, ‘Naturally pure are all the dharmas , pure am I by nature—amen”. Then after some details follows the meditation of the self as the Lord himself, and that of various gods and goddesses on either side of the Lord with mantras, etc. 16

3. Kalachakra-yana

Within the fold of Vajra-yana there arose, in or about the tenth century A.D., a school known as Kalachakra-yana, which should not be regarded as a separate school of Tantrik Buddhism distinct from Vajra-yana. The supreme deity in this school is called the Lord Srl-Kalachakra. Kdla means the ultimate immutable knowledge (Prajnd) or the state of Sunyatd , while Chakra means the cycle of the world process, or the body of the Lord containing the potency of the existence of the universe, which is just the principle of Updya. Kalachakra, therefore, implies the absolutely unified principle of Prajnd and Updya, and he is thus the Bodhi-chitta. In some Tantras he is characterised as Sunyatd and Karund unified, as the non-dual Lord, and as embracing Prajnd. There is, therefore, no essential difference between the two conceptions of Kalachakra and Vajrasattva. As to other matters also, viz. worship, mantras, practices, rites, etc., the principle and method are the same both in Kalachakra-yana and Vajra-yana. The difference between the two lies in a few distinctive features of Kalachakra-yana, of which one, though not the main, is the introduction and predominance in the system of a number of gods and their female energies, having awful and terrible aspects, though as powerful as the celestial Buddhas

themselves, and of other dreadful fiendesses known as Ddkiriis, all of whom have to be appeased with mantra- charms, magic circles, offerings and sacrifices. One other distinctive feature is the stress on time which is the common meaning of the term Kdla. Time, with all its divisions and subdivisions, viz. moment, hour, day, night, week, fortnight, month, year, etc., dwells within one's body, in which lies the whole universe with all its animate beings and inanimate objects. And Time with its divisions is caused by, or is the production of, the vital winds (vdyus) that remain diffused throughout the entire nervous system of one's body. One who can control the vital winds in the nerves by Yogic practices, thereby keeps oneself above all influence of the whirl of Time, which is the root cause of all miseries including decay and destruction. 17

The Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana completed the evolution of Buddhism in India. As we have seen above, some time after the seventh century A.D. Hinayana was practically dislodged by Mahayana from the mainland of India. After the tenth century, Mahayana, too, in its turn, was to a considerable extent eclipsed by Vajra-yana, which "revolted against both the monasticism and scholasticism of Hinayana Buddhism and the intellectual pedantry of the Mahayanists", 18 and now began to make its triumphant headway. It exerted its influence most in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., wherever in India Buddhism prevailed at that time. The influene of Kalachakra-yana was felt more from the latter half of the eleventh century, and speaking generally, its sphere of influence was limited to Bengal, Magadha (South Bihar) and Kashmir, though subsequently it spread to Nepal. Round these two schools a vast body of literature grew up in different Buddhist monasteries, while the artists carved out a large number of images of deities of the Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana pantheons for worship in numerous temples that were built up.

4. Sahaja-ydna

In Bengal, during the Bala period, a section of the Tantrik Buddhists rose in revolt against all conventionalism, ceremonialism, muttering of mantras, etc. of Vajra-yana. These rebels, known as Sahajiya Buddhists, also made their position distinct by their scrupulous abhorrence of high thinking and deep learning, even of constructing images and worshipping gods, etc.; for truth, they affirmed, was a matter of intuition and could never be attained by these artificial and unnatural means. To that end one must proceed through the natural way, which lies not in discarding the inborn propensities of human beings and the total annihilation of the sex passions, but in sublimating the same. Sahajiya Buddhists, to

whom deliberate infliction of any sort of strain on human nature was an idea as shocking as it was sickening, would adopt human nature itself as the best appliance for realising the truth, and consequently they called their path the easiest, the most straight and the most natural (sahaja). The path was one of Yoga practices, for the process of Yoga, according to their way of thinking, takes its rise from one’s sex impulses.

The fundamental tenets of these Sahajiyas are known exclusively from a number of Charyapadas or devotional songs and Dohds composed by them. As for the Yogic practices, the Sahaja-yana accepts the general Tantrik Buddhist texts as its authority, though it invented some new terminologies to suit its standpoint. In the matter of sexo-yogic practices, the Sahajiya Buddhists, however, went ahead of the Vajra-yanists by laying more emphasis on two points, viz. (i) the imperative necessity of making the body sufficiently strong and fit before starting with Yogic processes; and (ii) conception of an internal female force in the Nirmdna-chakra (navel region), corresponding to that of the Kula-kundalini sakti of the Brahmanical Tantras.

The sphere of influence of the Sahajiya Buddhist cult was for the most part Bengal and probably, to some extent, its western and south-western environs. When exactly this offshoot of Tantrik Buddhism rose as a distinct school is difficult to determine, but many of the poets of the Charyds and Dohds are known to have flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries during the Fala period. In popular mind the term Sahajiya or Sahaja-yana is another name for excesses and debauchery, but the authors of the Charyds and Dohds do not seem to have prized morality any less than other religious systems do. 19

II. SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

There is a general belief that Bengal and Bihar remained the only resorts of Buddhism in India after the age of Harsha-vardhana, till it was finally extirpated in the twelfth century. But both epigraphic and literary records testify to the fact that it had quite a large number of followers in other parts of India also, even between A.D. 1000 and 1200. It is true that Buddhism had ceased to be a creative force in religion, literature or aesthetics, and was merely a legacy of the past in less capable hands. But it is equally true that Buddhism, in a new form, was still a living religion in India during this period. This will be evident from the following account of Buddhism, arranged on a regional basis.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

1. Pala kingdom (Bengal and Bihar)

In A.D. 1000 the king of Bengal (Gauda) was Mahipala I, 20 doubtless the most energetic ruler of the line after the great Dharmapala and his son Devapala, both from political and religious points of view. Under him the Pala monarchy once again outstripped the limits of Magadha to the west, while a galaxy of Buddhist scholars and other celebrities joined hands with him to revive Buddhism in Eastern India from the stupor into which it had fallen in the tenth century A.D. After him his son Nayapala strove, not without success, to maintain the progress of Buddhism. It suffered decline during the political troubles that followed, 21 but in the reign of Ramapala (c. A.D. 1077-1120) the religion was again active and stirring, and a number of scholars, teachers and artists shed lustre on the age of the last great Pala king. But this was the last flickering of the lamp and Buddhism steadily declined till it was finally ousted from the land of its birth by the Muslim raids towards the close of the twelfth century A.D.

The possession of Magadha gave the Buddhist Pala rulers the mastery over the greatest vihdras or samghardmas of India, viz. Nalanda, Odantapurl

(Uddandapura, probably near the town of Bihar), and Vikramaslla (near Bhagalpur), 22 the last two being the creation of the Palas themselves towards the commencement of their rule. The vihdras, as is well known, served as Buddhist seats of learning, as also citadels of strength of the Samgha, and the centres wherefrom radiated the influence of their doctrine and culture. As such, they played a very important part in the propagation of Buddhism and maintaining its influence.

Nalanda, the origin and glorious history of which have been referred to above, 23 was damaged by fire some time before the eleventh regnal year of Mahipala I, but was repaired in that year. Far more damaging to it was, however, the rise of Vikramaslla, which, we are told, had about this time surpassed Nalanda in fame and renown. Taranatha even hints that the professorial board of Vikramaslla kept watch over the affairs of Nalanda, which amounts to a sort of control by the former over the latter. 24 Like Vikramaslla in Magadha, the university of Somapun occupied a position of pre-eminence in Bengal ever since the days of Dharmapala. 25 The monastery of Somapurl, the site of which is represented by Paharpur in North Bengal, was in a flourishing condition till the eleventh century. The great Atisa or Atisa Dipankara resided here when he translated into Tibetan, in collaboration with some others, the Madhyamaka-ratna-pradipa of Bhavaviveka. 26 We have also a stone inscription on a pillar, in cha

racters of the eleventh century, found in the ruins of Paharpur, recording that the pillar was caused to be made by Sri-Dasavalagarbha for the good of the animate beings. 27

About the middle of the eleventh century, the Somapuri-mahdvihdra was set on fire by the armies of Vangala or South-east Bengal. Even though, some time after, a monk, Vipulasrimitra, undertook a wholesale renovation of the monastery, 28 it could not be restored to its former glory. About this time Ramapala established a new maha-vihara, in North Bengal, called Jagaddala, which also came to occupy an important position in Bengal. Besides Vibhutichandra and Danasila, the two most renowned celebrities of Jagaddala, the names of some other scholars, e.g. Mokshakaragupta, the logician, Subhakaragupta, Dharmakara, etc. are intimately associated with

Jagaddala, where the great Sakyasribhadra is also said to have dwelt for some time. 29

To all these maha-vihdras or universities, richly endowed with royal grants, flocked learners from all quarters of India to receive instructions at the feet of the most profound savants of the day. Another feature that marked them, and which is historically very important, is that they were largely frequented by monks from Tibet, specially from the time of Mahipala I. This resulted in bringing Tibet closer to India than ever. While, usually on invitation from the Tibetan kings, the viharas used to send forth from time to time pre-eminent scholars to the Land of Snow with the mission of preaching the gospel of the Buddha or reforming the religion there, they also frequently supplied competent monks to that country for translating Buddhist works from Sanskrit into Tibetan. Thus the nucleus of a Tibetan Buddhist literature began to take shape in Tibet. Gradually, the Tibetans, too, began to study Sanskrit under Indian monks both in Tibet and in India and took up the task which had hitherto been done by the Indian monks only. The influx of the Tibetan monks began to swell more and more as time went on, and the universities had, as a matter of course, to make commodious provisions for them to learn Sanskrit and be L ochavas. The Buddhist Panditas of India, in their turn, found it alluring to master Tibetan, in order to permeate Tibet all the more with the doctrines of Buddhism by means of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit books, and the Indian universities, particularly those of Eastern India and Kashmir, became genial centres of the cultivation of Tibetan. The growth of the vast Tibetan Buddhist literature was thus due as much to the contributions of Indian scholars, as to those of the Tibetans themselves. That literature forms now, for the most part, the only extant source of our information regarding

the Indian Buddhist scholars and their works during the period under review.

Besides Somapuri and Jagaddala, there were many other less known vihdras in Bengal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Among these Devlkota in North Bengal and Pandita -vihara in the Chittagong District of East Bengal deserve particular mention and were noted as seats of Buddhist learning and culture. 30

Amongst the host of Buddhist scholars who kept the light burning in Bengal and Bihar in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by their writings and other exertions, and at the same time propagated and popularised the faith, through the medium of translation, in Tibet, it is possible to name only a few. Tilopada or Tilopa, alias Prajnabhadra, was a celebrity of the Pandita-m/idra. Nadapada, alias Yasobhadra, a Kashmirian by birth, w^as his disciple, who worked for some time, along with Vinayasrlmitra and some others of Kashmir, in the grand vihara of Kanakastupa, which is located by some in Kashmir, but was really in the district of Tipperah of East Bengal. 3 n According to the Tibetan tradition he succeeded Jetari in the chair of the North-door Pandita of Vikramaslla, and subsequently became the High-priest of Vajrasana. 32 Jetari, alias Jetakarna, was the son of one Gaganaghosha, a Brahmana. 33 and not of Garbhapada 34 nor of king Sanatana of Varendra, 35 as tradition would have it. Tradition also makes Nadapada a preceptor, and Jetari a teacher, of the great Atlsa Dlpankara, but there is no positive evidence to substantiate it. The distinction of being a preceptor of Atlsa, however, rightly belongs to Ratnakara Santi, 36 better known to the Tibetans as Santi-pada, a voluminous writer, an eminent logician, and occupant of the Chair of Pandita, a prize post at that time, at the East gate of Vikramaslla 37 in the first half of the eleventh century. His title Rajacharya, 38 if it has any genuine significance at all, shows that he was the spiritual guide of Mahlpala I. Contemporary with him was Jnanasrimitra of Gauda, also associated with Vikramaslla. Advayavajra, who belonged to the same age and was known variously as Advayagupta, Atulyavajra, Avadhutapada, Maitripada, etc., testifying to his eminence, lived in the Devikota-mhcira of North Bengal. The next exalted figure is Atlsa Dlpankara, 39 otherwise called Dipaiikara Srijnana, undoubtedly the greatest of all Buddhist Pandiias of Bengal, and possibly the most outstanding personality in the entire Buddhist world after Nagarjuna. He was appointed the High-priest of Vikramaslla by Nayapala about A.D. 1040-42, but resigned owing to the repeated importunities of the Tibetan king Ye-ses-hod and his successor Chan Chub, in order to go over to Tibet to reform the religion thereof. On his way he resided for a year in Nepal. He was received with royal honours in Tibet and worked almost miracles there during the thirteen years of his great mission, till his death in A.D. 1053 at the age of seventy-three. The Tibetans still bestow divine honours upon him and he richly deserves them on account of his literary and missionary activity in that far-off land. Another illustrious monk, later by half a century, was Abhayakaragupta, a contemporary of Ramapala, and a glory of Vikramaslla in its last days. To him also is attributed the authorship of a good many works, mostly on Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana, and he exerted immense influence on Tibetan thought through his numerous translations. He is said in different anecdotes to have been born in Gauda or in Jharikhanda of Orissa, but in the colophons of at least two works of his own he figures as one of Magadha. He is still worshipped as a great saint by the Northern Buddhists and many stories are current about his various supernatural powers. 40

Another monk of great repute was Mahdpandita Vibhutichandra, son of a king (raja-putra) and a celebrity of Jagaddala. He was a contemporary of, or just posterior to, Abhayakaragupta, and a pretty large number of Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana works are associated with his name either as an author or as a translator or redactor. He also went to Tibet, and on his return journey made a halt in Nepal for some time. 41 Another famed writer on Tantrik Buddhism of about this period was Danaslla of Jagaddala, who must not be confounded with an earlier namesake of his of the time of Dharmapala. He made his mark chiefly as a translator, and translated without aid more than fifty works into Tibetan. 42

Although all these scholar-monks and others of this period concerned themselves primarily with Vajra-yana and Kalachakrayana in their literary activities, some of them, including Jetari, Ratnakara-santi, Atisa Dipankara and Abhayakaragupta, made contributions to Mahayana literature (Sutra, Mdo-Hgrel) by their commentaries and sub-commentaries. 43 A gloss on the Ashtasahasrika Prajndpciramitd, entitled Amnayanusarini, is ascribed to king Ramapala himself. 44 The study of Buddhist logic was also not neglected in Bengal in this period and we have logical treatises in Tibetan translation of Jetari, Ratnakara Santi, Mokshakaragupta, etc.

As literature is a fair index of the ideas of people of the upper stratum, art normally reflects the popular mind. In matters religious, art expresses itself through divine images and the temples built for them. A large number of Buddhist images belonging to this period 45 presuppose a large number of votaries of that religion among the ordinary people.

2. Kashmir

Another vigorous centre of Buddhism was Kashmir. The exodus of numerous missionaries from this region in order to spread the doctrine in Tibet and Central Asia had made the valley a sort of holy land to the Northern Buddhists. When, after the notorious persecution of the Faith in Tibet by Glan-dar-ma 46 , the decaying religion was revived a century later, it was mostly the Kashmirian sramanas whose services were requisitioned to reinstruct the people of Tibet in the forgotten Law. 47

Again, of the number of sramanas who went over to China in the tenth and eleventh centuries, some belonged to Kashmir. For instance, a Kashmirian sramana went, along with another, probably named Danapala, of Udyana, in A.D. 980 to China, where the emperor commissioned them, both well-versed in the Tripitaka, to translate the scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. In A.D. 1005 another sramana from Kashmir repaired to China with some manuscripts and a twig of the sacred Bodhi-tree of Bodh-Gaya, which he presented to the Chinese emperor. 48

Within the valley itself Buddhism had in the past found in Lalitaditya Muktapida and his grandson, Jayaplda, of the eighth century, two powerful Brahmanical kings very tolerant towards Buddhism. 49 To the Buddhists of Kashmir, the great Buddha image installed by Lalitaditya at his new capital, Parihasapura, and the statue of the Great Buddha (Brihad-Buddha) set up much earlier by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of king Pravarasena II, in the Jayendra -vihdra of Srlnagara, 50 were objects of great adoration even in the eleventh century. When king Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) of the Lohara dynasty, in a fit of rage, gave himself up to the destruction of the divine images of Kashmir, these two colossal statues of the Buddha were saved, it is said, at the intercession of two Buddhists. 61 But this might also have been due to Harsha’s own pro-Buddhist leanings, clearly reflected in the hymn entitled Ashta mahdsthdna-chaitya-vandand-stava which, along with another hymn, Suprabhata-prabhata-stotra, is attributed to his authorship in the Tangyur. 52 And it derives further corroboration from the fact that it was in his presence, or under his auspices, that the translation of the Paralokasiddhi of Dharmottara was executed by Bhavyaraja of Kashmir in the Ratnarasmi -vihdra at Anupamapura. 53 But king Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1155), the contemporary of Kalhana, lacked this catholicity of heart, and broke up images and burnt down a vihdra at Arigon near Srinagara, though it was afterwards

rebuilt. 54 Fortunately only few bigots of the type of Jayasiihha sat on the throne of Kashmir.

The famous Jayendra -vihara of Srinagara and the Raj a-mhdra founded by Lalitaditya at Parihasapura, which long inspired the Buddhists of Kashmir, had played out their part in history by the eleventh century A.D. But the two celebrated vihdras, viz. Ratnagupta- and Ratnarasmi -vihara, in the centre of Anupamapura, figure as the greatest centres of Buddhist learning and culture in Kashmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. 55 There a vast body of literature grew up in Tibetan translation during this period, and a considerable part of this corpus of translation seems to relate to Mahay ana works. 56

But in Kashmir, as in Bengal, Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana found a fertile soil and the Tangyur furnishes us with the names of a fairly large number of Vajrdcharyas and Kalachakrdchdrya of Kashmir of this period, who made mark as authors, commentators and translators. Pre-eminent amongst these are Jnanasrimitra (A.D. 1074) of Anupama-uihdra, and Buddhasrljnana, Sarvajnasrlrakshita and Sakyasrlbhadra, called ‘the Grand Pandita of Kasmira ’, 57 Among less known scholars may be mentioned Jayananda, Suryagupta, Sumanahjsrl, Jinamitra, Tilaka-kalasa, Prajnasrlgupta, Valasribhadra, Mahajana and Manoratha, whose dates cannot be fixed within precise limits, except that of the first, Jayananda, who flourished about A.D. 1050.

History of Kashmir Buddhism during this period is characterised by a lively study of Buddhist logic, and Bhavyaraja 68 and Sahkarananda 69 are two of the best known products of the valley in this domain. Of the former, who was a contemporary of king Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101), only translations of three works of Dharmottara have found place in the Tangyur, but his grandiloquent title Kdsmlra-nydya-chuddmani 60 indicates real contributions to Buddhist logic in some original treatise or treatises written by him. Of other logicians of Kashmir, mention may be made of Mahasumati, bearing the title of Mahdtarkika , 61 Parahitavrata, who translated the Pramdna-vinischaya of Dharmaklrti, 62 and Jnanasri, the author, amongst others, of the Tar/ca-bhasha. 63

Apart from sacerdotal, theological and logical works, Kashmir produced in the first half of the eleventh century, in Kavya style, the far-famed Bodhisattv-dvadanakalpalata , 64 which is a collection of legendary stories about the deeds of the Bodhisattvas. The author of this book, the renowned Kashmir polymath Kshemendra, died after having composed 107 pallavas of the book. His son, Somendra, not only added an introduction and the concluding

chapter, but also wrote the Jimutavahana-Avaddna. Kshemendra, who strikingly illustrates in this poem the six transcendental perfections of a Bodhisattva, was after all a layman, and celebrated the Buddha as an Avatara of Vishnu. This is why some of the great Lamas of Tibet have discarded the book as profane. 615

Buddhism produced such a salutary effect on the minds of the people of the valley that even some kings had insisted upon the practice of ahirhsd in their daily lives. 66 And it also seems that both the Kashmir schools of Saivism, viz. Spanda and Pratyabhijud, that came into being in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D., had been more or less influenced by Buddhism, and this accounts for their being more rational and humane in outlook than all other schools of Saivism in India.

3. Madhyadesa

When, in the first half of the seventh century, Hiuen Tsang visited India, most of the Buddhist sacred places were desolate and in ruins. 67 With the establishment of the Pala empire the Magadhan sites again became popular, and in the eleventh, as also the twelfth, century an effort seems to have been made to reclaim and renovate most of the holy places. An inscription of the reign of Mahipala I, at Sarnath, dated in Sarhvat 1083 or A.D. 1026, records the restoration of many monuments as noted above, 68 At BodhGaya, too, between A.D. 1000 and 1033 there was an influx of a good many Chinese pilgrims who built stupas, etc. 69 And this is exactly the period covered by the reign of Mahipala I, who himself is glorified in a votive inscription on an image of the Buddha installed there in the eleventh year of his reign. 70

Even the long-forgotten name of KausambI (modern Kosam) reappears in the reign of Mahipala I. We know from a record of the eleventh year of his reign that the Nalanda -mahavihara, badly damaged by fire, was repaired by a follower of Mahayana, Baladitya by name, hailing from KausambI (Kausambi-vinirgata) 71 We have yet another inscription, over the gateway of the fort of Karra, referring to Kosamba -mandala or the district of KausambI, in A.D. 1035, 72 which also falls within the regnal period of Maphlpala I.

Likewise, the name Kapilavastu is heard of in a tradition as the birth-place of Damodara, alias Advayavajra, 73 one of the illustrious Buddhist contemporaries of Mahipala I. Whether the tradition is genuine or not, it shows that Kapilavastu was about this time not a depopulated site. At Kusinara, where the Master obtained Parinirvdna, a stone inscription of the eleventh-twelfth century refers to a king of a branch of the Kalachuri family, who a Bud

dhist, is said to have revered, not unusually, the Brahmanical god, Siva, along with the Buddha and Tara. 74 The evidence of an illustrated twelfth century MS. of the Ashtasdhasrikd-Prajndpdramita shows that Vaisali had again been famous in the Buddhist world, for a temple of Tara was established there (Tirabhuktau Vaisali Tara). Similarly in the Jetavana mound at Sahet-Mahet, the ancient SravastI, has been found a stone inscription, dated A.D. 1118, which records that one Vidyadhara, a counsellor of Madana of a line of Rashtrakuta kings in U.P., had established a convent for the Buddhist ascetics. 715 It offers a striking contrast to the day of Hiuen Tsang when ‘all was in ruins’ in this region. 76

After the reign of Mahipala I Sarnath had passed under the domination of the Kalachuris of Tripurl, and a fragmentary inscription found in a monastery there says that in A.D. 1058 in the reign of Karnadeva, Mamaka, a devout worshipper and follower of Mahayana, caused a copy of the Ashtasahasrikd-Prajhapdramita to be written, which was presented, along with other things, to the order of monks residing there. 77

Eventually the Sarnath region was incorporated within the kingdom of the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. The third king of this dynasty, Govindachandra, was not himself a declared Buddhist, but his reign is marked by two memorable events in the history of later Buddhism. The first is the construction of the stupendous Dharmachakra-Jinavihara (Monastery I) at Sarnath by his Buddhist wife KumaradevI, who installed therein an image of the goddess Vasudhara. 78 The ruins of this monastery, so far exposed, cover a stretch of ground more than 700' from east to west. About the same time was added the last encasing of the Dharmarajika stupa, which was earlier repaired in A.D. 1026 by Sthirapala and his brother. 79 Sarnath thus again became a lively centre of Buddhism, which is proved not only by the inscriptions but also by the discovery of a variety of Buddhist images of this period.

The other notable incident of Govindachandra’s reign is recorded in an inscription at Sahet-Mahet, viz. that he, having been gratified by the Saugata-Parivrdjaka , the Mahdpandita Sakyarakshita, a resident of the Utkala country, and his disciple, the Saugata-Parivrdjaka, the Mahdpandita Vagisvararakshita, a resident of the Choda country, bestowed as many as six villages upon the community of Buddhist friars (!§dkyahhikshu), of which Buddharakshita was the chief, residing in the holy convent of Jetavana. 80 Whether this convent at Jetavana was the one established by Madana’s counsellor in A.D. 1118 cannot be determined, but Jetavana, where the

Master resided for so many years of his life, was not a desolate place in the twelfth century.

In the matter of religion Govindachandra presents a striking resemblance to Harsha-vardhana; both are styled Parama-Mahesvara in their official records, but both had imbibed a strong inclination in favour of Buddhism in some period of their lives. In case of Govindachandra, the feeling seems to have been considerably fostered by the influence of his two Buddhist queens Kumaradevi and Vasantadevi. 81 Buddhism thus gained so strong a hold over the family that Govindachandra’s grandson, Jayachandra, who was originally initiated as a devotee of Krishiia, 82 had subsequently become, out of reverence (sraddhayd) for a Buddhist monk, Srlmitra of Bodh-Gaya, his disciple “with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering”. 83 This further shows that Gaya continued to be a centre of Buddhism.

There are other evidences also, vouching for the prevalence of Buddhism in Madhyadesa where it is generally believed to have been almost in a morbund condition in the eleventh-twelfth century. We know, for instance, of a Vajracharya of Kosala, Vairochanavajra, who flourished not earlier than the eleventh century, and was the author of a few works. 84

In Malava, too, Buddhism had in about the first half of the twelfth century an enterprising adherent in Dana-srljhana, styled differently as Bodhisattva, Ackdrya Bodhisattva and Mahdchdrya Bodhisattva in his different books. 85 Sometimes represented as Malavahi Pandita, 86 he was more popularly known as phari-Srijnana, implying his residence at Dhara, the capital of Malava under the Paramaras, and it may be that he enjoyed the patronage of his contemporary Paramara king.

No Chandella king of Kalahjara (Bundelkhand) is known to have directly furthered the cause of Buddhism. Yet Paramardideva of this dynasty, while registering a grant of land in A.D. 1179 to several Brahmanas, made the benign provision of excluding from it a piece of land lying therein, as that had previously been granted to a temple of the Buddha. 87 An inscription of Malayasimha, the Buddhist feudatory of the Chedi king Vijayasimha of Tripurl, dated A.D. 1193, records the excavation of a big tank, obviously on a Buddhist site in Rewa (C.I.), the cost of which was met by 1,500 tahkakas specially designed for the occasion, stamped with the effigy of the Buddha. 88 The prevalence of Buddhism in this region in the eleventh-twelfth century is further attested to not only by some other epigraphical and literary evidences but also

by several images of Avalokitesvara and Tara, discovered at Gopalpur in the Jabalpur District. 89

In other parts of North India, however, Buddhism presented a sad contrast. From Sindh, where Hiuen Tsang found many monasteries and 10,000 followers, an exodus of the monks followed on a large scale after its occupation by Muhammad-ibn-Qasim; many came to the Kampilya-Mahavihara on the outskirts of Surat, 90 while some went over to other safe quarters, including Bodh-Gaya. 91 We have in the Tangyur a work, in Tibetan translation, by a Vajracharya of Gujarat, the Mahapanditci Purnavajra, 92 but his date is not known.

4. South India

Buddhism suffered a steady decline in South India, partly by the growing importance of Jainism, but mainly due to the rise of Saivism and Vaishnavism, as noted above. 93 But that the religion lingered in some form even after A.D. 1000, is proved by literary evidences as well as by no fewer than fifteen epigraphs. Of these the Larger and Smaller Leiden plates of the Cholas have been referred to above. 94 Of the rest, five belong to Andhra, and six to

Karnataka.

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The records of Andhra, dating from A.D. 1137 to 1234, show that the famous Amravatl stupa was still in good preservation; provisions were made for burning perpetual lamps at this stupa as also in the temple of the Buddha at Dipaladin, near Amaravati, by some individuals of the Brahmanical creed, including some merchants, ladies, and a chief of the Kota family, Keta II, and his relations. 96

Two inscriptions, one at Belgami in the Shimoga, and the other at Lakkundi in the Dharwar District, refer to the worship of the Buddha and Tara along with some deities of the Brahmanical, and sometimes even of Jain, pantheons, in the self-same temples by some followers of Brahmanical religion, mostly merchants, and by princess AkkadevI, the elder sister of the Western Chalukya king, Jagadekamalia Jayasimha III. 96 An analogous instance of syncretism or universality in religion is to be found about this time in case of one Gaganasiva, a Saivite teacher of Orissa, 97 where, again, we know of a tenth century ruler, Devananda, alias Dhruvananda, who is styled a devout Saiva in one of his records and a devout Buddhist in another. 98

But these illustrations do not really signify the existence of genuine or bona fide Buddhism. The donors and patrons were not Buddhists and did not even claim to be such. To some of them,

the worship of the Buddha was that of an avatar a of Vishnu, and in other cases the worship of the Buddha and Tara was merely due to the fear of incurring the displeasure, unless propitiated, of the two supreme deites of a living pantheon. It is interesting to note that some of the real or orthodox Buddhists of South India of this time preferred to leave their home and migrate to North India." The Tangyur furnishes us with the names of some Vajracharyas who belonged to South India and the Deccan. 100 A large number of images of both Mahay ana and Vajra-yana pantheons, datable in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and lying in the Mayurbhahja region and the Nilgiri States of Orissa, 101 indicate the prevalence of both the doctrines in this part of the country during the period under review.

III. THE LAST PHASE

The brief sketch given above leaves no doubt that Buddhism was a living force in many parts of Northern India down to the end of the twelfth century. It was, of course, visibly on the decline and had long ceased to be a rival of Brahmanical religion, even in Bengal and Bihar. The process of assimilation between the two was also steadily gaining force, as is evidenced by the recognition of Buddha as an avatara (incarnation) of Vishnu, and the close affinity between Brahmanical Tantrism and the later phases of Buddhism such as Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana described above. It is not unlikely that Buddhism would have been considerably absorbed by Brahmanical religion in course of time. But the invasion of the Muslims and the ruthless destruction of Buddhist monasteries by them finally extinguished the lamp of Buddhism that was still flickering in the plains of North India. The vivid description, by an almost contemporary Muslim writer, of the wanton destruction of the great monastery at

Uddandapura (Bihar) and the wholesale massacre of its shaven-headed monks, 102 gives us an idea of how the great monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramaslla and others of less renown met with a sudden and tragic end. 103 These monasteries served as the citadels of Buddhism, and with their fall Buddhism lost its foothold in India. It found a last refuge in the fastnesses of Nepal, 104 where it is flourishing even now, though in a modified form. But for all practical purposes it vanished from the rest of India.

It is, however, hardly possible that Buddhism, which was once such a great religion, could altogether disappear without leaving some traces behind. It has been plausibly suggested that it was not only fused with Saktism and other Brahmanical Tantrik cults, but

also survived in the guise of such medieval religious cults of Ben gal as Nathism, Sahajiya, Avadhuta, Baul, etc. Some have even found in the cult of Dharma a living relic of Buddhism in Bengal and Orissa, but this is doubtful. 105

But howsoever that may be, we get very few traces of Buddhism as a distinct religious cult in India after the thirteenth century. Buddhism still flourished in the kingdom of Pattikera (Comilla) 106 early in the thirteenth century A.D. when Muslims had not yet penetrated into that region, and a Buddhist king Madhusena was reigning as late as A.D. 1289 in some parts of Bengal. 107 About the same time we find two other Buddhist rulers Asokavalla (or Asokachalla), king of Sapadalaksha (Siwalik hills in U.P.), and his feudatory, Purushottamasirhha of Kama (Kumayun), building some new structures in Bodh-Gaya. 108 They mention in their records that Buddhism had decayed, but nevertheless votive records at Bodh-Gaya prove that Buddhist pilgrims visited the holy place down to the fifteenth century A.D. and even later. 109 Stray references to Buddhism occur in a few other records of the thirteenth century and even later, and Buddhist manuscripts were copied here and there. 110

We possess contradictory general statements about Buddhism in later period. Abul Fazl states that “for a long time past scarce any trace of them (the Buddhists) has existed in Hindustan.” 111 Although when he visited Kashmir in A.D. 1597 he met with a few old men professing Buddhism, he ‘saw none among the learned’. This is borne out by the fact that Buddhist priests were conspicuous by their absence from the motley crowd of learned divines that thronged the Ibadatkhana of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

On the other hand the Vaishnava literature of Bengal refers to a Buddhist community in Bengal as also in South India in the sixteenth century A.D., 112 and the Tibetan pilgrim Buddhagupta Tathagatanatha, who visited India in the seventeenth century, saw traces of Buddhism not only in Bengal and Orissa, but also in Trilmga (Trikalinga), Vidyanagara (Vijayanagara), Karnataka, and some other tracts of South India. He also mentions by name a few Buddhists who possessed great supernatural powers. 113

As noted above, Buddhism found a last refuge in Nepal. The popularity and vitality of Buddhism in this region are proved by the large number of viharas, Buddhist manuscripts, many of which are dated, copied there, numerous images in stone and metal, and pictures of Buddhist gods and goddesses. 114 One of the principal viharas of Nepal during the first three centuries following A.D. 1200, was the Pandubhumi-vihara, where many of the Indian

Panditas and Tibetan Lochavas translated many important sacred

^1 n lixi im seems to have been one of the resort^ in Nepal of the Kashmirian monks like Vimalasrlbhadra, Somanatha, etc. while the three leading figures associated with the history of this vihara were Parama-Guru-Dharmaraja-Matidhvaja Srlbhadra, Mahdndyaka Sakyabhadra and Anandadhvaja Srlbhadra, known as the Grand Pandita of Pandubhumi-^ihara. 115 At Svayambliu, the capital of Nepal, was the great Nirabhoga-iuhdra, 116 which must be distinguished from the Tibetan vihara of the same name. Another vihara of Svayambhu that attained celebrity was the Punyadharodaya -vihara. 1 " 7 Of the vihdras of Lalitapattana, the greatest was the Govindachandra-inhara, associated with two illustrious scholars. the Mahapandita Siddhesvara Vanaratna, for whom we have the date A.D. 1384-1468; 118 and his contemporary, Sarvadigvijaya Matimat Pitnya-Sagarasena, who was a follower of Yogachara school 119 and a native of Nepal. Vanaratna is, however, said to have hailed from Sannagara in Eastern India, 120 and this affords a clue to the explanation of the expression Sannagariya bhikshus which has for long been a puzzle to scholars. Vanaratna was a voluminous writer and an assiduous translator, too, 121 while Sagarasena made his mark as a translator only. They found a brilliant collaborator in KumarasrI (A.D. 1392-1481), 122 a learned Lochava working in the same vihara. Another monk of Eastern India, viz. Surya of Magadha, followed Vanaratna in Nepal, became his disciple and composed a hymn in praise of his preceptor. 123 In later times there grew up at Lalitapattana many other vihdras, great and small. 124 After the sixteenth century, Nepalese Buddhism became more and more stereotyped and unproductive of anything really great. There are at present four different sects among the Buddhist community of Nepal, which belong to the Vajra-yana system. These are the Svdbhavikas, the oldest of the four, the Aisvarikas, and the two later developments of these, viz. the Kdrmikas and the Yatnikas. Many of the Nepalese Buddhists are votaries of Pasupatinatha (§iva) as well.

C. JAINISM

I. JAINISM IN GUJARAT

Gujarat was a flourishing centre of Jainism throughout the period under review. The Jain influence at the court of the Chaulukya kings of Gujarat may be traced from the time of the very founder of the dynasty. A Jain temple, known as Mulabastikd, is said to have been constructed by Mularaja himself at his capital Anahilapataka or Anahilavada. According to the Kathakosha of Srichandra Mularaja had for his legal adviser (dharma-stdnasya Goshthikah) one Sajjana of the Pragvata family of Anahilavada, and Srichandra, the disciple of Sahasraklrti, whose spiritual predecessors were Srutakirti and Srikirti in the line of Kundakunda, composed the work for the instruction of the family of Sajj ana’s son Krishna. The prestige that this line of spiritual teachers enjoyed in the political world of the period is indicated incidentally in the prasasti , where Sahasrakirti is described as “the sinless teacher whose supreme lotus feet were worshipped by eminent kings like Gangeya, Bhojadeva and others.” The reference is presumably to the Kalachuri king of Chedi and the Paramara king of Malwa. 125

During the reign of Bhlma I, his minister Vimala of the Pragvata family built, at Abu or Abu, the most magnificent Jain temple—that of Adinatha. Indian craftsmanship of the age has found its best expression here, and the temple, for its rich delicate carving, grace, and beauty, is considered to be unique in the world. 126 The temple was completed in A.D. 1031, i.e. within seven years of the demolition of Somanatha by Mahmud of Ghazni. The Kharatara gachchha-pattavali records 127 that minister Vimala of the Porwad caste captured the parasols of thirteen Sultans, founded the town of Chandravati, and built the temple of Rishabhadeva on the Arbudachala. These activities of Vimala which, of course, had the approval of his royal master, Bhima, were probably a reaction to the Muslim vandalism exhibited at Somanatha and other places.

Jainism became more dominent at the Chaulukya court during the reigns of Siddharaja and his successor Kumarapala. The latter actually became a convert to Jainism under the influence of "the most learned man of his time," the celebrated Hemachandra (A.D. 1088-1172), and under his inspiration and guidance enriched Gujarat with Jain shrines to an enormous extent. During his reign Gujarat became a stronghold of Jainism, in respect of followers as well as institutions, for all time to come. The secret of this success was not any fanatic zeal, but the promotion of understanding between different faiths, which is the corner-stone of Jainism and was particularly emphasised by Hemachandra in word as well as in deed. The continuity of the faith and the prosperity of the followers are attested by the temple of Neminatha built in the vicinity of Adinatha temple at Abu, mentioned above, by Tejahpala of the Porwad family, who was a minister of the Chaulukya king Somasimhadeva. It was completed in A.D. 1230. In its beauty of sculptural decoration it is only comparable to the Adinatha temple. To these were added numerous Jain shrines and other structures during the twelfth and the thirteenth century, the fame of which gave

the place its new name Devala-Vada or Delwada. Besides Abu, Satrunjaya and Girnar in Kathiawad received particular attention of the rulers and merchants, whose bounty is reflected in the huge and beautiful temples which have since been adorning their peaks. The Chintamani Parsvanatha temple at Khambhata (Cambay) was built about A.D. 1108 and repaired in

A.D. 1295. It records names of several devotees from Malwa, Sapadalaksha, and Chitrakuta, who endowed the temple from time to time.

II. JAINISM IN THE DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Western Chalukyas and the Hoysalas gained political ascendancy in the South. Both these royal dynasties were great patrons of Jainism, and their emergence into power proved a great boon for the propagation and glorification of the faith.

Tailapa, the founder of the Western Chaiukya dynasty, was the patron of the great Kannada poet Ranna. The next king Satyasraya received spiritual guidance from a Jain teacher named Vimala Chandra Panditadeva of the Dravida Sangha. Many other kings of this dynasty such as Jayasimha II, Somes vara I and II, and Vikramaditya VI, showed favour to the Jain faith by patronising Jain writers, and giving lands to Jain teachers and Jain temples or settlements fbasti or vasadi).

As regards the Hoysalas, reference has been made above to the legend about the founder of the dynasty who owed his greatness to the benedictions of a Jain saint. A Jain saint, Vardhamanadeva, is said to have been "foremost in the management of the affairs of the Hoysalas," probably during the reign of Vinayaditya. The next two kings had Jain saints as their spiritual teachers. All these kings made grants to Jain temples and settlements. Vishnuvardhana, the most celebrated and glorious of the Hoysalas, is said to have changed his faith under the influence of the Vaishnava teacher Ramanujacharya, but there is ample evidence to prove that he continued to be benevolent and generous towards Jainism all through his regime. Even as late as A.D. 1125 he paid his devotions to the Jain saint iSrlpala Traividyadeva, built the Jain abode at Chalya, and made suitable grants for repairs of the Jain temples as well as for the maintenance of Jain saints. 128 According to another stone inscription at Belur (A.D. 1129), 129 he made a gift to the Malli Jinalaya. In A.D. 1133, he granted a village to the Parsvanatha temple in the capital itself, Dvarasamudra, and to commemorate his recent victories, he named the God as Vi jay a Parsvanatha and his own son as Vijaya Narasirhha. 130 Here we have a clear indication how

Vishnuvardhana tried to hold the balance even between his loyalties to his ancestral faith and to the faith of his choice. His queen Santaladevi continued to be a staunch devotee of Jainism all through her life, and made several donations to the Jain temples. Her spiritual guide was Prabhachandra Siddhantadeva, the disciple of Meghachandra Traividyadeva. She died by the Jain form of renunciation called Sallekhana in A.D. 1131. Some of the most outstanding ministers and commanders, to whom Vishnu vardhana owed his great victories and conquests, were also staunch devotees of the Jain faith. Amongst them was Gangaraja, who built several Jain temples, repaired many more and generously endowed numerous Jain institutions. His wife Lakshmimati died in accordance with the rules of Jain Sallekhana , and her noble husband commemorated her by an epitaph at Sravana Belgola. Other commanders of Vishnuvardhana, who subscribed to the Jain faith and served it properly, were Boppa, Punisa, Maniyane and Bharatesvara whose devotion to Jain teachers and acts of piety are recorded in several inscrip' tions at Sravana Belgola and other places. Vishnuvardhana's successor Narasimha I paid a visit to Sravana Belgola and endowed the Chaturvimsati basadi built by his illustrious general Hulla, by the grant of a village. 131 The later Hoysala kings were also patrons of Jainism. Two of them, Vira Ballala II and Narasimha III, had Jain saints as their spiritual ancestors, and these and others erected Jain temples and made rich endowments to them. It will thus be seen that the Hoysala kings personally professed Jainism and by their active support and patronage Jain temples and other institutions grew and benefited immensely in the South.

It was not only these predominant royal houses that patronised Jainism, but the faith was adopted by several feudatory chiefs and small rulers in the land as well. For example, the Santaras, who ruled over that part of Karnataka which roughly corresponds with the modern Tirthahalli Taluk and its surrounding country, were the followers of Jainism from the very beginning. Bhujabala Santara erected a Jain temple in his capital Pomburcha and granted to his guru , Kanakanandideva, a village for its maintenance. In A.D. 1081 Nagularasa, the minister of Vira Santara, is described as 'a fortress to the Jain Dharma'. 132 The later chiefs also built numerous Jain temples and shrines and endowed them suitably with lands and tolls. In A.D. 1173, 133 Vira Santara is described as 'a bee at the lotus feet of Jina’. Later on, however, the Santaras adopted the creed of Virasaivism, and this affected the progress of Jainism in that region to some extent. During the thirteenth century the capital of the Santaras was shifted to Kalasa, and later to Karkala in Tuluva, where they, in spite of their new faith, continued to be benevolent towards Jainism.

The Kangalvas, who ruled over north Coorg and the Arkalgud Taluk in the south of the Hassan District of Mysore, and emerged into prominence during the eleventh century, were great patrons of Jainism. The Kangalva rulers constructed Jain temples and made grants for their maintenance till the beginning of the twelfth century, when their fortunes declined consequent upon the expulsion of the Cholas by the Hoysalas from the land.

Similarly, the Changalvas of the Changanad (roughly corresponding with the Hansur Taluk in Mysore State), although §aivite by profession, were benevolent towards Jainism, as is clearly proved by epigraphic records of A.D. 1091 and 1100 [134] which make mention of their construction of Jain temples and donations for the same, particularly to some of the “sixty-four basadis in the city of Hanasoge or Panasoge (in the Yedatore Taluk of Mysore), reputed to have been built by Rama the son of Dasaratha.” We possess numerous records, both dated and undated, and ranging between A.D. 1000 and 1300, of solitary rulers and noblemen, in addition to those of persons of the merchant class and others, who built temples, installed images, performed worship and made endowments for perpetual service of divinity and piety, and who even ended their lives by the renunciation of all worldly attachments and by observing fasts in strict accordance with the Jain faith. Jain temples, shrines, images, tombs and epitaphs, found strewn all over the South, amply testify to the fact that during this period the Jain religion was extremely popular and constituted a living faith of all classes of people from royalty to peasantry, inspiring them to deeds of piety and philanthropy during life, and affording them solace and hope in death.

III. ASCETIC ORGANISATIONS AND SUCCESSION LISTS

A large number of inscriptions, found at Sravana Belgola, record genealogical lists of pontifical succession for several centuries, and afford us an insight into the organisation of monks and their activities. The Siddharabasti pillar inscription of Saka 1320 (A.D. 1398) 135 records the tradition that Arhadbali, acquired brilliance by his two pupils Pushpadanta and Bhutavali, and that he split the Mula-sangha Kundakundanvaya into four branches, namely Sena, Nandi, Deva and Simha, in order to assuage the jealousies arising out of the nature of the Age. The earliest mention of the Mulasahgha and Kundakundanvaya is met with in the copper-plate grants of the fifth century. Records of the subsequent period show that Sanghas, Ganas, Gachchhas, Balis, and Sakhas of monks had grown into a very large number by A.D. 1000. During the period of the next three centuries we meet with references, in the epigraphical records, to the following orders: Mula-sangha, Nandi-sangha, Namilura-sangha or Mayura-sangha, Kittura-sahgha, Kollaturasangha, Nandi-gana, Desi-gana, Dramila-gana, Kanura-gana, Pustakaor Sarasvati-gachchha, Vakra-gachchha, Tagarila-gachchha, Manditala-gachchha, Ihgulesvara-bali, Panasoge-bali, etc. Epigraphie evidence shows that some of the pontiffs of these branches of the Digambara Jain community distinguished themselves in the South during this period.

The pontifical succession, as recorded in the North during the same period, is somewhat different. According to the Svetambara Pattavalis, Sarvadeva Suri, the thirty-sixth pontiff (Acharya) in the line of succession after Mahavira, wielded the leadership at the beginning of the eleventh century. A few events of his time are recorded in the Pattavalis with dates. Dharmaghosha Suri converted the chief minister Vimala in A.D. 1011, and Santi Suri Vddi-Vetdla of the Thirapadra-gachacha, who composed a commentary on the Uttarddhyayana, attained heaven in A.D. 1039. Sarvadeva Suri was followed by Deva Suri, Sarvajayadeva Suri, and Yaiobhadra Suri successively. Of the last it has been recorded that in his time Sri Abhayadeva Suri, the author of commentaries on the nine Angas, went to heaven in A.D. 1078, or, according to another account, in 1082. Yasobhadra’s successor Munichandra, who lived on sour gruel (sauvira) only, was the foremost logician and was the author of Anekanta-Jaya-Patakd-Panjikd, Upadesapada-Vritti and other works. He attained heaven in A.D. 1121. During his leadership the Punamiya-gachchha was founded by his colleague Chandraprabha Suri in A.D. 1102, and for its guidance Munichandra wrote the Pdkshika-Saptati. The next in succession was Ajitadeva Suri. His co-disciple Vadideva Suri is said to have held a disputation with the Digambara teacher Kumudachandra at the court of Jayasimhadeva in Anahilapattana, and vanquished him; as a result of this the Digambaras were prevented from entering the capital any more. This claim is denied by the Digambara sect. Whatever may be the truth, the record is an evidence of the jealousy which had unfortunately developed between the two sister communities. The spirit of the times is also reflected in the record of a series of splits within the Svetambara sect itself. The foundation of the Kharatara-gachchha by Jina Vallabha, the pupil of Jinesvara Suri of the Kurchapuragachchha Chaityavasin, took place at Chitrakuta in A.D. 1147. Nine years later the Anchalaka-mata was founded. The year A.D. 1169 saw the emergence of Sardha-Paurnamiyaka-mata, a branch of the Punamiya sect mentioned above, and in A.D. 1193 Agamiyaka-mata

came into existence. In A.D. 1165 minister Bahadadeva is said to have carried out some reconstruction work to the Parsvanatha temple at Satrunjaya.

The pontifical period of Ajitadeva is also remarkable for the activities of Hemachandra Suri, the pupil of Deva Suri. It has been recorded about Hemachandra that he was born on the 15th of Karttika in V.S. 1145 (A.D. 1088), received initiation at the age of five, became a Suri at twenty-one, and attained heaven in V.S. 1229 (A.D. 1172). In A.D. 1157 he converted king Kumarapala and founded the Purnatala-gachchha. The claim that he was the author of three crores of books (Trikoti-grantha-karta) is, of course, absurd. There is, however, no doubt, that no other author has enriched literature, both in volume and variety, to the extent that Hemachandra has done. An account of his literary works has been given above. 136

Ajitadeva Suri was succeeded by Vijaya Simha Suri who, in his turn, was succeeded by Somaprabha Suri and Maniratna Suri jointly. This period was marked by the birth of Vastupala and Tejahpala (A.D. 1205), their pilgrimage to Siddhachala, and erection by the latter of the temple on Mount Abu at an expense of eighteen crores of silver. The next pontiff in succession was Jagatchandra Suri. He was devoted to austere penances, in recognition of which the Nahada Ranas conferred on him the title of 'Tapa'. It was thus that the sixth schism 'Tapa-gachchha' was founded in A.D. 1228. The next in succession was Devendra Suri, who was much honoured by minister Vastupala. During his preaching tours Devendra Suri visited Prahladapura where he nominated Vidyananda Suri as his successor in A.D. 1266. At Srlstambha Tlrtha (Khambhata-Cambay) he found that Sri Vijayachandra Suri had been following his own ascetic practices for the last twelve years without any reference to the pontifical head, whom he did not even now care to welcome. Devendra Suri, therefore, stayed separately from him, and hence his party came to be designated as 'Laghu-Salika' as distinguished from the party of Vijayachandra Suri which had been settled in the place much earlier and was therefore called 'Vriddha-Salika'. Devendra is said to have toured for a long time in Malwa and died in A.D. 1270. He was the author of Kcirma-grantha, Sraddhadina-krityavritti and other works.

Devendra Suri's nominee Vidyananda Suri also died just thirteen days after his predecessor, and so Dharmaghosha Suri succeeded to the pontifical seat. He blessed the merchant Pethadadeva, who became the chief minister of the ruler of Mandapa and proved his loyalty to the faith by building eighty-four Jain temples and causing 'seven compendiums of knowledge' (Sapta-Jnanakosa) to be produced.

He also installed the Indramala at Satrunjaya and took the vow of celibacy at the age of thirty-two. His only son Jhahjhanadeva installed gold and silver flagstaff at Satrunjaya and Urjayanta, and celebrated the event of his spiritual teacher's arrival at Mandapachala at an enormous cost. Dharmaghosha Suri is credited with greatmagical powers and some of his magical deeds are recorded. He died in V.S. 1357, i.e. A.D. 1300.

IV. LITERATURE

The literary activity of the Jains during this period was very intense, and reference has been made above, in Chapter XV, to the Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsa works of a large number of Jain writers. The study of the Jain ArdhamagadhI canon was carried a step further by Abhayadeva (A.D. 1064), who wrote commentaries on the nine Ahgas, and by Santi Suri and Devendragani (eleventh century), both of whom wrote exhaustive commentaries on the important and popular canonical work, the Uttaradhyayana. The literary productions of Hemachandra constitute a library by themselves, and have been referred to above. ' 38 Narrative poetry was mainly directed towards the lives of the Tirthahkaras. Sdntindtha-charita was written both by Deva Suri and Manikyaehandra, Nemindthacharita by Suracharya as well as Maladhari Hemachandra, and Pdrsvandthacharita by Vadiraja, Bhavadeva and Manikyaehandra. The Nemiduta by Vikrama, son of Sahgana, though probably of a much later date, 137 is interesting, as the last line of each verse is here taken from Kalidasa's Meghaduta, and is, thus, a good example of Samasydpurti Kdvya. Vagbhata wrote his Neminirvdna-kdvya, mentioned above, under Jayasimhadeva Chauiukya, to whom he pays a tribute in his 'Alankara' where, in one of the verses illustrating the figure of speech called Samkara , he says that there are only three gems in the world, namely, x^nahilapura city, king Jayasimhadeva, and his Srlkalasa elephant. The Mrigavati-charitra of Maladhari Devaprabha (thirteenth century) contains interesting legends about Udayana, Vasavadatta and Padmavati, reminiscent of Bhasa's dramas. For short religious stories mention may be made of the Kathakosa of Jinesvara, pupil of Vardhamana (A.D. 1092). As examples of literary activity in Malwa we might mention Srlchandra, pupil of £rinandi, who, under Bhojaaeva of Dhara, wrote Purdnasara and commentaries on Padma-charita of Ravishena and Mahdpurana (Apabhramsa) of Pushpadanta. Another poet of Malwa, namely Aisadhara, deserves a special mention. He is the author of more than twenty works, the Sagdra-Dharmamrita and Andgdra-Dharmdrtirita being the most famous and popular. He wandered from place to place due to fear of harassment by the Muslim

raiders, and makes mention of five kings of his time, Vindhya-varma, Subhata-varma, Arjuna-varma, Devapala and Jaitugideva. He was reputed as ‘Kali-Kalidasa’ on account of his poetic attainments, even as Hemachandra became famous as ‘Kalikala-Sarvajna’. Mahasena wrote his Pradyumna-charita under Sindhuraja who died about A.D. 1000. Mention is made of his being honoured by Munja. Amitagati, mentioned above, claims to have been honoured by Bhoja, Munja and Sindhula, and composed a compendium of Jain philosophy called Panchasamgraha . At the court of the Western Chalukya king Jayasirhha flourished the great logician poet Vadiraja, of whom, besides the works mentioned already, we have two works on logic, Pramana-Nirnaya and Nydyavinischayavivarana , a work on duties of householders, Upasakdchdra, a lyrical poem Ekibhdvastotra and three other works, Aradhand, Sdmayikapdtha, and Adhydtmasataka, on meditation and spiritual practices.

Of a very special importance are the contributions of two writers of dramas, one of whom flourished in the north and the other in the south. Ramachandra (A.D. 1110-1173), a pupil of Hemachandra in Gujarat, has given us no less than eleven dramas, namely Raghuvildsa, Nalavildsa, Yaduvilasa, Scitya-Harischandra, Nirbhaya Bhima-vyayoga, Mallikamakaranda, Raghavabhyudaya, Rohini-mrigdnka, Vanamdld-ndtikd, Kaumudlmitrdnanda, and Yadavabhyudaya. He is also the author of a collection of verses called Sudhdkalasa. He, in collaboration with Gunachandra, also wrote Natyadarpana, as noted above, and Dravydlamkara, a work on Jain logic. The other dramatic genius of the age was Hastimalla who, according to the Prasasti attached to one of his plays, Vikrdnta-Kaurava, was a southerner (Dakshinatya). He is the author of four plays of considerable value from the poetic as well as technical points of view. These are Vikrdnta-Kaurava, Maithili-kalydna, Anjana-pavananjaya, and Subhadra. The Rdmayana and the Mahabharata have been here, as everywhere else, the chief sources of themes with an original colouring suitable to the faith and the genius of the writer. Hastimalla’s date is not precisely known, and all that may be said with certainty is that he wrote between A.D. 900 and 1300.

D. VAISHNAVISM

I. NORTH INDIA

The doctrine of Vaishnavism underwent profound changes during the period under review. The most important of these was the gradual dominance of the pastoral life of Krishna and his dalliance with the gopis or cowherd girls. The beginnings or germs of all this may be traced in early literature. But the story in its fully developed form—the birth of Krishna in the prison of Kariisa, his secret removal to the house of Nanda, bringing up by Yasoda, early life among cowherds, miraculous acts like holding up of Govardhana hill, killing of Putana and Kaliya-naga, etc., amorous dalliance with gopls or cowherd girls, particularly with Radha, wife of a near relation—all these are found in detail in the literature of this period. The Bhagavata Purdna, which is almost a complete store-house of these legends, is generally believed to have been composed in the ninth or tenth century A.D., somewhere in South India. Although even this late work does not mention Radha, she certainly came into great prominence during the period under review.[137a] The most poetic, and at the same time very realistic, description of the amorous relations between Krishna and Radha is given in the Gita-govinda by Jayadeva, a court-poet of Lakshmanasena (twelfth century A.D.). It is a famous lyric poem highly venerated by the Vaishnavas all over Northern India, who explain away the erotic elements as allegorical or symbolical representation of the highest spiritual ideals. The representation of amorous scenes, however, takes a more grossly sensual form, bereft of Jayadeva's poetic charms, in texts like Brahma-Vaivarta Purdna, which is a later work but probably belongs to this period. Whatever may be the value of the explanation offered by the Vaishnavas, it is impossible to ignore the vulgar elements in these erotic pictures and their influence upon the morals of the common people. This is sufficiently indicated by the fate which overtook Vaishnavism at no distant date in future, when a class of this sect came to be a byword for sexual immorality. There can be hardly any doubt that this was largely due to the prevalent Tantrik ideas and practices to which reference has been made above.

II. SRI VAISHNAVAS

A refreshing contrast is offered by the development of Vaishnavism in South India. Thanks to the Srlvaishnava sect founded by Nathamuni, 13 7b a more elevated form of Vaishnavism prevailed in this region. His worthy successors not only maintained the purity of the doctrine but placed it on a firm philosophic basis.

Acharya Nathamuni was succeeded on the apostolic seat by his disciple Pundarlkaksha, also called Uyyakondar or “Saviour of the New Dispensation”, a title which he received from his preceptor. He was a native of Tiruvallar near Srlrangam. The third Acharya was Ramamisra, who was the guru of the next Acharya, the celebrated Yamunacharya, grandson of Nathamuni. Yamunacharya or

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Yamunamuni was born at Viranarayanapura or Mannargudi. He

was the son of Nathamuni’s son Isvarabhattta.

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1. Yarnunacharya

It is said that Yarnunacharya received the title Alavandar or “the victor” from the Chola queen by vanquishing in a disputation the Pandit at the court of the reigning Chola king. The king granted him some lands with which he began to live a life of luxury. Later, at the instigation of his preceptor Ramamisra, he took his residence at Srirahgam and spent his life in expounding the doctrines of the Visishtadvaita school.

Yarnunacharya is stated to have been the real founder of the

Visishtadvaita or Srlvaishnava school and to have “laid the founda• •

tion of all the doctrines that go under Ramanuja’s name”. It has been said that had there been no Yamuna there would have been no Ramanuja. Yarnunacharya is the author of a number of works such as the Siddhitraya, Agamaprdmdnya, Gitdrthasamgraha, Mahdpurushanirnaya and Stotraratna.

The Siddhitraya, which contains three sections, viz. Atmasiddhi, Isvarasiddhi and Samvit-siddhi, demonstrates the real existence of the Individual and Supreme Souls and refutes the doctrine of Avidya. The Agamaprdmdnya defends the grounds of the orthodox Bhagavata or Pancharatra school against Sankara's criticism. The Gitarthasamgraha analyses the text of the Gita as an exposition of Bhakti doctrine giving only a subordinate position to the Karma-yoga and Jnana-yoga.

2. Ramanuja

Yarnunacharya was succeeded by Ramanuja said to have been born in Saka 938 corresponding to A.D. 1016-17. 138 At first Ramanuja lived at Kanchlpura and was a pupil of the Advaita philosopher Yadava-prakasa. Having been dissatisfied with the teaching of spiritual monism, Ramanuja began to study the works of the Alvars and found solace in them. After becoming the successor of Yamunacharya, he settled at grirangam. In his later years he is said to have been persecuted by the Chola prince who was a follower of the Saiva faith. As a result Ramanuja is said to have taken refuge in A.D. 1096 at the court of the Hoysala prince Vishnuvardhana 138a whom he converted to Vaishnavism. Ramanuja was the author of a number of works including the Vedantasara, Vedartha-samgraha, Vedantadipa and the commentaries on the Brahma-sutra and the Bhagavadgitd.

It is said that one of the last directions of Yarnunacharya to Ramanuja was to compose a commentary on Badarayana's Brahma

sutra. This was absolutely necessary to maintain the doctrine of love and grace, the fundamental tenet of Vaishnavism, in the face of the theory of spiritual monism which Sankara based upon the Brahma-sutra and the Upanishads. According to Sankara's theory there exists only one spirit, and the attributes of the animal spirit, such as the feelings of individuality as well as the variety of the inanimate world, are due to illusion (maya) and are unreal. Thus according to this view love and piety favoured by the Vaishnavas have room only in the illusive state of the human soul and have no place in the world of reality. The Vaishnavas had therefore to defend their doctrine by reconciling it with the same Brahma-sutras and the

Upanishads and to overthrow the doctrine of maya on the authority of the same works.

According to Ramanuja's doctrine, which is called Visisht advaita or qualified monism, there are three eternal principles, viz. chit (the individual soul), achit (the insensate world) and Isvara (the Supreme Soul). The individual soul and the insensate world are the attributes of the Supreme Soul and form his body. The Supreme Soul, which exists in a subtle form before creation, develops itself in the form of the universe (which in its subtle form before creation is called Prakriti) at the time of creation. The Supreme Soul or God is the creator, preserver and destroyer of the world. He is thus the material and efficient cause of the world and is a composite personality having the individual souls and the inanimate world as his body. He has no defects and is the grantor of boons to his devotees. He has five different aspects, viz. Para or the highest, Vyuha in which he appears in the four forms of Vasudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha for creation and other purposes, Vibhava in which he appears as the ten incarnations, Antaryamin in which he lives in the hearts of all, and Pratima or idol. The conception of

the cowherd Krishna and of the relation between Krishna and the

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cowherdesses, including Radha, is absent from Ramanuja's Vaishnavism. Ramanuja regarded Bhakti to be the same as the Upanishadic updsand or meditation.

3. Ramanuja's Followers

After the death of Ramanuja about A.D. 1137, the Sri-Vaishnavas were gradually divided into two sects called Vadakalai (i.e. the school of northern learning) and Tenkalai (i.e. the school of southern learning). One class believed that salvation was more easily obtainable through the Sanskrit scriptures like the Vedas, Upanishads and the Gita than through the Prabandhas, called the Tamil Veda, while the other class held the diametrically opposite view. Rama nuja himself gave equal importance to both the classes of scriptures. But the difference of attitude on this point led to the growth of ceitain doctrinal differences, and ultimately to the division of his

followers into two distinct sects, about the close of the fourteenth century.

Both the Vadakalai and the Tenkalai agreed as to the necessity of saranagati or prapcitti, i.e. self-surrender unto God; but while the former laid emphasis on the performance of karma, the latter believed that self-effort is unnecessary, as God's love is spontaneous and brings salvation to mankind by itself. The Vadakalai's belief that Lakshmi is also capable, like her consort, of bestowing final emancipation, is not shared by the Tenkalai. Generally the Tehkalai sect is more liberal than the Vadakalai. It provides for the teaching of the eight-syllabled formula Om namo Nardyanaya to all classes of peoples, while the Vadakalai sect omits the syllable Om from the mantra when taught to non-Brahmanas. The Tehkalai sect favours equal treatment for all castes.

The two sects trace two different guru-parampard,s from Ramanuja. According to the Vadakalai, Ramanuja was succeeded by Kurukesa, the celebrated author of the Six Thousand . His successor Vishnuchitta or Engal Alvar, who flourished during the second half of the twelfth century, immortalised himself by his Sarartha-chatush taya and Vishv,uchittiyam (a commentary on the Vishnu Purdna), Vishnuchitta's successor was his disciple Varadacharya or Nadadur Animal who was the leader of the Sri-Vaishnavas for the first three quarters of the thirteenth century. He preferred Kanchlpuram to §rlrahgam for his residence and activities. This resulted in the development of Srirahgam as a prominent centre of the Tenkalai. Varadacharya was the author of the Tattvasdra, while his interpretation of Ramanuja's Sri-Bhdshya was committed to writing by his disciple Sudarsana in his Srutaprakd,sika. Varadacharya's successor was Atreya Ramanuja or Appillar, who was succeeded by his nephew Vedantadesika or Venkatanatha in A.D. 1290. In the history* of the medieval Vaishnavism the name of Vedantadesika, who was born in A. D. 1269 and died in 1370, is second only to that of Ramanuja. His works number more than a hundred. He was equally great as a poet, philosopher and controversialist, and wrote both in Sanskrit and Tamil. His Tamil works include original compositions like those of the Alvars as well as a large number of commentaries. He became famous as Kavitarkikasimha (the lion among poets and philosophers), Sarvatantrasvatantra (the master of all the branches of learning) and Vedantacharya. By this third name he is invoked by all sects and subsects of the §n-Vaishnavas while beginning the

study of the £ri-Bhashya. Vedantadesika acted as an arbiter in a disputation between Vidyaranya and Akshobhyatirtha, a disciple of Madhvacharya, and gave a decision in favour of the latter.

The Tehkalai sect regards Embar, a cousin of Ramanuja, as the latter's apostolic /successor, although he died earlier. Embar's successor was his disciple Parasarabhatta, author of the Sahasrana ma-bhashya. Parasarabhatta's successor Nahjiyar composed a commentary on the Prabandhas , called the Nine Thousand, while the views of Nahjiyar's disciple Nampillai on the Tamil Veda were incorporated in Periya Achchan Pillai's commentary entitled the Twenty-jour Thousandl. Pinbalagiya Perumaljlyar, another disciple of Nampillai, composed the Twelve Thousand, which is a commentary on the Tiruvoimoli, and the Guruparampard, which is a biographical work on the succession of the Tehkalai Acharyas. The successor of Nampillai was Krishnapada or Vadakkutiruvidi Pillai who composed another commentary on the Prabandhas, called the Thirty-six Thousand. This work is generally known as the Idu (i.e . 'the equal'), probably because it was considered equal to the commentary on the Sri-Bhdshya composed by his contemporary Sudarsana, disciple of Varadacharya. The idu was afterwards made the subject of compulsory study by the followers of the Tehkalai. Krishnapada's son and successor was Pillai Lokacharya who was an elder contemporary of Vedantadesika. He is regarded as the real founder of the Tehkalai sect. His works are believed to contain the only correct interpretation of the views of Ramanuja and the Alvars. He died some time after the capture and sack of grirangam in A.D. 1327.

4. Nimbarka

The founder of another school of Vaishnavism supporting the cult of Bhakti against the doctrine of Maya was Nimbarka who is said to have been a Telugu Brahmana residing at the village of Nimba. This village has been identified with Nimbapura in the Bellary District. His father was a Bhagavata named Jagannatha. Nothing is definitely known about the time when Nimbarka flourished; but Bhandarkar suggests that he lived some time after Ramanuja. His death has been tentatively assigned to a date in the second half of the twelfth century. Nimbarka lived at Vrindavana near Mathura and the followers of his school are usually found in North India. The Vaishnavas of the Nimbarka school, called the Sanaka-sampradaya (i.e. the school founded by Sanaka), wear on the forehead two perpendicular lines of Gopichandana with a black mark in the middle. They also use a necklace and a rosary made

of the wood of the TulasI plant. They are divided into two classes, viz. ascetics and householders.

Nimbarka composed the Vedantaparijdtasaurabha, a commentary on the Brahma-sutra, as well as the Siddhantaratna usually called the Dasasloki. Nimbarka was succeeded by his disciple Srinivasa who commented on his preceptor’s Vedantaparijdtasaurabha. Devacharya, the thirteenth successor on the pontifical seat after Nimbarka, was the author of the Siddhantajahnavi on which a commentary called the Setu was composed by the next pontiff Sundarabhatta. The thirtieth pontiff Kesava Kasmlrin wrote a commentary on the Brahma-sutra. Harivyasadeva, who was the thirtysecond in the list of succession, commented on Nimbarka’s Siddhantaratna or Dasasloki.

The doctrines of the Nimbarka school of Vaishnavism resemble in some respects those of Ramanuja’s school. But Nimbarka preached Bhakti in its original sense of love and gave exclusive prominence to the conception of Krishna attended by the cowherdesses headed by Radha. Ramanuja’s theory about the Supreme Soul being a composite personality and developing into the animate and inanimate world is not accepted by the Nimbarka school, according to which the Supreme Soul (God), the individual soul, and the inanimate world are both identical and at the same time distinct from one another. They are identical in the sense that the individual soul and the inanimate world are entirely dependent on God and have no independent existence. Nimbarka’s theory is thus both monistic and pluralistic.

5. Madhva or Anandatirtha

Madhva or Anandatirtha, whose original name was Vasudeva, was born at Belle in the South Kanara District. In the Madhva

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vijaya .by Narayana, Madhva is said to have been born in the Madhyageha family of Rajatapltha. Madhva or Anandatirtha was also known as Purnaprajna and Madliyamandara. He received his initiation from Achyutaprekshacharya, otherwise called Purushottamatirtha, and went on pilgrimage to Badarikasrama from where he brought the images of Digvijaya-Rama and Vedavyasa. Later he travelled in different parts of the country to establish his own doctrine against other schools including the followers of Sankara. His pupils were Padmanabhatlrtha, Naraharitlrtha, Madhavatlrtha and Akshobhyatlrtha. Of these Naraharitlrtha was sent to Jagannatha-kshetra (Purl) in Orissa to bring the idols of Rama and Sita. Naraharitlrtha became the preceptor of the Ganga king Narasimha II (A.D. 1279-1306) and is known from several inscriptions with dates ranging between Saka 1186 (A.D. 1264) and 1212 (A.D. 1290). There is little doubt, therefore, that his guru Madhva flourished in the thirteenth century. Bhandarkar suggested that Madhva was born in Saka 1119 (A.D. 1197) and died in Saka 1198 (A.D. 1276).

The followers of Madhva wear on the forehead the mark of two white perpendicular lines of Gopichandana joined by a cross line on the bridge of the nose, together with a dark line in the middle with a reddish spot in the centre. They also wear, on various parts of the body, especially the shoulders, Gopichandana prints of the various weapons of Vishnu. Sometimes permanent prints are made on the skin with the help of heated metallic stamps. The Kannada country is the stronghold of the Madhvas, i.e. the followers of Madhva-Anandatirtha. There are eight Mathas of this sect, some of which were founded by Madhva himself.

Madhva did not favour the conception of Gopala-Krishna attended by Radha and the cowherdesses. The Vyuha doctrine also has no place in his system. Madhva denies that God is the material cause of the world. According to him, God is a substance entirely different from the individual souls and the inanimate world. The innumerable individual souls, which are distinct from one another and are characterised by defects like ignorance, go through a succession of existences. The relation between God and the individual souls is like that between the master and his servant. By serving and worshipping God, the individual souls become like God in most respects. Madhva enjoins worship of Vishnu as God. He was bitterly against Sankara's theory of Maya. Madhva's theory of creation is based on the doctrine of the Sankhyas.

Thirty-seven treatises are ascribed to Madhva. The most important among those are his commentaries on the Brahma-sutra and the Upanishads. One of his works, based on the epics and the Puranas, is the Bharatatatparyanirnaya. Large commentaries on his works were composed by his followers, one of them being Jayatlrtha, sixth successor of Madhva on the pontifical seat. Jayatirtha, whose original name was Dhondo Raghunatha, was a native of Mahgalvedha near Pandharpur.

E. SA1V1SM

I. ROYAL PATRONS OF SAIVISM

In the previous volume we gave an account of Kashmir Saivism and showed how both kings and scholars helped to spread and consolidate the doctrine. In the centuries which are covered by the present volume Saivism continued to flourish in Kashmir. Of the successors of Abhinavagupta who wrote on the Pratyabhijha system, mention may be made of Kshemaraja, the author of the Pratyabhijnd-hridaya, which is an important manual of the doctrine. The tutelary deity of the Royal House of Nepal is Pasupatinatha. In Nepal, as elsewhere, Mahayana Buddhism mingled with Saivism, and there were mutual borrowings in doctrine and in practice.

In Assam, the cults of Siva and Vishnu were prevalent. Ratnapala, the most important king in the eleventh century, professed faith in both Siva and Vishnu.

The founder of the Sena kingdom of Bengal, Vijayasena, was a devotee of Siva. He assumed the titles of Parama-Mcihesvara and At iv rishabha-Sankara, and built a Siva temple. His son and successor, Ballalasena, was also an ardent follower of Saivism. But Lakshmanasena, who succeeded his father Ballala, became a convert to Vaishnavism.

Govindachandra, the Gahadavala king of Banaras and Kanauj, was a Pcirama-Mahesvara. But he practised religious tolerance and patronised the Bauddhas. On the obverse of his gold and copper coins are found the figures of a trisula (trident).

The founder of the Chaulukya dynasty, Mularaja I, was a worshipper of Siva. Among his successors, we find Jayasimha Siddharaja, who was a staunch Saiva, though he patronised Jains like Hemachandra, and Kumarapala who visited Somanatha frequently, and included in his inscriptions invocations to Siva, even after he became a convert to Jainism.

Bhoja I of the Paramara dynasty of Ujjain and Dhara was not only a follower, but also an exponent, of Saivism. One of his works, the Tattvaprakdsa , deals with Saivism. His brother or cousin Udayaditya built the Nilakanthesvara temple at Udayapur. The later Paramaras were also adherents of Saivism. Ujjain was in those days a stronghold of the Saivas, in spite of the fact that Jainism was then in a flourishing condition in Western India.

The Kalachuris of Tripun, with a few exceptions, were Saivas. So also were the Chandellas of Bundelkhand. Kirtivarman of the Chandella dynasty patronised Krishna-misra, who wrote the Prabhodha-chandrodaycii, and probably also built a Siva temple at Mahoba.

The Western Chalukyas, whose capital was Kalyana, were of Saiva persuation. Somesvara I (A.D. 1043-1068) was an ardent Saiva. During the reign of his son Somesvara II (A.D. 1068-1076), Saivism made rapid progress. Vikramaditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126), who succeeded his brother after deposing him, was probably a Jain at first; but he became a staunch Saiva in later life. About A.D. 1156 Bijjala, claiming kinship with the Kalachuris, usurped the throne. It was during his reign that there was a revival of Virasaivism under the great leadership of Basava. We shall give an account of this system of Saivism in the next section.

The Eastern Chalukyas, the Eastern Gangas, and the Kakatlyas were Saivas. They w 7 ere profoundly influenced by the Virasaiva revival. Prataparudra I (A.D. 1162-1185), who founded Warangal, was the patron of Somanatha, a well-known Virasaiva writer, who was proficient in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada. Under the aegis of the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra flourished several Virasaiva scholars. Harlsvara and Raghavanka, Devakavi and Somaraja were among the men of letters of first rank who popularised Virasaivism.

From many inscriptions of Mysore we learn that Saivism became in that part of India a very popular faith from the twelfth century onwards. Even earlier, the Lakullsa and Kalamukha forms of Saivism seem to have been in vogue. In an inscription, dated A.D. 1078, one ascetic is described as an ornament to the Lakula school, and another is referred to as *a hand of Lakula’. Another inscription, dated A.D. 1103, speaks of Somesvara Suri’s contribution to the Lakula doctrine. A third inscription, dated A.D. 1177, calls certain ascetics upholders of the Lakulagama-samaya. There are also other epigraphic records of grants made to scholars of the Saiva schools. In some of them are to be found the names of great Sivacharyas.

The Chola kings were great patrons of Saivism. Vlrarajendra I (A.D. 1063-1070) made an offering of a ruby to Sri Nataraja of Chidambaram. In A.D. 1128 Vikrama Chola gave large donations to the Chidambaram temple. Similar benefactions were made by his successor Kulottunga II (A.D. 1133-1150). Kop-Perunjinga (A.D. 1229-78), who started his career as a loyal feudatory of Rajaraja III and later declared his independence, was also an ardent devotee of god Nataraja. The eastern gopura of the Chidambaram temple was built by him. The Pandya kings, like the Cholas, continued to follow Saivism. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I (A.D. 1251-c. 1268) gave expression to his devotion to Sri Nataraja by covering with gold the roof of the temple at Chidambaram.

One of the important features of this age in South India was the rising rivalry between Saivism and Vaishnavism. An inscription of the Tanjore District, dated A.D. 1160, makes mention of a Mahasabha's resolution prohibiting the association of Saivas with Vaishnavas. But generally the kings adopted an attitude of toleration. Rajaraja I, for instance, was well disposed towards the Vaishnavas, though he was himself a Saiva; and his sister Kundava built temples for Siva and Vishnu at Dadapuram in South Arcot District.

The principal faiths of the day, Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism, flourished at Kanchi. The Kalamukhas had great influence in the capital city. There were, besides, the Kapalikas and the Pasupatas also. Temples and mathas became important all over the country. The ruling princes made rich endowments to them and saw to it that their influence with the people grew.

II. VIRAsAIVISM

Virasaivism or Lingayatism traces its origin to the five great religious teachers, Renuka, Daruka, Ghantakarna, Dhenukarna, and Visvakarna who, according to tradition, were the earthly manifestations of the five aspects of Para-Siva, viz. Sadyojata, Vamadeva, Aghora, Tatpurusha and isana. These five teachers are said to have incarnated in the Kali-yuga as Revanasiddha, Marulasiddha, Ekorama, Panditaradhya and Visvaradhya, and expounded anew the ancient system of Lingayat. They are referred to as the Panchacharyas, and an account of their incarnation is given in the Svayambhuva Agama , They are said to have established five mathas in the different parts of India—Kedara in the Himalayas, UjjayinI in the South, Srlsailam in the East, Rarnbhapuri in the West, and Banaras in the North. These institutions were charged by them with the mission of spreading the Lingayat faith and of safeguarding the interests of, and giving a lead to, the Lingayats.

The names of three of the five Acharyas, viz. Visvaradhya, Panditaradhya and Ekorama, are mentioned in the beginning of the Basava Parana; and they are spoken of as old teachers of Virasaivism. We learn from an inscription at Ablur that one Ekanta Ramayya, an ardent worshipper of Siva, defeated the Jains by performing a miracle. He is said to have laid a wager that he would cut off his own head, and that it would be restored seven days later by the grace of Siva. King Bijjala, to whom we have already referred, seems to have received news of this miracle; and he summoned the Sivacharya to his court where the miracle was repeated. According to the Basava Parana, Basava himself was present at the court when the miracle was repeated. But beyond Ramayya's yogic powers, of which there is a record both in the inscription and the Purana, nothing is known either of the teacher or of his teachings.

The greatest name, however, in the history of Vlrasaivism is that of Basava, who, though not the founder of the faith, was mainly responsible for making it popular in the Kannada country. According to the traditional account, Basava was born at Bageva^i in the Bijapur District as the son of Madiraja and Madalambike. Tie spent his early days at Kappadi, at the junction of the Malaprabha and Krishna, where a shrine stands, dedicated to Sangamesvara, "Lord of the Confluence." Here Basava is said to have received a divine call to work for the revival of Vlrasaivism. He found a great opportunity to fulfil his mission when he was appointed prime minister of Bijjala (A.D. 1156-1168) in succession to his own maternal uncle who had filled that post till his death. Basava's influence in the realm increased when the king married his sister, Padmavatl. In concert with Channabasava, the son of another sister of his, he pursued a vigorous policy of spreading the Vlrasaiva doctrine through the priests of the faith called Jahgamas. The other officers at the court carried tales about Basava to the king, and accused him of embezzlement. Basava fled and, with the help of his numerous followers who accompanied him, defeated the king, who was compelled to reinstate him in his former high office. True reconciliation, however, there could not be, and we possess different accounts of what followed.

The Lingayat account is that Basava directed one of his disciples to slay the king when he came to know of the latter's design to put out the eyes of two

Lingayat devotees, and fled to Sangamesvara where he was “absorbed into the Linga”. The Jain version is that when the king was camping on the bank of the Bhlma river after a military expedition, Basava sent him a poisoned fruit, and then fled to Ulavi, at the foot of the Western Ghats, where he threw himself into a well to escape capture by the king’s son.

After Basava, his nephew Channabasava, became the leader; and he was helped in his mission by a band of able apostles. The Virasaiva movement gradually gained strength, and spread to the Andhra country and also further south. A number of mystic bards arose, who expounded the doctrine in a popular and catching manner. Their writings are known by the collective name Vachanasastra, to which a detailed reference has been made above. 138h Even in the humblest of homes in the Kannada country the Vachancis are current coin. The pithy epigrams of the Vachana writers have become proverbial in the popular language. The one burden of these writing's is to call men back from their career of sin and make them turn to Siva for refuge.

Virasaivism means the Saivism of the stalwarts or heroic Saivism. The name serves to distinguish the Virasaivas from the three other classes of Saivas, viz. the Samanya-, Misra-, and the Suddha—Saivas. The first two of these classes worship Siva and also Vislinu, while the Suddha- and Vlra-Saivas worship Siva alone. The Linga they wear on their person distinguishes the Virasaivas from the Suddhasaivas. Hence the name ‘Lingayats’ is also applied to them, and the cult itself is called Linga,yata.

Virasaivism is generally described as a phase of the Agamanta, from the fact that Saiva Agamas constitute the basic authority of this, as of other forms of Saivism. But the Agamas themselves are regarded as texts expounding the Vedic religion. Reverence is paid by the Virasaivas to the sixty-three Tamil saints also, and their writings are accepted as divinely inspired. These saints are referred to as purdtanas in contrast to the later mediaeval saints who are called nut ana-pur dtanas. Seven hundred and seventy of these later mystics are enumerated, and Basava and his principal disciples are included among these. The sayings of thejsaints, besides the Vedas, Agamas and Puranas, are accepted by the Virasaivas as their authorities in religion and philosophy. The other pramdnas admitted by them are perception (pratyaksha) and inference (anumana).

The Virasaiva philosophy is called Saktivisishtadvaita —a term which means the non-duality of God (viz. Para-Siva) as qualified by Power (or Sakti). When expanded, the meaning of the expression would be: “There is no duality between the soul and the Lord, each qualified by Sakti/’ According to this system, therefore, God and soul are in an inseparable union through the inalienable power called Sakti. The individual soul is neither absolutely identical with, nor entirely different from, God. It is a part of which God is the whole; it is the body of which God is the Soul.

As in the other systems of Saivism, so in Virasaivism, ParaSiva is the supreme reality, the one Absolute without a second. He is of the nature of existence (sat), intelligence (chit) and bliss (ananda). He is all-powerful, omniscient, most glorious, and endowed with all auspicious qualities. The universe of souls and matter is but a part of him, a projection of His will. The manifestation of the universe, however, does not affect Him in any way. He himself does not undergo any change or mutilation. His greatness is such that in spite of being the ultimate cause (parama kdrana) of the world, He does not suffer any change or diminution. As in Kashmir Saivism, so in Virasaivism, Para-Siva is held to be both the material and the instrumental cause of the universe. He is immanent as well as transcendent. From Him all beings spring into existence; in Him they live; and unto Him they return at the end. The Kaivalya Sruti says: “Without beginning, middle or end, He is the one all-pervading reality, of the nature of intelligence and bliss, without form and wonderful. United with Uma (His consort), the Paramesvara is the lord with three eyes and a blue-throat, and is quiescent”.

Sakti is the Power which eternally resides in Parama-Siva as

His inseparable attribute. It is the ultimate creative principle,

mula-prakriti or maya, which evolves itself into the phenomenal universe. The term maya, in Virasaivism is not to be understood in the sense of the principle of illusion of Advaita-Vedanta. The Siddhantagama interprets the word to mean “that which naturally attains to and eternally resides in the supreme Brahman.” As heat is to fire and light to sun, Sakti is to Siva, inseparably united with Him as His attribute. It is through His Sakti that Siva becomes the cause of the universe. Siva lends His own nature to Sakti; and in its discriminative or differentiating aspect (vimarsakhya), it becomes the agent of world-manifestation. Out of Sakti come all beings that constitute the universe. This is called creation or srishti. And in

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pralaya, all return to Sakti and remain therein in a seedal form.

The individual soul or jwa is a part (amsa) of Siva; and it imagines itself to be different from Him on account of ignorance (avidyci). The soul is identical with Siva in the sense that it proceeds from Siva, partakes of His essence, and finds ultimate rest in Him. Having no independent existence, it finally becomes one with Him, on the removal of avidya. It is also distinct from Siva in the sense that though sharing in His essence, it does not possess the attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, etc. Its powers of knowledge and action are limited and imperfect. It is a victim of impurities such as karma and maya, and is consequently a creature of samsara. The Upanishadic simile of sparks and fire is employed by the Vlrasaiva philosophers to explain the relation of the soul to God. And since both difference and identity are said to govern the relation, the Vlrasaiva philosophy is a doctrine of bhedabheda (difference cum non-difference).

The final goal of the soul is conceived in the Vlrasaiva system as aikya or unity with Para-Siva, the supreme reality. The soul in union with Siva enjoys unexcellable bliss. This final state of experience is technically called lihganga-samarasya, i.e. identity in essence between Ling a (Siva) and anga (soul).

Para-Siva Brahman, which is the supreme reality, is known as sthala in Virasaivism. The word sthala means place, position or abode. Para-Siva is the home or abode of all beings. He is the support of all things. In Him the universe exists (stha signifying sthdna or residence); and to Him it returns at the end (la signifying lay a or dissolution). Out of His own will and by the agitation of His innate power (sakti), Para-Siva, the supreme Sthala, becomes divided into Liiiga and anga. Linga is Siva or Rudra, and is the object of worship or adoration. Anga, which means part , is the individual soul, and is the worshipper or adorer. Sakti also gets divided into two parts— kald and bhakti, the former resorting to Siva and the latter to the individual soul. Kola is responsible for the projection of the world from Siva. Bhakti leads the soul from bondage to final release.

The three terms most often used in Vlrasaiva writings are Guru, Jangama and Liiiga. The Guru is the preceptor who imparts to the aspirant spiritual knowledge; the Jangama is the realised soul; and the Linga is the Deity, Siva.

As aids to progress in faith, Vlrasaivism teaches eight rules to be observed, which are called ashtdvarana: (1) obedience to a guru; (2) worship of a liiiga; (3) reverence for the jaiigama as for an incarnation of Siva; (4) smearing of ashes (vibhuti) made of cowdung; (5) wearing of a rosary of rudrdksha beads; (6) pddodaka, sipping the water in which the feet of a guru or jaiigama have been bathed; (7) prasdda, offering food to a guru, liiiga, or jangama, and partaking sacramentally of what is left; and (8) panchakshara, uttering the five syllabled formula namah sivdya. At the diksha ceremony these eight modes of piety are taught to every Lingayat child.

We have already mentioned that the distinguishing mark of a Lingayat is the wearing of a Linga on his body. This is called the Ishta-liiiga and is the object of Lingayat worship. The Lingayats do not concern themselves with the worship of Siva in public temples. Some of the other peculiarities of the sect, which are in the nature of reforms, are the following: the dikshd ceremony which takes the place of upanayana is performed in the case of girls also, and the women, too, have to wear the Linga, like men. The widows are allowed to marry, and women are not considered to be polluted during their monthly periods. The Lingayats dispense with the rite of offering oblations in fire; and instead of the Brahma-gayatri they make use of the Siva-gayatri. The reformist zeal of the Lingayat teachers and the spiritual fervour of the Vachana-writers have combined in making Vlrasaivism the most popular faith in the Kannada country.

III. SAIVA-SIDDHANTA

Another school of Saivism which flourished in South India during the period under review, and which still claims as its followers a large number of Tamils, is Saiva-siddhanta . An account of the lives and teachings of Tamil saints has been given above. The chief of these, Manikkavachakar, Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar, are regarded as the four great teachers of the Saiva faith (samayd chary as). They did not expound the Saiva philosophy in any systematic way. Their sole aim was to create a fervour in the hearts of the people and make them turn towards Siva, relinquishing what they, the Siva-bhaktas, considered to be unsuitable forms of faith, viz. Jainism and Buddhism. The task of formulating the metaphysics of Saivism was left to the later teachers, called the Santana chary as , preceptors of the Saiva metaphysical doctrines. Reference has already been made above 138c to four of them who are reckoned as the most important. They are: Meykanda-deva, Arulnandi-sivacharya, Marai jnana-sambandhar and Umapati-sivacharya. For a knowledge of the Saiva-siddhanta metaphysics we must turn to the writings of these teachers.

Meykanda’Sr Siva-jhana-bodham, written in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D., is the basic text of the Saiva-siddhanta philosophy. Two of the works listed among the Siddhanta-sastras, viz. tiruvundiydr and Tirukkalirrup-padiydr , were composed by two authors, teacher and disciple according to tradition, bearing the same name ‘Uyyavanda-deva,’ who came before Meykanda. But these two works should be regarded as making the transition from the stotras of the Samaydcharyas to the sdstras of the Santana chary as. It is the Siva-jhana-bodham that provides the Sutras of Saiva-siddhanta, stating in a nutshell, as it were, the leading doctrines of the system. There is a verse which says: “The Veda is the cow; its milk is the true Agama; the Tamil sung by the Four is the ghee extracted from it; and the virtue of the Tamil work, full of wisdom (bodham) of Meykandar of the celebrated city of Vennai, is the fine taste of the ghee.”

The chief of Meykanda’s disciples was Arulnandi-sivacharya. The Siva-jnana-siddhiyar which he wrote is next in importance only to the Siva-jndna-bddham. As it gives an authoritative explanation of the bodham, it is held in high esteem by the students of Saivasiddhanta. Arulnandi wrote also another work called Irupavirupadu..

The other two Santdndchdryas, Marai-jnana-sambandhar and Umapati-sivacharya, were related as master and disciple. The master is not known to have written any work. But the disciple amply compensated for this by contributing as many as eight treatises to the Siddhanta-sastras. His works are: Tiruvarutpayan , Porrippahro$ai, Vina-venbfi, Kodxkkavi, Unmai-nerivilakkam, Sankalpa-nirakaranam , N ehjuvidu-tudn , and Sivaprakasam. Of these the most important work is the last. In the Sahkalpa-nirakaranam, Umapati gives the date of its composition which works out to be A.D. 1313.

One other author, whose work Unmai-vilakkam is included among the fourteen Siddhanta-sastras, is Manavachakam-kadandar. He was one of the disciples of Meykanda. His name signifies “one who has gone beyond thought and speech.”

We now proceed to give a short account of the Saiva-siddhanta system. The Saiva-siddhanta is a system of pluralistic realism, as it recognises the reality of the world and the ultimate plurality of the souls. From the fact that the siddhanta writers employ the analogies of body and soul, and of consonant and vowel, it may be shown that there is some identity of views on an important topic as between the Siddhanta and Visishtadvaita. But the Siddhantin himself does not favour the characterisation of his system as Visishtadvaita. He claims that his view is the true Advaita. Meykanda uses the term ‘Advaita’ to refer to his own system. Tayumanavar describes Meykanda as one who saw the truth of pure Advaita. But in the interpretation of the term ‘Advaita’ the Siddhantin differs from the Saiikara-Advaitin. What is denied by him by the negative expression ‘Advaita’ is not the existence of two, but the duality of two. He says: “They are not two”, and not “There are not two”. Advaita does not mean absence of difference (bheda-abhdva) but similarity (sadrisyci). Introducing the metaphysics of the Siddhanta, Umapati says in his Sivaprakasam : “We expound here the beauty of Saiva-siddhanta, the cream of the Vedanta, whose excellent merit consists in its exposition of the Advaita, postulating an inseparable relation like body and soul, eye and the sun, the soul and the eye, supported as it is by the Dharma of the highest authoritative books, and unlike the bheda and bhedabheda and abheda relations illustrated, respectively, by light and darkness, word and meaning, gold and ornament, set forth by other schools, and which is further supported by perfectly logical methods, and is light to the truth-seekers and darkness to others.”

The supreme Reality is Siva, the Lord (pati) of all beings. Though the human intellect cannot comprehend Siva’s nature, an attempt is made to understand His greatness. Siva is superior to the Trimurtis, Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. Even when He is identified with the Destroyer, His superiority to the other two may be easily seen. Brahma and Vishnu are also affected in a way by pralaya. Only Siva stands unaffected and exists eternally as the supreme Being. Eight qualities are attributed to Siva: independence, purity, self-knowledge, omniscience, freedom from mala,

boundless benevolence, omnipotence, and bliss. The author of the Rural describes God as en-gunattan (endowed with eight qualities). But there is no limit to the Lord’s greatness. The most comprehensive terms that we can apply to Siva are Sat and Chit. As Sat f God is the plenitude of being and is incomprehensible. As Chit or intelligence, we can know Him. Sat and Chit are like the sun and its light. From these characteristics, all the other attributes of God may be derived. It is wrong to think of God as attributeless. What is void of qualities would be a mere blank, a night of nothingness. When scriptures speak of Brahman as nirguna, what they mean is that God is above the gunas of Prakriti, sattva, rajas and tamas.

Siva is immanent in the universe and transcendent as well. The conception of Ashta-murti brings out the aspect of immanence. Manikkavachakar says:

“Earth, water, air, lire, sky, the Sun and Moon,

The sentient man, these eight forms He pervades.”

God is of the form of the universe {visvarupa). “Behold! He is the male and the female and the neuter”, sings the bard of the Tiruvd chakam . The omni-form of the Lord is described by almost all the saints. But at the same time, they are conscious of the fact that the universe does not exhaust God. Siva exceeds the world. His greatness is beyond conception. Meykanda says that S>iva is not the object of perception nor the content of thought. Manikkavachakar declares that, though the supreme Siva became man, woman and what is neither, ether, fire and the final cause, He transcends all these forms. Rudra is visvddhika (more than the universe).

It is to stress the transcendent nature of God that the Siddhantin conceives of Siva as the operative cause of the world, and not as the material cause also. One of the arguments for the existence of God offered by the Siddhantin, the cosmological argument, seeks to establish the efficient causality of Siva in relation to the world. The first sutra of Siva-jnana-bodham contains this argument: “The universe which is diversified as ‘he’ ‘she’ and ‘it’, and is subject to the states of origination, sustentation and destruction, should have a cause which is eternally free and intelligent. That cause is Hara (i.e. Siva)”. The analogy of the potter is used to explain God’s causality in relation to the world. Mere clay will not transform itself into a pot but for the operation of an active agent, viz. a potter. Maya is the material cause of the world, as clay is of pot. God is the efficient or operative cause, and is analogous to the potter. His Sakti is the instrumental cause, like the potter’s wheel. The analogy of the potter, however, should not be pressed too far. God has no purpose of His own to be fulfilled through His creation. He is saiya-sankaipa and dpta-kdma ; His resolves are all true, and desires eternally accomplished. He causes the world to evolve, in order that the souls may be given opportunities for the riddance of their impurities. Of the five functions of Siva, tirodhanci, srishti, sthiti, samhara, and anugrahci, the first four have the last as the goal. And even when evolution takes place Siva remains unaffected. Just as the wind causes disturbances only to a part of the sea, evolution relates to a part of God's parigraha-soJcti. The sun is impartial and the same to all things; but because of it, diverse phenomena occur; the lotus blooms, the burning glass emits heat, and water evaporates. We should understand the nature of Siva in relation to the world in a similar way.

One of the distinctive features of the Siddhanta is that it does not countenance the doctrine of Avatdra. The author of the Sivajfidna-siddhiyar 139 says that while the other gods are subject to birth and death, suffering and enjoyment, Siva, the consort of Uma, is free from these. There is no incarnation for Siva; for incarnation, with birth, death and other changes which are incidental to it, is the result of karma and constitutes samsara. This, however, does not mean that Siva does not appear in bodily forms. He appears in the form in which He is worshipped by the devotee. Out of His great love for the souls, He comes as the guru to save them from . samsara. One of the favourite themes with the Saiva saints and hymnalists is the conception of God as Love and Grace. There is a ! well-known verse of Tirumular's which says that only the ignorant distinguish between God (Siva) and Love (anbu), and that wisdom lies in identifying the two.

Besides Siva, the Siddhantin accepts tw 7 o other ontologically distinct and eternal entities, viz. mayd and jlva. Believing in the theory of sat-karya as he does, the Siddhantin argues that as the material cause of the non-intelligent world there must be admitted the non-intelligent mayd. Maya is so called because the world is resolved (rad) into it, and is evolved (yd) from it. It is the primordial stuff of which the universe is made. It provides the souls with bodies (tanu), organs (karana), worlds (bhuvana), and objects of enjoyment (bhogya). Being non-intelligent, mayd cannot evolve of itself. It requires guidance from an intelligent being; and that being is Siva. Siva, however, acts on mayd, not directly, but through His Chit-sakti.

Thus guided, mayd projects from itself the tattvas which constitute the universe.

Jlva or soul is by nature infinite, pervasive, omniscient, etc. But on account of its association with malas or bonds, it experiences itself as limited, finite and parviscient. The three malas that bind

the soul are dnava, karma and may a. (1) Anava is a connate impurity, and occupies in the Saiva-siddhanta a position similar to that of avidyd in Advaita-Vedanta. Being connate to the soul, it is beginningless. It is the cause of the soul's delusion and the consequent transmigration. (2) The lot of the soul in any particular life is the result of its past karma. And in working out its past karma it acquires fresh karma. This vicious circle could be broken only through the grace of Siva. Even for adjusting deserts to deeds the guidance of God is necessary, since karma is a blind force, being non-intelligent by nature. (3) The third mala which is may a we have already taken note of.

The jiva is related to Siva as body to soul. God pervades the soul as the letter A pervades all the other letters. The relation between Siva and jiva is described by the Siddhantin as advaita. But 'advaita' to him means, not abheda or non-difference, but ana nyatd, non-separateness. As a substance, the soul is different from God; in nature it is similar to God. Even in moksha it does not lose its personality; as an entity it is unique even then.

Souls are many, since each has a distinct body, mind, etc. When one is born, all are not born; when one dies, all do not die; and when one is released, all are not released. The scriptural statement that the 'self is one' does not refer to the souls; it is a declaration made about God w T ho is one. Innumerable are the souls, and they belong to various types ranging from the egg-born to the placenta-born. The kind of birth that a soul takes is determined by its previous karma. The birth of a soul as a human being is superior to birth in the other species of existence. But the birth as a Saiva-siddhantin is said to be the best, as one so born has the best chance of release.

Charyd, kriya, yoga and jnana are the means the soul has to adopt for gaining its freedom from mala . Following the path of charyd, the soul thinks itself to be the servant of God, and engages itself in such acts as cleansing God's temples, adorning the images of God with garlands, praising God, serving God's devotees, etc. When the soul reaches the stage of kriya, it becomes more intimate to God and considers itself to be His son. Its service to God becomes closer. It invokes God's presence, and offers Him its love and praise. The acts of service are still of an external type. But there is a change in the inner attitude which enables the soul to march nearer to God. The next stage which is yoga makes the soul regard itself as a friend of God. Here the soul withdraws its senses from their respective objects, and concentrates its mind on God. The three paths we have now considered, charyd, kriya and yoga, are but preparatory stages which the soul has to go through before it is made fit to meet its Lord. The reward of chary a is salokya, i.e. residence in the region of God; the fruit of kriyd is sdmipya, i.e. attaining the nearness of God; and the result of yoga is sdrupya, i.e. gaining the form of God. None of these three acquisitions is to be regarded as the final goal. The supreme end is sayujya or union with Siva. This is to be attained only by jhdna or wisdom; for what binds the soul is ignorance, and the antidote for ignorance is wisdom. Jndna-mdrga, or san-mdrga , as it is otherwise called, is the last stage in the journey to God. All that goes before it is of the nature of preparation for this final step.

The attainment of Sivatva, which is release, is not complete mergence of the soul's being in Siva; for as an existent the soul is ever different from Siva. Even after the release the soul continues to be a soul and does not become God. It can claim God's nature as its own too; but it cannot claim that it is itself God. What happens in moksha is this: ceasing to experience through pasa which it did in bondage, the soul now experiences through pati (the Lord). It has shed its pasa-jndna and pasu-jndna; its knowledge now is patijndna. The expression pati-jndna does not mean the Lord's knowledge but the soul's knowledge through the Lord.

Moksha is a state of freedom from mala. There is no longer any need for the soul to return to empirical life. In moksha the soul finds rest, peace and bliss. It enjoys the bliss of Siva, but not His five-fold function of creation, sustentation, destruction, concealment, and bestowal of grace. Thus the entitative difference between God and soul still continues and will never go. Like the combination of the two words ‘taV and ‘talai’ in the compound word ‘tadalai’, in moksha, there is a mystic union of soul with God. Moksha is not a state of bare identity; it is the experience of unityin-duality. God is the giver of eternal bliss; and the soul is the recipient thereof. They are not two, but two-in-one. This is the Advaita of Saiva-siddhanta.

IV. Si V ADVAITA

Srikantha, who was probably a contemporary of Ramanuja, expounded a system of Saivism which is called Sivadvaita. While resembling Kashmir Saivism in certain respects and Saiva-Siddhanta in certain others, Srikantha’s Saivism has unique features of its own. Srikantha bases his exposition on the Veddnta-sdtra, and identifies Brahman with Para-Siva who is superior to the trimilrtis, viz. Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra. Because Srikantha explains the relation between the world of souls and matter on the one hand, and God on the other, on the analogy of the relation between body and soul, his system has been described as Siva-visishtadvaita. Srikantha himself calls his system so. But unlike Ramanuja Srikantha does not criticise Sankara’s Advaita. On the contrary, there are indications in his writings of his leaning towards non-dualism. A careful reading of Srikantha’s bhashya will convince one that this philosopher occupies a position midway between Sankara and Ramanuja. While theism is the pronounced doctrine he teaches, he leaves the door open for passing beyond to the higher truth, viz. Absolutism.

God, according to Srikantha, is the supreme Lord who exercises the five-fold function of the creation, preservation and destruction of the world, and of concealment and grace in respect of the soul (srishti, sthiti, samhara, tirobhdva and anugraha). The purpose of creation is to redeem the soul. Since impurity is innate in the soul, and it could be got rid of only through action, the soul has to pass through cycles of births and deaths. For this purpose the Lord conceals the soul’s eternal perfection. And when by successive performance of action the soul has become pure and is fit for release, the Lord bestows grace on it in consequence whereof it realises its own eternal nature, which is in essence the nature of God. Thus tirobhava and anugraha are the two ends in the process of perfecting the soul, and the creation, preservation and destruction of the w^orld are the intervening links in this chain.

Brahman is the material as well as the operative cause of the world. As the material cause, He is the soul of the universe. As the operative cause, He is higher than the universe. He is both visvdkara and visvadhika (immanent and transcendent).

Brahman effects the manifestation of the world through His Sakti or Power. It is by virtue of His Sakti that Brahman is immanent in His creation and yet transcendent. The ultimate Reality is not a bare identity; it is a unity-in-duality, an identity-in-difference. Para-sakti is the form of the Lord. She figures as His wisdom, strength, and activity. The Lord's will, knowledge, and action are but modes of his Sakti. Through his Ichchha^sakti, the Lord desired "May I become many"; by Jnana-sakti He considered the means and instruments necessary; with Kriya-^sakti He created the universe which is like a picture painted on the wall of IchchhSsakti.

Srikantha believes in sat-karya-vada and maintains that the universe is non-different from Brahman just as the pot is nondifferent from the clay of which it is made. And yet Brahman is not completely one with the universe, for He is intelligent, while the universe is for the most part non-intelligent. The relation between

Brahman and the world is to be explained on the analogy of the soul-body relation. The whole world, consisting of intelligent beings and non-intelligent things, is the body of Isvara. Ignorance, change, etc., affect this body, while qualities like permanence, omniscience, etc., belong to the Self.

Srlkantha identifies Brahman with Siva. He sees in the Vedanta-sutra "a doctrine of the Supreme Being as Siva, the auspicious one, the Being whose throat shows for all time the mark of His grace to Plis creatures, the consort of Uma who is the Supreme Light of Intelligence and Bliss, the three-eyed cause of the destruction and subsequent re-creation of the Universe." Srlkantha shows how T the eight nams of Siva, viz. Bhava, Sarva, Rudra, Isana, Pasupati, Ugra, Bhima and Mahadeva are applicable to Brahma as defined by the janmddi-sutra. Among the several Upanishadic texts that the teacher quotes is the one from the Svetasvatara which declares that men can indeed attain release without knowing Siva, when they can roll up the skies like a piece of hide.

Release is attained through realisation of one's own essential nature. But this has to wait till karma fructifies and is fully experienced through enjoyment or suffering. The Lord is impartial and wills the release of all. But only those whose karma is ripened are released, even as on the rising of the sun only those lotus buds that are ready bloom.

Contemplation of the Lord is the means to release. The soul's samsara is due to its beginningless finitude and dependence. But this miserable state can be terminated, for it is not of the essence of the jiva. The jiva should rise above its limitations by meditating on the glory of Siva. According to the tatkratu-nyaya one becomes what one meditates on. By meditating constantly on Brahman, the devotee acquires his distinctive characteristics (asddha raya-gunah) . Occasional acts of meditation will not do. Only when practised unintermittently and with concentration, meditation will lead to Brahma-sdkshdtkara. Meditation should not be given up at any time; it must continue every day until death. The Lord should be contemplated as identical with the self, not as different therefrom. Otherwise, the soul will not be released from its bondage (pasubhava). To go beyond the limitations one must identify oneself with the unlimited.

The enlightened one attains final release from good and evil deeds, "not at death, but only on crossing the Viraja, the river that constitutes the boundary of Vishnu-loka, beyond which lies the abode of Siva, the region of final liberation and the full attainment of self-hood." Till that stage is reached there is samsara. The en

lightened soul departs at death on the path of the gods, sheds all the residue of its impurities at the Viraja, crosses the river, and attains final release. Speaking of the devotees of the Non-related (niranvaya-updsakas), Srikantha says that there is no passing for them along the path.

The soul which has attained release through the intuition of Brahman and has become equal to Brahman, enjoys supreme bliss before which the joys of the world pale into insignificance. The world is seen now, in its proper context, as a part of the Lord. Negatively, release is freedom from pasutva (bondage); positively, it is the attainment of bliss (Sivatva). The self's real nature is made manifest in release. It regains self-luminosity and acquires the auspicious qualities characteristic of Siva. The five-fold functions of creation, etc., however, continue to be exercised by the Lord alone. The similarity of the released soul to Brahman is only in respect of wisdom and enjoyment. Is it not enough that the soul has been redeemed from samsdra, and that it no longer returns to the world of tears and sorrow?

V. KAPALA AND KALAMUKHA SECTS 140

Passing reference has been made above to the great influence of the Kapalikas. These, along with the Kalamukhas, represent two extremely horrid and repulsive forms of Saivism.

The Kapalas and Kalamukhas are two distinct sects, though they were often confused with one another. According to Ramanuja, the Kapalikas (members of Kapala sect) maintained that a man, who was advanced in their doctrine, could attain the highest bliss by concentrating his mind on the soul seated on the female organ. They worshipped Bhairava as the great God and attributed great virtues and occult powers to drinking wine and eating disgusting substances as food. They performed human sacrifices, and believed that by the practice of Yoga they could achieve miraculous powers of speedy movement. The Kalamukhas held that happiness in this world and salvation in the next could be attained by such practices as (1) eating food in a human skull; (2) besmearing the body with the ashes of the dead and also eating those ashes; (3) worshipping the God as seated in a pot of wine; and (4) holding a club. Men of other castes could become Brahmanas by performance of certain rites, and one who undertook the vow of a Kapala became a holy saint.

The religious devotion of these outlandish sects was reserved for the horrid God Bhairava with his wife Chandika, wearing a garland of human skulls, and requiring human sacrifices and offering of wine for his propitiation. It is unnecessary to give any further details about the horrible, almost demoniacal, practices of these sects, which form a “ghastly picture of the wild aberrations of the human intellect and spirit.” 141 They must have been in vogue from fairly early times and their origin may be traced to the terrible form and conception of Rudra. What is, however, significant is their popularity, side by side with the highly devotional and philosophical aspects of Saivism.

It would be wrong to think that these sects were quite insignificant. According to tradition even the great Sankaracharya had to enter into a keen contest with them. Centuries later, Ramanuja, Anandagiri and others took note of them, and their beliefs and practices find a place in the Siva Pumna and other sacred books of the Saivas. They also figured in literature of fiction and we get a picture of them in the Malatimadhava of Bhavabhuti. Srlsaila is referred to as the chief seat of the Kapalikas in this drama. A female member of this sect, Kapalakundala by name and wearing a garland of human skulls, carries away, at dead of night, the heroine Malati to the cemetery where her preceptor Aghoraghanta was to sacrifice her before the image of Karala-Chamunda.

There can be hardly any doubt that such extreme sects of &aivism reflect the same human tendency and mentality as we find in some revolting Tantrik rites mentioned above, and that in some form or other they have continued to exercise bewitching influence over certain sections of the people.

F. GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY I. IMPACT OF OTHER CIVILIZATIONS—THE THEISTIC URGE

Reference has been made above 142 to the early Christian and Muslim settlements in India. To what extent and in what way, if at all, these extremely monotheistic civilizations affected the thought of the country, we have not materials enough to judge. 143 But we find that during the period under review there was a theistic urge in the philosophy of the land. This finds powerful expression in many Vedantic writers who came after Sankara.

Sankara’s efforts had earned a prestige for the Vedanta which no other philosophy enjoyed at the time, and re-introduced in the minds of men a reverence for the Vedas from which the Vedanta professed to spring. Sankara's Brahma was, however, an impersonal being, who could not evoke any devotional emotion, and prayers to whom were meaningless. But man in sorrow and suffering required a solace. He looked for a god who could show mercy to a sinner and secure safety for him in times of need. Jainism and Buddhism had killed such a god while Jaimini's Mimamsa and Kapila's Sankhya did no better. Nyaya-Vaiseshika's god was more a creator than anything else. A better god was yet to come. Man's yearning spirit, therefore, turned to the Vedas and the higher philosophy that sprang from their womb. We thus find thinkers and writers with a theistic bent of mind attempting to re-interpret the Vedanta.

II. RAMANUJA (eleventh-twelfth century A.D.)

One such great writer was Ramanuja, to whom reference has been made above. The line of thought that he followed did not appear in him for the first time. He was preceded by others in this way of thinking. But he surpassed them in clarity and vigour of thought and urgency of appeal. So he eclipsed his predecessors and gave a lead to many others who followed him.

The first point of his attack was Sankara's theory of knowledge and his theory of Brahma as a substance without attribute. Commonsense says that when there is knowledge, there must be a knower who knows and an object that is known, and knowledge is the relation between the two. Sankara demurred to this. Brahma was consciousness; but as there was no second to him, he could not be a knower in the ordinary sense with an object to be known. The world of things and finite selves was unreal, and so Brahma was without relation, and without any attribute. There was nothing else from which he could be differentiated, and no quality either by which he could be differentiated.

Ramanuja challenged this entire position. Knowledge always implied a relation. The world of things and selves was real. It was not different from Brahma in essence, but differentiated from him by their individuality. Brahma was not a mere 'is' without any quality. The world is in him like a quality in a thing, like heat in fire or weight in a stone. The world is his expression, his body, so to say. Brahma is a personal being, having infinite qualities of goodness and purity. He is in fact the same as Vishnu of the Vishnu Purana and the Vaishnavas. Ramanuja's commentary on the Vedanta-sutras is interspersed with profuse quotations from the Vishnu Purana and other Vaishnava writings. His conclusions are based on these quite as much as on the sutras of Vedanta as interpreted by him.

There was another important point on which Ramanuja differed from Sankara. According to Ramanuja religious performances {karma), as explained and advocated by the Purva Mimamsa, were a necessary preliminary to and a preparation for the study and practice of the Vedanta. Further, knowledge alone was not enough to save a soul. It was to be followed by devotion to God (bhakti) which could lead man to his destination.

III. OTHER VAISHNAVA COMMENTATORS OF VEDANTA

(i) Nimbdrka (twelfth century A.D.)

Ramanuja's philosophy has been called 'qualified monism'. It was so called because, according to it, though the ultimate reality was one, it possessed qualities and was thus qualified. The world and finite souls were in Brahma like qualities inhering in a thing, like light in the sun. Ramanuja was followed in the theistic line of thinking by several powerful Vaishnavas. Next in time and rank to him was Nimbarka, a Telugu Brahmana, whose philosophy has been given the name of 'dualism-monism'. Like Sankara and Ramanuja, he, too, believed that the ultimate reality was one and it was Brahma. But unlike them, he thought that the world and finite selves were real, too; and they were distinct from Brahma. There were thus two realities —Brahma and the other than Brahma. So far he was a dualist. But these two reals were at bottom and in essence one; for Brahma was the essence of all. So far he was a monist. And the relation between Brahma and the other than Brahma was that of a whole with its parts. A part has no reality apart from the whole of which it is a part, but it is not identical with the whole. Again, the whole is not real, away from the parts. They have a common existence, a common essence, and are yet distinguishable from each other.

Between Brahma and the world of things and selves, the relation is the same. It is a case of identity in difference. But what is important in the argumentation is that his Brahma was identical with Vishnu; he was a god and a person, who could be an object of devotion and love, to whom prayers could be addressed and who could show mercy and compassion when these were needed.

(ii) Madhva (thirteenth century A.D.)

Another Vaishnava theist who wrote on the Vedanta was Madhva. His philosophy was pure dualism. There were two categories of reality, according to him; Brahma and that which was other than Brahma. This second category included the world of plurality of things and the plurality of finite individual souls. The two categories were totally different from each other, have been so from eternity, and will continue to be so. Things are different from one another; so are the finite souls from one another and from things and Brahma. The knowledge of these differences is the way to escape from the bondage of life. The talk of one reality, therefore, is meaningless according to Madhva. But the most important of his conclusions is that, as in other Vaishnava writers, the Brahma of Vedanta is not an impersonal being but is only another name for Hari or Vishnu. He is the one object of worship and devotion.

(iii) Vallabha

With Madhva and his school, the reaction against Sankara’s monism seems to be complete. Monism led to qualified monism; this was followed by a theory of monism in dualism; then came pure dualism. But a reaction to this reaction set in, and the wheel went full circle in Vallabha. Vallabha’s philosophy was Sankara’s monism minus the doctrine of illusion (or maya). The world and the finite souls were all real. They were not an illusion. But they were not different from Brahma either. All things are Brahma. There is absolute identity among them. In Vallabha we have an identification of Brahma, not with Vishnu as such, but with his incarnation, Krishna of Gokula. This is an advance towards later Vaishnavism. Vallabha is thus Sankara revived with a little popular crudeness and without Sankara’s argumentative subtlety.

But Vallabha is usually assigned to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. 144 In speaking of him here, before A.D. 1300, we are thus guilty of a slight anachronism. We mention him just to show how the movement of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis was in full swing in Vedanta circles; how one proposition powerfully advocated led to a counter-proposition, and the conflict of these two to a third.

We may add that this movement of theism was not confined to the centuries in which the above writers appeared, nor to the provinces to which they belonged. The influence of Nimbarka and Madhva, specially of Madhva, for instance, travelled beyond their time and place, and in the sixteenth century A.D. started the famous Chaitanya movement in Bengal. Under Chaitanya's influence, a new philosophical school arose headed by Jlva GosvamI, and another elaborate exposition of Vedanta was attempted by Baladeva, just to adapt it to the requirements of the new religious cult.

IV. NON-VAISHNAVA VEDANTISTS

It was not the worshippers of Vishnu alone who fell back upon the Vedanta for a philosophical sanction of their religious cult Followers of other religions also did the same. So far as pure philosophy is concerned, the contributions of these writers were not of very great importance. Their chief concern was to suggest an identification of Brahma of Vedanta with the god of their worship. This is not done by any irrefutable logic, but only by citing the various names of the deity along with that of Brahma and treating them as a string of synonyms. Thus Srikantha, a Saiva commentator of the Vedanta-sutras, under the very first sutra , uses several names of Siva as implying the same thing as the word 'Brahma' used in the sutra. All this only shows the great prestige which the Vedas and the Vedanta, the professed philosophy of the Vedas, had earned under the powerful advocacy of Sankara.

One peculiarity of all these theistic interpreters of Vedatna is that they emphasise devotion to God (bhakti) as more important and as the true means of man’s salvation. Knowledge is, after all, an aid to the production of this spirit of devotion and self-surrender to God.

V. THE OTHER SYSTEMS

Among the orthodox systems, the Yoga treated man as a psychophysical composite, and by prescribing a series of physico-mental exercises, it sought to make man’s body and mind suitable for liberation; and on its way to that goal, man might acquire many extraordinary and supra-human powers. Instead of being a means to an end, these powers may become ends in themselves, and so the Yoga captivates the fancy of many men even now. Besides, the psychology of the Yoga, though not cast in a modern mould, has still a profundity of its own. But, in spite of all this, the Yoga soon degenerated into a study of postures and the dispositions of the limbs in these postures by which the body could be made hardy and disciplined; and also the practice of certain intellectual exercises by which occult powers were believed to be attainable. Whatever the value of these things may be—and admitting that they have great value—they were not philosophy. This form of Yoga is usually given the name of Hatha-yoga to distinguish it from the higher and philosophical Yoga.

Sahkhya, on the whole, produced very little literature as compared with the other systems. It continues to be studied even today. But it has not diversified itself into schools like the Vedanta, and cannot claim even half the number of commentators as the Vedanta. During the period we are reviewing, no writer on Sahkhya appears to have risen to fame. Except Vijnanabhikshu who, in the sixteenth century A.D. or thereabout, attempted to give it a new orientation, it has had more or less an even tenor of life. Its conception of the eternal feminine (prakriti) and eternal masculine {purusha) may have suggested metaphors to poets; and it might also have been at the root of certain conceptions of the Tantras and other forms of religious rites or worship. Besides, its theory of gunas (qualities) might have affected subsequent thought in general and medical science in particular. Charaka, one of the founders of medical science in India, appears to have used some of the concepts of Sankhya; and others have also followed him. But it is difficult to say whether Charaka, who probably flourished in the first century A.D., borrowed from Sankhya, or from a common fund of ideas on which Sankhya also drew. The theory of guna, for instance, though elaborated and emphasised by the Sankhya, is found in other spheres of thought also, philosophical as well as non-philosophical.

The Sankhya conception of male and female principles may have influenced dualistic Vaishnavism, specially the cult of Krishna and Radha. We hear of such influence from some of the writers of the Bengal School of Vaishnavism. And the cult of Hara and Gauri—the concept of God as half masculine and half feminine, each half holding the other in eternal embrace—may also have received an impetus from Sankhya. But this influence is rather vague, and no historical account of it is possible; one can only point out parallels. These, however, may also point to the existence of an earlier common stock of ideas, from which all borrowed.

Except in its theory of particularity or individuality (visesha), the Vaiseshika did not differ much from the Nyaya. But it continued to maintain its separate, though rather subordinate, existence, right up to the seventeenth century A.D., when joint treatises on the two systems were written by scholars like Visvanatha, Annambhatta and others. From that time onward the Vaiseshika has been practically merged in the Nyaya system; and the two systems move like twin stars across the sky of Indian thought. Sivaditya is perhaps the only important writer on Vaiseshika during the period under review.

We have, however, a different story to tell about the Nyaya. As an organ of debate it created a position for itself from which even the Vedanta could not dislodge it. In wrestling with Jain and Buddhist logic, it had gained strength. While its metaphysics or its theory of the world had been disposed of in the Vedanta-sutras, its usefulness as a weapon of argument remained. And under the leadership of Gahgesa in Mithila, about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., it started a new career as a c novum organum '—as a new logic (navya nyaya), which continued to flourish right up to the days of Chaitanya, about which time its centre of activity was shifted to Navadvipa in Bengal. This new logic which was concerned more with the sources of knowledge (pramdnas) than with metaphysics, has produced an extensive literature expressed in an unusually stiff

language. The weakest link in this chain of literature is that it argues and argues about many questions of epistemology, but gives us no stable metaphysical conclusions. For this reason, it has often been derided as a waste of man's brain-power, and discussing nothing better than whether the pot contains the oil or the oil the pot.

The Purva Mimaihsa also continued to hold a position of influence. This was due to the fact that it was more directly and more intimately connected with the Vedas than any other system. Its philosophical importance was not very great, except for a few conceptions, such as karma, which were common to other philosophies. With the gradual disappearance of Vedic sacrifices, the influence of Mimamsa also began to decline. Its chief importance in subsequent times lay in the fact that it supplied the basic principles and rules of interpretation which were equally applicable to canonical as well as legal writings such as the Smritis. These rules have been utilised in expounding Hindu law even in British Courts of justice.

This system, like the Sahkhya and the Vaiseshika, continued to be studied through the centuries we are reviewing; but there was little progressive development in them to call for a historical narration. 145

VI. LATER SYNCRETISM

Even those who quarrel among themselves unite in presence of a common enemy. Towards the end of the period we have traversed, we find a spirit of syncretism prevailing among the philosophies of the land. About and after A.D. 1000, India was receiving hard blows from the north-west. Islam came as an invader but remained to rule. Hinduism felt the difference and tried to close up its ranks as a measure of self-preservation. In philosophy this tendency is reflected in the attempt to syncretise all the warring systems of thought. If all roads in the Roman Empire led to Rome, did not all the orthodox philosophies have but one goal to achieve? They , constituted a graded hierarchy and not battling enemies. Each of them was suited to man at a particular stage of spiritual and intellectual growth, and all together, step by step, led him to his final destination, viz. moksha or liberation. This view gradually aserted itself in the writings of Madhusudana Sarasvati (in his Prasth&nabheda) and others. Only the orthodox philosophies—those, that is to say, which owed allegiance to the Vedas—were thus regarded as parts of a larger whole. The heterodox philosophies had no place in this scheme. They only lead men astray and must, therefore, be

eschewed.

S.E —80

Vijnanabhikshu, another famous author, possibly belonging to the sixteenth or seventeenth century A.D., made a similar attempt at syncretism. He wrote both on the Sankhya as well as on the Vedanta, and tried to show that the two systems differed more in terminology than in essence. His contention was that the prakriti of Sankhya was the creative power of Brahma—an attribute of Brahma, and that the theory that Sankhya denied god or a creative personal being, was a misunderstanding. When we remember the persistent attack that the Vedanta-sutras make on the Sankhya conception of unconscious prakriti, Vijnanabhikshu's attempt at reconciliation between the two systems must be regarded as an attempt to bring the poles together. Yet the attempt was made. 146 The development of this spirit of reconciliation and syncretism, however, belongs to a later period.

The tone of pessimism that pervades the entire range of Indian philosophy has often been adversely commented upon by western critics. It cannot be denied that there is pessimism everywhere,— more in some, less in other systems. It was perhaps most acute in Buddhism, and may have spread from there to infect the other systems. But the Indian mind was not always pessimistic. In the Vedas, the gods appear in nature with humane feelings, and joy is not always absent. The early Greek mind looked upon the world as full of joy and laughter. The world was a poem and life was a joyful drama. To the Vedic mind also, a similar attitude is not unknown. But when we come to the period of philosophy, life has become as dull as a twice-told tale, and the world is anything but a glowing poem. It may be due to the political vicissitudes through which the country had passed or to other causes. Whatever the causes may have been, the fact was that life was considered a bondage, and philosophy, the means of escape.

Thus the keynote of Indian philosophy is a dominant desire of the individual to save his soul and to escape from the evils of life in this world. What is markedly absent is the desire ‘to take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them/ to make a better world here, to establish an ideal state and an ideal society, to banish disease and poverty from society, and to bring the amenities of life to every door;—in one word, to make this life livable and this world habitable. It is a limitation of Indian thought that it never paid equal attention to social and political problems, and had no social and political philosophy of a high order. This is accounted for by its presupposition that life is not worth living.

G. ISLAM

The Arab conquest of Sindh did not materially affect the religious outlook of either the Arabs themselves or the people with whom they came into contact, except, of course, those who were converted to the new faith. There was very little religious activity among the Muslims in India, as distinct and apart from that in the main Islamic centres in Arabia and other Muslim countries.

It was not till three centuries later, after the Ghaznavid conquest of the Punjab, that we find an important development among the Muslim community in India. This was the appearance of Sufi saints, the first of whom was Shaikh Isma‘il of Lahore. 147 He was followed by Shaikh ‘Ali bin ‘Usman al-Hujwairi, better known under his sobriquet of Data Ganj Bakhsh, who died in A.D. 1072 and whose tomb at Lahore is one of the most popular Muslim shrines in the Punjab. He was the author of several works, the best known of which is the Kashf al-Mahjub, and might be described as the founder of the Sufi cult in India which gained much popularity among the Muslim masses and has profoundly influenced their entire moral and religious outlook. His greatness was recognised by Khvaja Mu‘in-ud-din of Ajmer, the greatest Sufi saint of India, who underwent a course of spiritual purification (chilla) at his tomb soon after his arrival in India. Another saint of the Ghaznavid period who enjoys great fame even today, and still has a large number of followers, known as Sultanls, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, was Sayyid Ahmad Sultan SakhI Sarwar, popularly known at Lakhi Data. He died at Shahkot, a place near

Multan, in 577 A.H. (=A.D. 1181). His followers are scattered all over the Punjab and are specially numerous in the Jalandhar District. 148 One can easily form a good idea of the firm hold which these two saints have retained through the long centuries over the popular mind, from the large number of devotional songs, extolling their spiritual merits, which the beggars and the wandering minstrels of the Punjab go about singing to the accompaniment of their crude stringed instruments.

As has just been mentioned above, the greatest of the Sufi saints, who founded a long line of spiritual descendants that has endured even up to the present time, was Khvaja Mu‘in-ud-din, a disciple of the Persian saint Khvaja ‘Usman Harwani of Chisht. He came to Lahore from Ghazni in 556 A.H. (=A.D. 1161), and having visited Multan and Delhi, finally settled down at Ajmer where he lies buried now, while his disciple Qutb-ud-dln Bakhtyar Kaki, a native of Ush, took up his residence at Delhi. About the same time

another saint, Baha-ud-din Zakariya, who was born in Multan and had met the famous mystic Shihab-ud-din SuhrawardI during the course of his journeys to Bukhara, Baghdad and Jerusalem, founded another branch of Sufi saints in his native town. The renowned Persian poet, ‘Iraqi, visited him at Multan and became his disciple, while his descendants, Shaikh Sadr-ud-din and Abu‘l Fath Rukh-uddin, carried on the work of spiritual salvation after his demise in 661 A.H. (=A.D. 1263). His disciples became known by the surname of Suhrawardis, as distinct from the Chishtls who were devoted to Khvaja Mu‘in-ud-dln and his successors. It was one of his disciples, Makhdum Lai Shahbaz Qalandar, who carried his teachings to Sindh, and who, like another saint of that province, Maggar Pir, is revered even today by numerous Hindus who know him by the name of Raja BharatrL 149 Their tombs have become popular places of pilgrimage for both the communities. Another saint of this period in Sindh was Sayyid Jalal Bukhari who came to Uchch in 642 A.H. (=A.D. 1244), and one of whose grandsons acquired great celebrity under the sobriquet of Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahan Gasht.

Gujarat was another important centre of activity for the mystic saints,—Patan, Broach, Rander, Khambayat, etc. each having some local saint or another, the best known of whom was Sayyid Muhammad Barahman of Patan. It was also noted for the missionaries of some schismatic sects, notably the Isma‘iliya. The Carmathians (Qaramita), a particular branch of this sect, were, as a matter of fact, very active about this time, and remained so till a much later period, so that ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji had to take stern measures to suppress them. Once during the reign of Sultana Raziyya they actually threatened Delhi itself, and were driven back with great difficulty. But, whereas the Carmathians, true to their old traditions, indulged in excesses of all kinds and often adopted a bellicose attitude towards the authorities, the Fatimid branch, with its centre in Yemen, was busy carrying on its propaganda silently and peacefully, and was successful in converting numerous local inhabitants to its own creed. When a split occurred in its ranks on the question of succession to the headship of the,community, the followers of one of the two rival claimants moved their headquarters to India. Yet another branch, the Assassins, also ensconced themselves on the west coast of India and the north-west provinces. One of their agents, Shaikh Sadr-ud-dln,[150] evolved a syncretic creed whereby Hindu gods of the triumvirate,—Brahma, Vishnu and Siva,—-were not only recognised as prophets, but also identified with the Prophet of Islam, ‘All, and Adam respectively[151] —a clever device by which he could win over a large number of adherents among the Hindus. The Agha Khan is the present head of the larger and more influential of the two groups into which the followers of this creed became divided in later times[152], and of which the adherents are now found, not only in India, but in some parts of Africa also, where the Indians have migrated in recent times.

Nor were the activities of the Muslim mystics and agents of the Batiniya sects confined to the north. The Deccan and the southern provinces also provided a fruitful and favourable field. Among the well-known southern saints we may mention the names of Sayyid Mazhar Wall of Trichinopoli,[153] Sayyid Ibrahim Shahid, Baba Fakhrud-din, Shaikh Muntakhab-ud-dln,[154] Zari-Zarbakhsh, and Muhammad al-Husaini, known as Banda Nawaz Gisu Daraz of Gulbarga, perhaps the greatest of them. In Bengal a pupil of Shaikh Qutb-uddln Bakhtyar Kaki, Shaikh Jalal-ud-dln Tabriz!, acquired considerable celebrity. Thus by the time the Mamluk Dynasty came to an end, Sufi monasteries were already scattered far and wide throughout the country, and there was a definite spiritual liaison between them, although there is no evidence to show that they worked on any co-ordinated basis. The Chishtiya school, with its liberal and tolerant outlook, and its recognition of music as a lawful means for the attainment of spiritual ecstasy, was now supreme and counted the largest number of the common people among its adherents.

1. This point has been further elaborated in Chapter XVII, in the section 'HinduMuslim Relations'.

2. The Iranians substituted 'h* for 's' (cf. Hapta-Hindu for Sapta-Sindhu) and used the form Hindu. The Greeks and Romans dropped the initial 'h' and obtained various forms, like Indoi- from which is derived the modem European form 'India'.

3. Dhoyl, Pavanadutam, v. 28

4. N. G. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 35 (v. 30).

5. R. L. Mehta, Nepalese Buddhist Literature, p. 261.

6. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 162, 187, 203; Vol. II, pp. 432-5.

7. K. A. N. Sastri, The Pdndyan Kingdom, p. 97.

8. K. A. N. Sastri, A History of South India, p. 412.

9. Vol. IV, pp. 17, 18 (fn. 26); Vol. Ill, p. 454.

9a. Vol. IV, p. 259.

10. It consists in the knowledge of the essencelessness of the world or of all that appear,—the knowledge of the nature of things as pure void, or of the voidnature of the self or individual (pudgala) and the dharmas, i.e. entities, or objects, or the elements that constitute the universe. Cf. Mahdbodhi, JulyAugust, 1942, p. 254.

11. For the view that in Hinayana, too, an Arhat who has attained Supreme Enlightenment (Nirvana) does not cease to be after death, cf. “The concept of Khanda in Buddhism”, by C. D. Chatterjee, in the Bhdrata-Kaumudi, Pt. I, pp. 161 ff.

12. S- B. Dasgupta, Introduction to TantHc Buddhism, p. 116.

13. For an elaborate discussion on Nirvana, see B.C. Law, Concepts of Buddhism . pp. 76 ff.

14. S- B. Dasgupta, op- cit., p. 87.

15. Ibid., pp. 91-93.

16. Ibid., pp. 83-85.

17. This account of Tantrik Buddhism including Vajra-yana and Kalachakra-yana is mainly based on Dr. S. B- Dasgupta’s two valuable books, viz., Introduction to Tdntric Buddhism and Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali LUerature, and also my History of Buddhism in Bengal (in Bengali)

18. Obscure Religious Cults, p. 86

19. For details regarding Sahajayana, cf- S. B. Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature, pp. 39-128- Also see P. C. Bagchi, Bauddho.-Dharma-o-Sdhitya (in Bengali), pp- 71-79

20. See above, p- 24

21. See above, p. 28.

22. For the site of VikramasUa-mhdra, see S- C- Vidyabhushana, History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, p. 151 and fn- 5; JBRS, XXXIV, 1948,

pp. 83-86.

23. Vol. Ill, pp. 580 f.

24. Phanindra Nath Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 36; Schiefner’s Tdranatha: Geschichte des Buddhismus, p. 218

25. Vol. IV, pp. 49, 272 ff.

26. Catalogue Du fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale, par P. Cordier. Vol. II, p. 299.

27. Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv., Eastern Circle, 1920-21, p. 35; ASI, 1922, p. 116.

28. EL, XXI, pp. 97 ff

29. 7C-, L p. 232

30. Ibid., p. 231

31. Ibid.

32. S- C- Vidyabhushana, op. cit., p. 151

33. Cordier, op. cit, II, p. 299.

34. Vidyabhushana, op. cit., p. 136

35. Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang. Ed. S. C. Das, Pt. I, Intr-, p. xcvii

36. Cordier, op. cit-, III, p. 282.

37. Vidyabhushana, op. cit., p. 151.

38. Cordier, op - cit., Ill, p, 281.

39. For his traditional life-history, see S. C. Das, Indian Pandits in the Land of Snoav, pp. 50-76; also Waddell’s Lamaisra; see Phanindra Nath Bose, op. cit., pp. 66-79; N. N- Das Gupta, Bahglaya Bauddhadharma (in Bengali),

pp- 168178; Vahgiya Mahakosha (in Bengali), Vol- II, pp. 369-72- Cf- also above, Vol- IV, pp. 447-8

40. For Abhayakaragupta, see IC, III, pp- 86-89.

41. For Vibhutichandra, see Vichitrd (Bengali Journal) 1345 B.S-, pp. 293-96; Bahglaya Bauddhadharma, pp- 180-86; IC, V, pp- 215-17; Phanindra Nath Bose, op. cit, pp. 145-150

42. Phanindra Nath Bose, op- cit-, pp. 150-54

43. Bahglaya Bauddhadharma, pp. 192-194

44. Cordier, op. cit., Ill, p. 285

45. Cf. Ch. XX

46. Vol- IV, p- 447

47. Cf. Marco Polo, ed. H. Yule, Vol. I, p. 168.

48. Mdnasi-o-Marmavdni (Bengali Journal), 1329 B.S-, pp. 481-82, with reference to M. Chavannes' Les Inscriptions Chinoisos de Bodh Gaya in the Revue de Uhistoire des Religions, 1889- Cf. P. C. Bagchi, India arid China, p- 56

49. Rdjatarahgini, tr. Stein, Book IV, p. 142, v. 200, and p. 167, v. 507

50. Ibid., Book IH, p. 103, v. 355

51. Ibid., Book VII, p. 353, w. 1097-98.

52. Cordier, op. cit, II, p. 12.

53. Ibid., Ill, p. 452.

54. EL IX, pp. 300-02.

55. Cordier, op. cit, III, pp. 291, 297, 302, 303, 304, 452, 456

56. Ibid., II, p. 220; III, pp. 291, 294, 297, 302, 303, 304, 374, 412, 437, 447, 452, 453, 456, etc.

57. Ibid., m, p. 175

58. Ibid., pp . 442, 452.

59. Ibid., pp. 443, 449, 453; S. C. Vidyabhushana, op. cit., pp. 142-44

60. Ibid., p. 442.

61. Ibid., p. 301.

62. Ibid., p. 437.

63. S- C. Vidyabhushana, op. cit-, pp. 137-39

64. Bib. Ind., ed. by S. C. Das and H. M. Vidyabhushana, Calcutta, 1888

65. Ibid., Preface, p. v.

66. Cf. Keith, HSL, p. 159

67. HTB, Vol. II, pp. 1, 2, 4, 13, 14, 31, 45; etc

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68. See p. 25

69. Cunningham, Mahabodhi, pp. 70-75; B. M- Barua, Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, Pt. I, pp. 199-201.

70. MASB, V, p. 75.

71. JASB, N.S., IV, pp. 106-07.

72. JRAS, 1927, p. 694.

73. JASB, 1930, p. 139.

74. EI, XVIII, pp. 128 ff.

75. IA, XVn, p. 61 f; Ibid., XXIV, p. 176; also cf. JPASB, XXI, pp. 103 ff. and THK, p. 309.

76. HTB, II, p. 4.

77. B. Majumdar, Guide to Sarnath, 2nd ed., p. 22.

78. EI, IX, pp. 319 ff.

79. Guide to Sarnath, pp. 28 and 36

80. EI, XI, pp. 24-26

81. Ibid., IX, p. 321.

82. Ibid., IV,'pp. 118-19.

83. IHQ, V, 1929, pp. 14-29.

84. Cordier, op. cit., II, pp. 130, 218, 220-223, 227, and III, pp. 129, 218, etc.

85. Ibid., II, pp. 368, 284, and 358.

88. Ibid., Ill, p. 120; for his works see II, pp. 212, 213, 216-17, 230, 294, 358, 368, 385; III, pp. 83, 120, etc.

87. ASI, 1929-30, pp. 166-67.

88. EI, XIX, pp. 295 ff; also cf. Bh. List Nos- 1251 and 2033

89. EI, XVIII, pp. 73-74.

90. EI, XXII, p. 75; H. D. Sankalia, Archaeology of Gujarat, p. 233; also cf. AR . p. 309

91. JASB, N.S., IV, p. 105.

92. Cordier, op. cit., HI, p. 126

93. See Vol. IV, p. 256 f. Also cf. I A, 1911, pp. 209 ff.

94. See Vol. IV, p. 247.

95. EI, VI, pp. 146 ff., and p. 196; Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras Govt., 1914, 141 of 1914, pp. 16-17 and 104-105; Inss. of the Madras Presidency, ed. V. Rangacharya, Vol. II, Gt. 135, p. 763; Gt. 136, p. 763

96. EC, ed. Rice, VII, p. 197 SK. 169; p. 198, SK. 170; pp. 124-27, SK. 100; G- M. Moraes, Kadamba-kula, p. 256; I A, XVIII, pp. 270-73; EI, XV, pp. 348 ff.; IA, X, pp. 185 ff.; AR, pp. 273-74.

97 EI, XXIV, p 239 f.

98! JBORS, XV, pp. 87-91; XVI, pp. 469 ff.; XVII, pp. 196-97; Bh. List No. 2043; Banerji, History of Orissa, I, p. 203

99. ASI, 1930-34, Pt. I, p. 237, and PI. CXX, b.; Cordier op. cit., n, p. 32; EI, XI, pp. 24-26- We learn from an inscription recently discovered in Korea that an Indian monk named Dhyanabhadra visited Kanchlpura where he listened to a discourse on an Avatamsaka-sutra in the fourteenth century A.D. (Arthur Waley, New Light on Buddhism in Mediaeval India quoted in 2500 years of Buddhism published by the Government of India, 1956, p. 8).

100. Cordier, op. cit., n, pp. 28, 60-61, 220; III, 213, 236; Nilakanta Sastri, The Colas, II, Pt. I, p. 545.

101. N. Vasu, Arch. Surv. Mayurbhanja, I, Pis. 39 (2), 40, 44, 45, 46, 48 (4); 49, 50, 51, etc

102. Tabaqat-i-Ndsiri, Bib. Ind. ed., tr. Raverty, pp. 551-52.

103. Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang., Pt. I, Intr., p. CXXI. P. N. Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, p. 144.

104. This explains the discovery in Nepal of a number of Buddhist MSS- of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, written in proto-Bengali script, that was

then prevalent both in Bengal amd Magadha.

105. HBR, I. 422 ff.; B.C. Law Vol. I, pp. 75 ff., 669 ff.

106. IHQ, IX. 282. HBR, I. 257.

107. HBR, I. 228.

108. I A, X. pp. 241 ff., Cunningham, Mahabodhi, pp. 79-80; Barua, Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, I, pp. 201-05; etc. EI, XII. 29-30.

109. Barua, Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, I. 210 ff.; II. 72, IHQ, VI. 28

110. H.P. Sastri, Des. Cat. Sans. MSS . ASB, I. 21; Cat. of Buddhist Sans. MSS. in the Uni. Lib. Cambridge, C. Bendall, Intr. p. IV, and pp. 69-70; IA, 1875, IV. p. 367; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 134; Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, p. 113; L. A. Wadell, Buddhism of Tibet, 2nd

ed., p. 16, etc.; Ann. Rep. South Ind, Epi. No. 113 of 1904, p. 44; Ibid., for 1920, p. 38, No. 607 of 1919; Mahabodhi, 1942, p. 166; H. B. Sarkar, Indian Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali, pp. 285-86; ASI, 1926-27, p. 205; 1929-30, pp. 178-9; EI, XIX. 261-17: N. Vasu, Arch. Surv. Mayurbhanja, Introd., pp. CXVI ff.; Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang., Ed. by S.C. Das, Introd., p_. XC.

111. Aln-i-Akbari, tr. Jarrett, III, 1894, p. 212. Cf. V. A. Smith, Akbar, 2nd ed-, p. 162 and fn. 1.

112. JASB, 1895, p. 57.

113. e.g. Siddha Santagupta, Jogin Dinakara, Guru Gambhlramati, etc

114. H. P. Sastri, Cat. of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library , Nepal, II, pp. 51, 59, 78, etc.; also Cecil Bendall, Cat. of SanskritBuddhist MSS . in the Cambridge University Library.

115. For Pandubhumi-vihdra, its celebrities and their works, see Cordier, op. cit., H, pp. 13, 15, 16, 67, 100, 114, 196; III, pp. 386, 419, 435-36, 437,

483-84, etc

116. Ibid., II. p. 31; III, p. 237.

117. Ibid., III. p. 276.

118. Ibid., III. p. 99.

119. Ibid., III. pp. 248-49 and p. 250.

120. Ibid., II. pp. 121, 127; III. pp. 99, 116, 125, 249, 250, etc.

121. For Vanaratna's works, see Ibid., II. pp. 13, 45, 77, 78, 121, 127; III. pp. 99, 112, 116, 117, 121, 125, 163, 177, 235-236, 248-49, 250.

122. Ibid., III. p. 99; also see II. p. 45; III. p. 112.

123. Ibid., IH. pp. 250-51.

124. Keith and Thomas, Cat. SanskHt and Prakrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office, II, Pt. II, pp. 1411-12, No. 7769

125. See above, pp. 61, 66f.

126. For a description of the temple, cf. Ch. XX.

127. I A, XI. 248.

128. Bairadeva temple Stone Ins. EC, V. 149, p. 190

129. MAR, 1911, p. 43.

130. Parsvanatha Basti Ins. EC, V. 124, p. 83

131. Bhandara Basti Ins- of A.D. 1159, EC, II. 349, p. 153.

132. MAR, 1931, p. 198.

133. EC, VII. 116, p. 38

134. MAR, 1925, p. 95; EC, IV. 26, p. 56.

135. EC, II (Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola), Revised Ed., Intr., p. 23, Inscr. No. 254 (text, p. 121, tr., p. 109).

136. For Hemachandra and his works, see above, pp. 301, 308, 318, 323, 326, 345

137. Winternitz places him in the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., but others refer him to the twelfth century.

137a. For the antiquity of Radha cult, cf. ABORI, XXXVI. 231-257.

137b. Above, Vol. IV, p. 311.

138. The traditional date of Ramanuja’s birth is 6aka 938 corresponding to A.D1016 or 1017 and that of his death, 120 years later, in A.D- 1137. R. GBhandarkar accepts the traditional date of his birth, but says nothing of the date of his death (VS § 76). K. A. N. Sastri accepts both the dates (History of South India, pp. 341-2). A life of 120 years is not, of course, impossible, but appears to be doubtful. As epigraphic evidence supports the traditional date of Ramanuja’s death, it has been suggested by some “that he must have been born some time about 1037 and died about 1137”. (The Cultural Heritage of India, 1st Edition, Vol. II, p. 86).

138a. See above, pp. 229, 242, 402, 404.

138b. PP. 368 ff.

138c. P. 365.

139. II. 25.

140. The account of these two sects is based on Bhandarkar, R. G-— Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Sects, §96.

141. Ibid., §97.

142. See above, Vol. Ill, pp. 450-459

143. Some scholars hold the view that the theism of South India, and even monism of Sankara, were due to a large extent to the teachings of Islam (Tara Chand. Influence of Islam on Indian Culture). This extreme view is hardly supported by the known facts of Muslim settlement in India, notod above (Vol. Ill, pp. 450-57).

144. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy. Bhandarkar places the date of his birth at A.D. 1479.

145. Buddhism did not produce any noteworthy writer during this period. Jain philosophy has been discussed in connection with that religion.

146. Indian Philosophical Quarterly, October, 1930, and January, 1931.

147. Cf. M. Ikram, Chashma-i-Kaiithar, pp. 69 ff.

.148. Ibid., pp. 81 ff.

149. The Maggar Pir is known by the Hindu name of Lala Jas Raj- Another saint, Khvaja Khizr is called Zinda Pir by the Hindus.

150. He was a contemporary of Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Surkhposh who died in 698 A.H. (=A.D. 1299).

151. This is clearly stated in one of the sacred books of the Khojas named Das Avatar.

152. The minor group still lingers in North Punjab and Chitral.

153. He died in 622 A.H- (= A.D- 1226).

154. He died about 700 A.H. (= A.D. 1301).

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL CONDITION

1. SOCIAL DIVISIONS

The essential features of the Indian social system, as preserved in the Smriti tradition of the preceding centuries, are faithfully reflected in the commentaries and digests of this period, which deal with the rights and duties as well as the status of the four varnas on the lines laid down in the Smritis.

We find, however, some novel views regarding the immunity of the Brahmana's person. Explaining the general law on this point Vijnanesvara 1 says that the Brahmana is not exempt from punishment, and dismisses the sweeping statement of Gautama-Dharmasastra 2 (namely, that the king is master of all v/ith the exception of the Brahmanas) as a mere eulogy. Quoting another text of Gautama 3 (which requires the king to grant a sixfold immunity to the Brahmanas), Vijnanesvara observes that this is not applicable to any and every Brahmana, but only to a very learned Brahmana, as defined by the author immeditely before. Further qualifying the above explanation, Haradatta 4 explains that the sixfold immunity is to be granted by the king when the very learned Brahmana (as defined by the author) has committed an offence without premeditation. The above texts clearly enunciate the principle, so very honourable to our authors, that the Brahmana enjoys no complete immunity from punishment. In other passages our authors specifically define the limits within which corporal punishment is permissible for Brahmanas. On the vexed question of immunity of a Brahmana desperado (atatdyl) our authors seek to reconcile two fundamental Smriti principles, namely, those of the Brahmana's complete exemption from the death penalty and the individual's right of selfdefence. The general view is that one incurs no blame by killing a Brahmana who becomes an atatdyl, but this holds good only when it is impossible to save one's self by flight, by striking him with a stick or with weapons, and so forth, and not otherwise. Less consistent is the attitude of Smriti-chandrikd, for while the author in one place 5 includes killing Brahmanas in righteous fight in the list of practices forbidden in the Kali

Age, he elsewhere 6 permits an atatdyl Brahmana to be killed with impunity in self-defence.

The high standard of life and conduct prescribed by the Smriti law was not always followed in actual practice. The commentaries

and digests contain references to unworthy Brahmanas who not only failed to reach this standard, but were of low morals or neglected their ordinary duties and obligations. References to degraded Brahmanas are also found in the contemporary lexicons. The commentaries and digests, following the authority of the Smritis, repeatedly place the degraded Branmanas under a social ban.

The description of Sudra's occupation and status in the commentaries and digests of this period follows the old Smriti lines. The views of our authors about the Sudra's religious, legal and social disabilities in general do not indicate any fresh development. It is however, an index of the increased rigidity of caste differences that the saving clause allowing a Brahmana householder to take food from four types of Sudras (namely, his slave, his cowherd, his family-friend, and his tenant-cultivator) is applied by our authors to times of distress 7 or to times of great distress, 8 or lastly is altogether disallowed as one of the forbidden practices in the Kali Age. 9 In the same list of forbidden practices is included 10 the act of employing Sudras for cooking food and so forth in the households of the Brahmanas and the like. This increasingly narrow attitude towards Sudras is seen at its worst in a few texts quoted or paraphrased by our authors, which brand them with the stigma of untouchability. One should, we read, purify himself by bathing with clothes on after touching a Sudra, 11 or a Sudra of the inferior type. 12 Again we are told 13 that one should fast as a penance after touching a Sudra.

As regards the group of mixed castes Yajnavalkya's enumeration 14 of those formed in the proper order (anuloma) by hypergamous unions of upper caste males with lower caste females, and those formed in the inverse order (pratiloma) as well as those of a miscellaneous character is paraphrased by the commentators. It is reproduced almost verbatim with slight additions in Smrityarthasdra, 13. We are, however, warned by Vijhanesvara 16 that the list is merely illustrative as the number of miscellaneous mixed castes is endless and incapable of enumeration. The longest list is given in VaijayantV 6 which makes out a total of 64 jdtis consisting of sons born to the four varnas , the 12 anuloma and pratiloma sons and their 48 offshoots. There is complete unanimity about the relative status of these groups. The anuloma castes, we read, 17 are twice-born and hence entitled to sacraments like investiture with the sacred thread, but the pratiloma castes are impure and as such ineligible for the duties of the twice-born castes.

A different enumeration of the mixed castes and statement of their status occur in Bnhaddharma Parana . 18 The list is said to

comprise 36 jatis, but actually it comes up to 41. It consists of three grades distinguished as high (20 jatis), intermediate (12 jatis) and low (9 jatis)* In contrast with the status assigned to the anuloma castes in the commentaries and digests, the Brihaddharma Pur ana declares all the 36 castes to have the status of &udras. The only difference is that while the first group is entitled to the services of Srotriya Brahmanas as priests, the priests of the two other groups are degraded Brahmanas and sink to the level of their ministrants.

It remains to consider the views of the commentaries and digests about the lowest castes (antyas or antyajatis) of whom the Chandalas are the most important representatives. The antyajatis , according to the enumeration of Vaijayanti , 19 are seven in number, namely, washermen, leather-workers, Venas, Burulas, fishermen (Kaivarttas), Medas, and Bhillas. In this list the third, fourth,, sixth and seventh names are evidently those of aboriginal tribes, while the rest are occupational groups of the lowest order. The distinctive feature of the status of the Chandalas, according to the Smriti law of this as of the earlier period, was that they were placed under a rigorous ban of untouchability. Not only is their touch included in a list of acts requiring purification of the body, but according to the extreme views quoted or followed by these authors such penances are prescribed for their approach within a certain distance, for the sight of or conversing with them, for witnessing their shows, for crossing their shadows, and for touching them in the second, third or fourth degrees. 20 It is to be noted that our authors in the same context quote or follow the extreme texts extending the ban of untouchability to a number of heretical sects. The list consists of

Buddhists, Jains, materialists (lokdyatika) , atheists (nastika), followers of Kapila, Saivas and Saktas outside the Vedic pale (according to Smrityarthasdra) , or Saktas of the left-hand sect (according to Apararka). 21

The historical records of this period, imperfect and fragmentary as they are, occasionally throw interesting light upon the ways of life of the Indian castes. Learned Brahmanas, who adhered for the most part to the strict discipline enjoined upon them by their scriptures, are referred to in the royal and other land-grants, as well as in the general literature. We have, however, a number of historical instances of individual Brahmanas and Brahmana families normally following the occupations of Kshatriyas. 22 In so far as the Sudras are concerned there is no reason to doubt that they for the most part conformed to the rules and regulations laid down for them by the Brahmana canonists. On the other hand there are a

few instances, where Sudras, in the teeth of the canonical rule forbidding the lower varnas to take up the functions of the higher ones, assumed the Kshatriya's occupations of ruling and fighting. 23

The ruling families (afterwards called Rajputs) of Northern India, such as the Guhilaputras (Guhilots), Pratiharas (Gurjaras), Chapas and Chahamanas, and those of the Deccan such as the Chalukyas, had entered the stage of history from the sixth and seventh centuries onwards. 24 Other families like the Rashtrakutas, the Chandeilas, the Paramaras, the Kachchhapaghatas and the Gahadavalas appeared on the scene in later times. It has been held 25 that four of the principal Rajput clans, namely, the Paramaras, the Chaulukyas, the Chahamanas and the Pratiharas were descended from Hinduised foreigners (Hunas and Gurjaras), while others like the Chandeilas and the Gahadavalas were Hinduised aborigines (Gonds and Bhars). This theory, however, is not supported by the data of physical anthropology. 26 Support for the above theory has been sought to be found in the legend of origin of the four clans above mentioned from the sacrificial fire kindled on Mt. Abu by the sage Vasishtha for replenishing the Kshatriya-stock after its extermination by the sage Parasurama. But the legend has been shown to be a very late one. 27 The truth is that the Rajputs were of different and sometimes of indeterminate origins. In this and the immediately preceding periods legends of origin of the Rajput clans w T ere invented with a view to their affiliation to the two great Kshatriya stocks of Epic and Puranic tradition, namely, the Solar and the Lunar races. 28

We have seen elsewhere 29 that the Kayasthas as a caste (as distinguished from the profession called by that name) can be traced back with the help of literary and epigraphic records to the latter half of the ninth century A.D. In the eleventh and the following centuries individuals of this caste rose to the highest public offices in different tracts. Simultaneously with the rise of the Kayasthas to power there arose different legends to account for their origin In the inscriptions of this period we have three different versions tracing the descent of the Kayasthas from as many varnas . In the first version 30 the Kayastha family in question derived its descent from the sage Kasyapa through his son Kusa. In the second version 31 we are told that after the creation of the Kshatra -varna by Brahma, the Kshatriyas were heart-broken by the destructive act of Parasurama, and that those who were not so discouraged were called Kayasthas. With this agrees the fact that the Kayastha-family in a record above quoted 32 styles itself as Kshatriya. The third version 33 tells us that the great sage Kachara, deriving his origin

from God Brahma and having his residence in the town of Kulancha, was gratified with the services of a Sudra and granted him the boon of having a son who became the ancestor of the caste of Kayasthas.

The origin of the division of the Dravidian-speaking peoples of South India other than the Malayalam into the right hand (V dicing ai) and the left hand (Idangai) classes is lost in obscurity. We have, however, a few inscriptions of the eleventh century showing how this division had fixed itself in the civil and military life of our people by that time.

The ancient institution of slavery was a well-known feature of Indian social life during this period. The law of slavery in the commentaries and digests, 34 however, indicates little or no development in comparison with that of the later Smritis.

The Kathcisaritsdgara gives us frequent sketches 35 of the aboriginal tribes indifferently called Bhillas, Pulindas and Savaras who lived in the Vindhya hills and forests. These tribes, we learn, lived by hunting and they used likewise to plunder caravans passing through their forests. The men were dressed in tiger-skins and adorned their bodies with peacocks' feathers and elephants' teeth, while the women were dressed in peacocks' feathers and wore necklaces of strings of the gunja fruit. They lived on the flesh of deer and drank spirits distilled from wine. Their chieftains lived in residences covered with elephants' tusks and adorned with tigerskins and they possessed stores of camels, musk, and "pearls" (obtained from the brains of slain elephants). They observed their old custom of offering human victims before their goddess. 36 But at the same time they were capable of the most loyal service to their benefactors and suzerains from the civilised tracts.

2. MARRIAGE

The Smriti law relating to inter-caste marriage was generally in vogue. But we find that Smriti-chandrika 37 and Smrityarthasara include marriages of males of twice-born classes with females of other castes (asavarna) in the list of practices forbidden in the Kali Age. In the body of rules relating to marriage, however, Smriti chanclrikd 38 expounds the law on this point in the following way. Firstly, marriages with girls of different castes are permissible among the twice-born classes after their marriages with girls of the same caste {savarna). Secondly, savarna marriages are necessary for the performance of religious rites, while asavarna marriages are of an inferior type as being dictated by desire. Thirdly, what is meant by the Smriti texts condemning marriages of Brahmanas with &udra women is not the prohibition of such marriages, but their

prior performance before marriages in superior castes. The same qualified support of asavarna marriages (including marriages with Sudras) among the three upper classes is given by Vijnanesvara and Apararka. 39

The old Smriti rules relating to prohibited degrees of marriage are repeated and amplified in the commentaries and digests. The late Smriti view relating to the compulsory marriage of girls at an early age is followed by our authors without question.

While giving a qualified support to the revocation of marriage before all the religious ceremonies were completed, our authors develop the old Smriti law so as expressly to forbid the re-marriage of widows. 40

As regards royal marriages V aijay anti 4 ^ gives a twofold classification of the king’s wives and concubines. The king’s married wives comprise, firstly, the chief queen (mahishi or mahddevi) who has been consecrated; secondly, the queen (devi) bom of a royal family; thirdly, the honoured lady (parivrikti); fourthly, the dearly beloved lady (vdvdtd); fifthly, the lady who is not the daughter of a king (svamini); and sixthly, a lady who has been won in war (phdlakali). The king’s female favourites who, though not married to him, are versed in different fine arts (kala) are called ganika and are divided into different classes. According to Manasollasa 42 the king should select as his queen a girl of Kshatriya lineage, young and beautiful, having good manners, bearing auspicious marks on her person and belonging to one or other of the best groups after the classification of the Kdmasdstra. To the above the author adds 43 that the king should select as his secondary wives (avarodha-vadhu), “for purpose of enjoyment”, young and beautiful women of Vaisya and Sudra castes, and he should further engage wanton women (vildsini) having the same physical charms and gratify them with various gifts and personal attentions.

The Kathasaritsdgara repeatedly refers to the current ideas and practices of marriage. The traditional Smriti standpoint regarding the guardians’ obligation of suitably disposing of their girls in marriage at the proper time is repeated in such passages as XXIV. 23f. The further Smriti doctrine that the guardianship of the girl belongs to the father and not to the mother is mentioned in another place. 44 Very often, however, the marriages in the stories, to judge by the Smriti standards, are irregular, if not unlawful. We find Brahmanas marrying Kshatriya maidens, sometimes by gift of the parents, but more often by mutual choice followed by elopements of the girls with their lovers, such acts finding favour with kings and princes and winning the praise of the narrator. More unorthodox is the

marriage of a Brahmana 45 with a merchants wife won over by his heroic exploit in saving her life when deserted by her husband.

In another story a Kshatriya maiden, being given by her father under a threat and against her will to an ugly Brahmana, deserts him, and when she is abandoned by three successive Kshatriyas for fear of her husband’s persecution, she seeks and obtains the queen’s protection after she is vindicated against the Brahmana by a heavenly voice. Other marriages in the stories are altogether unlawful from the Smriti standpoint; such are the marriages of a Brahmana with the daughter of a Savara chieftain, 46 of a courtesan with a fisherman, 48 and the marriage of a Kshatriya prince with a Chandala maiden. 49 Such, again, are the marriages of a Chandala youth with a princess and of a young fisherman with another princess. 50 Point is given to this protest against the authoritative Smriti rules by an incident in one of the stories above named. 51 Here the father of a Chandala girl, giving her to a prince of UjjayinI, exacts from his father the condition that 18000 Brahmanas living in his city should eat in his house. In most of the above stories reconciliation is sought to be effected with the Smriti standards by means of a deus ex machina in the shape of a heavenly declaration to the effect that the low caste persons are really vidyddharas or gandharvas fallen to the earth under a curse. But at other times such excuses are altogether wanting and the marriages are duly solemnised in the gandharva form by mutual choice.

Reference may be made to some historical evidence regarding marriage. Al-Birunl, with his experience in North-Western India in the first part of the eleventh century A.D., corroborates many well-known clauses of the Smriti law. Thus he says that marriages are forbidden within certain degrees of relationship; that husband and wife can only be separated by death, divorce not being allowed; and that inter-caste marriages of Brahmanas in the anuloma order, though permitted by the Smritis, had long gone out of use in his time. On the other hand he seems to show that the punishment of the wife for adultery was more strict than that provided in the Smriti law, for he says 52 that the adulteress is driven out of the husband's house and is banished.

The polygamous habit of Indian kings is proved by contemporary inscriptions. It is likewise testified to (though with much evident exaggeration) by Marco Polo, who speaks 53 of "the 500 wives" of the king of Ma £ bar and "the 300 wives" of the king of Cail, both these territories being included in the Pandya kingdom. The elaborate ceremony of self-choice (svayamvara) of Kshatriya princesses referred to in the Epics and the Kavya literature, for which there is no precise warrant in the Smritis, is illustrated by the historical example of the marriage of the West Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI with “the Vidyadhara” (Silahara) Princess Chandaladevi. 64 An altogether irregular marriage by the Smriti standards was that of the Kalachuri king Lakshmlkarna with Avalladevi, a lady of the Huna stock, the issue of this marriage, Yasahkarna, succeeding his father on the throne in due course.

3. THE POSITION OF WOMEN

As regards the position of the wife, the Smriti commentaries and digests of this period follow more or less the line laid down in the Smritis. The husband and other male relations, to begin with, must so arrange things that the wife never becomes independent. The wife must also be guarded not only against physical but also against mental unchastity for the sake of her offspring. This is best done in other ways than by keeping the wife in seclusion by force. The wife, for instance, should have her mind so occupied with the agreeable and compulsory duties of her household that she would not have leisure for thinking of other men, and so forth. The husband should honour his wife with gifts of clothes, ornaments and good food, while the other male relations should do so on festive occasions: when the husband goes abroad he must provide for her maintenance till his return.

The laws relating to the supersession and abandonment of the wife are repeated in the Smriti-chandrika after the fashion of the old Smritis with a strong tendency to emphasise some points in her favour. The wife, we are told, 55 may be superseded on a number of specified grounds. Nevertheless the husband in some cases (as when the wife is suffering from a chronic disease but is devoted to her husband’s welfare) has to ask her permission, and in other cases (as when she is barren or produces dead children or female children alone) he has to wait for shorter or longer periods of time. Even if the superseded wife angrily leaves her husband and is accordingly made over to her relatives, she must be maintained by him. The superseded wife, the author explains, must be given a sum equal to what is spent on the second marriage or is given to the second wife, if no separate property (strldhana) had been assigned to her, and half this sum along with the strldhana in the contrary case.

If the rules in the Smriti-chandrika thus ensure the wife’s right to maintenance in case of her supersession, they provide for her residence in her husband’s house as well as her maintenance even in the event of her committing adultery. When the wife is guilty

of slight adultery, she must be maintained, though deprived of conjugal rights, till her performance of a penance. 58 Even when she commits grave adultery, she must be maintained till her performance of the prescribed penance, but with bad food and so forth. When she is guilty of the grossest adultery she should have her hair shaved and made to lie on a low bed and do dirty work, but still she should be maintained with bad food and clothes and made to live under restraint in a portion of the husband’s house. The wanton wife, concludes the author, may be abandoned, but not so the wife guilty of gross adultery, because it is possible to fit her for conjugal relations by means of penances.

Reverting to the topic of the wicked and unchaste wife, the author says in a later context, 57 that when the wife is a wanton she may be abandoned, but she must not suffer mutilation or death. The wife may likewise be abandoned when she is guilty of acts, not expiable by penance, such as conception by a Sudra male and drinking. In this case the wife should be deprived of conjugal relations, conversation, personal contact, and sharing in the performance of religious rites, but still she must be maintained with bad food and so forth, and made to live in a room near the house. Only in extreme cases, as when the wife is guilty of causing abortion and attempting to kill her husband, she may be driven out of the house.

Finally the author 58 repeats with the older canonists the penalties of a husband for wrongfully deserting his good wife. When the husband, we read, abandons his wife on grounds other than those laid down by the canon, he places himself beyond expiation and should be punished by the king like a thief. When he abandons his virtuous wife, he should be made by the king, under (threat of) heavy punishment, to restore her to her old position. In default, he should be compelled by the king to give her one-third of his property, and if he is poor, to give her a sufficient sum for her maintenance.

The commentaries and the digests repeat the old rules relating to the religious and social inferiority of women. As regards Harita's classification of women into two classes, namely, those who are students of the sacred lore (brahmavddini) and those who marry straight away (sadyovadhu) of whom the former are entitled to the investiture of the sacred thread, (offering sticks to the sacred fire, Vedic study and begging within the household), it belongs, says the Smriti-chandrikd , 59 to a different time-cycle (kalpa). After this it would appear that the reference to female teachers (Upa dhydya, upadhydyi and dcharya) found in the contemporary lexicons, 60 which is indeed as old as Kasika , 61 is no more than a historical anachronism. The commentaries and the digests repeat the Smriti laws making it compulsory for the guardians of a girl to give her away in marriage before the attainment of puberty, prohibiting social intercourse with abducted women even after their performance of a penance as prescribed by the scriptures, and declaring women to be unfit to give evidence in judicial trials because of their proneness to untruth.

On the other hand our authors indicate a strong tendency not only to maintain, but also to increase women's rights to property. Women are exempt from the operation of the law declaring adverse possession of land and money for twenty and ten years respectively to entail loss of ownership 62 because, as Vijnanesvara observes, of their ignorance and timidity. The woman's right to inherit the property of her male relations is emphatically maintained by our authors, Smriti-chandrikd 63 explaining away a Vedic text 64 which was held to disqualify a woman for inheritance. The widow, it is emphatically maintained, 65 is entitled to succeed to the whole estate of her sonless deceased husband provided she is chaste and the property was divided at the time of his death. The contrary view (Vyasa and Srlkara) that the widow succeeds to her husband's property when it is small, is rejected by Vijnanesvara, just as the view (Dharesvara) that the widow succeeds if she is prepared to raise issue to her deceased husband according to the dictates of her superiors is rejected both by Vijnanesvara and the author of the Smriti-chandrikd . The Smriti text giving the widow only a maintenance, it is explained, 66 refers to the case of remarried and wanton women. Our authors 67 similarly uphold the daughter's right to succeed after the widow. This is based upon rejection of the contrary and authoritative view (Visvarupa, Dharesvara, Devasvamin and Devarata) that the daughter enjoys this right only when she is appointed to raise male issue for a father without sons (putrikd). Above all, our authors, 68 while quoting the divergent views of the older texts about the connotation of the woman's separate property (stridhana), agree as to the extent of her dominion over the same and the special rule of succession applying to it among her heirs.

The historical references to the position of women, though meagre, help us to correct at some points the views of the Brahmana canonists above mentioned. Thus we have a number of instances showing how queens and princesses, in the face of the Smriti doctrine of the perpetual dependence of women, sometimes exercised a commanding influence upon the administration of state. In Kashmir, Suryamati, queen of Ananta, rose to be the de facto ruler of the

kingdom and ended by persuading the king against the judgment of his wisest counsellors to abdicate in favour of their unworthy son. The political influence of royal ladies can be traced during this period especially in the records of the Deccan and South India. We have seen elsewhere 69 how princesses became governors of provinces and held minor administrative charges under the Western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyana. To the instances there given we may add a few more, namely, those of queens of Somesvara I and Vikramaditya VI and of two queens of a Chalukya feudatory. 70 In the latter half of the thirteenth century A.D. queen Ballamahadevi of the Alupa dynasty (in South Canara District) ruled for at least fourteen years (Saka 1201-14) with the masculine titles of Maharajddhiraja, Para balasadhaka, and so forth. 71 As noted above, queen Rudramba, bearing the male name of Rudradevamaharaja, ruled the Kakatlya kingdom for nearly forty years, and her conspicuous success won the admiration of the contemporary Venetian traveller Marco Polo. 72 In the light of such evidence of the political influence of women in the Deccan and South India, it is interesting to observe that the advent of the Sena dynasty of Kannada origin into Bengal brought with it a significant change in the formula of the royal landgrants so as to include the queen in the list of the king's informants.

4. FOOD AND DRINK

The commentaries and digests develop with almost pedantic thoroughness the old Smriti rules relating to prohibited food. In this connexion Vijnanesvara and Apararka 73 repeat Medhatithi's list 74 of occasions on which meat is lawful food. On the other hand Bhavadeva 75 of Bengal, reflecting no doubt the regional sentiment on this point, adopts a very liberal attitude towards eating meat and fish. "When lawful meat and fish are eaten," says he, no penance is necessary. The penances prescribed by the texts for eating meat contrary to the injunctions, and for intentionally eating fish, it is explained, have reference only to the prohibited days; and the prohibition of Brahmanas to take meat has reference to uncooked meat. From the above the author draws the remarkable conclusion that one incurs no blame by partaking of fish and meat. The commentaries and digests of the period faithfully follow the views of Medhatithi and Visvarupa 76 on the admissibility of drinking wine according to caste divisions. Drinking is forbidden to women of all the three upper classes. But the Sudras are exempt from all the rules relating to forbidden drinks.

The references in the general literature partly confirm and partly correct or supplement the data of the Brahmanical canons relating to food and drink. The synonym "food of barbarians 5 ' (mlechchhabhojya) given to wheat in Vaijayanti 11 shows that it was not as yet an article of dietary among the Indians. On the other hand Vaijayanti 7Q gives us synonyms for various milk-preparations which were no doubt in use among the people. From a story in the Kathdsaritsdgara 79 we learn that rice (or powdered barley), ghee, meat-curry, and milk (or wine) constituted the normal dietary of affluent merchants. From other stories it appears that on festive occasions like marriages the attendants drank themselves to intoxication. How the women in a king's train, notwithstanding the Smriti injunction to the contrary, freely indulged in drinks, is illustrated by an incident in the career of king Vikramaditya VI. 80 We also read in the Manasolldsa 81 that the king should entertain his wives with wines and spirits on the happy occasions of marriages. From the stories in Kathdsaritsdgara it appears that the kings freely indulged in drinking wine in the company of their ministers or even of the ladies of the seraglio.

Drinking parties were held on festive occasions such as family reunions and marriages. 82 The Manasolldsa describes the king’s dietary in two separate sections called “the enjoyment of food” 83 and “the enjoyment of drink.” 84 The king’s dietary comprises 85 both vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The former consists of preparations of rice, pulse and so forth, and the latter of those of the meat of the boar, the spotted and other deer, the hare, the sheep and the goat, fish, birds, and various other good meat. The author describes in this connexion the method of removing the pig’s hair preparatory to cooking the meat as well as the process of cooking the meat of deer, sheep, birds, fish, tortoises, crabs and even the rats living in the fields near the banks of rivers.

The observations of foreign writers about the food and drink of the people, while agreeing with the canonical rules in some respects, differ from them on other points. Al-BIrunI 86 gives us a list of lawful and forbidden meat of the Indians which is evidently derived from the Smritis. The king of the Chola dominion, according to Chau Ju-Kua, 87 did not drink wine but took meat and flour-cakes. The people of the Pandya (“Ma‘bar”) kingdom, according to Marco Polo, 88 would not eat beef on any account, though they took the meat of other animals that were killed for them by Arab and other butchers. In the Kakatlya kingdom (“Mutfili”), according to the same author, 89 the people lived on meat, rice and milk. Turning to the Malabar coast, we are told, 90 that the people of Quilon lived on rice and drank wine from palm-sugar (wine from molasses in the Smriti list?). By contrast we read 91 that the very abstemious merchants from Gujarat (?) living in the Kannada tract ate no flesh and drank no wine.

5. DRESS AND TOILETTE

The minute Smriti regulations relating to the daily observance of the rules of personal hygiene by the Vedic students and the householders are repeated and paraphrased by the commentators, 92 and they are arranged under convenient headings in the course of a separate section of the digests called ahnika (daily rites and observances). 93 Among these rules those relating to bathing take an important place. 94 Bathing is compulsory for all castes at least once a day; the Vedic student being required to bathe once, the householder twice, and the ascetic thrice a day. Vaijay anti 96 gives us synonyms for embellishment of the body as well as those for bathing of different kinds (with fragrant dmalaka , with the juice of all medicinal plants, with muddy water, and so forth). The lexicons 96 again give us synonyms for different types of coiffure such as curled hair on the forehead in bee-shape, thin hair, bound and unbound hair, braided hair, clean and unentangled hair and so forth.

To Kalhana 97 we owe the interesting information that the people of Kashmir before Harsha's time, with the single exception of the king, wore their hair loose and had no head-dress or earrings, that a former commander-in-chief having braided his hair and a former chief minister having worn a short coat incurred the king's displeasure, and that Harsha introduced into the kingdom a general dress befitting a king. In the sculptures of Bhuvanesvara temples the male figures are usually clad in the typical dhoti and the female figures in sddls without any other clothing, while they are adorned with ear-ornaments of different kinds, bracelets, armlets, and ornaments for the legs and the feet. 98 The variety of fashions in wearing apparel is indicated in the sculptures of the Vaital deul temple, such as stripes set off with zigzag lines, with triple lines, with oblique as well as horizontal double wavy lines with flowers and a scroll border. 99 Still more varied are the types of coiffure of the human figures. 100 Reference to the distinctive toilette of the court-ladies of Kuntala, Dravida, Maharashtra, Andhra and Gurjara is found in the description of the king's courtscenes in Manasollasa . 101 Among the foreign writers Chau JuKua 102 observes that the people of Nan-p'i and Ku-lin (Malabar) wrap their hair in silken turbans at the time of battle. Of the people of Hu-ch'a-la (Gujarat) the same writer says 103 that both men and women have double ear-rings and wear close fitting clothes, with hoods on their heads, as well as red leather shoes on their feet. Equally valuable is the testimony of Marco Polo. In Malabar, we are told, 104 men and women, rich and poor, wear only a loin-cloth, the king being no exception, and the profession of the tailor was completely unknown. Loin-cloth was also the dress of men and women in Quilon. 105 Similarly, according to Friar John of Monte Corvino (A.D. 1292-93), men in Malabar went bare-footed and naked with only a loin-cloth on, while boys and girls up to their eighth year wore no clothes at all.

But though their clothes were scanty these kings of Southern India were fond of jewellery. According to Chau Ju-Kua 106 the king of Nan-p’i (Malabar) was dressed in cotton loin-cloth and was bare-footed like his subjects, but when going out on an elephant in procession he wore a golden hat ornamented with pearls and gems as well as golden armlets and anklets. The pomp of the Malabar kings was outdone by the rulers of the Pandya kingdom. From Marco Polo 107 we learn that the king of Malabar was dressed only in a loin-cloth like his subjects. But he wore a necklace entirely of precious stones (rubies, sapphires and emeralds and the like), a neck-string of 104 (108 ?) great pearls and rubies, three golden bracelets thickly set with valuable pearls, pearl-anklets and rings on his toes. “What this king wears between gold and gems and pearls”, we are told, “is worth more than a city’s ransom”. Of the king of Kayal, we are told 108 more briefly that he had upon his person a great store of rich jewels.

6. STANDARD OF LIVING

The high standard of living, which appears to have prevailed at least among the upper classes in the preceding period, was well maintained during these centuries. The extraordinary affluence of the rich merchants of Gujarat in the first part of the thirteenth century is illustrated by an incident in Act III of the drama Moharaja-parajaya of the poet Yasahpala (twelfth century A.D.), describing the visit of king Kumarapala to the mansion of a millionaire (jfc otlsvara) merchant of his capital-city. The main building was approached by a flight of steps of crystal. Ascending these steps the visitor reached the temple with crystal-floor and with walls painted with sacred pictures, which enshrined an image of the deity in emerald. The mansion contained such huge stores of gold, silver, and jewels as to rouse the wonder even of the royal visitor. Of the immense riches of courtesans during the eleventh century we have an illustration in the description (matching that of Vasantasena in Mrichchhakatika Act IV) of the palatial mansion of Madanamala at Pratishthana in Kathasaritscigara . 109 The mansion, we read, contained seven enclosures with a train of horses and elephants, with stores of weapons and jewels, with numbers of attendants and bards, and with players of vocal and instrumental music.

While it appears from the above that the standard of living prevailing among the upper classes was fairly high, it reached a level of exceptional magnificence among kings. The Manasollasa gives us a wonderfully vivid account of the luxurious dress and toilette of the king. Describing the king's banquets the author says 110 that he should cause the governors of provinces and so forth to be served from gold and silver vessels, while he himself should be served from a large golden vessel. When the king takes his seat on the lion-throne in the hall of audience with its white paved floor, with its pillars of gold, with jewels displayed in their proper places, with its coloured walls and its canopy of different colours, he is fanned by beautiful women. The king then issues through his door-keeper a general summons for attending the assembly. Then come in palanquins the royal ladies adorned with various ornaments (head-ornaments, ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, finger-rings, waist-ornaments and leg-ornaments) and dressed in gorgeous robes, and they take their seats in front to the king's right and left. Other ladies variously adorned with ornaments and wearing garlands follow on the back of horses and mares or on foot and take their proper seats. Also seated in their proper places are the princes adorned with ornaments, the purohita wearing a white dress and jewelled ear-rings, the ministers, the provincial governors, the feudatory princes and the various departmental officers, wearing jackets (angika) with long sleeves, turbans and gold ornaments. Then comes a miscellaneous group consisting of poets, astrologers, plaintiffs and so forth. At the king's command the door-keeper next allows entrance to the subordinate kings desiring his protection. The king dismisses the assembled subordinate kings, princes, ministers and others by bestowing upon them various favours. 111

Many different types of royal palaces with their distinctive characters are described in Samarangana-sutradhara 112 and Manasollasa. 113 Describing the plan and construction of the king's residence the author of Manasollasa 114 observes that it should be from one to nine stories high, it should be whitewashed, it should have latticed passages in some parts and dark passages illuminated by jewelled lamps in other parts, it should have an ivory fencing and pillars of gold or of sandal-wood as well as floor of glass or crystal and walls of crystal mirror-like slabs. In the same context we are told that the king should change his residence according to the seasons.

The royal processions, as described by the contemporary foreign writers, were marked by equal gorgeousness. When the king of Malabar went out riding on elephant in state, says Chau Ju-Kua, 115 he was preceded by his officers, carried in litters with gold-and silver-plated poles, and a section of his large bodyguard of foreign women, while another section followed him on horseback. These last had their hair done up while, their bodies were adorned with pearl-necklaces and gold anklets and perfumed with camphor, musk and other drugs, and they were protected from the sun by umbrellas of peacock-feathers.

We are in a position to verify the above literary accounts of the king's high standard of living to some extent from the extant archaeological evidence. The panels of sculptures of the Lihgaraja^and the Konarak temples in Orissa, the Kandarya Mahadeo temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand and the Kesava temple at Belur in Mysore, as well as the paintings of the Brihadlsvara temple at Tanjore, to mention a few instances, contain vivid representations of royal court-scenes and scenes of royal processions of the time.

7. POPULAR AND ROYAL AMUSEMENTS

The popular amusements of this period were more or less similar to those described in the preceding volume. The lexicons 116 give us synonyms for dolls made of wood or cloth or ivory as well as for those made of clay. Playing with balls was a favourite pastime for children and for girls, 117 and the "swing" was enjoyed by young married women 118 both at home and in the highways (rathyu) and so forth. 119

Dancing, music and dramatic performances were also very popular. Mention is made of musical instruments of different kinds such as wind instruments, stringed instruments, the lute, drums and musical horns with the accompaniment of technical terms. 120 In the sculptures of the Bhuvanesvara temples of this period we have representations of the vina, the drum, the flute and the trumpet. 121 The old Indian game of gambling was evidently well known. From the allegorical drama called Moharajaparajaya of the poet Yasahpala we learn that gambling was very popular among all classes and sections of the people in Gujarat in his time. The author mentions 122 five varieties of this game with appropriate titles including one which was constantly played by kings dressed only in a loin-cloth in courtyards, another by merchants' sons who were millionaires, and a third which was played with cowries by small boys. Even those belonging to royal families, we

are further told, 123 were reduced to the position of physical wrecks by indulgence in this game. Another favourite amusement was wrestling. Reference is made in one place 124 to a wrestling contest held at Banaras on the occasion of a religious festival (devaya tra) in which a champion wrestler from the Deccan having defeated all the local wrestlers was beaten by a young Brahmana who was summoned by the king.

While the amusements of the common people were so varied in character those of the kings reached a level of exceptional variety and magnificence.

The plan of a king's palace in ‚Samardngana-sutradhdra 125 includes the construction of a music-hall, a theatre, a gymnasium, a dancing hall, and a picture-gallery. This shows how enjoyment of the fine arts as well as physical exercise was regarded as the normal routine of a king's diversions. The seasonal variations of the king's recreations are described by Bilhana in the course of his description of the career of his hero, king Vikramaditya VI. In the summer season the king with his women sheltered themselves from the mid-day heat in the crystal-floored bathing chambers (dhardgriha) which were completely protected from the Sun's rays and which emitted jets of water through the interstices. Then he enjoyed water-sports in their company in a large tank. 126 In the cold season the king, accompanied by the ladies of his household, started on his hunting excursion. He was preceded by his courtesans on horseback while the inmates of his seraglio followed him in the rear.

The fullest and the most original account of a king's recreations occurs in the Manasollasa.' 127 We may classify them under the following heads:—

I. Military exercises. The king summoned experts in the art of wielding weapons. Then having selected his opponent he exhibits his skill in using different weapons, namely, the short dagger, the sword, the bow, the discus, the spear and the mace. 128

II. Literary exercises. The king asks the poets to recite their poems and himself decides their merits and defects.

III. Elephant sports and the Indian polo. He first arranges a race between runners and elephants and then a fight between elephants, and ends by giving prizes. The author's description of the king's horse-sport has a general resemblance to the modern polo, but differs in detail. The king divides the horsemen into two opposing teams of eight each. Then riding a splendid horse of Kamboja breed he starts the play. There are two goal-posts on

each side separated by a prescribed distance. The sticks are made of cane with a curved end and are encased in red leather while the ball is made of wood and similarly covered with leather. The party which succeeds in driving the ball through the two goal-posts on each side is adjudged as the victor. At the end of the game the king having mounted a separate charger exhibits his skill in the management of horses. 129

IV. Combatants' duels. Referring to a peculiar custom of his country, namely, that of a certain type of combatants (technically called anka) fighting duels with each other, the author classifies the men under eight heads according to the occasion of the duel. The duel is allowed by the king only when he has failed to persuade the men to desist from the same. The king arranges matters so that combatants of the same category fight with each other. At the signal given by the king the combatants rush forth in pairs to fight fiercely with each other. When their limbs are covered with blood and their hands and feet are severed the king stops the fight with his signal. The victors are given handsome rewards, while the relations of those who are killed are given by him suitable grants. 130

V. Wrestlers' contests. As regards the wrestling contests the author tells us how wrestlers of young age-groups are fed on special diet at the king's expense and are given a severe course of preparatory training in various exercises under the guidance of teachers. After the completion of their training the wrestlers with their leader approach the king and request him to arrange for an exhibition of their skill. The king selects for the contest those who are similar in appearance, age and strength. If at the end two wrestlers are both found to be extremely exhausted, the king proclaims them to be equals. If one is not so exhausted and specially if he has broken a limb of his opponent, he is adjudged the victor. The king then dismisses the victors with gift of clothes, ornaments and so forth. 131

VI. Fights of birds and beasts and pigeon-flights. Under this head the author mentions in great detail the exhibitions of fights between carefully selected, nourished and trained cocks, quails, rams and buffaloes on grounds specially prepared for the purpose, for the king's amusement. 132 Pigeons of the best breed which are found in the Sindhu country are selected and nourished on proper diet at the king's palace. They are kept in pairs in gold, silver and wooden cages. When sufficiently trained the male pigeon is taken in cage to a distance and let loose with a letter attached to his neck. He can thus cover a distance of thirty yojans to meet his mate. 133

VII. Hunting, hawking and angling. The author describes in detail the methods of hunting a boar or a hare with the help of trained dogs. 134 Hawks, carefully trained, are taken to a place abounding in grass and sheltering many birds. When the grass is beaten up and the birds are in flight, the hawk seizes birds on the wing at a height invisible to the naked eye. 135 The king amuses himself by catching carefully fed fish with a rod and line prepared according to specification. 136

We have similar but much shorter accounts of royal amusements in other geographical regions of our land during the same period. Nayachandra Suri, author of the Hammira-mahdkdvya, in the course of his description of the Chahamana kings of Ranastambhapura, tells us how one of them (Prahladana) was engaged in a hunting expedition with a company of footmen dressed in blue clothes hanging down to their knees and of fleet hunting dogs with golden necklaces, 137 how another king (Jaitrasimha) indulged in water sports, 138 and how the last king (Hammlra), during the siege of his capital by 'Ala-ud-dln Khalji, sought recreation with his courtiers for a while in an entertainment attended with vocal and instrumental music as well as dancing by a reputed female artiste of the town. 139 Of the Chola kings we are told by a foreign writer 140 that at their State banquets the whole company broke out into song, music and dancing.

8. POPULAR BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

The old beliefs in omens and portents, in astrology, in the significance of dreams and so forth continued to have its firm hold on the people. The stories in the Kathdsaritsdgara show how widespread was the popular belief in omens and portents, in auspicious and inauspicious times, as well as in charms and spells for witchcraft. The references in Manasollasa show how such beliefs were held even in royal and aristocratic circles. Speaking of the king's marching against his enemy, the author 141 gives elaborate descriptions of the auspicious and inauspicious times for its start as well as favourable and unfavourable omens (indicated by the behaviour of dogs, jackals, lizards and crows).

Testimony to the superstitious beliefs of the Indian people is borne by contemporary foreign observers. Among the people of Ma'bar, according to Marco Polo, 142 there were experts who discerned a man's character and qualities by his look, and who knew the meaning of a man's meeting with a particular bird or beast. The people recorded the date and hour of a child's birth immediately after that event, and they did all their acts with reference to astrology and with the advice of diviners skilled in sorcery and magic.

Illustrating the extraordinary beliefs of "the Abraiman" of "the Lar province" (the merchants of Gujarat), Marco Polo observes 143 that they made their purchases when their shadow was of the required length, and undertook their journeys when the direction of the swallows' flight was favourable.

The strong hold which the veneration for cows had acquired over the minds of the people in the preceding period was maintained during these centuries. The commentaries and digests 144 paraphrase the penances prescribed by the Smritis for killing and maiming cows. Killing of cows even at the honey-mixture (madhuparka) ceremony in honour of guests and the sacrifice called gosava is included in the list of forbidden practices in the Kali Age. The popular belief in the sanctity of domestic cattle is corroborated by the evidence of foreign writers. Idrisi 145 refers to the great veneration of oxen among the Indians. Speaking particularly of the people of Ma‘bar, Marco Polo says 146 that they on no account kill oxen or partake of beef and that many of them worship the ox.

The complete ban against sea-voyage imposed by some of the canonical authorities of the earlier centuries was repeated during this period. Social intercourse with a man of the three upper varnas undertaking a sea-voyage, even though he has performed the necessary penance, is included in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age in Smriti-chandrikd, 1 47 while Smrityarthasara^ AQ includes sea-voyage as such in this list. And yet we have the historical fact that the great Chola Emperor Rajendra Chola I sent a naval expedition (c. A.D. 1025) for the successful conquest of the Sailendra empire of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, and that his successors succeeded in retaining this possession for nearly half a century afterwards. 149 Equally authenticated is the fact, mentioned in another chapter, that Indian merchants, as late as the thirteenth century, extended their maritime enterprises as far as the Persian Gulf and Madagascar on one side and South China on the other. Indirect testimony to the overseas enterprises of the Indians is also furnished by the stories of the Kathasaritsagara.

9. MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

We learn from the testimony of Megasthenes that the custom of employment of large numbers of female attendants in the king’s service is as old as the time of Chandragupta Maurya. In the literature of the present period we have repeated references to this custom. The observations of foreign writers corroborate the prevalence of the above custom. According to Chou Ku-Fei 160 the Chola king employed fully “a myriad dancing girls for his table and escort”.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

The king of Malabar, according to Chau Ju-Kua, 161 was attended by a body-guard of 500 picked foreign women in his processions.

A custom prevailing in South India for some time before this period was that of self-immolation of selected nobles on the funeral pyres of their king.

Abu Zaid, 162 writing a little before our time, describes a particular rite observed by some of the Indian kings after their accession to the throne. The rite (which according to Nainar's suggestion was identical with the Mamakham or Mahdmakham, the great sacrifice of the kings of Malabar) consisted in three hundred or four hundred "king's companions" volunteering to partake of a portion of the cooked rice eaten by himself. It is incumbent upon all those who partake of this to burn themselves to the last man when the king dies or is slain. Coming to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find references to this custom in inscriptions of the later Chola kings belonging to the Tamil and Kannada areas. These inscriptions 153 record the vows taken by a class of persons called Velaikkaris (personal body-guards of a king or chieftain) to die with their master. Referring to a similar custom in the Pandya kingdom, Marco Polo 164 says that the king has a number of Barons called "the king's Trusty Lieges" who are in constant attendance upon him and that they burn themselves with their master's body after his death.

We have observed in the preceding volumes how the Smriti law of later times recommended for widows the alternatives of living a celibate life (brahmacharya) and burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands, with a decided preference in favour of the latter. The commentators and the digests of this period have a twofold attitude on this point. On the one hand Vijnanesvara and Apararka, as well as the author of the Smrityarthasara, express themselves more or less strongly in favour of the widow's self-immolation. On the other hand Smriti-chandrika : 65 is equally emphatic in its condemnation of this cruel and horrible rite. The historical records frequently refer to widowed queens, princesses and others performing acts of charity and piety. We, however, come across instances of ladies of royal and official families burning themselves after the deaths of their husbands, and several such instances are recorded in the Rajatarangini.' lBe According to Al-Birunl, the widow had to choose between one of two alternatives, namely, remaining a widow for the rest of her life, and burning herself; and she preferred the latter alternative as she was likely to be ill-treated as long as she lived. To this the author adds that the wives of kings were burnt whether they wished it or not. It would appear from the above that the sati-viie was more widely prevalent at this time than was warranted by the Smriti authorities of this period. Evid ence to the same effect is borne by the epigraphical and other records. The numbers of the satl memorial stones (mastikal and satikal) in the Kannada tract testify to the wide prevalence of this rite in mediaeval as well as modern times. Marco Polo in his description of the kingdom of Ma‘bar tells us 157 that many women burnt themselves with the bodies of their husbands and that they were highly praised by all.

A custom which seems to be peculiar to the Deccan and South India at this period, but was destined to be continued down at least to the time of the Vijayanagara kings, was th^t of duel fights. In a story of the Kathasaritsagara , 158 we are told how when a doorkeeper of a king of Kanchl falsely charged a foreign merchant before the king with the abduction of his wife, the merchant proposed a duel deciding the issue, how after obtaining the king’s approval they both entered the list on horseback and fought in the king’s presence, and how when the door-keeper was felled down from his horse five times in succession, the king honoured the victor as he deserved, and deprived the door-keeper of his office and his wealth. 159 Marco Polo observes 160 about the people of ‘Gail’ (Kayal in the Pandya kingdom), that when a man wishing to offer gross insult to another spits out a mouthful of betel-leaf upon his face, the latter seeks and obtains the king’s permission to fight the offender. They fight in public with sword and target until one of them is killed.

A custom mentioned by foreign writers as an illustration of the high moral character of the Indians is concerned with the process of a creditor’s recovery of his debt. Illustrating the Indians’ love of truth and horror of vice, IdrlsI says 161 that a creditor meeting his debtor has only to draw a circle upon the ground and make him enter it which he never fails to do. The debtor then cannot leave the circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining remission of the debt. The same custom is mentioned by Marco Polo in his description of the kingdom of Ma‘bar. Reference is also made to the above custom in a story of the Kathasaritsdgara , 162

The custom of dedicating women (Skt. Devadasis, Tamil devaradiyar) to the service of temples, which has been traced by us elsewhere 163 to the preceding centuries, was generally prevalent during this period. Indeed literary records and inscriptions give us the impression that they were regarded as a part of the normal establishment of temples. The number of these girls in the temples often reached high proportions. The temple of Somanatha at the time of its destruction by Sultan Mahmud is stated to have been served by three hundred and fifty dancing girls. According to Chau Ju-Kua 164 Gujarat contained 4000 temples in which lived over 20,000 dancing girls whose function was to sing twice daily while offering food to the deities and while presenting flowers. We have the valuable testimony of Al-Biruni to the effect that the kings maintained this institution for the benefit of their revenues in the teeth of the opposition of the Brahmana priests. But for the kings, he says, 166 no Brahmana or priest would allow in their temples women who sing, dance and play. The kings, however, make them a source of attraction to their subjects so that they may meet the expenditure of their armies out of the revenues derived therefrom.

10. GENERAL ESTIMATE OF CHARACTER

Some light has been thrown upon the general characteristics of the Indian people by our descriptions of their social institutions as well as their beliefs and practices given above. As regards the institution of caste, it has been shown that the immunities and privileges of the Brahmanas are held by the exponents of the Sacred Law to rest still more than before upon a moral basis, in other words upon the principle noblesse oblige. On the other hand it is impossible to ignore the studied degradation to which important sections of the population (the so-called antyajatis and even in extreme cases the Sudras) were condemned by them after the older authorities. As regards the status of women it was not made worse in this period as compared with the preceding one except in the matter of stricter insistence upon the practice of self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. On the other hand a distinct improvement of their status is observable in respect of their rights of property.

Of the large-hearted tolerance of the Indians towards foreign faiths evidence is furnished by the generous treatment accorded by the Chaulukya and Vaghela kings of Gujarat and the Pandya kings of Southern India towards the Muslim settlers in their lands. The same attitude is indicated by the complete freedom enjoyed by the communities of Syrian Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians, settled in Southern and Western India, in the exercise of their religion.

The contemporary foreign observers on the whole agree in giving a favourable estimate of the general character of the Indians. We may quote in the first place the sober judgment of the great Muslim scholar Al-Biruni 166 who has made a striking reference to the deep-rooted tendency of the Indian mind towards self-conceit and depreciation of everything foreign. “The Hindus”, he says, “believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolish, vain, self-conceited and stolid.

They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge of science whatsoever.” The author concludes by tracing the root of this evil to its source in the changed habits of the Indians about foreign travel. “If they travelled and mixed with other nations,” he says, “they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as is the present generation.” In another place 167 the author, while introducing his account of the Indian law of punishments and expiations, pays handsome tribute to the gentle manners of the people. “The manners and customs of the Hindus”, lie says, “like those of the Christians, are based on the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness, such as never to kill under any circumstance whatever, to bless your enemy, and pray for him. Nevertheless in the case of Hinduism, as of Christianity, punishments became inevitable, since most people are ignorant and erring and they cannot be kept on to the straight path except by the sword and the whip”. In contrast with the above a wholly favourable estimate of the Indian character, recalling the similar views of Megasthenes and Hiuen-tsang centuries before, is given by the learned Muslim author IdrlsI in the latter part of the twelfth century. The Indians, he says, 168 are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so renowned for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side.

Lastly we may quote the views of Marco Polo. The people of Ma‘bar, he says, 169 are very strict in executing justice upon criminals and in abstaining from wine, but they do not look upon lechery as a sin. Of the “Abraiman of Lar” (Brahmanas of Gujarat?) living in the Kannada tract, he observes 170 that they are the best and the most truthful merchants in the world and live a life of great chastity and temperance, but at the same time they are more prone to superstitious beliefs in omens and portents than any other people. He illustrates these statements by concrete descriptions of the beliefs and practices of this class.

11. HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

It will appear from the political history sketched above that towards the close of the period under review the Muslim Turks had permanently settled in large parts of Northern India and formed an important community. Their number was as yet very small, as compared with the Hindus, but this was compensated to a large extent by the power and prestige they enjoyed as conquerors of the land.

The advent of Islam constituted the first great rift in the solidarity of Indian community since the incorporation of the aboriginal peoples into the Aryan society. Henceforth there were two communities in India—Hindu and Muslim—who formed two entirely separate entities, so far at least as religious and social ideas and political and civil rights were concerned. There was, however, one significant difference between the two. The Muslim community kept its doors wide open, and not only freely admitted everybody, but even pushed people inside it. The result was that the Hindus entered into the fold of Muslims in gradually increasing numbers. But the case was different with the Hindu society. Though at the beginning we hear of reconversion of Hindus who had embraced Islamic faith, gradually it adopted a more restrictive attitude and practically closed its doors against admission from outside, even for those who once strayed out of it, by force, choice, or accident. The inevitable consequence followed. The Muslims grew in number by the conversion of the Hindus, while the Hindu rank was gradually thinned. The immigration of fresh bands of Muslims from beyond the frontiers of India also swelled their number; but as years rolled by, they numerically formed a very insignificant element in the growing population of the Muslims, a great majority of whom were converted Hindus.

We do not possess sufficient data to form an accurate idea of the means or methods of conversion on such a large scale. The ultra-democratic principles of Islam, restricted to its own community, served as a great inducement to conversion in two ways. In the first place, as the rigours of the caste system weighed heavily upon the lower classes among the Hindus, they would naturally be attracted by the position of absolute religious and social equality which Islam offered to every Hindu, irrespective of class or caste, who embraced the new faith. Secondly, even though for a long time political equality was not conceded by the conquering Turks to Indian Muslims, the latter were undoubtedly in a far better position in this respect than the unconverted Hindus. Offers were openly made to ruling chiefs and high officials that they could continue in their present position only if they adopted the Muslim faith. The lower officers in civil government, and the majority of military ranks, to start with, were naturally recruited, as far as possible, from the Muslims. Such temptations must have been too great for ordinary men.

Ihe denial of civil rights to the Hindus also operated as a great factor in their conversion. As mentioned above, 171 the Muslim rulers, from the very beginning, imposed civil disabilities upon the Hindus, and Muhammad ibn Qasim is said to have enunciated the following principle:

“He who received the honour of Islam and became a convert was exempt from slavery as well as tribute and was not injured. Those, however, who did not accept the true faith were compelled to pay the fixed tribute (jizya)”.

Galling as these distinctions were to any sensitive mind and noble spirit, the situation was often rendered much worse by the denial of the right of public worship to the Hindus and deliberate indignities and humilities inflicted upon them as a general policy adopted by some Muslim rulers. All this will be dealt with in detail elsewhere. It will suffice here to state that the position of the Hindus under the Muslim rule, at least during the first two or three centuries, was most unenviable, and the temptation to secure liberty, privilege and higher status by a change of creed proved irresistible to many.

Peaceful missionary propaganda by the Muslim divines must have also played a large part in the conversion. Their religious doctrines, enforced by the considerations mentioned above, of which they must have taken full advantage, could not fail to produce the desired ‘effect’ upon a section of the Hindus. The saintly character of some of the Muslim preachers must also have appealed to the religious minded Hindus. But while these normal means of conversion played their part, we cannot ignore the fact that force or violence was one of the most fruitful sources of conversion of the Hindus en masse , at least in the earlier period.

We possess a brief account of the Indian expeditions of Sultan Mahmud by Al-’Utbi, his Secretary, who “enjoyed excellent opportunities' of becoming fully acquainted with the operations of that conqueror.” 172 He very frankly says that “Islam or death was the alternative that Mahmud placed before the people,” and his detailed account gives many practical illustrations of it. 173 The usual consequence of Mahmud’s victory is thus described by ’Utbi: “The victors slew the vanquished wherever they were found, in jungles, passes, plains and hills.” Elsewhere he says: “The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it.” 174

The word ‘infidel’ in the above extract is significant,—for the only way to escape this cruel massacre was to embrace Islam. It was thus that Hardat, the ruler of Baran, and his ten thousand followers,

as well as the Shah of Qirat and its people saved their lives. There must have been many other mass conversions of this type. 175

’Utbi’s account is full of stories of indiscriminate massacre of all those Hindus who fell into the hands of Mahmud after the capture of a town or fort and disdained to save their lives by change of religion. We also hear of a large number of such unfortunate Hindus being carried away as slaves. Referring to Mahmud’s victory over Nidar Bhim, ’Utbi remarks that “slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap.” 176 His detailed account clearly shows that these slaves were "converted to Muslim faith.

The policy of Mahmud was followed by some later Muslim conquerors also. Referring to the Muslim victory in Gujarat in A.D. 1197, a contemporary Muslim v/riter says:

“Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword.... More than twenty thousand slaves fell into the hands of the victors.” 177 After the capture of the fort of Kalin jar, according to the same authority, “fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery.” 178

It was a common practice of the Turkish rulers of India to take as prisoners the wives, sons and dependants of the vanquished Hindu rulers. 179

The method of temptation was also not wanting. Even the Chandella king and Prithviraja were offered immunity from invasion on condition of embracing Islam. The deliberate policy of demolishing Hindu temples and raising mosques in their places, initiated by Muhammad ibo Qasim, was followed with zeal and alacrity by the Turkish invaders, and the stamping out of idolatry from the places conquered by Muslim arms is frequently referred to in glowing terms by Muslim chroniclers.

It can hardly be doubted that all these acts of terrorism and violence facilitated the conversion of the hapless Hindus to Islam in large numbers. It had the added effect of completely alienating the Hindus from the Muslims. Apart from religious ideas and social usages which operated in the same direction, the deliberate demolition of temples, the destruction of images, and the wholesale massacre and enslavement of Hindus by the Muslim conquerors must have completely estranged the Hindus from the Muslims. The inevitable result was that the Hindus and Muslims formed two distinct and hostile communities throughout the period under review.

The shrewd observer Al-BIrunl 180 clearly perceived the great gulf that normally separated the Hindus from the Muslims. “The Hindus,” he observes, “entirely differ from us in every respect.”

After mentioning the difference in language, he continues: “Secondly, they totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and vice versa .In the third place,

in all manners and usages, they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper". Summing up the general attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims Al-BirunI remarks: "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them mlechchha i.e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire

and the water of a foreigner. They are not allowed to receive

anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion. This, too, renders any connection with them quite impossible, and constitutes the widest gulf between us and them."

Al-BirunI was one of the few Mussalmans of that period who had a genuine sympathy for the Hindus, and we must admit the fairness and truth of his denunciation of the Hindu attitude. It is also difficult to deny that this attitude, in all its essential aspects, persisted throughout the ages, though somewhat modified, in minor details, as a result of greater familiarity in course of time.

Al-BirunI had the candour to admit that "the repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country". "Mahmud",

he says, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and.

the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all direction.... Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims".

While the Hindus bore the 'most inveterate aversion' towards the Muslims, the latter also reciprocated the feeling. Their implacable hatred towards idolatry made the Hindus an object of utter contempt to them. This feeling animated all the Muslim conquerors and is echoed in all the Muslim chronicles. It was as strong in the days of Muhammad ibn Qasim as in those of Sultan Mahmud and the later Turkish conquerors. Amir Khusrav was not a bigoted Muslim divine, nor a holy crusader for that faith. He is regarded as a poet of liberal and enlightened views, and the seven hundredth anniversary of his birth was recently celebrated all over India by Hindus

and Muslims alike. Here is a passage from his description of Hindusthan:

“The whole country, by means of the sword of our holy warriors, has become like a forest denuded of its thorns by fire. The land has been saturated with the water of the sword, and the vapours of infidelity (i.e. Hinduism) have been dispersed. The strong men of Hind have been trodden under foot, and all are ready to pay tribute. Islam is triumphant, idolatry is subdued. Had not the law granted exemption from death by the payment of poll-tax, the very name of Hind, root and branch, would have been extinguished.” 181

If this was the view of a liberal Muslim who lived towards the close of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D., we may easily conjecture what must have been the general attitude of the Muslims towards their Hindu subjects during the period under review. If, along with it, we bear in mind Al-Biruni’s view of the Hindus, mentioned above, we need not cherish any illusion as to the relation between Hindus and Muslims throughout this period, nor feel surprised that the Hindus should strive by all means to keep aloof from the Muslims as far as possible. A spirit of uncompromising animosity prevailed between the two great sections of the Indian community, embittered by arrogant contempt on the part of the victors, and proud disdain and deep, though vain, resentment on the part of the vanquished.

The Hindus have left no account describing the state of their feelings at this supreme crisis in their life. But one or two casual references in contemporary epigraphic records give us an insight into their attitude towards the Muslims. Thus in describing the successful military campaign of the Hindu king Vijayachandra of the Gahadavala dynasty against the Muslims, the poet suggests that “the flow of tears from the eyes of the widows of Muslim heroes (killed in battle) quenched the heat (of torment or oppression) of the world (caused by the Muslims).” 182 Vlsaladeva, the Chahamana king, proudly declares that “he once more made Aryavarta (Northern India) what its name signifies (abode of the Aryas i.e. Hindus) by repeatedly exterminating the Mlechchhas (Muslims, who had rendered the name meaningless by their occupation of the country).” 183 These expressions reflect the injured pride of the Hindus and their deep resentment against the alien conquerors who had trodden under feet their religion and culture.

12. MUSLIM SOCIETY IN INDIA

The Arab conquest of Sindh did not effectively alter the social condition of either the Arabs themselves or the Indians with whom they came into contact, except, of course, in so far as a large number of the latter, converted to the new faith, gradually adopted the manners and customs of the former to a considerable extent.

Things, however, became very different after the annexation of the Punjab by Sultan Mahmud. It has been related above how the Ghaznavids established a more or less stable political hegemony in the Punjab, which became a regular province of their far-flung empire. A free and uninterrupted intercourse was thus established between India and the Muslim countries in the north and north-west. Religious divines, scholars, and poets moved to and fro across the Hindu Kush mountains, and many Muslim families from Khurasan, Transoxiana, Afghanistan and Persia came and settled down in various parts of the Punjab, bringing with them the rich cultural traditions of these lands. The capital of the new province, Lahore, which, after the fall of Ghazni, actually became the capital of the kingdom, soon turned into an important seat of learning and culture, rivalling Ghazni itself; and the large number of poets and scholars, who flocked to this city, found in it a ready and brisk market for their literary products. Among them the most outstanding personalities were Mas'ud bin Sa‘d bin Salman, bom at Lahore, 184 who is said to have left behind a diwdn of Hindi poetry, besides two others in Arabic and Persian, and Abu’l Faraj Ruyani, his friend and rival, who was a native of Ruyan, a village near Lahore. 186 A famous scholar Shaikh Hasan Saghanl [186] of Lahore, is also mentioned in several historical and biographical works.

After the final extinction of the Ghaznavid rule in India, and the establishment of the Sultanate at Delhi, the new capital soon became a rendezvous of numerous poets, scholars and divines. Their immigration from the north and north-west swelled to gigantic proportions, on account of the rise of the Mongols under Chingiz Khan and the havoc caused by them in the Muslim countries, during the reign of Sultan Iltutmish of the Mamluk Dynasty. The new arrivals were eagerly and generously welcomed by that monarch, conscious of the great addition to the splendour of his court by the presence of such a galaxy of literary luminaries. We have a long list of the poets and scholars who adorned the court of Iltutmish and that of his rival, Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, ruler of Sindh. Among these we may mention Minhaj-ud-dln, the author of the Tdbaqat-iNasiri, Nizam-ud-dln Hasan Nizami Nishapuri, [187] who wrote the history of the reigns of Aibak and Iltutmish, entitled the Taj-ul Ma’asir, Fakhr-ud-dm Mubarak Shah, called Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the writer of Silsilat-ul-Ansab and a work on military tactics entitled Addb al-Harb; the poets Baha-ud-din Ushi, Taj-ud-din, Riza, Shihabi-Muhmira, and Amir Ruham, all attached to the Delhi court. Qabacha’s court could also boast of a famous scholar al-‘AufI, the author of a well-known work of biography, Lubab al-Albab. At a later period there lived the great scholar and statesman, Shams-uddin Dabir, and the Amir Fakhr-ud-dm ‘Amid Sunnami, [188] both of whom were also great patrons of poets and savants. Shah Sultan, foster-sister to princess Mah Malik, the daughter of Muhammad Ghuri, also distinguished herself by her poetic talents during this period. [189]

Another notable development under the Mamluk kings was the foundation, for the first time, of several madrassas run under state supervision. Following the general practice in Muslim countries, the Muslims in India did not at first have any regular schools or colleges. The mosque was the most popular centre of early education where the ‘plsh-imam,’ usually a learned man, presided over the elementary studies of the children belonging to the locality in which the mosque happened to be situated. The usual curriculum consisted of the reading of the Quran , practice in calligraphy, and the rudiments of the Arabic and Persian languages. For higher studies, comprising traditions (hadith), jurisprudence (fiqh), logic and philosophy, literature (adab), epistolography (insha') y prosody, etc. the students used to attend the lectures of distinguished scholars at different centres. No examinations were held and no diplomas (sanads) given, but a student could often get a certificate (shahada) from the teacher whose lectures he had attended. Iltutmish built two state-sponsored colleges at Delhi known as the Mu‘izziya and the Nasiriya. Following his example, the provincial ruler Bakhtyar Khalji built a similar college at Rangpura in Bihar, and there is good reason to believe that several other similar institutions arose in other parts of the country. These colleges, in course of time, helped in establishing a firm tradition of Islamic learning in India, and produced a number of scholars who could hold their own against the foreign scholars coming from Arabia, Persia, and Khurasan. These scholars now formed a distinct group of the Muslim aristocratic society, as many of them were given high state offices and were generally well looked after by their royal patrons. Their cooperation with the rulers was of invaluable help to the latter for maintaining discipline and gaining the allegiance of the masses.

1. On Ydj, II. 4.

2. XI. 1.

3. VIII. 12-13.

4. On Gautama, loc. cit.

5. I. 30.

6. III. 26-32.

7. Apararka on Yd j, I. 168

8. Haradatta on Gautama , XVII. 6

9. Quotation in SC, I. 31.

10. SC, loc. cit.

11. Quotations in Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, III. 30; Apar. on Ydj, III. 292; SC, II. 311.

12. Smrityarthasara, 78.

13. Smrityarthasara, 141.

14. I. 91-95.

15. I. 95.

16. 81, 108-11.

17. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, I. 92, 95; Smrityarthasara, 13.

18. II. 13-14.

19. 82, 121.

20. Apar on Ydj, III. 292; SC, II. 304-08; Smrityarthasara, 76-78; Prdyaschittaprakarana, 111-14.

21. Apar on Ydj, III. 30; SC, II. 310-11; Smrityarthasara, 77; Prdyaschittaprakarana, 110.

22. KRT, VII. 204-05; VIII. 258; EI, IX. 107 f.; XXVII. 280 f.; I. 207 f.; XV. 27 f.; ARSIE, 341 of 1932-33.

23. EI, VI. 269; XXII. 143 f.; III. 61 f.; XI. 319 f.; etc.

24. See above, Vol. Ill, p. 590

25. Smith, EHP pp. 340-41, 427-31.

26. Cf. Ghurye, Caste and Race in India, 113-14.

27. Cf. Ojha, Rdjputanekd Itihdsa, 2nd Ed. 72-76; Ray, DHNL II. s-v.

28. Cf. the accounts of the different dynasties given above.

29. Above Vol. IV, p. 373.

30. EI, XXVIII. 100 f.

31. EI, XXV. 276 f.

32. ARSIE, 229 of 1935-36

33. EI, XXIV. 110 f.

34. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, II. 182-83; SC, III. 460-69.

35. XIII. 39 f.; XX. 62 f.; XXXII. 57 f.; LV. 219 f.; LVI. 22 f.; LXI. 142 f. LXXI. 4 f.; LXXII. 3 f.; Cl. 283 f.; CII. 37 f.

36. Identified in KSS, X. 141 and 190, XX. 62, etc. with Chandika or Durga.

37. I. 30 (after Adipurana).

38. I. 205-09.

39. On Ydj, I. 56-57

40. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, 1.66; SC, 1.30, 202-03, 220-21; Vij. on Ydj, II. 5; Smrityarthasara, 2

41. 106'. 31-34.

42. III. 1808-10.

43. HI. 1810-16.

44. CXII. 211.

45. Ibid., XXVII. 163 f.

46. Ibid., X. 144 f.

47. Ibid., XII. 78 f.

48. Ibid., XXVI. 150 f.

49. Ibid., CXII. 62 f.

50. Ibid., CXII. 88 f.

51. CXII. 62 f.

52. II. 162.

53. II. 339, 371.

54. Vikramdhkadevacharita, IX.

55. SC, III. 572-75.

56. Ibid., 568-70.

57. Ibid., 576-80.

58. Ibid., 575-76.

59. SC, I. 60-63.

GO. Vaij, 174. 22-23; Abh, 21A. 187-8.

Gl. II. 3.21; IV. 1.59.

62. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, II. 25

63. III. 681.

64. Taittiriya Samhita, VI. 5.82.

65. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, II. 135-36; SC, III. 673-75; Vyavahdrakanda, 748-49

66. Vij. and Apar. loc . cit.

67. Vij. and Apar. loc. cit ; SC, III. 682-85; Vyavahdrakanda, 750

68. SC, III. 651-57; Vij. and Apar. on Yaj, II. 143-49; Vyavahdrakdnda. 683-95

69. See above, pp. 280 f.

70. El, III. 306 f; ARSIE 672 of 1922; El, XXII. 189 f.

71. ARSIE 577, 584, 587 of 1929-30; 241, 247, 336, 341, 342, 343 of 1931-32

72. in. 19

73. On Ydj, I. 178-79

74. Vol. IV, p. 386

75. Prayaschittaprakarana, 65-68

76. Above, Vol. TV, p. 387.

77. 127. 53.

78. 134.138 f.

79. LTV. 170 f.

80. Vikramdnkadevacharita , XI. 44-68

81. m. 1329.

82. XXXVI. 67; XXXIX- 207; XL. 2; XLIII. 64; XXXIV. S3; CIII. 200; CX 124

30; CXI. 18.

83. III. 1342-1601.

84. Ibid., 1601-29.

85. Ibid., 1345 f.

86. n. 151.

87. Chu-fan-chi (Ed- Hirth and Rockhill), 95

88. II. 341-42.

89. Ibid., 360.

90. Ibid., 376.

91. Ibid., 360.

92. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, I. 16-17, 98, 100, etc

93. SC, II; Smrityarthasdra, 18 f

94. SC, II, 289-350, 482-92; Smrityarthasdra. 25-32

95. 168.112-14.

96. Vaij, 181. 98-102; Abh, 231. 231 f

97. KRT, VII. 922-24.

98'. Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, PI. XXII- Nos- 7Ga-78: XXVII-XXVIII. Nos- 118-41

99. Ibid., PI. XXL Nos. 67-74

100. Ibid, PI. XXV-XXVL Nos- 95-117

101. III. 1185-87

102. Op. cit. 88-89

103. Ibid. 92

104. II. 338

105. II. 376.

106. Op. cit. 87.

107. II. 338.

108. II. 370.

109. XXXVIII. 19 f.

110. III. 1585-89.

111. Ibid, 1161-1244

112. XXX.

113. III. 28-66

114. Ibid, 123-29

115. Op. cit. 87

116. Vaij, 137. 11-14; Abh. 404-80

117. Vaij, 171. 161-62; Abh. 277. 352-53

118. Vikramdnkadevacharita, VII. 15-19

119. SC, III. 593.

120. Vaij, 145-47. 114-41; Abh, 117.6 f

121. Mitra, op. cit. I, PI. XXX, Nos- 167-74

122. Moharajapardjaya, Act IV, p. 86

123. Ibid, p. 87.

124. KSS, XXV. 119 f

125. XV. 18 f.

126. Vikramdnkadevacharita, XII. 50-78.

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127. III-IV.

128. IV. 3-196

129. Ibid, 661-827.

130. Ibid, 829-78.

131. Ibid, 879-996

132. Ibid, 997-1226.

133. Ibid, 1277-97

134. Ibid, 1298-1328

135. Ibid, 1329-80.

136. Ibid, 1381-1432.

137. IV. 48 f.

138. VI-VII.

139. XIII. 1-26

140. Chau Ju-Kua, op. cit. 95

141. II. 354 f.

142. II. 343-44.

143. II. 364-65.

144. Vij. Apar. on Yaj, III. 264-65; Prayaschittaprakarana, 28-33

145. Nainar, Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India. 106.

146. II. 341.

147. I. 30 (after quotation from an unnamed authority).

148. p. 2.

149. Majumdar, R. C . Suvarnadvlpa, I. 170-89

150. Quoted by Chau Ju-Kua. op. cit, 95.

151. Op. cit., 87.

152. Nainar, op. cit, 106-07.

153. ARSIE, 267-69 of 1929-30; 122-25 and 202-03 of 1934-35

154. II. 339.

155. III. 594-97

156. VII. 103. 478-80; VIII, 367-69, 445. 1440-44

157. II. 341.

158. XLIII. 160 f

159. See above p. 491; also Manasollasa, IV. 829-78

160. II. 371.

161. Nainar, op. cit. 97.

162. LV. 2 f.

163. Above, Vol. IV- p. 379

164. Op. cit. 92.

165. II. 157.

166. I. 19-23.

167. II. 161

168. Nainar, op- cit. 97

169. II. 342-43

170. Ibid, 363-64.

171. Vol. III. 450.

172. HIED, II. 14.

173. S- R- Sharma, Studies in Medieval Indian History, pp. 57, 61, 29

174. HIED, II. 34, 40

175. Ibid. 43, 222 Also see above, p. 13, and Sharma, op. cit. 29.

176. Ibid, 39.

177. Ibid, 230.

178. Ibid, 231

179. Ibid, 348.

180. For the quotations that follow. Cf- Sachau, Alberuni's India. I. 17-22.

181. HIED, III. 546.

182. EL IV. 119.

183. I A, XIX. 219

184. He says: “My birth-place is Lahore and I am far from Lahore. Alas, Oh Lahore! what joy can there be without you.”

185. Great later masters like Anwaii and ‘UrfI have acknowledged his excellence as a qaslda writer.

186. For him and other scholars, see Zubaid Ahmad, India’s Contribution to Arabic Literature

187. He was the son of the famous scholar Nizami ^Arudl of Samarqand, the author of Chahdr Maqdla.

188. Of Sunnam, an old fortified town in the Patiala Stale (PEPSU).

189. Cf. M- Ikram, Chashma-i-Knuthar, p. 120

CHAPTER XVIII

EDUCATION

In the present chapter we propose to describe in general outline the methods and principles of education that prevailed before the Muslim conquest.

I. PRIMARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION

The records of our period are almost completely silent about the methods of primary education. It seems likely that the familiar institution of the village school-master, plying his occupation amid humble surroundings and receiving his modest pay from the contributions of the villagers, was at work during these centuries.

As regards mass education in the broader sense of the term it was provided by the agency of one of our traditional institutions, namely the public recitation of the Epics, the Puranas and other religious works which, according to the Smriti law, are accessible even to the lowest caste. The inscriptions of this period refer from time to time to endowments made by pious donors with this object. Among the works forming the subject of popular expositions the records of South India mention sectarian scriptures as well as devotional hymns in the vernacular.

The elaborate scheme of higher education prescribed in the Smritis for the students of the three upper classes after their investiture with the sacred thread is repeated in the commentaries and digests 1 with some supplementary explanations. As regards periods of study, studentship for long terms is included in the list of practices forbidden in the Kali Age in Smriti-chandrika 2 after a quotation from the Adi Purdna and in Smrityarthasara. And yet the Smriti-chandrikd elsewhere 3 quotes from the older texts the directions about the duties of the life-long student (naishthika-brahma cfiart), who is distinguished from the student who passes on to the state of householder after expiration of the period of his training.

Among the duties of the student daily begging for food occupies an important place. The student must beg every morning and evening except when he is in 'distress'. Begging is not an impermanent injunction since its non-performance entails a penance. The alms sought for should be sufficient for one's meals and no more. According to the strict interpretation of the Smrityarthasara

a student should beg from the household of a blameless Brahmana. In the opinion of the Smriti-chandrikd he should beg first from his caste-fellows and, in default, from the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas, but not from the Sudras. According to Vijnanesvara the student may beg from the three upper classes and, in times of distress, from all the four classes. Among other duties of the Vedic student, we are told that he shall avoid honey, meat, unguents for the body and collyrium for the eyes except, as the Smriti-chandrikd says, when he is required to use them during his illness by the physician. The student shall refrain from reviling his teacher or even mentioning him by name. He shall also avoid conveyances, shoes and umbrellas, singing and dancing, harsh and coarse speech, and so forth. He shall not touch or look at women where there is the risk of his falling into sin.

As regards relations between the teacher and the student the commentaries and digests explain the circumstances permitting the teacher's receipt of money from his pupils. Learning from a paid teacher and teaching for a free are both admitted to be lesser sins {upapatakas) . This ban, however, as Vijnanesvara 4 says, does not apply to a student who pays the fees without a prior agreement. As Apararka 5 and the author of the Smriti-chandrikd 6 explain, what is forbidden is teaching by stipulation for payment of a fee, while teaching is itself prescribed in the Smritis as a means of livelihood. The teacher failing to correct an inattentive pupil by reprimand may, according to Smriti-chandrikd, 7 beat him- Similarly, according to Vijnanesvara and Apararka , 8 beating a pupil should be resorted to only for correction. The beating should be done with rope or a split bamboo, and not with the hand, and it should be applied not to the head but to the lower part of the body. The violation of this restriction by the teacher amounts to an offence punishable by the king. The teacher, according to Smriti-chandrikd, 9 failing to instruct his pupil (other than a Sudra) incurs blame. But the student must always study under a Brahmana, learning from a Kshatriya or a Vaisya being permitted only in times of distress.

The commentaries and digests, like the Smritis, are silent about a scheme of technical education of apprentices in trades and crafts. We have, however, some valuable hints on the system of apprenticeship in the Srnriti section on Law entitled non-rendition of service, 10 which proves the continuance of the old system in its essential aspects. 11

Reference may be made in this connection to Marco Polo's vivid description 12 of the very practical method of training tradesmen's apprentices in the Pandya region in his time. When the boys reach

the age of thirteen, we are told, the parents dismiss them from their homes with small pocket allowance for earning their living by trade. "These urchins are running about all day from pillar to post, buying and selling." During the season for pearl-fishing they run to the beach and purchase five or six pearls according to their ability and sell them to the merchants in their homes. In the same way they deal with many other articles. Thus they are trained to be very dexterous and keen traders. Testimony to the excellence of the craftsman's training at its highest levels is borne by the superb specimens of art and industry attested to by the literary records as well as the archaeological remains of this period.

We have an interesting glimpse into the methods and principles of princely education in vogue at this period in Manasollasa , 13 The author says that the princes should be instructed in the Vedas as well as military science. When the princes have completed their training and have become skilled in mounting horses and elephants and in managing chariots, the king shall test them one after another. The test applies to their skill in various branches of literature (the Vedas, logic, the Dharma-sastras, belles-lettres and grammar), in the fine arts, in wielding the bow and other weapons, and in exhibiting their strength as well as steadiness of body and mind. The high standards of princes' training are illustrated at their best by the instances of the scholar-kings of this period. Such are the mysterious Apararka (otherwise called Aparaditya), Somesvara III of the Western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyana, Ballalasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, and above all the illustrious Bhoja of the Paramara dynasty of Malwa.

II. PRIVATE AND PUBLIC ENDOWMENTS FOR PROMOTION OF LEARNING

We have seen how the Smriti law contemplates the students of the upper classes are receiving their higher education at the residences of Brahmana teachers. The settlements of the Brahmanas in villages and specially on lands (agrahara) granted to them by royal and other donors, which are frequently referred to in the inscriptions of this period, evidently provided ample opportunity for such teaching. Side by side with this ancient and venerable institution of the Brahmana guru teaching his pupils at his residence, there grew up in India from early times larger or smaller establishments specifically endowed by kings and other donors for the promotion of education. The historical records of this period contain numerous instances of such educational establishments. In Eastern India the great Buddhist monastic University of Nalanda continued to flourish,

though probably with less splendour than before, while new monasteries like Vikramasila, Somapura, Jagaddala and Uddandapura rose into importance as centres of learning. 14 In the eleventh century A.D. the mathas of Kashmir became so famous for their learning that they drew students, according to the testimony of Kshemendra, even from distant Gauda. In the regions of Madhyapradesa a Saiva temple with a matha and a hall of study was founded by the Queenmother AlhanadevI, according to an inscription of A.D. 1155. 15 In the Deccan and the Kannada country references are made to endowments of land by individual donors for the promotion of learning. A Brahmana in the time of Vikramaditya VI 16 appointed a body of 104 village-mahajanas as trustees for his gift of certain lands. Under the terms of the trust a certain portion of land with a house-site was assigned as maintenance (bhattavritti) to a teacher for teaching the grammatical work called Nyasa and the Mimdmsd work of Prabhakara, while another portion with a house-site was made over to a teacher in Mathematics, Astronomy, Prosody and Grammar for his personal requirements as well as for teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day, and supplying them with cloth once a year. The inscriptions likewise refer to endowments of money for the same purpose. The chief Queen of Vikramaditya VI gave money in trust to the mahajanas of a village for maintenance of a commentator of the sastras, a reader of the Puranas, and teachers of the Rigveda and Yajurveda. 17 In the same reign a general gave money in trust to a body of mahajanas for teaching different branches of learning. We also hear of the foundation of educational institutions by individual donors, as of a lecture-hall built by king Vikramaditya VPs Superintendent of religious affairs for teaching Prabhakara's doctrine of Purva-mimdmsa, 1Q of a matha of the Saiva sect which was at once a temple, a college, and an alms-house, 19 and of a matha founded by an astronomer for the study of Bhaskaracharya in the time of the Yidava king Singhana in A.D. 1207.

In the Kakatiya kingdom a famous Saiva teacher 20 allotted out of two villages assigned to him by Queen Rudrambadevi certain lands for maintenance of a Saiva temple along with a college, a feeding house for Saiva mendicants, and so forth. The college maintained a staff of three teachers of Rigveda, Yajurveda, and Samaveda respectively, and five teachers of logic, literature, and the agamas. Allotment of land was made likewise to a physician for attending upon the resident-teachers, students, and attendants. The largest number of records of endowments for learning that have come down to us for this period are those of the Imperial Choi as. In the reign of Rajaraja I a certain individual 21 endowed gold coins for payment out of their interest to one who recited the

Sd,maveda on a fixed day in the year. In the reign of Rajendra Chola I a village assembly created an endowment 22 for maintenance, at fixed rates of paddy per day, of 270 junior pupils studying the four Vedas, the Kalpasutras, and Grammar (according to the work called Rupdvatara), of 70 senior students studying Grammar and Mimaihsa according to the Prabhakara school, and of the teachers in these subjects. Reference is made 23 to a college near the temple at Kanchipuram in an inscription of the reign of Rajendra Chola I. A village assembly in the reign of Rajadhiraja I purchased lands 24 for maintenance on similar terms of 12 teachers of different branches of Vedic literature, 7 other teachers of Vedanta, Vyakarana, Rupavatdra, Makabharata, Ramayana, Manusdstra and Vaikhdnasa-sdstra, of 190 students of these branches of learning, and of 70 other students of Vedanta, Vyakarna and the Rupdvatara. According to another and more important record 25 king Vira Rajendra created an endowment in land and money in favour of a temple of Vishnu as well as the college, the hostel, and the hospital attached to it. The college provided for 60 students of whom 10 each studied the Rigveda and the Yajurveda, 20 studied Vyakarana with the Rupdvatara/ and the rest comprised

Mahapancharatras, the Saiva-Brahmanas, and the Vaikhanasas studying their respective scriptures. The teaching staff included one teacher of the Rigveda, one teacher of the Yajurveda, and a Bhatta for expounding Vyakarana. The students were to receive daily food according to a fixed schedule, sleeping mats, and oil for bathing on 51 Saturdays of the year. The teachers were to be paid in kind and in cash at fixed rates. The cooks and maidservants of the establishment were to receive wages at fixed rates. The hospital was provided with 15 beds. The physician-in-charge was paid at a fixed rate for prescribing medicines to the teachers, the students and their attendants. Provision was also made for one surgeon, two persons for fetching medicinal herbs, two nurses and one barber who were likewise to be paid at fixed rates. In the reign of king Vikrama Chola, one of the king's officers 28 endowed lands for maintenance of a feeding house for those studying medicine, Grammar, and the Rupdvatara, as well as for Brahmanas, ascetics, and so forth. A donor in the reign of Rajaraja II assigned 27 certain lands for maintenance of Brahmana students of the Vedanta coming from the Malayalam country in the matha established by himself.

A curious sidelight is thrown on the sins and follies of student life by Kshemendra's satiric picture 28 on the life of foreign (specially Gaudlya) students in contemporary Kashmir. Characteristically enough the student figures in a typical list of cheats and

rogues satirized by the poet in this work. The poet first refers to the student's exceptional physical weakness at his arrival (he is shunned by the people from a distance for fear of touching a skeleton) and his quick gain of strength (he changes at it were into a new body by partaking of food and using unguents at sacrifices for which he procures his invitation by ostentatious display of his piety and his ceremonial purity). Reference is next made to his ignorance and self-conceit (though knowing with difficulty the syllable 'Om', he engages in learned contests with a view to defeating veteran Kashmirian scholars and though ignorant of the alphabet he pretends to study the Mahabhashya of Patahjali, Logic, and the Mlmamsa work of Prabhakara). He is foppish in dress and toilette (he has his nails painted with lac-juice, he wears variegated dress and fashionable shoes, he decorates his waist with a red sash, and he makes graceful gestures with his eyebrows). He is a man of loose morals (he frequents houses of prostitutes and carries on intrigues with other men's wives, he looks like Kubera in the morning with the dangling golden ear-rings and his large finger-rings, but he has the look of a demon in the evening after his defeat at diceplay). The five spoilers of the Gauda libertine are the gambler, the bawd, the prostitute, the leather-worker, and the barber. The student is a man of violent habits (he drives out workmen with blows of sticks, demolishes students' residence with stick in hand and with his clothes stuck to his body and his matted hair tied up for the strife). He plays the bully at sacrifices, at bathing places, at students' hostels and in his dealings with merchants and physicians. He blazes forth with anger without any provocation on the occasion of bathing, making gifts, performing vows and giving offerings to the manes.

In all ages and countries the satirist draws upon the rare and unusual traits and embellishes them from his own imagination in order to provide for cheap merriment. The account of Kshemendra, therefore, need not be taken as typical of student life, even in Gauda. But it should serve as a corrective to those who fondly believe that everything in ancient India was good and glorious.

In conclusion, reference should be made to the effect of Muslim invasion on education. The destructive fury of the early Muslim conquerors gave an irreparable blow to indigenous learning in the territories brought within their sway. This is indicated by the statement of the great Muslim scholar Al-Biruni about the disastrous consequences of the invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. ''Hindu sciences", he says, 29 "have retired far away from those parts of the country that have been conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Banaras and other places".

S.E,^-33

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

1. Vij. and Apar. on Yaj, I. 10-50; SC, I. 67-179; Smrityarthasdra, 6-11*

2. 1.29.

3. 1.167-72.

4. On Yaj, 1.28

5. Loc.cit .

6. 1.140.

7 I 142

8*. On Yaj, 1.155.

9. 1.143.

10. Cf. Apar. on Yaj, 11.184; SC. Ill, 955-6.

11. Above, Vol.II, p. 587.

12. 11.344.

13. III. 1238-1304.

14. HBR . I, s.v.

15. EI. II.7 f.

16. EI, XX.67 f.

17. ARSIE, 518 of 1915.

18. EI, XV.350 f.

19. EI,V. 221-22.

20. ARSIE, 94 of 1917.

21. ARSIE, 76 of 1914.

22. ARSIE, 333 of 1917.

23. ARSIE, 240 of 1930-31.

24. ARSIE, 176 of 1917

25. EI, XXI. 230 f.

26. ARSIE, 159 of 1925.

27. ARSIE, 276 of 1925

28. Desopadesa, VI.

29. Sachau’s tr., 1.22.

CHAPTER XIX

ECONOMIC CONDITION

I. THE VILLAGE AND THE CITY

The rural economy of the Indian people has for centuries been centered on what may be called in general terms communities of peasant-proprietors, who paid revenues to government under various specified heads, but were otherwise, as a rule, left free in the possession of their holdings. It is true that this system was overlaid from an early period by the royal grants and assignments of lands for various purposes. Such grants and assignments must have led to the creation of larger or smaller estates comprising numbers of villages. Nevertheless the royal grants and assignments involved as a rule no more than transfer of the king's dues and rights in favour of the donees. In the South, especially, the village communities maintained their corporate organisation at this period with full vigour. For the contemporary inscriptions frequently record the gift or sale of lands by these bodies and their appointment as trustees by pious and charitable donors. While the village thus remained, as before, the backbone of the Indian economy, there was, as in the earlier period, a vigorous growth of city-life. We have, to begin with, an impressive list of cities (including great internal marts and sea-ports) furnished by the contemporary Indian and foreign evidence. The descriptions of these cities are as a rule given in such general terms as to preclude a reconstruction of their economic life. The records of the South Indian dynasties, however, give us occasional glimpses of the extensive commercial activities of the cities, the value of this evidence being enhanced by its incidental character. In a twelfth century inscription of the reign of the Western Chalukya Taila II 1 belonging to the Telugu area we read how the desi merchants of a city, speaking four different dialects, joined with others in making a pious endowment. This consisted of tolls imposed upon their articles of trade, namely pack-horses, musk, saffron, yak-tail, cotton and cotton-thread, beads, tiger-skins, women's clothes, lead, and tin. An inscription of A.D. 1204 2 relating to the city of Belgaum (in Dharwar District) mentions a pious endowment by "an assembly of itinerant traders and all the traders\ of Lata (Gujarat) and the Malayalam country and all the other traders of the locality headed by the gold-workers and others and the oil-merchants”. An inscription of king Ganapati of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal,[3] belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century A.D., states that the king, renouncing the earlier practice of confiscating all cargoes of vessels driven to the port of Motupalle by bad weather, granted a charter for levying customs duties upon a few selected articles only (evidently because of their high level). The articles consisted of sandal-wood, camphor, pearls, rose-water, copper, zinc, lead, silk-thread, corals, perfumes, pepper, and areca-nuts. We have a remarkable instance of the inhabitants of a city and a territorial sub-division regulating the economic life of the community in a record[4] belonging to the time of Kulottuhga III. Here we are told that a certain nadu and nagara assembled together in a temple and made an agreement for converting a village granted by them into a mercantile town.

II. AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Agriculture, which has been through the centuries the principal occupation of the Indian people, was well cared for during our period. A large variety of cereals as well as edible vegetables and plants, with their sub-divisions, is mentioned in the lexicons.[5] In the description of the king’s dietary in Manasolldsa[6] reference is made to eight varieties of the rice distinguished by their colour, odour, size, and period of growth, and seven different kinds of beans. It further appears from the records that scientific agriculture was practised as before in the present period. The cereals were classified[7] under three heads, namely those grown in pods (samidhanya), the awned grains (sukadhdnya), and rice of different varieties. The fields were classified[8] according to their qualities, namely, those which were fertile, those unfit for cultivation, those under cultivation, those lying fallow, and those with a saline soil. They were also classified[9] according to the crops grown on them, the quality of seeds sown on them, and the number of times they were ploughed.[10]

Traditions attribute to the Chola kings of this period the construction of the famous anicuts across the Kaveri river in Tanjore District, which were renovated in much later times by the British Government. The most famous of these public works is the Great Anicut below the island of Srlrahgam which consists of a massive dam of unhewn stone, 1080 ft. long and from 40 to 60 ft. broad. 11

The descriptions of our authors, both indigenous and foreign, help us to identify some of the principal agricultural regions of these times. As for cereals of Magadha is mentioned for its richness in rice, 12 while the rice of the Kalihga country is included in the list of its varieties suitable for the king's dietary. 13 As regards fruits and fruit-trees, grapes are mentioned by Kalhana 14 with patriotic pride

as one of the ordinary products of Kashmir. From the Muslim writer IdrisI we learn that date-trees and cocoanut-trees grow at Sandan (Sindhudurga in Ratnagiri District) and that cocoanut-trees grow in abundance at Saymur(Sirur in South Canara). 15 As for other edible economic products, ginger and cinnamon were produced in large quantities in the Pandya kingdom according to Marco Polo, 16 while camphor grew on the mountain-slopes between Quilon and Madura according to Yaqut. 17 Marco Polo, 18 writing evidently on second-hand information, observes that "Bengala" (Bengal) produced spikenard and other spices, ginger, sugar, and other articles. According to IdrisI 19 cardamum grew on the hill-slopes at Fandarlna (Pandalayani in Malabar for which see below) in such abundance as to be exported to different lands. Malabar, according to Ibn Sa'Id, 20 was the country of pepper. In particular it is stated to have been grown at Sandan, as well as at Fandarlna, Jurbatan and Quilon (all in Malabar), according to IdrisI, Yaqut and Qazwini. 21 Similarly, according to Marco Polo, 22 Malabar produced large quantities of pepper. As for non-edible economic products bamboo and its varieties grew at Kuli (in the Gulf of Cambay), Tana (Thana in Salsette island), Sandan and Saymur according to IdrisI, and at Quilon according to Yaqut and Qazwini. 23 Sandal-wood was a product of the Malaya hill (the southern part of the Western Ghats), 24 while Kashmir produced yellow sandal which was used as an unguent by kings in the rainy season. 25 Saffron is mentioned by Kalhana 26 as one of the two ordinary products of Kashmir. Cotton trees of a very great height and of a longevity of twenty years grew in Gujarat. 27 Less authenticated is Marco Polo's statement 28 that cotton grew in Bengal and formed the subject of a great trade. Indigo was produced in great quantities in Gujarat (including Cambay), and that of a very fine quality as well as in great abundance at Quilon. 29 Incense of the inferior brown variety was found at Tana. 30 “Brazil wood” (sappan) of very fine quality as well as teak grew at Kulam (Quilon). 31

As regards animal products the preparation of silk from the cocoons of the silkworm and of wool from the hair of the hilly ram was of course widely known. Equally familiar was the use of the bushy tail of the Himalayan chamara -deer for preparing flywhisks and of musk from the Himalayan musk-deer. Elephant’s tusks (or ivory) are mentioned by Chau Ju-Kua 32 among the products of the Cho]a kingdom. The manufacture of leather, which is a very old Indian industry going back to Vedic times, was greatly developed in some regions during this period. From Marco Polo 33 we learn that Tana had a great export trade in leather of various excellent kinds. Likewise Cambay 34 had a great trade in very well-dressed hides.

Gujarat, above all, 35 produced large numbers of dressed skins of different kinds (those of goats, of domestic and wild oxen, of buffaloes and so forth) as well as “beautiful mats in red and blue leather, exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver wire”. It also produced other cushions (apparently of leather) embroidered with gold. These articles were in high demand in Western lands; the “sleeping mats”, which were “marvellously beautiful things”, and the cushions being sold for ten and six silver marks apiece respectively. A more valuable industry dating from ancient times was that of the pearl-fisheries and the preparation of pearls for ornaments. The pearl-fisheries at Subara (Suparem or Supara in the north of Bombay) and Fufal (Bekal, thirty-four miles south-south-east from Mangalore), which are referred to by Yaqut, 36 were evidently of slight or no importance. Chau Ju-Kua 37 includes pearls among the native products in the Chola kingdom, but he gives no other information on this point. The great seat of the pearl-fisheries in this as in other periods was the Pandya kingdom. Marco Polo, writing at the close of the thirteenth century, observes 38 that pearls were fished in great quan- x tities in the kingdom of Malabar which in fact was the place from which they were spread all over the world. The pearl-shells, he says, were found in the gulf between India and Ceylon during the season from the beginning of April to the middle of May every year and, at an undefined place “some three hundred miles distant”, during September and the first half of October.

The author gives in this connection a vivid description of the fishing operations conducted by the pearl-fishers. They engaged the services of fishcharmers as well as a large number of divers for the whole season, and had to pay the high royalty of 10% of their finds to the king.

The manufacture of textiles, which is a very old Indian industry, appears to have been carried on with conspicuous success during this period. We can locate some of the advanced centres of textile manufacture from the contemporary evidence. The Manasollasa 30 gives us a long list of fabrics for the king's use after their places of origin. The definitely Indian names in this list are Nagapattana (Negapatam), the Chola country, Anilavada (Anahillapataka in Gujarat), Mulasthana (Multan), Kalihga and Vanga. According to Chau Ju-Kua 40 Gujarat produced for export to Arabian lands large quantities of "foreign cotton stuffs of every colour" (chintzes). Marco Polo 41 similarly observes that much fine "buckram" (cotton stuffs) was produced in the kingdom of Cambay. In Malwa, according to Chau Ju-Kua, 42 cotton cloths were such a very common product as to form the subject of a considerable export trade. The native products of Malabar, according to the same author, 43 included

"foreign cotton stuffs of all colours" (chintzes) and (white) cotton cloth. This is corroborated by Marco Polo who speaks 44 of the manufacture of "very beautiful and delicate buckrams" in Malabar. Coming to the Coromandel Coast we find Ibn Sa‘id 45 testifying that Ma‘bar was proverbial for its arts of washing and dyeing, and that it exported " lainas " (coloured silk or cotton cloth). Again Chau JuKua includes 46 "cotton stuffs with coloured silk threads" and other such stuffs among the products of the Chola dominion. Finally, as regards the Telugu country, the finest cotton fabrics were produced, according to Marco Polo, 47 in the kingdom of "Mutfili" (Warangal). From the enthusiastic account of the traveller we learn that this kingdom produced the most delicate and costly 'buckrams' which looked like tissues of the spiders' web and which were fit for any king or queen in the world.

Stone-cutting, including stone-polishing, is an Indian industry going back to the prehistoric culture of the Sindhu valley. The vast scale and superb quality of the stone sculpture and architecture of this period are illustrated by the numerous examples of stone-images and temples scattered all over the country. Reference should also be made to the superb stone-terraces around the sacred tanks which drew the enthusiastic admiration of so gifted a critic as Al-Blrunl. 48

The art of working metals which, like the manufacture of textiles, goes back to Vedic times, was pursued with great success during this period. The most fascinating remains of the skill of the ironsmiths of this period are the iron-beams, all of unwrought iron, in the temples of Bhuvanesvara, Purl and Konarak, and above all, the celebrated iron-pillar at Dhar, the capital of the Paramara kings of Malwa. The number of the beams in one of the Puri temples (‘the Garden Temple’) alone has been counted as 239, while they reach the size of 17' in length and 6" x 4" or 5"x6" in section. In the Konarak temple the beams, though smaller in number, reach even a larger size, namely 35' in length and 7" or 7£" square in section. The iron-pillar at Dhar, now unfortunately broken into three pieces, has been estimated to have originally reached a height of 50', being the highest pillar of its kind in the world. 49

As regards gold and silver work the Manasollasa, in the course of its enumeration of the king’s seats, mentions the golden lionthrone. 50 Again, while enumerating the king’s bed-steads, it mentions those inlaid with gold. 51 The inscriptions frequently record the acts of pious donors in decorating temples with gold and in presenting vessels and ornaments of gold and silver to the deities, whose images were also sometimes made of gold and silver. Reference has

been made above to these and other articles of gold and silver in connection with the plunder of Sultan Mahmud. 52

The art of the jeweller was maintained at its old level of excellence during this period. The list of jewels in the lexicons 53 includes crystal, sun-stone, moon-stone, emerald, ruby, coral, diamond, sapphire, beryl (or lapis lazuli), and pearls. We have a full description (evidently derived from the old works on ratnaparlksha) of the sources and characteristics of various gems in the Mdnasollasa . 54 The list comprises diamond, pearl, ruby, sapphire, emerald, crystal, topaz, lapis lazuli, the gomeda gem, and coral. From the testimony of Marco Polo 55 also we learn that diamonds were found abundantly and in large size in the kingdom of “Mutfili” (Warangal), although his story of the method of their collection is purely legendary.

The overland routes connecting India with Western Asia go back to the centuries before the Christian era, while those linking her with Central Asia and China came into use some time later. With the gradual advance of the arms of Islam from India’s border lands to her heart in the Ganga valley, the control of these routes must have passed entirely into the hands of the Muslim rulers.

The extent and direction of India’s maritime trade are known principally from the detailed accounts of the foreign writers. It appears from these accounts that Ma‘bar was a sort of clearing-house for the goods of the East and West. As Wassaf says, 56 the products of China, India (sic) and Sindh laden on huge ships constantly arrive at Ma‘bar. To this he adds that the wealth of the isles of the Persian Gulf and the beauty and adornment of other countries from

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Iraq and Khurasan as far as Hum and Europe are derived from Ma‘bar which is so situated as to be the key of Hind. Wassaf’s testimony is borne out in part by Marco Polo. Speaking of “Cail” (Kayal on the Tamraparm river) he describes it 57 as a great and noble city which was visited by ships from the Persian Gulf and the Arabian coast with goods laden for sale. The ports of Malabar likewise ranked as international centres of trade. Thus Idris! mentions Fandarlna as a port of call for ships from India and Sindh. According to Abu Dulaf (quoted by Yaqut), Kawlam (Quilon) was a port of embarkation for ‘Uman(in Arabia). 68 From Chou K’ufe'i 59 we learn that Quilon was a port of transhipment of traders from the smaller boats of the Arabian sea to the larger vessels of the Chinese seas. Chau Ju-Kua 60 observes that Quilon was a port of call for ships coming from San-fo-ts’i 61 and its dependencies. Of the land of “Nan-p’i” (Malabar) he similarly says 62 that its products were carried to Ki-lo Ta-nung (Perak) and San-fo-ts’i. Marco

Polo also observes 63 that ships with their goods came to Malabar both from South China and the West, the former preponderating over the latter in the proportion of 10 to 1. In particular we are told 64 that merchants from South China and from Arabia and the Levant came to Quilon with their ships and their merchandise and derived great profit from the import as well as the export trade. We further learn 65 that Eli, in spite of its want of harbours, was visited by ships from South China and other lands in summer, the Chinese ships braving the visit the most because of their huge wooden all-weather anchors. 66

Important also for international trade was the Gujarat coast. IdrlsI tells us that Barus (Broach) was a port of call for vessels coming from China and from Sindh. Cambay, according to Marco Polo, 67 was visited by merchants with many ships and cargoes. The same author observes 68 that the products of Gujarat were loaded in ships every year for trade with Arabia and other lands. There are references to other ports which were evidently of less importance, viz. Bullin (probably an island near Saymur, Shirur in the South Canara District), Subara (=Supara on the Konkan coast), Tana (=Thana), Jurbatan (=Srikandapuram), Sandan (=Sindhudurga in the Ratnagiri District), and Sindabur (=Sadasivagad near Karwar, which was a commercial town with fine buildings and rich bazaars), where ships cast anchor. 69

Inscriptions in Upper Burma and Sumatra 70 still commemorate the operations of the great Indian trading corporation of this period, known as the Nanadesis, in those lands. To the foreign observers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we are indebted for fuller and more direct evidence of Indian maritime and commercial enterprises in the lands of South-Eastern as well as Western Asia during this period. From Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, who started on his travels to the greater part of the then known world in A.D. 1159, we learn 71 that Indian merchants brought their commodities for sale to the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf, one of the great international marts of Western Asia at that time. At the close of the thirteenth century A.D., Marco Polo 72 similarly noticed that the merchants of India visited Hormos (Hormuz in the Persian Gulf) in ships loaded with products of their land for sale to the merchants of Western Asia. We are further told 73 that the great city of Calatu on the Persian Gulf was visited by numerous ships with goods from India. It was not, however, to the Persian Gulf alone that the maritime activities of the Indian merchants in the West were confined at this period. We learn from Marco Polo 74 that the ships of Ma‘bar visited the islands of Madagascar

and Zanzibar, arriving there in twenty days, while taking more than three months for the return voyage because of the strong southern current. In the East, according to the same authority, 75 Zayton (Chwan-Chau or Chinchew in Fu-Kien), the great sea-port of mediaeval China, was visited by all the ships of India with spices and other kinds of costly wares.

We possess a fair idea of the articles of India’s maritime trade with the West and the East. As regards imports, we may first refer to the synonym, turushka, given in Vaijay anti, 7 6 for incense. This evidently refers to the frankincense of the coast of Hadharamaut in South Arabia which has been famous from classical times and is particularly noticed by Marco Polo. 77 Among other agricultural products cloves, spikenard, and other fine spices were brought into Malabar by ships from the East. 78 As these articles are specifically mentioned among the native products of Java and Sumatra, 79 they must have come to India from these islands. Metals formed another important article of India’s import across the seas. We learn 80 that merchants in their ships brought gold, silver and copper to Java and Cambay. More definitely we are told 81 that ships coming from the East to Malabar brought copper in ballast as well as gold and silver. As Sumatra has long been famous for its production of gold and since it is credited by Marco Polo himself 82 with a great abundance of treasure, the gold brought to Malabar from the East most probably came from that island. This inference is supported by the epithet “the product of Suvarnadvlpa” applied to gold in Vaijayanti , 83 We may recall in this connection the foreign synonyms given in Vaijayanti 84 for various other metals, such as Mlechchha for copper, Yavaneshta for lead, Chlnapatta and Simhala for tin, and China for iron. As for textiles we have the valuable testimony of Marco Polo 35 to the effect that ships from the East brought clothes of silk and gold as well as “sendals” (a silk texture). As some of the great cities of China like Si-ngan fu, Ho-kien fu, Pao-ying-Hien, Ngan-king, Chin-kiang fu, and Su-chau (to give them their modern names) are specifically stated by Marco Polo 86 to be famous for these products, they must have reached India from these cities. These stuffs no doubt are to be identified with the fabrics of Great China (mahdchinabhava) mentioned in the Manasollasa 87 among the varieties of the king’s wardrobe. The reference to the textiles of Ceylonese origin (Sirhhaladvlpaja) in the same context 88 indicates that other fine stuffs were imported from the neighbouring island.

It remains to mention the most costly and wasteful of India’s imports at this period. In the preceding volume we have seen how

Arab and Persian merchants drove a profitable trade in horses with the ports of western and southern India. This trade appears to have attained phenomenal proportions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The Indian authorities of this period, 89 like their predecessors, agree in assigning the first rank in their classified list of horses to the foreign breeds (specially those of “Vanayu” or Arabia and Persia) and the lowest rank to the indigenous breeds, such as those of Trigartta, Gurjara, AvantI, Saurashtra and Pariyatra. The great volume of India’s import trade in Arab and Persian horses is indicated, beyond doubt, by the contemporary foreign writers. 89a The figures for the imported horses and their prices indicate the extensive drain suffered by the Indian revenues from this trade. Wassaf 30 refers to an agreement made by a Pandya king with an Arab merchant to the effect that he would embark as many horses as he could procure from the islands of the Persian Gulf and land them in Ma‘bar. According to the same author the price of each horse was fixed at 220 dinaras of “red gold,” 91 while the number of horses exported from the Arabian and Persian ports to the Pandya kingdom, Cambay and so forth, reached the huge figure of 14,000 valued at 2,20,00,000 dinaras. Writing about the Pandya kingdom Marco Polo 92 similarly observes that each horse was sold at 500 saggi (=500 x 1/6 oz.) of gold, while 2000 horses were sought for purchase every year by each of the Pandya kings. In another place 93 Marco Polo, while describing the import of horses from the Persian Gulf into India, tells us that each horse was sold at 200 “livres” of Persian money. 94 The necessity for this extravagant demand of the Indians for the horses from the West is traced by the foreign observers chiefly to the Indians’ ignorance of the art of managing the animals. According to Wassaf the Indians were so ignorant of training horses that even the best animals under their management were soon disabled for active work. Marco Polo, 95 while lamenting the waste of a great part of the wealth of the country in the purchase of horses, gives three reasons for the same. Firstly, no horses were bred in the country.

Secondly, the Indians had no farriers, and the foreign merchants prevented any farrier from going to that country for fear of losing their highly profitable trade. Thirdly, and lastly, the Indians, in their ignorance of the treatment of horses, fed them with boiled rice and boiled meat and various other cooked food.

As regards India's exports to the neighbouring lands beyond the seas, we learn from Benjamin of Tudela 96 that Indian merchants carried great quantities of spices to the island of Kish in the Persian Gulf for exchange with the goods brought thereto by the merchants of Mesopotamia, Yemen and Persia. Marco Polo 97 similarly men

tions that Indian merchants visited Hormuz in ships loaded with spices, precious stones, pearls, clothes of silk and gold, elephants' tusks, and so forth which they sold to the local merchants. The further statements of the foreign writers enable us to specify the articles exported from different geographical areas. We learn from Chau Ju-Kua 98 that Gujarat produced indigo, myrobolans, and coloured cotton stuffs in such abundance that they were exported to the lands of the Arabs. Again we learn from Marco Polo that most of the manufactures in Gujarat, mentioned above," filled a number of ships every year for export to Arabia and other lands.

III. THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

We have seen in the preceding volume what a large part was played by the industrial and commercial guilds in the economic life of our country during the previous centuries. The same important role was played by these groups during the period under review.

The law relating to guilds and associated groups is treated in the commentaries and digests, 100 as in the Smritis, under a distinctive title called violation of compact (samvid-vyatikrama) otherwise called non-transgression of compact (samayasyanapa karma). We learn from the Smriti-chandrikd that the samuhas (groups) had the authority of making compacts (samaya) for overcoming misfortunes like droughts and oppression of thieves and kings, and these compacts were binding not only upon themselves but also upon the king. Illustrating this statement the author says that the naigamas have many such rules as that those disregarding messengers in (the uniform of) a jacket are to be fined and that the srems have such rules as that a certain commodity is to be sold by a particular srenl and no other. These illustrations show how the craft-guilds and the merchant-guilds devised their own rules for maintaining their authority and for controlling the market. Explaining the constitution of samuhas after the Smriti pattern, the author observes that because of the differences of minds among their members and their unlimited numbers the samuhas are incapable of deciding unanimously on the merits and demerits of their business, and that, therefore, they should appoint boards of two, three or five "overseers of public business" (karyachintaka) . Not only the overseers of the samuhas, but also those advisers for their good (hita vadins) who do not belong to this body, shall be obeyed by all the members. The samuhas themselves, in the first instance, have the authority to punish offenders against their regulations. This comprises fining one who is hostile to the advisers or denies a speaker his opportunity or makes an unreasonable speech, and banishing

from the place of the assembly one who betrays their secrets, or creates dissensions among themselves, or is guilty of such other offences. When the samuhas are incapable of dealing with their members in such matters as stopping the insolence of their chiefs (mukhya), the king shall interfere for the purpose of setting the offender on his proper path. When the mukhya cannot be made to do so even by the king, he shall be deprived of all his property and banished from the kingdom, for the king alone is competent to inflict such punishments. But the samuha alone shall exercise this disciplinary authority if it is but slightly competent to do so. Reverting to the penalties against offending members of the samuha, the author says that the mukhya , who cannot be set by the king on his proper path, shall be fined on a graduated scale according to the extent of his solvency, and he shall be banished in case of extreme urgency. When those guilty of violating the compacts are not mukhyas, they shall be fined according to the degree of their guilt, and when they are very near the level of the mukhyas, they shall be deprived of all their property and banished from the capital.

We find in epigraphic records frequent references to the activities of the mercantile and other guilds, which founded pious endowments by voluntarily imposing tolls upon various articles of their trade, trusting no doubt to the Smriti clause of law which made their agreements binding upon themselves. 101 A famous guild of horse-dealers (kudiraichettis) , having their headquarters probably in Malai-ma^daZam (modern Travancore), is commemorated in a large number of inscriptions of the Chola and Pandya kings of this period. 102 The great trading corporations mentioned in the preceding volume 103 and their compeers, the Ahjuvannam and VlraVananjus, flourished in South India during these centuries. The desa-salattu-gandar of the 18 districts are mentioned in a Mysore inscription of about A.D. 1200. 104

The great trading corporation of Nanadesa-Tisaiydyirattu Aihhurruvar mentioned above 105 flourished considerably during this period. An inscription of c. A.D. 1050 from the Mysore tract, 106 while recording an endowment by this body (here called the Five hundred svdmis of Ayyavole), proudly recalls their high mythical ancestry, their long history, the vast scale of their commercial transactions, and their daring and enterprising spirit. They were born, we read, in the race of Vasudeva, Khandali and Mulabhadra; they obtained boon from the goddess Bhagavati; they had 32 veloma, 18 cities, 64 Yoga-pUhas, and asramas at the four points of the compass; they were born to wander over many countries since the beginning of the Krita. Yuga; they visited Chera, Chola, Pandya, Maleya, Magadha, Kausala, Saurashtra, Dhanushtra, Kurumbha, Kambhoja, Gaulla, Lala, Barvvara, Parasa, Nepala and other lands; they penetrated by land-and sea-routes into the regions of the six continents; they traded in elephants and horses, sapphires, moon-stones, pearls, rubies and other gems, cardamoms, cloves, bdellium, sandal, camphor and other perfumes and drugs; they sold their goods wholesale or hawked them about on their shoulders; they carried their merchandise on asses and buffaloes adorned with red trappings. The above claim of the corporation's mythical ancestry is repeated in another record of eleventh century A.D. 107 which gives us additional information of its organisation. It consisted, we are told, of various sub-divisions coming from the 1,000 (districts) of the four quarters, the 18 towns, the 32 velapuram and the 64 ghatikd-sthanas. Another inscription of A.D. 1050 108 describes them as a samaya (meaning unexplained) and states that they were served by regiments of foot-soldiers and swordsmen. 109 That the claim of ndnddesls to have wandered over different lands is based upon fact is proved by two striking references. They are mentioned in a fragmentary Tamil inscription of 1010 Saka (A.D. 1088) from Lobu Tuwa in Sumatra. Again we learn from a thirteenth century inscription at Pagan 110 that a native of Cranganore made a donation in favour of a Vishnu temple which had been founded by the ndnadesls in that distant city of Upper Burma. An important aspect of the activities of the ndnadesls is concerned with 500 charters (vlrasdsancis) which they are repeatedly said 111 to have acquired for themselves.

Next to the organisation of guilds described above, we may mention that of capitalists' and labourers' partnerships. The partnership, according to the Smriti-chandrikd, is of six classes, concerned with trade, agriculture, crafts, sacrifices, singing and "theft" ("at the king's instigation in the enemy's country"). As for the rights and duties of the partners inter se, we are told that the profit and loss as well as the expenditure and the work are to be borne by the partners according to the special agreement thereanent. A partner is to make good to all the other partners what has been lost through his negligence, when he has acted without their authority or against their instructions. On the other hand, if a partner saves partnership-property by his own exertions from thieves, fire, and flood, he shall get one-tenth of the property thus saved as his special share. Similar, but not identical, rules are applicable to partnership among cultivators and artisans.

The Smriti-chandrikd deals with the relation between capital and labour most systematically and thoroughly, and lays down in

great detail rules about wages, compensation and liabilities—"the labour laws" as they may be called,—which are marked by equity and justice.

IV. GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

In the above pages we have furnished sufficient evidence of the developed condition of agriculture, industry and trade in India during this period. From this it is not unreasonable to infer that a high level of economic prosperity prevailed generally among the people concerned with those vocations. It is indeed quite natural to think that this level varied not only in different parts of the country but also among the different strata of the population. But in any event, the indications of the people's prosperity which have been preserved for us are sufficiently impressive. The opulence of the North-Indian cities and the exceptional magnificence of their temples in the first half of the eleventh century are proved by the accounts of the contemporary Muslim chroniclers, referred to above. 112

If these accounts help us, though indirectly, to realise the wealth of certain geographical regions of northern India in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., other foreign notices 113 give us glimpses into the economic prosperity, by means of trade and commerce, of the coastal regions of Western and Southern India in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Marco Polo 114 describes the land of Ma'bar as "the best of all the Indies" and "the finest and noblest province of the world". The immense gifts of gold and silver as well as jewellery made by kings, queens, princesses and others to the temples, such as are recorded repeatedly in the inscriptions of South India during this period, testify as much to the affluence as to the piety of the donors.

The above account refers to the economic condition of the people before the Muslim invasions began on a serious scale. The accounts of the Muslim chroniclers give vivid descriptions of the wholesale plunder and devastation of the country, as well as massacre and enslavement of its inhabitants that attended its conquest by the arms of Islam. These events could not but disrupt completely the economic life of the people who thus came under the foreign yoke.

1. ARSIE, 16 of 1917.

2. El, XIII, 18 f.

3. ARSIE, 45 of 1910.

4. ARSIE, 521 of 1912.

5. Vaij, 125-28. 31-61; Abh, 471-81; 235 f.

6. III. 1346-48, 1358.

7. Vaij , 128. 62-63.

8. Vaij, 124. 17-18; Abh, 375.4 f.

9. Vaij, 124. 19-20; Abh, 375. 4f.

10. Vaij, 124. 22-23; Abh, 375.45.

11. On the above, see Imperial Gazetteer of India, IX, s.v. Cauvery, p. 306.

12. Apar. on Yaj, I. 212.

13. Mdnasolldsa, III. 1347.

14. KRT, 1.42.

15. Cf- Nainar, Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India, Ch. I, s.v. Sandan and Saymur. For the identification of the above geographical names, see Ibid.

16. II. 389.

17. Nainar, loc. cit.

18. H. 115.

19. Nainar, op. cit., Ch. I, s.v.

20. Ferrand, Relations de voyages et texts geographiques, 340.

21. Nainar, op. cit.; Ch. I.

22. 11.389.

23. Nainar, op. cit; Ch. I, s.v. For the identification of the geographical names, see Ibid.

24. Vaij, 132.112.

25. Mdnasolldsa, III. 989.

26. I. 42.

27. Marco Polo, II. 393

28. II. 115.

29. Chau Ju-Kua, op. cit. 92; Marco Polo, II. 375, 393, 398.

30. Marco Polo, II. 395.

31. Yaqut and Qazwlni in Nainar, op. cit, Ch. IV, s.v.

32. Op. cit., 96.

33. II. 395.

34. Ibid, 398.

35. Ibid, 393, 94.

36. Nainar, op. cit., Ch. I., s.v.

37. Op. cit., 96.

38. II, 331-32.

39. Ill, 1017-20.

40. Op. cit-, 92.

41. II, 398.

42. Op. cit., 93.

43. Op. cit., 88

44. 11,389.

45: Quoted by Abul Fida in Nainar, op. cit., 55-56.

46. Op. cit., 96.

47. II, 361.

48. II, 144-45.

49. On the above, see Panchanan Niyogi, Iron in Ancient India, 21-30.

50. HI, 1146-47.

51. Ill, 1685-86, 1691.

52. See above, pp. 14, 19 ff.; HIED, II. 35.

53. Vaij, 44, 37-41; Abh, 424-26, 129 f.

54. II. 403 f.

55. II. 360.

56. HIED, III. 32.

57. 11.370.

58. On the above, see Nainar, op. cit., s.v.

59. Quoted in Chau Ju-Kua, op. cit., intr., 24 and 91 n.

60. Op. cit., 89.

61. Palornbang in Sumatra.

62. Op. cit., 88.

63. II. 390.

64. II. 376.

65. II. 386.

66. Eli, the Mt. d'Eli of the Portuguese writers, modern Blimalai, lay in the territory of the kings of the Southern Mushaka dynasty, whose capital was Kolam or Pandalayani-Kollam (ARS1E , 1929-30, p. 86, summarising the data of the recently published Sanskrit work, the Mushikavaihsa).

67. II. 398.

68. II. 393.

69. On IdrlsTs geographical notices with their identifications, see Nainar, op. cit.

ch. I, s.v. *

70. El, VII. 197-8.

71. R. H. Major, India in the Fijteenth Century, intr. xlv-1.

72. I. 107.

73. Ibid, II. 450.

74. 11.412.

75. II. 234.

76. 132.111.

77. II. 442, 445.

78. Ibid, 390.

79 . Ibid, 272, 284.

80. Ibid, 395, 398.

81. Ibid, 390.

82. Ibid, 284.

83. 42.21.

84. 43.25-33.

85. 11.390.

86. Ibid, 24,132, 152, 157, 176, 181.

87. III. 1019.

88. III. 1018.

89. Vaij, 111-12. 94-96; Abh, 499. 300; Mdnasolldsa, IV. 669-75.

89a. Chau Ju-Kua, op. cit. 91 n; Marco Polo, 1.83; 11.340, 370, 395, 438, 444, 450.

90. HIED, II. 33-34.

91. Estimated by Yule at 550 “Western dinaras” or saggi of Marco Polo, II. 349 n.

92. II. 340.

93 I 83

94. Estimated by Yule to be £ 193.

95. 11.340,345,450.

96. R. H. Major, loc. cit.

97. I. 107.

98. Op. cit., 92.

99. See pp. 517 ff.

100. Vij. and Apar. on Ydj, II. 185-192; SC, III. 520-33.

101. Cf. El, XVIII. 190 f, XIX. 21 f. for the reigns of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi and the Yadavas of Devagiri respectively.

102. ARSIE, 201 of 1905, 161 of 1907, 182 of 1926, 196 of 1928, 15 and 16 of 1935-36, 35 and 77 of 1936-37.

103. Vol. IV, p. 405.

104. MAR, 1930, No. 53.

105. Vol. IV, p. 405; K.A.N. Sastri, Colas, II. 1.419.

106. EC, VII, SK. 118.

107. ARSIE, 256 of 1912.

108. ARSIE, 342 of 1912.

109. K.A.N. Sastri’s tr.,op.cit., 421.

110. El, VII, 197-98.

111. EC, IV, Hg. No. 17; VII, SK.No. 118; ARSIE, 256 of 1912.

112. See pp. 19 f.

113. See above, pp. 516 ff.

114.11.331.

CHAPTER XX

ART*

1. ARCHITECTURE

1. Formation of the Traditional Temple Styles

The Indian Silpasdstras 1 recognise three main styles of temples, known as the Ndgara, the Dravida and the Vesara. The descriptions given of them are, however, vague and inadequate, and it is not possible at the present stage of our knowledge to equate the descriptions of the texts with any of the extant examples of Indian temple architecture. The term Dravida indicates that the names were primarily geographical. Various texts also contain passages mentioning the respective regions in which the different styles were current, though some of the texts maintain that all the styles may be found in all the regions. 2 All the available texts are agreed on the point that the Ndgara style was prevalent in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. 3 The Dravida country is well known, and the texts rightly confine the Dravida.i style to that part of the country lying between the river Krishna and cape KanyakumarL 4 As will be shown later, the temples erected in these two regions in the mediaeval period are sharply distinguished from each other, both as regards ground plan and elevation. The Ndgara and Dravida styles can thus be explained with reference to Northern India and the Dravida country respectively, and the characteristic form and features of each easily determined. The term Vesara, however, is not free from vagueness. Some of the texts ascribe the Vesara style to the country between the Vindhyas and the river Krishna. 5 In this region, or more properly in the region for some time under the royal dynasty of the Chalukyas, a separate style of temple architecture may be recognised—-a style known to the archaeologists as the “Chalukyan”. This style, however, is a hybrid one, borrowing elements and features both from the Ndgara and the Dravida styles, and does not become clearly distinguished before the eleventh century A.D. Thus, having regard to the evidence of monuments, the three styles of the Silpa texts can be resolved ultimately into two, viz. the Ndgara and the Dravida.

The Silpa texts, as observed above, are of very little help to us in forming an idea of the characteristic form and features of these three styles. They are always distinguished in the texts by their shapes. As for example, all the texts lay down that a Ndgara temple is quadrangular all over, 6 i.e. from the base to the stupiJ But this feature of the plan is so very general and common that it is difficult to consider it as a sure and distinctive cognisance of a particular style of temple. The octagonal and circular shapes, respectively, of the Dravidci and the Vesara styles are also too inadequate to be regarded as sure and distinguishing marks for the styles concerned. Under the circumstances, one has to depend on the evidence of extant monuments for a knowledge of the particular form and features of any one of the styles mentioned in the Silpasastras.

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A study of the temples of Northern India reveals two distinct features—one in planning and the other in elevation. In plan the temple is always a square with a number of graduated projections in the middle of each side. These projections give it a cruciform shape with a number of re-entrant angles on each side. In elevation it exhibits a tower {sikhara), gradually inclining inwards in a convex curve. The projections in the plan are also carried upwards to the top of the sikhara, and thus there is a strong emphasis on vertical lines in elevation. On account of this and the prominence of the vigorous and unbroken outline of the tower, it is also known as the rekha sikhara. Widely distributed over a greater part of India, the Ndgara style, as could be expected, exhibits distinct varieties and ramifications in different localities, conditioned by the different lines of evolution and elaboration that each locality chose for itself. The cruciform plan and the curvilinear tower are, however, common to every mediaeval temple of Northern India, wherever it is situated and whatever its local stamp might be. In spite of elaborations and modifications in different localities, these two fundamental features are always present in a North Indian temple, and may be considered as distinctive characteristics of the Ndgara style of temple architecture. Each of the projections on each face of the square plan leaves

* The words “Text Figure” in this chapter indicate diagrams appearing at the end of the chapter.

out a small portion at either corner, and thus are formed a number of projecting angles (asras) and facets (known as rathakas in Sanskrit and rathas in the canonical texts of Orissa). In this connection it should be observed that some of the texts describe a Ndgara temple both as chaturasra (quadrangular) and as dyatdsra. 8 The latter term has been interpreted as rectangular. 9 It appears, however, that chaturasrdyatdsra of the texts should better be taken to mean “square with angles projected” (dyatdsra, i.e. asras or angles made ayata or projected). This sense finds confirmation in the plan of the Ndgara temples which, on account of the projections on each face, may appropriately be described as a square with projecting angles (chaturasrdyatdsra).

The fundamental characteristics of a Ndgara temple are, as noted above, the cruciform plan and the curvilinear sikhara; and the simplest archetype of this style may be found in a group of shrines that were in existence in the sixth century A.D. The most representative examples of the group are the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh (Uttar Pradesh) and the brick temple at Bhitargaon (Uttar Pradesh). Though belonging to the later phase of the Gupta period, they present a distinct deviation from the archaic Gupta type of flat-roofed shrines in having each a low and stunted sikhara, gradually diminishing towards the top, over the square sanctum. They may thus be classed with the later Northern Indian sikhara temples, of which they are surely the precursors. The Dasavatara temple presents again a novel feature, apart from the sikhara, in the arrangement of three sculptured niches on the three walls, each as a panel framed by two pilasters on either side. These niches, along with the projection of the door-frame in the front wall, appear to set off the wall in the middle of each face. Such an arrangement may be regarded as the beginning of a device that subsequently developed into the practice of setting forward the middle of each side of the square, characteristic of the ground plan of the Ndgara temple of later days. One such projection may already be recognised in the brick temple at Bhitargaon and also in the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara, the latter being slightly later in date (c. seventh century A.D.) than the Deogarh and the Bhitargaon temples. The sikharas of the two early monuments are badly damaged. The Deogarh tower probably shows the use of corner dmalakas, which further indicate a fairly big-sized amalaka as the crowning member of the sikhara —also an inseparable component of the Ndgara temple. The projections on the body of the sanctum, whether by sculptured niches or by regular buttresses, have been carried up the body of the tower in each of the above two examples. These features constitute two other essential elements of a Ndgara temple, and the recessed frieze separating the walls of the sanctum cella from those of the tower may also be found in the early temples of the Ndgara style. The graceful and well-preserved Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara exhibits a slight convex curvature of the sikhara as it goes up, and offers the nearest approach to a temple of the Ndgara style in all its characteristic elements. The brick temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur (Madhya Pradesh), contemporary to, or only slightly later than, the Nachna Kuthara monument, also exhibits a form of the tower which is not far removed from that of a Ndgara temple. With its origins and antecedents in the Gupta period 93 the Ndgara style emerges in its typical form and characteristics by the eighth century A.D.

The Dravida style was current in the south, 10 evidently in the Dravida country, 11 roughly the country between the river Krishna and Kanyakumari 12 (Cape Comorin). The texts merely lay down that a Dravida prdsada should be octagonal (some say hexagonal) from the neck to the top, 13 or, as one or two texts would enjoin, from the base to the top. 14 But such descriptions are too vague and hardly fit the facts. 16

The outstanding and common characteristic of the temples of the Dravida country is the pyramidal elevation of the tower (vimana ,) which consists of a multiplication of storey after storey, each a replica of the sanctum cella and slightly reduced in extent than the one below, ending in a domical member, technically known as the stupi or stupika, as the crowning element. This storeyed arrangement of the tower in gradually receding stages may, therefore, be regarded as a distinct individuality of the Dravida style of temple, though in later phases of its history the stages become more and more compressed, so much so that they are almost hidden under a profusion of details which become characteristic of the subsequent evolution of the style. In plan the Dravida temple presents an inner square chamber as the sanctum cella within a bigger square enclosure, covered and roofed over, serving as the pradakshina (circumambulatory passage). The division of the external walls into niches by pilasters is also a characteristic element of South Indian temples. The convex roll cornice, with chaitya-window motifs, demarcating each of the stages, and the little pavilions around the upper storeys may also be regarded as peculiar features of the style. The pillared halls and corridors and the immense gopurams (gateways) are invariably associated with temples that are considerably late, and may be left out of the present discussion.

Many of the distinctive elements of what came to be known as the Dravida temple style may be found in the second group of Gupta temples, mentioned above, 163 which exhibits a building consisting of an inner sanctum with a covered pradakshina forming a bigger square around. The roof is flat, and in several examples (the Par vat! temple at Nachna Kuthara, the Lad Khan, the Kont Gudi and the Meguti temples at Aihole, etc.) we find an upper storey, which being placed above the inner sanctum cella is necessarily set back. These storeyed structures are in some respects analogous to the storeyed pavilions, shown in relief, on the Audumbara coins from the Kangra valley of about the first century A.D. ie Structurally, however, such temples cannot be dated earlier than the fourth century A.D., and in the early structural buildings we find just the rudiments of accumulating storey after storey, in gradually reduced stages, that form the nucleus of the Dravida style of

vimana. The plan of the inner sanctum with a cloistered gallery around is a special characteristic common to this type of Gupta temples and a temple of the Drdvida style. Again, the scheme of the division of the walls of the Drdvida temple by pilasters and niches may have its origin in the peculiar device of enclosing the pradakshina square with thin slabs of stone socketted to pilasters placed at intervals, as we have in the Lad Khan at Aihole. In the Jain temple of Meguti such a decorative scheme of the exterior walls becomes clearly established. The Lad Khan as well as the Meguti further show the use of the roll cornice carved with wellshaped chaitya arches—an essential motif that came to be regarded as a distinguishing mark of the Drdvida style of temples. Already, then, in the Gupta period the distinctive characteristics of what came to be subsequently known as the Drdvida temple style may be recognised in a well-defined group or type of temples. All the early examples of the type, however, are found outside the limits of the Dravida country, and the association of the type with that country is an event that is still to come. But there can be no doubt that the Drdvida temple is an adaptation of the earlier storeyed form of the Gupta temple, enriched further by the addition of new elements in the matter of details, which may be said to be of local origin.

It should be remembered, however, that the regional definition of the two styles comes later, and is not clear as yet. The archetypes of what came to be known as the Drdvida style had originally nothing to do with the Dravida country, and appear first in the Deccan and Central India, occasionally also in Northern India. Even in the seventh century A.D. the sikhara, archetype of the Ndgara style, and the storeyed forms occur side by side at Aihole, Pattadakal, and Badami. The geographical delimitation of the two styles is thus yet to come.

2. Ndgara Style

The Ndgara style of temple architecture had a long and varied history. Temples, with distinctive characteristics of the style as mentioned above, are found to be widely distributed over the greater part of India. According to the Silpasastras the geographical extent of the Ndgara style coincided with Northern India, i.e. the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, and Fergusson's nomenclature, the Aryavarta style, is nearly approximate in this connection. Actually, however, the style transcends the canonical limit far to the south, and temples belonging to the style may be seen from the Himalayas in the north to the Bijapur District in the south, from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east. With such a vast geographical extent it is natural that there are local variations and ramifications in the formal development of the style in the different regions, although such local developments do not alter materially its basic characteristics. Such variations are caused by local conditions, by different directions in development, as well as by assimilation of extraneous trends wherever these made themselves felt. On account of such wide distribution and varied developments, a consecutive historical treatment of the style is not possible, except on a regional basis. The different phases of the Ncigar a style will, therefore, be dealt with geographically.

A. Orissa

Of all the regional developments of the Ndgara style that of Orissa is one of the most remarkable. From the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D. innumerable temples were erected in Orissa, and it has been truly observed that “there are perhaps more temples now in Orissa than in all the rest of Hindustan put together”. The activity centred round the sacred city of Bhuvanesvara (Bhuvaneswar), a temple town which alone contains hundreds of temples, large and small, in various stages of preservation. Along the coast the movement extends in the north-east and south-west, roughly covering the area of the modern State of Orissa. Circumscribed within this area, these temples form, to quote Fergusson, “one of the most compact and homogeneous architectural groups in India”. 17 This prolific and sustained architectural activity was due in a large measure to the patronage of the different dynasties of kings, and the preservation of so many fine examples, to the comparative immunity of the country from Muslim inroads till a late period. The result is that there is more or less a continuous series of monuments which enables us to trace the history of this local development of the Ndgara style with a certain amount of exactness and precision. One other singular fact is that the Orissan temples, in spite of an unbroken history of several centuries, remain nearest to the original archetype, while other regional manifestations of the Ndgara style indicate great modifications and transformations in course of evolution. As such, the Orissan group may be said to represent, to some extent, a pure form of the original Ndgara style. Its graceful proportions, solemn and unbroken outline, and elegant design and decorative scheme enhance the beauty of the original archetype, but without any loss of balance, strength, or stability. Not only historically, but architectonically too, it is the most interesting and instructive series of all the temple forms of the Nagara style, and it is only natural and logical that a study of the development of the style should begin with Orissa.

The earliest temple in Orissa, like the older type of the Gupta period, is a single building consisting of a square sanctum, topped by a curvilinear tower, with one buttress-like projection in the middle of each face. The typical Orissan temple, however, has, in addition, the porch hall in front distinguished by a pyramidal roof (known locally as mukha-mandapa or jagamohana). In the early temples the porch hall appears to have been absent. In the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara (Fig. 3) there is a rectangular porch hall roofed over by two sloping tiers forming a clerestory; but this porch, too, appears to have been a later addition. In subsequent examples, however, the porch hall became a necessary concomitant of the Orissan temples. The sanctum with the curvi-. linear tower is known as the rekha deul, whereas the jagamohana: with the pyramidal roof is called the bhadra or pidha deul. Each of these two components offers a counterplay in the design of the other.

Orissa had its own canons of architecture,—a set of literature which has been edited by a competent scholar who made a thorough study of it with the help of local craftsmen, supplementing it by personal field observations. 18 As a result of the study of the canons the building art in Orissa is found to have a separate and distinct nomenclature of its own. Each part and each section of the building had its particular name, and those describing the essential members may, with a certain amount of appropriateness, be used with reference to the other temple groups of the Nagara style.

The sanctum and the jagamohana in Orissa may each be divided along the vertical axis into four distinct sections, namely the pishta (pedestal or the platform on which the temple stands), the bada (the cube of the sanctum cella or of the porch hall), the gandi (or the sikhara, the tower), and the mastaka (or the crowning elements). The pishta does not appear to have been an essential element, as there are important examples where it has been found to be absent. The bada rises perpendicularly straight up to a certain height and, in case of the rekha deul , merges into the gandi or the sikhara , which gradually inclines inwards in a convex curve. Usually there is a section, known as the baranda, demarcating the bada from the gandi. The gandi of the rekha is further subdivided into a number of sections, literally known as the bhumis or planes, by ribbed elements at the corners. This ribbed element no doubt represents a sectional amid, known as bhumi-amla for demarcating the bhumis, and a substitute, in the body of the gandi,

of the enormous spheroid stone, amcilaka-sila, that caps the tower. In the bhadra deul the gandi is composed of a number of pidhas or horizontal platforms, compressed in height and piled up in the form of a pyramid, so that they decrease in size from the bottom upwards. The pidhds may be arranged in two or more sections (potala). From the top of the gandi in either case (rekha and bhadra), rise the different crowning elements, which may be collectively termed as the mastaka. First, there is a recessed portion known as the beki or the neck (Sanskrit-Zcantha); above this is the amid (Sanskrit dmalaka-sild or amalasdraka) , which is a flattened spheroid ribbed at the edges. In the full-fledged bhadra deul an enormous member, shaped like a bell and sometimes ribbed at the edges, intervenec between the beki and the amid. Next to the amid there is the khapuri (literally the skull of the head), which is a flat domical member resembling an unfolded umbrella. Above it is placed the kalasa or water jar, an important auspicious object in Indian religion and ritual. The bdda as well as the gandi is square in cross section all through, but the crowning elements are circular, and above them all appears the dhvaja or ayudha, i.e. the emblem of the particular deity to whom the temple is consecrated.

In plan the sanctum as well as the jagamohana is plainly square inside, but on the exterior the walls exhibit several buttresslike projections in the middle of each face, on account of which the ground plan assumes what may be called a cruciform shape. Each such projection leaves out a portion at both the ends, and hence the plan is also one of projecting and re-entrant angles. Where there is only one such projection in the middle of each face, the wall is divided into three vertical sections (literally known as rathas or rathakas) , and such a plan is hence known as triratha or composed of three rathas , the two on either side being on the same plane and the other being set forward a little. In a similar way there are pancharatha, saptaratha and navaratha plans, according as there are two, three, or four such projections on each face of the cube of the bdda. The projections on the bdda run along the entire height of the gandi, and the corresponding sections on the body of the latter are known as the pagas . Usually there runs a narrow depression between the vertical sections, thus demarcating and accentuating the projections still more.

The description given above is more or less true of every temple of Orissa, early or late. The tendency in evolution is towards a greater elaboration, minuter details, and a pronounced accentuation of height. The oldest specimens of the extant temples in Orissa exhibit each a triratha plan, and the bdda is subdivided into three

segments, placed one above the other long the vertical axis, namely, the pdbhtiga (from pdda-bhdga, the portion of the foot, i.e the plinth), the jangha (shin, i.e. the perpendicular wall portion) and the baranda, i.e. the section that intervenes between the bada and the gaydi. Several temples of this shape and form may still be found in Orissa.

The Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara is usually regarded as the oldest among the temples of Orissa. Mr. Manomohan Ganguli observes that it is probably ‘‘dated in the 5th or 6th century A.D. at the latest”. 19 This date is palpably wrong, and on the basis of a palaeographical analysis of the inscriptions on the Navagraha lintel over the doorway of the sanctum the late Mr. R. D. Banerji placed the temple in the eighth century A.D., 20 a date that seems very probable from the stylistic considerations of the temple and its sculptures. Recently another scholar has tried to place the temple about the seventh century A.D. on the same palaeographical grounds. 21 The story of Orissan temples, however, goes further back and examples of a still earlier date may be found at Bhuvanesvara in the Satrughnesvara group of temples (Fig. 1), just in front of the Ramesvara. Though extremely damaged, a straightedged contour of the sikhara may be recognised in each case, and this, together with a general appearance of bareness and simplicity, indicates an earlier date for these temples, perhaps not far removed from that of the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh. Stylistically, again, the tiny shrine, once standing by the side of the Vindusarovara tank (Fig. 2), appears to have been slightly older than the Parasuramesvara, though the two temples are so very alike that it is very difficult to come to any definite conclusion on this point. The style of the carvings of this little temple, now lost, belongs very probably to an earlier date, and on this account an earlier date for the temple may very plausibly be postulated.

The small but exquisitely decorated Parasuramesvara temple (Fig. 3) may, however, be regarded as a representative specimen among the early Orissan temples, and from it should properly begin the story of the development of Orissan temple architecture. The sanctum is triratlna in plan, but on each face there are two subsidiary niches on either side of the central niche accommodated in the buttress projection in the middle. This mode may just be an anticipation of the subsequent pahcharatha plan. The pdbhdga or the plinth consists of three simple mouldings. The jangha is occupied by three niches on each face, each capped by a tiered superstructure. The baranda or the section demarcating the bdda from the gaydi, consists of a narrow recessed frieze of couples of

human figures alternating with chess-board patterned panels. The gandi is low and stunted, and begins to curve inward from the very bottom, thus resulting in a gradual curvilinear outline. The projection of the central niche is carried up and forms the rahd-paga (i.e. the central paga), while two intermediate pagas (anurahd pagas) are formed on either side as a result of the continuation, though not in the same alignment, of the projections of the subsidiary niches on the two sides. At the outermost or the corner pagas (konaka-pagas) the gandi is divided into five planes or stages, literally bhiimis, by bhumi-amlas. Above the fifth bhumi there is a flat tier, known as the bisama, also called the vedi or altar. The gandi is throughout square in cross section, and the sharp edges at the corners as well as those of the ratha-paga projections are rigidly maintained. On account of the gradual inward inclination, the gandi or the tower ends with the vedi in a much smaller square, and next begins the circular section of the crowning elements, the enormous amalaka-sild having an appearance of being supported at each of the four corners on the figure of a seated lion with two hinder parts, technically known in Orissa as the dopichha simha. Nothing now remains above the dmalaka, but it is possible that it was topped by a prism-shaped object, which is the usual finial in the early examples of the Orissan group. The height of the temple is approximately three times the inside length of the garbhagriha or the sanctum, and in form and appearance, in plan and elevation, it has but very little difference with the earlier examples of the sikhara type noticed elsewhere. Another significant fact is that the bisama, i.e. the tier at which the gandi ends at the top, in conformity with the early sikhara temples, is square without the indentations of the paga projections on the body of the gandi.

The long and rectangular jagamohana, preceding the sanctum, was very probably a subsequent addition, and the joining between the two is a rather haphazard piece of work. The rectangular hall is topped by a sloping roof formed by flat stone slabs having in the centre a sort of clerestory supported on two rows of three pillars each in the interior. The Orissan temple is essentially astylar and the pillars have seldom a place in the composition of the Orissan temples. The pillars in the jagamohana accordingly disappear along with the evolution of the usual type of pyramidal jagamohana characteristic of Orissa. The porch hall is approached by three doorways, one each on the larger sides and the third in front, the last being subsequently closed up by a sculptured slab forming a grilled window. Besides, light is admitted into the interior of the hall by means of a latticed window of a chess-board pattern in one of the longer walls. The sculptured decorations of both the jagamohana and the garbha-griha are in elegant taste and, though widely separated in time, the Gupta flavour is not yet exinct.

The temple is not large, the garbha-griha being only 20 feet at its base, the entire length with the jagamohana, 48 feet, and the height of the sikhara from the base to the top, only 44 feet. The method of construction is extremely simple, with stone masonry of large size set without mortar and kept in position by their weight and balance, strengthened further by a system of interlocking flanges. Simple though its construction is, the methods employed in this small shrine remained in vogue in Orissa, and were followed in the subsequent period even in raising up such enormous piles of structures, as the great Lingaraja at Bhuvanesvara and the far-famed Sun temple at Konarak (Konarka).

The twin temples at Gandharadi in the old Baudh State may be mentioned as the next in point of date to the Parasuramesvara, to which they are exactly similar in plan as well as in elevation. Though there is no clerestory, the roof of the jagamohana rises in two receding stages of sloping tiers. A pidha with three sloping tiers may be seen at Baramba (Cuttack District). In this arrangement may be recognised the beginning of the stupendous pyramidal form of the typical Orissan jagamohanas. Though the scheme of ornamentation is not more detailed and advanced than that of the Parasuramesvara, the rounded corners and the bevelled edges of the pagas indicate that the tendency to refinement from harsh to softer contours is well under way.

The next temple that should be mentioned is the little shrine of Muktesvara (Fig. 4), lying very close to the Parasuramesvara at Bhuvanesvara, at a place called Siddharanya or the “forest of the Perfect”. It is situated within a quadrangular court enclosed by a low wall with panelled sides and battlemented coping. The approach is through an elegant tor ana (Fig. 5) or archway supported on two richly carved columns rising from a paved court. The columns are built in sections and consist each of a square base, a sixteen-sided shaft, and a capital consisting of an amalaka with a spread out cruciform vedika as a support for the arch. The last is semi-circular in shape, but built in transverse section with oversailing courses. The ends of the arch are shaped as makara heads and both the faces are elegantly carved with floral patterns, miniature niches with human heads peeping out, and a pair of female figures in recumbent attitude occupying the entire segment of the arch. This ornamental appendage to the Muktesvara is unlike anything in Orissa, and the tradition that it was intended for purposes

of swinging the god on festive occasions may have some basis of truth.

The temple of Muktesvara is closely similar in design to that of the Parasuramesvara, and like it, stands on a low plinth. The plan of the sanctum is, however, a regular pahcharatha and the jagamohana partakes more of the typical Orissan form of the pidha deul. The latter is surmounted by a pyramidal roof, consisting of gradually receding tiers, piled up one above the other, and ultimately crowned by the auspicious jar (kalasa) with the majestic figures of lions over the pediments of the projections on the three sides.

The corners of the sanctum tower are carefully rounded off, and the edges of the ratha-paga projections are bevelled to a certain extent, with the result that the harsh contours of the earlier examples give place to a really graceful and softened outline of the sikhara. In keeping with this, the exterior surface of the temple is very richly carved with a luxuriance of ornamental detail sculptured and finished with the greatest care and taste. Every scrap of carving is clean-cut and distinctive. Particularly interesting are the fine interlacings of a minute design, resembling the chaitya-window, which appear on the intermediate ratha-paga projections as well as on the upper section of the rahd-paga on each face. Executed with the greatest skill the design takes the form of a very rich fretwork, singular in its appearance in Orissa but a rather common mode of ornamentation in the temples of Osia in Rajputana. The bold design, consisting of a couple of rounded dwarfish figures on either side of a highly ornate chaitya- window device topped by a kiritimukha (Fig. 6), that appears on each of the raha-pagas, is also superb and masterful in treatment and animation. Moreover, the floral bands, the scroll works, etc. lavishly display a remarkable excellence in design and a perfect delicacy of execution. The reliefs are bold and impressive; the statuettes jutting out, as it were, of the surface are vigorous and full of action, and exhibit charming forms.

The temple of Muktesvara is one of the smallest of the Bhuvanesvara group, being barely 35 feet high, and the sanctum only 7 feet G inches square on the inside. But the parts are so beautifully adjusted to one another that the disposition of the whole is elegant as well as effective. Further, the artist has adapted his ornaments to the scale of his monument in so clever a way that the eye fails to detect the smallness of the structure. Hence, in spite of its modest size the Muktesvara may be regarded as the most brilliant of its class, and it is not without reason that it has been so enthusiastically praised by different critics. Fergusson, than whom there can be no better judge, describes it as the “gem of Orissan architecture”, [22] while Rajendra Lala Mitra extols it as “the handsomest —a charming epitome of the perfection of Orissan architecture”. [23] Both of them saw the temple in a dilapidated state and overgrown with jungle. But the decay and overgrowth of centuries, thougn they had furrowed its brow and wrought wrinkles on its glistening surface, could not entirely efface its pristine beauty and solemn grandeur.

The Muktesvara marks an advance on the form presented by the Parasuramesvara and represents the early phase of architectural activity in Orissa at its maturity. This advance, however, does not signify as yet any definite break with, or departure from, the traditions and form of the early prototype, and hence the interval between the dates of the two temples could not have been very long. Scholars are usually inclined to place the Muktesvara temple about A.D. 950, i.e. nearly two centuries after the date of the Parasuramesvara. This date, however, appears to be much too late, architectonically. The exquisite carvings of this pretty little shrine also tell the same tale. On these considerations the longest interval that separated the two temples does not seem to have been more than a century.

Temples almost similar in shape and design may be found at Bhuvanesvara and at other places in Orissa. They range in date between the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., and casually this early form persists even up to the tenth. It has to be borne in mind that temples of this class, no doubt an early manifestation of the N agar a style in Orissa, are found to be widely distributed over a greater part of India. This is not at all surprising, as each locality derived it from a common archetype, current and in vogue in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, and none of them can be said to have developed as yet any local and regional characteristic.

But this plain and early form of the Nagara temple in Orissa undergoes a distinct transformation, as a result of evolution, into a novel and elaborate type, which may be termed as peculiarly Orissan. The tendency in evolution is towards an elaboration and refinement of the simpler design of the earlier temple and also towards an accentuation of height. The elaboration is noticed not only in the greater variegation of the ground plan, obtained by adding to the number of projections, but also in that of elevation where the exterior facade is divided into a larger number of sections along the vertical axis. Beginning from the triratha, the plan is gradually elaborated into the pancharatha, the saptaratha and even to the navaratha. Each of these rathas again is further subdivided into a number of smaller facets. From the standpoint of elevation the earlier

Orissan temple, in conformity with its arc! ^type, always shows a threefold division of the bdda, —the pdbhdga, the jangha and the baranda. The later Orissan temple, however, invariably exhibits a five-fold division of the bdda, the jangha itself being divided into two sections, the lower {tala-jangha) and the upper {upar a-jangha) , by a course of mouldings, known as the bandhand or the bond, about its middle height. Correspondingly, the mouldings of the pdbhdga and those of the baranda increase in number, the former consisting of five and the latter of seven in almost every important Orissan temple of the later period. In the gandi the bhumis also increase in number and in contour it takes a more perpendicular rise with an abrupt inwards bend towards the top. The greater variegation in the elevation of the temple is no doubt necessitated by an urge for increased height.

Along with such minute demarcation of the different elements and sections, as mentioned above, there was correspondingly a greater variety of decorative detail, and the whole exterior of the bdda all around is not only covered with rich and elegant mouldings, but also with pilasters, niches and figures—human, animal and composite—each having its proper and appropriate place in the design. The accentuation of height is recognised in the multiplication of mouldings as well as in the general form and appearance of the gandi or the sikhara. In the early temples the ratio between the length of the sanctum and the total height of the temple is approximately 1:3, as we have in the Parasuramesvara. But in the temples which, in plan (multiplication of rathas) as well as in elevation (five sections of the bdda, multiplication of the mouldings, greater details in decoration, etc.), exhibit late features in evolution, the ratio increases from 1:4 to 1:5, and in the magnificent Sun temple at Konarak the estimated ratio is approximately 1:7. A regular correspondence between elaboration and heightening may be observed all through the history of Orissan architecture.

Again, a refinement and delicacy of the outline paa y be noticed in the gradual rounding off of the edges at the corners as well as in the ratha-paga projections. But in such attempts at softening off, the architects took especial care not to break up the outline, and the unbroken contour of the tall tower, together with the accentuated verticalism of the ratha-paga projections, gave an impression of aspiring height and grandeur. In this rounding off of the corners and of the edges of the projections may be logically traced the origin of the practice of decorating the exterior with miniature replicas of Sikharas (anga-sikharas) round the main one. The corner pagas, rounded off and with bhumi-amlas at the different

stages, naturally take the shape of miniature rekhas, and soon these begin to appear on the surface of the gandi all around. Thus do the different stages of the spire simulate the main one by repeating themselves round the body of the gandi and quite in a logical course too. The temple of Rajarani at Bhu vanes vara exhibits a cluster of smaller towers round the body of the main gandi (Fig. 10). This may appear to be an exotic growth in Orissa, being rather very rare in that area. This novel arrangement may be explained as the natural outcome of a logical evolution following a process of elaboration, refinement and decoration as outlined above. The effect, however, did not prove to be happy, as the different miniatures round the body of the main tower broke up and dissolved the forceful outline of the temple, an outline that was more pleasing and architecturally more sound. It might be, that for this reason the process was not followed up in Orissa; but it had its full play in Central India, where the aspiring outline of the rekha tower was almost effaced by an exuberance of turrets clinging to the body of the main sikhara, and thus breaking up its contour. The Orissan architects knew where to stop, and as soon as it became apparent that the process of evolution, when carried to a logical culmination, would lead to a loss of architectural effect, they gave up the attempt and confined the miniature rekhas to the anuraha-pagas only, and casually to the rdhd-paga of the front facade. They, however, took care that these miniature replicas were not obstrusive enough to break up the linear ascent of the main tower.

Thus the sikhara temple evolved a particular and individual form in Orissa of which the main features were the five-fold division of the bdda and the miniature replicas of the rekha-sikhara (anga sikhara) on the anuraha-pagas of the main gandi. The rampant figure of a lion on an elephant (gaja-shhha) , projecting from each face of the gandi, and caryatids, known usually as deul-charanis, above the bisama, supporting or appearing to support the heavy amalaka-sila, also occur as invariable accompaniments of this characteristic Orissan type of temple, and may be recognised to have been among its distinctive features. The characteristic type of Orissan temple also exhibits an almost perpendicular ascent of the rekha up to a great height, taking a pronounced curve only quite near the top. The increase in the number of sections along the vertical axis is, no doubt, a necessary corollary to the increased height of the temple, and an aspiration for height is particularly felt all through the course of evolution. The above features, being peculiar only to Orissa, may be said to be typically Orissan. They begin to appear from the tenth century A.D. The five-fold division of the bdda is characteristic not only of the body of the garbha-griha but also of that of the jagamohana.

The emergence of the typical Orissan form of the temple may be studied with reference to several instructive examples at Bhuvanesvara, namely the Siddhesvara (Fig. 7), the Kedaresvara and the Brahmesvara. The Siddhesvara and the Kedaresvara are two decayed temples of medium height situated, like the Muktesvara, within the precincts of the Siddharanya, and look almost alike in appearance. Like the Muktesvara each of the temples is pancharatha in plan. A five-fold division of the bada has, however, been obtained by dividing the jangha into two sections by three courses of horizontal mouldings (bcindhana) about the middle height, though the central ratha forms one unit consisting of the usual niche with a tiered superstructure reaching the lowermost course of the baranda. The number of mouldings in the pabhaga has increased to conventional five, and the baranda, instead of being a recessed frieze as in the earlier temple, has taken the form of a number of mouldings projected and recessed alternately. At the bottom the gandi is surrounded by miniature rekhas, one on each paga, and the figure of a rampant lion (jhampasimha) may be seen projecting from the rdhd-paga on each face. This is a motif that is new in appearance, but a variation of which, the lion rampant on an elephant (gaja-shiiha), became a distinctive characteristic of later Orissan temples. This particular feature is absent in the temples of the earlier group, e.g. the Parasuramesvara, the Muktesvara, etc., where one usually finds instead an inset sculpture depicting a particular legend associated with the divinity to whom the temple was consecrated. In the Muktesvara, on the front face, a sedent lion is placed above the prominent design consisting of the figure of a kirttimukha between two dwarfish gana figures. This may indicate the beginnings of such a practice, and in the SiddhesvaraKedaresvara group four rampant lions on the four sides of the gandi may be recognised to be an advancement on the former design. Above the bisama on each rdhd-paga is placed a grinning figure seated on haunches, which appears to carry the amalaka-sild as caryatids do. It is these figures which later on came to be known as deul-chdranis . Next to the amalaka-sild there is the flattened dome-shaped section, known as the khapun, surmounted by the kalasa and the distinctive emblem (ayudha) of the god as the crowning finial. It has to be borne in mind, however, that the kalasa and the finial are absent in the earlier group. The small temple by the side of the Vindusarovara (now collapsed) had a prism-shaped object, not unlike the phallic emblem, surmounting the dmalaka. The Parasuramesvara also possibly had a similar objects as the crowning member of the tower. The Muktesvara is now found to be crowned by a kalasa, but it is not

known definitely whether it was there originally. The kalasa, an auspicious object in Hindu ritual, is a sacred element and there can be little doubt that its appearance in conjunction with the distinctive emblem of the divinity has been dictated by a sacerdotal necessity. Leaving aside the rather doubtful case of the Muktesvara, these two important features of the typical Orissan temple are for the first time met with in the Siddhesvara-Kedaresvara group. Compared to the Muktesvara, with its finished appearance, the Siddhesvara and the Kedaresvara, with their thick-set and heavy-shouldered sikharas and a general coarseness of ornament, may appear to be rather archaic. But the features mentioned above clearly mark them, along with the Brahmesvara, as a stage in transition from the early Ndgara form to the typically Orissan one. They present us, in many respects, with the beginnings of those individual features that finally became established as the distinctive characteristics of the typical Orissan temple. Chronologically they may roughly be placed in the tenth century A.D.

The Brahmesvara temple (Fig. 8) with its more finished appearance belongs also to the phase of transition like the Siddhesvara and the Kedaresvara. According to an inscription, now lost, it was built by Kolavatl, mother of king Uddyotakesarl, in the eighteenth year of the latter’s reign, which may be placed about the middle of the eleventh century A.D. 24 Situated within an enclosure and with four subsidiary shrines (chaturamarakuli) at the four corners it makes a regular panchayatana group. Although belonging to the same phase as the Siddhesvara and Kedaresvara the main temple marks an advance on both. Apart from its more refined appearance due to the rounding off of the sharp edges, the rekha gcwdi in the Brahmesvara, instead of showing a gradual inward curve as in the earlier group, rises almost perpendicularly up to a greater portion of its height and takes a pronounced bend only towards the top, a contour that is not far off from that of the celebrated Lingaraja at Bhuvanesvara. The graded heights of the anga-sikharas on the pagas at the bottom of the gandi introduce pleasing variations to the rather monotonous effect of such a feature in the Siddhesvara-Kedaresvara group where they are found to have made their first appearance. The kdrttimukha as the pedestal of the projecting figure of the rampant lion also appears to mark an advance on the design, just a step prior to the evolution of the usual conventional motif of the gaja-simha. The jagamohana , too, though approximating in shape to those of the Muktesvara, the Siddhesvara and the Kedaresvara, has a more refined appearance. Further, it introduces new and significant features supplying a definite connection with the future development of the typical pifhd deul. The top is surmounted by a domical member and crowned by

the dmalaka-sild and the auspicious jar, exactly as in the jagamohanas of the typical Orissan temples. But the different elements of the superstructure still show rather an assortment of individual members without any conscious attempt at co-ordination and integration that are to come later. Thus, in its characteristic features and appearance, the Brahmesvara offers us the nearest approach to the great Lingaraja which is the best and the most representative of the Orissan type of the Ndgara temple.

The temple of Rajaranl (Fig. 9) at Bhuvanesvara, though apparently an exceptional type in Orissa, 24a requires a more detailed treatment in this connection. Standing isolated nearly a furlong to the east of the Siddharanya, it looks picturesque by reason of the broad expanse of green fields on all its sides. The rather unusual name might have been derived from the fine-grained yellow sandstone, known as the rajrania, of which the temple has been built. Time has mellowed its surface to delightful soft shades, varying from pale amber to deep jacinth, which further add a colourful effect to the building among its natural surroundings.

The Rajaranl certainly marks an advance in the art of composition over that of the group just mentioned. In general configuration the plan of the sanctum (Text Fig. 1) is no doubt in the shape of a square, but because of the multiple offsets and projections on each face, introduced evidently to give greater variety and play of light and shade, it becomes almost circular in appearance. Moreover, the sanctum, instead of being aligned on the same plans as the rest of the building, is placed diagonally to it.

In elevational aspect too the Rajaranl temple is a departure from all the others of the Orissan group. Along with the extreme variegation of the ground plan the main body of the tower is surrounded by a number of smaller replicas, clinging to and clustering around it (Fig. 10). Although this kind of elaboration was already anticipated in the previous group, here, in the Rajarani, the tendency gets an added emphasis not only in the two anga-sikharas, one above the other, on each of the raha-pagas, but also in the separate volume and mass that have been given to each. The walls of the sanctum are richly and magnificently carved and the individual decorations are of rare and singular beauty. But the jagamohana is apparently left ^unfinished.

Though exotic in Orissa, the Rajarani is really the result of a logical evolution, following a distinct course, from the early Ndgara form in Orissa represented by the Parasuramesvara-Muktesvara group at Bhuvanesvara. Though there is a more fluent volume and mass in the body of the tower displaying a refinement in curves and

contours that denote a more subtle feeling for form, the design did not find favour in Orissa and was ultimately discarded, as mentioned above. No one who has seen the RajaranI temple at Bhuvanesvara and those of the Khajuraho group can fail to notice the similarity in the shape of this particular deul with the sikharas of the Central Indian type, a type that strikes a new note in this aspect of the temple design. Another link with Central India may be recognised in the double amalakas which characterise the anga-sikharas of the RajaranI. The course of evolution, as outlined above, had no doubt its fullest and freest play in Central India where the exuberance of miniature replicas clinging to the body of the main sikhara adds a rich and variegated, though somewhat disturbed and restless, effect.

The majestic temple of the Lingaraja (Fig. 11) at Bhuvanesvara represents the Orissan type of temple in its full maturity. The god enshrined in it is Siva (Tribhuvanesvara or Bhuvanesvara) from which the city takes its name. The sanctuary is situated in the middle of a large quadrangular court enclosed by massive walls and with a monumental entrance portal in the middle of the east side. Many other subsidiary structures are clustered round the main sanctuary pile. Each of these accessory buildings is a work of art, but the mind and eye of the spectator always turn towards the enormous Lingaraja with its majestic proportions, its extraordinary means of construction and its elegant carvings.

Like every other temple of magnitude and importance the Lihgaraja, as it now stands, is made up of four great conjuncts, all disposed on the same axis extending from east to west, viz, the bhoga-mandapa (refectory hall), the nata-mandapa (dancing hall), the jagamohana (hall of audience) and the deul or the sanctuary proper (Text Fig 2). They do not all date from the same period; the original temple scheme consisted of two elements, the deul and the jagamohana , the two ancillary halls of the nata-mandapa and the bhoga-mandapa being added, in all probability, about a century later. The sanctum proper is characterised by the tall curvilinear tower, remarkable for its height and volume, and the halls by pyramidal roofs. The deul and the jagamohana, both belonging to the original temple scheme, are pancharatha in plan, and in-each there is the corresponding five-fold division of the bdda in vertical segments. The mouldings of the pabhaga, the bandhand and the baranda and the sculptural decoration of the two janghas are richer and more elegant in design, but do not produce any idea of monotony or of being overdone. The niches in the central projection of the bafta of the deul, except on the east, have each developed into a miniature shrine on

a roofed platform approached by elaborate flights of steps. They accommodate the subsidiary divinities, Parvati, Karttikeya and Ganesa, associated with the mythology of Siva to whom the temple is consecrated. The black chlorite figures of these deities are specimens of exquisite carving representing the high watermark of the plastic skill of Orissan artists in days gone by.

Undoubtedly the most impressive feature of the Lingaraja is the great tower of the deul (Fig. 12) which dominates not only the entire composition but also the surrounding landscape for many miles. Nearly 160 feet in height, its stupendous mass is effectively broken up by the vertical pagas which add to the fluency of its outline. The tower, slightly inclining inwards from the top of the baranda, speeds up into a parabolic curve near the top. This pronounced taper takes off the harshness of the almost perpendicular ascent of the tower and introduces pleasingly the recessed beki over which rises the ponderous dmalaka-sila supported at each corner on a lion with two hinder parts (dopichhd-simha) . Above is the umbrella-shaped khapuri surmounted by the kalasa and the trident, the emblem of the god installed within. The corners of the tower and the edges of the pagas have been rounded off a good deal, but the square cross-section is maintained all through the height of the gandi. Not only has the deul grown in elevation, but the height is further accentuated by the vertical lines of the pagas, of which the angles of the anurahas on each face bear miniature representations of the rekha tower (ahga-sikhara). Rising in graded sizes up the entire height of the gandi, they help the upward ascent of the tower, rather than break it. A harmonious counterplay in the design is afforded by the horizontal mouldings which, carried in lines across the chases of the pagas , richly texture the entire surface of the tower. On the rdhapaga on each face projects the figure of a lion, rampant on an elephant (gaja-simha) , that looks as if leaping in space. With its aspiring height and plastically modelled mass the sikhara of the great Lingaraja is the crowning achievement of this far-famed temple.

The jagamohana , also co-eval with the deul, is no less magnificent. Like the deul it is pancharatha in plan and shows the similar division of the bada into five-fold vertical segments. The superstructure consists of a pyramidal roof rising in two sections (potalas) of superposed horizontal tiers in gradually receding stages. Above this square roof rise the circular crowning elements, the beki , the bell-shaped fluted member supporting the dmalaka-sila , and the kalasa finial. The entire height is a little over 100 feet from the ground, and with its massive dimensions and decorative scheme the jagamohana is a fitting prelude to the deul which soars high up be

hind, each affording a counterplay in the design of the other. The ancillary halls of the nata-mandapa and the bhoga-mandapa, though of later date, are very much of the same design as the jagamohana , and harmoniously fit into the architectural scheme of the whole; but they prolong the line of the structures rather inordinately.

Of the secondary structures within the courtyard of the Lihgaraja, mention should at least be made of the temple of Bhagavati which is a structural entity of high architectural merit and sculptural excellence. Were it not situated beneath the shadow of the mighty tower of the Lihgaraja, it would have ranked as a production of supreme grandeur and magnificence.

There are a number of votive inscriptions on the temple and its adjuncts. But none is earlier than the middle of the twelfth century A.D., which must be taken as the farthest limit of the date of the temple. Scholars have usually placed the Lihgaraja at about A.D. 1000. 25 But in view of the direction of architectural development, as outlined above, along with the fixed chronological point supplied by the Brahmesvara temple, the Lihgaraja has to be dated about A.D. 1100, certainly not earlier than the last quarter of the eleventh century.

A number of temples of the typical Orissan class may be found at Bhuvanesvara and other parts of Orissa. Few of them aspire to the massive grandeur and dignity of the Lihgaraja, but all are remarkable for their rich and finished appearance. Though in no way reaching the latter's standard of excellence, they abundantly testify to the prolific prevalence of the type through centuries. Of those at Bhuvanesvara mention should specially be made of the temple of Ananta Vasudeva (Fig. 13) which, though smaller in size and lesser in sanctity, is no less imposing. The only temple dedicated to the worship of Vishnu in this sacred fane of the god Siva, it approximates the Lihgaraja in its general arrangement and in having the four necessary adjuncts, all in the same axis and raised over a substantial terrace. The ascending heights of the pyramidal roofs of the two ancillary halls and the jagamohana provide an effect of which there is a parallel only in the celebrated temples of Khajuraho in Central India.

The famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri, still a very sacred place of pilgrimage, is, like the Lihgaraja, large and massive and consists also of the four usual elements within a quadrangular court, surrounded by two lines of enclosure walls and approached through the outer walls by means of four monumental portals, one on each side. The main entrance was on the east where stands a monolithic column, the Aruna stambha, transported from its original site in the precincts of the Sun temple at Konarak. Almost contemporaneous with the Lingaraja at Bhuvanesvara the temple was built practically on the same principles and likewise consists of four component parts, the two frontal ones being added later, probably about the fourteenth century A.D. The architectural effect of the temple, as it stands, is how r ever not up to the mark. In spite of its immense sanctity and its impressive size and massiveness the Jagannatha at Puri cannot claim to possess such sublime dignity as that of the Lirigaraja, probably on account of the fact that successive renovations, carried out at different periods, along with its annual coat of lime-wash, have resulted in a loss of its original grandeur.

The celebrated Sun temple at Konarak (Fig. 14), known as the black pagoda from its darkish colour seen from a distance, was built during the reign of Narasimha I (A.D. 1238-64). A noble conception initiated by a master mind and executed and finished by a master architect, it represents the crystallised and accumulated experience of several hundreds of years, and ably illustrates the fulfilment and finality of Orissan architectural movement. The tide of humanity has long drifted away from Konarak, leaving to posterity a supreme artistic creation, grand and impressive even in its ruin.

The temple, now a deserted fragment, is situated in the centre of a quadrangular court and is designed in the shape of a huge chariot drawn on exquisitely carved wheels by a team of seven spirited horses. The approach was from the east where a roofless structure confronts the visitor. This structure, the nata-mandapa, rests on an elaborately carved podium reached by long flights of steps, one on each side. On the east the stairway is flanked by two superb lions, each rampant on an elephant (Fig. 16). The motif is fairly prolific in Orissan art, but here in these two sculptures we have masterful portraits in which the nobility and vigour of the animals have been depicted in all truthfulness and vehemence. Unfortunately, the roof of this pretty little building has tumbled down. But to judge from the ruins around and on the analogy of structures of similar kind, the building must have been surmounted by a pyramidal roof resembling the massive pile that raises up its head behind. In its elegant proportions and elaborate carvings, inside and out, this battered structure is a suitable prelude to what awaits the visitor further on.

The position of the nata-mandapa as an isolated structure in front of the temple proper may be regarded as an improvement on the design which joins the four essential components in an axial line with the sanctum. The latter prolongs the length of the plan inordinately in comparison with its breadth and thus upsets the balance. At Konarak, not only is the ndta-mandapa planned as a detached building in front of the main temple group, but the bhogamandapa also appears as a separate building on one side. Their character and location not only proclaim a correct sense of grouping and architectural application, but also a reasoned co-ordination of all into a pleasing unified scheme with all the necessary components without in any way disturbing the balance and harmony of the composition.

Crossing the nata-mandapa one descends to the courtyard below where once stood the Aruna pillar, now shifted to Purl and placed in front of the Jagannatha temple there. From this position there spreads out before the spectator the enormous temple—the lofty towered sanctuary and the pyramidal pile of the jagamohana, i.e. the audience chamber, both united to represent the Sun chariot (Fig. 15). Soaring high up with its enormous mass borne on wheels, the temple symbolises, as it were, the majestic stride of the Sun god across the horizon of the sky, and no conception could have been more grand and expressive of the cosmic phenomenon which the Sun god stands for.

Apart from its spiritual significance the architectural character of the monument may also be described as superb. Both the sanctum and the jagamohana stand on a lofty basement the exuberance of which is itself a marvel. The frieze of elephants at the bottom all around represents this creature in every mood and action, playful and violent, and offers a substantial stylobate on which the ponderous burden rested. The skill with which the artists have portrayed every curve and lineament of the animal is proof positive that they must have had ample scope for studying the anatomy and appearance of this lordly beast. Above this frieze of elephants rise the bold mouldings of the basement which with their deep contrasts of light and shade accentuate the richness of the walls. The latter present a vast panorama of graceful sculptures, separated by richly adorned pilasters and broken by exquisitely patterned wheels of gigantic shape. Each of the wheels (Fig. 17) is 9 feet 8 inches in diameter, with rims 8 inches deep, axles protruding 11 inches, and 16 spokes alternatively thick and thin. Some of these are now mere things of shreds and patches. Those that have weathered the storm and stress of centuries are marvels of elaborate and intricate designs, the maximum of decoration being squeezed into the minimum of space.

Over this richly sculptured basement rises the temple pile, the sanctum and the jagamohana, each pancharatha in plan and consisting of five vertical sections as is typical in Orissa. Every ratha is further diversified into smaller facets. These divisions and subdivisions, richly embellished with elaborate carvings, are carried up along the height of the tower. Not only do they lighten the enormous mass by introducing pleasing varieties of lights and shades, but they also accentuate the soaring verticalism of the monument and impart to it a fluency and movement seldom paralleled in any other kind of building.

Around the walls of the sanctum, on the north, south and west, the visitor sees the Sun god in all his glory in elaborate recessed niches on the projection of the central ratha. The lofty curvilinear tower of the sanctum has, however, fallen down, and we miss the soaring grandeur of the sikhara. But the massive pile of the jagamohana in front, complete with its ponderous superstructure, partly compensates for the loss, and we are in a position to visualise the stupendous height of the fabric, when entire. The jagamohana is covered by the usual pyramidal roof in three stages (Fig. 15), surmounted by a fluted dome-shaped member and crowned by the gigantic amalaka-Hld. This kind of roof, usually associated with the jagamohana in Orissa, is itself highly expressive of the needs and functions which it serves. There is no roof in India where the same play of light and shade is obtained with an equal amount of richness and constructive propriety as in this instance, nor one that sits so gracefully on the base that supports it. Here at Konarak the design is perfectly harmonious on account of the added elevation of the different stages and the greater volume and plasticity which are imparted to this solid pile by the life-size sculptures of lively execution and alluring beauty that adorn each stage of the roof all around. These sculptures, with their superb modelling, the fulness of their forms, and their easy and graceful attitude and poses, add a new and striking note in the form of the Orissan jagamohanas.

Within the courtyard other stately buildings adorned the site, but only a heap of ruins now remains to indicate their former splendour. On the north and south there are imposing portals, the former flanked by two majestic elephants, and the latter by two prancing steeds. Architectonically treated, their massive strength and vigour, their passion and vehemence, are masterfully portrayed. In the whole range of world’s art it would be difficult to find more successful delineation of animal figures.

At Konarak the extraordinary genius of the architect and the sculptor combined to raise a sanctuary in honour of Sun god, the illuminator of the universe. Even in its ruin it illumines India and her art, and shines forth throughout the world as a momentous creation of human endeavour. When entire, the temple must have been one of the most exquisitely proportioned monuments ever known. Each part and each section harmoniously blended and mingled with one another and built up a perfect composition, so diversified and yet so marvellously unified. The intricate treatment of the walls with figures and decorative motifs of varied forms and manifestations has created, so to say, an inspired orgy of sculptural magnificence. Yet, everything is ordered and balanced and the entire monument vibrates with a rhythm and grandeur, unique in the world.

Though not coming within the general course of evolution of the Orissan type of temple, the Vaital deul (Fig. 18), situated by the side of the main road to the west of the Vindusarovara tank at Bhuvanesvara, is notable as belonging to a conception that is apparently alien to Orissa. It stands on a raised platform within a low enclosure wall and consists of a shrine chamber preceded by a porch hail in front. Unlike the usual type of the Orissan temple the sanctuary is rectangular in plan (18 feet by 25 feet) and is surmounted by a tower which is also of an unusual shape. The jagamohana in front, also of rectangular form and roofed as the jagamohana of the Parasuramesvara, presents a radical divergence in having a small replica of the triratha rekha temple embedded at each of its four corners. A similar arrangement of four replicas of the rekha at the four corners of the porch hall may be found in a temple at Baijnath (Kangra District), 26 though the hall there is surmounted by a pyramidal roof. Apart from its rectangular shape, the shrine proper of the Vaital deul exhibits many novel features. A significant deviation from the usual type may be recognised in the form of the gandi which, rising like that of the usual type up to a certain height, is surmounted by an elongated vaulted roof of two stages with a recess in between, further crowned by three dmalakas, each with the usual finials, placed along the ridge of the upper semi-circular vault. Moreover, the ground plan does not show any ratha projection on any face of the hdda and the exterior surfaces of the walls are treated and diversified in a manner that is entirely new, not only in Orissa, but also in the Nagara style of temple. All around the bada each wall is divided into richly patterned pilasters and recesses containing sculptures—an arrangement that is exactly similar to the treatment of the walls of the South Indian style of temple. The beginnings of such a treatment have already been traced to the storeyed temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. As a distinctive decorative pattern it becomes clearly established in the seventh century A.D., as we see in the Jain temple of Meguti (A.D. 634) at Aihole and the rock-cut rathas of Mahabalipuram of about the same period. A further link with South India is indicated by the semi-cylindrical vaulted roof, clear analogies of which are furnished by the Bhima

and Ganesa rathas at Mahabalipuram. Still earlier parallels of the shape of the roof, though not extant in structural form, are recognised in relief representations at Bharhut, Sanchl, etc. It should be stressed, however, that analogies with the south end with the shape of the roof and the manner of treatment of the exterior walls of the bdda. In their origins both these features were not particularly South Indian. Moreover, we miss here the storeyed arrangement of the tower which is distinctive of South Indian temples. Apart from these, the other essential arrangements of the Vaital deul, including the rise of its gandi up to a certain height, exhibit a more general conformity with the early N agar a form as presented in Orissa. Hence, though the tower presents a closer alliance with South India and the plan is rectangular, the distinctive quality of the architectural treatment of the temple may be regarded as derived from the Nagara style.

All over the building there is a profusion of carved work, elegant and graceful in an extreme measure. The pleasing proportions of the sanctum, the skilful disposition of its surfaces and decorative elements denote an aesthetic sense of a very high order. Many of its decorative elements closely approximate to those of the Parasuramesvara, with which it is clearly allied in general form and disposition of its jagamohana, as well as on stylistic considerations of its sculptures. The date of the Vaital deul cannot, therefore, be far removed from that of the Parasuramesvara.

Among the hundreds of temples at Bhuvanesvara the rather exotic shape of the Vaital deul marks it as having been derived from alien inspiration and assimilating extraneous influences. The shape of the temple, however, is recognised in the canonical texts of Orissa as forming a distinct class, known as the Khakhard. Miniature replicas.of the Khakhard often appear in relief in the surface decoration of the Orissan temples of orthodox shape and form, and a likely parallel, though much transformed on account of subsequent renovations, may be noticed in the Gauri temple at Bhuvanesvara. Another temple of the Vaital deul type may be seen in the little shrine of Durga at Badeivara (Cuttack). 27 It is a very near imitation of the prototype at Bhuvanesvara and like it also seems to have been a structure of remarkable beauty and excellence. A ruined temple at Ranipur Jharial (Patna State) 28 also appears, from its plan and arrangements of the hada , to have been a building of the Vaital deul type. Outside Orissa the type appears in the Teli-kamandir at Gwalior (Fig. 20), the Navadurga temple (Fig. 19) at Yagesvara (Almora District), 29 and also possibly in the rectangular temple, now ruined, at Osia, Rajputana. The Orissan texts of the

Silpasastras refer to three varieties of the Khakhara temple, namely the Dravida, the Vardti, and the Kosall. The first no doubt brings out the South Indian association of the type which is too apparent in the extant monuments to be missed.

Another interesting type of temple in Orissa may be found in the three ancient temples within the compound of the modern shrine of Ramesvara at Baudh. 30 Each of these temples stands on a raised platform and consists of a sanctum cella with its attached portico in front. Each is planned on the principle of two squares, placed diagonally and intersecting each other at angles of 45 degrees. The angular faces thus formed in the exterior walls of the temple give it the shape of an eight-pointed star. Each angular face is further subdivided into three facets and the entire design presents a charming arrangement of light and shade, accentuated still more by the intricate tracery work, with deep shadows in the interstices, characteristic of the ornamentation of the gandi. The angularities of the plan ascend in bold lines along the height of the gandi and convey an appearance of greater height than any of the temples really possesses. Barring the star-shaped plan the other arrangements of the bada and the gandi have striking affinities with those of the Bhuvanesvara temples qf the early phase. Elaborate carvings literally cover each one of the temples from the base to the top and the ornamentation is not inconsistent with the early phase of temples at Bhuvanesvara. In view of the general shape and form and plastic considerations of their sculptures, these temples may be referred to a date not far removed from that of the Muktesvara at Bhuvanesvara. Another temple of a similar plan may be recognised in a ruined brick monument at Kausuli near Ranlpur Jharial, old Patna State. 31 Only one wall of this building now remains. But the exterior face leaves no doubt about its plan being obtained on the principle of two intersecting squares, as in the above-mentioned temples of Baudh, to which, as the carvings indicate, it was probably co-eval in date.

This plan of intersecting squares is a rare occurrence in the early phase of the history of Indian temple architecture. But, along with the addition of graduated projections on each face of a square, this principle is also latent, as a parallel measure of elaboration, in the variegation of the ground plan and diversification of the walls of a Nagara temple. The former was no doubt the almost universal practice, but the latter, not entirely outside the scope of possible development of a Nagara temple, is also known to have been in use. A further advance on this simple plan may be recognised in a temple within the Nurpur fort 32 the ground plan (Text Fig. 3) of which, made of two intersecting squares, has the

angles of intersection filled up. Thus the temple assumes an octagonal shape with small projecting angles between the sides. This is one particular direction in the development of this plan. Another direction is supplied by the addition to the number of intersecting squares, developed particularly in the Chalukyan monuments of the eleventh-twelfth century A.D., a direction that clearly explains the full-fledged stellate plan of these monuments. 33

B. Central India

Central India had been the home of early sikhara temples, and a number of shrines in this part of the country provide a moving picture of the march of the sikhara style from its archaic beginnings in the fifth-sixth century A.D. to the emergence of the Ndgara form in the eighth. Moreover, temples in this region exhibit different expressions and manifestations which, though belonging to the Ndgara style in general, present significant varieties in contrast to the practically unilateral architectural movement in Orissa. The geographical position of Central India, accessible to impacts and influences from the west as well as from the east, might have been responsible for such varieties. In spite of different expressions we may recognise in the temples of this region certain distinctive features peculiar to this part of the country.

In an earlier section, in connection with the emergence of the Ndgara form, mention has been made of the early sikhara temples of Central India. The temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur 34 may be recognised as a lineal descendant of the early sikhara style, as represented by the temples at Pathari (Gwalior) and the Mahadeva temple at Nachna Kuthara. Built of large-sized red bricks over a raised terrace of cell foundations, the temple consisted of the sanctum proper 34a and a mandapa in front, with an ante-chamber (antardla) connecting the two. The mandapa, of which only the pillars remain, was, in-all probability, a later addition, as this adjunct is usually found to be absent in other early temples of this kind. The sanctum is pancharatha in plan, the rathas being carried upwards along the height of the sikhara. Here a greater variegation over the plan of the earlier examples is apparent from the addition to the number of projections on the outer wall, the gradually receding planes on each face thus leading to more attractive effects of light and shade. The projections, continued vertically, also emphasise the height of the tower. The bdda is divided into three sections—the pabhaga, the jahgha, and the baranda, the last consisting of two recessed friezes that separate the cube of the bdda from the gandi of the tower. The brick temple at Bhitargaon, belonging to a date several centuries earlier, has also two lines of recessed friezes demarcating the sikhara from the cube of the sanctum. Another peculiarity of the Sirpur temple is the triangular dormer opening over the doorway in front, a characteristic that is prominent in the early brick temples. The mouldings of the pabhaga and of the bara\ujia, as also the ratha projections, are boldly designed. Equally boldly designed false windows on the central projections on the three sides provide a singular harmony with the doorway in front. The principal decorative scheme consists of well-shaped chaityawindow motifs, finely cut and pleasingly disposed all over the exterior surface. The sikhara , tapering inwards, shows a vertical sequence of attached dmalakas at the corners, and though the top is damaged, it is easy to imagine, on the analogy of similar temples, that a flattened dmalaka-sild, supported on a recessed beki, crowned the sikhara. The brick-work is particularly good, the surface and joints being rubbed down to a beautifully smooth texture with bold, well-defined and sharp-cut ornaments. In the perfect disposition of its parts and in the richness and refinement of its surface, this battered structure at Sirpur is perhaps unsurpassed among the early N agar a temples of this region. The date of this interesting monument is not definitely known, and while some scholars place it in the seventh century A.D., others bring it down to the ninth. The treatment of the temple indicates a long experience in the art of building, particularly building in brick, and in the light of the stylistic development of the Ndgara temple in the different regions its date appears to be midway between the above two dates proposed by previous scholars. In Central India there had been a prolific activity in brick building about this period and fragmentary examples may still be seen in the two battered buildings at Kharod (Bilaspur District) 35 and one at Pujaripali (Sambalpur District). 36

A rather archaic form of the Ndgara temple in Central India may be seen in the temple of Vaidyanatha Mahadeva at Baijnath, 37 a small village, nine miles from Rewa. Unfortunately, a greater part of the sikhara has fallen down, but enough remains to provide an idea of its plan and elevation. The sanctum is triratha in plan and the bdda consists of the usual three sections, the baranda consisting simply of a recessed frieze. The sikhara inclines inwards and appears, from its preserved portion, to have a stunted elevation. The ornament, consisting chiefly of chaitya- window motifs, is simpler in execution. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji was inclined to identify the Baijnath temple with the one given by king Lakshmanaraja to the Saiva ascetic Hridayasiva, as mentioned in the Bilhari inscription. There is, however, no definite evidence to support this tentative suggestion. In plan, in elevation, and in general appearance the Baijnath has a close parallel in the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara and is nearer to the early sikhara temples. Hence, stylistically the Baijnath temple appears to be anterior to the brick temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur. A ruined temple of the Baijnath type and appearance may be found at Bargaon. 8 - The above temples represent an early phase of the N agar a style in Central India and are identical in form and appearance to analogous monuments distributed over different parts of Northern India and a substantial portion of the Deccan.

An interesting temple with characteristics of the early form affords an instructive example in the development of the distinctive Central Indian type. This is the well-preserved temple at Baroli (Fig. 21)," situated in a wild and romantic spot near the Chambal falls. In plan it is pahcharatha, but the bdda is divided into the usual three sections. The corners have sharp edges with the usual vertical sequence of angle-amala/cas. What is interesting is that the recessed beki in this temple is surmounted by a large-sized flattened dmalaka over which is placed again what looks like a second dmalaka supporting the kalasa nnial. The pagas, again, do not terminate at the end of the gancli but are continued beyond, each in the shape of a triangular finial that almost touches the dmalaka-sild. The double dmalaka and the continuation of the pagas beyond the top of the gandi are characteristics that belong to Central India, being unknown, except as aberrations, outside this area. Barring these two interesting features which are peculiar to Central India the temple closely agrees to the other examples of the early Ndgara form. From its shape and appearance the sanctuary appears to date from about the ninth century A.D.

In Central India the direction of development of the early Ndgara form is practically identical with that as outlined in case of Orissa. But the pillared halls, though apparently absent in the early phase of the development, come to play a prominent part in the composition of a Central Indian temple and become a necessary concomitant of the full-fledged local type. In this respect the type had had its associations with other parts of India, west as well as south.

A number of temples in Central India indicate a development that is essentially identical to that in Orissa. There is the same process of variegation by dividing the body both vertically and horizontally and by subdividing each such section. In Central India the process is carried a little further. For example, a Central Indian temple is usually saptaratha in plan and the cube of the bd^la is divided into seven sections by two bandhanas, while we do not meet with more than five such divisions in Orissa. The jangha, thus diversified, horizontally as well as vertically, offers a background for a moving pageant of elegant sculptures in various attitudes and poses, all conforming to the varied composition of the walls. The ga\idi of the sikhara is also correspondingly diversified by the continuation of the rathas as pagas, and soon, as already indicated in Orffcsa, by the appearance of anga-sikharas on the body of the main tower all around. In Central India the latter process was carried to its logical conclusion and clusters of cinga-sikharas, clinging to the body of the main tower, impart to it a plasticity and volume that are unknown in Orissa. Boldly projected and rising up one above the other they signify an impatient and restless upw T ard urge which, not infrequently, interferes with disciplined movement. In the Baroli temple we have already noticed two interesting features—one in the projection of the pagas beyond the top of the gandi and the other in two dmalakas crowning the sikhara. In the later examples such projection, confined to the rdhd-paga only, became a singular characteristic of the Central Indian temple. The second, the double dmalaka, also proved to be distinctive of Central India, two dmalakas being invariable not only as surmounting the top of the main sikhara but also those of the anga-sikharas.

The place of the vestibule (antardla) and the pillared audience hall (manclapa) in Central Indian temples has already been indicated. The former has been an inseparable element even from the earliest times, and the latter, though probably absent in the earlier examples, comes, later on, to occupy an important position in the regular temple scheme. Preceding it again there is placed another smaller hall (ardha-mandapa) , serving as a portico with its entrance projected and leading to the tall flight of steps that forms an impressive approach. All these, one after the other, represent a continuous scheme resulting in a plan elongated along the axial line, the entire complex of structures being raised over a substantial and solid terrace. Some of the important Orissan temples also exhibit four component elements in axial length, but there the disposition and details of the adjuncts are different. Again, the halls in Orissa are usually astylar, but in Central India columns and pillars form important elements of the scheme. The roof in each hall is placed over a dome supported on pillars. -These pillars and architraves over which the ceilings are placed offer suitable backgrounds for lavish carvings, and hence the interiors of these halls are also richly ornamented in strong contrast to the bare and dull appearance of the interiors of the Orissan halls. The halls in Orissa are closed, but here they are open on the three sides, the openings between the pillars forming balconied windows shaded by projecting eaves. Along the sides there are seais (kakshdsanas) with sloping balustrades. The sides of the mandapa hall form transepts in the more developed examples, and they go round the sanctum cella and are provided with balconied windows on three of its sides. These openings not only provided well-lighted hails, in contrast to the gloomy interiors of similar Orissan adjuncts, but also throw intense shadows athwart the intermediate portion of the building complex providing a significant contrast to the solids in the lower and upper sections of the temple scheme. This contrast of solids and voids lends an effect which is seldom paralleled in any other region of India.

In the superstructures of these adjuncts and their elevation a general likeness may be recognised in the arrangement of the pidha deuls in Orissa. In Central India, as in Orissa, each of these halls is distinguished by a separate roof. Ascending in graduated heights they sweep up to the lofty sikhara of the sanctum, suggestive of the rising peaks of a mountain range converging on to the highest point. This effect of the elevation may be recognised, to a certain extent, in the temple of Ananta Vasudeva at Bhuvanesvara (Fig. 13). The roofs are composed of horizontal strata of tiers upon tiers in receding stages. The surface texture of these roofs is thus essentially the same as in Orissa, with the only difference that the bell-shaped member, which we find in the full-fledged Orissan pidha deul intervening between the last stage of the pidha and the ama\aka, is absent in Central India. The contour also, instead of being that of an Orissan straight-edged pyramid, conforms more to that of a domical shape. The last is no doubt dictated by the method of interior construction of such roofs in Central India.

The above characteristics, gradually evolved, together with the singular features of the double dmalaka and the rdhd-paga projecting beyond the gandi, constitute the distinctive traits of the Central Indian type of the Ndgara style. The Kandarya Mahadeo temple at Khajuraho (old Chhatarpur State) represents the most notable creation of the Central Indian movement. It has to be stressed, however, that the type was the result of a gradual evolution, the course of which is indicated by several interesting temples in different parts of Central India.

An early phase in the transition is represented by the Visvanatha temple at Maribagh (old Rewa State). 40 Pancharatha in plan and with a fivefold division of the bada, the temple shows an advancement on the earlier design. Temple type of this kind had

a much wider distribution and may be placed between the ninthtenth century A.D.

Amarkantak, reputed to be the source of the rivers, the Narmada, the Son and the Mahanadi, was a very sacred place in ancient times and a number of beautiful temples 41 adorned the site in days gone by. Many of them are now in ruins, but among the remains that still stand there are a few which, on analysis, may be found to represent important developments. The temples of Kesavanarayana and Machchhendranatha, situated contiguous to each other, are practically identical in design with only slight variations in minor details. Each of the temples consists of a sanctum, an antardla and a mandapa joined in axial length. The sanctum cube in each case is pancharatha in plan and has a fivefold division along the vertical axis. The pagas in each project beyond the top of the gandi which is surmounted by two dmalakas. The surface of the tov/er is ornamented by shallow-cut chaitya- window motifs of tracery-like execution. The body of the cube is sparse of sculptural decoration, except in the central ratha divided into two tiers by the bandhand moulding. The antardla is covered by a straightedged gable superstructure of sharp outline. The mwidapa is square in plan, with kakshasanas, sloping balustrades, overhanging eaves around, and is open on all sides except for the pillars that support the roof. The latter consists of a pyramidal superstructure (now broken away in case of the Machchhendranatha) rising in horizontal tiers, receding gradually, and crowned at the apex by dmalakas and the usual finials. In the Kesavanarayana the roof rests on the pillars that go round the hall, but in the Machchhendranatha a group of four columns in the centre has been provided for to support the roof, in addition to the pillars around the hall. In the Patalesvara temple (Fig. 22), also at Amarkantak, we have an identical composition, its plan, elevation and appearance representing a very close approximation to the Machchhendranatha.

In these temples the sanctum, the antardla and the mandapa form parts of a unified scheme and thus they represent an advancement from the early N agar a form towards the typical Central Indian design. The sikhara over the sanctum with its emphasis on pleasing contour and unbroken mass is still of the early Ndgara form, but with its shape and appearance, in its projecting pagas and double amalaka , there is perhaps a faint approach towards the shape and appearance of the typical Central Indian temple.

The triple-shrined temple, traditionally ascribed to Raja Karao Dahariya (Raja Kama of Dahala), at Amarkantak belongs also to

this phase, though we have a novel design here in the arrangement of three sanctuaries on three sides of a central mandapa hall.

Each of the shrines is saptaratha in plan and consists of seven segments along the vertical axis. The seven-fold division of the bada is an advancement over the five-fold one, and though inherent in the logic of development of the Nagara temple, it is a feature, particularly characteristic of the typical Central Indian temple and not met with elsewhere. The sikhara in each case sweeps up with unbroken contour, the rdha-paga on each face projecting beyond the top of the gandi which is crowned by two dmalakas .

This triple-shrined temple with the superb magnificence of its three tall towers of chaste and graceful outline soaring above the pyramidal pile of the mandapa in the centre represents a novel design of temple complex in Central India. Though rare in Central India, it was widely prevalent in Western India, including Khandesh, and also in the Chalukyan regions in later times. In Central India other temples of this design may be found at Deoguna (Jaso State) and at Kukdeswar (Indore).

Closely allied to the Amarkantak group is the great temple of Viratesvara Siva at Sohagpur (old Rewa State), 42 which represents a further stage in the evolution of the Central Indian type. The temple consists of the sanctum, an antardla, a mandapa hall and an ardha-mandapa or portico, all on the same axis, one after the other, on a common law platform. By the addition of the ardha-mandapa in front of the mandapa hall the Central Indian temple complex reaches its typical form. In plan the sanctum is saptaratha and is correspondingly divided into seven segments along the vertical axis. The jahgha, divided into three sections by two bdndhands of two bands each, serves as a background for three tiers of sculptures of elegant shapes and forms that add a richness and variety to the sanctum walls, in contrast to the rather tame treatment of these wall sections in the earlier examples. The baranda, separating the cube of the sanctum from the body of the sikhara , again consists of a number of banded mouldings, projected and recessed alternately. The sikhara rises in seven pagas with the rahas projecting beyond the top of the gandi and is crowned by three dmalakas.

At the base of the sikhara there appears a new feature of ornamentation, hitherto unknown in Central India. A line of miniature sikhara replicas (ahga-sikharas) of varying and progressively increasing heights surround the body along the pagas, the rahc. on each face repeating the pattern on a bigger scale. This kind of ornamentation, as already indicated, was latent in the evolutionary process of the Nagara temple. In the full-fledged Central Indian

temple we have perhaps the most emphatic expression of this mode, as we see in the celebrated Kandarya Mahadeo temple at Khajuraho. In the Viratesvara at Sohagpur we recognise an early stage of this process in which the anga-sikharas cover only the lower portion of the main tower. The major portion of the sikhara, left uncovered, shows the traceried pattern of chaitya- windows in shallow relief, as we have in the early temples.

The antardla in front of the sanctum is covered, as usual, by a gable roof attached to the front face of the sikhara. An advance on the harsh outline of this feature in the earlier monuments may be recognised in the Viratesvara in the attempt to break up the outline into a number of sections. In front of the antardla stands the mandapa hall with kakshasanas. In the Amarkantak group this component was of square shape. But in the Viratesvara at Sohagpur the mandapa assumes a cruciform shape on account of the balconied windows at the sides and the ardha-mandapa projected in front.

The interior of the mandapa hall also offers some instructive features. Like the Kesavanarayana and the Machchhendranatha at Amarkantak the mandapa roof is supported on the pillars going around the hall, there being no additional central group as in the Patalesvara. The square is converted into an octagon by massive architraves placed diagonally on the supporting pillars and thus cutting off the corners. Over this octagonal frame of architraves is another octagonal course and on this are supported the overlapping concentric rings of a great trabeate dome, fretted and coved all over. In plan, in elevation, in structural means and in decorative scheme the Viratesvara temple at Sohagpur offers the nearest approach to the distinctive Central Indian type as represented by the magnificent temples at Khajuraho.

Stylistically and constructionally the temples at Amarkantak and Sohagpur represent a distinct phase in the evolution of the Central Indian type of temple and have to be placed midway between the Visvanatha temple at Maribagh, an example of the general Ndgara class of the ninth-tenth century A. D., and the typical Central Indian temples at Khajuraho, the chronology of which remains still to be settled. The Khajuraho temples have generally been placed within a century between A.D. 950 and 1050, 43 in the period in which the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti were predominant in this region. The stylistic and structural considerations, however, tell a different tale. The Khajuraho temples, at least the more important ones, represent an accumulated and crystallised experience and indicate, in every sense, the fulfilment and finality of a long anterior develop ment. Our knowledge of architectural movement in Central India and in other localities does not quite fit in with the above chronology of the Khajuraho temples, though it is usually accepted. It is true that there have been found inscriptions at the place ranging in date from A.D. 953 to'1001, but it is not always clear to which particular temples they apply. The usual chronology of these temples, settled with reference to such inscriptions, may therefore be regarded as rather tentative. No local art movement, much less the Central Indian one due to its geographical position, can be regarded as an isolated episode. It is generally related to other developments that are taking place elsewhere. The direction of architectural movements in different parts of India, coupled with the chronological data supplied by the temples of known date, would indicate that none of the temples at Khajuraho, even those which on account of style may be regarded as the earliest, can be dated prior to the second half of the eleventh century A.D. The Visvanatha temple at Maribagh belongs to the general class of the Nagar a style, and with reference to the temples of this class in different localities cannot be placed earlier than the ninth century A.D. The gradual advancement of this design towards the typical Central Indian one, along the lines described above, denotes a transitional process covering a rather long period, particularly in those days of slow movement. The temples at Amarkantak and Sohagpur, together with temples of identical design and form at Khajuraho and other places, belong to this transitional phase which may roughly be placed between the ninth and the eleventh centuries A.D. In Orissa, as already indicated, the distinctive local type comes into view not before the close of the eleventh century A.D., and in Central India, too, the typical Central Indian temple takes its shape at about the same period.

But the fact remains that there was a prolific architectural activity at Khajuraho in the second half of the tenth century A.D., as the inscriptions, found at the place abundantly testify. It is significant again that this activity, so far as epigraphic data are concerned, ceased abruptly about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The first half of the eleventh century A.D. was a critical period for the Chandella dynasty, partly owing to the rise of the Kalachuris, and mainly on account of the invasions of SultSn Mahmud who advanced as far as Kalahjara, not far from Khajuraho. A cruel invader, intent on sack, pillage, plunder and iconoclasm, Mahmud had left signs of wanton destruction wherever he went, and it is not unlikely that the monuments of an earlier building activity at Khajuraho, to which the inscriptions amply testify, suffered irreparable damage. As noted above, the Chandellas again rose to power in the second half of the eleventh century A.D., and the temples that now

stand in all their glory at Khajuraho very probably belonged to this' period.

The straggling village of Khajuraho contains at present over thirty temples, large and small, in various stages of preservation. The monuments are distributed among the three great religious systems—Saivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism—and in each group there is one, or more, greater than the rest. In the Saiva group wo have the Kandarya Mahadeo and the Visvanatha, in the Vaishnava the Ramachandra or Chaturbhuja, and in the Jain the Parsvanatha. It is these temples, more than any other, which represent the Central Indian temple in its best and most complete manifestation. In plan and elevation, in form and appearance they are all alike, and are to be distinguished only by certain details as regards their expression. The temple complex consists of the sanctum (garbha griha), the antarala, the mandapa and the ardha-mandapa, with the projected portico in front, all on the same axis one after the other, and raised on a substantial masonry terrace, the adhishthana or the socle. Each temple, so constituted, appears to represent a unified design, and sometimes the main temple is flanked at each corner of the adhishthana by a supplementary shrine, thus forming a complete panchayatana group. But the accommodation of a temple within a quadrangular enclosure, though customary in other parts of India, is unknown to Khajuraho.

In spite of this general agreement in plan and composition, which is evidently due to one and the same stylistic movement, the Khajuraho temples can nevertheless be distinguished in the details of their expression. The distinctions represent the successive manifestations of one single movement, indicating a steady onward march, culminating in its most complete expression in the grand and magnificent pile of the Kandarya Mahadeo. From the elevational aspect the temples may be divided into two broad groups— those with repetitions of miniature tov/er replicas (anga-sikharas) attached to the main sikhara all around, and those without. From the standpoint of plan and composition again, two distinct groups may be recognised according as there are transepts, forming an inner passage of ambulation around the main cella of the sanctum, or not. As a general rule, the temples without the transepts around the sanctum cella and without the anga-sikharas, precede those that possess these significant characteristics with which the typical Central Indian temple reaches its complete form 44 Stvlistically, however, the two groups are very close to each other, the one representing just a stage prior to the evolution of the other, and, to a certain extent, chronological overlappings, usual in such circumstances, are not unlikely.

Following the sequence of evolutionary process, outlined above, the account of the Khajuraho temples should begin with the Vamana (Fig. 23) and the AdinStha (Fig. 24) temples which are practically of an identical design. The sanctum of the former is saptaratha in plan, but the cube is divided into five vertical segments only. The contour of the tower is not broken up by any superposed miniature replica (ahga-sikhara) and its surface is ornamented by minute and interlacing patterns of chaitya-windows, looking almost like fretwork. The sanctum walls below are, however, decorated by elegant mouldings and graceful sculptures whose modelling and execution are in the best traditions of mediaeval art. To some extent, the sikhara has a stunted appearance as in the earlier temples of the general Nagara class, and the rahas also end at the top of the gandi. But such features as the double amalaka and the treatment of the walls of the sanctum cube indicate a developed phase of the Central Indian architectural movement to which its other elements, like the antardla, the mandapa and the ardha-mandapa together with their disposition, are closely related.

The Adinatha (Fig. 24) represents a small but exquisite structure by the side of the great Parsvanatha temple. Its mandapa and other usual adjuncts either did not exist originally or were removed and replaced in modern times by a brick construction, abominable in its glaring incongruity. Rising on a high adhishthana the sanctum is saptaratha in plan and correspondingly has a seven-fold division of the hada. The sanctum walls are decorated by three tiers of sculptures, each of alluring beauty and in every way comparable to the best temple sculpture of the age. The sikhara rises in seven pagas with the rahas projecting beyond the top of the gan$i and almost touching the lower of the two amalakas which surmount the recessed heki. What is interesting is that the konakas also continue beyond the height of the gandi, a feature that gets an added emphasis in the great Parsvanatha temple. The shape of the sikhara is more elongated than that of the Vamana, and the surface, unburdened by any duplicated miniature, is richly fretted with delicate interfacings of chaitya- opening patterns. It is perhaps the most finished creation of the Central Indian architectural movement just prior to the emergence of its complete and full-fledged form.

The majority of the Khajuraho temples, however, belong to the second group i.e. with the anga-sikhara clustered around the body of the main tower. Interesting examples may be seen in the Bharatji or Chitragupta, the Devi Jagadamba (Fig. 27), the Kunwar Math (Fig. 25), the Ramachandra or Chaturbhuja (Fig. 26), the ParSvanatha (Fig. 29), the Viivanatha (Fig. 28), and last, the most impres

sive of all, the Kandarya Mahadeo (Fig. 30). They are fundamentally of the same design and composition and consist of the characteristic component elements with practically identical arrangements and dispositions. But even within this group there is a divergence in an important respect. None of the temples surveyed up till now have an ambulatory contained within the mass of the structure. But each of the last four temples of this group, representing the most complete expression of the Central Indian type, has an enclosed inner ambulatory, formed by the extension of the transepts of the mandapa hall around the sanctum cella. This ambulatory again has the usual projected window openings on three of its sides just as in the frontal parts of the temple complex. The temple with the inner ambulatory is known as the sdndhdra prasada, while the one without as the nirandkdra prasada. The earliest example of the sdndhdra prasada, so far as extant monuments are concerned, may be recognised in the second group of Gupta temples. 44a In those days this plan was more or less widespread, being found over a large area in the north as well as in the south. But gradually the plan became localised in the south. The mediaeval temples of this plan in certain regions of Northern India like those of Khajuraho, probably indicate the influence of the building traditions of the south.

In these two well-marked divisions of the temples at Khajuraho, with repetitions of anga-sikharas on the tower, it is likely that the one without the inner ambulatory (nirandhara) is stylistically anterior to that which is furnished with it (sdndhdra), though the two are very close to each other, but for this significant distinction. A minute comparison of the forms and appearances of these two divisions of temples and their decorative scheme may also lend some support to the hypothesis of a posterior date to the sdndhdra temples. As a rule, the sdndhdra prdsadas are more elaborate and exuberant than the nirandhara ones, their bewildering wealth of ornament and variegation indicating the finality of the movement just prior to dessication and decadence.

Among the nirandhara temples of this division the Devi Jagadamba (Text Fig. 4; Fig. 27) and the Kunwar Math (Fig. 25) were impressive productions, though the latter is much damaged. Both have the same exuberance of sculptures and rich ornamentation, pleasingly balanced by the variegated treatment of the sikhara by smaller replicas reduplicated all around. In the Kunwar Math, however, the sikhara is surrounded by regular and successive rows of smaller replicas, practically of identical heights, along the receding planes of the pagas. In this respect the Kunwar Math strikes a new

note in the sikhara design which has parallels further towards the west.

Of the sandhara temples the sanctum in the Ramachandra or Chaturbhuja (Fig. 26) is pancharatha and panchanga, the other temples showing the seven-fold division horizontally as well as vertically. The extension of the transepts of the mandapa around the sanctum forms an inner ambulatory around the garbha-griha, provided on three sides by projecting windows with sloping balustrades and overhanging eaves as in those of the mandapa and the ardha mandapa. Along the entire central zone of the temple complex there runs thus a line of voids (cf. Figs. 26 and 28) that gracefully relieves the solids in the low’er and upper sections. Hitherto such voids have been confined to the mandapa and the ardha-mandapa only. Their provision on the sanctum walls perfects the design and adds to the impressive character of the monument as a whole. The roof of the mandapa is nearer to the typical Orissan pidhas, on account of its having a pyramidal outline and the bell-shaped member, usual in Orissa but unknown in Central India, intervening between the last stage of the pyramid and the dmalaka.

The Parsvanatha temple (Fig. 29), the holiest of the Jain group at Khajuraho, is one cf the most elaborate productions, though much reduced in size. It comprises an oblong structural scheme with a projected portion at each end of the sanctum—the one in front forming the mandapa hall and the other at the back an attached outside shrine. Though there is an enclosed passage around the sanctum cella, in continuation of the transepts of the mandapa hall, the, projected balconied windows on the sides are singularly absent, thus resulting in an almost complete elimination of any voids in the temple walls. There is only a small latticed window on the central ratha on each face for admission of light and air into the enclosed inner ambulatory, but they are so disposed as not to interfere with the predominantly sculptural scheme of the whole. The lack of contrast between the solids and the voids, that constitutes a striking and pleasing characteristic of the Khajuraho temples, gives the Parsvanatha a monotonous and overburdened appearance which its exuberant wealth of sculptural elegance could hardly compensate for.

Of the Saiva group of temples the most important are the Visvanatha and the Kandarya Mahadeo, which illustrate the Central Indian architectural movement in its richest and most finished expressions. In these two magnificent monuments, representing the final results of a long anterior development, the experience of successive ages is found in a mature and crystallised state. The Visvanatha (Fig.28) is the smaller of the two and stylistically makes the nearest approach to the imposing and impressive pile of the Kandarya Mahadeo. In plan and composition, in shape and appearance, the two are identical, but in the Kandarya Mahadeo the effect is much richer and grander, expressive of an abler and more skilful disposition of its various parts and their decorative elements.

The Kandarya Mahadeo temple (Text Fig. 5; Fig. 30) stands on a high terrace and comprises the usual component elements. In vertical section the temple is seen to be a mountain of masonry with its volumes and masses moving in an upward direction until they reach the peak. According to the scared literature, Siva, the god enshrined in the temple, has his abode in the

Kailasa mountain, and this temple, which has the appearance of a mountain in exterior elevation, may be described as a fitting sanctuary for the lord of the mountains created by human endeavour.

The sanctum is saptaratha in plan and consists of the seven segments along the vertical axis. This arrangement is typical of the Central Indian temple of full-fledged design. On the lofty basement terrace rises the emphatically high plinth or pdbhaga sloping upwards in a succession of bold mouldings with prominent passages of light and shade. Over this rises the central zone of the wall section, the jdngha, divided into five segments, the two bandhanas separating the three elaborate tiers of sculptures. Following the alternate projections and recesses of the plan these life-like forms, "shapely in appearance, exquisite in workmanship and of inexhaustible interest", present a moving pageant of sculptured grace. This decorative arrangement constitutes a remarkable characteristic of the Khajuraho temples, each building accommodating such friezes in proportion to its size. In the Kandarya Mahadeo we have nearly 900 such sculptures, each slightly less than life-size, and it is no wonder that with such animated throng of plastic forms ever present on the walls, the structure pulsates with a vitality not ordinarily met with in building art.

Several courses of barania mouldings, admirable again in the disposition of light and shade, separate the wall section from that of the towered superstructures. Here the analogy with a mountain range is complete, not only on account of the graded heights of the superstructures of the different components rising and falling alternately and ultimately converging on the main tower, but also in the multitudinous peaks, in the shape of anga-sikharas, arrayed round the main sikhara , that lead the eye towards the topmost pinnacle (Fig. 31). The entire mass of the tower is thus broken up by deep indentations and appears to be weightless. The upward urge, thus

emphasised, though restless in movement, seems to lend to the entire monument a striking quality of aspiring verticalism. The ascent, though broken up and dissolved in separate volumes and masses, is not without a rhythm of its own, as every lineament is principally governed by the fundamental scheme laid down in the plan and elevational aspect of the entire monument.

The different adjuncts of the sanctum have their separate superstructures, graded in height towards the main tower (Text Fig. 6). The antardla has the usual gable roof, exquisitely rich in treatment. The mandapa and the ardha-mandapa are each roofed by a trabeate dome with similar supplementary superstructures clustering around and subordinated to it in the same way as are the anga-sikharas to the main sikhara . The main superstructure in each is crowned by the amalaka and the kalasa. The progressive and repeated ascent and descent of the different superstructures converging on the pinnacle of the sikhara , as seen in the lateral view, produce a remarkable ensemble which is not visible, however, in the front where the several roofs seem "to coincide in one comprehensive outline." 45 Thus every lineament, how T ever varied in treatment and articulation, is summed up in a final unity.

The interior of this temple complex, because of the variety and multiplicity of its details, is no less impressive. The entrance, which is on the east, is approached by a steep flight of steps, imposing in its dignity. The exquisitely carved doorway shows a foliated form of strut attached to the bottom of the lintel, a pleasing motif repeated also in the ornamental doorway to the sanctum cella. The frontal doorway leads to a passage expanding into the rectangular ardhamandapa and next to the square mandapa hall, each a hypostyle with open sides. The transepts on either side of the mandapa extend around the sanctum and connect with the boldly projecting balcony windows. The disposition of the interior complex is replete with notable features, functional and at the same time highly decorative. The ceilings of the different superstructures are no doubt made up of oversailing courses of masonry. The limitations of this elementary structural procedure necessitated the reduction of spans by underpinning, and it is this necessary function which the pillars effectively serve. We may take, for instance, the roof of the mandapa hall. The four central pillars support a frame of architraves. The square, thus formed, is transformed into an octagon and next the ceiling goes up in overlapping concentric courses until at the top it is closed by a single disc. A pendant projects downwards from this apex which is just below the pinnacle on the summit. Smaller trabeated domes cluster around the central dome, just a reflex in the interior of the arrangement of the supplementary superstruc tures around the main one. This simple arrangement has been given a magnificently ornamental treatment and the almost bewildering wealth of decoration defies description. The floors of the different components of the structure are not on one level and in their disposition one may also recognise the same ideas of vertical ascent of the monument as seen in the exterior. The ardha-maridapa leads up to a raised dais in the centre of the manfapa from which the antardla is, again, on a higher level, and finally another series of steps leads up to the garbha-griha. Not only in the solid masses of the superstructure, but also in the disposition of the hollow parts, the same aspiration for verticalism is equally apparent, the former leading up to the pinnacle of the sikhara, the latter to the holiest of the holies, the garbha-griha.

The Kandarya Mahadeo at Khajuraho represents the finality of the Central Indian architectural movement—a consummation of a fruitful evolutionary process—and is at once brilliant in its conception and the most imposing in its perfect finish and grace. Central India affords many other temples of this type, but none can equal it in its flawless proportions, the orderly and harmonious disposition of its various parts * its sculptured grace pulsating with vibrant, yet restrained, energy, or in the pleasing ensemble of the various lineaments of the superstructure with the aspiring spire of the vimdna dominating and controlling the entire scheme. Exuberant in details, architectural as well as sculptural, that may appear to be seemingly restless, there is no sign of disorderliness in the entire monument, and all have been drawn up in the bold sweep of the rhythmically compact sikhara. It fully deserves the high encomium lavished upon it by critics of art in modern times. 46

The Ghantai temple (Fig. 33) at Khajuraho, as it now stands, appears to be of an entirely different character. It is now in an extremely fragmentary state and a few pillars that remain represent but a mere shell of what was apparently a great conception. The pillars are arranged on a moulded plinth in two squares set apart from each other, the frontal one evidently constituting the portico, and the rear, the mandapa. The antardla and the garbha-griha, which apparently stood behind, have now disappeared, and it is the absence of these two elements and of the enclosing walls and superstructures that lends a singular appearance to the monument. The pillars now stand alone, and in the beauty of their form and proportions and the chasteness of their ornamentation they evince almost a classic dignity.

A few of the temples representing exceptional types in Central India should also be discussed in this connection for completing the account of the architectural movement in this region during the mediaeval period. The two four-faced square temples at Khajuraho 47 present unusual appearance when compared to the temples at the site already described. They are the temples of Brahma and of Myitang Mahadeo (Mrityunjaya Mahadeva), the former on the east bank of Khajur Sagar and the other situated close to the Ramachandra or Chaturbhuja temple. Each of them (Text Figs. 7 and 8) represents a shrine, square on the inside and cruciform outside, the projection in the centre of each of the four walls being provided with an opening. The opening on the east forms the main entrance with a flight of stairs in front. In the temple of Brahma the other three openings are closed by stone lattices of simple but different patterns, but in the Mritang Mahadeo all the four openings are left clear, the eastern one serving as a vestibule leading to the interior of the sanctum from the open portico hall, provided in front, and the other three as open balconies. The roof is pyramidal, formed of overlapping courses in gradually receding tiers, almost similar in form and construction as the superstructures of the marydapa halls. The type is nothing new as it represents the regular form of a mandapa hall in different parts of India. The idea of a sanctum with the four sides open is, however, novel during this period, and not a little interest attaches to these temples because the sanctum in each case is roofed over by a pyramidal superstructure, and not by a curvilinear sikhara which is the usual rule. In the Bhaskaresvara temple at Bhuvanesvara we have an Orissan parallel of this kind of shrine.

In Central India, apart from the square temples and different manifestations of them, we are also familiar with temples of circular shape and plan. Two representative examples of this group may be mentioned here, one at Gurgi Masaun (twelve miles east of Rewa town), and the other at Chandrehe, also in the old Rewa State (Text Fig. 9). The former is in a dilapidated condition, most of the sikhara having gone, but the latter (Fig. 32) is found to be in an excellent state of preservation. Both belong to the same conception and were approximately of the same period. There is a possibility, again, that the two were erected by one and the same person, the abbot Prasantasiva of the Mattamayura sect of the Saivas, about the middle of the tenth century A.D. 48 Each of the temples has a sanctum, circular both inside and out, with an antarala and an open mavdapa projecting from the front.

Apart from the circular plan of the sanctum, which is certainly a novel feature, these two temples are closely related to the Central Indian architectural movement in the compositional arrangement of the different components as well as in the essential features of their elevation and scheme of decoration.

Reference may be made in this connection to a few brick temples in Uttar Pradesh which offer certain interesting analogies to the circular temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi lVlasaun. Mention should first be made of a temple at Parauli in the Kanpur District 49 which presents us with a circular plan of the garbha-griha internally, though externally it is a polygon of sixteen sides with three of the sides cut off possibly to form the entrance facade. Other temples of such external shape and appearance are also found at Kurari in the Fatehpur District, 50 where, however, the interior of th£ garbha-griha is of a square plan. As usual in brick architecture, each of the temples is covered by a double dome constructed on the corbel principle. Because of the clear definition of the different faces and deep-cut traceries covering the entire surface from the base to the summit, the effect and appearance of each of the temples are decidedly good, and it is a pity that none of them is sufficiently preserved to enable us to form a complete idea of this type of monuments which indicate, no doubt, a new direction in the development of the North Indian temple style. Another temple of an external circular shape, though square internally, is found at Tinduli in the Fatehpur District. 51 The temple has also an appearance and effect not unlike those of the group mentioned above. In this predilection for a circular plan, whether in the exterior or in the interior, or in both as in the case of the temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi Masaun, Central India and the Gangetic region may be found to have interesting links with each other.

Mention should also be made here of a few other temples in Central India built on the principle of circles so far as the exteriors are concerned. At

Arang in the Raipur District 52 there is a dilapidated temple of the name of Bhand Dewal which, except for its plan, offers a general resemblance to the temples of the Central Indian type. What is interesting is that though the sanctum is square internally, externally the plan is based on that of a circle, and not on that of a square which is the usual rule. The circumference of the circle has, however, straight faces on the principal directions, that to the front having been occupied by the usual frontal components of the temple complex. The arcs intermediate between the straight faces are each cut up into three right-angled indentations, the spaces between these indentations being again straight-faced on the periphery of an inner circle running along the recessed points of the right-angled indentations. The plan is, no doubt, a novel one and has almost the shape of a star if the principal straight faces are ignored. Another modification of this principle may, again, be recognised in the brick temple of Savarl-Narayana (Seorinarayana) near Kharod, 53 in the Bilaspur District. In this temple

the intermediate arcs of the circle between the straight faces are each cut up into five regular right-angled indentations at the back and into two in front, the remaining portion of the circle in front having been occupied by the frontal adjuncts of the manfapa and the portico, now entirely gone. But for the straight faces the plan is obtained on the principle of a rotating square round a central axis. In principle both the temples belong to the same conception and may be said to be of rare occurrence in Central India, but characteristic of the temples of the Dakhan. A temple at Rahilya, near Mahoba, and the Nilakantesvara temple at Udayapura, in the old Gwalior State, each exhibits a plan like that of the Savari-Narayana and indicates a wider distribution for such a type of temples. Indeed, such a conception appears to be an extension in Central India from regions lying further in the south-west.

To complete the account of unusual types of Central Indian temples reference should be made to the peripteral shrines dedicated to the worship of the Chauhshat Yoginis associated with the cult of Sakti. Such temples are usually characteristic of Central Indian territories, though one or two examples may be found far beyond the geographical limits of Central India. Generally, such a temple takes the shape of an open circular court enclosed by a peripheral colonnade with chapels enshrining the images of the sixtyfour Yoginis and occasionally of some accessory divinities as well, and a principal shrine,—sometimes accommodated in the centre of the peripheral chapels, sometimes in the centre of the open court—, being occupied by the image of an aspect of &akti. The Chauhshat Yogini temple at Bheraghat, 54 near Jabalpur, is 116 feet in internal diameter with eighty-one peripheral chapels together with a central shrine containing an image of Uma-Mahesvara. This temple might have belonged to the ninth or tenth century A.D., though the possibility of a much earlier date for the shrine cannot be entirely ruled out. The Chauhshat Yogini temple at Mitauli, near Padhauli, 55 may be ascribed to the eleventh century A.D. It is 120 feet in diameter, has sixty-five peripheral chapels and a circular central shrine with a mandapa in front. Circular Yogini temples are also found at Ranipur Jharial (Text Fig. 10) in the old Patna State, 66 at Dudahi in the Lalitpur District, 67 and in the old Kalahandl State. 58 All of them seem to belong to the early mediaeval period. The type seems to have extended as far south as Coimbatore where it is represented by a solitary example reproducing its essential elements. The Chauhshat Yogini temple at Khajuraho 69 is rectangular in plan—an exceptional design in this kind of temples (Text Fig. 11). The central quadrangle measures 102 feet by 59£ feet, and is surrounded by sixty-four peripheral chapels, all around, and one larger in the back

wall, no doubt representing the main shrine. Each of these is surmounted by a small sikhara, essentially of Nagara design, though crowned by more than one amalaka in the characteristic Central Indian fashion. The Khajuraho temple seems to have belonged to a date slightly later than that of the Bheraghat one. Coomaraswamy 60 has made the following interesting observation regarding the association of temples of this design. “It may be remarked that early examples of similar plans, based no doubt on still earlier Indian prototypes, can be recognised in the case of more than one Gandharan monastery shrine, e.g. Jamalgarhi and Takht-i-Bahi, and so far as the rectangular type is concerned, can be paralleled in the cloistered court of the Kashmiri shrines, and those of some Jaina temples at Girnar and Sravana Belgola (betta type) and of the Chalukya Kesava temple in Maisur”.

C. Rajputana

It is in Rajputana that we have the earliest remains of a structural shrine, the circular temple at Bairat, in Jaipur, that goes back to the third century B.C. Fragments of an amalaka, the crowning member of a sikhara temple, unearthed at Nagarl, near Chitor, and datable in the fifth century A.D., 61 testify to the existence of the sikhara temple in Rajputana as early as the Gupta period. This part of the country thus seems to have been familiar with the early evolution of the Nagara temple style from its genesis in the archaic sikhara temples of the Gupta and the post-Gupta phases. But older temples of this evolutionary phase have all disappeared, and the earliest extant temple of this order in Rajputana may be dated in the eighth century A.D. when the Nagara temple had already emerged in its distinctive shape and characteristics.

The straggling village of Osia, 32 miles to the north-west of Jodhpur, seems once to have been a flourishing settlement, and contains about a dozen and a half old temples of both Brahmanical and Jain affiliations. 62 These temples, now in a sadly neglected state, represent two phases of building activity, one early and the other late. The former, datable in the eighth-ninth centuries A.D., is represented by about a dozen temples revealing a stage in the evolution of the Nagara style in which the regional characteristics are yet to appear. The later phase is illustrated by nearly half a dozen examples in which the regional characteristics are manifest; such regional characteristics, however, hardly represent any new trend, but illustrate an almost parallel application of the tendencies with which we are already familiar in Central India.

In form and appearance the temples of the early series are alike to one another. Temple No. 1 (Fig. 34) , dedicated to god Hari-Hara,

is a characteristic example of the group. It is of the panchayatana class, each of . the shrines, including the main one, being pancharatha in plan and provided with a shallow projecting portico in front. The bada is divided into three vertical segments, and the sikhara, gradually inclining inwards with an unbroken contour, is topped by an dmalaka.

Temples essentially of the same style may also be found at Jhalrapatan, Ambam and Buchkala, all in Rajputana. One of the temples at the last place bears an inscription, dated in Vikrama Samvat 872 (A.D. 815), which refers itself to the reign of the Gurjara Pratihara king, Nagabhata II. An inscription in the Jain Mahavlra temple at Osia speaks of the shrine as existing in the time of Vatsaraja, father of Nagabhata II, though the temple itself, as it now stands, must have been of a considerably later date. Vatsaraja flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., and these two inscriptions may furnish an idea regarding the approximate age of the temples of the early series in Rajputana. In plan, in shape and in appearance these early Rajputana temples resemble the temples of the N agar a order in other parts of India of approximately the same period.

In spite of the smallness of size, each of the temples at Osia, Dr. Kramrisch 63 rightly observes, "is a model of clarity in the disposition and proportion of its architectural theme." The elegant proportions of the different sections and their chaste ornamentations, together with the graceful and unbroken contour of the tower, contribute to make the group one of the most attractive among the early N cigar a temples. Further, the panchayatana temples at Osia, because of their exquisite setting and orderly disposition of the central and the accessory shrines, form impressive compositions. Thus the early series of temples at Osia, in spite of their damaged state, remains* as one of the most significant among the entire class of IS! agar a temples.

Two temples of the early series at Osia (Nos. 2 and 7) show a distinct advance in the composition in the addition of a mandapa which precedes the principal shrine. The mandapa consists of an open pillared hall provided with sloping kakshasanas at the two sides and a projecting portico in front. Unfortunately, temple No. 2 is much damaged, but in the skilful disposition of its different parts and adjuncts and in its profuse, yet refined, embellishment it ranks as one of the most pleasing creations of the builders' art in Rajputana. Temple No. 7 at Osia (Fig. 35), dedicated to Surya, is also an equally elegant production and is perhaps the finest monument in the entire series. Like temples Nos. 1 and 2 it is also of the panchdyatana class, and what is interesting is that the attendant shrines seem to have been connected by a cloister, parts of which still remain. In this arrangement we have possibly the nucleus of the subsequent cloistered composition that is particularly characteristic of the Jain temples of this region.

Among the early series of temples at Osia there may also be recognised examples which belong to conceptions different from the Ndgara. The bhadra or the pidha temple, so intimately associated as the mandapa of the rekha sanctum in the temples of the Ndgara design, appears at Osia as an individual conception in this early phase. In the much damaged temple No. 3 at Osia we have apparently a conception of the rectangular temple with a wagon-vaulted superstructure, as we have in the Vaital deul at Bhuvanesvara, the Navadurga temple at Yagesvara (Almora District) and the Telika mandir at Gwalior.

This early series of the temples at Osia, though fundamentally resembling the contemporary Ndgara temples in other parts of India, possesses greater affinities with those of Central India. The mahapishta supporting the temple is characteristic of such monuments both in Rajputana and Central India; but it is usually absent in Orissa which was another important centre of the early Ndgara temples. The shallow pillared porticos of the Osia temples have their parallels in the antaralas of the Central Indian temples of early date. With the introduction of the mandapa, inclined kakshasanas seem to have been characteristic of such a hall both in Rajputana and in Central India. The development of the early design of the Ndgara temple respectively in Rajputana and Central India is also, to a certain extent, parallel. The distinctive type of a mediaeval Rajputana temple, therefore, differs very little from a typical Central Indian one. A clustered arrangement of anga-sikharas round the body of the main sikhara is a characteristic of the typical Rajputana temple as well as of the Central Indian.

But a Rajputana temple, in spite of its close affinity to a Central Indian, lacks many of the distinctive features of the Central Indian temple type, such as extension of the pagas beyond the top of the gandi, a number of amalakas as the crowning element of the sikhara , and division of the bdda into more than three segments (angas)— pdbhdga, janaha and baran<jla. A typical Orissan temple is characterised by a five-fold division of the bdd,a, while a full-fledged Central Indian temple has as many as seven such segments in the same section. A three-fold division of the bada is characteristic of the early Ndgara temple and Rajputana retains it to the last. In this

respect and in certain other features, to be noticed later, the templebuilding activity in Rajputana seems to have been allied to that of Gujarat and Western India.

In the later series of the temples at Osia one may recognise significant stages in the development of the characteristic type of the Rajput temple. Three temples of this group deserve special mention, namely the Jain temple of Mahavlra, 63a and the two Brahmanical temples dedicated respectively to Sachiya Mata and Pipla Devi. The anga-sikharas in these temples, though on a lesser scale than those of the Central Indian temples, are as emphatic in expression, and become characteristic of the developed type of the Rajputana temple. Though not far removed from the typical Central Indian temple, at least in respect of its fundamental design and composition, the form and disposition of the pillars and of the torana in front add distinctive notes that are found only in Rajputana and Gujarat. In the form of the plinth and of its decorative scheme the movements respectively in Rajputana and Gujarat also appear to be related to each other. The projecting eaves shading the bcida and its niches are also characteristic of the temples of these two regions. Another feature found in the temple of Sachiya Mata is the octagonal disposition of the pillars in the centre of the mandapa hall supporting the shallow dome. This is first met with in structures dating from the eleventh century, and in a developed form in the mandapa of the temple of Pipla Devi with its orderly arrangement of more than 30 richly carved pillars supporting the superstructure. This arrangement of the mandapa became characteristic of the Rajput temples of the developed type and may be seen in its most bewildering variety in the Jain temples of Mount Abu.

The Nilakanthesvara temple at Kekind and the Somesvara at Kiradu, both in Jodhpur, seem to represent fundamentally the same design- and form as those of the later series of the Osia temples. Kiradu has a number of temples, all severely damaged. Among these the Somesvara 64 is perhaps the most exuberant in design and decorative scheme. Unfortunately, only the sanctum with a part of its tower remains along with the shell of what had once been a magnificent pillared mandapa. e5

Kumbharia in southern Rajputana 66 has, again, a number of Jain temples which are noteworthy as anticipating further development that became characteristic of the Jain temple complexes of this region. The temple of Neminatha (Fig. 36), for example, is not fundamentally different from the characteristic type of the Rajput temples, described above, except that it is situated within a quadrangular court. But the double-araalafcas crowning the anga-sikharas as well

as the main sikhara are rare in their appearance in a temple of this region. Such a feature is distinctively Central Indian in character, but is also met with, perhaps as aberrations, outside the limits of that territory. The Parsvanatha temple at Kumbharia is also identical in form and design, and both the structures probably belong to about the eleventh century A.D.

The mandapa of the Neminatha temple and that of the Parsvanatha (Fig. 37) introduce certain interesting features. The superstructure in each case with its tiers of rooflets and amalakas is closely analogous to that of the Nilakantha Mahadeva temple at Sunak in Gujarat. The disposition of the interior is, again, highly instructive. The arrangement in either case seems to be identical. The manfapa of the Parsvanatha temple is, however, more masterfully disposed with its central complement of elegant pillars with capitals, all worked in good taste, supporting the shallow central dome, the richly carved pillars with ornamental arches on the flanks, and the surrounding cloister with cells of images approached by smaller doorways which effectively repeat the pattern of the larger entrance leading to the sanctum. As Kramrisch 67 rightly observes: “The Mandapa of the Parsvanatha temple in Kumbharia puts to unique use the white Makrana marble of Rajasthan. The gleaming spaciousness of the hall, within the internal cloister of cells—evolved particularly in Jaina temples—is without equal”.

An advancement of the above design may be recognised in the celebrated group of Jain temple-complexes at Dilwara, Mount Abu. 63 The group consists of four principal temples, and their accessory structures, each enclosed within a quadrangular court. Among these, two, built respectively by Vimala and Tejahpala and known as Vimala Vasahi and Luna Vasahi (though sometimes called after their builders), are conspicuously noteworthy for the exuberance of ornamental detail minutely wrought in a manner that remains unsurpassed even in India which was justly famous for such kind of work.

The first temple is dedicated to Adinatha or Rishabhanatha, the first Tirthahkara. It stands within a quadrangular court, approached on the east through halls, axially placed, one rectangular and the other square (Text Fig. 12). As it now stands, the complex consists of the sanctum, placed near the western end of the court and preceded in front by mandapa and a portico, the three surrounded by a colonnaded cloister (Fig. 39) of image-cellas aligned round the enclosing wall. In Jain terminology these components are known respectively as mulagahlidro, gu4ha-may$apa» sabha-mandapa and devakulikd. All these adjuncts, however, do not seem to have been of the same period.

The sanctuary itself, built in black stone, appears to be earlier than the halls and colonnaded cloister which are in white marble. The sanctuary is surmounted by a tower which, however, is too low to have any architectural effect. The halls in front were erected in Vikrama Samvat 1088 (A.D. 1031) by Vimala, an officer of the Chaulukya king Bhlma I. The colonnaded cloister, again, seems to have been later than the halls by about a century.

The second temple, the Luna Vasahi, is dedicated to Neminatha, the twenty-second Tirthankara, and stands to the north-east of the Adinatha temple. Generally it follows the plan of the latter. Like the latter, again, the sanctuary in black stone appears to have been earlier than other members of the complex which are in white marble. The front halls (Fig. 38) were put up in Vikrama Samvat 1287 (A.D. 1230) by the banker Tejahpala, brother of Vastupala, who built the triple-shrined Jain temple at Girnar in Kathiawar.

The setting of these temples on the rugged scarp of the hill at a height of more than 4000 feet is, no doubt, the most picturesque. Externally, the temples are perfectly plain and without any architectural effect, the insignificant spires peeping, as it were, over the enclosure walls, and having nothing to commend them to the attention of the visitor. A totally different effect, however, awaits him in the interior (cf. Figs. 39-41) which, in each case, resolves itself into an orderly grouping of richly carved pillars of the portico and the mandapa in front of the shrine and of the colonnaded cloister around. A splendid display of sculptors' skill is spread over the interior in the minutely carved, almost fretted and traceried, decoration of the pillars, ceilings, doorways and cloistered cells. To quote Cousens, 69 "the crisp, thin, translucent, shell-like treatment of the marble surpasses anything seen elsewhere, and some of the designs are veritable dreams of beauty". Ordinary chiselling would hardly achieve such a delicacy of carving, and there is a tradition that much of it was produced by scraping the marble away, the payment to the sculptors being made by the weight of marble dust so removed.

Amongst this exquisite array of delicate carving the domed halls in both the temples arrest the admiration of the visitors with an almost bewildering awe. In each of the halls the central feature is the octagonal nave supporting the shallow trabeate dome over a ring of the eight pillars with light cusped ornamental arches in between. On the octagonal frame of architraves over the arcade of pillars a small bracket at each angle introduces the circle of the dome which rises in concentric rings till the apex is reached. The carving of the pillars is delicate as well as the most intricate. In

the Vimala Vasa hi they are all of a uniform pattern resembling those of the Surya temple at Modhera in Gujarat and fundamentally differ very little from those in the Kumbharia temples. In the Luna Vasahi, however, the pillars exhibit varieties, particularly in the introduction of fanciful motifs. In this later hall much of the vigour of earlier work has been lost and the bewildering maze of carvings, faultless though in execution, fails to evoke the same aesthetic reaction that one experiences in that of Vimala Vasahi.

The exuberance of all this sculptural magnificence reaches its climax in the treatment of the vaulted ceilings of the halls. IMo description is adequate to convey a correct impression of the carefully wrought infinite detail that meets the eye, layer upon layer, till the superbly designed apex is reached. Each of the ceilings is built of concentric rings, every one of which carries a beautiful motif, delicately carved, while athwart the lower rings is placed a series of sixteen brackets with representations of Vidyadevls, or goddesses of learning of the Jain pantheon, each contained within its own aureole. At the apex the dome culminates in a pendant of exquisite beauty hanging like a stalactite from the centre. In Tejahpala's hall the pendant hangs down in a series of gradually diminishing rings and is carved in a fashion rivalling the fineness and delicacy of filigree work in metal (Fig. 41).

In spite, however, of the splendid wealth of intricate ornamentation, executed with a perfection seldom achieved by human endeavour, architecturally none of the halls can be declared to be free from flaw. The multiplicity of infinite plastic detail, repeated innumerable times, obscures, to a large extent, the structural properties in respect of which, again, the fundamental rules of architectural composition seem to have been ignored. Even an admiring visitor cannot fail to perceive a certain disregard of the laws of proportions in the disposition of the different components of the interior. This is particularly noticeable in the rather stunted heights of the domes which are set too squat to fit in with their diameters. The ceilings of the bays of the transepts, particularly in Tejahpala's temple, are too low and the unnecessarily heavy architraves, the "antethesis of the fairy lightness of the sculpture and gossamer tracery", 70 obstruct the view of more than one of them at a time, thereby preventing a general vision of the whole. There is, no doubt, a certain beauty in the delicately carved exuberant ornamentation of the halls; but even this beauty, endless as it seems, leaves the visitor with a sense of tiresome surfeit, and there are very few structural merits to compensate for this defect.

D. Gujarat and Kathiawar

The history of Gujarat and Kathiawar is intimately linked up from rather early times, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the development of the Nagar a temple in these regions is, to a very great extent, identical, and, as already indicated, closely allied to that in Rajputana. A geographical proximity of all these regions and, to a certain extent, political circumstances might have been responsible for such striking affinities. Moreover, the construction of these monuments may be traced to a hereditary class of templebuilders, known in Western India as the Salats, and the common characteristics that are noted in the temple-building activity in these regions, bear an impress of their traditional knowledge and skill.

Before describing the development of the Nagara temple in these regions it is necessary to describe a few temples in Kathiawar which represent conceptions that are apparently different from that of the Nagara temple style.

At Gop in the Barda hills in Kathiawar there is a temple (Fig. 43) of a rather unusual shape that has been described by Cousens 71 as a "stranger" in this region. It is considered to be the oldest structural temple in Kathiawar. The monument seems to have been supported on a basement of two terraces, the upper, slightly reduced in dimensions than the lower, possibly serving as a pradakshina-patha or ambulatory round the sanctum. The terraces, each relieved horizontally at the bottom, and also perhaps at the top, by courses of mouldings and vertically along the sides by ornamental niches originally containing sculptures, are, however, heavily damaged. The perpendicular walls of the sanctum are severely plain except for a line of grooves on each side near the top. A few of the grooves still contain fragments of wood, 72 perhaps remains of wooden beams supporting a roof around the sanctum and covering the upper terrace. In that case the roof as well as the walls enclosing the second terrace seem originally to have been of wooden construction and have naturally disappeared in course of time. 73

The walls of the sanctum end at the top in two shallow cornices over which rises the roof in two stepped courses, ultimately crowned by a graceful domical finial. The lower of the two stepped courses is relieved on each side by two chaitya arches and the upper by one. The chaitya arches are bold in design and elegant in execution, and project each in the form of a dormer. Originally they contained sculptures, a few of which still remain in situ.

As it now stands, the temple at Gop presents a rather unusual design and it is difficult to make any definite statement regarding its

antecedents and affiliations. Cousens 74 finds certain striking resemblances between this temple and the early Kashmirian monuments, particularly the Martand, in two important respects, namely the stepped-out pyramidal roof with chaitya arches in the courses, and in the trefoil arches seen around the lower terraced basement. According to him the type was introduced in this region from Kashmir by the Sun-worshipping ancestors of the Mers. This view of Cousens, since accepted by archaeologists including Coomaraswamy 75 and Percy Brown, 76 suffers, however, from two important flaws. The history of the ancestors of the Mers is not yet fully clear and it is not definitely known that they originally hailed from Kashmir. Secondly none of the Kashmir temples of the type with which similarities are suggested can be dated earlier than the eighth century A.D., whereas the Gop temple is admittedly two centuries older. 77 The absence in Kashmir of any example of the type of a date earlier to that of Gop stands at present in the way of the acceptance of the hypothesis of Kashmirian origin of the Gop temple. Moreover, when closely examined, the Kashmirian analogy seems also to rest on a weak foundation. The roof is, no doubt, stepped as in the Kashmirian temples, but the graceful domical finiai above, instead of the harsh angular point at the top like that in the Kashmirian temple, indicates for the monument at Gop a conception other than that of the Kashmirian. The boldly projecting chaitya arches are unlike the angular pedimental arches seen on the roof of the Kashmirian temple, while it is difficult to class the arches around the basement terrace of the Gop temple with the distinct trefoils of Kashmir. All these would suggest that the conception of the Gop temple was distinct from that of the Kashmirian.

On the evidence of the shape of the basement arches in the Gop temples Sankalia 78 hesitatingly suggests a Gandharan influence through Sindh. But this view also cannot be pressed strongly as the fundamental elements of the design and composition of the Gop temple have hardly any parallels in the Gandharan monuments. In our opinion the two major features in the composition of the Gop temple, followed also in several other monuments of the region evidently of this class, are the situation of the sanctum within a covered ambulatory and the stepped arrangement of the roof. Of the first a parallel may be recognised in the plan of what has been designated as the storeyed type of Gupta temples. On this analogy the stepped arrangement of the roof in the Gop temple may, perhaps, be considered as but a slightly different expression of the storeyed conception of the superstructure in the Gupta temple. The bold and emphatic steps in the roof of the temple at Gop resemble, though in a less pronounced manner, the storeys in receding stages, charac teristic of the composition of the roof in the Gupta temple and lend a plausibility to the suggestion made above. The appearance of chaitya arches as gables on the roof is very old and may be traced back to the days of Bharhut. There is no necessity, hence, to draw upon the doubtful Kashmirian analogy on this score. Cousens 79 has further noticed certain analogous features in the temple at Gop and in what he describes as “early Dravidian temples” at Aihole and Pattadakal; but he regards them as “purely accidental”. To our mind, however, such analogies are of greater import with regard to the affiliations of the Gop temple, particularly in view of the fact that an almost identical plan also characterises the early temples of Deccan. Here also among the different shapes of the superstructures we have both the storeyed as well as the stepped arrangement. Such temples are approximately contemporary to the temple at Gop, and both may be considered to be but slightly different expressions of the same conception.

In Kathiawar other temples of the same class as that of Gop are found at Than (old Jain temple), 80 Visvavada, 81 Harshadmata (Fig. 45), Pindara (Fig. 42), Villesvara, 82 and a few other places. In these temples the plan is usually that of a sanctum within a covered ambulatory, and the stepped arrangement of the superstructure is also recognised to be one of their distinctive characteristics. In these respects, though chronologically later, they may be regarded as clear analogues of the temple at Gop.

The above temples of the Gop class, when closely examined, may enable us to determine the progress of the style. The development is noticed in the progressive increase of the number of stages, in the gradual reduction of the heights of the steps, in more harmonious proportions between the lower and upper elements of the structure and in a general refinement of the contours. The temple of Siva at Villesvara 83 represents, perhaps, the latest development of the type (Text Figs. 13 and 14). It is also the most perfectly preserved temple of the group and hence enables us to understand the composition and design of the type in a more convincing manner. The sanctum is situated within a covered ambulatory and is surmounted by a pyramidal tower of stepped stages in receding tiers, each stage on each face being relieved by ornamental chaitya arches, gradually diminishing in number from six in the lowermost course to one in the uppermost. Each corner at each stage is further ornamented with decorative finials. The ambulatory is enclosed by walls of stone relieved on the exterior by shallow pilasters that end in cornices. A flat roof of stone covers this ambulatory. From the increased number of stepped stages—the largest among the temples of the group—the refined pyramidal contour, and the shape and design of the ornamental arches and finials, the temple may be considered to be the latest, at least in point of style, among the temples of the Gop type. The pilasters on the exterior walls of the ambulatory resemble in a general way the pillars in the Elephanta cave, and it would not be unreasonable, perhaps, to refer it to the same period as that of Elephanta.

Among the temples of the Gop type in Kathiawar a rectangular design of the sanctum may be recognised in the so-called Varaha temple at Kadvar.[84] Another such rectangular temple with a distinctly stepped arrangement of the superstructure is found at Kalsar. Here the rectangular sanctum is preceded by a portico, also of rectangular design (Fig. 44). The superstructure in each consists of a few stepped courses, relieved by chcdtya arches.

Scholars are inclined to class the Sun temple at Sutrapada[85] as a temple of the Gop type. Of course, the plan of the sanctum with a covered ambulatory has a general resemblance with that characteristic of the temples of the Gop group. But the stepped-out pyramidal arrangement of the superstructure, with an emphasis on the horizontal lines, as we see in the monuments of the Gop class, is entirely lacking here. Rather, the tower with the vertical facets on each face, dmalaka quoins at regular intervals and the heavy amalaka-silil, topped by a smaller one, as the crowning member reproduces the prominent characteristics of a Ndgara sikhara (Text Fig. 15), and there can be no doubt that here we have an early sikhara temple denoting a stage in the evolution of the Ndgara style in the region. The plan of an inner sanctum within a covered ambulatory and the succession of chaitya ornaments on each face of the sikhara might have been responsible for such an erroneous classification. The latter ornament is a distinctive characteristic of the early Ndgara temples while such a plan is also noticed in a few temples of the Deccan, each having a prominent Ndgara sikhara over the sanctum. From these considerations the Sutrapada temple should properly be classed with temples of the Ndgara style, rather than with those of the type at Gop. Similar is the case with the temple at Pasthar, classed by Sankalia 86 with the monuments of the Gop type. Here also an archaic sikhara of a low height surmounts the sanctum. In this connection it may be noted that adjacent to the Siva temple at Villesvara, described above, there is an example of a sikhara temple, described by Cousens 87 as representing “a very early and rudimentary stage of the Northern style”. This indicates the possibility of the co-existence, at a very early stage of architectural activity in this area, of the temples of the

Nagara style with those of the Gop type. The plan of an enclosed sanctum within a covered ambulatory, seen in several early temples of the Nagara form in this area, might have been inspired by this fact of simultaneous co-existence.

The characteristic regional expression of the Nagara temple style in Gujarat and Kathiawar is usually designated as the Solanki after the Chalukya or Solanki rulers of Anahillapataka. Many of the Chaulukya kings v/ere great patrons of the building art, and the prolific and magnificent architectural activity during their regime was, in a large measure, due to their active and enlightened patronage. Their ministers and governors were also zealous patrons of arts and culture. By its geographical position Gujarat was the hub of international commerce of those days, and merchant princes, like the brothers Vastupala and Tejahpaia, vied with one another in encouraging the arts in the most exuberant manner possible. The common people also shared in such activities by raising up substantial funds by a system of recognised imposts for the gods. It appears that the entire community was identified with the artistic movements of the day, and the result was a brilliant upheaval of every form of art, particular!}' of architecture in which the religious zeal and devotion of the people found the most emphatic expression. The whole area was studded over with monuments, distinctive in design and the most luxuriant in execution. The majority of the temples of this brilliant phase is, however, in ruins, while many have been almost completely obliterated. Time and man have wrought havoc turning the once smiling and gleaming monuments to a skeleton of their former* glory, or into totally shapeless ruins.

Monuments of the early Nagara form, prior to the emergence of the characteristic Solanki type, are very few in Gujarat and Kathiawar. Among the few that remain, some had been classed otherwise, while with regard to the others their true imports had not been always recognised. It is because of this that the characteristic type of the Solanki temple has sometimes been regarded as an individual growth in this region, a few scholars even suggesting an evolution of the Solanki temple from those of the Gop type. Architectonically however, though not geographically, the two groups stand far apart and represent two distinctly different conceptions. In the fundamentals of design and form there is hardly a common link between the two. The prominent features of the Solanki temple belong to the Nagara conception, and in it we have a regional expression of the Nagara temple style. The Solanki temple type is related, at least in some measure, as a parallel movement to the other regional manifestations of the Nagara style, so widely distributed over different parts of India.

A few stray and isolated examples of the early Ndgara temple still remain in Gujarat and Kathiawar. In respect of form and design the oldest Ndgara temple in this area may be recognised in a dilapidated shrine at Rhoda (Gujarat). From its simple design and chaste ornamentation (Fig. 46) it seems to be nearer to the Gupta sikhara temple and apparently belongs to a date not later than the seventh century A.D. The small shrine 88 by the side of the Siva temple at Villesvara (Kathiawar) and the Surya temple at Sutrapada (Kathiawar) 89 belong architectonically to an identical conception.

A few other temples in Gujarat and Kathiawar help us to trace the progress of the Ndgara temple from the simple design of the temples of the Rhoda group. A small shrine (Fig. 47) at Pashthar (Kathiawar), evidently of the early Ndgara form of triratha shape, presents two curious features, viz. the division of the rdhd-paga into two vertical halves by a deep depression in the middle along its height and the appearance of sectional dmalakas on the central paga at regular intervals corresponding to those of the dmalaka quoins. In contrast to the rich scheme of the sikhara above, the cube of the sanctum below, unrelieved by any horizontal moulding or by any vertical ratha projection, has a bald and severe appearance. This may indicate that originally it was not meant to be seen from outside, the sanctum being enclosed within a covered ambulatory, perhaps of wood, that has been swept away. The above-mentioned shrine beside the Villesvara temple and the small temple (Fig. 49) adjacent to the Navalakha at Ghumli (Kathiawar), slightly advanced in design because of its pancharatha conception, also appear from their bare walls to have been provided each with an ambulatory of wood. The Surya temple at Sutrapada, already discussed, has the sanctum enclosed within a covered ambulatory of stone, and it appears that like the temples of the Gop class the plan of a sanctum within an enclosed ambulatory was also followed in the early Ndgara monuments of Kathiawar. It is from this composition that one may trace the evolution of the Sandhara prasada in several of the subsequent regional manifestations of the Ndgara style.

A pancharatha plan of the sanctum is a natural development from the triratha, and several temples of this plan, architectonically posterior to the triratha group, may also be found in Gujarat as well as in Kathiawar. An elegant example of the pancharatha group may be seen in a small shrine at Sandera (Gujarat). 90 Exquisite in proportions and with a graceful array of fretted ornamentation of chaitya arches the temple may be regarded as one of the most notable monuments of the early Ndgara form in this region, as effective in design and sensitive in treatment as the celebrated Muktesvara at Bhuvanesvara (Orissa). Two small temples (Text Fig. 16) at Miani (Kathiawar), 91 dedicated respectively to Ganapati and IVlahadeva, each of the pancharatha plan and preceded by a pillared portico in front, are as elegant in design and decorative conception as the one at Sandera. The small shrine at Ghumli (Kathiawar) might have been as effective, except for the bare appearance of the walls. The temple of Ranik Devi (Fig.48) at Wadhwan (Kathiawar) 32 is also essentially of the same conception as above. It seems to be slightly later in date in view of the high plinth consisting of more than three courses of mouldings, the division of the bada into five segments by a simple shallow band—an apology for the bdndhand—around its middle and a rather attenuated form of the sikharn , 93 In Orissa and Central India the increase in the number of rat has in the plan is, in a certain measure, related to the division of the bddci along the vertical axis. With the pancharatha plan Orissa develops a pahchahga bdda, and to this the Orissan builders adhere to in spite of the development occasionally of the saptaratka and navaratha plans. The characteristic type of a Central Indian temple is saptaratha in plan, and correspondingly the Central Indian architects develop a saptdhga bada. But in other regions of the Ndgara style the bada of three segments, distinctive of the early Ndgara form, is rigidly maintained. Rajputana, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Kbandesh, etc., in spite of the manifestations of regional characteristics, all adhere to the three-fold division of the bada, and the stray and not too emphatic occurrence of a fivefold division, as seen in the Ranik Devi temple and in one or two others as well, may be regarded as an aberration in this area.

A battered shrine, known as Muni Bhava's temple, near Than (Kathiawar), 94 shows definite characteristics of the early Ndgara temple; but already a development of the design may be recognised in the provision of a pillared mandapa in front to which a distinctly local character is given by the arrangement of kakshasanas. Aninteresting feature of this temple is again seen in the full-length figures of griffins or rampant lions, repeated in the vertical facets of the walls, a motif that is perhaps unique in this area.

Cousens is of opinion that the old ruined shrine of the god Trinetresvara which once stood at Tarnetar, 95 about six miles northwest of Than (Kathiawar), was older than Muni Bhava’s temple. The Tarnetar shrine consisted of a sanctum with a mandapa in front. As is apparent from the photograph 36 that alone survives, the sikhara exhibits an arrangement of anga-sikharas in clusters around

- its body, a motif that is evidently late in appearance. This feature is a distinctive characteristic of the Solahki temple, as of several other regional expressions of the Nagara style. The awkward manner in which the roof of the mandapa is sought to be joined to the sikhara indicates a certain lack of experience on the part of the builders with the elaborate design of the Solahki temple, then just in process of formation. The now vanished temple at Tarnetar, therefore, probably represented an important stage in the transition from the early Nagara form of temple to that of Solahki. It is a pity that no monument now survives to enable us to understand this transition better.

Like other regional expressions of the Nagara style, the typical Solahki temple of Gujarat and Kathiawar appears to have received its complete form by the close of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The type, so formed, is in a large measure, analogous to the fully developed Rajput temple, and the architectural development in these regions seems to have been parallel and simultaneous, at least in the later stages of the development of the Nagara temple. The affinities, which are not few, have already been indicated and need not be repeated here.

The general scheme of a Solahki temple differs very little from that of any other regional expression of the Nagara temple. Fundamentally the composition consists of the sanctum and the pillared hall or mandapa (giidha-mandapa as it is known in this area), combined usually in axial length. The exterior walls are broken up by vertical chases, projected and recessed alternately, which are carried up into the elevation producing effective contrasts of light; and shade. The chases are obtained usually by a system of ratha projections, as in the temples of the Nagara conception, or occasionally in the more developed group by the intricate process of rotating a square round a central axis—r-a process that may be recognised to be a different application of the same idea that was responsible for the introduction of the system of addition of ratha projections on the exterior walls of the temples of early Nagara form. Occasionally, again, in the larger conceptions a detached hall, sabha-mandapa, and a Jcirti-torana are added in front of each. Sometimes a sacred reservoir with flagged steps forms an important element of the temple complex, but this is seen only in the more important groups. A few of the larger temples seem to have the mandapa halls disposed in more than one storey, but the examples themselves are too damaged to allow any clear understanding of the arrangements.

In elevation the scheme of the Solahki temple reproduces tne same fundamental divisions along the vertical axis as in other regionai types of the Nagara temple. The temple rises from a high socle (pifha or mahdpishta as it is variously termed), above which is the wall surface up to the entablature (called mandovara in Gujarat and bdda in Orissa). The entablature serves as a transition to the next division, the superstructure along with its crowning elements. The socle consists of a series of mouldings, sometimes plain, usually ornamented with repetitive motifs in an order specifically fixed by tradition. The wall surface has a threefold division, corresponding to those of the early Ndgara temples and termed respectively in Orissa as the pabhaga (plinth), the jdhgha (wall face) and the baranda (transition). No further subdivision of this section, as seen in Orissa and Central India, is to be found in the Solahki temple, a feature shared also by the Rajput temple. The first of these, the pabhaga, not always emphatic in expression, consists of a series of mouldings, and the second, the jdngha, shows a grouping of sculptures in the vertical chases. The last, the baranda , in the Solahki temple, as in the characteristic Rajput type, usually consists of a cornice or double cornice, extending in the form of a slop-*' ing eave (chdjjci) in the frontal parts. Above this rises the superstructure, the tall curvilinear sikhara surmounting the sanctum cella and a low pyramidal roof, composed of diminishing horizontal courses, covering the mandapa hall. In the characteristic type of the Solahki temple the sikhara over the sanctum has clusters of anga-sikharas round its body, each a replica of the main tower. As already noted, these anga-sikharas in the Rajput and Solahki types of structures, though less exuberant than the Central Indian, are equally, if not more, emphatic in expression, each having its own volume and retaining the four-square shape of the main structure. The roof of the mandapa also reproduces a similar motif in the repetitions of rootlets in tiers all around.

In the arrangement of the interior the Solahki temple displays notable features. The mandapa hall is definitely peristylar in character, and richly carved pillars constitute an essential element in its composition. As in the elevation of the temple outside, the pillars are also divided into three principal sections, a moulded base, an elegantly carved shaft further subdivided into decorative horizontal zones, and the top, referred to by some scholars as “an attic portion”, consisting of the capital with its entablature and other elements. In the earlier of the temples the pillars are arranged along the sides of the mandapa hall, while in the later ones they are grouped octagonally in the centre of the hall thus dividing it into a central nave and lateral aisles, the latter sometimes having additional complements of pillars. In the more ornate examples light foliated struts, simulating flying ornamental arches, are thrown across the nave pillars and they form a very elegant motif rich in treatment. The square hall projects on the outside, the projections being left open; that to the front is meant for entrance; while those on the two sides usually accommodate windows and alongside kakshasanas with leaning parapets. Sometimes, though rarely, the latter form additional porticos. The dome is supported on an octagonal frame of architraves over the pillars and rises in oversailing concentric courses, each course richly carved, terminating at the apex in a pendant of exquisite beauty. Every element of the composition has been masterfully conceived and beautifully treated, so that the interior is as rich and effective as the external design of the temple. In external design the Solanki temple has its compeers in other zones of the N agar a style; but in interior arrangement the Solanki temple, or its parallel, the Rajput, is without any equal.

The above preliminary discussion of the distinctive characteristics of the Solanki temple renders it unnecessary to describe in detail the individual monuments. The temple of Nilakantha Mahadeva (Fig. 50) at Sunak (Gujarat), happily a complete specimen so rare in this area, is regarded as one of the most notable monuments of this class. It consists of the sanctum and its mandapa, axially joined, and preceded by an open portico in front. Externally the roof of the mandapa is surrounded by tiers of rootlets, each with amalaka and kalasa finial, the top of the dome, raising up its head over the design. Likewise the sikhara over the sanctum, one of the most graceful in outline, is surrounded by tiers of anga-sikharas, one interesting feature in each case being the occurrence of double amalaka, a feature that is also seen prominently on the top of the main sikhara. At the sides of the mandapa there are inclined kakshasanas, most effective in their spacing and disposition,while every surface, whether on the walls or on the pillars, is richly carved in the most elegant manner (Text Fig. 17). In respect of design and plastic adornment it has been aptly described as a “gem of its kind” by a competent authority. 97 A copper-plate inscription of Karna of Vikrama Samvat 1148 (A.D. 1091) found at Sunak, as interpreted by Sankalia, 98 records a grant of lands for the maintenance of a tank (vapi), made at Sunaka (Sunak) for the god Mahadeva. This presupposes the existence at Sunak of a temple of Mahadeva, which can be no other than the present temple, in the closing years of the eleventh century A.D. Stylistically, however, the construction of the temple has to be referred to a date approximately a century earlier. Clear parallels of the Mahadeva temple at Sunak may be found in the Jain temples at Kumbharia (South Rajputana), usually referred to the eleventh century A.D. In the latter an advancement of the interior design is recognised in the

octagonal grouping of the pillars supporting the dome, an arrangement that is yet to come in the Gujarat temple. The Sun temple at Modhera (Gujarat), more elaborate in design and enrichment, also displays a grouping of the pillars supporting the dome in an octagon. This temple cannot be later than A.D. 1026, and the Sunak temple, in which this characteristic design is yet to be reached, may belong to a date slightly earlier, perhaps to the close of the tenth century A.D.

Several other temples of approximately the same date and essentially identical in conception are found in Gujarat as well as in Kathiawar. Only the more important ones may briefly be mentioned here. The present temple of Limboji Mata at Delmal (Gujarat), though occupying the site of an older structure, seems to be of comparatively recent date. But the two subsidiary shrines, situated on the south-west and south-east corners of the court and dedicated respectively to LakshmI-Narayana and Surya, “are genuine examples of good old work and are exceedingly neat and complete little structures—chaste in design and ornament”. 99 These subsidiary shrines, essentially of the same style as that at Sunak, may furnish an idea of the date of the original temple of Limboji Mata which once stood in the centre of the court. The larger of the two shrines at Sandera (Gujarat) 100 is also an elegant piece of work identical in plan and detail with that at Sunak, though smaller in dimensions. The Nilakanfha Mahadeva temple at Miani (Kathiawar) 101 may also, from its style, belong to the same group. The temple of Hingloji Mata at Khandorna (Fig. 52) and that of Jaisalnatha Mahadeva at Asoda (Fig. 53), both in the former Baroda State, belong also to this conception, the latter being an eminent example of this class. The triple-shrined temple at Kasara (Gujarat), now in ruins, is apparently an interesting conception (Text Fig. 18). Round a central mandapa hall with a ^porch, now gone, on the east, are arranged three shrines, each with a Solahki type of sikhara , the western, - facing the porch, being dedicated to 6iva, the northern to Vishnu and the southern to Brahma. 102 The shrines as well as the mandapa are now found in a battered state; but when entire, each was a notable production and the effect of the whole was one of impressive grandeur. The triple-shrined temple at Parbadi (Kathiawar) 103 with its central mandapa, now gone, is essentially of the same style as the one at Kasara and may belong to the same date. Another triple-shrined temple, but of a later date and dedicated to Jain worship, is found at Girnar (Kathiawar). 104 Besides, several other remains, such as at Kanoda (Gujarat), 105 Gorad (Gujarat), 106 Chaubari (Kathiawar), 107 etc. also appear, from the style of the fragments preserved, to be affiliated to

the Sunak group. As compared to the Sun temple at Moqlhera, the temples of the Sunak group have, on the whole, an older appearance, and have to be referred to a period earlier than that of Mo^hera, preferably towards the close of the tenth century A.D. The fairly large number of monuments of this epoch suggests a brisk architectural activity even during the early Solankl regime.

In the eleventh century A.D. the Solankl temple reaches its supreme expression, and among the many monuments that were raised there were several notable productions, though unfortunately all of them are more or less dilapidated. Among these, the Sun temple at Modhera (Gujarat) 108 is the most imposing even in its ruin (Fig. 54). Much of the character of this temple complex lies in its elaborate setting, all elements of the scheme being harmoniously related to one another in an organic architectural entity of the most impressive grandeur. The entire scheme is raised on a paved terrace and resolves itself into three principal components (Text Fig. 19). On the east, to which the temple faces, is situated a large rectangular reservoir (the sacred kunda) with flagged flights of steps on each side interspaced by small shrines (Fig. 57). Admirable in lay-out and arrangement, this kunda is itself a noble production. At the head of the steps on the western side stand two richly carved pillars of the kirti-torana or ornamental archway, behind which is seen the open pillared hall of cruciform shape, the sabha-mandapa as it is known in Gujarat. This hall, aptly described as “a magnificent pile of pillared splendour,” 109 is placed diagonally with the axial line of the next component that consists of the sanctum and its adjoined mandapa as one unit. All these components are skilfully adjusted to one another in a manner that results in the production of an effective unity out of the three seemingly separate compositions.

The sabha-mandapa (Fig. 56) has four entrances on its four faces through ornamental cusped archways between two pillars. In between the plan is broken up into a number of deep vertical chases at regular intervals. Each angle, so formed, has a dwarf pillar, and the entire system is enclosed by a low wall following closely the indentations of the plan all around. This wall is surmounted by a continuous parapet with kakshasanas arranged all around. In the upper section the small pillars support the entablature of the roof, in the lowest stage of which runs a continuous eave (chajjd). In the interior the pillars are arranged in two rows in the form of a cross, the central complement describing a regular octagon for support of the dome above. Every single part of the design is exquisitely carved, and in spite of the profuseness of the

ornament covering all visible surfaces, both inside and out, there is hardly any idea of exaggeration.

The sanctum and the mandapa, essentially of the same conception as in the earlier temples of the Sunak group, each displays notable advances in design. The first, enclosed within a covered ambulatory, is of the sandbar a class, while the second exhibits a central complement of pillars grouped in a regular octagon. Over this octagonal nave rises the dome (Fig. 58), the ornamented ceiling of which still remains. Fretted ornamental toranas join the pillars and relieve the harshness of the four-square scheme at the top. A shallow vestibule of four pillars fronts the doorway of the inner sanctum. The mandapa and the ambulatory of the sanctum are each lighted by window openings of an effective design. Externally (Fig. 55), vertical chases are formed in the plan by ratha projections, and the ornament is as varied and rich, both internally and externally, as in the case of the sabhd-mandapa. In each of these elements the superstructures have collapsed. A low pyramidal roof no doubt surmounted each of the halls, the mandapa and the sabhd-mandapa, while a typical Solankl sikhara covered the sanctum. 1093 Bereft of these necessary accompaniments the scheme now appears in a truncated state. But the structural propriety of the different parts as well as of the whole, the rich and varied ornament that matches and blends beautifully with the architectural lineaments, and the sense of organic unity, all combine to rank it among the supreme creations of Indian genius. A master mind conceived the noble scheme, and master artists carried it to perfection. An inscription in the back wall of the sanctum of the Modhera temple bears a date, Vikrama Sarhvat 1083 (A.D. 1026), which may tentatively be taken as the date of the temple.

Mention may be made of two other monuments, apparently also of the eleventh century A.D. One is the Navalakha temple at Ghumli, 110 and the other, also going by the same name, at Sejakpur, 111 both in Kathiawar (Text Figs. 20 and 21). The foliated plan of the sanctum of the Sejakpur temple is obtained on the principle of a square rotating round a central axis. Richly carved and in the best proportions of form and design each of the Navalakha temples, when in its original state complete with the superstructures, represented a fine conception of eleventh century Solankl work. In the Ghumli temple the sanctum is enclosed within an ambulatory and the mandapa is disposed in two storeys, likely parallels of the latter being found in the larger Sas Bahu temple at Gwalior and in the ruins of the Rudra Mala at Siddhapur.

The Solankl tradition maintains a rich and prolific output in the twelfth century A.D. which saw two eminent royal patrons of

building art in Siddharaja Jayasimha and Kumarapala. With the former is associated the completion of an imposing conception, the Rudra Mala or Rudra Mahalaya, at Siddhapur (Gujarat). 112 Unfortunately it is now completely in ruins, but a picture of its former splendour seems to have survived in a Gujarati ballad which speaks of the temple as covered with gold, adorned with sixteen hundred columns, veiled by carved screens and pierced lattices, festooned with pearls, inlaid with gems over the doorways and glistening like flames with rubies and diamonds. Much of this is, no doubt, exaggeration full of rhetoric; but the impressive character of the conception is evidenced by the scanty, though colossal, remains. They consist of groups of columns of the pillared mandapa, which seems to have been in more than one storey, and had three entrance porticos on three sides. The surviving foundations suggest that the conception with the usual appurtenances occupied a space nearly 300 feet by 230 feet. In front there stood a klrti-torana of which one column still remains. From the dimensions the Rudra Mala seems to have been one of the largest architectural conceptions in this area; the rich character of its design is fully evident in the few fragments that remain. The temple that once stood at Vadnagar (Gujarat) 113 might have been larger still, as appears from the size of the surviving richly carved klrti-torana (Fig. 51). The famous shrine of Somanatha at Somanatha-pattana (Kathiawar) 114 had been built over and over again after periodical demolitions at the hands of the Muslims. The shrine seems to have been old. After its sack by Mahmud of Ghazni Bhlma I appears to have rebuilt it. Traces of this rebuilding can still be seen in the present ruin which dates from the time of Kumarapala in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. (Text Fig. 22). It is much of the same design as the Rudra Mala without, however, the storeyed disposition of the mandapa of the latter, and of nearly the same dimensions. The sanctum was enclosed within an ambulatory. The scuptural decoration has well nigh been defaced, but enough remains to demonstrate the rich character of the design. Near by stand the remains of a few other shrines, of which that of Surya, 115 almost entire, has still an imposing effect. The tradition represented by the twelfth century temples seems to have reached a baroque phase foreshadowing the decline.

In spite of a brisk activity in the thirteenth century A.D. much of the vigour and refinement of the earlier works had been lost. The majority of the erections are of Jain affiliation and situated on the sacred hills of Satruhjaya and Girnar (Kathiawar), the eminent patrons of this faith being king Kumarapala in the twelfth century, and the merchant brothers, Vastupala and Tejahpala, in

the thirteenth. The monuments on these two hills, on account of constant renovations, have lost much of their original appearance, and are hardly of any interest architecturally. The triple-shrined temple of Vastupala (Text Fig. 23) at Girnar 116 is, however, interesting as illustrating a rare conception. The imposing pile of the Jain temple at Taringa (Gujarat), 117 attributed to Kumarapala, in spite of a restoration in the time of Akbar, seems to have retained its original form and design to a very great extent. But the fineness of form and ornament that characterised the eleventh century Solanki temple had already declined. Even the hall of Tejahpala at Dilawara, Mount Abu (Rajputana), in spite of its being a notable creation in certain respects, fails to impress from the architectonic point of view.

E. Deccan

The Nagara temple style, it has already been observed, extends beyond its canonical limits far to the south. Temples of the Nagara conception have been found as far south as the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin, while a solitary example, the temple of Ganapati at Hangal, 118 indicates an expansion of the conception even far into the interior of the Kannada speaking area. The Deccan temples of the Nagara conception may be divided into two well-defined groups, one early and the other late. The early group is confined to Southern Deccan in the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin, while monuments of the late series are found scattered over the western part of the upper Deccan, mainly in the region of Khandesh and its neighbourhood. In the history of the Nagara temple style south of the Vindhyas, they represent two important movements, separated from each other in time and space, as well as, to a certain extent, in respect of stylistic progress.

Temples with early Nagara form of the sikhara are found side by side with the Drdvixjia at Aihole, Pattadakal, Mahakutesvara and Alampur, all situated in the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin. This region seems to have been a sort of meeting ground of the two wellmarked temple styles, the Nagara and the Drdvida, and it is from a blending of the elements and characteristics of the two that one may recognise the evolution of what subsequently came to be known as the Chalukyan style which, though hybrid in its origin, later on constituted a separate and well-defined style of great strength and decorative significance.

Aihole and Pattadakal, lying close to each other, are now decayed villages, but a fairly large number of monuments in different stages of preservation still reflect a picture of their ancient prosperity. Aihole in the Bijapur District has particularly been described as a veritable museum of early structural forms, and the truth of

this observation is amply borne out by nearly seventy temples, scattered around the village, which represent an early and prolific phase of building activity, a period of experiments, so to say, in various forms and designs. In this medley of forms the Ndgara conception is prominent in a number of monuments. Temples Nos. 9 (Text Fig. 24) and 24 at Aihole 119 each exhibits a sanctum, triratha in plan, surmounted by a dwarf sikhara of early

Ndgara design, and preceded by a pillared hall in front. The sikhara in each case reproduces the fundamental characteristics of the early Ndgara towers, as seen in other parts of India, and the movement naturally represents one among the many widely distributed early activities in Ndgara templebuilding. The Ndgara sikhara seems to have been so popular in this locality that temples fundamentally belonging to different conceptions, such as the Durga 120 and the Huchchimalligudi 121 at Aihole, are each found to be surmounted by a tower of this conception. There is a striking likeness between the sikhara of the Huchchimalligu<Ji at Aihole and that of the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara. The latter is usually assigned to the seventh century A.D. The sikharas of temples Nos. 9 and 24 at Aihole seem to be more archaic in design and appearance. The structural activities at Aihole appear to have covered approximately a period of two hundred years, from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the seventh century A.D., and the archaic sikhara temples in this village may probably be assigned to the close of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D.

The architectural activities, inaugurated in so promising a manner at Aihole, were continued at Pattadakal that stands nearby. In this insignificant village in the Badami District one may still find old temples crowded among the mean mud houses of the present day. As at Aihole, here, too, shrines representing both the conceptions, the Ndgara and Drdvida, are found side by side. Of the former conception there are at least five examples among which the Papanatha appears to have been the most imposing as rivalling in importance the other grand monument at the site, the celebrated Virupaksha, 122 a magnificent production in the early Drdvida style. The temples of Galaganatha, 123 Kadsiddhesvara, 124 Jambulihga 125 and Kaslvisvanatha 126 represent each a sanctum, triratha in plan, surmounted by a low Ndgara sikhara which in shape and design resemble those at Aihole and contemporary sikhara temples in other parts of India. In the early sikhara temples of the Deccan a great divergence seems to be presented, however, by the crowning elements, particularly the dmalaka which is a rather insignificant member in comparison with those on their northern prototypes, being much too attenuated in girth to fit in with the bisama over which it is placed. This individual treatment of the amalaka characterises these sikharas as representing a Deccan€§€ version of the early Nagar a sikhara.

In the temple of Papanatha 127 at Pattadakal (Fig. 60) the sanctum is enclosed Within a covered ambulatory and is preceded by two axial halls, the first apparently Occupying the position of the vestibule (antarala) and the second constituting the forward assembly hall (mandapa) of square shape with an open portico projected in front (Text Fig. 25). The entire composition is raised over a substantial plinth of several bold string courses. All around, the walls end at the top in a heavy cornice surmounted further by ornamental pavilions. The roof is flat with the sikhara over the sanctum shooting high up at the eastern end. The interior is lighted by ornamental grilles set between pilasters, while the ambulatory around the sanctum has boldly projecting windows, one on each of the three sides. But for the tower which is definitely of Ndgara conception, the entire composition is essentially one of the Drdvi^a and has a general likeness to that of the Virupaksha temple that stands close by. The refined contour of the tower of the Papanatha indicates a date later than that of any other temple of sikhara conception at the site. It may be assigned either towards the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

The Sahgamesvara temple (Fig. 59) at Mahakutesvara, 128 lying between Badami and Pattadakal, is a neat little specimen of the Ndgara style. It consists of a sanctum, triratha in plan, and is preceded by an open pillared portico in front. A collateral shrine on either side of the central ratha projection anticipates the developed pancharatha plan. In this respect the Sahgamesvara has a parallel in the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara and may be coeval with it in date.

At Alampur on the west bank of the Tungabhadra there is a group of six temples, all situated within a walled enclosure. In design and composition all the temples are essentially identical and have a general likeness to the Papanatha at Pattadakal, and may be dated about the same period or to one slightly later. The best preserved monument of the Alampur group is represented by what is known as the Visva-Brahma temple (Fig. 61). 129 Though essentially of the same class as the Papanatha at Pattadakal, the different adjuncts of the Visva-Brahma temple are found to be in much better proportions leading to a far more coherent composition.

With very few exceptions, the above early monuments of Southern Deccan can hardly be said to have belonged wholly to the Ndgara conception. In the majority of these temples, particularly the more ambitious productions, the essential idea that governed the composition was more of the Dravida extraction than of the N agar a, the impact of the latter idea being however emphatically expressed in each case by the sikhara surmounting the sanctum. Southern Deccan, particularly the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin where such monuments are concentrated, furnished a fruitful meeting ground of two apparently differing conceptions of temples, the N agar a and the Dravida, and it is from an admixture of the characteristic elements of the two that there evolved in later days an individual style of great prolixity and richness.

A distinctive expression of the N agar a temple style is recognised in the upper Deccan or Dakhan, as it is designated by Cousens, roughly in the territory between the lower reaches of the Narmada and the upper course of the Godavari. The mediaeval monuments of this region, 130 situated as they are between two important zones of architectural movements—the Solanki in the north and the Chalukyan in the south—,bear, in a certain measure, evident signs of their impacts. Nevertheless, they have certain remarkable individual features which separate them from either, as well as from other regional types of the N agar a temple style. These rank them as a separate expression of no mean interest and significance.

Perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of the Dakhanese expression of the Nagara temple style is to be noticed in the design of the sikhara which is markedly different from that of any other regional type. Here, the central offset on each face of the body of the sanctum cube is carried up and continued on the body of the sikhara up to its summit as an unbroken vertical band covered all through by rich tracery of cliaitya- window motifs. These prominent bands, following the main contours of the sikhara on the four sides, act, so to say, as spines to keep the latter in shape. The segments in between the spines are filled in up to the finial by horizontal tiers of miniature sikharas diminishing in size as they go up. The principle governing the clustering of the ahga-sikharas round the main one, an inevitable consequence inherent in the logical process of the evolution of the Nagara sikhara, is, no doubt, felt also in this Dakhanese expression; but here we have a new interpretation of the theme in which the disturbing effect on the contours is effectively held in check by the strongly pronounced vertical spines. The latter, with their emphatic verticalism, keep the ahga-sikharas subordinated to the principal design. The Orissan builders, while admitting the logic of the ahga-sikharas, also reached a similar solution, but in a slightly different manner. In Orissa as well as in the Dakhan the unbroken ascent of the sikhara seems to have been of greater import, and each region evolved a scheme in which the angasikharas received a treatment whereby they lost their individuality and became transformed into mere decorative detail. Kramrisch 131 is inclined to call this type of sikhara as composite, as in this treatment may be recognised a conscious attempt to combine both the principles—that of the single and unencumbered sikhara with that of one with smaller replicas clustered around.

The temple in the Dakhan usually consists of the sanctum and the mandapa, sometimes having the appearance of being placed diagonically to each other on account of the great diversity in the exterior walls which practically revel in “a great multiplicity of angles”. 132 The mandapa has either one approach in the front, or three in the front and at the two sides, each such approach being through a projected porch. Sometimes three shrines are placed round a central mandapa having a projected porch in front to complete the design. The angles in the exterior walls are obtained either by the usual system of ratha projections, or on the principle of rotating a square round a central axis and thereby leading to a foliated star-shaped plan. In the latter case the central buttress on each face runs parallel with the square plan of the sanctum in the interior and carries upward the prominent vertical band that serves as a spine of the sikhara. Like the buttresses the foliated angles in between are carried up and continued on the sikhara. These, no doubt, emphasise strongly the vertical tendency of the entire scheme, and possibly to balance and, to a certain extent, to counteract this emphatic upward urge a close series of horizontal mouldings is laid across the composition in the lower cubical section, while deep passages between the tiers of the ahga-sikharas repeat a similar horizontal scheme on the body of the tower. The vertical scheme, as well as the horizontal, thus seem to have counterbalanced each other in a remarkably effective manner which allows for ever-changing chiaroscuro effects up and across the entire composition. It has to be noted in this connection that the cubical section, corresponding to the ha^a, like that in the early Ndgara temple, is divided into three main segments.

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The characteristic Dakhanese expression of the Ndgara temple style, as described above, appears before us as fully formed. Unfortunately, no monuments of a transitional stage have yet been found to explain the gradual evolution of the type. Two eminent expressions of the type, possibly also the earliest in date, have been found outside the confines of the Dakhan proper, one in the South and the other in the North. But the type does not appear to have

been characteristic of any of these regions, where they appear apparently as exceptional occurrences. The mediaeval temples of the Dakhan invariably bear the distinctive features of this characteristic type which, from its close and intimate association with this region, seems to have been its particular heritage.

The temple of Ambaranatha 133 in the Thana District (Bombay), though in a perilously ruinous condition, seems to have been one of the most outstanding monuments of the type (Text Fig. 26). An inscription on the architrave over the northern doorway of the may4apa, records its erection in the &aka year 982 (A.D. 1060) during the time of the Silahara chief Mummuni or Maihvani. The sanctum and the mavn^apa, seemingly aligned diagonally along the axial line, are characterised each by deep and bold vertical chases as well as by emphatic horizontal mouldings in the plinth and transition (baranda). The treatment of the exterior walls thus provides for all possible combinations of light and shade up and across the composition. A greater part of the sikhara has fallen down and the roof of the manfapa is also in a battered state. In the sikhara on each face may be seen the characteristically Dakhanese expression of successive tiers of anga-Hkharas in between the vertical spines on the central faces, the rich and continuous traceried ornamentation of the latter being in juxtaposition to the rugged appearance of the segments occupied by the anga-sikharas. In spite of the great diversity, a skilful treatment of the different elements has resulted in a unified design full of animation and vivacity.

Balsane in Khandesh has a group of nine temples, all more or less battered, though no less interesting. Of these, No. 1 (Fig. 62), a triple-shrined temple, 134 seems to have been an outstanding production (Text Figs. 27 and 28) Of the same design as that of the Ambaranatha, except for its triple-shrined composition, this temple at Balsane exhibits the prominent characteristics of the Dakhanese type in a more developed and crystallised state. No. 4 at Balsane 1315 consists of the sanctum and its manfapa, disposed in the characteristic fashion, and is notable for the foliated star-shaped plan. The temple of Mahesvara at Patna (Khandesh) 136 is also similar in composition, but the plan is further elaborated and shows five foliations in between the central bands (Text Fig. 29). In this respect, at least, it resembles the Nllakanthesvara temple at Udayapura, perhaps the finest monument of the Dakhanese expression. The Galtesvara temple (Fig. 65) at Sarnal (Kaira District), though in a mutilated state, also represents an eminent conception.

One of the best preserved monuments of the Dakhanese series may be seen in the temple of Gondesvara (Fig. 64) at Sinnar, 137

about 20 miles to the south of Nasik. It represents a panchdyatana group, the principal sanctuary with the four subsidiary shrines at the corners being situated on a raised terrace (Text Fig. 30). Besides, in front of the principal shrine, dedicated to the god Siva, stands a small pavilion for Nandi, the mount of the god. In design and in treatment each of the subsidiary shrines, with the plain unencumbered sikhara, is nearer to the Ndgara form. But the principal temple with its characteristic appurtenances represents the Dakhanese form in a mature state. There is, however, a falling off in the quality of sculpture and a general stiffness of outline, on which account the monument has been assigned to a period later than that of the supreme efflorescence of the type in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. The Mankesvara temple at Jhogda 138 (Nasik District) and the Amritesvara temple (Fig. 66) at Batanwad.i 139 (Ahmadnagar District) also belong to this later phase which foreshadows a decline. Many other old shrines are scattered through the Dakhan, but gradually there is a progressive tendency towards heaviness and clumsiness which are very clearly visible in what are known in this region as the HemadpantI temples.

It is interesting to note that the finest monument of the Dakhanese expression of the Ndgara temple style is situated far to the north of the Dakhan proper. At Udayapura in the old Gwalior State stands the venerable pile of the Nllakanthesvara temple 140 built by the Paramara king Udayaditya, and hence also known as the Udayesvara (Fig. 67). It is in a perfect state of preservation, and in it may be observed the supreme excellence of the characteristic Dakhanese version of the Ndgara temple, described above. 140a On a high adhishthana or socle rise the sanctum and its mandapa, the former surmounted by a sikhara in its Dakhanese expression and the latter by a pyramidal roof, also of the same order..

On the exterior the sanctum is of a foliated star-shaped plan, the points of the star, meaning the chases between the central bands on the four faces, being obtained on the principle of rotating squares (Text Fig. 31). The central bands themselves remain parallel to the square of the garbha-griha. The bdda or the cubical section has a prominent plinth, nearly as high as the jdngha above. The socle as well as the plinth consists each of a series of bold mouldings, those of the former spreading towards the bottom as if to hold the ground in a firm grip. The plinth mouldings rise perpendicularly. In shape as well as in treatment these mouldings have a general likeness to those of the Khajuraho temples. But with these the affinity with the typical Central Indian temple ends, and the design, as a whole, follows what has been described as typically Dakhanese. 140b The chases in the ‘jdngha are in the shape of faceted pilasters as in the Ambaranatha,

and being angular, because of the star-shaped plan, every one accommodates a sculpture on each of its two sides. The chases are terminated by capital shape mouldings above which a cornice, with a deep recess intervening, serves as the baranfta or transition from the cube to the sikhara (cf. Fig. 63).

The sikhara rises with a slight curvature, the unbroken vertical spines, in continuation of the central band below, with their richly traceried ornamentation holding it in shape. The vertical as well as the horizontal themes, as seen on the perpendicular cube, are repeated on the sikhara (Fig. 68). The former finds eloquent expression in the firm contours of the spines on the four quarters transcending the limits of the bisama and in the arrays of anga-sikharas, in continuation of the chases in the lower section, rising in succession towards the peak. The latter theme is reproduced in the division of the sub-quarters of the anga-sikharas into successive tiers by deep horizontal passages in between. The principal scheme of the composition is, hence, "a close correspondence of the structure and superstructure", as beautifully expressed by Kramrisch, 141 and this is also noticed in the edges of the bisama, repeating the five-pointed star in each of the sub-quarters, and in the rims of the amalaka-sild, responding "in its cusps to the angles of the star-shaped temple". 142 The mandapa roof, pyramidal in shape, is composed likewise of miniature repetitions of itself in successive tiers converging to the pinnacle. The mighty gable over the antarala , rising again in successive levels, serves as an effective bond between the superstructures over the sanctum and the mandapa, which are essentially of two divergent shapes. Every part is meticulously carved in the most elegant taste and the result is a texture of exquisite delicacy and variety which, instead of overshadowing the structure, emphasises its lineaments in the most effective manner. The entire monument represents a unified design vibrant, so to say, with teeming detail. The temples at Arang and Rahilya and that of §avarI-Narayana near Kharod (all in Central India) exhibit each certain of the characteristic features of the Dakhanese temple but riot in so complete a degree as the Nilakanthesvara at Udayapura in which one may recognise a supreme manifestation of the Dakhanese conception.

F. Sindhu-Ganga Valleys

It is to be presumed that the Ndgara temple, as the prevailing style in Aryavarta and a considerable portion of the South, was also known in the regions of the upper belt of Northern India, particularly in the rich riverine plains watered by the Sindhu and the GangS-Yamuna systems. Unfortunately, very few old temples now survive. The plains are practically denuded of monuments that could claim a certain antiquity, and when one recalls the iconoclastic fury of the Muslim conquerors from which this wide tract of territory repeatedly suffered, the reason for the extreme scarcity of old architectural specimens would be patent and clear. The few that survive of the old monuments are also sadly ruined. A few dilapidated monuments in brick in the Uttar Pradesh are found to exhibit the characteristics of the early Nagar a design, except' for their preference for a circular shape. They have already been mentioned in connection with the monuments of Central India. In the north-west, in the Himalayan regions, are found several temples decidedly of early Ndgara conception, while in the east, in West Bengal and the adjoining region of Chotanagpur, the same conception is illustrated by a few monuments. Very few examples, however, remain to enable us to trace its development in any of these regions. The few extant monuments do not lead us beyond the suggestion that this vast stretch of territory was familiar with the Ndgara temple. But whether there was any sustained and organised activity in Ndgara temple building in any of these areas is a question that still awaits a satisfactory answer. At any rate, there has been found not a single monument in any of these areas that might correspond to the magnificent regional manifestations of the Ndgara style, like the Orissan or the Central Indian, the Solanki or the Dakhanese.

In the Himalayan regions the earliest specimen of the Ndgara design is possibly represented by a series of monolithic temples at Masrur (Kangra). 143 These temples, which are cut out of the rock and reproduce the characteristics of the early Ndgara temple, may belong to the eighth century A.D. At Baijnath (Kangra) 144 there is also a group of structural temples of about the ninth century A.D,, alike in form and design to those of Orissa of approximately the same date. Among these, one is interesting for its flat-roofed mandapa which has a rekha sikhara embedded at each of its four corners, just as we find in the mandapa of the Vaital deul at Bhuvanesvara (Orissa). At Chamba 145 there are, again, several temples of early Ndgara form in which an advancement of the design is noticed in the pancharatha plan which characterises each one of them. In the larger temples the bdda is divided into five segments along the vertical axis, also representing an advancement over the early form, and this feature connects them with the development of the Ndgara style as found in Orissa, while a shallow string-course round the amalaka-sild is a feature which is particularly Rajput in occurrence. Further, an impact of the hill tradition is recognised in a few of the Chamba temples in the two superimposed parasols, one over the gandi and the other over the amalaka, each resting on a framework of wood and covered by thin slabs of slate. In the hills such a contrivance is possibly a necessary feature, being eminently suitable foi draining off the snow, and is to be found also in the temples of Kedaranatha and Vadarmatha in the snowy heights of the Himalayas. In the temple of Mahadeva (Fig. 69) at Bajaura (Kulu) 146 we have a neat little temple of the tenth century Ndgara design. It is rich in carved ornamentations and is notable for the three side chapels projected from the body of the sanctum, one on each of the free sides, containing fine relief sculptures of Ganesa, Vishnu and Durga. All the temples, described above, are essentially of early Ndgara form and design and hardly any distinctive feature that might have been due to local inspiration is noticeable in any of them.

In Eastern India also the Ndgara temple seems to have been widely known. The monuments that are now extant are, however, confined to West Bengal and the adjoining Chotanagpur region. In the latter area such temples are mostly found at Telkupi, Plara, Boram, Dulmi, etc. in the Manbhum District. That the Ndgara temple was also the prevailing form in different parts of Bengal may be inferred from several votive temples in miniature of this design found respectively in Northern and Eastern Bengal. 147 Certain sculptures from Bihar 148 also reproduce the form of the Ndgara temple in relief, thereby indicating its prevalence in the region of Magadha.

Of the extant temples referred to above, a few can be assigned to the period under review, and whether lying in West Bengal or in the adjoining district of Manbhum, they are found to have many things in common. Apparently they represent one architectural movement. The Manbhum temples are small and unpretentious and it is in the temples of West Bengal that the movement can be studied more profitably.

The earliest of the temples of the Ndgara design in Eastern India appears to be temple No. IV (Fig. 70) at Barakar (Burdwan District, West Bengal). 149

It consists of a sanctum, the mandapa in front being a recent addition not included, in all probability, in the original scheme. The sanctum is triratha in plan with a subsidiary niche on either side of the central buttress which anticipates the pancharatha. The central ratha on each face is occupied by a niche capped by a superstructure of tiered stages which is terminated by the cornice at the bottom of the gandi. The supplementary niches have similar superstructures which are, however, smaller in height. Otherwise, the walls remain quite plain. The gandi rises with a slight ingress and is capped by a spheroid amalaka-sild. The raha and the konaka pagas are emphasised. Instead of the interlaced

chaitya- window patterns, the usual decorative motif on the gawjii in the early Nagara temples, the surface is covered by relief panels, illustrative of various legends, and animal and human motifs.

In the triratha plan, a cube of three segments, a pabhdga or plinth of three mouldings, and the plain form of the sikhara unencumbered by anga-sikharas, the temple No. IV at Barakar reproduces the prominent characteristics of the early Nagara temple and furnishes a general resemblance with the Parasuramesvara at Bhuvanesvara. At the same time there are several features in it which are equally distinctive. In relation to the dimensions of the sanctum, the sikhara in the Barakar temple is not as low and stunted as that in the Parasuramesvara. The mouldings of the pabhdga exhibit shallow rectangular offsets that are not to be found in the Orissan temples. The relief panels on the body of the gandi introduce a new scheme in the ornamentation of the sikhara of the Nagara temple. The bhumi-dmalakas are rounded in section, and these as well as the dmalaka-sila surmounting the gandi have indentations resembling fluted cusps. In this treatment of the dmalakas as well as in the offset panels on the mouldings of the pabhdga, the temple No. IV at Barakar appears to have parallels, not in Orissan temples, but in temples of Western India, particularly in Gujarat. Two other interesting features which seem to connect this temple with those of the west may also be referred to. The raha-paga on each face is divided into two vertical halves by a recessed line along its centre. Again, in the upper stages of gandi, the raha-paga is furnished with sectional dmalakas. Both these features appear in the temple at Pashthar (Kathiawar), described above. These clear affinities of this temple with those of the distant west are difficult to explain in the present state of our knowledge. Moreover, its link with the typical Orissan temple is furnished by the bold and emphatic miniature sikhara shown on the rahd-paga on the front face. The temple No. IV at Barakar, as it now stands, offers many problems of which no satisfactory solution is possible at present. Its date, hence, also seems to be a problematic one. From the general architectonic form, however, it does not appear to have been much later in date than that of the Parasuramesvara.

The brick temple (Fig. 71) at Sat Deuliya (Burdwan District, West Bengal), 150 also of the Nagara conception, is again interesting in certain respects. The ratha plan and the curvilinear tower reproducing in its pagas the ratha shape of the sanctum cube evidently connect it with the Nagara conception of temple. The interlaced patterns of a variation of the chaitya- window motif on the pagas and the unbroken and emphatic contours of the latter are likewise distinctive characteristics of the early Nagara temple- The apparent division of the bdda into five vertical segments connects it with the Orissam development of the Nagara design. At the top the bdda ends in several courses of inverted offsets forming a projected cornice over which the gandi is placed. The top of the sikhara has tumbled down and the surface has an extremely battered appearance. In contrast to the sikhara with its rich traceried ornamentations with ridge-like terminations on the edges of the yagas, the body of the sanctum cube appears rather plain except for the ratha facets. The projected cornice with the remains of a continuous recess below, coupled with the plain appearance of the bdda, may suggest that the sanctum was originally enclosed by an ambulatory which has now vanished. What is interesting is the absence of bhumi-amalakas demarcating the stages of the gandi, and also probably of the usual dmalaka-sila as the crowning member of the sikhara. The absence of such features from the scheme of the sikhara constitutes definite departure from the usual Nagara design of the temple. Whatever the explanation of such curious features, the affiliation of the temple fundamentally to the Nagara design is clear and explicit as noted above, and from its general shape, refined contours and decorative scheme it appears to be dated about the tenth century A.D.

One of the finest monuments of the Nagara design in this part of India is represented by the Siddhesvara temple (Fig. 72) at Bahulara (Bankura District, West Bengal). 151 It is made of brick and is situated on a low mound, being originally surrounded by eight small subsidiary shrines and enclosed by a compound wall, all of which are now in ruins. The temple is of the single-celled type, and the sanctum is approached by a vestibule in the thickness of the front wall with a triangular corbelled arch opening. It rests on a plinth which consists of several courses of elaborate mouldings and is of the ratha plan. The bdda or the sanctum cube is divided into five segments by three horizontal bands forming the bdndhand and dividing the jdngha into two halves. Besides the division of the plan into rathas the plainness of the walls is relieved by niches, those on the central rathas being capped by miniature sikharas. Several courses of projected mouldings separate the bdda from the gandi. The latter has a chaste and refined contour, the corners as well as the edges of the yagas being rounded off. The whole surface of the gandi is covered with intricate traceries of the chaitya- window patterns, scroll-work and other designs. Of the last the most interesting are the tiers of miniature sikharas in the lower stages of the rahd-yagas. This is a new interpretation of the logical theme of anga-sikharas on the body of the main sikhara, not met with so far; but it seems to have been characteristic of the Nagara temples of this region as is evident

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from the temple known as Jatar deul in the Sunderbuns. The top of the temple has tumbled down and the hand of time has been heavy on the mouldings and decorative patterns. Yet, considered as a whole, this brick monument, because of its graceful proportions, elegant contours and chaste style of decoration, seems to constitute one of the outstanding productions of Indian temple architecture. Coomaraswamy 162 assigns the temple to the tenth century A.D. Dikshit 153 thinks this date to be a century or two too early. From general architectonic shape and ornamental style a date in the eleventh century A.D. may not appear to be unreasonable. At Dehar (Bankura District, West Bengal) 154 there are two stone temples, of which the sikharas have gone. The treatment of the cube of the bada in each case resembles that of the Siddhesvara at Bahulara, and all the three may be regarded as belonging to the same conception and to approximately the same period. The brick temple, known as the Jatar deul (Fig. 73), in the Sunderbuns (West Bengal), 155 when in its original state, seems also to have been an eminent production of this conception. Modern conservation has entirely obliterated its orginal shape and features, but originally, as appears from an earlier photograph, the temple had considerable architectural merits and closely resembled the Siddhesvara in plan, elevation and decorative treatment.

From a study of the temples of the Ndgara design in this part of India it appears that they are unmistakably related to the Orissan movement. As a class they are nearer to the early group of Orissa than to the typically Orissan, though the link with the latter cannot be entirely ruled out. One or two, as noticed above, may, again, be found to have significant affinities with the distant western movement. These apart, the Bengali temples may also be recognised to have certain individual features. The Bengali architects displayed, to a certain extent, a better sense of reserve and restraint than their contemporaries in other parts of India. They exhibited a more refined taste in the choice of their decorative patterns and their balanced adjustments. The Ndgara temples in Bengal may not have the grandeur of the massive and stupendous stone monuments seen in other parts of India; but they are surely more elegant and graceful, and the brick specimens in particular testify to a fine and mature knowledge of the Bengali builders in the science and art of building.

3. Dravida Style

The nucleus of the Dravida temple, as has already been observed is the storeyed form of the Gupta temple and the rock-cut rathas at Mamallapuram supply an interesting stage in the development of

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the Dravitfu style. * The Fallavas were eminent patrons of art and architecture. The early phase of the Pallava rule in the south is an age of great experiments in methods and forms. The “Cave style 0 of Mahendravarman Vichitrachitta was continued by his son and successor Narasirhhavarman Mahamalla, but the latter initiated a new turn in the rock-cut method by shaping out free-standing monolithic rathas from granulitic boulder-like outcrops in imitation of structural forms. Eight such rathas 156 are still found at Mamallapuram, the seaport city founded by him at the mouth of the Palar river, 32 miles south of Madras.

Every one of the rathas, except the Draupadi, exhibits a storeyed elevation of the roof, each storey being terminated by a convex roll cornice ornamented with chaitya- window arches {kudus as they are called in this part of the country), each enclosing a human head. The walls of the ground storey are broken up by pilasters and sculptured niches, while the upper storeys are surrounded by small pavilions (paricharams). In spite of this general resemblance there may be recognised great divergences in shape and form which are, to a certain extent, determined by the shape and plan of the sanctum cellas. The Nakula and Sahadeva rathas each has a rectangular plan rounded at one end, and correspondingly the storeyed roof is surmounted by a vault with an apsidal back. This form, reproducing the design of the Buddhist chaitya halls, gradually went out of fashion. Among the other rathas we have the square as well as the rectangular plans. In the former the storeyed roof is topped by a domical member, the stupi or stupikd as it is called. The latter has an elongated barrelshaped vault, with gables at the two ends, as the crowning element of the roof. In these two forms one may recognise the origin of the two fundamental components of the Drdviia temple, the vimana representing the sanctum with its pyramidal tower and the gopuram or the immense gateway leading to the temple enclosure.

Of the square type of rathas, which furnished the starting point for the Dravufa vimana , the Dharmaraja is the most imposing as well as the most perfect (cf. Classical Age, Fig. 27). It consists of a square ground storey, with open pillared verandahs all around, which upholds a pyramidal tower of receding storeys ultimately capped by the octagonal stupikd. Each storey is demarcated from the other by a convex roll cornice with chaitya-window arches (ku&us), and the upper storeys are surrounded by small pavilions (pahcharams). Though the sanctum, seems to be situated on the second storey, the pillared verandahs round the ground storey have, more or less, an appearance of an open ambulatory. It is not difficult to find in this type an adaptation of the earlier storeyed form of the

Gupta temple enriched by the introduction of new elements in the matter of detail, apparently of local origin. The stupika or the crowning member is evidently a derivation from those of the miniature rock-cut relief shrines at Undavalli (Guntur District). The roll cornice appears in the caves of the Mahendravarman period and even earlier. The turretted roofs (pancharams) surrounding each upper storey are, no doubt, intended to fill up vacant spaces round the horizontal stages so as to conceal, to a certain extent, the storeyed elevation and to lend the tower a pyramidal shape. The Dharmaraja ratha at Mamallapuram may, in these respects, be clearly recognised to be a typical example in which the distinctive elements of the Dravida vimana may be said to have emerged and attained their characteristic expression.

Of the two rectangular rathas, the Ganesa is the more interesting. With its storeyed elevation surmounted by a barrel-shaped vault with a gable at eitner end and pointed pinnacles at the top, it reproduces, though on a much reduced scale, the distinctive form and characteristics of the immense gopuram or entrace gateway to the spacious temple enclosure. The rectangular plan is eminently suitable for a gateway building and the barrel-vaulted roof is certainly the most effective covering for a building of this plan. As such the type was selected as a convenient prototype for the gateway building, and the fundamental resemblance between the shape and form of the simple type of the rectangular rathas, as illustrated in the Ganesa, and those of the monumental gopurams of the later days leaves no doubt regarding their evident connection. At Mamallapuram the rectangular and the square types of rathas appear side by side, each as an independent conception. Their associa^ tion together to form two important elements of the Davida temple complex is an event that is still to come.

With its beginnings in two distinct types of the Pallava rockcut rathas of the first half of the seventh century A.D. the Dravida style of temple passes through a long process of evolution and elaboration under different dynasties of kings who came to be politically supreme in the south. From the period of the Pallava rulers till the end of the Vijayanagara empire in the sixteenth century, and even later, the style maintains a prolific activity, and a succession of datable monuments, spread over the southern end of the peninsula, supplies definite landmarks in the development of the style. Confined within a comparatively small area the movement remains, more or less, compact and unilateral in spite of a history of approximately a thousand years. This long period may be divided into several well-marked phases. Each succeeding phase starts with the heritage of the preceding one, leading the style, along with a richer elaboration and maturity, to its ultimate logical fulfilment. In fact, there is no real break in the continuity of the tradition, and the strongly marked individualities, constituting the distinctive characteristics of the style, remain prominent throughout.

With Narasimhavarman II, also known as Rajasimha Pallava (c. A.D. 695-c. 722), the rock-cut method ceased and the ratha type was replaced by structural temples. The change to the structural method furnished the builders with greater powers and freedom, and the results of this change are noticeable in the striking advance that was made in the building art even within a generation. To Rajasimha's reign may be assigned several interesting monuments of which three seem to have been of immense importance in the development of the style as a whole. The earliest of these stands at Mamallapuram and is now known as the "Shore" temple (Fig. 74) 157 on account of its being situated on a point of land that juts out into the sea. A formal temple scheme is found to be already in a process of formation as the temple proper is placed within a quadrangular court enclosed by massive walls. The principal feature of the scheme consists of two shrines, asymmetrically attached to each other, each having its own pyramidal tower complete with a domical stupikd and a pointed finial. The one to the east, facing the sea, is larger in dimensions and was apparently the main shrine dedicated to the god Siva. The western one was consecrated to the worship of the god Vishnu. The towered sanctuaries, each with a storeyed elevation terminated by a dome-shaped stupikd and with roll cornices and small pavilions at each stage, clearly reveal a derivation from the square type of rathas best exemplified by the Dharmaraja. Each tower has gained in height and there is a lightness and soaring quality in the attenuated and elongated shape of each. It is precisely these qualities which lend “more rhythm and more buoyancy” 158 to these rather loosely knit forms. A greater freedom, inherent in the structural procedure, was, no doubt, partly responsible for these qualities; but this alone could hardly account for the effect produced unless a new aspiration had been there.

This aspiration leads to the unified conception of a temple scheme in which all the appurtenances, that were to be distinctive of the Dravida style of temple, are clearly expressed and harmoniously adjusted to one another. The first example of such a unified conception may be seen in the celebrated Kailasanatha temple, 169 built by Rajasimha Pallava, not long after the Shore temple, at Kanchipuram (Conjeeveram), the capital city of the Pallava kings

from ancient days. This temple complex (Fig. 75), also known as the Rajasimhesvara after its royal builder, consists of the sanctum with a pyramidal tower and a pillared hall or mandate, (mantapam as it is known in this part of the country) with a flat roof, both situated in a rectangular court enclosed by a peristyle composed of a series of cells (Text Fig. 32). The sanctuary stands near the western end of the court and is topped by a pyramidal tower of storeyed elevation of great beauty and graceful contours. This constitutes the principal feature of the entire scheme and is obviously a development from the monolithic prototype of the Dharmaraja ratka. In the pyramidal tower there is a far greater harmony in the different storeyed stages leading to a more effective design of this kind of superstructure (Text Fig. 33). “From the somewhat compressed forms of the monolithic rcitlias to the more loosely-knit elements of the Shore temple, we now arrive at a further effort to present the siklnara (sic-) in a suitable architectural form, wellproportioned, substantial, yet at the same time rhythmic in its mass and elegant in its outlines.” 160 A group of supplementary shrines, each repeating on a smaller scale the form of the main shrine and attached to its free sides, may suggest, again, an advancement of the design of the vimdsaa. There are doubts, however, whether these components were included in the original scheme. The peristyle of cells with its range of cupolas is also an interesting feature apparently connected with the future development of the style.

In the composition of the Kaiiasanatha at Kahchlpuram we have the first example of the unified design of a temple complex with many adjuncts that are to characterise the full-fledged Drdvida temple. Apart from the vimdna, the pillared hall or mandapa, an invariable accompaniment of the Drdvida temple, has already made its appearance and is placed in front of the sanctum, originally as a separate building but later on joined together by an intermediate hall forming the antarala. The sanctuary and the mandapa stand within an enclosed court to which access is now obtained by two entrances in the eastern wall on two sides of a rectangular building with a store3^ed elevation and surmounted by a barrel-shaped vault This building now serves as a subsidiary chapel. From its position in the middle of the eastern, i.e. the front, wall axially in a line with the mandapa and the vim ana, it is not difficult to find in this building the original entrance to the temple enclosure. The shape of this structure, eminently suitable for a gateway building, and the manner in which it has been built and disposed, leave no doubt about its original function. The chapel, in which form we now see it, represents obviously a later deviation from the original plan. Its derivation from the rectangular type of rathas, like the Ganesa, is also clear and explicit. With all the appurtenances, like the walled court, the gopuram, the pillared mandapa and the vimana, all complete and in their proper positions, the Kailasanatha at Kahchipuram may rightly be regarded as one of the key monuments of the Drdvida style.

The Vaishnava temple, known as the Vaikuntha Perumal, 161 at Kahchipuram is also attributed to Rajasimha Pallava and might have been begun not long after the Kailasanatha. Here a more developed sense of composition is evident in all the elements of the temple complex being combined into one architectural unit. The temple stands within a court which is approached by a portico in the east (Text Fig. 34). On the outside the walls of the court are relieved by pilasters and niches, while on the inside runs a continuous colonnaded cloister separated from the central complement, the sanctum and its attached mandapa, by an open passage for circumambulation. The mandapa is a square pillared hall having an entrance in front and a vestibule behind which leads to the sanctum cella. The sanctum is also square in plan and has a pyramidal tower of four storeys capped by the octagonal dome of the stupika with a finial (Text Figs. 35 and 36). Each storey is disposed as a shrine, with two enclosed ambulatories in the lowest, an ambulatory and an open balcony in the second and an open bacony in the third. Each storey is separated on the exterior by roll cornices surmounted by parapets with ornamental cupola shapes at intervals, while the walls of the lowest are relieved by sculptures set between pilasters. In the disposition of the different elements there is noticed not only a sense of unity but also an economy which is responsible for much of the architectural character of the monument. The Drdvida temple style is already in the process of crystallisation.

In the second half of the eighth century A.D. the power of the Pallavas began to decline and the notable advances, made during the previous phase, seem to have received a set-back. Though no ambitious productions were taken in hand, the architectural activities continued, as is evidenced by a number of monuments erected during this later Pallava phase. Of these, the Muktesvara and the Matangesvara 162 at Kahchipuram and the great temple at Panamalai 163 are essentially of the same mode and style as those associated with the name of Rajasimha Pallava. Certain smaller temples of this later phase, such as the Vadamallisvara at Oragadam 164 (near Chingleput), the Tiruttanesvara at Tiruttani 165 and the Parasuramesvara at Gudimallam, 166 reproduce the apsidal form of the Sahadeva ratha. The movement, however, remained, to a certain extent, static, but the standard, already achieved, was maintained unimpaired.

The rich heritage of the Pallava building tradition thus passed on to the Chojas who supplanted the Pallavas as the dominant power of the South.

In connection with the development of the Dravida temple in the Pallava period it would be useful to refer to a few productions of the style outside the confines of the Dravida country proper. One of the most significant is the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakai' 67 in the Chalukya territory (Text Fig. 37). The temple was built, according to an inscription, for LokamahadevI, the senior queen of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya II (c. A.D. 733-746) in commemoration of his having thrice conquered the Pallavas of Kahchl.

There is a strong possibility of its design having been inspired by that of the Kailasanatha temple at Kahchlpuram. There are epigraphic records, both at Pattadakal as well as in the Kailasanatha at Kahchlpuram, which, read together, suggest that Vikramaditya, after his conquest of the Pallava capital, was much impressed by the latter temple, and so might have brought builders from the south for his own architectural undertakings. The Dravida temple, in its fundamental conception, was not new in the Chalukyan territory and there are two significant examples of earlier dates, namely the Meguti temple at Aihole, 168 built in A.D. 634, and the Vijayesvara or Sangamesvara at Pattadakal, 109 erected by king Vijayaditya (A.D. 696-733), father of Vikramaditya II. Some scholars are, therefore, inclined to recognise in the Virupaksha temple a natural development of the Dravida conception in the Chalukyan region. But the Kailasanatha temple at Kahchlpuram and the Virupaksha at Pattadakal show an essential identity in respect of the plan and composition. Such an identity is difficult to explain unless there had been a closer link between the two. There is every probability, as the inscriptions would tend to suggest, that the former was the prototype of the latter.

In shape and form and in matters of composition the Virupaksha at Pattadakal seems to be a duplicate of its prototype at Kahchlpuram. The Vijayesvara temple at Pattadakal belonging to the previous reign was also of Dravida conception, but there the different elements seem to be cruder in setting. In the Virupaksha a greater co-ordination of the different parts and their refined setting and execution represent a distinct advance on the Vijayesvara, an advance that was, in all probability due to its contact with its southern prototype. The Trailokyesvara or Mallikarjuna temple (Fig. 76), 170 built by TrailokyamahadevI, a junior queen of Vikramaditya II, stands adjacent to the Virupaksha and is of the same general plan and design as the latter.

In the Chalukyan territory several temples of the Dravida conception were built during this phase. But the most outstanding monument of this conception in this part of the country, and perhaps a unique creation of Indian architectural art, is the famous Kailasa at Ellora. 171 An entire temple complex (Fig. 78), completely hewn out of the living rock, as it is, it seems to have been a fitting sanctuary for the god Siva whose favourite abode is the Kailasa mountain. It was built by the Rashtrakuta kings who supplanted the Chalukyas in the sovereignty of the Deccan. Possibly begun during the time of Dantidurga, it was completed by Krishna (c. A.D. 758-773). The scheme resolves itself into four principal elements repeating the fundamental pattern of a Dravida temple as we find in the Kailasanatha temple at Kahchipuram or in the Virupaksha at Pattadakal. Seen as a whole, it has a closer alliance with the latter which, it is not unlikely, was its prototype. The differences that are noticed are, in a large measure, due to the necessities of the rock-hewn technique.

The temple itself stands within a rectangular court surrounded by cloistered cells and approached in front by a double storeyed gatehouse, the precursor of the gopurams of later days. The court measures nearly 300 feet by 200 feet. The Principal component consists of the vimana and the mandapa, the two occupying an area of approximately 150 feet by 100 feet. This unit is raised over a lofty plinth, nearly 25 feet high, which forms, so to say, a ground storey. The plinth is heavily moulded at the bottom and at the top, the intervening space being occupied by a frieze of boldly carved elephant (Fig. 77) and lion caryatids seemingly supporting the massive monument. Over this substantial substructure stand the vimana (Fig. 79) and the mandapa, the latter approached by grand flights of steps in the front, i.e. the western side. The flat roof of the mandapa is supported on sixteen pillars arranged in small groups of four each at the corners, thus dividing the hall into cruciform aisles. From the mandapa a vestibule leads to the sanctum cella, the tower of which rises in four storeys and ultimately ends in a dome-shaped stupika. From the level of the court to the apex the vimana is 95 feet in height. Around the sanctum cella and enclosing the ambulatory, so to say, are arranged five lesser chapels, each repeating, on a smaller scale, the principal theme standing in the centre.

In front of this unit and on the main axis is, again, a detached flat-roofed mandapa for the bull Nandi, on either side of which stands a free-standing column (dhvaja-stambha) nearly 50 feet high from the level of the court, bearing at the apex the trisula or the sacred emblem of the god. The double storeyed gatehouse, forming the fagade of the entire composition, is itself an imposing production, and in its gable roof we have possibly, like that of the Kailasanatha

at Kanchlpuram, the germ of the future gopuram. All these units, though seemingly detached, are connected with one another by bridges. The entire scheme seems to be unified by an organic rhythm that governs the disposition and proportions of each unit.

This vast temple complex, completely hewn out of the rock with all its elaborate appurtenances, strikes the beholder with a sense of wonder and awe when he visualises the stupendous task involved in such a process. From this standpoint it is, no doubt, a titanic production deserving to be ranked as one of the world’s greatest creations. Because of the disadvantages of the rock-cut technique the monument has been set within a deep pit, but those responsible for this unique conception sought to compensate for this defect by raising the monument on an enormously high podium. Due to the technique followed the monument has the appearance of a sculpture on a grand scale than of architecture. There is no doubt that the sculptor’s art is the supreme fact of this conception, more so because of the superb carvings that cover all the free surfaces of the monument. At the same time it is the genius of a master architect that lends unity and rhythm to the entire conception, and in this respect it is also a grand piece of architecture. The unique boldness of its technique and the beauty of its execution have made it widely known, and aptly has the Kailasa at Ellora been described as “the world’s greatest rock poem”. Among the temples of the Dravida conception this is the most northerly one. Apart from its singular technique, in the vastness of its scheme, in the orderly treatment of its parts and in its superbly graceful execution it is also one of the most eminent productions of Dravida architecture.

About the end of the ninth century A.D. the Pallavas had to make way for the Cholas who became the dominant pow T er in the South. During the regime of the Cholas the Dravida style of temple architecture enters a brilliant and distinctive phase. The productions of the early phase of the Chola rule are usually small, yet each represents a complete formation in which the relation with the Pallava tradition remains clear and unmistakable. When compared with the productions of the last days of the

Pallavas, those of the early Chola phase display a certain freshness of spirit that may indicate a revivifying of the style from the dormant state in which it had fallen. These initial attempts represent a transition from the Pallava to the Chola development of the Dravida temple style.

Of the monuments of the early Chola phase, the Vijayalaya Cholesvara temple at Narttamalai 172 is interesting for its circular shrine chamber enclosed within a square ambulatory. The erection of this temple is usually attributed to Vijayalaya, the first of the

imperial Cholas. The circular shrine is rather an unusual design in this class of temples, but the pillared mandapa, the storeyed tower of the vimana topped by the stupikd, and the diversification of the external walls by pilasters and recesses belong evidently to the Pallava tradition.

The initial phase of the Chola development of the Dravida temple is best exemplified in the Korahganatha at Srinivasanallur 173 (Trichinopoiy District). It possibly belongs to the reign of Parantaka I (A.D. 907-953). It is of modest proportions and consists of the sanctuary and its attached mandapa , the two covering a total length of 50 feet. The conception is essentially Pallava. But at the same time a more rational attitude is recognised in a simplification of its parts that emphasises the "value of plain spaces together with due sense of the character and correct location of the architectural features required for purposes of embellishment". 174 There have also been significant changes in the design and form of the pillars. The wall surfaces are divided by pilasters into niches, each occupied by a full-length figure sculpture in very high relief, resembling almost a statuary in the round. Another interesting and distinctive feature, unknown in the previous phase but a characteristic element in the decorative scheme of a Dravida temple of the subsequent periods, is the string-course with a row of griffin-heads in the stylobate. Fundamentally of the same conception as the Pallava temples, the Korahganatha at Srinivasanallur heralds also a new phase in the development of the Dravida temple style under the great Cholas.

The Chola power reached its zenith under Rajaraja the Great (A.D. 985-1014) and his son Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1012-1044), 175 and it is to these two monarchs that we owe two supreme creations of the Dravida temple style. Conscious of their unrivalled supremacy and vast resources, these two monarchs set about erecting two stupendous monuments as lithic testimonies, so to say, to their religious devotion and dignified majesty. The first of these was built at Tanjore, the seat of Chola sovereignty, by Rajaraja the Great, and is known as the Brihadlsvara, otherwise called Rajarajesvara after its royal builder. According to the temple records the construction was begun some time about A.D. 1003 and completed in A.D. 1010. 176 The second was erected about A.D. 1025 by Rajendra Chola in the new capital city of Gahgaikondacholapuram which this monarch founded in commemoration of his extensiveconquests. It is in these two grand and lofty temples that one may visualise the mighty resources of the Chola power at its height.

The Brihadlsvara temple at Tanjore 177 stands within a walled

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quadrangle, 500 feet by 250 feet, which is preceded by an outer court, 250 feet square (Text Fig. 38). The latter, originally intended for minor shrines and residential appurtenances, is of very little architectural interest. The present gopuram in front, i.c. the estern wall, is again, a much later erection. A second gopuram, situated axially to this outer gateway, leads to the principal quadrangle with a colonnaded cloister all around. Near the back end of this court rises majestically the great vimana (Fig. 80) with the forward complements of the temple complex—a large mandapa, a pillared portico and a Nandi shrine—combined axially in front. All these structures are, by themselves, sufficiently important productions, functionally as well as architecturally, but in no way do they interfere with the effect of the grand and massive pile of the vimana towering above everything in its vicinity. Together they cover a total length of 180 feet, while the pyramidal vimana rises to a height of 190 feet. In dimensions alone the Brihadlsvara temple at Tanjore is one of the boldest and most daring conceptions of Drdvida architecture. No less impressive is the architectural treatment of the whole. There is a clarity in the disposition of its parts, each organically related to the other. This, coupled with a correct sense of decorative scheme, leads to the creation of a superb monument, distinguished alike for its rhythm, poise and dignity.

The magnificent pile of the vimana, which constitutes the dominating feature of the entire composition, may be divided into three principal sections, namely the upright cube enclosing the sanctum cella with its-ambulatory, the lofty and massive pyramidal body ascending in thirteen diminishing zones, and the crowning element, the graceful dome-shaped stupika (Text Fig. 39). The first is 82 feet square rising to a height of 50 feet from the base. Along the horizontal section this huge mass is broken up by five projecting bays alternating with recesses, and this theme, continued right up to the top of the pyramidal tower, emphasises the vertical aspect of the conception. Along the vertical axis the wall section is divided into two equal stages by a bold and heavy cornice-like moulding that casts a deep horizontal shadow. The bays, above and below, are occupied by image-niches with the sides treated like pilasters separated by deep recesses. The pyramidal section of the vimana is evidently a derivation from the Pallava prototype, the gradually diminishing zones in its composition being clearly reminiscent of the storeyed elevation of the earlier towers. In the Tanjore vimana , however, the horizontal aspect of the storeyed stages has been suppressed for the sake of an emphatic vertical contour. The shallow^ horizontal lines separating the zones, intersecting with the vertical ba 3 ^s of the lower section continued on the tower, create a beautiful

architectural pattern, the fundamental idea of which is vertical to all intents and purposes. In this massive pyramidal pile there is a sense of strength and stability, and at the same time a rhythmical quality of soaring verticalism, accentuated further by the domeshaped stupika which, poised over the four-square top of the pyramid “like a light but substantial globe”, 178 by its contrast and with flamboyant niches at the sides, appears to impart an effect of airy lightness to the entire composition. “Unquestionably the finest single creation of the Dravidian craftsmen”, rightly observes Percy Brown, 179 “the Tanjore vimana is a touchstone of Indian architecture as a whole”.

Within the precincts of the Brihadlsvara temple stand a few other structures, all subsequent accretions of different periods. Of these, the temple of Subrahmanya represents an exquisite piece of decorative architecture, richly carved, that equally attracts the admiration of the visitor. It belongs to a late date, about the eighteenth century A.D.

About A.D. 1025 Rajendra Chola constructed another stupendous monument in his new capital city of Gangaikondacholapuram. 180 Built within a quarter of a century, it resembles fundamentally the great conception of his father. Unfortunately, it has suffered much, and not a little of its spoliation has been due to what K. A- Nilakanta Sastri 181 describes as “modern predatory engineering”. It now stands amidst the mud huts of the desolate village, a mere stranded shell of its former prosperity.

Like its predecessor, the great temple at Gangaikondacholapuram is also contained within an immense walled quadrangle, and the remains of a substantial bastion at the south-east angle would indicate that this was disposed in the shape of a fortress enclosure. Much of the surrounding walls has now disappeared. Within the court the principal composition occupies a rectangle, about 340 feet by 100 feet, with its long axis from east to west, and consists of a large mandapa, 175 feet by 95 feet, and the massive vimdna, 100 feet square, with a connecting vestibule. The main entrance in the middle of the eastern wall of the mandapa is designed as an impressive portal, while two subsidiary entrances are provided in the northern and southern walls of the vestibule, each in the shape of a deeply recessed doorway flanked by two domineering figures of dvarapalas on the two sides. The mandapa is a relatively low building with a flat roof supported on a cluster of pillars, more than 150 in number, arranged in colonnades in the interior of the hall. In this pillared hall, substantial in dimensions, one may recognise the nucleus of the “thousand-columned mandapas” that were to constitute a distinctive feature of the Dravida temple-complexes of the subsequent ages. An individual appearance is imparted to the interior by the division of the platform supporting the colonnades along its centre by a wide passage at the ground level, with a similar passage carried round the entire inner circuit of the hall. The vestibule connecting the two principal components, the flat-roofed man^apa and the pyramidal vimdna, has two rows of massive square piers. Its roof rising above the level of that of the mandapa contributes an effective ensemble to the exterior elevation of the entire composition.

The vimdna, though larger in horizontal dimension than the Tanjore one, is only 160 feet high. The treatment of the lower upright section is essentially the same as that at Tanjore. But in the tapering body above, which consists of eight diminishing zones, the introduction of curves, in place of the strongly pronounced straight lines in the previous example, adds a richer note to the creation of Rajendra Chola. The Chola power in the time of this monarch had reached its most affluent state, and this is reflected in the increased richness and exuberance of this later structure. As Percy Brown 182 aptly comments: "There is a voluptuousness in the later structure, the beauty of ripe femininity, in contrast to the masculine strength of the earlier type. But in comparing these two architectural productions they present much more than a difference in kind. Stately and formal as an epic may epitomise the Tanjore vimdna while the later example has all the sensuous passion of an eastern lyric, but it seems to go even deeper than that. Each is the final and absolute vision of its creator made manifest through the medium of structural form, the one symbolising conscious might the other sub-conscious grace, but both dictated by that 'divinity which has seized the soul' ".

In these tw T o eminent productions of the two greatest monarchs of the Chola dynasty the Dravida temple style reaches its supreme expression. In the mighty sweep of the Tanjore vimdna there has been achieved a complete balance between stupendous architectural mass and aspiring verticality. Here the form dominates the composition, all ornament, however exuberant, being subordinated and complementary to it. At Gahgaikondacholapuram also the architectural form remains dominant in the conception, but the ornament has grown richer and, though still subservient to the architectural lineaments, predicts a restless impatience that seems destined to overstep its limits and overflow in plentiful growth.

After Rajendra Chola the vigorous days of the expanding power of the dynasty were over. The style also loses much of its force

and tends to become more and more ornate and florid. After the supreme upheaval it enters a baroque phase in which the activities, though practically undiminished, were concerned with productions of no more than ordinary interest. In the twelfth century A.D., the Chola power was on the decline and in its last stage, engaged in a life and death struggle with the rising power of the Pandyas and refractory feudatories. This led to the collapse of the dynasty in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. and the Pandyas for a time gained dominance in the south. During this Chola-Pandya phase a semblance of the former achievement of the style is noticeable in two productions, the Airavatesvara at Darasuram 183 and the Kampaharesvara or Tribhuvanesvara at Tribhuvanam, 184 both in the Tanjore District. The two seem to have been close to each other in time and to denote a revived impetus to building art. But this impetus is concerned, not so much with the production of any robust architectural form, as with the creation of an effect by reiteration of the same elements and by increased elegance and richness of ornamental detail. The temple-complex grows more elaborate and the formal scheme of the vimana and the mandapa is surrounded by several accessory shrines and mandapas, all forming a compact group within an enclosure or a number of concentric enclosures, each approached by a gopuram or gopurams. The Darasuram temple seems originally to have a number of such enclosures with a gopuram for each. In this temple one of the mandapas, axially in front of the principal scheme, is designed in the shape of a chariot drawn by elephants. During this phase, and particularly in the Pandya period, increased importance is given more and more to the temple precincts than to the main scheme, with the result that the latter dwindles in importance in relation to the former, more exuberant in design and execution. The gopuram comes to occupy a more prominent position in the temple scheme and gradually grows to imposing size and dimensions, until with its soaring height it dwarfs the vimana standing in the midst of the enclosure. The tendencies, noticed in the Pandya period, find their fullest expression in the Vijayanagara epoch, during which the exuberance of the late Chola and Pandya phases leads, so to say. to an unrestricted extravagance. 185

4. Chalukyan Style

The Vesara style of Indian temple architecture, according to the Silpa texts, was prevalent in the region between the Vindhyas and the river Krishna. This style, it has already been observed, has been equated by some scholars with what is known to the archaeologists as the Chalukyan style which flourished in the southern parts of the Bombay State, or, more precisely, the Kannada country. The style seems to have emerged under the rule of the Later Chalukyas who dominated the politics of the Deccan for a little over two hundred years beginning from the later part of the tenth century A.D. It is known to have reached its ripest expression in the Mysore territory under the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra.

The Chalukyan style cannot, however, be said to have an independent origin of its own, but represents "an outgrowth of the earlier Dravidian style, so modified in its development by the Western temple-builders as to have attained a separate style in their hands." 186 The genesis of the development may be traced back to the days of the early Chalukyan kings in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. when, at Aihole and Pattadakal, Dravida as well as N agar a temples were being erected side by side. It is the simultaneous co-existence of activities in Dravida and Ndgara templebuilding that provided an opportunity for a certain amount of admixture of the ideas of the two. The result is a development that leads to the emergence, under the aegis of the Later Chalukyan rulers, of a separate and individual style which has been referred to as intermediate between the Indo-Aryan (Ndgara) and the Dravidian (Dravida) and described as a mixed or hybrid one. But in the making of this style the Ndgara conception played a relatively less important part. It is the Dravida conception that forms the nucleus of future developments. The influences of the Ndgara style are felt in the occasional introduction of a few motifs, in treatment and ornament, which, however, do but little change the form and character of the Chalukyan temple that remain fundamentally Dravidian.

The Chalukyan temple, like the Dravida, consists of the two principal components, viz. the vimana and the mandapa, with sometimes an additional open mandapa in front. The former is surmounted by a pyramidal tower of storeyed elevation with a dome-shaped crowning member, while the latter are covered by flat roofs supported on pillars. In course of time there is a marked tendency to compress heights of the storeyed stages of the vimana. At the same time ornamental niche motifs, repeated one above the other up the ascent of the tower, simulate the vertical bands of the northern spire. In this is felt, no doubt, an inspiration from the Ndgara sikhara. The Chalukyan temple presents further an essential divergence from the Dravida in not having its .cells enclosed within a covered ambulatory. 187 The mandapas, again, are usually wider in dimensions than the vimanas. In the treatment of the exterior walls there seems to have been a blending, again, of Ndgara and Drdvida ideas. The walls are broken up by ratha offsets in the characteristic Nagara fashion, further spaced at regular intervals by pilasters in accordance with the usual Drdvida mode. The recesses, thus formed, are usually filled up by niches with superstructures of the Nagara or of the Drdvida style, thus producing a refrain of great artistic beauty. A further elaboration is noticed in the stellate plan based on the system of rotating squares. In the Chalukyan territory there is only a single example of this plan in the temple of Dodda Basappa at Dambal. In the Hoysala temples of Mysore the star-shaped plan becomes the usual fashion. A few of the Chalukyan temples are distinguished for their multipleshrined compositions in which two, three or four shrines are found arranged around a central mandapa hall. Such a composition with its multiple towers presents, not unoften, an extremely- pleasing view, and in this respect a few of the Hoysala temples constitute notable and impressive productions. Apart from architectural treatment, the Chalukyan temple, or its descendant the Hoysala, is also characterised by an exuberant plastic ornament covering all the external surfaces which seem to have a richly fretted appearance, from the base to the top. In the interior the pillars and the doorframes, as well as the ceilings, are also exuberantly treated in the like manner. The pillars themselves sometimes bear evident traces of being turned on lathes. All ornaments, whether on the pillars, door-frames or ceilings, have usually been imparted a highly lustrous polish so as to glow in the dim light in the interior. Considered as a whole, the Chalukyan temple represents one of the most ornate and florid expressions of Indian architecture.

Of this style there are innumerable remains wflthin the old Chalukyan boundaries. The Hoysala mode, its later offshoot, is also represented by a large number of temples in the Mysore territory. Indeed, there is hardly any village in either of these regions that does not contain an old monument, either complete or mutilated, and a few of the notable centres usually have more. It is possible, therefore, to refer only to a few significant examples which help us in following the development of the style. The emphasis is more on stylistic sequence than on chronological implications.

At Kukkanur in the Hyderabad State there is a number of old temples of which the Kallesvara 188 is important as marking an advance over the older prototype of the Drdvida temple towards the direction of the Chalukyan. It consists of the vimdna and the mandapa with a connecting vestibule between the two and a projecting Nandi porch in front (Text Figs. 40 and 41). The exterior walls are effectively broken up by slender pilasters at regular intervals with occasional insertion of a shrine or an identical structural motif in the recesses so formed. The introduction of structural motifs in place of figure sculptures, characteristic of this part of the scheme in the Dravida temple, represents a notable modification in the scheme. Further, the storeyed stages of the tower are reduced in height, and the domical apex, with a double curve, also introduces a significant innovation. Again, a gable-shaped motif in the middle of each storeyed stage on each face indicates the beginning of that simulated vertical band up the height of the tower which is so distinctive of the later Chalukyan temples. In these respects the Kallesvara at Kukkanur, though retaining a distinct Dravida shape and outline, exhibits a leaning towards the Chalukyan form that is soon to emerge.

The next notable step in the formation of the Chalukyan style is supplied by the Jain temple at Lakkundi 189 or Lokkigundi, as it was known in the ancient days, situated seven miles to the southeast of Gadag in the Dharwar District. Coarse-grained sandstone of the earlier prototypes is replaced in this temple by a fine-grained black chlorite schist, and the size of the masonry is also much reduced. This change, continued in the later temples, enabled the artists to treat the surfaces in greater detail and ornament, and the tendency henceforth is towards a rich and florid expression which lends such a distinctive character to the style. “The change in the material”, Cousens 190 observes, “was conducive to the charge in the style”.

The Jain temple at Lakkundi (Text Fig. 42) seems to have been the earliest among a number of old monuments at the place and its style is not far removed from that of the Kallesvara at Kukkanur. It consists of the vimdna, an intermediate vestibule and a mandaipa with a forward open pillared hall, all axially combined. The treatment of the exterior surfaces is generally of the same manner as that in the Kallesvara, but a greater ornamental effect has been introduced by a rich motif which takes the shape of a small pilaster surmounted by a turret and arched over by a cusped scroll of the most beautiful character rising from two slender pilasters at the flanks. The wide projecting eave, with a straight-edged incline, around the open pillared hall, is not only a useful feature but also a notable innovation in as much as it becomes a characteristic feature of the later development of the style.

Of this formative phase there are many other examples in different parts of the Chalukyan territories. The Muktesvara temple at Chauddadampur 191 on the eastern boundary of the Dharwar District is a neat little structure that indicates a further advance in the development of the style (Text Fig. 43). The wide eaves over the porches are now double curved in outline, and in conformity with this a smaller eave of the same character runs around the rest of the building. Such eaves henceforth constitute regular features in the temple scheme. It is interesting to note that the pillared porches of the mandapa are enclosed by kakshasanas, evidently a northern feature. The ornaments on the exterior walls are far richer and bolder and a greater amount of surface decoration is applied to the mouldings of the plinth. The tower has attained the .typical Chalukyan form. The storeyed stages, now considerably reduced, are fairly obscured by the exuberant plastic detail that covers the surfaces. The niche-facets in the middle are fully emphasised and, repeated one above the other, simulate more completely the vertical band that characterises the northern sikhcira. The domical crowning member “sits closer down upon the top” 192 and has a double flexion with a horizontal band in the middle.

Of the same formative phase as the Muktesara are the temples of Siddhesvara at Haveri 193 (Text Fig. 44), Somesvara at Haralhalli] 04 and Siddharamesvara at Niralgi, 195 all in the Dharwar District. Among these the Somesvara with its triple towers has an impressive appearance, and the three, along with the Muktesvara at Chauddadampur, might belong to the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.

In the twelfth century A.D. the style reaches its maturity and supreme expression. This phase is illustrated by a - fairly large number of temples in different parts of the Chalukya country. One of the most significant temples that illustrate the style at its best is that of Kasivisvesvara at Lakkundi, 196 which in its present shape dates from the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. It is a double-shrined temple, the second shrine facing the principal complex axially on the east (Text Fig. 45). The storeyed arrangement of the tower is, no doubt, there, though a superabundance of decorative detail almost masks the horizontality of its conception. Moreover, in the centre of each side the diminishing repeats of trefoil niches up the ascent of the tower emphasise strongly a vertical urge just in the manner of the prominent vertical bands of the northern sikhara. From the base to the top the entire exterior surface is encrusted with rich ornamental detail, bold in design and exuberant in expression. The deep and crisp plinth mouldings produce a sparkling effect of light and shade. On the walls may be seen the usual motifs characteristic of the style, but treated with a sense of volume and depth unknown in the monuments of the

earlier phase. The embellishment of the tower, rich as well as varied, is far more delicate and refined, while the decorative treatment of the doorways excels anything seen up till now. Each doorway (Fig. 83) is a perfect example of delicate and intricate chiselling, and some of the bands are so undercut as to resemble fine filigree or lace work. The temple of Kaslvisvesvara, on this account, has been regarded as one of the most eminent productions of decorative architecture. There might have been a certain idea of voluptuousness in its exuberant ornamentation, but the scheme, as a whole, is perfectly balanced so as to express the style at the zenith of its power.

An equally effective production, expressive of the high watermark of Chalukyan style, may be seen in the temple of Mahadeva at Ittagi 197 in the Hyderabad State, built in A.D. 1112. It forms the central scheme of a number of structures raised on a terraced platform, and is the only one now in a fairly tolerable state of preservation. The inscription recording its erection styles the temple as clevdlaya-chakravarti or 'the chakravarti among temples', and this title seems to be fully deserved. In the balanced and harmonious proportions of its parts, in the orderly disposition of its exuberant ornamentation, all elegantly wrought, the Mahadeva temple at Ittagi may rank as one of the best examples of its class. Cousens describes it as "probably the finest temple in the Kanarese districts after Halabid in Maisur". 98

The Mahadeva temple at Ittagi is larger in dimensions than the Kaslvisvesvara at Lakkundi and its decoration seems to be even more elaborate than that of the latter. It consists of the usual complements of the sanctum, the vestibule and the mandapa, together with another open hypostyle hall in front, aligned axially from west to east (Text Fig. 46; Fig. 81). The hypostyle with its original range of sixty-eight pillars 199 of varied and complicated designs is itself an imposing conception. A central complement of four pillars of the most bewildering pattern supports a coffered ceiling, the triangular space left at each corner being worked out into a rich fretwork of convoluted arabesque of the most spirited workmanship. A small antarala with the figure of the bull connects this hypostyle with the mandapa which is of the usual design with two approach porticos on the two opposite sides. The carving of the doorway is, agemi, « marvel of decorative workmanship. With regard to the ornamental work on the pillars and door-frames Meadows Taylor 200 says, "no chased work in silver or gold could possibly be finer", and this description is fully deserved. The exterior walls of the mandapa as well as of the vimana (Fig. 82) carry the usual decorative scheme,

bold and richly wrought, and the tower above is, again, a rich fretwork of sculptured designs. The rich and elaborately worked trefoil repeats successively one above the other, the soft and graceful curves in the contours and the breaking up of the prominent roll mouldings of the earlier temples by deep cusps with ornamental repeats are all designed to accentuate the vertically of an otherwise horizontal conception. In the appearance of this tower, superbly conceived and delicately wrought, one may recognise the nearest approach to that of the Hoysala temple which represents the ripest manifestation of Chalukyan style.

Among the many temples of this mature phase of the style a few other monuments deserve special mention. One is the temple of Mallikarjuna at Kuruvatti 201 in the district of Bellary (Text Figs. 47 and 48). It consists of the sanctum, the connecting vestibule and the mandapa, forming a compact group, together with a large pavilion for Nandi, which is a separate structure, placed axially in front. The pillars in the interior of the mandapa as well as in the portico are richly patterned in the usual manner, but particularly interesting are the boldly carved leaning figure brackets on the upper parts of the pillars supporting the architraves above. Such flying brackets had also been employed in other temples, but they have mostly been removed. At Gadag (Dharwar District) 202 there is, again, an important group of temples, mostly in a mutilated state. Of these, the temple of Sarasvatl is interesting as showing the plan of an inner sanctum within a covered ambulatory, this being the only occurrence of such a plan among the Chalukyan temples. The temple of Somesvara (Text Fig.49; Fig. 84) is also an interesting one. In the division of its wall section into two stages, in the introduction of the figure sculpture as a decorative element of the wall, and, to a certain extent, also in the treatment of the plinth mouldings it supplies definite points of contact between the Chalukyan temple and its offshoot, the Hoysala.

The only specimen of a star-shaped plan within the Chalukya territory is the temple of Dodda Basappa or Dodda Vasavanna (Fig. 85) at Dambal 203 (Dharwar District), and in this respect it supplies another point of contact with the Hoysala temple, in which the stellate plan is the usual one. The principle governing the stellate plan has been discussed more than once. A square rotating round a central axis and stopping at regular intervals in course of the rotation would result in a plan of foliated points, like those of star, touching the periphery of a circle at points equidistant from one another. This plan, wherever found, is characteristic of the sanctum only, but here at Dambal not only the sanctuary, but also

its attached mandapa , is star-shaped in plan. The former is designed by the square stopping at six equidistant points and the latter at eight. The result would be twenty-four foliated angles in the plan of the sanctum and thirty-two in that of the mandapa, the two giving an outline, as Cousens says, 204 “of a serrated 8” (Text Fig. 50). But because of the junction of the two components and the introduction of the two entrances in the latter on the south and the east, the former has only nineteen and the latter only twenty-one foliated angles. The angles of the plan, carried up the walls and continued on the tower, result in a sparkling effect of light and shade along with an accentuation of the verticality of the conception. The temple seems to have been the furthest from the Drdvida conception which forms the starting point in the development of the Chalukyan temple, and if the intermediate stages had not been known, it would have been difficult to establish its link with the prototype. The storeyed stages have now been transformed into mere stringcourses, but the serrated angles effectively break up the horizontal conception with the prominent vertical offsets that are carried right up to the top of the tower. The topmost member of the tower, now much compressed, has also the serrated indentations, in conformity with the plan of the lower section, and looks not unlike the ribbed dmalaka-sild of the northern sikhara. The predominantly angular scheme may likewise be recognised in the treatment of the pillars of the southern portico. The date of the temple is uncertain, but from its style it may be placed somewhere about the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. In the Dodda Basappa temple at Dambal we have perhaps an extreme manifestation of the Chalukyan temple which already seems to have lost its early vigour and tends to become insipid.

The Chalukyan style reaches its highest development and the peak of plastic ornamentation in the Mysore territory under the Hoysalas of Dvarasamudra. There are nearly eighty temples in the Hoysala mode in different parts of this territory, and their link with the Chalukyan temple is clear and obvious. The scheme of the Hoysala temple is, on the whole, similar to that of the Chalukyan. Multiple shrines grouped round a central mandapa constitute a favourite composition in the Hoj^sala modes and with this the Chalukyan temple is also familiar. What the Hoysala builders did was to elaborate the design to the extreme, as part from double and triple-shrined compositions there may be seen also quadruple and even quintuple-shrined temples. In the grouping of a number of shrines in a single composition the Hoysala mode cannot, hence, be said to be distinct 205 from the Chalukyan. For the sanctuaries the Hoysala builders usually preferred a stellate plan, and of this

the Dodda Basappa temple at Dambal in the Chalukyan style furnishes a notable instance. The stellate plan, as noted above, is also met with occasionally in several of the regional expressions of the Nagara temple style. The typical Hoysala temple usually stands upon a high and wide basement with its sides aligned to those of the building it supports. The wide terrace left around served the purpose of an outer ambulatory, there being none in the interior.

In the architectural treatment of the surfaces the Hoysala temple presents, no doubt, certain divergences, but these divergences result not so much from the practice of an altogether different mode as from an attempt to impart a greater plastic exuberance to the walls. The lofty plinth, sometimes nine or ten feet in height, is divided by a number of prominent horizontal bands with exquisitely carved designs, animal as well as floral, each band being separated from the next by a deep recessed shadow. Friezes of elephants, horses, grotesques, birds, narrative panels, etc., occasionally alternating with floral arabesques, occupy these bands, the place of each being defined by a specific convention. The beginnings of such a treatment of the plinth may be recognised in a few of the eleventh century Chalukyan temples, as noted above, but in the Hoysala temple the bands have increased in number and variety, and are characterised by an amazing plastic exuberance, the like of which has not been met with before.

A continuous cornice or projecting eave around the entire structure terminates the wall section. In the mandapa this section is in a single stage and is occupied by kakshasanas with perforated grilles above, each between moulded pillars regularly spaced. In the vimdna the wall surface is divided in two stages by a lesser cornice. The upper stage, patterned by pilasters and mural shrines, follows a conception already established in the Chalukyan temple. The treatment of the lower one signifies a notable development. This stage is occupied by a continuous frieze of sculptures, representing divinities, apsarasas, etc., each under a foliated canopy. Each is an independent element, exquisitely carved with a minute elaboration of detail, and can scarcely be regarded as an architectural piece. In the Hoysala temple the vimdna walls supply a vast sculptured panorama of Hindu mythology in all its manifold details. It is to be noted that such a treatment of the vimdna walls, apart from the plastic exuberance which is typically Hoysala, seems to have been anticipated in the Somesvara temple at Gadag mentioned above.

The tower of the Hoysala temple is, no doubt, derived, in the ultimate analysis, from the Dravida, the horizontal tiers of mouldings diminishing as they go up, being clearly reminiscent of the

storeyed stages of the latter. At the apex the much compressed parasol-shaped member may also be recognised to have its prototype in the dome-shaped stupika of the Drdvida vimdna. At the same time the Chalukyan tendency of emphasising the vertical aspect is equally evident in the chases of the stellate plan below being carried up and leading to a fluted texture of no mean artistic beauty. The horizontal and the vertical systems that make up the tower may seem to have balanced each other; but the succession of miniature turret-like motifs on each fluted chase registers an emphasis on a vertical tendency. An extreme variegation of the principal compositional elements by numerous facets, string-courses and the like, though exquisite as specimens of applied art, eventually results in a dissolution of every purposeful form and outline. Moreover, compared to the horizontal dimensions the Hoysala temple seems to have a much too low elevation. But this apparent defect is, to a certain extent, minimised by its situation within an enclosed court which prevents its contrast with larger objects. Within the court the temple has the appearance of a richly carved casket in sandal wood or ivory, and in works of this kind the Mysore craftsmen had been justly famous for centuries past.

A study of the typical features of the Hoysala temple leaves no doubt as to its being an offshoot of the Chalukyan. It illustrates a rich and exuberant expression of those tendencies which characterise the Chalukyan movement. Nevertheless, the Hoysala temple fails to impress the visitor architecturally. The general idea conveyed by a temple of the Hoysala mode is that it is the work, not of a builder, but of a sculptor. The amount of decorative work and sculpture distributed over the surfaces of a single temple is enormous. The Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid, one of the latest in the series, will sufficiently illustrate this. Each decorative band of the plinth extends to a length of over 700 feet, the lowest alone having as many as 2,000 figures of elephants in various attitudes and moods. And to realise more fully the enormity of the task involved one has to note that there are nine such bands constituting the plinth (cf. Fig. 86). In the lower stage of the vimdna the frieze of sculptures, each of more than half life-size (cf. Fig. 87), occupies a length of some 400 feet. The upper stage of the vimdna walls, the cornices, and the mandapa with its richly patterned pillars, kakshasanas and perforated screens are likewise covered with an exuberant incrustation of plastic detail. Every work is deeply undercut and intricately chiselled with a dexterity that seems to be unrivalled. Technical skill apart, one wonders when he realises, perhaps with a sense of awe, what stupendous labour and patience have been expended in the production of a single monument. It is not without a sense of appropriateness that the Hoysala temple has been described as “sculptors’ architecture”. As Percy Brown 206 says, “these Mysore temples owe their character more to the sculptor than to the mason. Gone is the structural basis, the fundamental framework evolved through the experience of the previous workers in the field, and in its place is an arrangement of manifold planes, projections and courses of masonry, each intricately carved and beautiful in itself, even beautiful in aggregation, but not, as a whole, amounting to a work of significant architecture in the full sense of the word.”

There is a large number of temples in the Mysore territory illustrating this sculptors’ architecture. Many of the more important conceptions are without any superstructures, which were either never completed or have fallen down. In most cases it is the substructures, i.e. the plinths and the walls, which alone remain These with their amazing display of sculptural exuberance enhance in a greater measure the plastic character of the style. The most typical and well-known examples which enable one to have a complete picture of the style are the Kesava temples at Somnathpur, the Chenna Kesava at Belur and the Hoysalesvara at Halebid.

Of these the first was erected about A.D. 1268 and is one of the latest of the series, but it is still in a perfect state and illustrates the Hoysala mode in its full maturity. 207 It has a triple-shrined composition and is situated within a quadrangular court with a cloister of cells all around. The temple (Text Fig. 51; Fig. 88) stands on a high terrace and, with three shrines arranged on three sides of a central mandapa which is projected in front as an open hypostyle, it assumes the shape of a cross, the greatest length and breadth respectively being 87 and 83 feet. Each of the shrines is of a stellate plan, the wide terrace belovr also following its indentations. Each of the shrines is surmounted by a tower, also stellate in shape, which rises to a height of 30 feet. The dimensions of the building are, no doubt, moderate, but all parts are perfectly balanced in their proportions and completely in accord with one another. The effect of the whole, set within a cloistered court, is elegant as well as pleasing. The fundamental scheme and the disposition and embellishment of its parts are in the characteristic Hoysala manner, already described.

The Chenna Kesava temple at Belur 208 is a much larger conception. Here we have a number of temples and other accessory structures enclosed within a walled court, measuring 380 feet by 425 feet and approached by two gateways in the eastern wall. The principal temple, that of Chenna Kesava, dates from A.D. 1117 and is situated in the centre, with other temples and structures distributed around it without any symmetrical arrangement. Nevertheless,

on account of their rich embellishment the assemblage on the whole looks picturesque. The Chenna Kesava consists of a sanctum of stellate plan and a pillared mandapa> having deeply recessed sides, with a connecting vestibule between the two, the whole being raised on a substantial terrace following the indentations of the complex in all its details (Text Fig. 52). Both inside and out there is a rich overlay of ornamental detail; but with the tower over the sanctum gone, the appearance cannot be said to be architecturally much impressive.

The Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid 209 has been regarded as the “highest achievement of the Chalukya-Hoysala school of architecture”. 210 Halebid or Halebidu, now a straggling village in the Hassan District of Mysore, represents the site of the ancient city of Dvarasamudra, the capital seat of the Hoysala kingdom for nearly two centuries. The ancient city is marked by the walls that once enclosed it; but there is nothing within, except the remains of a number of temples, Brahmanical as well as Jain, which now constitute the only records of its former splendour and intense religious activity. One of these was the Kedaresvara 211 perhaps the ‘chapel royaT of the Hoysala kings. A drawing of the temple, made in the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. and now in the Mackenzie collection (Librarjr of the Commonwealth Relations Office, London) shows the building as complete. Fergusson 212 described it as “a gem of Indian architecture” and had deplored the state of utter neglect which left it a prey to rank vegetation that had already begun to eat into its core. In spite of his warning and recommendation for protective measures, nothing practically was done to save this important monument of antiquity.

The Hoysalesvara (Fig. 89) is the principal temple in this city of ruins. It was, no doubt, a grand conception, but much of its architectural character has been impaired by the total absence of its superstructure which had probably never been completed. It is usually assigned to the middle of the twelfth century A.D. But the style of its elaborate plastic work already shows a certain loss of early quality and vigour marking a decline in the tradition. This might indicate a rather late date for the beginning of the conception which remained incomplete, the work having probably been stopped with the fall of the kingdom in the early years of the fourteenth century A.D.

In double-shrined temples it is the usual practice to place the two shrines facing each other with the mandapa connecting the two. But the scheme of the Hoysalesvara consists of two temples of the same dimensions, situated side by side and joined to each other by

their adjoining transepts (Text Fig. 53). Cut into two halves, each would be a complete structure with a sanctum and a pillared mandapa with an intermediate vestibule between the two and a detached pillared pavilion in front. Each sanctum is of a stellate plan and the attached mandapa has recessed sides, the two being skilfully joined by a substantial buttress on either side. The entire scheme is raised over a wide terrace closely following the indentations of the elaborate plan above. The pavilion in front of the southern sanctuary is a more ambitious and elaborate structure. That of the northern is much smaller in dimensions and simpler in disposition. It is in these frontal adjuncts that one may recognise some lack of harmony in an otherwise balanced configuration, and the question remains whether these frontal pavilions were parts of the original conception.

The effect of the interior with closely set pillars of overwrought detail is one of congestion, if not of confusion. But the exterior elevation (Fig. 89) has certain redeeming features in spite of the exuberance of plastic treatment. The different sections along the vertical axis are beautifully adjusted to one another in their harmonious proportions. The numerous vertical chases, textured by horizontal sculptured bands and friezes of plastic shapes (cf. Figs. 86 and 87), all deeply cut with minute elaboration of detail, lend to the exterior a variegated effect of light and shade. The plastic quality, however, with signs of tautness and stylisation, is not of very high order. Still, the treatment is good enough for effect. An “unending wealth of relief work”, says Percy Brown, 213 “was distributed over the exterior surface of this temple, but it is the incredible intricacy with which each detail of this extensive conception was treated that is so overwhelming, filling the spectator with astonishment. In the marvellous minuteness of its technique alone, there is no thought of time, space or limitations of any kind. . . . The temple at Halabid is the supreme climax of Indian architecture in its most prodigal plastic manifestations.”

5. Exotic Types

Apart from buildings of the three styles, described above, there are types of structures w T hich are either entirely exotic in shape or form, or represent developments that are quite significant. In the secluded valley of Kashmir Lalitaditya Muktapida (c. A.D. 724-760), one of the most famous of the Kashmir monarchs, inaugurated a golden era of building activity. The earliest monuments of this phase belong to Buddhism, and of these, the group of buildings at Parihasapura—a stupa, a monastery and a chaitya — was conceived

in imposing dimensions. Each of these buildings reproduces the characteristic form of the type and calls for little comment.

The most prolific activity of this classical phase is recognised in the erection of Brahmanical temples. 214 The type, once established, remained uniform throughout. The typical Kashmir temple is peripteral in composition. The temple is situated within a quadrangular court enclosed by a peristyle of cells and approached by one or three porticos. The portico itself is a monumental composition and the peristyle a broad and imposing conception. This kind of conception is also noticed in India proper, and in Kashmir this composition might have been derived from the Buddhist establishments. But apart from this, the Kashmir temple has a special character of its own which excludes it from the general course of Indian architectural movement, as outlined above. To a certain extent, the temple in Kashmir has a distinctly un-Indian appearance, and this is particularly emphasised by its pillars, the treatment of wall surface, and the elevation of its superstructure. It has a double pyramidal roof obviously derived from the usual wooden roofs common in Kashmir. There is a triangular pediment enclosing a trefoil niche on each of the three sides with a similar pediment over the doorway in front, the pediments being repeated on each stage of the pyramidal roof. The pillars are fluted and surmounted by capitals of the quasi-Doric order. Another speciality is the ceiling of the roof, either of wood or of stone, which takes the form of a lantern formed by overlapping intersecting squares. These features lend a distinctive character to the Kashmir temple and betray certain extra-Indian inspiration. One of the earliest conceptions, and perhaps the most impressive even in its ruins, is the celebrated Sun temple of Martand (Text Figs. 54 and 55), built by Lalitaditya, and this appears to have been the model for the subsequent ones. Other typical temples may be found at Vangath, Avantipura (Avantesvara and AvantisvamI, the latter (Text Fig. 56), like the Martand, constituting another touchstone of the type), Patan, Payar, Buniar, and Puranadhishthana or Pandrethan. The type was confined within the limits of Kashmir. Its influence on the design of the Gop temple in Kathiawar cannot be proved, as noted above.

In the other extremitv of Northern India the excavations at

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Paharpur (Rajshahi District, North Bengal) 216 have laid bare the remains of a temple which some scholars declare to be of a type entirely unknown to Indian archaeology. The colossal structure, measuring 356’ 6" from north to south and 314' 3" from east to west, occupies nearly the centre of the immense quadrangle forming the monastery, the far-famed Somapura mahavihara of old. The

ground-plan 216 consists of a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms (Text Fig. 57). The temple (Fig. 90) rose in several terraces, with a circumambulatory gallery, enclosed on the outer side by a parapet wall around the monument, in each of the two upper terraces. Access to the first and second terraces was obtained by the extensive staircase provided on the north.

This apparently complex plan becomes very simple when the monument is examined and studied from the top downwards. Dikshit 217 appears to be right in observing that “the plan of the Paharpur temple was the result of a pre-meditated development of a single central unit, in which future expansion was in a sense predetermined in a vertical direction, that is in the setting up of new floors, etc. but not laterally”. A hollow square pile in the centre, shooting high up above the terraces, provides the pivot round which the entire plan of this stupendous monument has been conceived. The walls of this lofty central unit form a sharp square, and in order, most probably, to relieve this monotony, provision was made in the second upper terrace for a projection, consisting of a chamber and an ante-room, on each face, leaving out a portion of the whole length of the square at either corner. This arrangement resulted in a cruciform shape with one projecting angle between the arms of the cross. The circumambulatory passage with the parapet wall was made to run parallel to the outline of this plan. A similar rectangular projection on each side was added on the first, i. e. the next lower, trerace thus variegating the plan still more. The basement conformed to the alignment of the first terrace structure with the result that the angular projections in the plan of the first terrace and that of the basement were three each between the arms of the cross, to which an additional projection was added by the staircase landing just in the middle of the northern arm. An enclosure wall, strictly conforming to the basement plan with only a slight deviation near the main staircase, runs round the monument. There are reasons to believe that this complete plan from the basement to the top, along with the different component elements, belongs to a single period of construction, and the evidences of later repairs, additions and alterations did not fundamentally affect the general arrangement and plan. An earlier prototype of the Paharpur temple has been reported to have been discovered at Lauriya Nandangrah in North Bihar.[218] But so far as can be gathered from the published reports and reproductions, the angles of the Nandangarh monument appear to be purely decorative and to have originated from an entirely different conception. The disposition of the angles is different at Nandangarh, and every re-entrant angle has been strengthened with a buttress. The peculiar arrangement of the projections of rectangular structures round the basement at each lower level, which resulted in the projecting and reentrant angles that we see at Paharpur, is absent at Lauriya Nandangarh. The Paharpur monument may be said to have its own distinctive characteristics and no exact parallel has so far been found elsewhere in India. It should be noted that the existing basement of a later structure within the monastic quadrangle[219] at Paharpur seems to be a close replica of the main temple. Here the plan is more perfect and symmetrical with the provision of approach-steps in all the directions, instead of in the north only as we have in the main temple.

It has been suggested by Dikshit[220] that the main shrine of this colossal edifice was situated at the top, i. e. on the third terrace, and consisted of a square cella with a circumambulatory verandah all round. The evidence, now before us, is however, against any such inference, and in view of the extremely mutilated condition of the monument at the top it is difficult to follow Dikshit’s line of argument on this point. If such had been the case, the grand staircase on the north ought to have extended beyond the second terrace to reach the third. There are definite indications, however, that it terminated with the second terrace and no access to the third terrace, if there had been any, had been provided for in the original monument. The hollow square pile forming the central unit of this stupendous structure exhibits a brick-paved floor inside “roughly at the level” of the second terrace with its projected chambers. But no access to this inner square from the chambers has been found, nor is there any evidence that there was originally such an access which had been blocked up at a later period. Under the circumstances, the paved platform in the centre of the hollow square, which had been strengthened by a deep soling of bricks and several courses of offsets, does not appear to have served any function, except to add to the solidity of the foundadtion of the lofty walls of the central square. So far as the arrangement of the temple goes the sanctuary could have neither been situated at the top nor inside central square pile.

Regarding the plan of the temple Dikshit has made one plausible suggestion that a four-faced (Chaturmuka , Chaumukha) Jain temple, which existed very likely at the site, might have furnished the barest model [221] of the present structure. This is a pertinent suggestion which is worth more serious consideration than has been given to it. In this connection we should also take into account a particular type of temples at Pagan in Burma, [222] which may be regarded as an adaptation of the Chaumukha shrines of the Jains. The type represents a square temple with four figures of Buddha, set in recessed niches, on the four faces of a solid masonry pile standing in the centre of a surrounding corridor or corridors and approached by entrance vestibules on one or more of its faces. The Pagan temples seem to offer a striking analogy to the plan of the second terrace of the Paharpur temple, and may be compared with profit for the many problems that surround this unique Indian monument. The walls of the central square pile at Paharpur do not exhibit any evidence of being provided with niches, but, bearing in mind the analogy of the Pagan temples and of the Chaumukha shrines, a suggestion that images were installed in the ante-rooms on the second terrace does not appear to be quite improbable. It is to be noted that these ante-rooms still bear traces of brick platforms abutting on the walls behind, and these were probably intended as pedestals of the images that were once set on the four sides of the central square pile.

The walls of the temple were built of well-burnt bricks, laid in mud mortar, and considering the materials used, it is remarkable that after a lapse of so many centuries parts of it are still standing to a height of about 70 feet above the ground level. The plainness of the walls is relieved on the outer face by projecting cornices of ornamental bricks and bands of terracotta plaques, set in recessed panels, which run in a single row all around the basement and in double rows around the circumambulatory passage in the upper terraces. In contrast with these terracotta plaques, the lower part of the basement is embellished with a number of stone sculptures in high relief, which are almost wholly Brahmanical, but extraordinarily varied in style. 223

The main fabric of the temple belongs to a single period of construction, most likely to the time of Dharmapala who was responsible for the foundation of the monastery around it in the latter part of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The temple has been exhumed in an extremely fragmentary state and the form of the superstructure, the method of roofing, and other details are difficult to ascertain now. Marshall 224 assumes the temple to have been a "garbha-chaitya" or a hollow pagoda. Such was also the view of R. D. Banerji 225 who described the main shrine of the temple as consisting of a "hollow-roofed chamber". But hollowroofed shrines are extremely rare, if not unknown, and it is reasonable to infer that the temple was capped by some sort of superstructure. The terraced arrangement of the structure would appropriately suggest a roof rising in receding tiers over the vaults spanning the different circumambulatory corridors. The square masonry pile in the centre, on the analogy of the Pagan temples, may be said to have supported a curvilinear sikhara as the crowning element of this colossal edifice. This sort of roof and superstructure suits not only the analogy of the Pagan temples, but also the evidence of shrines shown in relief in East Indian sculptures or sketched in miniature in East Indian manuscript illuminations. At Pagan the central pile is solidly designed. But at Paharpur, probably to reduce the weight of the stupendous building and to guard against resultant sinking, it was left hollow, though sufficient stability for the accumulating weight, as the monument rose up, has been ensured in the enormous girth of each of the four walls.

The temple type at Paharpur has been frequently described as entirely unknown to Indian archaeology. The Indian literature 226 on architecture, however, often refers to a type of building, known as sarvatobhadra, which should be a square shrine with four entrances at the cardinal points and with an ante-chamber on each side (chatuhsala-griha) . It should have uninterrupted galleries all around, should have five storeys and sixteen corners and many beautiful turrets and spires. The temple at Paharpur, as mow excavated, approximates in general to the sarvatobhadra type as described in Indian texts on architecture. It is a many-terraced temple, each terrace approximating to the height of a storey, consisting, perhaps, of a votive shrine in each of the four projected faces and surrounded by a continuous circumambulatory passage in the second terrace, with further projections and passages at the next lower terrace to extend the building commensurate to its height, a measure that results in so many projecting and re-entrant angles of the ground plan. Thus in Indian temple architecture the type does not appear to have been quite unknown. It is only the disappearance of the other examples that has been responsible for the view that the Paharpur type is a novel one in Indian temple architecture. The Sastras enjoin such a type for the kings and the gods, and if our reconstruction of the elevation of the temple is accepted, a fair popularity of the type in Eastern India is evidenced by representations of this type of shrines in the sculptures and paintings hailing from this region. Many of the mounds in Bengal, that can still be traced as rising in terraces, may perhaps reveal, on exacavation, other remains of such a type of temple. The ruins of a temple, generally similar to the Paharpur plan, but of much smaller dimensions, have accidentally been laid bare at Birat (Rangpur District, North Bengal). 227 From the standpoint of elevation, with a tiered roof of several stages surmounted by a curvilinear tower as the crowning superstructure, the Paharpur temple seems to have combined two distinctive fea

lures of two of the prominent types of Indian temple architecture, the Bhadra and the Rekha as they are known in Orissa, and may, for the sake of convenience, be described as the Bhadra-Rekha type of temple. From the representations of similar temples in the sculptures and paintings, the type may be taken to have been characteristic of Eastern India.

The importance of the type of temple laid bare at Paharpur in the history of Indian colonial art and architecture in South-East Asia is immense. Unfortunately, it is not possible here to enter into a detailed discussion of this question. It is sufficient to say that this type of temple in Eastern India profoundly influenced the architectural efforts of Further India, specially Burma and Java, the origins and associations of which had been taxing the archaeologists since the time of James Fergusson. The square temples at Pagan in Burma present remarkable points of similarity with the Paharpur temple. 228 The points of divergence between the two are also many, and though the shape of the Paharpur monument might have afforded a possible scope for imitation by the Burmese builders, there must be recognised a fundamental difference in the general conception and arrangement of the Pagan temple as a whole. Dikshit refers to Chandi Loro Jonggrang (Fig. 91) and Chandi Sewu in Central Java as offering the nearest approximation to the plan and superstructure of the Paharpur temple. “The general view of the former”, Dikshit writes, “with angular projections, truncated pyramidal shape and horizontal lines of decoration reproduces the prominent characteristics of the Indian monument.” The plan of the main temple of the Chandi Sewu also strikingly resembles the plan of the second terrace of the Paharpur temple. To this may be added further the terraced elevation and unbroken circumambulatory galleries in both the Javanese monuments, exactly as we find them at Paharpur. The Paharpur temple belongs clearly to an earlier period, and the close connection between Eastern India and the Archipelago is an established fact. In view, therefore, of the closer similarity between the Paharpur temple on the one hand and the two Javanese ones on the other, “the possibility is clearly suggested of the Indian monument being the prototype.” 229

II. SCULPTURE 1. GENERAL REVIEW A. Growth of Regional Schools

The eighth and ninth centuries saw the consolidation of that process of conscious regionalism that had made itself felt already in the seventh century. For a whole millennium, roughly from about the third century B.C. to about the seventh century A.D., Indian art admits, despite local variations due to local tastes and visions, of a common denominator at each different stage of evolution and fulfilment. Towards the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century A.D. the regional spirit gradually asserts itself. The classical tradition of an all-India art lingers for one or two centuries, but the regional spirit gradually gets the better of the Indian. This regional outlook reacts on other aspects of culture as well. The local scripts and dialects begin slowly to take shape, with a strong accent on the autochthonous traits, during the next two centuries, and it is in this period that we have to seek for the genesis of all major scripts and languages of mediaeval and modern India.

B. Mediaeval Trend

Plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form had been the most significant characteristic both of classical Indian sculpture and painting. A movement now starts towards summarising the rounded volume in the direction of flat surface and linear angles. Swelling and smooth round lines develop sharp edges; compositions tend to become linearised with emphasis on sharp angles, horizontals, verticals, and diagonals; and curves that had so long been convex turn into the concave. Already in some of the reliefs of the fifth and sixth centuries (for example, in a few fifth century reliefs from Nagari, Chitor; sixth century Dhamek stupa frieze of abstract geometric patterns; early seventh century relief on a bronze bowl illustrated by Coomaraswamy) , 230 one witnesses the presence of certain of these traits. But sculpture being essentially and intrinsically three-dimensional, and plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form having been the most important exponent of the classical tradition, it resisted for long the intrusion of these 'mediaeval' elements. But painting, which is essentially two-dimensional, offered much less inherent resistance to the new conception of form. In the ninth century wall-paintings at Ellora we find these traits asserting themselves so emphatically and exuberantly as to suggest past practice over a considerable period of time. Here the gliding modelled lines are replaced by sharp and thin lines, modulated curves by sharp and pointed angles, and roundly modelled surfaces by flat coloured spaces. It did not take long for sculptural art to be touched by this new art form which evidently opened up a new field for further exploration. Both in painting and sculpture (mainly in terracotta) this new conception of form had far-reaching results in store. How they were registered through the ages will be evident from a consideration of West-Indian and Rajput sculptures

of the tenth-twelfth centuries, West-Indian, mainly Gujarati, book and textile illustrations of the twelfth-fifteenth centuries, Burmese painting of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, early Rajput miniatures of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, Bengal terracottas and wood-carving of the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, and certain Deccani and Orissan miniatures of the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, to mention only a few.

lire 'mediaeval' trend was not valid for the whole of India, nor was its impression registered everywhere at the same time. It was mo., visible in Western India, namely Gujarat, Rajputana, Central India and certain Himalayan tracts. But, despite isolated instances of earlier date, the mediaeval conception of form does not become general in these regions before the tenth century, and then it grows with time within the regions just referred to. So far as sculpture is concerned, other regions of India, mainly Eastern India, Deccan, the Far South, remain more or less untouched by this conception and draw in the main from the rich heritage of the classical tradition.

C. Cult-images and Canonisation

The pivot of early mediaeval sculpture is the human figure, both male and female, in the form of gods and goddesses and their attendants. Such gods and goddesses were there in the preceding centuries as well, when their iconography came to be formally fixed according to basic principles of mathematical proportion, balance, and other relations on the one hand, and lakshanas and lanchhanas required by the ninths, legends, and ideologies of respective cults on the other. This fixation of the iconography of cult-images—whether in the garbha-grihu or on the walls of temples—was the result as much of creative artistic experience as of the integration of the religious experience by the artist himself. The value of the image during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods does not lie simply in its being an intermediate symbol to help realising an ultimate object; it is realisation itself, both artistically and spiritually, and since it is so, the value is connected with artistic quality as well. What was thus born from within the creative genius came now to be fashioned in strict accordance with minute regulations laid down in the canonical texts. The cult-image was mainly conceived as an object to be used by the devotee to help concentrating his mind for realisation of an ultimate object outside the image itself. The image had thus no inherent relation either with the devotee or with the artist- it existed apart and was identical neither with his inner experience nor with his ultimate object. Such instrumental and intermediary

value of the cult-image conditioned in the main the attitude of the artists, as they usually worked for the devotees who happened to be their patrons. With ever-increasing demands such images had to be turned out in hundreds, and since their value lay solely in the service they rendered as an instrument, they did not call for transfusion of the artist's creative or spiritual experience into the object of his creation.

In a situation like this, the majority of the cult-images that were meant to be worshipped, especially those that were popular and hence in great demand, namely, Vishnu, Surya, Uma-Mahesvara, Buddha, etc., did not attain a very high degree of artistic excellence. A procession of endless monotony of form uninformed by any inner experience and without any registration of individual creative genius, meets the eye. It is only in rare instances that images were expressions of the artist's creative genius and attained high artistic standards. But such examples are few and far between. Yet, it cannot be denied that the standard of average cult-images of the period maintains a fair level even as objects of art; that they do so was to a great extent due to accumulated knowledge of a high order and inheritance of a rich and prolonged experience on the one hand, and well and correctly laid regulations of mathematical relations, of artistic proportion and balance, and of ritual and iconography on the other. In elasticity and transparency, in illumination and depth of feeling and experience, therefore, early mediaeval sculpture can bear no comparison with that of the classical age to which these qualities belong. Canonisation of past experience—creative and spiritual—ultimately resulted in thinning the experience itself, and a thinned experience, though capable of producing good art, cannot produce great art.

Since the cult-images of early mediaeval art rest on the assured foundations of a regulated and canonised structure of form, it maintains a more or less uniform standard of quality in all art-regions of India. There is hardly any major deviation anywhere, any evidence of a novel experience or any tangent shooting in any new direction. Everywhere the art moves within the limits of established practice and within canonical injunctions; and within each art-province it moves forward along the arrow line of time in more or less uniform pace. Curiously enough, the creative climax of each art-region is not reached at one and the same time all over India, but at different periods. In Bihar and Bengal it is reached in the ninth and tenth centuries; in Orissa in the twelfth and thirteenth; in Central India in the tenth and eleventh; in Rajputana in the tenth; in Gujarat in the eleventh; and in the Far South in the tenth

centuries. It is in the Deccan alone that the story is one of increasing torpor and petrifaction; indeed, Deccan ceases to be a sculptural province after eighth century.

Since the image is an object to help concentration of the mind, it faces the devotee full and square, and its attributes, flexions, and attitudes are all gathered on the surface, so as to draw the devotee's eyes straight on them and fill his mind with its entire and total presence. Whether the image is a relief in various grades or worked in the round, it is always conceived and executed in term of the surface as well as of the vertical plane. In seated and standing figures the vertical direction is obvious, but even in reclining images the emphasis is more on the verticality than on the horizontal rest. The attendant divinities or parsva-devatas, whether accompanying the main image in the sanctum or appearing separately in the niches of the outer walls of temples, are also treated on the same principle as those of the cult-images themselves; in rare instances there is a relaxation of canonical and iconographic injunctions. They are also relaxed where minor divinities like dikpalas are concerned.

D. Non-iconic Figure Sculptures

A large part of the art of these centuries is primarily religious, and whatever secular themes are handled and find place on the outer walls of the temples are accepted as serving the needs of a life religious in aim and inspiration. It therefore reflects inevitably the experience of past centuries as well as of contemporary life; not the experience of any individual but the integrated experience of the cults and communities themselves. It is not the cultimages alone that have well-established types which are hardly ever transformed by any peculiar personal artistic experience, but other figures also conform to more or less standardised types within each art-province, and hardly reveal any personal attitude or experience of the artist.

The multitude of figures relate themselves to a large variety of motifs and subjects. There are narrative reliefs, legendary illustrations, historical or semi-historical scenes, music and dance scenes, mithuna couples in a variety of poses and attitudes, toilet scenes, domestic scenes and scenes of daily life, array of warriors and animals, drummers, flute-players, etc., the rampant leogryph, and the woman and the tree (salabhanjika), among many other motifs. Some of these, as for example, the woman and the tree, the leogryph, the dikpalas, and the mithuna couples are repeated almost ad nauseam to impress on the onlooker, it seems, the insistence and ever

presence of certain fundamental principles of life. Floral and vegetal devices are almost conspicuous by their absence; even when, if at all, they make their appearance, they are formally mechanical and stereotyped, and have hardly any place or importance in the entire composition. They are relegated to the borders or to the background whence they impart but a decorative value to the reliefs. On the other hand, early mediaeval art is rich in abstract geometrical devices, throwing deep light and shade and with lines cut in flat and sharp angles and edges. Such devices are to be found in abundance, endlessly repeated either as border decorations or independently by themselves. Like the floral-vegetal devices, they have hardly any relation with the composition of relief. Animal or human figure, tree or floral-vegetal design, abstract devices, etc. —all receive in the hands of the artist equal share of importance; accent is distributed evenly over all or on none; but since the figure sculpture, mainly human figure, is the pivot round which everything moves, it catches the eye before anything else, not by its accent but by its quantity and recurrence. Grouping of these figures is, however, thoroughly disintegrated; they are juxtaposed in relation to space but are not inherently related with one another by psychological and narrative ties. Figures are shown as if loosely distributed on the surface of the stone; they do not emerge from it and have thus lost the direction of forthcoming from the stone itself. They just exist there against the ground of the stone without any effort, and have to be accepted as granted, as it were. Despite gaiety and movement of the subjects, clever display of light and shade in the reliefs, variety of poses and attitudes in front, profile, and more frequently, three-quarter views, and difficult, agitated, nervous, sensuous, flexions of the body there is no evidence of the dynamic urge of the stone itself to blossom into such forms. The centuries of dynamic becoming of form from unformed depths have been left behind.

By the beginning and middle of the twelfth century all reserves of experience seem to have completely been drawn upon. Indeed this century witnesses complete disintegration of Indian creativeness. Attention to meticulous details, elaboration of essentials and non-essentials alike, over-ornamentation, and canonisation of basic creative principles led to a sort of mechanical grace, elegance, and perfection, and exhibited superb mastery of the craft itself. But the end of Indian creativeness was already drawing near when Islam finally swept it away. In isolated regions, as in Orissa, the persistence of the classical mind and tradition, the irrepressible urge of the Indian mind to express itself in terms of a living and dynamic naturalism and sensuous love of the physical body with

all the ecstasy it is capable of, postponed the disintegration till as late as the thirteenth century (in Konarak, for example). In the South also, it was checked by a new experience of religious emotionalism of a new type of bhakti that flowered in a series of portraits, in metal, of Saiva and Vaishnava saints till as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

2. EASTERN INDIA A. Bihar and Bengal

Generally speaking, East Indian sculptures of the period are carved out of black chlorite (kashti-pdthar), either of fine or of coarse grain. Metal images are cast in brass or octo-alloy (ashta dhatu). A few images of gold and silver have also come down to us, and wood-carvings also are not unknown. But, whatever the material, it does not, as a rule, determine the characteristics of art which are common to stone, metal and wood. Little or no concessions are made to the material itself except in such items as ornaments which, in metal, are wrought with more precision and fineness, or the linear direction which, in wood, is shown as following its grain.

The pivot is the human figure, in the full bloom of youth, radiant and vibrant, and combining in itself both spiritual and mundane suggestiveness, frankly physical and sensuous. It is not unlikely that this sensuous suggestiveness of a really spiritual mood was due at the bottom to an inner experience of erotic nature derived from sexual yoga or Tantrik inspirations, doubtless canonised by the respective cults.

Eastern India, comprising Bihar and Bengal (also Mayurbhanj and to a large extent Orissa), carries on, almost uninterruptedly and without any intrusion of the mediaeval trend, the classical tradition of vision and experience as well as of form, albeit much thinned and superficial. Indeed, nowhere else did the classical tide and tradition of the past centuries persist with such tenacity and strength and for so long a time. The more important specimens of East Indian sculpture are all cult-images, worked more or less strictly according to formulas enunciated by authors of the dhyd nas. Nevertheless they maintain, in varying degrees in different regions and at different times, a classical dignity and serenity in their bearing, and yet their charm and sensuousness have a spell of allurement that is at once physical and spiritual.

Eighth century East Indian sculpture may be regarded as belonging to the final phase of classical Indian tradition. The facial and physiognomical type is a Gupta survival. A boldness of corn

position in solid masses, more noticeable in the stone sculptures than in the bronzes, with a tender modelling of heavy bodily forms characterises the work of this transitional phase. In Bihar this tide and tradition persist for a longer period, far into the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Western part of Bengal shares in this persistence for some time yet. In South, North, and Eastern Bengal, however, the regional element of sensuousness and refinement asserts itself with power and strength earlier than was the case in Bihar and West Bengal. A considerable difference in facial features, emotional characteristics, and decorative details is also to be admitted throughout between the products of Bihar and Bengal, but this does not disturb the common denominator to any appreciable esxtent.

The ashta-dhatu (made of eight metals) images of Nalanda (cf. stone image of Avalokitesvara, Fig. 93) and Kurkihar (Fig. 94) mark the creative climax of ninth century plastic vision and idiom. Sturdily conceived, the physiognomical mass is modelled with a soft pliability, and the facial expression is one of tender affection and allurement. Even in stone sculptures, despite a metallic ring, the modelling suggests a contented and calm sensuousness. Boldness of plastic conception persists and the swelling of plastic masses is more evident in the metal images than in the stone ones. The ideal art form is one of soft fleshiness within definite outlines.

Out of the soft fleshiness controlled within definite outlines the tenth century evolves a powerfully massive form of the body which is shaped with a disciplined vigour, and shows a conscious strength that seems to swell the outline from within (cf. Fig. 92). In isolated instances this is controlled by a strict discipline even to the extent of petrification of the flesh (Fig. 95), but in most cases it is a soft and tender discipline, and the vigour is spread out on to the surface. This vigour transformed the softness of the fleshy form into mighty roundness. Almost all specimens are moulded into high relief and the trunk limbs are all pregnant with the subdued vigour of a robust form. Throughout the century East India retains this high quality and standard. The modelling still retains its sensuousness, though expressed within a disciplined form. In other respects the tenth century retains, to a large extent, the quality of the ninth. The facial type is the same, equally full, but sometimes a bit longish. The flexions of the body are slightly on the increase, so that we have increasing curves in the outlines of the figures.

The end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century transform the vigour and strength of bodily form into one of conscious gracefulness and elegant mannerism (Fig. 96). Understandably a slender bodily type comes to be favoured. The deep broad outlook of the tenth century becomes somewhat thin and circumscribed, and the elegance of the physiognomical form gradually becomes more evident. The legs have stiffened to a great extent and given up all elasticity, even in postures that suggest movement. The elegance of the modelling and sensitiveness of the facial expression, however, persist throughout.

In the twelfth century the slender body-type and the formal treatment of the preceding century are retained, but the modelling becomes petrified. The sensitiveness of the facial expression disappears and is replaced by a serious heaviness; the legs become almost column-like without any elasticity. The relief, in three or four architectonic units, is covered by dense and heavy multitudes of accompanying figures and decorative details which grow more and more sumptuous and elaborate, and ultimately cover the compositional scheme altogether (Fig. 98). Not only the modelling but also the volume becomes petrified and gradually loses its plastic significance. Ornaments are inordinately lavish and sumptuous, and are not organically connected with the figures. Flexions of the body are extended to the utmost limit; bends are employed to their last possibilities (Fig. 97), but the expression of movement is only that of pattern without any suggestiveness. Despite voluptuous and full curly lips and doubly curved eyebrows, facial features become pointed almost to a triangle, and rigid, without any deep spiritual significance (Fig. 100).

Here and there one, however, comes across a new artistic inspiration, a new creativeness amid a system that was already on its way to suffocation by material exuberance. A spontaneous power of modelling in a completely round form inspires a tough and vigorous artistic form in some rare specimens, and in spite of sumptuousness of ornaments and a precise outline it reveals a conscious dignity and strength, a freshness of elemental experience that could yet save the art from final stagnation. But that was not to be. Left to itself, the art could yet find out new channels or new experiences, but all chances were set at rest by the rapid rush of Islam.

East Indian art of the twelfth century represents mainly the art of the period of the Senas, and a cross-section of the literature and culture patronised at the Sena court reveals the attitude of material exuberance that one notices in Sena sculptures. Even religious themes—both in art and literature—are endowed with a worldly consciousness and almost physical charm and grace (Fig. 99). The Gitci-govinda of Jayadeva, for example, may be regarded as

a literary counterpart of the voluptuous sensuousness of the Sena art. In its origin it had no doubt a religious inspiration, but there is also no doubt that what was basically a spiritual experience came to be overshadowed by a worldly trend developed in the Sena court. Sensuousness and grace were properties of earlier periods of Bengali art as well, but it was left to the Senas to allow and encourage them to degenerate into mere worldly lavishness.

It is not impossible that the explanation for this mechanical worldly lavishness of Sena sculptures is to be found in the strain of their foreign blood. Contemporary South-Indian sculpture is equally lavish in its worldliness, mechanical and rigid in vision and execution, but lacking the grace and animation of Sena images which were direct legacies from earlier Pala sculptures.

The art-form of Eastern India during these four long centuries proceeds in a wavering line; sometimes favouring a fleshly form frankly sensuous, sometimes an abstract form equally sensuous, not frankly but suggestively, both tendencies working within the strict rigours of canonical tradition. The art seems to have derived its charm and peculiar character from an oscillation between the reality of the flesh and the reality of abstraction, perhaps between two minds, one deeply imbued with the sadhana of the Tantra that knows this physical body to be the abode of heavenly bliss, and the other aspiring to abstract the godliness in man out of his material body itself—the sadhana of Brahmanical Hinduism. In striking contrast to this ideological oscillation between the two tendencies, is the gradual evolution of the composition. It begins with quite simple flexions and attitudes of the body and simple decorations and ornamentations; but with the progress of time the flexions and attitudes of the body become excited and agitated, decorations and ornamentations, playful and frivolous. This tendency from simple and quiet to agitated and frivolous general appearance proceeds in a steady straight course. In any case this tendency seems to have worked itself up to such exaggerations that it came to sit heavily on the art itself, and when finally Islam came and with it came also a change in the Court, and for a time, in the socio-religious institutions and establishments, the art was suffocated, if not to immediate death, at least to immediate stagnation.

Summarily speaking, the four centuries and a half of the rich Eastern school of Bihar and Bengal are characterised by high technical accomplishment and a kind of mechanical grace and elegance. The outlines are sharp and clear and the modelling is almost metallic. The school sent its reverberations to Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and a few sub-Himalayan tracts in the north; nearer home to Mayurbhanj; and, beyond the seas, to Burma, Siam, Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon. The more important centres of the school were Nalanda, Kurkihar, Bodh-Gaya, Raj agriha and Champa in Bihar; Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Bogra, in North Bengal, and Dacca, Tippera and Sylhet in East Bengal, all now included in East Pakistan. Regional variations in facial type and expression and in appearance and treatment are noticeable, but they do not reach out of the lines of the common denominator. West Bengal products and those of Bihar go together, while South Bengal cultivates a sort of happy and subtle contentment different from the alluring charm and elegance of North and East Bengal.

B. Orissa

As in Bihar and Bengal, so in Orissa, the flow of Gupta classical tide persists with consistent vigour. The soft and mellow lines and curves and full but delicate and subtle plasticity of volume continue in subdued vigour till they are replaced by flowing but firm sinuous lines, quicker flexions and tough, firm, round, modelling of a sturdier plastic volume—elements that presumably were the gifts of a new vision, a new ideal other than that of the bygone age. Indeed, onwards from roughly about the tenth century, not only in Orissa but throughout India, the birth of a new vigour is unmistakable in its plastic expression which retains the balanced proportion of the classical frame, but bids good-bye to its cultured refinement, spiritual grace, and subtle elegance, and seeks to produce instead a sturdier physiognomical type held within firm but ample, flowing lines, and gripped by a large, round and tight modelling. This is true as much of the cult-images as of the non-iconic figure sculptures, including those of animals.

From the specimens collected so far, and from the extensive ruins strewn all over and around Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri (Cuttack District), it is clear that the locality was once, in the seventh and eighth centuries, an important Buddhist centre that encouraged and patronised the art of sculpture in embellishing its temples and monasteries. Wrought in decomposed khondalite or chlorite schist the Buddhist images from these sites, notably from Lalitagiri and Kendrapara, carry on, on the whole, the East Indian classical tradition, especially in the essential linear ism on which not only the slight tribhahga attitude but the rhythm of the entire composition rests, including that of the lotus stalk. But they lack the subtle delicacy and spiritual grace of contemporary Nalanda work, for example; instead, they are more expansive and spread out on the plane, more stern, and held by a more firm and solid composition.

Contemporary or slightly later (ie. ninth century) sculptures from Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, are heavier in appearance and treatment, though yet generously graceful in their slight dbhanga and tribhanga attitudes. Not only are they heavier, they are also more sturdily built, fully but tightly modelled; at the same time they retain the pliable amplitude and flowing sinuosity of their outlines. Relatively, they are slightly shorter and perhaps also coarser in physiognomy than the comparatively slenderer figures of Lalitagiri. From the tenth century onwards the sculptural art of Udayagiri and Ratnagiri, and of Jajpur and Chauduar, is a part of the contemporary art of Baudh and Bhuvanesvara, Puri and Konarak, and may be viewed together. The only point of difference to be noticed is the more intimate relation of the former group with the contemporary art of Bihar and Bengal, especially in the manner of modelling almost fully in the round and that with a metallic smoothness. At this stage, too, the sculptures of this group retain their ample sinuosity of the outline. A second point to remember is that the mediaeval tradition, unlike the Bhuvanesvara-Purf-Konarak group, but like contemporary Bihar and Bengal, made no intrusion in Cuttack till as late as the thirteenth century.

Khiching, the old seat of the patron goddess of the early Bhanja kings, Kinchakesvari or Khijjingesvari, in Mayurbhanj, was another important seat of Orissan sculpture, lying geographically as well as artistically between Bengal and Orissa. Datable in the tenth and eleventh centuries, these sculptures, Brahmanical in affiliation, are all modelled roundly, tightly, and largely. Indeed, their breadth, fullness, and amplitude of modelling and movement impart to them a sturdiness of form and appearance, accentuated further by their relative dimensions, and marked by almost metallic sharpness, precision, and smoothness which is lightened, however, by an emotional expression spread over the face in a smile and distributed over the surface of the whole body. While the qualities of largeness and round amplitude of modelling and movement are shared by Khiching with the rest of contemporary Orissa, the psychological expression of the faces and the metallic smoothness and precision are more closely related to contemporary Bihar and Bengal.

Typically Orissan sculptural art can best be viewed and studied at centres like Bhuvanesvara, Baudh, Puri, and Konarak. Together they cover a period of five centuries, from the eighth to the thirteenth, and except in the case of the cult-images either installed at the sanctum in the garbha-griha or placed in the important niches sunk in the exterior of the temple, the figure sculptures constitute an essential part of the temple-surface and can be understood only in that context. As Kramrisch says, ‘architecture in Orissa is but sculpture on a gigantic scale’. In other contemporary monuments, the temples do not themselves blossom in figure sculptures and images; rather the latter are applied on the exterior walls and in the niches as decorations or according to sastric injunctions; even the almost roundly modelled sculptures and panel-like reliefs in frames, as the case may be, seem as if they were applied on to the walls from outside. But in the monumental structural temples of Orissa, the relationship between the temple body and the figures is altogether of a different order. To begin with, in the eighth (or seventh) century reliefs of the Parasuramesvara temple (Fig. 101), for example, the figures, though very free in their agile movements, are yet very much bound down to the plane of the temple-surface. As time moves forward the pagas and the rekhas of the deni 231 begin to thrust themselves forward from the ground base of the temple-body; a deeper contrast in surface and depth results and the ornamental decorations keep pace with it. Simultaneously the figures, too, which are part of the temple-body, seem to step out in increasing roundness of volume, so that in the reliefs of the Rajarani (Fig. 103) and the Lingaraja (Figs. 104 and 106) the figures are connected with the ground by a vertical line of thread as it were. The figures are thus fully thrust out in the open space. Still later, at Konarak, where everything is on an epic scale, the consummation is reached in the thirteenth century, when the figures in relief are still more fully exposed, and independent figures are cut out in completely round volumes of the temple-body itself as it were. Indeed the magnificent singing and dancing figures on the upper storeys (Fig. 105) of the Arka temple are part of the temple-body and yet apart and away from it, fully, roundly and independently emerged into space.

Unless they are meant to be dignifiedly static, also perhaps somewhat mechanical, as the Surya images of Konarak, even the cult-images (Fig. 102), despite iconographic regulations of a rigid order, are informed by a dynamic vitality, and a monumentality of composition and largeness of form and bearing,—effects that are directly due to an amplitude of movement and dignified modelling. These qualities are seen at their best in the large-size images of Karttikeya, Ganesa, and Mahishasuramardini in the exterior niches of the Lingaraja temple, in certain images from Jajpur and Chauduar, Purl and Khiching. In all such cult-images, the pliability and amplitude of the sinuous outline is a distinguishing feature which is in a great measure responsible for the sturdy vitality.

The non-iconic figure sculptures, which are much more numerous at Bhuvanesvara, Purl and Konarak, have all these qualities and some others besides. They are further characterised by a delightful abandon of feeling, emotion and action, an almost innocent but ecstatic joy of living, a rich luxuriousness of appearance, an intense love for the human body and all that this body is capable of yielding in terms of life-experience.

So much ado has been made about the frank eroticism of the figure-sculptures of Purl and Konarak that a word need be said here. Mithuna subjects have never been taboo in Indian art, and a creative sensuousness has ever been regarded as an important source of energy, of vital urge in life—as much in religious and spiritual quest as in the quest for expression—in certain schools and aspects of Indian sadhand. Sanchl and Amaravatl knew it, Mathura was more than conscious about it, and in the Ellora scene of Siva and Parvatl in rapturous yet self-forgetful kissing embrace the mithuna idea of this sadhand finds a most creative expression. Indeed it was accepted as a normal, nay essential part of life without any shame or secrecy attached to it. So is it at Puri and Konarak, where admittedly the eroticism is not only in the sensuous suggestiveness but in the depiction of sexual acts in the widest possible varieties of poses and attitudes known to the Kamasastras. But what is remarkable at Konarak, if not at Puri—the difference is presumably as much due to the attitude of the artist as to his efficiency as a craftsman—is the fact that even in those scenes that depict a sexual act there is a sort of delightful detachment in the actors themselves. They take it so easy and in such a nonchalant manner that there is not the slightest suggestion of a mischief being done or a shameful act being gone through.

The temples of Orissa and Khajuraho show the extent reached by Indian craftsmen in giving concrete form to this very subtle and complex view of life. It is true that contemporary Orissa was touched by the Tantra, and the sensuous love of, and joy in, the human body as caught hold of in the figures of Orissan temples may have been due to Tantrik inspiration; but it is not necessary, in the light of the interpretation set forth above, to explain the erotic scenes and scenes of sexual acts by referring them to Tantrik practices about the currency of which we have no definite evidence in contemporary Orissa, much less at Khajuraho. The present writer can bear witness to the fact that he has seen Oriya villagers of the present day look at the panorama of life stretching before their eyes on the walls of Konarak with as much unconcern and detachment as belong to the figures themselves, while the middle-class educated students either shrink or glance at them through a corner of their bashful eyes!

In the eighth century reliefs of the Parasuramesvara temple (Fig. 101), the figures are physiognomically short and, since the temple surface binds them closer to its ground, are treated in somewhat flattened volumes. This results in a sort of heaviness which is partly compensated by free and round movements of the body. In the ninth century this heaviness persists despite increasing freedom of movement and luxurious vivacity of mood and appearance, for example, in the reliefs of the Vaital deul. In the tenth century a refined elegance not only in the physiognomical form but also in the plastic treatment of the rounded volume lends to the figures of the Rajarani (Fig. 103) temple a decidedly sophisticated grace. In the following century, however, this elegance is translated in terms of sturdiness and strength, and in the reliefs of the Lingaraja (Figs. 104 and 106) and Brahmesvara temples figures are fully rounded and the sensuous modelling of the volume is informed by a vigour born from within. The twelfth century retains this quality (the reliefs of the Kedaresvara temple, Bhu vanes vara, of the Jagannatha temple, Puri), but in a slightly coarser manner. The thirteenth century recaptures the grace and elegance and also the tough roundness of the eleventh and pushes them to their natural consummation in the reliefs of the Arka temple at Konarak. Indeed grace and elegance have ever been a distinguished quality of Orissa sculptures, but it was left to the artists of the Rajarani, Lingaraja and Konarak to exploit them to the fullest limit.

Simultaneously, decorations in details of the temples in general and of the reliefs and figures in particular were steadily on the increase. Each succeeding century added to the profusion of details and ornamentations, both architectural and decorative, till by about the thirteenth century, grace and elegance were both suffocated to extinction, if not at Konarak, at least in other contemporary temples. Whether these devices are floral-vegetal, or geometrical, or stylised and patternised architectural elements like the chaitya- window, the Orissan artists* attempt to exploit them to the best advantage for the purpose of intricate display of light and shade, makes itself known even from such early temples as the Parasuramesvara. Added to the deep contrasts in light and shade afforded by the decorative devices were the pagas and rekhas stepping out more and more on to open space so that all intervening spaces also were intricately alternated by deep contrasts of light and darkness. Such

interplay of light and darkness, accentuated further by the stepping out into open spaces of the figures as well, build up a consistency that is at once balanced and harmonised. It is this consistency of the interplay of light and shade that makes the Orissan temple a living organism and lends to the figure sculptures their intense liveliness. Taken out of their context the decorative devices and the figures lose much of their live reality.

Mediaeval trends in Orissa do not seem to make themselves felt earlier than the eleventh century, and when they do, as in certain reliefs of the Lingaraja and Brahmesvara temples and also in certain reliefs now stored in the Konarak Museum, they may and often do occur side by side with reliefs, or even in the same relief side by side with figures that are frankly inspired by the classical tradition.

A word must be said in respect of the animal sculptures of Orissa. At Konarak we have some of the best elephant reliefs of Indian art, though in smaller dimension, on the walls of the immense base-structure. The large, almost life-size, ones are imposing and impressive more by their volume than by their inherent artistic quality. The huge and spirited caparisoned steeds that drag the twelve wheeled chariot forward, are equally impressive, more by their bearing and straining mood than by the concretised vision of their dynamic naturalism or by the sensitivity of their plastic volume. An antelope frieze on the walls of the Muktesvara temple is, however, endowed with these very qualities and catches the animals in their essential form.

3. GANGA-YAMUNA VALLEY

Specimens of sculpture, belonging to the ninth and the three succeeding centuries, are extremely rare, so far as the Punjab plains and the Gahga-Yamuna valley are concerned. This is mainly due to devastation wrought by Muslim iconoclasts from the days of Mahmud of Ghazni to those of Aurangzeb. If a small (26 inches) Mathura Vishnu relief, datable towards the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, and a few broken or damaged pieces from Mirzapur and Sarnath can be relied upon as furnishing indications, it seems the Ganga-Yamuna valley belonged to the common denominator of the contemporary art of Bihar and Bengal, more closely of Bihar to which the region was geographically contiguous. These cult-images, mainly Brahmanical, are characterised by the same physiognomical type and form, the same precision of features, and the same almost metallic smoothness that distinguish the stone sculptures of contemporary Bihar and Bengal. An earlier,

perhaps early tenth century, version of the same East Indian tradition is reflected in a Vishnu statue from Sultanpur (Etah District) characterised by a softer modelling and not so conscious elegance of eleventh century examples. Like the East Indian tradition again the Gahga-Yamuna valley remains throughout untouched by mediaeval trends (Figs. 107-110).

4. CENTRAL INDIA

Occupying, geographically, an intermediate position between the East and the West, Central India—extending from the borders of Rajputana and Gujarat in the west (roughly from Ujjayini and Mandasor) to Allahabad in the east—holds an intermediate position, artistically too, in the history of mediaeval sculpture. Her products, from the tenth to the thirteenth, turned out under the aegis and patronage of the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti and the Paramaras of Dhara, reflect an admixture of both the East Indian tradition of Bihar and Bengal and that of Rajputana and Gujarat where the mediaeval trends found their most congenial home. While Garhwa, Mahoba and Khajuraho preserve the more important relics of the Chandellas, the Paramara tradition is stored at Dhar and Mandor in Indore and Gwalior. Formally and psychologically they are different, though a common denominator is admissible.

Throughout, in Central India of the Chandellas and the Paramaras as in Mahakosala of the Haihayas, classical volume has become ampler, but grows increasingly stereotyped, which means a thinning down of the inner vision and consequent and corresponding loss of plastic sensitivity. But it reveals the sensuous charm that resides in the physical body (Figs. Ill and 116) and imparts to all figures a somewhat mechanical grace and conscious perfection. The modelling has definitely become stagnant, but has a smoothness that gives elegance to the somewhat dull volume. With increasing loss of plastic sensitivity and growing dullness of the ample and round volume, conscious movements and flexions of the body round its axis show a corresponding increase to create an impression of more and more intensity of feeling and life (Fig. 115). The living breath that endows the body with the dynamism of life has now ceased and the flesh moves no longer; instead the conscious flexions and movements, often violent and intense, of the body are now the only exponents of life consciously passionate and arduous.

This is nowhere more in evidence than in the Buddhist sculptures, all turned out presumably from the workshop of one chitrakara, in this case, a sculptor, Sri Satana, described in one of the inscriptions as sakala-silpa'-vidyd-kusalah (adept in all arts), of Mahot

savanagara, modern Mahoba, associated with the Chandellas of JejakabhuKti, and known for long to have also yielded Brahmanical and Jain sculptures. A smooth and placid charm and a sort of mechanical grace and perfection worn round the balanced and full round contours of the body are unmistakable in the images of Simnanada Lokesvara (Fig. 119) and Padmapani Lokesvara, and also, though in a lesser degree, in that of Tara. That this charm and grace are more in the bhangas and bhahgis, i.e. in the flexions and modes, than in the plastic quality which is itself stilled into a placid sheet over the body, will be evident from a comparison of these figures with that of the Buddha seated in bhumi-sparsa-mudra. s In the latter case where there is no scope for presenting the body in flexions, the figure fails to catch the grace and charm of the other figures, yet it happens to be a work presumably by the same artist. But while in all such examples the character of the 'classical' volume and the amplitude of vision and form persist with vigour and meaning, in others, mainly Jain cult-images and decorative fragments, the specifically mediaeval trends of sharp outlines and pointed angles, formed by jerking limbs flung with vigour and by sharp noses and angular chins thrown forward, are equally potent and active and lend to the composition a somewhat different colour and meaning.

Garhwa sculptures are also characterised by the same grace and charm of a still, placid modelling, and of conscious flexions and movements of the body. But Chandella figure-sculptures can be seen at their best on the walls of the Brahmanical and Jain temples of the temple city of Khajuraho in Bundelkhand, a city which in the richness and magnificence of its architecture and sculpture, stands very near to the temple-city of Bhuvanesvara. The temples of Khajuraho pulsate with human activity (Figs. 114 and 115) but the figures, including those of human beings and animals (sardulas, for instance), do not belong to the temples themselves in the sense the Orissan figures do. They are fully and roundly modelled, if not in the amplitude of dimension as in Orissa yet in large proportions, but are, for all practical purposes, independent of the flat ground of the temple. The outlines are deep and sharp, but have not the ample sinuosity of the Orissan outlines, an evident consequence of the 'mediaeval' grip into which

Khajuraho found itself caught. The treatment of the plastic volume is generally tight and still, which is sought to be somewhat compensated by the sharp and pointed movements of the stiff limbs that are otherwise without any sensitiveness. Yet in the flexions and movements, there is a conscious intensity that is often violent and seems to turn the body in all its joints to their utmost breaking point, with an evident eye to emotional, frankly erotic provocation. The Khajuraho figures are

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consciously and purposely erotic and sensuous; this they express suggestively and not by innocent and hence frank and unashamed libidinous acts as in Orissa. The coquettish languor of Khajuraho has nothing to compare with the innocent detachment of Orissa or with the creative and virile sensuousness of earlier Mathura and Vengi regions of the post-Christian centuries.

Decorative ornamentations at Khajuraho, indeed in Chandella art in general, show an amalgam of ‘classical’ and ‘mediaeval’ grammar and composition existing side by side, often in one relief, some time separately, some time integrated into one complete pattern. Besides Khajuraho, there were other centres in Bundelkhand where the ‘mediaeval’ grip was equally, if not more, potent, as for example at Chandpur in Jhansi. Here, in some of the sculptures of the Mahadeva temple (twelfth century) the entire plastic context is broken up into rectangular and triangular fragments and the whole composition is sharpened by linear and angular movements. Evidently the mediaeval tendencies were gradually getting the upper hand. But in some examples from Khajuraho the persistence of the classical tradition is shown at its best and purest in the subtlety of modelling, in the sensitivity of the linear movement, and in the largeness and consistency of composition. Such examples are no doubt rare, but prove nevertheless the strength and vitality of the tradition.

Paramara art was prolific in its sculptural output, but hardly did it ever reach a high tide of aesthetic achievement. Though bound geographically to what was known as Western Malava, its products really belong to the contemporary Rajputana idiom. The greatest builder and lover of art of the dynasty was Raja Bhoja (c. A.D. 1000-1055). The image of Sarasvati (Fig.

117), installed by him in the main hall of his Sarasvati Mandir (temple), a sort of a university of learning at Dhara, his capital, shows Paramara sculpture at its best. Other specimens can be seen at Mandu, at the local museum at Dhar, on the walls of the Nilakantha or Udayaesvara temple at Udayapur, built by Udayaditya Paramara, within the enclosures of the Mahakala temple at Ujjayim, and other places including Indore.

Largely and vigorously conceived and modelled in ample dimensions, the figures are informed by 'classical' value of form. They are free from jerky movements and intense flexions, and do not seem to feel the weight of the heavy roundness which characterises their youthful body. The face, also fully and vigorously modelled, wears an expression of blankness and is lighted up neither by any pleasure of the senses nor by any inner experience, urge or inspiration. Despite youthfulness and vigorous round modelling, plasticity hangs in suspense or is stilled into stagnation; this

goes along with a pair of rigid and heavy legs equally lifeless. Mediaevalism touches ornamental devices and jewelleries; the latter are sharply cut and are just laid on the body with which they have no organic relation; 'classical' decorative ornamentations are also flattened and linearised as far as possible, while specifically northern patterns of sharp and flat contrast in light and darkness (as in chessboard and diamond patterns) are common.

5. VINDHYA AND MADHYA PRADESH

In the region extending from Allahabad to Jabalpur, the templebuilding activity was carried on on a considerable scale, under the aegis of the Haihayas of Tripurl, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, at Bheraghat (near Jabalpur), Satna, Dudhahi (Lalitpur District), Ranipur (Sambalpur), Rewa and other places.

It should be remembered that this entire region has ever been the home of a large segment of our aboriginal population, and it is significant that they have stamped a strong impress not only in the physiognomy but also on the form and medium of the mediaeval Haihaya art. On the ground of the common mediaeval denominator of north-Indian art the aboriginal element is deeply marked. Not in a few figure-reliefs a new facial type, squarish in cut, with swollen cheeks, big mouth and eyes closed as if in solemn pride in its own importance, goes hand in hand with a short-featured body that is swelled into heavy round masses as if by pressure from within, and which is borne on a still pair of legs. Though controlled by sharp outlines deeply cut, the bulging plastic mass, fully modelled, is frankly reminiscent of the 'classical' volume, but the sharp bends of joints of limbs, particularly at the knee and the elbow, of the main and subsidiary figures, and sharp facial profiles of the latter with their pointed noses and chins (Fig. 113) are clear manifestations of the specifically 'mediaeval' trends. Moreover, the subsidiary figures are conceived and executed in an altogether different manner, thinner and sharper in appearance and form, very much unlike the heavy and swelling roundness of the main figures. But the most distinguishing characteristic of Haihaya sculptures is the overcrowding of the reliefs with such a multitude of things as not to leave any space for breathing as it were. Indeed they are so many and so heaped one on the shoulder of another— men, women, architectural and decorative elements, all in heavy round volumes in high relief,—that the reliefs appear heavy and cumbersome. Crowded details seem to sit heavily on the composition and it looks as though the structure would fall to pieces by their very weight.

6. RAJPUTANA

Mediaeval Rajputana sculptures hail from such diverse sites as Vasantgarh and Devangana, both in the old Sirohi State, Palta (Bikaner), Osia Dilwara (Mount Abu) (Figs. 118 and 121), Harshagiri (Jaipur), (Figs. 112 and 120), Chitor, and Mandor, among other places, and are spread over practically the whole of the mediaeval period, from the tenth to about the seventeenth century. In point of style they range from full recognition of 'classical' values side by side with acquiescence to 'mediaeval' pressure to complete negation of the 'classical' and full assertion of the 'mediaeval'.

At Vasantgarh, from the stylised sun-window of a temple of the tenth century, peeps out the head of a Buddha distinguished by a largeness of treatment and a sensitivity of modelling comparable only to similar faces from Khajuraho. The pure, organic and consistent quality of the face unmistakably betrays the debt it owes to the 'classical' vision and form as interpreted by contemporary artists in Central and Eastern India, including

Orissa. A series of rich floral-vegetal designs encircles the face just referred to. These designs are evidently borrowed from the ‘classical’ store-house, but, at the same time, it is seen at once that they are not roundly modelled, but are flattened out on the surface with sharp perpendicular cuts at the edges. This flattening out of modelled volumes and deeply and sharply cut edges are directly traceable to ‘mediaeval’ pressure. Much more than anywhere else in Rajputana, contemporary (i.e . tenth century) Osia sculptures adhere more closely to the classical tradition with its vigorous modelling of a youthful body spreading itself in the amplitude of its mass. The same vigorous and also tough modelling gives life and strength to the reliefs of the Purana Mahadeva temple of Harshagiri, also belonging to the tenth century.

About this time, i.e. the tenth century, Chandravati, in the old Brijnagar state, in Eastern Rajputana, seems to have become a great centre of artistic activity, where one can follow the history of the art of Central India and Eastern Rajputana in its finest manifestations throughout the mediaeval period. A number of Chandravati-Patan sculptures, now in the Brijnagar State Museum, and a few in situ , can stylistically be assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries. By their heavy roundness of the weighty mass with hardly any suggestion of flexibility and linear movement, they belong more to contemporary Central Indian idiom than to that of Rajputana. Impressive in largeness and amplitude of the plastic mass, they are somewhat, stolid and withdrawn in their facial and physiognomical expression, due no doubt to the stagnated modelling; but the outlines are less sharp and more flowing and sinuous than average contemporary Rajputana products. Classical values persist in the following i.e. eleventh century Rajput sculptures, but while the pliability of the soft modelling continues, the linear element grows harder and stiffer so that the flexions of the body appear to be rigid, and an elaboration of jewelleries and decorations takes place. These are cut in sharp edges and are not plastically conceived, so that when the jewelleries are laid on and round the large round volumes, they do not become their integral parts. Thus the ‘classical’ and the ‘mediaeval’ tides enter into an incongruous combination. The reliefs of the original Mokalji’s temple at Chitor, rich in sculptural wealth, are datable in the eleventh century.

In the twelfth century a conscious elegance sets in and makes the figures and their composition thinner and lighter by sharper outlines, deeply cut, and pointed lines and angles. The concave curve in the bodies and legs—a resultant effect of the 'mediaeval' pressure on the line—is also on the increase. The stele composition is also broken up into small fragments, with reference to the main figure, and loses thus the dynamic integration and co-ordination of 'classical' composition: undoubtedly this, too, has been due to the emphasis on the sharp linear arrangement.

In the thirteenth century this thinning down of the plastic context by an increasing emphasis on the sharp and pointed angularity of the limbs and features of figures and on the solely linear and fragmentary aspect of the composition, is in the ascending grade along with the increasing concavity of curves. An elaboration of details of decoration and ornamentation, very skilfully, delicately and minutely worked out, goes side by side with a cumbersome and crowdy composition. Nowhere are these characteristics so clearly and subtly brought out than in the ceiling reliefs of the Neminatha Temple (Jain) of Mount Abu, built by Tejahpala in A.D. 1230 (Figs. 41, 118 and 121). It must be remembered that the entire temple and its decorations are worked out of white marble which made possible chiselling or scraping in such a delicate and minute manner. But when Coomaraswamy says that this minute and delicate decorative work is "one of those cases where exuberance is beauty", he pays a tribute that does not seem to be fully deserved. The exuberance of the Tejahpala temple decoration is not the exuberance of fertile and dynamic nature that one sees at Sanchl, for example, essentially creative by its very nature and character. The very deeply undercut and delicately scraped designs with their sharp edges and deep contrasts in light and darkness result in a kind of

mechanical grace, and are clear evidence of very skilled workmanship, but are hardly any evidence of creative endeavour. The figure sculptures, too, are mechanically conceived and executed, and are hence thin in creative experience. Over-elaboration of details crowds and encumbers the compositional context, and the richness of design is not, in this case at any rate, born of an exuberant, vibrant life full to the brim and overflowing it.

The Mount Abu decorative and figure sculptures betray undoubted 'mediaeval' characteristics some of which persist in Rajput sculpture through the subsequent centuries, and in Rajput painting as well, in an altogether different context, till the nineteenth. The sharp emphasis on the line and its pointed angularity and on the concave curve can be witnessed in a Rasa-lila relief from the palace of Bir Singh Deo Bundela at Datia built in the early seventeenth century (A.D. 1605-27), appearing in the context of contemporary features and fashions.

But mediaevalism in the art of Rajputana has a history earlier than even the tenth century, particularly in decorative devices, patterns and designs. Details of decoration, of an old temple at Mandor, show very clearly and pointedly how 'classical* themes and designs were made to shed off the rounded plasticity of their volumes and were gradually thinned and flattened out and sharpened in the edges, which human faces, turned in their sharp profiles, were made to thrust their beak-like noses into space. The Mandor temple and its decorations are datable in the eighth century.

7. GUJARAT

Gujarat has been one of the earliest targets of Muslim iconoclasm and throughout the late mediaeval period she suffered from periodic devastations of her numerous shrines. Almost all the older temples have been all but entirely destroyed; but from the ruins of temples and temple-cities, scattered all over Gujarat and the adjoining territories, ruled over by the Chaulukyas from the middle of the tenth century, one can form an idea of the rich architectural and sculptural achievements of the region from about the eleventh to about the seventeenth century and later. The more important centres are Siddhapura, Modhera, Taraga which is not very far from Siddhapura, Girnar, gatrunjaya, Dabhoi, and Jhinjuved.

Not much need be said about the mediaeval art of Gujarat, for what has been said about the contemporary art of Rajputana applies to a great extent to this westernmost branch of mediaeval Indian sculpture. Indeed part of Western Rajputana, including Chitor and Mount Abu, really formed, culturally, a part of Gujarat during the mediaeval period (and even politically, at times, during the suzerainty of the Chaulukyas), just as Eastern Rajput&na formed a part of the West Malava country.

Mediaeval features are perhaps more conspicuous in Gujarat than in contemporary Rajputana, but this is more manifest in contemporary book-illustrations than in sculpture. Indeed, in Rajput sculptures the line, though sharp, is still flowing in uninterrupted flux as a remnant of the classical tradition, and maintains the balanced poise of the same tradition, but the more one travels further towards the west, the more does one witness the line seized by a nervousness under the stress of which all curves tend to be angular and concave and the poise gets disturbed. A sort of nervousness and tension grips all figures despite their evident vigour and power expressed in the forward thrust of the trunk of the body and overdone movements of the round slender limbs. Due to the nervous sharpness of line and pointed angularity of movements, the composition is broken up into fragments not inherently related by any dynamic and integrated vision. Verticals, horizontals, and diagonals are spread out over the whole surface without much care for the plastic context. In appearance the figures are still endowed with grace and smoothness (Figs. 123 and 124) inherited from past generations, but without much corresponding feeling and understanding.

The decorative devices, jewelleries, etc. tend more and more towards flatness and sharpness, cut deeply and sharply in the edges, and grow increasingly rigid like the figure sculptures themselves, and also intricate and elaborate, without any integrated relation with the plastic body.

And thus finally in the seventeenth century this direction reaches a stage when both Rajputana and Gujarat seek a renascence of sculptural art through an unsuccessful appeal to the classical sources.

8. PUNJAB HILLS STATES

The Punjab Hill States, sheltered by the Himalayas, were not as isolated from the main currents of North Indian life and culture as is often supposed. Chamb§, Kangra, Kulu, and Kumaon have preserved sculptures of images and decorative patterns in relief that originally formed part of temples some of which are still extent, as for example at Brahmor and Chatrarhi in Chamba and Masrur in Kangra.

Reference may be made to the wooden door facade 232 of a temple exquisitely carved in relief in what remained of the classical Gupta tradition of the Ganga-Yamuna valley as interpreted in these

remote Tiill states. Even a century or more later (ninth century), some traces of the suavity, grace and poise of Gupta classicism and its softer, not subtler, treatment of plastic volume in full round forms can still be seen in the reliefs of the monolithic temple of Masrur in the Kangra valley. The simple naivete of the hill-people seems to have stamped itself in these reliefs in the attitude and expression of these short-featured figures as much as in the somewhat coarse and summary treatment of the modelling. In the following century, or somewhat later, classical qualities are given full value in a number of cult-images in stone from Chamba (Bhagavatl image in the village shrine of Svaim in Himagiri pargana and Siva figures on the Chandrasekhara temple at Saho, for example). The masks of Munjunidevi from Kulu 232a and the Siva from Harsar (Chamba) also belong to the same conception of form. Whether carved fully in the round or nearly so, these figures are powerfully, though coarsely, modelled, in heavy and stately proportions, fully expressive of concentrated energy to which the face responds with a calm dignified composure. The jewelleries and the decorations are as much integral parts of the modelled mass as of the stelae composition. Here in these images lineaments drawn from Hellenistic Gandhara are clearly perceptible in the treatment of the drapery and in the proportion and treatment of some of the reliefs. Hardly a touch of the 'mediaeval* factor is perceived in these reliefs which seem to have stored up the classical values with feeling and understanding, and yet that in a manner very much different from what was happening in contemporary Eastern India.

But alongside, and earlier than anywhere else in the North, the ‘mediaeval* factor makes itself felt in a number of inscribed metal images from Chamba. On palaeographical grounds most of them are datable towards the beginning of the eighth century, and a few in the ninth and tenth centuries. The eighth century images, executed by a craftsman (karmina) named

Gugga, and the tenth (or eleventh) century ones of Vishnu and Kali, from Sahu and Markuta, all in Chamba, are mechanically conceived and characterised by sharp outlines deeply cut and a hard petrified treatment of the plastic volume of a somewhat elongated physiognomy. Indeed, the emphasis on the sharp and incisive outline gives definitive character to these figures that register the ‘mediaeval’ impact, though in a very thin and subdued way.

Yet, from these hill states, particularly Chamba, have come down to us the biggest series of fountain stones cut into low flat reliefs showing abstract patterns and not so much icons, except in the later ones, or scenes of edification, enjoyment and activity. Indeed such weaving of mere patterns in square and rectangular panels withfloral, vegetal and geometric designs and human and animal figures (serpent forms playing an important part) is unknown to the ‘classical’ conception. This pattern-making as we see in these fountain stones, seems to reflect a very ancient art-practice, and Kramrisch is right in assuming that “the earliest and simplest of these stones could be ancestors of the roundels of Bharhut,” although those that we have cannot be dated earlier than the tentheleventh century. The floral and vegetal designs, undoubtedly of ‘classical’ origin, are flattened out, sharply incised and made to fit in with the flat geometrical designs of square and diamond shapes equally flat and sharply incised. The non-iconic and some of the iconic figures are also similarly treated. These low reliefs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are indeed the progenitors of later Rajput painting; and it is in these that we witness ‘mediaeval* features in their relatively unadulterated aspect, particularly in the decorative patterns on the skirts of female figures on such fountain stones as those of Ajayapala (A.D. 1225) at Sai Churah. They are on a par with almost similar designs on the can temporary Jain miniatures from Western India.

9. KASHMIR, NEPAL AND TIBET

Kashmir had intimate relations with the Punjab Hill States, especially in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, if not earlier still. Her geographical position made her amenable to influences from the Hellenistic west on the one hand and Tibet on the other. From about the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century Eastern India was also drawn within the orbit of her intimate relations. Her art therefore reflects the impressions that her people were able to receive from these historical associations. But very few of sculptural records of pre-Muslim centuries have survived the zeal of iconoclasts that were not always Muslims. The numerous idols of gold and silver installed by Lalitaditya, on which Kalhas^a bestows so much praise, were all destroyed, more than two centuries before Muslim rule was established in the Valley, by Harsha. "that Turushka," as Kalhana calls him, "who appointed a special official called devotpatanci-rwiyaka or 'prefect for the destruction of gods' ".

Recent excavations, mainly at Harwan, have unearthed terracottas and stucco fragments belonging to diffeitent periods, that frankly betray Gandhara Hellenistic inspiration from the north-west side by side with such Gupta classical qualities as are witnessed in Buddha and Bodhisattva figures of the fourth and fifth centuries from Hadda and Bamiyan. All such earlier examples, including

Buddha-Bodhisattva figures from Pandrethan, are explainable by the common denominator of contemporary Indian art.

It is very significant—a fact not yet sufficiently known and understood—that the Himalayan countries of Kashmir, Nepal and Tibet come out of their mountain seclusion and enter the arena of Indian history and culture, almost simultaneously, from about the seventh century onwards. Kashmir maintained this intimate association till she was overrun by the Muslims, and Nepal and Tibet, until very recent times. It is equally significant that all these regions, more particularly Nepal and Tibet, for reasons well known, were in more intimate cultural contact with Eastern India than with other regions of this vast sub-continent. The seclusion and conservatism of the hills helped Nepal and Tibet retain and store up whatever was received from Eastern India of the Palas during th6 eighth and the three subsequent centuries and more, and carry on the East Indian mediaeval tradition of art, almost untouched and uninfluenced by any other element, till very recent times.

In mediaeval sculptures of Kashmir (ninth to twelfth centuries), too, contemporary East Indian tradition stamps its strong impress, in form and treatment as well as in physiognomy. There is evidence to show that images from Bengal were imported into Kashmir during these centuries. 233 But the East Indian elements of mechanical grace and elegance and metallic precision are interpreted in Kashmir, at least in a few instances, in stolid and clumsier terms. Others are merely a local rendering of typical East Indian stone sculptures and bronzes, to such an extent that without a label or definite information it is difficult to say whether a particular specimen is Kashmiri or East Indian. The elegant bronze group of Padmapani accompanied by his two Saktis, with an inscription of the reign of Queen Didda (A.D. 980-1003), is an instance in point. But even at this stage Gandharan suggestion of Hellenistic drapery remains potent.

Side by side, mainly in the Brahmanical sculptures from Avantipura (Fig. 125), there runs a current of artistic tradition which reflects the contemporary art of the Punjab Hill States, Rajputana, and Gujarat. A short-featured physiognomy, stiff and somewhat heavy in appearance, is treated in a manner npt very far removed from petrification of its plastic mass. This is held by an equally heavy and coarse outline.

The excavations at Harwan have yielded large quantities of moulded tiles, datable in about the fifth century A.D., representing horsemen in northern caps and cloaks; men and women seated in balconies or standing in graceful poses, or moving with Gandharan cornucopias etc., or dancing and drumming; fighting cocks, running deer, lotuses and fleur-de-lys motifs etc. Reminiscences of Hellenistic Gandhara are easily seen in some of the facial types, head-dresses and ear-ornaments, not the least in the drapery. But what is more interesting is the fact that all these are executed in very low relief with very little of modelling; the decorative devices, whether floral or vegetal, are linearised as far as possible, and pure geometrical designs are not also rare. Northern inspiration behind these designs and moulded decorations is perhaps undeniable, and it is not unlikely that they entered Kashmir in the wake of the Yueh-chis, the Sakas, and the Kushanas, from Central Asia and China.

Nepalese stone sculptures of the ninth and the four succeeding centuries are rare but not altogether unknown. They belong frankly to the denominator of contemporary East Indian art and do not call for any special attention. What really counts are the metal images (cf. Fig. 126), generally of brass or copper, or some other kind of powerful alloy, of very competent craftsmanship and of refined elegance and precision. They are quite numerous and distributed in various museums and private collections in India, Europe and America. These images seem to have been turned out of workshops in considerable numbers in order to satisfy the demands of a growing Buddhist and Brahmanical laity. Stylistically they belong to the Pala tradition of Eastern India, but are often of superior workmanship. From about the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with increasing hierarchisation and stabilisation of Lamaistic Buddhism which Nepal came to share with Tibet, a hieratic stylisation of artistic form set in; the sap exhausted itself and what was once organic and vital slowly degenerated into a mechanical and stereotyped form. But, as already pointed out, the seclusion and conservatism of the hills helped to store up to a very large extent the accumulated experience of centuries till very recent times, and this evidently accounts for those highly meritorious metal images of skilled workmanship, produced in considerably later periods, that meet our gaze from time to time. The number of such images is, however, very small, and the large majority of Nepalese metal images of later dates are mechanical and highly stylised.

Contemporary Tibetan art, too, is best known by its metal images, but it should be remembered that they are, for the most part, of Nepalese origin inasmuch as they happen to be works executed by artists brought from Nepal. But the Tibetan metal images, even at their best, are qualitatively at a lower level than those of Nepal. Stylistically, they too are inspired by, and affiliated to, the East Indian tradition, but those recently brought to light by Tucci

from Western Tibet, though formally East Indian, reveal nevertheless a vitality and strength that seem to be born of a living experience of the cult they professed and practised.

Till Tucci’s explorations in Western Tibet our knowledge of Tibetan art was confined to the metal images alone, and to a considerable number of paintings of a later period. We now know of stone sculptures, terracottas, and paintings, besides metal images, that can be dated in the early mediaeval period, i.e. from about the ninth and tenth to about the thirteenth century. They all belong to the well-known East Indian tradition. The terracottas are almost all Buddhist seals and are so much like contemporary seals found at different sites of Bihar that some of them at any rate seem to have been imported from Eastern India. The stone sculptures are of the usual East Indian variety in style and form, but more coarsely executed and tend towards increasing stylisation of which the late mediaeval Tibetan metal images, despite violent gestures and movements and good craftsmanship, are typical examples.

10. DECCAN

By about the end of the eighth century all creative inspiration and effort in the Deccan sculptures had entered a stalemate after ct useless activity of every deep and abiding significance for about three centuries. Yet temples were built and decorated with sculptures and images made for purpose of worship. In Ittagi and Gadag in the Dharwar District, as well as in Hyderabad, under the aegis of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyana, and at Somnathpur, Belur, Halebid, and Palampet, all in Mysore, under the aegis of the Hoysalas, early mediaeval Deccan has left a crop of sculptural art by no means poor in output, but certainly so in creative achievement and potentiality.

What at Ellora, Aurangabad, and Badami was conceived in immeasurable depth, strength and superhuman power, and formed in vigorous breadth and expansiveness, is now in Western Chalukyan art, conceived mechanically without any inner 'elan’, that is, without any corresponding experience, and the broad expansiveness is just in space to suit decorative purposes. The decorative and ornamental devices that frame or encase such compositions are evidences of intricate and skilled craftsmanship no doubt, but are often overcrowded and cumbersome and seem to hang heavily on the figurecompositions as well. The figures are all in very high relief, in certain instances, in the round for all practical purposes, and deeply undercut, and also elaborately decorated But life has gone out of them; the modelling has hardened to a considerable degree, poses

and attitudes are stiff despite traditional movements in appearance, and distended limbs and gestures lack the power and vigour of eighth century Deccanese composition. The bracket figures of many temples afford instances on the point; descendants of the early and wellknown woman-and-tree motif they are intended to be sensuous, but their stiff and hard treatment as well as over-ornamentation render them lifeless, and they fail to convey any feeling of voluptuousness or even suggestive sensuousness. They are just appearances, not creative forms.

The skill, richness, and intricacy of decorative devices and ornamentations reach their fullest abundance in the temples of Balagami and Halebid. ". . . .In the unfinished Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid the unstinted labour expended in carving a stone that is soft when quarried but hardens on exposure has clothed the entire building in an almost incredibly abundant parure" The long and elaborate friezes of animals (Figs. 86 and 87), real and mythical, and of scenes from the Ramayana, and large panels of images (Fig. 122) and bracket figures, carved in high and frequently in altogether round relief, all appear as if pressed on to the surface, and are almost suffocated by elaborate and intricate, but stagnant and ponderous ornamentation. Despite gestures and movements of vigorous action the composition is static, absolutely uninformed by any inherent dynamism. A hardened modelling makes the plastic mass look heavy like a load, made heavier and more static by the unorganic relation with the body, of the intricate and heavy jewelleries formed by deep and sharp cuts. Indeed, the sharp and intricate carvings, certainly evidence of highly skilled craftsmanship, are artistically very poor and without any significance. Whatever plasticity was still left is choked by them. The end is not very far off.

11. SOUTH INDIA

South India, on the other hand, carries on the 'classical' tradition, as transmitted by the Pallava idiom, in a purer form, sounder conviction and a more vital manner; and this is done through centuries, save for slight and occasional intrusion by the 'mediaeval' factor, till as late as the end of the eighteenth century and even later. The inheritance, artistic skill and creative urge of the artists and craftsmen exploited the patronage of the Cholas of Gahgaikondapuram (c. A.D. 850-1100), the Pandyas of Madura (c. A.D. 11001300), the Yadavas and Tuluvas of Vijayanagara (c. A.D. 1350-1600), and the Nayakas of Madura (c. A.D. 1600-c. 1700 and later). The main centres of Chola activity were Gangaikondapuram itself and Srlnivasanalur; the Pandyan monuments are principally situated at SriraA

gam, Chidambaram, Tiruvannamalai and Kumbakonam; the Yadavas and Tuluvas built, among other places, at Kanchlpuram, Vellur and Vijayanagara; and the Nayakas concentrated chiefly at Madura. The lofty and massive vimdnas and gopuras of these magnificent temple cities are all covered with elaborate and sumptuous reliefs of figures deeply and roundly cut; and these figures constitute in the main the South Indian store-house of stone-sculptures during all these centuries.

All Chola sculptures of the tenth and eleventh centuries are endowed with a tough vitality and are modelled vigorously, but leave the surface as if in a state of animated flexibility. Plastically they have relation with contemporary Deccanese sculptures, but reach a much higher level which is maintained throughout successive centuries. The Pallava idiom is here given a new interpretation in tougher and more dignified rendering of plastic mass, treated in full roundness of form and arranged in graded relief. With their full weight on the ground, these figures of disciplined strength, marked by inner composure, and modelled with all the smooth tenderness of live flesh, are eloquent expressions of that natural dynamism of life that had ever been the aim of Indian sculpture. The same attitude is marked in the organic relationship of the body and the jewelleries which are treated as a part of the body-modelling itself,—a conception of form which was one of the planks on which the ‘classically’ Indian modeller took his stand.

Towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, in certain instances, somewhat slight hardening of treatment seems to have set in, and parts of the body are accented in modelling. But on the whole there is no lowering of artistic integrity nor any lessening of creative vision. Indeed, in some of the examples, said to be from the Karnatak which is evidently doubtful, and once belonging to the Loo collection of Paris (illustrated by Rene Grousset), Chola stone sculptures reach the highest level of ‘classical’ form in an age when ‘classical’ values everywhere else in India were rather at a very low ebb. Here is indeed what seems to be a renascence of the seventh-eighth century art of Mamallapuram and Ellora in a more soft and sedate version. A slender and elegant physiognomical form is here upheld by steadied curves; the powerfully built body is mellowed by the softness of the linear movement as well as by a slowly gliding outline defining the limits of the plastic mass treated with a subtle softness of touch. Indeed, South India since the days of the Pallavas had never experienced such noble conception of form, so happy and yet so supple. Rene

Grousset dates them in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries; presumably they cannot be later than the twelfth.

The Vijayanagara stone sculptures of the fourteenth-fifteenthsixteenth centuries have two different directions, and both can be met with on the walls of the monuments of the royal citadel. The rectangular panelled reliefs of the Amman shrine of the Hazara Rama Temple or the panel of the Throne Platform representing the Holi festival, for example, are deeply cut and the figures are all but roundly formed. They are still characterised by whatever was left of the modelled mass and mannered stiffness of the movements of the body and the limbs. But what is important is that there are compositions (e.g. the Holi scene) which are characterised by sharp angular movements that jerk the ‘classical’ rhythm, very much like the jerky movements in the Kathakali dance. Here is indeed a different vision creeping in or making itself felt, but is not fully co-ordinated yet. In other compositions, e.g. in the reliefs on the Amman shrine, the classical rhythm is continued with whatever plastic flexibility was still attainable. The reliefs on the Sat! stones belong to this category, but reflect the folk-version of the same. The decorative devices are, as a general rule, flattened out and are cut sharply at the edges, a sure sign of the ‘mediaeval’ idiom.

But the specific ‘mediaeval’ factor is more conspicuous in the reliefs of the Throne Platform w T here all figures are flattened out in very r low r reliefs with sharp outlines. Especially in the human figures are the acuteness and pointed angularity of lines most marked and some of the female figures at any rate are but translations in stone, as it were, of contemporary' Gujarati miniatures. Compositionally, too, the figures lack plastic connectedness as in Gujarati miniatures. Of all segments of South Indian art during all these centuries, it is in such Vijayanagara reliefs that the 'mediaeval' factor asserted itself, more or less in an isolated way.

The subsequent art of Madura ignores the 'mediaeval' factor altogether and takes up the thread where Vijayanagara left it and brings it up to date. But already in the meanwhile ossification had set in, and now the plastic feeling increasingly becomes more and more deadened. Modelling becomes hardened and overstrained, outlines sharp and hard and yet more heavy infeeling, and the linear movement still and rigid. Side by side intricate over-elaboration of decorative devices and ornamentations and sharp and stiff rendering of jewelleries, as if laid on the bodies as separate volumes, are also on the increase. All these disturb and destroy the plasticity of form, and eventually pronounce the judgment of death on plastic creativity altogether. This is what happened in Madura of the seventeenth and the following century, at least so far as stone sculptures, and wood carving were concerned.

South Indian art of the tenth and the six or seven subsequent centuries is particularly known, and deservedly so, by its metal images which, by virtue of their special importance, have to be discussed separately. They are mostly cast in copper or bronze, though rarely also in brass. Dated or datable Chola metal images are not hitherto known, but Coomarswamy suggests that images of Saiva saints, said to have been set up in temples by Rajaraja Chola, may have been really metal images, and Kramrisch dates at least one metal image of K'ali 233a from Senniyanvidudi, Tanj ore District, early in the tenth century. Coomarswamy and Arunachalam date the great series of metal images in South Indian style found at Polonnaruva in Ceylon in the thirteenth century; Aiyangar places the series of Vaishnava metal images of South India also in the same century. The great series of typical Nataraja images (Figs. 127 and 129) in metal seem to begin from about the eleventh or twelfth century during the Chola period, not earlier, and continued to be made till as late as the early nineteenth century. The main types represented in the remarkable galaxy of South Indian metal images are the various forms of Siva (Fig. 133), especially the Nataraja (Figs. 127 and 129); Parvatl (Figs. 128 and 131); the Saiva saints, Manikkavachakar, Tirujha-sambandar, Appar, and Sundarar (Fig. 132), all of whom lived before the tenth century; Vishnu and Lakshml; Krishna; Rama; the Vaishnava saints called Alvars; and figures of royal donors.

The question of dating and, necessarily also of stylistic evolution, of these figures, mostly cult-images, is relatively unimportant, for the simple reason that their artistic form and style throughout these long centuries hardly go through any process of evolution, but maintain a certain high level where they seem to have become fixed. And yet, generally speaking, quite a considerable number of images are informed by a vigour or fervour and an artistic efficiency which unmistakably reflect the mutual response the artist and the created object enjoyed between themselves. Standardisation certainly is there, but not stylisation of artistic form, and the objects are not just image patterns divested of creative urge. To maintain a fixed artistic form at high level, with relatively full creative urge, through almost a millennium of changing circumstances, is indeed a phenomenon in the history of art, as much in the history of human progress, which is worth consideration. Presumably it presupposes a life and society that maintained unimpaired their original faith and conviction in certain forms and feelings, emotions, and ways of life, irrespective of the changing social and economic pattern into which their lives were set. But it is the more surprising, so far as South India is concerned, since while contemporary stone sculptures show signs of ossification and exhaustion, the metal images are wrought, not’mechanically but with considerable amount of creative vigour and skill.

These images, being cult-images, are almost invariably presented in full frontal view, but are modelled fully in the round; the backs and sides receive almost as much attention as the front, and there is a definite tendency to twist the figures in slow and graceful flexions and round off the contours and volumes. The purity and smoothness of the body surface and the line add charm to the otherwise tight modelling of the plastic mass that seems to be disciplined by exercise. These qualities are maintained through centuries, though in later images of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there is an attenuation of the physiognomical form and the outline grows more and more sharp; but, throughout, an elegant poise and a sort of dignified balance—both heritages of the classical tradition—are steadily maintained.

Two series of South Indian metal images may be singled out for special mention: the Nataraja series and that of Saiva saints and Vaishnava Alvars. The Nataraja (Figs. 127 and 129) is the formal symbol, the visual image, of the cosmic dance of Siva. In the most consummate realisations by the artists of the profound symbolism of the dance, there is a poise, rhythm, and balance that can only be compared with that of the Buddha images of Sarnath and the monumental Mahesamurti of Elephanta. But while the Buddha image symbolises the ‘pure Being’, the Nataraja symbolises the ‘Becoming’, as Coomaraswamy puts it. ‘Becoming’ connotes eternal flux which is in the dance itself, and yet, in the eyes of the artist and the devotee, it is held as rest that is within the divinity himself even while dancing. This very difficult and profound symbolism has been nevertheless concretely visualised by the South Indian artist and interpreted in terms of line and plastic volume. While compositionally the movement of the dance is spread out in space dynamically, the linear movement itself is gracefully and steadily poised and balanced, and the plastic treatment of the volume shows no accent or tension at any given point. Dynamic movement or eternal flux is thus admirably integrated with accentless, tensionless inner rest and calmness.

In the equally significant, if not equally spectacular, figures of Saiva and Vaishnava saints—also cult-images from the point of view of the artist and the devotees and actually worshipped—the element of bhakti supplies the creative urge that endows these figures with a charm unique in character. These mortal beings, bathed in humility and devotion (cf. Fig. 130) and surrendered in body and soul to the One they hefd as the Supreme Being, came to be regarded as saints in later-times, and inspire the same emotions of humility, devotion and surrender in the hearts and minds of multitudes who hold them in respect and adoration. It is these emotions of a pure heart that are interpreted in contemporary plastic terms, in suggestive and significant flexions and gestures and individualised expressions as reside in the eyes and the mouth and the general demeanour of the face.

12. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is now clear that the specifically 'mediaeval 5 factor was accepted and interpreted in different ways, according to the degree of consciousness of mental and emotional responses, or in accordance with the depth of impact felt and understood, in the various regions of this vast sub-continent. How it was done and what principles were followed in the respective provinces of art have been sought to be briefly laid bare in the foregoing pages.

It is further clear that the two storehouses of the classical values and tradition v/ere Eastern and South India which, through centuries, drew upon their respective stores, the latter till the entire store was run out, the former till its career was cut short bv the* Muslims. Everywhere else in India the 'mediaeval 5 impact was felt in varying degrees, and it is significant that those were the regions where the northern ethnic stock was most potent, especially in Malava, Rajputana and Western India. But nowhere does the undiluted ‘northern* or ‘mediaeval 5 factor make an impress except in painting and textile designs, before the sixteenth or seventeenth century. Indeed, the creativity in the rich and complex structure of early mediaeval sculpture (till the thirteenth century) lies in the balance it is able to maintain between the flowing and plastic aspect of the ‘classical 5 tradition and the linear and angular aspect of the ‘mediaeval 5 , and the degree of success or failure in this task is a sure measurement of the artistic merit of the scluutors.

The words ‘classical 5 and 'mediaeval 5 have only qualitative, ?.c. attributive significance, and are chronologically invalid in the present context. 'Classical 5 qualities of plasticity, viz. accentless distribution of rounded volume and a flowing naturalism, persist in South India for centuries even after the thirteenth, i.e. in a period labelled ‘mediaeval 5 chronologically. Elsewhere also these qualities appear sporadically in different regions of India in the chronologically so-called ‘mediaeval’ period, as for example, in a wooden figure of Krishna, the flute-player, now preserved in the Calcutta Asutosh Museum. On the other hand ‘mediaeval’ or northern qualities begin to be potent from about the eighth century in Rajputana (sculpture) and the Deccan (painting), and become effective and pervasive by about the tenth and eleventh centuries, at any rate so far as North India is concerned, and as time pushes forward, assert themselves more and more, especially in painting and textile designs, though less in sculpture, sculpture being three-dimensional. Yet to what extent this three-dimensional art can be flattened out on to the surface, and interpret subjects in terms of sharp lines and angles and create a new vision and experience of life, may be seen in the terracottas of seventeenth and eighteenth century Bengal, in the Gujarati book-illustrations of the twelfth and the following four centuries, in Rajasthani and Pahari miniatures of the sixteenth and the following three centuries, in the textile designs of Gujarat beginning from the thirteenth, and in those of Bengal (Murshidabad Baluchar Sddis), Orissa (Sambalpur designs), and Madras (Calico prints), to cite only a few examples.

Except in the South of India, all creative utterance in plastic terms came practically to a standstill after the thirteenth century, and there have been no great and original formulations since then. The essentially humanist emotional movements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Northern India (as for example, the Chaitanya movement in Bengal and of Kablr, Dadu and Nanak elsewhere) and the bhakti movement of the South have been responsible for a considerable amount of plastic work of average standard in wood and terracotta and also in stone, but they are at their best informed by a lyrical quality and a homely warmth, not unoften monotonous in their repetition of themes and patterns. A cross-section of contemporary literature in the different provincial languages of India also shows that this, too, was characterised by similar emotional qualities and certain set themes and patterns. A stagnation in the fundamental life-process is perhaps undeniable, and this was presumably inevitable in a life essentially rural and agricultural in outlook and actual living. That the

South retained its classical vitality longer than the North is perhaps due to the fact that the South, for historical reasons, successfully maintained, through her maritime trade, outside contacts that helped to keep her in a state of relatively more quickened consciousness. Literary works like the Rama-charita-mdnasa of Tulsidas and Chaitanya charitdmrita of Krishnadas Kaviraja—the only two great North Indian works, both surcharged with the emotional contents of bhakti _are great so far as they are rich in classical values of dignity and

poise and largeness of proportion. But such works are rare and they have no counterpart in contemporary plastic art. Indeed creative plastic formulations of three-dimensional volume as a quest for expression and beauty have long ceased to be, so far as this vast sub-continent is concerned.

And here is a point in the history of Indian life and culture that does not yield to a sufficiently reasonable explanation. The plea of rural-agricultural life and outlook is only a tentative one and can hardly be emphasised even as a sufficiently important, far less determining, factor at the present state of our knowledge.

III. PAINTING

1. THE ‘MEDIAEVAL’ FACTOR

Plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form had been the most significant characteristic, as much of Indian painting up to the last phase of the work at Ajanta and cognate centres, as of Indian sculpture, till about the eighth century A.D. This is a quality which may legitimately be called ‘classical’, and this vision and tradition, we have seen, show themselves at their best at Ajanta, Bagh and Badami. The most essential formal characteristics of this tradition are: (a) the modelling quality of the line that brings out in full the three-dimensional rounded volume of the mass as well as its plasticity; (b) the modelling quality of colour obtained by the employment of colour-shades and colour-tones and by laying on high lights, wherever necessary, to suggest different planes; (c) the quality of brush work which is always free and firm and aims at bold, sinuous and rounded flexibility, especially at the outlines; and (d) a flowing and mellow linear rhythm. These are indeed the pivotal qualities of early Indian painting and they impart that sculpturesque plastic roundness which is such an essential characteristic of the murals of Ajanta, Bagh and Badami (fifth to seventh century A.D,). But these murals do not represent the total exhaustion or the end of the classical tradition. Under-currents of this tradition or its continuity, albeit 'within smaller range and in subdued intensity, can, for example, be witnessed in the paintings on the walls of the Kailasa temple (eighth century A.D.) of Ellora in the Deccan, the Jain shrine at Sittannavasal (seventh century A.D.), the Vishnu shrine at Tirumalaipuram (seventh century A.D.), the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram (eighth century A.D.) and the Brihadlsvara temple at Tanjore (eleventh century A.D.), all in South India, but more pronouncedly in the now well-known MSS. illustrations of Bihar and Bengal, Nepal and Tibet (tenth to thirteenth century A.D.).

The mediaeval tradition is more complex in character, more expansive in geographical connotation, and also more immediate in ethnic significance. The essential characteristics of this tradition are: (a) sharp, acute line without its modelling capacity, and also without the steady flow of the ‘classical’ period. This line—quickly and sharply drawn—is the main exponent of the ‘mediaeval* tradition;

(b) sharp, jerky, and pointed angles, particularly sharp and pointed limbs when and where they form angles—for example, at the elbow and the shoulder—, the sharp and peaked nose, the crescent lips with angles acutely turned upwards, the eyebrows, and long wide swollen eyes projected sharply and pointedly beyond their actual extension;

(c) jerky movements, in angles and curves, of the body and its distended limbs, that produce a nervous animation quite different from the composed energy and latent dynamism of the ‘classical’ tradition; (d) total absence of colour-modelling and hence, also, of plasticity, which results in an appearance of flatness of the volume of the contour that resides entirely on the surface; (e) richness of variegated patterns, motifs, and designs, all gathered and adapted to the grip of sharp curves, angles, and points; and (f) an intense preference for designs and patterns of decoration that are basically and essentially geometrical and abstract, as distinct from decorative designs and patterns in steadily moving, swaying and deeply cut, modelled, and rounded curves, curls, scrolls, etc. of the ‘classical’ tradition, derived basically from the vegetal and animal world.

These specific characteristics were presumably being borne on the shoulders of the northern peoples, perhaps even from preChristian centuries, more particularly from the days of the Sakas and Kushanas, in recurrent waves of immigration, and are hence, for convenience’ sake, called ‘northern’. Modern researches, mainly by Strzygowski and his colleagues, have sought to show that the sharp curves and point pattern and the sharp-quick line of nervous agitation with their logical concomitants were widely prevalent among the nomads of Central Asia, especially among those of Turk and Mongol extraction. These Turk and Mongol nomads, at any rate, seems to have been the most active carriers of this aesthetic vision and artistic tradition. But the manner in which they reached India, the stages through which they passed, and the definite elements of which they were composed, can only be guessed, and not determined as yet with any amount of certainty. That the elements which we see in India were the accumulated results of a continuous ethnic fusion of northern racial elements that poured into the plains of India from the steppes of Central Asia, hardly admits of any doubt. The Sakas and the Yueh-chis (of whom the Kushanas

Were only a facet), the Abhiras, the Hunas and probably also the Gurjaras were all Central Asian nomads. By about the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. the Hunas came to disturb the social and political fabric of a large part of India and presumably to introduce certain elements of nomadic forms into India as well as into Afghanistan and Iran with which countries India, especially Western India, maintained intimate relations through centuries. It is most likely that the heterogenous elements of perhaps more than one tradition, brought in by repeated waves of immigration, spread over more than half a millennium, resulted in a very slow but steady fusion. Indeed, it must have been a long process of history for these peoples and their culture to send their roots deep down into the soil of the land where their lot was cast, and then grow from within, as a plant indigenous to the soil itself. The art forms that are most expressive of the specific 'northern' traits are not thus exactly what one sees in 'northern' nomadic art, but as modified by the impact of, and response to, the 'classical' measure that had hitherto been all-pervasive in India. Already in some of the reliefs of the fifth and sixth centuries one witnesses certain definite northern traits; but sculpture being essentially and intrinsically three-dimensional, and plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled mass having been the most important exponent of the 'classically' Indian tradition, it resisted for long the infusion of the 'mediaeval' or 'northern' emphasis on the linear accent, the stiff concave curves, and sharply cut edges and angles. On the other hand, the classical tradition had by the seventh and eighth centuries all but exhausted its potentialities and was now ready to welcome new conceptions of form. Those were ready by the hand and were already available in stray instances and isolated regions.

But, painting, which is two-dimensional, offered much less inherent resistance to the 'northern' conception of form. In the ninth century murals at Ellora we find these traits asserting themselves so emphatically and exuberantly as to indicate past practice over a considerable period of time. Here the gliding and modelling lines of Ajanta are replaced by sharp and thin lines, modulated curves by sharp and pointed angles and roundly modelled surfaces by flat coloured spaces. With Ellora, however, the ‘mediaeval’ tradition came to stay, and steadily through centuries built up within the confines of India and also outside—in Burma, Siam, and Java, for example—a history of its own. For some time after Ellora the tradition flowed as an undercurrent but nevertheless influenced and transformed the classical tradition by helping the gradual subsidence of the impact and consistency of its modelling and diminution of its volume by sharpening the modelled and. rounded line, and by the

introduction of certain geometric forms and motifs. This stage is reflected in the mural paintings of the Jain shrine at Sittannavasal and the first layer of paintings on the walls of the temple at Tirumalaipuram, both in the South. By about the eleventh century it begins to make itself felt in some of the miniatures of Eastern India (Nepal, Bihar and Bengal); but from the twelfth to the fifteenth century the tradition is seen actively at work at different localities spread all over India. In murals, so far as extant examples go, it is registered in the earlier layer of paintings at Tirumaruttikunram and the second layer of paintings at Tirumalaipuram, both in South India, and in the Panchatantra paintings on the ceiling of a mandapa. of a Vishnu temple at Madanpur in the Lalitpur District of Central India,—to mention only a few examples. In book illustrations it was extensively in use in West Indian, mainly Gujarati, miniatures, and in limited range, in East Indian MSS.-illustrations and copperplate drawings. Simultaneously it makes itself felt in Javanese sculpture of Panataran temples, of which the later Javanese Wayang Beber is a lineal descendant, also in contemporary murals in Pagan, Burma, and in Siam. Textile surfaces offered a verv rich field for the practice of this tradition, and at least from the thirteenth century onward West Indian textile designs, and later, those of the Deccan, the South, Orissa, and Bengal, register its import in clear unequivocal terms. In Rajasthan and PahadI miniatures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this mediaeval tradition had been the most dominant inspiration and perhaps the most important stylistic determinant,—a fact which has not yet been sufficiently understood and recognised. This remark applies equally to the Deccanese and Orissan miniatures, roughly, and perhaps wrongly, designated as Deccani Mughal, and belonging to the seventeenth and subsequent centuries. That the large majority of terracottas and wood-carvings, and a very large segment of pata (wooden book-covers) and pata (scroll) paintings of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries also belong to the same phase of Indian art has also to be remembered in this connection.

Here, then, is a new culture and civilization with a new vision and aesthetic creed which, basically, was ethnically conditioned, and must have coloured and transformed the Indian way of life and thought in other directions also than in art. But the lineaments of this integration have not yet been clearly and sufficiently made out. In plastic art, at any rate, classicism from now onwards is only a heritage which is certainly never forgotten altogether but which is no more informed by any creative urge at the same time, and surrenders its place to the ‘mediaeval’ or ‘northern’ factor which becomes the common denominator, particularly in painting, drawing, and decorative designs. The factor no doubt feels the pressure and strength, in varying degrees in the various regions and schools of art, of the classical heritage; they interact, but at the same time each remains separately cognisable from now on, till the end of the nineteenth century.

2. ELLORA (c. A.D. 750-800)

A number of temples excavated from the living rock at Ellora (Kailasa, Indrasabha, Ganesa and Lankesvara temples, for example) have their ceilings painted in panels. There are also traces of painting left on the ceilings of the Dasavatara and Dhumar temples, on the lintel and door jambs of the Kailasa temple and on the walls of the three storeyed excavation, as well as on those of the Indrasabha temple, besides others, all at Ellora. There can be no doubt that these represent only a fraction of the paintings of a religious establishment of deep cultural significance, one of the richest in contemporary India.

While Ajanta affords a study in depth and solidity, and emphasises the diagonal direction of coming forward of the figures from the deep formless, and emerging on the surface as forms, the paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasa temple at Ellora present a study in surface and is a simple statement of collateral existence on the plane. In the latter case, figures are not born of any impact of coming forth from depths; they are just visible and look as if laid out weightlessly on or in between conglobulated cloud patterns (or aquatic decorative devices), equally thin and shallow and hence weightless. Not alone the clouds that form the ground of the paintings, but the figures, too, seem to float or swim or emerge or soar effortlessly and look as if all volume and heaviness and density have been pumped out of them and replaced by weightless vapour. The conglobulated clouds look so many weightless masses of carded wool or cotton bordered by globular or cusped, and thin or deep black outlines; the figures have legs that have not to carry the weight of the body, but bent in acute angles; they also soar or float like the arms and hands, and the slim weightless bodies look as if suspended in space. Whatever roundness of modelling and density the clouds or the figures have is only by way of inheritance or remembrance of a past practice; they are all thin and shallow in texture and lay-out, and do not reside in the dense, consistent and surcharged atmosphere of Ajanta. And, since the vaporous clouds, thin and shallow figures, decorative devices, and everything else reside on the surface, practically without any modelling, the line in its varied rhythms becomes the most important exponent of these paintings.

The composition of these Ellora paintings is measured out in rectangular panels with thick fiat borders; they have been conceived within given limits of frames that hold the paintings. In this matter, so far as the paintings on the ceilings are concerned, they followed the architectural scheme of the division of the ceiling into a large-size central lotus, on the four outer sides of which are two huge rectangles, an inner and an outer one. What was originally conceived as murals laid out on the limitless expanse of the walls, was thus made to fit in within bordered rectangular panels, not only on the ceilings but on the walls as well. Space in the sense of Ajanta does not exist at Ellora. In the former case all spaces are surcharged with a density born of the impact of the figures bodying forth from the depths; in the latter there is nowhere any density or consistency, and this is sought to be compensated by filling up the entire ground with all sorts of figures, men and -women, decorative devices, clouds, fantastic animals, etc.

The technique of preparing the ground for these murals is the same as that of Ajanta, and the colours too are the same; black, white, yellow and earth reds (Indian red, terre-verte or buff earth) and buff, all applied rather thinly and without any modelling. In the first layer of paintings, however, the colours are darker than in the second. The outlines are drawn sharply in thick black or deep red.

The two layers of paintings on the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasa temple are separated in time by about a century; but the above remarks apply equally to both, despite stylistic variations in detail in one and the same layer, w T hich shows, incidentally, that different stjdes commingled irrespective of the age of the two layers. This means that the two layers belong to one and the same tradition.

Two main varieties of stylistic form and treatment are clearly discernible in these paintings of the Kailasa temple. The majority of the figures and movements belong to the classical tradition of Ajanta, that is, they are somewhat roundly modelled in colour and have also a modelled outline, but with considerable thinning down of the consistency of the modelling itself. Nor is there any sign of the impact of coming forward as in Ajanta. Correspondingly with the figures, the clouds in such panels are also roundly modelled masses with modelled outlines in deeper shade of the same colour or in deep red; coloured in dark or white they contrast sharply with the white or dark colour of the figures. But they have not the density or consistency of Ajanta clouds and are considerably thinner. H>e paintings in the Lankesvara, Indrasabha and Ganesa cave temples belong to this variety. The physiognomical type of the figures in such compositions is closely related to those of the Pallava rock reliefs of Mamallapuram and the reliefs of the Virupaksha temple at Pattadakal. A slim attenuated body endowed with agile and smooth limbs and a longish face is lightly borne by a pair of long slender legs. The body and the supple limbs seem to be suspended from the strong pair of shoulders and the expanded chest wherein lies the centre of gravity. Despite the comparative roundness of the volume brought about by the livingness of breathing, the bodies seem to soar or float weightlessly and gracefully, as if poised in mid-air (compare the figures in the Gahgavatarana relief at Mamallapuram) in the midst of the floating clouds which constitute their abode. Light and transparent draperies and flying scarves only emphasise this flying vision of the figures themselves. In one aspect at least some of the painted figures at Ellora (Kailasa temple) try to emulate the corresponding type in stone sculpture; it is in the convex curve of the chest and abdomen brought about by the forward thrust of the chest. In sculpture, this curve, which reflects the energy and strength of the figures, is attained by modelling the plastic volume; in painting, which doubtless is slighter in total effect, it is the work of the outline drawn with zest and power.

The other form and stylistic variety is to be seen in a type of figures and clouds mainly linear in treatment and practically without any modelling of the plastic volume, i.e. bodies from which volume has ail but evaporated. Such figures and clouds are defined by thick and desiccated outlines in black, and the clouds turn themselves on to edges formed of deep or shallow curves entwined by cusps, scrolls, and dots. It is in such compositions that the ‘mediaeval’ factor is comparatively more pronounced than in the other variety. In the lattet* also the general thinning down of the roundness of volume and outline has been due to the impact of the ‘mediaeval’ tendency. Indeed, at Ellora, the line is the main exponent and not the modelled mass, which can directly be attributed to the mediaeval grip.

Yet, the ‘classical’ tradition of modelling of the mass and the outline as well as the illusion of the impact of coming forward from the depths is not ignored altogether. They are, to begin with, accepted so far as they are remembered as a heritage, and then, stage by stage, they are caught by the ‘mediaeval’ grip that causes steady subsidence of the classical values.

For example, in the paintings in the inner rectangle of the ceiling of the western porch of the Kailasa temple (Fig. 134) there is

the scene of a lotus pool on the wavy waters of which large-sized lotus leaves are tossed and turned upon themselves, and elephants madly sport in joy in their midst—a favourite theme in literature. Here the figures of elephants appear emerging somewhat from the depths; they are toughly and roundly modelled. The turning back of the cup-shaped lotus leaves is also treated in round but tight plasticity; their rims are round and heavy.

Certainly the echoes of Ajanta are listened to with attention; but at the same time flatness of the human faces, the peak-pointed nose, the disposition of the arms and the palms on the surface and increasing disregard of foreshortening have all been due to the intrusion of the mediaeval factor.

In the paintings of the outer zone of the rectangle, however, there is practically an all but complete subsidence of the impact of the modelling of the mass as well as of the line. The latter is drawn sharply, fluently and incisively, and as outline to the cloud-formations it is fixed with curves and dots. Figures of Ajantesque affiliation are nowhere; they generally belong to the Pallava form, and in a few instances the local idiom of Ellora is employed. But the most characteristic features of these figures are the sharp twist of the head and pointed angular bends of the arms, both away from the body animated by jerky angular movements, the concave curve of the closed lips, the sharp peaked and projected nose, the longdrawn wide-eyes. Here is then a new vision of form, a new source of energy that not only transforms the figures in their lineaments, but transforms the composition correspondingly where everything else also responds equally fluently and vibrantly.

This 'mediaeval' grip slowly and steadily settles down and, stage by stage, not necessarily in chronological sequence, the different phases can be followed in the paintings on the ceilings and walls of the cave-temples of Ellora. The 'mediaeval' grip is not all pervasive, but it transforms the classical vision and is itself transformed by it.

There can be no doubt that despite the rich significance of a new creative vision that asserts itself with force and insistence, the paintings of Ellora do not, at any stage or in any of its phases, reach the level of those at Bagh, Ajanta and Badami, either aesthetically or intellectually. Ellora employs all the glowing colours and tones with subtle nuances known to Ajanta, but much of the charged density and consistency of the latter has evaporated, and a preference for conspicuous contrasts makes the paintings appear somewhat frolicky.

3. SOUTH INDIA (c. A.D. 1100-1300)

Remnants of Indian wall-paintings south of the Deccan plateau and belonging to this period are still to be found, for example, on the walls of the Vijayalaya Chollsvara temple at Narttamalai in the old Pudukkottai State (c. A.D. 1100), of the Brihadlsvara temple (Fig. 135) at Tanjore (c. A.D. 1100), on the brick built walls affixed in front of the cave (c. A.D. 1100), and also on the cave waljs (c. A.D. 13001350) at Tirumalai in North Arcot, on the walls of the Sangita-mattdapa at Tiruparuttikunram, Kahchipuram (c. A.D. 1387-88), and the Uchayappa-matha at Anegundi of about the same date. It is not unlikely that paintings of the period, yet unknown to us, exist on the walls of other South Indian temples. Caves and temple walls were painted over as soon as they were excavated and built; and, generally speaking, the dates of paintings are roughly those-of the monuments themselves. But in certain instances, as for example in the Vijayalaya Chollsvara temple at Narttamalai where repairs had to be undertaken at a later period, or where the first layer was painted over by a second or more layers of painting, the fixation of dates of later paintings becomes a difficult problem, and one has to take recourse to the question of stylistic evolution and variation.

The Vijayalaya Chollsvara temple at Narttamalai seems to have been built originally in the ninth century; subsequently it was struck by lightening, necessitating extensive repairs, presumably towards the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. To judge from their style, the paintings that are all spread on the walls of the ardka-mandapa of this temple, seem to have been executed not long after the repairs to the temple were carried out. From the meagre vestiges that are still preserved, it is clear that the temple was Saiva; large-scale painted figures of Mahakala, Devi, and Siva Nataraja are still visible, along with other minor figures. Stylistically the figure of Mahakala is stereotyped, but its affinity with the slightly earlier painting of Siva as Tripurantaka in the Brihadlsvara temple at Tanjore is unmistakable. Later Chola characteristics are also evident in the form and shape of hair decoration, karanda mukuta, costumes, etc. of the Devi. Outlines of figures are invariably in red, and the colours extensively used are terre-verte, yellow and red of varied tones, green, black, and white; high lights in white are used on finger tips. Chola forms and physiognomy are apparent, and ‘classical’ values of full rounded volume are gratefully remembered, though with lessened consistency of colour-modelling. A flattening on the surface, clearly perceptible, is due certainly to pressure of the ‘mediaeval’ factor; but while the classical plastic form and treatment of modelling persist in such examples as in a fragment of a standing female figure with folded hands, the finger tips of the hand being touched by high lights (to the right, in the second recess from entrance), the mediaeval form makes itself felt nowhere so strongly as in another fragment of two rows of flying figures whose faces and busts, flattened out on the surface, are shown in three-quarter profile, and noses, eyes, and mouths are drawn in sharp, pointed angular lines (in the second recess, to the right, from the entrance). Undoubtedly the latter is more vital and vibrant in its diction and mood. The former, that is the classical type or whatever residues are left of it, is closely related to the almost contemporary (eleventh century) wall-paintings in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore built by the great Rajaraja I.

The paintings of the Brihadlivara temple are tucked away under its 190 ft. high vimana in a dark passage around the main cella of the temple. There are two layers of paintings on the walls, of which the upper layer is slowly peeling off, exposing to view the low’er, ie. the earlier one. To judge from style, there does not seem to be a long lapse of time between the two layers of paintings. Like that of the Narttamalai, the subject matter of these paintings is frankly Saiva, and the scenes representing Siva in his abode of Kailasa, with his saintly devotees, as Nataraja and Tripurantaka, ia the company of ganas, gandharvas, apsaras y and so on, are laid on the w'alls in large and forceful compositions. The technique, as usual, is that of tempera, and the paintings are executed on a surface of soft lime plaster—presumably composed of powdered conch-shell or mother of pearl-—of uniform thickness of an eggshell. The outlines are drawn in light red or brown, later on deepened by black or reddish browns. Pigments used for contours, backgrounds, and decorations are yellow ochre, red ochre, terreverte, brown earth, white, black, and lapis lazuli blue. Much of the ‘classical’ consistency and depth of colour application have somewhat evaporated, making the figures look flatter and thinner in the context of volume. Nor, compositionally, are the figures connected in any inherent relationship; some of the groups are schematically arranged in horizontal panels, one below the other. Exceptions are rare, as in the two panels representing Siva and saint Sundara, and Siva as Tripurantaka, respectively.

But. as in those of the Narttamalai, the classical volume is still remembered and there is a conscious attempt at giving it as much value as possible, with the help of broadly modelled lines, ample curves and colour tones. Seated figures have still their graceful, though conventional, bhangas, and dignified movements; but the standing figures are devoid of any inner plasticity and look stiff and inelastic. The grip of the ‘mediaeval’ factor is, however, unmistakable in the treatment of the face, shown invariably in three-quarter profile, with fish-shaped eyes drawn sharply to pointed angles in both directions, long beak-like sharply pointed nose and pointedly angular chins—all set on a squarish face and contrasting sharply with a pair of roundly modelled, fully plastic lips drawn in double curves. The two modes and visions, ‘classical’ and ‘mediaeval’, thus commingle in these paintings and, acting and reacting on each other, transform themselves. But, on the whole, the South adheres more tenaciously to the former than adopt and integrate the latter.

Almost contemporary with the Narttamalai and Brihadlsvara (Tanjore) temple paintings are those of the first layer on the brick walls of the outermost chamber on the second storey of the Lakshmlsvara mandapa at Tirumalai. But stylistically they belong to a slightly different diction and variety than those of the Narttamalai paintings. The subject matter of the Tirumalai paintings is Jain in inspiration. In the preserved vestiges on the back wall and the adjacent one, against dark black background, Devas, Devis, Ganadharas, and nuns, animals, etc. are arranged in panelled sectors bordered by rows of hamsas, festoons and lotuses, and surrounded by gandharvas and kimpurushas. Full frontal or three-quarter faces with eyes wide open look out intently towards a definite point; the hands of figures are held in anjali pose. But whether the subject is human beings, demigods, animals, or vegetation, the treatment is invariably fiat, and volumes are gathered on the surface; hardly anything is left of the body-shaping colour modelling of the classical tradition. The lines, too, have lost much of their modelling quality, and despite good draughtsmanship, also much of their bold vigour.

The mediaeval grip is evident in the sharp lines and angles, beak-like pointed noses, up-line curves, and flat treatment of ornaments. White has been extensively used at Tirumalai along with different varieties and grades of ochre and terre-verte, also grey and red; use of mixed and impure colours, mainly in ochre and terre-verte, and black background seem to have been a special feature at Tirumalai. The paintings on the outside of the brick facade also belong to the same category.

The second layer of paintings at Tirumalai is still visible on the ceiling of the outermost chamber, referred to above, and on the walls of the adjacent rock-cut cave. Here the volume has thinned out further and the figures are completely gathered on the surface. The lines have come further sharpened and the bhangas have all lost their plastic flexibility.

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4. WESTERN INDIA (c. A.D. 1100-1300)

From all that we know of the settlements of ‘northern’ peoples from the beginning of the Christian era to about the eighth century A.D., their impact seems to have been strongest in Western India, mainly in Gujarat and West Rajputana, and to an extent, also in Western Malwa. It is thus in the nature of things that ‘northern’ or ‘mediaeval’ traits are most marked in those regions, especially in Western India and Rajputana, and this is true more in the realm of painting than in that of sculpture. But, despite isolated examples of earlier date, the ‘mediaeval’ conception of form does not become general and all-pervasive before the twelfth century A.D.

The geographical position of Gujarat and the adjoining territories made them centres of great international trade, whence the arterial routes to the heart of Northern India lay through Malwa and Rajputana. The inland trade was mostly in the hands of the Jains who had always been zealous guardians of past traditions and great patrons of their religion, art, and culture. Their monastic establishments of which bhcindaras or libraries were invariable integrals, especially those of Marwar on the one side and Kathiawar on the other, were not only important centres of artistic activity, but also provided, at a later date, much needed asylums to artists and others who fled from other parts of Gujarat in the worst days of Muslim invasion and oppression, and enabled them to organize new art-centres and continue the tradition more or less uninterruptedly. Even before the Muslim invasion of Gujarat, the fertility of her central alluvial plains and the wealth of her trade and commerce helped the growth of a rich art under the aegis of the Chaulukyas. Indeed, Chaulukya sculpture and architecture are much more elaborate and sensitive than those patronised and brought into existence by the Paramaras or the Chahamanas. Quantitatively also the Chaulukyas seem to have reared up monuments far greater in number and richer in the profusion of sculptural and decorative details. Their political and cultural suzerainty in the twelfth century extended to Kutch and Saurashtra on the one hand and Malwa and Marwar on the other, and the Chaulukya art spread in Rajputana as far as Chitor, Bikaner, and Osia. In A.D. 1222 the Chaulukyas were superseded by the Vaghelas who, so far as Rajputana is concerned, continued the Chaulukya tradition, though somewhat decadent by now. The invasion of Qutb-ud-dln Aibak in A.D. 1197 and the conquest of Gujarat by the Khalils a century later led to the disintegration of the Chaulukya and Vaghela artcentres of the country, and fleeing of artists to such places as Kathiawar, Idar, Mt. Abu, Achalga^h, Dungarpur, and Pawagadh where local Hindu rulers offered successful resistance to the Muslims up to the fifteenth century. In these localities and particularly in the Jain monasteries and temples, the rich heritage of Chaulukya art, mainly Jain in religious inspiration, was given a new span of life, though in a rather degenerate and complicated manner. Sheltered within the monasteries and cut away from the general life of the people, the art was stylised and increasingly influenced by hieratic conventions.

The first thing that arrests one’s attention in the Gujarati paintings is that these are all invariably MSS.-illustrations in miniature, executed on palm-leaf, and later, from about the middle of the fourteenth century, on paper which was gradually supplanting palmleaf as a writing material. But palm-leaf was not altogether given up till the beginning, at any rate, of the fifteenth century. A connected sequence of these paintings is available in a large number of MSS. both dated and undated (to which approximate dates can be ascribed on stylistic considerations), that range from about the beginning of the twelfth to about the end of the fifteenth century.

More than four centuries of these MSS.-paintings in miniature, despite a common denominator that belongs to the strong ‘mediaeval' factor, do not, however, represent one integrated style in a regular process of evolution. The common denominator is easily known by the sharp, pointed lines flatly laid in thin or thick strokes, by the almost flat laying of colours in two-dimensional effect with but the slightest suggestion of modelled plasticity, by the treatment of the eyes, nose, and body-joints that are given an accentuated appearance and effect by an emphasis on sharp pointed angles and lines, by the flat treatment of all decorative and architectural devices, and no less by certain geometrical decorative designs that are typically ‘northern’. It is needless to point out i that all these stylistic characteristics and the flat, essentially two-dimensional, aesthetic vision and treatment are ‘mediaeval’.

Despite this common denominator, the long and rich series of West Indian miniature painting shows varieties of style that merit consideration. There is one class of painting the compositions of which are relatively simple, with but few figures set against a background which is also simple and without any accessory details of architecture, room-hangings or other decorations; details of jewellery and intricate designs of costumes being rather suggested than actually worked out. The line-strokes in such examples are relatively thick, the curves are full and steady, and the drawing sure and unfaltering. Of human figures, profiles and three-quarters are given preference, and eyes, noses, chins,, beards, costume-hangings

or frills, finger-points, etc. are all drawn in sharp pointed angles. A very characteristic feature is the treatment of the eyes which are drawn in two parabolic curves with sharp pointed sides set on the same level, the eye-lashes being drawn in sharp and extended bowlike curves. Even in profiles or almost profiles both eyes are shown, with one eye drawn projectedly somewhat out of its context. Earliest examples of this class are a couple of paintings in a palm-leaf MS. dated in A.D. 1127 (Santinatha Temple Bhandar, Cambay; MS. No. 6.2). In this version the West Indian miniatures have certain parallels with contemporary East Indian miniatures, especially in poses and attitudes of figures, the quality of the line, and slight suggestion of plastic modelling of the body-contour.

There is yet another style of West Indian miniature painting, known already from about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., which reflects the ‘mediaeval’ tendency in a still more pronounced manner. In the examples of this style the lines are equally sharp but have not the fineness of the class just referred to above. They are moreover broken and somewhat desiccated, not drawn in one sweep; they are also joined in pointed angles which do not integrate. Nor is there any attempt to crowd the composition with too many details; the few accessories that fill the spaces as ’well as the main figures themselves are all summarily and perhaps somewhat roughly worked out. There are also definite evidences, in some examples, of shading which is done by the use of colour and a shaded line. In the poses and attitudes as well as in the formal appearance and treatment there is unmistakably a conscious vigour which seems to be partly traditional, partly drawn from some submerged folk style. A peculiar treatment of the eyes seems to be characteristic of this class of miniatures. They are drawn not horizontally on one level, but separately on different levels; this is clearly noticeable at the nose where the corners of the eyes meet, one inside corner placed considerably below the level of the inside corner of the other. Earliest examples of this class of paintings can be seen in a MS. (No. 1155), dated A.D. 1161, belonging to the Viravijayaji £rl Jaina Svetambara Jnana Mandir Bhandar at Chavi, near Baroda.

To whatever class of the common denominator these paintings belong, and despite their pictorial and decorative quality, their glowing colours of red, yellow, blue, and gold, West Indian miniature painting is highly stylised and conventional, cold and mechanical. They are intellectually conceived and despite their bright and glowing pigments there is little of emotional warmth in the general effect. But technically they are examples of perfect craftsmanship and of pure pictorial significance. In their generally cold and mechanical

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effect they perhaps reveal the inner meaning and psychology of Jainism to which the majority of the paintings owe their origin and inspiration.

5. EASTERN INDIA (BENGAL, BIHAR), NEPAL AND TIBET

Specimens of painting datable earlier than the Pala cultureperiod have not yet been found anywhere in Eastern India or Nepal. Extant specimens of early paintings in Eastern India, up to the thirteenth century at any rate, are illuminations on palm-leaves and paper of MSS. and on wooden covers of MSS. Besides, so far as Bengal is concerned, we have at our disposal at least three engraved drawings on copper-plates that may be said to belong to about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The MSS.-illuminations are almost all, with but rare exceptions, of Vajrayana Buddhist inspiration; but the engraved drawings are all Brahmanical.

Since there is hardly any appreciable major stylistic difference between the illuminations of Bihar and Bengal or Bengal and Nepal, at least till as late as the thirteenth century A.D., they may conveniently be studied as belonging to one and the same school. These miniatures, it is important to remember, do not represent a separate style of book-illustration; they are, in fact, mural paintings in reduced dimensions, and can in no way be compared with the truly characteristic phase of book-illustration that constitutes a fascinating chapter in the history of painting in Persia, China, mediaeval Europe and late mediaeval India. Nor can they be said to have anything to do with primitive or folk-painting; in fact they reveal an already developed form and technique intimately linked with an art practice and tradition that must have existed in the form of large wall-paintings or MSS.-illuminations that carried the earlier tradition of Bagh and Ajanta in an uninterrupted sequence. These smallscale paintings, executed within the narrow dimensions of a MS. page, may easily be thrown mechanically on the wall in any magnified scale and yet would not suffer in the least in either the movement of the line, for example, or the compactness of the composition. Truly speaking, these paintings are large scale murals in reduced dimensions.

The colours used are orpiment yellow, white, indigo blue, Indian ink-black or kajjal, cinnabar red, and green which appears to be a mixture of orpiment and indigo, unlike the green of Ajanta. All these colours are used in different shades. The general colour arrangement, on the whole, of the divinities at any rate, is mostly determined by iconographic requirements. Neither Indian red or any ochres nor ultramarine seems to have been used. Tonality of colours is

practically unknown, but high lights are given by the application of white. The outline is drawn either in black or red, and seems to have been sketched out first and later on filled in with colour.

Usually the composition of these illuminations follows certain well-known schematic principles of balance. In most of them the main divinity, always relatively larger, stands or is seated in the centre, against a background either of an architectural design or of an oval or semi-round aureole, or inside a terraced temple decoration, flanked evenly on two sides by lesser divinities of the manfala. in single or double, straight or circular, rows as their number may require. When the main divinity occupies one side, the lesser ones of the mandala occupy another. Vacant spaces are filled by flying semi-divine beings, vegetal and ornamental decorations, architectural motifs, or similar other devices

With the help of dated MSS. it is possible to arrange these miniatures in a rough chronological sequence, but such a sequence would be hardly worth while, for it hardly shows any stylistic evolution. Formally and psychologically they are conventional, and inevitably betray a traditional outlook. Indeed, the trend and tendencies seem to have remained fixed, more or less, during the three centuries beginning from the eleventh. Life seems to have remained stagnant all the while within the confines of the monasteries.

East Indian miniature paintings are, stylistically speaking, painted equivalents of contemporary plastic art of the Palas and Senas, both in outer form and inner meaning. So far as the plastically modelled mass is concerned, what the sculptor achieves by gradations in three dimensions at his disposal, the painter does with his colours applied with varying degrees of thinness or consistency, as well as with the help of linear inflexions. The modelled mass is held by definite but sinuous lines, flowing steadily and modelled; the flowing curve of the contour of the body and the lower abdomen as w r ell as the sensitivity of the finger curves are unmistakable heritages of the classical tradition. The best specimens of this tradition can be seen, for example, in the illuminations of two Prajfidpdramita MSS. executed in the 5th and the 6th year of king Mahlpala (Cambridge Univ. Coll. No. Add. 1464 and ASB. Coll. No. 4713—Figs. 140 and 141—respectively), the Gandavyuha MS. (Fig. 136) in the possession of Roerich, and another Prajna-pdramitu MS. (ASB. Coll. No. A. 15) dated in the Nepalese era 191 (A.D. 1071). In the best examples, subtle transmission in the modelling of colour is fully valid (Fig. 142); equally valid is the modelling quality of the sinuous line increasing and decreasing in thickness in accordance with the degree of the surging roundness of the contour. But even in such

examples there are indications of increasingly thinning down of the plasticity or stagnation of the plastically modelled treatment. The modelling quality of the line in such examples may or may x not be left untouched. In the Cambridge MSS. referred to above, tb4/faint and stereotyped colour modelling does not, however, affect the line which is still vital in its modelling capacity. The illuminations of' a MS. in the Boston Museum (No. 20589) dated in the 4th year of Gopala (III ?), of the well-known Sawamura MS. and of the Vredenburg MS. (Fig. 137), for example, belong to this category. But in certain illuminations, for example, in the Cambridge MS. No. Add. 1643 dated A.D. 1015, the lines are weak, brisk and faltering; they seem to be broken or desiccated and have lost their steady uninterrupted flux. In some examples they are even sharp and hectic. Also, whatever modelling in colour is evident, is desiccated and disintegrated. But in the same MS., e.g., the one with the label “Samatate Jayatuhga Lokandtha ” the line is not so crisp and short-featured, but is equally unrefined by any grace or sentiment. Modelling in colour is also faint and thin (c/. Fig. 138). This is equally evident in the illuminations of another MS. (ASB. No. 4203) dated in the Nepalese era 268 (A.D. 1148). They seem to have a distinctly Nepalese flavour and idiom which is marked by the absence of any trace of modelling in the coloured surface, the upward stiffening of the pale-like erect bodies, and the curt and broken, almost stagnant, character cf the line. In certain examples, even of earlier date, the tendency towards linearisation is unmistakable, and this tendency appears side by side, sometimes even in the same painting, with the thoroughly ‘classical’, i.e. plastic treatment—undoubtedly an evidence of the ‘mediaeval’ interpenetration into the ‘classical' conception. An illumination, reproduced on pi. NXXIII (right topmost panel) of Coomaraswamy’s Portfolio of Indian Art, illustrates, even better than those already referred to, this ‘mediaeval’ element in East Indian painting. But the clear character of this ‘mediaeval’ factor can best be seen in a few twelfth and thirteenth century copper-plate drawings, those from Sunderbans and Chittagong, for example. 234 In both these drawings the modelling quality of the line is fully valid; it is still flowing, alert and sweeping; but wherever there is the slightest pretext, it loves to indulge in brisk curves and pointed angles. The lines of the face, when shown in profile or three-quarters, form angles or sharp curves in a beak-like nose or in an almost angular chin, and the bow-like curves of the brows or rims of the upper lips are extended as far as they would permit, much in the same manner as in contemporary West Indian miniatures.

It is easy to discover a superficial resemblance between this

linear tradition of East Indian miniatures and drawings and that of Western India and Rajputana. Certainly both belong to the ‘mediaeval conception and manner of treatment, but there is yet a marked difference. The line in the Western tradition is flaming and pointed, angles are sharp almost to a geometrical point, and though there is the same predilection for brisk and extended curves, they are not unoften broken and are drawn without any warmth of feeling or emotion. On the other hand the East Indian line is sensitive and emotional, and has a melodious lyricism even in its sharpness and desiccation. The ‘Western’ line has nothing but flat and hardened surface to control within its limits, but the East Indian line, with its sensitiveness, tempered lyricism, and short or extended curves as the case mav be, shows off the roundness of the mass that is confined within its boundaries. The rich and glowing and summarily laid colours of West Indian miniatures have nothing to compare with the subdued tones and modelled plasticity of East Indian colours, thinly or consistently applied.

East Indian manuscript-illuminations refer to the regnal years of the Pala kings, but those from Nepal are invariably dated in the Nepalese era, and Nepalese paintings comprise not only MSS.-illuminations hut also prabhas, painted banners, and painted wooden MSS. covers. Dated and illuminated

MSS. are known onwards from the eleventh century and dated banners from the sixteenth, though painted Nepalese banners, ascribed to dates onwards from A. D. 900. were discovered at Tun-huang.

The Tun-huang painting banners are but painted counterparts of contemporary East Indian sculpture, and that in an inferior version. The figures are thin, as if without a substance. The line is alert, round and sweeping, but there is hardly any modelling of colour which is usually massed together in blotches or distributed on flat surfaces. Whatever the postures, the attitude of the figures has hardly any inner meaning—or even an artistic significance. Indeed. these are some of the essential features that characterise Nepalese paintings from the very outset.

These features are also evident in the MSS.-illuminations; in the earlier ones (eleventh century A.D.) the line has a largeness, a simple vivacity, and some kind of an emotional quality. At this stage Nepalese painting is but a component of contemporary East Indian MSS. painting. The paintings of the ASB. MS. No. A. 15 (Fig. 139) and Cambridge MS. Add. 1643, for example, belong to this phase. But already in the twelfth and succeeding centuries there is a progressive desiccation of colour-modelling, and a lessening of the modelling capacity of the line which, moreover, has a tendency to*

wards becoming crisp, dry, and brittle; curves, too, become shorter and clipped. Sharp and hectic ‘Western’ lines and pointed angles also make their intrusion. Not only do Nepalese paintings at this stage throw aside the refined elegance and exuberance and the continuous, sensitive flux of the ‘Eastern’ line, but compositional^, too, they bid good-bye to the continuous and sweeping rhythm of the East Indian composition and adopt one that is clipped and divided in single units. The figures stiffen increasingly; they are erect and vigorous, and yet without any substance, accentuating their angles whenever they bend sideways. These are characteristic Nepalese tendencies that are evidenced till as late as the sixteenth century, as applied to Indian themes and formulations. The paintings of the ASB. MS. No, 4203 (dated N. S. 268=A. D. 1148), of the Durbar Library MS. of the Nitydhnikatilaka (dated N. -S. 515 — A.D. 1395), and that on the wooden cover of a MS. of about A.D. 1200, for example, belong to this phase.

1. Mayamata, Chaps. XIX and XXI; ISGDP, Patala XXX; Tantra-samuchchaya, Patala II; Suprabhedagama, Chap. XXX (Kesara of this text is apparently a mistake for Vesara); Kdmikagama, Patala XLIX; Kasyapa-silpa, Chap. XXV; SR, Chap. XVI; Samaranganasuiradhara, Chap. LVII (this text replaces Vesara by Varata); Ap.-p. (MS. in S. K. Roy collection, Fol. 51) omits Vesara and mentions, along with Ndgari and Drdvidi, Ldti and Vairati; an inscription from Holal (Bellary District) adds Kdlinga to the list of N agar a, Dravida, and Vesara (Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for Epigraphy, for 1915, pp. 40-90).

2. Sarvdni sarvadeseshu bhavant-ityapi kechana (ISGDP); Sarvam sarvatra sammatam (Kdmikagama).

3. ISGDP; SR; Kasyapa-silpa; Kdmikagama. The Ap.-p. confines the Ndgari (Ndgara) style to Madhyadesa (Ndgari Madhyadese tu) and mentions Ldti (Ldti Late prakirtitd) and Vairati (Vairati tu svadesaja), evidently of Lata and Virata regions, as separate styles, along with the Ndgari and Drdvidi. On the evidence of the monuments Lati and Vairati should be considered as ramifications of the Ndgara style. Kalinga of the Holal inscription is, likewise, a regional manifestation of the Ndgara style.

4. ISGDP; SR.

5. Kdmikagama; ISGDP; SR. The interchange of the Dravida and the Vesara regions, as we have in the Kasyapa-silpa, is evidently a mistake.

6. SR; Tantra-samuchchaya.

7. Kdmikagama; Mayamata. Here stupi means the top of the sikhara and should not be confused with the domical crowning member (technically called stupi or stupikd) of the Dravida temples.

8. Chaturasrayatdsram yan-Ndgaravn parikirttitam — Kdmikagama; Mayamata.

9. IC, VII, pp. 74-75.

9a. Cf. Volume III, p. 514.

10. Drdvidi dakshine bhage — Ap.-p.

11. Dravidasyochito deso Dravidah sydnna chdnyathd — ISGDP; SR.

12. Krishnadi-Kanydntam — Kdmikagama.

13. Mayamata; ISGDP; Suprabheddgama; Tantrasamuchchaya; SR; Kasyapa-silpa.

14. Kdmikagama: Mayamata.

15. The description of the ISGDP that a Dravida temple may also be square below the neck and octagonal above has a general likeness with the early mediaeval temples of the Dravida country.

15a. Vol III, pp. 501-7, 514.

16. HIIA, figs. 116 and 117; A. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 68, pi. IV, 2.

17. J. Fergusson, HIE A, II, p. 92.

18. N. K. Bose, Canons of Orissan Architecture, Calcutta, 1932.

19. M. Ganguly, Orissa and her Remains — Ancient and Mediaeval, p. 307.

20. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa. II, pp. 338-39.

21. JRASBL, XV, pp. 109-14.

22. HIE A, II, p. 97.

23. R. L. Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, II, p. 91.

24. JRASBL, XIII, pp. 63-73. See above, p. 211.

24a. Another temple of this type maj' be seen in the Dakra Bhlmesvara at Bhuvanesvara.

25. Cf. HIIA, p. 115. This date is usually accepted by scholars.

26. The author is indebted to Sri N.K. Bose, Calcutta University, for this information.

27. JASB, VII, pp. 828-29, pi. XL.

28. Information kindly supplied by Sri N.K. Bose, Calcutta University.

29. ASI, 1928-29, p. 16, pi. IV(a).

30. JBORS, XV, 65-68, pis. IV and V; ASC, XIII, 118-19.

31. Sri N. K. Bose, Calcutta Universitv, kindly supplied the information.

32. ASI, 1904-05, pp. 116-20, pis. XXXVI and XXXVII.

33. For a general account of the Orissan temples the following may be consulted:

R. L. Mitra, Antiquities of Orissa, 2 vols.;

HIE A, II, pp. 92-111;

R.D. Banerji, History of Orissa, II, chapter on Architecture.

Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), pp. 122-32.

34. ASC, XVII, p. 28; ASI, 1909-10, pp. 11-14; 1922-23, pp. 49-50.

34a. See Classical Age, Fig. 32.

35. ASC, II, pp. 201 If.; ASI, 1909-10, pp. 15-16; 1924-25, p. 33.

36. ASC , XVII, d. 8; ASIWC, 1903-04, p. 50; ASI , 1909-10, p. 16.

37. MAS I, No. 23. pp. 61-62, pi. XVIII (b).

38. Ibid., p. 66, pi. XVIII (a).

39. HIE A, II, pn. 133-34.

40. JDL, XXIX, Article No. 8.

41. For temples at Amarkantak, MASI, No- 23. pp. 53-60, pis- XOT-XVI.

42. MASI, No. 23. pp. 48-53, pis. X-XII.

43. HIE A, II. p. 141; HIIA, p. 104; Br. I. A., p. 133.

44. It should be remembered, however, that the sdndhdra garbhagriha and angasikharas on the main tower do not always go together, the former being recognised only in a few temples of the group. Temples of the sa.ndh.ara class

are also found in Western India.

44a. Vcl. in. pp. 501-507.

45. Stella Kramrisch, KHT, II, p. 367.

46. Ibid, p. 372.

47. ASC, II, pp. 427-28, 430-31.

48. MASI, No. 23, pp. 32-35, 41. pis. I and VI.

49. ASC, XI, pt>. 46-47; ASI , 1908-09, pp. 17-18.

30. Ibid, pp. 20-21.

51. Ibid, p. 20.

52. ASC, VII, pp. 160-62.

53. Ibid, pp. 199-200.

54. Ibid, IX, pp. 60-74.

55. ASI, 1915-16, pt. 1, p. 18.

56. HIEA, II, p. 51.

57. P.C. Mukherji, Report on the antiquarian remains in the Lalitpur district, pi. 39.

58. ASC, XIII, pp. 132 ff.

59. HIEA, II, p. 51.

60. HIIA, p. 110.

61. KHT , II, p. 348.

62. For a general account of these temples reference may be made to ASI, 1906-07, p. 42; 1908-09, pp. 100-115. The site was known as Ukesa, as known from a fragmentary inscription in the Mahavira temple at Osia. For the date of the Buchkala Inscription of Nagabhata II, see El, IX, 199.

63. KHT, II, p. 404.

63a. The Mahavira temple seems to have an interesting history covering a period of several centuries. According to a fragmentary inscription, the original shrine of Mahavira seems to date back to the period of Vatsaraja, the Gurjara Pratlhara king in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Subsequently it fell into disrepair and a certain amount of renovation work was undertaken by a merchant, named Jinodaka, in Vikrama samvat » 1013 (A.D. 956). Finally, in Vrkram Samvat 1075 (A.D. 1018) the ornament tor ana was set up by two individuals whose names are lost. The style of the temple with the sikhara of the sanctum surrounded by clusters of ahga-sikharas belongs to the eleventh century A.D., though the evidences of the earlier history of the shrine are fully supported by the varied forms of the pillars of the mandapa, of the porch and of the tor ana in front. The sikhara itself was put together with old materials about a century back, but it essentially retains the form of the eleventh century A.D. The original shrine of Sachiya Mata may go back to the eighth century A.D. But the present temple can hardly be earlier than the twelfth when, according to an inscription, dated Vikrama Samvat 1234 (A.D. 1177) the janghaghara was furnished with certain sculptures by a banker of the name of Gayapala.

64. Br. I.A-, p. 148.

65. KHT, II, pi. LXXVL

66. Stella Kramrisch, Art of India, pis. 132-33.

67. Ibid, p. 210

68. For a general account, reference may be made to HIE A, II, pp. 36-13; Henry Cousens. AAWI, pp. 46-49; Percy Brown, Br.I.A., pp. 147-48, 149.

69. Henry Cousens, AAWI, p. 46.

70. Ibid, p. 47.

71. Henry Cousens, Somnath , p. 37.

72. The author is grateful to Sri N.K. Bose, Calcutta University, for this information.

73. Henry Cousens thinks they were made of stone— Somnath, p. 37.

74. Ibid , p. 6.

75. HIIA, p. 82.

76. Br. I.A., p. 159.

77. James Burgess, Report on the antiquities of Kathiawar and Kach, p. 7; HIIA, p. 82; Br.I.A p. 159. Recently a radio-carbon test of the wood fragment found in the Gop temple, was conducted by Dr. Shyamadas Cliaterji in the physics Laboratory, University College of Science and Technology, Calcutta. According to the test. Dr. Chaterji reports, the wood fragment is approximately 1400 years old. The view of the archaeologists, who place the temple in the sixth century A.D-, is thus confirmed by a scientific method of dating objectsH. D. Sankalia (AG, p. 59) is inclined to ascribe the temple to the fifth century A.D.

78. H.D. Sankalia, AG. pp. 57-591

79. Henry Cousens. Somnath, ppf 6-7.

SO. Ibid, pi. XLVIII.

81. Ibid, pp. 44-45.

82. Ibid. o. 40.

83. Ibid, p. 40; H.D. Sankalia, AG, pp. 59-62.

84. Henry Cousens, Somnath, pp. 38-39, H.D. Sankalia, AG, pp. 60, 63.

85. Henry Cousens, Somnath , pp. 7, 41; H.D. Sankalia, AG, pp. 59, 62; Sr. I.A., p. 159.

86. H.D. Sankalia. AG, p- 60.

87. Henry Cousens, Somnath, p. 40.

88. Ibid, p. 40.

89. Ibid, p. 41.

90. James Burgess, AANG , p. 109.

91. Henry Cousens, Somnath , pi. XC.

92. Ibid, pp. 53-54, pi. LVI.

93. H.D. Sankalia (AG, pp. 83-84) is inclined to include the Ranik Devi temple at Wadhwan and the above-mentioned temple at Sandera among the examples of the Solankl temple. But the above distinctive features, characteristic of the early Ndgara temple, are too emphatic, and it is difficult to class them otherwise.

94 Henry Cousens, Somnath. pp. 51-52, pis. LII, LTV.

95. Ibid , p. 51.

96. Ibid, pi. LI.

97. Br. I.A., p. 145.

98. H.D- Sankalia, AG, o. 74.

99. James Burgess, AANG, p. 88 ; pi. LXVII.

100. Ibid, p. 109.

101. Henry Cousens, Somnath, pp. 69- 70, pi: LXXXVIH.

102. James Burgess, AANG, p. 107.

103. Henry Cousens, Somnath . p. 62 pi, LXXI.

104. HIEA, II, pp. 133-34, Fig, 281. Triple-shrined temples, though rare in conception, are found over a wide region, as for example, in Central India, in Khandesh and in the Kannada districts. ,

105. James Burgess, AANG, p. 110. Only the mandapa is now left. From three entrance porticos H.D. Sankaiia is inclined to class it with the triple-shrined group (AG, p. 43). But neither the plan, nor the character of the remains would warrant such an assumption.

106. James Burgess, AANG, p. 11.

107. Henry Cousens, Somnath, p. 63.

108. James Burgess, AANG , pp. 75 ff; HIIA, p. Ill; Henry Cousens, AAWI, pp. 3739; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 145-47; H.D. Sankaiia, AG, pp. 73. 84 ff; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, p. 178.

109. Henry Cousens, AAWI, p. 39.

109a. An individual feature of the typical Solahki temple is the beaded dmalakasila surmounting the sikhara. That such a member was also the crowning element of the sikhara of the sanctum of the Modhera temple is indicated by the fragment of a huge amalaka found among the ruins that lie scattered round about.

110. Henry Cousens, Somnath , p. 36; AAWI, p. 42; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 148.

111. Henry Cousens, Somnath, pp. 57-58; AAWI, pp. 42-43; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 148.

112. James Burgess, AANG, pp. 60-69 and pis.; Henry Cousens, AAWI, pp. 36-37; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 148-49.

113. James Burgess, AANG , p. 84 and pis.; HIE A, II, p. 136; Henry Cousens, AAWI, pp. 36. 37

114. Henry Cousens, Somnath , pp. 1 ff; AAWI, pp. 40-42; HIE A, II, p. 134-35.

115. Henry Cousens, Somnath, pis. XII-XHI.

116. HIE A, II, Fig. 281.

117. James Burgess, AANG, p. 115.

118. Henry Cousens, CARD, p. 92, pi. LXXXVH.

119. Ibid , pp. 41-44, pis. XIII-XV, XXII.

120. Ibid, pis. IX, XI.

121. Ibid, pis. XII, XIII.

122. Ibid, pis. XL. XLV.

123. Ibid , pp. 72-73, pi. LII.

124. Ibid, p. 73, pi. LII.

125. Ibid , p. 73.

126. Ibid, p. 72.

127. Ibid, pp. 68-70, pis. XLIX, L; Henry Cousens, AAWI , pp. 24-25; Percy Brown. Br. I.A., p. 83, pis. XLV, XLVII. '

128. Henry Cousens, CAKD, pi. XXVI; Stella Kramrisch, Art of India, p. 203, pi. 57

129. Ibid, p. 205, pi. 76.

130. For mediaeval monuments of the Dakhan reference may be made to Henry Cousens, MTD; AAWI, pp. 51-57; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 152-55.

131. Stella Kramrisch, KHT, I, pp. 218-19.

132. Henry Cousens, MTD, p. 7.

133. James Fergusson, HIE A, II. p. 147; Henry Cousens, MTD , pp. 1318 pis. III-V, IX; AAWI, pp. 52-54, pi. 43; Percy Brown, Br.I.A., pp. 153-54, pi. XLV.

134. Henry Cousens, MTD, pp. 23-24, pis. XVI, XXI, XXII, A AWL p. 57, pi. 46; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 154.

135. Henry Cousens, MTD, pp. 24-25, pis. XVIII, XXI; AAWI, p. 57; Percy Brown, Br. I. A., p. 154.

136. Henry Cousens, MTD, pp. 28-29, pis. XXV, XXVII, XXVIII.

137. James Fergusson, HIE A, II, up. 144-46, pi. XXV, Figs. 343; 344; Henry Cousens, MTD, pp. 36, 39, pis. XLl£ XLHI, XLVII, XLIII; AAWI, pp. 54-55, pi. 44; Percy Brown, Br. I. A., p. 154, pi. XCIX.

138. Henry Cousens, MTD, pp. 41-43, pis. LIU, LV; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pL XLV

139. Henry Cousens, MTD, p. 55, pi. LXXX.

140. ASC, VH, pi. VI; James Fergusson, HIE A. II. p. 147, Stella Kramrisch, KHT, I, p. 256, II, pp. 389-96, pis. XUII-LII.

140a. See above, p. 68.

140h. Percy Brown, (Br.I.A., p. 139) thinks that the Udayapura temple show “by its style an affinity to the Chandella group of temples at Khajuraho.” But none of the temples at Khajuraho exhibits this characteristic design which is pre-eminently Dakhanese.

141. Stella Kramrisch, KHT, II, p. 391.

142. Ibid, p. 391.

143. ASR, 1912-13, pt. 1, pp. 27-29; 1915-16, pp. 39-48.

144. ASR, 1905-06, pp. 17 ff.

145. For Chamba temples reference may be made to ASC, XIV, pp. 109-114.

146. ASR, 1909-10, pp. 18-24.

147. JISOA, II, pp. 135-36, HBR, I, pp. 499-500, figs. 82, 84, 104.

148. R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture , pis. XIX(b), XC(a), XCIV(b).

149. ASC , VIII, p. 154; JISOA, I, pp. 125-27,/pi. XXXVI; HBR, I, p- 499, fig. 81.

150. ASR, 1934-35, p. 43, pi. XIX(a); HBR, I, pp. 500-01, fig. 85.

151. ASC, VIII, p. 202; ASR, 1921-22, pp. 84-85; 1922-23, pp. 58-59; A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, Fig- 213; JISOA, II, pp. 139-40; HBR, I, p. 501, fig. 86.

152. A. K. Coomaraswamy, HU A, p. 108.

153. ASR, 1927-28, p. 41.

154. JISOA, II, pp. 140-41; HBR, I, p. 501, fig. 88.

155. JISOA, II, p, 141; HBR, I, pp. 501-02, fig. 89

156. A. H. Longhurst, Pallava Architecture (MASI, No. 17); James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 331-38; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 96-97; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, pp. 180-81; A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, pp. 102-104.

157. James Fergusson, HIEA., I, p. 362; A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 105; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 98-99; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, p. 183.

158. Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 98.

159. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 357-59; A.K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA. p. 104-105; Percy Brown, Br. I. A., pp. 99-100; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, p. 183.

160. Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 100.

161. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 359-60; Percy Brown, Br.I.A., p. 100.

162. Percy Brown, Br. I. A., p. 100.

163. A. K- Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 1051G4. Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 100.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid.

167. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 352-57; Henry Cousens, CAKD, pp. 61-66; AAWI, pp. 22-23; A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA , p. 95; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 83-85; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, p. 168.

168. Henry Cousens, CAKD, pp. 29-32; A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA , p. 95; above. Vol. Ill, p. 506.

169. Henry Cousens, CAKD, pp. 60-61

170. Ibid, pp. 66-68.

171. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 342-46; A- K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA., pp. 104-05; Percy Brown, Br. J.A., pp. 89-90; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, pp. 183-86.

172. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas (2nd Edn.), pp. 699-700.

173. Percy Brown, Br.I.A., pp. 102-03; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas, pp. 705-06.

174. Percy Brown, Br. I. A., p. 103.

175. See above pp. 234 ff.

176. Sastri, Colas, p. 184.

177. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 362-64; A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 122; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 103-04; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, p. 189; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas, pp. 710-13.

178. Percy Brown, Br.I.A., p 104.

179. Ibid /

180. A. K. Coomaraswamy, HIIA, p. 122; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 104-05; K. ANilakanta Sastri, Colas, pp. 713-14.

181. Colas , p. 713.

182. Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 105.

183. Ibid, p. 108; K,, A. Nilakanta Sastri, Colas, pp. 717-19.

184. Colas, pp. 720-22.

185. Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 109 ff; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, pp. 190-91.

186. Henry Cousens, CAKD, p. 17.

187. The only exception is the Sarasvatl temple at Gadag (Dharwar District). See Ibid, pp. 110-12; pi. CXX.

188. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 426-27; Henry Cousens, CAKD, pp. 75-76; AAWI, p. 28; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 175-76.

189. Henry Cousens, CAKD, pp. 77-79; AAWI, pp. 27-28; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 176.

190. Henry Cousens, CAKD, p. 77.

191. Ibid, pp. 83-84; Percy Brown, Br. I. A., p. 176.

192. Henry Cousens, CAKD, p. 83.

193. Ibid, pp. 85,

194. Ibid, p. 89

195. Ibid, p. 88.

196. James Fergusson, H1EA, I. pp. 428-29; Henry Cousens, CARD, pp. 79-82; AAWI, pp. 29-30; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 176-77.

197. James Fergusson, HIEA, I. pp. 424-25; Henry Cousens, CARD, pp. 100-02; AAWI, pp. 30-31; Percy Brown, Br.I.A p. 177.

198. Henry Cousens, AAWI, p. 30.

199. Cousens speaks of the hall as having sixty-eight pillars- Perey Brown also follows his description. But the published plan (Henry Cousens, CARD , pi. CV) shows only fifty-six pillars, twenty-six of which support the roof, while the remaining, over the kakshasanas, carry the eaves.

200. Meadows Taylor, Architecture of Dharwar and Maisur, p. 47.

201. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 429-31; Henry Cousens, CARD, p. 103; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 177-78.

202. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 429-31; Henry Cousens, CARD, pp. 109-113; Percy Brown, Br. I. A., p. 178.

203. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 431-32; Henry Cousens, CARD, pp. 114-15; AAWI, p. 32; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 178,

204. Henry Cousens, AAWI, p. 32.

205. Percy Brown would class the Hcysala temple as “distinct from all others'’ because of this conformation. Br. LA. , p. 168

206. Ibid, p. 170. *

207. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 437-38; Percy Brown, Br. LA., pp. 170-71; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, p. 193.

208. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 438-441; Percy Brown. Br.I.A .. p. 171.

209. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 444-50; Percv Brown, Br. LA., pp. 171-73

210. Ibid, p. 171.

211. James Fergusson, HIEA, I pp. 442-43; Percy Brown. Br. LA., p. 172.

212. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, p. 443.

213. Percy Brown, Br. I.A., p. 173.

214. James Fergusson, HIEA, I, pp. 251-72; A. K. Coomaraswamy, H11A, p. 143; Percy Brown, Br. I.A., pp. 185-94; Benjamin Rowland, AAI, pp. 119-20. For detailed accounts of the Kashmir monuments reference may be made to R. C. Kak's Ancient Monuments of Kashmir.

215. ASI, 1922-23. pp. 116-23; 1925-26, pp. 107-13, 141; 1926-27, pp. 140-149, 119; 1927-28, pp. 33-39. 144-45, 101-11; 1928-29. pp. 97-98: 1930-34, pt. I, pp. 113-18; Paharpur.

216. ASI, 1930-34. pi. xvii; Paharpur, pi. I.

217. Ibid, p. 7.

218. ASI, 1935-36, pp. 55-56, pi. xix-xxi; 1936-37, pp. 47-50, pi. xxi.

219. Paharpur, p. 25, pi. xx(b).

220. Ibid, p. 8.

221. Dikshit uses the word 'outline' (Ibid, p. 7) which pre-supposes an earlier structure that served as the nucleus for additions and amplifications at different periods. As it stands now, the temple belongs wholesale to a single period of construction and if any earlier structure existed it served as a model for the present monument, which was conceived on a much grander scale, and not as a nucleus for later additions and accretions.

222. JGIS, IX, pp. 5-28.

223. The problem of the occurrence on the basement of stone sculptures of varied style, a few of the earlier dates, has been discussed in detail by the

present writer in IC, VII, pp. 35-40 and sketch, and also in HBR, I, pp. 508-09.

224. Illustrated London News, January 29, 1927, p. 160.

225. ASI, 1925-26, p. 109.

226. Brihat-samhita, LII, 36 also relevant commentary; Matsya Purdna, Ch. 269, 3435; JISOA, H, p. 137.

227. ASI, 1925-26, p. 113.

228. JGIS , IX, pp. 5-28 and plates.

229. ASI, 1927-28, p. 39.

230. OZ, 1930, PI. 33.

231. See above, pp. 536 ff.

232. Brahmor wood-carving of Chamba, c. A.D. 700. Cf Vogel, Antiquities of Chambd, PI. VH, etc.

232a. HIIA, Fig. 273.

233. Cf. Vol. IV. p. 115.

233a. KIS, Fig. 112.

234. HBR, I, 555.

TEXT FIGURES

Fig. 1

Bhuvanesvara, Rajardni Temple: Plan

Fig. 2

Bhuvanesvara, Lingaraja Temple: Plan

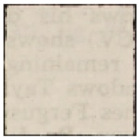

Fi2. 3

Nurpur Fort, Temple: Plan

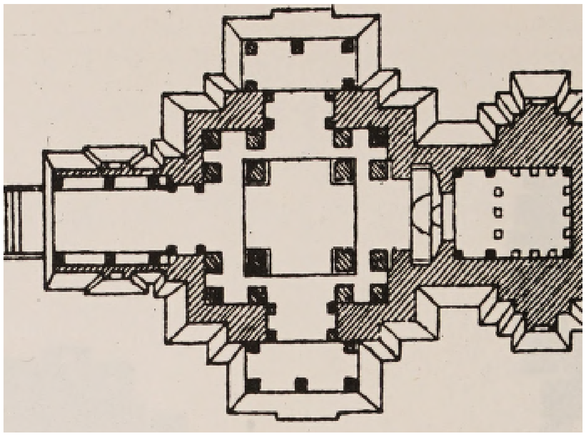

Fig. 4

Khajuraho, Devi Jagadamba temple: Plan

Fig. 5

Khajuraho, Kandarya Mahadeo temple: Plan

Fig. G

Khajuraho, Kandarya Mahadeo temple: Section

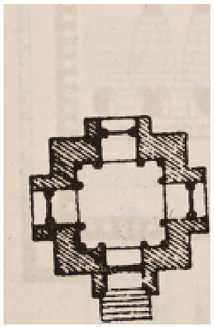

Fig. 7

Khajuraho, Brahma temple: Plan

Fig. 8

Khajuraho, Mritang Mahadeo Tempie: Plan

Plan

Fig. 10

RdnVpur Jharidl, Circular Yogiml tempit: Plan

Fig. 11

Khajuraho, Chaunshat Yoginl temple: Plan

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Fig. 12

DilwdrA, Vimala’g temple: Plan

Fig. 13 Fig. 14

Villesvara, Siva temple: Plan Villesvara, Siva temple: Elevation

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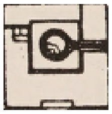

Sutrapada, Sun Temple: Elevation

Fig. 16

Miani, Ganapaii and Mahddeva temples: Plan and Elevation

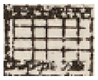

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Fig. 17

Sunak, Nllakantha Mahadeva tem-ple: Elevation

Fig. 18

Kasara, Triple-shrined temple: Plan

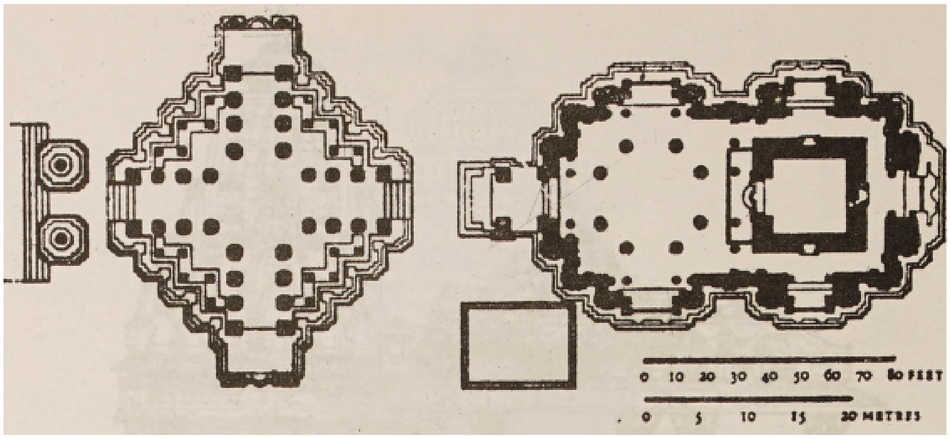
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 FEET
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Fig. 19

Mo^hera, Sun Temple: Plan

Fig. 20

Ghumli, Navalakhd temple: Plan 70S

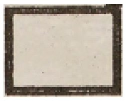

Fig. 21

Sejakpur, Navalakha temple: Plan

Fig. 22

Somanathapattana: Somandtha temple: Plan

Fig.

Girnur, Triple-shrined temple: Plan

Fig 2-1

Aihole. Temple No 9: Elevation

Fig. 25

Pattadakal: Papanatha temple: Plan

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Fig. 26

Ambarnatha , Siva temple: Plan

Fig. 27

Balsane: Temple No. 1: Plan

Fig. 28

B*l$ane, Temple No. 1: Elevation

Fig. 29

Patna, Mahesvara temple: Plan

Fig. 31

Udayapura, NilakcLnthesvaTQ, tempi

Fig. 32

Kanchipuram, Kaildsanatha temple: Plan

Fig. 33

Kanchipuram, Kaildsanatha temple: Section

Fig. 34

Kanchipuram, Vaikuntha Perumal temple: Plan

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Fig. 35

Kdnchipuram , Vaxkunfha Perumal temple: Section

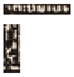

Fig. 37

Pattadakal, Virdpdksha temple: Plan and Elevation

Fig. 38

Tanjore, Brihadiivara temple: Plan 719

Fig. 39

Tanjore, Brihadisvara temple: Elevation

7*0

Fig. 40

Kukkanur , Kalleivara temple: Plan

Fig. 41

Kukkanur , Kallesvara temple: Elevation

S.E.—4 ®

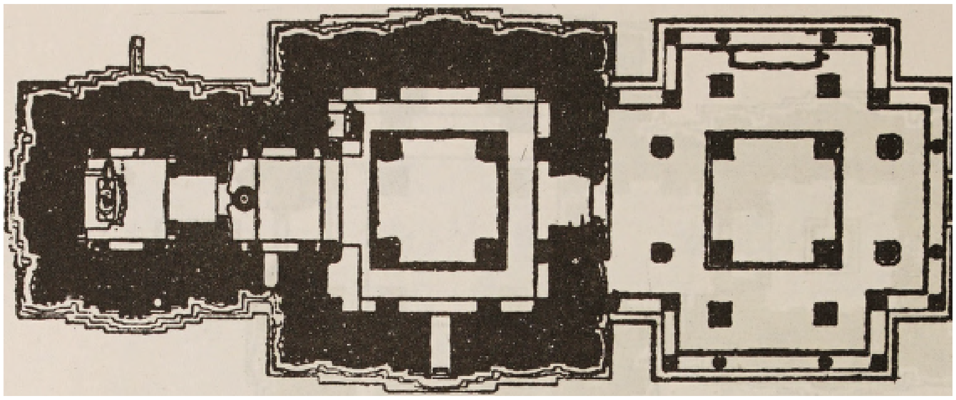

Fig. 42

Lakkundi, Jain temple: Plan

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Fig. 43

Chauddadampur, Muktesvara temple: Elevation

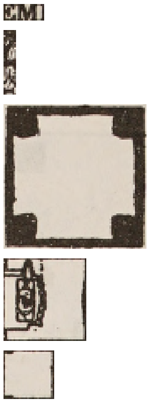

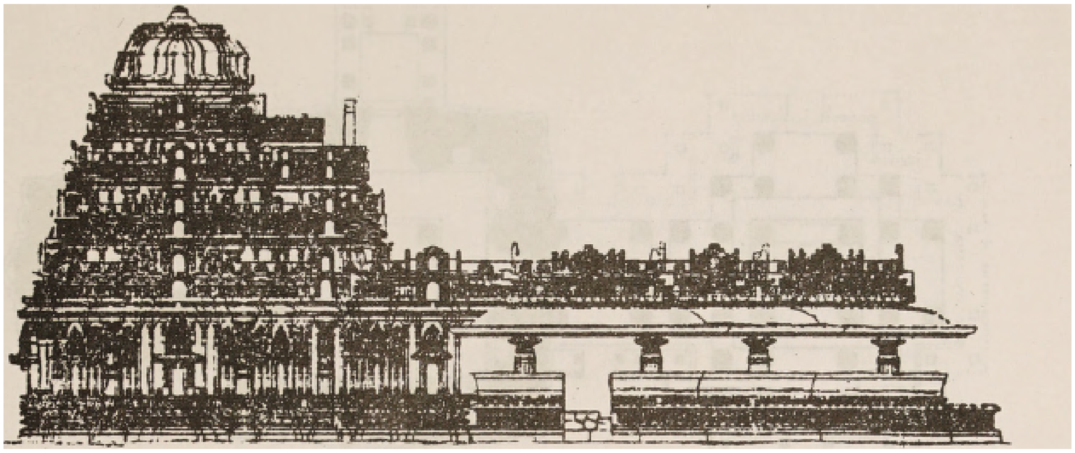

Fig. 44

Haveri , Siddhesvara temple: Elevation

Fig . 45

Lakkundi, K&stvisv esv or a temple: Plan

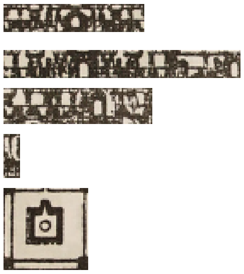

Fig. 46

Ittagi, Mahadeva temple: Plan

Fig. 47

Kuruvatti, MaUiktirjuna temple: Plan

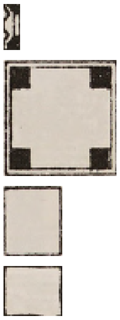

Fig. 48

Kuruvatti, Millikarjuna temple: Elevation

Fig. 49

Gadag, Somesvara temple: Plan

Fig. 50

Dambal, Dodda Basappa temple: Han

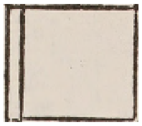

Fig. 54

Marian#, Sun temple: Plan

Fig. 55

Marian#, Sun temple: Section 728

ART

Fig. 56

Avantipura , Avantisvdmi temple: Elevation

Fig. 57

Pahdrpur , Great temple: Plan

CHAPTER XXI

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION

1. DECLINE AND FALL OF THE SAILENDRA EMPIRE

The rise of the Sailendra Empire in South-East Asia has been described above. 1 At the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. this mighty empire was being ruled by Sri Chudamani-varmadeva. In A.D. 1003 he sent two envoys to China who reported that a Buddhist temple had been erected in their country in order to pray for the long life of the Emperor. This probably means nothing more than a common courtesy shown by one Buddhist king to another, but may be taken as an evidence of friendly and frequent intercourse between the two countries.

Chudamani-varman also maintained friendly relations with the great Chola Emperor Rajaraja the Great. 2 An interesting evidence of this is furnished by a very long record engraved on twentyone copper-plates, now preserved in the Leiden Museum, and therefore known as the Leiden Grant, or rather Larger Leiden Grant, to distinguish it from another—Smaller Leiden Grant—in the same Museum, recorded on three plates. The Larger Grant, written in Sanskrit and Tamil, records that Chudamani-varman, king of Kadaram, commenced the construction of a vihara or Buddhist monastery at Nagapattana, modern Negapatam, and a village was granted for its upkeep by the Chola king Rajaraja in the twentyfirst year of his reign, i.e. A.D. 1006. The monastery, which was named after the Sailendra Emperor, was, however, actually completed by his son and successor Sri Maravijayottunga-varman. Rajaraja also probably died in course of the construction, for the actual edict for the grant was issued, after the death of Rajaraja, by his son Rajendra Chola.

This interesting record naturally recalls to our mind the similar activity of another Sailendra Emperor, Sri Balaputra, more than a century and a half earlier. 3 He, too, built a vihara at Nalanda and received a grant of five villages from the Pala Emperor Devapala. These two instances serve as unique testimony to the long and familiar intercourse between the Sailendras and their motherland.

Sri Maravijayottunga-varman ascended the throne some time before A.D. 1008 when he sent three envoys to China. The Larger

Leiden Grant has preserved some particulars about him. It informs us that he was ‘born in the Sailendra family, was the lord of Sn-vishaya, had extended the suzerainty of Kataha and had Makara as the emblem of his banner.’ Sri-vishaya is undoubtedly the same as Sri-Vijaya, mentioned before 4 , and Kataha—written as Kadaram in the Tamil portion—is now represented by Keddah in the Malay Peninsula. As Chudamani-varman is referred to as the ruler of Kadara only, it may be concluded that Keddah was the main seat of the Sailendra Empire which included Sri-Vijaya.

The friendly relation between the Sailendra Emperors and the Cholas is proved not only by the Leiden Grant, but also by references in old Tamil poems to the commercial relations between their countries. An old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kalagam to the great port situated at the mouth of the Kaveri river. Kalagam, which a later commentator equates with Kadaram, is almost certainly to be identified with Keddah.

In view of all this it is somewhat strange that ere long war broke out between the Sailendras and the Chalas, The cause of this war is unknown and we are dependent for such information as we possess of it on the Chola records alone. The earliest reference to it occurs in a Chola record, dated A.D. 1017-8, which tells us that Rajendra Chola’s forces crossed the ocean and conquered Kataha. Full details of this expedition are given in several inscriptions of Rajendra Chola, dated between A.D. 1024 and 1043, in almost identical words which may be translated as follows:—

‘And (who) (Rajendra Chola) having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Sangramavijayottuhgavarman, the king of Kadaram, along with the rutting elephants of his army, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; (captured) the (arch called) Vidyadhara-torana at the “war-gate” of the extensive city of the enemy; Sri-Vijaya with the “Jewel-gate,” adorned with great splendour, and the “gate of large jewels”; Pannai, watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyur (with) a fort situated on a high hill; Mayirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat: Iiangasoka undaunted (in) fierce battles; Mappappalam. having abundant (deep) waters as defence; Mevilimbangam, having fine walls as defence; Valaippanduru, possessing (both) cultivated land(?) and jungle; Talaittakkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Madamalingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilamuridesam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); Marakkavaram whose flowergardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymphs) of the southern region; Ka<J§ram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea/

Most of the conquered countries, mentioned in the above passage, cannot be definitely identified, but Malaiyur is undoubtedly the same as Malayu (or Jambi) in Sumatra, 5 Manakkavaram is Nikobar Islands, and Ka^aram is of course Kataha or Keddah. As to the rest, most of them have been located with great probability either in Sumatra or in Malay Peninsula, The passage seems to indicate that Rajendra Chola first conquered various subject-states of the Sailendra Empire, and then concluded his campaign by taking possession of Ka^ara itself. It is probable, but by no means certain, that there was an encounter at the very beginning, between the main forces of the Sailendra Emperor and Rajendra Chola, in which the former was defeated. This defeat was followed by the other Chola conquests which extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra and the Central and Southern parts of Malay Peninsula, including the two capital cities Kataha (or Ka<Jara) and Sr I-Vi jay a. The view that the conquered countries were vassal-states of the Sailendras is confirmed by the fact that many of these are included in the list of subject-states of the Sailendra Empire by the Chinese writers of a later date, such as Chau JuKua, to whom reference will be made later.

As the detailed account of this oversea campaign occurs for the first time in an inscription dated A.D. 1024-25, which otherwise repeats the accounts of the (inland) conquests given in earlier records, it is probable that the great and decisive victory took place not long before that date. This may appear to be inconsistent with the fact that the conquest of Kataha is already referred to in a record dated A.D. 1017. But it is just possible that the war was a prolonged one. It commenced in or shortly before A.D. 1017 with a successful Chola naval attack against Kataha in that year and ended with the decisive victory, mentioned above, five or six years later. We learn from a record of Vlrarajendra, a successor of Rajendra Chola, that the latter burnt ‘Kataha, that could not be set fire to by others’.

It is as difficult to account for the sudden outbreak of the war as for the almost complete collapse of the Sailendra power. But a few salient points may be noted. In the first place, the Cholas had completed the conquest of the whole eastern coast of India up to the mouth of the Ganga, before sending the oversea expedition on a large scale. Secondly, the geographical position of the Sailendra Empire enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between Western and Eastern Asia. Perhaps the dazzling prospect of securing this rich volume of trade for himself prompted Rajendra Choja to undertake the hazardous conquest, as soon as the possession of the naval resources of the entire coast of India placed at his disposal well equipped ships and sailors necessary for this purpose.

But whatever may be the cause, the Chola success was complete for the time being. But it could hardly be of long duration. Apart from the inherent difficulty of maintaining hold upon distant lands beyond the sea, the internal troubles of the Cholas referred to above 6 made the task almost an impossible one. Nevertheless, the successors of Rajendra Chola tried hard to maintain, at least the nominal suzerainty, if not effective power over these lands. Thus Vlrarajendra (A.D. 1063-70) claims to have conquered Ka^aram. But this very fact shows that in spite of the great victory of Rajendra Chola and his claim to have destroyed Ka<Jara, that kingdom did not cease to exist and must have shaken off even the nominal suzerainty of the Cholas. According to the record of Vlrarajendra, he conquered Ka^aram, but ‘was pleased to give (it) back to (its) king who worshipped (his) feet/ But this did not end the struggle. For Kulottunga Chola (A.D. 1070-1120) again claims to have destroyed Ka^aram, while a Chinese

account represents the Choja as a vassal of the Katfara kingdom or its succession state in the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. These contradictory statements indicate the continuance of the struggle with alternate success and reverse of both the parties.

But even during this period occasionally there was quite friendly relation between the two. The Smaller Leiden Grant dated in the 20th year of Kulottunga Chola (A.D. 1089-90) says:—

“At the request of the king of Ki<Jara, communicated by his envoys Rajavidyadhara Samanta and Abhimanottuhga Samanta, Kulottunga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called ^ailendra-Chu<Jamani-varma-vihara (i.e. the one established by king Chu^amani-varman as referred to in the Larger Leiden Grant)”.

After Kulottunga Chola we have no further evidence of any pretension of the Chola rulers over their oversea empire. The internal history of the Cholas during this period, sketched above, 7 also does not make it likely. We must therefore admit that after fruitless efforts of a century • the Cholas finally abandoned their claims over Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. Thus ended the first and the last enterprise of an Indian ruling family to maintain suzerainty over countries beyond the sea.

The Chinese evidence leaves no doubt that the kingdom of Kataha or Ka^aram continued and soon became again very powerful.

But although we can trace the existence of this kingdom, called Sanfo-tsi by the Chinese, for nearly three centuries more, we hear no more of the Sailendra dynasty. It is true that the kingdom of the Sailendra rulers, noted above, is called San-fo-tsi by the Chinese, and Zabag by the Arab writers, and these names figure continuously in the Chinese and Arab documents from tenth to fourteenth century A.D. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Sailendras continued to rule over it in the twelfth century or even later, but of this we have no positive evidence. The name Sailendra occurs only in the records of India, Java and Malay Peninsula, but as these sources fail us, so far as the history of this kingdom is concerned, we cannot be sure if the rulers still belonged to the Sailendra family. It would be, however, convenient to designate the kingdom of San-fo-tsi or Zabag as the Sailendra Empire up to the very end in order to emphasise the continuity of the State of which there is no doubt. The Arab writers Edrlsi (A.D. 1154), Kazwlni (thirteenth century), Ibn Sa‘id (thirteenth century) and DimaskI (fourteenth century) all refer to the power and glory of Zabag, but it is not certain whether they refer to conditions in their own time or merely quote from old writers. The Chinese chronicles are more helpful. Reference is made to two embassies in A.D. 1156 and 1178 showing that San-fotsi still maintained diplomatic relations with China. Some time about A.D. 1225 a Chinese official named Chau Ju-Kua wrote a very interesting account of this kingdom, based exclusively on oral information furnished by Chinese and foreign traders. According to him San-fo-tsi was a great centre of trade and the seat of a powerful empire. The possession of the Strait of Malacca enabled it to control the maritime trade between the Eastern and the Western World. Chau Ju-Kua also gives a list of fifteen States which were dependent upon San-fo-tsi. These were mostly in Malay Peninsula, but a few were situated in Java and Sumatra. We may thus hold that at the end of the twelfth century A.D. and the beginning of the thirteenth, San-fo-tsi was a rich and powerful kingdom. The name of a king of this period Maharaja SrlmatTrailokyaraja-mauli-bhushana-varma-deva is known from an inscription, dated A.D. 1183, found at Chaiya in Malay Peninsula. The names of the Sailendra kings also ended in varma-deva, but it is difficult to say whether Trailokyaraja was a remote descendant of Chudamani-varma-deva.

Another king Chandrabhanu is known from an inscription at Chaiya, dated A.D. 1230, and the Ceylonese chronicle Chulavamsa. We learn from the latter that a king of Javaka, called Chandrabhanu, sent two expeditions against Ceylon between A.D. 1236 and 1256. On the first occasion he devastated the whole island but was forced to withdraw. On the second occasion Chandrabhanu’s army was reinforced by a large number of Pajndya, Chola and other Tamil soldiers.

After some initial success Chandrabhanu was completely defeated and fled with his life leaving his family and treasures behind.

There is no doubt that Javaka is the same as Zabag, the Arab name of the Sailendra Empire. It is to be noted that Ceylon is included among the vassal states of San-fo-tsi by Chau Ju-Kua, and however incredible it might appear at first, the above account of the Ceylonese chronicles offers a satisfactory explanation. It may be presumed that Chandrabhanu's success, grudgingly admitted by the Ceylonese chroniclers, was more substantial at least for some time, though it ended in a disaster. In any case, the strange episode preserved in the Ceylonese chronicles testifies both to the substantial accuracy of Chau Ju-Kua's account and of the great power of the Sailendra Empire in the first part of the thirteenth century A.D.

But the foolish enterprise of Chandrabhanu must have cost the empire dear. In an inscription, dated A.D. 1264, Jafavarman VIra Pan^ya 8 claims to have defeated and killed the Savaka king, and in another, dated the following year, he includes the king of Ka<Jaram among the host of rulers conquered by him. There is hardly any doubt that the Savaka, or the Javaka, king and the king of Katfaram refer to one and the same ruler, and he is most probably Chandrabhanu himself or his successor. It is also very likely that the enmity between Chandrabhanu and the Pantfya ruler was not unconnected with the ill-fated expeditions to Ceylon. The defeat and death of Chandrabhanu also most probably took place in India, after his disastrous retreat from Ceylon, for had Jatavarman sent a naval expedition against Malay Peninsula there would have been more explicit references to it.

It appears from the Chaiya Inscription that Chandrabhanu was originally the ruler of a vassal state of San-fo-tsi and seized supreme power by a successful rebellion. Similar defection of another vassal state about the same time is noticed by Chau Ju-Kua. The disruption thus begun was hastened by the catastrophic end of Chandrabhanu, and full advantage was taken of it by the two rising powers—the Thai state in Siam and the kingdom of Malayu, backed by Java. Hemmed in between these two powerful neighbours in the north and the south, San-fo-tsi lost its position of supremacy and sank into a local power. It continued this inglorious existence till its conquest by Java some time before A.D. 1377. From the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. San-fo-tsi

passes from our view. But the Annals of Keddah, ancient Ka$aram or Kataha, the homeland of the Sailendra Emperors, have preserved the traditional account of seven Hindu rulers of the State, the last of whom adopted Islam in A.D. 1474. Such was the ignoble end of the great maritime empire which was established by the Hindus in the eastern sea and ruled in glory for more than five hundred years.

2. DECLINE AND FALL OF THE KAMBUJA EMPIRE

The death of Jaya-varman V in A.D. 1001 was followed by civil war among several rival candidates to the throne till Suryavarman I finally triumphed over his rivals about A.D. 1010. In order to prevent a similar situation in future the king made his district officers, numbering more than four thousand, to take an oath, in the presence of the sacred fire, the Brahmanas and the achdryas, offering unswerving and lifelong homage and allegiance to the king and dedicating their lives to his service.

The king probably adopted Buddhism, for his inscription contains invocation to Buddha as well as to Siva, and he had the posthumous name Nirvanapada. He is also described as a great scholar, versed in Bhashya, Kavya, six Darsanas (systems of philosophy) and Dharmasastras.

The precautions adopted by this scholarly king against civil war and revolution proved illusory. Troubles broke out immediately after his death in A.D. 1049. He was succeeded by Udayaditya-varman who “was crowned emperor oy his ministers”. In other words there was no legitimate or peaceful succession, but an influential party in court placed its nominee on the throne. Revolutions broke out almost throughout his reign, and there was a disastrous invasion by the king of Champa. In the midst of all this tragedy the king died in A.D. 1066, and the royal guru (preceptor), along with the ministers, placed his younger brother Harshavarman on the throne.

Harsha-varman’s reign is chiefly noted for his two unfortunate foreign expeditions. On an invitation of the Chinese Emperor he sent an army in A.D. 1076 to help the Chinese military expedition against the Annamite kingdom in Tonkin. But it had to retreat after the defeat of the Chinese. Some time before A.D. 1080 he sent an army to invade Champa, but it was defeated and its commander fell into the hands of the enemy.

These disasters probably worsened the internal political situation in Kambuja, and we find a rival king Jaya-varman VI ruling

in the north and north-east in A.D. 1082. This political division continued till Surya-varman II, the second successor of Jayavarman VI, again brought the whole kingdom under his authority.

Surya-varman ascended the throne in A.D. 1113. The Kambuja inscriptions refer to his great victories in general terms and add that he marched into the countries of the enemies. Although very vague, the claim was not without foundation, for details of his several expeditions to Annam and Champa have been preserved in the records of those countries.

Surya-varman's efforts to conquer the kingdom of Annam, to the north of Champa, however, proved disastrous. We learn from the Annamese Annals that between A.D. 1128 and 1150 he sent no less than four armies with auxiliary fleet, which also received help from the Cham army. But they had all to retreat with serious loss. At last when Champa made a separate peace with Annam, Surya-varman decided to punish her and, to make amends for his failure in Annam, invaded Champa. His early expeditions were successful, and the northern part of Champa was made a vassal state of Kambuja, known as the kingdom of Vijaya. But his attempt to reduce the southern part of Champa proved a costly failure. He sent two expeditions, in A.D. 1147 and 1148, but both were defeated by king Jay a Hari-varman of Champa. Then the latter took the offensive and defeated the Kambuja forces. The Kambuja ruler of Vijaya, a brother-in-law of king Surya-varman II, as well as a number of Kambuja generals fell in the battle.

But in spite of these reverses Surya-varman must be regarded as a powerful king ruling over a vast empire. He resumed diplomatic relations with China which were interrupted since the eighth century A.D., and sent two embassies in A.D. 1117 and 1121. The Chinese Emperor conferred high titles on the king of Kambuja whose dominions are said to have extended from Champa to Lower Burma and included the northern part of Malay

Peninsula up to the Bav of Bandon. He is also said to have maintained 200.000 war elephants. The Chinese account thus show T s that in spite of internal troubles the Kambuja empire had been growing in power and extent since the eleventh century A.D.

The great glory of the empire stands today before the world in the shape of its monuments. Surya-varman II has earned undying fame by constructing the famous temple known as Angkor Vat, which is justly regarded as one of the wonders of the world. We know a great deal of the religious life of the king. He was initiated into the mysteries of Vrah Guhya (the Great Secret), probably a Tantrik cult, by his guru Divakara Pandita and performed

various sacrifices including Koti-homa, Laksha-homa and the Mahahoma.

I

The last known date of Surya-varman is A.D. 1145. The history of Kambuja during the next 35 years is very obscure. There were revolutions at home and disasters abroad. Several expeditions were sent against Champa, but in spite of initial successes they ended in costly failures. Then the king of Champa, Jay a Indravarman VII, took the aggressive and invaded Kambuja with a big army. For seven years the war went on without any decisive result. At last the Cham king equipped a fleet and sent a naval expedition in A.D. 1177. He seized the capital city, plundered it, and then retired, carrying an immense booty with him. The king of Kambuja, Tribhuvanadifcya-varman, was killed in course of this conflict or shortly after, and was succeeded by Jaya-varman VII in A.D. 1181.

Jaya-varman VII was the last great ruler of Kambuja, and fortunately we know a great deal of his military campaigns, religious foundations and works of public utility.

The most notable even of his reign was the long-drawn war with Champa. In A.D. 1190 Jaya Indra-varman VIII, king of Champa, invaded Kambuja.

The Kambuja king sent against him a strong army under Sri Surya-varma-deva, a refugee from Champa living in his court. The Kambuja general obtained a complete victory and even captured the king of Champa. Champa now lay prostrate before the victor. Jaya-varman VII divided the kingdom into two parts. He appointed his own brother-in-law, Surya Jayavarma-deva, ruler of the northern part with Vijaya as its capital, while the victorious general Surya-varma-deva was placed in charge of the southern part with his capital at Rajapura.

But soon a successful revolution in the north placed a local chief Kasupati on the throne of Vijaya. Jaya-varman VII sent an expedition against Vijaya, and desiring probably to conciliate the Chams by making the captive king of Champa ruler of Vijaya, sent him along with the expedition. The Kambuja troops were joined by Surya-varma-deva, and under his leadership won a complete victory. Rasupati was defeated and killed and Vijaya was captured. But Surya-varma-deva now ascended the throne of Vijaya and united the whole of Champa under him. The disappointed Cham king Jaya Indra-varman VIII advanced against Surya-varma-deva but was defeated and killed.

In A.D. 1193 and 1194 Jaya-varman VII sent two expeditions against Surya-varma-deva who had so flagrantly flouted his authority, but the latter gained an easy victory. For nearly ten years he was left in peace. But a third expedition was sent under Dhanapatigrama, an uncle of Surya-varma-deva, who also was a refugee in Kambuja court. Dhanapatigrama defeated his nephew and became the ruler of Champa in A.D. 1203.

But the new ruler had a hard time before him. Revolutions broke out in various parts of the country, and as soon as these were put down war broke out with the Annamites in A.D. 1207. A series of battles followed during the next eleven years or more in which victory more often inclined to the Annamites.

The almost continuous series of wars in Champa since A.D. 1190 must have proved a great burden to Kambuja and at last, in A.D. 1220, the Kambujas evacuated the country. Most probably Jayavarman VII was not alive at this time and the defeat and disgrace of Kambuja, both in Annam and Champa, followed a few years after his death. But in any case he is entitled to the credit of conquering Champa and making it a vassal state, thereby extending the frontier of the Kambuja empire to the China Sea on the east.

On the west also Jaya-varman VII seems to have attained conspicuous success. For according to the Chinese chronicles Pagan was annexed to Kambuja towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. Pagan was at that time the seat of a powerful kingdom including nearly the whole of Burma. It is not likely that the whole of it was conquered by Jaya-varman VII, and he probably annexed only the southern part of it, adjacent to Siam, which was then subject to Kambuja. Jaya-varman VII thus ruled over a vast empire which touched the Bay of Bengal on one side and the Sea of China on the other, and included the central regions of Indo-China and the northern part of Malay Paninsula.

The religious foundations and works of public utility undertaken by Jaya-varman VII were on a scale befitting the mighty empire over which he ruled. The account of royal donations contained in the Ta Prohm Inscription makes interesting reading and reveals the magnitude of the resources and depth of religious sentiments of the king. It concerns the Rajavihara, i.e., the temple of Ta Prohm and adjuncts where the king set up an image of his mother as Prajnaparamita. It is not possible here to record all the details but a few facts may be noted. Altogether 66,625 persons were employed in the service of the deities of the temple and 3,400 villages were given for defraying its expenses. There were 439 Professors and 970 scholars studying under them, making a total of 1409, whose food and other daily necessaries of life were supplied. There were

altogether 566 groups of stone houses and 288 groups of brick. Needless to say that the other articles, of which a minute list is given, were in the same proportion, and they included huge quantities of gold and silver, 35 diamonds, 40,620 pearls and 4,540 other precious stones. All these relate to a single group of temples. The inscription informs us that there were 798 temples and 102 hospitals in the whole kingdom, and these were given every year 117,200 khtirikas of rice, each kkdrikd being equivalent to 3 mcunds 8 seers. In conclusion the king expresses the hope that by his pious donations, his mother might be delivered from the ocean of births.

Of the 102 hospitals mentioned above, the site of 15 can be determined by means of inscriptions which record their foundations. These inscriptions are almost identical and lay down detailed regulations about the hospitals. They give us a very good idea of the system of medical treatment organised by the state, but require separate treatment and cannot be discussed here.

An inscription in the temple at Pra-khan also supplies similar details. It refers to the establishment of 121 vakni-grihas for the convenience of pilgrims and other travellers. These were evidently of the nature of dharmasalas in India. Reference is made to the images of deities, 20,400 in number, made of gold, silver, bronze, and stone; the royal endowments for their upkeep including 8,176 villages and 208,532 slaves; and 514 separate temples and 2,068 minor or accessary constructions. It is said that the water for ablution in the annual festival of the temple was carried by Suryabhatta and the other Brahmanas, as well as by the kings of Java and Annam, and the two rulers of Champa.

A very interesting reference is made to the queen of Jayavarman in one of his inscriptions. When the king first went to Champa she showed her conjugal fidelity by performing hard austerities of diverse types and of long duration. She was then initiated to Buddhism by her elder sister. It is said that the queen performed a ceremony by which she could see before her the image of her absent husband. After her death the king married her elder sister and asked her to teach the Buddhist doctrine in various convents.

The reign of Jaya-varman VII marks the end of the most glorious period in the history of Kambuja which may be said to have comprised the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. It was during this period that the Kambuja empire reached its widest extent and produced the most notable monuments which still extort the admiration of the whole world. These will be discussed elsewhere in this chapter. It will suffice here to state that Jaya-varman VII made no small contribution in this direction, if, as is now generally held, he really built the famous capital city of Angkor Thom whose ruins cannot fail to evoke, even today, a mixed feeling of awe and reverence in the minds of the visitors.

As noted above, the date of the death of Jaya-varman VII cannot be fixed with certainty. He was succeeded by Indra-varman II who died in A.D. 1243. The next king known to us is Jaya-varman VIII who abdicated the throne in A.D. 1295 98 in favour of his sonin-law 6nndra-varraan. The son of Jaya-varman VIII made an attempt to seize the throne, but was defeated by sSrlndra-varman who mutilated and imprisoned him and ascended the throne in A.D. 1296. This king also abdicated in A.D. 1308 and was succeeded by ^rindra-Jaya-varman the same year. Another king JayavarmaParamesvara ascended the throne in A.D. 1327. He is the last king referred to in the Kambuja inscriptions. The subsequent history of Kambuja is only known from Khmer chronicles of a late date which cannot foe regarded as trustworthy sources.

The history of Kambuja during the thirteenth century is thus veiled in obscurity. The withdrawal from Champa and defeats in Annam undoubtedly indicate the loss of power and authority, while frequent abdications, struggle for succession, and paucity of information suggest a troublesome period. Tie occupation of Siam by the Thais, to which reference will be made later, also tells the same tale. As a matter of fact the growing power of the Thais on the west and the Annamites on the east ultimately spelt ruin to Kambuja. But, nevertheless, Kambuja remained a powerful kingdom down to the end of the thirteenth century A.D. When Kufolai Khan, the great Mongol Emperor, conquered Champa and sent envoys demanding allegiance of Kambuja, she had the courage to resist. Next an ambassador was sent to Kambuja in A.D. 1296, evidently with the same purpose. Cfoeu Ta-Kuan, who accompanied the ambassador, and wrote a very interesting memoir on Kambuja, says that the embassy achieved its object. But this may be doubted, for a Chinese historian, writing in A.D, 1520, positively asserts that neither Java nor Kambuja paid homage to the Imperial court even once during the Mongol period. Cheu Ta-Kuan’s description of the capital city and of the wealth and splendour of the king and the nobles leaves the impression that Kambuja was still a powerful kingdom with a wellorganised administrative system. But the palace intrigues and conspiracies which were particularly rife in his time exercised a baneful influence on the government. All this will be evident from Cheu Ta-Kuan's graphic account of the king (&nndra-varman) which may be summed up as follows:

"I have heard it said that formerly the kings seldom went out of their palace; for they were afraid of assassins. The new king is the son-in-law of his predecessor, who was very fond of his daughter. She stole the golden sword (insignia of sovereignty) and carried it to her husband. Her brother revolted but was defeated by the new king who cut off his toes and kept him confined in a dark dungeon. The new king always covers his body with a coat of mail which neither knife nor arrow could pierce. Thus clad he dares go out of his palace. During my stay for more than a year I have seen him come out only on four or five occasions. When he goes out the procession is led by a body of horsemen, followed by flags and music. Then come a troop of palace-girls, 300 to 500 in number, clad in embroidered clothes and with flowers in their hair. They carry big torches (or candles) which are lighted even in day time. These are followed by two other troops of girls, one carrying precious vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, and the other, the body-guards of the king, carrying lance and shield. Then follow carriages, decorated with gold, drawn by goats and horses, princes, mounted on elephants, queens and royal concubines in palanquins and carriages or on elephants. Lastly comes the king on elephant, holding the precious sword by his right hand and surrounded by a large number of men on elephants and horses to protect him. The elephants have golden trappings, and hundreds of white and red parasols, decorated with gold, and some of them, with staff of gold, add to the beauty of the procession."

Cheu Ta-Kuan mentions that in the recent wars with the Siamese the region round Angkor was utterly devastated. As we shall see later, this refers to the growing power of the Thais, who had conquered Siam and, under their great king Ram Kamheng, carried their victorious arms to Lower Burma on the west and to the heart of Kambuja on the east, toward the close of the thirteenth century A.D. The Annamites also gradually conquered nearly the whole of the kingdom of Champa by the fifteenth century. Being hard pressed by these two pitiless aggressive neighbours Kambuja was gradually shorn of power and prestige and sank into a petty state. At last the king of

Kambuja threw himself under the protection of the French in A.D. 1854 and the once mighty kingdom became a petty French Protectorate.

3. FALL OF CHAMPA

For nearly half a century Champa enjoyed the respite from Annamite invasions brought about by the conciliatory policy of Hari-varman II. 9 Regular embassies were sent to China, and though

in A.D. 1021 the Annamites made a sudden raid on the camp of Bo Chanh which protected the northern frontier of Champa, the relation between the two countries was on the whole a cordial one. But there could be no doubt that the Annamite court was a source of potential danger to Champa. When civil war broke out in Champa during the reign of Vikranta-varman IV, at first his son, and then the entire garrison of Bo Chanh sought refuge with the Annamite Emperor (A.D. 1038-39). But the final rupture was brought about by the insolent aggression of Jay a Simha-varman II who ascended the throne in A.D. 1041. In A.D. 1043 he harassed the Annamite coast with his navy but was forced to retreat. Phat Ma, the Annamite Emperor, now sent a joint expedition by land and sea which completely routed the Cham army. The king lay dead on the battlefield with 30,000 soldiers and the capital city was ravaged by the victorious army. The Annamite Emperor returned with a huge booty and a large number of prisoners, including all the women of the palace. It is said that one of these, when summoned to the royal vessel, threw herself into the sea, preferring death to dishonour, and the Emperor, admiring her fidelity, gave her a posthumous title meaning “very chaste and very sweet lady”.

With Jaya Simha-varman II ended the dynasty which came into power in A.D. 989 after the Annamite usurpation. It was not till A.D. 1050, six years later, that we find a new king Jaya ParameSvara-varma-deva I&varamurti, who was descended from the old royal family of Champa. Hie new king was faced with a heavy task. Hie repeated incursions of the Annamites had exhausted the resources of the kingdom and weakened the central authority. Taking advantage of it the provinces, particularly Pangluranga in the south, repeatedly rebelled, and the Kambuja rulers also invaded the kingdom at least twice, during the last half of the tenth century A.D.

The new king sent a powerful army against Pantjuranga and completely subdued it. It is said that “all the people of Pan$uranga were seized, together with oxen, buffaloes, slaves and elephants,” and though half were later released in order to re-establish the city, the other half were distributed as slaves to various religious establishments.

The king next turned his attention to Kambuja which was then being distracted by civil wars. 10 He sent an army under Yuvaraja Mahasenapati, who had distinguished himself in the campaign against Pan^uranga. The Yuvaraja inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy and took the town of Sambhupura. He destroyed a large number of temples there and distributed the Khmer captives among the temples of Champa.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Jay a Parame£vara-varma-deva also considerably repaired the damages done to religious institutions during the preceding period. He re-installed the image of the famous goddess of Po Nagara, and a large number of temples and mhSras were restored or newly built and suitably endowed. He maintained friendly relations with both Annam and China and sent regular embassies to these courts.

The reign of Jaya Parame6vara-varma-deva was thus a very successful one and largely healed the wounds from which Champa was suffering. Great credit is due to the king who found the kingdom suffering from total disintegration and left it a happy, peaceful, united, and powerful state. He died in or shortly after A.D. 1059.

Unfortunately the peace and prosperity of the kingdom tempted Rudra-varman, the new king of Champa, to throw off the yoke of the Annamites. In A.D. 1082 he sent an ambassador to China asking for help against the Annamites, but without any success. Nevertheless he openly commenced hostilities in A.D. 1088. The result was disastrous. The Cham army fought bravely, but was routed, the king himself was made a prisoner, and the Annamite Emperor celebrated his triumph in the capital city Vi jaya. After burning this city and its suburbs, he returned to Tonkin with the royal captive and 50,000 prisoners of war (A.D. 1069), Rudra-varman obtained his release by ceding three northern districts of his kingdom which included the whole of Quang Binh and the northern part of Quang Tri. It was a great blow to the power and prestige of Champa, and paved the way for the final conquest of this kingdom by Annam.

On his return to Champa Rudra-varman found that several persons had proclaimed themselves kings in different parts of the country. This state of chaos and confusion continued for nearly ten years, after which Harx-varraan, one of the rival claimants, established his authority over the greater part of the kingdom.

Hari-varman IV was now faced with the task which had confronted Jaya-Paramesvara-varman twenty years before, and acquitted himself with almost equal credit. He successfully resisted the Annamite invasion of A.D. 1075. He defeated the Kamhuja troops 11 at Somesvara and captured the prince &r! Nandana~varma~deva who commanded the army. He re-united the whole kingdom, with the probable exception of Panduranga in the south. He then restored the temples, as well as religious institutions and endowments, and also re-established the edifices and the city of Champa which had suffered so much in the hands of the Annamites. He probably assumed the title Ut'kfishta-raja (good king) at the time of his coronation, and there is probably a great deal of truth in the official

panegyric that ‘the king of Champa became prosperous as of old’. In A.D. 1081 he abdicated the throne, at the age of 41, and took to religious life. But he died within a month and was followed on the funeral pyre by 14 of his wives.

The young son of the king, a boy of 9, ascended the throne under the name of Jaya Indra-varman V, but the distracted kingdom required a strong man at the helm of affairs. So, we are told, the boy king with all the generals, Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Pandits, astrologers, learned men, masters of ceremonies, and the wives of the late king Hari-varman IV, approached his younger brother, Yu vara j a Mahasenapati Prince Pah with a request to assume the royalty. The Yuvaraja ascended the throne under the title Parama*bodhisattva and gave a good account of himself. He quelled the disturbances in the kingdom and recovered Pandurahga after completely defeating the usurper who had been wielding authority there since the conquest of Champa by the Annamites in A.D. 1069. The king, who thus once more restored the unity of Champa, maintained friendly relations with Annam by sending regular tributes.

On the death of this king in A.D. 1086 his nephew Jaya Indravarman V, who had abdicated in A.D. 1081, again ascended the throne. Once more the peace and prosperity of the kingdom tempted the Cham king to try his strength with Annam in order to recover the three northern districts ceded in A.D. 1069. As usual, he tried to induce the Chinese Emperor to make a common cause with him against Annam, but failed. Nevertheless, being instigated by a refugee from Annam, and misled by his false statements about the internal dissensions in that country, Indra-varman invaded Annam in A.D. 1103 and conquered the three ceded districts. But he was soon defeated and compelled to abandon them. To avoid further troubles he immediately sent tribute to Annam and lived in peace.

For more than thirty years after this Champa enjoyed peace and prosperity. But troubles broke out again in the reign of Jaya Indra-varman VI who ascended the throne in A.D. 1139. As noted above, Surya-varman II, the contemporary king of Kambuja, was involved in a long-drawn war with the Annamites and could easily enlist the sympathy and support of Champa. But when the joint expeditions repeatedly proved a failure, the king of Champa (the predecessor of Jaya Indra-varman VI) withdrew from the alliance with Kambuja and resumed payment of tribute to Annam. Suryavarman therefore decided to punish the faithless ally and invaded Champa in A.D. 1145. He gained a great victory and made himself master of Vijaya. Jaya Indra-varman VI was either killed or made a prisoner. In any case he passes from our view. But a new king

arose in Pan^uranga in the south, and on his death in A.D. 1147 his son and successor Jaya Hari-varman VI continued the struggle against Kambuja. The Kambuja general Sankara, aided by the troops of Vijaya, advanced against him, but was signally defeated in A.D. 1147. Next year “the king of Kambuja sent an army thousand times stronger than the previous one”, but Hari-varman again completely defeated them.

Hari-varman now felt powerful enough to take the offensive and advanced towards the north to reconquer Vijaya. The Kambuja king hastily consecrated Harideva, the brother of his first queen, as king of Vijaya and "commanded various generals" to protect him. In the battle that followed 'Jaya Hari-varman destroyed Harideva with all his Cham and Kambuja generals." Then the victorious king was duly consecrated and ascended the throne in A.D. 1149 with due pomp and ceremony.

But the troubles of Hari-varman were not yet over. The barbarous mountain tribes of Champa, collectively known by the general designation of 'Kiratas', invaded the kingdom, probably at the instigation of the Kambuja king. Although the Kiratas were defeated in a pitched battle, Van^araja, brother of Hari-varman's queen, joined them and was proclaimed king. Although Vansaraja was defeated along with his Kirata allies, he sought protection in the Annamese court. The Annamese Emperor declared him king of Champa and sent him back with a large army which was, however, completely defeated by Hari-varman in A.D. 1150. Then civil war broke out, first at Amaravatl (A.D. 1151) and then at Panduranga (A.D. 1155), but was successfully put down. Having thus completely triumphed over both internal and external enemies the great and heroic king lived in peace, devoting his attention to the restoration of temples and the repair of damages.

Hari-varman was far-sighted enough not to assume a haughty attitude towards Annam in spite of his victory. He maintained friendly relations by sending tribute and rich presents. He also demanded, and received, from the Chinese emperor the same dignity which his predecessors enjoyed.

It is fortunate that no less than seven inscriptions of this great king have been preserved which enable us to follow in minute details his truly remarkable career. A hero of hundred fights, he showed remarkable ability alike in war and peace. He saved the kingdom when it was threatened with ruin, and once more set it on the way to peace and prosperity.

Hari-varman died shortly after A.D. 1162 and the kingdom was soon occupied by an usurper named Jaya Xndra-varman VH. He paid regular tributes to Annam and sent an ambassador to China asking for investiture from the Emperor. The presents which the ambassador offered were all plundered from Arab merchants. As soon as the Emperor came to know this, from the complaints of the merchants themselves, he refused to accept the presents or to invest the king. This is an interesting incident illustrating the international etiquette of those days.

The most notable event in the reign of this king was his longdrawn war with Kambuja ending in the capture of its capital city by means of a naval expedition in A.D. 1177 which has already been described above. 12 The king also made rich donations to various temples, and it seemed as if the old power and prosperity of Champa were revived. An interesting record of this reign contains the text of an oath of allegiance taken by three dignitaries of the realm to the effect that they and their children will fight for the king in case of war as long as they live. There was a similar institution in Kambuja where a class of chiefs, called Sanjak , were bound by oath of allegiance to defend the person of the king or prince. We have actual records that the life of a prince was saved on two different occasions by the deliberate self-sacrifice of four Sanjaks. The king not only bestowed wealth, favours and honours on their families, but also installed their statues in a shrine. When the prince died his statue was also placed in the same shrine by the side of those of his four faithful Sanjaks.

The aggressive policy of Jaya Indra-varman VII was followed by the next king known to us, viz. Jaya Indra-varman VIII. But the ruler of Kambuja with whom he had to fight was made of different stuff. The Cham king was not only defeated but taken captive to Kambuja (A.D. 1190) and his own fate and that of his kingdom have been described above. 13

When the forces of Kambuja withdrew from Champa in A.D. 1220 after an occupation of thirty years, a grandson of the famous king Jaya Hari-varman VI ascended the throne under the title Jaya Paramesvara-varman IV. The whereabouts of this king and his father, whom his records refer to as king Hari-varman, during the reign of the two usurpers Jaya Indra-varman VII and VIII are unknown to us. But he probably concluded a peace with Kambuja where he had lived as an exile for some time, and was formally consecrated to the throne in A.D. 1226. He ruled in peace and was succeeded by his brother Jaya Indra-varman X, who was murdered by his sister's son in A.D. 1257. The regicide then ascended the throne and was formally consecrated in A.D. 1266 under the name Indra-varman XI.

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His reign is chiefly memorable for the Mongol invasion. When the great Kublai Khan invited the king of Champa (and other rulers of Asia) to come and pay homage, the latter offered submission. Kublai thereupon treated Champa as part of his empire and appointed two viceroys to administer it. Although the king submitted, even to this humiliation, his proud son Harijit refused to yield. He organised the people and the viceroys left the country. The Cham king gave further provocation to the Khan by arresting and imprisoning his ambassadors to Siam and Malabar. Kublai now sent a powerful expedition under Sagatu, and as Annam refused passage, the troops were carried in 1,000 vessels. They landed unopposed, and a pitched battle took place in January 1283. The Chains fought obstinately for six hours and then retreated. Sagatu conquered a large part of the country, but Xndra-varman retired with his army to fastnesses of mountains and refused to yield. It was also reported to the Mongol camp that he had sent embassies to Annam, jKambuja and Java asking for military aid. Sagatu attacked the entrenched position of the king on the mountains and inflicted great losses on the enemy, but Indra-varman eluded his grasp. In A.D. 1284 Kublai sent further reinforcements, but things continued as before. Kublai thereupon decided to send a strong army by land, and as the Annamese Emperor again refused homage to the Khan and passage through his territory, he declared war against Annam. The Mongol troops advanced from China in the north and Champa in the south, but were decisively defeated by the Annamite Emperor.

Champa was thus saved from further troubles and Indra-varman placated the great Khan by sending rich presents. The king, who heroically sustained this arduous struggle, died shortly afterwards and was succeeded by his son, the brave prince Harijit, who ascended the throne under the name Jay a Sirhha-varman IV.

The new king dispensed with all marks of vassalage of Kublai Khan and also stopped the usual payment of tribute to Annam. He had married a princess of Java, named Tapasi, and was eager to marry a princess of Annam. The court of Annam coldly received his proposal, but he was so much infatuated that he even ceded two northern provinces of his kingdom as price of this marriage. Thus was Champa dismembered a second time in favour of Annam. 14

Jays Simha-varman TV died in A.D. 1307, soon after this marriage, and was succeeded by his son Mahendra-varman. The cession of the two northern provinces rankled in the minds of the people and frequent incursions and rebellions followed. Thereupon the Annamite Emperor invaded Champa and gained an easy victory. Mahendra-varman was made prisoner and his brother was entrusted

with the government of Champa as “Feudatory Prince of the Second rank” (A.D. 1312).

The kingdom of Champa had now practically become an Annamite province. The new ruler made an attempt to throw off the Annamite yoke, but being defeated took to flight. Thereupon Champa was ruled by military chiefs as viceroys of the Annamite Emperor. These viceroys, however, soon declared themselves independent and carried on a prolonged warfare with Annam, with occasional truce, for 150 years more. In AD. 1470 the Annamite Emperor sent a fleet containing 100,000 men and himself marched at the head of 150,000 soldiers against Champa. He seized the capital city Vijaya and annexed all the territory up to cape Varella. The petty chiefs that ruled over the small territory that yet remained {viz. the modern districts of Khan Hoa and Binh Thuan) were at the absolute mercy of the Annamites, but they still bore the proud name of the king of Champa and received Chinese investiture as such. One of them made a last desperate effort in A.D. 1543 to get rid of the Annamese yoke but was defeated and put in an iron cage. The Annamites annexed the Cham territory up to the river of Phanrang and the seat of the kingdom of Champa was removed to Bal Chanar at Phanri. In A.D. 1822 the last phantom king of Champa, unable to bear the oppression of the Annamites, took refuge in Kambuja with a colony of exiles. Thus ended the long and glorious history of the Hindu kingdom of Champa which lost its very name and was called Annam after the conquering tribe.

4. JAVA

Java was rescued from the great catastrophe, which overwhelmed it in A.D. 1007, 15 by the exertions of Airlangga, the sonin-law of the late king Dharmavamsa. Airlangga, then only sixteen years old, hid himself in a monastery with only a few followers, for three years. In A.D. 1010 some people, evidently partisans of Dharmavamsa, met him there and hailed him as the legitimate king. He was formally consecrated in A.D. 1019 and probably established his authority over a small strip of territory extending from Surabaya to Pasuruhan. By A.D. 1028 he grew sufficiently powerful to make an attempt to recover the lost kingdom. He had to fight with a number of chiefs who set up as independent rulers in different parts of the country, and after almost continuous warfare for seven years, succeeded in re-establishing his authority over the whole of Java (A.D. 1035).

Airlangga next devoted his attention to restoring the material prosperity of the country. He improved trade and agriculture and

one of his inscriptions gives a long list of foreign countries whose people used to visit Java for purposes of trade or other reasons. They include a large number of localities in India as well as Annam and Cambodia. Airlangga was a great patron of literature, and in his old age, abdicated the throne and took to religious life (A.D. 1042). The details of his life, given in an inscription now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, show that he possessed a unique personality and had an eventful career. He was probably buried at Belahan, anddt is generally believed that the line image of Vishnu on Garuda, found at that place, is the actual portrait of Airlangga, and the first of a long series of divine images, depicting royal portraits, which have been found in Java.

Before his death Airlangga had divided his kingdom into two parts and bestowed them upon his two sons. Of these the western kingdom with its capital at Kadiri rose into greater importance and ultimately absorbed the other. We know the names of a large number of kings who ruled at Kadiri during the twelfth century A.D. Among them Jayavarsha, Kamesvara (I or II) and Jayabliaya have been immortalised by the great poets who flourished in their courts. Indeed the Kadiri court witnessed the most flourishing period of Indo-Javanese literature to which reference will be made later.

It appears from the account of Chau Ju-Kua 16 that the kingdom of Kadiri (which he refers to as Sho-po or Yava) was very powerful and ruled over the whole of Java with the exception of Sin-to, i.e. Sunda in W. Java, which was a dependency of San-fotsi, 17 and Su-ki-tan which cannot be exactly located. Chau Ju-Kua gives a list of 15 states, in and outside the island of Java, which i were all dependencies of Sho-po. Eight of these were situated in islands whose inhabitants were mostly barbarous. The two most important of the states were the island of Bali and south-western part of Borneo, and the rest probably refer to the smaller eastern islands of the Archipelago.

The\ Kadiri period, which thus laid the foundations of the Javanese Empire, also witnessed a high degree of development both in art and literature. It may thus be regarded as a prominent landmark in the political and cultural history of Java.

Kritajaya, the last king of Kadiri, met with a tragic end. A detailed account of this is given in Pararaton, a historical chronicle of Java, which is not, however, always reliable. It is said that the king asked the clergy to make obeisance to him and so they left in a body and sought refuge with Angrok, the son of a peasant and a highway robber in early life, who had murdered his master, the governor of Tumapel, married his widow, and made himself ruler of the territory to the east of Mount Kavi. Taking advantage of the quarrel between the king and the clergy, Angrok openly declared himself king under the title Rajasa. He twice defeated Kritajaya in A.D. 1222 and annexed Ka^iri. The new kingdom which united nearly the whole of Eastern Java came to be known as Singhasari, after the name of its capital.

The end of the royal dynasty of Katfiri, which traced its descent from the old house of Mataram, snapped the bond with old traditions and Central Java. This is probably the reason why, with the foundation of Singhasari, the old Hindu culture and civilisation gradually faded away and purely Javanese elements came into prominence.

Rajasa, as well as his two sons who succeeded him, were assassinated. Then came Vishnu-vardhana, who died a natural death in A.D. 1268. He was succeeded by his son Kritanagara whom he had already anointed king and associated with his government in A.D. 1254.

Kritanagara was a remarkable king in many respects and had an eventful reign. Unfortunately the two texts, Ndgara-Kritagama and Pararaton, which form our main sources of information, differ radically in their estimate of the king. The latter represents him as a foolish and worthless debauchee who spent all his time in eating and drinking, and left the cares of government in the hands of wicked men. The former, which is also the earlier text, on the other hand describes him as ‘‘well-versed in the sixfold royal policy, expert in all branches of knowledge, quite at home in Buddhist scriptures and eminently righteous in life and conduct”. The truth, as always, seems to lie in the middle. Most probably the king was an ardent follower of Tantrayana form of Buddhism to whom drinking wine and some other obnoxious practices were parts of religious rites and ceremonies.

As to his political capacity, Kritanagara undoubtedly was a powerful king who established his position securely at home and sent expeditions to foreign countries. He re-established the supremacy of Java over Bali, whose king was brought prisoner to Java in A.D. 1284. There is no reason to doubt the statement in Ndgara Kritagama that his authority was established over Pahang (Malay Peninsula), Malayu (Central Sumatra), Gurun (Gorang), Bakulapura (S. W. Borneo), Sunda (W. Java) and Madhura (Madura Island). Marco Polo (A.D. 1292) also describes Java as a prosperous kingdom, under a great king. It was very rich and noted for its trade and commerce.

PXRE

The first expedition against Malayu, which was sent in AJD. 1275, established the authority of Java in the very heart of Sumatra. An inscription, dated A.D. 1286, found at Fadang Roco in the Batanghari District (Sumatra), clearly proves that the kingdom of Malaya which extended far into the interior of Sumatra, formed a vassal state of Java. As subsequent events proved, it was from this military stronghold in Sumatra that Java ultimately extended her authority over the whole of that island. As such it may be regarded as a great achievement of Kpitanagara.

The Par amt on, however, attributes the downfall of the king to this unwise military expedition. For while Java was thereby denuded of troops, Jayakatvang, the governor of Ka^iri, revolted and marched against the capital city. The king sent his main army under his two sons-in-law against the rebel army coming by the northern route, which was defeated and driven back. But a more powerful rebel army coming stealthily by the southern route suddenly reached the capital and stormed the palace. The king and his minister, who were found drinking wine, were both killed on the spot, and Jayakatvang established (or re-established) the supremacy of Kadiri over Java.

Whatever we might think of the details in the above account of Paramton , the main facts seem to be correct. The king, passionately devoted to Tantrik Buddhism, evidently neglected administration, for we hear of at least two other revolutions before the final coup de grace given by the governor of Kadiri.

The success of Jayakatvang of Kadiri was, however, shortlived. Vijaya, one of the two sons-in-law of Kyitanagara who led the royal army against the rebels in the north, founded a small principality at Majapahit and entered into a conspiracy with the governor of the island of Madura. But the end of Jayakatvang was really brought about by a series of strange events.

In A.D. 1281 the great Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan had invited the king of Java to come in person to the Imperial court to pay homage to him. 18 Kritanagara refused, and at last, irritated by repeated orders, sent back the Chinese ambassador after mutilating his face. Kublai thereupon sent a big military expedition to Java in A.D. 1292. Vijaya, in order to utilise the expedition to his favour, offered submission and joined the Mongols against Jayakatvang who made preparations to defend his country. Jay akat vang’s army was, however, defeated; his capital city was stormed, and he himself was made a prisoner and later killed (A.D. 1293).

Vijaya, freed from Jayakatvang, now left the Chinese camp on some pretext, collected a large force and attacked the Chinese army on its way back from Kadiri. Vijaya was forced to fall back, but the Chinese generals could not come to any agreed decision about their future action; so they got the troops in the ships and returned to China (A.D. 1293).

With the death of Jayakatvang, the kingdom of Kadiri came to an end and Vijaya became undisputed master of Java with Majapahit as its capital. By a strange irony of fate the Mongol expedition, which came with the avowed object of punishing Kptanagara, really avenged his foul murder upon his enemy and helped the re-establishment of his family. No less strange is the fact that Vijaya, who betrayed the Imperial army, succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Chinese Emperor and sent embassies in A.D. 1297, 1298, 1300 and 1308.

The kingdom of Majapahit, which was brought into existence in A.D. 1293 amid strange circumstance, ere long became the nucleus of a mighty Hindu empire which continued its existence till the sixteenth century A.D.

5. BALI

The island of Bali enjoys the unique distinction of being the only ancient Hindu colony in the East which still follows the Brahmanical religion. Bali imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation from quite an early period as has been noted above. 19 It was intimately connected with Java and very often politically subordinate to it, 20 but there is no doubt that originally it derived its culture directly from India and was in no way a mere product of the Indo-Javanese colony or civilisation, as is supposed by many. This is best proved by a large number of inscriptions on stones and copper-plates, and other antiquities going back to the eighth century A.D. Both the language and subject-matter of these records leave no doubt that the civilisation flourishing in Bali had a distinctive character of its own and was not merely an offshoot of Indo-Javanese culture.

These inscriptions have preserved the names of no less than five Hindu kings and a queen ruling in the tenth century A.D. The earliest of these is Ugrasena whose known dates are A.D. 915 and 933. Then follow Tabanendra-varma-deva (A.D. 955), Chandrabhayasingha-varma-deva (A.D. 962), Janasadhu-varma-deva (A.D. 975) and queen Srl-Vijaya-mahadevI (A.D. 983). Another inscription, without date but probably belonging to the tenth century, mentions Sri Ke£ari-varman, lord over all neighbouring provinces, who overcame Gurun and other localities. Neither the relation between these kings nor any further particulars of their reign are known.

As mentioned above,[21] Bali was conquered by Java towards the close of the tenth century A.D. and was ruled by Mahendradatta, alias Gunapriyadharmapatnl, along with her husband Udayana (or Dharmodayana-varma-deva), the parents of the famous king Airlangga.[22] The queen died before A.D. 1011, and the latter alone ruled till at least A.D. 1025. Next we hear of Marakatapangkaja-Sthanottunggadeva, but whether he was an independent king or acknowledged the supremacy of Java, it is difficult to say. Airlangga no doubt ultimately asserted his full suzerainty over Bali, and the king, mentioned in ten copper-plates with dates ranging between A.D. 1049 and 1077, was most probably his younger brother.

Bali probably regained independence in the twelfth century and we know the names of several kings such as Sri Suradhipa (A.D. 11151119), £n Jayasakti (A.D. 1133, 1150), and Paduka Sri Maharaja Haji Jay a Pangus. The last named is known from 13 inscriptions (one dated in A.D. 1177 and the rest in A.D. 1181) which describe him as the suzerain king ruling over a circle of seven states in Bali (Balidvipa-mandala), but the genuineness of these records is not beyond question. Next we hear of two other kings, Sakalendu (A.D. 1201) and Bhatara Paramesvara (A.D. 1204). Shortly after this Bali must have been conquered by Java. Chau Ju-Kua includes it among the vassal states of Java, though he expressly says that Bali and Tanjungpura (S. W. Borneo) were the most important among them. Bali became independent again soon after the fall of Ka<Jiri and we know of king Adilahchana ruling in A.D. 1250. But Kj-itanagara conquered it again and captured its king.[23]

The tragic end of Kritanagara once more enabled Bali to throw off the yoke of Java. The generals of Kublai Khan, while returning from the expedition to Java[24] in A.D. 1293, brought to the Emperor a letter in golden characters and rich presents from the king of Bali. For nearly half a century Bali remained an independent state. But the growing empire of Majapahit tried to re-establish the supremacy over this island. The king of Bali fought hard to maintain his independence, but was totally routed by a strong force sent from Java in A.D. 1343. Henceforth Bali formed an integral part of the Majapahit Empire for nearly a century and half. Then, towards the close of the fifteenth century A.D., the king of Majapahit, unable to stem the tide of Islam, took refuge with his followers in Bali. His example was followed by many Javanese who wanted to retain their old religion and culture. Hie history of Java was thus continued in Bali which retained its political autonomy till the Dutch established their suzerainty over the whole of the island and incorporated it in their empire in A.D. 1911. But Bali received a large influx of Javanese element after the fall of Majapahit and soon became the last stronghold of Indo-Javanese culture and civilisation, a position which it happily maintains even today.

So strong has been the historic association with Java that most of the inhabitants of Bali style themselves with pride as “men of Majapahit'', and only a few primitive tribes are called, by way of contrast, “indigenous people of Bali. „

6. BURMA

Popular tradition or philology derives the word Brahma (the original of the anglicised form Burma) from the Sanskrit word Brahma. It is, however, more probable that it was the Sanskritized form of the tribal name Mramma (*var* . Myamma and Bhama).

The Mrammas form the principal element in the population of Burma, which is undoubtedly a mixture of many peoples and tribes. They came from their original homeland in Tibet along the valley of the Brahmaputra and Chindwin rivers, and it has been suggested that the tribal name was derived from the Brahmaputra. In any case, it is certain that the Bur mans are ethnically connected with a large number of tribes, now living on the eastern border of India, such as the Nagas, Kukis, Mishmis, Lepchas, Abors and Bhutiyas. It is probable therefore that they came into contact with Indian culture on their way to Burma. If the traditions, narrated above,[25] are to be believed, they received one or more bands of Indian colonists among them after they had settled in the country. Later, the Mrammas came into contact with the Hinduised Pyus, Mons and other primitive tribes, and all these coalesced into the modern Burmans.

There is no doubt that even up to the tenth century A.D. the Mrammas were rude and unlettered, as compared with the Pyus and Mons. How they first came into prominence it is difficult to say. The most likely explanation seems to be that when the power of the Pyus declined on account of pressure from the Thais in the north and Mons in the south, the Mrammas poured in large numbers and gradually acquired political ascendancy.

The Burmese national era starts from A.D. 638 and is generally believed to commemorate the foundation of the Mramma power in Pagan. But this is very doubtful. The association of the Mrammas with Pagan probably does not go back beyond the ninth century A.D., and according to some chronicles the city was founded by king Pyanpya in A.D. 849. The Burmese chronicles contain

legends of a number of kings of Pagan, but it is not till the eleventh century A.D* that we can clearly follow the main outline of their history with the help of contemporary inscriptions. These inscriptions enable us to correct the dates given in the chronicles and to restore the Indian form of royal names. To take a concrete example, the chronicles tell us that Anawratha became king of Pagan in A.D. 1010. But we know from the inscriptions that the king’s name was Aniruddha and that he ascended the throne in A.D. 1044; further, that the classical name of Pagan was Arimardanapura.

The accession of Aniruddha may be said to have introduced a new era in the history of the Mrammas. Although the prevailing religion was a debased form of Tantrik Buddhism the king was converted to the pure Theravada by a Brahma^a monk of Thaton, and gradually this new form ousted the old. He asked for the cooperation of the Mon king of Thaton in this great religious reform, and sent an envoy asking for copies of the sacred texts.

The request was refused and the envoy was insulted. Thereupon Aniruddha marched with an army, completely conquered the Mon country, and brought its king captive to Pagan. But the defeated Mons really conquered the Mrammas. Aniruddha brought back with him from the Mon country all the Buddhist monks along with sacred texts and relics carried by 32 elephants, as well as a large number of artisans and craftsmen. This brought about a complete transformation of the culture of the Mrammas. They adopted the Mon religion and scripture and learnt the art of writing with the help of the Mon script. Thus the Mon form of Hindu culture commenced a new career in Pagan. Even the classical example of vanquished Greece captivating Rome was surpassed by the way in which the Mrammas thoroughly imbibed the Hindu civilisation from the Mons.

Aniruddha extended his kingdom in all directions. Nearly the whole of Burma, excluding Tenasserim, was brought under his rule; even the Shan chiefs in the east acknowledged his suzerainty. He conquered N. Arakan and probably advanced within the frontiers of India. The Burmese chronicles represent Paftikera in Tippera District, Bengal, as bordering on his kingdom. The king married an Indian princess and the chronicles give a long account of her journey to Burma.

The two outstanding achievements of Aniruddha were the political union of Burma and the introduction of the Hlnayana form of Buddhism which still prevails in that country. He carried out great irrigation works and built numerous temples and monasteries. His name and fame spread to the island of Ceylon whose

king asked for his help in both political and religious matters. He set Burma on the path to regeneration through Hindu culture which it has followed ever since.

On the death of Aniruddha in A.D. 1077 the Mens of Pegu made an attempt to recover their independence. They advanced up to Pagan and killed the new king. But they were defeated by Kyanzittha, another son of Aniruddha, born of the Indian princess, who was formally crowned in A.B. 1084 under the title &ri Tribhuvanaditya-dharrnaraja. During his rule many Buddhists and Vaishnavas from India settled in Burma. The king is said to have fed eight Indian monks with his own hands for three months, and on hearing from them the description of Indian temples designed the famous Ananda temple. Whatever we might think of this story, there is no doubt that this masterpiece of Burman architecture was designed on Indian model. The king not only built other temples, but also repaired ('newly constructed' according to chronicles) the holy temple of Bodh-Gaya in India. He married a Clio]a princess and sent a diplomatic mission to China which was given precedence over that of the Cholas. He sent an expedition to South Arakan which acknowdedged his supremacy. Tenasserirn was also added to his kingdom.

Kyanzittha was succeeded by his daughter's son Alaungsithu (A.D. 1112-1187). His reign was full of troubles. Rebellions in South Arakan and Tenasserirn were suppressed, but the king in his old age was murdered by his son Narathu who also killed many members of the royal family including his step-mother, the princess of Pattikera (Tippera District), The father of this lady took revenge by sending eight of his best guards, who entered the palace in the disguise of priests and killed Narathu (A.D. 1170). His son Narasimha succeeded him, but was killed after three years by his younger brother Narapatisithu. During the reign of this king Ceylonese Buddhism was introduced in Pagan in A.D. 1192, and ultimately replaced the Mon Buddhism which had prevailed since the days of Aniruddha.

The three kings who reigned after Narapatisithu were all devoted to religious activities, and one of them, Jayasiihha, built the Mahabodhi temple in imitation of the famous temple at BodhGaya. The next two kings were of opposite character. The second of these, Narasirhhapati, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1254, boasted that he swallowed three hundred dishes of curry daily and had three thousand concubines. In A.D. 1271 Kublai Khan sent envoys asking Burma to accept his suzerainty. 26 Not only did the Burmese king refuse the demand and execute a Chinese ambassador sent to

him in A.D. 1273, but he also twice invaded some border states which had submitted to China. On the second occasion (A.D. 1283) the Burmese army was defeated with heavy loss and the king fled from his capital city. Revolt broke out on all sides and the king was murdered (A.D. 1287). The

Mongols now struck a decisive blow. A grandson of Kublai Khan marched to Pagan which perished “amid the blood and flame of the Tartar terror”.

The Mongol conquest was followed by a complete political disintegration and cultural decay. The country was divided into a number of petty principalities and the stories of the interminable fights, intrigues, cruelty and treachery of their chiefs fill the pages of the chronicles. Thus passed away the united kingdom of Burma, set up by Aniruddha, after a glorious existence of more than two centuries, and nearly three centuries elapsed before it regained anything like its former position in the sphere of politics and culture.

7. SIAM

The beginnings of Hindu colonisation in Siam may be traced to the first two centuries of the Christian era. Archaeological remains and other evidences leave no doubt that here, too, as in the neighbouring regions in Indo-China, the Hindu culture and civilisation were firmly established and entirely transformed the character of the people. But our knowledge of its political history is very meagre. Its northern part came under the influence of the Mons, and we have referred above to the kingdom of Dvaravati that flourished in the seventh century A.D. and various small principalities, known from local annals, that grew up in Laos in later times. The southern part of Siam formed a part of the kingdom of Kambuja from early times and, as noted above, the Kambuja empire at its greatest extent included the whole of that country. It is only after the decline of that empire in the thirteenth century A.D. that Siam became an independent political unit. But this was accomplished, not by the children of the soil, but by a new race of immigrants from the north, known as the Thais. As this race dominated the history of Indo-China during the next five centuries and caused the overthrow of the Hindu kingdoms of Kambuja and Champa, it is necessary to review their history at some length.

The Thais are a Mongolian tribe, probably ethnically related to the Chinese, and originally lived in the southern and south-western part of what is now known as China. They migrated in early centuries before and after the Christian era, and set up various principalities spreading over the whole of the uplands of Indo-China to the east of Burma and the north of Siam, Kambuja and Champa. Two groups of these, which settled in Yunnan and Tonkin, came to be more powerful than the rest. The latter, known as the Annamites, whose long struggle with Champa has been referred to above derived their civilisation from China. The former, however, came under the influence of Hindu culture and civilisation from an early period. Their country, corresponding to modern Yunnan in South China, was called Nan-chao by the Chinese, but it was known in Indo-China as Gandhara. One part of it was also called

Videha-rajya, and its capital was known as Mithila. The people used an alphabet of Hindu origin. Local traditions in Yurman affirm that Avalokitesvara came from India and converted the region to Buddhism. It is said that when, towards the close of the^eigbth century A.D., the ruler of this kingdom became enamoured oi Chinese civilisation, seven religious teachers of India rebuked the king. In the first half of the ninth century A D. a Hindu monk named Chandragupta, born in Magadha and therefore designated Magadha, led a brilliant career of a thaumaturgist in Yunnan. There was in Yunnan the famous Pippala cave, the Bodhi three, the sacred hill Gridhraku$a and many other localities associated with Buddhism. A Chinese traveller of the tenth century A.D. refers to a local tradition that Sakyamimi obtained Bodhi near Lake Ta-li in Yunnan. The Buddhist influence in Yunnan is still attested by two bells of the eleventh century with inscriptions in Chinese and Sanskrit. The king of Nan-chao had the title Maharaja and also another Hindu title, which means the king of the east. According to local tradition the royal family was descended from Asoka. Basid-ud-dln, writing in the thirteenth century, not only calls the country Gandhara but asserts that its people came from India and China. All these demonstrate that the Thais of Yunnan had imbibed Hindu culture and civilisation to a very large extent.

The Thai kingdom of Nan-chao or Gandhara threw off the yoke of China about the middle of the seventh century A.D. and soon grew very powerful. A century later the state was strong enough to invade China and, after repeated successes, its ruler assumed the title of Emperor in A.D- 850. The Tang Emperor took this as an insult to him and a prolonged war followed, in which China was repeatedly defeated. In A.D. 884 the Emperor of Gandhara married a daughter of the Chinese Emperor and peace was established between the two powers.

The Hinduised Thai kingdom of Gandhara flourished till A.D. 1253 when it was conquered by the Mongol Chief Kublai Khan. The extinction of this great Thai state coincides with, and perhaps accounts for, the general movement of the Thais towards the south and west. One branch of them, the Ahoms, proceeded north and conquered Assam, while another, the Shans, got possession of Upper Burma, A third branch went south and conquered gradually the

whole of Laos and Siam.

There were Thai kingdoms on the eastern borderland of Burma, as well as in the Mekong valley, long before the thirteenth century. But these were petty principalities, and it is not till the thirteenth century that we hod powerful Thai states m both these regions. The history of the Thais in Burma (known as the Shans) need not detain us here, as we are concerned here with the Thais in Siam.

The first Thai kingdom of importance was that of Sukhodaya (Sukotai) in central Siam. It was then the seat of Kambuja governor in Siam. When a revolt broke out, the Kambuja general sent to quell it was defeated by two Thai chiefs who occupied the town. One of them, Run Bang Rlang, was consecrated as king of Sukhodaya with the title of Indraditya, some time about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. During his reign the country received a tremendous wave of Thai immigrants, presumably those who fled from Nan-cho or Gandhara after its conquest by Kublai Khan.

Partly on account of these reinforcements, and partly on account of the weakness of Kambuja, Indraditya was able to extend his dominions on all sides by constant fights with his neighbours. But it was during the reign of his son Ram Kamheng that the new kingdom reached its widest extent. This king, whose known dates are A.D. 1283 and 12S#2, has left a long inscription which gives us a detailed account of his life and reign.

The record gives a long list of conquered countries which include, besides a number of Thai states in Siam, Hamsavati or Pegu in Lower Burma and Nakhon Sri Thammarat in Malay Peninsula. It appears that after the Kambujas had lost their power in Siam, in the thirteenth century, a number of independent Thai states arose there and probably most of them had xo acknowledge the suzerainty of Ram Kamheng. Two Thai states, which sent many embassies to China between A.D. 1282 and 1323, are called by the Chinese Si-en and Lo*hu. There is no doubt that they represent respectively Shy am and Lvo or Lopburi. Shy am, which has been anglicised into Siam, originally denoted only the northern part of the country, and stands here for the kingdom of Sukhodaya. It is no doubt due to the supremacy of this kingdom that gradually the whole country came to he known as Shyam or Siam. But the Chinese account shows that even towards the end of the thirteenth century, Lopburi, to the south of Sukhodaya. in the Lower Menam Valley, was an important state, and bore a separate name. But in spite of the existence of one or more such independent or semi-independent states we may well

believe that Ram Kamheng established a very powerful kingdom whose influence was felt as far as Lower Burma in the north and Malay Peninsula in the south. It was almost certainly Ram Kamheng who carried his victorious arms to Kambuja and devastated the region round Angkor as testified to by Chen Ta-Kuan. 27

But these brilliant victories alone do not constitute the sole claim of Ham Kamheng to the title ‘Great’. His record gives a long list of his works of public utility which would do credit to any ruler. He erected large and beautiful temples and placed in them bronze images of Buddha, one of which was 18 cubits high. Palaces, monasteries, lakes, parks and groves of fruit-trees beautified the city and the people enjoyed peace and prosperity. In a long passage the king enunciates his ideals of charity and justice. In particular he mentions the device of hanging a bell in front of the gate by ringing which all petitioners for justice could have direct access to the king.

Ham Kamheng also claims to have introduced the art of writing among his people. Although the words of the inscription are not quite dear, it would seem that he did not invent the Thai script but a particular style of it which was known after him and came into general use. This Ram Kamheng script is derived from a cursive form of the Khmer script of Kambuja and was a great improvement upon the Thai script which was in use before his time.

Even making due allowance for the natural exaggerations in a royal prasasti the long record of Ram Kamheng, found at Sukhodaya, presents before us a unique personality, great in arts of war and peace, and an enlightened ruler with progressive ideas much in advance of his age.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to follow the subsequent history of the Thai kingdom in full details. The grandson of Ram Kamheng took the pompous name Suryavaihsa Rama Mahadharmarajadhira ja at the time of coronation in A.D. 1347. He was a devout Buddhist who studied the Tripitakas and at the same time set up images of &iva and Vishnu. But he was not successful as a ruler and gradually the Thai principality of Uton, which took the place of Lopburi after conquering it, rose into importance. In A.D. 1350 its ruler proclaimed himself to be an independent king. He transferred his capital to a new city called Ayodhya (Ayuthia) and assumed the title Ramadhipati. Soon Ayodhya became the leading state and the rulers of Sukhodaya became, at first vassal chiefs, and then merely hereditary governors.

The kingdom of Ayodhya gradually extended its authority over Laos and a considerable part of Kambuja. It occasionally suffered serious reverses in the hands of Burmese kings, and the city of

Ayodhya was destroyed by one of them in A.D. 1767. The capital was the removed to Bangkok where a representative of the old dynasty still occupies the throne. As in Burma, Buddhism is still the prevailing religion in Siam, and this has kept up her cultural association with India and Ceylon.

8. CULTURE AND CIVILISATION

The Hindu civilisation, which had taken deep root in the soil, continued its progress unabated during the period under review, practically in all the countries whose political history has been discussed in the preceding sections. The general picture of society and religion, sketched above, 28 mostly holds good for this period also, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to a few characteristic features which distinguish this period.

1. Religion

Of the three principal religious sects, Saivism still maintained the dominant position, but Buddhism made a great headway in Kambuja. King Surya-varman I 29 had the posthumous name Nirvanapada. It was a fairly general practice to give such posthumous names, indicative of religious persuasion, to deceased kings. We may, therefore, regard him as the first Buddhist king of Kambuja. Another great Buddhist king was Jaya-varman VII, 30 the grand monarch of Kambuja. The Ta Prohm Inscription throws a great deal of light on the principles and practices of Buddhism. After mentioning the rich donations made to a temple 31 the king expresses the hope that as a result of this piety, “his mother might be delivered from the ocean of births”. It is full of noble sentiments befitting a pious Buddhist king. The motive which inspired him to establish the hospitals, 102 in number, is described as follows:—

“The bodily pain of the diseased became in him (king Jaya-varman VII) a mental agony more tormenting than the former. For the real pain of a king is the pain of his subjects, not that of his own (body).” This noble sentiment combines the idealism of the Kautilyan king with the piety and humanity of Asoka,

But the darker side of Buddhism also made its appearance. The degraded form of Mahayana, known as Tantrayana, took deep root in the soil, especially in Java and Sumatr^. Its influence can be traced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries *A.D. by the parts played by Tantrik teachers during the reigns of Airlangga and Jayabhaya. The further progress of this debased form of religion in the thirteenth century is illustrated by king Kritanagara. 32 This great king was undoubtedly endowed with talents of a high order,

and was believed to be an incarnation of Jina, but he indulged, perhaps in sincere faith, even in such obnoxious practices as pancha maker a and sadhana-chakra. A terrible and repulsive image of Bhairava, now at Leiden, is regarded by some as a representation of this king, but whether this is true or not, this hideous, naked and corpulent figure, amid human skulls, personifies the obnoxious religious faith of the time.

It is probable that this Tantrik form was introduced from Bengal where we find similar degradation of Buddhism during the later Pala period. As in Bengal, here also Tantrik ideas permeated Saivism, and there was a rapprochement between the two notably in Kambuja and Java. The process reached its logical conclusion by the identification of Siva, Vishnu and Buddha, as well as of their Saktis (goddesses). In modern Balinese theology Buddha is regarded as a younger brother of ^iva, and a similar ^iva-Buddha cult also existed in Java.

This syncretism is well illustrated by king Kritanagara who was known both as Narsimha -murtti (an incarnation of Vishnu) and ^iva-Buddha, and was represented after his death by an image of Siva-Buddha. His father was also represented, after death, by the images of both Siva and Buddha, and the latter’s cousin, though called Narasimha-murtfi, was represented by an image of Siva. These not merely indicate toleration of, and even faith in, different gods, but also a belief that these different gods are identical.

We have many other instances of the apotheosis of the kings and queens, and the construction of divine images, named and fashioned after them. The queen of Angrok, 33 and the queenmother of Jaya-varman VII 34 were represented as the Buddhist goddess Prajnaparamita, the Vishnu of Belahan probably represents Airlangga, 35 while the Hari-Hara image of Simping preserves the physical features of king Kritanagara. There are probably other portrait-images of gods and goddesses which cannot be definitely identified.

It may be due to the influence of the Tantrik ideas, that the royal gurus (preceptors) occupied a pre-eminent position. In any case we come across quite a large number of them, particularly in Kambuja, who wielded great power and authority even in political matters. Sankara Pandita had played a leading part in placing Harsha-varman III 36 on the throne, while Divakara Pandita was a prominent figure during the reign of Jaya-varman VI 37 and his two successors. Sometimes we hear of kings getting priests from abroad in order to perform special ceremonies. An inscription records how such a priest was brought by a fleet of barges and grand festivities

held in his honour were attended by kings from other islands. Most likely this priest was brought from India, for intimate association continued between these countries. Acharya Chandraklrti, the High Priest of Suvarnadvlpa, proceeded to Vijrasana (Bodh-Gaya) in order to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Dharma. His fame was so great that even Dlpahkara 38 went to Suvarnadvlpa and stayed there for twelve years as his pupil.

To what extent pomp and ceremony became a part of Buddhism is indicated by the description of the spring-time festival in seven verses of the Ta Frohm Inscription of Jaya-varman VII. 39 It was celebrated every year from the 8th to the 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra. Dancing by girls formed an important part of the ceremony, and offerings were made to the three gurus , thousand Devatas, and to the 819 divinities, while 1000 learned persons such as Bhikshus and Brahmanas were entertained. Bhagavan and Bhagavati, together with the gods Vlra, Sakti and others, were to make the pradakshina (circumambulation).

The account of Cheu Ta-Kuan 40 also shows that Buddhists no longer followed the puritan code of old times. The monks ate fish and meat and offered them to the Buddha. Some of them had palanquins with golden pole and gold-handled umbrellas and the king consulted them about serious affairs. There were no Buddhist nuns.

The same authority tells us that the Taoists, i.e. the followers of the Brahmanical sects, are called Pa-sseu-wei, which probably stands for the Pasupatas. They worshipped only a block of stone (i.e. a lihga) and their religion was not so prosperous as Buddhism.. There were, however, Taoist nuns.

It would thus appear that towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. Buddhism was growing at the cost of Saivism. Evidently this process continued till, in course of a few centuries, Buddhism ousted all other forms of religion, as we see in Cambodia today.

In Burma, too, Brahmanical religion was completely ousted by Buddhism. Here, as in Siam and Ceylon, the prevalent form was Theravada or Hinayana Buddhism , though the Mahay ana or Tantrayana doctrines, which so strongly affected Sumatra, Java, Kambuja and Champa, were not altogether unknown. There is another common feature in Burma and Ceylon. Both the countries adopted Pali, the language of the sacred texts, as a classic which has evolved a new literature and continued its unbroken career down to the present time. The same thing is also true of Siam, though to a much less extent.

2. Social and Economic Condition

The caste system still formed the basis of the society. The Buddhist king Surya-varman I 41 is said to have ‘established the division of castes’, while

Harsha-varman 42 caused the duties of the four castes to be strictly observed. But the rules about the inter-marriage were somewhat different as we find even Brahmana girls being married to Kshatriyas.

The social condition on the whole does not differ substantially from that in the preceding period. 43 But fortunately we have a detailed account of the manners and customs of Kambuja, the most flourishing Indian colony at this period, written by Cheu Ta-Kuan in A.D. 1296-97. 44 Such an account by discerning eye-witness is of inestimable value in forming a correct idea of the culture and civilisation of a people, and we may therefore quote a few important points from his sketch.

The king, the nobles, and the high officials formed an aristocracy which was sharply distinguished from the mass of people. Even the size and structure of a house were determined by the official rank of its owner. The common people did not dare use tiles for their roofs which were thatched.

The most striking thing about the dress of the people was that women as well as men (including king and queen) kept the upper part of their bodies uncovered and walked barefooted. 46 Rich and poor alike used only a loin cloth, adding a scarf when they went out. All had their hair tied up in a knot.

Cheu Ta-Kuan describes the wealth and luxury of the upper classes. The palace and other buildings were magnificent. He refers to a golden bridge with two golden lions on each side, golden Buddhas, golden towers, golden window frames, tiles made of lead and square columns with 50 mirrors in the council chamber. Pearls and jewellery were worn by the rich in profusion while the highest officials used palanquins with a golden pole and four umbrellas with golden handles.

The king maintained a big harem in addition to five queens. He sat with his principal queen at the golden window of his palace so that the people from below might see them. There were various amusements and festivities in the palace such as fire-works on New Year eve, bathing of Buddha images, collected from all over the country, on a particular day in the fifth month, music, dancing, boar and elephant fights in the eighth month, and a jovial procession of the people before the palace in the ninth month.

The king personally tried cases. Trial by ordeal was in vogue

and for serious crime the accused was buried alive in a ditch, or mutilated.

Four harvests were gathered in a year. The valuable products were ‘plumes of the king-fisher, ivory, horn of the rhinoceros and

wax. ’ The chief imports were gold and silver, silk stuffs, tin, porcelain, vermilion, paper and saltpetre. The trade was carried on chiefly by women.

Astronomy was very popular and even women could make calculations about auspicious and inauspicious days.

The monks were in charge of the education of the laity, and even the school-going children were instructed by them. The general spread of education is testified to by inscriptions, from which we learn that knowledge was held in high respect, and even many of the kings were highly learned. We get frequent reference to learned divines and a large number of eminent Brahmana families who for generations kept up a high standard of scholarship. The ministers and high officials, including ladies, followed in the footsteps of the kings and the high traditions of the earlier period 40 were fully maintained.

But in spite of the high level of culture there were disquieting signs of the coming doom. It was evident that the source of the stream that fed up the civilisation of the colonies in this distant region was gradually being dried up. Indian inspiration being gradually weakened, the primitive indigenous elements began to assert themselves. This can be easily discerned in the gradual transformation of art and literature. In general the indigenous language came to the forefront and began to replace Sanskrit, and new local elements introduced in art led to its rapid degradation. Though all this was not fully apparent during the period under review, signs of the coming change were not wanting.

In the social and moral life also we come across some elements which seem to be an assertion of primitive instincts over artificial refinements introduced by Hindu civilisation. Reference may be made for instance to certain customs which are noted by Cheu TaKuan as being common among all classes of people in Kambuja. We are told that men and women of the family, without any clothes on, took their bath together in a big cistern. Sometimes even two or three families used the same cistern and bathed together in this

way. Even in the river outside a town thousands of naked women, including those of noble birth, took their bath before the full gaze of the public who could “see their whole body from head to foot”. Even more obnoxious was the practice, universally prevalent, whereby a virgin had to be deflowered by a monk, either Buddhist

or Saiva, who was specially engaged by the parents for the purpose. Customs like these were not absolutely unknown in India, but they were confined to a very small section of people and looked upon with opprobrium. Whether Kambuja owed them to India, or made a gift of them to the motherland, it is difficult to say. It would also appear from what Cheu Ta-Kuan says that the ideal of chastity, even among the married women in Kambuja, was not very high. On the whole there is hardly any doubt that there was a great lowering of the ethical standard specially in relation to sexual morality.

3. Literature

The study of Indian literature was widely prevalent in all the colonies, but nowhere else, except in Java, it led to the growth of a powerful indigenous literature. The Indo-Javanese literature passed through three distinct stages. Its earliest phase is generally known as Old-Javanese literature which flourished for nearly five hundred years from A.D. 1000 to 1500. This phase came to an end with the passing away of Hindu rule in Java and was replaced by what is called New-Javanese literature. The phase of literary activity in Bali, introduced by the Javanese who had migrated to that island after the Muslim conquest, is known as Middle-Javanese.

The Old-Javanese literature, with which alone we are concerned here, derives its subject-matter mainly from Indian literature, though there is often considerable deviation from the Sanskrit original texts with which we are familiar today. Its poetry follows rules of Sanskrit metre and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses.

The earliest specimen of this literature, so far known, is an Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work Amaramala, a lexicon like Amarakosa, written under the patronage of king Jitendra of the Sailendra dynasty who is not known from any other source. But the most famous work in this literature is the Old-Javanese Ramdyana which was probably composed by Yogisvara in A.D. 1094. It is not a translation of the Sanskrit work, but is based on the story of Rama which ends with the reunion of Rama and Slta at Lanka, and shows some divergence from the text of Valmiki.

Next in point of importance is the prose translation of Mahabharata which closely follows the original epic but is more condensed. The three parvas, Adi-, Virata-, and Bhlshma-, were written under the patronage of Airlangga 47 towards the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. while five other parvas were added later.

Then follow a large number of political works known as Kakawin (from Kavi meaning Kavya), based on some epic theme. The Arjuna-vivaha (eleventh century) gives the story of Arj una's asceticism and his fight with Siva, disguised as a hunter, and Nivata-Kavacha, the demon who attacked the gods, as well as his amours with Menaka, Suprabha, Tiiottama and others. The Krishn&yana deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmi^I by Krishna and his consequent fight with Jarasandha. The death of Indumatf, the queen of Aja, as soon as a garland of flowers fell from heaven upon her body, forms the theme of Sumanasdntaka. Both works were written at the beginning of the twelfth century. The greatest work of this class, which has always enjoyed a very high reputation in Java, is Bh&rata-yuddha written by Mpu Sedah in A.D. 1157, This, as well as Harivamsa, deals with the well-known episode of the Mahdbhdrata, and was written during the reign of Jayabhaya, king of Ka^iri. Among other works of this class may be mentioned Smaradahana (burning of the cupid by Siva), hub dhaka (glorification of givaratri festival), Bhomakdvya (defeat of Naraka by Krishna), and Krishndntaka (death of Krishna and the destruction of his family). All these, except the last, were written during the Ka^iri period. 48 There are many other works of this class which cannot be dated even approximately. In addition to these, there are other Kakawins not dealing with epic themes. These include lexicons, works on metre, and works of didactic, philosophic and erotic character.

There is also a large number of prose works. Some of these are based on themes derived from the epics. Others belong to the Purana class of which the most important is the Brahmanda-purana which closely follows the Sanskrit model, and even repeats the usual preamble, viz. the recitation of the text by Romaharsha^a, during the rule of Adhisimakrishna. The other Pur anas, such as AdUpurana and Bhuvana-purunci, contain many well-known Puranic myths and legends but we cannot trace these texts to any Sanskrit original.

The texts dealing with religious doctrines, mode of worship and philosophical principles form an important class of Old-Javanese literature. The secular works include historical, linguistic, medical and erotic texts. It is impossible even to refer to them in the short compass of this chapter. But enough has been said to indicate the vast mass and the varied contents even of the first phase of the Indo-Javanese literature, known as Old-Javanese literature. It may be added that the stories contained in the Sanskrit original or the Old-Javanese works based on them, were illustrated in sculptures in Java. In Kambuja and other colonies also we find the themes of the two great epics illustrated in sculptures. All these show the great influence which Indian literature exercised upon the art and literature of the various colonies.

(i) 4. Art Kambuja

In the domain of art Kambuja towers head and shoulder above the rest. A general view of the city of Angkor Thom 49 and of the monuments round about it creates a solemn impression of dazzling brilliance which does not suffer any diminution on a closer examination of the remains. Indeed it may be said with perfect truth, that no other equal space on earth can show anything comparable to Angkor monuments in massive grandeur. It is not possible here to attempt such a description, even of the most famous monuments of Kambuja, as would convey a fair idea of their nature and artistic excellence. I shall therefore refer only to a few typical specimens.

The Angkor Vat is justly regarded as the grandest of the monuments in Kambuja. The name simply means the temple (Vat) of the city (Angkor — nagara). It was built by Surya-varman II 60 and dedicated originally to god Vishnu. The whole monument looks like an island in a lake, being surrounded by a moat, still full of water. This moat, which' runs round the boundary walls of the temple, has a total length of two miles and a half, and is more than 650 feet wide. It is spanned by a stone causeway, 36 ft. wide, which leads to a huge gopuram or gateway of large dimensions. A paved avenue, 520 yds. long and raised some 7 ft. above the ground, connects this gateway with the temple situated in the centre of an extensive courtyard.

The main temple consists of a series of concentric courts, rising in several stages, one above another, from the centre of the topmost of which rises the shrine with a high sikhara that dominates the whole. Each of the courts is surrounded by a gallery, i.e. a long running chamber with vaulted roof supported by a wall on one side and square columns on the other. It has a verandah on the inner side with a half-vaulted roof of lower height. The first or lowest gallery measures 265 yds. from east to west and 224 yds. from north to south. A staircase from it leads to the second gallery which is similar in character, but supports four grand towers at the four corners. A grand staircase leads to the third or highest gallery which supports a conical tower at each corner and encloses a square courtyard measuring 200 ft. on each side. The sanctuary, placed

in the centre of this courtyard, and connected by four galleries with the four sides of the third gallery, is crowned by a sikhara or tower which rises to a height of 215 ft. and dominates the whole surrounding area by its majestic grandeur.

In addition to the principal galleries there are other connecting galleries, and the walls of all of these are covered with continuous friezes of bas-reliefs and other sculptures. The scenes, largely drawn from the Indian epics, cover a wide range, embracing almost all phases of human and animal lives, and are full of life and movement. The vast lengths of galleries, covered by these graceful and refined bas-reliefs, show the decorative art of Kambuja at its best. The Angkor Vat thus combines vastness of dimension with minute decoration, and it may be truly said of its artists that they conceived like giants and finished like jewellers.

There are many other temples of huge dimensions, marked by the two chief features which distinguish Angkor Vat, viz. the pyramidal character and the galleries. But there is no space to refer to them, except Bay on, which is regarded as the masterpiece of Kambuja architecture. It has the form of a pyramid of three stories crowned by a tower. The first storey consists of a gallery about 500 ft. long from east to west and 330 ft. from north to south. The plan is complicated by porches in the second gallery with other smaller galleries running at right angles to the main gallery. The third storey supports a central tower, conical in shape and with a circular base. It has balconies on all sides and is crowned by four diademed heads, probably of Brahma. Its summit is at a height of about 150 ft. from the ground-level. There are terraces, balustrades, cells, verandahs and separate buildings in the courtyard and the sculpture is of a high quality.

No description of the monumental grandeur of Kambuja can be concluded without some account of Angkor Thom, the capital city built by Jayavarman VII, about a mile north of Angkor Vat. We have a description of this city from the pen of Cheu Ta-Kuan who was deeply impressed by its wealth and grandeur. The actual remains today also convey a fair idea of its past glory.

The town was surrounded by a high wall made of limonite, and just beyond it, by a ditch about 110 yds. wide. There were five huge gates in the wall, two on the east and one each on the other sides, which gave access to the heart of the city by means of five grand avenues each 33 yds. wide. Each gateway was preceded by a paved causeway over the ditch.

The ditch has a total length of nearly 8£ miles and its sides are paved with enormous blocks of stones. The balustrade of the causeway w T as made of figures of giants pulling at the body of a huge serpent whose expanded hoods must have formed its ends. But all these are now ruined.

The gateway consists of a huge arched opening more than 10 yds. high and 15 ft. wide with chambers on both sides. This opening is surmounted by four huge heads placed back to back, with smaller figures in the intervening spaces, and in a line below the chins. Lower dowm, the opening is flanked on either side by a small projection composed of a nicely decorated figure of an elephant with three heads, its huge broad feet trampling on lotus leaves and the three trunks plucking at aquatic flowers. This decoration, the huge opening and the majestic figures of heads above render the gate of Angkor Thom one of the most impressive and artistically superb in the whole world.

The old capital was almost square in shape, each side measuring nearly two miles. The grand avenues passing through the gates on the south, west and east (centre) converge towards the temple of Bayon described above which occupied almost the central position of the city.

To the north of the Bayon is the great public square, a sort of forum about 765 yds. long and 165 yds. wide, the border of which is occupied either by monuments or their principal gateways. Two grand avenues, one from the northern and another from one of the eastern gateways, converge to this forum. The buildings around it are the Bapuhon, the Phimeanakas, the Terrace of Honour, PrahPithu and two other structures, commonly, but not very accurately, referred to as the ware-house and the terrace of the leprous king. To the north of the enclosure of the Phimeanakas are the ruins of an edifice known as Prah-Pahlay. These are all Brahmanical structures. But a few Buddhist chapels are found scattered about all over the dense jungles which now spread everywhere over the ruins of this splendid city of old.

No great town has probably suffered greater devastation from man and nature than Angkor Thom. This magnificent city, which would favourably compare with Rome in the days of Nero, was for centuries entirely covered with vegetation and forests. But the huge quantities of potteries, bricks and tiles scattered all over the area indicate the density of population in the palmy days of the city. From a study of the extant ruins it has been inferred that the people mostly lived on the five grand avenues and round the numerous tanks whose beds still lie scattered over the whole area.

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE (ii) Other Colonies

The undoubted grandeur and brilliance of the monuments of Kambuja should not blind us to the fact that the period under review witnessed great activities in art in almost all the colonies. In Java the end of gailendra dynasty closed a brilliant epoch such as never occurs twice in any country. But great monuments were built in Eastern Java such as the temples known as Chandi Kidal, Chandi Singhasari and Chandi Jago, all built in the thirteenth century. The roof of the first, which is the earliest of the three, is built of horizontal courses, but its pyramidal shape gives it a distinct character and introduces us to a new type of art in which we can clearly mark the triumph of local ideas over Indian tradition. The plan of the other two and the reliefs of the third are still more East-Javanese in character, and mark a definite break with the arttraditions of Central Java. Thus began the decadence which was not, however, fully manifest till the subsequent centuries. The same conclusion may be drawn from sculptures, but with an important exception. The sculptured reliefs show a very much debased character, and a great gulf—greater than in architecture,—separates them from those of Central Java. But curiously enough the divine images in the round are of old style and show considerable excellence and continuity of art tradition. The Vishnu of Belahan and the HariHara of Simping, both representing royal features, 51 are very beautiful, but the finest in the whole series is the image of Prajnaparamita found in a Singhasari temple, and now at Leiden. Her lovely form and calm divine expression recall the best days of Javanese art, but the rapturous praise, sometimes bestowed upon it, seems to be somewhat extravagant. For it lacks the vitality, refined elegance, and the mystic touch of divinity that clearly distinguish the Buddha images of Barabudur. It is a great work of art, but much inferior to the masterpieces of Central Java.

Many temples and images were made in Champa, but none of them is of conspicuous merit or calls for any special consideration. In Burma, the rise of the kingdom of Pagan in the eleventh century ushered in a great period of artistic activity, and many pagodas or temples were built by successive kings. There are remains of no less than 800 or 1000 temples in the city of Pagan itself which extended along the Irawadi with an average depth of two miles. The greatest of them all is the Ananda Temple of Pagan, which was built by Kyanzittha 52 and is justly regarded as the masterpiece of Burman architecture. It occupies the centre of a spacious courtyard which is 564 ft., square. The main temple, made of bricks, is square in plan, with a gabled porch projecting from the centre of each face,

and the total length, from end to end, on every side, is about 290 ft. It contains a colossal standing Buddha image, 31 ft. high. The walls of the temple, 39 ft. high, are crowned by a battlemented parapet above which rise in succession two roofs having a curvilinear outline. Above these are four receding narrow terraces which serve as the basement of a North Indian sikhara crowned by a complete stupa instead of an amalaka. There are ringed pagodas, small stupas and figures at the comers of the successive stages of the roof. Apart from the graceful proportion and the symmetry of design, the beauty of the Ananda temple is enhanced by sculptured stone slabs and glazed terracotta plaques that adorn its walls. The stonereliefs, eighty in number, and some of the plaques illustrate the principal episodes of Buddha’s life, and 926 plaques depict the Jataka stories.

In spite of the somewhat unique character of the plan there is no doubt about its Indian origin. This is clearly emphasised by Duroiselle who has made a special study of the subject in recent times and written a monograph about it. He remarks:

“There can be no doubt that the architects who planned and built the Ananda were Indians. Everything in this temple from sikhara to basement, as well as the numerous stone sculptures found in its corridors and the terracotta plaques adoring its basement and terraces, bear the indubitable stamp of Indian genius and craftsmanship. .. In this sense, we may take it, therefore, that the Ananda, though built in the Burmese capital, is an Indian temple.”

We do not know much of the early artistic activities in Siam, but the remains clearly indicate that Indian art served as the main influence and model, both in architecture and sculpture. The most distinctive architectural type in Siam is what is know as Prang, a square temple with a very high roof consisting of a number of low stages which, taken together, have the aspect of a curvilinear sikhara. This has been a fashionable mode of building since the fourteenth century, and was no doubt evolved from earlier examples which were made up of a curious blend of the sikharas of North and South India.

1. Vol. IV, pp. 411-415.

2. See above, p. 234.

3. Vol. IV, p. 414.

4. Vol. IV, p. 411.

5. Vol. HI, pp. 639 f.

6. See pp. 243 f.

7. See pp. 245 ff.

8. See above, p. 258.

9. Vol. IV, p. 426.

10. See above p. 736.

11. See above, p. 736.

12. See p. 738.

13. See p. 738.

14. See above, p. 744.

15. Vol. IV, p. 431.

16. See above, p. 734.

17. See p. 734.

18. See above, p. 741.

19. Vol. Ill, p. 642.

20. Vol. IV, pp. 429 f

21. Vol. IV, p. 429.

22. Vol. IV, p. 431.

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23. See p. 751.

24. See p. 753.

25. Vol. Ill, p. 637; IV, pp. 431 f.

26. See above, p. 741.

27. See above, p. 741.

28. Vol. IV, Ch. XIV, VI.

29. See p. 736.

30. See above, p. 738.

31. See above, p. 740.

32. See p. 751.

33. See p. 750.

34. See p. 740.

35. See p. 750.

36. See p. 736.

37. See p. 736.

38. Vol. IV, p. 447.

39. See p. 740.

40. See above, p. 741.

41. See p. 736.

42. See p. 736.

43. Vol. IV, pp. 433 f.

44. See above, p. 742.

45. This practice still prevails and was evidently also Java in old times.

46. Vol. IV, pp. 441 ff.

47. See p. 749.

48. See p. 750.

49. See p. 741.

50. See p. 737.

51. See pp. 750, 763.

52. See p. 757,

in Bali, true of

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Aniruddha

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Apararka

Ballalasena

Bhavadevabhatta

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Devan nabhatta * * • •

Govindaraja

Haiayudha

Hemadri

Jlmutavahana

Kullukabhatta « «

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Hemachandra

Jayanaka

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Padmagupta alias Parimala

Sandhyakaranandi

Bhoja

Chandesvara

Hemaehandra

Sukra

Bhoja

Dhananjaya

Hemaehandra

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Kesavasvamin

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Purushottama

Yadavaprakasa

Anubhutisvaru pachary a

Bopadeva

n

Hemachandra

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Kshlrasvamin

Lakshmldhara

Markan$eya

Purushottama

Purushottamadeva

Saranadeva

Sarvananda

Trivikrama

Vardhamana

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Allaraja

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Hemachandra

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Kshemendra

Mahimabhatta

Mammata

Ramachandra and Gunachandra

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Bhoja

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Abhayadeva

Arnarachandra

Arisiihha

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Jayadeva

Jayasimha Suri

Kanakasena

Vadiraja

Kaviraja

Krishna Misra • •

Kshemendra

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Kulasekhara

Lakshmai^a

Acharya

Lolimbaraja

Madana

Balasarasvati Maladharin Devaprabha Suri Manikya Suri

Mankha

Nagaraja

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'Abd-u-lah Wassaf Amir Khusrav

Hemachandra

Madana

Merutufiga

Padmagupta

Prahladana

Some&vara

Ganguly, D. C. Hay, H. C.

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Balachandra

Charitrasundara

Forbes

Hasan-un-NizamI

Hemachandra

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Jayasimha

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Merutunga

Minhaj-ud-din

Nizam-ud-din

Rajasekhara

Somaprabhacharya

Some£vara

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Chand Bardai

Chandrasekhara

Hasan-un-NizamI Jayanaka (?) Lakshmidhara

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Muhammad Qasim Firishta

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1.

Note: Hie names in italics did not reign.

The Yaminis of the Punjab or the Ghaznavids

1. Sabuktigln

r

3. Mahmud

2. Ism&'Il

4. Muhammad

l

6. Maudud

l

7. Mas*ud II

8. ‘All

5. Mas'ud I

l

0. ‘Abd-ur-Rashld

l

10 . Farrukhzad

11. Ibrahim

l

12. Mas'ud ni

I

13. Shlrzad

14. Arsalan

!

15. Bahram Shah

i

16. Khusrav Shah

I

17. Khusrav Malik

2. The Palas of Bengal (For earlier kings see VoL IV, pp. 520-21)

1. Mahlpala I

Table caption2. Nayapala

4. Mahlpala II

3. Vigra lap&la III

1 J i

Table caption5. durapala II

•'"r“

Table captioni

Table captionRdjyapala

I

7. Kumar apala

I

8. Gopila HI

9. Madanapala Govindapa’la (?)

3. The Yadavas of East Bengal

Vajravarman

Jatavarman

Harivarman

Samalavarroan

Bhojavarman

4. The Senas of Bengal

!

Vitvarikpasena

T J—

Kum6r***na

Saraantasena

Hemantasena

l

Vijayasena

Vallfilasena

Tiakahma^aama

' ' - ■'. .T

Kesavasena

—r

Pvrushottamasena

5.

Hie Deva Dynasty of East Bengal

Puruahottama

I

Madhusudana alia* Madhumathana

l

V&sudeva

l

D&modara

l

Dasaratha

6. The Palas of Assam

T"*

Ratnapala

l

Purandarap&la

Indrap&la

I

Gopak

Harshapftla

Dharmap&la

7. Dynasty of Bhiskara (K&marupa)

BhSikarm

“T”

Vallabhadeva

8. Dynasty of Kharavaija (Srihatfa)

Kharavftpa

i

Gokuladeva

I

Narfcyana

Ke&avadeva

lianadeva

9. Dynasty of Guittkama (Nepal)

Gupakimadeva I

Udayadeva

Nirbhaya |

> Joint rule Rudradeva *

Bhoja

•

X^kahnlkimadeva

i

Jayak&madeva alias Vijaya

10. The Thakuris of Nayakot in Nepal

BMskaradeva

Baladeva alias Balavantadeva Pradyumnakamadeva alios Padmadeva Nagarjunadeva gankaradeva 1 givadeva

Indra alias Mahendra Manadeva

i

Narendradeva

Anandadeva

Rudradeva *

Amjritadeva Ratnadeva

Somesvaradeva (son of Mahendra) Gu$ak&madeva II Lakshmlkamadeva Vijayakamadeva

11. The Thlkuris of Patan in Nepal

Vamadeva

12. The Mallas of Nepal

Harshadeva

Arimalladeva

Rana&ura

♦

Abhayamalla

}

joint rule

13.

)

Jayadevamalla *

Jayabhima #

Jayarfhamalla ♦

Anantamalla Jayanandadeva Jayarudramalla Jaydrimalla

Jayazfijadeva

*

Jayarjunamalla

The Kanp&taka Dynasty of Mithila

“T

Nlig£mha

Ramasimha

Saktishfaha

Bhupaiasiriiha

Karisbbha

Anandaxnalla

14. The Gupta Dynasty of Bihar

Devagupta

Baj&dityagupta

Kfuh^/iagupta

Saihgrfimagupta

848

15.

Khayaravala Dynasty of Bihar

Khadirapala

9

9

Sadhava

I

Eansdiiavala

Pratijpadhavala

Sahasa

Vikrama

Indradhavala Pratipa (?)

18. The Rashtrakuta Dynasty of Kanauj and Budaun

Chandra

n 4

Bhuvanapala

i

Go pal a

Tribhuvanapala

-j—

Madanapala

Devapala

Bhlmapala

Sura

t

I—

Amj-itapala

17. The Gaha^avala Dynasty of Kanauj and Varanasi

Yaiowi^raha

Mahichandra

ı

Chandradeva

Madanachandra

Govindachandra

l

tala

“I

Lakhanapala

Bharahadeva

r— —

Aaphotachandfa

T

Rajyap&la

Harischandra

Adakkamalla

3.$.—54

18. The Yaduvarii& Kings of Bayana-Srlpatha

Jaitapala

•

9

9

Vijayapala

Tahanapala

Dharmapala

Kunwarpala

Ajayapala

Haripala

9

Sohapala or Sahanapala 2

Anangapala

0

Prithvlpala

Rajapala

«

Trilokapala

19. The Kachchhapaghata Dynasty of Gwalior

Lakshmana

Vairadaman

l

Mangalaraja

KIrttiraja

Muladeva

Devapaia

Padmapala

Mahipala

I

Ratnapala

20. The Pratlhara Dynasty of Gwalior

vi, r

i

Malayavarman

Dewbul

Nrivarman

Hariraja

21. The Kachchhapaghata Dynasty of Dubkund

Yuvaraja

i

Arjuna

Abhimanyu

I

Vijayapala

i

Vikramasiriiha

22. The Kachchhapaghata Dynasty of Narwar

Gangasimha

I

^aradasiriiha

Virasimha

23. The Yajvapala or Jajapella Dynasty of Narwar

Yajvapala

Ya(Pa)ramadiraja

ChahagLa

i

Nrivarman

' I

Asalladeva

Gopala

Ganapati

24. The Chandellas of Bundelkhand (For earlier kings see Vol. IV,

p. 522).

1. Dhanga

2. Gantfa Vidyadhara 4. Vijyapala

O

o

I

5. Devendravarman

6. Kirttivarman

f

7. Sallakshanavarman

'I

8. Jayavarman

9. Plithvivarman

' l

10. Madanavarman

Yasovarman 11

I

11. ParamardI

12. Tailokyavarman

13. Vlravarmah

I

14. Bhojavarman

15. Hammiravarman

16. Vlravarman II

25. The Kalachuris of Tripuri (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 522).

1. Kokalla H

i

2. Gafigeyadeva

i

3. Kama

▪I

4. Ya&ajskama

5. Gayfikanpa

i-—— - 1

8. Narasimha < • Jayasimha

8. Vi jayasimha Ajayasimha

26. The Kalachuris of Ratanpur

Kokalla I

(a younger son)

1. Kalingaraja

2. Kamalaraja

3. Ratnaraja I

4. Prithvideva I

' I I

5. Jajalladeva I

I I

6. Ratnadeva n

7. Prithvideva II

8. Jajalladeva II

11. Pritkvsdeva HI

\

9. Jagaddeva

10. Ratnac

eva III

--1

12. Pratapamolla

27. The Paramaras of Malava (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 523).

Sindhuraja

1. Bhoja

2. Jayasiihha

3. Udayaditya

4. Lakshmadeva alias (?) Jagaddeva 5. N&ravarman

6. Yasovarxnan

7. Jayav&rman alias Ajayavarman

8. Vindhyavarman

9. Subha^avarman

10. Arjunavarman

La kshmivarman

Harischandm

1 1. Devapala

Udayavamtan

12. Jaitugideva

13. Jayavarman II

14. Jayasimlia II

15. Arjunavarman H

16. Bhoja II

17. Mahlakadeva

28. Paramiras of Mt. Abu.

1. Ara^yaraja (son of Vakpati-Mufij a)

2. Kfish^iaraja

3. Dharanlvaraha

4. Mahlpala altos Dhruvabha(a

5. Dhandhuka

I

6. Purnapala

T

7. Dantivarman

I

14, Dharavarsha

16. Somasimha

17. Rrishnaraja

18. Pratapasimha

19. Arjuna

9. Yogaraja

10. Hamadeva

I

13. Yasodhavala

l

1

8. Krishna U

' I

11. Kakaladeva

l

12. Vikramasixhha

15. Prahladana

29. The Paramaras of Vagagla

Pambarasixhha

Dhanika

Chachcha

Chandapa

Satyaraja

Limbaraja

Chaminidaraja

Vijayaraja

8S4

30. The Paramaras of Jalor

Chandana (son of Vakpati-Munj a)

Devaraja

Aparajita

Vijjala

Dharavarsha

?. •

Vlsala

Kumtapala

The Paramaras of Bhinmal

Dusala (son of Sindhuraja) (Vol. IV, p. 523).

Devaraja

i

31

32.

Krishnaraja i chharaj

So

a] a

Udayaraja

c I.

Somesvara

Jayatasiha

Salakha

The Chaulukyas of Anahillapataka

1. Mularaja I

2. Chamundaraja

f

3. Vallabharaja

4. Durlabharaja

Nagadeva 5. Bhima I

~

Mularaja

ı

Kshemardja

ı

Devaprasdda

I

Tribhuvanapala

I

6. Karnadeva

ı

7. Jayasixhha

Mahipdla

~i r

Kirtipala 8. Kumarapala

l

Premaladevi Devaladevi

r

10. Mularaja II

1

11. Bhima II

12. Tribhuvanapala

33. The Vaghelas of Gujarit

Dhavala

l

Arnomja

Lavanawrasada

l

Viradhavala

f-’-1

1. Vlrama Pratapamalla 2. Visa!a

!

3. Axjiina

f--1

Rdvm 4 . Sarangadeva

5. Kamadeva

!

Devaladevi

34. The Chahamanas of ^akambhari (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 525).

1. Duriabharija II

2. Govindaraja II

r

6. Siriighata

3. Vakpatiraja II 4. Viryarama 5. Ohamundarajs

T

alias Ddsala

i-r-r

13. Jugadeva (?) 14. Vigraharaja IV X

| alios Tisala

16 , P|ithvlbha$a

alias Prithviraja II15. Apara-Gangeya p *

j

a 9. Vigraharaja U alias VIsala

i

10. Pnthvlraja I

11. Ajj&yaraja

12. Anporaja

l

17. Somesvara

I

1

18. Frithvlraja m HarirSja

35. The Chahamanas of Ragastambhapura

1. Govindaraja (a descendant of Prithviraja III)

2, Balkans

3. PraHada

I

4. Virasarayajpa

I—

7. Hammlrs

5. Vagfeha$s

6. Jaitrasimha

l

“1 - ~1

Surattr&na Virama

36. The Chahamanas of Nadol (See VoL IV, p. 526).

Lakshmana

Sobhita

!

Baliraje

Vigrahapila

!

Mahendra

s

I. Asvajaala 2. Ahiia

alios Asele

3. AnahUia

' i

4. Balaprasada

5. Jinduraja

6. Prithvlpala

9. Ratnaj&ila

10. Rayajpala

r

7. Jojalla

-j

8. Asaraja alias As vara] a

Rudrapala

T

Amritapala

SakajapaSa

Punapdhshad eva

halt

1

11. K&t&ideva alios

Katuk T ,a

Jaystasimha

12. Alhanadeva

r

—i

Manikyardya

13. Kelhana

I

14. Jayatasiha

—-p

Gajasiviha

Kirttipdla

-j

Vijayarimha

15. Semaniasimha

37. The Chahamanas of Jalor (Sonigara)

KIrttipala (son of Alhana)

1. Samarasimha

I

1

Manavasimha

I

Pvatapa

I

DevardjaVijada

Rudaladevl

Lakhaimpdla

Abhayapala

2. Udayasirhha

Lxlddevi

3. Chachiga Chdmandardja Vahadasimha

4. Samantasirhha

I

5. Kanhatfa

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Rupddevi

Vtranui

38. The Chahamanas of Satyapura (Sanchor)

Vijayasimha (son of Alhana)

Padmasirhha

Sobhita

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Salha

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Vikramasimha

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Bhima Samgramasimha

I

Pratapasimha

39. The Chahamanas of Mt. Abu (Deva$i Branch)

1. "Devaraja-Vija^a

r r 1 i i

2. Lu^uga 3. Lun^iga Lakshmana Lunavarman

4. Tejasimha

5. Kanhatfadeva

40. The Guhilas of Medapafa (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 527).

1. Saktikumara

2. An	ibaprasada 3. Such	iivarman 4. Nai	a varman 5. A nan	ta- 6. KIrtti	varman

Table captionvarman (Yaso varman)

7. Yogaraja

8. Vairata

9. Harhsapala

10. Vairisimha

11. Vijayasimha

12. Arisiihha

13. Cho^asimha

14. Vikramasirhha

Mahana 16. Kshemasiriiha

I

17. Samantasimha

V

15. Ranasimha alias Karima

Rdhapa

18. Kumarasiihha 0

19. Mathanasimha

20. Padmasiriiha

21. Jaitrasimha

22. Tejasii aha

23. Samarasiihha

I

24. Ratnasimha

41. The Guhilas of Sisodiya

Rahapa (son of Karpa) Narapati

Dinakara

*

Jasakarria

«

Nagapala

Karnapala

Bhuvanasimha

Bhlmaslmha

Jayashhha

*

Lakhanasimha ArasT (Arisimha) Hammlra

42.

Kashmir: First Lohara Dynasty

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1

1. Sam^ramaraja

Vigrahardja

l

1

3. Anarifa

2. Hariraja

1

4, Kaiasa !

[1 I

5. Utkarsha 6. Harsha Vijayamalla

!

Bhoja

1

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Bhikshdchdra

43. Kashmir: Second Lohara Dynasty

1. Uchchala 2. Sussala

f r

3. Jayashhha Malldrjuna

f- ! -!

Gulhana 4 . Paramanuka

I '

5. Vantideva

860

Salhatui Lotkana

r

Bhoja

~1

Vigrahardja

44. Line of Vuppadeva

Vuppadeva Jassaka

Jagadeva

Rajadeva

Saihgr&madeva

Ramadeva

Lakshmadeva

45. Line of Simhadeva

r

Simhadeva

l

Suhadeva

46. Mamluk Sultans of Delhi

1. Qutb-ud-dln Aibak

2. Aram Shah

3. Htutmish= (Daughter)

Nazir ~ud~&in Mahmud

4. FSruz 5. Raziyya

7. ‘Ala-ud-dln Mas‘ud

Muhammad

Kaikhusrav

6. Mu‘izz-ud-din 8. Nasir-ud-din Bahrain Mahmud

9. Balkan

Bughra Khan

10. Kaiqubad

11. Shams-ud-din Kayumars

47. Chalukyas of Kalyana

1. Taila II

I

2. Satyasraya

Dasavarman

Kunda |]'

| 3. Vikramaditya V 4. Ayyana II Akkadevi 5. Jayasimha II

Satyasraya

l

I

G. Somesvara I

Jayasimha

I

Table caption7. Somesvara II 8. Vikramaditya VI Jayasimha Vishnuvardhana

Vijayaditya

1 1

karna Malli

9. Somesvara III Jaya kdrjwia Mailaladevi

10. Jagadekamalla II

11. Tai

a III

12. Somesvara IV

48. Kalachuris of Kalyana

[Kannnma

Raia

Ammugi

Sankama I

Jogama

Perma^i (or Hemmadi)] 1. £ ijjala

I I

2. Somesvara 3. Sankama II

u T

4. Ahavamalla 5. Singhana Siriyadcvi

49. Silaharas of the South Maratha country

Gandaraditya

Vijayaditya

I

Bhoja II

50. Yadavas of Devagiri

r—

Jaitucii 11

I

4. Krishna

I '

7. Ramachnndra (or Ramadeva)

Seunachandra

Karna

1. Bhillama V

I

2. Jaitugi I

3. Sihghana

~ J — I

Sa(in hnapdni

!

5. Mahadeva

I

C. Amana

51. The Kakatiyas

1. Beta I

I

2. Prola I

I

3. Tribhuvanamalla Beta II

1

4. Prola II

5. Rudra I 6. Mahadeva

I

7. Ganapati

8. Rudramba Ganapamba

(m. Chalukya Vlrabhadresvara)

Mummadamba (in. Mahadeva)

9. Prataparutfra

52. The Eastern Chalukyas (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 531),

1. Danarnava

I'

2. 6aktivarman I

I

3. Vimaladitya

4. Rajaraja I 7. Kulottunga Choja I

5. Vijayaditya VII G. 6aktivarman II

53. Later Garigas of Kalinga (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, pp. 142, 532).

1. Vajr abasia IV

1

2. Kam&r$ava VI

Table caption3. Guii$am& II

I

4. Madhukamarpava V

5 . v**- V

6. Rajaraja I

7. Ananiavarman Cho^aganga

8. Kamamava VII

-1—

8. Raghava

T

T

10. Rajaraja II 11. Aniyanka Bhlma II

or AnangabhJma

12. WjaiiJ.in

13. Aniyankabhima m

14. Narasimha I

i

15. Bhanudeva I

l

16. Narasimha II

54. Sornavarhsis (For earlier kings see Vol. IV, p. 533).

1. Yayati Mahasivagupta I

I

3. Dharmaratha (Mahasivagupta II)

t

2. Bhlmaratha^ Mahabhavagupta II

I

4. Nahusha (Mahabhavagupta HI)

(?Indraratha)

5. Chandihara-Yayati Mahasivagupta III

6. Uddyotakesarl (Mahabhavagupta IV)

7. Kamakesan

55. Chhindaka-N agas of Bastar

1. Npipati- bhushana (?Kshiti-)

2. Dharavar&ha Jagadekabhushana

o

3. Madhurantaka

4. Somcsvara I (son ol 2)

5. Kanhara

«

Rajabhikhana Somesvara H

Jagadekabhushana Narasimha ♦

Jayasimha

56. Telugu-Chodas

Somesvara I

Challama

Yasoraja I

Chandraditya Yasoraja II

Somesvara II

Dhara

ladevavarman

I

Somesvara (devavarman) III

57. Hoysalas

4. Ballala I

1. Nri^akama

2. Vinayaditya

3. Ereyanga

5. Vishnuvardhana (or Bittiga

G. Vijaya Narasimha I

7. Ballala II

8. Narasimha II

10. Narasimha III

11. Ballala III

S. E .—56

9. Somesvara

R&man&tha

Vi&van&tha.

58. Cholas (For earlier kings, see Vol. IV, p. 534)

1. Rajaraja I

I

2. Rajendra I Kundava — Vimaladiyta

(E. Chalukya)

I

3. Rajadhiraja I 4. Rajendra II 5. Virarajendra I Ammangddevi — Rajaraja

Rajamahendra 6. Adhirajendra 7. Kulottuiiga I

(Rajendra Chalukya)

8. Vikrama Chola

9. Kulottuhga II

10. Rajaraja II

(Other sons and daughters)

11. Rajadhiraja II (grandson of 8)

12 Kulottuhga III

13. Rajaraja III

14. Rajendra III

59. Later Pandyas

1. Jatavarman Kulasekhara Pandya I

2. Maravarman Sundara Pandya I

3. Maravannan Sundara Pandya II

4. Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I

5. Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya I

GENEALOGY

60. Ceylon

1. Vijayabahu I Srlsahghabodhi

2. Jayabahu (brother of 1)

3. Vikramabahu II (son of 1)

4. Gajabahu (son of 3)

5. Parakramabahu I

6. Vijayabahu II (sister’s son of 5)

7. Mahendra VT (of the Kalinga clan)

8. Nihsankamalla or Klrtinihsanka (son of Jayagopa of Kalinga)

9. VIrabahu II (son of 8)

10. Vikramabahu III (or II) (brother of 8)

11. Chodagahga (sister’s son of 8)

12. Lilavatl (first mahishi of 5)

13. Sahasamalla (step-brother of 8)

14. Kalyanavatl (first mahishi of 8)

15. Dharmasoka

16. Anikanga (father of 15)

17. Lilavatl (again) (No. 12)

18. Lokesvara (of South India)

19. Lilavatl (again Nos. 12, 17)

20. Parakrama Pan^ya

21. Magha (from Kerala)

(End of Polonnaruva period)

1. fhakuris of Patan overthrew the Thakuris of Navakot in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D.

2. According to another account, Sohapala's successor was Kunwarpala who was the predecessor of Ajayapala. Anangapala may be the successor of Kunwarpala (p. 56 above).

CHRONOLOGY

c. 695-C.722 696-733 c. 724-760 c. 733-746 749

e. 758-773 813-833 820 849

872

903

907-953

913-943

c. 963

973-997

S77

980-1003

985-1014

987-1036

988

990

996

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997-C.1008

998

999

1000

c. 1000 1000

c. 1000-1015

1000-1055

1001

1003

1004

1005-1006

1006

1007

Narasimhavarman II Rajasimha, Pallava (p. 612). Vijayaditya Chalukya (p. 615).

Lalitaditya Muktapida, Kashmir (p. 634). Vikramaditya II, Chilukya (p. 615).

Foundation of ‘Abbasid Caliphate (p. 1).

Krishna I, Rashtrakuta (p. 616).

Ai-Ma‘mun (p. f).

Tahir made governor of Khurasan (p. 1). Foundation of Pagan by king Pyanpya, acc. to some Burmese Chronicles (p. 755).

Tahirids superseded by Saffarids (p. 1). Samanids wrest Khurasan from Saffarids (p. 1). Parantaka I, Chola (p. 618).

Nasr II, Samanid (p. 1).

Alptigln establishes independent kingdom after conquering Ghazni from Abu Bakr Lawlk (p. 2).

Taila II, Chalukya (p. 161).

Accession of Sabuktigin (p. 3).

Didda, of Kashmir (p. 666).

Rajaraja the Great, Chola (pp. 234, 281, 618). Bhaskara Ravivarman of Kerala (p. 234). Accession of Mahipala I (p. 24).

Ilak Khans of Turkistan capture Bukhara (p. 2). Last known date of Taila II (p. 164).

Death of Sabuktigin (p. 5).

Satyasraya, Chalukya (p. 164).

Accession of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (p. 5). Accession of Saktivarman I, son of Danarnava, E. Chalukya (p. 203).

Chola Rajaraja starts a great land survey (p. 235).

Accession of Paramara Bhoja (p. 66).

Mahmud leads first expedition against India (p. 6).

Bhimaratha Mahabhavagupta II, Somavamsi (p. 209).

Bhoja Paramara, of Dhara (pp. 331, 658).

Death of Jaya-varman V of Kambuja (p. 736).

Sri Chudamanivarmadeva of the Sailendras sends two envoys to China (p. 730).

Mahmud's invasion of Bhatiya (p. 7).

Mahmud's expedition against Multan (p. 8). Mara-Vijayottuhga-varman, Sailendra ruler, founds a Buddhist monastery at Negapatam (p. 239).

Mahmud captures Nawasa Shah and his treasures (p. 8).

1007

1008

c. 1008-1014

1009

1009-1010

1010

1010

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1011-1018

1012

c. 1012 1012-1044 1013

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c. 1015-1020

1015- 1043

1016- 1017 1018 1018

1018

1018

1018-1052

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1019; 1022

1020 1020-21

c. 1020-1025 1021

1021 c. 1021 1021-22

1022 c. 1022

1025 c. 1025

c. 1025-1055

1027

1028 1030

1030

King Nirbhaya rules jointly with Rudra in Nepal (p. 45).

Mahmud’s war with Anandapala (p. 8). Vikramaditya V. Chalukya (p. 166).

Mahmud’s expedition against Multan (p. 10). Accession of Chaulukya Durlabharaja (p. 74). Completion of the Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjore (pp. 236, 618).

Mahmud’s expedition against Multan (p. 10). Mahmud leads an expedition against Thanes war (pp. 10, 23n 7).

Vimaladitya, E. Chalukya (p. 235).

Chola Rajaraja associates his son Rajendra in the government of the empire (pp. 235-6). Death of Anandapala (p. 11).

Rajendra I, Chola (pp. 236, 618).

Mahmud advances with his army to Nandana.

capital of Trilochanapala (p. 11).

Death of Chola Rajaraja (p. 239).

Mahmud attacks Kashmir valley (p. 12). Dharmaratha, Somavamsi (p. 209).

Jayasimha II, Chalukya ^pp. 168, 237).

Birth of Ramanuja (p. 437).

Rajaraja, E. Chalukya (p. 204).

Rajendra Cho]a makes his son Rajadhiraja heir apparent fpp. 236, 240).

Mahmud marches to attack Kanauj (p. 13).

Chola Rajendra conquers Ceylon (p. 238). Rajadhiraja I, Chola (p. 240).

Consecration of Airlangga of Java (p. 749). Mahmud of Ghazni invades Kalanjara (p. 58). Paramara Bhoja conquers Konkan (p. 66). Mahmud advances to India to chastise the Chandella Vidyadhara (p. 16).

Nahusha. Somavamsi (p. 209).

Chola Rajendra defeats Chalukva Javasimha (p. 238).

Mahmud leads an armv against Lohkot (p. 18). Chola invasion of Bengal (p. 25).

Mahmud's second exoedition against Chandella Vidvadhara (p. 18).

Coronation of Raiaraja, E. Chalukya (p. 204). Chaulukya Durlabha abdicates in favour of his nephew Bhimadeva I (p. 74).

Mahmud plunders Somanatha (pp. 20. 74). Raiendra Chola's expedition to Kadaram (pp. 239, 493).

Chandihara, Somavamsi (p. 209).

Mahmud marches to punish the Jats (p. 21). Hariraja of Kashmir (p. 97h

Vijavaditya performs his coronation ceremony (p. 204).

Death of Mahmud (pp. 22, 92).

Table captionTHE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

1031	Accession of Mas‘ud (p. 92).
1031	Completion of the Adinatha temple at Abu (p. 428).
1034 1034	Ahmad JNiyaltigin invades Banaras (pp. 25, 61). Kalachuri Gangeyadeva bears the brunt of an
	attack of the Muslims (p. 61).
1035	Airlangga establishes his authority over the whole of Java (p. 749).
1036	Mas‘ud sends his second son Majdud as the
	governor of the Punjab (p. 93).
1038 c. 1038	Coronation of Vajrahasta V, E. Gaiiga (p. 205). Death of Mahipala I, and accession of his son Nayapala (p. 27).
1038-70 c. 1039	Anantavarman Vajrahasta III, Ganga (p. 212). Dlpahkara Atlsa visits Nepal (p. 45).
1040 1040	Mas‘ud proceeds towards Hindustan (p. 93). Assassination of Mas‘ud (p. 93).
1041 1042	Accession of Jaya Siihha-varman II (p. 743). Airlangga of Java abdicates and takes to reli
1043	gious life (p. 750).

	Indian chiefs form a confederacy under the Raja of Delhi (p. 94).
1043-44;	Chola invasions against Chalukyas (pp. 167, 168).
1043-68	Somesvara I, Chalukya (p. 167).
1044	Chola Rajadhiraja performs a horse sacrifice (p. 241).
	Aniruddha of Burma (p. 756).
1044-77	Hoysala Vinayaditya (p. 175).
1047-1101	Death of Maudud (p. 94).
1049	Battle of Koppam (p. 241).
1052	Rajendra Chola II (pp. 240, 241).
1052-1064 c. 1055 c. 1055	Death of Paramara Bhoja (p. 67).
	Malava falls into the hands of the Kalachuris
	and Chaulukyas (pp. 67, 172).
c. 1055	Vigrahapala III succeeds his father Nayapala (p. 27).
1055-1080	Uddyotakesarl Mahabhavagupta, Somavarhii

Table caption(p. 211).

Table caption1058-59; 1063-64 Chalukya Somesvara leads expeditions against

1059 the Cholas (pp. 169, 170).

1060 Ibrahim ascends the throne of Ghazni (p. 94). Vijayaditya usurps the Vengi throne (p. 204). Death of Rajaraja I, E. Chalukya (p. 242).

1060 Coronation of Saktivarman II, E. Chalukya (p. 204).

1061

1062 Rajendra Chola II defeats Chalukya Somesvara (p. 241).

1063 Ananta of Kashmir abdicates in favour of his

son Kalasa (p. 98).

1063-

1064 Chalukya Somesvara I leads an expedition against the Cholas (p. 170).

Vlrarajendra, Chola (p. 241).

1063-

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C. 1064 1067

1067- 1068

1068- 1069

1068-1070

1068-1076

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c. 1070

c. 1070 1070-1078 1070-1120 c. 1072 1072

1075

c. 1075

1076

1076- 1126

1077

1077- 1120

1078- 1150 1079

1081

1084

1084-1088 c. 1085

1086

1088-1094

1088- 1172

1089- 1101 c. 1090

1090- 1110 1094

c. 1094 c. 1095 1096; 1110 c. 1097

1098

Chaulukya Bhlma hands over sovereignty to Karna (p. 75).

Virarajendra erects a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra (p. 241).

Chalukya Vikramaditya marches against Gahgaikon<Ja and plunders it (p. 171).

Virarajendra leads an expedition against Chalukya Somesvara II (p. 173).

Adhirajendra, Chola (p. 241).

Somesvara II, Chalukya (p. 173).

Coronation of Rajaraja I Devendravarman, E. Ganga (p. 205).

Death of Vigrahapala III, and accession of his son Mahipala II (p. 28).

Accession of Kulottunga Chola I (p. 204).

Rajaraja I, E. Ganga (p. 212).

Kulottunga I, Chola (p. 242).

Death of Kalachuri Karna (p. 51).

Death of ‘All bin ‘Usman al-Hujwairi, founder of the Sufi cult in India (p. 467).

Ibrahim appoints his son Mahmud governor of the Punjab (p. 94).

Divya ascends the throne of Varendri (p. 29).

Kulottunga Chola I annexes the Andhra country (p. 204).

Vikramaditya VI, Chalukya (p. 174).

Death of Aniruddha of Burma (p. 757).

Ramapala (p. 415).

Anantavarman Chodaganga, E. Ganga (p. 205).

Ananta of Kashmir settles at the Tirtha of Vijayesvara (p. 98).

Ananta of Kashmir commits suicide (p. 98).

Accession of Kyanzittha of Burma under the title of Sri Tribhuvanaditya-dharmaraja (p. 757).

Rajaraja Chodaganga, viceroy of Vengi (p. 205).

Vijayabahu of Ceylon declares war against the Cholas (p. 262).

Chola Kulottunga orders a land survey (p. 2441.

Paramara Lakshmadeva (p. 206).

Hemachandra (pp. 345, 428, 433).

Harsha of Kashmir (p. 99).

Kulottunga Chola receives an embassy from Kadaram (p. 243).

Somesvara, Chhindaka Naga (p. 214).

Composition of Old-Javanese Ramayana by Yogisvara (p. 767).

Accession of Chaulukya Jayasimha (p. 75).

Accession of Vijayasena (p. 36).

Kalinga expeditions of Chola Kulottunga (p. 243).

Nanyadeva of the Karnataka dynasty establishes his supremacy over Mithila (p. 47).

Death of Harshadeva of Nepal (p. 46).

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1099-1115

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c. 1106 1110 c. 1110 1111 1113

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c. 1116-1137 1118 c. 1118

1118-1138 2120 c. 1120 1120-35 1121

c, 1122 1123

c. 1125 c. 1125 1126

1126-1138

1128

1128- 1155

1129- 1163 c. 1130

1133-1150 c. 1135 1137

c. 1137 1138-1151 1142

c. 1143

c. 1143 1144

THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Kulottunga reconquers Vengl from the Chalukyas (p. 174).

Mas‘ud III succeeds his father Ibrahim (p. 95).

‘Ala-ud-Daulah Mas'ud III (p. 52).

Death of Harsha of Kashmir (p. 99).

Death of Hoysala Vinayaditya and accession of his son Ballala I (p. 228).

Hoysala Biftiga succeeds Ballala I (p. 228).

Kulottunga makes another land survey (p. 244).

Death of Vijayabahu of Ceylon (p. 262).

Death of Uchchala of Kashmir (p. 100).

Accession of Surya-varman V of Kambuja (p. 737).

Earliest known date of Kakatlya Prola II (p. 198).

Kamal-ud-Daulah Shlrzad succeeds his father Mas‘ud III (p. 95).

Vikramabahu II of Ceylon (p. 262).

Bahrain captures Ghazni (p. 95).

Vengl comes under the control of Vikramaditya VI (p. 244).

Vikrama Chola (p. 245).

Bhikshachara, king of Kashmir (p. 100).

Ramapala commits suicide (p. 31).

Kalachuri Ratnadeva II (p. 206).

Sussala recovers the throne of Kashmir after defeating Bhikshachara (p. 100).

Birth of Lakshmanasena, acc. to Minhaj (p. 40).

Sussala of Kashmir abdicates in favour of his son Jayaslmha (p. 100).

Birth of Basava (p. 367).

Death of Kumarapala, Bengal (p. 32).

Death of Chalukya Vikramaditya VI (p. 177).

Somesvara III, Chalukya (p. 177).

Death of Sussala of Kashmir (n. 100).

Jayasirhha of Kashmir (pp. 100-1).

Chandella Madanavarman (p. 53).

Manasolldsa of Chalukya Somesvara III (p. 352).

Kulottunga II, Chola (v>. 245).

Death of Vikrama Chola (p. 245).

Hoysala Vishnuvardhana performs the Tulapurusha (p. 230).

Death of Ramanuia (p. 438).

Jagadekamalla, Chalukya (p. 178).

Anantavarman, E. Ganga, crowns his son Kamarnava VII (p. 207).

Chalukya Jagadekamalla together with Hoysala Narasimha invades Malava, dethrones Paramara Jayavarman and places Ballala on the throne (p. 178).

Close of the reign of Chaulukya JayasimhaSiddharaja (pp. 53, 76).

Madanapala, son of Ramapala, succeeds Gopala HI (p. 32).

1145- 48

1146- 1173 1147

1148-1155

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1151-1156

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c. 1153-1186

1155- 1165

1156- 1168

1156- 1181 1157

1157- 1170 c. 1158

1160

1161- 1167

1162- 1185 1163 1163

1163- 1179 c. 1163-1203

1165-1172 c. 1167-1171 1168

1168-1169 c. 1169

1169

1170 1170

c. 1171-1172 1171-1192 1173

1173-1220

1175

c. 1176 1177

Sarya-varman II of Kambuja invades Champa (p. 745).

Rajaraja II, Chola (p. 245).

Foundation of the Kharataragachchha (p. 432).

Kamarnava VII, E. Ganga (p. 207).

Bahram reconquers Ghazni (p. 96).

Chaulukya Kumarapala leads an expedition against Chahamana Amo raj a of Sakambharl (p. 77).

Last known date of Chalukya Jagadekamalia II (p. 178).

Taila III, Chalukya (p. 178).

Death of Bahram and accession of his son Khusrav Shah (p. 96).

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Paramanuka of Kashmir (p. 101).

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Kalachuri usurpation of the Deccan (p. 179).

Composition of Bharata-yuddha by Mpu Sedah (p. 768).

Raghava, E. Ganga (p. 207).

Accession of Vallaiasena (p. 37).

Khusrav Malik succeeds his father Khusrav Shah (p. 96).

Kalachuri Jajalla II of Ratanpur (p. 65).

Prataparudra I of Warangal (p. 444).

Accession of Ghiyas-ud-dln Muhammad (p. 117).

Death of Chalukya Taila III (p. 179).

Rajadhiraia II, Chola (p. 245).

Paramardi, Chandella (p. 122).

Vantideva of Kashmir (p. 101).

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MAP H

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. Bhuvanesvara, Farasuramesvara Temple: General View Fig. 4. Bhuvanesvara, Muktesvara Temple: General View

Bhuvanesvara, Muktesvara Temple: Torana. , Fig. 6. Bhuvanesvara, Muktesvara Temple: Bhp.

PLATE IV

Fig. 7. Bhuvanesvara, Siddhesvara Temple: General View

Fig. 8. Bhuvanesvara, Rvahmesvara Temple: General View

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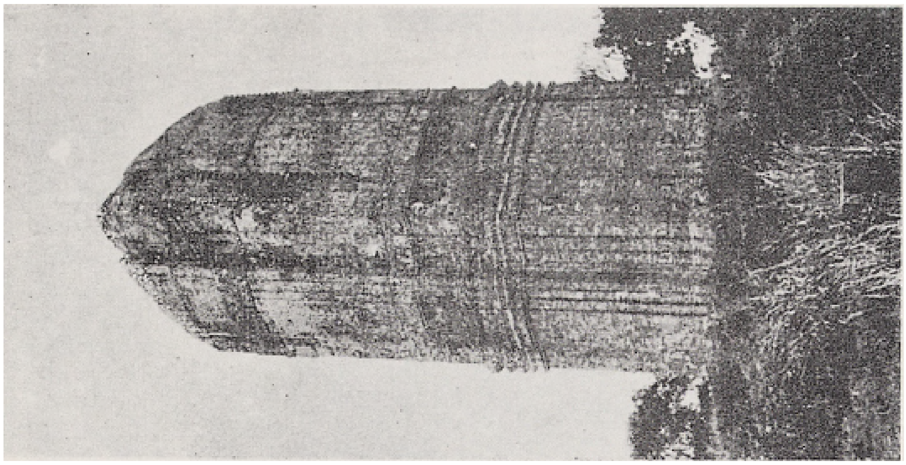

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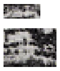

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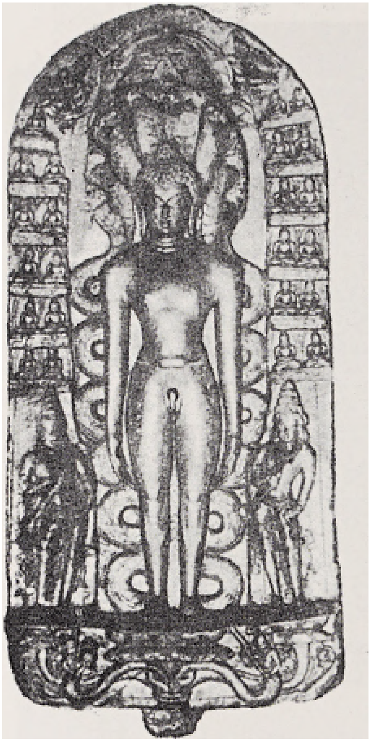

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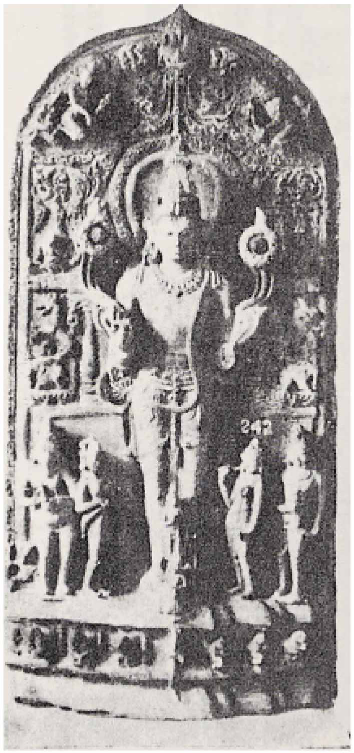

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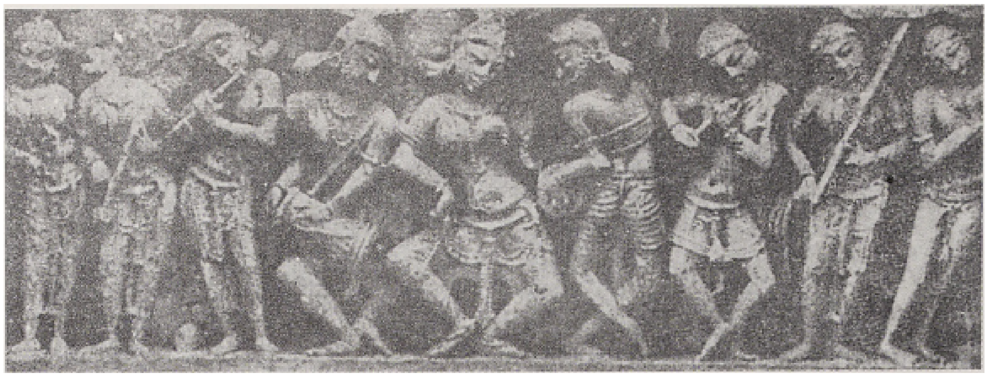

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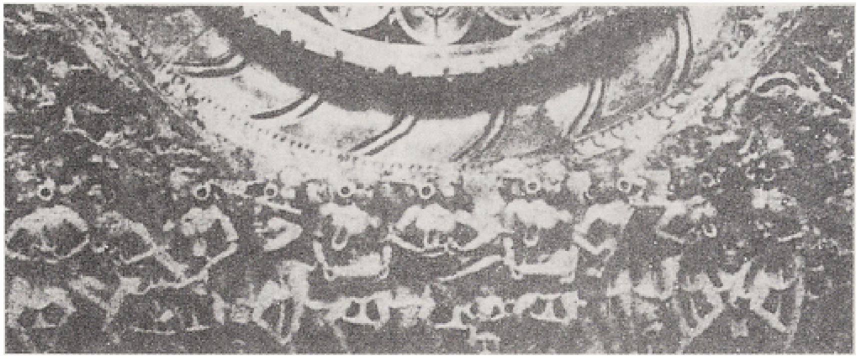

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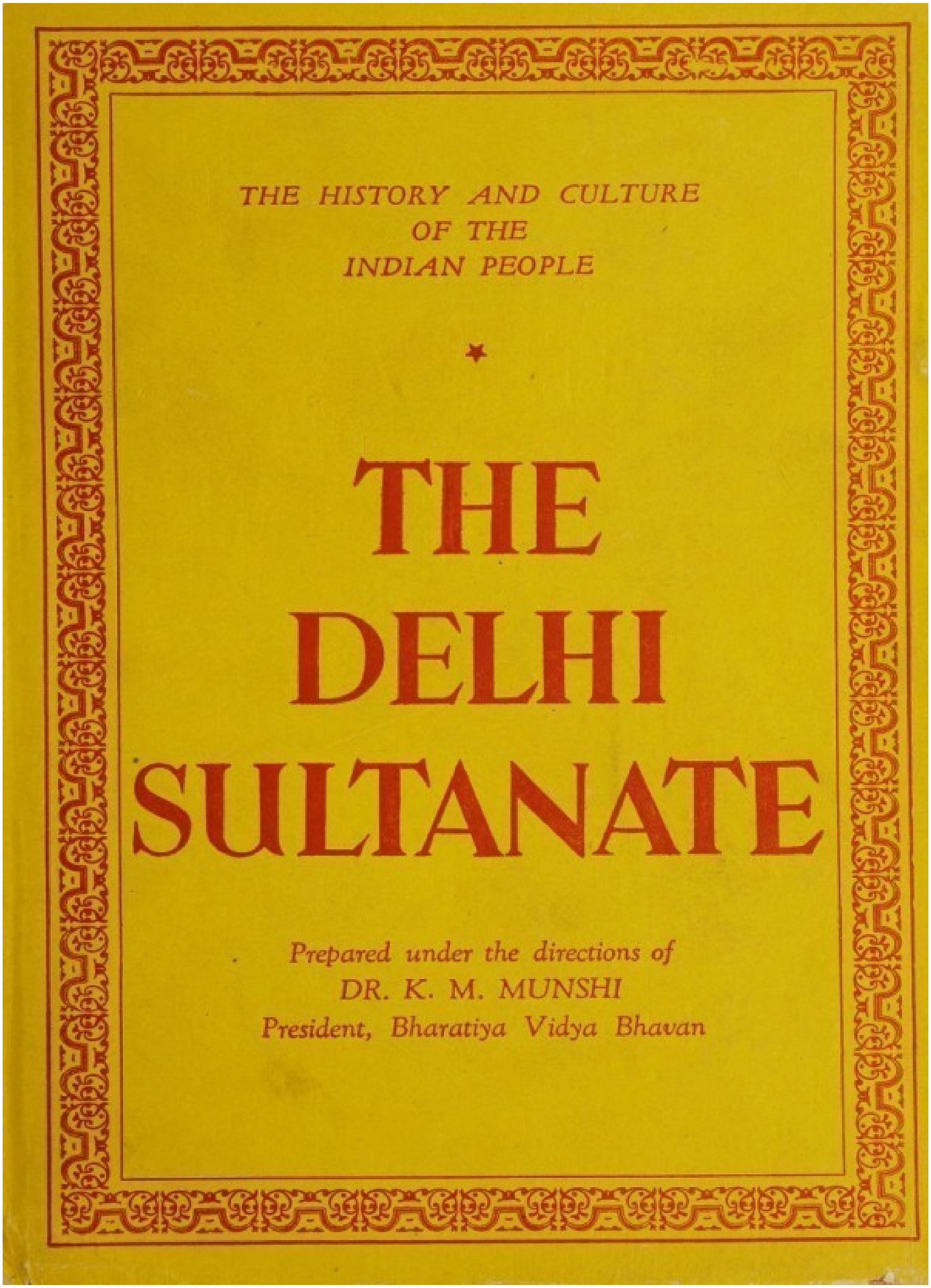

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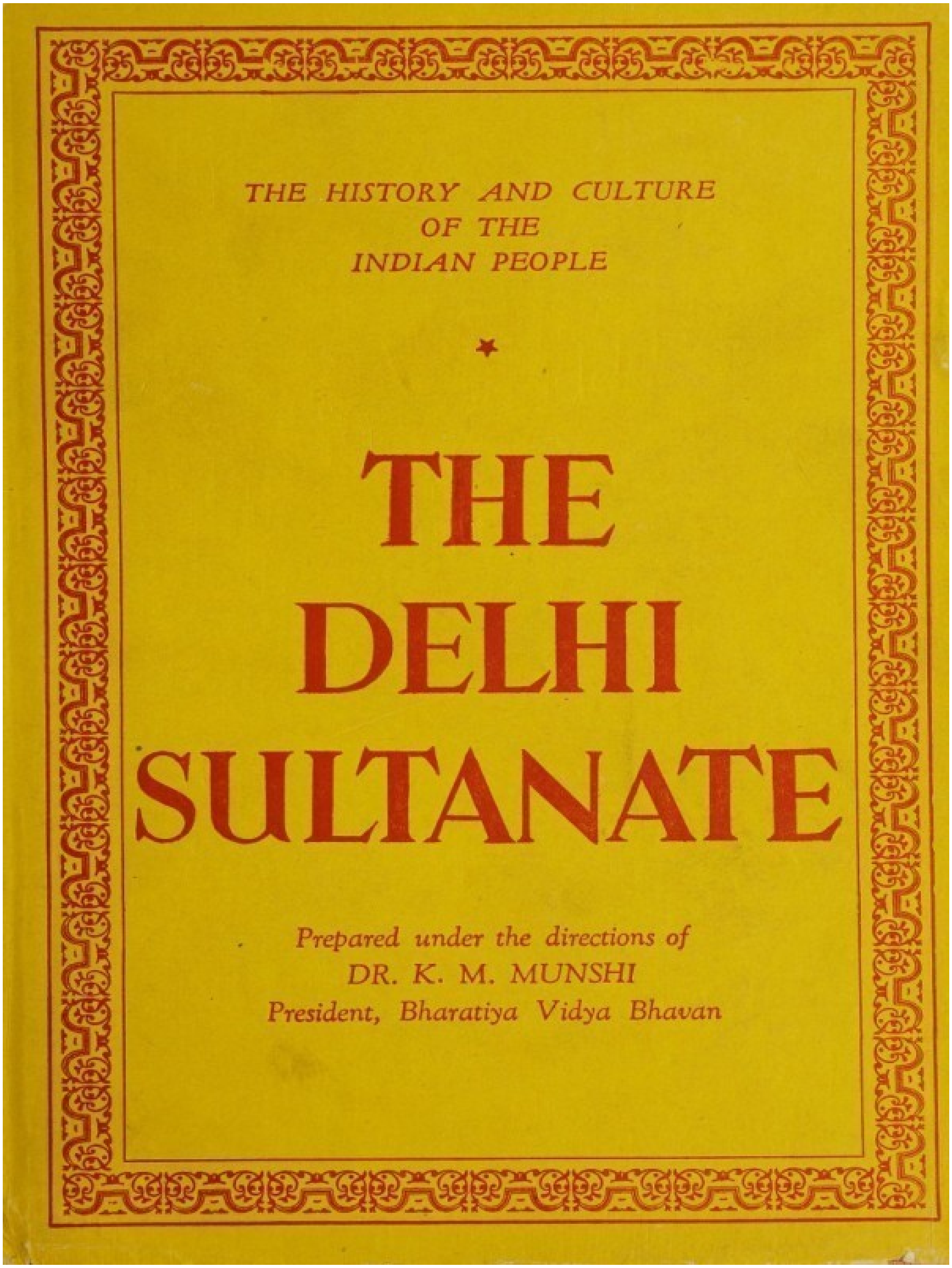

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ISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE

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DR. K. M. MUNSHI President, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan

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This Volume deals with the period from the accession of the Khaljis on the throne of Delhi to the First Battle of Panipat which laid the foundations of the Mughul Empire. The Muslim Sultans of Delhi never ruled over even a major part of India, except during two brief periods of about twenty years each. For the rest, the history of India was really the history of a large number of independent States under both Hindu and Muslim rulers. There were three powerful Hindu kingdoms—Vijayanagara, Orissa and Mewar—which played a dominant role in politics throughout the period. There were also some minor Hindu kingdoms—Assam, Nepal* Mithila and Mar war—which maintained their independence. These Hindu States—particularly Mithila in the north and Vijayanagara in the south—performed the very important function of preserving the relics of Hindu culture against the onslaughts of powerful Islam. That India has not shared the fate of other countries in Asia overrun by Muslim forces is chiefly due to these States, and hence their history has been dealt with in some detail. Among the powerful Muslim kingdoms mention may be made of the Bahmani kingdom in the Deccan, and Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur and Bengal in North India. They vied with the Sultanate of Delhi—practically reduced to the status of a kingdom—in patronizing art and literature, and the result was the evolution of a large number of local styles in architecture which form a distinctive feature of the period. These styles have been adequately dealt with.

The period witnessed the settlement of Muslims on a large scale in India. Unlike the previous foreign invaders, the Muslims did not merge themselves with the Hindus, and thus for the first time the population of India was divided into two separate units with marked distinctions. This was the historic beginning of the Hindu-Muslim problem which led after more than six hundred years to the creation of Pakistan. In this volume an attempt has been made, probably for the first time, to view the Hindu-Muslim relation in its true perspective.

The period is also remarkable for the rise of a number of religious leaders like Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya and Nanak who ushered in a new phase of mystic devotionalism in Indian religion, the influence of which may still be felt. This aspect of Indian culture has been dealt with more thoroughly than is to be found in any general history of India.

Special chapters have been devoted to the Islamic political theory and administrative organization as well as the social condition of Indian Muslims.

The contributors to this volume include, besides the Editor, Dr. S. Roy, Dr. Hameeduddin, Dr. A. K. Majumdar, Sri N. B. Ray, Dr. P. M. Joshi, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Sri S. Dutta, Dr. I.H. Qureshi, Dr. H.A. Mehendale, Dr. A.D. Pusalker, Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, Dr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Dr. M.

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VOLUME VI

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FOREWORD

On account of heavy pressure of work, I have had to deny myself the usual privilege of writing a detailed foreword to this volume, presenting a view of this age in flowing time.

In preparing this volume, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, General Editor, has had to bear more than his usual burden and I am deeply grateful to him for his indefatigable and conscientious labours, which were so ably supplemented by Dr. Ashok Majumdar, the Assistant Editor in charge of this volume. My thanks are also due to the scholars who have contributed the different sections of this volume, as also to the Director General of Archaeology who has supplied photographs for the illustrations of this volume.

I again express my gratitude to Shri G. D. Birla, Chairman, and members of the Board of Shri Krishnarpan Charity Trust, for their initial grant, without which the scheme could not have been undertaken, as also to the Government of India for their giving us a loan of Rs. 150,000/- for further financing this project. The staff of the Bhavan and its Press have looked after the preparation and printing of this volume with their usual care and deserve congratulations for their zeal.

Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Curzon Road, New Delhi. April 13, 1960.

K. M. MUNSHI

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We are indebted to the Director General of Archaeology, and the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, for permission to reproduce the following illustrations. While expressing our sincere thanks for such courtesies, we should add that reproduction in each case is prohibited without the permission of the authority concerned, the copyright being reserved.

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2. Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Western Circle, Baroda: Nos. 48-50, 52-54, 59, 62-64, 72.

We are also indebted to Macmillan & Co. Ltd. for allowing us to publish three poems of Kabir translated by Rabindranath Tagore.

Foreword by Dr. K. M. Munshi

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By Dr. R. C. Majumdar General Editor

This volume deals with the period during which the foreign Muslim conquerors, mostly of Turkish origin, established an effective suzerainty over the greater part of India. The popular notion that after the conquest of Muhammad Ghuri, India formed a Muslim Empire under various dynasties, is hardly borne out by facts. It has been shown in the preceding volume that the major part of India remained free from Muslim domination till almost the very end of the thirteenth century A.D. It was ‘Alla-ud-dm Khaljl who for the first time established Muslim suzerainty over nearly the whole of India. But his actual sovereignty did not extend beyond the Vindhyas, save in the Western Deccan during the last three years of his reign. The Khaljl empire rose and fell during the brief period of twenty years (A.D. 1300-1320). The Tughluqs, who succeeded the Khaljls, made an attempt not only to revive the empire but also to exercise an effective sovereignty over if. But the task proved beyond their power. The empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq, which included the southernmost part of India as a province under his governor, broke up within a decade of his accession (A.D. 1325), and before another decade was over, the Turkish empire passed away for ever.

India once more presented the spectacle of being divided into a congeries of States, both big and small, which always followed the dissolution of an empire in the past. The state of things continued for nearly two centuries and a half till the Mughuls established a stable and durable empire in the second half of the sixteenth century A.D.

Thus, barring the two very shortlived empires under the Khaljls and Muhammad bin Tughluq which lasted, respectively, for less than twenty and ten years, there was no Turkish Muslim empire of India. The Delhi Sultanate, as the symbol of this empire, continued in name throughout the period under review but, gradually shorn of power and prestige, it was reduced to a phantom by the invasion of Timur at the end of the fourteenth century A.D. Among the States that arose out of the ruins of these two ephemeral empires, six may be regarded as really very powerful. Three of these, namely the BahmanI kingdom in the Deccan, Gujarat in the west, and Bengal in the east were ruled by Muslims, while their rivals and neighbours, namely Vijayanagara in South India, Mewar in Rajputana, and Orissa, along the eastern coast, were ruled by Hindus. The remnant of the Delhi Sultanate and two other Muslim States, Jaunpur and Malwa, also occasionally played an important role. The constant rivalries and struggles between these States which were generally, but not invariably, grouped on religious lines, form the main feature of the political history of the period covered by this volume. A very prolonged and sustained warfare between Mewar and Gujarat cum Malwa in the west, BahmanI and Vijayanagara in the south, and between Orissa and the last two as well as Bengal in the east, indicates the main trend of politics during the period. These struggles weakened all these powers, but led to no decisive result. The intrigues and dissensions within the Delhi Sultanate, which had a brief revival of power under the Lodis, and its quarrels with the petty States in the north-west paved the way for the Mughul conquest under Babur.

The political disintegration and lack of a central authority were mainly responsible for two great calamities that befell India in the shape of foreign invasions, both big with future consequences. The first was the invasion of Timur, the Turkish autocrat, who followed in the footsteps of the Mongol

Chingiz Khan and carried fire and sword over a large part of the continent of Asia. He had two objects in view in invading India,—first, to put Islam on a firm footing by 'destroying the infidels (Kafir) and thereby becoming a Ghazi or a martyr’, and secondly, ‘to plunder the fabulous wealth and valuables of the infidels’. He was no doubt encouraged by the tottering condition of the Delhi Sultanate, and advanced with his hordes towards India. Urged forward by the hope of gaining reward both in this world as well as in the next—a combination of the two incentives most powerful in a medieval Muslim autocrat—Timur let loose the horrors of a barbaric warfare on the fair cities and plains of India. Never since the days of Sultan Mahmud, four hundred years before, had India witnessed such deliberate massacre of the Hindus in cold blood. Fortunately for historians, Timur has himself recorded his misdeeds, as it would otherwise be difficult to believe the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by him. Everything that unbridled lust and unchecked barbarism could conceive was perpetrated by his fanatic myrmidons, and the climax was reached in the cold-blooded massacre of one hundred thousand Hindu prisoners outside the plains of Delhi,—an event unparalleled in the history of the world. As attempts have been recently made to minimise and explain away his enormity, the account of his unmitigated barbarity has been given in some detail, as far as possible in his own words, in Chapter VII.

A century later India was visited by the Portuguese fleet under Vasco da Gama. It was the first scene in the tragic drama which ended with the complete subjugation of India by a European power. Vasco da Gama’s name occupies a high place in European history as the discoverer of the route or the means which enabled Europe to exploit fully the resources of the east. But the historians of India are bound to regard him, like Timur and other foreign conquerors beginning from Alexander, in quite a different light. For nearly two centuries he and his followers brought untold miseries upon the people living in the coastal regions, and ‘Portuguese’ became a byword for cruelty in India. The historians have, however, generally failed to point out the strong family resemblance between Timur and Vasco da Gama. Both were inspired by the same motives— acquisition of wealth and promotion of religion, Islam in the one case and Christianity in the other. Both were equally cruel—almost fiendish in character. The atrocity of Vasco da Gama, though necessarily limited by the means at his disposal, did not differ in kind; save that it had a refined touch of racial arrogance which made it all the more odious. As this aspect of Vasco da Gama is generally shrouded under his well-deserved reputation for exploring the searoute to the east—as in the case of Alexander who similarly explored the land-route—this point has been fully dealt with in Chapter XIII-E.IV. It may be further added that Timur and Vasco da Gama were instrumental in establishing the supremacy, respectively, of the Mughuls and the British in India. The visitations of Timur and Vasco da Gama were thus no mere passing episodes in the history of the period, but pregnant with big consequences. They also demonstrated the serious defects in the defence system of India, caused by the manifold development in the technique of warfare, both by land and sea, in countries far beyond the frontiers of India within whose seemingly impregnable barriers her people chose to immure themselves. But the lessons were lost upon men and rulers of India.

There is, however, no cloud without a silver lining. The political disintegration, which led to so many evils, was also productive of some good results. It is a well-known fact that before the modern age art and literature could hardly flourish save under the patronage of courts. When there was only one important court, in Delhi, the development of art was limited both in character and extent, but the rise of independent States multiplied the number of courts and therewith the centres of patronage. The most important result was the development of provincial styles which increased both the variety and the productivity in art and architecture. The difference can best be understood by a comparison with the Mughul period which far excelled the period under review in political stability and its attendant magnificence and grandeur. But though art reached its high water mark of excellence under the Mughul patronage, it suffered in variety and geographical extent in comparison with the preceding period. This difference is clearly brought out in the division of chapters in any book on Islamic Art in India. Percy Brown’s Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), for example, devotes four chapters only to the Imperial style under the four prominent dynasties of the Delhi Sultans, while the ten succeeding chapters deal with the provincial styles of the Punjab, Bengal, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Malwa, Deccan and Kashmir (excluding Vijayanagara which is dealt with in the volume dealing with the Hindu period). Next follows the art of the Mughul period which is treated in only five chapters, under the names of the five great emperors (Babur-Humiayun being treated in one single chapter). This differenc is full of significance, and illustrates the influence of court patronage upon the development of art and other aspects of culture.

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Although the political history of India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is marked by the same lack of political cohesion that characterized the history of India since the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratlhara empire in the tenth century A.D., yet the historical pictures of these two periods, as they have reached us, are not exactly the same. For, thanks to the Muslim historians, we get a very detailed account not only of the Delhi Sultanate, but also of many of the succession States that arose out of its ruins. Each of these States thus becomes a living reality, and political history is imbued with a keen and vivid human interest such as is not aroused by anything that we know of the earlier period, save, of course, the history of the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi in the thirteenth century. The difficulties that henceforth confront the historians are caused not so much by the dearth of materials, as by their discrepancy and divergence. For the first time a historian of India is in a position to avail himself of materials which would not suffer in comparison with those on which the history of contemporary European and other Asiatic countries is based.

A detailed account of these source materials on which the history of the period is based has been given in Chapter I. The contemporary Muslim chronicles form the most important source of our information and are very valuable in many respects, but they suffer from some serious drawbacks. They are court histories, pure and simple, and possess in a full measure both their merits and defects. They contain a great deal of precise information, and are more or less correct in respect of dates and details of military campaigns and other main incidents of the reign; but their authors could not always take an impartial and unprejudiced view, particularly when the honour and prestige of the rulers were at stake. Thus, it is almost a common characteristic of these authors to omit, minimise, or explain away the grave crimes of their patron kings and their families, and to give as favourable an account of their military campaigns as could be done without wholly violating truth, though cases are not rare where even this limit was not observed and defeats were either simply ignored or recorded as victories. The contemporary court histories concentrate their attention upon the Sultan and his doings, and seldom touch upon topics or events with which he was not directly or indirectly connected. But historical chronicles like those of Firishta and others, of a somewhat later date, supply this deficiency and give a regular account of various States, independently of the account of the Sultanate. As the authors of these chronicles lived long after, and were therefore under no obligation to most of the kings whose history they related, they could afford to take an unbiassed view; but being dependent for materials upon the contemporary court-chronicles, they share some of the defects that characterized them.

A serious drawback of all the historical writers of the period is that their vision seldom extended beyond the court, the capital, the rulers, and the aristocracy, and they hardly ever noticed the people at large or gave any information about their lives and activities, social manners and customs, economic condition, etc. This deficiency is partly made up by the writings of foreign visitors to India. Special reference should be made in this connection to the very interesting account of Ibn Batutah, who lived in India for thirteen years and travelled widely all over the country. His knowledge, erudition and wide experience, and the responsible posts he held in India invest his account of Indian life with a high degree of authenticity, and in the absence of more reliable evidence copious reference has been made to his writings in delineating contemporary social, economic and moral condition of the people.

Fortunately, we possess fairly abundant knowledge of the religious life of the period. It was the age of those mystic saints like Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya, and Nanak, whose noble lives and religious teachings, embodied in simple pious sayings, may be looked upon as the richest legacy of the period. These great religious teachers ushered in a catholic spirit in religion and elevated it to a high spiritual level, and by their precept and example shed a lustre on the age. Though their direct influence upon India as a whole may not have been very considerable, their teachings have permeated the very texture of Indian life.

For this reason, the main stress has been laid upon these mystic saints in the chapter on religion. Though many joined the sects founded by, or formed subsequently in the names of, these saints and their followers, the number of such converts were very insignificant in comparison with the total population of India. By far the large majority of the Hindus, and a still greater majority among the Muslims, continued to stick faithfully to the old orthodox religious beliefs and practices. The various sects of the Hindus, together with their rites and customs, described in the preceding volumes, still dominated the Hindu society even though a considerable number of its members were influenced, more or less, by the doctrines preached by the great saints named above. The old doctrines, rites, and customs were stereotyped in Hindu society by the end of the thirteenth century A.D. and still continued to dominate it. If they have not found a place in the chapter on religion, it is simply to avoid repetition of what has been said in the preceding volumes, and the omission should not be interpreted as indicating their disappearance or diminution in importance. This fact must be remembered in forming a general idea of the religious condition of the country and making an estimate of the relative importance of the new creeds that form such a distinctive feature during the period under review.

Partly as a result of the patronage of many of the saints, but mainly in consequence of the gradual process of evolution, the major spoken languages of India had a phenomenal development and produced a rich literature. These languages and literature form an intimate link between modern India and the period covered in this volume, and have been dealt with in some detail in Chapter XV.

The most outstanding fact in the social and religious life of the age is the impact of Islam. The followers of that faith settled in India in large numbers, but, generally speaking, kept themselves severely aloof from the normal current of the social and religious life of the country. Many times, since the advent of the Aryans, more than three thousand years ago, diverse types of culture met in India, but with the exception of a very small Parsi enclave, were all fused together in a common cultural pattern. The Muslims, however, did not merge themselves into this pattern, and form with the Hindus a single type of homogeneous culture. So, for the first time in Indian history, two distinct but important communities and cultures stood face to face, and India was permanently divided into two powerful units, each with marked individuality of its own, which did not prove to be amenable to a fusion or even any close permanent co-ordination. The problem which then faced India has proved to be the most knotty one in its chequered history during the next six hundred years, and has not entirely been solved by the partition or bifurcation of India. The genesis of the problem has therefore been dealt with in some detail in Chapter XVII-C. It is a delicate and difficult task, but could not be avoided in a history whose avowed object is to give a real picture of the history and culture of the Indian people. Islam touched Hindu life, and was itself touched by Hinduism, at many points. The reaction produced by the one upon the other is not always easy to determine, and the task has been rendered more difficult by passions and prejudices, and pressure of extraneous considerations.

Political necessities of the Indians during the last phase of British rule underlined the importance of alliance between the two communities, and this was sought to be smoothly brought about by glossing over the differences and creating an imaginary history of the past in order to depict the relations between the two in a much more favourable light than it actually was. Eminent Hindu political leaders even went so far as to proclaim that the Hindus were not at all a subject race during the Muslim rule. These absurd notions, which would have been laughed at by Indian leaders at the beginning of the nineteenth century, passed current as history owing to the exigencies of the political complications at the end of that century. Unfortunately slogans and beliefs die hard, and even today, for more or less the same reasons as before, many Indians, specially Hindus, are peculiarly sensitive to any comments or observations even made in course of historical writings, touching upon the communal relations in any way. A fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the sister community haunts the minds of Hindu politicians and historians, and not only prevents them from speaking out the truth, but also brings down their wrath upon those who have the courage to do so. But history is no respecter of persons or communities, and must always strive to tell the truth, so far as it can be deduced from reliable evidence. This great academic principle has a bearing upon actual life, for ignorance seldom proves to be a real bliss either to an individual or to a nation. In the particular case under consideration, ignorance of the actual relation between the Hindus and the Muslims throughout the course of history,—an ignorance deliberately encouraged by some,—may ultimately be found to have been the most important single factor which led to the partition of India. The real and effective means of solving a problem is to know and understand the facts that gave rise to it, and not to ignore them by hiding the head, ostrich-like, into sands of fiction.

It is thus quite clear that both from purely academic and practical standpoints, the plain duty of a historian of India is to reveal the truth about the communal relations in the past, without being influenced in any way by any extraneous factor. This conclusion is fortified by other considerations. It is now a well-known fact that a few powerful dictators who dominated Europe in the recent past emphasized the need of re-writing the history of their countries to suit their political actions and ideals. This is undoubted^ a great tribute paid to history for its formative influence upon mankind, but cuts at the very root of all that makes history an intellectual discipline of the highest value. There are ominous signs that the same idea is slowly invading democratic countries also, not excluding India. This world tendency to make history the vehicle of certain definite political, social and economic ideas, which reign supreme in each country for the time being, is like a cloud, at present no bigger than a man’s hand, but which may soon grow in volume, and overcast the sky, covering the light of the world by an impenetrable gloom. The question is therefore of paramount importance, and it is the bounden duty of every historian to guard himself against the tendency, and fight it by the only weapon available to him, namely by holding fast to truth in all his writings irrespective of all consequences. A historian should not trim his sail according to the prevailing wind, but ever go straight, keeping in view the only goal of his voyage—the discovery of truth.

These elaborate observations are specially intended to explain the editorial policy of the present series. The first five volumes, dealing with the history of the ancient Hindus, were, comparatively speaking, free from what would be regarded as serious controversial issues at the present day. The present volume, dealing with the beginnings of the Muslim settlement in India on a permanent basis, naturally has to deal with topics which have a direct or indirect bearing on many live issues of today. The number of such issues would go on increasing with each succeeding volume, and volumes IX and X, which deal with the British rule in India, will be full of them, evoking strong sympathies and antipathies which are likely to blur the clear vision of both writers and readers of Indian history. It would be the endeavour of the present editor to follow the three fundamental principles enunciated above: firstly, that history is no respecter of persons or communities; secondly, that its sole aim is to find out the truth by following the canons commonly accepted as sound by all historians; and thirdly, to express the truth, without fear, envy, malice, passion, or prejudice, and irrespective of all extraneous considerations, both political and humane. In judging any remark or opinion expressed in such a history, the question to be asked is not whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, mild or strong, impolitic or imprudent, but simply whether it is true or false, just or unjust, and above all, whether it is or is not supported by the evidence at our disposal.

This editorial policy is responsible for clearly bringing out in detail those points of difference which stood as barriers between the Hindus and Muslims and served to keep them effectively as two separate units in their common motherland. These are primarily the religious bigotry on the side of the Muslims and social bigotry on the part of the Hindus. These differences are generally sought to be explained away or minimised, and even eminent scholars demur to pointed references to the oppressive acts of bigoted Muslim rulers like Firuz Tughluq and Sikandar Lodi even though proved by the unimpeachable testimony of their own confessions. Such an attitude may be due to praiseworthy motives, but is entirely out of place in historical writings.

The same attitude is far more strikingly illustrated in another sphere. The end of Hindu ruling dynasties, followed by almost wholesale destruction of temples and monasteries by the Muslim invaders and rulers, very nearly extinguished the Hindu culture by destroying the sources which fed and nourished it. Its further growth was arrested and an almost impenetrable gloom settled over it. It seemed as if the whole course of its development came to a sudden halt. It is not a mere accident that the lamp of the past glory and culture of Brahmanical Hinduism was kept burning only in the Hindu principalities—particularly the tiny State of Mithila in the north and the kingdom of Vijayanagara in the south. Modern Hindu India is indebted to these Hindu kingdoms for having preserved the continuity of Brahmanical culture and traditions, from the Vedic age downwards, which was in imminent danger of being altogether snapped. For it is impossible to deny that India was saved from this irretrievable disaster by the patronage of the rulers of Vijayanagara and Mithila. While the Brahmanical culture was submerged under the sea of Islam from one end of India to the other, it found its last refuge in the two islands at the northern and southern extremities. This plain truth is not fully realized by many historians.

The patronage of literature in spoken languages by a few Muslim rulers is the only redeeming feature in the general Muslim attitude to the Hindu culture. But its nature has been misunderstood and its effect much exaggerated. The Muslim hatred to the Brahmans, to which Ihn Batutah bears eloquent testimony, made the Muslim rulers more favourablv inclined to such literature which was

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looked upon by the Brahmans as a mortal blow to their power and prestige, and hence strongly disliked by them as a class. The period of Husain Shah and his son in Bengal is usually held out as one of

the most glowing examples of the Muslim patronage of Hindu culture. The high development of literature and philosophy of the Chaitanya school of Vaishnavism during the period under review is regarded as a sign of Hindu revival during the Medieval Age. It is, however, to be remembered that out of hundreds of Muslim rulers and officers in Bengal only three—Husain Shah, his son Nusrat Shah and his general Paragal Khan—are known to have patronized Bengali poets whose obsequious flattery to their Muslim patrons is disgusting to modern taste. As regards Chaitanya and his followers, their persecution in the hands of the officers of Husain Shah, the most enlightened and liberal Muslim Sultan, has been described in some detail on pp. 632-635. One significant feature of the Chaitanya movement is often ignored. Of the twenty-four years he remained in his mortal frame after he renounced the world and was initiated as a scinyasin, he hardly spent even a year in the dominion of Husain Shah and his Muslim successors, but lived for twenty years in the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. The Vaishnava followers of Chaitanya were persecuted in their homeland during the regime of Husain Shah, and Chaitanya spent practically his whole life as a sanydsin under the patronage of the Hindu ruler of Orissa who became his devoted disciple. By connecting these two facts it will not probably be wrong to surmise that though Chaitanya began his religious life in the Muslim kingdom of Bengal, it did not evidently prove a congenial home to him or to his cult, and both found a safe refuge only in the neighbouring Hindu kingdom. In any case the fact remains that the chief credit for the rise and growth of Chaitanya's Vaishnavism must go to the Hindu kingdom of Orissa and not to the Muslim kingdom of Bengal. This is a very significant fact in the history of Hindu culture in India during the period under review. It may also be noted in this connection that Hindu art practically went out of existence in Muslim States, though in a few places like Gujarat, its influence may be traced in Muslim architecture. After the thirteenth century, notable specimens of Hindu art are to be found only in the Hindu States of Vijayanagara and Mewar. Hindu culture did not flourish under Islam, and the few facts brought forward to prove the contrary may at best be likened to a few tiny oases which merely serve to bring into greater relief the barren desolation of the long stretch of arid desert.

In the face of all these difficult and delicate problems the task of maintaining the correct standard in a co-operative historical work, is not an easy one. As originally planned, the different chapters in this volume were to be written by different scholars who have specialised on the particular topics. But even the best efforts of the editor failed to secure a reasonable degree of objective and impartial treatment in certain chapters. The editor was thereupon obliged to take upon himself the responsibility of writing many more chapters than he originally intended. He spared no pains to equip himself for the task; how T far he has succeeded in doing justice to those chapters it is for the readers to judge. This is one of the reasons why the publication of this book has been long delayed. i\nother cause of the delay is the absence of the editor from India for nearly a year.

Subject to what has been said above, the policy and principles of editing, referred to in the preceding volumes, remain unchanged. The transliteration of the names of Turkish rulers, and of other names and words of Persian and Arabic origin, which occur in large number in the present volume, generally follows the scheme adopted in the Cambridge History of India , Yols. Ill and IV. But there are discrepancies even in these two volumes. A few departures have therefore been made, and the editor takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to Dr. Sukumar Roy, Reader in the Calcutta University, for his ungrudging help in the matter. Dr. M. Ishaque, the author of Sections D and E of Chapter XV, desires to make it known that he was not in favour of this system in all points, but agreed to adopt it only for the sake of maintaining uniformity. Similarly Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, the author of Section B of the same Chapter, was in favour of adopting a strictly phonetic method in writing Indian words in different provincial dialects. But for reasons of practical convenience his scheme had to be considerably modified.

The editor records with deep regret the death of Dr. A. S. Altekar, an eminent scholar who had contributed a chapter to Vol. IV of this series. His death has left a void in Indian scholarship which it would be difficult to fill up. Death has also carried away Prof. U. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., who contributed the sections on philosophy in the four preceding Volumes. The editor takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sorrow at the death of these two scholars and his appreciation of the great services rendered by them to the cause of Indian history and culture.

Reference was made in the Preface of Vol. V to the retirement of Dr. A. D. Pusalker. His place as Assistant Editor was taken by Dr. A. K. Majumdar. He has worked hard and, it may be hoped, succeeded in maintaining the traditions and standard of this series. The thanks of the editor are due to him for his valuable services. The editor is glad to inform the readers of this series that Dr. Pusalker has recently rejoined his old post. Although his valued assistance was not available for this volume, as he has been suffering from eye-troubles, the editor hopes that he will soon be in a position to actively resume his duty.

In conclusion, the editor begs to convey his thanks to the contributors of this volume for their sincere co-operation, to the editors of various journals for their reviews of the preceding volume, to Messrs Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Calcutta, for kind permission to reproduce three poems from One Hundred Poems of Kabir, translated by Rabindranath Tagore, and to the Archaeological Department of the Government of India and various other institutions and individuals for lending photos and blocks for illustration. Reference has been made to them in detail under “acknowledgment”.

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Gri. Rat.

HBS

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ABBREVIATIONS

MASI

MC

Mahalingam

Administration

MGP

MIQ

MTMH

NC

N1A

NIS

NS

NSP

Par. Madh. Petech

PIHC

PO

PIOC

QAS

QTIP

Raverty

RKC

RT

Saletore, Social SD

Sherwani

SILH

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THE DELHI SULTANATE

SINGH

S.O.A.S.

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Tdrikh-i-Mubarak Shahl by Yahyd bin Ahmad Sirhindi, Text.

Tabaqat-i-Ndsi'H of Minhaj-ud-din.

Toung Pao.

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

CORRIGENDA

(1) p. 202, line 3 from bottom: for “Pandura” read “Panduva”.

(2) p. 202, line 2 from bottom: for “obviously by the Sanskrit” read

“obviously the Sanskrit”.

(3) p. 207, line 18 from top: for “The statement that the Riyaz,

vouched for by Firishta, that” read “The statement that”.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

The Muslim Turks, who conquered India, brought with them the art of writing history, and have left a large number of chronicles which enable us to trace the history of India from the beginning of the Muslim conquest to the end of the Muslim rule. This is no mean advantage, particularly when we contrast it with the paucity of such historical narratives of the earlier period. Thanks to these historical chronicles, supplemented by quasi-hist or ical writings of contemporary literary men and accounts of foreign travellers, it is possible to write the political history of the period under review in a manner very different from that in which the preceding chapters have been written. The reader will feel this difference as he goes on with the history of this period.

I. LITERARY SOURCES

The first great name among the contemporary writers is that of Amir Khusrav, 1 whose full name is given by some authorities as Abu-'l Hasan Yamln-ud-dln Khusrav. He was born in A.D. 1253 and enjoyed the favour and patronage of several Sultans of Delhi such as Kaiqubad, Jalal-ud-dm Khalji, ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji, Qutb-uddln Mubarak Shah Khalji, and Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq. He was a prolific writer and is said to have composed about half a million verses. He began writing poems in his boyhood and continued his literary activity till his death in A.D. 1325.

Though essentially a poet, and not a historian, Khusrav occasionally took historical themes as his subjects of composition, both in prose and poetry. His association with six successive Sultans and intimate intercourse with the aristocracy of blood, military oligarchy, and the saint Nizam-ud-dm Aullya gave him the unique opportunity of knowing the truth about the political events and social condition of the time. Although, therefore, he never undertook to write any comprehensive historical chronicle, properly so called, his works, particularly his historical Masnavis and Divans, throw a great deal of light on contemporary history. Among these the following deserve special mention:—

1. Qiran us Sa‘dain, composed in A.D. 1289, describes the historical meeting between Bughra Khan, the governor of

Bengal, and his son Mu‘izz-ud-dln Kaiqubad, king of Delhi. It gives interesting details about India, particularly Delhi.

2. Miftah-ul-Futuh, composed in A.D. 1291, describes the military campaigns of Jalal-ud-dln Khalji.

3. ‘Aslruqa, completed in A.D. 1316, not only describes the passionate love between Dewal Rani (Devala Devi), daughter of Raja Karan (Karna) of Gujarat, and Prince Khizr Khan, but also gives an account of the poet’s capture by the Mongols and his flight, and the beauties of Hindusthan and her women.

4. Nuh Sipihr, completed in A.D. 1318, describes the military campaigns during the reign of Mubarak Shah. 2

5. Tughluq-nama, composed in the closing year of the poet’s life, traces the course of events leading to the accession of Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq.

6. In addition to the above poetical works, he also wrote in prose the Khazdin-ul Futuh or the Tdrikh-i-Aldi , which briefly describes the events of the first sixteen years of ‘Ala-ud-dln’s reign, and, in particular, the campaigns of Malik Kafur in the Deccan which are not noticed in detail even by Ziya-ud-dln Barani.

In addition to historical events Khusrav’s works throw much light on the social condition of the time and give a general picture of the country. But he writes more as a poet than as a professional historian.

The first great historian of the period was Ziya-ud-dm Barani. In his famous work Tdrikh-i-Flruz Shahl , 3 composed about A.D. 1358, he begins the history of India almost where the Tabaqdt-i-Ndsiri leaves it, and gives an account of the Sultans of Delhi from Balban to Muhammad bin Tughluq, together with the first six years of Flruz Shah's reign. The reasons he gives for deliberately excluding from his purview the period covered by the Tabaqdt-i-Ndsiri are worth quoting in full, as they throw interesting light on the mentality of the historians of that age. "If I copy," says he, "what this venerable and illustrious author has written, those who have read his history will derive no advantage from reading mine; and if I state anything contradictory of that master's writings, or abridge or amplify his statements, it will be considered disrespectful and rash. In addition to which I should raise doubts and difficulties in the minds of his readers." 4

In spite of this sentimental weakness, not befitting a true historian, Barani had high conception of a historian and considered it

to be his essential duty to record honestly the whole truth. How far he conformed to this ideal is a matter of opinion. Elliot has described him as 'an unfair narrator' on the ground that he omitted altogether, or slurred over, as of no consequence, some of the most important events, for fear of incurring the displeasure of his patron. 6 Even Firishta blames Barani for withholding the truth. This point is of some importance as it should induce us to attach greater importance to what he actually says in denunciation of a ruler.

As Barani had easy access to the court, he had ample opportunity of knowing the accurate details. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising that he 'is very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.' It is also quite clear that he has not always arranged the events in a chronological order. "He is also wanting in method and arrangement." 6 In spite of all these defects the Tdrlkh-i-Firuz Shahi of Barani still remains the most important source of the history of the period covered by it.

A second work with the same title was written by Shams-iSiraj 'Afif, 7 who was born in A.D. 1342 and was a great favourite of Firuz Shah. It gives a full account of the long reign of this Sultan and throws much light on the culture of the period. It was composed shortly after the invasion of Timur, probably during the first decade of the fifteenth century A.D. The author wrote several other works, but they are all lost.

Two other works concerning Firuz are of special importance. The first is the Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi, 8 a small brochure of thirtytwo pages composed by the Sultan himself. The title of the book literally means ‘victories of Firuz Shah’; and it contains a brief summary of the res gestae of his reign. In spite of the smallness of its size, its importance is very great, inasmuch as it gives us a reliable picture of the mentality of a bigoted Muslim king, and acquaints us with his own religious attitude in a way such as nothing else could. It also helps us to interpret correctly the actions of other Muslim Sultans of the same type.

The second is an anonymous v/ork entitled Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi. 9 It was written in A.D. 1370 during the reign of Firuz, and probably under his patronage and at his dictation. It is a bigger version of the other, and highly praises the activities of the monarch.

Another historical work, written in the form of an epic, is the Futuli-us-Saldtin , 10 by Tsami about A.D. 1350. It gives an account of the long period from the rise of the Yaminis of Ghazni to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. The author was a victim of the tyranny of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and was forced to leave Delhi for Daulatabad with his grandfather aged ninety, who died on the way.

He settled at Daulatabad and composed his work under the patronage of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dln Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. He was thus the only historian of the Tughluq period who was above fear or favour of the rulers of the dynasty. On the other hand, his personal sufferings at the hands of Muhammad bin Tughluq may account partly for his severe denunciations of the Sultan.

Reference may be made to a fragment of four pages included in a manuscript of the Tabaqdt-i-NdsirT at the British Museum (Add. 25,785). M. Habib, who first drew attention to it, regarded it as a part of an autobiography of Muhammad bin Tughluq, and M. Husain, who accepted this view, translated a portion of the manuscript and regarded it as of very great importance for a proper understanding of the psychology and character of Sultan Muhammad. Since then the authenticity of this work has been questioned by many. K. A. Nizami discussed the question at length and concluded that the work was a fake. M. Habib also now concurs in this view. On the other hand, Qureshi regards the fragment as “part of a Persian version of the Sultan’s application to the Egyptian Caliph for recognition”. This view has also been endorsed by S. A. A. Rizvi. In any case, it is not safe to accept this fragment as a statement of the views of Muhammad bin Tughluq. 11

For the invasion of Timur, which practically put an end to the rule of the Tughluqs, we have an authentic account in his autobiographical memoir known as Malfuzat-i-Timurl. The original, written in Turki, was translated into Persian by Abu Talib Husaini and dedicated to the Emperor Shah Jahan. All doubts about its genuineness have now been removed and the work is universally regarded as an authentic account of the acts and views of the great ruler. 12

The exploits of Timur form the subject-matter of another work, Zafar-ndma, written only thirty years after his death by Sharafud-dln ‘All Yazdi under the royal patronage of the grandson of the great conqueror. It is a reproduction of the other work in an ornate style. 13

The only contemporary chronicle of the Sayyid period is the Tdrikh-i-Mubarak Shahl , 14 composed by Yahya bin Ahmad of Sirhind shortly after the death of Mubarak Shah (A.D. 1421-34), the second king of the dynasty. Yahya was a Shiah, while nearly all the other historians of Delhi were Sunnis. He was a favourite of the king and had ample opportunity of knowing the events of his reign. Dowson regards him as “a careful and apparently an honest chronicler”. His work begins from the reign of Mu‘izz-ud-dln

Muhammad Ghurl and ends with the accession of Sultan Muhammad, the third king of the Sayyid dynasty. The author himself says that “the facts (of his history) have been gathered from various histories and recorded up to the coronation of the powerful Firuz Shah. . . .and after that event whatever was witnessed (by the author) has been related.” 15 Thus Yahya relates, from his personal knowledge, the history of the period from the point where Barani ends, and “supplements the meagre information of ‘Afif from about A.D. 1380 onw&rds”. He is the most original authority for the period A.D. 1400 to 1434, and is the only authentic source of information about the Sayyid period. All the subsequent historians like Nizamud-din Ahmad, Badauni and Firishta have based their account of this period on this work. 16

It is somewhat singular that no eminent historian flourished during the first period of Afghan rule under the Lodls. There is, however, a work of quasi-historical character by Shaikh Rizqullah, who had the poetical name Mushtaqi in Persian and Raj an in Hindi. Only two manuscripts of this work are known, and both are in the British Museum. One of these bears the title Wdqi‘at-i-MushtdqT, and the other Tarikh-i-Mushtaqi. The author was born in 897 A.H. (A.D. 1491-1492) and died in 989 A.H. (A.D. 1581-1582), the work being composed nine years before his death. It covers the whole period of Afghan rule, and undoubtedly contains many authentic details. But the author did not follow any regular plan of writing history, and his book is rather a series of disjointed narratives mixed with anecdotes. "These deficiencies, however, do not detract from the value of his work as a contemporary source, particularly on a part of the entirely untraversed period of the Lodls. It also remains the earliest extant account of the Surs which has been considerably borrowed by later writers. A short survey of administrative organisation, works of public utility, and measures to protect agriculture and ensure welfare of citizens, given by the author while dealing with the reigns of Sikandar Lodi, Sher Shah, and Islam Shah, along with brief but impartial descriptions of their private and court behaviour, is worthy of the closest attention, as it preserves therein means of judging the character and talents of these monarchs." 17

Our main sources of the history of the Lodi period are three historical works of the seventeenth century, which all begin from the reign of Buhlul Lodi. The first, the Tarikh-i-Shdhi or Tankh-i Saldtln-i~Afghdna } composed by Ahmad Yadgar in A.D. 1601, ends with the death of Himu. The second, Makhzan-i-Afghana, composed by Nfimatullah in A.D. 1612, ends with the reign of Ibrahim

Lodi. The third, Tdrikh-i-Ddudi, composed by ‘Abdullah during the reign of Jahangir (A.D. 1605-1627), ends with the death of Daud Shah (A.D. 1575). These three works thus deal exclusively with the Afghan rule in India.

The history of the entire period covered in this volume is also dealt with in later historical works like those of Firishta, Nizam* ud-din, and Badauni to which reference will be made in the next volume. There are also contemporary and non-contemporary sources of minor importance to which detailed reference need not be made. 18

Reference may be made to a few works written by foreigners. Badr-ud-dln, a native of Tashkent, who came to India and lived for some time in the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq, wrote a few Persian poems full of chronograms which are of great help in fixing the dates of many events. 19

Shihab-ud-dln arUmarl (A.D. 1301-1348), a native of Damascus, wrote a book called Masdlik-ul-Ahsdr, which throws interesting sidelight on the contemporary Muslim civilization in India. Though the author never came to India, he gathered his information from the travellers to India. 20

The history of most of the provinces under independent Sultans was written by both Nizam-ud-dln and Firishta who consulted various authors, some of whose works are no longer available. However, for some of the independent Sultanates provincial histories are also available. The earliest history of Sind for this period seems to have been the Tdrikh-i-Bahadur Shdlit, now lost, which was used by Nizam-ud-dm, and probably by Abu-’l Fazl and Firishta as well. The other histories of Sind were written at a later date. These are the Tdrikh-i-Sind of Mir Muhammad M‘asum written in A.D. 1600 for the instruction of the author’s son; the Tdrikh-i-Tdhin of Mir Tahir Muhammad Nisyam, written in A.D. 1654-55, which gives the history of the Arghuns in Sind; and the Tuhfat-ul-Kirdm by ‘All Sher Qani, written in the later half of the 18th century, of which the third volume is the most comprehensive and consistent of all the histories of Sind.

For Kashmir, Mlrza Haidar Dughlat’s Tdrikh-i-Rasliidi, which gives an account of the Mlrza’s invasions and occupation of Kashmir, is the only Muslim source for the history of that period, and is a most useful supplement to the Rdjatarangim. The Tdrikh-i-Kdshmtr of Haidar Malik, a Kashmiri nobleman in the service of Yusuf Shah of Kashmir (A.D. 1578), gives the history of Kashmir from the earliest times. Though mainly based on the Rdjatarangim there are some additions in the later period. It was begun in A.D. 1618 and completed some time after A.D. 1620-21.

For Bengal we have the Riydz-us-Salatin of Ghulam Husain Salim, which traces the history of the province from the invasion of Bakhtyar Khaljl to A.D. 1788, the date of the work. Of this work Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: “...this book, named the Riy&z-usSalatm, is meagre in facts, mostly incorrect in detail and dates, and vitiated by loose traditions, as its author had no knowledge of many of the standard Persian authorities who had treated of Bengal as a part of their general histories of India. ,,20a

For the history of Gujarat there are several works such as the Mirat-i-Sikandafi of Sikandar bin Muhammad which gives the history of Gujarat from the Muslim conquest to A.D. 1611, when the work was composed. Other Persian works are the Mirdt-i-Ahmadi by ‘All Muhammad Khan (c. A.D. 1756-1761) and the Tafikh-i Gujarat by Mir Abu Turab Wall. There is also a valuable history of Gujarat written in Arabic, the Zafar-ul-Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alih of ‘Abdullah Muhammad bin ‘Umar al-Makkl.

For the history of the BahmanI dynasty of Gulbarga and Bldar and of the Nizam Shah! dynasty of Ahmadnagar, we have the Burhan-i-Ma‘dsir of Sayyid ‘All Tabataba. The author arrived in India in c. A. D. 1580 and entered first in the service of the Sultan of Golconda, and then that of Burhan Nizam Shah II, from whom the history derives its title. The author states in the preface that he commenced the work in 1000 A.H. (A.D. 1591-1592)—the title itself being a chronogram giving this date—and it is brought down to 1004 A.H. (A.D. 1595-96). The author seems to have borrowed freely from the Futuh-us-Sald,tin of TsamI in describing the reign of ‘Ala-ud-dln Hasan, the first BahmanI Sultan. The Tazkirat-ul-Muluk by Rafiud-dln Shiraz! is a history of the ‘Adil Shahls of Bijapur and of contemporary Indian and Persian dynasties. In the introductory chapter there is a brief account of the BahmanI Dynasty which corroborates and supplements the Burhdn-i-Ma c dsir on some points. The work was begun in A.D. 1608-9 and completed in 1611-12. The author was in the service of ‘All ‘Adil Shah II (A.D. 1557-1579), and held the office of the Governor of Bijapur.

In addition to the Muslim chronicles there are three Sanskrit poetical works dealing with the history of Kashmir, a short account of which has been given above. 21 They continue the historical narrative of Kalhana from the middle of the twelfth century down to the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughul emperor Akbar. Although inferior to Kalhana’s Rdjatarangini in literary style, these works, particularly the earliest one written by Jonaraja, are of great importance, and help us both in correcting and supplementing the

statements in Muslim chronicles regarding Kashmir. 22 It may be added that these three works have been treated by Muslim historians as the basis of their works.

The bardic chronicles of Rajasthan, written in the form of ballads, supply valuable information, though they contain much that is merely poetical effusion.

We possess voluminous literary evidence for the history of Vijayanagara, to which reference will be made later.

A beautiful Sanskrit poem Madhuravijayam (conquest of Madura) describes the campaigns of Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka I, the king of Vijayanagara, against the Muslim Sultan of Madura. The poem was written by Kampana’s wife Gahgadevi and, though written in epic style, contains useful historical information. Another historical work relating to Vijayanagara is the Achyutardydhhyudaya by Rajanatha. It describes the events in the reign of Achyuta Raya, the half-brother and successor of Krishnadeva Raya.

II. ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

In addition to the historical chronicles, we have a very valuable source of information in the accounts left by foreign travellers who visited India during this period. The most important of them was Ibn Batutah, who wrote a detailed account of his travels (Rehla). 23 Batutah was his family name, his personal name being Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad. He was born at Tangier in A.D. 1304 and is said to have died at Fez at the age of seventy-four. In A. D. 1325 he left his home and, passing through various countries in Africa and West Asia, crossed the Sindhu in A.D. 1333. It is unnecessary for our present purpose to give a detailed account of his travels which took him as far as Indonesia and China. Suffice it to say that out of a total of more than 77,000 miles, he covered more than 14,000 miles in the course of his travels through India, Maldives and Ceylon. He stayed in India for about fourteen years (A.D. 133347) of which about eight years were spent at Delhi (A. D. 1334-42) where he was appointed qdzl by Muhammad bin Tughluq, and assigned the office of hospice administrator (A.D. 1334). He enjoyed high favours of the emperor at first, but later incurred his displeasure and was kept under watch for some time. 24 He was, however, restored to royal favour and was offered service, but he declined. He was then asked to conduct a royal embassy to China, and he agreed to do so (A.D. 1341). But it was not till A.D. 1346 that after visiting a number of places he left Bengal on a ship and sailed to China via Sumatra and Java.

The Rehla (Travels) of Ibn Batutah contains abundant information not only on the momentous events of the period, but also on the judicial, political and military institutions, and social and economic conditions of India. It also throws interesting light on a variety of topics such as the postal system and roads, traffic and secret intelligence, men and ideas of the age, agricultural products, court ceremonies, trade and shipping, music, etc.

As a contemporary account of a widely travelled and experienced man of wisdom who had ample opportunity of knowing the truth, the Rehla of Ibn Batutah occupies a very important place among the sources of information for the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. His account is invaluable as it enables us to form a fair estimate of the character and achievements of this emperor, who was one of the most enigmatic personalities that ever ruled over a vast kingdom. There is no reason to doubt the general veracity of his accounts, and being a foreigner, he was free from the difficulties and embarrassments of a court-chronicler and personal predilections of an Indian historian for the contemporary ruler or his family.

We get a brief account of India in the fourteenth century in the Subh-ul-A‘shd of al-Qalqashandi. He had, however, never visited India, but based his work on those of former travellers and geographers. ‘Abd-ur-Razzaq, the Persian Ambassador to the court of the Zamorin of Calicut (A.D. 1442), visited Vijayanagara and wrote a detailed account of the society and administration of the kingdom.

We also possess the accounts of some European travellers who visited India during the period under review. The Franciscan friar, John of Monte Corvine, and Marco Polo visited India, respectively on their way to and back from China, during the last decade of the thirteenth century. Friar Odoric of Pordenone arrived in India about A.D. 1321, and Friar Jordanus, probably a little before him. They were followed shortly afterwards by the Florentine monk John of Marignolli. But the most important, from our point of view, was Nicolo Conti, an Italian, who visited Vijayanagara about A.D. 1420. He gave a detailed account of this kingdom to a Papal Secretary who wrote it in Latin. Although this original version is lost, we have got its translation in Portuguese, and an Italian version of the latter.

Reference may also be made to the famous Portuguese chronicle, The Commentaries of the Great Alfonso D'Alboquerque, which was compiled by Albuquerque's natural son, Braz d'Albuquerque, from the original letters and despatches sent by his father to King Manoel of Portugal, some of which throw light on the relation between the Portuguese and the Sultan of Gujarat.

Among other European writers may be mentioned Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian trader, who visited the RahmanI kingdom (c. A.D. 1470), Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna in Italy (A.D. 1502-6), and the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa (A.D. 1500-1516) and Domingos Paes (c. A.D. 1500-2). 25

III. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The epigraphic and numismatic sources, though not as important and valuable as for the pre-Muslim period of Indian History, are still of great help in fixing the chronology of events, correcting the list of rulers and their dates as given in the chronicles, and determining the approximate limits of a kingdom. In particular, the inscriptions of the Hindu rulers of Orissa, the Deccan, and South India contain much valuable information that throws an altogether new light on the history of these regions. They demonstrate that the Muslim chronicles, mentioned above, were written mostly from the point of view of Muslim rulers, and generally ignored the political activities of the Hindus, who lived outside their dominions.

The epigraphs have been published mostly in Epigraphia Indo Moslemica, Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia lndica, and other antiquarian journals.[26]

The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi by Edward Thomas deals comprehensively with the coins of the period, and is regarded as a standard work on the subject. This has been supplemented by the catalogues of coins in different Museums to which full reference will be made in the Bibliography. The following observations by Lane Poole may be regarded as a correct estimate of the importance of coins as a source of the history of this period: “As a rule we may look upon Muhammadan coins as the surest foundations for an exact history of the dynasties by which they were issued. The coins of a Muslim ruler generally go far to establish those outward data in regard to his reign which oriental historians too often neglect or misstate. The year of accession, the extent of his dominion, his relations with the neighbouring powers and with the spiritual chief of his religion are all facts for which we may look with confidence to his coins.”[27] The pagodas of Vijayanagara kings and the coins of the Sultans of Madura and Bahmanl kingdom are also found in large quantities. While the last two follow the models of the Delhi Sultanate, the legends of the first were at first written in either Kannada or Nagarl and, later, exclusively in Nagari script.

THE SOURCES

As regards the monuments of the period, of which a large number is happily still in a fair state of preservation, it is hardly necessary to say much here. They will be treated in detail in the chapter on art.

1. For the life and writings of Amir Khusrav cf. Life And Works of Amir Khusrav by Dr. W. Mirza; and also HIED, III. 523-67.

2. A very good summary of this work is given in the Persian text published by Islamic Research Association pp. XXVII-XXXVIIX.

3. Translated in HIED, III. 93-268, and also in JPASB, 1870, pp. 43 ff. For a critical account see MTMH, 248-50.

4. HIED, III, 93.

5. Ibid, 95. For a more favourable estimate of Barani as a historian, see PIHC, VII, 276.

6. HIED, III. 96.

7. Ibid, 269-373.

8. Ibid, 374-88. It was edited by N. B. Roy (JRASBL, VII: 61) and translated by him (Is. C., XV. 449). It was used by Firishta, and Nizam-ud-dln refers to it as one of his authorities.

9. MTMH, 255.

10. The date of the composition is given as A.D. 1349 (MTMH, 253) and 1358-9 (Sastri, History of South India, 24) both of which seem to be wrong. According to Rizvi, JXsamI finished writing his book in 751 A.H. (A.D. 1350-1351) (S.A.A. Rizvi: Adi Turk Kalin Bharat, Aligarh, 1956, p. 299).

11. M. Habib: The Intermediate College Magazine, Aligarh, 1930, 1. MTMH, xi, 172, 251; K. A. Nizami, Studies In Medieval Indian History (Aligarh, 1956), pp. 76 ff.; S.A.A. Rizvi, Tughlaq Kalin Bharat: Appendix A, 1.

12. HIED, III. 389-477.

13. Ibid, 478-522.

14. Translated by K. K. Basu (G.O.S., LXIII).

15. Ibid, 4.

16. Ibid, Foreword by Jadunath Sarkar, p. v.

17. Quoted from an unpublished paper of Dr. Hameedud Din read at the Asian History Conference in London (1956), on which the account of this work is based.

18. For these works see bibliography. Also cf. MTMH, 248-58.

19. MTMH, 251.

20. Ibid, S. A. A. Rizvi: Tuqhluq Kalin Bharat, I, p. dha.

20a. HBS, 501.

21. Vol. I, 51.

22. BV, XVI, 1.

23. Translated by M. Husain (G. O. S. CXXIX). The account that follows is based on this work. Dr. Husain spells the name as Ibn Battuta, but the simpler spelling adopted in CHI, namely, Ibn Batutah, has been followed in this volume.

24. The statement of Dr. Husain that Ibn Batutah was thrown into prison (MTMH, 250) is not borne out by his own translation of the Rehla.

25. For a detailed account of these travellers see Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. N. Sastri.

26. A collection of all inscriptions, published in Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (19071938), chronologically arranged with summaries, is given by V. S. Bendrey in A Study of Muslim Inscriptions (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944).

27. Lane Poole: Catalogue of Indian Coins In The British Museum: The Sultans of Delhi, Introduction, vii.

CHAPTER II

THE KHALJI DYNASTY

I. JALAL-UD-DIN FIRUZ SHAH (A.D. 1290-96)

The accession of Malik Firuz on the throne of Delhi in June 1290 1 as Jalal-ud-dln Firuz Shah caused so much resentment among the people of Delhi, that for about a year he thought it prudent to remain at Kilughari. The people had become accustomed to the rule of the Ilbarl Turks for about eighty years and saw in Firuz Shah an Afghan usurper who had put an end to the Turkish rule. In reality, the Khalj Is were not Afghans as they were erroneously believed to be, but Turks who had been settled for a long time in the region of Afghanistan called Khalj, Ijdng on either side of the Helmand, and had adopted Afghan manners and customs. They had migrated to Hindusthan in the wake of the Ghaznavid and the Ghurid invasions as well as the Mongol pressure in Central Asia and Afghanistan. Jalal-ud-dln Firuz made Kilughari his capital, completed the unfinished palace and gardens of Kaiqubad, and instructed his courtiers and followers to build their houses around the palace. Thus Kilughari soon became a beautiful suburb of Delhi humming with life.

The Khalji revolution put an end to the supremacy of the Ilbarl Turks. Firuz, of course, did not exclude them from office, but he appointed his own relations to positions of trust. Malik Chhajju, nephew of Balban and the only survivor of the late royal family, was allowed to retain the fief of Kara-Manikpur. The office of chief minister (wazir) was conferred on Khvaja Khatir, who had held it under Balban and Kaiqubad. Fakhr-ud-din, the koiwal of Delhi, continued to hold his position. The king’s eldest son obtained the title of Khan Khanan; the second, Arkali Khan, and the third, Qadr Khan. His younger brother was ennobled as Yaghrush Khan and appointed army minister ariz-i-rnumcilik). His nephews, ‘Ala-ud-dln and Almas Beg, obtained important posts in the royal household, while his relation, the witty but bluntly frank Malik Ahmad Chap, was appointed deputy master of the ceremonies.

Never was a ruler a greater misfit in his time than the first Khalji king of Delhi. A pious and God-fearing Muslim, Firuz was an old man of seventy when he came to the throne. His innate good nature, combined with weakness born of old age, made him unduly kind and generous, and deprived him of those manly qualities which are necessary for kingship. 2 The valiant governor of Samana, who had ably repelled the series of Mongol invasions, was very different from the Khalji king who would raise the siege of Ranthambhor, considering ten such forts not worth a single hair of a Muslim. One could appreciate the man in Firuz, when he dismounted from his horse and stood with tears in his eyes before the Red Palace of Balban as the melancholy thought arose in his mind how often he had stood in awe before the same throne, but his Khalji followers could see in it nothing but sentimental rubbish attempting to cover his infirmity.

Malik Chhajju was the first to take advantage of Firuz Shah’s reckless leniency, for as a Balbanite he could press his claim to the throne of Delhi and count on the support of its populace. Joined by Amir ‘Ali, the sar-jdnddr, governor of Awadh and other old adherents of Balban, Malik Chhajju, just a few months after the accession of Firuz, set up independent authority at Kara and marched towards Delhi with a large force. He was, however, defeated near Badaun and took to flight. Being hotly pursued, he was captured along with his lieutenants, and was brought before the King at Badaun in fetters. Firuz not only released them, but entertained them and even expressed his appreciation of their loyalty to their former sovereign. To Malik Ahmad Chap’s grave warning that such conduct on the part of a sovereign was unseemly and injudicious, tending to encourage rebellion, the old King replied that he would rather renounce the throne than shed the blood of Muslims. Malik Chhajju’s fief of Kara was given to the King’s nephew and son-in-law, ‘Ala-ud-din, for his gallant participation in the campaign,

Firuz Shah’s lenient and mild policy fostered disloyal ambition among the nobles who interpreted it as the result of his weakness. They were confirmed in their opinion by the King’s treatment of the thags, who were a perpetual menace in the environs of Delhi. A thousand of these professed robbers and murderers were captured, but the King merely sent them to Bengal where they had full freedom to carry on their criminal activities. In a drinking party some of the nobles even made the proposal of killing Firuz and offering the throne to Taj-ud-din Kuchi, who was a prominent nobleman and a member of the famous ‘Forty’. When Firuz received this report, he sent for the conspirators and challenged them in an open duel, but his indignation was easily calmed down by the flattering words of one of them. Firuz pardoned them all, though they were dismissed from the court for a year with warning.

The proverbial leniency of Firuz, however, failed on one occasion. Sidi Maula, a saint who had migrated from Persia, was a

disciple of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajudhan and had settled at Delhi early in the reign of Balkan. From the conflicting accounts in the chronicles, it is difficult to say whether he was really a saint or a charlatan. He offered prayers but never visited a mosque. He practised strict austerity, employed no maid or slave in his household, and accepted no offering, but maintained a hospice where a large number of people were sumptuously fed every day. Some believed that he possessed the knowledge of alchemy and magic, while some suspected that he was a pensioner of the thags, but most probably he was financed by Khan Khanan, the King’s eldest son. In spite of the warning of his preceptor, Sidi Maula associated himself with politics and soon became the favourite of Khan Khanan, and in consequence the enemy of Arkali Khan, the second son of Firuz. Indeed, his hospice became the rendezvous of the malcontents among the old Turkish nobility who could not reconcile themselves to the Khalji regime. Sidi Maula became a power and could count on some 10,000 men as his followers and no wonder that his hospice with its regular nocturnal gatherings soon became the centre of political intrigue. There was a conspiracy to assassinate Firuz on the occasion of Friday prayer, proclaim Sidi Maula as the Caliph, and marry him to a daughter of Kasir-ud-din Mahmud. The plot, however, leaked out on account of the betrayal of one of the members, and the conspirators were arrested in time. They did not confess the guilt; custom did not sanction torture, and the juries would not sanction ordeal by fire. The King transferred Jala! Kashani, one of the ring-leaders, to Badaun, punished some and exiled others, and asked his courtiers to avenge him on Sidi

Maula. As soon as the saint was brought captive to the royal presence, he was slashed with a razor and stabbed with a packing needle by a man belonging to a hostile sect, and then trampled to death under the feet of an elephant by order of Arkali Khan (1291). Sidi Mania's death, according to Barani, was followed immediately by a dust storm that darkened the day and shortly afterwards drought and famine took a heavy toll of human lives. All this was interpreted by the historian Barani and the pious orthodox section as expressions of heaven's wrath for murder of the saint. The Sidi Maula affair may be regarded as the last attempt of the Ilbarl party to recover its lost ground. It was not possibly altogether accidental that Khan Khanan, who was the chief disciple of Sidi Maula, died soon after, and Arkali Khan became heir apparent.

Shortly after, Firuz led an expedition to Ranthambhor, leaving Arkali Khan as regent at the capital. On the way the troops captured Jhain, and the King, though he appreciated the art and architecture of its temples, did not fail to show his iconoclastic zeal by ordering their destruction and despatching the fragments of their idols to Delhi, to be thrown near the gates of the Jami' mosque to be trodden upon by all. The Rana of Ranthambhor shut himself up in the fort, and Firuz decided not to besiege it. When Ahmad Chap protested against it, he remarked that he did not consider ten such forts worth a single hair of a Muslim, and returned to Delhi on June 3, 1291.

In A.D. 1292, a vast horde of Mongols, estimated to be between 100,000 and 150,000, invaded India under the command of a grand' son of Iiulagu and penetrated as far as Sunam. Firuz, who had long served as the warden of the marches, met the Mongol advance guard and defeated it, but afraid to face the main force of the invaders, made peace with them. Ulghu, a descendant of Chingiz Khan, accepted Islam with 4,000 followers. They were settled in the suburbs of Delhi and came to be known as the 'New Muslims'. Towards the end of the year, Firuz took Mandor 3 and made a second raid into Jhain.

Meanwhile the centre of political gravity was shifting from the old King to his ambitious nephew, 'Ala-ud-dm, the governor of Kara, whose personal ambition was incited by the disaffected nobles who were behind Malik

Chhajju. They suggested to him the possibility of a successful coup with proper finance, the lack of which was the cause of Chhajju's failure. 'Ala-ud-din's unhappy relations with his wife, the daughter of Firuz, also prompted him to undertake a profitable, though perilous, undertaking with a view to taming her who was a veritable shrew. Towards the end of 1292, 'Aia-ud-dm obtained permission of the King, who had just captured Mandor, for a raid into Bhilsa. After a surprise attack on it, 'Ala-ud-din returned to Delhi with an enormous booty among which were some metal idols which were laid down before the Badaun gate to be trampled by the faithful. He was rewarded by the King with the addition of Awadh to his governorship of Kara. Emboldened by royal favour and the steadily waning reputation of Firuz, he sought and obtained the King's permission for a raid into Chanderi and remission of the revenues of Kara and Awadh to enable him to raise a fresh army for the purpose. 'Ala-ud-din set out on February 26, 1296, 4 with an army of 3,000 or 4,000 horse and 2,000 infantry, ostensibly for Chanderi but in reality for Devagiri (Deoglr, modern Daulatabad), about whose fabulous wealth he had heard during his Bhilsa campaign. Malik 'Ala-ul-Mulk, uncle of the historian Barani, was left at Kara as his deputy with instruction to send false reports to Delhi with a view to allaying the King's suspicion about his movements. Passing through Chanderi and Bhiisa, he marched straight to Ellichpur, the northernmost outpost of the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri, where he halted for two days and posed himself as a disaffected nobleman of the Delhi court seeking service under the Raja of Rajahmundry. At the pass of Lasura, some twelve miles west of Devagiri, Ala-ud-din met with stubborn resistance from Kanha, governor of the place, who was greatly helped by two women, possibly rulers of principalities under him. Defeating them, Ala-ud-din appeared before Devagiri at an opportune moment, when, as he had already been informed by his scouts, the Yadava ruler Ramachandra (or Ramadeva) had sent away the main army to the frontier under his son, whose name is usually taken to be Sankara but seems to be really Sihghana. 5 Ramachandra was, therefore, forced to take shelter within the fort. Ala-ud-din thoroughly plundered the city and gave out that his army was but the advance guard of the main force of 20,000 horse that was following. The Yadava king, suffering from lack of provisions and apprehending the enemy’s strength, sued for peace at the end of a week. As Ala-ud-din was in a hurry to return from the unauthorised campaign, he accepted Ramachandra’s proposals and concluded a treaty. Meanwhile Sihghana, on learning of the Muslim invasion, had hastened towards the capital with a large army[5a] and, ignoring his father’s remonstrance not to violate the treaty, attacked Ala-ud-din. The Muslim troops were seized with panic and would possibly have lost the battle but for the timely arrival of the contingent of Nusrat Khan which Ala-ud-din had left in charge of the investment of the fort immediately after the renewal of hostilities. This turned the tide, as it was mistaken by the Devagiri troops for the alleged 20,000 horse that was following, and they retreated in confusion. Ala-ud-din now pressed the siege and Ramachandra was forced, due to the shortage of provisions, to sue for peace again. The Khalji adventurer now dictated harder terms. Besides the booty in horses and elephants, he obtained huge indemnity, promise of the annual revenue of Ellichpur and the hand of a daughter of Ramachandra. Twenty-five days after his arrival at Devagiri, he left it, and with great speed returned to Kara on June 3, 1296, storming the fort of Asirgarh on the way.

Ala-ud-din’s brilliant campaign in the Deccan, which was to him a terra incognita and several hundred miles away from his base, was an extraordinary exploit. It marked the first step in Islam’s march into the South, and made him, the governor of Kara, the king of Delhi. Delhi was really conquered at Devagiri, for it was the gold of the Deccan that paved the way for ‘Ala-ud-din’s accession to the throne.

During his absence ‘Ala-ud-din’s deputy at Kara had explained his silence to the Sultan as due to his constant exertions in subduing refractory kingdoms; and Firuz, who had great affection for his nephew, was easily convinced in spite of the warning of some of the nobles. Early in 1296 the King marched with his army to Gwalior and it was there that he first learnt of his nephew’s secret venture into the Deccan and of his return with immense wealth. Firuz not only turned a deaf ear to the warning of Ahmad

Chap, but admonished him for his advice to intercept ‘Ala-ud-dln at Chanderi. The King returned to Delhi and, shortly after, received a letter from his nephew at Kara, begging his pardon for undertaking an expedition without his leave and promising to return all the treasures he had obtained. ‘Ala-ud-dm followed this by sending another letter to his brother Almas Beg to the effect that he was repentant for his misconduct and was so panic-stricken that he would either leave for Bengal or commit suicide, and would not feel convinced of royal pardon unless the King would personally come to Kara and take him to Delhi. Almas Beg showed his brother’s letter to Firuz who, moved by affection and lure of the Deccan gold, soon left for Kara by river with his trusted nobles; while the army, one thousand horse, proceeded by land. ‘Ala-ud-dln, as he received the report of the King’s departure from Delhi crossed the Ganga (Ganges) and moved to Manikpur with his army and treasures. When the boats of the King reached Kara, Almas Beg, who had arrived before, received him and persuaded him to meet his nephew alone, as any armed escort would frighten ‘Ala-ud-dln, while to the suspicious nobles of the King he explained the presence of ‘Ala-ud-dln’s army in battle array as but the befitting arrangement to accord his uncle a royal reception in which the treasures would be delivered. So, accompained by a small number of unarmed nobles, Firuz proceeded to the other bank ‘as a father goes to his son’s house’. ‘Alla-ud-din received his uncle as he landed at Manikpur and fell at his feet. The King raised him up, assured him of his never-failing affection and, lovingly taking his hand, led him towards his barge, when Muhammad Salim at the preconcerted signal attacked Firuz with his sword. Wounded, the old King ran towards the river crying: ‘Ah, you wretch, ‘Ala-ud-din! What have you done?’, when another assassin Ikhtyar-ud-din Hud, who had pursued him, threw him down and, cutting off his head, presented it to ‘Ala-ud-dln (July 20, 1296). The King’s attendants were all put to death; but Ahmad Chap was able by difficult marches through rain to lead the army back to Delhi.

D.S.—2

II. ‘ALA-UD-DIN KHALJI (A.D. 1296-1316)

1. Consolidation of Power

The severed head of Jalal-ud-dln Flruz Shah was yet dripping with blood, when the royal canopy was raised over the head of ‘Ala-ud-dln, and he was proclaimed king. The head of the murdered Sultan was placed on a spear and paraded through Kara and Manikpur and then through Awadh. The new king rewarded his followers with titles and promotions. Almas Beg obtained the title of Ulugh Khan; Hizabr-ud-dm, Zafar Khan; Malik San jar, Alp Khan; and Malik Nusrat, Nusrat Khan; while others were promoted to higher ranks. But Delhi was still in the hands of Flruz Shah’s men and l Ala-ud-dm hesitated to march on the capital during the rains against Arkall Khan who was an able general. The rashness of Flruz Shah’s widow, however, favoured his cause. She hastened to proclaim her youngest son Qadr Khan as king under the title Rukn-ud-dln Ibrahim, setting aside the claim of the elder son Arkall Khan who was at Multan. Consequently Arkall Khan became completely alienated from his mother, and his partisans refused to recognize her nominee. These divisions in Flruz Shah’s family offered ‘Al'a-ud-din the opportunity to march on Delhi, and he advanced ‘with iron in one hand and gold in the other’. The gold of Devagiri, which he now lavishly distributed, enabled him to gather a large army exceeding 60,000 horse and 60,000 foot. During the height of the rainy season ‘Ala-ud-dln marched by way of Badaun and Baran, where he was joined by some of the prominent Jalali nobles who had been sent by the queen-mother to oppose him. The infection spread to Delhi as well, where many of the nobility abandoned the cause of Rukn-ud-din in favour of his powerful cousin. As ‘Ala-ud-dln approached Delhi, the boy king came out to offer resistance; but as the entire left wing of his army deserted to the enemy, he with his mother, led by the loyal Ahmad Chap, left for Multan. ‘Ala-ud-dln then made his triumphal entry into the capital on October 22, 1296, 6 and took up his residence in the Red Palace of Balban, where he was formally enthroned. By lavish distribution of wealth he gained, rather purchased, the loyalty of all sections of people.

‘Ala-ud-dln lost no time in sending Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan to Multan against his cousins, the sons of the late king. At the head of a force between 30,000 and 40,000 they besieged Multan and compelled Arkall Khan and Rukn-ud-dln Ibrahim to surrender. They were taken captive, and near Hansi they, with their brother-in-law Ulghu Khan and Ahmad Chap, were blinded by the express order of ‘Ala-ud-din. Later on, the two brothers were put to death, while their mother was kept under close custody at Delhi.

Nusrat Khan was now appointed minister (wazir), but as he became unpopular he was transferred to Kara, while his lieutenant at Kara, ‘Ala-ul-mulk, was appointed to the position of kotwal of Delhi. Shortly after ‘Ala-ud-din’s accession, a horde of 100,000 Mongols led by Kadar invaded the Punjab and advanced as far as the environs of Lahore. Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan defeated them near Jalandhar and drove them back with great slaughter (February 7, 1298).

The victory enhanced the prestige of ‘Ala-ud-din, who now meted drastic punishments to those nobles, whose loyalty he had recently purchased by bribes, as he considered them too fickle. Some were put to death; some were blinded; some imprisoned for life; and the property of all was confiscated. Thus the master traitor punished all those who were guilty of infidelity.

2. Early Campaigns

In the latter half of 1298, 7 ‘Ala-ud-din sent an expedition under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to Gujarat whose wealth and flourishing ports attracted his attention. Ulugh Khan invaded Jaisalmer during his march and, after he joined Nusrat Khan, the two generals made an unsuccessful raid on Chitor. They invaded Gujarat and took its capital Anhilwara. The Vaghela king Karna (Rai Karan of the Muslim chronicles) offered some resistance near Ahmadabad but being defeated by Ulugh Khan, took to flight. His queen Kamala Devi and his treasures, however, fell into the hands of the invaders. 8 Gujarati sources, including Merutuiiga’s Vichdrasrem, a contemporary work, ascribe ‘Ala-u-din’s attack and Muslim success to the betrayal of Karna’s minister Madhava. There may be some truth in the story, though we cannot be quite definite about it. The Muslim generals advanced as far as Surat and then marched into Saurashtra, where they captured the city of Somanatha. The famous temple of Somanatha was plundered, and its idol, which had been set up after its sack by Mahmud of Ghazni, was sent to Delhi, where it was laid down for the faithful to tread upon. Nusrat Khan plundered the rich port of Cambay and obtained an immense booty. He also secured there the handsome young Hindu slave named Kafur who was known as Hazardinar! as his master had originally bought him for one thousand dinars. According to Wassiaf the invaders thoroughly sacked the country and ruthlessly slaughtered its people.

After establishing Muslim authority in Gujarat, the victorious generals set out for the capital, but on the way troubles broke out

near Jalor over the distribution of the plunder. The soldiers were subjected to brutal torture to extort confession, and they, mostly ‘New Muslims’, revolted and killed Nusrat Khan’s brother and a nephew 7 of the King. Nusrat Khan and Ulugh Khan were, however, equal to the occasion. They rallied the loyal soldiers by beat of drums, defeated the rebels and pursued them with great slaughter. The chief conspirators escaped to the court of the Hindu chieftains, but ‘Ala-ud-din punished them by imprisoning their wives and children. Even this did not ally the wrath of Nusrat Khan, who delivered the wives of his brother’s murderers to the scavengers of Delhi; while their children were cut to pieces in their mothers’ presence. This wanton brutality is condemned with righteous indignation by the contemporary chronicler Barani.

In the same year that he sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to conquer Gujarat, ‘Ala-ud-din had to despatch Zafar Khan against the Mongols, who had invaded India under Saldi and captured Sehwan (Siwastan 9). Zafar Khan invested the fortress and, having recovered it, returned to Delhi with a large number of prisoners including Saldi and his brother. This easy and brilliant achievement of Zafar Khan made him a hero, but bred jealous apprehension of the King as well as Ulugh Khan, whose victories in Multan and Gujarat he had eclipsed.

‘Ala-ud-din’s ambition now knew no bounds. He conceived the idea of founding a new religion and imagined that like the Prophet of Islam who had four companions, namely Abu Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Usman and ‘All, he had four valiant and faithful generals: Ulugh Khan, Zafar Khan, Nusrat Khan and Alp Khan. He dreamed of world conquest and assumed the title of Alexander the Second (Sikandar Sani) on his coins as well as in the public prayers. Although his courtiers realized the absurdity of his extravagant plans, none dared speak out the truth. It was the kotwal of Delhi, ‘Ala-ul-Mulk, who, on being consulted, at great personal risk, correctly advised the

King by pointing out that religion sprang from divine inspiration and not from human intellect and wisdom: it was the function of prophets, not of kings; and that world conquest would be inexpedient, when there were so many kingdoms in India which remained unconquered, and while his kingdom was facing the great menace of Mongol invasions. ' Ala-ul-Mulk's homily opened the eyes of 'Ala-ud-din who not only confessed his errors, but amply rewarded the kotwal and assured him that he would act accordingly.

The soundness of the kotwaVs advice was soon confirmed by a serious Mongol invasion of India towards the end of 1299. A vast horde of 200,000 Mongols under Qutlugh Khvaja, a descendant of

Chingiz Khan, crossed the Sindhu and marched to the vicinity of Delhi to invest the city and conquer the country. People from the surrounding districts flocked to the capital in panic and crowded its streets, markets and mosques. The situation became grave, as the enemy blockaded the capital and threatened it with starvation. 'Ala-ud-din marched to Kill, north of the capital, and attacked the Mongols. Though 'Ala-ud-din repulsed the enemy's attack on the centre, it was Zafar Khan who took the offensive; he charged the Mongol left vehemently and drove them back with terrible slaughter, till he was surrounded and outnumbered by the enemy. He lost his life fighting to the end, as he received no reinforcement either from Ulugh Khan who commanded the left wing or from the King, both of whom were jealous of the hero. Zafar Khan's valour struck terror into the enemy's heart and the Mongols beat a hasty retreat the same night under the cover of darkness. For 'Ala-ud-din it was a double victory: the defeat of the powerful enemy and the death of a too powerful servant.

The strong fortress of Ranthambhor, which had baffled Jalalud-din, now attracted the attention of his ambitious nephew for two reasons: one was its strategical importance as one of the strongest fortresses of Hindusthan and the other, the asylum given to the Mongol rebels by its ruler Hamir Deva. 'Ala-ud-din despatched Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan against the Chauhan prince, and in due course the Khalil troops besieged the fort of Ranthambhor. Nusrat Khan was fatally struck by a missile thrown by the garrison. The besiegers, disheartened by this incident, were surprised bv the

Rajputs and forced to retreat. ‘Ala-ud-dln, therefore, marched in person towards Ranthambhor with a large army. On the way at Tilpat, about twelve miles east of Delhi, an attempt was made by his nephew Akat Khan to murder him, but the plan failed.

‘Ala-ud-dln now marched on to Ranthambhor, which Ulugh Khan had meanwhile besieged again. During the progress of the siege the King received report that his sister’s sons, ‘Umar Khan, governor of Radaun, and Mang'u Khan, governor of Awadh, had revolted. They were, however, soon captured and sent to Ranthambhor, where their eyes were gouged out in the presence of the King, and their families and followers were put to death.

Close on the heels of the abortive revolt of his nephews came the report of a serious insurrection at Delhi (May, 1301), led by an old officer named Haji Maula. He killed the kotmal of Delhi, plundered the treasury, and raised to the throne a Savyid popularly known as Shahinshah, who was descended through his mother from Iltutmish. ‘Ala-ud-din, who received the report of this outbreak three days later, despatched Malik Hamld-ud-din, entitled Amlr-iKuh, to Delhi. Hamid-ud-dln was able to defeat the rebels and put HajI Maula as well as the puppet king to death.

‘Ala-ud-din now carried on the siege of Ranthambhor with great vigour and infused fresh morale into his troops, who had begun to despair of success before the impregnable walls of the fort. Ultimately, shortage of provisions led to famine, which put the garrison to extreme hardship. Hamir Deva sent his minister Ranmal to ‘Ala-ud-din to negotiate peace, but he deserted to the invaders along with his followers. As there was no hope, women performed jauhar; Hamir Deva with his Raiputs died fighting; and the fort capitulated on July 11, 1301. ‘Ala-ud-din put to death Ranmal and other Rajputs who had joined him and had proved faithless to their master.

3. New Regulations

The series of revolts, referred to above, convinced ‘Ala-ud-din that there was something amiss in the existing state of things. Already, while he was engaged in the siege of Ranthambhor, he had consulted the prominent counsellors, and after careful deliberations he had come to the conclusion that four factors were responsible for the disease in the body politic. Firstly, the King was negligent and ignorant of the condition of people. Secondly, drinking led to convivial gatherings, which were the most fruitful breeding grounds of conspiracies. Thirdly, intermarriage and frequent discourse among the nobles made them a compact body dangerous to the State. Fourthly, wealth gave the people both power and leisure for evil thoughts and rebellions 93 After returning to Delhi, ‘Alaud-dln took active remedial measures so that such rebellions might not recur in future. By a stroke of his pen he revoked all grants and pensions and resumed all lands, which were held as milk (proprietory rights), indm (gifts), idrarat (pensions) and waqf (pious endowments), all of which were almost exclusively held by Muslims. 10 State officials were instructed to extort money from the people with extreme sternness and, according to the contemporary chronicler, the instructions were so faithfully carried out that, excepting the big nobles and the officers of the State or wealthy merchants and bankers, no one possessed gold. The result was that people had to remain so busy about earning their livelihood that they had hardly any time to think of rebellion. The second measure that ‘Ala-ud-din adopted was to establish a network of espionage, by which he kept himself informed of the doings of the nobles and all occurrences of importance to the State. Even the activities of the people in the market place were reported to the king; and so efficient was the intelligence service that the nobles did hardly dare to speak among themselves in public. The third measure of ‘Alaud-dln was prohibition. The sale and use of wine and intoxicating drugs were strictly forbidden at Delhi; and drastic punishment was meted out to those who were guilty of violation. ‘Ala-ud-din himself set the example by abstaining from drink, breaking all wine vessels, and emptying his cellar into the streets. But in spite of the vigorous supervision of the Intelligence Department and the brutal punishments given to the offenders, Delhi could not be made absolutely dry. The King bowed to the reality and permitted the private manufacture and use of drink. Drinking was, however, restrained as its public sale and use were prohibited, and convivial parties were stopped. ‘Ala-ud-din’s objective was political and not moral; and it was realized. The fourth measure of the King prohibited all sorts of gatherings in the houses of nobility and intermarriage between members of the nobles without his special leave.

4. Measures against the Hindus

‘Ala-ud-din next turned his attention to check the power and influence of the Hindu officials named kkut, chaudhri, and muqaddam. 1L The first term, otherwise unknown, probably signified the class later known as zamindar, while the other two denoted, respectively, the headman of iparganas and villages. These three classes of people were hereditary collectors of revenue on behalf of the King, and it was alleged that they appropriated to themselves as much of the State revenue as they could, evaded payment of taxes, and even ignored the Government. As the chronicler describes, they ‘ride upon fine horses, wear fine clothes, shoot with Persian bows, make war upon each other, and go out hunting. . . and hold drinking and convivial parties’. ‘Ala-ud-din sought to curb their powers by depriving them of all the special privileges which they enjoyed at the expense of the State. The standard of the revenuedemand was raised to one-half of the gross produce. The perquisites realized by the chiefs were abolished and all concessions withdrawn; they were to pay land-revenue at the full rate and their land was to be brought under assessment; and all discriminations were done away with between the chief and the humblest peasant (khut and baldhar). The land-revenue was to be assessed by the method of measurement on the basis of standard yields. Though the system did exist in India before the Muslim conquest, ‘Ala-uddin was the first Muslim ruler who introduced it; and it certainly marked an advance upon the sharing system, which was then prevalent. Besides, the King imposed two new taxes: a grazing-tax on all milch cattle and a house-tax. As a result of these legislations, the objectives of the king were realized, though it may be questioned if the measures were economically sound. The motives of ‘Alaud-din were decidedly political. The high revenue-demand impoverished the peasants so much that the very source of the revenuecollectors for extra profit was dried up, while the assessment of their land reduced them to the condition of peasants; and besides the loss of perquisites they had now to pay additional taxes. In a sense the regulations were favourable to the peasants, as the revenuecollectors had also to bear the burden along with them. If the contemporary chronicler is to be believed, these regulations were strictly enforced. The chiefs (khuts) and the headmen of parganas as well as villages—they were all Hindus—were so much impoverished that no gold or silver was to be found in the houses of the Hindus; they could not afford to procure horses or weapons; and their wives had to serve for wages in the houses of the Muslims. “The people”, we are told by Barani, “were brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer would string twelve khuts, muqaddams and chaudhris together by the neck and enforce payment by blows.” Great credit was due to the deputy minister of finance, Sharaf Qaini, and his officials for the efficient operation of these regulations; but they became so unpopular that no one would offer the hand of his daughter to a revenue officer. 12

Two points should be noticed in connection with these regulations. They operated mainly in the central portion of the kingdom, and the victims of these measures were Hindus. It has been urged by some scholars 13 that “when ‘Ala-ud-din had not spared the Muslims or hesitated to deprive them of peculiar privileges, there was no reason why he should have shown any favour to the Hindu officials”. There are, however, good grounds to believe that in dealing with the Hindus, ‘Ala-ud-din was also actuated by communal considerations. This clearly follows from the prefatory remarks with which Barani introduces these regulations. The following is a literal translation of the passage by Moreland: “Sultan ‘Ala-ud-din demanded from learned men rules and regulations, so that the Hindu should be ground down, and property and possessions, which are the cause of disaffection and rebellion, should not remain in his house”. 14 i ■'! ! "■ ‘

Moreland adds that the Hindu in the above passage refers to the upper classes and not the peasants, 16 but this interpretation is at least doubtful. But whatever it may mean Barani leaves no doubt that the measures were dictated as much by political considerations as by hatred against the Hindus. Even on general ground the attitude of the Sultan to the Hindus must be regarded as very different from that adopted towards the Muslims. Some privileges were taken away from the latter, but there was no question of deliberately reducing them, as a class , to a state of grinding poverty and abject humiliation, which was the lot of the Hindus as described above on the authority of Baram. 16

This view is fully confirmed by the statement of Qazi Mughisud-din of Bayana whom the King consulted as to the legality of these measures and certain other questions. Mughis-ud-din wholeheartedly justified ‘Ala-ud-dln’s rigorous policy towards the Hindus and pointed out that Islamic law sanctioned sterner principle, so much so that, “if the revenue collector spits into a Hindu’s mouth, the Hindu must open his mouth to receive it without hesitation.” 16a The Qazi, however, declared mutilation, torture and other barbarous punishments prescribed by the king as un-Islamic and illegal; while he condemned ‘Ala-ud-dln’s appropriation of the wealth of Devagiri and his huge expenditure as unlawful, as the king had no unlimited rights upon the public treasury: “all the krors of money and valuables which you take from the treasury and bestow upon your women, you will have to answer for in the day of account”. ‘Alaud-dln, who got excited during the discussion, spoke not a word to the Qazi and retired. As the Qazi next day proceeded to the court from home, he was prepared for death, and bade his family farewell. He received a pleasant shock, however, when he was kindly received and presented with a robe and a thousand tankas by the King, who appreciated his opinion. The King said that he did not know what was lawful and unlawful, but followed what he thought to be for the good of the State or suitable for the emergency. Here we have ‘Ala-ud-dln’s conception of sovereignty, in which the State was to be independent of the ‘ularna’. As Barani says: 4 When he became king, he came to the conclusion that policy and government are one thing, and the rules and decrees of law are another. Royal commands belong to the king, legal decrees rest upon the judgment of qazis and muftis He was gratified to learn that his treatment of the Hindus was in full accordance with Islamic law and assured the Qazi that he had given orders that the Hindus shall not be allowed to possess more than what is required for a bare subsistence.

5. Expedition to Warangal and Chitor

Towards the end of 1302 or in the beginning of the next year, Ala-ud-dln sent an expedition to Warangal under the command of Fakhr-ud-dm Jauna 17 and Chhajju, nephew of Nusrat Khan. The expedition which started from Kara took the eastern route through Bengal and Orissa. The chroniclers are silent about the reason why this unusual route was preferred to the easier and shorter one through Ellichpur. It is quite possible, as K. S. Lai suggests, that ‘Ala-ud-din, who was consolidating his position in Northern India, sent the expedition both against Shams-ud-dln Firuz of Bengal who had assumed the title of Sultan and asserted independence, as well as against the kingdom of Telingana. The account of the expedition, as given in the Muslim chronicles, is meagre. From the South Indian Hindu sources it appears that the Muslim army penetrated into the heart of Telingana and reached the vicinity of Warangal. The invaders were badly defeated by the Telingana army and forced to beat a hasty retreat. 18 The inglorious end of the expedition possibly explains the indifference of the Muslim chroniclers.
i • ! ' ! j

On January 29, 1303, ‘Ala-ud-din set out on his memorable campaign for the conquest of Chitor. On arrival at Chitor, he surrounded the town and raised his canopy on a hillock known as Chitori. He then besieged the fort with a strong army, but received strong resistance from the Rajputs under Rana Ratan Singh. No impression was made on the fortress by the attacks of catapults and ballistae, nor could it be scaled by ladders (pdshtb). The Rajputs offered heroic resistance for about seven months and then, after the women had perished in the flames of jauhar, the fort surrendered on August 26, 1303. Thirty thousand Rajputs were put to the sword. According to the Rajput sources Ratan Singh was among the slain on the battlefield, 19 while Muslim chroniclers, Amir Khusrav and Tsami, state that the Rana of Chitor survived the battle and his life was spared by the king. Ratan Singh, however, is heard of no more after the fall of Chitor. ‘Ala-ud-din remained at Chitor for some days, and during this period many temples were destroyed and the population became victims of the fury of his soldiery. He returned to Delhi, after having appointed Khizr Khan to the government of Chitor. The Khaljis could not, however, long hold Chitor in the face of constant and stubborn resistance of the Rajputs. Khizr Khan abandoned it in

1311-12, and then Maladeva, brother of the chief of Jalor, ruled it as a tributary to the king of Delhi. But during his son's rule, Hamir, Rana of Sisodia, took possession of Chitor and the whole of Mewar (about A.D. 1325) 20 , as will be described later in Chapter XIII A.

The episode of Padmini has received a great deal of prominence in connection with 'Ala-ud-din's conquest of Chitor. The bardic chronicles of Rajputana represent the invasion of Chitor as solely due to the Sultan's desire to get possession of Padmini, the beautiful queen of Rana Ratan Singh of Chitor, and they have woven round it a long tale of romance, heroism and treachery, too well-known to need any repetition. Later writers like, Abu-'l Fazl, Haji-ud-Dabir,

Firishta, and NensI have accepted the story, but many modern writers are inclined to reject it altogether. They point out that the episode of Padmini is not referred to by any contemporary writer, and is first mentioned by Malik Muhammad JaisI in A.D. 1540 in his Padmdvat, which is a romance rather than a historical work; further, the later writers, mentioned above, who reproduce the story with varying details, flourished long after the event and differ from one another on essential points. On the other hand, Professor Habib believes that there is a covert allusion to the Padmini episode by Amir Khusrav, a contemporary, in his Khazain-ul-Futuh, when he mentions the Queen of Sheba (Saba'). It has also been argued that the invasion of Chitor, one of the strongest fortresses of Rajputana, was the natural corollary to the expansionist policy of 'Ala-ud~dln, and no Padmini was needed for his casus belli. As against this it should be remembered that 'Ala-ud-dln's lust for a Hindu queen is proved by the known instances of Queen Kamala Devi of Gujarat and the daughter of King Ramachandra of Devagiri. It is to be remembered also, that Abu-'l Fazl definitely says that he gives the story of Padmini from "ancient chronicles", which cannot obviously refer to the Padmavat, an almost contemporary work. On the whole, it must be admitted that there is no inherent impossibility in the kernel of the story of Padmini devoid of all embellishments, and it should not be totally rejected off-hand as a myth. But it is impossible, at the present state of our knowledge, to regard it definitely as a historical fact. 21

6. Mongol Invasion and Market P.egulations

The Mongols were not slow to take advantage of ‘Ala-ud-dln’s preoccupation in Chitor and the despatch of his army to a distant campaign in Telingana. A large Mongol horde of 120,000 horse under Targhl invaded India, made straight for Delhi, and blockaded the city. ‘Ala-ud-dln, who had returned from Chitor barely a month ago, could not face the enemy in an open battle. He was forced to retire to the fort of Slrl, and built defence lines by digging trenches, protected by wooden planks. The Mongols plundered the environs of Delhi and raided the very streets of the city.

Luckily for the King, the invaders were ignorant of the art of siege warfare, and they could not afford to remain for long away from Central Asia. Consequently, to the great relief of c Ala-ud-dIn, they suddenly retreated after a stay of two months.

The invasion of 1303 awakened ‘Ala-ud-dln to the urgent necessity of frontier defence, a task which he had hitherto neglected. The existing forts and outposts on the route of the invaders were repaired and new ones constructed; and all were strongly garrisoned with well-equipped soldiers. A large army was raised which was to be stationed at the capital and paid in cash from the royal treasury. The army was also reorganized. A descriptive roll of every soldier was kept in the war ministry and ‘Ala-ud-dm introduced the system of the branding of horses at the review, which stopped the malpractice of presenting the horse twice or replacing it by a worse one. The maintenance of a huge and efficient standing army, estimated by Wassaf at 475,000 horse, necessitated greater finance than the resources of the State would permit, but no increase in the revenue by fresh taxation was possible, as the people had already been taxed to the utmost. ‘Ala-ud-din, therefore, could not afford to pay his soldiers high salaries. He decided to solve this problem by lowering the price of all essential commodities, so that a soldier could maintain comfortable standard on a low salary. The army organizer thus turned to be ‘a daring political economist’. He fixed the prices of all food grains, all varieties of cloth including silk, horses, cattle, slaves, bread, vegetables, shoes etc. in fact, all necessary articles. He controlled supplies as well as transport and compelled the merchants to bring grains, cloth, etc. to Delhi market and sell them at scheduled rates on profit sanctioned by the State.

All merchants, w 7 ho traded with Delhi, were required to register themselves in the office of the inspector-general of the markets. The peasants of the Doab region and the country to a distance of two hundred miles from Delhi were ordered to sell grains to registered merchants at the fixed rate. The merchants dealing in cloths had to procure manufactured goods from places beyond ‘Alaud-din’s control, where the prices were higher, but they had to sell them at Delhi at the fixed rate and the King allowed them a margin of profit; this must have caused a considerable loss to the treasury. To guard against scarcity and famine, grains and cloth were stocked in stores established for the purpose and rationing was introduced when necessity arose. Hoarding and regrating were strictly forbidden. These regulations were enforced by means of a highly organized intelligence service and by drastic punishment for evasions. Bold and original in conception, the new economic policy of ‘Ala-uddin evokes our admiration; but its defects and shortcomings should not be overlooked or minimised. The control of price and rationing obtained in and near Delhi only, and the regulations adversely affected both the trade as well as agriculture. The narrow margin allowed to the merchant offered him no incentive: his wife and children had to be kept as hostages at the capital to force him to bring regular supplies to Delhi market. The peasant, who paid one-half of the produce in land-revenue, had to sell his grains at the scheduled rate, while he had to purchase his essential commodities at high prices obtaining outside Delhi. The capital was fed, while the country at large was bled: so large a quantity of grain was stocked at Delhi that Ibn Batfitah, who arrived there in A.D. 1334, consumed the rice stored by ‘Ala-ud-din. Only the army and, incidentally, the population of Delhi benefited by these regulations. Judged by the objective which inspired them, they proved highly successful. Opposed as they were to economic laws, they died with their author.

7. Malwa and the Mongols

Having thus adequately provided both for defence and offence, ‘Ala-ud-din despatched in 1305 a select army of 10,000 troops under 'Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Multan, for the subjugation of Malwa. 'Ain-ul-Mulk inflicted a crushing defeat on the Malwa army led by Raja Mahlak Deva and Koka Pradhana,[22] who was slain. The Muslim army besieged the fort of Mandfi. Treachery revealed a secret passage to the besiegers, who surprised the garrison at night and took possession of the fort (November 24, 1305). Mahlak Deva fled but was caught and slain. After the fall of Mandu, Ujjain, Dhar, and Chanderi were reduced and 'Ain-ul-Mulk was appointed the governor of Malwa.

The same year 'Ala-ud-dln had to face a formidable invasion of some 50,000 Mongols under 'All Beg, a descendant of Chingiz Khan, and Tartaq, who were joined by Targhi, the leader of the last campaign. They crossed the Sindhu and, avoiding the frontier garrisons as well as Delhi, which was now strongly guarded, marched directly on the Doab and Awadh, plundering, burning and massacring on the way. The King sent Malik Nayak,[23] master of the horse, with an army of some 40,000 horse against the enemy. Malik Nayak met the Mongols near Amroha, and in the battle that ensued the invaders were severely defeated (December 31, 1305). Many of the Mongols were put to the sword, and ‘All Beg and Tartaq were captured and brought to Delhi along with a large number of prisoners. Targhi had already been slain before the Mongols penetrated into the Doab. The prisoners were beheaded and their heads were built into the towers of the fort of Siri. The leaders met with the same fate, though according to another version, they were pardoned but put to death some time after.

Next year (1306) the Mongols invaded India with a view to avenging the deaths of 'All Beg and Tartaq. The invasion took the form of a two-pronged campaign: one army under Kabak crossed the Sindhu and, through Multan, advanced to the Ravi; while the other, led by Iqbal and Tai Bfi, marched southwards towards Nagaur. ‘Ala-ud-din appointed Malik Naib Kaffir, assisted by GhazI Malik Tughluq, to deal with the Mongols. Malik Naib routed the forces of Kabak on the bank of the Ravi, and captured him with a considerable number of Mongols, including women and children, who were all sent to Delhi. Malik Naib then marched towards Nagaur and suddenly fell upon the Mongol force under Iqbal and Tai Bu. They fled across the Sindhu, but were pursued and totally defeated, and, if Firishta is to be believed, only three or four thousand out of fifty or sixty thousand Mongols could escape. With this huge body of prisoners Malik Naib made his triumphant return to the capital. The prisoners were trampled to death under the feet of elephants and their heads were built into a tower in front of the Badaun gate, traces of which were still visible when Firishta completed his work early in the seventeenth century. Their women and children were sold as slaves at Delhi and other places of Hindusthan. 24

The campaign under Kabak in A.D. 1306 was the last Mongol invasion during ‘Ala-ud-din’s reign. Duwa Khan, the Khan of Transoxiana (1274-1306), who had sent successive hordes of Mongol invaders to India, died towards the end of 1306. His death was followed by a period of confusion, and three Khans occupied the throne one after another within the brief space of three years. This undoubtedly accounts for the cessation of the Mongol incursions after A.D. 1306. ‘Ala-ud-dm’s warden of the marches at Dlpalpur, Ghazi Malik, took full advantage of the internal troubles of the Mongols by harassing them and making annual raids into their frontiers as far as Kabul and Ghazni.

8. Expedition to Devagiri

The relief from Mongol irruptions and the comparative peace established in the north enabled ‘Ala-ud-din to turn to the south. The gold of South India had raised him to the throne of Delhi and he sought to maintain it with the same. What he aspired to in the south was not annexation of new territory, but huge tribute from the Hindu kings with a mere acknowledgment of his overlordship. This is evident from the instructions he gave to Malik Naib, when he was sent on an expedition to Warangal.

Ramachandra of Devagiri had failed to pay tribute for several years. According to another version it was his son Singhana who had withheld the tribute, and Ramachandra not only dissociated himself from his son’s action, but informed the Sultan accordingly. 26 This might have been a diplomatic stroke on the part of the Yadava King to secure lenient treatment from ‘Ala-ud-din, in case the Devagiri troops were defeated. In any event, non-payment of tribute was a just ground for invasion.

‘Ala-ud-din appointed Malik Naib Kafur to lead the expedition to Devagiri with Khvaja Haji as second in command; ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, governor of Malwa, and Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat, were to collaborate with him along with their forces (1307). 26 With this expedition its leader begins to play an important role in the affairs of the State, so much so that from now onwards till his death the history of the Sultanate of Delhi is in reality the biography of Malik Naib Kafur.

Malik Naib marched southwards, and being joined by ‘Ainul-Mulk and Alp Khan, reached Devagiri without any opposition, and defeated the Yadava forces (March 1307). Malik Naib sacked the city, took much valuable booty in elephants and treasures, and carried Ramachandra with his family and relations to Delhi. Ramachandra paid homage to ‘Ala-ud-din, and was kindly received. After a stay of six months at Delhi, he was permitted to return to his capital with the title of Rai-i-Rayan and the addition of Navsari to his kingdom. The generous treatment of the Yadava king was a master stroke of diplomacy. Not only Ramachandra remained loyal to the Sultan, but rendered great service to his general Malik Naib during his southern campaigns. Indeed, Devagiri served as the base for Khalji military operations in the Deccan and the Far South.

This expedition to Devagiri is somewhat inextricably mixed up with the last phase of the Hindu rule in Gujarat. The Vaghela king Karna, after his defeat at the hands of Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, mentioned above, seems to have recaptured Gujarat, and a second expedition was necessary for the final conquest of Gujarat. 27 The fate or subsequent history of Karna is not definitely known. But where history fails, romance often takes its place. So it has been the case with Karna. The famous poet Amir Khusrav has immortalised the love of Devala Devi, the daughter of Karna, and Khizr Khan, the son of ‘Ala-ud-dln, in a poetical work called the ‘Ashiqa, and woven a romantic story round this theme. This has since passed current as history, mainly through its acceptance by Firishta; it may be summed up as follows:—

The Vaghela king Karna, after his flight from Gujarat, found refuge in the court of King Ramachandra of Devagiri, and ruled over a small principality in Baglana, as his vassal. This formed an additional ground for sending the punitive expedition under Malik Naib Kafur against Ramachandra. When this expedition was being sent, Kamala Devi, the ex-queen of Karna, and now a favourite wife of ‘Ala-ud-din, requested the Sultan to take this opportunity of getting hold of her daughter Devala Devi, who was an infant of four years when she left her and was now living with

her father. Accordingly Malik Naib Kafur was directed to secure possession of Devala Devi and send her to the court.

When Kafur crossed Malwa he intimated to Kama the order of the Sultan. According to Khusrav, Kama readily agreed to do so, and was preparing to send his daughter to ‘Ala-ud-dln, when he suddenly took fright and fled away with her. But even Firishta could not swallow this, and so he gives a different account. According to his version, Kafurs demand for Devala Devi was rejected by Kama and then hostilities were commenced against him. Kafur encamped for two months at Sultanpur, but could not produce any impression upon Kama. Thereupon Malik Naib entrusted Alp Khan with the task of capturing the princess, and himself marched towards Devagiri. For two months Kama held against Alp Khan. Singhana, the crown prince of Devagiri, had asked for the hand of Kama’s daughter in marriage, but the Viaghla king, out of his Rajput pride, had declined it, though he was then under the generous protection of Singhana’s father; but now in the face of grave Muslim peril he agreed. The princess was being escorted to Devagiri by Singhana’s brother, when accidentally she fell into the hands of a batch of Alap Khan’s soldiers, who were out on sight-seeing near the Ellora caves. The precious victim was sent to Delhi by the lucky general, who had already inflicted a severe defeat on Karna and forced him to flee towards Devagiri. 28

This is, in brief, the account handed down by ancient historians and generally accepted now as true. There are, however, good grounds to doubt the authenticity of the whole story, which is solely based on Khusrav’s poetical work, the ‘Ashiqa. Several scholars have challenged its historical character 29 and we need not discuss the question in detail here. But a few important points may be noted. According to Tsami, Kama was denied asylum by Ramachandra of Devagiri, and had to go to Tiling. This, if true, takes away the whole basis of the story. Then, it is very difficult to believe that a Hindu queen would willingly bring over her daughter from her father's protection to share the life of shame, ignominy and disgrace which a cruel fate had thrust upon her. It is equally difficult to believe that Kama would, even for a moment, entertain such a proposal as stated by Khusrav, the originator of the whole story. It is not necessary to hold, with some of the critics, that Devala Devi was a myth. She might have been a real person who fell into the hands of the Muslims like her mother. We may even believe that she was married to Khizr Khan. But the whole of the romantic episode of love between Khizr Khan and Devala Devi seems to be a mere poetical fancy. If we are to believe in Firishta's statement, that she was only four years old when her mother was captured,

she could not have been a girl of more than fourteen or fifteen when Khizr Khan fell madly in love with her and she reciprocated it* The subsequent tragic history of Devala Devi, as narrated by some authorities, also belongs to the domain of legends rather than sober history. 30

9. Expedition to Rujputdna

The powerful chief of Siwana, Sital Deva, refused to submit to the authority of Delhi, and the Khaljl troops had been investing the fort for five or six years without any success. So, in 1308, 31 'Ala-ud-din marched against Siwana, and pressed the siege with greater vigour. For months the Rajputs bravely defended the fort against heavy attacks of catapults and other siege engines, but they were defeated by the Khaljl troops, who succeeded in escalading the fort. Sital Deva was slain, while attempting flight to Jalor (November 11, 1308). The King returned to Delhi, after having appointed Kamal-ud-din Gurg to the government of Siwana. 'Aiaud-din's military activities in Rajputana were completed by the subjugation of Jalor, which lies some fifty miles south-east of Siwana. 32 The conquest of Jalor did not prove to be an easy task as its ruler Kanhar Deva (Krishnadeva) offered a strong resistance to the Muslims who besieged the fort, and inflicted reverses on them. It was not until the arrival of Kamal-ud-din Gurg, whom the King despatched with fresh reinforcement, that the tide turned in favour of the besiegers. Kanhar Deva was killed in action and the fortress capitulated. With the fall of Jalor, 'Ala-ud-din's activities in Rajputana came to an end, as the more prominent Rajput States had already been brought under the authority of Delhi. According to an inscription of A.D. 1301, Jodhpur had submitted to Delhi, 32a though there is no mention of it in the chronicles. According to Tod, Bundl, Mandor and Tonk had been overrun by the Khaljl troops. 32b

10. Expedition to Warangal

The success of the Devagiri campaign encouraged ‘Ala-ud-din to send an expedition to Warangal, particularly as the failure of his early invasion of 1303 required the vindication of the prestige of his arms. On November 1, 1309, Malik Naib marched from Delhi and towards the end of December reached Devagiri, whose king Ramachandra offered him all sorts of help and “was as dutiful as any raiyat of Delhi”. He even sent ‘a force of Marhattas, both, of horse and foot’, in aid of the Muslim force. 33 Malik Naib entered the kingdom of Telingana by way of Basiragarh (Bairagarh), and invested the fort of Sirbar (Sirpur). In spite of valiant resistance

the garrison could not resist the attack; as usual women and children perished in the flames of jauhar, while the men were killed in action. Malik Naib left the fort in charge of the surviving brother of the commandant on promise of obedience to the King and hastened towards the capital. On reaching the vicinity of Warangal, he established himself on the hill of Hanumankonda, commanding the city, and besieged the fort on January 19, 1310. Prataparudra, who was reputed to have an army of 900,000 archers 33a and 20,000 horse, took necessary steps to defend the fort against the besiegers, whose number was a hundred thousand. The fort of Warangal was made of stone and surrounded by a strong earthen wall and two deep moats, one protecting the outer wall and the other the inner fort. A night attack of the Hindus upon the besiegers, early in the course of the siege, proved abortive, and could not affect their operations. After strenuous efforts they were able to fill up the moat and made a wide breach in the wall; and in the middle of February they carried the outer line of defence by storm. After crossing the second ditch, they besieged the inner fort of stone. Prataparudra offered resistance for a considerable time. By adopting scorched earth policy he had laid waste the enemy’s route and cut off their postal system; so that for a month and a half Delhi received no news of Malik Naib. The garrison, however, was put to much hardship on account of overcrowding in the inner fort, and Prataparudra opened negotiations for peace. He sent his own image in gold with a golden chain round the neck to symbolise his surrender and a treaty was concluded. He gave 100 elephants, 7,000 horses, and all his accumulated treasures, and promised to pay an annual tribute. Among the jewels delivered was one ‘unparalleled in the whole world,’ as Amir Khusrav calls it, and this was possibly the Koh-i-Nur or Babur’s diamond which, according to Khafi Khan and other later chroniclers, Malik Kafur brought from the Deccan. 34 On March 20, 1310, Malik Naib set out on his return journey with treasures too heavy for a thousand camels to bear, and on June 11 reached Delhi, where thirteen days later he was given a special reception by the King in honour of his splendid success.

11. First Expedition to South India

At Warangal Malik Naib had heard of the wealth of the kingdom of the Far South. On November 19,1310, he set out with a large army towards the kingdom of Ma‘bar, which lay at the extreme south of the peninsula.. Not the propagation of the true faith, as the Muslim chronicler states, but the greed of gold inspired the expedition. After a journey of about two months and a half through Kaithun (Kanhun in Raj put ana) and Khargan (Khargano in Nimar

dictnct) Malik Kaffir reached Devagiri on February 4,1311, where the army halted for some days. Ramachandra once more rendered him all possible help and deputed Parasurama Deva, his officer on the southern frontier, to guide the Khaljl troops in their march on Dvarasamudra. For, apart from his loyalty to the Sultan, Ramachandra had no love lost for the Hoysala king Ballala III, who had repeatedly encroached upon his territory. On reaching BandrI (possibly Bandir in North Kanara district) on the Hoysala frontier, Malik Naib sent scouts to gather information of the enemy. Ballala III was absent with his army in Ma‘bar, where a civil war between the two brothers Sundara Pandya and Vira Pandya offered him an opportunity of recovering his ancestral possessions in the Tamil country. Malik Naib, accordingly, made a rapid march with 10,000 chosen cavalry, and in twelve days appeared before Dvarasamudra (February 26, 1311). On learning of the Muslim invasion, Ballala hurried back to his capital and, in the face of the grave peril, appealed for help to the very Pandya princes, whose territory he had just invaded. Vira Pandya responded and sent an army to his help. Ballala, however, considering himself no match for the invaders, decided to follow in the footsteps of Ramachandra and Prataparudra, and, rejecting the counsel of his nobles and generals, sued for peace. He agreed to pay an annual tribute and surrendered all his wealth, elephants and horses.

Malik Naib did not remain long in Dvarasamudra, but on March 11 left for Ma‘bar, which was his main objective. The Pandya kingdom, known to Muslim writers as Ma‘bar, extended from Quilon to Nellore, about three hundred leagues along the sea coast. Malik Naib requisitioned the services of Ballala to guide his troops in the terra incognita. After five days' strenuous march through difficult mountain route, the invaders reached the Ma'bar frontier. They crossed the passes of Talmali and Tabar and marched towards Birdhfil, the headquarters of Vira Pandya. 35 On account of the civil war between the two brothers, Sundara Pandya and Vira Pandya, it was a house divided against itself when Malik Naib appeared on the scene. But the Pandya princes, unlike other kings, did not shut themselves in forts which might be easily captured. They avoided open battle with the superior force of the invaders but frequently harassed the enemy, and thus made the entire country the theatre of military operations. This strategy ultimately exhausted the invaders, and Malik Naib failed to secure the submission of the Pandya princes. Vira Pandya had left Birdhul before it fell into Muslim hands, but about 20,000 Muslims in his service deserted to the invaders. Malik Naib's operations were, however, hampered by incessant rains, as the country was flooded. In spite

of great hardship and opposition of the Hindus, Malik Naib marched on towards Kundur (Kannanur) in pursuit of the fugitive king. On the way he seized a squad of 120 elephants carrying treasure, but when he took Kundur, after a severe fight, he could not find Vira Pandya, v/ho had escaped to impenetrable forests. Malik Naib was obliged, after a short march, to give up the pursuit of the elusive prince and arrived at Brahmastpuri (Barmatpuri of Amir Khusrav, modern Chidambaram), 36 where the people were massacred, the golden temple was razed to the ground, and its foundations were dug up. With rich plunder, including 250 elephants, he returned on April 2, 1311 to Blrdhul, where he sacked its temples.

The temple of Snrangam and other temples in the vicinity of Kannanur were also sacked by Malik Naib. He then made a sudden descent upon Madura, the main capital of the Pandyas, and the seat of Sundara Pandya, but the Pandya prince had already fled with his treasures. Chagrined at finding nothing but two or three elephants, he set fire to the temple of Sokkanatha. At this stage he suffered a reverse at the hands of Sundara's uncle, Vikrama Pandya, who had attacked him with a large force. 37 Malik Naib, however, managed to keep the vast booty he had captured, viz., 512 elephants, 5000 horses, and 500 maunds of jewels, and broke his camp on April 25, 1311.

The Muslim historians generally pass over the defeats suffered by 'Ala-ud-dln's army in the south, while Hindu sources refer to an unbroken series of Hindu victories over the Muslim troops. There is, however, no doubt that Hindu resistance against the Muslim invaders was very vehement, and the progress of Muslim arms was not as easy as Amir Khusrav and other Muslim chroniclers would have us believe.

■ c ...

The question has been debated by scholars whether Malik Naib retraced his steps from Madura towards Delhi, or advanced further south and raided Ramesvaram. Firishta refers to the building of a mosque by him at Sit Band Ramesar, which would obviously mean Setubandha Ramesvara or Ramesvaram in the district of Madura on the island of Pamban; but this identification is negatived by Firishta himself as he locates it on the coast of the Sea of 'Uman (the Arabian Sea) in the vicinity of the port of Dvarasamudra. Some recent scholars have, therefore, come to the conclusion that Malik Naib did not advance beyond Madura and raid Ramesvaram. But it has been overlooked that while Firishta locates Sit Band Ramesar on the coast of the Arabian Sea in his account of the reign of 'Ala-ud-dln Khaljl, he definitely places it in the farthest south, six hundred kuroh or about twelve hundred miles from Vijaya nagara, in his account of the Bahmani king Mujahid Shiah, and further states that Karnatak is in length from north to south, from the Krishna to Sit Band Ramesar, six hundred kuroh . He adds that Mujahid Shah visited Sit Band Ramesar and repaired there a mosque built by the officers of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl. So Firishta is contradictory in his statement. 38 In view of the short duration of his stay in Dvarasamudra, Malik Naib’s raid into the western coast and building a mosque there during the invasion of 1311 appears to be highly improbable. Neither Barani nor TsiamI refers to his raid of Ramesvaram; nor is there any mention of it in the Khazain-ul-Futuh. But in a later work, called the ‘Ashtqa’, Amir Khusrav hints at the invasion against Vira Pandya up to the coast of Ceylon. A raid from Madura to Ramesvaram, which was not very far, was quite possible for the powerful invader, who was master of speed and had marched a long way from Delhi with admirable rapidity. Even if Malik Naib could not have found time to build a mosque there in ‘Ala-ud-dliTs name, the possibility of a raid cannot be altogether ruled out. Haji-udDabir, the senior contemporary of Firishta, vaguely refers to this in an embellished form, when he speaks of Malik Naib’s march to Ceylon and demolishing a temple there. However, in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to come to a more definite conclusion. 39

Judged by the major objective which inspired it, the Ma‘bar campaign was a brilliant raid. Malik Naib sacked temples and obtained such a huge booty by draining the resources of the country as had never before been brought to Delhi. But though he burnt and destroyed temples, raided towns and cities, and harried the country, possibly as far as Ramesvaram, he failed to secure the submission of the Pandya princes. The Ma‘bar campaign was more spectacular than effective; it had no real significance in the history of Islam’s expansion in the south: it was par excellence a predatory raid. Malik Naib returned to Delhi after a journey of more than five months, and was received on October 19, 1311, with special honour by the King in a durbar held in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars at Sin. He had brought with him the son of his valued ally Baliala III, who was kindly received by ‘Ala-ud-dln and sent back to his father.

12. Last days of c Ala-ud-din

The triumphant return of Malik Naib Kaffir from Ma‘bar marks the climax of ‘Ala-ud-dln’s reign. But at the same time one could detect behind his grandiose success sure premonitions of his decline. Arduous work, intemperate habits, and advanced years ruined his

health and contributed to the rapid deterioration of his character and abilities. In early life he had taken the advice of able counsellors, but in old age he was surrounded by sycophants and flatterers and concentrated all power in his own hands. He became an autocrat and his word was law. The coolness and discretion of his earlier days were replaced by a violent and suspicious temper. His failing health and declining abilities led to the weakening of his personal influence and consequent intrigue for power at the court. This reacted unfavourably on the administration and the empire, which revealed positive symptoms of decline. Ultimately, one man profited by these circumstances and made himself supreme. He was Kafur Hazardlnarl, Malik Naib, the brilliant hero of the southern campaign.

The Mongols, who had accepted Islam and settled in the country, had caused not a little trouble in the early years of ‘Ala-ud-dln’s reign. They were the mutineers in the army from Gujarat and were the main props of Akat Khan’s rebellion. They were discontented on a variety of grounds. They were not appointed to lucrative offices of the State, while the resumption of jag\r lands and heavy taxation reduced them to poverty. According to Firishta they were all dismissed by ‘Ala-ud-din from service. These malcontents bitterly resented their lot and hatched a plot to assassinate the King, as he was hawking in the vicinity of Delhi. The plot was found out; ‘Ala-ud-din in his fury ordered a massacre of the ‘New Muslims’ en masse on an appointed day, and delivered their wives and children as well as property to their executioners. Some twenty to thirty thousand Mongols were put to death at his order, though the vast majority of them were quite innocent of the plot.

Malik Naib, the favourite and all-powerful lieutenant of the King, had his rivals in Khizr Khan’s mother, Malika-i-Jahan, and her brother, Alp Khan, governor of Gujarat. The marriage of Khizr Khan, ‘Ala-ud-dln’s eldest son, with the daughter of Alp Khan on February 2, 1312, cemented the alliance, and the King’s declaration of Khizr Khan as the heir apparent the same year further increased their influence. Meanwhile Prataparudra of Warangal had sent twenty elephants and a letter to ‘Ala-ud-din, asking him to appoint his agent at Devagiri, to whom he might pay the annual tribute. At Devagiri the loyal Ramachandra died in 1311 and was succeeded by Singhana II, who had always been unfriendly to the king of Delhi and asserted independence. Malik Naib, who found the atmosphere in the capital too hot for him on account of the predominance of his rivals, prayed to the King to send him to the Deccan with a view to collecting tribute from Warangal and reducing the obstinate Singhana to obedience.

13. Second Expedition to Devagiri

Malik Naib, accordingly, marched to Devagiri in 1313 and defeated Sihghana II in a severe battle. Sihghana was slain and Malik Naib took possession of his kingdom. Henceforth the Yadava kingdom formed part of the Sultanate of Delhi. From his headquarters at Devagiri, Malik Naib carried raids into the territories of Telingana and Dvarasamudra, and asserted the authority of the king of Delhi. It seems that Malik Naib, on instructions from the King, either personally led or sent an expedition into Ma‘bar with a view to restoring Sundara Pandya to his kingdom, as the latter, being worsted in the struggle for the throne, had gone to Delhi and sought ‘Alaud-dln’s help. Malik Naib, however, could not subjugate the entire Yadava kingdom. The kingdom of Kampili, 40 comprising Bellary, Raichur and Dharwar, asserted its independence, and he led one indecisive campaign against it. For about three years the great proconsul of the South sent tribute received from Y/arangal and Dvarasamudra, until in 1315 he was recalled by the King due to his serious illness.

The absence of Malik Naib in the Deccan led to the undisputed supremacy of Malika-i-Jahan and Alp Khan at the court. She now married her second son Shad! Khan to the second daughter of her brother, on which occasion Khizr Khan was allowed to marry Devala Devi, daughter of Raja Karna. Meanwhile the health of the King rapidly declined. He had been suffering from dropsy and consequent fever, and was sadly neglected by his son Khizr Khan and his mother, the well beloved wife of ‘Ala-ud-dln’s early life. He had neglected the education of his sons who, being left free at an early age to do as they liked, took to drink and debauchery. In utter helplessness he recalled his favourite lieutenant from the Deccan and acquainted him with his troubles (1315). The astute Malik Naib availed himself of the opportunity for overthrowing the Alp Khan junta by poisoning the king’s mind against Khizr Khan, his mother, and his father-in-law; but he failed to secure the King’s sanction for killing Alp Khan as a necessary step towards his own safety. However, the relentless Kafur and his follower Kamal-uddin Gurg murdered Alp Khan in cold blood. The junta was broken and Malik Naib became master of the situation. Khizr Khan was removed from the capital: he was first despatched to Amroha and then as a prisoner to Gwalior; while his mother was imprisoned in the fort at Delhi. These happenings at the capital reacted on the empire, and the army in Gujarat revolted after the murder of Alp Khan. Kamal-ud-dln Gurg, who was despatched there, failed to quell the rebellion, and was himself killed by the rebels. Troubles broke out in Chitor, where ‘Ala-ud-din’s protege Maladeva was challenged by Hammir, ruler of the Sisodiya branch. Devagiri asserted its independence under Harapaladeva, son-in-law of Ramachandra. It was in the midst of these troubles that ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji, the mighty king of Delhi, passed away on January 5, 1316. 40a

It is difficult to analyse or pass a verdict on ‘Ala-ud-din’s character. As a king he was a ruthless tyrant, and as a man, treacherous and ungrateful. But with all these defects in his character, what carried him through was his resourcefulness, energy and capacity for work to which was added his unbounded courage tempered with calculation and a penetrating common sense. He was a man of inordinate ambition, but also possessed bold and original ideas to which he would give practical shape with his genius for organization and leadership. A vigorous commander, he knew how to carry his army through strenuous campaigns. A master of diplomacy and finesse, he revealed it in his wonderful blitzkrieg in Devagiri and the subsequent events which led to his accession. As a ruler he w 7 as vigorous and efficient; and as a reformer, bold and original. He held a very exalted conception of kingship; the absolute State was the ideal for which he worked—a State untrammelled by the authority of the ‘Ularna and unhampered by the influence of a powerful nobility. He understood the value of and prepared the ground for the separation of the State from the

Church. He was not more bigoted than his age. Himself almost illiterate, he had nothing but contempt for learning and scholarship, though during his reign Delhi became ‘the rival of Cairo and the equal of Constantinople’ because of the throng of great men of whom the poet Amir Khusrav and Hasan were the most famous. ‘Ala-ud-din was the first Muslim imperialist and the first great Muslim administrator of India. The history of Muslim empire and Muslim administration in India really begins with him. ‘Ala-ud-din, Sher Shah, and Akbar—each marks a distinctive step in the evolution of Indo-Muslim history.

III. END OF THE KHALJI RULE 1. Mubarak Shah

Malik Naib Kafur, who had possibly hastened the death of ‘Alaud-din,[41] produced to the nobles his master’s will, which he managed to exact, disinheriting Khizr Khan and nominating Shihab-uddin ‘Umar, a child of five or six, as his successor. The child was raised to the throne and Malik Kafur acted as regent. He married the infant king’s mother, who was a daughter of Ramachandra of Devagiri. He caused Khizr Khan and Shadi Khan to be blinded, and imprisoned all the other sons of ‘Ala-ud-din. He thought of destroying the entire family of the late king and the partisans of Khizr Khan, and of ascending the throne himself. The fateful hour arrived when the regent sent some foot soldiers to blind Mubarak Khan, ‘Aia-ud-dm’s third son. As they approached the prince, he bribed them with his jewelled necklace and reminded them of their duty to the sons of the late king. Moved by gold and sentiment, they came back; four of them rushed to the apartment of Malik Kafur and slew him just thirty-five days after the death of ‘Ala-ud-din.

The nobles then released Mubarak from prison and appointed him regent. For two months he acted as such, but when he felt his position secure, he blinded Shihah-ud-dln ‘Umar, and on April 19, 1316[42] ascended the throne as Qutb-ud-dln Mubarak Shah. The foot soldiers, who brought about the murder of Malik Naib Kafur and the consequent accession of Mubarak to power, now aspired to the position of Praetorian guards. Two of their leaders, Mubshar and Bashir, were executed and they were dispersed and sent to different garrisons. Otherwise Mubarak began his reign with a policy of extreme moderation and leniency. Immediately after his accession he ordered a general amnesty, releasing all prisoners and permitting the return of all exiled for offences. He amply rewarded the soldiers and officers, gave back the jdgirs and endowments that had been resumed, withdrew the market regulations and relaxed the rigour in the administration. Prices of commodities rose high, but people who had suffered so much in ‘Ala-ud-din’s regime obtained relief; specially the landowners and peasants, who benefited by the reduction in the revenue-demand. The charming and popular king was, however, immersed in drinking, debauchery and pleasure, and the capital, following his example and due to his policy of relaxation, indulged in an excess of wanton sensuality. As BaranI says, ‘every house became a tavern’. Bribery, corruption and malversation ate into the vitals of administration, which was paralysed. Mubarak’s right-hand man was Hasan, an unknown slave from Gujarat, whom he entitled Khusrav Khan and raised to the position of chief minister (wazir).

In the first year of his reign Mubarak appointed ‘Ain-ul~Mulk and Ghaz! Malik Tughluq to suppress the revolt of Alp Khan’s followers in Gujarat. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, who had already been summoned from Devagiri and deputed for this work by Malik Kafur, had advanced as far as Ptiajputana. The royal force encountered the rebel leader at Patan. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk won over some of the rebel officers to his side and thus by diplomacy divided the rebel force and easily defeated it. Malik Dinar, Mubarak’s father-in-law, who had recently been awarded the title of Zafar Khan, was appointed governor

of Gujarat. Zafar Khan proved an able administrator and restored order throughout the province within a few months.

In 1318, leaving Delhi in charge of Shahln, on whom he conferred the title of Vafa Malik, Mubarak marched towards the Deccan at the head of a large army with a view to recovering Devagiri and securing treasures from the Deccan princes. At the approach ol the army Harapaladeva fled to the hills. Khusrav tracked Harapaladeva to his mountain retreat and had to fight two or three battles. In the final encounter Harapaladeva was severely wounded, taken prisoner, and put to death by royal order (flayed alive according to Barani). Khusrav Khan was appointed to lead an expedition to Telingana and the King left for Delhi.

A plot was formed by Asad-ud-din, son of Yaghrush Khan, £ Ala-ud-din’s uncle, to assassinate Mubarak on the way, but it failed and all the conspirators were arrested and forthwith executed. Following the policy of his father, Mubarak caused all the twentynine members of the family of Yaghrush Khan to be put to death, though some of them were mere children and could have no hand in the plot. The coins struck at Delhi in 718 A.H. (A.D. 1318-19) in the name of Shams-ud-din Mahmud Shah prove the existence of a pretender at the capital, though it is difficult to say whether Asadud-din or the regent Vafa Malik intended to assume this title, or a ten-year old son of Khizr Khan was the object of this conspiracy, as Ibn Balutah asserts. Mubarak now became bitterly suspicious. From Jhaln he sent an officer to Gwalior to put to death all the three sons of £ Ala-ud-din,

On his return to Delhi, Mubarak grew very high-handed and cruel. He summoned Zafar Khan from Gujarat and executed him; Hisam-ud-dln, half-brother of Khusrav Khan, was appointed governor in his place. The regent Malik Shahln was also executed on suspicion of complicity in the recent conspiracy against the king. Mubarak now immersed himself in debauchery and appeared at the court in female attire with finery and jewels. The palace was full of women and buffoons, who did not hesitate to insult the highest dignitaries with indecent gestures and filthy abuses.

Hisam-ud-dln, the successor of Zafar Khan, collected his kinsmen and followers and raised the standard of revolt in Gujarat. The nobles and officers of Gujarat captured him and sent him to Delhi; but Mubarak ignored his crime and restored him to favour, as he was the brother of Khusrav Khan. Wahid-ud-dm Quraishi was awarded the title of Sadr-ul-Mulk and sent as the next governor of Gujarat. He proved an efficient and worthy administrator, under whom the province remained quiet.

Close on the heels of the revolt in Gujarat came the report of the rebellion of Malik YaklakhI, governor of Devagiri, who asserted independence under the title of Shams-ud-din and began to mint coins in his own name. A large force was sent against him and he was easily defeated, as his officers and army deserted him. He and his associates were captured and sent to Delhi, where his ears and nose were chopped off and his followers were severely punished. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk was sent as the governor of Devagiri.

Meanwhile Khusrav Khan was operating in the South. When he approached the vicinity of Warangal, he was opposed by Prataparudra’s force consisting of 10,000 horse and innumerable footsoldiers; but they were defeated. Khusrav Khan then attacked the cuter wall of the fortress and, defeating the garrison and killing the chief commandant, invested the inner fortress. Prataparudra was alarmed and made peace with him by agreeing to cede the strategic fort of Badrkot and pay a tribute of 100 elephants, 12,000 horses, and gold, jewels and gems beyond compute. 43

From Warangal Khusrav Khan turned towards Ma‘bar. As he entered Ma‘bar, the princes and the people adopted the old tactics of evading battle and carrying away all their treasures. He now thought of establishing himself independently in Ma‘bar. Probably, as BaranI says, he was maturing his plans to achieve his ultimate object of usurping the throne. But Malik Talbagha, Malik Tamar, and other loyal officers of the State gave a mild warning to Khusrav and acqainted the King with his evil designs.

Khusrav was recalled to Delhi, but Mubarak was so much infatuated with him that, far from taking him to task or asking any explanation for his evil designs, he punished those well-wishers whom he held responsible for Khusrav’s failure in Ma‘bar. Talbagha was blinded, beaten and thrown into prison, and the jdgirs of both Tamar and Talbagha were seized. Khusrav now became supreme; no one dared to speak against him and some nobles joined him on selfish grounds. Khusrav’s growing influence enabled him to secure royal permission to bring his friends and kinsmen from Gujarat and raise a corps of 40,000 horse, composed entirely of men of his own tribe and loyal to him. Thus reinforced, he formed a plot to assassinate the King in his palace. To further his design he got possession of the palace, securing the king’s permission for his men to enter at night on the ground that he could not meet them at daytime due to his preoccupation. One of these, Jaharya, advanced towards the King’s apartment, and as he killed the chief guards, Mubarak rushed towards the harem. But Khusrav seized him by the hair and, during the scuffle that followed, Jaharya cut

off the head of the King and threw it down into the courtyard (April 15, 1320). 44

Mubarak was an unworthy successor of his father. Frivolous and depraved, cruel and arrogant, Mubarak lacked his father’s ability and vigour as v/ell as his genius for organization and leadership. In him the vices of ‘Ala-ud-din were magnified, but his virtues were lacking. Though he did not observe fasts and say prayers, he assumed the title of Commander of the Faithful and Vicegerent of God as well as Imam, and thereby made the kingdom of Delhi independent of the Caliphate. His predecessors, including the lordly Balban and the mighty ‘Ala-ud-din Sikandar Sdni, had all acknowledged the legal sovereignty of the Caliph. 45 Mubarak also displayed hatred and animosity against the saint Nizam-ud-dln Auliya. 46

2. Khusrav

At midnight, after the murder of Mubarak Shah, Khusrav Khan summoned the prominent nobles like ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, Wahld-ud-din Quraishi, Fakhr-ud-din Jauna, Baha-ud-dln Dablr and others, and detained them in the palace till the next morning, when he ascended the throne under the title of Nasir-ud~dm Khusrav Shah. Meanwhile his followers removed all possible claimants to the throne by killing two and blinding three of the sons of ‘Ala-ud-din, and perpetrated abominable crimes in the harem. Thus the Khaiji dynasty came to an ignoble end.

Baranl, who gives the above account, is very hard on Khusrav Khan, and treats him with supreme contempt, as he was a Hindu convert. It is not unlikely, however, that Khusrav has been more sinned against than sinning. True, he was ignoble, cruel, and treacherous; but possibly he was not worse than either Mubarak or ‘Ala-ud-din in this respect. He had been converted to Islam in childhood, when he was given the name of Hasan; and along with his brother fell into the hands of ‘Ain-al-Mulk during his invasion of Malwa in 1305. Hasan was attached to the body of the personal slaves of ‘Ala-ud-din and brought up at the royal palace. Muslim chroniclers, in their contempt for the crowned convert, describe Khusrav as an outcaste and low born. It is not possible to determine the real name of the tribe or caste to which Khusrav belonged on account of the variants in the chronicles [Par war, Bar war, Bardv, etc.), and there is very little evidence to show that he belonged to a low caste. 47 Nor is there sufficient evidence to prove the contention of Baranl that Khusrav Khan’s coup de main was the consequence of a Hindu revolution, and his accession ushered in a period of the triumph of Hinduism and the downfall of Islam. A considerable number of his followers, members of his tribe from Gujarat, were Hindu, and after his accession, they might have oppressed those Muslims who were opposed to their leader. Probably some of them practised Hindu religious rites in the palace, and this offended Muslim sentiments. But Khusrav Khan never aimed at the restoration of a Hindu monarchy; nor did he champion the cause of Hinduism. On the contrary, he had shown the iconoclastic zeal of a Muslim during his campaigns in the south. Khusrav regarded himself as a Muslim; the khutba was recited in his name, and his coins bear the title of Commander of the Faithful.

After his accession Khusrav Khan executed some of the nobles hostile to him. He married a wife of Mubarak Shah and conferred titles and positions on those who had helped him. Randhol, his main prop in the conspiracy, was given the title of Rai-i-Rayan; and his brother Hisam-ud-dm was given the hand of a daughter of ‘Ala-ud-dln and the title of Khan Khlanan. He did not fail to placate those who might prove hostile. On ‘Ain-ul-Mulk was conferred the title of ‘Alam Khan, and Malik Fakhr-ud-din Jauna, son of GhazI Malik, who wielded great influence among the nobility, was appointed master of the horse. Wahid-ud-din Quraishi was appointed chief minister. With certain exceptions, he retained the services of old officers of the State and he was anxious to secure the support of the nobility. Both Amir Khusrav and Ibn Batutah state that he did obtain the support and homage of the nobles and governors.

It was onb/ a small section of the nobility which was opposed to him. The murder of the late king with the consequent orgy of bloodshed alienated some, while there were others, orthodox Muslims, who saw in the accession of Khusrav the triumph of heathenism and great danger to Islam. They, however, formed a small minority; for there was no great sympathy for the Khaljls who had fallen. The spokesman of the opposition was GhazI Tughluq, governor of Dipalpur, whose son Malik Jauna was at the court. The astute warden of the marches raised the slogan of Islam in danger, which has always proved so effective a weapon in Muslim history. The first step he took was to instruct his son Malik Jauna to join him at Dipalpur. The master of the horse one day slipped away from Delhi, and the die was cast. Eluding the army sent by Khusrav Khan in pursuit of him, he safely reached Sarsuti (Sirsa), which had already been garrisoned by his father. GhazI Malik then sent appeals to the governors of Ueh, Multan, Siwastan (Sehwan), Samana, and Jalor as well as to ‘Ain-ul-Mulk who was at Delhi. Of these the governor of Uch, Bahrarn Aiba, alone responded to the call of GhazI Tughluq. On the refusal of Malik Mughultai, governor of Multan, to join him, GhazI Malik incited the people of Multan to rise against their governor; and the rebels killed him. Malik YaklakhI, governor of Samana, who was loyal to Khusrav, marched against GhazI Tughluq, but was killed by his own men. Muhammad Shah, governor of Siwastan, who had been imprisoned by his mutinous soldiers, was released, when the appeal for help came; but he made a half-hearted response. Similar was the response of Muhammad Hushang, governor of Jalor. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk maintained his neutrality, though he assured GhazI Malik of his secret help. It is significant that GhazI Malik’s appeal was mainly to the governors of the western frontier and even there he found little response. He also failed to obtain the moral support of the great saint Nizam-ud-din Auliya. All this reveals the true nature of the Tughluq revolution which overthrew Khusrav Khan, and the motive of its author. The cry of Islam in danger was merely a pretext.

Khusrav Khan sent a force, 40,(300 strong, under his brother to check the advance of GhazI Malik. The army marched to Sarsuti, but the Khan Khanan failed to capture it, and proceeded towards Dipalpur to meet the enemy. On the way the royal force encountered GhazI Malik and was totally defeated; the Khan Khanan fled, leaving elephants and treasures to the victors. GhazI Malik, by forced marches, arrived at the vicinity of Delhi, and Khusrav Khan made desperate and frantic preparations to oppose him. He advanced two and a half months’ pay to the soldiers and emptied his treasury to please his followers. Having organized his forces, he marched from Delhi at the head of a big army with a large number of elephants. At this critical juncture, just on the eve of the battle, ‘Ain-ul-Mulk deserted Khusrav and left for Malwa.

On September 6, 1320, the battle for Delhi was fought near Indarpat. Khusrav Khan fought valiantly and desperately till the evening, when a sudden attack of GhazI Malik upon his soldiers, who had dispersed for plundering, turned the tide of the battle. Khusrav’s army was totally defeated and fled in confusion. Khusrav Khan fled from the battlefield and took shelter in the garden of Shad! Khan at Tilpat. Next day he w T as seized and beheaded. GhazI Malik rode in state to the Palace of the Thousand Pillars and, after studied hesitation and with the consent of the nobles, who pointed to him that there was no surviving prince of the royal family, ascended the throne on September 8, 1320, under the title of Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq Shah. 48

APPENDIX A

The date of f Ald-ud-din’s first expedition to Devagiri

^ All modern writers except K. S. Lai give AD. 1294 as the date of ‘Ala-ud-din’s invasion of Devagiri. Tneir authority is Firishta who gives the date of this expedition as 694 A.H. which commenced on November 21, 1294. The only contemporary authority, who gives the date of this invasion, is Amir Khusrav, who says that ‘Alaud-dm left Kara on 19 Rabi‘-ul-akhir, 695, which corresponds to February 26, 1926 (Khazain-ui-Futuh , Calcutta text, p. 8). Elliot is wrong when he states that 19 Rabi‘-ul-akhir, 695 corresponds to February, 1295.

According to Baranl, Jalal-ud-dln marched to Gwalior in 695 A.H., which commenced on November 10, 1295, and at Gwalior he received the report that ‘Ala-ud-dm had plundered Devagiri and was returning with an immense booty (Tdrlkh-i-Ftruz ShdJu, p. 223). Now, we have from the Khazain-ui-Futuh the date of ‘Ala-ud-dm’s return to Kara as well: 28 Rajab, 695, which corresponds to June 3, 1296. So it was obviously in May 1296 that Jalal-ud-dln got the news.

If ‘Ala-ud-dm had started in December 1294, he would have spent altogether one year and a half in the Devagiri expedition. This would be too long, for according to Firishta (I, p. 96: Kanpur text) ‘Ala-ud-dm remained at Devagiri only for twenty-five days: he could not have taken seventeen months in marching to Devagiri and returning from there to Kara.

TsamI (Madras text, pp. 228-9) says that ‘Ala-ud-dln’s plan was to return within two months, and from the accounts of the other chroniclers as well it appears obvious that ‘Ala-ud-dm planned a rapid campaign. We learn from Baranl (p. 222) that already during his Bhilsa campaign, ‘Ala-ud-dm had gathered information about the roads to Devagiri. A long period would defeat the very objective of the campaign. It was undertaken without Jalal-ud-dln’s leave and it was a means to an end: through it he would attempt a coup de main against the King. Eighteen months would be too long a period for the purpose, as it would be difficult to prevent leakage of information. It appears obvious from all authorities that ‘Ala-ud-dm was in a hurry. It was improbable that Jalal-uddln should not have heard of ‘Ala-ud-dm’s activities in the south for a comparatively long period of one year and a half.

Baranl, as already noted, was not very precise in his chronology, and his statement that ‘Ala-ud-dln spent more than a year in the expedition seems incorrect. On the whole it seems more reasonable to accept the date of Amir Khusrav, viz., A.D. 1296 because he gives the exact date of ‘ Ala-ud-dm’s departure from Kara and return to that place.

[The date usually given for this expedition, A.D. 1294, was adopted in Vol. V, p. 195. But although no definite conclusion is possible, the date A.D. 1296, given by a contemporary authority, seems preferable, and has been adopted in this Volume, Ed.].

APPENDIX B

The name of Ramachandra’s son

The son and successor of Ramachandra, the Yadava king, during whose reign the first Muslim invasion of the South took place, has been named Sankara by almost all modern writers, from Fleet to Haig. Fleet, in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts (pp. 7178) and in the Bombay Gazetteer (I, p. 530), has Sankara. Sewell in his work, A sketch of the dynasties of

Southern India, (Madras, 1883, p. 114), has Samkara (1309-13) and he himself says that his source of information is Fleet. ' R. G. Bhandarkar has the same in his Early History of the Dekkan (Bombay, 1885, p. 119). All subsequent writers have generally followed them.

Now, the name of Sankara does not occur in any Hindu or Indian source. Fleet himself has made this point clear in the following remark about the sources for the history of the Yadava dynasty: "For the period after 1298, no epigraphical records, throwing any light on the history of this dynasty, have as yet come to notice. Our knowledge of what occurred then, and of the leading incidents during the previous few years, which led up to it, is derived only from the pages of the Mussalman chronicler Ferishta." (Bombay Gazetteer, I. p. 530). In the footnote the translation of Briggs is referred to. Sewell also (op. cit., p. 115, f.n.) says that his authority is Firishta.

Firishta (Kanpur text, I. p. 117 and Bombay text, I, pp. 204-5) has Sankaldev. Sankaldev is, of course, Sankara. But in the 'Ashiqa of Amir Khusrav we have Sinkhan Dev (Devalrdni tea Khizr Khan, Aligarh ed., p. 85). In his translation from the ' Ashiqa, Elliot (III, p. 551) has 'Sankh Deo 5 . The Aligarh edition is a collated text, based on several MSS. It seems that in Elliot's MS. the letter N, (nun) has been dropped and it has been read as Sankh Deo. In manuscripts G (gdf) is often confounded with K (kdf) and vice versa (Steingass: Persian Dictionary, pp. 999 and 1971). Sinkhan Dev is, therefore, nothing but Sihghana Deva. Venkataramanayya has incorrectly read the name in the 'Ashiqa as Sahgama Dev (Early Muslim expansion in South India, p. 17 f.n. 10) and K. A. N. Sastri has adopted this reading (History of South India, p. 217). As Hodivaia (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 373) has pointed out, the name Sihghana is to be found in the dynastic list of the Yadavas of Devagiri. Further, as between Firishta, who composed his work early in the seventeenth century, and Amir Khusrav, who was a contemporary writer, the authority of Amir Khusrav should be given more weight. In view of all these reasons it appears that the name of Ramachandra's son and successor was Sihghana and not Sankara, as given by Firishta and accepted by modern writers.

(Prof. Abdur Rashid reads the name, in the Aligarh text of the ‘Ashiqa, as Sanghan Deo or Sankun Deo, but prefers the former.

Thus the second letter is read by him as ‘gh’, and this supports the above contention. In view of the fact that the name Sihghana was borne by the greatest ruler of the dynasty, it is preferable to

take the name of the crown-prince as Singhana. The ‘Ashiqa also gives the name of his brother as Bhillam, another familiar name in the family. As Prof. Rashid has pointed out, the author of the Futuh-us-Salatm speaks of Bhillam as a son of Ram Deo, but not as the only son, as is supposed by Venkataramanayya (op. cit.). We must therefore conclude that the Yadava king Ramachandra had two sons Singhana and Bhijlama. In Vol. V, pp. 195-6, the name of the former has been given as Sankara, following the usual practice. But even though it is of long standing, the weighty arguments given above seem to be strongly in favour of the change, and hence the name Singhana has been adopted in this Volume. I am indebted to Prof. Abdur Rashid for the valuable information supplied by him. Ed.)

1. The date is given as June 13 in Vol. V (p. 158). The actual date is 3 Jumadlus-sanl, 689 A.H. As the Muslim day begins at sunset, 3 Jumadl-us-sanI, 689, begins at sunset of June 13, 1290, and ends in the afternoon of 14, and consequently the major portion of it covers June 14. The system of giving such dates as June 14 has been followed in converting Hijra dates into their corresponding dates in the Christian Era.

2. A different view has been expressed by Pande (PIHC, X. 310), but his arguments are not convincing.

3. In Jodhpur State, 26° 21' N-, 73° 5' E. (cf. above, Vol. Ill, p. 65). BaranI, p. 220, has Mandor, and ‘Isaml, p. 215, has Mandowar. CHI, III, p. 95, has Mandawar.

4. 19 RabT-ul-akhir, 695, Khazain-ul-Futuh, p. 8. Firishta has 693 A.H/A.D. 1294. See Appendix A.

5. See Appendix B.

5a. According to ‘Isaml it consisted of 500,000 foot and 10,000 horse (Futuh-us Salatin, Madras Text, p. 234). He, however, calls the son of Ramadeva, Bhillama.

6. See Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 246.

7. See Hodivala, op. cit., pp. 248-49; A. K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p. 470, f.n. 7.

8. Recently some scholars have questioned the historicity of Kamala Devi and Devala Devi and regard the entire episode relating to them as pure fiction. See G. H. Ojha, Gujarati: Annual Number, 1933; K. M. Munshi, The Glory that was Gurjaradesa, Pt. Ill, pp. 225-226 (Bombay, 1944) and Pt. II, pp. 431-54 of revised edition, Bombay 1955; A. K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p. 192.

9. Siwastan or Sehwan in BaranI, p. 253, and Firishta, Vol. I, p. 103. ‘Isaml, p. 251, has SIstan which is obviously a slip for Siwastan. CHI , III, p. 101, has Sibl.

9a. Firishta puts these reasons somewhat differently (Briggs, I, p. 344).

10. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp 255-6. As pointed’out by him, and by Moreland, ‘Ala,-ud-dln could not altogether abolish the system of grants, but he made them very sparingly.

11. According to Tripathi (op. cit., 256) these Hindu chiefs held lands from the State on condition of paying a stipulated amount of revenue and are to be distinguished from autonomous rulers who were allowed to rule over their territories on condition of payment of fixed amount to the Delhi King as tribute. For Khut cf. also Moreland, The Agrarian system of Muslem India, pp. 224-25,

12. The passage, dealing with these ordinances in BaranI, pp. 287-88, is defective* and consequently it is difficult to understand what BaranI means. See Moreland, op. cit., pp. 224-27 and Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 256-62.

13. Tripathi, op. cit., 258.

14. Moreland, op. cit., 224.

15. Ibid, 32.

16. HIED, III, pp. 183-5. [The Editor is responsible for this paragraph.!

16a. P. Hardy has recently pointed out by a comparison of the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi with the Fatawa-i-Jahanddri that BaranI put his own ideas into the mouths of the personages in his Tarxkh (BSOS, 1957, XX, pp. 315-21). But this is too complicated a question to be discussed here.

17. The future Muhammad bin Tughluq. BaranI refers to Fakhr-ud-dln Jauna as holding the office of Dadbak in 1302-3. ‘Ala-ud-dln would hardly have entrusted such a responsible office to Jauna or appointed him to the command of the Warangal expedition, if he were a boy of twelve or thirteen. The year

1Z90 as the date of his birth, suggested by Agha Mahdi Husain (MTMH, 22), does not fit in with the above facts.

18. See Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, pp. 24-25.

19. Nensi, Khyat, Vol. I, p. 21; Ted, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 311. In Tod the name of the Rana is Bhlm Singh. TsamI, p. 281, gives the name of the Rana as Sonarsia.

20. See G. H. Ojha, Udaipur Rajya ka Itihds, Vol. I, pp. 191-202, 233-34.

21. See Ojha, op. cit., pp. 183-191; Habib, Khazdin-ul-Futuh, p. 48; and Wahid Mirza, text, pp. 162-63. K. R. Qanungo, Prabdsi (in Bengali), 1337 B. S. and Nopani Lectures, Calcutta University (1956); R. R. Haider, Indian Antiquary, Vol. LIX, pp. 235-37; S. C. Datta, IHQ, VII, 296-298, and K. S. Lai, History of the Khaljis, pp. 120-130. It should be noted that both Abu-’l-Fazl and Hajl-ud-Dablr use PadminI not as a name, but as a woman

possessing special attributes (Ain-iAkbari, Nawal Kishore Text, Vol. II, p. 258 and Haji-ud-Dablr, pp. 787-88). In Hindi, PadminI is the name of a vroman of the most excellent of the four classes in which women are divided. It is in this sense that they use the word. For the story of Solomon and Bilqls, the beautiful Queen of Sheba, see Hughes, A Dictionary of Islam, pp. 601-604, London 1885. Amir Khusrav compares ‘Alaud-dln with Solomon and himself with his lapwing hudhud, which brought the news of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon.

22. Koka seems to be a mistranscription for Goga, whose identification presents

some difficulty. According to an inscription of V.S. 1354 (Buddhiprakas , Gujarati, 1910, p. 77, ASI, 1935-36, p. 98) Saraiigadeva, the king of Gujarat (A.D. 1274-1296), defeated one Goga, and another inscription of A.D. 1439 praises Lakshmasirhha, the Guhilot prince of Mewar for having defeated Gogadeva, the King of Malwa (ASI. 1907-08, 214). Firishla also calls Koka the Raja of Malwa (Briggs, p. 361), but Amir Khusrav calls Koka the Pardhan of Rai Mahalak Deo, King of Malwa, and adds that “Koka, the Wazir, commanded the army and he was stronger in the country of Malwa than the Rai.” (Khazdinul-Futuh, HIED, III, p. 76. Tr. by M. Habib. JXH, VIII. 365: ‘Ashiqa, HIED, III. 544-45). According to Wassaf, about the year A.D. 1270, a king of Malwa died, and dissension broke out between his son and minister as a result of which Malwa was divided between the two (HIED, III, 31). It is possible, therefore, that Koka or Goga was the minister referred to by Wassaf who made common cause with his erstwhile king when the country was threatened with a Muslim invasion. See A.K. Majumdar: Chaulukyas of Gujarat, p. 182. (Ed.).

23. BaranI, p. 320, has Nayak; Amir Khusrav, Khazdin-ul-Futuh, p. 38, Manik: ‘IsamI, p. 301-2, Nanak. The name was either Nayak or Manik and the leader of the campaign was a Hindu as Khusrav states in the ‘ Ashiqa , p. 61. He is possibly the Manik, who saved ‘Ala-ud-dln from Akat Khan’s assault referred to by BaranI, p. 273. According to Firishta, Malik Naib and GhazI Malik Tughluq were leaders of the campaign.

24. The account of the Mongol invasion of 1306 given by the chroniclers, particularly that of BaranI, is confusing. The above account is based on the

Khazdinul-Futuh and the ‘ Ashiqa as well as Futuh-us-Salatin of TsamI, who agrees with Amir Khusrav in treating the campaign under Kabak as the last Mongol invasion. BaranI speaks of three campaigns in three different years; the first under Kabak; the commander of the second is not named; and the third under Iqbalmandah. Firishta plays havoc with facts and names. See Khazdin-ulFutuh, pp. 41-46 and Habib, English translation, pp. 29-34; f . Ashiqa , pp. 62-63; TsamI, pp. 317-22; and JASB, 1870, pp. 43-47.

25. TsamI, p. 283.

28. For a different version see TsamI, pp. 286-87. TsamI and Amir Khusrav (in in the text is given on the authority of Amir Khusrav.

27. A. K. Majumdar, Chaulukyas of Gujarat, pp. 189-192.

28. For a different version see TsamI, pp. 268-87. TsamI and Amir Khusrav (in the ‘ Ashiqa, pp. 85-87) make it a separate campaign. The account in the text is based on Firishta, who gives a detailed and systematic account of Devala Devi. Kama could not obtain asylum in Devagiri, obviously due to Malik Naib’s invasion, and fled to Telingana.

29. This question of Devala Devi has been discussed by K. M. Munshi and Dr. B. Prasad in The Glory That Was Gurjaradesa, II, by K. M. Munshi, pp. 431 ff. and by A. K. Majumdar, op. cit. pp. 194 ff. See also Qanungo: The historicity Pf the love romance, ‘Devai Rani wa Khizr Khan’, in PIHC, HI, pp. 877-79. For a different view see A. L. Srivastava: Historicity of ‘Devai Ranl-Khizr Khan’ in the Is.C. 1956. He holds that there is little that is impossible in the basic theme of the * Ashiqa , which stands the test of historical criticism and is substantially true.

30. A. K. Majumdar, op. cit. pp. 194 ff. [The Editor is responsible for this paragraph and the account of Devala Devi.]

31. 13 Muharram, 708 A.H. (July 4, 1308), Khazdin-ul-Futuh, B.I. text, p. 69.

32. We have no contemporary account of the Khalji conquest of Jalor and have to

rely on the later authorities like Firishta and Nensl. It seems Jalor was raided by Muslim troops in A.D. 1299 on their way back from Gujarat, though ‘Ala-ud-dln could not have personally undertaken it as Nensl would have us believe. On the second occasion Jalor was invaded by Alp Khan and ‘Ainul-Mulk, while they were returning from Malwa; and Raja Kanhar Deva, alarmed at the success of Muslim arms in Malwa, offered his submission to ‘Ala-ud-dln. Kanhar Deva, however, revised his policy, asserted independence, and defied the authority of Delhi, which necessitated the third and final invasion of the territory. Firishta places the subjugation of Jalor about the time of the expedition against Siwana, while Nensl places it in A.D. 1311 (Khydt , I. p. 163). As the Khalji army was engaged in Siwana in 1308, a campaign after its fall against Jalor, which was in the vicinity, was quite probable. But NensTs date is to a certain extent corroborated by Jinaprabha Surl who, in the Tirthakalpa, refers to ‘Ala-ud-dln’s destruction of the temple of Mahavlra at Sanchor in the vicinity of Jalor in A.D. 1310; and modern scholars like Ojha‘, Reu and others accept it. .

32a. ASI, 1909-10, p. 131.

32b. Tod, Annals, Ed. by Crooke, I, 312.

33 . HIED, in, 202.

33a. TsamI, Futuh-us-Saldtin, Madras Text, p. 294.

34. See The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1899, pp. 370-389.

35. BIrdhul or VIradhavalam has been identified with Uyyakkondan Tirumalai, two miles from Uraiyur (El, XXVII, 311).

36. For a different identification see Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, April, 1941, p. 4 and The Early Muslim Expansion in South India , p. 63 n, where Dr. Venkataramanayya identifies the place with Kanchl.

37. See Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, pp. 66-67.

38. See Firishta, Bombay edition, Vol. I, pp. 210, 567, and 570; Lucknow edition; Vol. I, pp. 119, and 297-299. Sit Band Ramesar on the coast of the Arabian Sea is possibly Cape Ramas south of Goa, as Briggs suggests (I. 374).

39. See ‘Ashiqa, pp. 70-71; Hajl-ud-Dablr, p. 156; S. K. Aiyangar, South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, pp. 100-101, 118; and Introduction to Habib’s English translation of the Khazdin-ul-Futuh, pp. XXVII-XXIX; Venkataramanayya, op cit., pp. 68-69 and K. S. Lai, op. cit., pp. 369-371. In the ‘Ashiqa, p. 72, Amir Khusrav refers to Malik Naib’s attack on Patan which Dr. Aiyangar identifies with one of the Pattinams: Rameswarapattinam which is also called Pattinam merely, or Periapattinam or another Pattinam on the opposite coast of India. Patan is described as the seat of VIra Pandya’s residence and a careful comparison of the Ma‘bar campaign in the Khazdin-ul-Futuh and the ‘Ashiqa would lead to the conclusion that Patan of the latter and BIrdhul of the former are the same place and the headquarters of VIra Pandya; but we do not know if Rameswaram was so. In fact these places cannot be properly identified.

40. BaranI writes the same as Kampila (HIED III, 236) and Firishta, as Kumpila (Briggs, I, 418).

40a. The date is given as January 2 in CHI, III, 119.

41. Both BaranI (HIED, III, 208) and Firishta (Briggs. I, 381) refer to the suspicion to this effect.

42. 24 Muharram, 716, Nuh Sipihr, p. 51.

43. ‘IsamI, pp. 361-363, gives a different account of the expedition; he does not refer to any hostilities. According to him Prataparudra agreed to pay the arrears without any resistance.

44. Briggs, I, 395. According to BaranI the headless trunk of the Sultan was cast

into the courtyard (HIED, III, 223). ri

45. See T. W. Arnold, The Caliphate, pp. 116-117; Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp. 52-53.

46. For an interesting account of the relation between the tv/o, cf. Is. C. XX, 137-8.

47. See Hodivala, op cit., 369-371. There is, of course, considerable force in the suggestion of A. L. Srivastava that the word is Barwar i.e. Bharwar or Bharvad, which in Gujarati means a shepherd; and Khusrav came of this shepherd caste, which is neither high nor low. See PIHC, 1953, 173-177.

48. According to the Tarikh-i-Mubdrak Shahi, Ghiyas-ud-dln's accession took place in 721 A.H. (A.D. 1321-22). BaranI gives the date as 720 A.H. (A.D. 1320-21).

CHAPTER III

GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLUQ (A.D. 1320-25)

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, also called simply Tughluq, was the founder of the Tughluq dynasty. It is generally believed that Tughluq was the name of his family or of the tribe to which he belonged, and hence this cognomen is applied to all the members of his family. 1 But it is held by some that Tughluq was merely the personal name of the founder of the new dynasty, and was neither a family name, nor the designation of a class, clan, or tribe. In support of this view it is pointed out that the second king of the dynasty called himself Muhammad bin Tughluq (son of Tughluq) or its equivalents, and very rarely Muhammad Tughluq, while none of his successors ever used the word Tughluq as part of his name. 2 But as sometimes the personal name of the founder is given to the dynasty, we may, following the present practice, call the ruling family the Tughluq Dynasty, and use the word Tughluq after the proper name, as names like Muhammad Tughluq or Firuz Tughluq are more familiar to us in these forms.

According to Ibn Batutah, Tughluq belonged to the race of the Qaraunah Turks. But nothing is definitely known about this clan, not even whether it was Turk or Mongol. Marco Polo, a contemporary foreign traveller, describes the Qaraunahs as a people of mixed breed, while some derive the name from Karana, the name of a mixed caste in India. The question has been fully discussed by several historians 3 in all its bearings, and while they generally agree that Tughluq was certainly a Turk, some are of opinion that far from being a Qaraunah, he was a lineal descendant of the Sassanian kings of Persia. The most probable view seems to be that of Sir Wolseley Haig who connects the Tughluq with the ‘Taghlik’, a tribe of Turks, now dwelling near Khotan. 4

There is also a difference of opinion, even among the old authorities, regarding the early career of Tughluq, whose original name was Ghazi Malik or Ghazi Beg Tughluq. According to Ibn Batutah and Shams-i-Siraj ‘Afif, he came from Khurasan to India during the reign of ‘Ala-ud-din

Khalji. On the other hand, Firishta states, as a result of his inquiry at Lahore, that although there was no authentic account in any book, it was generally believed that Malik Tughluq, a Turkish slave of Sultan Balban, married a woman of the Jat tribe, and their son was Ghazi Malik who later became

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. Dr. M. Husain, who prefers this account to the older one, ignores the fact that this goes against his view that Tughluq was a personal name of the founder of the royal dynasty and not a cognomen. The story of the Jat marriage is in a way indirectly supported by 'Afif who says that Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, when governor of Dipalpur, gave his brother in marriage to the daughter of a Hindu nobleman of the province, who was extremely unwilling but was coerced by threat to accept the proposal. It may be added that the issue of this marriage was the future Sultan Firuz Tughluq.

But if we accept the view of 'Afif that Ghazi Malik himself came to India from Khurasan during the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, he can hardly be the son of a Jat mother. The statement of Amir Khusrav, a contemporary writer, that Ghazi Malik served under Jalal-ud-din Khalji seems to indicate, however, that Firishta's account is the correct one. We may, therefore, hold that Tughluq w T as the son of an Indian mother and, like his father, was in the service of the Sultans of Delhi. He distinguished himself by his successful defence against the Mongol invaders and ultimately became the governor of Dipalpur. He held the post till he was called to the throne under circumstances already described above.

Tughluq proved to be an able ruler. His first concern was to restore the authority of the Sultanate in the Deccan. Prataparudra, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, had taken advantage of the disorders in Delhi, and not only threw off the yoke of the Sultanate by refusing to pay tribute, but increased his power enormously by extensive conquests, as stated above. 5 Owing to a singular lack of political wisdom he ignored or underestimated the Muslim menace. Instead of attempting to organize a united front of the Hindu rulers of Deccan and South India in order to prevent the catastrophe which had already overwhelmed him once before, he was now fully engaged in leading military campaigns against them and thereby frittered away his energy and resources. But he had to pay the penalty for his folly as soon as Tughluq ascended the throne. In the second year of his reign (A.D. 1321-22) the Sultan sent an expedition against him under the command of his son Juna or Jauna Khan, also Known as Ulugh Khan. The latter marched by way of Devagiri and laid siege to the fort of Warangal. Prataparudra offered a heroic resistance. The Hindus from all sides mustered strong to fight against the Muslims and frustrated all their attempts to capture the fort. The siege dragged on and the casualties were heavy among the besiegers. Prataparudra sued for peace, offering to pay annual tribute as before, and also to furnish elephants and

treasure. Prince Jauna haughtily rejected the offer and vigorously pressed the siege.

But soon the Muslim army met with a terrible disaster. This was due to the desertion of a large number of nobles with their armies, but the exact cause of this defection is difficult to determine. According to Barani, 'Ubaid, a boon-companion of Jauna. deliberately spread a false report among the soldiers to the effect that the Sultan was dead and that a new prince now sat upon the throne of Delhi. 'Ubaid also told the nobles that Jauna intended to kill them. Believing in these rumours most of the military leaders left the camp together with their followers, and then a panic seized the imperial army. The besieged Hindus sallied forth and plundered the baggage of the army of Jauna, and he fled with his followers towards Devagiri. Of the nobles and military leaders, who had deserted the camp, some met with disaster at the hands of the Hindus, and many suffered terrible punishments in the hands of the Sultan. Jauna, however, reached Devagiri in safety. Barani does not say anything about 'Ubaid's motive and seems to imply that he was actuated by a desire to create mischief. On the other hand, Ibn Batutah definitely asserts that Jauna intended to rebel against his father, and ordered 'Ubaid to spread the false report in the hope that the officers and troops would swear allegiance to him. But the result was just the opposite, as the armrs rebelled and deserted the prince, who thereupon fled to his father with ten horsemen. 1 j

Baranl's account has been followed by later Muslim historians. 6 Among modern writers Wolseley Haig and many others accept Ibn Batutah's version, while Ishwari Prasad and M. Husain accept BaranI’s account. BaranI’s narrative fails to supply a reasonably satisfactory motive for the treacherous conduct of ‘Ubaid, an intimate friend of Prince Jauna Khan. On the other hand, Ibn Batutah’s account hardly fits in with two ascertained facts namely, (1) that while the Sultan punished the officers who deserted, he not only did not admonish the prince, but again sent him in command of a second expedition against Warangal in A.D. 1323; (2) the Sultan also appointed Jauna regent in Delhi during his own absence in Bengal. 7 ! j

According to Muslim chronicles the second expedition was completely successful. Jauna again laid siege to Warangal and captured it. King Prataparudra surrendered and was sent to Delhi “with his elephants and treasures, relations, and dependants”. Barani adds that “the name of Warangal was changed to Sultanpur, and all the country of Tilang was conquered”. But this must be regard

ed as an obvious exaggeration. For, as noted above, 7a Prataparudra is referred to as the ruling king in an inscription dated A.D. 1326, found at Guntur. It is, therefore, very likely that even if he were taken as a captive to Delhi, he must have been released and was either allowed to rule as a subordinate chief or asserted his independence.

There is another question that may be discussed in this connection. According to local chronicles the Pandya kingdom of

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Madura (Ma‘bar of Muslim chronicles) was conquered by an army from Delhi in the year A.D. 1323. 8 This is supported by the fact that this province is included by Barani among the dominions of Delhi Sultanate at the time when Muhammad bin Tughluq transferred his capital to Devagiri in A.D. 1327, although there is no reference to any expedition against this place led by him before this date. If we accept the date A.D. 1323 for the conquest of Ma‘bar by the Sultan of Delhi, it would appear very likely that Jauna carried on an expedition to this southernmost limit of India after his victory over Prataparudra. But, then, it is inexplicable why sufch a resounding victory should have been ignored by all the Muslim historians.

But whatever we might think of this expedition, there is no doubt that after the conquest of Warangal, Jauna Khan led an expedition to the eastern coast. Barani simply says that he marched towards Jajnagar and captured forty elephants. An inscription, 9 in a mosque at Rajahmundry, records that it was built in A.D. 1324, during the regime of Ulugh Khan. This show's that the latter had advanced as far as Rajahmundry. It is probable that from Rajahmundry Jauna Khan proceeded towards Orissa. Bhanudeva II, king of Orissa, sent a large force to the frontier to defend his kingdom. According to Tsami, the only contemporary author who gives an account of this expedition, the Orissan forces were defeated and fled, and Jauna Khan plundered their camp and took much booty. But the Puri plates of Narasimha IV credit Bhanudeva II with a victory over Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. This probably refers to the same expedition, 10 and in that case, we must presume that Ulugh Khan suffered some reverse, and his expedition was not as successful as Tsami describes it to be. This is supported by the very cryptic reference to it by Barani, and explains the sudden retirement of Jauna Khan after a victorious campaign, which has struck modern historians as rather unusual. 11

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Jauna was warmly received by his father on his return from the brilliant campaign. The Sultan honoured him and held great rejoicings, though these were partly marred by the news that the

Mongols had crossed the Sindhu and invaded Samana. But the imperial army sent against them won two victories, drove them back, and took many prisoners.

After having quelled a Parwari insurrection in Gujarat, the Sultan turned his attention to Bengal which had been an independent principality since the death of Balban. Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq decided to assert his authority over the province and started with an army at the beginning of A.D. 1324, having left, in charge of the government at Delhi, his son Jauna who was, according to some accounts, specially summoned to Delhi from Telingana for that purpose in January, 1324. The details of the campaign and its result will be described in Chapter, X E. It will suffice to state here that the Sultan succeeded in his main object. He defeated the Sultan of Bengal, Ghiyas-ud-dln Bahadur, and brought him captive to Delhi. He confirmed Sultan Naslr-ud-din in the government of North Bengal with its capital at Lakhhawati. Eastern and Southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at Sonargaon and Satgaon, were annexed to the Sultanate, and his adopted son Bahram Khan was appointed to govern them.

In course of the expedition to Bengal, the Sultan defeated the Raja of Tirhut (N. Bihar). There is some difference of opinion among scholars regarding the date of this Tirhut campaign. Some hold that it took place when the Sultan was returning to Delhi after having settled affairs in Bengal, while others hold that the Sultan conquered Tirhut on his way to Bengal. But the evidence of ‘Isami is decisive on this point. His detailed account leaves no doubt that Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq invaded Tirhut on his way back from Bengal. Harisimha, the king of Tirhut, offered a stubborn resistance to the imperial army, and Ghiyas-ud-dln started for Delhi before the ruler of Tirhut was completely subdued, as will be related in Chapter XIII, D-II.

In course of his return journey the Sultan received some alarming news of his son’s conduct and general disquiet at Delhi, and proceeded by forced marches. What followed is thus described by Ibn Batutah: “As the Sultan neared the capital he sent orders to his son, Ulugh Khan, that he should build him a palace near Afghanpur. This palace was in the main a wooden structure, constructed within three days under the supervision of Malikzada Ahmad bin Aiyaz, the superintendent of buildings, later known as Khvaja Jaban, the principal wazir of Sultan Muhammad. It rested on wooden columns and was so contrived that should the elephants step on a part of it the whole structure would collapse and tumble down. The Sultan stopped in this palace and fed his guests. After they dispersed, the prince asked the Sultan to allow him to have the elephants ride past him, and permission was granted. Shaikh Rukn-ud-dln informed me that he was with the Sultan at the time, when Jauna Khan approached him saying: ‘Maulana, it is time for the ‘Asr prayer, come and pray’. The Shaikh complied with this request, and the elephants were brought from a certain direct tion, as had been arranged. When they stepped over the palace, it immediately collapsed on the Sultan and his son Mahmud. The Shaikh said, ‘I heard the uproar and returned without saying the prayer. I saw that the structure had fallen, and the Sultan's son was ordering pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig out the Sultan, but he made signs for them to delay and the implements were not brought till after the sunset.' When the Sultan was dug out he was seen bending over his son to save him from death. Some presumed that he was taken out dead; some apprehended that he was taken out alive and afterwards murdered. He was carried in the course of the night to the tomb, which he had built outside the city of Tughluqabad." 12

It will appear from the above account that Ibn Batutah definitely accuses Ulugh Khan (Jauna) of murdering his father. The testimony of Barani, the only other contemporary writer, does not, however, support this view. After referring to the reception of the Sultan in a temporary pavilion, Barani states: 11 A calamity occurred, like a thunderbolt falling from heaven on the denizens of the earth, and the roof of the dais, on which Sultan Tughluq Shah was sitting, fell, and the emperor, with five or six persons, fell beneath the roof, and was united to the neighbourhood of God's mercy". 13

It should be noted that Barani's expression is somewhat vague. Some historians, both of old and modern times, have taken his words literally to mean that the pavilion was struck by lightning. But it has been pointed out that if that was Baranl's intention to convey, he would have worded the expression differently. 14

It has been suggested by old and modern writers that Barani dared not speak the truth unfavourable to Ulugh Khan, later Emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq, as he wrote during the reign of Flruz who was greatly attached to the Emperor. While this is a forceful argument, it should be remembered that Barani has not hesitated to describe many harsh and oppressive acts of Muhammad bin Tughluq and severely condemn him. Later historians have supported either the view of deliberate conspiracy and murder by Ulugh Khan, or accidental death by lightning as concluded from the statement of Barani. Badaunl and the authors of the Futuh-us Salatin (an almost contemporary work), Am-i-Akban, and Tabaqat

i-Akbarl support the view of Ibn Batutah, while Firishta supports the view of Barani. But Firishta evidently was not quite convinced, for he concluded with the very characteristic expression, "God only knows the real truth".

The Tdrikh-i-Mubdrak Shdhi neither refers to the lightning, nor to the deliberate murder. 1 * 5

Dr. Ishwari Prasad has critically discussed the question and is inclined to the view that Ulugh Khan murdered his father. 16 He points out that there were several causes of estrangement between the father and the son, the most important of which was Sultan’s aversion against Shaikh Nizam-ud-dln Auliya, to whom Ulugh Khan was devoutly attached. Further, when Tughluq was returning from his campaign he sent an order to the Shaikh to quit the city before his arrival. The Shaikh, when warned by his friends of the approach of the Sultan almost to the suburbs of the city, is said to have replied: “Delhi is yet far off”. This may also be taken to indicate some sort of conspiracy to kill the Sultan before he could actually reach the capital city. But many writers are of opinion that even if there were any such conspiracy, Nizam-ud-dln Auliya had probably nothing to do with it. It is also very significant that the official, under whose supervision the pavilion was constructed, was not only not punished, but promoted to a higher post. Unless Shaikh Rukn-ud-din had deliberately made a false statement to Ibn Batutah, or the latter grossly misrepresented him, the circumstantial narrative of the former, who was present on the occasion, must be preferred to the vague statement of Barani. On the whole, though no definite conclusion is possible, one would perhaps be inclined to agree with Dr. Ishwari Prasad “that the Sultan’s death was the result of pre-meditation and conspiracy and not of accident.” This is also the view of Sir Wolseley Haig who observes: “Ibn Batutah’s impartial evidence is conclusive”. 17 Dr. M. Husain has made an attempt to exculpate Ulugh Khan, but his discussion, though elaborate and painstaking, 18 does not carry conviction, and appears more like a special pleading than an impartial investigation of truth.

Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq died in A.D. 1325 (February or March), but during his short reign of less than five years he showed great ability in administration. The State treasury had been almost depleted by the reckless expenditure of Mubarak and Khusrav, and grant of jagirs on a large scale. The Sultan not only issued orders to resume the lands unlawfully granted, but also forced many to refund the amount that had been given to them. The celebrated saint, Shaikh Nizam-ud-dln Auliya, who had spent the money granted to him in charity, and was therefore unable to refund it, did not even send any reply to the Sultan's demand. For this reason there was an estrangement between the two. The Sultan was very angry with his son Jauna for his extreme reverence for the saint, as has been noted above.

The land revenue was equitably settled and the farming system was abolished. The Sultan took special care to prevent the exactions of peasants by officials and jagirdars and remitted revenues to a large extent in times of drought. On the whole the government was based on justice and moderation and inspired by a desire to promote the welfare of the ruled. The Sultan selected his officials on grounds of merit alone and paid them well to prevent corruption.

The Sultan led an ideal life and was free from drinking and many other usual vices of the age. He built the fortified city of Tughluqabad and removed his capital there. He also erected many buildings, the most magnificent being his own tomb which has such unique artistic features. To him belongs the great credit of restoring the power and prestige of the Delhi Sultanate which had fallen very low, and revitalizing the system of administration which had almost collapsed during the disgraceful reigns of his immediate predecessors.

But Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, in spite of this admirable qualities and personal virtues, was a man of the age, and blindly adhered to the Quranic laws as the basis of his civil administration. This explains his attitude towards his Hindu subjects "who were treated with great severity and were made to feel their position of inferiority in the body politic". 19 According to the ordinance promulgated by the Sultan, "there should be left only so much to the Hindus that neither on the one hand should they become intoxicated on account of their wealth, nor on the other should they become so destitute as to leave their lands and cultivation in despair". 20 The close resemblance of this with the principles followed by 'Alaud-din Khalji 21 is of great significance. As a man Tughluq was far superior to 'Ala-ud-dln, but although he did not revive the agrarian and fiscal policy of the latter, his attitude towards the Hindus was not very dissimilar. This shows that the position of the Hindus in the Islamic State of Delhi did not depend much on the character and presonality of the Sultan, but was determined by the

Quranic policy, as it was understood in this country in those days. This was clearly based upon discrimination between Muslims and Hindus, and the latter were relegated to an inferior position without any political status or civil rights in the land of their birth.

1. QTIP, 5 ff., CHI, III, 127 f.n.

2. For a full discussion, cf. MTMH, 45 ff.

3. For these and other debatable points that follow, full discussion with reference will be generally found in MTMH and QTIP.

4. JRAS, 1922, p 321.

5. Vol. V, pp. 202-3.

6. According to the Tarlkh-i-Mubarak Shahl, ‘Ubaid spread a report that the Emperor was dead at Delhi; he also employed the amirs and maliks for assassinating Ulugh Khan who, however, reached near the Sultan by forced marches and narrated to him the whole incident. The latter thereupon inflicted terrible punishment upon the rebel amirs.

7. Haig has offered a plausible explanation of these two facts (JRAS, 1922, pp. 326-7).

7a. Vol. V, p. 203.

8. JOR, XII, 212.

9. E1M, 1923-4, p. 13.

10. JASB, 1895, part I, pp. 136, 146. But R. D. Banerji thinks that the inscription refers to Bhanudeva’s fight with Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq during the latter's campaign in Bengal (Orissa I, 276).

11. N. Venkataramanayya— The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, p. 126.

12. Based on the English translation by Dr. M. Husain (GOS) pp. 54-5.

13. The passage was wrongly translated in HIED (III, 235), but has been correctly rendered by W. Haig (JRAS, 1922, p. 330).

14. Ibid.

15. The author simply says: “The construction was newly made, the earth under the erection trembled, and by divine pre-ordination it gave way” (TMB, 97), Ishwari Prasad points out that he “makes no mention of lightning and supports Ibn Batutah” (QTIP, 41) while M. Husain thinks otherwise (MTMH, 70).

16. Op. cit., pp. 38-48.

17. JRAS, 1922, p. 336.

18. MTMH, pp. 66-74.

19. QTIP, 51.

20. Ibid.

21. Above, p. 24.

CHAPTER IV

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ (A.D. 1325-51)

Three days after the death of his father, Ulugh Khan (also called Jauna) ascended the throne (February or March, 1325). He is designated variously as Muhammad Tughluq, Muhammad bin Tughluq, or simply Muhammad Shah. Following the existing practice it would be convenient to refer to him as simply Muhammad or Muhammad Tughluq. Whatever view we might take regarding the part played by Muhammad in the tragic death of his father, there is no doubt that his accession was, generally speaking, accepted without demur by all concerned; in any event, there is nothing to show that there was any opposition or even popular discontent against the new ruler on that account.

Of all the monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Delhi the personality and activities of Muhammad bin Tughluq have proved to be the greatest puzzle both in ancient and modern times, and have evoked the most lively discussion among historians of all ages. His reign was full of stirring events, some of which were strange, and even bizarre in the extreme. But, curiously enough, although we possess fairly detailed accounts of his reign written by three eminent contemporary authors, we do not know, not only the dates, but even the sequence, of these events. What is worse still, even in respect of the major schemes launched by the great Sultan, we cannot form any definite idea, either of their precise nature or of the motives that inspired them. There is, in consequence, a wide divergence of opinion among scholars regarding the proper reconstruction of the reign and a proper estimate of the character and personality of the monarch. It will be our endeavour to present a detached view of the Sultan and his reign with the help of such reliable evidence as we possess, without any attempt at hypothetical reconstruction based on speculation, but incidentally referring to the different views on controversial points as far as possible. 1

One of the earliest events in the reign is the rebellion of Bahaud-dln Gurshasp. 2 the son of Tughluq's sister, who held the fief of Sagar, near

Gulburga in the Deccan. He had amassed vast wealth and having gained over many of the nobles of his principality, attacked those who remained loyal to the Sultan (A.D. 1326-7). The imperial army defeated him at Devagiri and pursued him up to Sagar. But Gurshasp, unable to defend himself, fled with his family

and treasure to the kingdom of Kampili, and sought shelter with its Hindu ruler.

As noted above, 3 this small kingdom, comprising Bellary, Raichur and Dharwar districts, was originally a dependency of the Yadava kingdom of Devagiri, and when this was annexed by ‘Alaud-dln Khaljl, the ruler of Kampili declared his independence, and successfully resisted the invasion of Malik Kaffir (A.D. 1313-15). The kingdom had since grown in power and prestige, and now included parts of Anantapur, Chitaldrug and Shimoga districts. 4 The Raja, called Kampilldeva in Muslim chronicles, welcomed the fugative Gurshasp and gave him protection. Whether he was actuated by purely humanitarian consideration and traditional Hindu ideas of hospitality, or there was any political motive behind it, it is difficult to say. The statement of Firishta that Gurshasp had maintained a friendly intercourse with the Raja of Kampili seems to support the latter view. The Raja of Kampili had been an avowed enemy of the Muslims, and might have some understanding with a chief disaffected towards the Sultan. 6

But whatever might have been the motive of Kampilldeva, his action brought a veritable disaster upon him and his kingdom. As could be expected, the Sultan sent a powerful force against the defiant Hindu king. But Kampilldeva offered a heroic resistance. He twice defeated the imperial troops, but when fresh reinforcements arrived from Devagiri, he was forced to shut himself up in the fort of Hosadurg (Anagondi). It was invested by the enemy on all sides and lack of provision made it impossible for Kampilldeva to hold out for more than a month. But he died like a hero. On his advice the ladies of the royal family died by the fearful Jauhar ceremony and the wives of ministers and noblemen followed their example. Then Kampilldeva and his followers sallied forth and died fighting to the last. 6 Kampili was annexed and constituted into a separate province with Malik Muhammad as its governor. The surviving sons of the king and his officers were carried to Delhi as prisoners and were forced to embrace Islam, Among these were the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. So the unique self-sacrifice of Kampilldeva for the sake of protecting a guest did not go in vain. From the ruins of his kingdom rose a mighty Hindu empire in the south, as will be related later.

, When Kampilldeva found his situation helpless he managed to send the rebel Gurshasp with his family to the Hoysala court and commended him to the care and protection of King Ballala III. So, after the fall df Kampili, the imperial troops proceeded towards

Dvarasamudra, the Hoysala capital. Ballala III evidently took lesson from the fate of Kampilideva. According to Firishta he seized Gurshasp and sent him bound to the Muslim general, and at the same time acknowledged the supremacy of the Sultan of Delhi. But there are good grounds to believe that Firishta did not tell the whole truth. According to some authorities, Dvarasamudra was destroyed by the Muslims in A.D. 1327, and if so, it is very likely that Ballala III did not yield without fight. 7 Besides, an inscription, dated A.D. 1328, proves that Ballala III ruled as an independent king in that year, 8 and this is at variance with Firishta's statement that he acknowledged the supremacy of Delhi. The probability is that Ballala III offered some resistance at first but, being defeated, made peace by surrendering the fugitive rebel Gurshasp. He evidently submitted to the Sultan, but was permitted to rule over at least a part of his kingdom.

The rebellion of Gurshasp thus completed the expansion of the Delhi Sultanate to the southernmost limit of India. 'Ala-ud-dln's policy, like that of Samudra-gupta nearly a thousand years before, was merely to establish his suzerainty over the distant provinces of the south. He laid low the four great Hindu powers of the south, namely, the Kakatlyas, the Yadavas, the Hoysalas and the Pandyas, but was content to leave them in possession of their dominions so long as they acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi. Though circumstances forced him to annex the Yadava kingdom, he did not attempt to annex the other three kingdoms. The Tughluqs, however, pursued the policy of exterminating the Hindu rule in the south. Warangal and Madura had already been incorporated in their dominions and now Kampili and a large part of the Hoysala dominions shared the same fate. To

Muhammad bin Tughluq, either as crown-prince, or as Sultan, belongs the credit of all these conquests which completed the triumph of Islam and seemed to have finally put an end to Hindu independence in the South. The authority of the Sultan was acknowledged all over India, save Kashmir, Orissa, Rajasthan and a strip of Malabar coast, and he established an effective system of administration over this vast empire. It has been observed that even “the remote provinces like Malabar and Telingana were as effectively under his control as the villages in the vicinity of Delhi’.

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But the rebellion of Gurshasp, which brought into prominent relief the brighter side of Muhammad bin Tughluq, particularly his military abilities and the efficiency of administration, also displayed the darker side of his character. When Gurshasp was carried as prisoner to the Sultan, he ordered the rebel to be flayed alive. But he was not satisfied with this; Gurshasp’s flesh, cooked with rice, was sent to his wife and children, while his skin, stuffed with straw, was exhibited in the principal cities of the kingdom. This revolting cruelty gave a foretaste of the barbarous, if not fiendish, spirit which characterized the Sultan, and it was not long before he displayed it on a massive scale.

One of the earliest administrative acts of the Sultan was the enhancement of taxation in the Doab (A.D. 1325-7). This created a terrible situation which throws a lurid light on the policy and character of the Sultan. The contemporary historian Barani gives a vivid picture of the whole affair which leaves on the minds of his reader a very deep impression of the atrocious regime of the Sultan. His account may be summed up as follows: 9

“The taxation in the Doab was increased ten and twenty times, and the royal officials consequently created such abwabs or cesses and collected them with such rigour that the ryots were reduced to impotence, poverty and ruin.

There were rebellions on all sides, the land was ruined, and cultivation was greatly diminished. All this produced a famine in Delhi and its neighbourhood and the Doab. Rains failed at the same time, and the famine continued for several years. Thousands of people perished, and when they tried to escape, the Sultan led punitive expeditions to various places and hunted them like wild beasts."

Barani is the only contemporary writer who refers to this painful episode, and paints it in vivid colours. His account leaves no doubt that the result of the policy of the Sultan and the method of its execution had created utmost distress and almost devastated large parts of the kingdom. It also brings into prominence the inhuman cruelty of the Sultan. But there are some grounds to doubt the accuracy of Baram's version of the troubles in the Doab. He does not specify the exact amount of tax which was sought to be levied from the peasants, and the increment was not probably tenfold or twenty fold as he says. Firishta's statement that it was increased threefold or fourfold is probably nearer the truth.

Badaurii states that the enhancement of assessment was both a punitive measure and a means of replenishing the treasury, and this view has been accepted by Wolseley Haig. Gardner Brown thinks that the taxation imposed by the Sultan was not heavy, and that the picture drawn by Barani about the cruel deeds of the Sultan is highly exaggerated. Some other writers also seem to be inclined to this view. But even making due allowance for possible exaggeration, there is no doubt that there was widespread distress by the increased taxation and this was aggravated by famine. According

to Gardner Brown, the sufferings of the people were more due to want of rain than to heavy taxation. But, then, no steps were taken to relieve the famine-stricken people, and there was no reduction in the taxation. The people who suffered severely naturally tried to escape from their homes to avoid the heavy taxes, and they were severely punished for this. The rendering of Barani's expression that the Sultan 'hunted men like wild beasts' may be wrong, 10 or the statement may be exaggerated, but we may well believe that they were severely and mercilessly punished. On the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the step taken by the Sultan was highly reprehensible, and the method of its execution, extremely cruel. They inflicted terrible hardships upon the people, devastated a fertile province, and created disorder and confusion over a wide area.

The date of the increase of taxation is a matter of dispute, as different dates are given by older authorities. 11 Among modern scholars, some place the event in A.D. 1326-27, 12 while others place it three years later. Assuming this later date to be true, Dr. M. Husain has sought to give a new interpretation to the whole episode. He thinks that the rank of the cultivators was swelled by the disbanded soldiers of the army recruited for expedition to Khurasan. When the tax was increased, they not only refused to pay the taxes but also ceased to work. This amounted to rebellion, since the peasants' duty was to till the soil. Besides, they defied the taxcollectors and, as Haji-ud-Dablr informs us, even killed them. Hence the Sultan called the local Hindu chiefs to account and inflicted exemplary punishments on them. The amiran-i-sadah were then fitted out to crush the rebellion, but they were also killed by the rebels. Fearing the consequences, the ringleaders then fled into the forests, with which parts of the Doab were still covered; and when they fraternized with the hitherto independent Rajput clans of Dalmau, the Sultan pursued them over the whole area from Baran to Kanauj. 13 Dr. Husain's reconstruction of the episode is highly speculative. But even if we adopt his view of the case, it is necessary to point out that the original fault lay with the Sultan, though he could not possibly foresee all the consequences.

Dr. Husain refers to Haji-ud-Dabir's statement in support of his theory of rebellion. But this writer clearly says that when the officers of the State employed rigour in collecting the taxes and practised oppression, the people rebelled in despair and abandoned their fields. 14

About the same time when land tax was increased in the Doab, or perhaps a little earlier, the Sultan launched two big projects,

namely, the change of the capital to Daulatabad (Devagiri or Deogir), and the introduction of a token currency. Both these require somewhat detailed consideration.

For the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad (A.D. 1326-27) and the ruthless manner in which it was done, we possess a detailed account from all the three contemporary authors, Baranl, Ibn Batutah, and ‘Isaml. The account of Baranl runs as follows:

“The second project of Sultan Muhammad, which was ruinous to the capital of the empire, and distressing to the chief men of the country, was that of making Deoglr his capital, under the title of Daulatabad. This place held a central situation: Delhi, Gujarat. LakhanautI, Satganw, Sunarganw, Tilang, Ma‘bar, Dhursamundar, and Kampila were about equi-distant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distances. Without any consultation; and without carefully looking into the advantages and disadvantages on every side, he brought ruin upon Delhi, that city which, for 170 or 180 years, had grown in prosperity, and rivalled Baghdad and Cairo. The city with its sdrais, and its suburbs and villages, spread over four or five kos. All was destroyed. So complete was the ruin, that not a cat or a dog was left among the buildings of the city, in its palaces or in its suburbs. Troops of the natives, with their families and dependents, wives and children, men-servants and maidservants, were forced to remove. The people, who for many years and for generations had been natives and inhabitants of the land, were broken-hearted. Many, from the toils of the long journey, perished on the road, and those who arrived at Deoglr could not endure the pain of exile. In despondency they pined to death. All around Deoglr, which is infidel land, there sprung up graveyards of Musulmans. The Sultan was bounteous in his liberality and favours to the emigrants, both on their journey and on their arrival; but they were tender, and they could not endure the exile and suffering. They laid down their heads in that heathen land, and of all the multitudes of emigrants, few only survived to return to their home. Thus this city, the envy of the cities of the inhabited world, was reduced to ruin”. 16

Ibn Batutah refers to the same event as follows:—

“One of the most serious reprehensions against the Sultan is that he forced the inhabitants of Delhi into exile. The cause of it was this. They used to write letters containing abuses and scandals, and they would seal the letters writing on the cover—‘By the head of His Majesty none except he should read the letter.’ These letters they used to throw into the council hall in the course of the night. When he tore them open, he found abuses and scandals in the contents. So he resolved to lay Delhi waste. He bought the houses and dwellings from all the inhabitants of Delhi and paid the price for them. Then he ordered the inhabitants to leave Delhi and move on to Daulatabad, but they refused to do so. Thereupon his crier went forth proclaiming that no one should remain in Delhi after three days. As a result, most of the people went away; but some concealed themselves in their houses. The Sultan ordered a search for those who still lingered; and in the lanes of the city his slaves lighted upon two men—one being a cripple and the other a blind man. Both were brought to the court and the Sultan ordered the cripple to be thrown up in the air by means of the ballista (minjariiq) and the blind man to be dragged from Delhi to Daulatabad—a distance of forty days’ journey. He was torn to pieces on the way, and only a leg of his reached Daulatabad. When the Sultan had done that, all the inhabitants of Delhi came out leaving behind their property and baggage, and the city was reduced to a desert. I was informed on reliable authority that in the night the Sultan mounted the roof of his palace and looked round Delhi. When neither a light nor even a smoke or a lamp came into sight he remarked, ‘Now my heart is pleased and my soul is at rest’. Then he wrote to the inhabitants of other provinces to repair to Delhi to re-people it. As a result, those provinces were destroyed, but Delhi was not repeopled on account of its vastness and immensity. It is one of the greatest cities of the world, and when we entered it we found it in the state above referred to; it was empty and was but scantily inhabited”. [16]

In spite of the concurrent testimony of these two contemporary witnesses, with which the other contemporary, ‘Isaml, agrees, [17] it has been urged by some modern scholars that the account given by them is an exaggerated one. They argue that the statement that the city of Delhi was altogether deserted is in conflict with Ibn Batutah’s description of the city of Delhi as populous in the year A.D. 1334, i.e. three years before the restoration of Delhi as the capital city. This completely ignores the last three sentences of the extract quoted above from Ibn Batutah’s Rehla. Again, it is pointed out that constructive works were designed and carried out in Delhi by the

Sultan during the very years in which he is supposed to have removed all the inhabitants of Delhi to Deogir. On these and other grounds Dr. M. Husain has made an elaborate and vigorous plea in defence of his contention that the city of Delhi never ceased to be the capital, and as such, was never depopulated or deserted. 18 His arguments have been considered by Prof. N. B. Hoy whose conclusion seems to be a more reasonable one. "The old capital," he says, "was not, however, reduced to utter desolation; it continued

to remain a seat of administration and a mint-town, coins being issued from Delhi in 728, 729 and 730 A.H. (A.D. 1327-30). And during these years the royal palace too often buzzed with noise at the occasional visits of the Sultan required by the outbreak of rebellions. The city, however, wore a deserted appearance; and in spite of the Sultan's efforts to re-people it by bringing in men from other places, Ibn Batutah, 'found it empty and depopulated' save for a few inhabitants, when he visited Delhi six years after this event". 19

Thus although the city of Delhi might not have been absolutely depopulated and deserted, the story of the removal of the people en masse and the "incalculable magnitude of the suffering" caused thereby cannot be doubted. 20

At the same time it is only fair to remember that the Sultan made various arrangements to alleviate the sufferings of the emigrants. "The two distant cities were connected by a good road bordered with rows of trees to give shade to travelling men and beasts. Couriers who maintained an efficient service of carrying despatches by relays were set up at every coss, rest-houses and hospices were built at successive stages. Each was placed in charge of a Shaikh and provision was made for supplying food, cold drink and betels to the travelling multitude at these stations. These measures undoubtedly offered partial relief from the pangs of thirst and hunger, but they could not protect the men from the scorching blaze of the tropical sun, nor could they assuage the home-sickness which 'kills an Indian in exile.' " 21

Some modern writers hold that the reason advanced by Ibn Batutah for the removal of the capital is unworthy of credence, and that given by Barani is also not perhaps quite accurate. They point out that the cessation of the invasion of the Mongols and the extension of the Delhi Sultanate to the southernmost extremity of India diminished the importance of Delhi as the capital city and increased the necessity of having a centre of political activity in a more central place like Daulatabad. Dr. M. Husain is of the opinion that Sultan Muhammad probably decided to remove to Deogir on account of the paucity of Muslims in the Deccan and wanted to make Daulatabad a centre of Muslim culture, planting there a colony of Muslim saints, ‘itlama’ and nobles; and this view has been shared by others. 22

According to the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi there were two migrations to Daulatabad, one, of the notables, in A.D. 1327, and the other, of the inhabitants of Delhi as a punitive measure, about two years later. 23 Dr. M. Husain also holds that the transfer of the people to Deogir was effected in two stages, but he holds that

only the leading Muslims, and not “the common people—the masses or the Hindus”—were forced to migrate there. He further asserts that “Delhi was never deserted and, in fact, never ceased to be the capital”. In his opinion Sultan Muhammad never intended to leave Delhi, much less to destroy it. What he wanted was to have two capitals for his far-flung empire, namely, Delhi and Daulatabad. 24 But this view is not shared by others and is not supported even by the Tdrikh-i-Mubarak Shdhi to which Dr. Husain refers, for it distinctly speaks of a forcible mass migration and evacuation of Delhi about A.D. 1329, which was carried out so thoroughly that not even the cry of dogs or cats was heard in the city. 24a

Shortly after the transfer of the capital the Sultan marched against the impregnable hill-fort of Simhagarh (then called Kondana), eight miles south of Poona. In spite of the heroic resistance of its Koli chieftain, the fort was besieged for eight months and practically starved into submission (A.D. 1327-28).

This was followed by the rebellion of Bahram Aiba, surnamed Kishlu Khan, who was a close friend of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, and highly respected by Muhammad. As Kishlu held the fiefs of Uch, Sind and Multan which guarded the north-western frontier of the empire, his rebellion was a serious affair. Different causes of his rebellion are given by different authorities. The most probable view seems to be the refusal of the chief to send his family to the newly established capital Daulatabad and his quarrel with the messenger who brought to him the Sultan's order to this effect. Kishlu gathered a large army, but was defeated by the Sultan who hurriedly advanced from the Deccan with a large army (A.D. 1327-28). Kishlu fled, but was captured and executed. His head was hung up at the gate of the city as a warning to others.

Troubles also broke out in Bengal, where Muhammad Tughluq had introduced a new system of administration. 2415 He had divided the province into three administrative units, with capitals respectively at Lakhnawatl, Sonar gaon, and Satgaon. He appointed Qadr Khan as joint ruler at Lakhnawatl with the Sultan Nasir-ud-din, whom Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq had left in independent charge of the province. Qadr, though nominally subordinate to Nasir-ud-din, was the de facto ruler, directly responsible to the Sultan of Delhi. Muhammad Tughluq introduced a similar policy of check and balance also in eastern Bengal. Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur who, as mentioned above, was brought captive to Delhi by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, was released by Muhammad Tughluq and was sent back to Sonargaon to rule jointly with Bahram Khan. A new governor was appointed for Satgaon. Nasir-ud-din, whose power was gradually

reduced to nullity, accepted the position without demur. But Ghiyasud-din, warned by the fate of his brother Nasir-ud-dln, rebelled after three years, in 728 A.H. (A.D. 1327-8). He was, however, defeated and captured by Bahrain Khan, who killed him, flayed his skin* and sent it to Muhammad Tughluq.

The only exception to the brilliant military successes of the Sultan is furnished by his wars with the Rajputs and the invasion of the Mongols, and as opinions differ on both these episodes, they require a somewhat detailed treatment. According to the Rajput chronicles, Rana Hammira had taken advantage of the confusion in the Delhi Sultanate after the death of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji to increase his power and seized Chitor in A.D. 1326. He gradually established his authority over the whole of Mewar and assumed the title of Maharana. The Chauhan ruler Jaiza, son of Maldev, who was ruling Mewar as a feudatory of the Sultan, fled to Muhammad Tughluq at

Delhi. Thereupon the latter marched against the Maharana, but was defeated in a battle near the village of Singoli and was taken prisoner by the Maharana. Three months later, he was released by the Maharana after he ceded to him Ajmer, Ranthambor, Nagaur and Sooespur, paid 50 lakhs of rupees, and gave 100 elephants.

This circumstantial narrative is not directly corroborated by any other evidence, but according to a Jain temple inscription, dated A.D. 1438, a Muslim army was defeated by Hammira. That Mewar acknowledged the suzerainty of Tughluq Shah is proved by an inscription in the fort of Chitor. So the Muslim-Rajput clash evidently took place in the reign of Muhammad. It is also quite clear from contemporary chronicles that Muhammad Tughluq and the later Sultans practically left Rajputana severely alone, and the various Rajput principalities recognised Mewar as the paramount power at least in name. The story of Hammira's success against the Muslims cannot, therefore, be regarded as altogether baseless. We may accept the conclusion of Ojha that not only Mewar but nearly the whole of Rajputana became practically independent of Delhi Sultanate, but, as he rightly observes, the story of the defeat and imprisonment of Muhammad Tughluq cannot be regarded as true in the absence of corroborative evidence. Possibly the Muslim army was led by some general and not the Sultan himself. 25

Some time about A.D. 1327, India was invaded by the Mongols under the Chaghatai chief Tarmashirin (Dharmasri) of Transoxiana, who was a Buddhist but later converted to Islam. According to Firishta, Tarmashirin marched with a huge army towards India with a view to conquering it, and having subdued Lamghan, Multan

and other regions, advanced rapidly towards Delhi. Sultan Muhammad humiliated himself before him and purchased peace by giving the invader a huge quantity of wealth. On receiving almost the price of the kingdom, Tarmashirln retreated, after having plundered Gujarat and Sind and taking many prisoners.

According to other, and earlier, accounts, the Sultan pursued the Mongols, after they had retreated, as far as Kalanor (in Gujarat district, Punjab), and though no actual engagement is mentioned, Tarmashirln is described as a vanquished enemy. But that the Mongols ravaged the territory almost up to the gates of Delhi, if not further to the east, and Muhammad could not oppose their advance, seems to be the general view. This is clearly stated in the Tar l k h-i-Mub dr a k Shahi 26 and, curiously enough, is fully supported by a passage in the autobiography of Timur. We learn from this work that "Tarmashirln with a host beyond all number and compute had assailed Meerut". 27 According to the Tarlkh-i-Mubarak Shahi, Muhammad Tughluq encamped in his capital and did not come out until the Mongols had turned back of their own accord after the devastation of the country. 28

Dr. Ishwari Prasad accepts Firishta's account as more probable than others, 29 but some modern historians do not accept this view. Sir Wolseley Haig accepts the story of the invasion, but rejects the account of the Sultan's surrender and his attempt to bribe the invader. 30 Dr. M. Husain puts an entirely different construction on the whole episode. According to him Tarmashirln came to India as a refugee, because of the defeat he had suffered in A.D. 1326 at the hands of Amir Choban near Ghazni. He fled with a large part of his army into the Punjab and came through Multan to Delhi. The Sultan gave him 5,000 dinars by way of help, and he retired. 31 This extremely speculative view is unsupported by any reliable testimony and opposed to almost all the evidence that we possess.

The most remarkable experiment of the Sultan which took place shortly after this was the issue of his fictitious currency (A.D. 1329-30). It is probable that he borrowed this idea from the paper currency prevalent in China and Persia. He issued brass or copper tokens 32 and also a decree to the effect that they should pass current for the silver tanka of 140 grains. There is no unanimity of opinion about the object or the wisdom of this policy. The contemporary historian Baram remarks that the Sultan's bounty and munificence had caused a great deficiency in the treasury and he wanted large amount of money for his ambitious plan to conquer the whole world. So he introduced his copper money. Many later chroniclers hold the same view, and the policy has been severely condemned. But

some modern writers are of opinion that the token currency was introduced not to refill the empty coffers but to remove the difficulty caused by the shortage in the world's supply of silver and the consequent scarcity of the silver currency. They believe that the Sultan's treasury was still quite rich, as is proved by Baranl's own statement that the token coins were later exchanged at their face value.

As regards the wisdom of the measure, Mr. Thomas held that the measure cannot be regarded as unjust, and Dr. M. Husain regards the scheme as "on the whole quite good and statesmanlike"; but others hold less favourable view. 33 There is however, unanimity of opinion that the result of the introduction of token coins was most disastrous and that it was mainly due to the way in which the plan was executed. It should be noted that the ordinary gold and silver coins were also legal tender along with the token coins. The result was that the people paid their revenues in the token currency, and the foreign merchants paid for their expenses in the token currency, but refused to take them in payment for their goods. The evil results of this were increased hundred times by the fact that there was no special machinery to mark the difference of the fabric of the royal mint and the handiwork of the moderately skilled artisans. Unlike the precautions taken to prevent imitation of the Chinese paper notes, there was practically no check on the unauthorized issue of the copper token and no limit to the power of production of the masses at large. The result of all this was almost the wholesale counterfeiting of the token coins, and Barani refers to it in his cryptic remark that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint and every goldsmith struck copper coins in his workshop. Although the token coins were not current for more than three or four years, there was a very heavy loss to the treasury. But it must be said to the credit of the Sultan that he gave the public gold (and possibly also silver) coins in exchange for the token copper coins. It is pointed out by contemporary chroniclers that mountains of these copper coins arose at the different treasuries of the government and lay there for years; the remains of them were to be seen even a century later.

Shortly after the invasion of Tarmashirm, the Sultan formed the ambitious design of conquering Transoxiana, Khurasan and Iraq. With this object in view he began to raise a new army. Barani says that 3,70,000 troops were collected and paid for one year, but then the king disbanded them. According to Barani, this was one of the measures which diminished his treasury and brought distress upon his kingdom. Many have condemned the action of the Sultan and even denounced the project as a mad one. Some modern histo

rians, however, have taken a more lenient view. They are of the opinion that considering the power and prestige of the Sultan there was nothing inherently absurd in his plan of conquering neighbouring countries, particularly as the distracted political condition of Khurasan at that time appeared to be favourable to such an enterprise. 34 But even admitting this point of view, one might wonder what good could be expected from such an expedition. While there was no reasonable prospect of permanently holding the distant land, there was the great risk that the army of invasion might suffer terrible loss in the steppe that separates India from that region. 35 It is also admitted on all hands that at a time when the kingdom was suffering from the effects of the transfer of capital, token currency, and rebellions, it was highly impolitic to undertake such an expedition. Besides, as events proved, the Sultan had very little knowledge about the real state of affairs in Khurasan.

Although the Sultan abandoned the idea of conquering Khurasan, he did not give up altogether the idea of foreign conquests. A few years later, he conquered Nagarkot (A.D. 1337) in the Kangra district. Next he undertook an expedition in the Himalayan region, the object of which has been held by many, on the authority of Firishta, to be the conquest of China. But this view is not confirmed by any contemporary or any other later reliable authorities, and we must reject it. Both Baranl and Ibn Batutah state that the expedition was aimed against Qurachal mountain, which lies between India and China, and there is no doubt that this view is the correct one. The name of the State is written in various ways such as Qurachal, Qarajal and Farajal. Some later writers write it as Himachal. It has been suggested that the name Himachal and also the other names are derived from the Himalaya (mountains). Others hold that the name Qarachil is derived from Kumachal or Kurmachal which is the name of Kumaon. But, whatever may be the correct form of the name, or its derivation, there is no doubt that the State was situated at the foot of the Himalayas, most probably in the region now comprised in the Kumaon Division, and extended up to the Terai. 36

As regards the objects of the expedition, also, the authorities differ considerably. According to Baranl, it was a preliminary step to the conquest of Khurasan and Transoxiana, but this view may be rejected, as Kumaon does not lie on the way from India to those regions. The most probable reason seems to be that the Sultan wanted to extend the suzerainty of Delhi over the hill chiefs who gave him troubles and with whom Indian rebels, when defeated, found shelter. As a matter of fact, the expedition to Qarachal may be regarded as due to the same policy which led the Sultan to invade Nagarkot, namely, the security of the northern frontier. But whatever may be the object or ultimate destination, the expedition proved to be one of the greatest calamities.

According to all accounts, the Sultan sent a large army for the expedition. Ibn Batutah says that it consisted of "a hundred thousand horsemen besides a large number of infantry". It seems that the expedition passed through the Moradabad district. The royal troops captured the city of Jidya, which lay at the foot of the mountain, along with the adjacent territories, and burnt the country. The people here, all Hindus, left their hearth and home and took refuge in the mountain heights. There was only one road leading up to the hill-top and only a single horseman could pass through it. The royal troops climbed by this way and captured the city of Warangal. They wrote about their victory to the Sultan who ordered them to remain there. 37 But when the rains set in, a disease broke out in the army. Accordingly, with the permission of the Sultan, the troops began to descend, but the people took their stand in the gorges and occupied the pass before them. Then they threw down pieces of huge trees which killed a large number of the Sultan's army. Those who survived were captured and the people plundered the wealth, horses and the arms of the royal army. Only three officers of this army escaped, and the rest perished. This is the account left by Ibn Batutah, 38 and it is substantially corroborated by other writers. The consequences of this ill-judged military expedition proved highly disastrous, and so seriously affected the military strength of the Sultan that he could never again collect a large force against his enemies. But, on the other hand, as the hill people could not cultivate the low lands at the foot of the hill without acknowledging the authority of the Sultan of Delhi, a peace was concluded with the mountain chief who agreed to pay tribute. Thus though the object of the expedition was partially fulfilled, it may be easily concluded that the military disaster was one of the primary causes of the revolts and disturbances that occurred almost throughout the empire. For, while the military resources of the empire were being exhausted in the expeditions against Nagarkot and Qarachal, the disintegration of the mighty empire had already begun in the south.

Sayyid Ahsan Shah, the kotwal of Ma‘bar, the southernmost province of the empire with its headquarters in Madura, declared independence in A.D. 1334-5. According to Barani, 39 “the army sent from Delhi to recover Ma‘bar remained there.” This evidently means that it was won over by Ahsan Shah. The Sultan then personally advanced against him via Daulatabad and Warangal. At the former place he levied heavy taxes and his oppressive exactions drove many persons to kill themselves. There was a cholera epidemic at Warangal, and the Sultan himelf was attacked. In the meantime famine broke out in Delhi and Malwa, and there were rebellions in Lahore. So the Sultan gave up the campaign and returned to Delhi. Ma‘bar became independent and Ahsan Shah founded the Madura Sultanate.

But far more serious was the rising of the Hindus in Telingana, Andhra and the territory to the south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra. Though the exact details are lacking, it appears that the organization of a sort of Hindu confederacy was attempted in the south in order to free the country from the yoke of the Muslims. This is quite natural and easily intelligible, for the first Muslim inroad into this region, which was more of the nature of a raid than of a conquest, took place during the reign of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji, barely a quarter of a century ago, and the destruction of the Kakatlya kingdom and the firm establishment of Muslim rule in the Deccan and South India were only a recent event barely five years old. The Muslim chronicles either ignore this movement among the Hindus or merely view it as one more rebellion against the Sultan. In any case their reference to it is brief and casual. This shows how much we are liable to misread or misinterpret Indian history so long as we have to derive our information from Muslim chronicles alone.

Though the ruling houses and many noble families in the Deccan perished on account of the Muslim raids, some of the chieftains who survived the catastrophe joined hands with the object of freeing their country from the Muslim yoke. According to contemporary Hindu records, Prolaya Nay aka drew his sword against the Musulmans to re-establish the Hindu dharma, to restore the worship of the gods, and to protect the Brahmana and the cow. Prolaya probably hailed from Musunuru in Paka-nadu in the southern Andhra country. He was supported by two other leaders, namely, Prolaya Verna, the founder of the Reddi kingdom of Addanki and Kondavldu, and Bhaktiraja, the Telugu Choda Prince of Eruva. People from all parts joined their standard, and under their inspiring leadership defeated the Muslims in a series of battles. As a result of these victories Prolaya Nayaka drove the Muslim garrison from the coastal districts of Andhra and established himself at Ekapalli in the Bhadrachalam taluk in the East Godavari district.

Prolaya died between A.D. 1330 and 1335 and was succeeded by his nephew (brother's son), Kapaya Nayaka, the Kanaya or Krishna Nayak of the Muslim historians. The successful rebellion of Ma'bar at this time served both as an inspiration and opportunity to him. As already mentioned above, Muhammad Tughluq, advanced up to Warangal in course of his campaign against the rebellious governor of Ma'bar. He must have been aware of the Hindu resurgence in this region and made a new arrangement for the administration of Tiling or Telingana. He divided it into two parts and placed the eastern division, with its capital at Warangal, under Malik Maqbul, a general of the old Kakatiya kingdom, called Nagaya Gauna, who had embraced Islam. As we shall see, he followed with success a similar policy in similar circumstances at Kampili, and no doubt hoped that a native of the locality, once holding a high office there, would be in a position to exercise great influence over the people. But the anticipated result did not follow in Telingana.

Kapaya Nayaka was a shrewd statesman and could easily read the signs of the time. He was the leader of a confederacy of seventyfive chiefs, and in order to hasten the impending ruin of the Sultanate, he tried to organize a league of all the Hindu chiefs of the South. With this object in view he visited Vlra Ballala III, the powerful Hoysala king and the only independent Hindu ruler in the south. Ballala readily lent his support to the sacred cause. It was agreed that he should fortify a strategic place on the northern frontier of his kingdom and also send a body of troops to the help of Kapaya. The plan was eminently successful. Kapaya Nayaka, accompanied by the Hoysala troops, invaded Tiling and stirred up a Hindu rebellion. In the face of this national revolt, backed up by a regular army, Malik Maqbul found himself unable to protect Warangal. He fled from the province and the Andhra country was thus lost to the Sultan. Ballala III and Kapaya next invaded the northern districts of Ma‘bar, or the recently founded Sultanate of Madura. They expelled the Muslim from Tondaimandalam and handed it over to Venrumankondan Sambuvaraya who established himself at Kanchi.

A similar national movement of the Hindus had also been working in the region along the Krishna under the leadership of Chaiukya Somadeva, the progenitor of the Aravidu family. He belonged to the Kurnool district and was probably supported by Prolaya Verna and other leaders of the similar movement on the eastern coast; indeed both may be regarded as part of one and the same movement. Somadeva is said to have captured a number of forts and won many battles. But his greatest achievement was his victory over Malik Muhammad who was appointed governor of Kampili after it was conquered by Muhammad Tughluq only a few years before, as noted above in connection with the rebellion of Gurshasp. That the victory over the governor of Kampili was the result of a national uprising of the Hindus is supported by the testimony of Nuniz. According to this Portuguese chronicler the people

of .Kampill, who rose in rebellion against the Muslim governor, withheld the payment of taxes, surrounded him in his headquarters, and allowed no provisions to reach him.

But here Muhammad Tughluq tried with success the method which failed him at Warangal. He appointed Harihara and Bukka who, as mentioned above, were taken prisoners from Kampill and forced to embrace Islam, as governor and deputy-governor of Kampili, and sent them with an army to restore order. They were opposed by Ballaia III who probably came to the support of Somesvara. At first Harihara and Bukka were defeated, and perhaps they wandered about the country as refugees. It was during this period that they secured the help of the sage Vidyaranya, and thanks to his advice, ultimately succeeded in establishing themselves at Anegundi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra.

The movement initiated by Somadeva with the support of Vira Ballaia III failed for the time being, but the resounding success of the Hindus under Kapaya Nayaka in the coastal region, mentioned above, gave fresh impetus to the people of Kampill. What is more important, even the Muslim governor of Kampill fell under the influence of the Hindu nationalist movement. Harihara and Bukka, under the inspiration of Vidyaranya, renounced Islam, took the lead of the new movement, and founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara in A.D. 1336 as will be related later. 40

As noted above, Muhammad Tughluq had succeeded, by A.D. 1328, in establishing his authority almost up to the southern extremity of Indian Peninsula. But in less than ten years he lost the entire region to the south of the Krishna-Tungabhadra line, and even a part of Telingana and the coastal districts of Andhra. It marked the disintegration of the empire in a manner which no one could fail to notice. This was further signalized by the series of rebellions that took place about this time, in Lahore, Daulatabad, Sarsuti and Hansi. These were all put down, but as a result of the rebellion of Fakhr-ud-dln in Bengal, to which detailed reference will be made later, that province was lost to the Delhi Sultanate. Thus big cracks appeared in the mighty fabric of the Delhi Sultanate, and it was no longer a question of whether but when that great structure would fall.

When the Sultan returned from Warangal to Delhi famine was raging in Delhi and its neighbourhood in a severe form, and men and cattle died in thousands. Even the Sultan felt it necessary to remove his family and court from Delhi to a newly founded town called Saragdwari (gate of heaven) on the Ganga near modern Shamsabad. But he had to deal with several rebellions, namely,

those of Nizam Main at Kara, Nusrat Khan at Bidar, ‘All Shah at Gulburga, and ‘Ain-ul-Mulk in Awadh, which were all put down. 40a

The Sultan personally marched against Shahu Afghan who had killed the governor of Multan and seized the city. The rebel fled, but on his return to Delhi the Sultan found the distress in the Doab unbearable. As the contemporary authorities tersely put it, "man was devouring man". The Sultan tried to alleviate the sufferings, but with no success. He was soon faced with popular outbreaks in Sannam, Samana, Kaithal, and Kuhran. The Jat and Rajput tribes in this region in east Punjab formed mandals (strongholds), withheld the tribute, and created disturbances. The situation was probably similar to that in the Doab. 41 The Sultan sternly repressed the rebellions and took their ringleaders to Delhi. Barani says that many of them became Musulmans, which probably means that they were forced to embrace Islam.

But these revolts were not the only causes which distracted the mind of the Sultan. He found to his dismay that his authority was defied even by Muslim divines,—the 'ulama', qdzts etc. Muhammad Tughluq put many of them ruthlessly to death. But such acts of cruelty shocked the rank and file of the Muslims and further estranged them from the Sultan. He not unnaturally connected the rebellions with this feeling and decided to reinforce his authority by seeking recognition from the 'Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. Baram's account may be summed up as follows:—

It occurred to the mind of the Sultan that no king could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalifa. So he sent despatches to Egypt while he was at Saragdwari. On returning to Delhi he had his own name and style removed from his coins and that of the Khalifa substituted. In the year 744 A.H. (A.D. 1343-4) an envoy from Egypt brought to the Sultan honours and a robe from the Khalifa. The Sultan with all his nobles went forth to meet him and walked before him barefoot for some distance. From that date it was ordered that in mentioning the name of the king in the khutba they should be declared to have reigned under the authority and confirmation of the 'Abbasid Khalifa. 42

The motive attributed to Muhammad Tughluq by Barani may be correct, but there may be some truth in the view held by other early writers that the Sultan hoped that his receiving the patent from the Caliph would strike fear into the hearts of his enemies. But such anticipations were not fulfilled. 43

The Sultan now turned to a new device to pacify the country. He introduced new economic and administrative measures which aimed at lessening the burden of taxes, development of agriculture,

increased supervision of the administration of justice, and other laudable objects. 44 But though the plan was good, the method of execution rendered it ineffective. In order to ensure efficient working of the new policy he dismissed the old officials and replaced them by new employees of humble birth. Barani calls them all upstarts and stigmatizes them as barber, cook, gardener, weaver, drunkards, rogues etc.

The removal of a veteran official like Qutlugh Khan, Governor of Daulatabad, caused dismay and disgust among the people, and many of them broke into rebellion. 45 The appointment of ‘Aziz Himar 46 as governor of Malwa was another fatal step. Barani tells us that while investing the base-born ‘Aziz with this office the Sultan warned him against the amlran-i-sadah (centurions). 47 Most of them were turbulent, selfish and unscrupulous, and always ready to create chaos as friends of rebels and promoters of mischief. The Sultan told ‘Aziz that if he came to know that any of the centurions of Dhar was rebellious he must try to get rid of him in the best way he could. ‘Aziz carried out the instructions of his master to the letter. Shortly after his arrival at Dhar he beheaded eighty centurions in front of his palace on a got-up charge of rebellion. According to Barani, the Sultan honoured ‘Aziz for the horrid massacre;

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but “this slaughter of the foreign amirs of Dhar on the mere ground of their being foreigners caused those of Deogir and Gujarat and every other place to unite and to break out into insurrection”. 48

Indeed this was the beginning of the end. In A.D. 1345 the centurions of Gujarat revolted, and the Sultan proceeded against them via Patan and Mt. Abu. After a severe contest resulting in heavy casualties the rebels fled towards Daulatabad. The Naib Wazir pursued and dispersed them, but treacherously killed a large number of amirs of Broach under instruction of the Sultan.

The Sultan encamped at Broach and sent orders to Deogir to send fifteen hundred horsemen with the most noted of the “foreign amirs 99 . These amirs accordingly started for Broach, but had not proceeded far when they suspected treachery and revolted. They returned, killed the officials, captured the treasury, and proclaimed one of them, Makh Afghan as king. They were joined by the centurions of Dabhoi and Baroda and established their authority over a large part of Maharashtra.

The Sultan marched with a large army to Daulatabad and defeated the rebels who took to flight. He then besieged the fort of Daulatabad where Makh Afghan had shut himself up. But as there was a fresh rebellion in Gujarat led by Taghi, the Sultan left Daulatabad to punish him. He spent the remaining days of his

life in vainly trying to suppress the rebellion of TaghI, and could not return to the Deccan. As a result of this, rebellion in the Deccan could not be checked and led to the foundation of an independent kingdom in the Deccan known as the Bahmanl kingdom whose history will be treated in detail in another chapter.

TaghI, supported by the muqaddams and the centurions of Gujarat, slew the governor and deputy-governor of Gujarat, plundered Cambay, and besieged the fort of Broach. It appears that TaghI had the sympathy and support of the people, both Hindu and Muslim, and his revolt was really a general outbreak of the people. When the Sultan arrived at Broach, TaghI avoided an open fight, and by brilliant guerilla tactics moved to Cambay, Aswal, and Patan. But being overtaken at Takalpur, and defeated by the Sultan after a severe engagement, he went to Tattah and sought shelter with the Sumras of Sind who had also broken out into rebellion.

The Sultan spent some time in Gujarat, cleared it of rebels, and re-established peace and order. He then proceeded towards Tattah in pursuit of TaghI. He planned to attack the town by land and sea and crossed the Sindhu with his whole army, which was strengthened by four or five thousand Mongol horse sent by the chief of Ferghana. But on the way he contracted fever, and while the army was within a short distance of Tattah, he died on March 20, 1351.

Thus ended the career of one of the most remarkable personalities that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. He had extended the Delhi Empire to its farthest limits, but before his death he lost everything to the south of the Vindhya. Like the waves in the sea the empire reached the highest point only to break down. But though from this point of view the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq cannot claim great success, his unique personality and abnormal temperament invest it with great importance.

No ruler in medieval India has evoked so much discussion concerning his policy and character as Muhammad Tughluq. Muslim chroniclers, without exception, describe him as a blood-thirsty tyrant and severely condemn his various measures. It has also been held by many modern historians, that he was a blood-thirsty tyrant almost verging on insanity, whose policy ruined the Sultanate of Delhi. In recent times, however, some reputed historians have challenged this almost universal belief of both scholars and laymen and sought to exonerate his character. The truth, as usual, perhaps lies midway between the two extremes, and Muhammad Tughluq's character was probably a mixture of opposites. It must be admitted that he had many good qualities of head and heart, while his cruelties were shocking and horrid, and he showed a capricious temper and a sad lack of judgment and common sense on many occasions. We may, therefore, begin by a general description of both the good and bad qualities of Muhammad Tughluq.

Muhammad Tughluq possessed in a remarkable degree some traits of character which distinguish a good king. He was active, energetic and hard-working, and unwearied in his efforts to supervise the affairs of the State. He was a good general and often acquitted himself well in military campaigns.

The Sultan had a very high moral character and was immune from most of the moral lapses which characterized the rulers of the middle age. He abstained from drinking and was very strict in his relation with women. He forbade the use of intoxicating liquor among his subjects and on several occasions issued orders that no woman should be permitted to remain in the military camp. But he was not a puritan like Aurangzeb and had no scruple to witness the performance of musicians and dancing girls.

The lavish generosity of the Sultan has been described by both contemporary and later writers. Even Barani, who is the foremost in casting aspersions on the character of the Sultan, refers to his liberal gifts and acts of hospitality. It is difficult to enumerate all the instances in which he made gifts on a lavish scale both to the nobles as well as to the learned and pious men who came from foreign countries. He discouraged begging and made provisions for the up-keep of poor, and forty thousand beggars were fed every day at the public kitchen.

Although he is accused of killing his father, it seems that he tried to make amends for it by causing his father’s name to be inscribed on the coins immediately after his accession. In any case, there is unanimity of opinion that he paid the highest respect and obedience to his mother and treated her most honourably throughout her life. The Sultan had also great respect for the elders, and always enjoyed the society of learned men.

The Sultan was one of the most learned and accomplished men of his age. He was a patron of learning and his liberality attracted to Delhi some of the most learned men of India. He possessed a wonderful memory which enabled him to store a vast amount of knowledge on different subjects, particularly history. His intellectual attainments were very great and he possessed high scholarship in logic, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and the physical sciences. He was not only well read in literary works but was himself a poet of no mean order. His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, were marked by a high degree of elegance, good taste, and good sense. His powers of conversation were also very great and, in debate, he could hold his own against the most eminent scientists and other people. He was also a great calligraphist. Above all, he acquired a good knowledge of medical science, and it is said that it was his favourite pastime to sit by the side of the patients, afflicted with any remarkable disease, in order to hold discussions with the physicians about proper diagnosis and suitable remedies for them. He established hospitals for the sick and alms-houses for widows and orphans, on the most liberal scale. 49

He had also a high sense of justice and himself tried to judge cases in a fair manner. Ibn Batutah narrates several anecdotes in illustration of the Sultan’s modesty and justice. 50 Once an eminent Hindu filed a suit against the

Sultan and had him summoned before the qdzi. The Emperor walked on foot, completely unarmed, to the qdzi's court where he saluted and bowed. Previous to his departure he had issued orders to the qdzi instructing him that he must not stand or budge out of regard for him when he appeared in his court. Accordingly the Emperor attended the court and stood before the qdzi, who gave his verdict against him ordering him to compensate his opponent for the blood of his brother. The Emperor gave him satisfaction.

. Against these good qualities and the versatile gifts and accomplishments of Muhammad Tughluq must be set his vices, the chief among which were cruelty and caprice. According to Barani the Sultan "wantonly shed the blood of innocent Muslims, so much so indeed that a stream of blood was always seen flowing before the threshold of the palace". 61 Reference has already been made above to Baranl's account of the Sultan's inhuman treatment of the peasants of the Doab, whom he hunted like wild beasts over a large area. Almost all the other Muslim chroniclers also describe Muhammad Tughluq as a cruel monster, and several of them apply the epithet 'bloody' to him. 62 Some modern writers have made an attempt to extenuate his crimes, and even the sober historian Ishwari Prasad has tried to explain away the charge of 'habitual and wanton cruelty' against the Sultan. 63 He holds that Muhammad Tughluq was not a monster who took delight in shedding blood for its own sake. He admits his cruelty, but points out that in the age in which he lived such cruel punishments were not regarded as abnormal. He is also of opinion that the Sultan was not essentially inhuman or wicked, but the hostile attitude of the people goaded him to desperation, so that he was compelled to have recourse to punishments and vengeance as the only means of saving his kingdom from ruin.

In judging this matter the opinion of Ibn Batutah seems to be quite decisive. He knew intimately not only the affairs of Muhammad Tughluq but also the customs prevalent in that age over a large part of the world. He was a keen observer of men and things and had no reason to be unduly severe against the Sultan. He said, by way of prefatory remark to his account, that he told the unvarnished truth in respect of things which he himself witnessed, and we have no reason to disbelieve it. In view of these there can be no better evidence of the cruel character of the Sultan than the severe denunciation made by this foreign traveller. He begins by making the following general observations:

“Notwithstanding all his modesty, his sense of equity and justice, and his extraordinary liberality and kindness to the poor that we have described, he had immense daring (sic) to shed blood. His gate was hardly free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. And I used to see frequently a number of people killed at the gate of the royal palace and the corpses abandoned there. One day as I arrived there my horse was startled, and as I looked round I saw on the earth some white thing. ‘What is it?’ said I. One of my comrades replied, ‘It is the torso of a man who has been cut into three pieces’.

“The Sultan used to punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither the men of learning (ahl-uWilm) and probity (salah), nor those of high descent (sharaf). Every day hundreds of people in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened were brought into the council hall.

“Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten. . .May God save us from the calamity!” 64

Ibn Batutah illustrates his general observations by citing a number of individual examples. 55 It would be tedious to relate them all, but in view of the differences of opinion on the subject, a few instances may be related.

(1) The Sultan accused his brother of rebellion and the latter admitted his guilt, “for, as a rule, he who refuses to acknowledge a charge of this kind is tortured. Hence people preferred death to torture. The Sultan ordered that he should be beheaded and he was killed in the centre of the market. Two years previously his mother had been stoned to death in the same place on account of her confession of adultery”. 66

(2) Shaikh Shihab-ud-dm, a pious and accomplished person, was one of the principal saints. As he declined to accept service

under the Sultan, the latter ordered a venerable jurist to pull the hair of his beard and, on his refusal to do so, ordered that the beards of both of them should be pulled out, and this order was duly carried out. Several years later Shihab-ud-din, when approached by a Malik, said: “I will never serve a tyrant”. When the Sultan brought the Shaikh to him and said, “You say I am a tyrant”! “Yes”, retorted the Shaikh, “you are a tyrant and such and such are the instances of your tyranny.” Then he gave several examples amongst W'hich was the destruction of the city of Delhi and the expulsion of its inhabitants. For this offence they “tied him with four chains and fastened his hands and in this state he remained for a fortnight at a stretch without any food or drink”. But still he refused to recant what he said. On the fourteenth day, food was sent to him but he refused to take it, and then the Sultan ordered the Shaikh to be forcibly fed with human refuse. So they stretched him on his back, “opened his mouth with pincers and dropped into it the human refuse dissolved in water,” which they made him drink. 57

(3) On one occasion the Sultan tortured two jurists of Sind for quite innocuous remarks. “They were stretched on their backs and a sheet of red-hot iron was placed on the chest of each. After a while the sheet was removed, and it came off together with the flesh of their chests. Then a little urine mixed with ashes was painted on their wounds.” After this they confessed their guilt and also wrote that their confession was voluntary. “Had they said that they had been forced in confessing, they would have been tortured to the utmost”. 58

(4) On one occasion a young man and his brother-in-law, suspected of helping a rebellion, were ordered by the Sultan to be hung by their hands from a stake, and commanded some men to shoot them with arrows. They were consequently pierced with arrows till they died. After their death the Chamberlain remarked: “that youth did not deserve death”. For saying this the Sultan ordered the Chamberlain to be “whipped about two hundred lashes, threw him into prison, and gave off his property to the head executioner”. 69

In view of the fact that Ibn Batutah himself vouches for these punishments and treats them as if they were quite unusual and abnormal, it is difficult to agree with the view of Ishwari Prasad mentioned above. It is also to be remembered that even the Sultan’s successor and great admirer Firuz was so much conscious of the excess committed by Muhammad Tughluq that he tried to atone for his sins by paying compensation to the successors of his victims and got a letter written by them that they were satisfied, so that his soul might rest in peace in heaven. This proves that Firuz also regarded the cruelty as of abnormal nature.

Reference may be made in this connection to the long conversation which the Sultan had with Barani in which he expounded what may be called his gospel of cruelty. An interesting sidelight on his character is thrown by his confession, in course of this conversation, that he inflicted chastisement on mere suspicion or presumption of the rebellious and treacherous designs of the people, and punished the most trifling act of contumacy with death; and then he added, “this I will do until I die, or until the people will act honestly and give up rebellion and contumacy”. [60] In view of this it is easy to understand the numerous cruel deeds of the Sultan and his approval of the mass execution of the amiran-i-sadah in Malwa.

Next to cruelty the chief blots on the character of Muhammad Tughluq were his unpractical visionary ideas backed by caprice and tyranny. The idea of changing the capital from Delhi to Deogir, the issue of token currency, and the ambitious military expeditions to Khurasan, are generally regarded as due to his capricious temperament. As has been pointed out above, some modern historians have tried to show that none of these projects was inherently bad in itself, but the failure of each was due to lack of foresight and practical experience. But even these are great defects in the character of a king, and considering the amount of misery they entailed upon the people and the kingdom, the king cannot be altogether exonerated of the charges of caprice levelled against him, particularly when we remember that all these projects were products of his own brain and he did not take into confidence or consult any of his advisers. The only redeeming feature is that he did not push any of these schemes to extremities, and desisted as soon as their bad effects were apparent to him.

Muhammad bin Tughluq has been charged with irreligiousness by his contemporaries, but this is hardly a just accusation. In what is regarded by some as his own Memoirs he “acknowledges his faith in the existence of God, in the Prophet, and his Viceregent, the rightful Imam”. 61 This is also supported by the evidence of his coins. “His staunch orthodoxy is reflected on nearly all his coins, not only in the reappearance of the Kalima, but in the assumption by the monarch of such titles as “the warrior in the cause of God”. 62 Firishta also praises his orthodoxy. 63

A clear analysis of the known facts indicates that while the Sultan scrupulously practised all the observances of the Muslim faith, he did not show the same respect for the Muslim divines as

was shown by the orthodox Muslims. This, however, is due to the fact that he was very keen on supporting the rationalists (ahl-ima’qulat) against the traditionists (ahl-i-manqulat) , 64 His liberal spirit is further indicated by a Jain tradition which tells us that the Sultan honoured the great Jain scholar and saint, Jinaprabha Siiri, who visited his court at Delhi in A.D. 1328. Muhammad bin Tughluq “treated him with respect, seated him by his side, and offered to give him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined. The Sultan praised him and issued a jarman with royal seal for the construction of a new basadi updsraya, i.e. rest house for the monks. A procession started in his honour to his residence to the accompaniment of varied music and dances of young women, and the saint was seated on the State elephant surrounded by Maliks”. 66 In view of the bigotry shown by most of the rulers of the period, all this reflects great credit upon Muhammad Tughluq and testifies to his liberal and rational mentality. So, from the modern point of view it should be regarded as a great merit in the character of the Sultan that he could rise above the rank bigotry of his age and, without succumbing to a blind and superstitious reverence for anything that passed in the name of religion, allowed himself to be guided by a rational spirit. On the whole, the charge of heterodoxy levelled against Muhammad is not true, and in this respect he deserves more praise than blame.

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Both Barani and Tsaml denounce Muhammad Tughluq as irreligious. TsamI calls him a kafir and urges a general revolt against him. He censures him for siding with the Hindus and mixing privately with the yogis. 66 “It has been contended that the Sultan had the audacity to employ and treat the ‘ulama’ and saints like ordinary men and he was therefore a blasphemer”. 67 As a matter of fact the high classes of Muslims, including official classes, the ‘alama’, the qazis or judges, the khatibs or preachers, faqhis or jurists, and the viashaikhs or saints, a body of people who had hitherto enjoyed sanctity, were the ringleaders of the Muslim rebellions against the Sultan. 68 “Muhammad Tughluq put them ruthlessly to death—a practice which horrified the rank and file of the Muslims”. 69 But this crime, great as it was, was the result, more of his cruel temperament than of irreligion; and his whole attitude to the Muslim saints was due to caprice or egoism, which was a distinctive trait in his character, rather than an act of blasphemy. Thus although we may not pronounce Muhammad Tughluq as lacking in orthdox religious spirit, his general attitude towards the Muslim divines and particularly the severe punishments he inflicted upon them, must be regarded as a serious blemish in his character.

It is generally held that Muhammad’s policy and action were responsible for the break-up of the Delhi Empire. This is undoubtedly true to a large extent. It may be urged that disintegration of a vast all-India empire was not unusual, and almost inevitable in those days of lack of communication and absence of any real bond of union between the distant parts of the empire. Other empires like those of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl also crumbled into ruins within a few years. It is also pointed out that FIruz Tughluq left the Delhi Sultanate much worse than he found it. All this is no doubt true to a certain extent. But even the inevitable collapse of an empire has generally to be attributed to certain immediate causes, and Muhammad Tughluq’s policy, which alienated the minds of the people and created disaffection throughout the kingdom, must be regarded as one of the predisposing causes.

It would appear from what has been said above that although the current view about Muhammad Tughluq may not be true to the whole extent, the attempts of some recent historians to exonerate him from all blemishes have not proved successful. He was not a monster or a lunatic, as has been suggested by some, but there is no doubt that he was a mixture of opposites, for his many good qualities of head and heart seem to be quite incompatible with certain traits of vices in his character, such as revolting cruelty, frivolous caprice, and an inordinate belief in his own view of things. He might have had good ideas, but he had not the capacity to execute them. This was best exemplified in his ambitious projects like change of capitals, issue of token currency and foreign expeditions, and the appointment of new classes of officials. All these indicate a want of judgment which is undoubtedly a great defect in the character of a ruler, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his character and policy largely contributed to the decline of the Delhi Empire.

1. For different views on the character and activities of Muhammad Tughluq cf. QTIP, MTMH, CHI III, (Chapter VI).

2. The epithet is differently spelt in different texts, such as Gashtasp, Gashtasb, Gashbashb (QTIP, 64, f.n.).

3. See above p. 39.

4. HSIS, 224.

5. For a detailed account, cf. HSIS, 224. According to K. A. N. Sastri, Kampilldeva “treated with contempt a demand for tribute from the officers of the Tughluq Sultanate, and entered into friendly negotiations with Baha-ud-dln Garshasp” (ibid), but he cites no authority. Cf. also N. Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, 134.

6. For a detailed account, cf. HSIS, 224. According to Firishta “The Baja of Kampila was made prisoner”. (Briggs, I, 419).

7. Cf. MTMH, p. 143, f.n. 5.

8. QTIP, 81.

9. The translation in HIED is not accurate; cf. QTIP, 70-71; MTMH, 148 ff,; CHI, HI. 145.

10. MTMH, 149, f.n. 1.

11. Different' authorities assign different dates for the events of Muhammad’s reign. The contemporary authority, Barani, is very chary in regard to dates. Hence

modern writers hold different views on this point. The chronological scheme of Dr. Ishwari Prasad has generally been followed in this chapter. Sir Wolseley Haig has drawn up a tentative chronology (JR,AS, 1922, pp. 336 ff). S. N. H. Rizvi also has made an attempt to fix the chronology on the authority of Futuhus-Salatln, as he believes that the events are narrated in this work “in perfect chronological order” (PIHC, V, 302). But these views have not been accepted by scholars.

12. QTIP, 67-8.

13. MTMH, 148-152.

14. QTIP, 73, f.n. 49.

15. HIED, HI, 239.

16. IBH, 94.

17. An English translation of Tsami’s account is given in JIH, XX, 172. The story of the cripple and the blind—the most incredible part of Ibn Batutah’s account— is in a way supported by TsamI, who “feelingly describes how his grandfather, an old, man of ninety, was turned out. One morning while still in bed, he was seized, thrown out of his home, and set on the road to Daulatabad. But he died shortly after” (MTMH, 122). For a fuller discussion of the different views about the transfer of the capital cf. MTMH, 108 ff, QTIP, 82 ff; JIH, XX, 159 ff.

18. MTMH, 116 ff. His views have been endorsed by S. M. Haq (PIHC , VII, 269 ff).

19. JIH, XX, 170.

20. Ibid., 171.

21. Ibid.

22. MTMH, 108 ff. N. B. Roy also thinks that “the Sultan was inspired by a strong missionary zeal for making the cause of Islam triumphant in the south” (JIH, XX, 164). This view is also supported by Dr. S. M. Haq (PIHC, VII, 269).

23. TMB, 100-1, 104; QTIP , 84. Although BadaunI and Firishta also refer to two migrations Ishwari Prasad rejects the view (QTIP, 84-5).

24. MTMH, 108 ff; cf. specially pp. 114, 115, 123.

24a. QTIP, 84.

24b. For the system introduced by Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq, see above, p. 56.

25. For the different views cf. QTIP, 58-9; MTMH, 94 ff. Also cf. Chapter XIII, A.

26. According to this authority (TMB, 103) Tarmashirin “marched against Delhi with a vast army, conquered most of the citadels and put under confinement the people of Lahore, Samano. . .; when his army reached the banks of the Jaun (Yamuna) he retraced his way back”.

27. HIED, III, 450.

28. TMB, 103.

29. QTIP, 97.

30. CHI, III, 143.

31. MTMH, 100 ff.

32. According to BaranI the tokens were of copper, while Firishta alone refers to both copper and brass coins. As brass coins have actually been found, the latter view seems to be correct.

33. MTMH , 134. For a favourable view of the token currency and a full reference to other views, cf. Dr. Ishwari Prasad’s elaborate discussion in QTIP, 101 ff. He holds the view that the “scheme failed more on account of

prejudice, ignorance and lack of proper safeguards than on account of any inherent defect" (p. 117). But while there is a great deal of force in the arguments of Thomas and Ishwari Prasad, it must be remembered that a novel experiment of this kind should not be judged from merely theoretical point of view, and one who cannot properly judge of the fitness or ripeness of the time for it, or provide for, and even think of adequate precautions to ensure its success, fully deserves condemnation.

34. QTIP, 122 ff.

35. Is.C., XX, 140.

36. QTIP, 125 ff; MTMH, 126 ff.

37. IBH, 98- According to some views the commander of the army transgressed the Emperor's orders and advanced across the mountains 'into Tibet (MTMH, 130-1).

38. Op. cit., 98.

39. HIED, HI, 243. For details see Chapter on Ma'bar.

40. The very important and interesting episode of the Hindu rising in the South has been practically ignored by both ancient and modern writers. The Muslim chroniclers make only casual references to isolated events which do not convey any idea of the general movement and are full of errors. Hardly any notice is taken of it in CHI, III and MTMH. The account in QTIP is also very meagre and misleading. The account given in the text is based upon the following:

1. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India.

2. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, The Date of the rebellions of Tilang and Kampila against Sultan Muhammad, IC, V, 135 ff, 262 ff.

3. Prolavaram Grant of Kapaya Nayaka, Ed. by S. Sharma, JBORS, XX, 260.

4. M. S. Sharma, A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History. A somewhat different view is taken by Dr. Rama Rao (PIHC, X, 292 ff) who holds that “the liberation of Andhradesa from Muslim occupation was the result of a series of individual efforts by the chieftains of the time, and not of a planned and co-ordinated movement directed by Musunuri Kapaya Nayaka (ibid. 297).

40a. For a detailed account of the various rebellions, cf. MTMH, Ch. Vltl. Dr. Venkataramanayya has discussed in detail the dates of these rebellions in IC, V, 135 ff, 262 ff.

41. MTMH, 164; QTIP, 173.

42. HIED, III, 249-50. For other acts of similar flatteries and servility of. CHI, III. 159, 164; QTIP, 180.

43. Cf. MTMH, 168 ff, for an elaborate discussion

44. For details cf. MTMH, 175 ff.

45. HIED, III, 251.

46. ‘Aziz is styled himdr(ass) in some texts and khamnidr (vintner) in others. As the addition of a single dot changes the one into the other word, probably khammar is the correct designation and the other is “a scribe’s error or deliberate pleasantry”. (CHI, III, 166 f.n.).

47. Sultan Muhammad had divided the southern provinces into small units of hundred or more villages to which officers were appointed who were directly under the governor. These officers were known as amiran-i-sadah, i.e. officers of hundreds. These centurions had to carry out both military and civil duties. As civil officers they were responsible for the collection of revenue and other dues of the territory under their jurisdiction, and their position as military officers gave them the necessary strength to carry out their civil duties. This system continued till about A.D. 1345, when Muhammad Tughluq, finding that it could not successfully check rebellious elements, modified it to ensure stable administration. He sub-divided the province of Deccan into four parts or shiqs to each of which he appointed

an officer subordinate to the wazir at Daulatabad. The avvirdn-i-sad.ah or centurions in each of these sub-divisions were now immediately responsible to the shiqdar of their sub-division and through him to the governor of the province. But this reform came too late.

48. HIED, ni, 252.

49. Cf. Firishta who describes Muhammad Tughluq as “the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time.” (Briggs, I, 410-11).

50. IBH, 83.

51. QTIP. 312.

52. Ibid, 314.

53. Ibid, 316 ff.

54. IBH, 85.

55. The examples must be regarded as illustrative and not exhaustive, as Dr. Ishwari Prasad seems to imply (QTIP, 318).

56. IBH, 85-6.

57. Ibid, 86-8.

58. Ibid, 89.

59. Ibid, 93.

60. HIED, III, 254-6.

61. JIH, XX, 161. For a discussion on Sultan Muhammad’s autobiography, see above p. 4.

62. Brown, C.J., The Coins of India, 73-4

63. Briggs, I, 411.

64. Is, C. XX, 139.

65. PIHC, V, 296.

66. MTMH, 175.

67. Ibid, 174.

68. Ibid, 170.

69. Ibid, 171.

CHAPTER V

FIRUZ SHAH

The death of Muhammad bin Tughluq, during the course of a military campaign, created a perilous situation, and the disorderly retreat of the leaderless army led to chaos and wild confusion. Taking advantage of this, not only the rebels in Sind but also the Mongol mercenaries, who had come to assist the Sultan's army, plundered the imperial camp without any opposition. After suffering this disgrace and humiliation for two days, the officers and nobles present in the camp offered the vacant throne to Firuz, whose father Rajab was the younger brother of Ghiyas-ud-dm Tughluq, and who was thus the first cousin of the late Sultan. Firuz, at first unwilling to accept the offer, ultimately yielded to the pressure of the nobles and was hailed as the Emperor on March 23, 1351.

Apart from the immediate necessity of a leader to save the difficult situation in which the imperial army was placed, the choice of the nobles was probably determined by the fact, or at least a general belief, that Muhammad Tughluq, having no son, had nominated Firuz as his successor. A protest was made by Khudavandzada, the sister of Muhammad Tughluq, on behalf of her son, who was more closely related to the late Sultan, but the nobles rejected his claim on the ground that he was incompetent and incapable of governing.

As soon as the news of Sultan Muhammad's death reached Delhi, the minister, Khvaja Jahan, raised to the throne a child, whom he gave out as the son and heir of the late ruler. Some modern historians are of opinion that the infant enthroned at Delhi was the real son of Sultan Muhammad, and disbelieve the story that the latter, on his death-bed, declared Firuz as his heir. They hold that possibly Sultan Muhammad bequeathed to Firuz the regency, and exhorted him to do all in his power to extricate the army from its dangerous situation. 1 But almost all the contemporary and non-contemporary writers, including Sujan Rai Bhandari, the author of the Khulasat-utTavarikh, are in accord that the late Sultan had left no male issue, and this is also indirectly proved by the claim put forward by Khudavand-zada on behalf of her son. Both the contemporary authorities, Baranl and ‘Afif, refer to the nomination of Firuz as his heir-apparent by Muhammad Tughluq. In view of all these if is reasonable to

hold that Firuz was justified in accepting the throne when it was offered to him in the Sindhu valley. In any case the real or pretended son of Muhammad Tughluq was not supported by any party, and Khvaja Jahan submitted to the new Sultan, who at first pardoned him, but soon changed his mind and had him executed.

After having driven off the enemy in Sind, Firuz proceeded on his journey to Delhi. On reaching Sirsuti he heard the happy news of the death of TaghI, the rebel who had defied Muhammad Tughluq and had tired him to death. The royal journey was then resumed, and on reaching Delhi the coronation was celebrated in the month of August, 1351. It was followed by new distribution of offices, remission of oppressive taxes, and the cancellation of punitive measures and sanguinary punishments of the previous regime. Towards the close of A.D. 1353 Firuz set out on an expedition to Bengal for putting down its ruler Haji Ilyas Shah, who had assumed independence and styled himself Sultan Shams-uddin Ilyas Shah. As the Sultan approached, the rebel withdrew into the strong fortress of Ekdala in East Bengal, protected by rivers and jungles. After a short siege the Sultan feigned retreat, and Ilyas pursued him with a big force. But he was defeated and fell back. Ekdala, however, held out, and as the rainy season was then fast approaching, the Sultan made peace with Ilyas, practically recognizing his independence, and returned to the capital in A.D. 1355. 2 In that year he built the city of Firuzabad on the bank of the Yamuna, which became known as New Delhi.

In A.D. 1356 a robe of honour arrived for the Sultan from the Caliph Al-Hakim of Egypt with a patent conferring on him the whole of Hindusthan. Towards the close of this year there came messengers from Haji Ilyas of Lakhnawati with splendid presents and gifts. Through the Bengali messengers who had come to Delhi (1357), the Sultan despatched steeds with foreign fruits to Shamsud-din of Lakhnawati, and sent an embassy. But it was learnt shortly after that Sultan Shams-ud-dm had died and was succeeded by his son Sultan Sikandar. So the embassy was recalled. But the

Sultan’s action showed that he formally acknowledged the independence of Bengal.

Nevertheless the Sultan resolved to lead a second expedition to Bengal. Zafar Khan, the son-in-law of Fakhr-ud-din, the independent ruler of Bengal, had come as a fugitive to the camp of the Sultan, and complained of the high-handedness of Shams-ud-dm Ilyas. He begged the Sultan to intercede on his behalf, and the latter took advantage of it to make a renewed attempt to subdue Bengal.

‘Afif’s Tarikli-i-Firuz Shahi, which contains a detailed account of Firuz Shah’s campaign, tends to show that this expedition was undertaken and carried through more like a pleasure trip than a regular march to extirpate and crush the enemy. The Sultan had proceeded a few stages from Delhi when he began to indulge in wine, and loitered six months in the tract between Kanauj and Awadh to found a new city on the Gumti, which was named Jaunpur, apparently to commemorate the memory of Muhammad Tughluq, whose name was Jauna. After a long delay the Sultan at last reached Bengal in A.D. 1359. Sultan Sikandar, like his father, shut himself up in the fortress of Ekdala. Flruz besieged it, but his operations were marked by indecision and lack of military skill. According to ‘Afif, the Sultan would not give the orders for attack on the enemy, even when urged by the best of his generals, saying, “although it was very desirable that the place should be captured, still if it were taken by a sudden assault, thousands of worthy and respectable women would be subjected to violence and indignity at the hands of the graceless men.” But others hold the view that the Sultan found the fortress too strong for capture and hence restrained his men from attempting to take it by assault. The deadlock sickened both the parties who thereupon made overtures for peace. Peace was concluded, according to ‘Afif, on condition that Zafar Khan should be established in Sonargaon. But this seems to be very unlikely. According to other historians, Sikandar promised only to send an annual tribute of elephants to the Emperor. ‘Afif says that Sikandar was awarded a royal title in return, besides a jewelled crown worth 80,000 tankas and 500 Arab and Turki horses. On the whole, Firuz failed to recover Bengal as a part of the Delhi Sultanate.

The Sultan had reached Jaunpur on his way back to Delhi from Bengal, when he suddenly conceived the plan of making a raid upon Orissa, referred to as Jlajnagar by Muslim chroniclers. 3 He set out in October, 1360, with a large cavalry and reached Bihar about December, 1360. Then he marched through modern Pachet to Sikhar in the Manbhum district. The ruler of this place was an important chief with thirty-six minor chiefs as his vassals. He fled, but the garrison in the capital put up a stern fight before they were overpowered. Then Firuz pushed towards the south through the defiles of Manbhum and Singhbhum till he reached Tinanagar within the frontier of Orissa, which had never before been invaded by any Muslim army. The people offered resistance, but were defeated, and then Firuz proceeded to a prosperous town named Kinianagar, which is probably to be identified with Khiching, the capital of the old Mayurbhanj State. Then marching through

Keonjhar, the Sultan reached the frontier of the Cuttack district. The movement was so swift, that King Bhanudeva III of Orissa, being taken by surprise, fled from the fortress of Saranghar. The garrison, however, put up a brave fight, but were defeated. Firuz then marched to the capital city Cuttack, and later proceeded to the holy city of Puri, where he demolished the temple of Jagannatha and desecrated the images.

After having achieved this cherished object, the Sultan proceeded to an island near the sea-coast where “nearly one hundred thousand men of Jajnagar had taken refuge with their women, children, kinsmen and relations”. The locality no doubt refers to the region round the Chilka Lake. The Sultan converted “the island into a basin of blood by the massacre of the unbelievers”. Those who survived the massacre, particularly women, were “pressed as slaves into service in the house of every soldier”. “Women with babies and pregnant ladies were haltered, manacled, fettered and enchained, and no vestige of the infidels was left except their blood”. After this the “jubilant” Sultan concluded his victorious campaign by an elephant-hunt at Padamtala (in the old Baramba State of Orissa). 4

According to ‘Aflf, the Raja of Orissa sent envoys to the Sultan offering submission. The Sultan assured the Raja of his friendly intentions and the latter “agreed to furnish certain elephants yearly in payment of revenue”. This satisfied the Sultan “who sent robes and insignia to the Ray.” 6

‘Afif gives a detailed account of the return journey of the army, on the authority of his father, who accompanied it. The guides lost their way and the army, passing through unknown hills and jungles, for six months, “were quite in despair and utterly worn out with the fatigues of the arduous march”. To make matters worse, “provision became very scarce, and the army was reduced to the verge of destruction”. 6

According to a recent writer, “it was an audacious campaign, brilliantly conceived and mightily executed”, and “the successful execution of this campaign testifies to Firuz’s undoubted skill as a general”. 7 The campaign was certainly audacious, but the above description of the return journey leaves the impression that it was neither planned nor executed in a manner worthy of a skilful general.

This brings us to another important question, namely, the object of the expedition. That it was an afterthought and due to a sudden impulse is clearly proved by the fact that the Sultan had to retrace his steps to Bihar. Evidently the idea of such an expedition was

formed only after he had reached Jaunpur, or at least not long before it. Fortunately, the two contemporary official sources which supply the details of the expedition also mention the objects for which it was undertaken. According to the Siral-i-Firuz Shdhi , these were: “extirpating Rai Gajpat, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temples, hunting elephants, and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country.” 8 ‘Ain-ul-Mulk echoes the same sentiment. “The object of the expedition was,” says he, “to break the idols, to shed the blood of the enemies of Islam (and) to hunt elephants.” 9 Referring to this a modern writer has observed that “Firuz Shah’s main purpose was elephant-hunting, though hedged round by other reasons....” 10 It is dificult to accept this view. Apart from the commonsense view that a sober ruler is hardly likely to undertake such a risky expedition through unknown hills and jungles to a distant land, merely, or even mainly, for elephanthunting, the spirit of bigotry which characterized the Sultan hardly leaves any doubt that the main object of the Sultan was, as expressly stated by both the contemporary authorities, the destruction of the holy temple of Jagannatha at Puri, held with the greatest veneration all over India. It bears some analogy to the expedition of Sultan

Mahmud to Somanatha, and, curiously enough the analogy extends to the sufferings during the return journeys of both. The argument advanced in support of the view that the elephant-hunting was the only object of the expedition is that the Sultan “broke no idol, pillaged no shrine”. 11 It is even said that he went to Puri to view and admire the famous temple of Jagannatha and if he carried the idol, perhaps he wanted it for his museum. 12

This ingenious and somewhat puerile attempt to whitewash the conduct of Firuz is rendered futile by the clear statement in the Sirat-i-Firuz Shdhi that the temple of Jagannatha was destroyed and the images deliberately desecrated. 13 The terms of the treaty with the ruler of Orissa do not indicate that the conquest of the country was the main objective of the Sultan. On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Sultan Firuz was animated by the spirit of Sultan Mahmud, and the destruction of the temple of Jagannatha and the chastisement of the Hindus were his main objects. The subjugation of Orissa and the elephant-hunting were at best subsidiary issues. It is exceedingly probable that on his way back from Bengal the Sultan heard of the great sanctity of the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, and decided to destroy this citadel of infidels. This satisfactorily explains his sudden decision to lead a campaign against Orissa.

In 1361, Firuz proceeded to Sirhind with the object of invading Nagarkot (Kangra), which was conquered by Muhammad Tughluq,

but whose ruler had since asserted independence. The sanctity of the temple of Jvalamukhl in Nagarkot, which attracted thousands of Hindu pilgrims, was probably an additional reason for this expedition. 14 His march to Sirhind w T as leisurely, and in the course of it he stopped to construct a canal and a fort. Afterwards he resumed his march towards Kangra, whose chief submitted and was allowed to keep his territory as a fief. Next year FIruz undertook an expedition against Sind. If we remember the tragic circumstances amid which Muhammad Tughluq’s campaign in that region ended in A.D. 1351, we need hardly wonder that FIruz should have undertaken a fresh one to vindicate the imperial prestige. Indeed, from this point of view it seems to have been long overdue. Apart from the desire of new conquest, recovering the lost prestige, and avenging the wrongs done to the late Sultan by the chiefs of Sind—the motives mentioned by ‘Aflf—the turbulent activities of those chiefs for years, engendered by a hostile and rebellious spirit, furnished a clear excuse for the Sind campaign. 16

FIruz set out with a large army of 90,000 horse and 480 elephants. He collected a large fleet of boats on the Sindhu and besieged Tattah, the capital of the Jams of Sind. The ruler, Jam Banhbina, 16 bravely defended the city and made frequent sorties. The Sultan’s army suffered from famine, and a pestilence carried off nearly three-fourths of the horses. To make matters worse, the royal fleet fell into the hands of the enemy. Thereupon the Sultan decided to withdraw, and marched with his troops towards Gujarat. The retreat is said to have been more calamitous than the siege. Many died for want of the necessaries of life, and the obnoxious disease among the horses continued in all its fury. Treacherous guides misled the army into the Rann of Cutch where drinkable water was not available, and thirst was added to the untold miseries and afflictions of the soldiers. 17 With great difficulty, however, the army reached Gujarat whence the governor Nizam-ulMulk, who had failed to send the much-needed supplies and guides, was expelled and was replaced by Zafar Khan.

The greater part of the year 1363 the Sultan spent in recouping his strength in Gujarat. About this time he received an invitation from Bahrain, a rival prince of the Bahmanl dynasty, to intervene and conquer the Deccan. It was a good opportunity which, if seized, might have enabled the Sultan to conquer the Bahmanl kingdom. But FIruz, who had set his heart on Sind, refused the offer. Fie came back and besieged Tattah, whose ruler surrendered and sued for peace. He accompanied the Sultan to Delhi, but after some time was restored to the government of Sind on condition of paying an annual tribute. 18 The Sultan was sorry for having undertaken the Sind expedition and swore not to launch any aggressive campaign in future. To those who had suffered and died in the Rann of Cutch he made concessions by enabling their heirs to enjoy the property of the deceased rent-free.

The year 1374 was a melancholy one in the course of which died Fath Khan the eldest and most talented of the sons of FIruz. This event almost unhinged the mind of FIruz, so much so that the efficiency of administration declined considerably and the empire became decadent. He appointed one Damaghani governor of Gujarat in place of Zafar Khan, merely because Damaghani had promised to send more money annually, which the other declared himself unable to do. As soon as Damaghani arrived in Gujarat, his extortionate demands were opposed and, finding himself unable to fulfil his promise, he broke into rebellion. But he was slain by the amiran-i-sadah, who sent his head to Delhi, The Sultan then appointed one Malik Mufarrah or Farhat-ul-Mulk to the government of Gujarat (A.D. 1377).

Another difficult situation arose in 1377 when the zamindars of Etawa threatened to rebel. It should be noted that the Etawa district had long been recalcitrant, and the revenue in that district had almost always to be collected with the help of armed force. The rebellion of the zamindars was, however, put down by the Sultan.

About the same time the Sultan led an expedition against Kharku, the Raja of Katehr (Rohilkhand), who had treacherously murdered the governor of Badaun, Sayyid Muhammad, and his two brothers. In A.D. 1380, the Sultan marched with an army to Katehr and perpetrated almost a wholesale massacre of the Hindus. Indeed, the massacre was so general and indiscriminate that one historian has remarked: “The spirit of the murdered Sayyids themselves arose to intercede”. The Sultan then pursued Kharku, who fled into Kumaon. Here, again, although Kharku could not be seized, a very large number of Hindus were killed and 23,000 captured and enslaved. Before returning to Delhi, FIruz left a positive order to devastate Katehr annually for the next five years, and appointed an Afghan to execute this bloody work. The Sultan himself annually visited the region during the next five years in order to see that his ferocious order was duly carried into effect. The result was, as a contemporary chronicler has observed: “In those years not an acre of land was cultivated, no man slept in his house, and the death of the three Sayyids was avenged on countless thousands of Hindus”.
19

In 1385 the Sultan founded one more city, called in derision Firuzpur Ikhleri or Akhirinpur, i.e. the last of his cities, since, senility and decay of intellect having overtaken him, the Sultan was not able to found any other city or construct any more works of public utility.

Akhirlnpur set the seal to the personal history of Sultan Firuz. He had now reached the age of eighty 19a and was thoroughly dominated by the minister Khan Jahan. The latter became so powerful that he cast covetous eyes on the throne and endeavoured to capture it by removing the legal heir, prince Muhammad Khan. But the scheme failed, and the cunning minister Khan Jahan fled to Mewat, seeking shelter with its chief, Koka Chauhan. Sultan Firuz then associated prince Muhammad with him in the administration and even gave him the royal title. The joint rule of the father and son—the latter being styled Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah—was proclaimed on August 22, 1387. 20 Khan Jahan was seized and killed.

Muhammad had gone to Sirmur for a hunting excursion, when news reached him that Farhat-ul-Mulk, the governor of Gujarat, had murdered Sikandar Khan, who had been appointed to succeed him. Muhammad hastened back to Delhi, but instead of taking suitable steps to suppress the revolt, gave himself up entirely to pleasure. He dismissed the officers of the court who attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, and filled their places with parasites and flatterers. The nobles of the court thereupon rose against him and were supported by the populace. Being defeated in a bloody battle, they were driven into the city which, for two days, became a scene of civil war with all its attendant horrors. On the third day the rebels, who had secured the palace, brought out the old King in a litter and placed it on the street between the combatants. The soldiers of Muhammad received the Sultan with cries of joy and crowded round him. Muhammad, thus deserted, fled to Sirmur. Firuz again resumed his full authority but, being old and infirm, acceded to the request of his household troops to place on the throne Ghiyas-ud-din, the son of his eldest son Fath Khan. Shortly after this Firuz died in 1388. 21

Firuz Shah was more than forty years of age when he ascended the throne, and it seems that he had learnt a good lesson from the reactions and revolts of the preceding reign. He had been heretofore a passive instrument in the hands of the reactionary ‘ulama’ and saints; and he continued to play the same role throughout his reign of 37 years (1351-88). Thus the State under him came under the influence of the theologians, and this is perhaps the reason of

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his popularity. ‘Aflf, the contemporary historian and author of the Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shdhi, has painted FIruz in the brightest colour and the author of the Tdrikh-i-Muhdrak Shdhi depicted him as an ideal ruler under whom all kinds of oppression, tyranny, highhandedness, violence, decline of the realm and rebellion of the people—a curse with which the reign of the late Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah had been afflicted—were replaced by justice, equity, peace, prosperity and consolidation. 22 Learning and knowledge were promoted and the numbers of ‘ulama’ and doctors of law increased. ‘Aflf rejoices to record the deference paid by FIruz to the learned and holy men in court and the harmony and good feeling which subsisted between FIruz Shah and his amirs, a blessing which could not have been attained without a complete overhaul of the policy and administration of the preceding reign. FIruz conferred new offices on the amirs and gained the full co-operation of the 'ulama/ and saints by granting them stipends and aids.

All these were sure to enlist the sympathy of the Muslims, particularly as FIruz, orthodox in his belief and practices, offered a striking contrast to his predecessor, who had shown but scant regard to the Muslim divines. But there were other very good reasons for the great popularity of FIruz. He held many liberal views, which were far in advance of his age, and was probably the first Muslim ruler in India, who regarded the promotion of material welfare of subjects as a more important duty of the king than wars and conquests.

Contemporary records refer to the high principles which FIruz adopted as the basis of his government. FIruz himself has frankly explained his conception of royal duty in a small book written by himself and entitled Futuhdt-i-Flruz Shdhi, 23 which contains a brief summary of the res gestae of his reign, or as he designated them, his victories. The following passage from this work is worth being quoted in full in view of the horrors of inhuman torture, which the King, perhaps alone throughout the middle ages, had expressed so vividly and taken steps to prevent.

“In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmans had been shed, and many varieties j>f torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses, tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of

Musulmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any men..

“Through the mercy which God has shown to me these severities and terrors have been exchanged for tenderness, kindness and mercy. Fear and respect have thus taken firmer hold of the hearts of men, and there has been no need of executions, scourgings, tortures, or terrors”. 24

Side by side with the abolition of mutilation and tortures,, we should mention his liberal and humane attitude towards slaves. The following is culled from the T&rikh-i-Firuz Shahz of Shams-i-Siraj ‘Afif: “The Sultan commanded his great fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war, and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. The chiefs and officers naturally exerted themselves in procuring more and more slaves and a great number of them were thus collected. When they were found to be in excess, the Sultan sent them to important cities. In all cases, provision was made for their support in a liberal manner. Arrangement was made for educating the slaves and training them in various arts and crafts. In some places they were provided for in the army. It has been estimated that in the city and in the various fiefs, there were 180,000 slaves for whose maintenance and comfort the Sultan took special care. About 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds, and 40,000 worked as military guards to Sultan. The Sultan created a separate department with a number of officers for administering the affairs of these slaves. Gradually the slaves increased to such a degree that they were employed in all sorts of domestic duties, so much so that there was no occupation in which the slaves of Firuz Shah were not employed. By order of the Sultan, the great feudal chieftains also treated the slaves like children providing them with food and raiments, lodging them and training them, and taking every care for their wants". 25

The Sultan gives a long list of more than twenty "frivolous, unlawful and unjust cesses", which were collected by his predecessors but were abolished by him because these sources of revenue were not "recognised by the sacred law and approved by books of authority". While recording this he quotes the following couplet.

"Better a people's weal than treasures vast,

Better an empty chest than hearts downcast". 26

Firuz made many changes in the existing practices and customs in order to bring them into conformity with the sacred Law. 27 For this reason he strictly realized Jizya from the non-Muslims, as will be related later.

Flruz had a love for building new cities. He is said to have founded 300 towns, which is obviously an exaggeration. Among the important towns founded by him may be mentioned Fatehabad, Hissar, Firuzpur (near Badaun), Jaunpur and Firuzabad. The last-named city, built on the banks of the Yamuna, became his favourite residence, and is now represented fcy the ruins of 'Firoz Kotla' a little to the south of the Red Fort in Delhi. The new city comprised the sites of eighteen villages and extended from Indarpat (near Sher Shah's fort) to Kushk-i-shikar (on the Ridge), five kos apart. It was crowded with buildings and there were eight public mosques, each large enough to accommodate 10,000 devotees. 28

Great credit is due to Flruz for his public works, more particularly the five canals for irrigation constructed by him. The longest and most important of these ran for 150 miles from the Yamuna watering the arid tract as far as the city of Hissar founded by the Sultan. Another, 96 miles long, connected the Sutlej with the Ghaghra. Two others ran respectively from the Ghaghra and the Yamuna to the town of Firuzabad, another new town established by the Sultan. The fifth served the tract from the neighbourhood of Sirmur hills to the town of Hansi. Wolseley Haig very rightly observes: "Flruz Shah is still remembered as the author of schemes of irrigation, and traces of his canals yet remain. He also sank 150 wells for purposes of irrigation and for the use of travellers and indulged in a passion for building which equalled, if it did not surpass, that of the Roman Emperor Augustus". 29 Firishta credits him with the construction of 50 dams across rivers to promote irrigation, 40 mosques, 30 colleges with mosques attached, 20 palaces, 100 caravanserais, 200 towns, 30 reservoirs or lakes for irrigating lands, 100 hospitals, 5 mausolea, 100 public baths, 10 monumental pillars, 10 public wells, and 150 bridges, besides numerous gardens and pleasure houses. Lands were assigned at the same time for the maintenance of these public buildings, in order to keep them in thorough repair. 30

Flruz appointed as assessor of the revenue an amir named Khvaja Hisam-ud-din Junaid, who made extensive tours for six years and made a comprehensive survey which enabled the Sultan to reduce the State-demand of the revenue. Although this was not made upon the sure basis of measurement of land or an estimate of the actual produce, the land revenue was fixed more or less on a permanent basis, and this, by itself, was a creditable achievement. The Sultan also abolished the practice of levying benevolences which the provincial governors had to pay at the time of their appointment and annually, for they ultimately fell upon the shoulders of the people. Due to the excavation of irrigation canals an enormous

area of land, which had hitherto remained fallow, came under cultivation. This, as well as the levy of additional ten per cent of the rent for the use of irrigation canals, increased the revenue to the extent of two lakhs of tankas. 31 Thriving villages were to be seen uniformly in the vicinity of Delhi, besides twelve hundred gardens, which contained an incalculable number of fruit-bearing trees. The enormous output of fruits from these and other gardens laid out by Firuz enabled the treasury to realise the sum of one lakh and eighty thousand tankas annually. 32 Similarly the revenue from the Doab amounted to eighty lakhs of tankas, and that from the crown lands to six crores and eighty-five lakhs of tankas 33 The promotion of trade and agriculture was a distinctive feature of the reign and, in spite of the military expeditions, sieges, and skirmishes, no recourse was had to increased levy. 'Aflf testifies to the all-round prosperity prevailing everywhere in the country and described the cheapness and low price of food, cloths, and other things. He observes that the necessaries of life were abundant and grain continued cheap throughout the reign of FIruz, as in that of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl, but ‘without any effort’, i.e. without any arbitrary regulations 34

Credit is also due to FIruz for simplifying the legal system and discouraging the use of spies, repairing and maintaining the tombs and monuments of his predecessors, and preservation of the two Asokan pillars which he brought from Topra and Mirat and fitted up carefully in Delhi. 36

FIruz was not only a great patron of learning but was himself an accomplished scholar. He established thirty madrasas including three great colleges. Teachers were liberally paid by the State and stipends were granted to students. According to Firishta, FIruz encouraged learned men to reside in different parts of the empire for the sake of imparting instruction to the people. The same authority tells us that FIruz found a fine library of Hindu books, consisting of 1300 volumes, at the temple of JvalamukhT, in Kangra and ordered one of them, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into Persian, and called it Dald‘il-i Firuz Shahi 36 He was fond of history and patronized Baram, ‘Aflf and the author of the Sirat-i-Firiiz Shahi. Reference has been made above to the Futuhat-i-Flruz Shahi composed by him. It is said by ‘Aflf that the sum of thirty-six lakhs of tankas was spent for allowances given to learned men and Quran-readers. 37

One of the earliest acts of Firuz was his vicarious atonement for the sins of his predecessor Muhammad bin Tughluq. He presented gifts to the heirs of those who had been killed, and to those that were mutilated during the reign of the latter, and secured

written statements from them to the effect that they were satisfied. The ‘written deeds of pardon’, duly attested by witnesses, were collected in a box and placed in the tomb of: Muhammad Tughluq in order that God might pardon him for his misdeeds. 38 Incidentally, as noted above, it shows the contemporary opinion about the character of Muhammad bin Tughluq and the light in which it was viewed even by his closest friends and well-wishers. There is, however, no doubt that in doing this Firuz was actuated by a spirit of piety and benevolence rarely witnessed among the rulers of the age. The same spirit marks two other institutions started by him. The first was a ‘charity bureau’ (Diwan-i-Khainat) which was established to help the widows and orphans and give pecuniary help to facilitate marriage of Muslim girls who remained unmarried for want of dowry. 39 Another was an agency to provide employment, mostly clerical and administrative, to those who were unemployed. 40 It was conducted more on a chariable basis than a regular bureau of employment. The Sultan also established a charitable hospital near Delhi, where the patients were treated by skilful physicians and got diet and medicine free of charge. 41

In view of all this it is no wonder that Firuz has been highly praised by many Indian writers. There is, however, also a dark side of the picture. It should be noted that the reign of Firuz Shah was a period of reaction marked by the revival of influence, even in affairs of State, of those maulavis, muftis , qazls, pirs and religious leaders and dignitaries, who had been humiliated under his revolutionary predecessor, and by the preponderance of nobles— maliks and amirs or the amiran-i-sadah —who had revolted against the latter. The period also witnessed the re-emergence of the mercenary spirit among that section of the f ulamd ’ and saints who were really ignorant of the ethics of Islam.

Firuz lacked the military skill and warlike spirit which distinguished his predecessor and was a sine qua non for successful rule in those days. He also lacked in energy and enthusiasm. He failed to recover Bengal and made no attempt to regain authority in the Deccan and South India. He was weak and irresponsible and, as in Bengal, abandoned the chances of victory on account of either incapacity or religious scruples which more befitted a darvish than a ruler.

The Sultan was too idle and ease-loving to supervise the administration in a proper manner, and the result was corruption and inefficiency. What was worse, his spirit of benevolence went even so far as to shield his own corrupt officials. His misplaced benevolence for old and inefficient soldiers and connivance at corrup

tion 42 gradually destroyed the efficiency of the army and civil administration, and distinctly lowered the standard of both. The Sultan was addicted to the pleasures of the harem and his high officials imitated his folly. ‘ r -t.

The Sultan re-introduced the system of granting jdgirs to civil and military officers discouraged by his predecessor as well as by ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl, and the system of hereditary appointment abolished by Muhammad Tughluq. 43 He also deviated from their practices by extending the farming system and getting the land revenue settled with the highest bidder. These considerably impaired the efficiency of administration, and inflicted hardships on the peasants.

The weak and vacillating policy of Firuz was conspicuous throughout his reign, in both civil administration and military affairs. The only occasion on which he showed strength, resolution and firm determination was in the persecution of the Hindus. A glaring instance is furnished by his barbarous method of warfare in Katehr, referred to above, and the tenacity with which he persecuted the Hindus of that region offers a striking contrast to his humane attitude towards Muslim rebels, for example those in Bengal. As he himself said, “he was resolved never more to make war upon Muslims.” 44

This brings us to the question of the bigotry of Firuz Shah which formed the blackest spot on his character. Anyone who reads the Futuhdt-i-Firuz Shdhi 45 written by the Sultan himself, cannot avoid the impression that Firuz possessed both the virtues and vices of an orthodox Muslim ruler. The most prominent of these vices was the intolerance of any faith other than orthodox Islam. It is evident from this book that the Sultan divided mankind into two groups, Musulmans (by which he meant Musulman of the approved orthodox type), and non-Musulmans, and regarded the former alone as his special concern. This will be evident, among others, from the passage quoted above 45a regarding the abolition of torture. But the Sultan was not satisfied merely with this negative attitude. He considered it to be his duty to suppress irreligion and he takes pride that he laboured diligently “until things repugnant to religion were set aside.” Of course by religion he meant only the orthodox Muslim faith.

So far as the Hindus were concerned, the following passage gives an idea of his bigoted attitude:— _ ^

“The Hindus and idol-worshippers had agreed to pay the money for toleration (zar-i-zimmiya), and had consented to the poll tax (jizya), in return for which they and their families enjoyed security.

These people now erected new idol-temples in the city and the environs in opposition to the Law of the Prophet which declares that such temples are not to be tolerated. Under Divine guidance I destroyed these edifices, and killed those leaders of infidelity who seduced others into error, and the lower orders I subjected to stripes and chastisement, until this abuse was entirely abolished. The following is an instance:—In the village of Maluh there is a tank which they call kund (tank). Here they had built idol-temples, and on certain days the Hindus were accustomed to proceed thither on horseback, and wearing arms. Their women and children also went out in palankins and carts. There they assembled in thousands and performed idol worship. This abuse had been so overlooked that the bazar people took out there all sorts of provisions, and set up stalls and sold their goods. Some graceless Musulmans, thinking only of their gratification, took part in these meetings. When intelligence of this came to my ears my religious feelings prompted me at once to put a stop to this scandal and offence to the religion of Islam. On the day of the assembling I went there in person, and I ordered that the leaders of these people and the promoters of this abomination should be put to death. I forbade the infliction of any severe punishments on the Hindus in general, but I destroyed their idol temples, and instead thereof raised mosques". 46 Firuz also cites another concrete instance where the Hindus who had erected new temples were put to death before the gate of the palace, and their books, the images of deities, and the vessels used in their worship were publicly burnt. This was to serve "as a warning to all men, that no zimrrii could follow such wicked practices in a Musulman country". 41 Other instances are given by contemporary writers. 'Afif gives a graphic description of one such case. A Brahman of Delhi was charged with "publicly performing the worship of idols in his house and perverting Muhammadan women, leading them to become infidels". The Brahman was told that according to law he must "either become a Musulman or be burned." The Brahman having refused to change his faith, "was tied hand and foot and cast into a burning pile of faggots". 'Afif, who witnessed the execution, ends his account by saying: "Behold the Sultan's strict adherence to law and rectitude, how he would not deviate in the least from its decrees". 48

In two respects, the Sultan was more oppressive to the Hindus than his predecessors. In the first place, he imposed jizya tax upon the Brahmans, who were never required to pay them before. The Brahmans went in a body to the Sultan to protest against this innovation. “They were determined”, they said, “to collect wood and to burn themselves under the walls of the palace rather than

pay the tax”. The Sultan “replied that they might burn and destroy themselves at once, for they would not escape from the payment”. “The Brahmans remained fasting for several days at the palace until they were on the point of death”. The Hindus of the city, in order to save the lives of the Brahmans, told them that they would undertake to pay it for them. Ultimately the Brahmans begged the Sultan to reduce the amount of the tax, and this was agreed. 49

In the second place, the Sultan himself boasts that he adopted every means to induce the Hindus to adopt Islam. This will be evident from the following passage:—

“I encouraged my infidel subjects to embrace the religion of the Prophet, and I proclaimed that every one who repeated the creed and became a Musulman should be exempt from the jizya, or poll-tax. Information of this came to the ears of the people at large and great numbers of Hindus presented themselves, and were admitted to the honour of Islam. Thus they came forward day by day from every quarter, and, adopting the faith, were exonerated from the jizya , and were favoured with presents and honours”. 60 This is probably the first recorded instance, after Muslim conquest of India, of the State itself becoming a proselytising agency.

Attempts have been made to show that the Sultan was tolerant to the Hindus, by citing some instances that even when he conquered Hindu kingdoms, he did not destroy their temples or image. This is belied by the following facts, among others.

The Sirat-i-Firuz ShaM, as noted above, was a text written either at the dictation or at the dictates of Firuz Shah himself. According to this chronicle, two of the objectives of the Sultan in undertaking the expedition against Jajnagar or Orissa, as noted above, were “massacring the unbelievers and demolishing their temples”. The detailed account given in this book leaves no doubt that these objects were pursued with relentless severity. As related above, Firuz, after the conquest of Orissa, proceeded to Puri, the famous place of Hindu pilgrimage. Referring to his activities the chronicler records:—"Allah, who is the only true God and has no other emanation, endowed the king of Islam with the strength to destroy this ancient shrine on the eastern sea-coast and to plunge it into the sea, and after its destruction, he ordered the nose of the image of Jagannath to be perforated and disgraced it by casting it down on the ground. They dug out other idols which were worshipped by the polytheists in the kingdom of Jajnagar, and overthrew them as they did the image of Jagannath, for being laid in front of the mosques along the path of the Sunnis and way of the musallis (the

multitude who offer their prayers) and stretched them in front of the portals of every mosque, so that the body and sides of the images might be trampled at the time of ascent and descent, entrance and exit, by the shoes on the feet of the Muslims". 151

When Flruz invaded Nagarkot he desecrated the famous temple at Jvalamukhi. We learn from Firishta that the Sultan "broke the idols of Jvalamukhi, mixed their fragments with the flesh of cows, and hung them in nosebags round the necks of Brahmins, and that he sent the principal idol as a trophy to Medina". 162 There may be some exaggeration in all this, but it is impossible to ignore the evidences cited above and to avoid the conclusion that Flruz was the greatest bigot of this age and the precursor of Sikandar Lodi and Aurangzeb in this respect. It is only fair to add, however, that he was equally intolerant towards heterodox Muslim sects. He himself describes his action against the Shiahs as follows:—

"The sect of Sheets, also called Rawdfiz, had endeavoured to make proselytes. They wrote treatises and books, and gave instruction and lectures upon the tenets of their sect, and traduced and reviled the first chiefs of our religion (on whom be the peace of God!). I seized them all and I convicted them of their error and perversions. On the most zealous I inflicted punishment (siydsat), and the rest I visited with censure (tdztr) and threats (tahdlb) of public punishment (tashhir-i-zijr). Their books I burnt in public, and so by the Grace of God, the influence of this sect was entirely suppressed". 63

The contemporary historians, Baranl and ‘Aflf, are full of praises for Flruz Tughluq and describe him as a just, merciful, and benevolent ruler. Modern writers like Elliot 63a and Elphinstone have even gone so far as to regard him as the Akbar of the Sultanate period. The comparison is odious and, Ishwari Prasad has very rightly observed, “Flruz had not even a hundredth part of the genius of that great-hearted and broad-minded monarch”. 64 Flruz may justly be regarded as the last of the notable Sultans of Delhi, but it is difficult to agree with the view that “the reign of Flruz closes the most brilliant epoch of Muslim rule in India before the reign of Akbar”. 65 For Sher Shah’s reign is no less brilliant; besides, as a ruler, he occupies a much higher place in history, and was really a great king, a title to which Flruz can certainly lay no claim, either by his character and personality, or by his achievements.

Flruz regarded the Sultanate as a Muslim State. 56 So, “as far as the beneficent activities of the State were concerned (e.g. education, care of the poor, provision of the unemployed, marriage of the poor girls, religious endowments, etc.), it was largely the

Muslims who benefited”. This is clearly admitted by ‘Afif. “Political power remained exclusively in Muslim hands and no post of influence is known to have been held by any Hindu”. 57 In all these respects Firuz offers a striking contrast to Akbar and, to a certain extent, to Sher Shah.

Although the reign of Firuz was marked by mildness and beneficent activities, in striking contrast to that of his predecessor, it also undermined, to a large extent, the foundation of the Sultanate. The active interest and influence of the ‘ulamd’ and mushaikhs in affairs of State which Firuz permitted, partly as policy and partly as an article of faith, was a retrograde step. His connivance at the inefficiency of public servants, misplaced leniency in dealing with civil and military officials, and undue favours shown to the nobility weakened the entire administrative machinery. His aversion to war against the Muslims, even when it was imperative,—in striking contrast to the brutal severity with which he treated the Hindus of Katehr—, and particularly his unwillingness (on the specious ground of saving Muslim women from disgrace) or inability to carry the fights to a finish, destroyed the stability of the empire. The organization of the slaves, though promoted by humane consideration, was no doubt partly due also to a desire to create a personal bodyguard on which the Sultan could trust for his own safety. But as could be easily foreseen, it developed into something like a Praetorian Guard and proved to be a great disturbing factor in the State. On the whole, in spite of peace, prosperity, and contentment that prevailed during the long reign of Firuz Shah, no one can possibly doubt that his policy and administrative measures contributed to a large extent to the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate, and accelerated the process of decline that had already set in during his predecessor's reign.

1. Wolseley Haig is the great protagonist of this view (JRAS, 1922, pp. 365 ff; CHI, III, 173). The same view is reiterated by Sri Ram Sharma (PIHC, XV, 176). Haig's view is opposed by Ishwari Prasad (IPMI, 263 ff) and A. C. Banerji (IC, II, 47 ff) on the grounds stated above in the text, among others.

2. For a detailed account of the two expeditions to Bengal cf. Chapter X, E. The Sultan issued an interesting proclamation specifying the grounds of his invasion of Bengal and holding out inducements to various classes of people of this province to seek his favour (JASB, N. S. XIX, (1923) 279).

3. The details of the campaign are given in two contemporary official sources. The relevant extract in the first, Simt-i-FlrUz Shaki, has been summarized and translated by N. B. Roy (JRASBL, VIII, 57-98), and the account in the text is mainly based upon it (cf. specially pp. 74-77). Valuable information is supplied by 'Ain-ul-Mulk's account in Inshd-i-Mahru which has been translated by Abdul Wali in JASB, N. S., XIX, 283 ff.

4. The whole of this account, including the passages quoted is taken from the English translation of Sircit-i-Firuz Shdhi (JRASBL, VIII, pp. 61 ff).

5. HIED, III. 315.

6. Ibid.

7. JRASBL , VIII. 60.

8. Ibid, 69.

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9. JASB, N. S., XIX. 285.

10. Ibid, 288.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. JRASBL, VIII. 75. The relevant extract has been quoted below in pp. 105-6.

14. 1PMI (1925) p. 276. This is supported by his speech to the assembled Hindus and the desecration of the images of the temple to which reference is made in p. 106 and note 52.

15. This generally accepted view, based on ‘Afifs account (HIED, III. 319-20), is opposed by N. B. Roy. He draws attention to a letter written by ‘Ain-ulMulk which shows that as “Banabanah, a chief of Sindh, allying himself with hordes of Mughals, made raids into the rich provinces of the Punjab and Gujarat/’ and his “daring and audacity had surpassed all bounds,” Sultan Firuz was approached by the writer to repel the attacks. N. B. Roy therefore argues that the expedition to Sind “was the necessary sequel to Babiniya’s aggressions and did not spring from either ambitious schemes of conquest or motives of vengeance as stated by ‘Afif (JRASBL , IV, 285 ff).” That the suppression of the rebels was an object of the expedition is clearly stated in Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi, but that does not mean that the other objects were absent. It is hardly likely that an official chronicle would refer to vengeance or lust for conquest as object of the expedition. There is also nothing in ‘Ain-ul-Mulk’s letter which excludes these objects.

16. ‘Afif mentions Jam and Babiniya as names of two separate persons (HIED, III. 322). But as Ishwari Prasad has pointed out (IPM1, p. 278, f.n. 1), Jam was the title of Banhbina. For the spelling of the name Banhbina see the Chapter

• ' on Sind, n. 21.

17. Harrowing details are given by ‘Afif (HIED, III. pp. 324 ff).

18. According to ‘Afif, “the son of the Jam and Tamachi, brother of Babiniya, were placed over Thatta, and titles were conferred upon them. They paid four lacs of tankas in cash, by way of marking their allegiance, and agreed to pay several lacs of tankas in money and goods yearly.” (HIED, I III, 336). But both Mir Ma‘sum and Firishta say that Jam Babiniya was restored to the government of Sind (Briggs, I, 455; IPMI, 280).

19. Briggs, I. 457; CHI, III. 182-3.

19a. See n. 21.

20. Though theoretically a joint rule (CHI, III, 184), Firuz virtually abdicated in favour of his son who ascended the throne, as Firishta puts it (Briggs, I, 459).

21. According to ‘Afif, Firuz was born in 709 A.H. (A.D. 1309-10) (HIED, III. 271); therefore he must have been about 80 years of age at the time of his death. This age has been put as 83 by Haig (CHI, III. 184) and 90 by Ishwari Prasad (IPMI, 296).

22. TMB, 121; HIED, III. 362-3.

23. For an English translation cf. HIED, III. 374-388.

24. Ibid, 375-6.

25. Ibid, 340-2.

26. Ibid, 377. ‘Afif also refers to many such illegal cesses abolished by him (HIED, III. 363). A list of these taxes, with explanatory notes, is given by Qureshi (QAS-, Appendix H. p. 228).

27. HIED, III, 377.

28. Ibid, 303.

29. CHI, III. 175.

30. Briggs, I, 465. ‘Afif also gives a detailed account of his buildings including nine palaces in the different towns and one hundred and twenty khankahs (monasteries) in Delhi and Flruzabad “in which travellers from all directions were receivable as guests for three days” (HIED, III. 354).

31. HIED, III. 301.

32. TKB, II. 123, HIED, (III. 346) puts the figure as eighty thousand.

33. HIED, III. 346.

34. Ibid, 344. ‘Afif draws a rosy picture of the economic condition of common people. “Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses, and furniture; every one had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments, and no house was wanting in excellent beds and couches. Wealth abounded and comforts were general.” (HIED, III. 290). This is too idealized a picture to be taken at its face value.

35. HIED, IH. 351, 354-5.

36. Briggs, I. 454-462.

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37. HIED, III. 361.

38. Ibid, 385.

39. Ibid, 361.

40. Ibid, 355.

41. Ibid, 361.

42. Ibid, 347-9.

43. Ibid, III. 289.

44. Ibid, 340.

45. Ibid, III, 374 ff.

45a. Above, pp. 98-99.

46. Ibid, 380-81.

47. Ibid, 381. The italics are mine.

48. Ibid, 365.

49. Ibid, 365-6.

50. Ibid, 386.

51. JRASBL, VIII, 75- See above, pp. 93-94. ‘Afif also refers to the desecration of images (HIED, III, 314).

52. Firishta prefaces this assertion with the remark “Some historians state that” etc. (Briggs, I, 454). ‘Afif does not refer to the desecration but

vigorously refutes the report “spread by the infidels” that the Sultan “held a golden umbrella over the head of the idol.” It should be noted that ‘Afif denied the truth of the report on the authority of his father who was in the Sultan’s retinue. The story that Firuz held a golden umbrella over the head of a Hindu image, incredible in itself, may therefore be dismissed as a myth. ‘Afif refutes a similar charge against Muhammad bin Tughluq and adds that these two Sultans “whenever they took an idol temple they broke and destroyed it”. This evidently supports the desecration of the Jvalamukhi temple by Firuz, of whom ‘Afif was a contemporary. According to ‘Afif, Firuz addressed the assembled Hindus at Jvalamukhi temple as follows: “O fools and weak-minded, how can you pray to and worship this stone, for our holy law tells us that those who oppose tiie decrees of our religion will go to hell” (HIED, III. 318). Ishwari Prasad translates this passage somewhat differently (IPMI, 276).

53. HIED, III. 377-8.

53a. Ibid, 269.

54. IPMI, 281.

55. CHI, IH. 188. "r

56. Cf. the passage quoted above, on p. 104 where he refers to India as ‘Musulman country’ (HIED, III. 381).

57. For detailed arguments in support of the view taken in the text, cf. “A review of the reign of Firuz Shah” by Riazul Islam in Is. C, XXIII, 285.

CHAPTER VI

THE SUCCESSORS OF FIRUZ SHAH

On the death of Firuz Shah, his grandson, the son of Fath Khan, formally ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq Shah II. Malik Firuz ‘All was appointed wazir and received the title of Khan Jahan. Prince Muhammad, the son of Firuz, who was once the joint ruler with his father under the title Nasir-ud-dln Muhammad Shah, but was driven away, as mentioned above, 1 and was now residing at Sirmur, made preparations to contest the throne. An army was sent against him under the wazir and Bahadur Nahir, a Rajput chief of Mewat, who had embraced Islam. On the approach of the royal army Muhammad fled to the mountains and occupied a strong position, but being defeated and driven from one position to another, he shut himself up at the strong fort of Nagarkot (Kangra). The royal army did not besiege that fort, but returned to Delhi.

Ghiyas-ud-dm proved to be a worthless ruler. He gave himself up to pleasure and debauchery, and neglected the affairs of State. His conduct produced laxity in administration and dissatisfaction among the amirs. Matters came to a head when the Sultan treated with cruelty and imprisoned his own brother, Salar. His cousin, Abu Bakr, the son of Zafar Khan, the third son of Firuz, dreading the same fate, fled and organized a conspiracy against the Sultan. 2 Their cause was supported by Rukn-ud-din, the deputy ivazir, who had a large following among the household troops, the famous Ghulamdn-i-Firuz Shdlril (Slaves of Firuz Shah). Several dtfter chiefs of high rank also joined the conspiracy. The conspirators rushed into the palace and killed Malik Mubarak Kablr, the amlr-ul-umra (. Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq, thus surprised, fled with his wazir through a gate opening towards the Yamuna. They were pursued by Rukn-ud-din and, being overtaken, were immediately put to death (February 18, 1389). Next day the conspirators put Abu Bakr on the throne, and Rukn-ud-din became the wazir.

Abu Bakr could not enjoy the throne for long. The amlmn-isadah of Samaria rose in revolt, and having killed their leader, Malik Sultan Shah Khushdil, who was loyal to Abu Bakr, invited Prince Muhammad to join them and assert his rights to the throne. Muhammad collected an army and proceeded to Samana. There he proclaimed himself king (April, 1389) and marched towards Delhi.

On the way he was joined by several amirs and entered Delhi at the head of 50,000 horse. Delhi now became the seat of the civil war, and the nobles of the court joined one side or the other according to their interests or inclinations, Bahadur Nahir of Mewat joined Abu Bakr, and with his help the Sultan succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon Muhammad. The latter fled to the Doab and fixed his head-quarters at Jalesar, 3 where he was joined by many nobles of the court, chief among whom were Malik Sarvar, lately the kotiual of Delhi, and Nasir-ul-Mulk. The former was appointed his minister under the title Khvaja Jahan, and the latter received the title Khizr Khan. Encouraged by the support Muhammad again marched towards Delhi, but was again defeated and fell back on Jalesar. But in spite of this reverse, his authority was acknowledged in many districts to the north and west of Delhi, including Lahore, Multan, Sam,ana, Hissar, and Hansi. Chaos and confusion prevailed on all sides, and the troops of Muhammad oppressed the people of the Doab. The Hindu chiefs there, who had proved refractory even under earlier Sultans, now openly defied the authority of the Sultan. Humayun, son of Muhammad, advanced from Samana and plundered the country almost up to the walls of Delhi, but he was defeated at Panipat and fled to Samana. Encouraged by this success Abu Bakr now decided to take the offensive and attack Muhammad at Jalesar. But as soon as he left Delhi, Muhammad, assured of the support of a strong faction of nobles^t the court, cleverly eluded the forces of his enemy, and occupied Delhi. Thereupon Abu Bakr retraced his steps and Muhammad made a precipitate retreat to Jalesar. But shortly afterwards Islam Khan, the Commander of the household troops, opened communication with Muhammad. The knowledge of this conspiracy so alarmed Abu Bakr that he left Delhi and fled to Bahadur Nahir of Mewat. Taking advantage of this Muhammad again occupied Delhi, and ascended the throne at Firuzabad under his old royal title Nasfirud-dln Muhammad Shah (August, 1390).

Islam Khan was appointed vjazir, but the household troops were provoked into rebellion by a royal order to take back all the elephants which had been seized by them. Most of them joined Abu Bakr, and a large number, found at Delhi, were put to death.

The Sultan now recruited a new army and sent it against Abu Bakr under his son Humayun and wazir Islam Khan. Abu Bakr was defeated and captured, and kept a prisoner in the fort of Mirat where he died.

The prolonged civil war, the worthless character of the rulers who succeeded Flruz, and the disloyal and selfish activities of the officials and amirs had brought the Sultanate on the verge of ruin. Though the new Sultan showed some energy, he could not stem the tide of decline. Farhat-ul-Mulk, the governor of Gujarat, threw off his allegiance in A.D. 1390, and ere long the province was lost to the empire as will be related later. Nearer home the Rajput chiefs of Etawa refused to pay tribute and declared independence. In A.D. 1391 Islam Khan proceeded with a large army and defeated the Rathor Rajput Narsingh Bhan, the leader and the most powerful of the rebellious chiefs, and made peace with him. The other two important chiefs, the Rathor Sarvadharan, and Bir Bhan, the chief of the Vais Rajputs, also offered submission. But as soon as Islam Khan returned to Delhi with Narasingh Bhan, the chiefs again rose up in arms under Sarvadharan and ravaged Bilgram[4] and the adjacent districts. The Sultan marched in person, defeated them, and ‘levelled the fort of Etawa with the ground’. He then proceeded via Kanauj to Jalesar, and built a fort there, which was called after him Muhammadabad.

The Sultan hastened back to Delhi as reports reached him that the wazlr, Islam Khan, was planning a rebellion. Islam pleaded innocence, but his own nephew, a Hindu, gave evidence against him, and he was condemned to death. According to Firishta, the charge was a false one and the whole affair was planned by Khvaja Jahan, who took the place of Islam Khan as wazlr.[5]

Malik Muqarrab-ulMulk, who later distinguished himself as Muqarrab Khan, was appointed governor of Muhammadabad.

In A.D. 1393, the Rajput chiefs of Etawa again rebelled, but most of them were treacherously killed by Muqarrab-ul-Mulk, when they visited Kanauj at his invitation. The Sultan himself proceeded to Mewat to quell the rebellion there and, having laid waste the country, proceeded to Jalesar. There he fell ill when news reached him that Bahadur Nahir of Mewat had plundered the country up to the gates of Delhi. Though the Sultan was still suffering from fever, he hastened to Mewat, attacked Bahadur Nahir at Kotla and totally defeated him. After this, he returned to Muhammadabad and sent his son Humayun to crush Shaikha, the Khokar, who had rebelled and captured Lahore. But before the Prince left Delhi, the Sultan died at Jalesar (January, 1394). He was succeeded by Prince Humayun who assumed the title of ‘Ala-ud-dm Sikandar Shah. But he died within six weeks of his accession.

On the death of Humayun his younger brother, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, was installed on the throne by a party of nobles in the court headed by Muqarrab-ul-Mulk who became Vakil-ussultanat and received the title Muqarrab Khan. But the Sultanate had now reached the last stages of disintegration. The provincial governors and Hindu chiefs openly defied the authority of the Sultan and became de facto sovereigns. Malik Sarvar Khvaja Jahan, who still continued in the post of the wazir, received the title of Malik-us-Sharq or King of the East, and was sent to subdue the rebellious chiefs of the east. He left Delhi in May 1394, and subdued the districts of Koil, Etawa and Kanauj. He then occupied Jaunpur and founded an independent kingdom with this city as his capital. Sarang Khan Lodi, governor of Dlpalpur, expelled Khizr Khan, the governor of Multan, defeated the turbulent Khokars, and placed his own brother Adil Khan in charge of Lahore.

In the meanwhile, the Sultan, leaving Muqarrab Khan in charge of Delhi, proceeded to Gwalior in the company of Sa‘adat Khan, Mallu Iqbal Khan Lodi (brother of Sarang Khan), Malik ‘Ala-uddln Dharwal, and others. When they arrived near Gwalior, some of the amirs, led by Mallu, made a conspiracy against Sa‘adat Khan, as they were jealous of him for his great influence with the Sultan. The plot leaked out and some of the conspirators were put to death, but Mallu fled to Delhi and sought the protection of Muqarrab Khan. The latter, on learning that Sa‘adat Khan had sworn vengeance against him, closed the gates of Delhi against the Sultan when he returned with Sa‘adat Khan. The royal army laid siege to the city, but after three months, the Sultan’s party, being convinced that “the war not only originated, but was prosecuted solely on account of Sa'adat Khan”, accommodated matters with Muqarrab Khan, and was admitted into the city of Delhi. Sa‘adat, unable to conquer the fort of Delhi, and finding the rainy season to be near, marched to FIruzabad and raised Nusrat Khan, son of Fath Khan, to the throne under the title of Nusrat Shah. But the household troops of Flruz Tughluq, who had joined Sa‘adat Khan, was incensed at his conduct towards them and drove him from FIruzabad. Fie thereupon sought shelter with Muqarrab Khan who put him to death in 1394.

There were now two Sultans in Delhi and the result was a protracted civil war. The amirs of FIruzabad, Doab, Sambal, Panipat, Jhajhar and Rohtak supported Nusrat Shah, while those of Delhi espoused the cause of Mahmud Shah. But none of the competitors for the throne could claim any real allegiance from any of the chiefs and nobles who all looked to their own interests alone. The situation is tersely, but very correctly, described by Firishta in the following words:

“The government fell into anarchy: civil war raged everywhere; and a scene was exhibited, unheard of before, of two kings in arms against each other residing in the same capital. Tatar Khan, the son of Zafar Khan of Gujarat, and Fazlullah Balkhi, entitled Kutlugh Khan, joined the Prince Nusrat at FIruzabad. Muqarrab Khan and other chiefs espoused the cause of Mahmud Tughluq; while Bahadur Nahir and Mallu Iqbal Khan, with a strong body of troops, occupied the fort of Sir!, and remained neuter, (sic) but were prepared to join either party according to circumstances. Affairs remained in this state for three years, with astonishing equality; for if one monarch’s party had at any time the superiority, the balance was soon restored by the neutral chiefs.

“The warfare thus continued as if it were one battle between the two cities, wherein thousands were sometimes killed in a day, and the casualties occasioned by the slain were supplied by fresh reinforcements from different parts. Some of the governors of the provinces took little share in these civil dissensions, hoping to make advantage of them, by becoming independent in the end”. 6

This state of things continued for three years. In the meanwhile Mallu Iqbal Khan, having quarrelled with Muqarrab Khan, deserted Sultan Mahmud Shah and joined the party of Nusrat Shah. But a few days later he formed a conspiracy against Nusrat Shah, who fled to Panipat and joined his wazlr Tatar Khan. Mallu, now in possession of Firfizabad, strove to expel Sultan Mahmud and Muqarrab Khan from the old city. At length, through the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the rival parties. But Mallu Iqbal, perfidious as he was, attacked Muqarrab Khan in his own house and killed him. Mallu then exercised royal authority in the name of Sultan Mahmud, who was deprived of all but the name of the king and became a mere tool in his hands. Mallu marched along with the pageant King from Delhi to Panipat, the headquarters of Nusrat Khan and Tatar Khan. Tatar Khan evaded him, arrived at Delhi, and besieged it. In the meantime Mallu Khan captured Panipat and took possession of the baggage and elephants left there by Tatar Khan, and hastened back to Delhi. Thereupon Tatar Khan fled to his father Zafar Khan, who had practically assumed independence in Gujarat, while Nusrat Shah took refuge in the Doab. Mallu Iqbal entered Delhi in October 1398, but before he could settle down to restore order, news reached him that Timur (Tamerlane) had crossed the Sindhu, the Chenab, and the Ravi, and captured Tulamba and Multan. Before we trace the subsequent history of the Tughluqs it is necessary to go back a little to relate, from the very beginning, the invasion of Timur, which ultimately swept away the Tughluq dynasty, and put an end to the Turkish rule in India. 7

1. See above, p. 97.

2. TMB, 150, where the name of the Sultan’s brother is given as Aspdar Shall. According to Firishta, both Salar and Abu Bakr were thrown into prison, but effected their escape (Briggs, I, 467).

3. Jatesar, according to TM. (TMB, 156).

4. This is situated to the east of the Ganga and it is doubtful if the rebel zamindaxs of the Doab would advance so far. Hence some prefer the alternative reading Talgram, and identify it with a place of that name in the Doab. (cf. CHI, III, 192 f.n.).

5. Briggs, I, 476.

6. Ibid, 481. The modern spellings of proper names have been given in the passage quoted.

7. The history of the successors of Firuz, as given in this chapter, is principally based on Firishta's account (Briggs, I, 466-484).

CHAPTER VII

THE INVASION OF TIMUR AND THE END OF THE TUGHLUQ DYNASTY

Timur was born in the year A.D. 1336 at the town called Kech or Shahr-i-sabz (green town) to the south of Samarqand in Transoxiana, that is, the territory between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes. He belonged to a noble Turk family of the Barlas clan which ruled a small principality round the town of his birth. His original name was Timur, but once, in the course of a fight, he was wounded by an arrow in the leg and he limped for the rest of his life. Hence his Turkish enemies styled him "Aksak-Tlmur" (limping Timur), and the Persians, "Tlmur-i-lang" (Timur the lame), corrupted by Europeans into Tamerlane.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to relate the long life of warfare, led by Tamerlane, by which he rose from a humble position to be the ruler of a vast empire embracing in addition to Transoxiana and a part of Turkistan, the whole of Afghanistan, Persia, Syria, Qurdistan, and the major part of Asia Minor. Towards the end of his career, he decided to undertake an expedition against India. He repeatedly declares in his autobiography 1 that his object in the invasion of Hindusthan was to lead an expedition against the infidels, and thereby become a Ghazi, or a martyr. 2 But in one or two places, he refers to the twofold objects of his expedition: "The first was to war with the infidels," and thereby acquire "some claim to reward in the life to come". The other was "that the army of Islam might gain something by plundering the wealth and valuables of the infidels". 3 There can be no doubt that both the religious and the material aspects of the expedition were always present in his mind. As a matter of fact, he combined in himself the savage ferocity of Chinghlz Khan and the fanaticism of Sultan Mahmud.

Before he launched his Indian expedition, information reached him that his grandson Pir Muhammad, the governor of Kabul, Qandahar, Ghazni and other neighbouring regions, had already sent an expedition against India, which crossed the river Sindhu, captured Uch, and besieged Multan. Timur, on his part, started from Samarqand early in A.D. 1398 (March or April). When he reached Afghanistan, a large number of Muslims, both high and low, complained to him of the ill-treatment which they constantly received at the hands of the infidels of Kator and the Siyah-poshes,[4] and asked for his protection, which was readily assured. Timur himself proceeded against Kator, which denoted the region between Kashmir and Kabul, and sent a detachment against the Siyah-poshes. The fort of Kator, deserted by the people, was levelled with the ground and the houses of the city were burnt. The infidels, who took refuge on the top of a hill, were defeated, and many of them put to death. Some of the infidels held out for three days, and Timur offered them the usual alternatives of ‘death’ or ‘Islam’. They chose the latter, but soon recanted, and attacked a regiment of Muslim soldiers during the night. But the latter were on their guard and killed a number of infidels and took 150 of them as prisoners “who were afterwards put to death by the enraged soldiery”. As soon as it was day, Timur ordered his troops to advance on all four sides, “to kill all the men, to make prisoners the women and children, and to plunder and lay waste all their property”. When this order was faithfully executed, he “directed towers to be built on the mountain of the skulls of those obstinate unbelievers”. In order to let posterity know of this expedition “in the auspicious month of Ramazan, A.H. 800 ” (A.D. 1398), Timur engraved an account of it on a neighbouring hill and then proceeded to retrieve the disaster that had befallen the other part of his army which had been sent against the Siyah-poshes.

Burhan Aglan, who was sent against them with 10,000 men, “was routed by, and fled from, a small number of infidels”. A small detachment of 400 men under Muhammad Azad, sent to his help, was attacked by the infidels, but he fought gallantly and after having recovered the horses and armour lost by Aglan, returned homewards. Timur then advanced in person and captured some places but, as nothing more is said, presumably, after this, the Siyahposhes were left alone. 15

Timur then exterminated the “rebellious predatory tribes of the Agbanis” and crossed the Sindhu river in Sepember, 1398. He marched along the Jhelum and defeated several local chiefs, crossed this river below its junction with the Chenab, and reached Tulamba, which submitted without any fight. Here news reached him that Pir Muhammad had captured Multan. The two armies then joined, and after sending a part of his force by way of Dipalpur and Samana. Timur himself proceeded to Bhatnir, a strong fortified place occupied by Dul Chand, a Hindu chief, “famous throughout the whole country”.

The casus belli was furnished by the conduct of the chiefs and nobles of the city of Dipalpur who had tendered allegiance to Plr Muhammad, but later turned rebels and killed Musafir Kabuli, the governor appointed by him. On hearing of the approach of Timur the rebels took refuge in Bhatnir. What part, if any, the Hindu chief of Bhatnir played in the whole affair is not stated, but Timur invaded and easily conquered the city. The fort was guarded by a body of Rajputs who offered a stout resistance, but ultimately Dul Chand surrendered and presented himself to Timur. Timur then punished various refractory chiefs, specially the 500 refugees from Dipalpur, and “their w T ives and children were made slaves”. This fearful retribution filled Dul Chand’s brother and son with dismay, and they fled to the fort and closed its gate. But though they again submitted and were granted pardon, a dispute arose about the collection of ransom money “between the collectors and the evil-minded rais”. So Timur directed his “brave fellows to punish the infidels”, and what followed is described by him as follows:—“In a short space of time all the people in the fort were put to the sword, and in the course of one hour the heads of 10,000 infidels were cut off. The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain which for many a long year had been stored in the fort became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes, and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground”. 6

Timur then captured the city of Sarsuti and the fearful scene was repeated. “All these infidel Hindus were slain, their wives and children were made prisoners, and their property and goods became the spoil of the victors”. Several thousand Hindu women and children, who were brought captive, became Muhammedans. 7

Timur then proceeded against the Jats. Although they fled into the jungles, Timur pursued them there. He killed 2,000 Jats, captured their wives and children, and plundered their cattle and property. 8 About this time, another part of Timur’s army which was following a more northerly route, joined him near Samana, and Timur marched via Fanipat towards Delhi. After reaching the neighbourhood of Delhi, he sent a force of cavalry in advance, with orders “to plunder and destroy and to kill every one whom they met”. They literally carried out this order, and reached the Jahannuma palace, having, as they proceeded, ‘plundered every village, killed the men, and carried a number of Hindu prisoners, both male and female’. 9 Next day Timur crossed the river Yamuna and captured Loni on the other bank of the river. The people here were mostly Hindus. “Many of the Rajputs placed their wives and children in their houses and burned them, then they rushed to the battle and were killed”. After this fort was captured, Timur gave orders “that the Musulman prisoners should be separated and saved, but that the infidels should all be despatched to hell with the proselytising sword”. 10 Sultan Mahmud of Delhi had hitherto taken no steps to oppose the invader, but now advanced with Mallu, and a battle was fought with a detachment of Timur near the Palace of Jahannuma (December 12 , 1398). The Sultan was defeated and fled with his army.

A grim tragedy, perhaps unparalleled in the history of the world, was an indirect consequence of this battle. There were at this time about 100,000 Hindu prisoners in the camp of Timur. Two amirs reported to Timur that “on the previous day, when the enemy’s forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing 1 , uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy’s success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength”. Timur having asked their advice, "they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islam at liberty. In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword". Timur thereupon resolved to put them all to death. He proclaimed "throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the ghazls of Islam, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain. Maulana Naslr-ud-dm 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives". 11

On, December 17, there was a pitched battle outside Delhi. Timur defeated Sultan Mahmud and entered the city (December 18, 1398). Both the Sultan and his minister Mallu fled, but a terrible fate was reserved for the people of Delhi. On learning "that great numbers of Hindus and gahrs, with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables had come into the city from all the country round", Timur sent a force to seize them. But "many of them drew their swords and offered resistance." "The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahanpanah and Sirl to Old Delhi, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses

with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed." The carnage, which continued, is thus described in the autobiography of Timur:—

"On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; ashrafls, tankas of gold and silver of the celebrated ‘Alai coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the saiyids, the ‘ulamd, and the other Musulmans, the whole city was sacked.” 12

Timur disowns all responsibility for the terrible outrage and attributes it to the “spirit of resistance” displayed by the infidel inhabitants, and so, he exclaims: “By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhi. . .had been plundered.” 13

After the sack of Delhi, Timur proceeded to the north (January 1, 1399, and sent several contingents to kill the infidels on the Yamuna and the Ganga. It is needless to add details which would be mere repetitions. The progress of his armies was marked by rapine, massacre, and plunder of the Hindus;— the adult males were slain; the children and women were taken prisoners, and were either converted into Islam or kept as slaves. After proceeding up to Siwalik Hills in the north, and devastating the countryside both on the right and the left, Timur turned to the west and captured and plundered Nagarkot and Jammu. He then proceeded homewards and re-crossed the Sindhu on March 19, 1399.

On the eve of his departure from India, Timur held a court on March 6, and appointed Khizr Khan governor of Multan, Lahore, and Dlpalpur. 14 It is mentioned by some contemporary historians that Khizr was also nominated by him as his viceroy in Delhi.

A historian has very correctly observed that Timur had inflicted “on India more misery than had ever before been inflicted by any conqueror in a single invasion.” 115 Although his avowed

object was to destroy the infidel Hindus and plunder their property 16 — and this ‘pious’ task he did to the best of his ability— it is hard to believe that he did not inflict miseries also on the Muslims in India. Reference may be made, for example, to Sulan Mahmud, Mallu, and their families and followers. On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his professed zeal for the cause of Islam could not always get better of his lust for plunder and massacre, and that although he might not have deliberately harmed the Muslims, as he did in the case of the Hindus, he would not scruple to do so whenever it was necessary in the course of his campaign, marked throughout by indiscriminate loot and plunder.

After the departure of Timur, chaos and confusion prevailed over a large part of northern India. Delhi was almost depopulated and the few that remained were severely affected by famine and pestilence. “Many died of sickness and many of hunger. For a couple of months Delhi presented a scene of desolation and woe.” 17 This miserable lot of the proud imperial city of the Muslim Sultans was brought about by one who regarded himself as the champion of that faith. 1

The Empire also perished. Bengal, Deccan and Vijayanagara had already become independent before Timur’s invasion. Now Gujarat, Malwa and Jaunpur became powerful independent principalities, while Lahore, Dipialpur Multan, and parts of Sind were held by Khizr Khan on behalf of Timur. A large number of smaller independent principalities grew on all sides, such as Samana, Rayana, Kalpi, and Mahoba. 18

As mentioned above, both Sultan Mahmud Shah as well as his minister Mallu had fled from Delhi after their defeat in the hands of Timfir. As soon as Timur left, Nusrat Shah, a pretender to the throne, who was once driven by Mallu, 19 occupied Delhi and declared himself as Sultan. Being, however, defeated and driven away by Mallu he proceeded to Mewat where he breathed his last. Mallu now administered Delhi and recovered control over some parts of the Doab. But as most of the provinces had now declared independence, the sovereignty exercised by Mallu was limited to a very narrow region round about Delhi. When Khvaja Jahan, ruler of Jaunpur, died and was succeeded by his adopted son, Mubarak Shah, Mallu made an attempt to recover Jaunpur, but failed.

In A.D. 1401, Mallu invited the fugitive Sultan Mahmud Shah to Delhi. The Sultan had at first taken refuge with Muzaffar Shah, who was practically independent in Gujarat. The position of the

Sultan at his court was anomalous for though Muzaffar received him warmly, he did not accord to him the treatment and respect due to a sovereign. Mahmud therefore left Gujarat in disgust and proceeded to M'alwa where Dilavar Khan treated him with respect. On receiving the invitation of Mallu, the Sultan returned to Delhi, but was virtually a pensioner of Mallu. who administered the government in his name. Mallu once more tried to re-assert the authority of Delhi over Jaunpur and, accompanied by the Sultan, proceeded towards Kanauj, where Ibrahim Shah, who had succeeded his brother Mubarak Shah, opposed him with a great force. The Sultan, chafing at the control of Mallu, fled to Ibrahim, but was very coldly received there. Thereupon he occupied Kanauj and resided there with a few attendants. Ibrahim allowed him to live in Kanauj, and Mallu returned discomfited to Delhi.

Mallu made several attempts to recover some of the territories in the neighbourhood of Delhi, such as Gwalior and Etawa, but did not meet with much success. He then advanced against the Sultan, who shut himself up at Kanauj. Unable to reduce it, Mallu, along with the chief of Sam ana, marched towards Multan against Khizr Khan. An engagement took place near Ajudhan, and Khizr Khan defeated and killed Mallu.

On Mallu’s death Mahmud Shah returned to Delhi, and Daulat Khan Lodi, an Afghan noble, was appointed military governor of the Doab. Actually Daulat Khan was the man who ruled the kingdom, and gained some success in re-asserting the authority of the Sultan over the neighbouring States. But Khizr Khan proved a powerful adversary, and annexed Sarnana, Sirhind, Sunam and Hissar. Mahmud Shah exercised authority only over the Doab, Rohtak and Sambal. In A.D. 1408 Mahmud Shah re-conquered Hissar, but next year Khizr Khan besieged Firuzabad, a few miles to the north of Delhi. Though he had to retire for want of provisions, he reduced Rohtak and ravaged the Doab. In A.D. 1410, he besieged Mahmud Shah in his capital city and captured Firuzabad. Once again, Khizr Khan was compelled to retire as the devastated country could not furnish enough supply for his army. At last, in A.D. 1412, 20 Sultan Mahmud Shah died. Thus ended his inglorious reign of about eighteen years, during which he was a fugitive more than once, and never exercised any real authority or power. The royal dynasty founded by Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq as well as the rule of the Turks in India ended with him. On his death, the nobles of the court offered the throne to Daulat Khan Lodi, and he ascended the throne in A.D. 1413. Some of the chiefs who had joined Khizr Khan now took the side of Daulat Khan. Khizr Khan, who was supported by the amirs of Hissar Fluza, besieged Rohtak, and laid waste Sambal. He then proceeded to Delhi and invested the city. After a siege of four months Daulat Khan surrendered and was kept a prisoner at Hissar. Khizr Khan took possession of Delhi and founded the so-called Sayyid Dynasty (A.D. 1414).

1. The account of Timur is based principally on his autobiographical memoir, entitled Malfuzat-i-Timurl or Tuzak-i-Timuri, translated in HIED , III. 389-477. The figures in the footnotes, unless otherwise stated, refer to the pages of this work.

2. Pp. 394-5. He refers to the following verse of the Quran as his guide: “O Prophet, make war upon infidels and unbelievers, and treat them with severity.” Elsewhere he says: “My great object in invading Hindustan had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus” (p. 429).

3. P. 461.

4. “The infidel Kators and the Siyah-poshes exact tribute and blackmail every year from us who are true believers, and if we fail in the least of our settled amount, they slay our men and carry our women and children into slavery”. It appears that the Muslim complaints practically amounted to the system of distraint for realising the arrears in rent or tribute (settled amount). The degree of severity was naturally exaggerated by them, particularly as it was imposed by the infidels on the true believers. This aspect of the case clearly emerges both from the address of the Muslims and the reply of Timur: “On hearing these words the flame of my zeal for Islam, and my affection for my religion, began to blaze” (p. 400).

5. For a detailed account of the expedition, cf. pp. 401-408.

6. Pp. 420-427.

7. Pp. 427-8.

8. P. 429.

9. P. 432.

10. P. 433.

11. Pp. 435-6. How far such a monstrous cruelty can be justified on grounds of military necessity, urged by Timur's advisers, is an intriguing problem. A parallel, though on a very small scale, may be found in Napoleon's action after the capture of Jaffa (March, 1799). Napoleon reluctantly issued orders to shoot 2,500 or 3,000 prisoners, who were promised quarters without his knowledge and consent. As he ran short of provisions, and his soldiers refused to share the scanty supply with the Turks and Albanians, he could not keep them, nor could he send them to Egypt, there to spread discontent. Besides, the latter course would mean detaching a French battalion from his small army to escort the prisoners to Egypt. In spite of some apologists, who have made a halting defence on these and other grounds (Rose, The Life of Napoleon, Ch. IX, p. 204), Napoleon's conduct has been condemned by many. It cannot be determined whether Timur's difficulties were as serious as those of Napoleon. But Timur's action differs from Napoleon's in one important respect. Apart from the fact that the charge of treason was at best doubtful and contingent in character there is no doubt that religious bigotry played an important part. The Muslim prisoners were more likely to be sympathetic to the Muslim rulers with whom Timur fought. But yet only the Hindu prisoners were killed. If it is argued that there were no Muslim prisoners, then it would follow that throughout his long march, Timur either did not fight with any Muslims—which is absurd on the face of it—or did not make Muslims prisoners, following a discriminating policy against the Hindus even in this respect.

12. Pp. 445-46.

13. P. 447. Although Timur declares that he earnestly wished that "no evil might happen to the people of the place," and apparently holds his soldiers responsible for the outrage, it must be remembered that it was he who had sent the soldiers

to seize the Hindu fugitives, and this led to the conflagration. It is also difficult to believe that Timur could not restrain his soldiers during the three days of their orgy of murder and plunder.

14. According to Firishta (Briggs, I, 497). Only Multan is mentioned in Timur's autobiography (p. 475) and Zafar-ndma (p. 521), and Multan and Dipalpur in TM (TMB , 173).

15. CHI, III, 200.

16. P. 461. The passage has been partially quoted above on p. 116.

17. TMB , 173.

18. Briggs, I. 498.

19. See above, p. 114.

20. According to Firishta (Briggs, I. 504) and Yahya, TMB, 185. The date is given as February, 1413, in CHI , III. 204.

CHAPTER VIII

THE S4YYIDS

I KHIZR KHAN 1 (A.D. 1414-21)

According to the contemporary writer, Yahyia Sirhindl, author of the Tarikh-i-Mubdrak Shahi, Khizr Khan, the founder of the Sayyid dynasty, was descended from the Prophet of Islam, and was hence styled a Sayyid. Yahya, however, bases his conclusions on unsubstantial evidence, namely, the testimony of the saint Jalal-uddin Bukhari, 1 and Khizr Khan's noble character which distinguished him as the Prophet's descendant. 2 It is likely that the family originally came from Arabia and settled in Multan where the governor, Malik Mardan Daulat, who was a man of pious disposition, 3 adopted Khizr Khan's father, Malik Sulaiman, as his son. Malik Mardan was succeeded by his son Malik Shaikh, and the latter by Malik Sulaiman, on whose death the governorship of Multan was conferred on Khizr Khan by Sultan Firuz Shah. Khizr Khan continued to hold this office until he was expelled from Multan in A.D. 1395 by Sarang Khan, brother of Mallu Iqbal Khan. 3a He escaped to Mewat 4 for a time, but re-emerged to cast his lot with Timur. The invader, before leaving the Indian capital, is believed to have appointed Khizr Khan his viceroy at Delhi, 5 but after his departure from the country, Khizr Khan was able to re-establish himself only in Multan, DIpalpur and parts of Sind. 6 He increased his power gradually and it has been related above how he first defeated and killed the usurper. Mallu Iqbal Khan, and then, having defeated Daulat Khan Lodi, entered Delhi in triumph on June 6, 1414. Immediately after defeating Daulat Khan he set about organizing the administration afresh by redistributing important offices of the state among his trusted followers, treating kindly at the same time the nobles of Mahmud Tughluq's reign. He also made liberal grants and endowments to the poor to help them in their resettlement. The capital thus recovered from the shock of political disorders and the sack by Timur that had preceded his accession to the throne.

Khizr Khan held fast to the conviction that he owed his power and prestige to Timur's patronage, and continued, therefore, his allegiance to the latter's son, Shah Rukh, to whom he sent gifts and paid tribute throughout his reign. 6a He did not adopt the popular title of Shah (King) and preferred to be addressed as Rayat-i-ATa (Sublime

Banners). For three years he had only Shah Rukh's name recited in public prayers, and in 1417 obtained the latter's permission to have his own name also suffixed to that of Shah Rukh. 6b This acknowledgement of foreign supremacy was, as a matter of fact, quite formal, as it did not materially affect his position as an independent king. 7 Likewise, Khizr Khan did not strike coins in his own name but, in order to secure their ready acceptance, he used the types of coins that had become popular in the immediate past by altering their dates. s This was, no doubt, meant to avoid a financial breakdown, but it also revealed his inherent weakness. By invoking the prestige of his Indian predecessors and that of a contemporary foreign potentate, Khizr Khan wished to buttress his position against the hostility of Turkish and Afghan nobles and the majority of his non-Muslim subjects.

Politically, India was at that time split up into a number of independent States, and the Sultanate of Delhi had, long before the rise of the Sayyids, been considerably diminished in size and strength. Bengal and the Deccan were lost before the middle of the fourteenth century and this was followed by the emergence of independent kingdoms in Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Khandesh during the troublous times that marked the closing of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. A number of smaller chieftains in the Doab and adjacent areas also felt tempted to throw off their yoke of allegiance to Delhi. • The Sultanate having thus been deprived of important and rich territories, Khizr Khan's precarious hold beyond Delhi extended over a portion of the Doab and Mewat. His limited resources did not allow him to undertake major campaigns for reconquering the territories that had previously seceded. He was able to recover only some fertile areas in the vicinity of Delhi and realize arrears of tribute from refractory chieftains. For this purpose his minister, Taj-ulMulk, led a series of expeditions directed mainly against the Rajput states of Katehr 9 and Etawa. Other places raided by him included Khor, Kampil, Pattiali, Jalesar, Gwalior and Bayana. 10 Everywhere he gained temporary success and collected revenues, without, however, effecting permanent submission. Khizr Khan's own visits to some of these places produced no better results.

The Turkish elements were far from being reconciled to the rule of the new dynasty and, in spite of Khizr Khan's conciliatory policy, they organized risings and plots which caused him considerable embarrassment. In 1416, a group of Turkbachchas created trouble in Sirhind and assassinated Malik Sadhu Nadira, the deputy of Prince Mubarak who had been put in charge of its administration. Royal armies defeated them and drove them into the mountains, but they rose again next year under their new leader, Tughan Rais, who was also defeated and, on promising to behave, was appointed governor of Jullundur. Tughan, on recovering his strength, again attacked Sirhind but failing in the attempt, fled across the Sutlej, and effected a junction with the Khokhars whose incursions into the Punjab in the succeeding reign assumed threatening proportions.

Another Turkish noble, Mahabat Khan, amir of Badaun, who had been apparently loyal, surprised Khizr Khan with his resistance in 1418 when the latter was returning from Katehr. The fort of Badaun was besieged and operations continued for about six months, but when success was almost in sight, Khizr Khan had suddenly to raise the siege on account of the treachery of some Turkish slaves. After arriving at Delhi he had the traitors, Qwam Khan and Ikhtiyar Khan, executed. Shortly afterwards in 1419 came the news of the rising in the Bajwara mountains of an impostor who posed as Sarang Khan, brother of Mailu Iqbal Khan. Sarang had expelled Khizr Khan from Multan in 1395 but had later been captured and carried away by Timur to Samarqand where he was executed.[10a] The impostor was defeated by Khizr Khan's capable general, Sultan Shah Lodi, and driven back into the mountains. Next year he was captured by Tughan Rais who killed him in order to appropriate his wealth.

The only distant campaign which Khizr Khan undertook was the one towards Nagaur[11] in 1416, on an appeal from its Muslim ruler against the aggression of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, who withdrew, however, on the approach of the Delhi army. Nagaur temporarily submitted to Khizr Khan but transferred its allegiance to Gujarat two years later under the threat of an invasion from Malwa.[12] During his return from Nagaur, Khizr Khan visited Gwalior and Bayana and realised customary payments.

In the last year of his reign Khizr Khan raided Mewat and destroyed the fortress of Kotla. He then ravaged Gwalior and, after exacting tribute, came to Etawa where the new Raja offered his submission and usual payments. He fell ill during the campaign and after returning to Delhi, died on May 20, 1421.

Khizr Khan possessed laudable traits of character which won him the affection of the people. He was wise, just and benevolent, and was free from the vices common in those days. His record as a ruler was not, however, impressive. The conquest of Delhi, after numerous set-backs, was a creditable achievement, but he proved incapable of settling the problems of a country which had been plunged into virtual anarchy after Timur's invasion. During the seven years that he ruled over Delhi, he tried to restore the prestige of the Sultanate in the Punjab, the Doab, Rohilkhand and parts of Rajputana, but the kingdom which he founded was no better than many other independent ones which had sprung up all over the subcontinent after the decline of the Tughluq power. The odds against him proved to be too great to allow him to achieve anything substantial.

II. MUBARAK SHAH (A.D. 1421-34)

Khizr Khan was succeeded by his son Mubarak[13] who, unlike the former, did not hesitate to adopt the title of Shah and have the khutba read in his own name. He issued coins also,[14] although for the first eight years of his reign he followed his father's example of using coins that were current in the past by merely altering the dates on them.

The newly founded Sayyid kingdom was threatened under Mubfarak Shah with danger from all sides. In the north and west the triple menace of the Khokhars, the Turkbachchas and the Mughuls created an alarming situation, while in the south and east, the kings of Malwa and Jaunpur were anxiously awaiting their chance for aggressive expansion. Mubarak rose equal to the occasion and, by fighting incessantly almost throughout his reign, he was able to preserve his kingdom intact without, however, adding any new territories to it.

The Khokhars lived in the Punjab, mostly in the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab, 115 and constantly raided the surrounding territories. During Khizr Khan’s regin they had not been very active, but now their indomitable leader, Jasrath, made desperate attempts to overthrow the Sayyids. He received some help from Sultan Zain-ul- 4 Abidin of Kashmir 16 and, making good use of his alliance with Tughan Rais Turkbachcha, raided Jullundur early in Mubarak’s reign. He advanced as far as Sirhind, but was checked by the stubborn opposition of Islam Khan Lodi. Thereafter Sultan Mubarak Shah personally marched from Delhi and, by vigorous counter-attacks, drove him back across the Chenab into his hilly resort of Tekhar. 17 In 1422, Jasrath twice raided Lahore and some other areas but withdrew each time on the approach of royal armies. He remained apparently quiet for the next five years but is believed to have been secretly in touch with Shaikh ‘All, the Mughul deputy governor of Kabul, 18 whom he wished to undertake an attack on Siwastan, Bhakkar and Tattah, so that a diversion of Mubarak Shah’s armies in that direction might facilitate his own movements towards Delhi. The plan did not, however, succeed and,

when Jasrath attacked Kalanaur and Jullundur in A.D. 1428, Malik Sikandar Tuhfa, by a heroic action, forced him back to Tekhar. Later in the year the Mughul invasion took place, and a contingent of Khokhars under ‘Ain-ud-dm and Malik Abu-’l-Khair joined the invaders at Talwara to guide them onwards. Jasrath, availing himself of this chance, attacked Jullundur again and defeated Malik Tuhfa whom he carried away as a prisoner. 19 He then marched to Lahore but on the arrival of reinforcements from Delhi under Sarvar-ulMulk, he retreated to the hills. Another attempt on Lahore about six months later proved equally futile, and Jasrath was finally exhausted with a last heavy raid on Jullundur. Nothing further was reported during Mubarak’s reign, but in 1436, his successor Muhammad Shah sent an expedition against Jasrath and later asked Buhifil Lodi, then governor of Sirhind, to suppress him. The wily Khokhar chief, realizing, however, that the rise of Lodi power in the Punjab had made it impossible for him to conquer Delhi, hastened to make peace w T ith Buhlul urging the latter to oust the Sayyids and occupy Delhi. 19a He did not, however, live see the fruition of his plan, for, in A.D. 1442, he was murdered by his queen to avenge the death of her father, Rai Bhilam.[20]

Another insurrection, which appeared less significant at first but led to serious development afterwards, was headed by Pulad 'Turkbacheha. He was a slave of Shaikh Salim who held under Khizr Khan the district of Sarsuti, Amroha and several pargands in the Doab in addition to the fort of Tabarhindah,[21] where he had collected a large treasure and a huge store of grain and provisions. After the Shaikh’s death early in A.D. 1430, Mubarak Shah bestowed all his lands on his two sons who did not, however, seem to be satisfied with their lot, and for ulterior motives incited Pulad to revolt.[22] Pulad, who was keen to advance his own interests, entered the fort of Tabarhindah about the middle of the year and, appropriating all of his late master’s wealth, raised the standard of revolt. Mubarak Shah, on discovering the complicity of the Shaikh’s sons, ordered their arrest, and sent two of his officers, with some force, to treat with the rebel and recover the treasure. Pulad engaged them in negotiations and, after feigning friendliness, delivered a surprise attack at night and defeated them They retreated hurriedly to Sarsuti leaving behind all their baggage and equipment which added to the rebel’s strength. When the Sultan heard of their discomfiture, he set out immediately for Tabarhindah, but stopped at Sarsuti, from where he sent an army to besiege the fort. He also called Tmad-ul-Mulk, governor of Multan, to join him. Pulad, who had taken precautions to defend himself, however, sent word that he would agree to surrender if Tmad-ul-Mulk were sent to assure him of his safety. This was arranged, but on learning secretly that he was being deceived, he reaffirmed his resolve to resist. Mubarak Shah, instead of forcing the rebel to surrender by intensifying the pressure on him, acted unwisely in slackening the operations against him. He sent back Tmad-ul-Mulk to Multan and himself returned to Delhi, leaving the other amirs, Islam Khan, Kamal Khan and Rai Flruz, to continue the siege which dragged on for about six months.

The interval gave Pulad time to arrange for help from other quarters, and he sent his agents to Kabul invoking Shaikh ‘All’s help by promising a large sum of money in return. The latter responded favourably and, in February-March 1431, crossed into the Punjab. Advancing towards Tabarhindah, he attacked on his way the fiefs of Rai FIruz who was compelled to abandon the siege immediately without even informing his other colleagues. Islam Khan and Kamal Khan behaved similarly, for, when Shaikh ‘AlI was ten miles from Tabarhindah, the besiegers had all dispersed. Pulad came out to receive Shaikh ‘AlI, presented him a sum of 200,000 tankahs and entrusted his family to him for being carried to safety. The latter then went away to plunder other districts, while Pulad, thus relieved of danger, freely ravaged the country around and killed Rai FIruz. Mubarak Shah marched out again at the close of the year, but he remained so much pre-occupied with the affairs of Lahore that he could not visit Tabarhindah. In September 1432, he despatched another force to besiege the fort, but it had to be again withdrawn to meet fresh Mughul attacks. It was not until after the Mughul invader had been finally expelled that the siege of Tabarhindah was pressed on with vigour. By October 1433, the fort at last fell and Pulad was slain.

Mughul incursions into Indian territory during the latter part of Mubarak’s reign constituted perhaps the most vital danger to the kingdom of Delhi. The attacks which were led by Shaikh ‘AlI, deputy governor of Kabul on behalf of Mas‘ud MIrza, grandson of Shah Rukh, are held by Firishta to have been the outcome of unfriendly relations between Mubarak and Shah Rukh, presumably because of Mubarak’s inclination towards complete independence. Since contemporary evidence suggests that the governor of Lahore continued making some sort of a payment, bribe or tribute, to Kabul up to the time of Shaikh ‘AlI’s invasion, and that Shah Rukh favoured Mubarak as well as his successor Muhammad Shah with robes of honour and umbrella etc. usually sent to a vassal, it is doubtful if Shaikh ‘AlI’s invasions had been authorized by Shah Rukh himself. 223 The operations appear to have been independently

undertaken by Shaikh ‘AlI with the sanction of Mas‘ud MIrza, governor of Kabul and Ghazni.

The earliest reports of Shaikh ‘AlI’s movement towards Bhakkar and Sewistan were received in 1423, but no details are available of the actual raid which was presumably of no consequence. It was in 1431 that he actually launched an invasion which helped to raise the siege of Tabarhindah, described above. Thereafter he ravaged the areas of Juliundur, FIruzpur and Lahore where the governor, Sikandar Tuhfa, offered him the customary payment. Marching through DIpalpur, without resistance, he came to Multan where the toughest battle was fought and the invader was signally defeated by the royal forces under ‘Imad-ul-Mulk. The retreating Mughul army was pursued up to Seor, 23 but the royal army returned without dislodging Amir Muzaffar, Shaikh ‘All’s nephew, from the fort. It was a mistake on Mubarak’s part to have halted operations at this point. Perhaps a greater blunder was to remove ‘Imad-ul-Mulk from Multan, a fact which induced Shaikh ‘All to attack Multan again within four months. Mubarak was at the time seriously preoccupied with the Khokhars and the coincidence suggests that Shaikh ‘All was in league with Jasrath. In November 1431, Shaikh ‘All plundered Khospur and Tulamba, and committed terrible atrocities on the inhabitants. Mubarak was in a grave predicament on account of the simultaneous risings of Pulad and Jasrath, but when he marched towards Samana, fortunately for him, his enemies began to disperse. Jasrath returned to Tekhar, Pulad withdrew into the fort, and Shaikh ‘All retired to Bartot. 24 After a few months, however, the Mughul adventurer re-appeared at Lahore and mercilessly sacked the town. When the situation had deteriorated considerably, Mubarak moved forward towards DIpalpur with a big army reinforced by ‘Imad-ul-Mulk and Islam Khan. Shaikh ‘All, finding himself unable to oppose the combined force, ran away hurriedly, leaving behind all his baggage. His nephew, Amir Muzaffar of Seor, also negotiated peace with Mubarak and gave his daughter in marriage to the Sultan’s adopted son, Muhammad Shiah. Shaikh ‘All did not come again, and Mubarak was able to save India from Mughul occupation for nearly a century.

The relations of Mubarak Shah with Ibrahim, the Sharql ruler of Jaunpur, remained unhappy throughout his reign. Their interests clashed over Bayana, Kalpi and Mewat, and the simmering hostility ultimately led to an open clash. Amir Khan AuhadI, ruler of Bayana, resisted Mubarak Shah in 1423; he was, however, forced to surrender, but allowed to retain his fief. His successor, Muhammad KhJan, revolted again, but was defeated and brought to Delhi, from where he escaped and re-occupied his fort. On Mubarak’s advance Pie ran away and joined Ibrahim Sharql, who was marching forth to seize Kalpi. This small principality owed nominal allegiance to Delhi from which it was separated by Etawa. Its ruler, Qadir Khan, rightfully sought Mubarak's help, but Ibrahim, in order to interrupt communication between Delhi and Kalpi, sent his brother Mukhtass Khan to occupy Etawa. This attempt was frustrated by the timely arrival of Mubarak's general Mahmud Hasan (later called Tmad-ul-Mulk) who expelled Mukhtass immediately. Thereupon Ibrahim changed his plans and turned round to meet Mubarak. The two armies were pitched against each other near Bayana along the river Kanbhir where, after skirmishing for twenty-two days, a heavy but indecisive battle was fought on March 24, 1428, which led to Ibrahim's sudden retreat. In the following May, Mubarak reconquered Bayana and appointed Mahmud Hasan to settle its affairs. There was quiet for some years, but towards the close of Mubarak's reign, Ibrahim set out again to capture Kalpi, where he found a stronger rival in Hushang Shah of Malwa who was marching from the opposite direction. Mubarak prepared to intervene, but was suddenly assassinated. Meanwhile, Hushang succeeded in annexing Kalpi, and Ibrahim Sharql returned disappointed.

Mewat or the country of the Meos, a spacious area to the south of Delhi including the districts of Mathura, Gurgaon, and parts of former states of Alwar and Bharatpur, was a notorious abode of rebels and a source of constant trouble to the kings of Delhi. It was ruled by the line of Khanzadahs, founded by Bahadur Nahir, mentioned above, who wielded considerable power during the days of the later Tughluqs. Almost throughout Mubarak's reign Mewat remained unsettled and rebellious. The first insurrection in 1425 was crushed with 'fire and sword', but only a year later the Mewatis rose again under their twin leaders Jalal Khan and 'Abdul Qadir, nick-named Jallu and Qaddu, grandsons of Nahir. Severe punishment was inflicted again, and while Jallu disappeared, Qaddu was arrested and after some time put to death, for being secretly in touch with Ibrahim Sharql. This compelled Jallu to come out again. He carried on resistance for some time but ultimately surrendered to Mubarak's minister, Sarvar-ul-Mulk, on terms of paying tribute. When the Sultan visited Mewat in 1432, Jallu turned hostile again, but, finding the security afforded by his small fortress of little value against the pressure of royal troops, he submitted once more on the usual promise of paying tribute.

There were a number of minor expeditions but they need not be dwelt upon at length. Mahabat Khan, Amir of Badaun, who had resisted Khizr Khan, submitted to Mubarak voluntarily. Katehr

was raided twice in 1422 and 1424 and tribute was exacted. The Raja of Etawa, who had surrendered in 1422, later became scared and shut himself in the fort. The Sultan compelled him to yield again and, in addition to the payment of dues, also had his son sent to the court as a hostage. Gwalior was visited by royal forces a number of times. In 1423 Mubarak saved it from the aggressive attack of Hushang Shah of Malwa who was driven off after a battle. The Raja was, however, irregular in paying his tribute to Mubarak and no less than three times, in 1427, 1429 and 1432, expeditions had to be organised to realize the arrears due from him.

In the fourteenth year of his reign Mubarak fell a victim to a treacherous conspiracy hatched by his chief minister Sarvar-ul-Mulk to avenge an alleged wrong. Sarvar v/as a Hindu convert, originally named Malik Sarup, who v/as appointed governor of the city of Delhi by Khizr Khan. He retained this office after Mubarak’s accession but when the chief minister, Sikandar Tuhfa, v/as sent to Lahore in 1422 to help Mahmud Hasan in defeating Jasrath Khokhar, Sarvar managed to have himself appointed chief minister, while his son Yusuf succeeded to the governorship of Delhi. Towards the close of his reign Mubarak found that Sarvar, apart from being haughty and arrogant, had not been very efficient in carrying out his duties. The Sultan did not think it expedient to dismiss him, but in 1433 divested him of the work pertaining to revenue which was entrusted to Kamal-ul-Mulk, deputy-commander of royal forces, w r ho had recently come into prominence. Sarvar continued to hold the charge of political affairs, but he took the bifurcation of the offices of diwan and wazlr as a personal insult, and decided to put a violent end to Mubarak’s rule. His chief accomplices were Kankii and Kaju Khatri who had enjoyed royal favour for long, Mir an Sadar, deputy to the chief secretary and Qazi ‘Abdul Samad, the royal chamberlain. An opportunity soon presented itself when the Sultan, on his way to Kalpi, turned aside to visit his newly founded city of Mubarakabad. There, on February 19, 1434, as he was entering for his Friday prayers, Sidh Pal, grandson of Kaju, and Ranu the Black, basely murdered him in the precincts of the mosque.

Mubarak Shah proved to be the ablest king of the house of Khizr Khan. He endeavoured his best to preserve his father's gains and exhibited qualities of a brave warrior in overcoming the dangers that threatened his kingdom both from within and without. He was wise and resourceful, and had always at his disposal a loyal army of his own and that of his feudal allies which kept a watch on the important border posts of Lahore, Dlpalpur and Multan in the north and west, and fought to maintain his position at strategic points in the south and east. He did not, however, display similar shrewdness in the choice and treatment of his ministers and officers, and his mistrust of some of them, resulting in frequent transfers of holders of key-positions, produced disastrous consequences which contributed to his tragic end. He was just and kind towards all of his subjects, and even though a firm Muslim in belief and action, was free from the taint of bigotry. He patronized the Khatris of Delhi although some of them joined the plot against his life. He saved the Hindu state of Gwalior from Hushang's aggression as keenly as he protected KalpI against Ibrahim SharqI's designs. Likewise, his treatment of Katehr and Etawa was perhaps far from severe as compared with the merciless sack of Mewat and the coercion of Bayana. Mubarak's architectural activity is evidenced by the founding of the new city of Mubarakabad in 1433 on the banks of the Yamuna with a big mosque. He also extended patronage to the contemporary chronicler, Yahya Sirhindl, whose well known work, the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shate, forms the most authoritative source of the history of the period.

III. MUHAMMAD SHAH (A.D. 1434-45)

After Mubarak Shah's death his brother's son, Muhammad Khan bin Farid Khan, ascended the throne and styled himself Sultan Muhammad Shah. 25 For about six months all power was usurped by Sarvar-ul-Mulk who had received the title of Khan-i-Jahan. He began to uproot the old nobles who organized a stiff resistance under the leadership of Kam!al-ul-Mulk. Bayana was the first to revolt and its fief-holder, Yusuf Khan AuhadI, killed the Khatri, Ranu the Black, whom Sarvar had sent to take over the fort. This was followed by a general revolt of the outlying fief-holders who pooled their strength. Kamahul-Mulk cleverly concealed his hostility to Sarvar and feigned loyalty so that he was appointed the commander of royal forces, and sent to suppress the revolt. He proceeded quietly and halted at Ahar, where the rebel amirs, on receiving a hint of Kamal's real intentions, came and joined him in May 1434. Their united force marched towards Delhi to punish the regicides. The success of Kamal's plan lay in depriving Sarvar of the support of the Delhi army, and the latter, finding himself thus outdone, made an attempt also on the new king's life, but was immediately killed by the body-guards who surrounded Muhammad Shah. All of his companions met the same fate. Thereafter the liberating army, which had besieged the city for about three months, was welcomed into Delhi, and all the nobles renewed their allegiance to Muhammad Shah. Kamal-ul-Mulk was appointed the chief minister.

Muhammad Shah, freed from the control of Sarvar, became the sovereign de facto. As the nobles were united in supporting him,

he had an excellent opportunity of reorganizing the affairs of the kingdom, but he soon disappointed everyone by his neglect of kingly duties and his desire for leisure and pleasure. The result was disorder all round, and as it grew worse, the Mewati leader Jalal Khan and his companions, together with the elite of Delhi, sent an invitation to Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa who encamped within ten miles of Delhi at a place called Talpat. Muhammad Shah, unable to defend himself, called in Buhlul Lodi, the chief of Sirhind, to his aid. Buhlul came with 20,000 mounted soldiers and fought in the vanguard of the imperial army as its virtual commander. 26 The battle at the end of the first day remained inconclusive, but Muhammad Shah, without consulting any of his amirs, sent emissaries for peace the very next morning. The Khalji monarch who, during the intervening night, had been upset by a vision of disturbance at his own capital, 27 welcomed the proposal and withdrew immediately to Mandu. Buhlul, to whom Muhammad Shah's decision was distasteful, retrieved the prestige of his own soldiers and that of the Delhi army by treacherously attacking the rear of the Khalji forces, killing some men and capturing baggage. The imbecile Sultan joined the chrous of praise for Buhlul by calling him a son and conferring on him the title of Khan-i-Khanan. He later on acquiesced in Buhlul's occupation of the major part of the Punjab and asked him to coerce the still unsubdued Khokhar rebel, Jasrath, who was, however, shrewd enough to accommodate matters with Buhlul. The Lodls had, by now, immensely increased their power and Buhlul launched an attack on Delhi in 1443 but did not suceed.

The last few years of Muhammad Shah's reign witnessed the rapid decline of his kingdom. Multan became an independent kingdom. The Sharqls annexed some parganas in the east; numerous fief-holders withheld payment of tribute, and even some amirs within an area of twenty miles of Delhi began to assert independence. A short while before his death in 1445, 28 Muhammad Shah called from Badaun his son 'Ala-ud-dm whom he nominated as his successor.

IV. 'ALA-UD-DIN 'ALAM SHAH (A.D. 1445-51)

'Ala-ud-dm, who adopted the high-sounding title of 'Alam Shah, 29 was perhaps the most unworthy king of his line. The only notable event of his reign was the transfer of power from the Sayyids to the Lodls, an act which was more formal than real, for Buhlul already held more extensive territories than his nominal suzerain could claim. The Sultanate of Delhi had practically ceased to exist, and its place had been taken by petty tribal kingdoms

whose boundaries verged on the borders of Delhi. 'Alam Shah, who was morally perverse, realizing his inability to bring back into submission the rebellious amirs, retired to Badaun where he gave himself up to pleasure and enjoyment. This created a vacuum at Delhi which was soon to be filled. Buhlul Lodi had, even before 'Alam Shah's departure, made a second unsuccessful attack on Delhi in 1447. His opportunity at last came when 'Alam Shah's minister, Hamid Khan, apprehending the forcible occupation of Delhi by some powerful neighbouring monarch, 30 invited, of his own accord, Buhlul Lodi and Qiyam Khan of Nagaur 31 either of whom, he believed, would agree to play the puppet king while he retained all power as wazTr. Buhlul, being nearer at Sirhind, rushed in at once, and Qiyam Khan, who was yet on his way to Delhi, returned disappointed. Buhlul treacherously got rid of Hamid Khan after some time 32 and informed 'Alam Shah of his assumption of power, allowing the latter, however, to retain Badaun for the remainder of his life. 33

1. He was the grandfather of the well-known divine, Sayyid Jalal, popularly called Makhdumd-Jahaniyan Jahan Gasht. He came from Bukhara to Bhakkar and ultimately went to Uchh where he died. See ‘Abdul Haqq: Akhbar-alAkhydr (Delhi Ed. p. 60).

2. Some of his virtues are thus enumerated in the TM (p. 182). “He was generous, brave, gentle, kind, humble, true to his promise, temperate and Godfearing.” Badauni (Muntakhab, I. p. 295), enlarging upon it, writes: “The Sayyid is a man in whom are manifest the virtues of Muhammad (peace be upon him) and the grace of ‘All, the accepted.”

3. His original name was Khvaja Zia-ud-dln and he was a descendant of the famous saint, Khvaja ‘Abdullah Harvl. He migrated from Herat to India in A.D- 1353, and came to the court of Firuz Shah Tughluq who bestowed on him the title of Malik Mardan Daulat and the governorship of Multan to reward him for his services during the Bengal campaign. Mir’di-i-Jahdn Numa, Cambridge MS. f. 141b.

3a. See above, Ch. VI, p. 113.

4. According to the Zafar Ndma by Yazdi and other original accounts of Timur’s invasion, Khizr Khan had sought asylum at Bayana. Yahya Sirhindi, however, states that he went to Mewat.

5. Mughul historians omit any reference to this nomination which is, however, confirmed by the contemporary writers Yahya, Sirhindi and Muhammad Bihamad Khanl. See TM 166, and Tdrikh-i-Muhammadi B.M- MS. f. 306b.

6. According to Firishta, he occupied Lahore also. Cf. p. 124, n. 14.

6a. See Maila’us-Sa‘dain, Vol. II, Part I, p. 342.

6b. He sent a special envoy to Shah Rukh’s court for this purpose. See Tdrikh-iHcifiz Abril B.M. MS f. 291-2 and MatWus-SrTdain, II (i) 342.

7. Nur-ul-Haqq, the author of the “Zubdat-ai-Tawdrikii ”, made it very clear; “Although he did not assume royal titles, yet he ruled and

administered his territories like a king.” See Lahore MS. p. 54.

8. Edward Thomas has compared it to a system “which the East India Company imitated of their own free will, with much credit and simplicity, by striking their rupees in the name of Shah ‘Alam and other defunct monarchs of Delhi whose money had of old obtained good repute in the local Bazars.” (Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi , 330).

9. Later known as Kohilkhand.

10. Khor and Kampil—both in the Farrukhabad district, U.P.; Pattiali in the Etah district.

10a. See Tdrikh-i-Muhammadi, B.M MS. f. 306b.

11. In the former Jodhpur State.

THE SAYYIDS

12. Sultan Hushang Shah of Malwa, who was then preparing to invade Gujarat, had called upon Firuz Khan Dandani, ruler of Nagaur, to join him and promised the territory of Naharwalla in return for the latter’s aid. Firuz Khan, however, appeared unwilling to side with him and preferred to get in touch with Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat.

13. His full name was Mu‘izz-ud-din and he styled himself as Sultan Mubarak Shah.

14. They bore the title, Naib-i-Amir al-Mu’minin, which he probably assumed to strengthen his legal position as some previous Turkish Sultans had done.

15. Particularly the districts of Jhang, Shahpur and Jhelum. A smaller number of them was also scattered over the districts of Lahore and Sialkot.

16. The story that he also waylaid Sultan ‘AH king of Kashmir, on the latter’s return from Tattah is incredible, as none of the kings of Kashmir ever invaded lower Sind. Hodivala considers Tattah to be an error either for

Tatta Kuti, a mountain pass in Kashmir or for Tibet. (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, 402-3).

17. Possibly a village called Thakkar in the Gujarat district, West Pakistan, about 13 miles from the Chenab to the western side.

18. His contact with the Mughuls is confirmed by a casual reference in the TM. (p. 201) to the fact that during Jasrath's second raid on Lahore in 1422, when he ravaged DIpalpur also, there was a small contingent of Mughuls united to the Khokhar force.

19. He managed to escape after some time and joined Mubarak S-hah when the latter was marching in pursuit of Shaikh ‘Ali.

19a. See Ma‘dan-i-Akhbcir-i-Alimadi, Vol. I, B.M. MS. f. 144b.

20. Rai Bhilam had assisted royal troops sent against Jasrath in 1422. After a short time however, Jasrath engaged the Rai in battle and killed him. TM. 201.

21. Probably modern Bhatinda. [The identification has been discussed in Vol. V, p. 115, n. 2, Ed.]

22. The contemporary writer Yahya Sirhindi is silent as to the real motive of the two brothers or that of Pulad. Haig (CHI, III. 216) writes that the Shaikh's sons were anxious to get back their father's wealth, which, according to Firishta, however, they had already been allowed to inherit. They were confident, adds Firishta, that they would be deputed by the king to supress Pulad and might then get a chance of leading a general rebellion for their personal aggrandizement.

22a. See Tdrikh-i-Muhammadi, B.M. MS. f. 311-12; Majamihd-Akhbdr, I.O. MS., f. 333b; TM, 218.

23. Modem Shorkot.

24. Identified as Marwat in the Bannu district (Hodivala: Studies in Indo-Muslim History, 409).

25. Some writers have wrongly described him as Mubarak's son.

26. The nominal command had been entrusted to Prince 'Ala-ud-dln as Muhammad Shah did not take the field himself. Mahamud Khaljl also sent forth his two sons to lead the troops and held back himself.

27. See Ma'asir-i-Mahmud Shdhi. Bodleian MS- f. 113B. He is also believed to have feared an attack on Malwa from Gujarat. See Tdrikh-i-Haqqi, Cambridge MS., p. 67, TA, III, 322, Muntakhah (Hasan Khaki) Eton MS. fol. i40a.

28. There is some controversy about the date of Muhammad Shah death which the TA (Calcutta Text, Vol. I. p. 292) states as 847 A.H. (A.D. 1443-4), while the Tarlkh-i-Firishta (Bombay Text, Vol. I, p. 313) gives 849 A.H. (A.D. 1445-8). The numismatic evidence, is, however, conclusively in favour of 849 A.H. (H. N. Wright: The Coinage andl Metrology of the Suitans of Delhi, pp. 236, 241). Ishwari Prasad considers 849-50 A.H. as the correct date (History of Mediaeval India, 1948 ed., p. 483, f.n. 14). Both Wright and Prasad have, however, made an error in quoting the TM. to support the date which is otherwise correct. They have overlooked the fact that this contemporary work on the Sayyids covers only one year of Muhammad Shah's reign and concludes its account on 8 Rajab, 838 A.H. (February 7, 1435). Probably they have relied upon Dowson's translation of TM in Volume IV of HIED (p. 88), where, after 838 A.H., the extracts to complete the narrative of the Sayyid Dynasty have been borrowed from the TA. The MS. of the TA., used by Dowson, unfortunately, had 844 A.H. as the date of Muhammad Shah's death, and Dowson, considering it obviously wrong, changed it into 849 A.H. remarking in the foot-note that he borrowed the latter date from Firishta. Prasad has, in addition, ascribed to Muhammad Shah a reign of 13 years, 3 months and 16 days which is, in fact, the period of Mubarak Shah's region. For this also he has quoted the TM, in support, remarking further that it thus corroborated Firishta's statement. As noticed above, the TM, ends with the year 838 A.H., while according to Firishta, Muhammad Shah reigned

for 12 years and some months. Hodivala supports 849 A.H. as the date of Muhammad Shah's death, but has made a mistake, probably through oversight, in the last sentence of his note which reads: "Mubarak Shah really reigned for twelve years" (Studies in Indo-Muslim History , 410). It should be Muhammad Shah and not Mubarak Shah.

29. Literally meaning 'Lord of the World', although the ridiculous extent of his territories was commonly expressed in the following epigram: Pddshdhi-yi-Shahi-alam az Dehli td Pdlam, Ttirikh-i~Dd'udi, Lahore, P.U.MS. f. 7b. "The Kingdom of the Lord of the World extends from Delhi to Palam." Palam is a village about twelve miles south of Delhi, near the site of the present civil aerodrome which is named after it- [In CHI, III. (p-205), this epigram' is taken to refer to the last Tughluq Sultan Mahmud Shah. Ed].

30. The likeliest aggressors would have been the kings of Jaunpur and Malwa.

31. The name of the ruling chief of Nagaur, as stated in the TA, is Mujahid Khan. Qiyam Khan, whose name has been mentioned in the Wdqi'dt-i-Mustaqi and Tankh-i-Da'udi, was either another member of the same family or, probably, there has been an error in reproducing his name.

32. During a friendly visit to his house, Buhlul suddenly had him arrested after dining with him; Wdqi e dt-i-Mushtdqi, B.M. MS. pp- 6-7

33. 'Alam Shah died at Badaun in 1478.

N.B .—(TA in this chapter refers to the B.I. edition of the text).

CHAPTER IX

THE LODIS

I. BUHLUL LODI (A.D. 1451-89)

Buhlul belonged to the Shahu Khel clan of the Lodis who form an important branch of the Afghans. 1 In India the Lodis appear to have founded some settlements around Lamghan and Multan in c. A.D. 970. The colony could not, however, prosper on account of the subsequent rise of heresy. During the Turkish rule some of the Lodis served under Balban, and later, in A.D. 1341, Malik Shahu, the progenitor of the Lodi rulers of India, raided Multan and killed its governor, but failed to achieve a permanent foothold on account of the swift action taken by Muhammad Tughluq. Shahu's successors carried on trade with India, and one of his grandsons, Malik Bahram, settled in Multan early in FIruz Shah's reign, and accepted service under the governor, Malik Mardan Daulat. Bahrain's eldest son, Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, afterwards served under Khizr Khan, and distinguished himself by killing in battle the latter's worst enemy, Mallu Iqbal Khan. He was rewarded with the title of Islam Khan and was afterwards appointed the governor of Sirhind, which formed the nucleus of the future Lodi kingdom. Islam Khan performed heroic feats under Mubarak Shah in resisting the Khokhars and the Mughuls, and died during the reign of Muhammad Shah 2 after nominating his nephew and son-in-law, Buhlul, to succeed him in his fief of Sirhind. 3

Buhlul as a youth had been carrying on trade in horses, but the turning point in his career came when once he sold his finely bred horses to Sultan Muhammad Shah. The payment order was drawn on a rebellious pargana which Buhlul raided with the king's permission and acquired immense spoils. Muhammad Shah was so pleased that he granted the pargana to Buhlul and raised him to the status of an amir. After Islam Khan's death, Buhlul established himself at Sirhind and rapidly extended his influence and possessions until he held sway over the major part of the Punjab. 3 * Muhammad Shah., being too weak to subdue Buhlul, confirmed him in the territories that the latter had acquired by force of arms. That the Lodi chief excelled his master in strength and resources became apparent when

Muhammad Shah invoked his help against invasion from Malwa. 4 Thereafter Buhlul made two abortive attempts to capture Delhi until at last the march of events made it

possible for him to enter the capital of the Sultanate without fighting. ITe ascended the throne on April 19, 1451, and adopted the title of Buhlul Shah Ghazl. 4a

The occupation of Delhi did not add considerably to Buhlul’s territorial possessions, but it increased his responsibilities manifold. He had to recreate the Sultanate and consolidate it by recovering neighbouring territories and bringing back to submission the rebellious fief-holders. He had to wage a long war with Jaunpur on the outcome of which depended the survival of his dynasty. Lastly, he had to improve and remodel the administration with due regard to the interests of the Afghan nobility.

The most outstanding achievement of Buhlul’s reign was the conquest and annexation of Jaunpur, which not only strengthened the foundations of his dynasty but also won back for the Sultanate an important territory which had been lost as early as 1394. 5 The Sharqis regarded themselves as the legitimate successors of the Sa 3 ^yids by virtue of their matrimonial relations with the latter 6 and the proximity of their kingdom to the boundaries of the Sultanate. The emergence of Lodi power, therefore, caused deep frustration in Jaunpur, and the reigning monarch, Mahmud, was anxious to oust Buhlul before the latter had time to establish himself. He, therefore, attacked Delhi in the very first year of BuhluTs reign, and besieged the fort, which would have fallen, but for the defection of Mahmud’s general, Darya Khan Lodi, who was secretly won over by the Afghans. 7 Buhlul had left for Multan but, on hearing of the Sharqi attack, returned immediately and defeated Mahmud’s army at Narela, about 17 miles from Delhi. Mahmud returned disappointed and was anxious for revenge. He fought with the Lodi again over Etawa and Shamsabad, but the engagements remained inconclusive as he died suddenly in 1457. His son, Muhammad Shah offered to make peace, but Buhlul was not satisfied until his brotherin-law, Qutb Khan, who had been captured during a nocturnal action against Mahmud, had been released. Fighting was renewed and the Lodls captured Muhammad Shah’s brother, Jalal Khan. In the meantime a fratricidal conflict at home compelled Muhammad Shah to withdraw. He was defeated and killed by the forces of his brother, Husain, who was destined to be the last Sharqi king of Jaunpur. Husain enjoyed decided superiority over Buhlul in men and resources. He was brave but uncalculating and reckless. He waged ceaseless wars to destroy Buhlul, but was defeated every time until he was expelled from Jaunpur and forced to seek shelter in Bihar, which he had to abandon under Buhlul's successor and retire to Bengal. Buhlul's victory over Husain was a great military feat. In the earlier stages of the conflict Buhlul was so weak

that twice he sent emissaries to Malwa imploring aid, but unfortunately its ruler Mahmud Khalji died before fulfilling the promise of help. 7a Buhlul's ultimate success is mainly due to his courageous generalship and excellent military strategy.

The pacification of the Doab, Mewat, and the neighbouring area needed urgent attention as the numerous chieftains in that region were likely to ransfer their loyalty to the Sharqls and could cause embarrassment to the Sultan during his campaign against Jaunpur. Their allegiance, moreover, would bring in handsome revenues to replenish the treasury. Buhlul, therefore, led a number of expeditions against Mewat, Sambhal, Koi, Saklt, Etawa, Kapri, Bhongaon and Gwalior. 8 The rulers and chiefs of all these places submitted to Buhlul at the beginning of his reign, but wavered in their loyalty during the succeeding years. However, when the sharql power was liquidated, they unreservedly acknowledged Buhlul's authority. In Multan, Buhlul could not succeed in suppressing the chief of the Lankahs. 9 He was prevented fro proceeding to Multan personally by the Sharql attack on Delhi, and an army sent later under his son Babak was defeated by the Lankah ruler, Shah Husain. 9a Likewise, Buhlul's raid on Alhanpur, 9b a pargana under the jurisdiction of Ghiyas-ud-dln Khalji of Malwa, also failed and he had to return hurriedly when pursued by Sher Khan' governor of Chanderi.

Before his death Buhlul distributed his territories among his relatives and amirs. He placed his son Barbak on the throne of Jaunpur, gave Manikpur to Prince 'Alam Khan, Bharaich to his sister's son Kala Pahar, Lucknow and Kalpi to his grandson A'zam Humayun, and Badaun to Khan Jahan

Lodi. His son Nizam Khan (later Sultan Sikandar), whom he had nominated heir-apparent, held the Punjab, Delhi and most of the territory in the Doab. Having thus created a sort of an Afghan confederacy, BuhKil died about the middle of July 1489, at a place known as Malawali 9c near the township of Jalali in the pargana of Saklt.

Buhlul deserves the credit of having revived the Sultanate, axtended its boundaries, and rehabilitated its prestige after years of persistent decline. His military pre-occupations did not allow him much time for administrative reorganization, although he was keen about the welfare of the people and heard their petitions personally to dispense justice. He was a man of lofty personal character and, although scrupulous in adhering to the tenets of Islam, was not intolerant of other creeds. 9 * 1 He won the devotion and esteem of his non-Muslim friends and feudatories and relied on them on critical occasions. He possessed a charitable disposition and never turned away a suppliant from his door. He behaved generously even towards his bitterest foe, Husain Sharqi, whom he allowed to use the revenues of a part of the kingdom after expulsion from Jaunpur. The Sharqi queen, Bibi Khonza, 9e whose influence over Husain was primarily responsible for his recklessness, was twice taken prisoner by the Lodls, but was honourably restored to her husband each time.

As a king, Buhlul was not ostentatious. He treated his fellow Afghans and nobles as his equals, mixed with them on social occasions, and even shared his carpet with them. 9f Compared with the attitude of previous Turkish kings of India, his behaviour towards the nobles might be open to criticism, but with the grim spectacle of a life and death struggle with the Sharqls which started at the very commencement of his reign, he could depend only on the support of his Afghan followers some of whom had specially come from Roh 10 in response to his call. 10a It was no time to reform or discipline the uncouth Afghans, but by respecting their clannish feeling and their instinctive sense of freedom, he managed to win and retain their allegiance, and ultimately succeeded in laying the foundations of the dynasty on a firm basis.

II. SIKANDAR SHAH (A.D. 1489-1517).

Buhlul had nominated his son Nizam Khan as his successor but on the eve of his death, a group of nobles tried to prevail on him to change the will in favour of his other son, Barbak, or his grandson, A‘zam Humayun. They did not succeed, but two days after the death of Buhlul there was a heated discussion among them in which Nizam Khan’s mother bodly intervened on behalf of her son. The successful faction carried Buhlul’s coffin to Jalali where Nizam Khan arrived on July 15, 1489, and the very next day was crowned king with the title of Sikandar Shah. He was the ablest among the surviving sons of Buhlul and proved worthy of the choice as king by carrying out successfully the task begun by his father.

Sikandar lost no time in suppressing the opponents who might still dispute his succession. He won over to his side his brother ‘Alam Khan, and overcame by force his nephew, A‘zam Humayun, and his uncle, ‘Isa Khan. As for Barbak, Sikandar did not want to remove him from Jaunpur provided he agreed to remain peaceful and loyal. Barbak, however, refused to acknowledge his brother’s author^. Thereupon Sikandar defeated him in a battle near Kanauj but, with fraternal affection, reinstated him at Jaunpur, taking care, at the same time, to nominate his own men to all important offices at the court and outside. Shortly afterwards there was a rising as Jaunpur organized by powerful zamindars and men of the Bachgoti tribe, 10b headed by their leader Juga. 10c Barbak fled in panic and Sikandar rushed from his playground to coerce the rebels before they had mustered strength. The zamindars were defeated and Juga was forced to take refuge with the exiled Husain Sharql at the fort of Jaund. 1Qd Barbak was restored once more, but he again proved incapable of dealing with another rebellion of the zamindars. Sikandar at last ordered him to be arrested and took over the administration of Jaunpur.

Husain Sharqi, who was biding his time in exile, entertained secret hopes of recovering his kingdom after Buhlul’s death. He tried to exploit the differences between Barbak and Sikandar, but the latter’s firmness and success disappointed him. He appeared to be in league with the rebel zamindars at Jaunpur and harboured the Bachgoti leader Juga. Sikandar, who pursued Juga up to the fort of Jaund, politely asked Husain to surrender the rebel and retain the fort as well as the lands which the latter was in possession of. Husain returned a haughty answer and prepared to give battle. He was severely defeated and put to flight, but a few years later, in 1494, he marched out again on learning that a large number of the Sultan's horses had died. He was again defeated by Sikandar near Banaras and hotly pursued until he crossed into Bengal where he spent the rest of his life at Colgong as a pensioner of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah. Sikandar's authority was thenceforth fully established in Bihar. The Rai of Tirhut also submitted peacefully.

Husain's flight to Bengal led to an expedition against that country in 1495. As neither side was serious about fighting; Sultan Husain Shah behaved wisely in sending his son, Daniyal, to negotiate. He settled with Sikandar's agents the terms of a peace treaty according to which both the monarchs agreed to respect each other's frontiers. The king of Bengal further promised not to harbour Sikandar's enemies. It was wise on Sikandar's part to have realized the limitation of his own resources and striven to maintain peaceful relations with other independent Muslim kingdoms. His policy towards Malwa was guided by the same considerations and, although internal strife in that State provided him with a favourable chance of interfering with its affairs, he appears to have restrained his ambition and held himself aside as far as he possibly could. In 1510, Shihab-ud-dm, son of Sultan Nasir-ud-dm of Malwa, having rebelled against his father, sought Sikandar's protection. Naslr-ud-din, however, advanced quickly to Chanderi and punished Shihab-ud-dln by nominating as heir-apparent his younger son, Mahmud II, whose

claim was thenceforth severely contested by another son Sahib Khan. In March 1513, Sahib Khan came to Chanderi and appealed to Sikandar for help. A detachment was sent from Delhi, but it remained stationed at a short distance from Chanderi, and returned without taking part in any engagement. Soon after, however, Sahib Khan became suspicious of his own partisans, 11 and arrived as a fugitive at Sikandar's court. The Sultan promptly sent him back with a large force to Chanderi where he was kept invirtual internment while the administration was carried on by Sikandar's amirs.

Sikandar was keen on reducing the Rajput States but his efforts in that direction met with only partial success. The Raja of Gwalior, who had submitted to Ruhlul just before the latter's death, continued his allegiance to Sikandar for some time. However, the asylum which he provided for the Raja of Dholpur, coupled with his envoy's discourtesy, annoyed the Sultan who attacked the State in 1502. The Raja submitted immediately, but three years later, he attacked Sikandar's army returning to Dholpur. He was defeated again, but Sikandar continued the march to Agra on account of the approaching rains, without completing the conquest of Gwalior which remained unsubdued for the rest of his reign. The conquest of Dholpur did not present much difficulty and Raja Binayak, although reinstated after his defeat in 1502, was again removed in 1505 to prevent him from allying himself with Gwalior against Delhi. Mandrail was conquered the same year and, two years later, Utgir also fell. Thereafter Sikandar laid siege to Narwar and, after conquering it, strengthened its defences by building an auxiliary fort.

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Rai Bhaidchandra, the Vaghela Raja of Rewa, who was an ally of Husain Sharqi, submitted to Sikandar in 1942 when the latter entered Kantit. 12 He was, however, frightened by the Sultan's movement towards Arail, 13 and suddenly went away from the royal camp leaving his baggage which was returned to him intact. The Raja having failed to renew his pledge of loyalty, Sikandar marched against him in 1495 but he fled towards Sarkaj 13a and died on the way. The Sultan returned to Jaunpur but a large number of his horses died on account of the strain of the long journey. Hearing of this, Bhaid's younger son, Lakshmlchandra, incited Husain Sharqi to fight again. Sikandar was, however, able to conciliate Bhaid's eldest son and successor Salivahana, who helped him in defeating ttie exiled Sharqi king. Their relations improved to such an extent that the Sultan ventured to ask the hand of his daughter in marriage. On his refusal Sikandar raided his country in 1498, but when he

advanced as far as Bandugarh, he found the fort to be too strong and returned to Jaunpur.

In Nagaur, Sikandar’s supremacy was acknowledged by its ruler Muhammad Khan who wished to prevent his two brothers, ‘All Khan and Abu Bakr, from receiving help against him. Sikandar gladly patronized Muhammad Khan and compensated ‘All Khan with the grant of the small fief of Sui near Ranthambhor. After some time ‘All Khan was replaced by his brother Abu Bakr when it was discovered that the former had been guilty of duplicity in secretly dissuading Daulat Khan, governor of Ranthambhor, from transferring his allegiance from Malwa to Delhi.

The old and almost ruined capital of Delhi had lost its charm for Sikandar, and political and strategic considerations induced him to choose another place. In 1499 he moved his residence to Sambhal where he spent about four years. His partial success in the campaigns against the Rajput States raised in his eyes the importance of Agra where, in 1504, he founded a new town and transferred his capital to it. This provided him with a base from which he could exercise better control over turbulent areas. Agra was formerly a dependency of Bayana which was held by the Auhadis. At the outset of Sikandar’s reign, the then Amir of Bayana, Sultan Sharaf, agreed, at the king’s suggestion, to exchange his possessions with Jalesar, Chandwar, Marehra and Sakit. At the last moment, however, he went back on his word and consequently both he and his vassal, Haibat Khan Jilwani, who held Agra, had to be forcibly expelled in 1491.

Sikandar improved upon his father’s system of government by slowly centralizing the administration and persuading the Afghan chiefs to learn obedience to authority. He re-united the kingdom by annexing Jaunpur and extended his control gradually over provincial affairs. The nobles were required to behave respectfully in the Sultan’s presence, 14 and to show due regard to his orders in distant places. 16 They were also told to submit their accounts to the Ministry of Finance, and serious notice was taken of defaults and embezzlements. 16 The Sultan, however, took care not to rouse open hostility. He treated the elderly Afghan chiefs with consideration and appreciated the sentiments and prejudices of his Afghan followers. He had also arranged to keep himself informed of the affairs of the nobles and the people by a cleverly organized intelligence system. Every morning he received reports of the important occurrences of the previous day as well as of the prices of various commodities, and took prompt action if anything went wrong. He did not show any partiality to rank or status in the

administration of justice, which was even-handed for both the high and the low. For this purpose the Sultan's special representative remained at the seat of justice the whole day long, while the q azls and the 'ulama' were present inside the palace. Special messengers conveyed reports of all judicial discussions to the king who frequently intervened personally to avert the miscarriage of justice. 16a

Sikandar's regard for the well-being of his subjects, his benevolence, and love for justice ushered in an era of peace and prosperity in which trade and agriculture flourished. Grains and other goods were available in such abundance that men of moderate means could also live in comfort. The cultivation of the arts of peace by happy and contented minds brought about a cultural renaissance which transcended communal barriers. The literary outburst of the period was unrivalled for centuries past and included translations of Sanskrit works into Persian, 17 the collection of old manuscripts on different subjects, and the composition of new literary works. The Sultan was a poet himself, 18 and his bounteous appreciation of learning attracted scholars from distant lands to his court where they received every encouragement. He was also keenly interested in music and the enthusiasm which he showed in its promotion is testified to by the rare contemporary work Lahjat-i Sikandar Shahi . 18a A happy result of the cultural activity of the period was the mutual interest it aroused among Hindus and Muslims for each other's learning, thus conducing to a rapprochement which was in consonance with the progressive spirit of the time.

Endowed with virtues of piety and decency, the Sultan held aloof from frivolous pursuits, engaging himself generally with the affairs of the State on which he worked strenuously till midnight, He disliked the company of unworthy people, so much so that, even in the matter of State appointments, his chief criteria were character and heredity. Some writers have referred to his drinking in secret, but according to the contemporary chronicler, Mushtaqi, no one ever saw him either taking wine or in a state of drunkenness. He was exceedingly generous and had made elaborate arrangements throughout the kingdom for the distribution of charities, comprising food, clothing and other necessities of life, to the poor and the needy, Half-yearly lists were submitted to him of deserving persons who were awarded regular stipends. The nobles also emulated the king as far as possible.

Unfortunately, Sikandar, deeply devoted to Islam, was intolerant of other faiths. Born of a Hindu mother, 19 and anxious to marry a Hindu princess, his attitude towards this religion of a vast majority of his subjects appears to be rather baffling and inexplicable, for, it was bound to prejudice the realization of his political aims. 19a Even as a prince he had been dissuaded from raiding the Hindu tanks at Thaneswar by a verdict of the famous divine, Mian ‘Abdullah of Ajudhan, who had also ruled against the demolition of non-Muslim places of worship. Sikandar, as a king, however, frequently razed temples to the ground and erected mosques and public utility buildings in their place, as illustrated by his behaviour at Mandrail, Utgir and Narwar. At Mathura he prevented the Hindus from bathing at their sacred ghats or having themselves shaved, The stones of broken images of Hindu idols brought from Nagarkot were given away to butchers to be used as weights. 1913 On the top of all, a Brahmana named Bodhan, 20 who had endorsed the truth of Islam as well as of his own faith, was put to death after the question had been discussed at length by the ‘ulamd’. Such an irrational policy is indefensible in modern times, even though it be granted, that in the age in which Sikandar lived, tolerance was not the order of the day. It may, however, be stated that Sikandar, in conformity with his opposition to idolatry, stopped some of the semi-idolatrous practices that had grown up among the Muslims also, such as the annual procession of Salar Mas‘ud Ghazl’s lance, 21 the visits to the tombs of saints by Muslim women, and the carrying of ta‘ziyas 22 during Muharram. That he was ready at one stage to destroy even the beautiful mosques built by the Sharqi kings in order to obliterate the memory of his foes, but was held back by the f ulamd shows that the occasional fury of his temper did contribute to his intolerance which was apparently not confined to a particular section of the people. It may also be noted that in the matter of general administration and in his economic and judicial improvements, he made no kind of discrimination among his subjects.

Sikandar was personally brave and dauntless and it is said that Buhlul’s choice of him as a successor was prompted by the heroic manner in which, as a prince, he had suppressed Tatar Khan’s revolt in the Punjab. 22a As a king, he led most of the campaigns in person, but whenever he stayed behind, he regularly sent orders twice a day to be delivered to the commanders at each halt even if the distance involved was 500 to 1,000 miles. This was achieved by means of a system of carrier-horses that existed for sending messages to provincial governors. The Sultan possessed a fine physique and handsome appearance, and it was perhaps on account of his care for the latter that he did not wish to grow a beard, in spite of the remonstrances of HajI Abdul Wahhab. 22b He died on November 21, 1517 on account of a disease of the throat. 220

III. IBRAHIM LODI (A.D. 1517-26)

After Sikandar’s death, his son Ibrahim was elevated to the throne without opposition. The experiment of a dual monarchy was revived when, at the very commencement of the reign, Ibrahim agreed to have his brother Jalal Khan installed as independent ruler of Jaunpur. 22d However, before the latter had established himself there, Ibrahim, on the advice of some wiser amirs, repented of his folly and deputed an agent to persuade Jalal to come to Delhi. 22e On Jalal’s refusal to yield, the King sent secret instructions to the chief nobles and governors not to recognize his brother’s authority, thereby compelling Jalal to leave Jaunpur and return to his old fief of Kalpl. Jalal succeeded, however, in winning over to his side an important amir, A‘zam Humayun Sarwani, with whose help he quickly recovered Awadh. Their friendship did not last long, for, when Ibrahim marched to oppose them, A‘zam Humayun again came over to the Sultan and Jalal was forced to retreat. Leaving behind his family at Kalpl, the prince, in desperation, proceeded towards Agra where Ibrahim’s general, Malik Adam, persuaded him to accept the permanent assignment of Kalpl by surrendering his claims to sovereign power. The negotiations were helpful in putting off the prince for some time, as Ibrahim later on disapproved of this arrangement and decided to get rid of his brother. Jalal ran away to Gwalior, and thence to

Malwa, but being unwelcome there fled to the country of the Gonds who betrayed him to the King. Ibrahim sent him to HansI where his other brothers were imprisoned, but he was killed on his way to that place. 22f

The temporary asylum which Jalal had secured at Gwalior provided Ibrahim with the pretext for completing his father's project of conquering this important Rajput State.

He sent a strong force comprising 30,000 horsemen and 300 elephants under A'zam Humayun Sarwani, governor of Kara, to besiege the fortress. In the meantime Raja Man, who had defied Sikandar's authority, died. His son Vikramjit, unable to withstand the pressure of the Sultan's army which had been reinforced by a fresh force under nine amirs, surrendered at last. 23 This outstanding military achievement was somewhat neutralized by the defeat of Ibrahim's forces which were sent against Rana Sanga of Mewar. 23a

Jalal Khan's rebellion left a deep impression on Ibrahim's mind. It made him suspicious of his nobles and strengthened his resolve to centralize all power by the outright suppression of Afghan nobility. Unlike his father who had slowly asserted

royal authority without outraging the sentiments of his Afghan followers, Ibrahim required the nobles to observe proper court ceremonial and purge their minds of any thoughts of equality based on clannish affinity with the king. Even though the past history of Muslim rule in India supported such a view of kingship, Ibrahim failed to understand the difference between Turkish ascendency and Afghan hegemony. The transformation might have been slowly effected, but could not be abruptly imposed. Without realizing, therefore, that his success as a ruler depended on the military support of his nobles, he decided to destroy the very men whose help he needed most. A'zam Humayun Sarwani who, by his timely reunion, had contributed to the Sultan's victory over Jalal, was recalled from the siege of Gwalior and put in chains. Likewise, Mian Bhuwah, who had distinguished himself as the wazlr since Sikandar's days, was also imprisoned.

The manifestation of capricious tyranny led to the revolt at Kara by A'zam Humayun Sarwani's son, Islam Khan, who was supported by two important

Lodi chiefs, Sa £ id Khan and A‘zam Humayun 24 who had suddenly returned from Gwalior. When an army sent against the insurgents suffered a reverse, Ibrahim upbraided the commanding nobles and called upon them to crush the revolt on pain of being considered otherwise as traitors. The rebels, who had mustered 40,000 men, demanded A‘zam Humayun Sarwani’s release, but Ibrahim refused it in spite of a Muslim saint’s 243 intercession. The Sultan would not compromise on any terms and ordered Darya Khan Lohani, governor of Bihar, Nasir Khan Lohani of Ghazipur, and Shaikh Muhammad Farmuli to join the royal army with all their strength. After a sanguinary battle in which 10,000 Afghans fell, the rebels were defeated and Islam Khan Sarwani was killed.

Rather than learn any useful lesson from the revolt, Ibrahim regarded the victory as a success of his policy and became even more ruthless. Mian Bhuwah was put to death and A f zam Humayun Sarwani, who also died in captivity, is believed by some writers to have been killed by the King’s orders. 2413 Another grandee, Mian Husain Farmuli, was set upon by the Sultan’s hirelings and done to death at Chanderi. 24c This sent a wave of indignation and alarm among the other nobles who began to contemplate drastic measures for their own safety. In the eastern part of the kingdom important Lodi and Farmuli amirs began to organize themselves, while Darya Khan Lohani, whom Ibrahim had next decided to degrade, resolved to cast off his allegiance. After his sudden death, his son Bahar Khan, assuming leadership of the disaffected nobles, declared independence and styled himself Sultan Muhammad. He occupied the country from Bihar to Sambhal and, for a little over two years, had the khutba read in his name. He was joined by Nasir Khan LohanI, governor of Ghazipur, Fath Khan, another son of A‘zam Humayun SarwanI, and Sher Khan Sur (later Sultan Sher Shah).

While Ibrahim’s armies fought a series of engagements with the rebellious amirs in the eastern provinces, Daulat Khan Lodi, governor of the Punjab, opened negotiations with Babur. Daulat Khan had evaded Ibrahim’s summons and his son, whom he sent to call upon the King, soon after ran back to Lahore to escape arrest. The shocking account of Ibrahim’s cruelty, which Daulat Khan heard from his son, 25 convinced him that it was impossible for him to continue his allegiance to the Sultan. As he was not able to organize the kind of revolt that the Afghan nobles in Bihar had done, he preferred to turn to Babur for help, and sent his son 25a to Kabul for this purpose. Almost simultaneously, Ibrahim's uncle ‘Alam Khan, who had been biding his time in Gujarat and was sought out by the dissatisfied amirs to replace Ibrahlm 25b also arrived at Kabul to seek Babur's support. Babur, who was anxious to annex the Punjab to his kingdom, welcomed this opportunity of extending his possessions, and led an expedition in 1524 to Lahore, 20 where he defeated Ibrahim's army under Bahar Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan had already fled towards Multan from where he came to meet Babur at Dlpalpur.

Babur, however, instead of reinstating Daulat Khan, appointed his own officials at Lahore and assigned to the latter some minor districts. 27 This infuriated Daulat Khan who turned hostile after Babur's return to Kabul, whereupon the latter entered into an arrangement with ‘Alam Khan to help him in capturing Delhi on condition that he (Babur) was to retain the Punjab in full sovereignty. ‘Alam Khan was later gained over by Daulat Khan and, with a combined Afghan force of thirty to forty thousand strong, he attacked Delhi in 1525 , but was easily defeated by Ibrahim. 27a In the meantime Babur, realizing that neither Daulat Khan nor ‘Alam Khan could be relied upon, set out on his own account for a final and decisive invasion of India. After spending a few months in conquering the Punjab and disposing of his Afghan opponents, he advanced towards Delhi. Ibrahim marched forward and the two armies clashed with each other at Panipat on April 20 , 1526 . In spite of overwhelming superiority in numbers 28 Ibrahim was defeated and slain. Babur's historic victory was chiefly due to his superior fighting technique, skilful employment of trained cavalry, and an enviable store of artillery.

Endowed with courage and bravery, Ibrahim possessed the qualities of a soldier, but was unfortunately rash and impolitic in his actions. His attempt at absolutism, though necessary, was premature and his policy of mere repression, unaccompanied by measures to strengthen the administration and augment his military resources, was bound to fail. That he should have chosen to alienate his powerful nobles at a time when the danger of an external invasion loomed large in the north-west, betrayed a lack of foresight which proved disastrous both to himself and to his dynasty. In private life, Ibrahim's conduct was unblemished. He was kindly disposed towards his subjects and friendly with the saints and divines. 28a He took keen interest in the promotion of agriculture and both he and his nobles received their share of the produce in kind. There was always an abundance of crops and the people in general lived happily in the midst of cheapness and plenty.

1. The origin of the Afghans is obscure and the traditional theory tracing their descent from the Jewish king Talut (Saul) lacks historical support. It is, however, generally held that the Khaljls who belonged to the Turkish stock and a number of whom had migrated to the Afghan lands of Ghaznin, Balkh, Tukharistan, Bust and Guzganin were gradually transformed into Ghilzals. They are believed to have been the progenitors of important Afghan clans including that of the Lodis. See Hudud-ul-Alarm Tr. pp. Ill, 348, Ma'asir-iMahmud Shahi Bodleian MS. fol. 12, Tarikh-i-Haqqi Cambridge MS. p. 106.

2. According to the T'A., he was killed in 1431 while fighting against Shaikh 'All the Mughul. This is incorrect, for he was alive during a part of Muhammad Shah's reign and introduced his nephew to the Sultan. Nizam-ud-dln has, probably, confused him with one Sulaiman Lodi who was killed in 1431. See Tdrikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan Paris MS. fol. 172a, T.M. 219, Tdrikh-iMushtdqi B.M.MS. fol. 5a, Tarikh-i-Da'udi, S.O.A.S. MS. p. 5.

3. He preferred Buhlul to his own son, Qutb Khan, firstly because Buhlul appeared to be more capable and, secondly, as the Ajsana-i-Shdhdn has pointed out, Qutb Khan was born of a Rajput mother,while his daughter, Firdausi, whom Islam Khan had given in marriage to Buhlul, was from an Afghan lady. Buhlul was a full-blooded Afghan as his father, Kala Lodi, had married an uncle's daughter. The story goes that Kala having died in an encounter with the Niazi Afghans, Buhlul was born posthumously in extraordinary circumstances- His mother, while close on confinement, died suddenly on account of the falling of the house, and he was taken out by the 'Caesarean operation' Thus orphaned completely, he was taken as a month-old baby to his uncle who brought him up as a son. The chances were,

therefore, all for Buhlul, and the clannish sentiment being very strong among the Afghans, Qutb Khan might not have been acceptable to the majority of them.

3a. The entire area covering DIpalpur, Lahore, Panipat and Sirhind was under the control of Buhlul. The statement of the TA with regard to the disunity among the Afghans and the campaigns undertaken by Muhammad Shah’s minister, Sikandar Tuhfa, against Buhlul is not confirmed by the earlier authorities such as the Tarikh-i-mushtcLq t and the Majami‘-ul-Akhbcir.

4. See above, p. 135

4a. See Wdqi‘at-i-Mushtdqi, B.M. MS- p. 7, Mihr voa Mali , Lahore MS- fol- 117.

5. See above, p. 113.

6. The last Sayyid Sultan”s daughter was married to the last Sharql king. She always urged her husband to recover her parental heritage.

7. The Afghan envoy, Shams-ud-din, who came to deliver the keys of the fort of Darya Khan Lodi, reminded the latter of his affiliations with the Afghans and appealed to him to save the honour of the Afghan ladies besieged in the fort. See Waqi e at-i-Mushtdqi B.M MS. p. 8.

7a. See Ma’asir-i-Mahmud Shahi, Bodleian MS- fol. 310b.

8. Kol—modem Aligarh; Saklt—in the Etah district; Rapri—44 miles south-west of Mainpuri; Bhongaon—in the Mainpuri district.

A minor raid which, according to Mushtaqi, the Afghan soldiers carried out early in Buhlul’s reign on a turbulent village near Nimkhar, a dependency of Kanauj, has been described in the Tarikh-i-Shahi as a major expedition of Buhlul who is reported to have acquired thereby immense booty and plunder. Elliot has given the name of the place as Munkhar which is not, however, supported by the printed text of the Tarikh-i-Shahi nor by the account of the Tdrikh-i-Da’udi which is almost similar to that of Mushtaqi.

See Wdqi (at-iMushtdqi B.M. MS. p. 186; Tdrikh-i-Da'udi S.O.A.S. MS. p. 21; Tdrikh-iShdhi, p. 20; HIED V, p. 5 n. 1.

Abu-'l Fazl has described Nimkhar as a Mahal in the Sarkar of Khairabad (Oudh) with a brick fort and a shrine of great resort. (Ain, Text I, pp. 434, 438.)

9. His original name was Budhan Khan Sindhi who hailed from Uchh and occupied Multan after expelling the Sayyid governor, Khan-i-Khanan. (See Tdrikh-i-Haqqi, Cambridge MS. pp. 128-29). The statement of some of the authorities including ‘Abbas Sarwani, Mir Ma‘sum and Nizam-ud-din that a Lankah chief named R'ai Sahra drove out Shaikh Yusuf Quraishl whom the people of Multan had raised to power, is to be discounted.

9a. He became the ruler of Multan in 1469-70 after the death of his father, Qutbud-din, who had succeeded Mahmud Shah in 1454.

The reference in the Tdrikh-i-Shdhi to Ahmad Khan Bhatti's rebellion in Sind and the appeal for help made by the ruler of Multan to Buhlul, is not confirmed by any earlier authority. The Lankah rulers were never reconciled to Buhlul and they could not possibly have asked his help to suppress a rebel of Sind when they were strong enough to defeat the army of Delhi and also to repulse an attack from Malwa.

9b. It was situated in close proximity to the fort of Ranthambhor, the capture of which was, in fact, Buhlul's real object. The author of the Tdrikh-i-Shdhi has substituted for the Alhanpur raid an account of Buhlul's expedition against the Rajput State of Mewar which is not, however, mentioned by any other authority. He has, probably confused Malwa with Mewar, and Alhanpur with Udaipur which was founded much later. His reference to Ajmer as the place where Buhlul pitched his camp, is also wrong as Ajmer at that time lay within the jurisdiction of Malwa.

Similarly Ahmad Yadgar's reference to Ujjain as a Hindu territory, where Buhlul, during another expedition, subjugated a large number of Hindus, is wrong, because Ujjain also formed a part of the kingdom of Malwa. (See Tdrikh-i-Haqqi Cambridge MS. p. 109, Tarikh-i-Ndsir Shdhi I.O. MS. fol. 24b.)

9c. Now called Milauli, situated at a distance of about 15 miles to the north of Sakit in the Etah district. (See Neave: Etah, map of the district.)

None of the authorities has given the exact date of BuhluTs death which probably occurred about a week earlier than Sikandar's accession (July 16, 1489). See Tdrikh-i-Alfi B.M. MS. fol. 496b., Khulasat-ut-Twarikh, Cambridge MS. fol. 153a.

9d. For his association with holy men and his punctuality in saying prayers, see Siyar-ul-Arifin I.O. MS. fols. 235-6; Gulzar-i-Abrar, Lindesiana MS. fol. 132a, A.S.B. Calcutta MS. fol. 67b. Ma'asir-i-Rahimi, I, 438.

According to Majdmi (-ul-Akhbdr, (I.O. MS. fol. 349a), the people of India regarded Buhlulas a saint and attributed to him even miraculous deeds. This, however, appears to be an exaggeration.

9e. She was the daughter of 'Alam Shah, the Sayyid (vide note 6, above. See Tdrikh-i-Mushtaqi, B.M. MS. fol. 7a.

The Mirdt-i-J ahdn Numd (I.O. MS. fol. 295b) gives her name as Bibl Khuban. In CHI III (231, 255) it is, however, mentioned as Jallla which has probably been obtained by changing the Arabic adject ; .ve, Halila, (meaning, "a lawful wife") into proper noun by the addition of a dot.

9f. See 'Wdqi%t-i-Mushtaqi B.M. MS. p. 9.

10. An area roughly extending from Swat and Bajaur to Sewi (Bhakkar) and from Hasan Abdal to Kabul and Qandahar. See Firishta, Text I, p. 30.

10a . Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shdhi B.M. MS. fol. 3b.

10b. They were Rajputs and were descended from Mainpuri Chauhans. According to Abu-'l Fazl, they were found mainly in the Aldimau, Chandah and Gadwarah mahals of the Jaunpur Sarkar and also in the Jalalpur, Balkhar and Kathot mahals of the Manikpur Sarkar. See Ain, I, Text pp. 426-29.

10c. Waqi c dt-i-Mushtaqi B.M. MS. p. 20 and Tarikh-i-Dd'udi S.O.A.S. MS. p. 38.

The TA, Tdrikh-i-Khan-Jahdni and some other authorities have omitted Juga's name and have mentioned only the Bachgotis. This has led Hodivala, who has not consulted Mushtaqi, to accuse 'Abdullah of misreading Bajkoti in the TA and changing it into Jaggu or Jugga. Hodivala is wrong in remarking that Jugga's name has not been mentioned by any earlier authority, nor is it possible to agree with him that 'Abdullah has borrowed the account of this episode from the TA. The writer has, on the other hand, found that 'Abdullah has drawn upon Mushtaqi more frequently than on any other source.

lOd. Abu-'l Fazl has located it in the Rohtas Sarkar of the province of Bihar (Ain. I, 423). In the Wdqi'dt-i-Mushtaqi (MS. p. 21) it is written as Chaund which helps in identifying it further as modern Chainpur in the Shahabad district. After the fall of Jaund (see below), Juga presumably fled to an unknown destination, for, no more was heard of him.

11. He lost confidence in Bahjat Khan, the governor of ChanderT, who had originally invited him. See Hasan Khaki: Muntakhab-ut-Twarikh, Eton College MS. fol. 142b and Majami'-ul-Akhbar I.O- MS- fol. 342b.

12. In the Mirzapur district U.P.

13. Opposite Allahabad on the southern bank of the Ganga.

13a. It was situated close to the eastern frontiers of Bhatgorha, but lay actually inside the territory of Malwa. (See M a'dsir-i-Mahmud Shahl , Tubingen MS. fol. 85a.)

14. Sikandar ordered an offending noble to be severely kicked when some of them indulged in open fight before him in the polo (Chaugdn) field at Jaunpur. See Tarikh-i-Khdn-Jahdni, Cambridge MS. fol. 96a and Tdrikh-i-Da'udi S.O.A.S. MS. p. 49.

15. The King's farmans were respectfully received by the governors who met the royal messengers at a distance of about three miles from the city,

and placing the farmans on their heads carried them to the mosque to be read out from the pulpit, if they were meant for public announcement. See Tarikh-i-Mushtdqi B.M. MS. fol. 19a, TA, I 338, Mir>at-ul-‘Alam I.O. MS. fol. 260a.

16. Mubarak Khan Lodi, governor of Jaunpur, who was found guilty of defalcation,

was ordered to refund all the amount due to him. Even though he sought the intervention of powerful nobles, yet it proved of no avail. See TA, I, 321.

16a. See Wdqi‘at-i-Mushtaqi B.M. MS. p. 24; Tarikh-i-Mushtaqi B.M. MS. fols. 14a, 30b; Tdrlkh-i-Da’udA S.O.A.S. MS. p. 37.

17. Such as the Ma‘dan ash-shifa-yi-Sikandar Shdhl which was prepared by the minister Mian Bhuwah.

18. He composed verses in Persian under the pen name of Gul Rukh. See Siyarul-‘Arifin, Lahore, MS. fol. 83. BadaunI: Muntakhab, I, p. 323.

18a. The only extant MS. is to be found in Tagore library, University of Lucknow.

19. Her name was Zlba and she was the daughter of a Hindu goldsmith of Sirhind.

19a. It might be due to his early training and constant association with theologians

and also partly to the bhakti movement.

19b. It is related by the authorities that the stones of idols brought from Nagarkot were given away to butchers to be used as weights. Hodivala, however, considers it to be “a wandering tale of iconoclastic zeal, which appears in varying forms under Mahmud of Ghazna, FIruz Tughluq and Ghias-ud-dln Khaljl of Malwa.” (Studies in Indo-Muslim History, p. 468-9.)

20. The name is also written as Yodhan and Lodhan, due no doubt to the fact that in Persian MSS. it is merely a question of dropping or adding a dot.

21. Salar Mas‘ud GhazI, believed to be a sister's son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, is represented in popular legends as a saint and martyr and a number or miraculous exploits are attributed to him. Mir'at-i-Mas'udi B.M. MS. fols. 17, 86, Safinat-al-Auliya p. 160, Khazinat-al Asfiyd, p. 869.

22. Miniature sepulchres carried in procession annually to commemorate the martyrdom of Husain, grandson of Prophet Muhammad, who fell in the field of Karbala' on 10 Muharram 61 A.H. (October 10, 680).

22a. Tatar Khap Yusuf Khail was governor of the Punjab who revolted during the latter part of Buhlul's reign. Since Buhlul was pre-occupied with the affairs of the eastern part of his kingdom, he wrote to his son, Nizam Khan, at Panipat to display princely courage by subduing that rebel. (Set Tarlkh-i-Mushtaql, BM. MS. fols. 9-il).

22b. He was a descendant of the famous saint, Sayyid Jalal Bukhari (1308-1384) and had settled in Delhi where he died in 1526-27. (See Am, Text, II, 222 and Khazinat-ul-Asfiyd p. 752.)

22c. The disease was superstitiously believed to have been inflicted on him in consequence of some disrespectful remarks which he made in relation to HajI ‘Abdul Wahhab. (See Wdqi‘dt-i-Mushtdqi B.M. MS. p. 53 and Tartkh-iDd'udi S.O.A.S. MS. pp. 65-6.

22d. The arrangement was carried out at the behest of some self-seeking nobles. It is not possible to accept the view of some authorities that Sikandar himself divided the kingdom between his two sons, for, no one knew better than he, the dangerous consequences of it. See Maydmi‘-al-Akhbdr I.O. MS. fol. 344b. Hasan Khaki: Muntakhab, Eton MS. fol. 79a. Mujmal-i-Mufassal A.S.B. (Calcutta) MS. fol. 180b. Bodleian MS. fol. 144b.

22e. See Tdrikh-i-Haqqi, Cambridge MS. p. 74, Tarikh-i-Khan Jcihanl, Cambridge MS. fol. 115a, Wdqi‘at-i-Mushtdqi MS. p. 81.

22f. See Zubdat-at-Twdrikh (Nur-ul-Haq) Cambridge MS. fol. 60a.

23. He was given Shamsabad in exchange. This chivalrous prince died fighting for Ibrahim at Panipat in A.D. 1526. Babur-ndma, 477.

23a. According to the contemporary writer, MushtaqI, the Lodi army suffered a defeat because one of the powerful Afghan nobels, Mian Husain Farmull, who accompanied it and whom Ibrahim had ordered to be arrested, went over to Rana Sanga. Later, however, when Husain Farmull rejoined the Sultan’s army, Rana Sanga hastily withdrew towards his own capital. See Wdqi e gt-iMushtdqi B.M. MS. p. 124.

24. A different person from A‘zam Humayun SarwanI who was in prison.

24a. The name of the saint given by Nizam-ud-dln, Firishta and a number of other writers is Shaikh Raju Bukhari whom Hidayat Husain (Tdrikh-i’Shdhl , p. 77 n. 1) has identified as Sayyid Sadr-ud-dln Raja Qattal Bukhari, brother of Sayyid Jalal-ud-dln Makhdum-i-Jahanian. This cannot, however, be correct as Shaikh Sadr-ud-dln died in 827 A.H/A.D. 1423, about a century earlier than Ibrahim’s accession. Most probably the name of the saint who tried to avert a suicidal clash among the Afghans was Shaikh Yusuf Qattal who died at Delhi in 933 A.H/A.D. 1527, and whom Nizam-ud-dln and other writers have confused with Shaikh Raju Bukhari on account of the common suffix Qattal (See Akhbar-ul-Akhyar , p. 219).

24b. See Afsana-yi-Shdhdn B.M- MS. fol. 47a. Makhzan-i-Afghani, tr. p. 76

24c. Chanderi was situated at the southern border of the Lodi kingdom. After Husain FarmulTs murder, it was easily captured by Rana Sanga. (See Babur nama, p. 593, Wdqi‘at-i-Mushtdql MS., p. 128).

25. Ibrahim is said to have threatened Daulat Khan with arrest and shown his son some horrible exhibits of dead bodies pointing to the fate of those who dared disobey the Sultan. Tdnkh-i~Shdhi, p. 87.

25a. He was the same son whom Daulat Khan had earlier sent to Ibrahim’s court. His name was Dilavar Khan and he remained steadfastly attached to

Babur who later on conferred on him the title of Khan-i-Khanan. He continued to serve also under Humayun and died as a prisoner of Sher Shah Sur. (See Babur-ndma 457, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Text, p. 42.).

25b. See Mir'dt-i-Sikandarl, tr. 277. Zafar-ul-Wdlih, Arabic text, p. 120.

26. This was his fourth expedition. He had made incursions into the Punjab thrice earlier. He affirms in his Memoirs that, ever since his occupation of Kabul in 1504, his eyes had been set on the recovery of that part of India which his ancestor Timur had conquered. Babur-ndma, 377-82.

27. Sultanpur and Jullundur.

27a. See Babur-ndma 456, Ma'dan-i-Akhbdr-i-A.hmadi I.O. M.S. fol. 34.

28. Ibrahim's army was calculated at 100,000 whereas Babur's army did not exceed one-tenth of it. See Tdrikh-i-Rashidi, Cambridge MS. fol. 221a. Nafdis-ul Ma c dsir B.M.M.S. fol. 26b Ma c d<m-i-Aklibari-Ahmadi I.O.M.S. fol. 37 Baburndma, 456.

28a. See An Arabic work on General History B.M.MS. fol. 289b.

N.B.—(TA in this chapter refers to the Bl edition of the text.)

CHAPTER X

THE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

A. GUJARAT

2 . MUZAFFAR SHAH I (A.D . 1392-1410)

During the reign of FIruz Shah, as mentioned above, Malik Mufarrah, also known as Farhat-ul-Mulk and Rasti Khan, was appointed governor of Gujarat in A.D. 1377, and held that post for ten years. In 1387, Sikandar Khan was sent to replace Farhat-ul-Mulk which provoked the latter to take up arms. Rasti Khan defeated and killed Sikandar Khan, but the central administration had become so lax that no action was taken against him and he was allowed to continue as governor. 1

According to Firishta, Farhat-ul-Mulk aimed at establishing an independent dynasty at Gujarat and, "in order to gain popularity for the furtherance of that object, he encouraged the Hindu religion and thus promoted rather than suppressed, the worship of idols". In 1391, therefore, the orthodox Muslims of Gujarat sent a petition to the Sultan at Delhi for the removal of the tolerant governor. In response to this appeal Sultan Nasir-ud-din Muhammad appointed Zafar Khan, the son of Wajih-ul-Mulk, as governor of Gujarat and conferred on him the title of Muzaffar Khan and presented him with a red canopy which was then exclusively used by the kings.

Farhat adopted a hostile attitude and Muzaffar tried in vain to induce him to come to terms. A battle was fought at Kamboi, situated about 20 miles west of Anahilwara Patan, in which Muzaffar inflicted a crushing defeat on Farhat who was killed (A.D. 1392). Muzaffar then occupied Anahilwara, and Sultan Muhammad sent him a congratulatory letter addressing him as A'zam Hurnayun.

In 1394, after the death of Sultan Muhammad, many Hindu chiefs in Gujarat broke out into rebellion, of which the most serious was led by the

Raja of Idar. Muzaffar, after a protracted siege of Idar, during which he ravaged the surrounding territory, forced the Raja to submit. He then advanced towards Somanatha, but had to return on receipt of the news that, Nasir, the king of Khandesh, had been raiding Nandurbar. Nasir fled at the approach of Muzaffar.

Next year (1395) Muzaffar invaded Somanatha, burnt the temple and broke the idol. He killed many Hindus and left the place after arranging for the erection of a mosque. In 1401, however, news reached him that the Hindus were trying to restore the temple of Somanatha and revive their customary worship. Muzaffar immediately proceeded thither with an army, and the Hindus, defeated after a sharp encounter, retired to the fort of Dip. This fort also fell after a few days, and Muzaffar killed the garrison and had the chief men of the place trampled under the feet of elephants. He also demolished the temples and laid the foundation of a mosque.

While Muzaffar was appointed governor of Gujarat in 1391, his son Tatar Khan, was retained by Sultan Muhammad in Delhi as his wdzlr . Tatar Khan, as noted above, took a prominent part in the intrigues and civil war that followed after the death of Sultan Muhammad (1394) for succession to the throne, but, being outmanoeuvred by Mallu Iqbal, retired to Gujarat, with a view to collect troops and make another attempt on Delhi. But Timur’s invasion intervened, and Tatar’s ambitious project had to be given up for the time being.

During Timur’s invasion, the fugitive Sultan Mahmud sought shelter in Gujarat where Muzaffar received him warmly but “did not accord the treatment and respect that was due to him”, so that the Sultan “becoming hopeless and heart-broken” left for Malwa, as mentioned above.

In A.D. 1403, Tatar urged his father to march on Delhi which, he promised, would be easy to capture. But Muzaffar declined to risk the reality of power which he was enjoying in Gujarat for the doubtful success his son hoped for at Delhi. According to most of the available accounts, Tatar thereupon imprisoned his father and proclaimed himself king under the title Muhammad Shah in A.D. 1403. According to Nizam-ud-dm, however, Muzaffar voluntarily relinquished his power to his son, when he found the latter bent on the invasion of Delhi. Firishta, who records both the versions, writes: “Other historians state, with more probability, that Tatar Khan, taking advantage of the age and infirmities of his father, seized and imprisoned him in the town of Yessavul, since called Ahmudabad.” As Muzaffar had not till then declared himself as king Tatar is regarded as the first king of the dynasty.

Soon after his accession, Tatar proceeded towards Delhi. According to most of the authorities, on the way his uncle Shams Khan, brother of Muzaffar, poisoned him at Sinor in 1404. But again Nizjam-ud-dm gives a different account, according to which Tatar died of excessive drinking; but at the end of the section he

adds cryptically: “It has, however, come to (my) notice in various histories that Shams Khan Dandani gave poison to Muhammad Shah in his wine”. 2 The weight of evidence, therefore, supports the view that Tatar imprisoned his father to gain the throne and was later poisoned by the latter’s brother, Shams Khan.

After the death of Tatar, Shams Khan released Muzaffar from the prison, and he took over the control of the administration without any difficulty. At last in A.D. 1407, at the request of the nobles, Muzaffar declared himself as Sultan Muzaffar Shah, took the insignia of royalty and issued coins in his own name. 3

Soon after his accession, Muzaffar invaded Malwa, entered the capital city Dhar, and imprisoned Sultan Hushang of Malwa. In this Muzaffar was prompted by a desire to avenge the death of his old friend Dilavar Khan, who was said to have been murdered by his son Hushang. Later, Muzaffar restored Hushang to the throne of Malwa, as will be related below.

According to the Muslim historians, Muzaffar subdued the Hindu state of Idar. According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D. 1400, Rana Kshetrasimha of Chitor defeated Ranamalla, the king of Gurjaramandala (i.e. Idar), victor of Dafara Khan, the lord of Pattana. 4 This Dafara Khana has been identified with Zafar Khan, that is Muzaffar Khan who is called by his old name Zafar Khan in some histories.

Muzaffar died in 813 A.H. (A.D. 1410-1411) and was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad, the son of Tatar Khan. According to the Mirdt i-Sikandari, "it was commonly reported and believed" that Ahmad had poisoned his grandfather. According to other historians such as Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, Muzaffar, after a severe illness, abdicated in favour of his grandson and died peacefully a few months later.

2. AHMAD SHAH (A.D. 1411-1443)

Sultan Ahmad enjoyed a prosperous reign of thirty-two-years, the greater part of which was spent in warfare against the Hindu Rajas of Gujarat and Rajputana and the Muslim rulers of Malwa and the Deccan. Soon after his accession Ahmad was faced with a rebellion of his uncles, the eldest of whom, Firuz Khan, had declared himself king. Ahmad took energetic steps to crush the rebellion, and soon the rebel troops began to desert in large numbers and join the royal standard. Ultimately Firuz and his brothers had to surrender to Ahmad, who not only pardoned them but restored them to their former status.

During this rebellion Sultan Hushang of Malwa invaded Gujarat in the hope of reaping advantage from the distracted condition of the country. According to some authorities Ahmad had summoned Hushang to his aid, while others relate that the rebels had invited Hushang. However, after the rebellion was put down Hushang promptly retired to Malwa, but again invaded Gujarat while Ahmad was away from his capital in a campaign against the Raja of Jhalawar. Hushang, however, was again forced to retreat. These, as well as the next invasion of Hushang, will be described in the chapter on Malwa.

During the confusion created by the second invasion of Hushang, a Gujarati noble named Sher Malik rebelled and, being defeated, took shelter with the Hindu king of Girnar. Saurashtra, it may be noted, was under the rule of petty Hindu chieftains who had not yet submitted to the Muslim rule. Ahmad, therefore, took this as an opportunity to invade Girnar. The king of Girnar was defeated in the field, but the hill-fort of Girnar held out against a siege, and ultimately Ahmad had to be satisfied by the promise of a tribute, for at this time trouble arose elsewhere. According to the Mandalika-nripa-charita 5 Ahmad had to retire with a serious loss of war equipments and materials. He seems to have renewed his attack later and succeeded to the extent of forcing the Raja to pay him tribute (A.D. 1414-1415).

The ruler of Khandesh had died in 1399, dividing his territory between his two sons Nasir and Iftikhar or Hasan. In 1417, Naslr with the help of Hushang of Malwa, occupied his brother's territory and imprisoned him before the latter could obtain any help from Ahmad to whom he had appealed. Naslr and the Malwa army then attacked Sultanpur in Gujarat but retired before a relieving force sent by Ahmad. The Gujarat army then besieged Naslr in his fort of Asir, and after some time peace was concluded on Nasir's swearing fealty to Ahmad, and promising to abstain in future from aggression. Ahmad, in return recognized Nasir's claim over the whole of Khandesh, and Iftikhar retired to Gujarat.

Ahmad, like his grandfather, was a bigot and seized every opportunity to demolish Hindu temples. In 1414, he appointed one Taj-ul-Mulk to destroy all temples and to establish Muslim authority throughout Gujarat. According to Firishta, the task was "executed with such diligence that the names of Mawass and Girass (i.e. Hindu zamindars) were hereafter unheard of in the whole kingdom." Next year Ahmad attacked the celebrated city of Sidlipur in north Gujarat where he broke the images in the famous Rudramahalaya temple and converted it into a mosque. These fanatic measures led the

chiefs of Champaner, Madal or Mandalgrah, Nandod and Idar to form a league against Ahmad in 1416, and they obtained support from Sultan Hushang of Malwa who was extremely jealous of Gujarat Sultanate. Hushang advanced with an army as far as Madasa, but ultimately retired without engaging Ahmad, who arrived there by forced marches.

Naslr of Khandesh, who had attacked Nandurbar, was also forced to retire. Ahmad pardoned him on discovering that Naslr was prompted to attack Gujarat by Hushang's son who had also supplied him with troops. The Hindu Rajas were also dispersed. Ahmad then invaded Malwa to punish Hushang and led three expeditions in A.D. 1419, 1420 and 1422. But save that the Gujarat army devastated parts of Malwa, nothing worthy of note was accomplished.

Ahmad led another expedition into Malwa at the end of his reign in A.D. 1438, when he attempted to place on the throne of Malwa prince Mas £ ud, son of Sultan Ghazni Khan of Malwa, who had been murdered by Mahmud Khalji. But after many months of fruitless campaigning he was obliged to retire owing to an outbreak of pestilence in his army.

In 1429, Kanha (Krishna) Raja of Jhalawar, on account of the policy of Ahmad towards the Hindus, sought help from Ahmad Shah BahmanI who dispatched a force against Gujarat. The Raja of Jhalawar, with the help of the BahmanI army, ravaged Nandurbar, whereupon Ahmad sent a strong force against them. In the ensuing battle the Deccan army was completely defeated and fled to Daulatabad. Ahmad Shah BahmanI sent strong reinforcements and was joined by Naslr Khan of Khandesh, but again the Deccan army was defeated. Thus began the conflict between Gujarat and the BahmanI empire, lasting for about two years, the ultimate result of which was that Gujarat annexed Tirana and Mahim.

Of all the Hindu States which were subdued by Ahmad, Idar put up the greatest resistance. In 1426, Ahmad drove the Raja, Rao Punja, out of his capital into the hills. Punja died two years later during a skirmish in the hills, but his sons carried on the struggle. Ultimately, however, they were forced to submit and promised to pay tribute.

In 1432, Ahmad undertook his last great campaign against the Hindu powers. He is said by the Muslim historians to have defeated the ruler of Panagarh, destroyed the town of Nandod, and exacted tributes from the rulers of Dungarpur, Kotah and Bundl. The ruler of Dungarpur at this time was Maharawal Goplnatha or Gajapal. But in an inscription, dated V.S. 1525 (A.D. 1468), it is

claimed that Gopinatha defeated the haughty (madamatta) Sultan of Gujarat and seized his treasure. 6

The Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D. 1460 states that Rana Mokalendra defeated Piroja and Mahammada who have been identified with Firuz Khan of Nagaur and Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, respectively. 7 The Shringi-Rishi inscription of Mokala of A.D. 1428 states: “(It was he, Mokala) from whose presence Piroja Khan a (Firuz Khan) himself had resorted to fleeing, (and) Patasaha

Ahmada, although irresistible in battle. abandoning (his)

.has at present, with face dried up, with hair dishevelled, with

speech obstructed . . . taken refuge in the habitation of a mountain cave in order to save 8 . .. .” The Chitorgarh inscription of Mokala issued in the same year also refers to his victory over Piroja. 9

According to the Muslim historians, Firuz and Ahmad defeated Mokala in A.D. 1433, whereas Mokala’s inscriptions recording his victories are dated A.D. 1428. Either, therefore, the Muslim historians gave wrong dates, or Ahmad led two expeditions against Mewar, in the first of which he was defeated but won the second.

Sultan Ahmad died in A.D. 1443 and was succeeded by his eldest son Mu‘izz-ud-dm Muhammad Shah. Sultan Ahmad is chiefly remembered today as the founder of the city of Ahmadabad where he transferred the capital from Anahilwara at the beginning of his reign.

3. MUHAMMAD SHAH II (A.D. 1443-51)

Muhammad II took up the unfinished task of Ahmad of subduing the Hindu chieftains of Gujarat. He first led a campaign against idar and forced its ruler to submit to his authority. The Raja of Idar, Hari Rai or Bir Rai, is said to have purchased peace by marrying his daughter to Muhammad. Muhammad is then said to have gone and exacted tribute from the Raja of Dungarpur. According to Sir E, Dennison Ross “Muhammad next attacked, at Bagor, Rana Kumbha of Mewar, who fled and took refuge with the Rawal of Dungarpur, the chief of his house, but afterwards appeared before the invader and purchased peace with a heavy indemnity”. This statement has no evidence in its support, and on the available material it is apparent that Muhammad defeated not Kumbha but Ganesa of Dungarpur. 10

In A.D. 1449, Muhammad marched against Champaner, but the Raja, Kanak Das, having obtained help from Malwa, forced him to retreat. On his return journey Muhammad fell seriously ill and died in February 1451. According to some historians he was poisoned by his wife.

4. QUTB-UD-DIN AHMAD SHAH OR AHMAD SHAH II

(A.D. 1451-58)

After the death of Muhammad II his son ascended the throne under the title of Qutb-ud-dln Ahmad Shah. Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, who had advanced up to the frontiers of Gujarat at the invitation of Raja Kanak Das, now invaded the country and advanced up to Broach. 11 Unable to capture this fortress, Mahmud marched towards the capital, but on his way was severely defeated by Qutb-ud-dln and fled, leaving eighty-one elephants and all his baggage.

In 1453, taking advantage of a dispute for succession among the kinsmen of Qutb-ud-dln who held Nagaur, Maharana Kumbha occupied the territory. Shams Khan, the ruler of Nagaur, sought the protection of Qutb-ud-dln, who dispatched an army against the Maharana, but the latter defeated and almost destroyed the Gujarat army. In 1456, therefore, Qutb-ud-dln marched against Kumbhalgarh to avenge his defeat, and though he could not capture the famous fort, it is claimed by the Muslim historians that the Maharana was obliged to purchase peace by the payment of a huge tribute. The same authorities then state, that on his return from Kumbhalgarh, Qutb-ud-din learnt that during his absence Ghiyas-ud-din, the son of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa, had raided Gujarat as far as Surat, but had retired on learning of his return. Later in the same year, however, Mahmud sent a mission to Gujarat proposing a treaty of alliance between the two kingdoms against Chitor. It was decided that the Gujarat army should plunder and ravage such parts of the territories of the Maharana as were contiguous to Gujarat while Mahmud should seize the country of Mewar and Ajmer. Accordingly next year (1457) Qutb-ud-dln again advanced against Kumbhalgarh.

Maharana Kumbha, on learning the approach of the Gujarat army, left Kumbhalgarh and took up a strong position between that place and Chitor.

Here a battle was fought for two days at the end of which the Maharana, according to the Muslim historians, fled to jungle and ultimately concluded peace by paying a huge ransom. Qutb-ud-dln then returned to Gujarat. Within three months Maharana Kumbha attacked Nagaur, but retired on the approach of Qutb-ud-dln with his main army.

Some time later Qutb-ud-din attacked Sirohi which was ruled by a relation of the Maharana. After burning Sirohi and ravaging other towns on his way Qutb-ud-din besieged the famous fort of Kumbhalgarh, while his ally, Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa advanced towards Chitor. Soon Qutb-ud-din found that it was beyond his power to reduce the Kumbhalgarh fort, and advanced towards Chitor but returned to his capital after plundering a few towns around it. Nizam-ud-dln states that "Rana Kumbha sent ambassadors after the Sultan and in great humility and distress prayed to be excused for his offences and the Sultan again drew the pen of forgiveness across his guilt; and sent back the ambassadors pleased and happy."

Thus, according to the Muslim historians, Qutb-ud-din always defeated the Maharana. On the other hand the Rajputs claim that Maharana Kumbha defeated Qutb-ud-din.[12] The Chitor Klrtistambha inscription (part II, verses 16-23) states that the Maharana destroyed the town of Nagapura (Nagaur) and the lofty masiti (mosque) built by Piroja (Firuz Khan), captured many Muslim women, and took possession of the treasures of Shams Khan while fighting in the country of Jangala, and harassed the king of Gujarat. Verse 172 of the same inscription states: "Kumbha, the lord of the earth, (who is like) the sage Agastya (one born in a pitcher) to the multitude of the forest of all the elephants (which were) arrayed or not arrayed (but were) submerged in the ocean in the form of the proud Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa; (that Kumbha) is shining, this king who deserves to be praised as a preceptor initiating the kings in the commencement of battle".[13]

It is apparent that the verses 16-23 relate the first invasion of Qutb-ud-din, and verse 172 refers to the joint expedition sent by Gujarat and Malwa. The

Rajput version seems nearer the truth, as otherwise it is difficult to explain as to why after his first victorious campaign against the Maharana, Qutb-ud-din should have concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Malwa, his hereditary enemy, particularly when the latter had raided his kingdom during his absence.

5. DAUD KHAN AND MAHMUD BEGARHA (A.D. 1458-1511)

Qutb-ud-din died in 1458, and after his death the nobles raised his uncle Baud Khan to the throne. However, within the short period of seven or twenty-seven days, Baud proved himself to be such an imbecile that the nobles deposed him and set on the throne Fath Khan, son of Muhammad II (1458). Fath Khan, on his accession, adopted the title of Abu-'l Fath Mahmud and is famous in history as Mahmud Begarha.

Soon after his accession Mahmud was faced with a conspiracy which aimed at removing him and placing his younger brother on the throne. With great presence of mind he cleverly frustrated the conspiracy.

In A.D. 1461, Mahmud Khaljl of Malwa invaded the dominions of the infant Bahmani king, Nizam Shah, and an appeal was sent to Mahmud Begarha for help. Mahmud Begarha marched into Khandesh and cut off the retreat of the Malwa army, which was compelled to retire through Berar and suffered terribly. Next year Mahmud Khaljl of Malwa again invaded the Deccan, but retreated on hearing that Mahmud Begarha was marching against him. Mahmud Begarha then wrote to Mahmud Khaljl that it was unfair to molest a child, that is Nizam Shah, and that if he ever attacked the latter's dominion, Malwa would be overrun by the Gujarat army. The threat was effective in preventing further hostilities between Malwa and the Bahmani kingdom.

In 1466 Mahmud invaded the territory of king Mandalika, usually known as the Chudasama king of Girnar. But from the recently discovered Mandalika-nripa-charita it is learnt that Mandalika belonged to the Yadava race. The same work informs us that Mandalika tried his best to be on good terms with Mahmud, and once at Mahmud's behest attacked and killed one king Duda whose adopted daughter he (Mandalika) had married. 14 Still in 1467, Mahmud invaded Mandalika's territory, defeated his army and sacked a city. Mandalika then sued for peace which he obtained by agreeing to pay tribute. In the following year Mahmud forbade Mandalika the use of royal insignias which the unfortunate prince immediately obeyed. Yet in 1469 Mahmud again attacked Junagarh. Mandalika appealed to Mahmud, pointing out that he had remitted tribute regularly and had been an obedient vassal. Mahmud replied that he had not come for money but for the propagation of Islam in Saurashtra, and offered Mandalika the choice between death and Islam. Mandalika at first resisted, but after the fall of his last retreat, the fort of Girnar, he surrendered and accepted Islam. Mandalika's kingdom was incorporated in the dominions of Gujarat. Mahmud stayed at Junagarh for some time, improved the defences of the city and renamed it Mustafabad, which henceforth became one of his capitals, specially intended for the propagation of Islam in this region.

News now reached Mahmud that while he had been besieging Girnar, Jayasbhha, the son of the Raja of Champaner, had been ravaging the territory between Champaner, and Ahmadabad. Mahmud immediately sent an officer to protect the region and intended to follow with a view to conquer Champaner. But complaints came from southern Sind that the Muslims were being persecuted by the Hindus. Mahmud therefore crossed the Rann of Cutch and, entering the region now known as the Thar and Parkar districts,

Was confronted with an army of 24,000 horse which was composed of Sumras, Sodas and Kalhoras. The leader of this army informed Mahmud that "they were Muslims but knew little of their faith or its rules, and were wont to intermarry with and live as Hindus. He invited those, who would, to enter his service and to return with him to Gujarat, and many accepted his invitation and received grants of land in Sorath, where teachers were appointed to instruct them in the faith of Islam."

In A.D. 1472, Mahmud again marched into Sind to aid his

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maternal grandfather Jam Nanda against rebels. This campaign, in which he was entirely successful, will be described later in the chapter on Sind.

About this time a learned poet and merchant named Mahmud Samarqandi had been driven ashore to Dvaraka, the holy city of the Hindus associated with Sri Krishna. The Hindus of Dvaraka rob

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bed Samarqandi of all his goods whereupon he appealed in person to Mahmud for redress. So Mahmud marched to Dvaraka which was evacuated by its king, Bhima, who took refuge in the island fortress of Bet Shankhodhar. Mahmud, after destroying the temple at Dvaraka and plundering the city, proceeded towards Bet Shankhodhar through a dense forest where his army was put to great difficulties by the lions and poisonous snakes. However, Mahmud won a sea-fight and the Hindus had to surrender the fortress for lack of provisions. The place was thoroughly pillaged, and Bhima was sent to Ahmadabad where he was impaled.

In 1480, the officers, tired of Mahmud’s ceaseless energy, conspired to dethrone him and put his son on the throne. Mahmud learnt of this conspiracy at Mustiafabad, where he spent a part of each year, and decided to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. However, the courtiers, ashamed of their conduct, then begged Mahmud to change his decision and, after some parleys, it was decided that Mahmud should conquer Champaner which he had raided in 1474 and collect enough money to defray his expenses for the voyage to Mecca. But Champaner was not attacked till A.D. 1482, when Malik Sudha, a Gujarati officer, plundered and laid it waste nearly to the walls of the fortress, slaying the inhabitants. As he was returning, Jayasimha,[15] the king of Champaner, attacked and slew him, recovered all his plundered booty, took two elephants, and sacked and destroyed Rasulabad where Malik Sudha had been the governor. Mahmud, on hearing of this defeat decided to attack Champaner and started towards it with his army on December 4, 1482.

After defeating the Champaner army Mahmud captured the town and besieged Pavagarh, the famous hill-fortress above Champaner, where the king had taken refuge. Mahmud plundered the whole country and, refusing repeated offers of submission by Raja Jayasimha, captured Pavagarh after a siege of twenty months (November, 1484). The women committed janhar and most of the men fell fighting, but the unfortunate king of Champaner and his minister were wounded and captured. According to Firishta, Mahmud asked the wounded Raja as to "what could induce him to hold out so long, before so large a force. The Raja replied with undaunted firmness: T hold this territory by hereditary right, and being descended from a line of noble ancestors, have been taught to respect that name which they handed down to me. I determined, therefore, not to act in a way so as to disgrace my family.' Mahmud, admiring this spirited and manly conduct, ordered every attention to be paid to the Raja's wants and comforts." After the Raja's wounds had healed, Mahmud tried to persuade him and his minister to embrace Islam. But the noble warriors were steadfast in their refusal, preferring death to abjuring their faith. At the end of five months Mahmud ordered them to be put to death. Jayasirhha's son accepted Islam, and in the next reign became the Amir of Idar receiving the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk.

With the conquest of Champaner, which Mahmud renamed Muhammadabad, the kingdom of Gujarat reached its extreme limits till the conquest of Malwa. It seems that after the conquest of Champaner, Mahmud received the sobriquet of Begarha, that is the conqueror of two forts, Girnar and Champaner, on the opposite sides of his kingdom.

During the remaining twenty-five years of his reign (A.D. 14851511), Mahmud was engaged in several military operations. Of these one of the most important was directed against Bahadur Gilam, a noble of the Bahmani empire, who seized the whole of Konkan and not only committed various acts of piracy off the Gujarat coast for several years (1491-1494), but actually carried on depredations as far as Cambay and seized the island of Mahim. Mahmud first attempted to send an army against Gilam, which had to return without fulfilling its task, as it was found that in order to attack Gilam the Gujarat army would have to invade the Deccan. Mahmud, therefore, wrote to the Bahmani king reminding him of the claims which Gujarat had on the gratitude of his house and requesting Mahmud Shah Bahmani to suppress the rebel. The Bahmani king in response to this sent an army against GllanI, but it was not till 1494 that GllanI was defeated and slain and full reparations were made to Gujarat.

But very soon Gujarat had to face a strong naval power namely, the Portuguese. By the discovery of the direct sea route they had been able to strike a blow against the lucrative trade which passed through Egypt and Red Sea to India. The port of Cambay was seriously affected, as the Portuguese were diverting the trade to Cochin where they had erected a fort in 1506. Thus the Portuguese incurred the hostility of all the Muslim powers on the Arabian Sea who now determined to oust them. So, after a protracted negotiation, an Egyptian fleet was equipped at Suez and sent to India under the command of Amir Husain to join the Gujarat navy under the Turkish admiral, Malik Ayaz.

The Portuguese admiral at this time in India was Francesco d’ Almeida. He sent his gallant son, Don Lorenzo, in 1508 to explore the coast as far north as Gujarat. While Lorenzo was lying with a small squadron in the shelter of the harbour of Chaul near Bombay, news reached him that the Egyptian fleet had reached Diu and had been joined by Malik Ayaz. The combined fleet encountered Lorenzo in the harbour off Chaul in January 1508. After a fierce engagement the Portuguese were defeated and Lorenzo lost his life.

To avenge this defeat and his son’s death, d’ Almeida appeared the following year with a stronger force, and a decisive action was fought near the island of Diu in which the combined Muslim navy suffered a disastrous defeat. Mahmud then attempted to restore peaceful relations with the Portuguese and sent an envoy for this purpose in September 1510. But presumably the Portuguese demanded some proof of Mahmud’s peaceful intentions, so when on November 25, 1510, the Portuguese captured Goa from the ‘Adil Shah! Sultans of Bljapur, Mahmud forthwith ended his alliance with Egypt and granted permission to the commander of the Egyptian fleet to return. He also released all the Portuguese prisoners captured at Chaul.

In 1510, an embassy arrived from Ibrahim Lodi to congratulate him on his success at Khandesh, where Mahmud had firmly established his suzerainty by a series of wars from 1500, as will be related later. In 1511, a mission from Shah Isma‘il I Safavi of Persia came, but it is said that Mahmud, who was a bigoted Sunni, refused to receive the Persian ambassador. He was, however, ill when the Persian mission arrived, and died shortly after on November 23, 1511.

GUJARAT

Mahmud is usually regarded as the greatest Sultan of Gujarat. Ascending the throne at a very early age, he distinguished himself as much by his astute statesmanship as by his military skill. He was, however, a bigot like his predecessors and persecuted the Hindus. Though he gained great successes against unimportant and scattered Hindu chiefs, he signally failed against the Portuguese and did not realize the menace the latter were to be to his descendants.

Mahmud presented a striking appearance with a flowing beard that reached his waist, and his moustache was so long that he tied it over his head, which, according to some authorities gave rise to the sobriquet Begarha. To satisfy his proverbially voracious appetite, he used to eat daily between ten to fifteen seers of food and, at night, placed another two pounds of rice on either side of his bed so that he might find something to eat on whichever side he awoke from sleep. For breakfast he took a cup of honey, a cup of butter, and from 100 to 150 plantains.

6. MUZAFFAR SHAH II (A.D . 1511-26)

Mahmud was succeeded by his son Khalil Khan who adopted the title of Muzaffar Shah II. Soon after his accession, Muzaffar promised to interfere in the affairs of Malwa to install on the throne the fugitive prince Sahib Khan, the elder brother of the reigning Malwa king Mahmud II. But soon Sahib left Gujarat as he was implicated in a scandal in which the Persian ambassador was involved, and his brother Mahmud II appealed to Muzaffar for help against his domineering Hindu officers.

While Muzaffar was marching towards Malwa, news reached him that Bhlmasimha of idar had raided the whole country east of the Sabarmati river and had defeated a Gujarat contingent. Muzaffar therefore marched against Idar, defeated and drove Bhlmasimha to the hills and reached his capital. Later Bhima purchased peace by paying a heavy indemnity. In A.D.

1515 Bhlmasimha died and was succeeded by his son BharmaV 6 Bhlmasimha had usurped the throne of his nephew Raimal who now went to Rana Sanga of Mewar and appealed for help. Sanga thereupon sent his army to Idar and set up Raimal on the throne. Muzaffar then sent an army under Nizam-ul-Mulk which expelled Raimal and restored Bharmal but, while pursuing the defeated army in the hills, the Gujarat army suffered a disastrous defeat. Soon after Maharana Sanga attacked Idar and restored Raimal. 17

According to the Mimt-i-Sikandafi, next year Muzaffar sent an expedition against Rawal Udayasimha of Vagada to chastise him for having helped Maharana Sanga. The Gujarat army, according to the same authority, won splendid victories in Dungarpur and Banswara.

During this time the Hindus under MedinI Rai had firmly taken the administration of Malwa under their control, and Sultan Mahmud II, unable to free himself from their dominance, secretly left Malwa and arrived at Gujarat. Muzaffar received him cordially and promised him help. Medini Rai went to Chitor to bring aid from Maharana Sahga, but during his absence, the Gujarat army under Muzaffar captured Mandu and restored Mahmud on the throne.

According to the Muslim sources, Maharana Sahga and Medini Rai, terror-struck at the news of the fall of Mandu, turned and fled. But according to the Rajput sources the Maharana, who had promised to march to the frontier of Malwa and to see that no harm was done to Medini Rai, decided after the fall of Mandu that nothing further could be done and returned to Chitor with Medini Rai. He, however, bestowed on Medini Rai, who later fought against Babur, several pargands including Gagron and Chanderl. 18

In A.D. 1519, Maharana Sahga inflicted a crushing defeat upon Mahmud II of Malwa and a Gujarat contingent of 10,000 horse and took the former captive. On hearing this, Muzaffar sent reinforcements to Malwa, but their service was not required, for the great Maharana had generously restored Mahmud to the throne of Malwa.

Mubariz-ul-Mulk, who was sent by Muzaffar to relieve the Gujarat army at Idar, had once spoken very disparagingly of the Maharana which was reported to the latter. It is said that to avenge this insult the Maharana marched on Idar and occupied it, the Muslim army having fled to Ahmadnagar. The Rajput army then advanced upon Ahmadnagar, captured the city after a stiff fight, sacked it, and carried away its inhabitants as prisoners. 19 The Maharana then proceeded further and captured Vadnagar, but the citizens being mostly Brahmins, that city was spared. From there the Maharana led his army on to Visalnagar, defeated the garrison, and plundered the town, after which he returned to Mewar.

To avenge this defeat, Muzaffar next year raised a huge army and sent it under Malik Ayaz to invade Mewar. Malik Ayaz, joined by the ungrateful Mahmud II of Malwa, besieged Mandasor. As this place was included within the domains of the Maharana, he also arrived with his army. Some time later the siege was raised and the Muslim armies retired to their respective capitals.

It has been held on the basis of Muslim sources that Maharana Sanga “would not venture within twenty miles of the Muslim camp, and sent agents to Malik Ayaz offering to pay tribute to Muzaffar II if he would raise the siege, but his prayers were unheeded.’’ Ultimately, according to the same authority, due to the apprehension on the part of Malik Ayaz, lest one of his lieutenants should gain the credit for victory, “he made peace with the Maharana on his promising to pay tribute, to place a son at Muzaffar’s court as a hostage, to wait in person on the king, and to be obedient to his orders/’ But “Muzaffar was so deeply disappointed by this termination of a promising campaign that he would not see Malik Ayaz, and sent him straight back to Sorath.” 20 The Rajput sources, on the other hand, claim that the joint Muslim army retreated out of fear. 21 As Maharana Sanga was strong enough to face Babur within about five years of this incident, the version of the Muslim historians seems to be fanciful. Moreover, the Rajput version explains adequately the disgrace of Malik Ayaz. It may also be noted, that Bahadur, the son of Muzaffar, took refuge in Chitor when he fled from Gujarat.

The rest of Muzaffar’s reign was uneventful. In 1524 his second son Bahadur demanded equal allowance with his eldest brother Sikandar, the heir-designate. As this was not conceded Bahadur fled from Gujarat and sought refuge at Chitor where he was hospitably received. Later he went to Delhi and was most probably present at the battle of Panipat (A.D. 1526).

Muzaffar died on April 5, 1526, and was succeeded by his eldest son Sikandar.

B. KHANDESH

The principality of Khandesh was established by one Malik Raja, the son of Khan Jahan Faruqi, a nobleman who flourished in the time of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl and Muhammad Tughluq. As Malik Raja claimed descent from Caliph ‘Umar Faruq, the dynasty is known as Faruqi. Malik Raja had in his youth attracted the notice of Firuz Tughluq during a chase where he was able to supply the hungry Sultan with some food. As a reward the grateful monarch conferred on Malik Raja the districts of Thalner and Kuronde situated on the borders of the Deccan. 1

Malik Raja took possession of Thalner in A.D. 1370 and soon after forced the Hindu king of Baglana to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan of Delhi. Firuz Tughluq was so pleased with the young officer that he honoured him with the title of Sipah Salar of Khandesh and raised him to the rank of a commander of three thousand horse. Within a few years the enterprising Sipah Salar was able to muster twelve thousand horse and raise contributions from neighbouring Hindu kings.

After the death of Firuz Tughluq, Malik Raja seems to have declared his independence, and in order to strengthen his position, entered into a matrimonial alliance with Malwa, his son Nasir Khan being married to the daughter of Sultan Dilavar Shah of Malwa. Soon after, Malik Raja, relying on the support of Dilavar, invaded Gujarat, but was forced to retreat and seek refuge in the fort of Thalner where he was closely besieged by Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat. Later, however, he was able to conclude peace with Muzaffar.

The rest of his life Malik Raja spent in developing his kingdom. He became a disciple of saint Zain-ud-din of Daulatabad from whom he received the “garb of desire and assent”, which became an insignia of the chiefs of Khandesh. Shortly before his death which took place in A.D. 1399 he nominated his elder son Nasir Khan as his successor and gave him the robe, but bestowed on his younger son, Iftikhar, 2 the fort and district of Thalner.

Nasir Khan began his reign by treacherously capturing the strong fortress of Asir from its Hindu chieftain, for which he was warmly congratulated by the saint Zain-ud-din who came up to the eastern bank of the Tapti to see Nasir. As the saint refused to cross the river, a city was built there called Zainabad, while on the western bank, where Nasir was camped, was constructed the more famous city of Burhanpur, named after another saint, Shaikh Burhan-ud-din.

In 1417, Nasir was able to secure help from his brother-in-law, Sultan Hushang of Malwa, for an attack upon Thalner, his brother’s domain. Iftikhar remonstrated with his brother and then sought in vain the help of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. Soon the fort of Thalner fell, and Nasir imprisoned Iftikhar. The combined Malwa and Khandesh army then invaded Gujarat and invested the fort of Sultanpur. This forced Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat to take prompt action. He collected a considerable army and marched south, which forced the Malwa general to flee with his contingent, and Nasir to retire to the fort of Thalner. Soon Nasir was reduced to such a state that he had to conclude peace, which was granted to him on his acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sultan of Gujarat, who bestowed on him the title of Khan, the white canopy and scarlet pavillion. As the descendants of Nasir always called themselves Khan, the country came to be known as Khandesh (country of the Khans).

A few years later Nasir formed a matrimonial alliance with Ahmad Shah Bahmani by marrying his daughter to latter’s son ‘Alaud-din. Thus when, in 1429, Kanha (Krishna), the king of Jhalawar, fled from Gujarat, as mentioned above, and arrived at Asir seeking help, Nasir, afraid of Gujarat’s power, sent Kanha with a letter to the Bahmani king. Ahmad Shah Bahmani immediately took up Kanha s cause and helped him with a small force which ravaged Nandurbar, but soon after was severely defeated by the Gujarat army. To retrieve his honour, Ahmad Shah Bahmani sent a larger force under the command of his son ‘Ala-ud-din who was joined by his father-in-law, Nasir. The allied army then marched on to Gujarat, but again suffered a defeat. The war between the Bahmanis and Gujarat continued for some time after this, but Nasir took no further part in their quarrel.

In 1436, Nasir received complaints from his daughter that she was being ill treated by her husband ‘Ala-ud-din, now the Bahmani king. Nasir thereupon suspended all friendly relations with the Deccan kingdom, and next year attacked it at the instance of the king of Gujarat. He first entered Berar, and exploiting the differences that existed amongst the Deccani nobles, gained some notable successes and had the khutba read in his own name. But soon after he had to retire precipitately in face of a large Bahmani army under Malik-ut-Tujjar. Nasir was pursued to Burhanpur, which was sacked by the Deccan army, and ultimately had to take refuge in his frontier fortress, Laling, and appealed to Gujarat and Malwa for help. But Malik-ut-Tujjar, determined to attack him before any outside help could arrive, pushed on by forced marches and reached Laling with only about three thousand men. Nasir, who had only about two thousand men with him, immediately attacked Malik-utTujjar, but after a severe action was forced to retreat. He died a few days later (A.D. 1437). In spite of this reverse, Nasir Khan had been able to secure the position of his house and kingdom. He had wisely acknowledged the supremacy of Gujarat which saved his successors on several occasions.

Nasir was succeeded by his son Miran ‘Adil Khan who sought the aid of Gujarat and Malwa. Shortly after a Gujarat army, arriving at Sultanpur, compelled Malik-ut-Tujjar to raise the siege of Laling and retire to Deccan. After this, Miran ‘Adil Khan reigned for about three years and was most probably assassinated in A.D. 1441. He was succeeded by his son Miran Mubarak who reigned peacefully for sixteen years except for two campaigns against Baglana mentioned below, (p. 178). After his death in A.D. 1457, his eldest son ‘Adil Khan II came to the throne, and under him Khandesh attained greater prosperity than ever before.

‘Adil Khan forced the Rajas of Gondwana and Garha-Mandla to acknowledge fealty to him and freed his country from the depredations of the Kolis and Bhlls. He also undertook considerable building activities, constructed the citadel of Burhanpur, and considerably strengthened the fortifications of Aslr. It was in consequence of the great strength which he had acquired that he assumed the title of Shdh-i-Jharkand (King of the Forest) 3 and, contrary to the practice of his ancestors, not only withheld the annual tribute to the king of Gujarat, but openly declared that he owed no allegiance to that monarch. As a result Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat marched into Khandesh with his army and forced ‘Adil to pay the arrears of tribute (A.D. 1498). Thereafter, till his death, five years later (April 8, 1503), 4 ‘Adil maintained friendly relations with Gujarat.

‘Adil Khan died without any male issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother, Daud. Daud fell completely under the control of two brothers, Husain ‘All and Yar ‘All, and appointed the former as the wdzir with the title Hisam-ud-dln. At the instigation of Hisam-ud-dln, Daud declared his intention of attacking Ahmadnagar, whereupon Ahmad Nizam Shah invaded Khandesh. Daud then retired into the fort of Aslr and solicited help from Sultan Nasir-ud-din of Malwa. Naslr-ud-dm sent him sufficient help to induce the Nizam Shah! army to leave Khandesh, but Daud had to pay its price by having the khutba to be read in the name of Nasirud-dln. His inglorious reign came to an end with his death in A.D. 1510. His son Ghazni Khan succeeded him but after two days was poisoned by Hisam-ud-dm.

As Ghazni Khan had no near male relations, some of the nobles selected one ‘Alam Khan, a scion of the Faruqi dynasty then residing at Ahmadnagar, as the king of Khandesh. ‘Alam Khan was backed by Ahmad Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and ‘Imad-ud-Mulk of Berar. But ‘Adil, son of Hasan and grandson of Nasir Khan, also advanced his claim to the throne and was supported by his maternal grandfather Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat. ‘Alam received some help from Ahmadnagar and Berar but the Gujarat army was too powerful for him, so that he fled to Ahmadnagar. Mahmud thereupon placed ‘Adil on the throne of Khandesh with the title of A‘zam Humayun. 6

‘Adil Khan III had some trouble with his nobles. Early in his reign he was faced with the disaffection of Hisam-ud-dln, one of the most powerful nobles. ‘Adil Khan had him murdered by some assailants, but some time later he found that the two Gujarati officers, whom he had left in charge of the fort of Aslr, had been conspiring

with Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and the latter had actually arrived on the frontiers of Khandesh with ‘Alam Khan.

‘Adil Khan immediately secured adequate help from his fatherin-law, Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat, and Ahmad Nizam Shah retreated.

In 1517, ‘Adil Khan accompanied his father-in-law Muzaffar Shah to Malwa and distinguished himself in that campaign. The rest of his reign is uneventful. He died in 1520 and was succeeded by his son MIran Muhammad 6 whose mother was the daughter of Muzaffar Shah and sister of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

C. MALWA

I. THE GHuRi KINGS (A.D. 1401-35)

The Sultanate of Malwa was established by Dilavar Khan Ghuri, of whose early history little is known. It appears that he was appointed governor of Malwa some time before A.D. 1390, either by Firuz Shah or his successor, and managed to establish his authority over the province. During Timur’s invasion of India, Sultan Mahmud Tughluq first sought shelter with Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat, but not being received in the manner which the fugitive Sultan thought was his due, he left Gujarat and went to Malwa where Dilavar received him with all marks of honour due to a sovereign. This disgusted Dilavar’s son Alp Khan, who retired to Mandu and spent there the three years that Sultan Mahmud spent at Malwa. During this period Alp Khan laid the foundations of the fort of Mandu which later became one of the strongest forts in Malwa.

Sultan Mahmud Tughluq returned to Delhi in A.D. 1401, after the departure of Timur, and shortly after Dilavar, at the instance of his son Alp Khan, declared independence and assumed the paraphernalia of royalty. 1

Dilavar Khan died in A.D. 1405, 2 and was succeeded by his son Alp Khan who assumed the title of Hushang Shah. There was a rumour that Hushang had poisoned his father, and Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat took this up as a pretext for launching an attack on Malwa. Hushang resisted bravely but was defeated and taken prisoner. Muzaffar Shah then left his (Muzaffar's) brother Nusrat Khan as governor of Malwa and left for Gujarat taking Hushang away with him as a prisoner.

Nusrat Khan's rule, however, was so oppressive, that soon a rebellion broke out and he was obliged to leave Malwa. Hushang thereupon petitioned Muzaffar Shah to send him to Malwa, which he promised to subjugate on behalf of Muzaffar. Muzaffar then sent

to Malwa an army under his grandson Ahmad Khan to restore Hushang.

Ahmad easily overcame all opposition, and after occupying Dhar, then the capital of Malwa, restored Hushang on his throne and left for Gujarat. Some rebels, however, still held out at Mandu under their leader Musa Khan. But the rebellion seems to have served its purpose with the return of Hushang, and soon his cousin Malik Mughis Khalji came out of Mandu and joined him. This disheartened Musa Khan who shortly after surrendered. Hushang then transferred the capital to Mandu and appointed Malik Mughis as his prime minister.

In A.D. 1410-11 Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat died and was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad Shah, who was faced with a rebellion of his uncle. Hushang, as related above, sided with the rebels, but before he could join them, Ahmad had overawed his uncle with a show of force, and Hushang returned to Malwa without having accomplished anything.

As Nizam-ud-dm says, "the sweats of shame and repentance had not yet dried up on the forehead of Hushang, when he again attempted the same kind of nefarious deed," that is, invaded Gujarat. Ahmad was away in an expedition against the Hindu king of Jhalawar, but the news of Hushang's invasion forced him to return immediately and Hushang, receiving no help from the king of Jhalawar, returned to his kingdom.

But soon after his return he was invited by a confederacy of Hindu kings of Champaner, Nandod, and Idar to invade Gujarat. The Hindu chieftains of Gujarat, oppressed by the bigoted Ahmad, also promised help, particularly to lead him into Gujarat secretly by an unfrequented road. The plan, however, miscarried; Ahmad came to learn of the invasion and took energetic measures to oppose Hushang, who once more returned disappointed to Malwa. He again raided Gujarat unsuccessfully in 1417 in alliance with his brother-inlaw, Naslr Khan of Khandesh.

Hushang appointed Mahmud Khan, the son of Malik Mughis Khalji, as the partner of the latter in the administration of the government. This Mahmud Khan, as we shall see later, supplanted Hfishang's dynasty.

In A.D. 1421, Hushang is said to have gone to Orissa, disguised as a horse-dealer with only a retinue of one thousand men. He actually brought some fine horses of a type which the king of Orissa, Bhanudeva IV, prized very highly. As Bhanudeva came to inspect the horses, Hushang captured him and forced him to give him

seventy-five elephants. As a measure of further precaution, Hushang held captive the king of Orissa till he reached the border of his country.

It was possibly during the return from this raid, that Hushang was severely beaten by Allada, the Reddi king of Rajahmundry. Allada's court-poet Kommana declares in the Sivavildsam that he (Allada) defeated the Sultan of Dhara in battle and caused his horses to be plundered. 3

Taking advantage of Hushang's absence, Ahmad Shah of Gujarat invaded Malwa (A.D. 1422) and besieged Mandu. The rains, however, forced Ahmad to retire to Ujjain so that on his return Hushang was able to slip into his capital. Ahmad reopened his siege, but finding that success was not possible, returned to Sarangpur. Hushang also marched there, and for a period of about two and a half months the two armies faced each other without engaging in a general action. The advantage was with the Malwa army, and at last Ahmad began his retreat on March 17, 1422, and reached Ahmadabad on the following May 15.

The same year Hushang captured the town of Gagraun 33 whence he proceeded to Gwalior and besieged the fort. On receipt of this news, Mubarak Shah, the Sayyid king of Delhi, marched on Gwalior to relieve its Hindu chieftain, which forced Hushang to raise the siege. According to Yahya bin Ahmad, he was worsted in some desultory fighting near the Chambal and ultimately extricated himself out of a difficult situation by paying a tribute to Mubarak Shah. 4

In 1428, Ahmad Shah BahmanI attacked the Hindu king ©f Kherla, 4a who appealed to Hushang for help. Hushang responded with alacrity, and Ahmad Shah left Kherla on learning of the approach of Hushang's army. But Hushang, at the instance of the king of Kherla, pursued the retreating army for three days after which period the BahmanI army turned round on him. In the action that followed, Hushang suffered a disastrous defeat and barely managed to escape. His wife was taken prisoner, but later returned to him by Ahmad Shah.

In 1431, Hushang advanced to conquer Kalpl. But when he arrived near the place, news was brought to him that Sultan Ibrahim Sharql was also coming with large army to conquer Kalpl. Soon the two armies faced each other and a battle seemed imminent, when Ibrahim Shah retired to Jaunpur on receipt of the news that Mubarak Shah was marching on Jaunpur. Hushang thereupon captured Kalpl without any opposition, and returned to his capital after appointing Qadir Khan as governor of the place.

On his way he came to learn from his officials that the Hindus who lived near the Jatba hill had raveged some towns and villages and had taken shelter near the reservoir of Bhlm. From the description left by Nizam-ud-din, it appears that this was the celebrated Bhojasagara built by the Paramara Emperor. 5 Hushang broke the dam of this huge lake which flooded the whole locality, and this probably forced the people to surrender to him, though the king of Jatba managed to escape.

Shortly after Hushang died (July 6, 1435) and was succeeded by his son Ghazni Khan under the name of Muhammad Shah. Though Ghazni had been nominated as the heir-apparent by his father, a number of nobles espoused the cause of his younger brother ‘Usman Khan and Ghazni owed his throne to the powerful support of Malik Mughis, and the latter’s son, Mahmud Khan, into whose hands he left the administration. He, however, put to death his three brothers and blinded his nephew and son-in-law, Nizam Khan, and his three young sons. This barbarity alienated the nobles, and Muhammad Shah made matters worse by his slothful habits aggravated by continuous drinking. As a result, Mahmud Khan became very powerful and began to scheme for usurping the throne. This was disclosed to the Sultan by some of his friends, but he merely called Mahmud to his harem, and there, in the presence of his wife, Mahmud’s sister, appealed to him to be faithful. Mahmud swore fidelity, but shortly afterwards contrived to murder the Sultan by putting poison in his wine.

A faction of the nobles now raised the late king’s son Mas‘ud Khan, a boy of thirteen, to the throne, but Mahmud easily overcame them, and Mas‘ud with his brother fled to Gujarat . Mahmud then offered the throne to his father, Malik Mughis, but as he declined the honour, Mahmud proclaimed himself king on May 16, 1436. 6 Thus the royal line of the Ghurls was replaced by that of the Khaljis.

II. THE KHALJI DYNASTY 1. MAHMUD SHAH (1436-69)

Some time after Mahmud’s accession, an attempt was made on his life by some nobles instigated by Ahmad Khan, a son of Hushang. Mahmud pardoned the offenders and, on the advice of his father, granted them suitable fiefs. But they rebelled again, when Ahmad Khan was poisoned and other rebels defeated and punished. In the meantime Sultan Ahmad of Gujarat invaded Malwa in order to restore to its throne the fugitive Mas‘ud. The campaign at first opened favourably for Sultan Ahmad, but gradually Mahmud, aided

by his father, gained some success. Ultimately a pestilence broke out in the Gujarat army, and Sultan Ahmad retired to his kingdom.

Mahmud then turned to Chanderi where a rebel amir was holding out. After a siege of eight months Chanderi was reduced, when news came that Dungar Sen, the chieftain of Gwalior, had besieged the city of Narwar. 7 Mahmud retaliated by invading and ravaging the territory of Gwalior and besieging that fortress. Dungar Sen was therefore, obliged to raise the siege of Narwar and return to his territory, while Mahmud, his task accomplished, returned to Malwa.

In 1440, Mahmud was invited by several nobles of Delhi to come and supplant the weak Sayyid king Muhammad Shah, and he advanced towards Delhi with a large army. His precipitate retreat, after an indecisive engagement, has been mentioned above. 73 Several reasons have been advanced for this pusillanimous conduct of Mahmud, but as Nizam-ud-dln and Firishta say, the retreat was most probably due to a rumour that Ahmad, the king of Gujarat, was about to invade Malwa.

Shortly after this expedition, Mahmud led an army against Chitor to chastise Maharana Kumbha for the support which he had extended to ‘Umar Khan, the son of Muhammad Shah Ghurl. Now, in the Ranapura temple inscription of Maharana Kumbha, dated V.S. 1496 (A.D. 1440), it is claimed that he defeated the Mlechchha kings, and conquered, amongst others, the fort of S-arangapura, and that “his title as the Hindu Sultan was made known by the umbrella of royalty given (him) by the Sultan (s) protecting Gurjara and the territory of Dhilli”. 8 The Muslim historians state that after advancing into Chitor and defeating the Maharna’s troops in several engagements, Mahmud sent an army under his father to reduce the territory in possession of the Rajputs near Mandasor which (Mandora), according to the inscription cited above, along with Sarangapura, Nagapura (Nagaur), Gagaranara (Gagraun) etc. were conquered by the Maharana. It seems probable, therefore, that Kumbha, after entering into friendly relations with the Sultans of Delhi and Gujarat, invaded Malwa and advanced up to Mandasor, possibly taking advantage of Mahmud’s absence in his Delhi expedition. On his return, Mahmud adopted the same tactics that he had used against Dungar Sen, namely, advancing into the aggressor’s territory to force him to retire from Malwa. From the account left by the Muslim historians it appears that Mahmud broke and desecrated Hindu temples, and erected mosques in their places. He also took more heinous measures to outrage their sentiment. 9 It is, how ever, apparent that Mahmud was obliged to return to Malwa without gaining any success.

While Mahmud was busy with the expedition against Maharana Kumbha, Sultan Mahmud Sharqi of Jaunpur invaded Kalpl. The causes of this invasion and its results have been narrated in connection with the history of Jaunpur.

Shortly afterwards (A.D. 1444), Mahmud again invaded the Maharana's dominion, this time with the object of capturing the fort of Mandalgarh. He was again unsuccessful and, after fighting an indecisive battle, had to retire.

In 1450, Gaiigadas, the Raja of Champaner, sought Mahmud's help, in exchange of a monetary present, against Sultan Muhammad of Gujarat who was besieging Champaner. Mahmud came to Gahgadas's help, but had to retire without gaining success. Next year he again invaded Gujarat and, after reaching Broach, was marching towards the capital, when he suffered a crushing defeat and had to fall back, leaving his baggage and eighty-one elephants behind him. Later, he sent his son Ghiyas-ud-dln to raid Surat.

Three years later (A.D. 1453), Mahmud again resolved to conquer Rajputana. Before setting on the expedition, however, he entered into a treaty with Sultan Qutb-ud-dln of Gujarat. It was settled that the Gujarat army should plunder and ravage such part of Kumbha's dominions as were contiguous to Gujarat, and Mahmud Shah should take possession of the country of Mewar and Ajmer and all the neighbouring countries; and whenever necessary, either of the parties should not refuse to aid and help the other. [10]

Mahmud first invaded Haravatl, modern Bundl, which at this time was a part of Kumbha's kingdom. [11] After subjugating Haravati, Mahmud was incited to attack the BahmanI king by some disgruntled DeccanI nobles, but as he laid siege to the fort of Mahur, he found himself opposed by a superior army and beat a hasty retreat.

Soon after his return from the Deccan campaign Mahmud was approached by his vassal Raja of Baglana for help against Mubarak of Khandesh, who had invaded Baglana. Mahmud sent an army to help the Raja, and Mubarak fled away after suffering a heavy defeat. Mubarak attacked Baglana again next year, but again a Malwa army came to the rescue of the Raja, and Mubarak went back to his country without risking a battle.

After this Mahmud advanced against Chitor. According to the Muslim historians, Maharana Kumbha ‘attempted to propitiate him by an indemnity, but as the coins bore the effigy of the Maha

rana, Mahmud refused to accept it, set about to ravage the country, and sent an army to waste the district of Mandasor. The course of this campaign is described in great detail by the Muslim historians, but it is apparent from their accounts that Mahmud failed to conquer any part of the Maharana’s territory except Ajmer. As noted elsewhere, (p. 162) a verse from the Chitor KIrtistambha inscription claims that Maharana Kumbha defeated the kings of Gujarat and Malwa. On this Sir Wolseley Haig remarks: “The more famous column of victory at Chitor is said to commemorate victories over Mahmud of Gujarat and Mahmud of Malwa. If this is so it, ‘like some tall bully lifts its head and lies’.” 12 It is therefore necessary to quote Nizam-ud-dm’s version of the battle that took place as Mahmud, after conquering Ajmer, turned towards Mandalgarh: “Konbha also sent out his army from the fort dividing it into three detachments. The division, which confronted Taj Khan, and that which was opposed to ‘All Khan, fought with arrows and lances and there was a great battle; and a large number of Mahmud Shah’s troops were slain, while an innumerable host of Rajputs became

food for the sword. (At sunset) the two parties took up their

quarters in their respective stations. In the morning the amirs and vazirs collected in the royal pavilion, and submitted that as during that year the troops had been fighting repeated campaigns and the rainy season was near, it would be fitting and proper, if he would rest and repose for a few days in the capital city of Shadlabad, in order to repair the damage and injury to the army; and make after the rains, with a fully equipped army, a king-like attempt to capture the fort. Sultan Mahmud returned and rested for some days.”. 1 ?

This undoubtedly shows that Mahmud was worsted in the fight and was glad to retire on any pretext, and this was probably the occasion, as Col.

Briggs pointed out, of the erection of the KIrtistambha. Mahmud again invaded Maharana Kumbha’s territory, in 1456 and 1458, but though he was able to break a number of temples, he failed to gain any success.

In September 1461 Mahmud invaded the BahmanI kingdom at the instigation of Malik Nizam-ul-mulk Ghuri. 14 On his way he made an attempt to conquer the fort of Asir but ultimately finding the task to be impossible, accepted the token submission of ‘Adil Khan of Khandesh. He then proceeded further and was soon confronted by the BahmanI army under the nominal command of the boy king Nizam Shah. In the battle that followed, the BahmanI army broke through the left wing of Mahmud’s army and started to plunder the Malwa camp. Suddenly Mahmud, who was waiting with twelve thousand horsemen for such an opportunity, attacked the BahmanI soldiers from their rear, and completely defeated them. The boy king Nizam Shah was removed in haste to join his mother Malika-i-Jahan at Bidar, from where they shifted to Flruzabad, while Mahmud besieged the former city. In this predicament Malika-i-Jahan appealled to Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat for help. Mahmud Begarha soon arrived with an army of 80,000 horse, and Mahmud Gavan, the famous Bahmani minister, marched out by way of Bir and received reinforcement from Mahmud Begarha. Mahmud (of Malwa) found his line of retreat entirely cut off and was forced to flee through eastern Berar, followed by Mahmud Gavan. Soon Mahmud’s flight became a rout and abandoning all his heavy baggage and elephants, which he blinded, he entered the Gond territory where many of his soldiers died of thirst and many were killed by marauders.

A year after this disastrous defeat, Mahmud again set out to invade the Bahmani kingdom, which was during this period repeatedly attacked by the king of Orissa. Mahmud seems to have entered into an alliance with the latter, for on his way to the Deccan he received 530 elephants from the Orissa king. As he had lost his elephants in the previous campaign, this present must have been very welcome to him. He also received at this time from Mustanjad Billah Yusuf, the Caliph, a robe of honour and a mandate conferring on him imperial dignity. The Caliphs during this period were nonentities, still the Muslim potentates of India attached great value to these recognitions.

When Mahmud reached near Daulatabad, he heard that Mahmud Begarha was advancing against him. Mahmud therefore returned to Malwa after ravaging a few places on his way.

Four years later (A.D. 1466) Mahmud sent a marauding expedition under an officer to ravage Ellichpur. This expedition was successful and next year the Bahmani king concluded a treaty of peace, ceding Berar, as far as Ellichpur to Malwa while, Mahmud on his part promised to respect the new frontier. The disputed territory of Kherla (Mahmudabad) was left to Malwa. 15 Later, the governor of Kherla and the local Hindu chief rebelled but were crushed by Mahmud. Another rebellion broke out in A.D. 1468-9 (A.H. 873) in Kachwarah (Khajuraho?), but was put down, after which Mahmud built a fortress in the country.

Later in the same year (A.H. 873) Buhlul Lodi sent Shaikhzada Muhammad Farmali and Kapur Chand, the son of the Raja of Gwalior, as ambassadors to Mahmud. 16 Soon after, Mahmud started from Fathabad, where he had received the Delhi embassy, for his capital. He died on the way in May, 1469. 17

Mahmud was the most powerful Sultan of Malwa, and though many of his campaigns ended in failure, he was able to increase his kingdom, which reached its greatest extent during his reign. In spite, however, of his almost continuous campaigns, he seems to have left behind a stable government which withstood even the vagaries of his successor. He was a great builder and erected a column to commemorate his victory over Maharana Kumbha. Mahmud was a pious Musulman, and introduced the lunar calendar in Malwa. But he was a bigot and not only loved to destroy the images and temples of the Hindus, but also outraged their religious sentiments in all possible ways.

2. GHIYAS-UD-DiN (A.D . 1469-1500)

Mahmud was succeeded by his eldest son Ghiyas-ud-din, who on his accession declared it to be his firm policy to remain at peace with his neighbours and enjoy the pleasures of life. So faithfully did he adhere to this policy that when Buhlul Lodi raided Palampur, he was with great difficulty recalled to a sense of duty by his ministers, and even then sent an army under some officers instead of taking the field himself. He was a bigot like his father, but in some respects even surpassed him. Champaner, attacked by Mahmud Begarha, turned to Malwa for help, but he refused on the ground that it was unlawful for a Musulman to help an infidel against Musulmans. Thus he changed the traditional policy of the Sultans of Malwa and allowed the strong fort of Champaner to be annexed to Gujariat.

In spite, however, of his declared policy of peace there are reasons to believe that he attacked Chitor twice and was twice defeated, as has been related in connection with the history of Mewar. 18

Ghiyas-ud-din, at the beginning of his reign, entrusted the management of the State to his son Nasir-ud-dln, and devoted all his time to the management of his harem, where he had collected more than 16,000 women. He was however of a deeply religious temperament, and, being gullible, fell a prey to tricksters. A man, who brought him the hoof of an ass and claimed that Jesus Christ rode the same animal when he entered Jerusalem, received 50,000 tankas for the hoof. Three other persons sold for the same amount three more hoofs of a similar kind with the same story. Then a fifth man came to him with another hoof and the same story, and the Sultan paid him 50,000 tankas for it. Thereupon one of the royal attendants remarked that perhaps the ass of Jesus had five legs, to which the Sultan replied that perhaps the

last vendor of the hoof was telling the truth, while one of the others may have been wrong.

As may be expected, the last days of Ghiyas-ud-din was embittered by a struggle for the throne between his two sons, Nasirud-din and ‘Ala-ud-din, in which his favourite queen Khurshld espoused the cause of the latter. Nasir-ud-din, however, emerged victorious, and ascended the throne on October 22, 1500. ‘Ala-ud-din was executed and Khurshld committed to prison, but Ghiyas-uddin, then sinking to his grave, was left unmolested. Soon after Ghiyas-ud-din died (February 28, 1501) which gave rise to a rumour that he had been poisoned by his son.

3. NASIR-UD-DIN (A.D . 1500-1511)

The beginning of Nasir's reign was troubled by the rebellion of some of his nobles, who refused to acknowledge him as king. Nasir, however, was able to suppress the rebellions and, in A.D. 1503, headed a marauding expedition against Chitor. According to the Muslim historians he was bought off by Maharana Raimal, but according to the Rajput chronicles, the Malwa army, which came to aid two Rajput traitors, suffered a disastrous defeat.

Naslr-ud-din was a cruel man by nature, and this trait was aggravated by his intemperate habits. This disgusted his nobles, some of whom instigated his son Shihab-ud-din to rebel. Naslrud-din, however, crushed the rebel forces and Shihab-ud-din fled to Chanderi. Though Nasir-ud-din forebore from taking extreme steps against his son who disregarded his call to sumbit to him, he nominated his younger son, A'zam Humayun, as his heir, and bestowed on him the title of Mahmud Shah. A few days later Nasir-ud-din died and immediately Mahmud Shah II ascended the throne (May, 2, 1511). On hearing of his father's death, Shihab-ud-din made a bid for the throne, but was defeated and took shelter in the fortress of Aslr.

4. MAHMUD SHAH II (A.D. 1511-1531)

The main interest in the history of Malwa during the reign of Mahmud II, is the clash between the Hindu and the Muslim nobles. As we shall see, the Hindus had become very powerful in Malwa, and Mahmud ultimately lost his throne by antagonizing them.

It appears that the Hindus had been occupying high offices, at least in the revenue department, since the reign of Ghiyas-ud-din. During the reign of Nasir-ud-din one Basanta Rai became the WCtzir, and was confirmed in his post by Mahmud. According to

Firishta, the Muslim amirs became hostile to him lest he should become too powerful, while Nizam-ud-din relates that he failed to maintain cordial relations with the army, and by his bad manner and haughty temperament alienated the amirs and the sardars. Therefore they one day murdered Basanta Rai and the Naqd-ul-Mulk* who also was a Hindu, fled into the

Sultan’s harem for protection. The amirs then wrote to Mahmud justifying their conduct and demanded that the Naqd-ul-Mulk be surrenderd to them. Mahmud acceded to this request, and the amirs expelled the Naqd-ul-Mulk.

Mahmud then placed the government in the hands of Iqbal Khan and Mukhtass Khan, who were the leaders of the conspiracy to murder Basanta Rai. Soon, however, another noble, named Muhafiz Khan, poisoned the Sultan’s mind against Iqbal Khan and Mukhtass Khan, and matters came to such a pass that they fled and sent for Shihab-ud-din. He eagerly started from Aslr to contest the throne once more, but died on the way (July 29, 1511).

Iqbal Khan and Mukhtass Khan then sent the body of Shihabud-din to Mahmud for burial, and raised the former’s son (or adopted son) as a pretender under the title of Hushang Shah.

Mahmud performed dutifully the last rites of his brother, but sent an army against Hushang which forced him to flee. In the meantime, Muhafiz Khan, whom Mahmud had appointed wazir, had grown too powerful, and the rebels Iqbal Khan and Mukhtass Khan appealed to Mahmud repenting for their past misdeeds and complaining against Muhafiz Khan. One day Muhafiz insolently proposed that Mahmud’s eldest brother Sahib Khan should be put to death, and Mahmud, in anger, struck the wazir with the scabbard of his sword. The latter, making good his escape, raised a force and, releasing Sahib Khan from his prison, proclaimed him king. Showing great personal bravery Mahmud escaped from his capital to Ujjain to find that most of his nobles had deserted him. He, therefore, turned for help to a Hindu officer, Medinl Rai, who was apparently a man of outstanding ability with a large following. In the battle that ultimately took place, Medinl Rai and his Riajputs routed Sahib Khan’s army and the latter escaped first to Gujarat, and then to Kawil, in the Deccan. . ; ▪

Medini Rai now became the most powerful man in Malwa and induced the king to execute Afzal Khan and Iqbal Khan. This led some Muslim officers to rebel, and recalling Sahib Khan to contest the throne once more, they appealed to Sikandar Lodi for help against a Sultan who had placed the government in the hands of the Hindus. Sikandar Lodi sent a contingent to help the rebellion, which at one time showed good prospects of success.- The situation

for Mahmud was worsened by an invasion of Mialwa by Muzaffar II of Gujarat, who was, however recalled to his own country by domestic disturbances. The details of these difficult times are given both by Nizam-ud-din and Firishta from which it becomes apparent that it was the steadfast support which Mahmud received from Medini Rai and his Hindu followers that enabled him to retain his throne and eventually recover his kingdom.

Later, however, at the instance of Medini Rai he punished many nobles, and as Nizam-ud-dm puts it, “gradually things came to such a pass, that the disposition of Mahmud Shah turned from all the cimirs, and in fact from all Musalmans.” This alienated the Muslims from Mahmud, and the Muslim nobles began to leave Malwa. Medini Rai on his part filled most of the offices with his nominees, who were all Hindus, and some of them adopted Muslim mistresses, which gave the Muslims great offence.

Mahmud felt restive under the power of Medini Rai, and one day politely dismissed him. Medini Rai’s followers first sent a message to the Sultan asking what fault they had committed. They then met and proposed that Medini Rai’s son should be raised to the throne of Malwa. To this Medini Rai objected and said: “At the present moment, the Sultanate of Malwa is in reality in our possession. If, however, Mahmud Shah does not remain as a buffer, Sultan Muzaffar Gujarati will come galloping along and seize the kingdom. Therefore, we should, in every way that may be possible, endeavour to please our master”.

Medini Rai went to the Sultan, and begged to be forgiven, and the Sultan directed that the former should reinstate the Muslim officials, forbid his men to interfere in state affairs, and ask them to return the Musulman women. Medini Rai agreed to all the conditions, but Salivahana, the wazir refused to obey the orders of the Sultan in respect of his mistress. Mahmud, therefore, conspired with his personal attendants, who were all Muslims, and the next day as Medini Rai and Salivahana stepped out of the palace they were attacked by the royal guards. Salivahana was killed on the spot, but Medini Rai, though wounded, managed to reach home. The infuriated followers of Medini Rai now attacked the Sultan who resisted them with great bravery and repulsed them.

As soon as Medini Rai came to learn of this he stopped his followers, and sent dutiful submission to the king, to which the latter also sent a gracious reply. So when Medini Rai's wounds healed up, he began to attend the court regularly as before and pay his respects to the Sultan daily. But it appears that Mahmud had not been able to check the hegemony of the Hindus, and finding his position unbearable, he one day escaped to Gujarat, accompanied by his favourite queen and a single servant (A.D. 1517).

Mahmud was cordially received by Muzaffar and soon a Gujarat army, led by the two kings, invaded Malwa and besieged Mandu. Medini Rai and his broher, Silhadi, went to Maharana Sainga to gain his help, leaving the affairs of Malwa in the hands of Medini Rai's son, Rai Pithora, that is Prithviraja. Prithviraja defended the fort of Mandu as long as possible, but ultimately it fell to the invaders before Maharana Sanga could arrive, and a large number of Hindus were massacred. Muzaffar then restored Mahmud to his throne and returned to Gujarat, leaving a contingent of Gujarat cavalry to help Mahmud.

Though Mahmud had thus recovered his capital, most of the strong points and forts such as Chanderi, Kawun, Bhllsa, Raisen and Sarangpur were in the hands of Medini Rai's followers. Mahmud therefore besieged the fort of Gagraun which was held by one Hemakarana, on behalf of Medini Rai.

While this siege was in progress, Medini Rai advanced into Malwa with the army led by Maharaha Sanga, and Mahmud, on hearing the news, hastily raised the siege and advanced towards the Rajput army. As Mahmud's army was resting after a day's march, the Maharana, without giving his troops any rest, suddenly attacked and routed the Malwa army. Mahmud fell wounded and was taken a prisoner.

According to Rajput chronicles, Mahmud was taken to Chitor, and was kept in honourable captivity for a period of several months. Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, however, relate that Mahmud was released after he regained his health, and then the Maharana returned to Chitor. But all the historians have praised highly this generous conduct of the great Maharana. Nizam-ud-din says: “No act similar to this wonderful one is known up to the present day.”

Maharana Sanga has been adversely criticized for what has been called his misplaced generosity. But it should be remembered that he annexed a part of Malwa, and Silhadi, a Hindu chief, became the independent ruler of the territory extending from Sarangpur to Bhllsa and Raisen. A Muslim noble, called Sikandar Khan, took possession of the territory near Satwas. Thus Mahmud was left practically powerless with a very small territory.

However, Mahmud tried to regain his lost position and managed to conquer Sarangpur from Silhadi. He sent a marauding expedition to Chitor, and in retaliation Maharana Ratansimha advanced up to Ujjain. Fortunately for Mahmud, Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat

had come near the Malwa frontier with his army to put down some local disturbance, and he induced the Maharana to return.

Mahmud offended Bahadur Shah, the successor of Muzaffar II of Gujarat, by granting asylum to Bahadur’s rival to the throne, Chand Khan, whose agents approached Babur to invade Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur therefore determined to chastise Mahmud. Alarmed at this invasion Mahmud called Silhadi and Mu‘In Khan, son of Sikandar Khan, to his aid, and bestowed several parganas on the former and the title of Masnad ‘All and other honours on the latter. But they deserted Mahmud and joined Bahadur.

Mahmud then sent ambassadors to win over Bahadur, who wanted Mahmud to come and meet him. This, however, Mahmud steadfastly refused to do under various pretexts. Bahadur therefore continued his advance and Mahmud shut himself up in the fort of Mandu, determined, with a pathetic eagerness, to enjoy the last days of his life. ' - '

The fort fell to Bahadur on May 25, 1531, 19 and Mahmud was induced by his nobles to submit to Bahadur. Bahadur received him affably, but took serious offence at the harsh language used by Mahmud. Three days later, on a Friday, public prayers in Mandu were read in Bahadur’s name and next day Mahmud and his sons were put in chains and sent under an escort to be confined in Champaner. On the way the escort was attacked one night by some Bhils and Kolis, and Mahmud, roused by the tumult, broke his chains, but was overpowered by his guards who killed him lest he should escape.

Bahadur’s main act after annexing Malwa was to crush Silhadi, who had refused to part away with his Muslim mistress. Silhadi’s fort, Raisen, fell after a gallant fight, and his son and followers took shelter at Chitor. Bahadur then appointed Muslim nobles to various offices and returned to Gujarat. For the duration of Bahadur’s reign Malwa remained a province of Gujarat.

D. JAUNPUR

The modern city of Jaunpur on the river Gumti, thirty-four miles north-west of Banaras, was founded by Firuz Shah and remained the headquarters of the provincial government till 1394. According to Shams-i-Siraj ‘AfIf, the contemporary historian, Firuz Shah halted at Zafarabad in 1359 on his way to Bengal and impressed by the site of the present city where the road crossed the river, decided to build a town there to be called Jaunpur, after the name of his cousin Sultan Muhmmad whose real name was Jauna. 1

Cunningham was of the opinion that there was an older Hindu city called Jamanpur on the Gumti, and Flruz Shah utilized the materials from the buildings of this older town to lay the foundation of his new city. The Hindus of Jaunpur still call their city ‘Jamanpur’, and believe that the name is derived from the Sage Jamadagni.

The founder of the Sultanate of Jaunpur was Malik Sarvar who is said to have begun his career as a slave of Sultan Muhammad (son of Flruz Tughluq). But he rose steadily till he became the wazir in A.D. 1389 with the title of Khvaja Jahan. Sultan Mahmud, the last Tughluq king, conferred on him the title of Malik-ush-Sharq (chief of the east) and appointed him governor of the eastern provinces of the empire.

The object in appointing the wazir as a governor was to suppress the Hindu rebellions which had thrown the government of this part of the country into confusion. Malik Sarvar left Delhi for Jaunpur in A.D. 1394 and suppressed the rebels at Etawa, Koll and Kanauj. He then recovered from the rebels Awadh, Kanauj, Sandila, Dalmau, Bahraich, and Bihar, and repaired the forts which they had destroyed. Thus he consolidated his position, establishing his hold over a vast territory comprising Awadh, and the Gangetic valley from Koll in the west to Bihar in the east. The ruler of Bengal is said to have sent him tributes, which had been withheld from the weak government of Delhi.

Malik Sarvar was for all practical purposes an independent king, though he abstained from assuming the parapharnelia of sovereignty. During the invasion of Timur he did not send any help to Delhi. He died in A.D. 1399 in the plentitude of his power, leaving behind a kingdom which stretched from Koil in the west to Tirhut and Bihar in the east.

Malik Sarvar, a eunuch, probably of Negro blood, was succeeded by his adopted son who assumed the title of Sultan Mubarak Shah. His original name Qaranful (clove) seems to indicate that he was an African slave. Mubarak issued coins and had the khutba read in his name. This provoked an attack on Jaunpur by Mallu Iqbal Khan, the powerful minister of Sultan Mahmud Tughluq (A.D. 1400). The two armies encamped on the two banks of the Ganga, but after a period of inactivity, the scarcity of provisions forced them to come to an understanding and the two armies returned to their respective capitals. Shortly after, Mubarak Shah died (A.D. 1402), and the amirs raised his brother Ibrahim to the throne, under the title of Shams-ud-dln Ibrahim.

Soon after his accession Ibrahim Shah was faced with an invasion by Mallu Iqbal and Mahmud Tughluq. The two belligerents stood confronting each other on the opposite banks of the Ganga. Then, as has been related above, 2 Sultan Mahmud, unable to bear the tutelage of Iqbal, escaped to Ibrahim Shah’s camp, and being coldly received there, fled to Kanauj which he occupied. Iqbal left for Delhi without fighting with Ibrahim Shiah, who returned to Jaunpur.

However, when after the death of Iqbal, Sultan Mahmud returned to Delhi (A.D. 1405), Ibrahim Shah, after an initial failure re-annexed Kanauj after a siege of four months (A.D. 1407). He was then joined by several other nobles and made a bid for the conquest of Delhi. Capturing Sambhal on his way, Ibrahim arrived near Delhi when news reached him that Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat was sending an army to relieve Sultan Mahmud. Ibrahim thereupon returned to Jaunpur and spent the next fourteen years there patronizing art and literature. During this period, he once resolved to invade Bengal from where complaints of the persecution of the Muslims by the Hindu Raja Ganesa reached him. According to some accounts Ganesa had his son converted to Islam and Ibrahim was pacified, while according to other accounts Ibrahim was defeated. 3

In A.D. 1427, Ibrahim attacked Bayana in an attempt to restore it to Muhammad Khan Auladl. He was opposed by Mubarak Shah, the Sayyid king of Delhi, but after an indecisive battle the two armies retired in good order (A.D. 1428). In A.D. 1431, Ibrahim attempted to conquer KalpI but was opposed by Sultan Hushang Ghurl of Malwa who also had the same objective. 4 Before any action took place, news came that Mubarak Shah, the Sayyid king of Delhi, was advancing towards Jaunpur. Thereupon Ibrahim returned, and KalpI fell into the hands of Hushang Ghurl. Nine years later Ibrahim died (A.D. 1440). 6

During Ibrahim Shah’s long reign of about forty years Jaunpur attained to the height of fame and prosperity. It also became a notable centre of learning, and books like the the Hashiah-i-Hindt, the Eahr-ul-Mawwdj, the Fatwa-i-Ibrcihim Shahl, and the Irshad were written by renowned scholars including Qazi Shihab-ud-din, the great favourite of Sultan Ibrahim. His reign was also memorable for the architectural splendour of Jaunpur to which reference will be made later.

Ibrahim Shah was succeeded by his eldest son Mahmud Shah. It is related that Mahmud Shah set about invading Bengal where

upon the king of Bengal appealed to Shah Rukh the king of Iran, through the Raja of Sialkot. Shah Rukh ordered Mahmud Shah to desist. Mahmud Shah obeyed the order of Shah Rukh, and instead of proceeding towards Bengal advanced towards Kalpi.

Sultan Hushang of Malwa who, as noted above, had captured the district of Kalpi, appointed one Qadir Khan as its governor. After Hushang's death. Qadir became more or less independent of Malwa. He was succeeded by his son Nasir, and Sultan Mahmud complained about Nasir's outrageous conduct to Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa. The charge against Nasir was "that he had destroyed the town of Shahpur which was larger and more populous than K!alpl, had banished Musalmans from their homes and had made over Musalman women to Kafirs '\ The basis for the last charge seems to be that the Muslim girls were handed over to the Hindus in order that they might be taught dancing. Nasir probably adopted harsh measures against the Muslims of Shahpur as a punishment for some misdeeds, such as rebellion. The charges, however, were so grave, that Sultan Mahmud Khalji, who was then occupied elsewhere, gave Sultan Mahmud permission to chastise Nasir, and the Sultan of Jaunpur thereupon invaded Kalpi. Later, however, Nasir obtained the protection of Mahmud Khalji, who proposed to the Sultan of Jaunpur that as Nasir had expressed his contrition he should be left in possession of Rath in the Kalpi district. As Mahmud of Jaunpur rejected this proposal, Mahmud Khalji marched against him (November, 1444) and fought an indecisive action near Irij. Eventually, through the mediation of a Muslim saint, peace was restored between Janupur and Malwa by the immediate cession of Rath or Rohut to Nasir and a promise to restore Kalpi after four months within which period Mahmud Khalji was to retire to Mandu. By the end of the year the two Mahmuds returned to their respective capitals and Kalpi was restored to Nasir.

After this Mahmud suppressed a rebellion in Chunar and is said to have led a successful raid into Orissa. 6 In 1452, he advanced against Delhi, in response to an invitation by some recalcitrant nobles, to remove Buhlul Lodi, the Afghan, from the throne. The course of this war in which the Jaunpur army suffered defeat has already been narrated. 7 Hostilities with Delhi again broke out when Buhlul Lodi forced the Raja of Etawa to submission. As Mahmud claimed the allegiance of Etawa, he invaded the district to contest BuhluTs claim. After some desultory fighting, however, they came to terms, and a peace was concluded according to which the boundary between the two states was to remain as it had been during the reign of Mubarak Shah, and Buhlul was to be permitted to conquer

Shamsabad from its governor who owed nominal allegiance to Jaunpur.

But after Buhlul conquered Shamsabad and conferred it upon one Raja Karan, Mahmud marched against Buhlul. As the Jaunpur army approached Shamsabad, it was attacked by an advance guard of Buhlul under Qutb Khan Lodi. The attack failed and Qutb Khan was taken prisoner and sent to Jaunpur. But before any decisive action could take place, Mahmud died in A.D. 1457 and was succeeded by his son Bhlkan, who assumed the title of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah acknowledged Buhlul’s right to retain Shamsabad and peace was restored. But as Buhlul was returning to Delhi he was reproached by his wife for leaving Qutb Khan, her brother, a prisoner of Jaunpur. Buhlul thereupon turned back, and Muhammad also marched on Shamsabad, expelled Buhlul’s nominee Raja Karan, and restored the fief to its former Sharqi governor. His success attracted to his standard some powerful adherents, and Muhammad reached the river Saraswatl where some desultory fighting took place. But before any decisive action took place, dissensions broke out in the Jaunpur camp.

Muhmmad Shah was apprehensive lest one of his four brothers—Hasan, Husain, Jalal and Ibrahim—should be raised to the throne by the nobles. The prisoner Qutb Khan Lodi was also a source of danger, as his sister was prompting her husband Buhlul Lodi to attack Jaunpur and rescue her brother. Muhammad Shah therefore sent an order to one of his officers at Jaunpur to execute his brother Hasan and Qutb Khan Lodi. This order could not be carried out as Muhammad’s mother was keeping a strict watch on her son and Qutb Khan Lodi.

Muhammad, therefore, requested his mother to join him in his camp on a specious plea and as soon as the dowager Queen left Jaunpur, Prince Hasan was executed. On hearing this, Muhammad’s two other brothers, Husain Khan and Jalal Khan, who were in the camp, decided to revolt. Husain, seceding from the main army with 30,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants, joined his mother at Kanauj, and was there proclaimed king under the title of Husain Shah.

There were further defections in Muhammad's army which forced him to retire, pursued by Buhlul up to Kanauj. From Kanauj Buhlul returned to Delhi, and Muhammad now found himself opposed by his brother Husain's army. Most of his officers deserted him and he was killed in the action that followed.

JAUNPUR

A four years' truce was concluded in A.D. 1458 between Buhlul and Husain, and Qutb was freed from captivity in exchange of Husain's brother, Jalal Khan, who had been taken prisoner by Buhlul's soliders in a skirmish shortly after Husain's departure.

Husain then collected a large army and proceeded towards Orissa by way of Tirhut. He overran Tirhut and it is stated by the Muslim historians that the Rai of Orissa, frightened at his approach, hastened to secure peace by presenting thirty elephants and one hundred horses, besides other valuable materials. Husain accepted the presents and returned to Jaunpur.

The king of Orissa during this raid was either Kapilendra (A.D. 1435-1467) or his son Purushottama (A.D. 1467-1497) Kapilendra was a very powerful king and it seems unlikely tha Husain could induce him to submit. But the early part of Purushottama's reign was troubled, as has been related elsewhere, and it is not unlikely that he should have purchased peace by surrendering some of his elephants and horses. 8

Husain then repaired the fort of Banaras and in the following year sent an army to besiege the fort of Gwalior. He failed to capture the fort and had to return satisfied with a tribute.

According to the Muslim chronicles, Jaunpur at this time possessed probably the biggest army in India; in any case it was far

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superior, at least in number, to the army of Buhlul Lodi. The four years' truce with Delhi, concluded in A.D. 1458, had long ago expired, and Husain was constantly urged by his wife Malika-i-Jahan, daughter of 'Alam Shah, the last Sayyid King of Delhi; to conquer it from Buhlul. Husain therefore began to make preparations for the invasion of Delhi.

When Buhlul realized that he might not be able to withstand a powerful Sharql attack led by Husain, he turned for help to Mahmud Khaljl of Malwa and sent him two successive deputations in 1469. MushtaqI, Nizam-ud-dln, Firishta and some other writers refer only to one deputation, but the contemporary biographer of the Sultan of Malwa has given a detailed account of two separate missions sent by Buhlul. The first, consisting of Shaikhzada Muhammad Farmali and Raizada Kapur Chand, son of Rai Kirat Singh of Gwalior, waited on Mahmud on February 21, 1469, and solicited his help against Husain's aggression. Mahmud was willing to accede to their request but he expected a price for this help. In the meantime, Buhlul appears to have received alarming reports of Husain's designs as he soon after sent another deputation which included Qutb Khan Lodi and Rai Kirat Singh which met Mahmud on April 3, 1469. They were authorized to offer the cession of Bayana and a yearly levy of 6,000 men if Mahmud came personally with his armies to help Buhlul. The Khalji Sultan accepted the arrangement but he could not act up to it as he died only a month later on May 3, 1469. 9

The Jaunpur army made triumphant progress and reached the suburbs of Delhi. Buhlul, despairing of success, offered terms agreeing to cede the whole of his territory, retaining for himself only the city of Delhi and the tract of the country lying thirty-six miles around it, which he would govern as Husain's vassal. But Husain rejected the terms and Buhlul left the city with a small army and encamped on the banks of the Yamuna opposite his enemy's army. Some time passed without any action; then one day, noticing that the Jaunpur army was off its guard, Buhlul suddenly attacked it. The Jaunpur army fled practically without offering any resistance, and though Husain managed to escape, his family was captured. Buhlul, however, treated them with marked respect, and later sent them to Jaunpur.

Husain thus lost the best chance he ever had of capturing Delhi. Next year he again attacked Delhi at the instigation of his wife, but was again defeated. Shortly after, Husain invaded Delhi for the third time, but was defeated by Buhlul at Sikhera, about twentyfive miles east of Delhi.

Shortly after this, on the death of Husain’s father-in-law, ‘Alam Shah, the last Sayyid king, who had retired to Badaun, Husain seized the district dispossessing his brother-in-law. He also captured Sambhal from BuhluFs governor Tatar Khan Lodi, and took him prisoner. He then again marched on Delhi in March 1479. This time Husain suffered a total defeat and Buhlul Lodi conquered practically the whole of his kingdom. Husain retired to Bihar where he seems to have been left in occupation of a small territory yielding a revenue of five lakhs of rupees. According to Nizam-ud-dln, Buhlul, “acting in a spirit of generosity, did not interfere with him”. But after Buhlul’s death, when Sikandar ascended the throne of Delhi, Husain induced Sikandar’s brother Barbak, the governor of Jaunpur, to rebel, as has been narrated above. After Sikandar had conquered Jaunpur from Barbak, he proceeded against Husain as the latter was the instigator of troubles. The course of this campaign has been narrated above. Husain was unable to make any stand against Sikandar, who annexed his territory. Husain then fled to Bengal where he was granted asylum by Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dln Husain Shah. There he passed his last days in obscurity.

1. the independent sultans

The administration of Bengal had always been a serious problem of the Delhi Sultanate. Taking advantage of its remoteness from the capital and facilities for naval warfare, with which the Turks of upper India were unfamiliar, the governors of Bengal frequently behaved as independent rulers, and not seldom openly defied the authority of Delhi. The last serious rebellion, that of Tughril, was sternly repressed by Balban,[1] but the events following the death of that Sultan once more made Bengal an independent kingdom under his son Bughra Khan, who ruled at Lakhnawati (Muslim capital, Maldah district) under the style of Sultan Nasir-ud-din. After the historic interview of Nasir-ud-din and his son, Sultan Kaiqubad, mentioned above,[2] the independence of Bengal was tacitly recognized by the Delhi Sultanate. But the news of the tragic end of the House of Balban at Delhi gave a rude shock to the ease-loving Nasir-ud-din who abdicated in favour of his son Hukn-ud-din Kaikaus in A.D. 1291.[3] The boy-king Kaikaus ruled over Bengal and Bihar and issued coins and inscriptions till at least A.D. 1298. He was succeeded, probably about A.D. 1301, by Shamsud-din Firuz Shah who had wielded great power and authority during the reign of the ease-loving Bughra Khan, and after his death became the governor of Bihar. According to Xbn Batutah, Firuz Shah belonged to the House of Balban, and was the son of Nasir-ud-din; but the absence of the usual phrase 'Sultan bin (son of) Sultan' on the coins of Firuz throws grave doubts on this claim. Nor is it known whether he peacefully occupied the throne after the death of Kaikaus, or secured it by violent means. 4

During the reign of Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus and Shams-ud-din Firuz, Muslim rule was extended to South and East Bengal, and important centres were established at Satgaon (Hughli district) and Sonargaon (Dacca district). Firuz extended his conquests across the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam (now in Eastern Pakistan) and probably founded the city of Firuzabad-Piandua, the future capital of Bengal. 43 The reign of Shams-ud-din Firuz was disturbed by the rebellion of his sons, Shihab-ud-din Bughdah and Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur, who supplanted respectively the authority of their father at Lakhnawatl and Sonargaon during the period 710-714 A.H. (A.D. 1310-14). Firuz recovered Lakhhawati in

A.D. 1315 but Shihab-ud-din was ruling there in A.D. 1317-18 while Ghiyas-ud-din disputed its sovereignty with his father during A.D. 1320-22. On the death of the latter in or shortly after A.D. 1322, Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah probably murdered all his brothers

save Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim and Shihab-ud-din, and ruled both in Lakhnawati and Sonargaon.

According to Ibn Batutah, some of the amirs who rebelled against Prince Jauna (Muhammad bin Tughluq) during the siege of Warangal took shelter with Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah. After his death his son Shihab-ud-din succeeded him but his youngest brother Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Bura (black) defeated him, seized the throne and killed most of his brothers. Two of these, Shihab-ud-din and Nasir-ud-din, fled to the Emperor Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq who marched with them against the usurper Ghiyas-ud-din. 5 How far this account is true, cannot be determined, as it is not corroborated by any other source. According to Barani, "certain noblemen came from

Lakhnawati complaining of the oppressive laws under which they were suffering, and informed the Sultan of the distress and tyranny under which they and other Musulmans laboured.” So Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq resolved to march against Lakhnawati 6

In any event, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq now decided to reassert his authority over Bengal. He left Delhi at the beginning of A.D. 1324 and was joined at Tirhut by Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim, son of Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah. Ibrahim is referred to as the “ruler of Lakhnawati”, both by Barani and Tsami, but whether he was ever actually in possession of the capital city or was a mere rival claimant to the throne, it is not easy to determine. In any case Lakhnawati was not under his control at the time. The Sultan sent Nasir-ud-din with his adopted son and best general Bahram Khan, alias Tatar Khan, at the head of a select body of troops. When the imperial troops reached the neighbourhood of Lakhnawati, Bahadur came out of the town and a severe fight ensued. Bahadur, being defeated, fled away, but was taken prisoner. Tughluq Shah confirmed Sultan Nasir-ud-din in the government of North Bengal with its capital at Lakhnawati. Eastern Bengal and Southern Bengal, with capitals respectively at Sonargaon and Satgaon, were annexed to the empire and Bahram Khan was appointed to govern them. Bahadur was taken captive to Delhi.

The tragic death of Emperor Ghiyas-ud-din at the end of his return journey from Bengal and the accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq have been mentioned above. Sultan Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim, as a loyal vassal of Delhi, issued coins in the names of himself and the Emperor of Delhi till 726 A.H. (A.D. 1325-26), when Muhammad Tughluq appointed Qadr Khan feudatory of Lakhnawati. 7 Though nominally subordinate to Sultan Nasir-ud-din, Qadr was the de facto ruler, directly responsible to the Emperor. This polic 3 r of “checks and balances” was also adopted in Eastern Bengal by

Muhammad bin Tughluq. He released Bahadur and sent him back to Sonargaon as its vassal king, to rule the country in co-operation with Bahram Khan as the Emperor’s own representative. Satgaon was placed under Tzz-ud-dln Yahya who was created Azam-ul-Mulk.

Sultan Nasir-ud-dm Ibrahim is known to have accompanied Muhammad bin Tughluq when the latter proceeded against the rebel Kishlu Khan. But

Naslr-ud-dln’s name was omitted from the coins after A.H. 726 (A.D. 1325-26). This was virtually a deposition, but Nasir-ud-din was allowed to retain his title of Sultan.

The other nominal Sultan, Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah of Sonargaon, played a more important role. For about three years, until 728 A.H. (A.D. 1327-28), he issued coins in the joint names of himself and Muhammad bin Tughluq and pulled on well with the imperial general Bahram Khan. It was during this period that the Muslim empire was extended beyond the Meghna river and the territory represented by modern Tripura state (Tipper a) and Chittagong district was conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

But Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur Shah was evidently made of sterner stuff than his brother Nasir-ud-dm, and was unwilling to play the second fiddle like him. The virtual deposition of the latter probably also urged him to make a bold bid for independence. According to ‘IsamI, he rebelled, but was defeated by Bahram Khan and fell a captive in his hands. Bahram killed him, flayed his skin and sent it to the Emperor, Muhammad bin Tughluq, who received it shortly after the suppression of the revolt of Kishlu Khan. According to Ibn Batutah, Ghiyas-ud-din was released by Muhammad bin Tughluq on certain conditions, one of which was that Ghiyas-uddin’s son should be sent as hostage to the Emperor. As this promise was not fulfilled, the Emperor sent troops against him. This took place, according to Ibn Batutah, before Kishlu’s rebellion.[8]

For ten years after the death of Bahadur, Bengal remained a quiet province under the Delhi Sultanate, its three well-defined regions of Lakhnawatl, Sonargaon and Satgaon being ruled respectively by Qadr Khan, Bahram Khan, alias Tatar Khan, and Tzz-ud-dln Yahya.

2. FAKHR-UD-DIN MUBARAK SHAH

On the death of Bahram Khan, the governor of Sonargaon, in 738 A.H. (A.D. 1337-8) his silcih-dar (armour-bearer) and right-hand fan, Fakhr-ud-dln, assumed the government. But before any new governor was appointed by the Sultan, he rebelled and declared himself king under the title of Sultan Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah (738 A.H..). 9 He signified his independence by assuming royal titles and such boastful epithets as “Yamm-Khallfa-i-Allah” (Right hand of the Vicegerent of God) and “Nasir-i-Amir-ul-Mu’minln’’ (Assistant of the Commander of the Faithful). This bold assumption of independence could not be ignored by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq who directed the governors of Kara, Lakhnawatl and SaL gaon to undertake a joint campaign against the rebel Fakhr-ud-dm, The combined army marched to Sonargaon and expelled Fakhr-uddm. Shortly after, the governors of Kara and Satgaon went to their headquarters, leaving Qadr Khan, the governor of Lakhnawatl. in possession of the capital city of Sonargaon. Qadr Khan’s refusal to share the captured booty with his soldiers by giving them their legitimate share created great disaffection among them. The fugitive Fakhr-ud-dln had in the meantime gathered round him a large number of soldiers. He carried on secret negotiations with the discontented soldiers of Qadr Khan w 7 ho openly rebelled and murdered him. Thereupon Fakhr-ud-dln recovered Sonargaon without any difficulty.

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was now fully occupied with the numerous rebellions that had broken out in various parts of the empire. Fakhr-ud-dln took full advantage of this opportunity and sent an army under a ghuldm of his, Mukhlis, to occupy Lakhnawatl. But ‘All Mubarak, the paymaster of Qadr Khan’s army, killed Mukhlis and established his authority at Lakhnawatl. Although he was not formally appointed governor by the Sultan, he kept up for some time the pretence of vassalage to the court of Delhi by making humble representations. But as soon as he felt secure of his position, he threw away the mask and asserted his independence. He ascended the throne about A.D. 1340 under the title of ‘Ala-ud-din ‘All Shah and ruled till A.D. 1345 when he was overthrown by Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah.

Fakhr-ud-dln carried on intermittent fights with the ruler of Lakhnawatl, but could not achieve any success. But this failure did not in any way affect his position in Eastern Bengal. Here he ruled in peace and set up a stable administration, to which reference is made by Ibn Batutah who visited his kingdom in A.D. 1346 and has left a glowing account of its prosperity.

Fakhr-ud-dln died in 750 A.H. (A.D. 1349-50) and was succeeded most probably by his son Ikhtiyar-ud-din Ghazi Shah. He reigned for three years when East Bengal was conquered by Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah. 10

3. ILYAS SHAH (A.D. 1339-1359)

While Fakhr-ud-din and ‘Ala-ud-din ‘Ali Shah were ruling respectively at Sonargaon and Lakhnawati, a new figure appeared on the political stage. This was Ilyas, an officer (but according to the Riytiz, the foster-brother) of ‘All Shah. Nothing is known of his early career save that he was a servant of Qadr Khan who addressed him as brother, 103 but he issued coins in 740 A.H. (A.D. 133940). 11 As ‘Ala-ud-din ‘All Shah of Lakhnawati issued coins till 743 A.H. and Fakhr-ud-din and his son ruled in Sonargaon from A.D. 1339 to 1352, it is very likely that Ilyas Shah first established his authority at Satgaon 12 (753 A.H.). In any case Ilyas made himself master of Lakhnawati some time about 746 A.H. (A.D. 1345-6), and assumed the title of Shams-ud-dln Ilyas Shah.

The accession of Shams-ud-dln Ilyas Shah to the throne of Lakhnawati opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal. He founded a dynasty of able and vigorous kings who won military glory and revived Bengal’s contact with the outside world. He achieved the political unity of Bengal and carried his victorious arms far outside the boundaries of Bengal. He overran Tirhut and made a bold thrust across the inhospitable region of Terai into the fastness of Nepal, which was yet untrodden by Muslim soldiers. He advanced as far as the capital Kathmandu, destroyed the holy temple of Svayambhunatha and returned with a rich booty. The invasion, which was of the nature of a plundering raid, took place in A.D. 1350 and the Nepalis claim to have defeated the Muslim invader. 13

The Sultan next turned his attention to Orissa. The Gahga kings had often invaded Bengal during the preceding century and were still in possession of a part of Western Bengal. But the ruling king of Orissa, Bhanudeva II, was weak, and Ilyas advanced through Jajpur and Katak as far as the Chilka lake. He despoiled the temples of Orissa and returned with a rich booty including 44 elephants. Finally he led a campaign against Eastern Bengal. He defeated Ikhtiyar-ud-din GhazI Shah, the ruler of Sonargaon, and annexed his dominions in 753 A.H. (A.D. 1352-3), as mentioned above.

But the Sultan was soon to meet a formidable enemy. Sultan FIruz Shah, who had succeeded Muhammad Tughluq on the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1351, naturally viewed with great concern the rise of a powerful independent kingdom in Bengal and decided to overthrow it. Within a year or two of his accession he equipped a powerful army and led it in person against Bengal. 14 He marched through Awadh and took with him a number of boats to facilitate the crossing of the many streams that lay on the way. Sultan Ilyas boldly faced the danger. His flotilla disputed the passage of the imperial army at important ferries across the Sarayu and the Gandak and retreated according to plan to the junction of the Kusi and the Ganga. Firuz was unable to cross the rivers in the face of the resolute stand made by the Bengal flotilla, and therefore made an outflanking movement. He marched northward along the Kusi as far as the foothills to a place called Jiaran. With the help of the local Raja he could easily ford the Kusi which was very narrow at this point. The imperial army then marched direct to Pandua (or Flruzabad), the capital city, about eleven miles from the modern English Bazar (Maldah District). Ilyas, unable to resist the enemy in the open field, evacuated Pandua and took shelter in the fortress city of Ekdala. Sultan Firuz occupied Pandua without any opposition and then attempted to win the sympathy of the local people by issuing a proclamation. 14 ^ He promised complete security of life and property to the inhabitants of Pandua, and having declared Ilyas Shah a rebel and an impious Muslim called upon the people to disown him as their Sultan. He made very tempting offers to those who would desert the cause of Ilyas. To the captains of paiks (infantry) he promised double their allowance on joining with their full quota of contingents; to the land-owners, remission of the current year’s revenue and other pecuniary advantages; and to the Muslim theologians, increased land-grants and stipends. But this appeal having produced no effect, Sultan Firuz marched to Ekdala. This city of which no vestiges remain today, was situated in a loop formed by the rivers Baliya and Chiramati, two tributaries of the Mahananda, in the Dhanjar pargana of the Dinajpur District. 15 Inside this watery barrier were built a cantonment and a royal villa with space for large settlements. The whole area was girt by a massive rampart made of adhesive clay, peculiar to the locality, surrounded by a moat, sixty feet wide. ‘Afif calls it an island (jaztra-i-Ekdald) on account of its being surrounded by water on all sides.

Unable to take the fort by assault, Sultan Firuz completely blockaded it in order to starve Ilyas to submission. There were sporadic fighting and skirmishes without any effect on either party After the siege had continued for about two months, there were indications of the approach of the rainy season, and Sultan Firuz decided to raise the siege and return to Delhi. But before doing so he sent some spies disguised as Qalandar monks into the fort of Ekdala who assured Ilyas Shah that the besieging army was in acute distress. So when one day Sultan Firuz raised the siege and his army began to march away, Ilyas threw off all caution and pursued the imperial troops with his entire army.

Sultan Firuz, however, was marching in perfect order in anticipation of the enemy and as they came in sight, he swung round, with his army drawn up in good battle order. Thus Ilyas Shah could not avoid an engagement and a violent contest followed. The imperial troops hurled back the Bengalis repeatedly as they surged forward, and before the sun had set, the Bengalis were seen fleeing away from the battlefield in confusion and disorder. The battle thus ended in the discomfiture of the Bengalis.

The court-historians, as usual, magnify the success of imperial arms. According to 'Aflf, after much fighting and slaughter, Shams ud-din retreated and fled towards his own city. Forty eight elephants were taken, and three were slain. The king of Bengal, out of all his enormous force, fled with only seven horsemen, and his whole army was scattered". According to Yahya, Ilyas fled without any fight and a large number of his soldiers was killed. Later writers have followed suit. But such a view is hardly compatible with the events that followed. According to 'Aflf, Firuz proceeded after his victory to Ekdala and again besieged the town. Thereupon "all the ladies and respectable women went to the top of the fort, and when they saw him they uncovered their heads, and in their distress made great lamentation". Firuz, moved by this spectacle, decided not "to storm the fort, put more Musulmans to the sword, and expose honorable women to ignominy". "Tatar Khian repeatedly urged the Sultan to retain the territory he had conquered, but the Sultan was averse to annexation". Having decided to quit Bengal the Sultan gave an order "for collecting the heads of the slain Bengalis, and a silver tanka was offered for every head. The

heads were counted and amounted to rather more than 180,000 for the battle had raged for a whole day over an extent of seven kos. . .The Sultan then turned with his army and marched quickly towards Delhi.” ‘Afif further observes: “The rains having commenced, Firuz Shah had to abandon the investment, came to terms with Ilyas and retired towards his own dominions by the Manikpur ferry”. This is repeated by Nizam-ud-din and Badauni. Yahya simply says that “the Sultan halted there (battlefield) for two days, and on the third day he made his way to Delhi.” 16

The terms of the peace are not stated, but it is obvious that Shams-ud-din continued to rule as an independent king, even though, the court historians refer to him as paying tribute. The true position may be gathered from the following statement of Nizam-ud-din: “The same year (757 A.H.) Ilyas Haji sent fitting tribute, and became the recipient of imperial favour. At this time the entire country of Hindustan was in the possession of the Sultan except Lakhnauti and the Dakhin; since the death of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq Shah, Sultan Shams-ud-din Ilyas Haji was in possession of the former As a matter of fact, almost every year after the return of Firuz from

Bengal, “plenipotentiaries from Ilyas Haji of Lakhnawatl with valuable presents” came to Delhi. “They became recipient of excessive favours and endless affections”. Such exchanges of presents and tokens of goodwill, as obtain only between two sovereigns, continued till the death of Shams-ud-dln Ilyas, and leave no doubt that the ruler of Bengal was recognized by FIruz as an independent sovereign. They also indirectly prove that the campaign of FIruz in Bengal, which probably lasted for about two years from November 1353 to September 1355, was a failure. The thinly veiled pretext of the court historians to explain the retreat of the Sultan is not likely to deceive anybody.

Ilyas Shah’s successful challenge to the authority of the Sultan of Delhi sheds lustre on his reign. As soon as FIruz turned his back he re-occupied his capital city Fandua and re-established his authority as far as the banks of the Kusl. He may justly be said to have inaugurated a glorious period in the history of Bengal. Towards the close of his reign he added one more laurel to his crown by leading a successful campaign against Kamrup to which a detailed reference will be made in Chapter XIII-D.

Hardly anything is known of the character and personality of Ilyas Shah. The Riydz calls him Bhdngra i.e. a smoker of Bhang, a popular narcotic generally indulged in by lower classes in Bengal. It is, however, difficult to accept the casual opinion expressed by such a late authority. According to ‘Aflf, Ilyas suffered from leprosy for which he visited the tomb of Salar Mas‘ud Ghazi and rubbed the dust of the place on his body. ‘Aflf was not very kindly disposed towards the enemy of his patron, and his statement is therefore not above suspicion. The death of Sultan Shams-ud-dln Ilyas Shah probably took place in 758 A.H. (A.D. 1356-7).

Ziya-ud-din Baranl has painted the personal character and administration of Ilyas in the blackest hue. It is obvious that he has taken his cue from, and sometimes even reproduced verbatim, the proclamation issued by Sultan FIruz to justify his campaign against Ilyas. According to this proclamation, Ilyas was guilty of oppression and highhandedness upon the people of Lakhnawatl and Tirhut (Baranl adds: both Hindus and Muslims), shed unnecessary blood, even of women, levied illegal cesses etc., so much so that there was no security of life and property, no safety for honour and chastity. Baranl repeats all this and adds that Ilyas brought ruin upon Bengal and destroyed many Muslim cities; he was both tyrannical and treacherous. 17

These views were undoubtedly propagated by the Delhi court in order to justify the invasion of a Muslim kingdom by FIruz. But war propaganda cannot be regarded as historical truth without corroboration from independent sources. Such corroboration is, however, entirely lacking. On the other hand, the proclamation, which held out tempting rewards to those Bengalis who would desert the cause of Ilyas and join the Sultan, fell flat upon the people of Bengal who were undoubtedly the worst sufferers from the tyranny of Ilyas if the allegations against him had any basis in fact. It is therefore unreasonable to accept the accusation against Ilyas, although it has the authority of the great historian of the period.

4. SULTAN SIKANDAR

Ilyas Shah was succeeded by his son Sikandar. The most memorable event of his reign was another invasion of Bengal by Sultan Firuz. The first campaign of the Sultan was a failure, for though he gained possession of Bihar he had to acknowledge by a treaty the right of the Sultan of Bengal to rule independently the rest of his possessions. It is very uncertain whether, left to himself, he would have sought to disturb this arrangement for he maintained very cordial relations with Ilyas as mentioned above. But an unexpected event in A.D. 1357 induced him to make one further attempt to re-establish the authority of Delhi over Bengal. Zafar Khan Fars, a Persian nobleman and son-in-law of Sultan Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah of Sonargaon, left that place after its conquest by Ilyas Shah, and having reached Tattah in Sind by a voyage round the coast, ultimately went overland to Delhi. Sultan Firuz received him cordially and assigned him a palace and a suitable allowance for his stay in Delhi. He is also said to have been appointed ndib-wazir. Either at his instigation, or encouraged by the prospect of help w r hich could be rendered by a member of the old ruling family, Firuz conceived the idea of recovering Bengal. The death of Ilyas Shah appeared to him to be suitable opportunity to carry out his plan. He repudiated the treaty with Ilyas Shah on the ground that Sikandar was disloyal and had violated the treaty concluded by his father, declared Zafar Khan as the legitimate ruler of Bengal, and once more personally led a military expedition to Bengal.[18] With a mighty army consisting of 80,000 cavalry, 470 elephants and a large body of infantry, Sultan Firuz marched through U.P. and, after considerable delay on the way, reached Bengal in A.D. 1359. Sikandar followed the strategy of his father, and having avoided an open engagement took shelter in the island fortress of Ekdala. Firuz besieged the place and, as before there were light actions and skirmishes with no decisive result. On one occasion, one of the principal bastions of the fort of Ekdala crashed down under the weight of the men assembled on it, and the generals of the imperial army urged their master to make an immediate assault upon the fort through the breach. Firuz, however, overruled the suggestion, and the court-historian ‘Afif, as usual, attributes this forbearance on the part of the Sultan to a chivalrous consideration for the honour of the Muslim women inside the fort. 19 It appears, however, to be more likely that faced with the determined courage of the enemy and the skilful leadership of Sikandar, FIruz decided to pull his army out of Bengal. The disagreeable climate of Bengal and its mosquitoes, and the approach of monsoon must have also influenced his decision. So he brought the campaign to a close by concluding a treaty with the Sultan of Bengal.

It is worthy of note that it was Sultan FIruz who took the initiative in opening overtures for peace. He chose as his envoy one of his Bengali officials named Haibat Khan two of whose sons were employed under the Sultan of Bengal. Haibat ably conducted the negotiations and a treaty was concluded on the basis of political status quo. Sikandar acknowledged the cession of the country to the west of the KusI to Sultan FIruz, who in his turn waived the claim of Zafar Khan to Sonargaon, and sealed the treaty by conferring upon Sikandar a golden crown valued at 80,000 tankas in a formal ceremony of investiture. According to ‘Aflf, FIruz had demanded and Sultan Sikandar readily agreed to assign Sonargaon to Zafar Khan, but the scheme fell through as Zafar Khan declined the offer on the ground that “he and his family were so happy and secure under the government of Delhi.” This can only be taken as an ill-concealed attempt to save the face of Sultan FIruz. 20 Nobody can fail to perceive that this second invasion of Bengal by Firuz, like the first, was a failure, as he could not achieve the object for which he had undertaken the expedition. The formal recognition of Sikandar as an independent ruler by Sultan Firuz marks the last attempt by the Sultans of Delhi to reassert suzerainty over that province, and for nearly two centuries Bengal was left in peace without any interference from the imperial court.

A Sanskrit inscription 2021 on a pillar at the entrance of a temple at Panchadharala in the Vizagapatam District of the Andhra Pradesh records that King Choda II of the Kona-mandla (Godavari Delta) “set about in aid of the harassed Sultan of Panduva, vanquished the Emperor of Dilli (Delhi), and gave the goddess of victory together with twenty-two elephants to the king of Utkala (Orissa).” As the grandson of Choda II ruled in A.D. 1403, it is reasonable to conclude that Choda II helped the Sultan of Bengal against Firuz Shah Tugluq when the latter had invaded Bengal, Pandura being obviously by the Sanskrit form of Pandua, the capital of the Sultans of Bengal. It is difficult to say whether the help

was rendered during the first or second expedition of Flruz. It would appear from the Sanskrit inscription that King Choda II of m1 a. was a feudatory of Orissa and probably supplied a contingent on behalf of his overlord. So the help was really given by the ruler of Orissa, and this may be one of the reasons why Firuz invaded Orissa before he returned to Delhi after his second expedition in A.D. 1359, as mentioned above. 2013

The prosperity of Sikandar's reign is evidenced by the many architecutral remains of his age, such as the mosque at Adlna, built by the Sultan in A.D. 1368, which ranks as one of the most famous monuments of the Muslim rule in India. But the last years of Sikandar's life were embittered by palace intrigues. He had seventeen sons by his first wife and only one by the second. The latter, suspecting that his father's ears were poisoned against him by his step-mother, fled to Sonargaon and openly revolted against his father. He conquered Sonargaon and Satgaon and the long-drawn contest was finally decided in his favour in a pitched battle near the capital city in which Sikandar was defeated and killed (1390-91 A.D.).

5. THE SUCCESSORS OF SIKANDAR (i) Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah.

The successful rebel prince ascended the throne under the title of Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah. 21 According to the Assam Buranjis, A'zam Shah led a military campaign against Kamata when its king was engaged in hostilities with the neighbouring Ahom king. In the face of the Muslim invasion the two Hindu kings made up their quarrel and drove the Bengali army beyond the Karatoya.

Meng-tsau-mwun (Naraimekhala), the king of Arakan, being expelled from his kingdom took shelter in the court of A'zam who made an unsuccessful effort to restore him to his throne. A'zam maintained friendly relations with Khvaja Jahan, who founded the independent kingdom of Jaunpur. According to the Arakanese chronicle, the next king of Jaunpur, Ibrahim, invaded Bengal. The attack was, however, successfully repulsed with the new tactical methods of war introduced by the fugitive king of Arakan who lived in the court of Pandua at that time.

To A‘zam Shah belongs the credit of having opened up the old contact between India and China. A friendly correspondence with the Celestial Emperor was followed by the despatch of envoys from Bengal in A.D. 1405 and 1409. The Chinese Emperor received the envoys cordially and sent presents for the Sultan and his wife. He also sent his own envoy to India to take back with him Buddhist

monks to China. A Bhikshu named Mabaratna Dharmaraja travelled to China in A.D. 1410-11 and revived the ancient cultural ties between the two countries. Mahuan, the interpreter attached to the Chinese embassy that visited Bengal in A.D. 1409, has left a very interesting account of the people of Bengal, particularly their dress, manufactures and pastimes, to which reference will be made later. 22

Reference may be made to two anecdotes which throw interesting light on the character and personality of Sultan Ghiyas-uddln A‘zam Shah. Once he accidentally killed the son of a widow who complained to the qazi. The Sultan, being summoned to the court, humbly appeared and paid the penalty as decided by the qazi. At the end of the trial the Sultan told the qazi that if he had failed to do his duty he would have been beheaded. The qazi retorted with a smile that if His Majesty had not submitted to his orders he would have scourged him. Another story runs to the effect that the Sultan composed the first line of a verse in honour of his three favourite concubines, but unable to complete it; appealed to the famous poet Hafiz, who not only supplied the second line to the distich but also sent another ghazal to the Sultan.

According to the very late authority, the Riydz, Ghiy!as-uddin was murdered by Raja Ganesa, to whom reference will be made later. But the earlier authorities like Nizam-ud-dln and Firishta do not refer to any such event, and we may well believe that the Sultan died a natural death, after a long reign, in A.D. 1410.

(ii) Saif-nd-dln Hamzah (A.D. 1410-12)

Ghiyas-ud-din A‘zam Shah was succeeded by his son Saif-ud-din Hamzah Shah whose coins are dated 813 and 814 A.H. He therefore probably ruled from A.D. 1410 to 1412. The Chinese sources, however, suggest that he ruled till A.D. 1420, But, as the next three kings regularly issued coins in 816, 817 and 818 A.H., it is difficult to accept the Chinese version, unless we accept the suggestion that there were rival claimants ruling simultaneously in different parts of the kingdom. 23 But we have no evidence in support of such an unusual state of things. The only fact known about Saif-ud-din is that he continued the friendly relation with the Chinese court.

(iii) Shihab-ud-din Bdyazld Shah (A.D. 1413-14)

Shihab-ud-din Bayazid Shah, the son and successor of Saif-uddin Hamzah Shah, continued the friendly relation with China and once sent a giraffe to the Chinese Emperor with a letter written on a golden leaf. The animal, unknown in China, aroused great curiosity in the country.

(iv) ‘ Ald-ud-din Ftruz Shah (A.D . 1414-15)

Shihab-ud-din Bayazid Shah issued coins in 816 and 817 A.H. Coins were issued by his son ‘Ala-ud-din Firuz Shiah in 817 A.H. from Mu‘azzamabad and Satgaon. It is not unlikely, therefore, that ‘Ala-ud-din, exasperated with the ascendancy of Raja Ganesa at his father’s court, set himself up as an independent monarch in East and South Bengal. It is, of course, equally, or even more, possible that the death of the father and the accession of the son took place in course of the year 817 A.H. In any case we find a new monarch, Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, issuing coins in 818 A.H. (A.D. 1415-16), bringing to an end, for the time being, the rule of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty. In order to understand the nature of this revolution and the course of events which brought it about, it is necessary to go back a little.

6. RAJA GANESA

During the reigns of the successors of Sikandar Shah occurred an event, almost unique in character in the annals of Muslim rule in India, namely the successful usurpation of royal authority by a Hindu chief. Unfortunately, though the main fact is beyond all doubt, the details of this Hindu interregnum are not known with any definiteness. The reconstruction of the history of the period also offers many difficulties, and has consequently given rise to a number of problems and theories. 24 These need not be discussed here in detail, and only a brief resume of the main incidents must suffice.

The name of the Hindu usurper is written by Muslim historians as Raja Kans or Kansi, but some Hindu sources give it as Ganesa, and this is now regarded as the real name. He was a local zamindar in North Bengal (of Dinajpur or Rajshahi according to different traditions) and is referred to in a contemporary Muslim source as a member of a very old zamindar family of 400 years' standing.

Ganesa came into prominence during the reign of Ghiyas-uddin A'zam Shah. As noted above, according to the Riydz, a Muslim chronicle written in A.D. 1788, Sultan A'zam Shah was treacherously killed by Ganesa, but this is not corroborated by any other source. In any case we know that the Sultan was succeeded by his son, Saif-ud-din Hamzah Shah, and the latter by Shihab-ud-dm Bayazid Shah, as mentioned above. But all our main sources indicate that Saif-ud-din was a very weak ruler, and the real power was wielded by the nobles, generals, and the influential members of the government. It appears that Ganesa became the most powerful among these nobles and played an important political role after

the death of Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah. Firishta says that Ganesa "attained to great power and predominance during Shihab-ud-din's reign and became the de facto master of the treasury and kingdom". This is probably true, but we possess different versions of the subsequent course of events. According to Firishta, on the death of Shihab-ud-din, Ganesa usurped the throne, while the Riyaz represents Ganesa as having attacked and killed Shihab-ud-din and seized the throne. On the other hand, according to the Tabaqdt-i Akhari, it was only after Shihab-ud-din's death that Ganesa acquired 'domination' over Bengal for seven years; and after his death his son turned Muslim and took the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-din. The plain implication is that Ganesa was really a king-maker, and wielded the chief power, but did not crown himself as a king, and placed his own son on the throne after conversion to Islam. Evidently he was the head of a strong political faction at the court consisting of both Hindus and Muslims, and he sought to placate the latter and maintain his power by converting his son to Islam.

The Riyctz, which represents Raja Ganesa as having crowned himself king of Bengal after killing Shihab-ud-din, gives a long and circumstantial narrative of his reign which may be summed up as follows:

“Raja Ganesa subjugated the whole kingdom of Bengal. He oppressed the Muslims, slew a number of them, and his aim was to extirpate Islam from his dominions. Thereupon the great saint Nur Qutb-ul-ATam appealed to the Sharqi ruler, Sultan Ibrahim, to save Islam. The Sultan accordingly invaded Bengal with an army. Thereupon Raja Ganesa waited on the saint and asked for his forgiveness and protection. The saint agreed to intercede for him provided he adopted Islam. Raja Ganesa agreed, but his wife having objected to this course, his son Jadu, a boy of twelve, was converted by the saint, re-named Jalal-ud-din, and placed on the throne. At the request of the saint, Sultan Ibrahim returned to his kingdom and died shortly after. As soon as Ganesa heard this news, he set aside his son and himself ascended the throne a second time. He again began to oppress the Muslims and even had the son of the saint murdered by his agent. At that very moment Ganesa also died ‘and passed to hell’. Jalal-ud-din, who was reconverted to Hinduism by his father, had refused to re-embrace Hinduism. According to some account, he was in prison but slew his father with the help of some servants. The rule of Ganesa lasted for seven years.”

The account given in the Riyaz is substantially corroborated by three letters written by a saint of Jaunpur named Hazarat AshralT

Jahangir Sinnani. 24a One of these gives the purport of the letter which Nur Qutb-ul-A‘lam wrote to the Sharqi ruler, Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur. It begins with lamentations over the sad plight of Islam brought about in Bengal by the infidel king Kans (Ganesa) who has usurped the throne. He then urges upon Sultan Ibrahim to invade Bengal without delay. “The fire of infidelity is raging in Bengal and you are keeping your sword in your sheath”, says he. He concludes: “Don’t sit at rest for even an hour on your throne. Come and overthrow this infidelity by your sword.”

What followed may be briefly described on the authority of these letters and other evidences. Sultan Ibrahim invaded Bengal and Ganesa fled. Ibrahim put on the throne the son of Ganesa who was converted to Islam and then returned to Jaunpur. Ganesa now again appeared on the scene and became the de facto, if not also dc jure , ruler of Bengal. Though Nur Qutb-ul-A‘lam laments over this fact in a letter to his son, he did not evidently invoke the aid of the Sultan of Jaunpur as he did before.

The statement that the Riydz, vouched for by Firishta, that Ganesa actually ascended the throne, is discredited by some modern historians on numismatic evidence. For, while no coin of Raja Ganesa has actually come to light, we have coins of the Muslim rulers, mentioned above, regularly issued up to 817 A.H. and also those of Jalal-ud-din, the son of Ganesa, dated 818, a few of 819 A.H. and again regularly from 821 to 835 A.H.

So far no coin of Jalal-ud-din of 820 A.H. has come to light, and this gap has given rise to a very interesting theory. For two series of coins issued by a king called Danujamardana-deva in Saka 1339-40 and Mahendra-deva in Saka 1340 (also probably 1341) have come to light. The following equivalents of dates have been regarded as of great significance in tracing the sequence of events.

A.H. 820 (for which we have no coins of Jalal-ud-din) =February 18, 1417, to February 7, 1418,

Saka 1339=April 1416 to April 1417 Saka 1340=April 1417 to April 1418 Saka 1341==April 1418 to April 1419

A.H. 821 (for which we have coins of Jalal-ud-din)

—February 8, 1418 to January 27, 1419.

On the basis of this sequence of coins Dr. N. K. Bhattasali 25 formulated an ingenious theory about the history of Raja Ganesa mainly on the lines of the Riyaz’s narrative. According to him Ganesa assumed the title Danujamardana-deva on ascending the

throne in A.D. 1417, and ruled for a short period of less than two years, after which his son again occupied the throne in A.D. 1419. This view is accepted by many scholars. 26

Dr. Bhattasali further held che view that Mahendra-deva was the title assumed by the son of Ganesa after his reconversion to Hinduism and before his second conversion to Islam (after his father’s death) when he again took the name Jalal-ud-dln. This view is, however, not accepted even by those who favour the identification of Ganesa with Danujamardana-deva. Some of them hold that after the death of Ganesa, the Hindu party in the court raised his second son to the throne under the title Mahendra-deva, who was soon ousted by his renegade elder brother Jalal-ud-dln. 27

Recently a writer 28 has urged the view that Ganesa never actually ascended the throne, but was the de facto ruler for seven years during the reigns of the puppet king ‘Ala-ud-din Firuz and his own son Jalal-ud-dln who succeeded ‘Ala-ud-din Firuz immediately after his death. The same writer regards Danujamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva as local chiefs in East and South Bengal who asserted independence during the troubles caused by the usurpation of Ganesa and the invasions of Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. Although this view cannot be lightly set aside, the theory that Ganesa was identical with Danujamardana-deva seems to be the most satisfactory hypothesis offered so far, though it cannot claim to be anything more in the present state of our knowledge.

But whatever view one might take regarding the theory of Dr. Bhattasali, the fact remains that Raja Ganesa, a Hindu chief wielded royal authority either as a de facto or de jure king for some time and succeeded in passing the inheritance to his family. This reveals the strength of the Hindu chiefs at the time, a conclusion which gains additional force if Danujamardana-deva and Mahendra-deva are regarded as local rulers of East and South Bengal, w r ho asserted independence and maintained it for more than two years. The revival of Hindu monarchy was, of course, no more than a passing episode, but it gives us a glimpse of the political situation in Bengal, of which we have no other evidence or even any vague indication. Incidentally, the letter of the saint Nur Qutb-ul-Aham and the acceptance of Ganesa’s son as king by the Muslims as soon as he was converted to Islam illustrate the strong repugnance of the Muslims to live under a Hindu ruler. They also indicate that the cleavage among the people in Bengal was more on religious than on racial or political lines.

7. THE HOUSE OF RAJA GANESA

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Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1415-1431)

Though we possess but a vague picture of Raja Ganesa as the ruler of Bengal, all authorities agree that he was succeeded by his son who had assumed the title Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah on his conversion to Islamic faith.

The very fact that he ruled in peace for a long time after the troublesome period extending over more than ten years shows that, though belonging to a Hindu family which ousted the dynasty of Ilyas Shah, he enjoyed the confidence and received the support of the clerical party and the Muslim nobility. Jalal-ud-din ruled with absolute authority over the whole of Bengal from the KusI river in the north-w 7 est to Chittagong on the south-east, and from Fathabad and Satgiaon in South Bengal to the border of the Karatoya in the north-east. Few facts of his reign are known from the Persian chronicles. Coins alone indicate the extent of his dominion, and the monuments give us an idea of the increased wealth and prosperity of the country under his sway.

His coins issued in 821 A.H. (A.D. 1418) from Fathabad, generally identified with Faridpur town, show that this region was conquered and brought under the Muslim rule during his reign. If Ganesa alias Danujmardana-deva extended his authority over Chittagoang, Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, as his successor, consolidated his authority over it and annexed to it a portion of Tipperah. A curious type of his coinage, having on the reverse the figure of a lion with the forepaw raised, resembles the type that was prevailing in the contemporary state of Hill Tipperah, and it has been rightly argued that this type w T as adopted in order to make the currency acceptable to the people of a portion of Tipperah conquered by the Sultan. But the issue of this type of coinage may not unreasonably be taken as a clear indication of the temporary hold of the Bengal Sultan over the whole state of Tipperah. Jalal-ud-dln’s contemporaries Mukuta-Manikya and Maha-Manikya on the throne of. Tipperah, if the account of the Rdjamdld is to be believed, were feeble rulers, and the submission of any of these tw T o kings to the authority of the Bengal Sultans is quite plausible. A coin issued from a new mint-town read as ‘Rotaspur’ by Lane-Poole would favour the view of Jalal-ud-din’s extension of authority over Rohtasgarh in South Bihar. As Dr. Dani has pointed out, such an assumption requires further proof. It may, however, be said that Rohtasgarh in the 15th century lay within the sphere of the authority of the autochthonous Chero tribe. Though situated in South Bihar it was an almost inaccessible place, and presumably beyond the sphere of the Sharqi king’s authority. Rhotasgarh, as attested by the Gaya inscription of Asokachalla-deva, was connected with Bengal as late as the 12th century A.D., and an extension of Jalalud-din’s foothold over this strategic outpost to counteract invading armies from the west was quite possible.

Firishta applauds him by saying that “he upheld the principles of justice and equity and became the Naushlrwan of the age,” This remark is corroborated by the evidence of Sanskrit works, the Smriti-ratnahdra and the Pada-chandrikd and refutes Buchanan Hamilton’s account of his having persecuted the Hindus.

According to the Pdda-chandrika, the commentary on the Amarakosa, he promoted a Brahman named Brihaspati Misra of Kulingram in the present Burdwan district to the position of Sarvabhauma-Pandita (Court-Pandita). This Sanskrit scholar wrote commentaries on the Meghaduta, Kumdra-sambhava, Raghuvamsa, Sisupdlavadha, Amarakosa, and composed a digest on Hindu rites and ceremonies called the Pada-chandrikd. Whether he was a teacher of Jalal-ud-din in his boyhood or not, the Sultan lavished gifts and honours on him. According to the interpretation of a Sanskrit sloka by D. C. Bhattacharya, another Hindu, Sri Rajyadhara was raised to the position of an army commander. 29 Another Hindu, Visvas Rai, son of Brihaspati, is mentioned as having been a minister to Gaudesvara who was no other than Sultan Jalal-ud-din.

Visvas Rai and others are described in a passage of the Padachandrikd as so many gems on the crest of king's (Jalal-ud-din's) minister. They had composed valuable works on all the different branches of learning. Under Jalal-ud-din Muhammad, FlruzabadPandua became a populous and flourishing town and it is recorded in the Ming-she that a Chinese, bearing the name of Cheng-ho, visited this city twice in his sailing craft, once in A.D. 1421-22 and again in A.D. 1431-33. The city of Gaur, representing the old capital of Lakhnawati, began to be repopulated in his time. Sultan Jalalud-din himself contributed to its development by constructing buildings and sardis.

Originally a Hindu, but converted into Islam, Jalal-ud-din ruled Bengal roughly from A.D. 1415 to 1431. He extended the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal, and kept up overseas communication with China which perhaps stimulated the growth of Chittagong as an entrepot of trade. The coins issued from Mu'azzamabad, near Sonargaon after the lapse of two decades, and the new mint-town of Fathabad presumably indicate their growth as ports, consequent on the expansion of river-borne trade.

The singular fact about this monarch is that though a neoMuslim, he was free from bigotry, which is usually the characteristic of such persons. His mortal remains are buried in the superb mausoleum, EkhlakhI tomb in Pandua, which is regarded by Cunning ham as a very fine specimen of Muslim architectural style in Bengal in the pre-Mughul age.

(ii) Shams-ud-din Ahmad Shah (A.D. 1431-35)

Jalal-ud-dln Muhammad was succeeded by his son, Shams-uddin Ahmad Shah, who ruled for a short period, from A.D. 1431 to 1435. According to Firishta, he followed the liberal policy of his father and was renowned for justice and charity. The only important event that is known of his reign was the invasion of his kingdom by Ibrahim Shah Sharql of Jaunpur. Ahmad Shah, unable to withstand him in the field, applied to Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, in Herat, seeking his intervention. The Bengal envoys rounded the entire coast of India, in a seafaring vessel, and ShaikhuMslam Karlm-ud-dln Abul-'l Mukarim JamI was sent by the king of Herat with a message to the Sharql king, forbidding such an aggression. 30 Ahmad Shah kept up the friendly intercourse with China and a Chinese embassy visited Bengal in A.D. 1431-32.

Ahmad Shah's reign was abruptly terminated by his assassination at the hands of two of his nobles, Shadi Khan and Naslr Khan, in A.D. 1436. It has been surmised that the Sultan's murder was precipitated by the outbreak of a "sort of rivalry between the Hindu and the Muslim nobles". 31 Such an inference is farfetched and rests on not very solid ground.

8. THE RESTORATION OF THE ILYAS SHAHI DYNASTY

(i) Nasir-ud-dln Mahmud Shah (A.D. 1437-59)

After the assassination of Shams-ud-din Ahmad Shah, Shadi Khan and Naslr Khan fell out with each other and were overthrown one after the other. A member of the Ilyas Shah! dynasty now ascended the throne under the title of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud in 841 A.H. (A.D. 1437-1438). 32 A large number of inscriptions belonging to his reign refer to the construction of public works and generally indicate an era of peace and prosperity. This was partly due to the fact that he was freed from the menace of the Sharql rulers on the western front on account of their long-drawn struggle with the Lodi Sultans. But there were military campaigns on other fronts. The kings of Orissa held a large part of Western Bengal, and probably extended their frontier to the Bhagirathi during the troubles of the second decade of the fifteenth century. King Kapilendra-deva of Orissa is referred to in an inscription, dated A.D. 1447, as Gaudesvara (Lord of Gauda or West Bengal). He also claims to have defeated "Malika Parisa". This has been taken by some to refer to the Muslim Sultan of Bengal, and by others to Mallikarjuna, the king of Vijayanagara. Another inscription of Orissa refers to the defeat of two Turushka kings, one of whom has been identified with Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. 33

There was also fighting on the Arakan front during his reign. All Khan, the successor of Meng-tsau-mwun (Naraimekhala) mentioned above as having taken shelter with Sultan Ghiyas-ud-dln A'zam Shah, initiated the policy of pushing his frontier towards the north. He annexed Sandowy and Ramu and his successor, Baswpyu (Kalim Shah, A.D. 1459-82), took possession of Chittagong in 1459 which remained usually in Arakanese hands until the Mughul conquest and occupation of the place in A.D. 1666. In one direction, however, the frontier of Bengal was extended, for the Bagerhat region of the Khulna district was conquered by Khan Jahan to whom the local tradition gives the credit of the first Muslim colonization of this area. 34 An inscription on his tomb at Bagerhat records his death to have occurred in 863 A.H. (A.D. 1458-9).

The transfer of the seat of royalty to Gaur probably took place during his reign and it was perhaps necessitated by a change in the course of the river on which the old capital Pandua stood. Minttowns and inscriptions of his reign, scattered all over the country from Bhagalpur to Bagerhat, testify to his extensive sway lasting until A.D. 1459. As noted above, the KusI had been the frontier of the kingdom of Bengal under the early Ilyas Shahls, but the inclusion of Bhagalpur within Mahmud Shah's territory shows that the western frontier had been advanced further west under him.

(ii) Rukn-ud-din Bdrbak Shah (A.D. 1459-74)

Rukn-ud-dm Barbak Shah, who peacefully succeeded his father on the throne, w 7 as a powerful ruler. During his reign the frontiers of Bengal were extended in different directions for which popular tradition gives the credit to Shah Ismafil GhazI, a popular saint of North Bengal. He waged war with the Hindu kings of Kamata on the north-eastern and Gajapati Kapilendra, king of Orissa, on the south-western frontier. The career of this warrior saint is narrated in a work entitled the Risdlat-us-Shuhadd compiled by Plr Muhammad Shattari in A.D. 1633. 35 It appears from this work as well as the Madldpanp, the chronicle of the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, that he carried on his military operations against Orissa from his base at Mandaran, near Arambagh in Hughli district and that he was the master-spirit directing the operations of the Bengal army in the long-drawn struggle against Orissa. 36 Shah Ismahl also distinguished himself in fighting with the king of Kamata which was separated from Bengal by the Karatoya. It is stated that the GhazI contested the Kamata army at Santosh in Dinajpur district and sustained defeat. 36a The account of his death in A.D. 1474, owing to the intrigues of Bhandasi Rai, as given in the Risdlat, is a fable, for the saint lived long enough to wage war against Gajapati Prataparudra-deva in the first quarter of the 16th century.

The Surma valley (Sylhet) was first conquered in 703 A.H. (A.D. 1303-4) by Sikandar Khan GhazI, but it appears to have slipped from Muslim control after the reign of Fakhr-ud-dln Mubarak Shah, some time about A.D. 1351. The Hatkhola inscription of 863 A.H. (A.D. 1458-59) shows that Sylhet was reoccupied by the Muslims under Rukn-ud-dln Barbak Shah. The Arakanese had seized Chittagong during Nasir-ud-dln Mahmud's reign, but if w*as reconquered by Barbak, as he is referred to as the reigning king in the RastI Khan inscription of 878 A.H. (A.D. 1473-74).

Fathabad (generally indentified with Faridpur town) had formed an integral part of Jalal-ud-dln Muhammad Shah's kingdom but the netwvork of rivers and channels still kept most of the Barisal district outside the pale of the kingdom of Gaur. Military activity is indicated by the inscription of Ulugh-i-Xqrar Khan, mentioned as the shiqcldr of Jor and Barur, in the Purnia district and West Dinajpur. King Yakshamalla of Nepal is said to have conquered MIthila. 37 If this account be taken as correct, Iqrar Khan's activity might be due to a clash with the Nepalese forces.

Barbak Shah's reign was remarkable in the history of medieval Bengal and the stir caused in the dormant life of this country was reflected in the vernacular work, Sri-Krishna-vijaya, composed by Maladhar Basu, who was awarded the title of Gunaraj Khan. The prosperity of the kingdom was evinced by additions to the palace at Gaur, the digging of an underground channel for supply of water inside the palace, and many laudatory phrases about the Sultan's personality and character.

(iii) Shams-ud-dm Yiisuf Shah (A.D. 1474-81)

Rukn-ud-dln Biarbak was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-dm Yusuf Shah who ruled until A.D. 1481. He is described as a learned and virtuous man and an efficient administrator, but hardly anything is known about his reign. His coins do not bear the mintnames but the distribution of his inscriptions from Gangarampur in Dinajpur district to Sylhet, and from Bandar town (opposite the port of Narayanganj) and Mirpur, about seven miles north of Dacca, to Pandua in the Hughli district, indicate the extent of his sway. Similarly the buildings erected in his reign indicate the prosperity of the times. He was the builder of the Jaml‘ Mosque at Darriasbari in A.D. 1479 and perhaps also the founder of the college which stamped its name upon the locality. 38 Cunningham and Creighton have also ascribed to him the erection of three other superb buildings at Gaur, on the evidence of inscriptions, discovered in the neighbourhood, bearing his royal title. These are (1) Chamkatti mosque, so called for its use by a body of monks who used to gash their skin (cham), with a knife; (2) Lotton Masjid which, according to Francklin, “is unsurpassed for elegance of style, lightness of construction and tasteful decoration in any part of Upper Hindustan”; and (3) the Tantipara mosque, so called for its situation in the weavers’ quarter of Gaur.

(iv) Jaldl-ad-dm Fath Shah (A.D. 1481-87) and the end of the Ilyas Shahl Dynasty.

Yusuf was succeeded by Sikandar, probably his son, but Jalalud-dln Fath Shah, a son of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, ascended the throne after deposing Sikandar Shah on the ground that he was afflicted with lunacy. About this time the body of Abyssinian slaves, first employed by Rukn-ud-dln Barbak as palace guards, grew very powerful and insolent. The Sultan took steps to curb their power and, as a result, was assassinated by the commander of the palace-guards, Sultan Shahzada, who ascended the throne under the title of Barbak Shah. Hardly had six months elapsed when he was supplanted by the Abyssinian commander of the army, Amir-ul-Umara c Malik Andil, who assumed the sceptre under the title of Saif-ud-din Firuz in A.D. 1487. Thus ended the rule of the Ilyas Shahl dynasty which forms a brilliant chapter in the history of medieval Bengal.

9. ABYSSINIAN RULE

The accession of Saif-ud-din Firuz led to the rule of the Abyssinians at Gaur for a period of six years. Saif-ud-din was an able ruler and the inscriptions testify to his sway from Sherpur in Mymensing District in the north to Satgaon in the south. According to Ghulam Husain Salim, he had great sympathy for the poor and opened the treasury for them. The Firuz Minar at Gaur has been attributed to him simply on the ground that it bears his name. But the precarious nature of his position and the short tenure of his power are strong arguments against this view.

Nasir-ud-dln Mahmud, who succeeded FIruz in A.D. 1490, is stated by Firishta to have been a son of Jalal-ud-dln Fath Shah. This is more likely than the description of him by Nizam-ud-dln as the son of FIruz, for the extant coins do not mention his royal descent. He was very young and the administration was carried on by the regent, Habash Khan, an Abyssinian, who was shortly killed by another Abyssinian, named Sldl Badr. Sldl Badr, who assumed the regency, had the boy-king killed with the help of the palace-guards and ascended the throne under the title of Shams-ud-dln Muzalfar Shah (A.D. 1491). He is described as a tyrant whose violence and cruelty alienated the nobles as well as the common people. It was mainly due to the ability and wisdom of his wazir, Sayyid Husain, that he could maintain his rule for three years. But his ruthless massacre of the nobility and his exhorbitant demands of revenue precipitated an armed rising which was aggravated by the disaffection of the soldiers caused by the reduction of their pay. The wazir, Sayyid Husain, secretly sympathized with the rebels and ultimately put himself openly at their head. The rebels besieged the citadel where the Sultan had shut himself with a few thousand mercenaries. The siege dragged on for four months and, according to Firishta, the Sultan lost his life in course of a desperate sally from the citadel. But according to Nizam-ud-dln, he was secretly assassinated by Sayyid Husain with the help of the parks. Thus ended the dark period of Abyssinian rule in Bengal.

It is worthy of note that while these phantom and tyrannical rulers succeeded one another in quick succession, the people, both Hindu and Muslim, looked upon the palace intrigues and revolutions with complete indifference. Indeed the complacence with which the people submitted to the rule of the puppet Sultans appeared so strange to the outsiders that Babur made the following comment in his Memoirs: “There is indeed this peculiarity of the royal office itself that any person who kills the ruler and occupies the throne becomes ruler himself. The amirs , wazirs, soldiers, and peasants submit to him at once and obey him. The Bengalis say ‘we are faithful to the throne, we loyally obey whoever occupies it.’ 39 It was not till Sultan Muzaffar inaugurated a veritable reign of terror that the Bengalis cast off their lethargy and rose against the tyrant

10. ‘ALA-UD-D1N HUSAIN SHAH (A.D. 1493-1519)

The origin and early life of Sayyid Husain are involved in obscurity and have given rise to many legends.[40] According to some accounts, he was a born Arab who had recently settled in Bengal. According to local traditions, he was a native of the Rangpur district in north Bengal (now East Pakistan). Several stories, however, associate him with a village named Chandpara in Murshidabad district.

The stages by which Husain came to occupy the post of chief minister of Muzaffar Shah are not known to us. He showed remarkable wisdom and prudence in discharging the duties of his high office, but as he could clearly apprehend the doom that was sure to overwhelm the tyrannical ruler, he joined the rebels and led them to victory. Thereupon the popular choice naturally fell upon him,[41] particularly as no member of the House of Ilyas Shah seems to have survived the Abyssinian rule, and he ascended the throne under the title ‘Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, probably in A.D. 1493. His long reign of more than a quarter of a century ushered in a new era of peace and prosperity which offered a striking and welcome contrast to the troublesome period that preceded it.

Husain gave evidence of his firmness immediately on his accession to the throne. He issued strict orders to the victorious soldiers to desist from pillaging the capital city, but as they continued to plunder, he sternly put them down by having executed twelve thousand of them. The search for the pillaged articles led to the discovery, among other things, of 13,000 gold plates, which indirectly reflects the wealth of the country. It was a long-standing practice of the Bengali upper class to take their food in gold plates, and Firishta remarks that the greater the display of them by an individual on days of festivity, the greater was the esteem.[42]

After the restoration of order in the capital, Sultan Husain took steps to consolidate his position. He disbanded the paiks who, by the strength of organization and solidarity in their ranks, had become, like the Turkish janissaries, the masters of the palace.

He next dismissed the large body of Abyssinians who had filled the high posts in the administration, and expelled them from the country. He appointed Sayyids, Afghans, Turks and, the scions of the old aristocracy of the land in their place and, supported by them, restored order and security in the country.

‘Ala-ud-din Husain Shah’s reign forms an epoch in the history of independent medieval Bengal. It was a reign of long duration during which the Sultan, by his liberal policy, administrative efficiency, and territorial conquests developed the prosperity of the country, a fact amply attested by the monuments erected during his time. The internal peace and security, the facilities for trade and commerce, and the opportunities opened to the indigenous aristocracy for military operation against the Mongoloid races living on the eastern frontier of Bengal and the Gajapati king of Orissa, infused a new spirit among the people of the province which was reflected in the contemporary vernacular literature.

The embarrassing pre-occupation of Sultan Husain was the adjustment of his relation with the Sultans of Jaunpur and Delhi. About the time of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dm Husain’s accession, interminable fighting between the Sultans of Jaunpur and the Lodi overlords of Delhi had practically caused an eclipse of the Sharql power which was then confined only to Bihar. In A.D. 1495, Sultan Sikandar Lodi led his army into this stronghold of the Sharql king, who implored the protection of the Bengal Sultan. ‘Ala-ud-dm Husain, who was watching this development, promptly responded by deputing a force under his son Daniyal against the Afghan army. The two forces met at Barh, about 30 miles east of Patna. It is a testimony to Husain’s armed strength that Sultan Sikandar halted the advance of his army in the face of the Bengali opposition, and concluded a treaty of friendship on terms of territorial status quo and guarantee of non-aggression into each other’s territory. According to this arrangement, the country to the west of Barh passed under Sultan Sikandar’s authority, while the country east of it, including Mungir and South Bihar, remained under Sultan ‘Ala-uddm Husain’s occupation.

During the period A.D. 1200-1493, the Muslim Sultanate of Bengal had gradually extended up to the hill ranges on the eastern frontier. The annexation of a large portion of Bihar and the influx of the disbanded Jaunpur soldiery that followed the dissolution of the Sharql kingdom, now infused a new vigour to the Bengal Sultanate. Sultan Husain’s first target of attack was the KamataKarnrup kingdom which had long been a great bulwark against Muslim penetration in the north-east. Nilambara, the king of Kamata, fell out with his minister, who thereupon came to the court of Gaur and incited the Sultan to a war against his old master. Husain fell in with this idea and, according to a popular tradition, the war was carried into the Kamata territory by Shall Isma‘il Ghazl. The capital city was well fortified, but the Muslim army gained admission into it by a ruse, took king Nilambara prisoner, and pillaged the city. This was followed by the advance of the Muslim army, and the whole kingdom as far as Ha jo in the Kamrup district was permanently annexed. The whole operation lasted presumably from A.D. 1499 to 1502 when the conquest of this large stretch of territory was publicly recorded by Sultan Husain in an incription at Malda. 43

The Kamata-Kamrup expedition was followed by that against Jajnagar-Orissa whose frontier extended as far as the river Sarasvatl, embracing within its fold practically the whole of Midnapore and part of the Hughli district. Gajapati Kapilendra and his successor Prataparudra were mighty kings whose forces constantly menaced the enemy and carried on intermittent skirmishes on the long frontier along the river Sarasvatl which, though now dried up, carried the volume of the water of the Ganga in those days. According to the Madlapanp, the chronicle of the Jagannatha temple, Shah Isma‘il Ghazi issued out of his base at Mandaran in Arambagh district about 1508-9 and swept onward in a lightning campaign to Puri, raiding Jajpur and Katak on the way, and destroying many Hindu temples. The resounding victory was celebrated by the issue of coins stamped in the name of Jajnagar-Orissa. At the news of the sudden burst of the Muslim army, Gajapati Prataparudra returned from the campaign in the south and drove back the invading force until he reached Mandaran near Arambagh. The fortress was besieged by the exultant Oriya army, but they failed to take it owing to the treachery of an officer named Govinda Vidyadhara. Sultan Husain’s lightning raid was a brilliant success. His forces, however, had to beat a hurried retreat from Orissa and any modification in the Bengal-Orissa frontier proved to be a task beyond his strength, in spite of his increased strength and resources. Hostilities were intermittent along the border throughout the reign as would be borne out by the account of Chaitanya’s journey to Orissa, when he had to cross the Ganga at Sri Chhatrabhog with the aid of the local frontier official, Ramachandra Khan, in A.D. 1509. On his return journey four years later, Sri Chaitanya found the frontier disturbed as before. It appears that Sultan Husain’s success here was limited to maintaining the status quo against the great rival Prataparudra.

In the segment of the eastern frontier abutting on Tippera, also, the Sultan achieved very little success. A section of the Mongoloid. people known by the name of the Tiperais, who had originally dwelt in the recesses of the Agartala hills, had spread across the alluvial plains along the bank of the Gumti until the whole country from Agartala to the Meghna was dominated by them. These people had been drawn into close contact with the Muslim power, immediately after its establishment in Sonargaon, and we may easily infer that the primary need of defence induced Fakhr-ud-dln to build the highway from his capital to Chandpur. During the 14th and 15th centuries hardly a glimpse of the Bengal Sultan’s relation with these people is available, excepting the casual indication of Sultan Jalal-uddln Muhammad’s sway over a portion of the Tipperah kingdom. Sultan Husain made strenuous efforts to conquer this hill kingdom. According to a late chronicle, the Rajamdla, he despatched his army

on four successive occasions, but the hill people fought heroically and do not appear to have yielded ground at all. The first expedition is said to have been an abject failure. The second achieved some initial success by advancing beyond Comilla and seizing the fort of Meherkul, but the Tiperai general, alleged to be Rai Chaichag, annihilated the Bengali force in course of its advance towards the capital, Rangamati, by a novel stratagem. The way lay across the Gumti which had to be forded. Rai Chaichag dammed the river at a place higher up the ford. As soon as the Muslim army, deceived by the dry bed of the river, began to cross it, the dam was cut off, upon which the roaring water swept away the horses and decimated the bulk of the army. The third expedition shared a similar fate. The fourth expedition was distinguished by an engagement near the Kailargarh fort, with perhaps indecisive result.

The net result of Husain Shah's repeated expeditions cannot be precisely determined. The reference in the Sonargaon inscription of A.D. 1513 to Khawas Khan, as sar-i-lashkar (commander) of the country (zarriin) of Tripura and wazlr of Mu'azzamabad, has been taken by some 44 to signify that at least a part of Tipperah was annexed. But the title may as well refer to his role as the commander-designate of the forces mobilized against Tipperah.

Husain Shah also sent military expeditions against Arakan. It appears that the Arakanese, acting on their own interest, had helped Raja Dhanya-Manikya in his struggle against Sultan Husain in the closing phase of the war, and gained possession of Chittagong by expelling the Bengali officers. In other words, Tipperah war became merged in that with the Arakanese. The conduct of the operation was assigned to Paragal Khan 4 ' 5 who advanced from his base on the Feni river. Hostilities appear to have lasted from A.D. 1513 to 1516. After Paragal, his son ChhutI Khan assumed charge of the campaign against the Arakanese which continued until Chittagong was wrested from their control.

The Arakan campaign was probably the last military expedition during the reign of Husain Shah who died in A.D. 1519. His reign is a memorable chapter in the history of medieval Bengal. After a period of troubles and turmoils he not only restored peace and prosperity in the country, but also extended the frontier of his kingdom in all directions. By his military exploits he added to his dominions a portion of modern Bihar and Assam, and recovered Chittagong from the Arakanese. According to the Portuguese De Barros, Arakan was a vassal of Bengal about this time, and this may mean a temporary assertion of suzerainty.

In spite of almost continual fighting, the reign of Husain Shah is noted for many works of public utility and witnessed a remarkable development of Bengali literature to which reference will be made later. It was during his reign that Chaitanya preached his religion which ushered in a new era of social and religious reform among the Hindus in Bengal. The liberal attitude of Husain Shah towards the Hindus, which will be discussed elsewhere in detail, was an important factor in this renaissance of Bengal. Husain possessed a remarkable personality and his sense of justice, affability, and kindness made such a deep impression that a Hindu writer of the time described him as an incarnation of Krishna.

Viewed as a whole, it may be said, without much exaggeration, that under Sultan Husain Shah, Bengal enjoyed such a spell of peace, prosperity, and all-round progress as she had not done before under any other Sultan. His reign may justly be looked upon as the most glorious in medieval Bengal.

11. NUSRAT SHAH (A.D. 1519-1532) AND HIS SUCCESSORS

On Sultan Husain’s death, the crown passed on to his eldest son Nusrat Shah, who followed the vigorous policy of his father and attempted to achieve the expansion of Bengal’s frontier in the east and west. Sultan Nusrat’s reign coincided with remarkable changes in the political set-up of northern India. In the early years of his reign the coalescence of the Afghans in eastern India against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi favoured his aggressive designs. According to Ghulam Husain Salim, he conquered Tirhut. In A.D. 1526 the Afghan supremacy was overthrown and the Mughuls established themselves in their place. The Mughul conquest of Delhi and Agra, followed by the dislodgrnent of the Afghans from their strongholds in the Doab, presented to Sultan Nusrat the problem of defending his kingdom against the Afghans driven eastward by Babur at the head of an army deemed invincible. The important political role played by Sultan Nusrat after 1526, ending with the treaty of peace concluded with Babur, can only be understood in the context of the Mughul conquest of India, and will be discussed in the next volume.

Nusrat, as the heir to his father’s conquest in Kamata-Kamrup, carried on an active warfare in the eastern front, and invaded the Ahom kingdom of the Upper Brahmaputra valley in 1527. He was however defeated on all fronts by the Ahoms who pursued the Muslim troops as far as the Burai river. According to the Ahom Buranjis, the Ahoms took the offensive in A.D. 1529 and advanced along the Brahmaputra towards Hajo, the Muslim headquarter in this region. The Bengalis suffered the first reverse in a naval action at Temani (Trimohini), but they recovered from it and attacked the

Ahom post at Singiri under their general Bit Malik who was defeated and driven back with heavy loss. After Sultan Nusrat's assassination in 1532 the military operations were conducted by Turbak who captured the Ahom posts of Singiri and Sala, but the Ahoms got the better of him in two successive engagements, one on the Dikrai river in Sibsagar District and the other on the Bharali river in Tejpur District. In the stormy times that followed Nusrat's assassination, the conquests in Assam and Kamata territory slipped away, and the two kingdoms pursued their own affairs without any interference from Bengal for nearly a century and a half.

Nusrat was a great patron of Bengali literature, and his reign is memorable for a number of noble edifices erected during that period. Chief among these is the Great Golden Mosque (Bara Sona Masjid), built in A.D. 1526, which, on account of its dimensions, is reckoned as the largest of the ancient monuments in Gaur. Increase of wealth as a consequence of the overseas trade was also reflected in the building of mosques at important ports and marts, e.g. at Satgaon in 1529, Sonargaon in 1523 and Mangalkot, on the bank of the Ajaya, in 1524.

Sultan Nusrat lost his life at the hands of an assassin in A.D. 1532 upon which his son 'Ala-ud-din Firiiz seized the throne. He was supplanted shortly after by his uncle, Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah (A.D. 1533-38), the son of 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, who was the last representative of the line of independent Muslim Sultans of Bengal. He was overthrown after a short reign by the Afghan genius Sher Khan Sur as will be described in the next volume. He has been condemned as having caused "the extinction of Bengal's independence by his incompetence." Sultan Mahmud appears to have been a gay, pleasure-loving monarch. According to the Portuguese account, his harem contained ten thousand women. In such a decadent atmosphere he might have lost his soldierly qualities and thereby become unfit for parrying blows with Sher Khan Afghan. But whether his general policy, namely, that of alliance with the NuhanI chief of Bihar, and opposition to Sher Khan Sur, was unsound, can only be judged in the context of the history of Sher Khan which will be discussed in the next volume.

F. SIND 1. The Sumras

Reference has been made above to the domination of the Saffarids (A.D. 872-903) in Sind and the rise of two separate States, namely, Multan and Mansurah, after the fall of that dynasty. Both of these had to accept the suzerainty of the Samanids who, as

mentioned above, replaced the Saffarids as the dominant power in this region, but had themselves to yield to the Ghaznavids towards the end of the tenth century A.D. 1

As noted above, Sultan Mahmud established his authority over Multan in A. D. 1010, 2 and it is likely that he also established his supremacy over Mansurah or Sind proper. According to the Tdrikh-i-Ma'suml the Sumras rebelled during the reign of his son Ma‘sud and placed a man of their tribe, also called Sumra, on the throne. This is the first definite reference to the Sumras who are known to have ruled in Sind for a long period. Unfortunately very little is known either about their origin or of their history. It has been suggested that they were Paramara Rajputs, but of this we have no authentic evidence. It is generally assumed, from the names of the later rulers of this dynasty, that the Sumras were Muslims. It is, however, very likely that they adopted their new faith at a later date; in any case, their conversion must have been a slow process.

Ibn Batutah states of the Samiras, that is the Sumras, that “they do not eat with anybody nor can anyone look towards them when they are eating; nor do they marry among people other than their own, and no one marries in their fold.” 3 When Mahmud Begarha first invaded Sind to relieve the Sindhi Muslims from persecution by the Hindus, he came across Sumras and other tribes who were Muslims but knew little of Islam or its rules, and were wont to intermarry with and live as Hindus. 4 It is also interesting to note that the name of the last Sumra king, Hamir, was usually borne by a Hindu.

The total region-period of the Sumras is given as 143 (lunar) years (A.D. 1300-1439) in the Tankh-i-Tahiri, but according to other authorities, it was 500 or even 550 years. 5 They certainly ruled till the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., and as we hear of them in the reign of Ma‘sud they must have ruled for a period of at least three hundred years. It is not, however, unlikely that they ruled for five hundred years as stated by Abu-’l Fazal and Nizam-ud-dm, for they might have established their power during the confusion that must have followed the Saffarid conquest of Sind. On the other hand, we do not know the name of any Sumra chief preceding the ruler of that name who successfully rebelled against Ma‘sud. It is probable that he was the real founder of the dynasty which was named after him.

Sumra consolidated his position by marrying the daughter of a powerful chieftain named Sad, and was succeeded by his son Bhungar, who enjoyed a reign of 15 years. His son Duda, who extended his sway up to Nasrpur, died in 485 A.H. (A.D. 1092), and was succeeded by his minor son, Singhar. Singhar reigned for 15 years, during which period he seems to have conquered a part of Cutch. As he had no son, his wife Hamun took charge of the government after his death. Then followed a period of internal strife, after which one Pithu, a descendant of Duda, established himself as king.

According to the Jagaducharita of Sarvananda, Pithadeva of Para (the peninsula on the north-east side of the Runn of Cutch which is still called Parkar) destroyed the whole of Cutch and reached Bhadresvara; after demolishing the ramparts of the city, he returned to Para. Ultimately the Chaulukya king Bhimadeva II (A.D. 1178-c. 1241) sent an army against Pithadeva who fled, and later died of excessive grief. 6

Btihler identified this Pithadeva with the Sumra chief Pithu. If Biihler’s identification is accepted, the reign of Pithu cannot be placed earlier than the last quarter of the twelfth century A.D. 7

Pithu was succeeded by one Khaira who, in his turn, was succeeded by one Khaflf or Hafif, during whose long reign of 33 years the people are said to have been happy and content. It is during this reign that the Sammas are first mentioned. Khaflf appears to have been succeeded by Pithu’s son, ‘Umar, who ruled first 40 years. He was succeeded by his son Duda II, who died after a reign of 14 years.

Our two main authorities differ very widely regarding the successors of Duda II. While Mir Ma‘sum mentions only four kings ending with Armil, ‘All Sher Qani gives a long list of twelve kings ending in Hamir whose reign-periods exceed a total of more than two hundred years. As we know from a contemporary source that the name of the last king of the Sumra dynasty was Hamir Duda, the list of ‘All Sher Qani appears to be more authentic, but when he says that the Sumras were extirpated in a fight against Ala-ud-din, he is evidently wrong and probably makes a confusion between ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughluq. In any case there is no doubt that the Sumras were succeeded by the Sammas in the sovereignty of Sind about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

2. The Sammas

All the kings of the Samma dynasty bore the title Jam, because they claimed to have been descended from Jamshid. But there is hardly any doubt that this legendary origin is fictitious. It is interesting to note that there was another tribe in Sind, called the Thathwas(?) who also claimed descent from Jamshid, and this led to their quarrel with the Samma kings. [8]

Lists of kings of the Samma dynasty are given by Nizamud-dln, Abu-’l Fazl, Firishta and Mir Ma‘sum. The names of the kings and their regnal periods, as given by the four authors, do not agree, the initial date for the beginning of the Samma rule is not stated, and the discrepancy makes it difficult to construct an exact chronology of the Samma chiefs. [9] Prof. Hodivala has pointed out that a fairly correct list can be made out on the basis of the following three or four fixed dates or epochs and two points of contact between provincial and imperial history, which can be determined with tolerable certainty. [10]

Accession of Jam ‘Unar c. 736 A.H.	A.D. 1335
” Fath Khan 801 A.H.	(Timur’s

invasion)	A.D. 1398
” Nanda 866 A.H.	A.D. 1461
Death of ” Nanda 914 A.H.	A.D. 1508

By fitting these points into the framework of the names and regnal periods given in the lists, Hodivala suggested the following chronology:

Name of the king	A.D.
Jam ‘Unar	1335-1339
,, Junan	1339-1352
,, Banhbina	1352-1367
,, Tama chi	1367-1379
,, Salah-ud-din (usurper)	1379-1389

,, Nizam-ud-dln	1389-1391
,, ‘All Sher (son of Tamachl)	1391-1398
,, Karn	1398
,, Fath Khan	1398-1414
,, Tughluq	1414-1442
,, Mubarak	1442
,, Sikandar	1442-1444
,, Raidhan	1444-1453
,, San jar	1453-1461
,, Nanda	1461-1508
,, Flruz	1508-1527

The first part of this proposed chronology is, however, not free from difficulties. For, from the Munshat-i-Mahru it appears that the second and the third kings, namely, Junan and Banhbina, 11 the brother and son respectively of the first king, ‘Unar, were joint rulers. We also learn from the same work, that Hamlr Duda Sumra was still in Sind, though “the plant of his existence had been afflicted by the violent wind of calamities”. Flruz Shah was however, helping Hamlr, apparently to set him up against Banhbina,

as the latter in alliance with the Mongols had attacked Gujarat and the Punjab on several occasions. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk Mahru, the governor of Multan, was therefore writing to Flruz Shah’s governor of Sind to strengthen the position of Hamir, who had been granted a position and pension by Flruz Shah. Flruz had also entrusted Hamir to the charge of Malik-ul-Umara‘ Rukn-ud-dm Amir Hasan, the brother of the governor of Gujarat, to whom ‘Ain-ul-Mulk’s letter was addressed. ‘Ain-ul-Mulk hoped that “the position of Hamir Dtida will be strengthened (by the governor of Gujarat) as is desired by His Majesty (Flruz Shah), and both the territories of Gujarat and Sind will be freed from the menace of Banhbina (bin) ‘Unar, Otherwise nothing can prevent these handful of damned people from bringing infidels (Mongols) into the territories of Islam whenever they like and looting and carrying off as slaves the subjects and the Dhimmis of Dar-ul-Islam.” This is the last, however, that we hear of Hamir, for in the letters that follow, Hamir is never again mentioned. From this it may be presumed that Hamir was the last Sumra king, as stated by ‘All Sher Qani.

It appears from the letters of Mahru, that either Jam Junan and Banhbina were ruling jointly or had divided the kingdom amongst themselves. Jam Junan was loyal to Sultan Flruz, while Banhbina, as has been noted above, was creating trouble by raiding the imperial domains with Mongol help, from practically the beginning of Flruz Shah’s reign. Being afraid of reprisals, Banhbina once wrote a letter to Mahru justifying his (Banhbina’s) conduct, in reply to which Mahru wrote a stinging answer, which contains the interesting information that Sultan Flruz Shah had married Banhbina’s daughter.

In spite of the remonstrances of Mahru, Banhbina did not change his ways so that Sultan Flruz, as noted above, was obliged to lead a campaign against him into Sind, which probably lasted from the end of A.D. 1363 to the first half of A.D. 1367. 12 Firuz carried to Delhi both Jam Junan and Banhbina, and several muqaddams and zaminddrs of Sind. Jam Junan's son and Banhbina's brother, Tamaehl, were left to rule jointly at Tattah, in return of a payment of four lakhs of tankas and a promise to send several lakhs every year with horses and other valuable things.

Jam Junan and Banhbina were kept comfortably in their honourable captivity at Delhi, but very soon Tamaehl, the brother of Banhbina, broke into rebellion. Jam Junan, who had always been loyal, was therefore sent to Sind, and he managed to capture Tamaehl and sent him to Delhi. Jam Junan continued to rule at least up to May 1380.

D.S.—15.

After the death of Sultan FIruz Shall (A.D. 1388), his successor Ghiyas-ud-dln sent Banhbina to Sind, probably because Jam Junan had died in the meantime. But Banhbina died on his way to Tattah. The Sammas probably took advantage of the weakness of the Delhi Sultanate during this period and declared their independence.

Not much is known of the kings whose list is given above. Some of these usurped the throne and one was selected by the nobles. During the reign of Nanda, the last king but one, Shah Beg Arghun came from Qandahar in A.D. 1493, and occupied the fort of Sewl. Nanda managed to recover the fort, but, later, Shah Beg sent another army which not only reconquered Sewi, but captured the forts of Bhakkar and Sehwan also, and this time Nanda failed to recover his possessions.

During the reign of Nanda, Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat had to come to the aid of the Muslims of southern Sind, who were said to have been persecuted by the Hindus. Mahmud's mother was a daughter of Nanda, and Mahmud came to his grandfather's aid in A.D. 1472, when it was reported that 40,000 rebels had risen against the latter. According to Firishta, these rebels were Shiah Baluchis, and according to the author of the Zafar-ul-Wdlih, they were pirates, skilled in archery, who lived on the sea coast owing allegiance to none. The rebels dispersed on hearing of Mahmud’s approach. Nanda sent Mahmud a letter of thanks with valuable gifts and his daughter, who was married to Qaisar Khan, the refugee prince of Khandesh, who was staying in Gujarat.

Nanda died after a reign of 62 years,[13] and was succeeded by his son FIruz, but the real power passed into the hands of Darya Khan, the wazrr. A relation of FIruz, named Salah-ud-dln, attempted to seize the throne, but being unsuccessful fled to Gujarat to seek help from Sultan Muzaffar with whom he was related through marriage. Muzaffar gave Salah-ud-dln some help, and Darya Khan also joined him. FIruz fled away and Salah-ud-dln ascended the throne without any opposition. Later, however, Darya Khan changed sides, deposed Salah-ud-dln and restored FIruz.

Salah-ud-dln again received help from Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat and in 920 A.H. (A.D. 1514) once more turned FIruz out of Sind. FIruz then went to Shah Beg Arghun, with whose help he fought and killed Salah-ud-dln and his son and ascended the throne for the third time. But again he was dethroned. Shah Beg Arghun, who had been driven out of Qandahar by Babur, in his turn, expelled FIruz and occupied Sind. FIruz retired to Gujarat, and giving his daughter in marriage to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat became one of his amirs. With the accession of Shah Beg, the rule of the Arghuns, a Mughui clan, began in Sind and their history will be related in the next volume.

G. MULTAN

Reference has been made above[1] to the Muslim kingdom of Multan and the strategy by which its rulers succeeded in averting the danger of conquest by the Pratlharas. Its subsequent history is obscure, but its ruler Shaikh Hamid Lodi maintained friendly relations with Amir Sabuktigin of Ghazni. But as Abu-’l Fath Daud, the grandson of Hamid, had adopted the heterodox doctrine of the Qarmatian sect, Sultan Mahmud, the great champion of orthodox Islam, determined to punish him. He led two expeditions against Multan in A.D. 1005-6 and 1010, and established his authority over that country. With the decline of the power of the Yaminis, Multan asserted independence, and again the Qarmatians seized power and held it till it was conquered by Mui‘zz-ud-din. After the death of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, Multan fell to the share of Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, who defended it successfully against a Mongol attack in A.D. 1227, but lost it to Iltutmish, as related above. 1a

Multan was at this time the western frontier of the Delhi Sultanate, and had to bear the brunt of repeated Mongol attacks. The situation was further complicated by the marauding operations of Saif-ud-dln Hasan Qarlugh, an officer of Jalal-ud-dm Mangbarni, whom the latter had left in India.

Situation changed rapidly after the death of Iltutmish. Hasan Qarlugh is said to have sent his son, Nasir-ud-din to Raziyya, but does not seem to have gained any diplomatic advantage. Immediately after the accession of Ma‘sud (A.D. 1242), Kablr Khan, the governor of Multan, rebelled and not only gained complete control over that province, but conquered Uch also. Ma‘sud was unable to dispossess him, and his (Kablr Khan’s) son, Abu Bakr, succeeded him shortly afterwards. 2 After Abu Bakr’s death, Hasan Qarlugh was able, after a series of attempts, to conquer Multan in A.D. 1245, whence he issued coins in the name of his master, Jalal-ud-dln Mangbarni. 3

A Mongol invasion early in 1246, saved Multan for the Sultanate, for, with the approach of the Mongol army, Hasan Qarlugh fled from Multan to lower Sind. Ulugh Khan, later Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban, drove the Mongols out of India, and occupied Uch and Multan without any opposition. Next year the Mongols again invaded India and besieged Multan, when the saint Shaikh Baha-ud-dm Zakariya induced them to leave on payment of 1,00,000 dinars.

The repeated Mongol raids forced the Sultans of Delhi to send strong governors to Multan, and Balban sent his eldest son, Muhammad, as the governor there. Muhammad died in his post while repulsing a Mongol raid early in A.D. 1285. 4 This incident has been immortalized by the elegy written by the poet Amir Khusrav who was taken prisoner by the Mongols after the prince’s death but managed to escape soon after. However, in spite of the Mongol raids, Multan continued to be a province of the Delhi Sultanate.

As has been related above, Timur, before leaving India, appointed Khizr Khan the governor of Multan, which was thus included in the kingdom of the Sayyids. During the reign of Mubarak, successor of Khizr Khan, Amir Shaikh ‘All of Kabul seems to have invaded Multan more than once, but was forced to retire by Mubarak. 15 After the assassination of Mubarak, the affairs of the provinces fell into disorder, and either in A.D. 1434 or I486, 6 his successor Muhammad came to Multan to visit the tombs of the saints.

“In A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437-8)”, states Nizam-ud-dln, “news was brought that owing to the turbulence of a band of Lankahs there was disturbance in Multan”. Multan, however, continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi till 847 A.H. (A.D. 1443-4), when there being no regular governor, 7 the people of Multan chose as their ruler Shaikh Yusuf Zakariya QuraishI, guardian of the tomb of the famous saint Baha-ud-dm Zakariya (A.D. 1182-1267), mentioned above. 73

The Shaikh applied himself to the task of government but, before long, fell a victim to the wiles of Ray Sahrah, the chief of the Lankahs and ruler of Sewl and the surrounding territory. 8 Sahrah beguiled the simple Shaikh by giving him his daughter in marriage, and then began to visit Multan regularly on the pretext of visiting his daughter. One night Sahrah introduced his followers into the city by a clever ruse, and expelling the Shaikh, seized the government of the country. Thus, after a rule of two years, Shaikh Yusuf had to leave Multan and seek shelter at Delhi. He was well received there and his son ‘Abdullah married the daughter of Buhlul Lodi.

Sahrah became the king of Multan under the title of Qutb-uddln. He proved to be an able and good ruler, and the people, satisfied with his government, rendered him willing allegiance. He died in A.D. 1460 after a reign of 16 years, and was succeeded by his son Husain.

Husain also proved to be an able ruler. He conquered the fort of Shor (Shorkot, Jhang district, Punjab), and Kot Karor, and brought the country around it as far as the fort of Dhankot under his possession. Meanwhile, Shaikh Yusuf persuaded Buhlul Lodi to send an expedition against Multan under Buhlul's third son, Barbak Shah, and Tatar Khan, the governor of the Punjab. As the invading army was marching towards Multan, Husain's brother, who was the governor of Kot Karor, rebelled against him and assumed the title of Sultan Shihab-ud-dln. Husain first proceeded against his brother, reduced Kot Karor, and imprisoned Shihab-uddln. He then turned against Barbak Shah and Tatar Khan who had reached near the city of Multan, but had not yet been able to invest it. Husain crossed the Sindhu during night and entered the fort; the next morning he made a sally and the Delhi army fled after a brief encounter.

On the death of Buhlul (A.D. 1489), Husain sent letters of condolence and congratulation to his successor Sikandar. This led to a treaty, by which the parties agreed to respect each other's boundary. Husain also sent an embassy to Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat, with whom he maintained friendly relations.

During Husain's reign, two nobles from Sind, Jam Bayazld and Jam Ibrahim, being forced to leave their country by Jam Nanda, came to Multan. Husain allotted to Jam Bayazld the fief of Shorkot and to Jam Ibrahim, Uch.

When Husain became old, he placed his son Flruz on the throne and retired. The old wazir, Tmad-ul-Mulk Tawalak, continued in his office, but unfortunately, Flruz suspected the wazir's son of disloyalty and had him murdered. To avenge his son's death, Tawalak poisoned Flruz soon after, and Husain, stricken with grief, had to ascend the throne again, and take over the charge of administration. It was, however, impossible to forgive Tawalak, and with the help of Jam Bayazld, Husain had him arrested and executed. Bayazld then became the wazir, and received the guardianship of Mahmud, the son of Flruz. Shortly after, Sultan Husain died (August 31, 1502) and was succeeded by Mahmud. 9

Mahmud was a profligate young man, favouring low company; Jam Bayazld was provoked into open rebellion, and received help from Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab. 9a The two armies encamped near the Ravi, but before any engagement took place, negotiations were started and settlement was effected on the basis of the river Ravi being recognized as the boundary between the territory of the two parties; that is, Bayazld got all the territory from Shorkot up to the Ravi. 10

A few years after the conquest of Qandahar, Babur bestowed Multan and the adjoining territories on Shah Husain Beg Arghun of Sind, who thereupon invaded Multan. Mahmud sent emissaries to Shah Husain, but before anything could be effected, died of colic. It was suspected that he was poisoned by Langar Khan, one of his officers, who soon after joined Husain and helped him to subjugate several cities.

Other nobles, however, remained true to the dynasty, and raised Mahmud's infant son, Husain II, to the throne; but Mahmud's son-in-law, Shuja'-ul-Mulk Bukhari, became the wazir and the de facto ruler. Taking advantage of the situation, Shah Husain Arghun besieged Multan, which was bravely defended for more than a year. But at last food ran short, and the people suffered terrible privations augmented by the misgovernment of the inept Bukhari and the follies of his trusted officers. Finally, in A.D. 1525 11 (932 A.H.), Shah Husain Arghun stormed the city, and all its residents from the age of seven to seventy, who escaped the sword, are said to have been taken into captivity as slaves.

After a brief stay at Multan, Shah Husain Arghun left it in charge of one Khvaja Shams-u-dln with Langar Khan as his assistant. But soon Langar Khan managed to remove the Khvaja and took possession of Multan, where he was able to restore order to some extent.

After the death of Babur, when the Punjab fell to the share of Kamran, he summoned Langar Khan to wait upon him. When Langar Khan came to Lahore, Kamran bestowed on him the territory of Babal in exchange for Multan, which, thus, again became an appendage of Delhi. It passed into the hands of Sher Shah and, after the restoration of the Mughul power, became a Mughul province.

H. SOUTH INDIA

I. THE P ANDY A KINGDOM • •

At the close of the thirteenth century A.D. Maravarman Kulasekhara Pandya ruled over a rich, prosperous and extensive kingdom which included, besides the Pandya kingdom proper round about the capital city Madura, the greater part of the South Indian Peninsula. 1 As noted above, it was during the reign of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji that the Delhi Sultanate made the first attempt to conquer this Hindu kingdom in the far south, but the invasions of Malik Kafur 2 were more of the nature of plundering raids than serious attempts at annexation. The same may also be said of the later invasion under Khusrav. 3 These invasions resulted in the plunder

of wealth and desecration of temples and images of Hindu gods, and inflicted untold miseries upon the people which are reflected in contemporary inscriptions. 4

Unfortunately, at the time of the first Muslim invasion, the country was suffering from the inevitable effect of a war of succession between two sons of Kulasekhara Pandya, namely, VIra Pandya and Sundara Padya. The position was rendered more serious by the fact that Sundara Pandya, defeated by his brother, sought the protection of the Muslim invader. This action of Sundara has been regarded by some as the direct cause of Kaffir’s invasion, but this may be doubted. The probability is that the Pandya prince did not go to Delhi court for help, as is generally believed, but fled to Malik Kaffir when he was actually in the south. 5 The extent to which he received any help from the Muslims is also uncertain. There is no positive evidence to support the view that Sundara was placed on the throne by Kaffir who left a garrison at Madura to protect him. 3

In any case there remained no trace of Muslim influence in the Pandya country after the departure of Kaffir, and epigraphic evidence shows that the two Pandya brothers and their successors continued to rule over the country. 7 But the fratricidal war and the Muslim invasion had undermined the strength and solidarity of the Pandya ruling family and paved the way for the rise of new powers. The first to take advantage of the situation was Ravivarman Kulasekhara, ruler of Kerala, whose territory had somehow or other escaped the invasion of Kaffir. He defeated both the Pandya rivals and established his authority over the Cholas and the Pandyas. Some time about A.D. 1312-13, he crowned himself on the banks of the Vegavatl, which has been identified by some with a river near Kanchl and by others with the well-known river of that name in the Madura District. But Kulasekhara certainly advanced as far as Kanchl, and probably defeated another king named VIra Pandya who was forced to seek refuge in Konkan, and then in the forests. 8

Soon, however, VIra Pandya managed to raise a force and seems to have gained the alliance of Hoysala VIra Ballala III and one VIra Udaya Marttandavarman; a rebellion also broke out in Kerala. The combination of these circumstances forced Ravivarman to retire from the northern part of Pandya empire, though he clung to its southern part for about two years more. 9

But the unfortunate country was not destined to enjoy peace. Shortly afterwards, the Kakatlya Prataparudra sent an expedition under Muppidi Nayaka to invade the south. Faced with this calamity, the five Pandyas namely VIra, Sundara, Vikrama, Kulasekhara and Parakrama, joined their forces and faced the enemy in a battle just outside Kanchl. But Prataparudra, who had by this time joined his army, emerged victorious, captured Kahchi and placed it under his own governor. Vira Bandy a and Sundara Bandy a attempted to drive out their enemy, but were again defeated.

The evils of the system of co-regents, namely, the joint rule of a number of members of the ruling family, also made themselves felt. At a time when the Pandyas could only be saved by a strong united opposition, internecine quarrels broke out among the coregents, particularly between Vira Pandya and Parakrama Pandya in which the latter was joined by Vira's son, Samudra Pandya. As usually happens, the feudal chiefs took advantage of the weakness and disunion of the central government to throw off their yoke. Kulasekhara, belonging to the family of the Sambuvarayas of North Arcot, who had been feudatories, successively, of the Cholas and the Pandyas, continued his allegiance to Vira Pandya till about A.D. 1317-8, and then declared his independence. Another feudatory, who also probably followed in his footsteps, was a member of the illustrious Chola Imperial family. He was Semapillai, the son of Rajendra III, who issued inscriptions in the old Pudukkottai State. 10 The invasion of Khusrav Khan 10a further hastened the process of disintegration.

Though shorn of the empire the Pandyas continued to rule in South India. Sundara Pandya ruled till A.D. 1319, or probably 1320, 11 while Vira Pandya issued inscriptions from the Ramnad district till A.D. 1341. 12 It was during the latter's reign that the Muslims obtained a firm footing in South India; for, as noted above, during the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq, his son Ulugh Khan, the future Muhammad bin Tughluq, conquered Madura in A.D. 1323, and made it the headquarters of the Muslim province in this region, known in Muslim history as Ma'bar. The history of Ma c bar will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter. But it is necessary to point out that the establishment of Ma'bar did not mean the extinction of the Pandya rule, even in the neighbouring districts of Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore. Maravarman Kulasekhara, probably the younger brother of Sundara Pandya mentioned above, is known to have ruled till A.D. 1346, and his epigraphic records prove that his rule extended to all the districts from Tinnevelly to Tanjore. Inscriptions of Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya, whose rule covered the period from A.D. 1315 to at least 1347, are found in the Tinnevelly, Madura, Ramnad and Tanjore districts as well as in the old Pudukkottai State. One Maravarman Vira Pandya issued an inscription in the Ramnad district in A.D. 1364, the 31st year of his reign, and probably ruled till A.D. 1380. The

records of another king, Maravarman Parakrama Pandya, who ruled from A.D. 1335 to 1352, are found in the districts of Ramnad, Tanjore, South Arcot and Chingleput. One Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya exercised authority in the Ramnad district, the old Pudukkottai State and as far as Nagercoi! in the southern extremity of the Peninsula from A.D. 1357 to 1380. 13 It would thus appear that the Muslim principality of Ma'bar was a tiny State which could not oust the Pandyas from their homeland. The establishment of Muslim authority in this region was resisted not only by these Pandya rulers, but also by the Hoysala king VIra Ballala III. Ma'bar thus led a precarious existence till it was finally swept away by the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara in the third quarter of the fourteenth century A.D. But even after this the Pandyas continued to rule, and we know the names of at least three rulers, two of whom bore the name

Parakrama, and another, Jatavarman Kulasekhara, who ruled respectively from 1367 to 1387, 1384 to 1415 and 1395 to 1411. All their records were, however, found in the Tinnevelly district, and it seems that their authority was restricted to this region in the extreme south of their homeland.[14]

II. MA‘BAR

The Tughluq Sultans of Delhi were not destined to enjoy for long their southernmost province of Ma‘bar. As mentioned above,[15] a rebellion broke out in Ma‘bar in A.D. 1334 and Sultan Muhammad was unable to suppress it. Jalal-ud-dm Ahsan Shah, who headed this rebellion and established the independent Sultanate of Madura, was probably the kotwdl of Ma‘bar though Ibn Batutah, who had married his daughter, describes him as the governor of the province.[16] Jalal-ud-din could not reign in peace as the Hindus took advantage of his rebellion to liberate this region from the yoke of the Muslims. Ekambaranatha, one of the Sambuvarayas, mentioned above, rose against the Muslim rulers and, with the help of Vira Ballala III and Kapaya Nayaka, wrested the northern parts of the country.[17] Ibn Batutah does not give any details of the reign of Jalal-ud-din, but merely says that he was killed after a reign of five years, and was succeeded by one of his amirs , namely, ‘Ala-ud-din ’Udaiji. According to Ibn Batutah, ’Udaiji, after he had ruled for a year, set out on an expedition against the Hindus and returned with immense booty. Next year he again defeated the Hindus and “massacred very many of them”, but as he incautiously raised his helmet to drink water, was pierced by an arrow and died instantly.[18] It may be presumed that the first two Sultans of Ma‘bar had to fight against the Hindu chiefs mentioned above as well as the Pandya rulers who, as noted above, exercised authority in various parts of South India, including territories adjacent to Madura.

After the death of ’UdaijI his son-in-law, Qutb-ud-din, was raised to the throne, but was killed after a reign of forty days. Ghiyas-ud-dm Muhammad Shah Damaghani, a son-in-law of Jalalud-din Ahsan Shah, then ascended the throne. During his reign Ibn Batutah visited Ma‘bar and has left an eye witness’ account of the revolting man-hunt and mass execution practised by this ruler. The Sultan, Ibn Batutah relates, entered a jungle with his soldiers one night and all the Hindus who had taken shelter there were captured. Next morning all the male prisoners were impaled on stakes which they had been forced to carry the previous night. “This done, their women were slain along with their children, their hair being tied to the stakes; they were left there in the same condition. Afterwards, the camp was pitched and they took to cutting down the trees of another part of the forest, and they treated in the same manner the next batch of Kafirs (i.e. Hindus) whom they had captured. This was a hideous thing which I have never seen being indulged in by any king. On account of this, God hastened his death". 19

Probably such unheard of cruelties perpetrated on the Hindus, added to the general desire to liberate the country from the Muslims, spurred to action the Hoysala king, Vira Ballala III, then over eighty years of age. He invaded Ma'bar and besieged Kannanur, one of the strongest forts held by the Muslims. Ibn Batutah has left a graphic account of the fight. The Muslim army met him in battle in the outskirts of the city of Konnanur, 20 but he routed them and they withdrew to Madura, leaving Ballala free to besiege Konnanur. After the siege had lasted for ten months, the garrison was left with little food, and Vira Ballala promised them safe-conduct if they capitulated. The garrison then proposed that they should get permission from their Sultan and this was allowed by Ballala. But the messenger of the besieged army returned with reinforcement from Madura which fell upon the besieging army when it was off its guard. The Hoysala army was routed and its king taken prisoner. Damaghani at first treated Ballala kindly and wrested from him all his riches, elephants and horses promising to release him. But after he had stripped him of all his possessions, he killed and flayed him. Vira Ballala's skin was then filled with straw and hung on the wall of Madura where Ibn Batutah saw it suspended. Shortly after, Ghiyas-ud-dm Damaghani died as a result of taking an overdose of aphrodisiac. A few days earlier his only son and wife had died of cholera which was then raging in an epidemic form at Madura.

Ghiyas-ud-din was succeeded by his nephew, Nasir-ud-din, who was once a domestic servant in Delhi. One of his first acts on coming to the throne was to murder his cousin, the son of his paternal aunt, and to marry his widow, the daughter of Ghiyas-ud-dm Damaghani.

Ibn Batutah, whose account is the only source for a connected history of the Sultans of Ma'bar, left the country shortly after the accession of Nasir-ud-din, and no definite information about the history of Ma‘bar subsequent to his departure is available.

There is, however, no doubt that the royal dynasty came to an end during the next decade. When Firuz Tughluq ascended the throne he sent a farman to Ma‘bar. But instead of submitting to the authority of Delhi, Ma‘bar sought help from the BahmanI king to maintain her independence. Agents from Ma‘bar came to Daulatabad and took back with them Qurbat Hasan Gangu whom they placed on the throne. In some manuscripts of ‘Afif’s Tdrikhi-FTruz Shahl, which alone mentions this episode, the first part of the name, Qurbat, is written as Qurba or Qarib; meaning ‘relative’; ‘kinsman’, and it is thus quite likely that the newly elected king of Ma‘bar was not named Qurbat, but was a relative of Hasan Gangu Bahmani. Howsoever that may be, the new king was a worthless debauchee and the people got disgusted at his conduct. Taking advantage of this, a neighbouring chief, Bikan, invaded Ma‘bar with a large army. The king was captured and killed, and the whole of Ma‘bar came under the sway of Bikan. 21

There is no doubt that ‘Afif here refers to the conquest of Ma‘bar by Bukka, the king of Vijayanagara, which will be described in Chapter XII. According to ‘Afif, Ma‘bar, at this great crisis, appealed to Firuz Tughluq for help. But the Sultan reminded the ambassadors of the past attitude of Ma‘bar towards the Delhi Sultanate and politely refused any help on the ground that his army was very tired after the expedition to Gujarat. This would indicate that the invasion of Ma‘bar by Vijayanagara army, resulting in the death of Qurbat Hasan Gangu and the conquest of his kingdom, took place not long after the Gujarat expedition of Firuz in A.D. 1363-4.

Afif’s account is corroborated by other evidences. According to the Telugu Jaimini-Bharatam, a work of the late 15th century, Saluva Mangu, a general of Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka, who led the expedition against Ma‘bar, put to death the Sultan of Madura. The exploits of Kampana are also graphically, though somewhat romantically, described by his consort GahgadevI in her celebrated work, Madhumvijayam or Kampardyacliaritam. She

proudly relates how her valiant husband killed the Sultan in a duel after the Muslim army had taken to flight.

Afif’s statement that the whole of Ma £ bar was conquered and annexed by Vijayanagara, shortly after A.D. 1364, after the death of Qurbat Hasan Gangu, requires some modification in the light of numismatic evidence. We possess a series of coins issued by ‘Adil Shah, Fakhr-ud-dln Mubarak Shah, and £ Ala-ud-dm Sikandar Shah with dates ranging between A.D. 1356 and 1378. The testimony of these coins has been rejected on the ground that except for the fact that these coins were discovered in South India there is nothing to indicate that the Sultans mentioned in these coins ruled over Ma £ bar. 22 But the sequence of dates in the series of coins, their find-spots and the absence of any other Muslim dynasty ruling in this region about that time certainly favour the theory that the coins were issued by the rulers of Ma‘bar. If we accept this view we may easily identify Qurbat Hasan Gangu with Fakhr-ud-dln Mubarak Shah w 7 hose coins cover the entire period from 760 A.H. to 770 A.H., year by year, with the exception of years 762 and 766 A.H. 23 It would thus appear that he certainly ruled between A.D. 1358-9 to 1368-9. This fits in fairly well with what £ Afif says about Qurbat Hasan Gangu and also with the Vijayanagara sources. There is some apparent conflict between the testimony of coins mentioned above and the general assumption of the historians of Vijayanagara that Ma‘bar was annexed after the campaign of 1370. This view is supported, among others, by the statement in the Madu~ raittala Varaldru, a fifteenth century chronicle of Madura, that the place was under Muslim sway from A.D. 1324 to 1371. 24 But this is not irreconcilable with the issue of the coins by £ Ala-ud-dm Sikandar Shah in 779 A.H. (A.D. 1377-8). It merely indicates that even after the loss of the major part of their dominions, some time about A.D. 1370, the Muslim Sultans continued their resistance for about a decade more. The very fact that Ma £ bar sent for help to FIruz Tughluq even after the death of Qurbat Hasan Gangu and the conquest of Ma £ bar by Vijayanagara, proves that some sort of resistance was still continued by another Sultan.

It should be noted in this connection that the date of Kamil ana’s expedition or more probably a series of expeditions against Ma £ bar is not definitely known. Some scholars have placed them during the interval between A.D. 1343 and 1355-6, 26 while others concluded that Kampana’s expedition took place after A.D. 1378; 28 it has also been suggested that Kampana led his expeditions between A.D. 1361-3 or about A.D. 1364. 27

While it is not possible to arrive at a definite conclusion on this point, it has to be admitted that there are indications that

Kampana gained his famous victory over the Ma‘bar Sultans in A.D. 1370. 28 In an inscription, dated A.D. 1371, Kampana's general Goppana claims to have slain the Tulushkas, and two inscriptions show Kampana ruling a portion of Ramnad district in A.D. 1371 and 1374. 29

It is, however, possible that Kampana's victory was the culmination of a war which was started by his grandfather, Sahgama. An inscription claims that Sahgama, the father of Bukka, had defeated

“. Pandya, the proud lord of Madhura the fierce valorous

Turushka, the king Gajapati and others.” Even after due allowance is made for the exaggerations from which this type of literature is never free, it is evident that Sahgama gained some success against the Sultans of Ma‘bar, and it is possible that he took up arms after the tragic death of Ballala III. 30

It would thus appear that ever since the foundation of the Sultanate of Madura, it had to carry on a prolonged fight with the neighbouring Hindu States. The second Sultan died in course of a battle against them. Next, Ylra Ballala made a gallant attempt to conquer Ma'bar but failed. It is probable that Sahgama had started the war against the Sultan and gained some notable success. Ultimately his grandson Kampana took up his unfinished task and destroyed the power of the Sultanate of Ma‘bar. Though Kampana had probably broken the back of the Muslim power in the south by A.D. 1370, or even a little earlier, the last Sultans seem to have maintained a feeble struggle against Vijayanagara till A.D. 1377-8. 31

A. GUJARAT

1. See above, p. 97.

2. T.A., III, i, 184.

3. In the CHI (III, 710), the date of Muzaffar's accession is given as 798 A.H. (A.D. 1395-6). But Nizam-ud-dln gives 810 A.H. (A.D- 1407-8) as his date of accession and an inscription dated A.D. 1405 shows that Muzaffar had not at that date assumed the royal title (Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Bare da, 1934-35, p. 23).

4. Yam Khdnah Pattaneso Dafara Hi samasddya kunthl babhuva; Kumbhalgarh Inscription, 4th. slab, v. 195. Sarda: Mahardna Kumbha; El, XXI, 278, 282, v. 196.

5. Mandalika-nripa-charita, I, v. 88. Ed. by H. D. Velankar, Bharatiya Vidyd, XVI,‘ 41.

6. Santinath Temple Inscription quoted by G. H. Ojha, Rdjputana Ki Itihas, III, part i, 65.

7. El, XXI, 278, 284, v. 221.

8. El, XXIII, 239, v. 14.

9. El, II, 417, v. 51.

10. CHI , III, 300; Briggs, IV, 35. This question has been discussed by Dr. B. Prasad (T.A . Ill, i. 224, f.n. 2) who has pointed out the mistake in CHI.

11. CHI, III, 301; T.A., III, i. 227. f.n. 1.

12. H. B. Sarda: Mahardna Kumbha, 96, 99.

13. Chitor KIrtistambha Inscription, Sarda op. cit Appendix, 221- The first line of verse 172 as given in Sarda reads: sphurjad-Gurjara-Mdlavesvara-Suratran-dru-sany-dnava.

There seems to be a printing mistake, so I have changed the last two words into ari-sainy-arnava.

14. H. D. Velankar: Mandalika, the last great king of Saurashtra, Bharatiya Vidyd, XIV, 44-46.

15. Nizam-ud-dln mentions one ‘Jai Singh’ son of Gangadas Raja of Champaner, (T.A., III, i, 257), but while later narrating this incident, Nizam-ud-dln refers to the king of Champaner as ‘Rai Bitai’ or ‘Rai Basai’, while Firishta (litho ed.) calls him ‘Rai Banahi’. The Mir’dt-i-Sikandari has Rawal Patai, but Forbes gives his real name as ‘Jye Singh’ (Ras Mala, I, 371). For a discussion of this name see T.A., III, i. 272, f.n. 1.

16. G. H. Ojha, in Rdjputana Ki Itihas (III, part, i, 75), uses the form Bharmal which has been used here in preference to Biharimal (CHI, III, 318).

17. G. H. Ojha, op. cit., II, i, 75, 76.

18. H. B. Sarda: Mahardnd Sanga, 70.

19. Bayley: Gujarat, 267.

20. CHI, III, 320-21.

21. H. B. Sarda: Mahardnd Sanga, 86-7.

B. KHANDESH

1. Thalner, 75° V E., 22° 21’ N., Kuronde, 73° 28’ E., 21° 18’ N. According to Sir Denison Ross, the name of the founder of the principality of Khandesh was Malik Ahmad, who was called Malik Raja and Raja Ahmad. Having joined Bahram Khan Mazandaram in his unsuccessful rebellion against the Bahmani king, Malik Ahmad fled and established himself at Thalner (CHI, III, 294). But Sir Denison has not given any reference for this version, and I have not been able to find any. Dr. H. K. Sherwani, also, has not been able to verify this statement (The Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 109, f.n. 55). I have, therefore, followed the version of Firishta (Briggs, IV. 280-327) which has been followed by later writers and gives the most detailed account of the origin of Khandesh as an independent State.

[According to the Ain-i-Akbari, Malik Raja fell on evil days when he was in Bldar. So it is likely that he began his career there. In the account of the rebellion of Bahram Khan the name of Malik Raja does occur, but there were two contemporary noblemen bearing the name Ahmad, and it is quite likely that Ross confused one of them with Malik Raja. I am indebted for this information to Prof. Abdur Rashid.—Ed.]

2. According to Firishta (Briggs, IV. 283) the name of Malik Raja's younger son was Iftikhar. Ross gives the name as Hasan (CHI, III. 296).

3. Firishta (Briggs, IV. 298). Ross writes that 'Adil Khan II "carried his arms as far as Jharkhand, the modern Chota Nagpur, from which circumstance he is known as Jharkhandi Sultan " (CHI, III. 313). As usual, Ross does not reveal his source, and it is not possible to check this statement. It is, therefore, safer to follow Firishta.

4. Firishta gives the date of his death as Rabi-ul-Awal 14, 909 A.H. which falls in A.D. 1503. Ross gives the date as A.D. 1501 (CHI, III. 313). There is similar discrepancy of two years in the reign-period of his successor.

5. Sir E. Denison Ross, possibly following the Mii~'dt-i-Ahmadi, has referred to 'Adil Khan III as Alam Khan and states that after coming to the throne he assumed the title of 'Adil Khan (CHI, III. 313-314). This is, however, at variance with Firishta (Briggs, IV, 303-4) and Nizam-ud-dln (TA, III. i, 282).

6. Nizam-ud-dln refers to MIran Muhammad as 'Adil Khan (TA, III, i, 344) but this seems to be a mistake.

C. MALWA

1. According to Sir W. Haig, "Dilavar Khan never assumed the style of royalty" (CHI, III, 349). But both Nizam-ud-dln (TA, III, ii, 468) and Firishta (Briggs, TV, 169-70) definitely state that Dilavar declared his independence and assumed the paraphernalia of sovereignty.

2. For a discussion of this date see Nizam-ud-dln, op. cit. 467, f.n. 6.

3. This victory of Allada is referred to in several contemporary works and inscriptions. For detailed reference and discussion see N.

Venkataramanayya: The Gajapati Bhanudeva IV, PIHC, XIII (1950), 161. The Muslim historians do not refer to this incident.

3a. 24° 38’ N., and 76° 12’ E.

4. TMB, pp. 209-10.

4a. 24° 48' N., and 72° 32' E.

5. For this lake see Imperial Gazetteer, VIII, p. 121. Bhojpur is situated in 28° 6' N., and 70° 38' E. Sir W. Haig, following Briggs, describes the Hindus as robbers and does not mention the destruction of the lake. He adds that after this Hushang built the town of Hushangabad. But there seems to be no authority for this statement.

6. As regards the date of Muhammad Shah’s death and that of Mahmud Khaljl’s accession, there is a conflict between the numismatic evidence which places both in 840 A.H. (A.D. 1436-7) and the account of the contemporary writer, Shihab-i-Hakim, according to whom Mahmud ascended the throne on 29 Shawwal 839 (May 16, 1436). However, Muhammad Shah’s gold coin, bearing the date 840 A.H. to which Wright has referred, appears to be a posthumous one which was presumably issued by the supporters of the Ghurld line to which Muhammad Shah and his two predecessors belonged. Wright has similarly catalogued three coins of Mahmud Khaljl I with the dates 877, 878 and 883 A.H. although Mahmud died in 873 A.H. The practice of issuing posthumous coins was also repeated in the case of Husain Sharql who died in 905 A.H., but coins issued in his name in 906, 907, 909 and 910 are available.

Wright has probably not consulted the contemporary work Ma‘asir-iMahmud Shahi the evidence of which ought to be considered reliable with regard to the rise to power of Mahmud Khaljl who was its author’s patron. Maflasir-i-Mahmud Shdhi, Tubingen MS. fols. 52a, 243 a , Bodleian MS. fols. 57 b , 60 b , Wright: Catalogue of Coins, Calcutta; II. pp. 218-19, 247. Numismatic Chronicle IV, 1904, p. 99. Lane-Poole: Coins, Muhammadan States, p. 107.

(This note was written by Dr. Hamid-ud-din. Ed.)

7. In CHI, III. 354, the city is called “Shahr-i-Nau” and it is stated that it is not now traceable. Though in some MSS. the place is called “Shahr-i-Nau”, in one MS of TA, it is called “Shahr-i-Narwar”, and Briggs calls it Narwar, in his translation of Firishta (IV, p. 205). Narwar is a well-known place, and it is situated on the river Sind, about 50 miles to the SSW. of Gwalior.

7a. P. 135.

8. Ranapura Temple Inscription, 11, 17 and 26. Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar, p. 114. It has sometimes been held that Maharana Kumbha defeated and captured Sultan Mahmud in 1437 (H.B. Sarda Maharana Kumbha p. 51). But the evidence for such a conclusion does not appear to be convincing.

9. “One large figure (image) in particular, representing a ram, and formed of solid marble, being consumed, the Rajputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts with pan, in order that it might be said that they were made to eat their gods” (Briggs, Tr. of Firishta, IV, 209). Nizam-ud-dln also relates the same incident. (TA, III, ii. 513-14).

10. TA, III, ii, p. 525. The reading of Ajmere is doubtful. Elsewhere Nizam-ud-dln writes Ambar, (TA, III, 232).

11. The Kumbhalgarh inscription (quoted by H. B. Sarda, Maharana Kumbha, p. 84) states that Kumbha “vanquished the Haras and received a tribute from them.”

12. CHI, III. 361.

13. Sir Wolseley Haig does not mention this battle at all though it is corroborated by Firishta, and has been rightly criticised by Dr. B. Prasad (TA, III, ii, p. 529-30 f.n.). Firishta’s statement that Kumbha concluded peace by paying a large amount in gold and specie, when compared with Nizam-ud-dln’s version, shows what little value is to be placed on such accounts of repeated successes and victories of Muslims against a particular Hindu kingdom without any tangible result. The contemporary Rajput inscriptions, claiming success against the Muslim invaders, is deserving of at least as much credit as the later Muslim chronicles, and there is no good

ground to believe the latter and reject the former, as is usually done by European historians.

14. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Nizam-ul-Mulk Ghurl was assassinated by the BahmanI king Humayun Shah, whereupon his relatives induced Mahmud to invade the Deccan. But both Nizam-ud-dln and Firishta state that the instigator was Nizam-ul-Mulk Ghurl himself. Tabataba merely says “at the instigation of the Ghurls” (BK, 90).

15. According to Tabataba the districts of Ahmedabad and Mahur were retained by the Bahmanls and only Kherla was ceded to Malwa (BK. 100). Sir W. Haig writes that under the treaty “Mahmud’s possession of Kherla was confirmed but the integrtiy of Berar, with that exception, was maintained.” (CHI, III, 359). But Nizkm-ud-dm states that Berar as far as Ellichpur was ceded to Malwa (TA, 538).

16. The name is Shaikh Muhammad Far mail in the MSS. of the TA and in the lithograph edition of Firishta, but the lithograph edition of TA. and the CHI . (III. 360) have Shaikhzada Muhammad Qarmali.

17. According to both Nizam-ud-din and Firishta, Mahmud died on Ziqiadah 10, 873 which is May 26, 1489. Sir W- Haig, without giving any reference, writes that Mahmud died on June 1, 1469. For the date of Mahmud’s death, see n. 9 under D. Jaunpur.

18. B-K., 80. Eklingji temple Inscription v. 6. Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar , p. 21. The verses state that Maharana Rajamalla (Rajmal) defeated Gyas, the Saka King, who can only be Ghiyas-ud-din, the Sultan of Malwa. This is corroborated by the unpublished Raima! Raso quoted by H. B- Sarda (Maharana: Sdnga, p. 60) who describes the genesis of the quarrel.

19. According to Nizam-ud-dln (TA, III, 353 and 612) the fort fell on 9th Sha‘ban, 937 A.H. The year 937 A.H. corresponds to A.D. 1530-31 so that it cannot be A.D. 1528 as given in (the translation of) the TA.

D. JAUNPUR

1. See above, p. 92.

2. See above, p. 122.

3. See the next section of this Chapter.

4. See above, p. 175.

5. According to Nizam-ud-dln and others Ibrahim died in 840 A.H. (A.D. 1436).

But his coins show that he was alive at least up to 844 A.H. (JASBL, XVIII.

135, 157).

6. This and the next invasion of Orissa, respectively by Mahmud and Husain of Jaunpur, though vouched for by Nizam-ud-dln and Firishta, appear to be very doubtful. See the Chapter on Orissa.

7. See above, p. 140.

8. See f.n. 6 above

9. "Ma c dsir-i~Mahmud Shahi" Cambridge MS. fols. 471-476; Bodlein MS. fols. 307-309, Tubingen MS. fol. 264.

The date of Husain Sharqi's first major attack on Delhi is disputed. Nizamud-din has mentioned the year 1473, but he also says that Buhlul simultaneously sent appeals for help to Mahmud Khaljl of Malwa, notwithstanding the fact that Mahmud I had died four years earlier (Tabaqat-i-Akbari . Vol. Ill, p. 284).

Haig, in an attempt to correct Nizam-ud-din, writes that Buhlul sent his agents to Mahmud II of Malwa who, however, ascended the throne in 1511, about 22 years after Buhlul's death. (CHI, III, pp. 231).

'Abdul Haqq writes that it was during the progress of Husain's invasion of Delhi that Mahmud Khalji I of Malwa died (May 3 1469). The invasion had, therefore, been launched probably some time between March and May

1469(This discussion of the date of Husain Sharqi's attack on Delhi is by Dr. Hamidud-din.—Ed.).

E. BENGAL

1. Above, Vol. V. 154-5.

2. Ibid, 157.

3. According to the Riydz, the king discarded the insignias of royalty out of fear of the Khalji Sultan of Delhi (Ed.).

4. Cf. HBS, 77, and 1HQ, XVIII, 65.

4a. According to 'Afif the name was changed to FIruzabad by Sultan Firuz; HIED III, 298 (Ed.).

5. IBH, 50.

6. HIED, III. 234. These noblemen from Lakhnawati, however, did not make any specific allegation against Bahadur. It has been rightly observed: "There is hardly any reason why the Muslims of Bengal should have suffered so much at the hands of Muslim princes contending for the sovereignty of Lakhnawati as to justify the pious Sultan's unprovoked attack on another Muslim State." HBS, 84 (Ed.).

7. According to the Riydz, Qadr Khan was appointed governor of Lakhnawati after the death of Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim. But the contemporary 'Isaml says that the latter accompanied Muhammad Tughluq in his expedition against Kishlu Khan, which did not take place before 728 A.H. (A.D. 1327-8). (Ed.).

8. IBH, 95.

9. Thomas read the date of a coin of Fakhr-ud-din as 737 A.H. and therefore

placed the death of Bahram Khan in that year. Nelson Wright places the revolt of Fakhr-ud-dln in or about A.D. 1338 (739 A.H.). The death of

Bahram Khan is given in HBS as 738 A.H. in one place (p. 89), and 739 in another (p. 98). (Ed.).

10. According to ‘Aflf, Ilyas Shall defeated and killed Fakhr-ud-dln after the first invasion of Bengal by Sultan Firuz and conquered Sonargaon. He makes no reference to Fakhr-ud-din’s son and successor (HIED, III, 304). According to the Tdrikh-i-Mubarak Shahl, Muhammad Tughluq invaded Bengal in 741 A.H. (A.D. 1340-1) and killed Fakhr-ud-dln. Both these statements are proved to be wrong by the fact that Fakhr-ud-din issued coins till 750 A.H. and Xkhtiyarud-din GhazI Shah issued coins from Sonargaon in 750 and 753 A.H. The latter was probably the son of the former though there is no definite proof of this. (Ed.).

10a. Aecording to the Slrat-i-Flruz Shahl, JBORS, XXVII, 92.

11. The date usually assigned to Shams-ud-dm Ilyas Shah, namely 743-758 A.H., has been given up, as a closer examination of his coins in the Indian Museum corroborates Mr. Shams-ud-dm Ahmad’s reading of the dates 740 and 780The reign of Ilyas Shah therefore covers the period A.D- 1339 to 1358-9 (vide the Supplementary Catalogue by Shams-ud-dm Ahmad to Vol. II of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum).

12. As noted above, ‘Izz-ud-dln Yahya, the governor of Satgaon, in south Bengal, joined the governors of Kara and Lakhnawati in an expedition against Fakhrud-dln of Sonargaon in A.D. 1330. But after this Yahya passes from our view. According to Ibn Batutah, Fakhr-ud-din fitted out ships from the port of Sadkawan in his campaign against Lakhnawatl (1BH , 235 ff.). Sadkawan has been identified by some with Satgaon and by others with Chittagong (for the controversy cf. HBS, 100, f.n. 1). In case we accept the first identification we must presume that Fakhr-ud-dln succeeded in annexing south Bengal and this view r is supported by the fact that nothing more is heard of Yahya. On the other hand, as ‘Ala-ud-din ‘All Shah of Lakhnawatl issued coins tili 743 A.H. (A.D1342), and Fakhr-ud-din’s successor ruled in Sonargaon till A.D. 1352, it is most reasonable to hold that Ilyas Shah established his power in Satgaon in 740 A H. (AD- 1339-40), the earliest date found on the coins issued by him. (Ed.).

13. For full details cf. Ch. XIIX-D, III,

14. According to Baranl, whose view has been adopted by later writers, Firuz left Delhi on 10 Shawal, 754 A.H. (November 8, 1353) and returned to Delhi on 12 Shaban 755 A.H. (September 1, 1354). But the detailed accounts of Firuz's march, given by 'Aflf, makes it difficult to believe that the whole military operation lasted only ten months. Accordingly it has been held by some that Firuz spent about two years in this campaign (HBS, 105-6). 'Aflf alone gives full details of both the campaigns of Firuz against Bengal, but his account is obviously of a partisan character, and he tries to gloss over the discomfiture of his patron and assigns specious grounds for discomfiture as will be noted below. (Ed).

14a. JASB, N.S., XIX, 279.

15. For the identification of Ekdala, which was for long a very controversial issue, cf. HBS, 107, f.n. 1.

16. For the account given in this and next para see:

1. Tarlkh-i-Flruz Shahl, HIED, III.

2. Slrat-i-Flruz Shahl, Tr. by K. K. Basu, JBORS, XXVII, 79 ff.

3. Tdrlkh-i-Mubdral c Shahl, Tr. by K. K. Basu, 123-134.

(The translation of a passage of 'Aflf, quoted above, is given on p. 129, f.n. 5 of his work, but does not occur in HIED , III).

4. Firishta (Briggs, I, 449-52; IV, 331-34).

5. TA. I. 244-47.

6. Muntakhdb-ut-Tawdrikh, I, Tr. by Ranking, 324-29.

As regards the date of the campaign cf. HBS, 105, ff. (Ed.).

17. For the text of the proclamation cf. JASB, N. S., XIX, 279. For Baram's remark, not translated in HIED, see the text, p. 586, or the Hindi translation in TKB by A. A. Rizvi, Part II, pp. 39-40. (Ed).

18. ‘Aflf says that. Zafar Khan was received with extraordinary honours- “On the first day he received 30.000 tankas to get his clothes washed. His title, Zafar Khan, was confirmed and a sum of 4 lacs of tankas granted to him and his friends. One thousand horses and large numbers of footmen were assigned to him. He was first appointed deputy-roaHr, and subsequently became wazlr”. ‘Aflf distinctly says that Sultan Firuz undertook the expedition to Bengal “for avenging the claims of Zafar Khan”. ‘Aflf further adds that preparations for

this campaign were began even during the lifetime of Ilyas, who out of fear, retreated to Sonargaon, and then we are told that “the inhabitants of that place were instant (sic) in their supplications to Sultan Firoz Shah for relief from . the tyrant”; (HIED, III. 304-5). (Ed.).

19. HIED, III. 308. As mentioned above, the same motive, according to ‘Afif, persuaded Firuz not to storm the citadel of Ekdala in the first expedition (Ibid. 296-7). It could not have been unknown to Firuz that the ignominy of Muslim women was an inevitable consequence of military campaigns, and if therefore this consideration weighed with him in not pressing the campaign to a victorious conclusion, he should not have undertaken the campaign at all. At least after his experience of the first campaign, he should not have undertaken the second. The same argument applies to the aversion of Firuz to the annexation of Bengal, as mentioned by ‘Afif. (Ed.).

20. If the argument advanced by Zafar was sincere, why, one might pertinently ask, was the campaign undertaken at all? What about avenging the claims of Zafar Khan, which, according to ‘Afif, was the sole motive of Firuz in undertaking this campaign? (Ed.).

20a. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XIX, p. 155.

20b. P. Cf. pp. 92-3.

21. The extreme known dates on Sikandar's coins are 758 and 792, and A‘zam Shah’s

earliest coin bears the date 793 (A.H. which commenced on 9-12-1390 A.D.). A‘zam Shah therefore probably ascended the throne in 1391 A.D. The date of A‘zam Shah’s accession is given as A.D. 1389, and again some time between 793 and 795 A.H. (A.D. 1390 and 1393) in HBS, pp. 114 and 116. (Ed.).

22. The accounts of Mahuan and other Chinese envoys of this period have been translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi in the Visvabharati Annals, I. 101 ff.

23. This was the theory of Dr. Bagchi (op, cit. 108-9). He held that while Ghiyasud-dln (died A.D. 1411) and his son Saif-ud-dln (A.D. 1412-21) ruled in one part of the kingdom, Shihab-ud-dln (A.D. 1409-14) and Jalal-ud-dln (1414-31) ruled in another part. He further identified Shihab-ud-dln with Raja Ganesa, to whom reference will be made later.

24. These have been very fully discussed, with reference to authorities, by Dr. A. H. Dani in JRASBL XVIII (1952), 121 ft. and by Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya in his Bengali Book Bdhglar Itihdser duso vachhar (1956). The earlier discussion of the subject cf. The Coins and Chronology of the Independent Sidtans of Bengal by N. K. Bhattasali, and HBS, 120 ff.

24a. These letters have been quoted and their bearings on the problem of Ganesa have been discussed by S. H. Askari in the Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXVII, pp. 32-9, Sukhamay Mukhopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 19 ff.

25. op. cit.

26. HBS, 121, 125 ff.

27. This is the view of Jadu Nath Sarkar and Stapleton, HBS, 121.

28. Dani, op. cit.

29. IHQ, XVII, 465-6 which quotes references to the king in Sanskrit books.

30. MatW-v^-Sadain, edited by Md. Shaft, Vol. II, Part II, 782-3. Also cf. India in the Fifteenth Century by Major.

31. Dani, op. cit.

32. This date is obtained from a coin in the Rajshahi Museum (JNS, IX, 1947, pp. 45-48). The date, usually given as A.D. 1442 (HBS, 130), must therefore bo t 6] ected.

33. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, I. 289 ff., 301-2. HBS, 132.

34. JASB, 1867, p. 135. Also cf. O'Malley— Khulna Gazetteer, pp. 26-7

35. The text of this manuscript, found in the shrine of the saint at Kantaduar in the Rangpur District, was published, with an abridged translation, by G. H. Damant in JASB, 1874 pp. 216-39.

36. The Portuguese writer De Barros refers to the employment of Arab soldiers by a king of Gaur for the conquest of Orissa (JASB, 1873, p. 287). As this happened about a hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese in Chittagong, the reference may be to the campaign of Isma'11. (Ed.)

36a. A full account is given in Ch. XII-D.

37. Levi, Le Nepal, II, 238.

38. Stapleton and Abid All— Memoirs of Gaur and Pandua, p. 77

39. Beveridge. Memoirs of Babur, II, 482-3.

40. Cf. HBS, 142-3.

41. The Riyaz gives a full account.

42. Firishta, Lith. Ed., p. 301-2.

43. The Kamrup campaign, concluded in 1501-2, as well as the question whether Husain Shah followed it up by invading the Ahom Kingdom, has been fully discussed in Ch. XIII—D

44. HBS, 149.

45. Some hold that the commander cf the expedition was possibly Nusrat Khan, the crown-prince, to whom local traditions of Chittagong ascribe the first Muslim conquest of the district (HBS, 149-50). (Ed.)

F. SIND

1. See above, Vol. IV, 127; V, 1-2.

2. See above, Vol. V, 10.

3. IBH, 6.

4. CHI, III, 306.

5. Tdnkh-i-Tahiri, HIED, I, 256; Ain. Tr. 2nd Ed. II, 343; TA, III, 772, Firishta (Briggs, IV. 411) states that the Sumras ruled for 500 years, but according to the lith. ed. II, 609, 100 years only.

6. Jagaduchariia, V, vv. 3-41; edited by G. Buhler, Indian Studies, I.

7. This leads to a difficulty because, according to Mir Ma'sum, after the death of Singhar in A.D. 1007, his wife ascended the throne and then followed a strife at the end of which Pithu became king. But this difficulty is not insurmountable, for either Hamun, the queen of Singhar, or Pithu—whose regnal periods are not mentioned—might have enjoyed long reigns or the internal strife lasted for a very long time, so that it is not improbable for Pithadeva to have been on the throne during the early years of the reign of Bhima II.

8 . TA, III, 795.

9. Practically no two accounts of the Samma dynasty agree among themselves, although the differences are not great. The reason for this discrepancy is that with the exception of Nizam-ud-dm none of our authorities were able to find a written history of Sind following the death of bin Qasim. We have therefore followed Nizam-ud-dln’s version (TA, III, 773 ff.).

10 S. H. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, I, 102.

11. The following account based on the Munshat-i-Mahru, Slrat-i-Flruz Shahi, and the Tdrikh-i-Flruz Shahi of Shams-i-Siraj ‘Aflf is based on R. Islam’s article, Rise of The Sammas In Sind, in Is. C-, XXII, 359-82, and all the necessary references will be found there. For Banhbina I have adopted the spelling suggested by R. Islam.

12. See above, pp. 95-6.

13. TA, III, 779. As noted above, Hodivala assigns to him a reign of 48 years, but gives no reason.

G. MULTAN

1. Vol. IV, 127.

la. Vol. V, 132-3.

2. Minhaj, 235, A. B. M. Habibullah, The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India, 129, 200-01 (Lahore, 1945). The date, A. D. 1241, given by Habibullah for this event, should be 1242 (Above, Vol. V, p. 139).

3. E. Thomas: Chronicles of the Paihan Kings of Delhi (London, 1871), 91.

4. M. W. Mirza: The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau (Calcutta, 1935), 59. [The date for this event, given above (Vol. V, 155) as 1286, is probably wrong. Ed.]

5. At least up to A.D. 1422 ‘Ala-ul-Mulk was the governor of Multan. In that year news came that Shaikh ‘All was preparing an invasion, whereupon Mubarak Shah removed ‘Ala-ul-Mulk and appointed Malik Mahmud Hasan as governor of Multan. (TA. I, 305). In A.D. 1426, Malik Mahmud Hasan was transferred and Malik Rajab Nadira sent to Multan (ibid, 308). Malik Rajab Nadira died in 1428 after which Mubarak again sent Malik Mahmud Hasan to Multan conferring on him the title of ‘Imad-ul-Mulik (ibid, 311). In 1431, he was removed from Multan and Malik Khair-ud-dm KhanI received Multan as his fief. Commenting on this Yahya bin Ahmad states: “But this act of transfer was imprudent and inconsiderate, as some insurrection broke out in Multan, an account of which will be given in the

following pages” (TMB, 231). But no account of insurrection is given. Shaikh ‘All came in A.D. 1431, to help Pulad at the latter’s request. This time Shaikh ‘All was defeated near Multan and forced to turn back, but the governorship of Multan was transferred from ‘Imad-ul-Mulk to Khair-ud-dln (ibid. 315). Soon after Sheikha Khokhar started his operations and beseiged Lahore, and taking advantage of the situation Shaikh ‘All advanced and captured Talambah (on the left bank of Ravi, 52 miles north-east of Multan, identified as Malli conquered by Alexander, where he crossed the R'avi; ibid, 313, f. n. 3; 316). This time Mubarak Shah advanced and Shaikh ‘All fled to Kabul.

6. According to Nizam-ud-din, 838 A.H. (A.D. 1434 TA, I. 326). According to Firishta (Briggs) 840 A.H. (A.D. 1436), I. 536

7. Briggs, IV. 380. Firishta probably means that the Governor was not appointed by the Sultan of Delhi.

7a. According to some authorities,. Shaikh Yusuf was never appointed governor of Multan, and it was conquered, not by Qutb-ud-din, but by his father, Budhan Khan SindhI, chief of the Lankah tribe, in A.D. 1437. (See Appendix A at the end of this chapter.)

8. I have adopted the spelling of the proper names as found in the TA, which differs from those found in the CHI.

9. The date of Sultan Husain’s death is doubtful; even Nizam-ud-din (TA, III, ii, 80) could not ascertain the date definitely. But the reading 980 A.H. accepted in the translation of the TA, is impossible, as, according to Nizam-ud-din, Husain succeeded his father in 865 A.H.; neither is 940 A.H. likely. I have therefore accepted the reading 908 A.H. found in the lithograph ed. of the TA and followed by Sir Wolseley Haig (CHI, III, 504). Firishta (Briggs, IV, 391) also gives the year of Husain’s death as 908 A.H.

9a. Jam Bayazid acknowledged allegiance to Sikandar Lodi, who thereupon sent him help. Am (text), I, 555, Tanqlh-ul-Akhbdr, I.O. MS. f. 233b, Mir’at-i-Jahdn Numa Camb. MS. f. 36a. (This note was written by Dr. Hamidud Din Ed.)

10. TA, III, ii, 803; Firishta (Briggs), IV, 395.

11. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Multan fell to Husain Arghun in A.D. 1528, but both Nizam-ud-din and Firishta (op. cit.) quote one Maulana, Sa‘dullah Lahori, who was at Multan during its fall and states that it fell in 932 A.H. (A.D. 1525). Nizam-ud-din, makes it clear that Babur “took possession of the Punjab in the year 930 A.H. and marched towards Delhi,” that is, before the battle of Panipat. It is known that after conquering Lahore, Babur instructed his generals to help ‘Alam Khan in his projected attack on Delhi which never took place. Probably Nizam-ud-din is referring to this abortive invasion. Babur is most unlikely to have bestowed Multan to the Arghuns after the battle of Panipat. (But Dr. Hamidud Din points out that according to the Tanqlh-ul Akhbar, I.O. MS. f. 2331, Ain (text) I, 555, Muntdkhab, Hasan Khaki, Eton MS. f. 158b, Ma’dsir-i-Rahlml, I, 283, Shah Husain Arghun captured Multan

' ' in 1526.)

H. SOUTH INDIA

1. Vol. V, p. 259.

2. Above, pp. 35-37

3. Above, p. 43.

4. K. A. N. Sastri, The Pandyan Kingdom, pp. 209-10.

5. Ibid, 206.

6. According to S. K. Aiyangar (South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, 123) Malik Kaffir “left a garrison behind in Madura, the headquarters of the Pandya Kulasekhara who had fled for protection to Delhi. Whether the garrison was left to safeguard the interests of Kulasekhara is not clearly stated, but seems quite likely” (Kulasekhara is

obviously a slip for Sundara Pandya). K. A. N. Sastri, however, observes that our authorities "do not suggest that Malik Kafur's invasion of Ma'bar was either caused by these differences (between the two brothers) or undertaken in the interest of one of the parties and on an appeal from him.... There is thus no reason to suppose that Sundara Pandya was restored to the throne of Madura and that a Muhammadan garrison was left behind in the city for his protection" (op. cit. 207-8).

7. Sastri, op. cit. 208.

8. Sastri, op. cit. 211-2; El, IV. 146-8; Ann. Rep. S. Ind. Ep., No. 34 of 1911.

9. For a detailed treatment of the history of Ma'bar during this and the ensuing period cf. N. Venkataramanayya's two articles: (1) Ma'bar (1311-1323) in JOR, XII, part ii, 136 ff. and (2) Ma'bar (1323-1371) in the Journal of the Madras University (1939), XI, 41-65; also Sastri, op. cit.; S. A. Q. Husaini: The History of the Madura Sultanate, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, II, 90-130.

10. Sastri, op. cit, 213-4.

THE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

10a. Above p. 43.

11. Sastri, op. cit., 214-245.

12. Sastri, op. cit., 210.

13. For these records cf. Sastri, op. cit., 245-6. Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya's rule in Nagercoil is not mentioned by Sastri, but is proved by a local inscription (El, VII, 12).

14. Sastri, op. cit., 246-7

15. Above p. 74.

16. IBH, 99. As Ibn Batutah was not only a contemporary writer but was also closely related to Jalal-ud-dm, his evidence undoubtedly carries great weight, and has been accepted by manjr (CHI, III. 148). On the other hand ‘Isami, another contemporary writer, definitely asserts that Jalal-ud-dm was the kotwal of Madura and that he usurped the government of the province after murdering the officers who were in charge of the administration (Futuh-usSalatin, p. 449). This is also partially corroborated by Yahya (N. Venkataramanayya, The Early Muslim Expansion in South India, 123, f.n. 50). In judging the comparative value of the evidence respectively of Ibn Batutah and ‘Isami, we must make due allowance for the natural desire or tendency of the former to exaggerate the importance and status of one whose daughter he had married.

17. Venkataramanayya, Early Muslim Expansion in South India, 205* See also the Madhuravijayam of Gangadevi ed. by S. Thiruvenkatachari, introduction, 15.

18. IBH. 226.

19. IBH. 227-8. In the passage quoted, Ibn Batutah has referred to the persecuted people as Kuffdr (plural of Kafir) which Dr. Husain has translated as ‘enemy’. But as Ibn Batutah does not refer to any battle or any hostile action, it is not easy to understand why the normal meaning of Kafir should not be accepted here. Dr. Husain, also, has not assigned any reason for interpreting it differently. It therefore seems preferable to follow Defremery and Sanguinetti’s translation where the word kafir has been translated as ‘Plindub (Voyages DTbn Batutah, Text and translation by C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti Paris, 1922, IV, 192). There is no doubt that Ghiyas-ud-din DamaghanI was hunting out peaceful people who might have taken shelter in the forest to escape from his clutches. Therefore, to describe them as enemies seems inappropriate. Hence I have taken the word Kafir used by Ibn Batutah in its normal sense to mean the Hindus. It seems that Gangadevi refers to this inhuman act when, lamenting on the condition of Madura after Muslim occupation, she writes: “I very much lament for what has happened to the groves in Madhura. The cocoanut trees have all been cut and in their places are to be seen rows of iron spikes with human skulls dangling at the points.” Gangadevi, op. cit., 61.

20. Ibn Batutah calls the place Kubban, IBH, 229, which has been identified with Konnanur—Koppam. S. K. Aiyangar, op. cit., 173-4; N. Venkataramanayya, Journal of the Madras University, XI. 48.

21. Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shdhi, (Text, B.I.) 261-2. Tughluq Kalin Bhdrata, II. 109-10 Hodivala,— Studies in Indo-Muslim History, I, 326-7*

22. For a discussion of this problem see N. Venkataramanayya, op. cit.

23. Hodivala, op. cit., 327.

24. K.A.N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, I. 40

25. S-. K. Aiyangar: op. cit., 184.

26. E. Hultzsch: The coinage of the Sultans of Madura, JRAS, 1909, 667.

27. K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., 224. T.V. Mahalingam, Two centuries of Madura, P1HC, 1945, 198.

28. See N. Venkataramanayya, op. cit., Also cf. ch. XII.

29. E- Hultzsch, Ranganatha Inscription of Goppana, El, VI, 330; Tirumelli Copper plate grant of Bhaskara Ravivarman, E. Plate II; I A, XX, 289.

30. For the struggle between Vijayanagara and Madura, cf. Ch. XII; also JRAS, 1909, pp. 682-3- For Sangama's victory, cf. JBBRAS, XII. 876-77.

31. K.A.N Sastri, op. cit., 244; also Ch. XII.

Appendix to Chapter X

THE ORIGIN OF THE LANKAHS

Some of the well known writers, including Nizam-ud-dln, ‘Abbas Sarwani and Mir Ma‘sum, hold the view that the Lankah dynasty of Multan was founded by one Rai Sahra who hailed from Rapri (Rapar in Mailse tahsil of Multan) or Sewi (modern Sibbi near Quetta) and overthrew Shaikh Yusuf QuraishI whom the people of Multan had raised to power in the reign of the Sayyid Sultan, ‘Ala-ud-dm ‘Alam Shah. [The date stated by them is A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443) although ‘Alam Shah succeeded his father Muhammad Shah in A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445). See above p. 137 n. 28]. They give, however, divergent and often conflicting accounts of the various Lankah rulers as well as of their chronology and this renders their statements incredible (TA, III, 522, Tuhja-yi-Akbar ShahT, Camb. MS. fol. 2., Tdrlkh-i-Sind by Ma'sum, ed. Da’udpota, 148).

However, before ousting Shaikh Yusuf QuraishI from Multan in A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445) Rai Sahra, according to the TA and the Tdrlkh-i-Sind, had held discussions with the Shaikh during which it was revealed that Buhlul had by then occupied Delhi, an event which actually took place in A.H. 855/A.D. 1451. This would also contradict the other statement that Shaikh Yusuf went to Delhi to seek Buhlul’s help in recovering Multan. CHI (III, 503) has also ignored the date of Buhlul’s accession while stating that Shaikh Yusuf was banished in A.D. 1440 to Delhi where he was well received by Buhlul. Rai Sahra, who had assumed the title of Sultan Qutb--ud-dln, died, according to the TA, in A.H. 865 (A.D. 1460) after a reign of 16 years. In Firishta (II, 628) and the Mafdsir-i-Rahimi (I, 268) the date of his death is given as A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469), but the account of the latter is confused as it agrees simultaneously with the TA in respect of the date of Rai Sahra’s accession as well as the duration of his reign.

A further probe into the question, however, discredits the view that Shaikh Yusuf QuraishI ever became the ruler of Multan. The statement of the TA and the Tdrikh-i-Sind that the affairs of Multan were neglected during the latter part of the Sayyid period and that in the absence of a duly appointed governor, the people chose Shaikh Yusuf QuraishI as their ruler, is belied by the contemporary account of the TM (231) according to which Sultan Mubarak Shah went to Multan in A.H. 836 (A.D. 1432) about 9 months before his death. It was probably during this visit that he bestowed the governorship of Multan on Khan-i-Khanan whom the Tdnkh-i-Haqql has described as his brother. Again, Sultan Muhammad Shah set out for Multan in A.H. 838 (A.D. 1434) (TM, 243) and is believed to have confirmed Khan-i-Khanan in his appointment. Three years later, in A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437), Budhan Khan SindhI, chief of the tribe of Lankahs, marched from Uchh, and after overthrowing Khan

THE ORIGIN OF THE LANKAHS

i-Khanan established himself as Sultan Mahmud Shah. He reigned for 17 years, and in A.H. 858 (A.B. 1454) was succeeded by his son, Qutb-ud-dm, whose reign lasted 16 years till A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469). The latter was followed by Sultan Husain Lankah who occupied the throne of Multan for three decades. This account, which appears to be most acceptable, is given in the Tdnkh-i-Haqql (Camb. MS. pp. 128-9) and is supported by Nur-ul-Haq's Zubdat-ut-Twankh Lindesiana MS. fol. 257. Through the copyist's error, the date of Mahmud Shah Lankah's death is written as A.H. 850 (A.D. 1446) although the length of his reign is correctly described as 17 years). Abu-'l Fazl has also corroborated the account of the Tdrlkh-i-Haqql from the accession of Mahmud Shah Lankah onwards, but his earlier references to Rai Sahra and Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi are incorrect. (Am-i-Akbarl, text I, 554. See also M.ujmal-i-Mujassal A.S.B. Calcutta MS. fol. 215b wherein the account of the TA. as well as of Tdrlkh-i-Haqqi is reproduced.)

It will be seen, therefore, that Qutb-ud-dln was the second Lankah ruler and not the first one as described by Nizam-uddln, Mir Ma'sum and even by Firishta who otherwise correctly assigns to him a reign of 16 years ending in A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469). It may also be observed that Rai Sahra is rather an unusual name and the prefix, Rai, suggestes a Rajput origin whereas the Lankahs, according to Firishta, were Afghans.

The error into which Nizam-ud-dln, Mir Ma’sum and some other writers have fallen, is probably due to the fact that Buhlul gave his daughter in marriage to Shaikh Abdullah, son of Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi. This has apparently led these writers to assign to the Shaikh a political role as well. There is no doubt that Buhlul as a pious Muslim held in great esteem the Muslim saints (see above p. 152 n. 9d.) and he must have gladly married his daughter to the son of Shaikh Yusuf who happened to be a descendant of the renowned Muslim saint, Shaikh Baha-ud-dln Zakariya Quraishi of Multan. This is confirmed by ‘Abdul Haq as well as by another contemporaneous writer, GhausI Shah Han, but neither of them refers to Shaikh Yusuf Quraishl’s elevation to the throne of Multan. (See Akhbar ul-Akhydr p. 209, Gulzdr-i-Ahrdr, Lindesiana MS. fol. 124b, A.S.B. Calcutta MS. fol, 64b.)

CHAPTER XI

THE BAHMANI KINGDOM

1. THE ORIGIN OF BAHMAN SHAH

Reference has been made above 1 to the successful revolt in the Deccan, in A.D. 1345, during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, and the accession, two years later, of an amir, named Hasan Gangu bearing the title Zafar Khan, to the throne at Daulatabad as Abu-’l Muzaffar ‘Ala-ud-dm Bahman Shah.

As usually happens, various stories were current regarding the early life and family history of the parvenu king. Even at the time when Firishta wrote, there v/ere too many of them and the one that he gives as the most credible may be summarised as follows:

“Hasan, a native of Delhi, was a servant of a Brahman named Gangu. Once Hasan, while tilling the field, chanced to discover a copper pot full of gold coins, which he carried to his master. Impressed by his honesty, the Brahman brought the fact to the notice of the Sultan, who appointed him to the command of one hundred horse. The Brahman, who was an astrologer, prophesied his future greatness, and made him promise that if he ever became a king he would assume the title Gangu.”

Tabataba and Nizam-ud-dm, the authors respectively of Burhdni-Ma’dsir and Tahaqdt-i-Akban, both of whom wrote earlier than Firishta, give credit to the story that Hasan was descended from the hero Bahman, son of Isfandiyar, and therefore the dynasty is called Bahman!. Firishta disbelieves the story and makes an emphatic assertion to the following effect: “If has been asserted that he was descended from Bahmun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and I, the author, have even seen a pedigree of him so derived, in the royal library at Ahmudnuggur; but it was probably only framed, after his accession to the throne, by flatterers and poets, for I believe his origin v/as too obscure to admit of being traced. The appellation of Bahmuny he certainly took out of compliment to his master, Gungoo, the bramin, a word often pronounced bahmun. The King himself was by birth an Afghan.” It is to be noted that though neither Tabataba nor Nizam-ud-dm refers to the

Brahman episode, the latter as well as Yahya, an earlier authority, calls the king Hasan Gangu or Kanku. The attempt to explain away Kanku as a scribe’s corruption of Kaikaus is hardly satisfactory. 2 The story given by

Firishta, therefore, cannot be dismissed off-hand as ‘absurd’, 3 nor is it incompatible with epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as many have held. The title Bahman Shah is mentioned in the Gulbarga Mosque Inscription and is also found on the coins of the dynasty. It seems to be the most appropriate appellation which the courtiers of ‘Ala-ud-dln could suggest to him, taking info consideration the king’s sense of gratitude to the Brahman, Gangu, and the identity of the Persianized form, Bahman, of the caste name Brahman, with the name of the great Persian King Bahman, son of Isfandiyar. In Gulbarga there is, to this day, a street called Baihmanipura, where the majority of the residents are Brahmans, and some of them describe themselves as descendants of Gangu. 3a On the whole, it seems much safer to leave open the question of the origin and early history of Plasan and the real significance of the dynastic appellation Bahmani. The story of Firishta cannot be set aside or evenregarded as less probable than the descent from an ancient Persian hero. In any case we may reasonably hold that Hasan w T as born in humble life and was by his own efforts elevated to the throne.

The dynasty he founded became famous in history as the Bahmani dynasty and it ruled the Deccan for the next two hundred years.

2. THE GULBARGA PERIOD (1374-1422)

Soon after the ceremony at Daulatabad, Bahman Shah selected Gulbarga as his capital. It remained the seat of the Bahmani government till about 1425 when, during the reign of Ahmad Shah Vali (1422-1436), the capital was shifted to Bidar. A great city grew in place of the old provincial town of Gulbarga with palaces for the Sultan and the grandees of his court, mosques, bazars and other public buildings. Situated centrally in the new kingdom, Gulbarga was able to command its Marathi, Kannada and Telugu areas effectively.

The first task of Bahman Shah was to impose his sovereignty over the many dissident elements that had grown up in the Deccan during the period of upheaval preceding his elevation to the throne. He sent his first expedition towards the Nasik area to drive out the remnants of the Tughluq army in the Deccan and to show the flag of the new dynasty to the Hindu chiefs of Baglana. His armies are said to have gone as far as the Dangs 4 beyond Baglana. Another expedition was directed to places near the capital, such as Akalkot, Bhum and Mundargi. “Each of the zamlndars of that district (Mundargi) who submitted to his rule he left in undisturbed possession of his feudal lands.but any who disputed his authority,

their country and goods were plundered, and they and those under them put to death”. 5 Isma‘Il Mukh, who had abdicated in favour of Bahrnan Shah, was given a jtigir near Jamkhandi in the hope that he would subdue that area and bring it under submission. But Narayana, a Hindu chieftain of this area, succeeded in turning Isma‘11 against his king. This disaffection was shortlived, as, soon after, Isma‘11 was poisoned by the Hindu chief. The vigorous measures taken by Bahrnan Shah for the punishment of Narayana also enabled him to consolidate his rule in the present Bijapur district. The Sultan then turned his attention towards Karhad and Kolhapur and the passes leading to the Konkan ports of Dabhol and Kharepatan. It may be noted that the ports on the Konkan coast and the roads and passes leading to them were controlled by Gulbarga, and that much of the Konkan territory did not come into Bahmani. possession till Mahmud Gavan organized campaigns for this purpose in the next century. In the north-east, the territory up to Mahur (19° 49' N and 77° 58' E) was brought under Bahmani sway, and in the south, portions of western Telingana including the strong fortress of Bhonglr (17° 31' N and 78° 53' E) were occupied. These expeditions also resulted in considerable material benefit by way of tributes in cash, jewellery and elephants and helped the Sultan in building a strong army. Thus was the newly created kingdom consolidated. 6

Bahrnan Shah’s dominion had two Hindu neighbours, which, like itself, had emerged on the break-up of the Tughluq empire. One was Warangal, under Kapaya Nay aka, 7 on the south and southeast, and the other, Vijayanagara, a more modern but more powerful State than Warangal, on the south and south-west. This proximity of two powerful Hindu kingdoms to an equally powerful Muslim kingdom explains the chronic warfare of the next hundred years that characterizes the history of the Deccan. The Bahmani kingdom was determined to advance as far south as Madura, the limit of the Tughluq empire, and the Hindu kingdoms were as determined to prevent this advance.

Bahrnan Shah led his first campaign against Warangal in 1350 when he compelled its ruler Kapaya Nayaka to cede to him the fortress of Kaulas (18° 50' N and 77° 80' E) as the price of peace, and imposed on him an annual tribute. Henceforward, all wars between the Bahmanls and Warangal can be traced either to Kapaya’s neglect to pay the stipulated tribute or to his demands for the restoration of Kaulas. According to Firishta, Bahrnan Shah invaded the Carnatic, but it is doubtful whether it brought him into conflict with Vijayanagara itself. But the war certainly began in the next reign.

Bahman Shah created an aristocracy by bestowing titles like Khan and Malik on the majority of his officers, while the more influential and powerful among them were decorated with special distinctions like Qutb-ul-Mulk, Khvaja Jahan etc. The highest title was AmIr-ul-Umara‘ and this was given to Isma‘11 Mukh in recognition of the royal position he had occupied. The dignity of a royal court and royal palace also demanded many officials or diwans, and so positions of treasurer (khazan), superintendent of elephants (shahnah-i-fll) , keeper of the seals (daivat-dar) , lord chamberlain (sayyid-ul-hujjdb), royal taster (chashritgir) etc. were created and bestowed on trusted servants. 8 Two other positions were the royal secretary (dabir) and constable of the city (hajib-i-qasabah) which in course of time were conferred upon persons with the rank of a minister rather than upon ordinary court officials.

The Sultan found a ready made pattern of administration which he could adopt. Two years before the Deccan became independent, Muhammad Tughluq had divided it into four shiqs. Bahman Shah accepted this idea and continued to have four divisions to each of which he appointed a governor with an appropriate title. He, however, discontinued the term shiq for these divisions. 9

*‘Ala-ud-dIn Hasan Bahman Shah died in A.D. 1358 at the age of 67 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Shah.

*The reign of Muhammad Shah saw the beginning of that longdrawn struggle with Vijayanagara which continued, with intervals, till the final breakdown of the latter kingdom. According to Firishta, the king’s father, ‘Ala-ud-din Hasan, “sent a considerable force into the Carnatic” which returned with a rich booty exacted from “several rajas”. In the absence of any specific reference to Vijayanagara, it can only mean a successful raid into the borderland between the two kingdoms. The actual war between the two newly founded succession states of the Sultanate broke out in the reign of Muhammad Shah. It was a defensive war which Muhammad had to wage against the combination of the two Hindu States of Vijayanagara and Telingana. It may be pointed out that the rivalry between the BahmanI kingdom and Vijayanagara was primarily due to those political and economic factors which led, even in the Hindu period, to age-long struggles between the powers who occupied the two sides of the Krishna-Tungabhadra line such as the Chalukyas and the Fallavas, the Rashtrakutas and the Cholas, etc.

*The ruler of Telingana, Kapaya Nayaka, formally demanded the fortress of Kaulas which ‘Ala-ud-din Hasan had wrested from him; while Bukka, the king of Vijayanagara demanded the KrishnaTuhgabhadra-doab, presumably on the ground that it had always belonged to the southern State. As these two demands were presented almost simultaneously, there was hardly any doubt in the mind of Muhammad, that the two Hindu States had entered into an alliance against him, and this was really the case.

* After temporizing for some time, Muhammad Shah not only refused the demands but made counter-demands upon the two Hindu kings. Thereupon Kapaya sent his son Vinayaka Deva with a large army to seize the fortress of Kaulas, while Bukka sent twenty thousand men to his help and invaded the Raichur dodb (A.D. 1362). The allied force was defeated near Kaulas and Kapaya, being pursued up to Warangal, was forced to buy peace by offering a large amount of money and over twenty-five elephants. Soon after this agreement was reached, quarrel broke out again and Muhammad Shah, by a surprise attack on Palampet, seized the young prince Yinayaka and put him to death with barbarous cruelty. In course of his return, the

Sultan suffered a great deal from the guerilla tactics of the enemy. He was himself wounded and of his 4,000 soldiers only 1,500 returned with him. Next year Muhammad Shah received a report from the secret service, instituted by him at Delhi, that Kapaya, enraged at the death of his son, had approached Firuz Tughluq for assistance against him. He immediately invaded Telingana (A.D. 1363) with a large army. Kapaya was unable to withstand the force and concluded a treaty by paying a large amount of money and ceding Golconda which was fixed as the perpetual boundary between the two kingdoms. Kapaya also presented a turquoise throne which henceforth was used as the royal throne of the Bahmanls. This account is based almost entirely upon Firishta, and it is difficult to say whether we may accept it as unvarnished truth. As will be shown later, in the chapter on Yijayanagara, Firishta gives a similar account of the successive victories won by Muhammad Shah against that kingdom. But the terms of the treaty which ended the war clearly indicate that Muhammad Shah had to concede all the major demands of Bukka. The cession by Kapaya of the fortress of Golconda is an undoubted fact, and indicates his discomfiture in the war. On the other hand, according to Firishta himself, when Muhammad Shah began the campaign he was “resolved on the entire conquest of Telingana”, 9 * and yet he concluded a treaty, fixing Golconda as the perpetual boundary between the Bahmanl kingdom and Telingana. This certainly indicates that perhaps the small Hindu principality of Telingana did not fare as badly as Firishta would have us believe. Equally doubtful is Firishta’s statement, that being reproached by the ambassadors of Yijayanagara for indiscriminate massacre of Hindu women and children, Muhammad Shah “took an oath, that he would not, here

after, put to death a single enemy after a victory and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct” 9 ’ 0 But Firishta exceeds all limits when he observes: “From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy’s unarmed subjects”. 90 The account of Firishta himself gives a direct lie to this statement.

The last campaign in Telingana lasted for about two years and was immediately followed by a protracted war with Vijayanagara which will be described in the next chapter. After this campaign was over Muhammad

Shah reigned in peace and prosperity. He turned his attention to the improvement of administration and consolidation of authority over his extensive kingdom till his death in A.D. 1375. Muhammad Shah indulged in wine and other vices, but a story is told how in deference to the wishes of a pious shaikh, Muhammad Shah abjured the use of wine in public and ordered the closure of distilleries in the kingdom. This enforced temperance proved to be a shortlived reform and seems to have passed away towards the close of the Sultan’s reign. The reign of Muhammad Shah marks the beginning of an independent Deccan architecture to which reference will be made later. He was also the first to organize the artillery and to use it in fights against Vijayanagara. 9 *

Muhammad I was succeeded by his son ‘Ala-ud-dln Mujahid (1375) whose short reign is chiefly remembered for his Gargantuan appetite and physical prowess which earned him the sobriquet of ‘halawant’. The chief event of his short reign of about three years was his campaign against Vijayanagara as will be related later. While returning from this campaign, Mujahid was murdered by his cousin Daud 9e (1378) who then ascended the throne. Within about a month, however, Mujahid’s partisans avenged his death by assassinating Baud, and setting on the throne Baud’s brother, Muhammad II, in preference to Baud’s son, Sanjar, who was blinded.

The king of Vijayanagara took advantage of these political troubles to wrest a large slice of territory on the western coast, including the port of Goa. But barring this, the long reign of Muhammad II was on the whole peaceful, and he put an end to palace and court intrigues and the regicide atmosphere that had grown in the capital. The Sultan was, however, no match for his rival, the king of Vijayanagara, who consolidated his authority in the eastern regions in defiance of him, as will be related later. Muhammad Shah II was essentially a man of culture, and he tried to attract to his kingdom men of piety and erudition. He made Fazullah Anju, one of the learned divines of the time, Sadr-i-Jahdn or Chief Justice and Minister for Religious Endowments, and invited the great Hafiz to his court. But the poet, on being caught in a storm on embarkation at Ormuz, decided to abandon his voyage. He sent an ode to the king instead, for which a rich present was returned to him by the royal patron. The Sultan himself was a very learned man and was nick-named Aristotle by his subjects. With learning he combined an abiding interest in the welfare of his subjects. When his kingdom was ravaged by a famine he made prompt and efficient arrangement for the transport of grain from Gujarat and Malwa and its distribution among Muslims only at cheap rates. He established orphanages in various centres in the kingdom tv/o of which were at the Konkan ports of Chaul and Dabhol. 10

Muhammad II died in April 1397, and was succeeded by Ghiyasud-din. Malik Saif-ud-dln Ghuri, the powerful and able Bahmani minister who had rendered distinguished and loyal services to the new dynasty since the reign of its founder and had a large share in setting up the Bahmani administrative machinery, died the very next day after Muhammad II. A Turkish faction now raised its head in Gulbarga under the leadership of Taghalchln, an unscrupulous adventurer. The king had incurred Taghalchin's wrath by refusing to appoint him to the governorship of Gulbarga and to the position of Vakil-us~saltanat rendered vacant by the death of Saifud-din Ghuri. Unfortunately, the king, infatuated by the beauty of Taghalchin's daughter, put himself in his power and was seized, while alone, and blinded (June 1397). Taghalchln then raised to the throne Ghiyas-ud-din's younger half-brother as Shams-ud-dln Daiid Shah. He had won over to his cause the young king's mother, who had been a maid-servant of Ghiyas-ud-din's mother, and with her support he became the regent of the kingdom. This degradation of the royal family and the dominance which the upstart Taghalchln had acquired, excited the wrath of the late king's cousins Firuz and Ahmad, who were married to his sisters, daughters of Muhammad II. In the palace revolution that now followed Taghalchln was overpowered, Shams-ud-din was deposed, and Firuz Khan ascended the throne as Sultan Taj-ud-dln Firuz Shah on November 16, 1397. Ghiyas-ud-dln, the blinded and deposed king, who had been kept in confinement at Sagar, was brought to Gulbarga, and Taghalchln was produced before the monarch whom he had so basely treated. The blind Ghiyas-ud-din with a sword struck at Taghalchin and slew him. 11

*Firuz Shah had an eventful reign of tweny-five years (13971422). It was marked by three distinct campaigns against Vijayanagara in 1398, 1406 and

1417. In spite of Firishta’s grandiloquent description of the brilliant successes of Firuz in his first campaign

culminating in the siege of Vijayanagara, the silence of other Muslim chroniclers seems to indicate that FIruz did not probably invade the Raichur dcab, far less advance up to the capital city Vijayanagara. The campaign does not seem to have brought any conspicuous success on either side, as will be related later.

*But far more important were the two subsidiary campaigns waged by FIruz. The first was against the Gond Raja Narsing Rai of Kherla, about four miles north of Betul in Madhya Pradesh. According to Firishta, he had invaded Berar at the instigation of the neighbouring Muslim rulers of Malwa and Khandesh, and on the advice of the Raja of Vijayanagara. After concluding treaty with Vijayanagara, FIruz proceeded against Narsing who offered a stubborn resistance but not having received any help from outside, as he hoped, offered submission.

*Far different was the state of affairs in Telingana where the two rival factions, the Vernas and Velamas, were actively supported, respectively, by the rulers of Vijayanagara and the BahmanI kingdom. Here, again, Firishta speaks of the uniform success of FIruz, but in reality he could achieve very little. At first when the main army of FIruz was occupied on the banks of the Krishna fighting against Vijayanagara, the forces of the latter won complete victory in Telingana. After the conclusion of treaty with Vijayanagara and the submission of Kherla, FIruz advanced in full force to Telingana. He obtained some successes at first, but was forced to retreat when Kataya Verna’s lieutenant, Allada Reddi, defeated the BahmanI commander, ‘All Khan.

*Firishta’s account of the second BahmanI campaign against Vijayanagara begins with a romantic love episode of Devaraya, and ends with his daughter’s marriage with the Muslim Sultan, which was a unique event in those days. But the omission of all reference to this marriage by Nizam-ud-dln, and a very different account of the whole campaign by a still earlier author throw doubt on the entire account of Firishta about the success of FIruz.

The third campaign (A.D. 1417-20) centred round the siege of the fort of Pangal by FIruz and ended in his total discomfiture by the army of Vijayanagara. FIruz, being defeated, escaped from the field, and his territory was laid waste with fire and sword. Thus the net result of the long-drawn struggle between the BahmanI kingdom and Vijayanagara was a stalemate. The status quo was maintained and the Raichur doab, the bone of contention, remained in possession of Vijayanagara.

The defeat and discomfiture of FIruz weighed so heavily on his mind, and undermined his prestige to such an extent that the forces

of unrest once again reared up their head. Added to this was the rift between him and the famous Khvaja Glsu Daraz, the saint openly declaring that the Sultan’s brother, Ahmad, should be the next ruler instead of Hasan, the son of FIruz. Attempts were made by two courtiers of FIruz to imprison Ahmad Khan, but the partisanship shown towards him by the saint influenced the army which declared for Ahmad. The royal force was defeated by Ahmad and he besieged the capital. The old and sick FIruz was carried into the battlefield, but he swooned, and the citadel surrendered. FIruz realized his position and wisely offered the throne to his brother, himself abdicating. Ahmad ascended the throne at Gulbarga on September 22, 1422, and on October 2, FIruz died.

FIruz was an enlightened ruler, but not a rigid Muslim. Though fond of wine and music, he delighted in holding learned discourses with philosophers, poets, historians and other learned men whom he gathered round him. He encouraged the pursuit of astronomy and built an observatory near Daulatabad. He constructed the new city of Flruzabad on the Bhima and occasionally used it as his capital. He devoted much attention to the two principal ports of his kingdom, Chaul and Dabhol, which attracted trading ships from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and poured into the kingdom articles of necessity and luxury not only from Persia, Arabia and the African coast, but also from Europe. It is said that he was an accomplished linguist and a good calligrapher, and that he used to copy sixteen pages of the Qur'an every four days. Though nominally an orthodox Sunni, he was not averse to make use of the license, given by later theologians, for contracting many temporary marriages. He thus collected a large harem consisting of women of many nationalities and it was his boast that he could speak to each of them in her own tongue.

3. BAHMANI ADMINISTRATION

The reign of FIruz Shah Bahmani saw the end of the Gulbarga period of the dynasty. In spite of regicides and internal troubles this was a period of expansion, consolidation and struggle against external powers which began soon after Zafar Khan had founded the Bahmani kingdom. The Bahmani administrative system was modelled on the Islamic pattern. The king was the supreme power in the State. He was ruler, judge, administrator, military leader, sometimes even preacher and leader of public worship. Plis duties were as all-embracing as his authority. The king was the shadow of God on earth. But only Mujahid Shah Bahmani (1375-78) seems to have claimed this distinction. 12

Bahman Shah, the founder of the dynasty, was content to acknowledge the theoretical supremacy of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate; he had a black canopy over his throne in the ‘Abbasid fashion 13 and on his coins he styled himself as “right hand of the Caliphate”. 14

Though in theory the king’s authority was unlimited, in practice he depended on the advice of his ministers in deciding questions of State policy. The chief duty of the ministers was, of course, implicit obedience to the king’s wishes. They were responsible to him in the smallest matters and held office during his pleasure.

The chief minister was called vakil-us-sultanat. All orders issued by the king passed through him and bore his seal. The minister for finance was the arntr-i-jumla. The wazlr-i-ashraf was in charge of external affairs. Two other ministers were the wazlr-i kull and the peshwa with somewhat undefined duties. The sadr-ijahan was the chief judicial authority and was in charge of religious matters and religious endowments. 15 There were various other junior ministers like the nazir and the kotwdl 16 on the civil side and qiir beg-i-maisarah (commander of the left wing) and the qur beg-i-maimanah (commander of the right wing) on the military side. 17

The provincial administrative system of the Bahmanis owes its origin to the founder of the kingdom. ‘Ala-ud-dln Bahman Shah had divided his kingdom into four divisions, each of which was entrusted to an officer. During the reign of his son Muhammad, these divisions were named tarafs, and the officers in charge of them, called tarafdars . 18 These provincial governors were supreme in their respective divisions. “They collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army and made all appointments both civil and military, in their provinces”. 19 Naturally they tended to become powerful. But during the early days of the Bahmanis, they were held in check by the strong personality of the king himself, who, every year, spent some time in touring the various divisions and in supervising the administration of his officers. Moreover the tarafdars could be, and were indeed, transferred from one province to another. 20 The BahmanI kingdom slowly grew in extent and in the reign of Muhammad Shah III (Lashkari) reached its furthest limits. Mahmud Gavan, the famous minister of Muhammad Shah Lashkari, redivided the kingdom into eight sarlashkar ships. 21 This arrangement and the system of transfers were intended to control the power of the tarafdars. But they failed to cure the evils which were further accentuated by civil war.

Usually one, and some time more, of these tarafdars were also ministers at the BahmanI court. Mahmud Gavan was the vakil-us~

sultanat to Humayun Shah (1458-1461) and also tarafdar of the Bijapur division. Similarly during the succeeding reign, Khvaja Jahan, who was vakil to Nizam Shah BahmanI (1461-1463), was also the governor of Telingana; and Mahmud Gavan, who was made both amir-i-jumla and ivazir-i-kull, was retained in charge of Bijapur. 22 Each of the tarafddrs was, ipso facto, a military officer and held the rank of a commander of 2,000 horse. 23

The sub-division of a taraf was known as sarkar, which in its turn was further divided into parganas. A pargana consisted of a certain number of villages, the village being the smallest unit of administration.

4. THE BID AH PERIOD (1422-1538)

Ahmad Shah BahmanI, the successor of Firuz and famous in history as the Vali or saint, seems to have shifted the BahmanI capital from Gulbarga to Bidar some time about 1425. 24 After the conquest of Warangal, the BahmanI kingdom extended in the east and Bidar was the most central point for this augmented dominion. The three linguistic areas of the kingdom converged on this city; it had moreover a far better climate than Gulbarga and strategically a far stronger situation. But there was perhaps a political motive behind this change to which reference will be made in the chapter on Vijayanagara.

Almost immediately after his accession, Ahmad Shah decided to carry out the unfulfilled wishes of his brother, and declared war on Devaraya II of Vijayanagara. Firishta, in his usual manner, describes how the BahmanI king forced Devaraya II to sue for peace by laying his country waste and besieging his capital. The Raja of Warangal, who had joined Devaraya II and then deserted him, soon paid the penalty for his folly. After the close of his campaign against Vijayanagara, Ahmad Shah marched towards Warangal in 1425. The Raja was defeated and slain, and Warangal was finally annexed to the BahmanI kingdom.

It was during Ahmad Shah's reign (1422-1436) that the BahmanI kingdom first came into conflict with the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat w T hich like itself had risen out of the Tughluq empire. In the conflict against Malwa, Ahmad Shah carried the victorious BahmanI flag into that dominion and overawed it with his might so that during the rest of his reign there was no further trouble between the two kingdoms.

Ahmad's conflict against Gujarat was of his own seeking. He took sides with a Hindu chieftain of the Gujarat kingdom who had risen in revolt against his overlord, the Sultan of Gujarat, and had

come to Ahmad Shah Vail via Khandesh. In A.D. 1429, Bahmani troops were sent to help the rebel and they raided the Nandurbar district of the Gujarat dominion only to be expelled from there and to be driven out of Khandesh back into Bahmani territory. Next year (1430) another Bahmani army, under Khalaf Hasan Basrl, was sent to occupy the island of Salsette.

It encamped on the Mahim creek with the Gujarat army facing it on the opposite (Bandra) side. But this attempt to occupy Gujarat territory also proved futile. In this campaign we see the beginning of the Deccani-pcLrdes! rivalry. The Deceani officers under Khalaf Hasan treacherously quitted his camp with the result that the Gujaratis were able to gain an easy victory over Khalaf Hasan. It was most probably in this campaign that the islands of Mahim and some territory south of it were annexed to the Gujarat kingdom. The hostilities against Gujarat made Ahmad seek the alliance of Khandesh which was achieved by the marriage of the Sultan’s son, ‘Ala-ud-dln, with the daughter of Naslr Khan Farruql.

After the death of Ahmad Shah Vail his son, ‘Ala-ud-din Ahmad, who succeeded him, built a magnificent dome over the grave of his father on the outskirts of the new capital. The ceiling and walls of this tomb were decorated with paintings composed of calligraphic devices or floral designs. The colours of these paintings, especially of those on the ceiling, are still fresh and bright as if they were done only a few years ago. These paintings are considered unique in India for their beauty and elegance. From one of the inscriptions in the tomb we get the correct date of Ahmad Shah’s death, 29th Ramzan, 839 (April 17, 1436). A very interesting practice connected with this tomb is that an annual fair is held near it, in honour, of the Vail, by the priests of the Lingayat sect, a ceremony which, legend claims, started when the tomb was built.

The reign of ‘Ala-ud-dln Ahmad (1436-1458) opened with a campaign against Vijayanagara, and there was another struggle in A.D. 1443-4. Both were confined to the Raichur doab and will be described later. ‘Ala-ud-dln Ahmad subdued the chiefs of the Konkan region. In the year of his accession an army was sent against the Raja of Sangamesvar (17° 16' N and 73° 33' E) who not only offered submission but gave his beautiful daughter in marriage to the Sultan. This lady, known to history as Pari-chehra or Zlbachehra (Fairy face), was the Sultan’s favourite queen, and the cause of much jealousy and annoyance to the first queen, the daughter of Naslr Khan of Khandesh. Naslr Khan, partly instigated by his daughter and partly encouraged by the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa, declared hostilities against his son-in-law and marched with an army into his dominion. Khalaf Hasan BasrI was once again entrusted with the charge of the Bahmani army which consisted exclusively of pardesis . With the defeat at Mahim due to the treachery of the Deecanis, still fresh in his mind, Khalaf Hasan was able to persuade the king and the Deccani Vakll-us-Sultanat Miyan Minullah to agree to such a step. He inflicted a defeat on the Khandeshis on the battlefields of Berar and drove them back into their territory. But this new policy of exclusion rankled in the minds of the Deecanis, and finally led to the massacre of the pardesls at Chakan, as will be described in the next section.

The last years of ‘Ala-ud-dm Ahmad’s reign were marked by the rebellion of his brother-in-law, Jalal Khan, who proclaimed himself as king of Telingana (1455). The Sultan himself marched against the rebel who took refuge in the fortress of Nalgonda (17° 3' N and 79° 16' E) and sent his son, Sikandar, towards Malwa to beseech the help of that kingdom. Sikandar gained support of Mahmud Khalji of Malwa by representing that ‘Ala-ud-dm Ahmad was dead and disorder had broken out in the Bahmani dominion. ‘Ala-ud-dm at this juncture placed Mahmud Gavan in charge of the siege of Nalgonda, and proceeded to the north to meet the danger created by the conduct of Sikandar. Mahmud Khalji, finding that he had been misled by false information about the death of the Bahmani Sultan, relinquished his campaign and retired to his kingdom. Mahmud Gavan secured royal pardon both for Jalal Khan and his son and their rebellion was over. This is the first occasion when Mahmud Gavan, the great Bahmani minister and one of the greatest figures of medieval India, comes first into notice. He had arrived at Dabhol in 1453 as a merchant and finding his way to Bldar and attracting royal notice, had been enrolled in Bahmani service and entrusted with the siege of Nalgonda. In this very first task Gavan had acquitted himself creditably; his rise henceforth at the Bahmani court was rapid.

‘Ala-ud-dm Ahmad’s reign is notable for the large hospital he established in his capital early during his reign. A number of villages were endowed to this institution from the revenues of which were paid the cost of medicine and food of the patients and possibly also the salaries of the staff. Both Hindu and Muslim physicians were employed in this hospital 26 and it can be inferred from this that it was open to patients irrespective of caste and religion. In this connection it may be mentioned that for about the last four years of his life the Sultan suffered from a festering wound in one of his shins, and, if the account of the Marathi Gurucharitra written in c. A.D. 1550 is to be believed, the Sultan got some relief from the ministrations of Nrisimha Sarasvati, famous in his time as a saintly

person and revered by people to this day. It is said that the Sultan, despairing of cure for his ills, as a last resort went to the SvamI who himself visited the royal patient in his capital and cured him. Some of the present day scholars attribute the death of the king to his wound, but neither Firishta nor Tabataha make any statement to that effect, and the latter merely states that the Sultan died in Jamadi 1, 862 A.H. (April, 1458).

The short reign of Humayun (1458-1461) was marred by constant unrest and rebellions in the kingdom and among its Hindu vassals. The stern and ruthless attempts of the Sultan to put down these forces of disorder seem to have earned for him the sobriquet Zalim (cruel) at the hands of Firishta. This chronicler records the most horrid deeds of cruelty perpetrated by Humayun. 26a Nor does the author of the Burhan-i-Ma'dsir spare the king. But the picture of his reign as given by both these chroniclers appears to be overdrawn, when we read the sentiments of the minister Mahmud Gavan towards his royal master as expressed in his letters. 26

Humayun's son and successor, Nizam Shah Bahmani, a boy of eight years, also had a short reign of about two years during which the administration of the kingdom remained in the hands of a council of three consisting of the Queen-mother, assisted by two of the ablest men in the Bahmani Court, Mahmud Gavan and Khvaja Jahan Turk. The Queen-mother herself was one of the few remarkable women that have appeared in the ruling dynasties of medieval India. Though she did not appear in public, she kept herself in close and constant touch with her colleagues of the council from whom and from her personal agents she received daily reports of the affairs of the kingdom. She directed that her son, the boy king, should sit every day in the hall of audience and preside over the royal darbdr so that he should gain full knowledge of current affairs and familiarity with the details of administration. The Council of Regency also declared a general amnesty in favour of those who had been imprisoned during the harsh rule of

Humayun, a wise measure, the credit for which goes mainly to Mahmud Gavan.

While the internal condition of the kingdom was being thus strengthened by the Council of Regency, the king of Orissa, Kapilendra, in the belief that a State ruled by a child was likely to prove weak in war, made an alliance with the king of Telingana and marched against the Bahmani kingdom. He made his way to the very outskirts of the capital BIdar, but the military leadership of Mahmud Gavan and Khvaja Jahan triumphed and the invaders were repulsed. Hardly had this affair ended when Malwa made war on the Bahmani kingdom Mahmud Khali I, the Sultan of Malwa,

marched through the northern territories of BahmanI dominion and occupied Bidar from which the king had been removed to FIruzabad. In this distress Mahmud Gavan appealed to Gujarat for help and Mahmud Begarha marched with an army to the Deccan. The combined efforts of the BahmanI forces and the Gujarat allies resulted in the enemy withdrawing towards Malwa. Next year (1463) Mahmud Khaljl again invaded the BahmanI dominion, but retreated when he heard that Gujarat was ready once again to help the Deccan kingdom.

Young Nizam Shah BahmanI died on July 30, 1463, on the very day of his marriage, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhammad Shah III (1463-82). The Council of Regency, which had guided the affairs of the BahmanI kingdom during the earlier reign, continued to function till 1466. Khvaja Jahan Turk had about this time come under suspicion of disloyalty, and in that year the Queenmother contrived his murder in open court. Mahmud Gavan was now appointed Vakil-us-Sultanat (Deputy of the kingdom) or the Prime Minister, and he remained in supreme authority till his murder in 1481. During the fifteen years that Mahmud Gavan was at the helm of administration, he successfully fought against Orissa and Vijayanagara and enlarged the boundaries of the kingdom from Orissa to Goa. His most important military achievements were the conquest of Hubli, Belgaum and Bagalkot which brought the whole of the former Bombay-Karnatak under BahmanI sway, the complete subjugation and consolidation of the Konkan, and the occupation of the important port of Goa. This port, which was jealously guarded by the Vijayanagara kings, had for long been coveted by the Bahmanls, and is described by Gavan himself as “the envy of the islands and ports of India”. The Sultan himself showed great military leadership in all these campaigns which earned for him the title Lashkarl .

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These new conquests enriched the resources of the kingdom and Athanasius Nikitin, the Russian traveller who visited Bidar about 1470, describes it as “the chief town of the whole of Muhammadan Hindustan”. The nobles and people of the city and its buildings gave him an impression of great luxury, well-being and wealth. Nikitin describes the royal palace as wonderful to behold, and on an ‘Id day he saw the Sultan in a dress studded with precious stones and with a large diamond in his head-dress, riding on a charger with a golden saddle. To this wealth of the city, Gavan added the dignity of scholarship by founding a madrasah or school equipped with a library and housed in a glittering building with glazed tiles on its outside. But Gavan and his administrative reforms had excited the envy and jealousy of the Deccanis which finally culminated in his murder. Before proceeding further it is necessary to discuss fully the causes and results of this base and melancholy tragedy.

5. PARTY STRIFE IN THE BAHMANi KINGDOM

As stated above, Hasan, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, had divided his kingdom into four provinces, which, under his successors, were known as tarafs and were placed under governors known as tarafdars. These provincial governors enjoyed great powers. In their respective dominions they were supreme. The tarafdari system worked smoothly as long as it had behind it the momentum of a strong personality,—either of the king himself, or of an able minister like Mahmud Gavan. But when it became rigid and the tarafdars acquired local prestige, it became difficult to cope with its separatist tendencies.

The progress of these centrifugal forces was further accentuated by the fact that, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the ruling Muslim aristocracy had split itself into two rival groups, the Deccanis and the pardesis or 'foreigners'. The Deccanis were the domiciled Muslims. No doubt they had originally come from outside the Deccan, but a stay in the Deccan extending over generations had changed their manners, ways of living and outlook oh life, and had even altered their complexion. The descendants of the Muslims whom Hasan, the first Bahmani king, entertained in his service, had also, a century later, become natives of the country, and had no longer any extra-territorial interests. Many of them had native blood in their veins, for a number of Muslim invaders originally coming into the Deccan had married women belonging to the country. This class also contained Hindu converts to Islam. Fathulliah 'Imad Shah, the founder of the 'Imad Shah! dynasty of Berar, and Ahmad Nizam Shah, who established the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, were both originally Brahmans. Naturally, therefore, the Deccanis looked upon their native land as their particular preserve, and viewed with suspicion every foreigner entering the Deccan as a future rival and a possible competitor for a position at court and a place in the king's favour.

The pardesis, as their name implied, were not natives of the Deccan; year by year they came into the country from abroad in increasing numbers. The Bahmani kings made it a matter of policy to employ these pardesl adventurers freely in their army, and a continuous supply of foreigners, mostly soldiers, poured into the country. A number of pardesis came for trade and, like the traders of a later age, found it to their advantage to take part in the politics of the country. To those soliders of fortune from Persia, Turkey,

Central Asia, Arabia and Afghanistan, the Deccan in those days was the land of adventure and promise, a land where valour was recognized and statesmanship rewarded.

From the very beginning of the Bahmani kingdom, the 'foreigners' wielded considerable influence in the politics of the country. Bahman Shah himself had persuaded many Afghan and Mughul amirs —fresh recruits in the Tughluq service from abroad— to join his standard. This policy was continued by his successors, who, by their patronage, attracted and ensured a continuous supply of 'foreigners'. Mujahid Shah Bahmani (1375-78), in particular, showed a conspicuous preference to Persians and Turks. 27 It was this policy of preference and exclusion that created in the Deccanis a feeling of grievance and ill-usage.

At first the ‘foreigners’ were few in number and the Deccanis did not feel their competition. But with the lapse of time the former gained in strength and formed a distinct party. This also checked the process of assimilation. When, at first, the pardesls were few in number, they intermarried with the native Deccanis and were soon merged into the bigger community. But with the growth of the pardesl party the ‘foreigners’ became conscious of their separate entity and this hindered the process of assimilation. Thus came into being the two distinct parties—the Deccanis and pardesls. As a rule the pardesls were more energetic and enterprising than the nativeborn Deccanis. They were employed in preference to their less active and hardy rivals, and seldom failed to acquit themselves well. Many rose to the highest offices in the State to the great annoyance of the native Deccanis, who found themselves surpassed in the battlefield as well as in the council chamber. This resulted in recriminations and quarrels, and ultimately brought about the internecine struggle which followed and weakened the power of the Bahmani kingdom, and utimately led to its dissolution.

Moreover, the ill-feeling between the parties created by opposing interests was complicated by religious differences. A majority of the ‘foreigners’ were Shiahs, while most of the Deccanis were Sunnis. Ahmad Shah Vail showed preference for the Shiah creed, donated money to Shiah holy places, and invited Shiah saints to his court. 28 Yusuf ‘Adil Khan and Sultan Qull, two of the pardesl provincial governors, who in the later Bahmani period declared their independence, were Shiahs, whereas their two Decoani colleagues, Fathullah Tmad-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, were Sunnis. The religious factor brought to the side of the Deccanis one class of foreigners, the Abyssinians, who were mostly Sunnis. In competition with the fair, handsome, cultured pardesls from Persia, Turkey, etc. the dark-skinned, illiterate, unprepossessing Abyssinians were at a great disadvantage and were treated with contempt by the fair pardesis. The religious factor and the contempt shown towards them by the other foreigners had the effect of throwing the Abyssinians into the arms of the

Deccanis. Thus, in the feuds that followed between the Deccanis and pardesis, the former party com sisted of the Deccanis and Abyssinians, while the latter was composed of Turks, Mughuls, Persians and Arabs.

Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the Deccanis realized that they were being gradually displaced from power and place by their successful rivals, the pardesis, and waited for an opportunity to gain the upper hand at the BahmanI court. This came during the latter half of the reign of Ahmad Shah Vali (1422-36) when the king suffered a decline alike in his mental and in his physical powers. By well-calculated flattery, judicious self-praise, and subtle insinuation against their rivals, the Deccanis manoeuvred themselves into the Sultan's favour. During A.D. 1430-31, the BahmanI army was defeated on three successive occasions by the Gujaratis. Khalaf Hasan, the pardest minister who had been honoured with the title of Malik-ut-Tujjcir 29 by Ahmad Shah, attributed these reverses to the cowardice and treachery of the Deccanis. But the latter seems to have convinced the king of the incompetence of his pardesT adviser. The result was that the Deccanis were raised to power, and the administration of government was entrusted to a member of their faction, Miyan Minullah DakhanI, who was invested with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. 30

On coming to power, the Deccanis openly manifested their desire to suppress the foreigners, and in 1446 treacherously massacred a large number of them. In that year an army of Deccanis and pardesis was sent against Raja Sahkar Rao Shirke, a chieftain with his headquarters at Khelna in south Konkan. The Raja of Sangamesvar, who earlier had professed submission to the BahmanI Sultan, made common cause with the Shirke. These two stalwarts once again showed that the spirit of the Konkan was yet unsubdued. The invaders, lured by them into the fastnesses of the hilly tracts of this region, suffered a crushing defeat with the result that the survivors retreated to the fort of Chakan (18° 45' N and 73° 32' E). Taking advantage of this, the Deccanis, "who from olden times had been deadly enemies of the foreigners", misrepresented this affair to the Sultan, 'Ala-ud-din Ahmad Shah, and ascribed the defeat to the treacherous and inefficient conduct of the Konkan campaign by Khalaf Hasan and his pardesi colleagues. The only punishment for the foreigners, the Deccanis averred, was extirpation. The Sultan, not knowing the perfidy, concurred with the nobles that the

surviving foreigners should be put to death. 31 The unfortunate pardesis were lured out of Chakan and slaughtered, victims of their rivals' jealousy.

After the massacre of Chakan, a few foreigners, who, with great difficulty, effected their escape, represented to the king the deception which had been practised on him and gave him the correct version of what had taken place. Inquiries were set on foot which exposed the duplicity of the Deecanis and their desire for the extermination of the foreigners, with the result that they were severely punished and degraded in the court and the 'foreigners' regained their ascendancy. 32

6. MURDER OF MAHMUD GAVAN: THE DISSOLUTION OF THE BAHMANi KINGDOM

The massacre of Chakan had set the final seal on the bitter mutual hatred between the Deecanis and the pardesis that had been steadily increasing for fifty years. Matters at length had gone too far; compromise was now unthinkable, and each party wanted to destroy and uproot the other. In 1481, by a perfidy reminiscent of the massacre of Chakan, the Deccani party contrived the murder of one of the greatest statesman in the history of India, Khvaja Mahmud Gavan, the pardesi minister of Muhammad Shah Bahmam III (Lashkarl). The false accusation and violent death of this upright minister constitute one of the tragedies of medieval India.

The Khvaja, who in the reign of Muhammad Shah III (14631482) had risen to the highest office in the State, was by birth a Persian. He was honoured by the king with the title of Malik ut-Tujjar, and he and his followers were permitted to take precedence at court over Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, the leader of the Deccani party and tarafdar of Telingana. With the welfare of the kingdom at heart and with a strict sense of justice, Gavan tried to maintain the balance between the Deecanis and pardesis by an equal division of offices between the rival parties. But Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk was jealous of the position of Gavan and was waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the popular minister.

Mahmud Gavan initiated many reforms. He subdivided each of the four main divisions into two and framed regulations for their government which curtailed the powers of the provincial governors. 33 These excellent reforms were made for administrative efficiency, but became extremely unpopular among the Deecanis and caused widespread resentment against their originator. The crafty and unscrupulous Hasan instigated his followers to put an end to

the author of these reforms. So a number of Deccanis, although they owed their high offices entirely to Gavan, entered into a conspiracy against their patron and hatched a nefarious plot for his destruction. Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, the right-hand man of Gavan, having been dispatched on an expedition to Telingana, the field was left clear for the conspirators. A forged letter with the minister’s seal, purporting to invite the King of Orissa to invade the kingdom, was suddenly unearthed, and Mahmud Gavan, thus falsely accused, was put to death by the order of Muhammad Shah 34 (April 5, 1481). This great crime was the immediate cause of the dissolution of the BahmanI kingdom. The pardesi amirs refused to stay in the capital, and returned to their provinces without the formality of obtaining the king’s permission. Even responsible members of the Deccani party openly expressed their disapproval of the conspirators and joined the camp of Yusuf ‘Adil Khan. Deserted by the foreigners and some of the Deccanis, the king was forced to throw himself into the arms of the conspirators. Hasan Nizam-ul-Mulk was exalted to the dignity of Malik Naib and all the affairs of the kingdom were placed in his hands.. But Muhammad Shah could not forget that he had shed innocent blood; he tried to drown his remorse in wine and died from its effects within a year of his minister’s death, crying with his last breath that Gavan was tearing out his heart. ! •»

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Muhammad’s son and successor Mahmud (1482-1518) being a minor authority remained in the hands of Malik Naib. On the eve of the coronation ceremony, when all the amirs had gathered in the capital, the crafty Deccani formed a plot to assassinate Yusuf ‘Adil Khan and to extirpate his followers. But the foreigners were put on their guard by some of their well-wishers in the opposite camp. For no less than twenty days Bldar was a scene of conflict between the rival factions and when peace was restored, Yusuf ‘Adil Khan agreed to retire to Bijapur and Malik Naib was left at the helm of affairs in the BahmanI capital. 36

The regency of Malik Naib did not last long. He was disliked by some of his followers for his share in the murder of Mahmud Gavan, and his subsequent policy towards the foreigners made him intensely hated by a section of the Deccanis. The usual intrigues followed and Malik Naib, fleeing for safety, was put to death by the Abyssinian governor of Bldar. 36 Thus the Deccani minister shared the fate of the great pardesi noble whose death he had so basely contrived.

Once again the swing of the pendulum brought the pardesls to power. Once again their rivals conspired to destroy the influence

which they still possessed, going to the length, this time, of forming a conspiracy to murder the king and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne. 37 They suddenly attacked the royal palace one night in October 1487, but were repulsed by the valour of the Turk! guard. The king assembled his foreign troops and next morning ordered the conspirators to be put to death. The slaughter lasted for three days and the foreigners took a terrible retribution on the Deccanis for the wrong they had suffered.

* After these events, Mahmud Shah took no interest in the affairs of State and the responsibility of government passed into the hands of Qasim Band, a TurkI amir of Sunni persuasion. The power and prestige of the BahmanI kingdom were gone for ever, and the provincial governors refused to acknowledge the authority of Qasim Barid. The defection of Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the son of Malik Naib, started the process of disintegration. Two expeditions were sent against him, but they were of no avail. He had the full sympathy of Yusuf ‘Adil Khan of Bijapur and Fathullah Tmad-ulMulk of Berar. In June 1490, Ahmad assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by and named after him. 38 His colleagues, Tmad-ul-Mulk and Yusuf ‘Adil, soon followed suit, with the result that by the end of that year the BahmanI king had definitely lost his sovereignty in reality, if not in name. For the three governors, though exercising full autonomy, still kept up the pretence of nominal allegiance to the phantom Sultan, and did

not exercise the sovereign's prerogatives of issuing coins and reading the Khutba in their own names.

* Mahmud Shah BahmanI continued to reign as a nominal sovereign till A.D. 1518, Even in this helpless state he rallied round him all the amirs of the kingdom with a view to prosecuting the war against the "infidels" of Vijayanagara. In the year 907 A.H. (A.D. 1501), it was resolved at Bidar that "once in each year the whole of the amirs and wazirs should come to the royal court, and join in a jihad against the idolaters of Vijayanagar, and, hoisting the standards of Islam, should use their utmost endeavours to eradicate the infidels and tyrants". 39 In pursuance of this resolution, Mahmud Shah exhausted the resources of the decaying BahmanI kingdom by launching expeditions against Vijayanagara, and brought repeated disasters upon it, as will be related in the chapter on Vijayanagara.

*The sentiments of unity or fellow-feeling among the nobility of the BahmanI kingdom did not, however, extend beyond the common desire to extirpate the idolators of Vijayanagara. There were continual dissensions and struggles among themselves which were

mostly caused by the desire to get hold of the person of the nominal sovereign. The Bijapur forces captured Gulbarga and drove away its governor, who fled to Bidar. Qasim Barld received him cordially and led an army accompanied by the Sultan against Bijapur. But the royal army was routed and the Sultan was taken prisoner by Kamal Khan, the de facto ruler of Bijapur. The Sultan was confined to his palace and a Bijapur! noble was appointed to keep close guard over him. But this enhancement of the power of Bijapur brought about a combination of other nobles against that principality. There were also factions and dissensions in the Bijapur court as a result of which Kamal Khan was assassinated.

* These forces of disintegration were at full work when Mahmud Shah died in A.D. 1518. He was succeeded by four kings who were kings in name but really puppets in the hands of Amir Barld, son of Qasim Barld, who was in control of the Bahmani capital. With the death of Kalimullah, the last of these titular kings, some time in A.D. 1538, the Bahmani dynasty came to an end, and the kingdom was split into five independent Sultanates, namely,

the ‘Adil Shahi of Bijapur, the Qutb Shiahi of Golconda, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar, the Barld Shahl of Bidar, and the Tmad Shahi of Berar.

1. Pp. 79-80.

2. Cf. Briggs, II, 284-5, 297; TA, III, p. 2 and f.n. 1; BK, 1-2; TMB, 116; Cf. also JPASB, V. p. 463; JASB, LXXVIII extra number, 1904. Sherwani, 48-9. J. of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, I, 65.

3. This is the view of Sir Wolseley Haig, CHI, III, 372.

3a. EIM, 1931-32, 11, Bidar, 5, 147.

4. BK, 7.

5. BK, 8.

6. BK, 10-21, Firishta I, 530-531.

7. Above p. 75. For a discussion of the correctness of the name Kapaya, and not Kanaya as stated by Firishta, see Further Sources, p. 48.

8. Burhdn, 145-46; Briggs, II, 293; BK, 6-7

9. The Bahmani administrative system has been discussed in detail in section 3.

9a. Briggs, II, 305.

9b. ibid., 319.

9c. ibid., 319.

9d. For the history of fire-arms in medieval India cf. Ch. XIV, App. 1.

9e. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Daud was the uncle of Mujahid and a son of Bahman Shah (CHI, III, 384). The reason for this conclusion is advanced by Sir Wolseley Haig in his article “Some Notes on the Bahmani Dynasty” JASB, LXXIII, part i, extra number (1904) p. 5, where he states: “Although Firishta is generally an untrustworthy genealogist his account of Daud’s parentage must be preferred to that of other authorities.” We cannot share this view and prefer to follow the more reliable Tabataba with whom Nizam-ud dln agrees to some extent. (Ed.).

10. Firishta I, 564-580; BK, 28-33, CHI, III, 385. (Ed.).

11. Firishta I, 581-586; Briggs, II, 361, BK, 34-36

12. N. C. 1898, 264-265; JASB, 1923, 26

13. Firishta, Briggs, II, 290-291.

14. N.C. 1881, III; JASB, 1909, 309-310; 1923, N- 23.

15. CHI, III, 377.

16. ibid., 377.

17. BK, 6.

18. Firishta, I, 532-33, 536; Briggs, II, 299.

19. CHI, IH, 383.

20. Firishta, I, 562, 565.

21. Firishta, I, 689-90. Briggs, II, 502. For details see Sherwani: The Bahmanis of the Deccan, 323.

22. Firishta, I, 655, 663; see also 576.

23. Firishta, I, 616.

24. For a discussion of this date see Ch. XII, f.n. 12.

25. Firishta, I, 643.

25a. Firishta records that after Humayun's rebel-brother Hasan was captured, he (Humayun) had stakes set up on both sides of the market and brought there elephants and various wild beasts; cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also kept ready. Humayun, sitting on a balcony, first ordered his brother to be thrown before a ferocious tiger who tore the unfortunate prince into pieces. The rest of the rebels were then put to death in various manners, some being flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. The female members of the family of some of the principal rebels were "dragged from their houses, were violated and ill-treated in the public square by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zbhak and the tyrant Hijjaj. About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions and others, were put to death." (Briggs, II, 462-3.).

Tabataba also states that Hasan was thrown to a tiger and adds: "After that Sultan Humayun Shah opened the hand of tyranny and oppression, and overthrew the foundations of mankind with the sword of injustice, and used to murder whole families at once." (BK, 87) Tabataba adds that on the death of Humayun the following chronogram was composed giving the date of his death:

"Humayun Shah has passed away from the world.

"God Almighty, what a blessing was the death of Humayun.

"On the date of his death the world was full of delight.

"So 'delight of the world' gives the date of his death."

(Zuq-i-jahdn which means ‘delight of the world’ is equivalent to 586, the Hijra year of Humayun’s death. BK, 88). It should be noted that Mahmud Gavan owed his high position to Humayun and served under his son, so that he had very good reasons for referring to that monarch with respect. (Ed.)

26. H. K. Sherwani: Mahmud Gavan (Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942), 94-96.

27. Firishta, I, 564; Briggs, II, 328.

28. Firishta, I, 632-33. For details see H. K. Sherwani: The Bahmanis of the Deccan , 194.

29. This title meaning “chief of the merchants” was highly esteemed by the foreigners, many of whom first came to the Deccan in the capacity of merchants.

30. Firishta, I, 638.

31. Burhan, 83.

32. Firishta, I, 651; Briggs, II, 446.

33. See above, p. 257.

34. Firishta, 690-93: Briggs, II, 59, Burhan, 128-130. For a different account see Ch. XII, Section 9.

35. Firishta, I, 703-04. Briggs, II, 527.

36. Burhan, 137; Firishta, I, 708-09; Briggs, II, 531-32.

37. Firishta, I, 709; Briggs, II, 532-34.

38. Firishta, II, 186; Briggs, II, 536.

39. BK, 137.

* The editor alone is responsible for the paragraphs marked with an asterisk.

CHAPTER XII

THE KINGDOM OF VIJAYANAGARA

1. THE FOUNDATION

Reference has been made above to the growing Hindu resistance against Muslim aggression in Deccan and South India during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, 1 and of his policy of subduing it by appointing, as governors, renegade Hindus who once held positions of authority in those regions. The policy, as we have seen, failed in Warangal, but succeeded in Kampill. The two fugitive brothers from Warangal, Harihara and Bukka, who became ministers in the old Hindu kingdom of Kampill but were taken captive by Muhammad Tughluq and embraced Islam, were entrusted by the Sultan to restore the Muslim authority in that region. In spite of reverses and failures at the beginning, they ultimately succeeded in their task as has been mentioned above. Their subsequent conduct, however, belied the expectations of Muhammad Tughluq, and in view of the obscurity surrounding it and the important consequences which followed, the whole matter requires a somewhat detailed consideration. All the relevant facts are not known with absolute certainty and widely different views have consequently been held on the subject; but the following appears to be the most reasonable reconstruction of the chain of events leading to the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

The victories of Kapaya Nayaka and Ballala III and the liberation of the Andhra and Dravida countries appear to have affected the province of Kampill profoundly. The spirit of independence must also have stirred the minds of the people there, and made them restive under the rule of their Muslim governor. Harihara and Bukka, who must have followed closely the course of the war of independence, realized that it was impossible for them, under the changed circumstances, to maintain the authority of the Sultan in the province. They had, however, no desire to follow the example of Malik Maqbul, the governor of Tiling; nor did they consider it wise to declare their independence and set up a Muslim dynasty at Kampill. Hemmed in on three sides by the two powerful Hindu kingdoms of Karnataka and Andhra, and with no prospect of getting any help from Delhi, the chances of establishing an independent Muslim State on the banks of the Tungabhadra were remote. They decided, therefore, to throw in their lot with their Hindu subjects.

Islam, which they were compelled to embrace, sat lightly on them, and they still cherished fondness for the faith of their fathers. Under the influence of sage Vidyaranya, whom they accepted as their guide both in temporal and spiritual matters, they came to believe that it was their duty to renounce Islam and champion the cause of the ancient Hindu dharma. Their path was not free from obstacles. The Hindu society was chary in re-admitting within its fold those who were forced to embrace Islam. Moreover, they were treated with suspicion on account of their connection with the Musulmans. They, however, got over these difficulties with the help of Vidyaranya, who arranged for their reconversion to Hindu religion. He convinced Vidyatlrtha, his own guru and the chief pontiff of the Advaita-matha at Sringerl, that the reconversion of his disciples was necessary for saving the Hindu dharma, and secured his approval. Harihara and Bukka were then taken back to Hinduism; and to mitigate any suspicion that might still lurk in the minds of the people, it was declared that Harihara was not ruling the kingdom in his own right but as a vicegerent of the god Virupaksha to whom it actually belonged. To lend colour to this declaration, Harihara was persuaded to adopt the name of the god Sri Virupaksha as his sign manual with which he had to sign all the state documents. Harihara was crowned in A.D. 1336 as the king of the new kingdom of Hampi-Hastinavati; and to commemorate the event he laid the foundations of his new capital, Vijayanagara, on the same day. la

2. HARIHARA I (A.D. 1336-1356)

At the time when Harihara I, son of Sahgama, declared his independence and celebrated his coronation, he was the master of a kingdom extending from Nellore in the south-east to Dharwar and Badami in the northern Karnataka. His position, however, was not yet secure, as he was surrounded by powerful neighbours who were not well disposed towards him. His kingdom marched in the northeast and the north along the frontiers of the nascent Andhra confederacy which Kapaya Nayaka, after his final victory over the army of the Sultan of Delhi, was attempting to convert into a kingdom. Though Kapaya had no grievance against Harihara, he was an ally of Ballala III, recently discomfited by Harihara on the battlefield. Moreover, Prolaya Verna, an important member of the confederacy, who was driven out of the lower Pennar valley, his ancestral home, by Harihara and his brothers, was not certainly friendly to them. The struggle between the Rayas of Vijayanagara and the Reddis of Addanki and Kondavidu, which was terminated by the absorption of the territories of the latter by the former, seems to have commenced already. In the north-east, on the further bank of the Krishna, lay the territory, which still remained under the authority of the Sultan of Delhi. Qutlugh Khan, the governor of Devagiri, who was entrusted with the administration of this province, was an able officer; he was naturally expected to make an effort, as soon as possible, to recover the lost Deccan possessions of the Sultan. More dangerous than Qutlugh Khan was Ballala III, the king of Karnataka, whose territories bounded Harihara's kingdom on the west and south. Ballala was not a friend of Harihara; he cast greedy eyes on this small State on the Tungabhadra, the conquest of which had been one of his long-cherished ambitions. He led several unsuccessful attempts to subjugate it in the days of Kampilldeva but could make no headway against that doughty warrior. The revolt of the Andhras against Muhammad bin Tughluq, and the consequent dissolution of his empire in the south gave him another chance; but the astute statesmanship of Vidyaranya not only frustrated his attempt, but revived under a new dynasty the old kingdom of Kampill. However, he did not give up his designs. His preoccupations with the affairs of the Tamil country and his entanglements with the Sultan of Madura left him no time to make a fresh effort to overthrow Harihara, but he was expected to renew his attempt the moment he settled with the Sultan of Madura. Harihara's first task was to consolidate his position, and organize his kingdom for effective defence. It was an age when the security of a kingdom depended on the strength of its forts. Anegondi, his capital, was, no doubt, perched on the top of a hill in a mountainous tract on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra; but it was not impregnable. It fell easily into the hands of the enemy twice within a decade; it was captured by Muhammad bin Tughluq in A.D. 1327, and by the Chalukya chief Somadeva some four or five years later. Harihara wanted to shift his capital to a place much more inaccessible to an enemy, where he could take refuge in times of danger. Acting upon a suggestion of Vidyaranya, he selected the opposite bank of the river in the neighbourhood of the temple of Virupaksha, surrounded by the Hemakuta, the Matanga, and Malayavanta hills. He laid the foundations of the new capital which he called Vi jay a or Vidyanagara, on the auspicious occasion on which he celebrated his coronation. The hills were linked together by strong walls of Cyclopean masonry and a deep ditch surrounded them. According to one of the Kdlajndnas, it took full seven years to complete the construction. Harihara shifted to his new capital, when it was ready for occupation, and administered the kingdom from his palace on the Hemakuta hill.

Vijayanagara was not the only fortress built by Harihara. To safeguard the kingdom from any possible attack by the armies of the Delhi Sultan from Devagiri, he strengthened the fortifications of the old Chalukyan capital Bad-ami, and posted there a strong garrison under a capable officer. He also made the famous fort of Udayagiri in the Nellore district the headquarters of his eastern province, and entrusted its administration to his younger brother Kampana. 10 He appointed his second younger brother, Bukka, his Yuvaraja and co-regent and placed him in charge of the fortress of Gooty in the Anantapur district to keep a watchful eye on the activities of Ballala III and protect the western frontier. Having completed his arrangements for the defence of the realm, Harihara next turned his attention to internal administration. Two important measures adopted by him to increase the resources of his dominions and improve the character of local administration deserve special notice. He encouraged the farmers to cut down the forest and bring fresh land under cultivation by leasing it to them on easy terms. He divided the country into sthalas, nddus, and slmas and created a hierarchy of officials to collect the revenue and carry on the local administration. These measures increased the income of the State and improved the character of local government.

The reign of Harihara I marks the beginning of a great era of conquest and territorial expansion. The small kingdom which at the beginning comprised a few Telugu and Kannada districts had grown considerably in size and was fast developing into an empire during the last years of his reign. This was due mainly to the conquest of the Hoysala kingdom which seems to have commenced after A.D. 1338 during the last years of Ballala III. A few border incidents between the forces of Bukka and Ballapa Dandanayaka, the chief minister and commander-in-chief of Ballala III, soon developed into a general conflict which seems to have gone from the first against the Hoysalas. Some time after A.D. 1340, Bukka wrested from Ballala the important fortress of Penugonda in the Anantapur district to which he shifted his headquarters from Gooty. This was a valuable acquisition, as it served him later as a convenient base of operations against the Hoysala kingdom. The success of Bukka was not due to the weakness of the Hoysala military force. Ballala III w 7 as, as stated already, preoccupied with the affairs of the Tamil country. Not satisfied with the liberation of Tondaimandalam and the establishment of Sambuvaraya on the throne of Kanchi, he set out on an expedition to conquer the entire south and bring it under his hegemony. This naturally involved him in a conflict with the Sultan of Madura (Ma‘bar), and all his attention was absorbed in prosecuting war against him. Ballala, therefore,

was not able to take effective steps to check the aggressions of Vijayanagara, and as a consequence lost some territory along his eastern frontier. What might have happened, had Ballala succeeded in his enterprise against Madura it is not possible to surmise. The course of events in the south, however, took an unexpected turn, quite favourable to Vijayanagara, by the sudden disappearance of the enemy who was blocking her path of expansion. Though Ballala was successful at first in his war against the Sultan of Madura, disaster fell upon him towards the close of A.D. 1342. The Sultan of Madura, under the cover of a truce which Ballala granted him, suddenly made a treacherous attack on his camp, destroyed his army, and having taken him prisoner murdered him after extorting from him all his wealth. 10

This disaster sounded the death-knell of the Hoysaia monarchy. Though Virupaksha Ballala or Ballala IV, the son of Ballala III, was crowned king in June, 1343, he was utterly helpless and had no power to maintain his authority. The flower of the Hoysaia army was annihilated in the campaign of Ma‘bar; his treasury was emptied in the vain hope of purchasing the liberty of his father; and many of the nobles including the commander-in-chief, Ballappa Dandanayaka, deserted him like rats in a sinking ship and joined the king of Vijayanagara. Therefore, when he was attacked by the armies of Vijayanagara, he was unable to offer any effective resistance, and was obliged to abandon his kingdom and seek safety in flight within three months after his coronation. ld The flight of Ballala IV was not, however, followed by the immediate submission of the Hoysaia dominions to Vijayanagara. Though abandoned by their king and some of the leading nobles, local chieftains in various parts of the kingdom stoutly opposed the invaders; and it was not until A.D. 1346 that Bukka could reduce them to subjection. The conquest of the Hoysaia kingdom w^as the most notable military achievement in the reign of Harihara I. There was great jubilation in Vijayanagara. To commemorate the victory, a grand festival under the aegis of Vidyatirtha was celebrated at Sringeri in 1346, which w^as attended not only by Harihara and his brothers but also by all the chief generals and noblemen of his court.

The conquest of the Hoysaia kingdom seems to have involved Harihara I in war with two of his neighbours. The Kadambas who were ruling the small kingdom of Banavasi on the coast of Konkan, incurred his displeasure, probably on account of the shelter which they offered to Ballala IV in their territory. Marapa, one of Harihara’s younger brothers, set out from Kalasa in the Kadur district in A.D. 1347, and having defeated the Kadamba king and annexed his territories, established himself at Chandragutti in the Shimoga district. More important than this was the expedition against the Sultan of Madura. The circumstances under which Harihara had to send an army against Madura are not quite clear. It is, however, certain that he embarked on this expedition to rescue the Sarnbuvaraya who seems to have been defeated and taken prisoner by the Sultan. Two armies were despatched simultaneously in A.D. 1352-3 against the Sultan, one from Udayagiri in the east coast under Prince Savanna, son of Kampa I, and another from Mulbagal in the Kolar district under Kurnara Kampana, son of Bukka I, with instructions to unite on the frontiers of Madura and compel the Sultan to set the Sambuvaraya at liberty. The Vijayanagara generals successfully accomplished the task with which they were entrusted. The Sultan of

Madura was defeated and taken prisoner and the Sambuvaraya was freed from captivity and re-established upon his throne.

Though the victory of Vijayanagara was complete and the road to Madura was open and undefended, the Sultanate was perhaps saved from destruction by the activities of ‘Ala-ud-dln Hasan Gangu or Bahman Shah, the ruler of the newly founded BahmanI kingdom, who was hostile to Vijayanagara from the beginning. The BahmanI Sultan, himself a rebel against Delhi, appears to have claimed some sort of suzerainty over Vijayanagara. His claim was rejected with scorn and as a consequence the relations between the two kingdoms were always strained. As mentioned above, Firishta credits Bahman Shah with some conquests in the Karnatak, though he does not refer to any conflict between him and the king of Vijayanagara. Bahman Shah’s success, probably over some local chiefs, must have been a source of anxiety to Vijayanagara. It seems that Harihara I had to give up for the time being his designs over the Sultanate of Madura and devote his attention exclusively to the defence of his northern frontier.

The latest known date of Harihara is A.D. 1356. 2 As he is not mentioned in the records of the subsequent years, he probably died in the course of the same year. Harihara’s reign was a period of great political activity. Though he did not directly participate in the wars, he took keen interest in organizing the defence of the realm. He w T as a great administrator; and with the help of his trusted minister, Anantarasa Chikka IJdaiya, he laid the foundations of a strong and stable system of civil administration which, with few modifications, lasted until the very last days of the empire.

r 3. BUKKA I (A.D. 1356-1377)

Harihara I died without issue; and Bukka I succeeded him as the sole sovereign of the kingdom. The first step which he took

after assuming control of the State was to unify the kingdom and strengthen his position. Harihara I had entrusted the administration of some of the outlying provinces to his younger brothers, who, though they acknowledged his supremacy, regarded themselves as virtual masters of the territories under their control. Kampana I, the Governor of Udayagiri, died about A.D. 1355, and on his death, his two sons, Savanna and Sangama II, divided the province between themselves, as if it were their family property. Marapa, who conquered in A.D. 1347 Male-nadu and Banavasi, became its first governor, and most probably he was succeeded by his sons, Sovanna and Hariappa. Though the arrangement was working satisfactorily at the time, Bukka I realized that it contained the seeds of disintegration which w r ould, in course of time, lead to the disruption of the kingdom and defeat the purpose for which it was founded. To check the power of his nephews, and bring them more effectively under the control of the central government, Bukka appointed his own sons as the governors of the provinces and made them responsible for the maintenance of the royal authority. Bhaskara Bhavadura was made the governor of Udayagiri, Kumar a Kampana of Mulbagal and Padaividu, Virupanna at first of Penugonda and later of Araga, and Chikka-Kampana, Mallapa, and Harihara (II) of the Hoysala-rajya.

The affairs of the Tamil country soon engaged Bukka I’s attention. Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya, whom Harihara I had restored to the throne in A.D. 1353, ruled the country undisturbed until A.D. 1359-60. Either because he had asserted his independence or for some other reasons not known, Bukka sent a military expedition against Rajanarayana who was not able to hold his own. Rajanarayana died in the early stages of the war; Venrumankondan II, his son and successor, held out for some time, but was ultimately killed in A.D. 1360. With the death of Venrumankondan, the shortlived kingdom of the Sambuvarayas came to an end and Vijayanagara became the mistress of the Tamil country extending as far south as the southern Pennar and the Kolladam rivers.

Shortly after this Bukka was involved in a war with the Bahmanis. On the death of ‘Ala-ud-dln Hasan Gangu (A.D. 1358), his son, Muhammad Shah BahmanI I, ascended the throne. His position, on the throne, however, was not quite secure. Dangers threatened him on every side. Some of his nobles were disaffected towards him, and were ready to make trouble for him. Bukka I and the king of Telingana, with whom he seems to have entered into an alliance, sent Muhammad Shah an ultimatum threatening war in case he failed to satisfy their demands. The former claimed that the forts of Raichur and Mudgal with their dependent territory extending as far as the river Krishna should be returned to him. The latter similarly demanded that the fort of Kaulas with the dependent territory which ‘Ala-ud-din Hasan had unjustly wrested from him should be restored to him. Muhammad Shah, after temporizing for a time, declared war on the Hindu kings. Bukka I immediately despatched twenty thousand men to support his ally, and invaded the Krishna-Tungabhadria-dodb with a large force.

The account of the war given by Firishta is inaccurate and one-sided. According to him, Muhammad Shah I defeated Bukka I on every battlefield, chased him from place to place, and when at last Bukka crept back into his capital, the Bahmanl Sultan lured him out of his stronghold and, having crushed him in a battle, dictated to him the terms of peace which he had no option but to accept. Though some of the facts mentioned by Firishta might be true, the Vijayanagara army did not fare so badly in the war as he would have us believe. They contended with the Bahmams on equal terms, and struck blow for blow. In the end, the Bahmani Sultan had to sign a treaty which left Bukka I master of the whole of the Krishna-Tuhgabhadra-dodb excepting some mcihals on the southern bank of the Krishna which were to be governed jointly by the two monarchs. 3 The terms of this treaty, to which Firishta himself alludes indirectly, clearly show that the war ended practically in a victory for Vijayanagara. As the war had commenced on account of the refusal of Muhammad Shah I to recognize the river Krishna as the boundary between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanl kingdoms, and as the river Krishna, according to the terms of the treaty, was fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms, though a few mahals on the southern bank of the river were subjected to the joint authority of the two governments, it is obvious that Bukka I got the better of his rival.

The Bahmanl war came to an end in A.D. 1365. Shortly after this Bukka I was engaged in a war with Kondavidu. Very little is known about the causes and incidents of this war with the Reddi kingdom. Prolaya Verna, the founder of the kingdom, died in A.D. 1355 and his successor Anapota or Vira-Anapota was defeated by Bukka. The Reddis lost Ahobalam and Vinukonda with their dependent territories which were permanently annexed to the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

When the affairs of the northern and eastern frontiers were thus settled to his satisfaction, Bukka I turned his attention to the south. The overthrow of the Sambuvarayas and the annexation of

Tondaimandalam had brought Vijayanagara directly into contact with the Sultanate of Madura. A clash between the two kingdoms was inevitable; and the miserable plight to which the Hindus were reduced by the Muslim rulers of Ma‘bar loudly called for intervention. Most of the Hindu shrines were destroyed; good many of them were converted into mosques. The people were killed by hundreds and thousands; their properties were confiscated; religious practices were forbidden; cows were butchered; and terror reigned supreme. Bukka, as the head of a Hindu State which was founded specially to protect the Hindu society and re-establish the Hindu dharma, could not remain indifferent, and launched an attack some time about A.D. 1370. He entrusted the supreme command of his army to his son, Kumara Kampana, who had been governing the Tamil districts of the kingdom as his viceroy since the overthrow of the Sambuvaraya in A.D. 1360-61.

The army set out about the beginning of A.D. 1370 from Gingee in the South Arcot district and inflicted a crushing defeat on the forces of Madura at Samayavaram near Srirangam. KannanurKuppam, the chief stronghold of the Musulmans in this region, fell into the hands of the invaders who, after having restored god Srlrahganatha at Srirangam and Hoysalesvara at Kannanur-Kuppam to their respective shrines, marched against Madura. A severe engagement took place somewhere between Trichinopoly and Madura in which the Sultan was defeated and killed. The death of the Sultan, however, did not put an end to the war. Some of his followers appear to have shut themselves in the capital and declined to submit. Kumara Kampana laid siege to Madura, and took it by storm. Thus ended the Sultanate of Madura after a brief but bloody existence of nearly forty years during which the Hindus of the country were subjected to inhuman tyranny. 3a

With the conquest of Madura, the whole of South India, extending up to Setubandha Ramesvaram, came under the sway of Vijayanagara, and it thus rapidly grew up into an empire. The conquered territory, together with the remaining parts of the Tamil country, was placed under Kumara Kampana who proved as great an administrator as he was a soldier. Unfortunately, however, he died prematurely, about the beginning of A.D. 1374, plunging the kingdom in grief. His death brought the question of succession to the forefront. Bukka I had several sons who distinguished themselves on the field of battle as well as in the civil administration of the kingdom, but he chose as heir-apparent and successor, Harihara II, his son by queen Gaurambika, a prince who took little or no part in the affairs of the kingdom until the time of his selection. The reasons which prompted Bukka to nominate Harihara as his crown prince, ignoring the claims of his more distinguished sons and grandsons, are not quite apparent.

Bukka I did not long survive his son Kampana and died in A.D. 1377. He was one of the greatest monarchs of the age, and was the real architect of the Vijayanagara empire. He was a great soldier and achieved conspicuous success on the field of battle, specially against the Muslims. In an age marked by religious bigotry and fanaticism, special reference must be made to the policy of tolerance adopted by Bukka I in dealing with the religious sects in his kingdom. Taking advantage of the dispute between the Vaishnavas and the Jainas, he issued an edict, copies of which were set up in important centres, proclaiming that from the standpoint of the State, all religions were equal and entitled to protection and patronage. The policy of religious concord, indicated in this edict, was followed by all his successors. All religious communities of the kingdom including the Jews, Christians and Muslims, looked upon the Raya as the guardian of their religious rights and privileges.

Bukka I took an active interest in the revival of the Vedic dharma. He assumed the title of V edamdrgcL-pratishthdpadza or the establisher of the path of the Vedas, and gathered together all the scholars learned in the Vedic literature. Having placed them under his kula-guru, Madhavacharya-Vidyaranya and his famous brother Sayanaeharya, he commanded them to compose fresh commentaries and expounded the meaning of the Vedas and the allied religious texts. He also encouraged Telugu literature and was a patron of Nachana Soma, the greatest Telugu poet of the age.

4. HARIHARA II (A.D. 1377-1404)

Bukka I died about the beginning of February, 1377, and Harihara II immediately ascended the throne. His authority, however, does not seem to have been acknowledged in all parts of the kingdom at once. There were insurrections in Konkan and other provinces. A wide-spread rebellion broke out in the Tamil country, in which the chiefs of Tundira, Chola and Pandya countries were involved. It is not unlikely that the sons and some of the officers of Kumara Kampana, who were dissatisfied with the late king’s arrangements about succession, should have made a common cause with the rebels. Harihara II, however, succeeded in putting down the rebellions and enforcing his authority. His son, Virupaksha or Virupanna Udaiyar, whom he appointed as the viceroy of the Tamil country, put down the rebels with a stern hand and brought the Tamil country back' to subjection by the middle of A.D. 1377. 4 It

was probably on this occasion that Virupanna Udaiyar crossed over to the island of Ceylon and exacted tribute from its ruler.

A greater danger than the internal disturbances threatened the stability of Harihara’s position on the throne. The Bahmani Sultan invaded his kingdom in large force. Muhammad Shah I died in 1375, and was succeeded by his youthful and warlike son, Mujahid Shah. He sent an envoy to the court of the Raya demanding the abrogation of the treaty of A.D. 1365, and the recognition of the Tuhgabhadra as the southern boundary of his dominions. Harihara II naturally turned down this demand, and Mujahid invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom by way of reply in the spring of A.D. 1377.

Firishta has given an elaborate account of this war, but most of the incidents described by him are not noticed by other Muslim historians; and even in places where they refer to them, their narrative differs from his in important respects. According to Firishta, the Raya of Vijayanagara, whom, by the way, he calls Krishna Raya, massed his troops on the bank of the Tuhgabhadra, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Adoni, but took to flight at the approach of the Sultan’s army. Mujahid thereupon laid siege to

Vijayanagara, and though he achieved some measure of success at first, he was obliged ultimately to raise the siege. On his way back he besieged Adoni, an important fort, guarding the road from Gulbarga, for nine months. His attempts to capture the fort, however, ended in failure, and while returning to his capital, having achieved nothing in the war, he was assassinated in his tent (A.D. 1378). Of the three important events of this war described by Firishta, the first two, namely, the flight of the Raya and pursuit by Mujahid, and the siege, by the latter, of the city of Vijayanagara, are not mentioned by other Muslim historians. Though the flight of the Raya and pursuit by the Sultan may be dismissed as exaggerated, there is nothing improbable in his attempt to besiege Vijayanagara. The invasion, even taking Firishta's account at its face value, must be regarded as an inglorious failure. The war, however, did not come to an end with the defeat of Mujahid Shah at Adoni and his retreat towards his kingdom. It had an interesting sequel which is not noticed either by the Muslim historians or modern scholars who have dealt with the subject. The defeat of the Bahmani army at Adoni and the subsequent assassination of the Sultan on his way home presented a great opportunity to Harihara II for retaliation. The Bahmani kingdom was defenceless and there were dissensions in the royal family. Harihara II took full advantage of the situation and invaded Konkan and Northern Karnataka at the head of a large army. Though the details of the campaign are not definitely known, two or three incidents stand

out clearly. Madhava mantrin, who was in charge of the Banavasi country, defeated the Turushkas, captured the port of Goa and reduced the seven Konkanas to subjection (A.D. 1330). The Turushkas, from whom Madhava mantrin wrested Goa and the neighbouring territories, must have been the officers of the Bahmani Sultan. 5 It must have been during the campaign in which Madhava mantrin reduced the sapta-Kohkanas that the important ports of Chaul and Dabhol on the coast of Northern Konkan were acquired by Harihara; and the possession of these ports, besides Goa, must have made him master of the entire west coast of the Deccan. 6

Harihara II, now firmly established on his throne, next sought to make himself the lord of the east coast so that he might establish his control over the eastern as well as the western sea. The idea of the conquest of the east coast was not new. Bukka I, it may be remembered, attacked the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu which blocked the expansion of Vijayanagara towards the sea, and seized some outlying districts of Kondavidu between A.D. 1365 and 1370. The appointment of Devaraya as the governor of Udayagiri in A.D. 1370, however, marks a new epoch in the relations between Vijayanagara and Kondavidu. He resolved from the first to annex the Reddi territories and pursued his object with unwavering zeal. The internal dissensions in the kingdom of Kondavidu, on the death of king Anavema in A.D. 1382-3, gave him an excellent opportunity to attack the Reddi dominions, and he occupied at once the Addanki and the Srisailam districts adjoining the Vijayanagara frontier. The occupation of the Reddi territories, especially the district of Srisailam which abutted on the kingdom of Rachakonda, brought in its train another war with the Velamas and their ally the Bahmani Sultan.

After the death of Anapota Reddi of Kondavidu, the Velamas had seized Srisailam and the neighbouring territory. Their king, Anapota Nayadu I, is even credited with having built steps to the Srisailam hill. Anavema Reddi, the younger brother and successor of Anapota Reddi, dislodged the Velamas from Srisailam and reconquered the lost territory. After the death of Anavema, the Velamas naturally desired to re-establish themselves in this region; but the prompt action of Devaraya baulked them of their prey. The Velama ruler Anapota Nayadu I appealed to his ally, the Bahmani king Muhammad Shah II, for help and prepared himself for war. To counteract the warlike activities of Anapota Nayadu, Harihara II despatched an army under the command of his son Immadi Bukka, against the Velamas. The army penetrated as far as Warangal, and defeated the Muslim cavalry at Kottakonda, a fort to the north-west of Warangal.

The Velama king did not, however, give up the hope of conquering Srlsailam, With the help of the Bahmani Sultan Muhammad Shah II, in A.D. 1390-91, he attacked ‘Udayagiri-rajya’, that is the province governed by Devaraya. The last-named made a countermove by invading the Bahmani kingdom. The Bahmani forces accompanied by the Yelamas seem to have made an attack upon Udayagiri, but Ramachandra U-daiya, the son of Devaraya, whom he left in charge of his capital and province, is said to have subjugated hostile kings and vanquished by his skill the Musulman king. 7 Though the final result of the war is not known, the Velamas did not achieve their object and the Bahmani Sultan won no victories which the Muslim historians could boast of.

The conflict was renewed seven years later (A.D. 1398), when Harihara II planned another attack on the Velamas and their ally the Bahmanis. He evidently took advantage of the confusion following the usurpation of the Bahmani throne by FIruz Shah to invade that kingdom, and captured the fort of Sagar. According to Firishta, FIruz not only recaptured the fort, but crossed the Krishna, looted the camp of his enemy, besieged Vijayanagara, laid waste the surrounding territory, and compelled Harihara II to buy peace by payment of a large sum of money. Though according to the terms of the treaty, the boundaries of both the kingdoms remained as thev were, Firiiz is said to have directed Fulad Khan to assume the government of the Raichur dodb, which, as shown above, belonged to Vijayanagara. Other Muslim authorities do not refer to the invasion of the dodb or the siege of Vijayanagara. They all, however, ignore the part played by the Velama allies of the Sultan, as well as the reverses sustained by him. The Muslim accounts of the sweeping victories of FIruz Shah are contradicted by Hindu sources, both literary and epigraphic. An inscription at Pangal, in the Nalgonda district of the old Hyderabad State, clearly proves that an expedition sent by Harihara II against the Velamas defeated them as well as their Bahmani ally near that place, almost at the very time when, according to Firishta, FIruz was dictating a most humiliating peace treaty to his enemy. This treaty, however, practically recognized the status quo. On the whole, the fact seems to be that in spite of some initial successes gained by FIruz, he was ultimately forced to retreat and lost some territory to the north of the doab.

The last years of the reign of Harihara II were peaceful, undisturbed by foreign invasions or internal troubles. He fell ill in the latter part of A.D. 1403 and died on August 16, 1404, having ruled for a period of twenty-eight years. During his reign of nearly three decades, the kingdom extended in all directions, and assumed the proportions of a mighty empire. His conquest of the west and east coasts made him the master of many ports through which flowed the wealth of Europe and Asia into his dominions. In the internal administration of the kingdom, he followed in the footsteps of his father. Though he entrusted the government of some of the provinces such as Mangalore, Barakur, and Goa on the west coast to his nobles, he appointed only his sons as governors of the important provinces in the interior and the east coast. As already noted above, Virupaksha succeeded his uncle Kumara Kampana as the viceroy of the Tamil country. Immadi Bukka, the heir-apparent, became the governor of Araga and Koysala regions, and Devaraya I, the most capable of Harihara's sons, assumed the government of Udayagiri, the premier province of the empire. Though this arrangement worked efficiently in the lifetime of Harihara, it fostered disintegrating tendencies which led immediately after his death to the outbreak of the first civil war in the Vijayanagara history.

On the death of Harihara II, the succession to the throne was disputed. His three sons Virupaksha I, Bukka II, and Devaraya I laid claim to the throne, and attempted to take forcible possession of it. Though the struggle for succession lasted for two years, much is not known about the course of events during the period. Virupaksha I appears to have crowned himself immediately after the death of his father, but his rule came to an end after one year. He was probably overthrown by Bukka II who proclaimed himself king. He, in his turn, yielded place to Devaraya I, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1406 and ruled for sixteen years until his death in A.D. 1422.

5. DEVARAYA I (A.D. 1406-1422)

Devaraya I, who emerged victorious from the war of succession, ascended the Diamond Throne, and celebrated his coronation on November 7, 1406. His reign was a period of incessant military activity, and during the sixteen years of his reign he was, more or less, continuously engaged in waging war with the BahmanI Sultans, the Velamas of Rachakonda and the Reddis of Kondavidu. In spite of the powerful forces arrayed against him, he not only held his own but succeeded in increasing the extent of his kingdom by the annexation of fresh territories.

Immediately after Devaraya's accession his kingdom was invaded by Firuz. Besides the Velamas, the traditional allies of his family, the Sultan secured also the friendship of Peda Komati Verna, the Reddi king of Kondavidu. Apart from the frequent encroachment by Vijayanagara on the Reddi territory, Peda Komati Verna

resented the family and political alliance into which Harihar II entered with his rival Kataya Verna who had usurped the government of Rajahmundry. The Sultan invaded the dodh with the main body of his army, while his Velama and Reddi allies, supported by a strong contingent of his troops, attacked the Raya in the eastern provinces of his kingdom. Devaraya massed most of his forces in the dodb to check the advance of the Sultan, and left the eastern provinces comparatively weakly defended.

According to Firishta, Firuz Shah marched unopposed to Vijayanagara, and made an unsuccessful attempt to take the city by storm. Though wounded and repulsed, the Sultan lay encamped in the environs of the city and harried the country-side. Devaraya sued for peace, but the Sultan demanded, in addition to other treasures, the hand of the Raya's daughter in marriage, and the cession of the fort of Bankapur as the price of peace. Devaraya agreed to the Sultan's conditions: a treaty was concluded, and marriage performed; and the Sultan returned triumphantly to his capital. The account of Nizam-ud-dln is in close agreement with that of Firishta, but he does not refer to Firuz Shah's demand for the hand of, and his marriage with, Devaraya's daughter. Tabataba, however, gives an entirely different account of the expedition from which it would appear that the Sultan's campaign was confined to Bhanur and Musalkal, places situated in the Deodrug taluk in the north-west of the Raichur district, from which he returned to his capital, having, of course, reduced them to subjection. In view of the conflicting evidence of the Muslim historians it is difficult to form a correct estimate of the events of the campaign. Nevertheless it is hard to believe that Firuz could reach the city of Vijayanagara without any opposition. Nor is it at all likely that Devaraya would have agreed to a humiliating treaty, especially when he succeeded in repulsing the Sultan's attack on his capital and compelled him to retreat to a respectable distance from it. In the absence of corroborative evidence of a more trustwortlty character, one would also hesitate to believe that Devaraya offered the hand of his daughter in marriage to Firuz Shah as the price of peace, a fact stated only by Firishta.

More reliable information is available about the war in the east. The Sultan's army, accompanied by his Velama and Reddi allies, appears to have descended on Udayagiri and obtained several notable victories. But what happened after these victories is not definitely known. One important result of the expedition was the Reddi occupation of Pottapi-nadu and Pulugula-nadu in the southeast of the Cuddapah district, which continued for seven years until

their final expulsion by Devaraya I in A.D. 1413-14. The victory of the allies was, however, not complete; for they failed to dislodge Devaraya from Pangal which in his hands became a standing menace to the safety of the Velama kingdom.

Reference has been made elsewhere 7a to the dissensions in the kingdom of Kondavldu. On the death of Kurnaragiri Reddi in A.D. 1402, Peda Komati Yema, his cousin, succeeded him at Kondavldu; while Kataya Yema, the brother-in-law and minister of the late king, made himself master of the northern districts of the Reddi kingdom with the city of Rajahmundry on the Godavari as his capital. Peda Komati Verna, however, allied himself with the Yelamas, and Kataya Yema was driven out of his capital. It is true that Devaraya I, who was related to him by marriage alliance, was his friend; but so long as he was engaged in the war with Firuz Shah and his allies, could not be expected to render any help. Kataya Yema was, therefore, obliged to bicle his time and look forward to the termination of the war. When at last Devaraya successfully repulsed his enemies and consolidated his power, Kataya Yema paid a visit to Vijayanagara in A.D. 1410 and solicited his help. Devaraya, who fully realized the value of an independent Reddi State on the Godavari as a counterpoise against the Rahman! Sultan and his allies, promised help, and promptly despatched troops to enable him to recover his power.

The Vijayanagara army arrived at their destination none too soon. The situation was indeed grave. Peda Komati Yema had already invaded the Rajahmundry kingdom and crossed the Godavari. Encouraged by the arrival of help from Vijayanagara, Kataya Yema took the field and inflicted a crushing defeat on Peda Komati Verna at Ramesvaram and put him to flight. But the arrival of Firuz Shah and the Bahmani army changed the situation. He won a number of victories, and Kataya Verna was killed in one of these battles. On hearing of these disasters, Devaraya sent reinforcements. Doddaya Alla, the Commander-in-Chief of Kataya Verna, rallied his late master's forces, and within a short time scored some success against the enemy. 8

The war, however, did not come to an end. It moved westwards from the delta of the Godavari to the Velama dominions on the north bank of the Krishna; and the Bahmani Sultan and the Raya of Vijayanagara, who had hitherto played a subsidiary role, became the chief combatants. As noted above, the fort of Pangal or Nalgonda-Pangal, as it was known to Firishta, was in possession of the Rayas of Vijayanagara since the time of its conquest in A.D. 1398 by Bukka II. It was considered the strongest and most

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The remaining years of Devaraya’s reign were peaceful. The kingdom was undisturbed by wars. Devaraya probably spent his last years in retirement, seeking diversion in the company of the learned whom he greatly cherished. He was a great organizer of armies. For a period of 50 years (A.D. 1372-1422) during which he participated in the administration of the kingdom, he endeavoured to increase the efficiency of his army. He was the first king of his family to realize the value of cavalry which contributed

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celebrated fort in that region and commanded the route from Vijayanagara to the Godavari delta. Firuz Shah, who realized the strategic importance of the fort, resolved to wrest it from Devaraya and sent his forces in A.D. 1417 to capture it. According to one authority, Devaraya attempted to intercept the expedition but was defeated and driven away. The siege lasted for two years, but it defied all attempts to take it. The besiegers were reduced to great straits on account of famine and pestilence which devastated their camp. Devaraya gathered together fresh forces, and having secured the help of a number of Hindu chiefs including the Velamas, surrounded the besieging force. The garrison, which had bravely held out for two years, encouraged by the distressed condition of the Muslim army and the arrival of the succour from Vijayanagara, sallied out of the fort and fell upon the camp of the enemy. Caught between the two Hindu armies, the Bahmanl forces were cut to pieces and the Sultan fled precipitately from the field. Devaraya I took full advantage of his victory and re-established his authority over the entire Krishna-Tungabhadra-dodb. 9

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barga, near Vijayanagara frontier, to Bldar, situated in the hilly tract farther north in the interior of his dominions, is not without significance. Ahmad Shah's war on Vijayanagara did not perhaps end as favourably to the Sultan as the Muslim historians would have us believe. Some unrecorded Vijayanagara attack on Gulbarga probably compelled the Sultan to remove the seat of his government to a safer distance. That the war did not end in an absolute victory for the Sultan is made clear by an epigraph from South Kanara district dated A.D. 1429-30, which refers to the defeat of the large and powerful Turushka cavalry by Devaraya II. 13 As there was but one war between Vijayanagara and the BahmanI kingdoms in the time of Ahmad Shah (A.D. 1422-1436), Devaraya II's victory over the Turushkas mentioned in the record must have been won during the Bahmani invasion of A.D. 1423.

Two other victories against the rulers of Andhra and Orissa are attributed to Devaraya II in the epigraph cited above. There is reason to believe that these two kings were allies and that Devaraya IFs victories over them were not independent but interconnected events. Although Devaraya II might have been prompted by a desire to chastise the Velama ruler for his treachery in the recent Bahmani war, he had weightier reasons to launch an attack upon the Velamas. For they had joined the Gajapati Bhanudeva IV, invaded the coastal Andhra country, and established themselves there having dispossessed the nobles and officers of Vijayanagara whom they found in that region. For a period of about five years the country remained under their sway, and it was not until A.D. 1428 that Devaraya II succeeded in dislodging them.

Very little is known about the events of this war. Bhanudeva IV led an expedition to the south, and from the side of the Velamas, Linga, the Chief of Devarakonda, joined him. They attacked at first the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry. Allada, who with the help of Devaraya I had revived the power of Kataya Verna’s family in A.D. 1417, died in A.D. 1422 or a little later; and his second son Virabhadra, who married Anitalli, Kataya Verna’s daughter and heir, was crowned king of Rajahmundry. He was assisted by his elder brother, Verna, who became, on account of his great skill both as a general and an administrator, the real ruler of the kingdom. Verna inherited none of the moderation of his father, Allada, but followed vigorously the policy of expansion into Orissa favoured by Kataya Verna and the early Reddi kings of Kondavidu. Bhanudeva probably undertook the expedition to the south only to check the growing aggression of the Reddis of Rajahmundry but, with the successful prosecution of the war, he seems

to have not only extended the field of his operations but also contemplated the annexation of the coastal Andhra country to his kingdom. Though Yema and Virabhadra might have held their own against Bhanudeva, they were helpless against the combined forces of the Gajapati and the Velamas. They were therefore obliged to submit to Bhanudeva IV, acknowledging him as their sovereign and overlord. After the subjugation of the Rajahmundry kingdom, Bhanudeva IV cast his eyes upon the territories of the erstwhile kingdom of Kondavldu. Racha Verna was assassinated in A.D. 1424, and the kingdom was left without a ruler. Though some of the Vijayanagara officers and nobles seized large parts of the country, the Raya was not yet able to enforce his authority effectively, owing to the invasion of the Bahmani Sultan. Bhanudeva, therefore, crossed the Krishna, and having, with the help of Linga, overpowered the Vijayanagara nobles and officers, made himself the master of the country.

As soon as Devaraya II freed his kingdom from the Muslim invaders, he launched an attack on the Gajapati and the Velamas. Though the incidents of this war are lost more or less in obscurity, the results are definitely known. The territories of the old Red$i kingdom of Kondavldu were reconquered and incorporated with the empire of Vijayanagara, and the power of the Reddis of Rajahmundry, which was in abeyance between A.D. 1424 and A.D. 1427, was completely restored.

For six or seven years after the conclusion of the war with the Gajapati, the kingdom of Vijayanagara enjoyed peace undisturbed by any foreign wars and internal disorders. With the death of the Bahmani Sultan Ahmad Shah and the accession to the throne of his son ‘Ala-ud-dln II, however, the tranquillity of the kingdom was broken, and Devaraya II became once again involved in wars with the Bahmani Sultan. Two wars are recorded by the Muslim historians, one in A.H. 839 (A.D. 1435-36), and another in A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443-44). Both wars were confined to the Krishna-Tungabhadra - doab and centred round the forts of Mudgal and Raichur. In the first war ‘Ala-ud-din was certainly the aggressor, but the conflicting accounts of the Muslim historians are hard to reconcile. The discrepancies, which throw doubt on their veracity, seem to be the result of an attempt to cover the failure of the Sultan’s invasion and convert defeat into victory. Taking all facts into consideration, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dln IBs invasion of Vijayanagara was a failure.

The second war broke out, as stated already, in A.D. 1443. The causes of this war are thus described by Firishta: Devaraya II, having instituted in A.D. 1437 an inquiry about the causes of his frequent defeat in the wars with the BahmanI Sultans, was told that it was due in the first place to the inferior quality of the horses in his army, and secondly to the excellent body of the archers in the service of the BahmanI Sultans. To improve the fighting quality of his forces, he enlisted in his service Muslim archers to give instruction to his Hindu soldiers; and having soon mustered two thousand Muslim and sixty thousand Hindu archers, eighty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry, he invaded the BahmanI kingdom with the intention of conquering it. This is very far from the truth. There was no need for Devaraya II to institute a special enquiry about this time; for Muslims were entertained in the service of Vijayanagara monarchs at least from the time of Devaraya I; 14 and there were as many as ten thousand Turkish troopers in the employ of Devaraya II as early as A.D. 1430, six years before the accession of ‘Ala-ud-dln II. The real cause of the war was not Devaraya’s determination to conquer the BahmanI kingdom, but the desire of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dln II to take advantage of a misfortune that befell Devaraya II, and exact from him a large sum of money. Fortunately, the evidence of a contemporary Muslim writer, who was present at the time of the outbreak of this war in Vijayanagara, enables us to find out the truth, and get one more evidence of the totally unreliable character of Firishta’s account of the BahmanI-Vijayanagara struggle.

In A.D. 1443, while Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, was sojourning in Calicut, one of the brothers of Devaraya II, having invited the king, the prince, and nobles of the kingdom to a feast in a palace which he built, massacred all who attended the function. Though Devaraya II did not accept the invitation on account of indisposition, the treacherous brother paid him a visit in the royal palace, obviously to persuade him to go to the feast, and finding him alone, stabbed him with a poignard in several places. Believing that the king was dead he then appeared on the portico of the palace and proclaimed himself king. Meanwhile, Devaraya II recovering consciousness dragged himself on to the portico, and commanded the people not to recognize the traitor but to seize him and put him to death. A crowd of people, who had assembled in the palace, fell upon the prince and slew him on the spot. This unfortunate incident, which involved the slaughter of all those who had any name or rank in the State, naturally created chaos and confusion. But it also roused the cupidity of the BahmanI

Sultan who demanded the payment of seven lakhs of vamhas and threatened to invade Vijayanagara in case his demand was not met. Devaraya II refused to comply with the Sultan's demand; and as a consequence war broke out between the two kingdoms.

Firishta gives an elaborate account of this war and furnishes details not known from other sources. According to him Devaraya II invaded the doab, captured Mudgal, and plundered the Sultan's territory as far as Sagar and Bijapur. The Sultan came against him with an army of 50,000 horse and 60,000 foot. Three severe engagements took place between the main forces of the Sultan and the Raya. In the first battle, which was obviously fought under the walls of Mudgal, Devaraya II was victorious, and the Sultan sustained heavy losses. In the third battle, which was also fought under the walls of Mudgal, the eldest son of Devaraya II was killed; and the forces of Vijayanagara fled panic-stricken into the fort. A treaty was concluded according to which Devaraya agreed not to molest the Sultan's territories in future, and to pay annually a stipulated tribute.

Though Firishta's account of the war is generally accepted as genuine, its authenticity is not above doubt. The Muslim historians, who describe at some length the terms of the treaty, are silent about Mudgal, which was one of the most important strongholds in the Krishna-Tungabhadra-dodb and was wrested, according to Firishta, from the Sultan by Devaraya at the beginning of the war. If the Sultan left the fort in the possession of the Raya even after the conclusion of the treaty, it is certain that notwithstanding his boasted victories he could not retake it. At the very time when Devaraya II is said to have sued for peace with the Sultan, his forces were engaged in a victorious campaign in the east coast against the powerful king of Orissa. Having a powerful army flushed with victory in the east coast in reserve, it is absurd to suppose that Devahaya II would have sued for peace and concluded a treaty with the Sultan, who was not even strong enough to retake the fort of Mudgal which belonged to him. There is also reason to believe that the authority of the Sultan did not extend as far south as the Krishna-Tungabhadra -doab; for according to a Persian epigraph of the Sultan, the boundary (obviously southern) of his kingdom passed through the village of Halsangi in the Indi taluk of the present Bijapur district. 15

Having regard for these facts, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Firishta's account of the war is, as usual, grossly exaggerated and one-sided, and must be utilized with great caution in the reconstruction of Vijayanagara history.

Two other expeditions which Devaraya II had undertaken about this time deserve mention. At the time when Abdur Razzak arrived in India in November 1442, Lakkana Dannaik, the Diwdn and

Commander-in-Chief of Devaraya II, is said to have gone on a naval expedition to the frontier of Ceylon. The expedition which must have started some years earlier, as it is referred to in inscriptions as early as A.D. 1438, was completely successful. The Ceylonese were defeated and compelled to pay tribute; and Lakkana re-established the power of the Raya over the southern ocean.

Devaraya II was also called upon to intervene once again in the affairs of the kingdom of Rajahmundry. The Reddi rulers, Allaya Verna and VIrabhadra, embarked on a policy of aggression and conquest, and by constant encroachments on the territories of the Gajapati pushed forward the frontier of the kingdom to the shores of the Chilka lake. Bhanudeva IV was succeeded by the Gajapati Kapilendra, one of the most powerful and ambitious monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of Orissa. Kapilendra, who was determined to put an end to the Reddi aggression, formed very early in his reign an alliance with the Velamas, the inveterate foes of the Reddis, and seems to have launched an attack upon the kingdom of Rajahmundry in A.D. 1443, taking advantage of the preoccupation of Vijayanagara with the invasion of the BahmanI Sultan. Devaraya II did not, however, leave his allies in the lurch; he sent a strong army under Mallappa Udaiyar to drive away the Gajapati and re-establish the power of the Reddis firmly in the Godavari delta. Here, as in the case of the expedition against Ceylon, no information about the incidents of the campaign has come down to us, though there is no doubt about its ultimate result. Kapilendra was defeated and was compelled to return to his kingdom. Mallappa Udaiyar remained for some time at Rajahmundry to restore, in accordance with the instructions of his master, the power of the

Reddis. 16 • •

Though Devaraya II ruled for nearly two years more after the eastern campaign, no more wars seem to have disturbed the peace of the kingdom. According to an epigraph at Sravana Belgola, he died on Tuesday, May 24, 1446, after a rule of 25 years. Devaraya II was a great monarch. He was the master of an extensive empire which extended from the river Krishna to Ceylon and from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal. Besides the taxes collected from his dominions, he gathered much revenue from the numerous ports of his empire. His fleet scoured the seas, and levied tribute from Quilon, Ceylon, Pegu and many other countries. He had under him one thousand war elephants and an army of eleven lakhs of men. Although Devaraya II was frequently at war with enemies, he found time to patronize men of letters in Sanskrit and vernaculars and rewarded them by liberal grants of land and money. He loved to

organize literary and philosophical debates in his court and presided over them personally. Devaraya promoted fine arts and adorned his capital with new temples.

8. VIJAYARAYA II (A.D. 1446-47) and MALLIKARJUNA

(A.D. 1446-65)

The political situation at Vijayanagara immediately after the death of Devaraya II is not definitely known. Though it is generally assumed that his son, Mallikarjuna, succeeded him on the throne, there is reason to believe that Vijaya II, more commonly known as Pratapadevaraya, younger brother of Devaraya II, ascended the throne and ruled for a short period. 17 It is evident from literary and epigraphic evidence that both Vijaya II and Mallikarjuna for some time ruled the empire simultaneously. How Vijaya II came to be dispossessed of it cannot, however, be ascertained at present. He was probably obliged to come to terms with Mallikarjuna, as a result of which he had to renounce his claim to the throne and retire to his estate, where he continued to rule until at least A.D. 1455. 18

The reign of Vijaya II, short as it was, is important on account of an attempt made by him to put down ministerial corruption and purify the administration of the empire. The ministers of the state used to exact presents and collect certain communal taxes in exorbitant manner which caused considerable distress in the kingdom. Vijaya II resolved to put an end to the practice, and issued orders accordingly. As the reign of Vijaya II came to an end soon after the issue of this edict, it is not likely that his attempt to reform the administration produced any permanent result.

Mallikarjuna was probably a mere youth at the time of the death of his father. He is also spoken in the inscriptions as Mummadi Devaraya (Devaraya III) or Mummadi Praudha Devaraya, (Praudha Devaraya III). 19 Mallikarjuna was a weak monarch, and his accession marks the beginning of the decline in the fortunes of the Sahgama dynasty. The rivalry between the Rayas and the Gajapatis of Orissa for the possession of the coastal Andhra country came to a head; and in the struggle that ensued, the Raya lost considerable territory besides the coastal Andhra for which the fights began.

According to the contemporary playwright, Gangadasa, the war began with the joint attack of the Gajapati and the Bahmani Sultan. 20 This took place probably in A.D. 1450, for in that year Mallikarjuna is said to have won a victory over the Mussulmans. Though Kapilendra, the Gajapati king, is said in one of the records of his grandson, Prataparudra, to have levied on this occasion a heavy tribute from the Karnata king, the statement is not supported by any other evidence. No trace of Gajapati rule is found anywhere in the Telugu country during the next four or five years, and Mallikarjuna’s authority was recognized until A.D. 1454-55 in the coastal region including the old kingdom of Kondavldu. The silence of the Bahmarii historians on the subject coupled with Mallikarj una’s claim of victory over the Muslim forces, seems to point to the same conclusion. Mallikarjuna, therefore, appears to have succeeded in repulsing the invaders, as stated by Gahgadasa, and maintaining his hold over the whole extent of his empire.

The Gajapati invasion of Vijayanagara kingdom began, however, in right earnest four years later. Between A.D. 1450 and 1454 Kapilendra reduced the Reddi kingdom of Rajahmundry, and sent an army under his cousin Ganadeva across the Krishna into Kondavldu province of the Vijayanagara empire. The expedition was completely successful. Vijayanagara armies were defeated and driven out of Kondavldu; and the important forts of Kondavldu, Vinukonda and Addanki together with territories dependent on them passed into his hands. For four or five years there was complete lull. Kumara Hamvlra, one of Kapilendra's sons, was appointed the governor of Kondavldu in the place of Ganadeva, and was commissioned to invade and conquer Vijayanagara territories.

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Hamvlra was a great warrior and capable general. He led a grand army in A.D. 1463 into the southern provinces of the empire and was ably assisted by his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra. The Orissan army seems to have met with little or no opposition and captured almost all the important forts on the east coast; Udayagiri, Chandragiri, Padaividu, Kahchi, Valudulampatti-Usavadi; Tiravarur and Tiruchchirapalli rapidly fell one after another. The expedition was a grand success and Hamvira won great glory by his advance up to the Kaverl. Kapilendra evidently intended to annex the whole territory, for he appointed his grandson Kapilesvara Mahapatra governor of the extensive area and also made other administrative arrangements. But, for some reasons not known at present, the Orissan forces were obliged to retrace their footsteps within two years. They lost all the forts which they had conquered with the exception of Udayagiri in the Nellore district. Thus though the expedition caused considerable confusion, it did not lead to any permanent result, so far as Orissa was concerned. But it had a considerable effect upon the political and economic condition of Vijayanagara. The loss of the two strategic forts of Kondavldu and Udayagiri, together with their dependent territories, weakened the empire; and the failure to offer successful opposition to the Oriyas lowered the prestige of the Raya.

Mallikarjuna did not long survive the disastrous Gajapati invasion, and died about the middle of A.D. 1465. The end of Mallikarjuna was not probably peaceful. Tradition preserved in the Srivaishnava work Prapannamritam states that his own cousin Virupaksha II assassinated him together with the members of the royal family and usurped the throne. This is not unlikely;

for, though Virupaksha II was the cousin of Mallikarjuna, he could not have had any claim to the throne, as the latter had a son to succeed him. Whether Virupaksha had actually murdered his cousin or not, there can be no doubt that he laid violent hands upon the throne and took forcible possession of the empire.

9. VIRUPAKSHA II AND THE FALL OF THE SANGAMA DYNASTY (A.D. 1465-1485)

Though Virupaksha succeeded in establishing himself on the throne, he was not able to enforce his authority over the empire. The eastern seaboard extending from the Gundlakamma to the KaverT, the southern Karnataka, and the bulk of the Western Andhra districts, were under the sway of the Saluvas who nominally acknowledged his overlordship, but governed their possessions virtually as independent princes. The successors of Mallikarjuna seem to have retired to the banks of the Kaverl in the south, and ruled over parts of the Tanjore, South Arcot, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Salem and Madura districts in their own right, without any reference to the authority of Virupaksha. Similarly, on the west coast the Tuluva and the Konkan! nobles, who were busy with their local feuds, paid little or no attention to his behests. His authority was thus confined mostly to Karnataka and portions of the Western Andhra country, although he seized the Diamond Throne of the Rayas of Vijayanagara.

The first few years of the reign of Virupaksha II were uneventful. With the death, however, of the Gajapati Kapilendra in A.D. 1470, 20a the political conditions in the Deccan began to change rapidly. The Bahman! Sultan, who was held in check until that time by the fear of an attack from the Gajapati, invaded Vijayanagara possessions in Konkan on the west coast. Muhammad Shah III, at the instance of his Prime Minister, the famous Mahmud Gavan, sent him at the head of a large army. The first target of his attack was Sankara Rao of Khelna. The fort was impregnable and Mahmud Gavan succeeded in capturing it after two years, more by judicious distribution of bribes than by prowess. Next he planned

an attack on Goa both by land and sea, and succeeded in making himself master of the place before Virupaksha could think of concerting measures for its defence. The loss of Goa was indeed a severe blow to Vijayanagara.

As the principal port on the west coast, it commanded the trade with Western Asia, Africa, and Europe which brought much money into the treasury. The loss of the port cut off not only a lucrative source of income to the State but also the traffic in horses which was essential for keeping up its military strength. Virupaksha did not easily reconcile himself to the loss of Goa. He made at least two attempts to recapture the port. Some two years after the loss, Birkana Ray (? Vira Kanna Raya), the ruler of Belgaum, with the help of the chief of Bankapur, attacked Goa at his instance. On hearing this, Sultan Mahammad Shah III, accompanied by Mahmud Gavian, marched at the head of a vast army and laid siege to the fort of Belgaum. Though Birkana Ray offered stout resistance for sime time, he was ultimately obliged to submit and enter into the order of nobility of the Bahmani court. With the defeat of Birkana Ray, the expedition against Goa collapsed, and the Bahmani Sultan kept his hold on the city. Another attempt was made in 1481. Immediately after the execution of the great minister and the consequent confusion in the Bahmani kingdom, Virupaksha sent an expedition against Goa to drive away the Bahmani garrison and recapture the port. Muhammad Shah, who was at that time in Belgaum, directed Yusuf ‘Adil Khan to march with his force to rescue the garrison, and he appears to have been successful in repelling the Vijayanagara attack. The success of ‘Adil Khan at Goa opened the way for an invasion of Vijayanagara possessions in Tulu-rajya. Gopradana Kesarl (Go Faridun Kaisar Khan), the Sultan of Bidire, sent an army under his commander Nijam-ud-dTn Maluka (Malik NTzam-ud-dm) against the territories of the chiefs of Nagire and Honnavur in the Tulu-rajya. The results of the expedition are not definitely known. The Nagire chiefs appear to have been successful in driving back the Musulmans. As a consequence of the operations of Mahmud Gavan in Konkan and the west coast, Virupaksha II lost not only the seaboard of northern Konkan but also the bulk of northern Karnataka.

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The death of Kapilendra plunged the coastal Andhra country into the throes of civil war, and offered an excellent opportunity for the Raya of Vijayanagara to win back his lost dominion; but Virupaksha did not rise to the occasion. He failed to take advantage of the situation to recover the prestige of his government and the affection of his subjects. His failure, however, provided Saluva Narasimha, one of the prominent noblemen of his kingdom, a splendid opportunity to emerge as the saviour of the kingdom, and the custodian of the power of the Rayas.

Saluva Narasimha was the eldest son of Saluva Gunda, the chief of Chandragiri in Chittoor district. He seems to have succeeded to the family estate about A.D. 1456. At the time of his succession, his authority could not have been great, though besides his family fief of Chandragiri, he seems to have held an estate in the neighbourhood of Nagar, in the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district. The weakness of the central government at Vijayanagara subsequent to the defeat of Mallikarjuna at the hands of Ganadeva in A.D. 1454, and the loss of the Kondavldu-riajya enabled him to enlarge his territory. The frequent attacks of the Gajapati on Vijayanagara culminating in the invasion of 1463, created anarchy and confusion in the kingdom. The assassination of Mallikarjuna and the usurpation of the throne by Virupaksha II gave a further impetus to the forces of disintegration; and the nobles and the captains, though they outwardly acknowledged the supremacy of the Raya, acted pretty much as they liked. It must have been during these years of anarchy that Saluva Narasimha laid the foundations of his power. He had already made himself master of Chittoor, the two Arcots, and the Kolar districts by the beginning of Virupaksha’s reign. His power was so great that Mallikarjuna’s young son, Rajaisekhara, sought refuge at his court.

Saluva Narasimha resolved very early in his career to free his country from the yoke of Orissa. The illness of Kapilendra and the outbreak of dissensions among his sons subsequent to his death in A.D. 1470 gave him the opportunity he was waiting for. He appears to have begun his campaign against the Gajapati in A.D. 1469, and after defeating the Oriya force captured the fort of Udayagiri which was the southern gate, as it were, of the coastal Andhra country. The progress of his expedition was checked at this stage by an invasion of the Chola and Tondaimandalam countries by the Pandya chief Bhuvanaikavira Samarakolahala at the head of the Chevulapotu (Lambakarna) forces who are said to have established themselves in the land of the Tigulas, (i.e. Tamils). Narasirhha expelled the invaders and pursued them as far as Ramesvaram, where he received presents sent by the Buddhist king of Ceylon and the rulers of other islands. He then proceeded in a south-westerly direction and reached Anantasayanam (Trivandrum) where he stayed for some time, conducting operations against the Gurukarnas (i.e. Lambakarnas) who probably lived somewhere in the neighbourhood.

Having thus settled the affairs of his southern territories by chastising the Pandyas and their Lambakarna allies, Saluva Narasimha returned to resume the campaign against Orissa, where important changes had taken place in the meantime. Muhammad Shah Bahmani had become master not only of Telingana but also of the coastal Andhra country. But partly by diplomacy and partly by military victories, Saluva Narasimha completely achieved his object. He conquered the whole of the coastal Andhra country to the south of the Krishna, captured the port of Masulipatam, and took possession of the fort of Kondavldu in A.D. 1480. He thus came into possession of the country between the Vijayanagara and the Bahmani territories in the east coast and became the greatest and most powerful of all the rulers of Telingana and Vijayanagara.

The acquisition of Kondavldu involved Saluva Narasimha in a war with Bahmani Sultan, who not only captured this fort but even advanced as far as Kanchi and sacked it. But the murder of Mahmud Gavan, which shortly followed, changed the triumph of the Bahmanls into a veritable disaster. As mentioned above, in chapter XI, this was brought about by a false accusation against the minister by his enemies. But a different version of the affair is given by Sakhawl who wrote about it between A.D. 1481 and 1497. He knows nothing about the forged letter of Gavan to the king of Orissa. According to him the Sultan was away from the Khvaja for seventeen days on a campaign in Narsing’s country. Taking advantage of this opportunity, some of Sultan’s favourite ministers came to the Khvaja and warned him that Narsing’s army would make a night attack upon his camp. He therefore took necessary precautions, and made immediate preparations to ward off the expected attack. The ministers of the Sultan then returned to him and informed him that the Khvaja was making preparations to attack the Sultan himself. The latter thereupon summoned the Khvaja to his presence and ordered his execution. This is the account of Sakhawl. What probably provoked the Sultan to order the immediate execution of the Khvaja was an incident which happened near Kandukur where the Khvaja was encamped. Isvara, the commander-in-chief of Saluva Narasimha's army, attacked the Sultan's cavalry and destroyed it in a fierce battle. This, coupled with the defensive measures concerted by the Khvaja, appears to have convinced the Sultan that Gavan was actually in league with his enemies. He therefore immediately ordered, without hesitation, the execution of the great minister. However that may be, Muhammad Shah lost all the spoils of his Kanchi expedition and was mortified by his defeat at the hands of the infidels. It was probably to recover his prestige that he sent an expedition under Yusuf 'Adil Khan and Fakhr-ul-MuIk against Saluva Narasimha from his camp at Kandukur, and himself marched in person on Masulipatam and

its dependent territory still under Narasirhha's rule. Though the Sultan succeeded in capturing Masulipatam, the expedition led by Yusuf £ Adil Khan and Fakhr-ul-Mulk ended in a disaster.

The Vavaha-purdnam mentions a number of places which Saluva Narasimha's commander-in-chief, Isvara Nayaka, conquered on behalf of his master. Of these, Udayadri (Udayagiri) and Nellore must have been reduced to subjection during his campaign against the Gajapati in A.D. 1469-70. Amuru (Chingleput) and Kovela (i.e. Srlrangam), as well as Bonagiri and Chenji, mentioned in the Jciimim-Bharatcim, must have been conquered during his southern campaign in A.D. 1470. Kongu-Dharapuri (Coimbatore), Kundani (Salem), Seringapatam or Srirangapatnam, Nagamangalam, and Bangalore as well as Penugonda (Anantapur) and Gandikota (Cuddapah), must have been brought under his control in his campaign against the nobles and Nayaks, who refused to acknowledge his authority, between A.D. 1481 and 1485. Special mention must be made of the chiefs of Ummattur who offered stubborn resistance to Saluva Narasiriiha and his successors. They held sway over a large part of the southern and eastern Mysore districts and were masters of the two island fortresses of Srlrangapatnam and Sivansamudram in the Kaverl. Devanna Udaiyar, Nanjaraja and Vira Somaraya, who ruled at this time, acknowledged no overlord, but issued charters in their own right as independent princes. To make himself master of the upper Kaveri valley, Saluva Narasimha had to crush them. It was in this connection that he conquered Nagamandala (Nagamangala), Srlrangapatnam and Bangalore. Another powerful enemy whom he overthrew at Penugonda about this time was the Turushka who allied himself with a powerful Sabara chief called Pikkillu. Who Pikkillu was and why he joined the Turushkas are matters on which no information is available at present. The Turushkas were no doubt the Bahmanl soldiers whom Muhammad Shah had despatched from Kandukur under the leadership of Yusuf ‘Adil Khan and Fakhr-ul-Mulk, In the encounter with Narasimha’s forces they were defeated and sought safety in flight; and Pikkillu lost his life.

Saluva Narasiiiiha thus became the virtual master practically of the whole of the Vijayanagara empire. The measures concerted by Virupaksha II to check the growth of his powers are not known. The Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, who wrote about the middle of the sixteenth century, gives little credit to Virupaksha for anything good. He was a bad king sunk in vice, and the vast kingdom which he seized began to fall to pieces. He was murdered about the end of A.D. 1485 by one of his sons, who, however, renounced his right to the throne in favour of his younger brother, Padearao i.e. Praudha Devaraya.

Praudlia Devaraya, who thus obtained the kingdom from his elder brother, was a grown up prince who had been associated with his father in the administration of the empire since A.D. 1471. He was a feeble dissolute prince utterly unworthy of the throne which he was called on to occupy. He is said to have been totally indifferent to the affairs of the State; but even if he were different in his character, he could not have prevailed against such a powerful vassal as Saluva Narasimha. The character of Praudha Devaraya, however, provided a pretext to Saluva Narasimha to seize the throne for himself in the interests of the empire. The time was propitious. All the important vassals were subdued and the political affairs in Orissa and the Bahmani kingdom were such that there was no fear of intervention from these quarters on behalf of Praudha Devaraya. Therefore Saluva Narasimha resolved to seize the opportunity. At first he won over the nobles to his side by offering them valuable presents; and when he felt sure of their support, he sent his army under Narasa Nayaka, the son of Isvara Nayaka, to Vijayanagara with instructions to expel Praudha Devaraya from the capital and take possession of the throne and kingdom in his name. Narasa met with no opposition; and when he entered the capital, Praudha Devaraya fled from it, and took refuge in a foreign country. With the flight of Praudha Devaraya, the rule of the Sangama dynasty came to an end. Saluva Narasimha soon followed Narasa Nayaka to the capital, and celebrated his coronation about the close of A.D. 1485.

10. SALUVA NARASIMHA (A.D. 1485-1490)

Like most usurpers, Saluva Narasimha found that it was easier to capture the throne than to enforce his authority in the kingdom. The captains and the chiefs who lent him support in seizing the crown were unwilling to submit to his yoke; and consequently, he was obliged to fight against his erstwhile supporters and friends. Among these the Sambetas of Peranipadu in the Gandikota Sima and the Palaigars of Ummattur and Talakadu in the Hoysala -mjya deserve special mention. Sambeta Sivaraja offered stubborn resistance, but, as the fortifications of his headquarters Maddigundala could not withstand a sustained artillery attack, the fort fell and Sivaraja perished with most of his followers at the hands of the enemy.

Narasimha had also to carry on a prolonged fight against the Palaigars of Ummattur and Sangitapura who held sway over the Mysore district and Tulu-nadu respectively. Though he appears to have succeeded in imposing his authority over Tulu-nadu during the last years of his reign, the chiefs of Ummattur remained unsubdued until the time of his death.

The collapse of the BahmanI power in Telingana after the death of Muhammad Shah III in A.D. 1482, and the preoccupation of Saluva Narasiriiha with preparations for the usurpation of the throne of

Vijayanagara, left the field open for the ruler of Orissa, Purushottama Gajapati, who took full advantage of the situation. He seized the coastal Andhra country up to Vinikopda in the Guntur district as early as A.D. 1484-85, and then attacked the fort of Udayagiri some time after Narasiriiha had usurped the throne. The attack was completely successful. According to some accounts, Saluva Narasimha, who was in the fort at the time, was taken prisoner, and he had to surrender it to the Gajapati as the price of freedom. Whether Saluva Narasimha was taken prisoner by Purushottama cannot be verified, but about the loss of Udayagiri, there is hardly any room for doubt.

Saluva Narasimha died early in A.D. 1490. His services to the kingdom of Vijayanagara can be hardly over-estimated. It is true that he expelled the old dynasty and usurped the throne. But it is possible to construe his action in a more favourable light and to regard the act of usurpation as due not so much to his ambition to sit upon the Diamond Throne as to a desire to protect the Hindu kingdom and thereby save the Hindu dharma from the neighbouring Muslim kingdom. With this end in view he befriended the Arab merchants and purchased the best horses in the market to improve the condition of his cavalry, which, under his successors, contributed a great deal to the military glory of Vijayanagara. He also transformed the peace-loving farmers of Vijayanagara into a nation of warriors, and taught them how to contend on equal terms with the Muslims and the Oriyas on the field of battle. In short, it may be said that Saluva Narasiriiha infused fresh vigour into the body politic and rescued the State from destruction.

11. NARASA NAYAKA (A.D. 1490-1503)

As Saluva Narasiriiha had only two sons who were too young to govern the kingdom, he appointed, at the time of his death, his minister Narasa Nay aka as the guardian of the princes and the regent of the kingdom, with instruction to hand over the kingdom, after the princes had attained majority, to the one whom he considered more worthy to rule. But, on the death of his master, Narasa Nayaka placed on the throne Timma, the elder son, who had been holding the office of Yuvardja under his father. As Timma was too young to shoulder the burdens of the State, Narasa Nayaka became the real ruler of the kingdom.

The task that developed upon the shoulders of Narasa Nayaka was by no means light. Saluva Narasimha had no time to consolidate his position and establish his power firmly at Vijayanagara. Though most of the nobles and subordinate chiefs submitted to his authority, they showed no disposition to acknowledge the supremacy of his sons and allow themselves to be governed by the protector. Besides, he had to reckon with the two eternal foreign enemies of the kingdom, the Bahmani Sultan and the Gajapati.

By dint of numerous military campaigns Narasa Nayaka restored the integrity of the kingdom, and the enemies whom he had conquered during the thirteen years that he governed the empire are enumerated in all the records of his descendants. We learn from them that he not only subdued Cher a, Chola, Bandy a and other localities in South India, but also defeated the Gajapati, and took Adil Khan a prisoner. These claims had a good foundation.

Reference has been made above to the complete collapse of the authority of the Bahmani king about the time when Saluva Narasimha died. The king Mahmud Shah was a mere tool in the hands of his Prime Minister Qasim Barld, and powerful nobles like Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk and ‘Adil Khan behaved like independent rulers in their own domains. Qasim Barld, jealous of the growing power of ‘Adil Khan, entered into an alliance with Bahadur Gilani, the ruler of Konkan, and Narasa Nayaka, who made a simultaneous attack on Bijapur. Narasa Nayaka marched into the Krishna-Tuhgabhadra dodb and captured the forts of Raichur and Mudgal. Adil Khan was forced to buy peace by ceding these two forts, but as soon as he was free from other troubles, he tried to recover them and declared war against Vijayanagara. Narasa Nayaka composed his quarrels at home, of which Adil Khan hoped to take advantage, and marched with a powerful army to oppose the invader.

In a battle that took place in the course of the campaign, Adil Khan sustained a severe defeat and was obliged to seek shelter under the walls of the fortress of Manava. Narasa, who followed hard upon his heels, invested the fort and shut out all egress and ingress. Realizing his own helpless condition, Adil Khan resolved to get rid of him by means of treachery. He invited Narasa and the king, as well as the nobles and officers of their court, for a peaceconference, and when they arrived, he treacherously attacked them, and succeeded in putting most of them to death. Narasa Nayaka and his young master effected their escape, but apprehending

trouble from his rivals in the capital, Narasa, hurried to Vijayanagara and left ‘Adil Khan free to subdue the dodb.

The Gajapati king Prataparudra also led an expedition against Vijayanagara and advanced up to the Pennar, but he seems to have been defeated and driven back. Narasa Nayaka is credited with victory over the Gajapati in all the Tuluva records; and, as the boundaries between the two kingdoms remained unchanged, Prataparudra’s invasion does not appear to have produced any material results.

But Narasa had numerous internal enemies and they were scattered all over the empire. They included many of the ministers of the king and nobles, as well as the dependent chiefs subject to his authority. A certain minister, who was not well disposed towards Narasa Nayaka, slew king Timma and proclaimed that at the instance of the protector his master had been slain, no doubt expecting that the protector would be put to death for that act of treason. To clear himself of the accusation, Narasa immediately placed on the throne the younger son of Saluva Narasimha called Immadi Narasimha or Dhamma Tammaraya. The new king, however, turned against the protector and began to show marked favour to his rival. Narasa found it difficult to remain in the capital. He, therefore, repaired to Penugonda on the pretext of going on a hunt and, having gathered forces, marched upon the capital and invested it. Immadi Narasimha was obliged to sue for peace and accept him as the guardian of his person and the protector of the empire. Narasa Nayaka entered the city in great triumph, and his authority was established more firmly than ever. In order to prevent the king from causing him embarrassment in the future, Narasa, under the pretence of securing his safety, kept him under custody at Penugonda and governed the kingdom as if he were its master.

Next, Narasa Nayaka had to undertake an expedition against the chiefs and nobles in the southern provinces. On the death of Saluva Narasimha the chiefs of the Chola, the Pandya and the Cher a countries seem to have asserted their independence. Narasa -defeated them all, captured Madura, and proceeded to Ramesvaram at the head of his army. These victories secured him effective control over the Tamil provinces of the empire. He next turned his attention to Western Karnataka, where the Palaigars of Ummattur and their allies had raised the standard of rebellion. He captured the island fort of Seringapatam, the most important of the rebel strongholds, and the Heuna or Hoysala chief, who was the leader of the rebels, was taken prisoner. The fall of Seringapatam and the capture of its ruler broke the back of the rebellion, and Narasa's authority was as firmly established in Karnataka as in the Tamil country.

Narasa Nayaka was the cle jacto sovereign of Vijayanagara during the nominal rule of the sons of Narasimha. He was called the rakshdkartd (protector) and svaml (Lord); he held the offices of the senadhipati (commander-in-chief), the mahcLpradhiina (Prime Minister), and the karyakarta (agent) of the king. The administration of the empire was carried on by him in the name of the king. He assumed the royal titles, sat upon the Diamond Throne, and was spoken of as Svami (the lord), a form of address usually reserved for the king. Though Narasa Nayaka imprisoned the king and usurped the kingdom, he kept up appearances. The usurpation of power by him was justified, as in the case of Saluva Narasimha, by the exigencies of the situation. The work, left half accomplished by Saluva Narasimha, was continued by him; he practically restored the ancient boundaries of the kingdom by reducing to subjection all the rebellious chiefs who asserted independence during the last days of the Sahgama kings. He found the State in convalescent condition, imparted fresh strength to the body politic, and left it in full vigour, pulsating with new life. Narasa died in A.D. 1503, bequeathing the king and the kingdom to his eldest son, Vira Narasimha.

Narasa Nayaka was a munificent patron of letters, and several distinguished scholars and poets flourished at his court. Like all his descendants, he fondly cherished Telugu; he invited several eminent poets to his court, encouraged them to compose poems, and rewarded them richly by liberal grants of land and money. The Telugu literature which was intimately connected with the Vijayanagara court since the days of Harihara I and Bukka I, and w 7 as fostered by Saluva Narasimha, received a fresh impetus from Narasa Nayaka and bloomed forth in great splendour in the time of his more illustrious sons.

12. VIRA NARASIMHA (A.D. 1503-1509)

Narasa Nayaka v/as succeeded by his eldest son Vira Narasimha as the regent of the kingdom. Though the king, Immadi Narasimha, was now a prince grown up in years and capable of managing his own affairs, the new regent showed no inclination to lay down his office and retire into the background. He was, on the contrary, resolved to set aside the king and usurp the throne. Feeling that the existence of Immadi Narasimha was an impediment to the success of his schemes, he caused his ward and master to be assassinated in the fort of Penugonda where he was confined, and

proclaimed himself king in A.D. 1505. Immadi Narasimha was an unfortunate prince whom fate dealt with unkindly. The death of his father and elder brother, when he was still too young to grasp the reins of government, placed him at the mercy of ambitious men who from the beginning plotted against him and ultimately compassed his death. He chafed in vain against circumstances but gained nothing by it except loss of freedom and death. With him ended the brief rule of the Saluva monarchs at Vijayanagara yielding place to a new line of kings under whom the empire rose to great magnificence and power.

Vira Narasimha ruled as the king of Vijayanagara for five years. His rule was a period of turmoil. His usurpation of the throne evoked much opposition, and the whole kingdom is said to have revolted under its nobles. He, however, subdued most of them and compelled them to acknowledge his sovereignty. The names of all the enemies conquered by him have not come down to us; but the most important of them are mentioned in the inscriptions and contemporary Telugu literature.

The first that demands attention was Kacha or Kiasappa U$aiya, the chief of Adavani (Adoni), whose authority seems to have extended from Adavani on the Tungabhadra to Penugonda in the Anantapur district. Kacha was not by himself a dangerous enemy, but his alliance with Yusuf £ Adil Khan and the possible friendship with the rebellious Palaigars of Ummattur made him formidable. Ever since his treacherous attack upon Narasa Nayaka in A.D. 1490, Yusuf ‘Adil Khan had been making attempts to bring the whole of the Krishna-Tungabhadra-dcdb under his sway. At his instance the BahmanI king Mahmud Shah persuaded all the assembled nobles of his court to join him and wage a religious war on the infidels of Vijayanagara. The first jihad, in accordance with the compact of Bldar, as it was called, took place in A.D. 1502, the last year of the regency of Narasa Nayaka. The Muslim army met with little or no opposition. Mahmud Shah conquered the dodb with its two famous strongholds, Raichur and Mudgal, and handed over the conquered territory to Yusuf £ Adil Khan. The acquisition of the dodb Whetted the appetite of £ Adil Khan for more territory, and the usurpation of Vira Narasiriiha and the consequent rebellions of the nobles against him, offered a suitable opportunity for realizing his object. He entered into an alliance with Kasappa Udaiya, the governor of the important fort of Adavani on the Tungabhadra, and marching at the head of his army into the Vijayanagara territory laid siege to the fort of Kandanavolu (Kurnool). The object of Adil Khan was probably to capture Kandanavolu, and then effecting a junction with Hasappa Udaiya at Adavani, proceed against Vijayanagara itself along the Tungabhadra valley. ‘Adil Khan, however, failed to achieve his object. The Arevidu chief, Ramaraja I, and his son Timma, whom Vira Narasimha sent against ‘Adil Khan, inflicted a crushing defeat on him, and as he was retreating hastily towards Adavani, destroyed his forces again in a battle somewhere in the neighbourhood of that fort and expelled him from Vijayanagara territory. They next invested Adavani fort and took possession of it. Vira Narasirhha, who was immensely delighted to see the defeat and destruction of his enemies, bestowed Kandanavolu and Adavani on the Arevidu princes as fiefs, and decorated Timma with the anklet of the heroes.

Vira Narasimha next turned his attention to the subjugation of the rebels in the Karnata and Tulu districts of the empire. He at first besieged the fort of Ummattur but failed to take it. He then proceeded against Seringapatam, but the enemy sallied out of the fort and inflicted a defeat on the royal forces with the help of the chiefs of Ummattur and Talakadu. Vira Narasimha’s attempt to force the Karnataka rebels to submit to his authority thus ended in total failure. He was, however, completely successful in dealing with the rebels on the west coast. Having crossed the Ghats, Vira Narasimha reduced the whole of Tulu-nad to subjection and took possession of all its ports. He next began to concert measures to renew his campaign in Karnataka, but before he could complete these preparations, he fell ill and died, leaving the task of completing his work to his successor.

Though Vira Narasimha was continuously engaged in warfare throughout the short period of his reign, he found time to improve the efficiency of his army by introducing certain changes in the methods of recruitment and training of his forces. To improve the condition of his cavalry, he offered tempting prices to horse-dealers and attracted them to Bhatakal and other Tuluva ports which he had conquered. The monopoly which the Arab and Persian merchants had enjoyed heretofore was effectively broken by the Portuguese who bore no love for the Muslims. Vira Narasimha sent one of his ministers to Almeida, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions, and concluded a treaty with them for purchasing all the horses that they imported from abroad. He also recruited all efficient candidates, irrespective of caste or creed, as troopers and trainers. Vira Narasimha infused warlike spirit among his subjects by encouraging all kinds of military exercises. Men of every social rank and profession became thoroughly war-minded, and cowardice was condemned as the most disgraceful thing among the Raya’s subjects. They delighted in military exercise and flocked to the standards of the Raya to fight against the Muslims.

Vira Narasimha took keen interest in the welfare of the ruyats. He was ready to listen to their grievances and alleviate their distress as far as possible. One of the important reforms which he introduced to lighten their burden was the abolition of marriage-tax. He was only a pioneer in this respect. The reform which he timidly introduced only in one or two localities was made applicable to almost the whole of the empire by his more illustrious younger brother and successor. The credit of initiating this popular reform, however, belongs really to Vira Narasimha, though this fact is ignored by historians.

13. KRISHNADEVARAYA (A.D. 1509-1529)

On the death of Vira Narasimha, his half-brother Krishnadevaraya ascended the Diamond Throne. His coronation was celebrated, in all probability, on the Sri-Jay anti day of Saka 1432, corresponding to August 8, 1509. Krishnadevaraya did not succeed to a peaceful kingdom. Though Vira Narasimha is said to have destroyed all the rebellious chiefs and confiscated their estates, some of the Palaigars were still at large, and the authority of the central government was by no means effective. Moreover, the Gajapati was still in possession of the eastern districts of the empire; and though the BahmanI kingdom had ceased virtually to exist, the Muslim pressure on the northern frontier had lost none of its old vigour. Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, the founder of the ‘Adil Shahl dynasty of Bijapur, had been persistently attempting to extend the boundary of his kingdom at the expense of the Raya.

(i) Expedition against the BahmanI kingdom

At the very outset of his reign, Krishnadeva was involved in war with his neighbours in the north and the north-east. The BahmanI Sultan, Mahmud Shah, in pursuance of the compact of Bidar, and probably at the instance of Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, declared a jihad on the infidels of Vijayanagara towards the end of A.D. 1509; 21 and he was joined by all the chiefs and nobles who nominally acknowledged his supremacy.

The BahmanI Sultan marched from his capital at the head of a vast army accompanied by Malik Ahmad Bahrl, Nurl Khan, Khvaja Jahan, ‘Adil Khan, Qutb-ul-Mulk, ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, Dastur-i-Mamalik, Mirza Lutfullah and other nobles of lesser importance. When the Muslim army arrived at Dony on the Vijayanagara frontier, their progress was checked by the Vijayanagara forces. A fierce engage

ment took place in which the Bahmani forces suffered a crushing defeat. The Sultan himself was wounded and his nobles and captains, unable to face the victorious enemy, beat a hasty retreat towards Kovelakonda. Krishnadevaraya did not, however, give up the fight; he pursued the retreating Bahman! army and forced it to fight another battle in the environs of Kovelakonda, which resulted once again in a victory to Vijayanagara.

The battle of Kovelakonda, was more disastrous in its consequences than Dony to the Bahmani kingdom. Yusuf ‘Adil Khan who, since the declaration of virtual independence, had been fomenting trouble for Vijayanagara, was killed in the fight, and the infant state of Bijapur was thrown into confusion and disorder.

Taking advantage of the anarchic conditions prevailing in Bijapur, Krishnadevaraya invaded the Krishna-Tungabhadra-dcab and captured Raichur (A.D. 1512). He then advanced on Gulbarga, and captured the fort after a short siege, having inflicted a severe defeat on Barld-i-Mamalik and his allies, who were holding the place. He next set out for Bidar in pursuit of Barid, and having defeated him once again in battle, captured the fort. Krishnaraya then restored Sultan Mahmud Shah to power, and assumed, in commemoration of the act, the title of Yavana-rdjya-sthdpan-dchdrya. This was not a whimsical step. Krishnaraya was not only a great general but a skilful politician. He set the Sultan at liberty and restored him to power, because he wanted to weaken his Muslim neighbours by throwing an apple of discord in their midst. He knew that so long as the shadow of the Bahmani monarchy persisted, there would be no peace among the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

(ii) Subjugation of Ummattur

Krishnadevaraya next set out on an expedition against the Palaigar of Ummattur, who defied his predecessor and was ruling the upper Kaveri valley as an independent prince. The strength of the Palaigar lay in his possession of the forts of Seringapatam and Sivansamudram, which, situated on islands between two branches of the Kaveri, were considered impregnable. Gahgaraja, then ruling the principality, anticipated trouble, transferred his headquarters to Sivansamudram, and strengthened it further by collecting forces and stocking it with ammunition.

Krishnaraya’s campaign against Ummattur lasted for nearly two years. He first laid siege to the fort of Seringapatam and destroyed it; next he proceeded against Sivansamudram and invested it for more than one year. Unable to withstand the siege longer, Gangaraja abandoned the fort and, while fleeing to a place of safety, was drowned in the Kaveri. Krishnaraya then captured Sivan samudram and dismantled its fortifications. He subdued the territory under the sway of the rebel chief and constituted it into a new province with Seringapatam as its headquarters, and having made the necessary arrangement to carry on the administration returned in triumph to his capital.

(iii) War with Orissa

Krishnaraya now felt strong enough to declare war upon the Gajapati who had conquered two provinces of Vijayanagara, namely, Udayagiri and Kondavldu, which Krishnaraya's predecessors failed to recover. Krishnaraya's war against Orissa falls into five definite stages.

(a) The war opened with an attack upon the fort of Udayagiri in the month of January, 1513. Prataparudra sent a large army to relieve it, but Krishnaraya inflicted a severe defeat on the Oriyas and pursued them as far as Kondavldu. He now tried to capture the fort of Udayagiri by escalade, but failed on account of its inaccessibility. It could only be reached by a narrow road which allowed only one man to pass at a time. As rocks and boulders prevented large bodies of men from approaching the fort, Krishnaraya cut the rocky hills and broke down many boulders so that the narrow road, which had hitherto been the only means of approach, was greatly widened to enable his men to reach the fort. As a consequence of these operations, the Vijayanagara forces surrounded the fort and erected a wall of circumvallation around it. The Oriyas could hold out no longer and surrendered the fort which was lost to them for ever.

(b) After the fall of Udayagiri, Krishnaraya returned to Vijayanagara, while the army marched into the Kondavldu province, burning the villages and pillaging the country-side. The Oriya garrisons stationed in various places abandoned their posts and fled in panic to Kondavldu. The forts of Kandukur, Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangeda and Ketavaram fell rapidly one after another into the hands of the Raya. Having completed the subjugation of the forts and the territories dependent upon them, the Vijayanagara army proceeded at last against Kondavldu and laid siege to it. Kondavldu was a strong fortress with lofty battlements perched on the top of a hill. Owing to the natural strength of the fort, and concentration of Oriya noblemen and their troops in it, Saluva Timma, the

Vijayanagara general, could not reduce it to subjection, even after three months. It was at this stage that Krishnadevaraya arrived at the place. The siege operations were pushed on vigorously. The fort was surrounded and egress and ingress were completely blocked. Krishnaraya ordered several nada-chcipparams i.e. wooden platforms to be constructed, and when they were ready, he caused his soldiers to be mounted on them so that they might stand on a level with the defenders and fight with them. Krishnaraya's forces demolished the walls of the fort in some places, and ultimately captured it by escalade. A large number of Oriya noblemen, including Prince VIrabhadra, the son and heir of the Gajapati, and one of his queens, were captured and carried away as prisoners of war to Vijayanagara. The fall of Kondavidu was followed by the conquest of the coastal region up to the Krishna.

(c) The army advanced to Bezwada on the Krishna and laid siege to the fort. Krishnaraya having joined the army once again, the pressure on the fort increased, and, unable to hold out, the defenders delivered the keys into the hands of the Raya. He next proceeded against Kondapalli situated on the north bank of the river at a distance of about ten miles to the north-west of Bezwada. While Krishnaraya was engaged with siege operations, the Gajapati Prataparudra advanced against him with a large army with the object of attacking him in the rear while the garrison of the fort would engage him in the front. Krishnaraya left a part of his forces around the fort and, with the bulk of the army, marched against the Gajapati. While Krishnaraya was attempting to cross a small river in the neighbourhood, the Gajapati attacked him but, in the engagement that ensued, he sustained severe defeat and sought safety in flight. Krishnaraya then returned to his camp under the walls of Kondapalli, and captured it after a siege lasting for two months. 22

(d) The capture of Bezwada and Kondapalli was a prelude to the conquest of Telingana and Yengi, both of which now formed part of the kingdom of the Gajapati. The Velama chiefs dominated Telingana in the 14th and 15th centuries, but a certain Shitab Khan (i.e. Sltapati) of Bhogikula, who had recently conquered it from the Muslims, probably with the help of the

Gajapati, was ruling over the region. Instead of marching along the coast towards Rajahmundry, Krishnaraya turned westwards and reduced at first all the forts in the Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Reaching the Godavari he turned towards the east and marched along the banks of the river towards Rajahmundry. The Gajapati made one more attempt to check the progress of the invader. The Vijayanagara army had to pass through defiles in the hills. Shitab Khan, at the instance of the Gajapati, occupied the passes with 60,000 archers, and attacked the invaders fiercely. Krishnaraya commanded his cavalry to climb the hills on both the sides and attack Shitab Khan's

men from behind. This manoeuvre produced the desired result. Un able to resist this unexpected attack, Shitab Khan's men fled in confusion, pursued by Vijayanagara forces, until they took refuge in a neighbouring fort. Krishnaraya left 30,000 infantry to guard the passes and marched forward with his remaining forces. He reached Rajahmundry which he captured without difficulty. Then he reduced the whole of Verigi to subjection, and having established his authority in all the cities of the land, he proceeded towards Simhachalam, devastating the country all along the route. He set up a pillar of victory at Potnur, offered worship to God Simhadrinatha, and leaving behind his army there, returned to Vijayanagara.

(e) Notwithstanding the series of defeats suffered by him, and the consequent loss of territory, the Gajapati was not inclined to come to terms. Krishnaraya therefore resolved to conquer Cuttack, the Gajapati's capital, and his army advanced to the city. 23 According to the Rciyavachakam, which gives a fairly detailed account of the expedition, the Gajapati was induced by a wicked stratagem to sue for peace. According to Nuniz, what induced the Gajapati to ask for peace was the suicide of his son and heir Vrrabhadra who was in captivity at Vijayanagara. However that may be, a treaty of peace was at last concluded in A.D. 1518, according to the terms of which, the Gajapati gave his daughter in marriage to Krishnadevaraya, and obtained from him in return all the territory north of the Krishna conquered by him during the war. Thus ended one of the most brilliant episodes in the military history of India in the 16th century.

(iv) War with Quit Qutb Shah of Golkonda

The defeat and discomfiture of the Gajapati brought into prominence a new enemy, the Qutb Shah! ruler of Telingana. QulT Qutb Shah was no friend of the Hindus of Karnataka; he was ambitious and was desirous of making himself the master of Telugu country. While Krishnaraya was busy with his Orissa war, he attacked some of the forts, specially Pangal and Guntur in the Vijayanagara frontier, and conquered them. After his defeat at the hands of Krishnaraya, the Gajapati lost his power and prestige, and Quli Qutb Shah took advantage of it to wrest from Shitab Khan, mentioned above, Warangal, Kambhammet and other forts in his possession. Next he invaded the coastal region, took possession of Kondapalli, Ellore and Rajahmundry and compelled the Gajapati to cede to him the whole of the territory between the mouths of the Krishna and Godavari. After this conquest he could not resist the temptation of making inroads into the Vijayanagara territory. Tak

ing advantage of the departure of Krishnaraya to Chatuir in order to subdue the chief who was in revolt for fifty years, Qull Qutb Shah marched at the head of an army to Kondavidu and laid siege to the fort. Saluva Timma, whom Krishnaraya had appointed the governor of the place, was absent at Vijayanagara, and Nadindla Gopa, his nephew, who was in charge of the place, was not able to repel the enemy. As soon as Krishnaraya returned to his capital, he despatched Saluva Timma, with 200,000 men to Kondavidu to drive away the invader. On his arrival at Kondavidu, Saluva Timma defeated the Qutb Shahi army and took the commander, Madarul-Mulk, and his officers prisoners and sent them to Vijayanagara. He remained in the province for some time, making arrangements for its defence and administration, and then returned to the capital. 24

(v) War with Bijdpur

It has been mentioned above, that Krishnadevaraya captured the fort of Raichur from Xsma‘11 ‘Adil Khan in A.D. 1512 during his minority when Kamil Khan was the regent of the kingdom. Xsma‘11 did not, however, reconcile himself to the loss of the fort and, together with it, the mastery over the Krishna-Tuhgabhadradoab. Therefore, when he came to power after the overthrow of Kamal Ivhan, he took advantage of Krishnadevaraya’s preoccupation with the Orissan and other wars on the east coast, and invaded the dodb and captured Raichur. 25 In A.D. 1520, as soon as Saluva Timma returned to the capital from Kondavidu, he set out at the head of a large army and laid siege to Raichur. Isma‘11 ‘Adil Khan hastened towards the dodb with all his forces, crossed the Krishna, and established himself in an entrenched camp near the village of Gobbur. A fierce engagement took place in which the Bijapurls sustained a crushing defeat; large numbers were massacred .and many were drowned in the river while attempting to escape. Isma‘Il ‘Adil Khan fled precipitately from the field, abandoning his camn and war equipment to be plundered by the victorious Vijayanagara forces.

The defeat and flight of ‘Adil Khan from the battlefield did not end the war. The Bijapur garrison, defending the fort of Raichur, did not surrender, but held out obstinately, protected by the strong fortifications of the city. Krishnaraya, however, persisted; and with the help of a band of Portuguese musketeers in his service, he succeeded in making a breach in the outer fortifications. There was dismay in the city and people rushed into the citadel for refuge. The commandent of the fort, who came out to pacify the people, was

shot dead while inspecting the breach caused by the enemy; and on the death of their leader the garrison submitted and surrendered the fortress.

As soon as Krishnadevaraya returned to Vijayanagara after the capture of Raichur, an ambassador of Isma‘Il ‘Adil Khan arrived at his court, protesting against the unprovoked attack, as he termed it, upon his master’s kingdom and requesting that all that had been taken from him in the recent war, including the fort of Raichur, might be restored to him. Krishnaraya promised to comply with ‘Adil Khan’s request, provided that the latter would pay homage to him by kissing his feet. On being informed of this, the ‘Adil Khan agreed to do so, and it was arranged that the ceremony should take place at Mudgal on the frontier between the two kingdoms. But when Krishnaraya reached Mudgal, he did not find Isma‘il ‘Adil Khan there. Enraged at the slight put upon him, Krishnadeva crossed the frontier and advanced upon Bijapur to chastise him. ‘Adil Khan fled from his capital in panic; and Krishnaraya entered his enemy’s capital without opposition, and occupied the royal palace for several days. Though it was not

Krishnaraya’s intention to sack Bijapur, the city was considerably demaged by his troops. o The Bijapurls, in desperation, drained the two tanks supplying water to the city; and owing to the scarcity of water, Krishnaraya was obliged to retire from the city and return to his kingdom.

Isma‘11 ‘Adil Khan made another attempt to come to an understanding with the Raya; but the treachery of Asad Khan Lari, the lord of Belgaum, whom he had chosen as his ambassador, frustrated his attempt. Asad Khan, who volunteered to go on the mission to secure the ruin of his rival Salabat Khan who was in „ captivity at Vijayanagara, told the Raya that the failure of ‘Adil Khan to meet him at Mudgal, as arranged by the former ambassador, was due to Salabat Khan’s machinations. Krishnadevaraya, believing the treacherous ambassador, ordered Salabat’s execution. After accomplishing his real object, Asad Khan fled secretly from the Raya’s camp, lest his treachery should be discovered. Krishnaraya, incensed at the conduct of ‘Adil Khan’s ambassador, marched at the head of his army into the Bijapur kingdom, burning and plundering the country-side as he proceeded. He captured FIruzabad and Hasanabad, but, when he arrived at the city of Sagar, his way was blocked by a large army. A great battle was fought, the Bijapurls suffered a crushing defeat, and a terrific carnage ensued. Two other sanguinary battles were fought, one at Shorapur, and another at Kemba, both in the Gulbarga district, and the Bijapur armies suffered defeat. At last Krishnadevaraya reached Gulbarga, and

laid siege to the ancient capital of the Bahmams for the second time. The enemy troops once again gathered strength and attacked the besiegers, but were again defeated. The city was soon captured and, in the words of Nuniz, it was destroyed and the fortress was razed to the ground.

Krishnaraya’s victory over Isma‘Il ‘Adil Khan was complete. He was personally inclined to continue the war against ‘Adil Khan, but, on the advice of the Council of Ministers which he considered wise and prudent, he resolved to give up hostilities and return to his kingdom. Before he started upon his return march, he placed, on the ancestral throne, the eldest of the three sons of Sultan Mahmud Shah II, whom ‘Adil Khan had kept in confinement in the fort of Gulbarga; and took the other two with him to Vijayanagara where he kept them in safety, bestowing an annual pension of fifty thousand gold paradaos on each of them. This step was prompted by motives of policy. The continuance of the Bahmani monarchy, even in a shadowy form, was a source of potential danger to the stability of the new Deceani Muslim states; and if ‘Adil Khan or any other Muslim ruler of the Deccan imprisoned or made away with the prince whom he set upon the throne, he held the other 1 two in reserve to make use of them, as he deemed fit, in any new situation that might arise in the future.

(vi) Rebellion of Saluva Timma (Jr.)

With the close of the Gulbarga campaign, Krishnaraya’s foreign wars came to an end. He would have ruled in peace during the remaining years of his reign, but for an untoward incident which led to the outbreak of a rebellion in the eastern provinces of the empire. Krishnaraya had no male issue for a long time. At last, TirumaladevI, his chief queen, gave birth to a son called Tirumaladeva-Maharaya in A.D. 1518-19. After his return from Gulbarga, Krishnaraya, who was already advanced in years, desirous of ensuring the succession of his young son after his death, abdicated the throne, and having crowned the young prince, assumed the office of the Prime Minister and carried on the administration in the name of the prince. This young prince unfortunately fell ill after a reign of eight months and died. After the death of the prince, Krishnaraya learnt that the death of his son was due to poison administered to him by Timma Dandanayaka, son of his great minister Saluva Timmarasa. In his anger, Krishnaraya believed that the report he heard about the death of his son was true; he seized Timmarasa, his son Timma Dandanayaka, and his younger brother Saluva Gundaraja, and immured them in prison where they remained for three years. At the end of the period Timma Dandanayaka escaped from prison and, having repaired to Gooty or Kondavldu where his cousins Nandendla Appa and Gopa were ruling respectively as governors, set up the standard of rebellion. Krishnaraya could not easily suppress the rebellion. The royal forces appear to have suffered some reverses. At last Rayasam Ayyaparasa, one of the King’s ministers who was sent against him with a large army, defeated Timma Dandanayaka and carried him away to Vijayanagara as a prisoner. Krishnaraya then ordered that Saluva Timmarasa, and his son Timma Dondanayaka should be blinded and sent back to their prison. The king’s orders were promptly carried out. Timma Dandanayaka died; and his father and younger brother both languished in prison.

(vii) Selection of Achyuta as Successor

The problem of succession seems to have engaged the attention of Krishnadevaraya during the last years of his reign. Though he had a son, eighteen months old, and a nephew, the son of his elder brother, VIra Narasimha, he passed over both of them because he considered that neither was fit to sit upon the throne. Of his two half-brothers, Ranga and Achyuta, the former predeceased him, leaving behind a son called Sadasiva. He ignored Sadasiva, and set free Achyuta from his prison at Chandragiri and selected him as his successor. Krishnadevaraya seems to have fallen ill about the end of A.D. 1529 and died soon after, deeply mourned by his subjects all over the empire. He was, according to his wishes, succeeded by Achyuta, whose coronation was celebrated early in the next year.

(viii) Krishnadevaraya and the Portuguese

Krishnadevaraya maintained friendly relation with the Portuguese. He found it advantageous to cultivate their friendship, because it enabled him to secure horses for his army without which he could not have waged war successfully on the Bahmani kingdom. The Portuguese, having defeated the Arab and the Persian merchants and destroyed the Egyptian navy, established virtual monopoly over the trade in Arab and Persian horses on which depended the strength of the medieval Indian armies. 26 It was of utmost importance that Krishnadevaraya should obtain their goodwill and persuade them to sell him all the horses which they imported from abroad. The Portuguese, on their side, were equally anxious to secure Krishnaraya’s favour so that they might obtain facilities for trade in the numerous towns and cities of the empire. With the accession, therefore, of Krishnadevaraya, there ensued a period of intimate intercourse between Vijayanagara and Portugal, and large numbers of Portuguese travellers, merchants and adventurers flocked to the

Hindu capital and sought favours from the Raya and his courtiers. In spite of his desire to cultivate the friendship of the Portuguese, Krishnadevaraya never lent support to their political designs. Though he congratulated Alfonso d' Albuquerque on his conquest of the fort of Goa from the ruler of Bijapur, he declined to enter into an alliance with them against the Zamorin of Calicut. When in A.D. 1523, the Portuguese conquered the mainland near Goa, he sent a small force under his minister Saluva Timma against them. The expedition was a failure, and Saluva Timma, being repulsed, had to beat a hasty retreat. Krishnaraya was not unaware of the fighting qualities of the Portuguese. Why he sent against them only a small force, quite inadequate for the purpose, is far from clear. Krishnaraya probably had no intention to wage war seriously on the Portuguese. He seems to have despatched the expedition not so much to effect any territorial conquest as to notify his protest against the Portuguese aggressions on the mainland. The short interlude of war, however, was soon forgotten, and as soon as the war clouds lifted away, normal relations of friendship were resumed.

(ix) Krishnadevaraya as a warrior and general

Krishnadevaraya was famous both as a warrior and general. He believed like most of his contemporaries, that the proper place of a monarch on the battlefield was at the head of his forces. His prowess was well known; he led his armies personally, fought in the front line of the battle, and won the respect of his friends and foes alike. He was a great general, who knew how to win victories under the most discouraging circumstances. He knew no defeat. Whenever he took the command of his armies in person, he was uniformly victorious, and he invariably swept away the forces arrayed against him on the battlefield. His triumphant armies entered the capitals of his enemies, and planted the boar-standard on the battlements of Cuttack, Bidar, Gulbarga and Bijapur. His success must be ascribed to his capacity for organization and the extraordinary skill which he displayed in leading his forces. He showed amazing resourcefulness in overcoming obstacles besetting his path. He smashed rocks and boulders for making a road for his soldiers to reach the fort of Udayagiri, set up movable wooden platforms around Kondavidu to enable his men to fight on an equal footing with the garrison defending the fort, cut canals to drain the waters of a river swollen with floods to seize the stronghold of the rebel chief of Chatuir, and put to the sword his own soldiers who

turned their backs on the enemy at Raichur, and converted a disaster into a brilliant victory. But even more than his personal bravery or his skilful management of troops, what enabled him to overthrow hostile forces was the devotion and attachment of his soldiers to his person. Krishnaraya was accustomed, after the conclusion of every battle, to go about the battlefield, looking for the wounded; he v/ould pick them up and make arrangements to give them medical help and other conveniences needed for their recovery. Those that specially distinguished themselves in the fight were placed directly under his supervision so that he might bestow particular attention on them and help them to regain their health as quickly as possible. The care with which Krishnadevaraya nourished the wounded soldiers and warriors did not go unrewarded. It won him the affection of the rank and file of his army. The soldiers as well as officers were prepared to throw themselves into the jaws of death in executing his commands.

(x) Krishnadevaraya as an administrator

In spite of his incessant military activities, Krishnadevaraya paid considerable attention to the civil administration of the empire. The field of the executive authority in a Hindu State was, of course, limited by the activities of the local and communal institutions. Nevertheless, the Raya and his ministers had much to do by way of check and supervision. The maladministration of the provincial governors and officials and the capacity of the Amarandyakas demanded considerable vigilance. To redress the grievances of the ryots and punish the evil-doers, Krishnaraya, following the practice of his predecessors, was in the habit of touring the empire of Vijayanagara every year, when he came into personal contact with his subjects and listened to their complaints and petitions. He took considerable interest in constructing irrigation tanks and digging canals to provide water for agricultural operations. He also abolished some of the vexatious taxes such as the marriage fee, and this gave immense relief to all classes of his subjects. He ordered deforestation in many parts of the country, and augmented the revenue of the State by bringing fresh land under cultivation.

Krishnadevaraya was a great builder. Much of his building activity was confined to Nagalapur, a new town founded by him near Vijayanagara, where he built many beautiful mansions and temples. Besides some temples in the capital, he was also responsible for the construction of many new structures in the provinces. The thousand-pillared mantapas and the raya-gopurams, which characterize the country-side in south India, were largely built during his reign.

(xi) Krishnadevaraya as a patron oj art and letters

Krishnadevaraya was a munificent patron of art and letters. All the famous artists were in his employ to decorate his palaces and temples. His fame as a patron of letters spread far and wide. He was known as the Andhra-Bhoja, and, true to his name, he never failed to load with presents the numerous scholars, poets, philosophers and theologians that flocked to his court in search of patronage. Though Krishnaraya extended his patronage to the writers in all languages, Sanskrit as well as the South Indian vernaculars, he specially favoured Telugu, and contributed much to the development of its literature. The Augustan age of Telugu literature, which began with the accession of Saluva Narasimha, burst forth in full splendour in the reign of Krishnadevaraya, and his court became the centre of light and learning in the country. Himself a poet, the author of the Amukta-malyada, one of the greatest poems in the language, he loved to surround himself with poets and men of letters. His literary court was adorned by a group of eight eminent Telugu poets called the Ashtadiggajas or the elephants supporting the eight cardinal points of the literary world. Apart from his great encouragement to the Telugu poets and men of letters of his day, Krishnadevaraya rendered an important service to the cause of Telugu literature which had far-reaching consequences. He created the ideal of a scholar-king, one of whose important duties was to protect poets and men of letters and foster the growth of language and literature. It was recognized ever since by all the Telugu monarchs that one of their principal duties as rulers was to patronize Telugu poets and learned men and encourage the growth of literature. As a consequence, notwithstanding the numerous political changes through which the country passed, learning flourished without hindrance, and Telugu literature became what it is at present, owing to the patronage of the generations of princes and chiefs who bore sway over the land.

APPENDIX

Two problems in connection with the foundation of the kingdom of Vijayanagara call for a detailed notice. The first pertains to the national affiliations of the founders of the Vijayanagara empire. Scholars who had hitherto worked on this subject may be divided into two groups sharply opposed to each other. Some are of opinion that Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the empire, were refugees from Tiling, who fled from the court of their sovereign, Prataparudra of Warangal, when that monarch was taken prisoner by the armies of the Sultan of Delhi. They established themselves at Anegondi on the banks of the Tuhgabhadra, and with the help of a sage called Vidyaranya laid the foundations of a new city, Vijayanagara or Vidyanagara, on the opposite bank of the river. This view is based on tradition derived exclusively from Kannada sources. Though unsupported by direct contemporary evidence, it is not inconsistent and unworthy of credence. Others reject the tradition completely and hold that the founders of Vijayanagara were Karnatakas, subordinates of the Hoysala monarch Ballala III, who were posted to the northern marches of his kingdom to defend it against the attacks of Musulmans, a task which they are said to have discharged to the satisfaction of their master, and stood forth as the champions of the Hindu civilization. On the death of Ballala III and his son Ballala IV, they are supposed to have quietly ascended the vacant throne, and ruled the erstwhile Hoysala dominions without opposition. Though espoused with enthusiasm by some eminent South Indian epigraphists and historians, this view seems to be based not on facts but on gratuitous assumptions and false identifications which need not be discussed here.

The account given in the Vidyaranya-Kalajndna and Vidyaranya Vrittanta may be summed up as follows: ‘‘Harihara and Bukka, who were in the service of the Kakatiya monarch Prataparudra as the custodians of the royal treasury, fled from Warangal to Kampill, when the army of the Sultan of Delhi carried their master away to his capital as a prisoner of war, and took refuge with Ramanatha, the heroic son of the Raya of Kampill. A few years later, when Sultan Muhammad captured Kampill, putting to death the Raya and his son, they were taken prisoners and carried away to Delhi. The

Sultan impressed by their upright conduct, soon set them at liberty and, appointing them as rulers of Karnataka, sent them over to the South with an army to suppress the rebellion of Ballala and take possession of the country from him. They crossed the river Krishna by means of boats, but suffered a defeat at the hands of Ballala whom they encountered somewhere on the southern bank of the river. They wandered southwards, and met the famous sage Vidyaranya at Hampi on the Tuhgabhadra. Following the advice of the sage they gathered together a force and, having defeated Ballala in battle, they established themselves at Anegondi and began to rule the kingdom of Karnataka." An important detail

left out in these two works is furnished by Keladinripavijayam, according to which Harihara and Bukka, during their sojourn at the court of Kampillraya, contracted marriage alliances with the Kurubas, the tribe to which the Raya himself belonged.

So much about tradition. The contemporary Muslim historians Ziya-ucL-cUn Baranl and ‘lsami brieliy aiiuae to wnat Happened at Kampili at ter its annexation by Munammad bin Tugbluq. A relation ot tne Jtiaya of iAampiii, wiiom tne Sultan appointed tne governor ot the province, rose up In rebellion at the time of Kanya (jAapaya) Nayaka's attack on Warangal, and having apostatized from isiaim declared his independence; he then set out on an expedition ot conquest and reduced tiie whole of Karnataka from Gooti to Ma‘bar to subjection. This apostate, according to Firishta, was originally converted to Islam from Hinduism by Sultan Muhammad himself. Inscriptions of tlie period also throw considerable light on the subject. The earliest record, which demands notice here, is an epigraph dated A.D. 1314 from Gozalavidu in the Nellore district in the south of the Andhra coastal country, in which Bukka, one of the founders of Vijayanagara, is referred to as the ruler of the locality. Though this record does not mention any superior to whom he was subordinate, the date and the locality where it is found clearly indicate that he must have been a subject of the Kakatlya Prataparudra whose sway extended all over the east coast down to Kanchi in the Tondaimandalam. The inscriptions of Harihara's reign show that he was ruling the territory comprising south-eastern Telugu country and the northern Karnataka as an independent monarch from A.D. 1336, and that his brother and co-regent, Bukka, defeated Ballala IV within a few months of the death of his father, Ballala III, in A.D. 1344, and annexed the Hoysala dominions to his new T kingdom.

Now, taking into consideration the evidence of tradition, the Muslim historians, and the inscriptions, it may be stated that the founders of Vijayanagara were at first in the service of Prataparudra of Warangal, and that when that monarch was defeated by Muhammad bin Tughluq and taken prisoner, they fled to Kampili and took refuge in the court of Kampilldeva. They were, however, captured by the Sultan after the sack of Kampili in A.D. 1326, and were carried away to Delhi where they were forcibly converted to Islam. On the outbreak of a rebellion in Kampili and the collapse of the provincial government, they were released by the Sultan from prison and sent with an army to Kampili to reconquer it from the rebels and rule the province as his deputies. This they successfully accomplished; but they did not long remain loyal to the Sultan. They came under the influence of Vidyaranya who persuaded them to renounce Islam, and throw in their lot with the Andhra nationalists who had just then succeeded, under the leadership of Kapaya, in expelling the Musulmans and re-establishing their national independence. Harihara and Bukka then reverted to their ancient faith and, having declared their independence, assumed the leadership of the Hindus of Kampili in their fight against the Musulmans.

The second problem concerns the origin of the city of Vijayanagara. The evidence on the subject is divergent. Tradition,

embodied in the Vidydranya-Kdlajndna and works of this description, attributes the foundation of tlie city to Vidyaranya, and Vidyanagara, the alternative name by which the city was known, lends colour to the tradition. The inscriptions of Harihara I and his successors, which narrate the circumstances in which the city was founded, do not at all mention Vidyaranya in this connection. They refer either to Harihara I or Bukka i as the builder of the city of victory. 27 The conflicting character of the evidence has, no doubt, given rise to much speculation; and several theories have been put forward to explain the circumstances under which the city was founded. Tradition has been, as usual, rejected as utterly untrustworthy, and Vidyaranya is treated as a person of no consequence. All the inscriptions which refer to the city as Vidyanagara are declared to be spurious, being forged by the wily monks of the Advaitamatha at Sringerl. The part played by Harihara I in the construction of the new city is also discounted; and the credit of building it is exclusively given to Bukka I. Such a theory ignores the following facts, clearly established by a careful examination of the contemporary records:

(1) Vijayanagara was functioning as the capital of the new kingdom from at least A.D. 1344, some ten years before the death of Harihara I; (2) Bukka I was associated with his brother in the administration of the kingdom as his co-regent at least from A.D. 1344: and (3) Vidyaranya was the adviser, in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, of the first three kings of Vijayanagara, namely, Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II. It is highly improbable that Vidyaranya, Harihar I, and Bukka, who were responsible for the foundation and the government of the kingdom of Vijayanagara, should have built the new capital without consulting one another. On the whole the following seems to be the most logical inference from facts known so far on reliable authority:

The idea that a new city should be built around the Hemakuta hill had originated in the mind of Vidyaranya. He commanded his royal disciples, Harihara and Bukka, to give material shape to the idea. They obeyed his command. Harihara entrusted to his brother the task of constructing the city. Accepting the orders of his guru and his sovereign, Bukka erected the new city. The testimony of tradition and inscriptions is not only not contradictory but complementary. Vidyaranya supplied the idea; Harihara gave the necessary sanction; and Bukka carried it into execution. The city of Vidyanagara was thus built by all the three, Vidyaranya, Harihara and Bukka. 28

1. See above pp. 75-77.

la. See appendix at the end of this chapter.

lb. The name is also spelt as Kampana.

lc. See above, p. 234.

l d. Though nothing is known of Ballala IV subsequent to his coronation from the epigraphic sources, the contemporary Deccan Muslim historian, Tsanri. refers to a Balal who was living at Pattan on the west coast at the time of ‘Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu’s invasion in A.D. 1348. ‘Balal’ mentioned in the couplet must have been identical with Ballala IV, as there was no other person bearing that name at that time.

2. 115 of 1901, SII. VII. 303.

3. N. Venkataramanayya, ‘Muslim Historians on Muhammad Shah Bahmani I’s war with Vijayanagara’. ABOR1, XXVIII, 1-13.

3a. For the date and details of the campaign against Madura cf. pp. 235-6.

4. The Alampundi grant of Virapaksha refers to his reconquest of Tundlra, Chola, and Pandya countries (ARE, 1899, Para. 55, El. Ill, pp. 224-30). In the prologue to his two Sanskrit plays, the Ndrayanivildsam and Unmatiardghavam, he calls himself the lord of Karnata, Tundlra, Chola and Pandya monarchs, and the planter of victory in Simhala (Sources, p. 35).

5. The Viragal set up at Goa on Wednesday, 29 August, 1380, by Mudda Nayaka, a servant of Mahapradhana Mailappa Vodya, the governor of Haive (Jr. Mythic. Soc. XIX, pp. 27-28) shows clearly that Goa must have been conquered by Vijayanagara some time before that date.

6. No other king of Vijayanagara is known to have conquered Sapta-Konkanas. This is corroborated by the evidence of Nuniz who states that Ajarao (i.e. Harihara II) ‘was always at war with the Moors; and he took Goa, and Chaul, and Dabull, and Ceillao, and all the country of Charamamdell’ (Sewell: Forgotten Empire, p. 301).

7. Nellore District Inscriptions, Copper plate, No. 1.

7a. Chapter XIII, E.

8. El. XXVI. p. 14 ff.

9. Firishta, no doubt, states that Fi'ruz Shah’s brother, Khan-i-Khanan, expelled, after repeated battles, Vijayanagara army from the dominions of the Sultan (Briggs, Ferishta, II, 391). This is, however, highly improbable; for in the first place, this fact is not mentioned by other Muslim historians; and secondly, the ill-will that existed between the brothers since the arrival of GIsu Daraz, and the Khan-i-Khanan’s designs upon the throne must have prevented him from lending a helping hand to the Sultan.

10 . Gopinatha Row believes that Vijaya ruled for a period of six months (EL XV. p. 14), and Venkoba Rao agrees with him (ARE. 1921 , Part II, para. 48). Sewell assigns to him a very short reign of a few months (List. Ins. p. 214). Hayavadana Row is more liberal; he increases the period of his rule to two years. What is more interesting still is that he cites the evidence of a record of the reign of Devaraya II, dated S. 1325 (A.D. 1403-4) to prove that Vijaya died in that year (MYS. Gaz. New Edition, Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 1560). The record in question (EC, VIII. TL. 163) however has no bearing on the subject. The donor of the grant registered therein was not Devaraya II but Vitthappa Dannayaka, one of his officers, who grants a village to Brahmans for the attainment to Sivaloka of his father.

11. TA, III (Eng. Tr.), p. 44. This is in agreement with Firishta’s account (Briggs II, 400). Tabataba places the invasion before Khalf Hasan’s conquests in Konkan and the Sultan’s expedition to Kherla to help Narsing Raya (IA, XXVIII, 211).

12. According to the Burhan-i-Ma’asir (BK, 51), Ahmad Shall transferred the capital of his kingdom from Gulbarga to Bldar, “in the month of Rajab in the second year of his reign (June, 1423)”; but Firishta states that Sultan Ahmad Shah laid the foundations of his new capital while returning from his Kherla expedition in 830 AH. (A.D. 1426) (Briggs II, 411). In the Tazkirdt-ul-Muluk of Rafi-ud-dl ShirazI, it is said that Ahmad Shah, who ascended the throne in 830 A.H., founded in the very same year his new capital of MuhammadabadBldar (IA, XXVIII, 218). As Ahmad Shah’s accession took place in 825 A.H. (A.D- 1422), he must have shifted his capital from Gulbarga in that year. The latest date for the foundation of the new Bahmani capital is furnished by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad. Though he agrees 'with Firishta that Sultan Ahmad Shah built his capital while

returning from his Kherla expedition, he assigns its foundation to 832 A.H. (A.D. 1428-29) (TA, Eng. Tr. Ill, 51-53). The evidence is thus conflicting. However as the dates furnished by the Burhdn-iMa'asir are more reliable than those of Firishta, I am inclined to accept A.D. 1423 as the correct date for the foundation of the new capital.

13. SII. VII. 202.

14. Further Sources, I, p. 107.

15. 26-29 of 1937-38.

16. In the Gangdddsa-pratapa-vildsam (Sources, 25), it is said that on the accession of young Mallikarjuna after the death of his father Pratapadevaraya II, the Dakshina Suratrana and the Gajapati, both of whom were defeated on a former occasion by the latter, came together and invested the city of Vijayanagara. Now, the Gajapati who came with the Dakshina Suratrana to invest Vijaya

nagara was Kapilendra. The defeat which he sustained at the hands of Devaraya II was inflicted during Mallappa Udaiyar's expedition in A.D. 1443-44. The presence of the Vijayanagara armies in the Godavari delta is indicated by an epigraph at Draksharamam dated A.D. 1444, and as the record registers a gift for the merit of Mallappa Udaiyar made by a Vira Balanja merchant guild at the instance of Allaya Verna and his brother Virabhadra, it is certain that he came there to help them (SII . IV. 1375, Mac. Mss. 15-4-4, p. 164).

17. 23 of 1905, 476 of 1921, 161 of 1906; EC, III, i, Srirang 107, all dated in A.D. 1446-47 refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya II. He is also mentioned in the inscriptions of the time of Devaraya II. In A.D. 1441 he was holding some position of responsibility in the Kondavidurajya (ARE. 420 of 1915). Earlier he was ruling in the Rayadurga-rajya from his capital Penugonda. According to a copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1435, registering the gift of a village made by him to a Vaishnava scholar named Lakshmidhararya, he was a younger brother of Devaraya II and was known also as Devaraya, and his capital was the city of Ghanasaila (Penugonda). From the fact that the village granted was renamed as

Pratapadevarayapuram after him, it is certain that Vijaya II was also known as Pratapadevaraya (MAR, 1921, Para 62). It is interesting to note that, according to the Srlsailam plates of Virupaksha II, his father, Pratapadevaraya, who was also younger brother of Devaraya II, obtained, from his elder brother i.e. Devaraya II, the Ghandrirajya (Sources, No. 26). From this it appears that Pratapadevaraya alias Vijaya, and Pratapadevaraya, the father of Virupaksha, are identical.

18. Further Sources, II, No. 68.

19. This was probably due to the fact that his great-grandfather Devaraya I had the title Praudha prefixed to his name in some of his inscriptions.

20. See Ch. XIII, B, Orissa, note 8a. for a different view.

20a. It is generally held that the Gajapati king Kapilendra died in A.D. 1467 when his son Purushottama ascended the throne (cf. Ch. XIII B). Dr. Venkataramanayya, the author of this Chapter, who has discussed this question at some length in PAIOC, VIII. 585-99, holds the view that Kapilendra ruled jointly with his son Purushottama till A.D. 1470 when he died. (Ed.).

21. See Further Sources, I, 189-196, and JOR, Vol. X, pp. 158 ff., for a discussion of the date and detailed description of the incidents of the war.

22. See Further Sources, I, 204 note.

23. Scholars differ in their opinion as to whether Krishnadevaraya conquered Cuttack or not. For discussion of this problem see Further Sources, I, 209211, and P. Mukherjee, Gajapati Kings, 93-95. (Ed.).

24. A different account of this war is given in the Tdrikh-i-Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, which was written some time after the death of the monarch in A.D. 1611. This work is utterly unreliable, as it is contradicted by the inscriptions of Krishnadevaraya and other indubitable contemporary records. Some of the incidents mentioned in the Tdrikh-i-Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah might have been based on facts; but the chronology is false. The

contemporary evidence of Nuniz has greater claim on our credence than the later chronicle.

25. Further Sources, I, 211-13.

26. See Ch. XIII, E.

27. One school of Vijayanagara historians, taking their stand on the statement of Firishta that Ballala III built the city, Bijangar. called after his son Bejan Ray, near his northern frontier on the way of the armies of Delhi, contend that Ballala III was the real founder of Vijayanagara. But, Firishta wrote his history in the beginning of the 17th century A.D. His account of Vijayanagara is not authentic and incorporates into it much of the gossip which he heard in the bazars of Bijapur. As he relates two stories totally opposed to each other about the origin of Vijayanagara, his evidence need not be taken into consideration in the present context.

28. K. A. N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya: Further Sources, I, 58.

CHAPTER XIII

INDEPENDENT STATES DURING THE SULTANATE OF DELHI

A. RAJPUT STATES

The reign of ‘AM-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316) forms an important epoch in the history of the Rajputs. Within his lifetime nearly all those Rajput kingdoms that had been established on the ruins of the Pratlhara empire and had so long withstood the ravages of time were one after another annexed to the Sultanate. Thus, so far as the Rajputs were concerned, the medieval order might be said to have been brought to an end. In its extinction however it laid the foundation of the history of modern Rajputana. For, two important principalities were shortly founded in Me war and Mar war, which, with their offshoots, continued till the present century. It is important to note that both of these States were ruled by dynasties that traced their origin to an earlier period.

1. ME WAR

The history of the Guhilaputras till the capture of Chitor by ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji in A.D. 1303 has been referred to above. 1 While the siege of Chitor was in progress the ruling prince Ratnasimha, who belonged to the elder branch of the Guhila family, was dethroned and another member of a junior or Sisodiya branch of the same family was proclaimed as the ruler. The prince who thus secured the throne in a very perilous moment was Lakshmanasimha, who had no other alternative but to die fighting with the enemy in defence of Chitor along with seven of his sons. Only one son, Ajayasimha, was allowed to save himself by flight; but so precarious was his position that he had to hide himself in the Aravallis and maintain a miserable existence. When he died (1314), his elder brother’s son, Hammlr, succeeded to his titles. la

This prince was the real founder of the modern State of Mewar. Unfortunately his real history is shrouded in a mass of romantic tales. According to tradition, his father Arisimha married a lowborn Rajput woman, who was blessed with extraordinary physical strength, and the issue was the hero, Hammlr. That this story has no basis in fact is clear from the evidence of Muhanote Nensi, the seventeenth century chronicler, who maintains that Hammir's mother came from the royal Songira Chauhan family, as well as from the circumstance that a similar story is narrated in connection with another Rajput hero. Even the date of his accession is difficult to determine from the existing records. But from several considerations it appears very likely that it took place about A.D. 1314, It is admitted in all available traditions that his uncle Ajayasimha lived for some time after 1303; and it is recorded by Firishta that among the incidents of the year 1314 was a vigorous effort made by the Rajputs to get rid of the Muslims in Chitor. From what we know of Ajayasimha, he could not have possibly made such an attempt in which probably are to be traced the hands of a more vigorous personality like that of Hammlr.

Hammir's initial attempt to oust the Muslims proved a failure but it was not wholly ineffective. Khizr Khan, who had been in charge of Chitor since 1303, left the place for Delhi and 'Ala-ud-din sent Maldev Chauhan in his stead. According to the Muslim records, which are generally supported by the Khyat of Nensi, Maldev's administration in Mewar proved a success, so much so that on his death in 1321,[2] his son was allowed to succeed to his position. Nearly a year previously, the Khalji dynasty had come to an end being replaced by the Tughluqs.

Meanwhile Hammlr did not remain idle. From the notices left in the inscriptions, it appears that he proceeded in the task of reconstruction in a most statesmanlike way. The mountain stronghold of Kelwara in the Aravallis was his principal headquarters. His first attempts were directed towards consolidating his authority in the neighbourhood. In pursuance of this object he captured the fort of Jilwara[3] which occupied a position commanding the narrow mountain defile that connects Mewar with Marwar across the Aravallis. He could now launch his attacks in either directions at his will and harass the Muslims both in the Mewar and the Marwar regions. The next step was the occupation of the fort of Idar in Sirohi 4 which strengthened his position still further.

He was now in a position to undertake the crowning achievement of his reign, the recovery of Chitor. Although the later inscriptions make no direct mention of this incident, there is no doubt that this reconquest of Chitor also be attributed to him. For, all traditions unanimously ascribe it to Hammir j while in the Eklihgajl inscription of 1429, Hammlr is said to have made certain gifts in favour of a temple in Chitor implying thereby the accuracy of the traditional account. One may possibly find a clue to the silence of contemporary inscriptions in this respect from the facts connected with the incident itself.

According to Col. Tod, while Maldev was governing Chitor on behalf of the Sultans of Delhi, Hammlr began to plunder at random the districts under his charge, so that Maldev considered it prudent to make an attempt to appease Hammlr by offering him his daughter in marriage. The latter accepted the offer and Hammir's wife helped him to win over Maldev's officers. Having thus prepared the way, it became easy for Hammlr to take the city by a surprise attack. Here, as elsewhere, romance is mixed up with facts. Maldev's administration being successful, there was no question of his attempt to appease Hammlr by the prospect of matrimony. Again there is reason to believe that Hammir's marriage had taken place long before Maldev was placed in charge of Chitor; for, the issue of this marriage, Kshetrasimha, died a centenarian about 1405. Although the details about the recapture of Chitor must be regarded as fanciful, the fact remains that it was due to treachery inside that the city was recovered, and not by any creditable deed of arms on Hammir's part.

The exact date of this incident cannot be ascertained. It seems possible however that it took place during that period of Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign when the latter was involved in widespread rebellions in all parts of his empire, that is, after A.D. 1338. The story as narrated in the Annals further adds that after the loss of Chitor, Maldev's son went to Delhi and returned to the attack on Hammlr with a large Muslim army led by the Sultan "Mahmud Khalji" personally. A most sanguinary battle took place at

Singoli in which the Muslim army was defeated and the Sultan himself captured. He had to suffer imprisonment for three months in Chitor and was then released on his entering into a treaty with the Rana on humiliating terms, such as cession of a number of districts and payment of a large war indemnity. Dr. Ojha is inclined to accept this story as substantially true, although, in his opinion, the name of the Sultan has been given inadvertently as Mahmud Khalji in place of Muhammad Tughluq. Apart from the fact that the Muslim records make no mention of such an encounter, the story must be regarded as inaccurate on other considerations as well. The name of Hammir's opponent, Mahmud Khalji, and the terms exacted from him are significant. It will be noticed later in connection with the reign of Rana Sanga (1509-1528), that the latter actually defeated and took Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa prisoner and released him on the latter signing an ignominious treaty the terms of which resemble closely those said to have been extorted by Hammlr. It is clear, therefore, that later chroniclers gave Hammlr the credit of an achievement which really belongs to Sanga. 4a

The uncertainty which clings to many of the activities of this hero of Me war also follows him to his death. There is no incontestable evidence to fix the end of his life and reign. According to at least three different sources, he ruled for 64 years. If, as it has been assumed, he began his reign in 1314, his reign must have come to an end in 1378. Against this however there are two circumstances. Firstly, there is a tradition in Mewar that Hammlr died in 1364; and, secondly, Dr. Ojha claims to have noticed an inscription (which has not yet seen the light of the day) in which Hammir's son Kshetrasimha is said to have been ruling in 1366. Of these the first argument is decidedly unacceptable, as the same tradition implies that Hammir's reign began in 1301 which is improbable. With regard to the second, it may be said that until the inscription itself is published, it would be unsafe to base any theory on its contents. The chronology of the period A.D. 1303 to 1420 in the history of the Rajput states is extremely difficult to follow. The chronicles no doubt are rich in figures, but these are definitely inaccurate inasmuch as they hardly tally with the evidence of contemporary inscriptions. The only way out of this difficulty is to follow the latter as well as all synchronistic data whenever available. (See Appendix).

On Hammir’s death his son Kshetrasimha succeeded to the throne and ruled for more than a quarter of a century (c. 1378-1405). During his reign the work of reconstruction so well begun by his father continued uninterrupted, thanks largely to the political situation prevailing in North India in this period. The Sultanate of Delhi had been steadily losing its power since the death of Firuz Shah in 1388 and the provincial governors became practically independent. The situation was made worse by the invasion of Timur in 1398. Thereafter, in place of one strong government North India was split up into nearly half a dozen States, each quarrelling with its neighbour for authority. It was, therefore, easy for the rulers of Mewar to carry on a policy of advancement.

One of the earlier incidents of Kshetrasimha’s reign was a struggle with the Hadas of Bundi. The Hadas were a sub-section of the Chauhan clan of Rajputs, the term Hada being adopted after a leader bearing that name but coming from the Sohgira section of that clan. According to the Khyat of Muhanote Nensi, Hada Devisimha gave his daughter in marriage to Arisimha (father of Hammlr) and received from the latter the help of a band of soldiers by whose help he captured Bundi from an aboriginal people called the Minas. It had been already settled that if the venture proved i success, DevLsirhha was to acknowledge allegiance to the throne of Mewar- This was done. But shortly after, Mewar itself fell into ‘Ala-ud-dln’s hands and it may be easily surmised that with their existence at stake the Me war chiefs were hardly able to enforce their authority on the Hadas. After the recovery of Mewar by Hammir (c. 1340) a clash between Hammir and the Hada sardars became inevitable, although for the time being, on account of Hammir’s many preoccupations, it was avoided. With the accession of Kshetrasiihha, Mewar turned to enforce its former authority over Bundi, No less than three inscriptions clearly mention that Kshetrasirhha inflicted a defeat on the Hada sardars, destroyed their fort Mandalgadh and brought under his control the Hada lands. 6

Following close upon this Kshetrasiihha came to be involved in a struggle with his neighbour Dilavar Khan Ghurl, ruler of Malwa, also known by the name of Ami Shah. 6 Although nominally subject to Delhi, Dilavar was practically an independent ruler. The causes of this conflict are not mentioned, but we can surmise that in the steady growth of Mewar, Malwa must have discovered a potential enemy. A sanguinary battle took place near Chitor which implies that the Malwa ruler was probably the aggressor. Kshetrasiriiha however won a victory, thanks to the help given by his vassal, the Hada chieftain Mahadeva, as mentioned in the Menal inscription of A.D. 1389. 7

Mewar’s rise to prominence is indicated by the successful wars in the eastern and south-eastern frontiers as w'eil as those in the south-west. It has been noted already that early in his reign Hammir had forced the ruler of Idar (Jaitrakarna) to acknowledge him as his overlord. Oil Jaitrakarna’s death, his son, Ranamalla, succeeded in Idar but his restless activities brought him into colli' sions with Muzaffar Khan, the ruler of Gujarat. In this quarrel lianamalia appears to have came out successful. Immediately after, however, Kshetrasiihha undertook an expedition against Idar and captured Ranamalla. An inscription of A.D. 1460, 8 refers to this incident as follows: “Kshetrasiihha threw into prison Ranamalla who had been a vassal of Guzerat but who had brought to an end the pride of the !&aka ruler”.

It was after this incident apparently that a second encounter between Dilavar Khan Ghuri alias Ami Shah and Kshetrasiihha took place. The causes are not clear but it is possible that Kshetrasiihha sought to take advantage of a quarrel then going on between Dilavar and his son (mentioned by Firishta) and take his revenge against the Malwa ruler for his attack upon Mewar early in his reign. The results were now entirely in favour of Mewar, for, Kshetrasiihha w T as able to make an end of his enemy once for all, as a number of inscriptions definitely maintain. 9

Not very long after, Kshetrasimha died (c. 1405). According to a notice in Rana Kumbha’s commentary on Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda he is said to have died a centenarian. 10 He left behind seven legitimate sons besides a number of illegitimate ones, the most notable among these latter being Chacha and Mera.

The eldest of Keshetrasimha’s sons, Lakshasimha or Lakha, succeeded to the throne of Mewar at a fairly advanced age and ruled only for about 15 years till c. 1420. It will be shown later that simultaneously with the development of Mewar, another Rajput State had been founded by the Rathors in Marwar. Their leader Chunda (1390-1422), who was a contemporary of Lakha, thought that an alliance with Mewar would greatly help his advancement, and accordingly offered the hands of his daughter Hamsabai to Lakha's son and heir, also known by the name of Chunda. The extant traditions maintain that the latter refused the offer but the old Rana proposed to marry the girl himself. The Rathor chieftain was unwilling to marry his daughter to the old ruler, specially as any issue born of her person would have no right on the Mewar throne. Lakha's son Chunda now came forward and renounced his rights in favour of any issue that might be born of his father's marriage with Hamsabai. The marriage took place and Hamsabai's brother Ranamalla came to reside in Mewar. It is very likely that this incident happened at the beginning of Lakha's reign; for, Ranamalla's seems to have been the guiding hands in all the activities of Lakha's reign of which we have any record.

One of the most important events of this reign was the discovery of silver and lead mines in a village called Jawar in the Magra district of the State. This placed the kingdom on a strong economic foundation without which it would not have been possible for Mewar to carry on the wars with the neighbouring States in the 15th and 16th centuries and at the same time rear up some of the most splendid monuments that the country can boast of. Without, however, a wise economic policy the influx of bullion would have been a great hindrance to the development of the State. Fortunately, the guidance of the State was in capable hands. The Eklihgajl inscription of 1429 maintains that a better and more respectable system of weights and measures was introduced in place of the older ones. 11 As a consequence the kingdom attracted many foreign traders one of whom constructed that artificial lake near Udaipur which is known nowadays as the Pichhola lake.

In those days help given to pilgrims was considered very meritorious. Actuated by this idea the aged Lakha gave relief to the Hindu pilgrims that visited the sacred places of Gaya, Banaras

and Prayag (Allahabad). These places were then included within the territories of the Sultan of Jaunpur who imposed severe taxes on such pilgrims, causing great inconvenience to them. The Eklihgajl inscription of

A.D. 1429 distinctly mentions that Lakha gave away money frequently and unhesitatingly to give relief to the pilgrims for the taxes imposed by the Muslim sovereign. 12

When Lakha died (c. 1420), his son Mokal (by the Rathor queen Hamsabai) succeeded 13 to the throne. The Mewar chronicles maintain that Lakha's eldest son Chunda, true to his renunciation, refused the throne and was one of the first to own his allegiance to his younger brother, now sovereign of the kingdom. Chunda however continued to look after the affairs of the State. This was disliked by Mokal's mother who apprehended that Chunda might take advantage of the position to put Mokal out of the way and ultimate^ occupy the throne itself. Chunda felt highly mortified and determined to leave Mewar once for all. Having therefore instructed his uterine brother Raghavadeva to look after Mokal's interests, Chunda retired to Malwa along with his other brothers. On Chunda's withdrawal, Harhsabai's brother Ranamalla placed himself in charge of the affairs in Mewar, and, with the help of the Mewar army, secured possession over the throne of Marwar as well as the Muslim principality of Nagaur. During his absence from Mewar it was however attacked by the Sultan of Gujarat who advanced as far as Jilwara. Rana Mokal went forward to meet the enemy but was killed by Chacha and Mera who accompanied him in this expedition. Mokal died in 1433 and left seven sons, the eldest of them being Kumbha.

The sudden death of Mokal left the kingdom in a most difficult position both internally and externally. Within the State, one of the assassins of Mokal got himself proclaimed as the Rana and the newly acquired districts attempted to free themselves from the control of Mewar. At the same time the Muslim rulers of Malwa and Gujarat also sought to take advantage of Mewar's troubles.

For once the alliance with the Rathors proved to be the safety of Mewar. When the news of Mokal's death reached his uncle Ranamalla in Marwar, the latter at once came to Mewar with the Rathor army, expelled the usurper from Chitor and seated his grandnephew Kumbha on the throne. As a result of a series of campaigns the conspirators were all crushed. Those who survived took shelter in Malwa. A war with the latter, therefore, followed and the Sultan of Malwa, having suffered a defeat, was compelled to turn the refugees out of his kingdom. The latter then fled to Gujarat. Ranamalla followed them there and forced the Sultan to expel them

from that kingdom as well. Meanwhile, the Hadas of Bundi also had risen in insurrection but they were soon brought under control. 14

Thus the difficulties of the first five years of Kumbha's reign were surmounted with the help of Ranamalla whose influence naturally ruled supreme in Mewar. But this produced further complications. According to the Mewar chronicles, Ranamalla's pretensions now knew no bounds. He behaved as if he were the Rana and it was believed that he would eventually secure possession of the Mewar throne. The Mar war chronicles, however, maintain that the Sisodiyas were aggrieved because all authority in the State was now vested in Ranamalla. Considering that the constitution of the Rajput State was tribal in character, an influence like that which was exercised by Ranamalla in Mewar was bound to be regarded as revolutionary. This explains why bad blood was created between the Sisodiyas and the Rathors. The assassination of Raghavadeva, younger brother of Chunda, made that ill-feeling stronger. The Mewar chronicles maintain that Raghavadeva had raised a protest against Ranamalla and was therefore done to death. On the other hand, the Marwar chronicles say that Raghavadeva was responsible for insurrections in the country, and, for the sake of law and order, he had to suffer the highest penalty that the law could give.

The irritated Sisodiyas formed a conspiracy under the leadership of Chunda, who had been in Malwa for a long time past, and on an appointed day, some of the conspirators fell upon Ranamalla in Chitor and put an end to his life (1438).

The Annals of Mewar speaks most disparagingly of Ranamalla and very highly of Chunda. The former is described as a mean conspirator whose eyes were set on the throne of Mewar and who would certainly have got the same if the latter had not stood in the way. But judged from his actions, it will be found that there was no definite evidence to substantiate the charge of meanness brought against him. Rather, he served the Mewar darhdr loyally when it was in the midst of its greatest dangers. Again Chunda has been held up as a very pattern of filial devotion and fraternal loyalty. Modern writers have even compared him with Bhishma of the Mahdbhdrata fame for his renunciation of rights to the throne in favour of a younger step-brother that was not yet born. A careful examination of the events of his life will however dispel many of such ideas about him. It has been already noted that when his father Lakha married, he had already many sons, besides Chunda, by his former wife or wives. When Chunda renounced his rights, these devolved upon the next brother. But in this case all the sons of Lakha by his previous wives were debarred and the succession

passed to an issue by the youngest wife (Hamsabai). It seems to have been a ease of disinheriting all of the former in favour of one by the latter. From this point of view, the credit that has long been given to Chunda loses much in weight. Again, Chunda, after leaving Mewar took shelter in Malwa which was then the hereditary enemy of Mewar. Besides, during the great troubles which followed the assassination of Mokal, Chunda made no attempt to look after the interest Gf Mokal's son, Kumbha, who owed his crown to the much hated Ranamalla.

The assassination of Ranamalla was an event of great significance in the history of Mewar and Marwar. For more than a quarter of a century the alliance between the Rathors and the Sisodiyas had been of great advantage to both the States. All this now came to an end and these two clans now entered into that feud which continued for many centuries.

In the course of the next seven years we find Mewar engaged in a war with the Rathors on the western front and the Sultan of Malwa on the south. The story of the latter struggle is given in the Muslim records, while some hints are thrown also by contemporary inscriptions. Almost every year the Muslim army would penetrate into Mewar, and after plundering portions of the country return to Malwa. The result of the war, however, was a drawn one; for, the position of the two States continued as before and both the parties commemorated their victories by erecting memorials-—the Sultan of Malwa at Mandu and Rana Kumbha at Chitor. The latter is the famous Kirtistambha or Jayastambha of Chitor built about A.D. 1448. All this time the feud with the Rathors continued. Here the Sisodiyas seem to have been very successful at the outset. The whole of the Rathor land including the capital Mandor was occupied by the Sisodiyas, and garrisons were established at suitable places to hold the country under control. Ranamalla’s son and heir Jodha was compelled to leave the country.

The next eight years were comparatively peaceful. This interval was spent by Rana Kumbha in the construction of a number of buildings, temples and forts. In 1456, however, the war broke out again. 15 In that year a dispute arose in Nagor or Nagaur (which had apparently been reoccupied by the Muslims after Ranamalla’s death) over the succession to that principality. One of the candidate solicited help from Rana Kumbha who promised the same on the condition that the former recognized allegiance to the latter, and as a token thereof the fortifications at Nagaur were dismantled. The terms were accepted and Kumbha seated his protege on the Nagaur principality. But no sooner had his object been gained than the latter refused to comply with the terms. Kumbha had, thereupon, to undertake a fresh campaign, but this time against his former protege. The latter now sought help from Sultan Qutb-ud-dln of Gujarat and having offered his daughter in marriage to the Sultan, secured the services of a Gujarat army. Kumbha, however, inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy and captured Nagaur. The incident is described in a contemporary inscription in the following language: “In complete disregard of the ruler of Gujarat Kumbha captured Nagor”.

In the winter of 1455-56, Sultan Qutb-ud-dln came out in the open and declared war against Mewar. The Gujarat army was divided into two parts. While one section, led by the Sultan in person, crossed the Aravalli hills and advanced as far as the fort of Kumbhalgarh, another section was despatched against Sirohi where a relation of the Rana was ruling. According to the Muslim records, the latter suffered a heavy defeat and the Sultan returned to Gujarat after entering into a truce with the Rana. The real situation was that on account of the failure of the Sirohi expedition, the Sultan’s communications with his kingdom were endangered and he was forced to enter into terms with the Rana. Thus the campaign was a failure.

While engaged on the western frontier, the Rana had also been involved in a war in the south and the east. Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa now sought to take advantage of the difficulties of Mewar in order to satisfy his old grudge against that State, but without success. Early in 1456, however, an offensive alliance against the common enemy was planned by the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat and a treaty to that effect was solemnly signed at Champaner. Its objects are thus described by the Muslim historians: “To direct their

efforts against Rana Kumbha.Mahmud should assail him on

one side and Qutb-ud-din on the other.they would utterly

destroy him . divide his country between them . all

the towns lying contiguous to Gujarat were to be attached to the kingdom of Qutb-ud-dln, while the districts of Mewar and Aheerwara should be retained by the Malwa forces.” 16

The odds against Mewar seemed to be overwhelming, specially as the Rathor leader Jodha took the opportunity to join the Muslims against her. At the same time, within the State, a strong faction under Kumbha’s younger brother Kshema was also in arms against the Rana.

In accordance with the arrangement mentioned above, the Muslim armies took the field in the winter of 1456-57. Qutb-uddln occupied Sirohi, plundered the Kumbhalmer district and then

turned to Chitor. The Rana came out to give battle. According to one authority, the Rana was defeated and took shelter in the fort; but, according to another, the result was indecisive. All Muslim writers however mention that the Rana offered money to Qutb-uddm who thereupon withdrew to his own kingdom. The position of the Rana may be understood from the fact that he had been simultaneously attacked by the Sultan of Malwa as well. The latter had devastated certain parts of Mewar and then attacked Ajmer without success. Thereupon he fell back on Mandalgarh where the Rana attacked him. The result of the battle is thus described by Firishta: “The Malwa officers persuaded their king of the necessity of retiring on account of their reduced numbers and the wretched state of the

camp equipments. Thus the Sultan was induced to return to Mandu". As Col. Briggs says, "The drawn battle mentioned must be deemed a defeat". 17

No sooner had the enemies retired than Kumbha attacked them in his own turn. The districts of Sirohi and Nagaur were recovered from the Sultan of Gujarat, while some pillage at the cost of Malwa also took place. In 1457-8, therefore, the Muslim allies again took the field. Qutb-ud-din 18 , after capturing Sirohi, advanced as far as Kumbha! gar h, but being unable to take it by assault returned to his own kingdom. Muslim authorities admit that Mahmud Khalji's campaign did not fare better. As mentioned already, while Kumbha was struggling against the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa, he was involved in a war with the Rathors to which references will be made later.

It is unfortunate that no detailed account of the above struggles is available from the Rajput point of view. Contemporary inscriptions and other records refer to them only cursorily, so that no connected story can be made out of the same. Thus the Kumbhalgarh inscription of 1460 merely says: "Kumbha churned the ocean-like armies of the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat." In other words Kumbha claimed a complete victory over these two Sultans.

By 1459, the most difficult period of Kumbha's life was over; and the last ten years, in spite of the quarrel with his brother Kshema, seem to have been more peaceful.

Kumbha was one of the greatest rulers of medieval India. When the records of his reign that lie scattered in more than sixty inscriptions and many other sources have been fully worked out into a comprehensive and connected account, Kumbha will be found to occupy a place in no way inferior to the greatest of the contemporary sovereigns, Hindu or Muslim. The most astonishing feature of his life was that though more than two-thirds of his reign were spent

in warfare, he could still find time to devote to the cultivation of arts and literature as well. The erroneous belief that the Rajput ruler was a mere fighting animal is sure to be dispelled by a clear appreciation of this aspect of his achievements. A contemporary manuscript called the Eklingamahatmya credits him with proficiency in the Vedas, Smritis, Mimamsa, Upanishads, Vyakarana, politics and literature. This is fully supported by what is left of his own activities as a man of letters. He wrote a commentary on Jayadeva's Gltagovinda and an explanation of the Chandlsatakam. For his knowledge of dramatic art and literature he has been described as the new Bharata. He wrote four dramas in which he is said to have made use of four provincial languages. He was also highly proficient in music, and wrote three works on the science of music called Sarigitamga, Sangitamimamsti and Suraprabandha. Under his patronage his architect Mandana wrote a number of works some of which were on iconography, some on house-building and some on house decoration. The same Mandana's brother, Natha, and his son Govinda also wrote a number of works on architecture. Considering that most of his life was spent in warfare, it was but natural that he should take particular interest in strengthening the defences of the country. He is thus said to have built as many as 32 out of the 34 forts in Mewar. He surrounded the citadel of Chitor with a number of bastions and built a cart-road with seven gates from the foot of the hill, on which the citadel stood, up to its summit. In 1458 was laid the foundation of a new fort at Kumbhalgarh. Besides the defensive works, he was responsible for the construction of a number of temples and wells with arrangements for drawing water. Mention may be made of the Kirtistambha already referred to, and the temples of KumbhasvamI and Adivariaha. The temple of Ekliiigaji having been partially destroyed, Kumbha rebuilt it with the addition of an annexe called Kumbha-mandapa. The example of the ruler was imitated by the people. The beautiful Jain temples at Ranpur and Sirohi as well as the exquisite Sringar Chauri temple at Chitor were also executed in Kumbha's reign, but by private individuals.

The end of Kumbha's life was very unfortunate. According to Nensi's Khyat, which is supported by contemporary inscriptions, Kumbha became insane at the close of his life. One day, as he was seated by the side of a tank in Kumbhalgarh, his eldest son, Udaya, attacked him with a dagger and put him to death. Impatience to occupy the throne seems to have been the only cause of this nefarious deed. The parricide was not, however, allowed to enjoy the throne for long. The Rajput nobility in the State turned against him, and although according to custom every nobleman had to attend the darbar on the accession of a new ruler to the throne, they refrained from showing this customary respect to their ruler. Udaya must have found himself without a strong support in the State and sought to enlist in his favour the assistance of the neighbouring rulers by cessions of territories which made him still more odious to his people. The result was a conspiracy among the noblemen who proposed to depose him and place his younger brother Rayamalla on the throne. The latter, who had been placed in charge of the fort of Tdar, came to Chitor on the invitation of the noblemen, who, taking advantage of a timely absence of Udaya from the capital, took it into possession and proclaimed Rayamalla as their ruler. Udaya took shelter in Kumbhalgarh, but assisted by the noblemen Rayamalla soon captured it, Udaya saving himself by flight. 19

The reign of Rayamalla covers a period of 36 years and falls into two parts. The first part comprises the period 1473-1500 and is connected with the consolidation of the State. The second part, comprising the last nine years, is mainly occupied with civil dissensions in the same.

The brief reign of Udaya seems to have disorganized the whole State and naturally the first years of Rayamalla's reign were spent in the task of bringing order out of the chaos. The troubles came from three quarters. In the first place there was a civil war. It has been already noted that Kumbha had a younger brother, Kshema, who was a lifelong enemy of the former. Kumbha's death and the troubles of Udaya's reign gave Kshema an opportunity to rouse himself into action. But Rayamalla proved equal to the occasion. In a battle that took place at Dadimpur, Kshema was killed, and thus the trouble from that quarter was, for the time being, surmounted. 20 Secondly, there was a renewal of the conflict with Mialwa. The contemporary Sultan of Malwa, Ghiyas-ud-dln Khalji (1469-1500) had inherited the quarrel with Mewar from his father, Mahmud Khalji. He now bestirred himself, specially as Mewar seemed on the verge of dissolution, and advanced as far as Chitor, where a most sanguinary battle took place. The Sultan was however defeated and Mewar saved. In this battle a hero, Gaura by name, displayed unique valour and killed a number of the enemy with his own hand. As a tribute to his memory, one of the bastions on the Chitor fort was named after him and four statues of the hero were set up at four prominent places on the same. [21] The third difficulty came from the aboriginal tribes some of whom took the opportunity to rise into insurrection. But, as the contemporary inscription says, Rayamalla successfully carried his soldiers into their mountain strongholds and forced them to submit. [22]

For a second time the Sultan of Malwa returned to the attack of Mewar. The Muslim army led by a general called Zafar Khan advanced as far as Mandalgarh where Rayamalla met and defeated him. The above inscription says: “Rayamalla crushed the army of Zafar Khan near Mandalgarh and lowered the head of the Saka King Ghiyas, which had been raised in arrogance.” This was followed by an invasion of Malwa. The Rajput army occupied the district of Kherwara and levied contributions from some parts of that kingdom.

Hardly had peace and order been re-established in Mewar by these successes than it became the scene of a quarrel among the sons of Rayamalla. According to Col. Tod, Rayamalla had several sons of whom the first three, in order of seniority, were Sanga, Prithviraja and Jayamalla. Though heir apparent, Sanga declared that he would forego his birth-right and abide by the verdict of the Charani who lived in Nahra Magna. Accordingly, the brothers went there, accompanied by their paternal uncle Surajmalla. The Charani declared that the kingdom would belong to Sanga with a portion to Surajmalla. No sooner was this said than Prithviraja and Jayamalla attacked Sanga and Surajmalla. Although severely wounded, the latter were able to save themselves by flight. A critical examination of independent evidence reveals some interesting facts. Firstly, from the testimony of Nensi’s Khyat as well as contemporary inscription it appears that Prithviraja was the eldest of Rayamalla’s sons and therefore heir apparent to the Mewar throne. Secondly, Saiiga’s collaborator, Surajmalla, was the son of Kshema who had fought against, and died at the hands of, Rayamalla early in the reign. If the story of the civil war, which undoubtedly took place, is examined in the light of the above facts, it will be found that the struggle which Sanga made against Prithviraja in alliance with an enemy of his father was nothing but an act of high treason. It was all the more serious as there is evidence to show that very likely the rebels took the help of Naslr-ud-dln Khaljl of Malwa, and invited him to undertake a simultaneous invasion of Mewar. It was fortunate for the State that it had the services of a strong man like Prince Prithviraja at its disposal. The enemies were defeated and Sanga was forced to leave the State. 23

It looked as if the gravest danger to the State was over. Unfortunately how T ever one bereavement after another clouded the last years of Rayamalla's reign. First of all, Prince Prithviraja, who carried on the burden of administration in this period, met with an untimely death. 24 He had an altercation with his brother-in-law, the ruler of Sirohi, who, stung by an insult, poisoned Prithviraja.

The next brother, Jayamalla, now became the heir apparent. But he quarrelled with Rai Surthan of Badnor and died at the hands of one of the latter's relatives. The death of two sons one after another came as a severe shock to the aged Rana who turned insane. The third of Rayamalla's sons, Jayasiriiha by name, now received installation as the heir apparent. But according to the Khyat of Nensi he was found incompetent and the noblemen were unwilling to have him as their ruler. They sent for Sanga, and having deposed Jayasimha, gave him the crown, Rayamalla dying in the meanwhile.

The new ruler Sanga was born in 1482. He was thus 27 when he ascended the throne in 1509, and he died at the age of 46 in 1528, after a reign of 19 years. Not only was Mewar now the most powerful of the principalities in Northern India, it was even possible for its ruler to make an attempt on the imperial throne of Delhi. Several causes account for this unique position attained by Mewar. In the first place, since the accession of Hammlr, the kingdom had the good fortune to produce a succession of intelligent and strong rulers. It was also fortunate that on account of the timely discovery of valuable mines within the kingdom, the rulers did not lack the economic resources which are indispensable for all progress. In addition to this we have to remember that since the last quarter of the 14th century the central authority in Delhi had been gradually losing its position, and its power had been usurped by half a dozen provincial governments, none of which was strong enough to keep the rulers of Mewar under control. Above all, there was the personality of the new Rana.

That Sanga was ambitious is clear from the fact that even in his father's reign he made a bid for the throne against his elder brothers. But he had also the cleverness to use all opportunities that lay in his way to realize his ambition.

His reign of 19 years falls into two parts. The first 15 years were taken up with the consolidation of Mewar's position. This was done by a number of successful wars against his neighbours. Shortly after his accession, Sultan Nasir-ud-din of Malwa died and a struggle for the throne took place among his sons. After a while one of them, Mahmud Khalji by name, secured the throne, mainly with the assistance of a Rajput chieftain, MedinI Rai. Naturally Medini Rai's influence now ruled supreme in the State to the great dislike of the Muslim noblemen and of Mahmud Khalji. Ultimately Mahmud fled to Gujarat and appealed to Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat who, thereupon, came and invested Mandu, the capital of Malwa, then occupied by Medini Rai's son. Medini Rai himself turned for assistance to the Rana of Mewar and "represented that in Hindusthan there was no man better than him and that if he did not assist his own race who else was to do so?" The Rana consented to advance as far as Sarangpur, but said that afterwards he would act as circumstances would require.

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Accordingly, Sanga advanced to Sarangpur. Thereupon the Sultan of Gujarat, having sent a detachment of his army to intercept the Rana, pressed on the siege of Mandu which ultimately fell into his hands in 1518. Finding that there was now no necessity for further advance, Sanga retraced his steps to his own kingdom, accompanied by Medini Rai who entered the Rana's service. Meanwhile, after the occupation of Mandu and the fall of Medini Rai's party in Malwa, Mahmud Khalji's hopes revived, specially as the Sultan of Gujarat left a part of his army in Malwa to help him in case of difficulty. The idea of teaching the Rajputs a lesson now got the better in Mahmud's mind and he attacked the district of Gagraun in 1519. But his expectations were completely belied. The Muslim historians themselves maintain that as many as 30 officers in the Muslim army were killed and the Sultan himself fell a prisoner into Sahga’s hands. He was then taken to Chitor where he had to stay for six months. 25 At the end of this period, he was allowed to return to his own kingdom after he had signed a treaty on the following terms:—(1) payment of a large war indemnity, (2) surrender of a gold cap and a belt which were considered as heirlooms by the Malwa ruling family, (3) despatch of a son of Mahmud Khaljl to the Mewar darbar as a pledge of the future good relation of the Malwa Sultan to the latter. In lieu of these terms Mahmud Khaljl was left in the possession of those parts of Malwa which belonged to him before the outbreak of the present war.

While Sahga’s relations with Malwa were thus being brought to a conclusion in every way satisfactory to the Rana, those with Gujarat were also receiving his attention. Since the accession of Sanga, the two States were being gradually involved in a quarrel over the problem of succession on the throne of Sirohi and the troubles in Malwa. The relations with Malwa have just been described. In Sirohi two cousins claimed the throne and while one of them appealed to the Sultan of Gujarat for help, the other married a daughter of Sanga and naturally received his assistance.

Thus indirectly, Mewar and Gujarat were being drawn into a position which was sure to lead to an open struggle; it was precipitated by an insulting conduct on the part of an officer of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat. All Muslim historians maintain that in 1520, a Muslim officer in idar, incensed at the remarks of a wandering minstrel who had asked him to beware of Sanga, caused a street

dog do to be named ‘Rana Sanga’ and kept it chained at the gates of Idar city. When the information reached the Rana, he immediately attacked Idar and plundered the country-side. He then withdrew into Mew^ar, proposing to undertake a large expedition as soon as possible. On this occasion he attacked Idar with his whole force and compelled the Muslim officer to take shelter in Ahmadnagar. The Rana followed him there, and in a battle that took place near the gates of that city, the Muslim army was again defeated and Ahmadnagar fell into Sangla’s hands.

These events led to a war between the kingdoms of Mewar and Gujarat. Sultan Muzaffar at first proposed to undertake personally an expedition against Mewar, and prepared a large army for the purpose in December, 1520. After some consideration, however, he changed his mind and sent the expedition in charge of an officer called Malik Ayaz who was to be helped by two other officers. In the spring of 1521, the army was set in motion and after plundering Dungarpur and Banswara laid siege to Mandasor which lay at the southern frontier of Mewar. Meanwhile, Sanga also had advanced to its relief and encamped with his army about 12 kos from the invested place. By this time Mahmud Khaljl of Malwa had also joined the Gujarat army in the hope of satisfying his vengeance against Mewar.

As far as we can judge from the Muslim accounts of the Rana's activities, it appears that he had three objects in view, namely, to strengthen himself by collecting reinforcements, to win over as many of the enemy as possible, and to take full advantage of the ill-feeling that prevailed among the Muslim officers. It was an open secret that the officers who had been sent to co-operate with Malik Ayaz were not in a mood to do so, as they looked upon the Malik's appointment as commander-in-chief as an act of supersession of their just claims. But time was an essential factor for the achievement of Sanga's threefold objects. Hence he began negotiations with Malik Ayaz who directed the Rajput agents to his sovereign, Muzaffar. The real motive of the Rana may be gathered from the remarks made by Firishta:—"connected with the overtures there were certain conditions which were extravagant". 26 During the interval, Sanga collected a large army and won over Mahmud Khaljl by promising to release the latter's son kept as a hostage in Mewar since 1519. 27 Meanwhile, the ill-feelings between the Muslim officers of Gujarat increased with the progress of time, so much so that when the negotiations fell through, they began to quarrel among themselves as to which one of them should lead the first attack on Mandasor. The bitterness among the Muslim officers reached such serious proportions that Malik Ayaz retired with his contingent from the campaign, which thus ended in failure.

Naturally, Sultan Muzaffar felt deeply offended, and he planned another campaign against Mewar to be led by himself. 28 According to the Muslim authorities, 29 when the news reached Sanga, he was so greatly unnerved that he despatched a member of his own family with valuable presents to appease the Sultan and concluded a treaty with him accepting all his terms. Unfortunately, the terms are not mentioned, and the general statement is hardly credible in view of the antecedents of Siahga. 29a

The fact seems to be that the Rana was desirous of coming to an understanding with the Sultan, for about this time he came to be involved in a quarrel with the Sultan of Delhi which needed his freedom from entanglements elsewhere. In 1517 the throne of Delhi had passed to Ibrahim Lodi who was, however, faced by a rebellion led by his younger brother with the help of a number of noblemen in the kingdom. After two or three years of warfare the rebellion was crushed and the noblemen brought under control. It seems that Sanga took advantage of this situation to enhance his own position at the cost of the Sultanate. But as soon as Ibrahim's hands were free, he undertook an expedition against the Rana who however defeated the former in a battle near Dholpur. This failure, however, prompted the Sultan to undertake another expedition on a large scale. 30 Three of the best officers of Delhi were put in charge of a huge army which penetrated into Mewar, and Sanga came forward to meet it. While the Delhi army was within the Rana's territory, Sultan Ibrahim, intending to punish one of the officers, Husain Khan, for the part he had taken in the late rebellion, sent a secret order to the chief commander, Mian Makan, to take the former into custody and despatch him to Delhi. Husain Khan suspected foul play and leaving the Muslim camp joined Rana Sanga along with his own adherents. Shortly after, the Rajput army attacked the enemy which was decisively beaten, Husain Khan remaining neutral. Many Muslim officers were killed and Mian Makan was compelled to take to his heels, closely pursued by the Rana's men who drove him back as far as Bayana. According to one Muslim authority, this so alarmed Sultan Ibrahim that he advanced from Agra to the place in order to encourage his people. Immediately after the victory Husain Khan fell treacherously on a section of the Rajput army, and having captured a few elephants and horses made good his escape. These trophies he presented to the Sultan who took him back into favour.

Sahga's success against Ibrahim Lodi was the crowning achievement of his career. It was the culmination of a series of successes

against his neighbours, as a consequence of which the boundaries of Mewar were considerably extended. On the north they were pushed up as far as the Bayana river. In the east, Raisen, Kalpi and Chanderl were included within her territories. In the south, Dungarpur and Banswara were held by a vassal, and her frontiers ran far into the heart of Malwa. To the south-west, Sirohi was ruled by the Rana's son-in-law. Even the chiefs of Mar war and Ambar, according to Tod, acknowledged his allegiance. But the significance of his successes was more than the mere annexations of lands, large as they were, would indicate. In getting the better of his rivals, Rana Sanga had secured for himself the leading position in Northern India, and, in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the occupant of the imperial throne at Delhi, he advanced a claim upon that throne itself. It marks the beginning of Mewar's imperial ambition. During the years that followed (1523-28), Sanga sought to materialize this ambition both by diplomatic means and military efforts.

It was probably after his success against Sultan Ibrahim that Sanga proposed to Babur a simultaneous expedition against Ibrahim Lodi. 31 Babur was to move against Agra from Kabul and Sanga from his own kingdom. Apparently Sanga was determined to bring about the annihilation of the Sultan and, to ensure it, invited Mughul help. But it is clear from Sanga's later conduct that it was not his intention to admit Babur as a co-sharer in the assets of the Sultanate, which he hoped to secure for himself.

Babur tells us that, in accordance with this arrangement, he left Kabul, conquered the Punjab and obtained a decisive victory over Ibrahim Lodi at Planipat (April, 1526). Yet Sanga showed no signs of accomplishing his part of the engagement. Sanga's inactivity, which was the subject of complaint by Babur, was partly explained by the fact that he was at the time involved in fresh troubles in Gujarat. But it was perhaps also due to other considerations if we may judge from his later conduct. He might have either thought that like previous Mongol invaders, Babur would leave the country after he had collected sufficient booty; or, that the Mughuls and the Lodi would fritter away their strength in a long struggle, making it easier for himself to establish influence over Delhi. It will be seen later that all such hopes, if there were any, were ultimately frustrated.

In Gujarat, the Sultan, Muzaffar, lay on his death-bed and there was a scramble for succession among his sons. One of them, Bahadur, unable to achieve his object, left Gujarat, came to Mewar and then went to Delhi. Meanwhile, Muzaffar died and his eldest son Sikandar Khan secured the throne. But more insurrections followed

till at last Sikandar was killed in 1526 and a younger brother proclaimed Sultan by a party of noblemen led by ‘Imad-ul-Mulk. His supreme influence in the kingdom disgusted another party which invited Bahadur and offered him help to secure the crown. ‘Imad-ulMulk’s position was extremely precarious and he began to seek for outside help. Accordingly, he sent one agent to Rana Sahga promising him a large sum of money in lieu of his assistance. Another emissary, despatched by him to Babur requesting him to send a force down the Sindhu 32 to help him, reached the Mughul Emperor after the battle of Panipat. 33 An interesting light on Sahga’s policy is thrown by Firishta, who mentions that “the communication (sent by ‘Imad-ul-Mulk to Babur) never reached its destiny having been intercepted by the ruler of Dungarpur”, v/ho, it will be remembered, was a vassal of the Rana. Apparently, Sahga had by this time found that Babur meant to stay in India and was thus to prove a great hindrance to his imperial scheme. It was therefore necessary that Babur must be crushed before he could strengthen his position still further with the help of allies in the country. Sahga’s policy was settled. He helped the exiled Gujarat prince Bahadur to secure the throne of Gujarat. 34 By this stroke of policy an alliance between Gujarat and Babur was prevented and its place taken by another set up between Mewar and Gujarat which continued to be the most deciding factor in the politics of western India for the next five years (1526-31). At the same time preparations for the encounter with Babur were sped up so that hardly six months had passed since the battle of Panipat when alarming news reached Babur of Sahga’s activities against him.

The Rajput army was in fact marching rapidly in the direction of Agra. On the way a detachment was left to press the siege of Kandahat where a partisan of Babur held out, but the main army crossed the river Banganga and took the road to Agra. Babur also had been busy collecting his army, and by the end of February 1527 reached Fathpur Sikri. Near this place skirmishes between the advanced parties of both sides often took place, and, on one occasion a party of 1500 of Babur's men was destroyed by the Rana's soldiers. On the 16th of March, the Rajput army attacked the entrenched position of Babur near the village of Khanua. This proved to be the most fateful battle of the 16fh century in which the Rajput army suffered a complete defeat at Babur's hands. According to Babur himself, the Rajput army numbered about 2 lakhs of soldiers "calculated according to Hindu fashion", while he had with him not more than 15,000 men. Smith thinks that Sahga had 80,000 horse and 500 elephants. The defeat of the incomparably larger Hindu army by the smaller Muslim one has given rise to speculations ever since.

Some attribute the Hindu defeat to the weakness of the Hindu soldiers as compared with the Mughul. Some again explain it by a treachery in the Hindu ranks, and Col. Tod refers to a tradition that Silhadi, an important Rajput general, stood aloof with his men while the battle was in progress. Neither of these views, however, appears to be correct. Babur himself admits that the Rajput was no mean adversary; while the treachery of Silhadi was only an invention of much later time. Actually, we find that Silhadi continued to help Mewar loyally long after the battle and was one of the trustiest officers of Sahga's son and successor, Ratnasimha.

The real causes of the Rajput failure may be gathered from the following circumstances. Firstly, there was consolidation and compactness in the Muslim army while there was lack of both in the Rajput army. Babur had with him only 15,000 soldiers, but the}' were all of one mind and determined to follow Babur to any extremities. He did not allow the half-hearted Indian allies to stay with him but sent them to different places on one pretext or another. On the other hand, Sanga's army was huge in shape but wanting in solidarity. Babur says that the Rana had "collected a rabble-rout of whom some wore the sacred thread on them (i.e. were Hindus), some had in their skirt the throne of apostasy (i.e. were Muslim)". Besides, "the Rajas and Rais of high degree who obeyed the Rana in this battle as well as the governors and commanders who were amongst his followers in this conflict had not obeyed him in any earlier fight or out of regard to their own dignity been friendly with him". Clearly, therefore, Sahga's army was made up of two sections— Hindu and Muslim. The Hindu leader looked forward to the establishment of his own power in Delhi, the Muslims to the re-establishment of the Afghan empire. Moreover, within the Hindu section, excepting the Sisodiyas, the other clans were, much against their clan interests, compelled for the time being to follow Sahga's leadership. Their hearts were not in the task, and in fact when the battle was over, each of the different Rajput clans departed for its own home, as if they had been happily rid of a powerful overlord. Sanga failed to awaken a feeling of national unity in the minds of the huge host he led. It was his own personality that formed the only slender bond of union. Unfortunately, however, in the course of the battle he was wounded and had to be carried off the field, and with his departure vanished all hopes of success.

Another no less important cause of Sahga's failure was to be found in the tactics used by him in the battlefield. His object was to overwhelm the enemy by the sheer weight of numbers and with his elephants. As Babur says: "The Hindus moved forward relying on the mountain-like demon-shaped elephants". But Babur had taken sufficient precautions against such tactics. He had caused trenches to be dug around his position, to strengthen which still more, strong carts had been placed in front of his line and chained with one another. Behind these defences he placed matchlockmen ready to ply the enemy with showers of bullets when they drew near. When, therefore, Sanga's elephants came forward they were smitten by fire-arms and, while retreating, trampled upon the Hindus themselves. Into the gaps thus formed, Babur sent his mobile forces to convert the defeat into a rout. The battle of Khanua was the turning point in the history of India. It put an end to the dream of re-establishing a Hindu empire in Delhi and removed the chief obstacle to the foundation of the Mughul Empire in India.

After the battle Babur advanced and took possession of Bayana. His plan of continuing the campaign against Safiga had to be abandoned for the time being on account of the heat of the approaching summer. But as soon as the climatic condition was favourable, at the end of the year, Babur again set out in his campaign. His idea was to conquer the outlying possessions of Mewar such as Chanderl, Raisen, Bhilsa and Sarangpur, and then march against Chitor. Chanderi was accordingly captured about the beginning of 1528, but before the expedition could be further pursued, Babur found it necessary to postpone it. There was a rebellion in Bihar among the Afghan noblemen which had to be crushed before it assumed serious proportion.

Meanwhile, Safiga had not given up everything for lost. From contemporary Rajasthani songs as well as Muslim records, it appears that he was preparing for another contest with Babur. Abu-'lFazl tells us that the Rana even invested the fort of Irij where he was opposed by a Muslim general. Failing to take the fort, Sanga retreated to his own kingdom to die at the comparatively early age of forty-six.

II. MARWAR

The period which witnessed the gradual advancement of the Sisodiya State of Mewar also saw the establishment of the Rathor States of Mar war and Bikaner which, until recently, occupied a prominent position in Rajputana. The modern Rathors claim descent from the Gahadavalas of Kanauj and Rajput traditions almost universally support this claim. But as Dr. Hoernle 35 pointed out long ago, this claim rests upon no strong foundation; rather, evidence indicates that there was no connection between the two. Firstly, the Rathors call themselves only by that name and never as Gahadavalas, while in the inscriptions of the latter family the only name used is Gahadavala. Secondly, the gotras of these two families are different. And, lastly, the Rathors intermarry with the Gahadavalas. No satisfactory answer to these arguments has been so far put forward, yet the tradition of a connection between the Rathors and the Gahadavala kingdom has been so strong that recently Ojha, while accepting practically the force of Dr. Hoernle's contentions, has expressed the opinion that the Rathors must have been the descendants of Rashtrakutas of Badaun. 35a

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The clue to the solution of the problem is to be found in the inscription of Siha, 36 founder of the Rathor family of Mar war, dated A.D. 1273, where Siha is described as a Rathada. This inscription was discovered in a place called Bithu in Marwar. Very close to this place lies Sirohi where a pillar was erected in. A.D. 1241 37 by a person who calls himself Rathauda, and a piece of land granted in 1217 38 by another person who describes himself as Rathauda of Hathiumdi. That the two last-named persons belonged to the same family is indicated by the similarity of the two surnames, Rathauda and Rathauda, as well as the fact that these two persons lived in the same locality. It is further to be noted that this family was known as Rathauda or Rathauda family of Hathiumdi or Hastikundi, a place which lay in the Bijapur district of Jodhpur and very contiguous to Sirohi. At Hastikundi again three inscriptions of a Rashtrakuta family were discovered containing dates a little over two hundred years earlier, showing that it ruled over that region during c. A.D. 915-c. 1000. 39 This family is known to historians as the Rashtrakutas of Hastikundi. Clearly enough, two descendants of this family set up the inscription of A.D. 1217 and A.D. 1241 respectively. The resemblance of the family surname Rathada with the designations Rathauda and Rathauda; the proximity of the places where the persons with these designations lived; and the nearness of time of the three prove that the three terms Rathada, Rathauda and Rathauda are only different forms of the same name. And since the two latter are decidedly descendants of the tenth century Rashtrakutas, the former must also be regarded as such.

As in the case of all noted founders of dynasties, a mass of traditions have gathered round the name Siha, and it is impossible to reconcile these traditions with one another. The only reliable information is furnished by the Bithu inscription mentioned above, which says—“On Monday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight in Karttika 1330 V. S., Rathada Slha, son of Sri Seta Kumara, died. May the bliss of Indra’s heaven be for Salanki Parvatl”. Salanki Parvatl became a Sati on her husband Siha’s death in A.D. 1273.

The fact that even after his death the only description of Siha was the family surname Rathada, with no Maharaja or Raja added thereto, clearly indicates that in his life Siha had not been able to secure for himself an independent position. Hence all traditions about his conquests must be regarded as unreliable.

Siha's son was Asthan and the latter's son Dhuhada. 40 An inscription of this last-named prince has been discovered at Tirsingharin in the Pachbhadra district of the Jodhpur State. It is a memorial stone which shows that Dhuhada died in A.D. 1309 in the abovementioned place. It is to be noted that while his grandfather died at Bithu, Dhuhada himself died in the Pachbhadra district which is very close to Kher, near the southward bend of the Luni. Now, tradition maintains that Dhuhada's father Asthan took advantage of a quarrel between the Gohil chief of Kher and his Brahmana minister, and with the help of the latter expelled the former and made himself master of the place. It seems likely therefore that ii was Siha's son Asthan who established the family in this new site.

The history of the Rathor family in the fourteenth century is involved in obscurity. The Khyats 41 supply us with lists of princes who flourished in the family together with their dates and accounts of their activities. Thus, we are told that after Dhuhada, Rayapala, Kanhapala, JalansI, Chhado, Tido, Salkha and Mallinatha, each the son of the preceding one, occupied the Rathor gadi. But, it is impossible to make out a connected history of this period for several reasons. Firstly, the traditions cannot be reconciled with each other. Secondly, the dates given are demonstrably inaccurate. And, lastly, according to the above order of succession, seven or eight generations of princes ruled for only 80 or 90 years, which is somewhat unusual. Hence, Ojha rejects the genealogy of the Khyats as inaccurate, and holds that possibly, rulers who are stated to have stood in the relation of father and son actually belonged to the same generation.

Leaving aside details, the general features in the development of the Rathor principality are not, however, difficult to follow. The Rathor family, after it had been established in Kher, was guided by a natural impulse towards expansion. This involved it in a struggle with its neighbours, among whom were the Muslims and the Bhattis. By the first decade of the fourteenth century, the greatest of the Delhi Sultans, 'Ala-ud-dln Khaljl (1296-1316) had conquered the whole of the eastern part of modern Mar war and Gujarat. It was about this time that the Rathors secured possession of Kher, but this petty State found itself encircled on three sides by the mighty Muslim power. A struggle for its very existence was thus inevitable;

and if we study the accounts given in the Khyats we actually find many anecdotes regarding the struggle between the two. Thus of the Rathor princes of this period as many as five are mentioned as having encounters with the Muslims. Kanhapala, Jalansi and Tido died at their hands while Salkha and Mallinatha probably saved themselves by accepting Muslim hegemony. It should be remembered that for the greater part of the fourteenth century (A.D. 1296-1388), the throne of Delhi was occupied by three prominent rulers—'Alaud-din Khaljl, Muhammad bin Tughluq and Firuz Shah. It was impossible for the Rathor State to make any headway as long as the Sultans were strong. The decline of the Sultanate must have afforded a unique opportunity for expansion to the Rathors, and we find this to be actually the case.

While in the south, east and north-east, the Rathors were confronted by the Muslims, the rising Bhatti state of Jaisalmer sought to prevent their advancement to the north-west. The records of Rathor activities mention struggle with the Bhattis as well. Thus, Kanhapala, Chhado and Tido are mentioned as having continued a feud against the Bhattis.

It appears therefore certain that the fourteenth century was a period of struggles on all sides of the Rathor State and undoubtedly some of the Rathor princes died at the hands of the enemy. If all this be remembered we may possibly find an explanation of the circumstance that the average reign in this period was not more than 10 or 11 years. Besides, in addition to the external struggles, there were internal dissensions in the Rathor family.

According to the Khyats , Tido died at Muslim hands, leaving two sons, of whom Kanhada succeeded to his father's titles, while the other son Salkha received only an appanage. On Kanhada's death, his son TribhuvansI was raised to the throne, but Salkha's son Mallinatha contested the same. A feud between the cousins followed and Mallinatha, with Muslim help, secured possession of the Rathor principality. Its seat of power was now transferred to Me wo, close to Kher. The elder line was thus supplanted and authority passed into the hands of Mallinatha who adopted the title of Rawal.

With Mallinatha’s accession the Rathor principality definitely enters into an era of progress. The whole region on both sides of the Luni came into his hands and is still known by the name of Mallani. The Khyats indicate that though he had secured power with Muslim help, he was able later to renounce Muslim allegiance. His success against the Muslims is commemorated in numerous songs still current in Marwar which describe how he brought away

perforce the daughter of his Muslim enemy. It should be remembered that after Flruz Shah’s death in 1388 the Sultanate of Delhi had fallen into weak hands and this was the most prominent factor that accounts for the Rathor success.

According to the rules of hereditary succession, Mallinatha should have been succeeded by his own son. Such a son was there and his descendants are still to be met with in Marwar. But he was ousted by a junior member of the Rathor family just as Mallinatha had done with the descendants of Kanhada. Apparently the lesson of Mallinatha’s rise to power was too good to be lost upon other ambitious members of the family. Mallinatha had a younger brother named Viramjl who quarrelled with Mallinatha’s son and heir apparent, Jagmal, and was compelled to leave the State. Thereupon he lived the life of an adventurer till his death in 1383 in a skirmish with the Johyas, according to an inscription of 1658. This Viramji had a son called Chunda with whom begins a new chapter in the history of the Rathors in Marwar.

As usual the Khyats supply many accounts about Chunda, but the details and the dates are difficult to reconcile with each other. Yet the main features are beyond dispute. At his father’s death

Chunda was a minor. He was then taken to his uncle Rawal Malli

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hatha, who took him into favour and allotted a small jaglr for his maintenance. As time went on, Chunda consolidated his position and ultimately, when Mallinatha died, supplanted the latter’s son on the Rathor throne. Thus, once more the right of primogeniture was set aside in favour of higher capacity and attainments. The next important achievement of Chunda's life was the capture of Mandor which had been for the last eight centuries 42 a seat of Pratihara or Parihar power. The Parihar ruler had been dispossessed of his principality by the Muslims some time ago. Now the Rathors and the Parihars combined and their joint efforts were crowned with success. Mandor was recovered and the Muslims driven away. But as regards the fate of Mandor, the Khyats do not agree. According to the Jodhpur version, the Parihar chieftain married his daughter to Chunda and handed over Mandor as dowry to his son-in-law; but according to the Bikaner tradition, Chunda killed the Parihar ally and made himself master of Mandor. Considering that the Jodhpur tradition is likely to pass over the shortcomings of its rulers, the latter version seems more acceptable. After the occupation of Mandor, Chunda transferred his capital here from Mewo. Within 50 years, his grandson, Jodha, founded a new city within eight miles of Mandor. This city, called Jodhpur after its founder, continued till recently to be the capital of the Rathors of Marwar.

THE DELHI SULTANATE

Chunda had also entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Sisodiya family of Mewar—an incident which shows that he possessed more diplomatic talents than are to be found in an average Rajput. From the accounts available, it appears that the initiative in this marriage alliance came from the Rathor darbar and that in order to secure the alliance of the iSisodiyas, the Rathor ruler did not shrink from marrying his young daughter Hamsabai to the aged Rana Lakha. It was a great diplomatic achievement, for henceforth the resources of Mewar were at the disposal of the Rathor family which was thereby able to establish its authority strongly in Mar war. Partly on account of this alliance, and partly due to the decline of the Delhi Sultanate, Chunda ventured into a policy of definite aggression. He attacked and for a time held the Muslim principality of Nagaur. He had however created many enemies on all sides by his restless activity; so that the Mohils of Audint and the Bhattis of Pugal joined hands with the aggrieved Muslims and challenged Chunda. He was killed, according to the Khyats, in 1422, and the Muslims recovered Nagaur.

Chunda had several wives and through them a numerous progeny. From the orthodox point of view, Ranamalla was the eldest of Chunda's sons, but Chunda desired that the issue of his favourite wife should succeed him. Accordingly, he asked Ranamalla to renounce his rights in favour of his step-brother Kanha. Ranamalla followed the will of his father, left the State altogether and came to reside in Mewar where he received a jagir from his brother-in-law, Rana Lakha. Meanwhile, Kanha ruled Mandor and after his death his younger brother Sata succeeded. Sata was practically blind so that his son Narabad looked after the administration. Sata had a younger brother, called Ranadhira, who after a quarrel with his nephew Narabad went to Ranamalla in Mewar and pursuaded the latter to return to Mandor. Ranamalla came at the head of the Mewar army and took possession of the Marwar throne from Sata.

The above official version, however, cannot stand a close scrutiny. Throughout the story Ranamalla is held up as an embodiment of filial respect like his contemporary, Sisodiya Chunda. Really, however, it is doubtful whether he had any rights to renounce. His acceptance of jdgir at the hands of Rana Lakha and his settlement in Mewar seem to indicate that he was not looked upon as having any claims on the Rathor throne. Besides, it has been said on his behalf that since his renunciation had been in Kanha's favour, he was within his rights when he wrested the crown from Sata. This argument also must be regarded as hollow when

it is remembered that Kanha left issues called Kanhavats. 43 If Ranamalla had been really a disinterested person, he should have taken up the struggle on their behalf and not made himself ruler instead.

The truth is that after Chunda's death, his sons who successively occupied the throne of Mandor were Kanha, Sata and Ranamalla. In]ater times when the chronicles were compiled, the shortlived princes intervening between Chunda and Ranamalla were regarded practically as usurpers and a sort of legality was imparted on Ranamalla, the de facto ruler.

Ranamalla seems to have secured the throne of Mandor in 1427. For the next 10 years he was the most influential person in Rajputana as the strings of the policy of Marwar and Mewar lay in his hands. Ranamalla used this influence in undertaking an expedition against the Muslim ruler of Nagaur who had been partly responsible for the death of his father Chunda. It met with complete success. The Muslim ruler was killed and his lands occupied. As the expedition had been a joint one between Mewar and Marwar, the annexed lands were also divided into two parts and to the share of Marwar fell Nagaur and adjoining districts. During the next few years, Ranamalla introduced in Marwar a number of salutary reforms in the system of weights and measures similar to those which had already been done under his influence in Mewar. But Marwar could not long profit by his presence. In 1432, his nephew Rana Mokal was killed. This brought Ranamalla again in Mewar and thanks to his endeavour Mokal's son Kumbha secured the throne. The new ruler was young and not yet out of difficulties and therefore Ranamalla must have felt his presence in Mewar necessary. But his presence in and influence over the State raised against him the ill-feeling of the Sisodiya sarddrs who brought about his assassination in Chitor in 1438, as mentioned above.

At the time of Ranamalla's death his son Jodha was also in Chitor, but his father had just managed to pass a note of warning, so that Jodha fled in hot haste towards Marwar, closely pursued by the Sisodiya sarddrs. Thus began that long feud between the two clans that lasted for centuries.

Jodha could not at first make any stand against the Sisodiya invasion. Rathor lands were occupied and Sisodiya garrisons were established at important places to hold the country under subjection. Jodha was compelled to take shelter in the thal or desert and from his hiding places sought to recover the paternal lands, but without effect. About this time however there took place a change in the inter-state politics in Western India, which offered an opportunity to the Rathor chieftain. The relations between Mewar and Malwa had become strained and ultimately led to an open war which began about 1443 and lasted till about 1448. After a truce of eight years, the war was renewed; but on this occasion the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa were in alliance against Rana Kumbha of Mewar. This phase of the struggle lasted till about 1458.

The Rathor Khyats maintain that Jodha obtained important successes against Mewar during this period. The Sisodiya sarddrs were driven away from one position after another. Thus Choksi, Kosano, Mandor, Sojhat, Merta and Ajmere fell into Rathor hands. Ultimately in 1459 he was able to lay the foundation of the modern city of Jodhpur. The Rathor Khyats naturally give all the credit of this success to their ruler Jodha and do not at all mention that the enemy was simultaneously involved in struggle with Gujarat and Malwa. But a study of the Muslim accounts along with those in the Rathor Khyats leaves no doubt that Jodha took advantage of Mewar's struggles with the Muslim States and was in alliance with the latter against Mewar. It was a policy that was suggested by the circumstances. Besides, it is interesting to note that while Rathor Khyats maintain that on one occasion Jodha carried away the gates of the city of Chitor as trophies, the Muslim historian of Gujarat ascribes the same achievement to the Sultan of Gujarat. Hemmed in by the enemies the Mewar ruler was compelled to follow the policy of creating a division in their ranks. In 1458, therefore, a treaty was made with Jodha. According to the Mewar chronicles, it was through the intercession of the dowager Rani Hamsabai, who requested Kumbha not to put her grand-nephew Jodha to greater difficulties, that very lenient terms were offered to the latter. In the light of what has been said above this version cannot be regarded as embodying the whole truth.

The first 20 years of Jodha's reign (1438-58) form an interesting landmark in the evolution of the Rathor State which was gradually assuming its modern shape. Throughout this period, but more specially during the next 30 years (1458-1488), another aspect of Rathor history also came more and more into prominence. This was the dispersal of the Rathor princes in various directions and the foundation of new principalities by them. Two factors helped this process—the extraordinary fecundity of the ruling family and the opportunities offered by the political situation of Western India in general and Rajputana in particular at that time.

Jodha had seventeen sons and it was not possible to secure for each one of them an appanage within the State itself. Hence the younger princes sought to acquire contiguous lands and effect settle ment therein. Thus one of his sons, Satal, captured the lands near Phalodhi and founded an estate called after him Satalmer. Another son, Bika, occupied Nagaur and founded the city called Bikaner after himself. Still another, Duda by name, occupied Merta and his descendants ruled there under the name of Mertia Rathors. It is difficult to ascertain how far these activities were due to the princes themselves or to the help rendered them by the central authority. Two facts are however clear. These princes occasionally received help from the central authority, especially in times of difficulty. Secondly, at least some of the conquests were made under the auspices of the central government which placed the conquered territories under the control of some members of the family. It seems clear that the bond between these daughter settlements and the mother-State was very uncertain and therefore caused troubles in the future. It was quite likely that these settlements might claim full independence or, on the contrary, the mother-State might insist upon a full authority over the former. For the time being, during the period of early development, these problems did not arise. But they were sure to arise in the future, and fifty years later they formed the most vital ones for the State.

The necessities of Rathor family thus helped the development of the States; still it would not have been possible without the aid of contemporary political condition. The place of a strong Sultanate in Delhi was now taken by half a dozen smaller principalities which were all engaged in wars of aggression. To ambitious young men as the Rathor princes were, no situation could have been more welcome.

During the next forty-four years (1488-1532), the throne of Jodhpur was occupied by three princes—Satal (1488-1491), Suja (1491-1515) and Ganga (1515-1532). Two important features mark the history of this period, namely, struggle for succession, and attempts made by the central authority to exercise control over the other branches of the family.

The death of Jodha in 1488 was followed by a struggle among his sons for succession. This was due to several circumstances. Firstly, the rules of succession were not yet definitely fixed. Usually the rule of primogeniture was followed, but it had not yet received universal acceptance. More often than not, actual possession of power counted far more than primogenitory rights. Probably in a struggling community like the Rathors, the growth of the State was helped by the acknowledgment of the successful leader as the lawful sovereign as well. Besides, the sardars possessed great powers in the State and any claimant who had the support of a strong group among them was almost sure to get the desired position. Hence the aspirants to the throne sought to enlist their support and in many cases, if not all, the successful canvasser was the successful candidate. But the most potent cause of succession troubles was to be found in the social custom by which every prince had a number of wives. The consequence was that there took place quarrels among the co-wives, each trying to get the throne for her son on the husband's death.

Of the seventeen sons of Jodha, the eldest, according to the Khyats, was Nibo who was the tikdyet or heir apparent. But Nibo died, leaving no issue, before his father. Unfortunately, the Khyats do not help us to form a clear idea about the order of Nibo's brothers according to seniority. In an article discussing the situation, Dr. Tessitori maintains that in a Khyat, discovered in Phalodhi, it is mentioned that after Jodha's death, the nobles were going to place the tikd on Joga but he was found demented. Thereupon they consecrated Satal instead who appears to have stood next by birth. Shortly afterwards, however, Satal died and Bika came to Jodhpur in the hope of securing the throne. The fact that being a stranger in Jodhpur for many years he came here and found a section of the people, including the commander of the fort of Jodhpur, ready to take up his cause, indicates that he stood next to Satal in seniority. But Bika s attempt failed and another brother, Suja, secured the the throne. In support of Suja's claims the Jodhpur Khyats maintain that Satal had adopted Suja's son Naro and the latter again renounced his rights in favour of Suja. It seems clear that from the point of view of heredity Suja had no claims upon the Jodhpur throne. But although he had no legitimate claim to the throne of Jodhpur by birth, it was rendered valid by election by the assembly of the nobles who had the power to set aside the law of primogeniture and legalize the succession of a younger son.

History repeated itself when Suja died in 1515. Rathor Khyats maintain that Bagha, his eldest son, had predeceased him leaving two sons by different wives, Viramjl and Ganga. Normally the former should have secured the throne and on the eve of Suja's death the nobles had met to put the tikd on him. But Ganga's mother won them over and thus Viramjl was passed over in favour of Ganga. Viramjl, with the help of a section of the sardars, secured the district of Soj hat.

Along with the struggles of succession and partly arising out of the same, attempts were constantly made by the central authority to maintain its control over the collateral branches of the ruling family. Of the offshoots of the Rathor family, the earliest and the most important was the branch at Bikaner founded by Bika, Jodha's son. Naturally, we find that immediately after Jodha's death Satal attempted to bring Bika under his control, but without success. Failing against Bikaner, circumstances helped Satal to pose as the overlord of another offshoot, Merta, founded by Jodha's son, Duda. Merta, being threatened by the Muslim governor of Ajmere, was compelled to turn to Satal for help. The latter came with his army and inflicted a defeat on the Muslims, but he fell mortally wounded in the battlefield (1491).

Suja occupied the district of Jetaran but gave it away as an appanage to one of his sons, while another received Phalodhi. Suja however failed to assert his authority over Merta and Bikaner. It is clear that the head of Jodhpur State was faced by difficult problems in its policy towards the collateral branches. The only method then known of holding new annexations was to leave them in the hands of members of the ruling family. But in nearly every case these tried to free themselves from their dependence upon the central authority, either in the same generation or in the next.

The rise and development of the Rathor State of Marwar, as traced in the preceding pages, throws a flood of light on the peculiar characteristics of the medieval Rajput State. The Rathor kingdom was really a conglomeration of smaller units—each such unit being ruled by a chieftain or sarddr who belonged to the same clan as the head of the State itself. In other words, the ruling faction in the State belonged to only one particular clan. Not only in Marwar, but in the other Rajput States also the same peculiarity is noticeable. ‘One clan one State’ may therefore be regarded as the most significant feature of the Rajput policy.

Col. Tod found in the Rajput system an exact parallel to the feudalism of medieval Europe; and he has taken pains to point out that all the incidents that were to be found in the latter had also their counterparts in the former. There are certainly some superficial resemblances, due, no doubt, to the prevalence of similar conditions and problems. For example, in days of difficult communication, the only practicable way of maintaining the authority of the State in the distant parts of the same was to vest almost sovereign authority in the local governors. But this did not constitute the essence of European feudalism. In it, the most fundamental idea was that the king was the sole landowner in the country, and the vassals could only be landholders. In medieval Rajputana, however, the State belonged to the clan, the king being only the mouthpiece of the same. That this was the conception held about the Rajput kingship may be understood from the tribal organization of

the State as mentioned above, and the fact that whenever the king did anything against the interest of the State, the sardars could, and did, depose him, and select a person on the throne, even if he had no primogenitary claims in his favour. Even as late as the nineteenth century this was the idea maintained about the position of the king vis-a-vis the clan. Col. Tod refers to a memorandum sent by the sardcirs of Marwar against their king Mansingh to the E.I.Co. in which occur the following words 44 :—

“When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land”.

It is also interesting to note in this connection that in Europe the age of feudalism was followed by that of royal despotism which thrived on the theory of ‘divine right’. In Rajputana, it was not and could not be so. For, if the king claimed divinity, it was equally shared by the clansmen who and the king were sons of the same father. The term used in Rajputana to denote the clan including the king was “Bhayyad” or brotherhood. Again, since the king was the social head, it was not possible for others than legitimate members of the clan to be raised to the throne. In Europe, the bastard

William, Duke of Normandy, could become the king of feudal England. But in Rajputana such a thing was unthinkable . 45

At the end of our period, however, we notice a change gradually affecting the position of the Rajput king. From being the ‘primus inter pares he was slowly becoming the irresponsible head of the State. This was no doubt due to the influence of the Sultanate. For when the Sultans set up their authority over the Rajput States, they followed the policy of always supporting the local potentate; hence the power of the ruler of the Rajput State increased at the expense of the right of the clan. Lest one may think that some sort of popular government is indicated by the power of the clansmen over the State, it must be remembered that in every Rajput State the ruling clan was only a minority. The bulk of the people were non-Rajputs and did not belong to the ruling clan. The Rajput government was therefore that of a handful of people of one clan over many who had not the good fortune of being members of this privileged clan.

The Rajput military organization also may be understood when the tribal foundation of the State is borne in mind. In warfare, the king was helped by the armies of the chieftains or sardars. But each chieftain was the leader of the men of his own sub-clan or subsection of the clan. When the battle began, we find the members of each sub-section fighting under the banner of their own leader.

MARWAR

The Rajputs fought on horseback. But he did not fight because he enjoyed any knights’ fee granted him by the sovereign of the State or his immediate leader, as in Europe. He fought because as a member of the clan he must support his clan, and it was as such that the State had to support him by giving him an appanage or otherwise.

In military organization also a change was slowly coming over the Rajput idea. At the end of the period with which this chapter deals, we notice some attempts to introduce infantry by one or two prominent rulers, and thus to create an army of the ruler as opposed to an army of the clan. This also was no doubt due to the influence of the Muslim State. The effects of these attempts are however to be seen in the next period of the history of the Rajputs.

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APPENDIX

A note on the chronology of the period.

The chronology of the Rajput kings in the fourteenth century, as followed in this chapter, differs from that of Tod and later writers such as Sarda and Ojha. All are agreed upon the names of the ruling princes and the order of their succession. The differences are about the dates to be assigned to the individual reigns.

The reign-period of Hammir is given as A.D. 1301-1365. It has however escaped the attention of the distinguished writers that in A.D. 1303, when ‘Ala-ud-dm Khalji captured Chitor, Ratnasimha was the ruling prince. After Ratnasimha came Lakshmanasimha, followed by his son Ajayasimha, and, thereafter, the latter’s nephew Hammir. It is clear that there was an interval between A.D. 1303 and the accession of Hammir. In this chapter A.D. 1314 (for reasons shown) has been accepted as the date of Hammlr’s accession. And, since our authorities assign to Hammir a reign of 64 years, his death may be placed at A.D. 1378.

Sarda and Ojha, however, refer to an unpublished inscription which is said to have been inscribed in A.D. 1366 in the reign of Kshetrasimha, Hammir’s son. If the date is correct, Hammlr’s accession could not have taken place later than A.D. 1302, provided the reign of 64 years assigned to Hammir be regarded as accurate. But we have seen that A.D. 1302 could not have been the date of Hammir’s accession. Hence we have either to discard the idea of a reign of 64 years for Hammir and accept the correctness of the inscription, or, admit the accuracy of a reign of 64 years and regard the date A.D. 1366 as inaccurate. Since, however, all authorities, without exception, assign to Hammir a reign of 64 years, this should be accepted in preference to the evidence of an inscription which has not been published and may not have been correctly deciphered. An instance of a mistake of a similar nature committed by scholars with regard to a contemporary inscription may be mentioned in this connection. Misled by Tod's figures, Tessitori read the date in

the Kot-Solankia inscription of V. S. 1475, as V. S. 1445, and was long followed by later writers. (A list of Inscriptions of Northern India by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, p. 105).

Hammlr was succeeded by his son Kshetrasirhha to whom Tod assigns a reign of 8 years (A.D. 1365-1373). According to Sarda and Ojha, however, he ruled 18 years (A.D. 1364-1382). Kshtrasimha's son and successor was Lakshasimha or Lakha who is credited with a reign of 25 years by Tod (A.D. 1373-1398). Sarda asigns to him a reign of 15 years (A.D. 1382-1397) at p. 8, but 37 years (A.D. 1382-1419) at p. 22. Ojha accepts the last figure. There is thus much disagreement among the scholars about the dates of these princes which demand further examination.

To fix the dates of these princes we may take the help of inscriptions, where available, as well as the internal evidence of synchronism of these princes with others of their times for whom we have definite dates.

So far as Kshetrasimha is concerned, we have only one inscription of his reign, dated A.D. 1389, mentioned by Tod (Vol. Ill, p. 1802). The Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D. 1460 (verse 196 in the fourth slab) states that Kshetrasimha threw into prison Ranamalla of Ela (Idar) who had humbled the pride of Dafar Khan (Zafar Khan), ruler of Pattana (Anahilwad in Gujarat). According to the history of Gujarat, clashes between Zafar Khan and Ranamalla of Idar continued for nearly 3 years (A.D. 1394-1397) (Above, p. 155; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. 2, 232-3; also Bayley History of Gujarat , 76 ff). The imprisonment of Ranamalla by Kshetrasimha apparently took place after A.D. 1397. In other words Kshetrasimha was alive even after A.D. 1397. Again, the same inscription, verse 202, also refers to Kshetrasimha's struggle with Ami-Shah (Dilavar Khan Ghuri of Malwa) and says that the former "seized Ami-Shah just as a snake does a frog". Firishta informs us that in A.D. 1405 Alp Khan, later known as Sultan Hushang Ghuri, poisoned his father Dilawar Khan and occupied the throne of Malwa. The cryptic remarks in the inscription, noted above, suggest that Rana Kshetrasimha had probably a share in the catastrophe that ended Dilavar’s life. This is to say that Kshetrasimha was alive in A.D. 1405, if not later.

The dates for Kshetrasimha postulated in the chapter seem justified from other considerations as well. All relevant inscriptions devote a large space to Kshetrasimha and refer a number of achievements to his credit. Along with this may also be considered the account given in the Rasikapriyd commentary of the Gitaciovinda written by Kshetrasimha’s great-grandson, Rana Kumbha, where Kshetrasimha is said to have died a centenarian (Introduction to the Rasikavriya, verse 9). All evidence thus points to a long and prosperous reign of Kshetrasimha. His reign mav be therefore said to have continued for 27 years (A.D. 1378-1405), if not more.

Kshetrasimha was succeeded by his son Lakshasimha or Lakha of whose reign we have two inscriptions dated A.D. 1411 and A.D. 1417 respectively. From what we know of him from Tod’s Annals

of Mewtir as well as Muhanote Nensi’s Khyat, it appears that he was already advanced in years when he came to the throne. This isi quite in keeping with the fact, indicated above, that his father died at a very old age. Besides, both Mewar and Marwar records indi* cate that throughout a large part of Lakshasimha’s reign, Ranamalla, son of Rai Chunda of Mandor and brother of Hamsabai (whom Lakha married late in his life), enjoyed an important position in the court of Mewar, so much so that his hands could be traced in all notable activities of the reign. Now, according to some Marwar records Ranamalla was born in A.D. 1392 (Reu —Bharat ke Pmchina Rajavamsa III, 140). Apparently he could not have played a significant part in his brother-in-law’s principality until he had attained the age of discretion. From this consideration also it appears that Lakha’s accession took place not very long before A.D. 1411, the earliest ascertained date of his reign. The death of Lakha took place some time between A.D. 1417, the last known date of his reign, and A.D. 1421, the earliest known date of his son and successor, Rana Mokal.

B. ORISSA

I. THE EASTERN GAnGAS

With the death of Narasimha I in A.D. 1264, 1 the great days of the Gahga dynasty came to an end. Narasimha I was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva I, who died after an uneventful reign of fifteen years, leaving an infant son, Narasimha II. For the first twelve years of the reign of Narasimha II, the famous Vaishnava scholar, Narahari Tirtha, acted as the regent; he was a disciple of Ananda Tirtha, the founder of the Dvaita or the Madhva school of philosophy. After Narahari’s retirement from office, Narasimha took the management of the kingdom in his own hands (A.D. 1290). Narasimha II had a long but uneventful reign of twenty-seven years (A.D. 1279-1306). It was surmised by R. D. Banerji that he led a campaign against the Muslims of Bengal, but the view was based on an erroneous interpretation of one of Narasimha’s records. 2

Narasimha II was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva II. The Puri Plates of Narasimha IV give him credit for a victory over a king named Gayasadina who has been correctly identified with the Tughluq Sultan, Ghiyas-ud-dln. There is, however, nothing to support the contention of R. D. Banerji that “Bhanudeva II had fought with Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq during his campaign In Bengal”. 3 The reference is obviously to the invasion of Orissa by Ghiyas-ud-dm’s son Ulugh Khan during the reign of the former, to which reference has been made above. There seems to be little doubt that though the Muslim forces gained some successes at first, Bhanudeva II ultimately forced them to withdraw. In the days when one Hindu State after another was crashing beneath the hammering blows of the Muslim hosts, it was no mean achievement on the part of Bhanudeva II. It is significant that the Muslim historians make only a very brief or passing reference to this expedition.

Bhanudeva II died in A.D. 1328. He was succeeded by his son Narasimha III, who had an uneventful reign of twenty-four years and was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva III. During his reign Orissa showed visible signs of decay which had probably already set in during the preceding reign. She now became the victim of a series of foreign aggressions, which brought ruin and misery upon her people. Shortly after the accession of Bhanudeva III Sultan Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah of Bengal raided Orissa and carried away a rich booty including forty-four elephants. 4 Next, the country was invaded by Firuz Tughluq. The flight of king Bhanudeva III, the occupation of his capital city by the Sultan, the massacre of the people, and the desecration of the famous temple of Jagannatha at Puri, to which detailed reference has been made above, 5 must have shattered the power and prestige of the royal family.

But Orissa suffered no less from the aggressions of her Hindu

neighbours, 6 particularly the Reddis of Kondavidu. 7 Their small

but rich kingdom, situated in the fertile deltas of the Krishna and

the Godavari, became at this period the buffer between Vijaya

nagara, Orissa and the BahmanI kingdoms as well as their coveted

prize. War between the Reddis and Orissa seems to have started

during the reign of Bhanudeva III, when the Reddi king Anapota

(A.D. 1355-1364), after the conquest of the Krishna-Godavarl

deltas, seems to have led an expedition against Orissa. Anavema,

the successor of Anapota, added the territory up to Simhachalam

in the Vizagapatam district, which thereafter became the boundary

between Orissa and Kondavidu and the bone of contention between

• • •

the two kingdoms.

Bhanudeva III was succeeded by his son Narasimha IV, some time about A.D. 1378. It was during his reign that Khvaja Jahan founded the independent principality of Jaunpur, as mentioned above. He tried to restore the lost authority of the Delhi Sultanate over the eastern regions. It is remarked by Nizam-ud-dln in this connection, that the "Ray of Jajnagar and the badshah of Lakhnaouti sent to him the presents and the tribute which they had every year sent to Sultan Firoz Shah". [8] No previous historian has referred to any regular tribute sent by the king of Orissa, and possibly it refers to the annual present of elephants which were promised by Bhanudeva III when he submitted to Firuz, as mentioned above. There is nothing to show that this promise was regularly kept, and in any case it means nothing more than a formal but meaningless recognition of the authority of the Sultanate. This is fully proved, if proof were necessary, by the fact that, in the chapter dealing specifically with the Sharqis and describing the territories over which Khvaja Jahan established his authority, Nizam-ud-din does not refer to Jajnagar or Orissa. [9] BadaunI says that Khvaja Jahan proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it, but, as pointed out by Ranking, who edited and translated the text, it was probably a mistake for Jaunpur. [10] Firishta, like Nizam-ud-din, says that the ruler of Bengal was forced to pay tribute [11] but, unlike him, makes no reference to the payment of tribute by Orissa. We may therefore dismiss the idea that Jaunpur exercised any authority over Orissa.

Major Raverty, in course of his discussion on the identity of Jajnagar, stated that "Sultan Firuz, BahmanI, entered it in 815 H., and carried off a number of elephants". [12] He does not cite his authority, but probably relied on a passage of Firishta which has been translated by Briggs as follows: "In the year 815, the King went, on pretence of hunting, into the country of Gondwara, which he laid waste, and brought away near (sic) three hundred elephants" [13] . It is difficult therefore to accept the view of Raverty, and of others who have relied on him, that the BahmanI Sultan invaded Orissa and carried off a number of elephants. [14]

But whatever we might think of these raids, the growing power of the Reddis was a real menace to the safety and security of Orissa. For a time this danger seemed to be removed, for the Reddi kingdom was convulsed, first by a disputed succession, and next by Vijayanagara invasion. Taking advantage of this situation Narasimha IV recovered some of his lost territories in central and south Kalinga. His success was, however, shortlived, for the Reddis soon became very powerful under their famous king Kumaragiri, who, in A.D. 1390, invaded Orissa and reached the shores of the Chilka lake. This must have dealt another severe blow to the power and prestige of the Ganga kings, though Kumaragiri's raid did not produce any permanent result of importance.

Narasimha IV was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva IV in or some time before A.D. 1414.[15] In the meantime a serious civil war had broken out amongst the Reddis after the death of Kumaragiri in A.D. 1402.[16] He had placed the province of Rajahmundry under his brother-in-law Kataya Verna, and was succeeded at Kondavldu, the Reddi capital, by Peda Komati Verna. The two principalities of Kondavldu and Rajahmundry came into conflict after the death of Kumaragiri. Kataya Verna died in a battle, and taking advantage of the situation Bhanudeva attacked the kingdom of Rajahmundry which was at that time administered by Allada, the general of Kataya Verna. Bhanudeva's invasion seems to have induced Vijayanagara to send an army to help Allada. However, Allada soon managed to end hostilities with Orissa and thereafter skilfully maintained friendly relations with both Orissa and Vijayanagara, as recorded in an inscription of his son which claims that Allada had made friends with both Gajapati (Bhanudeva IV) and Karnata. (Vijayanagara).[17]

This alliance with the Reddi chief seems to have stood Bhanudeva in good stead when, some time later, in A.D. 1422, he was treacherously captured by Sultan Hushang of Malwa, as mentioned above. According to Muslim historians, Hushang, being in urgent need of elephants, proceeded to Orissa in the guise of a trader in horses and other goods. When Bhanudeva, accompanied by a small retinue, came to visit the caravan, he was seized by Hushang and carried away, and was not released till after a number of valuable elephants were presented to the treacherous Sultan. There are, however, good grounds to believe that the Muslim account does not contain the whole truth. Epigraphic as well as literary evidences seem to leave no doubt that Hushang was defeated by the Reddi chief, Allada, and according to one source, the latter caused the horses of the former to be plundered. Now, according to Muslim historians, Hushang took with him horses of different colours which the king of Orissa prized most; and Hushang is not known to have carried any other expedition in this region. It may be therefore surmised that the battle between Hushang and the Reddi chief Allada was connected with the treacherous attempt of the former to abduct Bhanudeva. It is not unlikely that Allada, as soon as he heard the news of Hushang's treacherous conduct, hastened to the aid of Bhanudeva, and the defeat he inflicted upon Hushang had something to do with the release of Bhanudeva IV. In any case, Hushang's raid had no effect on the power of Orissa, and Hushang was severely molested by Allada Reddi during his return journey to Malwa. 17a

Allada died about A.D. 1423, and soon after his death Bhanudeva invaded the Reddi kingdom. He seems to have been helped by the Velama chiefs of Telingana and conquered the whole of the coastal Telugu country. No records of the Reddis of Kondavldu for the period between A.D. 1425 and 1432, and the Reddis of Rajahmundry between A.D. 1423 and 1428 have yet come to light, though before and after these dates their records are available in series. It has therefore been assumed, that during this interval the Reddi

kingdom passed into the hands of Bhanudeva, and this is corroborated by several kaifiyats of the villages in the coastal districts of the Telugu country. 18

Bhanudeva, however, had soon to face the might of the Vijayanagara empire. He could no longer count on the support of his Velama allies as they had been crushed in the meantime by the Bahmani king. Bhanudeva at first fared very badly in his fight with Vijayanagara. A Vijayanagara inscription of A.D. 1429 states that Devaraya defeated the Gajapati, and another inscription at Simhachalam shows, that by A.D. 1428 the Vijayanagara army had reached that place. Bhanudeva, however, probably recaptured the place, for one of his records found at Simhachalam is dated Saka 1352 (A.D. 1430). 19 But some time before A.D. 1434 he was finally dislodged from this region by the Reddis. 20 While Bhanudeva was thus engaged in the south, a palace revolution had taken place against him. Taking advantage of his long absence from the capital and his reverses in the field, his ministers raised one Kapilendra to the throne (c. A.D. 1434-5).

Bhanudeva must have felt unable to face this new calamity. According to the Gangavamsdnucharitara, the only available evidence, on hearing the news of the revolution, he expelled the chief of Gudari-Kataka and settled there. His last days were passed in this place, but nothing more is known of this unfortunate ex-ruler of Orissa. 21

II. THE GAJAPATI KINGS OF ORISSA

1. Kapilendra

The dynasty established by Kapilendra is known as the Suryavamsa, because the kings of the family claimed descent from the sun. They are also known as the Gajapati kings of Orissa, because all of them adopted that biruda (epithet).

No reliable information is available about the ancestors or the early life of Kapilendra, and the circumstances which led to his accession are also far from clear. It seems that after his accession (c. A.D. 1434-35), Kapilendra had to overcome some opposition and adopted the popular measure of remitting taxes on salt and cowries. Soon after, he started a career of conquest which has made his name famous in the annals of Orissa.

Kapilendra seems to have gradually extended his sway over the south, and conquered the Vishakhiapatam (Vizagapatam) district by A.D. 1443. Though his further attack upon Rajahmundry ended in failure during the reign of Devaraya II (1422-46), he succeeded in seizing the Godavari delta after his death. Between 1450-54 the

Orissan army reduced Rajahmundry, crossed the Krishna and captured Kondavldu, as has already been mentioned above in Chapter XII.

On the basis of a statement in the Gahgadasa-prabdpa-vildsarn, it is generally held that Kapilendra, allied with the BahmanI Sultan, attacked Vijayanagara, but was defeated by the young king Mallikarjuna. This statement is not supported by any contemporary evidence, and it is difficult to believe that Kapilendra allied himself with the Bahmanis, with whom his relation was far from cordial. 21a

Kapilendra was also successful in his campaign against Bengal. It appears that he captured some territories in West Bengal to the west of the Ganga, including the fort of Mandaran (Hooghly district), though it seems to have been lost later. According to Nizam-uddln and Firishta, Jajnagar, that is Orissa, was twice invaded during this period by the rulers of Jaunpur. In A. D. 1444-45, Mahmud Shah is said to have reduced the province of Orissa and destroyed the temples and plundered its wealth. Husain Shah sent a large army against Orissa shortly after his accession. The king of Orissa, unable to resist, conciliated the invader with presents. 2113 It is also known that during the reign of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dln Ahmad II (A.D. 1436-1458) border skirmishes took place at Telingana between the forces of Orissa and the BahmanI empire. Though Tabataba maintains that Sanjar Khan, the BahmanI general, “used constantly to take as prisoners the cursed people of the districts”, it appears that the BahmanI forces really gained very little success, for he states: “The Sultan (Ala-ud-dln Ahmad) himself used often to say: ‘Why does Sanjar Khan match himself in battle against the possessors of elephants?’ For at that time in the government of BahmanI Sultans there were not more than about one hundred and fifty elephants whilst those infidels had nearly two hundred thousand.” 22

But a more serious clash between Orissa and the BahmanI empire came about 1458 when two BahmanI nobles rebelled against their Sultan, Humayun II, and received help from the Velama chief of Telingana, whereupon the BahmanI forces besieged Devarakonda (Nalgonda district), the stronghold of the Yelamas. The Velamas, reduced to extremities, appealed for help to Kapilendra, who sent his eldest son Hamvlra with a large army. Tabataba writes that the king of Orissa, “from greed of gain and for the defence of paganism, thought himself bound to assist the infidels of that fortress; so he sent a countless force with a hundred elephants to the assistance of the defenders of the fortress” (of Devarakonda). The BahmanI commander learnt in time of the advance of the Orissan army, but before he could extricate his troops from their unfavourable position, the

Orissan army came upon them and the Velamas also sallied out Irom the fort. Caught between the two forces, the BahmanI army was routed, and the whole of their baggage, elephants and horses looted. The Musulmans were pursued to a distance of 3 jarsakhs; nearly six or seven thousand of their cavalry were killed, and a great number, besides, died of thirst in the deserts.” 23 Shortly afterwards, Hamvira conquered Warangal.

Humayun Shah died in 1461 and was succeeded by his son Nizam Shah, a boy of eight. Taking advantage of the situation Kapilendra advanced into the interior of the Bahmani empire, plundering the country within a distance of ten miles from the capital. Then his advance was checked by the Bahmani army and evidently Kapilendra was defeated; but the statement of Muslim historians that an advance guard of 160 horsemen routed the invading Orissa army, flushed with victory, is hardly credible.

Kapilendra next sent an army under Hamvira to conquer the Tamil coastal districts. Hamvira first captured Udayagiri, some time after A.D. 1463, and later, Chandragiri also fell into his hands. The Orissan army next took Kanchl by force, and in A.D. 1464 reached the Kaverl. Kapilendra seems to have attempted the permanent annexation of the newly conquered territories, but soon had to give up most of it, as has been stated above. 23a In A.D. 1464, Kapilendra advanced as far as Vijayawada (Bezwada), but returned from that place. Again in A.D. 1467 he reached the river Krishna, apparently in an attempt to reconquer the Tamil districts, but he died there, probably in February, 1467, though some place this event in A.D. 1470. 23b

Kapilendra was the most powerful Hindu king of his time, and under him Orissa became an empire stretching from the lower Ganga in the north to the Kaverl in the south. But great as his military genius undoubtedly was, it was not matched by his statesmanship. He failed to recognize the need and importance of an alliance with the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagara against the Muslim rulers of Bengal and the Deccan, and instead of measuring arms with them, he exhausted his resources in trying to conquer the outlying provinces of Vijayanagara. He thereby left a legacy of hostility with Vijayanagara and two formidable Muslim enemies on his two other frontiers, which ultimately led to the downfall of his dynasty.

2. Purushottama

Before his death, Kapilendra had nominated his younger son, Purushottama, to succeed him. This enraged the valiant Hamvira, who was probably the eldest son of Kapilendra. Soon after his accession, Purushottama set out to recover the Tamil districts which were lost during the last years of his father’s reign. Purushottama advanced up to Kahchl, but returned without gaining any success. It was a dismal failure, but worse things were yet to come.

In A.D. 1471, the discontented Hamvlra joined the BahmanI Sultan, and being assured of help to regain his throne, conquered for him the provinces of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu. But as soon as the conquests were over, the Bahmanls lost all interest in Hamvira, and he was only granted an asylum at Kondavidu. Some time later, the garrison at Kondavidu murdered their commander and delivered the fort to Hamvlra. According to Firishta, Hamvira then sent a message to Purushottama promising to surrender the fort of Kondavidu and its dependencies to him in exchange for Telingana. Thus assured, Purushottama advanced and captured Rajahmundry, but soon after gave it up in the face of a strong BahmanI attack which threatened to cut off his lines of communications with his capital. According to Firishta, the BahmanI Sultan, Muhammad III, then pursued the Orissan army and invaded Orissa, forcing Purushottama to purchase peace by surrendering twenty-five of his best elephants.

Muhammad III next advanced against Hamvlra who, from the Kondavidu fort, had carried out depredations into the BahmanI territory. Hamvlra surrendered the fort after a siege of five months. What happened to him after this incident is not known. Taking advantage of this situation Saluva Narasirhha recovered Udayagiri.

Purushottama, however, took advantage of the rapid decline that set in in the BahmanI kingdom after the death of Mahmud Gavan in 1481, and of Muhammad III in the following year. He reconquered Udayagiri, and thereafter seems to have enjoyed peace till his death between April and September, 1497.

3. Prataparudra and his successors

Purushottama was succeeded by his son Prataparudra, the last great king of the dynasty. Shortly after his accession Prataparudra advanced with an army to conquer the south, but, after reaching the Pennar, abandoned the project for some unknown reason. However, after the accession of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1509), Prataparudra again proceeded to the south, presumably to adopt defensive measures, and stayed there at least up to October, 1510. Taking advantage of his absence, Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal invaded Orissa, captured Puri, and destroyed the idols in the Jagannatha temple. 24 On receipt of the news, Prataparudra hurried

north and Husain Shah retreated to Bengal where he took shelter in the fort of Mandaran (Hooghly district). Prataparudra besieged the fort but, due to the treachery of one of his generals, Govinda Vidyadhara, was compelled to come to terms with Husain Shah.

In A.D. 1513, Krishnadevaraya declared war upon the Gajapati. It was a protracted war lasting over five years of which a detailed account has been given above in Chapter XII. Krishnadeva invaded the southern part of Prataparudra's empire and, after a siege of eighteen months, captured the fort of Udayagiri on June 9, 1514. 25 Next year Krishnadeva again led a campaign against Prataparudra, which began with the capitulation of a number of fortified places in the Guntur District, and ended with the fall of Kondavldu. The fort of Kondavldu was captured by a vigorous assault on June 23, 1515, and several princes of Orissa, together with a son and a queen of Prataparudra, were taken prisoners. By the end of the year Krishnadeva opened his third campaign against Orissa, captured Bezwada, and besieged the fort of Kondapalli which surrendered after a brief resistance. Prataparudra, according to Nuniz, advanced against his enemy with a large force, but was defeated and put to flight. Krishnadeva completed this campaign by capturing Rajahmundry. He advanced as far as Simhachalam and then returned to his capital; but his army advanced as far as Srlkurmam, where a pillar of victory was erected. 26

Hostilities were brought to an end by a treaty concluded some time before August 8, 1519. 26a According to Nuniz, a contemporary writer, when the Orissan Prince, Vlrabhadra, who was taken prisoner after the fall of Kondavldu, had committed suicide as he felt insulted at the court of Vijayanagara, Prataparudra became afraid for the safety of his wife, who was also a prisoner at Vijayanagara, and concluded peace with Krishnaraya. This account has been doubted by some, though on very insufficient grounds.[27] But it is quite likely that apart from sentimental grounds caused by repeated defeats, the precarious military position of Prataparudra was a great incentive to peace-efforts on his part. By this treaty he had to cede all the territories to the south of the Krishna. According to Nuniz, he had also to give his daughter in marriage to Krishnadeva. This marriage proved unhappy and the queen was neglected by her husband,[28] adding one more to the list of grievances of Prataparudra against the king of Vijayanagara. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should have made one more effort to settle accounts with that kingdom after the death of Krishnadeva, who had proved more than a match for him. There are some grounds to believe that immediately after the death of Krishnadeva he invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, but was defeated and driven away,[29] although the evidence in support of it cannot be regarded as conclusive.[30]

Not long after Prataparudra had concluded the treaty with Krishnadeva, and probably before the death of the latter, he suffered the loss of Telingana which was conquered by Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Bahmani king, and, later, the founder of the independent Sultanate of Golconda. Qutb-ul-Mulk ultimately conquered the whole of the Krishna-Godavarl dodb, and as he died in A.D. 1543, probably the conquest took place during the lifetime of Prataparudra, whose death took place about A.D. 1540.[31]

Thus from a purely military and political point of view the reign of Prataparudra was an inglorious one, and though the kingdom he left to his successor after his death was fairly big—almost as large as that of the Gangas at the height of their power—the sun of glory of the Gajapatis suffered an eclipse during his reign and may be said to have set at his death. He was succeeded by his son Kaluadeva who was murdered after a reign of about a year and a half, by Govinda Vidyadhara, whose treachery has been mentioned above. Kaluadeva’s brother Kakharuadeva, then ascended the throne, but was murdered by the same Vidyadhara after about three months. With Kakharuadeva the Suryavamsi dynasty came to an end, and the traitor Govinda Vidyadhara seized the kingdom.

Whatever we might think of the political career of Prataparudra, he occupies a prominent place in the religious history of India on account of his close intimacy with Sri Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava saint of Bengal, who spent the last seventeen years of his life at Puri. There is no doubt that Prataparudra was greatly influenced by the teaching of Chaitanya, but it is a moot point to decide whether, and if so how far, his political discomfiture may be attributed to this fact. R. D. Banerji has taken an extreme view in this matter, and even goes so far as to say that “Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of the empire and the people of Orissa”. [32] As a concrete evidence in support of his view he has partially quoted a passage from the Chaitanya-mangala, a Bengali Vaishnava work, which possesses great interest for more reasons than one. Chaitanya visited Puri when Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal had already commenced his hostile activities against Orissa. Although this Sultan has been highly eulogized by several Bengali poets as an ideal king—one writer goes even so far as to say that he was the incarnation of Krishna—he possessed the bigotry and iconoclastic zeal which characterized the Muslim rulers in India. Chaitanya was fully aware of the oppressions committed upon the Hindus in Bengal during his reign and the destruction of images and temples by him in Orissa. According to the Vaishnava work referred to above, Prataparudra desired to chastise Husain Shah, and asked for the advice of Chaitanya. The latter dissuaded him on the ground that the Yavana invasion would ruin Orissa and the God Jagannatha would leave Puri (meaning that his temple and image would be destroyed). So Chaitanya advised Prataparudra to conquer, not Bengal, but Kanchl. It is difficult to say how far this statement is true, and whether, as R. D. Banerji holds, “the advice of Chaitanya was sufficient to cause this cowardly and religiouslyminded king to desist from a proper defence of his own territories.” [33] It is to be remembered that Chaitanya asked Prataparudra not to invade Bengal, but never suggest that he should neglect the defensive measures against the invasion of Husain Shah. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Prataparudra did so. Today a Hindu might justly deplore the fact that the two great Hindu kingdoms of the first half of the sixteenth century should fight with each other instead of combining against their common foe, the Muslim rulers in their neighbourhood. But such attitude was not confined to religious men, nor is it due to Vaishnava religion. For instance, when Krishnadeva expressed a desire to fight with the Muslim rulers, his ministers advised him to begin by destroying the power of the Gajapati king of Orissa. 34 The Vaishnava work, referred to above, winds up the account by saying that Prataparudra accepted the advice of Chaitanya, and, therefore, instead of Gauda, he invaded Vijayanagara. It may be reasonably doubted whether a Gajapati king of Orissa would at all require any such advice to urge him to the invasion of Vijayanagara, with which there was a hereditary and perpetual enmity.

So far as evidence goes, Prataparudra ably carried on his administration and even continued his military activities for many years after he had met Chaitanya and come under his influence. It is, therefore, difficult to substantiate the charge that the influence of Vaishnavism was at the root of his military failure and the political decline of Orissa. Surrounded by powerful enemies on all sides, having to fight simultaneously on two distant fronts against the powerful rulers of Bengal and Vijayanagara, and menaced by the Bahmanls on the third, Prataparudra’s discomfiture admits of a natural explanation, and we need not drag in Saint Chaitanya to cover his fault, if any. Of course, it must be admitted that he did not belong to the type of his two illustrious predecessors, so far as personal ability and military skill were concerned, but that has been the case with most royal families, and the decline and fall of the Gajapati empire does not exhibit such unusual features as to call for any special explanation.

In conclusion, reference must be made to another unjustified charge against Prataparudra made by several eminent Indian historians, namely that he made a common cause with the Muslim rulers of Bijapur against the Hindu king of Vijayanagara. In this matter, again, R. D. Banerji takes an extreme view. “The acquisition of help” says he, “from a Musalman neighbour to fight with a Hindu adversary involved a moral and political degradation.” 35 The denunciation was based solely upon the names of two prisoners captured by the Vijayanagara army after the fall of Kondavldu, namely

Rachuri Mallu Khan and Uddanda Khan. These were taken to be

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Muslim names, and the presence of two Muslim officers at Kondavldu was looked upon by both Krishna Sastri and S.K. Aiyangar as an indication of Gajapati’s alliance with the Muslim rulers of the Deccan. But, as Venkataramanayya has justly pointed out, “the name Mallu, though occasionally borne by the Mussalmans, is a common personal name among the Hindus of South India at that time; and Uddanda is a purely Hindu name and is never met with among the Muhammadans. Then about the appellation, Khan, there is definite evidence to show that some Hindu chiefs of this age styled themselves Khan”. 36 These facts are decisive in the matter: but even assuming that the two officers were Muslims, they hardty sustain the charge, for in that age the Hindu kings employed Muslim officers, and a large number of Muslim mercenaries were in the service of Vijayanagara. Even Furushottama Gajapati had some Muslim officers. 37 In view of all these considerations the unlucky king Prataparudra must be exonerated from the charge that some notable Indian historians have brought against him on rather flimsy grounds.

C. KASHMIR

I. END OF HINDU RULE IN KASHMIR

The accession of Suhadeva seemed to augur well for the kingdom of Kashmir. After a period of anarchy and confusion, he united the whole kingdom under his authority and set up a stable government (A.D. 1301)d Unfortunately a great calamity befell his kingdom. Kashmir was invaded by Dulucha, said to be the general of king Karmasena, 2 with 60,000 horsemen. Stiha tried to induce him to retreat by paying a large amount of money, and for this purpose imposed heavy taxes upon all classes of people, including the Brahmanas. But though this made him highly unpopular, his object was not served. Dulucha ravaged the country by fire and sword and inflicted indescribable miseries upon the people. Ultimately he

was forced to quit the country on account of excessive cold, but took with him a large number of Kashmirians as slaves (vv. 152 ff.).

While Dulucha was harrying Kashmir from the east, another enemy invaded it from the north. This was Rihchana, 3 the son of a Western Tibetan chief, who occupied a part of Kashmir and obtained enormous wealth by selling the people of Kashmir to the Tibetans. After the departure of Dulucha he tried to establish his authority over the whole kingdom, but was opposed by one Ramachandra. Rihchana, however, killed Ramachandra by treacherous means and married his daughter Kotadevl. King Suhadeva stealthily left the city, 4 and Rihchana made himself the undisputed master of the whole kingdom of Kashmir. This took place about A.D. 1320. 5

Rihchana was an able ruler and soon restored peace and happiness in the hapless country. Jonaraja gives a detailed account of his wise administration and sense of justice, which made the people of Kashmir feel that the golden age had returned. Some of the old companions of the king, who had accompanied him from Tibet to Kashmir, hatched a conspiracy against him, and severely wounded him by a treacherous attack. The king, however, survived what appeared to the conspirators to be a mortal blow, and took terrible vengeance on the traitors. They were impaled "and the angry king ripped open by the sword the wombs of his enemies' wives who were with child" (v. 244). But the wound inflicted on the head of the king w,as not completely healed, and he died, probably of its effect, after a rule of a little over three years. 5a

It is generally assumed by the historians that Rihchana had embraced the Muslim faith and assumed the name of Sadr-ud-din. Jonaraja, however, does not refer to it. Some support to the tradition may be found in his statement that "the king asked Sri Devasvami to initiate him in the mantras of Siva, but as he was a Bhotta, Devasvaml feared that the king was unworthy of such initiation, and did not favour him". 6 But as this is not followed by any reference to the adoption of Islam by the king, it constitutes a very strong negative evidence against the popular tradition. This is further strengthened by the comment of Jonaraja, with reference to a later event in which Sahamera, a Muslim, played a prominent part, namely: "Strange that this believer in Alla became the saviour of the people". 7 It is also to be noted that both Nizam-ud-dln and Firishta describe Rihchana as an infidel and expressly state that his queen Kotadevl embraced Islam after she had married Shah Mir after the death of Rihchana. Both these authorities look upon Shah Mir as the first Muslim Sultan of Kashmir. There is thus no valid reason to assume that Rinchana adopted Islam, in spite of popular traditions to the contrary. 8

Sahamera, just mentioned above, was a foreign Muslim adventurer who came to Kashmir, according to Jonaraja, in Saka 1235 (A.D. 1313) and was greatly favoured by the king (vv. 150-51). Rihchana was highly pleased with him, particularly because he did not join in the conspiracy against him mentioned above. “He placed in his hands his son Haidar together with the child’s mother Kota for the purpose of bringing up the prince”. 9 According to Jonaraja, Haidar being very young, Sahamera, who did not feel strong enough to usurp the throne, bestowed it, along with queen Kota, upon Udayanadeva. 10 The new king was a pious orthodox Hindu who spent his time in bathing, penance and prayer, and gave all the golden ornaments in his treasury to God Vishnu. The king’s administrative ability was not, however, equal to his piety, and the queen seems to have exercised the real power and authority. When the kingdom was invaded by Achala, the king fled to Tibet, but the queen, by a foul stratagem, procured the death of the invader and saved the kingdom. Sahamera also played a conspicuous part in protecting the people during the troubles caused by Achala’s invasion, and thereby increased his influence so much that he showed but scant respect to king Udayana, who had returned after the death of Achala. Sahamera further strengthened his position by matrimonial relations with powerful chiefs in Kashmir, his military abilities, and his possession of extensive territories including some strong forts.

In A.D. 1338, king Udayana died, and the queen Kota was placed in a great dilemma. Her elder son by Rinchana was under the influence of Sahamera, and the queen rightly feared that if he became king, Sahamera would rule the kingdom through him. Her younger son by Udayana was a mere boy. She kept the death of the king a secret for four days and then assumed the sovereign authority (vv. 299-302). Sahamera and other ministers obeyed her, but the queen was afraid of this Muslim upstart and placed her chief confidence on Bhatta Bhikshana (vv. 304-6). This enraged Sahamera and he treacherously murdered Bhikshana. Although Kota displayed great ability in administering the affairs of the kingdom, she was no match for the wily

Muslim. As Jonaraja says, she “was neither favourable to, nor angry with the powerful Sahamera”. 11 In other words, she estranged Sahamera but did not take adequate precaution against him. The inevitable result followed. Taking advantage of the absence of the queen, Sahamera seized the capital and besieged the fort of Kotta where the queen had taken shelter.

He offered the queen to share the throne with him by becoming his wife, and she foolishly agreed (vv. 345-6). After spending one night with Kota, Sahamera imprisoned her in the morning and then imprisoned her two children also (vv. 347-9). Sahamera thus became the undisputed master of Kashmir and founded a Muslim dynasty of rulers about A.D. 1339. 12 The Muslim historians 13 call him Shah Mir, which was probably his real name, as Sahamera of Jonaraja is a normal transcription of Shah Mir. But some authorities call him Shah Mirza. 14 He assumed the title of Shams-ud-din Shah on ascending the throne.

II. THE SHAH MIR! DYNASTY 1. Shams-ud-din to ‘All Shah

The accession of Shah Mir or Shams-ud-din marks the beginning not only of a new dynasty but also of the Muslim rule in Kashmir. For, whatever we might think of Rinchana’s conversion to Islam, his immediate successors were Hindus, and even his own queen does not seem to have abjured her old Hindu faith. 15

Not much is known of Shams-ud-din’s career as a king. He seems to have been a strong and able ruler and succeeded in restoring order and reviving the prosperity of the kingdom after recent troubles. According to Jonaraja, he “assuaged the troubles of Kashmir and changed its condition (v. 352). 16 According to Firishta, “he took off the heavy imposts under which the people laboured, protected them from the annual exactions of Dlijoo, chief of Kashghar, and fixed the assessment of land at seventeen per cent on the gross produce.” 17 A luni-solar era, even now current in Kashmir, is believed by some to have been introduced by Shams-ud-din to commemorate the conversion of Rihchana to Islam in A.D. 1320. 18 But, as noted above, there is a great deal of doubt about the conversion, and the association of either Rihchana or Shams-ud-din with the era is extremely doubtful, and certainly rests upon no reliable evidence.

Shams-ud-din died after a short reign of three years, in A.D. 1342, and was succeeded by his eldest son Jamshid. The new king was deposed by his brother ‘Ali Sher, probably within a few months of his accession. He, however, maintained a precarious existence somewhere in Kashmir, for nearly two years. 19 ‘Ali Sher ascended the throne under the name of ‘Ala-ud-din and reigned for more than twelve years. He transferred the capital to Jayapidapura, and his reign was on the whole peaceful, though a terrible famine inflicted

great miseries upon the people. He passed an important social legislation abolishing the evil custom under which a childless widow, though unchaste, obtained a share of her husband’s property from her father-in-law. 20

‘Ala-ud-dln was succeeded by Shihab-ud-din who was most probably his brother. 21 His long reign of nineteen years is a memorable period in the history of Kashmir. He had an insatiable thirst for military campaigns, and cared for neither wine nor women. He carried his victorious arms in all directions. He first went to the north which had never been conquered by previous kings and which was peopled by the Parasikas. He then defeated Govind Khan and conquered Udabhandapura (Ohind). The king of Sindhu was forced to come to terms with him by offering his daughter in marriage. He also defeated the Gandharas and the Srihgas and seized the town of Ashtanagara (eight cities situated close together on the eastern bank of the lower Swat river), 22 inhabited by the srotriya Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. Proceeding further, he seized Peshawar and, according to Firishta, advanced as far as the Hindukush mountains. These victories are said to have spread consternation as far as Ghazni and Kandahar.

Shihab-ud-din then proceeded towards the south and reached the banks of the Sutlej. There he met Udakapati, ruler of Nagarkot, who had ravaged some of the estates appertaining to Delhi and was returning home. According to Nizam-ud-dm, Udakapati rendered homage to the Kashmir Sultan and surrendered to him the vast quantity of the booty which he was carrying with him. According to the same authority the ruler of Tibet also waited upon the Sultan. Jonaraja, however, simply says that Shihab-ud-din harassed Udakapati and it was the Sultan’s humility, not the prowess of Tibet, that saved that region from his attack. Later writers obviously exaggerated his achievements; 23 but Shihab-ud-dln’s conquests do not seem to have permanently extended the boundaries of Kashmir and were probably more of the nature of military raids. Nevertheless Shihab-ud-din’s reign represents, from the political and military point of view, the most glorious epoch in the history of the Muslim Sultanate of Kashmir. After a long interval Kashmir emerged as a great power and established her reputation as such outside her boundaries. One episode related by Jonaraja, if true, marks out Shihab-ud-din as possessed of a spirit of religious toleration which was seldom displayed by any Muslim ruler in India. Once when the treasury was empty, his minister suggested the easy expedient of melting the metal images of gods and converting them into coins. Thereupon the king admonished him in the following words: “Some have obtained renown by setting up images of gods, others, by worshipping them, some by duly maintaining them; and I shall be eternally disgraced by demolishing them. King Shihab-ud-dln, it will be said, plundered the image of a god; and this bad renown will torment men in future.” 24 Jonaraja tells us that being advised by Hindu Khan he executed Sikandar Khan and his mlechchha followers for treason. 25

The Sultan founded several towns one of which was named after him and another, after his favourite queen, Lakshml. Unfortunately he was bewitched by the beauty of Lasa, daughter of Lakshml’s sister, and married her. At her instigation the Sultan banished his two sons by Lakshmi, Iiasan and 'All, who took refuge in the Delhi court and distinguished themselves by their prowess. 26 Just before his death he evidently repented of his folly and recalled them, but as they did not arrive in time, he nominated his younger brother as his successor. The elder, Hasan, had started for Kashmir, but before he could reach his father the latter died, and his younger brother Hindal or Hindu Khan ascended the throne under the name Qutb-ud-dln (vv. 532-39).

The new Sultan was generous enough to request Hasan to continue his march, and received him cordially when he arrived at Kashmir. But as usually happens, evil-minded persons fomented a spirit of jealousy and hostility between the two. Hasan was induced to plot against the Sultan, but the scheme failed and Hasan fled the country (v. 616).

On the death of Qutb-ud-din about A.D. 1389, his infant son Sikandar ascended the throne. The queen-mother Subhata (v. 667) probably administered the kingdom as regent with the help of Uddaka, son of her maternal uncle (v. 655), and put down tumults and revolts with a stern hand. By her order Uddaka put to death even her own daughter and son-in-law, presumably for plotting against the king (v. 668). The king, when he attained majority and assumed the powers of administration in his own hands, was faced by the rebellion of Uddaka, mentioned above, who had conquered Baltistan and then turned against his master. 263 The rebellion was put down. The king also obtained some military successes. He subdued the Shahi chief of Ohind and married his daughter Mera. During his reign Timur invaded India. According to Jonaraja, Timur was afraid of the king of Kashmir and presented him two elephants. But a more probable and detailed account of the friendly relation between the two is given by Firishta and Nizam-ud-dln.

Sikandar’s reign marks a turning-point in the history of Kashmir from social and religious point of view. It appears that although the rulers were Muslims the State was hitherto predominantly Hindu, and even the Muslim kings and peoples were not very orthodox in their belief. This is proved, among other things, by the Hindu names like Lakshml and Sobha borne by the queens, consecration of a golden linga by the latter (v. 671), and the performance of a yajna (sacrifice) by Qutb-ud-dln to avert famine (v. 637). This was probably due to the paucity of Muslims in the country. But a great change took place during the reign of Sikandar. A large immigration of Muslims from outside flooded the country, and there seems to be little doubt that they brought with them that fanatic iconoclastic zeal which distinguished Islam in other parts of India, but from which Kashmir was happily free up to this time. This follows from the detailed account of Jonaraja from which the following extracts are quoted:

“The king had a fondness for the Yavanas.Many Yavanas left other sovereigns and took shelter under this king who was renowned for charity. Muhammada of Mera country became their (that is, of the Yavanas) chief. The king waited on him daily, humble as a servant, and like a student he daily took his lessons from him. He placed Muhammada before him, and was attentive to him like a slave. As the wind destroys the trees, and the locusts the salt crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kasmira. Attracted by the gifts and honours which the king bestowed, and by his kindness, the mlechchhas entered Kasmira even as locusts enter a good field of corn." They occupied all the offices of the State and became friends of the king. 27

Sikandar evidently learnt his lessons well, and his reign was disgraced by a series of acts, inspired by religious bigotry and iconoclastic zeal, for which there is hardly any parallel even in the annals of the Muslim rulers of India. His minister, Suhabhatta, who had abjured Hindu faith for Islam, and was "instructed by the mlechchhas, instigated the king to break down the images of gods". Whether the king required any such instigation after the lessons he had learnt at the feet of Muhammada of Mera, cannot be definitely said. In any case there cannot be any doubt that Suhabhatta's advice fell on willing ears. The result is thus described by Jonaraja: "The king forgot his kingly duties and took a delight day

and night, in breaking images.He broke the images of

Martanda, Vishaya, Isana, Chakrabhrit and Tripuresvara.

There was no city, no town, no village, no wood where Suha the Turushka left the temples of gods unbroken." 28

But this was not all. An attempt was made to destroy the caste of the Brahmanas by force, and those who resisted it were

subjected to heavy fines. 29 The Muslim version of the activities of Sikandar is given in detail by Firishta who, of course, includes them among his "good institutions'". According to Firishta, Sikandar issued "orders proscribing the residence of any person other than Muhammadans in Kashmir; and he required that no man should wear the mark on his forehead, or any woman be permitted to burn with her husband's corpse. Lastly, he insisted on all the golden and silver images being broken and melted down, and the metal coined into money". 29a No one can fail to be struck with the contrast between Kashmir under Shihab-ud-dm and Sikandar and note that much water had flown down the Vitasta during a quarter of a century. Firishta continues: “Many of the Brahmins, rather than abandon their religion or their country, poisoned themselves; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Muhammadans. After the emigration of the Brahmins, Sikandar ordered all the temples in Kashmir to be thrown down.” Some temples were levelled with the ground, and in one case, we are told that Sikandar, who was personally present, did not desist till the building was entirely razed to the ground, and its foundations dug up. The Muslim historians inform us that for having broken the Hindu temples Sikandar got the title of Butshikan, or the destroyer of idols. Immediately after this Firishta remarks: “Among other good institutions of Sikandar was the prohibition of vending wine, and the relinquishment of all export duties.” 30

It has been urged by some that it was not the Sultan but Suhabhatta and other converts who were responsible for the religious persecution. 31 But, as Jonaraja has observed in this connection, it is an established rule, that the master is responsible for the fault of his servant. 32 Besides, the account of Firishta, quoted above, makes it clear that Sikandar was not as innocent in the matter as is pretended by his supporters, for he personally supervised the demolition of temples and, in at least one case, he was not satisfied by merely razing a temple to the ground, but saw to it that its foundations were dug up. This one instance, if true, is sufficient to prove his personal zeal and bigotry. After all, it was not Suhabhatta but Sikandar who was honoured by his co-religionists with the sobriquet Butshikan (destroyer of idols).

Sikandar died in A.D. 1413 and was succeeded by his son Mir Khan who assumed the name ‘All Shah. The king, at the beginning of his reign, left the management of affairs in the hands of Suhabhatta who remained the Chief Minister till his death and continued his policy of persecuting the Hindus. According to Nizamud-din, he perpetrated various kinds of oppressions and tyranny on the people, with the result that most of the Hindus left the country and some killed themselves. 33 Firishta writes: “That statesman (Suhabhatta), with all the zeal of a convert, persecuted the few Brahmins who still remained firm to their religion; and by putting all to death who refused to embrace Mohamedanism, he drove those who still lingered in Kashmir entirely out of that kingdom.” 34

Jonaraja gives more details. He begins by saying that while Sikandar put some limits to the persecution of the Hindus, these were now exceeded and there was no restraint. What he probably means is that, while the religious bigotry in the preceding reign took the forms mainly of destroying temples and demolishing the images of gods, Suhabhatta now more violently persecuted the Brahmanas. He imposed a fine or inflicted punishment (danda) on the Brahmanas and forbade religious scarifices and processions (yoga-yatrcidi). Lest the Brahmanas leave the country to avoid the oppression and maintain their caste, orders were issued that no one might leave Kashmir without a passport, so that Suhabhatta might torment the Brahmanas as a fisherman torments the fish after putting them in a net in river. In spite of the regulation, some left the country by unfrequented roads. As to the rest, some tried to save themselves by putting on Muslim dress, while others put an end to their lives by fire, poison, drowning, hanging and jumping from a precipice. In order to put a stop to Hindu learning, Suhabhatta stopped the allowances of the Brahmanas, who had to move from door to door, like dogs, for food. It is interesting to note that Suhabhatta maintained that all these he did out of his regard for Islamic faith, and not out of any malice towards the Brahmanas (vv. 863-81).

A series of rebellions, in which a son of Sikandar played some part, disturbed the reign of ‘All Shah, but all were suppressed. Later, the king left the country on a pilgrimage, leaving his brother Shahi Khan in charge of the country. But ‘All Shah’s father-inlaw, the king of Jammu 35 , reproached him and induced him to return with an army from Jammu. Shahi Khan w 7 as glad at his brother’s return, but was angry at the arrival of the foreign army with him. He returned the kingdom to his brother but left Kashmir with the Thakkuras and went to Jasrath, the chief of the Khokkaras (w. 928-31). The king asked him to return, but he refused. Thereupon ‘All Shah led an expedition against Jasrath for having given shelter to his brother, but was defeated. His end is not known, but according to late accounts ‘All Shah was captured by the Khokkaras and died at Chadura. 36

2. Zain-ul-‘Abidin to Nazuk Shah

Shahl Khan ascended the throne in A.D. 1420 under the title of Zain-urAbidin. He is the greatest Sultan of Kashmir and some have even compared him to Akbar. 37 Under him the boundary of the Sultanate of Kashmir reached its greatest extent, the country became prosperous, and the Hindus were treated with a catholicity worthy of the great Mughul Emperor.

The second part of the Rajataranghii was written by Jonaraja during his reign. We learn from this work that his suzerainty extended over Gandhara, Sindhu, Madra, and Rajapuri. He defeated the king of Udabhandapura several times, though the latter was helped by the king of Sindhu. He also carried his victorious arms to Gogga country in Bhotta-desa (Guge in Ladakh), and to another place named Saya (probably Shell above Leh, on the Sindhu) where he saved a golden image of Buddha from the Yavanas (presumably his own soldiers). He was assisted in his campaigns by Jasrath, the Khokhar chief, who defeated the king of Madra named Maladeva and captured him, but released him by the order of the Sultan. Nizam-ud-dm also states that “Jasrat Khokkar, aided by the Sultan’s power, brought the whole of the Panjab into his possession although he could not conquer Delhi. Tibet and the whole country which is situated on the bank of the river Sind came into Sultan’s possession”. 38

The Muslim chronicles refer to constant light of Jasrath with the ruler of Jammu, and mention that he defeated and killed in battle Raja Bhim of Jammu, who had all along supported the Sultans of Delhi. 39 We are further told that several times Jasrath was defeated and took refuge in the hills. Jonaraja also tells us that Zain-ul-‘Abidin gave shelter to Jasrath when he was hard pressed by the lord of Delhi (v. 1009). The beginning of hostility between Jasrath and the king of Jammu may be traced to the fight for succession between ‘All Shah and Zain-ul-‘AbidIn, and it is natural, therefore, that Zain-ul-‘Abidin would support Jasrath in the latter’s fight with the Sultans of Delhi, while the king of Jammu, whose son-in-law was deprived of his throne by Zain-ul-‘Abidm, would ally himself with the Sultans of Delhi.

Jonaraja died in the 35th year of the reign of Zain-ul-‘Abidin, and his history was continued by his pupil Srlvara. Both these historians of

Kashmir testify to the great qualities of the Sultan.

The fame of Zain-ul- £ Abidin rests mainly on his peaceful activities. He was a learned man, well versed in Persian, Sanskrit,

Tibetan and other languages. He had many Arabic and Persian works translated into the local language, and the Mahabharata and the Rdjatarangini into Persian. He was also a very successful administrator. He founded several new cities, built many bridges, and dug many irrigation canals which increased the prosperity of his subjects. He also prevented the local governors from exacting illegal cesses, and gave the peasantry much needed taxation relief. He himself took great pains to find out the truth in all complicated cases and obtained repute for his Solomon-like dispensation of justice. 40

The Sultan's household expenditure was met by the proceeds of the copper mines. He issued orders that merchants should not hide their commodities and should sell them at a small profit, and that rates of different commodities should be engraved on thin copper-plates and publicly shown in all cities. Whenever a robbery or theft was committed, the village headman was fined and this system is said to have prevented crimes. 41

Zain-ul-'Abidin tried by all possible means to undo the great wrongs that his two predecessors had done to the Hindus. Firishta has described his activities in the following words: "Preliminary to all other measures, he recalled the Brahmins who had been expelled, and caused a general toleration of all religions to be publicly notified. Temples were again permitted to be built, and each individual worshipped his God agreeably to the faith in which he was educated". 42 Jonaraja also says that the king restored the old usages destroyed (by the late kings) (v. 979), including the grant of stipends to learned Brahmanas (v. 1082).

But the Sultan went still further. He stopped the practice of Hindu widows procreating sons by others (or remarrying) at the bidding of her husband's kinsmen, and also the practice of disallowing the daughters with children, of persons dying without leaving any male issue, to perform funeral oblations, which, though contrary to Hindu law, was followed by the covetous kinsmen of the deceased. It also appears that he stopped the killing of cows by means of poison, and passed some regulations about eating beef, but the sense of the verses is not quite clear (vv. 1079-81). Nizamud-din also says that the Sultan “took an agreement from the Brahmans, that they would not act in contravention of what was written in their books”. 43 All these evidently show that the Sultan, as before, imposed on the Hindus the personal law as laid down in their sdstras (scriptures).

Zain-ul- £ Abidin was one of the most enlightened Muslim kings of India. His court was a meeting place of Hindu and Muslim

scholars, poets, and religious men. He was also greatly interested in music and other arts. 44 Nizam-ud-dln states that muskets were manufactured in Kashmir during his reign. 45

His fame as a great ruler spread outside Kashmir. Buhlul Lodi, Mahmud Begarha, Mandalika, the last Hindu king of Saurashtra, and the king of Gwalior maintained friendly relations with him. Even the rulers of Mecca, Egypt, Gilan and Khurasan exchanged presents with him.

The last days of this great monarch were embittered by the rebellions of his three sons, Adam Khan, Haji Khan and Bahram Khan, but he took energetic measures to crush them. He died in c. A.D. 1470, and was succeeded by his son Haji Khan under the title Haidar Shah.

Haidar Shah was in every respect a contrast to his father. He was a notorious drunkard, and for some time left the administration in the hands of a Hindu barber called Purna. 45a Puma tor

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tured people in various ways including mutilation and impaling. The king also persecuted the Brahmanas and resumed the lands granted to them by Zain-ul-‘AbidIn. Taking advantage of the discontent and confusion, Adam Khan made an attempt to seize the throne, but was killed in a fight with the Mughuls.

Haidar sent an expedition under his eldest son, possibly to bring under subjugation the kings of Rajapuri, Madra and Khokkara who had probably declared their independence after the death of Zainul-‘Abidm.

Haidar enjoyed a very short reign, a little over one year, and died as a result of injuries sustained when his feet slipped in a glass pavilion.

On the death of Haidar Shah, his brother Bahram made an attempt to seize the throne, but his attempt was foiled by a minister called Malik Ahmad 46 who set up Haidar’s son Hasan as the king.

Hasan established his capital at Nowshera. He was an indolent king and left the administration in the hands of the powerful nobles. Bahram Khan revolted but was defeated and taken captive. He was blinded and died as a result.

The reign of Hasan was full of feuds among the nobles. A party, headed by his father-in-law, Sayyid Hasan, became very powerful. Three nobles, namely, Taj Bhat or Yarl Bhat, Nur Bhat and Malik Ahmad also became very powerful. i\ccording to Srlvara, Taj forced some feudatories of the kingdom of Delhi to pay tribute.

The king appointed Taj Bhat and Nur Bhat as the guardians of his eldest son, Muhammad, and second son, Hasan, respectively. Malik Ahmad, who was probably the father of Nur Bhat, joined hands with Sayyid Hasan, but shortly afterwards the Sayyid captured power and threw T Malik Ahmad and others into prison.

Hasan v/as powerless to stop the evils, and was completely dominated by his wife, whose father was the leader of the ruling group. Hasan, however, revived all the liberal rules and regulations of Zain-ul-‘Abidin which had been abolished by Haidar Shah. He also turned his energies to erecting monuments, and his court historian, Sri vara, states that he (Srivara) has described these buildings in another work lest it would increase the bulk of the present one, that is the third Rdjatarangim. 47 The queen and the nobles also erected many edifices and Srivara states that the queen built a masiiddm-ajiro-ddram, probably a mosque with a thousand doors.

Hasan was also very fond of music and the historian Srivara, being an accomplished musician, was highly appreciated by the king who bestowed on him lavish gifts.

A curious incident mentioned by Srivara is that “the King (Hasan) found that the dinar as of SrI-Toramana had ceased to be current and he gave currency to new coins (double dlndras) which were impressed with the figure of a serpent”. 48

Before Hasan’s death, he requested his father-in-law, Sayyid Hasan, to set up the son of Adam Khan (a son of Zainul-ul-‘AbidIn) on the throne. But the Sayyid paid no heed to the king’s request, and after Hasan’s death, which took place about A.D. 1484, set up on the throne the latter’s son, Muhammad, by his own daughter.

The power and prestige of the kingdom, which had been rudely shaken during the reigns of Haidar and Hasan, collapsed altogether with the accession of Muhammad, a boy of seven. He is probably the only king known in history who lost his throne thrice, but managed to regain it every time, and died as a king after his fourth accession. He did not gain his throne even once by his own exertions, but owed it to the favour of the nobles who merely used him as a pawn. Two parties of nobles became very powerful at this time; the Muslim historians call them Chaks and the Makrls, but they are referred to as the Chakresas and Margesas in the Rdjatarangim. It is possible that the Margesas were hereditary guardians of the valleys or wardens of the marches, and that their official surname was Persianized into MakrI. Chakresa also may have been an occupational surname derived from some hereditary office, the nature of which it is difficult to determine now. However, these two families

dominate the history of Kashmir for the remaining period, till the Chaks establish themselves on the throne.

It would be convenient to indicate here the relation of the successors of Hasan before describing the history of their reigns.

Zain-ul-‘Abidin

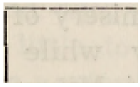

Adam Khan

Haji Khan (Haidar Shah)

Fath Khan

Hasan

Bahram Khan

Nazuk

Muhammad

Ibrahim Shams-ud-dxn

Srivara, the contemporary author, has left a detailed and vivid account of the earlier part of the reign of Muhammad and the sufferings of the people under the rapacious nobles. The Sayyids, who controlled the government, have been violently denounced for their misgovernment by Srivara, but it is apparent from his description that the ministers and nobles who succeeded them were no better, and the people of Kashmir passed through terrible misery till the annexation of the province by Akbar.

Within a few months after the accession of Muhammad, most of the Sayyid leaders were assassinated, and Jahangir Makri, who had been exiled in the previous reign by Sayyid Hasan, returned and captured power after exterminating the remaining Sayyids. Shortly afterwards, Fath Khan, the son of Adam Khan, invaded Kashmir. Fath Khan was helped by Hasan Khan, the son of Tatar Khan, the Lodi governor of the Punjab. The lord of Rajauri also helped Fath Khan, but the latter was defeated by Jahangir Makri. Soon there was a rising in Kashmir and Fath Khan again invaded Kashmir. Fath Khan conquered twenty-seven vishayas (districts) of Kashmir and, conquering Madra, gave it to the king of Rajapuri. The distress at this time was very acute and the miserable people, forced to eat the lotus-stalk, named the dish “Margesa-curry” after

Jahangir Makri (Margesa); half a pala of salt was sold for twenty-five dindras.

Next year (A.D. 1486) Fath invaded Kashmir for the third time, and after several trials of strength, his army, led by Saifa Damara, completely defeated Jahangir, who left Kashmir and died in exile. Fath then ascended the throne but took good care of Muhammad.

The victory of Fath Khan did not end the misery of the people. The foreign soldiery plundered the country while three new ministers, Musarajanaka or Somarajanaka, Haji Mia, and Ibrahim Makri shared the power of government. During this time Mir Shams, the founder of the Nur Bakshi sect, came to Kashmir and his preachings led to some trouble.

Fath gradually lost all power, and was forced by his first two ministers to divide Kashmir into three parts, one for himself and the other two for the two ministers. Ibrahim Makri, however, challenged the power of this group, defeated them and installed Muhammad on the throne (A.D. 1495). But this restoration lasted only for about nine months, after which Fath recaptured the throne (A.D. 1496) and ruled for nearly twenty years. 49 About A.D. 1515, Muhammad and Ibrahim, re-inforced with a large army from Sikandar Lodi, attacked Kashmir, and in a battle, fought in the following year, so decisively defeated Fath that he fled from Kashmir and Muhammad again occupied the throne (A.D. 1516).

This time KajI Chak became the chief minister of Muhammad and seems to have pacified Ibrahim by giving the latter the Siddha country with the title of Malik. There was, however, no peace in the country which had to suffer from several invasions, one of which was headed by Habib Khan, probably the son of Fath Khan. But soon the Chaks and the Makrls, who had so long been united, fell out and mustered troops. Muhammad changed sides but was ultimately driven out by the Chaks who set up his son Ibrahim on the throne in c. A.D. 1528.

Ibrahim made KajI Chak his chief minister, and the defeated Abdal Makri went to Babur, who gave him one thousand soldiers. With this help Abdal Mlakri and Fath Khan’s son Nazuk Shah defeated KajI Chak who fled away from Kashmir and Nazuk Shah was crowned king (c. A.D. 1529). Nazuk divided the kingdom among his ministers retaining a portion for himself, but after a reign of one year was dethroned. Muhammad then ascended the throne for the fourth and last time (A.D. 1530).

D. MINOR STATES

I. ASSAM

1. General Political condition

Towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D., Assam presented a confused picture of political disintegration. The old kingdom of Kamarupa continued under a new name and a new dynasty, and with its capital removed to Kamata or Kamatapura, situated a little to the south-west of the present town of Cooch Behar. The western limit of the kingdom was still, as of old, formed by the Karatoya river in Bengal, but the eastern frontier varied from time to time. Though at times it extended to the Barnadi, and thus included both Goalpara and Kamrup, these two districts were often ruled by a number of independent chiefs, known as Baro Bhuyas. At the extreme east of Assam, in the Upper Brahmaputra Valley, the Shan tribe, known as Ahoms, had consolidated their kingdom. They had not only subdued the primitive indigenous peoples, but had admitted many of them to their own tribe; their number was further increased by fresh immigration of the Shans from the north-east.

Between these two kingdoms in the two extremes lay a number of principalities, the chief of which were those of the Chutiyas and the Cacharis.

The Chutiya kingdom lay on both banks of the Brahmaputra to the east of the Subarnasri river in the north, and of the Disang river in the south. The Chutiyas are now to be found mainly in the Lakhimpur District and the adjacent parts of Sibsagar. They had come within the fold of Hinduism in remote past, but contain a strong admixture of Shan blood. They were ruling with their capital at Sadiya at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. when the Ahoms entered the province. There were frequent wars between the two until the Chutiyas were finally subdued by the Ahoms at the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., as will be related later. The kingdom of the Cacharis lay to the south-west of the Chutiya kingdom. It extended along the south bank of the Brahmaputra as far as Nowgong in the west, and up to the valley of the Dhansiri river in the south, with an ill-defined boundary across the central hills of Assam.

Between the Chutiya and the Cachari kingdoms in the east and that of Kamarupa on the west, the country was parcelled out among a number of petty independent chiefs called Bhuyas. As mentioned above, they were collectively known as Baro Bhuyas, and a strong ruler of Kamarupa could, and often did, establish his

supremacy over them. But under a weak ruler the kingdom of Kamarupa often failed to exercise any effective control to the east of the Sangkosh river, and thus lay wholly outside the limits of modern Assam. It must, however, be said to the credit of these Bhuyas, that they acted in concert whenever their country was threatened by any Muslim invasion.

2. The Kingdom of Kamata

The chief interest of the history of Assam during the period under review centres round the two kingdoms of Kamata on the west, and Ahom in the east. The kingdom of Kamata (var. Kamta) is often referred to as Kamrup in Muslim chronicles. This is true to some extent only from the point of view of historical succession, but the centre of Kamata kingdom and sometimes even its boundary, lay outside Kamrup proper, and it is therefore better to designate the new kingdom as Kamata rather than Kamrup.

The histoiy of Kamarupa, after the death of Vallabhadeva, 1 who was on the throne in A.D. 1185, is very obscure, and the casual references to Muslim invasions in Muslim chronicles are all that is definitely known to us. Bakhtyar Khalji, Hisam-ud-dm Twaz Khalji 2 who had assumed independence in Bengal under the title Ghiyas-ud-dm Twaz, and Ikhtiyar-ud-diln Yuzbak Tughril Khan, 3 also known as Mughis-ud-dln Yuzbak, invaded Kamarupa respectively in A.D. 1205, 1227, and 1257. The first of these campaigns ended in a veritable disaster as noted above. 4 No details of the second are known; it was probably a mere raid and no permanent results were achieved. The third began with phenomenal success and the Bengal Sultan occupied the capital without any serious opposition. But the ruler of Kamarupa took full advantage of the ignorance of the climate and topography of Assam on the part of the conquerors. Surrounded by water on all sides and bereft of supplies, Mughis-ud-din made a hurried retreat through the submontane tract, by way of the Dooars. He was assailed by the Hindus in a narrow pass, and though he fought bravely, he was mortally wounded. His army surrendered and his family fell captive into the hands of the Raja of Kamarupa. It was a veritable disaster, perhaps unparalleled in the annals of early Muslim history in India. 5

Neither the Muslim chronicles, from which the above account is derived, nor the local traditions have preserved the name of this brave Hindu king who saved his country from the Muslim invaders by his daring and genius. It appears, however, from the detailed

description of the campaign that he had still his capital on the Brahmaputra, at Gauhati, or its immediate neighbourhood.

No further light is thrown on the history of Kamarupa by the Muslim chronicles till the rise of the kingdom of Kamata. Whether this event indicates nothing more than a mere shifting of the capital, or the rise of a new kingdom under a new dynasty, it is difficult to say. But in either case we do not know the cause of the change or the circumstances leading to it. We are equally ignorant of the early history of this new kingdom. There are a number of legends and traditions, but it is difficult to extract any reliable history from them. One of these legends refers in detail to Durlabh Narayan, Raja of Kamata. Ke probably flourished at the end of the thirteenth century A.D. and his kingdom extended from the Karatoya, in Bengal, to the Barnadi in Assam. About this time, or shortly afterwards, the kingdom was invaded by the Ahoms, and hostilities continued for some time. A treaty was however concluded, and the alliance between the two was cemented by the marriage of Bhajani, the princess of Kamata, with the Ahom king Sukhangpha. 6

According to tradition, the southern part of the old kingdom of Kamarupa, including Mymensingh and Sylhet, was at this time under the rule of Dharina Narayan, a cousin of Durlabh Narayan. This area was invaded by the Muslim Sultan of Bengal, Sultan Shams-ud-dln Flruz, early in the fourteenth century A.D. The Muslim army overran Mymensingh District and then, crossing the Brahmaputra, occupied Sylhet. This probably took place in A.D. 1303. Starting from this base, the Muslim governor and

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-dln Bahadur Shah conquered Tippera and Chittagong Divisions, and these were annexed to the empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq early in his reign (A.D. 1326-27). 7 Ilyas Shah invaded the Brahmaputra valley and pushed his conquests as far as Kamarupa. 8 Whether this region acknowledged the authority of the Kamata kings or was ruled by the independent or semi-independent chiefs, called Bhuyas, is not known with certainty. Epigraphic evidence shows that in A.D. 1329 a petty Hindu chief had set himself up as an independent ruler in Kamarupa. 9

The discovery of coins, dated 799 and 802 A.H. and thus belonging to the reign of Ghiyas-ud-dln A‘zam Shah, in Cooch Behar and Gauhati, 10 prove his authority in Kamarupa. But whether it is an indication of the continuance of the Muslim authority since the conquest by Ilyas Shah, or is to be explained by the unsuccessful expedition of A‘zam Shah mentioned above, 11 cannot be determined with certainty. There is, however, no doubt that in spite of invasions by the Muslims from the west, and the Ahom king on the east, Kamata again became a powerful kingdom, early in the fifteenth century, under the Khens, a primitive people who had imbibed Brahmanical Hinduism to a large extent. The names of the first two kings of this dynasty, Niladhvaja and Chakradhvaja, have been preserved only in legendary traditions. The third king Nilambara, was, however, undoubtedly a historical figure. He was a powerful king and ruled over an extensive territory including not only Goalpiara and Kamarupa in the east, but also Mymensingh and Sylhet to the south-east, which had been conquered by the Muslims. He is said to have constructed a high road from his capital Kamatapur (near Cooch Behar) to Ghoraghat on the Karatoya in the Rangpur District. The capital city, Kamatapur, at the time covered an extensive area whose ruins have been described by Hamilton.

Reference has been made above to his fight with two Muslim Sultans of Bengal, Rukn-ud-dln Barbak Shah and ‘Ala-ud-din Husain Shah. There is hardly any doubt that Nilambara routed the Muslim host of Barbak, and the story of his later defeat by supernatural means, and his conversion to Islamic faith are merely ingenious attempt to hide the discomfiture of the Muslim army. 12

Local traditions offer an explanation of the outbreak of war between Nilambara and Husain Shah. It is said that Nilambara killed his Brahman minister's son for carrying on amorous intrigues with his queen. He then cooked the flesh of the dead and made his father eat it. The outraged minister left the kingdom under pretext of pilgrimage and proceeded to the court of Husain Shah. At his instigation Husain Shah sent a big army under Ismafil GhazI who besieged the strongly fortified city of Kamata. According to a local tradition the siege lasted twelve years, at the end of which the Muslim general gained entrance to the fort by means of treachery. Nilambara is said to have been captured and taken to Gauda, the capital of Bengal, but subsequently effected his escape. 13

It is difficult to put much faith in the details of this story, but there are grounds to believe that Husain Shah gained a complete victory and annexed the whole of the Kamata kingdom as far as the Barnadi. Hajo, in Kamrup, became the headquarters of the Muslim Viceroy, a son of Husain, and gradually the Muslim authority was established over the chiefs called Bhuyias. The conquest of Husain Shah, which extinguished the Hindu kingdom of Kamata, may be dated some time between A.D. 1498 and 1502. A little more than a decade later a new kingdom—that of Cooch Behar—arose out of its ruins. Its history will be described in the next volume.

3. The Ahom Kingdom 14

A short account has been given above of the foundation of a kingdom by the Ahoms in the north-eastern part of the province which still-bears their name (Assam), and its consolidation under the first three kings Sukapha, Suteupha, and Subinpha whose reigns cover the period from A.D. 1215 to 1293. 14a

Subinpha's son and successor Sukhangpha felt powerful enough to extend his kingdom at the cost of his neighbours, and launched a career of conquest and aggression. The kingdom of Kamata, the most powerful rival of the newly risen power, was his first object of attack. This trial of strength between the old and the new was decided entirely in favour of the latter. After prolonged hostilities, in course of which both sides suffered heavy losses, the two parties concluded an alliance to which reference has been made above.

Sukhangpha died in A.D. 1332, and was succeeded by his three sons, one after another. The chief event during these three reigns (A.D. 1332-89) was a prolonged hostility with the Chutiyas. The next king, Sudangpha, ascended the throne in A.D. 1397, after an interregnum of eight years, during which the nobles carried on the administration. He fixed his capital at Charguya near the Dihing river. The Buranjis or chronicles of the Ahoms, which form our principal source of information, have spread a halo of romance and mystery round the early life of this king. Though son of the third son of Sukhangpha, his mother was cast out and gave birth to him in the house of a Brahmana. The new king was for this reason known as the "Brahman Prinee' , , and the Brahmana, who gave shelter to his mother, was made his chief adviser. Under the influence of this Brahmana and his sons, who also occupied high posts, the Ahoms, belonging to the Mongoloid Shan stock, came under the influence of Brahmanical Hinduism. The King was faced with a conspiracy of the Tipamis, but suppressed it by killing their leading chiefs in a treacherous manner. He tried to conciliate the Tipamis by marrying the daughter of one of the chiefs, but this brought on fresh troubles. For Tai Sulai, one of the Tipami lovers of this queen before her marriage, being caught in love intrigues with her, sought asylum with Surumpha, king of Mungkang. This led to a fight between the two kings, in which the latter was driven as far as the Patkai hills. Hostilities were concluded by a treaty in A.D. 1401 by which the Patkai Range w^as fixed as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

Tai Sulai now took refuge with the king of Kamata, and so Sudangpha sent a military expedition against the latter. But though the king of Kamata refused to surrender the fugitive, he

conciliated his powerful enemy by giving him his daughter Bhajani in marriage. According to some Buranjis, Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah took advantage of the war between Kymata and the Ahom kingdom to invade the former. But the two rulers of Assam combined against A'zam and forced him to retire beyond the KaratOyaA 5 Sudangpha now turned his attention to the subjugation of the recalcitrant tribes who at last submitted to his authority.

Sudangpha died in A.D. 1407 and was followed by two kings whose reigns were uneventful. The next king, Susenpha, who died in A.D. 1488 after a reign of forty-nine years, was involved in a war with the Tangshu Nagas which was renewed during the reign of his successor Suhenpha. In spite of some initial successes, the Nagas were ultimately defeated. Suhenpha was less successful in his war with the Cacharis who defeated the Ahom army at Dampuk on the bank of the Dikhu river. Suhenpha sued for peace and sent a princess to the Cachari King. Suhenpha was assassinated in 1493 , and his son Supimpha also probably shared the same fate four years later. His son Suhungmung ascended the throne in 1497 and assumed the Hindu name Svarga Narayan. This is an index of the gradually increasing hold of Brahmanical Hinduism upon this Shan royal family and the people. The new king transferred his capital from Charguya to Bakata on the Dihing. The Aitonia Nagas revolted in 1504, but were defeated and forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Ahom king and to pay him annual tribute. Eight years later the Ahom king annexed the Habung country. Then followed a prolonged war with the Chutiyas which lasted for more than ten years (1513 to 1523). In spite of occasional reverses, Suhungmung ultimately triumphed and annexed the whole of the Chutiyia country, which henceforth formed a part and parcel of the Ahom kingdom. To complete the assimilation between the two, three hundred Ahom families, with twelve chiefs, were settled in Sadiya, and another Ahom colony was set up on the banks of the Dihing. On the other hand, the royal family and the leading chiefs of the Chutiyas were taken to Bakariguri, and a number of Brahmanas, blacksmiths and other classes of artisans from Sadiya were settled in the Ahom capital. Early in 1527 , and again in 1529 , the Chutiyas made serious efforts to regain their independence, but the revolts were put down without much difficulty.

In the meantime Suhungmung led an expedition against the Cacharis in 1526, and advanced into their country as far as Maiham or Kathkatia. The Cacharis obtained a temporary success and reoccupied the place, but they were forced to retreat, and closely pursued by the Ahoms. Though the Cacharis fought with courage

and valour they sustained a decisive defeat. After a temporary truce, hostilities were renewed in 1531. Suhungmung advanced up to the Dhansiri river and, after defeating the Cacharis in several engagements, occupied their capital Dimapur. The Cachari king fled with his son, and a prince named Detsung, who had given his sister to the Ahom king, was set up on the throne. But Detsung having proved contumacious, an Ahom army again invaded Cachar and occupied the capital Dimapur. Detsung fled, but was seized and put to death. His death put an end to all resistance, and the whole of the Dhansiri valley and the Cachari territories north of the Kollang river in Nowgong District passed into the hands of the Ahom king.

The most important event during the reign of Suhungmung was his fight with the Muslim State of Bengal. Unfortunately, the difference between the Ahom Buranjis and the Muslim chronicles makes it difficult to obtain a clear view of the whole episode in its true perspective.

According to the Riydz-us-Salatin, ‘Ala-ud-dln Husain Shah followed up his conquest of Kiamata-Kamarqpa kingdom, mentioned above, by an invasion of Assam. “The Raja of Assam, not being able to oppose him, relinquishing his country, fled to the mountains. The king (Husain Shiah), leaving his son with a large army to complete the settlement of the conquered country, returned triumphant and victorious to Bengal. After the withdrawal of the king, his son devoted himself to the pacification and defences of the conquered country. But when the rainy season set in, owing to floods, the roads and tracks became closed; and the Rajah with his adherents issued from the hills, surrounded the Royal army, engaged in warfare, cut off supplies of provisions, and in a short time put all to the sword”. 16 There is nothing improbable in the alleged invasion of the upper Brahmaputra valley by Husain Shah; it fits in well with the general policy of Muslim rulers to carry forward the banner of Islam into the country of the infidels wherever possible; also with the imperial ambitions and aggressive designs of Husain Shah narrated above. Besides, although the Riydz was a late compilation of the eighteenth century, it is corroborated by Shihab-ud-dln Talish who refers to the invading army of Husain Shah as consisting of 24,000 soldiers (horse and foot) and numerous ships. 17

On the other hand, the Ahom Buranjis give the date of the first Muslim invasion of Assam as A.D. 1527, and their detailed accounts substantially corroborate the statement in the Riydz that in spite of some initial successes the Muslim invaders were completely routed.

As Husain Shah died in 1519, the invasion of 1527 must be credited to his son and successor, Nusrat Shah. It is, therefore, held by some historians 18 that the author of the Riyaz erroneously regarded the expedition against Kamata in 1498-1502, and that against Assam in 1527, as part of the same operations, whereas they were really undertaken by two different Sultans, Husain and Nusrat, with an interval of twenty-five years. This seems to be more reasonable than the view that the Ahom kingdom was invaded first by Husain Shah after he completed the conquest of Kamata (1498-1502), and next by his son Nusrat Shah in 1527 or 1529 19 For the Riydz mentions only one invasion of Assam, during the reign of Husain Shah, and does not refer to any such invasion by Nusrat. So either his account rightly applies to Husain's reign, or may be regarded as a confusion with what took place during the next reign. But it would be illogical to apply it to both.

On the whole, it seems much safer to follow the account of the Ahom Buranjis which have preserved a detailed account of the protracted military operations. It may be summed up as follows: 20 In 1527 the Muslim army invaded Assam under the great wazlr, but was defeated on all fronts by the Ahoms who pursued it as far as the Burai river and captured forty horses and from twenty to forty cannon. In 1529 the Ahom king took the offensive and obtained some success. Two years later, the Muslims renewed hostilities and advanced up the Brahmaputra with fifty ships. But they were defeated by the Ahoms in a naval battle at Temani or Trimohani in Sibsagar District, a little below the point where the main channel of the Brahmaputra bifurcates into two to form the Majuli island, and lost their ships. The Ahoms now fortified two advance posts, one at Sala, on the bank of the Bharali, and another at Singiri, further down the Brahmaputra at its junction with a smaller river. A large Muslim force attacked Singiri, but was completely routed and fled, being hotly pursued as far as Khagarijan (Nowgong). The Muslim commander Bit Malik was among the slain, and fifty horses, with many guns, fell into the hands of the Ahoms. In 1532 another strong Muslim force, led by Turbak, stationed itself opposite Singiri, and was attacked by the Ahom army under the command of Suklen, son of the Ahom king Suhungmung. The prince was completely defeated and fell back upon Sala; eight of his commanders were killed, and he himself was wounded.

The Muslim army advanced along the south bank of the Brahmaputra as far as Koliabar, opposite Tezpur, and halted there for the rainy season. In October the Muslims surrounded the fort of Sala, the headquarters of the Ahom forces led by Suklen, and defeated them on several occasions. But the Ahoms obtained a great naval victory at Duimunisila, in Nowgong District, a little above Koliabar, in March, 1533. According to the Buranjis, the Muslims lost twenty-two ships, a number of guns, and between 1,500 and 2,500 soldiers.

The two armies were now entrenched, face to face, on the opposite banks of the Dikrai river, near its mouth. After several months of inactivity the Ahoms took the offensive and defeated the Muslim army in several engagements ending in a complete rout near the Bharali. Turbak himself fell in the fight, and the Ahoms pursued the Muslim fugitives as far as the Karatoya river in Bengal. During the pursuit another Muslim general, Husain Khan, was caught and killed, and the victors captured 28 elephants, 850 horses together with a large number of guns, and a large quantity of gold and silver.

The real status of Turbak has been doubted by Gait who thinks that he was a mere freelance or a local chief, and the army led by him was not the royal force, but a local levy. The only ground for this supposition seems to be the fact that, before returning from Bengal, the Ahom Commander sent an envoy, with presents, to the Sultan of Bengal at Gaur, and he returned with a princess for the Ahom king. But it is a very unusual conjecture, unsupported by any positive evidence, and belied, among others, by the fact that Turbak received re-inforcement before he entrenched himself on the Dikrai. Besides, the political condition of Bengal, after the assassination of Nusrat in 1532, sufficiently explains the complete discomfiture of the Muslim army, and there is no need to look for any other explanation. We should also remember that this was neither the first nor the last occasion, on which the Muslim invaders of Assam learnt, to their cost, that it was much easier to conquer than to retain this frontier province.

It reflects great credit upon the Ahom king that, even while engaged in fighting with the Chutiyas and the Cacharis, as noted above, he could successfully resist the Muslim invaders. The credit is all the greater because the Ahoms were as yet unacquainted with the use of fire-arms and fought against the Muslims, who possessed guns, with only swords, spears, and bows and arrows. But the Ahom king was quick to learn, and henceforth used the new weapon for subduing the unruly tribes. Guns were used against the Nagas who had rebelled in 1535 and 1536; in spite of some initial successes they submitted to the Ahom authority.

The reign of Suhungmung forms an important landmark in the history of Assam. He extended the power of the Ahoms in all directions, and his valiant resistance to the Muslims gave immunity to Assam from further Muslim aggression for well-nigh hundred and thirty years. His reign is also remarkable not only for the rapid Hinduization of the Ahoms but also for the spread of a reformed Vaishnava doctrine associated with the name of Sahkaradeva.

The great King had a tragic end. His last days were clouded by the defiant attitude of the crown prince Suklen. The latter was mightily offended when his father married three captive Cachari princesses whom he himself loved. Other causes of estrangement followed, till Suklen had his royal father assassinated in A.D. 1539. Thus died one of the greatest rulers of Assam,—the builder of the Ahom power,—after a glorious reign of forty-two years.

II. MITHILA (TIRHUT)

While the whole of the Gangetic valley was submerged by the flood of Turk-Muslim invasions, the small Hindu principality of Tirhut, the far-famed Mithila or Videha of old, bounded by the Himalayas on the north and the three rivers, the Kosi, the Gandak, and the Ganga respectively on the east, west and south,[1] kept itself afloat like a tiny island in the sea. Though occasional floods submerged it from time to time, it always raised its head again, and remained, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the last free stronghold of Hinduism in the vast stretch of land extending from the Sindhu to the Karatoya.

Reference has been made above to the foundation of a new ruling dynasty in Mithila by Nanyadeva of Karnataka origin, in A.D. 1097. This family was ruling over Tirhut when the Muslim Turkish invaders swept over the whole of North India. 2 Tirhut was not altogether immune from their attack. 3 Apart from occasional plundering raids, Sultan Hisam-ud-dm or Ghiyas-ud-din ‘Iwaz Khaljl, who had assumed sovereign status in Bengal some time before A.D. 1225, is said to have received tribute from Bang, Kamrud and Tirhut. 4 But this vague claim is not supported by the account of any actual invasion. Another rebellious governor of Bengal, Tughan Khan alias ‘Izz-ud-dln Tughril, who had advanced into Awadh and seized the town, made an inroad into Tirhut and acquired much valuable booty, but no submission (A.D. 1243-4). 15 The political condition of Tirhut during the rule of such powerful Sultans as Iltutmish, 6 Balban, 7 and ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl 8 cannot be determined with certainty.

Barring occasional raids and temporary occupation of parts, or even assertion of nominal suzerainty by some Sultans, Tirhut seems to have escaped the fury of Muslim attack. This is particularly noteworthy for two reasons. In the first place, though the principality lay on the way from Delhi or Awadh to Lakhnawatl, the Muslim forces seem to have systematically avoided it. Secondly, Tirhut was the refuge of orthodox Hinduism which it was the declared policy of Islam to stamp out, wherever possible. Tirhut seems to have possessed a charmed life. Arguments based on geographical factors have been advanced to explain the immunity of Tirhut from Muslim attack, 9 but they cannot be taken very seriously. But whatever might have been the cause, the Karnataka rulers of Mithila maintained their independence, while every other Hindu principality in the Gangetic valley crashed beneath the heels of Turkish cavalry.

The Karnataka kings ruled in Mithila in an unbroken line of succession throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. There are, however, slight discrepancies in the names of kings and order of succession as given by different authorities. The most reliable seems to be the list given above 10 on the authority of the inscription of Pratapamalla. The name of Bhupalasimha of this list is, how r ever, omitted in other sources, and Saktisimha appears as Sakrasimha in some of them. All the lists end with Harisimha (also written as Harasiihha) as the last ruler of this dynasty in Tirhut. The regnal periods vary in different lists.

Next to Nanyadeva, Harisimha was the most important ruler, and his reign forms a landmark in the history of Tirhut. Unlike his predecessors, who are mostly shadowy figures of whom very little is known, certain broad facts about Harisimha are established on unimpeachable authority. He had his capital at a place called Simaramapura, 11 modern Simraon in Nepal, on the borderland just outside the north-eastern boundary of the District of Champaran. 12 Three generations of able ministers, namely, Chandesvara, his father VIresvara, and his grandfather Devaditya, all served as Mahd sandhi-vigrahikas (Minister of Peace and War) of Harisimha. 13 It is mentioned in contemporary literature that Chandesvara conquered Nepal for his master, and performed the great religious gift of tuld-purusha (gift of gold of the donor’s weight) in November, 1314 1 4 This gives us a valuable datum for fixing the lowest limit of the date of Harisiriiha’s accession. In view of the fact that Chandesvara, who served him in A.D. 1314, was preceded by his father and grandfather in the same post, we may assume that according to all reasonable probability, Harisimha ascended the throne during the eighties of the thirteenth century A.D., if not

earlier.

This is, however, opposed to the traditional account of Sakrasiriiha, who was the predecessor and father of Harisiriiha according to the Mithila tradition. The inscription of Pratapamalla, however, calls him Saktisiriiha and places a king Bhupalasiriiha between him and Harisimhadeva. It has been suggested by some that as neither the literary tradition nor any other evidence corroborates this, Bhupalasiriiha was the elder brother of Harisiriiha and probably never ascended the throne. 15 This gratuitous assumption has been rendered necessary by a Mithila tradition that Sakrasiriiha helped ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl “in his fight against Hammlra (Hambira) of Ranathambhapura”. 16 There are other traditions according to which the Muslims invaded Mithila in 697 A.H. (A.D. 1297-8) and arrested the King. 17 None of these traditions is, however, supported by Muslim chronicles or any other reliable evidence. As the invasion of Ranthambhor took place in A.D. 1300, Saktisiriiha must have been alive in that year, and if Bhupalasiriiha reigned between him and Harisimha—a statement occurring in a seventeenth century epigraphic record which we have no good grounds to disbelieve— Harisirhha's accession has to be placed at the end of the first decade of the fourteenth century. This appears to be so improbable in view of what has been said above, that it seems more reasonable to disregard the local traditions and place the accession of Harisiriiha about A.D. 1280, possibly even earlier. 18

There are several references in contemporary literature that

Harisiriiha defeated the Muslims. "In the Dana-ratnakara Chande

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svara is described as having rescued the earth flooded by Mleehchhas." In a two-act comedy, Dhurta-samdgama, which was played in the court of Harisiriiha, the King is said to have conquered the Suratrana (Sultan). 19 These statements have been taken to refer to Harisiriilia's fight with Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq in A.D. 1324. But, if, as is generally believed, king Harisiriiha was defeated in that fight and forced to seek refuge in Nepal, the exulting references to victories over the Muslims can hardly apply to that episode. In any case, it is equally likely that Harisiriiha scored successes against the Muslims either during the last days of the Mamluk Sultans, after the death of Balban (A.D. 1287), or during the chaos and confusion that followed the death of 'Ala-ud-din Khaljl (A.D. 1316). There is nothing to be surprised at the discomfiture of the Muslim forces, probably of a neighbouring locality, when the Delhi Sultanate was passing through a grave crisis, and it had a great repercussion on the provincial administration.

Similarly the conquest of Nepal by Chandesvara, mentioned above, need not necessarily be referred to a time after the defeat of Harisimha by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. According to the interpretation of the relevant passage by Monmohan Chakravarti, the tula-purusha gift, performed in A.D. 1314, followed upon the conquest of Nepal, and this seems to be a very reasonable view. 20

If we accept the above reconstruction of the history of Harisimha's reign, we can easily understand why Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq directed his efforts towards the subjugation of Tirhut, not attempted by any other Sultan of Delhi before him. It is reasonable to infer that Mithila had so long escaped Muslim subjugation, mainly because it was regarded as an inoffensive petty Hindu State, not unwilling to bow down to a strong Sultan. But Harisimha took advantage of the temporary weakness of the Muslim rulers to hurl defiance at them and even scored some successes. Such occasional resurgence of the Hindu power must have been regarded as a source of grave peril to the Muslim domination in India, and the sagacious Sultan, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, had therefore every reason to regard the subjugation of Mithila as a major policy.

Ghiyas-ud-din's conquest of Tirhut in A.D. 1324-5 was, however, hardly regarded as an important episode of his reign. Barani simply states, in a general way, that as soon as the Sultan reached Tirhut on his way to Bengal, "without the sword being called into requisition all the rais and ranas of the country made their submission". 21 The episode of Tirhut is altogether omitted in the Tdrikh-i-Mubdrak Shdlii, while Nizam-ud-din merely repeats the statement of Barani. Tsami is the first historian who gives a detailed account of the Tirhut expedition. After referring to the capture of Sultan Bahadur of Lakhnawati and the arrival of the captive king with his brother Nasir-ud-din at the camp of Sultan Ghiyasud-din on the bank of the Kosi, Tsami proceeds:

"Next day the Sultan started from the bank of the Kosi towards Tirhut. He secured two kings at one and the same time, one by war, the other by peace. 22 As soon as the king of Tirhut heard of the approach of the Sultan he took refuge in a forest. The imperial army reached the outskirts of the forest. The Sultan was very much surprised at the sight of the forest. It is said that he himself got down from his horse, and taking an axe in his hand cut down an old tree in order to clear the jungle. The soldiers, thereupon, cleared a passage for the army with the help of axes. In two or three days the passage was ready, and on the third day the imperial army reached the fort of Tirhut. It had seven deep ditches full of water. For two or three weeks the Sultan sent his soldiers to the right and the left with orders to attack the Hindus wherever gathered, and plunder them. After this he sent (Nasir-ud-din) with

royal umbrella to Lakhnawatl. The Sultan left the valiant Ahmad, son of Talbaga, in Tirhut and, having started from the camp on the next day, reached the capital in one or two months". 23

A more detailed account is given by Firishta, who expressly says that it is derived from Tsami's book, Futuh-us-Salatln. Yet he described the events following the siege as follows:

"The King invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhoot was left in the hands of Ahmud Khan, the son of Mulik Tulubigha, after which the king returned towards Dehly". 24

It will be seen that the two accounts radically differ from each other. The earlier account, written by a contemporary, knows nothing of the fall of the fort and the capture of the king of Tirhut and his family. Moreover, he definitely implies that when the Sultan left for Delhi, he could not secure the submission of the king of Tirhut and left Ahmad behind to continue the siege. The two contemporary historians, Tsami and BaranI, and almost all the later writers, excepting Firishta, are silent regarding any success of the Muslim arms, not to speak of capturing the fort together with the king of Tirhut and his family. Tsami's book, which alone is expressly mentioned by Firishta as his source of information, contains nothing of the kind. It is legitimate, therefore, to conclude that the additional information supplied by Firishta is mostly a later concoction prompted by a desire to gloss over the failure of the Muslims to subdue a petty Hindu king. 25

We may, therefore, hold that while the Muslim army overran the plains of Tirhut, its brave king Harisimhadeva successfully defended himself in his impregnable citadel in the dense forest of Nepal Terai. This not only explains why Muslim historians like BaranI, Yahya, and Nizam-ud-dln do not refer to the fight of the Sultan with Harisimha, but also the verse in the Dhurta-Samdgama, a contemporary two-act comedy played in the court of Harisimha, which exultingly refers to the victory of Harisimha and his ministers over the Muslim Sultan after a protracted and sanguinary fight. 26

It may be noted in passing that the citadel, where Harisimhadeva was besieged by the Muslim forces, can hardly be regarded as his capital Simraon, although this is the generally accepted view. For no one, whose kingdom mostly extends over the plains, would think of fixing his capital city in a dense forest where no army could penetrate without cutting down trees on a vast scale. Indeed Tsami clearly says that the king of Mithila took refuge in a forest.

Such a statement would be inexplicable if he shut himself up in his own capital city. 27

According to a well-known verse, Harisirhha entered the mountains after leaving his capital city in Saka 1245, on the 9th of Pausha, Sudi, Saturday. 28 This has been taken to refer to the flight of Harisimha and his conquest of Nepal after his defeat in the hands of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. But, as such, the date is inadmissible for two reasons. In the first place, it corresponds to December 7, 1323, whereas according to the testimony of Muslim chronicles, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq passed through Tirhut a year later in the cold season of A.D 1324. Secondly, 9th Pausha in Saka 1245, whether we take it as current or expired, was not a Saturday. But 9th Pausha in Saka 1247 expired was a Saturday. This date, which corresponds to 14th December 1325, seems to be the correct one. 29 As we have seen above, according to the contemporary Muslim chronicler TsamI, Plarisimha was besieged, but not defeated, when Ghiyas-ud-din left for Delhi towards the end of A.D. 1324 or the beginning of 1325. If we admit, on the authority of the Dhurta-samdgama, that Harisiiiiha offered a stubborn resistance and even inflicted defeat upon the imperial army, the date 14th December, 1325, may be taken as a more probable date for Harisimha’s entry into Nepal after the end of the conflict. As we have seen above, there is no evidence that Harisimha fell a prisoner into the hands of the Muslims, as Firishta would have us believe. It is more likely that he successfully defied the Muslim forces in the impenetrable jungles of the Terai. But though Harisimha passed over the crisis, he knew full well that he was no match for the Sultan of Delhi, and could not resist his might in the plains. So he rightly concluded that he could maintain his independence only in the hills and jungles of Nepal. It has been assumed by the latest historian of Tirhut that Harisimha, after his defeat 4 ‘fled from Tirhut, invaded Nepal and settled down there for the rest of his life”. 30 It is very unlikely, though not impossible, that a king deserting his people and kingdom, and fleeing for his life, would be in a position to subdue a country like Nepal, whose geographical position and natural defences have enabled it to maintain its independence throughout the Muslim and even during the British rule. It is more reasonable to suppose that he had already conquered Nepal in the heyday of his power and glory, particularly as there are grounds for dating this event in or befoe A.D. 1314, as mentioned above. It is also not unlikely that the resources of Nepal enabled him to successfully resist the Sultan of Delhi in the jungle, when he was forced to leave the plains of Tirhut before the invading Muslim army. What probably took place in A.D. 1325 was that Harisimha decided

to abandon his own kingdom and settle in Nepal which acknowledged his suzerainty. The traditional verse, mentioned above, also says that he entered (dvivesa or pravesa), not conquered, Nepal.

However that might be, there is no doubt that after the conquest of the plains of Tirhut by the Muslim forces in A.D. 1324-5, Harisimhadeva passes out of the history of that country, and henceforth he and his family are associated with Nepal rather than Tirhut. Their fortunes and achievements in Nepal will be dealt with in connection with the history of that country. In the meantime we may pursue the history of Tirhut.

For the time being Tirhut passed under the Delhi Sultanate. This is proved by the coins issued by Muhammad bin Tughluq with the mint-name Tughluqpur-urf-Tirhut, and the inclusion of Tirhut by Ziya-ud-dln Barani in the list of imperial territories paying regular tribute during the early years of the reign of Muhammad. 31 But the same writer indicates, though he does not expressly state, that Tirhut threw off the Muslim yoke before the end of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. Attention may be drawn to the following passage which has not been noticed by the historians,[32] describing the march of Firuz Tughluq towards Lakhnawatl in course of his expedition against Ilyas Shah, in A.D. 1353.

“When Firuz reached Tirhut, its Hindu king (Ray) and other nobles attended his court and offered presents. The Sultan made suitable returns. The province of Tirhut now became as obedient to the Durbar, and realised Kharaj, as it did before. The Muslim soldiers did no harm to Tirhut. For the proper management of the State a ruler was appointed according to the rules of succession. Many provinces became organised and well administered”.[33]

It would thus appear that the period of anarchy and confusion during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq enabled Tirhut to assert its independence, but Firuz, on his way to Bengal, restored the authority of the Delhi Sultanate. He, however, did not incorporate it in the Delhi Sultanate but left it under a Hindu King, who, in his opinion, had a legitimate claim to the throne. This fits in well with the fact that a new Brahmanical dynasty of local kings (as distinguished from the Karnataka family) ruled over Tirhut in an unbroken line of succession from about A.D. 1353 to about A.D. 1526, as will be shown later. But nothing is definitely known about the political condition of Tirhut during the quarter of a century that elapsed between the conquest of the plains of Tirhut by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq in A.D. 1325 and the establishment of the new dynasty by Firuz Tughluq about A.D. 1353.

One fact, more or less definitely established, is the invasion of Ilyas Shah, Sultan of Bengal. There is hardly any doubt that this formed part of the same expedition which led him far into the interior of Nepal in A.D. 1349-50.[34] It may be reasonably presumed that it was a daring raid for plunder and was not of much political importance,[3 3] save perhaps drawing the wrath of Firuz upon this ambitious rebel governor of Bengal. In any case this invasion took place long after A.D. 1325.

There are several traditions testifying to the existence of a ruling Karnata family in Tirhut even after the departure of Harisimha for Nepal in A.D. 1323 or 1325. Vidyapati tells a story in which Narasimhadeva of Karnata-Jcwla helped Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastinapura, in his fight with

Kafar-raja. The existence of a ruler of Tirhut, named Nrisimha; is proved by a reference in a literary work Dtina-paddhati ; whose author Ramadatta; a cousin of Chandesvara, declares himself to be his minister. 3 ' 5 * If this story be regarded as true, we may presume that Muhammad bin Tughluq, like Firuz Tughluq after him, appointed a scion of the old ruling family, to which Harisimha belonged, the ruler of Tirhut under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Delhi. It is probably Nrisimhadeva, or his successor, who took advantage of the disorder in the empire to throw off the yoke of the Sultanate, and hence Firuz selected a Hindu ruler of Tirhut from a different family, thereby finally extinguishing the rule of the old Karnata family whose traditions and sentiments made them unreliable feudatories.

Reference is made in the Vamsavaiis of Nepal to Jayatsimha, a prince of Tirhut, belonging to the Karnata family, who played a leading part in the somewhat chaotic political condition of Nepal after A.D. 1330. 36 This also presupposes the existence of a Karnata family in Tirhut with real possession of, or pretended claim to, the throne.

It will appear from the history of Nepal, discussed in the next section, that while Harisimha and his descendants were ruling as suzerains of Nepal, there were local dynasties actually wielding sovereign authority in the Nepal valley proper. It is not yet definitely established, what portion of the kingdom was under the actual sway of Harisimha's family. It is not unlikely that .they had established themselves in the border-land between Tirhut and Nepal, the region where Harisimha resisted the might of the imperial Delhi army.

All these scattered evidences make it likely that the members of the Karnata family played some part in the history of Tirhut till the arrival there of Firuz Tughluq, on his way to Bengal, in

A.D. 1353. As noted above, on the authority of Barani, FIruz set up a new king on the throne of Tirhut who readily accepted the suzerainty of Delhi. This is supported by traditions of Tirhut which, though often vague, contradictory, and confusing, perhaps contain a kernel of truth. Reference may here be made only to a few traditions preserved in the literary works of the famous poet Vidyapati, who flourished in the fifteenth century A.D. and graced the courts of several kings of Tirhut, including Sivasimha, the most well-known of them all. The historial references in Vidyapati's literary works may be summed up as follows: 37

In A.D. 1326 Harasimha (Harisimha) abandoned the kingdom of Tirhut and went into the Nepal jungle. The Emperor of Delhi then conferred the kingdom on Kamesvara Thakkura. The names of his descendants, so far as is necessary for our present purpose, are shown in the following genealogical tree:

Kamesvara Thakkura

Bhogisvara Bhavesa or Bhavasimha

Ganesvara Devasimha

Virasimha Klrttisimha Sivasimha

(patron of Vidyapati)

FIruz Shah Tughluq deposed Kamesvara and gave the throne to his younger son Bhogisvara. He w T as a friend of FIruz, and was succeeded by his son Ganesvara.

Ganesvara was treacherously killed in L.S. 252 (A.D. 1370) by Aslan, evidently a Muslim, who wanted to usurp the throne of Mithila. But the three sons of Ganesvara, namely Virasimha, Klrttisimha, and Rajasimha, with the help of Ibrahim Shah, defeated and killed Aslan. As Virasimha also died in this battle, Ibrahim Shah made Klrttisimha, his younger brother, the king of Mithila. Elsewhere Vidyapati says that Ganesvara had two sons; Klrtti was the younger, but went to Delhi, and was given the kingdom by the emperor.

Bhogisvara, on becoming king, had divided the kingdom with his brother Bhavasimha. Klrttisimha died childless and so did his brother, and the two kingdoms were thus united, after his death, under Sivasimha.

According to the traditional account of Mithila, Kamesvara Thakkura founded the famous Sugauna dynasty of Brahmana kings who, as we shall see later, ruled in Tirhut till A.D. 1526. The royal family is also called Oinavara, from the name of their native village Oinl (in Muzaffarpur District). 38

It would appear from Vidyapati’s account, quoted above, that Kamesvara ruled over Tirhut from A.D. 1326 till he was deposed by Firuz Tughluq. This is, however, very doubtful. For, elsewhere Vidyapati styles him merely as Rajapandita, and some scholars have expressed a doubt whether he at all became the king of Mithila 39 . It appears, however, from other evidences that he actually ruled over Mithila, though only for a very short period, from A.D. 1350 to 1353. 40

Again, Vidyapati’s reference to the invasion of Tirhut by Aslan and his subsequent defeat by Ibrahim 41 cannot be reconciled with known facts of history, though desperate attempts have been made by several scholars to make it appear historical by amending Vidyapati’s text. M. Chakravarti seems to be right in rejecting the passage of Vidyapati as corrupt. 42 Again, the statement of Vidyapati that Kirttisimha, though a younger son, succeeded his father through the intervention of the Emperor of Delhi, cannot be reconciled with the other statement about Ibrahim, if we take him as the Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur. It is further contradicted by the fact that Vidyapati himself gives the title Mahdrdjadhirdja to the elder brother, Virasimha.

As Vidyapati was very nearly a contemporary, we can only explain away these contradictions and improbabilities by supposing a revision and corruption of the text in later times. Similarly the traditions recorded in various other books cannot be held as trustworthy in all details, as they are often contradictory, and not supported by any reliable evidence. It is not, therefore, possible to give a detailed account of the history of Tirhut during the reign of the Sugauna dynasty, and we may discuss it only in broad outline.

Mention has been made above of the first king Kamesvara, the division of the kingdom into two parts after his death, his three or four (if we include Virasimha) successors, ruling over one part, and the reunion of the kingdom under Sivasimha, son of Devasimha, grandson of Bhavasimha (son of Kamesvara), who ruled over the other part.

According to M. Chakravarti, however, there was no division of the kingdom and Bhavasimha succeeded Kirttisimha. 43 Others reconcile the two by admitting the division, but regarding Bhavasimha as the successor of Kirttisimha, the grandson of his brother. 44 In this case, however, the reunion took place in the reign of Bhava

simha, not Sivasimha, as postulated before on the authority of Vidyapati. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the reigns of these kings, 45 most of which were uneventful or troubled by internal dissensions and occasional invasion by the Muslims. But a great deal of importance attaches to the status of these kings vis a vis the Sultan of Delhi. It seems that they paid nominal allegiance, and perhaps even occasional tribute, to the Sultan, when he was strong enough to exact them. But under a weak Sultan both were refused, and in some cases the king of Tirhut even issued coins in his own name. The reign of Sivasiriiha, the greatest ruler of the dynasty, offers a striking illustration of the general state of changing political conditions after the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Tirhut was now hemmed in between the two independent Muslim kingdoms of Bengal and Jaunpur. The Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur occasionally imposed his authority, taking, as usual, full advantage of disputed successions in which one party appealed to him for aid. In the concluding verse of the Purusha parlksha, Vidyapati says that Sivasimha gained glory in a terrible battle with the king of Gauda and with (him of) Gajjana. 46 The former undoubtedly refers to Bengal, and the latter, probably to Jaunpur. It is impossible to recover historical truth from the mass of legends recorded by the famous contemporary poet Vidyapati, and his vague, general statements about the decisive victory of Sivasimha over the Muslims cannot be taken at their face value. An important evidence of Sivasimha's general success and freedom from the Muslim yoke is furnished by the gold coins issued by him 47

According to a tradition recorded by Mulla Taqyya, a courtier of Akbar and Jahangir, Ibrahim Sharqi, the Sultan of Jampur, while proceeding against Bengal to chastise Raja Ganesa 473 , was opposed by "Sheo Singh, the Zamindar of Tirhut who had rebelled against his father, Raja Deva Singh made an alliance with Raja Ganesa, and thus became an independent ruler of Tirhut." Sheo Singh was defeated and taken prisoner and "the whole territory of Tirhut was again transferred to his father as a loyal servant of the Sultan”. Mulla Taqyya gives the date of this event as 805 ATI. (1402-3 A.D.). The date is obviously wrong as Ganesa came to power much later (about 1417 A.D.). It is, however, more likely that the Muslim ruler against whom Sivasimha fought was the Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur rather than the Sultan of Delhi. There may be some truth in Taqyya’s statement that Sivasimha was an independent ruler who felt powerful enough to challenge the Sultan of Jaunpur, as it tallies with the account given above. But his alliance with Raja Ganesa, rebellion against his father, and defeat and imprisonment by Ibrahim Sharqi, as alleged by Mulla Taqyya are

not supported by any other evidence. As the date of Ibrahim’s invasion of Bengal, given by him is wrong, it is evident that Taqyya had no authentic account before him but relied mostly on current traditions. 4713

Taqyya quoted an inscription on a mosque at Darbhanga recording its construction by the orders of Sultan Ibrahim in 805 A.H. (1402-3 A.D.). Probably this was done when Ibrahim came to Tirhut to punish the usurper Aslan as mentioned above. Taqyya might have been misled by this inscription not only to refer the later expedition of Ibrahim against Ganesa to this date but also to drag in the name of Sivasimha in that connection.

Sivasimha’s copper-plate grant in favour of Vidyapati is drawn up in the grandiloquent style of the old Hindu Emperors, and is dated in La Sam 293, Sana 807, Samvat 1455, &aka 1321. 48 The mention of four different eras is unusual, but the existence of the Sana-era at that time may be doubted, as it appears to have been introduced by Akbar by the conversion of the lunar Hijra year to a solar one. On these grounds the grant has been regarded as spurious by some. 49

The only authentic date of Sivasimha seems to be La Sam 291, known from a colophon of a manuscript. 50 If interpreted in the usual manner by taking A.D. 1119 as the epoch of the La Sam, it would be equivalent to A.D. 1410, but many instances are known where La Sam was counted with the initial year varying between A.D. 1107 and 1120. 51

According to Vidyapati, Yavana forces attacked Sivasimha 57 who, after his fight with the Muslims, became independent king of Tirhut in L. S. 293 or

Saka 1324 (A.D. 1402). 53 His father Devasirhha had left the family residence of OinI and founded the city of Sivasimhapura, also known as Gajarathapura. When Sivasimha had been three years and nine months on the throne after his father's death, he was conquered by the Musulmans and carried to Delhi. His wife, Lakhima, with Vidyapati, took refuge in Banaull which is close to Janakapura in Nepal. When no news of Sivasimha had. been received from Delhi for twelve years, Lakhima became sat! 54 and Padmasimha, Sivasimha's younger brother, came to the throne; but he reigned only for a year. He was succeeded by his widow Visvasa Devi, who reigned for twelve years.

The genuineness of this passage may be doubted. As a matter of fact, different views are current regarding the order of succession after the death of Sivasimha. According to some, he was succeeded by his brother Padmasimha, after whom the sovereignty passed to Harasimha, a member of a junior branch of the family. 55 According

to others, Lakhima, the chief queen of Sivasimha, and Visvasa Devi, queen of Padmasimha, ascended the throne after the death of their husbands. 56

Dhlrasimha, the grandson of Harasimha, is described as a great warrior and world-famous conqueror by Vidyapati in the opening lines of the Durgabhakti-tarangim , and his brother is credited with the subjugation of the lord of Pahcha-Gauda (Bengal). 57 One of his known dates is La Sam 321, which falls between A.D. 1428 and 1441. 58 The Sultanates of Delhi, Bengal, and Jaunpur, as mentioned above, were then passing through evil days, being convulsed by internal dissensions and foreign wars. It is not unlikely, therefore, that Dhlrasimha took advantage of them to assert his independence and carry on raids against his neighbours. Bhairavendra or Bhairavasimha, the younger brother of Dhlrasimha, succeeded him. He had defeated the Lord of Pahcha-Gauda during his brother's reign, and is said to have influenced Kedara Raya, the representative of the Lord of Gauda (Bengal). 59 He had the epithet Harinarayana and was the patron of Vachaspati Misra. Ramachandra, the son and successor of Bhairavendra, had the epithet Rupanarayana and ruled about A.D. 1490. He is said to have met Sikandar Lodi as a friend and conquered Gauda. 60 The next king, Lakshmmathadeva Kamsanarayana, two of whose known dates are A.D. 1510 and 1513, is described as a great “warrior king” and the “king of kings”. It is evident that for nearly three quarters of a century kings of Tirhut were playing an important role in East Indian politics in the confused political situation of the country, and fought with the neighbouring rulers of Jaunpur and Bengal. After Jaunpur was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate and Sikandar Lodi advanced through Bihar in pursuit of Husain Sharql, he turned his attention to Tirhut (A.D. 1494-5). The ruler of Tirhut submitted peacefully and offered some lakhs of tankas as tribute and present. 61 Next year Sikandar Lodi concluded peace with Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal on the basis of status quo . Shortly afterwards Husain conquered Saran, as is proved by his inscription at that place dated A.D. 1503-4. 62 But as Saran lay outside Tirhut, and the Muslim invaders, as mentioned above, usually avoided Tirhut while proceeding towards Awadh and Delhi, the inscription does not prove the conquest of the whole of Tirhut by Husain Shah of Bengal, 63 particularly as Lakshmlnatha is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1510 or 1513. This view is further supported by the fact that Husain’s son and successor Nusrat Shah (A.D. 1519-32) sent a military expedition against Tirhut which subjugated the province. That the victory was complete is proved by the fact that Nusrat annexed Tirhut and appointed his two brothers-in-law to govern the province. According to literary evidence Lakshmlnatha died in A.D. 1526 With him the Hindu State of Mithila or Tirhut was finally extinguished. There were altogether about 15 rulers in the Sugauna dynasty who ruled from c. A.D. 1353 to 1526.

During this period another family of kings ruled in the territory, south of Nepal, on both sides of the Gandak, roughly corresponding to Gorakhpur and Champaran Districts. Two kings of this dynasty are mentioned in the colophons of manuscripts, namely Prithvisirhhadeva (A.D. 1434-35) and Madanasimhadeva, for whom we have got two dates, V. S. 1511 (A.D. 1453-54) and La Sam 339 (A.D. 1446 to 1459). He was the author of the Madana-ratnapradipa. He is referred to as king Madanasimhadeva, son of king Saktisimha, and adorned by many birudas. One of these is Vipravdja which shows that he was a Brahmana. Another is Daityanarayana, which links him with the kings of the Oinavara line many of whom assumed titles ending in Narayana. It also shows that the king was of Vaishnava faith. This makes it probable that it was he who issued the series of coins, found in the region over which he ruled and bearing the legend “ Govmda-charana-pranava-madana” on the obverse and c Sri-Champakdranya’ on the reverse. On general grounds also these coins are to be referred to the 15th century A.D., and indicate the existence of a Hindu kingdom in the Champaran District. The three kings Prithvisirhha, Saktisimha and Madanasimha may be presumed to be its rulers. 64

It has been suggested that these kings represent a branch of the Oinavara family which established a separate kingdom after the death of Sivasimha. 65 Curiously enough, the traditions and legends of Mithila, which refer to all sorts of possible and impossible historical events, are quite silent about them.

S. Levi has suggested that these kings belonged to the family of Harisimha, evidently on the similarity of names of two kings, Madanasimha and Saktisimha, presumably successors of Harisimha, who, according to Chinese chronicles, ruled in Nepal respectively in A.D. 1387 and 1413. 66 The epithet bipra or Brahmana, however, goes against this view.

Casual references are made to other kings in the same region. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1500, engraved on the Lauriya Nandangarh Pillar of Asoka, mentions “ Nripa-Nardyana-suta-nripa Amarasimha”. 61 Whether Amarasimha, son of king Narayana, was a ruling chief of this region and, if so, whether he belonged to the dynasty of Champaran mentioned above,—all these and cognate questions cannot be answered at present. But it is not unlikely that there were many powerful feudatory chiefs in this region who occasionally declared independence whenever a suitable opportunity presented itself.

The survival of the small state of Tirhut, a tiny Hindu island in the Muslim ocean, must be regarded as an event of the highest importance from the point of view of medieval Hindu culture. As has been very rightly pointed out, “it gave refuge to a number of Pandits and students flying from the flames of foreign invasions that burnt up the neighbouring centres of learning”. 68 Sanskrit learning flourished under the patronage of the Hindu rulers in Mithila, such as it did nowhere else in Northern India during the seven hundred years that followed the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate. Mithila School was not only instrumental in preserving the old Sanskrit works and traditions dealing particularly with laws and usages, but also contributed a great deal that was new, specially in the branch of Nyaya. A detailed account of all this will be given in the chapter on Literature. It will suffice here to state that during the period under review Mithila produced famous scholars like Chandesvara Thakkura and Vachaspati Misra, whose names are even now remembered all over India. Thus the contribution of the small State of Tirhut or Mithila to the preservation and development of Hindu culture, during the medieval age, exceeds far in importance, and gives a special value to, the annals of its political history.

III. NEPAL

According to tradition of Nepal, King Nanyadeva’s descendants, right up to Harisimha, ruled over Nepal in an unbroken line of succession during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. But, as mentioned above, this is hard to reconcile with the fact that throughout the same period the Vamsavdtis of Nepal refer to indigenous kings ruling in unbroken succession. 1 The only possible explanation seems to be that the descendants of Nanya were really rulers of Tirhut, but maintained a sort of suzerainty over Nepal, the nature of which probably varied from time to time and cannot be precisely defined. 2 The conquest of Nepal by Harisimha, to which reference has been made above, 3 may be regarded as a practical assertion of the suzerainty rather than a fresh conquest.

This is supported by a local tradition to the effect that the chiefs and peoples of Bhatgaon welcomed Harisimha to the palace without any resistance. This is attributed to the power of the goddess Tulaja, the patron deity of Harisimhadeva. 4 But a less mysterious explanation may be found in the long-standing claim of suzerainty on the part of the king of Mithila. That the occupation of Nepal was not effected without some fight, appears clearly from the boast of Chandesvara that he was “victorious over all the kings of Nepal”.

Levi drawn attention to the slight differences in the wordings of this boast in two different works of Chandesvara. In the Kritya-ratndkara Chandesvara is an aggressive conqueror of Nepal. In the Kritya-chintamani, he is the heroic defender. 5 If the change is a deliberate one 5 the first may refer to the original conquest, and the second to the defence of the kingdom against the Muslims. No actual invasion of Nepal by any Muslim force at this period is recorded, but it is interesting to refer in this connection to a single coin bearing the name of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji which was probably minted in Nepal. It has been inferred from this coin that the ruler of Nepal acknowledged the suzerainty of ‘Ala-ud-din, but this is very problematical. 54

Not much is known about Harisimha’s rule in Nepal. The unsettled nature of the time is indicated by the invasion of Nepal, in A.D. 1328, by Adityamalla, the king of the Khasiyas of Western Nepal. 6 It is suggested by Levi that Harisirhha had probably by this time gone back to Tirhut where local dynasties, originating from him, ruled prosperously for a long time. 7 But, as we have seen above, 8 the Thakurs who ruled in Tirhut from about A.D. 1353 to 1526, to whom Levi obviously refers, belonged to a local Brahmana family and do not claim any connection with the Karnata family to which Harisimha belonged.

As a matter of fact the fate of Harisimha’s family after he settled in Nepal is a moot point to decide. Harisimha is mentioned in almost all the Vamsdvalts as the king of Nepal and is said to have ruled for 28 years. But there is no unanimity in the Vamsavalis of Nepal about his successors. Later chronicles mention three kings, as successors of Harisimha, and legitimate rulers of Nepal. These are: 9

1. Matisirhha—15 years.

2. Saktisimha—22 (27 or 33) years.

3. :§yamasimha—15 years.

All these are recognized as SuryavamsI kings of Bhatgaon. The official genealogy, as given in the epigraphic records of the Malla kings during the seventeenth century, however, completely ignores the above three kings, and none of them is referred to in any manuscript of Nepal.

The later chronicles, however, not only give the names of these three kings, but also describe some incidents of each reign. The most interesting of these is the mention of diplomatic relations between them and the Emperor of China. For this enables us to check the veracity of these chronicles. The Chinese texts, according to Levi, leave no doubt that the Chinese Emperors sent embassies

to, and received embassies from, the successors of Harisimha mentioned above, with slight variations in names, due, perhaps, to the error, either of the Nepalese or of the Chinese scribes. 9a It is thus definitely proved that at least during the period of diplomatic intercourse, namely between A.D. 1387 and 1418, the Chinese knew of no other kings in Nepal except the descendants of Harisimha.

Nevertheless the Nepalese V arks avails have preserved a continuous list of indigenous kings, many of whom must have been contemporaries, ruling over petty States in addition to those of Patan and Bhatgoan. It is possible here to refer to a few leading rulers only. As mentioned above, 10 Jayarudramalla died in A.D. 1326, and this roughly coincides with the date of Harisimha’s conquest. Almost all the Vamsdvalis agree that Harisimha ruled over Nepal, but the political history after his death is given differently. According to the later chronicles, after the reigns of Harisimha and his three successors mentioned above, Jayabhadramalia, the son-in-law of the last king Syamasimha, ascended the throne. He was followed by five kings, whose names end in Maila, the last one being Asokamalla. The names of none of these are known from other sources. 11

Some Vamsdvalis and the Introduction of Mudita-Kuvalaydsva mention Valliarasimha as the successor of Harisimha. Then follow three Maila kings ending in Asokamalla. 12

In both cases Asokamalla was succeeded by Jayasthitimalla, with whose reign the history of Nepal again enters upon a firm ground which is never lost.

Much important information regarding the period is supplied by a semi-Sanskrit Vamsdvali, discovered by Bendall in 1899, 13 composed towards the end of the fourteenth century A.D. It makes no mention of the invasion of Harisimha, and continues, without any break, the history of the indigenous Malta kings after Jayarudramalla, who died in A.D. 1326. 14 The infant son of Jayarudra died a few days after his father's death, and Nayakadevi, the daughter of Jayarudra, was married (after being crowned Rani according to another Vamsdvali) to Harichandra belonging to the royal family of . Banaras. Harichandra was poisoned, after some years, in A.D. 1335, and thereafter his brother Gopaladeva, accompanied by Jagatsimhadeva, described as belonging to Karnata family and a native of Tirhut, seized the person of Nayakadevi. The allies, who appear to have taken Bhatgoan and Patan, however, fell out and Gopala was beheaded by the followers of Jagatsimha (A.D. 1341). Jagatsimha seized the kingdom and married Nayakadevi, but was put into confinement, it is not mentioned by whom, after only a few days. Nayakadevi also died, ten days after giving birth to a daughter,

RajalladevI (A.D. 1347). Mention is made of Pasupatimalladeva, but his connection with the above persons or incidents is not stated. Possibly he represented a rival line of kings and had some share in the imprisonment of Jagatsirhha, 15 for it is said, immediately after, that "by the consent of both royal families Jayarajadeva was made king in 467" (A.D. 1347, about five months before the birth of RajalladevI), and this "was subsequently ratified by general consent". The two royal families were probably the Simhas and the Mallas. 16 Jayaraja, who was born in A.D. 1317, was the son of Jayananda, the successor of Anantamalla (A.D. 1279-1307) as mentioned above, 17 and was succeeded by his son Jayarjuna. In the meantime RajalladevI had been married to Jayasthitimalla who eventually dethroned Jayarjuna and became ruler of Nepal.

The historicity of Jayarajadeva is proved by both literary and epigraphic evidence. Manuscripts were copied during his reign in A.D. 1353-4, 1356, and 1361. 18 Far more important are two inscriptions, one dated A.D. 1357, at Patan, and the second, dated A.D. 1372, in the shrine of

Svayambhunatha, about six miles from the temple of Fasupati at Kathmandu. 19 Both of these refer to the depredations, particularly burning and pillage of temples, caused by the invasion of Shams-ud-dln Ilyas Shah of Bengal. The second inscription specifically states that the invasion took place during the reign of Jayaraja in the year 470 20 of the Nepal era (=A.D. 1350). The Varh&avali discovered by Bendall, mentioned above, also refers to this Muslim invasion during the reign of Jayaraja. It states that Jayaraja was forced, in A.D. 1348 and again in 1349, to draw upon the treasury of the Lord Fasupati. In 1349, "Samasadina, the Suratriana of the East, came to Nepal, broke Pasupati into three pieces and burnt the whole of Nepal". 21

The second inscription, 22 referred to above, clears up the mystery and obscurity that hitherto surrounded the history of Nepal at this period. It tells us that some time after the invasion of Ilyas Jayaraja died, being burnt in his house while asleep. He was succeeded by his son Jayarjuna. At that time Jayasthitimalla was protecting the famous town of Kashthamandapa (Kathmandu). Mention is then made of Rajaharshamalla and his two brothers, who distinguished themselves by defeating the enemies. Rajaharshamalla, with the consent of the two kings, like Indra and Upendra, rebuilt and decorated the Dharmadhatu stupa in the year 492 (=A.D. 1371-2).

It would thus appear that the internal dissensions were merely patched up for a time by the accession of Jayaraja, but the seeds of disunion were not rooted out altogether. A rival, Jayasthitimalla,

established himself at Kathmandu, and whatever might have been his original status, there is hardly any doubt that by A.D. 1371-2 he was practically recognized as an independent ruler. He is not only referred to as the moon of the Kshatriya ocean, but it is expressly said that Raj aharshamalla had to take permission from the two kings, an expression which could only imply that like Jayarjuna, Jayasthitimalla also enjoyed sovereign status, at least de facto, if not de jure. It is only a short step from this position to the sovereignty of the whole of Nepal. The political situation in Nepal after the ruthless invasion of Ilyas Shah must have helped a strong adventurer to secure the throne. For, though the Muslim invasion was nothing but a raid, it destroyed the prestige of the ruling family and created a state of disorder where one could easily fish in troubled waters. Jayasthitimalla evidently based his claim to the throne upon the Karnata origin of his wife's father Jagatsimha. But to increase this glory still further, Jayasthitimalla and his descendants traced their descent through the male line direct from Harisiriiha, and the whole genealogy was transformed to substantiate this claim.

Jayarjunamalla, who came to the throne after the Muslim invasion in A.D. 1349-50, is known from colophons of manuscripts to have been ruling from A.D. 1361 to 1382. He died in A.D. 1382, when Jayasthitimalla became the sole ruler. 23 According to the Vamscivalis, he ruled for 43 years, and must have died at the end of A.D. 1395 or at the beginning of 1396. 24

These dates, authenticated by unimpeachable evidence of manuscripts and inscriptions, raise an interesting problem. As we have seen above, there was diplomatic intercourse between China and Nepal between A.D. 1387 and 1418, and during this period the Chinese do not know of Jayasthitimalla and his successors, but only the descendants of Harisimha, mentioned above, as rulers of Nepal.

There is a reference to a ruler named Jayasimha Rama in a manuscript copied in A.D. 1395-6, and in another document, thirty years earlier, along with Jayarjuna. There is also a casual mention of a person of the same name accompanying Jayasthitimalla in the procession of Matsyendranatha in A.D. 1387. 2,5 The royal name ending in 'simha' naturally recalls to memory the Karnata family of Harisimha, and indirectly corroborates the Chinese evidence that this family was not extinct in Nepal even at the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. Perhaps, as Levi suggests, 26 the kings of his family lived at Bhatgaon as nominal suzerains, while the indigenous rulers, mentioned above, reigned at the other two capitals,

Patan and Kathmandu, as their nominal vassals. In any case the Chinese evidence hardly leaves any doubt that, side by side with the indigenous rulers of Nepal, the kings of Karnata family, descended from Harisimha, exercised an effective power somewhere in the Nepal valley and were recognized as the rulers of Nepal by the imperial court of China.

Jayasthitimalla was a capable ruler. He restored the unity and prosperity of Nepal by thoroughly curbing the power of the feudal chiefs whose mutual dissensions had brought ruin upon Nepal by dividing it into two or more autonomous States. He was a patron of literature and introduced many social and economic reforms. Among others, he fixed, by rule, the status of the different castes and classes, and made regulations about measures and weights. He assumed the titles Dayitanarayana and Asuranarayana. 27

Jayasthitimalla had three sons who at first ruled conjointly after their father's death, as is proved by colophons dated A.D. 1398 and 1400. But in A.D. 1411 the manuscript of Siddhi-sdra, comsposed by the youngest, Jayajyotirmalla, gives his name alone, with imperial titles. An official inscription, dated A.D. 1413, shows that he was then the sole emperor. He ruled at least up to A.D. 1426-7. The assumption of imperial titles probably marks his virtual defiance of the imperial authority of Harisimha's family. Jayajyotirmalla was a contemporary of Saktisimha of this family who, according to the Chinese chronicles, ruled between A.D. 1413 and 1418. These Chinese chronicles state that when the Chinese Emperor tried to renew the friendly intercourse in 1427 he got no response. 28 This shows that some time between A.D. 1418 and 1427 Jayajyotirmalla, who had already assumed imperial titles, finally extinguished even the nominal pretensions of the Karnata family of Harisimha. It is to be noted that Saktisimha sent his presents to the Chinese Emperor from Palamchok, to the east of Nepal valley proper. 29 Presumably he had to leave Nepal before A.D. 1418.

Jayajyotirmalla was succeeded by his son Jayayakshamalla, whose known dates range over more than half a century, between A.D. 1427 and 1479. The Nepalese chronicles refer to his victories all round, extending as far as Mithila, Magadha, Vanga and Tibet. These are no doubt hyperboles, but there may be some truth in the claim that he defeated the Gurkha chiefs and established his authority over the whole of Nepal by subjugating the hill tribes and subduing the rebellious nobles of Patan and Kathmandu. 30

Before his death (about A.D. 1480), he divided his kingdom among his three sons and one daughter, thus creating the four independent States of Bhatgaon, Banepa, Kathmandu and Patan.

Patan was shortly afterwards united to Kathmandu, and thus, towards the end of the period under review, Nepal was divided into three independent States, all ruled by the members of the same family, whose quarrels and dissensions paved the way for the Gurkha conquest in A.D. 1768.

E. MALABAR AND THE PORTUGUESE

I. MALABAR

The whole of the western coast of India, from Goa to Quilon, was outside the Tughluq Empire, and consisted of a number of small principalities, mostly Hindu. Ibn Batutah gives a short account of some of these States which he visited on his way to China in A.D. 1343-4. 1

Ibn Batutah boarded a sailing vessel at Gandhar near the mouth of the Narmada, and after passing through a few harbours reached Sandapur, modern Goa. It was an island, surrounded by a creek, in the midst of which were thirty-six villages and two cities, namely, the old one, built by the old Hindu rulers, and a new city built by the Muslims, when they first conquered it (pp. 176-7).

Passing through a small island, probably Anjidiv, Ibn Batutah reached Hinawr (probably modern Honavar) inhabited by Muslims who were “powerful at sea” and “earned their living by maritime trade”. The ruler was a Muslim, Jamal-ud-din Muhammad, but he acknowledged the suzerainty of a Hindu, probably the Hoysala king (pp. 179-80).

Though Ibn Batutah speaks in a general way of the coast of Malabar—the pepper country—as extending from Goa to Quilon, it appears from his detailed description that Malabar proper was reached three days after he left Hinawr.

Ibn Batutah found twelve Hindu States in Malabar. Some of them were very powerful, possessing an army of fifty thousand men, while others were very weak, and could not muster more than three thousand. Yet they lived in peace and amity. That the rulers were all Nairs follows from the statement that "the rulers in this land bequeath their sovereignty to the sons of their sisters and exclude their own children" (p. 183).

Although the rulers were Hindu, there was a strong Muslim community in each State. Though they usually lived apart, they received very fair and liberal treatment and enjoyed perfect freedom of worship which the Muslim rulers denied to the Hindus. In Fakanar (a place in South Canara) the thirty war-ships of the Raja were in charge of a Muslim commander. The ruler of Jurfattan, which has been identified with Cannanore, possessed many ships which went to Oman, Fars, and Yemen (p. 186).

After a brief halt at Calicut, to which reference will be made later, Ibn Batutah proceeded by way of river to Quilon. On his way he passed through a Jewish settlement at Kunjakari living under a Jewish chief, but paying tax to the Hindu ruler of Quilon.[2] This Hindu Raja held the Muslims in high regard, and they had a prosperous settlement under their own chief and judge, both of whom hailed from Persia (p. 193).

II. CALICUT

The most powerful chief in Malabar, during the 14th and 15th centuries, was the ruler of Calicut, called Zamorin. Reference has been made above[3] to the rule of the Perumals in Kerala and the last king of this dynasty, Cheraman Perumal. Various stories are current about his pilgrimage, after abdication and conversion to either Christianity or Islam. These traditions have little historical value, and were evidently circulated to explain the growth of Muslim and Christian settlements in Malabar about this time.[4]

The date of Cheraman Perumal is not definitely known, but most probably he flourished between A.D. 750 and 825. The end of the rule of the Perumals gave rise to a number of small principalities in Malabar, the most important of which was Calicut. Many traditions are current, tracing the line of the rulers of Calicut, called Zamorin, in an unbroken line of succession from Manavikraman, the son of Cheraman Perumal and a Nair girl belonging to the family of the Eradis of Nediyiruppu. It is said that as this son could not succeed his father under the matriarchal system prevalent among the Nairs, Cheraman Perumal, at the time of his abdication, gave him, “as a special mark of regard and affection his sword and the small strip of territory on the coast which later on became the port of Calicut”.[6]

Whatever we might think of this story or of the traditional account of the kingdom in subsequent times, there is no doubt that it was the most powerful kingdom and the chief centre of trade in'Malabar as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.

The riches derived from trade enabled the Zamorin to extend his authority along the Malabar coast from Cannanore to Cochin. The Hindu ruler of Cochin traced his descent from the SuryaKshatriya clan to whom Cheraman Perumal is said to have given the country round Cochin when he divided his empire. In course of time the kingdom was split up among five branches of the dynasty, who formed a sort of federation, the oldest male member among all the branches taken together having the right to succeed to the nominal headship. This naturally gave rise to internal dissensions, full advantage of which was taken by the Zamorin of Calicut. By offering his help to one of the rival parties, he could easily establish his political influence in Cochin, and in this way he conquered a large part of the region round Cochin and reduced the Raja to a state of vassalage.[6] According to the historical chronicles of Kerala, “the Cochin Raja paid an annual tribute to his suzerain (Zamorin), obtained his overlord’s recognition before his accession, sent contingents to the Zamorin’s army, and refrained from striking coins and roofing his palace with tiles. He had to send all his pepper to Calicut, and the Christians were deprived of the right of navigation which was transferred to the Moors”.[7] This is partly corroborated by the Portuguese accounts[8] according to which the kingdom of Cochin, like Cannanore, was subject to the Zamorin, who often drove the king of Cochin out of his kingdom and restored him at his pleasure. The king of Cochin, we are further told, gave him every year a certain number of elephants and could not strike coins nor roof his palace with tiles.

Ibn Batutah, who visited the city of Calicut no less than six times, and stayed there for nearly three months on his first visit, has left an account of its commercial importance. It was “one of the chief harbours of the country of Malabar, where people from China, Sumatra (Jawa), Ceylon (Saylcm), the Maidive islands (Mahal), Yemen and Fars come, and here gather merchants from all quarters of the globe. And the harbour of Calicut is one of the largest in the world”. 9 The trade and commerce were in the hands of Muslims, mostly traders from Arabian ports. Ibrahim, a merchant from Bahrein, was the head of the merchants in this town and held the office of ‘Shah Bandar’ or ‘receiver-general of duties’. He was the chief officer in the customs house with whom foreign merchants and captains negotiated. The judge of Calicut was also a Muslim. Another Muslim, the ship-master Misqal, “possessed great riches and many ships for trading purposes in India, China, Yemen and Fars”. 10

Thus, although the ruler was Hindu, the Muslims strongly dominated not only the commerce but also the politics of the kingdom of Calicut. The king gave absolute freedom of worship to the Muslims, though he forbade the slaughter of cows and the eating of beef. 11 The religious toleration, the good administration which guaranteed security and impartiality of treatment to all, and, above all, the friendly attitude of Zamorin to all foreign traders, were some of the causes that made Calicut the chief centre of trade in Malabar.

But these very virtues of the Zamorin proved his undoing on the advent of the Portuguese.

III. the western trade

In order to view the history of the Portuguese in India in its true perspective, it is necessary to make a few preliminary observations about the maritime trade of India. Economic factors have often profoundly influenced the course of history, and sometimes even revolutionized it. The foreign trade and maritime activities of India, during the period under review, suddenly changed the course of history, not only of India but of the whole civilized world.

Reference has been made in the preceding volumes to the maritime trade carried on by the Indians since remote antiquity, both in the eastern and in the western seas. The rise of the Arabs as a great maritime power in tjie ninth century A.D. was the first direct challenge to the supremacy of the Indians in the Western Sea. An authentic account of the rivalry between the two maritime powers is not available. But the position in the fifteenth century A. D. may be summed up as follows: 12

1. Indian owned ships, from Gujarat, Malabar, and various ports on the eastern coast, brought spices and other costly goods from Malacca, “then practically the sole entrepot for China and the Spice Islands”. On the west, Indian ships carried on trade with Hormuz in the Persian Gulf and various ports on the coast of East Africa, and pilgrim traffic to the Red Sea. The main centre of this trade was Gujarat, but Malabar and Konkan had also a large share in it in the fourteenth century A. D., as is proved by the detailed statement of Ibn Batutah. 13 A few junks from China still reached India, 14 but most of them stopped at Malacca. The junks of China were strongly built, 15 the timber being fastened by iron nails. The ships owned by Indians and Arabs (including Egyptians) were built mainly, if not exclusively, in India, but they were very frail as their heavy planks were made fast with cocoanut cordage and wooden pins.

2. The Arabs exercised a strict monopoly in the trade from Malabar to the Red Sea. The eastern goods brought by Indian ships to Malabar ports, together with the Indian pepper and cinnamon from Ceylon, were carried in Arab ships to Jidda and Ormuz. They also shared with Indian ships the carrying trade between Gujarat on the one hand and Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and East Africa on the other. From Ormuz Indian wares found their way in smaller boats, more suited to the navigation, to Basra, where the trade routes divided; some caravans started for Trebizond, and others for Aleppo

and Damascus. On the shores of the Mediterranean the goods were purchased by Venetians and Genoese for distribution over Europe. Jidda played the same role in the Red Sea as Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. To the north of Jidda navigation was hampered by reefs and shoals, and so goods were transferred to smaller boats that went to Suez* From Suez the merchandize crossed the desert to Cairo on camels, and thence went down the Nile to Alexandria. [16]

The most important consequence of this state of things was that the Arabs were almost the sole purveyors of the eastern spices which were much prized in Europe. They controlled the entire trade between India and Europe except the small volume that passed over land route, either from the north-west of India or from the head of the Persian Gulf.

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But the Arabs were also mere intermediaries. The goods carried by them to the Mediterranean ports were taken over by the Italian merchants, mainly from Genoa and Venice, who distributed them throughout Europe.

The cost of transmitting wares from India to Europe was very heavy, due to the large number of transhipments and high duties imposed by the various authorities through whose jurisdictions they had to pass. It has been calculated that when the wares from Calicut (in Malabar) reached Cairo, the ruler of the place, by various devices, exacted nearly one-third of their price as his own dues. [17]

In spite of heavy expenses the mercantile houses of Genoa and Venice reaped enormous profits, as the Indian goods fetched a very high price in European markets.

It could hardly be expected that the monopoly of Venice and Genoa in the profitable eastern trade would be looked upon with equanimity by the adventurous maritime nations like the Spanish and the Portuguese. The wonderful geographical discoveries by these two nations in course of the fifteenth century A.D. induced the Pope, Alexander VI, to regulate the enterprise into the unknown world by dividing it between them. He issued no less than four bulls for this purpose in A. D. 1493-94, by which the countries to the east of Europe were assigned to Portugal.

By this time the Portuguese had not only explored the entire western coast of Africa but even proceeded beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The lure of capturing the eastern trade naturally turned their attention towards an all-sea-route to India. For this would enable them to import goods from that country at a much cheaper cost and, by one stroke, transfer to them the huge wealth hitherto flowing to Genoa and Venice. Thus it was that Vasco da Gama was commissioned to find out a direct sea-route to India from Portu

gal via Cape of Good Hope. On July 8, 1497, 18 Vasco da Gama left Lisbon with three vessels, of a tonnage varying from 60 to 150, on this perilous undertaking.

IV. THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA

On May 17, 1498, 19 the inhabitants of the small village of Capucad, eight miles to the north of Calicut, saw the strange spectacle of three sailing vessels at anchor manned by white-skinned peoples unknown to them. The rural folk were amused, perhaps a little bewildered, but little did they dream that these were harbingers of untold sufferings to them and to their country.

These were the vessels which, under the leadership of Vasco da Gama, by mere accident, touched the land at a point lying within the kingdom of the Zamorin of Calicut, to whom reference has been made above. It was almost providential that da Gama had not anchored off Gujarat, for this principality was then ruled by the Muslims, who were the sworn enemies of the Portuguese, their most deadly rivals in over-sea trade.

The Zamorin, as usual, welcomed the strangers and provided all facilities to them in Calicut which was then an important centre of spice-trade. 20 This alarmed the powerful Muslim traders of Calicut who, not unreasonably, concluded that once the Portuguese got a footing in Calicut, they would extend their activities to all other ports and thus bring irretrievable ruin upon the Muslim traders. They therefore sought by every means in their power to prejudice the mind of the Zamorin against the new-comers. One objection which they urged before Zamorin’s officers proved to be prophetic. The Portuguese, they argued, had not certainly undertaken this long and tedious journey from their distant home “for mere purposes of trade, of which, being a ^wealthy nation, they had no need, but only to spy out the country with the view of returning and conquering it by force of arms and plundering it”.[21] The machinations of the Muslim traders, aided by large bribes to the officials, brought about an estrangement between the Portuguese and the Zamorin, and the high-handed actions of the former almost precipitated a crisis. In a fit of anger the Zamorin ordered that the goods in the Portuguese factory should be seized, and Vasco da Gama, together with his companions who were already prisoners, should be killed. But the chief Brahmana (priest?) and other officers induced the king to rescind the order, and brought about a reconciliation between him and the Portuguese. So when Vasco da Gama left the Indian shore on August 29, 1498, he had collected valuable information regarding trade and the route, and established friendly relations with the ruler and Hindu population of Calicut.

The successful venture of Vasco da Gama induced the king of Portugal to send a larger fleet of 13 vessels under Pedro Alvarez Cabral on March 9, 1500. Cabral had a series of adventures on the way and reached Calicut with only six vessels on September 13, 1500. The Zamorin cordially welcomed him, and a treaty of peace and friendship was concluded between the two. Thereupon the Portuguese established a factory at Calicut, but the Muslim traders placed every possible obstacle on their way of successful trade in spices. Cabral complained to the Zamorin and, in order to hasten his decision, attacked and seized a Muslim vessel that was loading in the harbour. These irritated the Muslim traders who attacked the Portuguese factory, killed Ayres Correa, the factor in charge, with fifty-three of his men, and destroyed the whole building. In revenge, Cabral destroyed ten Muslim vessels and bombarded the town of Calicut for two days. He then set sail and reached Cochin, another Hindu State, whose relation with the Zamorin has been noted above. Cabral signed a treaty of friendship with the Raja of Cochin, promising to conquer Zamorin’s kingdom for him, and established a factory. Here, too, the Muslim traders were actively hostile, but the Hindu Raja helped the Portuguese in every way, even to the extent of placing a guard over the factory building and allowing the Portuguese to sleep within the walls of his palace. When the fleet sent by the Zamorin to chastise the Portuguese was sighted near Cochin harbour in January, 1501, the Raja of Cochin warned them of the danger and offered assistance. The fleet of the Zamorin sailed away, chased by Cabral. While still at Cochin, Cabral received friendly messages of co-operation from the Rajas of Cannanore and Quilon. On his return journey Cabral visited Cannanore and received on board an ambassador from the Raja to the king of Portugal with presents and the offer of free trade in his kingdom. Thus the two great feudatories of the Zamorin sought to recover their independence with the help of the Portuguese.

On the basis of the report submitted by Cabral, the Portuguese king now entertained the ambitious project, not only to divert all Indian trade to Portugal by curbing the Arab ventures, but also to plant the Christian religion in India. With these ends in view he despatched in 1502 a fleet of twenty ships under Vasco da Gama.

As the first discoverer of the direct sea-route between Europe and India, Vasco da Gama occupies a unique place in the history of the modern world. But in his treatment of the Indians he may be described almost as a monster in the disguise of human form, a

worthy compeer of Sultan Mahmud and Tamerlane, though on a much smaller scale.

When his fleet reached Anjidiv, south of Goa, he committed a horrible cruelty described as follows by a European historian: “A rich Muslim pilgrim vessel on its way to India from the Red Sea was intercepted by da Gama’s fleet, plundered and sunk; there were many women and children on board; but to these no mercy was shown; and we actually read that da Gama watched the horrors of the scene through a porthole, merciless and unmoved”. 22

After halting at Cannanore for a few days, and renewing friendship with its king, da Gama proceeded to Calicut. The reputation of the Portuguese as a fighting power had reached so high that all the Indian and Arab ships had left the harbour, and the Zamorin, fearful of vengeance, sent a Briahmana as an envoy with the most conciliatory proposal. He sent twelve Muslims, who were guilty of outrages against the Portuguese during their last visit to the city, and a large amount recovered as fines for plundering the Portuguese factory. But da Gama was not satisfied, and made the expulsion of all the

Muslims out of the country ‘a preliminary condition to peace’. This being refused, da Gama bombarded the city for an entire day, killing many people and causing great damages to the city.

While still off Calicut, da Gama seized “a fleet of two large ships and twenty-two smaller vessels” which, laden with rice, had sailed from Coromandel. After having plundered the ships, da Gama “ordered his men to cut off the hands and ears and noses of all the crews. This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untying the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, to the number of about 800, heaped one on the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessel set on fire”. [23] The refined cruelty reserved for the Brahmana envoy sent by the Zamorin has perhaps no parallel in the history of the civilized world. His hands and ears were cut off, and he was sent back with the severed limbs carefully packed and a letter telling the king to make curry out of them and eat it. [24]

It has been truly observed that “da Gama had no bowels of compassion”. [26] But his lieutenants were worthy of the Captain. The friendly Raja of Cannanore having complained to da Gama against some Muslim ships leaving his harbour without paying the harbour duties and the price of goods, Vincente Sodre was sent to help him. Sodre at once decided to sink all the ships, but the Raja prevented this cruel deed. The Muslim owner of the ships, an inhabitant of Cairo, settled all pecuniary claims to the satisfaction of the Raja, but as he was reported to have uttered some insulting words, Vincente Sodre “had him tied to the mast and flogged with a rope’s-end until he fainted. Having filled his mouth with dirt, and tied over it a piece of bacon, he sent him back to his ship with his hands tied behind him”. [26]

The Indians thus had a foretaste of the barbarous and inhuman cruelties which characterized the Portuguese almost throughout the period of their dominance in Indian waters.

Vasco da Gama established a factory at Cochin and erected a defensive palisade at Cannanore. He then returned to Portugal, leaving Vincente Sodre with six vessels and a caravel to patrol the coast. The Portuguese could not save Cochin from the revenge of the Zamorin who overran the country, forcing its Raja and his Portuguese friends to take refuge in an island. But in 1503 three Portuguese squadrons arrived in Cochin, one of them commanded by the famous Affonso d’Albuquerque. The troops of the Zamorin were driven away from Cochin, and peace was concluded between the rulers of Calicut and Cochin. It was on this occasion that the Portuguese built at Cochin their first fortress in India.

In 1505, the Portuguese king adopted a new policy. Instead of sending annual expedition, and leaving a small garrison to protect the factories, he decided to appoint a Viceroy who would reside in India for three years. Francisco d’Alemeida, the first Viceroy, arrived in September, 1505, and made Cochin his headquarters. He strengthened and rebuilt the fort there, and also erected forts at Anjidiv (south of Goa) and Cannanore. The former was shortly abandoned and the Portuguese troops were concentrated in Cochin and Cannanore. There were several clashes with Muslim trading vessels in which the Portuguese were uniformly successful. The Zamorin of Calicut, alarmed at the growing power of the Portuguese in Indian waters, made a serious effort to drive them away. “In March 1506, an engagement took place between a large fleet of Muhammadan traders, armed and equipped by the Zamorin, and a Portuguese fleet of four vessels, resulting in the capture of the largest Muslim ships and a veritable massacre of their crews, with no casualties among the Portuguese”. [27]

The intention of the Portuguese to settle in India permanently, so clearly revealed by the establishment of a residential Viceroy and a standing fleet, as well as the construction of forts, alarmed the Muslim rulers of Bijapur, Gujarat and other smaller States. The establishment of Portuguese supremacy in Arabian Sea had also seriously affected the interest of Arabia and Egypt by depriving them of the duties levied on Indian goods. So when the Muslim rulers of India appealed to the Sultan of Egypt for aid, he readily agreed, and sent a fleet under Amir Husain who, in January 1508, severely defeated a Portuguese fleet, sent against it, off Chaul, in Konkan coast, less than twenty miles to the south of Bombay. The son of the Portuguese Viceroy, who commanded the fleet, lost his life. But next year, in February, 1509, the Viceroy Almeida avenged the death of his son by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Muslim fleet off Diu on the Gujarat coast.

In November, 1509, Affonso d'Albuquerque succeeded Viceroy Almeida, under the lower title of Governor of India. 28 Earlier in the year the Portuguese had made an unsuccessful attack on Calicut. One of the first acts of Albuquerque was to carry out the specific instruction of the king of Portugal to destroy Calicut, for, said he, nothing he would undertake with greater pleasure than the destruction of Calicut. The naval expedition arrived off Calicut on January 3, 1510. The Zamorin was absent, as was already ascertained by the spies of the Raja of Cochin, and the town, which contained but few troops, was sacked by the Portuguese. But then the people drove away the Portuguese who sailed back. Albuquerque himself received two -wounds and a number of high officers were killed.

The first achievement of Albuquerque was the conquest of Goa which belonged to the 'Adil Shahl rulers of Bijapur. On March 4, 1510, he occupied the defenceless city which offered little resistance, though he w r as forced to abandon it in the face of an attack by Yusuf 'Adil Khan. But Albuquerque stormed the city in November, 1510, strengthened its fortifications, and decided to make it his headquarters. In order to increase its commercial importance Albuquerque took steps to force all ships to put into Goa. He also provided all encouragement and facilities to traders, so that even Muslim traders in spices settled there. In order to have a substantial number of friendly people, he authorized a large number of Portuguese to marry Indian wives, and encouraged them by allotting lands, houses and cattle. 29

The Muslim Sultan had increased the taxes, but Albuquerque reduced it to the rate prevalent under Hindu rule. He further conciliated the Hindus by appointing them to government offices in larger numbers. He established a mint for the coinage of gold, silver, and copper money.

The fall of Goa and the defeat of the Sultan of Bijapur made a profound impression on the Indian rulers. The Captain of the Egyptian fleet, who had been waiting at Cambay for reinforcements, now sailed back to Suez. The Muslim Sultan of Gujarat released

the Portuguese prisoners and sent an ambassador to Albuquerque to conclude a treaty of peace by offering Diu to the Portuguese for erecting a fort. 30 The Zamorin also made friendly overtures, offer* ing a site within his kingdom for the construction of a Portuguese factory. This was established in 1511, but finally abandoned in 1525.

The greatest achievement of Albuquerque was the conquest of Malacca in 1511. It was a master-stroke of policy, designed to ruin the profits enjoyed by the Muslim rulers of Arabia and Egypt and the trade of Venice with them. The capture of Malacca was hailed with joy in Portugal, and the Pope celebrated it by a series of splendid ceremonies.

Taking advantage of the absence of Albuquerque, the Sultan of Bijapur had sent a force under Pulad Khan, who seized not only the mainland territories of Goa but even the island itself. Pulad Khan then fortified himself in Benasterim, only six miles from the city of Goa, which commanded the principal passage from the mainland to the island of Goa. A new commander, Rassel Khan, with a large force and artillery, replaced Pulad Khan and besieged the city. As soon as Albuquerque returned to Cochin he made arrangements for the relief of Goa. He himself reached the place in October 1512 and after a gallant attack forced the Bijapur commander to surrender Benasterim and evacuate the island (1512). This victory enhanced his reputation and the Sultans of Bijapur and Gujarat again sent envoys to conclude peace.

Albuquerque then proceeded to Aden and Jidda in 1513, and, apart from diplomatic success, obtained possession of Ormuz, an important centre of trade. He died in December, 1515, after an eventful career in course of which the power and reputation of Portugal were firmly established in the eastern countries.

Four governors succeeded Affonso d’Albuquerque, the last of whom, Vasco da Gama, now sixty-four years old, reached India in September, and died in

December, 1524. During the next five years there were three governors, the last of whom, Nino da Cunha, reached India in November, 1529. One of his first acts was to transfer the headquarters of the government from Cochin to Goa. This scheme had been originally proposed and highly favoured by Affonso d'Albuquerque, but was strongly opposed by a large section of the Portuguese officials in India. They sent a strong remonstrance to the king of Portugal against it, and even suggested the rendition of Goa to the Sultan of Bijapur in order to gain his friendship and co-operation. Albuquerque sent a long reply, 31 answering all the arguments of his hostile critics. On receipt of this letter King Dom Manoel of

Portugal decided to retain Goa, and fifteen years after the death of Albuquerque it became the Portuguese capital in India.

A. RAJPUT STATES

1. Vol. V, 89-92.

la. For a full account of the capture of Chitor by 'Ala-ud-dln Khaljl, cf. IHQ, VII, 287.

2. According to Nensi, Maldev ruled Chitor for seven years.

3. Eklihgajl inscription of V.S. 1545, Verse 22. Bhavnagar Inscriptions.

4. Ibid, verse 25.

4a. For a different view see above, p. 70.

5. Eklingaji inscription of V.S. 1485, Verse 16. Bhavnagar Inscriptions.

6. Rogers— Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I, p. 207.

7. Tod—Vol. Ill, p. 1802 ff.

8. Kumbhalgarh inscription of A.D. 1460; also, Chitor KIrtistambha inscription quoted by Ojha in Rajputdna ka Itihdsa, Vol. II, Part I, p. 251.

9. Ibid, also Eklihgajl inscription of V.S- 1545, verse 29

10. Introduction to Rasikapriyd, commentary of the Gitagovinda, (Nirnayasagar Press), p. 2, v. 9.

11. Bhavnagar Inscriptions, p. 98, verse 42.

12. Ibid, verse 38.

13. It should be noted that from the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. the Khyats of Mewar and Marwar give somewhat contradictory accounts. The Mewar version may be read in Tod's Annals of Mewar and has been generally followed by later writers. The Marwar version will be found in the Marwar Khyats which are followed in Reu's Bharat ka Prdchln Rdjavarhsa, Vol. Ill, as well as Ram Kama's History of the Rdthors. In this chapter an attempt has been made to arrive at an impartial account after a careful examination of both points of view.

14. Ranpur inscription of V.S. 1496, Bhavnagar Inscriptions, 113 ff.

15. Bayley, History of Gujarat, p. 148; Firishta, Briggs, IV, 40. For a detailed account of the struggle between Kumbha and the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa, cf. above, pp. 161 ff., 177 ff. The dates and details of the campaigns are given differently by different authorities.

16. Bayley, op. cit. 150; Briggs, op. cit., 41-2 and 219. The litho ed. of Firishta has Amhar instead of Aheerwara. Nizam-ud-dln writes Amhar on p. 232 (TA III) and Ajmere on p. 325 (ibid) (Ed.).

17. Briggs, op. cit., 222-3.

18. Bayley, op. cit., 152, f.n.

19. Muhanote Nensi's Khyat and Eklihgajl inscription of V.S. 1545, verse 66. The English translation is inaccurate.

20. Eklihgajl inscription of V.S- 1545, verse 64.

21. Ibid, verses 68-69.

22. Ibid, verse 72.

23. Tod's Annals of Mewar is a panegyric on the achievements of the rulers of Mewar. The account given in Nensi's Khyat and followed here is more acceptable. Compare also Tessitori, A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts, Section I, Part II, 62.

24. Muhanote Nensi, Khyat.

25. Bayley, op. cit., 264; Briggs, op. cit. 263. Cf. above, pp. 182-5.

26. Briggs, op. cit., 92.

27. Bayley, op. cit., 275.

28. Ibid; also Briggs, op. cit., 94.

29. Briggs, op. cit., 95.

29a. Sarda has discussed the credibility of these accounts (Rana Sanga, 87, f.n.).

30. HIED, V. 16-20.

31. Beveridge, Bdbur-ndma, 529.

32. Bayley, op. cit., 318; Briggs, op. cit., 102.

33. Bayley, op. cit., 319 f.n.

34. Bayley, op. cit., 326; Briggs, op. cit., 102.

35. JA, XIV, (1873).

35a. See Vol. V, 50.

36. IA, XL, 181.

37. Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, 1922-3, p. 3.

38. IA, LVI, 51. _ „ .

39. Bijapur Inscription of Dhavala and Balaprasada, El, X, pp. 20 ft. Cl. also Vol. IV, 96, 102. In an old manuscript examined by Tessitori, the origin of the Rathoras is traced to Kalyani in the Karnataka (A Descriptive Catalogue of Bardic and Historical Manuscripts, Section I, Part I, p. 12).

40. IA, XL, 301.

41. A list is given also in Bikaner Suraj Pol Prasasti, dated V.S. 1650 (JPASB, Vol. XVI, 272).

42. Cf. Vol. Ill, 65.

43. Tessitori, op. cit., pp. 61-2.

44. Tod, Vol. I, 228-230.

45. For a critical discussion of the differences between the Feudal system of Medieval Europe and the system prevailing in Raj putana, cf. Studies in Medieval Indian History, by P. Saran (Delhi, 1952), pp. 1-23.

B. ORISSA

1. See above, Vol. V. 209.

2. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. I, p. 273; JASBL, XVII (1951), 35.

3. R. D. Banerii, op. cit., 276; contra, M. Chakravarti in JASB (old series), LXIV (1895), 135-146.

4. Above, p. 197, where Bhanudeva II is a printing mistake for Bhanudeva III. It is necessary to point out that the Muslim historians of this period refer to Orissa as Jajnagar, probably a corruption of Yayatinagara. The identification of Jajnagar was for long a matter of dispute, but there is now a general consensus of opinion that it stands for Orissa (P1HC, IX. 215).

5. P. 92 ff.

6. According to some scholars, Orissa was invaded by Vijayanagara during this reign (R. D. Banerji, op.cit., 282), but this is not perhaps correct.

7. The account of the Reddis is mainly based upon (1) M. S. Sharma, The History of the Reddi Kingdoms, and (2-3) two articles of N. Venkataramanayya in PIHC, VII. 295; XIII, 158 ff.

8. TA, I. 273.

9. TA, III, 448.

10. Badauni, Tr. by Ranking, I. 348-9, f.n. 10.

11. Briggs, I. 479. Elsewhere Firishta says that the king of Bengal sent customary presents (Briggs, IV. 360).

12. English translation of Tabaqat-i-Nasirl, p. 592, fn.

13. Briggs, II. 388. Gondwara is evidently a mistake for Gondwana.

14. R. D. Banerji, op cit., 287.

15. Tire date of Bhanudeva IV's accession is still a matter of dispute. The latest known date of his predecessor, Narasimha IV, is A.D. 1402, and the earliest definitely ascertained date of Bhanudeva IV is A.D. 1414. An inscription found at Srikurmam equates the 3rd Anka year of Bhanudeva IV with a date in the Saka year expressed by the words sun (i.e. 12), arrow (5), and sea (4). Venkataramanayya read the date as 4512 and, referring it to the Kali era, placed the accession of Bhanudeva IV in A.D. 1409 (JOR , XIX. 135-47). This was originally suggested by M. S. Sharma in The History of the Reddi Kingdoms . p. 189. But this view is opposed by D. C. Sircar (JOR, XXII, 47 ff-), who further maintains, on good grounds, that king Bhanudeva mentioned in the inscription is Bhanudeva III and not Bhanudeva IV. All that can be definitely said in the present state of our knowledge, therefore, is that Bhanudeva IV ascended the throne some time between A.D. 1402 and 1414.

16. PIHC, XIII. 160.

17. Vemavaran Grant, 1. 16 (El, XIII. 241).

17a. Cf. TA, III. 475 ff; PIHC, XIII, 160-1.

18. Further Sources , III. 47.

19. SII, VI, 784.

20. Ibid., 1168.

21. Gudari-Kataka has been identified with Varanasi in the Paralakimidi Zamindari (PIHC, XIII, 166). P. Mukherjee locates it in the "Gunupur Taluk, Koraput district" (op. cit. 19).

21a. Cf. pp. 261, 296 above.

21b. Briggs, IV. 369, 375. TA, III. 458, 459. The real nature of the invasion and the extent of the invader's success cannot be ascertained. The elephants of Orissa were then looked upon as very useful from military point of view, and many Muslim rulers raided Orissa to secure them.

22. BK, 71.

23. Ibid, 83-4.

23a. Above, p. 296, which also contains a detailed account of the conquests of Hamvira.

23b. See p. 325, f.n. 20a.

24. According to the Idupulupadu grant dated A.D. 1500, Vira Rudra, king of Utkala, defeated the king of Gauda. The earliest reference to Husain Shah's invasion of Orissa is to be found in a series of coins issued in A.D. 1504-5The latest reference is contained in the Velicherla plates of Prataparudra which state that the king of Gau$a fled on his approach. There were probably several invasions, or, more properly speaking, a series of border raids, culminating occasionally in regular invasions, during the first decade of the sixteenth century A.D. It is probable that the state of hostilities continued beyond 1510. It appears from the biographies of Chaitanya that hostilities were in progress when he first went from Bengal to Puri in 1510, and again in 1513 or 1514 when he returned to Bengal. Cf. HBS. 147-8; P. Mukherjee, The History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa, 73-

5. Mukherjee's elaborate arguments to prove that Husain Shah's invasion took place after October, 1510, is unconvincing.

25. P. Mukherjee, op. cit., 78. An inscription at Hampi, dated January, 1510, describes Krishnadeva as "fever to the elephants of the Gajapati". From this Venkataramanayya inferred that hostilities between the two had broken out before that date (Further Sources, I 189). But, as P. Mukherjee rightly points out (op. cit. 77-8), such expressions need not be taken to imply actual war. The war certainly broke out in 1513, but barring the above inscription, there is no reference to any campaign of Krishnadeva against Orissa at an earlier date. Venkataramanayya also now evidently adheres to this view (cf. p. 311 above).

26. According to Venkataramanayya, "after Krishnaraya's return from Simhadri, the army which he left behind proceeded against Orissa, and after laying the country waste advanced upon Cuttack and sacked it" (Further Sources, I. 211). This view, repeated on p. 313 above, is based upon both literary and epigraphic evidence. P. Mukherjee argues against it, pointing out that similar claims were put forward on behalf of other kings, and some Gajapati kings are said to have conquered the city of Vijayanagara; op. cit. 93-95. (Ed.).

26a. P. Mukherjee, op. cit. 86.

27. Further Sources, I. 230-1. Above, p. 313.

28. Sources, II. 143.

29. Further Sources, I, 233.

30. R. D. Banerji, op., cit. 333-4; Mukherjee, op. cit. p. 86, f.n. 175.

31. A detailed account is given by Firishta (Briggs, III, 360 ff.). P. Mukherjee's arguments to prove that Telingana was not conquered in A.D. 1525, and Prataparudra had nothing to do with it (op. cit., 87-8) are neither cogent nor convincing. Cf. Further Sources, I. 231.

32. Op. cit., 330.

33. Ibid, 333.

34. Sources, 149.

35. Op. cit., 325.

36. Further Sources, I. 230.

37. Ibid.

C. KASHMIR

1. Vol. V, p. 102.

2. The name is given as Dalcha in RT, II, v. 144 and Dalacha in RT, v. 142 (Calcutta Edition); Dulucha and Dulcha in RT, II, vv. 152 and 154 in Peterson's Edition. Other forms are Dalju, Zulchu and Zulquadr Khan (Sufi; Kashmir, 118). Some historians have assigned a Turkish, Mongol or Tatar origin to him. According to the RT, II, v. 152 (all the verses in this chapter including those in the notes refer to RT, Peterson's Edition, unless otherwise mentioned), Dulucha was the chamupati (leader of the army) of Karmasena, but Abu-'l Fazl calls him Kalju, the commander-in-chief of the king of Kandahar (Ain, II. 383).

3. The name of Rinchana is written in various forms such as Ratanju, Ranju Shah, Rechan, Renchan, Rainchan Shah, Ranjpoi and Ratanchan. Rinchana, used in the RT, II. (v. 158), seems to be the correct form. RT, II. (vv. 157 ff.) gives a detailed account of the family and early career of Rinchana. According to this authority there was a simultaneous invasion of Kashmir by Dulucha and Rinchana (v. 168), but others differ.

Rinchana has been identified with king rGyal-bu Rin-c'en of Ladakh (Pandit D. R. Sahni and A. H. Francke, References to the Bhottas or Bhauttas in The Rajatarangini of Kashmir, IA, XXXVII, 187); but the identification, though probable, raises many difficulties and L. Petech rejects it (L. Petech: A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh, 112. Issued as a supplement to IHQ, XV).

4. After referring to the invasion of Rinchana, Jonaraja suddenly introduces “Ramachandra, the moon of his dynasty,” as having opposed the invader at every step (v. 198), but does not refer to Suhadeva any more. He then refers to the marriage of the invader Rinchana with “the queen Kota”, “the white lily (kalha, kalpa, in Calcutta Edition) in the garden of Ramachandra’s household” (v. 201). Dr. Sufi calls Ramachandra the commander-in-chief of Suhadeva and Kota, his daughter. There is no authority in the RT for the first statement, and the expression used by Jonaraja may mean that Kota was the wife rather than the daughter of Ramachandra. After stating all this the RT says that the king left the city (II, v. 202), but it is not quite clear whether he means Suhadeva or Ramachandra.

5. The chronology of the kings of Kashmir, as adopted in this chapter, differs from that given in the CHI, III, Ch. XII, but generally agrees with the RT. The question has been fully discussed by the author of this chapter in JASL, XXII. 85.

5a. The date of Rinchana’s death, as given in the RT, corresponds, according to Dr. Vogel, to Friday, November 25, 1323 (IA, XXXVII, 186, f.n.).

6. RT, II. v. 225.

7. RT, II. v 281 (Calcutta Ed. v. 247). Eng. Tr. by J. C. Dutt, 26.

8. For the popular tradition, cf. Sufi, Kashir , 123 ff.

9. RT, Eng. Tr. 15.

10. RT, II. vv. 255-7, Jonaraja does not state the relationship, if any, of Udayana with Rinchana or the old royal family, but refers elsewhere (v. 230) to Udayanadeva of Gandhara, who may be the same person. According to H. C. Ray (DHNI , I. 179) Udayana was a relative of Rinchana, and according to Sufi (op. cit. 127-8) he was the brother of

Suhadeva, but none cites any authority. It appears from the RT, II. vv. 256 and 261 that Udayana was the chief of the Lavanyas

11. RT, II. v. 333. Eng. Tr. 31.

12. The account given here of the Hindu rulers is based upon Jonaraja. The other versions, which differ materially on some points, may be consulted in CHI, III, Ch. XII, and Sufi, op. cit.

13. For example, Nizam-ud-din and Firishta.

14. CHI, III, 227.

15. Sufi has expressed surprise that Kota Rani, "being the wife of a staunch

Muslim,... adopted a course which throws doubts on her adhesion to the Muslim faith" (op. cit., p. 127). Evidently he never even thought of the

possibility that her husband Rinchana might not, after all, be a staunch

Muslim.

16. Eng. Tr. 32.

17. Briggs, IV. 453.

18. Sufi, op. cit., 133.

19. Jonaraja says: "The king, now king only in name, died after having suffered

troubles for one year and ten months in Kashmir" (RT, II. v. 387, Eng. Tr. 35). It is not quite clear whether this period is included in the total

reign-period of twelve years assigned to 'All Sher, or represents a period

before he formally assumed sovereignty after his brother's death.

20. RT, II. v. 407; Eng. Tr. 37.

21. Jonaraja does not mention the relationship between Shihab-ud-dln and ‘Aland-din. According to Firishta, they were brothers (Briggs, IV, 458; also cf. TA, III, 640) and this view has been adopted in CHI, III, 278.

22. Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, Ed. S. N. Majumdar, 58.

23. Sufi, op. cit., 137-8.

24. RT, II, w. 501, 503; Eng. Tr. 44, being based upon the Calcutta edition, is slightly different.

25. RT, II, v. 509. A comparison of v. 533 with v. 460 of the Calcutta edition shows that Hindu Khan was the name of the king’s brother whom he appointed his successor. Evidently his name, given as Hindal by Firishta and Nizam-ud-din, is a corruption of Hindu Khan or vice versa.

?6. RT, II, vv. 507-8. Though not mentioned here, vv. 576 and 611 leave no doubt

that these two sons were bom of queen LakshmI.

26a. L. Petech, op. cit., 115. Jonaraja calls this minister Uddaka.

27. Vv. 708 ff.; Eng. Tr. 57.

28. Calcutta ed., vv. 594 ff. and Eng. Tr. 59-60. Peterson’s edition, vv. 750 ff. give a fuller account.

29. Eng. tr. 60; vv. 603-4 (Calcutta Ed.).

29a. Briggs, IV. 464-5. This is corroborated by RT, v. 765.

30. Briggs, IV. 464-6 (Italics mine). It is to be noted that according to Firishta the rite of sati was stopped by Sikandar. But neither Nizam-ud-dln nor Jonaraja makes any reference to it. On the other hand the latter states that Suhabhatta had stopped the practice of cremating the dead bodies (w. 131718); and thus there was no occasion for sati. Though Zain-ul-’Abidln restored to the Hindus their right to cremate dead bodies, one should accept with utmost caution Sir Wolseley Haig’s statement with reference to

Sikandar that “with many innocuous Hindu rites the barbarous practice of burning widows with their deceased husbands was prohibited”, and also his righteous exhortation that Zain-ul-‘AbidIn “might well have excluded from his scheme of toleration the immolation of widows” (CHI, III, 280-1). Sir Wolseley Haig does not cite any authority for his incredible statement: “The fierce intolerance of Sikandar had left in Kashmir no more than eleven families of Brahmans practising the ceremonies of their faith” (CHI, IH. 281).

31. Sufi, op. cit. 148 ff. Sufi tries to minimise the enormity of the acts of the Sultan by pointing out that similar religious persecutions took place also in Europe about this time. But in spite of all these he admits that “one cannot entirely exonerate him (Sikandar) from the heavy responsibility of countenancing the religious persecution practised by his ministers and officials ...” (p. 149).

32. RT, II, v. 782.

33. TA, HI, 650.

34. Briggs, IV, 467.

35. According to Jonaraja, ‘All Shah’s father-in-law was the king of the Madras (RT, II, v. 924). But Nizam-ud-dln calls him the king of Jammu (TA, III, ii, 650).

36. Some support for this statement is found in the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi (Tr. by K. K. Basu, G.O.S., p. 200) which states: “.. .in the month of Jamadlul-auwal, 823 A.H. (May-June, 1420 A.D.), Sultan ‘All, King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatha, had on his way back been opposed by Jasrath, when the Sultan’s army was driven pellmell, a portion being still in Thatha, and a part only came out. Incapable of sustaining the attack, it made a stampede: Sultan ‘All was made captive, and his baggage and provisions were plundered.” Slightly different accounts of ‘All Shah’s hostility with Shahi Khan are given by different authorities.

37. But cf. Sufi, op. cit., 175 ff.

38. RT, II, vv. 1102-7; TA, III, 652; Briggs, IV, 469.

39. Briggs, I, 516.

40. RT, Eng. tr. 79-82.

41. TA, III, 653.

42. Briggs, IV, 469.

43. TA, III, 654.

44. TA, IH, 653.

45. TA, III, 657. In spite of Nizam-ud-dln’s statement, it is doubtful whether muskets were manufactured in Kashmir at this time. Srivara states that gunpowder was introduced during this reign and has given a detailed description of fireworks, which he must have seen. For details cf. BV, XVI, 11. The question of the introduction of firearms in India will be discussed in chapter XIV, Appendix.

45a. £rlvara calls him Purna in three places (RT, III, p. 195, v. 52, p. 196, v. 61 and p. 201, v. 122) and Riktetara in another (p. 193, v. 33). Firishta calls him Booby (Briggs, IV, 475). For various other names cf. TA, III, 673, f.n. 5.

46. Ayukt-Ahmada-Malleka, RT, HI, p. 208, v. 196.

47. Ibid, p. 227, v. 185.

48. Ibid, p. 229, v. 213.

49 Ibid, p. 311, vv. 570-72. The version of RT has been mainly followed. Cl also TA, III, 668.

D. MINOR STATES

I. ASSAM

1. Above, Vol. V, p. 43.

2. Ibid., 133.

3. Ibid., 141.

4. Ibid., 123-4.

5. Full details are given in the Tabaqat-i-Ndsiry and are quoted by Barua, Early History of Kamarupa, pp. 228. ff. Cf. also HBS, 53-4.

6. E. A. Gait, A History of Assam, p. 77. For the traditions and legends about Kamata, cf. Barua, op. cit., 242 fit.

7. For the status of Ghiyas-ud-dln Bahadur, see above pp. 193-5. According to 1 Alamgir-nama (p. 731), Muhammad bin Tughluq “sent 100,000 horsemen, well-equipped, to Assam, but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft and not a trace of it was left.” No other Muslim chronicle refers to this expedition, and it seems to refer to the conquest of Ghiyas-ud-dln Bahadur who, at least nominally, acknowledged the supremacy of Muhammad Tughluq, and may therefore be taken to act on his behalf. It may also be a confused echo of Muhammad Tughluq’s expedition against Quraehal mentioned above, on pp. 73-4. But some historians have accepted it to be a historical fact (Gait, op. cit., 35; S. N. Bhattacharyya, A History of Mughal North-East Frontier Policy, p. 61). Bhattacharyya finds a corroboration of the expedition in the discovery of a number of coins of Muhammad Tughluq, dated 733-4 A.H. (A.D. 1332-4), in the Mymensingh District in Bengal. But this is satisfactorily explained by the conquest of this region by Ghiyasud-dln Bahadur.

8. This is proved by a coin with the mint name “Chawlistan alias Kamrup” issued in 759 A.H. (A.D. 1357-8). Mr. Stapleton’s view that the expedition was directed against, and confined to, the north and east of the old course of the Brahmaputra in the Mymensingh District is not supported by any argument sufficient to reject the evidence of coins, which proves an effective establishment of Muslim authority in Kamarupa some time before A.D. 1357.

9. Raut Kunchi Grant (Social History of Kamarupa , Vol. I, p. 251. Quoted in HBS, 110, f.n. 1).

10. S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 64.

11. P. 203. It has been referred to later in this chapter in connection with the reign of the Ahom king Sudangpha.

12. S. N. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., 65-7.

13. For the local tradition, cf. Barua, op. cit., 263; Gait, op. cit., 43; cf. also Riyazus-Salatln, Eng. Tr., p. 132; HBS , 146. Martin, Eastern India, Vol. Ill, 410-12.

14. The account of the Ahom kingdom is based on the local chronicles known as the Ahom Buranjis (see Bibliography). An English version of them will be found in Gait, op. cit., Chapter V.

14a. Vol. V, pp. 44-5.

15. Above, p. 203; cf. HBS, 118; JASB, 1873, p. 235.

16. Riyaz, Eng. Tr., pp. 132-3.

17. Although this argument is put forward as convincing in HBS, 147, it is not really so; for Talish might really refer to the army that invaded Kamarupa.

18. Gait, op. cit., 87-8.

19. HBS, 147, 157-8.

20. Gait, op. cit., 87-92.

II. MITHILA

1. This is the traditional boundary (Singh. 2-3; above, Vol. V, p. 47). The Purnea District lying to the east of the Kosi river is not included in Mithila, as envisaged in this chapter.

2. Vol. V, 47-8.

3. A great deal has been written regarding the relation of Tirhut with Muslim powers. Much of it is based on mere legends or vague general statements which are not supported by any reliable evidence. The confusion between Bihar and Tirhut, which were two separate States in medieval India, and the inclusion of Purnea in Tirhut are responsible for applying to Tirhut what merely applies to Bihar (modern South Bihar) or Purnea alone. All these references, which will be found in Thakur (391 ff.) and RKC (109-113), are omitted here. Even the treatment of legendary history is complicated by the fact that names of kings of Mithila, alleged to have been fighting with or allied to Muslim rulers, have been identified with different kings by different writers. Only those Muslim invasions or raids on Tirhut are referred to in this chapter which are based on some reliable evidence, but even all these cannot be regarded as authentic historical facts. It has been held, for example, in CHI (III, 260) that Muhammad Bakhtyar took possession of the southeastern parts of Mithiia which is defined as the country west of the Mahananda. On the basis of this statement Thakur holds that Bakhtyar “not only conquered but annexed Mithiia, at least its south-eastern parts” (p. 393), although he correctly takes Tirhut or Mithiia as the country bounded on the east by the river Kosi (p. 2). The whole theory seems to rest on the statement in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri that “Muhammad Bakhtyar led his troops towards the mountains of Kamrud and Tirhut”. This vague statement can hardly justify the theory of conquest, far less, of annexation.

4. Baverty, 587-8. According to Badauni, Hisam-ud-dln “became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengala and Jajnagar and Kamrud” (Ranking’s Tr. I, 86). This shows what little reliance can be placed on later Muslim chroniclers who magnify a plundering raid or nominal suzerainty into complete conquest and annexation. It must be noted, however, that the simple statement in the Tabaqat-i-Nasirl, as quoted above, is reproduced in TA (I. 59) without any embellishment. Dr. K. R. Qanungo also takes an exaggerated view of the conquest of Twaz, though he does not refer to Badauni. The following statement, in HBS, p. 22, about the weak political

condition of Tirhut which gave ‘Xwaz the opportunity of aggression against Tirhut is very misleading: “The old Karnataka kingdom of Mithiia was about this time breaking into fragments after the death of Arimalladeva and these princes in despair of holding their possessions in the plains hemmed in between the Muslim province of Oudh on one side and the territory of Lakhnawati on the other—were seeking compensation in the valley of Nepal. The ruler of Eastern Tirhut could not but come within the sphere of influence of Laknawati.” Arimalla was not a king of Tirhut, but of Nepal, and there is no evidence to show, either that Tirhut was broken into fragments, or that its rulers took any aggressive attitude against Nepal at this time or at any subsequent date before A.D. 1314.

5. Raverty, 737; See also Vol. V. 141.

6. No authority has been cited for the statement that “Iltutmish is said to have conquered portion of Mithiia” (RKC. 110). Further statements that follow are also not supported by any evidence. Firishta refers to Iltutmish’s expedition against Bihar (Briggs, I, 208), but nothing about Tirhut which constituted a separate State. According to Prof. S. H. Askari there is an inscription of the time of Iltutmish in Tirhut (RKC, 110, f.n. 3), but no account of it has yet been published,

7. It has been stated in the History of Bengal, Vol. II, that the first expedition sent against Bengal by Balban under Malik Turmati, governor of Awadh, advanced by way of Tirhut (HBS, 61). There is, however, no mention of Tirhut in BaranI’s account of the first expedition under Amir Khan, governor of Awadh, or in Firishta’s account of this and the second expedition under Tirmuny or Malik Turmati of Yahya. It is to be remembered that, generally speaking, the Muhammadans “on their way to Lakhanawatl marched from Oudh via Bihar, and did not try to pass north of the Ganges” (MC, 407).

8. Thakur’s statement (p. 276) that ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl conquered the whole of Bihar, including Tirhut, is based on vague unreliable traditions, and his arguments do not bear a moment’s scrutiny (His reference to Firishta and Ain-i-Akbari seems to be wrong). The alleged supremacy of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl over Nepal has been discussed in connection with the history of that country.

9. MC, 407-8.

10. Vol. V, p. 48. For additional names, cf. Petech, 195.

11. Some call it Sivaramapura (Singh, 59).

12. “The ruins of Simraon still exist in Nepalese lowlands about 15 miles from the base of the hills in the Nepalese district of Rotahat” (Thakur, 252, f.n. 1).

13. MC., 410.

14. Ibid., 411.

15. Thakur, 279.

16. Thakur, 275; RKC, 113.

17. RKC, 113.

18. Thakur, relying on Mithila traditions, places the accession of Harisirhha about A.D- 1303 or 1307 (p. 279), but M. Chakravarti places his reign in the last decade of the thirteenth century (p. 411), and R.K. Chaudhari plaecs his accession in A.D. 1285 (RKC, 113). The colophon of a MS. of Bhattikavyatika gives the date La Sam 159 for Srimad-dharasimhadeva, who may be easily identified with Harisirhhadeva, also called Harasirhhadeva. As will be noted below, the initial date of La Sam era varies between A.D. 1107 and 1120. It is not, therefore, surprising that the astronomical details given in the colophon do not agree, if La Sam 159 is taken to be equivalent to A.D. 1279, on the generally accepted view that La Sam commenced in A.D. 1120. The colophon may, therefore, be taken to indicate that Harisirhha ascended the throne about A.D. 1279. (Petech, 195; Sastri, Catalogue, VII, p. 66, No. 5067).

19. MC., 411.,

20. M.C., 411. The Varhsavalls of Nepal refer to the invasions of the country by Tirhut ruler in A.D. 1291 and 1311 (Petech, 103).

21. HIED, III, 234.

22. Evidently the two kings were Bahadur and Nasir-ud-din.

23. This extract from ‘Isami’s Futuh-us-Saldtln, composed about the middle of the 14th century A.D., is based on the Hindi translation of Rizvi (TKB , I. 90). Professor R. K. Chaudhary informs me that there is a striking agreement between the account of Tsami and that given in an unpublished MS. of Bastinul-uns whose author accompanied Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq to Tirhut. The work was composed in the first year of the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughluq. The MS. is now in the British Museum (Add. 7717).

24. Briggs, I, 406-7.

25. There are other instances of similar exaggeration by later Muslim chroniclers, even in respect of Tirhut, as will be related later in connection with the conquest of that kingdom by Sikandar Lodi.

26. MC., 411, f.n. It is somewhat disconcerting to find that Firishta’s account should be unanimously accepted, even after the discovery of Futuh-us-Salatin.

27. The same argument applies to Firishta’s statement “that as the king was passing near the hills of Tirhoot, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods” (Briggs, I, 406-7)

28. Levy, II, 224. For a slightly different form of the verse cf. AIOC , II, 564.

29. Ibid.

30. Thakur, 283-4.

31. TKB, I, 37. HIED , III, 236, where instead of ‘early years’ we find ‘twentyseven years’. It is to be noted, however, that Tirhut is not included in

the list of 23 provinces constituting the empire of Muhammad bin Tughluq, unless Telinga, repeated twice, be taken as a mistake for Tirhut. It appears to be very likely, in the light of later events, that Tirhut was not incorporated in the empire as a province under a governor, but was left to its Hindu ruler on condition of paying tribute. For the list of 23 provinces, Cf. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi , p. 203, f.n. 1. For the coins of Muhammad bin Tughluq, cf. Rogers, Indian Museum Coins , Part I, p. 63, Nos. 12911-2.

32. Presumably because it has not been translated by Elliot.

33. TKB, II, 41 (Italics is mine).

34. This will be discussed in the next section.

35. There is no reason to suppose that Ilyas's invasion to Tirhut had any more lasting result than that of Nepal- The statement in HBS, p. 104, that Ilyas Shah 'conquered' or 'subjugated' Tirhut is hardly borne out by Barani's passing remark that Ilyas 'invaded Tirhut', as will be seen from the account given in this chapter. The detailed accounts of the conquest of Tirhut, its division into two parts etc. (RKC, 120), do not rest upon any reliable evidence.

35a. MC-, 412-13. For other identifications of Narasirhhadeva cf. RKC, 107; Thakur, 266.

36. Cf the next section.

37. I A, XXVIII, 57-8; for Ganesvara cf. Thakur, 297-8. MC, 416.

38. Thakur, 293.

39. MC, 415.

40. Thakur, 295, 290- It is not a little curious that on p. 407, Thakur states, or rather reproduces, with approval, the statement in HBS, 103-4 that "the successors of Harisirhha held their court at Simraon, and Kamesvara, the

nominee of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, at Sugauna." This not only contradicts his two statements, namely: (1) "The Sultan of Delhi gave the kingdom to

Kamesvara in c. 1353 A.D." (p. 290); (2) that Kamesvara "ruled for a very

short period and was probably deposed by Feroz Shah" (p. 295), but also his observations on p. 288 on the "tragic exit" of the Karnata family "from the political stage of Northern India" after Harisimsa's flight to Nepal.

41. Thakur, 297 ff.

42 . MC., 416.

43. MC., 417.

44. Thakur, 44.

45. For these, ef. the general histories of Tirhut mentioned in the bibliography.

46. MC., 421, f.n. 3; IA, XIV, 192.

47. These coins were found in a village called Pipra in the Champaran District. They are described by R. D. Banerji who refers them to Sivasimha (Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India, 1813-14, p. 248, pi. LXVII 13.).

Thakur expresses doubts about the genuineness of the coins (pp. 319-20), but evidently on wrong presumptions- One of his grounds, namely the "extensive find-spot" (sic) of Sivashhha's coins, seems to be due to a misunderstanding of R. D- Banerji's statement.

47a. See above, p. 188.

47b. For Taqyya's account, ef. Askari, op.cit., p. 36, f.n. 31 and Sukhamay, op.cit., pp. 23-5, where the date '850' given by Askari has been corrected to 805-.

48. For the text of the inscription with an English translation, cf. IA, XLIV, 19091. The La Sam date is taken by some as 292 The Saka and Vikrama

Samvat dates correspond regularly to 10th July, A.D. 1399. This corresponds to Fasli Sam 807, but not to La Sam 292 or 293 if its initial era is taken to be A.D. 1120 or 1119 (Bhandarkar's List No- 1470). But, as noted below, the epoch of the La Sam varies between A.D. 1107 and 1120.

49. JASB, 1898, p. 96; MC., 421-2.

50. M.C., 422.

51. HBR, 237. As stated in the next sentence, La Sam 293 is made equivalent to Saka 1324, which would make A.D. 1109 as the starting date of the era. It is noteworthy that in the copper-plate grant mentioned above, La Sam 293 is given as equivalent to Saka 1321. This pushes back the starting point of the La Sam by three years. For, even if we take the grant as spurious, the forger would be normally expected to give equivalent dates

52. MC., 421.

53. IA, XVIII, 58. According to a Bayaz of Mulla Taqyya, a 17th century writer, Sivasimha rebelled against his father and occupied the throne. When Ibrahim Shah, the Sharql, Sultan of Jaunpur, proceeded against Raja Ganesa of Bengal (p. 206), Sivasimha, instigated by the latter, opposed Ibrahim and was defeated and captured by him who thereupon restored the dispossessed father of Sivasimha to his throne. (Bengal Past and Present, Vol. LXVII, 36). This event probably occurred in A.D- 1415-16- The truth of this uncorroborated story may be doubted.

54. I A, XVIII, 55. As an instance of the absolutely untrustworthy character of popular legends, on which the historians of Tirhut (Thakur, RKC) seem to have relied too much, reference may be made to one which gives a diametrically opposite version. There is a legend about Vidyapati, that by an exhibition of his miraculous powers of seeing things which were happening at a great distance, he released Sivasimha who was taken captive by the Emperor of Delhi (IA, XIV, 189).

55. MC, 423.

56. Thakur, 320-324.

57. IA, XIV, 192-3; MC, 427.

58. But see footnotes 48 and 51 above.

59. MC., 427, f.n. 4.

60. Thakur, 335-6. But the conquest of Gauda seems merely a conventional phrase.

61. Dorn writes, on the authority of Makhzan-i-Afghtina, that “Sikandar proceeded to Sirhut (mistake for Tirhut) whose Raja, submitting, received him solemnly and offered some lakhs of Tankas as a tribute and present; for the receipt of which the Sultan left Mubarak Khan behind” (History of the Afghans, p. 58). There was thus no conquest, and the concluding part of the passage clearly implies that there was no question of annexation. BadaunTs account, as usual (see f.n. 4 and 25), is misleading, for he remarks that “the Sultan proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it” (A.D. 1490) (Ranking’s Tr. I, 416).

62. JASB, 1874, p. 304; cf. HBS, p. 146, f.n. 1

63 * According to HBS (p. 146) “the occupation of the whole of North Bihar including the Trans-Gandak area” by Husain Shah is proved by his inscription cit S^rsn

64. The history of this family is based on Bendall’s account in JASB, 1903, pp. 19-20. For the coins Cf. V. A. Smith— Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. I, p. 293.

65. Thakur, 340.

66. Levi, II, 229.

67. Thakur, 341.

68. MC-, 408.

III. NEPAL

1. Vol. V, pp. 47-8, Levi, Le Nepal, Vol. II, p. 219. This is also supported by official records like the Inscription of Pratapamalla (IA, IX, 163 ff.).

2. Levi, 219. Bendall, JASB, LXXII, Part I (1903), p. 14.

3. See pp. 397, 401.

4. Levi, 225.

5. Ibid.

5a. The coin has been described by Durga Prasad in JASB, Vol. XXV, Num. Suppl., pp. 37-8. That the coin was minted in Nepal is a mere inference based on the symbols on the coin.

6. Bendall, 10.

7. Levi, 226.

8. Cf. pp. 404 ff.

9. The account of these kings is based on Levi, 226 ff.

9a. Levi, 230 ff. An entirely different view is taken by Petech (Mediaeval History of Nepal, pp. 145 ff., 201 ff.). He takes these persons to be members of an aristocratic family founded by Aneka Rama (A.D. 1332-1356), whose son Jayasirhha Rama Mahatha (A.D. 1360-1396) assumed the status of "Lord Protector of the Realm" and, during the last decade of the fourteenth century, wielded far greater authority than the nominal king Jayasthitimalla, in Patan. According to Petech "the Ramas must have told the imperial envoys that they were the sovereigns of Nepal, and that the Mallas were only their vassals" (op. cit., 210). Apart from the highly incredible nature of this assumption, it hardly fits in with the picture of Nepal under Jayasthitimalla which Petech himself has drawn (op. cit., 139).

10. Vol. V, p. 47.

11. Levi, 233.

12. Levi, 232.

13. For this MS., and the historical account, based upon it, that follows, cf. Bendall, pp. 3, 10-11. The MS. is noticed by MM. H. P. Sastri in his Catalogue of the Nepal Durbar Library. Also cf. Petech, Appendix VI.

14. For an account of the kings up to Jayarudramaila, cf. Vol. V, pp. 46-7[Some corrections should be made in this account. Ratnadeva, mentioned in 1. 32, on p. 46, was probably a feudal chief and never exercised royal authority. Somesvaradeva, mentioned in the same line, ascended the throne in A.D. 1178 and is known to have been ruling in A.D. 1180 (Itihdsa, a Bengali Quarterly, Vol. VIII, Part 3, pp. 148-50; Mediaeval History of Nepal by Luciano Petech, pp. 70-71). The last-named book gives a more

detailed, but somewhat different, account of the history of Nepal than that given in Vol. V, pp. 47-9]. —Ed.

15. According to Jayaswal's reading and interpretation, Pasupatimalla was imprisoned (JBORS , XXII. 87).

16. Levi, 231.

17. Vol. V, p. 47.

18. Levi, 232; Sastri—Catalogue, II. 68

19. The second inscription was discovered by Jayaswal and discussed by him in JBORS, XXII, 81 ff. Both the inscriptions are noticed by S. K. Saraswati (PIHC , XIX, 205).

20. The date was read by Jayaswal as 467, but Saraswati reads it as 470. This is presumably the correct date, as the Vamsdvali gives the date of the invasion as 469. Evidently the raid of Ilyas Shah extended over parts of the two years 469 and 470

21. Neither Bendall nor MM. H. P. Sastri, who dealt with this manuscript, noticed

this important passage, which was first brought to light by K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS, XXII, 87, 95).

22. For the text of this inscription, cf. K. P. Jayaswal, op. cit. 93.

23. Petech, op. cit., 132.

24. Levi, 233-4. Petech, op. cit., 137.

25. Levi, 235. Petech, op. cit., pp. 125, 128-30, 145-9.

26. Levi, 230. But Petech holds an altogether different view (op. cit., pp. 105 ff., 201 ff.).

27. Levi, 234; Bendall, 12-13.

28. Levi, 228.

29. Levi, 238. Petech, op. cit., 145-54.

30. Levi, 238.

E. MALABAR AND PORTUGUESE

1. IBH., 176-196- (The page references to this book are given in the body of the text).

2. Ibn Batutah uses the word jizya for the tax (p. 192). This does not prove that jizya was a secular tax, as some have argued (IBH. , 192, f.n. 4), but merely shows that a Muslim writer was under the impression that everyone following a religious system other than that of the ruler had to pay a tax similar to the jizya, —a custom with which he was only too familiar.

3. Vol. IV, 164.

4. Above, Vol. Ill, 451, f.n. 3.

5. K. V. Krishna Ayyar, The Zamorins of Calicut, p. 79.

6. Ibid., 127-81.

7. Ibid., 131.

8. Ibid, f.n. 2.

9. IBH., 188.

10. IBH., 189.

11. Ayyar, op. cit., 89.

12. JR AS, 1939, pp. 64, 174.

13. IBH., 176 96.

14. According to Ibn Batutah the Chinese ships entered only the harbours of Quilon, Calicut, and Hill on the western coast of India (IBH., 185). Quilon being the first port, the Chinese frequented it more often than the other two (IBH., 193).

15. A detailed description of the Chinese ships is given by Ibn Batutah (IBH., 190).

16. R. S. Whiteway, The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India, p. 6.

17. Ibid., 7-8.

18. Opinions differ as to the exact date of departure. I have followed CHI, V, 3. Correa fixed it as the 25th March which is accepted by Danvers. For other views cf. Danvers, I. 44.

19. The date of arrival naturally varies according to the assumed date of departure. K. G. Jayne accepts 8th July as the date of departure, but gives

21st May as the day when the ships anchored off Calicut (Vasco-da-Gama and.I his successors, p. 52).

20. The account of the Portuguese in India that follows is primarily based on CHI, V, Ch. I and F. C. Danvers, The Portuguese in India, Vol. I (London 1894).

21. Danvers, op. cit., 50

22. CHI, V. 6.

23. Danvers, op. cit., 85.

24. Ibid. For a similar act of Muhammad Tughluq (pp. 63-4) there was at least the excuse that the victim was a rebel.

25. CHI, V. 6.

26. Danvers, op. cit., 86.

27. CHI, V. 8.

28. Ibid., 9.

29. Danvers, op. cit., 217.

30. Ibid., 212.

31. Quoted in full by Danvers (op. cit., 259).

CHAPTER XIV

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THEORY, ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION, LAW AND LEGAL

INSTITUTIONS

I. THEORY OF STATE

The political theory of Medieval Islam was based on the teachings of the Qur'an, the traditions of the Prophet, precedent, and Greek thought. The first three can be lumped together as Muslim theology which was expanded and developed by Muslim jurists, and which, so far as political notions and organization were concerned, defined their legal basis. The Greek philosophers provided the ideas which were put forward as the rational justification for the institutions adopted or developed by the Muslims. It inevitably followed that the philosophic interpretation also affected the attitude of the people towards the institutions.

The Qur'an laid down only the broad principles of social life and political organization. It emphasized the need of solidarity and unity among all Muslims and condemned any attempt to break away from the organized community; it made it obligatory on all Muslims to obey constituted authority; it enjoined consultation for the purpose of administering the affairs of the community . 1 To prevent the misuse of power, it laid down that a man's first obligation was to God and, therefore, no believer should obey an authority if its injunctions transgressed the dictates of religion . 2 It is obvious that these teachings only enunciate the fundamental principles on which Islamic policy could be based, but they do not seek to bring into existence any well-defined institution.

The Prophet, as the teacher and leader of his followers, gradually found himself to be the head of a State. The process was slow and gradual, and the Muslims had time to develop a few institutions suited to their needs and ideals. Their attitude was essentially practical; in the light of their principles, they tried to administer their affairs. We find the Prophet consulting his immediate disciples informally on all mundane problems as they came up for solution; as new 7 tribes came into the fold of Islam, he appointed trusted Muslims to guide them in managing their affairs in accordance with Islam. This included the administration of law and the settlement of disputes.

Sometimes the collection of religious taxes was also entrusted to these deputies.

The death of the Prophet confronted the Muslims with several problems of great difficulty. It was obvious that it would be suicidal for the young community to remain without an organization, but what was to be its nature? Who was to be the head of the Muslim State? Was it necessary to have a single head? How was he to be selected? Beyond the principles enunciated by the Qur’an, already mentioned, there was little to guide the community. The Prophet had abstained from nominating a successor or laying down any rules. Sectarian traditions to the contrary may be dismissed as later fabrications in face of the historical evidence that they were not advanced at the time of election. Nothing, however, could be more natural than what actually happened. The leaders met in their usual assembly house and chose one, who, by his piety and eminence, seemed to be the natural leader. The most significant fact in the election is that the separatist tendency of the Ansar who proposed that there should be two Imams, one for the Quraish and the other for themselves, was ruled out because that would have divided Islam. The decision of the leaders, whose choice fell on Abu Bakr, was communicated to the people who confirmed it by giving allegiance. The importance of this election in Islamic history cannot be over-emphasized. It provided the later jurists with a precedent on which they could base their theories of succession, not only to the caliphate, but also to kingship. The immediate significance, however, did not lie in the method of election; the person elected was to exercise a deep influence on the subsequent history of the Muslim world. Certain Bedouin tribes refused to pay zakdt. They did not forsake their faith in Islam; in refusing to pay the legal taxes they were trying to revert to tribal anarchy; they wanted to break away from the central authority. This endeavour was considered an act of apostasy by the Caliph who, in spite of the critical nature of the situation, decided to wage a jihad against the rebels to bring them back to their allegiance. Pie thus re-emphasized the principle of the indivisibility of Islam . 3 A natural corollary was that the entire Muslim world should offer allegiance to a single head, who was called Imam or Khalifah . 4 This principle, however, received a rude shock, when the ‘Abbasids, having successfully revolted against the Umayyads, failed to establish their authority in the western extremity of the Muslim world. The V/estern Caliphate thrived in north-western Africa and Spain, and did not own allegiance to the ‘Abbasids. Similarly the Fatimid schism established itself in Egypt and carried on secret and open hostilities against the house of ‘Abbas. The activities of the Fatimids, however, strengthened the position

of the ‘Abbasids in the eastern lands of Islam where, because the Fatimid Caliphs had identified themselves with the Isma‘ili heresy, allegiance to the house of ‘Abbas came to be identified with orthodoxy. The Sultans of Delhi recognized the suzerainty of the ‘Abbasid Caliphs. Their names were read in the khutbah and found mention on the coinage. Even when the Mongols put an end to the Caliphate of Baghdad by executing Musta‘sim-billah, and the Muslim world was left without a Caliph, the khutbah and the coinage both continued to mention vaguely the leader of the Muslims, and the Sultans styled themselves his lieutenants. The only exception was Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah who claimed the Caliphate for himself . 5 There is some inconclusive and controversial evidence to show that his father, ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji, also was styled a Caliph . 6 Muhammad bin Tughluq established relations with the ‘Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt, who had been set up by the Mamluks after the downfall and dispersal of the ‘Abbasids at Baghdad . 7 The rise of the Mongol power, however, dealt a great blow to the claims of the ‘Abbasids.

The Mongols destroyed the Caliphate of Baghdad, and when they themselves were converted to Islam they favoured the theory that every independent Muslim empire constituted a Caliphate by itself. The theory was not new; it had sustained the Western Caliphate; it was the basis of the claims of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah and possibly also of his father. But with these exceptions it did not find favour at Delhi until a descendant of Chingiz Khan, Babur, the first of the Indian Mughuls, established an empire in India.

The position of the Caliph is generally misunderstood by nonMuslims. Muslim jurists as well as thinkers like Ibn Khaldun emphasize that the Caliphate is a canonical necessity and, therefore, allegiance to a Caliph is demanded by the law of Islam .[8] This religious character of the institution and its occasional divorce from political authority has sometimes created the misconception that the Caliph is an arch-priest, resembling the Pope. The parallel is misleading and erroneous. As there is no priesthood in Islam, there can be no arch-priest. The Muslims, as an organized community, have certain functions and responsibilities which have been defined by Shar c , the law of Islam. The basis of these responsibilities is canonical and hence it is a religious duty to discharge them. Yet all of them are not strictly of a religious character and some of them are social and political. The main purpose of organizing the Muslims into a well-knit group is to create the environment which is necessary to cultivate a religious and normal life. It is, however, obvious that the creation of the proper environment includes a large number of secular activities; indeed the very organization of the Muslims into an independent and sovereign group is a political concept. The maintenance of the independence and sovereignty of the group is political activity. This function the community discharges through its elected leader, the Caliph .[9] The Caliphate, therefore, is a political institution so far as its functions are concerned, though its basis and sanction are canonical.

There is another aspect of the Caliphate which explains its nature. One of the main functions of the organized Muslim community, according to the jurists, is “to enjoin the ordained and to prevent the forbidden,” or, in other words, the encouragement of virtue, both positive and negative. The Muslim code of ethics and gGod life is enshrined in Muslim Law or the Shar ‘. It is the duty of the community to enforce the law. This function also can be performed through an organ which has, at its command, the coercive power of the State. The enforcement of the law, therefore, is one of the primary functions of the Muslim State which was organized in the form of the Caliphate. The enforcement of law is a recognized function of all States, but in a Muslim State, the law being based on revealed principles and injunctions contained in the Qur’an, it has a divine origin and possesses a sacred character. Therefore, its maintenance is a religious duty. Once again, then, the Caliphate is a political institution, but it performs a duty which Muslims consider to be essentially religious. As the cohesive principle binding the Muslims is religious, and because they have been organized to serve the purpose of religion, all their institutions whose primary function is to maintain the religious nature of their organization are religious, even though their normal activities may be secular in nature. This would show that the Caliph was no priest. He might, in his capacity as the leader of the community, sometimes, take upon himself the duty of leading them in prayers, or he might delegate this duty to others, but he was not ordained in any sense of the word, nor did he have a privileged position in religion. He was the chief executive of a community organized on the basis of religion, and his election was a canonical necessity, but he had no religious authority. As the enforcer of the law, he had, in all controversial matters, to choose the interpretation which appealed to him as the best, but this authority all lay organs entrusted with similar functions must possess. This is the basis of all judge-made law.

Another principle, inherent in the position of the Caliph as the enforcer of the law, is its sovereignty. Being based on revelation, the law possessed a divine origin. It was not open to any individual to endeavour to alter it or to question its authority. It had to be interpreted and reinterpreted with changing conditions, and it was

naturally expanded in the process of being applied to diverse and complex conditions of life. In this process, principles of jurisprudence were borrowed and sometimes invented, but the authority of the fundamentals and even of interpretation on which unanimity had been achieved was never questioned. The Caliph, therefore, was subservient to the law. The Shar‘ was the sovereign; the Caliph was its servant and minister . 10 In all societies organized on secular basis, the law is the will of the sovereign; in Muslim society the sovereignty of the law was the primary principle. The Caliph, however, enjoyed great prestige as the chief enforcer of the Shar c . Throughout the Middle Ages, so great was the prestige of the Caliphate that no potentate, however mighty, considered himself lawfully enthroned without the permission of the Caliph, who found it politic to vest authority in rulers and their successors so long as they were true to their allegiance . 11

Philosophic justification for the canonical position was not long in coming. Indeed, at times it caught popular imagination to such an extent that jurists and thinkers alike considered it necessary to point out that whatsoever might be the attitude of philosophy the real sanction for the Caliphate was canonical. Their motive was sound; philosophical concepts change, but canonical law is firmly rooted in sanction and authority. For this reason, Muslim political thinkers seldom ventured beyond the realm of apology and justification. They never struck a bold path, not even of suggesting better methods of organizing the community so that it might discharge its canonical responsibilities more efficiently. Perhaps, with more independent thinking, the principles of election and consultation could be translated into more democratic political institutions. They had considerable scope for growth among Muslims, whose religious, social and economic systems would have nurtured democracy. But it is, perhaps, unjust to expect men to rise above their environment.

The line which political philosophers generally took in Medieval Islam was briefly this. The human mind finds itself in a state of conflict. On the one hand, man is a social animal, and human life can find fulfilment only in organized society. He, therefore, endeavours to build up and maintain social and political institutions. On the other hand, he is also swayed by purely selfish motives. There is something perverse in him that leads him to undermine the very institutions he has built, whenever he can thereby serve his own interests better. This conflict is eternal and is based on 'two fundamental needs of humanity, which can be described as social and individual. As both the needs are real, and human life would become impossible if either of them is neglected, it is necessary to bring about a proportion between them. But, what is the proper method of adjusting the two to the benefit of humanity? Left to themselves men would not be able to bring about a proper adjustment between the two; hence an arbitrator is required. This arbitrator is the law revealed by God through His chosen servants.[12] Certain perverse men, for reasons of selfishness, and others, because of ignorance, would not obey the law; hence it is necessary to have one who would punish the criminals and lead the ignorant on the path of rectitude. Without such an enforcement of the law, social life would be impossible. Hence the Muslim philosophers share with many others the dread of anarchy. They did not believe, as Rousseau did, in the existence of a free and happy society prior to the organization of the State. The nearest approach to Rousseau’s idea is found in the passage by Ghazzali where he speaks of the cities of the world living in a state of heavenly bliss before they were reduced to unwilling obedience and bondage by tyrants and wicked monarchs; but here he is hardly thinking of pre-political society . 13 The Muslim philosophers consider it impossible for a man to be happy in a state of anarchy. Rousseau’s hypothetical state of nature does not find favour with them.

The dread of anarchy led the Muslim philosophers to emphasize the importance of the monarch. Ghazzali thinks of the State as a living organism and compares it to the human body. 13a In working out the details of the analogy he calls the monarch the heart of the system . 14 His existence is the primary necessity of social life, for without a ruler to guide the affairs of mankind, all order would vanish and the very existence of the human race would be endangered . 15 It is he whose sword cleanses the world of anarchy as well as of evil. Very great is his responsibility, for he will be questioned on the Day of Judgment regarding the condition of his people and about all acts of justice and injustice committed by him . 16 Great too is the reward awaiting the just monarch, for he will find a place under the banner of the Prophet on the Day of Reckoning . 17 Later writers, in spite of the protests of the jurists, insisted that the righteous monarch was ‘the Vicegerent of God and His Shadow on the earth ’. 18 This emphasis on the importance of the monarch’s position was greatly exaggerated by writers attached to the Mongol courts, and they, like Abu-’l~Faz!, evolved a theory of the righteous monarch being chosen by God and, as such, playing the role of the ideal philosopher king of the Greeks . 19 Such idealization of the monarch could not permit the growth of a philosophy demanding any popular share in ordering the affairs of the realm. The thinkers, who so eulogized the kingly office, thought that they had done their duty when they had pointed out to the monarchs their heavy responsibilities and painted the degradation of irresponsible and wicked monarchs in hues borrowed from the abysmal fire. 20

How did the Sultan of Delhi fit into this picture? He owned a nominal allegiance to the Caliph, but, for all practical purposes, he was an independent ruler. The Caliph would have found it impossible, except by stirring up rebellion, to bring the Sultans of Delhi under effective control. This was not the first time that such a situation had arisen; there had been rulers, other than the Sultans of Delhi, who could not be dislodged by the Caliphs if they wanted to do so. The jurists had legalized such a position by classifying governorship into three categories. The first of these was the ordinary governorship with limited powers where the authority delegated was carefully defined. The second was governorship with unlimited powers where all authority was handed over to the incumbent. The third was governorship by usurpation; such governors enjoyed the same authorities as the governors of the second category; the difference was in the method of their appointment. Governors by usurpation were potentates who had won dominions by their swords, and there was no alternative to giving them recognition. 21 The governors of the last two categories were required to rule in accordance with the law of Islam, to recognize the Caliph as their suzerain and to co-operate with him in defending the lands of Islam if required to do so. In their own dominions they were independent of any external control.

II. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE SULTANATE

Inside his dominions the Sultan enjoyed the same authority and performed the same functions as the Caliph in his Caliphate. In this matter law and philosophy both recognized him to be the representative of the Caliph; in so far as the Sultan was vested with the powers of the Caliph, he had to perform the duties of the Caliph. Indeed the law did not distinguish between the two beyond the recognition of the inferior position of the Sultan and his duty to co-operate with the Caliph, and, for that, with other Muslim rulers in defending the frontiers of Islam. Hence all that has been hitherto said regarding the Caliph in connection with his prestige and duties applies also to the Sultan. 22 Philosophy also accords him the same recognition.

a. The Sultan’s functions

The Muslim jurists assign the following functions to the Sultan:—

1. To protect the Faith as defined by

2. to settle disputes between his subjects;

3. to defend the territories of Islam, and to keep the highways and roads safe for travellers;

4. to maintain and enforce the criminal code;

5. to strengthen the frontiers of Muslim territory against possible aggresion;

6. to wage a holy war against those who act in hostility to Islam;

7. to collect rates and taxes;

8. to apportion the shares of those who deserve an allowance from the public treasury;

9. to appoint officers to help him in his public and legal duties; and

10. to keep in touch with public affairs and the condition of the people by personal contact. 23

These functions, it will be noticed, arise from the Sultan being the chief executive officer of the Muslim community within his dominions. He had a responsibility towards his non-Muslim subjects as well which was carefully defined by Muslim law. On accepting the suzerainty of the Muslim empire and the payment of taxes, the non-Muslim peoples acquired the rights of protection, the maintenance of their rites and worship, the observance of their social code and the enforcement of their personal law. 24

The concentration of all executive authority in the hands of a single person has led unwary writers into painting the Sultans of Delhi as paragons of despotism; in actual practice their authority, like all political power, had serious limitations. The first was that he was subservient to the Shar‘ and, because he depended for active support mainly on Muslim soldiery, any open breach of the Shar would have had serious consequences. Besides, he could not interfere with the personal law of any group among his subjects, partly because of the legal reason that the monarch had no authority to do so, and partly because such interference would not be tolerated. The Muslims and Hindus alike considered it their duty to rebel against a monarch who prevented them from the exercise of their duties in the light of their religion. 25 The sovereignty of a single individual is a legal myth; every monarch has to depend on the active co-operation of a strong group and the passive support of the population. The Sultans of Delhi had to rely on the active support of the nobles who, for one reason or another, were willing to make common cause with them. 26 The monarch had also to ensure the co-operation of a fairly large number of ‘ulamd’, the learned theologians and lawyers, because of their influence with the Muslim population. Then there were the many public servants in various

branches of the administration who put their experience and technical knowledge at the service of the State. Nor could the ruler forget the cultivators of the soil, the Hindu peasants and tribal heads. 27 The ultimate force of the State consisted of the Muslim fighters who shed their blood for the glory of Islam. No monarch has alienated any of these elements with impunity or succeeded in his projects without their support. The hostility of the people seldom proved fruitless. 28 There is no sanction for unbridled tyranny except the timidity of the people, and the Indian populace during the Middle Ages was by no means timid or even forebearing; on the other hand, the people were mostly warlike, refractory and rebellious. Besides, those were the days of dense forests and limited means of communication, and the differences between an army and an armed rabble was proverbially very small.

Reference has already been made to the fact that Abu Bakr’s election as the first Caliph was taken by the jurists of Islam as a precedent to be followed by the community. Two main aspects of that election are important. The elders did not even discuss the question of relationship to the Prophet, thus proving that considerations of legitimacy did not claim their attention. They also established “the principle of free election by the assembled community and its confirmation by general homage”. 29 This idea became firmly grounded in the minds of Muslim lawyers, and they laid down the same rules for the election of the Sultan. The majority of the jurists are of opinion that a monarch elected by the most influential men at the capital is entitled to the allegiance of the people, but they are not unanimous regarding the qualifications of these electors 30 The failure to work out a satisfactory method of general election resulted in mere logical quibbles about the minimum number of electors, thus reducing the election to a mere formality. Generally the form of an election was maintained by the Sultans of Delhi. The nobles and the learned and most influential theologians at the capital agreed upon a candidate and proclaimed him the Sultan. Then a formal oath of allegiance was sworn by them and, later, by the populace. Of course this was often an election only in name, because the candidate had decided the issue by victory in battle or by overwhelming force; but it had the advantage of being legal and conforming to the wishes of the jurists and the people. I should not be forgotten that another force was at work; most of the Sultans were Turks and, in spite of their zeal for Islam, Turkish and tribal ideas still influenced their minds. The nobles did not always take hereditary rights into consideration, for not many Sultans were succeeded by their sons; but they did try to limit their choice to the ruling house. The changes in the dynasties

seem to have been fortunate, proving that they were not made without reasons of State.

The right to dethrone a monarch is the logical corollary of an elective monarchy. Though some jurists hold that an election is so holy and binding that the electors could be released from their vows only by the sovereign himself, the majority of lawyers believe that the monarch could be deposed if he failed to carry out his trust. Injustice is considered to be a sufficient cause for dethronement. All writers agree that a man suffering from mental or physical disability cannot continue to be a sovereign. Great importance is attached to loss of power of judgment and eyesight. 31 The fact that a number of Delhi Sultans, mostly incompetent, were removed from the throne, shows that the monarch was not considered too sacrosanct to be touched if he proved himself useless to the State.

The Sultans of Delhi maintained great splendour in their courts and processions which had a great utilitarian value, for it captured the imagination of the people and impressed them with the majesty of their rulers. When the Sultan rode out in a procession, any suppliant could draw his attention by holding up a petition or crying aloud for protection. 32 The general audience was the occasion for the persecuted and the needy to claim the Sultan's protection. 35 It was in these public darbdrs that the monarch discharged the formal duties appertaining to his office. Matters requiring discussion and deliberation or involving secrecy were dealt with in the council chamber where only those officers were admitted whose advice was required. 34 The private audience was less exclusive and was attended by the greater nobles and officers of the State. 35 The more important members of the secretariat were also in attendance. 36 The bulk of State business w~as transacted here by the Sultan.

b. The Household

The diversity of the business and the requirements of a spectacular ceremonial necessitated the attendance of a large number of officials of various ranks. They had to be carefully marshalled, the order of their precedence exactly defined, and even the manner of their salutation formally prescribed. The dignity of the monarch required that everything should work smoothly. All this required a big staff of officers, ushers and heralds. Besides, there were the Sultan's bodyguards, his personal attendants, the palace guards, the staff required to serve the inmates of the royal palace, and a host of other workers. The entire organization was under the wakil-i dar who also supervised the payment of the allowances and salaries to the Sultan's personal staff. Almost equal in importance and rank was the amdr-i-hdjib who was also styled bdrbak. He was the master of ceremonies at the court. He and his assistants, the hdjibs, stood between the sovereign and his subjects, and nobody could enter the royal presence without being introduced by them. A big institution like the imperial household required a large commissariat; this was divided into departments called kdrkhdnahs whose traditional number seems to have been thirty-six. The literal meaning of the word kdrkhdnah is a workshop; most of the kdrkhdnahs in the royal household were factories to manufacture articles for court use. The jam dark hdnah, for instance, turned out the best cloth in the empire.

Muhammad bin Tughluq employed no less than five hundred workers in gold brocade and four thousand weavers of silk, who manufactured the cloth required by the household and for making the robes of honour which were so profusely bestowed. 37 The kdrkhdnahs also manufactured arms, engines of war, armour and other fighting equipment. Royal stables also were counted among the kdrkhdnahs; there was a big organization under the akhurbek for breeding and maintaining horses not only for the Sultan's household but also for his army. 38 The kdrkhdnahs catered not only to the needs of the royal husehold but also to the requirements of the army and various departments of the State. The court also was the greatest patron of learning and fine arts and was instrumental in promoting culture.

c. Ministers

At the head of the civil administration was the zoazir. Under certain weak Sultans the wazir enjoyed almost unlimited authority, but this was exceptional. Under strong monarchs also he enjoyed great authority. The central finance office was his immediate concern, but he was also responsible for the other offices at headquarters. 39 He appointed and superintended the civil servants, and organized the agency for the collection of the revenue; he also exercised complete control over the various channels of expenditure. His assistants examined all the accounts submitted by the various departments of the government; it was in his office that the statements were compared, checked and passed. The wazir took measures—sometimes humiliating and unpleasant—to recover money illegally spent by local officials. All the requirements of the military department had to be referred finally to him; his office kept accounts, disbursed salaries and allotted assignments. His department paid the stipends to deserving scholars and men of learning, and distributed doles to the poor and the needy. No branch of public administration was outside his purview, and every subject from the

mightiest governor to the lowliest peasant in the land had dealings with him or his assistants. 40 The wazlr's department was called the diwdn-i-wizdrat, and mainly dealt with finance. He was assisted by a na'ib wazir who acted as his general assistant. Next to him was the mushrij-i-mumdlik who was the accountant-general for the empire. The mustaufi-i-mumdlik was the auditor-general. Originally the mushrif’s duty was to enter the accounts received from the provinces and the various departments, and the mustaujl audited them. Copies of the statements of accounts were sent to the mushrij as well as to the mustaufi and this naturally resulted in unnecessary duplication of work, though there was the advantage that the accounts were checked by two different authorities. In Firuz Shah’s reign, however, the work was redistributed. The mushrij began to deal with income and the mustaufi with expenditure. The mushrij was assisted by a nazir who supervised, through a large staff distributed all over the empire, the collection of revenue; he also audited the local accounts. Later a waqiif was added to assist the mustaufi in the same way as the nazir assisted the mushrij 4 ^

There were three other main ministries, which, together with the dlwdn-i-wizdrat t were compared to four pillars supporting the vault of the State. The first of these was the dlwdn-i-risdlat which dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety. This office was presided over by the sadr-us-sudur, who generally was also the qdzi-i-mumalik; in the latter capacity he controlled the department of justice. 42 The diwan-i-arz v/as the office of the ‘ ariz-i-mumdlik who was the controller-general of the military department. This ministry maintained the descriptive rolls of horses and men. The c driz was the inspector-general of the forces, and he or his provincial assistants enlisted recruits and fixed their pay. 43 The third ministry was the diwdn-i-inshd which dealt with State correspondence. It was under the dabir-i-khds who was also the confidential clerk of the State. All the correspondence, formal or confidential, between the sovereign and the rulers of other States or his own tributaries and officials, passed through this department which employed a large number of dablrs who had already established their reputation as masters of style. 44 Another minister was the barid-i-mumalik who was the head of the State-news-agency. It was his duty to keep himself informed of all that was happening in the empire; ubiquitous agents reported all news which had any significance or importance. The headquarters of every administrative sub-division had a local band who sent regular news-letters to the central office. This system assured the obedience of provincial and local officials and pro vided a safeguard against the oppression of the people by local bureaucrats. 45

The ministers were servants of the crown and responsible only to him. There was no question of the ministers acting as a team to resist the Sultan's will. They enjoyed their authority in the capacity of being experts and heads of well-organized bureaucratic departments. Generally a noble was appointed na'ib~ul-mulk or 'Lord Lieutenant of the empire'; his authority varied according to the character of the emperor. Sometimes it was an empty title; at other times it invested the holder with practically absolute authority. He was the head of the military organization and was entrusted with the government of the centrally administered areas. 46

d. Finance

The financial resources of the State were well defined. The main source of income was the State demand on agricultural produce. The methods of assessment were sharing, appraisement or measurement; the last was based on a system of schedules of average produce for each sub-division to calculate the probable produce in the area, brought under cultivation by each individual peasant which was measured. 47 The general rate of the State demand was a fifth of the gross produce, which was raised to a half under 'Ala-ud-din Khaljl. The proportion seems to have been reduced again to the original level after his death. Muhamad bin Tughluq made an unsuccessful effort to increase the rate of the demand again in the Doab. Babur raised the demand to a fourth of the produce, and that seems to have been the proportion until Akbar raised it to a third. A capitation tax called jizya was levied on the Hindus at the rate of ten, twenty or forty tankahs per annum according to the wealth of the assessee. 48 Imbecile old men, cripples, blind, and those who had not enough to pay the tax after defraying the cost of living were excused. Monks and priests, if they did not work to earn their living and devoted all their time to worship and devotion, were also exempt. 49 Jizya was charged in lieu of military service which was, theoretically, compulsory for all Muslims; therefore it was not charged from women and children or from government servants. 150 There is evidence to believe that the cultivators also did not pay jizya . 51 The assessment must have been lenient because it does not seem to have brought any great income to the State. 52 The other sources of income were the import duties, the State share in spoils of war, the imposts on mines and on treasure-troves if they contained coins of pre-Muslim days. The import duties ranged from 2\ to 10 per cent, the rate of demand under the other heads being a uniform twenty per cent. 153 Muslims paid a poor tax called

zakdt and were sometimes given the privilege of paying a tenth of the gross produce instead of the usual demand on the land which they possessed. 54 This, however, was a rare privilege. 55

e. Assignment and Valuation

The State, for the sake of convenience, often assigned the revenue of an area to an official instead of paying his salary in cash. 60 This system required a careful valuation of the different areas so that the State might know the figures of estimated average produce. This was possible by maintaining schedules of average produce based on the figures of previous years. The system of paying salaries in the shape of assignments of revenue has led some writers to confuse it with feudalism; actually it was only a method of payment and did not confer any permanent rights to the assignee, whose assignment could be resumed or exchanged for another assignment by the State, which, during the Sultanate period, also kept its administration in its own hands. No assignment was permanent or hereditary. 57 Assignment and valuation provided the medieval equivalent of a modern budget, and the State, as a further safeguard, sometimes earmarked certain sources of income for specified purposes. 68

f. The Army

The army was administered by the ‘driz-i-mumalik whose duty was to keep up the strength and the efficiency of the forces and to provide equipment, horses and rations. 59 His office maintained the descriptive roll of each soldier; ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji introduced the system of branding horses. 60 The army was posted on the frontiers, in places of strategic importance, and also at such centres from which it could be easily moved to deal with rebellion or disturbances. 61 The main army was the cavalry to which the utmost importance was attached; it w T as the lack of good cavalry in the armies of the Hindu rajas which resulted in their defeat and subjugation. Elephants also played an important part in the army of the Sultans. The Sultanate also maintained infantry which, however, played only a secondary part. The use of fire-arms was known, at least since the days of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji; 62 a corps of engineers was maintained to act as sappers and miners and to man the various siege engines known to the medieval world. 63 Every army had a corps of well-trained scouts and a unit of surgeons and ambulance. 64 Forts played an important part in the strategy of defence. State granaries and banjdras kept the army well stocked with provisions. 65 The battle array was simple; troops were divided into the centre, the two wings, two flanking parties, the vanguard, and the rearguard. In front

stood elephants protected by iron plates, with towers on their backs carrying warriors and archers. The elephants were preceded by four lines of infantry and archers with gaps for the cavalry to ride out and give battle to the enemy. 66 It was considered politic to prevent the predominance of any single race in the army, and therefore the army of the Sultanate had Turks, Afghans, Persians, Mongols and Indians. 67 Hindu soldiers joined Muslim armies in large numbers since the days of Mahmud of Ghazni. Hindu soldiers helped Qutb-ud-din Aibak in his conquests. Throughout the history of the Sultanate they were employed in large numbers in various capacities in the army. 68 The army was organised on decimal basis, though later we hear of units of 50 and 150 as well. 69

g. Social Services

The department of religious affairs was under the sadr-us-sudur. It maintained the mosques and provided imams and preachers with stipends or grants in land. It also subsidized the educational system by giving grants to deserving scholars and teachers. 70

Educational institutions were mostly founded by pious donors who left large endowments for their maintenance. Monarchs, nobles and traders vied with one another in promoting education, and the State helped the effort by its patronage of learning and scholarship. The result was that the colleges of India in those days were repositories of all that was best in the arts and sciences of the Middle Ages; the Sultanate of Delhi was the preserver of all that was left of Islamic culture and learning in the East after the Mongol cataclysm. Khusrav speaks highly of learning among the Hindus, particularly of their knowledge of science, mathematics and yoga. 11 Hindu genius, sometimes under the patronage of Muslim rulers, sometimes quite independently, blossomed forth in a renaissance of literary and religious activity. The greatest contribution of the Muslim rulers was the encouragement of the contemporary vernacular languages which broke the artificial barriers created by the insistence on Sanskrit as the medium of expression, and opened the flood-gates of literary and religious activity. Muslim poets and thinkers sometimes adopted the local languages for expressing their emotions and thoughts; Malik Muhammad JayasI is an outstanding example, and his Padumavati is still considered to be a classic in Hindi poetry. The royal court also patronized painting, music and architecture. 72 There also existed a number of hospitals in the capital as well as in other large cities. 73 The Sultans also disbursed large sums of money to the poor. 74

h. Provincial and local government

The empire was divided into a number of provinces and tributary states. The latter were free to manage their affairs so long as they did nothing prejudicial to the safety of the empire. They were particularly required to protect imperial officials and Muslims resident in their territories and to maintain good standards of administration. It has already been mentioned that jurists classified governorships into two categories: those with limited powers and those with unlimited powers. For geographical reasons the Sultans gave unlimited powers to the governors of Bengal who were treated as semi-dependent monarchs. They were required to own allegiance to the Sultan of Delhi and to send him tribute, mostly in the shape of elephants. They were also expected to maintain good standards of administration, but they were left practically independent to manage their affairs. When the Sultanate was weak, sometimes even the formal allegiance was withheld. Other governors were under full control and their powers were well defined. A governor was the head of the provincial government and its chief executive officer; but his power was kept in check by the presence of the deputies of the central government in all the departments of provincial administration, which was a replica of the organization at the centre. All the ministries at the capital had control over the corresponding departments in the province. The governor’s military power was kept in check by the fact that the provincial military department was under the local c driz who was responsible to the c driz-i-mumdlih at the centre. 75 The organization of provincial administration was the same in Bengal, the only difference being that the provincial departments were not under the supervision of the central government.

i. Sub-divisions

With the growth and development of the provincial administration it was found necessary to divide the provinces into shiqqs which were put under shiqqddr s. 7 6 When the empire decayed and provincial dynasties were established, the shiqq emerged as a sarkdr , and the officer in charge of a sarkdr was called shiqqddr-i-shiqqdardn or the chief shiqqddr. The reason was that the shiqqddr had sunk to the position of a parganah official. The parganah was an important administrative unit, because it was here that the government came into direct contact with the peasant. The main officials were an ‘arnil, later called a shiqqddr, a mushrif also known as amm or munsif, a treasurer, two kdrkuns and a qanungo. The ‘dmil was the chief executive officer and the head of the parganah administration. The mushrif was the chief assessment officer; the fact that he was also called amin (an honest repository of a trust) and munsif (a just

judge) throws a great deal of light on the ideals of agrarian administration of the Sultanate, because the munsij was appointed to adjudicate justly between the State and the peasant. The revenue was deposited with the treasurer. The karkuns were the registrars of the parganah; one of them maintained the books in Persian and the other in Hindi, hence one was called Fdrsi-nawls and the other Hindwi-nawis. The qdnunffo maintained the previous records of produce and assessment. 77 In addition to these, certain authorities mention a choudhrl who was appointed to represent the peasants and keep the administration informed of their condition and demands. 78 The village was the basic unit of administration. It was permitted to maintain its traditions of self-government. The Government, in permitting the village to enjoy the privilege of managing its own affairs, entrusted it with the responsibility of maintaining peace in the area under its control. The village dealt with the administration through its headman, and maintained an accountant, called patwari, to keep its records of cultivation, produce, assessment and payment of the State demand. 79 The State, while welcoming and encouraging the co-operation of the headman, used circumspection in defining his relations with the villagers, because headmen and influential sections of the village often tried to make the weaker peasants pay their share. ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji gave strict orders that the villages should never be assessed as a whole, and that “the strong should not be allowed to shift their burden on the weak.” 80 The headmen, some of whom were hereditary, were given a small percentage on the revenue which they had helped in realizing. 81 The revenue administration had a large percentage of Hindu personnel, particularly in the local sub-divisions, because they possessed the necessary experience and knowledge of rural conditions. 82

j. Means of communication

In order to maintain regular and speedy communication between the different parts of the empire a regular postal system was organized. Ibn Batutah gives the following account of it from his personal experience:

“In India the post is of two kinds. The horse-post called ulaq is run by the royal horses stationed at a distance of every four miles. The foot-post has three stations per mile; it is called dawa, that is to say, one-third of a mile. The mile (mil) is known among the Indians as kuroh. Now, at every third of a mile there is a wellpopulated village, outside which are three pavilions in which sit men with girded loins ready to start. Each carries a rod, two cubits in length with copper bells at the top. When the courier

starts from the city he holds the letter in one hand and the rod with its bells in the other; and he runs as fast as he can. When the men in the pavilion hear the ringing of the bells they get ready. As soon as the courier reaches them, one of them takes the letter from his hand and runs at top speed shaking the rod all the while until he reaches the next ddwa. And the same process continues till the letter reaches its destination. This foot-post is quicker than the horse-post; and often it is used to transport the fruits of Khurasan which are much desired in India. Placed in secure baskets the fruits are carried by the couriers who run at top speed till they reach the sultan. In the same way notorious criminals are transported. Each is placed on a frame of wood and is carried on their heads by the couriers who go at full speed. Similarly, water for the sultan's use is carried from the Ganges to Daulatabad when he resides there. The Ganges is the river to which the Hindus make their pilgrimage. It lies at a distance of forty days' journey from Daulatabad. When the news officers write and despatch the news of the new arrivals in the country to the sultan, they write out the news in full and vigorously, telling him the physical features, the garment, the number of the companions, servants and slaves and horses of the new-comer; they communicate further how he behaves on the march and at rest and his whole conduct, leaving out no pertinent detail whatever. When the new-comer reaches Multan, the capital of the province of Sind, he stops there till the issue of the royal orders for his coming and entertainment. There every person is honoured according to his deeds and conduct and ambition, no recognition whatever being made of his descent and parentage. " 82a

Elsewhere Ibn Batutah informs us that some time the postal superintendent (malik-ul-bcind) also acted as news-writer. In Multan, for example, the former "used to write the news of that city and its dependencies to the sultan—the news concerning all its events and arrivals." 82b

k. Hindu Chiefs

No description of the administrative organization of the Sultanate would be complete without the discussion of the power and influence of the Hindu chiefs. A large number of powerful hereditary lords existed under the Gurjara-Pratlharas of Kanauj whose sway extended from the Himalayas to the Narmada. 83 These local chieftains had been left much to themselves by the Rajput rulers. The tributaries had never been particularly amenable to control; their intransigence had, in places, been sanctified by tradition and a strange sense of honour; for instance, the Mawassi and Girassi chiefs in Gujarat "felt themselves bound in honour to withhold tribute till a body of soldiers appeared against them even under the British Government". 84 The chiefs were mostly left in possession of their estates by the Muslim rulers. They were, however, almost always ready to withhold tribute and to create trouble; the slightest weakening of the Government being a signal for revolt. The Sultans, however, succeeded in bringing them under control, partly by violence, and partly by conciliation. Those who submitted were treated generously and sometimes advanced to positions of responsibility and authority. 86 As they were not, except in extreme cases of rebellion, deprived of their domains, their potential power seldom decreased. The smaller chieftains were employed by the State to help the officials in the realization of the revenue. The khuts and the muqaddams, as these smaller chieftains were called, played an important part in the rural administration of the empire. 853

III. LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

It has already been mentioned that Muslim polity was based on the conception of the legal sovereignty of the Shar‘ or Islamic law. No one was above the law, and all—the monarch and the subject alike—were subservient to it. This was so universally recognized that there are cases on record in which subjects have sued monarchs in ordinary courts of law. 86 The Shar‘ is based on the principles enunciated by the Qur’an and is composed of three important elements:—

(i) The Qur’an; a clear injunction of the Holy Book has an over-riding authority on every other factor.

(ii) The hadls or the traditions of the prophet. The Muslims hold that the Prophet was the best interpreter of the revelation contained in the Qur’an and, therefore, his sayings and actions are considered to be of vital importance. Muslim scholars have developed an entire science of sifting trustworthy traditions from those which are considered to be forged or unreliable. Any tradition which has been reported by unreliable narrators, or is not in consonance with the principles enunciated in the Qur’an or with reliable traditions, is rejected. After careful research scholars have agreed upon a body of traditions which are generally held to be authentic. These traditions have played an important part in the development of the Shar‘, because wherever the Qur’an does not contain a clear injunction, the help of the hadts is invariably sought.

(iii) Jjmaf or consensus of opinion. Wherever legal opinion is unanimous regarding the interpretation of a verse of the Qur’an or a tradition of the Prophet, it is generally not considered safe to differ. Unless the judge has very strong reasons to differ from an interpretation which has received universal approbation, he is expected to concur.

It is apparent from this discussion that interpretation plays an important part in the development of the 8har‘ . Like any other system of law, the Shar‘ has always possessed a considerable amount of judge-made law, because in applying the principles of the Qur’an and the teachings of the Prophet to the complex need of a growing society, the lawyers and the judges had to interpret and reinterpret them. In this way there grew up several well-defined schools of law in Islam, each with its own characteristics. Some of them were fundamentalists, others rationalists in varying degrees. The ShVah and Khdriji sects were founded as the result of political cleavage, but they developed their own schools of law. Orthodox Islam, generally called Sunnism, evolved four main schools of law, Hanbali, MalikI, Shafii, and Hanafi. Of these, the last two attained greater popularity. The first two are more fundamentalist and the Hanafi school gives greater importance to rational deduction than any other school. The four schools are called after their founders, all jurists of great eminence. The Hanafi school was greatly strengthened by the two immediate disciples of Imam Abu Hanlfah, one of whom, Imam Abu Yusuf, has left an important treatise on the law governing the State demand on agricultural produce and agrarian administration. 87 It was this school which had the largest following in India and the State was also guided by this system. 8S It may also be mentioned that the Hanafi school had the most liberal attitude towards non-Muslim inhabitants of a Muslim Empire. 89

a. Law applying to the Non-Muslims

The Shar (recognized three broad principles regarding the responsibility of non-Muslim residents in a Muslim State. They, by acknowledging the authority of a Muslim State, had not undertaken to give it active support; they could, therefore, discharge their responsibility by refraining from rebellion and paying a tax, called jizya. If they did render active support by joining the army or the civil service of the State, the individuals, co-operating in this manner, would be exempt from the tax. 89a Then, the personal law of Islam, or those portions of the Shar c which laid down duties of a religious nature for the Muslims, would not apply to them; under this head also came zakat, the poor-tax which every Muslim should pay. Thirdly the zimmi, as the protected and allied peoples were called, would be free to maintain their institutions, their forms of worship, 8915 their personal law and, if they so desired, their own organs to impose their personal law. It was, however, open to a zimmi to go to a Muslim court, if he expected to secure better justice there. In all cases where the litigants differed in religion, the case was taken to a Muslim court. When the two litigants belonged to the same religion, the court applied their personal law, and when the litigants happened to be non-Muslims, the court took the advice of men learned in that law. Wherever the litigants belonged to two different religions, even if one of them was a Muslim, the courts decided the cases on principles of equity. The Muslim State was, however, faced with one difficulty: it had to have a criminal code which could be applied universally. This difficulty was solved by Muslim jurists before the conquest of any part of India. They laid down that the Islamic criminal code was to be applied, but where it came into conflict with the moral notions of the zimmis, it should not apply to them, if such a procedure could be adopted without danger to the State or society. For instance, suicide was an offence, but the Muslims tolerated suicide by non-Muslims for religious purposes like satl, provided that it was not the result of coercion and previous permission of the government had been obtained . 90 It was also laid down as a principle that the punishment of criminal offence should be lighter for the zimmis, because it was not fair to expect them to have the same respect for the Islamic code as the Muslims had. It may be pointed out that the Islamic code was much less severe than any other code which had currency in that age. 90a

b. The Laiv Courts

The Sultan, as the enforcer of the law and the head of the State, exercised three functions. He was the arbitrator in the disputes of his subjects; he was the head of the bureaucracy; he was the commander-in-chief of the forces. In his first capacity he dispensed justice through the diwdn-i-qaza; in his second capacity, through the diwun-i-mazdlim; while he himself or his military commanders sat as a court-martial to try rebels, though it was considered necessary to obtain a ruling from qualified lawyers. The department dealing with rebels and those charged with high treason was later organized into diwdn-i-siydsat consisting of lawyers and inquirers into questions of fact . 91 Finally, the accused were produced before the monarch, who heard the prosecution and the defence and, after consulting legal opinion, gave his decision. It was the monarch's sole prerogative to order the execution of a criminal, and capital punishment could not be awarded without reference to him. Cases of capital punishment recommended by other courts were also referred to this department. Cases of complaint against any official of the State were heard in the mazdlim court. The mo

narch generally sat twice a week as a mazdlim court and was advised by the chief qdzl - 92 In the provinces, the governor, the dlwdn and the provincial qdzl constituted the provincial mazdlim court.

The ordinary civil and criminal litigations were the charge of the qdzi-i-mumdlik , who had his deputies in the provincial capitals and a qdzl in each town of any considerable size. The chief qdzl was an official of great prestige and was chosen for his learning as well as piety. The qazl } s function was to find out facts and apply the law. He was responsible neither for summoning or bringing the accused or the witnesses to the court, nor for the execution of his decrees . 93 These functions were performed by another branch of the department of justice which was under the amir dad who also had deputies in the provinces and a dddbek each in towns where qdzls were posted . 94 The kotwdls, who were the heads of the police organization in every city, discharged the duties of courts of first inquiry in criminal cases . 95 The muhtasib was also connected with justice because he inquired into all open breaches of the law which did not come under the cognizance of the law courts and awarded the punishment if the guilt was not denied. If the accused denied the guilt, the matter was referred to a qazl's court. The kotwal was responsible for the maintenance of public utilities, control of markets, and prevention of nuisance, and discharged many duties now performed by a municipal committee or the police . 96 The system of appeals from a lower court to a higher court existed . 97 The monarch did not interfere with the duties of the qdzls whose independence was respected; he, however, could dismiss any qdzl who was found unworthy of his charge. In the villages and caste or guild brotherhood, the panchdyats worked successfully.

APPENDIX

THE USE OF GUNS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

It has been urged that the gunpowder and cannon were known and used in India during the reign of Iltutmish (A.D. 1210-36). 1 This view is based on the mention of kushk-anjir, as a weapon of war, in Adab-ul-harab was-shajdat , composed by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir

at the beginning of the thirteenth century and dedicated to Sultan Iltutmish. A later work, Farhang-i Sharjndmd-i Ahmed Munyari, compiled in 864-79 A.H. (A.D. 1459-1474), says that ‘kushk-anjir’ means ‘perforator’ or an instrument ‘for throwing stones’, or a ‘stone or ball projected by the expansive force of combustible substances’ (ddriihd-i-atishin). This evidence, however, cannot be regarded as conclusive. For, without any independent corroborative evidence, we cannot attribute to kushk-anjir a sense or significance in the thirteenth century which was attached to it in the fifteenth, when guns were familiar instruments of war.

A. Z. Nadvi has quoted extracts from Ziya-ud-dm Barani’s Tdrlkh-i-Flruz Shdhl to show that during the siege of Ranthambhor in 699 A.H. (A.D. 1299-1300) sang-i-maghribl was violently gushing out from the fort and a stone fell upon Nusrat Khan, who was severely wounded. He argues that sang-i-maghribl means western stone and refers to cannon. 2 Firishta, however, takes it to mean a stone thrown by manjanlq, Nadvi argues that ‘if it were so, then why did Barani use a different word from manjanlq with the name and use of which he was quite familiar’. He further points out that Muhammad bin ‘Umar Makki, who lived long in Arabia, took sang-i-maghribl in the sense of a stone cannon-ball, and that Tabaqdt-i-Bahddur Shdhl, written in the sixteenth century A.D., refers distinctly to cannon in the time of ‘Ala-ud-dm Khalji; one of these cannons was so heavy that it was drawn by 100 bullocks. But these arguments cannot be regarded as very convincing.

We have definite evidence of the use of artillery in India in the fourteenth century A.D. Nadvi interprets a passage in Firishta to mean that the Raia of Vijayanagara brought several hundred cannon in the battlefield against Muhammad Shah Bahmani. 3 Firishta says, on the authority of Tuhfat-ul-Muslirriin (Tuhfat-ussalayln according to Briggs), that in this battle which was fought in 767 A.H. (A.D. 1365-6), the Bahmani king secured as war booty thirty hundred cannon (three hundred gun-carriages according to Briggs). Immediately after stating this Firishta says that shortly after this battle "the Bahmani king collected a train of artillery which had never till then been employed by the Muslims in the Deccan; he gave the command to Mookurrib Khan, son of Sufdur Khan Seestany, attaching to him a number of Toorks and Europeans acquainted with the art of gunnery". 4 Firishta informs us that in the next battle with Vijayanagara, about eight months later, Muqurrab Khan used his artillery with great effect. Henceforth the artillery formed an important weapon in the wars of the Deccan.

USE OF GUNS

There is no doubt that guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India in A.D. 1498. Faria-e-Souza writes: "The Moors of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccoes (those princes bearing the title of Moolk, that is, the several kings of the Deccan) were well disciplined and much better stored with artillery than we that attacked them in A.D. 1508". 15

Mahmud Begarha used artillery in naval battles. Bahadur Shah (Gujarat) made a collection of cannon of various designs. He employed a Portuguese Muslim convert and a Turk called RumI Khan, who were great experts in the manufacture of cannon. RumI Khan had brought with him a big cannon known as Egyptian cannon. It is said that it w T as drawn by 300 men and innumerable buffaloes. It was made in Egypt in 937 A.H. (A.D. 1530). 6 Nadvi also cites many other instances of the use of guns in India before Babur employed them in the first battle of Panipat in A.D. 1526. 7 Babur says that the soldiers in Bengal were expert artillerists. 8

1. Qur'an, III, 102; XLII, 38, etc.

2. Ibid, V. 2.

3. I. H. Qureshi, Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi, 22-23.

4. Imam means a leader and khalifah, successor, so called because he succeeded the Prophet in his secular authority.

5. Tughluqndmah, p. 139, I'jaz-i-Khusravi, preface.

6. Kulliyat-i-Hasan Sajzi, e.g- p. 488; W. Mirza, Life and Works of Amir Khusrav,

124.

7. Barani, 491, 492. See ante p. 78.

8. Proleg, 165-166

9. Al-ahkam-u's-Sultdniyah, 3-16.

10. Suluk-u'l-Muluk, pp. 15b, 16a.

11. Arnold, The Caliphate, 73-74.

12. Suluk-u'l-Muluk, p. 20a

13. Ibid, f. 37a.

13a. The same idea prevailed among Hindu writers, cf. Vol. II, 107 (Ed.).

14. Kimiya-i-Sa‘ddod, 8.

15. Suluk-u'l-Muluk, f. 20b; Akhldq-i-Ndsiri, 359.

16. Adab-u'l-Muluk, f. 3b.

17. Ibid.

18. Akhlaq-i-Jalali, 134; Suluk-u'l-Muluk, f. 17a.

19. Siyasatndmah, 5.

20. Nasd‘ih Shah Rukhi, f. 12a.

21. Al-ahkdm-u’s-Sultaniyah, 32.

22. Nihayat-ul-Arab, 5.

23. Suluk-u’l-Muluk, f. 19a.

24. Fatawd-i-Jahanddri, f. 119a.

25. Qur’an , V, 2; Mahabhdrata, Santiparva, LXXVIII, 41-43.

26. Barani, 136-138, 151

27. Adab-uh-Muluk, f. 33b

28. e.g. Tughluqndmah, 47.

29. Von Kremer, Culturgeschichte des orients translated by S. Khuda Baksh, under the title, The Orient Under the Caliph, 9

30. Ibid, 264.

31. Ibid, 248, 264, 267, 268.

32. ‘Afif, 448.

33. Sarwanl, f. 67b.

34. Aflf, 278.

35. Ibid, 277-78.

36. Ibid, 279.

37. Subh-u’l-a‘sha, 51; Masdlik-ul-absar, 30.

38. Minhaj, 232, 242.

39. ‘Afif, 419-420.

40. Adab-ul-Muluk, c. 36a, b.

41. ‘Afif, 420.

42. Subh-uT-a c shd, 72; Masalik-ul-absar, 32.

43. Barani, 60, 114, 170; ‘Afif, 299, 300.

44. Insha-i-Mahru, Letter No. CV; BaranI, 91; Qabusnamah 156-157.

45. Addb-ul-Muluk, ff. 41b, 42.

46. Minhaj, 191, 192; Baram, 26, 202 etc.

47. W. H. Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, and the Ain-i-Akbarl discuss the various methods in great detail.

48. I. H. Qureshi, op. cit. 112-119

49. Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, 1051.

50. N. P. Aghnides, Muhammadan Theories of Finance, 399. (This view of the jizya is not accepted by all. For other views about its nature, cf. vol. Ill, 454-6; also Ch. XVII C of this volume. Ed.),,

51. Dastur-ul-albdb, 66, 67.

52. R. P. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, 290-291.

53. Aghnides, op. cit. 318.

54. Ibid, 200.

55. Qureshi, op. cit- 102, 103.

56. ‘Afif, 296.

57. Moreland, op. cit. 221.

58. Ibid, 56.

59. Fataica-i-Jahandari, ff. 66b, 70b.

60. Baram, 319.

61. Minhaj, 323; Barani, 59.

62. See appendix to this chapter.

63. Js.C. 1937, 475; Addb-ul-Muluk, ff. 118b-120a.

64. Ibid,, 84-86b; Tughluqnamah, 133 etc.

65. Barani, 304.

66. Addb-ul-Muluk, 149.

67. Qabusnamah, 171, 172; Subh-uT-a‘shd, 66; Masalik-ul-absar, 26

68. Tmkh-i-Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shahi, 33; Khaza’in-ul-futuh, 91, 95; Qir’an-u’sS_a‘dain, 36, Barani, 182.

69. Adab-uT-Muluk, f. 130; DaudI, f. 103a.

70. Minhaj, 175; Siyasatnamah, 41; Insha-i-Mahru letter No. VII.

71. Nuh Sipihr, Sipihr-i-nahum.

72. Qureshi, op. cit., 187, 190, 225.

73. Subh-uT-a (shd, 29; Masdlik-uT-absdr, 24; ‘Afif, 355, 356.

Afsanah-i-Shdhan 126a.

74. Qureshi, op. cit., 191, 192.

75. Tdj-ul-mafasi'r, ff. 144b-148b, 192b-193a.

76. Barani, 479, 501, etc.

77. Ibid, 288-289; 431; Sarwani, f. 69a. DaudI, f. 79b; Mushtaqi, 49, 50.

78. Barani, 278.

79. Barani, 288, 289.

80. Ibid, 287.,

81. Ibid, 429-30

82. Chachnamah, 210.

82a. IBH 3-4 (This passage from Ibn Batutah and the following paragraph have been inserted by the Editor).

82b. Ibid, 13.

83. Briggs, IV, 18, f.n.

84. Ibid, TV, 18, f.n.

85. Fatdwa-i-fahanddri, f. 82.

85a. For the treatment of khuts and muqaddams by ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl, whose solicitude for the poor peasants has been referred to above, cf. p. 24. (Ed.).

86. Ibn Batutah, III, (Ed. Defremery), 285, 286- IBH, 83.

87. Kitab-uT-Kharaf.

88. Ibn Batutah, Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi, Masab-uT-absar, —all mention this.

89. Only the Hanafi school recognized the Hindus as Zimmis whose condition has been described above, pp. 23-5, and will be further discussed

in Ch. XVII C. “Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but Death or Islam” (HIED, III. 183). [Ed.].

89a. This rule was hardly observed in practice in India. See note 50 above. (Ed.).

89b. Under the Islamic law, twenty conditions, some of which were most humiliating, were imposed on the Zimmls. These are given in detail by Shaikh Hamadam in Zakhirat-ul-Muluk, folios 94a-95a. Some of these conditions will be referred to in Chapter XVII C. These conditions were laid down by the Caliph ‘Umar and therefore go back to the beginnings of Islam. If the Zimmis infringed any of these conditions “they shall not enjoy security and it shall be lawful for Muslims to take their lives and possessions.” For an English translation of the passage, cf. Sources of Indian Tradition (Columbia University Press, 1958), 490. All the Hindus were treated as Zimmis. That the Muslim rulers of India did not tolerate Hindu religious institutions and made it a regular practice to break idols and demolish temples (often raising mosques in their places) has been shown in the preceding chapters and also in Ch. XVII C. (Ed.).

90. BaranI, 497. IBH, 21.

90a- This is not supported by the barbarous practices such as burning alive a Brahmana referred to above on p. 104, which was declared to be in strict accordance with Islamic law. Ibn Batutah tells a gruesome story of a woman being put to an ordeal by water which he himself witnessed. The test prescribed by the ndib-us-sultan to determine her guilt was this: “Four pitchers were filled with water and tied to the hands and feet of the woman who was then thrown into the Jamna (Jim). But she did not drown, whereby it was

proved that she was a kaftar . The naib-us-sultan then ordered her to

to be burnt” (IBH, 165). (Ed.).

This, as well as the most barbarous methods of punishment inflicted on the criminals as indicated above (pp. 83 , 84, 98), including mutilation, witnessed by Ibn Batutah, (IBH, 152), give us a realistic idea of the “medieval barbarism” that prevailed, or continued from old times, in spite of laws and institutions conceived on a high standard. (Ed.).

91. Ibid, 497.

92. Sub-u’l-a'shd, 73; Masalik-uT-absar , 34, 49, 51

93. HIED, III, 578; Tjaz-i-Khnsravi, II, 13 etc

94. Tdrikh-i-Mubdrak Shahi, 16; Minhaj, 170; Taj. f. 195b.

95. Qureshi, op. cit. 173.

96. Ahkam-u’s-Sultdniyah, 243, 244.

97. I‘j dz-i-Khusravi, II, 13

APPENDIX

1. JIH, XV. 187.

2. Is.C. XII, 405.

3. Ibid, 407, Briggs, II, 312.

4. Briggs, II, 313

5. Ibid, 312, cf. also HIED, I, Appendix on “the early use of gunpowder in India” (reprinted in the Studies in Indian History, by Elliot and Dowson, Published by Sushil Gupta, Calcutta, 1953. pp. 84 ff.).

6. Is.C. XII, 407-9.

7. Ibid. He refers to the use of guns in Malwa in 862 A.H. (A.D. 1457-8), in Gujarat in 825 A.H. (A.D. 1421-2). Gunpowder was introduced in Kashmir

during the reign of Zain-ul-‘Abidin but it was used only in fire-works and not in fire-arms. RT, III, pp. 149-50, vv. 19-29 BV, XVI, II

8. Studies in Indian History (cf. Note 5), p. 101.

CHAPTER XV

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A. SANSKRIT

I. INTRODUCTION

The same features that characterized the preceding period continue to operate during this age also.[1] Political conditions did not materially affect Sanskrit literature, and despite growing Muslim domination in parts of the country literary works continued to be produced. The creative period, however, had long been a matter of the past, there being little of intrinsic merit, though the production is immense and almost every branch of literature is represented. There is no originality. Works seem to be produced only for the learned; there is no contact with the masses. This period shows a growing tendency among the authors to write school texts.

Considering that there was a close contact with the Muslims for several centuries it is rather strange that no influence of such contact is to be seen in the vast Sanskrit literature to any appreciable extent.

Among the factors influencing Sanskrit literature of this period particular mention may be made of the Chaitanya movement of Bengal and Orissa which was productive of several works in drama, Champu , grammar, and other branches. The patronage extended by the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara, Warangal, Gujarat, etc. resulted in the concentration of scholars to these regions and the production of standard works in different branches by the authors patronized in these courts. Stories of Rama and Krishna and of the

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heroes in the Puranas have always been the fountain-heads from which the poets and dramatists drew their subject-matter. During the period under review stories of Nala and Yayati seem to have been the most popular, and a number of works appeared having their themes based on the story of the Kddambari.

The large number of royal authors and patrons of learning forms one of the main characteristics of this, as of the preceding age. Hammira, Kumbhakarna, Prataparudradeva, Kumaragiri or Vasantaraja, Vemabhupala, Sirhhabhupala, Kataya Verna, Immadi Praudhadevaraya, Virupaksha, Saluva Narasirhha, Krishnadevaraya and Tippa Bhupala were some of the rulers who enriched Sanskrit literature in several branches—Kavya, Nataka, poetics, dramaturgy, commentaries, music, etc. There were also large number of cele

brated polymaths like Viayaranya, Vamana Bhatta Bana, Venkatanatha or Vedanta Desika, and Uddanda who contributed works in Kavya, Nataka, Champu, philosophy, etc. Jains made a substantial contribution to Sanskrit literature during this period. Regional survey indicates that the bulk of production came from the South, followed by Bengal, Mithila and Western India. Kashmir recedes into the background.

II. BELLES-LETTERS

A. KAVYA (i) Mahakavya

The Udararaghava of Sakalyamalla alias Maliacharya or Kavimalla relates the entire Ramdyana story in a highly artificial style. Only nine of its eighteen cantos are available. 2 The poet was a contemporary of Sihgabhupala (c. A.D. 1330). Agastya, the courtpoet of Prataparudradeva of Warangal, composed several works, among which may be mentioned the Prataparudra-yasobhushana , 3 Krishna-charita (prose romance), and Balabharata, which summarises the whole story of the Mahabharata in 20 cantos, beginning with the origin of the Kuru line from the Moon. Coming from a learned family of poets, Vidyachakravartin III was the son of Vasudeva and grandson of Vidyachakravartin II, the author of Gadya-karndmrita. He was patronized by the Hoysala king Ballala III. His Rukmini-kalyana 4 describes the marriage of Krishna and RukminI in 16 cantos, the first giving the genealogy of the Hoysala kings besides a short account of the poet’s family. The extant nine cantos of Narakclsura-vijaya by Madhava, a poet at the court of king Virupaksha of Vijayanagara, describe the story of the conquest of Narakasura by Krishna. Vamana Bhatta Bana, son of Komatiyajvan and grandson of Varadagnichit, was a polymath, having composed Kavya, drama, bhdna, charita, sandesa, lexicons; etc. His versatility brought him the titles Shadbhashavallabha and Kavisarvabhauma. Born in the same gotra (i.e. Vatsa) as Bana, he thought he inherited his qualities and styled himself Abhinavabhattabana. His Nalabhyudaya in eight cantos and Raghundtha-charita in thirty deal with the lives of the respective heroes. He flourished in the fifteenth century A.D.

The Harivilasa of Lolimbaraja narrates the life of Krishna. 5 The famous Durga festival has been described by Vidyapati in 1000 verses in Durgtibhakti-tarangini. Ramachandra, son of Lakshmanabhatta, composed in A.D. 1524, Rasikaranjana at Ayodhya which describes the erotic and ascetic sentiments at the same time. Of similar nature is the Raghava-Pandava-Yadavlya of Chidambara, narrating simultaneously three stories of the RdmdyaV'a, Mahdbharata and Bhdgavata. King Saluva Narasimha is said to have composed Rdmdbhyudaya in 24 cantos. 6 Sankara-vijaya by the polymath Vidyaranya, who played an important role in the history of Vijayanagara, 7 is supposed to contain the biography of the great Sankara. Divakara, at the court of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara, wrote Pdrijdtaharana, Devistuti, Rasamanjari, and Bhdratdmrita on the basis of the stories in the Mahabhdrata. Kirtiraja’s Nemindtha-mahdkdvya narrates the life of Neminatha in 12 cantos, while Dvydsraya-kdvya by Jinaprabha describes the life of Srenika. Somakirti wrote Saptavyasana-charita, Pradyumna-charita and Yosodhara-charita . Vdsudeva-vijaya by Vasudeva, 8 at the court of Manavikrama of Calicut, illustrates the grammatical aphorisms of Panini. Adventures of Krishna form the subject of Chaturbhuja’s Haricharita-kdvya composed in Bengal.

Peculiar interest attaches to Kathdkautuka by Srivara, pupil of Jonaraja, which is an adaptation in 15 cantos of Yusuf wa Zuleikha by Jam! in Persian, and is probably the earliest instance of the utilization of Persian literature. Hebrew in origin, the story glorifies Muhammad Shah of Kashmir. The work is written in easy Sanskrit poetry. The romantic Persian love-lyric has been amalgamated with the Indian Saiva faith, the last canto being entirely dedicated to the praise of Siva.

(ii) Historical Kdvya

Srivara, mentioned above, was the pupil of Jonaraja who wrote the Dvitiya (second) Rdjatarangini. It is a continuation of Kalhana's Rdjatarangini and brings the chronicle of the kings of Kashmir down to the time of the author's patron Zain-ul-'Abidin (A.D. 1420-70). Jonaraja, however, could not complete the history of his patron, as he died in the 35th year of his reign. Srivara continued the history, and his work, the JoAna-Rajatarangini or the Tritiya (third) Rdjatarangini covers the period 1459-1486. Raj avail-pataka, begun by Prajyabhata and completed by his pupil Suka, deals with the history till the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar (1586).

Hammlra-kavya , by the Jain writer Nayachandra, describes the heroic deeds of Chahamana or Chauhan Hammira who bravely fought with the Muslims at Ranthambhor. 8a Jaitrasimha's advice to his son Hammira on politics is very informing. A work of considerable importance for Gujarat history is the Gurugunaratnakara by Somacharitragani, written in 1485, describing the life of Lakshmisaragani of Tapagachchha. Some historical interest attaches to the Jagadu

chcirita of Sarvananda, poem in praise of Jain layman who helped his countrymen during the disastrous Gujarat famine of 1256-57. Rajavinoda 9 of Udayaraja, a Hindu court-poet of Sultan Mahmud Begarha of Ahmadabad, deals in seven chapters with the life of the Sultan. Though Mahmud was notorious for his bigotry, the author depicts him as an orthodox king.

Prasahgaratnavau of Pattubhatta or Potararya gives short accounts of princes from the great Vikramaditya to Simhabhupati, Raja of Pithapur. Rukmini-kalydna of Vidyachakravartin III, as already stated, contains the genealogy of the Hoysala kings. A history of the kings of Vijayanagara from its foundation is given by Vidyaranya in his Rdjakdlanirnaya. Rajanatha II describes in Sdluvdbhyudaya the achievements of Saluva Marasimha and his ancestors. As there is no reference to Narasimha's rule at Vijayanagara, the poem seems to have been composed about A.D. 1480. 10

(iii) Shorter poems

(a) Devotional.

There are a number of stotras by the polymath Venkatanatha or Vedantadesika. Gita-Gaurisa by Bhanudatta, author of Rasatar angini and Rasomanjarl, appears to follow the model of Jayadeva's Gitagovinda. On the lines of the Gitagovinda, again, king Purushottamadeva composed Abhinava-Gitagovinda. Stutikusumdhjali by the Kashmirian poet Jagaddhara, son of Ratnadhara, consists of 38 hymns in praise of Siva. The poems of Nimai, later Gauranga and Sri Krishna Chaitanya, are outbursts of emotional devotion. Chaitanya movement gave rise to Vaishnava lyrics in Bengal. Stavamdla is a collection, made by Jiva Gosvamin, of about 60 stotras and gltas composed by Rupa Gosvamin, an immediate disciple of Chaitanya. Among devotional stotras by Jains may be mentioned Jinaprabhasuri's Chaturvhhsati-Jinastuti and several other hymns, and Jino.-stotra-ratna-kosa by Munisundarasuri.

(b) Didactic.

Dhanadaraja, like Bhartrihari, wrote three Satakas on Sringara, Nlti and Vairagya in A.D. 1434. Subhdshitanivi of Venkatanatha is a didactic poem like Bhartrihari's Nltisataka. Containing 144 verses in diverse metres, it is symmetrically divided into 12 Paddhatis of 12 verses each, dealing with the topics of pride, wickedness, servitude, nobility, tranquillity, etc. Dya Dviveda's Nitimanjarl illustrates some 200 verses of maxims by tales taken from Sayana's Rigvedabhdshya. Slladuta, by Charitrasundaragani, is not a Dutakdvya as indicated by its name, but a didactic poem on the story of Sthulabhadra, composed on the principle of Samasydpurana (taking one foot in each stanza from some standard work).

(c) Erotic and Sandesa.

Krishna!did of Madana relates Krishna's separation from the Gopis in 84 stanzas in ycimaka style of Samasydpurana type, taking one foot from Ghatakarpara in each stanza.

Of the imitations of the Meghaduta, which was responsible for a number of Dutakdvyas in the earlier epochs, there is an abundance in the period under review. Vehkatanatha or Vedantadesika, one of the polymaths of the period, wrote Hamsasandesa to vie with the Meghaduta. His son Varada or Nayanacharya, who vanquished in debate Sakalyamalla, was a great scholar and composed Kokilasandesa and Sukasandesa. There is another Kokilasandesa by Uddanda, a poet at the court of Manavikrama, the Zamorin, which is the message of a lover to his beloved at Calicut. 11 It is said to be in reply to a similar poem named Bhringasandesa or Bhramaraduta by Vasudeva, another poet at Manavikrama's court. Vamana Bhatta Ban a has Hamsasandesa in imitation of Meghasandesa. Manodiita of Vishnudasa, said to be the maternal uncle of Chaitanya, is a pathetic appeal to Krishna with mind as messenger, and contains a description of Vrindavana. There are Hamsaduta and Uddhavaduta by Rupa Gosviamin.

The Jain poets employed this form of poetry to serve religious purpose. In their Vijhaptipatras to their preceptors, conveying reports of their rainy season resorts, they dealt with philosophical doctrines and employed Chetas, Manas, Bhakti and the like as messengers. Merutuhga's Jain Meghaduta describes the life of Neminatha in four cantos.

(iv) Anthologies

Several important anthological works were composed during the period. The Sdrngadhara-paddhati, compiled in A.D. 1363 by Sarhgadhara, son of Damodara, is an exhaustive work containing 4689 verses in 163 sections. The number of authors and works cited amounts to over 300. 12 As preserving the works of South Indian authors, being a South Indian compilation, Suktiratnahdra of Surya Kalingaraja has a peculiar interest. It belongs to the fourteenth century. After the introductory Paddhatis its quotations are arranged into four Paddhatis dealing respectively with Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. The polymath Vedantadesika wrote Suhhdshitanwi , 13 while Sayana, the celebrated commentator of the Vedas, composed Suhhdshitasudhdnidhi in 84 Paddhatis at the instance of king Kampa of Vijayanagara. It contains an account of Sayana’s family. There is the Subhdshitdvali of Kashmirian Srivara, pupil of Jonaraja, which cites from more than 380 poets. In subject-matter, arrangement and method of compilation the Padyavail of Rupa Gosvamin is different from the other anthologies. It contains 386 verses from over 125 authors. All the verses are devoted to Krishna and Krishnalila, and have been arranged in accordance with the various aspects of Krishnabhakti and the different episodes of the erotic career of Krishna. The arrangement of sections generally conforms to the rhetorical classification of the Vaishnava Rasasastra.

(v) Women Poets

Reference has been made in Chapter I to Madhurd-vijaya or Vira-Kampardya-charita by Gahgadevi, queen of Vlra-Kampana or Kamparaya, which described her husband’s victorious expeditions against king Champa of Kanchl and the Muslim chief of Madura. Abhirama KamakshI, wife of Rajanatha I, wrote Abhinavardma bhyudaya in 24 cantos narrating the story of Rama in exquisite verse. Tirumalamba’s Varaddmbikaparinaya 14 deals with the love and marriage of Varadambika with her lover Achyutaraya of Vijayanagara in a highly artificial style.

B. NAT AKA

(i) Legendary themes

Virupaksha, son of Harihara II of the Sahgama dynasty of Vijayanagara, wrote Nardyana-vildsa in five acts, and Unmattardghava in one act, describing Rama’s lamentations on the loss of Sita. There is also another Unmattardghava, by Bhaskara, 15 called a Prekshdnaka, which in a single act depicts Rama’s search and maddening soliloquies on Slta’s transformation into a gazelle through Durvasas’ curse and her recovery with the aid of Agastya. The general plan is in imitation of the fourth act of the Vikramorvaslya.

Parvatlparinaya by Vamana Bhatta Bana, sometimes wrongly ascribed to Bana, is a dreary dramatization of the theme of Kumarasambhava in five acts, dealing with the nuptials of Siva and Parvati. His other play

Kanakalekha describes the marriage of the daughter of Viravarman with Vyasavarman, both Vidyadharas, born as human beings on account of a curse. The early life of Krishna has been dramatized by JIvarama in his Mumrivijaya, 16 while Krishnadevaraya's Jdmbuvati-kalydna describes in five acts the story of Krishna's recovery of the Syamantaka, his victory over Jambuvant, and his marriage with the latter's daughter, Jambuvati. Krishna

devaraya's TJshdparinaya and Prataparudradeva's Ushdragodaya deal with the Usha-Aniruddha episode. 17 Saugandhika-harana is a one-act Vyayoga by Visvanatha, describing Bhima's encounter with Hanumat and fetching Saugandhika flowers from Kubera's lake. On the story of Arj una's victory over Duryodhana and the Kauravas during their cattle-raid is based the Dhananjaya-vijaya-vyayoga of Kanchanacharya, son of Narayana. Virabhadravijaya by Arunagirinatha II is a Dima describing the creation of Virabhadra and the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice.

(ii) Semi-historical Plays

Vidyanatha's Pratdparudra-kalydna 18 glorifies the poet's patron, the Kakatlya ruler Frataparudra of Warangal. Gangddasa pratdpa-vildsa of Gangadhara deals in nine acts with the struggle of Gahgadasa Pratapadeva, ruler of Champakapura (Cbampaner) and the poet's patron, with Muhammad Shah II of Gujarat (A.D. 1443-51).

(iii) Allegorical Dramas

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Venkatanatha or Vedantadesika wrote Sankalpasuryodaya , an allegorical drama, in the manner of Prabodhachandrodaya. It is an answer to the latter and inculcates the Visishtadvaita philosophy. Ramanuja's doctrines again figure in another allegorical drama V edantavilma or Yatirdjavijaya by Varadacharya 19 or Ammal Acharya which describes in six acts the triumph of Ramanuja. Bhartviharinirveda by Harihara represents Bhartrihari as desolated by his wife's death through false rumour of his own death. Later, however, consoled by the Yogic teachings of Gorakshanatha, he attains indifference, so that after his wife is recalled to life he has no attraction either for her or for his child. The work is partly a didactic glorification of Hathayoga system of Gorakshanatha as a means of emancipation.

(iv) Devotional Plays

Vidagdha-mddhava (7 acts), Lalita-madhava (10 acts), and Dana kelichandrikd (without acts division, called Bhdnikd) by Rupa Gosvamin, and Jagannatha-vallabha (5 acts) by Ramananda Raya are among the devotional plays on Krishnabhakti produced by the influence of the Chaitanya movement. The first three illustrate the doctrinal aspect of the emotional Bhakti in terms of the old romantic Krishna legend, while the last work describes itself as a Sangitandtaka (musical drama) and contains Padavalis or songs in imitation of Jayadeva. Inspired by a great devotional fervour of a refined erotico-religious character as also by scholastic learning, their interest is anything but literary and they can hardly be called dramas.

(v) Erotic and Farcical

Dhurtasawydgama is a Prahasana by Jyotirisvara Kavisekhara, son of Ramesvara, who wrote under Harasimhadeva 20 (c. 1320) of the Karnata dynasty of Mithila. The play relates the contest between a religious mendicant Visvanagara and his pupil Durachara over a lovely courtesan Anahgasena, whom the Brahmana arbitrator Asajjati keeps for himself. Of the same type as the Dhurtasamdgama is the Somavalliyogdnanda of Arunagirinatha I, which in humorous vein ridicules the amorous overtures of an ascetic to a fallen married woman. Of uncertain date but dealing with a similar theme is the Hdsydrnava of Jagadisvara. The Kautukasarvasva of Goplnatha Chakravartin was written for the Durga festival of Bengal. It depicts a king Kalivatsala proclaiming free love to all and banishing all Brahmanas from his kingdom.

The firing dr abhushana of Vamana Bhatta Bana is a Bhdna introducing a Vita narrating his visit to the street of courtesans, incidentally describing the hetaera, ram-fights, cock-fights, boxing, a quarrel between two rivals, etc. Varadacharya, whose Veddnta-vilasa is noticed earlier, wrote Vasantatilaka or Ammal Bhdna containing descriptions of magic shows, snake charmers and like, to rival Ramabhadra’s firing dr atilaka or Ayya Bhdna f dealing with the amorous adventures of Bhujahgasekhara of Madhura. 21

(vi) Social dramas and Court Comedies

Mallikdmdruta, a Prakarana in ten acts by Uddanda, is a social drama of middle class life, following the plot of Mdlatirrvddhava in all details with improvements in some particulars. With its attractive language, melodious verse and speeches abounding in apt illustration, the drama has its own appeal. The Kadambarikalydna by Narasimha dramatizes the story of the Kadambari in eight acts. Its special feature is the antarndtikd in the fifth act, which brings Kadambari in the presence of Chandrapida. Sathakopa in his Vdsantikaparinaya describes the marriage of Ahobila Narasimha with a wood-nymph Vasantika. The Bhairavananda by the Nepalese Manika, son of Rajavardhana and pupil of Nates vara, is a secular drama with Bhairava and Madanavatl, a celestial damsel cursed by a Rishi to become human, as hero and heroine.

(vii) Irregular Plays

The Subhadraparinaya on the well-known topic of the marriage of Subhadra, the Rdmabhyudaya , dealing with the conquest of Lanka, fire ordeal of Sita and return to Ayodhya, and the Pdndavdbhyudaya describing Draupadl’s birth and marriage, are the works of Vyasa

Sriramadeva (Ramadeva) of the fifteenth century, who was a protege of Kalachuri kings of Rayapura. They style themselves as shadow plays, though in reality they do not differ from the ordinary plays. 22

C. PROSE LITERATURE (i) Popular Tale: Romantic Tale

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After the Brihatkathd, the next oldest collection is the Vetdlapahchavimsati found in several independent versions, including the Kashmirian versions of the Brihatkathd by Kshemendra and Somadeva, but not the Nepalese version. 23 Sivadasa’s version, in prose interspersed with verse, is noteworthy on account of considerable literary grace and narrative quality.

Though a MS. of V etdlapanchavimsati by Sivadasa is dated A.D. 1487, Hertel would not place Sivadasa much before A.D. 1487, so that he may be taken as properly belonging to this period. Kshemamkara’s prose version, with verses at the beginning and end, which condemns the Simhasanadvatrimsikd or Vikramdnka-charita, a collection of thirty-two tales of throne, belongs to this period.

Bharatakadvdtrimsikd, of unknown date and authorship, consists of thirty-two tales ridiculing Bharatakas, who were probably Saiva mendicants. The inclusion of vernacular verses indicates its contact with the literature of the people. It may or may not be of Jain inspiration. The Kathdrnava of Sivadasa has stories of fools and knaves. The Purushapariksha of Vidyapati, who flourished under Sivasimha of Mithila towards the latter part of the fourteenth century, has moral and political tales for the instruction of children on the plan of Panchat antra. The tales indicate, in a simple and graceful style, what goes to constitute manly qualities. Some stories refer to historical persons and incidents. Bhuparikrama by Vidyapati is a prose work describing Balarama’s journey round the earth— one of the earliest specimens of gazetteers. The Kathdkautuka of Srrvara, which renders in Sanskrit verse the Persian story, has already been referred to.

(ii) Didactic Tale

Jain literature is specially rich in stories, but their main aim is to illustrate the tenets of the Jain faith—edification rather than entertainment. Champ aka-Sr eshthikathdnaka includes three tales one of which relates Ravana’s vain effort to avoid fate. The PJZagopdlakathdnaka of Jinakirti tells of a woman who accused a youth of outraging her modesty on account of his refusing her overtures. Both the Kathdnakas are of the nature of fantastic fairy tales. The

Sarny aktvakaumudi, which is openly propagandist, illustrates by different tales how to obtain true religion (Samyaktva). The Kathakosa is a collection of popular tales in bad Sanskrit and Prakrit verses. Somachandra, pupil of Ratnasekhara of Tapagachchha, composed in V.S. 1504 (=A.D. 1448) Kathdmahodadhi, which is a collection of 126 Jain stories.

(iii) Prose Romances

Prose romances subsequent to the seventh century are nothing but imitations of Subandhu and Eana. A deliberate but dreary copy of Bana’s Harsha-charita, the V emabhupdla-charita of Vamana Bhatta Bana, celebrates Vemabhupala or Viranarayana (A.D. 1402-20) who was the Reddi king of Kondavldu. The genealogy of this king is given from king Prolla, whose adventures culminate in his romantic marriage with princess Ananta, daughter of king Vikramasimha in Dakshinapatha. Our hero was the grandson of Macha, one of the five sons of Prolla. Verna’s expeditions in different quarters are then described. Agastya’s Krishna-char it a relates the life of Krishna based on the Bhdgavata. Merutmiga gives an account of some Jain saints in his Mahapurusha-charita. Charitrasundara’s Mahipdla-charita is a fairy tale. The battle at Srirangam between Hoysala Narasimha II and the combined armies of the Pandyas, Magadhas and Cholas, about a few years before Vlrasomesvara’s marriage and accession to the throne in A.D. 1234, forms the subject of Vidyaehakravar tin’s Gadyakarndmrita. The cause of the war between the PSndyas and the Hoysala king is traced to a mythical feud between Parasurama and Skanda.

(iv) Champu

The Champu form of composition appears to have been popular and largely cultivated in southern India. 8'rinivusavilasa-champu by Venkatadhvarin or Venkatesa tells the love story of a southern king Srinivasa. Written in two parts of five Uchchhvdsas each, the work imitates Bana’s alliteration and slesha with a vengeance. Anantabhatta (c. A.D. 1500) composed the Bharata-champu dealing with the Mahdbhdrata story in twelve stabakas. His nephew Somanatha wrote the Vydsayogicharita-champu on the life of Vyasaraya. pdrijdtaharana-champu of Seshakrishna deals with the well-known legend of Krishna’s exploit. Chidambara, who comes shortly after the period covered by this volume, wrote the Bhdgavata champu and the Pancha-kalydna-champu, the latter of which, at one stretch, relates the story of the marriage of Rama, Krishna, Vishnu, giva and Subrahmanya. A historical incident in the career of the Vijayanagara king Achyutaraya, dealing with his love and marriage

with Varadambika, is narrated in a highly artificial Champu entitled Varaddmbikd-pariaaya by the woman poet Tirumalamba. Virupaksha’s

Chola-champu gives a fictitious account of the Chola king Kulottunga and his son Devachola, which is contrary to epigraphic evidence. *

Like the Jain writers who employed Champu for religious propaganda, the Bengal Vaishnava school also wrote Champus relating to the Krishna legend. In his Muktacharita, Raghunathadasa, a disciple of Chaitanya, indicates the superiority of Krishna's free love for Radha over his conjugal love for Satyabhama. Following the Harivamsa and the Bhagavata Purdna, the early childhood and youth of Krishna are described in a rhetorical style in the much more extensive and artificial Gopdla-champu of Jiva Gosvamin, nephew of Rupa Gosvamin, and the Ananda-Vrindavana-champu of Paramanandadasa-sena Kavikarnapura. The latter work deals with the early life of Krishna at Vrindavana, while Jiva's work covers the entire career of Krishna, modifying the legend to suit the Vaishnava theology of Bengal of which it is a Siddhanta-grantha.

(v) Prabandhas

The Bhojaprabandha of Ballalasena (16th century) narrates interesting, though unauthentic, stories of the court of king Bhoja. It describes how Bhoja came to the throne, and then narrates a number of anecdotes showing such authors as Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, Dandin and Magha as contemporaries! The Jain Prabandhas stand in a different category. Written in elegant prose, they freely introduce Prakrit and Apabhrarhsa, as well as Sanskrit, verses. They are semihistorical works professing to deal with historical and literary personages, but represent a motley collection of curious legends and anecdotes. Though not of much historical value, they have a charming style and provide an interesting reading. The Prabandhachintamani of Merutunga, completed in A.D. 1306, is divided into 5 PrakdsaSj each containing several Prabandhas. It opens with the legend of Vikramaditya and Salivahana, followed by the story of the Chaulukya kings of Anahilwad, and the Paramara kings Bhoja and Munja. Then comes the account of the Vaghela kings Lavanaprasada and Viradhavala with their ministers Vastupala and Tejahpala. In the last Prakasa are the stories of Siladitya, Lakshmanasena, Umapati, Bhartrihari and others. Rajasekhara's Prabandha kosa, completed in 1348, is divided into 24 Prabandhas, and deals with seven royal and three lay personages, as also ten Jain teachers and four poets.

III. RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

(i) Pur anas and Upa-Puranas

But for the addition of very late interpolations to some of the minor Puranas, as Dr. Hazra calls them, such as the Varaha, Padma, Brahma, Skanda, Brahmavaivarta, and Bhavishya , the Puranas were free from the activities of revisers and interpolators during this period. Srldhara Svamin's Bhagavata-Bhavartha-Dipika, the famous commentary on the Bhdgavata, was written during this period. Most of the Upa-Puranas had received their final form prior to this period. The Saura, Sdmba , and Devi received additional matter during this period. It is interesting to note that the Brahmavaivarta and Devi Bhdgavata were subjected to additions owing to the activity of the scholars in Bengal.

(ii) Dharmasastra — Commentaries, Nibandhas and Ritual Literature

So far as the works on Dharmasastra are concerned, the period under review was but a continuation of that described earlier, viz. that of commentaries (tikas and bhashya s) and digests (nibandhas). The general tendency, however, was to write works more in the nature of digests dealing with all topics of Dharma. The following account gives a regional survey of the authors, belonging to Mithila, Bengal, other parts of Northern India, and the Deccan. Under each heading the authors have been dealt with in a chronological order.

Mithila

Most prominent among the Maithila writers on Dharmasastra, Chandesvara, son of Viresvara and grandson of Devaditya, was the chief judge and minister for peace and war of king Harisirhhadeva, mentioned above, who ascended the throne about A.D. 1280. Chandesvara's Smritiratnakara is an exhaustive digest, dealing in seven sections with Kritya, Dana, Vyavahara, Suddhi, Puja, Vivada and Grihastha. As indicated by their titles, Krityaratnakara deals with various vratas and observances, Ddnaratnakara with gifts, Vyavahara 0 with judicial procedure, Suddhi 0 with impurity and purification, Puja° with worship, Vivada 0 with civil and criminal law in its eighteen divisions, and Grihastha 0 with duties of householders. Along with Vivadachintamani of Vachaspati, of which it formed the basis, the Vivadaratnakara is considered supreme authority in matters of Hindu Law in Mithila. Chandesvara's Krityachintamani discusses astronomical matters in relation to the performance of various religious ceremonies and Samskaras. His Rajanitiraindkara, to be considered later under "Polity", was written at the command of the king Bhavesa or Bhavasimha. It

thus appears that Chandesvara had a long literary career of over 50 years and RdjaniUratndkara was probably his last production composed at a very advanced age.

Another Maithila writer was Mahamahopadhyaya Harinatha, who wrote Smritisdra, hitherto available only in MSS., on several topics of Dharmasastra. Samskaras, rites on death, Sraddha, Prayaschitta, various titles of law and judicial procedure are the main topics found in the MSS. As Harinatha mentions Kalpataru and Harihara, and he is quoted by Sulapani, Misaru Misra, Vachaspati Misra, Raghunandana, Kamalakara and later writers, the period of his activity falls between 1250 and the last quarter of the fourteenth century. There is no reference to Harinatha in Chandesvara's works, voluminous as they are, nor does Harinatha refer to Chandesvara. So they were probably contemporaries.

The next Maithila writer was Rudradhara, son of Mahamahopadhyaya Lakshmldhara and youngest brother of Haladhara, who wrote several works on Dharmasastra including Suddhiviveka , Srdddhaviveka, Vrata-paddhati and Varshakritya. The Suddhiviveka is an exhaustive treatise on purification dealing with all its aspects, while Srdddhaviveka contains full particulars about the Sraddhas. Rudradhara mentions, among others, the Ratndkara, the Smritisdra, and the Srdddhaviveka of Sulapani, indicating his posteriority to A.D. 1425. As he is quoted by Vachaspati and Govindananda and a MS. of his Vrata-paddhojti is dated L.S. 344 (c. A.D 1463), he is earlier than A.D. 1460. 24

Misaru Misra, the celebrated author of Vivadachandra and Pad^drtha-chandrikd (on the Nyaya-Vaiseshika system), is the next Maithila v/riter.

Vivadachandra, dealing with several titles of law and with procedure, and a recognized authority on Hindu Law in Mithila, was written at the command of princess LachhimadevI, wife of Chandrasiriiha, probably the younger brother of Bhairavasimhadeva of the Sugauna dynasty of Mithila. Misaru Misra quotes Chandesvara and criticises him, and his patron Chandrasimha flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century, so that Misaru Misra belongs to this period.

Finally comes Vachaspati Misra, the doyen of Maithila Nibandha kdras , who was the adviser in Dharmasastra of Maharajadhiraja Harinarayana and his son Rupanarayana. His Vivddachintdmani occupied a pre-eminent position of authority in Hindu Law in Mithila in the British Indian High Courts and the Privy Council. Vachaspati Misra was a voluminous writer, having about a dozen works with the title of chintdmani and several with tbe title of nirnaya. 25 As he refers to Chandesvara and Rudradhara, Vachaspati

Misra was later than A.D. 1425, and as he is quoted by Govindananda and Raghunandana, he came before A.D. 1540. A MS. of his Suddhinirnaya was copied in Sam. 1416 (i.e. Saka 1416 = A.D. 1494-5). So it appears that Vachaspati Misra should be assigned to the latter half of the fifteenth century. 26

Bengal

From Mithila, we turn to the Bengal writers on Dharmasastra. Two of the famous Bengal triumvirate, viz. Sulapani and Raghunandana, belong to this period. Sulapani is the recognized authority on Dharmasastra in Bengal, next only to Jimutavahana. In his Dipakalikd, a short commentary on Yajnavalkya, which seems to be his earliest work, Sulapani holds somewhat archaic views on inheritance. Smritiviveka was intended to incorporate several vivekas, small treatises on different topics of Dharmasastra, of which fourteen are known to have been written. 27 Practically nothing is known about the personal history of Sulapani, and his date is uncertain. He names Chandesvara’s Ratndkara and Kdlamddhaviya, so that he is later than c. A.D. 1375, considering that some time is necessary for the latter, a work from Vijayanagara, to be authoritative in

Bengal. As Rudradhara, Govindananda and Vachaspati mention Sulapani’s works, he is earlier than c. A.D. 1460.

Hailing from Bagri in Southern Bengal, Govindananda is the next Bengal writer on Dharmasastra during the period under review. He was the son of Ganapatibhatta and was styled Kavikankanacharya. His works are of particular interest to historians on account of numerous authors and works quoted therein. Ddnakaumudi , Suddhikaumudi, SrdddJnakaumudl and Varshakriyakaumudl, out of his several works, have been hitherto published. His Arthakaumudi is a commentary on the Suddhidtpikd of Srinivasa and Tattvdrtha kaumudl on the Prayaschittaviveka of Sulapani. From the facts that Govindananda quotes Madanapdrijata, Rudradhara and Vachaspati, is quoted by Raghunananda, and his SudAhikaumudi examines intercalarly months from 'Saka 1414 to Saka 1457 (A.D. 1492-1535), it has been inferred that his literary activity lay between A.D. 1500 and 1540. 28

Raghunandana, the last great writer of Bengal on Dharmasastra and the third of the famous triumvirate, was the son of Harihara Bhattacharya and a pupil of Srmatha Acharya-Chudamani. Tradition credits him with being a student of the celebrated Vasudeva Sarvabhauma along with Lord Chaitanya. He was called Smartabhattacharya or Srnarta on account of his thorough mastery over Smriti and his erudition evident in the Smrititattva

which is an encyclopaedic work on the different branches of Dharma divided into 28 Tattvas. 29 It would not be feasible to give even a brief summary of the Tattvas; their very names indicate the subjectmatter. Besides Smriti-tattva, Raghunandana wrote several works including Tirtha-tattva, Tripushkarasdnti-tattva, Dvddasaydtd-tattva , Gayd-Sraddha-paddhati, Rasaydtrd-padahati, and a commentary on the Dayabhaga. The commentary has been hailed as the best on the Dayabhaga by the Calcutta High Court and Bengal school respects his authority. However, his works are not in much vogue outside Bengal. If he was the fellow student of Chaitanya, he must have been born c. 1490. Raghunandana is quoted and criticised by Viramitrodaya and by Nilakantha which proves him to be earlier than 1600. His mention of Madhavacharya, Sulapani, Rudradhara and Vachaspati places him later than 1500. MSS. of some of his works are dated about 1575 which fixes the later limit for him. His literary activity lies between 1520 and 1570.

Other parts of Northern India

Several authoritative works on Dharmasastra and other topics were compiled under the patronage of king Madanapala of the family of Taka kings that ruled in Kashtha on the Yamuna. Madanapdrijdta, Smritvmahdrnava (or Madanamahdrnava), Tithinirnayasdra and Smritikaumudi are the Dharmasastra works ascribed to Madanapala. The Madanapdrijdta, though ascribed to Madanapala, was really composed by the author of Subodhini, i.e. Visvesvarabhatta, son of Pedibhatta and Ambika, who was a native of Dravida country and migrated to north India after composing Subodhini. The Banaras school of Hindu Law looks upon Visvesvara as one of its leading authorities. In a simple and lucid style the nine chapters of the Madanapdrijdta deal respectively with Brahmacharya, Grihasthadharma, Ahnikakritya, Samskaras, Asaucha, Dravyasuddhi, Sraddha, Dayabhaga and Prayaschitta, the chapter on Dayabhaga closely following the Mitakshard. The Mahdrnava, which is ascribed to Mandhata, son of Madanapala, is mainly concerned with describing how various bodily diseases result from past evil deeds, and prescribing various rites and penances for the eradication of bad results. Visvanatha, probably a paraphrase of the name of Visvesvara, appears to have composed the Tithinirnayasdra. The Smritikaumudi, whose author claims the authorship of Mahdrnava, exhaustively deals in four chapters with the dharma of the Sudra, discussing the kinds of Sudras, their adhikara for religious rites, marriage, observances, iSraddha and daily duties for Sudra. Besides these, Madanapala compiled several other works, famous among them being the Madananighantu to be described later. Madanapdrijdta and

Maharnava mention Smritichandrikd and Hemadri’s Chaturvarga chintdmani, indicating A.D. 1300 as the earlier limit for Madanapala. Since the Nrisimha-prasada, Narayanabhatta, ftaghunandana and Govindananda quote the Madanaparijata, they supply A.D. 1500 as terminus ad quern. MSS. of Suryasiddhanta-viveka and Madananighantu compiled by Madanapala, which were respectively copied down in A.D. 1402-3 and composed in A.D. 1375, narrow down the literary activity of Madanapala to between A.D. 1360 and 1390.

Madanaratnapradipa or Madanapradipa, of which the vyavahara section has recently been published, was divided into seven sections {Uddyotas) called Samaya, Achara, Vyavahara, Prayaschitta, Dana, Suddhi and Santi. The work was composed under the patronage of king Madanasimhadeva, son of Saktisiihha, mentioned above, 29a who ruled over Gorakhpur-Champaran. Manuscripts of Amarakosa and Narasimhapumna were copied respectively in A.D. 1453-54 and La Sam 339 when Madanasimhadeva was ruling over Champakaranyanagara and Gorakshapura, indicating c. 1425-1450 as the date of Madanasimha. Madanaratna confirms this date, as it mentions MiU akshara, Kalpataru and Hernadri (i.e. later than 1300) and is quoted by Narayanabhatta, Kamalakarabhatta, Nilakantha and Mitramisra (i.e. before 1500). Prataparudradeva 30 of the Gajapati dynasty, who ruled at Cuttack, invited an assembly of Pandits to compile a comprehensive digest of civil and criminal law called Sarasvativildsa. The work occupies an important position, next to Mitakshara , in matters of Hindu Law in Southern India. As Prataparudradeva ruled from A.D. 1497 to A.D. 1540, the work belongs to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

Deccan

Now we turn to works produced in the south. The polymath Madhavacharya, the brightest gem among southern writers on Dharmasastra, wrote several works of which Pardsara-Madhaviya and Kala-Madhava are most important. Written as a commentary on Pardsara-smriti, Pardsara-Madhaviya is a digest of civil and religious law, devoting about a fourth of its extent to Vyavahara on which original Parasara has no verse. The style is lucid, and lengthy and abstruse discussions are avoided. The work is held an authority on Hindu Law in Southern India. Kalanirnaya is an extensive treatise in five chapters on time, dealing with time and its nature; year, seasons, months, intercalary months, and religious acts allowed and forbidden in intercalary months; disquisition on tithi, nakshatra, yoga, karana, sankrdnti, eclipses, etc.

THE DELHI SULTANATE

Finally we come to Nfisiihlw-prasada, another work hailing from the South, which is an encyclopaedia of Dharmasastra in twelve sections. 31 The work derives its title from the deity who is invoked at the beginning of each section. The author Dalapati, son of Yallabha and the pupil of Surya Pandita, was chief minister and keeper of records of Nizam Shah of Devagiri. The author's master appears to be Ahmad Nizam Shah. As the Pamsara-Mddhaviya and Madanapdrijdta are relied on in Nrisbhha-prasdda, it is later than A.D. 1400, and as it is quoted in Dvaitanirnaya and by Nilakantha, it is earlier than A.D. 1575. Samvat 1568 or 69, which, appears at the end of several sections of the work, may be the date of its composition or of copying of the MS. Thus the work appears to have been composed between A.D. 1490 and 1512.

(iii) Philosophy

Sarvadarsanasamgraha of Madhava, brother of Sayana, is the most famous of several critical reviews of philosophical systems written in India. It deals with sixteen different darsanas (systems) arranged from the point of view of error. First come the materialistic Charvakas followed by Buddhism and Jainism, after which come six sectarian theologies, namely, four schools of gaivism, Ramanuja and Purnaprajha; then come Vaiseshika, Nyaya, Purva Mimamsa, a grammatical school ascribed to Banini, Samkhya, Yoga, and finally Vedanta. Madhava also wrote Jaimimya-nydya-mdldvistara which is an exposition of the Mimamsa system in verse accompanied by a prose commentary. Earlier than Madhava is Parthasarathi Misra who wrote several works on Bhatta Mimamsa including Nydyaraindkara (a commentary on Kumarila's Sloka vdrttika), Sdstradipikd (an independent and popular manual on the Mimamsa system according to the Kumarila School), and Tantraratna. Nydyasudha or Rdnaka by Somesvara (c. 1400) is a commentary on Kumarila's Tantravdrttika.

In Vedanta, Madhava wrote Jwanmuktiviveka and Pahchadasi (partly written by Bharat! Tirtha) which follow and support Sankara's views. Brahma-vidydbharana of Advaitananda (fifteenth century) is a prose commentary on Sahkara-bhashya, while Sadananda, the disciple of Advaitananda, wrote a brief outline of Advaita Vedanta in prose in his Veddntasdra which is a useful introduction to the philosophy.

Vallabhiacharya in his Anubhdshya on the Brahmasutras propounded the Suddhadvaita system or pure monism. According to Vallabha, Bhakti is both the means and the end; it is given by God;

it comes by His grace. The teacher on earth is regarded as divine and receives divine honours.

Sdmkhya-pravachana-sutra of Kapila has been assigned to the fourteenth century as the Sarvadarsanasamgraha does not refer to it and bases its account on the Sdmkhyakarikd. Vijnanabhikshu 3 la in his Sdmkhya-pravachana-bhashya endeavours to minimise the distinction between Samkhya and theistic Vedanta which he regards as genuine Vedanta, while Advaita Vedanta is considered its modern falsification. Vijnanabhikshu also wrote Sdmkhya-sdra, Yoga vdrttika, Yogasdra-samgraha and Vijnndndmrita, a commentary on the Brahmasutra.

Vijnanabhikshu's two works on Yoga are useful manuals. Criticising Vachaspati's views on some points, Vijnanabhikshu attempts to bring the Yoga system nearer the philosophy of the Upanishads. Godavaramisra, the Rajaguru and Mantrl of Gajapati Prataparudra of Orissa, has written Yogachintdmani which is a compendium based on the principles and practices of Yoga as enjoined by Patanjali, Vyasa, Vaehaspati and Bhoja. 32

Tattvachintdmani-vydkhyd by Vasudeva Sarvabhauma on Gangesa's Tattvachintdmani is regarded as the first great work of the Navadvipa school. He was the Guru of the great Chaitanya, Raghunatha (author of Didhiti and Paddrthakhandana), Raghunandana, the jurist, and Krishnananda, the great Tantrik authority. Laugakshi Bhaskara's Tarkakaumudl is a symmetrical work like Sivddiiya's Saptapadarthi, taking Nyaya and Vaiseshika principles as one whole based on Prasastapada's treatise. Sankara Misra's Upaskara on Vaiseshikasutras is a work of some importance.

Vedantadesika (or Venkatanatha) was a prolific writer on many subjects, chief among his philosophical works being Sesvaramlmdmsd, Nydya-siddhdnta and Tattva-muktdkaldpa; Tattva-tlkd and Tatparyachandrikd are his commentaries on Ramanuja's Snbhdshya and Gitd-bhdshya respectively. The Scsvara-mimdmsd treats of Purva and Uttara Mimarhsa as parts of one whole, and argues that Karma cannot produce its fruits without the aid of divine agency.

IV. TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE

(i) Grammar

Most of the works of this period are based upon the Ashtadhyayl of Panini. Riipamdld of Vimalasarasvati, which is not later than A.D. 1350, is the earliest and the simplest of the recasts of Ashtadhydyl now extant. Ramachandra (c. A.D. 1400) has rearranged the material of Panini in his Prakriya-kaumudi, on which is based the

famous Siddhdnta-kaumudi of Bhattoji Dikshita, who flourished between A.D. 1560 and 1620. Bhattoji is also credited with the authorship of the Sabda-kaustubha. From the Siddhdnta-kaumudi sprang a little later smaller treatises like the Madhya-siddhdnta-kaumudi, the Laghu-kaumudl and the Sdra-kaumudi of Varadaraja (seventeenth century), who is also supposed to have written the Girvunapadamanjan. There is a Dhatuvritti ascribed to Madhava (fourteenth century), the brother of Say ana.

In the Hemachandra school Hemahariisavijayagani put together a collection of about 140 paribhdshds or maxims of interpretation used in Hemachandra’s grammar and wrote a commentary on them called the Nydydrthamanjushd in V.S. 1515 (=A.D. 1458) at Ahmadabad. Gunaratnasuri, a pupil of Devasundarasuri, wrote Kriydratnasamuchchaya in V.S. 1466 (=A.D. 1409) on the use of conjugational peculiarities of the most important Sanskrit roots. Hemachandra school had but a short career. After the age of commentators in the fifteenth century it fell more or less into neglect, chiefly on account of lack of originality and the sectarian character of its founder and followers.

In the Sarasvata school, the period subsequent to the stereotyped form given to the system by Anubhutisvarupacharya was mainly of commentaries and sub-commentaries. During the period under review we get commentaries by Punjaraja, a minister to Ghiyas-ud-dln Khalji of Malwa (1469-1500), who also wrote Sisuprabodha on Alamkara and Dhvanipradipa; Amritabharati, pupil of Amalasarasvatl, the earliest known MS of whose commentary

Subodhikd is dated V.S. 1554 (A.D. 1497); Madhava, pupil of Srlraiiga, the MS. of whose commentary is dated V.S. 1591 (A.D. 1534), and Chandraklrti, a Jain belonging to the Brihadgachchha of Nagpur, author of Subodhikd or Dipikd, who was honoured by Sahi Salum.

The period witnessed the founding of the Saupadma school by a Maithila Brahmana, Padmanabhadatta, son of Damodaradatta, who gives his date as 1297 Saka era (=A.D. 1374) in his Prishodai'ddivritti. His work, the Saupadma , is based upon that of Panini (of which it retains most of the terminology) with the remodelling of a greater part of the rules and their rearrangement in a methodical form, each Sutra having a short explanatory note. Besides works on Unadis, Dhatus, Paribhashas, metrics, lexicography, etc., Padmanabhadatta himself has written a commentary on his grammar called Supadmapahjikd. The influence of the Saupadma school is at present confined to parts of Central Bengal.

The best of the recasts of Sakatayana grammar is the Prakriyasamgraha by Abhayachandracharya. Modelled on works like

Prakriyakaumudi it omits a large number of original sutras unnecessary in a work for beginners, and amplifies a few others. Nandakisorabhatta wrote a treatise to supplement the Mugdhabodha of Bopadeva in A.D. 1398.

The tendency of introducing religious elements in grammar, already noticed in Bopadeva, 33 has been carried to the extremes in the two Vaishnava grammars called Harindmamrita, which make grammar the vehicle of religion. Rupa Gosvamin, the famous Vaishnava devotee of Chaitanya, is the author of one Harindmamrita, in which the names of Radha and Krishna and their acts are employed, not merely by way of illustration, but as actual technical terms. The other Harindmamrita is by Jiva Gosvamin which differs but slightly from its namesake. These grammars are at present in use among the Vaishnavas of Bengal.

Fifteenth century marks the most glorious period of commentaries in the Bengal school of Panini. Narapatimahamisra wrote Nydsaprdkdsa, a commentary on the Nyasa • Nandana Misra wrote Nydsoddipand on the Nyasa and commented on the Tantrapradipa, on which Sanatana Tarkacharya wrote a gloss named Prabha and also Phakkikavrtti.

Pundarikaksha Vidyasagara, one of the greatest scholars of Bengal, wrote an independent work Kdraka-kaumudi, and commentaries on Nyasa, Kdtantratikd 3 Kavyadarsa, Kavyaprakasa, Bhattikdvya etc. Srlmaii Misra has commentaries on all the three classical works of the Bengal school of Panini, viz. Nyasa, Anunydsa and Tantrapradipa . During the period under review there arose in Bengal a host of commentaries and supplements also to the Katantra grammar which is studied there most assiduously.

(ii) Lexicography

Out of the Ekaksharakosas, which are monosyllabic dictionaries and deal with words of only a single syllable, the following appeared during the period under review: Ekaksharanamamdld of Sudhakalasa (14th century) and Ekdkshararatnamala of Madhava, son of Mayana and minister of Harihara, consisting of three Kdndas, Svara, Vyanjana and Samyukta. There is a bigger portion of homonyms and smaller of synonyms in the Bhuriprayoga of Padmanabhadatta, founder of the Saupadma school of Grammar, who composed his Prishodaradivritti in A.D. 1374. Out of the several works more or less based on the Abhidhdnachintdmani of Hemachandra was the Panchavarga-nama-sarhgraha of Subhasilagani (15th century), who also composed the Unddi-ndmamdld. The Sabdaratnakara of Mahipa* of which the homonymous section bears the title Anekartha- or Nanartha-tilaka, bears the date A.D. 1374. There is Ndmrtharatnamala by Irupaga Dandadhinatha or Bhaskara who lived under Harihara II of Vijayanagara (14th century). Brihaspati Rayamukuta, a famous commentator on the Amarakosa, flourished during this period. Apparaya, at the court of Singabhupala (c. 1400) wrote a commentary on the Amarakosa. There is a difference of opinion about the identity of Vamana Bhatta Bana whose Sabdaratndkara has the homonyms and avyayas at the end. Sabdachandrika is also ascribed to him. Madanavinodanighntu, better known as Madanapdlanighantu, composed by Madanapala in 1374, is an extensive work comprising about 2250 verses divided into 14 vargas. It is a comprehensive dictionary of materia medica containing “the names of medical drugs, the qualities of drugs and of dishes and of the flesh of various animals.”

(iii) Poetics and Dramaturgy

The period under review has been included by Dr. De under scholastic age, which was characterized by works showing systematic compilation and arrangements and by commentaries. The era of creative work and critical elaboration had already passed. The age of original or thoughtful writers was long gone by and it was succeeded by the age of commentators, interpreters, and critics. From this it was only a matter of time to degenerate into a host of manuals and manuals of manuals.

(a) Poetics

The Prataparudrayasobhushana by Vidyanatha consists of the usual three parts—Karikas, Vritti and illustrations, the last being composed by the author in honour of his patron Prataparudradeva, the Kakatlya king of Telingana. Its nine chapters deal respectively with Nayaka, Kavya, Nataka, Rasa, Dosha, Guna, Sabdalamkara, Arthalamkara and Misralamkara, and cover the same ground as Visvanatha's Sahityadarpana. Vidyanatha follows Mammata in general, but prefers Bhoja in the matter of Gunas and Ruyyaka in the matter of Alamkaras. Parinama, Ullekha, Vichitra and Vikalpa are the new Alamkaras mentioned by Vidyanatha which are not found in Mammata. Ratndpana by Kumarasvamin, son of the famous Mallinatha, is a good commentary on the Prataparudrayasobkushana. Mallinatha, who also flourished during the period under review, is well known for his commentaries on the five Mahakavyas. Bhanudatta, son of Ganesvara and a native of Mithila, is the author of two works on poetics, Rasatarangini and Rasamanjari. The former is divided into 8 tarangas and deals mainly with the various components of the Rasas such as Bhava, Vibhava, Anubhava, etc., and also with various Rasas and three kinds of Drishtis. The Rasamanjari is a smaller treatise dealing with the nature of the heroes and heroines, the Sattvika gunas, two varieties of Sringara, ten stages of Vipralambha, etc. All examples, except those with expressly contrary indications, are by the author. As he mentions Sringdraprakdsa, Sarasvatlkanthdbharana, Kdvya-prakdsa, Gitagovinda and Rasaratnapradl pika, Bhanudatta is not earlier than A.D. 1250. As a commentary on Rasamahjari by Gopala called Vikdsa was composed in A.D. 1572, 34 the date of Bhanudatta appears to be between A.D. 1450-1500.

Singabhupala, the author of the Rasdrnavasudhakara, was the son of Anapota and Annamamba of the Recharla dynasty. A versatile scholar, patron of letters and a profuse writer, he was called Sarvajna and was also known as Khadganarayana. Besides Rasdrnavasudhakara he wrote a small drama Kuvalaydvali and a commentary on the Sahgitaratnakara of Sarhgadeva. 35 The Rasdrnava sudhdkara, based on Sringdraprakdsa and Bhdvaprakdsa , is a comprehensive and elaborate work dealing in its three vilasas, respectively with (1) the qualities, classification etc. of heroes and heroines; Uddlpana-vibhavas, Ritis and Gunas, dramatic Vrttis, etc.; (2) Vyabhicharibhavas, Anubhavas, Sthayibhavas, Rasas, etc.; and (3) the drama, its varieties, characteristics, etc. The Nataka^paribhasha, said to be a separate work on dramaturgy by Singabhupala, is but a part of Rasdrnavasudhdkara. It draws directly on Bharata, Rudrabhatta, Dasarupaka and others. Visvesvara, a court poet of Singabhupala, wrote Chamatkdra-chandrikd on rhetorics, which has illustrations in praise of Singabhupala, Vemabhupaia, generally known as Peda Komati Verna Reddi, who succeeded Kumaragiri on the throne in c. A.D. 1402 and bore the title Viranarayana, was a royal author and a patron of learning. 3153 He was the hero of Vemabhupdlacharita and patronized Srlnatha and Vamana Bhatta Bana. He wrote Sahitya-chintdmani (or -chuddmani) on poetics and Sahgita-chuddmani on music. The former deals with Dhvani, gabdartha, Dhvanibheda, Gmnblnutavydngya , Dosha, Guna and Aldmkdra in seven chapters. 36

Son of Mahakavi Chandrasekhara and grandson of Narayana, both learned men and authors, Visvanatha held high offices in the court of the king of Orissa and bore the title Sandhivigrahika Mahapatra. Sahityadarpana, written in the form of Karika and Vritti like Kdvyaprakdsa is more simple and less controversial in style than the Kdvyaprakdsa and Rasagangddhara respectively. The first chapter discusses the definition of poetry followed by the definitions of a sentence and a word and the three powers of a word. There is a full disquisition on rasas, bhavas and other cognate topics in the third chapter while the next deals with the two divisions of Kavya (i.e. Dhvani and Gunibhutavyangya) and their subdivisions. The fifth establishes the existence of Vyanjana. The science of dramaturgy receives a full and complete treatment in the sixth chapter. In the next two chapters are considered respectively the Doshas and Gunas of Kavya. The four styles of composition are described in the ninth chapter, while Sabdalamkaras and Arthalamkaras are exhaustively dealt with in the concluding chapter. The date of Visvanatha falls between A.D. 1300 and 1380. The Sahityadarpana treats all the aspects of the science of rhetorics in a thorough-going and exhaustive manner in a simple and flowing style. The magnitude of Visvanatha's contribution to poetics, compiler though he was, has been lessened to a certain extent by the comparison of Sdhityadarpana with the Dipika of Chandidasa, which shows that Visvanatha was considerably indebted to the latter especially with regard to the views which were hitherto held to be his own. Besides Sahityadarparta, Visvanatha wrote a commentary on the Kdvyaprakasa , Rdghavavildsa-kdvya, Narasimha-vijaya-kdvya , Chandrakald-natika. Prdbhdvati-parvnaya , Kuvalaydsva-charita in Prakrit, Prasastiratnavali, and a Karambhaka in sixteen languages. 37

The famous commentator Mallinatha wrote a commentary Tarala on the Ekdvali of Vidyadhara. Kdvyaddkini of Gangananda, a court poet of Maharaja Kama of Bikaner (1506-1527), deals with doshas (poetical blemishes) in five chapters. He also wrote Karna bhushana, a treatise on Rasa in five chapters, dealing with Vibhavas, Anubhavas, Vyabhicharibhavas, Sthayibhavas, and Rasas.

The influence of Bengal Vaishnavism was felt in the domain of poetics also. Rupa Gosvamin's V jjvala-nilamani attempts to place the Vaishnava doctrine of TJjjvala or Madhura Rasa in the garb and phraseology of the Rasa theory. Madhura Rasa is a phase of Bhakti Rasa, not of the Sringara Rasa. The Vaishnava theology speaks of five Rasas representing roughly the degrees of realization of Bhakti, viz. Santa, Dasya, Sakhya , Vdtsalya and Mddhurya, the last being also called TJjjvala or Bhakti-rasa~rdt, which forms the subject-matter of Ujjvala-nilamani.

(b) Dramaturgy

Besides the Rasdrnavasudhdkara and Sahityadarpana , works on poetics which deal exhaustively with dramaturgy, there were other works specifically written on dramaturgy during this period.

There is an able discussion of Rasa and Abhinaya and their mutual relation in the Natdnkusam (c. 14th century). The first chapter of the Samgitardja by Kumbhakarna or Rana Kumbha deals with dramaturgy and dramatic expression, and the fifth with Rasa ,

where heroes, heroines, and sentiments are discussed. Though entirely lost at present, the citations from the Vasantarujlyam by Kumaragiri, a Reddi king who ruled the Telugu country towards the close of the fourteenth century, show that it dealt with principles of dramaturgy, Rasa and Sakunasastram. Following the dicta of Bharata and Rasasudhdkara and rejecting those of the Sdhityadarpana as they were opposed to Bharata, Rupa Gosvamin's Ndtakachandrikd treats dramaturgy in eight sections dealing with (1) the general characteristics of the drama, (2) the nayaka, (3) the divisions of the Rupaka, (4) elements in the action (sandhi, pataka , etc.), and their classification, (5) Arthopakshepa and its divisions, (6) divisions of acts and scenes, (7) Distribution of dialects, and (8) styles of dramatic composition and adaptation to the several Rasas. Most of the examples have been taken from the Vaishnava works.

(iv) Music

Works on music may be called the special feature of this period, and these are found both from the north and the south. The interest of the royalty was not confined to liberal patronage to musicians, but there were several works on music by royal authors, as we shall presently see.

There were two well-known commentaries on Sarhgadeva's SamgUaratnakara during this period. One was Sudhdkara by Singabhupala who has been referred to earlier. The other was Kaldnxdhi by Kallinatha of Sandilya gotra, son of NarayanI and Lakshmldhara, who was at the court of Immadi Devaraya of Vijayanagara. According to Dr. Raja there is not enough evidence for a third commentary by Kumbhakarna. 38 Damoclara's Sung itadarp ana follows Sarngadhara with additional matter taken from other sources. Sangitardja by Kumbhakarna 39 or Kumbha Rana, who ruled at Chitrakuta, is a voluminous work containing five chapters of which the first and fifth, as already stated, related respectively to dramaturgy and poetics. The treatment of vocal music igita) and musical instruments (vadya) in the second and third chapters is thorough and exhaustive. The fourth chapter deals with dressing, gesticulation and dance (nritya). Madanapala of the Gahadaviala dynasty, author of Madanavinodanighantu and a work on Dharmasastra, is said to have written Anandasanjtvana on singing, dancing, musical instruments, and vagas • Sangitopanishad by Sudhakalasa, a Jain and a pupil of Rajasekharasuri, deals with music and dancing in six chapters, and also includes a commentary, the whole being completed in A.D. 1349.

The polymath Vidyaranya has written Sangitasdra on music. Gopendra Tippa Bhupala of the Saluva dynasty of Vijayanagara

wrote Tdladipika in three chapters on Marga and desl Talas. Svarardgasudhdrasam or Natyachuddmani is a learned treatise on music and dancing. The author Somanarya, who was probably identical with the Telugu poet Nachan Soman, follows Narada and frequently differs from Bharata. Dancing forms the major part of Matanga Bharata by Lakshmana Bhaskara (c. 14th century)- Lakshanadipikci by Gauranarya, son of Ayama Prabhu, who was the brother of Pot ana, the minister of Singaya Madhava of Recharla dynasty, is a general treatise on poetry, music and dancing. Sangitasuryodaya of Lakshmmarayana, who was the state musician under Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara, deals in five adhyayas, with Tala, Vritta, Svaraglta, Jati and Prabandha.

(v) Metrics

Popular like the Vrittaratnakara of Kedarabhatta 40 is the Chhandomanjarl of Gangadasa (between A.D. 1300 and 1500) 41 which illustrates different metres by verses in honour of Krishna. Padmanabha, author of the Saupadma-vydkarana , wrote Chhandoratna on metres. Numerous other works of very late date and of little importance are available. Of these the Vrittaratndkara-tikd composed by Narayana in A.D. 1545 may be mentioned.

(vi) Erotics

Numerous works of comparatively late origin are available on the subject of love, though there were several during the period under review. The Panchasdyaka by Jyotirisvara Kavisekhara, author of the Dhurtasamdgama, 42 epitomises in five parts all that is said in standard works on Kamasastra. Praudhadevaraya of Vijayanagara (15th century) composed the Ratiratnapradipikd in seven chapters which is an elaborate treatise on sexual pleasures. The Kdmasamuhci of Ananta, discussing almost all aspects of love, was written in A.D. 1457. 43 The Ratimanjan of Jayadeva (different from the author of the Gitagovind,a) and the Anangamanjafl of Kalyanamalla both belong to the sixteenth century.

(vii) Medicine

Vopadeva, son of the physician Kesava and protege of Hemadri (c. 1300), commented on the Sdrngadhara-samhitd, and wrote a Satasloki on powders, pills, etc. The use of opium and quicksilver in medicine and of pulse for diagnosis, which are referred to Persian or Arabic sources, are found in Sdrngadlnara. Rasaratnasamuchchaya, dealing with the science of Rasayana, elixirs, variously ascribed to Vagbhata, Asvimkumara or Nityanatha, has been

assigned conjecturally to A.D. 1300. Rasendrasdrasamgraha by Gopalakrishna (fourteenth century) and Rasendrachintdmani by Ramachandra Guha (fourteenth century) are works on alchemy during this period. Trimalla, son of Vallabha, a Tailahga Brahmana who flourished between A.D. 1383 and 1499, wrote Yogatarahgim, a well-known collection of recipes, and P^asapradtpa, Pathydpathyanighantu, V rittamdnikyamdld and Alamkdramnjari. Very late is the Bhdvaprakdsa (c. A.D. 1550) of Bhava Misra, and the Vaidya jivana of Lolimbaraja.

(viii) Astronomy and Astrology

After the great Bhaskaracharya no one seems to have taken real interest in astronomy. His grandson Chahgadeva founded a school in 1205 to study his work, but it seems to have been interested in astrology. Suryasiddhdnta-viveka or Vasanarnava by Madanapala is a commentary on the Suryasiddhdnta. Two works of not much importance are the Tithyddipatra of Makaranda (fifteenth century) and the Grahaldghava of Ganesa (sixteenth century).

On an older astrological work is based the Vidydmddhaviya of early fourteenth century. More interesting than this is the Jyotirvidabharana (sixteenth century), an astrological work wrongly ascribed to Kalidasa, the author of Sdkuntala, etc., which mentions the nine jewels adorning the court of Vikramaditya. Works on Muhurta gave auspicious moments for ceremonies, marriages, journeys, etc. Under the Arabic and Persian influence, however, were undertaken the later Tajikas like the one by Nilakantha (A.D. 1587) in two parts—Samjna and Varsha-tantra.

(ix) Polity

There were not many works on the science of polity during this period. Mention may be made of Rdjamtiratndka.ra of Chandesvara, 44 written at the command of king Bhavesa of Mithila. The book comprises sixteen chapters called tarangas, dealing with king, amdtyas, prddvwakas, sabhyas, forts, treasury, army, ambassadors, armies and spies, mandala , seven elements of state, heir apparent, etc.

V. GENERAL REVIEW

In concluding this survey, we may refer to some important contributions of this period to Sanskrit literature. The first thing that strikes one is the wonderful galaxy of celebrated commentators like Say ana, Mallinatha and Kataya Verna, who are the shining gems

in Sanskrit commentary literature. There is nothing of note in Belles Letires except perhaps the abundance of Prabandhas and Sandesakavyas.

There were outstanding productions like the Vwddachintdmani of Vachaspati Misra, Pavdsara-Madhaviya of Madhavacharya, and Smrititattva of Raghunandana in the Dharma-sastra literature. Special mention may be made of Madhava’s Sarvadarsanasamgraha, Raghunatha Siromani’s DIdhiti, the standard work on Navyanyaya, and the rise of the system of Vallabha Vedanta in the domain of philosophy. Important contributions were made to grammar, poetics and music. In grammar, the Saupadma system originated during this period; there were a number of well-known commentators from Bengal; and Vaishnava grammars came to be written. The influence of Chaitanya was felt in grammar as well as in poetics. There were several important works on the science of music, which may be said to be the outstanding contribution of this period.

B. SANSKRITIC I. LANGUAGE

The date A.D. 1300 has been arbitrarily fixed, for convenience in discussing the subject, as the border line between Ancient and Early Medieval India and Late Medieval India.

The first phase of Late Medieval India (1300-1526) roughly indicates the rule of Islamic States in North India prior to the establishment of the Mughul power by Babur. With the foundation of the Mughul Empire about the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. we have the scond phase of Late Medieval India, the Mughul period, which covers the history of North India right down to the end of the 18th century, the Marathas gradually coming to the apogee of their power by the middle of that century.

Before the close of the early medieval period, a great change had come over the greater part of Aryan-speaking India in the matter of its language. At the turn of the first millennium A.D., round about A.D. 1000, roughly most of the Aryan languages of India developed a new and quite a noteworthy phonetic character, which ushered in for most of them what may be described as the New Indo-Aryan stage in the development of the Aryan speech. Through the assimilation of consonant groups, Old Indo-Aryan changed into Middle Indo-Aryan shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. The Aryan dialects of the North-West, corresponding to the Punjab and the Frontier Province, have always been a little conservative in the matter of sound-change, and while the rest of Aryan India (in the

Ganga Valley and also in the regions to the south and south-west of the Gahga valley) had arrived at the characteristic Middle IndoAryan phonetic changes, by bringing about a general and widespread assimilation of conjunct consonants, the North-West resisted it. As we can see from the Asokan inscriptions, as late as the 3rd century B.C. the dialects of the North-West showed a great many Old Indo-Aryan characteristics, whereas in those of South-Western, Central, and Eastern tracts of Aryandom, the Middle Indo-Aryan habits were fully established. Through a series of changes beginning from roughly 600 B.C., the Aryan speech as a whole went on developing; and we have from 600 B.C. to A.D. 1000 a very noteworthy development of the Aryan speech. It is not necessary to enter into this linguistic history in detail. By A.D. 1000, the change which brought in the new stage, affecting most of the Aryan speeches of North India, was this: the double consonants or groups of a single stop followed by its corresponding aspirate, which had resulted from the assimilation in Middle Indo-Aryan of groups of diverse consonants of Old Indo-Aryan, were simplified—one consonant was dropped and as a compensation the previous vowel was lengthened. Thus Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) bhakta, tapta, Inasta, karma, sukla etc. became in Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) respectively bhatta, tatta, hattha, kamma sukkha; and these underwent another great change round about A.D. 1000 when through the loss and compensation mentioned above they became respectively bhdta, tata, hatha , kama and siika.

A language does not change in a day. But we first note certain new tendencies, and then in the course of decades and centuries these tendencies go on gaining in power and affecting the language, which ultimately takes up a new form through these tendencies becoming well-established habits or linguistic characteristics. The transformation of the Middle Indo-Aryan into the New Indo-Aryan was not an abrupt one. From about the middle of the first millennium A.D., these tendencies were noticeable in the Middle Indo-Aryan, and then by about A.D. 800 we have a modification of the Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit into a definite Apabhramsa or late Middle Indo-Aryan, which represents the transition from the Middle to the New Indo-Aryan. While the changes were becoming established in the spoken language, the literary speech, which is generally conservative in any country and has been particularly so in India, continued to preserve the characteristics of an earlier age, so that we might say that Apabhramsa or the late Middle Indo-Aryan and the Early New Indo-Aryan coincided, throughout the greater part of Aryan India, from say A.D. 900 to A.D. 1300. During the first few

centuries of the second millennium A.D., there is plenty of evidence that the New Indo-Aryan or Rhasha stage, with loss of one consonant and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, was already arrived at, but in the existing literary remains, it is largely the Apabhramsa speech, as current some centuries earlier, which was in general use. As we come towards A.D. 1300, the Apabhramsa characteristics get weaker and weaker, and the Bhasha or the New Indo-Aryan atmosphere becomes more and more firmly established. Already before 1300 we may say that the Modern Indo-Aryan languages had come into existence, and literary compositions in them had already started in some areas, though not everywhere.

Round about A.D. 500 there were regional Prakrits which were the sources of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages: and we can think of these Prakrits mainly as:—

1. An Eastern Prakrit or Magadhi;

2. A Central Prakrit or Ardha-MagadhI;

3. A Northern Prakrit, which may be called Khasa or Himalavan Prakrit;

4. The SaurasenI Prakrit (the Midland Prakrit) as current in Western U. P. and parts of Eastern Punjab as well as of Rajasthan;

5. Possibly a special Prakrit of Western Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Gurjara;

6. A Prakrit embracing Northern and Western Punjab and Sind. This may be named Madra, Gandhara or Sindhu (Saindhavl) Prakrit;

7. Possibly there was another Prakrit which was current in Malava. But it might have been just a variety of gaurasem; and

8. We have the Prakrit current in Maharashtra, which was at this time confined only to the northern districts of the present-day Maratha country.

Then the Dardic Speech of Kashmir, not immediately descended from Old Indo-Aryan, but rather from an intermediate group of Aryan speech standing in between Iranian and Indo-Aryan, was getting to be strongly influenced by the Prakrits of the plains of India.

Round about A.D. 900, it would appear that these Prakrits had changed into the various Apabhramsas, for all of which we have not as yet been able to obtain specimens; there has been a great deal of loss of linguistic material in this connection. These Apabhramsas were: the Magadhi Apabhramsa, in several modified forms, current in Assam, Bengal and Orissa on the one hand and in Bihar and Eastern U.P. on the other; an Ardha-MagadhI Apabhramsa

which was current in Kosala or Awadh and in the tracts to the south of that region right up to Maha-Kosala or the Chattisgarhi area. Connected with both Magadhl and Ardha-Magadhi Apabhramsa there was the intermediate Apabhramsa which seems to have been the source of the Halba dialect of Bastar. Then there was the Sauraseni Apabhramsa, the home of which was in Western U.P., and it influenced very largely the old Apabhramsa of Rajasthan, Gujarat and the Punjab, as well as Kosala, as it itself was being influenced by the Apabhramsa of the Punjab. Then we have a Punjab Apabhramsa which, in the eastern tracts of the Punjab, was strongly influenced by Sauraseni, while it remained purer in the west; we might call this Western Punjabi Apabhramsa the Kekaya Apabhramsa, from which the various Lahnda or Hindki dialects of Western Punjab originated. In Sind, the Western Apabhramsa became known as the Vrachada Apabhramsa. In Rajasthan we have the Rajastham-Gujamti Apabhramsa, to which the name of Nagara Apabhramsa may reasonably be given. Further south was the Maharashtrlya Apabhramsa.

By the end of the Early Middle Xndo-Aryan stage, the above linguistic situation was further modified and we have the net and precise case of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages (Bhashias). The following Modern Indo-Aryan languages or groups of dialects had become established by 1300:

(1) The Bengali-Assamese group, which appeared to have been almost virtually one language right down to A.D. 1500, although wide divergences in pronunciation and some innovations in grammar as well as vocabulary

were creating a rift between the dialects of Bengal and the dialects of Assam, so that Assamese and Bengali finally came to be looked upon as distinct languages and not members of the same dialectal group, by A.D. 1500.

(2) The Oriya language, which remained close to Bengali, but it had its own development as much as that for Bengali and Assamese.

(3) Maithili: the speech of North Bihar—this became fully established by A.D. 1300.

(4) Magahl: the speech of South Bihar, which was very close to Maithili, and although it had differentiated itself in many matters, it did not create any literature except for a few compositions in very recent times.

(5) Bhojpurl: this is an important language of Eastern India, and the oldest specimens that we have of this go back to the middle of the 15th century, in some of the poems of Kablr.

(6) The Kosali dialects: these became differentiated later into its present-day descendants, Awadhi, Baghell and Chattisgarhi. Kosali appears to have been cultivated very early, and we have a Sanskrit work giving specimens of it—the Ukti-vyakti-prakarana, which is an attempt to teach Sanskrit through the Old Kosala speech and which goes back to the first half of the 12th century.

(7) The Brajabhasha speech, with the connected Bundeli and Kanauji: this is current in Western U.P. and in parts of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh; and because of its literary achievements Brajabhasha exerted a great influence on the dialects of Rajasthan and the Punjab.

(8) Old Western Rajasthani, as a single speech, which later on, after A.D. 1500, became bifurcated into Western Rajasthani or Marwarl on the one hand and Gujarati on the other 1 (compare the case of a single Bengali-Assamese dialect-group differentiating itself into Bengali proper and Assamese proper after A.D. 1500, as noted above).

(9) The SindhI speech derived out of the Old Vrachada Apabhramsa of Sind.

(10) Finally, we have the incipient Punjabi language, mainly on a Western Punjabi basis.

Then we have also Kashmiri as a Dardic speech, profoundly modified by Indo-Aryan, which was taking shape by 1300.

Thus we have the following New Indo-Aryan languages well established by A.D. 1300:

Assamese-Bengali, which may be taken as two languages, considering that the political history of Assam and Bengal was quite independent of each other from very early times; Oriya; Maithili with Magahi as a wholly developed though connected dialect; Bhojpuri; Kosali or Awadhi, known also as Gahwari; Brajabhasha, with Kanauji and Bundeli, perhaps not yet fully differentiated; the Rajasthani dialects, of which the most important was the Marwarl, largely used in literature; and Gujarati which went along with Marwarl; Marathi and the connected KonkanI dialects; and then Punjabi both Eastern and Western; and SindhI.

Besides, there was a group of North Indian or Himalayan dialects, coming ultimately from Old Khasa Prakrit, of which we have no specimen until very late times.

Excepting the Bengali-Assamese and Oriya on the one hand, and Marathi and Gujarati, as well as SindhI, and to some extent Punjabi, on the other, the speeches of the North Indian plains have

had a very restricted literary employment during the last hundred years, and people speaking them have accepted, from the middle of the last century, and particularly from the beginning of the present one, a form of Western Hindi (the Khariboli speech of Delhi) as their language of education, literature and public life. This Western Hindi (Khariboli) has now acquired the generic name of Hindi, and at the present moment most of the languages classified above (e.g. Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Awadhi, Bagheli and Chattisgarhi, Brajabhasha with Bundeli and Kanauji, Malavi, Rajasthani) and the Central and Western Himalayan dialects in addition, are described as “dialects of Hindi.” But as a matter of fact, they are not dialects but independent languages, and were considered as such until about a hundred years ago.

II. LITERATURE

A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Just as the New Indo-Aryan languages which became established during this period were merely continuations of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, so in the literature produced in them we have in a way a continuation of the traditions of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) as well as Sanskrit literatures. As in most early literatures, the subject-matter is mainly religious, largely Hindu or Brahmanical for the whole of North India, and to some extent Jain, as in Western India (in early Gujarati for example); in Bengal only we have survivals of Buddhist literature in its latest phases of the Mahayana school. The New Indo-Aryan literature started with inheritances from Apabhrarhsa Prakrit and Sanskrit; and then, on the religious side, a Brahmanical revival, after the Turk! conquest and the cataclysm it involved during the 11th to 13th centuries had subsided, particularly in northern India, found its fullest expression in the literatures of the newly-born modern Indo-Aryan languages. There were also a number of local cults and religious movements (outside of the strictly Brahmanical movements based on Sanskrit scriptures) which were going strong. These were either submerged forms of Pre-Aryan religion which were rapidly becoming Brahmanized, or were the effect of fresh developments within the Hindu fold, sometimes going counter to Brahmanical orthodoxy and Brahmanical claims of superiority; and these also were treated in the literature of North India of the period under review.

The Indo-Aryan literature of the period 1300 to 1526 consists largely of great poems and of little lyrics; and they treated the heritage of ancient Indian myths and legends as well as philosophy,

together with that of the local cults and creeds and of the new developments mentioned above. On the whole, however, the atmosphere is that of the Vedanta, of the schools of Jnana, of Karma, of Yoga and, finally of Bhakti, among the great ideas and practices of Brahmanical philosophy and religion. Jain and Buddhist philosophy also had their places in the literature of some areas. The Rdmayana, the Mahabhdrata and the Puvanas formed the general background of Early IndoAryan literature, just as the Bible , the Legends of the Saints and, later on, Graeco-Roman myths, legends, and history formed the background of the early literatures of modern Europe. A knowledge of the ancient Indian background is thus indispensable for an appreciation of the early medieval literature of North India.

Cross divisions cannot be avoided in considering both subjectmatter and treatment. A medieval French poet divided the subject-matter of French romance into three classes or groups:

1. The Matter of Britain,

2. The Matter of France, and

3. The Matter of Rome,

referring respectively to the Arthurian romances which evolved in Britain, the stories about Charlemagne and his circle which were largely French, and the classical world of ancient Rome and Greece which were available from Roman or Latin sources. Similarly, for early New Indo-Aryan literature, we see that on the side of storytelling—romances and narrative poetry—there were, to start with, two distinct Matter or Cycles in almost every linguistic area:

1. The Matter or Cycle of Ancient India as preserved mainly in Sanskrit, and to some extent in Prakrit; and

2. The Matter or Cycle of the province or linguistic area concerned, which may be called the Matter of Medieval India, which sometimes was found treated not in one language but in many, and was thus, in certain contexts, inter-provincial or pan-Indian. Some of the most distinctive or characteristic things in the different modern Indian literatures belonged to this Matter of Medieval India, which took shape from round about A.D. 1000 to 1300 or 1400.

Then, from the 16th century onwards (which does not come within our purview), some of the North Indian languages like Hindusthanl or Hindi, and Bengali, Punjabi, and Sindhi, under the Muhammadan impact and inspiration, developed a new Matter or Cycle:

3. The Matter of the Islamic World—Persia and Arabia; but as this belongs to a later period, we need not consider it here.

Early literature in the modern Indian languages was either lyrical or narrative. The first deals, naturally enough, with love

and other sentiments, or with religious devotion subjectively; and occasionally didactic and philosophical disquisitions and allegories as well as riddles would come under this, besides fragments of Spruche (subhashita) literature. The second or the narrative type treated objectively mythical and traditional tales and themes from the Sanskrit epics and Puranas as well as stories from the lives of early medieval saints and heroes. In early Bengali literature these two types were respectively known as pada (lyric) and mangala (narrative or story, particularly of a religious implication or application).

The Matter of Ancient India in early modern Indian literature need not detain us. This consists of adaptations or translations, which most languages show in verse, of the Rdmdyana , the Mahahhdrata, the Bhdgavata and other Puranas, besides some of the other great books of Brahmanism, which formed the Bible of the Hindu masses all over the country. These translations or adaptations in the various languages kept the Hindu tradition alive among the people. The lives of the Jain, Vaishnava and other saints of ancient and medieval times also form part of this Matter of Ancient India, in so far as their inheritance goes back to times before A.D. 1000. The movement to translate or adapt, in the languages of the people, the Rdmdyana , the Mahdbhdrata, the Puranas and other texts of Brahmanical Hinduism, which we note all over India, may be looked upon as part of a sort of Hindu or Bramanical renaissance through a resuscitation of Sanskrit literature. This was noticeable, after the establishment of the Turk! rule, as a defensive movement for the Hindu religion, and this revival was noticed particularly from the 15th century onwards. Later on, the Muslim rulers, both of Indian and foreign origin, also participated in this revivalistic movement, either as a matter of policy, or for literary and aesthetic satisfaction. The renderings of the Sanskrit epics, Puranas and other texts, which started immediately after things got settled down after the welter and turmoil of the Turk! conquest, now form a common inheritance for the whole of Aryan India (and also for Dravidian India), and it is an inheritance of the most far-reaching importance in the literatures of modern Indian languages, forming the most effective common platform for them all.

The Matter of Medieval India consists of different cycles of romantic or heroic stories which had their origin from the time of the rise of the New Indo-Aryan languages and literatures. Thus we have in Bengal the cycle of stories relating to Lausena, the hero (in the Dharma-Mangala romances), of Bihula and Lakshmindhara and the Snake Goddess (in the Manasd-Mangala or the Padma Pur ana poems), and of the merchant Dhanapati, his wives Khullana and Lahana and his son iSrlmanta, as well as to the stories of the huntsman Kalaketu and his wife Phullara (the Chandi-Mahgala poems)'; in Orissa we have stories about the kings of Orissa, particularly the highly romantic story of King Purushottama Deva and Princess Padmavatl, which originated in the 15th century; in the AwadhI area a number of romantic tales, which were treated specially by the early Muslim writers of AwadhI, beginning from the end of the 14th century, formed the most characteristic literary output of this speech; so in Rajasthan and the North Indian Rajput world, we have a series of noble stories of Rajput romance and chivalry which were treated in poems in Rajasthani (Diiigal or Middle Mar war!) and in Brajabhasha as well as in Bundell forms of Western Hindi. Punjabi also had its romantic stories; and in the Maratba country its ballads (powddds) relating to the heroes of the Maharashtrian national upsurge in the seventeenth century came later.

Certain literary genres were well established in the North Indian languages. One is the Buraha-masiya poems describing in a series of pictures, so to say, for the twelve months of the year, the sufferings of the lovers pining through separation, or their happiness in the joys of union. Another is the Chautisd poems with initials of the lines consisting of the 34 consonants in the Indian alphabet coming one after the other, similarly describing the pangs or joys of separation or union, as well as the praise of the divinities. The Persian practice of putting in the name of the composer of a lyric at the end of it, as a sort of signature or seal of authorship, also came to be established in India during this period. But this medieval device has been abandoned in most of the languages, although poets of Urdu, Hindi and Punjabi still take pleasure in sporting a Takhallus or Upandm.

Indo-Aryan literature during this period was fundamentally the literature of poetry, and prose was very rarely cultivated during these centuries. There are nevertheless certain prose works, particularly in early Rajasthanl-Gujaratl, which had a definite prose style established in the fourteenth century. Prose came in later in Assamese and in (Western) Punjabi, but it was very much restricted in most of the other languages.

The vast open plains of North India made possible, as in the earlier centuries, the passage of literary ideas, themes, and types from one corner of the country to the other, so that a story which originated in Bengal passed into the Punjab and Maharashtra, and vice versa. Sometimes compositions in the different languages travelled from one part of the country into another, and with some

very little change they could easily be made to look like original compositions in another language. The basic agreement among the modern Indian languages made it quite an easy affair; and so long as they could understand what was intended to be conveyed, people did not mind—they were never sticklers about the purity of the language or dialect, its grammar or its vocabulary.

The range of early modern Indian literature, however, was rather limited, if we compare it with that of the great classical literatures of the past, or with the modern literatures. But on the whole, this range was not in any way less wide than what we find in contemporary Islamic and early medieval European literatures (excepting, of course, the literature of science which characterized Arabic). The expansion of Indian literature in introducing various new types of subject-matter took place much later.

The Apabhramsa tradition in literature was not abandoned entirely. Jain scholars particularly kept it up by composing newer and newer works in Apabhramsa, more as a literary or linguistic exercise than anything else. The Apabhramsa work on metre, which is also an Apabhrariisa anthology of lyric verses, namely, the Prakrit a-Paihg ala, was finally redacted towards the end of the 15th century, when we are in the broad daylight of the New Indo-Aryan languages.

B. INDIVIDUAL WORKS

We may next take into consideration some of the important works which were composed in the various new Indo-Aryan languages during the period 1300-1526.

1. Hindi

(a) Western Hindi

The Khariboii form of Hindi, which has been accepted by the Indian Constitution as the Official Language of India, is one of the youngest of the Indian languages. As a matter of fact, it did not come into literary use in any appreciable scale before A.D. 1800, and its effective literary employment started only after 1850. But when we use, in a narrow and strictly scientific sense, the expression “Hindi literature”, we mean by it primarily the literature in Brajabhasha and other Western Hindi speeches, particularly Brajabhasha, the most important form of Western Hindi prior to 1850. It is customary to include in this expression Awadhl (Kosali) also, although Awadhi is genetically of a different Prakrit origin from Western Hindi. Then, again, we have to consider the mixture of various dialects which was steadily developing as a literary language, being particularly in use among the wandering religious preachers (sants and stidhus) who were in early medieval times moving all over Northern India, preaching the special religious ideologies for which they stood—a kind of monotheistic mysticism, as in the case of a saint like Kabir and his followers; the doctrine of Bhakti through faith in Rama or Krishna, incarnations of Vishnu, as preached by other saints; and yoga practices with elements from other cults, such, for instance, as were preached by Nathapanthi Yogins, among whom the greatest teacher was Gorakha-natha. This composite sadhu speech, mainly on a Braja basis, with forms and words from the early speech of the Delhi area and of the Eastern Punjab, was also found in the writings of the Sikh gurus of the Punjab. The devotional songs of Mira Bai, written originally in Rajasthani, as well as the mass of Rajput romances written in Dingal or Old Marwari, and other verses in Dingal, are also now considered as forming part of "Hindi Literature". In recent years Bhojpuri, Maithill and Bihari speeches, as well as Garhwali, Kumaoni and other speeches of the Himalayas have been brought under the tutelage of Khariboli Hindi.

During the period A.D. 1000 to 1300, Western Hindi and other speeches, as has been said before, were evolving out of Apabhramsa. The Apabhramsa literary tradition was still going strong, and writers would be using either the older type of language (Apabhramsa) or the new Indian vernaculars as they were developing, like Old Brajabhasha, Old Awadhi, Old Bengali and the rest, at their choice. It was during this period of a kind of linguistic hesitancy, that the first drafts of great Rajput heroic romances like the Prithvirdja rdsau, the Visala-deva-rasau, the Khumdna-rdsau, the Alha-Udal romance of Jaganik, and some other works took shape. These were in later centuries very much extended. They were mostly in various forms of Western Hindi, with a strong SaurasenI Apabhramsa background, and they stand at the base of what may be described as "Hindi Literature", as also of Rajasthani literature. There were some great Saiva Yogins like Gorakha-natha (c. A.D. 1150), la who, in a way, represent a combination of various traditions. These old traditions were later on (with some influence from Islamic Sufism) further developed by a poet-saint like Kabir. Kabir's predecessors came into the field of Apabhramsa and New Indian literature prior to 1300. Their contributions also formed an important background for later Hindi literature. The Brahman scholars were busy, composing works in Sanskrit, both stories and philosophical works, as well as light poetry. But the full Brahmanical revival on the basis of translations from the epics and the Puranas was to come later.

The first two centuries after the Turk! conquest and the establishment of a Turk! ruling house in Delhi and elsewhere, were not conducive to the growth of literature. The conquest may be said to have proceeded with all its ruthlessness and destructiveness from the end of the 10th to the middle of the 13th century, and even later. By the middle of the 13th century, it was found that the Turk had come to stay, and the Indian Muslim as a distinct and a new element in the population came into being. The Indian Muslim, to start with, was a foreigner, and adopted India as his country, and then he took his wife from among the native people. Thus there came into being the strong group of mixed peoples, and this was further reinforced by conversions into Islam from among the Hindu masses, and in some cases from among the princely families also. The foreign element gradually became absorbed into the basic Indian element. The Turki conquistadores followed the method of violence in conquering and killing and looting and converting the Hindus. This did not prove effective—it only stiffened up Hindu resistance to the hated Turk and his religion. The Sufi preachers, on the other hand, moving among the Hindu masses and living among them, followed far different methods, and they were successful both in gaining converts to Islam and in obtaining a spiritual rapprochement w 7 ith the Hindus. The result of this was some new religious developments in India. The Turki way (Turkanah tariqah) failed, where the Sufi way (Sufiyanah tariqah) succeeded. At the commencement of this period we find Amir Khusrav (1253-1325), who was a most remarkable person as a scholar, a mystic (Sufi) and a poet. His father was an immigrant Turk, a foreign Muslim, and his mother an Indian Muslim lady of Turkish origin. He was a finished Persian scholar and wrote a number of poems and romances in Persian, and he is looked upon as the greatest Persian poet of India. He knew Arabic, and was one of the earliest writers of Hindi as well; and he was fully alive to the importance of Hindi even in front of Persian and Arabic. He was very proud of his “Hindi” heritage, and it is just possible that by Hindi he meant Sanskrit also. But the actual mass of Hindi compositions attributed to him is quite small, consisting only of a few riddles and of macaronic verses giving a combination of Hindi and Persian words and phrases. These riddles are beautifully expressed in fine poetic Hindi. The manuscript tradition of the Hindi writings of Khusrav is not certain, and it is likely that the language has been to some extent modernized. But we can be sure that he was among the first writers to use the New Indo-Aryan Old Western Hindi, which was a Khariboli speech of Hindi mixed with Brajabhasha as a living language, and not the earlier Apabhramsa. Amir Khusrav is also the reputed author of the Khaliq-Bafi , which is a brief dictionary, in verse, of Perso-Arabic and Hindi, and students of Persian used to get it by heart; this book did a great service in the spread of Perso-Arabic words among the people of North India, and so it helped to bring about the development of Urdu.

A contemporary of Khusrav was the song-composer Gopal Nayak. Some of his Dhrupad songs, in Brajabhasha, are still current. After Amir Khusrav Khvaja Bandah-Nawaz Glsu-dariaz (1321-1422), a Muslim Sufi, who lived in the Daccan, was the first writer of the Dakhrii, or Deccan Hindi under Muslim Sufi inspiration. His book in DakhnI Hindi, the Mir'at-uWAshiqin, which is in prose and deals with Sufiism, and is replete with Arabic and Persian words, is looked upon as the earliest work in the Urdu form of Hind 1 !.

Between A.D. 1300 to 1400, we do not find any other writer of Hindi, though compilation of Apabhramsa texts and their study, and literary endeavour in a mixture of Rajasthani and Apabhramsa as well as in Brajabhasha, appear to have continued in the courts of the Rajput chiefs of Rajasthan and North India generally. The Muslim princes had no use for Apabhramsa, and the impetus towards writing largely in the living languages of the day might reasonably have come from the Muslim aristocracy. There is, however, at least one poem in rather ornate Apabhramsa, the Sandesa-msaka, by a poet named 'Abdur-Rahman (which name he has turned into Apabhramsa as Addahamana), who flourished in the South Punjab in the 12th or 13th century. lb But Hindi literature during the 15th century is dominated by Kabir, or Sant Kabir Das, whose traditional dates of birth and passing away are 1399 and 1518, he being credited with a very long life of 119 years. 2

Kabir is unquestionably one of the greatest saints and mystics of India and the world. Born in an Indian Muslim family of humble origin, of people who were weavers by profession, he is said to have received his spiritual initiation from Ramiananda, the saintly devotee of Vaishnavism, in the city of Banaras, which was also Kablr's native place. Kabir was a religious mystic and saint, and his approach to God was through the path of knowledge as well as devotion, his God being an Absolute Being without an earthly incarnation and a personal form. This aspect of his teachings he got from the Natha-panth! tradition as preserved by the Yoga School of Gorakha-natha. But this approach to a God without attributes—a Nirguna Brahman —was suffused with a highly emotional quality of love also. Herein Kabir was influenced by two strains of religious perception—the Indian Bhakti or faith, and the Sufi ‘Ishq or love.

The abandon of faith in and love of God was a new strain in Indian religious experience for which Hinduism is indebted to the Dravidian South. The Saints of the Tamil country, whether the Saivite Ndyanmdrs or Chittars (i.e. Siddhas), or Vaishnava Alvars or devotees, 3 who flourished roughly during the second half of the first millennium A.D., were distinguished by a deep and all absorbing love for God and a self-abnegation, whether God appeared to them in the form of Siva or in the form of Vishnu. This feeling of self-effacing love for the Deity as the only ultimate and effective means of realization forms the basis of the Bhakti school. In the Sri sect of the Tamil scholar and saint Ramanuja (c. A.D. 1050), this Bhakti for God in the form of Vishnu or his incarnations on earth

like Rama and Krishna was inculcated. The Bhakti doctrine was

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brought to the North, and Ramananda, 4 probably a native of Banaras, was a teacher of the order of Ramanuja in the 14th-15th centuries, and he preached devotion to Vishnu in the form of Rama. From him Kablr evidently derived the Bhakti side of his spiritual personality. From the Sufis, to whom he had access, as one belonging to a Muslim group, he got his idea of romantic love for the Divine Being as a personal deity. But whereas with the Sufis God is the Great Beloved and man is the lover, it was different with Kablr. God, with Kablr, is the Supreme Male, the Purushottama in orthodox Hindu parlance, and human souls, are, as it were, the brides of God. This is in accordance with the traditions of the followers of Krishna in Hinduism.

Kablr was a great apostle of the unity of faiths in the higher plane of true knowledge and of love of God. He preached to both Hindus and Muslims of his time the need to rise above the accidentals of the professed religion, and to think of the essentials which are the same everywhere. God he named both as Rama, the Hindu name (he made it clear that by Rama, which meant, “One in Whom we get joy”, Kablr did not mean, as most Hindus did, the incarnation of Vishnu, who came down on earth as Rama, as the son of Dasaratha and husband of Slta, but only the Supreme Being without any form) and as Rahim, the Muslim name (meaning “the Supremely Merciful One”). In Kablr we might say that the true spirit of Hinduism which is also found in Muslim Suflism, in seeking the essential Unity in the midst of Diversity, found a most beautiful expression. The poetic charm of Kablr’s mystic poems is ineffable. He is credited with a large number of works, all in verse, but among these the Bijaka or “the Seed Book” and the Bdnis or “Message Poems” are the most important. The ideology of Sikh faith of Guru Nanak (1469-1539) and his successors was basically of the same school of thought as Kabir’s, and quite a large number of Kabir’s poems have found a place in the Adi-Grantha of the Sikhs, which is a collection (made in 1604 by Arjun, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs) of devotional and mystic poems by the Sikh Gurus or teachers and by some others who preceded them and were represented as Bhagats (Bhaktas) or lovers of God.

Kabir belonged to the Bhojpuri area, being of Banaras, and the current mass of poems as attributed to Kabir probably do not represent the original language in which he wrote. Some poems by Kabir in pure Bhojpuri have been found; others, as it has been shown by Dr. Uday Narayan Tiwari, were originally composed in Bhojpuri, but their language was changed to a mixed speech composed of Brajabhasha, Khariboli and Awadhi which characterizes the bulk of his extant writings. His language may be said to be a composite speech in which Brajabhasha and the Delhi speech have joined hands, and this is the reason his writings could have universal popularity all over North India, from the Punjab to Bihar.

Guru Nanak is to be mentioned with Kabir, although younger by three generations. He and his disciples carried on Kabir’s tradition of the earlier Bhakti School in the Punjab; and Guru Nanak and his followers also had contact with the Muslim Sufis of the Punjab. The oldest of these Punjab

Sufis, Baba Farld-ud-din Ganji-shakar (1175-1265) of Multan and Pak-Pattan, may be described as a true predecessor of Kabir, judging from the form and content of the two poems left by him which have a place in the Adi-Grantha and which are among the oldest compositions available in a kind of Hindi.

Contemporaneous with Kabir (North India) as well as Guru Nanak (Punjab) and also with Chaitanya (Bengal), was Vallabhacharya (1479-1531). 5 Originally a Telugu Brahman from the Deccan, he settled at Vrindavana, and became a great teacher of the Bhakti doctrine, and inculcated the worship of God in the form of Krishna. Through Vallabhacharya's influence, a school of poets dealing with the story of Krishna with a devotional background developed in Vrindavana and Mathura, and they composed primarily in the Brajabhasha speech. The greatest of these Vaishnava poets of the Krishna cult in Brajabhasha was Suradasa, who probably flourished from c. 1483 to 1563 and whose floruit therefore goes beyond the lower limit of the period under review. We need not discuss his successors—the celebrated group of poets known as the Ashta-Chdpa of Mathura and Vrindavana. Mira Bal was another Vaishnava devotee—a poetess of the Bhakti School, and she lived round about 1492-1546. Her compositions (originally in Rajasthani,

now largely changed to Brajabhasha and Khariboli as well as into Gujarati) mostly belong to the next period of Indian literature. This virtually exhausts most of the important literary compositions in Western Hindi up to 1526.

(b) Kosall or Awadhi or the so called "Eastern Hindi"

At the present moment there is very little literary endeavour in Awadhi or Kosall, and its speakers have mostly adopted the modern Khariboli or Standard Hindi as their language of education, literature and public life. But there are here and there a few apologists for Awadhi, and occasionally songs and poems are composed in it. But Awadhi has been one of the earliest New IndoAryan languages to be cultivated for literature. The oldest specimens of Awadhi we find in the Ukti-vyakti-prakarana of Damodara Pandita who flourished during the first half of the 12th century. 6 He wrote this book to teach Sanskrit through his mother-tongue, which was a kind of Old Awadhi, about four hundred years before the time of Tulsidasa. This book gives quite an interesting number of Old Awadhi words and phrases as well as sentences and proverbs from Old Awadhi. After the Turki conquest, the Muse of Kosali was silent for two centuries, and then from the end of the fourteenth century literary compositions in Awadhi started again. The oldest fragments of a romantic poem called Chandayana in Awadhi, by a Muslim writer, Maulana Daud, goes back to 1370. These fragments relate to the story of the hero Lorik (or Lor) and the heroine Chanda, a popular romantic tale in North India during the medieval period, which travelled as far east as Bengal. 7 The Sufi tradition, which became established in India in the 14th century, found a series of writers mostly Muslim, who beginning with Maulana Baud, probably the first poet in this line, took successively a number of romantic tales of medieval Hindu inspiration, and wove them into beautiful allegorical poems in Awadhi . The manuscripts of these poems in Awadhi are mostly in the Persian character, although their language is pure Awadhi; this is due to the strong Muslim Sufi atmosphere in which these compositions were made. There were three important poets in this tradition in the sixteenth century, who all used the early Awadhi language. The oldest was Kutban, who lived as a protege of the Sultan of Jaunpur in Eastern U.P. He was a disciple of the Sufi teacher of the Chisti order named Shaikh Burhan, and in A.D. 1501 he composed his Mrigdvati which has already been published. It is a pure Rajput romance, and the allegorical elements in it are slight. Another poet, Manihan, lived after Kutban, and his Madhu-Malatl (composed before 1532) has been found only in an incomplete form. Here in this poem is a

greater play of fancy, more imagination and a deeper allegory of life than in Kutban’s work. In spite of its incomplete form, it is one of the best works of imagination written in North India. In the AwadhI tradition came a number of important poets after Manjhan, but they belonged to the period beyond 1526.

2. Rajasthani

The literature in Rajasthani is now being studied with deep interest and application by a number of Rajasthani scholars. The early literature of Rajasthani consisted of heroic ballads, songs, and dohds or couplets in an old form of Marwari, which was known as Dingal , and this language was not much different from the Gujarati of the present day. Hence we have to take up Early Rajasthani (specially Marwari) and Early Gujarati together. The period of this Old Western Rajasthani, as this common basis or source language of both Gujarati and Rajasthani has been called, comes down to about 1550, and specific Rajasthani works in the late form of Rajasthani therefore belong to the period after 1550. The romantic and heroic poem Kdnhada-de Prabandha (see under Gujarati below) has been claimed equally by Rajasthani and Gujarati. Mira Bai, mentioned above, is claimed by Gujarati, Rajasthani and Hindi. She was a princess of a Rajput kingly house in Rajasthan, and her poems, as we have them, are mostly in Rajasthani. But their language has been altered to look like Hindi in the North and to approximate with Gujarati in the South.

3. Himalayan Dialects

The Himalayan dialects consisting of Early Nepali, which was confined to Western Nepal before the middle of the 18th century, Garhwali and Kumaoni, which might have been a single speech 500 years ago, as well as the various Himalayan dialects of the Western group extending from Garhwal and Kumaon to Chamba and Kashmir, have not preserved any specimen which can be relegated to our period under review.

4. Punjabi

Punjabi at the present day is found in two forms: Eastern Punjabi which is now used primarily for literary purposes and runs close to Hindi, and Western Punjabi or Lahndi or Hindki dialects. While a literary speech has developed in the eastern Punjab during the last 200 years, Western Punjabi has not been so fortunate, and the language has split up into a number of dialects without any literary cohesion at the present moment, and W T estern Punjabi speakers, if they write Punjabi at all, now take to Eastern Punjabi.

SANSKRITIC LITERATURE

The oldest specimens of vernacular poetry written by a poet of the Punjab are two devotional compositions attributed to Baba Farld-ud-dln Ganj-shakar of Multan and Pak-Pattan. But the language is not Punjabi of any sort. Punjabi has always been dominated by the Midland Speech, both in its form and in its literary ideas. We do not have any authentic specimen of pure Punjabi literature, whether of West or of East Punjab, for the period under review. The oldest book that we have in Punjabi at the present day is a prose biography of Guru Nanak known as the Janam Sdkhl, which is attributed to one of the disciples of Guru Nanak, namely Bala. This was supposed to have been written shortly after Guru Nanak's death, about 1538. The Adi-Grantha was compiled first in 1604 by Guru Arjun, but here the language primarily is Brajahhasha mixed with Kosall, with occasional Punjabi forms in some of the poems.

5. Sindhi

Sindh! appears to have had a rich ballad literature of Hindu origin which perhaps goes back to Apabhramsa times. There is evidence for the existence of a version of the Mahabharata story and some Puranic tales in the Apabhramsa of Sind prior to A.D. 1000. Some of the most beautiful and most characteristic Sindhi ballads, like those relating to Dalu-Rai, to Udero-lal (the incarnation of Varuna, the god of the Sindhu river), and to heroes and heroines who belong to the Sumra dynasty dominant in Sind from about the eleventh (or somewhat later) to the fourteenth century (like king Bhungar and his sons Duda or Dodo and Chanesar i.e. Chandresvara —the latter is the hero of the beautiful ballad relating to his devoted wife Lila and to the maiden Kaunro who loved him, about whom there is a Persian poem going back to the days of Akbar), and to Momul and Rano, and similar other ballads undoubtedly go back to the period 1300 to 1526. 7a The Apabhramsa of Sind, namely the Vrachada Apabhramsa, is well known. Specimens of a few Sindhi words and verses are all that are available for our period. Yet modern Sindhi is one of the most archaic among the Indo-Aryan languages. The most outstanding writer of Sindhi is a Muslim Sufi saint, Shah Latlf, who died in A.D. 1748.

6. Gujarati

The literature of Gujarati, on the other hand, is something which presents quite an embarras de richesse . From the heyday of Apabhramsa literature Gujarati presents an unbroken literary tradition right down to our day, and the Jain writers had a very great place in the development of Gujarati language and literature. Gujarati

literature in its earlier history could be conveniently divided into two periods: Old Gujarati period from about A.D. 1000 to about A.D. 1450, and Early Middle Gujarati from 1450 to the Mughul conquest.

Hemachandra, the erudite Jain scholar, saint and grammarian of Gujarat (1088-1173), collected over 100 couplets in the Apabhramsa of his time as the language which was used like the vernacular, and these are claimed by both Hindi (Brajabhasha and Khariboli) and by Marwarl, as well as by Gujarati, as specimens of their earlier forms. During the second half of the 14th century, Nemichandra Bhandari composed 160 gathas on the Jain faith on which two prose commentaries in early Gujarati dating between 1550 to 1560 have been found. Folk tales current in Gujarat, Marwar and Malwa were written in early Gujarati prose during this age, and they were compiled in books called Baltivabodhas or “Instructions to the Youth”. Tarunaprabha, a Jain monk, composed one such Bdlavabodha about A.D. 1355 which is one of the oldest authentic works in Gujarati.

Jain writers were not the only persons to cultivate the field of Old Gujarati literature. A number of old prose works and chronicles of Brahmanical origin are found, as well as some highly ornate poems. One such poem is the Vasanta-vildsa, a description of the spring, of unknown Brahmanical (non-Jain) authorship, which was composed about A.D. 1350. This book bears a close impress of the Glta-Govinda of Jayadeva, and it is a charming poem in both the mellifluousness of its language and the gorgeousness of its description. The Parsis who settled in Gujarat began to render their scriptures from Avestan and Pahalvi into Sanskrit in the thirteenth century, and then into Gujarati in the fourteenth century, as Gujarati had long before that become their home language.

Among the Old Gujarati works may be mentioned poems like Ranamalla-chhanda, Ushd-harana, Sltd-harana and Prabodha-chintdmani; and a work in ornate prose, the Prithvt-chandra-charitra of unknown authorship, composed before 1422, which is a sort of prose romance relating to a prince: it is a unique work of its kind.

The Old Gujarati style or tradition in prose and poetry continued right down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, a century and a half after a new tradition ushering in Middle Gujarati was established. Thus we have the Kanhada-de-Prabandha of Padmanabha, composed early in the sixteenth century, which describes the fight by the last Hindu king of Gujarat with the Muslims under ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl. From Delhi he came down and attacked Gujarat and conquered the province from Raja Karna (Karan Gahelo or Ghelo). 8 It is a spirited heroic tale which, because of its archaic language, is not so popular as it should be, although it has

been rendered into modern Gujarati. Manuscripts of this work have been found both in Gujarati and Rajasthani, and it is also claimed as part of Rajasthani literature, scholars in Rajasthani having brought out a new edition of this work to match the earlier editions by the Gujarati scholars.

Narasimha Mehta (1415-1481) ushered in a new era in Gujarati literature by introducing the Bhakti School which was then effecting quite a transformation of the literatures in the New IndoAryan languages. He was, like the other bhaktas , against the abuses of caste system which he wanted to break, and composed his devotional lyrics in honour of God conceived in the form of Krishna. He was the first great poet of Gujarat who still lives in the memories and in the lives of the Gujarati speakers.

Narasimha Mehta was for Vedanta based on jnana or knowledge, and for bhakti or faith in God, and in his spiritual ideas he appears to have been influenced by both the North Indian poets and saints and the saints of Maharashtra like Jnanadeva and Namadeva (13th to 14th centuries A.D.). Narasimha Mehta’s religio-social work, through his lyrics, particularly in the Jhulana metre, is based on the teachings of the saint and sage VishnusvamI of Karnataka; and his literary-spiritual ministration preceded that of Vallabhacharya, who and his followers (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) in Gujarat introduced the new Pushti-marga school of Vaishnavism. Considerably after Narasimha Mehta was Mira Bai, the saint-poetess of Rajasthan who has been mentioned above.

Bhalana (fifteenth century) wrote the story of Krishna, as in the tenth chapter of the Bhagavata Purdna, in short lyrics, in Gujarati and occasionally in Brajabhasha, showing a strong influence of his great contemporary, the Brajabhasha poet Suradasa. In the latter part of his work he followed the style of the earlier dkhydnas or the mythological narrative tales in Gujarati.

Vallabha Mewado (sixteenth century) celebrated the Mother Goddess in her benign aspect. From the sixteenth century, the school of the Vaishnava saint Vallabhacharya, the founder of the Pushti-marga school of Bhakti, became a great force in Gujarati life and literature, and poets of this school began to manifest themselves in large numbers in Gujarat.

7. Marathi

The history of the Marathi language goes back to about A.D. 1000. But the earliest writers, whose works are extant in more or less authentic forms, belong to the second half of the 13th century. Marathi is a Prakritic speech standing rather by itself, and the connected KonkanI dialects show some special features of agreement with the North Indian Aryan speeches.

The death of Namadeva, in A.D. 1350, marks the end of a flourishing period of Marathi literature. 9 The next two centuries—a period of transition—are sometimes described as the dark period of this literature. As noted above, there were since A.D. 1294 almost continuous fights between the Muslims and the Marathi speaking people, leading to the gradual establishment of Muslim rule in Maharashtra. The country was suffering from war and famine, and steady literary progress was not possible. The Mahanubhava sect, which at first became unpopular through some concessions granted to it by the new Muslim rulers of Maharashtra, gradually recovered some of its old prestige, and as all Hindu sects were suffering from Muslim apathy and hostility, a rapprochement among them in a general adversity gradually took place. The honour paid to the mythical sage Dattatreya by the Mahanubhava sect spread also to the followers of the Viarakari school. Among teachers and writers of this age of transition were N'arasimha Sarasvatl and Janardana Svami, the master of Ekanatha, both of the Varakari sect. Poems of a devotional nature ascribed to them are still current among the people. A disciple of Narasimha Sarasvatl wrote in verse the history of the sage-god Dattatreya, known as the Guru-charita, and this work is held in great esteem by both Varakaris and Mahanubhavas.

8. Bengali

We now come to the modern Indo-Aryan languages of the East, namely Bengali, Assamese, Oriya } Maithili, Magahl and Bhojpuri. These are all descended from the old MagadhI Prakrit of Eastern India and possess some common traits.

Among these Bengali is the language of the largest number and its modern literature is quite remarkable in quality as well as quantity. Reference has been made above to the oldest specimens of Bengali literature dating roughly from A.D. 1050 to 1200. 10 This is followed by a period of transition from 1200 to 1350, which is not represented by any authentic specimens of literature. It is, however, very likely that the first drafts, so to say, of the great Middle Bengali narrative poems on stories specially connected with Bengal— what may be called "the Matter of Bengal"— were made during this period. The story of the deathless love of Bihula for her husband Lakshmlndhara, the adventures of Lausena, the story of the merchant Dhanapati and of his son Srimanta, and of Kalaketu and Phullara, were probably current in popular narrative poems sung by a special class of ballad-singers, whose performances continued for a

number of evenings in succession. These formed the nucleus of the great Mahgala poems on the above stories which became established in Bengal by 1600.

The first century and a half, after the advent of the Turks as a conquering people in Bengal and extension of Islamic power all over the province, did not allow any literature to develop. But after the return of peaceful conditions, when a more or less stable Muslim Government was established in Bengal and when the Brahmans could pay greater attention to the old learning, a sort of early renaissance of Sanskrit studies and Brahmanical lore appears to have started in Bengal in the 14th-15th centuries. Probably the first great poet of Middle Bengali of whom we have some record and whose name and work are still well known among the people, was Krittivasa Ojha Mukhatl (born about 1399). He was probably the first and certainly the most popular poet to adapt the Sanskrit Rdmdyana into Bengali (c. 1418). In place of the human and heroic Rama of Valmlki’s original Sanskrit epic, we have in Krittivasa’s work a gentle and compassionate incarnation of a living Deity to whom the loving faith of a simple people could easily reach. The poem of Krittivasa is mainly-narrative—it is not entirely saturated with the spirit of Bhakti such as we have in the next century after the advent of the great saint Chaitanya. The Krishna-legend was similarly taken up by Maladhara Basu, Gunaraja Khan, about 1473, in his Sri-Krishnavijaya, which is based on the Sanskrit Bhagavata Parana. Here too, we do not as yet have the spirit of post-Chaitanya Bhakti, an abandon of faith in Krishna as incarnate God. The story of Bihula, who was widowed on the night of her wedding by snake-bite through the machinations of Manasa, the Snake-Goddess (who was inimical to Bihula’s father-in-law, the merchant Chandradhara),—how she flowed down the river in a raft with her husband Lakshmindhara’s body; how, after a series of adventures, she finally managed to propitiate the Gods including Manasa herself, and brought back her husband to life; and effected a reconciliation between Manasa and her fatherin-law Chandradhara,-—is one of the greatest tales of wifely devotion and womanly courage through love, which the Indian imagination has produced. This story probably goes back to pre-Muslim times, and there is a tradition that the first poet to write on this theme was Kana-Haridatta, whose date is not known, but may be about A.D. 1300. To the fifteenth century are attributed two poems on this theme by two different persons, Vijaya Gupta from the district of Barisal and Bipradasa Piplai of Baduriya Batagrama near Calcutta, The poem by Vijaya Gupta is perhaps not authentic, and cannot go back to the fifteenth century, in spite of the tradition. But Bipradasa’s work appears to have been composed about A.D. 1482.

THE DELHI SULTANATE

A great name in early medieval Bengali literature is that of Chandldasa, who is considered by many to be the greatest lyric poet of Bengal prior to Rabindranath Tagore. Over 1250 poems relating to the love of Radha and Krishna are current in the name of Chan

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dldasa. These are of diverse quality, and from both language and style as well as subject-matter, these cannot, all of them, be by one and the same person. As a matter of fact, the exact time when Chandldasa flourished is not known either. All that we know is that Chaitanya (1486-1533) used to find pleasure in singing or reading poems by Chandldasa, that they were sung to him as a sort of devotional exercise. Chandldasa was thus a predecessor (or may be an elder contemporary) of Chaitanya; in that case his date may be about A.D. 1450. Some would place him half a century earlier. The manuscript tradition of the poems of Chandldasa is faulty and not at all old. In 1916 was discovered a remarkable book which has been edited under the auspices of the Vanglya Sahitya Parishad (Calcutta) by the late Basanta Ranjan Roy, and has been carefully studied by a number of scholars. It is the Srl-Krishna-kirttana written by a poet who names himself at the end of each section as “Badu Chandldasa” or “Ananta Badu Chandldasa”. The script is old (although its antiquity has been disputed) and the language is certainly older than anything discovered in Bengali, barring the Charya padas. It was believed at first that the unique manuscript of the work belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century: now it is believed that it may well be of the early sixteenth century. The story of Radha and Krishna’s love narrated here is certainly pre-Chaitanya in spirit and sentiments. There are in it translations of two songs from Jayadeva’s Gita-Govinda (end of the 12th century) and also passages which show imitations of that work.

The Chandldasa question is a difficult problem, and this can be best solved by assuming that there were more poets than one named Chandldasa. Very probably there were three. These three Chandidasa’s appear to have been originally distinguished from each other by the sobriquets “Badu”, “Dvija”, and “Dina”. There was Chandldasa No. 1 known as Ananta Badu Chandldasa, the author of Sri Krishna-kirttana, who flourished before Chaitanya, may be about A.D. 1450, or even, possibly, 1400. He was responsible for a bare two dozen only 11 of the current 1200 and odd poems ascribed to Chandldasa, in addition to the Sri-Krishna-klrttana itself. He was a rather primitive and a pr e-Bhakti poet in his treatment of the theme.

But there is genuine poetry and lyrical quality in many of the passages in this work, which are worthy of a great poet.

Chandidasa No. 2 probably had the sobriquet “Dvija” Chandidasa, and he may have lived shortly after Chaitanya. It was he who had composed those few poems on which a good deal of Chandldasa’s popularity as a poet now rests. In these poems Chaitanya’s longing for his God (which the poet possibly witnessed) appears to have coloured deeply his portrayal of Radha’s all-absorbing love for Krishna. Chandidasa No. 3 was probably the poet who called himself “Dina Chandidasa”. He was rather a pedestrian poet, and was the author of more than eight hundred of the current Chandidasa poems. This “Dina Chandidasa” lived after A.D. 1600. There were also compositions by other unknown writers which have got into the Chandidasa corpus . The credulous public in Bengal has taken all these 1200 and odd poems in a lump as being by one Chandidasa and sentimentalizes over them. But “Badu Chandidasa” (No. 1) is certainly a great poet, and “Dvija Chandidasa” (No. 2) is perhaps equally great. It is these two poets, whose personalities were merged into one, and a third personality was also added later on, in an uncritical age of faith, leading to the creation of a single composite Chandidasa on whom the homage of Bengal as the greatest lyric poet of Early Bengali has been concentrated during the last 80 years.

The fifteenth century was a great century in Bengal in its religion and general culture and literature. The country was ruled by the Sultans of Turkish and Afghan origin, but they had become sufficiently Bengalized to support Hindu Bengali literature and to employ the Hindus in responsible positions. One of the greatest Sultans of Bengal was Sultan Husain Shah (1493-1519), whose capital city was Gaud in Maldah District. The story of Raja Ganesa 12 shows how the nobility of Bengal had strengthened the Muslim aristocracy. Sultan Husain Shah had as his Private Secretary (Dabir-Kkas) and as his intimate minister (Sdghir Malik) two Bengali Brahmans,; the brothers Rupa and Sanatana, who were well versed in Persian; and in Sanskrit. Later on thev became devoted followers of Chaitanya and finally settled in Vrindavana to organize from there the Vaishnava Church of Bengal. Husain Shah was also an active patron of Bengali literature, and Paragal Khan and Chuti Khan, governors of

Chittagong under Sultan Husain Shah and his son Sultan Naslrud-dln Nasrat Shah, had the Mahabhdrata rendered into Bengali verse, first by a poet called Kavlndra, whose very brief version of the Mahabhdrata was known as the Pdndava-Vijaya (or Vi jay a Pdiidava) -kaiha, and secondly by Srikara Nandi. From the early fifteenth century, the tradition of telling in Bengali the Rdmdyana and the Mahabhdrata stories and the stories relating to Krishna continued down to the nineteenth century.

The Sanskrit scholars in Bengal were active during the fifteenth century, and an all-round cultural renaissance started from the end of the century. When Chaitanya came to preach the Bhakti cult through the figure of Krishna, the Puranas, the Mahtibharata and the Rdmayana were eagerly studied; renowned jurists like Smarta Raghunandana Bhattacharya, logicians like Raghunatha Sir omani, and poets like Chaturbhuja Misra (the author of the Haricharita , a kavya in Sanskrit on the story of Krishna) came to the field to strengthen the tradition of Sanskrit scholarship in Bengal. Social organizers like Devivara Ghataka established a set of social usages in matters of marriage among the Brahmans wTiich for the time being helped to keep the society intact against the onslaught of Islam. Colleges of Sanskrit learning sprang up everywhere, particularly at Navadvipa, in Nadia district, in Vishnupur in Bankura district (even in Muslim times the centre of a strong Hindu principality), in many a Brahman village along the Bhaglrathl or Hooghly river, in Vikrampur in Dacca district, in Rajshahi and Maldah in North Bengal, in Mymensingh, in Chittagong, and at places in Faridpur (like Kotalipara); in fact, almost wherever there were Brahmans and Hindus. Contacts wdth centres of Sanskrit learning and Hindu culture like Mithila, Orissa, Gaya, Banaras and Vrindavana were also established.

Chaitanya, who flourished from 1486 to 1533, rode at the crest of the wave of the fifteenth century Brahmanical renaissance, and gave a new turn to Hinduism in Bengal through a reviving Vaishnavism with Krishna and Radha as symbols for the Divinity and its innate power of Bliss (Hladirii Sakti). The personality of Chaitanya is looked upon by many Bengalis as the greatest fact of Bengal’s cultural and spiritual life in late medieval times. Certainly, through his advent there came an unprecedented impetus to the intellect and spirit of Bengal. His influence on his followers and devotees, from king to beggar, from Brahman to outcast and to Muslim, was something unsurpassed. During his lifetime, his followers took him as a perfect incarnation of the Deity, particularly in its aspect of Radha as its power of Bliss. Chaitanya was a great scholar, but he was also God-intoxicated. He left only eight Sanskrit verses and an eight-stanza hymn to Jagannatha or Vishnu. But what he is supposed to have taught is elaborated by the later Gaudlya or Bengali Vaishnava philosophy in the sixteenth and the two following centuries. Chaitanya lived his early life in Bengal, went on pilgrimage to the extreme South of India from where he brought some Sanskrit works, returned to North India by way of Western India (Maratha country), spent some time in Vrindavana and Banaras, and passed his last years at Puri in Orissa. He was thus an all-India figure, and he had the King of Orissa, Prataparudra-deva, as one of his devoted disciples.

With Chaitanya's advent and after his death, a number of biographies, introducing a new genre in Bengali literature, were written in Bengal, relating both to Chaitanya and his followers. But these belong to the next period of the history of India.

9. Brajabull

During the sixteenth century, a form of an artificial literary language became established in Bengal as well as in Assam and, to some extent, in Orissa. It was the Brajabull dialect and we may consider it to be the result of a direct influence of Maithili lyric poetry on the literature of Bengal. Brajabull is practically the Maithili speech as current in Mithila, modified in its forms to look like Bengali, and at the same time influenced by reminiscences of the old Apabhraihsa and Avahattha traditions in Indian literature. The earliest Brajabull poem that we know of in Bengali literature is ascribed to Ramananda Raya, a disciple of Chaitanya in Orissa, and it goes back to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The story of Brajabull in Assam is given later.

10. Maithili

The literary use of Maithili would appear to have started in the same period as Bengali. According to tradition, Umapatidhara, a poet of the 12th-13th centuries, composed the Pdrijata-harana, a small drama in Sanskrit, in which the songs are in Maithili; but the authenticity and authorship of this work have been called into question. The earliest Maithili work that we have is the Varna-ratndkara n of Jyotirisvara Thakura, which was written about 1325. This is a work of set descriptions of various subjects and situations, to supply ready-made cliche passages to story-tellers and Puranareciters in the vernacular. The Maithili Brahmans were great Sanskrit scholars, and at the same time they did not neglect their mother-tongue. The Varna-ratndkara is important, not only because it gives us specimens of pure Maithili prose of the early fourteenth century, but also because it is a store-house of information, conveyed through words, about the life and culture of early Medieval India in all their aspects. Jyotirisvara Thakura was also a great Sanskrit writer, and a Sanskrit farce and a treatise on erotics by him are well known. After Jyotirisvara, Maithili has for some decades no other specimen of literature worth mentioning. But a great poet, one of the greatest lyric poets of North India, came into being in

Mithila in the fifteenth century. He was Vidyapati Thakura, and although his floruit is not certain, he is believed to have lived between 1350 and 1450. He was an educated Brahman who composed several works in Sanskrit also, and some of these Sanskrit works like the Purusha-parikshd was very popular in North India. He wrote a historical poem, the Kirttilatd, in a dialect which he calls Avahattha, describing an episode in the life of one of the Hindu kings of Mithila, who was one of his patrons. The Kirttilatd , 14 which is a narrative poem with vivid descriptions of a town like Jaunpur, is composed mainly in a late form of Western Apabhramsa with vernacular influences, and this is known as the Avahattha speech. In some cases the Avahattha is mixed with pure Maithili.

The lyrics of Vidyapati, treating the great theme of the love of Radha and Krishna, constitute an important landmark in the literature of Maithili, and are the glory of Early Maithili literature composed largely within the period before 1526. These RadhaKrishna poems of Vidyapati took by storm the heart of Bengal also, and they were largely imitated by Bengali poets; and in their hands, as said before, the Brajabuli language developed as a half-way house between Bengali and Maithili. Vidyapati's poems are not generally mystic or spiritual, but they give a very charming account of love, in the ordinary sense of the term. He has also to his credit a number of poems relating to Siva and Devi which are still sung in Mithila. The popularity of his love poems which were connected with Radha and Krishna has gradually established him in the imagination of the Bengal Vaishnavas as a great Vaishnava devotee and saint—a Maha » jana; but for this there is no evidence.

11. Assamese

Assamese is spoken along the valley of the Brahmaputra river. Numerically, Assamese is not important, but its literary output is quite respectable, showing the high culture of its speakers. Assamese is very like Bengali, and Early Assamese and Early Bengali at one time converged into one speech. The Charydpadas of Old Bengali have also been claimed for Old Assamese.

The oldest Assamese writer seems to have been Herna Sarasvatl of late thirteenth century. He lived in the court of the king of Kama t a to the west of Assam State. 14a His Prahldda-charita, based on the Sanskrit Vishnu Pur ana, shows a finished Sanskritized style for Assamese. Hema Sarasvatl was followed in the court of the king of Kamatapur by two poets, Harihara Vipra and Kaviratna Sarasvatl, who rendered into Assamese verse episodes from the Mahdhhdrata (early fourteenth century).

SANSKRITIC LITERATURE

Kaviraja Madhava Kandali (fourteenth century) is the first great poet of Assamese. He flourished at the court of the king of Cachar in Eastern Assam. His work consists of a version of the Rdmdyana , and a narrative poem, Devajit, on Krishna as the Supreme Divinity. Madhava wrote in a very simple form of Assamese, not too Sanskritized, and quite racy of the soil. He anticipated the later Vaishnava renaissance in Assam in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

Among the poets of the fifteenth century were Durgavara, who re-told the story of the Rdmdyana in songs (the Gzta-Rdmdyana), and the poets Pltambara and Manakara, who composed a large number of love songs centring respectively round the stories of Usha and Aniruddha of the Purana (the Usha-Parinaya by Pltambara) and of Bihula and Lakshmmdhara (

Bihuld-Lakhindhara) of Manakara. Quite a mass of literature known as the Mantras or Magical Charms, of unknown authorship, is found in Assamese, and all these may go back to the period before 1500. These Mantras contained magical formulae against snake-bite, against ghosts and demons, against various kinds of diseases, and against thieves and evil-doers.

The greatest period of Assamese literature was ushered in with the Bhakti movement inaugurated by the great Sahkaradeva, the Vaishnava religious reformer, saint and poet, who is said to have lived, like Kablr, for 119 years (from 1449 to 1568). The movement he started was of course the provincial Assamese form of a pan-Indian Bhakti movement, which thoroughly changed the face of Hindu society in Assam. In that province, Saktism or worship of the Mother Goddess, which might have been largely derived from the pre-Aryan Mongoloid peoples of Assam, appears to have been the dominant religion before the advent of Sahkaradeva. It had bloody sacrifices as an essential part of its ritual, hecatombs of goats, sheep, buffaloes, pigeons, and occasionally of human beings being the rule. The Great Mother was more dreaded than loved, and priest-craft, magic and Tantric practices distracted the people's faith. Sahkaradeva, who belonged to the Kalita or a high non-Brahman caste, virtually changed the religious outlook of the Assamese people. He preached absolute faith in a God of Love, Vishnu or his incarnation Krishna, and his doctrine was known as the Eka-sarana dharma, or the "Religion of seeking refuge in One". Prayer and praise, apart from simple Bahmanical worship with flowmrs and harmless offerings, were taught by him as the best form of devotional exercise. Sahkaradeva's ideas spread over the whole of Assam, and for this new faith he and his followers started to create the necessary literature in the language of the people. Late in life

he received a great deal of support from the powerful Koch king of Western Assam and Northern Bengal, a prince of whose family took a daughter of Sankaradeva's house to wife. Sahkaradeva's hymns and other works formed the basis of evening prayers and evening service in all the villages of Assam, where the people gathered in the communal Nam-ghar or "The House of Praise" for communal worship through song and chant and reading. Among the more important works which Sankaradeva composed were the following (he composed some 27 works in all): (1) the last canto of the Ramayana ;(2) some portions of the Bhagavata Purdna ; (3) Kirttana ghoshci —probably his greatest work (this book gives in 30 poems, comprising about 2398 verses, some episodes from the story of Vishnu or Krishna and of their devotees; the poems are romance, parables and didactic literature, as well as song, all in one, and are greatly popular with the Assamese people); (4) Rukmmi-harana, a narrative poem depicting an episode of the life of Krishna in a charming style (this poem is also popular, quotations from it being current in the language like proverbs); (5) The Bhakti-pradipa, a devotional work; and (6) the Nimi-nava-siddha-samvdda.

Sankaradeva also wrote a number of dramas, based on stories from the Puranas, known as Ankiyd Nat (One-act Plays). These dramas show Maithili influence; the prose and verse portions are not in pure Assamese, but in a mixture of Maithili and Assamese, or are in an artificial or composite Assamese-Maithill literary dialect, like the Brajabull of Bengal; and in Assam this speech is known as Brajavali. Like the miracle-plays of medieval Christendom, these plays helped to popularize the stories of the Puranas, and they are performed even now in the villages. The best known of these are the Rdma-vijaya , the Rdliya-damanci, the Pdrijdta-harana , the Rukmini-h.arana and the Patrii-pra&ada. Another new kind of poetry which Sankaradeva introduced into Assamese was the Bar-git (Vara gdta), devotional poems, sometimes ecstatic in an abandon of faith, sometimes contemplative and reflective, at times exhortatory and seeking to create a distaste for the world and the flesh by inculcating love for God. These poems are immensely nopular, being frequently sung at the present day. There are other works by Sankaradeva which are very popular, but it is not necessary to describe them all in detail.

The next great poet of Early Assamese was Madhavadasa (14891596), a disciple of Sankaradeva. His literary output was more or less on the lines of that of his master. But we need not discuss his works as mostly they fall within the period after 1526. Following Madhavadasa was Rama Sarasvati, another poet in the same line.

A word may be said about Assamese historical literature,—the Buranjis. This the Assamese language took over from the SinoTibetan Ahom speech, and the Ahom conquerors of Assam, who established their rule in Eastern

Assam in the thirteenth century, 15 appear to have had a good sense of history, and encouraged the writing of histories in their own language. The word Buranji is Ahom (Thai) in origin. But we cannot take up the study of this question as well as of Assamese prose, because these Buranjis came to be written in Assamese only from the seventeenth century onwards.

12. Oriyd

Bengali, Oriya and Assamese are sister-languages, and they have a very great resemblance with each other. Only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Oriya fell tremendously under the spell of Sanskrit, and followed its own peculiar line of development, with greater and greater Sanskritization in the subsequent centuries. The oldest specimens of Oriya are found in some inscriptions, three of these being dated A.D. 990, 1036 and 1249. The last is very important, as we have in it a number of connected lines in Old Oriya. Some Oriya scholars, like those of Assam, regard the speech of the Charydpadas to be the oldest form of their language. The Maithils have also made the same claim.

Orissa had virtually the same script as Bengal, Assam and Bihar, to start with, but in recent centuries this script has changed considerably, and acquired a different and characteristic form of its own.

The history of Oriya literatue may be divided into the following periods:

(1) Old Oriya, to A.D. 1300.

(2) Early Middle-Oriya, from A.D. 1300 to 1500.

Then we have Middle Middle-Oriya, and Late Middle-Oriya, bringing the history of the literature to 1850, and finally we have the Modern Oriya, after 1850.

During the Old Oriya period, apart from the inscriptions mentioned above we have the following works, and writings:

The beginnings of the Mddala-Pdnji, or the palm-leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, go back to the 12th century, 16 showing the very early use of prose in literary compositions. The authenticity of the oldest fragments so far available, however, has to be established. In the fourteenth century we have a poem, by Vatsadasa (Bachhadasa), the Kalasa-chautisd in 34 verses, the words in each verse beginning with a consonant letter as in the arrangement of the Oriya alphabet. This deals with the marriage of Siva and Parvati—a work in poetic prose. Rudra-sudhd-nidhi, a romance with a religious (Yoga-Vedanta-Tantra) purpose, was composed in the fourteenth century by Narayanananda Avadhuta Svaml. Another important poet of the fourteenth century is Saraladasa, who may be described as the first great poet of Orissa. He wrote the Chandl Piirchia and the VUankd Rdmdyana, both extolling the Goddess Durga, and gave a brief version of the Mahdbhdrata in 700 verses, in which he omitted certain portions of the story and brought in a number of new stories and modifications. The language appears modern—but Oriya has not changed much in the course of the lastseven or eight centuries. In the fourteenth century, we find also evidence of a sort of early renaissance of Vaishnava Blnakti in Oriya literature. Markandadasa composed his Mahdbhdshya dealing with the Rama story, and the Kesava-koUi, a poem of 34 verses describing the grief of Yasoda, foster-mother of Krishna, at the latter's departure from Vrindavana to Mathura. This poem is got by heart by most Oriya people at the present day.

Arjunadasa (early fifteenth century) wrote the Rdma-bibhd or "the Marriage of Rama", the first long poem in Oriya. It is really a collection of lyrics on the sentiments of love, with some comic interludes. Other poets of the fifteenth century were Nilambaradasa (he translated the Jaimini Mahdbhdrata and the PoAma Pur ana), Mahadevadasa, Govindabhanja and Damodaradasa.

Next we have the period of Jagannathadasa (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries). It begins with the advent of Chaitanya from Bengal into Orissa for the first time in 1510. The king of Orissa (Orissa was at that time a great empire, extending from the frontiers of Bengal in the north to the Tamil country in the south and the Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdoms on the west), Prataparudradeva, accepted Chaitanya as his spiritual teacher, and a new period of Vaishnava revival brought in a new development of Oriya literature. In Orissa, Chaitanya came to have a number of intimate disciples and friends—e.g. Raya Ramananda Dasa who followed pure Bhakti, and also the five religious teachers and poets who followed Bhakti with Jndna, namely Balaramadasa, Jagannathadasa, Yasovanta, Ananta and Achyutananda. Most of these writers had already been engaged in their literary labours before they met Chaitanya. Balaramadasa made a rendering in Oriya verse of the Rdmdyana (c. A.D. 1500), with matter incorporated from the various Purana sources, which is universally popular. He wrote other books likb a rendering of the Bhagavad-gita, and the Veddnta-sdra, and books like the Gupta-vdrtd, Bhdva-samudra or "the Ocean of Emotion",

and the Brahrrvdnda-bhiigola. Jagannathadasa was a close friend of Chaitanya, who gave him the sobriquet of Ati-bada or "Supremely Great", because of his saintly character. He translated the Bhagavata Parana , which is perhaps the most popular book in the Oriya language. It is read every day in all Oriya villages in the Bhdgavataghara or Public Prayer House for reading the Bhdgavata and singing or chanting prayers. Jagannathadasa introduced edifying stories from other sources into his Bhdgavata, and used a simple and easily read metre of nine syllables for his great work. He has largely been responsible for elevating the moral qualities of the Oriya people through this work, and a general eagerness to be able to read it has helped the cause of literacy in many parts of Orissa. Jagannathadasa composed a large number of other works in both Oriya and Sanskrit. The other four associates of Jagannathadasa were similarly responsible for a large number of religious works in Oriya, and it is not necessary to enumerate them. Achyutanandadasa is credited with the composition of one thousand works. 17

C. DRAVIDIAN I. TAMIL

As the condition of South India was a good deal unsettled during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, literature in the Tamil country was rather In a bad way and the spurts of literary activity were spasmodic, uncertain and unequal. No single dominating figure like Karnhan adorns this epoch. None the less, this epoch has made its own characteristic contribution to

Tamil literature and it has given us a few literary masterpieces, a good number of impromptu verses, and the echo of many faded old controversies.

Villiputturar: What Kamban did to the Rdmdyana of Valmiki, Villiputturar sought to do in respect of the Mahdbhdrata —to bring it within the reach of the Tamil people. Diwan Bahadur V. Krishnamachariar thinks that Villiputturar must have flourished in the thirteenth century. 1 But a somewhat later date is more probable. Villiputturar, being a Vaishnava, was fascinated by the personality of the divine-human Krishna. He seems to have composed the Tamil Bharaiam on the suggestion of his royal patron, Alkondan, the Chera king. Although according to tradition, there were 6,000 verses in Villiputturar's version, the poem, as it has come down to us, is incomplete and consists of only 4,351 verses. The latter portion has been done into Tamil by Ranganatha Kavirayar, and we have thus the whole of the Bharaiam in Tamil verse.

Villiputturar was well versed in Sanskrit, and used Sanskrit expressions freely in his version. He had before him, not only the Mahabharatci of Vyasa, but also the shorter Balabhdrata of Agastya Pandita and other versions of the great epic in the various Puranas. But it seems to be clear nevertheless that, "he had mainly in view the original Mahabharatci, obviously through the southern recension of the epic." 2

Villiputturar's Bharatam is among the most popular poems in Tamil. The section devoted to Krishna's embassy to the Kuru chief is justly famous and is even today repeated with fervour in the nooks and corners of the Tamil country. In description, characterization, dramatic vividness and verbal suppleness, the Tamil Bharatam is quite the equal of the Telugu version of Nanniah and Tikkanna and the Kannada version of Kumara Vyasa. It is not surprising, therefore, that Villiputturar is reckoned as one of the latter-day "Alvars" and venerated as such by the South Indian Vaishnavas.

Arunagiri was in all likelihood Villiputturar's contemporary. Tradition makes Arunagiri and Villiputturar the protagonists of a thrilling religious controversy. Be that us it may, Arunagiri was a god-intoxicated singer, whose Tiruppugazh is one of the perennially fascinating items in the repertory of Tamil devotional music. Arunagiri lived and laved in the glory of Muruga or God Subramanya, who is his one inexhaustible theme in poetry and song. One verse from Arunagiri is here given for a sample, in Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai’s rendering:

“O! Thou lover of the well adorned Devasena,

O Muruga! With Thy kindly grace.

The claims of desire are sundered in twain,

And lo! that unspeakable joy was born”.[3] Shorn of the music, however, and especially in the alien English garb, Tiruppugazh inevitably loses much of its magic and spiritual potency.

Sivachariar: One writer, who stands rather apart, is Kachiappa Sivachariar, a Brahman of Conjeevararn. He was extraordinarily proficient in Tamil, no less than in Sanskrit, and his versatility was amazing. He composed the Kanda-purdnam , an elaborate work on the feats of God Subramanya. The work has maintained its place in the affections of Tamil ;§aivites, and is held in special veneration by the Tamil people of North Ceylon (Jaffna). It is a people’s handbook of the philosophy of religion, although it is quite easy to look upon it primarily as a supernatural romantic epic with Subramanya and Valli for hero and heroine, and Sura for the villain who ultimately transcends his villainy and attains mukti. Sura-sambara or the destruction of Sura at the hands of Subramanya is one of the festivals in South India, and indeed Kanda-puranam, notwithstanding its many incredible stories, remains an important constituent of the popular culture of the Tamil people.

Kalamekam: The most entertaining figure in Tamil literature, Kalamekam, whose original name was Varadar, occupies a position in Tamil analogous to that of a Lewis Corroll or an Edward Lear in English. Kalamekam lived a wild, unconventional and adventurous life, mixing freely, it would appear, with potentates and prostitutes alike. His metrical facility and verbal fluency were astounding, while his quickness of perception and innate sense of the ludicrous gave his impromptu verses an irresistible flavour and piquancy. His encounter with Adimadurakavi, the court poet, was on all accounts a thrilling affair. Pride and conceit collided against greater pride and more justifiable conceit, and extempore verses rained from Kalamekam's lips as pour torrents of rain from heavyladen clouds. Uncannily quick-witted, audacious, verbally supple, keen-eyed to spot out the ludicrous and the droll, Kalamekam appealed to his audiences at once, and threw his hearers into bouts

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of laughter. Matched against him, poor Adimadurakavi was like a heavy club pitted against a shining blinding rapier. Kalamekam is reported to have made the boast that within a mere trice he could roll out a thousand verses, like a downpour from a heavy massive cloud. Making due allowance for poetic exaggeration, Kalamekam seems to have been nearly as goood as his word. Of god, man and beast, of Kamban and Timmi, the Telugu courtezan and Ramayyan's horse, of impossible people and incredible similitudes,—Kalamekam sang of them all with equal nonchalance and always with striking effect. Although he wrote some serious poems also, he is remembered mainly in the context of the many episodes which quickened him to bright or biting song. Two other poetic personalities, who were probably Kalamekam's later contemporaries, were the weaver twins—the Irattavar—one of whom was blind, and the other lame. They lived by begging, the blind carrying the lame on his shoulders. Both gifted with a turn for poetry, they put it to good account. As one began a verse, the other completed it with singular aptness. Their joint sustained work is a poem by name Ekambarandthar UM .

Other poets: Venkatanatha (Vedantadesika), greatest among Ramanuja's successors, was a versatile scholar and writer. His maior contributions were to Sanskrit literature, but he wrote his classic treatise, the Rahasyatrayasara, in a mixture of Tamil and

Sanskrit known as manipravdla. Besides he composed a number of Tamil songs, mainly of a devotional nature, and these are collectively known as the Desika-prahandham and are held in reverence by the South Indian

Vaishnavites. Poyyamoli Pulavar, Virakkavirayar, Nirambalakia Desikar and Tolkappia Thevar were among the other well-known poets or poetic persons of the time.

II. KANNADA

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were essentially a period of transition in religion as well as literature. The Jain writers were losing ground, the Vlrasaiva writers maintained their position of vantage, and the Vaishnava writers were registering their first titledeeds. The Age of Basava and Prabhudeva was left behind; the Age of Purandaradasa and Kanakadasa was yet to begin. In the meantime, there was much significant activity in the realm of Kannada letters.

As in the previous centuries, the Jain-Puranas continued to appear at odd intervals. Thus Madhura wrote a Purana on the life of Dharmanatha, the fifteenth Tirthahkara, while a century later Mahgarasa and Santikiriti wrote Puranas on the lives of Nemi-Jinesa and Santinatha, the twenty-second and sixteenth Tirthahkaras respectively. Besides, the life-story of Jivandhara, a pious Jain king, was made the theme of no less than three poems in shatpadi metre, the authors being Bhaskara, Bommarasa and Kotesvara.

The Basava-pumna 1 now started a parallel tradition in hagiology in Vlrasaiva literature. Bhima Kavi, the author of the Basavapurdna y seems to have made use of a Telugu work of that name. Completed in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the Basava purana was popular from the very beginning and has exerted great influence on subsequent Vlrasaiva writers. The Basava-pumna is true to type, mixing as it does an ounce of fact with a pound of fanciful imagination, and numerous are the miracles attributed to Basava. True faith can lift mountains, and the genuine Siva-bhakia has nothing to fear in this world. While some of the episodes may raise a smile, the general ethical purport of the Basava-purana is beyond question. On being charged with misappropriation by his king, Bijjala, Basava is made to answer:

“Will Tiamsa- swan, that’s free to drink Of the boundless Sea of Milk,

Seek salt-sea water for its thirst?

O Bijjala, bethink!

Or will the lion feed on herbs?

Will parrot throw away

The mango's luscious fruit, to eat

Insipid jungle-nut?

When these things hap, then may'st thou think

The Siva-bhakta too

May cast his heaven-born treasure down

To steal man's petty gold." 2

The poem abounds in such asseverations, and also anecdotes to illustrate and justify them. It served as a model to Shadaksharadeva's Vrishabhendra-vijaya, nearly three hundred years later.

Another Virasaiva-Purana, the P rabhulinga-lile, centres round the life of Ailama Prabhu, who was Basava's contemporary and president of the Anubhava Mantapa that Basava established to propagate the Vlrasaiva religion and philosophy. Chamarasa, the author of the Prabhulinga-lile, is said to have composed this poem of 25 chapters and 1,111 verses in the course of only eleven days. Chamarasa was patronized by the Vijayanagara king, (Praudha) Devaraya II. As Chamarasa is described as the brother-in-law of Naranappa (Kumara Yyasa), who was a Brahman, it is likely that Chamarasa wrote the Prabhulhga-liie with the enthusiasm of a new convert. Of this work Mr. C. P. Brown writes: "It is an allegorical poem of considerable beauty, and is particularly attractive from the pleasing manner in which it describes the female sex. It is not only amusing but is written with such delicacy that any Hindu female might read it with gratification". The Prabhulinga-lile has been translated into Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and Marathi.

As the Virasaivas held in great veneration the sixty-three purdtanas— -that is, the Tamil Saivacharyas, Appar, Sambandar, Sundarar, Kannappar and the rest, sixty-three in all—poems about them also appeared in Kannada. The most famous of these is Nijaguna iSivayogi's Aruvattu-Muvara-tripadi, being an account of the sixty-three Tamil Saiva saints. This work was composed towards the close of the fifteenth century. Other Pur-anas composed during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries include the Padmamjapurana (based on the life of one of Basava's contemporaries, Kereya Padmarasa), the Revana-siddhesvara-kavya of Mallanna, and the Arddhya-charita (on the life of Panditaradhya) by Mallikarjuna Kavi.

The Vlrasaiva writers composed also a number of doctrinal works during this period, especially during the fifteenth century. We may here mention in particular Mahalingadeva's Ekottarasatas thala, Lakkanna Dandesa's Swatattva-chintdmam , Jakkanarya's Nurondu-sthala, Tontada Siddhalinga's Shatsihala-jhdndmritasdra,

Nijaguna Sivayogi's Anubhavasara and Gubbiya Malianary a's Bhavachintdratna.

Vaishnava Literature: The Vaishnava revival in South India began at the time of the Alvars. The work of the Alvars was continued by Acharyas like Nathamuni, Yamuna, Ramanuja, Madhva and Venkatanatha. As in the Telugu country, so also in Karnataka, one important cause of the spread of the Vaishnava movement was the appearance of vernacular translations of Sanskrit classics like the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Bhdgavata. Naranappa (Kumara Vyasa), who has been referred to above, composed about the middle of the fifteenth century a Kannada version of the Mahd bhdrata, popularly called the Gadugina-Bhdrata. Of this work, Mr. D. V. Gundappa writes:

"This is perhaps the grandest poem in the language.For

vastness of conception, for vividness of portraiture, for the variegated splendours of a colossal and complex drama, for the sweep of imagination that can reproduce for us the varying notes mixed in a mighty clash of human forces—avarice, indignation, pity, melancholy, love, hate, scorn, irony, desperation, terror, heroism, nobility, envy, meanness, magnanimity, faith, hope—, for a sustained spiritual idealism and a kindly and manful attitude towards life, as well as for naturalness and freedom and vigour of style, this work stands supreme.”

Kumara Vyasa completed only the first ten parvas of the Mahdbhdrata, and the remaining ones were done into Kannada in the opening years of Krishnadeva Raya’s reign by Timmanna. Translations of the Rdmayayia and the Bhdgavata , too, appeared in due course. Narahari (Kumara Valmiki) completed his Torave Rama yana about the end of the fifteenth century, and Chattu Vithalanatha completed his Kannada Bhdgavata-purdna not long afterwards; but neither reaches the level of inspired excellence that is so natural to Kumara Vyasa. 3

III. TELUGU

The fourteenth century of the Christian era saw the downfall of the Kakatlya empire and the rise of a number of small principalities like that of the Reddis of Kondavidu. Errapragada, one of the trio of the Mahabharata poets, mentioned above 1 , was the court poet of Prolaya Verna, the earliest of the Reddi kings, who ruled over Kondavidu in the first half of the fourteenth century A.D. Errapragada’s first work was Ramayana in Champu form dedicated to Malla Reddi, the brother of Prolaya Verna. But it is now lost. After translating the portion of Aranyakaparva of the Mahabharata,

left over by Nanniah, 2 he translated the Harivayhsa into Telugu, as it formed a sequel to the Mahabharata, and dedicated it to Prolaya Vema Redqli. He had a very great respect for the two early Mahabharata poets and tried to imitate them in every respect. He earned the title of Prabandhaparamesvara because of the Prabandha characteristics and the descriptive element which he has displayed in his last work, the Nrisimhapurdna. Nachana Somanadha was a junior contemporary of Errapragada, and happens to be his great rival. He was a great scholar and called himself “Sahiiya-rasaposhana” in his translation of Uttara-Harivarhsa, which he took up again to show by contrast that his method of dealing with it would be more artistic and attractive than that of Errapragada. He took only some select portions of Uttara-Harivamsa in his work, and by his artistic descriptions, lively conversations, and beautiful imagery, converted the Puranic story into a work of art, leading the way for the Prabandha of a later age. He was a close follower of Tikkana and like him he dedicated his work to the God Hariharanadha, and contributed his mite to establish the Brahmanic faith and Dharmadvaita in his country.

The next 150 years (A.D. 1350-1500) may be said to be the age of Srinatha, since he happened to be the dominating personality in the literary field during that time. He belonged to the latter half of the fourteenth and the earlier half of the fifteenth century and had connections with various chiefs and ruling kings of his age. He was originally connected with the Reddi kings of Kondavidu, acting as an educational minister of Peda Komati Vema Reddi. After the

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fall of the kingdom of Kondavidu he went round the country, visited various darbars of kings, took part in literary and poetic contests, and had the unique honour of Kanakabhisheka at the hands of Devaraya II of Vijayanagara in his court. He began writing poetry in his early age and was already a master of his art in his early youth. His first work, and the first work of its kind in Telugu, was the translation of Salivahana Saptasati from Prakrit to Telugu; it is considered Gy many as a significant service to Telugu, though it is unfortunately not available now. He also translated the Naishadha-charita of Srlharsha into Telugu, which was generally considered a hard nut to crack. He had greater leanings towards Saivism, and translated Bhimesvara purdnam and Rasikhandam, dealing with the kshetras or holy places connected with Saiva worship. His Haravilasa deals with the various stories connected with Siva. In his Palnati-Vlracharitra, Srinatha has stepped out of the field of classical poetry, and has trodden into the field of historical romance. The story deals with the quarrels leading to a war among the local chiefs of Palnadu, and it was told in the appropriate desl metre of racy dvipada. Srinatha was a poet of unrivalled scholarship and had a great love for his country. He has not only described the various kshetras of the Telugu country with great devotion and enthusiasm, but also depicted the life and manners of the various parts of the country with a humorous touch all his own, in his Vidhinataka. Though he was greatly honoured by kings and dined with them in plates of gold, he had to lead a life of penury in the latter part of his life, as his fortunes also changed with the fortunes of the kings whom he served. Srinatha is considered as an epoch-maker in the history of Telugu literature, who led the way for the period of classical Prabandha in Telugu.

Potana, another outstanding poet, was a great contrast to Srinatha, both in the way of his life, as well as in his treatment of poetry. He was a self-made man and had a natural instinct for poetry. He was content to lead a simple life of a cultivator away from the bustle of kings and courts. He translated the Bhdgavata into Telugu and chose to dedicate if to Sri Rama, the human incarnation of God, whom he worshipped w T ith unfailing devotion. This Bhdgavata is one of the most popular works in Telugu literature, both on account of the liveliness of his narration and poetic diction, and of its powerful appeal in rousing the sentiment of Bhakti or devotion.

Another great poet, almost as great as Potana in the opinion of some, was his contemporary Pinavirabhadra, author of the SringdraSakuntald, and the Jaimini-Bhdrata.

A number of works, dealing with the stories connected with the exploits or deeds of great personages of old, were produced during this period. Jakkana’s Vikramdrkacharita deals with the stories connected with the King Vikrama. Bhojardjlya of Anantamatya deals with the stories of the King Bhoja. Navanddhacharitra of Gaurana describes the exploits of the Nine Nadhas or Saiva saints, and SivaliWvildsa of Nissanka Kommana deals with the various IIIas or sportive stories connected with Siva. Gaurana has adopted dvipada metre in his Navanddhacharitra, and the Harischandropdkhydna, which is his other work, was also written in dvipada metre. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, stories dealing with Kshetramdhdtmya seem to have attracted the attention of a good number of poets in Telugu. The Rukmdngadacharitra of Mallana, the Srlrangamdhdtmya of Bhirava Kavi and the Kdhchi puramdhdtmya of Daggupalli Duggana may be cited as examples. Vennelakanti Suranna translated the Vishnu Purdna and the Vardha Purdna was translated by the two poets, Nandi Mallaya and Ghanta Singaya, who are also responsible for the rendering of the Sanskrit

drama Prabodhachandrodaya, into Telugu in the form of a Prabandha. The Upanishadic story of Nachiketas was developed in Telugu by Daggupalli Duggana in a work called the Ndsiketupdkhydna . The Vaishnavite influence in Telugu literature began to be felt during this period in the works of Tallapaka Annamacharyulu and his family, who composed thousands of songs or Sahklrtanas on the Lord Venkatesvara. Various other works in dvipada and other desl metres, were also written by them.

Thus though the translation of the Puranas and the PuranaKhandas was going on as before, Kdvyas, short stories, mdhdtmyas and scientific works also supplied the topics for the poets during this period. All these seem to have marked the gradual transition of the Telugu poetry from the Pur ana to Prabandha, and have helped to usher in the classical period of Prabandha, which is also called the golden age of Telugu literature, during the memorable reign of Krishnadeva Raya. This will be discussed in the next volume.

IV. MALAYALAM LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Malayalam is today spoken by over ten million South Indians, largely concentrated in the State of Kerala and adjoining areas. It is the fourth of the Dravidian family of languages to attain maturity and chalk out a path for itself. As malai means ‘mountain’, the word ‘Malayalam’ obviously refers to either the people or the language or the government of the mountainous region. Till about a thousand years ago, Tamil was the language spoken in this region, doubtless with local variations. It is said that Malayalam as a distinct language is not referred to in Tamil literature before the fifteenth century. 1 On the other hand, the Rama-charitam , which was composed in the fourteenth century, may be said to have inaugurated Malayalam literature just as Nanniah’s Mahabhdratam inaugurated Telugu literature. The fact is that dialectical and local peculiarities had already developed and stamped themselves in floating local songs and ballads. But these linguistic variations and phonetic peculiarities were at last gathered together and made to give a colouring to a sustained literary work, Rdma-charitam, thereby giving the new language a triumphant justification and a promising lease of life. This, then, is roughly the story of Malayalam. Originally Malayalam was no more than a local dialect of Sen Tamil or Pure Tamil. Political isolation, local conflicts, the impact of Christianity and Islam, the arrival of the Nambudiri Brahmans a little over a thousand years ago, all created conditions favourable to an independent development of the local dialect. The Nambudiris grafted a good deal of Sanskrit on the local dialect and influenced its physiognomy. Popular and religious songs were composed first. Presently, the phenomenal popularity of Kamban's Tamil Ramdyana —it is said Kamban himself toured Kerala-desa and recited his Ramdyana before huge audiences—led in course of time to a similar version in the local dialect. Little by little, Tamil recognized the separate identity of Malayalam, and by the fifteenth century, the fact of separation is openly admitted.

D. INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ARABIC LITERATURE

Though Arabic is the language of the Qur'an, yet it failed to command the same amount of popularity in this country as Persian. After the Arab conquest of Sind, Mansur a, Daybul, and Multan were the first towns that became the seats of Islamic learning. During the reign of Mas'ud and other Ghaznavid Sultans, Lahore became the centre of Islamic culture and learning and produced many distinguished scholars. It was during the reign of the Ghurls that the famous Shafi'ite savant, Fakhr-ud-dln Muhammad bin 'Umarar-RazI (A.D. 1150-1210) travelled to India.[1] During the rule of the Mamluk Sultans of Delhi, there flourished traditionists like Hasan as-Saghanl of Lahore (d. A.D. 1252), the Abbasid Ambassador to the court of Iltutmish and author of the Mashdriqu'l-Anwari'nNabaiviyyah and the lexicographical work (Uddb? Great theologians and scholars like Ziya-ud-din Bayanawi[3] and QazI Mughlsud-dln[4] flourished during the reign of the Khaljls.[5]

The great saint Nizam-ud-dln Auliya, the preceptor of Amir Khusrav, Hasan Dihlawi, Ziya-ud-din BaranI and other scholars lived during the reign of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji. It was during his reign that the erudite Egyptian theologian Shams-ud-dln came to India.

Abu Bakr Ishaq, better known as Ibn Taj (died after A.D. 1335), was the son of Taj-ud-dm AbuT-Hasan of Multan. He wrote the Khulasatu Jaiudhiri’l-Qur’dn fl baydni Ma‘dni Lu9hati‘l-Furqdn and the Jawdhiru’l-Qur’an [6] on Qur’anlc literature, the Kitdbu’l Hajjiwal-Mandsik , [7] the Khuldsat-ul-Ahkdm bi S hard’ iti’l-I slam* and its abridged version Khulasatu Khuldsati’d-dm bi Shard’iti’lImani wa’i-Yaqin, on Fiqh, and the Zikr-uz-zikri’l-Akbar [9] and the Nisbatu Khirqati’t-Tasawwuf [10] on Islamic mysticism.

Siraj-ud-din ‘Umar bin Ishaq al-Hindl (born c. A.D. 1314; died 1372) was well-known for his profundity of knowledge in scholastic theology and jurisprudence. On account of his profound knowledge in Islamic theology he was appointed QazI for some time at Cairo. [11] He figured as the author of several important treatises mostly on religious topics. He wrote the Zubdatu’l-Ahkam fi Ikhtildfi’l-A’immatVl-A‘ldm [12] and the Sharhu’l-Mughrii [13] a commentary on the Mughni of Jalal-ud-dm al-KhabbazI (d. A.D. 1292). The Kitdbu’t-Tasawwuf , [14] the Lawd’ihu’l-Anwar, [15] al-Fatdwd as-Sir\d jiyyah, [16] the Sharhu’l-‘Aqidati’t~Tahdwiyyah , [17] al-Ghurratu’l Muni jah fi Tarjlhi Mazhabi Abu Hanlfah , [18] and several others are among his productions.

Amir Sayyid ‘All b. Shihab-ud-dln bin Muhammad (A.D. 13141384), hailed from Hamadan. Jam! in his Nafahatu’l-Uns [19] has described him as an itinerant saint well-versed in both esoteric and exoteric learning. He wrote several treatises on Qur’anic subject, Hadis and Islamic mysticism. Some of these are Ar-Risalah fi’nNasikhi wa’l Mansukh, [20] as-Sab c in fi Fada’ili AmiVil-Mu’miriin, [21] Mawaddatu fVl-Qurbd [22] Manazilu’s-Sdlikin [23] Sharhu’l-Asma VIHusna, and Sharhu FususVl-Hikam.

Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Yusuf Husaynl, better known as Glsu-daraz (A.D. 1321-1422), was one of the most popular saints in India. In 1412-13 he left for Gulbarga where he was held in great esteem by Firuz Shah Bahmanl and his successor Ahmad Shah. 24 The Sharhu'r-Risalati'l-Qushayriyyah 25 and ar-Risalatu fi Masd'ili RuyatVl-Ban Ta e ald 26 are written by him.

The Shafi'ite savant 'All bin Ahmad Maha ? iml (d. A.D. 1431) of Arab extraction wrote the TabsinCr-Rahmdn wa Taystru'l-Mannayi (also known as Tafsir-i-Rahmani) 21 a commentary on the Qur'an. His Fiqh-i Makhdum! 28 is on Fiqh.

Among the several works he wrote on various Sufi themes, mention may be made of the Mashra e iVl-Khusus ila Ma'anVn-Nusus the Kashjwz-Zulamdt , the Istijla'u'l-Basar, the Nuru'l-Azhar, the Ta'ribu Lam'dti'l-'Iraqi and the Risdlatu'l-Wujud fi Sharhi Asma'i'l Ma'bud.

Sa'd-ud-dln KhayrabadI (died A.D. 1477) wrote on Fiqh the Sharhu Usuli'l-Bazdavi and the Sharhu } l-Husdmi. The Risalatu'l Makkiyyah on tasawwuf, and the philological works Sharhu'lKafiyah, Sharhu SharhVl-Jdmi and the Sharhu'l-Misbah are from his pen. 30

Zayn-ud-din Abu Yahya b. Ali b. Ahmad al-Ma'barI (A.D. 14681521) wrote many books on tasawwuf 31 The Hidayatu'l-Adhkiyd 3 ild TariqVl'Auliyd, the Murshidu't-Tulldb, and the Sirdju'l-Qulub are among his important works.

Safl-ud-dln Muhammad, son of Abdur-Rahim al Hindi, (A.D. 1246-1315) wrote the NhdyatiVl-Wusul ild e llmi'l-Usul 32 and the

FcL'iq ft Usuli'l-dm on Fiqh. Az-zubdan fi 'Ilmi'l-Kaldm 33 on scholastic theology is another work by him.

Qazi Shihab-ud-din, entitled a 'Maliku'l-Ulama', 34 (died c. A.D. 1445), son of Shams-ud-dln, was born at Daultabad in the Deccan. After completing his studies at Delhi he went to Jaunpur where he was well received by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi. He was a distinguished writer. On grammar he wrote al-Irshdd 35 and the SharhuVHindi 36 , a commentary on the Kafiyah. His Musaddiqu’l-Fazl is a copious commentary on Ka‘b bin Zuhayr’s famous panegyric Bdnat Su £ dd on Prophet Muhammad. He wrote the Sharhu Usuli’l-BazdawT on Fiqh and al- £ Aqa’idu’l-Islamiyyah 37 on Islamic dogma.

Qazi Jamal-ud-dln Ahmad, better known as Bahraqu’l-Hazrami (d. A.D. 1522), a native of Hazramaut, was attached to the Court of Tabsimtu’l Hazrati’sh-Shdhiyyati’l’Ahmadiyyah bi Sirati’l-Haz rati’n-Nabaiviyyati’l-Ahmadiyyah.

The distinguished theologian Mu‘in-ud-din ‘Imran! 38 of Delhi, who flourished during the reign of Muhammad Tughluq (A.D. 13251351). was the author of several works on various subjects. The Hashiyaftala’t-Talwih 39 the Hdshiyah'ala’l’Husdmt 40 and the Hdshiyah £ ald Kanzi’d-Daqd’iq 41 are his works on Fiqh, while the Hdshiyatu’l-Miftdh 42 and the Hdshiyatu’t-Talkhis 43 are his philological works.

Sayyid Yusuf (A.D. 1388), the son of Sayyid Jamal-al-Husayni of Multan, lived during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq and was attached to the Royal College. His works, the Tawjihu’l-Kaldm ft Sharhi’l-Mandr and the Yusufl Sharhu Lubbi’l-Alabab ft ‘Ilmi’lFrab 44 show his deep knowledge in Fiqh and grammar.

Badr-ud-din Muhammad (b. A.D. 1424) of Egypt, better known as Ibn-ud-damamml, was the son of Abu Bakr al-Makhzumi al-Iskandari. After his pilgrimage to Mecca he came to Gujarat via Yaman in A.D. 1417. In Gujarat he wrote on grammar the TaTlquTFard’id, 45 a commentary on Ibn Malik’s work Tashilu’l-Fawd’id wa Takmtlu’l-Maqdsid,, and the Tuhfatu’l-Gharib, a commentary on Ibn Hisham’s M.ughni’l-Labtb 46 These were dedicated to Ahmad Shah of Gujarat. In A.D. 1422, he also wrote on his way to Ahmadabad (Gulbarga) al-Manhalu’s-Safi 41 a commentary on Muhammad b. Usman al-Balki’s work on grammar al-Wafi for Ahmad Shah Bahmani. The Masdbthu’l-Jcimi‘fi Sharhi Sahihi’l-Bukhdri on Hadis is also from his pen.

Safi bin Nasir, who lived during the reign of ‘Ala-ud-dm Khalji, wrote the Ghdyatu 3 t-Tahqiq 48 a super-commentary on Daulatabadi’s commentary on the Kdfiyah.

Khwaja Husain Nagurl (A.D. 1495), a descendant of QazI Hamldud-dln Nagurl, wrote the Nuru’n-Nabi on Qur’anic subject and the Sharhu’l-qismis-Thdlis Mina’l-Miftah on grammar.

Ilah-dad of Jaunpur (A.D. 1525) wrote a commentary called the Hashiyah ‘ala Maddriki’t-Tanzil on the Qur’an and the Hashiyah ‘ala Sharhi’l-Jami on grammar.

It will be seen that during the period under review most of the authors who made any contribution to Arabic literature in India were Arabs and Persians or persons of Arab and Persian lineage. The contribution by the Indians themselves is rather small. Generally speaking, the works produced in India are on religious subjects, tasawwuj and grammar. They mostly comprise commentaries on the Qur’an, Hadis, Fiqh and grammar. 49

E. INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO PERSIAN LITERATURE

The invasion of India by Mahmud of Ghazni, though mainly a military movement, was not without its cultural importance in so far as it served to introduce Persian language and literature in India. Many poets and literati actually accompanied him in his campaigns. It was during his time that Abu Rayhan Muhammad al-Birunl, better known in Europe as Aliboron, came to India and made himself acquainted with Hindu learning.

Under the Ghurlds, too, Persian language and literature thrived well. Taj-ud-dln Hasan, Rukn-ud-dln Hamza, Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Rashid, poetically surnamed Shihab, NazukI of Maragha and QazI Hamid of Balkh were a few among the eminent poets and literati who shed lustre on the court of Muhammad Ghurl.

The liberality of Qutb-ud-din (A.D. 1206-10) to the poets earned him the title of Lak-bakhsh (the giver of lacs 1). The sincere appreciation and patronage on the part of Iltutmish (A.D. 1211-36) attracted to his court poets and writers of the eminence of Khvaja Abu Nasr, poetically surnamed Nasiri, 2 Abu Bakar bin Muhammad Ruhani of Samarqand, 3 Taj-ud-dln Dablr 4 and Nur-ud-din Muhammad ‘Awfi, the author of the earliest known memoir of Persian poets Lubdb-ul-Albdb and the Jawdmi-‘ul-Hikdydt wa Lawdmi- ur~ Riwdyat. 5

Even the court of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah (A.D. 1246-65) was graced by the panegyrist Fakhr-ud-dm Nunaki, poetically surnamed ‘Amid, 6 and the historian Minhaj-ud-din Juzajani, commonly known as Minhaj-i-Siraj 7 (b. A.D. 1193), the author of the Tabaqat-i Ndsiri, a general history from the earliest times to A.D. 1260.

The reign of the Sultans Ghiyas-ud-din Balban 8 and Mu‘izz-uddin Kaiqubad as well as the period covered by the Khaljl and the Tughluq rule marked a new epoch in the history of Persian literature in India. It was during their rule that eminent poets and writers like Khusrav flourished.

The greatest Indian poet of Persian, Amir Khusrav, who had a precocious taste for poetry, was the youngest son of Saif-ud-din Mahmud, a Turk, who came to India during the early part of the reign of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah (A.D. 1246-65).

Amir Khusrav was born at Patiali near Delhi in A.D. 1253. At a very early age he “displayed an uncommon genius, a strong disposition for study, and an aptitude for the acquirement of every science and even art, such as seldom has been witnessed”. His poetical genius was essentially lyric, though he tried his hand at all forms of poetry with remarkable success. He studied Sufi philosophy under the celebrated saint Shaikh Nizam-ud-din Auliya who was his spiritual preceptor. He was in the service of the Mamluk kings Ghiyas-ud-dln Balban and Mu‘izz-ud-din Kaiqubad; the Khalji kings Jalal-ud-dtn, ‘Ala-ud-din and Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah, and Ghiyas ud-din Tughluq.

According to Amin Ahmad Razi, the author of the Haft Iqlim (The Seven Climes), Khusrav composed ninety-nine 9 works on different subjects. His Khamsa (Quintet), Panj Ganj, composed as a rejoinder to Nizami’s similar work, comprises the allegorical and mystical Matla-ul-Anwar (The Rising of the Lights) in 3310 verses, the two love-poems Shirin wa Khusrav in 4124 verses and Laila wa Majnun in 2360 verses, the A’ina-i Sikandari (The Mirror of Alexander) in 912 verses, and the Hasht Bihisht (The Eight Paradises) in 3350 verses, dealing with the adventures of Bahram. This work earned him a monthly stipend of one thousand tankas for life. Reference has been made above to some of his compositions such as the Romance of Khizr Khan and Dewal Ram, composed in A.D. 1315, comprising 4200 verses, and the allegorical masnavi, Qirdn-usSa c dain (The conjunction of two Auspicious Planets). Nur-ul-Haqq, son of the celebrated divine ‘Abdul-Haqq of Delhi, wrote the Nur ul- c Ain, a commentary on this masnavi. The Taj-ul-Futuh, a masnavi poem, the Nuh Sipihr (The Nine Spheres) written in A.H. 718 and dedicated to the Khalji Sultan Qutb-ud-din Mubarak, the Rasa } il Pjdz on prose composition, the Tughluq-nama, the Miftdh-ul-Futuh, the Afzal-ul-Fawd’id, the Tarikh-i-Dilhi and the Khaza y in-ul-Futuh, (a history of the reign of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji) are some of his other works.

Khusrav died in A.D. 1325, as appears from the two chronograms e Adlm-ul-Misdl (the Unique) and the Tutiy-i-Shakkar Maqdl (The Sweet-spoken Parrot) contained in a poem by Shihab-iMu‘amma’I inscribed on the tomb-stone of the poet. 10

Khvaja Najm-ud-din Hasan 11 of Delhi (b. A.D. 1253-54; d. 132627), son of ‘Ata’l Sanjarl, a friend of Amir Khusrav, was one of the court poets of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl. His lucid and charming Ghazals earned him the title of the ‘Sa‘dl of Hindusthan. 12 He was a favourite disciple of the celebrated saint Shaikh Nizam-ud-dln Auliya, whose utterances he recorded chronologically from A.D. 1307 to 1322 under the title Fawcl’id-ul-Fu’ad which, according to ‘Abd-ulHaqq, was the highest authority with the disciples of the saint. It is an authentic record of the instructive discourse on Sufi subjects delivered by the saint to his disciples. The historian Ziya-ud-dln Baranl, who was his contemporary, has spoken highly of his poetic gifts. The date of his death, as given by different writers, varies between A.D. 1307 and 1345. But according to Badaunl, when the citizens of Delhi were forced to move to the new capital Daulatabad about A.D. 1327 under the orders of Muhammad bin Tughluq, the poet went with them and died there. 13

According to Firishta, other eminent poets of Persian who flourished during the reign of ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl were Sadr-ud-dln ‘All, Fakhr-ud-dln Qawwas. Hamld-ud-dln Raja, Maulana ‘Arif, Abdul-Haklm (‘Ubald Hakim) and Shihab-ud-din Sadr-nishin, all of whom had their divans . 14

As noted above, Muhammad bin Tughluq (A.D. 1325-51) was a great patron of learning. It was during his reign that the great Moorish traveller

Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad, better known as Ibn Batutah, 15 came to India. 16 Ziya-ud-dln Baranl 17 (b. A.D. 1285), son of Mu’ayyid-ul-Mulk, was also attached to the court of Muhammad bin Tughluq for over seventeen years, but he lost the royal favour during the reign of Flruz Shah (A.D. 1351-88) due to the machination of his enemies and fell on evil days. He was a devoted disciple of saint Nizam-ud-dln Auliya and an intimate friend of Amir Khusrav and Mir Hasan. He spent his last days in the composition of literary works. He died at a ripe old age and was buried close to the tomb of Nizam-ud-dln Auliya. According to the Siyar-ul-Auliya, he wrote the Sana-i-Muhammadl Saldtd-Kablr/Inayat-ncLma-i-llahl, Ma’dsir-i-Sa‘ddat and Hasrat-ndma. His Akhbdr-i-Barmakiydn giving an anecdotical account of the Barmakids, was translated from the Arabic original in A.D. 1354 and dedicated to Flruz Shah. In A.D. 1357 he wrote the Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shdhl to which a detailed reference has been made above.

Attracted by the liberality of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, Badr-ud-din Muhammad of Chach 18 (Arabicized Shash, also known as Banakit, modern Tashqand) came to India. For many years he was attached to the court of the Sultan whom he had panegyrized in his qasldas. His divan , containing chiefly qasldas, ghazals, qitfas and rubd (ls , was lithographed at Lakhnau, in A.D. 1845. Lithograph editions of his qasldas were published from Kanpur (A.D. 1845) and Rampur (A.D. 1872). He also composed a Shahnama comprising about 30,000 verses, recording the expeditions of his patron.

Tsami wrote in verse the Futuh-us-Salatln 19 on the model of Firdausi’s Shahnama dealing with the history of the rulers of India from the rise of the Ghaznavid dynasty to A.D. 1349-50. This work was dedicated to the founder of the Bahmanid dynasty, ‘Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu (A.D. 1347-58). 20

The successor of Muhammad bin Tughluq, his cousin Firuz Shah, was also a great patron of learning. This is attested by the fact that he granted annually one-third of a million pounds to learned men and pious endowments. He has left behind him the Futuhdt-i-Flruz Shdhl 21 in which he has recorded the edicts and ordinances, and works of public utility done by him 22 The poet Tzz-ud-din Khalid Khani, after collecting materials from the Sanskrit manuscripts found in the archives of the Jvalamukhi temple, wrote in verse his Dald’il-i-Firuz Shdhl on natural philosophy, auguries and omens 23 He established many mosques, colleges, monasteries, etc. for the promotion of learning.

Shams-i-Siraj ‘Afif 24 (d. A.D. 1398-99), following his precursor, Ziya-ud-din Barani, wrote the Tdrlkh-i-Flruz Shdhl, a history of the reign of Firuz Shah (A.D. 1351-88) in five parts, each comprising eighteen muqaddimas. It is a continuation of an earlier work of the same name by Ziya-ud-din Barani. It was edited by Maulavl Vilayat Husain in the Bibliotheca Indica series in A.D. 1890.

Muhammad Bihamad Khani 25 wrote a general history, the Tdrlkh-i-Muhammadl, covering a period from the time of the Prophet to A.D. 1438-39. His father Bihamad Khan was in the service of Firuz Khan, the minister of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah II (A.D. 1388-89). In the latter part of his life the author, who was a soldier by profession, became a disciple of Shaikh Yusuf Budah 26 (d. 1430-31) and led a saintly life.

Yahya bin Ahmad of Sirhind compiled the Tdrlkh-i-Mubdrak Shdhl 21 for Mu'izz-ud-din Mubarak Shah II (A.D. 1421-34) of the Sayyid dynasty, to which reference has been made above. 27a

Being desirous of ascertaining his pedigree, Sayyid Mu‘In-ulHaqq, son of Shihab-ul-Haqq, compiled the Manba-ul-Ansab , 28 a genealogical account of the Sayyids of Bhakhar in about A.D. 1426-27,

Ibrahim Qivam Faruql wrote a lexicon known as Farhang-i Ibrdhlml 29 or Sharajndma-i-Ibrdhimi. Being a disciple of the celebrated saint Sharaf-ud-dln Ahmad Muniarl, the author named his work Sharafndma-i-Ahmad Muniarl. This work has been mentioned as one of the sources of the later lexicographical works such as Tuhfat-us-Sa‘ddat, and Mu’ayyid-ul-Fuzala. It was compiled during the reign of Rukn-ud-dln Barbak Shah (A.D. 1459-74) of Bengal.

Khvaja Mahmud Gavan, 30 the famous minister of the Bahmani kingdom and son of Shaikh Muhammad GllanI, came to India in A.D. 1455. Besides being a general and statesman he was an erudite scholar and poet. The

Bahmani kings were all learned themselves, and were great patrons of learning. Among them Sultan Taj-uddln Flruz Shah (A.D. 1397-1422) stands foremost in learning. He took a keen interest in astronomy and ordered an observatory to be built at Daulatabad under the supervision of the eminent astronomers Hakim Hasan of Gllan and Sayyid Mahmud of Kazirun. But as ill-luck would have it, the work was never completed on account of the internal disturbances in the kingdom and the untimely death of Hakim Hasan. Mahmud Gavan was on friendly terms with ‘Abdur-Rahman Jam! whom he once invited to visit the Deccan. He collected his letters in the form of a book called the Riyaz-ul-Inshd. He also wrote the Mandzir-ul-Insha on the art of literary composition and left a divan which is no longer extant. Mulla ‘Abdul Karim 31 of Hamadan, who was attached to Mahmud Gavan, wrote a history of Gujarat called the Ma’asir-i-Mahmud Shahi, which Khvaja Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad mentions as one of his sources for his Tabaqdt-i-Akbarl? 2

Fazlu’llah Zain-ul-‘AbidIn, entitled Sadar-i-Jahan, who was the son of Husain Ziya’I, flourished during the reign of Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat (A.D. 1458-1511). He wrote a general history known as the Tdrikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahdn covering the period from the earliest time to the 9th century A.H. The correct title of this history is not known. Incomplete manuscripts of this work are available in the British Museum. 33

Mahmud Ayaz wrote the Miftdh-us-Surur-i-Adil Shahi 34 in about A.D. 1516, for his patron Yusuf ‘Adil Shah. This work deals with topics like sexual intercourse, peculiarities and properties of women, etc.

Muhammad bin Lad of Delhi compiled a valuable lexicon called the Mu’ayyid-ul-Fuzald 35 (Aids to Scholars). According to Blochmann it was written in A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519). This work, as claimed by the author, 36 is of great help for the study of Firdausi’s Shdhnama, Nizami’s Khamsa, Sanai’s poems and the divans of other classical poets.

‘Abdullah bin Safi translated into Persian the Sanskrit work on farriery, Sdlihotra of Durgarasi, 37 by the order of the Bahmanid king Ahmad Shah I (A.D. 1422-36). The work begins with the “legendary account of the creation of the horse which is said to have been originally endowed with wings.” 38

Another treatise on the selection and treatment of horses was translated from the original Sanskrit Sdlihotra 39 during the reign of the Khaljl King of Malwa, Ghiyas-ud-dln (A.D. 1469-1500). It deals with the various breeds of horses, their blemishes, their diseases and cures, diet and food, etc.

A treatise on Indian medicine called Ma‘dan-ush-Shija-i-Sikandarl or Tibb-i-Sikandari 40 was compiled and translated from Sanskrit works by the Miyan Bhuvah, son of Khavas Khan. As Greek medicine was not suitable for Indian constitution, he wrote this work with the permission of Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1489-1517).

Being prevailed upon by his friends, Mahmud bin Shaikh Ziya wrote a Persian dictionary called the Tuhfat-us-sa‘ddat Al in A.D. 1510. The author dedicated this work to Sultan Sikandar Lodi and so it is also named Farhang-i-Sikandari.

* Several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian,—a work on astronomy, as noted above, the Persian version of which, made by one ‘Azlz-ud-dln Khalid KirmanI was given the name of Dala‘il-iFiruz Shdhi, and a work on music and dancing which was translated by ‘Abdul ‘Aziz Shams of Thaneswar. 42 The first masnavi in Hindi was also written during the Tughluq period. It contained the romantic story of Lorik and Chanda, adopted probably from a Sanskrit original. The work, which was dedicated to Juna Khan, son of the wazir , Khan-i-Jahan, became very popular, and, according to Badauni, a well known divine, Makhdum Taql-ud-dln Rabbani, used to recite verses from it while addressing the congregations for the Friday prayers. Other scholars were busy compiling theological works under the patronage of the kings of Jaunpur. Of these the names of Shihab-ud-dln Daulatabadi, the author of a Persian commentary of the Qur’an entitled Bahr-i-Mawwaj, who lived in the reign of Ibrahim Sharql, deserves special mention. He wrote several other works also and is reckoned among the foremost scholars of the pre-Mughul period.

PERSIAN LITERATURE

*The period of Sayyid and Lodi kings (1414-1526) saw further development of the Muslim sciences, including philosophy. Many foreign scholars were attracted to Sultan Sikandar's court on hearing the fame of his magnificence. Among them mention may be made of Rafi-ud-dln Shlrazi, an Iranian scholar of considerable repute. Philosophic studies were specially promoted in the capital by the arrival there of two scholars, Shaikh 'Abdullah TulanbI and Shaikh 'Azlzullah from Multan, who had already established a centre in the latter city. This was during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, in some respects the greatest of the Lodi monarchs and a generous patron of poets and scholars. He was himself a poet and wrote fairly elegant verses under the pen-name of Gulrukhl. Reference has already been made above to two works, based on Sanskrit originals, written during his reign.

*The greatest poet of the Lodi age was Shaikh Jamal-ud-dln of Delhi, entitled Shaikh Jamal! Kanboh, who had travelled widely and had met the great Persian master, Jam!, at Herat. He lived to see the fall of the Lodi kingdom and the installation, on the throne of Delhi, of Babur whom he has praised in some of his odes. He is the author of two well-known works, the Siyar-ul-Arifin and the masnavi, Mihr-u-Mcih. This period produced the well-known Sufi Saint, 'Abdul Quddus of Gangoh who incurred the displeasure of Babur by his support to the hapless Lodi king, Sultan Ibrahim, who died fighting in the fateful battle of Panipat in 1526. His tomb is counted among the most important Muslim shrines in India, and attracts a large number of visitors.

Reference has been made above 43 to the literary contributions of the Sufis in India. Ibn Batutah reports in his Rehlah that he met different Sufis during his visit to Ceylon and India. 44 During the period under review Muslim saints made an important contribution towards the development of Persian language and literature in India.

Sharf-ud-dln bu-'AlI Qalandar (d. A.D. 1324) wrote the Maktubdt (Epistles), the Hikmatnama (The Book of Wisdom), the Hukmnama-i-Shaikh bu-All Qalandar (The Commands of bu- e All Qalandar), and the Masnavl-i-bii-All Qalandar.

Khvaja Muhammad Imam 45 (d. A.D. 1335), the grandson of Shaikh Farld-ud-dln, wrote the Aniodr-ul-Majdlis (Illumination of Assemblies) which contains a collection of the sayings of Nizam-uddin Auliya.

Hasan ‘Ala’I Sanjarl, better known as Mir Hasan Dihlavl (already noticed above), collected the utterances of his spiritual preceptor Nizam-ud-din Auliya in his Fawd’id-ul-Fu’ad 46 (Profitable to the Heart).

Ziya-ud-din BaranI (already mentioned before), also a disciple of Nizam-ud-dln Auliya and the author of the famous historical work Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shdhi, wrote his own mystical experience under the title of the Hasratndma (Book of Regret).

Farid-ud-din 47 (d. A.D. 1351) wrote the Surur-us-Sudur (Pleasure of Hearts), a collection of the sayings of Hamld-ud-din Naguri.

Ziya-ud-din Nakhshabi 48 (d. A.D. 1350), the vicegerent of Shaikh Farid, was the author of the Silk-us-Suluk (The Mystic Path) and the Sharh-i-Du e d-i-Surydrii (Explanation of a Syrian Prayer).

The authorship of the Addb-ut-Talibin (The Ways of the Seekers) and the Intibdh-ul-Mundin (The Awakening of the Disciples) is attributed to Nasir-ud-din C-hiragh-i-Dihli. 49

The authorship of the Khair-ul-Majdlis (The Best of the Assemblies), which contains a collection of the sayings of Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Dihli, is ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Qalandar (d. A.D. 1367).

Sayyid Muhammad 50 bin Mubarak Kirmani (d. A.D. 1368), a disciple of Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Dihli, was the author of the Siyarul-Auliyd (Lives of Saints).

Yusuf Gada (d. 1372), who also was one of the disciples of Nasirud-din Chiragh-i-Dihli, wrote the Tuhfat-un-Nasd’in 51 (A Gift of Admonitions) in A.D. 1351 for his son Abu-T-Fath. This work deals with the duties and observances of a Muslim.

‘Abdul Muqtadir (d. A.D. 1389), who sat at the feet of the same illustrious saint, was the author of the Mandqib-us-Siddiqm (Virtues of the Confirmers of Truth) which contains an account of saints of the Chishti order.

Shaikh Sharaf-ud-din Ahmad bin Yahya (d. A.D. 1381) of Munyar, a village in Bihar, was the disciple of Shaikh Najib-ud-din Firdausi. 52 He is said to have written many treatises on Islamic mysticism. Among them are the Irshad-us-Sdlikm wa Burhan-ul c A^ifin 53 on the principles of Sufiism and the Fawd'id-i-Rukni 54 on Sufi Doctrines. Zain Badr 'Arab! collected his epistles on Sufi topics under the title of Maktubat. 55

Mir Sayyid Ashraf Jahangir Simnani 56 (d. circa A.D. 1436-37) was the author of two treatises on Sufiism, namely Bashdrat-ulMuridtn (Glad Tidings for the Disciples) and the Maktubat (Epistles).

Sayyid Muhammad, better known under his surname Gisudaraz 57 (A.D. 1321-1422), was a favourite disciple of Nasir-ud-din

Chiragh-i-Dihll, whose sayings he collected under the title of Jawdmi-ul-Kilam. Flruz Shah Bahmanl and his successor Ahmad Shah held him in great esteem. 58

Shir Khan Bak (put to death in A.D. 1397-8), poetically surnamed Mas'ud, 39 was the disciple of Shaikh Rukn-ud-dln bin Shihab-ud-dln Imam. He wrote the Yusuf wa Zulaikhd , imitation of Jami's work of the same name, and the Mir'at-ul-Arifin (Mirror of the Mystics).

Sayyid Muhammad 60 bin Ja'far (d. A.D. 1486), who had the honour of being the chief disciple of Naslr-ud-dm Chiragh-i-Dihll wrote several treatises on religious subjects. On Sufiism he wrote the Bdhr-ul-Ma c dni (Ocean of Mystical Meanings), containing thirtysix letters dealing with various Sufi topics, and Asrdr-i-Ruh on the mysteries of soul. 61

It will be seen that during the period under discussion the contributors to Persian learning in India were mostly Persians by nationality or persons of Persian origin. The foundation was nevertheless well laid for a Persian literature—historical, literary and religious—which was destined to exercise a potent and appreciable influence on the contemporary and later languages, literatures and religious thoughts of India.

The art of writing history, which Persian learning brought in its trail, proved fruitful in setting a good example to the country which, from this period onward, produced historical records in different parts and provinces.

A. SANSKRIT

1. Vol. V, pp. 297 f.

2. De, HSU. 332; Krishnamachariar (HCSL . 210) gives the number as 7.

3. Written under the name Vidyanatha— HCSL. 214 f. De does not refer to the name Agastya. Prataparudrayasobhushana will be considered below under ‘^Poetics and Dramaturgy”.

4. Rukmimkalydna by Rajachudamani DIkshita pertains to the seventeenth century.

5. Lolimbaraja has also written Vaidyajivana

6. For Ramabhyudaya by Ramadeva Vyasa, see under “Nataka” (below, p. 471).

7. For Vidyaranya, see above, pp. 272, 321-3.

8. He also wrote Bhringasandesa, referred to later. Another Vasudeva, under the patronage of king Adityavarman (15th century), wrote the Ramakatha, Govindacharita and many other works.

8a. Above pp. 85-6.

9. Gode (JUB , Sept, 1940. 101-115) has assigned the work to the period between 1458 and 1469.

10. Madhurd-vijaya by Gangadevi has been described later under the section on “Women Poets” (see below p. 469). For Historical Kavyas, cf. also Ch. I.

11. De (HSL. 298) places Uddanda in the middle of the 17th century.

12. H. D. Sharma has prepared “An Analysis of the Authorities quoted in the &drnga,dharapaddhati ” (ABORI , XVIII. 77-84).

13. Referred to earlier under “Didactic” (see above, p. 467).

14. This work is a champu, and is referred to later under “Chamups”. Achyutaraya was the successor of Krishnadevaraya (see above, pp. 309 ff.).

15. If Vidyaranya mentioned in the play be identical with the famous scholar of Vijayanagara it can be assigned to the middle of the 14th century (HCSL . 651).

16. Visvarupa Krishnabhatta has written a drama Murarivijaya on the same theme 0CC, I. 462; II. 106).

17. The kings of Vijayanagara were authors of many works, and so were their court poets, the Dindimas.

18. This short drama forms the third chapter of Prataparudrayasobhushana written by Vidyanatha in honour of his patron.

19. E. V. V. Raghavacharya (JVORI, II. 85 ff) places Varadacharya in the 14th century, while De would place him “in the latter half of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century” (HSL. 487, fn. 3), and Krishnamachariar “in the latter half of the 18th century” (HCSL. 665).

20. Chatter ji, POC, IV, 2. 556; De, HSL. 497. Keith (SD 261) identifies the king (wrongly named as Narasimha in some MSS) with Narasimha of Vijayanagara. See also Gode, SILH, I. 378. For the date of Harasimha see above, p. 398.

21. Cf. Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 665 and 243.

22. Among the very late dramas may be mentioned the HaTagaurlvivdha of Jagajjyotirmalla of Nepal, the Sridamacharita of Samaraja DIkshita, the J anaklparinaya of Ramabhadra DIkshita, the Adbhutadarpana of Mahadeva (depicting the happenings at Lanka in a magic mirror), the Anandasundarl of Ghanasyama and the Sringdramanjari of Visvesvara, both being of the Sattaka type, the Kautukaratnakara of Lakshmana Manikyadeva and the Dhurtanartaka of Samaraja DIkshita, both being Prahasanas, the

Saradatilaka of Sankara, and the Srihgarasarvasva of Nallakavi which are Bhanas of the usual type

23. For versions of the Brihatkatha, see Vol. V, p. 313 f.

24. Rudradhara, who was a pupil of Chandesvara and the author of Krityachandrika, Vivddachandrika and Sraddhachandrikd, appears to be a different person. (KHDS, I. 398).

25. For eleven works with the title Chintamani and five with Nirnaya, see KHDS, I. 399-402.

26. For the date of his two patron kings, see above, p. 407. This Vachaspati is often confounded with the great philosopher Vachaspati, author of Bhamatl and several philosophical works, who flourished in the ninth century (Vol. IV, p. 203 ff). Another Vachaspati, author of Smritisdrasamgraha, flourished in the latter half of the 18th century. KHDS, I. 405.

27. Cf. KHDS, I. 394.

28. KHDS, I. 415.

29. The list is given in n. 1018 on p. 416 of KHDS, I

29a. See p. 408

30. Quite distinct from his namesake of the Kakatlya dynasty mentioned, earlier.

31. KHDS, I. 406- The sections, called sdra , the samskdra, dhnika, sraddha, k,ala vyavahara, prayaschitta, kaTmavipdka, vrata, dana, sdnti, tlrthas, and pratishtha▪

31a. The date of Vijhanabhikshu is given as second half of the sixteenth century and middle of the seventeenth, respectively, by Winternitz (GIL, III. 457) and Keith (HSL. 489) (Ed.).

32. Cf. Gode, PO, IX. 11-19.

33. Vol. V, p. 320.

34. Not 1437 as wrongly interpreted by Stein and followed by some scholars. Cf. Kane, HSP. 296; also, Gode, ABORI, XVI. 145-7.

35. Dr. Raja refutes the views of Krishnamachariar that the authors of Rasdrnavasudhakara and the commentary on Sangltaratndkara were different, and that Visvesvara was the author of Rasdrnavasudhdka'ra. (Raja, Sangltarat'ivdkara, intr. xvii; Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 771).

35a. For the Reddi Kings, see p. 363.

36. Madras Catalogue. XXII, No. 12965, pp. 8708-10. Tanjore Catalogue (IX. No. 5309, p. 4100), however, describes the same work as containing 13 chapters.

37. De, SP, I. 237; Krishnamachariar, HCSL. 773.

38. Sangltaratnakara, intr. xi. HCSL. 853.

39. Hammlra, who refers to Jaitrasimha as an earlier writer in his Sangltasringdrahara, was probably the king of Mewar mentioned above on p. 327 HCSL. 859 f.

40. See Vol. V, p. 326; also Gode, ABORI, XVII. 397-9.

41. Cf. Gode, IHQ, XV. 512-22.

42. See above, p. 471.

43. Cf. Gode, JOR, XIV. 74-81.

44. For Chandesvara, see above, pp. 397-8.

B. SANSKRITIC

1. Cf. Vol. V, p. 389.

la. Cf. Vol. V, pp. 352, 359, 361.

lb. He has also been placed in the 9th century, which is, however, not very likely.

2. For Kabir, cf. Ch. XVI, D. 2.

3. Cf. Vol. Ill, pp. 327 ff.

4. Cf. Ch. XVI, D. 1.

5. Cf. Ch. XVI, C, 2. b.

6. Edited by Muni Sri Jinavijayaji, with a study of the new Indo-Aryan speech, Old Kosall or AwadhI, employed in the work, by Suniti Kumar Chaterji, SJS, No. 39, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953.

7. See, "An Illustrated Avadhi MS. of Laurchanda in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras," by Rai Krishnadas, Lalit Kala, April, 1955-March 1956, pp. 65-71; Lalit Kala Akadami, New Delhi.

7a. Indo-Asian Culture, July, 1958, pp. 50-71. For the Sumra kings, see above, pp. 221 ff.

8. See above, p. 19.

9. For the history of the Marathi literature up to A.D. 1350, cf. Vol. V, pp. 351-7.

10. Vol. V, pp. 358-61.

11. Edited by Hare Krishna Mukherji, Sahityaratna and Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Vanglya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, Bengali year 1341 (1934).

12. See above, pp. 205 ff.

13. Edited by Pandit Babua Misra and Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940.

14. First published by MM. Haraprasad Sastri.

14a. For Kamata, see above, pp. 388 ff.

15. See above, Vol. V, pp. 44-5.

16. Some refer it to the eleventh, and others to the sixteenth, century A.D. (PAIOC , VI, 382, JAHRS, V. 197) (Ed.).

17. The author of this section was in favour of phonetic spelling of proper names. But it has not always been possible to retain such spellings, for the sake of maintaining uniformity with the preceding volumes. The following forms, e.g., have been used in place of those within brackets: Punjab (Panjab), M5rwar (Marwad), Khariboli (Khariboli), Garhwal (Garhwal), Padumavati (Padumawati). (Ed.).

C. DRAVIDIAN

I. Tamil Literature.

1. Twelve Standard Tamil Poets, 11.

2. C. R. Sankaran & K. Rama Varma Raya, Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, V. 265.

3. Studies in Saiva Siddhanta, 331.

II. Kannada Literature.

1. An abstract of the portion relating to Basava's life has been done into English by the Rev. G. Wurth in JBBRAS, 1905-1906.

2. E. P. Rice, Kanarese Literature , 66.

3. I am indebted to Dr. S. C. Nandimath and the late Professor S. S. Basawanal for help in the Kannada section, and to my junior colleague Mr. L. S. R. Krishna Sastri for help in the Telugu section. K.R.S.

III. Telugu Literature

1. Above, Vol. IV, 374.

2. Ibid.

IV. Malay alam Literature.

1. M. Srinivasa Iyengar, Tamil Studies, 374.

D. ARABIC

1. ‘Abdu’l-Qadir Badauni, Muntakhabu’t-Tawarikh i. 53 (Text), B. I. Calcutta, 1868.

2. ‘Abdu’l-Hayy, Kitabu’l-Fawa’idi’l-Bahiyyah fl Tardjimi’l-Hanafiyyah, p. 63, Egypt, A. H. 1324; Rahman ‘All, Tazki^a-i ‘Ulama’-i Hind , p. 48, Lucknow, 1914.

3. Sayyid ‘Abdul Hayy, Nuzhatu’l-Khawdtir wa Bahja^u’l-Masami‘i ica’n-Nawazir p. 65, Hyderabad (Deccan), A. H. 1350.

4. Ibid, p. 116.

5. Muhammad Qasim Firishta, Tarikh-i Firishta , i, 212-13, Bombay, 1832.

6. Ahlwardt, Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Berlin Library No. 876.

7. Ibid, No. 4046.

8. Ibid, Nos. 1798-99.

9. Ibid,, No. 3349.

10. Ibid, No. 3348.

11. Nuzhatu’l-Khawdtir, p. 95.

12. Ahlwardt, Cat. Arab. Mss., Berlin, No. 4862; Hidayat Hosain, Descriptive Catalogue of Arabic MSS., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 482.

13. Ahlwardt. Cat. Arab. MSS., Berlin, No. 4384.

14. Ahlwardt, Cat. Arab. MSS., Berlin, No. 4334, p. 95.

15. Ibid., 3322.

16. ‘Abdu’l-Hamld, Miftdhu’l-Kunuz (A hand list of Arabic MSS. in the Bankipore Library), p. 990.

17. Nuzhatu’l-Khawdtir p. 95; Fawa’idu’l-Bahiyyah, 148.

18. A Hand-list of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu Books and MSS. in the Asafiyyah Library, vol. ii, p. 1096, Hyderabad, A. H. 1332-47; Ahlwardt, Cat. Arab. MSS. Berlin, No. 4862.

19. JamI, Nafahatu’l-Uns, pp. 389-400, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1915.

20. Hand-written Catalogue of Arabic, Delhi MSS. in the India Office Library, p. 981 b.

21. Rieu, Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the British Museum, 890 ii.

22. Asafiyyah iii, 268; Rieu, Cat. Arab. MSS., Br. Museum, No. 890 i

23. Rieu, Cat. Arab, MSS., Br. Museum, No. 830 v.

24. Firishta, i, 607; ii, 748. For dates of the Kings, cf. pp. 254, 258

25. Asafiyyah i, 372.

28. Cat. Arab. Delhi MSS., India office, No. 1952.

27. Otto Loth, Cat. Arab. MSS-, India Office Library, Nos. 97-98 C. A. Storey and A. J. Arberry, Cat. Arab. MSS. Vol. II, India Office, No. 1142. This work has been published in Hyderabad.

28. Asafiyyah ii, 1096

29. Storey & Arberry, Cat. Arab. MSS., India Office, 1328.

30. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, Abjadu'l-Ulum iii, 894; Ghulam 'All Azad, Subhatu'l-Marjan, p. 42; Tadhkira-i 'Ulama'-i Hind, p. 76.

31. C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Little^atur ii, 221.

32. Hidayat Hosain, Descriptive Cat. Arab. MSS- , R. A. S. B. No. 581.

33. Abjadu'WUlum, iii, 806.

34. Firishta ii, 595; Abjadu'l-Ulum, iii, 895; Encyclopaedia of Islam i, 932.

35. A Hand List of the Arabic Books and Mss. of the Rampur State Library p. 525; Ashraf 'All Cat. of Arab. Books and MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, B-3, 1899

36. Cat. Arab. Delhi MSS., India Office, No. 1166; Loth Cat. Arab. MSS., India Office, No. 937, Ashraf Ali Cat. Arab Books and MSS. A. S. B. B-26 and 27; Hand-list, Rampur, 545.

37. Hand-List , Rampur, 314.

38. Abjadu'l-Ulum, iii. 892; Nuzhatu'l-Khawdtir, p. 165.

39. Cat. of Arab, and Pers. Books and MSS. in the Library of the Nadwatu'l'Ulama', Lucknow, 721.

40. 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Akhbdru'l-Akhyar fl Asrdri'l-AbraX, p. 142, Delhi, A. H. 1309.

41. Ibid., p. 142.

42. Nuzhatu'l-Khawdtir, p. 165; Elliott, History of India, iv, 486.

43. Ibid., 165; ibid, iv, 486.

44. Tazkira-i'Ulama'-i-Hind, p. 256

45. Loth, Cat. Arab . MSS- India Office, No. 964.

46. Ibid., No. 967; Ahlwardt, Cat. Arab. MSS- Berlin 6727.

47. Loth, Cat. Arab. MSS-, India Office, No. 972, Hand-List, Rampur p. 556.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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48. Ashraf ‘All, Cat. Arab. Books and MSS- , A. S B., No. B-59.

49. For the sake of maintaining uniformity, the author’s system of transliteration could not be fully adopted in this and the next section. The Hijrl year, given by the author is substituted by the year in A.D. which corresponds to the major part of the Hijrl year (Ed.).

E. PERSIAN

1. Firishta, (Text) Bombay, 1832, I 110; Minhaj-i-Siraj, Tabaqat-i-Ndsiri, (Text) ed. N. Lees. B. I. 1863, 138; ‘Abdul Qadir Badauni, Muntakhab-ut-Tawdrikh (Text) ed. Ahmad ‘Ali, B. I. 1868, I, 55, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, TA, ed. B. De, 1927, I, 42.

2. Badaunl, op.cit., I, 65; Lutf ‘All Beg Azar, Atashkanda, Lithograph edition, Bombay, A. H. 1277/A. D. 1860-61, 124.

3. Badaunl, op. cit., I, 65; Muhammad ‘Awfi, Lubab-ul-Albab, ed. E. G. Browne, London-Leyden, 1903, II, 282.

4. Badaunl, op. cit., I, 67.

5. CPBM, 749-50; Habib-us-siyar, II, Juz 4, p. 163; Firishta, op. cit. I, 117.

6. Badaunl, op. cit., I, 70, 96-127.

7. CPBM, 72-3; HIED, II, 259-383. 5

8. It may be noted that Ghiyas-ud-din Balban’s son Muhammad, better known as Khan-i-Shahid (d. A.H. 684/A.D. 1285-86), twice invited Sa‘dl of

Shiraz to his court at Multan. Vide Barani Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shdhl Text, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan B. I. 1862, p. 68, Badaunl, op. cit., I, 130.

9. Amin Ahmad Razi, Haft Iqlim, fol. 107a, MS. No. 706 of the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

10. For a detail study of Khusrav's life and works, cf. CPBM. 609 ff, 98-100; Shibli, Shi c r-ul-A)am, Azamgarh, II, 107-95; Dr. Mohammad Wahid Mirza, The Life and Works of Amir Khusrav, Calcutta, 1935; Mahammad Habib, Haz^at Amir Khusrav of Delhi, Bombay, 1927; Md. Said Ahmad, Hayat-iKhusrau, Lahore, 1909

11. CPBM, 618; Barani, Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shahi, 67, 359-60; AA, 100-102 Firishta, op. cit., I, 214, II, 737; Sprenger, A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustany Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh, Calcutta, 1854,

418.

12. Firishta, op. cit., I, 214; Barani, op. cit., p. 360. . ■

13. Badaunl, op. cit., I, 201, 226. For the date of the removal to Daulatabad. See above, p. 66.

14. Barani, op. cit. 360. Firishta, op. cit. I, 214.

15. Encyclopaedia of Islam, II, 386.

16. See above pp. 8-9.

17. CPBM, 333; HIED, III, 93, VI, 484; AA, 102-104.

18. CPBM, 1031-32; Sprenger, op. cit. 367; Badaunl op. cit., I, 241.

19. This work has been edited by Dr. A. Mahdi Husain and Lithographed at Agra in 1938. For further details about 'Isami and his Futuh-us-Saldtin see CP MI, Cols. 559-60.

20. See above, pp. 248 ff.

21. TA, I, 239; Firishta, I, 271; HIED III, 374-88; CPBM, 920.

22. See above, pp. 3, 98, 103 ff.

23. TA, I, 233, Firishta, I, 266- See above, p. 101.

24. CPBM, 242, HIED. Ill, 267-373. See above, p. 3, where the date of his death is given as somewhat later.

25. CPBM. 84-86.

26. AA. 151-52.

27. CPBM. 1010; HIED, IV, 6-88. This work has been edited by M. Hidayat Husain, BI, 1931.

27a. See above, pp. 4-5.

28. CPBM, 348.

on fPRM 4Q9.QR- CPMT Colq 13R5-3R

30! CPBM, 527-28,' 983; CPML Cols. 1132-33; Sachau, and Ethe, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts ,in the Bodleian Library, Part I, Cols. 830-31; Firishta op. cit., 653, 655, 663, 672 & 692; V/. Ivanow, Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. 149-50; See SHamid-ud-din Ahmad's article 'Mahmud Gavan' published in the Muslim Review,

III. No. 2, 35-52 and No. 3, 50-62, Calcutta, 1928-29. See above pp. 261 ff.

31. CPBM, 966-67.

32. TA (Text) I, 3.

33. CPBM, pp. 86-87, 885, 1079

34. CPMI, Cols. 1262-63.

35. CPBM, 494; E. G. Browne, A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 227-28; CPMI, Cols. 1337-38/, Nos. 245964. This work has been lithographed in two volumes at Kanpur (in A.H. 1302/A. D. 1884-5 and in A. D. 1899/A. H. 1317).

36. Mu } ayyid-ul- Fuzala, Kanpur, 1899, I, 3.

37. CPMB , 480-81.

38. Ibid, 481.

39. Elliot, Bibliographical Index, 263, CPBM, 481.

40. CPBM, 471-73; Mehren, Copenhagen Catalogue, 10.

41. CPBM, 493-94; CPMI, Col. 1336.

42. BadaunI, (Cal. ed. 1931), I, 250.

43. Above, Vol. V. 467 ff.

44. Defremery and Sanguinetti, Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah, II, 78-9, IV, 171, 172, 175 and 199; Gibb, Ibn Battuta, 95, 96, 256, 257 and 264.

45. AA, 95; Muhammad Mubarak Kirmani, Siyar-ul-Auliya, Delhi, A. H. 1302, 199-201.

46. 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi says that his work enjoyed the highest authority with the disciples of Nizam-ud-dln Auliya (See AA, 100-101.).

47 AA 73.

48*. A A, 104-108; CPMI, Nos. 1838 and 1839.

49. CPBM, 41; Siyar-ul-Auliya, 236-47; A A, 80-86.

50. CPBM, 976; A A, 96-97.

51. CPMI, Nos. 2559-2560.

52. AA, 116-21; Abu-l-Fazl, Ain-i Akbari (ed Blochmann) BI, 1877 II, 219; CPBM, 492.

53. CPMI, No. 1849, Cols- 1020-21; ‘Abdul Muqtadir, Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore Vol. XVII, 93-94.

54. Ibid, XVII, 95. No. 1615.

55. CPMI, Nos. 1843-48, Cols. 1008-1020; Ivanow, Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 574.

56. A A, 161-63; CPBM, 412-13; ‘Abdul Muqtadir, Catalogue Raisonne of the Buhdr Library, Nos- 175 and 176, Vol. I, 135-36.

57. CPBM, 347-48; CPMI, Nos. 1856-63; Stewart, Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of Tippo Sultan of Mysore Cambridge, 1809, 30 and 37; AA 129-34.

58. Firishta, (Text), I, 607, II, 748; Briggs, Firishta,II, 388, 398.

59. CPMI, No. 1854; A A pp. 164-67.

60. AA. 134-39; CPMI, Nos 1867-69. W. Ivanow, Concise Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nos- 1234-37, 588-89.

61. For other literary works, See Ch. XVI, B.

Chapter XVI

RELIGION

A. General Review

We have a fairly definite idea of the religious condition of India at the opening of the fourteenth century. Buddhism had practically disappeared, as a separate religious sect, from the land of its birth, and the hold of Jainism was confined to a narrow region in the west. Islam was yet confined to a number of scattered settlements in Northern India and a fringe of South Indian coast. The orthodox Brahmanism reigned supreme over nearly the whole of India, but it had ceased to be a homogeneous sect, and was practically a heterogeneous compound of the relics of the various developments in the past to which reference has been made in the preceding volumes. One great peculiarity of Indian culture is that it adds to, but seldom altogether supersedes, the old institutions, and faithfully preserves, as far as possible, all relics of the past, even though they are hidden, or changed beyond recognition, by later growths. Leaving aside the minor sub-sects we still find the religion of the Vedic period with all its sacrificial rituals minutely preserved and even elaborated by the Mimamsa School, side by side with the powerful major sects of the Vaishnavas, Saivas, Saktas and Tantrikas (including Buddhist Sahajiyas), together with their sub-sects, and various other minor religious sects and popular cults mentioned in the preceding volumes.

But the most characteristic feature of the religious evolution of the period was the prominence attained by a number of devotees who are generally labelled as saints or mystics. These medieval saints, who have shed a lustre on the age, possessed certain distinctive characteristics in common. They were non-sectarian in the sense that they were not affiliated to, or at least were not leading members of, any particular sect, and had no desire to establish a separate religious sect of their own. These saints were free from the bondage of any particular creed and had not blind faith in any sacred scriptures: they attained illumination by individual exertion through freedom of thought and self-culture. They did not observe any rituals or ceremonies, nor followed any dogma, and most of them severely denounced idolatry. They condemned polytheism, believed in one God, and, what is more important, realized the unity of God invoked by various religious sects under different names such as Krishna, Rama, !§iva, Allah, etc. They believed in

bhakti (love or devotion) as the only means of salvation, and gave a very comprehensive interpretation and profoundly psychological analysis of the conception of bhakti• This may be said to be their chief and permanent contribution to the religious thoughts of India. With them bhakti meant single-minded, uninterrupted and extreme devotion to God without any ultimate motive (ahaituki), growing gradually into an intense love. This love was akin to love of a man for dear and near ones, and is graded by some into clear categories by analogies with human relations, such as devotion of a servant to a master, love between friends, affection of a mother for a child, and lastly the all-absorbing passion of a lover for his beloved. Brahman, the Supreme God, or ultimate reality, called as Rama, Hari, Krishna and by any other name or abstract idea, was the source of all joys or eternal bliss, and was conceived as the supreme beloved. God, it was maintained, does not live in a temple but in the heart of man, and the physical body was regarded as the abode of all truth. The realization of all this, and the approach to God through personal love and devotion alone, form the foundation of religious life. It is not, of course, an easy task, and requires purification of body and mind from all sins. All this is hard to achieve without the help of a guru or religious preceptor. But even a guru, however spiritually illumined he may be, cannot lead to salvation or final emancipation, which depends on the grace (prasdda) of God. For this purpose a complete self-surrender (prapatti) to Him on the part of the devotees is absolutely necessary.

These saints took into account the whole personality of man and therefore did not unduly emphasize his rational faculty. Religious truths and beliefs, they held, were not matters of pure reason alone, and a man’s passional and volitional nature must also be regarded as a valid contributing factor. In any case it should not be “rejected or excluded so long as it is not in direct conflict with the rational instincts of man.

These are, in brief, the essential principles preached by these saints, through simple aphorisms, parables, and maxims which brought home to even ordinary and uneducated persons the universal truths which were considered more valuable than sectarian doctrines or scriptural texts. As a rule these saints preached through vernaculars, rather than Sanskrit, for they wanted to uplift the masses. The same noble object led them to do away with the invidious distinctions of caste and bestow special care and attention upon the degraded and depressed classes.

The latitudinarianism, freedom of thought, and intense selfexertion in intellectual and spiritual spheres, which characterized the saints, undoubtedly generated in them a spirit of revolt and criticism, and no wonder that in spite of a frank recognition of their greatness, they or their followers were not always accorded a place within the orthodox fold. For this reason, if not for others, the followers of many of the saints were formed into close sects, against their avowed policy. Even when the followers of heterodox sects were accepted or tolerated, in course of time, by the orthodox section, they had to shed some of their characteristics, specially the heterodox views about castes or worship of images. Chaitanya’s Vaishnavism is even today a powerful factor in the religious life of Bengal; but the spirit with which the great leader embraced the Chandalas and Muslims and admitted them as his disciples, vanished long ago, and there is hardly any outward distinction today between a Vaishnava and an orthodox smarta Brahmana in Bengal. This has been the fate of the followers of most of the saints of Medieval India. The sect founded by Nlanak, though numerically small and confined to a narrow geographical area, is today the most powerful one that represents the idea of the medieval saints in this respect. It must be recognized, however, that it derives its importance, to a very large extent, from causes other than religious or spiritual. For the rest, the other great saints, whose followers have survived as separate entities, are represented today only by small scattered groups forming an insignificant element in the large body of Hinduism. These mystic saints have undoubtedly leavened the thoughts of India, but it is difficult to determine the nature and extent of their permanent influence on Hinduism. In any case, they failed to modify either the religious ideas and practices or the outward structure of the Hindu society to any appreciable extent.

The one great factor which facilitated the assimilation or absorption of the teachings of medieval saints was that their root lay deep into the soil of India. It would appear on a close analysis that there was nothing new in their fundamental conceptions. The belief in the unity of God, discarding of worship of images, and bhakti as the mode of salvation, were familiar concepts in India. The first two can be traced as far back as the time of the Rigveda, and have persisted throughout the ages side by side with a belief in the worship of a plurality of gods. This is best illustrated, in a practical manner, by the fact that Raja Ram Mohan Ray, in the nineteenth century, placed his doctrine of unqualified monotheism, bereft of rituals and idolatry, on the foundation of the Vedas and Upanishads, and not on any outside philosophy and religious system.

As to the cult of bhakti preached by the medieval saints, it was developed to a large extent by the Vaishnava sects during the early

centuries of the Christian era, and formed an important element in their doctrines ever since, as has been shown in the preceding volumes. Some of the characteristic doctrines of the medieval saints are echoed in the Upanishads. The following passage, occurring in two separate Upanishads, may serve as an example:

"That Self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by understanding, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained. The Self chooses him (his body) as his own". 1

Here we find the doctrine of grace coupled with a disbelief in the efficacy of scriptures as a means to salvation. The Upanishads also describe Brahman as being of the nature of bliss and the source of all human joys. The doctrine of prapatti (self-surrender) is also echoed in the Gita (XVIII. 66) in which Krishna says: "Give up all religious paths, and take refuge in me alone. I shall deliver thee from all sins. Sorrow not". The later Vaishnava literature—all earlier than the tenth century A.D.—not only develops and emphasizes the doctrines of prasuda and prapatti, but also defines bhakti as of the nature of intense love for god. The different grades and categories of such love, as mentioned above, culminating in that of the lover for the beloved, form the theme of texts like Bhagavata Parana and a somewhat later text, Jayadeva's Glta-Govinda (12th century A.D.). It is clear, therefore, that all the fundamental spiritual ideas of the medieval saints are expounded in the standard and well-known religious texts of the Hindus. Even the preaching in vernaculars and disregard of castes were the legacies of heterodox sects like Buddhism and Jainism. As a matter of fact the Sahajiya cult—the latest form of Buddhism—,which can be traced back to the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., bears a very close resemblance to the medieval mysticism, both in its spiritual and social aspects. The medieval saints, therefore, cannot be said to have introduced any new tenet. But their credit lies in the fact that by their precepts, and more by their examples, they placed the pure doctrine of bhakti on a high pedestal, above all rituals, ceremonies, and sectarian faiths and beliefs, and emphasized the role of intense, uninterrupted and unmotived love of God as the sole means of salvation. At a time when religious ideas tended to become dry, lifeless, and static, and rituals and ceremonialism took the place of spiritual enlightenment, the teachings and personalities of the saints galvanized the inert masses.

It must be understood, however, that the medieval mysticism, based upon bhakti , did not suddenly come into prominence during the period under review. Its origin can be traced to an earlier period, and the two great preachers of Maharashtra, Jnanadeva and

Namadeva, are justly regarded as precursors of the great movement. As their social and religious views have been discussed in connection with the history of Marathi literature in the preceding volume, 2 they are not separately discussed in this chapter. But they rank very high as mystic saints of Medieval India.

We find a parallel movement in Islam in the development of Sufiism, the origin and progress of which in India have been described above. 2a The Muslim mystics or Sufis were men of deep religious feelings, who led ascetic lives and laid emphasis on the practices of self-discipline as preparing the human for the intuitive knowledge of God. They soon developed a loving devotion to God with an element of ecstasy, and belief in the immanence of God in the sense that “all is in God”. A further development is to be found in the doctrine of ‘fana’, the annihilation of the Self, which means the annihilation of human attributes through union with God. They believed in soul, a spiritual substance, different from the body but akin to the universal soul. These were regarded as heretic doctrines and many Sufi preachers had to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their faith, though they regarded themselves as devout Muslims.

The Sufi doctrine was not only widely propagated in the Islamic world, but also further developed on Indian soil. Nizam-ud-din Auliya, to whom reference has been made above in connection with Muhammad Tughluq, was one of the greatest Sufis of the ChishtI order in India and a mighty spiritual force. He laid stress on the element of love as a means of the realization of God. The love of God implied, in his view, the love of humanity, and this ethical idea was strongly inculcated by him on the hearts of his disciples. His deep attachment to the idea of universal love is manifest from the following utterance: “O Muslims! I swear by God, that He holds dear those who love Him for the sake of human beings, and also those who love human beings for the sake of God. This is the only way to love and adore God.” 3 So the Sufis came to regard the service of humanity as part of mystic discipline. Some Sufis justified the pursuit of music, not sanctioned by orthodox Islam, on the ground that “a Sufi is a lover of God, and as such he stands in a different relation to God from others who are merely “ ‘dbd” or slaves. As music inflames the fire of love and helps in creating the supreme state of ecstasy it is permissible for those who have discretion.” 33

The Sufis were devout Muslims who moved within the limits of Shar‘ (Law of Islam) and believed it as the true way to salvation. They however “attached an esoteric significance to the teachings of Qur’an” and regarded inward light or intuitive experience as of far more importance than dogmatic formalism of the orthodox type. 4

The orthodox Muslims depend upon external conduct while the Sufis seek inner purity. The orthodox believe in blind obedience to, or observance of, religious rituals, while the Sufis think love to be the only means of reaching God. 5

The origin of medieval mysticism has formed a subject of keen and protracted discussion. Eminent European scholars like Weber held that the idea of hhakti as a means and condition of salvation was borrowed from Christianity. Similarly, Grierson regarded the monotheistic doctrine as a Christian idea. These are not regarded seriously by any scholar today. But the idea of borrowing is by no means dead, and Isliam is now substituted for Christianity as the source of both the ideas.

As has been demonstrated above, the fundamental doctrines of the medieval saints, including hhakti in the shape of an intense love for, and a belief in, one God, have been deep-rooted ideas on Indian soil, and nothing but the strongest positive evidence should incline one to accept the view that the medieval saints were indebted to Christianity, Islam or any other source. The evidence of such a close contact with Christianity as may reasonably support the idea of borrowing from each other is entirely lacking. The question is more complicated in regard to Islam. The contact between Islam and Hindu religious ideas before the twelfth century A.D. was so few and far between, that the chance and possibility of mutual influence in respect of philosophic views and fundamental religious doctrines are very remote indeed. The opinion of some scholars that §ahkaracharya’s monism was influenced by Islam would hardly commend itself to anybody. Things were, however, different from the thirteenth century onwards, when Islam established itself in India and dug its roots more and more deeply as centuries rolled by. There can be hardly any doubt that the impact of Islam was felt by the Hindus, and a class of Muslim thinkers was influenced by the rich heritage of thought in India. It is not, however, always easy to determine either the nature or the extent of the reciprocal influence,

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for, from the very nature of the case, positive or clear evidence is almost always lacking. 6 A comparison of the changes undergone by Hinduism and Islam by the end of the eighteenth century, when strong influence from the West began to modify their character still further, may perhaps give us some clear idea of the more or less permanent and substantial results of the mutual influence. Until such comparison is made, it is unwise to be dogmatic, one way or the other, even in respect of the period under review.

There is a strong body of opinion in favour of the view that medieval mysticism in India was mainly the result of the impact of

Islam. The protagonists of this view may be broadly divided into two classes, according as they regard the influence of Islam as the direct or the indirect cause.

It has been urged, for example, that Ramananda, with whom the medieval mysticism may be said to begin, "must have acquired knowledge of Islamic ideas, and perhaps was unconsciously inspired by them". 7 It is difficult either to prove or to disprove such a vague general statement. The same writer further observes that "the Bhakti movement of medieval India represents the first effective impingement on Hindu society of Islamic culture and outlook". 8 He admits that the "Bhakti cult was essentially indigenous" to India, but believes that "medieval Bhakti was radically new and basically different from old traditions and ideas of religious authority". In particular he lays stress on the principles of "universal brotherhood and human equality", 9 preached by Islam, and its "new social message of the worth of every human being in the sight of God". 10 It is, however, to be pointed out that the brotherhood of Islam did not extend beyond its own fold and can, by no stretch of imagination, be regarded as universal, if we accept the ordinary meaning of the word. According to Muslim tenets, the non-believers or Kafirs occupied a distinctly inferior position. Theoretically speaking, no religion or philosophy preached the universal brotherhood of man more eloquently than the Vedanta, which placed it on the fundamental basis of the identity of all individual souls, all being identical with Brahman. Of course, there was no practical application of this doctrine in social life. But neither the theory of Islam, nor its practice, as regards the Hindus, could appeal to the latter as bringing a new message of equality of men. The Hindus of the medieval age could be under no illusion on this point when they were forbidden to perform their own religious rites in public, denied political and civic rights on equal terms, and when Islam, as the State religion, could impose its legal system upon them. It would be idle to pretend, therefore, that the equality or brotherhood of Islam could have any other effect than a willing conversion to that faith in order to escape the rigorous distinctions of Hindu society and religion. As regards "old traditions and ideas of religious authored', the medieval saints could hardly find much difference between the orthodox Islam and orthodox Hinduism.

It is therefore hard to believe that medieval mysticism could owe much to the direct influence of orthodox Islam. It has been suggested that the somewhat heterodox views, beliefs, and practices of the Sufi sect of Islam had great influence over the medieval saints. There are undoubtedly some striking common features between the two, in particular the stress on the approach to God through love, intellect and intellectual life being regarded not only as valueless but almost as a positive hindrance. Among other similarities may be noted (1) physical exercises like restraining of breath, (2) service and submission to pir or guru, (3) recitation of sacred words, (4) toleration of other religions, and (5) belief in union with the Supreme Being through love and bhakti. The general liberal and unorthodox attitude regarding rituals and ceremonies is also another point common between them. It has been pointed out that not only in ideology, but also in the poetic representation of the same, there is a general similarity between the poetry of the medieval saints and Sufi poets on the one hand and the Buddhist Sahajiyas on the other. It is therefore argued that medieval mysticism is a product of the reaction of Sufiism against the Sahajiya background.

Though we must be cautious in making any dogmatic assertion of this kind, there is undoubtedly a great degree of plausibility in this view. It is hardly likely, from the very nature of the case, that orthodox Hinduism and orthodox Islam would act and react on each other, at least to any appreciable extent, and there is no tangible evidence of it. But the radical wings of the two are more likely to provide a common meeting ground, and such evidence as we possess seems to favour the view. One may therefore reasonably believe in a close contact between the two and their deep influence on each other, resulting in the evolution of what may be called medieval saints or mysticism. But it is not easy to determine in what way they affected each other, and how much each contributed to the result. In any case we have no reason to take it for granted that there was only one way traffic and Sufiism imposed itself upon Sahajiya. Nor is it necessary to exclude other factors, such as the normal evolution of religious ideas, in order to explain the rise and growth of medieval mysticism.

This brings us to the views of another class of writers who trace the origin of medieval mysticism to the indirect influence of Islam. According to this view, the presence of such a strong proselytising religion as Islam was a serious challenge to Hinduism, which "inspired the religious men of India also to seek more earnestly for the truths of their own faith". 11 The position may be likened to the danger threatened by Christianity at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A class of reformers, beginning with Raja Ram Mohan Ray, arose among the Hindus, to avert this danger, by eradicating what they conceived to be evils in the religious ideas and social practices of the time. But they sought to purify from within, on the basis of what they regarded as pure forms of Hinduism. The

stimulus was supplied by the impact of a foreign religion, but the reforms were based on Hinduism and not borrowed from Christianity. Something like this might have happened at the time of the first contact with Islam, and medieval mysticism may be viewed as an attempt of the same type though not of the same form, as was made by the Brahma Samaj and other reformist sects of the nineteenth century. It is interesting to note that polytheism, idolatry, caste, etc., which were obvious targets of attack both by Islam and Christianity, formed the chief planks of reform both in the fourteenth and in the nineteenth century.

This view has as much, if not more, to commend itself as any other view so far advanced to explain the origin of the medieval mysticism. It also serves to give us an idea of the result of the impact of Islam and Hinduism on each other. Brahmaism, in one aspect, was an attempt to establish a link between Hinduism and Western Society by removing such rules of caste as prohibited interdining and intermarriage. The social views of medieval saints may be looked upon as a similar attempt to bridge the wide gulf that separated the two great communities, Hindus and Muslims, inhabiting the same land. But the attempts of both ended in failure. The medieval mysticism, like Brahmaism of later days, hardly effected any breach in the citadels of either orthodox Hinduism or orthodox Islam. Both were restricted to an insignificant minority of the population and gradually languished as an effective instrument of reform. The analogy need not be pursued any further, but the wellknown historic origin of the Brahma Samaj and its general course may offer suitable explanation of the rise and progress of medieval mysticism.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the role of both medieval mysticism and Sufiism in the history of Indian culture is often exaggerated beyond all proportions. Whatever might have been the value of either as a distinctive phase of Hinduism and Islam, from moral, spiritual and philosophical points of view, their historical importance is considerably limited by the fact that the number of Indians directly affected by them, even at their heyday which was shortlived, could not be very large. The number dwindled very appreciably in course of time, and the two orthodox religions showed no visible sign of being seriously affected by this sudden intrusion of radical elements. They pursued their even tenor, resembling the two banks of a river, separated by the stream that flows between them. Attempts were made to build a bridge connecting the two, but ended in failure. Even if there were any temporary bridge, it collapsed in no time.

THE DELHI SULTANATE B. SAIVISM.

The rise of Vijayanagara gave a great impetus to Saivism. The early kings of Vijayanagara were ardent Saivas and, as mentioned above, they ruled the kingdom as vicegerents of their patron-deity, Virupaksha. 11 * Virupaksha was regarded by the Royal House of Vijayanagara as the “city-God and the empire-God”. The early king of Vijayanagara make obeisance to Virupaksha in their inscriptions. It is also on record that Harihara I and Bukka I were the disciples of one Kasivilasa Kriyaiakti, a Pasupata teacher. The Pasupata, it would seem, was not a bigot. He was well disposed to the teachers of Advaita and also to the followers of Vaishnavism. Immadi Bukka, son of Harihara, is said to have made a grant to the temple of Vidyasankara with the permission of Kriyasakti. Kriyasakti himself seems to have made a grant of lands to the local Vishnu temple.

In the course of the fifteenth century a gradual change took place in the religious convictions of the Vijayanagara house. The rulers developed a partiality for Vaishnavism, and came to be influenced more and more by the Vaishnava doctrine. The Saluvas were Vaishnavas, devoted to Nrisimha of

Ahobalam and Vehkatesa of Tirupati. But they were not bigoted Vaishnavas; and Siva still had a share in their devotion. Narasimha, for instance, though a Vaishnava, observed the Sivaratri, and made a grant on that day in A.D. 1466.

Under the Tuluva rulers, Vaishnavism gained further strength

and there was an enormous increase in its influence. Krishna

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devaraya introduced into Vijayanagara the cult of Vithoba, a phase of Vaishnavism that was prevalent in the Maharashtra country. The highly artistic nature of the shrine which he caused to be erected for the worship of Vithoba is evidence of his intense devotion to Vishnu in that form. And yet Krishnadeva, like his predecessors, was an eclectic in religion. His eclecticism was of a wider conception than that of any monarch on the Vijayanagara throne, and that he was warmly devoted to Virupaksha is established by the taste he has displayed in putting up his inscription at Virupaksha's shrine. The red-slab record, the only one of its kind put up in this temple, or for the matter of that, in this part of the country, is sufficient testimony to this. At the top of this slab are cut the lihga, the bull and the universally appearing sun and crescent. That an inscription of this king, relating to Virupaksha, should be consigned to a red slab which is unique among inscribed slabs, shows that Krishnadeva was whole-hearted in his devotion to that God. Among his several acts of piety may be mentioned the substantial remission of certain items of revenue amounting to 10,000 pon which he made in 1517-18 in favour

of the Siva and Vishnu temples in the Cholamandalam, and the northern gopuram of the Chidambaram temple which he built in 1517. Of the poets who adorned Krishnadeva's court, some were great 'Saivas; Timmana, the author of the Pdrijatiapaharanam, a Telugu work; Dhurjati, who worte the Rdlahasti-mdhdtmya; and Mallana, the author of the Rajasekharacharita. Duarte Barbosa gives expression to the spirit of tolerance and religious understanding that prevailed in Vijayangara in the following words: "The King allows such freedom that every man may go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed by all."

Virasaivism continued to spread in the Kannada country and even beyond its borders. Bhima Kavi composed the Basava-Purdna . The Prabhullnga-lile was written by Chamarasa, and the Sivataitvachintdmani by Lakkana. Sripati Panditacharya, who is assigned to c. A.D. 1400, wrote a commentary, which is called the Srikarabhdsya , on the Vedantasutra, from the VIrasaiva standpoint. He calls the system which he expounds, Viseshadvaita. Guru-Basava, who flourished about A.D. 1430, was a great exponent of Virasaivism; seven of his works, which are held in high esteem, are called the Sapia-kdvyas. Another eminent VIrasaiva writer, Siddhesvara, lived about A.D. 1470.

Among the Tamil poets who were ardent Saivas, the names of two may be mentioned. Arunagiri, author of the Tiruppugazh, who was patronised by Devaraya II and Kalamekam who had as his patron a provincial governor.

C. VAISHNAVISM •

1. Ramanuja's School

After the death of Vedantadesika in A.D. 1370, 12 his son Varadacharya or Nainar succeeded as pontiff of the Vadakalai sect. But his death was followed by a period of disintegration in which there was no acknowledged head, till an erudite dclndrya named Adi Vana-Sathakopa Svarnl, whose original name was Srlnivasacharya, made Ahobila (Kurnul District) the centre of his activities and rallied a large number of the scattered followers round him. He set up a number of local monasteries to popularize the works of Ramanuja and Vedantadesika and converted thousands. He declared himself to be the servant of Sri LakshmI-Nrisimha and carried his image. He gave some privileges to the lower classes in the temples and instituted a class of missionaries for the upliftment of hill tribes. It was probably due to his influence that king Devaraya II of Vijayanagara was

formally initiated into Vaishnavism. Another well known acharya was the famous Tolappa (orginal name Venkatanatha), who wrote several works on the observances and practices of the Vaishnavas. The most important of these, Saddchdra-Sangraha, is a digest of all the Smritis, regulating the life of an orthodox Brahmana.

The rival sect, the Tehkalai, secured dominant position under Alagiyamanavala or Varavara Muni, the second in succession from Fillai Lokacharya. He returned to iSrirangam and established his influence over the orthodox managers of the iSrirangam temple to such an extent that the Thirty-Six Thousand or Idu was introduced formally as a subject of studies. His teachings and magnetic personality, as well as organizing ability, made the Tehkalai the dominant sect from Mysore to Cape Comorin, and he came to be regarded as avatar a or incarnation of Ramanuja. A large number of important temples and monasteries in South India still maintain the popularity of the sect, which was mainly due to the use of the vernacular and more liberal social views.

2. Other Vaishnava Teachers.

a. Vis hnusvdmin.

There was a Vaishnava philosopher named Vishnusvamin, who is said to have been the son of an amdtya of a Dravida chieftain owing allegiance to the Muslim monarch of Delhi. In Nabhaji’s Bhakta-mdla, Vishnusvamin is said to have been succeeded on the pontifical seat of his school by Jnanadeva (who wrote the Jndnadevi, the Marathi commentary on the Gitci), Namadeva, Trilochana, and Vallabhacharya. If this tradition is to be accepted, Vishnusvamin must have flourished about the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century. But some scholars refer him to the beginning 'of the fifteenth century A.D. This date is more acceptable in view of the tradition that Vishnusvamin’s father was an amdtya of a Dravida chieftain owing allegiance to a Muslim ruler of Delhi. For the Muslim suzerainty did not extend to South India during the thirteenth century A.D.

b. Vallabhacharya.

Vallabhacharya, whose Vedantic theory was the same as that of Vishnusvamin, was the son of a Tailanga Brahmana named Lakshmana Bhatta who lived at Kankarava in the Telugu country. Vallabha is said to have been born in A.D. 1479. He lived for some time at Vrindavana and for some time at Mathura. Vallabha was specially devoted to the manifestation of Krishna caFed Sri-NathajI,

and was the founder of the Pushtimdrga, or the path of divine grace. This school regards Krishna as the highest Brahman and the highest joy (paramananda). His body is said to consist of sat (existence), chit (intelligence) and dnanda (joy). Pushti is God's grace (anugraha) which enables one to attain the objects of life, while extraordinary pushti leads to bhakti which again conduces to the attainment of God. The sportive Krishna of the cow-settlement, with his mistress Radha, is the object of worship to the adherents of the Vallabhacharya school. Vallabha's followers wear twelve gopichandana marks on their body to represent the twelve forms of Vishnu, such as a perpendicular mark on the forehead, the mark of a lotus on the bosom, that of a bamboo leaf on the arms, and others. They also print the various weapons of Vishnu on different parts of the body. Vallabha is referred to by them as the Achdrya, and his son Vitthalesa as the Gosvdmin . The gurus of the Vallabhacharya sect, who are called Maharaja, are the descendants of the seven sons of Vitthalesa. Each guru has a temple of his own which the devotees have to visit for conducting worship. There is no common temple of worship for this sect.

The worship of Radha along with, or in preference to, Krishna led to the debasement of Vaishnavism. In the early centuries of the Christian era, Krishna was conceived as having amorous dalliances with the cowherdesses. Later, Radha, who is not mentioned by name in the Harivamsa, Vishnu Purdna, and Bhdgavata Pur ana was conceived as his mistress. 13 Reference may be made in this connection to the sect of the Sakhlbhavas who affect to be women and dress themselves and act accordingly. Their goal is the realization of the position of the female attendants of Radha.

c. Madhva School. 14

Jayatirtha was the most important teacher of this school during the period under review, and he is usually regarded as the second great and outstanding personality of this sect after its founder. He was born in a Maratha family at Mangalved, 13 miles south of Pandharpur. He spent his life mostly at Malkhed and wrote a number of commentaries. It is said that he was invited to Vijayanagara by Vidyaranya. He must have, therefore, flourished during the first half of the fourteenth century A.D.

The next important name is that of Vidyadhiraja. As the result of a split among his disciples, Kavindra and Vagisa migrated to Anegundi (Hampi) towards the end of the fourteenth century. There were altogether about eleven pontiffs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

D. MYSTIC SAINTS 1. Ramananda

There are conflicting traditions about the time when Ramananda flourished. Bhandarkar suggested that he was born in A.D. 1299-1300, and died in A.D. 1411. But if the tradition that his disciple Kabir lived at the time of Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1489-1517) is genuine, even these dates must be regarded as doubtful. It seems better to refer Ramananda's birth to the fourteenth, and his death to the fifteenth, century. He is said to have been born at Prayaga or Allahabad and to have studied the Visishtadvaita system of Ramanuja at Varanasi at the feet of a teacher named Raghavananda. After some time he gave up some practices followed by orthodox Vaishnavas (e.g. taking food without being seen by anybody), and founded a new school of Vaishnavism based on the gospel of love and devotion. The most important reform attributed to him is the abolition of considerations of caste among his followers. He made no distinction between a Brahmana and a member of the lowest castes. He was himself a Brahmana, but had no objection to dine with members of the low castes if they were Vaishnavas. He took pupils even from the so-called degraded castes. According to tradition, his first twelve disciples were Asananda, Surasurananda, Sukhananda, Paramananda, Mahananda, Plpa (a Rajput ruling chief), Kabir (weaver), Bhavananda, Sena (barber), Dhanna (Jath peasant), Sri Ananda, and Ravidas (cobbler). Although a spirit of sympathy for the low castes was a feature of Vaishnavism, the earlier Vaishnavas did not put sufficient emphasis on this point. Ramananda, however, made it a fundamental tenet of his doctrine. The use of the vernacular instead of Sanskrit was another reform introduced by Ramananda. The third important reform attributed to Ramananda is the introduction, on a firm basis, of the cult of Rama and Slta in place of the worship of Krishna and Radha. Ramananda borrowed ideas from the various religious schools that flourished before him, but vitalized them with the love and devotion of his heart, and founded a new path of spiritual realization. It is this path which Kabir and others followed later and decorated with their lives and sayings. Ramananda may be said to have begun what is known as the religious renaissance in Medieval India. 15

Ramananda occupies a unique place in the history of religion in Medieval India. Although brought up in the traditional school of Vaishnavism founded by Ramanuja, he gave an altogether new turn to it by his reforms, and was mainly instrumental in ushering in the new epoch of medieval mysticism to which reference has been

made above. He has not left behind any written records of his new message, but his disciples and their successors embodied in their lives and teachings the new way of spiritual realization revealed by him. One of his songs, preserved in the Sikh scripture Granth Sahib , may be taken as the gist of his teachings. “I had an inclination to go with sandal and other perfumes to offer my worship to Brahman. But the guru revealed that Brahman was in my own heart. Wherever I go, I see only water and stones (worshipped); but it is Thou who hast filled them all with Thy presence. They all seek Thee in vain among the Vedas. My own true guru, Thou hast put an end to all my failures and illusions. Blessed art Thou! Ramananda is lost in his Master, Brahman, it is the word of the guru that destroys all the million bonds of action”. 16

2. Kablr

The most famous disciple of Ramananda was Kablr. His early life is shrouded in mystery. All that is definitely known is that he was brought up by a Muslim weaver named Niru. According to legends of uncertain date, he was the illegitimate son of a Brahmana widow. She cast off the infant to escape infamy, and the weaver’s wife found him and adopted him as her son. According to other legends, Kablr was really the son of the Muslim weaver. Wilson thought it improbable, if not impossible, that Kablr was a Muslim. Malcolm and Westcott are inclined to regard him as a Muslim by birth. 17

The date of Kabir’s birth is not definitely known. According to legends, Sikandar Lodi, the bigoted Sultan, tried by various means to kill Kablr, but the latter was miraculously saved each time. Both Hindu and Muslim legends make Kablr a contemporary of Shaikh Taqqi; the former represent them as rivals, while the latter regard Taqqi as the Pir or religious guide of Kablr. Taqqi is said to have been the Pir of Sikandar Lodi also. So we may take Kablr as a contemporary of Sikandar Lodi, who ruled from A.D. 1489 to 1517. This fits in with the tradition that Kablr died in A.D. 1518, and that Nanak met him about A.D. 1496, but not with the other tradition which places his birth in A.D. 1398. 18

The way in which he became a disciple of Ramananda is described in the legends. It is said that Kablr lay down on the steps of the bathing ghat where Ramananda used to take his bath early morning every day. Ramananda, having stepped on him by accident, exclaimed Ram, Ram. Kablr took that as the mantra , and Ramananda, apprised of the whole fact, accepted him as his disciple. After that Kablr returned home and led a pious and saintly life.

But he did not favour asceticism or mortification of flesh which he considered as useless. “If”, said he, “salvation is achieved by living on roots and fruits alone, birds’ and animals’ would be ideal lives.” He married and had two children, a son and a daughter. He led the life of a simple householder and earned his livelihood by his father’s profession of weaving. He himself wove cloth and took it to the market, even when he had numerous disciples and were held by them in the highest veneration. His usual place of residence was at Varanasi (Banaras).

Of Kabir’s learning and scholarship we know very little. But he was conversant with the religious literature of the Hindus. The following short account is preserved in the Bhakta-mala of NabhajI which is generally regarded as an authentic source.

“Kablr refused to acknowledge caste distinctions or to recognise the authority of the six schools of Hindu Philosophy, nor did he set any store by the four divisions of life (Ashram) prescribed for Brahmins. He held that religion without bhakti was no religion at all and that asceticism, fasting and alms-giving had no value if unaccompanied by worship (Bhajan, hymn-singing). By means of Ramainis, Shabdas and Sakhis he imparted religious instruction to Hindus and Muhammadans alike. He had no preference for either religion, but gave teaching that was appreciated by the followers of both. He spoke out his mind fearlessly and never made it his object merely to please his hearers.” 19

Kablr made no distinction between Hinduism and Islam. “Kablr is the child of Allah and Ram”, he used to say, and made an earnest, though unsuccessful, effort to remove the differences which separated Hindus and Muslims. The Hindu and Muslim followers of Kablr are naturally prone to represent him as having derived his moral and spiritual truth more from the one or the other source. A western scholar, who has gone deeply into the study of this subject, makes the following observations: “His favourite name for God is Rama. Like all his Vaishnavite predecessors he seeks release from transmigration and opens the path to deliverance by loving devotion. The ancient mythology provides him with frequent illustrations; the great gods of the venerable Triad, Brahma, Vishnu, Siva still perform their functions in the economy of existence. And Kablr has not studied philosophy for nothing; its language is often on his lips”. 20

Kablr, however, was insistent on bringing home to the minds of his disciples that the difference between Hindus and Muslims is merely an artificial one. “In the beginning”, said he, “there was not Turk nor Hindu,— no race, no caste.”

There is no doubt that Kablr had a large following both among Hindus and Muslims. It is said that when he died at Maghar in the district of Gorakhpur, there was a dispute among the Hindus and Muslim Kablr-panthis (followers of Kablr) as to the disposal of his body. The Hindus wanted to burn, and the Muslims to bury it. But when the sheet covering the dead body was removed, nothing was found but a heap of flov/ers. The Hindus took half of these and burnt them at Varanasi. The other half was buried by the Muslims at Maghar.

Kablr did not codify his doctrine in the form of a book. He was fond of oral teachings in the shape of small poems. These are collected in the Bijaka (the Seed Book), the sacred text of the Kabir-panthis who all recognize it to be an authoritative exposition of their master’s teachings. It contains poems and songs in a great variety of metres. A current edition of this text contains 83 Ramamis, 113 Shabdas, 33 poems of various kinds, and 384 Sdkhis. To these have been added 60 Sdkhis found in other editions. 21 The most important of these are Sdkhis (corruption of Sanskrit sdkshi t meaning evidence) or rhyming couplets bearing witness to the truth. 22 The fine rhythm of these enables one to easily remember them. The language of the Bijaka is said to be Hindi, then in vogue in the neighbourhood of Varanasi (Banaras), Mirzapur and Gorakhpur. But it contains more than 235 words of Persian, Arabic and Turkish origins. 23 Reference has been made above to the Bdnls or "Message Poems" of Kablr.

According to tradition, the Bijaka was dictated by Kabir himself to a disciple named Bhagawan Das. But some modern scholars hold that the oral teaching of Kabir was not reduced to writing till A.D. 1570, that is, about half a century after Kabir's death. The Bijaka is the first collection, and belongs to this period. It may be added, as an evidence of the authenticity of this work, that most of the sayings attributed to Kablr in the Adi-Grantha of the Sikhs, are also found in the Bijaka. 24

The message of Kabir and the spirit of his teachings can be easily gathered from his poems which go straight to the heart of man and are even today well-known over a large part of Northern India. Some of these have been quoted in the Appendix, and a few passages are given below in order to give an idea of the views held by this great preacher.

1. Sanskrit is the water in a well, the language of the people is the flowing stream.

2. If by worshipping stones one can find God, I shall worship a mountain.

3. If by immersion in the water salvation be obtained, the frogs bathe continually. As the frogs, so are these men, again and again they fall into the womb.

4. If by wandering about naked, union with Hari be obtained, then every deer of the forest will become emancipated. If by shaving the head, perfection is obtained, the sheep is emancipated.

5. O QazI, what book is expounded by thee; all such as are pondering on the book are killed; give up the book, adore Ram.

6. A man may read many books before he dies and yet not be a Pandit; he is a Pandit who understands the two and a half letters which form the word ‘Love’.

7. Be truthful, be natural; Truth alone is natural. Seek this truth within your own heart, for there is no truth in the external religious observances; neither in the sects nor in the holy vows, neither in religious garb nor in pilgrimages. Truth resides within the heart and is revealed in love, in strength, in compassion. Conquer hatred, and extend your love to all mankind, for God resides in all.

8. The difference among faiths is only due to difference in names; everywhere there is yearning for the same God. Why do the Hindus and Muslims quarrel for nothing? Keep at a distance all pride and vanity, insincerity and falsehood; consider others the same as yourself, let your heart be filled with love and devotion. Then alone will your struggle be successful. Life is transitory, do not waste your time, but take refuge in God. He is within your own heart; so why do you fruitlessly search Him in holy places, in scriptures, in rites and ceremonials?

9. Brother! From where have the two masters of the Universe come? Tell me, who has invented the names of Allah, Ram, Kesav, Hari and Hazrat? All ornaments of gold are made of a unique substance. It is to show to the world that two different signs are made, one is called Nimdz while the other is termed Pujd. Mahadev and Muhammad are one and the same: Brahma and Adam are one and the same. What is a Hindu? What is a Turk? Both inhabit the same earth. One reads the Veda, and the other the Qur'an and the Khutba. One is a Maulana and the other a Pandit. Earthen vessels have different names, although they are made from the same earth. Kabir says: both are misled, none has found God.

10. Ram, Khuda, &akti, !§iva are one. Then to whom do the prayers go? The Vedas, the Pur anas and the Qur'an are only different manners of description. Neither the Hindu nor the Turk, neither the Jain nor the Yogi is cognizant of the secret.

11. Allah and Ram are thy names. Thou art master full of mlsericorde. It is no use bending the shaven head to the ground; it is no use washing your bodies with water. The Hindu observes twenty-four fasts of EkadasI, while the Muslim observes his full month fast. If only one month is sacred, what about the other eleven months?

12. Saints, see how the world has gone mad. If I fell them the truth they run after me to beat me. The world believes in falsehood. I have seen those who observed punctiliously all the religious practices and ceremonies. I have seen those too who take a bath every morning. They worship idols of copper and stone. They have become mad by the pride of their pilgrimages. The Hindu says that he worships Ram and the Muslim says that he worships Rahman. They die of disputing with one another. Both are ignorant of the secret. Kabir says: O Saints, listen! All this is due to error and ignorance!
25

After the death of Kabir his disciples approached his son Kamal with a request to found a sect. Kamal, as a worthy son of his father, replied: “My father had striven throughout his life against all forms of sectarianism; how can I, his son, destroy his ideal and thereby commit his spiritual murder ?
25a This disappointed the disciples of Kabir, but could not prevent the rise of Kabir-panthi sects. Kabir’s Muslim disciples founded a monastery at Maghar, while his Hindu disciples likewise organized themselves into an order under the leadership of Surat Gopal. Many of his other disciples also founded separate sects. The seed of the message of the unity of Hari and Allah was not evidently sown on a fertile soil and did not sprout. Nevertheless the spirit of Kabir’s teachings did not die out, and was kept alive by his numerous disciples and followers. Their activities, however, fall beyond the period under review, and will be treated in the next volume.

3. Other disciples and follovjers of Ramananda.

It is doubtful whether all the twelve disciples mentioned above were really initiated by Ramananda. Some of these were probably attracted by his ideas and teachings, but joined his order after his death. That was the case with Anantananda who founded a sect. His grand-disciple, Nabhia, an untouchable, was the author of the Bhakta-mdla or 'Lives of Devotees’ which is one of the most important source-books for the history of the medieval saints.

Another famous follower of Ramananda, though not an actual disciple, was Sadna, a butcher by caste, two of whose songs are included in the Grantha Sahib.

Among the twelve disciples mentioned above, Ravidas occupies a high place on account of his exalted spiritual life and purity of heart. He is reputed to have been the spiritual guru of Jhall and Mlrabai, two queens of the &isodiya Rana family of Chitor. His religious ideas followed the same lines as those of Kablr.

We need not dwell at length on the other disciples of Ramananda, each of whom gathered round him a devoted band of followers. The monasteries founded by some of them still attract devoted pilgrims.

4. Chahanya.

Though differing in some respects from the views of Ramananda and Kablr, Chaitanya (an abbreviated form of the full name Krishna-Chaitanya) must be regarded as one of the greatest saints in Medieval India. His original name was Visvambhara (nickname, Nirnai), and he was born in February, 1486, in a family which had migrated from Sylhet (E. Pakistan) and settled in Navadvlpa or Nadiya in West Bengal. He studied in a Sanskrit tol and, after the death of his father, himself set up a tol • He married twice, as his first wife died shortly after her marriage. At the age of twentytwo Visvambhara visited Gaya to offer oblations to his deceased father. There he met a recluse named isvarapuri, who gave him Krishna-mantra. This changed the whole tenor of his life. He became veritably a god-intoxicated devotee. Wrapped in mystic and emotional experience, he incessantly uttered the name of Krishna, laughed, wept and raved, and not unoften fell into trances. A band of followers gathered round him, including two great devotees named Advaita and Nityananda, and with their co-operation he introduced some striking innovations in religious life. A new type of emotional and devotional songs, called kirtana , often consisting of merely recitation of the names of Hari and Krishna, and sung in chorus to the accompaniment of loud instrumental music, became the regular feature of religious life. Huge processions of kirtana parties paraded the streets of Navadvlpa, with Visvambhara and his prominent followers at the head, singing and dancing wildly in a mood of ecstasy. Devotional meetings, the main feature of which was kirtana, were held almost daily in the house of pious Srinivasa, where strange scenes were witnessed of hysterical orgy of dancing and wild fits of ecstatic thrills. Men trembled, wept, and raved, while dancing, for hours together; this covered their body with copious perspiration, and in some cases brought on exhaustion ending in fits of unconsciousness or mystic trances. But whatever we may think of it, such emotional mode of worship, merely consisting in musical

recitation of the names of Hari and Krishna, made this new cult of Vaishnavism highly popular among the masses. A section of the public got disgusted with the tumultuous scenes in public streets, and the Muslim governor prohibited the klrtana party. But Visvambhara adopted, what is called in our day, methods of civil disobedience or passive resistance. He openly defied the order till it was rescinded (by divine interference in the shape of a dream, as the scriptures would have us believe).

Visvambhara was initiated as a sannyasin (ascetic) by Kesava Bharati in January, 1510, and adopted the name Sri Krishna-Chaitanya, abbreviated into Chaitanya. His first idea was to settle at Vrindavana, the reputed scene of Krishna’s boyhood, as described in the Bhdgavata Purdna. But at his mother’s request he agreed to fix his permanent residence nearer home, at Puri. Here both Partaparudra, the Gajapati king of Orissa, and Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, a renowned Vedantist, are said to have become his followers, and the new cult obtained a firm footing. Later, Chaitanya made an extensive pilgrimage to South and West India (c. 1509-11), preaching his gospel all along his way. Shortly after his return he made a similar tour in North India, proceeding as a far as Vrindavana. The sacred sites of Vrindavana were deserted and forgotten. Their recovery by the Bengal Vaishnavas, at the instance of Chaitanya, and the conversion of the holy site into a great religious centre, must be regarded as one of the most important events in the history of Vaishnavism. The task was mainly accomplished by two highly placed Hindu officials of the Muslim ruler of Bengal, who met Chaitanya at Gauda on his way to Vrindavana and became his devoted followers. They became celebrated under their new names Rupa and

Sanatana, and settled at Vrindavana. From A.D. 1515 till his death in 1533, Chaitanya remained at Puri. He spent his time in expounding his teachings, amidst frequent religious trances and divine ecstasies. During the last twelve years he was seized with an extraordinary degree of devotional fervour and passed in a state of continual frenzy, which is described in Vaishnava literature as a state of divyonmdda or premonmada (madness of divine love). 26

Like other medieval saints, Chaitanya laid stress on sincere and passionate love for God as the only way to salvation, but he was thoroughly saturated with the Radha-Krishna cult, and stressed the amorous episodes described in the Bhdgavata . There is no doubt that he was profoundly influenced by the passionate romantic poems of Jayadeva, and the melodious songs of Chandidasa, both based on the theme of the love of Radha and Krishna. According to Chaitanya

School, Krishna took his birth as a human being (Chaitanya) in order to enjoy, through personal experience, the ardour of Radha's passions for her beloved Krishna. As a matter of fact, probably no other religious saint carried to such an extent the emotional approach to God as a lover to his beloved. But this love had nothing physical in it and Chaitanya put it on a high spiritual plane. Hence he took good care to guard against its degeneration into sensual amours. Any kind of social intercourse with women was forbidden to his followers, and Chaitanya refused to see the face of one of his most favourite disciples for no greater offence than having exchanged a few formal words with an elderly Vaishnava lady whose piety and virtue were well known to him. He did not lay great stress on knowledge, though a profound philosophy grew round his teachings in course of time. He laid down, by his precept and example, sincere zeal and devotion, and a passionate love for Hari or Krishna, as the only means of salvation; and elevated the simple recitation of the names of Hari and Krishna to the level of a high spiritual discipline as a sacred mantra. He emphasized universal love and brotherhood as the first step to the love of God. He was a mystic par excellence , and may even be said to have carried his mysticism beyond all rational limits; yet, though he did not care for rituals, he did not discard the sacred scriptures, or worship of images of gods, as utterly useless. In his attitude towards caste, also, he seems to have followed a middle path. He disregarded all distinctions of caste and creed so far as reilgious initiation was concerned, and one of his most favourite disciples was a Muslim devotee named Haridasa. But he is said to have approved of the latter's conduct in not entering the temple of Jagannatha or taking his meals with the Hindu devotees. There are, however, incidents, in his authentic biography, which are not fully in consonance with this conservative attitude. There is, however, no doubt that his catholic spirit made no distinctions between the Brahmanas, Chandalas, and Yavanas (Muslims), and brought them all within the fold of his religion of love and charity. This liberal outlook, which formed an essential feature of Chaitanya's sect, at least to begin with, was one of the most important reasons for its wide popularity among the masses.

Chaitanya did not leave behind any regular organization to carry on his work, but as in the case of Kabir and others, several sects grew in course of time. The main sect, which flourished in Bengal, rapidly became very popular and exists even today.

The descendants of Nityananda living at Navadvipa, and those of Advaita residing at Santipur, are the spiritual heads of the sect. There are several temples of this sect in Bengal and at Mathura and Vrindavana. The followers of Chaitanya wear two white perpendicular lines on the forehead, joined together at the bridge of the nose, together with a line continued up to the tip of the nose. They also wear a necklace of three strings of Tulasl beads and a rosary of the same.

5. Ntinak

Nanak, an elderly contemporary of Chaitanya, holds a unique place among the medieval saints of India. He cut himself adrift from all associations with prevailing sectarian religions, and although his approach to God was through love and devotion, he did not adopt the imagery or symbolism of Vaishnavism or any other creed. His was the first, and also the last, successful attempt to bring together the Hindus and Muslims in a common fold of spiritual and social brotherhood. The fact that it was not destined to spread beyond the confines of a narrow geographical region, merely demonstrates the almost insuperable difficulty involved in the task that he had undertaken, and the high place that must be given to him in the socio-religious history of India even for his partial success. The political achievements of Sikhism, the great sect which owes its origin to him, have largely over-shadowed its spiritual character, but it is this latter aspect alone with which the name of Nanak must ever be associated, and which therefore should engage our sole attention.

Nanak was born in A.D. 1469 in a Khatri family, at Talwandi, now known as Nankana, situated about thirty-five miles to the south-west of Lahore. His father, Kalu, was an accountant in the village, and Nanak received his first education in the local school. But he was indifferent to study and preferred the retirement of the forest and the society of the religious men who frequented it. Kalu did not like the religious temperament of his son, and made Nanak study the Persian language so that he might be fit for the post which he (Kalu) then held. But though Nanak became highly proficient in Persian, his religious and spiritual tendencies grew more and more with his age. He also showed a marked disinclination to abide by religious customs and conventions such as putting on the sacred thread. Nanak married at an early age but could not be induced to do any useful work to earn his livelihood. It is said that he spent his time in carrying on discourses with the sadhus or saints, and composing religious hymns in praise of the one God whom he loved. Through these hymns he preached high ethical and spiritual doctrines by means of simple allegorical representations. Thus when Nanak was asked by his father to turn his attention to agriculture, he replied: “Make thy body the fields, good works the seed, irrigate with God’s name; make thy heart the cultivator, God will germinate in thy heart, and thou shalt thus obtain the dignity of nirvdn”. When his father asked him to keep a shop, Nanak replied in a similar strain: “Make the knowledge that life is frail thy shop, the true Name thy stock-in-trade”. Once his father sent him with a sum of money to buy some articles of trade, but he gave the whole amount to some mendicants whom he met on the way. Jairam, who had married Nanak’s sister and held the post of a revenue officer at Sultanpur, took him there and secured the post of store-keeper for him. He did the work quite well for some time. But suddenly one day he disappeared in the neighbourhood and is said to have the vision of God in a trance and heard a divine voice: “My name is God, and thou art the divine guru”.

On his return from the forest after three days, he gave to the poor all that he possessed and left the world. He put on a mendicant’s garb and sought the company of religious men. He then announced that there was no Hindu and no Musulman. When questioned by the Muslim qazi, he replied: “Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy prayer carpet, what is just and lawful thy Qur‘an, modesty thy curcumcision, civility thy fasting, so shalt thou be a Musulman”. In this strain Nanak laid emphasis on the purity of character and conduct and a high ethical code, rather than any dogma or creed of any sect, as the sole means of salvation. He believed in one God, and love and constant meditation upon Him as the only way of receiving His grace. He denounced the worship of images and all distinctions of caste and creed. He preached his catholic views through the hymns which he sang to the accompaniment of the rebek (a stringed musical instrument) played by Mardana, who belonged to the tribe of hereditary minstrels called Dums, and came from Talwandi to become a servant of Nanak at Sultanpur. Accompanied by his faithful attendant Mardana, Nanak is said to have undertaken wide tours all over India, and even beyond it to Ceylon in the south, and Mecca and Medina on the west. A number of miracles are attributed to him throughout his travels. He made quite a large number of converts during this journey and his name and fame spread on all sides.

Nanak died in A.D. 1538 at Kartarpur in the Punjab. His Hindu and Muslim disciples wanted to dispose of the body according to their respective customs. But, as in the case of Kabir, when the covering sheet was removed next morning, the body had disappeared and there remained only two bunches of flowers deposited on his two sides by the respective groups. The Hindus erected a shrine, and the Muslims, a tomb, on the bank of the Ravi.

Nanak had two sons, but their minds were insincere and they had rebelled and deserted him. So shortly before his death, he appointed Ahgad his successor.

The hymns of Nanak have been preserved in the Adi-Grantha. In these he sang the glory of one great God, and man’s duty of meditating His name with a pure heart, bereft of all evil passions and desires for worldly good.

One of his hymns contains the following: “At God’s gate there dwell thousands of Muhammads, thousands of Brahmas, of Vishnus, of Sivas; thousands upon thousands of exalted Ramas. There is one Lord over all spiritual lords, the creator whose name is true”. 27 Nanak preached that religious acts and austerities practised by the different religious sects were useless, and love and devotion to the one God is the only way of attaining His grace and blessings. “The real temple was the house in which the Lord’s praises were ever sung and the Lord’s name continually repeated”. Setting aside the Vedas and the Qur'an, he taught his followers to repeat the name of the infinite God who surpasses all conceptions. He stressed the role of guru whose guidance was of the utmost value in the development of spiritual life. 28 Nanak acknowledged Kabir as his spiritual guide 29 , and the following hymns, 30 like many others, closely echo the teachings of that great saint:

I. Religion consisteth not in a patched coat, or in a Yogi’s staff, or in ashes smeared over the body;

Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or in the blowing of horns.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

II. Religion consisteth not in mere words;

He who looketh on all men as equal is religious.

Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation;

Religion consisteth not in earrings worn, or a shaven head, or bathing at places of pilgrimages.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

III. On meeting a true guru doubt is dispelled and the wanderings of the mind restrained.

It raineth nectar, slow ecstatic music is heard, and man is happy within himself.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

THE DELHI SULTANATE

APPENDIX

THREE POEMS OF KABIR [31]

I

I. 13. mo ko kahan dhunro bande [32]

O servant, where dost thou seek me,

Lo, I am beside thee.

I am neither in temple nor in mosque:

I am neither in Kaaba nor in Kailash:

Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in yoga and renunciation.

If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me: thou shall meet Me in a moment of time.

Kabir says, “O Sadhu! God is the breath of all breath”

LXVI

1. 20. man na rangaye

The Yogi dyes his garments, instead of dyeing his mind in the colours of love:

He sits within the temple of the Lord, leaving Brahma, to worship a stone.

He pierces holes in his ears, he has a great beard and matted locks, he looks like a goat:

He goes forth into the wilderness, killing all his desires, and turns himself into a eunuch:

He shaves his head and dyes his garments; he reads the Gita and becomes a mighty talker.

Kabir says: “You are going to the doors of death, bound hand and foot!”

LXIX

III. 2. jo khoda masjid vasat hai

If God be within the mosque, then to whom does this world belong?

If Ram be within the image which you find upon your pilgrimage, then who is there to know what happens without?

Hari is in the East: Allah is in the West. Look within your heart, for there you will find both Karim and Ram;

All the men and women of the world are His living forms.

Kabir is the child of Allah and of Ram: He is my Guru, He is my Pir.

1. Katha, I, 2, 23; Mundaka, III, 2, 3; SBE, XV. 11, 40.

2. Vol. V, 353 ff2a. Vol. V- p. 467.

3. Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture (1957), p. 433a. Ibid, 46.

4. Ibid, 67.

5. A. M- A. Shustery, Outlines of Islamic Culture , p. 364.

6. Yusuf Husain, op. cit. 13.

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7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, 31.

9. Ibid, 1.

10. Ibid, 31.

11. Cultural Heritage of India, II, 249.

11a. Above, p. 272.

12. Vol. V. 439-40.

13. Ibid, 435-6.

14. Cf. J1H, XV. 103 ff.

15. Cultural Heritage, II, 249 ff.

16. Ibid, 250.

17. G- H. Westcott, Kabir and the Kabirpanth (Second Edition, Calcutta, 1953), p. 20. Cf. also Ch. XV. B II. 1 (pp. 502-4).

18. Ibid, 2.

19. Ibid, 18-9.

20. Ibid, 118.

21. Ibid, 49.

22. Ibid, 51.

23 J. E- Carpenter, Theism in MedievoX India (quoted by Westcott, 116-7).

24. Westcott, op. cit. 28, 48*

25. For these sayings, cf. Cultural Heritage, II, 255; Westcott, 59, 66; 70; Yusuf; op. cit. 20-1.

25a. Cultural Heritage, 11.254.

26. For a critical account of Chaitanya on which this para is based, cf. S- K. De, Early History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal. (Calcutta, 1942).

27. M- A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion (Oxford, 1909), p. 41.

28. Ibid, 193.

29. Westcott, op. cit., 1.

30. Macauliffe, op. cit., 60

31. One Hundred Poems of Kabir. Translated by Rabindranath Tagore. Reproduced with the kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Calcutta.

32. The reference of the headlines of the poems is to:

Kabir by Sri Kshitimohan Sen, 4 parts, Brahmacharyasrama, Bolpur, 1910-11

CHAPTER XVII

SOCIAL LIFE

A. HINDU SOCIETY 1. Introductory

The conquest of the major parts of North India by the Muslim Turks is the dominant historical event of the thirteenth century A.D., but its full effects were felt for the first time during the period under review. The conquest was attended by extensive settlements of the foreigners whose number was being increased by constant migrations from the Islamic lands as well as by occasional mass conversions of the indigenous people. Because of the inflexibility of their religious creed, which permitted no compromise with other faiths, the settlers remained (as their co-religionists still remain) a distinct social unit, thus introducing a permanent cleavage of the Indian population along religious lines. The impact of militant Islam had as yet but little effect upon the age-old social life of the older inhabitants. Even the teachings of the saints and mystics of the fourteenth and later centuries, which formed one of the most characteristic developments of the time, left the Hindu society as yet practically unchanged. Indirectly, however, the new menace to the existence of the indigenous culture led to the production of a large number of Smriti Digests and Commentaries tending towards systematization of the old social and religious law. The somewhat different pattern of the social structure, envisaged in the historical records of the indigenous people of different regions of the time, bear the impress of this teaching. 1

In so far as the social life of the vast majority of the Indian population following the indigenous faiths is concerned, the Smriti authorities therefore constitute, for the centuries of our survey, our basic authority. What distinguishes this period from the preceding one is the paucity of inscriptions such as those which helped previously to check the Smriti evidence in the precise context of its application to specific regions and dates. This defect is somewhat compensated by the rise of regional schools of Smritis with their respective authoritative Digests. Such, in the first place, is the school of Mithila of which the principal authorities for our period are the Grihastharatndkara and other works of Chandesvara (130070), the Vivadachintdmani and other works of Vachaspati Misra

(1425-90), and the Vivddachandra of Misarumisra (flor. c. 1450). Such, again, is the school of Banaras of which the Madana-ratnapradipa, attributed to a chieftain in Gorakhpur area called Madanasirhha and consisting of VyavaMravivekoddyota and other sections (composed between A.D. 1425 and 1450), and the Madanapdriydta of Visvesvarabhatta (composed between A.D. 1360 and 1390) are our authorities. Such is also the school of Bengal with the celebrated commentary, Dtpakalikd, on Ydjnavalkya-Smriti and other works of Sulapani (1375-1440) as our authority. Such, finally, is the Southern school having as its principal authorities, Pardsara-Smriti, with the gloss of the celebrated Madhavacharya (hereafter referred to as Pardsara-Mddhava) and other works of the same Madhavacharya, otherwise called Vidyaranya (1300-1380), the Nrisimha prasada consisting of the Vyavahdrasdra and other sections (composed between A.D. 1490 and 1515) of Daiapati, and the Sarasvati vildsa (comprising Vyavahdrakdnda and other sections) of Prataparudra (1497-c. 1540). 2 More indefinite in their application are the Smriti sections belonging to the late Purdnas like the Brihaddharma Pur ana. The picture which emerges from our survey of this vast and scattered material is that of conformity to the general pattern of the old Sinritis with some important developments which will principally form the subject-matter of this chapter.

2. Social divisions and sub-divisions

The social structure in the Smritis consists, as is well known, of four primary castes (the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas and the Sudras) with diminishing rank and status, an indefinite number of the so-called mixed castes of varying status, and finally, of a group of despised castes coming at the bottom of the scale. The duties and occupations of these castes (specially of the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas) are described at great length in these works. The Smritis likewise describe, under the head dhnika, the daily routine of the householder (grihastha) and the would-be householder (snataka) belonging to the three upper classes. The picture is that of incessant toil devoted to religious practices and acts of piety. As a

Smriti authority (Daksha quoted in the Grihastfiaratndkara , 134) observes: “From sunrise to sunset the Brahmana should not remain idle for an instant, and he should devote himself to his compulsory, occasional and optional duties, as well as other blameless occupations.”

The above rules are repeated in the Smriti commentaries and Digests of our period with occasional comments which will be briefly noticed here. As regards the Brahmana’s occupations the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 425-26) first declares agriculture and so forth

to be of the nature of duties prescribed in the scriptures, on the ground that officiating at sacrifices and the like are of too rare an occurrence to furnish means of subsistence for householders in the Kali Age. Quoting in the next place a number of mutually contradictory texts about the lawfulness of the Brahmana’s occupation of agriculture, the author adjusts the difference in two alternative ways; they refer, we are told, to different degrees of distress (the Brahmana being held to be entitled to pursue agriculture through others in a time of slight distress, and in person at a time of grave distress), or else to different yugas or Age-cycles (the Brahmana’s pursuit of agriculture through others being declared to be his duty in times of distress in the other Ages and his principal duty in the Kali Age). The professions of trade and crafts, like that of agriculture, we are told elsewhere by the same authority (I, 435), belong to all castes, and the Brahmanas in particular are entitled to practise agriculture. In view of this clear and authoritative exposition of the normal occupations of Brahmanas, the ban on the modes of subsistence previously conceded to them in times of distress, which occurs in a list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age (Kalivarjyas) quoted with approval by the author in another context (I, 123-27), seems to be somewhat unreal. On the other hand, the prohibition in the same list of Kalivarjyas of the Brahmana’s living by non-accumulation of grain for the next day—a practice which is extolled in some of the Smritis as the most praiseworthy for a Brahmana— appears to be thoroughly in accord with the spirit of the age. The high eulogy of Brahmanas is accompanied in our present works, as in the Smritis , with strong denunciation of unworthy members of this order (Pamsara-Mddhava, III, 158 ff.; Brihaddharma Purdna , III, 2. ff).

As for the duties of the next two castes in the order of social precedence, it will be sufficient for our purpose to quote the observations in the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 390-97). Describing the duties of the king, after the Smriti standards, under the heads, 'punishing the wicked' and 'cherishing the good', the author takes great pains to justify the orthodox position that these constitute the distinctive duty of the Kshatriya. The title of king, it is argued after quoted texts, appertains to the Kshatriya, and the right to wield weapons for the purpose of protecting the people likewise belongs to him alone.

In so far as the Smriti routine of the daily duties of the householder is concerned, a few comments of our authors call for notice. One who has studied the whole Veda, we are told in the Grihastha raindkara (249), should repeat the same from the beginning, one who

has studied only a portion of the Vedas is to repeat the Purushasukta (Rv X, 90) and similar texts, while one who has studied only the Gdyatri hymn is to repeat the Purdnas. The Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 292-93) similarly explains that one who is capable of performance of the Vedic rites should not be content with the rites prescribed in the Smritis, but one incapable of performance of the Vedic rites should perform those of the Smritis, and one unable to perform even the latter should follow good custom. These extracts, while illustrating the characteristic tendency of the Smritis to adjust their rules to the varying capacities and inclinations of the people at different periods, are a reminder of the decline of Vedic learning and rites among the upper classes at this period. Of equal importance is the explanation in the Pardsara-Mddhava of the householder's daily obligation of hospitable reception of guests. The praise of feeding friends along with condemnation of feeding enemies, as well as the prohibition of feeding the ignorant along with the injunction of feeding the learned which we find in the Smriti texts, we are told (I, 349-50), does not apply to guests arriving at the end of the Vaisvadeva offering (presenting to the fire before meals). In fact the mark of a guest is not his learning and so forth, but simply his arrival within the prescribed time-limit after that offering. The term 'guest', it is further explained (I, 352), excludes one of the same village arriving regularly on selected days, and is confined to an unknown man arriving on a sudden and suffering from the pangs of hunger. Furthermore, the reception of the guest with words of welcome, the customary offering for a respectable person, a seat and so forth, is the due of the Brahmana alone, while the Kshatriya and the rest are simply to be given food at the Brahmana's residence (I, 353). These extracts illustrate the continuance of the old Smriti rule inculcating universal, though not indiscriminate, charity, somewhat limited by the exigencies of caste. It remains to mention that the householder's duty of hospitality to guests is impressively set forth in the Smriti sections of the late Purdnas (Brihaddharma Purdna, II. 5.34-36, 15.26-30; Brodimavaivartta Purdna, 84.1.ff.).

As regards the duties and occupations of the Sudras our authors betray a twofold attitude. The complete dependence of the Sudra upon the Brahmana is reflected in such works as the PardsaraMddhava (I, 418-20), where we are told that the Sudra's highest duty is the service of the Brahmana, as it ensures for him supreme bliss, along with his distinctive occupation; while, by contrast, the service of the Kshatriya and the Vaisya is his subordinate duty, as it secures for him merely his occupation. It is emphasized still more in the Brihaddharma Purdna (III, 4-5; 24-25; 31-32). On the other hand,

our authors tend to relax the strict Smriti rule forbidding dealings in certain classes of commodities by a Sudra engaged in trade in default of service, and they justify this by reference to different occasions as well as different grades of Sudras. The prohibition of the sale of five specified classes of commodities, we are told in the Grihastharatndkara (479-80), applies to the Sudra in normal times, but not in times of distress; the parallel set of prohibitions, the author further observes, refers to good Sudras and not to condemned ones: the Sudra does not become an outcaste even by selling meat, and so forth. The prohibition of the sale of salt and the like, we are told more briefly in the Parasara-Mddhava (I, 422-23), applies to Brahmanas engaged in trade in times of distress, but the Sudras incur no blame on that account, although they are forbidden in other texts to deal with liquors and meat.

The older religious disabilities of the Sudras are repeated by our authors with a certain tendency to relax them within the narrow canonical limits. The Sudras, according to the Brihaddharma Parana (III, 4. 15-32), must not practise the Vedic or the ordinary religious exercises, and he must not study the Vedas or the Puranas nor explain the sacred texts, but he may listen to recitations of the Puranas and study as much of the Agamas (Tantras) as is permitted to him by his guru: he must not utter mantras with the words svdhd and om. Discussing a hypothetical argument which questions the Sudra's right to enter upon the householder's life, the PardsaraMddhava (I, 537) concludes that the Sudra is so entitled on the ground of reference to him in the section on marriage and to his rights in the section on householder's duties of the type of the five great sacrifices. Similarly discussing an argument which disqualifies the Sudra for rites capable of being performed only by offering to the sacred fires, the Madanapdrijdta (231) concludes that whenever the Sudra is allowed to offer oblations to the fire, he should perform the same in the ordinary fire, and that he should use only the mantra consisting of the single word namaskdra, as he is not entitled to use any other.

As regards the Sudra's social disabilities our authors' views vary from comparative laxity to extreme rigidity. In the face of strong condemnation of eating food from a Sudra in a Smriti 3 the Grihastharatndkara (334) explains that the prohibition refers to the food of condemned Sudras, while the food of good Sudras may be eaten (the author slyly adds) for the purpose of gaining cows, lands, and so forth, but not otherwise. Referring to the permission even for Brahmanas to take the food of five specified classes of Sudras, the author further explains (337) that their uncooked food

may be eaten in normal times and even their cooked food may be taken in times of distress. This explanation is repeated by Sulapapi (on Yajnavalkya, I, 166). By contrast, the Parasara-Mddhava (HI, 305) mentions the penances of different grades which a Brahmana, eating a Sudra's food, must undertake according as he does it intentionally, or in a time of distress, or else unintentionally. The author expands this statement in another context (III, 379-80), where he explains that not only eating the Sudra's food, but living in the same house with him, sitting in the same cart with Sudras engaged as agricultural labourers, and receiving religious instructions from a learned Sudra whose sense of right and wrong has been developed by listening to the recitations of the Puranas and so forth, are to be avoided. The author likewise (III, 325) qualifies the Smriti permission to eat four varieties of the Sudra's food by explaining that it applies to the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas at a time when they are tired by the toils of journey, and are unable to procure food from other castes, and that the food in any case should be limited to just what is sufficient to save one's life in times of distress. This is further qualified by the statement (III, 327) that for the above purpose the food of condemned Sudras, like that of Chandalas, should not be taken, while the food of good Sudras may not be avoided. The author concludes (III, 337) with clarification of the Smriti rule admitting the lawfulness of the food of certain specified classes of Sudras, although, somewhat inconsistently, he elsewhere (I, 123-27) quotes with approval the Kalivarjya text including the acceptance of food of five classes of Sudras in the list. The extreme limit of the Sudra's social disability is reached in the Madanapdrijata (133) justifying by argument a quotation which requires purification by bathing with clothes on, for touching a Sudra. The divergence of our authors' views is reflected in two contradictory interpretations of Mann's celebrated dictum about the natural as well as the divinely ordained servitude of the Sudra. On the one hand the Vivddaratndkara (146), applying the dictum to the general clause of law permitting four specified classes of Sudras to be released by the master's favour, observes that the clause does not apply to the Sudra. Applying the same dictum to the clause which makes a Brahmana liable to punishment for enslaving men of the three upper classes out of greed, the author states that he who forcibly reduces a Sudra to slavery is exempt from punishment. On the other hand, the Vivtidachintamani (68), quoting the same dictum, observes that it is meant simply to deprecate the condition of the Sudra, for otherwise there would be no such dealings as the sale of Sudras and so forth (which are laid down in the Smritis).

At the end of this brief survey of the status of the four castes after our authors, we may notice their references to the discriminatory clauses, caste-wise, of the Smriti penal law. These clauses, which provide for punishment for the same offence committed by a Brahmana, a Kshatriya, a Vaisya and a SSudra on an ascending scale, are repeated often at great length in the Smriti Digests and Commentaries of our period. Not only, however, was their operation necessarily restricted by the occupation of large tracts of the country by the arms of Islam, but our authors occasionally drop hints about the disuse of the old discriminatory clauses, as when the Vyavaharavivekoddyota, concluding its chapter on defamation and assault, observes that although many other varieties of punishment have been laid down in the Smritis according to the differences of subjectmatter under these heads, kings in these times are unable to put them into effect for fear of rousing popular discontent.

Of more practical application than the above are our author's references to the discriminatory clauses in the Smriti law of penances. The Madanaparijata (791-92), in the context of its statement of the penances for Bmhmana-murder, upholds a Smriti rule fixing the penances in the ratio of 1 : 2 : 3 : 4 for Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, so as to make an inconvenient text (Sankha) yield the forced interpretation that the diminishing scale of penance 1 : J : i : J according to the order of the castes refers to the diminishing capacity of the individual sinner irrespective of caste. This is followed by the author's clear and emphatic statement, on the authority of Vijhanesvara, that the rule fixing the penances for the Brahmana, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra in the diminishing proportions, as mentioned above, applies to other matters than the four specified crimes of violence. The ascending scale of penances, is likewise applied in respect of various sins in the Prayaschittasdra (30 and 36) and in Sulapani's commentary on Yajnavalkya (II. 250). This is justified by the argument just stated that the descending scale of penances applies to matters other than the four crimes of violence (which are specified in the Prayaschittasdra (36)) as comprising homicide, theft, criminal assault on other men's wives, and assault in general). Elsewhere (121), however, the Pmyaschittasdra prescribes the same penances for Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaisya on the ground of silence of the texts about the descending scale of the same. The Madanaparijata (869) neatly sums up its view by stating that the descending scale of penances applies to the minor sins, and the ascending scale to the mortal sins.

In so far as the group of mixed castes is concerned, we may notice a short discussion in the Pamsara-Madhava (I, 512-13) about the status of the anuloma castes, meaning those supposed to have sprung from the unions of Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas with girls of inferior castes. Repeating the view of Manu, the author observes that the issue of a Brahmana by his married Kshatriya wife is similar to, but not quite the same as, a Brahmana, because of connection with his low-caste mother, and that the same is the case with the issue of such other unions. The view of Vishnu and Sahkha, assigning to the issue of anuloma marriages the caste of the mother, we are further told, refers to their acquisition of the duties of the mother's caste, while they are proved on the contrary to form a separate caste by the fact that otherwise the superiority of the father would have no application. The above discussion proves the author's position to be midway between the exceptional Smriti view elevating the issues of anuloma marriages to their father's caste, and the ordinary view degrading them to the caste of their mother. 3

As regards the despised castes our authors recapitulate the Smriti rules about their degraded status. The Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 257-58) explains after quoted texts that one touching a Chandala at the first, the second and the third remove, should purify himself by bathing with his clothes on, while one doing so at the fourth remove should merely touch the water. Purification by bathing should be undertaken in both cases, when the touch is intentional. The Chandala, we are elsewhere (III, 387-88) told in amplification of the original text, should be kept at a distance of four yugas (the length being understood in the light of popular usage): one coming nearer without touching him should bathe with his clothes on: one touching him unintentionally should bathe and look at the Sun (by way of purification), and one doing so intentionally should perform double this penance or some other act of purification. Explaining the detailed description in the original, the author elsewhere (III, 81-94) mentions the different penances to be undertaken by a Brahmana for conversing or sleeping on the same bed, or going in company with a Chandala, for looking at or touching a Chandala, for drawing water from a pond owned by a Chandala, for drinking

water from a well wherefrom water has been drawn in a Chandala's

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vessel, for unwittingly eating a Chandala's food or living for some time in the same house with him, for association with a Chandala on a journey to a field or garden or another village, and lastly in the event of a Chandala's entrance into the house even once. The author likewise mentions the similar but less severe penances for drinking water from the vessels of other despised classes such as washermen and so forth, and for association with them.

A pattern of social structure, somewhat different from the above, prevailed in the different regions of the country according to the realistic accounts of this period. In the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, for instance, there were, next to the Brahmanas, such important caste-groups as Chettis (merchants), VIra Panchalas (artisans), Kaikkolas (weavers), and barbers. There were besides immigrant castes from the north like the Tottiyars, the Saurashtras and the Reddis, whose influx resulted in degradation of certain indigenous castes like the Kurumbars. The lowest caste consisted of the Dombaras (jugglers and soothsayers), Jogis, Maravaras, and so forth. The disputes between the various middle castes above mentioned (and specially between the two great divisions of the righthand and left-hand castes) made up much of the social history of those times. In so far as the Brahmanas were concerned, they were treated with the traditional high respect by kings and nobles alike. In agreement with the Smriti standards of the south, as mentioned above, the Brahmanas were employed on a variety of occupations, namely, as merchants and agriculturists, ministers and provincial governors, generals and commanders of fortresses. 4 A cross section of the social structure in the Vijayanagara Empire, which is but very imperfectly noticed in the Smritis, consisted of the great ministers and other officials, as well as the feudatories (amaranayakas) holding charge of districts on condition of furnishing financial contributions and military contingents, on the one side, and the mass of the people on the other side. 5

3. Slavery

Slavery was fairly common, and the matter-of-fact way in which Ibn Batutah refers to the acquisition of slave-girls in lots, and their distribution as ordinary gifts or presents, throws a lurid light on the moral ideas of the time. A sort of communal spirit seems to have prevailed in this matter. The Muslims took delight in enslaving Hindu women en masse from the highest to the lowest rank, and many of them, including even those who once were princesses, were forced to entertain the Muslim court and the nobility with dance and music. Sultan Mahammad bin Tughluq made free gifts of them to his relations and the nobility, and sent as presents to the Chinese Emperor "one hundred male slaves and one hundred slave songstresses and dancers from among the Indian infidels". On the other hand, according to Nizam-ud-dm, "even Musalmans and Sayyid women were taken by the Rajputs and were turned into slave girls. They were taught the art of dancing and were made to join the akhavas." 5a

The Smriti authorities of this period repeat the clauses of law relating to slavery in the older texts under the familiar head of law called 'non-rendition of service after making a contract to serve or obey.' 5b It will suffice to quote here their comments on the rules for the emancipation of slaves. Expanding the Smriti clause on this point the Prdsara-Madhava, the Vivddachandra, the Vivadachintdmani and the Vyavaharakanda observe that not only the four classes of slaves (one born in the household, one purchased, one acquired, and one inherited), but one who has sold himself to slavery, are released by the masters's favour, the privilege being extended still further in the Vyavahdravivekoddyota so as to apply to all classes other than those who have fallen off from the monastic order. According to the Vyavahdravivekoddyota and the Vyavaharakdrida, five other specified classes of slaves are released simply by saving the master from imminent danger of his life, the Pardsara-Madhava extending this privilege to all classes of slaves. On the other hand, the Vivddaratndkara, Vivddachandra and the Vivddachintdmani limit the application of the equitable Smriti rule, requiring the master begetting a son on his female slave to release them both, by stating that this should be done when the master has no other son. Coming to the historical records we may state that slavery, to judge from the combined evidence of the contemporary inscriptions as well as foreign accounts, was a recognized institution in the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara. 6

A word may be said here about a disreputable class of women whom we had occasion to notice in the course of our survey of the preceding periods. From the combined testimony of a number of foreign observers (Abdur Razzak, Barbosa and Paes) and a Kanarese poem, we can estimate the large numbers and the affluence of the courtesans at the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire. The combined evidence of inscriptions and foreign notices in the same area likewise points to continuance of the institution of dancing girls in the service of temples. 7

4. Mojrriage

The elaborate rules, relating to marriage, in the Smritis are repeated, often at great length, by our authors with occasional comments, which will chiefly concern us here. Thus, in the first place, inter-caste marriages among the three upper classes are included in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age, quoted with approval in the Pardsara-Madhava, (I, 123-27) and the M adanapdrij at a (15-16). This would tend towards the creation of strictly endogamous castes. In fact, however, our authors repeat and amplify the old Smriti rules of hypergamy. Summing up its explanation on this point after the canonical standards, the Grihastharatnakara (38) observes that girls of other castes (jatis) may be married (by a Brahmana) one after another in the regular (anuloma) order, that he becomes liable to censure by doing otherwise, and that the Smriti prohibition against marriage with a Sudra girl refers to a marriage where another wife (of a superior caste) is available, just as the Smriti condemnation of begetting a child on a Sudra wife is applicable when the same can be done on another wife. The hypergamous rule in the Smritis is justified by other authors on more worldly grounds. Referring to the texts which recommend a Brahmana to marry Kshatriya and other girls in the anuloma order after his marriage with a girl of his own caste, the Madanapdrijdta (133-34) declares the latter type of marriage to be of the principal kind, and the former type to be the less desirable course. For it is a Smriti rule that among the two duties laid down for the married man, the first (namely, the sacrifices) can be performed only with a wife of the same caste, while the second (namely, sexual pleasure) can be enjoyed with any married wife. We have a more complete explanation in the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 493-98). While girls both of the same and of different castes are suitable for marriage (with a Brahmana), we are there told, the former are praiseworthy, but if the Brahmana, after first marrying a girl of the same caste for the purpose of his religious exercises, feels sexual desire, he may marry girls of inferior castes in the respective (prescribed) order. The author next adjusts two contradictory views, one condoning the Brahmana’s union with a Sudra girl, and the other requiring a Brahmana and a Kshatriya to avoid her, by observing that they reflect the opinions of different authorities (as is illustrated by a text of Yajhavalkya), or else refer to different Age-cycles (as is proved by a text including inter-caste marriages of the three upper classes in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age).

The Smriti authorities of our period repeat the old exogamous rules forbidding marriages on the ground of sameness of gotra and pravara as well as of sapinda relationship between the parties to the match, and they extend the last relationship, after the great majority of the older authors, to seven degrees on the father's side and five degrees on the side of the mother. As regards the term sapinda, both the Madanapdrijdta' (129-133) and the Pardsara-Mddhava (I. 465-66) refer to its double interpretation signifying, after the school of the Mitdkshard, those who are connected together by having particles of the same body, and after the school of the Ddyabhaga, those who are connected because of the ball of rice or its leavings offered to the common ancestor at the Srdddha ceremony. But while the Madanapdrijdta quotes the former explanation, only for its

rejection in favour of the latter, the Pardsara-Mddhava, combining the two explanations, observes that one should marry a girl who is not a sapinda in both senses of the term. The Grihastharatnakara (8), by contrast, contents itself with quoting in part the classical exposition of Vijnanesvara (on Yajhavalkya, I, 52-53) in favour of the former interpretation. To complete our account, the Madanapdrijdta (139-40) and the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 467-68), as well as the commentary of Sulapani (on Yajhavalkya, I, 56), explain away the texts narrowing down the sapinda relationship still further to the third and the fifth degrees on the mother's and the father's side respectively. This is justified by the argument that the said texts apply to the issue of an adopted mother or father, or of step-mothers of different castes, or of asura and similar disapproved types of marriage, or else to Kshatriyas, and so forth.

On the question of validity of the ancient South-Indian custom of marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle (mdtula-sutd), —which by the way disregards the Smriti rule of prohibited degrees of marriages as between cognates—our authors, like their predecessors, are sharply divided in their opinions. On the one hand, the Grihastharatnakara (8 and 10), while pointedly condemning marriage with the mdtula-suta, in the course of its explanation of a verse of Manu, quotes the text requiring one to perform a penance for marrying such a girl and to maintain her after separation. On the other hand, Dalapati, the author of the Sarhskdrasdra , la justifies the above custom on the ground of its mention in the Vedas. The strongest defence of this custom, mostly after the arguments in the Smriti chandrikd (I, 70-74), is found in the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 469-73), where the author, in the course of a long and learned discussion, observes that the custom is justified by the combined authority of the Vedas, the Smritis and the customs of cultured men, and he concludes that it is lawful within its particular region, even in respect of asura and similar forms of marriage. 8

The Smriti authorities of this period repeat the arguments of their predecessors for explaining the relative importance of the prohibitory rules about marriage. Where (as in the texts prescribing marriage with a girl who is not sapinda of the mother), we are told in the Madanaparijata (140-42), the injunctions and prohibitions have no visible merits and demerits, these can be deduced from the scriptures alone, and when a man disregards the same, the girl does not become a wife at all; where, however, the injunctions and prohibitions are laid down in view of their visible merits and demerits (such as auspicious names of girls), their violation does not prevent the girl from becoming a wife, but it merely entails a

penance. The same explanation is found in the Grihastharatnakara (28-29). It is, however, remarkable that the Madanapdrzjdta, after quoting a few exceptions to the general rule given above, winds up with the remarks that the final decision should be made in accordance with regional usage—a statement which is in complete accord with the spirit of elasticity of the Smriti rules in these matters.

Long before this period, the Smritis had enjoined upon guardians of girls, under severe moral and spiritual sanctions, the obligation of giving them away in marriage before puberty, the age of the girl being specifically stated to extend to seven, ten, or, at the most, twelve years. The clear and emphatic repetition of this rule is found in the Pardsara-Mddhava. The author, in one place (I, 474), quotes the texts fixing the relative ages of the bridegroom and the bride as 30 and 12, 28 and 8, 30 and 10, 21 and 7, and more generally in the proportion of 3:1. Elsewhere (I, 481-82) the author, while commending, after the older writers, the guardian's bestowal of a girl not yet of a marriageable age and in fact of an age without any sense of shame, explains away a text permitting a girl even after puberty to stay in her father's house till her death rather than be given away to an unworthy husband. In yet another context (III, 120-21) the author quotes the appropriate texts so as to emphasize the impurity of the girl reaching puberty in her father's house, as well as that of the guardians failing to give her away before that time. Only at the end, he grudgingly allows, that the giving away and acceptance of a girl even at twelve years of age is not prohibited, if she has not attained puberty at that time. Equally emphatic is the view of the Madanapdrijdta (149-50). The author enjoins upon guardians, after quoted texts, the bestowal of a nagnikd (explained alternatively as one too young to have any sense of shame in the presence of males, and as one who has not attained the age of puberty) even upon a worthless husband, rather than keeping the girl unmarried beyond her puberty. In accordance with other quoted texts the guardians are required, under strict social and religious sanctions, to give away the girl at eight, nine or ten years of age when she has not reached puberty.

In contrast with the above clear statements, those of the Grihastharatnakara are singularly rambling and confused. Quoting the older Smritis the author explains (39) that the marriage of a girl, twelve or sixteen years old, with a bridegroom of thirty years of age is commendable, but that of a young girl with a bridegroom thrice her age is still more praiseworthy. Modifying the above statement in another context (47), the author observes that unlike the marriage of a sixteen-year-old girl with a thirty-year-old bride

groom, which, though justified by the superior qualities of the husband, is still to be condemned, the marriage of a nagnikd (meaning a girl of ten years not knowing as yet how to wear clothes properly) is praiseworthy. The author ends, characteristically enough, with the forced interpretation of a Mahdbhdrata text so as to make it mean that a thirty-year-old bridegroom should marry a sixteen-yearold girl or else a nagnikd • In yet another context (83), the author quotes, without comment, a Purana text which prescribes diminishing periods of continence immediately after marriage according as the ages of the bride and the bridegroom are in the proportion of 8 : 24, 12 : 30, 16 : 32, and as the bride's age is 20 or more.

In the event of a girl failing from various causes to get herself married before puberty, the Smritis permit her the privilege of selfchoice (svayamvara) of her husband after a short or long period of probation. These rules are quoted by our authors with some slight explanations. Reconciling the older references to two distinct time-periods, the Grihastharatnakara (42-43) states that the girl should wait for three years if her father or other guardians, in spite of their efforts, fail for some reasons to give her away, but she .should wait only for the expiry of her three monthly illnesses in the contrary case. A girl without guardians, we are told in the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 483-84), may select a husband with the necessary qualifications before reaching puberty: even where there is the father or other guardian, the girl on reaching puberty should await their decision for a little while, and in case they are indifferent she should herself select her husband. Referring to the different time-periods prescribed by the authorities, the author further observes, that while normally waiting for three years, she need wait only for the three months, as stated above, if a sufficiently qualified bridegroom is available. In the absence of other corroborative evidence it is not possible to ascertain how far these radical rules were still observed in actual practice.

The eight forms of marriage known to the ancient Smritis, along with their estimate of the comparative merits and demerits of the same, are quoted with pedantic thoroughness by our authors. Sa It will be enough to mention here a striking defence of the disapproved forms of marriage in the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 489-90) and the Madanapdrijata (157). Replying to a hypothetical objection that dsura and the like marriages, in the absence of the ceremony of taking the seven steps (saptapadl) together, do not produce the relationship of husband and wife, the authors state that this ceremony can be performed after the union, and therefore, the girl certainly becomes a wedded wife.

The old Smriti rules, permitting the revocation of marriage in certain special circumstances, are repeated by our authors. A girl, says the Madanaparijdta (150-53), may be given away to another bridegroom after the ceremony of selection (varana), but before that of saptapadi, in the event of detection of defects on either side, since the relationship of husband arises only after the last-named ceremony. The same rule applies in the case of a bridegroom dying before the saptapadi (the girl in this case being asked to be given away to the bridegroom's younger brother or a man of the same gotra or any other man in the order of sequence), of a girl carried away by force but not married with the utterance of the sacred texts, of a bridegroom going away to another country after selection of the bride and payment of the nuptial fee (the bride in this case being required to wait for a specific period of time), and lastly, of a bridegroom wanting in the qualifications of family, character and. so forth. The author, however, qualifies his approval by stating that the practice of giving away the girl to the younger brother of the deceased husband, and so forth, like the one immediately mentioned before, is hateful to the people and as such should be followed in accordance with the regional usage. Referring to the same Smriti rules the Grihastharatnakara (48) explains that while the girl given away in any one of the first five forms of marriage can be given only once, one taken in marriage in accordance with the three other forms can be given away afresh to a worthier bridegroom. The ceremony of selection, we are further told (54), is not sufficient for the creation of wifehood in the event of a fault being found in the bridegroom. We may quote, lastly, the author's neat summary of Narada's celebrated text enumerating fourteen classes of eunuchs, and nermitting revocation of marriage with them after short or long periods. When the defects of any one of these classes, we are told (33), are known beforehand, the girl should not be married to him: when the girl is married in ignorance of these defects, the man should be medically treated and the result should be awaited: when the man is proved to be beyond cure, the girl should be married to another, even though she had been given in marriage to the former.

The lead of the canonists of the preceding period forbidding remarriage of widows is followed by our authors. The re-marriage of girls, whether the marriage has been consummated or not, occurs in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age quoted with approval in the Pardsara-Madhava (I, 123-27), and that of girls whose marriage has not been consummated is found in the similar list of the Madanaparijdta (15-16). Consistently with this attitude the Pardsara-Madhava (I, 492-93, III, 44) interprets a number of texts.

clearly in favour of widow re-marriage, as referring to another Age-cycle.

On the subject of the mutual duties of the husband and the wife, our authors repeat the old Smriti view with occasional comments. According to the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 506) it is the husband’s duty properly to maintain his wives, irrespectively of their youth or old age, provided they are of good behaviour. The Grihastharatndkara (86) quotes a text making the husband liable to heavy punishment for abandoning his chaste and gentle wife, and compelling him to take her back. By neglecting to maintain his wife who has been given to him by the gods, we are told in the Vyavahdravivekoddyota (318), the husband becomes guilty of injuring them: even the wicked wife should be given maintenance in the shape of bad food and so forth. The husband deserting his faithful wife, it is further declared (319), should be fined and compelled by the king to take her back, failing which the husband should be made to pay her one-third of his property if he is rich, and what is sufficient for her maintenance, if he is poor. On the wife’s part, she has, we are told in the Madanapdrijdta (190-96), the obligation of leading a life of studied dependence (she should not act independently even in domestic affairs), of sobriety (she should be restrained in her dress and behaviour in the presence of superiors and she should avoid bad company), and above all of absolute devotion and loyalty to her husband: she should adopt a life of ascetic restraint during her husband’s absence abroad. The wife despising her husband on any account, such as poverty, explains the Pardsara-Mddhava (III, 30 and 34), commits great sin and, as such, is liable to the prescribed penance, while the wife, undertaking vows and so forth in disregard of service to her husband, should propitiate him and perform a penance at his dictation: the wife, undertaking a vow without the husband’s permission, is purified by the fact of fruitlessness of her endeavour and is not liable to a separate penance.

The specific moral as well as physical defects of the wife justifying her supersession by the husband, along with the time-lags for certain varieties of these defects, are repeated by our authors after the old Smriti law. The Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 508) somewhat relaxes the strict Smriti rule on this point by stating expressly that out of the two kinds of supersession, the one meant for fulfilling the law in the shape of begetting a legitimate son and so forth is justified by the occasions mentioned, but the other which is intended for gratifying sexual passion needs no such occasion. Nevertheless we are told (509), that the husband, in the latter case, must propitiate the wife, failing which he should be compelled by the king

to pay her one-third of his property, or to maintain her with food and clothing, according as he is rich or poor. The superseded wife, if she has not been given stridhana before, should get as much as is given to the newly married wife, and in the contrary case, she should get half of the same 8b or as much as would make their shares equal. 80

The old Smriti rule, relating to the abandonment of women in special circumstances, is relaxed in one respect, and intensified on another point, in the Kalivarjya text quoted with approval in the Parasara-Mddhava (I, 123-27). On the one hand, it prohibits the abandonment of women of honoured relationship on the ground of sexual connection with men of low castes, although it is a fact that some Smriti texts (Vasishtha and Brihaspati) had expressly required women guilty of such connection to be abandoned. On the other hand, the above-mentioned text forbids social intercourse with women who have been polluted by rape and so forth, even after their performance of the prescribed penance, such women having been held previously (Vasishtha, Atri and Parasara) to become pure after penance and their own monthly illness. A complete explanation of the occasions justifying the abandonment of women is given in the Parasara-Madhava-While a couple, belonging to the despised caste and incapable of performance of the ceremony of marriage, incur no blame by mutual separation on account of disagreement (II, 324-25), a wife, taken in accordance with the ceremony of marriage can be abandoned only for unchastity, for wanton character, and for other specified serious crimes. While the act of hating her kinsmen, to the point of applying poison or black magic and so forth against them, as well as of procuring abortion, makes the women equally liable to be cut off from conversation (III, 32). the latter act is incapable of expiation, and the guilty woman must certainly be abandoned. On the treatment of the abandoned women, our authors explain and expand the older views. Fallen women, equally with men, we read in the Madanapmjata (968), are to be abandoned in the event of their not performing the (appropriate) penance, and to be taken back after its performance, but there is this special rule that the women in the former case are to be allowed residence near the house as well as food and clothing. Neither death nor mutilation, according to the Vivddaratndkara (426) and the Pardsara-Mddhava (II, 325), is to be the lot of the abandoned woman. A woman abandoned for specified crimes, we read in the Pardsara-Mddhava: (II, 324-25), in the context just quoted, should be denied conjugal relations and participation in Vedic and Smriti rites as well as conversation and so forth, while one abandoned for

disease and the like should be denied conjugal relations alone. A woman guilty of proved unchastity, as when she becomes pregnane by her paramour in the event of her husband's death or prolonged residence abroad, it is further observed (III, 284-90) by the same author, shall be banished to a foreign land; a woman of suspected unchastity, as when a Brahmana woman goes out to another village or country to live with a man who is not her guardian and to whom she has made advances of love, cannot be allowed to return to her residence; a woman going out wilfully to live in another village cannot be permitted to return to her kinsmen even after performing a penance, for the Smriti ban against the abandonment of women applies (only) to one who is repentant for her act and is entitled to penance for the same; a woman, angrily leaving her house herself and alone for being assaulted by her guardians for her faults, may return home within ten days without being liable to a penance, but a Brahmana woman returning home after these days of grace is incapable of penance and is to be abandoned, and even the house where she is given shelter becomes impure like that of the Chandalas.

The Smritis, from the time of Brihaspati onwards, inculcate upon the widow, the obligation of self-immolation on the funeral pyre of her husband (sahamarana, anumarana, or anugamana , commonly known as sail) as her alternative or else as her exclusive duty. The former view is repeated in the Madanapdrij at a (196-203). The author, it is true, explains that the injunction (after Harita) to perform sahamarana is the general duty of all chaste wives, other than those who are pregnant or have infant children, down to the Chandalas. Where the husband has died abroad, it is further explained, the Brahmana widow may certainly burn herself along with his bones, while a widow of another caste, failing to procure the bones, may burn herself with or even without any of his symbols. The author, again, offers a double defence of self-immolation after the Digests of the preceding period, namely, that the ban on Brahmana women (Paithmasi, Angiras and others) refers to their mounting a separate pyre, and that the Vedic passage forbidding unapproved suicide in general terms does not conflict with the Smriti text specially prescribing suicide (to the widow) by entering the fire on her husband's death. On the other hand, the author, after stating that self-immolation is an optional rite as being attended with the reward of heaven and the like, emphatically rejects the contrary view declaring it to be a compulsory rite, by pointing to Manu's silence in this matter. This is followed, significantly enough, by a long quotation tending to show that the observance of the vows of widowhood likewise procures (for the woman) the reward of heaven and so forth. The view declaring self-immolation to be the widow's

exclusive duty finds its emphatic support in the Parasara-Madhava (III, 45-49). While great bliss, we are told by the author after the original text, attends the widow adopting a vow of chastity instead of contracting a second marriage, she earns still greater merit by following her husband on the funeral pyre; in fact while the chaste wife, performing the ceremony, brings bliss both on herself and on her husband, the sinful wife is released from her sins by this act. This statement is accompanied by the double defence of the rite as above mentioned. The author concludes with the remark that subject to the usual restrictions all women are eligible for sahamarana. That the above discussions, involving the qualified or absolute sanction of self-immolation by the widow, must be interpreted in a limited sense, is proved by the fact that the same authors elsewhere (as we shall presently see) vindicate the widow's right as the foremost heir of her sonless and divided husband, the author of PardsaraMadhava taking the lead in this respect.

The most authentic evidence of the prevalence of satl in different areas is furnished by the contemporary historical records. It is noticed as a peculiar custom of the Indians of Quilon on the Malabar coast by Friar Odoric (c. A.D. 1321-22), and of 'India the Less' (meaning Sind and the western coast as far as the north of Malabar) by Friar Jordanus (A.D. 1323-1330). We have eyewitnesses' accounts of the performance of satl near Dhar in Malwa by Ibn Batutah (1342), and in the Vijayanagara Empire by Nicolo Conti and Duarte Barbosa in the beginning of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. The two last-named writers testify to the large numbers of wives and female slaves who burnt themselves along with their deceased husbands and masters in the Hindu empire. We have a striking reminiscence of the Smriti doctrine on this point in the statement of Odoric that women, with sons, were exempted from the performance of satl , and of Ibn Batutah that the custom was not obligatory, although highly esteemed. Ibn Batutah further adds that permission had to be obtained from the Sultan to burn the widow. 9

55. Position of women

The Smriti authorities of this period extensively quote the old doctrine of perpetual subjection of women as well as that of their lifelong tutelage under their male relations at successive stages of their lives. They quote likewise the corollary of these doctrines in the shape of the duty of the husband to guard his wife well by keeping her engaged in household work and so forth in the interest of the families of both and of their progeny. 9a Our authors repeat

in particular the religious disabilities of women (such as their disqualification for Vedic study and sacrament in accordance with Vedic mantras) after the older texts. We may quote in this connexion the very characteristic explanation of the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 484) and the Madanapdrijdta (37), that the division of women into two classes (after Harlta), namely, brahmavadinis or 'students of sacred lore' (who go through the ceremonies of upanayana or investiture with the sacred thread, keeping the sacred fire, begging for alms within their own household) and sadyovadhus or 'those who are married straightway' (for whom, as the time for marriage draws near, the upanayana is performed somehow), belongs to a different time-cycle (Kalpa).

The penalties for women under the Smriti criminal law, which include capital punishment with revolting cruelty for a number of serious crimes under the heads of violence (sdhasa) and adultery (strlsamgrahana) , are repeated by our authors. References are made simultaneously by them to the remarkably humane rule of Katyayana that women are liable to half the fine payable by men, and that they are to lose a limb where the men are punished with death. In view T of the fact that the operation of the Smriti penal law was neceS' sarily restricted by the occupation of large tracts of the country by Muslim rulers, and that the above penalties are repeated by our authors without any serious comment, it may be surmised that their application at this period was largely a matter of academic interest.

Of more practical importance than the above are our authors' references (with a distinct tendency towards their lenient interpretation) to the penance for women in the Smriiis. Thus the special rule, prescribing half the penance for women as compared with men, is applied to particular types of sins in the Pardsara-Mddhava (III, 29 and 34) and the Prdyaschittasdra (32, 56, 64 and 75), although the Madanapdrijdta (891-92), by way of exception, makes the women liable to the very same penances as men for one of the mortal sins. Women are exempted from tonsuring the head according to a quotation in the Prdyaschittasdra (22), and from a longer list of such penances after a quotation in the Madanapdrijdta (870). Although women (of the three upper classes), conceiving as a result of illicit intercourse with a Sudra paramour, we are told in the Pardsara-Mddhava (III, 115-16), cannot be purified and must be abandoned, a woman doing so by connexion with a man of another caste is purified by penance; a woman guilty of unchastity, not resulting in conception, is purified by the appropriate penance, or even by her monthly illness, according as the sin is physical, mental or verbal. Elsewhere (280), the author, meeting the objection that a

woman having connexion with a Chandala cannot be purified by the observance of vows but must be abandoned, argues that like land contaminated by the residence of Chandalas and so forth which is reclaimed by the operations of digging (the soil), applying colourwash (to the wall), and so forth, a woman in the above situation can be reclaimed by the performance of vows. To this the only qualification is that Brahmana women are purified by special penances.

The most considerable development of our authors' ideas on the present subject relates to the women's property rights. Thus, in the first place, they amplify Yajnavalkya's clause of law (I, 115) about partition of property by a father among his sons and wives. The father, says the VivticLaratnakara (65), should make his wives equal or unequal sharers, according as he gives equal or unequal shares to his sons. This is subject to the explanation that a wife, not receiving wealth from her husband or father-in-law (as strldhana), should receive as much wealth as would make her share equal to that of her son, and in the contrary case, a half share. Where the sons, born of the Brahmana and other wives, we are told more fully in the Madanapdrijdta (662-63), take equal shares, their mothers likewise receive the same, and where the sons by a Kshatriya, a Vaisyia and a iSudra wife take their shares in the proportion of f, \ and i respectively, their mothers also follow suit. According to the VyavaMravivekoddyota (331), the mother takes equal share with her sons at partition after the father's death if she has no strldhana, but she takes a half share at partition during as well as after the father's lifetime, if she has the same. The author, in the same context, rejects the view of an anonymous authority, permitting the mother and the rest to take what is necessary for their bare existence, as well as the view of Smritichandrikd, allowing them to take what suffices for their subsistence where the property to be divided is large, and an equal share where it is small. Expanding Yajnavalkya's clause (I, 117) about partition of property by a father among his sons, Sulapani observes that the daughters should divide their mother's property equally among themselves after payment of her debts.

The widow's right as the foremost heir of a deceased sonless male divided from his family, which was first conceded by Yajnavalkya and Vishnu, is repeatedly vindicated by our authors against adverse criticisms. The wife, it is explained, is the first heir if she is chaste, but not otherwise (Vyavaharavivekoddyota, 359); the order of succession, with the wife coming first in the list of heirs, applies to all castes, meaning those born of marriages in the anuloma

and the pratiloma orders, as well as the Brahmanas and the rest. 9b The wife, following the vow of widowhood, takes the property of a man without principal or subsidiary sons, while one who has fallen off from her vow is to get only her maintenance; 90 the wife of a man dying without son, grandson, and great-grandson takes his property. 93

The widow's right is supported with discussions by the other authorities. The reference to widows, even of divided and not reunited husbands, getting a maintenance alone, says the Vyavahdravivekoddyota (360), applies to exclusively kept concubines. Similarly Sulapani (on Yajhavalkya, I, 135-36), explaining the references to brothers and daughters taking the property, observes that the former text applies to an unchaste and adulterous wife, while the latter passage refers to an appointed daughter. In the next place the Vyavahdrakdnda (405-08) justifies the widow's right to take the property before the father on the ground of her greater propinquity; the wife (patrii), it is argued, confers greater seen and unseen benefits after the Yedic and Smriti standards (upon the deceased)— the patrii being explained to mean a wife who is married according to brahma and other approved forms —-and is entitled as such to perform the sacrifices, and not a wife who is acquired by purchase. According to the Vivddaratndkara (589-93), the reference (Manu) to the mother and the father as the heirs of a son dying without issue applies to one who has left no principal or subsidiary sons and no wife. The clause of law (Paithmasi) declaring the wife of a sonless man to be the heir after the brother and so forth, the author continues, refers to one who is other than a chaste wife, and who slightly fulfils the duties of widowhood. Giving another explanation of the above clause, the author observes that it refers to property other than that which has been earned by the father, the grandfather and so forth (or in other words, to self-acquired property).

The fullest vindication of the widow's right as her husband's foremost heir occurs in the Pardsara-Mddhava (II, 355-60). The clause of law (Narada), making the other brothers the heirs in case a brother dies without issue, and giving his widow a life-long maintenance, the author observes, applies to one who has been re-united with his family, or has not been divided at all. Again the clause (Manu), mentioning the father or the brother as the heir of a sonless man, does not lay down the order of succession, while the rule (Katyayana), making the father, the brother, the mother and the paternal grandmother, the heirs as above, refers to the case of an adulterous wife. The interpretation (Dharesvara and the author of

Smritisamgraha) that the widow inherits the property provided she submits to niyoga (appointment for raising issue to her deceased husband), is disproved by the argument inter alia that the vow of chastity is imposed upon the widow by a number of Smritis in the present context. Other texts giving the widow a bare maintenance during her lifetime refer to an exclusively kept concubine, or else to a wife guilty of proved or suspected adultery. The author finally argues that a Vedic text, held to disqualify women for a share in the property, which, by the way, led even such an advanced legist as the author of Smritichandrikd to exclude such women as are not expressly declared to be heirs in the Smritis, simply means that the wife of the sacrificer is not entitled to her share of the Soma juice taken in a particular (pdtnivata) cup.

Besides justifying the position of the widow as the next heir of a sonless man divided from his family, our authors vindicate the extent and nature of her interest in her husband's property. The clause (Brihaspati) denying to the wives the right of inheriting immovable property, we are told in the Pardsara-Mddhava (II, 360), means simply that they are forbidden to sell the same without the consent of the other heirs. The widow, says the Vyavahdrasdra (250) after a Smriti clause, takes the whole property comprising movables as well as immovables. According to the Vivddachintdmani (237), the widow should perform the first as well as the yearly funeral offerings for her husband and take his whole property. When the property is divided, we are told more fully in the Vyavahdrakdnda (408-10), the patnz (as distinguished from a wife procured for enjoyment) should take the whole property (along with

immovables) of her husband, and perform, to the measure of

this wealth, various pious acts for her own and her husband's spiritual benefit. Adjusting a few contradictory texts after the

Smritichandrika, the author further observes that where there are

wives with and without daughters, the former take the immovables and the latter the movables, and where there are only wives without daughters, they take both immovables and movables to the exclusion of the mother, and so forth.

The widow’s interest in her husband’s property is most fully vindicated in the Vyavahdravivekoddyota (359-63). The clause of Brihaspati quoted in the Smritichandrika as denying immovable property to women, we are told, is not found in many other Digests and authors of Digests, namely, Vijnanesvara, Krityakalpataru, Ratndkara, Parijdta, Halayudha and others, and it appears, as such, to be unacceptable. Even if we are to accept it on the authority of the Smritichandrika , it should be taken to refer to a wife married accord

ing to the a sura and other disapproved forms, unlike the paint, who is married in accordance with brahma and other approved forms. The adjustment of contradictory texts in the Smritichandrika, the author continues, in the sense that the wife without daughters does not take the immovable property while the wife with daughters takes the same, seems to be a guess and nothing more. Adjusting a few other texts, the author further observes that where the husband has died undivided or reunited with his family, his wife gets only food and clothing during her lifetime, if she is other than a patni, but if she is a paint, she gets as much share out of her husband’s wealth as will enable her to live in comfort and to perform her compulsory and occasional duties, as well as her optional duties of the kind within women’s capacity. The clause (Katyayana) denying to the patni the freedom of gift and so forth, we are further told, means that she cannot spend the money on actors, dancers and such-like visible objectives, but she is certainly entitled to gift, pledge or sale of the same for “invisible” purposes. The author’s final conclusion is that where the husband has died divided and not reunited, the wife is entitled to his entire property, both movable and immovable.

We may briefly notice in this connection our authors’ references to other female heirs of a soilless man as described above. Justifying the order of succession after Yajnavalkya, Vyavahdrakdnda (413-14) observes that while the daughter’s propinquity to the deceased arises from the invisible benefit conferred through her son, the mother’s greater propinquity is derived from the benefit conferred through her direct participation in the fire-offering (agnihotra) and other rites (performed by the father). On the other hand, although the father himself confers spiritual benefit upon the deceased by the performance of his srdddha, the daughter is physically inseparable from the latter. The author next rejects the narrow interpretation of the daughter in the present context in a number of specified and unspecified Digests, as one who was appointed to raise male issue for her father having no son of his own. Coming to another point, we find that the father is preferred to the mother in the order of succession in the Vivddachandra (93) and the Vyavahdravivekoddyota (364), and the mother to the father in the Vivadarattidkara (595), the Vyawakdrasdra (251) and the Vivddachintdmani (241). The mother, it is argued in the Vyavakdrasdra after Vijnanesvara, comes before the father in the dissolution of the copulative word (pitarau) for parents in the original, while the mother's propinquity is greater than the father's. Lastly, we have to observe that the paternal grandmother is placed after the brother and the brother's son in the Vyavakd ravivekoddyota (365) and the Vyavdhdrasdra (252) on the ground

that the contrary text of Manu does not lay down the order of succession.

We now come to our authors' treatment of the Smriti law of

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stridhana (which term is used in the technical sense of certain special kinds of property acquired by a woman on specified occasions and at different stages of her life). These authorities, namely, the Pardsara-Mddhava (II, 368), the Madanapdrijdta (671) and the Vyavahdrakdnda (379), give us a comprehensive view of the scope of stridhana so as to include under this head, according to the fullest interpretation, what is inherited, acquired by partition, received as gift, or obtained as treasure trove, and so forth, as well as the nuptial fee. A similarly comprehensive definition of sauddyika (dowry) is given in the Vivddaratndkara (511) and the Vivddachintdmani (217), so as to make it comprise what a girl receives either before or after marriage at her father's or her husband's residence from her father or mother, or their respective families. The remarkable clause (Katyayana and Vyasa), limiting the amount of stridhana , is interpreted in different ways by our authors. It is taken in its narrow literal sense, so as to disqualify the wife for receiving stridhana beyond the limit of the prescribed 2000 panas as well as immovable property 96 in a slightly wider sense so as to disqualify the wife for disposing at her will of property exceeding this limit although given by her husband 9f , and in its widest sense so as to mean that the limit applies to property given only once during many years for the girl’s livelihood and in this case it does not exclude immovable property. 9 ^

The woman’s dominion over her stridhana is completely recognized by our authors 911 after the older texts. The wife, we read, is free to dispose of her sauddyika property (and of stridhana in general), comprising both movables and immovables, by gift or sale at her will; she can dispose of her property acquired from her husband, other than immovables, which she is entitled to enjoy during her lifetime and which devolve upon the other heirs thereafter; the husband is civilly and criminally liable (in the sense of being forced to pay back the principal with interest and to pay a fine) for appropriation of his wife’s stridhana otherwise than on a number of specified occasions. Referring to a clause under which the husband is liable to pay the value of the stridhana appropriated by him even with his wife’s consent, the author of the Vyavahdra kdnda explains that the husband is not dependent upon another, but has no independence in respect of his wife’s stridhana, while by contrast the lawfully married wife is constantly dependent, though entitled to ownership thereafter in respect of her husband’s wealth.

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Finally we may mention that our authors repeat after the older texts the special rule of succession for the stridhana of the mother so as to make full brothers along with full sisters or the unmarried sisters alone, or the full brothers alone, or else the mother and the father the first heirs according to the particular class of such property. 10 Following the equitable interpretation of the Mitdkshard and the Smritichandirikd our authors further declare that unmarried sisters take the property in preference to the married sisters, and among married sisters those who are unsettled (i.e. without children or with poor husbands or unfortunate) take the same in preference to those who are settled.

6. Food and Drink

The Smriti rules relating to lawful and forbidden food and drink, along with the penances for violation of the same, are repeated, sometimes at great length, by our authors. The rules about meateating, in particular, follow the old pattern, with a distinct tendency towards abstention from the same. The

Madanapdrijata (338) and the Grihastharatndkara (380-81) explain the occasion justifying meat-eating in the Smritis, which include, according to the former's interpretation, the preparation of meat for feeding Brahmanas at the honourable reception of guests and so forth, and, according to the interpretation of the latter, partaking of the same when this is commended by the Brahmanas. Other occasions, explained in the Grihastharatndkara , are those when the meat is purified with mantras for the purpose of sacrifice, when there is the risk of a man losing his life otherwise, when the meat is procured by the man himself (in the case of Kshatriyas engaged in hunting animals), and when the meat is purchased and eaten after worship of the gods. The ban against meat-eating at sraddhas in the Kali Age, we are further told by these authors, applies to the Brahmana alone, since a Smriti text (Pulastya) prescribes the offering of hermit's food by Brahmanas, of meat by Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and of honey by iSudras respectively. Going further than the above the Grihastharatndkara observes that the merit of abstention from meateating applies likewise to the occasions above mentioned, while the Madanapdrijata states that there is no obligation to eat the remnants (of meat) offered in honour of the Brahmanas, the gods, the fathers and so forth, and that meat-eating on other occasions is attended with considerable demerit. According to the &rdddhasdra (57-58), the decision of Pulastya, quoted above, is to be followed, in spite of the general reference to meat, honey and the like, as fit offerings at sraddhas by all castes, while the provision for meat-offering at sraddhas and so forth in numerous (Smriti) works should be under

stood to apply not to all and sundry (this being hateful to the people), but only to those (such as the Kshatriyas and so forth) who are inclined towards meat-eating.

The Smriti rules forbidding or restricting the drink of intoxicants, caste-wise, are repeated and amplified by our authors. The Grihastharatndkara (393-95), referring to three kinds of wines (surd), —namely, those prepared from rice-flour (paishti), from molasses (gaudi) , and from honey or from madhuka flowers (mddhvi), —repeats the older view that all these are forbidden to the Brahmanas, while the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas incur no blame by drinking the last two kinds. Intoxicants (madya), we are further told, are forbidden only to Brahmanas. The point is stated more fully by the other authors. The Madanapdrijdta (813-24), while identifying paishti with surd, and declaring gaudi and mddhvi to be equivalent to the same in respect of Brahmanas alone, observes that the Brahmana, from his very birth, is forbidden to drink all madyas with surd at their head, that the Kshatriya and the Vaisya are forbidden to drink surd but not gaudi and other kinds of madya, and that neither surd nor madya is forbidden to the Sudra. The Pardsara-Mddhava (III, 409-13), after distinguishing in the first instance between eleven kinds of madya, observes that madya is forbidden to the Brahmanas but permitted to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. Further it explains the grounds (according as the act is intentional or not, is done once or repeatedly, is performed for the treatment of a disease, otherwise incurable) for the application of different types of penances to Brahmanas. The Prdyaschittasdra (39-45), after first quoting the above-mentioned division of madya into eleven kinds and of surd into three varieties, and after observing that madya is a generic designation of which sura is a species, concludes at the end of a short discussion that all madyas are forbidden to the Brahmanas, but not to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, who are in fact expressly permitted to drink gaudi and mddhvi. In accordance with the old Smriti estimate of different varieties of intoxicants, the Madanapdrijdta, the Pardsara-Mddhava and the Prdyaschittasdra apply the extreme penance of suicide by drinking red-hot surd to a Brahmana who has drunk surd (meaning paishti) intentionally once, or the other two kinds of madyas repeatedly. In so far as the Sudra is concerned, it is significant that the Brihaddharma Purdna (III, 4, 27) and the PrdyaschUtaviveka (37) substitute the act of illicit connexion with a Brahmana woman, in place of drinking wine, in the list of five mortal sins for Sudras.

The Smriti ban on drinking intoxicants by women is applied with different degrees of intensity by our authors. Strictly apply

ing the rule, the Parasra-Mtidhava (I, 507) requires that wives of the three upper classes drinking sura (identified with madya) are not only to be superseded, but abandoned. The Grihastharatndkara (84) more leniently explains that wives of the three upper classes drinking madya are to be superseded. Going further than this, the Madanapdrijdta (188) observes that the wife is to be superseded if she drinks madya forbidden to her proper caste. We have a further explanation, though of a somewhat academic character, in the Madanapdrijdta (824) where we are told that wives of the three upper classes, belonging to all castes down to the Sudras, are forbidden to drink surd on pain of suffering half the penance for men, and that even the Sudra wife of a Brahmana is forbidden to drink any kind of madya on pain of bringing sin upon her husband and blame upon her offspring, though not loss of caste either for herself or her husband.

The contemporary historical records partly confirm and partly supplement the evidence of the Smritis . The Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas among the Maratha people, we are told by Ibn Batutah, while living on a diet of rice, vegetables and sesame oil, forbore to drink wine which was regarded by them as one of the worst vices. From the evidence of Barbosa we learn that Brahmanas and Lingayats in the Vijayanagara Empire abstained from eating fish or flesh, while the king and the nobles were used to eating fish and all kinds of meat except beef. The daily slaughter of countless sheep as well as of pigs of excellent quality for food at the capital city of Vijayanagara is noticed by Paes. 10a

7. Standard of Living

The high standard of living known to the earlier times seems to have prevailed at least at the upper levels of society during this period. Leaving aside for the present the references to the conditions prevailing in the contemporary Delhi Sultanate, we may quote here the authentic evidence relating to the Vijayanagara Empire. Speaking of this territory, ‘Abd-ur-Razzaq observes that “all inhabitants, high or low, down to the artificers of the Bazar” wear “jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers”. The male costume, according to Barbosa, consisted of clothes with girdles along with short shirts of cotton (or silk or coarse brocade) and small turbans (or silk or brocade caps). The people, we are told by the same observer, wore “rings set with precious stones as well as many ear-rings set with fine pearls”, and they anointed themselves after bath with “white sandal wood, aloes, camphor, musk and saffron all ground fine and kneaded

with rose water.” The women, according to the same traveller, wore garments of very thin cotton or silk, while their ornaments consisted of “nose-screws made of fine gold wire, sapphire or ruby pendant, ear-rings set with many jewels, necklaces of gold and jewels of very fine coral beads, bracelets of gold and precious stones and many coral beads fitted to their arms.” The height of luxury was reached, as in the preceding period, at the royal courts. The splendours of the royal palace at Vijayanagara, the display of pomp and magnificence by the kings at their ceremonial public receptions as well as on festive occasions like the annual Mahdnavamt festival, their huge female establishments including their numerous queens with their eunuchs and other attendants, their costly dress and furniture, are vividly described by a number of contemporary observers, namely, Nicolo Conti (1421), ‘Abd-ur-Razzaq (1443), Varthema (1502), Barbosa (1514) and Paes (1522). 11

8. Trends in general manners andl character

Some important references, after the Smriti authorities of this period, to the manners and general character of the great majority of the Indian people who were followers of the indigenous faiths, have been given in the foregoing pages. But the point is sufficiently important to deserve a more detailed treatment. Firstly, as regards the question of rigidity of caste distinctions our authors’ attitude indicates some contradictory or at least divergent tendencies. On the one hand, they continue to condone (as we have seen above) anuloma marriages (even of Brahmanas with 'Sudra girls under special circumstances), while simultaneously condemning, in the Kalivarjya text, quoted with approval in the PardJara-Mddhava (I, 123-27), inter-caste marriages of the three upper classes in general terms. On the other hand, they emphasize the immense difference between the status of the Brahmana and the Sudra in such passages as the Pardsara-Mddhava (III, 171-76), explaining the qualifications for membership of the learned assembly (parishat) for adjudging penances. 12 In the second place our authors, while discussing the eligibility of the three upper castes for the order of ascetics, arrive at different conclusions: the Madanaparijata (365-73) confines these privileges to the Brahmana alone to the exclusion of the Kshatriya as well as the Vaisya, and the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 536-38) extends it to all the three castes, with the qualification that the Kshatriya and the Vaisya are not to wear the red robe and not to carry the (ascetic’s) staff. The opinion of the Madanapdrijdta is followed by Sulapiani (on Yajhavalkya III, 56-57). Thirdly, the Madanapdrijdta (785-86), discussing the vexed question of the validity of killing a desperado (dtatdyi) Brahmana, seeks to reconcile the contradictory texts condemning and exonerating the act, by taking the former to mean that killing an dtatayl Brahmana is inherently blamable, and the latter to signify that the blame for this act is less than that incurred by killing a Brahmana who is not an dtatdyl. On the other hand, killing an dtatdyi Brahmana is included in the Kalivarjya text quoted as above in the Pardsara-Madhava. Again, the Madanapdrijdta (827), explaining Manu's text (which prescribes the penance of courting death by a Brahmana guilty of stealing gold), observes that the injunction not to kill Brahmanas and the prohibition against killing them for any offence whatever apply to matters other than penances. Similarly, while our authors treat the penance for suicide in various ways by Brahmanas guilty of one or other of the mortal sins, the Kalivarjya text quoted as above in the Pardsara-Madhava as well as the shorter passage cited in the Mad,anapdrijata (16-17) includes prescription of the penance of death in the list of forbidden practices of the Kali Age. In the fourth and the last place, we have seen how our authors tend on the one hand to emphasize the Sudra's duty of serving the Brahmana, and on the other hand seek to relax the rules relating to dealings in forbidden commodities in the case of Sudras engaged in trade. We have further seen how the same authors differ on the point of lawfulness of the Sudra's food as well as that of interpretation of Manu's celebrated dictum about the Sudra's natural servitude. An extreme view of the Sudra's social disabilities is taken in the Kalivarjya list, quoted in the Pardsara-Madhava, which includes partaking of food of five specified classes of Sudras by the Brahmana householder, and engaging Sudras as cooks in householder's residences among the prohibited practices of the Kali Age. The furthest limit in this direction is the Smriti passage quoted in the Pardsara-Madhava which requires (as we have seen) penance by bathing for touching a Sudra. For the rest, our authors agree in combining, as before, the eulogy of deserving Brahmanas with condemnation of unworthy members of this order, as well as in continuing the old restrictions on the Brahmana's food and drink. Only in the Pardsara-Madhava we have a striking relaxation of the strict rule requiring the Brahmana to engage in the occupation of agriculture, trade and crafts only in time of extreme distress. Lastly, it may be mentioned that our authors tend to relax, as mentioned above, the old religious disabilities of the Sudras within strictly canonical limits. On the other hand, they agree in perpetuating the extreme disabilities of the Chandalas and other despised castes.

On the question of rigidity of social behaviour, the attitude of our authors is marked by similar contradictory tendencies. On the one hand the Pardsara-Mddhava (I, 112), following the original text of Parasara, explains that there is no degradation from caste for conversation and so forth with one fallen from caste (patita) in the Kali Age in contrast with former Ages. With this may be compared the inclusion of pollution, by contact with a patita, in the Kalivarjya text quoted in the same work. This involves relaxation of the strict Smriti rule (Manu and Vishnu) prescribing degradation from caste for close association with one guilty of the mortal sins. On the other hand, social intercourse with individuals of the three upper castes making a sea-voyage, even after their performance of the prescribed penance, is included in the above-quoted Kalivarjya text. This implies an intensification of the old Smriti rule, which merely includes (in Baudhayana and Brihaspati) sea-voyage among the mortal sins, and declares (in Manu) a Brahmana undertaking sea-voyage to be unfit for a sraddha invitation.

The position of women was not made worse, but was actually strengthened and consolidated on some points by our authors. To begin with, they continue, but do not add to, the social and religious disabilities of women. Again they repeat the old rules enjoining upon the guardians early marriage of girls along with those giving the girl the right of self-choice of her husband, and permitting the revocation of her marriage with an unworthy bridegroom under special circumstances. They reproduce likewise the old rules of penance relating to sinful women with a distinct tendency towards relaxation of the old severity. Similarly they repeat the old rules relating, on the one hand, to the wife's supreme duty of service and devotion to her husband and, on the other hand, to the husband's reciprocal obligation of maintaining the faithful wife together with its legal sanctions. The husband is held, as before, to be liable to pay compensation extending to one-third of his property to his superseded wife. Again, while it is agreed that the abandonment of sinful women means their expulsion from the household in extreme cases, it is usually taken to involve their temporary disgrace and penance, followed by restoration to their old position. On the subject of the widow's obligation of self-immolation on the funeral pyre of her husband, our authors' opinions vary (as we have seen) from its emphatic approval to its qualified recommendation. To their great credit, it must finally be said, that they completely vindicate the widow's right as the foremost heir of her sonless and 'divided' husband, as well as the woman's complete dominion over her special kind of property (stridhana).

The old custom of religious suicide was continued during our period. The Tirthachintdmani (47-52) and the Gaiigdvdky avail (305-10) contain a high eulogy (after the Puranic texts) of suicide (by starvation and even by cutting off limbs from the body for being devoured by birds and so forth) as well as of natural death at various selected spots in Prayaga and its environs. We have a similar approval of suicide at Varanasi by entering the fire and so forth in the Tlrthachintamani (347) as well as suicide by starvation in the waters of the Gariga in the Tlrthachintamani (263) and the Gangdvdkyavail (267-92). The prohibition of suicide by starting on the 'Great Journey' (till one falls dead), as well as of suicide of very old people by entering the fire, or falling down from the precipice, in the Kalivarjya text above mentioned, is negatived by other references. For the Smriti authorities of this period not only continue to prescribe suicide in the above and other forms as a penance for the mortal sins, but the Madanaparijdta (801) explains that the penance of entering the fire belongs to the Kshatriyas alone, and that of falling down from the precipice belongs to the other castes as well, while it deliberately extends (844) the penance of starting on the 'Great Journey' to Biiahmana women guilty of illicit intercourse with Sudras, and so forth, in the pratiloma order. While on this subject, however, we may notice the tendency of our authorities, namely, the Parasara-Madhava (III, 393) and specially the Prdyaschittasara (203-06), to amplify the principle of substitutes (pratydmndyas) for penances according to the diminishing capacity of the sinners.

The custom of religious suicide, noticed above, is corroborated by the evidence of the contemporary foreign observers. How Hindu devotees used to cut off their limbs with sharp knives or their necks with sharp swords in fulfilment of their vows before their deities in Ma‘bar (Coromandel coast) and in “Greater India” (meaning the tract extending from Malabar indefinitely towards the east), is told by the Friars Odoric and Jordanus respectively. According to Ibn Batutah, the Indian people (meaning the Hindus) had the custom of drowning themselves voluntarily in the Gariga as an act of spiritual merit. 13

The statements of our authors testify to the continuance of the ancient custom of pilgrimages to the scared places (tlrthas) . The ritual of pilgrimages to Prayaga, Purushottama (Puri), Konarka, the Gariga, Gaya, Varanasi and so forth, is given at great length in the Tlrthachintamani, just as that of the pilgrimages to Dvaraka and along the Gahga is described in the wo;rks Dvarakdpattala of Binabai and the Gang avdky avail of Visvasadevi (or perhaps of the poet Vidyiapati) respectively. The sacred legends (mdhdtmyas) of Setubandha-Pvamesvara, Amardaka, Gaya, the Godavari, the Krishnaveni, the Narmada and other tirthas are enumerated

m the Tirthasara of Dalapati. The Prdyaschittasdra of the lastnamed author mentions (206-11) pilgrimages to various tirthas as pratydmndyas for a number of penances. Among the foreign observers Xbn Batutah noticed pilgrimage to the Ganga as a peculiar Indian custom.

From the statements of our authors we may conclude that the old sentiment of veneration for the cow was continued during this period. A long list of penances for killing or maiming a cow is given in the Madanapdrijdta (856-59), and a much shorter list in Sulapani’s commentary on Yajnavalkya (III, 263-64). We have a high eulogy of the cow in the Bnhaddharma Purdna (II, 6.31f). No wonder, therefore, that Sulapani (on Yajnavalkya, I, 109) and the Grihastharatndkara (294) specifically forbid the killing of cows in honour of guests (as laid down by Yajnavalkya and Vasishtha) on the ground of its inclusion in the Kalivarjya list of Brahma Purdna , The worship of the bull is mentioned as a peculiar Indian custom by Odoric and Jordanus in their accounts of Quilon and ‘India the Less’ respectively. The high respect paid to the cow by the inhabitants of Calicut is noticed by ‘Abd-ur-Razzaq. 14

The sentiment of veneration for the cow is extended by the Smriti authorities to other animals as well. Sacrificing animals with recitations of the Vedic texts in honour of the bridegroom, the guests and the ancestors is included in the Kalivarjya texts which are quoted in the Pardsara-Madhava and the Madanapdrijdta. A long list of penances for killing different species of birds, rodents and quadrupeds is given in the Pardsara-Madhava (III 61-72).

B. MUSLIM RELIGION AND SOCIETY

The early history of Sufiism in India has been discussed above. 1 The Khaljl period (1290-1320) saw a further intensification of the activities of this school, thanks mainly to the three great saints of the period, Hazrat Nizam-ud-dln Auliya of Delhi, his spiritual preceptor, Shaikh Farld-ud-dln Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan, and the latter's nephew and disciple, 'Ala-ud-dm Sabir of Piran Kalyar. The memory of these saintly personages and their successors is as fresh today as it was centuries ago, and their anniversaries ('tirs, d c rds) are celebrated with as great eclat today as ever, when musicians and poets gather in thousands to pay the tribute of glowing praise to their miraculous lives and to enliven the huge concourses of the pilgrims to their shrines. The unbounded influence of the saints on the masses often roused the jealousy and suspicion of the rulers, but they carried on their mission quietly and peacefully, unruffled alike by the glamour of the royal court and the hostility of the kings.

None of the latter, indeed, had the courage to molest them or to persecute their followers openly, though some of them tried, ineffectively, to alienate popular sympathy from them, accusing them of disseminating heretical ideas and sheltering criminals in their monasteries. 2 It is possible that occasionally these saints encouraged certain public risings and demonstrations against tyrannical rulers, but that they ever did so with any selfish motive can hardly be proved. On the other hand, their sole purpose in blessing such movements was the welfare of the common people.

Besides these spiritual teachers, mention may also be made of another class of ascetics, the qcilandars, who did not usually found any orders or establish any spiritual centres, but wandered about, leading lives of seclusion, renunciation, and poverty, striving not so much for the spiritual and moral uplift of the common people, as for their own individual salvation. This attitude of aloofness, however, did not protect them against popular curiosity, and they were generally held in high esteem and surrounded by admirers and devotees. They were usually clean-shaved, went about clad in woollen robes of coarse texture, and were not so particular about the observance of religious duties enjoined by Islam. Of these qalandars, the most celebrated was Bu ‘All of Panipat, a brother of Shaikh Jamai-ud-dm Hanswl who died about A.D. 1333. The cumulative effect of the presence in large number of such saints and ascetics was the transformation of Islam in India from a simple and puritanic religion, with emphasis on the performance of outward legal duties (takalif-i shar‘iya) to a complex, devotional creed in which miracles and superstitions, combined, of course, with saint-worship, played an important role. It became a common practice now to get oneself attached to a spiritual preceptor, who alone, according to the popular belief, could guarantee bliss and happiness in this life and the life hereafter. Dates of the anniversaries of the more famous saints used to be memorized with assiduous care, and in course of time the months of the lunar calendar, in which these dates fell, came to be known by their names. 3 A pious Muslim, especially among the uneducated classes, would rather miss the five ritual daily prayers and the obligatory fast of Ramazan than fail to make a suitable offering (naydz) on any of the important dates consecrated to the memory of a saint.

The dissemination of Sufi ideas in India was continued during the Tughluq period by the disciples of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, the most notable of whom was Shaikh Nasir-ud-din of Awadh known as Raushan Charagh (the Bright Lamp), who was killed by a qalandar in A.D. 1356 and lies buried near Delhi.

As noted above, the Bhakti movement was very popular among the Hindus during the period when the Sufi movement gained strength in India. The two parallel movements, based upon doctrines of love and selfless devotion, helped a lot in bringing the two communities closer together, in spite of occasional reactionary movements, such as that started by the fanatical Sayyid Muhammad who claimed to be the Mahdi 4 . Sultan Sikandar Lodi apparently came under the influence of the orthodox ‘ulama and is said to have committed certain acts of intolerance, to which reference has been made above . 5

The Muslim society in the meantime was fast becoming Indianized. Below the Sultan, who was a despotic ruler with no limit or restraint on his powers except such as was dictated by considerations of a peaceful and stable government, there stood certain privileged classes, namely the umard or nobles and the ‘ulama or scholars, holding fiefs and estates. The slaves of the royal household may also be regarded as a privileged class, for in spite of their morally degraded position, they were usually well cared for and often exercised considerable influence on their royal masters. This is clearly shown by the examples of Malik Kafur, the lieutenant of Sultan ‘Ala-ud-dm Khalji, and Malik Khusrav, the favourite of that monarch’s son, Qutb-ud-dm Mubarak Shah. There does not appear to have been any strong and prosperous middle class in those days, so that the wealth and splendour of the upper strata of society formed a strange contrast with the poverty and squalor of the masses, both Muslim and Hindu. The Muslim nobles were usually of foreign origin,—Persians, Turks, Afghans and Sayyids or Arabs, —and mostly kept themselves aloof from their Indian subjects and dependants. The arrogant aristocratic classes gradually developed a sort of caste system which was alien to the spirit of Islam and v/as certainly the product of Indian influences. Thus a Turk (or Mughul), a Pathan, a Sayyid, or even a Shaikh , 6 would never think of a matrimonial alliance with a person of a lower rank, that is one outside these four dhdts or qaums, or even outside his own particular denomination. The purdah or seclusion of women had already become a common practice. This is evident from the remarks made by contemporary historians and poets on the bold step taken by Sultana Raziyya in discarding the veil and dressing herself up in male attire. Khusrav, in the Matla ‘al Anwar and elsewhere, has addressed his “paradisedaughter” in the most loving words, but it is obvious from the bits of fatherly advice which he gives her, that he considers the woman’s right place to be her home, and her most sacred duty, obedience to her father or brother. This naturally led to the institution of the harem in the case of the more prosperous and respectable classes of

Society. It must not, however, be supposed that polygamy or the 1 keeping of concubines was a common practice. This sort of luxury could be afforded only by a privileged few. In most cases the harem was no more than a separate living quarter for the women-folk of the family, corresponding to the zanankhana, as opposed to the dlwdnkhana or the male quarters of a later period. Purdah was, however, unknown among the lower classes, specially in rural society. How far the adoption of the purdah of a rigid type by the Muslims in India was due to Rajput influence, it is difficult to determine. What is certain is that the peculiar social conditions in India were largely responsible for the development of this system which was unknown in other Muslim countries in medieval times.

Right from the kings and the nobles at the top down to the humblest citizens, the Muslims had become thoroughly Indianized. The costly royal dresses, the gilded and studded swords and daggers , 7 the umbrellas (chhatra) of various colours, the richly caparisoned elephants which, as an emblem of royalty, were stationed in the durbar-hall and accompanied the state cavalcades, were all typically Indian paraphernalia of royal pomp and splendour. The old Indian practice of chewing the betel-leaf had become very popular among the Muslims . 8 Khusrav, in his account of his maternal grandfather Tmad-ul-Mulk, speaks of continuous relays of this delicacy being brought to his assemblies in the diwtin-i- c arz, and distributed among those present there. The seasoning of food with rich spices and chillies, almost unknown in the Muslim lands, had also become widely prevalent; the culinary art brought by the Muslims to India had already absorbed several Indian elements. Standard dishes which, from their names, would appear to be of foreign origin, such as pilau and qawarma, were now very different from what they had been in Iran or Khurasan. The amazingly large range of dishes (aliodn), indulged in by the wealthy or served on festive occasions , 9 would clearly show how luxurious and refined had become the tastes of the well-to-do people, which could only be possible in a rich country like India. Among the articles of dress in common use, the head-gears known as the chira and the pdg were certainly of Indian origin and were borrowed from the Rajputs. They would appear to have been in vogue among the dandies of Delhi and other big cities . 10 The tight-fitting cloak for men and the tight-fitting trousers, often worn beneath a loose skirt, for women, on the other hand, were of foreign origin, and were adopted by the

Rajputs from their Muslim neighbours. The use of rings, necklaces, earrings and other ornaments by men was also due to Indian influence, for such vanities were strictly forbidden to the faithful in the Islamic law. India was famous for its fine cotton and silk fabrics, which now

began to be widely used by the gentry among the Muslims who had been accustomed to much humbler and coarser stuffs in their original home-lands . 11 Textile industry flourished in several parts of India —the Deccan, Gujarat, Bengal, Bihar and Mysore,—under the patronage of the Muslim rulers. It is a significant fact that most of the weavers and master-craftsmen came to be, in the course of time, Muslims, who had either embraced Islam, or were of foreign origin and had brought with them some of their native traditions to India. The names of certain fabrics such as Susl or Daryd’i, would clearly show that the textile art, developed in Muslim countries, had been grafted on the Indian indigenous art, resulting in great improvement and development.

The same admixture is prominently visible in other branches of useful and fine arts that flourished in the pre-Mughul period. The fine, massive edifices raised by the Khaljis, the Tughluqs, and the Sharql kings of Jaunpur, all betray Indian influence and are very dissimilar to those raised in contemporary times in other Muslim lands. lla The stone-carvers of India, who were mostly Hindus, were employed in large numbers in shaping the pillars and engraving the floral and calligraphic motifs and designs in these buildings. The use of lintels instead of arches in some of them is also an indication of the architectural synthesis that was brought about in this age. Painting was comparatively little developed in the Sultanate, due possibly to the religious ban on it.

*The cultivation of music has always been a matter of controversy among the Muslims in India. There are two schools of Muslim jurists; one maintains that music has been prohibited, while many liberal thinkers claim that it has been permitted. An Arabo-Iranian music was already in vogue in the Muslim world before the eighth century A.D. Probably this influenced the Hindu music in Sind after the Muslims had conquered it, and Nauruz, Zangola, and Hejaz forms were incorporated by the Indians under the names of Nurcchoka, Jangla and Hejaj.

*Khwaja Mufin-ud-din Chishtl’s band of qavvdls sang every evening. Illtutmish put a ban on music, but a member of the Chishti order, who had gone to Delhi, was able to persuade him to withdraw it. Since then musical soirees were organized for the durbars and people began to indulge in them publicly. The durbar of his son, Rukn-ud-dln Firuz, became a centre of celebrated musicians and dancers of both sexes. Balban was also a great patron of music. He has spoken of Indian music in the highest terms and regarded it as superior to the music of any other country. He is credited with the invention of several new melodies compounded

of Iranian and Indian tunes. During Kaiqubad’s reign music became the order of the day, and both Jalal-ud-dln and ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji were great patrons of music.

* Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq banned music, but the ban was withdrawn by Muhammad Tughluq, and musical entertainment by both males and females is said to have been instituted for the royal durbar. He had twelve musicians in his regular service, besides one thousand slave musicians. Ibn Batutah refers to the popularity of music in the royal court. Firuz Tughluq, though orthodox, was not averse to music, and his accession to the throne was celebrated by entertaining the public for twenty-one days with music. A number of books on music and dance, found at JvaiamukhI, were translated into Persian at his instance. The Sayyid king Mubarak Shah was noted for his love of music . 12

Music, both of secular as well as spiritual character, seems to have reached a high level of perfection, during the period under review. The contributions made by the Muslims to Indian music are generally recognized as of far-reaching consequence, and the devotional qavvati music, practised by skilled artists at the monasteries of the dead or living saints, must have been a powerful factor in strengthening the bonds of unity between the two communities. It is this unity of culture which finds proud expression in the verses of Amir Khusrav, who pays glowing tributes to the manifold virtues of India, his birth-place. Similar tributes are scattered in the poems of other writers, like Amir Hasan Sijizi, Mutahhar of Karra and Jamali Kanboh.

Among the religious ceremonies and social functions those of the ‘aqiqa , 13 the bismillcih , 14 the circumcision, the marriage, and the funeral played the most important part in the life of an individual, and in these also we can easily trace Indian influence. Several ceremonies, connected specially with marriage and death, were common, as they are today, to both the communities[15] although the Muslims, following the old Arab tradition, continued in India, as elsewhere, to marry cousins and other close relations. The Indian bridal decoration, the sola singhdr, had already become familiar to the Muslims, and is often mentioned by the name of "hojt-o-nuh" by Khusrav and others. Ibn Batutah's account of the marriage of a Sayyid noble, Saif-ud-dm, with a sister of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, provides a revealing picture of the great extent to which the Muslims had adopted the Hindu marriage ceremonies even in those early days. Ibn Batutah also gives an account of the funeral ceremonies in connection with the death of his daughter[16] Among the religious ceremonies the hajj or the annual pilgrimage to Mecca was, of course, the most important, but pilgrimages to the shrines of famous saints were also very frequent, especially on the occasion of their urses or anniversaries. The close of the Ramazan fast, the Id-ul-Fitr, was another important occasion for general rejoicing, while the Shab-i-Barat, which has several common features with the Hindu festival of Sivaratri, was celebrated by keeping a nightlong vigil and a noisy display of fire-works. Apart from these important festivals more or less of Islamic origin, the Indian Muslims freely participated in the Hindu festivals of a religio-social character, such as the Basant, the Holi and the Diwali, which is clearly proved by contemporary historical evidence.

The every-day humdrum life of the common people, devoid usually of amusements or excitements, was frequently brightened up by the royal cavalcades, jashns (such as that of the nauruz), and receptions, when the streets were lavishly decorated and beautiful kiosks or pavilions (qubhas) erected at regular intervals, in which there were stationed beautiful singing and dancing girls, and where the spectators were treated not only to music but also to pleasant drinks. Glowing accounts of these qubhas are found in the writings of Khusrav, Ibn Batutah and other writers[17]

The game of chaugan (polo), riding, racing, hunting, and archery were very popular as outdoor sports among the nobility and the better classes of society, but the poorer people could seldom indulge in them. Among the indoor games, popular both among the rich and the poor, chess and backgammon (nard or chaupar) are often mentioned, although they were usually frowned upon by the religious divines as frivolous pursuits beguiling the faithful from more useful and more serious occupations. Drinking of wine, in spite of the strict ban placed on it by Islam, seems to have been very common, especially in the higher classes of society, and convivial wine parties supplied another source of recreation and amusement. To what extent the habit had become prevalent, may be judged from what Barani says about ‘Ala-ud-din’s determination to root it out . 18 Huge quantities of the precious vintage were hunted out of the hidden cellars and poured out into the streets. Some of it was given to the royal elephants, which made even the pious historian exclaim, not without a touch of envy: “How lucky were the elephants of that age to have thus enjoyed themselves.” ‘Ala-uddm’s stern measures against the use of wine and other corrupt practices, however, did not produce any lasting result, for in the reign of his son and successor, Qutb-ud-dln Mubarak Shah, the people, encouraged by the recklessly dissolute life of their monarch, again reverted to their old ways of life. Jesters, buffoons and

mountebanks, who had already become a regular feature of society, had the time of their life under this profligate king, one of whose court jesters, Tamasha by name, used to walk right into the ranks of the nobles and divines assembled in the durbar-hall, in a state of inebriation and revile the greatest of them with impunity. Some of the later monarchs, like Firuz Tughluq, again took up the task of reform, but their efforts succeeded, if at all, for only brief periods.

It must not, however, be supposed that the majority of the Indian Muslims of the Sultanate period were immoral or irreligious; for even among the nobles we often come across the names of some who were noted for their piety and abstemious lives . 19 Most of the common people, on the other hand, led exemplary moral lives and were deeply religious in their outlook. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the middle and lower classes of Muslim society in India have always remained free from the corrupting influence of the court, and staunchly loyal to the Islamic way of life as developed in the peculiar social and economic structure of India. The essentially religious mental attitude, which is a distinguishing feature of the Indian Muslims even today, has certainly been inherited from their forefathers who lived in the middle ages. Indian Islam is very different in some respects from the Arabian Islam of the Prophet’s days, but it is a powerful and practical moral and religious discipline which has enabled the Indian Muslims to preserve their unity and identity in this land of diverse cultures and religions.

As we have remarked above, the nobles and other privileged classes among the Muslims held fiefs and estates or large revenueassignments, which enabled them to lead lives of ease and prosperity. They had enough money to emulate their royal masters in their extravagantly generous expenditure on special occasions, such as feasts, festivals, marriages, etc. They lived in palatial houses with a large number of slaves and domestic servants, male and female. Their houses were usually provided with rich furnishings, richly decorated sofas and divans, exquisitely made glass and china, costly tapestries and valuable carpets from Persia and Bukhara, vases, and gold and silver dishes and bowls. Their stables were stocked with fine horses of indigenous and foreign breeds , 20 and many of them also kept elephants, so that a fil-khana was almost an essential part of a noble’s household. They were usually surrounded by a large number of dependants and hangers-on, and were lavish in their gifts to poets and scholars who basked in the sunshine of their favour. Actually the house of each of these nobles was a miniature replica of the royal court, and it is not strange, therefore, that these nobles’ wealth and munificence occasionaliy excited the jealousy of the kings themselves. Hoarding of wealth was unknown, chiefly because all revenue assignments were personal and not hereditary, and could be cancelled even in the lifetime of the holder.

Next to the nobles, there was a large class of people with modest incomes derived either from small land-holdings or from the royal treasury in return for their services in different capacities. These latter consisted of district officers, revenue collectors, judges, postmasters and others, some of whom were directly connected with the royal household as scribes and secretaries, or as tutors and teachers of the monarch’s children. Quite a few of them were also attached to the households of various nobles, and led, on the whole, fairly prosperous and happy lives, possessing their own houses in the cities and the villages. Their mainstay was their landed properties, small or large, and many of them were actively engaged in the cultivation of land. The arts of calligraphy and epistolography (inshci), which were assiduously cultivated by most of them, often provided remunerative sources of income.

The lowest strata of Muslim society comprised the peasants and cultivators, usually of Indian origin, workmen, artisans, and domestic servants. Business and trade were mostly in the hands of Hindu merchants among whom the merchants of Gujarat (usually Banias) and Multan were famous for their large-scale mercantile activities and fabulous wealth, and their help was constantly sought by the spendthrift nobles and bourgeoisie who found themselves in difficulties. A large number of workmen and artisans—weavers, carpenters, metal-engravers, scribes, etc.—were usually attached to the royal ateliers or karkhdnas, while many more of them found employment as retainers of the nobles and the grandees; but most of them worked independently, and following the old Indian practice, had formed themselves into guilds or trade unions. They usually occupied separate and well-marked quarters in the cities which were named after them, as the weavers' market, the potters' market, and so on. While it is difficult to have any exact idea of the wages earned by these workmen, due to lack of reliable data, it would appear that they were fairly well off and could earn enough to keep themselves and their families in tolerable comfort. This was chiefly because the essential commodities were cheap and plentiful, and they had not yet become used to such luxuries as became common in later times. According to a rough calculation based on information derived from contemporary sources, a modest monthly income of five tankas (silver coins) was sufficient for the maintenance of a small family consisting of five members .[21] On the whole, therefore, this

class of people also suffered no particular economic hardship. Starvation, unemployment and frustration were usually unknown, except, of course, during famines, which were rather too frequent, due to lack of adequate means of irrigation.

To sum up this brief survey of the religious, intellectual and social condition of the Indian Muslims of the Sultanate period, we could make the following general observations:

(1) The religion of Islam, at least its popular form, underwent substantial change, having been profoundly influenced by the Sufi beliefs, which, in their turn, owed a good deal to Hindu Vedantic and Yogic philosophy. The majority of the Muslims, in spite of the corrupt lives led by some of their kings and nobles, remained, on the whole, religious, and conformed scrupulously to the moral standards set up by Islam.

(2) Intellectually, great progress was made in all fields of learning, and this age produced some of the greatest poets and scholars of Muslim India. Many literary products of this period have been irretrievably lost, but those which have survived occupy a place of very considerable importance in Arabic and Persian literature produced in India. 22

(3) Socially, the Muslims of foreign extraction, who came to India from Persia, Afghanistan and Khurasan, in the early days, unlike the Arabs, held themselves aloof from the Indians for some time, but gradually the barriers between the two communities were removed, and a process of Indianization started, making rapid advance and reaching its climax during the Mughul period. The manifestations of this process were visible in every walk of life, and the Muslims had already adopt many habits, ways and manners of the Hindus.

C. HINDU MUSLIM RELATIONS

Reference has been made above 1 to the uncompromising spirit of animosity between the Hindus and the Muslims in India in the thirteenth century A.D. It is necessary to review the changes, if any, that took place in their mutual relation during the period of two centuries and a quarter (1300-1526) covered by this volume.

1. Influence of one community upon another

The Muslims made a large number of converts in India and, by the end of the period, the vast majority of Indian Muslims must have been descendants of Hindu converts. la Even the Muslims who claimed descent from foreigners or foreign immigrants into India lived as close neighbours to the Hindus for generations. It was

inevitable, therefore, that there must have been some reciprocal influence between the two communities. Sufficient data are not available for an exact determination of such influence, but it is possible to have a general idea. It has been pointed out in the preceding section that many social practices of Indian Muslims, such as marriage and class distinction, and some of their ideas and beliefs which differ materially from those of their co-religionists elsewhere, were probably due to the influence of the Hindu society. As regards dress, food, language, music, art and architecture, each influenced the other to a certain extent, at least in some regions, mostly in North India.

Even in religious matters there was some mutual influence, as is indicated by Sufiism on the one hand, and the doctrines of medieval Hindu saints on the other, to which detailed reference has been made in Ch. XVI. Muslim saints, particularly of the mystic school, were revered by the Hindus, though, be it noted, the Hindus would not admit them in their houses nor give them food or water in their own utensils. 2 The Hindu mendicants, yogis, and astrologers were held in high respect by the Muslims. Some local cults, like those of Satyaplr (True Saint), were popular with village-folks of both the communities. Even in some minor matters, such as the auspicious day for commencing a journey, the Muslims adopted the customs of the Hindus. 3

In the field of scholarship and literature there was some amount of sympathetic understanding between the two communities. The Muslim scholars studied Hindu philosophy and sciences, such as the systems of Yoga and Vedanta, medicine, and astrology, while the Hindus learnt from them subjects like geography, arithmetic and chemistry, in which the Arabs had made striking progress. Some Muslim rulers were patrons of Hindu writers, and a few Muslim scholars wrote in Indian vernaculars. A few Hindus also wrote in Persian. The mutual linguistic influence was reflected in the change of Hindi on a line which ultimately led to the development of Urdu.

But all these touched merely the fringe and external elements of life, and even as such, their influence was confined to a small section of the Hindus and Muslims of India, taken as a whole. It is noteworthy, that neither the Hindus nor the Muslims imbibed, even to the least degree, the chief characteristic features of the other's culture which may be regarded as their greatest contribution to human civilization. The ultra-democratic social ideas of the Muslims, though strictly confined to their own religious community, were an object-lesson of equality and fraternity which Europe, and through her the world, learnt at a great cost only in the nineteenth century. The liberal spirit of toleration and reverence for all religions, preached and practised by the Hindus, is still an ideal and despair of the civilized mankind. The Hindus, even with the living example of the Muslim community before their very eyes, did not relax in the least their social rigidity and inequality of men exemplified in the caste-system and untouchability. Nor did the Muslims ever moderate their zeal to destroy ruthlessly the Hindu temples and images of gods, and their attitude in this respect remained unchanged from the day when Muhammad bin Oasim set foot on the soil of India till the eighteenth century A.D. when they lost all political power. The Hindus combined catholicity in religious outlook with bigotry in social ethics, while the Muslims displayed an equal bigotry in religious ideas with catholicity in social behaviour.

As will be shown later, there was no rapprochement in respect of popular or national traditions, and those social and religious ideas, beliefs, practices, and institutions which touch the deeper chord of life and give it a distinctive form, tone, and vigour. In short, the reciprocal influences were too superficial in character to affect materially the fundamental differences between the two communities in respect of almost every thing that is deep-seated in human nature and makes life worth living. So the two great communities, although they lived side by side, moved each in its own orbit, and there was as yet no sign that the "twain shall ever meet".

2. Status of the Hindus

The political and religious condition under which the Hindus were forced to live in a Muslim State raised a great barrier between the two communities. The political supremacy of the Muslims was absolute; the Hindus not only enjoyed no political status in practice, but could not even aspire to it under Islamic theory. This has been lucidly expressed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, an eminent historian of international reputation, in an article from which the following passage is quoted:

“The poison lay in the very core of Islamic theocracy. Under it there can be only one faith, one people, and one all overriding authority. The State is a religious trust administered solely by His people (the Faithful) acting in obedience to the Commander of the Faithful, who was in theory, and very often in practice too, the supreme General of the Army of militant Islam (Janud). There could be no place for non-believers. Even Jews and Christians could not be full citizens of it, though they somewhat approached the Muslims by reason of their being “People of the Book” or believers in the Bible, which the Prophet of Islam accepted as revealed.

“As for the Hindus and Zoroastrians, they had no place in such a political system. If their existence was tolerated, it was only to use them as hewers of wood and drawers of water, as tax-payers, “Khiraj-guzar”, for the benefit of the dominant sect of the Faithful. They were called Zimmis or people under a contract of protection by the Muslim State on condition of certain service to be rendered by them and certain political and civil disabilities to be borne by them to prevent them from growing strong. The very term Zimmi is an insulting title. It connotes political inferiority and helplessness like the status of a minor proprietor perpetually under a guardian; such protected people could not claim equality with the citizens of the Muslim theocracy.

“Thus by the basic conception of the Muslim State all non-Muslims are its enemies, and it is the interest of the State to curb their growth in number and power. The ideal aim was to exterminate them totally, as Hindus, Zoroastrians and Christian nationals have been liquidated (sometimes totally, sometimes leaving a negligible remnant behind) in Afghanistan, Persia and the Near East.

“The Quran (IX.29) calls upon the Muslims ‘to fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay jizya with the hand in humality (ham sagkhirun)This was a poll-tax payable by Hindus (and also Christians) for permission to live in their ancestral homes under a Muslim sovereign.

“In addition to the obligation to pay this poll-tax, the Hindu was subjected to many disabilities by the very constitution of the Muslim theocracy. He must distinguish himself from the Muslims by wearing a humble dress, and sometimes adding a label of a certain colour to his coat. He must not ride on horse-back or carry arms, though wearing the sword was a necessary part of the dress of every gentleman of that age. He must show a generally respectful attitude towards Muslims. The Hindu was also under certain legal disabilities in giving testimony in law-courts, protection under the criminal law, and in marriage. Finally, in the exercise of his religion he must avoid any publicity that may rouse the wrath of the followers of the Prophet.

“Under the Canon Law, as followed in Islamic countries, a man who converts a Muslim to some other faith is liable to death at the hands of any private Muslim, and so also is the apostate from Islam.” 4

Sir Jadunath’s exposition of the Islamic theory, and in particular his view of the nature of the jizya, has been opposed by some. 5

But his views are fully borne out by the following passage in the

Zakhlrat-ul-Muluk bv Shaikh Hamadani:

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“There is another mandate relating to those subjects who are unbelievers and protected people {zimmis). For their governance, the observance of those conditions which the Caliph ‘Umar laid in his agreement for establishing the status of the fire-worshippers and the People of the Book (Jews and Christians) and which gave them safety is obligatory on rulers and governors. Rulers should impose these conditions on the zimmis of their dominions and make their lives and their property dependent on their fulfilment. The twenty conditions are as follows:

1. In a country under the authority of a Muslim ruler, they are to build no new homes for images or idol temples.

2. They are not to rebuild any old buildings which have been destroyed.

3. Muslim travellers are not to be prevented from staying in idol temples.

4. No Muslim who stays in their houses will commit a sin if he is a guest for three days, if he should have occasion for the delay.

5. Infidels may not act as spies or give aid and comfort to them.

6. If any of their people show any inclination towards Islam, they are not to be prevented from doing so.

7. Muslims are to be respected.

8. If the zimmis are gathered together in a meeting and Muslims appear, they are to be allowed at the meeting.

9. They are not to dress like Muslims.

10. They are not to give each other Muslim names.

11. They are not to ride on horses with saddle and bridle.

12. They are not to possess swords and arrows.

13. They are not to wear signet rings and seals on their fingers.

14. They are not to sell and drink intoxicating liquor openly.

15. They must not abandon the clothing which they have had as a sign of their state of ignorance so that they may be distinguished from Muslims.

16. They are not to propagate the customs and usages of polytheists among Muslims.

17. They are not to build their homes in the neighbourhood of those of Muslims.

18. They are not to bring their dead near the graveyards of Muslims.

19. They are not to mourn their dead with loud voices.

20. They are not to buy Muslim slaves.

At the end of the treaty it is written that if zimmis infringe any of these conditions, they shall not enjoy security and it shall be lawful for Muslims to take their lives and possessions as though they were the lives and possessions of unbelievers in a state of war with the faithful” 53

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to enter into any further discussion about the correctness of Sir Jadunath’s interpretation of the Muslim scripture, but there is no doubt that he correctly represents the view accepted, both in theory and practice, by the Muslim rulers and theologians in India during the period under review. 6 And this is really more relevant to the present issue.

Reference has already been made above 7 to the position of the Hindus in Muslim State according to Islamic theory as explained by the ‘wise men’, and particularly Qazi Mughls-ud-dm of Bay-ana, to ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl, and the earnestness with which the Sultan carried it into practice.

Muhammad bin Tughluq is generally, and perhaps rightly, regarded as a man of liberal views. The Chinese Emperor asked for his permission to build a temple at Samhal, a place of pilgrimage in the Himalayan hills frequented by the Chinese, which the Muslim army “had seized, destroyed and sacked”. But the Sultan, who accepted the rich presents sent by the Chinese Emperor, wrote to him a reply to this effect: “Islam does not allow the furthering of such an aim and the permission to build a temple in a Muslim country can be accorded only to those who pay the jizya .” 8

It has been already stated above, that Firuz Tughluq, who also looked upon India as a Muslim country, held more bigoted views, for he would not permit the erection of new temples even by those who paid the jizya. He, however, realized this tax with utmost rigour even from the Brahmans who were up to that time exempted from it. 9

The true nature of the jizya is further revealed by the opposition of the orthodox Muslims to the idea that the Hindus should be allowed to perform their religious ceremonies simply by the payment of the jizya. The historian Ziya-ud-dm Baranl, a contemporary of the two Tughluq emperors, mentioned above, wrote in righteous indignation:

“.Should the kings consider the payment of a few tan

kas by way of jizya as sufficient justification for their allowing all possible freedom to the infidels to observe and demonstrate all orders and details of infidelity, to read the misleading literature of their faith and to propagate their teachings, how could the true religion

get the upper hand over other religions and how could the emblems of Islam be held high. . . ” 10

It would thus appear that an orthodox section of the Muslims chafed at the Hanafite doctrine which was officially accepted by the Muslim rulers in India. As QazI Mughls-ud-dln pointed out to ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl, ‘it was Hanifa alone who assented to the imposition of the jizya on the Hindus. Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but ‘Death or Islam’. As has been stated above, 11 Sultan Mahmud followed this policy, and evidently BaranI and men of his ilk yearned for its restoration in the fourteenth century. BaranI gave vent to this feeling in the following passage in his Fatawd-i-Jahanddrl.: “If Mahmud .... had gone to India once more, he would have brought under his sword all the Brahmans of Hind who, in that vast land, are the cause of the continuance of the laws of infidelity and of the strength of idolators, he would have cut off the heads of two hundred or three hundred thousand Hindu chiefs. He would not have returned his “Hindu-slaughtering” sword to its scabbard until the whole of Hind had accepted Islam. For Mahmud was a Shaffiite, and according to Imam Shafi‘i the decree for Hindus is “either death or Islam”—that is to say, they should either be put to death or embrace Islam. It is not lawful to accept jizya from Hindus as they have neither a prophet nor a revealed book.” The same book shows how BaranI chafed at the idea that the “desire for the overthrow of infidels and the abasing of idolators and polytheists does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings”, who “permit the banners of infidelity to be openly displayed in their capital and in the cities of Muslims, idols to be openly worshipped ...”. “How”, asks the indignant historian, “will the true faith prevail if rulers allow the infidels to keep their temples, adorn their idols, and to make merry during their festivals with beating of drums and dhols, singing and dancing?” lla

If a learned historian and a distinguished Muslim felt no scruple in openly expressing such views in writing, in the fourteenth century A.D., i.e. six hundred years after the Muslims first settled in India, one can well understand why the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims could never be bridged.

A perusal of the history of ‘Aflf, another great historian of the period, conveys the same lesson. He puts in the mouth of the wazir of FIruz Tughluq a long speech in which he frankly says that a State should have only two ends in view, namely (1) prosperity of the kingdom and protection of the people, etc.; and (2) destruction of the infidels and expansion of the kingdom. Then he adds with equal candour: “.through God’s grace the destruction of the infidels has achieved remarkable success.” 12

Yahya, the historian of the fifteenth century, mentions a minor incident of etiquette which perhaps even more strikingly illustrates the fundamental difference between a Muslim and a Hindu ruler. When Ghiyas-ud-dln Balban proceeded to Bengal to chastise the rebellious Tughril, he sought to enter into an alliance with the Hindu king of Eastern Bengal, Rai Danuj. An interview between the two was arranged. It was customary for a king to stand up to receive a royal guest. But, Yahya comments, “the fact that a Muslim king ought not to show proper respect to an infidel made the Sultan pensive”. A wily minister suggested a way out of the difficulty. The Sultan sat on the throne with a falcon on his hand, and on the approach of Rai Danuj stood up and let the falcon go, so that the people would surmise that he left the throne only to set the bird in motion. The Muslim honour was saved by playing a trick upon the unsuspecting Hindu king. 13

The fact that such an incident was remembered and recorded, nearly two hundred years later, by an eminent Muslim historian, speaks volumes about the way in which a Muslim Sultan was apt to regard even an independent Hindu king, not to speak of lesser potentates or individuals.

It would be tedious to multiply instances of this kind, many of which will be found in the famous historical chronicle of Firishta, while dealing with the history of the period under review.

It is little wonder then that, as the history of the Muslim States in Medieval India clearly shows, the Hindus had hardly any place in the highest branches of administration or in the formulation of its policy. With a few exceptions, 14 here and there, almost all the high offices were bestowed upon the Muslims, whether Indian or foreign. It is interesting to note that many Muslim noblemen or adventurers, coming from Iran or Turan, were immediately appointed to posts of honour, dignity and importance in a Muslim court, which were practically barred to the Hindus. The Bahmani court was, for long, the scene of rivalry between the foreign and the indigenous Muslim, 14a but the Hindus had no place there. The Muslim politicians and writers of the period took for granted that the natural distinction was between Muslims and Hindus, and not between Indians and foreigners. The State and society were divided horizontally and not vertically.

As may be easily imagined, the Hindu attitude towards the Muslims was one of sullen bitterness. The Hindus resented the

Muslim conquest of India and wistfully looked for the day when the name Aryavarta, the land of the Aryas, as appellation of their country, would once more be justified by the extermination of the mlechchhas (Muslims). The Hindus also looked upon their fellowreligionists in other parts of India as dearer and nearer to them than their Muslim neighbours. The Hindu rulers were also chary in appointing Muslims to high offices or admitting them in their counsels. There were, no doubt, exceptions, which prove the rule, and so far as recorded evidence goes, the Hindus were perhaps a little more liberal in this respect. But, in general, the kafirs and the mlechchhas stood as far apart in politics as the poles, as there could not possibly have been any common ground between the two in respect of political feelings and sentiments or historical traditions and ideals. Muhammad Tughluq and Flruz Tughluq spoke the bare truth when they publicly declared that the Sultanate of Delhi was a Muslim State, and all the Muslim rulers of the period under review consciously or unconsciously followed this principle in formulating their policy and principles of administration. This alone can satisfactorily explain why even Muslim rulers, otherwise liberal and fair-minded, did not scruple to follow an extremely bigoted religious policy, even though it wounded the most cherished and sacred sentiments of their Hindu subjects. It is true that the Hindus occupied a large number of junior posts and, towards the close of the period, occasionally a few high offices, in civil administration, and more rarely, in the army. But they had no political status and lived on sufferance in the land of their birth, which was regarded as, and publicly declared to be, a Muslim State and country. The Hindus could, therefore, be hardly expected to be even as much satisfied with their political condition as the Hindus and Muslims at the beginning of the twentieth century when they held the offices even of governors and members of Viceroy’s council under the British rule. Whether we look at the intrinsic importance of the posts, or the number of them filled up by the subject people, the Hindus were in much worse condition after three hundred years of Muslim rule than the Indians after one hundred and fifty years of British supremacy. Judged by a similar standard, the patronage and cultivation of Hindu learning by the Muslims, or their contribution to the development of Hindu culture during their rule of three hundred years, pale into insignificance when compared with the achievements of the British rule during half that period in the same direction. It is only by instituting such comparison that we can make an objective study of the condition of the Hindus under Muslim rule, and view it in its true perspective.

3. Social and religious differences'

While the political status of the Hindus was not such as to inspire their love or goodwill towards the Muslims, the social and religious differences were so acute and fundamental that they raised a Chinese wall between the two communities; even seven hundred years of close residence (including two of common servitude) have failed to make the least crack in that solid and massive structure, far less demolish it.

In different stages in the history of a people's evolution, they lay special emphasis on certain aspects of life which they hold more dear and sacred than anything else, and on which they place the greatest value. In the age of which we are speaking, religious and social institutions were the most cherished objects of life, of both Muslims and Hindus, and they attached even much more value to them than their descendants put upon political status and economic Welfare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And it is precisely in those two highly prized aspects of life that they differed fundamentally from each other.

Religion, which formed the very basis of culture and the keynote of life, both among the Muslims and the Hindus, kept them apart like the two poles. They differed fundamentally in their theological conception, method of worship, and everything connected with daily devotion to God. To the Hindus, images and temples were the most sacred objects, but both of these were anathema to the Muslims. Their philosophical notions and sacred literature, their conception of heaven and hell, of this life and the next, in short the whole outlook on men and things lacked a common basis.

There was a similar contrast between their social rules and regulations which were indissolubly connected with religion. The democratic ideas of the Muslims, leading to a wonderful equality among the brothers-in-faith, offered a strange contrast to the castesystem and untouchability of the Hindus. The Hindu ideas of physical purity differed from those of the Muslims. In social life there was absolute prohibition of intercourse by means of intermarriage or interdining, and their practices and rituals had little in common. Coming down to concrete details we find that these two lived almost in two different worlds. The Muslims relished beef which was extremely abhorrent to the Hindus. The absence of marriage restriction within certain degrees of consanguinity and of rigid widowhood, as well as easy methods of divorce and remarriage of females among the Muslims, were repugnant to the Hindus. The laws of succession, disposal of the dead, and modes of eating and greeting were different. The Muslims assumed Arabic names, used

Arabic calendar of lunar months, and adopted distinctive dresses. Their congregational prayers were radically different from Hindu mode of worship, and music, which was an essential part of Hindu religious ceremonials, was usually forbidden within the precincts, or even in the neighbourhood, of mosques. The intellectual inspiration of the one was supplied by Arabic and Persian, and of the other by Sanskrit literature. The fact that the Muslims turned towards the west and the Hindus towards the east, while offering prayers or worship to God, though by itself of no great significance, very correctly symbolized the orientation of the two cultures.

4. Historical traditions

In addition to social and religious differences, the historical traditions of the preceding centuries drove a wedge between the two communities and kept them apart. The Muslims naturally looked with pride and glory upon their successive military triumphs which laid the Hindus low and made them masters of the country. But no Hindu could possibly recollect them without a sense of shame and humiliation. The wilful destruction of images and temples which the Muslims, perhaps naturally and justly, looked upon as a glory of Islam, outraged the most cherished and deep-rooted sentiments of the Hindus. The massacre and enslavement of the Hindus on a massive scale, generally following upon the victorious campaigns of the Muslims, to which Muslim chroniclers refer with glee, wounded the noblest and most tender feelings and left a lasting scar upon the memory of generations of Hindus.

It would be idle to deny the fact that the spirit with which the military campaigns were undertaken was often as much political as religious, i.e. anti-Hindu. The following extract from the Tarikh-iWassdf, written at the beginning of the period under review, is a good illustration of this view. Referring to ‘Ala-ud-din KhaljTs campaign in Gujarat, the author writes:

“The vein of the zeal of religion beat high for the subjection

of infidelity and destruction of idols.With a view to holy

war, and not for the lust of conquest, he enlisted.about 14,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry . . . The Muhammadan forces began to kill and slaughter, on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islam, and blood flowed in torrents.

“They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens, amounting to 20,000, and children of both sexes, more than

pen can enumerate. In short, the Muhammadan army brought

the country to utter ruin, and destroyed the lives of the inhabitants,

and plundered the cities, and captured their offsprings, so that many temples were deserted and the idols were broken and trodden under foot, the largest of which was one called Somnat.

.The fragments were conveyed to Delhi, and the entrance

of the Jami’ Masjid was paved with them, that people might remember and talk of this brilliant victory.... ‘Praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds 15 ’

It is not strictly relevant to our present purpose to discuss how far the details of the campaign and the motive behind it have been correctly described by Wassaf. If a Muslim writer or chronicler could take this view of things in a serious historical narrative, it is beyond question that the Hindus would exaggerate, and paint in a still darker colour, both the inhuman cruelties and the bigoted religious zeal which prompted them. The effect of such an exulting description, by a member of the community which inflicted the injury, upon those that suffered it, can easily be imagined.

The picture drawn by Wassaf belongs to the very beginning of the period under review. To the end of it reigned Sikandar Lodi, of whom another Muslim writer says:

“He was so zealous a Musulman that he utterly destroyed diverse places of worship of the infidels, and left not a vestige remaining of them. He entirely ruined the shrines of Mathura, the mine of heathenism, and turned their principal Hindu places of worship into caravanserais and colleges. Their stone images were given to the butchers to serve them as meat-weights, and all the Hindus in Mathura were strictly prohibited from shaving their heads and beards, and performing their ablutions. He thus put an end to all the idolatrous rites of the infidels there; and no Hindu, if he wished to have his head or beard shaved, could get a barber to do it. Every city thus conformed as he desired to the customs of Islam." 16

Such instances can be easily multiplied. Indeed a perusal of the Muslim chronicles leaves no doubt that not only scenes like this were witnessed during the period, but were regarded as just and natural by the Muslim divines and learned men of the age. The blood-curdling tales of wholesale rapine and massacre of the Hindus by Muslims, narrated in a single chronicle like that of Firishta, would make one's flesh creep. The Hindus, who must have looked upon such misdeeds as the most heinous crime and the greatest outrage on their religion and society, could hardly be expected to forget or forgive the sacrileges perpetrated in the name of Islam. They would be either more or less than human beings if they could do so. They paid the Muslims back in their own coins, but their opportunities were naturally few and far between. 17 In any case, such recorded

historical incidents are few, and contrary instances of religious toleration are by no means rare. The ferocity of Muslim bigotry, renewed at intervals and therefore always of recent memory, fed the ulcer that was eating into vitals of communal amity. No wonder, it created a river of blood between the two communities which centuries of residence together could not bridge.

5. Facts of History

All these are by no means imaginary pictures or mere theoretical deductions. They are fully supported by such positive evidence as we possess regarding the relation between the Hindus and the Muslims during the period under review.

(a) Ihn Batutah

We may begin with the picture drawn by Ibn Batutah, a learned Muslim of Africa, who travelled widely throughout India about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq, one of the most enlightened and liberal-minded Sultans in India.

Ibn Batutah confirms the general statement, made above, particularly about forcible conversion, mass-enslavement, and the inferior status of the Hindus as zimmis . 18 Thus he remarks that "other nations embraced Islam only when the Arabs used their swords against them" (p. 128). 19 There are several references to Hindu female captives of the highest rank being accorded the most humiliating treatment. Referring to the 'id ceremony at Delhi in the Sultan's palace he says: "Then enter the musicians, the first batch being the daughters of the infidel rajas—Hindus—captured in war that year. They sing and dance, and the Sultan gives them away to the amirs and a c izza. Then come the other daughters of the infidels who sing and dance; and the Sultan gives them away to his brothers, his relations, his brothers-in-law and the maliks' sons" (p. 63). Again, Ibn Batutah casually observes: "At that time there arrived in Delhi some female infidel captives, ten of whom the vezir sent to me. I gave one of these to the man who brought them to me, but he was not satisfied. My companions took three young girls, and I do not know what happened to the rest" (p. 123). The presents sent by Muhammad bin Tughluq to the Emperor of China included "one hundred male slaves and one hundred slave songstresses and dancers from among the Indian infidels" (p. 151).

The position of the Hindus as zimmis is occasionally referred to by Ibn Batutah. "The inhabitants of Habanq", says he, "are infidels under protection (zimma) from whom half of the crops which they produce is taken; besides they have to perform certain duties" (p. 241). He refers more than once to actual fights between infidel Hindus and their Muslim neighbours. Most interesting and instructive are the details connected with Alapur, a small city, most of whose inhabitants were infidels under protection (zimrriT). The commandant of this place "was one of those heroes, whose bravery was proverbial. Ceaselessly and quite alone he would fall upon the infidels and would kill them or take them prisoner, so much so that his reputation spread widely and he made a name for himself and the infidels feared him". One day he fell upon a Hindu village and was killed in course of the fray. But his slaves seized the village. "They put its male population to the sword and made the womenfolk prisoner and seized everything in it". Later, the Hindus avenged the insult by killing his son (p. 162-63). Immediately after narrating this, Ibn Batutah mentions an incident which shows the precarious tenure of a Hindu life. When he visited Gwalior he went to see the commandant who "was going to cut an infidel into two halves". At Ibn Batutah's request the life of the infidel was saved (p. 163).

Ibn Batutah's graphic account of the barbarous, almost incredible, cruelties perpetrated on the Hindus by the Sultan of Ma'bar has been quoted above. 20 Ibn Batutah was a near relative of the Sultan and lived in his court. There is, therefore, no reason to discredit the story, incredibly horrible though it might appear to us, as it did to Ibn Batutah. He has also cited other instances of cruelty inflicted upon the Hindus by the same Sultan in the most callous manner. One day while Ibn Batutah was taking his meals with the {Sultan a Hindu (infidel) "was brought in along with his wife and their son who was seven years of age. The Sultan beckoned the executioners ordering them to cut off the Hindu's (infidel's) head", 20a and then uttered some words meaning "and his wife and son". Ibn Batutah turned away his eyes while this was being done. Another day the Sultan ordered the hands and feet of a Hindu to be cut off. Ibn Batutah left the place on pretence of saying prayers, and when he returned he found the unfortunate Hindu weltering in blood (p. 228). Ibn Batutah's attitude on both the occasions does credit to him and definitely goes against those who excuse the conduct of the Muslim Sultans on the ground that such cruelties were common in those days.

Ibn Batutah bears witness to the deliberate and perpetual outrage on Hindu religious sentiments, perpetrated by Muslim rulers and people. In the capital city of Delhi itself, he found near the eastern gateway of the famous Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque "two very

big idols of copper connected together by stones. Every one who comes in and goes out of the mosque treads over them" (p. 27).

Some random observations of Ibn Batutah seem to indicate that the Hindu and Muslims lived as entirely separate communities. Thus he remarks: "In India the infidels occupy one continuous piece of land and inhabit regions which are adjacent to those of the Muslims. The Muslims dominate the infidels" (p. 124). Reference is made to Parwan as "a small city of Musalmans lying in the midst of the territories of the infidels" (p. 163). In the capital city of a Hindu State in Malabar coast, "there are about four thousand Muslims, who inhabit a suburb of their own inside the jurisdiction of the city. There is fighting between them and the inhabitants of the city often" (p. 185). Ibn Batutah's narrative shows that such communal fights were by no means rare. In another city of the Malabar coast "there were three Muslim quarters" (p. 188). When the Muslim Sultan of Hinawar conquered the Hindu city of Goa, he occupied the Hindu palace and gave the adjacent quarters to his followers, while ten thousand Hindu prisoners were removed to a suburb (p. 196).

The segregation of the Muslim community was rendered necessary, at least to a large extent, by the social rules and habits of the Hindus who regarded the Muslims as unclean and impure (mlechchhas). The Hindus maintained no social intercourse with the other community by way of interdining and intermarriage. They were uncompromising in this respect, and regarded the touch of Muslims, or even a scent of their food, as pollution. Ibn Batutah keenly felt all this when he passed through the Hindu States of Malabar, where Muslims were few and far between. He justly complains that no Hindu would give a vessel to a Muslim for drinking water of a well as he would do to another Hindu. "If one happens to be a Muslim he (Hindu) pours water into his (Muslim's) hands and leaves off when the latter makes him a sign or withdraws. It is the custom among the heathens in the Malabar country that no Muslim should enter their houses or use their vessels for eating purposes. If a Muslim is fed out of their vessels, they either break the vessels, or give them away to the Musalmans" (p. 182). These Hindu ideas of untouchability concerning the Muslims were not confined to Malabar, but extended all over India, and Ibn Batutah draw T s a refreshing contrast in this respect between the infidels of Ceylon and those of India. The infidels of Ceylon, we are told, were unlike the infidels of India who would neither admit even Muslim fakirs in their houses nor give them food and water in their own utensils (p. xxxiv). Then he observes in a reminiscent mood:

"Occasionally we were compelled to ask some of the infidels of India to cook meat for us. They used to bring it in their own cooking pots and to sit at a little distance from us; they used to bring also leaves of banana tree upon which they placed rice—their principal food— pouring over the rice broth called koshan and subsequently they withdrew. Then we used to eat it, and whatever remained would be eaten by the dogs and birds. If any innocent child happened to take anything from that remnant they would beat him and compel him to eat cow's dung which according to their belief purifies" (p. xxxiv).

Reference may be made in this connection to a story, narrated in detail by Ibn Batutah himself, which throws a lurid light on the relation between the Hindus and Muslims in the very heart of the Muslim empire in North India.

Ibn Batutah was appointed ambassador to China and proceeded from Delhi in July, 1342, with rich presents, and a guard of thousand horsemen. When they were in the neighbourhood of Aligarh they heard that the city of Jalall, about eleven miles to the south-east, was besieged by the Hindus, numbering about a thousand horsemen and three thousand infantry. By a surprise attack the Sultan's cavalry guard "killed them (the infidel Hindus) to the last man and seized their horses and arms." The 'infidels', however, continued to raid the suburbs of Jalall from their base on an inaccessible mountain. In course of one of these, Ibn Batutah and a few friends were surprised by the raiders and had to flee for their lives. Being hotly pursued, Ibn Batutah was captured and going to be killed, when one of the captors took pity on him and helped him to escape. After hiding himself in hills, forests, and fields, he came to a road. "But since that road was leading into a village of infidels", Ibn Batutah took to a different road and hid himself. After seven days, famished by hunger and thirst, he reached "a thickly populated village of infiedels". "I begged of them something to eat, but they refused to give anything". One of them lifted an unsheathed sword to kill him, but let him off after taking his shirt. On the eighth day he chanced to come across a Muslim who took him to a Muslim ruler of a Hindu village (pp. 151-7).

After all this we need hardly feel surprised at the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus. The Brahmans, says Ibn Batutah, "are revered by the infidels and inspire hatred in the Muslims” (p. 188). The dislike was mutual. “We used to meet infidels on this road at night; but as soon as they saw us they got out of the way until we had passed” (p. 183).

Any one who reads Ibn Batutah’s account would be reminded of what Al-Birunl said regarding the attitude of the Hindus towards the Muslims, and vice versa. 205 Evidently things had not improved much even after the lapse of three hundred years.

(b) Indian Literature

Unfortunately we possess no chronicle of the period written by a Hindu save and except the second Rajatarahgini of Jonaraja. The terrible tales of persecution of the Hindus by Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir, as recorded by him, have been narrated above. 20c But isolated references to the persecution of the Hindus by the Muslims are not altogether wanting. The Muslim sway over South India beyond the Krishna was of short duration, and confined to Madura, but the cry of anguish from this region in the far south has been preserved in a local chronicle of Madura. The misery caused by the Muslims in this sacred city is also narrated in detail by GangadevI, the consort of prince Kampana of Vijayanagara. A few extracts are quoted below:

“The temples in the land have fallen into neglect, as worship in them has been stopped. Within their walls the frightful howls of the jackals have taken the place of the sweet reverberations of

jnridanga . The sweet odour of the sacrificial smoke and the

chant of the Vedas have deserted the villages which are now filled with the foul smell of roasted flesh and the fierce noise of the ruffianly Turushkas. The suburban gardens of Madura present a most painful sight; many of their beautiful cocoanut palms have been cut down; and on every side are seen rows of stakes from which swing strings of human skulls strung together. The Tamraparnl is flowing red with the blood of the slaughtered cows. The Veda is forgotten, and justice has gone into hiding; there is not left any trace of virtue or nobility in the land and despair is writ large on the faces of the unfortunate Dravidas” 21 In spite of possible exaggeration, the general truth underlying this doleful and dismal picture is borne out by Ibn Batutah's description of the monstrous cruelty perpetrated by the Muslim Sultan of Ma'bar or Madura 21a

Vidyapati, the famous poet of Mithila in the 15th century A.D. has given a gruesome account of the oppressions of the Hindus by the Turks. 215 After describing the vital differences between the two in social and religious customs he mentions how the Turks force the Hindus to work without pay, place the leg of the dead cow on the heads of Brahmanas, lick the sandalwood mark on their foreheads, tear off their sacred thread, break temples and build mosques in their place, abuse the Hindus and assault them.

The medieval religious writers of Bengal, particularly the Vaishnavas, have left a vast literature which contains casual references to the miserable plight of the Hindus in Bengal. These Vaishnavas were the most inoffensive and peaceful members of the Hindu community and their views cannot be regarded, by any stretch of imagination, to be tinged by political or racial bias of any kind. This literature reflects the state of things prevailing in Bengal three hundred years after the Muslims had conquered it. It is important to bear this in mind, for it had been held by some that "after the first shock of conquest was over, the Hindus and Muslims prepared to find a via media whereby to live as neighbours". 22 A positive and definite idea of the neighbourly relation between the two during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. may be formed from the contemporary Bengali literature.

The Chaitanya-mangala of Jayananda describes as follows the plight of the Brahmanas of Navadvipa, the birth-place of Chaitanya, shortly before his birth (A.D. 1485): "The king seizes the Brahmanas, pollute their caste, and even take their lives. If a conchshell is heard to blow in any house, its owner is made to forfeit his wealth, caste and even life. The king plunders the houses of those who wear sacred threads on the shoulder and put sacred marks on the forehead, and then bind them. He breaks the temples and uproots Tulasl plants, and the residents of Navadvipa are in perpetual fear of their lives. The bathing in the Ganga is prohibited and hundreds of sacred Asvattha and jack trees have been cut down. The numerous Yavanas (Muslims) who reside in the Piralya village ruined the Brahmanas. The feud between the Yavanas and the Brahmanas is everlasting, and the terrible village of Piralya is close to Navadvipa. Misled by the false report of (the people of) Piralya that a Brahmana was destined to be the king of Navadvipa.. .the king (of Gauda) ordered the destruction of Nadiya (Navadvipa). Sarvabhauma Bhattacharya left Gauda with his family and kinsmen and fled to Orissa where he was honoured by its ruler Prataparudra.” Some time later, the king of Gauda changed his attitude and had the broken houses and temples repaired, but the Brahmanas whose caste was polluted remained for ever outside the fold of Hinduism.” 223

Such pogroms of Hindus were not accidental or merely passing episodes. As Jayananda so tersely puts it, the feud between the Yavanas and the Brahmanas was everlasting. So we find that, far from improving, the communal relation became even worse during the benign rule of ‘Ala-ud-dln Husain Shah (A.D. 1493-1519). who is generally regarded as the most liberal-minded Muslim ruler of Bengal.

HINDU MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vijaya Gupta, one of the eulogists of Husain Shah, gives a gruesome detailed description of the outrage on Hindus by the Muslim qdzis, Hasan and Husain. These two made a pastime of baiting the Hindus in all possible ways. Anyone found with the sacred Tulasi leaf on his head (an obligatory Vaishnava custom) was taken to the qdzl with hands and feet bound, and heavy blows were administered to him. The piyad a(peon) tore away the sacred thread from a Brahman and spat saliva in his mouth. On one occasion a Muslim mulld happened to pass by a hut in a wood where some shepherd boys were worshipping the goddess Manasd.i with the symbol of sacred earthen pots to the accompaniment of music. In righteous indignation the mulld made an attempt to break the pots, but was severely trounced. The mulld brought it to the notice of the two qdzl brothers who exclaimed: “What! the scoundrel (hardmzddah) Hindus make so bold as to perform Hindu rituals in my village! The culprit boys should be seized and made outcast by being forced to eat Muslim bread.” So the two brothers gathered a large number of armed Muslims and proceeded towards the shepherd’s hut. The mother of the qdzis, a Hindu girl forcibly married by the former qazi, vainly tried to dissuade her sons; they demolished the shepherd’s hut, broke the sacred pots into pieces, and threw away the offerings to the goddess. The affrighted shepherd boys had concealed themselves in the wood, but some of them were hunted out and seized . 23

isana Nagara, another contemporary writer, describes the condition of the Hindus under Husain Shah as follows:

“The wicked mlechchhas pollute the religion of the Hindus every day. They break the images of the gods into pieces and throw away the articles of worship. They throw into fire Srlmad Bhdgavat and other holy scriptures, forcibly take away the conchshell and bell of the Brahmanas (two necessary articles of worship), and lick the sandal paints on their bodies. They urinate like dogs on the sacred Tulasl plant, and deliberately pass faeces in the Hindu temples. They throw water from their mouths on the Hindus engaged in worship, and harass the Hindu saints as if they were so many lunatics let large .” 24

The two great biographies of the great Vaishnava saint Chaitanya, namely, the Chaitanya-charitdmrita and the Chaitanya-bhdgavata , contain many stories of the religious bigotry of the Muslims and the consequent persecution of the Hindus. Both the books refer to a famous episode in the life of Lord Chaitanya. He had introduced the system of public worship in the form of kirtan (a sort of congregational song loudly sung together by a large number of men in public streets to the accompaniment of special musical instruments). This enraged the Muslim qdzl, and one day when Chaitanya’s devotees were singing the name of God in the streets of Nadiya (Navadvlpa in Bengal), he came out, struck blows upon everybody on whom he could lay hands, broke the musical instruments, and threatened with dire punishment all the Hindus who would dare join a tartan party in this way in his city of Nadiya. To prevent the recurrence of public kirtan, the qdzl patrolled the streets of Nadiya with a party. The people of Nadiya got afraid, but Chaitanya decided to defy the qazi’s orders, and brought out a large kirtan party which was joined by thousands. The qdzl was at first wild with anger and held out the threat that he would destroy the caste of all the Hindus of Nadiya; but terror seized him when his eyes fell upon the vast concourse of people in a menacing attitude. He fled, and his house was wrecked by the angry crowd. The Chaitanya-bhdgavata does not describe the sequel. But the other work, Chaitanya-charitamrita, describes how Chaitanya sent for the qdzl who was now in a more chastened mood, and the two had a cordial talk . 25

As is usual with religious books, the author of the Chaitanyacharitdmrita attributes the change in the qazl's attitude to a miracle. A more rational explanation of the qazl's forbearance is probably to be found in the attitude of the Sultan. Shortly after the above incident, the author describes the visit of Chaitanya to Rama* keli, a village near the capital city of Gauda. When Sultan Husain Shah heard of the great ovation paid to the saint by millions of people along the whole route, he was surprised, and observed that one whom such a vast crowd follows without any expectation of material benefit must be a saint. He ordered the Muslim qazls not to injure him in any way and allow him to go wherever he liked . 26

It would be wrong to infer from this, that Sultan Husain Shah had a tender heart for the Hindus. At least the contemporary Hindus thought otherwise. Even after Husain Shah issued the above order, the intimate followers of Chaitanya argued: “This Husain Shah had destroyed numerous temples in Orissa; the liberal views he expressed were but a passing phase, and might be changed at any moment by evil counsels of Muslim officials” 26a So they sent an urgent message to Chaitanya to leave the vicinity of the capital. One of the Hindu courtiers of the Sultan, when asked about Chaitanya, deliberately misrepresented him as an ordinary sannydsl, in order to avert the Sultan's wrath against a great Hindu saint . 27

Sanatana, a trusted Hindu official of the Sultan, became an ardent devotee of Chaitanya. So he (Sanatana) spent his time in religious exercises in his house, and ceased to attend the court on plea of illness. One day the Sultan paid a surprise visit and found Sanatana hale and hearty, engaged in religious discourse with twenty or thirty Vaishnavas. The Sultan got very angry and kept Sanatana in confinement. Sultan Husain Shah was then making preparations for a military expedition against Orissa, and asked Sanatana to accompany him. But the latter refused, saying: “You are going to torment our gods(i.e. destroy the images and temples); I cannot go with you .” 28 This firm reply to the iconoclastic Sultan offers a striking contrast to the fulsome eulogies paid to him by some contemporary Bengali poets. One of them, Vijaya Gupta, mentioned above, describes Husain Shah as an ideal king whose subjects enjoy all the blessings of life, and compares him to the epic hero Arjuna. Another goes even further and describes the Muslim Sultan, notorious for breaking Hindu temples, as the incarnation of Krishna in the Kali Age. All these merely indicate the degree of abject surrender and the depth of moral degradation of the Hindus of Bengal caused by three hundred years of political servitude and religious oppression . 283 Evidently a new spirit was infused into them by Chaitanya, at least for the time being.

Throughout the Chaitanya-bhagavata there are casual references to Hindus being constantly oppressed by the fear that the public performance of Tartan , and even singing religious songs loudly in one's own house, would provoke the Sultan and bring untold miseries upon the people of Nadiya. A section of them was therefore angry with the Vaishnavas, and once a rumour was spread that the Sultan had sent two boats full of soldiers to Nadiya to arrest those who sang klrtan. Many people expressed their amazement that Chaitanya and his followers were engaged in loudly singing klrtan at Ramakeli near the capital city, Gauda, without any fear of the terrible Muslim king living so near . 29 These incidental references constitute more valuable data than even the full-fledged stories of the sacrilegious conduct of the qdzls for making a proper estimate of the wretched condition of the Hindus. They had to live in perpetual dread of the religious bigotry and intolerance of the Muslims during the rule of even the most enlightened Muslim Sultan of Bengal. No wonder that many Hindus embraced Islam to get rid of this ignominious fate. Duarte Barbosa who visited India during the reign of Husain Shah observes with reference to Bengal: "The Heathens of these parts daily become Moors to gain the favour of their rulers ". 30

But the Vaishnava literature also shows the brighter side of the relation between the Hindus and Muslims. When the qdzl of Nadiya met Chaitanva after the tumultuous riot mentioned above, he reminded the latter that his (Chaitanya's) maternal grandfather was his (qazi’s) uncle according to the customary usage of the village, and therefore Chaitanya was his nephew. It is thus apparent that although there was no interdining and intermarriage between the Hindus and the Muslims, some sort of cordial neighbourly relation was fostered between the two communities living together in the same village or city. This is quite natural. But the pity of it is, that even such neighbourly feelings could neither mellow the bigoted fury of the Muslims against Hindu religion, as is proved by the conduct of the qazi himself; nor relax in any way the social bigotry of the Hindus which got the better not only of humanitarian feelings, but also of their age-long virtues of respect for guest and mercy towards helpless seekers of shelter, as exemplified by the refusal of food and water to a hungry and thirsty foreigner, Ibn Batutah. Incidental references have been made in the above stories to the forcible marriage of a Hindu girl by a Muslim, and dubious methods adopted to make the Hindus lose their caste. Other corroborative concrete instances of these are met with in contemporary literature. These were also so many sore points with the Hindus which widened the breach between the two communities.

Three different lines of evidence—Muslim chronicles, the account of Ibn Batutah, and contemporary Indian literature—all agree in testifying to the fact that the basic and fundamental differences between the two communities continued, as before, during the period under review. No doubt, mutual understanding was developed and there was a greater amount of cordiality in the normal social relation between the two. Each was influenced by the other, in varying degrees, not only in different spheres of life, but also in ideas, beliefs, and even superstitions. But all these merely affected the external and superficial in man and society, and left untouched the core of the heart and the mind. It was only necessary to scratch the skin to bring out the Hindu and the Muslim in every Indian, individually or collectively.

A HINDU SOCIETY

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1. On Chaitanya’s attitude towards caste, vide S. K. De, Early History of the Vaishnava Faith and Movement in Bengal , pp. 8Q-81n. On caste in Sikhism down to the time of Guru Govind Singh, vide Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. I, pp. 66-67.

2. The above dates, which are approximate, are taken from P. V. Kane, History of Dharmasdstra, Vol. IV, pp. ix-xi.

3. For references to these views, vide Kane, op. cii- Vol. II, Part I, p 56.

4. For references, vide Saletore, Social and Political Life in the Vifayanagara Empire, Vol. II, pp. 33 ff., 122 ff. Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagara, pp. 143-44, 240 ff., 245 ff.

5. References in Mahalingam, op. cit. 137 ff.

5a. IBH, 63, 151. TA, III. 597. The Editor is responsible for this para.

5b. Vivadaratnaka't'a, 139 ff.; Parasara-Mddhava, II, 238 ff.; Vyavaharavivekoddyota, 214 ff.; Vyavaharasara, 152 ff.; Vivadachandra, 46 ff.; Vivddachintdmani, 63 ff ; Vyavaharakdnda, 291 ff.

6. E.C. VIII, p. 40 (gift of female slaves mentioned in inscription of 1382). Annual Report of Epigraphy, 1905, p. 46 (reference to bond-servant). For references to slavery in the preceding periods vide the earlier volumes, s.v.

7. For references, vide Saletore, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 166 ff., p. 362; Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 262 ff.

7a. Quoted in the preface to the edition of the Vyavaharasara. See Bibliography.

8. For the history of the controversy about the validity of marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter in the Smritis, vide Kane, History of Dharmasdstra, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 458 ff.

8a. Parasara-Madhava, I, 485 ff.; Madanapdrijata, 155 ff.; Grihastharatndkdra, 55 ff.

8b. Grihastharatndkara , 86

8c. Madanapdrijata, 89

9. Vide Yule and Cordier, Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. II, p. 139 (Friar Odoric), Yule, Mirabilia (Jordanus), IBH, 21-22.

9a. Full reference in Vivadaratnakara, 409 ff.; less detailed references in Madanapdrijata, 191-192; Parasara-Madhava, II, 322-23; Vyavahdravivekoddyota, 31517 fVyavahdrasdra, 203-4; Vyavaharakanda, 342; Vivadachintamani, 189-90.

9b. Vyavaharasara, 249-50.

9c. Vivadachandra, 92-93.

9d. Vivadachintamani, 236.

9*e. Vyavaharasara, 237

9f. Vivadachandra, 82-83.

9g. Parasara-Madhava, II. 369; Vyavahdravivekoddyota, 376.

9h. Vivadaratnakara, 511-15; Madanapdrijata, 670; Vyavahdravivekoddyota, 37779; Vivadachandra, 81; Vyavaharakanda, 380-1; Vivadachintamani, 218-21.

10. Vivadaratnakara, 516-18; Madanapdrijata, 665-69; Vivadachandra, 382-84; Vyavahdravivekoddyota, 380; Vivadachintamani, 221-24; Sulapani on Yajnavalkya, I, 144-45.

10a- IBH, p. 171 (diet among the Maratha people): Saletore, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 305 ff. Mahalingam, op. cit., p. 281 ff. (diet of people in Vijayanagara Empire).

11. For references see Saletore, op. cit., 159 ff., 297 ff., Mahalingam, op. cit. 263 ff., 284 ff.

12. In the above passage the author observes that the Brahmana though addicted to all sense-enjoyments, is not disqualified because of the efficacy of his Vedic studies and his five daily sacrifices in removing sins, while his earthly divinity is not lost by eating forbidden food and the like because of

the similar efficacy of single mantras. Quoting in the next place a prima facie view which favours membership of a parishat for a Sudra of good character and conduct in preference to a Brahmana of bad character living in the same village, the author rejects the same on the ground that, as between the claims of birth and character, the superiority of the former is to be considered principally, while the latter is to be considered as far as possible.

13. Vide Yule and Cordier, Cathay, Vol. II, p. 145 (Odoric); Yule, Mirabilia (Jordanus), IBH, p. 23.

14. Yule and Cordier, Cathay, Vol. II, p. 137; Yule, Mirabilia (Jordanus).

B. MUSLIM RELIGION AND SOCIETY

1. Vol. V, 467 ff.

2. See, for example, how Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Khaljl and later on Ghiyas-uddln Tughluq fell out with Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya- The former, indeed, threatened the saint with dire consequences if he failed to present himself at his court on an appointed date, but was himself murdered before that date.

3. Thus we have the months MiranjI, Madar and Khwaja Mu‘ln-ud-dln corresponding to the Arabic months of RabT-al-SanI, Jumad-al-Awal and Jumadal-Sanl, and named after Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir GilanI of Baghdad, Shah Madar and Khwaja Mu‘In-ud-dln of Ajmer respectively.

4. See Chashma-i-Kauthar (p. 361 ff.). He was a native of Jaunpur where he was born in A.D. 1443. He gained numerous adherents, particularly in Gujarat and Hyderabad.

5. See above, p. 146.

6. This title originally indicated a non-Sayyid Arab, a descendant, usually, of one of the first three Caliphs of Islam, but later on became indiscriminately used for any Muslim who was not of Sayyid, Mughul or

Afghan origin. Thus all the new converts to Islam came to be designated as Shaikhs.

7. Khusrav mentions the katdra in one of his verses. Sari an du chashm gardam ki chu Hinduan-i-rahzan I Hamard zletigh-i-abru bejigar zadeh katdra II. "May

I be a ransom for those two eyes which like the the marauding Hindus, with their sword-like eye-brows, strike at even one’s liver with a kataXa .”

8. The Arabs probably had become familiar with tambul in very early times, but it was unknown in Central Asia. According to al-Mas‘udI, it had become popular in al-Hijaz and Yemen in the fourth oentury (Muruj, II, p. 84).

9. See Khusrav, Qiran-us-Sa (dain (Aligarh edn.), pp. 183-185. Ibn Batutah gives a graphic account of the dishes and dinner etiquettes (IBH, 15, 120, 180).

10. Khusrav says:

Ay Dihll o ay butan-i-sadeh I Pag basteh o Tisha kadj nihddeh II.

“Oh Dihll and oh her beardless beauties! Turbans tied (round their heads) and the turban-tails placed awry.”

11. Khusrav speaks particularly of two varieties, the Deogiri and the Maradevnagri.

See the Nuh Sipihr, the Ashlqa , etc. Cf. also th e-Khazdin-ul-Futuh. (Edited

by Mirza, p. 22).

11a. Cf. Chapter XIX.

12. The Editor is responsible for the preceding three paragraphs, which are based on an article by S.N.H. Rizvi in Is.C., XV, 331.

13. Shaving of the new born child’s natal hair, corresponding to the Hindu chudakarana

14. The first lesson given to a child, consisting usually of the recitation by the teacher of a Qur'anic verse which the child was asked to repeat.

15. Such as chauthl, chdla etc. It may be interesting to note in this connection that the Indian practice of erecting a mandha (mandap) for the bride has a curious resemblance to the Arab custom which finds expression in the phrase " band ' alaihd " (built or erected a tent over her) in the sense of "married her".

16. IBH, 78 ff., 211, 120.

17. See Khusrav: Nuh Sipihr (ed. Mirza, pp. 376 if.) and Ibn Batutah (Egyptian edn.), Vol. II, p. 38; IBH, 63.

18. See p. 23 above.

19. The large number of mosques, inns, tanks and wells built by them bear eloquent testimony to their religious zeal.

20. Called kohl and bahri by Khusrav and others; kohl, because they were procured from the hill districts of Konkan, etc., and bahri as they were imported from over-sea countries, chiefly Arabia.

21. See Ashraf: Life and Conditions of peoples of Hindusthan, JRASBL, I. pp. 233-237.

22. Cf. Chapter XV, Sections D and E, particularly the three paragraphs marked with asterisk on pp. 538-9, which originally formed part of this section, and were transferred to the section on literature. [Ed.]

C. HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

1. Vol. V, 497-502.

la- Recently, Kazi Abdul Wadud has challenged the theory, to which 'wide currency was given by the scholarly writings of Risley, Beverly and Hunter,' namely, "that the Mussalmans of Bengal sprang from the lower strata of the Hindus of the province, and that the sword of Islam was primarily responsible for the conversion." He has mostly relied on the arguments advanced by Khundkar Muhammad Fazle Rabbi in his book The Origin of the Mussalmans of Bengal, among which he cites the following as the "most weighty": "How to account for the comparative paucity of Mussalmans in Northern India, the seat of Muslim power for centuries, where the notorious sword of Islam could not have been shy". It is forgotten that this objection may be advanced against any explanation that is offered to account for the large number of Mussalmans of Bengal, including those of Mr. Rabbi and Kazi Wadud, namely, (1) that a fairly large number of Mussalmans were not indigenous to Bengal, but went there as soldiers, Government officials and traders; (2) Bengal was a stronghold of Pathans. If the first argument had any validity, we would expect more Muslims in Upper India than in Bengal. As to the second, Bihar, and to a certain extent, Orissa, were also strongholds of the Pathans, and yet these two regions contain a much smaller percentage of Mussalmans than Bengal. ("The Mussalmans of Bengal" by Kazi Abdul Wadud in Studies in the Bengal Renaissance, edited by Atulchandra Gupta, pp. 460 ff.).

2. IBH, p. xxxiv.

3. IBH, 151-2.

4. Hindusthan Standard, Puja Issue, 1950.

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5. Cf- Vol. Ill, p. 456, f.n., 1; also Ch. XIV of this volume, p. 450.

5a. Sources of Indian Tradition (Columbia University Press, New York, 1958), pp. 489-90.

6. Confirmation and illustration of the adoption of Sir Jadunath's theory into

practice meets us at almost every step in the Muslim historical chronicles and the political history of the Sultanate sketched above (cf. specially, pp. 25, 59, 104 ff., 147, 158). Cf. also the Fatawa-i-Jdhdnddri of Ziya-ud-dln BaranI

(1BH , 260 ff.). For the jizya, cf. Vol. Ill, 455-6.

7. P. 25.

8. 1BH, 150.

9. Above, pp. 104-5.

10. IBH, 261

11. Above, Vol. V, p. 499.

11a. Sources of Indian Tradition , p. 489.

12. TKB, II, 110.

13. T.M., 40. It is difficult to believe the story, but the fact that a distinguished historian of the period thought fit to give currency to it shows clearly the attitude of the Muslims towards the Hindus in the age in which he flourished.

14. The case of Medini Rai, in Malwa (pp. 183-4), is a striking example. But even in this case his later career supports the theory enunciated here. There are a few cases on record where Muslims occupied a high post in Hindu State and vice versa. But the very small number of such cases supports the view mentioned in the text. The careers of Ganesa and his son, sketched above (pp. 208 ff), are other striking illustrations of the wide gulf that separated the Hindus and Muslims in politics. It is noteworthy that in spite of perpetual rebellions and usurpations, no Hindu ever succeeded in gaining the throne or maintaining it in a State ruled over by the Muslims.

14a. See pp. 268 ff.

15. HIED, III, 42-44.

16. HIED, IV, 447.

17. Rana Kumbha claims to have imprisoned the Yavanis (i.e, Muslim women) and also broken a mosque. When Medini Rai was powerful in Malwa, “Musulman and Sayyid women were taken by the Rajputs and were

turned into slave girls" (TA, III, 597). The massacre and rapine of the Muslims by the Hindu kings of Vijayanagara are referred to by Firishta.

18. For the significance of the term zimmi, see above, p.

19. These figures within brackets refer to pages in IBH.

20. Pp. 233-4.

20a- In this quotation the word 'Hindu' has been substituted for 'enemy', as being the correct translation of the original word 'kafir' (see above, p. 245, f.n., 19).

20b. Cf. Vol. V, pp. 500-501.

20c. See above, pp. 378 ff.

21. Further Sources of Vijayanagara History, I, 40.

21a- Above, pp. 233-4.

21b. Cf. Kirtilata.

22. Tara Chanel, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p. 137.

22a-Cf. D. C. Sen, Bahgabhasha o Sdhitya, 6th Edition, pp. 319-20.

23. Manasa mahgala also called Padmd-Purdna (in Bengali), pp. 54 ff.

24. Advaita-prakdsa (in Bengali) Ch. IX, p. 39.

25. For this episode cf. Chaitanya-bhdgavata, Madhyakhanda, Ch. 23 (pp. 271 ff); Chaitanya-charitamrita, Adi-lila, Ch. XVII (pp. 122 ff).

26. Chaitanya-charitamrita, Madhya-llla, Ch. I, p. 138.

26a. Chaitanya-Bhagavaia, Antyakhanda, Ch. IV, p. 358.

27. Ibid. Chaitanya-bhdgavata, Antya-Khanda, Ch. IV. p. 358.

28. Chaitanya-charitamrita, Madhya-llla, Ch. XIX, p. 326

28a. For a different view on this point cf. p. 219.

29. Chaitanya-bhdgavata, pp. 14, 140, 356.

30. M.L. Dames, The Book of Duarte Barbosa, 11, 148.

CHAPTER XVIII

ECONOMIC CONDITION*

1. The Village and the City

During the period under review the village, following the traditional pattern of a unit more or less self-contained within its own limits, must have remained, as always, the backbone of India's economy. There was, however, this important difference that, not to speak of North India, even in the South, the ancient self-governing village-assemblies decayed and perished under the withering influence of the quasi-feudal as well as centralized State administrations of the time. The economic life in the city, nevertheless, was maintained, as of old, in full vigour during this period. The Moorish traveller Ibn Batutah, in the course of his Indian itinerary (1333-46 A.D.), found great cities with rich markets in the Upper Ganga valley, in Malwa and Gujarat, in the Deccan and in Bengal, as well as in Malabar in the extreme south. In another context the same writer, while describing the magnificent port of Alexandria in Egypt, observes that he has not seen its equal in the universe, if exception is made in the case of Quilon and Calicut in Malabar, Sudak in the Crimea, and Zaytun in China. In the early sixteenth century the rich sea-ports of Gujarat, the Deccan, Malabar and Bengal are described by the Portuguese writer Barbosa as handling an extensive trade (inland, coastal and overseas) in a remarkable variety of merchandise. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the city of Vijayanagara, because of its large size and huge population, its rich bazars , the number of its skilled craftsmen, and dealers in precious stones as well as other articles, impressed profoundly a succession of foreign visitors. One of these, the Portuguese Domingo Paes, describing its heavy traffic, observes that its streets and markets were full of countless pack-oxen making the passage in many streets difficult for men. In the kingdom of Vijayanagara, as in the independent Hindu kingdoms of older times, the temples played a large part in the public economy in the capacity of landlords and employers of labour, as well as of banks advancing loans to debtors on the security of their lands. 1

2. Agriculture, Horticulture and Animal Husbandry

The extensive cultivation of food grains and other crops, and nurture of fruit-trees as well as rearing of domestic animals by the Indians are vividly described by the foreign travellers of this period.

The advanced condition of agriculture was helped by the exceeding fertility of the soil to which these travellers frequently refer. We begin with a fairly exhaustive list of Indian agricultural and other products given by Ibn Batutah at the beginning of the narrative of his Indian travels. We learn from him that the soil was so fertile as to produce two crops every year, namely seven varieties of autumn crops (including millet, peas and beans of different kinds), four varieties of spring crops (wheat, barley, chick peas and lentils). To this he adds that sesame and sugar-cane were cultivated along with the autumn crops, and that rice was sown three times a year. The list of Indian fruit-trees consisted of mangoes, jack-fruits, black-berries and oranges of three varieties, such as were unknown to the traveller in any other country, as well as the familiar pomegranate which bore fruit twice a year. The list of vegetables included ginger and pepper which, like the mango, were prepared into pickles. Coming to the different localities, the writer noticed an abundance of fine rice at Sarsuti (modern Sirsa on the north of a dried bed of the Ghaggar river), of sugar at Kanauj, of wheat and betel-leaf at Dhar (in Malwa), as well as the supreme excellence of wheat (matched only by that of China) at Marh (near Gwalior). At Daulatabad, grapes and pomegranates were grown twice a year, while at Sagar (on the Narmada, nearly thirty miles from its mouth) there were orchards of fruit-trees, and the lands were irrigated by water-wheels. In the early part of the sixteenth century, according to Barbosa, wheat, millet, gingelly, peas and beans were grown abundantly and cheaply in the kingdom of Gujarat. In ‘the Deccan kingdom’ (the Bahmani Sultanate) the same traveller noticed many beautiful villages with well-tilled land and good breeds of cattle; as well as other villages with very fair gardens for the cultivation of betel-leaf. The villages belonging to the coastal province of ‘Tulu-nad’ (north and south Kanara), we are further told, yielded a great store of good (white) as well as coarse (black) rice along with sugar and myrobalan of good quality, which found a market in Malabar on the one side and Arabia and Persia on the other. In South India, Malabar was noted during these centuries, as at all other times, for its spices. In the fourteenth century Abu-’l-Feda and Ibn Batutah aptly described Malabar as “the pepper country”, while in the following century Odoric and John de Marignolli declared it to be the only country in the world for the growth and supply of pepper. The ginger of Malabar, according to Odoric, was the best in the world. Along the great coastal road of Malabar there was, according to Ibn Batutah, not a span of land left uncultivated, and everyone had his separate garden with his house in the middle. Among other products Ibn Batutah noticed cocoa nuts, betel-nuts and areca-nuts, of which the last grew in such abundance in a particular area as to form an article of export to China. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries four Chinese writers (Wang Ta-Yuan, Ma Huan, Fei Hsin, and Huang Sheng-tseng) noticed cocoa-nuts, betel-nuts, jack-fruits, catechu and especially pepper (which was grown in gardens) among the products of Malabar. According to Barbosa, cocoa-nuts were grown along the whole sea-beach of Malabar, and the ten or twelve uses, to which it was put by the people, made them immune from dearth at all times. The flourishing condition of agriculture in the Vijayanagara kingdom is repeatedly mentioned by the foreign writers. According to the region was well-cultivated and very fertile, and it produced a great quantity of food-grains and cotton as well as oil-seeds. The dearth of water, on account of the small number of streams and the scanty rainfall, was met to some extent by the use of lakes fed by the collection of rain-water and by springs. The fellow-traveller of Paes, Barbosa, was struck with the wide cultivation of rice, peas, beans and other pulses, as well as the extensive breeding of domestic animals in the kingdom. Within the circuit of Vijayanagara city there were, according to ‘Abd-ur-Razzaq, excellent gardens with fruit-trees of different kinds, as well as fields irrigated with water from the lakes. In Orissa, at the time of Firuz Tughluq’s invasion (1360), as we learn from the contemporary Muslim chronicler, the inhabitants had fine gardens of fruit-trees in their houses, while the cattle and sheep were so numerous that they found no buyers, and the horses were sold at the extraordinary cheap price of ten copper coins (jitals) each. In Bengal Ibn Batutah, descending down ‘the Blub River’ (identified with the Barak or the Surma River in Sylhet District), from ‘the glorious and beautiful city of Habanq’ (identified with a ruined site near Habiganj), passed through villages and orchards which reminded the traveller of those along the banks of the Nile in Egypt. The long list of cereals and vegetables of Bengal, noticed by Ma Huan in the middle of the fifteenth century, comprised rice growing twice a year, millet of two varieties, sesamum and beans, ginger, mustard, onions and garlic, cucumber and eggplant. Other products mentioned by the same writer are cocoa-nut and betel-nut, banana, jack-fruit and pomegranate, sugar-cane, and honey. Another Chinese writer of the same period, Fei Hsin, makes particular mention of the mango. In 'the city of Bengala' (probably meaning the capital city of Gauda with its sea-port at Satgaon on the eastern branch of the Ganga), there were, according to Barbosa, many cotton fields, sugar-cane, ginger and pepper plantations, as well as gardens of orange, lemon and other fruit-trees, the good white sugar produced from the sugar-cane finding a good

market in other lands. There was likewise an abundance of horses, cows, sheep, and domestic fowl. 2

3. Textile manufacture

The textile industry of India appears from all accounts to have flourished as well in these as in the preceding centuries. From the detailed and valuable report of Barbosa it appears that Gujarat, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, led the way in the volume of manufacture of Indian textiles. The great industrial city of Cambay, containing skilled craftsmen of many kinds 'as in Flanders', is especially mentioned by the foreign writer for the abundance and cheapness of its woven white cotton fabrics (of both coarse and fine varieties), its printed cotton stuffs, its silk cloth, coloured velvets, velvety satins, and thick carpets, as well as its very beautiful quilts, its finely worked and painted testers of beds and its quilted articles of clothing. Coloured and richly embroidered silk along with cotton cloths, we are further told, were extensively manufactured at the sea-port of Patenexy (probably Veraval-Somnath). How the Cambay cloths found an extensive and most valuable market by the Red Sea route into Western Europe, and by the East African route to the great Bantu kingdom in the interior of South Africa, while the printed cotton and silk stuffs (patolds) of Cambay found their way via the Burmese and Malayan ports to the Indonesian Islands, will be told in the course of this chapter.

Of the textile industry of the Deccan during this period, our knowledge is very scanty. Barbosa, however, while describing the trade of the ancient towns of Chaul and Dabhol, observes that great quantities of cloth were carried down to these ports from the interior for export to other land in return for the merchandise imported from outside. We have fuller information of the textile industry of South India during these times. In Malabar the town of Shaliyat (near Calicut) was already famous for its cotton fabrics at the time of Ibn Batutah's visit. According to Ma Huan, a valuable variety of cotton cloth of standard size, each of which fetched as much as eight or ten gold pieces, was imported into Calicut from the adjoining territory of 'Kanpai' (probably Koyampadi, a former name of Coimbatore). A kind of silk cloth with coloured stripes, likewise in standard size and fetching as much as a hundred gold coins apiece, we are told by the same writer, was produced by the people of this country. Coloured cotton stuffs and flowered chintz are included in more general terms among the products of the cities of Malabar by other Chinese writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among the products of the Maidive Islands, strikingly enough, Barbosa, in the early sixteenth century, noticed very rich cotton, silk and gold cloths, while he thought the thin kerchiefs worn by the men in those islands around their caps to be so finely wrought and perfect as to be beyond the capacity of his country's craftsmen. The famous printed cotton cloths of Pulicat, according to the description of the same writer, found a good market not only in Malabar and Gujarat but also outside India, as far as Burma, Malacca and Sumatra.

In Eastern India, Bengal excelled in the abundance and variety of its finer textiles. At the time of Ibn Batutah's visit in 1345, pieces of the finest cotton cloth were being locally sold at the extraordinarily cheap rate of thirty cubits for two silver coins (dinars). The Chinese writer, Ma Huan, writing in the middle of the fifteenth century, enumerated with their standard sizes and local names no less than six varieties of fine cotton stuffs, not to speak of silk brocaded kerchiefs and head-coverings woven with gold. Similar but shorter enumerations of Bengal cotton stuffs are made by two other Chinese writers (Wang Ta-Yuan and Fei Hsin) of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as by Barbosa in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The identifications of these varieties, though discussed by scholars for a long time, are still uncertain. According to the interpretaion of the French scholar Paul Pelliot, the list in Ma Huan would seem to comprise the following:—firstly, a white stuff, glossy like starch-paper, which has been variously, but not convincingly, identified with the bettela (organdi) of the Portuguese writers and the bairami of Ibn Batutah; secondly, turmeric cloth which has been plausibly identified with chintz; thirdly, a stuff of cotton gauze called shana-baf (wrongly written as shana-baft) in Persian; fourthly, stuff (as yet unidentified) which was used for making turbans; fifthly, a stuff corresponding probably to the chow tar of later writers; sixthly, velvets of cotton. Whatever that may be, we learn from Barbosa that the Bengal cloths, no doubt because of their supreme excellence, found a good market in the two great international ports of Southern Asia at that time, namely Malacca in t;be East and Ormuz in the West. 3

4 Work in precious metals as well as precious and semi-precious stones, ivory work, and polishing of pearls

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The advanced condition of these industries during the period under review is indirectly proved by the testimony of the foreign observers to the lavish display of jewellery and pearls (not to speak of the articles of gold and silver) at the courts of the great Hindu and Muslim rulers of the time, and to the use of costly ivory in the decoration of their furniture and palaces. Coming to the direct

evidence, we learn from the description of Barbosa that Gujarat, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, thanks to the skill of its craftsmen, stood pre-eminent in the volume of these industries as much as in that of its textile manufacture before mentioned. At the great city of Cambay where the best workmen of every kind were found, there were, according to Barbosa, very good goldsmiths who did very fine work. A great amount of work likewise was done there in coral, carnelian and other stones, while imitation stones and pearls were manufactured so well as to appear real. In the same city of Cambay, ivory was extensively used for inlay work in bracelets and sword-hilts as well as chess-boards, and for the manufacture of bedsteads as well as beads of different colours. From the carnelian mines (in the vicinity of Ratanpur in the former Rajpipla State) these stones were brought down to the neighbouring inland town of Limodara to be cut into different shapes and used for making knobs of dagger-hilts. To the same town of Limodara chalcedony was brought from the neighbouring mines to be cut into shape and bored for being made an article of trade. From the vivid description of Barbosa we further learn that the Maidive Islands produced fine tortoise-shells which were exported to Gujarat. The ancient pearl-fisheries off Kayal (in the delta of the Tamraparni river in the present Tinnevelly district), which are described as a royal monopoly, were worked by the local fishermen who likewise exploited the pearl-fisheries off the northern coast of Ceylon twice a year by permission of its ruler. At Pulicat and at the city of Vijayanagara, and above all at Calicut and other cities of Malabar, there existed a great industry for cutting and polishing precious stones like diamonds, sapphires, and rubies which were procured principally from the Deccan, Ceylon, and Pegu respectively. 4

5. Inland and coastal trade o

We have direct evidence of the great volume of India’s inland and coastal trade from the accounts of the foreign travellers of this period. As regards the inland trade, Ibn Batutah, in the course of his Indian itinerary in the first half of the fourteenth century, frequently came across cities with large markets, one market at Delhi in particular being described by him as the largest in the world. From some incidental statements by the same author, we learn that Delhi was the common market for the sale of fine rice from Sarsuti, sugar from Kanauj, excellent wheat from Marh, and betel-leaf from Dhar. The Hindu merchants of Daulatabad, we are again told, dealt chiefly in pearls and were very wealthy. The inland trade was doubtless facilitated by the system of magnificent roads in existence at that time. Such was the great road extending from Delhi to

Daulatabad for a distance of forty days’ journey, and thence continued to Telingana and Ma‘bar at a distance of six months’ journey on foot. On the former road there were three postal stations at every mile for the accommodation of travellers so as to give it, according to the picturesque description of the traveller, the appearance of a market of forty days’ journey. On the other hand, the insecurity of travel, to which sufficient evidence is borne by the traveller's own experience even in the vicinity of the imperial capital, not to speak of the constant insurrections against the Sultan's authority, must have seriously hampered the progress of trade.

More light is thrown upon the condition of India's inland trade by the detailed notices of Barbosa in the beginning of the sixteenth century. From the inland town of Limodara in Gujarat carnelian beads were carried in large quantities to the great sea-port of Cambay for export to Europe and East Africa. Copper imported from abroad was borne from the Deccan port of Dabhol in large quantities to the interior, whence were obtained in return cloth, wheat, millet, and pulses. The sea-port of Rander in Gujarat, thanks to the enterprise of its foreign Muslim merchants, was the largest centre of trade in that region for the products of Malacca and China. At Goa, which, because of the exclusive policy of the Portuguese government, replaced the southern port of Bhatkal as the great market for the sale of horses imported from outside, the dealers coming from the Deccan and the Vijayanagara kingdoms paid for each horse the extravagant price of 200 to 300 Portuguese gold coins along with a government duty of 40 such coins. According to Paes, an earlier writer, a great trade existed between the port of Bhatkal just mentioned and an inland town in the vicinity of Vijayanagara, as many as 5000 or 6000 pack-oxen being employed for conveying the merchandise every year. In a long list of imports into the Vijayanagara kingdom mentioned by Barbosa, we are told that diamonds were imported into the city from the neighbouring Deccan kingdom, other precious stones were brought from Pegu and Ceylon, pearls were obtained from Ormuz and Kayal, brocades from China and Alexandria, pepper from Malabar, coloured cloths, coral, metals, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rose-water, opium, sandal-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, and musk from other quarters. The horses from abroad were purchased by the king for the equivalent of 400 to 600 Portuguese gold coins for each of the common variety, and of 900 to 1000 such coins for each of those reserved for the king's own use. Merchants from Vijayanagara made thier journeys to Pulicat, the great Indian market for the sale of Burmese rubies and musk at that time. 5

We may now turn to the Indian coastal trade. From the detailed narrative of Ibn Batutah, and still more of that of Barbosa, it appears that the Western coast of India was studded with a large number of sea-ports often possessing excellent harbours and extensive trade. Among these ports Diu in Gujarat, Goa in the Deccan, and Calicut, Cochin, and Quilon in Malabar appear from Barbosa's description to have been the most prominent. The highly profitable direct trade between Gujarat and Malabar was almost completely monopolized by the Malabari merchants. In the fullest list of imports from Malabar (at Diu) are included cocoa-nuts, cardamoms and other spices, emery, wax and iron, palm sugar (from Malabar) and other sugar from Bhatkal, sandal-wood and brazil-wood as well as silks and other articles (from south-east Asia and China). The exports consisted mainly of cotton, cloth, wheat and other grains, horses, and carnelians. The coastal trade of the Deccan ports appears to have been shared by both Gujarati and Malabari merchants. The former imported silk and cotton cloth, opium and common silk camlets, wheat, and gingelly, as well as horses, and they exported cotton and linen fabrics. The latter imported spices and drugs, areca-nuts and cocoa-nuts, palm-sugar, wax and emery, copper and quicksilver, and they exported cotton goods, wheat, rice, millet, gingelly oil, muslins, and calicoes. Coming to the Tulu region, we learn that its ports (principally Bhatkal) were visited by Malabar merchants who imported cocoa-nuts, spices, and palm-sugar, as well as palmwine, and exported rice, iron, and another variety of sugar. The trade of the neighbouring island of Ceylon appears to have been largely controlled by the Indians. Merchants from Coromandel and Malabar as well as from the Vijayanagara, Deccan, and Gujarat kingdoms are described as visiting the island and especially its capital, ColomboThe imports consisted of very fine Cambay cotton cloths as well as saffron, coral, quicksilver, cinnabar, and especially gold and silver. The high profit of this trade is illustrated by the fact that the elephants were sold in Malabar and Coromandel at the rate of 400 or 500 (rising up to 1000 or 1500) Portuguese gold coins, while gold and silver fetched more than their worth elsewhere. The coastal trade of Coromandel as well as the Vijayanagara kingdom was carried on largely by Hindu and Muslim merchants from the cities of Malabar, the imports consisting of areca-nuts, cocoa-nuts, pepper, palm-sugar, Cambay cloths and horses, and the exports comprising rice and cloth, and in the case of

Coromandel, even children sold into slavery by their parents in times of famine. Muslim ships in large numbers visited Pulicat, the great market for Burmese rubies and musk. The famous muslins of Bengal (classified under four different heads), along with good white cane-sugar, was exported by the Muslim merchants in their own ships to Malabar and Cambay and other tracts,

the price of these goods in Malabar being sufficiently high to be noted carefully by the Portuguese writers. 6

6. Overseas trade—The Persian Gulf , Arabia and East Africa

The vast overseas trade of India with Western Asia flowed during this period, as in the previous centuries, along the two ancient routes marked out by nature as international highways of her commerce. The merchandise was carried along the Persian Gulf and thence overland through Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean coast, and also by the sea-route to the Red Sea ports, and then, through Egypt, to the same destination; it was thereafter distributed over western Europe by the Venetian and other Italian merchants. In the latter part of the European Middle Ages, Ormuz (transferred from its old vulnerable site on the mainland to a secure position in a neighbouring island about the year A.D. 1300) became the grand emporium of the trade by the former route, while Aden and Jiddah, (the port of Mecca), were the two great emporia of the trade by the latter route. In the early part of the fourteenth century, as we learn from Ibn Batutah, Ormuz was the entrepot of the trade of Hind and Sind, the merchandise of India being carried thence to the two Iraqs, Ears and Khurasan. Aden was then the port of call for India’s great ships arriving there from Cambay, Thana, Quilon, Calicut, Fandarina, Shaliyat, Mangalore, Fakanor, Hinawar; Sindabur and so forth. A colony of Indian merchants lived in this city. A minor entrepot of the Indian trade was the neighbouring port of Zhafar (Dofar) which exported valuable horses to India in return for Indian rice and cotton. On the Indian side Malabar (completely replacing the Coromandel coast) was the great clearing house of the merchandise from the East and the West across the Indian Ocean. Merchants of Fars and Yemen, we are told by Ibn Batutah, disembarked mostly at the port of Mangalore, and Chinese ships bound for India entered only the ports of Ely (Hili), Calicut, and Quilon. In the work of Barbosa we have a valuable report (as detailed as it is accurate because of being based on the author’s personal knowledge) of India’s maritime commerce with the Western world in the beginning of the sixteenth century. We learn that an extensive and highly profitable trade was borne between the Indian ports, Diu, Chaul, Dabhol, Goa, Bhatkal, Calicut and so forth, on the one side, and those of Arabia and Persia, such as Jiddah (until the suppression of its trade by the Portuguese), Aden, Esh-Shihr and Ormuz, on the other. In a comprehensive list of imports from India into Ormuz are included pepper, cloves, ginger and cardamoms, sandal-wood and brazil-wood, saffron, indigo, wax, iron, sugar, rice, cocoa-nuts, precious stones, benzoin, porcelain, cloths from Cambay, Chaul, and Dabhol, as well as Bengal muslins. The exports carried to India on the return voyage are said to have consisted of Arabian horses (to the number of one thousand to two thousand), dates, raisins, salt, sulphur and coarse seed-pearls. Equally impressive was the extent of traffic between the Indian ports and Aden, which was adjudged by Barbosa to have a greater and richer trade than any other place in the world. For while ships from Cambay brought to it cotton cloth in ‘astonishing quantities’ as well as drugs, gems, seed-pearls and carnelians in abundance, and carried back madder, opium, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, rose-water, gold, woollens, coloured velvets, and camlets (stuff of mixed silk and wool), those from Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal, and Calicut imported rice, sugar, cocoa-nut and spices, and those from Bengal brought muslins and sugar. The Muslim merchants of Cambay, Chaul, Dabhol, Bhatkal and Malabar imported cotton cloths, inferior gems, rice, sugar, and spices into the neighbouring Arabian port of Esh-Shihr, whence they exported many excellent horses as well as much frankincense. Some additional points are indicated by the author’s detailed notices of the overseas trade of different Indian ports. Ships from Cambay, we read, carried to Aden, Mecca and Ormuz cotton and linen cloths, large carpets, coloured cloth as well as spices, and brought back coral, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, gold and silver, alum, madder, rose-water and saffron, as well as opium of superior quality. Merchants from Ormuz brought horses in large numbers to Goa. Rice was exported from Barkur to Ormuz, Aden and Esh-Shihr. The foreign Muslim merchants of Calicut made their great annual voyages (from February down to the middle of August, September and October of the same year), in their fleets of ten to twelve ships, to Aden as well as the Red Sea ports and back. They imported pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamoms, myrobalans, tamarinds, precious stones, seed-pearl, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, and cotton cloths, as well as porcelains, and they brought back from Jiddah copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, saffron, coloured velvets, rose-water, coloured camlets, gold, and silver. In the list of India’s imports mentioned so far, rose-water and frankincense, and above all horses, are especially stated to be the products of Arabia. Other merchandise like copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, woollen and silken cloths found at Jiddah and Aden for the Indian market were doubtless imported from Europe in return for the Indian merchandise which (we are expressly told) was carried via Suez and Cairo to Alexandria for distribution by the Italian merchants over the rest of the European world. 7

Though we have but little direct knowledge of the condition of India’s ancient trade with East Africa, we may reasonably conclude

that it was fostered by the chain of Arab settlements on the African coast like those of Zeila, Makdashau, Mombasa and Kilwa, visited by Ibn Batutah in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and, in part, by the Chinese imperial missions under Cheng-ho, in the early part of the fifteenth. We owe our first complete and detailed account of this trade to Barbosa in the early part of the sixteenth century. Many ships from ‘the kingdom of Cambay’ (Gujarat), we are told, visited Makdashau with plenty of cloths and spices and returned with rich cargoes of gold, ivory and wax. Cambay cloths and beads were exported by Gujarati merchants in large ships to the three ports of Melinde, Mombasa, and Kilwa, whence they were carried by the local Muslim merchants to the ports of the Zambesi delta and Sofala, further south, for sale to the inhabitants of a great Bantu kingdom in the interior. The cargoes of gold and ivory, obtained from the latter in return, were conveyed via Sofala to the three East African ports, mentioned above, whence they were carried back home by the Gujarati merchants. The enormous profit of this trade is illustrated by certain figures. The Cambay cloths, we are told, were exchanged at the three African ports for gold at a sufficiently attractive price, and when they were carried to Sofala, they were exchanged for gold without weighing. The African ivory was sold in the kingdom of Gujarat at the rate of five or six gold coins in Portuguese currency for about one hundred and twelve pounds in English weight.[8]

7. Overseas trade — South-East and East Asia

The direct trade established by the Chinese with India during the twelfth century appears to have been continued and developed during this period. It received a great impetus through the series of maritime expeditions fitted out by the Chinese Emperor Yung-Lo (1403-24), culminating in a succession of seven such expeditions led by the eunuch Cheng-ho during and after his lifetime (between A.D. 1405 and 1433). In the early part of the fourteenth century, as we have noticed above, regular voyages were made by Chinese ships to the three Malabar ports of Ely, Calicut and Quilon. The popular customs and trade of the regions along the Indian coast, together with those of the countries and ports of the rest of southern Asia and of a small portion of the coast of East Africa, are described by four Chinese writers in their works written between A.D. 1349 and 1520. The Chinese imports into the Indian ports followed a set pattern, the merchants bringing silks, coloured taffetas and satins, cloves and nutmegs, blue and white porcelain, gold, silver, copper, iron, vermilion, and quicksilver for exchange with the Indian products. We have a full and valuable account, based on information supplied by the merchants actually engaged in this trade, in the work of Barbosa which we have quoted so often. Malacca, established as an independent Muslim State in the fifteenth century A.D.,[8a] was the great international port of south-east Asia at that time. It contained a colony of wholesale merchants (Hindu and Muslim) who owned large estates and great ships. It was visited by ships from Tenasserim, Pegu, Bengal, Pulicat, Coromandel, Malabar, and Gujarat as well as the islands of south-east Asia. The list of its imports (evidently from India) included pepper, incense, Cambay cloths, saffron, coral, printed and other white cotton cloths from Bengal, vermilion, quicksilver, opium, and other goods from Gujarat. The Cambay, Pulicat, and Bengal cloths as well as the Cambay drugs and beads were carried to the islands of Java, Sumatra, the Moluccas, Timor, Banda, and Borneo to be exchanged for the characteristic products of those tracts.

These were gold from Sumatra, cloves from the Moluccas, white sandalwood from Timor, mace and nutmegs from Banda, camphor from Borneo, along with aloes-wood from Champa. No wonder that Malacca is described by Barbosa as the richest sea-port with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and the largest volume of shipping and trade in the whole world. Ranking next in importance to Malacca was Pegu, with three or four rich harbours on an inlet of the sea. The imports brought there every year in Muslim ships, evidently from India, included printed Cambay and Pulicat cloths in cotton and silk (called patolds), opium, copper, scarlet cloth, coral, vermilion, quicksilver, rose-water and Cambay drugs in large quantities, while the exports comprised Burma lac of very fine quality, mace, cloves, musk, and rubies. The above account may be supplemented by Barbosa's notice of the east Asiatic trade of individual Indian ports. Merchants from Rander (on the northern bank of the Tapti estuary above Surat), we are told, sailed in their own ships as far as Pegu, Martaban, Tenasserim and Sumatra, trading in spices and drugs, silks, musk, benzoin, porcelain, and other merchandise. Merchants from Quilon as well as The city of Bengala' likewise sailed in their own ships to Pegu, Malacca, and Sumatra. 9

8. Muslim control of India's overseas trade

No account of India's overseas trade during this period will be complete without some reference to the nearly complete hold exercised over the same by the Arabs and the Persians, as well as the foreign and semi-foreign Muslims living on Indian soil, until this practical monopoly was destroyed by the systematic naval attacks of the Portuguese. In the great city of Cambay at the time of Ibn Batutah's visit, foreign merchants formed the majority of the population, and they vied with one another in building fine houses and wonderful mosques which made Cambay one of the most beautiful cities visited by the traveller. In the neighbouring sea-port of Gandhar a Muslim merchant was the owner of six ships, one of which, carrying an escort of fifty archers and fifty Abyssinian soldiers, was offered to Ibn Batutah for the partial transport of his mission sent out from the court of Delhi to China. Mention is made likewise of Muslim ship-owner of Calicut owning many ships with which he traded with China on the one side, and Fars and Yemen on the other. The Shiah community of Quilon was so rich that one of them could buy a ship with its whole cargo for loading the same with his own merchandise. By contrast, the Hindu traders like those of Daulatabad, mentioned above, appear to have been almost wholly confined to the inland trade. 10

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, as we learn from the detailed account of Barbosa, India's overseas trade with western Asia and eastern Africa was almost completely controlled by the foreign and semi-foreign Muslim merchants living outside and within her shores. We hear, it is true, of wealthy Hindu merchants of the Baniya caste belonging to the kingdom of Gujarat as well as of those living in the sea-ports of the Deccan and Malabar. But these appear to have been engaged mostly, if not wholly, in the distributing trade at the ports. The great Hindu merchants of Gujarat are expressly mentioned as trafficking with their own folk. More than half a century earlier, Ma Huan described the rich Chetty merchants of Cochin and Calicut as engaged in selling to the strangers arriving at these ports precious stones, pearls, aromatics, and coral beads at standard rates. Altogether exceptional is the instance of Cannanore, where Hindu as well as Muslim merchants are described by Barbosa as sailing in their own ships as far as Ormuz. On the other hand, not only are Arabs and Persians mentioned as visiting Indian ports like Dabhol and Goa in many ships for trade, but the foreign Muslims of Gujarat are expressly stated to be trading in their own ships with the western lands. The foreigners in Calicut, consisting of Arabs and Persians as well as immigrants from Gujarat and the Deccan, made their great annual voyages to Aden and the Red Sea coast, the volume of their imports and exports being, as mentioned above, sufficiently impressive. The Cambay merchants, engaged in the immensely profitable trade with East Africa, and the merchants from other Indian ports trading similarly with Ormuz and Aden, must have belonged almost wholly to the class of foreign Muslim settlers. Indeed we are expressly told that foreign Muslim merchants lived in large numbers in Goa and other ports. 11

Economic condition

Let us next turn to India's coastal trade. According to Barbosa the Mappillas (descendants of Arab colonists by their union with local women), living in Malabar, were owners of large ships, and they so completely controlled the trade and navigation of this land as to suggest to the observant traveller that but for the arrival of the Portuguese it would have come under Muslim rule. To this class doubtless belonged the enterprising Malabaris who mostly controlled, as we have seen, the trade along the western coast. Many Muslim ships, almost certainly belonging to the Mappillas, are described as visiting every year Pulicat, the great Indian market for Burmese rubies at that time. Coromandel was included among the lands visited in their own ships by the foreign Muslims belonging to the above mentioned 'city of Bengala'. 12

In contrast with the practical monopoly enjoyed by the foreign and the semi-foreign Muslims over India's trade with western Asia and eastern Africa and along her coast, Hindu and Muslim merchants shared her trade with south-east Asia at the beginning of the sixteenth century. While the Muslims of the city of Bengala as well as other Muslims are mentioned by Barbosa as visiting Pegu and Sumatra in their own ships for trade, the Hindu Chetties of Coromandel, along with Muslims, are described as travelling to Ava for the purchase of the rubies and musks of upper Burma in exchange for the Indian products. The Chetties as well as the Muslims formed the foreign colony of wholesale merchants at Malacca who were the owners of big estates and large ships. 13

While the predominance of the Muslim traders in lands under rulers of their own faith requires little or no explanation, their command of the trade in the independent Hindu kingdoms is proved by the contemporary evidence to have been actively promoted and fostered by the policy of the kings,—a policy which is in line with the age-old indigenous tradition. From the vivid narrative of Ibn Batutah, we learn that the Hindu rulers of Malabar provided wooden houses with wells at every half mile, with special arrangements for the comfort of Muslim travellers, along the great coastal road of two months' journey from Sandapur (near Goa) to Quilon. Because of the death penalty inflicted by these rulers, without any discrimination for rank, even for the slightest theft (of which concrete and harrowing instances are given by the traveller), no road, according to his very experienced judgement, was safer than this. The Hindu ruler of Calicut extended this security to the goods of ship-wrecked merchants, so that the town became, in the words of

Ibn Batutah, very flourishing, and drew a great influx of foreigners. The Hindu ruler of Quilon was especially noted for his high regard

for Muslims who were much honoured in his kingdom. The colonies of Muslims in every city of Malabar lived under the jurisdiction of their own qdzls and worshipped freely in their big congregational mosques.

In the early part of the sixteenth century, according to the vivid account of Barbosa, the Muslims enjoyed the same patronage from the Hindu rulers of the south. We have seen how the Mappillas of Malabar had acquired by that time such complete control over the trade and navigation of the land as to bring it, according to the considered judgement of the writer, to the brink of subjection to Muslim rule. Their numbers were being constantly swelled by voluntary conversion of the Hindu men and women and their own union with Hindu concubines of low caste. The foreign merchants of Calicut, who had their own governors for ruling and punishing them without interference from the king, were so numerous and powerful as completely to dominate the city until they were forced to abandon it under pressure of the Portuguese. It was their custom on their return voyages from the Red Sea ports every year to bring with them fresh foreign merchants, each of whom, on his arrival, was assigned by the king a Nayar body-guard, a Chetty accountant, and a broker for help in local purchases. In the preceding century Ma Huan found that all the affairs of the Calicut kingdom were conducted by two high Muslim officers who controlled the sale of all the merchandise brought into the city in Chinese junks. In the neighbouring territory of Kayal at the time of Barbosa's visit, the Hindu ruler had farmed out for long the royal monopoly of the local pearl fisheries to a Muslim, who was so rich and powerful as to be honoured equally with the king. In Vijayanagara the complete freedom of travel and worship granted by the king to everybody "without enquiry whether he was a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen", as well as the great equity and justice shown to all by the ruler and his subjects, drew an enormous number of merchants to the city. Great Muslim as well as Hindu merchants lived at Pulicat, the frontier station of the Vijayanagara kingdom, which was likewise visited by Muslim ships in large numbers for trade. 14

9. General Economic Condition of the people

Our knowledge of the economic condition of the mass of the people in North India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is surprisingly scanty. We have therefore to fall back upon the full and detailed description drawn from personal observation by Ibn Batutah of the extraordinary splendour and magnificence of the court and capital of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq in the heyday of the Delhi Sultanate. It may reasonably be concluded that this amazing affluence was built upon the immense booty obtained by Malik Kafur, the general of ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl, from his devastating campaigns against the independent Hindu kingdoms of South India between A.D. 1309 and 1311. Whatever that may be, we are told that Delhi, comprising the four contiguous cities of Old Delhi, Slrl, Tughluqabad, and Jahanpanah, was the largest of all the cities of Islam in the East. At the Sultan’s public audiences, horses and elephants were displayed with silk and gold caparisons, and the high officials as well as provincial governors presented gold and silver utensils as well as solid pieces of gold and silver. The Sultan’s ‘Id darhdrs were prefaced by a procession of elephants adorned with silk-covered and jewel-studded seats and jewel-studded silk parasols with golden handles. At the council-hall there were planted artificial trees of silk in three rows with gold chairs placed between them, and the Sultan sat on a high throne of pure gold with jewelstudded legs and a jewel-studded parasol raised over his head. At the great public dinner following the darbdr, the scent-burners burnt fragrant wood from huge censers of pure gold, and the meals were served by waiters from gold and silver utensils. In the following reign, that of Firuz Tughluq, we hear of the extraordinary cheapness of commodities, ranging from wheat and barley up to white and coloured silks. The economic prosperity of the Delhi Sultanate, however, was completely shattered by the catastrophe of Timur’s invasion at the end of the fourteenth century, when all the four cities of Delhi were thoroughly and mercilessly sacked by the invader’s troops, and an immense booty consisting of male and female slaves, precious stones and pearls, as well as gold and silver, was taken away from the unfortunate inhabitants of the capital. 15

The foreign accounts, relating to the different parts of India in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries f tend to indicate that there was a wide diffusion of material prosperity in the country, and that the people in general lived a life of cultured ease and comfort. The exceptional prosperity of Gujarat in the beginning of the sixteenth century, arising no doubt from its highly advanced industry and trade, is well attested by Barbosa. The inland cities of Champaner and Ahmadabad, we are told, contained fine stone and mortar houses, with tiled roofs and large courtyards containing tanks and wells. Cambay was a great city with very lofty houses having windows and tiled roofs, well-laid-out streets and fine open places. The numerous wealthy merchants and skilled craftsmen living in the city led a luxurious life of pleasure and vice and were accustomed to good clothing and food. They always washed and anointed their bodies with sweet-smelling unguents, and decorated

their hair with jasmine and other flowers. The merchants of the Muslim city of Rander lived in well-furnished houses in which the reception-rooms were surrounded with shelves all filled with rich porcelains. Among the Hindu castes of Gujarat, the Baniyas had orchards, fruit-gardens, and tanks in their houses, and they lived on a diet of milk, butter, sugar and rice. The men dressed themselves in cotton and silk garments, anointed themselves with white sandal-wood, and wore gold ear-rings set with precious stones, fingerrings and golden girdles. The women wore silken bodices and other long garments, thick gold and silver ear-rings and anklets, as well as plenty of rings on their fingers and toes. Among the Muslim inhabitants of Gujarat, consisting mostly of foreigners, the men were dressed in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton, and camlets, with very thick leather boots coming up to the knee. They were attended by pages bearing swords, finely damascened with gold and silver. They indulged in great luxury, living freely and spending greatly.

Coming to the Deccan, we have in the brief account of Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian traveller of the fifteenth century, a grim picture of the contrast between the selfish pomp and luxury of the Sultan and his nobles, and the extreme misery of the common people. On the other hand, Barbosa, in the beginning of the following century, describes the whole of the Deccan as a very fertile territory with large cities, towns, and villages, and a great trade. The port of Goa is especially described by the same writer as a very great city with good houses, vegetable and fruit gardens, and tanks of sweet water. Because of its extensive inland as well as overseas trade, as described above, it yielded to the Portuguese Government an enormous annual revenue of forty thousand ducats.

In South India, Malabar enjoyed a very high level of prosperity, no doubt because of its extensive industry for cutting and polishing precious stones, and especially on account of its flourishing coastal and other trade. The whole territory, we are told, was so well populated that it might be called one town, from Mount d'Ely in the north (the promontory near Hili) to Quilon in the south. Among the communities inhabiting this tract the Chetties (immigrants from Coromandel) are described as wearing ear-rings of gold set with precious stones, and many finger-rings and girdles of gold and jewellery, while the Mappillas are said to have lived well and the foreign merchants are mentioned as owners of very fine houses, who ate and drank luxuriously and were dressed in garments of silk, scarlet-ingrain, camlets, and cotton. The extraordinary prosperity of the Vijayanagara kingdom must have been largely due to its extensive trade, which was fostered by the enlightened and tolerant policy of its rulers. In the fifteenth century the city, according to Nicolo Conti, was sixty miles in circuit and, in the opinion of 'Abd-ur Razzaq, was without any equal in the world. In the city of Bidrur (Belur), which he passed on his way from the sea-coast to Vijayanagara, 'Abd-ur Razzaq observed houses which were like palaces. Speaking of the city of Vijayanagara, the same traveller observes that its seventh and innermost fortress occupied a space ten times greater than the chief market of Herat. In the sixteenth century the New City (Nagalapuram, modern Hospet, to the west of Vijayanagara city) contained, according to the description of Paes, very beautiful rows of buildings with artificial tanks and a large population consisting of many merchants, while it was connected with the old city by a wide street with rows of houses and shops on either side. The city of Vijayanagara is said by the same traveller to have been as large as Rome, and very beautiful, because of its groves of trees and its gardens with water-conduits and lakes. Within the inner city, all streets were bordered by very beautiful rows of well-decorated houses. Vijayanagara is described by the same observant traveller as the best-provided city in the world, and as being unlike other cities that often failed of supplies and provisions. The author was particularly struck with the extraordinary cheapness of the prices of domestic birds and game animals, poultry, hares and partridges, doves and pigeons sold alive, the number and quality of pigs and sheep killed for food everyday, the large quantity of butter, milk and oil sold daily and the unparalleled extent of the rearing of cows and buffaloes in this city. We have a hint of the luxurious habits of the people in the testimony of ‘Abd-ur Razzaq that they considered sweet-smelling flowers as a necessity without which they could not exist. From the description of Barbosa we learn that while the king and the nobles lived in palaces, others lived in thatched, but very well-built, houses in streets, with many open places, and that the greater portion of the inhabitants was very wealthy. The men wore garments of cotton or silk or brocade, and they anointed their bodies after bathing with scented powder mixed with rose-water, while they adorned themselves with finger-rings set with precious stones and ear-rings set with fine pearls. They were attended by pages armed with swords and servants holding costly umbrellas. The women wore garments of very thin cotton and bright-coloured silk, as well as embroidered leather shoes, and adorned themselves with ear-rings of gold and jewels, bracelets of gold and precious stones, and armlets of coral beads. After the above references to the prosperity of the great body of the people in the Vijayanagara city and kingdom, it seems unnecessary to mention the foreign accounts of the gorgeousness of the royal court and palace, or of

the pomp and splendour of the religious festivals conducted under the king’s superintendence every year.

Turning to Eastern India, we are told by Wang Ta-Yuan, a Chinese writer of the fourteenth century, that because of the cheapness of living in Orissa, nine out of ten persons going there for trade did not like to return home. Rice, which was evidently the staple food of the people, was sold at the unbelievably low price of 46 baskets for one cowrie. We have a fuller and more detailed account of the economic prosperity of Bengal from the foreign writers ranging from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. The prices of commodities in Bengal, Ibn Batutah declared, were cheaper than in any other country visited by him in the whole world. The author justified his statement by quoting a long list of the current prices of commodities such as rice and paddy, milch cows, hens, pigeons, lambs, sugar, ghee, sesame oil, the finest cotton cloth, as well as male and female slaves. An old inhabitant of Bengal told the Moorish traveller that he maintained himself with his wife and servant for one whole year at a cost of 8 small silver coins {dirhams). In the following century Nicolo Conti, sailing up the Ganga from its mouth, found that its two banks were adorned with most charming villages and plantations as well as gardens of various fruit-trees. From Fei Hsin, a Chinese writer of the first half of the same century, we learn that the men dressed themselves in cotton garments and sheep-skin shoes with gold thread, while the women wore garments of cotton, silk, or brocade, and adorned themselves with ear-rings of precious stones, gold necklaces, gold bracelets, and rings on fingers and toes. In the early sixteenth century, the respectable Muslims of the city of Bengala are described by Barbosa as wearing white cotton smocks with silk scarves, and carrying daggers ornamented with silver and gold in their girdles, and having rings set with jewels on their fingers. They lived a life of luxurious ease eating well and spending freely. The women had a great store of gold and silver and were dressed in fine silk. We may conclude by quoting the account of Huang Sheng-tseng, a Chinese writer of the early sixteenth century, of the reception of an embassy from the Chinese imperial court by the ruler of Bengal at his capital, Panclua, in A.D. 1415. At the audience-hall which had pillars plated with brass figures of flowers and animals, over a thousand men were drawn up in shining armour and hundreds of soldiers were mounted on elephants. The king, who had hundreds of peacock-feather umbrellas around him, sat on a high throne inlaid with precious stones. The presentation of the envoys was followed by a great banquet and the king's gift of gold and silver basins, girdles, flagons, and bowls, as well as gowns of white hemp and silk, to the members of the mission. 16

ECONOMIC CONDITION

* In the present chapter Barbosa is quoted (except when otherwise stated) in the version of Mansel Longworth Dames. The geographical names which occur in many different forms in the Muslim, Chinese, and European works, are modernized throughout after the identifications by the translators (especially M. L. Dames). The lists in Yule and Cordier, Cathay and the way thither, Vol. IV, Note B ('On the places visited by Ibn Batutah between Cambay and Malabar') and Note D ('The mediaeval ports of Malabar') have likewise been consulted.

1. For Ibn Batutah's reference to Calicut and Quilon vide the French translation of Defremery and Sanguinetti, I, p. 28. For other references vide Yule and Cordier, Cathay II, 136 (Odoric on Quilon); Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, 90, 255-57 ('Abd-ur Razzaq and Paes on Vijayanagara), Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar, 225 ff (temples at Vijayanagara). The very cogent argument of Moreland (The Agrarian System of Muslim India, 63-64) for proving the insignificance of the organized village in Muslim India during the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries applies with equal force to the two following centuries- On the decay of the ancient south Indian village assemblies under the Vijayanagara Empire, vide Mahalingam, op. cit., 206-7.

2. IBH, 16-19 (general description of Indian agricultural products and trees); ibid 23, 159, 161, 167, 170, 172 (Sarsuti etc.). Barbosa I, 154-55, 166, 168 (Gujarat and the Deccan); ibid I, 185-97 (villages of the Tulu province). For references to Malabar vide Yule and Cordier, Cathay II, 133-37; III, 217, IBH 182, 184, 187-88, Rockhill in T.P., XVI, 446 ff, Barbosa II, 90. For references to Vijayanagara vide Sewell op. cit. 5 90, 237-38, Barbosa I, 119, 188, 210References to Orissa in HIED III, 313 (quoting the Tdrikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif). References to Bengal in Rockhill T.P., XVI, 439, 445; Barbosa II, 145-47. The dates 1425-32 given with a query by Rockhill T.P., XVI, 61 for Ma Huan's original text and followed by Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Visva bhdrati Annals I, p. 36), should be corrected into 1451 at the earliest (J. J. L. Duyvendak, Ma Huan re-

examined, Verhandel, der Kon. AK. van Wetensch Afd. Letterkunde, N.R., d. XXXII No. 3). For discussion of the identity of 'the Blue River' and 'the city of Habanq,' vide Yule and Cordier, Cathay IV, App. E, 151-55 with map at end. The identification of 'the city of Bengala' is discussed exhaustively in Barbosa II, 135-45 n. and much more briefly in HBS, 100 n.

3. IBH I, 127, 141-42, 161 (Gujarat textiles). Barbosa I, 159, 165 (Deccan textiles). IBH 196, Rockhill in T.P. XVI, 459 with correction by J. J. L. Duyvendak, Ma Huan re-examined, 54 (Malabar). Barbosa II, 106 (Maldives), ibid II, 132 (Pulicat). IBH 235, Rockhill in T.P. XVI, 439-40 with correction by J. J. L. Duyvendak op. cit., 63-64, Barbosa, II, 145 (Bengal). For identification of 'K'anpai' vide Rockhill, op. cit. 455, and J. J. L- Duyvendak, op. cit. 51. For the situation of Chaul and Dabhol vide Barbosa I, 159 n., 164 n. The above identification of the Bengal cotton stuffs described by Ma Huan is based upon Pelliot, T.P., XXX, 424-30. For a similar, but less complete set of identifications, vide P. C. Bagchi, Visvabhdrati Annals I, 114-15.

4. Barbosa I, 142-44 (Cambay and Limodara); ibid, II, 106 (Maldives); ibid, II, 116, 123-24 (Kayal and Ceylon); ibid, I, 200, II, 217-26 (Pulicat, Vijayanagara and Malabar).

5. IBH , 28 (market at Delhi); ibid, 23, 159, 161, 167 (Sarsuti etc.); ibid, 170 (Daulatabad). Barbosa I, 165 (Dabhol); ibid, I, 146, 178 (Rander and Goa). For references to Vijayanagara vide Sewell op. cit. 237 and Barbosa I, 202-3, 210 .

6. Barbosa I, 127-29, 137 (direct trade between Gujarat and Malabar); ibid, I, 129, 160, 170 (trade of Deccan ports); ibid, II, 81, 93, 97, 130 (trade of Coromandel); ibid, II, 112-17 (trade of Ceylon); ibid, II, 146 (trade of Bengal.)

7. Ibn Batutah in translation of Defremery and Sanguinetti, II, 177, 186-99, 231 (Aden, Zhafar and Hormuz); IBH, 185 (Mangalore, Ely, Calicut and Quilon); Barbosa I, 92, 94 (Indian trade of Ormuz); ibid, 55-56 (of Aden); ibid, 64-65 (of Esh-Shihr); ibid, 129-30 (overseas trade of Diu); ibid, 178 (of Goa); ibid, 194 (of Barkur); ibid, II, 77 (of Calicut); ibid, I, 43 (Indian merchandise via Jiddah, Suez, Cairo and Alexandria).

8. Ibn Batutah, translation in Defremery and Sanguinetti II, 180 ff and Rockhill in T.P., XVI, 614, 616-17 (Zieila etc.). Barbosa I, 7-8, 20-22, 31, 33 (trade of Cambay ships with East African ports).

8a. For the establishment of Malacca as a Muslim State vide Suvarnadvipa, Part I, by R. C. Majumdar, pp. 383 ff.

9. Rockhill in T.P., XVI, 43 ff (Chinese accounts of Indian coast). Barbosa II, 169-75 (Malacca); ibid, 153-54 (Pegu); ibid, 159-60 (Ava); ibid, I, 146 (Rander); ibid, II, 97; 145 (Quilon and Bengal). The dates 1405 and 1430-33 for the first and the seventh voyages of Cheng-ho are after Pelliot (T.P., XXXI, 281-98).

10. IBH, 172 (Cambay); 175-76 (Gandhar); 170 (Daulatabad); 193 (Quilon).

11. Barbosa, I, 108 ff (merchants of Gujarat); II, 81 (of Cannanore); II, 77 (of Calicut). J. J. L. Duyvendak, op. cit., 50, 53 (Chetties of Cochin and Calicut).

12. Barbosa II, 74 (Mappillas); ibid, II, 130, 145 (Muslims at Calicut and in Bengal).

13. Barbosa II, 145, 153, 173 (Muslim traders of Bengal); ibid, II, 159 (Chetties and Muslim merchants at Ava); II, 172 (at Malacca).

14. IBH, 182 ff. Barbosa II, 75-77 (Muslims in Malabar); II, 124 (in Kayal); I, 203, II, 130 (in Vijayanagara).

15. IBH, 58 ff. (Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq’s public audiences and ‘Id darbdrs), HIED, III, 345 (cheapness of commodities in FIruz Tughluq’s reign).

16. Barbosa I, 108 ff (Gujarat). Nikitin in R. H. Major, India in the fifteenth century, 14. Barbosa I, 175, 178 (the Deccan and Goa); ibid, II, 70-76 (Malabar). For other references vide Sewell, op. cit. 82 ff, 104, 236 ff. (Vijayanagara); Rockhill in T.P., XVI, 445 (Orissa). IBH, 234-35, Nicolo Conti in R. H. Major, op. cit. 10; Rockhill in T.P., XVI, 441-43; Barbosa II,

147-48 (Bengal). For Vijayanagara, the translation in HIED, IV, 104 ff may likewise be consulted.

CHAPTER XIX

ART

I. INTRODUCTION

With the establishment cf Islam as the dominant political power in India, the country was confronted with a new religion and a new culture, alien in temperament as well as in spirit.

Islam entered India through Western Asia, and the two countries that played significant roles in the Islamic phase of Indian history were Persia and Afghanistan. From millenniums before Christ, India and these regions are known to have fruitful cultural contacts in which each made significant contributions to the development of the other. Arthur Upham Pope has ably demonstrated how Indian ideas in art and architecture migrated to Western Asia and reached concrete forms under the technical ingenuities of the Persian builders. Indeed, many of the fundamental forms in Persian architecture, such as the pointed and trefoil arches, the transverse vault, the octagonal form of the building, the dome, etc., originated in India, but mainly as ideas and suggestions which reached practical realizations through the technique of Persia. "In short", Pope observes, "India has proposed and Persia disposed, but what India gave, she received back in a new form that enabled her to pass to fresh architectural triumphs." 1 It is through such cultural contacts that art in the west acquired substance and individuality which the establishment of Islam could hardly change or alter. With the coming of Islam, India and the West were again brought nearer and the new impact, instead of extinguishing Indian architectural traditions, opened the way for the infusion of new energies and new architectural aspirations.

The early Muslim rulers, as noted above, were carried by their iconoclastic zeal to demolish the Indian temples in a ruthless manner. When, therefore, they proceeded to build mosques for their worship, they found in these broken Indian temples cheap materials for their new constructions. Further, as artists, builders or craftsmen, naturally enough, did not accompany the victorious Muslim armies to India, the early Muslim rulers had perforce to employ the builders and craftsmen, who or whose forefathers had built the old temples, for dismantling them and erecting with their materials the buildings of the new faith. The famous Quwwatui-Islam mosque, near Qutb Minar, for example, as an inscription

at its entrance testifies, was built out of the materials of twentyseven demolished Hindu or Jain temples. The task was facilitated by the fact that certain features were common to both forms of architecture, whether Hindu or Muslim, in spite of the fundamental differences between the two. We may cite, for instance, the plan of the open court encompassed by colonnades, characteristic of many Hindu and Jain temples as well as of every Muslim mosque. Hindu and Jain temples, built on this plan, could thus be easily transformed into mosques for the faithful, with only slight and minor alterations. This is what the Muslim rulers did in the early days of their occupation, and that also with a remarkable skill. The Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, mentioned above, represents one of the most instructive examples of such a case. The Muslim rulers found the Indian builders and their traditions extremely useful and efficient, and interfered but little with them, except for supplying the necessary guidance and supervision to ensure the observance of the basic principles of the Islamic prayer-house.

When the Muslim power was firmly established in the country, the rulers imported experienced builders and craftsmen from the West, mainly Persia. The tradition that they brought was based on the accumulated experience of centuries in which, as already observed, India had also played not an insignificant part. The two traditions were thus again brought together and were destined to build up a new and individual style of Islamic architecture which was Islamic and at the same time Indian. Indo-Islamic (IndoMuslim), or Indian in its Islamic manifestation, would be the correct description of this new architecture.

Islam had everywhere showed a pliancy in adopting the styles of the various peoples among whom it had established itself. In India also similar happenings may be recognized. The Indians also showed a remarkable adaptability in mastering the superior technique and principles of construction which the Islamic architectural tradition brought in its train. When the fury of an alien impact subsided, it is natural that a spirit of co-operation and collectivism prevailed leading to a happy fusion of the alien elements and the birth of a new style of architecture in which it would be futile to assess, separately and individually, the Indian and the Islamic contributions.

Yet, the broad features of such contributions may be briefly set forth, for a correct appraisal of the new style, on the basis of the work already done by Marshall 2 and Percy Brown 3 who have studied this problem with great interest and keen insight. The new architecture absorbed, or inherited, manifold ideas and concepts

from the ancient Indian, so many indeed, that there was hardly a form or motif which, in some guise or other, did not find its way into it. But more important than these visible borrowings of outward and concrete features is the debt which Indo-Xslamic architecture owed to the Indian for two of its most vital qualities—the qualities of strength and grace. In no other country are strength and grace so perfectly and harmoniously united as in India. These are the two qualities which India may justly claim for her own, and they are the two which, in architecture, count for more than all the rest. Through centuries of experience the Indians wrought grandly and magnificently with their materials, and the lesson was not lost even under the new regime. It is not, therefore, surprising that Muslim India produced more notable buildings than all the other countries that came under the influence of Islam.

But much as the Muslim architecture of India owed to her older schools, it also owed as much, if not more, to the distinctive artistic traditions it had already built up outside India. For Islam brought with it not only infusion of new blood and vigour, but also architectural innovations gathered from other lands, notably Persia. A few notable instances may be cited. Before the advent of Islam concrete had been little used in India, and mortar, scarcely ever. Of the true arch assembled in the scientific manner, the Indians were not wholly ignorant, but they used it very seldom. The Indians also knew the construction of a vault by radiating voussoirs; but in spite of such knowledge the trabeate system had been the prevailing order in India. In the countries with which Islam came into contact in the early days of its phenomenal expansion, the arch and the dome, built on the true scientific principle, had been the keynotes of construction, and became, so to say, almost ritualistic necessities with the Islamic buildings. Concrete and mortar were also employed freely by the Islamic builders, and became two of the most important factors of their constructions. Due to the strength of their binding properties, it was possible for the new builders to span wide spaces with their arches, to roof immense areas with their domes and, in other ways, to achieve effects of grandeur and spaciousness such as the Indians had never dreamt of. Though, in their newly adopted styles, the Muslims frequently perpetuated the trabeate system under pressure of the indigenous tradition, it was the arch and the dome that they always regarded as particularly their own, and as symbolic of their faith. The Indians under the guidance of the new spirit were not slow to appreciate the merits and advantages of the new methods and principles, and adapted themselves accordingly.

THE DELHI SULTANATE

Under the impact of Islam new forms, features, and decorative ideals were also introduced, thus enriching Indian architecture as a whole,, Among the characteristic features which Islam was responsible for introducing, mention should be made of the minar and the minaret, the pendentive and the squinch arches, stalactite and honey-combing, and the impressive half-domed portal. A few of these were already familiar to the Indians, though sometimes as mere ideas, and they became practical structural proportions under the guidance of the Islamic masters. In the decorative aspect of the buildings, also, there was a new and significant development. The decorative scheme of an Indian temple abounded, along with other floral and diaper designs, in figure sculptures, bold and fully plastic in effect. Such figure carvings were, however, repugnant to the ideas and tenets of Islam. But elaborate decoration and highly coloured ornament were at all times dear to the heart of the Muslim and in both these spheres he introduced striking innovations. The rich floral decorations of the Indian artists he supplemented with flowing arabesques, or intricate geometric devices of his own, or sometimes interwove with them (as only a Muslim calligraphist could do) the graceful lettering of his sacred texts and historical inscriptions. Nor was it enough that his buildings should be beautified with a wealth of carving executed in stone, brick, or plaster; the

Muslim required colour also, and this he supplied by painting or gilding, or by employing stones of various hues to accentuate the different architectural features. Later on, by the more laborious process of tesselating and pietra dura he reproduced the designs themselves in coloured stones and marbles. Still more brilliant were the effects he obtained by encaustic tiling, which he at first used sparingly and in few colours only, but later on, without restraint, to embellish the whole building with a glistening surface of enamel.

The fusion of the Indian and the Islamic architectural traditions has justly been described as a kind of biological fertilisation leading to the birth of a new school of Indian architecture, rightly called Indo-Islamic or Indo-Muslim. This architecture may be divided broadly into two distinct phases, the first covering the period of the Delhi Sultanate, and the second that of the Mughuls. The monuments of the first phase admit of a subdivision into two principal groups,—those erected under the aegis of the Delhi Sultans themselves, and those under the patronage of the ruling dynasties of the succession States of the Delhi Sultanate. Fergusson[4] described the first as representing the ‘Pathan’ style. But, as noted above, of the five dynasties of the Delhi Sultans only the last one was of Pathan extraction. Fergusson’s nomenclature is thus historically inaccurate, and has to be discarded. “The architecture evolved under these dynasties”, observes Percy Brown,[5] “was that associated with their rule at Delhi, the capital city and the centre of the imperial power.” His designation of the monuments of the first group as forming the ‘Delhi’ or ‘Imperial’ style seems to be more appropriate. The style began with the establishment of Islamic rule at Delhi about the close of the twelfth century and continued for approximately three centuries and a half till the foundation of Mughul rule by Babur in A.D. 1526. With the gradual decline and disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate, the outlying provinces shook off the allegiance of Delhi and declared their independence. Many of these provinces, when they asserted autonomy, developed architectural modes of their own, each having a certain amount of individuality. These regional modes, exhibited by the buildings of the second group, collectively constituted the ‘Provincial’ styles, and covered a period which was contemporary, partly with the Delhi style, and partly with the Mughul.

II. DELHI OR IMPERIAL STYLE A. Buildings of the Mamluk and the Khalji dynasties

After the second battle of Tarain, Qutb-ud~dln Aibak, a general of Muhammad Ghuri, occupied Delhi and established his government at the citadel known as Qil‘a-i-Riai Pithaura. This was the first of the ‘Seven cities’ of Delhi which the Islamic rulers successively built in this ancient metropolitan site. Delhi, which continued to be the seat and symbol of imperial power till the last days of the Mughuls, contains a series of noble monuments, of which the earliest and one of the most remarkable is the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, 6 erected by Qutb-ud-dm at Qil‘a-i-Rai Pithaura to commemorate the capture of Delhi and dedicated to the might of Islam. It now stands in an extremely dilapidated state. It consisted of an open quadrangular court encompassed by colonnades (Fig. 1) of which the western formed the prayer chamber, i.e. the sanctuary proper. It had gateways set on the other three sides, the main entrance on the east being domed. The northern and the southern colonnades had each three rows of columns, the eastern, four, and the western, five. The colonnades were correspondingly divided into two, three, and four aisles. At each extremity of the colonnades, at their junction with one another, there was a storeyed pavilion. The columns, the architraves, the ceilings, etc., are all richly carved, and, when entire, the design was not an unimpressive one.

The mode of erection of this mosque may be said to have been characteristic of the beginnings of Islamic architecture in India. It actually stands on the site of an older temple, and it has already been indicated how Indian temples with colonnaded courts lent themselves easily for conversion into Muslim mosques. All that was necessary was to remove the sanctuary from the centre of the court, and to erect on the west side a wall with mihrdbs or prayer niches. A similar procedure was adopted in the building of the Quwwat-ub Islam mosque. Half of the plinth on which it stands represents in fact the basement of an earlier temple. But as the mosque was designed on a much bigger scale, the existing basement had to be enlarged to nearly double its original size. The enormous work, entailed by this enlargement, necessitated the desecration and dismantling of as many as twenty-seven other temples in the vicinity, and the materials, including those of the one on the site, were reassembled to form this single mosque. There is an inscription which states this fact plainly and blandly, and every part of the building, such as the walls, columns, capitals, architraves, ceilings, etc., fully bears this out. “It is no wonder”, says Percy Brown, 7 “that the interior structure of the Qutb mosque, though an assemblage of elegantly carved stonework, had more the character of an archaeological miscellany than a considered work of architecture.” He calls it “mainly a patchwork of older materials, beautiful in detail, ...but as a whole a confused and somewhat incongruous improvisation. 5 ’

More incongruous still is the im-Isiamic appearance of the reassembled building, singly, as well as collectively. Indeed, except for the mihrdbs in the sanctuary wall (and this, too, is now nearly gone), there is hardly a feature in this oldest existing mosque of im> portance to demonstrate its Islamic character. It presented, rather, an essentially Hindu appearance, whether from within or from without. It is doubtful whether a design, so alien to Islamic tradition, could be acceptable to the orthodox Muslim. It was, in all likelihood, to obviate this drawback that within two years of its construction a huge screen of arches (wAiqsura) , essentially an Islamic symbol, was thrown across the entire front of the western colonnade, i.e. the prayer chamber proper. It consists of a huge wall of stone masonry, over fifty feet in height in the middle, and pierced by five arched openings—a lofty central arch flanked on each side by two smaller ones, the latter once supporting a clerestory of lesser arches (Fig. 2). As the mode of construction indicates, this huge arched fagade was also evidently the work of Indian builders. Though added to give the mosque an Islamic appearance, the arches were built in oversailing courses, a specifically Indian mode, instead of by the process of radiating voussoirs, the correct principle

of building up an arch, with which the Islamic builders had been familiar long before the establishment of Muslim rule in India, The ogee shape of the arches also illustrates an Indian design. It appears that the Indian builders, engaged in the construction of this facade, had no comprehension of the real needs of their Islamic masters and followed their own traditional system and design.

As an individual work this expansive facade is itself an impressive production. The bold lineaments of this huge mass have been emphasized by exquisitely chiselled decorative bands framing the arches. The ogee points of the arches impart to the facade a certain appearance of lightness, “necessary in such a massive volume.” In the decorative patterns one may recognize an intermixture of Hindu as well as Islamic ideals. The rich floral devices with their curly and sinuous tendrils are definitely reproductions of Hindu motifs, while the Tughra inscriptions with their straight lines are emphatically Islamic in conception (Fig. 3). The execution, too, is superb and flawless. As Marshall 8 observes: “No doubt it was a Muslim calligraphist who set out the scheme and penned in the texts, but it was only an Indian brain that could have devised such a wealth of ornament, and only Indian hands that could have carved it to such perfection.”

In spite of the massive strength and elegant carvings the fagade is obviously a failure architecturally. It does not fit in with the scheme of the mosque. To auote Marshall 9 again: “It is too obviousiy an afterthought, not an integral, organic part of the structure: too vast and over-powering to harmonise with the relatively low colonnades of the courtyard, and still more out of keeping with the slight elegant pillars of the hall behind.”

The Quwwat-ui-Islam mosque grew in size and dimensions with the gradual increase of the congregation of the faithful at Delhi. Subsequent monarchs enlarged it from time to time. The original mosque remained, however, the nucleus, and later enlargements and additions were made with the original mosque as the focal point. In such additions and enlargements one may closely follow the course of the early phase of Indo-Islamic architecture and its development. In A.D. 1230, Sultan Iltutmish enlarged the mosque quadrangle to more than double its size. His project involved addition to the mosque enclosure on the north, south and east, together with the extension of the prayer chamber and the huge arched screen in front by throwing out wings on the north and south. Fresh masonry was specially quarried for purposes of these extensions, and this fact may possibly signify the paucity of older materials. The colonnades in these extensions were but simpler replicas of those of the previous scheme, and retained essentially their Hindu appearance. The extended wings of the screen reproduce also the scheme of the previous work, and the arches in the extensions were also put up in oversailing courses, as in the indigenous mode. Yet, taken collectively, there may be recognized a subtle difference in the effect produced by the later work. Marshall 10 recognizes in this a greater assertion of Muslim ideas in the building tradition at Delhi, and observes “that the new work was fundamentally Islamic in character and manifestly designed, if not executed, by Muslim craftsmen.” “In Qutb-ud-din’s screen”, he continues, “the inscriptions we re the only part of the surface ornament which were Muhammadan; all the rest was Indian and modelled with true Indian feeling for plastic form. In Xltutmish’s work, on the other hand, the reliefs are flat and lifeless, stencilled as it were on the surface of the stone, and their formal patterns are identical with those found on contemporary Muslim monuments in other countries.” Marshall seems to be justified in holding that the reaction against Indian elements is clearly noticeable in these extensions.

‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji was the last of the Delhi Sultans to enlarge the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque. He projected a huge extension of the mosque enclosure on the east and the north. The prayer chamber was also added to by throwing a wing towards the north. He also intended to erect within the enlarged court on the north a minar which, if completed, would surely have surpassed the Qutb Minar in dimension and height. It is unfortunate that the death of the Sultan put an end to his grandiose schemes.

Just outside the enclosure of the original Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque on the south, and within the enlarged court of Iltutmish’s mosque, stands the Qutb Minar, which appears to have been intended as a ma’zina or tower from which the Mu’azzin could summon the faithful to prayer. From the various inscriptions in situ it appears that Qutb-ud-din began the construction of the minar when he was the viceroy at Delhi. He could finish only up to the first storey, and it was Iltutmish who finally completed it. As originally designed, it rose up to a height of 225 feet, tapering as it went up, and consisted of four storeys.

In the reign of Firuz Tughluq, the minar was struck by lightning, and the fourth storey, that was damaged thereby, was replaced by two smaller ones, its height being thus raised to 234 feet. In A.D. 1503, during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, the minar is said to have been restored again and its upper storeys repaired; but the nature of the work, carried out on that occasion, cannot be easily determined.

As it now stands, the minar (Fig. 4) consists of five storeys, separated from one another by richly decorated balconies supported on highly ornate stalactite alcoves. The surface is further embellished by vertical flutings and horizontal bands of inscriptions richly interwoven with intricate foliated designs. The vertical flutings in the ground storey are alternately round and angular, those of the second only round, and those of the third angular only. The two uppermost storeys are plainly circular in design. The stalactite alcoves, apart from their utilitarian purpose, furnish also a rich decorative scheme. Up to the third storey the tower was built of grey quartzite faced with rich red sandstone, the two upper storeys being of red sandstone faced with marble.

Because of the appearance in the minar of certain short Nagari inscriptions, it is sometimes believed that the tower was essentially of Hindu origin. The Muslims, according to this view, were merely responsible for recarving the outer surfaces. Such a view, however, does not seem to be probable. There are sufficient evidences to indicate that the stones bearing Nagari records might have come from some older structures. "As a fact", observes Marshall, "the whole conception of the minar and almost every detail of its construction and ornamentation is essentially Islamic. Towers of this kind were unknown to the Indians, but to the Muhammadans they had long been familiar, whether as ma'zinas attached to mosque or as freestanding towers like those at Ghazni. Equally distinctive also of Muslim art are the calligraphic inscriptions and the elaborate stalactite corbelling beneath the balconies, both of which can be traced back to kindred features in the antecedent architecture of Western Asia and Egypt." 11 It should be noted in this connection that the stellar shape of the Ghazni tower closely resembles that of the third storey of the Qutb Minar, of which the bottom storey is slightly elaborated—stellar flutings alternating with rounded ones. The effect produced by this massive structure is overwhelmingly impressive. Fergusson regarded the Qutb Minar as the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere in the world. 12 Marshall’s concluding observations are also worth quoting in this connection: “Nothing, certainly, could be more imposing or more fittingly symbolic of Muslim power than this stern and stupendous fabric; nor could anything be more exquisite than its rich but restrained carvings. r]3

The celebrated mosque at Ajmer (Figs. 5 and 7), known as Adhai-din-ka-Jhompra, 14 erected a little later than Qufb-ud-dm’s mosque at Delhi, resembles the Delhi prototype in style as well as in construction. Being more than double in size, the several constituent parts of the Ajmer mosque are correspondingly more spacious and dignified. The planning of the prayer chamber in the Qutb mosque at Delhi was, more or less, on make-shift lines, and the colonnades therein too constricted, and the pillars too low and crowded. The Ajmer mosque was a more organized composition; apparently the experiences gained in the construction of the earlier building had been put to use. Instead of a number of narrow aisles as at Delhi, a single broad aisle surrounds the Ajmer quadrangle, and the domes and pillars in the prayer chamber, as well as in the other three colonnades, are strictly uniform and symmetrical in arrangement. Each of the mosques represents, more or less, a re-assemblage of the spoils of the earlier buildings. At Ajmer, however, the architect evinced a better sense of composition, no doubt as the result of previous experience, and created, out of materials of strange and apparently unfamiliar forms, a prayer hall of solemn and impressive beauty. The exquisite mihmb in white marble, set in the back wall of the sanctuary, is a notable feature of this mosque, while the circular bastions, fluted and banded as in the Qutb Minar, at the two corners of the eastern facade, add to the beauty of the entire design. Qutb-ud-dm had built this mosque about A.D. 1200. Iltutmish subsequently beautified it with an arched facade in front of the prayer chamber. It is essentially a copy of the earlier screen at Delhi, with, however, two minarets over the parapet of the central archway, one on each side. The proportions between this facade and the prayer chamber behind are more pleasing; the engrailed arches flanking the central one represent a refreshing novelty; the decorative patterns are admirable of their kind, and their workmanship is faultless. Yet, with all its merits the Ajmer screen lacked the delicate and subtle beauty of Qutb-ud-dln's screen at Delhi. Magnificent as it was, it is a perfect example of mathematical precision and technical skill; but there are many features in if that sufficiently betray a certain limitation on the part of the designer in respect of imagination as well as of artistic vision; on no account can it be regarded as an artistic triumph.

At Malkapur, at a distance of about three miles from the Qutb, stands the Sultan Ghlari 15 (Fig. 6) which Iltutmish built in A.D. 123132 as the mausoleum of his eldest son, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud. Situated at an isolated position, it was built in the manner of a fortified square enclosure, with the cenotaph accommodated within a flatroofed underground chamber in the centre of the walled court. There are, therefore, good reasons for considering it to be the earliest example of a monumental tomb in India. The central chamber is octagonal in shape and its top rises above the level of the court.

The interior is approached by a narrow stairway communicating with a small door in one of the sides of the octagon. This scheme is contained within substantial cloisters, the whole being raised over a lofty plinth. On the east there is a massive portal projecting beyond the line of the enclosure wall, the latter having round tapering bastions at the four corners. Built of grey granite, the exterior has a stern and solid appearance, in spite of the relief lent by arched openings in the walls and the bastions. The interior, however, has a calm and charming effect, because of its sober design, as well as on account of the use of marble in the exterior facing of the tomb chamber and in the colonnades. The massive portal leads to a pillared portico of pleasing design (Fig. 10), while along the western cloister is provided a small mosque sanctuary with a domed central nave containing a mihrdb of an elegantly shaped foliated arch, and with colonnades extending from side to side. The description in the Futuhdi-i-Firuz Shdlzi, that Firuz Shiah restored some fallen pillars and four towers in the mausoleum of Iltutmish, seems to apply to this monument, and not to the tomb of Iltutmish which will be discussed presently. Except for the mihrdb in the mosque sanctuary in the western cloister, every part of the building seems to be of

Hindu extraction, and there is a view that the tomb chamber itself represented originally a Hindu edifice. While doubts may be entertained on this point, it is clear that the pillars, brackets, architraves, the decorative motifs, the arches, and even the domed ceiling of the mosque are of Hindu design and workmanship. The building also seems to be an assemblage of earlier materials; in its finished state it reveals an exquisite sense of grouping and architectural composition.

Behind the northern range of Iltutmish’s extension of the Qutb mosque stands a single compact chamber (Fig. 9), of less than 30 feet side, which has been said to be the mausoleum of the emperor. 16 It is built of red sandstone within and grey quartzite without, the exterior surface being further relieved by red sandstone. On the north, south, and east, there are arched entrances, while on the west there is a mihrdb , flanked by two smaller ones. The chamber was covered by a low domical roof (now fallen down), supported on squinch arches thrown across the corners. The arched entrances as well as the squinches were built up in oversailing courses. Though simple and unpretentious, this mausoleum is one of the most ornate monuments of early Indo-Islamic art. The ornamentation on the outside is comparatively sparse and consists of bands of inscriptions flanking the arched passages. The entire surface of the interior walls v/as elaborately carved with calligraphic inscriptions

in Naskh, Tughra and Kufic characters, or with floral arabesques and geometric patterns of a bewildering variety, and further relieved by insertions of white marble. The patterns were predominantly Islamic in character, and this fact may indicate a reaction against Indian tradition which seems to be gradually making itself manifest. The craftsmen, employed in the execution of the ornamentation, however, seem to be Indian, and a certain degree of inaptness, which Fergusson 17 notices in the details, might have been due to the fact that they were working with designs with which they were not familiar. So far as the effect is concerned, there is a sense of overdoing, and the style that it represents, though ornate, and in a manner anticipating the subsequent Khalji mode, may be said to be vacillating and lifeless.

To the period of Iltutmish may also be assigned certain other structures in the outlying districts, such as the Hauz-i-Shamsi, the Shamsi-Idgah and the Jdmi c Masjid at Badaun 18 (U.P.), and the Atarkin-ka-Darwaza at Nagaur 19 (Jodhpur). In subsequent periods they have undergone successive restorations which have obliterated, to a very large extent, the nature and character of the original monuments. 19

After the death of Iltutmish, the Delhi Sultanate fell on evil days, as noted above, until Balban brought some order into the chaos that had set in. To this period belongs a monument which provides a notable landmark in the development of Indo-Islamic architectural style. This is the tomb of Balban 20 which stands in a ruined and dilapidated condition in the south-east quarter of the QiTa-i-Rai Pithaura. It consists of a square chamber of 38 feet side, covered by a dome, with an arched doorway on each of its four sides, and a smaller chamber on the east and west. Composed of coarse masonry, whatever decoration there was has now vanished. But the importance of the building, as Percy Brown 21 recognizes, is not in what it is, but in what it signifies. Every arch in this building is put together, not by horizontal oversailing courses in keeping with the indigenous mode, as has been done in the previous buildings, but by means of radiating voussoirs, a fact which is of more than ordinary significance. Such an innovation, apart from its intellectual import, represents a clear and definite advance in structural practice.

With the accession of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji to the throne of Delhi (A.D. 1298), the torpor into which the art of building had fallen seems to be broken. With his reign we reach a decisive phase in the history of Indo-Islamic architectural style. This forceful and relentless monarch had vast and ambitious architectural schemes. One of these, as noted above, was his scheme of erecting an immense congregationai mosque at the Qutb, including within its perimeter the two mosques previously built. 21a The death of the monarch in A.D. 1316 put an end to his ambitious scheme at a relatively early stage of construction. The foundations and the main walls of this vast extension may still be seen, mostly up to the height of the plinth; while the huge inner core of the projected minar, carried up to a height of about 75 feet, gives some idea of the architectural aspirations of this despotic ruler.

Of this vast project one relatively small component had, however, been completed. This is known as the ‘Alai Darwaza 22 after the name of its royal builder, and represents the southern entrance hall to his enlarged court in the east (Fig. 8). As Marshall 23 says, the ‘Alai Darwaza “is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture 5 ’. According to an inscription on the building, it was built in A.D. 1310-11 and consists of a square hall covered by a dome. It has arched doorways, one on each of its four sides. It stands on a high plinth the sides of which are elegantly decorated by bands of ornament. It is built of red sandstone, but the surface is picked out by white marble defining the architectural lineaments, and further adorned by bands of calligraphic inscriptions and decorative patterns. On either side of the central arched passage the surface of each wall is divided into two stages, each stage being further sub-divided into vertical rectangular panels. Such panels in the lower stage are designed in the shape of arched openings with stone grilles. All ornamentations, including arabesques and decorative inscriptions, have been executed in a harmonious combination of red sandstone and marble, and they lend to the facades a polychrome effect of rich and superb design. Much of the beauty of the fagades is, again, due to the central arched entrances, as much for their refined curves as for their symmetrical proportions and manner and mode of decoration. The arches on the south, east and west are each of the pointed variety, of the shape technically known as the ‘horse-shoe’ or the ‘keel’. They are built of radiating voussoirs of dressed stone and signify a definite advance on the previous practices. The decorative scheme of each arch enhances further the beauty of the fagade. The bands of inscriptions in white marble around the outlines, the fringe of spear-heads on the intrados, and the rectangular framework, with ornamental patterns and inscriptions in white marble, skilfully balance the structural as well as the plastic scheme of the whole. The northern fagade, however, shows a deviation from the above architectural composition that characterizes the other three. The portico, originally fronting the entrance on this side, has now gone. The arch in this opening is not pointed

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like the other three, but semi-circular with a trefoil in its outline. This fagade is also elaborately patterned, and some scholars recognize in its scheme of embellishment a tone different from that of the other three.

No less magnificent is the interior arrangement of the hall which is decorated with a diaper pattern of unrivalled excellence in low relief. The mode, by which the square of the hall is transformed into an octagon to support the circular base of the dome, is appropriate and at the same time elegant. A series of squinches of pointed shape, one recessed within another, in the upper section of each angle of the hall, changes the square into an octagon, and next the octagon into the circle of the dome with an intervening sixteen-sided shaft formed by a bracket at each end of the octagon. Thus the load of the dome has been gracefully and competently conveyed to the ground,—from the circle to the sixteen-sided shaft, from the latter to the octagon, and finally from the octagon to the walls forming the square. The shape of the squinches accords perfectly with the pointed openings in the fagades, and being put up in the principle of radiating voussoirs, they are in every respect singularly practical.

In the composition of the ‘Alai Darwaza it is easy to discern the marks of mature architectural style with distinct evidence of an expert direction and intelligent supervision. It is not unlikely that some extraneous influence, connected with a developed architectural style in Western Asia (Percy Brown 24 would ascribe it to that of the Seljuk Turks), has something to do with this marked progress in Indo-Muslim building art. But the chief characteristic of this notable monument, as Percy Brown recognizes, “and one on which much of its beauty depends, is that ... it embodies many purely indigenous features, as throughout its fabric there runs the Indian manner, sometimes in the form of a mere border, at others comprising considerable parts of the pattern. It is the skilful fusion of the best of the two modes that has produced in this building such an outstanding work of art.” The early phase of Indo-Muslim architectural style reaches its perfection when the indigenous workmen had learnt to fit their exquisite style of embellishment to the forms dictated by their alien masters, and this is clearly manifested in this moderate-sized building, in its every feature, whether structural or decorative. Eminent critics have bestowed unstinted praise on this small but exquisite monument. “Nothing so complete”, says

Fergusson, 25 “had been done before, nothing so ornate was attempted by them (the Delhi Sultans) afterwards.” Marshall’s observations are also worth quoting in this connection: “Seen at a distance its well-proportioned lineaments are accentuated by the alternating red

and white colour of its walls; and an added dignity is given by the high plinth on which it stands. At closer range, the harmony of form and colour is enhanced by the wealth of lace-like decorations graven on every square foot of its exterior walls. Then, as one passes into the hall, this effect of warm sumptuous beauty gives place to one of quiet solemnity, to which every feature of the interior seems to contribute: the subdued red of the sandstone, the stateliness of the portals, the plain expanse of dome, the shapely horse-shoe arches that support it, and the bold geometric patterning of walls and window screens. The key-notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of all its parts.” 26 There is no doubt that the ‘Alai Darwaza represents the flowering of the style in unprecedented splendour and magnificence. It is only a part of ‘ Ala-ud-dm’s grand architectural project at the Qutb which, if completed, would surely have been one of the greatest artistic achievements produced under Islamic rule in India.

‘Ala-ud-dm’s architectural projects included also the foundation of the new city of Siri, 27 the second of the ‘seven cities’ of Delhi. It lay to the north of the Qutb and was begun about A.D. 1303 to protect, it is said, the evergrowing population of the capital from the Mongol menace. Within the new city he also erected a palace of thousand pillars, but this has completely fallen into ruins. The only vestiges of the new city that now remain are some fragments of the encircling walls. “But even these few remnants, with their round and tapering bastions, their lines of loopholes, their flame-shaped battlements inscribed with the Kalima, and their inner berm supported on an arched gallery”, 28 supply interesting information regarding the military architecture of the period. At the western extremity of the new city, ‘Ala-ud-dln built also a magnificent tank covering an area of nearly 70 acres. It was known as Hauz-i-‘AlaI or Hauz-i-Khas tank. It was on its banks that Timur encamped after his victory over the Delhi troops. It will be referred to again in connection with the buildings of Firuz Shah Tughluq who carried on extensive repairs to the tank.

The fine Jama‘at Khana mosque 29 in the squalid environment of the Dargah of Nizam-ud-din Auliya betrays obvious affinities with the Khaljl tradition, and was very probably built towards the close of ‘Ala-ud-dm’s reign. Marshall 30 described it as the earliest example of a mosque in India built wholly in conformity with Islamic ideas and with materials specially quarried for the purpose. Built of red sandstone, it has three compartments adjoining one another,—the middle one being square and the side ones oblong in shape,—each approached through a broad arched entrance in the fagade. The arches are of the pointed variety and fundamentally resemble those of the ‘Alai Darwaza. All the arches are framed by wide bands of inscriptions above, and embellished by fringes of spear-heads on the intrados, again, generally in the manner that we find in the ‘Alai Darwaza. The central compartment, approximately of the same dimensions as those of the gateway hall, is roofed by a single dome. The manner of transition from the square to the octagon is also the same, but a certain advance may be recognized in the provision of an intervening triforium between the octagon and the circle of the dome. Around the base the dome has eight arched recesses, alternately closed and pierced through the thickness of the wall. The adjoining compartments are each divided in their middle by a double-arched screen. Each of these compartments is covered by two small domes, the transition from the square to the octagon being made, not by squinches, but by triangular pendentives at the corners. The walls of these compartments are made of plastered rubble, and on this account it has been suggested that they were built later than the central component. But the homogeneous treatment of the entire fagade renders such a view rather improbable. The ‘Alai Darwaza and the Jama‘at Khana mosque are fundamentally of an identical style. Percy Brown, 31 however, recognizes a different note in the latter which he explains by stating that, due to the disorders that clouded the closing years of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl, the style, as expressed in the ‘Alai Darwaza was losing its forcefulness. The Ukha masjid at Bayana 32 (Bharatpur), built by Qutb-ud-dln Mubarak, the last of the Khaljl rulers, represents a provincial version of the imperial style. Situated at a distance from the capital, it betrays obvious signs of weakness, and illustrates in a striking manner the rapid disintegration of the high-water mark of the style attained during the time of ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl.

B. Buildings of the Tughluqs

In the next regime, that of the Tughluqs, a distinct change is perceptible in the spirit and tone of architecture. In marked contrast to the rich and elaborate ornamental style of the Khaljl buildings, those of the Tughluqs are characterized by a stark simplicity of design bordering almost on puritanical severity. Instead of the lavish wealth of ornamental detail that distinguished the first phase of the Indo-Islamic art, the Tughluq builders seem to rely, to a far greater degree, on the effects of lineaments and masses, rather than on surface treatment. The result is the appearance of a distinctive building style, chaste and sober, no doubt, but at the same time betraying a certain poverty of imagination and lack of plastic sense.

The founder of the dynasty, the stern old warrior Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq, built to the east of the Qutb area the city of Tughluqabad, 33 the third of the ‘seven cities’ of Delhi. Irregular in outline, in accordance with the shape of the rocky eminence on which it stood, it consisted roughly of a quadrangle of 2,200 yards each side. Only the remnants of the immense circuit walls are now discernible. These were built of Cyclopean masonry of ponderous dimensions, and had heavily battered sides and battlemented parapets. At regular intervals there were massive splayed-out bastions, sometimes rising in more than one storey, wide gateways flanked by lofty portals, and tiers upon tiers of loop-holes or ovlets for the discharge of missiles. Within was a citadel, which was a fortress and a palace combined, having its double or triple lines of defence. Everything, however, is now a complex mass of shapeless ruin, and nothing remains of the great palace of Ghiyas-ud-dm, built, as Ibn Batutah says, “of golden bricks which, when the Sun rose, shone so dazzlingly that no one could gaze at it steadily.” Nevertheless, the ruins are immensely impressive. The colossal bulks of broken masonry, devoid of any adornment, towering high with emphatic batter, lend to the entire mass the stern dignity of a practical stronghold. The appearance of impregnability is, however, a false one, as the massive fortifications are in reality built of a loose core of rubble faced with ashlar. The poor construction was, no doubt, responsible for the heavy damage that the city had sustained in course of the centuries.

Joined to the city of Tughluqabad by an elevated causeway lies the mausoleum of Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq.[34] It is in the form of a miniature fortress of an irregular pentagonal shape, with a battlemented sloping wall having an immense spreading bastion at each corner (Fig. 12). The mausoleum building is placed diagonally at the widest part of the pentangular court, and is built of red sandstone with inlays of bands and panels of marble above the archsprings. The dome surmounting the mausoleum chamber is made entirely of marble. The marble inlays consist of a broad band running all around the building in a line with the arch-springs, and similar bands outlining the arches, each again within a rectangular framing together with a second band at the top. On either side appear further rectangular marble panels while at the top runs a narrow marble band all around. The marble inlays, together with spear-head fringes of the arches, recall the decorative scheme of the ‘Alai Darwaza. But, at the same time, the Tughluq building has certain strongly marked individualities. On the exterior the walls rise upward with a pronounced batter, and this is in keeping with the new tradition first noticed in the walls of the city of Tughluqabad.

The middle of each side is slightly set forward, and accommodates a pointed arch, there being four such on the four sides. Three of these are entrance archways, while the fourth, i.e. the one on the west, is closed to contain a mihrab . In the composition of the archways a notable feature is introduced by the imposition of a lintel across the base of each arch. Such a combination of the two principles of support—the arcuate and the trabeate—-in the composition of an opening is rather an unusual feature, and has, perhaps, to be explained as “the compounding of the structural conventions” of the two communities, the Islamic and the Hindu. The process may be regarded as irrational and redundant. In a way, it marks a stage in the fusion of the two architectural traditions, and in the subsequent periods the Indian builders achieved through this process, and with the addition of a bracket under the lintel, a notable artistic effect. The sloping walls terminate in low battlements, rather an ineffective feature on account of their being unduly small. The dome rests on an octagonal drum, supported on squinches in the interior, and is crowned by an amalaka and kalasa, reproducing the usual pinnacle of a Hindu temple.

The fortress-like composition of the tomb reflects the stern and indomitable character of the ruler whose remains lie buried here. The harsh square shape and the sturdy proportions, together with the battering walls, lend to the building an appearance of stiength and solidity with which has been combined an effect of solemn and sober grandeur because of the inlays of marble, and especially by the glistening white of the dome. The sloping pilasters in the archways, the rather weak projection of the central bays, the small merlons, etc., constitute certain shortcomings in the design and could easily have been improved upon. In spite of these, however, the building appears to have been a felicitous production of the age, having a certain robust dignity of its own.

Muhammad bin Tughluq, Ghiyas-ud-din's son and successor, is known to have also inaugurated a number of building projects. The foundation of the small fortress of Adilabad is attributed to him. It adjoins the city of Tughluqabad and is but a reproduction of the larger city on a smaller scale. Muhammad also built the fourth city of Delhi which he called by the ambitious name of Jahanpanah 35 (the World Refuge). It was made by linking up the first and the second cities of Delhi by walls of huge thickness (about 12 yards), but rather poorly built of rough rubble set in lime. Few vestiges of the fortifications now remain. The buildings within are also nearly all gone. Among the present remains mention should be made of Sathpalah-bund and the Bijai-Mandal. The former is a

double-storeyed bridge of seven spans, with supplementary arches and a tower at each end, which was meant for regulating the supply of water drawn from a lake within the city. The Bijai-Mandal was a lofty tower-like structure of terraced elevation, possibly a part of the palace complex. It was built of sloping walls, in conformity with the prevailing fashion introduced in the previous reign, and the few arches that remain are of the pointed horse-shoe shape, rather indifferent reproductions of the Khaljl prototypes. A certain advance in the structural procedure is recognized in the use of intersecting vaults. Another building, a nameless tomb in the vicinity of the Bijai-Mandal, is also a noteworthy production of the age for its fine proportions and elegant form.

Firuz Shah, the third of the Tughluq line, was a passionate lover and an indefatigable patron of building art. 36 Reference has been made above 37 to his innumerable public works, which included cities, forts, palaces, mosques, tombs and other edifices. His most important scheme was the foundation of the fifth city of Delhi, called after him Flruzabad. 38 Within the city he built the palacefort, known as Kotla Firuz Shah, which now stands in a derelict condition.

It is, however, noteworthy, that only very cheap material were used in the constructions, due, perhaps, to the unsettled condition of the time caused by the vagaries and rebellions of the late regime. The buildings of Firuz Tughluq, though strong and virile in appearance like those of the first Tughluq, therefore generally fail to create any impression because of a certain dullness and monotony.

Marshall's observations regarding the character of the FIruzian style deserves to be quoted for a general idea of the state of architecture of the period. "The virtues of this architecture reside in its vigour and straightforwardness; in its simple broad effects; and in the purposefulness with which it evolved new structural features or adapted old ones to its needs—the multi-domed roofing, for example, or the tapering minaret-like buttresses at the quoins. Its faults are seen in the monotonous reiteration of these self-same features, in the prosaic nakedness of its ideas, and in the dearth of everything that might make for picturesque charm or elegance." 39

According to the description of Shams-i-Siraj 'Aflf, the city of Flruzabad lay between the ridge on the north and Hauz-i-Khas on the south, and had nine mosques, of which eight were public, three palaces, and a number of hunting boxes. This description, however, seems to be exaggerated. Of the monuments that remain, the most imposing is the Kotla Firuz Shah 40 or the palace-fortress situated on an extensive plain bordering the river Yamuna (Jamuna). It occupies a quadrangle, approximately half a mile in length and a quarter in width, enclosed by tall battlemented walls with massive splayed-out bastions at regular intervals. The main entrance was through a substantial gateway, projecting from the line of the wall and further protected by a curtain with a guard room. The palace was situated within a rectangular enclosure opposite the main gateway of the Kotla. The rest of the area was divided into a number of square and rectangular courts accommodating the various structures necessary in a self-contained palace stronghold. The two that deserve notice are the Jdmi e Masjid and a terraced pyramidal structure surmounted by a pillar of Asoka. The former was a large and imposing structure of the usual plan. It rose in two storeys with arcaded chambers on three sides of the ground floor, and cloisters, three aisles deep, around the open court of the mosque above. The other features of the building, as far as can be gathered, such as masonry of rubble and plaster, bare walls, multiple domes, squinch arches for their support, and battlemented parapets, are typical of the style of the period.

At the Hauz-i-Khas, Firuz Shah built on the remains of an older structure of ‘Ala-ud-din Khaljl a college, much of which is now in ruins. It occupies the southern and eastern sides of the great lake, being two-storeyed on the lake front and one-storeyed behind. It consists of an extensive group of buildings, mostly arcades and colonnades with square domed halls in between. A charming view of the group may be obtained from the lake front. In contrast to the prevailing severe mode, it has an exceptionally elegant appearance, particularly because of the happy and effective grouping of the different components.

The mausoleum of Firuz Shah^i situated among the crumbling ruins of the college complex, is in a fairly good state of preservation. It is a square building with slightly battering walls, each side having a shallow projecting bay in the centre (Fig. 11). Two of these bays accommodate arched entrances, each framed within a rectangular recess. Across the base of the arch there is a lintel supported on heavy brackets, the beginnings of such a combination of two structural conventions being already noticed in the tomb of the first Tughluq. The walls terminate in parapets of small ornamental merlons. The low and slightly pointed dome rises on an octagonal drum with identical merlons around the base of the dome. The latter is supported in the interior on squinches at the four corners. The narrow marble cornices in the exterior, as well as certain arabesque ornamentations, both inside and out, were added in course of some repairs during the time of Sikandar Lodi. Even without these, the building has a

certain appearance of distinction because of its fine proportions and sober treatment and is characterized by a simple dignity and quiet unpretentiousness.

The reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq is also important for the introduction of new architectural trends. Among these, one in respect of the tomb buildings remained the dominant style for nearly two centuries. The mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani, 42 situated a little to the south of the Dargah of Nizam-ud-din, is an unostentatious building in itself; but it is of exceptional interest as illustrating a new design of tomb-structure. It is placed within a quadrangular court enclosed by strong walls with bastions at the corners,—a composition that is usual with fortress tombs. But the tomb building itself is of an unusual shape and design. Hitherto all mortuary buildings had been of square shape. The Tilangani tomb is, however, octagonal in form and represents a distinct departure from that prevailing at the imperial capital. It consists of an octagonal chamber covered by a dome and enclosed by a low arched corridor, also of octagonal shape. Each side of the octagon has three archways, i. e. twenty-four all round, and the roof is composed of twenty-four small domes which surround the large dome surmounting the mortuary chamber. Above the encompassing arches there runs a wide eave or chajja, which adds a new and at the same time useful element in the composition. Some scholars have stressed the resemblance in form between the Tilangani tomb and the celebrated Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. But the former has some distinctive individualities, not only in the use of different materials but also in architectural treatment, and these impart to it an essentially Indian character. It is likely that the design of this tomb, instead of being derived from a far-distant prototype, was independently evolved in India, and that it was due to its being an initial experiment of this kind that it suffers from certain serious drawbacks. For instance, the domes, the central as well as the surrounding ones, are too low and squat, and the encompassing arches are too stunted to have any effect. Moreover, there may also be recognized a lack of proportions and harmonious integration of the different parts. Such drawbacks are inherent in experimental efforts with a new form and were removed in course of time. What is important is that the Tilangani tomb, in spite of its drawbacks, constitutes a definite landmark as initiating a pattern in tomb building which set the fashion for the subsequent centuries.

The tomb of Tilangani was built by his son Khan-i-Jahan Jauna Shah, a noble man in the Court of Firuz Shah Tughluq. Jauna Shah is also credited with the erection of a number of mosques, two of which stand out among those of the period as exhibiting an arrangement that is not usually met with. Besides being an eminent patron of the building art, Jauna Shah thus seems to have entertained certain new and original ideas about it. Several mosques were built in and around Delhi during the latter part of the reign of Flruz Shah and the majority of them belong to one uniform style. They are of the usual plan and built mostly of rubble and plaster with pillars, architraves and brackets of granite. The boldly projecting entrance gateways remind one of the Sultan Gharl, while multi-domed roofs, tapering turrets, and the combination of arches with beams and brackets are characteristic of the architecture of the period. The Kail Masjid 43 near the Tilangani tomb and the Khirkl Masjid 44 at Jahanpanah, both attributed to Jauna Shah, though belonging to the prevailing style, present each an exceptional feature in the fact that the quadrangle of the mosque enclosure, instead of being one open whole, is divided into four smaller courts by arcaded aisles crossing it at right angles, one joining the eastern entrance with the middle bay of the prayer chamber and the other linking up the northern and southern entrances (cf. Fig. 14). Such an arrangement is not quite in keeping with orthodox usage, and though it afforded protection to the congregation of worshippers and, to a certain extent, relieved the monotony of the interior, it was not followed in other mosques. The Kalan Masjid 45 (Fig. 13) at Shahjahanabad, attributed also to Jauna Shah, is much of the same style, but without the division of the quadrangle into four smaller courts. The Kalan and the Khirkl are each raised over a basement (tali-khana), much in the same manner that we find in the Jdmi e Masjid in the Kotla.

Another building belonging to the closing years of the Tughluq regime is of certain interest as illustrating a movement for a revival of the more colourful style of the earlier epochs. This is the tomb of Kablr-ud-din

Auliya, 46 a square building of red sandstone and marble with sloping sides, and is apparently a copy of the tomb of the first Tughluq. It appears that after the passing away of the puritanical Flruz, the builders exhibited again a sympathy for the more ornamental treatment of the earlier monuments. But the severe mode prevailing in the Flruzian period had, more or less, a deadening effect which the architects or the designers could hardly shake off. Further, in the general state of disintegration, the means and resources were also too limited to allow a recapture of the older spirit, much less an emulation of, or improvement upon, the earlier models. Hence, the experiment, instead of heralding any approaching resurgence, pointedly testifies to the utter decadence that had set in.

C. Buildings of the Sayyids and Lodls

The invasion of Timur dealt the death blow to whatever was left of the imperial power of the Delhi Sultans. Their shrunken resources naturally precluded any ambitious architectural project, though the first two Sayyids permitted themselves the luxury of founding two cities, Khizrabad and Mubarakabad, named after them. These have been practically swept away, apparently because of their poor construction due to weak and limited financial conditions.

The surviving monuments of the period are mostly funerary in character. The rulers as well as the people seem to have been interested in this form of monument only, and it is only these which they tried to build with a certain amount of care. At no other time, perhaps, says Percy Brown , 47 “has the tomb been more manifest in the consciousness of the people than during the rule of the Sayyids and Lodls.” On the desolate ruins of the imperial cities still stand scores of tombs—mute testimonies of how the people excelled in raising memorials to the dead. Delhi at this period seems to have been converted into a vast necropolis.

The notable tombs of the period may be divided into two groups, according as they adopted the octagonal design of the Tilangani tomb, or the orthodox square type. Of the octagonal design we have, more or less, a continuous sequence of monuments that enable us to trace the development of the type from its inception in the Tilangani tomb to its final culmination in the grand mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram. The type remained popular also in the early Mughul phase, and two notable monuments of this design are known to have been erected during the reign of Akbar. The type thus remained in vogue for approximately two centuries, and the pattern reached a mature expression, stage by stage, every successive building representing an advance on the preceding one. Three of the identifiable royal tombs, belonging to this period, were of this pattern. They are the tombs of Mubarak Shah Sayyid, Muhammad Shah Sayyid, and Sikandar Lodi. The earliest of the series in the present phase, the tomb of Mubarak , 48 signifies a notable improvement on its prototype, the Tilangani tomb. An appearance of greater elevation is imparted by raising the central dome substantially higher, by increasing the height of the surrounding corridor, and by adding sloping piers at its quoins. Further, the monotony of the upper part of the composition is relieved by the addition of pinnacles (gul-dastas) at the angles of the drum and of eight pillared kiosks, one on each side of the octagon around the central dome, roofed by a cupola. In spite of these improvements the composition seems to have been a matter of experiment still.

The chief defect consists in the failure of the builders to visualize the upper part of structure as being raised far above the eye level, leading thereby to a slightly stunted elevation and a foreshortening of the upper elements.

In the tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid 49 (Fig. 15) may be recognized a further improvement of the design. The defects in elevation that were noticed in the two previous buildings were removed by increasing the heights of the drum, the central dome, as well as of the pillared kiosks. Along with an increase of the heights of the gul-dastas at the angles of the drum, a second range of such crestings were added to the corners of the arched corridor. Again, an increased batter of the piers at the quoins added greatly to the effect of elevation. Considered as a whole, the tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid represents a conception “satisfying in all its parts, well-proportioned, pleasingly set out, and fulfilling all its needs.” 50

The next tomb of the series, that of Sikandar Lodi, 51 built in A.D. 1517, reproduces fundamentally the design of the tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid, with a notable variation, however, in the absence of the pillared kiosks surrounding the central dome. It is situated within an immense court, enclosed by a battlemented wall, with bastioned towers at the four corners, and an entrance gateway in the middle of the south side. This conception, according to Marshall, 52 anticipates, in a way, the more ornamental garden tombs of the Mughuls. In the tombs of the two Sayyids may be noticed the beginnings of the use of enamelled tiles for emphasizing the decorative features. The tomb of Sikandar Lodi is more lavish in the use of such tiles in a variety of colours, and the walls, both inside and out, were richly adorned by elaborate patterns in choice colours. Apart from this ornamental treatment, his tomb introduces a new structural expedient of great significance which exercised a profound influence on the building art of the subsequent times. Up to this time it was the practice to erect the dome of one thickness of masonry, the elevation in the interior being nearly as high as in the exterior. When, with an increasing elevation of the building, it became necessary to place the dome on a higher level, the interior came to be stilted and disproportionately tall in relation to its width. In order to obviate this defect and to maintain the symmetry between the exterior and interior dimensions, was devised the structural expedient, known as the 'double dome'. It consisted of two separate shells of masonry, inner and outer, with a vacant space in between. The inner shell was placed at a level proportionate to the internal dimensions of the building, and the outer

corresponding to the external. The interior as well as the exterior dimensions thus came to be pleasingly balanced and integrated both horizontally and vertically, and the design, as a whole, was much improved thereby. This device had long been in use in different countries of Western Asia, and something like this had already been attempted in the tomb of Shihab-ud-dm Taj Khan of a slightly earlier date (A.D. 1501). In the tomb of Sikandar Lodi the device of the 'double dome' took a definite and concrete shape, and the first conscious application of this invests the building with a special interest and significance in view of the surprising results obtained by an effective use of this method in the Mughul buildings.

The second group of tombs of the period, following the usual square design, exhibits, nevertheless, certain distinctive features in architectural treatment. The type consists of a square solid-looking building covered by a dome. In the treatment of the fagade, however, notable features were introduced. In the middle of each side may be seen a lofty arched bay projecting slightly from the body of the building, with a doorway, sometimes of the lintel and bracket order, surmounted by an arched window opening accommodated within the huge arched recess. The remaining parts of each fagade are disposed in the exterior into a number of horizontal zones by cornice mouldings, and further variegated by arched recesses and window openings in each zone. The treatment of the upper part of the structure resembles, in a way, that of the octagonal tombs. The walls terminate in battlemented parapets with pinnacles (gul-dastas) at the corners of the square as well as at the angles formed by the projecting bays. The dome, which usually shows a band of lotus petal ornament at the base, is raised on an octagonal drum and is flanked at each corner of the roof by a pillared kiosk. The most eminent productions of this class of tombs are Bara Khan ka Gumbad, 53 Chhote Khan ka Gumbad, 54 Bara Gumbad 55 (Fig. 16), Shis Gumbad, 56 tomb of Shihab-ud-dln Taj Khan, 57 Dad! ka Gumbad, 58 and Poll ka Gumbad. 59 The majority belong to the fifteenth century A.D. Tombs of this class are usually higher than those of the octagonal kind, though horizontally their dimensions are lesser. Yet, in spite of their added elevation and diversified treatment of the fagade, they lack the solemn dignity of the octagonal tombs.

Though no large mosques of the public or congregational kind are known to have been erected during this phase, a few mosque buildings of the private kind, belonging to the period, are notable as anticipating a new trend that was to reach its fulfilment in the period immediately following that covered by the present volume.

Among the monuments of this series the earliest is a small mosque 60 attached to the Bara Gumbad, built towards the close of the fifteenth century A.D. Of its notable features mention should be made of the tah-khana basement and tapering turrets at the rear corners, features that are clearly derived from the FIruzian buildings. Striking innovations are, however, introduced in the composition of the facade which consists of five open arches of a peculiar shape, being inordinately wide and flattened at the top. Though practically of the same height, the outlines of the arches are diversified by a variable number of receding planes, and elegant ornament in plaster covers the entire exterior. Similar ornament is also used in the interior of the prayer chamber. The domes are increased in size as well as elevation. All these indicate a fresh inspiration striving for a new and effective form in mosque design. But the different elements being, to a certain extent, loosely knit, the production, as a whole, lacks organic unity and fails to be pleasing. There is no doubt that the builders felt the urge for a new direction, but they seem to have had only a vague and faltering idea of it.

The next mosque of the series, Moth ki Masjid 61 (Fig. 17), was built by the Prime Minister of Sikandar Lodi in the early years of the sixteenth century A.D. It is a fairly large building, being 124 feet 6 inches from end to end, and follows fundamentally the design of the Bara Gumbad mosque with some notable improvements indicating that the builders had a clear idea of what was expected of them and had the necessary experience to achieve the desired result. Particularly noteworthy is its fagade with its five arched openings, all much better spaced and proportioned, of which the central one is emphasized by having it boldly projected forward. The interior also is, to a great extent, spacious and dignified, and the domes above more pleasingly disposed. The tapering turrets on the back wall have each a refined contour. Added to these, the two-storeyed towers at the rear corners, each flanked by a projecting balcony, lend a rare charm to the design of the building as a whole. Further, by a free intermixture of white marble, red sandstone and enamelled tiles, a colourful effect is imparted to the exterior. According to Marshall, the mosque “epitomises in itself all that is best in the architecture of the Lodls,” and displays a “freedom of imagination, a bold diversity of design, an appreciation of contrasting light and shade and a sense of harmony in line and colour, which combine to make it one of the most spirited and picturesque buildings of its kind in the whole range of Islamic art.” 62

The remaining two buildings of the series, the Jamal! Mosque (A.D. 1536) 63 and the QiPa-i-Kuhna mosque 64 of Sher Shah in the

Puranja Qika, fall outside the scope of the present volume. It has to be noted here that the latter represents the new mosque design in its most elegant and mature form, and anticipates, in a way, the Mughul buildings of this order.

III. PROVINCIAL STYLES A, Bengal

Architectural activities of the Islamic rulers of Bengal seem to have begun with the establishment of the Islamic rule in the province by Ikhtyar-ud-din Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji about the close of the twelfth century A.D. Minhaj-ud-dln, the author of the Tabaqat-i-Ndsiri / 5 mentions that Ikhtyar-ud-din himself established at Lakhnawati mosques, colleges, rest-houses and other buildings. The same authority 66 further speaks of Hisam-ud-din Twaz ? one of the successors of Ikhtyar-ud-din, who assumed the title of Sultan under the name of Ghiyas-ud-din, that he built mosques, madrassahs, rest-houses, etc., in his capital and constructed roads across the low and marshy country. Epigraphic records testify to the erection of mosques in Bengal during the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth; one at Pinchhli, 67 eight miles to the northwest of Malda, by Sultan Iltutmish (1211 - 1236); another (with a mausoleum—Fig. 23) at Tribeni (Hooghly District) by Zafar Khan GhazI (c. A.D. 1298); and a third at Gaumalti, near Gaur (Malda District) in A.D. 1311. 68 But none of these or other early Muslim monuments in Bengal have survived.

No existing Muslim monument in Bengal can be dated earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. and the extant remains all belong to the period of a little over two centuries (A.D. 1338-1576). Mosques and tombs, representing the religious side of architecture, naturally followed the characteristic forms of Muslim architecture in India and elsewhere. But in details of construction and design there was evolved a local individuality, due to contact with, and assimilation of ; the earlier practices in this region.

These religious buildings may be divided stylistically into the following groups: 1. Oblong type with a vaulted central nave and multi-domed side-wings; 2. Single-domed square type; 3. Multidomed oblong type; and 4. Single-domed type with corridors running on three sides. This stylistic grouping may also be found to have an approximate chronological bearing. The third type appears to have been adapted from the first by omitting the central nave, and the fourth from the second by the addition of corridors on three sides.

The earliest of the extant types of Muslim buildings in Bengal is characterized by an oblong structure, divided into a central nave and two side-wings. The central nave is covered by an elongated vault, which is a continuation of the main front arch that spans the entire width and height of the nave. The wings which are several aisles deep, are roofed by low hemispherical domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the wings into bays and aisles. The oblong shape with the central nave higher than the two side-wings, as we see in the present type, are met with elsewhere in India, especially in the region of Gujarat; but the tall and elongated barrel-shaped vault covering the nave and the other details and particulars of the type are, on the whole, peculiar to Bengal and seldom found outside its limits. Of this type we have only a few extant examples, namely the Adlna mosque at Hazarat Pandua (Malda District), and the Gunamant mosque and the Darasbari mosque, both at Gaur.

The famous Jami‘ mosque, known as the Adlna, 69 was built by Sultan Sikandar Shah in 770 or 776 A.H. (A.D. 1369 or 1374), and, as Marshall says, by a strange coincidence, the first monument extant in Bengal “was also the most ambitious structure of its kind ever essayed in Eastern India.” 70 Almost as big as the great mosque at Damascus, it covers an area of 507 feet 6 inches by 285 feet 6 inches externally, and consists, on the inside, of four great cloisters surrounding a central courtyard, 397 feet by 159 feet. 71 The western range of cloister, (Fig. 18), forming the prayer chamber, is five aisles deep, while the remaining ones have only three. The former is divided into a central nave (Fig. 19), 64 feet 4 inches by 33 feet 8 inches, and two side-wings (cf. Fig. 20), five archways on either side of the nave opening into the five aisles of the side-wings. The nave was covered by an elongated vault spanning the whole width, and though fallen down, the vaulted roof may be found marked in out-line against the top of the back wall which also shows a window-opening almost at the apex. The back wall shows the prayer niche (mihrdb) flanked on the south by a similar niche and on the north by the pulpit (mimbar), the latter consisting of a canopied platform approached by a flight of steps. Each of the two side-wings has eighteen bays corresponding to eighteen niches in the back wall and as many arched openings in front. Five bays in the three rear aisles of the northern wing are occupied by an upper gallery, known as Badshah ka takht, 12 supported on short but ponderous pillars about 8 feet in height. The cloisters on the north, south and east are continuous and are each three aisles in depth. On account of the division of the design into so many bays and aisles, the total space occupied by

the four lines of cloisters is subdivided into 378 small squares, each of which was once covered by a small dome. 73 The regular sequence of bays and aisles, of arched screens, of numerous domes and pillars, each a replica of the other, is, to a certain extent, tiresome; yet a view of the western cloister with the gigantic central archway, 33 feet in width and more than 60 feet in height, 74 flanked on either side, by a screen of smaller arches, each of 8 feet span, has certainly an imposing effect. The mihrdb niches in the back wall of the western cloister are formed by exquisitely carved pillars supporting usually trefoil arches, apparently collected from older Hindu buildings, while the wall space above exhibits minute carved brick decorations, so shallow in relief as to appear encrusted on the surface.

This great composition, it is curious to note, had not been provided with any imposing entrance gateway. An arched opening in the middle of the east side and three archways at the eastern end of the southern cloister were probably meant for public use, while two small doorways in the rear wall of the western cloister were probably intended for the Mullets and other dignitaries. Attached to the northern half of the back wall of the prayer chamber is a square chamber, in which Sikandar Shah, the builder of the mosque, is said to have been buried. There are three entrances from this chamber to the Bddshdli ha takht in the north-western wing of the western cloister, possibly for the use of the royal family.

The Gunamant 75 (Fig. 21) and the Darasbari 76 mosques at Gaur, each in an extremely fragmentary state, also belong to a conception identical to that of the Adlna mosque, though their dimensions are much smaller. The vaulted roof of the central nave in the Gunamant still exists and shows the use of vertical ribs in association with a row of arched recesses at the bottom running along the entire length on either side. It is not known whether this feature was also present in the Adina and the Darasbari, as vaulted roofs of both have collapsed. The Gunamant and the Darasbari mosques have been dated respectively in A.D. 1484 and 1479 on the strength of two inscriptions found near them. There is, however, no certainty that the two inscriptions belonged originally to these two mosques.

An earlier date seems more reasonable as both these mosques agree in all essential respects with the great Adina mosque, more than a century earlier than the dates proposed.

The second type is characterized by a single-domed square building and absence of pillars inside the hall, which are common in the first and third types. Externally there are four corner turrets, usually octagonal in shape, rising just above the cornices which,

again, are slightly curved, a peculiarity that has been rightly traced to imitation of bamboo constructions popular in Bengal. The tombs usually have four doors in the four walls; the mosques have one or three in front with corresponding number of mihrab niches in the back wall. Entrances through the side walls may occasionally be found also in case of mosques. Sometimes the single-domed square mosque exhibits a corridor running along the whole front, both the corridor and the hall having as many entrances as there are mihrab niches in the back wall of the sanctuary. Apart from the massive dome spanning the hall proper there are three more small domes roofing the corridor.

The earliest example of the single-domed square type is the Eklakhi mausoleum 77 at Hazarat Pandua, traditionally reputed to be the tomb of Jalal-ud-dln Muhammad Shah (A.D. 1415-31). The fabric is of brick, occasionally interspersed with horn-blende slabs collected from older Hindu buildings. Externally the dimensions are nearly square, being 78 feet 6 inches by 74 feet 6 inches. The interior, however, is an octagon of 48 feet 6 inches diameter. There are four arched doorways (fitted with door-frames from Hindu monuments), one on each face, and four cells in the thickness of the walls inside, each one at each of the four corners. The semicircular dome rises directly from the octagon of the interior. There is no cylindrical or octagonal drum as support for the dome which, on this account, looks low and stunted. This loss of height on account of the absence of any seat for the dome is a common weakness of Muslim buildings in Bengal, and no monument, whether single-domed or multi-domed, attains that grandeur which is characteristic of Islamic buildings elsewhere. The dome of the Lotan Masjid at Gaur (to be described later), however, has a flat vault as its support and thereby gains considerably in height. The ceiling of the Eklakhi tomb is neatly plastered ? while there appear to have been painted decorations on the inside. The exterior, again, is diversified by vertical offsets and recesses, fine horizontal bands, and mouldings and decorations in carved brick, in an infinite variety of floral designs. The curved cornices project considerably from the walls, and together with the octagonal corner turrets with their horizontal bands are bold and rich in effect. But in spite of its pleasing lineaments and the beauty and variety of terracotta ornamentations, the Eklakhi suffers in comparison with tomb constructions in the west, as lacking in height and dignity, and the semicircular dome, however massive, over a square structure, leaves the corners bare,—a void that emphasizes the loss of balance and organic unity in the whole structure.

What is known as the Chika Masjid 78 or the ‘Bats mosque’ at Gaur is an exact copy of the Eklakhi, except for its dimensions which are slightly smaller. Though described as a masjid locally, there is no prayer niche in the western hall. Creighton described it as a gate on the basis of an inscription, discovered by Francklin, recording the erection of a gateway in 909 A.H. (A.D. 1504) by ‘Ala-ud-dln Husain Shah. But the building, so closely following the Eklakhi in plan, form and dimensions, appears to be much earlier, and Cunningham is inclined to regard it as a tomb, perhaps of Mahmud I (A.D. 1437-59). But no trace of any grave has been found inside the building, and local tradition, it may be pointed out, connects the building with the state prison where Husain Shah confined his minister Sanatan.

To the same type belong the smaller mosque at Chhota Pandua 75 (Hooghly district) (A.D. 1577), the old mosque at Goaldihi, 80 Sonargaon (A.D. 1519), and the old mosque at Molla Simla 81 (Hooghly district). There is, however, a necessary modification of the design in the provision of mihmb niches in the western wall. In a few mosques of this order the design is found slightly elaborated by the provision of a corridor in front of the prayer hall. The prayer hall is covered by a single dome, and the corridor, by three smaller domes, in conformity with the three bays formed by three entrance archways in front. Among the monuments of this order mention should be made of the mosque at Gopalganj 82 (Dinajpur district), erected in A.D. 1460, the Chamkatti 83 and the Lotan 84 mosque at Gaur, both assigned to the reign of Yusuf Shah, the mosque at Kheraul 85

(Murshidabad district), and the Rukn Khan mosque at Debikot 86 (Dinajpur district), erected respectively in A.D. 1494 and A.D. 1512. Among these, the Lotan mosque (Fig. 22), traditionally connected with a beautiful dancer of the royal court, is of more than ordinary interest. A pleasing variety has been obtained in this mosque by grading the dimensions of the different archways. Another variation may be noticed in the provision of six corner turrets, instead of the usual four at the four corners of the hall, there being an additional one at either end of the corridor. Still more commendable is the construction of the massive dome which is supported on a drum, cylindrical outside and of the shape of a flattened vault inside. This support adds to the height and dignity of the building, and also to the organic beauty which is unfortunately lacking in the majority of the buildings of this kind in Bengal. Glazed bricks of various colours and patterns faced the building both inside and out. This inordinate desire for surface ornamentation has lent the building a rather gaudy appearance which has, to a certain extent, marred the structural beauty to which it aspired.

The third type is characterized by an oblong structure, divided into several aisles by rows of pillars, supporting the arches of the domes, and cut into a number of bays, corresponding to the number of prayer niches in the back wall and arched openings in front. The roof consists of successive rows of low and small domes, their number depending on the number of interspaces formed by the division of the interior into bays and aisles. As usual in Bengal, curved cornices and polygonal corner turrets are also characteristic elements of such a structure. Manmohan Chakravarti 87 describes the type as “many-domed parallelepiped. ” The oldest extant building of this group cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D. As has been already mentioned, the type appears to be a simplified adaptation of the type of oblong structure with a central nave and two side-wings (Adina, Gunamant) that had been typical of the fourteenth century A.D. In the fifteenth century the central nave was eliminated and the type of multi-domed oblong structure was evolved. The type was in vogue in the latter part of the fifteenth and the earlier part of the sixteenth century A.D., and quite a good number of examples have been found in different parts of Bengal.

This group has several sub-varieties, distinguished by the number of bays in the interior, such as (a) three-bayed, (b) fivebayed, (c) eleven-bayed, and (d) twenty-one-bayed. The three-bayed buildings are nearly square, the proportion between length and breadth being approximately 3:2. The bays correspond to the three mihmb niches in the back wall and the three archways in front. Usually they are divided into two or three aisles by one or two rows of pillars. The domes are either six or nine, corresponding to the number of smaller squares formed by the arrangement of bays and aisles. Buildings of this order are usually small and unpretentious, and among the examples may be mentioned the Salik mosque at Basirhat 88 (Twenty-four Parganas), Baba Adam's mosque at Vikrampur, 89 Jalal-ud-din's mosque at Satgaon, 90 the mosque at Kusumba 91 (Rajshahi district), the Kasba mosque at Bakarganj and the Jahaniyan mosque at Gaur. 92 All these seem to have been erected between the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century A.D.

The five-bayed buildings are long and rectangular structures with five mihrdbs in the back wall and five frontal archways. They are divided into two or three aisles, and the number of domes is either ten or fifteen accordingly. Among the extant monuments of

this group should be mentioned the Majlis Sahib's mosque at Kalna 93 (Burdwan district), the Tantlpara 94 and the Chhoti Sona masjid 95 at Gaur, the old mosque at Hemtabad 96 (Dinajpur district), the Zafar Khan mosque (Fig. 24) at Tribeni 97 (Hooghly district), and the mosque at Bagha 98 (Rajshahi district). The group includes a few of the finest Muslim buildings in Bengal, and of these, the Tantlpara and the Chhoti Sona masjid at Gaur merit special attention. The former (Figs. 25, 27), probably erected about A.D. 1480, has been described by Cunningham as "the finest of all the buildings now remaining at Gaur." 99 The long rectangular hall, 78 feet by 31 feet on the inside is divided into two aisles. Besides the five front arched openings, corresponding to the number of milirabs in the back wall, there are four more, two each in the two side walls. There was also probably an upper platform at the northern end. The ten domes in two rows of five each, which spanned the building, have all fallen down, as also a part of the arched fagade. Yet, even in its ruined state it is one of the finest of all the Muslim buildings in Bengal on account of its rich and effective ornamentation in terracotta and the large decorated panels that stands out in relief against the plain walls. The rich colour of red bricks also adds to the beauty of the building in contrast to the gaudy glazed bricks facing the Lotan masjid . The Chhoti Sona masjid (Figs. 26, 29) was built by Wali Muhammad in the reign of ‘Ala-ud-dm Husain Shah (A.D. 1493-1519). It is a rectangular building, 70 feet 4 inches by 40 feet 9 inches on the inside, and the comparative increase in the width leads to the division of the interior into three aisles by two rows of four pillars each. The northwestern corner of the hall is occupied by an upper platform. Besides the five front archways there are six more, three each in the side walls opening into the three aisles of the building. The central bay is spanned by three superstructures, each consisting of four flat segments meeting at the top in the shape of a curved thatched roof of Bengali huts. The four other bays are spanned by twelve hemispherical domes, slightly diminishing in size towards the outer ends and thus furnishing a slightly curved ensemble in conformity with the curved cornices of the building. The building is faced with stone, entirely on the outside and partially on the inside. There are carved decorations on the outer facade in very low relief, but they are more or less mechanical, and lack the spontaneity of the exquisite ornamentations in the Tantlpara mosque. Traces of gilding are to be found on the inside of some of the domes of the Chhoti Sona masjid, and this may probably account for the name by which it is known now.

The eleven-bayed mosques are rather rare, only two being known so far. They are the Bari Sona masjid at Gaur 100 and the

Sath Gumbad mosque at Bagerhat 101 (Khulna district). The increase in the number of bays leads to an inordinate length of the composition, which is sometimes sought to be compensated by increasing the width by adding to the number of aisles. The number of domes spanning the building corresponds to the number of subdivisions of the interior space by the arrangement of bays, aisles and corridors. The Bari Sona masjid at Gaur (Fig. 28), erected by Sultan Nasrat Shah in A.D. 1526, is a massive rectangular building, 168 feet by 76 feet, with six corner turrets, four at the four corners of the hall and one at either end of the corridor in front. The hall is divided into three aisles by two rows of ten pillars each, and is preceded by a corridor running along the whole front and separated from the hall by another row of ten ponderous pillars. There are eleven arched entrances to the hall as well as to the corridor, corresponding to the eleven mihrabs in the back wall. Three side-openings at either end lead to the three aisles of the hall and one each to the corridor. Three bays in the north-west corner of the hall were occupied by an upper platform. Forty-four domes, in four rows of eleven each (three over the aisles of the hall and one over the corridor), originally roofed the building; but of these only the eleven over the corridor now remain. The mosque was built of bricks, entirely faced with stone on the outside and up to the archsprings on the inside. Like the Chhoti Sona masjid } it also appears to have been originally gilded, but being sparingly adorned it attains a greater simplicity and impressive dignity, and Fergusson was inclined to regard it as "perhaps the finest memorial now left at Gaur." 102 The arcaded corridor offers, no doubt, an impressive view, as also the massive stolidity of the buiding. In front of the building is an immense quadrangle, about 200 feet square, with three arched gateways on the east, north and south. The Sath Gumbad at Bagerhat is another example of the eleven-bayed mosque in Bengal. It is associated with the name of Khan-i-Jahan 'All, and consists of a long rectangular building, internally 134 feet by 96 feet, divided into seven aisles by means of slender pillars, each aisle communicating with an arched opening in each of the two side walls. In front there are eleven archways corresponding to the eleven mihrabs in the back wall, the central one being larger than the side-ones flanking it. The immense building is spanned by seventy domes in seven rows of ten each, separated by seven hutshaped vaults covering the central bay. The fagade introduces some unusual features. The cornice, instead of being curved in the usual Bengali fashion, exhibits a straight edged slope from a triangular pediment over the central bay. The corner turrets are

round, instead of being polygonal, and each of them has an upper story pierced by two arched openings and covered by a dome.

The mosque with twenty-one bays may be said to represent an extreme exaggeration of the tendency of imparting grandeur and effect to a building by multiplying its parts and thereby increasing its size. It is this tendency which, stage by stage, led to the multiplication of bays and aisles. But this multiplication should apply to both the bays and aisles, as such a procedure in one direction only is likely to lead to a loss of proportions and to an inordinate increase of size in one direction only. This is exactly what happened in case of the single example of the twenty-one-bayed building, extant now, namely the Baradwari mosque at Chhota Pandua 103 (Hoogly district) ; now in a ruined condition. This mosque, along with the minar adjacent to it, is supposed to have been erected by Shah Saif-ud-dm, a nephew of Firuz Shah Tughluq, in the fourteenth century A.D. But such a date appears to be rather too early for the mosque, as the style evidently indicates a much later age, and it is not unreasonable to infer that it belonged to the period of the multi-domed type of mosques under discussion. Its plan and arrangement, too, place it as one of the late manifestations of the type. It is a long rectangular block, externally 231 feet by 42 feet, and was divided on the inside into three long aisles by two rows of twenty pillars each. The pillars are of varying shapes and designs, and were apparently collected from a number of older edifices. Corresponding to the twenty-one mihrabs in the back wall there were as many frontal archways, and three more in each of the two side walls opening into the long aisles. The mihrab niches were well carved, and the pulpit, a miniature stone platform with a dome-shaped canopy carved out of a single block, is graceful and well designed. The entire building was spanned by sixty-three low domes (many of which have fallen down) in three long rows of twenty-one each. It is unfortunate that the inordinate length of the building has not been compensated by a corresponding increase of its width. The elevation, again, falls far too short to compare favourably with the horizontal dimensions. With its low elevation and a length nearly six times its breadth, and with its regular and monotonous features, the building looks more like a military barack than a place of worship.

The fourth, the single-doomed type with corridors running along the three sides, is represented by a single specimen, the Qadam Rasul at Gaur 104 built by Nusrat Shah in A.D. 1531. It consists of a rectangular hall, 19 feet square, with corridors running along the front and two sides. The hall itself has three doors, one in front and one each on either side. The corridor has three frontal archways, supported on short and ponderous stone pillars, and two more on the two sides. The hall itself is covered by a single dome with a lotus-like pinnacle at the top, and the corridors by flat vaulted roofs. At each corner there is an octagonal turret surmounted by a stone pillar. Except for the stone pillars supporting the archways in front, it is built of bricks and the fagade is highly ornamented by horizontal bands and panels of carved brick.

The first type represented by the great Adlna mosque at Hazarat Pandua, may be said to be characteristic of the fourteenth century A.D., and the second seems to have been in vogue till approximately the third quarter of the fifteenth century, though in the outlying districts stray examples of the type may be found still later. The third type was common since the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Sultans Husain Shah and Nusrat Shah being two of its eminent patrons. The fourth cannot be dated earlier than the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

Only a few buildings of the secular order have survived in Bengal. The massive Baisgazi wall at Gaur 105 is supposed to have been a part of the palace precincts, but nothing now remains of the royal palace itself. In the capital city of Gaur several gateway buildings are still extant, and of these the one, known as the Dakhil Barwaza, 106 represents a conception of more than ordinary interest. According to an inscription, it was built during the reign of Barbak Shah (A.D. 1459-1474), very possibly as the principal gateway to the citadel of Gaur (Fig. 30). It is 75 feet in length across the front, 60 feet in height, and nearly 113 feet in depth from front to back with a long arched passage, 24 feet high and with guard-rooms on either side, carried through its centre. Immense though its dimensions, the huge bulk has been broken up and diversified by alternating effects of light and shade imparted through projections and recesses. At each corner stands a tall and substantial circular bastion, tapering as it goes up and surmounted by a cupola at the top. The arched passage is set within a prominent arched bay that boldly projects forward. The surfaces, so diversified, are further enriched by a judicious distribution of ornamental work in terracotta. Entirely built of bricks, the Dakhil Darwaza at Gaur may rank as one of the most remarkable monuments of Muslim architecture in Bengal.

Another notable conception may be found in the Firuz Minar (Fig. 31) at Gaur 107 which towers high above the crumbling ruins of the ancient city. It rises to a height of about 84 feet in five storeys, the three lowest being dodecagonal, and the upper two circular. The top of the tower has collapsed; It is possible that it was terminated

by a dome. Being of brick fabric, the decorative work has been carried out in terracotta in minute and intricate patterns. Colour is also applied to the surface by the use of glazed tiles in blue and white. In Bengal glazed tile ornamentation had been the characteristic mode of lending colour to the brick surface as well as relief to the terracotta ornamental work. It adds, no doubt, a contrast to the rich red texture of brick, but the combination of the two cannot be said to have been always happy. Another minar, named also after FIruz, may be seen at Chhota P-andua. 108 It is about 120 feet high and also divided into a number of storeys. It is a much simpler structure and lacks the elegant appearance of its counterpart at Gaur. The girth at the bottom is much too large in relation to the height of the structure.

“Islamic architecture of Bengal is not a style of building of a very impressive kind.” 109 The difficulty of obtaining stone in the flat plain of Bengal, and the consequent wholesale dependence on brick for constructions of a more permanent kind, resulted in the evolution of distinct forms and idioms, some of which might have existed in the earlier period. The style that was developed as a consequence may be designated as the ‘brick style’ of Bengal. It was the weak and fragile nature of the material that was responsible for the low elevation of the buildings, the comparative insignificance of the arches, and the smallness of the domes. The narrow pointed arches were, no doubt, resorted to avoid wide open spaces and thus to ensure greater stability to brick constructions. The dome was assembled in concentric courses of flat bricks, gradually diminishing in circumference, one above the other, until at the top it was spanned by a single brick or stone slab. This primitive method, followed probably in imitation of the earlier practice of the trabeated dome, limited the size and height of the domes. Brick was also responsible perhaps for the projected pendentives at the corners used for the support of the circular dome over a quadrangular space. The heaviness of the building has also been due to a desire for ensuring permanence to the brick structure, and this, together with its low elevation, lends an effect of squatness to the structure as a whole. The brick construction was also responsible for the heavy and short pillars that support the arches and vaults, the solidity of these supports being necessary for redeeming the inherent weakness of brick as a building material. Their design and division into the characteristic sections recall those of the tall stone pillars with which we are familiar in the pre-Muslim days. The .short and stunted pillar is one of the chief features of Muslim architecture in Bengal, and provides a striking contrast to slender arcades of Muslim monuments elsewhere.

On account of the above limitations of the building material the architects in Bengal tried to create effect by reiterating the parts and thereby enlarging the dimensions of the building. But mere dimension without any corresponding increase of height fails to achieve the desired end and, not infrequently, leads to a loss of balance and organic unity. Again, the reiteration of the same elements,—bays, aisles and domes,—leads to an effect of monotony, and there is no other relieving feature to redeem it. It is reasonable to infer also that the relative meagreness of bricks stimulated the artists to devise, as compensation, the rich ornament in terracotta that seems to be the glory of Muslim architecture of Bengal. The designs were pleasing so long as there were variety and boldness of conception in them; but later they merged into mere mechanical patterns endlessly repeated. Abstractly conceived, the earlier antecedents of many of these designs were inspired by a desire for giving decorative effect to constructions in brick, which by its flatness has very little scope for variegation of light and shade. Curved cornice is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Muslim buildings in Bengal, and this form may originally be traced to constructions in bamboo or timber, a popular building medium in Bengal from the earliest days. The hut-shaped superstructure, over the roof and in juxtaposition with the semi-circular dome, is also characteristically Bengali. Percy Brown thus sums up the achievements of the architects of Muslim Bengal: “What they achieved may not have been a great art, but its constructive principles were sound, its appearances were inventive and original, and it was peculiarly suitable to the climate and to the purpose for which it was intended.” 110

B. Jaunpur

The city of Jaunpur was founded in A.D. 1359-60 by Firuz Shah Tughluq as a strategic military outpost and remained for a time the chief city of an important dependency of the Delhi empire. In A.D. 1394 the governor of the province shook off the allegiance to Delhi and established an independent kingdom with Jaunpur as its capital. This independent kingdom lasted for nearly a century till it was re-absorbed into the Delhi empire by Sultan Sikandar Lodi. During this period, under the able and intelligent patronage of the Sharqi kings, Jaunpur became a leading centre of artistic and cultural activities, and saw the erection of many imposing monuments including palaces, mosques, tombs, etc. Unfortunately, very few vestiges of this architectural splendour can now be seen. Of the few surviving remains of the fourteenth century, when Jaunpur was a province of the Delhi Sultanate, mention may be made of the

mosque and fort of Ibrahim Naib Barbak, 111 built respectively in A.D. 1376 and 1377. Of the fort, only the eastern gate can be seen now, and this, as well as the mosque, were, more or less, simple and ordinary productions. Neither of the two can be said to have a distinctive feature worthy of note. The foundation of one of the earliest mosques at Jaunpur, afterwards called the Atala Masjid , 112 was laid in A.D. 1377, but it was not till A.D. 1408 that Ibrahim Shah Sharql erected the mosque on this foundation. As its name indicates, the mosque occupies the site of an earlier temple dedicated to the worship of Atala Devi, and it is largely the materials of the earlier temple that were utilized in its construction. Built on the orthodox plan, it consists of an open square court, measuring 177 feet each side, with colonnaded cloisters on the north, south and east and the sanctuary or prayer chamber on the west. The cloisters are pierced in the middle of each side by a handsome gateway building, the northern and the southern ones being each covered by a dome. The spacious cloisters are each five aisles in depth and rise up in two storeys, the upper covered by a flat roof. Of the lower storey two aisles, forming a range of cells with a pillared verandah, open on the outside. This outer arrangement of a part of each cloister is, no doubt, a novel feature in the mosque design. But the most arresting feature in the entire composition is the facade of the sanctuary where three huge propylon screens confront the spectator with their massive and overpowering dimensions. Each of these has battering sides, not unlike the pylons of the Egyptian temples, and the huge bulk is relieved by tier upon tier of arched niches within rectangular frames. Each pylon, again, contains a large • arched recess leading to the entrances of the nave and of the transepts at the sides, the screen in the inner end in each case having in the upper section trellised windows in a number of rows for admission of light into the interior. The central pylon with the entrance to the nave is the largest and is flanked by two smaller ones accommodating entrances to the two transepts. It is the arrangement of these massive propylons which gives the facade a bold and individual appearance and constitutes the most distinctive element of the style.

The interior of the prayer chamber (Fig. 32) is divided into a central nave and two transepts ? one on either side. The rectangular hall of the nave shows an arrangement of arches and arcades in three vertical stages, square in the lowest, octagonal in the second, and sixteen-sided in the third, the last in the shape of an arcaded triforium supporting the great ribbed dome spanning the hall. The side arches in the lowest stage open into the transepts, while in the upper stages the screened arches provide for the admission of light

into the nave. The transept on either side of the nave is a long lateral hall which, by an arrangement of pillars, resolves into an octagonal bay in the centre covered by a smaller dome. At the extreme end this hall is disposed in two storeys, the upper, with stone grilles around, constituting the ladies' gallery.

In spite of its original character, many of the features of the Atala mosque seem to have been borrowed from the Tughluq architectural tradition. The shape of the recessed arch, its fringes of spear-heads, now almost an ornamental motif, and the battering sides of the pylon enclosing the arch recall the typical characteristics of the Tughluq buildings at Delhi. The combination of the trabeate and arcuate systems of construction in this mosque is also evidently derived from the same source. The treatment of the rear wall of the sanctuary (Fig. 33) with its three boldly projecting surfaces, corresponding to the three compartments in the interior, each with its projecting bay in the propylon in front, and to the three domes of the roof, adds, no doubt, an individual note to the Atala mosque. The tapering turrets at the corners of the projections and at main angles of the building are, again, evidently imitated from similar elements of Flruzian architecture.

In the composition of the Atala mosque we have a new and bold conception of mosque which became characteristic of the Jaunpur style of Indo-Muslim architecture. The few subsequent monuments that remain now were built essentially on the model of the Atala, which came to be regarded as the touchstone of the style. The substantial portals in the middle of the three cloisters are caught up by the vast and massive pylons in the facade of the sanctuary, and together they produce an effective ensemble. As a whole, however, the mosque cannot be regarded architecturally as a success. The incongruity of the different elements of the composition and a lack of harmony in their inter-relation are too glaring, and the building fails to denote that structural propriety which is prerequisite of all good architecture.

Another mosque, the Jhanjhiri Masjid , 113 built also by Ibrahim Shah Sharqi about A.D. 1430, although now in a dilapidated condition, deserves more than a passing notice. Only the massive pylon in the centre of sanctuary fagade now remains; but it seems to have been a copy, on a smaller scale, of the Atala Masjid. The entire surface, however, is covered by an exuberance of carvings, and the rich plastic effect, produced thereby, endows the monument with more than ordinary interest. The Khalis-Mukhlis Masjid , 114 built also about the same period, is a rather plain and simple structure of hardly any architectural interest.

About the middle of the fifteenth century was built the small mosque, known as the Lai Darwdza Masjid 115 (Fig. 34) on account of its vermilion-painted gate. Marshall 116 describes it as “a small but pale edition of the Atala” of which it is only two-thirds in size. There are, however, certain divergences, the most important being its single propylon, much lower in height in comparison to its width at the base. The ladies’ galleries in the Lai Darwdza are, again, situated in the parts of the transepts adjoining the nave, instead of at the far ends as in the Atala. The sanctuary, moreover, has a single dome over its nave ? the roofs of the transepts being differently disposed. Further, each of the cloisters is two aisles in depth and rises in only one storey. These are important differences, no doubt, but not sufficient enough to mark the Ldl Darwdza as an individual and original conception, apart from the Atala.

The Jdmi c Masjid 117 (Fig. 35), built by Husain Shah Sharqi about A.D. 1470, is the largest and most ambitious of the Jaunpur mosques. It is essentially of the design of the Atala which it reproduces on a larger scale. There are differences, of course, between the two in matters of detail, and in certain aspects a few of these betoken a certain inventiveness and originality on the part of the builder of this grand mosque. The entire structure is raised over a lofty basement terrace, not unlike the tahkhdna basements of the Firuzian mosques at Delhi, and the lofty domed portals in the middle of the cloisters are approached by imposing flights of steps. The cloisters are tw'O-storeyed in elevation, like the Atala, but are only two aisles in depth. There is only one propylon (Fig. 36) in the middle of the sanctuary facade, but much more imposing in mansions than the central propylon of the Atala mosque. In the interior the prayer chamber has five compartments, the central nave being disposed in very much the same fashion as in the Atala. Adjoining it on either side there is a pillared transept in two storeys, the upper with screens around forming the ladies' gallery. At the far end on each side is a vaulted wing, certainly a unique feature in compositions of this kind. Each wing measures 50 feet in length, 40 feet in width and 45 feet in height, and the spacious interior, unencumbered by supports of any kind, might, by itself, be regarded as an imposing conception. The construction of the wide pointed vault which spans the wing at each end is also ingenious and effective.

The story of the Jaunpur architectural style closes with the Jdmi' Masjid which was the last to be erected in this doomed capital city. In spite of its apparent grandeur, the Jaunpur style has some inherent defects. The domes of the sanctuaries are invariably masked from view by the towering heights of the massive propylons.

To a certain extent the execution, again, is coarse, and this feature adds to the rugged strength of the monuments. The style begins with a fresh spirit and high aspirations. But the builders themselves seem to have been incapable of achieving what they attempted to do. Their greatest drawback is a lack of sense of structural propriety, and this is clearly evident in every one of their buildings which, though to a certain extent beautiful and impressive so far as certain single parts are concerned, fails to reach the level of a balanced and integrated architectural composition.

C. Malwa

The existing Muslim monuments at Malwa bear evident traces of the impact of the Delhi Imperial style in many of their forms, decorative motifs, and structural practices, such as “the battering wails and pointed arch with spear-head ‘fringe’ of the early Tughluqs, the arch-lintel-bracket combination of Firuz, the ‘boat-keel’ dome and pyramidal roof of the Lodls,” 118 etc.

It would be wrong, however, to describe the Muslim monuments of Malwa as slavish imitations of Delhi. The elements and features borrowed from the different phases of the Imperial style were skilfully integrated into balanced and unified compositions, noble and distinctive in their appearance. Marshall 119 describes the buildings of the Malwa Sultans, particularly those at Mandu, as “truly living and full of purpose, as instinct with creative genius as the models themselves from which they took their inspiration.” “Part of their distinctiveness”, he continues, “they owe no doubt to their impressive size and part to the remarkable beauty of their stone work which under the transforming effects of time and weather fakes on exquisitely beautiful tints of pink and orange and amethyst; but in a large measure their distinctive character is due to peculiarities of construction and ornament, to the happy proportions of their component parts or to other more subtle refinements that do not readily admit of analysis.”

The monuments of Muslim architecture in Malwa are almost all concentrated in the city of Mandu. Although Dhar or Dhara was the ancient capital of the Par am ar as, where the Muslim Governors of Malwa established themselves in the fourteenth century A.D. 120 Mandu became the capital of the independent State of Malwa, early in the fifteenth century. As elsewhere, the early buildings, specially the mosques, in Malwa were assembled out of the materials of desecrated Hindu temples, according to the Islamic plan and convention; but nothing seems to have been done in the initial stage either to conceal or alter their essentially Hindu appearance. The extant re

mains of this phase of improvised building activity belong to a period not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. They are the Kamal Maula Masjid 121 (c. 1400), the Lat Masjid (A.D. 1405), J - 2 Dilwar

Khan’s Masjid 123 (c. 1405), and the mosque of Malik Mughis 124 (A.D. 1452) at Mandu. In a few of these an attempt was made to hide the original appearance and improve the improvised design by re-dressing the earlier materials to suit the requirements of the new buildings, and introducing pointed arches in between the pillars. The effect is not altogether displeasing. Because of their lightness these arch-shapes seem “to spring from pillar with an aerial grace” 125 and lend to the hall a subtle and refined appearance.

Reference has been made above 126 to the fortress of Mandu, the most magnificent of all the fortress cities of India. It stands on an outlying spur of the Vindhyas, separated from the main plateau of Malwa by a deep ravine, and had been named as Shadiabad or ‘the City of joy’. The original fortification goes back to the Hindu period, and Hushang Shah must have laid the foundation of his fort on the old ruins. With him began the second classical phase of Malwa Muslim architecture. He made Mandu not only one of the most impregnable fortresses in India, but also a city of splendid magnificence by erecting a large number of stately edifices which rank among the finest monuments of Muslim architecture in India on account of their boldness of design and graceful finish.

Along the edges of the plateau on which the city stands run the battlemented walls of grey basalt extending over a length of more than 25 miles “and pierced at ten points by arched and vaulted gateways, or rather series of gateways, w 7 hich guard the steep approaches.” 127 All these gateways, however, do not seem to have been built in the same period. Those that were erected during the regime of the Malwa Sultans were, more or less, of uniform design. One of the earliest to be erected is the northern gateway, known as the Delhi Darwaza, 128 and this, though now in a mutilated state, enables one to have an idea of the general arrangement and forceful character of such buildings. This grand portal consists of a long and wide passage with massive archways at the front and back, and with guard rooms on either side. The passage was covered by an elongated vault supported on a series of smaller arches providing the interior with an appearance of no mean interest and effect. The main archways in their shapes and spear-head fringes recall those in the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq at Tughluqabad (Delhi), but here they are more virile and massive in construction to suit the purpose of the building for which they were meant. The Tarapur

gateway 129 on the south-western fringe of the city was also built at the same time, but later additions and renovations have almost obliterated its original appearance.

Once the whole plateau within the walls was covered with splendid buildings, but only forty structures now survive in different stages of preservation. The largest and the most impressive of them is the great Jami c Masjid 130 which, according to an inscription, was begun by Hushang and completed by Sultan Mahmud Khalji in 858 A.H. (A.D. 1454). A spacious example of its class, it occupies a quadrangle, 288 feet by 271 feet, and has an imposing domed entrance hall with a wide flight of steps projecting from the middle of the eastern side. It is, by itself, a noble conception and appears to have been exquisitely decorated by borders and panels in glazed tiles. Its fairly substantial dome, harmoniously picked up by the three domes of the sanctuary at the back, adds to the coherence of the design. Two other subsidiary entrances of smaller dimensions are also provided in the north.

Like many of the mosques at Delhi, the Jami‘ Masjid (Fig. 37) at Mandu is raised over a lofty plinth with a series of arcaded chambers in front. The courtyard in the interior, a square of 162 feet, is surrounded on all the four sides by arched cloisters. These cloisters (Fig. 38) are all of the same design, with the only difference, that while the eastern cloister has only two aisles, the northern and southern have three each, and the prayer chamber on the west, five. The last is further distinguished externally by three large domes—one over the central compartment containing the principal mihrab and one over each of the royal galleries at the rear corners. Besides these three large domes, a number of small cylindrical cupolas, corresponding to the interspaces formed by the division of the cloisters into bays and aisles, compose the entire formation of the roof. On each side of the courtyard, the arcaded frontage of eleven bays constitutes a pleasing composition characterized by breadth and spaciousness, while the interiors of the cloisters (Fig. 39) present an impressive effect of solemn dignity on account of the repeating rows of arcades, one within the other. There is very little ornament or relief in the building. Its chief qualities are balance and measured movement. But still the effect is not one of barren vacuity. The courtyard presents a fine panorama of arcaded bays, and the facade with its arcades and harmoniously proportioned porticos is aglow with judicious treatment of the constituent elements of graceful lines, curves and planes.

The remarkable Durbar hall, known as the Hindola Mahall 131 (Fig. 40), is usually attributed to Hushang, and its general style and appearance lends support to this attribution. “Few buildings in India”, says, Percy Brown, “present a more striking appearance, or are more solidly constructed than this amazing pile.” 132 In spite of its massiveness, few, again, create such an illusion of swaying lightness. In plan it is shaped like the letter t T\ the stem of the ‘T’ forming the main hall and the cross constituting a group of apartments in two storeys. Externally the building is 156 feet in length and 56 feet in width, the transverse bar of T being 112 feet. The inordinately thick walls batter in a pronounced manner, and the illusion of swaying, thus created, has given the structure its curious name, the Hindola Mahall or the ‘swinging palace’. There are six deeply sunk arched openings on each of the longer sides of the hall, and three similar ones in the front wall. Each of these openings contains a doorway below and a window above; the arch-heads of the doorways and the windows seem to have been originally screened by delicate traceries. The interior (Fig. 41) is one large hall with an uninterrupted space, measuring 95 feet by 25 feet and 32 feet high, with five boldly fashioned wide ogee arches seemingly supporting the flat roof. The transverse section, forming the cross bar of £ T’, differs from the main hall in being two-storeyed. The interior arrangement of each storey is also a little more intricate. The ground storey has a cruciform gallery ending in an archway opening on to the main hall, while the upper, which overlooks the main hall, consists of two compartments, the one rectangular and the other placed transversely on its side. The transverse section is further relieved by oriel windows on its free sides. The neatly chiselled masonry gives to the building a very graceful appearance on the outside, which is further enhanced by its plain battering walls of smooth texture, wide archways of noble proportions, continuous eave supported on brackets, and oriel windows forming elegant balconies. A decidedly dignified effect may also be recognized in the fine sweep of the interior with its bold ogee-shaped arches. The Hindola Mahall, although a curious structure, is not without a parallel in India, and an almost exact copy may be found in the fort at Warangal, built about fifty years later.

Opposite the Jami c Masjid, the large structural complex, known as the Ashrafi Mahall,[133] comprises a group of buildings successively built in course of a rather long period. The original nucleus seems to have been a madrasa building, erected as an adjunct to the Great Mosque, possibly during Hushang's reign. It was a structure of one storey, designed in the form of ranges of halls and apartments round a spacious open court. Subsequent building operations at the site enveloped a large portion of this structure, and only a part consisting of an arched corridor with ranges of chambers at the back can now be seen. During the reign of Mahmud Khalji the madrcisa building was converted into an elaborate terrace to support the mausoleum of that sovereign. By filling up the madrasu court was obtained an immense plinth, in the centre of which was erected the royal mortuary chamber. A grand flight of steps in the west, projecting from the front of the madrasa, led to a pillared portico, and the entire conception of such an approach with arched loggias on either side is at once imposing and impressive. Only fragments of the tomb chamber now remain. The madrasa quadrangle had a bastion at each corner. The north-eastern bastion was subsequently developed into a lofty tower by Mahmud Khalji to commemorate his victory over Rana Kumbha of Chitor. Built of a greenish marble-like stone it rose up to seven storeys (Haft Manzil), each being distinguished by a projected balcony, as Jahangir refers to in his Memoirs. An ambitious project, as it was, it must have presented a spectacular appearance, when entire. It is not unlikely that the conception was inspired by the celebrated victory tower of Rana Kumbha at Chitor, built slightly earlier to commemorate the defeat of the Malwa Sultan by the Rana. The Sultan, in his turn, erected his own triumphal column as a reply to that of his rival. But while Kumbha's tower still stands after a lapse of five centuries, the greater portion of the Miandu tower has collapsed, apparently because of its poorer construction.

According to Firishta the tomb of Hushang 134 was built by Mahmud Khalji, “but considerations of style”, Marshall observes, “are in favour of Hushang himself having been the author”. 135 It is probable, however, that it was begun by Hushang and completed by Mahmud. The tomb (Fig. 42) stands behind the Jcimi‘ Masjid in the centre of a square enclosure, which is approached through a domed portico on the northern side. The west end of the court is occupied by a colonnade divided into three aisles, with a narrow rectangular hall at the back and a smaller hall at each end. In the centre of the extensive courtyard stands the mausoleum building—a square structure supported on a broad plinth and surmounted by a large central dome with an engaged cupola at each corner. The plinth is 100 feet each side and the building itself 86 feet each way. There is an arched doorway flanked by two smaller screened windows on the south, while on the north there are three similar trellised windows. The walls, diversified by a stylobate, horizontal bands of masonry over the arched passage and screens, and projecting eaves on brackets and battlemented crestings, rise to a height of over 31 feet. The height of the dome, which has a circumference of about 170 feet, is 40 feet above its base. Although built with a white marble facing, the surface of which is relieved with fine trellised

archways and occasional passages of colour, the tomb has the appearance of “a stolid and sombre pile”. 136 To a certain extent, again, it lacks elevation and poise because of the shortness of the drum which supports the dome. The later mausoleum buildings such as the tomb of Darya Khan, 137 the Dai ka Mahall, 138 the Chhappan Mahall, 139 etc., built on the same design, profit by this initial example, and although of smaller dimensions, they exhibit a far greater sense of balance and harmony.

A long structural complex, situated between two lakes, known as the Kapur Talao and the Munja Talao, has certainly a romantic setting. Because of its situation it seems to float in water like a ship and it is probably this that has suggested the curious name, the Jahaz Mahall 140 (Fig. 43) or the Ship-Palace, for the complex. It is a long and massive structure, some 360 feet in length along the water front, the width, including the thickness of the walls, being less than 50 feet. The lower section of the building has a fine arched fagade beautifully aligned along the water front on each side. The central archway in the eastern fagade, which forms the principal entrance to the interior, is set forward a little and is distinguished by a marble pilaster on each side. This is surmounted by an overhanging pavilion topped by a vaulted pyramidal roof. Over the archways of this fagade there runs a broad eave supported on brackets, and over the eave there are battlemented crestings picked up in glazed tiles. The interior has a complement of three longitudinal halls separated by transverse compartments. The halls are covered by flat vaults supported on massive arches, while the compartments have each a barrel-vaulted roof. At the back of the central hall and over the Munja Talao projects a square pavilion in two storeys, the upper being covered by a dome. At the northern end there is a large reservoir of pleasing design with colonnades all around. From the western colonnade a flight of stairs 141 leads up to the roof which is an immense terrace, 205 feet by 48 feet, commanding an excellent view of the surrounding plateau. At either end of the terrace there is a rectangular pavilion roofed by a domical vault in the centre and a pyramidal one on each side. In design as well as in construction, the building thoroughly expresses an excellent taste and high technical skill. The fine arched halls of the complex, the airy kiosks and pavilions of various shapes and groupings on the roof, all illustrate a joyous and hilarious mode, in keeping with the pleasant surroundings of this beautiful structure. It has an effect which presents a strong contrast to the solid dignity of the buildings already mentioned. Though the date of its construction is not definitely known, its general style is in accord with the pleasure-loving character of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Khalji, the builder of Turkish

baths and other structures designed to increase the luxurious amenities of the royal palaces.

The other buildings that merit attention in this vast conglomeration of ruins are associated with the names of Baz Bahadur and Rupamati whose romantic tales of love still echo through every vale and dale of Mandu. A lonely building on the slope of a hill by the side of the Riwa Kund in the southern part of the plateau is known to the local people as Baz Bahadur’s Palace, 142 though, according to an inscription, it was built by Sultan Nasir-ud-din, son of Ghiyas-ud-dln Khalji, in 914 A.H (A. D. 1508-09). Apparently because of its picturesque situation, Baz Bahadur had taken a fancy to it and used it as his own favourite residence. From the Riwa Kund a long flight of forty steps with several landings leads up to the palace which is a pleasingly designed structure of two quadrangular compositions of arcaded cloisters, preceded in front by an outer court with a gateway portal. The bigger quadrangle consists of a spacious court with ranges of apartments (Fig. 44) in the cloisters around and, in the centre, a beautiful square reservoir with flagged steps in the middle of each side. The southern cloister, which is in a comparatively fair state of preservation, consists of a long rectangular hall divided into three bays by squat arches supporting the vaulted ceiling. At either end of this hall are a couple of rooms, while at its back is a long flat-roofed apartment from which a flight of steps descends down to the second quadrangle. This is of smaller dimensions and is surrounded by similar arcaded cloisters, that to the south being double-aisled. A flight of steps in the thickness of the wall of the northern section of this quadrangle leads up to the spacious terrace having two beautiful open pavilions at the northeast and north-west angles. Apart from its picturesque situation, the building has very little architectural grandeur, and belongs evidently to the period of decline when the Mandu style had lost much of its forcefulness and energy which characterized its earlier phase.

The building associated with the name of Rupamati 143 stands on the southern edge of the plateau and, as its situation and form indicate, was, in all probability, designed for military purposes. The nucleus of the building seems to have been a low but massive hall with a room at either end. The arcaded walls batter considerably and terminate in battlemented crestings. The batter of the walls reminds one of the Tughluq buildings at Delhi, and the characteristic Tughluq fashion is already expressed at Mandu in the Hindola Mahall. This part of the complex, it is possible, goes back to the days of Hushang or to a period slightly later. At a subsequent date, along the slope of the hill, supporting the original block, was added a basement, with arms projecting from its northern and southern ends, respectively, towards the east and the west. The walls of the basement also batter like those of the original block. This later complex is also composed of arcaded halls, that in the western arm containing a large reservoir in the interior. It was probably at this period that an open pavilion covered by fluted dome (Fig. 45) was built over the terraced roof of the original block at either end. It is these pavilions overlooking the plains of the Narmada that are particularly associated with the fair name of Rupamatl.

Many other monuments, in various stages of preservation, still stand at Mandu, but it is not possible to take account of all these in the compass of a short chapter. The above representative examples will give an idea of the architectural grandeur of the place, and will no doubt indicate that the monuments were fully in accord with the marvellous natural surroundings amidst which they were placed. The lofty plinth and the stately flights of ascending steps give a notable dignity and substance to these buildings, while the arcaded facades show a judicious distribution of solids and voids. In the use of sandstone of a lovely red shade, freely picked up by marble and other kinds of tinted stones, and the embellishment by encaustic tiles to enliven the whole, the Mandu builders evinced a rare sense of colour, which takes a prominent part in the architectural scheme and forms an inseparable constituent in agreement with the pageantry of colour that meets the eye all around.

D. Gujarat

Among the different provincial forms of Indo-Muslim architecture that of Gujarat is admittedly the most remarkable, as no other architectural style tells the tale of the fusion of Hindu and Muslim building traditions with such unmistakable distinctness. As noted above, Gujarat was first conquered by the Muslims during the rule of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji. It was certainly a fortunate coincidence that Gujarat came in contact with the Muslim building tradition when it had attained its brilliant expression at Delhi under that Sultan. Equally fortunate is the fact that in this territory the tradtions of a pre-existing indigenous school were still strong and vigorous. 144 Characterized by a breadth and spaciousness, so unusual in preMuslim days, and with its chaste and graceful elegance, this style had all the necessary elements to satisfy Muslim taste. Further, the innate skill of the Gujarati artists and craftsmen in the manipulation of the purely decorative elements brought their style very close to Muslim ideals of good architecture. In no other country or territory could the circumstances be more favourable for a happy

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blending of two alien architectural traditions. These fortunate conditions led to the growth and development of a distinct and individual style under the fostering care and zeal of the Muslim Sultans who ruled over Gujarat as independent potentates for nearly two centuries. 144a

The foundations of the new style may be said to have been laid already in the fourteenth century when Gujarat had not yet broken away from its allegiance to Delhi. In the earliest period of occupation, the Muslim governors, as elsewhere, used native materials along with native builders and craftsmen, and some form of structural conversion may actually be noticed in the Tomb of Shaikh Farid and the Adina or Jami‘ Masjid , 145 both at Patan (Anahilapattana). These two represent, more or less, improvised compositions with materials from earlier Hindu and Jain temples. The Jdmi c Masjid at Broach, 146 though improvised in a similar manner, was assembled according to the typical mosque plan with a quadrangular court having three entrances on the three sides and the sanctuary at the western end. Moreover, an improvement of the design is recognized in the care with which older materials have been adjusted for fitting them in the conventional mosque design. There is, however, very little attempt to impose any Muslim idea on the new building, except the minimum necessitated by Islamic conventions. This is particularly noticeable in the open-pillared fagade of the sanctuary. The arched facade, which is almost a ritualistic convention with Islamic religious buildings, is found to be absent, not only in this early improvization but in many of the later mosques belonging to the phase of original construction.

The Jami e Masjid at Cambay, 147 erected in A.D. 1325, may be regarded as a typical building of the early phase of Gujarat Muslim architecture (Fig. 46). It has all the appurtenances that Islam demands—cloisters, open courtyard, the entrance porches, the covered place for prayer in the western cloister with the mihrab and the mimbar —, but only the west end is in any sense Islamic. The pillars of the cloisters are, no doubt, relics from sacked Hindu and Jain shrines. In the entrance porches, which also seem to have come principally from older temples, there are many things that may fairly be described as literal copies of Hindu work as distinctive units in the established plan of a Muslim mosque. The exact parallels of these porches may be seen in the mandapas of Hindu and Jain shrines, still standing, for instance, at Modhera and Mount Abu. The Cambay mosque is further important, as here, along with evidence of spoliation of earlier buildings, a stage of synthesis between the two building traditions is clear and manifest. The sanctuary at the western end, instead of being open-pillared, like the masjid at Broach, has an arched fagade in the manner of conventional mosques. Moreover, the alternately narrow and broad courses of masonry proclaim a familiarity with the Islamic building tradition at Delhi, and the prominent central arch has a distant Persian affiliation. The arches, however, are constructed on the Hindu trabeate principle, and the engrailed arch between the two front pillars of the central bay is distinctly of temple extraction. This last element, it should be emphasized, is to figure prominently in the shape of a graceful flying arch within the central openings of the fagades of the mosques of the subsequent phases. With its elegant proportions and dignified form, the Cambay masjid is the first example of an intelligible mosque design in Gujarat, and may be said to have set the standard for the subsequent monuments to follow. It eloquently announces the beginning of a fruitful contact between two potent architectural traditions that ultimately led to the growth and development of a new and distinctive style.

The Mosque of Hilal (or Buhlul) Khan Kazi 148 at Dholka, (Fig. 47), erected slightly later (A.D. 1333), is of the same character as the Cambay mosque. It is of smaller dimensions, but two ornamental turrets, one on either side of the central archway of the sanctuary facade, add a notable innovation and complete the typical mosque design of Gujarat. Indigenous in design as well as in workmanship, these turrets anticipate, in a way, the tall slender minarets of later Gujarat mosques. It is to be observed however that the Gujarat architects, possibly because of their unfamiliarity with the ideas and intentions of the minarets, have never been successful in the manipulation of this important element of the mosque design. The Tanka Musjid, 149 also at Dholka and built about A.D. 1361, is generally of the same order as the preceding, but being of the openpillared variety bears a predominantly Hindu appearance.

With Ahmad Shah I began the great period of Gujarat Muslim architecture. This forceful personality ascended the throne in A.D. 1411, and commemorated this event by founding a new capital city, called

Ahmadabad after him. He began beautifying his new city with magnificent and stately edifices. Inspired by his zeal, his successors, as well as nobles and officers of the court, erected mosques, tombs and other structures. Ahmadabad, to quote Firishta, was turned into “the handsomest city in Hindustan and perhaps in the whole world.’’

A few mosques at Ahmadabad, undertaken during the early part of Ahmad Shah’s reign, may be said to have prepared the way for the grand Jami‘ Masjid, described by Fergusson as '"one of the most beautiful mosques in the East”.[150] Ahmad Shah’s mosque[151] within the citadel (Figs. 48, 50) seems to have been the earliest in this series. It was modelled on the Jdmi‘ Masjid of Cambay, but with indications of a slight advance in the treatment of the buttresses on two sides of the central archway. The mosque of Haibat Khan[152] (Fig. 49) belongs to the same type, but the prominent bastions on the exterior of the back wall of the sanctuary reproduce a distinctive feature of the Firuzian style at Delhi. The mosque of Sayyid ‘Alam,[153] said to have been built in A.D. 1412, contains several instructive elements, including the provision of an intermediate storey in the shape of a triforium, all of which anticipate distinctive features of the style that is to reach its full expression in the grand Jdmi c Masjid.

The far-famed Jdmi‘ mosque at Ahmadabad[154] (Fig. 51), erected in A.D. 1423, is justly regarded as the touchstone of the Gujarat Muslim style. It occupies a quadrangle, 382 feet by 258 feet externally, and has four cloisters on four sides of the open courtyard, 255 feet by 220 feet. It is in the western cloister (Figs. 52, 53), i.e. the sanctuary proper, that the most instructive and distinctive features are found. This consists of an immense hypostyle hall, 210 feet by 95 feet internally, with 260 tall pillars closely and carefully spaced to form a series of square bays. The number of such bays is fifteen, each being covered by a dome. The central portion of the nave rises in the form of a tall shaft—a rotunda except for its square and octagonal shape in the lower and upper stages—literally in three storeys as the area around the shaft in the upper section is disposed in two balustraded galleries, one above the other, with richly carved traceries around. The aisle on either side of the nave is similarly disposed, except that, being planned with a lesser height, it has only one upper gallery. The extreme wings are each one-storeyed, except for the hanging gallery for the zandna in the northern end. Apart from the richly carved pillars and galleries, the latter in the form of clerestoreys deflecting and reflecting light in the interior, much of the elegant effect of the interior has been obtained by the differing heights of the successive compartments.

■ This scheme of division and diversification is likewise repeated in the facade which not only has a pyramidal effect leading step by step from the two ends to the central nave, but exhibits also a variegated articulation in the arched and colonnaded schemes harmoniously combined. The former, occupying the middle, has a large central archway forming the entrance to the nave, flanked on two sides by two smaller ones leading to the two aisles. The central archway springs from two richly moulded buttresses which once supported minarets that have now collapsed. The arches of this middle division are elegantly spaced and balanced and have the most graceful outlines; and contrasted to this scheme is that of the two wings at the extreme ends formed of pillars with arch-shaped brackets and shaded at the top by sloping eaves. Percy Brown rightly notices in the entire scheme “a subtle contrast between the volume and strength of the wall surface and airy lightness of the colonnade” and declares the facade to be superb as a composition of solids and voids. 155

The MmV Masjid at Ahmadabad, according to Percy Brown, 156 ranks as “the high watermark of the mosque design in Western India, if not in the entire country”. In this monument the Gujarat Muslim architecture reaches a rational development by assimilating intellectually the lessons derived from the buildings of the earlier phase of experiments. The phenomenal advance achieved in this superb creation owes, no doubt, a good deal to the appreciative patron who seems to have been a genius gifted with a fine and elegant taste and a lofty vision as well. The most eminent features of the monument would bear recapitulation: The interior with its diversified sections and its array of graceful pillars is splendid, and, further, with its richly carved galleries, its rich and intricate traceries and arabesques the effect is chaste and at the same time elegant. The admirable composition of the fagade, broken up and diversified with all its well-proportioned parts, its shapely and expansive arches, its engaged buttresses richly moulded, its carved mouldings, string-courses and battlements, all combine to make it one of the noblest architectural compositions in the whole world.

Much of the composition of this magnificent structure was certainly the handiwork of indigenous craftsmen and derived from the Western Indian temple style. Some scholars find in the stepped pyramidal composition an echo of the pyramidal lines of the Indian temple. While there may be divergences of opinion on this point, there can be no doubt that the form of the pillars, of the buttresses flanking the central archway, and the decorative detail as a whole are Indian. The domes, too, are built up in the indigenous trabeate system. The extreme wings, too, reproduce the indigenous principle. These features exerted a permanent influence on the Gujarat Muslim style, and all are repeated in the subsequent buildings, “though seldom with better effect than here”.

It is interesting in this connection to refer to Fergusson’s comparison between the Jami‘ Masjid at Ahmadabad and the great temple at Ranpur, some 160 miles away, which was being built at about the same time by Rana Kumbha of Mewar. Fergusson’s observation that both the monuments belong to the same school of architectural design is clear and unequivocal. He feels, however, that there is more poetry in the temple, but concludes that “there is a sobriety about the plan of the mosque which, after all, may be in better taste”. 157

The Tin Darwdza]5S or ‘Triple Gateway’ (Fig. 54), forming the main entrance to the outer enclosure of the royal citadel, belongs apparently to Ahmad Shah’s reign, and is a production of rare architectural dignity. It consists of three archways of equal height, the central one, however, being of wider dimensions than the other two. The arches are bold in conception and graceful in outline and are delicately set off against richly carved buttresses projecting from the front of each pier. Another notable feature may be recognized in the relief given to the parapet on each side by three elegant oriel windows supported on brackets.

Muslim architecture in Gujarat may be said to have reached its characteristic expression in the reign of Ahmad Shah; during the next two reigns the quality of the style was maintained unimpaired. His successor, Muhammad Shah, is also known to have been a builder of note. He completed the tomb of Ahmad Shah 159 in an enclosure to the east of the Jami‘ Masjid specially marked out by that greater ruler. Further east, the Rdm-kd-Hujva, 160 or the tomb enclosure for the royal ladies was also apparently completed during his reign. The tomb of Ahmad Shah is a square building with a portico projecting from the middle of each side, the southern one forming the entrance. Within each corner between the projections is a small square chamber covered by a dome. Between the chambers are pillared aisles enclosing the tomb chamber which is covered by a large single dome. The aisles are closed from without by perforated stone screens. Though not of very great architectural merit, particularly in its present environments, the tomb is nevertheless important as it introduced a funerary type which came to be popular in this part of the country. The Rdm-kd-Hujrd consists of a square open court enclosed by an arched screen with columned cloisters both inside and out. On a platform within the court are arranged richly carved and lavishly inlaid cenotaphs which in their refined grace and elegance may be said to have been fitting memorials to the pretty damsels of the royal harem.

At Sarkhej, about six miles to the south-west of Ahmadabad, Muhammad Shah built the tomb (Fig. 55) and mosque of Shaikh Ahmad Khattri, a famous Muslim saint who died in A.D. 1446. Thus was initiated a building activity at this place which was later to levelop into an architectural complex of no mean artistic significance.

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The tomb of the Shaikh consists of a square chamber in the centre with a concentric series of four aisles separated one from the other by slender pillars. The central chamber is covered by a large single dome and the aisles by smaller domes over the bays formed by the arrangement of the pillars in the aisles. On the outside the aisles are closed by stone lattices, while panels of brass “fretted and chased and tooled into an infinite variety of patterns” 161 separate the tomb chamber from the aisles. The entire composition occupies a square of 104 feet side and is the largest of its kind in Gujarat. The mosque, as a whole, partakes of the usual design, but the sanctuary is of the open-pillared variety and is of the same height throughout. The absence of the formal arched facade and of the minars probably detracts, to a certain extent, from its character as a sanctuary. As an architectural composition, however, it is of considerable interest on account of its chaste simplicity and classic restraint.

The brief reign of Qutb-ud-din, the next ruler, is not also a blank in respect of building activities. He is the author of the Hauz-i-Qutb Tank at Kankariya [162] in the vicinity of Ahmadabad, and the builder of a mosque at Ahmadabad, called Qutb-ud-din mosque [163] after him. Though neither is of great architectural merit, the first at least is an expression of the pleasure-loving tendency of the ruler. He is also reputed to have built a mosque and a tomb at Rajapur in memory of Sayyid Buddha bin Yaqut. [164] These two, combined to form a rauza, were designed on a considerable scale, but failed to be a convincing production. In the mosque certain innovations are noticed in the arched formation of the wings in place of the customary open pillars. But the central bay with its heavy minarets seems to be too overpowering, and out of all proportion to the rest of the fagade. But if the buildings associated with the name of the ruler failed to be inspiring, two monuments, one at Ahmadabad and the other at Dholka, erected during his reign by his officials, seem to suggest new trends. The tomb of Darya Khan [165] at Ahmadabad, (Fig. 56), bearing the date A.D. 1453, and the mosque of Alif Khan [166] at Dholka (Fig. 57) seem to have many things in common and are permeated by the same spirit; Percy Brown [167] is inclined to believe that they were works of the same hand. Both these monuments were built of bricks, instead of stone, and naturally arches constitute the principal feature of the composition in each case. The Dholka mosque is damaged to a very great extent, but the tomb of Darya Khan is in a fair state of preservation. It consists of a square tomb chamber surrounded by an arcaded corridor, the central chamber being covered by a large dome and the corridor by smaller ones, the domes in each case being supported on arched squinches. For this reason some scholars presume in the structural procedure an impact of the Persian architectural tradition. There can be no doubt that due to the limitations of the material used in these buildings, the arch was used more as a structural expedient than as a conscious adoption of an Islamic principle. It is true also that after this the arch is found to be increasingly employed in Gujarat. It cannot be denied, however, that the Gujarati builders were more at home with their own traditional trabeate system and more used to think in terms of pillar and lintel. It appears, therefore, that whenever they had to use the arch they accepted it rather grudgingly.

The famous ruler, Mahmud Begarha (A.D. 1458-1511), was a passionate builder, and it was during his reign that the Gujarat Muslim style reached its most sumptuous expression. His architectural undertakings were many and varied, and distributed throughout his dominions. He founded three new cities and adorned each with many splendid edifices. Of these, Champaner, about seventy-eight miles to the south-east of Ahmadabad, was designed to be the capital city, and was planned and completed on a grand and lavish scale befitting its exalted position. Ahmadabad, the old capital and already a city of great architectural magnificence, was not ignored, and received further embellishments in the shape of new and stately buildings. Again, at Sarkhej was raised a vast palace complex with gardens, pavilions, artificial lakes, etc., besides other monuments on the same lavish scale. Of these the secular monuments have suffered a good deal, but mosques and tombs that now remain furnish an ample idea of the sumptuous character of Begarha architecture. The mosques, with very few exceptions, follow the pattern already established. In the tomb designs different modes may be noticed. A sumptuous wealth of decorative detail distinguishes every monument of this phase, whether a mosque or a tomb.

Among the surviving monuments of this phase many take the shape of what is usually known as a rauza , ie. a tomb and mosque combined to form one conception. The mosque in such a scheme has usually no arched facade, but is of the open-pillared variety. The tomb usually takes the form of a square mortuary chamber encircled by a number of aisles, sometimes with a projecting portico in front. The pattern is already known in the earlier phase. The tomb of Sayyid Usman (A.D. 1460) 168 at Usmanpur, a suburb of Ahmadabad on the opposite side of the river Sabarmati, is one of the earlier monuments of this kind belonging to the Begarha period. It is a well-balanced production consisting of a square mortuary chamber inside a double aisle of pillars. This chamber is covered by a substantial dome resting on a dodecagonal base over twelve

pillars skilfully arranged in the centre of the hall. This dome is surrounded by smaller domes over the outer aisle. The concentric arrangement of a number of aisles, one within the other, already noticed in a hesitating form in earlier tomb compositions ? has reached here a logical and rational expression. In its harmonious proportions, in the skilful disposition of its parts, and in its breadth and spaciousness, it ranks as one of the most successful sepulchral designs carried out in the pillared style at Ahmadabad. Two other eminent productions of this mode may be seen in the tombs of BIbi Achut Kuki 169 (A.D. 1472) (Fig. 58) at Ahmadabad and of Mahmud Begarha 170 at Sarkhej.

Fundamentally the above tomb design undergoes very little modification, except that the arch comes to be increasingly used in the composition, as seen in a number of mausoleums in Gujarat. The tomb of Shah ‘Alam 171 (c. A.D. 1475) near Ahmadabad (Fig. 60), built on the same scheme as above, has an outer arcade filled in with perforated screens, and within this there is a colonnade encircling a square compartment, which was enclosed by traceries. This innermost traceried compartment forms the mortuary chamber which is covered by a dome. This concentric arrangement of a number of compartments, one within the other, and particularly the skilful and minute execution of the traceries lend the monument an almost casket-like appearance. In the Begarha period the arches are found to be increasingly applied in the composition of sepulchral monuments in a manner that leads to production of a new mode of tomb design. Among a number of tombs of arched composition, two merit special attention. One is the tomb of Qutfo-uTAlam 172 (c. A.D. 1480) at Batwa, some six miles to the south of Ahmadabad, and the other is that of Mubarak Sayyid 173 (c. A.D. 1484) at Mahmudabad (Fig. 59), about seventeen miles to the south-east of that famous city. The former is a large square building with a portico projecting from its southern end. Of the usual concentric arrangement, the exterior shows a double arcade encircling two inside aisles, again of arcaded formation. The inner aisle encloses the cenotaph chamber which rises in two storeys, the upper being surmounted by a fair-sized dome. In the conscious and consistent acceptance of the arcuate composition, and in its convincing application, this tomb represents no small advance on the earlier design. Stilly there are indications of a certain vacillation, usual, in the initial stage of every new mode.

In the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid (Fig. 59), however, all signs of hesitancy disappear, leading to the creation of one of the most convincing monuments of this class. Though of slightly smaller dimensions, it is very much of the same design as the Qutb-ul ‘Alam tomb, and Fergusson 174 suspects that both were designed by the same architect. Certain differences may, however, be noticed in the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid. Instead of being double-storeyed, like the Qutbul ‘Alam tomb, it is single-storeyed, though the elevation of the central compartment beyond the height of the surrounding aisles results, in effect, in a simulated upper storey which is surmounted by a substantial dome. The contour and poise of this central dome have parallels in the Lodi monuments in far-off Delhq while the kiosks at its base, again representing a pleasing innovation, seem to have been derived from the same source. In view of the simplicity of its plan, the organic unity of its total design, the solidity and balance of its parts, and, above all ? its constructional proprieties, Fergusson describes it as one of the most beautiful of its class in India.

A brief refernece may be made to a few more mosques. The mosque in the rauza of Sayyid Usman, 175 of the open-pillared scheme, is perhaps the earliest of the mosques to be erected during the Begarha period. Another specimen of the open-pillared scheme is the small, but exquisite, Ram Slpari mosque 176 at Ahmadabad, built in A.D. 1514. It stands by the side of the tomb of the same queen (Fig. 81). Except the minarets at the two ends of the pillared frontage the mosque has hardly anything Islamic about it, the design of all other important details being in the indigenous Indian tradition. In a way such a monument proves Fergusson’s 177 dictum regarding the Gujarat Muslim style that “as the style progressed it became more and more Indian”. The Rani Siparl mosque has been described by Fergusson as “the most exquisite gem at Ahmadabad”. Marshall also supports this estimate of Fergusson. “East or west”, says Marshall, ‘it would be difficult to single out a building in which the parts are more harmoniously blended or in which balance, symmetry and decorative rhythm combine to produce a more perfect effect. The mosque is a small one—only 48 feet by 19£ feet —but this very smallness is an asset in its favour, since the delicate traceries and jewel-like carvings of Gujarat, suggestive as they are of an almost feminine grace, show to less advantage in bigger and more virile structures.” 178 One other mosque of this type, but not so ornate in expression, is that of Shah Khub Sayyid 179 (A.D. 1538) at Ahmadabad. It is perhaps the latest example of this series.

The type of mosque with an arched screen in front of the sanctuary is evidently modelled on the grand Jdmi c Masjid at Ahmadabad, but the combined arched and pillared frontage^ as seen in the archetype, soon disappears and gives place to a continuous arched facade along the entire front. The mosque of Miyian Khan Chlshtl 180 at Ahmadabad, built about A.D. 1465, is in design and

dimensions, an exact analogue of the mosque of Bibl Achut KukI 181 (Fig. 62), also at Ahmadabad and built in A.D. 1472. The two together may be regarded as representing the style of the early Begarha period. The sanctuary in each has a three-arched screen with a richly sculptured minaret shooting high up on either side of the central archway. The interior, as usual, is a hypostyle divided into three compartments, each of which is surmounted by a dome. The compartment forming the nave is raised higher to form a clerestory over which is placed the central dome. In the entire design there is a clarity which, in each instance, enhances greatly the effect of the building. The tendency to increased richness, a characteristic of Begarhan architecture, is seen not only in the finer and more varied carvings on the buttresses of the minarets, but also in the attractive motif of the oriel windows projected from the exterior walls, each filled in with a tracery of exquisite design and fineness. This motif of the oriel window supported on brackets and shaded by a wide eave, and taking the shape, more or less, of a shallow balcony, is distinctly an adaptation of the earlier indigenous pattern, probably of secular origin. This motif, though occasionally used in the monuments of the earlier phase, now comes to be applied as a regular ornamental feature and with increased effect, and adds to the modulation and relief of the walls.

The type seems to have set the pattern for the age and is found to be repeated, with hardly any variation in the design, till the absorption of the kingdom of Gujarat in the empire of Akbar. With the progress of the building activity there is recognized an increased enrichment by superb and the most delicate carvings. The mosque of Muhafiz Khan 182 (A.D. 1492) (Figs. 63, 64), Bal Harlr’s mosque 183 (c. A.D. 1500) and the Queen’s mosque 184 (Fig. 65), also known as Rani Rupavati’s mosque (c. A.D. 1515), all at Ahmadabad, represent some of the ornate expressions of the prevailing style. Among these, the first is considered by competent critics to be a pre-eminent production on account of its exquisitely refined details executed in the most elegant and flawless taste. The Gujarati builders seem to have been perfect masters in the art of minute carving, and this art is found to be in its apogee in the magnificent tracery work of the SidI Sayyid mosque 185 at Ahmadabad belonging to the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D. The mosque is rather a simple and unassuming building, and illustrates a distinct departure from the usual mosque design of Gujarat, A definite innovation, and an unusual one in the context of Gujarat, is furnished by an entirely arcaded interior of the sanctuary hall. But the fame and reputation of the mosque rest not so much on the originality or unconventionality of

its design, as on its superb window screens (cf. Fig. 66) which fill in the tympanums of the arches. There are ten such screens—three in each of the two side walls and four in the rear wall of the sanctuary. Of these, the screens at the sides and the two in the extreme bays of the back wall are each cut up into small square panels which are filled in with foliate and geometric forms of varying designs. Gujarat has long been familiar with such a pattern of the tracery, and the skill in handling such a tracery and executing it on hard stone has been admirable enough, but the two screens on either side of the central mihrdb of the Sidi Sayyid mosque, surpass everything of the kind executed before. The pattern in each consists of Tree, plant and foliage designs’, intertwining with one another and evenly spread over the entire surface. “What makes these windows so supremely beautiful”, writes Marshall, “is the unerring sense for rhythm with which the artist has filled his spaces and the skill with which he has brought the natural forms of the trees into harmony with their architectural setting.” 186 It is only an Indian genius with an extraordinary fertility of imagination that could revel in such a bewildering wealth of patterns, and only an Indian artist, gifted with an infinite technical skill arising out of a long heritage and tradition, who could carve it to such perfection. These traceries unmistakably prove that the tradition of the artists of the Dilwara temples was not yet extinct.

In A.D. 1484 Mahmud Begarha captured Champaner from a Hindu chief and built a new capital city there. Among the surviving monuments of this once splendid city, the most imposing is the Jdmi c Masjid {S1 (Fig. 67) which was completed in A.D. 1508. Modelled on its earlier namesake at Ahmadabad it is designed on much the same plan, though some variations in certain details may be recognized, for example, in the disposition of the facade and that of the roof. The fagade (Fig. 68) consists of five archways, each of a pointed shape, the central one inside the bases of the minarets being larger in dimensions. The roof of the nave rises much higher than those of the compartments on either side, which are of equal height throughout. The arrangement of the domes is also different. In the exterior (Fig. 71), as well as in the interior, the Champaner mosque exhibits a much richer effect. The stately entrance gateways (Fig. 70), leading to the mosque enclosure, with their varied and sumptuous carvings, add to the dignity and beauty of the scheme. The richer treatment of the enclosing walls, and particularly of those of the sanctuary, with richly moulded buttresses and oriel windows effectively relieves the monotony of the walls and betokens the affluent state of Begarha architecture. The tall nave of the sanctuiary rising up in three successive tiers, with the sumptuous treatment of the clerestory galleries

and of the soffit of the central dome, poised high, provides the interior with an impressive dignity.

Fergusson 188 has described the Jdmi e Masjid at Champaner as “architecturally the finest in Gujarat”, but this estimate is not unanimously accepted. However rich and accomplished its single parts and details might be, it falls short of the Jdmi‘ Masjid of Ahmadabad in respect of organic unity. As Marshall observes: “Its parts are neither so well proportioned nor so successfully coordinated. The elevation of the prayer chamber is too cramped; the minarets flanking the main archway overpoweringly heavy;

and the transition from the side wings to the central hall altogether abrupt.” 189 What is this lack of organic design due to? Marshall attributed it to an exhaustion about this period of the faculty for composition on a grand scale which distinguished the architecture of Ahmad Shah. There may be some truth in such an explanation. But other forces might also have been at work. The increasing use of the arch and the dome is found to be a characteristic feature of Begarha architecture, indicating, perhaps, an increasing imposition of Islamic conventions. The Gujarati artists, who were no doubt responsible for the production of the monument, do not seem to have been as much at home with these structural methods as with their own traditional pillar and lintel system. It is just possible that the imposition of these not too familiar ideas might have something to do with such drawbacks as a rather incoherent design and want of co-ordination in the otherwise splendid Jdmi‘ Masjid at Champaner.

The difficulty felt by the Gujarati architects to adapt themselves to new techniques and new ideas is also illustrated in the minarets which never came to be fused into the mosque scheme as a happy and harmonious element. The Gujarati builders tried to manipulate them in different ways, but with very little success. In the arched type of mosque they v^ere placed on either side of the central archway } while in the open-pillared type they were relegated to the extreme corners of the facade. But whatever their position, they looked much too overpowering and heavy, particularly because of the prominent emphasis in the facade on the horizontal effect, thereby impairing the symmetry of the entire design. Even in the Jdmi e Masjid at Champaner which, in spite of the defects of composition mentioned above, is regarded as one of the splendid monuments of the Begarha period, the minarets look much too incongruous with the rest of the design. The disappearance of these features from the Jdmi (Masjid or Rani Rupavati’s mosque at Ahmadabad may thus be regarded as architectural gains leading to superbly balanced and

organic effect of the facade design. Some improvement was sought to be effected by reducing the height of the minarets and increasing that of the prayer chamber, as we find in the mosque of Muhafiz Khan at Ahmadabad, or by transforming them into mere ornamental and symbolic appendages of much reduced girth, as we find in the Rani Sipari mosque and in that of

Shah Khub Sayyid, both at Ahmadabad. No doubt, certain improvements resulted from such manipulations; yet the minarets failed to be successfully integrated into the scheme. It is not without reason that in a few of the latermosques the minarets were altogether eliminated from the design.

A close examination of the bases supporting the minarets is also instructive inasmuch as they are found to be derived from the earlier indigenous tradition. They project as prominent buttresses from the facade and correspond to the lower sections of the Hindu temple with all their characteristic mouldings along with vertical facets and rich decorative designs. They introduce an intricate play of light and shade in the otherwise hat fagade. Every form and every detail may be found at Siddhapur or Pa tan, Modhera or Mount Abu, Chandravati or Somaliatha. The variation is noticed only in one particular. Whereas in the corresponding sections of the temple appear niches with figure sculptures, in the mosque they are filled in with tracery. And not a few of the tracery motifs are clearly of Hindu extraction.

Another characteristic form of the Gujarat Muslim style ma}^ be seen in the step-wells, known as the wav. The practice of making these wells prevailed in the pre-Muslim period and the existing tradition and mode of construction were taken over and considerably developed by the Muslim rulers. These wells consist of a circular or octagonal well-shaft and an inclined stairway which descends down to the level of the water by means of flights of steps with regular landings at intervals. The landings are constituted as pillared galleries which, superbly designed and provided with such ornamental features as hanging balconies, etc., served as cool and quiet retreats in the heat of the summer. Two of the most eminent examples of such step-wells are Bax Harir's wav (Fig. 72) at Asarwa, 190 near Ahmadabad, and the one at Adalaj, 191 some twelve miles north of that city, both being built about the same time.

The circumstances under which the Muslim style of Gujarat developed have been broadly stated above. In their building aspirations the Sultans of Gujarat were fortunate in coming in contact with a band of very highly accomplished Indian artisans with centuries of artistic tradition behind them. The Muslim rulers were not slow to recognize the merits of these artisans and take advantage of their skill. What is more, with a rare catholicity they abstained from imposing their own ideas, beyond the barest minimum demanded by the new conditions, and were content to adhere to the established traditions of the country. The genius of the WestIndian temple-builders was thus easily directed to the creation of structures of an entirely disparate order in the form of mosques and tombs. And this they did with the same remarkable aesthetic and constructive sense as in the case of the temples. The fact that the inventive genius of the Indian craftsman had a comparatively free scope accounts for much of the imaginative richness of Gujarat Muslim architecture. Balance and harmony, elegance of design, richness of decoration, and almost flawless execution are the keynotes of this new style in which Indo-Muslim architecture may be seen at its best. It has been often stressed that of all the styles that emerged under Islamic rule in India, that of Gujarat remains the most indigenously Indian. This unique character may best be explained as the product as much of a highly specialized local style as of a different kind of Islamic patronage.

E. The Punjab and the Deccan

Besides the four provincial styles, noticed above, two other regional expressions of Indo-Xslamic architecture may also be recognized, one in the Punjab and the other in the Deccan. The former seems to have taken shape rather early; but the extant monuments are known to have undergone such large-scale renovations in successive ages that the forms in which they are now seen cannot be dated earlier than the Mughul period. The Deccanese style is known to have asserted its individual character under the Bahmams, but the trends and forms illustrating this individuality reach their complete expressions only during the succeeding phase which was largely contemporaneous with the Mughul rule. A discussion of these styles is, therefore, reserved for the next volume.

F. Rajputdna

The establishment of Islam marked the close of a momentous epoch of Hindu architecture, the achievements of which have been recorded in the preceding volume. By A.D. 1350 Islam had established its authority over the greater part of India, as far south as the Krishna-Tufigabhadra basin. Under the shock of an alien rule and an alien faith the forceful Hindu styles felt stunned and ultimately disintegrated in the regions that lay prostrate. Certain exceptions may, no doubt, be noted; but the general picture of Hindu architecture in the period under discussion may be described as one of decline. In Western India the traditional skill of the Hindu builders found a new expression in the Gujarat Muslim style. Rajputana, which resisted for a long time the intrusion of Islam, seems to have maintained its former skill and tradition unimpaired to a large extent. The Kirttistambha [192] of Rana Kumbha (c. A.D. 1440) in Chitor fort is an eminent example of Rajput architecture of the fifteenth century A.D. It is a lofty and exquisitely ornamented tower rising up to a height of 122 feet in nine storeys, each storey being distinctly marked on the exterior. The successive tiers of projected balconies mingle judiciously with the elegant horizontal mouldings and build up a pattern which is further enriched by a profusion of architectural ornaments and figure sculptures. The mass of decoration, Fergusson rightly notes, “is kept so subdued, that it in no way interferes either with the outline or the general effect of the pillar.” [193] The pattern, as a whole, was certainly derived from an earlier tradition, and a prototype of this 'tower of fame’ may be seen in a smaller tower, [194] also at Chitor, which appears to have been built in the twelfth century. Rana Kumbha was a great patron of arts, and among his other architectural projects mention should be made of the great Chaumukha temple at Ranpur [195] (Jodhpur), which is extremely picturesque on account of its situation as well as of the varied composition of its superstructure, consisting of graceful domes and lofty spires commingling with one another and producing an effect of rich and romantic beauty. An ambitious conception, it consists of an immense number of parts of diverse shapes and designs, all pleasingly unified so as to produce a complete and organic whole. The variety and beauty of detail and the ever-changing play of light and shade in the interior create an impression seldom achieveed in buildings of this class. Such buildings as the above illustrate unmistakably the same efficiency and sense of balance and ornament that characterized the old Rajput art.

In palace architecture, also, the Rajputs are known to have made notable contributions. The palaces, now surviving in Rajputana, were either built during the Mughul period, or were so remodelled that their earlier patterns have been mostly obliterated. Man Singh's palace in the fort at Gwalior [196] (Fig. 69) has been considered to be one of the finest of the Hindu palaces belonging to the pre-Mughul times. Built at a date slightly prior to the advent of the Mughuls, it illustrates, more or less, an indigenous style in palace architecture, and it is from this style that Akbar is known to have derived many useful ideas when designing his own palaces at Agra, Fathpur Sikri and other places; as such it deserves more than a passing notice.

This remarkable and interesting example of an early Hindu palace is situated on the eastern scarp of the rock on which the fort stands. Externally, the dimensions are 300 feet by 150 feet, with a height of more than 80 feet on the eastern side. The flat surface is relieved on each face by tall rounded bastions of a singularly pleasing design, crowned by cupolas with domes of gilt copper, as Babur once saw them flashing in the bright sunlight. Between the bastions there appear elegantly designed projected balconies. The facades are gracefully embellished with bold patterns, plastic as well as glazed. A singularly effective plastic design occupying the central division of the facade consists of a range of arcades with foliated struts. The glazed ornament in blue, yellow, and green, takes the shape of elegant bands of patterns with figures of men, elephants, tigers, birds, makaras, plantain trees, etc., and lends a charming and picturesque effect to the massive construction of the facades. Much of this ornament has decayed and peeled off. Yet, it represents a grand and ornate conception and we may quote an Englishman, Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India; who saw it more than seventy years ago. "The palace," he writes, "was once a mass of architectural and coloured ornament from base to summit. Even in its ruined state its fine projecting towers, open-pillared central balconies and arrow-headed crestings make up a most unique pile. Situated at a height of 300 feet from the ground below, on the rugged rock, its pinnacles standing out against the sky, every artistic detail throwing others into relief, the entire frontage one mass of colour, and the domes crowned with golden spires, the general effect must have been very fine." [197]

The Hathiya Pol or the ‘Elephant Gate’, attached to the southern end of the eastern frontage, is in itself a product of high artistic merit and is in keeping with the striking design of the palace building. It consists of a handsome domed structure with a massive bracket arch with rich corbels, the bracket shape being, to a certain extent, masked by two semi-circular bands of floral patterns. The sides are effectively diversified by projecting balconies, perforated screens, and particularly by two boldly projecting rounded bastions, each roofed by a dome supported on pillars.

The interior of the palace consists of two highly artistic open courts, each with a suite of rooms on its four sides. The courts are rather small in size, but in their rich treatment they are perhaps unsurpassed. Their smallness of scale and wealth of decorative detail, covering every available space, stand in significant contrast to the bold and massive conception of the exterior walls. It appears that these interior courts lacked the able guidance and supervision of a master architect who might have planned and executed them in conformity with the noble and dignified conception of the outside. They are more the work of a decorator than of a builder. Yet, it contains many interesting features that are of a distinctly novel and ingenious character. The main body of the palace is divided into two storeys with additional underground floors along the eastern retaining wall for providing cool resorts in the hot weather. The open-pillared balconies in the uppermost floors overlook the open courts and add relief to the harsh four-square shape of the interior. The ingenuity of the builders is also shown in the different structural expedients employed for the support of the roofs, and the vault over a room in the south-east angle with ribs at the groins lends a charming effect to the interior. The different shapes and designs of the corbelled struts and brackets and their execution, the variegated shapes and rich mouldings of the piers and pillars, the perforated screens of various patterns, the round and foliated arches and the variously designed projecting eaves, including one of corrugated shape, are each a marvel of stone-carving, and the entire surfaces are covered with minute ornamentation in low relief and coloured glaze, lending a most picturesque effect to the view of the interior. In spite of the smallness of scale, Man Singh’s palace in the Gwalior fort furnishes us with a singularly pleasing conception, noble and dignified, and, at the same time, romantic and picturesque.

G. Vijayanagara

Reference has been made above to the establishment of the kingdom of Vijayanagara south of the Krishna. 198 Founded with the avowed object of checking Muslim aggression, this kingdom remained as a strong and effective bulwark of Hinduism against Muslim advance in the south for a little over two centuries. The capital city, Vijayanagara or the C city of victory', situated on the south bank of the river T'ungabhadra, is now represented by the extensive ruins of Hampi. 199 In its palmy days it was one of the foremost cities in Asia, and glowing accounts of the power and prosperity of the kingdom and of the magnificence of the city have been left to us by a number of foreigners. Nicolo Conti, an Italian, and 'Abd-ur-Razzaq, an ambassador from Shah Rukh, the son of Timur, visited Vijayanagara in the first half of the fifteenth century, while two Portuguese chroniclers, Domingo Pass and Fernao N'uniz, came and stayed in the city during the reign of Krishnadevaraya (A.D. 1509-29) when the kingdom was at the height of its prosperity. According to the testimony of 'Alsd-ur-Razzaq the city of Vijayanagara occupied an area of about sixty-four square miles and had

seven concentric enclosures, each surrounded by strong fortifications. The three outer enclosures contained cultivable lands, while the four inner constituted the city proper, the royal palace and its precincts occupying the innermost quadrangle, the citadel proper. 200 The account of Paes 201 is particularly valuable for obtaining an idea of the magnificence of this great city. To Paes the city seemed to be "as large as Rome and very beautiful to look at". The palace of the king, he further states, enclosed "a greater space than all the castles of Lisbon." Paes also refers to the strong and massive fortifications of the city, its imposing gateways, its wide streets lined by beautiful houses, its elaborate and effective works of irrigation, its orchards, groves and pleasaunees, its many temples, market places and other amenities suitable to a royal city. After the disastrous battle, known as the battle of Talikota (A.D. 1565), this splendid city fell a prey to the fury of the Muslims who wrought untold havoc and destruction. Yet, the remains that are still seen are significant as illustrating one of the most sumptuous phases of South Indian architecture.

In this vast v/aste of ruins few secular buildings can now be seen intact. Nothing remains of the palace except the disfigured basements of a few of its buildings. Two masonry platforms, apparently of large and imposing structures, deserve special mention as they are likely to help one to have an idea of the chaste and elegant character of the buildings of this order. Of these, the one known as the King's Audience Hall 202 seems to have been part of a building of considerable dimensions. The other is called the Throne Platform 203 though Paes describes it as the 'House of Victory' erected by Krishnadevaraya in A.D. 1513 to commemorate his conquest of Orissa. As the name of the first suggests, each was designed, very probably, as an audience hall, and Percy Brown is further inclined to describe them respectively as Halls of Public and Private Audiences in the manner of the palace designs in Persia and of the Mughuls. The original building in each instance seems to have been a pillared pavilion rising up in a number of storeys and ending in a pyramidal roof. c Abd-ur-Razzaq described the King's Audience Hall as being "elevated above all the rest of the lofty buildings in the citadel." The considerable dimensions of the basement lend support to such a description. The basement of this immense hall rises up in three spacious stages, diminishing as they go up, embellished by bold and chaste mouldings and string-courses, completely in agreement with the substantial nature of the building. Over the platform, which is reached by elaborate flights of steps, there may still be seen sockets of six rows 204 of pillars, ten in each,

which supported the superstructure, now entirely gone. The Throne Platform is smaller in dimensions, but is decidedly the more ornate. Like the former, it also ascends in three diminishing terraced stages and is approached by balustrated stairways. The stages are separated one from the other by bold mouldings, the intervening wall surfaces being faced with elaborate carvings, depicting the various Puranic myths and legends.

Because of the extremely fragmentary nature of the majority of the remains of the secular order it is difficult to understand clearly their designs and other arrangements. So far as can be judged, substance as well as ornament seem to have been the keynotes of such buildings. A few buildings of this order, each more or less in a fair state of preservation, may be seen in the Lotus Mahal, 205 the Elephant Stables, 206 and the two tower-like structures called, perhaps wrongly, watch-towers of the Zanana enclosure 207 The first is a square pavilion with doubly recessed corners and in two storeys; the different compartments, in which the upper storey is disposed, are surmounted by pyramidal roofs. Except for the arches and their piers, every other feature from the base to the summit is modelled on the prevailing indigenous tradition, and Longhurst seems to be wrong in classing it as Indo-Islamic. Incidentally, the superstructure of this small pavilion may serve as a clue to the lost superstructures of the two audience halls mentioned above. The building, now called, perhaps wrongly, the Elephant Stables, is, however, more emphatically Islamic in appearance and character. It is an extremely elegant and dignified structure having the best of proportions. Its fine ranges of arches in the fagade, representing an entirely Islamic convention, are suitably balanced by the projected balconies on brackets 208 of the strict indigenous pattern. The graceful domes over the roof are again similarly counterbalanced by the square turret-like superstructure in the centre, apparently ascending in diminishing storeys. Here, in this striking building the Islamic and the indigenous conventions may be seen to have been blended in a harmonious and organic manner. The two traditions are found to have adapted themselves successfully to each other. The two so-called watch-towers consist each of a tall and plain base supporting an upper storey with projected balconies on each side.

The sumptuous character of the Vijayanagara style is, however, most evident in its temples. A new resurgence of Hindu mind appears to have taken place, and the temples erected during this period constitute certainly the most eloquent testimonies to this upheaval. The static spell which seems to have spread over South Indian temple architecture is lifted, and a fresh inspiration is noticed

not only in additions of new complements to the temple scheme, but also in a far greater enrichment of every element and feature. The temple enclosure is now provided with a larger number of structures, apart from the main complex, such as pillared halls, pavilions and other shrines and adjuncts, and the increase in the number of such accessory buildings was no doubt necessitated by an elaboration of the rituals of worship. During this period two such accessory structures came to be regarded as indispensable elements in the temple scheme. One is known as the Amman shrine, which represents a subsidiary temple for the enshrinement of the consort of the divinity to whom the principal temple in the centre of the scheme is consecrated. This subsidiary temple, a smaller replica of the principal one, is placed a little behind it in the north-west. The other is known as the Kalyana-mandapa, an open pillared pavilion with an elevated platform in the centre for the exhibition of the images of the deity and his consort on ceremonial occasions. It is situated a little to the front of the central scheme slightly to its right. Of the above two, the second is regarded as the more important, and is usually the most sumptuous structure in the entire scheme. Besides these two, another structure, designed in the shape of a ceremonial chariot, forms, not infrequently, an important annexe of the scheme as a whole. The tendency towards emphasizing the external and accessory features during the preceding period has already been noted. 209 In the Vijayanagara phase such a tendency is also emphatically felt.

A temple of the Vijayanagara style is certainly sumptuous, and the intricacy, beauty, and exuberant wealth of its rich decorative details appear to be rather bewildering. But a keen observer cannot fail to detect that howsoever elaborate and intricate the decorative treatment might be, there is always maintained a judicious balance between the structure and its ornament. A structural feature, not unoften, may lend itself to an absurd and fantastic form, but the design of such a form is always determined by the shape and function of that feature. This is particularly noticeable in the varied and ingenious designs of the pillars. The pillars constitute a major architectural scheme in the temple complex as a whole. The most frequent design is one in which the shaft becomes either a central core or a background for a group of statuary, of substantial proportions and carved practically in the round. Such statuary attached to the pillars takes the form of caryatids of such shapes as yalis or rampant hippogryphs with fighting riders and groups of soldiers; and in the treatment of such caryatids is often noticed the most ingenious and imaginative fantasy. Less complicated, but equally effective, is the pattern of the monolithic pillar consisting of a cen tral column with slender columnettes attached all around. Still more simple is a pattern in which the shaft is divided into zones, each zone being occupied by a miniature motif of the shrine itself, and the whole showing a succession of such motifs one above the other. To this simpler variety belongs also the pattern in "which the shaft is divided into a number of cubical motifs separated by wide bands chamfered into eight or sixteen sides. Whatever the pattern, whether simple or the most complicated—the two often appearing alternately in the same composition—, the pillar, in spite of even the most ingenious treatment, does never lose its structural character and import. Similar is also the case with brackets, very often most elaborately treated, forming the capitals of the pillars. They are as ornate as the pillars themselves. The usual pattern is that of a pendant bracket elaborated into a volute which terminates in an inverted lotus bud. Continuous panels of sculptures, illustrative of various myths and legends, appear on the exterior surfaces of the wails and lend a rich plastic effect to the entire composition. The wide roll cornice with double flexture serves also as an important decorative motif, the undersides being invariably richly treated.

The sumptuous character of the Vijayanagara style of temple will be clear and manifest from the above general description. Many notable temples were produced in different parts of the kingdom, but it will be possible to refer only to the finest and the most representative examples which are generally centered in the capital. From the foreign accounts Vijayanagara appears to have been as much a capital city as a city of temples, and a number of interesting temples may still be found extant in this deserted site. The

temple of Pampapati 210 is the most sacred; but the finest in the

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city are those of Vitthalasvaml 211 and Hazara Rama, 212 erected during the reign of Krishnadevaraya which represents the most flourishing epoch of the Vijayanagara kingdom. Exquisitely ornamented in the manner described above, these two have been classed by some scholars as among the most perfect specimens of the Vijayanagara style. Both are fundamentally identical in design and decorative treatment. The Hazara

Rama temple is, however, a much smaller composition, and as such consists of a smaller number of attendant structures. In fact, the group consists simply of the main complex, i.e. the sanctum and its mandapa axially joined together, and the Amman shrine, the two being placed in a quadrangle enclosed by walls and entered through a gopuram in the east. In spite of its small size, its highly ornate character and its close proximity to the royal enclosure seem to distinguish it as the private chapel of the Vijayanagara kings. The mandapa has three porticoes

projecting from its three sides. The roof is supported on a group of richly carved and highly polished squat stone pillars. The brackets, beams, as well as the undersides of the ceilings and the roll cornices are also elaborately ornamented. The sanctum, standing at the back of the mandapa , is topped by a pyramidal tower of the usual Drdvida mode, built in brick and plaster. Indeed, during this period brick and stucco come to be increasingly used in the fashioning of such superstructures, the detailed ornament being usually done in the latter material. The friezes of sculptures on the exterior walls of the temple and its enclosure illustrate the story of the Rdmdyana.

The VitthalasvamI temple is a larger and much more ambitious conception which, though begun as early as A.D. 1513, could not be completed, and the project had apparently to be abandoned after Talikota. The temple and its various appurtenances are situated within a rectangular court, 538 feet by 315 feet, i.e. nearly three times the size of the Hazara Rama, enclosed by pillared cloisters all around and entered through three gopurams, now grievously damaged, on its three sides. The eastern gopurctm formed the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. The main complex is a long rectangular structure, aligned from east to west and consisting of three sections. The entire scheme is raised over an exquisitely ornamented stylobate, and is terminated by deep roll cornices topped by parapets and small pyramidal rochets in brick and plaster. The mandapa is an open pillared pavilion with a projecting portico on each side, and this frontal adjunct, with its ranges of richly carved pillars of varied designs, constitutes one of the chief attractions of this central group. Every feature in the interior, including the undersides of the beams, ceilings, cornices, etc., is elaborately ornamented, and if the roof of the mandapa and the tower over the sanctum had been completed, it would have ranked as one of the most successful productions of South Indian temple architecture. Various other appurtenances, such as the Amman shrine, the ornamental chariot of masonry, the Kalydna-mandapa and other pavilions, are disposed around this central scheme, each in its position specified by rituals. Among these, the Kalydnamandapa y in its bold and elegant design and exuberant richness, seems to have excelled even the principal scheme. Fergusson is entirely justified when he says that the VitthalasvamI temple "shows the extreme limit in florid magnificence to which the style advanced/'

Temples of similar magnificence may also be seen in other parts of the Vijayanagara kingdom and Fergusson refers particularly to a deserted temple at Tadpatri, 213 about 100 miles to the south-east

of the capital city, built by a governor of Krishnadevaraya. As the treatment of the two gopurams of this temple indicates, this composition surpassed perhaps even the VitthalasvamI temple. The perpendicular, i.e. the lower, part of gopurams is usually comparatively plain, the figure sculptures being, as a rule, confined to the pyramidal, i.e. the upper, part. But in the two gopurams of the deserted temple at Tadpatri (one of them unfinished), the whole of the perpendicular part, to quote Fergusson, "is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision,.and produces an effect richer, and on the whole perhaps

in better taste, than anything else in this style." It is temples like these, more than any other, that vividly recall the rich and lavish magnificence of the Vijayanagara style.

The nucleus of a famous temple establishment in South India was usually a small village temple which gradually grew rich, and, with increasing wealth, was added to in successive ages. It is in this manner that the establishment took the shape of a vast complex of structures of many periods. Obviously no regular design or layout could be expected in the grouping of such fortuitous aggregates carried out in different ages, except that they were ranged in successive walled courts gradually extending outwards. It is in the outer courts and their various aggregates that one may find a lavish display of magnificence, and though ineffective as a whole, the sumptuous beauty of individual buildings seems to arrest the admiration of every spectator.

The Vijayanagara sovereigns, in days of their greatness, were evidently responsible for large-scale additions to important religious establishments scattered throughout their dominions. To a certain extent such additions are recognizable by the presence of what has been described above as the distinctive characteristics of the Vijayanagara temple style. The place that the Kalydna-mandapa occupies in the temple scheme of this period has already been indicated. It is interesting to find that in not a few of the famous South Indian shrines, these large and spacious halls appear, from their style, to owe their origin to the patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers. These open halls have flat roofs supported on richly carved pillars, regularly spaced, their number in each case depending on the dimensions of the hall. Whatever the number, they are usually known as thousand-pillared mandapas and constitute an important appanage of every religious establishment of some note. Like the pillars, the ceilings are also decorated with a variety of elegant motifs, all in good taste, while the wide cornice, with double flexure extending all around, lends a distinctive note to the building as

a whole. When integrated with the general scheme they add to the beauty and dignity of the entire complex. Unfortunately, such an integration is of a very rare occurrence.

Among the mandapas that may be assigned to the Vijayanagara epoch, mention may be made of those in the Parvati temple at Chidambaram (South Arcot district), in the fort at Vellore (North Arcot district), in the temples of Varadarajasvami and Ekambaranatha at Kahchipuram (Chingleput district), in the Jambukesvara temple near Trichinopoly, and in the Margasakhesvara temple at Virinjipuram (North Arcot district). Of these, the mandapa in the Parvati temple at Chidambaram 214 appears to belong to an early phase in the epoch before the Vijayanagara temple style had reached its most affluent expression. It is a small porch hall of singular appearance, forming the entrance to the shrine, and is situated in the centre of a court surrounded by double-storeyed galleries. The situation itself gives it an individual character. The interior arrangement of the hall in aisles of varying depths separated by rows of richly carved pillars is also singularly pleasing. The central aisle has pillars with engaged pilasters branching out at the top in a succession of elegant brackets to form a kind of vaulting for support of the roof. As a structural expedient the procedure is sound as well as effective, and the skilful but restrained manner of delicate carvings lends the hall a sober dignity which is hard to find in similar erections elsewhere.

The other mandapas, referred to above, are more substantial in design and, at the same time, more ornate in conception. The Kalydna-mandapa at Vellore 215 has been described by Percy Brown to be “the richest and most beautiful structure of its kind.” The carvings of its piers with attached pilasters, its bracket shafts, etc., are exuberant as well as intricate, but in a manner that is neither extravagant nor overburdening. In the treatment of the piers occurs a motif of great vigour and forcefulness that was to become characteristic of Dravida architecture of this and the later phases. This is the vydlis with rearing horsemen^ which adorn the piers in front, and whose beginnings may be traced to the archaic motif of the sedant or rampant animals appearing for the first time in the seventh century A.D. in the rock-cut architecture of the Pallavas at Mahavalipuram. After a lapse of several centuries the motif reappears, in an oriented and more sumptuous form, to suit the luxuriant style of this period.

The Kalydna-mandapas in the temples of Varadarajasvami and Ekambaranatha at Kahchipuram 216 display similar exuberance in conception and treatment, but the tendency to overcrowding mars,

to a certain extent, the view of the interior as a whole. The mavdapa in the Jambukesvara temple 217 near Trichinopoly is, however, a more elegant and graceful architectural design. Extending from gopuram to gopuram and with one side opening on a tank fed by a perpetual spring, it has its pillars more widely spaced and its aisles disposed in varying depths and heights. The effect of the interior is, as a result, much more sober and dignified, in spite of the sumptuous character of the pillars and brackets. The Virinjipur am mandapa 218 is, likewise, an effective conception due to the judicious distribution of spaces in the interior which compensates, in a way, for the unrestrained exuberance in the treatment of the pillars and brackets.

Tall and massive gopurams, forming entrances to the courts, lend a charming effect of picturesqueness to every notable temple complex of South India, and the Vijayanagara sovereigns were zealous in raising up such colossal gateways, in order to display their power and pomp as much as their ardent devotion to religion. In the previous volume 219 it has been observed how, from a comparatively small beginning, the gopuram tends to become higher and higher. In the Vijayanagara epoch this tendency reaches its supreme expression in a massive rectangular building that accommodates an enormous entrance doorway and is covered by a lofty pyramidal tower rising up in storeys and ultimately crowned by a barrelshaped vault. It was the usual practice to build the perpendicular section, containing the doorway, in stone, and the pyramidal section, forming the storeyed tower, in brick and plaster. It is in the latter section that there may be noticed the most lavish display of ornament consisting of massive figure scriptures as well as of the most intricate devices and patterns. Such ornaments were usually done in stucco, a bold and precise execution being characteristic of this age. Many of the tall gopurams that distinguish the famous South Indian temple complexes seem to have been raised under the aegis of the Vijayanagara rulers, and among these the southern gopuram in the temple of Ekambaranatha at Kahchlpuram 220 is certainly the most important. It w^as built by Krishnadevariaya, the most famous of the Vijayanagara sovereigns, and is a colossal structure rising up in ten storeys to a height of 188 feet. In size alone it is one of the most conspicuous among all buildings of this kind in the whole of South India. It is at the same time a highly decorative one. An exuberance of sculptures and ornamentations breaks up this stupendous mass in a manner that imparts to it an effect of airy lightness, thereby enhancing the impression of soaring height. Every motif, whether figura! or decorative, is beautifully adjusted to the scale of the monument and of the section in which it is placed.

Therefore, in spite of exuberance^ there is no sense of extravagance, nor lack of clarify, everything being an integral part of the design as a whole. One of the most eminent productions of its kind, this gopuram seems to have provided the model for subsequent erections of this order. But despite their size and v/ealth of detail, none of these later structures can equal it in respect of its great beauty and the balance and rhythm of its design.

1. Arthus Upham Pope, Some interrelations between Persian and Indian Architecture, Indian Arts andl Letters, Vol. IX (1935).

2. John Marshall, Monuments of Muslim India, Cambridge History of India, Vol. Ill (1928), pp. 571-73.

3. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), First Ed., pp. 1-2.

4. James Fergusson, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture (Revised by James Burgess and Phene Spiers, 1919), Vol. II, p. 188.

5. Percy Brown, hoc. Cit., p. 5.

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69. ASC., Vol. XV, pp. 190-94; Fergusson, Loc. Cit., pp. 257-59; MGP., pp. 127-40; Marshall, Loc. Cit., pp. 602-03; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., pp. 34-36.

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71. For Plan, ASC., Vol. XV, PI. XXV; Fergusson, Loc. Cit., Fig. 406.

72. Some scholars think that the upper gallery was meant for the ladies of the harem, a separate accommodation for the king and his retinue being out of place in a mosque for Islamic worship, since Islam is the most democratic religion in the world.

73. In MGP., p. 127, the number of domes has been wrongly calculated as 306.

74. The arch has fallen down, only the two gigantic piers remain.

75. ASC., Vol. XV, pp. 65-66; MGP., pp. 85-86; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 38.

76. MGP., pp. 76-77; Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 604; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 38.

77. ASC., Vol. XV, pp. 88-90; Fergusson, Loc. Cit., p. 259; MGP., pp. 125-27;

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78. ASC., Vol. XV, pp. 55-56; MGP., pp. 55-56.

79. ASO., Vol. XV, pp. 121-24.

80. Ibid., pp. 143-44.

81. JASB.NS., Vol. VI (1910), p. 27.

82. JASB., Vol. XLII (1873), pp. 272, 273

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112. Fergusson, Loc. Cit., pp. 226-27; Marshall, Loc. Cit., pp. 626-27; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., pp. 41-42.

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114. Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 627,; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 42.

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117. Fergusson, Loc. Cit., p. 225; Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 628; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit-, pp. 42-43.

118. Ibid., p. 59.

119. Marshall, Loc. Cit-, p. 617.

120. Cf. Vol. V, p. 72.

1211. Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 60

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123. G- Yazdani, Mandu, the city of joy, pp. 74-75; Marshall, Loc. Cit, p. 618; Perby Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 60.

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127. Marshall, Loc • Cit., p. 618

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134. Fergusson, Loc. Cit-, pp. 249-50; Yazdani, Loc. Cit., pp. 45-49; Marshall, LocCit., p. 620; Percy Brown, Loc- Cit. p. 63.

135. Marshall, Loc- Cit., p. 620.

136. Percy Brown, Loc - Cit., p. 63

137. Yazdani, Loc. Cit., pp. 102-03

138. Ibid, pp. 88-89

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141. The cumbersome flight of steps against the front of the building at the southern end seems to have been added later, perhaps during Jahangir's reignYazdani, Loc. Cit., p. 65

142. Yazdani, Loc. Cit., pp. 92-97; Marshall, Loc- Cit., pp. 621-22; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 65

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150. Fergusson, Loc- Cit., p. 230

151. Percy Brown, Loc. Cit, p. 48.

152. Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 609; Percy Brown, Loc- Cit., p. 48

153. Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 609; Percy Brown, Loc- Cit., p. 48

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156. Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 48.

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172. Fergusson, Loc. Cit-, p. 239; Percy Brown, Loc- Cit., p. 54.

173. Fergusson, Loc. Cit., pp. 239, 244-45; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 54

174. Fergusson, Loc. Cit -, p. 244.

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178. Marshall, Loc. Cit., p- 616.

179. Ibid., p- 616

180. Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 615; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit-, pp. 53-54

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181. Marshall, Loc ▪ Cit., p, 615; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., pp. 53-54.

182. Fergusson, Loc. Cit., pp. 236-37; Havell, Loc. Cit., p. 142; Marshall, Loc. Cit., p- 615; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit, p. 54.

183. Marshall, Loc. Cit., p. 615.

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185. Fergusson, Loc. Cit., pp. 236-37; Havell, Loc. Cit-, pp. 139-41; Marshall, Loc . Cit., p. 616; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 55.

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197. Lepel Griffin, Famous Monuments Central India, pp. 48-49.

198. See above, pp. 271 ff.

199. For a detailed account of the monumental remains of Hampi reference may be made to A.H. Longhurst, Hampi Ruins (1933).

200. CHL, Vol. Ill, p. 492.

201. For the account of Paes reference may be made to R. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, (1900), pp. 236-90.

202. Longhurst, Loc. Cit., pp. 65-66; Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), p. 112.

203. Longhurst, Loc. Cit., pp. 56-63; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., p. 112.

204. Percy Brown’s description of ten rows of pillars apparently wrong.

205. Longhurst Loc. Cit., pp. 77-80.

206. Ibid., p. 82.

207. Ibid., p. 77.

208. Of this feature only the struts of the brackets now remain.

209. See Vol. V, p. 622.

210. Longhurst, Loc. Cit., pp. 96-101.

211. Fergusson, Loc. Cit, Vol. I, pp. 401-03; Longhurst, Loc. Cit., pp. 116-27; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit, pp. 110-11.

212. Longhurst, Loc. Cit,, Vol. I, pp. 67-75; Percy Brown, Loc. Cit., pp. 111-12.

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220. Fergusson, Loc. Cit., Vol. I, p. 360.

(A) Arabic,

‘Abdullah Mohammad bin ‘Umar al-Makkl

Abul’-l Fazl

‘All Muhammad Khan

‘Afif, Shams-iShiraj

Amir Khusrav. Babur

Badaunl, ‘Abdul Qadir

Firishta, Muhammad Qasim

Gangadevi

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Ghulam Husain Salim

‘Isami

Jonaraja, Srlvara, Prajyabhatta and Suka

Minhaj-ud-dln bin Siraj-ud-dm

Mlrza Haidar Dughlat

Nizam-ud-dln

Bakshi

Rafl-ud-dln

Shiraz!

Tabataba, ‘All bin Azizullah

Sikandar bin Muhammad

Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhindl

Ziya-ud-din BaranI

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A collection of 140 stories, mainly relating to Lodll and Sur kings and written probably towards the end of Akbar’s reign, as the name of Jahangir does not occur anywhere in the text. They depict traditions, myths, superstitions and often contain narratives of some historical events scribbed carelessly without much regard for truth or accuracy. Great care is, therefore, necessary in regard to uncorroborated statements.

Muhammad Kabir was a daughter’s son of Shaikh Khalil-ullah HaqqanI, an Afghan saint, who spent the major part of his life in Bengal and was reported to have met Akbar three times. As stated in the preface of the work, Muhammad Kabir collected the stories in order to get over the grief caused by his son’s premature death. The tragedy, however, deeply affected his mind and consequently his writing suffered from a disturbed balance.

Ain-i-Akbarl

‘Ajaib ul-Maqdur fi Akhbdr-i-Timur (or jl Nawdib-iTimur)

A k hbdr-ul-A k hyar

An Arabic work on General History, (untitled.)

Bdbur-nama or Waqi‘at i-Baburi or Tuzuk-iBaburi

Gulzar-i-Abrdr

by Abu’-l Fazl ‘Allami, see the bibliography to Chapter I.

by Shihab-ud-din Ahmad also known as Ibn-i‘Arab Shah. Arabic text, Paris, 1658, Leovardiac, 1767-72, Calcutta, 1818. Lahore, 1868. English version by J. H. Sanders entitled Tamerlane or Timur The Great Amir. London, 1936.

It is an account of Timur’s career in Arabic by a contemporary writer. The narrative of the Indian expedition is unfortunately, not very detailed. The author was, however, a close associate of Timur who had brought him to Samarqand while he was yet a boy. He outlived his patron and settled at Cairo where he died in A.H. 854 (A.D. 1450).

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For the authors’ work on history see No. 34 below.

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by Babur, Zahir-ud-din Muhammad. An autobiography.

(i) Facsimile of original Chaghtay Turkish. London and Leyden 1905.

(ii) English translation by Leyden, J. and Erskine, W., entitled Memoirs of Babur, Oxford, 1921.

(iii) English translation by Beveridge, A. S., entitled, The Bdbur-Nama in English. London, 1922.

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(iv) English translation of extracts relating to Indian campaigns in HIED, Vol. IV.

by Muhammad Ghausi Shattari. MSS. Lindesiana (transferred to John Rylands Library, Manchester) and A.S.B. Calcutta.

It is an account of the Muslim saints of India who flourished from the 7th to the 10th centuries of Hijra, but also contains useful references to historical events. The work was corn

Hudud-ul-Alam

Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi wa Lataifi-Namutanahi.

IVIa'asir-i-Mahmud

Shahi.

pleted c. 1022 A.H. (=A.D. 1613) although it was commenced about a decade earlier.

An anonymous work on geography compiled in A.D. 982. English translation with commentary by V. Minorsky, London, 1937.

Sammad al-KabulI, not Hammad as mentioned in Islamic Culture 1954, p. 410. MS. Lucknow University.

It is a contemporary work on music and dancing compiled during Sikandar's reign and based entirely on Indian sources, chiefly Sanskrit and Hindi, of which seven have been cited. The author appears to be a remarkable linguist, for, in addition to his scholarship in Persian prose and poetry, he had admirable command over the Indian languages. The text of the work, when completed, had the approval of Sikandar's minister, Mian Bhuwa, who was well known for his patronage of learning and the learned.

The work is the rarest of its kind and, being perhaps the oldest one in Persian on Indian music and dancing, provides a valuable account of the social and cultural life of the period. It throws abundant light on the cultivation of the fine arts and the interest taken in them by the Sultan and his nobles.

‘All bin Muhammad al-Kirmanl also called Shihab-i-Hakim, MSS. (i) University Library Tubingen (West Germany), (ii) Bodleian Library, Oxford and (iii) Library of the King’s college, Cambridge.

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It is a biography of Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa (1436-1469) with a brief account of his predecessors. The author, of whose antecedents much is not known, was a court chronicler of the Khalji monarch and wrote the biography shortly after his patron’s death at the command of the latter’s successor, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-dln Khalji. Dealing primarily with the Sultans of Malwa, the work contains a valuable account, based on the author’s personal knowledge, of some important episodes relating to the career of the first Lodi king regarding whom any other contemporary material hardly appears to exist. The celebrated writers of the Mughul period, including Nizam-ud-din (See A.A. I, 3) Firishta (I, 6) and Muhammad Sharif Wuqu’i (see Majami‘ul

Ma’asir-i-Rahimi

Ma c dan-i-Akhbari-Ahmadt.

Ma (dan-ush-Shijdyi-Sikandar

Shahi.

Akhbar I.O.MS. fol. 341 a) have all drawn upon it. (In T.A. and Firishta the titles Ma’dsir-iMahmud Shalii and Tdrikh-i-Mahmud Shahi have been confused).

The work is very rare and the Tubingen MS., which is the earliest extant copy, is defective at the end while the Bodleian MS. is likewise slightly defective in the beginning. The Cambridge MS. is complete but it is a late copy (1199 A.H.=A.D. 1784) and the scribe does not appear to have been well versed in Persian. He has made mistakes in copying some important dates as revealed by comparison with the other two MSS. The cataloguer of the Pote Collection of Oriental MSS. in the library of King’s college Cambridge, has given it the title of Tdrikh-i-Mahmud Shahi without looking into the text of the work itself where it is clearly described as Ma’dsir-i-Mahmud Shahi (vide fols. 15 a and 479 a).

by ‘Abdul BaqI Nihawandi. Persian text Calcutta, 1924.

It is a general history up to A.D. 1616. Its account of the period under review is generally a verbatim copy of that of the T.A.

by Ahmad bin Bahbal also called Kanbu. Vol. I, B.M. MS. Or. 1883 (Extracts only) Vol. II. I.O. MS. 121.

It is a work on general history completed in A.H. 1020 (=A.D. 1611), which formed the chief source of NTmatullah’s Tdrikh-i-Khdn Jaharii wa Makhzan-i-Afghani, (vide no. 36 below) wherein it has been described as the best available history in the world. (Alhaqq tarikhe baddn khubi dar ruzgar nest. See Camb. MS. fol. 6 1 '). The first volume, covering the period up to the end of the Lodls, is not extant and only a few extracts are available in the B.M. MS. quoted above. The second volume contains the account of the Tlmurids up to Jahangir, but the India Office copy which is very nicely transcribed breaks off in the 37th year of Akbar’s reign, 999 A.H.=A.D. 1590-91.

by Mian Bhuwa. Persian text Lucknow, 1877, 1879.

It is a contemporary work on medicine compiled by Sikandar’s scholar-minister, Mian Bhuwa, who was a versatile genius. Basing it on numerous Sanskrit works of reputable Hindu

THE DELHI SULTANATE

M ajami‘u l-Akhbar or Tarlkh-iMuhmmad Sharif Wuqu%.

Matla‘us-Sa‘dain wa Majma‘ulBahrain

Mihr wa Mah

physicians whose debt he acknowledged, he prepared a handy volume in Persian which epitomized the result of native researches in medical science. Incidentally it contains useful references to the general progress of learning under Sikandar and the king's liberal patronage of the men of letters.

His work as well as the Lahjdt-i-Sikandar Shahl (no. 9 above) are important sources for the study of the interaction of Hindu and Muslim cultures.

by Muhammad Sharif Wuqu'I. I.O. MS. 119.

It is a compendium of general history up to A.D. 1591-92 and is very useful in corroborating and correcting some of the statements of the T.A. The author was a poet of Akbar's court. (See Am-i-Akbarl, text, I, 254) and as stated by himself, entered the Emperor's service a second time in 1590.

by Kamal-ud-din 'Abdur-Razzaq Samarqandi.

(i) B.M. MSS. Or. 1291 and Add. 17928.

(ii) I.O. MS. 192. (iii) Cambridge MS. (Library of Christ's College, D.D. 3-5. (iv) Lahore MS. Private Library of Maulvi Muhammad Shaft. Ed. Vol. II (2 parts) Lahore 1360-8 A.PI. (=A.D. 1941-1948).

It is a history of the Timurids from A.D. 1304 to 1470 in two volumes. The first volume ended with the death of Timur while the second was carried to the re-enthronement of Sultan Husain. The account up to 1426-27 is largely based on the valuable contemporary record of Hafiz Abru (see no. 34 a below) while for the later period, the author relied more upon his personal observation.

'Abdur Razzaq was born at Herat in A.D. 1413 and died there in A.D. 1482. He had been patronized by Shah Rukh early in his youth and was sent by him on an embassy in A.D. 1441 to Zamorin of Calicut and the king of Vijayanagara. The Matla'us-Sa'dain contains a full account of this visit as well as of the relations of the Timurids with the Sultans of Delhi during the period covered by it.

by Hamid bin Fazlullah, better known as Jiamall. MS. Punjab University-Library, Lahore.

A very rare work (considered until a few years back not to be extant) by Sikandar Lodi's Poet Laureate. The date of its composition, 905 A.H. (=A.D. 1499), was obtained by the writer from a chronogram in fol. 117.

Mir'at-ul-Alam

Mir'at-i-J ahan Numa

Mir'at-i-Mas'udi

Mir' at-i-Sikandari

Mujmal-i

Mujfassal

Muntakhab utTwdrikh

Muntakhab utTwarikh or Ahsan ut-Twa rikh.

Nafa-is-ul-Ma'

asir.

It is a versified story of romance, but contains references to Sikandar's poetical talent, his justice and his generosity towards pious and learned men. It also gives a brief account of the author's tour of Muslim countries of the Middle East.

by Muhammad Baqa. I.O. MS. 124, B.M. MS.

Add. 7657. A general history up to 1667.

An enlarged edition of no. 16 above, by the same author. The narrative has been continued to A.D. 1699. I.O. MS. 126. Cambridge MS. (Library of King's College no. 109). by 'Abdur Rahman Chishtl.

(i) B.M. MS. Or. 1837.

(ii) Abridged English translation by B. W. Chap

man B.M. MS. Add. 30776.

An account of the life of Salar Mas‘ud Ghazi, stated by the author to have been extracted from an earlier work by Mulla Muhammad Ghaznavl, a servant of Sultan Mahmud. ‘Abdur Rahman belonged to a family of Chishti Shaikhs and died at Dhaniti in the Lucknow Sarkar in 1094 A.H. (—A.D. 1682).

Some autobiographical references are to be found in another work of the author entitled Mir at ul-Asrar (B.M. MS. Or. 216). by Sikandar bin Muhammad Manjhu. I.O. MS. 1038.

English translation by E. C. Bayley entitled Local Muhammadan Dynasties Gujarat. London, 1886.

It is a history of Gujarat completed in A.D. 1611-13.

by Muhammad Bararl. (i) MS. 43, A.S.B. (ii) Bodleian MSS. Eiliot 346, Ousley 311.

It is a work on general history up to A.D. 1627, but was completed c. A.D. 1668. The account is based on the well-known general histories of the Mughul period, by ‘Abdul Qadir Badauni.

(i) Text, Calcutta 1668-69. 3 vols.

(ii) English translation by J. S. A. Ranking,

S. H. Lowe and W. H. Haig, Calcutta, 1898-1925.

by Hasan Khaki Shirazi. B.M. MS. Or. 1649 Eton College MS.

A general history up to A.D. 1613. The author who was in Akbar’s service, commenced the work under him but completed it under Jahangir. The narrative of events is, however, very straight and concise.

by Mi.rza ‘Ala-ud-daulah Qazwini. B.M. MS. Or. 1761.

N asab-ndma-yiAfaghina wa Kaifiyyat-i-Hukumat-i-Anhd

Ruz-ndma-yi

Ghazawat-i

Hindustan

Siyar al-Arifin

The work, which is devoted mainly to the study of the Persian poets of the 10th century A.H., contains also a history of the TImurids from Babur to Akbar. It was completed in 982 A.H. (=A.D. 1574).

Qazwlnfs father, Mir Yahya was also a historian and had compiled the Lubb-ut-Twdrikh a general history up to A.H. 948 (=A.D. 1541). (B.M. MS. Or. 140). He had, therefore, a scholarly background and the close relations of his brother, Mir ‘Abdul-Latif, with the Emperor Akbar gave him an additional advantage.

by Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba’l Isfahan!. MS. no. 74, Royal Asiatic Society, London. A useful tract on the origin of the Afghans.

by Ghiyas-ud-din ‘All MS. Lahore, Punjab University.

It is a diary of Timur’s Indian campaign, written by his courtier, popularly called Khwaja ‘All who had attracted the great conqueror’s attention on account of his expert knowledge and great skill in the game of chess. (See Mujmal-i-Mujfassal, Bodleian MS., Ousley 311 fol. 6 b).

The Ruz-nama was one of the sources of Nizamud-din Shami’s Zcifar-ndma (See Barthold: Turkestan, 54 n. 1) which was completed in A.D. 1404 (vide no. 48 below). The work itself is extremely rare and the only copy to which reference has been made in bibliographical literature is said to exist at Tashkent. Fortunately, another MS. copy, to which the writer has had access, has been found in the Shiran! collection of the Punjab University library, Lahore.

by Hamid bin Fazlullah better known as Jamali.

(i) B.M. MS. Or. 215.

(ii) I.O. MS. 1313.

(iii) Lahore MS.

It is an account of the lives of fourteen Muslim saints of India, beginning with Mu‘ln-ud-dln Chishti and ending with Jamah’s own preceptor Shaikh Sama’ud-dm. It gives, however, a brief description of some political and cultural aspects of the reigns of Sikandar and Ibrahim and also throws light on the characters of the two monarchs. The author was an eye-witness of both the reigns and lived until the period of

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SafTnat-ul-Auliya

Tabaqdt-i-Akbarl

Tdrlkh-i-Alfl

Humayun. The work was composed between A.D. 1530 and 1536.

by Dara Shikoh. Persian text Ed. Lucknow, 1872.

It comprises notices of Muslim saints and holy men and was completed in A.D. 1640.

by Nizam-ud-dln Bakhshi. Persian texts. 3 vols. Calcutta 1927-35. Compared B.M. MS. Or. 1901 and Ms. Pers. 283 Bib. Nationale, Paris, English Translation of Vol. I by B. De. Calcutta 1927.

It is a comprehensive work on general history from the Ghaznavides up to A.D. 1593-4 and forms the basis of a number of later similar works. The author appears to have made use of the best extant sources and of the twentynine authorities quoted by him, some are entirely lost to us now. However, a comparison of the contents of the work with the account of other contemporaneous and earlier works on the period under review, shows that it is not so very reliable as is generally considered to be. Errors have been found in the recording of dates, names and some of the events particularly in the chapters dealing with the Sultanate, Jaunpur, Malwa, Multan and the Punjab. There are also contradictions in the statements regarding the same event or person recorded in the different volumes of the work. A typical instance may be quoted of Daulat Khan Lodi who, in T.A., I, 351, is stated to have personally gone to Kabul to meet Babur and having died on his way back to the Punjab. In Vol II (pp. 8-9) he is subsequently presumed alive and a description is given of his capitulation to Babur at Milwat, after a period of active hostility.

There are similar contradictions met with in the account of Jaunpur and Malwa given in Vols. I and III. Unfortunately, some of the later writers, who have drawn upon the T.A., have instead of correcting these errors, perpetuated them by copying them verbatim, as for instance, Nihawandi in the Ma’dsir-i-RaJvimi.

by Mulla Ahmad Tattawl and others. B.M. MS. Or. 465. I.O. MS.

It is a general history up to A.D. 1589 written in the form of annals of different years. Nizamud-dln also collaborated in compiling a part of it. The arrangement of the work is tedious and renders it difficult to consult. It is however,

Tankh-i-Daudi.

Tarikh-i-Firishta also called Gulshan-i-lbra Kimt.

Tarikh-i-Haqql or Zikr-ul-Muluk.

Tdrikh-i-Hafiz Abril or Zubdattut-Twarikh Baisanghari .

c.

useful in corroborating the accounts of other contemporaneous works and often gives some additional details.

by Abdullah.

(i) MS. Punjab University, Lahore.

(ii) MS. No. 46451, Library of the School of

Oriental and African Studies, London.

It is an exclusive Afghan work of Jahangir's reign dealing with the Lodi and Sur kings. A careful examination of the work shows that it is almost entirely based on the Wdqi'at-iMushtaqi (vide no. 47 below). Being full of anecdotes, it does not add much to the narrative of events contained in the parent source, but greatly helps in confirming them. Little is known of the author's life.

by Muhammad Qasim Firishta. Persian text, Bombay 1831-32.

English translation by J. Briggs, entitled History of the Rise of Mahomedan Power in India, 4 Vols.

It is a well known work on general history up to c. A.D. 1615. Being rich in historical details, it has been extensively used by all later and modern writers. Firishta has avoided some of the errors made by Nizam-ud-dln.

The English translation by Briggs, is however, very unreliable.

by Shaikh 'Abdul-Haqq Dehlawi.

(i) B.M. MS. Add. 26210.

(ii) Bodleian MSS. (a) Fraser 132 (b) Fraser 133 (c) Ousley 59.

(iii) MS. University Library, Cambridge. A very concise work on general history up to A.D. 1596. The author had his personal sources of information regarding the Lodi period as he was the nephew of the contemporary writer MushtaqI. He relied on some trustworthy oral traditions and his account of certain episodes which is different from that of other contemporaneous writers, deserves greater credence.

by Nur-ud-din Lutfullah better known as Hafiz Abru B.M. MS. Or. 1577 (Vol. I). Bodleian MS. Elliot, 357. (Vol. I).

The author, who was born in Herat and educated at Hamadan, earned the favour of Timur and attended his private assemblies. After Timur's death he attended Shah Rukh's court and won the respect of the young prince, Mlrza

Tarikh-i-HumayunT or Tdrikh-i-lbrd lumi.

Tarikh-i-Khdn Jahani wa Makhzdn-i-Afghani

Tarik h-i-M a hmud Shahi.

Tarikh-i-Mubarak

Shahi.

' .r

Baisanghar to whom he dedicated his work. It is a general history of the world and was compiled in 829-30 A.H. (=A.D. 1425-26). (See Matla'-us-Sa'dain, B.M. M.S. Or. 1291 fol. 154). Hafiz Abru died in 834 A.H. (=A.D. 1430).

by Muhammad Ibrahim Jarir, I.O. MS. 104.

It is a brief general history of desultory character compiled in 957 A.H. (▪=A.D. 1550).

by Ni‘matullah.

(i) I.O. MS. 576. MS. Library of the Christ’s College, Cambridge, (D.D. 3).

(ii) A shorter recension of the same work entitled only Makhzan-i- Afghani I.O. MS. 2706. MS. Cambridge University Library. English translation by B. Dorn entitled History of the Afghans, London 1829-36.

It is a systematic history of the Lodi and Sur Afghans compiled in 1021 A.H. (=A.D. 1613) by an experienced chronicler who, after losing his job at the Mughal Court, entered the service of the Afghan amir, Khan Jahan Lodi, the favourite of the Emperor Jahangir. The work, which was undertaken at the behest of his new master, reveals an Afghan bias, and its peculiar feature is the sanctification of the origins of the Afghans by reviving the Israelite theory. The genealogical motive of the author in attempting a study of Afghan history is, therefore, to be underlined. For his information regarding the period of the Lodi’s and the Surs, he is mostly indebted to Mushtaqll, the T.A. and the Ma c dan-i-Akhabdr-i-Ahmadi.

by ‘Abdul Karim, B.M. MS. Or. 1819.

A history of Gujarat up to 889 A.H. (=A.D. 1484) with incidental references to the Sultans of Delhi.

by Yahya bin Ahmad as-Sirhindl. Persian text, Calcutta 1931. English translation by K. K. Basu, G.O.S., LXIII, 1932.

It is a general history from the time of Sultan Mu‘izz-ud-dln Muhammad bin Sam up to the accession of the third Sayyid Sultan, Muhammad Shah bin Farid (838 A.H.—A.D. 1434). The account of the concluding sixty years, of which the author had exceptional sources of knowledge, is the most original and valuable one. Yahya enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Mubarak Shah and dedicated the work to him. The narrative is, however, unbiased, straight

Tarikh-i-MuhamMadl

Tarikh-i-Nasir ShaM.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi

Tarikh-i-Sadr-i Jahan, also called Tabaqat-iMahmud ShaM.

Tdrikh-i-Shahi also called Tdrikh-iSalatin-i Afaghina.

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(... /

Tarikh-i-Sind or - Tdrikh-i-Ma e siimi

forward, concise and shorn of verbosity and floridity usually characteristic of such oriental works.

by Muhammad Bihamad Khani B.M. MS. Or.

137.

It is another valuable work on general history compiled in 839 A.H. (=A.D. 1435) and contemporaneous with the T.M. but unfortunately, the references to the Sayyid Sultans are too brief.

Anonymous. I.O. MS. 4032.

A desultory history of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Khalji of Malwa.

by Mlrza Haidar Dughlat. MS. Christ's College Library, Cambridge. D.D. 4.7. English translation by N. Elias and E. D. Ross entitled A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, London 1898.

The author was a cousin of Emperor Babur, and his account not only corroborates some of the details of events described in the Babur-nama but sometimes supplements them by additional information.

by Faizullah ibn Zain-ul-'Abidin, called Malikul-Quzat Sadr-i-Jahan.

(i) MS. Bib. Nationale, Paris. No. Suppl. Pers. 183.

(ii) B.M. MS. Add. 7629.

(iii) Cambridge University Library, Browne MS. G. 12 (12).

All the three MSS. have been consulted.

It is a general history form the earliest times to 838 A.H. (=A.D. 1434) and ends abruptly at the point where TM. concludes its account. Compiled, however in 907 A.H. (=A.D. 15012), it is indebted to the TM. for the narrative of the Sayyid period.

by Ahmad Yadagar. Persian text, Calcutta 1939. Compared MS. Punjab University, Lahore.

It is a history of the Lodis and the Surs and the first two Mughal kings, compiled shortly after A.D. 1613 as the Ma (dan-i-Akhbar-i-Ahmadi is quoted as one of the sources. Written in the usual pattern of anecdotal works it is much less reliable than the Tarikh-i-Daudi as the author has allowed many inaccuracies to creep into his account.

by Mir Ma‘sum. Persian text; Poona 1938.

It is the best known history of Sind from the Muslim conquest up to A.D. 1600. The author died in 1606.

Tuhfa-yi-Akbar Shahi also called Tdrlkh-i-Sher Shahi.

Tnzuk-i-Jahanglrl.

Wdqi c at-i-Mushtdql and Tarlkh-iMushtaqi

The account of the rise of the Langahs given by Ma'sumI is, however, identical with that of the TA. and his incidental references to the Sultans of Delhi also agree with the account of the same source.

by ‘Abbas Sarwani.

(i) B.M. MSS. Or. 1857, Or. 164, Or. 1782, Add.

16824.

(ii) Bodleian MSS. Elliot 371 and Ousley 78.

(iii) MS. Library of the King’s College Cambridge. No. 180.

(iv) I.O. MS. 219.

The author, being related to Sher Shah Sur, had special sources of information in respect of the history of the Afghans. Unfortunately, the first two parts of his work have been lost and the third part which is the only extant portion, deals with the life of Sher Shah. It contains, however, some useful information relating to the Lodi kings which help to confirm the account of later writers. It was compiled c. A.D. 1590.

Autobiography of the Emperor Jahangir. Persian text, Aligarh, 1863-64. English translation by A. Rogers, London, 1903-14.

by Rizqullah Mushtaql. B.M. MSS. Or. 1929 and Add. 11633.

The two works, although similar in scope, are yet not entirely identical in their account. The date of composition, hitherto unrevealed in the various biographical notices of the author has been found by the writer in the body of the text (Wdqi-dt fol. 146 b) as 980 A.H (=A.D. 1572-73). The author died nine years later.

These two MSS. constitute, perhaps, the earliest available account of the Afghan rulers of India. The author who was born in A.H. 897 (=A.D. 1491) had lived during the late Lodi period. As for the earlier part of it, he had most reliable sources of information. His father, Shaikh Sa‘dullah was a saintly scholar and had been closely associated with Sikandar’s noble, Mian Zain-ud-din. His grandfather Shaikh Firuz was a warrior-poet, and had written a versified account of the wars between Buhlul and Husain SharqS. (The poem is now lost and only two couplets have been quoted by Nur-ul-Haqq in the Zubdat-ut-Twarlkh, vide Cambridge MS. fol. 58 a). Both Mushtaql and

Zafar-Nama

Zafar-Nama

Zafar-ul-Walih bi Muzajfar wa Alih.

Zubdat-ut

Twarikh.

his father were the disciples of the Saint, Shaikh Malladah, whom Sikandar held in great esteem. Besides, MushtaqI had been personally connected with some of the Amirs of Sikandar and Ibrahim. His knowledge of Hindi, of which he was a well-known scholar and poet, was of great advantage to him in gaining access to the material in that language. (His pen-name in Hindi was Niranjan, and two Hindi works, entitled Patman and Jot

Niranjan, are attributed to him. See Akhbdr-ul-Akhydr p. 170, Hodivala p. 481).

MushtaqI did not write to please a patron and his account was uninfluenced by any worldly motive. He was a detached and religiousminded person, and his account of contemporary events is the chief source on which later writers, such as Nizam-ud-dln, Ni‘matullah, Abdullah and Ahmad Yadgar, have extensively drawn. Although his style is not that of a regular historical work, yet he provides the most useful information about all the three Lodi monarchs. The narrative of events is frequently interrupted by long digressions and anecdotes, which, however, shed abundant light on the general life and the customs of the people. Many of the stories illustrate the effectiveness of Sikandar’s judicial and administrative system and have been copied by later writers.

by Nizam-ud-dln Shaml. Persian text, Beirut 1937.

A contemporary history of Timur up to A.D. 1404 written at his own instance by his close friend who was also an expert chess-player. Sham! was a native of Tabriz and had joined Timur after the conquest of Baghdad. Sharaf-ud-din ‘Ali Yazdi. Persian text, Calcutta 1888. Eng. tr. of extracts HIED, III, 478522. Another well known account of Timur compiled in A.D. 1424-25.

by ‘Abdullah Muhammad bin ‘Umar al-Makkl also called Haji-ud-Dablr. Arabic text, London 1921-8. 3 vols.

A most authoritative work on the history of Gujarat.

by Nur-ul-Haqq Mashriql.

(i) B.M. MS. Add. 10580.

(ii) MS. Corpus College, Cambridge (Transferred to the University Library) Or. 220.

(iii) MS. Public Library, Lahore.

The author was a son of Shaikh ‘Abdul-Haqq Dehlawl. He enlarged his father’s Tdrikh-i

Basu, K. K. -do

-do

-do

-do

Halim, A. -do

Agrawala, V. S.

Askari, S. H.

Halim, A.

-do

-do

-do

-do

Imam-ud-din

Haqqi and brought down the history to 1014 A.H. (=A.D. 1605), making numerous useful additions.

SAYYIDS

(B) Articles

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi. JBORS, XIII, 258-77.

Appendix to Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, JBORS, XIV, 309-10.

Accounts of the first Sayyad Kings of Delhi. JBORS, XIV, 39-53.

Account of Mubarak Shah, The Second Sayyad Ruler of Delhi, JBORS, XIV, 366-86, ibid, XV, 142-67.

Account of Muhammad Shah, the third Sayyad ruler of Delhi, JBORS, XV, 168-76.

Relation of the Sayyad Kings with the rulers of Provincial Dynasties. PIHC, 1945, 118-26.

Foundation of the Sayyad Dynasty. JIH, XXXI, 199-212.

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(C) Articles

A Sanskrit inscription of the time of Sikandar Lodi, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society . IX (July 1936), Part 2, 64-79.

Bihar In The Time Of The Last Two Lodi Sultans of Delhi. JBRS, XLI (1955), 357-76.

Malik Sultan Shah Lodi, IHQ, XV, 47-54.

Sultan Bahlol Lodi—The Place of his death and the duration of his reign. JIH XVII, 325-31.

Character of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. PIHC, II, 308-12.

Sikandar Lodi as a founder. PIHC, III, 842-47.

A note on the place of Sultan Sikandar Lodi's enthronement. PIHC, VI, 397-99.

Khan Jahan Lodi and his ancestors. Is. C, XXII 171-98.

CHAPTER X

For the works of Abu-’l-Fazl, Badauni, Firishta, Ibn Batutah, Nizam-ud-dln, Tabataba, and Yahya, see Bibliography to Chapter I.

(A) GUJARAT AND (B) KHANDESH Original Sources

For Mir at-i-Sikandar!, Mir at-i-Ahmad,!, Supplement to the Mirdti-Ahmad! and Zafar-ul-Walih, see Bibliography to Chapters I, and VIII and IX (nos. 19, 37, 50).

Diwan Ranehodji Amarji

Mir Abu Turab Vali

Gangadhara Kavi.

Briggs, H. G.

Commissariat, M. S. -do

Danvers, F. C. Sarda, H. B.

-do

Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattywar. (See under Mlalwa)

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The Portuguese In India. London, 1894. Mahdrdnd Kumbha. A j mere, 1932.

Maha,rand Sdngd, Ajmere, 1918.

Bannerjee, S. K. -do

Burn, R.

Goetz, H.

Gyani, R. G.

Haig, W,

Hussain, M.

Hidayat. Jhaveri, K. M.

Misra, S. C.

Modi, J. J.

Sternbach, L.

Tirmizi, Sayyid, A. A.

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Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, IC. Ill, 329-41.

Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and the princely refugee from the Mughal Empire (1534) IC, III, 413-20.

The genealogy of Ahmad Shah of Gujarat, Journal of the Numismatic Society, I, I, 42.

The seige of Champaner-Pawagadh by Sultan Mahmud-i-Begada (1482-1484) PIHC, 1946, 227-32.

Architecture of Gujarat—Muslim period (Gujarati text). Shri Forbes Gujarati Sabha Traimashik, IV, pt. iv, 1-34, V, pt. i, 35-59.

The Farrukhi Dynasty of Khandesh. I A, 1918, 237.

Imperialism of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume 91-6.

Some observations on the Mirat-i-Ahmad!. AIOC, VII, 629-33.

Gujarat and Malwa in the first half of the 16th Century, PIHC, XVI, (1953), 245-8.

The foundation of the city of Ahmedabad. K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume, 236-47.

Gujarat as known to medieval Europe. PIHC, VII, 292-95.

The contemporary Persian Chronicles of the Sultans of Gujarat; A study. (A. H. 810980 = A.D. 1407-1573) Is.C. XXXII (1958), 121-134.

(C) MALWA

Original Sources

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CHAPTER XIV

ISLAMIC POLITICAL THEORY ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION, LAW & LEGAL INSTITUTION

Adab-u'l-muluk wa-kifayat uTmamlulz.

Al-ahham-u's = sultaniyah.

Dastur-uT-albab fl 'ilm-il-i'l hisab.

F atawa-i-Jahdndarl. Fiqh-i-Flruz Shall!.

K!miyd-i-Sa‘adat.

Ma‘alim-u’lQurbdh fi ahkdm-ilhisabah.

Nasaih Shah Rukhi.

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Rajasekhara

Ramachandra Ramananaa Raya

Rupa Gosvamin

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Rudradhara

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Sivadasa

^ivaditya

Somacharitragani &rldhara SvamI

Srivara

Sulapani

Tirumalamba

Uddanda • •

Vachaspatimisra

t •

Vagbhata

Vamana Bhatta

Bana or Abhinava

Bhatta Bana • • •

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Varadaraja

Vasudeva

Venkatadesika or Venkatanatha

-do

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Vehkatadhvarin or Venkatesa

Vi dy a chakra vartin

Vidyapati

Vijnanabhikshu

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1. HINDI

Original Texts

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‘Abdur-Rahman	Sandesa-rasaka (Apabhraiiisa).
Kablr	Bams.
-do	Bijaka.
-do	SdkM:
Khvaja RandahNawaz Glsu Daraz	Mir’at-ul-Ashiqin.
Khusrav, Amir	Khdliq~Bari,

Table caption(B) Kosali or Awadki or the so-called Eastern Hindi ”

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Manihan	Madhu-Mdla it.

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	Original Texts
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	4. PUNJAB!
Arjun, Guru (compiled)	Original Texts
Bala	Adi-Grantha.
«r •. - *	Janam-Sakhi.
(' ’ ,	General Reference
- "5 ' i t’	4
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	Original Texts
Manikya Chandra Mantri Karmana Narasimha Mehta	Prithvi-chandra-charitra.
	Sita-harana.
	B hdgav ata-Purdna .

Table captionSrldhara Ranamalla-chhanda.

Table captionFor general references see Vol. V, pp. 830-31.

Table caption7. MARATHI

Table captionFor Bibliography see Vol. V. pp. 827-29

Table caption790

Bipradasa Piplai Chandldasa

Kavlndra Paramesvara Krittivasa Maladhara Basu Srikara Nandi Vi jay a Gupta

Bhattacharya, A.

Mukhopadhyaya, Sukhamaya Sen, Dineshchandra Sen, Sukumar

Jyotirisvara

Thakura

Vidyapati Thakura

Durgavara Hema Sarasvati Kaviraja Madhava Kandali -do

Manakara

Pitambara

Sankaradeva

-do

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Kaliya-damana.

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Arjuna Dasa

Balaramadasa

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Markandadasa

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Narayanananda Avadhuta Svami

Nllambaradasa

-do

Saraladasa

-do

-do

Vatsadasa (Bachhadasa)

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‘Abdul-Hayy,

Sayyid

Jam!

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Haq, Enamul, M.

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Islam, R.

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ud-dln, son of Ganesa (pp. 204-08).

Khizr Khan leads a campaign against Nagaur (p. 127).

1417 Flruz Bahmani invades Pangal (p. 287).

Naslr Khan of Khandesh attacks Thalner and Gujarat but ultimately forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Gujarat (p. 170).

1419 Devaraya defeats Flruz Bahmani (p. 287).

Ahmad I of Gujarat invades Malwa (p. 159).

1420 Death of Lakshasimha and accession of Mokal in

Mewar (p. 332).

Deposition of ‘All Shah and accession of Zain-ul‘Abidin in Kashmir (p. 381).

1421 Khizr Khan’s expeditions to Mewat and Etawa.

Death of Khizr Khan and accession of Mubarak Shah (p. 128).

Hushang of Malwa enters Orissa as a horse-dealer and captures king Bhanudeva IV of Orissa (pp. 174, 364).

1422 Suppression of Jasrat, the Khokhar (pp. 128-29).

Cheng-ho visits Pandua (p. 210).

Ahmad I of Gujarat invades Malwa and besieges Mandu (p. 175).

Death of Devaraya I and accession of Ramachandra followed by the joint rule of Vijaya I and Devaraya II in Vijayanagara (p. 289). Deposition of Flruz and accession of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. D_eath of Flruz (pp. 255-56).

Death of the Ahom king Sujaiigpha and accession of Suphakpha (p. 392).

Ahmad Bahmani invades Vijayanagara but is defeated (pp. 289-90).

1423 Mubarak defeats the chief of Bayana (p. 131).

Mubarak marches to the relief of Gwalior, which

was besieged by Hushang of Malwa (p. 133). Death of Allada Reddi (pp. 290, 364).

Ahmad builds the Jdmi e Masjid at Ahmadabad (p. 712).

1424 Expedition against Katehr (p. 132).

Conquest of the Reddi kingdoms bv Bhanudeva

XV (p. 291).

1425 Suppression of the rebellion in Mewat (p. 132).

Ahmad Bahmani renews hostilities against

Vijayanagara and removes capital to Bldar (pp. 258, 289).

1427 Muhammad Khan, chief of Bayana, escapes and

recovers Bayana. Expedition to Bayana. Hostilities between Mubarak and Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (p. 188).

1428 Devaraya II conquers Kondaviclu and restores the

Reddis of Rajahmundry (p. 291).

Mubarak conquers Bayana (p. 132).

Ahmad Bahmani marches against Kherla, but being opposed by Hushang retreats; Hushang follows, and is attacked and defeated by Ahmad (pp. 175, 258).

THE DELHI SULTANATE

Death of Jayajyotirmalla and accession of Jayayakshamalla of Nepal (p. 415).

1429 Ahmad BahmanI invades Gujarat (pp. 159,

258-59).

1430 Rebellion of Pulad Turkbachcha (pp. 129-30).

The army of Gujarat defeats the BahmanI army

(pp. 159, 259).

1431 Mongol invasion under Shaikh ‘All (pp. 130-31).

Hushang captures KalpI (p. 175, 188).

Cheng-ho’s second visit to Pandua (p. 210).

Deah of Jalal-ud-din and accession of Shams-ud dln Ahmad in Bengal (p. 210).

1433 Assassination of Mokal and accession of Kumbha

karna or Maharana Kumbha in Mewar (p. 332).

1434 Assassination of Sultan Mubarak and accession

of Muhammad Shah. Overthrow of the Minister Sarvar-ul-Mulk (pp. 133-34).

Deposition of Bhanudeva IV of Orissa and accession of Kapilendra (p. 365).

1435 Death of Hushang of Malwa and accession of

Muhammad (p. 176).

1436 Buhlfil coerces the Khokhars (p. 135).

Naslr of Khandesh invades the BahmanI kingdom and is defeated (p. 171).

Mahmud Khalji usurps the throne of Malwa (p. 176).

Death of Ahmad BahmanI and accession of ‘Alaud-dln Ahmad (p. 259).

1437 ‘Ala-ud-diln Ahmad BahmanI establishes his

authority in the Konkan (p. 259).

Death of Naslr of Khandesh and accession of Miran ‘Adil (p. 171).

Death of Shams-ud-dln Ahmad and accession of Nasir-ud-dln Mahmud of the Ilyas Shah! dynasty in Bengal (p. 211).

1438 Ahmad I of Gujarat invades Malwa in the inter

est of Mas‘ud Khan Ghurl (p. 159). Assassination of Ranamalla and accession of Jodha in Marwar (pp. 333, 353-54).

1439 Death of the Ahom king Suphakpha and accession of Susenpha (p. 392).

1440 Mahmud I of Malwa marches to Delhi, but retires (pp. 135, 177).

Death of Ibrahim Sharql of Jaunpur and accession of Mahmud (p. 188).

1441 Death of Miran ‘Adil I and accession of Mubarak in Khandesh (p. 171).

1443 Mahmud I of Malwa retreats from Chitor and is followed by Maharana Kumbha (p. 177). Death of Ahmad of Gujarat and accession of Muhammad Shah II of Gujarat (p. 160).

Shaikh Yusuf Zakariya chosen as the ruler of Multan (p. 228).

Devaraya II of Vijayanagara invades the Bahmanl kingdom (pp. 259, 291-94).

War between Malwa, and Jaunpur (pp. 178, 189).

1444 Mahmud I of Malwa marches to Kalpl. Battle between his forces and those of Mahmud of Jaunpur (p. 189).

Ray Sahrah deposes Shaikh Yusuf and becomes king of Multan (p. 228).

1445 Death of the Sayyid Muhammad Shah and accession of ‘Alam Shah (p. 135).

1446 Death of Devaraya II and accession of Vijayaraya followed by Mallikarjuna (p. 295).

Defeat of the paradesis (foreigners) of the Bahmanl army in the Konkan. Massacre of the paradesis by the Deccanis at Chakan (p. 265).

1450 Mahmud of Malwa invades Gujarat (p. 178).

Kapilendra conquers Kondavldu (p. 296).

1451 The Sayyid Sultan ‘Alam Shah resigns and Buhlul Lodi ascends the throne of Delhi (pp. 136, 140).

Death of Muhammad II and accession of Qutb-uddln in Gujarat (p. 161).

1452 Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur attacks Delhi, but is defeated by Buhlul Lodi (pp. 140, 189).

1453 Defeat of the army of Malwa and Gujarat by Maharana Kumbha (p. 178).

Maharana Kumbha conquers Nagaur (p. 161).

1454 Mahmud of Malwa completes the Jami c Masjid of Mandu (p. 704).

1455 Jalal Khan, brother of ‘Ala-ud-dln Ahmad Bahmanl proclaims himself king of Telingana (p. 260).

Death of the historian Jonaraja (p. 381).

1456 Saluva Narasimha succeeds to his family estate (p. 299).

Maharana Kumbha captures Nagaur after defeating the Gujarat army (p. 335),

1457 Death of Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur and acces

sion of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad makes peace with Buhlul Lodi. Renewal of hostilities (pp. 140, 190).

Death of MIran Mubarak and accession of ‘Adil Khan II in Khandesh (p. 171).

Maharana Kumbha defeats the combined army of Gujarat and Malwa (pp. 162, 178-79, 336).

1458 Death of Muhammad Shah of Jaunpur and acces

sion of Husain Shah (p. 190).

Maharana Kumbha again defeats the Muslim armies (p. 336).

Death of Qutb-ud-dln and accession of Daud in

Gujarat. Deposition of Daud and enthronement of Mahmud Begarha (p. 162).

Orissa army under Prince Hamvira decisively defeats the Bahmanl army and captures Warangal (p. 367).

Death of ‘Ala-ud-din Ahmad and accession of Humayun Bahmanl (p. 261).

1459 Jodha founds the city of Jodhpur (p. 354).

Arakanese conquer Chittagong (p. 211).

Death of Naslr-ud-dln and accession of Rukn-uddin Barbak of Bengal. Reconquest of Sylhet and Chittagong (pp. 213-214).

1460 Death of Ray Sahrah of Multan and accession of

Husain (p. 228).

1461 Death of Humayun Bahmanl and accession of

Nizam Shah Bahmanl (p. 261).

Mahmud of Malwa attacks the Bahmanl kingdom (pp. 163, 179).

Accession of Jam Nanda of Sind (p. 226). Kapilendra invades the Bahmanl kingdom (p. 367).

Mahmud I of Malwa invades the Bahmanl kingdom and Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat marches to the assistance of Nizam Shah Bahmanl (pp. 163, 179, 261).

1462 Mahmud I of Malwa again invades the Bahmanl

kingdom but is compelled by Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat to retire (pp. 163, 179, 262).

1463 Death of Nizam Shah Bahmanl and accession of

Muhammad III (p. 262).

Orissa army under Hamvira invades Vijayanagara (p. 296).

1465 Death of Mallikarjuna and accession of Viru

paksha II (p. 297).

1466 Treaty of peace between Muhammad III Bahmanl

and Mahmud I of Malwa (p. 180).

1468 Assassination of Maharana Kumbha and accession

of Udaya (pp. 337-38).

1469 Death of Mahmud I of Malwa and accession of

Ghiyas-ud-din (pp. 180-81).

Mahmud Begarha conquers Junagarh (p. 163). Mahmud of Malwa receives embassy from Buhlul Lodi (pp. 180, 191).

Saluva Narasimha launches his Orissa campaign (p 299).

Birth of Guru Nanak (p. 569).

1470 Death of Zain-ul- ‘Abidin and accession of Haidar

Shah in Kashmir (p. 383).

Bahmanls invade Vijayanagara and capture Goa (pp. 262, 297-98).

Saluva Narasimha conquers Udayagiri (p. 301). Husain Sharql builds the Jami‘ Masjid at Jaunpur (p. 701).

1472 Death of Haidar Shah and accession of Hasan

Shah in Kashmir (p. 383).

Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat invades Sind (p. 164).

1473 Husain Shah of Jaunpur appears before Delhi,

but is defeated by Buhlul Lodi (pp. 140, 192). Deposition of XJdaya and accession of Rayamalla in Mewar (p. 338).

Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat destroys the temple of Dvaraka (p. 164).

1474 Husain of Jaunpur again invades Delhi, but is

defeated and compelled to retire (pp. 140, 192). Death of Rukn-ud-dln Barbak and accession of Shams-ud-din Yusuf of Bengal (p. 213).

1478 Death of the Sayyid ‘Alam Shah in Badaun

(p. 192).

1479 Husain of Jaunpur again invades Delhi, but is

defeated and pursued by Buhlul, who recovers Etawa, invades Jaunpur, expels Husain and annexes the kingdom of Jaunpur (pp. 140, 192). Birth of Vallabhacharya (p. 558).

1480 Conspiracy against Mahmud Gavan (pp. 257, 266).

Saluva Narasimha conquers Kondavidu (p. 300). Death of Jayayakshamalla of Nepal (p. 415).

1481 Death of Yusuf and accession of Sikandar. Depo

sition of Sikandar and accession of Jalal-uddin Fath Shah in Bengal (p. 214).

Murder of Mahmud Gavan (pp. 267, 300).

1482 Death of Muhammad III and accession of Mah

mud Bahmanl (p. 267).

Birth of Maharana Sahgramasimha or Sanga (p. 340).

1484 Mahmud Begarha captures Champaner (p. 165).

Death of Hasan of Kashmir and accession of

Muhammad (p. 384).

1485 Death of Virupaksha II of Vijayanagara and

accession of Praudha Devaraya (pp. 301-02). Flight of Praudha Devaraya and end of the Sangama dynasty. Saluva Narasimha ascends the throne (p. 302).

Gajapati Purushottama captures Udayagiri (p. 303).

1486 Fath Khan usurps the throne of Kashmir (p. 386).

Birth of Sri Chaitanya (p. 566).

1487 Assassination of Fath Shah and usurpation of

Barbak, the Abyssinian, in Bengal. Death of Barbak and accession of Malik Andll, or Saifud-dm FIruz in Bengal (p. 214).

1488 Death of Jodha and accession of Satal in Marwar

(p. 355).

Death of the Ahom king Susenpha and accession of Suhenpha (p. 392).

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Death of Sultan Buhlul Lodi and accession of Sikandar (pp. 141-142).

Death of Saluva Narasimha and accession of Timma: Narasa Nayaka becomes Regent (p. 303),

Death of Flruz of Bengal and accession of Nasirud-din Mahmud (p. 214).

Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar, Yusuf ‘Adil Khan of Bijapur, and Fathullah ‘Imadul-Mulk of Berar declare their independence (p. 268).

Rebellion of Bahadur GilanI in the Konkan (pp. 165).

Death of Satal and accession of Suja (p. 355-56).

Sid! Badr murders Nasir-ud-din Mahmud and ascends the throne of Bengal under the title Shams-ud-dln Muzaffar Shah (p. 214).

Assassination of the Ahom king Suhenpha and accession of Supimha (p. 392).

Assassination of Sldl Badr. End of the Abyssinian rule in Bengal and accession of ‘Ala-ud-din Husain Shah (p. 215).

Sikandar Lodi defeats Husain of Jaunpur and pursues him into Bengal (pp. 143, 192).

Bahadur GilanI is defeated and slain in the Konkan (p. 166).

Sikandar Lodi marches against Bengal (pp. 143, 216).

Muhammad recaptures the throne of Kashmir (p. 386).

Fath Khan usurps the throne of Kashmir (p. 386).

Death of Purushottama and accession of Prataparudra of Orissa (p. 368).

Death of the Ahom king Supimpha and accession of Suhungmung (p. 392).

Sikandar invades Rewa but is obliged to return unsuccessful (p. 144).

Vasco da Gama arrives at Calicut (p. 420).

Mahmud Begarha invades Khandesh (p. 172).

Sikandar Lodi shifts the capital temporarily to Sambhal (p. 145).

Husain Shah of Bengal invades Assam (pp. 217, 390).

Portuguese fleet under Cabral reaches Calicut (p. 421).

Abdication of Ghiyas-ud-dln and accession of Nasir-ud-din in Malwa (p. 182).

Death of Ghiyas-ud-dln of Malwa (p. 182).

Pact of Bldar (p. 268).

Death of Husain I and accession of Mahmud in Multan (p. 229).

Sikandar Lodi sends an expedition against Gwalior (p. 144).

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Mahmud Shah Bahmanl conquers the Raichur Doab (p. 307).

Vasco da Gama's second voyage to India (p. 422).

Death of ‘Adil Khan of Knandesh and accession of Daud (p. 172).

Death of Larasa Nayaka; VIra Narasimha becomes the regent of Vijayanagara (p. 300).

Sikandar Lodi transfers the capital to Agra (p. 145).

Campaign in Gwalior. Sikandar Lodi captures Dnolpur (p. 144).

VIra Narasimha murders Immadi Narasimha and proclaims himself king (pp. 306-07).

D Almeida, the first Viceroy of Portuguese India, arrives (p. 423).

Don Lorenzo defeated and killed in a naval battle near Chaul by the combined fleet of Gujarat and Egypt, (pp. 166, 424).

Kapilendra invades Bengal (p. 217).

Mahmud Begarha completes the Mmi‘ Masjid at Champaner (p. 720).

D’Almeida destroys the combined GujaratEgyptian fleet in an action near Diu. Albuquerque succeeds him as Viceroy (pp. 166, 424).

Death of VIra Narasimha and accession of Krishnadevaraya (p. 309).

Krishnadevaraya destroys the Bahmanl army *(p. 310).

Death of Rayamalla and accession of Maharana Sangramasimha (p. 340).

Death of Daud and accession of Ghazni Khan in Khandesh. Death of Ghazni Khan and disputed succession. ‘Adil Khan III is installed by Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat (p. 172)

Albuquerque sacks Calicut (p. 424).

Sri Chaitanya becomes a Sannyasin (p. 567).

The Portuguese under Albuquerque capture Goa; Yusuf ‘Adil Shah recovers it, but is shortly afterwards expelled by the Portuguese (pp. 166, 425).

Death of Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat, and accession of Muzaffar II (p. 167).

Albuquerque establishes a Portuguese factory at Calicut and conquers Malacca (p. 425).

Death of Naslr-ud-dln and accession of Mahmud II in Malwa (p. 182).

Dominance of the Hindus and rebellion of the Muslim nobles in Malwa (pp. 183-84)

Krishnadevaraya captures Raichur (p. 310).

Sikandar Lodi sends an expedition into Malwa (P. 144).

Husain Shah of Bengal sends an expedition to Arakan under Paragal Khan (p. 219).

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Krishnadevaraya conquers Udayagiri (pp. 311, 369), and erects the ‘House of Victory’ (p. 727).

Ahom-Chutiya war breaks out (p. 392).

Death of Bhlmasirhha of Idar (p. 167).

Death of Suja of Marwar and accession of Gariga (p. 355). *

Muhammad regains the throne of Kashmir (p. 386).

Death of Sikandar Lodi and accession of Ibrahim Lodi; rebellion of Jalal Khan (pp. 147-48).

Mahmud II flees from Malwa and seeks the help of Muzaffar II of Gujarat against the Hindu officers (p. 188).

Death of Kabir (p. 561).

Muzaffar II of Gujarat captures Mandu, and restores Mahmud II (p. 185).

Death of Mahmud Bahmani (p. 268).

Ibrahim Lodi captures Gwalior (p. 148).

Maharana Sarigramasiriiha defeats Ibrahim Lodi (pp. 148, 343).

Maharana Sangramasiriiha defeats the combined army of Gujarat and Malwa, and captures Mahmud II of Malwa near Gagraun (pp. 168, 185, 341).

Death of Hasain of Bengal and accession of Nusrat (pp. 219-20).

Death of ‘Adil Khan HI of Khandesh and accession of Miran Muhammad (p. 173).

Krishnadevaraya inflicts a crushing defeat on the Bijapur army (p. 314).

Maharana Sariga defeats the Gujarat army (pp. 168,343).

Shah Beg Arghun conquers Sind (p. 226).

End of the Ahom-Chutiya war (p. 392).

Babur conquers Lahore (p. 150).

Conquest of Multan by Shah Husain Arghun (p 230).

First battle of Panipat. Defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi. Zahir-ud-dln Muhammad Babur ascends the throne of Delhi (p. 150).

Death of Muzaffar II in Gujarat, and accession of Sikandar (p. 169).

Battle of Khianua (p. 345).

Rout of the Muslim army invading Assam (pp. 393-94).

Death of Maharana Sariga (p. 347).

Death of Krishnadevaraya (p. 317).

Bahadur of Gujarat conquers Malwa (p. 186).

Death of Nusrat of Bengal and accession of ‘Alaud-din Firuz Shah (p. 221).

Death of Sri Chaitanya (p. 567).

Death of Guru Nanak (p. 570).

Assassination of the Ahom king Suhungmung (p. 396).

Death of Prataparudra of Orissa (p. 370).

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Muhammad (No. 4) ruled jointly for a short time with Flruz (No. 3) in 1387. He again proclaimed himself king after deposing Abu Bakr (1389-90). For details of the regnal periods of sucessors of Flruz Shah see pp. 97 and 110 ff. &

III. THE SAYYID DYNASTY

Mu‘izz-ud-dln Mubarak Shah (1421-1434)

Malik Sulaiman

(1) Khizr Khan (1414-1421)

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Farid Khan

(3) Muhammad Shah (1434-1445)

(4) ‘Ala-ud-din, ‘Alam Shah (1445-1451)

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The names of BuhluFs sons are differently stated by various authorities. In addition to the six, given above, and with whom political events are associated, the following have also been mentioned:—

Ibrahim Khan, Jalal Khan or Jamal Khan, Hasan Khan, Shaikh A’zam Humayun, Musa Khan, Isma’Il Khan, Husain Khan and Mahmud Khan. The last three names are, however, again mentioned as those of Sikandar’s sons whom Ibrahim cast into prison.

V. THE SUCCESSION STATES OF THE DELHI SULTANATE.

SULTANS OF GUJARAT

(2) Muzaffar (1392-1411)*

I

I

(1) Muhammad (1403)

I

(3) Ahmad (1411-43)

(4) Muhammad II (1443-51) (6) Daud (1458)

(5) Qutb-ud-dln Ahmad (7) Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511)

or Ahmad II (1451-58) |

(8) Muzaffar II (1511-26)

(9) Sikandar (1526)

* Muzaffar declared himself as king in 1407

VI. KHANS OF KHANDESH

Khan Jahan Fdruql

(1) Malik Raja (1370-99)

(2) Naslr (1399-1437)

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(3) MIran ‘Adil (1437-41)

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(4) MIran Mubarak (1441-57)

Hasan m. d- of Mahmud Begarha of

(8) ‘Adil III— m. d- of Muzaffar II Gujarat (1510-20)

(9) MIran Muhammad (1520-37)

Gujarat

of

(5) ‘Adil II (1457-1503)

(6) Baud (1503-10)

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(7) Ghazni Khan (1510)

VII. SULTANS OF MALWA

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The Ghurl Kings

(1) Dilavar Khan* (c. 1390-1405)

(2) Hushang (1405-35)

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(3) Muhammad (1435-36) Usman

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(4) Mas'ud (1436)

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The Khaljis

Malik Mughis

(1) Mahmud (1436-69)

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(2) Ghiyas-ud-dln (1469-1500)

(3)NasIr-ud-dln (1500-11)

(4) Mahmud (1511-31) Shihab-ud-din

* From 1390-1401 Dilavar acted as governor and declared himself king in 1401.

VIII. SULTANS OF JAUNPUR

(1) Malik Sarvar (1394-99)

(3) Shams-ud-din Ibrahim (1402-40) (Brother of No. 2)

(4) Mahmud (1440-57)

(5) Muhmmad (1457-58)

(6) Husain (1458-79.)

(2) Mubarak (1399-1402) (adopted son of No. 1)

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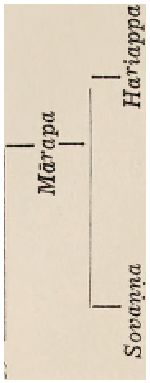
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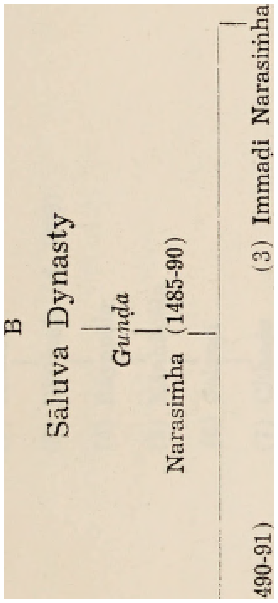
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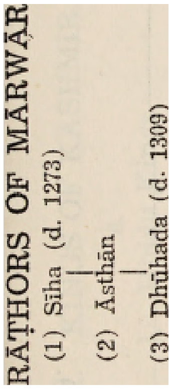

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(4) Kaluadeva (c. 1540-41) (5) Kakharuadeva

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(For the regnal periods of Muhammad,. Fath, Nazuk and Ibrahim see above pp. 384-8*3) •

XVIII. ASSAM—DYNASTY OF THE AHOM KINGS.

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GENEALOGY

XIX. MITHXLA

Sugauna Dynasty

(1) Kamesvara

(5) Bhavesa (Bhavasimha)

(2) Bhogisvara

(3) Ganesvara

(6) Devasimha (9) Harasimha

I I

Vlrasvmha (4) Klrtisirhha Rdjasimha

(7) Sivasirhha (8) Padmasimha (10) Narasimha

(11) Dhirasiriiha

(12) Bhairavasimha

(13) Ramabhadri

(14) Lakshmlnatha

XX. NEPAL

I. The Dynasty of Harisimha

1. Harisimha
2. Matisimha
3. Saktisimha

4. Sy amasimha

II. The different branches of the Malta Dynasty

A. Anantamalla (1274-1310)

Jayanandadeva (c. 1310-30) B- Jayarimalla (c. 1320-44)

C. Jayarajadeva (c. 1347-61)

Jayarjuna (c- 1361-82) D. Jayarudramalla

Jayadharmamalla

t

d. Nayakadevi = Jagatsimha (1341)

d. Rajalladevi

Jayasthitimalia

(1382-95)

Jayaiyotirmalla

(1408-28)

Jayaklrtimalla

Jayayakshamalla 2 (1428-80

1. The three sons of Jayasthitimalia ruled conjointly for some time till his second or youngest son Jayajyotirmalla ruled alone.

2. Jayayakshamalla divided his kingdom among his three sons and a daughter, thus creating four independent Slates. (See p- 415).

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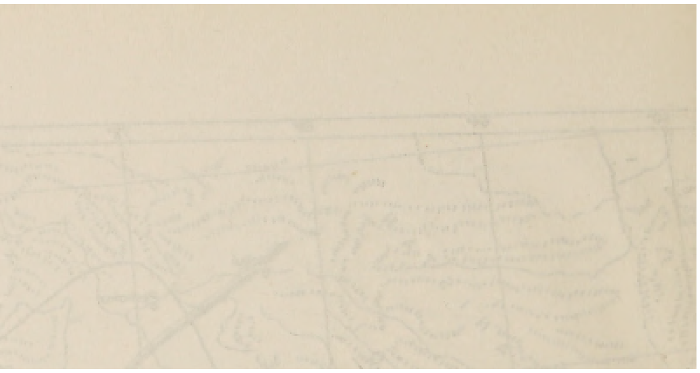

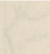

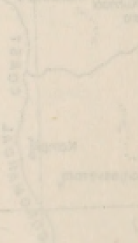

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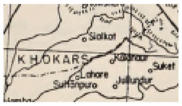
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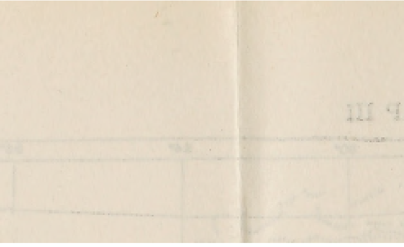

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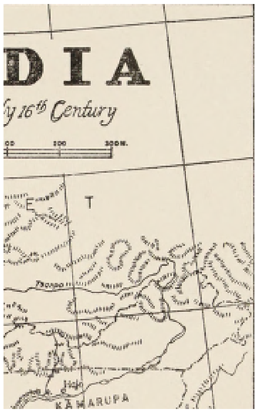
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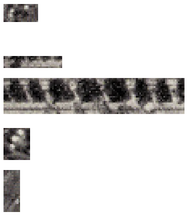

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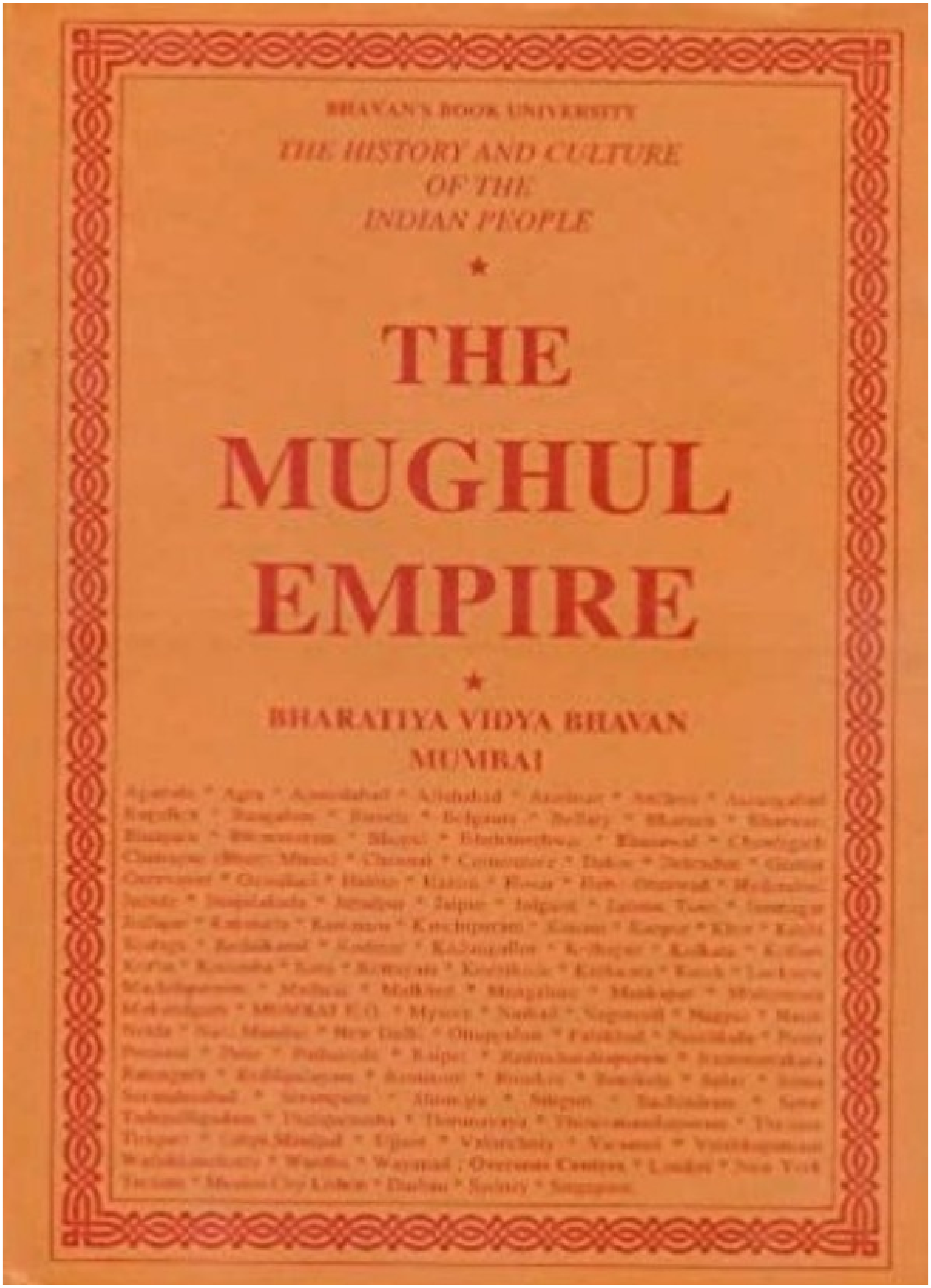

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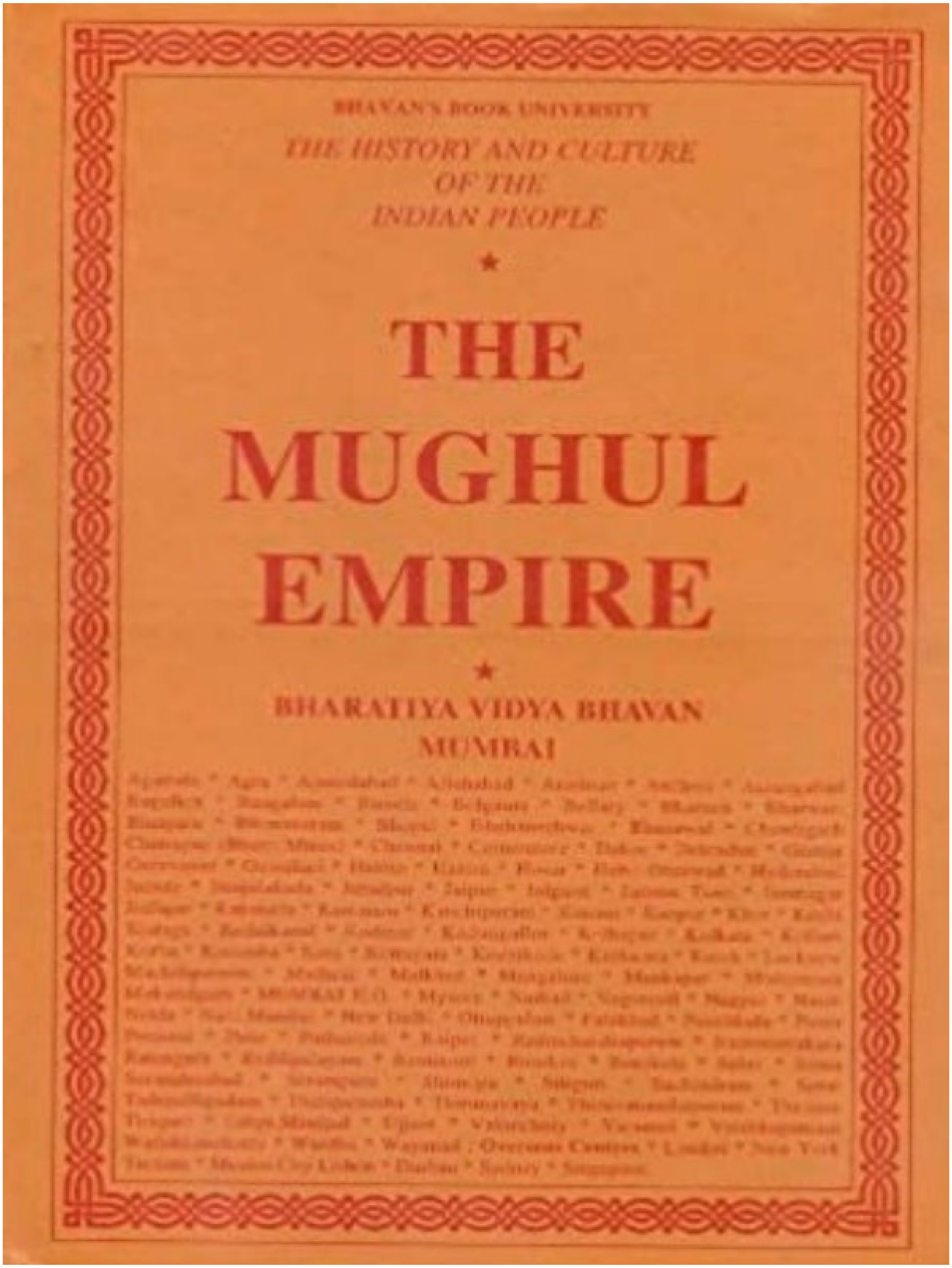

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R. C. Majumdar, General Editor

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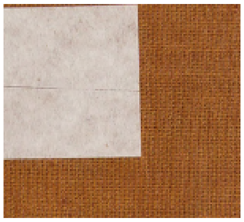

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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN’S HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME VII

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KULAPATI DR. K. M. MUNSHI

This is the first volume of this series (out of ten so far published) which appears without a Foreword from the pen of its inaugurator, the late lamented Kulapati Dr. K. M. Munshi. He died full of years and honours, and his activities and achievements are only too well-known. His death is mourned by all classes of people from one end of India to the other and also abroad. But it has been an irreparable loss to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which sponsored not only the project of publishing this historical series but many other books calculated to promote a knowledge of the culture of India. To me the loss is also a personal one. I still cherish the memory of my first meeting with Dr. Munshi in 1945. I was surprised to receive an invitation to meet him at Bombay, for I was a complete stranger to him at the time. Far greater was my surprise when I listened to him explaining the ideals and method envisaged by him for the publication of a series of ten volumes on the history and culture of the Indian People, laying particular stress on the two words ‘culture’ and ‘people’. I need not expatiate on this, as he has himself expressed, in the Foreword to the First Volume, his own concept of the scope of this series. These lines would bear repetition. “Some years ago”, wrote Munshiji, “I defined the scope of history as follows:

“To be a history in the true sense of the word, the work must be the story of the people inhabiting a country. It must be a record of their life from age to age presented through the life and achievements of men whose exploits become the beacon-lights of tradition; through the characteristic reaction of the people to physical and economic conditions; through political changes and vicissitudes which create the forces and conditions which operate upon life; through characteristic social institutions, beliefs and forms; through literary and artistic achievements; through the movements of thought which from time to time helped or hindered the growth of collective harmony; through those values which the people have accepted or reacted to and which created or shaped their collective will; through efforts of the people to will themselves into an organic unity. The central purpose of a history must, therefore, be to investigate and unfold the values which, age after age, have inspired the inhabitants of a country to develop their collective will and to express it through the manifold activities of their life.

Such a history of India is still to be written."

I was very much surprised to hear all this from one who was not a professional historian. But my surprise reached its climax when he requested me to accept the post of the General Editor, for we never met each other before.

I accepted his offer and since that day up to the very end of his life—a long period of twenty-five years—our relations had always been very cordial. Though I generally lived in Calcutta, I visited him from time to time in connection with the publication of this history and was always his guest. Our discussion on some disputed points of what I wrote was always carried on in a very cordial spirit. He used to read the type-script of each volume before it was published. Occasionally, though very rarely, when he felt some difficulty in accepting some statement in any volume, he discussed the matter with me. There was a tacit understanding between us that no objection would be made to any statement which is based on fact and supported by reasonable argument. In other words, we both agreed to accept, without hesitation, whatever is proved to be true by all canons of historical criticism, however unpleasant or disagreeable it might appear to any of us. Munshiji never violated this agreement or understanding. I specially lay stress on this point, as I have learnt from personal experience that men in high position in India seldom exhibit this spirit. When, as the wholetime Director, I prepared the draft of the History of the Freedom Movement in India, sponsored by the Government of India, I met with constant interference and obstruction from men in authority, having no knowledge of history, and I could not help contrasting their attitude with that of Dr. K. M. Munshi. When this unpleasant situation was reported to Munshiji by an important member of the Board of Editors for the compilation of the History of the Freedom Movement in India, Munshiji said: “Leave the matter of writing to Dr. Majumdar as I have done, and don’t interfere with his freedom, subject to the final discussion and decision by the Board of Editors.’’

If Munshiji’s advice were followed, the History of the Freedom Movement in India would have been published fifteen years before it has been actually published, and several lakhs of rupees would have been saved.

Munshiji s attitude was put to a severe test when I prepared the first draft of the role played by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom of India in Vol. XI. He read through it and invited me to Bombay. I stayed in his house and we read together all the relevant portions line by line. We had discussions on many points, but ultimately with a few minor changes in expressions, he agreed to my draft. I mention this incident in detail, for I knew that he was a great devotee of Mahatma Gandhi and his views on some points were different from mine. But the fact that he still accepted my draft after I convinced him by facts and arguments, revealed to me what I consider to be one of the noblest traits in his character. He had already earned my love and respect, but to this was now added admiration for a very high degree of intellectual integrity—so very rare in the leaders of Free India.

It will ever remain a matter of deep regret to me that Munshiji did not live to see the completion of this cherished project of his. My only consolation is that he saw nine volumes comprising seven thousand five hundred pages already published, and this, the tenth volume, already in the press. Whether I shall live long enough to bring out the one remaining volume, I cannot say, but if I do, the day of its publication, and completion of Munshiji's dear project, will be the proudest and happiest day of my long life.

March 1, 1974 R. C. MAJUMDAR

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By

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR (General Editor)

The reasons for the postponement of the publication of this and the next volume (Vols. VII and VIII) till after Vols. IX, X and XI were published have been stated in the Preface to Vol. IX of this series (p. xxxiv).

This, the seventh volume of the series, deals with the period from 1526 to 1707 A.D. during which the Mughuls gradually established their authority over nearly the whole of India. This is the brightest Chapter in the history of Mjuslim rule in India, which began in the 13th century A.D. and covers a period of nearly six hundred years in north and five hundred years in south India. The Mughul rule is distinguished by the establishment of a stable Government with an efficient system of administration, a very high development of architecture and paintings and, above all, wealth and splendour such as no other Islamic State in any part of the world may boast of.

So far as the Hindus were concerned, there was no improvement either in their material and moral conditions or in their relations with the Muslims. With the sole exception of Akbar, who sought to conciliate the Hindus by removing some of the glaring evils to which they were subjected, almost all the other Mughul Emperors were notorious for their religious bigotry. The Muslim law which imposed many disabilities and indignities upon the Hindus, mentioned in Vol. VI (pp. 617-20), and thereby definitely gave them an inferior social and political status, as compared to the Muslims, was followed by these Mughul Emperors (and other Muslim rulers) with as much zeal as was displayed by their predecessors, the Sultans of Delhi. The climax was reached during the reign of Aurangzlb, who deliberately pursued the policy of destroying and desecrating Hindu temples and idols with a thoroughness unknown before or since. Such disclosures may not be liked by the high officials and a section of the politicians, but it is the solemn duty of the historian to state the truth, however unpleasant or discreditable it might be to any particular class or community. Unfortunately, political expediency in India during this century has sought to destroy this true historic spirit. This alone can explain the concealed, and mostly unsuccessful, attempt to disparage the statements about the Hindu-Muslim relations made in Volume V

(pp. 497-502) and Vol. VI (pp. 615-636), though these were based mainly on Muslim chronicles and accounts of a Muslim traveller, supported by contemporary Indian literature.

The difficulty of writing the true history of Hindu-Muslim relations as well as the editorial policy followed in this matter has been stated at some length in the Preface to Vol. VI (pp. xxixxxx) Of this series. The same policy is followed in this volume also.

It is very sad that the spirit of perverting history to suit political views is no longer confined to politicians, but has definitely spread even among professional historians.

In the present volume, reference has been made in some detail to the Muslim bigotry in general and the persecution of the Hindus by Aurangzib in particular (pp. 233-36, 305-6). Although the statements are based on unimpeachable authority, there is hardly any doubt that they will be condemned not only by a small class of historians enjoying official favour, but also by a section of Indians w o are quite large in number and occupy high position in politics and society. It is painful to mention, though impossible to ignore, the fact that there is a distinct and conscious attempt to rewrite the whole chapter of the bigotry and intolerance of the Muslim rulers towards Hindu religion.* This was originally prompted by the political motive of bringing together the Hindus and Musalmans in a common fight against the British but has continued ever since. A history written under the auspices of the Indian National Congress sought to repudiate the charge that the Muslim rulers broke Hindu temples, and asserted that they were the most tolerant in matters of religion. Following in its footsteps a noted historian has sought to exonerate Mahmud of Ghazni's bigotry and fanaticism, and several writers in India have come forward to defend Aurangzib against Jadunath Sarkar's charge of religious intolerance. It is interesting to note that in the revised edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, one of them, while re-writing the article on Aurangzib originally written by Sir William Irvine, has expressed the view that the charge of breaking Hindu temples brought against Aurangzib is a disputed point. Alas for poor Jadunath Sarkar, who must have turned in his grave if he were buried. For, after reading his History of Aurangzib, one would be tempted to ask, if the temple-breaking policy of Aurangzib is a disputed point, is there a single fact in the whole recorded history of mankind which may be taken as undisputed? A noted historian has sought to prove that the Hindu population was better off under the Muslims than under the Hindu tributaries or independent rulers. “W hile some historians have sought to show that Cf. Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol. Ill (1964), p. 58.

the Hindu and Muslim cultures were fundamentally different and formed two distinct and separate units flourishing side by side, the late K. M. Ashraf sought to prove that the Hindus and Muslims had no cultural conflict.” But the climax was reached by the politician-cum-historian Lala Lajpat Rai when he asserted that “the Hindus and Muslims have coalesced into an Indian people very much in the same way as the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes and Normans formed the English people of today.”* His further assertion that “the Muslim rule in India was not a foreign rule” has now become the oft-repeated slogan of a certain political party. I have discussed the question in some detail elsewhere** and need not elaborate the point any further.

The policy adopted in regard to this question in this and the preceding volumes, and discussed at some length in Vol. VI (pp. xxix-xxx), was most eloquently expressed by Jadunath Sarkar as far back as 1915 in his Presidential speech at a historical conference in Bengal. The following is a literal English translation of the original Bengali passage:

“I would not care whether truth is pleasant or unpleasant, and in consonance with or opposed to current views. I would not mind in the least whether truth is or is not a blow to the glory of my country. If necessary, I shall bear in patience the ridicule and slander of friends and society for the sake of preaching truth. But still I shall seek truth, understand truth, and accept truth. This should be the firm resolve of a historian.”

I may conclude this topic by referring to the views expressed by Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. Rajendra Prasad at a much later date when Dr. Rajendra Prasad launched a scheme to write a comprehensive national history of India on a co-operative basis, and requested Jadunath to become its chief editor. Jadunath wrote to him on 19 November, 1937: “National history, like every other history worthy of the name and deserving to endure, must be true as regards the facts and reasonable in the interpretation of them. It will be national not in the sense that it will try to suppress or white-wash everything in our country’s past that is disgraceful, but because it will admit them and at the same time point out that there were other and nobler aspects in the stages of our nation's

evolution which offset the former. In this task the historian

must be a judge. He will not suppress any defect of the national character, but add to his portraiture those higher qualities which,

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

taken together with the former, help to constitute the entire individual."

In his reply to the above, dated 22 November, 1937, Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote: "I entirely agree with you that no history is worth the name which suppresses or distorts facts. A historian who purposely does so under the impression that he thereby does good to his native country really harms it in the end. Much more so in the case of a country like ours which has suffered much on account of its national defects, and which must know and understand them to be able to remedy them."

An apt illustration of the truth of the observation in the last sentence is furnished by the religious bigotry of the Mughul Emperors. If we consider the relevant facts of history as discussed in this volume, in an open mind, without either any rancour or resentment on the one hand, and a desire to suppress the truth on the other, we can never deny that religious bigotry contributed to a very large extent to the downfall of the mighty Mughul empire. If we realize fully this great historical truth we may learn a valuable lesson from the teachings of history which might serve as a useful guide in shaping our destiny in future. If we deny it out of misguided sentiments, it would be a perversion of historical truth. For, the rebellion of the Rajputs, who were a pillar of strength to the Mughul Emperors, against Aurangzib, and the rise of the Marathas and Sikhs as great military powers—the three great events which brought about the decline and fall of the Mughul empire—were direct consequences of the bigotry of the Mughul emperors in general and of Aurangzib in particular. It is not perhaps a mere coincidence that the reign of Aurangzib, during which the religious bigotry reached its climax, was followed almost immediately after his death by a rapid process of decline and disintegration of the Mughul Empire. It is true that other causes were also at work, such as the fratricidal wars of succession. We should remember, however, that there were similar wars also just before Aurangzib ascended the throne, but the Mughul Empire survived it—because it could still count on the loyal support of the Rajputs and had not to encounter the opposition, either of the Rajputs or of the Marathas and the Sikhs whom Aurangzib's bigotry had converted into deadly enemies.

It is, however, only fair to point out in this connection that in spite of his religious bigotry and cruelty to his father and brothers Aurangzib must be regarded as a very able ruler. For it was he who had extended the southern boundary of the Mughul Empire which then included the vast region from the Hindu Kush and the

Himalayas to Cape Comorin, for a near parallel to which we have to look back to the Maurya Empire that flourished about 2000 years before. The Mughul period should also be credited with great artistic achievement whose extant remains far exceed in skill and grandeur those of any other period in the history of India. A visible embodiment of its brilliance is the Taj Mahal of Agra, which is justly regarded as one of the eight wonders of the world. The Mughul paintings have also received a world-wide renown.

Finally, India during the Mughul period enjoyed a proverbial reputation for wealth and splendour and attracted a large number of visitors from Europe who have left records of their impression.

Next to the Mughuls, the Rajput States in the north, the five Sultanates of the Deccan arising out of the ruins of the Bahmani Kingdom, and the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara in South India played the dominant role in history at the beginning of the period. The end of the period witnessed the rise of the two great powers, the Marathas and the Sikhs who were destined to play the most prominent role in the eighteenth century, which would be described in the next volume.

One of the most characteristic features of the period is a galaxy of great personalities who have left a deep impress upon the political history of

India. These are Babur, Sher Shah, Hemchandra (Himu), Akbar, Chand Sultan, Rana Pratap Singh, Nur Jahan, Shivaji, Baji Rao and Guru Govind Singh, who have secured a permanent niche in the shrine of Indian history and of whom any country might well feel proud.

This volume may claim the credit of rescuing from oblivion the name of Himu or Hemchandra, a forgotten Hindu hero who began his life as a greengrocer, and by dint of his own efforts and personality ascended the throne of Delhi—the only Hindu to do so since the Battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. Historians of India have so far done scant justice to his personality and achievement with the result that he is hardly known to Indians today as a remarkable and distinguished person during the Medieval Age. For this reason his career has been discussed in some detail in an Appendix (pp. 97-101).

To the distinguished names in the political field mentioned above we may add those of Tulasirdasa and Tansen, whose influence still persists, respectively, over Hindi literature and classical music of India.

This volume gives a brief account of fourteen local vernacular literatures, most of which were yet merely at their formative stage. There is a popular view that special credit for the rise and growth of many of them is due to the Muslim rulers. An eminent Muslim scholar, for example, has expressed the view that the development of Bengali literature was rendered possible only by the enlightened rule of Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal, whose rule ended in A.D. 1519 after Babur had begun his expeditions against India and only seven years before the first Battle of Panipat. A faint echo of such sentiments will be found in Vol. VI of this series (pp. 219, 513). The Editor, however, feels, after a very careful study of the materials now available, that Hussain Shah has no reasonable claim to be regarded as the promoter of the development of Bengali literature. Other claims of a similar nature in respect of the development of other vernacular literatures have hardly any basis to stand upon.*

It is remarkable that the patronage of Muslim rulers has not been even claimed, except in a very few cases, as a contributing factor to the development of other vernacular literatures of India. So this development must be regarded as essentially due to the operation of natural laws in the evolution of Indian literature. It is also very noteworthy that the local vernacular literatures show few traces of Muslim influence except a large number of loanwords from Arabic and Persian languages. This would be evident from a comparison of British influence on Bengali literature in the 19th century with that of Muslim influence during the preceding six centuries.

The Editor takes this opportunity to place on record his high esteem of the scholarship of G. S. Sardesai of international fame, and C. S. Srinivasachari, who wrote, respectively, Chapter IX (Shivaji) and Chapter XVI (European Settlements), of this volume. Both of them passed away long ago and it reflects great credit on them that their writings required, comparatively speaking, so little changes to bring them up to date. The Editor had the advantage of revising Sardesai's Chapter in the light of his published work, the "New History of the Marathas" (1957), and took the liberty of adding some comments on the views of the learned scholar. The Editor also notes with deep regret the recent death of Prof. Biman Bihari Majumdar, the author of the section on Hindu Religion in Chapter XX and Dr. A. L. Srivastava who contributed Chapters I (Sources), XVIII (Law and Legal Institutions)

Note 4

and XXII (Economic Condition). Both of them were alive when the volume was sent to the press. Dr. Srivastava himself corrected the proofs of his three chapters and it is a matter of great sorrow that he passed away before the publication of this volume. The death of these four scholars has left a void in Indian scholarship which it would be difficult to fill up. The Editor takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sorrow at the death of these four leading historians and his high appreciation of the great services rendered by them to the cause of Indian history and culture.

The Editor also takes this opportunity to place on record his deep regret at the death of Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., the Assistant Editor of the first six volumes of this series. He was a great scholar and a specialist in the domain of Puranic and Epic literature, as would be amply evidenced by the four chapters contributed by him to the first volume of this series, as well as his learned publications on Bhasa and the Epics and Puranas. The Editor recalls with pleasure and gratitude his loyal and ungrudging services and has no hesitation in saying that the success of this series is largely due to the care and devotion with which he had performed his duty. He was associated with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for over twenty years as its Assistant Director and Assistant Editor of this series, and donated his library of valuable books to the Bhavan. A man of very modest disposition and loving nature, he was a life-long bachelor and may be truly said to be a God's good man. He died on 6 June, 1973, at the age of 68, leaving a large number of friends to mourn his loss. May his soul rest in peace.

The Editor conveys his sincere thanks to all the contributors of this volume and places on record his high appreciation of the services rendered by them in the preparation of this volume and maintaining the standard of this series.

Dr. Jadunath Sarkar had very kindly agreed to write the two Chapters (VIII, X) on Aurangzib, and it is a matter of great regret that he passed away before he could do the work himself. The Assistant Editor, Dr. J. N. Chaudhuri, who was closely associated with him, and had the benefit of his oral instructions, wrote the Chapters on the basis of Sir Jadunath's monumental work on Aulrangzib.

The Editor notes with regret that in spite of his best efforts he could not establish contact with Prof. Abdur Rashid who wrote Chapters VI and VII (Jahiangir and Shah Jahan) and Prof. M. W. Mirza who wrote the section on Islam in Chapter XX, both of whom were in Pakistan, and could not revise the proofs of their articles. The Editor had not, therefore, the advantage of discussing with Prof. Rashid some points on which serious differences of opinion made this course a very desirable one. He has therefore kept unaltered the text of Prof. Rashid and expressed his own views in the footnotes.

The Editor begs to convey his thanks to 'The Associated Advertisers & Printers, Bombay,' for the great care they took in maintaining the high standard of printing and get-up of this series, and to Shri B. Srinivasa Rao for the great care and ability with which he corrected the proofs at the initial stage. The Editor also thanks the editors of various journals for their appreciative reviews of the preceding volume. He also thanks the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for lending photos for illustrations. Special thanks are due to H. E. the Governor of West Bengal, Mr. A. L. Dias, I.C.S., for his personal interference in removing the difficulties created in respect of some of the photos supplied by the Indian Museum.

In conclusion, the Editor places on record his high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the two successive Assistant Editors, Dr. J.N. Chaudhuri and Dr. S. Chaudhuri. Dr. J.N. Chaudhuri had to give up his work for troubles in his eyes and the work was taken up by Dr. S. Chaudhuri. The thanks of the Editor are due to both of them as also to Dr. C. M. Kulkarni, for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume.

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- * Young India, pp. 73-5.
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71. Lady with a Myna, Bijapur School, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, (p. 820)

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ain

Bib. Ind.

I.O.

M.T.I.

(In addition to those used in Vol. VI)

Ain-i-Akbaft by Shaikh Abu-’l-Fazl. English translation published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. Vol. I by Blochmann and Vols. II and III by Jarrett.

Bibliotheca Indica Series published by A.S.B. (Asiatic Society of Bengali).

India Office.

Muntakhab-ut-Taw\alrikh by ‘Abdul Qadir Badauni also known as Tarikh-i-Badauni. English translation (Bib. Ind.)—Vol. I by Lt. Col. Ranking, Vol. II by Rev. W. H. Lowe, Vol. Ill by Lt. Colonel Haig.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

The sources for the Mughul period are full and copious. We have not only the chronicles of the reigns of all the Mughul monarchs from 1526 to 1707, but often more than one work dealing with the history of each reign. These contemporary works, mostly in Persian, were written by court historians (who had access to the State papers and other documents) and sometimes by other competent writers who were interested in the history of their times. There are also quite a few general histories of Muslim rule in India from the advent of Islam as a political force in this land to the time of the Mughul emperor during whose reign these works were written. It is worthy of note that there are two autobiographies written by the rulers themselves, e.g., the Tuzuk-i-Bdbun by Babur and the Tuzuk-i-JakdngW by Jahangir. Shah Jahan, though he did not write his autobiography, had the history of his reign written under his supervision, and it was read out to him during the progress of its composition. Another peculiarity about the sources of the period is the fact that there is extant at least one history written by a woman, besides the poetical and literary compositions left by a few cultured princesses. These compositions are entitled D%wuns. Fourthly, quite a large number of royal farmans and official orders of various descriptions, dating from the time of Akbar, and many semi-official papers have survived, unlike those of the Sultanate period, and serve as the most reliable source of some aspects of Mughul history. Fifthly, the sources of the period include statistical surveys and accounts of the empire and the first Imperial Gazetteer in the world, and revenue rules, regulations and statistics called the Dastur-ul-Amal. Sixthly, there are court bulletins and news-papers described as Akhbdrdt-i-darbdri~mu‘alla. Several hundreds of these are preserved in the Rajasthan Archives, and elsewhere. Seventhly, many important officers and secretaries (munshls) have left behind a series of collections of historical letters to serve as models of epistolary style for posterity, which are available to us in several volumes, called by various names— Insha or Maktubat or Ruq‘at. These are of great historical value. Eighthly, we have a few accounts of the description of the country, its physical aspect, towns, rivers and mountains, and other important details which throw a flood of light on the condition of the times. Ninthly, there is a good deal of religious literature, called Malfuzut, which gives a clear indication of the social and religious life of the age. And finally, a stream of European missionaries and travellers, besides those from Islamic countries, who visited India from time to time have recorded their observations in dozens of volumes. These observations supplement the information contained in the works referred to above, and, in some particulars, serve as correctives to them. At least from the time of Akbar onward every happening and transaction at the court and, in fact, all that the emperor said or did were recorded then and there every day, and preserved in the Royal Record Office. Unfortunately, this kind of valuable material has perished. Time, weather and human neglect have also wrought havoc with all types of written records. Still, what remains of the various categories of historical and literary sources is enormous and can scarcely be mastered by a syndicate of scholars in the course of a lifetime.

I. LITERARY SOURCES

A — Turki, Persian and Arabic (i) Chronicles, Memoirs and Letter Books

The first work of the period entitled Tuzuk-i-Bdburl or the Memoirs of Babur is by Babur himself, who had laid the first stone in the foundation of the Mughul empire in India. It is his autobiography, written in Turki, during his leisure. Unfortunately, it is not complete, and all the known copies have three gaps—from 1508 to 1519, from 1520 to 1525, and from 1529 to 1530. The text was edited by N. Ilminski in 1857 and subsequently from a facsimile of the more reliable Hyderabad Codex by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge in 1905. The Tuzuk-i-Bdburl was so popular throughout the Mughul period that it was four times translated into Persian—first by Zain Khan, next by Payandah Hasan (in the time of Humayun), a third time at Akbar's orders by 'Abdur-Rahim Khan Khanan, and lastly, by Mir Abu Talib Turbati during the reign of Shah Jahan. It is easily the most important authority on Babur's reign, and on the early life of Humayun. The author's style is at once plain and graceful, and the entire work reads like a novel. It is characterized by candour and freshness. Babur has frankly mentioned his faults, foibles and vices as well as his virtues, besides describing political and military events and giving pen-pictures of notable celebrities of the age. He has given a detailed description of the physical features and social and economic conditions of the country, its animals and birds, flowers and trees. Nevertheless, it will be uncritical to take for granted all that he has written in this remarkable book. For example, in order to magnify the importance of his victory over Ibrahim Lodi, he writes that whereas he had come with 12,000 men, all told, Ibrahim Lodi brought an army of one lakh of men and one thousand elephants into the field. He had, moreover, a foreigner's and an invader's prejudice about the country, its people and civilization. Notwithstanding these and similar deficiencies, the third volume of the Memoirs is considered the most authentic and valuable authority on the history of the third decade of the sixteenth century and the condition of India during that epoch. The Tuzuk-v-Baburl has: been reckoned "among the most enthralling and romantic works in the literature of all time."

The next important source of information on Babur and Humayun is the Tdrikh-i-Rashidi (Persian) 1 of Babur's cousin Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, who was a friend and admirer of Babur. It was completed in A.D. 1551 (958 A.H.). As the author was an eye-witness of many of the incidents described by him, especially Babur's struggle, Humayun's contest with Sher Shah, the battle of Bilgram, his flight and the affairs of Kashmir, the Tamkh-i-Rashtdi supplements the Tuzuk-i-Baburi and the Humayun-nama, and constitutes a first-rate authority on the reigns of Babur and Humayun. Then follow the well-known historian Khvand Amir's two works, Habib-us-Siyar and Humayun-nama. The author was born in Herat in A.D. 1475 (880 A.H.) and died at Gwalior in A.D. 1534 (941 A.H.). The Hablb-us-Siyar, lithographed at Tehran (1855) and at Bombay (1857), throws welcome light on Babur and on the first three years of Humayun's rule. Humayun-nama 2 was written at the suggestion of that ruler and describes in detail the history of the first three years of his reign. It must be reckoned as the firstrate authority for that period, Humayun's initial difficulties and plans. Another equally contemporary work is the Ahsan-us-Siyar 3 by Mirza Barkhwardar Turkman which describes Babur's relations with Shah Isma'11 of Persia. The Shaibanl-ndma , 4 written in Turki by Muhammad Salih, is an authority on Babur's relations with that Uzbeg ruler. The text was edited and translated into German by H. Vambery in 1885. It was also edited by P. M. Melioransky and A. N. Samoilovich in 1908. The Tdrikh-i-Alamdrdi 'Abbasi 5 of Iskandar Munshi in Persian, lithographed at Tehran (1896), is valuable for the relations between India and Persia in the sixteenth century. The Humdyun-ndma 6 of Gulbadan Begam, Babur's daughter, was written (A.D. 1587) in Persian at Akbar's desire and is a first-rate authority on the domestic relations of the first two Mughul rulers with their wives, sons, daughters and other members of the family, and on their social and harem life.

reign. The work was published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in April, 1913.

(4) Inshd-i-Abu-l-Fazl, 15 also called Maqtubdt-i-Alldmi. This contains official despatches written by Abu-'l-Fazl. It is divided into two parts, the first of which contains Akbar's letters to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Turan, Shah 'Abbas of Persia, the ruler of Kashghar, the divines of Mecca, the wise men of Europe, Raja 'All Khan of Khandesh, Burhan-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar, and his own nobles such as 'Abdur-Rahim Khan Khanan, Khan A'zam Mirza Aziz Kuka, etc. The second part consists of Abu-'l-Fazl's letters to Akbar, Daniyal, Mirza Shah Rukh, the Khan Khanan, etc. It is a very valuable collection and throws fresh light on many incidents and matters which have been only very briefly alluded to in the Akbar-ndma.

Khvaja-Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the next great writer of the age, was the author of Tabaqat^i-Akbari, 16 a general history from the beginning of the Muslim rule to the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign. It is divided into three volumes and is published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The first volume commences with the advent of Islam to India and gives the history of the Sultanate period. The second volume describes the reigns of Babur, Humayun, and Akbar, and the third gives the history of provincial kingdoms in the country. The author belonged to an influential family which held high posts under Babur and Humayun. Nizam-ud-d'in himself was Akbar's Mir Bakhshl and a highly polished courtier, enjoying friendship of the orthodox as well as liberal-minded Musalmans of all grades of society. He was liked by Abu-'l-Fazl and also by 'Abdul-Qadir Badauni. In fact, the latter considered him one of his best friends. The work of such a polished courtier was bound to be a cautious chronicle with no comments of his own. Nevertheless, it is of considerable importance, particularly with regard to the history of Gujarat during Akbar's reign.

The Muntakhab-ut-Tawdrikh or Tdrlkh-i-Baddunl, 11 by the famous historian 'Abdul-Qadir Badauni, son of Muluk Shiah, is a general history of the Muslim world in three volumes. The first volume contains an account of Babur and Humayun. The second volume is exclusively devoted to Akbar's reign and comes down to 1594. It is an unusually frank and critical account of Akbar's administrative measures, particularly religious, and his conduct. It was consequently kept concealed till that emperor's death, and was published after Jahangir's accession. The book is written from the point of view of a bigoted Sunni Musalman, and gives a biassed account of

the development of Akbar's views on religion and his religious policy. It serves as a corrective to the liberal presentation of the great emperor's latitudinarian views by Abu-'l-Fazl. The third volume describes the careers, lives and works of Muslim saints and scholars.

The book is defective in dates and sometimes in the presentation of the sequence of events.

The Takmil-i-Akbar-nama 18 by Tnayat-Ullah is a continuation of Abu-'l-Fazl's Akbar-nama beginning with the 46th regnal year where Abu-'l-Fazl's work stops on account of his death, and comes down to the death of Akbar in October, 1605. It was obviously completed in 1605 A.D. It is a dry chronicle and omits the account of many happenings between 1602 and 1605.

The Gulshan-i-Ibrdhimi alias Tdrikh-i-Fii'ishta, 19 of Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah, was written in 1606-07 (1015 A. H.) . It is a general history of Muslim India and comes down to the accession of Jahangir. It also describes the history of provincial kingdoms, particularly the Deccan Sultanates, during the medieval age. Although it is a compilation based on the works of earlier writers, particularly Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad's Tabaqdt-i<Akbari, yet it gives at places fresh information which is not found in other works. The author was an eye-witness of many events that took place in the Deccan and of which he has left an account. The work was lithographed—first in Bombay in 1832, and later by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1864 and again in 1905.

Tdrikh-i-Haqq^i of 'Abdul-Haqq was written in 1596-97. The author was the father of Nur-ul-Haqq who wrote Zubdat-ut-Tawdrikh. He was an orthodox Musalman and was opposed to Akbar's liberal religious policy . He also wrote a series of letters which were subsequently collected and published under the title of Maktubat-iHazrat c Abdul-Haqq . The copy of Tdrikh-i-Haqcfi is preserved in the Sarasvatli Bhavan Library of Udaipur.

The Zubdat-ut-Tawdrikh of Shaikh Nur-ul-Haqq, written during the early years of Jahangir's reign (Ms. copy in the Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Udaipur), is a work of value for the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. 'Alahdad FaizI Sarhindl wrote two valuable chronicles, named Tarikh-iHumayun Shahi and Akbar-ndma. 19a Both are well-written works, and supply useful details about the reigns of these two monarchs. The details regarding the siege and capture of Aslrgarh in the Akbar-nama are valuable. Some extracts from FaizI Sarhindi's Akbar-nama are translated in Elliot and Dowson's History of India, Vol. VI. Hasan Beg Romlu's Ahsan-ut-Tawdrikh , written in

A.D. 1577, is a contemporary work on Persia and Mirza 'Ala-uddaulah Qazvini's Nafais-ul-Madsir, written in A.D. 1575, gives biographical accounts of Persian poets of Akbar's time. A manuscript copy of this work is available in the Rampur Library. Among the works written at Akbar's suggestion is the well-known chronicle, 'Abbas Sarwani's Tdrikln-i-Sher Shdhi 20 alias Tuhfd-i-Akbar Shdhi written in 1587. It deals principally with the reign and administration of Sher Shah and is indispensable.

Among the general histories of the period, mention may be made of An-nur-us-Safir 21 of Muhi-ud-dln 'Abd-ur Qadir, written about 1603, and Rauzai-ut-Tdhirin 22 written in 1605, which are available in manuscript form. Muhammad Amin's Anjdul-i-Akbhar 23 is a general history of the Muslim world and was completed in A.D. 1626. Yahya-bin-'Abdul Latif's Muntakhab-ut-Tawdrikh 24 gives an account of Babur, Humayun and Akbar. It was written towards the end of Akbar's reign and is available in manuscript form in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. The Wdqaya or Hdltiti-Asad Beg by Asad Beg (Aligarh Ms.) was written about 1631-32. It is primarily a memoir of the author, but it also gives an authoritative account of the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl and the pursuit of his murderer, Bir Simha Deva Bundela, and of the conspiracy to place Khusrav on the throne by setting aside the claim of Salim (Jahangir).

By far the most authoritative work of the reign of Jahangir is the Tuzuk-i-Jahdnglrl, which is that emperor's autobiography written by himself in two volumes. When the narrative of the first twelve years of his reign was completed, it was bound and presented to the emperor's sons and nobles.

Jahangir himself wrote his Memoirs for nearly 17 years, after which the work was entrusted to Mu‘tamid Khan who continued it to the beginning of the 19th year. It is the foremost authority on Jahangir’s personality and character, and the events of his reign. Jahangir is unusually frank in recording the incidents and happenings, but sometimes he suppresses inconvenient truths and glosses over certain others, such as his revolt against his father, the circumstances of Khusrav’s death, and his marriage with Nur Jahan. Nevertheless, no student of the history of the period can do without the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri. 25 Next in importance are Mu‘tamid Khan’s IqbdUndma in three parts and Tatimma Wdqi'dt-i-Jahdngirl 26 of Muhammad Hadi. The first part of the former deals with the history of the Timurid dynasty till the end of Humayun’s reign, the second describes the reign of Akbar, and the third that of Jahangir, and comes down to the accession of Shah Jahan. It is a most valuable work, for the author was not only a

contemporary writer but also held the important post of Bakhsht in Jahangir’s reign, and was employed on several other responsible duties. After Jahangir’s death he showed partiality for Shah Jahan and displayed antipathy towards Nur Jahan. The fourth work, in point of importance, is the Madsir-i-Jahdngirt 21 written by Khvaja Kiamgar Ghairat Khan. It describes Jahangir as a prince, and its second part supplements the Tuzuk-i-Jahdngiri. Then we have the Intikhab-i-Jahangir Shah 28 by an anonymous author. The Ms. is preserved in the Riampur Library .

The reign of Shah Jahan is covered by several first-rate court chronicles. The earliest work is the Padshdh-ndma of Muhammad Amin QazVini, alias Aminai Qazvinli,, written at Shah Jahan’s orders. It covers the first ten years of his reign and was completed in A.D. 1636. It is a detailed history containing a minute account of all events, happenings and transactions. The next work, too, is entitled Pddshdhmdma 29 and was written by the famous historian ‘Abdul-Hamld Lahauri, whose reputation as a writer was next only to that of Abu-’l-Fazl. In his two-volume work, he describes Shah Jahan’s life and activities, first as a prince and then as a ruler, for the first twenty years of his reign. It is the primary authority and a most detailed work on the period with which it deals. The third work, also entitled Padshdh-ndma 30 is by Muhammad Waris, a pupil and assistant of ‘Abdul-

Hamid Lahauri. When ‘AbdulHamid became weak and incapacitated by age, Waris was commissioned to complete his master’s magnum opus, and he wrote a complete history of Shah Jahan’s reign. For the first twenty years of the reign he followed Lahauri, but as far as the last ten years of the reign were concerned, Waris wrote an independent volume. It is as good an authority for these ten years of Shah Jahan’s reign as ‘Abdul-Hamid’s is for the earlier twenty years. Then we have the Shdhjahdn-ndma 31 of ‘Inayat Khan, whose original name was Muhammad Tahir. It comes down to 1657-58 (1068 A.H.),

the year of Aurangzib’s seizure of power and occupation of the palace-fort of Agra. The book is written in plain style and constitutes a valuable authority. The fifth history of the reign is entitled ‘Amal-i-Salih 32 of which the author was Muhammad Salih Kambu. He describes Shah Jahan’s career from his birth to his death in A.D. 1666. Like the other works of the reign, the ‘Amali-Sdlih gives at the end a biographical account of the Sayyids, Shaikhs, learned men, physicians, poets and calligraphists of Shah Jahan’s time, and a list of the princes, nobles and commanders, arranged according to their respective ranks. The sixth chronicle is the Shdhjahdn-ndma 33 written by Muhammad Sadiq Khan, a

Waqdydnavls formerly attached to Shah Jahan’s establishment during his expedition against Rana Amar Simha of Me war. This work deals with the history of Shah Jahan from his accession to the date of his deposition and imprisonment, and is written in a simple style.

Although during the twenty-first year of his reign Aurangzlb forbade the writing of history, yet we have several valuable volumes dealing with his reign. The first of these is the ‘Alamgirndma 34 written by Mlrza Muhammad Kazim. It is an official history of the first ten years of the reign when there was no prohibition against history-writing, and is based on State records and other documents. It is full and authentic, and is a primary authority for the period with which it deals. The next work is the Madsir-i-Alamgirl 35 by Muhammad SaqII Musta‘id Khan. It is a complete history of Aurangzib’s reign and is based on State papers and documents. The third work is the Zajjar-ndma-i-'Alamgm 36 also entitled the Wdqi‘dt or Hdldt-i-Alamgln, written by ‘Aqil Khan Razl. It comes down to the year 1663, and is reliable. Then we have the Aurangzlb''ndma 31 a poem composed by a soldier whose pen-name was Flacfiri. It describes Aurangzib's war of succession and comes down to the execution of Daria. The Muntakhab-ulLubdb 3S of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan is a general history of the Tlmurid dynasty, and gives a complete history of the reign of Aurangzlb.

There are two valuable histories of Aurangzib's reign written by two Hindu officers. The first is entitled Nuskha-i-Dilkdshd 39 by Bhlmsen, who was mostly employed in the Deccan and was an eye-witness of many facts and incidents recorded by him. The work is particularly of value for the Mughul activities in the Deccan from 1670 to 1707. The second is entitled Futuhdt-i-'Alamgtri A0 written by Ishwar Das, who was posted as a civil officer in Jodhpur. The work is of great value for the history of Rajasthan from 1657 to 1698. The Fathiyya-i-abriyya * 41 of Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Talish is a diary of Mir Jumla's invasion of Cooch Behar and Assam. The Tdrikh-i-Shah Shujd'& 2 of Mir Muhammad Ma'sum, too, is invaluable for the history of Bengal during the viceroyalty of Shuja\ It comes down to April, 1660. The Waqdii of Niamat Khan 'All 43 describes the siege of Golconda of 1687 in a highly flourishing style. The Ahkdm-i-Alamglfi AA by Hamld-ud-dln Khan gives Aurangzib's anecdotes and orders, and throws a flood of light on his personality and character. There are two regional histories of great importance. They are Mwdt-i-Armadi A5 of 'All Muhammad Khan in three volumes. It is a first-rate authority on Gujarat during the Mughul times and contains copies of many royal farmans

and other orders. The second is Ta 7 mrikh-i-Bangdla A 6 of Salimullah. Then we have an important Dastur-ul-Amal 41 or the official manual containing statistics, office procedure, administrative regulations and other useful miscellaneous information. It is of priceless value for the administration of the empire under Aurangzib. There are several hundred news-letters, entitled Akbhdrdt-i-darbdr i-mu c all a, 418 i.e. news-letters from the imperial court, which are preserved in several manuscript libraries. They are the very raw materials of history, and no serious student of Aurangzib's reign can dispense with them. Finally, we have a large number of historical letters, some of which have been collected and bound in book-form. Some of these are: Addb-i-Alamgiri, Ahkdm-i-Alamgiri (by Tnayat-ullah Khan), Kalimdt-i-Tayyibdt, Kalimat-i-Aurangzib, Zdhir ul-Insha, Bahdr-i-Sakhun, Haft Anjuman and Ruq (dt-i-Harmd-ud-dln Khdn. 49

On the dynastic history of the provinces, we have numerous works which it is difficult to enumerate, far less describe, here in detail. Many of these relate to the provincial kingdoms of the Deccan. Prominent among them are the Burhdn-i}-Madsir 50 of Sayyid ’All Tabataba and Tdnkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shahi, 51 written about 1680 by Habib-ullah. It gives an account of the kingdom of Golconda. The Tdrikh-i- All c Adil Shah Sdnl 52 is a history of Bijapur, written at the request of an English officer. The Muhammad-ndma 53 is a valuable account of the ‘Adil Shah! kingdom of Bijapur, written by Zahur bin Zahurli in A.D. 1641. The Tazkirdtnl-Muluk 54 of Mirza Raff was written during the reign of Jahangir. The first and the last of these works have been described in Vol. VI (p. 7) of this History Series.

We have several works dealing with western India. Tarlkh-iSind alias Tdrikh-i-M‘asumi 55 was written during the early days of Jahangir’s reign. The Baglan-ndma 56 , another history of Sind, was written about A.D. 1624. The Tdrikh-i-Tahirl of Tahir Muhammad and the Tuhfat-ul-Kimm of All Sher Kani‘ are noticed in Vol. VI of this History Series. For Gujarat we have the Mirdti-Sikandarl of Sikandar bin Muhammad, written in 1613, and the celebrated Mlrdt-i-Ahmadl by 'All Muhammad Khan already referred to. Then there is the Tdrikh-i-Gujarat of Mir Abu Turab Vali, and finally the Arabic history of Gujarat, entitled Zafar-ul-Wallh bi Muzajfar wa Alih 51 by ‘Abdullah Muhammad bin ‘Umar al-Makki, written soon after A.D. 1611. As for Bengal we have Baharistan-iGhdibi written by Shitab Khan during the reign of Shah Jahan. The next work is the Riydz-us-Saldtm by Ghulam Husain Salim, written in 1787-88. Sallm-ullah’s history of Bengal entitled Tavdrikh-i-Ban

gala is a useful compilation. A valuable work dealing with Bengal is the Tdrikh-i-Shah Shujd‘ r i 1 already referred to. The T dr ikh-i-Assam dealing with Mir Jumla’s campaign is an important history.

For Kashmir Mlrza Haidar Dughlat’s Tdrikh-i-Raslvidl, already described, is valuable. Then we have the Tdr s ikh-i-A‘zarni written about 1748 by Mulla Muhammad A‘zami and the Tdrikh-i-Kashmir 58 by Haidar Malik

(1578). The Lataif-ul-Akhbar 59 by Badi-uz-Zaman gives an account of Mughul expeditions to Qandahar. The Jinatul-Fardus written in A.D. 1714, gives the history of the different provincial dynasties of India.

During the age of Akbar (1556-1627) numerous other works of history were produced, and, although they were not primarily intended as works of Mughul history, they throw considerable light on the period in which they were written. A very important work of this category is the Madsir-i-Rahiml 61 of Mulla ‘Abdul-Baql Nahavandl in three volumes. Written in A.D. 1616, it is primarily an account of the life and activities of ‘Abdur-Rahlm Khan Khanan. The second volume is a history of the Tlmurid dynasty and comes down to the time of Jahangir. It also gives an account of the life of numerous poets patronised by the Khan Khanan, and extracts from their compositions. Some of the general histories dealing particularly with the two Afghan dynasties (viz., the Sur and the Lodi), but throwing at the same time considerable light on the history of the Mughuls, particularly Akbar and Jahangir, are: (i) Makhzan-iAfghdnl or Tdrikhd-Khdn-Jahdrii-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghani 61 of Khvaja Ni‘mat-Ullah, (ii) the Tdrikh-i-Shdkl or Tdrikh-i-Saldtiin-v-Afdghina 63 of Ahmad Yadgar, (iii) Tdrikh-i-Dd’udi 64 of ‘Abdullah and (iv) Tdnkh-i-Mubdrak Shdhl 65 of Yahiya bin Ahmad (which deals with the Sayyid dynasty).

No serious student of Mughul history can ignore the celebrated work entitled Tdrikh-Khdnddn-i-Tlmurid, 66 an anonymous production preserved in manuscript form at the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna. It relates to the history of the Tlmurid dynasty, and comes down to the 22nd year of Akbar’s reign. Its distinctive feature is that it is profusely illustrated and gives an idea of the development of the Mughul School of painting in India. Muhammad Had! Kamwar Khan’s Tazkirat-us-saldiin-i-Chaghtaia , 67 written in A.D. 1724 is very important for the accurate chronology that it gives of the events of the early years of the 18th century. Then we have Shah Nawaz Khan’s Madsir-ul-Umra , 68 a dictionary of the Mughul Peerage, which is a mine of information about the careers of nobles and officers of the Mughul period. It is a compilation based on contemporary sources and was completed in A.D. 1780. The Dabistdn-iMazdhib, 69 written in 1648 by one Muhsin Flam, is the only comparative study of religions that flourished during the Mughul period. It is equally helpful for a knowledge of religious discussions held at Akbar's court. There are a few other general histories, such as Subh-i-Sadiq 70 of Mlrza Muhammad Sadiq Isfahan!, Munta khab-ut-Tawdrikh 71 of Muhammad Yusuf Ataki, Mirdt-i-JdhdnNuma 12 of Shaikh Muhammad Baqa, Mirdt-uVAlam 73 of Bakhtawar Khan, Lubbut-Tawdrikh 74 of Vrindavana Das, Khuldsat-ut-Tawdrlkh 15 of Sujan Rai Khattirl, and Tdrikh-i-Alfi 76 by Jaffar Beg and Asaf Khan (in five volumes written at Akbar's orders in 1588-89).

(ii) Farmans

There are five valuable collections of royal farmans dating from the time of Akbar. They are: (i) Jarlddta-i-Farmdn-i-Saldtin-iDelhi (Aligarh Ms.); (ii) Imperial Farmans 71 ed. K. M. Jhaveri, that is, the farmans granted by Akbar and his successors to Vithal Nath GosvamI of Mathura and Vrindavana and his descendants; (iii) The Mughuls and the Jogis of Jakhbar 78 edited by B. N. Gosvami and J. S. Grewal, containing the farmans of Akbar and his descendants relating to free grants of land to the Nath Jogis of Jakhbar in Punjab; (iv) The Par sees at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meharfi Rand (ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1903), which includes copies of Akbar's and Jahangir's farmans of Madad-i-Ma c dsh grant to the Pars! priests of Navsarl, and (v) A Descriptive List of Farmans , Mam shurs and Nishans addressed by the Imperial Mughuls to the Princes of Rajasthan (Published by the Directorate of Archives, Government of Rajasthan, Bikaner, 1962). This gives English translations of ninety-three farmans from the time of Akbar to that of Shah 'Alam II to the rulers of Bikaner, besides a very large descriptive list of documents of Jaipur, Sirohl and Jodhpur. These are of priceless importance for a history of the Mughul age. To these five collections may be added A Descriptive List of the Vakil Reports addressed to the Rulers of Jaipur, Vol. I (Persian) (Government Press, Bikaner, 1987). This work is of equal value.

(iii) Dlwdns , Mathnavis and Kulliydts

There are numerous Dlwdns 79 Mathnavis 80 and Kulliydts 81 of Mughul rulers, princes, princesses, nobles, officials, scholars and poets. They are so large in number that for lack of space, it is not possible to enumerate them here. All that can be done is to mention the names of a few prominent works of this category. For example, among nearly 300 Dlwdns or collections of poems some are those of Babur, Humayun, Kamran, Dara Shukoh, Qutb Shah,

Shah ‘Alam, Zib-un-Nisa, etc. Among the Kulliydts, at least twentynine were written by the notables of the period. Thirty Mathnavis belonging to the period are preserved in various manuscript libraries. The works of these three categories give a clear idea of the literary achievement of the Mughul period. They also throw considerable light on social and religious conditions.

(iv) Malfuzats 82

There is one more class of Persian literature, entitled Malfuzdt , which deals with the lives and teachings of Muslim saints and sufls. It can only be briefly noticed: (1) Siyar-ul- Arifln or biographical accounts of fourteen ChishtI and SuhrawardI saints, compiled by Hamid bin Fazullah in 1536; (2) Akhbdv-ul-Akhyar, by Shaikh ‘Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi, published in 1914; (3) Zad-ul-MuttdqUn or biographical accounts of Shaikh ‘All MuttaqI and Shaikh ‘Abul-Wahhab, by the same author (Ms., Rampur); (4) Akhbdrul-Asfiya which consists of biographical notes of 250 sufis, by ‘AbdusSamad in 1605-16 (Ms., Aligarh Muslim University Library);

(5) Gulzar-i-Abrar consisting of biographical accounts of Shattarl Sufis, by Muhammad GhausI Shattarl, written in 1613 (Ms., Rampur); (6) Mandqib-ul-Akhydr, by Muhammad Qasim (Ms., Rampur), gives the biography of Sayyid Jamial-ud-din alias Khvaja Diwana Sayyid Atai; (7) Kalimdt-us-Stidiqm, by Muhammad Siadiq Kashmiri Hamadahi, written in 1614 (Ms., Patna), which gives biographical accounts of 125 saints buried at Delhi; (8) Tabaqdt-i-Shdhjahdnl, by Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani (Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms.) consists of biographical notes of 87 sufis; (9) Hazarat-ul-Quds by Badrud-din Sirhindi. It is a biographical dictionary of the Naqshbandl saints, which has been translated into Urdu by Khvaja Ahmad Husain Khan, Lahore, 1923; (10) Safinat-ul-Auliyd, by Daha Shukoh, completed on 21 January, 1640, consists of biographical notes of orthodox Caliphs, Imams, Sufis etc., Kanpur 1884; Safinatul-Auliyd, by Dam Shukoh, completed in 1642-43 (Ms., Lakhnau University Library)—this work gives the biographies by Mjan Mir and his disciples; (12)

Risdlah-i-Haqnuma , by Dara Shukoh, N. K. Press, Lucknow; (13) Maj-Ma‘dl Bahrain (Sir J. Sarkar, Sec., National Library Cal., Ms.) by Dara Shukoh; (14) Sirr-i-Akbar (Dacca Ms.) by Dam Shukoh; (15) Munis-ul-Arw\dh, by Jahanara Begam, written in 1681 (Ms., Rampur)—it describes the life of Mu‘in-ud» din ChishtI and gives biographical notes of some of his disciples; (16) Sahibiyd, by Aparao Bholanath, written in 1641, which gives an account of Mullah Shah and is partly translated into Urdu, vide Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August, 1937; (17) Siyar-ulAqtiab by Ilah-diyah, written in 1646-57, which gives biographical

notes of 27 Muslim saints; (18) Mirdt-ul-Asrar, by ‘Abd-ur-Rasul Chishti, written in 1654, which gives biographical accounts of a large number of Muslim saints (Ms., Patna); (19) Mlrat-i-Madari or biography of Shah Madar of Mahanpur (Kanpur), written in 1654 by ‘Abd-ur-Rasul Chishti (Ms., Patna); (20) Chishtiya-i-Bihishtiya of ‘Ala-ud-din Muhammad Chishti Barnavl, written in 1655-56, which consists of biographies of Sufis of the Chishti Order; (21) Manaqib ul-Hazardt by Muhammad Amin BadakhshI which gives biographical accounts and teachings of Naqshbandl Sufis (Ms., belonging to Dr. S. A. A. RizvII); (22) Riydz-ul-Aullyd, by Muhammad Baqa Saharanpurl, written in 1679-80, which gives biographical notices of the first four Caliphs, Imams and Sufis (Ms., Rieu, III, 975 a); (23) Kalid-i-Makhdzin, by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (Ms., Rampur), deals with the doctrines of Sufism; (24) Irshdd ut-Talibln, a treatise on Tauhid-i-Wujudl, by Shaikh Jalal-ud'din Thanesarl (Ms.,); (25) Mabda wa Ma‘dd (N.K. Press, Lucknow) by Mujaddid Alf Sanffi; (26) M‘arif-i-Ladurilya, a work on Wahadt-ulWujud (Ms., Rampur); (27) Maktubdt-i-Imdm Rabbani, by Mujaddid Alf SanI in 3 vols. (N.K. Press, Lucknow); (28) Makalma Baba Lai wa Ddrd Shukoh, Dialogues of Baba Lai and Dara Shukoh, compiled in 1652, Delhi, 1885; (29) Malfuzdt-i-Shah Kalimulldh Akbardbddi, a saint of the 17th century, opposed to Mujaddid.

B.— Sanskrit 83

In the extant Sanskrit and Hindi sources, there is hardly anything contemporary with the reigns of Babur and Humayun. From the time of Akbar, however, Sanskrit and Hindi scholars produced many works of historical and literary value. For example, we have a Sanskrit history of

Akbar's reign, entitled Sarvadesavrittdnt Sangrah, called popularly Akbar-ndma, by Mahesh Thakur. Next to it are the Akbar Shdhl Sringdr Darpan by Padma Sunder, the Bhanu Chandra Charitra by Siddhi Chandra Upadhyaya and Hird Saubhdgyam by Deva Vimala, which describe the visits of Jain monks to the court of Akbar. The Karamchand Vamshatkirtanaka-Kdvyam w by Jayasoma Upadhyaya notices some important events of Akbar's reign and his relations with certain Jain monks. The Kripdras Kos of Santi Chand confirms Akbar's religious and other liberal policies as given by court chroniclers. The Surjan-Charitra Mahdkdvyam by Chandrasekhar describes the exploits of Rai Surjan of Ranthambhor. The Amar Kdvya Varhsdvali by Ranchhod Bhatt gives the history of the Ranas of Mewar and their relations with Akbar, and the Vlra-bhdnudaya Kdvyam is a history of the Vaghela kings of Bhatt (Rewah) and their relations with the Mughuls. Krishna Ganaka and a few other Sanskrit writers were patronised by Jahan

glr. There are numerous Sanskrit works of the time of Shah Jahan, particularly those of Jagannatha Pandit, the Poet Laureate of Sanskrit, Vedangaraja and Kavlndracharya Sarasvatl. Jagannatha Pandit wrote Jagadddharan, Asaf Vildsa and Bhamini Vildsa, Ras Gangadhar, Gangd Lahari and several poems on Shah Jahan and Asaf Khan. Shah Jahan, like his grandfather, patronised Sanskrit scholars and poets some of whom adorned his court. Numerous Sanskrit scholars from the time of Akbar to that of Shah Jahan produced, with or without court patronage, a large number of works on religion, philosophy, poetics, astronomy and other subjects which no serious student of Mughul history can afford to ignore.

C.— Hindi , Bengali, Oriyd, Gujarati and Assamese

Among the Hindi works, Dalpat Vildsa by Prince Dalpat Simha of Bikaner, Jahangir Chandrikd by Keshav Das, Vira Sihiha Deva Charitra by the same author, Nainsi Khydt by Mohta Nainsi (written during the reign of Maharaja Yasovant Singh of Jodhpur), Amar V amshdvali and Chhatra Prakdsh by Lai Kavi are of special value and throw considerable light on the history of the age. Ardhkathd or Ardhkathanak by Banarasi Das, a Jain writer and poet, born in 1643 V.S. (1586 A.D.), produced his autobiography in verse. The author flourished in the times of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan and his account is important for the political, social and economic conditions of the age. He wrote other books, viz., Bandrasi Vildsa, Nam-Mald and Ndtak Sdmaya Sdr. The poetical works of great Hindi masters from TulsI Das and Sur Das to Bhushan, covering the entire Mughul age are too many to be enumerated, but they are of value for a cultural and literary history of the period. There is considerable contemporary literature on the bhakti movement in Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Gujarati and Marathi, which is indispensable for a correct understanding of the religious condition of the Hindus during the Mughul period. The most important works of this category are the Bhaktamal, by Nabhadas, and Chaurdsi Vaishnav Ki Vartd. In the Rajasthani dialect of Hindi we have several works, important among them being Rand Rdso and Rdj Vilds, besides Nainsi Khydt already referred to. There are a few wellknown works in other modern Indian languages also. For example, we have in Bengali Chaitanya Mangala by Kavi Jayananda who flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. Chandi Kdvya by Mukundaram, popularly known as Kavi Kankan, throws a good deal of light on the social and cultural condition of Bengal. The Mangal Chandir Gita by Dvija Madhab written about 1579, Chaitanya Bhdgavat by Vrindavana Das Thakur, Chaitanya-Charitdmrita by Krishnadas Kaviraj GosvamI and Chaitanya-Mangala of

Lochan Das are useful. In Oriya too there are a few contemporary poetical works, such as Hari-vamsa by Achuta Nand Das, Ichhwati Haran by Banamali Das, Kdnchi-Kaveri by Purushottam Das and Sasisena by Pratapa Rai which give a graphic picture of the social condition of Orissa. NarsI Mehta’s and Akho’s works in Gujarati are of some value, and so are those of Prema Nand, who was considered the greatest poet of Gujarat in the 17th century.

There are a few works of historical value in Assamese. They are: (1) Buranji from Khunlun and Khunlai, Eng. tr. in Ms. from the Ahom language, in Assam Govt. Secretariat; (2) Kamarupar Buranji, Ed. S. K. Bhuyan, Assamese text; and (3) Purdni ‘Asdm Buranji, Gauhati, 1930.

D.— Marathi

The Marathi sources assume importance from the time of Shah Jahan and are indispensable for Aurangzib’s reign. The Siva-Chha trapatichen Charitra of Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad gives an account of the life and activity of

Shivaji. Jedhayanchi Sakhavali comes next in importance. The 91 Qalmi Bakhar by Dattaji, a chronicler of Shivaji, is a work of great value, and has been ably edited by V. S. Wakaskar (Baroda, 1930). Sivakdlin-Patra-Sdr-Sangraha in three volumes contains valuable letters and other documents. The work gives a full chronology and an index. Siva-Charitra Sdhitya, in eight volumes, consists of letters and other documents for the period not covered by the above Sangraha. An equally important collection is entitled Siva-Charitrd Pradipa. It contains valuable documents and is ably edited by D. V. Apte and S. M. Divekar (Poona, 1925). There are several other works, such as Chitra Gupta Bakhar, sivaDigvijaya, Chitnis Bakhar, Siva Pratapa Shedgdonkar Bakhar, Moreyanchi Bakhar , Jedhe Karma, Powddas and Tanjavur cha Silalekh. These have been rejected by Sir J. N. Sarkar as unreliable. Sri Sampradaydchi Kdgadpatre (edited by S. S. Deo, Dhulia, 1915), Karvir Chhatrapati Gharanydchyd Itihasdchi Sadhane, Vols. I, II (Ed. M. V. Gujar, Poona, 1962) and Aitihdsik Sankrina Sdhitya, in several volumes (Published by the Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandala, Poona, 1931-1946) are of great value for the period, 1680-1707 A.D.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The archaeological sources for the period consist of—(1) Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vols. I-XXXIII, ed. by Alexander Cunningham, Simla and Calcutta, 1865-87; (2) The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series from 1902-1903 to date, Ed. by Sir John Marshall and others; (3) The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, described and illustrated in 4 volumes, by E. W. Smith, Government Press, Allahabad, 1894-98; (4) Akbar's Tomb, Sikandrah, near Agra, described and illustrated, by E. W. Smith, published by the Government Press, Allahabad, 1909; (5) History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by James Fergusson, revised and edited, with additions by James Burgess and Rhene Spiers, 2 Vols., published by John Murray, London, 1910; (6) Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra, described and illustrated, by E. W. Smith, Allahabad Government Press, 1901; (7) Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History from the first Muhammadan Invasion to the present day , by E. B. Havell, London, 1913; (8) Handbook to Agra and the Taj by E. B. Havell (Longmans, 1912); (9) Mathura, a district Memoir, by F. S. Growse, 1883; (10) Delhi Fort, a guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Calcutta, 1929; (11) Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore, (J.I.H., Vol. X); (12) A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon by V. A. Smith, 2nd Ed., Oxford, 1950; (13) The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, by Carr Stephen, Calcutta, 1876; (14) Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra, 1874, Delhi; (15) Indian Architecture by Percy Brown, Vol. II (Islamic Period), 4th Ed., Bombay, 1964.

The number of inscriptions of the period is not considerably large. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has published Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (1907-1938). It may be noted that all these inscriptions, arranged chronologically with summaries, are given in V. S. Bandrey’s A Study of Muslim Inscriptions (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944).

As regards Numismatic sources, we have several important modern publications describing the coins of the period. These are of great value in settling conflicting dates, and also throwing light on the economic condition of the age. These works are:

1. Edward Thomas, The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, illustrated by coins, inscriptions and other antiquarian memoirs (London, Triibner, 1871). This work furnishes some information about the coinage and history of the Mughul age also.

2. Lane-Poole, Stanley, The Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum, London, 1892.

3. Wright, H. Nelson, A Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. Ill, Oxford, 1908.

4. Whitehead, R. B., Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. II, Oxford, 1914.

5. Brown, C. J., Catalogue of Coins in the Lucknow Museum, 2 Vols., 1920 .

6. Hodivala, S.H., Historical Studies in Mughul Numismatics, Calcutta, 1923.

7. Rodgers, C.J., Copper Coins of Akbar (JASB, Part I, 1880, 1885).

8. Rodgers, C.J., Mogul Copper Coins (JASB, Part I, 1895).

9. Rodgers, C.J., Rare Copper Coins of Akbar (Indian Antiquary, 1890).

10. Whitehead, R.B., The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India (J. Pro. A. S. B., 1912).

11. White King, L., Novelties in Moghal Coins (Num . Chron., 1896).

12. Dames, M.L., Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors (Num. C-hron., 1902).

13. Habib, Arfan, The Mughal Currency System (Medieval India Quarterly, Vol. IV, pp. 1-21).

There is considerable contemporary material on painting. Reference has already been made to the Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Ttmuria, which is profusely illustrated and which traces the evolution of the art of Mughul painting in India. There are numerous other profusely illustrated works on the history and literature of the times of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahian. They are preserved at Jaipur and several other Ms. libraries in India, England and some other Western countries. There are numerous extant portraits of the Mughul emperors, princes, and some of the queens and princesses in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Victoria Memorial, Calcutta; Kala Bhawan, Banaras; Jaipur; British Museum; South Kensington Museum; and India Office Library. The mural paintings and decorations can be seen in the Mughul buildings of the period. Several modern scholars from Coomaraswamy to N. C. Mehta have made a special study of the Mughul art. The works of Percy Brown and Moti Chand are of special value in throwing light on the technique of Mughul painting. V. A. Smith rightly observes that there is enough contemporary material on Mughul art for writing more than one volume.

III. ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN VISITORS

More European monks, travellers, merchants and adventurers visited India in the sixteenth, seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries than ever before, and quite a few have left valuable descriptions of their observations. These accounts cannot be accepted at their face-value, for some of them are mere bazar gossip, and certain others are vitiated on account of their racial, religious and national prejudices. Nevertheless, they are of value, for the foreigners noted what appeared to Indian historians as commonplace things and unworthy of being recorded. To the foreigners, however, these were novel and interesting. Hence the value of the foreign accounts. But it is not possible, for lack of space, to notice these accounts in detail. All that can be done here is to give a list of these works:

1. The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sadi ‘All Ra‘Is in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556, is the first in point of time. His account, translated by A. Vambery (Luzac & Co., London, 1899) throws light on Humayun’s last days and death, and on the accession of Akbar.

2. Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, by F. Anthony Monserrate, S. J., (1580-1583); Latin Text published in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, III, No. 9, 1914; English translation by J. S. Hoyland, 1922.

3. J. H. Van Linschoten, The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies, Ed. A. C. Burnell (Vol. I) and P. A. Tiele (Vol. II), Hakluyt Society, Vols. 70-71, London, 1885.

4. Travels of Ralph Fitch (1583-91) and John Mildenhall (1599-1606) in Early Travels in India, Ed. by W. Foster, 1921.

5. The Annual Relation of Father Fernao Guerreiro, S. J., (1607-8); Abstract Translation by H. Hosten, S. J., in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, VII, 50.

6. The Voyage to the East Indies, etc. of Francois Pyrard, of Laval (1608-9); translated into English by Albert Gray & Ball in two vols., Hakluyt Society, London.

7. Early Travels in India of W. Hawkins (1608-13), W. Finch (1608-11), N. Withington (1612-16), T. Coryat (1612-17) E. Terry (1616-19), Ed. by W. Foster, 1921.

8. A Journal of the Fourth and Sixth Voyage of Sir James Lancester (1610-11) in Purchas, IV, pp. 214-15.

9. Account of the Sixth Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton (161011) in Purchas, III, pp. 115-94.

10. The Voyage through India, Persia, etc. of Master Joseph Salbancke (1609-10) in Purchas, III.

11. Description of Hindustan and Guzarate (Gujarat) by Eredia de Manuel Godino (1611); English translation by H. Hosten in J.R.A.S.B. (Letters), Vol. IV, 1938.

12. Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues, etc. Vols. 1-3. By F. Pierre du Jarric. Wr. 1614 A.D., Ed. and translated into English in 2 Volumes, by C. H. Payne under the title of Akbar and the Jesuits (1926), and Jahangir and the Jesuits (1930), London.

13. The Voyage to East Indies, by Nicholes Dowton (1614-15), Ed. W. Foster, London, 1939.

14. Richard Steel & John Crowther, ‘Journall’, 1615-16. Purchas His Pilgrims, IV, 266-80.

15. The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India (1615-19). Ed. by W. Foster, London, 1936.

16. Jahangir’s India (The Remanstrantie of F. Pelsaert); translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl. Cambridge, 1925.

17. Voyage of Peter Floris to the East Indies (1611-15). Ed. by W. H. Moreland, Hakluyt Society, 1934.

18. Voyage of Thomas Best (1612-14), Ed. by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 1934.

19. Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29) in J.I.H., Vol. X, pp. 235-50, Vol. XI, pp. 1-16, 203-18.

20. The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India (1623-24), 2 Vols., Ed. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, London.

21. De Laet, De Imperio Magni Moglis, sive India vera Commentarius ex variis Auctoribus Congestis, Leyden, 1631 ; translated into English by J. S. Hoyland, and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, The Empire of the Great Mogal, Bombay, 1928.

22. The Travels of Peter Mundy, Vol. II (1630-34), Ed. by Richard Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1914.

23. The Travels of Sebastian Manrique (1629-43), 2 Vols., Ed. by C. E. Luard and Fr. H. Hosten, Hakluyt Society, 1926 and 1927.

24. The Voyages and Travels, etc. of Albert Mandelslo (163839), Ed. Adam Olearius, 2nd ed., London, 1669.

25. Travels in the Mogul Empire (1656-1688), by Francois Bernier, Ed. by A. Constable, Oxford University Press, 1914.

26. Travels in India by Jean Baptist Tavernier (1640-67); translated and edited by V. Ball in 2 Vols. Macmillan & Co., London, 1889. Second Ed. revised by V. Crooke, London, 1925.

27. Storia do Mogor of Niccolao Venetian Manucci (1653-1708); translated into English and edited by W. Irvine, Vols. I-IV, 1907-8.

28. Travels of M. de Thevenot (1667) in the Levant, in three parts, Eng. translation, 1686.

29. John Marshall in India (1668-72), Ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Oxford, 1927.

30. A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal, by Thomas Bowrey (1669-79), Ed. R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1905.

31. A New Account of East Indies and Persia by John Fryer (1672-81), Ed. W. Crooke, 3 Vols., Hakluyt Society, 1909, 1912, 1915.

32. The Diary of William Hedges (1681-87), 2 Vols., Ed. Col. Henry Yule, London.

33. A New Account of the East Indies by Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723) in 2 Vols., London, 1724.

34. A Voyage to Surat in 1689 by Ovington, London, 1696. Ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929.

35. The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri (1695), Ed. S. N. Sen, National Archives of India, 1949.

36. The Norris Embassy to Aurangzib (1699-1702), Harihar Das, Ed. S. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1959.

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1. A Ms. copy is preserved in Aligarh Muslim University Library. English Translation by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, 1895.

2. Partly translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, 116-126.

3. Persian Ms. in 4 vols., Raza Library, Rampur. See JASB., N.S. XII (1916).

4. Turk! text translated into German by H. Vambery, 1885.

5. Lithographed in Tehran, 1896.

6. Persian text, edited and translated by A. S. Beveridge, 1902.

7. Translated by C. Stewart, 1832.

8. Persian text, edited by D. C. Phillott (Bib. Indica), Calcutta, 1912.

9. Ms. copy available at the Allahabad University Library, Persian Text (Bib. Indica), 1941.

10. Persian Ms., partlv translated in the JASB, 1898.

11. Edited by M. Hidayat Husain and translated by Beni Prasad (Bibliotheca Indica), Calcutta.

11a. Ms. copy in Raza Library, Rampur.

12. For Abu-'l-Fazl's life, see Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I (Introduction) and Vol. Ill (Last chapter).

13. Persian Text (Bibliotheca Indica), 3 vols., translated by H. Beveridge (Bibliotheca Indica) in three vols.

14. Published in 3 vols. (Bibliotheca Indica). translation. Vol. 1 bv H. Blochmann: 2nd edn. revised bv D. C. Pbillptt. 1927: Vols. IT & III bv .Tarrett* 2nd edn. revised by Sir J. Sarkar. Published in the same series, 1949, 1948 respectively.

15. Lithographed by N. K. Press, Lucknow, in 1846.

16. Lhho. N. K. Press. Lnoknow. 1875; Bib. Indica Series in 3 Vols. Calcutta, 1940. Eng. Trans., by B.De, 1940.

17. Text in 3 vols. (Bib. Indica). Trans, in the same series. Vol. I by Ranking; Vol. II, by W. H. Lowe; Vol. Ill by Haig.

18. Ene. Trans, appended to Vol. Ill of H. Beveridge's English Translation of

Akbar-nama.

19. Translation by J. Bribes, London, 1892; reprinted Calcutta, 1908.

19a. Ms. in Record Office, Patiala.

20. Ms. in A.S.B., Calcutta and also in Sarasvatl Bhavan Library, Udaipur, Eng. Trans, in E. & D,, Vol. IV.

21. Persian Text.

22. The Ms., of which the author was Tahir Muhammad, is in the Public Library, Lahore.

23. Central Record Office, Hyderabad, Ms.

24. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.

25. Text ed. by Sayyid Ahmad Khan; also N. K. Press, Lucknow, lithograph; Eng. Trans, by Rodgers and Beveridge in 2 Vols, 1909.

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CHAPTER II

BABUR

I. Early History

The early history of Zahiir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur, which was a tissue of romantic successes and surprising reverses, belongs to Central Asia. The blood of two great conquerors flowed in his veins; he was fifth in descent from Timur, ‘the earth-shaker’, while through his mother he could trace his ancestry from Chingiz, the terrible. 1 His mother, Qutluq Nigar Khanum, was the daughter of Yunus Khan who was descended from Chaghatai Khan, the second son of Chingiz Khan. On the death of Sultan Abu Sa‘id Mirza, a great-grandson of Timur and Babur’s grandfather, his extensive dominions covering Khurasan and Transoxiana were divided among his sons (1469). The fourth son, ‘Umar Shaikh Mirza, the father of Babur, obtained the kingdom of Farghana. 2 Here the founder of the Mughul empire was born on 14 February, 1483, and inherited his father’s precarious throne at the tender age of eleven years and a few months. The petty kingdom of Farghana, that ‘weak child separated from the mother-empire’ of Timur, could hardly satisfy the ambition of the young prince whose dream was Samarqand, the proud capital of his great ancestor. After a hard struggle of three years against his cousin Baisunqur Mirza, he was able to capture it in November, 1497, after a siege of seven months; but he could not hold it for more than a hundred days, as he had to leave Samarqand for Farghana to quell a rebellion led by Auzun Hasan and Ahmad Tambal who acted in the name of his younger brother Jahangir Mirza. Babur failed and now lost both. He recovered Farghana in June, 1498, and won Samarqand for the second time in November, 1500, not from a Timurid rival but from Shaibani Khan, the chief of the Uzbegs. Babur then made peace with Jahangir Mirza by ceding parts of Farghana, but the latter ultimately occupied the whole of it. For the next twelve years the main episode in Babur’s life was his struggle with the Uzbegs. In May, 1501, he was badly defeated by Shaibani Khan at Sar-i-pul and forced to surrender Samarqand and give his eldest sister Khanzada Begam in marriage to the enemy. He was now once more a throneless wanderer and retired to Tashkent under the shelter of his maternal uncle Sultan Mahmud Khan. With his two uncles, Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Khan, he made several attempts on Farghana. Ahmad Tambal, finding himself no match for such a Timurid-Mongol coalition, invited Shaibani Khan who ultimately inflicted a crushing defeat upon the two Khans (the uncles of Babur) in the battle of Archiyan (June, 1503).

The battle of Archiyan moulded the future history of Babur: it gave a new orientation to his ambition and policy. He bade last farewell to the land of his birth and set out to try his fortune beyond the Hindu Kush away from the grasp of his arch-enemy. He turned to Kabul which was captured in 1501 by Muqim the Arghun from its legal ruler ʻAbdur-Razzaq, son of Ulugh Beg, who had inherited it from his father Sultan Abu Saʻid. Babur's army was now reinforced by the arrival of the Mongol deserters from the camp of Khusrav Shah who had been driven from Qunduz by Shaibani. Probably Babur won the Mongols over to his side, and had they not joined his standard, the conquest of Kabul might not have been possible. In October, 1504, he crossed the Hindu Kush and took Kabul from the Arghun usurper almost without any opposition. [3]

The bloodless conquest of Kabul was the turning-point in Babur's career. He had now a place under the sun, a base from which he could turn his attention either west to Samarqand or east to Hindusthan. It was from Kabul that he first had the lure of the fertile plains of India, and the idea of conquering it seized his mind. This did not mean the abandonment of his ambitions in Central Asia. It was not by choice but by force of circumstances that the grandson of Abu Saʻid laid the foundation of an empire in Hindusthan.

It was a few months after the conquest of Kabul that Babur made his first invasion into the territory of Hindusthan. In January, 1505, he set out by the Khyber Pass for Peshawar and instead of crossing the Indus marched on to Kohat. From Kohat he marched towards Bangash and finally reached the Indus at Tarbila. [4] The raid, which was confined to fighting against the Afghan tribes and ravaging the banks of the Indus, lasted four months, and in May, 1505, Babur returned to Kabul by way of Ghazni.

The alarming growth of the power of Shaibani Khan, who had captured Khiva and was threatening Balkh, at last moved Sultan Husain Mlrza Baiqara, the renowned king of Herat, who called on the Timurid princes for a joint attack upon the Uzbeg enemy. Babur hastened from Kabul in response to the invitation, but on the way, at Kahmard, he received the report of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara’s death (5 May, 1506). Nevertheless he pushed on and after a march of eight hundred miles met on 26 October the two sons of the late sultan on the river Murghab and accompanied them to Herat; but in spite of the lavish offers of hospitality the fashionable and cultured princes did not make proper winter arrangements for his army, whereupon he left on 24 December for Kabul, undertaking a perilous journey through the snow-clad passes. On his return he put down a conspiracy of the Mongol troops to place his cousin Wais Mirza, son of Sultan Mahmud Mirza, on the throne. Shaibani Khan did not miss the golden opportunity of attacking Khurasan and took Herat in June, 1507.

The arch-enemy of Babur was now at the height of his power: he had humbled the Mongols as well as the Timurids. It was a critical juncture for the prince of Kabul, the only Timur id State that survived the fall of Herat. Babur, who was fully alive to the strategic importance of Qandahar, responded to the call of Shah Beg and Muqim Beg, the sons of Zu-’n-N'un Arghun, governor of Qandahar under Sultan Husain Baiqara, for military aid against the Uzbegs. As he approached Qandahar, Babur found the Arghun princes hostile, but he took the city and put them to flight. He had soon to leave Qandahar as Shaibani Khan was hastening towards the city at the invitation of the fugitive Muqim. Babur deemed it expedient to keep himself away from the Uzbegs and diverted his energies to making a raid into Hindusthan. Shaibani came and took Qandahar, but left for the north on account of the rebellion of one of his chiefs. In September, 1507, Babur had set out for the Indus and, marching down the Kabul river, advanced as far as Mandrawar, 5 but returned to Kabul on account of disagreement among his nobles according to Abu-’l-Fazl, but more probably due to the retirement of Shaibani. The raid of 1507, though barren, was very significant; it was symptomatic of the way in which Babur turned from the West to the East, from the arid steppes of Central Asia to the fertile plains of Hindusthan.

It was after the retirement of Shaibani from Qandahar and on his return to Kabul that Babur abandoned the title of Mirza (prince) and styled himself Padishah (emperor) and thus asserted the headship of the Timurids. The birth of his son Humayun gave the death-blow to the partisans of the house of Ulugh Mirza who organized a formidable rebellion in favour of ‘Abdur-Razzaq, but Babur gave them a severe defeat and put them to flight. The rest of the year 1508 and the whole of the next year he spent quietly in arranging the internal economy of his petty kingdom. r

In 1510 the perpetual menace to Babur by the ever-waxing power of Shaibani was suddenly removed. The latter came into

conflict with Shah Isma‘11, the Safavi ruler of Iran, and was badly defeated. Shaibani was killed and his army was annihilated. This news raised high hopes in the mind of Babur. He could now expect to recover his lost territories. Leaving Nasir Mlrza in charge of Kabul, he reached Qunduz in January, 1511. Here he received an embassy from the Safavi king, Shah Isma‘11 of Iran, who offered his friendship and sent back his sister Khanzada Begam who had fallen into the hands of the Persians. Babur sent Wais Mirza to Iran with congratulations, thanks and presents. The Shah agreed to help Babur on condition that he should read the Shah’s name in the khutba and stamp it on his coins together with those of the Twelve Imams. 6

With Persian auxiliaries Babur took Bukhara; his cousin Haidar Mlrza had already driven the Uzbegs out of Farghana. The road to Samarqand now lay open and from Bukhara Babur marched direct to the capital of Timur and proclaimed himself king amidst popular rejoicings. His popularity soon waned in Sunni Samarqand which bitterly disliked his concessions to Shihsm in his compact with the Shah. The Uzbegs under ‘Ubaid-ullah Khan, nephew of Shaibani, taking advantage of Shah Isma‘iTs preoccupation in the affairs of Azarbaijian and the growing coolness between him and Babur due to the latter’s failure to fully satisfy the Shah’s Shi‘ite zeal, attacked Bukhara. Babur thereupon marched against the Uzbegs but was defeated at Kul-i-Malik in the vicinity of Bukhara (May, 1512). Babur lost not only Bukhara but also Samarqand to the Uzbegs, and retired to Hissar (in Badakhshan). Shah Isma‘11 had meanwhile sent an army under Najm Beg to assist Babur against the Uzbegs. 6a

The combined forces of N ! ajm Beg and Babur marched towards Bukhara, taking Khuzar and Qarshi on the way. The Uzbegs had entrenched themselves in the fort of Ghazdawan which Najm Beg besieged. The garrison was well-provisioned against a long siege, while the Persian troops badly suffered from winter and scarcity. Najm Beg therefore decided to raise the siege and withdraw, as Babur and others advised him, but next day the Uzbeg army, greatly reinforced, surprised the Persians. The Persian army was thrown into confusion and badly defeated and Najm Beg was slain (November, 1512). Babur, who was in command of the rear-guard, escaped to Hissar. Persian historians accuse Babur of treachery in the, battle), and his son Humayun, while at the Persian court, was taunted by reference to his father’s treachery at Ghazdawan. It is quite probable that Babur remained coldly neutral as he had no love lost for the Persian ally who had exacted too great a price for

his help. From Hissar, where the Mongols had rebelled against him, Babur went to Qunduz, but as he had no hope of recovering Hissar, he crossed the Hindu Kush and returned to Kabul (1514).

Nasir MIrza, who had been left in charge of Kabul, was now appointed to Ghazni, but his death shortly after occasioned a revolt of local chiefs and Mongol troops, which Babur quelled. For the next four years, 1515-1518, the history of Babur is comparatively uneventful. He was now merely the chief of a petty kingdom. He realized at last that Central Asia was a lost field to him; he was no match for the Uzbegs, specially after Shah Ismahl’s tragic defeat at Tabriz in August, 1514, at the hands of the Ottoman Turks, as there was now no prospect of Safavld-Tlmurid alliance against them. But he was too optimistic to despair, and too ambitious to remain inactive, and turned his eyes towards the East as a probable compensation for the lost dominions in the North. These quiet years were spent in preparation for that ultimate goal, in punitive expeditions around Kabul, as well as in organizing his army, for which he utilized the services of a Turk named Ustad ‘All Qull. The battle of Ghazdawan therefore finally moulded Babur’s destiny. Since the conquest of Kabul in 1504 the idea of the conquest of India had been in his mind, but after Ghazdawan the thought of carving a kingdom in India was forced on him. If the battle of Archiyan turned him from Farghana to Kabul, that of Ghazdawan turned him from Kabul to India. But for ShaibanI Khan and the Uzbegs, the founder of the Mughul empire in India might have died as a Tlmurid ruler of Samarqand.

II. Conquest of Hindusthdn

Both the great ancestors of Babur, Chingiz and Timur, had invaded India. The raid of Chingiz had touched only the fringe of the country, but the invasion of Timur caused wide-spread anarchy in Hindusthan, as the kingdom of Delhi had already become a shadow of its former self. The Sayyids were hardly the persons to cope with the prevailing anarchy and dislocation and gave way to the Lodls. The kingdom of the Lodls was a loose confederacy of semi-independent governorships held by the amirs, the leaders of the Afghan tribes, and the king ‘was no more conspicuous than a royal oakling in a forest of oaks’. The first two Lodls managed the turbulent nobles: Buhlul, by respecting the sentiments of the Afghans, wedded to the ideal of tribal polity, and Sikandar, by a policy of tempered firmness. But Ibrahim, who came to the throne in 1517, was ambitious, tactless, arrogant and impatient; he tried to play the monarch, even to those who detested monarchy. He thus alienated the sympathy of the Afghan nobles who raised the standard of rebellion. The Punjab and Jaunpur openly revolted and the Rajputs also defeated him. 7

While the king of Kabul was preparing for the realization of his long-cherished dream of the conquest of Hindusthan, the Hindustan of Ibrahim Lodi offered him the most favourable circumstances. Outside the Lodi kingdom there were the Muslim kingdoms of Multan, Sind, Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh, and Bengal in Northern India while in the Deccan the BahmanI empire had been split into five States, viz., Berar, Bldar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. The notable Hindu States were Rajasthan and Orissa in the north and Vijayanagara in the south. The Muslim kingdoms were very weak because of their internal divisions and mutual jealousies. The Rajput confederacy led by Rana Sangram Sirhha of Mewar had grown to be a great political force, almost ready to make a bid for the Delhi empire. The great expansion of the kingdom of Vijayanagara under Krishna Deva Raya (1509-1530), who had humbled the power of Orissa, caused not a little anxiety to the Muslim powers of the Deccan. Such was the Indian scene when Babur seriously turned to invade the country.

Early in 1519 Babur made a sudden raid on Bajaur, besieged it, and stormed it after a spirited struggle. To strike terror into the heart of the Afghan tribes, he put the inhabitants to the sword, to which reference will be made later. At the same time, with a vie'w to conciliating them, he married the daughter of a Yusufzal chief. He crossed the Swat, and fording the Indus, made his way almost unopposed to the Jhelum. Most of the local chieftains and the fort of Bhera submitted. Babur regarded the Punjab as his own by hereditary right from Timur, who had conquered it, and instructed his troops not to do violence on the people or their flocks and crops. He sent an embassy to the court of Ibrahim Lodi asking for the recognition of his claim to the Punjab, but his envoy Mulla Murshid was detained at Lahore by the governor of the Punjab, Daulat Khan, and the letter remained undelivered. Babur left Hindu Beg in charge of Bhera and came back to Kabul on 31 March, attacking and subduing the Gakkhars on the way. The expedition bore no permanent result—it was rather a reconnoitreing raid; and no sooner had he left than his officer Hindu Beg was expelled.

Babur himself states that from the year 925 A.H. (A.D. 1519) when he took Bajaur, to the year 932 A.H. (A.D. 1526), he led his army five times into Hindusthan. Babur thus regarded the expedition of early 1519 as his first Indian invasion. There is no disagreement about his fifth expedition which led to the battle of Panlpat, but we are not told which expeditions Babur regarded as second, third and fourth. Abu-T-Fazl regards thel raids of 1505 and 1507 as the first, and second and that of early 1519 as the third, but could not be definite regarding the fourth. If we take into consideration the earlier raids of 1505 and 1507, we find that Babur made altogether seven expeditions into Indian territory.

The same year, 1519, in September Babur crossed the Khyber and advanced as far as Peshawar, subduing the Yusufzai Afghans on the way. But he had to hasten back to Kabul on receipt of the report that the ruler of Kashghar was advancing on Badakhshan., This was Babur's fourth raid into Hindusthan and most probably Babur regarded it as his second. 8

In 1520 Babur made his fifth expedition (third according to Firishta and probably also to Babur) into Hindusthan. He marched out of Kabul through Bajaur, crossed the Indus and reached Bhera where he punished those who had revolted against him. Crossing the Jhelum he advanced on to Sialkot, which submitted, and then marched on Sayyidpur which offered resistance. Babur stormed it, put the inhabitants to the sword, and took the women and children into captivity. The expedition came to an abrupt end because Babur had to return to Kabul which was threatened by Shah Beg Arghun, ruler of Qandahar.

Babur realized the necessity of having Qandahar as a base before he should lead his troops into Hindusthan. It would be almost indispensable for a ruler of Kabul and the Indian kingdom as the first line of defence against the growing power of Safavi Persia. Qandahar was held by Zu-'n-Nun Beg Arghun on behalf of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara of Herat, but after the fall of Herat and Zu'n-Nun Beg's death, his sons Muqim and Shah Beg secured independent possession of it. Already in 1517 Babur had made an unsuccessful attempt on it. On his return to Kabul from the Indian raid, he laid siege to Qandahar (1520) but could not take it. Next year also he made another unsuccessful siege. Shah Beg, as he failed to persuade Shah Isma'Il to interfere against Babur, left Qandahar for Sind where he was able to carve out an independent kingdom. Babur accordingly marched to Qandahar, took it without any opposition on 6 September, 1522, 9 and left his younger son Mirza Kamran in charge. Garmsir also fell into the hands of Babur. Badakhshan, too, had come to his hands in 1520 on the death of his cousin Wais Mirza, when Babur, setting aside the claim of the

former's son Sulaiman Mirza, had appointed his own son Humayun to its government.

Babur was now free to turn his attention to Hindusthan. There the position of Ibrahim Lodi was growing more and more precarious on account of the revolt of his nobles and relations. The most serious enemies of the Sultan were 'Alam Khan, his uncle, and Daulat Khan Lodi, viceroy of the Punjab, both of whom appealed to Babur for help. 'Alam Khan, who had been living at the court of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat, went to Kabul and begged Babur to advance to the Punjab and place him on the throne of Delhi. Daulat Khan, apprehending that Sultan Ibrahim would soon deprive him of his position, sent messengers to Babur, offering to acknowledge him as his sovereign and asking his aid against Ibrahim. Babur responded to Daulat Khan's appeal and undertook his sixth invasion of Hindusthan (1524). 10

Passing through the Khyber Pass and the Gakkhar country, Babur crossed the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab and advanced within ten miles of Lahore. There he was encountered by the Lodi army under Bihar Khan, Mubarak Khan and others. The Afghan army was defeated and Lahore fell into Babur's hands. He then pushed on southwards to Dipalpur which he stormed. Here he was joined by Daulat Khan and his sons, Ghazi Khan and Dilawar Khan, who had been driven from Lahore. Babur gave Daulat Khan, Jullundur and Sultanpur as assignments. This could hardly satisfy Daulat Khan who wanted a free hand in the Punjab. He had sought an ally but found a master, and along with his son, Ghazi Khan, left Babur in silent indignation and began to intrigue against him. Dilawar Khan, who remained loyal to Babur, was now given Sultanpur. To the pretender 'Alam Khan, Babur gave Dipalpur. Babur was proceeding eastwards towards Sirhind but, considering his forces inadequate, retreated to Lahore and then returned to Kabul.

No sooner had Babur left than Daulat Khan came out of his retreat, seized Sultanpur and drove 'Alam Khan from Dipalpur. 'Alam Khan, who still harped on his claim to the throne of Delhi, escaped to Kabul and offered Babur the formal cession of Lahore and the territory west of it on condition that Babur would place him on the Delhi throne. The king of Kabul accepted the offer and sent instructions to his generals in the Punjab to help 'Alam Khan in his attack on Delhi. Babur could not accompany 'Alam Khan to Hindusthan as he had to go to Balkh to the aid of Shah Isma'il against the Uzbegs who had besieged it. 'Alam Khan, after his return to India, abandoned the alliance with Babur and joined hands with Daulat Khan who offered him his help and allegiance. With the assistance of Daulat Khan and his son, Ghazi Khan, 'Alam Khan marched on Delhi and surprised Ibrahim Lodi’s camp at night, but w T as ultimately routed. With his army dispersed, ‘Alam Khan made good his escape.

Babur meanwhile had driven the Uzbegs from Balkh and now turned his attention to Hindusthan. On 17 November, 1525, he set out on his last and most momentous Indian campaign. On the way he was joined by Humayun from Badakhshan and Khvaja Kilan from Ghazni. Whein he crossed the Indus on 16 December, the entire army amounted to twelve thousand men including non-combatant camp followers. As Babur advanced towards Sialkot, Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan, who were overrunning the Punjab, escaped to Milwat. Babur blockaded the strong fortress and forced Daulat Khan, who had girded himself with two swords as a challenge against the invader, to capitulate. Ghazi Khan fled, leaving his precious library to the enemy. Dilawar Khan proved faithless towards his father and again joined Babur. ‘Alam Khan Lodi also joined Babur in a forlorn condition and Babur considered it expedient to make political use of an Afghan pretender. Lahore and its dependent territories fell into Babur’s hands and the first stage of his campaign was brought to a close.

The road to Delhi now lay open. As Babur advanced towards his goal by way of Sirhind and Ambala, Sultan Ibrahim also advanced from Delhi with a big army to meet the invader. Two advance parties of the Afghans fell upon the Mughul army: the first under Hamid Khan, which came into contact with Babur’s right wing, was completely routed by Humayun, then only eighteen years old, in his ‘maiden battle’; the second under Daud Khan and Hatim Khan was similarly routed. Babur, having crossed the Sutlej near Hupar, proceeded to Ambala and from there two marches along the Yamuna brought him to the historic city of Panipat where he came within the sight of the enemy. Here Babur encamped and prepared himself for the battle.

Babur stationed the army in such a way that the town of PanL pat sheltered his extreme right while his left was protected by a ditch and an abatis. His centre was strengthened by a line of some seven hundred movable carts, tied together by ropes of raw hide, and between eviery two carts there were five or six breastworks for the protection of the match-lock-men and artillery-men. The line was not continuous but passages were provided wide enough for a hundred and fifty horsemen to march out abreast. 10a

For eight days from 12 April to 19 April the two armies stood face to face. With a view to drawing the enemy into battle, Babur sent out four or five thousand men on 20 April to attempt a night surprise, and though it failed on account of the negligence of the troops, it had the desired effect of making the enemy move. On 21 April at dawn the Afghans were on the move in battle array. As Babur noticed it, he bade his men take their station and drew them up according to the traditional formation of the Turks and the Mongols.

Babur took his position in the centre. The right centre was led by Chan Timur Sultan and the left centre by the Chief Minister Mir 'Alt Khalifa. Humayuin, assisted by Khvaja Kilan, commanded the right wing and in charge of the left wing were Muhammad Sultan MIrza and Mahdl Khvaja. On the right and left extremities of the entire line there were two flying columns to wheel round on the enemy and take them in the flank and rear. The van was commanded by Khusrav Kukultash and Muhammad ‘All Jang, and the reserve by ‘Abd-ul-'AzIz, the Master of the Horse. Along the front of the entire line, protected by the palisade of carts and breastworks, were placed the artillery under Ustad ‘All on the right side and the musketeers under Mustafa on the left. From his key position in the; centre Babur could have a view of the activities of the entire army.

Ibrahim Lodi had with him a force of 100,000 men and 1,000 ele^ phants while Babur’s army was 24,000 strong. 11 The Afghan army came straight on at a rapid march, and as they came near his defences, they hesitated and halted, but the ranks behind still pressed forward and caused great confusion among the whole force. Babur seized the opportunity and sent out his flanking columns to wheel round the Afghans and deliver a violent attack on their rear, while his right and left wings charged straight on. Babur sent timely reinforcement to the left wing under Mahdl Khvaja which was hard pressed, as well as to the right wing which felt the brunt of the Afghan attack. From the centre Ustad ‘All with his artillery and Mustafa with his match-locks began their action. Ibrahim’s centre gave way and the Afghans, beset on all sides by arrows and fire and crowded into a narrow space with no room to use their arms, could neither advance nor retreat. The battle ended at noon when the Afghans were completely routed and took to flight, leaving some twenty thousand dead, including Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The superior generalship and strategy of Babur, the higher discipline and

morale of his troops, and the discontent rampant among the Afghan troops were the secrets of his easy victory. The efficacy of Babur's artillery at Rarilpat has been over-estimated; it seems Babur had only two guns and, even if he had more, it appears from his own description that he won at Panlpat a bow-man's victory. 12 The importance of the battle, great as it was, has also been exaggerated. It sealed the fate of the Lodi dynasty and marks the completion of the second stage of Babur's conquest of India. It did nothing more; it could not finally decide the fate of Hindusthan.

From the field of Panlpat Babur marched to Delhi. On 27 April, 1526, the khutba was read in his name in the Jami' Mosque and the king of Kabul was hailed as the Emperor of Hindusthan. 13 From Delhi Babur proceeded to Agra which Prince Humayun had already captured. Agra became Babur's new Samarqand. Here Humayun presented him a big and precious diamond which he had received from the family of the late Raja Vikramajit of Gwalior as a mark of gratitude for his chivalrous treatment. This has been identified with the world-famous Koh-i-Nur- u Babur, however, affectionately returned it to his son as a gift.

Babur had won the throne of Delhi but not yet the empire of Hindusthan. The various Afghan leaders rose against the Mughul usurper from different centres: Sambhal, Bayana, Mewat, Dholpur, Gwalior, Raprl, Etawa 15 and Kalpi. They found a pretender in Ibrahim Lodi's brother, Mahmud Lodi. Nasir Khan Lohanll and Ma'ruf Farmull still held Kanauj and the country beyond the Gahga (Ganges), and the Afghans in Bihar had set up Bihar Khan, son of Darya Khan, as their king. Besides, Babur experienced much difficulty in procuring provisions for his army on account of the hostility of the people, and his officers, weary of the oppressive summer of Hindusthan, murmured for the cool air of Kabul. Babur discouraged their timid conservatism and his eloquence hushed all dissentients; Khvaja Kilan, the only notable exception, was sent to Ghazni as its governor.

The Afghan chiefs now realized that, unlike Timur, Babur had come to conquer and not merely to raid, and many laid down their arms; among them were such notable; Afghan leaders as Shaikh Bayazld and Mahmud Khan Loharil. Babur had now two major enemies to face: the Afghans of the East who had set up Bihar Khan as their king, and the Rajputs in the south-west under Rana Sahgram Simha of Mewar. The Afghan menace seemed more imminent and Humayun was sent with an expeditionary force against them. In a brilliant campaign Humayun took Jaunpur, Ghazlpur and Kalpi; and

line was not continuous but passages were provided wide enough for a hundred and fifty horsemen to march out abreast. 10a

For eight days from 12 April to 19 April the two armies stood face to face. With a view to drawing the enemy into battle, Babur sent out four or five thousand men on 20 April to attempt a night surprise, and though it failed on account of the negligence of the troops, it had the desired effect of making the enemy move. On 21 April at dawn the Afghans were on the move in battle array. As Babur noticed it, he bade his men take their station and drew them up according to the traditional formation of the Turks and the Mongols.

Babur took his position in the centre. The right centre was le;d by Chim Timur Sultan and the left centre by the Chief Minister Mir ‘All Khalifa. Humayuin, assisted by Khvaja Kilan, commanded the right wing and in charge of the left wing were Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Mahdi Khvaja. On the right and left extremities of the entire line there were two flying columns to wheel round on the enemy and take them in the flank and rear. The van was commanded by Khusrav Kukultash and Muhammad ‘All Jang, and the reserve by ‘Abd-ul-'Aziz, the Master of the Horse. Along the front of the entire line, protected by the palisade of carts and breastworks, were placed the artillery under Ustad ‘All on the right side and the musketeers under Mustafa on the left. From his key position in thei centre Babur could have a view of the activities of the entire army.

Ibrahim Lodi had with him a force of 100,000 men and 1,000 ele' phants while Babur’s army was 24,000 strong. 11 The Afghan army came straight on at a rapid march, and as they came near his defences, they hesitated and halted, but the ranks behind still pressed forward and caused great confusion among the whole force. Babur seized the opportunity and sent out his flanking columns to wheel round the Afghans and deliver a violent attack on their rear, while his right and left wings charged straight on. Babur sent timely reinforcement to the left wing under Mahdi Khvaja which was hard pressed, as well as to the right wing which felt the brunt of the Afghan attack. From the centre Ustad ‘All with his artillery and Mustafa with his match-locks began their action. Ibrahim’s centre gave way and the Afghans, beset on all sides by arrows and fire and crowded into a narrow space with no room to use their arms, could neither advance nor retreat. The battle ended at noon when the Afghans were completely routed and took to flight, leaving some twenty thousand dead, including Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The superior generalship and strategy of Babur, the higher discipline and

morale of his troops, and the discontent rampant among the Afghan troops were the secrets of his easy victory. The efficacy of Babur’s artillery at Panlpat has been over-estimated; it seems Babur had only two guns and, even if he had more, it appears from his own description that he won at Panlpat a bow-man’s victory. 12 The importance of the battle, great as it was, has also been exaggerated. It sealed the fate of the Lodi dynasty and marks the completion of the second stage of Babur’s conquest of India. It did nothing more; it could not finally decide the fate of Hindusthan.

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Gwalior was obtained by treachery. About this time (December, 1526) Babur narrowly escaped death from poison mixed with his food by Sultan Ibrahim’s mother through royal servants.

Babur now turned his attention to the arch-enemy, Rana Sangram Simha. This undisputed leader of the Rajput confederacy was an indefatigable fighter, with one arm and one eye lost and eighty scars in his body. He had sent a friendly embassy to Babur at Kabul and offered his help against Ibrahim, but the situation had now changed and Sangram Simha lost no time in declaring war against his rival for the mastery of Hindusthan. Babur declared his first jihad (holy war) against the ‘infidels’ and sent reinforcement to Bayana which had been besieged by the united forces of Hasan Khan of Mewat and Rana Sangram Simha. On 11 February, 1527, Babur himself marched against the enemy and encamped at Slkrl where he was joined by the garrison from Bayana. In some skirmishes which followed, the Rajputs inflicted defeat upon his advanceguard. RaprI and Chandwar 16 fell into the hands of the Afghans; Sambhal and Kanauj were abandoned; Gwalior was besieged by the Hindus; and the Indians who had joined his ranks began to desert. It was at this critical juncture that Babur made the memorable renunciation of his besetting sin, wine, and restored the morale of his troops by a stirring oration. 17 He then pushed on and met the enemy near Khanua, a village some thirty-seven miles west of Agra.

Here on 17 March, 1527, the battle took place. 18 Babur employed the sarnie tactics that he had employed at Panlpat. Along the front of the line were placed groups of carts, connected together by chains of iron and breastworks of wheeled woodien tripods fastened by ropes of hide, and behind them were the artillery and the match-locks. As at Panlpat, Babur himself commandied the centre. On the right of the centre was Chin Timur Sultan and the right wing was led by Humayun. The left wing was under the general command of Khalifa who was assisted by Mahdl Khvaja and Muhammad Sultan Mlrza. Mustafa with his match-locks was posted in front of the right wing while Ustad ‘All with his ordnance stood in front of the centre. On the two extremities were the flanking columns (Tulghama). Of the numerical strength of Babur’s army there is no (estimate, and though the Mughul estimate of the Rajput army numbering 200,000 was exaggerated, there can be no doubt about their preponderating numerical superiority. According to Tod, the Rana could place himself at the head of seven Rajas, nine Raos’ one hundred and four chieftains, eighty thousand horsemen and five hundred war-elephants. 19 Its accuracy may, however, be doubted.

The battle began about half-past nine in the morning with a magnificent charge by the Rajput left wing upon the Mughul right. The timely reinforcement under Chin Timur Sultan saved the hardpressed right of Babur. Mustafa brought forward his tripods and culverins and opened fire upon the assailants. With fresh reinforcements from the centre and Mustafa’s fire, the Mughul right repulsed the increasing attacks of the enemy and inflicted heavy losses upon them. The Rajputs now fiercely charged the Mughul left wing, but it stood fast while the flanking column wheeled round and fell upon the rear of the enemy. The Mughul artillery (match-locks and stone missiles discharged by ‘All Quit) began to rain death, but the Rajputs by the sheer weight of superior numbers maintained unceasing pressure. Babur had to send his reserve and then led his centre forward. The Rajputs then made the last desperate charge upon the Mughul right and left wings. In the evening, after ten hours’ hard contest, the

Rajputs were completely routed, and the Rana, badly wounded, took to flight. The battle of Khanua is probably even more important than the battle of Panipat; the one broke the unstable power of an Afghan dynasty, while the other shattered ‘India’s most splendid chivalry’, the powerful Rajput confederacy, which was making a bid for the mastery of Hindusthan. The battle of Khanua decided the issue in favour of Babur and marked the most important stage in his conquest of Hindusthan. Agra and not Kabul became henceforward the centre of his power.

Babur now assumed the title of ‘Ghazi’ and, with a view to reducing Mewat, marched into its capital, Alwar (7 April, 1527). Humayun was despatched to Badakhshan with a large force to keep his trans-Indian territory secure. Towards the end of the year Babur led his troops against Medini Rai, a Rajput chief of influence and king-maker in Malwa, who held the great fortress of Chanderi on the north-east of Malwa. He encamped before Chanderi on 21 January, 1528, and, after a week of fruitless negotiation for peace, besieged it on the 28th. After a desperate fight Babur took it next morning in spite of the heroic sacrifice of the garrison, which was almost tantamount to suicide.

On 2 February, 1528, Babur set out on an eastern campaign against the Afghans under Biban who had routed the Mughul army in Ajodhya and seized Lakhnau. Arriving at Kanauj, he crossed the Ganga (Ganges) in the middle of March by constructing a pontoon bridge, defeated the Afghans, and hotly pursued them as far as Ajodhya. Biban escaped to Bengal, and Bayazid as well as Ma‘ruf also took to heels. But in the beginning of the next year Babur had to set out on his second great eastern campaign against a formidable coalition of the Afghan chiefs who had all rallied under Sultan Mahmud Lodi, the brother of Ibrahim Lodi, in Bihar, and gathered an army of 100,000 men. It was the last great stand of the Afghans against the Mughul usurper. In three months the Mughul army arrived at Chunar (April, 1529), when Mahmud, who was besieging it, took to flight. Sher Khan abandoned Banaras, several Afghan leaders surrendered to Babur, and Mahmud Lodi, finding himself deserted, sought refuge with the Bengal army which was massed on the frontier. Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal had only recently sent an envoy to Babur at Agra offering his submission, and Babur had no intention of invading his territory. Babur, however, was bent on chastising the Afghan rebels, and as he moved eastward, he found the Bengal troops standing in his way at the confluence of the Gahga (Ganges) and the Gogra. On 6 May, 1529, was fought the battle of Gogra, Babur's third great battle in Hindusthan. He brilliantly forced the passage of the Gogra under heavy fire from the Bengal artillery, while 'Askari, crossing at a different place, attacked the flank of the Bengal army. After a fierce struggle the enemy, attacked in front, rear and flank, broke and fled. The battle of Gogra is the supplement to the battles of Panlpat and Khanua; these three battles made Babur master of Northern India. The battle of Gogra frustrated the last stand of the Afghans. Ma'ruf and several other Afghan chiefs joined him, while Biban, Bayazid and Mahmud Lodi retired. Jalal Khan, the late boy-king of Bihar, acknowledged Babur as overlord and a treaty of peace was concluded with Nusrat Shah, by which Babur's sovereignty in Bihar was recognized. All seemed quiet in the eastern front. This was the last exploit of Babur's stormy career.

Babur seemed to have never lost his trans-Indian ambition, the dream of Samarqand. The report of the battle of Jam (26 September, 1528) in which Shah Tahmasp had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Uzbegs revived it, and in his letter to Humayun, dated 13 November, 1528, Babur enjoined his son to undertake an expedition against the Uzbegs in Hissar, Samarqand or Marv as might seem advisable. Humayun marched upon Samarqand and occupied Hissar, but he ultimately failed, when Shah Tahmasp left for the west against the Turks. Babur was highly displeased at the failure of his son. Probably with a view to remaining near his father whose health was failing, Humayun suddenly left Badakhshan and arrived at Agra on 27 June (1529). Sa'id Khan, the ruler of Kashghar, marched on Badakhshan and besieged Qil'a Zafar. Babur was highly displeased at his son's conduct and sent Mirza Sulaiman to his father's

kingdom and compelled Sa'Id Khan to recognize him as the prince ol Badakhshan.

Humayun retired to his Jaglr at Sambhal, but after six months fell seriously ill and was brought to Agra. The skill of the best physicians failed to cure him and Babur, in accordance with the suggestion of the saint Mir Abu Baqa to sacrifice the most precious thing in his possession, offered to sacrifice his life. He walked three times round his sick son and exclaimed that he had borne away the disease. 20 Shortly after, Humayun recovered and Babur, whose health had already been failing, was taken ill, and this illness continued for two or three months. Mir Khalifa, who had a poor opinion of Humayun, made an attempt to place Mahdl Khvaja, Babur's brotherin-law, on the throne, but he revised his opinion on account of the arrogance of his nominee. 21 Babur nominated Humayun as his successor, and a few days later, passed away on 30 December, 1530.

III. Personality of Babur

Inheriting, as a boy of eleven, but the shadow of a petty kingdom in Central Asia, Babur died at the age of forty-eight, master of extensive dominions, stretching from the Oxus in the West to Bihar in the east and the foot of the Himalayas in the north to Malwa and Rajasthan in the south. He could now compare him self with the Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia. His perma* nent place in history rests no doubt upon his conquests in Hindusthan which paved the way for the foundation of an empire that excelled, in glory and greatness, the ephemeral structure of Chingiz as well as the ill-cemented empire of Timur whom he emulated. It is, however, in the military sense that Babur can be regarded as the founder of the Mughul empire in India. The monarchy of Babur's ideal was 'a divine inheritance'—the sacrosanct monarchy of Timur; the monarchy that he established in reality was a 'human compro mise'. He had neither the time to organize nor the genius for reconstruction; he failed in the task of the re-creation of a new theory of kingship and the foundation of a stable, centralized polity for his far-flung empire. As in Kabul, so in India, the government that he set up was saifl (by the sword) and not qalarni (by the pen). A considerable part of the empire, about one-fifth, was held by old 'zamlndars and rdis 9 in full internal sovereignty. The territory directly under his authority he assigned to his great amirs who were responsible for the administration of the area under their control; the monarch had only nominal authority over local administration. In fact, Babur adopted the old obsolete administrative machinery of the Lodls. He was an organizer of victory but not an organizer of polity, great conqueror but no ‘architect of empire’. If he is ‘the

link between Tamerlane and Akbar’, Babur in this respect seems rather nearer his famous ancestor than his truly great grandson.

Babur is one of the most fascinating characters of history. With iron nerves and robust optimism he combined the virtues of industry, daring and vigour. Love of action was the dominant note of his character: from the age of eleven he never observed the Ramzan twice in the same place. Intrepid as a soldier, a great strategist as a general, prompt to take advantage of the enemy’s weakness as a commander, he became an organizer of victory. He had little regard for the sanctity of human life: the massacre of Bajaur, the cold-blooded murder of prisoners, and the inhuman punishments which are referred to in his Memoirs only prove that he inherited the Mongol ferocity and Turkish savagery of his ancestors. Yet he was capable of generosity and chivalry on occasions. He possessed a joyous nature, strong affections, faculty of judging men and events, and a charming personality. He was fond of gardening and architecture, and proficient in music. He was an orthodox Sunni, though for political reasons he had to conform to some Shi‘ite rites. To compare Babur’s ‘moral courage’ in this respect with Akbar’s religious eclecticism is as inaccurate as it is unjust. Though not a zealous bigot like the Safavl Shahs of Persia, he could never dream of the sulh-i-kull (universal toleration) cult of his grandson. True to his age, he rejoiced in the glory of Jihad (holy war against infidels) and the majesty of the title of Ghcizi. To him Sunnism was the ‘pure faith’, Shiism ‘heresy’, and a Shiah was ‘a rank heretic’. With righteous satisfaction he justifies and records the cruel massacre of Bajaur because the victims were infidels. 22 An incorrigible but repentant drunkard, he was keenly sensitive to the beauties of nature. His description of the flora and fauna of Hindusthan reveals his quickness of observation and his marvellous interest in natural history. The sweeping condemnation of Hindusthan—its people as well as its culture—betrays as much his superficial acquaintance with, as his supreme contempt for, the land he conquered to stay in. His mind was as active as his body. In him were combined the vigour and stubbornness of the Mongol, the hardihood and capability of the Turk, and the culture and suavity of the Persian. He was a master of TurkI, his mother tongue, as well as Persian, the language of culture, the ‘French’ of Muslim Asia. His autobiography in TurkI is a permanent contribution to literature. He was a poet of no mean order in both the languages. He wrote a Diwdn in Turk! and a collection of Masnavis called the Mubayyin which is a treatise on Muslim law. He was the author of a TurkI treatise on prosody which was discovered in 1923 in a manuscript found in Paris.

Though he conquered Iiindusthan and laid the first stone of the splendid fabric of the Mughul empire, he had no love lost for the country. He sighed for the hills of Farghana, the blue domes and glittering minars of Samarqand, and the verdure and flowers of Kabul, where, by his own choice, he lies buried. 23 The first Mughul emperor of India died, as he had lived, as a Central Asian.

APPENDIX

(Note hy the Editor on Foot-note 12 and the passage in p. 35 to which

it relates)

The author of this chapter has challenged the generally accepted view about the size and nature of Babur’s artillery and the very important role it played in his victories at Panipat and Khanua. As this is a very important question, a more detailed discussion is necessary. So far as the general view is concerned, it would suffice to refer to Rushbrook Williams and Denison Ross, two of the latest writers on the subject, who had before them the English translation of the Bdburmama by A. S. Beveridge whom the author cites as his authority. The following sentences from the description of the battle of Panipat in An Empire Builder of the 16th Century by L . F. Rushbrook Williams leave no doubt about his view that the artillery played a very great role—greater than bow and arrow—in Babur‘s victory at Panipat:

“The ordnance and match-locks poured in a withering fire from the centre” (p. 136). “Ustad ‘All and Mustafa (in charge of Babur’s artillery) rained death upon the crowded ranks, and the unfortunate Afghans fell by thousands beneath the swords and arrows of the

Mughals....For some hours the slaughter continued".“a

total death-roll of some twenty thousand.a terrible testimony

alike to the skill of the leader and to the deadliness of his scientific combination of cavalry and artillery" (p. 137).

As regards ‘Khanua’, Rushbrook Williams writes:

“Along the front of the line were the artillery-men and the musketeers, secure in the shelter of the chained wagons and of the tripod-like breastworks. Mustafa, with the match-locks and culverins, was posted in advance of the right wing, while Ustad ‘All, with the heavy ordnance, held the ground in front of the centre.” (p. 149). “Mustafa, the artillery-man, trundled his culverins and his tripods into the open field, and from this position of advantage commenced a destructive fire with small-calibre ordnance and matchlocks. Sc great was the effect that the morale of the discomfited Mughals was restored” (p. 153). “Thus supported, and aided in addition by Mustafa’s deadly firearms, the Mughal right beat off all attacks and inflicted severe losses upon the enemy.” (p. 154). “On the one hand the Mughal artillery caused fearful carnage in the crowded Rajput ranks, and on the other, the unceasing pressure of superior numbers reduced Babur’s men almost to their last gasp”.

(p. 154). (There was) “a clear passage; down the middle for Ustad ‘All’s ‘great balls’. Simultaneously, it would appear, a strong body of match-lock men was brought from the right wing, whose fire supplemented the efforts of Ustad ‘AIL This clever manoeuvre was crowned with success. The charge of the household troops forced back the Rajput centre, and the; firearms blasted a lane of death into the thick of the foe. The match-lock-men then advanced from behind the artillery, trundling their tripods in front of them, and the ground was quickly occupied by the Mughal infantry. The Padshah in person now ordered a general advance in the centre. The guns were moved forward, and Ustad‘AlI redoubled his activities. . . .On the; left, where the pressure was greatest, the Rajputs came within an ace of breaking through. But the advantage gained by their antagonists was too marked, and the toll taken by the artillery was too severe. Sullenly the Rajput chivalry ebbed back”, (pp. 154-5).

Denison Ross writes in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV.

1. Re. Pdnipat

“Between eve^y pair of guns there were six or seven movable breastworks (tura) for the protection of the matchlock men” (CHI. IV. 12). “At this juncture Babur ordered his gunners to open fire, and then the main attacking force of the Afghans found themselves exposed to arrows on either flank and to shot or bullets in front”, (p. 13).

2. Re. Khdnua

“The artillery line was commanded by. . . .Mustafa Rumi, the

Turkish gunner, who brought forward the carts and guns.and

broke the enemy’s ranks”. 24 (CHI. 17).

These descriptions are based on Babur’s own account in his autobiography, which is, of course, the most important and, in this case, the sole authority available to us. Unfortunately, a few crucial words in Turkish (the language in which the book is written) are obscure and have been differently interpreted by different scholars. Mrs. Beveridge, in her translation of the book, refers to the matchlock men and guns at PanJIpat, but in a foot-note states that Babur could not possibly have a large number of guns with him, and adds, “he can be read as indicating that he had two guns only” (pp. 468-9, f.n. 3). But her translation contains the following: “Ustad ‘Al'Iquli made good discharge of firing! shots”, “Mustafa made excellent discharge of Zarb-zan shots.” In a foot-note she observes:

“The size of these artillery at this time is very uncertain. The word firing! is now (1826 A.D.) used in the Deccan for a swivel. At the present day, zarb-zan in common usage is a small species of swivel. Both words in Babur’s time appear to have been used for field cannon”, (pp. 473-4, f.n. 3).

As regards Khanua also we read in the translation of Beveridge:

“This Mustafa of Rumi had the carts brought forward and broke the ranks of pagans with match-lock and culverin”. Again in ornate

language we are told that “the match-lock men poured a ruddy

crepuscle of the blood of those ill-fated pagans.UstacTAlI-qulI

did deeds of valour, discharging stones of such size. ..and, were such stones discharged against a hill, broad of base and high of summit, it would become like carded wool. Such stones Ustad £ Ali-quli discharged at the iron-clad fortress of the pagan ranks and by this discharge of stones, and abundance of culverins and match-locks (?) destroyed many of builded bodies of the pagans. The match-lock men of the royal centre, in obedience to orders, going from behind the carts into the midst of the battle; each one of them made many a pagan taste of the poison of death.” (pp. 570-71).

So it would appear that even according to this translation— which broadly justifies the accounts of Rushbrook Williams and Denison Ross—the role played by artillery, both match-lock and guns, was a very important one. Besides, the description is hardly compatible with the view that Babur had only two guns.

As regards the importance of the battle of Bampat, also, the view taken in this chapter differs from those of many, including Rushbrook Williams, who observes about the battle of Panflpat that “from the political point of view it was eminently decisive.” (p. 137).

1. Babur never boasts of his Mongol ancestry; he invariably refers to the Mongols with supreme contempt, though he owed a great deal to them.

2. We accept the version of Babur. Khvand Amir, Bk III, Ch. iii, p. 192 and Firishta, Vol. I, p. 191 say that he was the sixth son of Abu Sa‘Id MIrza.

3. Muqlm Arghun married a daughter of Ulugh Beg.

4. In the sarkdr of Bhakkar under the suba of Multan, Jarrett, Aln-i-Akbarl, ii, p. 334.

5. On the Alingar river in Lamghan, Cf. Raverty, Notes on Afghanistan, p. 103.

6. Hablb-us-Siyar, Bk.,III, Ch. iv, p. 66; Tarlkh-i-‘Alamdrai ‘Abbasl, p. 30; Ahsan-ut-Tawdrlkh, p. 127. R.S. Poole, British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Persian Shahs, 1887, pp. XXIV et. seq.

6a. Some historians hold the view that Najm Beg was sent by the Shah to punish Babur for his failure to propagate Shiism in his territories (Mrs. Beveridge, Memoirs of Babur II. Transl. p. 359; Rushbrook Williams, Babur, pp. 1061—7), but this does not seem probable. In that case, the Persians would not have so strongly complained of Babur’s treachery in the battle of Ghazdawan. Out of political expediency the Shah could not have alienated Babur in the face of the grave Uzbeg menace.

7. Tod, Annals, Ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 349. For details of Ibrahim’s reign, vide Chapter IX of Vol. VI of this series.

8. Firishta regards the two invasions of 925 A.H. (A.D. 1519) as the first and the second (Brigg’s Firishta, Vol. II, pp. 35-6).

9. Darmesteter—La grande inscription de Qandahar, Journal Asiatique, 1890,

p. 210.

10. Fourth according to Firishta (Vol. II, pp. 37-8) and probably Babur as well.

Abu-’l-Fazl also suggests that this was the fourth; he does not recognize

the invasion of September, 1519, and that of 1520. A. N.: Eng. Trans., Vol. 1, pp. 234-40.

10a. Rushbrook Williams, p. 129.

11. Ahmad Yadgar puts the Afghan force at 50,000 cavalry and 2,000 elephants and the Mughul army at 24,000; A.S.B. text, p. 95. Babur, in his autobiography, estimates Ibrahim's army at 1 lakh horsemen and 1,000 elephants and his own army at 12,000 only, including non-combatants. It is not possible properly to ascertain the size of Babur's artillery.

12. The wrong translation of the word araba as gun-carriages (but which really means baggage carts) has been responsible for the impression that Panlpat was a triumph of artillery. Vide A.S. Beveridge, Babur-ndma f.n. 3 pp. 468-9; Pdnipat by C. Collin Davies in Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. Ill, pp. 102526. (Cf. Appendix by the Editor).

13. A. S. Beveridge, Babur-ndma, Vol. II, p. 476.

14. See Nature, 1890, 1891; The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, April, 1899, pp. 370-389.

15. 26° 58' N., 78° 36' E., 44 miles south-west of Mainpuri town.

16. Chandwar is an ancient place of considerable historical importance, standing on the left bank of the Yamuna at a distance of three miles south-west from Firuzabad (Agra Dt. Gazetteer, Allahabad, 1905).

17. While the naivete of his vow should not be doubted, it must be confessed that he broke it; vide Tarikh-i-Shdhi, p. 128. The statement of S. LanePoole that 'he never took wine again' (Babur, p. 153) seems incorrect.

18. A. S. Beveridge, Babur-ndma, III, pp. 558, 563.

19. See Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Ed. Crooke, Vol. 1, pp. 348-57 for the battle according to the Rajput version. (It is, however, interesting to record in this connection that the army of the Rana included twelve thousand horse led by Hasan Khan Mewatl and ten thousand horse led by Mahmud Khan, son of Sikandar Lodi, and the former died fighting (Babur, Memoirs, pp. 562, 573). This is, perhaps, the only instance known in Indian history of Muslim nobles fighting with an army under a Hindu king against the Muslims.) [Editor, whose attention was drawn to this passage by Dr. A. K. Majumdar].

20. Babur believed he had done so; it was generally believed at the time. A picture illustrating the incident occurs in Tarikh-i-Khdnddn-i-Timuriya, reproduced by A. S. Beveridge in the Humdyun-nama, p. 104.

21. Tabaqdt-t-Akbari, Eng. Trans. II, pp. 41-44.

22. The Bhopal document in which Babur prescribes for his son Humayun a policy of perfect toleration towards the Hindus and the Shiahs and even advises him to refrain from cow slaughter seems to be spurious. For contrary view see Dr. Syed Mahmud, The Indian Review, August, 1923, pp. 498-99.

23. He was buried at Agra where he died. Several years later his body was removed to its present grave at Kabul.

24. Sir Jadunath Sarkar also holds similar views. Cf. Military History of India, Calcutta, 1969; pp. 50-52.

CHAPTER III

HUMAYUN

Four days after the death of Babur on 30 December, 1530, Humayun ascended the throne at the age of twenty-three. 1 The history of Humayun, except towards the end, offers a record of unsuccessful struggle for dominion—a tragedy of errors and failures. Humayun's personal character and the circumstances in which he was placed equally contributed to this. From the very beginning, Humayun was beset with troubles. As there was no fixed law of succession among the Timurids, not only Humayun's brothers but every prince of royal blood aspired to the throne or sovereign power: the archenemy Kamran and his understudy 'Askari, the vacillating Hindal, and the two grandsons of the grand monarch of Herat—that archrebel Muhammad Zaman Mlrza, Humayun's brother-in-law, and his political disciple, Muhammad Sultan Mlrza, Humayun's cousin. Babur's occupation of India was 'unrooted, military and the sport of war'. The army was a heterogeneous body of adventurers—Chaghatai, Uzbeg, Mughul, Persian, Afghan and Hindusthanl. The nobles (amirs) were too conscious of their own importance and authority, while the more prominent of them did not consider the throne beyond the range of their ambition. On the borders of the infant Mughul kingdom were two powers to reckon with: the kingdom of Gujarat which was fast growing into a menacing factor under Bahadur Shah and the Afghans who had rallied in Bihar and considered Humayun as but a usurper's son. In Sher Khan Sur they produced a truly great leader who might have proved a serious rival to Babur. His indolent son was hardly the pilot to steer the ship of State on such a stormy voyage.

The history of Humayun is a drama in four acts. The first act offers the story of the hectic ten years from 1530 to 1540 during which he struggled for defending his dominion; the second unfolds the tragedy of exile from 1540 to 1545 when he had no place under the sun and sought his fortune in Sind, Rajasthan and in Persia; the third tells the story of the period from 1545 to 1554, when from his bases at Qandahar and at Kabul, he made preparations for the recovery of his dominion; and the fourth deals with the restoration during 1555-1556 when he recovered the throne of Delhi and a fragment of his kingdom.

I. STRUGGLE (1530-1540)

In accordance with Babur’s dying advice to be generous towards his brothers, Humayun allowed Mlrza Kamran to govern the territories of Kabul and Qandahar, as well as the western Punjab, while he assigned Sambhal to his third brother ‘Askarl, and Alwar to the youngest, Hindal. The position of Humayun was full of peril; he had to face the combined opposition of the Afghans, nominally under the leadership of Sultan Mahmud Lodi, the brother of the late Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, but under the actual command of Biban Khan Jalwani and Shaikh Bayazld Qarmali, 'heroes of a hundred battles’. From Bihar, now their vantage ground, they had marched triumphantly towards Lakhnau and forced Sultan Junaid Barlas, the Mughul governor of Jaunpur, to retire. Due to indiscipline, disunion and treachery among the Afghans, Humayun easily won a victory at the battle of Dadrah (1532), 2 and the main force of the Afghans was routed and dispersed. There was, however, She,r Khan, who had deserted them and thus served Mughul interest at the battle, 23 but was in possession of the strategic fort of Chunar on the Gahga (Ganges), south-west of Banaras. Humayun marched to Chunar and laid siege to it. The siege lasted for four months when Humayun, anxious to return to Agra on account of the aggressive movements of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, accepted the terms of Sher Khan who agreed to hold Chunar as a vassal of the Mughul emperor (December, 1531).

After returning to Agra, Humayun, generous brother as he was, not only acquiesced in Mlrza Kamran’s occupation of Lahore during his absence but added Multan and Hissar (Flruza) to his territory. In August, 1533, he laid the foundation of a new city in Delhi named Dlnpanah (believed by some to be the site of old Indraprastha) which was completed in nine months. This brief respite was soon disturbed in July, 1534, when Muhammad Zaman Mlrza and Muhammad Sultan Mlrza, who had rebelled soon after Humayun’s accession but had been kindly pardoned and reinstated in their ydglrs, again raised the standard of rebellion in Bihar. They were defeated and imprisoned; Sultan Mlrza was blinded but Zaman Mlrza escaped to the court of Sultan Bahadur in Gujarat. Humayun now turned his attention again towards Sher Khan and marched up to Kanar in KalpI district, but had to hasten back to Agra on account of the alarming successes of Bahadur

Shah who had entered into a pact with Sher Khan that each would open a second front for his ally when attacked by the Mughuls.

Bahadur Shah, who had annexed Malwa to his kingdom (1531) and had next year taken from the Rajput chief Silhadi his territory of Raisen, Chanderi and Bhilsa, captured Ranthambhor and in January, 1533, laid siege to the fort of Chitor. Humayun, who had received an appeal for help from the Rajputs, was not prepared to meet Bahadur but made a diplomatic move to Gwalior which possibly prompted the Gujarat king to make peace with the Rana who offered it as he failed to receive active help of the Mughul emperor (March, 1533). Bahadur, however, took Ajmer and Nagaur and in November, 1534, broke the treaty by an unprovoked siege of Chitor. Bahadur's conquest in Rajasthan thus became a direct menace to the Mughul territory. Bahadur also gave great offence to Humayun by harbouring notable Afghan leaders like 'Alam Khan 'Alaud-dln Lodi, a son of Sultan Buhlul Lodi, who had once contested the throne of Delhi, and his ambitious son Tatar Khan who still harped on his father's claims. Bahadur even sent or rather subsidized a three-pronged campaign led by them, directed against, Kalinjar, Delhi and Agra, and, though Tatar Khan was able to take Bayana and his advance columns raided the gates of Agra, the entire project ended in a fiasco at Mandrel where he was badly defeated by 'Askarl and slain (November, 1534). Last but not the least, Bahadur warmly received the disaffected Mughuls led by that faithless arch-rebel Muhammad Zaman Mirza, and added insult to injury by sending a most insolent reply to Humayun's demand for his extradition. 3 There was now no other way for even slow-moving Humayun but to move.

In November, 1534, Humayun moved from Agra to Gwalior where he halted for two months expecting that this would induce Bahadur to raise the siege of Chitor. When this proved fruitless, Humayun, as expected by Bahadur Shah, allowed him to conquer Chitor, the capital city of an infidel ruler, but took advantage of Bahadur's pre-occupation by invading his dominion and proceeding to Sarangpur and then to Ujjain in the very heart of Malwa. After the fall of Chitor (8 March, 1535) Humayun moved northward towards Mandasor where Bahadur came down to meet him. The Gujarat sultan, relying upon the advice of his mastergunner Rumi Khan, now a traitor conspiring with the enemy, remained on the defensive and entrenched himself behind a bulwark of baggage carts instead of giving battle in the open field as his nobles suggested. Besieged by the Mughul troops, their supplies cut off, the Gujarat troops found themselves in a prison of their own making and one night Bahadur fled towards Mandu (25 April, 1535). 4 Not until the next morning was the real situation revealed to the victorious

Mughuls who, after plundering his camp, pursued him to Mandu. Humayun laid siege to Mandu but realizing the difficulties of besieging such a gigantic fortress, twenty-three miles in circumference and defended by a large garrison, he opened negotiation for peace on condition that Bahadur should retain Gujarat and surrender the resf of his territories to the Mughul emperor. 5 Negotiations were going on and there was prospect of peace when the Mughuls, taking advantage of the consequent relaxation in the Gujarat garrison, made way into the fort through one of its unguarded parts and threw the enemy into confusion. Bahadur, roused from sleep, offered some resistance but, considering discretion as the better part of valour, slipped away to Champaner. Humayun meted out a most severe treatment to the people of Mandu: the lanes and bazars of Mandu ran red with blood. The reduction of Mandu put Humayun in possession of the whole of Malwa. Emboldened by these successes; Humayun invaded Gujarat with a force of thirty thousand horsemen. As soon as he reached the environs of Champaner, Bahadur left the fort in charge of Ikhtiyar Khan and, adopting the scorchedearth policy, set fire to the town and fled north to Cambay. Humayun pursued Bahadur as far as Cambay, but missed the enemy narrowly as Bahadur had left for Diu a few hours earlier. In revenge for a night attack on the Mughul camp by the Kolis, Humayun sacked the town of Cambay for three days. Considering him as a spent force, Humayun now left Bahadur to his own fate and returned to Champaner t,o undertake the siege of the fort which his officers had begun on his first arrival there on 13 June, 1535.

The celebrated fortress of Champaner towers over the level plains of the eastern portion of Gujarat. With some of its sides formed of nearly perpendicular and precipitous rocks and the deep and almost impenetrable jungle covering its foot, the fort was considered impregnable in medieval warfare. The provisions of the fort, we are told by the chroniclers, were sufficient against a siege of ten years. The Mughuls, who were not well-equipped for siege operations, realized that the fort would not surrender in spite of their best efforts. Accidentally some villagers, who used to supply food secretly to the garrison, fell into the hands of the Mughuls while they were reconnoitring their position and were forced to reveal the way to a vulnerable point of the fort. Here, at the advice of Bairam Beg, Humayun arranged for escalade by driving iron spikes into the mortar between the stones; and onq night, as the garrison were not so vigilant to guard this side, three hundred Mughuls scaled the walls of the fort, Humayun being the forty-first. 6 At dawn, attack was made on the fort in all directions and the

coup de main so terrified the defenders that three hundred Mughuls seized the gate. Many of the garrison were killed, their provisions fell into the hands of the Mughuls and munitions ran short, and Ikhtiyar Khan, who had taken refuge in the upper citadel, surrendered the fort (August, 1535). All the treasures of Gujarat sultans, accumulated in the fort by generations, fell into the hands of the victorious troops.

After the conquest of Champaner, Humayun became master of all Gujarat as far as the Mahl, but he was so busy in enjoying the booty that he did not take steps to consolidate his rule, not even to collect revenue. The chiefs and people of Gujarat offered to pay revenue even to their exiled king at Diu. Bahadur availed of this sentiment and deputed Tmad-ul-Mulk with this duty as well as with the task of organizing an army of opposition. As he was marching to Ahmadabad, he found himself at the head of a considerable army of fifty thousand horsemen. Humayun now left Champaner to meet the enemy. His advance guard under MIrza ‘Askar! was defeated by Tmad-ul-Mulk, but in the battle that ensued at a place between Nadlad and Mahmudabad the latter was routed by the main body of the Mughul army. Humayun marched triumphantly to Ahmadabad and this marks the climax of his successful career in Malwa and Gujarat.

Humayun now took some steps to settle the government of the newly acquired province. He appointed MIrza ‘Askar! viceroy of Gujarat with his headquarters at Ahmadabad, and the veteran Hindu Beg as his adviser. Officers were posted at strategic places: Champaner, Patan, Cambay, Baroda, Broach and Surat. Rejecting the sound advice of his counsellors to restore Gujarat to Bahadur in view of the alarming situation in Bihar and Bengal, Humayun marched on towards Diu in pursuit of Bahadur, but the rebellion of local chieftains in Malwa forced him to proceed to Mandu. His arrival at Mandu restored Mughul authority without serious opposition, but after these great successes he relapsed into his chronic lethargy and opiated idleness at the attractive and luxurious capital of Malwa. Taking advantage of this inactivity of his enemy, Bahadur issued out of his retreat. Humayun’s conquest of Gujarat was hardly more than a military occupation and immediately after he left for Malwa, a counter revolution began in favour of Bahadur Shah who was supported by the local chiefs and the people and joined by his scattered troops. The country was in revolt against the invader. The Mughul officers were driven from N'avsarl, Broach, Surat, Cambay and Patan (December, 1535). MIrza ‘Askari, the

viceroy of Gujarat, was only imitating his master in the neglect of his duties and himself aspired to sovereign power, while his fosterbrother Ghaznafar deserted after an angry quarrel to Bahadur and revealed to him the precarious position of the Mughuls. In response to appeals of his followers to recover his territory, Bahadur marched towards Ahmadabad and at Sarkhej, opposite the capital, he fought an indecisive battle with ‘Askarl who was bent on retreating rather than maintaining his position at the capital. After a skirmish near Mahmudabad 7 between Bahadur’s vanguard and his rear, ‘Askarl crossed the river Mahl and after severe loss reached Champaner where he expected reinforcement in men and money. Its loyal governor Tardi Beg Khan answered ‘Askarl with a gallant refusal and the pretender took the road to Agra with a view to establishing his authority there. Bahadur now advanced towards Champaner and Tardi Beg, unable to resist or acting on instruction from Humayun, retreated to Mandu taking with him as much of the treasure as he could (25 May, 1536). At long last, Humayun left Mandu in haste for Agra, and at Chitor overtook his delinquent brother whom he pardoned and carried to the capital. With Tardi Beg’s retreat from Champaner ended Mughul domination in Gujarat, and after Humayun’s departure from Mandu, Malwa fell into the hands of Mallu Khan, a nobleman of the late sultans of Malwa and Bahadur’s governor. Gujarat and Malwa were as easily and rapidly lost as they had been conquered.

On his return to Agra in August, 1536, Humayun found the situation embarrassing. That stormy petrel, Muhammad Zaman Mlrza, was still at large, though after his return from Bahadur’s camp at Mandasor, his attempt at the capture of Lahore had proved futile and Hindal had just subdued Sultan Mlrza and his sons. Sultan Mlrza had escaped from prison and established himself at Bilgram near Kanauj while his eldest son occupied territory in the east as far as Jaunpur, and his second son extended his authority in the south-east as far as Kara-Manikpur. Hindal, who had been left in charge at Agra, marched against the rebels, met them piecemeal, before they could unite their forces, at Bilgram and then at Awadh, and pushed on to Jaunpur, while Sultan Mlrza with his sons retired to Bihar among the Afghans.

The danger-spot of Humayun’s empire was Bihar, the vantageground of the Afghans who, after the battle of Dadrah and the retirement of the old leaders, found a great leader in Sher Khan, that grandson of a petty and unsuccessful horse-dealer of Roh, who hardly deserves the contemptuous remark of the Mughul historiographer.[8] During the four years (1533-1536) while Humayun was mainly engaged in Gujarat and Malwa affairs, Sher Khan not only consolidated his position in Bihar, of which he became the king in all but name, but extended his power at the expense of the effete monarchy of Bengal. He had inflicted several crushing defeats upon the Bengal army, notably at Surajgarh (1534), as a result of which he became master of the territory from Chuniar to Surajgarh. In 1536 he made a surprise attack on Bengal’s capital through Jharkhand route and forced Sultan Mahmud to conclude peace on payment of huge indemnity.

Humayun, after his return from M t andu, wasted one full year, partly because of his chronic indolence and partly because he still harped on the idea of recovering his lost kingdom in Gujarat and Malwa in which he was offered the alliance of Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. He, therefore, remained satisfied with the report of Hindu Beg, whom he had despatched to Jaunpur for this purpose, that all was quiet on the eastern front. Legally, the only offence that Sher had given to the Mughul emperor was the departure of Qutb Khan, his son and hostage with the Mughuls (according to the Treaty of Chunar, of December, 1531), during Humayun's Gujarat campaign, but this was not deemed sufficient by Humayun to serve as the casus belli . Like Bahadur, Sher Khan availed himself of the inactivity of the Mughul emperor and, tearing that 'scrap of paper' he had signed, made a second invasion of Bengal with a view to crushing Sultan Mahmud before the latter could secure the promised Portuguese help. It was this invasion of Bengal which made Humayun realize at the eleventh hour the gravity of the situation and decide to lead an expedition against his astute adversary.

Accompanied by Mirza 'Askaiii, Mlrza Hindal and the prominent nobles, and with a big army, Humayun marched from Agra in July, 1537. 9 On the way he received the submission of the incorrigible rebel Muhammad Zaman Mlrza who, after his failure to seize the throne of Gujarat on Bahadur's death, joined the Mughul camp. The army proceeded partly by land and partly by water along the Yamuna (Jumna) and the Gahga (Ganges) and reached the environs of Chunar. With the help of Rumi Khan, the celebrated military engineer of Bahadur Shah, now in his service, Humayun laid siege; to the fort which was gallantly defended by Jalal Khan for about three months until it fell, thanks to a stratagem of the Turkish gunner. Rumi Khan flogged a slave and sent him to the fort where he was able to convince the garrison that he had fled because of the cruelty of his master and, after studying the

vulnerable points of the fort, escaped to the Mughul camp. Rum! Khan then moved a floating battery close to that portion of the fort, where a breach was made, and by a severe bombardment forced the garrison to surrender.

The capture of Chunar was an admirable military triumph but a tremendous strategical blunder. A prompt direct march to Gaur might have prevented the fall of the Bengal monarchy and the consequent growth of Sher Khan's power. During the period Humayun wasted at Chunar he allowed his enemy to work according to his plans. Sher Khan besieged Gaurl but, leaving Khavass Khan in charge of the operations, proceeded to Bihar in order to keep watch over the Mughuls. Iiumayun marched from Chunar to Banaras and encamped in its neighbourhood. He now decided to follow a more vigorous plan of operations and march towards Bengal with a view to checking Sher Khan. Yet he attempted compromise with his adversary by offering him Chunar, Jaunpur and any other place except Bengal and Rohtas on condition of payment of tribute. At Muner, on the confluence of the Son and the Ganga, he was met by Sultan Mahmud, the fugitive king of Bengal, who further incited him to march without delay before Sher could become absolute master of Bengal. Sher Khan also became indifferent to the offer of peace as he received the report of the fall of Gaur (6 April, 1538) and he now transferred all his wealth to the fort of Rohtas which he had obtained by a stratagem to redress the loss of Chunar. Conse^ quently, the negotiation fell through. At Patna, Humayun was advised by his nobles to postpone the Bengal campaign until the rains were over, but urged by Mahmud he proceeded further. Sher Khan, who was very near the Mughul army, was pursued, but he made good his escape and reached Gaur. On his arrival at Bhagalpur, Humayun despatched a force of about 5000 or 6000 men to clear the road at the pass of TeliyagarhT, but the Mughuls found it already occupied by Jalal Khan, son of Sher, and being routed by a surprise attack were driven back on the main army at Kahalgaon (Colgong). Sultan Mahmud died here but Humayun pushed on, and as he arrived at the pass, he found it abandoned by Jalal Khan on instruction from his father who had meanwhile arrived safely in South Bihar. Humayun therefore could, without opposition, march through Teliyagarhi to the capital of Bengal—a capital, devastated, ruined and strewn with corpses (15 August 1538). 9a

Humayun's conquest of Bengal proved his undoing. He renamed the city of Gaur as Jannatabad and parcelled out the kingdom among his nobles. But as at Mandu after the successful Gujarat and

Malwa campaigns, so at Gaur, his Jannatabad (abode of paradise), he fell a victim to his chronic lethargy and dreamed at opium-eater's paradise while his enemy was working his ruin. Indeed, Humayun's entry into Bengal's capital was no triumph but a strategical defeat, and Gaur proved the grave of his empire—a grave which his astute adversary had dug for him. From his safe Jharkhand base, Sher Khan now cut off the communications of Humayun with Delhi and the desertion of his post by Mirza Hindal at Tirhoot in North Bihar and that at Kanauj by Mirza Nur-ud-din completely blockaded the Mughul emperor at Bengal's capital. Sher Khan, taking advantage of the situation of which he was mainly the author, took Banaras, sent his son Jalal Khan to besiege Jaunpur, and invested Chunar, while his generals ravaged the whole country as far as Kanauj. Even Jaunpur fell after stubborn resistance and, as ‘Abbas Sarwani says, the whole country as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into the hands of the Afghans. 10 Humayun could expect help from no quarter. The loyal governors of Delhi and Agra, Mir Faqr ‘All and Mir Muhammad Bakshi, persuaded Hindal and Yadgar Nlasir Mirza at KalpI to move towards the east in aid of the emperor. But their efforts were foiled by the arrival of the Mughul nobles under Zahid Beg who had indignantly refused Humayun’s offer of the government of Bengal and had abandoned him, and now, in collaboration with Mirza Nur-ud-din, incited Hindal to assume royal power. Under their influence Hindal executed the venerable) Shaikh Buhlul whom Humayun had sent from Gaur to reconcile his rebel brother. Hindal now advanced to seize Delhi but was prevented by the arrival of Mirza Kamran who pursued him to Agra, drove him to his jagir at Alwar and forced him to offer submission. If any one could save Humayun at this critical juncture, it was Mirza Kamran who had at his disposal the resources of Kabul, Qandahar’ and the Punjab intact, but he remained coldly neutral. The brothers indeed led a campaign as if to help Humayun, but after a few marches returned to Agra. Mirza Kamran was selfish and hostile, Hindal a rebel, and Yadgar Nasir Mirza was both incapable and lukewarm. The voice of the loyal governors of Delhi and Agra proved but a cry in the wilderness. All these circumstances awakened Humayun from his torpor and forced him to leave ‘the abode of paradise’ in Bengal. 10a

Probably towards the end of March, 1539, 11 Humayun set out from Bengal for the capital, leaving Jahangir Quli Beg at Gaur with a force of five thousand men. ‘His troops were demoralized by dissipation, disheartened by inaction, and reduced by sickness’. As he marched along the left bank of the Ganga, he received the

disheartening report of the defeat and capture of his vanguard under Dilavar Khan Lodi at Mungir. Humayun then sent Mirza ‘Askar! in advance and joined him at Mungir where, against the counsel of experienced officers, he crossed the river over to the southern bank which was entirely under the Afghan control. Sher Khan and the Afghans were in close pursuit but there was no regular engagement and the Mughul army was able to reach Chausa in Shahabad district with but little opposition from the enemy. Here again

Humayun committed a blunder by not attacking the Afghans immediately before they could be ready, and played into the hands of his adversary who was waiting for the rains. The two armies lay encamped for about three months. Humayun's position became extremely critical; the rains were coming and there was no hope of succour from any quarter, and he therefore opened negotiations for peace. The terms are variously stated in different chronicles. It appears that Humayun allowed Sher Khan to retain Bengal and his old jagir in Bihar as well, on condition of Sher's acknowledgement of the Mughul suzerainty by striking coins and reading the khutba in his name. Negotiations for peace were in progress and there was consequent relaxation in the Mughul camp, when suddenly at break of dawn Sher Khan, after a feigned night attack on Maharatha Chero, attacked the Mughul army and completely surprised it (26 June, 1539). 12 Many were killed asleep, many who attempted to escape were drowned in the swollen waters of the Ganga, and Humayun who owed his life to his personal valour and to the generosity of a water-carrier, somehow reached Agra with Mirza 'Askari. The army was completely annihilated; it was a disastrous and absolute defeat.

After this easy victory Sher Khan hastened to Bengal and destroyed the Mughul army and its leader left by Humayun at Gaur. He again assumed the royal title, struck coins and read the khutba in his own name. 13 At Agra, Humayun excused the veiled hostility of Kamrian and the open rebellion of Hindal and tried his best to combine his brothers in a joint attack against Sher Shah, but they simply deliberated and did not act. Mirza Kamrian would not lend his troops but under his own command and retreated to Lahore on the pretext of illness. 'Seven months were wasted in weary indecision, until the opportunity was lost, and Sher Shiah was on the Ganga (Ganges), ready for war'. 13a Sher Shah had meanwhile consolidated his position in Bengal and then marched again along the bank of the Ganga. Humayun hastily collected a big army mostly consisting of rabble and, encouraged by the defeat of Sher's advance guard under his son Qutb Khan at Kalpi which was still held by

Yadgar Nasir Mirza, marched towards Kanauj to meet his adversary. The two armies remained for about a month facing each other with the Ganga between them, until Humayun crossed it to give battle, as there were already considerable desertions from the Mughul camp. Various estimates are given in different chronicles as to the strength of the belligerents, but there is no doubt that the Afghan army was much smaller, about half in number. 14 As the Mughul camp in the lowland near the river was flooded owing to rains which came rather early that year, at the suggestion of Haidar Mirza, Babur’s cousin who had recently joined Humayun and was now his virtual commander, the Mughul army decided to move to a higher ground. It was during this manoeuvre on May 17, 1540, when the artillery and a portion of the army were being transferred, that Sher fell upon the Mughuls and put them to confusion. Disaffection and indiscipline among the soldiers as well as halfheartedness of the nobles, combined with bad management, added to the confusion in the Mughul army. Except the initial success obtained by Hindal Mirza, who was placed in the left, against Jalal Khan, everywhere the Mughuls were defeated: Mirza ‘Askar! at the vanguard and Yadgar Nasir Mirza in the right were forced to fall back upon the centre, while Jalal Khan, strengthened by reinforcements, pushed Hindal back and the numerous non-combatants at the rear forced by the Afghan attack pressed on the centre and broke the chains fastening the guns and wagons. Meanwhile an Afghan division turned round the Mughul army and reached its rear, thus encompassing the entire army of the enemy. The confusion became so terrible that any action became impossible: the battle became a rout. The artillery became thoroughly inactive, not a gun could be fired as Mirza Haidar regrets. Though we cannot too literally accept his statement that the enemy did not discharge an arrow, it has to be confessed that it was rather an onesided game. The Mughuls fled to the Ganga; many were killed by the Afghan army in pursuit and many who escaped the sword of the enemy were drowned in the river.

Humayun crossed the Ganga on an elephant and with a small number of his followers returned to Agra. The rude behaviour that he received on the way from the people of Bhongaon 15 and afterwards from the villagers near Rohtak 16 testified to the declining prestige of the house of Timur in Hindusthan. In the Punjab everything was in disorder. Humayun had nothing to expect from the hostile' Kamran, the untrustworthy ‘Askari and the halfhearted Hindal. ‘The nobles were discontented; the peasantry, a prey to misrule and anarchy; the Afghans hard in pursuit’. From

Agra, he went to Delhi and, after a very short stay, left for Lahore via Sirhind with the hope of persuading Kamran to make a combined effort against Sher Shah. The brothers met and deliberated, but could not combine. It was a mighty gathering of the Mughuls but five months were wasted in uncertain planning and barren talk. Humayun's plan of going to Badakhshan, via Kabul, fell through on account of the opposition of Kamran. Haidar Mirza made the suggestion to take shelter in the Punjab hills and try fortune in Kashmir, while Hindal Mirza proposed to march to Sind and Gujarat and from that base to make a renewed bid for the throne of Delhi. Humayun was rather inclined towards Haidar Mlrza's view. During these heated debates Mirza Kamran was secretly making terms for himself with Sher Shah and openly received his envoy, 16a but Sher Shah would not give the Punjab to a Mughul, even though it was Kamran. Humayun also made negotiation for peace with Sher Shah who had now taken Agra and Delhi, on condition that he should retain the Punjab, which Sher contemptuously dismissed with the remark that he should go to Kabul. Meanwhile the Afghan leader had reached Sultanpur and, as the Afghans crossed the Beas, Humayun with his panic-stricken followers, to whom it was like the Day of Resurrection as Gulbadan describes it, left Lahore (end of October, 1540). Even now Humayun thought of moving to Kashmir but on account of lack of support from his officers as well as Kamran's hostility the idea was abandoned in favour of Hindal's proposal to go to Sind. 17 Even at this juncture Humayun rejected the counsel of his followers to finish his archenemy Mirza Kamran who parted with him near Khushab after an angry quarrel over the precedence in entering a defile and left for Kabul. Hindal and Yadgar Nasir Mirza also followed suit and went south for Multan but, harassed by the Baluchis, they joined Humayun near Uchh. Sher's general Khavass Khan was hard in pursuit of the Mughuls to drive them out of the Punjab. After a weary journey down the Indus, Humayun reached Bhakkar which was in the dominion of Shah Husain Arghun, the ruler of Sind, and encamped at Rohr! opposite Bhakkar (26 January, 1541). The second period of his history began—the period of exile.

II. EXILE (1540-1545)

Humayun called upon the governor of Bhakkar to deliver the fortress. As the governor replied that he was a mere subordinate to Shah Husain, ruler of Sind, Humayun sent envoys to Shah Husain at Tatta to persuade the latter to join him in an invasion of Gujarat. After considerable and calculated delay Shah Husain

replied through his messenger that Humayffn should go to Hajkan 18 where provisions would be available and he would present himself before Humayun at the earliest convenience. The nobles of Humayun suspected this proposal as a stratagem of Shah Husain to drive him out of his territory as Hajkan had never been properly subjugated by the Sind ruler. Accordingly Humayun laid siege to the fort of Bhakkar and sent Mirza Hindal to attack Sehwan. After the siege had continued for five or six months without any effect, Humayun, suspicious about Hindal's movements and also because of famine raging in the arqa, marched to join his brother. He met Hindal at Patar 19 where, in spite of his brother's bitter protest, he married Hamida Banu, the daughter of Hindal's tutor and spiritual guide. Mirza Hindal, in disgust and on invitation from the governor of Qandahar, deserted Humayffn and took the road to Qandahar. Humayffn was therefore obliged to return to Rohr! and it was with difficulty that Yadgar Nasir Mirza was prevented from joining Hindal. Leaving the affairs of Bhakkar in charge of Yadgar Nasir, Humayffn now turned his direction to Sehwan, which he reached on 6 November, 1541. Shah Husain had adopted the same plan as he had done in Bhakkar; he had laid waste the surrounding country and cut off all supplies and he himself encamped in the vicinity of Sehwan. Humayffn besieged the fort for several months against heavy odds. His army suffered much on account of the scarcity of provisions and desertion began in his camp. Yadgar Nasir Mirza, whom he had left in charge of the siege of Bhakkar, had been won over by Shah Husain on promise of his daughter's hand and his kingdom. All these compelled Humayffn to raise the siege of Sehwan (4 March, 1542) 19a and make a hasty retreat to Bhakkar where he found no better prospect. Yadgar Nasir threatened to attack him openly, and scarcity of provisions made the situation hopeless. There was little to hope for in Sind and much to fear from Shah Husain who could have no love lost for Babur's son 20 and risk an Afghan invasion into his territory by a barren Mughul alliance.

In this miserable plight Humayffn threw himself on the protection of Raja Maldev of Mar war who had invited him to Jodhpur and promised him assistance. Proceeding by Uchh and the fort of Dilawar, 21 Humayffn reached the vicinity of Bikaner on 31 July, 1542, after a horrid journey in which many died and all suffered exceedingly, as Jauhar says. To his great surprise Humayffn found the Raja hostile. Probably the threat of an Afghan attack forced him to revise his policy. Maldev had offered his invitation and help at a time when Slier Shah was preoccupied elsewhere. Humayun responded to it too late, after one year, when Sher Shah had settled his affairs in the Punjab, Malwa and Bengal, while the Mughul resources had become weaker. Sher Shah sent an envoy to Maldev asking him to capture Humayun, and self-interest, seasoned with Rajput chivalry, induced Maldev to stage a march of Rajput troops against the Mughuls. 21a Humayun was accordingly forced to leave Maldev's territory and turn towards Jaisalmer whose Raja also proved hostile. Pursued by Maldev's troops, fatigued with thirst and hunger, the Mughuls arrived at ‘Umarkot where the Rana received them with hospitality and agreed to help Humayun to conquer Bhakkar and Tatta. After a stay of about a month and a half, Humayun started on an expedition to Sind at the head of the Mughul and Rajput troops. A few days later, on the way, he received the report that on 15 October, 1542, Hamlda Begam had given birth to a son at ‘Umarkot, the celebrated Akbar of history. 22

Humayun took the pleasant city of Jun and remained there for nearly nine months. Shah Husain opposed him with a formidable army. Though no major battle but only skirmishes took place, the situation of the Mughuls became precarious. The arrogant behaviour of some Mughul nobles alienated the Rajputs who left Humayun. One of his prominent noblemen, Mun‘im Beg, deserted him, and desertion to the enemy became frequent and contagious. It was at this critical juncture that Humayun was joined by his valued servant Bairam Beg who had separated from him after the disastrous battle of Kanauj and made an adventurous escape from the clutches of Sher Shah. From this time onwards Bairam Beg becomes Humayun's chief counsellor and guide. On his advice Humayun concluded a treaty with Shah Husain who agreed to allow Humayun passage through his territory to Qandahar and supply him with money and other requisites for the journey.

On 11 July, 1543, Humayun left Jun for Sehwan and from there via Gandava and Sibi advanced as far as Shal (Quetta). He could not proceed to Qandahar in view of the hostile attitude of Mirza Kamran but retreated southwards to Mastung. Mirza Kamran had ousted Hindal from the government of Qandahar and carried him as well as Yadgar N!asir Mirza, who had arrived from Sind, to Kabul. He then sought the alliance of Shah Husain Arghun by proposing to marry his daughter and instructed Mirza ‘Askari, whom he had appointed governor of Qandahar, to oppose Humayun. The idea of going to Qandahar was given up and, on the advice of Bairam Beg, who was a Shiah and whose ancestors were related to, and in alliance with, the former rulers of Iran, he decided to go to

Persia. In extreme haste Humayun departed from Mastung, leaving the child Akbar to the tender mercy of his uncles. From Garmsir he wrote a letter to Shah Tahmasp of Persia asking permission to visit him but, pursued by Mirza ‘Askan’s men, he entered the Shah’s territory before he received his reply (January, 1544).

It was not until August, 1544, that Humayun could meet the Shah at his summer capital between Abhar and Sultariiya. Along the entire route wherever he had halted he had been given regal reception and a grand reception was held at the court to welcome him, but they were rather studied displays of the Shah’s magnificence than expressions of honour to his dethroned guest. Humayun remained at the Shah’s court for a few months during which he had to suffer humiliation and insult, and was forced by threat of violence to make a confession of the Shiah faith and agree to spread Shiahism in India. In lieu of this sacrifice, the zealous Persian monarch agreed to render him military help for the recovery of his territory in Afghanistan on condition that Qandahar should be restored to Persia. The Shah’s treatment of Humayun was marked by a curious compound of courtesy and insult, hospitality and hostility, generosity and meanness.

Reinforced with 14,000 Persian troops Humayun arrived at the vicinity of Qandahar on 21 March, 1545, 122a and laid siege to it. As the siege went on, he sent Bairam Khan 23 on a diplomatic mission to Kabul with a view to winning the Timurid princes and nobles over to his side. Mirza ‘Askari surrendered the fort on 3 September, 1545, and Qandahar was made over to the Persians as stipulated. But the Persian troops declined to render any further help to Humayun, who was now being joined by his followers but had no shelter. Pressed by sheer necessity, he made a sudden attack on Qandahar one month later, expelled the Persian garrison, and took it in violation of his agreement with Shah Tahmasp. The occupation of Qandahar was the turning point in the history of Humayun. He had now a place under the sun and a base for further operations. Thus ended the second period of his history, the period of exile. He could now think of recovering his kingdom in Afghanistan and ultimately his dominions in India. The significance of Humayun's Persian exile is indeed very great. Without it the restoration of the Mughul power in India would not have been possible. Not .only was diplomatic relation established between the Safavi and Mughul courts, but it led to closer contacts between Iran and India whose full significance was realized in the reign of Akbar.

III. RETURN

Humayun appointed Bairam Khan to the government of Qandahar and set out for Kabul. On the way Mirza Hindal joined him and, as he advanced, desertion in his camp forced Mirza Kamran to escape to Sind by way of Ghazni, and Humayun entered Kabul without any opposition (18 November, 1545) and met his son Akbar after an interval of about two years. The occupation of Qandahar and Kabul made Humayun master of southern Afghanistan.

In March, 1546, Humayun set out on a campaign in Badakhshan (Northern Afghanistan) whose ruler Mirza Sulaimian had recently been set free from Kamran's bondage at Kabul. Humayun took 'Askari with him and ordered execution of Yadgar Nasir Mirza who had rejoined his service but had shown signs of disaffection. Humayun's campaign met with success; at Tirgiran he defeated Sulaiman and forced him to escape to Kulab. Humayun then advanced to Kishm and from there to Qil'a Zafar, but on the way fell dangerously ill which caused disaffection in the army and encouraged Karnran to move out of Sind. Reinforced by his fatherin-lav/, Shah Husain, Mirza Karnran returned to Afghanistan, took Ghazni, whose governor Zahid Beg he put to death, and marched upon Kabul. Kabul also fell into his hands and Mirza Karnran began a reign of terror, brutally killing and executing many of the followers of Humayun. Winter was at its worst, but Humayun had to hurry back towards Kabul. He besieged the city and the siege continued for several months. The contest was bitter, so much so that Karnran placed Akbar on the battlements, exposed to his father's gun and musket shots. Realizing, however, that it was impossible to hold the city, he fled through a hole made in the fort wall (27 April, 1547), narrowly escaping capture by Haji Muhammad or, according to Jauhar, Mirza Hindal who pursued him. He first went to Mirza Sulaiman but, failing to win him over to his side, approached the Uzbeg chief Fir Muhammad Khan of Balkh, and with his help captured much of the territory of Badakhshan. Humayun accordingly set out on a second campaign against Badakhshan (June, 1548). By way of Andarab, where he was joined by Mirza Hindal who arrived from Qunduz, he proceeded to Taliqan and besieged it. Mirza Karnran, failing to secure further help from the Uzbegs, surrendered the fort after some resistance (17 August, 1548) and rendered homage to Humayun who pardoned him and granted him Kulab, north of the Oxus, as his jdgir, which, however, was considered as an insult by the ex-king of Kabul and Badakhshan. In October Humayun returned to Kabul.

In February, 1549, Humayun led a campaign against Balkh and the Uzbegs, his hereditary enemies. Though he was joined by Mirza Hindal and Mirza Sulaiman on the way, Mirza Kamran refused to come to his aid. Humayun, after gaining some successes against the army of Pir Muhammad Khan, was able to reach Balkh and was on the point of taking the city when the bogey of Kamran's attack on Kabul told upon the morale of the Mughul officers and, as they retreated, they were hard-pressed by the enemy from behind and many were killed. The retreat became a rout and the campaign ended in a trjagic fiasco. MIrzia Kamran now marched against Mirza Sulaiman, took Taliqan and Qil'a Zafar, and attacked Mirza Hindal, but was afterwards forced to withdraw into the Hazara country on account of the combined opposition of Hindal and Sulaiman.

In the middle of 1550 Humayun marched from Kabul towards Ghurband to chastise his incorrigible brother. He was surprised by Mirza Kamran in the Qibchaq defile 24 and in the battle that followed Humayun lost many of his soldiers and was himself wounded. Kamran made a hurried march to Kabul, took it and held it for three months. Kabul believed Humayun dead, while he was waiting in Andarab. With the help of reinforcements sent by Mirza Sulaiman's wife, Humayun marched against Kamran who rejected his terms, fought the battle for Kabul and won it. Mirza Kamran fled and Mirza 'Askari, who had joined Kamran, was captured and banished. 25

The battle for Kabul had been won but the problem of Kamran remained. He was now joined by one of Humayun's most prominent officers, Haji Muhammad Khan. To meet this dangerous situation Humayun recalled from Qandahar Bairam Khan who was able to conciliate Haji Muhammad and bring him to his master. Humayun, who had on account of adversity and misfortune become wiser and sterner and put Yadgar Nasir to death and banished 'Askarii, now executed Haji Muhammad. Mirza Kamran gathered the Afghans under him and stirred up strife in the territory between Kabul and the Indus. During one of these engagements on 20 November, 1551, Mirza Kamran surprised his brother at night at Jiryar in Nangnahar! and, though he was defeated, 253 Mirza Hindal was killed in action. Humayun pursued him but he fled to the Punjab and sought shelter with Islam Shah who treated him with cold neglect. Ultimately he took refuge with Sultan Adam, the Gakkhar, who after some hesitation surrendered him to Humayun who had reached the Indus on receiving report from the Gakkhar

chief. 26 On the advice of his nobles Humayun had Kamran blinded and gave him leave to proceed to Mecca (1553). 27 'The great material of sedition and strife', as the Mughul imperial historian calls him, Mirza Kamran has been more sinned against than sinning, and so far as Kabul was concerned he was rather 'the defender of rights than their assailant'. 273 Humayun now planned to lead an expedition into Kashmir where the short-lived Mughul rule under Haidar Mirza had beejn overthrown two years ago, but on account of the opposition of his nobles he returned to Kabul by way of Peshawar (December, 1553).

During Humayun's stay in Afghanistan he was greatly helped by Bairam Khan in the consolidation of Mughul power. While all around there was frequent commotion and strife, Qandahar was ably maintained by its governor as the undisputed base of Mughul operations. In 1554 Bairam left Qandahar for Kabul to join Humayun in his Indian campaign for which he had been making preparations. He was now master of Qandahar, Kabul and Ghazni. His brothers were no longer on the scene and 'there was now no rival to the throne and no noble behind and above the throne.' When he received the report of Islam Shah's death and the anarchical condition of Hindusthan on account of the accession of the boy king Firuz and the outbreak of civil war among the Afghans, 28 he realized that the time had come for making a renewed bid for the throne of Delhi. The third chapter of his life ends here.

IV. RESTORATION

With an army of about 3,000 men, Humayun set out and reached Peshawar on 25 December, 1554. He was soon joined by Bairam Khan, but Sultan Adam, the Gakkhar, refused to attend on the ground that he had already concluded a treaty with Sikandar Shah Sur, who now held the Punjab after the murder of Firuz, and had surrendered his son as a hostage. Tatar Khan Kashi, who held the fort of Rohtas for Sikandar Shah, abandoned it on hearing of the advance of the Mughul army. Humayun marched on to Lahore and the Afghans of the city took to flight. The Mughul force under Shah Abu-'l-Ma ali defeated the Afghans at Dipalpur, while the main army under Bairam Khan had driven the Afghans at Hariana 29 and as he proceeded to Jullundur, the enemy retreated. Sirhind also fell into the hands of the Mughuls. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the Mughuls, Sikandar Shah now despatched an army of 30,000 horse towards Sirhind. Bairam Khan, not unnerved by the enemy's superiority, hastened from Jullundur to give battle and

crossed the Sutlej before the arrival of the enemy. Towards sunset, the two armies met at Machiwara in Ludhiana district, and the battle began. As it grew dark at night, it became impossible for soldiers on either side to fight. Accidentally, fire broke out in the village in which the Afghan army had drawn up. 30 It enabled the Mughuls to see clearly every motion of the Afghans and discharge arrows at them, whereas the Afghans, who had no view of the enemy, shot at random, and ultimately failed to maintain their ground and took to flight (May, 1555).

Bairam Khan marched at the head of the victorious Mughuls to Sirhind and took it. The battle of Machiwara was but a big round in the struggle between the Mughuls and the Afghans; the battle for Delhi was yet to be fought. On learning of the defeat of the Afghans, Sikandar Shah marched from Delhi with an army of 80,000 horse and a big train of artillery and war elephants, and encamped at Sirhind. Bairam Khan, whose forces amounted to seven or eight hundred horse, 31 appealed to Humayun at Lahore to come to his aid but, on account of illness, Humayun could not arrive at Sirhind before 27 May, 1555. The two armies remained encamped opposite each other for twenty-five days during which occasional skirmishes took place. On 22 June, Khvaja Mu‘azzam, Atga Khan and others advanced and fell in with Kala Pahar, the brother of Sikandar Shah, and the battle began. The Afghans concentrated their main attack on the division of Bairam Khan who stood on the defensive, while the two Mughul divisions under Shah Abu-’l-Ma^alJ and Tardl Beg Khan wheeled round the enemy, and in a short time the Afghan army became a mass of confusion and took to flight. The Mughul troops, who were vastly inferior in number, 32 pursued the defeated Afghans to a long distance and killed many of them, and a pyramid was made of the heads of the slain. Sikandar fled to the Siwalik hills. Machiwara and Sirhind undid the work of Chausa and Kanauj which had put an end to the empire of Babur; they sealed the fate of the Afghan empire of Sher Shah.

From Sirhind Humayun proceeded towards Delhi. When he reached Samana, he appointed Shah Abu-T-Ma‘all, governor of the Punjab, and despatched him to Lahore. Meanwhile Sikandar Khan, the Uzbeg, had occupied Delhi. Humayun accordingly left Samana and on 23 July, 1555, re-entered the city of Delhi. He now distributed offices and commands to his faithful servants. Atga Khan took Hissar which surrendered after a siege of twenty-three days, while ‘All Quli Khan suppressed Qambar ‘All, an unknown Mughul

adventurer, who headed a rebellion at Badaun, and put him to death, though he had appealed to Humayun for pardon which th^ king was willing to grant. Haidar Muhammad Akhta Begl took Bayana after treacherously putting to death its Afghan governor Ghazi Khan, the father of Ibrahim Khan Sur, though he surrendered after he had received promise of pardon. The conduct of ‘AliQuli Khan and Haidar Muhammad offers but typical examples of the weakness of the royal power and the overpowering influence of an irresponsible and lawless aristocracy.

On account of Abu-'1-Ma'ali's misbehaviour, Humayun placed the government of the Punjab in the nominal charge of prince Akbar but under the real control of his guardian Bairam Khan. On learning of the advance of Bairam Khan and Akbar, Sikandar, who had meanwhile come out of the hills, retired to the fortress of Mankot. When they arrived at Hariana, they received the report of Humayun's accident. 323 On 24 January, 1556, in pious response to the sacred call of the mu'azzin for evening prayer, Humayun, while hurriedly coming down from his library, stumbled out of the stairs and, two days later, in the picturesque words of Lane-Poole, he tumbled out of life as he had tumbled through it.

The brilliant conquests of his father and the unique genius of his son have eclipsed the manifold good qualities of Humayun, but there is no doubt that his many virtues could not compensate for his serious defects. Generous and kindly in disposition, affable and urban in manners, possessing social bonhomie and ready wit, brave and chivalrous in temperament, cultured and fond of learning and the arts, 33 as became the son of Babur, Humayun was the very flower of humanity and the model of a gentleman, the knight-errant of the Mughul dynasty. The very virtues of his character bred some of his defects; his charity bordered on prodigality, his affection, on weakness. He lacked resolution and sustained energy; his lethargy was chronic and contagious and he had no steady sense of duty and self-respect: 'he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle'. Daring as a soldier, he did not possess the superior talents of a general. He was equally deficient in the gifts of diplomacy and statesmanship. Mandu and Gaur revealed the obverse of the medal. A distinct improvement in his character is discernible after the period of his exile when some of his fatal defects which cost him his throne seemed to have been toned down. The author of the Tlmurid restoration of 1555 was different from the gay prisoner of the harem who lost Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal; Kabul did not prove a second Mandu, He was a pious Muslim'

rigid in the observance of rituals and regular in his devotions, with a mixture of mysticism and superstition in him—a liberal Sunni with predilection for the Shlahite faith. 34 In some traits Humayun, who loved opium probably more than the throne, resembles his bohemian grandson who practically abdicated in his loyalty to the wine cup. With all his weaknesses and failings, Humayun has a significant place in Indian history which is not, perhaps, always duly appreciated. The well-timed restoration of the Mughul power was a real achievement which paved the way for the splendid imperialism of Akbar, while the Indo-Persian contact, which he reinforced and stimulated, was a factor of far-reaching consequence in the history of Indian civilization.

1. Dr.'S. K. Banerji ascribes this delay of four days in Humayun's accession to Mir Khalifa's plot to place Mahdi Khvaja on the throne, but from Nizam-udDin Ahmad, who is our authority for the incident, it appears the Khalifa's attempt was made while Babur was still alive (Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 43).

2. Dadrah on the Gumti in the Musafirkhana talnsil of the Sultanpur district and not the Dadrah in the Nawabganj tahsil of the Bara-Banki district, as

S. K. Banerji suggests (Humayun Badshah, Vol. 1, p. 42, f .n. 2) . According to Dr. Qanungo (Sher Shah, p. 72) the battle took place at Dauroh, and according to the Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, pp. 21, 49, at Daunrua on the river Sai, 15 miles east of Jaunpur. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim History, Vol I, p. 450, suggests Deunruh. Ishwari Prasad, p. 50, f.n. 1, has Daurah. The MSS. of Jauhar (Sarkar; British Museum; India Office; Bylands Library, Manchester) give the word in such a way that it can be read both as Daurah and Dadrah, but Faizi Sirhindi's recension of Jauhar (India Office MS.) has clear Dadrah; and Dadrah on the Gumti fits in with the description of Jauhar. Details are given in the writer's Bairam Khan, pp. 48-49 (In the press).

The date 1532 is given in the Akbar-nama I, p. 289, and Tdrikh-i-Alfl, I.O.MS., fol. 406b: 939 A.H., August, 1532-July, 1533. The year 1531 is based on the statement of Gulbadan Begam.

2a. According to some chronicles he remained aloof.

3. Mirat-i-Sikandari, pp. 239-241; Abu Turab, Tdrikh-i-Gujarat, pp. 9-11.

4. Akbar-ndma, Eng. trans. I, p. 303, but Mirat-i-Sikandari, p. 246, gives the date 20 Ramazan, 941/25 March, 1535. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 22, seems to accept this date.

5 .Abu Turab, Tdrikh-i.Gujardt, p. 16.

6. Fortieth according to some chronicles. There is a picture depicting the siege of Champaner in the Tarikh-i-Khanddn-i-Timuriya at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

7. 22° 50' N., 72° 48' E.

8. For the early history of Sher Shah, see the next chapter.

9. There is a discrepancy among the chroniclers about the date of this campaign. The correct date seems to be that given by Firishta (Vol. I, p. 216): 18 Safar, 944/27 July, 1537, and confirmed by the Riyaz-us-Salatin (p. 141). The Dacca University History of Bengal, Vol. II, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 166, has curiously the incorrect date, July, 1538 (945 A.H.), and wrongly states in f.n. 2 that the Riyaz-us-Salatin gives 945 A.H., on p. 143. What the chronicle states there is that Humayun left Bihar for Gaur in the beginning of 945 A.H. and he had already undertaken in 944 A.H. the siege of Chunar which surrendered after six months. See p. 141. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 74 and f.n. 20.

9a. According to Firishta I, p. 216, Humayun, after he was met by Sultan Mahmud, marched towards Bengal in the beginning of 945 A.H. As 945 A.H. commences on May 30, 1538, we may fix June, 1538, as the date of the battle of Teliyagarhi. After the battle the Mughul army returned to Kahalgaon. Sultan Mahmud died here. We are told by Jauhar (British Museum MS. ff. 16a-17a) that Haji Muhammad was sent from Kahalgram to reconnoitre the position of the enemy at the pass. Haji Muhammad found the pass under the occupation of Jalal Khan; and it was only after the departure of Jalal Khan that Humayun started from Kahalgram and reached Gaur in a few days. From the above description of Jauhar it appears that Humayun probably reached Gaur early in July, 1538. The Afghan chronicles suggest a later date According to the Makhzan-i-Afghani (Dorn 1, 115) and ‘Abbas (E. & D. IV. 367) Humayun was detained after the battle of Teliyagarhi for one month and then he left for Gaur.

So, from the above, July, 1538, appears to be the correct date. Dr. S. K. Banerji (Humayun 1, 213, f.n.) gives definite date Rabi‘ 1, 20, 945/15 August, 1538, but I have not been able to find out his authority, nor does he mention it. Ishwari Prasad gives the date as June, 1538.

10. Tarikh-i-Sher Shdhi (Sir J. N. Sarkar’s transcript), p. 152.

10a. Akbar-ndma I, pp. 339-40.

11. The chronology of Humayun’s expedition to Bengal, as given in the chronicles, is confusing. As already stated above, Humayun reached Gaur probably early in July, 1538, and both Jauhar and Gulbadan state that he stayed there for 9 months. Calculating 9 lunar months, we find Humayun set out from Bengal at the end of March, 1539.

12. The treachery of Sher Khan is related not only by a neutral historian like

Firishta (Vol. I, p. 217), but by the Afghan chroniclers as well: Tdrikh-iSher Shdhi, pp. 158-162, Tarikh-i-Ddudi pp. 184-5; (MS. Sarkar);

Makhzan-i-Afghani (A.S.B. MS.) f. 98a. Tdrikh-i-Saldtin-i-Afdghina, pp. 153, 197, 199. (Somewhat different account is given in Ch. IV. [Ed.]).

13. Tdrikh-i-Sher Shahi , p. 172. Tarikh-i-Ddudi, pp. 185-86. Coins struck in 945 A.H. (May, 1538-May, 1539) exist, from which it seems that he had as sumed royal title earlier. See Islamic Culture, 1936, pp. 127-30.

13a. Tdrikh-i-Rashidi, Elias and Ross, pp. 471-72.

14. Tdrikh-i-Rashidi, Elias and Ross, pp. 476-77. Tabaqdt-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 45; Firishta, Vol. I, p. 218; Ahmad Yadgar, pp. 155-56, 203-4.

15. In the Mainpuri district, 27° 15' N, 79° 14' E.

16. 28° 54' N, 76° 38' E.

16a. Akbar-ndma, I, 358-59.

17 .\ Haidar MTrza was able to carve out an independent kingdom in Kashmir, though short-lived (1541-1551).

18. Ain-i-Akbari, Jarrett, Vol. II, new ed., p. 341.

19. About 100 miles (fifty kos) south of Rohri.

19a. Akbar-ndma I, p. 369.

20. Shah Husain's father, MIrza Shah Beg Arghun, had been deprived of Qandahar by Babur. See the last chapter.

21. In Bahawalpur State, Punjab, 28° 44' N, 71° 14' E.

21a. Cf. Abu-'l-Fazl A.N. I. 37. Other reasons have been suggested for change of Maldev's policy. For example, Syamaldas states in the Virvinod (II, 809) that Humayun's party slaughtered cows, on which Maldev asked them to get out of his territory.

22. We accept the date of Akbar's birth as given by Gulbadan Begam, Abu-'lFazl and 'Arif Qandaharl, p. 16. For the other view see Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1886, pp. 80-85 and Indian Antiquary, November 1915 pp. 233-44.

22a. Akbar-ndma, I, p. 459.

23. The Shah of Persia had conferred on him the title of Khan.

HUMAYUN

24. Near Ghurband.

25. In 1551 'Askarl went to Mecca and remained in exile till his death in 1558.

25a. Akbar-nama, I, p. 582, Nizam-ud-din, II, p. 127.

26. The Gakkhars ruled in the territory between the Indus and the upper courses of the Jhelum.

27. He went to Mecca by way of Sind and died there on 5 October, 1557.

27a. This view is not likely to be accepted by all; cf. e. y g. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., p. 319. S. K. Banerji, who at first accepted the view, seems to have changed his mind (Vol. II, pp. 281-82). But in judging Kamran we should remember that we know Kamran only from the writings of the Mughul historians of Akbar's court who could not but be somewhat biassed against the arch-enemy of their patron's father. BadaunI takes a different view (1.585). [Ed.]

28. For details, vide the next chapter.

29. 31° 38' N and 72° 52' E, in Hoshiarpur district.

30. Bayazid, pp. 191-92. Some chronicles suggest that the Afghans kindled fire with a view to obtaining a view of the enemy which does not seem probable.

31. Jauhar, India Office MS. f. 52a.

32. According to Jauhar, Aligarh MS. (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript), p. 224, the number was 5,000. The highest estimate puts it at 10,000.

32a. Akbar-nama, I, 662.

33. He took interest in astrology, mathematics and literature and wrote good verses. The Dlwdn-i-Humayun in MS. was exhibited by Professor Sayyid Hasan Askari at the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939. See Proceedings, pp. 1674-75.

34. Khvand Amir, Humdyun-nama (Qanun-i-Humdyunl), pp. 31-44; Gulbadan Begam, Humdyun-nama, English Translation, pp. 118-26; Muntakhab-ut-Tawarlkh (Eng. trans.) Vol. I, pp. 467-68 and Vol. Ill, pp. 6-10; Firishta (Lucknow text), Vol. I, p. 243.

CHAPTER IV

SHER SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

I. SHER SHAH (1538-1545)

Sher Shah is one of the most striking and redoubtable figures in medieval Indian history. From an humble beginning in life he eventually revived the Afghan power in Northern India by defeating and ousting the Mughul emperor Humayun, and gave his newly established empire a well-organized administration, hitherto rare in medieval Indian history.

Faiild, as was his original name, was the grandson of Ibrahim Sur, an obscure Afghan of Roh in the Sulaiman Range. According to Abu-’l-Fazl, Ibrahim was a horse-dealer, 1 but as he could not prosper in his business there, he, along with his son Hasan, migrated to India during the later part of the reign of Sultan Buhlul Lodi with a view to improving his fortune in Hindusthan.

But, as ill-luck would have it, he did not thrive here also; he could not rise to any higher position than that of a Commander of forty horsemen only, with assignments of some villages in the barren pargand of Narnaul under Jamal Khan SarangkhanI of Hissar Flruza. On his decease, his son Hasan succeeded to his jdglr.

Farid was born of the first wife of Hasan, The date of his birth is usually given as about 1486; but the modern historians hold' different views on the subject. No medieval historian, on whom the modern scholars 'depend for reconstruction of the history of Farid, mentioned the exact date of his birth. Among the modern historians Dr. F. Saran, without any indication of evidence from earlier sources and depending mainly on two late works of the nineteenth century— Jdm-i-Jam written in 1839 and Asdr-us-Sanadid (1846) of Sir Sayyid Ahmad of Aligarh—holds that he was born in A.D. 1472; 2 but as these are very late works, it is neither reasonable nor safe to depend upon them in the absence of any such information from the earlier historians. Writing during the reign of Akbar, ‘Abbas SarwanI stated that Farid was “born during the time of Buhlul” (1451-1489) , 3 but this statement is too vague to arrive at an exact conclusion. From the meagre materials available about Ibrahim it is reasonable to hold that he migrated to India in his old age almost at the fag-end of the reign of Buhlul when it was not possible for him to reap the advantage given to Afghan recruits during the early part of the reign of this monarch, and hence he could not rise to any higher position than that of the Commander of forty horsemen with a small jdgir in the pargana of Narnaul. Having due consideration to these facts it is not unreasonable to fix Farid’s birth about A.D. I486. 4

About his place of birth, also, the modern scholars are not in agreement. Dr. P. Saran is of opinion that he was born at Bajwara, whereas Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Dr. K. R. Qanungo hold that his birth took place in the pargana of Narnaul. 5 According to the Makhzan, his birth-place is Hissiar, 6 but no earlier historian like ‘Abbas Sarwanl or Abu-’l-Fazl mentioned the place of his birth. It is quite in keeping with the implication of Abu-’l-Fazl’s writing 7 to say that Farid was born in the pargana of Narnaul where his father and grandfather lived and which he appears to have remembered so much in his later years as to establish in it a fortified district headquarters and build a mausoleum over the grave of his grandfather. On the other hand, no evidence is forthcoming to show his interest for Hissar.

Hasan’s abilities attracted the attention of Jamal Khan, who after his transfer to Jaunpur as governor, conferred the parganas of Sasaram and Khavasspur Tanda (in the modern Shahabad district of Bihar) upon him as a jdgir for the maintenance of five hundred troopers.

By his four marriages Hasan had eight sons, of whom Farid and Nizam were born of his first wife, an Afghan lady, and Suleiman and Ahmad were the sons of his youngest wife, originally a slavegirl. The boyhood of Farid was far from happy and peaceful. His father had great attachment for his youngest wife, to the neglect of his first wife. The indifference and unkindness of the father and too much jealousy of the step-mother appeared so unbearable to Farid that he left Sasaram and went to Jaunpur which was, in those days, an important centre of Muslim learning and culture, and where its madrasas gave free board and lodging to the Muslim students. There he studied both Arabic and Persian languages, including the well-known Persian works, the Gulistan, the Bustdn and the Sikandarndma. It is likely that he learnt there Hindi and arithmetic as well.

His efficient administration of his father's j dgir on the very first occasion leads one to the natural assumption that he might have had opportunities of acquiring experience of civil administration also during his long period of absence from Sasaram.

He had come to Jaunpur about 1501, and on having a reconciliation with his father through the mediation of his well-wishers, he

left for Sasaram probably in January, 1518. Dr. Qanungo holds that "the key to the situation that compelled Mian Hasan and Sulaimlan's mother to agree to a reconciliation with Farid and also induced them to appoint him temporarily to the charge of the parganas , lay in the political crisis of the Lodi Sultanate after the death of Sultan Sikandar in November, 1517." 8

On his return, Farid acted as his father's deputy in the parganas of Sasaram and Khavasspur Tanda, and during this period (c. 1518-1522) he administered justice to all, punishing the unruly Zarmnddrs and the unscrupulous and oppressive officials, and protecting the ryots from all kinds of oppression and tyranny, as he realized "that the stability of every administration depended on justice, and that it should be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak or by permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." 9 Fully awgre that agriculture was the principal source of wealth, he encouraged cultivation in all possible ways and took steps to protect the cultivators from oppression. He said, "if the ruler cannot protect the ryots from oppressors, it is sheer injustice and shame to rece/ive rents from them." 10 His personal care for the peasants and far-sighted revenue reforms increased cultivation and satisfied them. By his indefatigable industry he established peace, prosperity and happiness in his father's jdgir. Little did he know then that he was thus serving a period of apprenticeship for the role of a monarch in the future.

The successful administration and growing fame of Farid roused the jealousy of Sulaiman’s mother all the more, and, despite his brilliant achievements, his father, who was under her spell, was alienated from him. Finding the position intolerable Farid resigned his post and proceeded towards Agra, the then capital of the Lodi Sultanate.

He succeeded there in obtaining a patron in Daulat Khan, an influential amir, through whom his case was put before Sultan Ibrahim for taking possession of his father’s jdgir. But the Sultan turned down this request, saying, “he must be a bad man indeed who should complain against his own father”. 11 However, it so happened that Hasan died soon after, and Daulat Khan was able to procure a royal farman in favour of Farid on the strength of which the latter got possession of his father’s jdgir.

On his arrival at Sasaram, Sulaiman, his step-brother, fled to Muhammad Khan, the jagirdar of Chaund, 12 and sought his assistance. To counteract this, Farid entered the service of Bihar Khan

Lohanl, who, after the battle of Panlpat in A.D. 1526, declared his independence in South Bihar and took the title of Sultan Muhammad.

Farid worked very hard in the service of his master and won his favour. We learn from Firishta and ‘Abbas Sarwani that Sultan Muhammad bestowed the title of Sher Khan on him for killing a tiger single-handed in a hunting excursion. 13 He also discharged his duties efficiently as the deputy-governor (vakil) of South Bihar and tutor (ataliq) of Jalal Khian, minor son of Sultan Muhammad, in which capacities he had been appointed.

The rapid rise of Farid was lookejd upon askance by some and specially by Sulaiman, his mother, and Muhammad Khan of Chaund through whose machination he was deprived of his jagir and compelled to leave Sasaram. He went to the Mughul camp (A. D. 1527), and, rendering useful service to Babur during his eastern campaigns, he got back his jagir through his assistance (A.D. 1528). In the following year circumstances compelled him to join the Afghan rebels led by Mahmud Lodi, the son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, against Babur, but he offered his submission again, as did many of the Afghan leaders, after their attempts had ended in a fiasco.

On the death of Sultan Muhammad in A.D. 1528, his minor son Jalal was installed in his father's place with his mother Dudu as the regent. But his capital was seized by Mahmud Lodi in the same year. He was, however, restored in his position as a vassal of the Mughul emperor by Babur after the submission of the Afghans as mentioned above.

As it was not possible for Dudu to manage the multifarious duties of the State, Sher Khan, who had already proved his administrative ability, was appointed as the Deputy (rbdib) in A.D. 1529. Dudu having died in the beginning of 1530, all the duties of State devolved on him, and although he performed them efficiently, he aimed at centralization of all powers in his own hands.

He created a strong party of his own and won the support of the greater part of the army to his cause. His position was further strengthened by the acquisition of the important fortress of Chunar, situated on the bank of, the Ganga (Ganges) south-west of Banaras, by his marriage with Lad Malka, the childless widow of Taj Khan, the commandant of the fort (A.D. 1530). After this, he took possession of the pargand of Chunar. In the same year, as a result of another marriage with Gauhar Gossain, the childless widow of Nlasir Khan Lohanl of Ghazlpur, he got an enormous wealth of three hundred mans of gold. 14 Thus, by the end of 1530, he became a powerful factor to be reckoned with.

On the personal request of Sultan Mahmud Lodi, Sher joined him against the Mughuls, as resistance was not feasible, but, at the same time he secured a farmdn from him for the kingdom of Bihar, thus acting against the interest of Jalal. In the ensuing battle between Sultan Mahmud and Humayun, fought at Dadrah 15 on the bank of the Gomati (c. September, 1531), he treacherously deserted the Sultan. This battle "marks a turning point in the career of Sher Khan and his relations with the Mughuls .... The almost total destruction of the Afghan army in this battle doomed the Lodi cause for ever, and Sher emerged as the forlorn hope of the Afghans, whose hatred of the Mughuls was diverted to a new channel by him." 16

After thus crushing the power of the Afghans, Humayun was not inclined to leave the strategic fortress of Chunar to an Afghan, although the latter had served the interest of the Mughuls on the day of the above-mentioned battle. Humayun opened negotiations with Sher for its surrender, but, on finding the latter unwilling to comply with this, it was besieged. When the siege was in progress, Humayun was perturbed at the news of the hostile activities of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, and, accepting the nominal submission of Sher, he raised the siege and left the place (December, 1531). It was a great triumph for Sher, as he not only remained in possession of the fortress but got sufficient time to strengthen his position further to enable him to give his opponent a crushing defeat which eventually cost the latter his throne.

The Lohani Chiefs, who were extremely jealous of the growing power of Sher, became restive and wanted to get rid of him by any means. His alliance with Makhdum ‘Alam, the rebel Bengal governor of Hajlpur, brought about an invasion of South Bihar by Sultan Mahmud Shah of Bengal, particularly with the intention of punishing Sher, and this “had the secret support of the Lohanls.” 17 But the deputy-governor of South Bihar succeeded in winning a decisive victory over the army of Mahmud, and took possession of the territory of Bengal up to the neighbourhood of Surajgarh. He had also received immense accumulated treasure which Makhdum had deposited with him for safe custody before his defeat and death.

The defeat of the Bengal army was a blow to the Lohanls whose chance of deliverance from the control of the deputy-governor vanished with it. Jalal, also, was impatient of his tutelage and dictatorship. The Lohani chiefs conspired to assassinate him, but the

latter was too careful and cautious to be thrown off his guard. Accompanied by Jalal, they then left South Bihar and went to Sultan Mahmud of Bengal who had been burning with rage to take revenge for the discomfiture of his army at the hands of Sher.

The Sultan of Bengal made a huge preparation to crush him. The expeditionary force was placed under the command of Ibrahim Khan, an eminent commander, and, accompanied by Jalal, it moved cut of Mungir which had become the base of operations for this campaign. A decisive battle w^as fought between Sher and the Bengal army on the strategic plain of Surajgarh, a few miles east of Barh and about eighteen miles west of Mungir. It ended in a complete victory of Sher; Ibrahim fell fighting and Jalal fled to Sultan Mahmud (A.D. 1534).

The victory was undoubtedly a great feat on the part of Sher, and, besides his military success in routing the Bengal army for the second time, it had far-reaching political consequences. It humbled the power and prestige of Mahmud to a great extent and Sher came to possess a wide territory on the southern bank of the Ganga (Ganges) from Surajgarh to Chunar. After this, his ambition soared higher up. Dr. Qanungo has rightly said: "But for the victory of Surajgarh, the son of a nondescript jagtrdar of Sasaram would perhaps never have emerged from his obscurity in quest of a crown." 18

Apprehending no sudden attack from the west, as Humayun w r as busy in his Gujarat campaign against Bahadur Shah, Sher moved against Mahmud Shah before the rainy season of 1535 and conquered the territory as far as Bhagalpur.

In the following year he again opened his campaign against Mahmud and proceeded towards Gaur, the capital of Bengal. At Teliyagarhl, he had to meet with a strong opposition of the Bengal army and their Portuguese allies. Leaving a detachment there under his son Jalal Khan, he advanced through the unfrequented Jharkhand route and surprised the Sultan of Bengal by suddenly appearing before his capital city. If Mahmud would have taken courage to withstand his adversary, it would have been very difficult for Sher to capture Gaur with its impregnable fortifications, but Mahmud was frightened beyond measure and acted with cowardice by offering terms of peace to the invader. By the terms of the treaty, Sher received thirteen lakhs of gold pieces and a wide territory from Kiul to Sakrigali, ninety miles in length with a breadth of thirty miles at various places.

These achievements enhanced considerably his power and prestige, and on the fall of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, some of the Afghan chiefs, who looked upon him as their future hope, also joined him. The weakness of Mahmud having been completely revealed, Sher was bent upon another invasion of Bengal and this he undertook on the pretext of the Bengal Sultlan's non-payment of the annual tribute (1537). 19 He proceeded to Gaur and laid siege to it. After leaving Jalal Khan and Khavass Khan in charge of the siege operations, he went to Chunar, and, strengthening its defences, removed his family and treasures to the hill fort of Bharkunda, fifty miles south of Chunar.

Humayun's anxiety knew no bounds when the alarming news of Sher Khan's activities in the east reached him. Although slow to act, he, after necessary preparations, left Agra and proceeded against Sher. But instead of marching straight to Bengal, he made the fatal mistake of first besieging the fort of Chunar. Had he gone direct to Gaur and rendered assistance to Mahmud, as requested, he might have saved the Bengal monarchy and utilized its services in future to his advantage.

The siege of Chunar dragged on, despite heavy bombardment of Rum! Khan, and, in the meantime, Sher pushed on with his work in Bengal according to his plan.

After heroic defence for about three months, the fort of Chunar fell in March, 1538. 20 But Sher soon compensated this loss by the capture of the impregnable fort of Rohtas in Bihar by a stratagem. Instead of sending Afghan families and his treasure for safe custody in this fort, as had been arranged with its Raja, he sent armed men in dolis into it and they, by a sudden sally, overpowered the garrison and occupied it. 21 His men obtained success in Bengal also, and he received the happy tidings of the capture of Gaur and flight of Sultan Mahmud.

After the capture of Chunar, Humayun opened negotiations with his adversary for a compromise and end of hostility, but it eventually fell through, and he marched towards Bengal. At Muner (on the Son), Sultan Mahmud, the fugitive king of Bengal, met him and he was assured of every possible assistance.

As soon as Sher received information of Humayun's movements, he started towards Gaur, narrowly by-passed the emperor near Patna, and sailed swiftly from Mungir to Gaur, reaching there much earlier than the arrival of the Mughul army at Colgong (Kahalgam), twenty-three miles west of TeliyagarhI. He despatched his own son

Jalal Khan with some other officers immediately to defend the pass of Teliyagarhi, where, on their arrival, the Mughul advance party suffered a defeat and fell back on the main army of Colgong.

Not unnerved by the fear of Mughul arms, Sher celebrated his coronation at Gaur (1538) and assumed the title of Farid-ud-duniya Wa-din Abu-'l Muzaffar Sher Shah, as Sultan. 212 After this, on completion of his arrangements, he evacuated Gaur and went to Rohtas by the Jharkhand route. Jalal Khan, too, had been advised to leave Teliyagarhi at a particular time according to his plan.

Humayun occupied Garhl without any opposition and thence he arrived triumphantly at Gaur (June, 1558). 22a

Sher did not waste his time at Rohtas but made extensive preparations for an offensive against the Mughuls. His plans exhibited wonderful dexterity and foresight. He despatched Khavass Khan to recover the lost places of Bihar and watch the movements of Humayun, while he himself proceeded westward from Bihar. He laid siege to Banaras and captured it. Jaunpur and Chunar were also besieged but they held on, and were closely blockaded. One detachment under experienced and capable officers was despatched against Bahraich and they expelled the Mughuls from that part of the country. Sher's activities did not stop there; he ravaged and conquered the whole country as far as Kanauj, and, according to 'Abbas, Sambhal also was occupied by his invading forces 23

Humayun wasted precious time (about nine months) in Bengal, and such thoughtlessness and want of foresight on his part at a time when his powerful adversary was utilizing all his resources to topple him down proved most disastrous to him. At last, the alarming news of his opponent's activities and the rebellion of his brother Mlrza Hindal roused him from torpor, and, leaving Jahangir Quli Beg with an army of five thousand, he left Gaur (1539). Reaching Mungir, he crossed the Gangai (Ganges) against the advice of his veteran officers and marched by the southern bank of the river which was under the control of the Afghans. He marched up to Muner without any hindrance, but during his westward march from that place he suffered from their attacks on his flank. At last, he reached Chausa, situated close to the east bank of the Karmanasa and ten miles south-west of Buxar. 24

Sher pitched his camp on the western side of this river close to its junction with the Ganga (Ganges). With what skill and foresight he made his plans and acted up to them can be understood from his actions. He had harassed the Mughuls from behind on their

march from Muner and then crossed the Karmanasa ahead of them to occupy a position from which he could keep an eye on the possible Mughul aid coming from the west, crossing the Ganga (Ganges) there, and, at the same time, prevent the crossing of the Karmanasa by Humayun till rains worsen his position, of which he (Sher) w T ould take the fullest advantage. Skirmishes went on between the hostile armies from day to day for a pretty long time. Humayun's position grew worse; "disease, hardship, and fear of the enemy prompted many of his soldiers to desert for their homes." 25 The anxiety of approaching monsoon perplexed him further, and, news from Delhi and Agra being unfavourable, there was no hope of relief from those quarters. So, he commenced negotiations for peace with his foe, which, according to Jauhar, finally broke off due to the emperor's refusal to give up Chunar 26

Sher did not sit idle indefinitely but hit upon a plan of surprising the Mughuls. He gave out that he was proceeding against Maharatha Chero, the leader of an aboriginal tribe in modern Shahabad district, who had been defying him, and, after marching a few miles in that direction at night, crossed the Karmanasa about five miles below Humayun's position, unnoticed by the Mughuls, and, in the early dawn of June 26, 1539, fell upon the Mughuls from three sides. The surprise was complete; many were killed in their bed asleep, and many of those who took to flight were drowned in the Gahga, (Ganges). Humayun was able to gather about three hundred men, with whose assistance he fought gallantly, but was wounded in the left arm, and carried towards the Gahga (Ganges), where Nizam, a water-carrier, saved him from drowning with the help of his masak or inflated leather bag. Such was the sad plight of the emperor who reached Agra with difficulty, via Allahabad and Kalpl.

The loss of the Mughuls, both in men and war-materials, was heavy. Eight thousand men were killed, the Mughul army being "practically destroyed", 27 and the whole camp equipage, stores and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. Sher's treatment towards the captive beg am of Humayun and other Mughul women was full of sympathy and respect.

The Afghan victory at Chausa was decisive and had far-reaching consequences. Dr. Qanungo says: "The horizon of Sher Khan's ambition widened immensely; twelve months before he would have been glad to hold Bengal as the vassal of the Emperor. Now he won by this single stroke the whole territory of the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur in addition to the kingdoms of Bengal and Bihar in in

dependent sovereignty, and could legitimately claim equality with the Emperor. So Delhi was no longer such a far cry for the victor." 28

Sher then proceeded to recover Bengal. Jahangir Qull, the Mughul governor there, had taken his post at Garhi which was besieged. It was soon occupied and Jahangir Qull was treacherously slain along with his followers. 29 Gaur was next captured, and, although Sher could not spend time to establish his authority over the whole of Bengal, it appears that his rule extended ‘‘over the country comprising Gaur and Sharifabiad, Satgaon and Chittagong." 30 It appears that during his stay in Bengal, his second coronation took place at Gaur with pomp and grandeur (1539). 31

After appointing Khizr Khan as governor of Bengal, he left this province and proceeded with his further plan of action. He marched towards Kanauj, and on his way, sent a detachment under his son Qutb Khan to harass the Mughul forces from behind, if the emperor happened to move towards Jaunpur or Kanauj by way of KalpI and Etawa. But Qutb was attacked and slain by the Mughuls near KalpI.

On his return to Agra, Humayun endeavoured his utmost to unite his brothers to fight against the mighty Afghan foe, but Kareran did not render any assistance. Despite diverse difficulties, the emperor gathered together a large army and a park of artillery and marched towards Kanauj where the enemies had been active.

At the Bhojpur ferry, thirty-one miles north-west of Kanauj, Sher foiled the attempt of the Mughuls to cross the Ganga (Ganges) by means of a bridge of boats. Humayun then changed his plan and, proceeding towards Kanauj by marching along the western bank of the river, he encamped at the vicinity of Kanauj. For about a month the two hostile parties remained encamped on the two sides of the Ganga, (Ganges) confronting each other —the Mughuls on the western bank and the Afghans on the eastern bank. As there was a large number of desertions from the Mughul camp, Humayun considered it better to face the enemies in an open fight before his fighting strength dwindled abnormally low. He therefore crossed the river and encamped on a low-lying ground which was unluckily flooded by unusually early rains, necessitating the removal of the camp to an elevated ground in front. When on May 17, 1540, the Mughul army moved according to plan, Sher advanced to attack them. According to Mlrza Haidar, who commanded one division of the Mughul army in this encounter, known as the battle of Bilgram or the battle of the Ganga, 32 the Mughul force numbered about 40,000 and the Afghan army was less than 15,000. 33

The Afghan assault was started by Jalal Khan from the right wing but he was worsted by Hindal Mirza and some other Mughul commanders. Sher sent sufficient reinforcements there immediately, and this wing, thus strengthened, made a vehement attack on the enemies who were forced to fall back on their centre. Barmazld Gaur and others commanding the left wing of the Afghan force pushed the Mughul right wing into the rear, driving the innumerable camp-followers into the centre which was still firm behind the artillery-carriages. But the pressure of the huge number of camp-followers from the right, left and rear was too much for the centre to bear and in the midst of disorder and confusion, the artillery became inoperative. By a rear assault, the Afghans made the position of the Mughul army more untenable and compelled them to take to flight; many were slain on the way by the pursuing Afghan army and many were drowned in the Ganga (Ganges). Sir Jadunath Sarkar has justly observed: ‘Tt was not a battle at all but a helpless panic flight, which covered the Mughals with unspeakable disgrace.” 34

They had left behind in the battlefield immense war-materials including artillery which fell into the hands of the victors.

After leaving the battlefield, Humayun crossed the river on an elephant with difficulty and fled in panic to Agra. Then he went to Lahore, pursued by the Afghans. Even at such a critical moment, his earnest attempt to unite his brothers did not bear fruit and Kamran did not cease from his unbrotherly actions. Humayun next proceeded to Sind. Thus continued his life 1 of wanderings from place to place, and being disappointed everywhere, he, at last, left India and took shelter with Shah Tahmasp of Persia.

Sher had despatched Barmazld Gaur in pursuit of Humayun, and on completion of necessary works at Kanauj, he himself marched towards Agra. Barmazld Gaur had taken possession of the latter city before his chief's arrival there and slew a number of non-combatant Mughuls. On reaching there, Sher reprimanded his general for his cruelty, and sent him and Khavass Khan to continue the pursuit of Humayun. A detachment under Shuja'at Khan was also sent to besiege Gwalior. Next he went to Delhi which had been occupied by Naslr Khan, another commander, and during his stay there, he commenced the work of its resuscitation by embellishing it with new structures.

From Delhi he marched to Lahore in quest of Humayun. He had already received information of the inability of the ex-emperor to unite his brothers and their retreat in different directions, viz, Humayun towards Sind, Hindal towards Multan by a different routed

and Kamran towards Kabul. He did not stay at Lahore long but moved westward quickly, driving away the Mughuls. From the bank of the Chenab he sent a detachment to pursue Hindal, then he went to Bhera and thence to Khushab where he halted. Khavass Khan went against Humayun but he was advised not to engage him in battle, but only to drive him out of his dominion. Qutb Khan, another general, was sent against Kamran with similar instructions. Khavass Khan pursued Humayun as far as Mithankot, situated on the confluence of the Sutlej with four other rivers of the Punjab, and then returned to rejoin Sher Shiah at Khushab. Here the Baluch chiefs Fath Khan, Isma'il Khan and GhazI Khan offered their submission to the Afghan sovereign.

Sher Shah next launched a campaign against the Gakkhars, inhabiting a mountainous region between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus. They were inimical to the Afghans and their country occupied a strategic position through which an invader from the north-west might suddenly enter the Punjab which was then in Sher's possession. So, for security and safety of his dominion, an offensive had to be undertaken, and the Gakkhar country was invaded and ravaged. A proper site was then found out for the construction of a fortress with a view to guarding the northern frontier and keeping the Gakkhars under control. A gigantic and impregnable fort was built ten miles north-west of the town of Jhelum and named Rohtas, after his famous strong fortress in Bihar. It was completed by his son Islam Shah.

On receipt of information of the rebellious attitude of Khizr Khan, governor of Bengal, and his marriage with a daughter of the deceased Sultan Mahmud, Sher started at once for Gaur. Khizr Khan was completely surprised, put in chains and imprisoned (A.D. 1541). A man of keen insight as Sher was, he remodelled the administration there in such a way that rebellion might not recur in future.

The province was divided into several sarkdrs and over each of them, he appointed a Chief Shiqddr {Shiqddr-i-Shiqddrdn) , a Chief Munsif (Munsij-i-Munsifdn), and a Qazi. The Chief Shiqddr was primarily in charge of law and order within his jurisdiction, except the big towns where Kotwals performed these duties. The former also tried criminal cases and had under him an army to be utilized, if necessary, for enforcement of law and order. The duty of the Chief Mwnsif was to try civil cases specially with regard to revenue matters. He also supervised the work of the pargand^dmins. Each Sarkdr was subdivided into several parganas, over each of which

there were one Shiqddr, one Amin, one treasurer and two clerks for maintaining accounts. Over the whole province Sher appointed Qazi Fazilat as Amln-i-Bdngala "who was not a Sipah-Salar but a Qazl writ large....to maintain the unity and smooth working of the provincial administration as an arbitrator", 35 for settlement of disputes among the Chief Shiqddrs. His "hold on the administration of Bengal was further clinched by the establishment of thanas or military outposts of imperial troops changed yearly by him."

Haibat Khan NiyazI, governor of the Punjab, suppressed the rebel leader Fath Khan Jat who had been in possession of the strong fort of Kot-Kabula in the Lakshmi Jungle (modern Montgomery district) and had been carrying on depredations on the! roads between Delhi and Lahore. Fath Khan was defeated, imprisoned and put to death. Haibat Khan also conquered Multan with its dependencies and expelled the Baluchis. His achievements so pleased his master that he was conferred the title of A‘zam Humayun, with a command of 30,000 horse. Upper Sind with its strong fortresses of Bhakkar and Sehwan also fell into the hands of Sher’s victorious army (A.D. 1543).

In 1542 Sher Shah had invaded Malwa whose possession he coveted. The cause of this invasion is not far to seek. It was his expansionist policy that was mainly responsible for this attack on the neighbour, whose independence had always been looked upqn askance by all the rulers of Delhi and, as it controlled the road from the south to the north, its possession was all the more necessary for them. Sher therefore marched towards Malwa by way of Gwalior, the fort of which had been besieged by his army a year ago. Its Mughul commandant now surrendered after long resistance for want of provisions. Sher then proceeded to Sarangpur where Qadir Shah, the king of Malwa, offered his submission to him. Thence he proceeded to Ujjain in company with Qadir, took possession of this city and offered him the governorship of Lakhnawati. 36 But the ex-king of Malwa, being apprehensive of Sher’s intention, fled to Mahmud III of Gujarat. From Ujjain, Sher proceeded to Mandu and Dhar which he occupied easily. The subsequent attempt of Qadir for the recovery of his dominion ended in fiasco.

On his way back to Agra by way of Ranthambhor, Sher took possession of this well-known fortress from its commandant by peaceful means. 37

The brunt of his next attack fell on Furana Malla of Raisen, a mighty fortress, twenty-seven miles east of the modern town'of Bhopal. This fertile principality had grown into importance by the acquisition of Chanderi. There is no doubt that it fell within the ambit of Sher's policy of aggrandizement and hence political factors were mainly responsible for his invasion. There was also an alleged accusation against Purana Malla of enslaving Muslim women and keeping them in his harem.

The campaign was started by the siege of Chanderi in January, 1543. Despite gallant resistance of the Rajputs, Chanderi was captured by Jalal Khan, who, overcoming the stiff opposition, also occupied thei territory between Chanderi and Bhilsa. Sher himself proceeded to Raisen and laid siege to the fortress. Though subjected to heavy bombardment, the garrison defended it with all their might, and the siege was protracted. At last, on an assurance from him that Purana Malla and his followers with their property would be allowed to move away in safety on their surrendering the fort, they came out of it but were treacherously attacked by the Afghans, and for this act of perfidy, Sher Shah must share the responsibility. In order to save the honour of their women, thei Rajputs had recourse to the ghastly step of killing them by their own hands and then they gave up their lives, fighting gallantly against the enemies (June, 1543).

On the fall of Raisen, Sher made up his mind to invade Marwar, then the most powerful kingdom in Rajasthan, whose boundary at Jhajhar was only about thirty miles from Delhi. Its king, Maldev Rathor, a capable general and an energetic ruler, extended his kingdom by the annexation of various places like Merta, Jaitaran, Siwana, Jalor, Tonk, Nagaur and Ajmer, the last two of which had formerly belonged to the Delhi empire. The existence of such a powerful kingdom on the border of the Delhi empire was considered as a serious menace to its safety. Moreover, some of the disaffected Rajput chiefs, who had suffered defeat and loss of their territories at the hands of Maldev, incited the Afghan ruler to invade Marwar. The latter was not also well-disposed towards the ruler of Marwar, as he had not acted up to his desire by capturing Humayun and handing him over to the Sultan.

Fully aware of the strength of his opponent, Sher made military preparations on an extensive scale, and, in the autumn of 1543, set out against Marwar with a huge force of 80,000 horse, unprecedented in any of his campaigns. Maldev went forth to oppose his enemy with an army of 50,000 horse, and, according as the exigencies of the moment demanded, he concentrated them in the pargand of Jaitaran, about fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur, the capital of Marwar. So, instead of marching to the enemy’s capital, as had been his previous plan, Sher halted in the village of Samel, in the above-mentioned par gaud, facing the army of Maldev. For a month the two parties lay opposite to each other, and, in the meantime, the position of Sher became critical owing to difficulties of food supplies for his huge army. The ruler of Mar war was in an advantageous position and the initiative of action lay with him. To get rid of this uncomfortable situation, Sher took recourse to a stratagem. He caused letters to be addressed to himself, as if written by Maldev’s generals, promising him their assistance, and had them dropped near the camp of the Rathor King in a silken bag. Becoming aware of the contents of the letters, suspicion about the fidelity of the generals upset the king, who, with the greater part of his troops, fell back towards Jodhpur. But, realizing the deceit played upon them by the enemy, the gallant Rajput generals like Jaita and Kupa resolved to fight with their valiant followers against Sher and die an honourable death. In the sanguinary battle which ensued, the laurels of victory rested with the Afghan Sultan, but at a great cost, with a heavy toll of lives. Jaita and Kupa with their brave warriors fell fighting desperately; the Rathor King realized the artifice of his adversary only too late.

After this victory, Khavass Khan took possession of Jodhpur and Maldev was pursued from place to place, but he succeeded in evading capture. The Afghan army occupied the territory of Marwar from Ajmer to Mount Abu. Leaving Khavass Khan in supreme command of his forces in Marwar and making necessary arrangements for the administration of the newly conquered territories, Sher marched towards Mewar (1544). He occupied, without any resistance, the fort of Chitor, the keys of which were delivered to him by the commandant on behalf of Mahamna Uday Singh. For the sake of proper administration, Chitor and its dependencies were formed into a separate Sarkdr.

Sher’s next military expedition was directed against Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. The motive behind this expedition has been differently stated by the medieval historians. Firishta says that the Rdjd of Kalinjar, who had witnessed the treachery of Sher against Purana Malla, did not submit and assumed a hostile attitude. 38 ‘Abbas says that as Kirat Simha, the Rdjd of Kalinjar, did not come out to meet him, “he ordered the fort to be invested.” 39 According to Ahmad Yladgar, the author of Tdrikh-i-Saldtm-i-Ajdghina, the reason for Sher’s attack on Kalinjar was the refusal of its Rdjd, to give up Blr Simha Deva Bundela who had taken shelter with him. 40 But the fugitive referred to was probably Raja BTr Bhan of Arail 41 who had been friendly to Humayun; and with this correction, the reason adduced by Ahmad Yadgar appears to be quite satisfactory.

Sher marched on Kalinjar and invested the fort in November, 1544. Despite great efforts, it could not be captured, and the siege lasted for months together. On the day of the final assault the besiegers were engaged in throwing hand-grenades inside the fort. One of the grenades, after striking the fort wall, exploded, and, rebounding, fell into a heap of ammunition near the place where Sher was standing. There was an explosion and Sher was most severely burnt and carried to his camp. Even when he was thus hovering between life and death, he did not forget to give instruction to his officers to continue the assault and capture the fort. It fell about the same evening and he was highly elated to hear this news. But the icy hand of death snatched him away the same night in the midst of his career of triumphant marches (May 22, 1545).

His body was temporarily interred near Kalinjar and afterwards carried to Sasaram to be laid in the permanent resting place, already constructed by the emperor himself.

At the time of his death, he left an empire comprising almost the whole of northern India, save Kashmir, Gujarat and Assam. It was roughly bounded by the Indus on the west, the Gakkhar country on the north-west, the Himalayas on the north, Assam on the east and the Vindhyas on the south.

Not only did he thus establish an empire by dint of his great military skill, wonderful courage, ability and resourcefulness, but, with his usual skill and promptitude, he made necessary arrangements for its smooth and efficient administration. At the helm of affairs was the Sultan himself, and although, like his predecessors, he was a despot and centralized all power in his own hands, he was a benevolent despot whose primary aim was to do good to his subjects, irrespective of caste or religion. As it is not humanly possible to conduct all affairs of the empire single-handed, he appointed several ministers to assist him in his multifarious duties. In fact, these ministers occupied the position of secretaries rather than ministers, as they had no power of initiative or final determination of any policy or transacting matters of importance without Sultan’s orders. Among the ministers, mention may be made of DiwdnAWizdrat, Dlwdn-i L Risdlat 9 Diwdn-i-Arz and Diwdn-i-Inshd. The Dlwdn i-Wizarat was in charge of the Wazir and primarily dealt with finance. The Diwdn-i-Risdlat “dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety. This office was presided over by the Sadr-us-Sudur, who generally was also the

Qazi-i-murwdlik; in the latter capacity he controlled the department of justice.” 42 The Diwdn-i- c Arz was under the l Ariz-i-mumdlik who was in charge of recruitment and organization of the army as well as their payment. The Diwdn-i-Insha, dealing with government correspondence, was in charge of Dabir-i-Kbds. Mention may also be made of the Barid-i-mumalik who was the head of the intelligence department.

In spite of the paucity of materials regarding the highest administrative unit in the empire of Sher Shah, we find that there were military governorships in cases of Ajmer, Malwa and the Punjab. Bengal was at first administered likewise, but the lesson of a bitter experience in this distant province taught him to adopt a more prudent measure and he abolished the post of the military governor, as stated before, dividing the whole province into several Sarkars with Amm-i-Bdngald (civilian Viceroy) at thb top for smooth running of the administration. The provinces were divided into Sarkars, each of which was sub-divided into parganas. Over each Sarkar there were one Chief Shiqdar, one Chief M'unsif, and a Qdzi. The Chief Shiqdar (Shiqddr-i-Shiqddrdn) was in charge of law and order in the Sarkar and had a body of troops to assist him in his work, when necessary. He also tried criminal cases regarding infringement of law and order and supervised the work of the Shiqddrs in his jurisdiction. The Chief Munsif (Munsij-i-Mun sifdn) tried civil cases, specially arising out of revenue matters and supervised the work of the pargand^amins.

Over each par gawd, there were one Shiqdar, one drain, one fotadar (treasurer) and two clerks. The Shiqdar was entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order in the pargana and assisting the i amin with his army, if necessary, to enforce collection of revenue. The duty of the dniin was to conduct survey of lands, their assessment and collection of revenue. He was to discharge his function as “an impartial umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual ryots paying it”. 43 Of the two Kdrkuns or clerks, one was to write accounts in Hindi and the other in Persian.

The Sultan introduced the system of transferring the officers of the Sarkars and par gauds every two or three years.

The land revenue system of Sher Shah has earned an undying fame for him and it became the basis of future agrarian systems in India. He had acquired sufficient experience in survey, assessment and settlement of land revenue in his father’s jagir at Sasaram, and when he occupied the throne as an emperor, he came

with his system successfully tested. In some regions steps were taken for survey of lands, and revenue was settled according to the fertility of the soil, based on the experience of the past average yield and the expected produce of the land. In many parts of the kingdom there was no survey, and revenue was fixed at a definite share of the produce. Although there are differences of opinion among the modern historians about the government’s share of land revenue, it appears from the Am-i-Akbari and the Makhzan 44 that it was less than one-third and probably one-fourth 44a of the average yield of the land, payable either in cash or in kind, preference being given to the former method. The Sultan’s instructions to his revenue officers were to show leniency at the time of assessment but to be strict at the time of realization of rent. Due consideration was, however, given in cases of damage to crops caused by movement of troops and to paucity of yield, nature’s vagaries like drought, etc. A Kabuliyat (deed of agreement) containing the tenant’s right in the land and his liabilities was taken from him, and the government issued a patta (title-deed) to him stating similar terms and conditions. Sher tried to do away with the authority of the middlemen and establish a direct relation with the tenants who were encouraged to pay their dues direct to the government treasury. But there were also Jaglrs and ZamKmddri systems. As he considered agriculture to be the main source of prosperity of his empire, he took special interest in the welfare of the cultivators and took steps against any oppression or harassment to them. His salutary reforms benefited the peasants, enhanced cultivation, and increased the revenue of the empire. Other sources of revenue included customs duties, Jizya, Zakat, cesses on a variety of articles and khums.

Sher Shah’s currency and tariff reforms contributed a great deal towards the improvement of the economic condition of the country. The currency was then in a deplorable condition due to the paucity of current coins, the debasement in regard to their metal, and absence of any fixed ratio between the coins of gold and those of other metals. He took steps to remodel the currency. Coins of gold and mixed metal were abolished, and separate coins of gold, silver and copper of fixed standard were issued. He executed gold coins of 168.5 grains, 167 grains and 166.4 grains and his silver rupee, which weighed 180 grains, contained 175 grains of pure silver. He also issued a large number of new copper coins, subsequently known as dam. The silver rupee and the copper dam had their sub-divisions of halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. The ratios between the silver coins and various gold coins were fixed; the rate of exchange between the copper dam and the silvter rupee was 64 to 1. These currency reforms removed the long-felt inconvenience and difficulties of the general public and the business community. “The reformed system of currency of Sher lasted throughout the Mughul period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the. . . .British currency (up to 1947). 45

Sher Shah also facilitated trade and commerce by abolishing many vexatious imposts on merchandise and by realizing duties on them twice only, viz., once at the frontier when a commodity was imported, and again at the place of its sale.

The Sultan acquired great reputation as a lover of even-handed justice. Even if any of his relatives or grandees committed any offence, he did not hesitate to punish him in the same manner as he punished an offender belonging to the ordinary strata of the society. He heard cases in original as well as of appeals. Next to him was the Chief Qdzl of the empire, who heard primarily cases of appeals, but cases at the initial stage were also not outside the purview of his court. Besides, as head of the judicial department, he had to conduct the administration of his department. The headquarters of the Sarkdrs and probably other important cities had Qdzis who tried criminal cases. As has been stated before, criminal cases regarding infringement of law and order were tried by the Chief Shiqddrs in the Sarkdrs where the Chief Munsif heard civil cases, specially of revenue disputes, and similar cases were disposed of by the dmlns in the pargands.

The police system of Sher Shah was simple, and, according to the Persian historians, worked well, achieving the objective aimed at. The Shiqddr-i-Shiqddrdn and the Shiqddr had to maintain peace and order within their jurisdictions. In the villages, the system of local responsibility was followed and the village headmen had to bear the responsibility for crimes committed within their jurisdictions. If they could find out the culprits or produce them within the stipulated time, the latter were duly punished, but if the headmen were unable to do so, they themselves would have to face the punishment for such crimes. ‘Abbas says that the headmen “used to protect the limits of their own villages, lest any thief or robber, or enemy of their enemies might injure a traveller, and so be the means of their destruction and death”. 46 About the effect of the system, Firishta says, “such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the roadside, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery”. 47

One of the greatest contributions of Sher Shah was his construction of roads connecting important parts of his empire with his capital. They were necessary for a variety of causes, viz., the imperial defence, quick and regular despatch of news to the emperor, improvement of trade and commerce, and convenience of the travelling public. The longest road built by him (fifteen hundred kos) ran from Sonargaon (near Dacca), via Agra and Delhi to the Indus; the second road ran from Agra to Jodhpur and the fort of Chitor, the third from Agra to Burhanpur, and the fourth from Lahore to Multan. For the convenience of the travellers, shadegiving trees were planted on both sides of these roads. Sard'is were established along them at intervals of four miles and separate arrangements provided for both the Hindus and the Muslims. These Sard'ls not only served as rest-houses for travellers but also as stations of dak chaukl. Sher Shah had a well-organized espionage system and his spies used to send him through the dak chaukl prompt information of every important matter even from the remotest part of his empire. Such a system of conveyance of information by means of dcik chaukl was not new to our country but he revived and improved it to a considerable extent. This department was under Ddrogd-i-Ddk-Chaukl and under him there were innumerable news-writers and news-carriers. The efficiency of this department contributed much to the successful administration of this monarch.

Fully aware of the defects of the feudal levy, the Sultan realized the necessity of a strong and well-equipped standing army under his direct control. The system of feudal levy was not discontinued but the well-organized imperial army added to his strength and power. His army consisted of different nationalities including the Hindus, but the Afghans formed the most predominant element. He took personal interest in the recruitment of soldiers and revived 'Ala-ud-din's systems of branding the horses and recording the descriptive roll of every soldier in order to guard against proxies. His earnest effort was to maintain as much direct touch with the soldiers as possible, hearing their grievances and removing them, when necessary. All payments were made to them individually by the government. In order to minimize the risk of any military rising, his reforms further aimed at establishing an official relation, in lieu of any personal attachment, between an ordinary soldier and his officers.

Sher Shah's military strength under his direct control consisted of 1,50,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry, and a park of artillery, besides 5,000 war-elephants. Contingents of imperial troops were maintained at the strategic places of his empire; each of these divisions known as fauj was under the command of a faujddr.

The Sultan was a stern disciplinarian and maintained strict discipline in his army.

In spite of the stormy days that he had to pass through, he was fond of architecture, and the buildings which he constructed exhibit his grandeur of design and fine artistic taste. His own mausoleum at Sasaram is one of the most beautiful structures built in India during the medieval period. “The style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughluq buildings and feminine grace of Shah Jahan’s masterpiece.” 48 The magnificent mosque in the Purania-QiTa in Delhi also bears testimony to Sher’s superb ideas and taste for fine workmanship. In the field of constructing fortresses, he has left a deep impress of his military engineering by his gigantic and magnificent fort named Rohtas in the district of Jhelum.

It is admitted by all that Sher Shah worked very hard, attending to minute details, promoted efficiency in the machinery of the State and was one of the greatest and most capable administrators of medieval India. But on a careful scrutiny of his elaborate regulations we do not find anything entirely new or original in them except in certain features of his land revenue system. He was thus more a reformer than an innovator. He did not create any new ministry; his administrative divisions and sub-divisions were taken from the past. He did not also introduce anything new either in the administration of justice or in judicial organization. His systems of espionage and dak chaukl were borrowed from his predecessors. Under ‘Ala-ud-dln Khaljl the system of espionage was carried to frightful perfection, and the institution of dak chaukl is also attributed to him. In regard to the army, Sher Shah revived the system of ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji with improvements, where considered necessary. In addition to reviving ‘Ala-ud-dln’s system of branding of horses, he instituted the practice of recording the descriptive roll of every soldier to put a stop to the practice of sending proxies. Among the Sultans of Delhi it was ‘Alaud-din who first devised the scheme of measurement of lands and tried to improve the system of assessment prevalent in the country, but it was neither so comprehensive nor so well-intentioned as that of Sher Shah. The system introduced by the latter had many salient features, new and original, and primarily aimed at the welfare of the peasants and increase of cultivation.

Although Sher Shah was mainly a reformer, he infused a new spirit into the old institutions, improved them, wherever necessary, and supervised the actual workings with plodding industry in order to turn the whole machinery of State into an instrument of popular weal.

Judged by his wonderful activities and outstanding achievements he undoubtedly occupies a high place among the crowned heads of medieval India. From the son of an ordinary jdgirddr harassed by serious obstacles and active oppositions even of his own men, he advanced step by step by sheer merit till he acquired the throne of Hindusthan and revived the Afghan rule by expelling Humayun from India.

As a soldier, he possessed indomitable courage, extraordinary patience and untiring energy, and, as a general, he had that rare quality of a leader’s personal magnetism which endeared him to his followers whom he led from victory to victory and, with whom he toiled and mixed together, sharing their hardships and privations, when necessary. His rapidity of movements and the tact and foresight that he displayed in his campaigns were beyond the imagination of his adversaries who had to face discomfiture. As far as possible, he tried to avoid open engagements and made sudden sallies on the enemies to take them by surprise. He did not also hesitate to outwit them by cunning and craftiness. Despite the ignoble means which he followed at times, his successes dazzled the eyes of his contemporaries and raised him to the pinnacle of glory.

But his achievements as a ruler outweigh those as a general, and his place in history rests more on his constructive genius displayed in his administrative policy than for victories in the battlefields. He had a thorough grasp of all the departments of administration and they showed the salutary effect of his reforming hands. He reorganized the district administration and, in the case of Bengal, provincial administration, too; he reformed the land revenue and currency systems, police, intelligence, and army departments, and duties on merchandise were made conducive to trade and commerce. He kept in check the individualistic spirit of the Afghans—a hard task, indeed, beset with almost insuperable difficulties—and utilized their services to an extent which no ruler in medieval India prior to him could do.

A benevolent ruler as he was, he aimed at the welfare of his subjects. W. Crooke says, "Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an Indian Empire broadly based upon the people's will. . . . .He had the genius to see that the Government must be popu

larized, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and

toleration.'No Government, not even the British, has shown so

much wisdom as this Pathan' as Keene says." 49

Though he was an orthodox Sunrii in his private life, his general policy towards the Hindus, who formed the majority of his subjects, was one of toleration and good will, as he had enough of prudence and foresight of a true statesman to realize that, unless he could win over their sympathy and co-operation, the stability of his empire would be at stake. He allowed the Hindus to follow their religious tenets without any interference of the government, and many of them were employed both in his civil and military departments. A large part of his infantry consisted of the Hindus and one of his best and trusted generals was Barmazid Gaur whom he sent to pursue Humayun after the battles of Chausa and Bilgram.

Considering from different aspects his love and sympathy for his subjects, care for the peasantry, liberal outlook, sense of evenhanded justice, indefatigable industry, devotion to duty even at the cost of personal rest and comfort, and, above all, his constructive statesmanship, he must be accorded a position much ahead of his predecessors in medieval India and next only to that of Akbar.

II. ISLAM SHAH (1545-1554)

Of the three sons of Sher Shah, Qutb Khan, the youngest, had pre-deceased his father, and 'Adil Khan, the eldest, and Jalal Khan, the second, were at

Ranthambhor and Rewa, 50 respectively, at the time of their father's death. Jalal Khan, who had given sufficient proof of his courage, industry and military abilities, and who was available nearer, was chosen by the nobles as the successor of his father in preference to 'Adil Khan, who, in spite of his physical strength, was indolent and ease-loving, and not so easily available.

Jalal Khan arrived at Kalinjar on May 26, 1545. He was crowned on the same day, and assumed the title of Islam Shah. Then he went to Agra, the imperial capital, and in order to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the soldiers, he gave them two months'

pay.

'Adil Khan refused to give up the fort of Ranthambhor and was reluctant to go to the capital to settle the differences with his

brother amicably. But on receiving assurance of safe return from eminent nobles like Qutb Khan Nlaib, Khavass Khan, 'Isa Khlan NiyazI, and Jalal Khan bin Jalu, he proceeded to meet his brother. In the meantime, Islam Shah had made a plan to murder him, but it did not succeed. Thereafter, Bayana, situated about fifty-three miles south-west of Agra, was assigned to him, but the Sultan again changed his mind and there was therefore no real reconciliation between the brothers, Islam Shah secretly arranged to bring his brother a prisoner, but the four nobles, mentioned above, took up his cause and made a plot to dethrone the sovereign. 'Adil Khan's luck did not turn in his favour in the ensuing battle near Agra, and, having suffered a reverse there, he fled towards Bundelkhand, never to be heard of again, while Khavass Khan and 'Isa Khan NiyazI retreated towards Mewat. At Firuzpur, in Mewiat, they were able to defeat the Sultan's army sent in pursuit of them, but the royal army having been soon reinforced, they were compelled to retreat to the Kumaon hills.

The conspiracy to raise 'Adil Khan to the throne made the Sultan suspicious about most of his nobles. Jalal Khan bin Jalu and his brother were put to death; Qutb Khan, another supporter of 'Adil Khan, having been delivered over by Haibat Khan, the governor of Lahore, with whom he had taken shelter, was sent along with many other suspected nobles to Gwalior. Most of them were subsequently murdered. Such punishments on the nobility alarmed the rest and aroused the old tribal jealousies which Sher Shah had kept in check. The powerful Niyazis under the leadership of Haibat Khan NiyazI arrayed a strong party of opposition against the Sultan and proceeded to Ambala; Khavass Khan also joined them. But finding that Haibat Khan was ambitious to seize the throne in the event of success against Islam Shah, Khavass Khan, who was in favour of ‘Adil Khan, withdrew his forces on the day of the battle, the natural consequence of which was that Haibat was defeated in the battle fought near Ambala. He was pursued from place to place and eventually took shelter in Kashmir, but his mother and daughters who had fallen into the hands of the royal force, were ill-treated and ultimately put to death.

Khavass Khan had gone back to the Kumaon hills and taken refuge with its Rdja, but, on his subsequent surrender to the Sultan, he was killed in an ignoble manner.

The Sultan was too severe on the nobles of his father’s time whom, by his tact and foresight, he might have turned into his supporters and utilized, like his great father, in the service of the empire; but he considered them to have grown too much, almost overshadowing the Crown. His severity and unwonted harshness broke the spirit of the Afghans on whom he was loth to place confidence. He appointed men of his own choice, many from the Sur clan, in the various key positions of the empire. Ahmad Khan Sur was appointed governor of Lahore; ‘Isa Khan Sur was posted in Malwa in place of Shuja'at Khan; QazI Fazilat was removed from Bengal and replaced by Muhammad Khan Sur; Ghazi Khan Sur was placed in charge of Bayana; while his son Ibrahim Khan Sur received charge of Agra. A very high rank in the army—that of a command of 20,000, with the charge of Sarkar Sambhal—was bestowed on the Sultan’s cousin and brother-in-law Mubariz Khan, who, later on, proved to be a great sore in the body-politic, endangering its peace and tranquillity.

The Sultan was careful enough to watch the movements of the Mughuls, and when he learnt that Humayun had crossed the Indus, he, in spite of his illness, prepared to face the enemy, but the latter returned to Kabul. Islam Shah then went back to Gwalior which was his favourite place. Here a conspiracy was made by his disaffected nobles to assassinate him, but it was foiled, and the ring leaders were put to death. He had also escaped another attempt on his life in the early part of his reign.

After a reign of nine years and six months he died on 22 November, 1554.

Like his father, Islam Shah was a strong administrator and strict disciplinarian. He could not brook the idea of disobedience or any action against him, and insisted on implicit obedience from everyone, to whatever rank he might belong. His punishments to those who were implicated or suspected to be implicated in any action against him were severe. His authority was well-established in the empire and the efficiency of his espionage system and dak chauki contributed to this success to a large extent.

He was very particular in maintaining the prestige and dignity of the King's position. As the use of scarlet tents was the privilege of the Sultan alone, he forbade their use by the nobility or anybody else.

Hb not only followed the administrative policy of Sher Shah but improved it, where deemed necessary. Detailed regulations were issued regarding every department of the government like general administration, revenue, and religion, whether these were agreeable to the Shar'iyat or not, for the guidance of the officers and their subordinates. Darbars were held in all districts on Fridays when the military officers, dmlns and other officials used to make their obeisance with reverence to the shoes and the quiver of the Sultan . 51

For better organization and efficiency, he introduced the graded system in the army and there were different units, ranging from those of fifty to twenty thousand. Above fifty and below twenty thousand, there were units of two hundred, two hundred and fifty, five hundred, five thousand, and ten thousand . 52

His keen knowledge of the military strategy may be realized from his construction of Mankot 53 in the Siwalik Hills, about one hundred and one miles north-east of Lahore, for the defence of the Punjab and keeping the Gakkhars in check.

He added to the number of sard'is by constructing one sard'i between every two sard'is of his father, and a rest-house, a mosque, and water-carriers were provided in them. Arrangements were also made for supplying uncooked and cooked food to the Hindus and the Muslims respectively. Orders were at the same time issued for the proper upkeep and maintenance of the sard'is and gardens constructed by Sher Shah.

Besides his capabilities as a general, he was a steadfast administrator who worked with utmost devotion and industry in the interest of the empire. His reign may be said to be a continuation of that of his father, and in spite of the stormy days that he had to pass through, peace and prosperity prevailed in his empire. He encouraged cultivation and looked to the welfare of the peasantry as his father.

Although he was an orthodox Sunni in his private life, his work as a ruler was never obsessed by his religious views, and he kept politics apart from religion.

But in spite of his abilities as a ruler, it must be admitted that he was at times a poor judge of mein and was swayed by feelings of unwonted cruelty and vindictiveness as he showed in his treatment towards the experienced and veteran nobles of his father's time. His appointment of Mubariz Khan, who proved to be unworthy of his confidence, was a glaring instance of a mistaken choice, pointing to his poor knowledge and experience of human character, for which his son and successor had to pay dearly, and which was, to a great extent, responsible for the serious troubles that set in after him.

III. FIRUZ SHAH (1554)

Islam Shah was succeeded by his minor son Firuz, but Mubariz Khan, son of Sher Shah's younger brother Nizam and brother of the minor king's mother, Bibi Bai, murdered him and ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah.

Such a tragic death might have been averted had Islam Shah acted on his own initiative without waiting for his wife’s consent for the removal of his brother-in-law whose evil intentions he could gauge beforehand.

IV. MUHAMMAD ‘ADIL SHAH (1554-1556)

‘Adil Shah (also called ‘Adll Shah) tried to conciliate the nobles and the army by a profuse distribution of wealth and titles, where necessary. But his murder of the rightful sovereign had its repercussions, and it sounded the death-knell of the Sur dynasty. He was weak and incompetent to wield the sceptre and hold in check the disintegrating forces. But he appointed as Wazlr a very capable person called Himu, a Hindu, who, hailing from Rewiari, belonged to the Dhusar caste, and from a humble start in life, had occupied, during the reign of Islam Shiah, the posts of Shahna or Superintendent of the Delhi market, the head of the Departments of Intelligence and Posts (Ddrogd-i-Ddk-Chauki), and afterwards high military command. But the weakness of the Sultan and his worthlessness let loose the centrifugal forces, and in different parts of the empire there were military upheavals which rocked it to its foundation.

Ibrahim Khan Sur, son of Ghiazi Khan, and brother-in-law of the Sultan, who was in charge of Agra, revolted. He defeated the army which ‘Adil Shah had despatched against him and moved with his victorious forces to Delhi which was captured. Thereafter he assumed the regal title and it was not possible for ‘Adil to displace him. Ahmad Khan Sur, another brother-in-law of the Sultan and governor of Lahore, took the title of Sikandar Shah and declared his independence. Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of Bengal, also revolted and assumed the title of Shams-ud-dln Muhammad Shah Ghazi. The empire, which had been built by Sher Shah and maintained with care by Islam Shah, thus fell to pieces, and it was parcelled out into four main divisions—Delhi and Agra under Ibrahim Shah; the Punjab under Sikandar Shah; Bengal under Shams-ud-din Muhammad Shah; and the territories from the vicinity of Agra to Bihar under Muhammad ‘Adil Shah.

Not satisfied with the Punjab alone, Sikandar marched against Ibrahim for the possession of Delhi and Agra and defeated him at Farah, about twenty miles from Agra, despite the overwhelming numerical superiority of the forces of his opponent. Sikandar then took possession of both Delhi and Agra (A.D. 1555).

The rivalry and hostility among the Afghans not only jeopardized the peace and security of northern India but also afforded Humayun a good opportunity for the recovery of his lost possessions there. From Kabul, he started on his Indian expedition in November, 1554. On hearing of his advance, Tatar Khan Kashi evacuated the fort of Rohtas without any attempt to defend it. In February, 1555, Humayun occupied Lahore, too, without any opposition while another detachment of his forces defeated the Afghans at DIpalpur. The Mughuls also occupied Jullundur and their advance guard proceeded towards Sirhind. This rapid progress of the Mughul army was due to Sikandar Shah's preoccupation in his struggle against Ibrahim. The alarming situation in the Punjab roused the former to action, and he despatched a force of 30,000 horse against the enemies with whom an open encounter took place at Machlwara, in Ludhiana district. But the Afghans were defeated and the Mughuls captured Sirhind. Sikandar then marched in person at the head of 80,000 cavalry and met the Mughul army at Sirhind. Despite the vast superiority of his forces in number, he was defeated before the superior generalship and military tactics of his enemies (June 22, 1555) and was compelled to retreat to the Siwalik hills. The Mughuls marched triumphantly to Delhi and occupied it.

Taking advantage of misgovernment by the Mughul governor in the Punjab, Sikandar came out of his retreat to recover his territories, but, being unable to achieve anything tangible, he took shelter in the fort of Mankot.

In spite of the Mughul menace there was no cessation of hostility among the Afghans, and Ibrahim renewed his strife with 'Adil Shah. HImu, the Wazlr of 'Adil, defeated him twice—once near KalpI and, again, near Khanua—and compelled him to seek refuge in the fort of Bayana which was besieged; but, as Muhammad Shah of Bengal had created an alarming situation and was marching towards KalpI, 'Adil Shah recalled his minister who, thereafter, joined his master at KalpI. Muhammad Shah was defeated at Chhapparghatta, about twenty miles from KalpI, and forced to take to his heels. ‘Adil Shah occupied Bengal, and, after retaining Shahbaz Khan as governor there, he came back to Chunar which he had made his residential capital.

Taking advantage of the death of Humayun (January, 1556) and the accession of young Akbar, HImu proceeded from Gwalior to Agra with a huge force and occupied it easily, as its governor Iskandar Khan Uzbeg fled to Delhi out of fear, without offering any resistance. Next, he marched on Delhi and took possession of it after defeating its governor Tardi Beg Khan.

Emboldened by his successes and being in possession of Delhi, HImu assumed independence, with the title of Raja Vikramaditya, and in order to gain the support of his Afghan officers and soldiers he made a lavish distribution of wealth among them. Next he took necessary steps to withstand the Mughuls who had been proceeding against him. But his advance guard was defeated by that of Akbar under the command of ‘All Quit Khan and his artillery fell into the hands of the enemies. This discomfiture did not in any way dispirit him and he marched on with a huge force consisting of infantry, cavalry, artillery and war-elephants to the memorable battlefield of Panlpat, where he met his adversaries on 5 November, 1556. The numerical strength of Himu’s army was decidedly much above that of his opponents.

i

The battle began with a bold charge by HImu on the Mughuls whose right and left wings were thrown into confusion. Then, with the help of his 1500 war elephants he dashed against the enemies’ centre and, although the fight appeared to be in his favour, it continued unabated, when an arrow pierced his eye, making him unconscious. This decided the fate of the day, as his army, considering him dead, fled pell-mell in all directions. While he was being carried to a safe place by his elephant-driver, he was captured by Shah Quli Mahram, a Mughul officer, and taken to Akbar who, at the request of his guardian and protector, Bairam Khan, first struck him with his sword and, then, the protector followed him, severing his head from the body. 54

The victory of the Mughuls was thus complete, and it not only decided the fate of HImu but also of the Afghans. Delhi and Agra soon fell into the hands of the victors.

Meanwhile Sikandar had been active in the Punjab, defeating Khizr Khvaja Khan at Chamiari, about thirty-five miles from Lahore, and driving him to the latter place. Not content with sending relief, Akbar and Bairam Khan proceeded against Sikandar who, therefore, took refuge at Mankot which was also besieged. He held on for about six months, depending on the strength of the fort as well as in expectation of a diversion to be possibly created by ‘Adil Shah who was still in possession of Chunar. His expectation came to naught at ‘Adil’s defeat and death in a battle against Khizr Khan Sur of Bengal (1557), and this disquieting news disheartened him so much that he surrendered, receiving an assignment in Bihar, whence he was expelled within a short time by Akbar and died about two years later in Bengal. Ibrahim Sur took refuge in Orissa where he met his doom about ten years later (1567-1568).

Thus disappeared the different Sur rivals from the political arena of northern India which, by their selfish designs, had been converted into an unhappy land of turmoil and confusion, and their exit made room for the re-establishment of the Mughul rule under the strong but benevolent regime of Akbar.

APPENDIX

(BY THE EDITOR)

HiMU—A FORGOTTEN HINDU HERO

Neither fate nor historians have been kind to Hlmu to whom reference has been made above (pp. 94-96). Historians, medieval and modern, have done scant justice to, and failed to show due appreciation of, the unique personality and greatness of a Hindu who, during the heyday of Muslim rule in India, worked his way from a grocer's shop to the throne of Delhi, and, but for an accident in a battle which turned victory into defeat, might have founded a Hindu ruling dynasty, instead of the Mughuls, in Delhi. Although his career is known to us almost exclusively from the writings of historians who looked down upon him as an upstart Hindu and an arch-enemy of their patrons, the Mughul rulers, yet enough has been preserved in their chronicles 55 to show that bare historical justice demands that the career of this great Hindu should be impartially reviewed as a whole, separately, as an important episode in the history of medieval India. For, there is no doubt that he furnishes the only shining example of a Hindu, born and brought up as such in a Muslim State, who once dominated the political stage of North India by sheer merit and personality without any advantage of birth or fortune. As no such attempt seems to have been made in any general history of India so far, no apology is needed for the short sketch of the life and activities of the great Hindu Commoner, Hemchandra, called by his Afghan followers after his accession to the throne of Delhi, Hlmu Shah.

Hlmu was born in a poor family of Dhansar section of the Baniya caste, living in a town in the southern part of Alwar. Badauni calls him "the greengrocer, of the township of Rewari in Mewat, whom Islam Shah had gradually elevated from the position of Police Superintendent of the bazars and confirmer of punishment, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant". In other words, Hlmu, originally a grocer (or hawker) by profession in a small township in Alwar, somehow came to the notice of Islam Shah who, satisfied with his ability, successively promoted him to the posts of Superintendent of the Delhi market (Shahna), and head of the Departments of Intelligence and Posts (Ddrogd-i'-DakChauki). Islam Shah also trusted him with important and confidential business, involving military commands.

The death of Islam Shah, as stated above (p. 94), was followed by a period of troubles. His minor son, who succeeded him, was murdered by Mubariz Khan who ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah. But this regicide was hopelessly incompetent, and rebellions broke out in all quarters. Ibrahim Khan Sur, governor of Agra, Sikandar Sur, governor of Lahore, and Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of Bengal, revolted and assumed royal titles. Other chiefs also broke into revolt from time to time.

Emperor ‘Adil Shah had already recognised the great abilities of Hlmu and appointed him his Prime Minister, leaving the heavy burden of administration on his shoulders.

Mughul historians like Abu-’l-Fazl and Badauni paint the character of Hlmu in the blackest colour and represent him as having won the confidence of the king by ignoble means. But this is only natural for those who rightly looked upon Hlmu as the greatest enemy of the Mughuls. But in view of the abilities displayed by Hlmu, we should not put any faith in these slanders. In any case, in this great crisis of the empire ‘Adil practically left the full control of political and military affairs in his hands. It reflects great credit upon Hlmu that the Afghan ruler relied upon a Hindu officer in preference to the great chiefs of his own tribe, and that Hlmu proved equal to the task imposed upon him. He had to fight constantly in order to put down the rebel chiefs, and always won victories, sometimes against heavy odds.

The account of the battles fought and victories won by Hlmu is given by Abu-’l-Fazl and Badauni. As both of them hated Himu as an upstart and painted him in the blackest colour, as noted above, their unrestrained praise is all the more valuable as a testimony to the valour and military skill of Himu. Abu-’l-Fazl writes: “Battles took place between Hemu and Ibrahim, who was a claimant for the Sultanate, and the former was always victorious. Sultan Muhammad, who had assumed the kingly title in Bengal, was also defeated, and was made to tread the land of annihilation. Hemu also engaged in conflicts with Taj Kararani and Rukn Khan NuhanI and defeated them. He fought two and twenty battles with the opponents of Mubariz Khan, and was victorious in all of them.” 56

Badauni gives more details. Thus when Taj Khan, aided by two other chiefs, openly broke into revolt, Himu, we are told, fought a desperate battle with them, gaining victory (p. 541).

Regarding the more formidable rival Ibrahim Sur, Badauni says: “Himun, regarding Ibrahim as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; Ibrahim came out to oppose him ready for battle, and taking up a strong position showed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before. But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty he was not successful.... Ibrahim Khan after this defeat, leaving KalpI, made straight for Baiana with all speed, and Hlmu pursuing him arrived at Baiana.. . . Ibrahim Khan, taking a body of the Nuhani and Afghan cultivators and landholders of Baiana, again went out to meet Hlmun and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khanwah, ten krohs distant from Baiana, but could not prevail against his destiny.” 57

Ibrahim Khan then shut himself in the fortress of Bayana “a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength”. Hlmu kept up the siege for three months and made inroads on the districts of Bayana on all sides, pillaging and destroying. While thus engaged, news reached Hlmu that “Muhammad Khan Sur, governor of Bangala, had assumed the title of Sultan Jalal-ud-Dln, and was marching with an army like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangala, and having reduced Jaunpur was making for KalpI and Agra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons arrived from ‘Adil to Hlmun in these words: ‘At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy.' Hlmun thereupon abandoned the siege". But before he could proceed very far, Ibrahim attacked him but was d'efeated. Then, after some time, Ibrahim, after obtaining reinforcements again advanced against Hlmu, was again defeated, and finally abandoned the struggle. 58

Hlmu then advanced quickly to join his master 'Adil Shah's forces sent against the other rebel, Muhammad Khan of Bengal. BadaunI thus describes the situation: Muhammad Khan, "confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adli, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Hlmun swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna, than he swooped down upon the army" of Muhammad Khan, taking them unawares and practically annihilated the army. 'The greater part of his Amirs were slain; while the rest took to flight.' Muhammad Khan vanished for ever. 59

Hardly had these revolts been suppressed when Humayun returned to India to recover his lost throne. 'Adil sent Hlmu northwards to oppose him, while he himself retired to Chunar. Humayun, as stated above, succeeded in re-establishing himself for a few months. When he met with his fatal accident, in January, 1556, Hlmu remained in the field on behalf of 'Adil Shah to prevent Akbar from taking effective possession of his father's kingdom. When Akbar was formally proclaimed at Kalanaur as Padshah, TardI Beg was appointed governor of Delhi. Hlmu advanced by way of Gwalior and Agra to Old Delhi, and "inflicted a severe defeat on the Mogul forces, capturing 160 elephants, 1,000 Arab horses, and an immense quantity of valuable booty. He thus gained possession of both Delhi and Agra." 60

It was at this stage that Himu's ambitions soared high and he wistfully looked towards the sovereignty of Hindusthan. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Himu's "victories impressed him with evil ideas" and his capture of Delhi "increased his arrogance so that his intoxication became madness". 61 Other Muslim chroniclers of old expressed the same view, and many modern historians of India seem to hold the same opinion. V. A. Smith, who takes a more liberal view, observes: "Hemu, who had won Delhi and Agra in the name of his master Adall, now began to reflect that his sovereignty was a long way off, that he himself was in possession of the army and elephants, and that it might be better to gain a kingdom for his own benefit rather than for that of his absent employer." 62 No one today can reasonably claim to know the thoughts in Himu's mind. But a little reflection will show that there was nothing unreasonable or immoral in the aspiration of Himu. No doubt personal ambition played a great part, but it may not be altogether wrong to think that he was also inspired by the idea of founding a Hindu raj. This is supported by his assumption of the title Vikramaditya.

The opportunities, as V. A. Smith points out, were really very good, and the recent examples of Babur, Sher Shah and Humayun (after his return from exile in Persia) within living memory, demonstrated the feasibility of a bold military adventurer seizing the throne of Delhi. Himu's chances of success cannot be reasonably regarded as much less than that of any one of these. This view is strongly supported by the details of the second battle of Panlpat which decided the fate of Himu, to which reference has been made above (p. 96).

Whatever might have been his motive or justification, Himu decided upon his course of action and made preparations accordingly. He won over the Afghans, who accompanied him, by distributing the spoils of war among them. He occupied Delhi with their concurrence, declared his independent status in a practical manner by ascending the throne, with the imperial canopy raised over his head, issued coins in his name, and assumed the historic name Vikramaditya or Raja Bikramjit.

Bairam Khan, the guardian of minor Mughul ruler Akbar, was advised by his counsellors to retire from India, but, disregarding their advice, he decided to advance against Himu, whose army greatly outnumbered that of the Mughuls. The battle between them was fought at Panlpat, on 5 November, 1556. V. A. Smith gives the following account of the battle: "Each army was drawn up in three divisions. On November 5 Hemu succeeded in throwing both the right and the left wings of his opponents into confusion, and sought to make his victory decisive by bringing all his mountain-like elephants to bear on the centre of the enemy, commanded by

Khan Zaman. Probably he would have won but for the accident that he was struck in the eye by an arrow which pierced his brain and rendered him unconscious. An Indian army never could survive the loss of its leader, on whose life its pay depended.

Hemu’s soldiers at once scattered in various directions and made no further attempt at resistance.” 63

V. A. Smith rightly uses the word ‘accident’—and it is undoubtedly a mere accident that deprived Hlmu of victory, throne and life. While Smith, thinks that Hlmu had every chance of winning the battle, Sir Wolseley Haig asserts that the Mughul forces

“would certainly have been overpowered had not Himu’s bye been pierced by an arrow.” 64 More or less the same view has been held in this volume also (above, p. 96). It may, therefore, be reasonably held, that Himu’s failure was, in a great measure, due to that unknown and unknowable factor, called fate or destiny, which plays no inconsiderable part in the affairs of men. Himu was captured in an unconscious state and met with a tragic end, as des

cribed above (p. 96).

V. A. Smith writes:

“Bairam Khan desired Akbar to earn the title of Ghazi, or Slayer of the Infidel, by flashing his sword on the captive. The boy naturally obeyed his guardian and smote Hemu on the neck with his scimitar. The bystanders also plunged their swords into the bleeding corpse. Hemu’s head was sent to Kabul to be exposed, and his trunk was gibbeted at one of the gates of Delhi.” 65

But the tragedy did not end here. The forces of Akbar conquered the Sai'kar of Alwar wherein was situated the home of Hlmu. The Mughul officer, who conquered it, proceeded to the township where Himu’s family lived.

Abu-’l-Fazl, the trusted friend of Akbar and chronicler of his reign, describes what happened in the following words: “The place was strong and there was much fighting, and the father of Hemu was captured and brought alive before the Nasir-al-mulk. The latter called upon him to change his religion. The old man answered, ‘for eighty years I have worshipped my God, according to this religion. Why should I change it at this time, and why should I, merely from fear of my life, and without understanding it come into your way of worship?’ Pir Muhammad treated his words as if he heard them not, and answered him with the tongue of the sword.” 66

Such was the noble end of the family of Hlmu, a great Hindu who was born in humble life, but made his way to the throne of Delhi by dint of sheer ability and military skill—a unique episode in the history of India during Muslim rule. Unfortunately, Himu’s history has been written almost wholly by his enemies who dreaded him most, and, far from doing justice to his greatness, they have tarnished his name with unmerited odium. It is time to resuscitate the memory and give a true account of the life of Hemchandra, really a great hero, whose dreams and achievements have been forgotten by his countrymen.

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

1. Akbar-nama, I, 326 (English translation).

2. P. Saran, Studies in Medieval Indian History, pp. 40-46; Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society (1934), pp. 108-122.

3. ‘Abbas Sarwanl, MS., p. 12, Elliot, IV, p. 308.

4. K. R. Qanungo, Sher Shah and His Times, Vol. I, pp. 9, 24-25, Ishwari Prasad, The Life and Times of Humayun, pp. 94-95.

5. P. Saran, op. cit., p. 38, Ishwari Prasad, op. cit. p. 94 (1956 Edition).

K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 9-10, 25-28.

6. Makhzan-i-Afghani, MS., F 204b.

7. Abu-’l-Fazl, Akbar-nama, Vol. I, p. 327 (English translation).

8. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 39-40.

9. Briggs, Firishta, Vol. II, p. 100.

10. ‘Abbas, MS., pp. 28-29 a)s quoted in Qanungo’s Sher Shah and His Times , Vol. I, p. 52.

11. Briggs, Firishta, Vol. II, p. 101.

12. The pargana of Chaund comprised a portion of modern Shahabad district and the greater portion of modern Mirzapur district.

13. Briggs, Firishta, Vol. II, p. 103, ‘Abbas, MS., p. 62.

14. The Makhzan, MS., p. 19.

15. For the name of the place and the date of the battle, cf. Ch. Ill, f.n. 2, 2a.

16. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 108-109.

17. History of Bengal, Vol. II, (Dacca University), Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 160.

18. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 142.

19. J.J.A. Campos, History of the Portuguese in Bengal, p. 40.

20. The fort was not besieged by Humayun before the second week of January, 1538. For its siege and capture, vide Jauhar’s Tazkirat-ul-Waqi‘dt, MS., pp. 21-24, Elliot IV, 339, V, 139-140; Elphinstone, History of India, 6th edition; pp. 446-447; K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 175-178.

21. Briggs, Firishta, pp. 114-117.

22. Islamic Culture, 1936, pp. 127-130, Introduction, Catalogue of Coins collected by Sayyid A.S.M. Taifur, Dacca Museum, Dacca, 1936; E. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathdn Kings of Delhi, p. 393; H. N. Wright, The Sultans of Delhi and their metrology, pp. 269, 270, 323.

22a. Cf. Chapter III, f.n. 9a and 11.

23. ‘Abbas, Elliot, IV, p. 368.

24. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Military History of India, p. 63.

25. Ibid.

26. Jauhar, Tazkirat-ul-Wdqi e dt, pp. 36-37.

27. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Military History of India, p. 64.

28. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 205.

29. Akbar-nama, English translation I, 345, Riydz-us-Salatin, text, 147.

30. History of Bengal, Vol. II, edited by J. N. Sarkar, and published by the Dacca University, p. 174.

31. The Makhzan, MS., p. 35; Firishta, text, p. 226; Tabaqat-i-Akban, text, p. 230.

32. The battle was fought near Bilgram, three miles away from the Ganga (Ganges) and opposite Kanauj.

33. Haidar’s description of the battle may be seen in Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Elias’s trans.,

pp. 475-77.

34. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Military History of India, p. 64.

35. K. R. Qanungo, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 314.

35a. Ibid.

36. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, pp. 271, 592.

37. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, p. 231; Briggs, Firishta, II, pp. 117-118.

38. Firishta, text. 228.

39. ‘Abbas, MS, p. 237; Elliot, IV, p. 407.

40. Elliot, IV, p. 407, footnote.

41. Arail is situated on the right bank of the Yamuna and opposite to Allahabad fort.

42. The History and Culture of the Indian People (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), Vol. VI, p. 449.

43. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Mughul Administration, p. 116.

44. Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 63, 66; Elliot IV, p. 399, footnote.

44a. According to P. Saran, “Sher Shah used to charge one-third of the produce as revenue” (Studies in Medieval Indian History, p. 85). Reference, however, should be made to an important innovation of Sher Shah, namely, schedules (ray 1) of the assessment rates for the different kinds of crops (Rabi crop, Kharif crop, etc.). In other words, land was divided into several classes according to the nature of the crops cultivated therein, and the rate of assessment was fixed for every one of them. For details, cf. ibid (Editor).

45. Imperial Gazetteer of India, II, pp. 145-146; vide, also E. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, pp. 408-409; H. N. Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, II, pp. 11-12, 84-109.

46. ‘Abbas, Elliot, IV, p. 421.

47. Briggs, Firishta, Vol. II, p. 125.

48. A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, p. 406.

49. Memoirs of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India, II, 97.

50. About 85 miles south-east of Kalinjar.

51. BadaunI, text, Vol. I, pp. 384-385.

52. Ibid, p. 385.

53. Mankot was built in about two years, and it had four forts and four townships.

54. Briggs, Firishta, II, p. 189; Dacca University Studies, November, 1935, pp. 67101. See Appendix.

55. For example, Abu-'l-Fazl's Akbar-nama (Reference below is to the English translation by H. Beveridge, Vol. II; Calcutta, 1912) and 'Abdul-Qadir Badauni's Muntakhab-ut-Tawdrikh (Reference below is to the English translation by G. S. A. Ranking, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1898).

56. Beveridge, op. cit., p. 45.

57. Ranking, op.cit., pp. 548-9.

58. Ibid, pp. 552-3.

59 Ibid, p. 555.

60. V. A. Smith, Akbar The Great Mogul (Oxford, 1926), pp. 34-5.

61. Beveridge, op.cit., pp. 45, 50.

62. V. A. Smith, op.cit., pp. 36-7.

63. Ibid, pp. 38-9.

64. CHI, IV, p. 72.

65. V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 39.

66. Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 71-2.

CHAPTER V

AKBAR (1556-1605)

I. PERIOD OF TUTELAGE

The news of Humayun’s death was concealed by Bairam Khan 1 in order to prepare for the unopposed succession of Akbar. A man resembling Humayun and dressed up like him made public appearance while the Turkish admiral Sldi ‘All Ra’is, who happened to be at Delhi, left for Lahore la and assured the people of Humayun’s recovery. On 14 February, 1556, Akbar ascended the throne at the age of thirteen years and a few months. 15 The task before the young emperor and his veteran guardian was very difficult and complicated. His hold on the kingdom, only recently recovered, was very uncertain. The small army under Bairam Khan had but a precarious hold on certain districts in the Punjab; and both the army and the nobility were heterogeneous bodies of uncertain loyalty. Three Afghan princes of the Sur family still contested the sovereignty of Hindusthan. Himu, the Hindu general, who nominally acted on behalf of his Afghan master but aspired to sovereign power, further complicated the situation. The fairest parts of Hindusthan were devastated by a frightful famine and an epidemic plague.

Immediately after Akbar’s accession, Bairam Khan, who held the reins of government, had to arrest Shah Abu-T-Ma‘ali, a favourite noble of Humayun, who at first refused to attend the emperor’s court and misbehaved when he did attend it- 2 Bairam wanted to execute him but, at the young sovereign’s intercession, the culprit was sent to Lahore in confinement. Bairam Khan then resumed his activity against Sikandar Sur and from Kalanaur proceeded with Akbar up to Dahmiri (modern Nurpur in Kangra district) where they remained for about three months in order to keep watch over the Sur 'pretender’. But the arch-enemy was neither Sikandar, who had become a spent force after Machiwara and Sirhind, nor Ibrahim Sur, whose ambition had been frustrated by Sikandar at Farah, nor even the musician king ‘Adi! Shah who was at Chunar, but his powerful lieutenant Hlmu.

Himu must be regarded as a very remarkable personality among the Hindus in medieval India. By his uncommon ability and commanding talent Hlmu had raised himself from an humble

shop-keeper at Rewarl to the cabinet of ‘Adil Shah who made him his first minister and chief commander- It is said that he fought ‘two and twenty’ battles with his master’s opponents and was victorious in all of them. Nominally acting on behalf of ‘Adil Shah, HImu really aspired to carving out a Hindu kingdom on the ruins of Muslim power. The accession of young Akbar offered him the opportunity for striking at Delhi. With a huge body of cavalry and elephants, he marched from Gwalior to Agra whose governor Iskandar Khan, the Uzbeg, failed to defend it against the superior force of the invader and fled to Delhi. HImu took Agra and then advanced on Delhi. Tardl Beg Khan, the governor of Delhi, gave battle. The Mughuls began by routing Himu’s vanguard and right wing but HImu suddenly made such a violent charge on the Mughul centre that Tardl Beg who commanded it failed to resist and fled from the field of battle. This broke the morale of his army, the flight became general and Delhi fell into Himu’s hands.

When the report of the fall of Delhi reached Akbar at Jullundur, the majority of his nobles advised an immediate retreat to Kabul as the enemy’s force was far stronger. But the hero of Machlwara and Sirhind was not to abandon so easily the throne of Hindusthan; Bairam, rejecting all defeatist counsel, decided to give battle. Leaving Khizr Khvaja Khan at Jullundur to subdue Sikandar Sur, Akbar and Bairam marched towards Delhi. At Sirhind, they were joined by the fugitive governors, Iskandar Khan, Tardl Beg Khan and ‘All Qull Khan, who had been forced to leave Sambhal. Here Bairam Khan took the drastic step of executing Tardl Beg Khan for his failure at Delhi while Akbar was away on hunting. Some modern historians follow Firishta in justifying it on the ground of State necessity and there can be no doubt that Bairam Khan’s bold step calmed all disaffection among the nobles and restored unity and discipline to the army which were so essential for the infant Mughul State at that critical juncture. A dispassionate study of the contemporary chronicles, however, reveals that the Shiah Bairam wanted to remove a powerful Sunni rival, and Tardl Beg Khan’s failure at Delhi, due to cowardice or negligence or indiscretion, offered him the opportunity when State necessity coincided with self-interest; and afterwards Bairam exacted from the emperor a reluctant approval of his action- 3

From Sirhind, Akbar and Bairam advanced towards Delhi to meet the enemy who was now master of Delhi and Agra. HImu at the height of his power gave up the mask, took the title of Raja Vikramaditya and made his Afghan soldiers call him HImu Shah. The defeat of his advance guard and the capture of his

artillery by ‘All Quli Khan did not dishearten Himu who marched on with a huge cavalry of 50,000 Afghans and Rajputs and 1,500 elephants. On 5 November, 1556, the two armies met face to face on the historic battlefield of Panipat. The Mughul army, which was positively inferior in number, did not possess more than 25,000 horse. Himu began the battle with a vehement charge on the Mughul ranks which threw the wings into confusion. He then directed his attack with all his elephants against the centre commanded by ‘All Quli Khan. In spite of their valiant efforts, the Mughuls under ‘All Quli Khan could not stand the onset of Himu. He was on the point of gaining victory when an arrow struck him in the eye and pierced his brain and he fell unconscious in the saddle. This turned the tide of the battle- Himu’s army lost its morale and dispersed. Two thousand were killed during retreat and all of Himu’s elephants fell into the hands of the Mughuls who obtained a complete and decisive victory. The battle sealed the fate of the Afghans and completed the work of Machiwara and Sirhind. The story of the Mughul empire now begins

Himu was captured by Shah Quli Khan Mahram who brought him to the presence of Akbar at a short distance from the field of action. Bairam Khan begged him to slay Himu with his own hand in order to gain the reward of jihad (crusade against infidels) and the title of ghazi (hero combating infidels). Akbar accordingly struck Himu with his sword and Bairam Khan followed him. The story of Akbar’s magnanimity and refusal to kill a fallen foe seems to be a later courtly invention. 41 The humane and liberal emperor of Hindusthan who preached sulh-i-kull (universal toleration) was not born but made.

After the victory of Panipat Akbar made his triumphant entry into Delhi. Bairam Khan appointed his servant Pir Muhammad Sherwanii to suppress

Haji Khan, an officer of Sher Shah, who was acting independently in Alwar and to capture the family and property of Himu which were there. Haji Khan fled before the arrival of the Mughul army and Himu’s wife also escaped, but Pir Muhammad captured his vast wealth and his octogenarian father whom he put to death on his refusal to accept Islam.

Meanwhile Sikandar Sur had defeated Khizr Khvaja Khan at Chamiari (in Amritsar district), driven him back to Lahore and begun to collect taxes with Kalanaur as his headquarters- Bairam Khan promptly sent Iskandar Khan, the Uzbeg, now styled Khan ‘Alam, to assist Khizr Khvaja Khan and on 7 December, 1556, he and Akbar left Delhi to deal with the enemy. They proceeded on

to Dahmlrl, but Sikandar retreated to the hill country of the Siwaliks and took refuge in the strong fortress of Mankot 5 which Islam Shah had built at enormous cost as a bulwark against Gakkhar aggression. Bairam Khan besieged the fort but its natural advantages and store of provisions enabled Sikandar to resist the Mughuls for about six months. But Sikandar relied more on the Afghans in other parts of the country who, he expected, would create diversion. The defeat and death of ‘Adil in the battle near Chunar with Khizr Khan Sur of Bengal and the suppression of Rukn Khan LohanI and Jalal Khan Sur by ‘All Quit Khan, Khan Zaman, unnerved Sikandar who surrendered the fort on 25 July, 1557, and left for Bihar and then for Bengal where he died two years later.

Akbar marched to Lahore where he remained for four months. Bahadur Khan put down the Baluch disturbances in Multan and Bairam executed Takht Mai, raja of Mau (Pathankot), for his alliance with Sikandar. In December Akbar left for Delhi and on the way at Jullundur, Bairam Khan, then aged more than fifty, married his nineteen year old cousin Salima Begam. 6 After crossing the Sutlej, Akbar learnt of the growing power of HajI Khan who had fled from Alwar to Ajmer, established his authority there and was marching on Hissar. Bairam Khan accordingly sent to Hissar reinforcement under Pir Muhammad Khan, whereupon HajI Khan escaped to Gujarat and the Mughuls took possession of AjmerAkbar returned to Delhi on 14 April, 1558.

Early in 1557 Qiya Khan Gung had been sent to capture the famous fort of Gwalior, ‘the pearl in the necklace of the castles of Hind’, which was held by Bahbal Khan, an officer of ‘Adil Shah. Qiya Khan laid siege to the fort but the garrison did not surrender even after a continued siege for months. In November, 1558, Bairam Khan sent from Agra reinforcement under Habib ‘All Khan which alarmed Bahbal Khan who surrendered the fort in January next year. The same year Khan Zaman annexed Jaunpur after an easy victory over Ibrahim Sur. After an effort of one year Habib ‘All Khan besieged the fort of Ranthambhor which Islam Shah’s officer Jajhar Khan had just sold to Rai Surjan, a servant of Rana Uday Singh of Chitor, but the siege had to be raised on account of the downfall of Bairam Khan. Similarly a grand expedition under Bahadur Khan, which Bairam sent for the conquest of Malwa and proceeded up to Siphi in Gwalior State, was recalled early in 1560.

For four years (1556-1559) Bairam Khan had bravely piloted the ship of the Mughul State against enormous odds. But the reverse of the medal offers a less pleasing record. The scandalous conduct and misdeeds of ‘All Quit Khan, who had enticed a page of Humayun and disregarded the order of Akbar, required drastic, punishment. But Bairam Khan passed over his guilt while he put to death Musiahib Beg for lesser fault and approved of the execution of Khvaja Jalal-ud-din Bujuq by Mun‘im Khan for personal and trifling cause.

Pir Muhammad Khan had gradually raised himself by loyal services to the position of Bairam Khan’s right-hand man. He was also appointed tutor to the prince and won royal favour and confidence, so much so that he became almost as powerful as Bairam Khan himself. Bairam would brook no rival and availed of the earliest opportunity for dismissing the upstart. One day he even insulted his patron by refusing admission when he made a courtesy visit to his house during his illness- Pir Muhammad Khan was at first sent in confinement to Bayana and then allowed to go on pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Gujarat. Though Bairam Khan was amply justified in discharging this ungrateful servant, Akbar was displeased.

After Pir Muhammad’s dismissal Bairam Khan appointed Shaikh Gadal, a Shiah of no eminence to the important position of Sadr-us-Sudur. This appointment raised a storm of indignation among the orthodox Muslims who, to quote Badauni, 'flew into a rage at the advancement, honour and unseasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadal.' The unbecoming treatment which Bairam Khian, under Shaikh Gadai's influence, meted to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus when he visited Agra in April, 1559, highly displeased Akbar who revered the Shaikh (Muhammad Ghaus) and afterwards became his disciple- 7

The chronicles deal at great length with the circumstances that led to Bairam Khan's downfall. In spite of their differences in minor details they reveal one fact: the root cause of the regent's fall was the desire of the prince to be the king in fact as in name. As Akbar advanced in years to manhood he found that he was a mere puppet in the hands of his guardian who did not consult him in the gravest matters of public importance and did not allow him the least power in financial affairs, so much so that his personal expenses were sanctioned by Bairam with stringency. Akbar wanted to set himself free and this could be done only by the dismissal of his all-powerful guardian, for Bairam would not have tolerated subordination to one whose obedience he had so long enjoyed. This desire of the young emperor to drop the pilot was further strengthened by a series of incidents which highly displeased him and completely alienated him from his valued guardian

From the very beginning the precocious ward had begun to differ with his powerful guardian. As early as May, 1557, Bairam Khan suspected that Akbar had begun to dislike him; he misinterpreted the accidental running of two royal elephants near his tent as an attempt on his life and held Atga Khan responsible for the displeasure with which he was occasionally treated by his young sovereign. The execution of Tardi Beg Khan and Musahib Beg, the dismissal of Fir Muhammad Khan, the cold treatment of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and the two elephant incidents (1559-60) when Bairam put to death two drivers of the royal elephants—on the first occasion, because a drunken royal elephant had wounded one of Bairam's elephants, and, on the second, another royal elephant had rushed towards the boat of the minister on the Yamuna where he had been airing—all these added to the displeasure and vexation of the growing ward and made him all the more conscious of his real position.

Bairam Khan was harsh in temper, overbearing in manner, arbitrary, dictatorial in method, highly ambitious and jealous of power, and would brook no rival. His administration, though efficient, was marked by high-handedness and nepotism. A Shiah, who had raised the Shiah Shaikh Gadai to the highest position in the State, he was disliked by the majority of the Muslims in Hindusthan who were Sunnis, while he had incurred the jealous hostility of not a few among the nobles by his exalted position, though he obtained it by his superior merit.

The leaders of the opposition against the regent, however, formed a small faction whose personnel was drawn from the members of the harem and their relations or more properly Akbar's foster-relations known as Atga-Khail : Maham Anaga, the chief nurse of the emperor who had risked her life when the prince was thrown open to the gun shots of Mirza Kamran at Kabul, 7a her son Adham Khan, her relations Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, governor of Delhi, and Mirza Sharaf-ud-dln Husain, and Jijli Anaga who had suckled the prince, her husband Shams-ud-din Atga Khan with his brothers and sons as well as Hamida Begam, the queen-mother. They were mainly inspired by jealousy and self-interest and availed of the growing discontent against the regent and hoped to monopolize power should they be able to overthrow him.

The dismissal of so powerful a man like Bairam Khan by the young emperor was not an easy task. A secret plot was made by

Akbar and the opposition party so that Bairam Khan might be taken by surprise and would have no time to prepare for opposition. The chronicles differ as to the comparative share of Akbar and the Maham Anaga junto in the plot for the dismissal of the great minister. It seems that the decision for dismissal was mainly Akbar's own and he himself took the initiative and in this action, which required great firmness and much address, he had to take the help of, and was absolutely helped by, the harem party which was hostile to the minister. The dismissal of Bairam Khan was achieved by a coup, decided on and to a great extent planned by Akbar, prepared by the harem cabal and worked by all who were hostile to the Khan Khanan.

On 19 March, 1560, Akbar and the collaborators left Agra on the pretext of hunting, taking with them Abu-'l-Qasim, son of Mirza Kamran, whom Bairam might use as a pretender. As his mother was lying sick at Delhi, Akbar made this his motive to proceed to that city. At Delhi the enemies of Bairam did their utmost to hasten his dismissal. Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan made arrangements for the defence of the city, and officers from all directions were called to join the emperor. Atga Khan was the earliest to arrive and others followed.

On receiving Akbar's message from Delhi, 7b Bairam Khan was surprised and immediately sent envoys to the emperor begging his pardon and assuring him of loyal service in future. But Akbar imprisoned his envoys and then refused him permission to interview. The die was now cast. The followers of Bairam advised him to march on Delhi and seize the emperor's person but the great minister refused to disgrace his old age by rebellion after passing a lifetime in loyal service. 8 Early in April he left Agra announcing that he was going on pilgrimage to Mecca. The harem party, however, got alarmed and induced Akbar to march against Bairam and send Mir 'Abdul-Latif with a message that, as he had taken the reins of government in his own hands, Bairam should proceed to Mecca and that due provision would be made for his expenses there. On the way Pir Muhammad Khan joined the emperor from Gujarat and he was sent with a large force towards Nagaur To pack Bairam as quickly as possible to Mecca.' From Nagaur which he had reached by way of Alwar, Bairam went to Bikaner to avoid Raja Maldev of Marwar who was hostile to him; but the studied insult which his enemies had meted to him by appointing his dismissed servant gave him provocation. Against the explicit warning of Akbar he turned his direction towards the Punjab and 'crossed the Rubicon'. 9

Bairam placed his family at Tabarhinda (modern Bhatinda), and proceeded towards Jullundur via Dipalpur and Tihara, 27 miles west of Ludhiana. Akbar now recalled Fir Muhammad Khan and appointed Atga Khan with a large force to deal with the rebel minister. Atga Khan defeated Bairam in a battle at Gunachaur in Jullundur district (August, 1560) and forced him to flee to the fortress of Tilwara in the Siwalik hills. Meanwhile Akbar in person had marched to Sirhind. Here Mun‘im Khan joined him from Kabul and was appointed to the office of vakil with the title of Khan Khanan which Bairam had so long held. The royal troops besieged the fortress of Tilwara, but after a short resistance Bairam offered to surrender on condition that he would be assured of safe conduct to the emperor. In October, 1560, at Hajipur (in Hoshiarpur district) he presented himself before Akbar who received him kindly and offered him the alternatives of service as his personal companion or as a jdgirdar of Kalpi and Chanderi and pilgrimage. Declining to serve where he had ruled, the great minister chose the second and left for Gujarat where at Patan he was assassinated on 31 January, 1561, by some Afghans led by one Mubarak Khan whose father had been killed at the battle of Machiwara in which Bairam was in command. There is no positive evidence in support of the suggestion of Count Von Noer that the enemies of Bairam who had worked for his downfall might have had a hand in it. Bairam’s family became stranded and it was not before September, some eight months after the tragic incident, that they reached the court. Bairam’s infant son Mirza ‘Abdur-Rahlm grew up in royal favour and gradually rose high in position till he became the Khan Khanan in 1584.

The services of Bairam to the Mughul dynasty were great; his gifts and ability, undisputed. He was the real author of the Mughul restoration and without him Akbar could hardly have retained his throne. His exit from the stage of Mughul history marks the end of an epoch, the age of military conquest, the age of Babur. A new era with a new orientation commences in Indo-Islamic history, the age of Akbar.

Some modern historians regard the dismissal of Bairam Khan as premature and state that for the next four years Akbar remained under a ‘petticoat government of the worst kind.’ They exaggerate the influence of Maham Anaga both in bringing about Bairam’s downfall as well as during the period immediately following. True, the harem party and Maham Anaga in particular secured important positions as the natural reward of the great services they had recently rendered, but it is inaccurate to say that Akbar became a victim of the harem cabal. It would be more accurate to say that the period immediately following the downfall of Bairam Khan was marked by an attempt made by the harem party to dominate Akbar who, however, revealed his own personality and was able to assert himself without any serious difficulty and within a short time. Akbar used Maham Anaga for his own purpose and he overthrew her when she proved hostile to his policy and interests. 10 The buffet which struck down the audacious Adham Khan did not make Akbar a man, as Count Von Noer states; it was the man who struck the buffet.

Akbar now undertook the conquest of Malwa which had been interrupted by the events leading to Bair am Khan’s downfall. The choice of commanders was unfortunate and proves the unmistakable influence of Maham Anaga and the harem party. The Mughul army led by Adham Khan, his foster-mother’s son, and Pir Muhammad Khan invaded Malwa and marched unopposed to Sarangpur where at last the musician-king Baz Bahadur, a voluptuary par excellence , gave battle but, deserted by his Afghan officers who were discontented, was easily defeated by the superior army of Akbar and put to flight (29 March, 1561). All his treasures, elephants and his harem fell into the hands of the victors but his beloved, the famous Rupamati, the romantic theme of artists and poets, took poison to evade the clutches of ‘her conqueror rude.’ The two commanders, who, according to Badauni, considered human beings as 'leeks, cucumbers and radishes’, perpetrated acts of barbaric cruelty, massacring the prisoners and putting to death even their wives and children—not even sparing Sayyids and holy men with copies of the Qur’an in their hands, as Badauni expresses with righteous indignation. Adham Khan, puffed up with pride at his easy success, behaved as if he were independent. He sent to the emperor a report of his victory and only a few elephants, himself appropriating the rest of the spoils. Akbar resented this insolence and personally marched to Sarangpur to punish the delinquent who, being taken by surprise, surrendered to the emperor. Adham Khan was excused through the intercession of Maham Anaga who did not hesitate to kill two innocent girls of Bahadur’s harem as they were witnesses to her son’s scandalous conduct. Though not immediately, Adham Khan was recalled from Malwa and

Akbar made over the command to Pir Muhammad who reduced Bijagarh with general massacre and then invaded Khandesh where Baz Bahadur had taken refuge. He captured the fort of Aslrgarh and proceeded as far as Burhanpur, massacring or enslaving the people and destroying towns and villages on the way, but was defeated by a coalition of three powers: Mubarak Khan of Khandesh, Baz Bahadur and Tufal Khan, the de facto ruler of Berar. As he was retreating towards Malwa he was drowned while crossing the Narmada, the just retribution for the sighs of the orphans, the weak and the captives, as BadaunI affirms. The confederate army pursued the Mughuls and drove them out of Malwa, and Bahadur recovered his kingdom. In 1562 a second army sent by Akbar under ‘Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg, invaded Malwa and compelled Baz Bahadur to flee to Chitor. ‘Abdullah Khan took Mandu and restored Mughul authority in Malwa. Baz Bahadur remained a fugitive at various courts until November, 1570, when he surrendered to Akbar at Nagaur and joined his service.

Early in 1561 Khan Zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan suppressed a formidable uprising of the Afghans under Sher Khan, son of ‘Adil Shah, who marched from Chunar with a big army but suffered total defeat near Jaunpur. Khan Zaman behaved like Adham Khan and appropriated the spoils. Akbar would not tolerate such a gross infringement of his prerogative and marched from Agra towards Jaunpur (July, 1561). Alarmed at this the brothers paid homage to Akbar at Kara and returned him all the spoils including the elephants. Akbar pardoned them and re-instated them in their position. The emperor then sent Asaf Khan to the important fortress of Chunar which the Afghans surrendered without any resistance.

In November, 1561, Atga Khan was appointed vakil or the prime minister. This appointment displeased Maham Anaga and Mun‘im Khan who had been holding the position since the discharge of Bair am Khan. The harem party was now broken into two groups: the Maham Anaga group and the party of Atga Khan.

In the middle of January, 1562, Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the famous saint of Ajmer, Khvaja Mu‘!n-ud-d!!n Chishti. On the way Raja Bihar! Mai of Amber paid homage to the emperor and offered him the hand of his daughter. Akbar agreed and during his return journey the marriage was celebrated at Sambhar. Man Singh, the nephew and adopted son of Raja Bhagwan Das, the heir of Raja Bihar! Mai was taken into the royal service. The princess afterwards became the mother of Emperor Jahangir. This pilgrimage to Ajmer, which henceforward Akbar made annually until 1579, is a landmark not only in Akbar's but also in Indo-Muslim history. The Rajput alliance was not merely the stroke of a diplomat to win the support of militant Hinduism; it was the beginning of a new orientation of State-policy, the first expression of that doctrine of sulh-i-kull (universal toleration) which his great Persian tutor Mir 'Abdul-Latif Qazvlnl had infused into Akbar. He was not to be the head of a community but all people. No Muslim ruler before, not even Sher Shah, with all his benevolence, held this exalted conception of State and kingship so definitely and vividly.

On his way from Ajmer, Akbar sent Mlrza Sharaf-ud-din Husain to take the fort of Merta, then held by Jai Mai for Rana Uday Singh of Mewar. The fort surrendered to the Mughuls after a siege of several months and a stubborn fight offered by Jai Mai's commander Dev Das.

The appointment of Atga Khan as vakil had provoked the displeasure of the Maham Anaga group and the malcontents found in the unscrupulous Adham Khan, freshly embittered by his recall from Malwa, a pliable instrument for the fulfilment of their desires. On 16 May, 1562, the hot-headed youth, accompanied by a few ruffians, burst in upon Shams-ud-dm as he sat in the hall of audience and murdered him. Adham Khan then rushed to the inner apartment where he was caught by Akbar, just roused from sleep by the tumult, who only replied to the murderer's explanation to palliate his crime by striking him down with a heavy blow of his fist. Adham was twice thrown from the terrace by royal order and put to death. Akbar himself broke this news to Maham Anaga who made the simple but dignified reply that he did well, and forty days later followed her son to the grave. In grateful remembrance of his foster!-mother who had once risked her life for his sake on the battlement of Kabul and sheltered him from the cradle to the throne, Akbar raised a noble mausoleum at Delhi where mother and son lie interred.

Akbar meted out magnanimous treatment to the conspirators. They were pardoned and both Shihab-ud-dm Ahmad and Munfim Khan, the ringleaders, were reinstated in their position. The AtgaKhail or the Atga group who thirsted for vengeance were removed from court by employment in an expedition against the Gakkhars. As a result of this expedition Akbar’s protege Kamal Khan was given back the Gakkhar country lying between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus which had been seized by his uncle Sultan Adam.

The Adham Khan affair is not the beginning of Akbar’s assertion of his own individuality; it is the logical end of a policy which he had been following since 1557 when the great Bairam had begun to feel the weight of his personality. In 1560 he overthrew his all-powerful guardian who had maintained his throne; in 1562 he overthrew the Maham Anaga group who had assisted him to drop his pilot but abused the power he had bestowed on them. Two years later he revealed the same strength of character when he did not hesitate to order death sentence on his maternal uncle Khvaja Mu‘azzam for having murdered his wife. The Rajput alliance and Akbar’s prohibition in 1562 of the practice of enslaving prisoners of war were expressions of that marked individuality of the young emperor. In 1563 Akbar abolished the tax on Hindu pilgrims to holy places and early next year he took the revolutionary step of abolishing the j izya or poll-tax on non-Muslims. Tt was an assertion of Akbar’s will and conscience against a tradition of all the Muslim conquerors of India, sanctioned by centuries of custom, against all his advisers’ (Binyon).

Already Akbar had begun to inquire about the view of his subjects by nocturnal visits among them in disguise and on one occasion in 1561 he was recognized. Next year he appointed a capable officer' of Islam Shah Sur, on whom was now conferred the title of Ttimad Khan, to remove the abuses that had crept into the administration of the reserved (khalisa) lands, and this was followed in 1564 by the appointment of Muzaffar ‘All Turbatl, who had served under Bairam Khan and gained experience in the local revenue administration of a pargana, as the Diwan or the finance minister of the empire. He had also curtailed the authority of the Sadr-us-

Sudur when he appointed Muhammad Salih of Herat to that position (1562). He was replaced in 1565 by Shaikh ‘Abdun-NabI who, however, disappointed Akbar’s hope for reformation in the administration by lavish abuse of his power. He was dismissed in 1578 when the office was shorn of its ‘ancient dignity’ as Akbar substantially curtailed the powers of the Sadr. Ultimately in 1582 he effected further curtailment of the power and authority of the Sadr-us-Sudur by appointing six provincial Sadrs.

II. EARLY CONQUESTS

Akbar now seriously undertook the work of conquest. He was a self-confessed annexationist; in his ‘Happy Sayings’ his ideology is clearly expressed: ‘A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his enemies rise in arms against him’. Without scruple and even without provocation he invaded kingdom after kingdom and annexed them to his expanding empire. The people whom he conquered were reconciled to his rule because they enjoyed the blessings of peace which Akbar extended to them. The policy of expansion had been initiated by his valued guardian under whom Ajmer, Gwalior and Jaunpur had been annexed and it was followed by Akbar when he sent the expedition for the conquest of Malwa

(1562). But from 1564 onwards when he began his attack on Gondwana, Akbar systematically pursued a policy of expansion which did not end until the fall of Aslrgarh in 1601. In fairness to Akbar it has to be conceded that, though most of his wars were motivated by earth-hunger, yet all of them cannot be dismissed as purely annexationist in nature. Some of them were what Mommsen calls defensive-offensive: as for example, his conquest of Bengal and his wars in the North-West Frontier; and at least one of his conquests can be justified: the conquest of Gujarat which he undertook in response to an invitation from that quarter.

Asaf Khan, the governor of Kara, was entrusted with the task of subduing the kingdom of Gondwana or Garha-Katanga now included in Madhya Pradesh, bounded, according to Abu-’l-Fazl, on the east by Ratanpur, a dependency of Jharkhand or Chota Nagpur, and on the west by Malwa, while Panna (the Bhath kingdom) lay north of it, and the Deccan, south. It was then ruled by Rani Durgavati, a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, as regent for her son Bir Narayan. She was a capable and benevolent ruler, a good shot and a courageous leader; she possessed an army of 20,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants and had defeated in battle Baz Bahadur and the Miyana Afghans. The advance of the Mughul army alarmed Durgavati's soldiers, many of whom deserted. The rani, however, made a gallant stand at Narhi to the east of Garha 11 against the Mughuls in spite of their overwhelming superiority in number. She was easily overpowered, received two wounds from arrows and stabbed herself to death to avoid disgrace. Two months later, Asaf Khan marched on the capital Chauragarh 12 and defeated Bir Narlayan who, though wounded in the battle of Narhi, offered battle and was slain. Two women who escaped death at jauhar —one of them being Rani Durgavati's sister, Kamalavati— were sent to Akbar's harem. Asaf Khan obtained rich spoils in gold, coined and uncoined, and in figures of men and animals, jewels, pearls as well as 1,000 elephants and he followed the evil example of Adham Khan in appropriating the major portion.

Towards the end of 1564, Akbar laid the foundation of a town which he named Nagarchain (the city of repose) on the site of the village of Kakrali, seven miles to the south of Agra. 13 It became his favourite resort where he received even ambassadors from abroad, but was deserted some years later when Fathpur Sikri became the capital of the empire. About this time Akbar began also the restoration of Agra by building a new fort of stone to replace the old crumbling brick fort. We are told by Abu-'l-Fazl that Akbar erected at Agra 'more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the

beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujarat, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models'. Most of them were demolished by his grandson when he reconstructed the fort.

Akbar's work of conquest was now seriously interrupted by a formidable rebellion of the Uzbegs. The Uzbegs in Akbar's service formed a party; in a sense they were the hereditary enemies of the Timurids as it was they who had driven Babur from Transoxiana. 14 They had joined the Indian expeditions of the Timurids and entered their service but their loyalty to the dynasty was lukewarm and uncertain. Khan Zaman and his relations were proud of their lineage from the royal line of Shaiban. 15 They resented Akbar's preference to Persians who were appointed to high positions at court while they were placed far away in the eastern provinces requiring constant exertion. As bigoted Sunnis they were hostile to the Persians who were mostly Shiahs but it would not be quite proper to describe the Uzbeg rebellion as a protest of Sunni orthodoxy against Akbar’s liberal policy towards the Shiahs and the Hindus, as a modern author has suggested. 16 It was the protest of a lawless aristocracy, accustomed to the laxity of Humayun’s days, against centralised government which Akbar was building, leavened by the racial factor and to a certain extent by personal ambition. The Uzbeg officers comported themselves like veritable satraps aspiring to independence. At one stage the rebels were in communication with Akbar’s half-brother MIrza Hakim, but there is no evidence of their complicity with ‘Abdullah Khan, the famous Uzbeg chief of Bukhara. The prominent Uzbeg officers were ‘All Qull Khan, Khan Zaman who was governor of Jaunpur and their leader, his brother Bahadur Khan, their uncle Ibrahim Khlan who held Surhurpur, north of Jaunpur, Iskandar Khan whose fief was Awadh and ‘Abdullah Khan who had succeeded Plr Muhammad Khan in the government of Malwa.

Already in 1561 Khan Zaman had shown the complexion of his allegiance and again in 1564 after his surprising victory over the Afghans in full force under Fath Khan, who had invaded and occupied Bihar, he dismissed Akbar’s messengers who demanded assurance of his allegiance with an evasive reply. In Malwa ‘Abdullah Khan showed symptoms of revolt. In July, 1564, Akbar marched through Narwar to Mandu, overtook the fleeing rebels near the city and drove him into Gujarat. He sent an envoy to Chingiz Khan, ruler of Southern Gujarat, requesting extradition of his fugitive officer or at least his expulsion. Chingiz Khan sent a polite reply asking pardon for the refugee and promising his expulsion if he were not forgiven. At Mandu Akbar received in marriage the daughter of Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh. He appointed Qara Bahadur Khan, a cousin of Haidar Mirza, the historian, to the government of Malwa and returned to Agra on 9 October.

The evasive reply of Khan Zaman and the misconduct of ‘Abdullah Khan bred suspicion in Akbar’s mind about the Uzbegs in general. Early in 1565 Akbar sent Ashraf Khan to bring Iskandar Khan to court but Iskandar proceeded to Jaunpur, taking with him Ibrahim Khan from Surhurpur, and there under the leadership of Khan Zaman the Uzbegs decided on a systematic campaign against the emperor. Iskandar and Ibrahim marched on Kanauj and defeated the Mughul troops at Nimkhar in Sitapur district. Khan Zaman and Bahadur besieged Majnun Khan Qaqshal at Mlanikpur who, though reinforced by Asaf Khan from Chauragarh, was unable to maintain himself against the enemy. Akbar immediately sent Mun‘im Khan to his aid and on 24 May himself set out from Agra with a large force. He joined Mun‘im Khan at Kanauj and made a rapid march on Lakhnau and forced Iskandar to evacuate it. Alarmed at this, Khan Zaman raised the siege of Manikpur and fled eastwards. Ultimately the Uzbegs took their stand near Hajipur whence they negotiated with the Afghans of Rohtas and Sulaiman Kararam, sultan of Bengal, for help. Akbar marched to Jaunpur and replied by sending an emissary to Mukunda Dev, raja of CMssa, asking him to attack Sulaiman if the sultan would help the rebels, to which he agreed. But Akbar’s situation became complicated by the sudden defection of Asaf Khan on 16 September as he was called to account for the spoils of Gondwana. Khan Zaman now sent Iskandar and Bahadur into the territory north of the Gogra to divide the royal troops. Akbar despatched Mir Mu‘izz-ul-Mulk to Khairabad in Sitapur* district to arrest their aggression, while he himself proceeded to Allahabad. Finding Akbar equal to the situation, Khan Zaman sent a messenger to Mun‘im Khan asking pardon and a reconciliation was patched up on condition that Khan Zaman should send his mother and uncle to court and he should not cross the Gogra as long as the imperial army would remain in that neighbourhood. Meanwhile in spite of these negotiations Mir Muhzz-ul-Mulk and Raja Todar Mai who had joined him, forced on Bahadur and Iskandar a battle in Khairabad and suffered an ignominious defeat. Akbar, however, extended general amnesty to the Uzbegs and recalled as well as reproved his officers.

On 24 January, 1566, Akbar left Jaunpur for Banaras, inspecting on the way the important stronghold of Chunar. No sooner had Akbar set out than ‘All Quli Khan violated the conditions of

peace, crossed the Gogra, marched to Muhammadabad and sent a force to take Ghazipur and Jaunpur. Akbar turned back to chastise the faithless Uzbeg who, however, fled to the hills. But Bahadur had advanced on

Jaunpur, captured Ashraf Khan and released his mother and then, plundering Banaras, retreated across the Ganga (Ganges). Akbar hastened to Jaunpur and declared it his headquarters, determined to quell the rebellion root and branch. Khan Zaman was alarmed and again opened negotiation for submission and pardon. Akbar, weary of the long campaign, forgave the rebels and reinstated them in their positions. On 3 March, 1566, he left for Agra.

The storm apparently subsided but it broke again early next year when the Uzbegs, who were in secret communication with the ruler of Kabul, encouraged him to invade India and Khan Zaman read the khutba in his name at Jaunpur. In a family conclave held at Surhurpur the Uzbeg leaders decided on a renewed campaign. Khan Zaman, taking advantage of Akbar's absence in the Punjab where he had marched in November, 1566, to ward off Mirza Hakim's invasion, invaded Kanauj and besieged the fort of Shergarh, near Kanauj, where the Mughul officer Mirza Yusuf Khan had taken refuge. Bahadur Khan attacked Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan at Manikpur while Iskandar and Ibrahim marched on Awadh. On 23 March, 1567, Akbar left Lahore for Agra and on 6 May marched from Agra on Shergarh. Khan Zaman escaped to Manikpur. Akbar despatched a force under Raja Todar Mai and Muzaffar Khan against Iskandar Khan in Awadh, while he himself marched towards Manikpur to deal with the main body of rebels. At Rae Bareli he learnt that Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khian had crossed the Ganga (Ganges) with a view to proceeding to KalpL 17 On 7 June he marched on from that town, disregarding the murmuring reluctance of his troops weary of incessant campaigns, and on arrival at Manikpur ferry he despatched the main body of his troops under Raja Bhagwan Das and Khvaja Jahan to Kara while he, with some 1500 men, displayed extraordinary courage in crossing the swollen river. Meanwhile the Uzbegs had crossed the Ganga (Ganges) and on their way to Kara encamped in the neighbourhood. On 9 June at dawn Akbar surprised the Uzbegs who could not suspect his arrival and had spent the whole night in a dissolute carousal. They marched off without offering battle, but Majnun Khian and Asaf Khian were despatched in advance to intercept them. In the battle that followed, the Uzbegs resisted for some time but were ultimately defeated. 18 Khan Zaman was slain and Bahadur Khan was taken captive. Bahadur was executed and some ringleaders were trampled to death and a reward of one gold mohur

was paid for every Uzbeg’s head. Akbar then marched to Allahabad and on to Banaras which was sacked because it closed its gates against him. From Banaras he marched to Jaunpur and conferred the assignments of Khan Zaman and other Uzbeg chiefs on Mun‘im Khan. Meanwhile Todar Mai and Muhammad Quli Khan Barlas had besieged Iskandar in Awadh and driven him to the Afghans at Gorakhpur. 19 The great Uzbeg rebellion, the gravest menace in the early years of Akbar’s reign, came to an end. On 18 July, 1567, Akbar returned to Agra.

Hardly had the Uzbeg menace been surmounted when Akbar had to face another rebellion, though less formidable, organized by the Mirzas. They were Tlmurid princes, descended from ‘Umar Shaikh Mlrza, the second son of Timur while Akbar was descended from the third son Mlran Shah. The doyen of these Mirzas, Muhammad Sultan Mlrza who was a grandson (daughter’s son) of Sultan Husain Mlrza, the grand monarch of Khurasan, joined Babur’s service. In the reign of Humayun he with his sons Ulugh Mlrza and Shah Mlrza gave the emperor not a little trouble. 20 Both these sons died before Akbar’s accession, so that the family now consisted of Muhammad Sultan Mlrza and his other sons, Ibrahim Husain Mlrza, Muhammad Husain Mlrza, Mas‘ud Husain Mlrza and ‘Aqil Husain Mlrza as well as two grandsons Ulugh Mlrza and Shah Mlrza, sons of the deceased Ulugh Mlrza. Rebellion against the Mughul emperor was their political creed; in Akbar’s reign they shifted the theatres of their activities from Sambhal and the neighbourhood to Malwa and then to Gujarat. They were given assignments in the districts of Sambhal and A‘zampur. During the invasion of Mlrza Hakim, when Akbar, already exhausted with the task of suppressing the Uzbeg revolt, was away in the Punjab, the Mirzas, true to their tradition, raised the standard of revolt, and marched plundering through the country at the head of a hastily collected swarm of disaffected persons and partisans and even threatened Delhi whose gates were closed by Tatar Khan. Mun‘im Khan marched from Agra, captured Muhammad Sultan Mlrza whom he imprisoned at Bayana and compelled the other Mirzas to retire to Malwa. There their designs were favoured by independent Rajput chiefs and they were able to take some important towns and districts including Ujjain. After the final suppression of the Uzbeg revolt, Akbar left Agra on 31 August, 1567, for Dholpur and Gwalior and on reaching Gagraun on the Malwa frontier sent Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan to deal with the troublesome Mirzas. Shihab-ud-din marched on Ujjain and the Mirzas fled to Mandu and from there they took refuge with Chingiz Khan who was then supreme in Gujarat.

In September, 1567, Akbar undertook one of the most famous military operations of his life, the siege and capture of Chitor. To the ruler of Northern India the importance of Rajasthan was great: through it lay the route to Gujarat, the Narmada valley and the Deccan and without the possession of its strong fortresses he could not feel himself secure. The key to Rajasthan was Mewar whose capital Chitor was the £ sanctuary of Rajput freedom'. Akbar had come into contact with the Rajputs as allies; he was now to meet the Rajputs in arms. The solemn vow of the ranas of Mewar, that they would not sully their blood by matrimonial alliance with any Muslim ruler nor diminish the honour of the house of Bappia Rawal by acknowledging his sovereignty, wounded the imperial pride of Akbar* who found in the hospitality the riana had extended to Baz Bahadur and the assistance he had rendered to the rebellious Mi'rzas in Mjalwa his casus belli. The Rajput annals refer to an unsuccessful attempt before that of 1567 when Chitor was saved by 'the masculine courage' of its queen, but Muslim chronicles are absolutely silent on it.

Legend and history are equally eloquent in praising the grandeur and strength of the historic fortress of Chitor, the handiwork of both art and nature, which stands on a long narrow hill, lying almost exactly north and south and about 500 feet above the surrounding plain. Its length is about three miles and a quarter and its greatest breadth, half a mile. 203 In the time of Akbar the city was on the hill within the fort. On 23 October, 1567, Akbar pitched his camp before Chitor. 21 On the approach of the Mughul army rana Uday Singh, the unworthy son of a worthy father who had fought gloriously against the emperor's grandfather, abandoned the capital and took refuge in the defiles of the Aravalll hills. But this did not facilitate the capture of the fortress in which there was a strong garrison commanded by Jai Mai of Bednor who had bravely resisted Sharaf-ud-dln Husain in Merta. A month elapsed before the fort was completely invested and the three batteries constructed. Akbar made many unsuccessful attempts to take it by direct assault which caused heavy loss of 200 men a day and he decided to proceed by means of mines and sabdts (covered ways) which were completed at enormous cost, more than a hundred men being killed daily. On 17 December two mines were fired and, as one exploded, the Mughuls rushed into the breach when suddenly the second exploded and killed 200 of them, half of them being officers, while the garrison, which lost only 40, easily repaired the breach. Akbar realized that success required greater caution, planning and perseverance and the siege was protracted. On the night

of 22-23 February, 1568, a general attack was made on the fort from all sides and several breaches were made. In the early hours of 23 February, Akbar observed at the breach a man of commanding presence, armed in mail, directing the restoration and defence of the works. He immediately fired at him with his favourite gun sangrdm and the Rajput fell shot through the forehead. Not until the next morning did Akbar come to know that he had brought down the 'lion of Chitor'. The Rajputs immediately withdrew from the ramparts and the fire that broke out in several places within the fort during the night was rightly explained by Raja Bhagwan Das as the jauhar, 'the last awful sacrifice which Rajput despair offers to honour and the gods.'

The mantle of Jai Mai now fell on the young and gallant Patta of Kailwa, but with his fall Chitor also fell. Early in the mor'ning Akbar entered the fortress in triumph and ordered a general massacre 'which ceased only for lack of victims' in the afternoon, for each bazaar, each street and each house was a fortress and centre of resistance. Thirty thousand were slain; among them was the gallant Patta who fell after he had displayed 'prodigies of valour.' One thousand musketeers from Kalpi managed to escape, to the utter indignation of Akbar, by a stratagem, passing themselves off as Akbar's troops. To expiate 'the sin of the slaughter of Chitor' Akbar honoured the memory of his vanquished adversaries by erecting the statues of Jai Mai and Patta mounted on elephants which he placed at the gate of Agra fort.

Akbar 1 made over the government of Mewiar to Asaf Khan, left Chitor on 28 February and after a pilgrimage to Ajmer returned to Agra on 13 April. An expedition sent to besiege the fortress of Ranthambhor was recalled in order to deal with the Mirzas who, forced to leave Gujarat on account of disagreement with Chingiz Khan, invaded Malwa and besieged Ujjain. The advance of the Mughul troops under Ashraf Khan forced the Mirzas to retreat to Mandu and they were pursued across the Narmada, They then escaped again to Gujarat where the assassination of Chingiz Khan and the consequent confusion in the country opened to them fresh prospects for their ambitions.

Akbar now took important steps to improve the administration (September, 1568). The Atga-KhaU ('foster-father cohort') held extensive fiefs in the Punjab and their leader Khian Kalan was governor of the province. Akbar broke up the confederacy by dispersing them. The government of the Punjab was made over to Husain Qul'i Khian who was transferred from Nagaur. Khan Kalan was sent to Sambhal, his younger brother Qutb-ud-dln Muhammad Khan to Malwa, and Kanauj was assigned to another brother Sharif Khan. Mirza 'Aziz Kuka, the son of Khjan Kalan, was allowed to retain his assignment of Dipalpur in the Punjab. These measures he adopted with a view to preventing the gathering of relations and prolonged service of officers at the same place. Shihab-ud-dm Ahmad Khan was called from Malwa and placed in charge of the reserved lands as Muzaffar Khan, the revenue minister, was overworked. Shihab-ud-dm abolished the annual assessment of land revenue, which was expensive and led to corruption, and established group-assessment (Nasaq) of a village or a par gaud as a whole. 22

Towards the end of the year, Akbar was able to send an expedition for the conquest of Ranthambhor, the great stronghold in Rajasthan, which had been invested as early as 1558 but the siege had to be raised on account of the imbroglio with Bairam Khan. On 8 February, 1569, Akbar pitched his tent before the fort which was held by Rai Surjan Hara, chief of Bundl, as a vassal of the rania, of Chitor. The fortress, which was remarkable for its height and strength, was also well-provisioned. Akbar opened the siege with sabtits (covered ways) and fifteen huge mortars were dragged to the hill Ran which commands the fortress. There is a discrepancy between the version given in the Muslim chronicles and that in the Rajput annals. According to the former, Akbar's mortars caused breaches in the walls of the fort and destruction of the houses within it. Rai Surjan took a lesson from the fate of Chitor, sent his two sons to* Akbar asking his pardon and surrendered the fort on 21 March, 1569. Abu-T-Fazl boasts that Akbar conquered the fort in a month whereas 'Ala-ud-dm Khaljl had taken one year. According to the Rajput version, as the garrison did not show any sign of surrender Raja BhagWan Dias and Man Singh seduced Surjan to transfer his allegiance to the Mughul emperor and Man Singh, accompanied by Akbar in the guise of a mace-bearer, secured access to the fortress to discuss the matter. Akbar was, however, recognized and terms were negotiated in his presence and Surjan agreed to surrender the fort on conditions which were favourable to him: Surjan was to join Akbar's service and be placed in charge of fiftytwo districts; the chiefs of Bund! were to be exempted from the duty of sending a bride to the royal harem and payment of the jizya; they should have the privilege of entering the hall of audience fully armed and were to be exempted from prostration (sijda); their temples should be respected; their horses should not be branded; they should not be required to cross the Indus and should be placed under the command of a Hindu leader; and Bund! should remain their permanent capital. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible either to reject or to accept the Rajput version definitely. It does not, however, appear improbable as it was not unlike Akbar, who had no scruple to employ diplomacy where his sword was not enough. Rai Surj an was at first given a command in Gondwiana and then appointed governor of Banaras, including Chunar, with the rank of a commander of 2,000. Akbar made over the fort of Ranthambhor to Mihtar Khan and returned to Agra on 10 May, 1569, after making his annual pilgrimage to Ajmer.

During his march on Ranthambhor, Akbar had ordered Majnun Khan Qaqshal to capture the fortress of Kalin jar, the stronghold which had cost the life of Sher Shah and was then held by Raja Ram Chand Baghela of

Rewah who had already been reduced to obedience by Asaf Khan, the conqueror of Gondwiana and had demonstrated it by surrendering his minstrel Tansen to the emperor. The fort was invested but the raja, taking lessons from the devastated battlements of Chitor and the fall of Ranthambhor, surrendered it without offering any serious resistance (August, 1569). Akbar granted him a jdglr near Allahabad and placed Majnun Khan Qaqshal in charge of the government of Kalin jar.

After the fall of the strong Rajput fortresses, Jodhpur and Bikaner judged it expedient to make submission. In November, 1570, while the emperor was encamped at Nagaur, Chandra Sen, son of Raja Mai Dev of Jodhpur and Kalyan Mai, raja, of Bikaner, with his son Rai Singh paid homage to the emperor who received in marriage the niece of the raja of Jodhpur. Rawal Har Rai of Jaisalmer also entered into matrimonial alliance with the Mughul emperor by offering him the hand of his daughter. Partly by his sword, partly by the threat of his mailed fist as well as magnanimous diplomacy, Akbar was able to establish his supremacy over the Rajputs who gradually reconciled themselves to Mughul rule and found in their conqueror a beneficent protector under whose banner they fought the battles of the empire from the glaciers of the Hindu Kush to the marshes of Bengal. The ruthless victor of Chitor succeeded in healing the wounds which his soaring ambition had inflicted. Rajasthan was indeed Akbar’s testing ground for exhibition of his mastery in arms, diplomacy and statesmanship.

In spite of these brilliant successes, Akbar had no peace of mind as he was still denied the blessing of a son, several children born to him having died in their infancy. He prayed fervently at the shrines of Ajmer and Delhi for an heir to his throne. He now

approached the venerable Shaikh Salim ChishtI who lived at Sikri, 23 miles to the west of Agra, and was assured by him of the early fulfilment of his prayers. Early in 1569 the daughter of Raja Bihari Mai was found to be with child and she was sent to the Shaikh’s hermitage at Sikh! where, on 30 August, she gave birth to a son who was named Salim in honour of the saint. In the course of a few years the royal nursery was enriched by new arrivals in succession: in November, a daughter was born to him and on 7 June, 1570, Prince Murad saw the light. Two years after, on 10 September, 1572, was born a third son at Ajmer in the house of Shaikh Daniyal whom he named after the saint. Two daughters also were born after Daniyal. These three sons of Akbar all attained mature age.

In pursuance of a vow, Akbar set out on foot on pilgrimage to Ajmer to offer thanks for the birth of Salim (20 January, 1570). From Ajmer he returned to Delhi where he inspected the splendid mausoleum of his father which had been recently built, thanks to the affectionate fidelity of a wife, Haji Begam. In September he set out again on pilgrimage to Ajmer where he repaired and enlarged the fortifications and began construction of buildings for himself and his nobles. On 3 November he left for Nagaur 22a where he stayed a few months and received the homage of the Rajput States of Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer as well as that discrowned fugitive Baz Bahadur of Malwa. From Nagaur he arrived at Pak Pattan in the Punjab to visit the shrine of Shaikh Farid Shakarganj (March, 1571). From there he returned to Ajmer by way of Hissar and on 9 August, 1571, arrived at Sikri which he now decided to make his capital as the auspicious place where his two sons Salim and Murad had been born. The resources of his expanding empire and the artistic genius of India and Persia were employed to convert the petty, quiet hamlet into the crowded proud metropolis which even in its lost glory was regarded by Fitch in 1585 as much greater than Elizabethan London. From the time when it was built until 1585 when it was abandoned, Sikri, which was named Fathpur after the conquest of Gujarat, remained the capital of Akbar's empire.

Akbar had become supreme in Northern India and he could now turn to extending his dominion to the sea in the west as well as in the east. The conquest of Malwa and the supremacy over Rajasthan opened the road to Gujarat whose anarchical condition invited foreign invasion. Muzaffar Shah III, the nominal king, was a mere puppet in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous nobles who partitioned the kingdom among themselves and were often at war with one another. One of these, Ptimad Khan, who had already sought Akbar’s help and intervention in 1567 against his rival Chingiz Khan, invited him in 1572, hard-pressed by Sher Khan Fuladi whom Muzaffar Shah joined at Ahmadabad, to put an end to the anarchy in Gujarat by annexing it to the Mughul empire. But Akbar had more than one reason for his invasion of the kingdom. Gujarat had been in temporary Mughul occupation under Humayun and its recovery would be quite legitimate for his successor. The rebellious Mlrzas, who had returned to Gujarat after the assassination of Chingiz Khan, entered upon his inheritance by defeating his son and made themselves masters of the southern portion of the kingdom. It was high time for Akbar to suppress these incorrigible rebels and strike at their power before they should usurp the whole kingdom. Besides, Gujarat lay on the road to Mecca and Medina, and in the interest of the pilgrim traffic its security was essential. It intervened between the Portuguese territory and the Mughul empire and its weakness might as well offer an opportune soil for the aggression of the Portuguese who were already masters of the western coast of India and the Arabian Sea. With its fertile soil, flourishing ports and extensive foreign trade, the rich kingdom of Gujarat could not but attract the ambitious sovereign, who could secure through its ports a window for his land-locked empire.

On 2 July, 1572, Akbar set out from Fathpur Sikrl for Ajmer from where he sent Khan Kalan with 10,000 horse as an advance guard and himself followed by leisurely marches. Through Nagaur and Merta he marched to Sirohl where he made a charge on the Rajputs as one of them had made a murderous attack on Khan Kalan, and in the fight that ensued 150 of them were slain. He then left for Patan, after sending Raja Man Singh towards Idar in pursuit of the sons of Sher Khan Fuladi. On 7 November Akbar reached Patan where he received the homage of the people. He then marched on towards Ahmadabad and on the way at Jotana, two stages from Patan, he received the fugitive Muzaffar Shah who had left Sher Khan Fulladl as the latter had, on the approach of Akbar, raised the siege of Ahmadabad and fled to Sauriashtra. Shortly after, Ptimad Khan and other noblemen came to pay him homage. On 20 November, Akbar reached the capital of Gujarat and he made over the government of the country to the north-west of the river Mahi to Khan A‘zam and of the southern portion, where the turbulent Mlrzas had established themselves, to Ptimad Khan.

On 8 December Akbar left Ahmadabad for the wealthy port of Cambay where he had the first sight of the sea and came into contact with the merchants of Portugal, Turkey, Syria, Persia and

Transoxiana. Akbar then turned his direction towards the Mirzas: Ibrahim Husain who held Baroda; Muhammad Husain, Surat; and Shah Mirza, Champaner. On reaching Baroda Akbar despatched an army under Shlahbaz Khan towards Champaner and a large force under Sayyid Mahmud Khan Barha towards Surat. He rapidly marched towards the Mahi to intercept Ibrahim Husain who was moving towards the north and contacted the enemy who was at Sarnal on the opposite bank. At heavy risk and with a following of 200 men only, he crossed the river at night and as he entered the town Ibrahim Husain, who had 1,000 troopers, left it by another gate. Akbar made an intrepid pursuit of the enemy and the battle that ensued was fought ‘man to man, hand to hand’ and ‘more resembled a tourney than a battle.’ At one stage Akbar’s life was in imminent danger when he was directly attacked by two of the enemy’s troopers. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was ultimately defeated and escaped under cover of darkness.

Akbar next undertook the investment of Surat. Ibrahim Husain’s wife, with her young son Muzaffar Husain, escaped to the Deccan and the commandant of the fort surrendered it after a resistance of one month and a half on 26 February, 1573. Akbar again came into contact with the Portuguese, who had come in response to an invitation of the Mirzas but, finding them a spent force, paid a friendly visit to the emperor.

Meanwhile Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza, in combination with Sher Khan FuladI, laid siege to Patan. Khan A‘zam, joined by the fief-holders of Malwa and Chanderl, marched to the relief of Sayyid Ahmad Barha, the Mughul commandant, and forced the rebels to raise the siege and inflicted on them a major defeat on 22 January, 1573. Sher Khan fled to Junagarh and the Mirzas, to the Deccan.

On 2 April Akbar returned to Ahmadlabad. He made over the government of the whole of Gujarat to Khan A‘zam and that of Malwa to Muzaffar Khan Turbati and proceeded towards his capital. On the way at Sirohi he received the report of the death of that arch-rebel Ibrahim Husain, who after leaving Gujarat had been creating trouble in the Punjab and was defeated by the Mughul governor Husain Qull Khan. Husain Qull was then engaged in the siege of Nagarkot but he had hastened to oppose Ibrahim after making a favourable peace with its raja, Bidai Chand, on condition of acknowledgement of Akbar's sovereignty. On 3 June Akbar returned to Fathpur Sikril and found the head of Ibrahim Husain. 22b His brother Mas'ud, with his eyes sown up, was brought as a captive to the emperor who however pardoned him.

Hardly three months had elapsed before Gujarat was again aflame and Mughul authority was challenged by a confederacy of rebels. Muhammad Husain Mlrza, who had returned from the Deccan soon after Akbar's departure, invaded Surat and captured Broach and Cambay. Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khlan FuladI, in conjunction with the raja of Idar, took Ahmadnagar. The rebels jointly advanced on Ahmadabad and besieged Khan A'zam. On receipt of this disconcerting news Akbar left Fathpur SikrI on 23 August with an army of 3,000 and, marching by way cf Ajmer and Merta with lightning speed, reached the vicinity of Ahmadabad on 2 September, thus covering a distance of about 500 miles in eleven days which caravans took two months to complete, The enemy was taken by absolute surprise and Muhammad Husain was reluctant to believe the report of the arrival of Akbar whom his scouts had left at Fathpur SikrI just two weeks back. The amazed Mlrza sent Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk with a force of 5,000 horse to prevent Khan A'zam from sallying out of Ahmadabad and himself drew out his forces for battle. The battle remained long undecided but ultimately Akbar gained a complete victory over the enemy who had 15,000 men. Muhammad Husain was wounded and captured and shortly after put to death. The Mughuls, who were resting after the victory and expecting Khan A'zam, were surprised by the sudden arrival of a new foe, Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, who hastened to the Mlrza's aid. Akbar, in spite of great consternation in his army, attacked the enemy, routed his vanguard and forced him to retreat. Ikhtiyarul-Mulk lost battle as well as life. A minaret was made of 1,000 heads of the slain. In the evening the Mughuls had a second surprise when a fresh army was observed proceeding towards them: it however proved to be the force of Khan A'zam who now joined the emperor. Akbar then made his triumphant entry into Gujarat's capital and turned his direction to the final settlement of Gujarat affairs. An army was sent to Broach and Champaner in pursuit of Shah Mlrza who now disappears from history. Raja Todar Mai was appointed to restore order in the financial administration of the province by revising the revenue settlement. Akbar returned to Fathpur SikrI on 5 October, 1573, after an absence of only 43 days. The second campaign of Gujarat is the most amazing military achievement of Akbar’s life.

With the expansion of his kingdom Akbar realized the necessity for its consolidation. The year 1573 saw the inauguration of farreaching reforms in the administration of the empire by the introduction of the branding system (dagh), the conversion of the assignments (jagirs) into reserved lands (khalisa) 23 and fixing the

rank (mansab) and gradation of pay of the officers of the State. First introduced by ‘Ala-ud-din Khalji and revised by Sher Shah, the branding of horses in every officer’s due contingent was aimed at stopping the fraud of false musters when baggage ponies hired or borrowed would be produced, an evil from which the Mughul army suffered even in its most palmy days; and the system continued till the breakdown of the Mughul government in the middle of the eighteenth century. The institution of the mansab system led to the establishment of a well-regulated bureaucracy which with certain modifications remained the basis of Mughul administration. All officers were placed in ranks ranging from the commander of 10 up to 5,000 horsemen with the exception of princes and a few nobles who were given commands of 7,000. The other measure of Akbar, the conversion of the assignments into reserved lands, was of a revolutionary nature. Akbar wanted to bring the whole of his kingdom under his direct administration and pay all his officers in cash with a view to removing the evils arising from the assignment system. In the absence of a correct valuation of the empire, the assignment system proved defective in its working: the two valuations made early in his reign were ‘corruptly falsified’; over-valuation of the assignments led to discontent in State service. The whole empire was divided into circles, each estimated to yield a crore of dam (Rs. 250,000). The experiment lasted for five years and in 1579/80 a new and precise valuation of the empire was made and the assignment system was revived. Akbar’s policy of absolute centralization received a check.

The Surs, who held Bengal at Akbar's accession, maintained friendly relations with him, but in 1564 Taj Khan Kararam, an officer of Sher Shah, overthrew them. Under his brother Sulaiman (1565-72) there was a revival of the Bengal sultanate and his authority extended from Cooch Behar to Purl and from the Son to the Brahmaputra. Sulaiman was shrewd enough to acknowledge Akbar's sovereignty by reading the khutba in his name. After Sulaiman's death in 1572 his elder son Bayazid succeeded him but after a few months he was put to death by the Afghan nobles who raised Sulaiman's younger son Daud to the throne.

Inheriting his father's vast treasures and grand army, Daud defied Akbar's authority by reading the khutba in his own name, invading Mughul territory and destroying the fort of Zamaniya in Ghazipur district. On instruction from Akbar, then in Gujarat, Mun'im Khan marched on Patna, but Daud's Minister Ludi Khan bought him off with gifts and delusive assurances of loyalty. Akbar disapproved Mun'im's conduct and sent further reinforcement.

Mun'im Khan now besieged Patna where Daud, after murdering Ludi Khan, had shut himself up. As the aged Khan Khanan experienced difficulties, Akbar set out on 20 June, 1574, from Agra by boat while the army marched by land and on 4 August arrived at Patna with a large flotilla carrying elephants and guns.

Akbar quickly perceived that the strength of Patna lay on Hajipur on the north bank of the Ganga (Ganges) from where it drew its supplies. On 7 August he took it after a few hours' assault. In the fall of Hajipur, Patna read its doom. That very night Baud fled and Patna also fell into the hands of the Mughuls. Akbar pursued the fugitive Afghans upto Daryapur 233 and then returned with much booty in treasures and 265 elephants. He proceeded towards Delhi and sent Mun'im Khan with 20,000 men to conduct the campaign. Surajgarh, Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Colgong (Kahalgam) fell in quick succession and Mun'im Khan marched triumphantly through the fortified pass of Teliyagarhl into Daud's capital Tanda (25 September).

Daud fled to Orissa and Mughul authority was easily established in Ghoraghat (Dinajpur-Bogra), Satgaon (Hooghly) and Burdwan. The

Mughul soldiers, weary of incessant campaigns, were reluctant to proceed further but Todar Mai persuaded them to march on and their reluctant commandant in Tanda, now in senile decay, to join them and make a decisive end of the war. Daud, encouraged by the dissensions and apathy in the Mughul camp, was also proceeding to meet the invaders. They met at Tukaroi, nine miles south-east of Dantan, in Midnapur district. Daud began the battle (3 March, 1575) with a vigorous offensive: a furious elephantry charge. The Mughul van was dispersed, Khan ‘Alam was killed, the centre was broken and Mun‘im Khan was wounded. Todar Mai, who alone held the Mughul left wing, rallied the shaken divisions and made a successful charge on the Afghan vanguard. He then dispersed the Afghan right wing and the left wing also was ultimately defeated. Daud could not maintain his position and fled to Cuttack. The Afghans suffered a complete rout. On 12 April Daud made his submission to Munhm Khan at Cuttack and delivered his nephew as a hostage at the Mughul court, and he was given a considerable portion of Orissa in fief. The victory of Tukaroi, however, led to the de jure annexation of Bengal to the Mughul empire, though the effective establishment of Mughul authority was still far off.

Mun‘im Khan hurried to the north to recover Ghoraghat which had been occupied by the Afghans during his absence. He transferred his capital from marshy Tanda to pestilential Gaur where the Mughuls died in hundreds until Mun‘im Khan returned to Tarida just to die (23 October, 1575). In utter indiscipline, born of terror, the Mughul officers and troops evacuated Bengal and retreated to Bhagalpur. Baud issued from his retreat, took Bhadrakh and Jaleswar and recovered the whole of Bengal. Akbar sent Khan Jahan, governor of the Punjab, with Todar Mai as his lieutenant, to deal with the situation. The Bengal officers were, with great tact, persuaded by Todar Mai to rally under the Shiah governor. Junaid Kararanl, Baud’s cousin, had raised his head in South-East Bihar, and ‘Isa Khan was supreme in Bengal. It was with difficulty that Muzaffar Khan, governor of Bihar, held Hajipur. Khan Jahan, however, advanced and captured Teliyagarhi from Baud’s commandant. Baud was forced to retire into the fortress of Rajmahal. Here Khan Jahan, reinforced by the army of Bihar, gave battle on 12 July, 1576. After a stubborn and long-wavering fight, the Afghans were completely routed and their leaders slain. Baud’s veteran general Kala Pahar fled wounded and Baud himself was taken prisoner and executed. His head was received by Akbar one stage from Fathpur S'ikri as he was proceeding to Bengal to deal with the situation personally. The battle of Rajmahal overthrew Baud and the Kararani dynasty but it did not result in the effective Mughul conquest of Bengal. Mughul authority was established in towns but the country at large remained at the mercy of the dispossessed Afghans and local Hindu chiefs. Bengal remained under Akbar rather as a territory under military occupation than an integral part of the empire with settled administration.

Before the fall of Baud at Rajmahal, Akbar had to face his indomitable foe in Rajasthan. Chandra Sen, son of Raja Mai Bev of Jodhpur, had taken up arms in March, 1574 and not until 1576, two years later, could the Mughuls bring about the capitulation of Siwana, the fulcrum of his resistance. But it was Rana Pratap Singh of Mewar, the chivalrous grandson of Rana Sangram Singh, who voiced the discontent of sullen Rajasthan. ‘Race feeling taught him to hate the foreigners, ancestral pride to despise them and high martial spirit, his grandsire’s legacy, to resist them.’ Succeeding his father in 1572, he disciplined his troops in the art of guerilla warfare and was master of Udaipur, his new Chitor, Kumbhalgarh (Kumalgarh) and Gogunda. Akbar needed no casus belli : to the emperor liberty is license, as Bryce has well expressed. In April, 1576, he sent from Ajmer Raja Man Singh and Ghiyas-ud-din ‘All, known as Asaf Khan, against the Rana. They marched through Mandalgarh towards Gogunda, but were opposed by Rana Pratap at Hal dighat. Here, near the pass, the memorable battle was fought on 21 June.

We have a graphic account of the battle from the historian Badauni who was present in the field.

Pratap Singh advanced with a force of three thousand horse which he arranged in two divisions. One of these, under Hakim Khan Sur, charged the Mughul vanguard and dispersed it and put the Rajputs in the Mughul left wing under Rai Lon Karan to flight. Badauni who could not distinguish the friendly from the enemy Rajputs shot arrows indiscriminately for, as Asaf Khan remarked, ‘on whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam. The second Rajput division, led by the Rana himself, charged

Qaz'I Khan at the entrance of the pass and threw his foi^ce into confusion. The battle raged from early morning till midday, but the desperate valour of the Rajputs was ultimately unavailing against a superior force ‘with a numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels.’ 23b Pratap lost the battle with a considerable loss. Gogunda fell into the Mughul hands.

Akbar regretted the escape of the Rana and even suspected loyal Man Singh of connivance. He was, however, able to establish effective Mughul authority in the southern part of Rajasthan. Sirohi was occupied, the principality of Idar was reduced to obedience and Akbar received the submission of several minor chiefs: the rulers of Banswara and Dungarpur, the latter offering the emperor the hand of his daughter. In 1577 the chief of Bund! was subdued and next year Madhukar, the Bundela chief of Orchha, who had been defying the imperial authority, surrendered and acknowledged Akbar’s sovereignty.

Akbar was determined to overthrow the Rana of Mewar. In October, 1578, a considerable force under Shahbaz Khan was despatched against Pratap Singh. The Mughuls seized Kelwi'ara, defeated the Rajput garrison at Kumbhalgarh and captured Gogunda and Udaipur. The Rana retired to the remote fastness of Chavand and from that base began to recover his territories. Kumbhalgarh was recovered and the chiefs of Banswara and Dungarpur acknowledged the Rana’s sovereignty. Shahbaz Khan made a renewed attempt at suppressing the Rana who retired to the hills, but the Mughuls returned unsuccessful. Six years later another expedition was sent by Akbar under Zafar Beg and Jagannatha, the Kachhwahlah, which met with the same fate. Akbar’s preoccupation in the Punjab, the troubles in the north-west frontier and the bogey of Uzbeg invasion prevented the emperor from undertaking active campaign against an enemy who harassed and exhausted the invaders by guerilla tactics. Before his death in 1597 the Rana had recovered all his territory except Ajmer, Chitor and Mandalgarh. In 1600 Akbar made another attempt against Mewar when the expedition led by Prince Salim and Raja Man Singh defeated Pratap’s successor, Amar Singh, and devastated the country; but the expedition came to an abrupt end due to the recall of Man Singh whose services were urgently required in Bengal.

In 1577 Gujarat became the scene of a revolt led by Mihr 'AH, an ambitious servant of Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who set up his youthful son Mirza Muzaffar Husain as the puppet king of the country. The rebels took Baroda and the governor Vazir Khan was unable to resist them. Todar Mai drove the rebels to Cambay and defeated them at Dholka and the Mirza retired to Junagarh. But as soon as the Rlaja left, Muzaffar Husain returned, defeated Wazir Khan at Sarnal and besieged him at Ahmadabad. But Mihr ‘Ali was killed by a stray bullet and so the Mirza raised the siege and withdrew. He fell into the hands of Raja ‘Ali Khan of Khandesh who ultimately surrendered him to Akbar’s envoy. Akbar replaced the weak and inefficient Vazir Khan by Shihab-ud-dm Ahmad Khan in the government of Gujarat.

The same year Akbar undertook an important reform: the reorganization of the mints. The various provincial mints were placed under the management of high officials and the famous artist and calligrapher ‘Abdus-Samad was appointed Master of the Mint to exercise general supervision over the department.

III. RELIGIOUS POLICY

By the year 1578 Akbar’s religious belief had ceased to be a mere personal affair. No aspect of Akbar’s character and history has been the subject of so much interest and controversy as his faith and religious policy. The influence of heredity upon the development of Akbar’s religious ideas should not be unduly exaggerated: there was wide difference between the indifferentism of his early Central Asian ancestors, the unorthodoxy of his grandfather, the superstitious mysticism of his father and the rational eclecticism and dreamy mysticism of the great Akbar. A mystic as well as a rationalist, Akbar was sincerely religious and an earnest seeker after truth. From early youth he was fond of the society of faqlrs and yogis. From 1562 for long eighteen years he made annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Mu‘iin-ud-din Chishti at Ajmer. He had early come into contact with Sufi literature and thoughts: Hafiz and Rumi were read to him and he maintained this contact in advanced years.

Behind the conqueror and the diplomat there lay a melancholy soul, suffering from 'internal bitterness' and 'lack of spiritual provision', yearning for truth. The Jesuit Fathers found him melancholic. In his 'Happy Sayings' Akbar tells us how one night his heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly between sleeping and waking a strange vision appeared to him and his spirit was somewhat comforted. Such visions came to him from time to time. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, as early as 1557, when Akbar was barely fifteen, during the siege of Mankot he had experienced religious ecstasy when suddenly he broke away from the camp into a distance where he spent many hours in solitary meditation. 230 Seventeen years later as he would often listen to Mir Sharif reading books on spiritual lore, tears would roll down his eyes. Badauni tells us that he passed whole nights in praise of God and 'would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone in a lonely spot'. In his eager search for truth, Akbar imbibed a passionate love for philosophical discussions and only the pressure of duties forced him to abstain from them and 'return from the errancy into the infinite'. In the liberal Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons, particularly Abu-'l-Fazl, 'the king's Jonathan', as the Jesuits call him, Akbar found his true spiritual companions. Abu-'l-Fazl, who according to Badauni 'set the world in flames', was a true eclectic whose heart was equally drawn towards the sages of Cathay, the ascetics of Mount Lebanon, the Lamas of Tibet, the padres of Portugal, the mubids (Zoroastrian theologians) of Persia and the secrets of the Zend Avesta.

All these led to the foundation in 1575 of the ' Ibddat-Khdna (House of Worship) at Fathpur Sikri where religious discussions were held every Friday evening. It was confined to Muslims and was divided into four sections, occupied by four classes of members: the nobles of the court, Shaikhs or ascetics, Sayyids or descendants of the Prophet, and the 'Ulamd or jurists. The violent intolerance of the orthodox party led by Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabi and Makhdum-ulMulk and bitter differences between the Sunnis and Shiahs disgusted the emperor and alienated him from orthodox Islam. Of course he showed his interest in pilgrimage by arranging Gulbadan Begam's journey to Mecca (1575) and next year he himself intended to proceed on pilgrimage. But Akbar was passing through a mental crisis, and 'the internal bitterness', which is referred to in one of his 'Happy Sayings' as having been experienced in his twentieth year, he was in all probability experiencing in the twentieth year of his reign. In January, 1578, he expressed his abhorrence of meat diet 23d and in April at Bhera, on the bank of the Jhelum, occurred the famous hunting incident: when after ten days' preparation birds and

beasts within a circumference of fifty miles had been encircled for 'monstrous slaughter', Akbar all on a sudden broke the hunt and set free all animals: 'not the feather of a finch was to be touched/ 'A strong frenzy' seized him and he distributed alms and gold to faqirs. A garden was laid and a structure raised to commemorate the hallowed spot where, sitting under a tree, he had experienced the call.

In October, 1578, discussions in the ' Ibddat-Khana were revived with renewed vigour and the House of Worship had become a Parliament of religions where the Sufi, the philosopher, the orator, the jurist, the Sunni and the Shiah, the Brahman and the atheist (Chdrvdka), the Jain and the Buddhist, the Christian and the Jew, the Sabaean and the Zoroastrian and others met and debated under the presidency of the Mughul Caesar. The bitter differences among the 'Ulamd in these debates, which revealed their shallow pride as well as the narrowness of orthodox Islam, further weakened his faith in it and he decided to take all religious matters in Islam into his own hands. The series of brilliant military successes had given him mastery over a considerable portion of Northern India and he had already adopted measures for its consolidation by the establishment of a centralized government. The time had arrived when the king as the secular head of the State should be the head in spiritual matters as well. The exalted conception of sovereignty that he held necessitated it, and the Tlmurid tradition pointed to it. On Friday, 26 June, 1579, emulating the Caliphs and his illustrious ancestor Timur, Akbar mounted the pulpit of the mosque at Fathpur Sikri and recited the khutba composed by Faizi in verse which ended with the words: Allahu Akbar. Some modern authors believe with BadaunI that Akbar made ambiguous use of these words to mean both God is great as well as Akbar is God. But Akbar was no Mansur-al-Hallaj for whom he had little respect. Like several Muslim rulers before him, Akbar claimed that he was the agent of God, KhallfatuT-lah; he never laid claim to divinity. 23e

On 2 September, 1579, Akbar took the final step when he became the Imam and the Mujtahid of the age by the famous Mahzar (Declaration) which he obtained from the ‘Ulama. It determined the rank of just king as higher than that of mujtahid (highest authority on law) and declared that Akbar as the just ruler (sultdn-i‘ddil) could decide between mujtahids, if they differed in opinion on any religious question, by accepting any of the conflicting views and that his decision was final and binding. Also it empowered him to issue new orders which the people must obey, provided they were in conformity with the Qur’an and were for the benefit of the people. This document was drafted by Shaikh Mubarak and sign

ed reluctantly, according to Badauni, by five others, the principal ‘Ulamd and prominent theologians of Hindusthan. It made Akbar, who was the temporal head of the State, the Supreme Head of the Church or more properly the Islamic faith in India as well. The mahzar was really c the funeral oration of the ‘Ulama’ as it overthrew the nimbus of their legal and spiritual power. It was the natural corollary to Akbar’s ideal of royal absolutism. It led to the virtual assumption by Akbar of the title of the Caliph and is closely connected with the ‘pulpit incident.’ Some of his coins also bear the title of exalted Caliph and we are told by ‘Arif Qandahari that in all the mosques of the Mughul empire the khutba mentioned him as Amir-ul-mumimn. The decree had its significance in the outer Islamic world as well. It was a vindication of Akbar’s sovereign authority and a challenge to the Sultan-Caliph of Turkey, the juridical head of Islam in whose name the khutba was recited at Mecca and Medina. It was a reply to the Safavi Shahs of Persia as well, who posed as the perpetual patrons of the Mughul dynasty because both Akbar’s father and grandfather had sought and obtained Persian help on condition of accepting the Shiah faith. Akbar’s authority was now superior to that of the mujtahids, the highest ecclesiastical and juridical authorities of the Shiahs. 24 The decree, however, did not at all involve Akbar’s repudiation of Islam: it was as a Muslim king that Akbar could decide between the conflicting views of the mujtahids. Neither was Akbar invested with infallibility. The scope of the decree was limited: the king should accept one of the conflicting views and any new order he might issue must be in conformity with the Qur’an and for the benefit of the people.

There can be no doubt that the declaration displeased the ‘Ulamd and orthodox Muslims. Soon after, Akbar made his last pilgrimage to Ajmer and he showed extraordinary reverence to a stone brought from Mecca, carrying an impression of the Prophet’s foot. Akbar, however, had definitely become estranged from orthodox Islam. The creed of his birth could no longer satisfy his enquiring spirit; and contact as well as acquaintance with diverse creeds made him a confirmed eclectic. The influence of the Hindu wives of his household had been strengthened by the Brahmans, particularly Debi and Purushottam, who participated in the debates of the ‘ Ibddat-Khana and instructed the emperor in the secrets of Hinduism. Akbar was converted to belief in transmigration. He gave private interviews to several Hindu yogis from whom he made enquiries about the secrets and spiritual questions regarding Hinduism.

Zoroastrianism found its able exponent at the ‘ Ibadat-Khana in its theologian Dastur Mahyiarji Rana whom Akbar had met in Gujarat in 1573 and who arrived at the court in 1578. His influence was so great that it was believed Akbar had become a convert. A sacred fire was established in the palace. In 1580 Akbar began to prostrate himself publicly before the fire and the sun. In this the emperor was influenced also by Birbal, who gave emphasis to sun-worship, and by the Hindu ladies of his harem who performed homa. Persian festivals were revived and the solar Ildhl era, with Persian names for months and days, was adopted in 1584.

In response to Akbar’s invitation the first Jesuit mission from Goa arrived on 28 February, 1580, at Fathpur Slkri, 25 and was received with gracious respect. It consisted of Father Rudolf Aquaviva, an Italian, Antony Monserrate, a Spaniard, and Francis Henriquez, a Persian convert who acted as the interpreter. Akbar showed profound reverence for a copy of the Bible which the Fathers presented and made respectful salutation to a picture of the Madonna. He appointed Abu-’l-Fazl to translate the Gospel and Monserrate to give Murad ‘a few lessons in Christianity.’ The emperor built for them a chapel in the palace and held prolonged discussions with them on Christianity. The Fathers took part in the discussions at the ‘ Ibadat-Khana where they used very strong words about Islam and its Prophet, so much so that Akbar had to give them mild warning. Akbar was highly impressed by Christianity, though he was not convinced of the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Virgin birth of the Son and the Incarnation. The Fathers hoped that they had discovered the Second Constantine in the Mughul Caesar, for in their zeal and bigotry they could not properly understand him and failed to notice the varied appeals to which he equally responded.

Akbar invited and in 1582 received a Jain delegation as well which consisted of HiJravijaya Suri, Bhanuchandra Upadhyaya and Vijayasena Suri. Jainism, with its doctrine of non-violence, made a profound impression on him and influenced his personal life. He curtailed his food and drink and ultimately abstained from flesh diet altogether for nine months in the year. He renounced hunting which was his favourite pastime, restricted the practice of fishing and released prisoners and caged birds. Slaughter of animals was prohibited on certain days and ultimately in 1587 for about half the days in the year.

Already Akbar had become acquainted with Sikhism and came into contact with its Gurus, Amar Das (died 1574) and Ram Das (died 1581). He found in the Granth only love and devotion to God. 26

These studies and discussions on religions of various hues confirmed the growing eclecticism of the emperor who, as Badauni points out, found truth in all religions and realized that it was not the monopoly of Islam. 27 The idea gained ground among the people that 'Akbar was the Sdhib-i-Zaman who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islam and the Hindus.' The turbulence of schisms grieved him and he sought the way for its subsidence. He had so long strayed in the maze of jarring creeds and he would now find out the path. The zero hour had arrived in Akbar's spiritual evolution and early in 1582 he promulgated the Din-i-Ilahi. It is difficult to define the Divine Faith, for its author did not define it. It was neither inspired by Revelation nor based on any well-defined philosophy or theology. It was deism modified by Hindu and predominant Zoroastrian influence, a religion without priests and books, 'an ethical rationalism leading to the ideal of mystic union of the soul with the divine,' in which respect it was based on the Sufi idea of absorption of the soul in the Divine Being. It enjoined such ethical and social reforms as recommending alms-giving and sparing of animal life, permitting remarriage of widows, prohibiting child-marriage and marriage among close relations as well as forced sati, recommending monogamy, enforcing chastity and controlling gambling and drinking by restricting the sale of drink. The Dm-i-Ilahi was definitely an attempt at religious syncretism, as much a child of Akbar's spiritual development as a product of the age, following as it does the movement of Kablr and Nanak. The syncretism was not quite happy because, though Akbar was 'a rare jeweller and seeker after truth,' his knowledge could neither be systematic nor thorough, acquired as it was through ears. He sought for light in the variegated and jarring creeds of man, but could not find it.

Though Akbar asserted what Gibbon calls 'a necessary fiction' that he was God's vicegerent and, if we are to believe Badauni, demanded from his followers 'readiness to sacrifice property and life, honour and religion', he was no zealot and regarded religion as a matter of private conscience. As the bigoted chronicler himself affirms: 'His Majesty was convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword.' Unlike the 'Abbasid Caliph Ma'mun, Akbar did not become intolerant in the name of toleration to push the child of his own fancy; he forced it on none and he did not persecute orthodox belief in a fever of authoritarian rationalism. The charge of persecution of Islam laid at his door by the bigoted annalist of Badaun and the equally bigoted Jesuit Fathers is quite natural.

The fundamental of Akbar's religion, sulh-i-kull (universal toleration), was equally obnoxious to Sunni orthodoxy and Jesuit Catholicism. The Fathers were anxious to prove that Akbar was about to embrace Christianity by describing him as an enemy and persecutor of Islam. Most of the charges made by BadaunI do not stand the test of scientific criticism. From the Muslim chronicles as well as Jesuit accounts we find that throughout the reign of Akbar and even after the promulgation of the Din-i-Ilaht, Muslims could pray, observe fasts and festivals, give the name of Ahmad and Muhammad to their children and go on pilgrimage to Mecca, though BadaunI would have us believe to the contrary. In Islam politics and religion fuse, and the question naturally arises how far the destruction of mosques or their conversion into stables in certain places 278 was a campaign against disintegration or an attack on Islam. The Bengal rebellion of 1580 which began with the slogan of Islam in danger suggests the former. It is certain that Akbar must have received the greatest opposition to his religious beliefs from the orthodox Muslims for ‘in religious societies toleration is no virtue, it is the despised offspring of lukewarmness or indifference’. This affected to a certain extent the emperor’s feeling towards them. In fact, Akbar, with his principle of universal toleration, was far in advance of his age. As the historian Freeman says: ‘In his age he stood alone, not only in Islam, but in the whole world; Catholic and Protestant Christendom might both have gone and sat at his feet’. 27b No wonder that the Dm-i-Ildht could obtain hardly twenty-five converts of note and died with its author. The ‘ethical rationalism’ of Akbar, which was to have united all, pleased none; it was many centuries too soon. It appealed neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims. Hinduism moved on in the old track while reactionary Islam, championed by Shaikh Ahmad, became triumphant with Shah Jahan. It would, however, be rash to describe the Din-i-IldhI as ‘a monument of Akbar’s folly’, because it was not a ‘monument of his wisdom’. It was a failure; none-the-less it was sublime.

Some modern writers 270 maintain that the Din-i-Ildht was not a new faith but a reformation of Islam. The Divine Faith ignored both the Prophet and the Qur’an. Its ceremonial law and theological doctrines were considerably different from those of Islam. As an eminent authority has remarked: ‘The religion of Akbar is not to be looked upon as a reform but a denial of Islam —a break with its traditions more decided than that which manifests itself in the doctrines of Isma‘il’. 28 In one of his ‘Happy Sayings’ Akbar confesses that he is no longer a Muslim. He ignored revelation and

rejected the Islamic doctrines of Resurrection and Judgment. He believed in the doctrine of transmigration of souls and in the worship of the sun which Islam does not admit. But in his letter to the Sharlfs of Mecca, written not long before 1582, and in his two letters written in 1586 to ‘Abdullah Khan, ruler of Bukhara, Akbar maintains that he is not only a good Muslim but a champion of Islam: he was not prepared to risk his empire for the sake of his personal religion. There was a tradition also that Akbar died a Muslim as Sir Thomas Roe states. The Jesuit writers record the truth when they say: ‘Among the people there are various opinions regarding the emperor; some holding him to be a Christian, others a heathen, others a Muhammadan. The more intelligent however consider him to be neither Christian nor heathen nor Muhammadan, and hold this to be the truest’. 281 Akbar went very far with Hinduism and Jainism as well as with Zoroastrianism and Christianity but everywhere he ‘stopped upon the threshold’. In reality Akbar was born a Muslim but died, as he had lived, an eclectic.

IV. CONQUESTS IN NORTH INDIA

As if to doubt the efficacy of the consolidation of his authority, Akbar had to face the alarming force of disintegration from three quarters: Bengal, Kabul and Gujarat rose almost simultaneously to arms. The Bengal revolt came first and it was the most serious of the three. It was primarily and in reality a struggle between the crown which was asserting its power and the nobility whose authority was curtailed, a challenge of aristocratic force against centralized government. But the Bengal rebellion assumed a cloak in which it appeared as a conflict between orthodox Islam and Akbar’s heterodoxy. To Monserrate it was ‘a war chiefly undertaken against the religion of Christ’, while other Jesuit writers ascribe it to Akbar’s devotion to Christianity. 2813 The rebellion obtained support from the Afghan chieftains of Bengal who regarded Mughul occupation as nothing but usurpation. There is truth in the contention of R. D. Banerji that “what Abul Fazl terms ‘the rebellion of Bengal officers’ was really another Afghan war during the reign of Akbar.” 28c The rebellion did not remain confined to Bengal; it spread like infection to Bihar, Orissa, Ghazipur, Banaras, Allahabad, Awadh and Katehr (Rohilkhand).

Muzaffar Khan Turbatl, the governor of Bengal, with a view to building the administration of the province and guarding the interests of the State, revoked unauthorized alienation of land and enforced the branding of horses to stop the prevalent fraud of false musters. He decreased the pay of the troops in Bengal by 50 per cent and in Bihar by 30 per cent. All these measures were adopted on instruction from the centre and they were well-motivated as well as necessary, but they were carried out by the Mughul governor and his lieutenants without tact and moderation and with undue severity. 28 ' 1 The result was a mutiny of the Mughul officers which first began in Bihar and then spread to Bengal. The Bengal officers left Tanda and on 28 January, 1580, openly raised the standard of revolt. The rebels planned, with a view to giving some legality to their agitation, to raise Mirza Hakim to the throne and considered the pretender of Kabul, a worthless drunkard, the champion of orthodox Islam ! Resumption of suyilrghdl lands (grants made by way of charity) was regarded as an encroachment on Islam, and the newly-appointed qazl of Jaunpur, Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, issued a decree enjoining on all Muslims to rise in revolt against the crowned infidel of Fathpur Sikri who had assumed the title of Imam. Thus the rebellion of the malcontent party of Bihar and Bengal assumed the garb of a struggle between Islam in danger and heresy in triumph.

The rebellion was led by the Qaqshals, one of the proudest of the Turkish tribes. The Bengal mutineers crossed the Ganga at Rajmahal and joined with the Bihar rebel force at Teliyagarhi where they defeated the imperialist army sent by Muzaffar. The rebels besieged Muzaffar in Tanda, captured him and put him to death. The khutba was recited in the name of Muhammad Hakim, and Baba Khan Qaqshal was appointed viceroy of Bengal. Bengal and Bihar were lost to the empire.

Muhibb ‘All Khan of Rohtas relieved Tirhut from the rebel Bahadur Badakhshi. Todar Mai met the rebels at Monghyr. At first they besieged him, but on arrival of fresh reinforcement under Khan A‘zam raised the siege and took to flight. An imperialist force recovered Bihar from M‘asum Khan Kabuli who had to evacuate Gaya as well on the approach of Todar Mai. Order was thus restored in Bihar by the end of 1580, but jealousy between the two imperial commanders, Khan A‘zam and Shahbaz Khan, delayed the recovery of Bengal. Qutlu Khan Lohani, a lieutenant of Daud, defeated several Mughul officers and set up an independent principality in Orissa. The rebel leader of Bengal, Bahadur Kheshgi, was soon killed in an engagement and this was followed by other losses: the death of Baba Khan Qaqshal from cancer and the poisoning of Sharaf-ud-dm Husain by his rival M‘asum Khan Kabuli. M‘asum Khan Farankhudi, who had recently deserted the royal cause and opened a second front for the rebels from Jaunpur as his base, was

badly defeated by Shahbaz Khan in Awadh (January, 1581), while Allahabad, where the infection had spread, was recovered from the rebels under Niyabat Khan and the rebellion in Katehr was suppressed by ‘Ain-ul-Mulk who defeated the leader ‘Arab Bahadur.

Their third front was broken when on 10 August the imperialist troops made their triumphant entry into Kabul and drove the pretender to the hills.

In April, 1582, Khan A‘zam was sent as the governor of Bengal. Taking advantage of his absence, the Bengal rebels entered Bihar and took Hajlpur. On his return from court Khan A‘zam finally expelled them from Bihar, recovered Teliyagarhl (March, 1583) and pursued them to the Kati Gang near Rajmahal. Dissensions, however, broke out among the rebels, particularly between M‘asum Khan Kabuli and the Qaqshal clan, but operations were delayed by the recall of Khan A’zam, and it w T as not until several months later, on 26 November, 1583, that his successor Shahbaz Khan could defeat M‘asum Kabuli and drive him to East Bengal. Shahbaz Khan even pursued him to ‘Isa Khan’s territory of Vikrampur (Dacca district) and demanded of ‘Isa Khan his surrender, but that wily chief simply detained him for several months by delusive promises of expulsion or surrender, defeated him in a battle on 30 September, 1584, and forced him to retreat to Tanda. In 1585 Akbar' sent strong reinforcement with a view to suppressing ‘Isa Khan but mutual jealousies of the imperial commanders hampered the work of pacification. The Afghans moved out from Orissa and Dastam Qaqshal besieged Ghoragbat. With the return of Shahbaz Khan to Bengal in January, 1586, the tide turned. He won over most of the Afghans by diplomacy and thus isolated ‘Isa Khan who was obliged to make peace. M‘asum Kabuli sent his son to the emperor’s court and proceeded to Mecca, and the last flame of the Bengal revolt was put out (1587). The de jure authority of Akbar over all Bengal was acknowledged.

Until the death of Muhammad Hakim in 1585 Kabul was the plague-spot of Akbar’s empire. On Humayun’s death the territory of Kabul, including Ghazni, became the appanage of his younger son Mirza Muhammad Hakim, but the government was really in the hands of his guardian Mun‘im

Khan. Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan, on hearing of Humayun’s death, made an attempt to seize Kabul. Mun‘im Khan asked for help and when Sulaiman Mirza learnt that Akbar’s troops had crossed the Indus, he opened negotiations for peace and retired on condition that his name should be recited in the khutba and that the other side of the Baran should belong to Badakhshan.

For the next four years peace reigned in Kabul but trouble began in 1560 when Mun‘im Khan was recalled to Akbar’s court on the occasion of Bairam Khan’s rebellion. ‘Intrigue followed intrigue, and crime succeeded crime.’ Mun‘im Khan, who was reappointed to the government of Kabul, hastened with an army towards that country but on the way at Jalalabad he was defeated by the prince’s mother Mah Chuchak Begam and retreated to court in disgrace. Mah Chuchak Begam then herself assumed the government.

The situation in Kabul became far worse with the arrival of that ‘stormy petrel’, Shah Abu-T-Ma‘all, who, after his failure to create strife in Hindusthan by setting up Mirza Hakim as a pretender to the Delhi throne, sought shelter with Mah Chuchak Begam and obtained an influential position in the government. But his ambition overleaped itself; he gathered round him the malcontents of Kabul and slew the queen-mother. Muhammad Hakim secretly asked help of Sulaiman Mirza who marched towards Kabul, defeated and seized Abu-T-Maiaii on the bank of the Ghurband river and delivered him to Muhammad Hakim who had him hanged on 13 May, 1564.

Hakim now became a puppet in the hands of Sulaiman Mirza who assumed all power and fortified his position by giving Hakim his daughter in marriage. The nepotism and highhandedness of Sulaiman raised a storm of protest and led to the expulsion of all Badakhshanis. Mirza Sulaiman thereupon marched on towards Kabul with a large army. Hakim escaped to Peshawar and, pursued there by Sulaiman, came to the Indus and appealed to Akbar for help. Akbar sent the officers of the Punjab under its governor Khan Kalan who marched on to Jalalabad, took it from Sulaiman’s officer and forced Sulaiman to beat an inglorious retreat to Badakhshan. Mirza Hakim was restored to power by imperial aid but he compelled Khan Kalan to leave Kabul. Encouraged by the return of the imperial officers, Sulaiman made another attempt on Kabul and besieged the fort. Hakim escaped to the Indus and, taking advantage of the revolt of the Uzbegs in Hindusthan with whom he was in secret communication, he crossed the river and, passing through Bhera with plunder and rapine, appeared before Lahore. Akbar himself set out from Agra on 16 November, 1566. Ten days later he reached Delhi and as he advanced he learnt near the Sutlej that the invader had already retreated. Meanwhile Mirza Sulaiman had continued the siege of Kabul but Hakim’s officer M‘asum Khan put the Badakhshanis to great straits. Sulaiman therefore made peace with M‘asum Khan and the prince of Kabul returned to his capital.

Hakim in reality began to rule Kabul as an independent prince. In 1578 Akbar sent a mission to his half-brother with a view to persuading him to acknowledge his sovereignty, but Hakim did not respond. On the contrary he opened the western front for the rebels of Bihar and Bengal two years later. The Bengal rebels were in collusion with him and read the khutba in his name. Hakim received invitation to invade India from some officers of Akbar’s court as well, who wanted to raise him to the Mughul throne. It was suspected that Shah Mansur, the revenue minister, was the leader of this treacherous conspiracy. Akbar accordingly suspended him from office and dispersed his colleagues, but he was afterwards pardoned and reinstated. Two reconnoitring expeditions of Mlrza Hakim into the Punjab led by Nur-ud-dln and Shadman failed in December, 1580, and the prince then personally invaded the Punjab. Passing through Rohtas which rejected proposal of surrender, Hakim appeared before Lahore on 6 February, 1581. The valiant and ever loyal commander Man Singh strongly defended it against the invader. Hakim, who had counted on an uprising in his favour, was not joined by anybody and, when he heard of the advance of Akbar, beat a hasty retreat.

Early in February, Akbar had set out from Fathpur Slkrl with a considerable force against the invader. Shah Mansur, who had been pardoned and reinstated, accompanied the emperor. At Sonpat near Delhi he was met by Malik Sant who had been formerly in the service of Mlrza Hakim. This revived Akbar’s suspicion against Mansur; fresh evidence of his complicity and treasonable correspondence with Mlrza Hakim was brought. Mansur was accordingly hanged at Kot Kachhw.aha near Shahlabad in Karnal district. Recent writers on Akbar, relying too much on the version of Father Monserrate, regard Shah Mansur guilty of treason, but it is difficult to reject the version of Nizam-ud-din and BadaunI who state that the letters, on the basis of which Mansur was executed, were forged, while from Abu-’l-Fazl we learn that Akbar regarded as forgeries the previous letters, which were found by Man Singh in Shadmfen’s baggage, proving Mansur’s treasonable complicity with Mlrza Hakim. According to Mzam-ud-dm and BadaunI all the letters were forged by Mansur’s enemies. Shah Mansur’s policy of economy and rigour made him unpopular and the nobles, who were too glad to see his downfall, must have prejudiced Akbar against him. The emperor afterwards regretted the ‘judicial murder’ which he had unconsciously committed. 29

Near Sirhind Akbar learnt of the retreat of Mirza Hakim but he marched on. On reaching the Indus by way of Kalanaur and Rohtas, he began the construction of the fortress of Attock. From here he sent an army under Rajla Man Singh, though under the nominal command of Prince Murad, towards Kabul. On 12 July he himself crossed the Indus and set out for Peshawar. Mirza Hakim was severely defeated by Prince Murad in Khurd Kabul near Kabul, and fled to Ghurband. On 10 August, 1581, Akbar made his triumphant entry into the historic city of Kabul. He left it after a week, after having pardoned and reinstated his rebellious halfbrother to the government. 293 On 1 December, the emperor returned to his capital.

Kabul continued to be a source of anxiety to Akbar particularly because of the Uzbeg supremacy in Central Asia. The menace became imminent when civil war between Mirza Sulaiman and Shah Rukh led to the Uzbeg annexation of Badakhshan in 1584. The death of Mirza Hakim in July 1585 relieved Akbar of a critical situation, and Kabul was formally annexed to the Mughul empire.

A serious revolt in Gujarat followed the rebellion in Bengal and Mirza Hakim’s invasion. In the pages of the Mughul historians it was merely the rising of a pretender; in reality it was the feeble protest of Gujarat for its loss of independence. On a similar occasion the people of Gujarat had stood behind Bahadur when he recovered his territory from the Mughuls under Humayun. King Muzaffar III, who had been kept in Mughul custody since his capture in 1572, had in 1578 eluded the vigilance of the imperial servants and fled to Saurashtra. In 1583 when 1‘timad Khlan had just arrived in Gujarat as its new viceroy, Muzaffar raised a formidable rebellion against the Mughul authority, joined by Gujarat officers groaning under the burden caused by the enforcement of the branding regulations by the retiring viceroy Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan. Ptimad Khan, finding the situation grave, sought the help of his retiring predecessor, but before he could settle terms with the reluctant Shihab-ud-din, Muzaffar had captured Ahmadabad where the people made common cause with him (September, 1583). Muzaffar granted titles and jagirs to his followers and was joined by Sher Khan Fuladi. Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Khan, governor of Broach and Baroda, marched against the invader from Broach but was defeated at Baroda by Muzaffar who forced Qutb-ud-din to surrender on promise of safe conduct but violated it by putting him to death. Muzaffar then marched to Broach and took it, and the wealth as well as property of Qutb-ud-dln fell into his hands. People began to gather round him and he was able to raise an army of 30,000 men.

Akbar accordingly sent Mirza Khan, son of Bairam Khan, to Gujarat. In January, 1584, he defeated the ‘pretender’ seriously at Sarkhej and made his triumphant entry into Ahmadabad. The report of this victory reached Akbar while he was returning to the capital from Allahabad which he had just founded. He conferred on the young Mirza Khan, then twenty-eight years old, the title of Khan Khanan. Mirza Khan then pursued Muzaffar to Cambay and drove him first to Baroda and then to Nandod where he inflicted a severe defeat on him and forced him to take to flight (March, 1584). But, for about ten years the ex-king offered stubborn resistance, hoping to recover his throne. He was hotly pursued until in 1593, ‘hounded like a wild beast’, he was captured. Khan A‘zam, then viceroy of Gujarat, took Junlagarh where he had taken refuge and Muzaffar fled to Cutch. But Khan A‘zam pursued him there and forced the chief of Cutch to reveal

Muzaffar’s hiding place. Muzaffar was captured but on the way, a day after his capture, he committed suicide to save his honour. Thus ended the last effort of reviving the old kingdom of Gujarat.

At the end of 1585 Akbar was comparatively free to undertake seriously the conquest of Kashmir. The Mughul emperors had al* ways an eye on Kashmir with its cool climate, running streams and charming gardens. Babur had sent a small unsuccessful expedition against the country and Mirza Haidar, who had advised Humayun to occupy it as a point d’appui for the recovery of Hindusthan, established himself and ruled in Kashmir for ten years (1541-1551). As early as 1559 GhaZi Khan who was the de facto ruler of Kashmir, anxious to establish friendly relations with Akbar, sent his envoy Nusrat Chakk who waited upon the emperor and his guardian. But Bairam Khan replied by despatching an expedition next year under Mirza Qara Bahadur which was seriously defeated near Rajaorl by the infantry of Ghazi Khan.

After the inglorious end of his first attempt Akbar postponed the conquest of Kashmir for a more opportune moment, but he did not fail to maintain regular contact with her rulers. In 1568 we find Akbar’s ambassadors Mirza Muqim and Ya‘qub at the court of Husain Shah who treated them with all honours and had to tolerate the arrogance of Mirza Muqim who, by virtue of his position as the Mughul envoy, interfered in the domestic affairs of the country. Husain Shah, with a view to pleasing Akbar, sent with the envoys his daughter to the Mughul emperor who however rejected her.

In 1578 Akbar sent Mulla ‘IshqIS and Q/&zl Sadr-ud-din to ‘All Shah, successor of Husain Shah, at whose court they remained until they were sent back to the imperial court. The khutba was read and coins were struck in Kashmir in Akbar’s name and ‘All Shah sent along with the imperial ambassadors his own envoy Muhammad Qasim with rich presents and the daughter of his nephew for Prince Salim.

In January, 1580, Yusuf Shah, ‘All Shah’s son, on being overthrown by his cousin Lohar Chakk, sought shelter with Akbar. A few months later Akbar ordered Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan to assist Yusuf in recovering his kingdom. Meanwhile the report of imperial intervention alarmed the Kashmir nobles who informed Yusuf that they would restore him to his throne if he would abandon Mughul assistance. Accordingly he left Sialkot for Kashmir and was joined by his supporters at Baramgalla. At Sopur Yusuf defeated Lohar Chakk on 8 November, 1580, and recovered his kingdom without Mughul assistance. Akbar was outwitted and deprived of any immediate pretext for intervention in Kashmir.

At the end of 1581 after his successful Kabul campaign Akbar sent from Jalalabad Mirza Tahir and Salih ‘Aqil as envoys to Kashmir. Yusuf Shah received them with spectacular respect and sent them back with his third son Haidar Khan to wait on Akbar. Haidar remained at court for one year. Three years later Yusuf Shah sent on Akbar’s demand his eldest son Ya‘qub who arrived at court on 10 February, 1585. Ya‘qub however became suspicious of Akbar’s designs and fled to Kashmir. In October Akbar sent from Kalanaur Hakim ‘All and Baha-ud-din to summon Yusuf to court or at least to send Ya‘qub. In December while Akbar was encamped at Hasan Abdal, the envoys returned: Yusuf did neither come nor send his son. Accordingly on 31 December, 1585, an army under Mirza Shah Rukh and Raja Bhagwan Das with 5,000 horse was despatched to Kashmir.

The imperial force immediately marched by the Pakhli route and reached the Buliyan Pass, some fifty miles west of Baramula, but they found the road closed by Yusuf who had already reached there. Severe cold, scarcity of provisions, difficult communications as well as rain and snow exceedingly harassed the Mughuls who decided oin peace. Yusuf also agreed and saw Raja Bhagwan Das on 24 February, 1586, and offered his submission to the emperor. But his son Ya‘qub, joined by his nobles, offered resistance. The Kashmiris were however defeated by Madhu Singh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das, at the Kuarmat Pass and were forced to offer the

following terms: coins were to be struck and the khutba recited in Akbar’s name and ‘the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial/ The report of the Yusuf zai disaster broke the morale of the Mughul leaders who readily accepted them and Yusuf Shah was taken by Raja Bhagwan Das to Akbar at Attock on 7 April, 1586. Akbar disapproved of the treaty, imprisoned Yusuf and made him over to Raja Todar Mai, though the Kashmir sultan had been assured of safe conduct by Bhagwan Das. The treacherous imprisonment of Yusuf is a dark blot on the character of the chivalrous Akbar.

Ya‘qub continued to challenge the imperial authority and Akbar accordingly sent another expedition under Qasim Khan on 8 July, 1586. The Mughul army passed by the defile of Bhimbar and then marched through RajaorL Neither the nobles nor the people gave solid support to Ya‘qub who retired to Kishtwar. Qasim Khan easily defeated a Kashmiri force and entered Srinagar on 15 October, 1586, and the khutba was recited in Akbar’s name. Kashmir was now formally annexed to the Mughul empire. Ya‘qub continued to resist for the next three years. In 1586 he made two unsuccessful attempts on Srinagar and next year his third attempt was foiled by Mirza Yusuf Khan, governor of Kashmir. In 1589 while Akbar was returning from Kashmir, Ya‘qub surrendered to him at Sopur on 7 August and the last spark of Kashmir independence was put out.

The death of Mirza Hakim and the annexation of Kabul were immediately followed by troubles in the North-Western frontier. Like his predecessors Akbar had to face the ever-lasting frontier problem. The tribes inhabiting what was until recently known as the North-West Frontier province were absolutely independent. As Kabul ceased to be the centre of disturbances, Akbar turned his attention towards making the frontier secure by suppressing the Raushanais and the various Afghan tribes of Swat and Bajaur. The Raushanais were the followers of Bayazid who set aside the authority of Qur’an and founded a new creed. His doctrine, which was extreme pantheism, shows a curious mixture of lofty ethics and crude barbarity. Bayazid obtained many followers among the Afghan tribes of Tirah. After his death in 1585 his youngest son Jalal-ud-din became the leader of the Raushanais. In 1581 while Akbar was returning from Kabul, he saw the emperor and was kindly received but he escaped and created troubles (‘raised the standard of revolt’ in the words of Mughul historians) in the country west of the Indus. The Raushanais infested the routes between Kabul and the Punjab and the Khyber route was so effectually blocked by them that ‘Abdullah Khan, Uzbeg’s envoy to Akbar, could not pass through it. Akbar accordingly appointed Man Singh to the government of Kabul with directions to suppress the Afghan tribes leavened with a new spirit.

On 22 August, 1585, Akbar himself left Fathpur Slkrl for the Punjab with a view to keeping watch over the frontier as well as to conducting campaigns for the conquest of Kashmir. On 31 December Akbar sent from Attock, simultaneously with the Kashmir expedition, Zain Khan at the head of a considerable force to Swat and Bajaur. Zain Khan pushed on to Bajaur while another force despatched by the emperor entered and devastated the Samah, the country of the Mandars, lying between Peshawar and the Swat river. Zain Khan chastised the Yusufzais of Bajaur and advanced to Chak-darah on the Swat river where he erected a fortress. As his troops were much depressed by continued marching, Zain Khan asked for reinforcements. Akbar directed Raja Birbal, who had already been despatched to Bajaur through the Samah, and Hakim Abu-'l-Fath to join Zain Khan in Swat. No sooner had the reinforcement arrived than disagreement began between the generals. Zain Khan was in favour of holding and strengthening Chak-darah and making it a base for further operations against the Afghan tribes. But the raja and the Hakim contended that their task was not to occupy the country but to harry it and so they should return to the royal camp at Attock. They also opposed Zain Khan's suggestion to return by the Malakhand Pass, the road they had come by, and decided to withdraw by the difficult route through the Karakar and Malandarai Passes. The Mughuls were subjected to much opposition and harassment by the Yusufzais and Mandars during their retreat through the Karakar Pass but the opposition became virulent when they reached the Malandarai Pass further south. The furious attack of the Yusufzais broke the morale and discipline of the Mughul force and the retreat became a disastrous rout. Eight thousand men, about half of the army, perished, including Raja Birbal. Zain Khan, after a stubborn rear-guard fight in which he suffered defeat, managed to escape, and with Hakim Abu-'l-Fath led 'the shattered remnant of the army' into the royal camp at Attock (24 February, 1586). Akbar was so overwhelmed with grief at the death of Raja Birbal that he took no food for two days and nights. It should however be noted that Akbar himself was primarily responsible for the disaster in appointing a wit and a physician to such a difficult command.

Akbar however sent Todar Mai with a large army to retrieve the disaster. Todar Mai erected strong forts in the Yusufzai territory and devastated it. Raja Man Singh had inflicted several defeats on the Raushanais on his way to Kabul but towards the end of 1586, led by Jalal-ud-dm, they formed a confederacy with the Yusufzais, the Mohmands, the Khalils and other tribes, invested Peshawar and completely closed the Khyber route. Man Singh defeated Jalal-ud-dm near ‘All Masjid in the Khyber Pass and he fled towards Bangash. But throughout the year 1587 the Afghan tribes were active under Jalal-ud-dm who was joined by the Afridis and the Orakzais as well.

The transfer of Man Singh to Bihar late in 1587 and the appointment of Zain Khan as warden of the Western Marches marked the beginning of a more vigorous policy. Akbar was determined to uproot ‘the thornbrake of the Tarikis’ and despatched several batches of troops from different centres in order to capture Jalalud-dm. In 1588 Zain Khan led strenuous campaigns into Swat and Bajaur. He entered Bajaur by an unknown route, surprised Jalalud-dm who made a narrow escape, erected forts at different places and after desultory fighting for eight months forced the Afghans to submit. He then entered Swat by a secret route, surprised the Afghans as they were celebrating the Qurban-i-‘id (31 October, 1588) and strengthened his position by erecting forts at Chak-darah, Malakhand and other places. Meanwhile Sadiq Khan, who had been despatched to Tirah, won over the Afridis and the Orakzais who undertook to preserve peace in the Khyber. Jalal-ud-dm fled to Turan as he had lost all influence over the Afghans. Altogether Zain Khan’s campaigns of 1588 maintained peace in the frontier for the next three years and in October, 1589, Akbar could make a peaceful journey from Attock to Kabul.

Early in 1592 the frontier trouble revived when Jalal-ud-dm returned from Turan, stirred up strife in Tirah and won back the Afridis and the Orakzais. The failure of Qasim Khan to chastise them encouraged the Raushanais and the Yusufzais to raise their heads again and they were joined by the hitherto friendly Gagiyana and Muhammadzai tribes, who invaded Peshawar. Zain Khan surprised and dispersed them and drove the Yusufzais and the Raushanais from Bajaur, where they had escaped, to Kafiristan. Next year he marched into the Kafir country, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Afghans in which 400 were killed and 7,000 taken prisoners, took the fort of Ganshal and received the submission of their leaders.

The campaigns of 1592-93 ensured peace for just three years. In May, 1596, there was recrudescence of the Raushanais who made

the Khyber route unsafe. Qullj Khan’s failure to suppress them led to the reappointment of Zain Khan to Kabul early next year. The frontier troubles continued even after the death of Jalal-ud-dln in 1600. As late as 1602 Takhta Beg had to suppress a ‘rebellion’ of the Afridls, Pani, Orakzai and Surl tribes in Tirah under Ahdad who became the leader of the Raushanais after Jalal-ud-dln’s death. In reality, the Afghan tribes remained unconquered and the great campaigns of Man Singh and Zain Khan could not uproot ‘the thornbrake of the Tariikls’, though they subdued them for a time. The Mughul sword could neither crush the martial instincts of the Afghans nor solve the problem of their over-population.

Akbar’s policy was to build up a scientific frontier for the Mughul empire. This required the maintenance of imperial control over Kabul and Qandahar, the two gateways to Hindusthan as well as over the tribes inhabiting the north-west frontier region. Kabul was annexed to the Mughul empire after Mlrza Hakim’s death in 1585, but the frontier problem became grave and menacing on account of the ascendancy of ‘Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Bukhara who occupied Badakhshan in 1584 and incited the frontier tribes to rise against Akbar. The series of vigorous campaigns against these tribes, the annexation of Baluchistan and the acquisition of Qanda* hlar in 1595 enabled Akbar to keep the frontier altogether secure against foreign aggression from Persia and particularly from the Uzbegs of Central Asia.

After the conquest of Kashmir, Akbar naturally turned towards the conquest of Sind in the west and Orissa in the east, the two kingdoms in Hindusthan which still remained independent. The conquest of Sind and Baluchistan was imperative as a base of operations for the recovery of Qandahlar which was in Persian hands. As early as 1574 the fortress of Bhakkar had been surrendered to the Mughuls. Towards the end of 1586 Sadiq Khan, governor of Multan, besieged Sehwan but Jani Beg, ruler of Sind, offered submission by sending tribute to Akbar at Lahore. Jaril Beg however renounced his allegiance and asserted independence. In 1590 Khan Khanan ‘Abdur-RahJJm was appointed to the government of Multan with direction to conquer Sind. The Khan Khanan invaded the country and besieged Sehwan. Jam Beg had meanwhile advanced against the Mughuls with a big army, war-boats and a park of artillery and he fortified the Pass of Nasarpur. The Khan Khanan accordingly raised the siege and marched by land and water to meet the enemy. In October, 1591, he inflicted a severe defeat on Jam Beg and then returned to complete the siege of Sehwan. As JanS Beg advanced to help the hard-pressed garrison, he was opposed and defeated by the Khan Khanan on the way. But he continued to resist from a new stronghold some forty miles away. The Khan Khanan attacked him there and forced him to make peace by surrendering Tatta and Sehwan and agreeing to pay homage to Akbar at court. In 1593 he came to the Mughul court at Lahore, He was kindly received and was appointed governor of Multan and afterwards of Sind. He accepted the Divine Faith of the emperor.

In the east the great pro-consul of Bihar, after settling the province, led the campaign in April, 1590, for the conquest of Orissa and reached Jahanabad (modern Arambagh in Hughli district) by way of Bhagalpur and Burdwan. Qutlu Khan LohanI, the Afghan ruler of North Orissa, despatched a large force to Raipur in the Bankura district. The Afghans surprised and badly defeated the Mughul advance-guard under Man Singh’s son, the inexperienced Jagat Singh. But the sudden death of Qutlu Khan shortly after disheartened the Afghans. His minister Khvaja Tsa raised his young son Nasir Khan to the throne and he made peace with the Mughuls on condition that the khutba was to be recited and coins were to be struck in Akbar’s name and Purl, including the temple of Jagannath, was to be made reserved lands under the emperor. On 15 August the boy-king paid homage to Man Singh.

But after the death of the regent the treaty of 1590 was repudiated by the Afghans who captured the temple of Jagannath and took Puri. In November, 1591, Man Singh marched again by land and river and was joined by Sa‘id Khan, governor of Bengal. At Benapur, one day’s march from Jaleswar, a severe and contested battle was fought on 18 April, 1592. 30 The Mughuls ultimately gained the victory and Man Singh made his triumphant entry into Jaleswar where the khutba was recited and coins stamped in Akbar's name. The Afghans retreated southwards and continued to resist. Though Sa'id Khan left him, Man Singh marched into Orissa, took Cuttack, secured the surrender of the fort of Aul by Qutlu Khan's officer and received the submission of the Tila raja at Kalkalghatl But Ramchandra Dev, the raja of Khurdha, the greatest of the Orissa chiefs, still held at Sarangarh. Man Singh raided the Khurdha territory and compelled Ramchandra to submit. A Mughul force despatched by him recovered Jaleswar which had meanwhile been captured by the Afghans. Sarangarh capitulated in June but it was not until January, 1593, and after the despatch of an expedition under Jagat Singh that Ramchandra Dev personally waited on Man Singh. The conquest of Orissa was now completed but, as in Bengal, what the Mughuls could establish was military occupation rather than effective rule.

Meanwhile Kashmir had become the scene of serious disturbances. During his first visit to that province in 1589 Akbar had made necessary arrangements for its administration. The revenue administration of the province was the root of the trouble: the high assessment of Akbar caused grave discontent. The malcontents elected as their leader Yadgar, the cousin of the governor Mirza Yusuf Khan, who asserted independent authority and coined money in his own name. In July, 1592, Akbar left Lahore for Kashmir and halted at Bhimbar where he received the head of Yadgar who had been captured and executed. On 14 October he entered Srinagar. On the resignation of Mirza Yusuf Khan due to difficulties in revenue administration, the entire province was converted into reserved lands (Khcittsa). About five years later, in 1597, Akbar made his third and last visit to Kashmir.

In 1595 Akbar's conquest of the northern portion of the Indian sub-continent (excluding Assam) was completed by the annexation of Baluchistan. In December, 1594, Mir M'asum, the historian, led the campaign. The zamtnddrs of Gandava offered their submission and in February, 1595, the Mughuls besieged the fort of Sibi, held by the Parni Afghans and shortly after forced the garrison to surrender the fort. The country up to the border of Qandahar, Cutch and Makran came into the possession of the Mughuls. Two months later occurred the bloodless conquest of Qandahar.

V. FOREIGN POLICY

Qandahar was the Alsace of medieval Asia, the bone of contention between India and Iran in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Safavi monarchs regarded Qandahar as an appanage of Khurasan and considered Mughul occupation as nothing but usurpation. At Akbar’s accession it was governed by Bairam Khan’s agent Shah Muhammad Qilatl. In 1558 a large Persian force led by Sultan Husain Mirza invaded Qandahar and took possession of it. For the next thirty-six years it was to remain in Persian hands. On account of his preoccupation in India and the troubles in Kabul and the frontier, Akbar could not make any attempt at the recovery of Qandahar. By the year 1590 he had become the paramount sovereign of Northern India, Kabul had been annexed to his empire and the Raushanais had been subdued for the time being. The Uzbegs had become supreme in Khurasan and were threatening the Safavi kingdom. It was the time to strike a blow and recover Qandahar. Akbar apprehended as well the capture of Qandahar by the Uzbegs in which case Kabul and the Punjab would be insecure. Accordingly in 1590 he sent an army under ‘Abdur-Rahlm to recover

Qandahar, but the Khan Khanan turned to the conquest of Sind, probably as a prelude to the conquest of Qandahar. This postponed the Qandahar expedition and circumstances made any expedition unnecessary. Muzaffar Husain Mir^a, who held the government of Qandahar, feared the prospect of an Uzbeg invasion and might also have learnt of Akbar’s plan to recover Qandahar. Shah ‘Abbas was then in no position to send him reinforcements. Muzaffar Husain, therefore, refusing the offer of help by ‘Abdullah Khan who had sent him an envoy, surrendered the fort on 18 April, 1595, to Akbar’s officer Shah Beg Khan and left for the Miughul court. ‘A populous country came into possession without a battle’, as Abu-’lFazl states. In July Zamln Dawar and Garmsir were also taken by Shahi Beg Khan, but they were recovered by the Persians in 1603.

In spite of Qandahar, round which the Mughul-Safavl diplomacy centred, there was almost regular diplomatic intercourse between Agra and Qazvin or Isfahan. Under Akbar the Mughul-Safavi relationship, which had been that of client and patron, entered upon a new phase. Akbar’s toleration of the Shiahs and the Sunnis alike toned down the religious animosity of the Safavl monarchs who were zealous champions of Shiahism, while the building up and consolidation of the great Mughul empire under him raised the prestige of the dynasty abroad, and both Shah ‘Abbas and ‘Abdullah Khan Uzbeg sought his alliance against each other.

Early in the reign Bairam Khan had sent Shah GhazI Sultian as envoy to Shah Tahmasp. He saw the necessity of establishing cordial relationship with the Safavl court, especially now when the boyking was beset with a crop of difficulties in Hindusthan and required the Shah’s moral support. Shah Tahmasp received the envoy with honour and in 1562 sent his cousin Sayyid Beg on embassy to Akbar with a letter offering condolences for the death of Humayun and congratulations on his accession and emphasizing the necessity of cementing the bond of friendship between the two kingdoms. In 1564 Akbar received another envoy from Shah Tahmasp who came with a letter and rarities of Iran. Early in November, 1572, during his march from Sirohi to Piatan, Akbar received Yar ‘All Beg, envoy from Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda, Shah Tahmasp’s eldest son and governor of Khurasan, who probably sought the support of Akbar in the coming war of succession in Persia. The death of Shah Tahmasp in 1576 was the signal for the outbreak of civil war and anarchy, followed by a succession of weak rulers, during which diplomatic intercourse between the Mughul empire and Persia was stopped. But under Shah ‘Abbas (1587-1629) a closer contact was established between Agra and Isfahan. Shah

Tahmasp would look on Akbar as the son of Humayun who had sought shelter at his court and during his lifetime Akbar’s supremacy over Hindusthan had not been fully established. Shah ‘Abbas found Akbar the paramount sovereign of almost all Hindusthan and naturally sought his alliance, hard-pressed as he was in the west by the Ottoman Turks and in the east by the Uzbegs under their powerful king ‘Abdullah Khan who overran and captured Khurasan. In 1591 Shah ‘Abbas sent his envoy Yadgar Sultan Rumlu who arrived at the Mughul court on 16 May with choice presents and a supplicatory letter to Akbar, asking for his military help and at least his moral support. Akbar could not agree to send an auxiliary force for the recovery of Khurasan from the Uzbegs, as some of his nobles suggested, though he would have thereby cleared his father’s as well as grandfather’s debt to the Safavi dynasty. For he did not consider it politic to go against the powerful Uzbeg king with whom he was in alliance and whose hostility would mean grave menace to the frontier of the Mughul empire. Yadgar Sultan remained at Akbar’s court for three years and a half. On 2 December, 1594, Akbar gave him leave and sent with him Zlya-ul-mulk Qazvlnl and Abu Nasir Khvafi as envoys to the Shah with curiosities of Hindusthan and a letter full of instructions and written in a most patronising spirit which reminds one of the letters that Shah Tahmasp had addressed to the Emperor H'umayun. Akbar’s envoys were given a splendid reception at Qazvln by Shah ‘Abbas. They remained in Persia for a few years until 1597-8 when they obtained leave and the Shah sent Mlnuchihr Beg with a letter and choice presents to the Mughul court. The capture of Qandahar by the Mughuls in 1595 did not sever diplomatic connection. The envoy arrived at the Mughul court in November, 1598. In his letter the Shah referred to his activities against the Uzbegs in which he expected Akbar’s good wishes and support. Next year Shah ‘Abbas sent from Herat Mlrza ‘All Beg on embassy to Akbar with a letter informing him of his victory in Khurasan after the death of ‘Abdullah Khan. ‘All Beg arrived at court on 11 March, 1599, and both he and Mmuchihr Beg remained at court until 4 April, 1601, when they obtained leave. Akbar sent with them his own envoy Ma'sum Khan Bhakkari and they arrived in Persia in 1602. Ma‘sum Khan remained at the Safavi court for more than a year and returned in 1604.

As a kingdom contiguous to Kabul, Badakhshan was of importance to the Mughul empire under Akbar as a buffer State between it and the Uzbeg kingdom rapidly increasing under ‘Abdullah Khan. Mlrza Sulaiman of Badakhshan, who had been recognized by Babur in 1530, gave a lot of trouble to his grandson by his repeated attempts on Kabul, but the growing power of the Uzbegs compelled him and his grandson to seek the alliance of Akbar and take shelter at his court. In 1561 he sent an envoy to Akbar asking for his help against the Uzbegs who had killed his son Mirza Ibrahim. In 1575 Sulaiman, expelled by his rebellious grandson Mirza Shah Rukh, sought Akbar's protection. Akbar treated him kindly and offered him the government of Bengal which he refused as he expected the emperor would help him recover his kingdom. In disappointment Sulaiman left for Mecca next year. Mirza Shah Rukh sent to Akbar two envoys who arrived at his court on 9 July, 1577, and next year Akbar gave them leave and sent with them his own envoys to Badakhshan. Badakhshan ceased to be a buffer State when, in 1584, it was annexed by the Uzbegs and Mirza Shiah Rukh sought refuge at Akbar's court. 'Abdullah Khan objected to Akbar's giving him protection and this caused not a little anxiety to the Uzbeg king. In 1587 Mirza Sulaiman, who had gone to Badakhshan a second time, was forced to leave for India and sought shelter at the Mughul court.

No other factor moulded Akbar's trans-Indian policy so much as the growing power of the Uzbegs in Transoxiana. It affected his activities in India as well to a considerable extent. It was the bogey of an Uzbeg invasion which was mainly responsible for Akbar's long stay in the Punjab from 1585. It encouraged the frontier tribes to raise their heads against the authority of Akbar; in fact, they were subsidized by 'Abdullah Khan who twice received at his court Jalal-ud-din, the leader of the Raushanais. To a certain extent it served as a brake on the progress of Mughul arms in the Deccan inasmuch as it prevented Akbar's leading the campaign personally even when mutual jealousies of commanders brought about a deadlock there. The bitter hostility between Shah 'Abbas and 'Abdullah Khan strengthened the position of Akbar who was approached by both for help. 'Abdullah Khan always sought to gain the support of Akbar and Akbar was equally anxious to be on friendly terms with 'Abdullah; the two feared each other and therefore the grandson of Babur and the scion of Shaibani Khan remained allies.

In 1572 'Abdullah Khan sent his first envoy, HajI Altamash, with presents and a letter to Akbar. The object was to gain the support of Akbar against other princes of Turan. This first embassy was rather coldly received by the emperor who dismissed the envoy afterwards without sending his own to 'Abdullah. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar disliked the maintenance of diplomatic relations with 'Abdullah as he intended to conquer his ancestral territory in Central Asia. Possibly Akbar, who was then too much engaged in his own affairs in Hindusthan, did not want to incur the suspicion of Shah Tahmasp.

Five years later in 1577 arrived the second embassy from Bukhara. It was the period of civil war, anarchy, and weak succession in Persia after' Shah Tahmasp’s death and ‘Abdullah suggested an invasion of that country. Akbar sent his envoy Mlrza Fuladi with a reply to ‘Abdullah stating that he could not agree with him in regarding ‘difference in law and religion’ as casus belli and go against the Safavis with whom he was in alliance. Here was a great opportunity for Akbar to recover Qandahar, but Akbar wanted to keep the balance and prevent the Uzbegs from growing too powerful: a feeble Persia would be a menace to the Mughul empire.

In 1585 after the annexation of Balkh and Badakhshan by ‘Abdullah and the absorption of Kabul into the Mughul empire, the territories of ‘Abdullah and Akbar became contiguous and the situation became more critical. The Uzbeg king, alarmed by Akbar’s campaigns in the frontier and his continued stay on the bank of the Indus as well as Mlrza Shah Rukh’s presence in India, sent Mir Quraish who arrived at the Mughul court on 11 March, 1586. Akbar’s support or at least his neutrality was badly needed by ‘Abdullah in his campaign against Khurasan. On 2 September Akbar gave Mir Quraish leave and despatched Hakim Humam with a letter to the Uzbeg court. Ultimately an agreement was reached between the two. It seems Akbar approved ‘Abdullah’s invasion of Khurasan and ‘Abdullah promised not to support or subsidize the Afghan tribes of the frontier. 303

About three years later Hakim Humam returned in 1589 with a letter from ‘Abdullah in which he thanked Akbar for his moral support in his recent conquest of Khurasan; and he sent his envoy Ahmad ‘All Ataliq who however died in India. On 4 January, 1591, Mamavl Husain arrived at the Mughul court on embassy from Bukhara. He too died in India and ‘Abdullah Khan became anxious at the unusual delay in the return of his envoys. On 14 June, 1596, Akbar sent his ambassadors Khvaja Ashraf N’aqshbandl and Shaikh Husain of Lakhnau with a letter to ‘Abdullah in which he regretted the death of ‘Abdullah’s two envoys and assured him of his friendship and informed him that he did not help Shah ‘Abbas, who had sent his envoy Yadgar Sultan asking for his help, on account of his consideration for ‘Abdullah and that for the same reason he did not support the rebellion in Badakhshan and grant Shah Rukh any fief in Kabul or Kashmir. ‘Abdullah Khan received Akbar’s envoys with respect and on 30 July, 1597, sent them back

with his own envoy Mir Quraish. Akbar’s envoys returned to court on 29 April, 1598, but Mir Quraish returned home from the way on learning of the death of his master. With the death of ‘Abdullah Khan in February, 1598, Akbar was relieved of the Uzbeg menace, for he had nothing to fear from his son ‘Abdul-Mumin. The nobles advised Akbar to invade ‘Abdullah’s territory but he did not agree. Akbar had never any serious intention of conquering Badakhshan and Transoxiana, the home of his ancestors. He followed an Indian policy and thoroughly abandoned the Central Asian outlook of his grandfather and even of his father.

Diplomatic intercourse between Turkey and India could not be regular on account of the geographical situation of the two countries. The Turkish admiral SidI ‘All Ra’is was present at Delhi at the time of Humayun’s tragic end and Akbar’s accession. SlcLi ‘Ali was no accredited envoy, but Bairam Khan availed of the opportunity of despatching a letter in the name of Akbar in 1556-57 to Sulaiman the Magnificent through the admiral. In the letter Akbar addresses the sultan as the ‘Caliph on earth sent by God’ and states that, though there had been no diplomatic connection between the sultan of Turkey and the Mughul emperor, there had always been the desire to maintain such relations and that is why he is despatching this letter to the sultan ‘to bind the chains of union and love’ through the admiral, though he had no commission from his master, and he hopes that the sultan will also respond to his wishes and maintain communication with the Mughul court. It does not appear that the sultan of Turkey responded, for he had no interest in any alliance with the Mughul emperor. Akbar also, as he established his supremacy over India and as the Turkish power declined after the death of Sulaiman (1566), did not regard Turkish support as of importance. On the contrary, he viewed with jealousy that the khutba was recited in Mecca and Medina in the name of the sultan of Turkey and threw a challenge to him when in 1579 he assumed the titles of Imdm and Khalifa- Akbar expressed his desire to Rudolf Aquaviva to form an alliance with the king of Portugal against the sultan 30b and he asked ‘Abdullah

Khan of Bukhara to enter into a coalition against the Ottoman Turks while he promised Shah ‘Abbas help against them (1586). 30c In reality Akbar considered the SultanCaliph of Turkey as his great rival. 30d

Of the European powers Akbar had diplomatic relations with the Portuguese who had already established their authority on the western coast of India with Goa as their capital. In 1572 during his visit to Cambay he met some Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects. Next year during his siege of Surat he came

into contact with the Portuguese who had come as the ally of the garrison but cleverly posed themselves as friends and sent their envoy Antonio Cabral to Akbar who, however, received them kindly. According to the Portuguese version Akbar had also sent his envoy to the Portuguese viceroy and a treaty, satisfactory to both parties, was concluded. Akbar wanted to be on friendly terms with the Portuguese who controlled the pilgrim traffic to Mecca by their domination of the Arabian Sea which had virtually become the Portuguese lake. In 1578 the Portuguese viceroy of Goa sent the same Antonio Cabral as ambassador to the Mughul emperor and Akbar’s discussion with him on religious matters led ultimately to the despatch of the first Jesuit mission to his court in 1580. Akbar sent his envoy HajI ‘Abdullah and the Portuguese Government responded by the despatch of this mission which has already been referred to. The mission terminated in February, 1583, when Father Rudolf left the Mughul court. Seven years later Akbar despatched a letter to the viceroy of Goa through the Greek sub-deacon Leo Grimon, asking for a second mission to his court. It was well received at Lahore in 1591 but the Fathers realized the impossibility of converting Akbar in spite of his professed sympathy for Christianity, and shortly afterwards it came to an abrupt conclusion. In 1594 Akbar invited a third mission from the viceroy of Goa who sent it, in spite of the reluctance of the provincial authority to risk a third attempt, on account of the possibility of good results of a political character. The mission consisting of Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes arrived at Lahore on 5 May, 1595, and, with varying personnel, remained at the Mughul court till Akbar’s death in 1605. Akbar showed the same reverence for the Christian faith and permitted the Fathers to preach the Gospel and even convert people. But he was least inclined to embrace Christianity and gave more attention to political and military affairs than to religious discussions. Though this caused not a little disappointment to the Fathers, the viceroy of Goa received in 1598 instruction from the king of Spain to maintain the mission at the Mughul court. Akbar also tried to utilize the services of Xavier and Benedict de Goes to obtain during the siege of Asirgarh guns and munitions from the Portuguese at Chaul which of course they refused as it was un-Christian and as they were in alliance with the ruler of Khandesh. From the Deccan Akbar also despatched in March, 1600, an embassy to Goa purely with a view to gaining political alliance. The Portuguese alliance with the sultans of the Deccan caused grave concern to the emperor and he wanted to check their influence by the establishment of Mughul authority in the Deccan. At one time he even thought of securing the help of the Deccan sultanates against them. In reality Akbar considered the Portuguese as his most powerful enemy in India as he states in his letter to ‘Abdullah Khan 30e but he considered it politic to maintain friendly relations with them.

Akbar had no proper diplomatic relations with England, though some Englishmen visited his court. Elizabethan England had already begun to take interest in Indian trade and in 1585 a party of three Englishmen, John Newbery, a London merchant and member of the Levant Company, Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, and William Leedes, a jeweller, arrived at Fathpur Slkrl. Newbery carried with him a letter from Queen Elizabeth, written in February, 1583, in which she addresses Akbar as ‘the most invincible and most mighty Prince, King of Cambaie’ and recommends to him Newbery and his companions favourable reception, friendly treatment and suitable privileges. 31 The object of their visit was commercial. They were England’s pioneers in India. Of them Fitch has left a valuable account of his travels and to him Agra and Fathpur Slkrl appeared much larger and more populous than Elizabethan London. Leedes was taken into the royal service at Fathpur Slkrl. In 1603 another Englishman, John Mildenhall, also a merchant, arrived at Agra with a letter from Queen Elizabeth. He presented Akbar twenty-nine horses and some jewels and asked of him friendship with Queen Elizabeth, permission for the newly founded East India Company to trade in his kingdom and his neutrality in the event of English and Portuguese ships fighting on his coasts. But the Portuguese

Fathers at the Mughul court prejudiced the mind of Akbar against the English whom they described as ‘a complete nation of thieves.’ Ultimately, according to his own version, Mildenhall was able to exact from Akbar a favourable treaty but there is no doubt that he could not gain any concession from the emperor. The negotiations opened by Newbery and Mildenhall, however, led ultimately to the despatch of a duly accredited embassy to Jahangir.

VI. CONQUESTS IN THE DECCAN

Akbar had his eye on the Deccan long before he sent regular expeditions for the expansion of the Mughul empire into the South which ultimately proved to be the fata morgana under his greatgrandson, leading to his own ruin and the ruin of his empire. Akbar’s ambition for supremacy over the whole Indian sub-continent demanded it; the policy of the previous Muslim rulers like ‘Ala-ud-dln Khalji pointed to it; and the Portuguese influence at the courts of the Deccan sultanates made it imperative on the emperor who needed no

casus belli. Akbar had always reckoned the Portuguese as a power, controlling important parts of India’s seaboard and growing as a menace to the Mughul empire, and he considered it essential to counteract their influence at the cabinets of the Deccan sultanates. Chronic jealousy and frequent wars between these States offered Akbar the favourable ground for the fulfilment of his imperial ambition. Of the five offshoots of the BahmanI empire, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda concerned Akbar. Berar had been annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574 and Bldar was too insignificant to attract attention. Besides, there was the kingdom of Khandesh which was the outpost of Mughul invasion into the South.

As early as 1564 Akbar had sent from Mandu an envoy to Mubarak Shah II of Khandesh, demanding the hand of his daughter. Mubarak sent his daughter and agreed to surrender Bijagarh and Hindiya and recognize Akbar’s sovereignty by reciting his name in the khutba. During his campaign in Gujarat in 1573 Akbar despatched envoys to the courts of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar and four years later, in 1577, the emperor received letters and an envoy from the Nizam Shahl court in response to an embassy which he had sent. About this time, in February, 1577, Akbar despatched an expedition under Shihab-ud-dln Ahmad Khan against the new ruler of Khandesh, Raja ‘All Khan, who reversed the policy of his predecessors, Mubarak II (1535-66) and Muhammad II (1566-76) by assuming the title of Shah and refusing to pay tribute. The expedition, however, was withdrawn shortly after as Raja ‘All Khan paid tribute.

It was not until 1585 that Akbar secured some pretext for interference into the Deccan affairs. The dictatorial rule of Salabat Khan, the minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, disgusted the nobles, some of whom fled to Akbar’s court and sought his help. In 1585 Akbar ordered Khan 'Azam, governor of Malwa, to invade Berar but it was not until the next year that he could actually carry out the royal order. He invaded Berar, sacked its capital, Ellichpur, but had to retreat to Nandurbar after fighting an indecisive battle at Chandur 313 on account of the combined opposition of the troops of Raja ‘All Khan and the Nizam Shah. He banked on the help of the Khan Khanan, governor of Gujarat, which he failed to secure, and the expedition came to a barren end.

The Deccan enjoyed a respite for about three years after which circumstances in Ahmadnagar invited Akbar’s aggression. On 14 June, 1588, Murtaza Nizam Shah I was murdered by his son Husain who succeeded him but was himself deposed and murdered on 1 April, 1589, by the nobles who raised to the throne Isma'il, the son of Burhan-ud-dln, the younger brother of Murtaza Nizam Shah, now a refugee at Akbar’s court. This aroused the ambition of Burhan-ud-din to secure the throne of Ahmadnagar and offered Akbar the pretext for interference into its affairs. Akbar sent him to Malwa with instructions to Khan A‘zam and Raja ‘AH Khan of Khandesh to help him secure the Ahmadnagar throne. Burhan, however, refused Mughul assistance to avoid inconvenient and humiliating obligations and invaded Berar with his own troops, but he was defeated and retreated to Khandesh. His second attempt, in which Raja ‘All Khan substantially helped him and secured for him the help of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shiah II, proved successful. Isma‘Il was taken captive after the victory of Burhan and Raja ‘All at the battle of Rohankhed. 32 Burhan deposed him and sat on the throne of Ahmadnagar as Burhan

Nizam Shah II (May, 1591). Burhan, whom Akbar regarded as his protege, far from proving his obedient vassal, asserted his independence.

Akbar was outwitted and so, in August, 1591, he sent ambassadors to the courts of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. In 1593 Faizi and the other envoys returned from the Deccan. None of the sultans agreed to acknowledge Akbar’s sovereignty, though Raja ‘All Khan sent his daughter for marriage with Prince Salim and the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda were good enough to present rich gifts to the emperor. Burhan did not even accord Akbar’s envoy Faizi an honourable treatment. It was high time that Akbar should send an expedition and he appointed the Khan Khanan and Sultan Murad to this command, assisted by Mirza Shah Rukh and Shahbaz Khan. Dissensions between the imperial leaders, however, delayed operation. Murad wanted the officers of Malwa to join him in Gujarat, his province, and march from there to the Deccan, while the Khan Khanan wanted to proceed from Malwa, where he was then stationed, and refused to act as a mere follower of the prince.

Meanwhile the course of events in Ahmadnagar offered Akbar the casas belli which he had long sought for. On the death of Burhan Nizam Shah II in April, 1595, his elder son Ibrahim succeeded him but a few months after he was slain in a battle. Ibrahim’s infant son Bahadur was imprisoned by Miyan Manjhu and the Deccanis; they raised to the throne a youth named Ahmad who was represented as the son of Muhammad Khudabanda, sixth son of Burhan Nizam Shah I (1509-1553). But Chand Sultan, daughter of Husain Ni^am Shah I and widow of ‘All ‘Adil Shah I of Bijapur, championed the cause of the lawful heir, Bahadur. The African nobles, who supported another candidate, besieged Miyan Manjhu in Ahmadnagar who sought the help of Sultan Murad, governor of Gujariat.

The prince, who had been preparing for a campaign in the Deccan, marched without delay and at Chandur, 33 some sixty miles from Ahmadnagar, where he was joined by the Khan Khanan, Raja ‘All Khan also joined the imperial force, though rather reluctantly, because his real sympathies were with the Deccan kingdom. The Mughul army arrived before Ahmadnagar on 26 December, 1595, and, instead of coming as allies, they came as invaders, as Firishta justly comments, and besieged the city.

Miyan Manjhu, who regretted the appeal he had made to the Mughuls, retired from Ahmadnagar, and Chand Sultan took the helm of affairs in her own hand. The jealousy and dissension between the Mughul commanders, the heroic defence of the fort by the ‘noble queen’ and the encouragement the garrison received from Raja ‘All Khan, who sent secret messages to them, made the progress of the siege slow. In response to the call of Chand Sultan, the nobles rallied round her. Ikhlas Khan marched from Daulatabad with 10,000 horse but in the vicinity of Paithan on the Godavari the Mughuls defeated him. Abhang Khan marched from the southern frontier with 7,000 horse but was badly defeated by the Khan Khanan’s troops with heavy loss. In the doom of Ahmadnagar the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda read their own and they sent a big army which was advancing from the Bijapur frontier. The Mughuls, therefore, had recourse to digging mines with a view to destroying the defences but treachery helped the garrison who, being informed in time, destroyed the mines by countermining. Meanwhile the confederate army of Bijapur and Golconda was approaching the city and scarcity of provisions prevailed in the Mughul camp. Sultan Murad accordingly offered terms of peace to Chand Sultan: the Mughuls would raise the siege of Ahmadnagar provided Berar was ceded to them. Reluctantly Chand Sultan agreed and peace was concluded on 23 March, 1596. 34 The Mughuls raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and retired to Berar and the first act in the drama of Akbar’s Deccan campaign ended.

The peace thus concluded proved a mere truce. There were causes of complaint on both sides, but the terms of peace were actually violated, against Chand Sultan’s advice, by the rulers of Ahmadnagar who, encouraged by the approach of the Bijapur and Golconda army, whose help they had sought, made an attempt to expel the Mughul troops from Berar. The Khan Khanan moved with an army of 15,000 horse against the Deccanis, and at Ashti near Sonpet a hardly-contested battle took place on 8 and 9 February, 1597. The battle began late in the afternoon. Suhail Khan, the commander of the Bijapur troops, made an artillery at tack with such vehemence that the two wings of the Mughul army were defeated and put to flight and Raja ‘All Khan of Khlandesh, who commanded the Mughul left, was slain with his officers and 500 of his men. The Khan Khanan and Shah Rukh Mirza who commanded the centre ably stood their ground, pushed back the troops of Ahmadnagar and captured the Bijapur artillery. Next morning the Khan Khanan with 7,000 men, who had assembled at night, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Bijapur troops who, with Suhail Khan wounded, fled.

The victory of the Khan Khanan was not however followed by any remarkable progress of the Mughul arms in the Deccan, particularly because of the dissension between the two commanders which led to the recall of the hero of Ashti to court. In 1598 the Mughuls gained some minor successes; they took Gawil, Narnala, Kherla and other forts in Berar. Next year Akbar sent to the Deccan Abu-’l-Fazl who arrived at Burhanpur in May but failed to persuade Bahadur, son and successor of Raja ‘All Khan of Khandesh, to join the imperial army. On 12 May, 1599, Prince Muriad died of delirium tremens and his younger brother Prince Daniyal was appointed to the Deccan command, but his movement was so leisurely that he did not reach Burhanpur until 1 January, 1600. Taking advantage of this situation, the Ahmadnagar troops besieged the Mughul commandant at the fort of Bir.

Akbar, who was now freed from the bogey of Uzbeg invasion because of the death of ‘Abdullah Khan in February, 1598, left Agra on 29 September, 1599, with 80,000 horse and despatched the Khan Khanan to join Daniyal in the Deccan. Dissension in Ahmadnagar favoured the Mughul cause. Chand Sultan was opposed by Abhang Khan and she opened negotiations with Abu-’l-Fazl by which she agreed to surrender Ahmadnagar if the Mughuls would remove Abhang Khan. Abhang replied by despatching an army which invaded Berar and advanced as far as Ellichpur, but was ultimately defeated by the Mughuls.

The arrival of Prince Daniyal at Burhanpur in January, 1600, added fresh complication to the intricate situation. Bahadur refused to wait on him and shut himself up in the fort of Aslrgarh and the enraged prince summoned the officers of Berar to reply to Bahadur’s insolence. Akbar, who was now in Maiwa on his way to the Deccan, sent orders to the prince to march towards Ahmadnagar and he himself hastened towards Burhanpur to deal with the defiant Bahadur. On 8 April Akbar appeared before Burhanpur and the very next day he despatched Khan A‘zam to besiege the fort of Aslrgarh.

Daniyal and the Khan Khanan accordingly marched towards Ahmadnagar. Abhang Khan proceeded to oppose them but ultimately retreated to Junnar. On 21 April the Mughuls besieged the fort without opposition. Chand Sultan, who advised peace with the Mughuls by surrender of the fort, was put to death by a riotous faction which was opposed to her policy. With her fall the star of Ahmadnagar sank. The defences of the fort were destroyed by mines and the Mughuls stormed it on 28 August. The fall of Ahmadnagar alarmed Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II of Bijapur who sent an envoy to Akbar to conciliate him and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Daniyal.

Bahadur, who had enough provisions in the fort of Asirgarh to stand a siege, opened negotiations with Akbar just to gain time so that the Mughuls would be compelled to raise the siege on account of scarcity of provisions, but Akbar saw through the design and demanded unconditional surrender. On 21 June a Mughul force captured the Sapan hill from which the enemy harassed the besiegers and a second overture for peace was also rejected in September. But the progress of the siege was remarkably slow and Abu’1-Fazl was sent to infuse fresh vigour into the besiegers. The garrison was, however, reduced to great straits on account of the congestion of men, animals and stores and a pestilence broke out which took a huge toll of lives. This miserable plight of the besieged enabled the Mughuls to capture on 9 December the fort of Maligarh, situated to the north-west of the main fort and on the lower slopes of the hill. These circumstances compelled Bahadur to agree to Akbar’s proposal to meet him at his camp for negotiation on condition that Khandesh would be restored to him and the members of the royal family would be released. On 21 December Bahadur came to Akbar’s camp. He had left instruction to the garrison not to surrender and consequently he refused to surrender the fort. Akbar had tried to secure the help of Portuguese artillery through the Jesuits but failed. He therefore detained Bahadur and coerced him to write to the garrison for delivering the keys of the fort. Yaqut, the Abyssinian commandant of the fort, loyal to Bahadur’s instruction, disregarded his master’s letter from Akbar’s camp delivered to him by his son Muqarrab Khan, and, on the refusal of every other member of the royal family to sit on the throne for its defence, committed suicide. The garrison, largely bribed by Akbar’s officers, lost morale and surrendered the fort to the Mughuls on 6 January, 1601.[35] In the siege of Asirgarh Akbar stands guilty of an act of treachery; he was not treacherous by nature but when expediency demanded it, he did not hesitate to use it as a weapon.[36]

Akbar made over the government of Khandesh to Daniyal and ultimately Khandesh, Berar and the annexed portion of Ahmadnagar were combined as the viceroyalty of the Deccan under the prince. A large portion of Ahmadnagar remained independent under Murtaza Nizam Shah II, the son of Shah ‘All, third son of Burhan I, as the nominal ruler but with Malik ‘Ambar as the real power with whom the Mughuls made peace after minor engagements.

VII. REVOLT OF SALIM

Akbar intended to deal with the kingdom of Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar but he had to leave the Deccan in April for the North where Salim was in active mutiny. On 23 August, 1601, the emperor reached Agra. His profligate son, who had disliked his bestowing favour on Daniyal, became impatient of the delay in securing the throne. As early as 1591[36a] he had displayed shameless eagerness to grasp sovereign power and nine years later, taking advantage of Akbar’s preoccupation in the Deccan, attempted a coup de main. Salim’s revolt was not a protest of orthodox Islam against the heterodoxy of Akbar and Abu-’l-Fazl. Salim did not champion the cause of Islamic orthodoxy, as Count Von Noer states. When Akbar set out for the Deccan, the prince had been left in charge of the capital and entrusted with the task of suppressing the Rana of Me war in collaboration with Raja Man Singh. But he neither seriously carried out his father’s instructions nor listened to his brother-in-law who advised him to accompany him to Bengal where he was transferred to deal with the rebellion of the Afghans. He first made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Agra and the Punjab and then crossing the Yamuna on 23 July, 1600, made for Allahabad, evading an interview with his grandmother who hastened after him to dissuade him from his purpose. On arrival at Allahabad he took possession of the treasures of Bihar amounting to 30 lakhs of Rupees and seized the territory from KalpI to Hajlpur where he appointed his own officers. He sent an evasive reply to his father’s letter from the Deccan. On his return to the capital Akbar opened negotiations with his rebel son but Salim advanced towards Agra at the head of 30,000 horse and reached Etawa. Akbar despatched a letter of remonstrance and threat ordering the prince to return to Allahabad and then offered him the government of Bengal and Orissa. Salim disregarded the offer but returned to Allahabad (May, 1602) where he set up as an independent monarch. He sent his envoy to Agra to negotiate peace with his father who could hardly agree to his extravagant demands. Besides he struck coins in his own name and had the audacity to send specimens to confirm his sovereign powers. This fresh provocation moved Akbar to action which paternal affection as well as policy had so long prevented. He recalled from the Deccan his valued counsellor Abu-’l-Fazl who deeply resented the prince’s foolish and shameless conduct and assured his sovereign that he would bring the ‘king of Allahabad’ bound to court and immediately left for the capital. Salim, who was jealous of the power and influence of the great minister, regarded him as his personal enemy and saw his impending doom. He apprehended that Abu-’l-Fazl’s influence might cause Akbar to adopt a sterner attitude and even to take the extreme step of disinheriting him. He was determined to destroy Abu-’l-Fazl and commissioned Bir Singh, the rebel Bundela chieftain of Orchha, for this purpose. On 19 August 1602, the loyal bandit intercepted Abu-’l-Fazl between Sarai Bir and Antri 37 and with 500 horsemen fell upon the great minister, overpowered his insufficient escort and after severing the head from his body, sent it to Salim at Allahabad. It is strange to relate that this cultured prince received it with barbaric delight and treated the savage murder of the greatest savant of Muslim India with supreme contempt. Stranger still, even in his autobiography, which must have been written later and in calmer moments, he refers to the incident—tragic beyond measure—with almost brutal cynicism.

Akbar became furious and heart-broken. He had lost Raja Birbal, the brilliant wit and poet, in 1586 due to his own mistake and in 1589 he had been deprived of two of his valued servants: Todar Mai, the great financier and Raja Bhagwan Das, the

valiant commander. In 1593 his faithful counsellor Shaikh Mubarak died and two lyears later he lost his valued Poet Laureate Faizi; but the loss of Abu-'l-Fazl, his devoted counsellor and constant friend, overpowered him with grief and rage. For three clays he abstained himself from appearing in public and he cried like a helpless child. The emperor ordered that the culprit should be hunted down and his head brought to court. Bir Singh was hotly pursued and almost captured in the fortress of Erachh 38 but he managed to escape. This heightened the indignation of Akbar who deputed Asad Beg to investigate into the matter and Asad Beg reported great negligence on the part of the officers concerned.

Salima Sultan Begam, the gifted widow of Bairam Khan and Akbar's cousin and wife, now offered her good offices to reconcile Salim to his father. She went to Allahabad and, succeeding in her

mission, returned with the prince who was received by his grandmother one stage from Agra and led into his father's presence. Salim presented 12,000 gold mohurs and 770 elephants to Akbar who forgave his profligate son deserving capital punishment, received him kindly by a warm embrace and even designated him heir apparent. In October, 1603, Salim was deputed to lead an expedition against the Rana of Mewar but he expressed his reluctance and was permitted to return to Allahabad. At Allahabad Salim gave himself up to opium and wine and committed the worst barbarities; he had the news-writer who reported his misdeeds flayed alive in his presence and one of his associates was castrated and another beaten to death. The other son of the emperor, Daniyal, who had just married a daughter of the 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, drank himself to death at Burhanpur in April, 1604. 39 Akbar himself set out for Allahabad to punish his recalcitrant son, but he had to return to Agra due to the serious illness of his mother who died on 10 September. Akbar deeply mourned her loss and discontinued his movement against Salim who, by the persuasion of Mir Sadr Jahan as well as due to the necessity for remaining at court to counteract the intrigues of Khusrav's partisans, agreed to submit and on 16 November arrived at court with rich presents for his father. Akbar welcomed him at the public audience but afterwards reproached him for his misconduct and imprisoned him in a room for ten days during which he was deprived of opium and wine. Thus ends the rebellion of Salim whom Akbar could probably never forgive in all sincerity as the blood of Abu-’l-Fazl flowed between the grieved father and the unrepentant son.

Meanwhile at court there was a strong party led by Khan A c zam and Raja Man Singh who favoured the succession of Salim’s son Khusrav and induced Akbar to set aside the claim of his father. Khusrav was Khan A‘zam’s son-in-law and Raja Man Singh’s nephew. Besides, Salim’s misconduct had created an unfavourable opinion of him as heir to the throne.

VIII. DEATH OF AKBAR — HIS PERSONALITY

On 3 October, 1605, Akbar fell ill with dysentery and the efforts of his best physician Hakim ‘All failed to cure him. Khan A‘zam and Raja Man Singh now became alert and conspired to seize Salim when he would next visit his dying father, but the prince was informed in time and was able to return safely from the court. The right of primogeniture had become customary in the TImurid family and the two leaders were outvoted in a conference of the nobles, the majority of whom decided in favour of Salim. The Sayyids of Barha supported his cause and the Rajputs of Raja Ram Das, the Kachhwaha, guarded the treasury in his interest.

On 21 October, when at last Salim visited his dying father, he could not speak; he made a sign asking his son to place the imperial turban on his head and gird himself with Humayun’s sword. At midnight on 25-26 October the great monarch passed away, and next morning his body was borne in state to the garden of Bihishtabad (Sikandra), some six miles from Agra, where he had commenced to build his own mausoleum.

“Happy the writer who shall tell the history of Catherine II”, exclaimed Voltaire. A similar remark might be made with greater justice in regard to Akbar who is ‘one of the hinges of history’ and was great in an age of great rulers: Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, Sulaiman the Magnificent of Turkey and Shah ‘Abbas the Great of Persia were his contemporaries. We have contemporary portraits of the emperor: one from the pen of the Jesuit Father Monserrate and one from that of his son Jahangir and several from the brush of his court painters. Akbar was a man of medium height with broad shoulders, dark sparkling eyes, open forehead, long arms and wheat-coloured complexion. He was strongly built, neither thin nor stout. His eyebrows were narrow, eyelids heavy. His nose was of middle size and his nostrils were wide. Below his left nose was a mole of the size of a pea. His head drooped slightly over his right shoulder. His voice was loud, his conversation witty and animated. Normally he was dignified: when he laughed, he was distorted; in his wrath he was majestic. Altogether he was kingly and was easily recognized as the king in any assemblage of men.

The titanic and complex personality of the great Mughul is not easy to portray. Akbar was by nature humane and gentle, though occasionally he could be violent and cruel as when he ordered the general massacre of the vanquished garrison of Chitor and put a luckless lamp-lighter to death for the crime of having fallen asleep close to the royal couch. Chivalrous and just to all men, fundamentally sincere and straightforward, charitable and generous to a fallen foe, he could be perfidious and unscrupulous when expediency demanded it, as we find him in his treatment of Yusuf Shah of Kashmir and Bahadur Shiah of Khandesh. Genial and sociable, possessed of a magnetic personality and winning manners, he had ‘super-abundant capacity for sympathy’ and genius for gaining the love and affection of his people and the respect and admiration of his enemy. Moderate in his diet, he took but one full meal a day. A temperate drinker, he was fond of fruit; he disliked and ultimately abstained from flesh food. Possessed of radiant energy, he was essentially a man of action. Equally efficient in riding, polo and swordsmanship, he was an unerring shot and had practical knowledge of the mechanical arts. A true Timurid in his dauntless personal courage, he would expose himself in battles and sieges and would not hesitate to risk his life by attacking a mighty tiger or by hand-to-hand challenge of the enemy as in the battle of Sarnal. He possessed the essential qualities of a general: capacity for strategy and practical knowledge of war to a remarkable degree as well as swiftness of military movements that was perfectly Alexandrine. His mastery of speed and surprise was revealed in his wonderful blitzkrieg in Gujarat. The siege of Chitor revealed him as an exact marksman. The Kabul campaign showed his mastery of detail and that of Bengal, where he defeated the Afghans during the full rains, proved his contempt of time-honoured custom. His Central Asian policy, by which he maintained the balance by playing off ‘Abdullah Khan of Bukhara against Shah ‘Abbas of Persia, befriending both but helping neither, is well worthy of the Roi Soleil and testifies to his mastery in diplomacy. A man of soaring and boundless ambition, he was a self-confessed annexationist, an antithesis of the great Asoka whom he resembles in so many respects. He was an indefatigable worker at the trade of a king and would only sleep for three hours at night. His mind was as active as his body. Sincerely religious and God-fearing, he was a rationalist and a dreamer, a mystic and a seeker after truth: he covered under his inexhaustible energy a soul melancholy. Of his two inscriptions on the walls of the portico of the Buland Darwdza, one records the date of his proud conquest of Kh&ndesh and the Deccan and the other reminds all of the transitoriness of worldly things. He had an infectious enthusiasm for religious and philosophical discussions. He could neither read nor write, but he was not ignorant as BadaunI would have us believe. Monserrate, who was impressed by his splendid versatility, testifies that in spite of his illiteracy, he was yet most learned (doctissimus eruditissi musque). 40 He was a man of many interests and varied tastes. He had books read to him on poetry, history, philosophy and theology and he had a prodigious memory. He took interest in music and to him the art of painting was a means to the realization of the greatness and glory of God. He not only laid the real foundation of the Mughul empire and conferred on the subjects of his far-flung dominion the blessings of Pax Muglauliana, but he was also the founder of Mughul polity and he made his capital the veritable Mecca of culture and civilization rivalling, if not surpassing,

in grandeur Herat of Sultan Husain MirzJa Baiqara, the grande monarque of Central Asia. Architecture and gardening, calligraphy and painting, music and the minor arts, history and poetry, theology and philosophy, all were represented at his sumptuous court. He laid the foundation of the Mughul school of painting and the Mughul style of architecture. Persian as well as Hindi literature had a glorious revival under his generous patronage.

Kausari, the court poet of Shah ‘Abbas the Great, even regrets that the centre of Persian literature had shifted from Persia to Hindusthan. Even Sanskritic studies did receive his positive encouragement. 40 " 1 Indeed Akbar took an important part in the evolution of Mughul civilization by the happy fusion and harmonious blending of Persian and Indian cultures; he himself was the very symbol of that synthesis.

Yet it has to be confessed that Akbar’s knowledge, acquired through ears, could neither be methodical nor co-ordinated. He was a man of original ideas and bold conceptions. His administrative and military reforms reveal his constructive ability and organizational power. In his social reforms—the abolition of forced sati , 41 encouragement of widow remarriage and prohibition of child marriage—he anticipated the ideas of modern times. He believed in the divinity of kingship in regarding royalty as a ‘light emanating from God’ and by his character and work he raised the prestige of monarchy. He was a statesman par excellence with a masculine intellect, profound knowledge of human nature, judgment of problems and a vision of things afar: he could hear the beating of drums coming from a distant mart. He was the first Muslim ruler, Sher Shah excepted, who accepted the responsibilities of government with the welfare of the governed as its objective. He gave a new orientation to Indo-Islamic history. Few monarchs have come nearer to the ideal of a father of his people. As the apostle of sulh-i-kull (universal toleration) he stands unique. In his boyhood there were the fires of Smithfield in England, his contemporary was Philip II of Spain and he was followed a century later by the monarch of the Dragonnades. While the Duke of Alva by the stroke of his pen was massacring millions of people for their resistance to the authority of Rome, Abu-’l-Fazl was enunciating that ‘persecution defeats its own purpose.’ Like the Buland Dar waza that he built at Fathpur Sikri, Akbar towers far above his contemporary sovereigns and, with all his vices, he remains not only as one of the grandest monarchs known to history but ‘one of the few royal figures that approach the stature of great men.’

1. Badauni, Tr. by Ranking, Vol. I, p. 2.

la. Vambery, The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Ali Rai‘s, pp. 56-58.

lb. Hodivala, Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, pp. 265-66; ‘Arif Qandaharl, Tarikh-i-Akbari, pp. 40-41.

2. There is a picture by the famous artist Khvaja ‘Abdus-Samad illustrating the incident, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Reproduced in Percy Brown, Indian Painting under the Mughals , p. 55.

3. Indian Historical Quarterly, June 1952, pp. 147-156.

4. This conclusion is not based on the statements of later chroniclers like Ahmad Yadgar and Van den Broecke as Vincent Smith has done in J.R.A.S., 1916, pp. 527-34, but on the evidence of two really contemporary authorities: Bayazld Biyat and ‘Arif Qandaharl, supplemented by other chroniclers. For a full discussion see Dacca University Studies, November 1935, pp. 67-101.

5. Town in Kashmir State 32° 38’, 75° 24’; Thornton, Gazetteer of India, London, 1886.

6. Her mother was a daughter of Babur. See the article on Salima Begam in J.A.S.B., 1906, and A.S. Beveridge, Humayun-ndma, pp. 276-78.

7. The conflicting accounts in the chronicles make it difficult to say whether he was a saint or a charlatan.

7a. Tab. Akbari, Eng. Transl. II, p. 112; Tarikh-i-Alfi, I. O.Ms., ff. 423-4.

7b. Vide Tab. Akbari. Eng. Transl. II., p. 238. The message runs thus; ‘As I have come to such distance without consulting you, my attendants have become uneasy (lit. fallen into suspicion). It is best and proper if you will soothe them so that they may serve with composure of mind.’

8. Vincent Smith is wrong in his statement that Bairam Khan died as a young man of thirty-six or thirty-seven, Akbar the Great Mogul , p. 46, n. 2. See Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1949, pp. 191-195.

9. Two chronicles assert that Bairam Khan proceeded to the Punjab with a view to going to Mecca by way of Qandahar and Mashhad, holy for the Shiahs, the road to Gujarat being controlled by Mai Dev, raja of Jodhpur, who was hostile to Bairam, Ma e dan-i~akhbdr-i-Ahmadi. f. 183 b and Khdfi Khan, Vol. I, pp. 146-47.

10. See Journal of Indian History, Vol. I, 1921, pp. 327-44. Also Ma‘dan-i-akhbd / r-iAhmadi, f. 177 a and Zubdat-ut-Tawdrikh, I O.Ms., f. 103 b.

11. In Jubbulpur district. 23° 10' N., 79° 57' E.

12. In Narsinghpur district. 22° 46' N., 78° 59' E.

13. See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1904, ‘A Forgotten City.’

14. Vide Chapter II.

15. For the Shaibamds see Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, pp. 270-72.

16. Cambridge Shorter History of India, p. 346.

17. Firishta suggests that they wanted to retire to Malwa with a view to joining the rebellious MIrzas or forming an alliance with the sultans of the Deccan, Briggs, Vol. II, p. 227; Text, Vol. II, p. 256.

18. The site of the battle named by Abu-’l-Fazl as ‘Sakrawal’ and Nizam-ud-dm and Badauni as ‘Mankarwal’ cannot be properly identified.

19. He remained there until March 1572, when through the intercession of Mun‘im Khan he obtained pardon and was granted Lakhnau as his fief where he died shortly after. ‘Abdullah Khan who had escaped from Gujarat and joined Khan Zaman in Jaunpur had already died.

20. See Chapter III.

20a. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Rajputana, p. 132.

21. Major Price and Beveridge (Akbar-ndma, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 464) and following them Vincent Smith also gave the incorrect date, 20 October.

22. Akbar~ndma, Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 333; Moreland, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 85.

22a. Haig reads Nagaur as Bagor as he considers that Akbar should not have proceeded in a north-westerly direction from Ajmer when his objective lay to the south-west. But besides the MSS. of the Akbar-nama, Nizam-ud-dln, BadaunI, Firishta and ‘Abdul-BaqI state that Akbar left Ajmer for Nagaur.

22b. Tab. Akbarl s Eng. Trans. II, p. 403.

23. Moreland has rightly objected to the translation of khalisa as 'crown lands’, Agrarian System of Moslem India, p. 29, n. 1.

23a. A town in Patna district.

23b. Tod. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Ed. by Crooke, I, p. 394.

23c. Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans. II, p. 93.

23d. Ibid, III, p. 332.

23e. Aln-i-Akbari, Trans. by Jarrett, III, p. 394; Badduni, Trans. by Lowe, II, p. 213; Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans., Ill, p. 397.

24. See J.R.A.S., 1924, pp. 591-608, where Buckler emphasizes the importance of the 'declaration’ in relation to the outer Islamic world. There is no reason to believe, as Buckler does, that the early Mughul emperors acknowledged the sovereignty of the Safavl Shahs or that the latter asserted the right of overlordship over the former. On this point see Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp. 156-58, and S.Ray, Humdyun in Persia, pp. 58-60. See also Hollister, The Shi‘a of India, pp. 133-34, London, 1953.

25. The date as given by Luis de Guzman is here accepted. See Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, p. 42.

26. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Vol. II, pp. 97, 105-9.

27. Lowe, Muntakhab-ut-Tawarlkh, Vol. II, pp. 263-64.

27a. Ibid., p. 308; Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, p. 62.

27b. Freeman, History and Conquests of the Saracens, pp. 199-200.

27c. Von Noer, Ha veil, Yusuf Ali and following them M. L. Roy Chowdhury; Sri Ram Sharma and A. L. Srivastava rather do not consider it a religion.

28. Goldziher, Mohammed and Islam, p. 330.

28a. Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, p. 34. The Jesuit sources are Peruschi, du Jarric and Informatione.

28b. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 34; Monserrate, Commentarius (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, iii, 1914), fol. 42a.

28c. R. D. Banerji, History of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 3.

28d. See Akbar-nama, Eng. Ill, p. 431. '[Akbar].. .had ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by 100 per cent, in Bengal and 50 per cent, in Bihar. The Khwaja [Shah Mansur]... did not understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase should be 50 per cent and in Bihar, 20 per cent. Muzaffar was bound by the order and made out the accounts from the beginning of the year, and so instituted heavy demands'. As pointed out by Beveridge in Akbar-nama, III, footnote, p. 431, Mansur reduced the pay and apparently Muzaffar made the reduction take effect from the beginning of the year and so demanded repayment of the excess. Therefore it comes to this that 'Muzaffar decreased the pay of the troops in Bengal by 50 per cent, and in Bihar by 30 per cent'. The pay was already increased and Muzaffar reduced it and demanded repayment. Shah Mansur was responsible for this measure, but in Bengal Muzaffar executed it. For tactlessness and severity, see J. N. Sarkar — History of Bengal, II, published by Dacca University, p. 196; Badduni, Eng. Trans., II, pp. 288-89.

29. Cf. J.A.S.B., 1915, pp. 201-04; Tab. Akbari, Eng. Trans., II; pp. 545-7, 553-4; Badduni, Trans, by Lowe, II, pp. 298-303; Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans., Ill, pp. 501-505. Mcuasir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, pp. 656-7.

29a. Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans., III., pp. 541-2; Badduni, Eng. Trans, by Lowe, II, p. 303; Tab. Akbari, Eng. Trans., II, p. 551.

30. History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 209, has 10 April, 1592 which seems incorrect. The battle took place on 31 Farwardm or 6 Rajab, 1000 A.H., which yields

18 April, 1592. The error has been probably due to calculation based on Beveridge's conversion of 5 Jumada II, 1000, into 11 March, 1592 at p. 927, A.N., iii.; it should be 19 march.

30a.'Abdur Rahim, Mughal Relations with Central Asia, Islamic Culture, January 1937, pp. 81-90; R.C. Verma, Foreign Policy of the Great Mughals, pp. 58-59.

30b. Hoyland and Banerjee, Commentaries of Fr. Monserrate, p. 172.

30c. Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans., Ill, p. 758.

30d. For rivalry and jealousy over the Caliphate issue, Cf. Arnold, The Caliphate.

30e. Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans., Ill, pp. 757-8.

31. The letter is reproduced in J. C. Locke, The First Englishmen in India, London, 1930, pp. 31-32. It is the earliest communication between the Govern

ments of the two countries.

31a. In Ellichpur district.

32. 20° 37' N. and 76° 11' E.

33. 20° 19' N. and 74° 15' E.

34. Burhan-i-Madsir, Eng. Trans, in Indian Antiquary, November 1923, p. 345.

35. The above date is given by Abu-’l-Fazl who himself was present at the gate of the fort. According to the inscription on the front wall of the Jami‘ Masjid in the fort, the date was 26 January, 1601.

36. The siege of Aslrgarh has been a controversial point in Akbar’s history.

The Jesuit version of the incident is at variance with that of the Muslim

chronicles. After careful examination Payne has come to the definite conclusion that the ‘Jesuit references to the Deccan campaigns are vague and inaccurate.’ The exhaustive researches of Payne have conclusively overthrown V. A. Smith’s charge against Abu-1-Fazl that he was guilty of deliberate perversion of the truth. According to Du Jarric, Muqarrab Khan, the commandant’s son, was killed by Akbar when he reported his father’s refusal to surrender the fort, while according to the Muslim chronicles he committed suicide to avoid the critical situation. For a detailed discussion see Payne, Akbar and the Jesuits, pp. 248-258; Akbar-nama, Eng. Trans., Vol. Ill, pp. 1168-69; Indian Antiquary, 1918, pp. 180-83; and V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 272-86 and 297-300. V. A. Smith unjustly accused Abu-’l-Fazl without consulting the Akbar-nama; Abu-’l-Fazl, indeed, does not conceal the fact of Akbar’s treachery and his recourse to bribery.

36a. Badauni, Lowe, II, p. 390.

37. Sara! Bir is about 12 miles from Narwar while Antrl is about 6 miles away from it, Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, XLVIII. Abu-’l-Fazl’s tomb is at Antrl.

38. On the Betwa in JhansI district.

39. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 34-35, and V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 331-32. The supplement to the Akbar-nama gives the date as March, 1605.

40. Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius by Father Anthony Monserrate, S. J., edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S. J., in Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, iii, No. 9, Calcutta, 1914, p. 643.

40ai. J. B. Chaudhuri, Muslim patronage to Sanskrit learning, pp. 86-88.

41. Akbar saved the widow of Jai Mai, a cousin of Raja Bhagwan Das, from sati forced on her by her son whom he punished by imprisonment.

CHAPTER VI

JAHANGIR

Jahangir was born on Wednesday, 9 September, 1569, 1 at Fathpur Slkrl. A child of many prayers, 2 he was named Muhammad Sultan Salim, though Akbar always, whether drunk or sober, addressed him as ‘Shaikhu Baba.’ His early education was entrusted to a famous Muslim divine, Maulana Mir Kalan HarvI, and later to Shaikh Ahmad, the prince’s foster-father, and to Qutb-uddln Muhammad Khan Atga. In 1582, Akbar put him in charge of the famous ‘Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan. Jahangir acquired proficiency in Persian and Turkish and became an excellent calligraphist. He also showed considerable interest in history, geography, botany, zoology and art. As was customary with the Tlmurid princes of those days, Prince Salim was placed in nominal charge of large detachments of the army in the important Kabul campaign of 1581, when he was only twelve years of age. In the following year, he was placed in nominal charge of the departments of justice and public celebrations.

At the age of fifteen, Salim was married to Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagawan Das of Amber. She died in 1604, to the utter grief of Salim, who recalls her “perfect intelligence” and “her excellences and goodness” with affection in his Memoirs. 3

Salim’s relations with his father, who had always doted on him, were estranged when he came of age. His indecent eagerness to grasp power, his jealousy of Abu-’l-Fazl and Akbar’s dislike of his excesses were primarily responsible for this. Reference has already been made in the preceding Chapter to Salim’s open revolt against his father, the murder of Abu-’l-Fazl at his instigation, court-conspiracy against him in favour of Khusrav’s succession, Salim’s reconciliation with Akbar and accession after the latter’s death. On his accession, Salim assumed the name Jahangir (Holder of the World) and the title of Nur-ud-dln (Light of the Faith).

Jahangir ascended the throne in the fort of Agra on 3 November, 1605, at the age of thirty-six. His triumph over Khusrav and his partisans was not marred by any acts of retaliation. Friends and political opponents were all alike recipients of favours. BIr Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abu-’l-Fazl, was raised to the dignity of a commander of 3000. The sons and relatives of his patron saint, Shaikh Salim ChishtI, were given ranks and offices beyond their hopes and abilities, and this caused much heart-burning among the older officers. “Jahangir”, says Asad Beg, “began to win the hearts of all the people and officers, and to rearrange the withered world.”

One of Jahangir’s earliest orders, which he mentions with pardonable pride in his Memoirs, was the setting up of a chain of justice made of pure gold, thirty gaz long, with sixty bells upon it. One end was attached to a battlement of the fort of Agra and the other to a stone column on the bank of the river. Anyone who failed to secure justice might pull the end outside the fort in order to draw the attention of the Emperor so that the latter might redress his grievances. Later European writers speak of it as a piece of “silly make-believe” and doubt if it were ever used by a person in distress. • This criticism is not fair. The chain was a symbol of Jahangir’s determination to dispense justice fairly and firmly without fear or favour, and whatever his shortcomings may have been—and they were many—he remained true to his ideal of a justice-loving ruler. Asad Beg judiciously remarks: “For the consolation of the hearts of his people, he suspended the chain of justice and removed the rust of oppression from their hearts”. The chain of justice was an emblem of his accessibility and of his desire to redress wrongs.

Another of his important acts was the issuing of the Twelve Ordinances for the better government of the country. It is best to let Jahangir speak for himself.

“I also gave twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct (dasturu-l-amal) in all my dominions—

“1. Forbidding the levy of cesses under the names of tamghd and mlr bahrl (river tolls), and other burdens which the jdglrddrs of every province and district had imposed for their own profit.

“2. On roads where thefts and robberies took place, which roads might be at a little distance from habitations, the jdglrddrs of the neighbourhood should build sard’is (public rest-houses), mosques, and dig wells, which might stimulate population, and people might settle down in those sard’is. If these should be near a Khdlisa estate (under direct State management), the administrator (mutasaddi) of that place should execute the work.

“3. The bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them and obtaining their leave.

“4. In my dominions if anyone, whether unbeliever or Musalman, should die, his property and effects should be left for his heirs, and no one should interfere with them. If he should have no heir, they should appoint inspectors and separate guardians to guard the property, so that its value might be expended in lawful expenditure, such as the building of mosques and sard’is, the repair of broken bridges, and the digging of tanks and wells.

“5. They should not make wine or rice-spirit (darbahra) or any kind of intoxicating drug, or sell them; although I myself drink wine, and from the age of 18 years up till now, when I am 38, have persisted in it. When I first took a liking to drinking I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double-distilled spirit; when by degrees it acquired a great influence over me I endeavoured to lessen the quantity, and in the period of seven years I have brought myself from fifteen cups to five or six. My times for drinking were varied; sometimes when three or four sidereal hours of the day remained I would begin to drink, and sometimes at night and partly by day. This went on till I was 30 years old. After that I took to drinking always at night. Now I drink only to digest my food.

“6. They should not take possession of any person’s house.

“7. I forbade cutting off the nose or ears of any person, and I myself made a vow by the throne of God that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment.

“8. I gave an order that the officials of the Crown lands and the jagirddrs should not forcibly take the ryots’ lands and cultivate them on their own account.

“9. A government collector or a jagirdar should not without permission intermarry with the people of the pargcffld in which he might be.

“10. They should found hospitals in the great cities, and appoint physicians for the healing of the sick; whatever the expenditure might be, it should be given from the Khdlisa establishment.

“11. In accordance with the regulations of my revered father, I ordered that each year from the 18th of Rabtfu-l-awwal which is my birthday, for a number of days corresponding to the years of my life, they should not slaughter animals (for food). Two days in each week were also forbidden, one of them Thursday, the day of my accession, and the other Sunday, the day of my father’s birth. (He held this day in great esteem on this account, and because it was dedicated to the sun and also because it was the day on which Creation began. Therefore it was one of the days on which there was no killing in his dominions).

“12. I gave a general order that the offices and jag its of my father’s servants should remain as they were. Later, the mansabs (ranks or offices) were increased according to each one’s circumstances by not less than 20 per cent, to 300 or 400 per cent. The subsistence money of the ahadls was increased by 50 per cent., and I raised the pay of all domestics by 20 per cent. I increased the allowances of all the veiled ladies of my father’s harem from 20 per cent, to 100 per cent, according to their condition and relationship. By one stroke of the pen I confirmed the subsistence lands of the holders of aimas (charity lands) within the dominions, who form the army of prayer, according to the deeds in their possession. I gave an order to Mlran Sadr Jahan, who is one of the genuine Sayyids of India, and who for a long time held the high office of Sadr (ecclesiastical officer) under my father, that he should every day produce before me deserving people (worthy of charity). I released all criminals who had been confined and imprisoned for a long time in the forts and prisons." 4

A careful analysis of these ordinances shows Jahangir's genuine desire to ensure to his subjects freedom of person and security of life and property, and his solicitude for their material and moral welfare. The fact that these regulations did not in effect serve the purpose they were intended for, at least to the degree desired by Jahangir, does not detract from his honest and sincere desire to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects without distinction of class or creed. The regulations are "remarkable for the humanity, justice and political sagacity which pervades them."

The reign which opened with such promise was marred by the rebellion of Jahangir's son, Khusrav. The attempt to place Khusrav on the throne failed; father and son were reconciled and Jahangir, either from policy or large-heartedness, restored his son to his former favour. Khusrav, whom Jerry describes as a "gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine courage" and of great personal charm and well-educated, was immature and inexperienced. The affection bestowed upon him by his father and grandfather and the people of the court and the camp had made him wilful and restive. The fact that he had nearly succeeded in displacing his father had roused his ambition and filled him with a grievance. Jahangir did all that was possible to set Khusrav's mind at rest, but at the same time maintained a careful watch over his movements. Khusrav petulant and peevish, constantly brooding over the loss of a position

for which he had neither the claim nor the talents, and encouraged by his companions who kept his resentment alive for their personal ends, escaped from Agra on 6 April, 1606. He made his way to the Punjab, raising troops on the way. The anxiety of Jahangir, when he heard of this, was genuine. "My distress arose", he says, "from the thought that my son without any cause or reason had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbeks or Kizilbashes (Persians) and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne." 43

Jahangir followed Khusrav in person. Khusrav had neither the capacity to organise a successful revolt nor moral and material support of any influential party in the State. The people seem to have liked and loved him as a prince but had no desire to have him as their ruler.

When the prince reached Lahore, the governor closed the gates against him and resisted all the attempts of the rabble Khusrav had collected. Hearing that imperial reinforcements were coming, Khusrav raised the siege and tried to cross the Chenab. His army, ill led, ill equipped and ill organized, was defeated at Bhairowal. The prince tried to make a dash for Kabul, but the whole country was up against him. He was captured and conducted to Lahore, where he was presented before Jahangir in fetters.

Khusrav, trembling and weeping, wanted to fall on the feet of Jahangir, who sternly ordered him to stand in his place, and put him in confinement. He further directed a double row of stakes to be set up from the garden to the city and several hundred of the rebels were impaled thereon. Two leading rebels were punished more severely. Hasan Beg was sewn up in the fresh hide of an ox and ‘Abdur-Rahim in that of an ass. Others were let off with lighter punishments.

Arjun, the fifth Guru of the Sikhs, an innocent helper of Khusrav, was unwittingly drawn into the whirlpool of this palace intrigue. Khusrav on his way to Lahore had stayed at Taran Taran and was well received by the Guru who felt compassion for him and gave him Rs. 5,000. The Guru was at first fined by the Government, but as he refused to pay the fine, he was sentenced to death. The death of the Guru sowed the seeds of hatred between the Sikhs and the Muslims which the passage of time did not diminish. The execution of the Guru was not an act of religious persecution, but it was politically unwise and the Mughuls paid a heavy penalty for it. 5

Prince Khusrav was later ordered to be blinded, after an insurrection was attempted in his favour. But Jahangir afterwards relented and, under the treatment of a Persian physician, Khusrav regained the sight of one eye.

Akbar had succeeded during his lifetime in coercing or cajoling the proud Rajput rulers into acknowledging the supremacy of the Mughuls. Rajput soldiers and statesmen had distinguished themselves by their reckless and romantic courage on many battlefields, and by their wisdom and knowledge of the country and its people in the council-chamber. But the Rajput State of Mewar held aloof and continued to wage an unequal fight against superior Mughul organization and resources. The failure of Mughul military operations against Mewar towards the end of Akbar’s reign was in a large measure due to the half-hearted way in which Jahangir as Prince Salim had conducted the operations; his rebellion later called a halt to any further advance.

The first military expedition undertaken by Jahangir was against Rana Amar Singh of Mewar. An army of 20,000 horse was despatched under the command of Prince Parviz and Asaf Khan (Ja‘far Beg). A battle was fought at Dewar but its issue was doubtful as both sides claimed victory. The rebellion of Khusrav, which occurred during the course of this war, necessitated the withdrawal of the army.

A second expedition was sent in 1608 under the command of Mahabat Khan, but in spite of some initial success the Mughuls made no effective headway against the Rajputs. In 1609 Mahabat Khan was replaced by ‘Abdullah Khan, “a valiant soldier, a rash commander and a cruel and rebellious sort of man.” The war dragged on till ‘Abdullah Khan was sent as governor of Gujarat and the command given to Raja Basu. Jahangir was thoroughly dissatisfied with the halting way in which the operations were being conducted and appointed Khan A‘zam ‘Aziz Kuka and Prince Khurram to the command of the forces operating against Mewar. As was inevitable, Khurram and ‘Aziz Kuka quarrelled and the latter had to be recalled. The command then devolved on Prince Khurram who now carried on the operations in right earnest. Bit by bit, the country was devastated and the Rana’s supplies were cut off, while the net closed round him. The spirit of Rana Amar Singh was broken and he submitted in desperate straits. Jahangir accepted the submission, graciously received Rana Amar Singh’s son, and restored Mewar, including Chitor, to the Rana but on the express condition that Chitor was neither to be repaired nor re-fortified. Jahangir was rightly very jubilant over the successful conclusion of the long campaign which had taxed the resources of the empire to the utmost. His treatment of the fallen foe was both magnanimous and wise. Now that the hereditary enemy of the Mughul family had rendered submission, Jahangir could afford to be generous. He complacently closes his account of the campaign with the following remarks: “My lofty mind was always desirous, as far as possible, not to destroy the old families.”

Akbar had to put an end to his personal conduct of the Deccan campaign after the siege of Aslrgarh in 1601 on account of Salim’s rebellion. After Akbar’s return the campaigns were carried on indifferently and further advance and consolidation were rendered impossible by the senseless factiousness of Mughul officers. When Jahangir turned to the Deccan after his armies had been relieved from the Mewar campaign, he found himself faced with the famous Malik ‘Ambar, one of the ablest soldiers, administrators and statesmen the Deccan has produced.

Malik ‘Ambar was an Abyssinian by birth. He had served for a long time under the Nizam Shahl rulers and by sheer ability and force of character had risen to the highest position in the kingdom. After the fall of Ahmadnagar he retired to Khirki with a scion of the reigning family, Murtaza Nizam Shah. His loyalty to the Nizam Shahl dynasty was equalled by his intense dislike of the Mughuls, and he devoted his energy to the difficult task of rebuilding the shattered administration of the Nizam Shah! kingdom. He raised a strong and well-disciplined army and organized the revenue system on the model of Raja Todar Mai’s settlement in the north. He was the first Deccan statesman to conceive the possibility of raising a people’s army out of the Maratha peasantry and to the “traditional mode of warfare (of the Mughuls) he opened a new system of tactics which was remarkably successful during his lifetime.”

Malik ‘Ambar started by recovering some of the territories lost to the Mughuls in the time of Akbar. In 1608 Jahangir sent the Khan Khanan to the Deccan. The Khan having failed to compose the differences amongst the Mughul officers, Prince Parvlz was appointed governor of Khandesh and Berar (1609). He had neither the talent nor the energy and inclination for strenuous military pursuits. Thomas Roe, who visited him there, has left a graphic account of the pomp and ceremony of the court of Parvlz. The Prince delighted in show but was slow in action. The campaign, which now assumed a defensive character, dragged on without much success from 1609 to 1615. The Khan Khanan, Khan Jahan Lodi, Khan Zaman, Man Singh and ‘Abdullah Khan were tried in turn. They failed and frittered away their energies in senseless recrimination against each other to the advantage of the enemy. The Khan Khanan was again put in charge of the operations in 1612, and won some successes, but he was ultimately relieved of his command by Prince Khurram whose military fame, owing to the brilliant conclusion of the Mewar expedition, was then at its height.

Prince Khurram reached Burhanpur in 1617 and Jahangir moved to Mandu at the same time. The presence of the Mughul prince in the Deccan with a superbly equipped army filled the Deccanis with dismay. The long and disastrous war had sapped the material resources of the Nizam Shah! kingdom, and when Khurram proposed peace on the payment of tribute and the restoration of the lost territory, the offer was readily accepted by ‘Ambar as well as the Bijapur ruler. The territory of Balaghat was ceded to the Mughuls and the keys of the forts of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds were delivered. Khurram appointed his own officers to the recovered territory and retired to Mandu amidst great rejoicings and festivities. But all that Khurram had succeeded in doing was to patch up a peace with the recalcitrant forces of the Deccan kingdoms. “Nothing could”, writes Beni Prasad, “conceal the stern reality that the expenditure of millions of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughal frontier a single mile beyond the limits of 1605.” 5a

How temporary the peace was became evident when by 1620 the astute Malik ‘Ambar won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. In 1621, the relations between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar became strained and both kingdoms sought the Mughul alliance. The Mughuls closed in with the offer of Bijapur, and Malik ‘Ambar proceeded to harass the territories of that State. His death in 1626 at the age of eighty (lunar year) sealed the fate of Ahmadnagar and opened up the Deccan to Mughul designs. Mu‘tamid Khan, otherwise very hostile to Malik ‘Ambar, has testified to his great qualities in the following oft-quoted words: “This ‘Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgement, and in administration he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (Kazzdki) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called bargi-giri. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence.” 6

One of the important military achievements of the Mughul armies under Jahangir was the capture of Kangra. The fort of Kangra, perched on the crest of a lofty hill, had long defied all earlier attempts against it. Tradition declares that it had been attacked no less than fifty-four times.

In 1615, Murtaza Khan and Suraj Mai were commissioned to capture the fort. Suraj Mai was accused of hampering the operations and recalled. On the death of Murtaza Khan, Suraj Mai was again placed in command, but this time he broke into open revolt, allied himself with the hill chiefs, and plundered the imperial territory. Raja Bikramajit was next sent into the valley and he succeeded in recovering the lost imperial prestige. The Raja of Chamba, who had helped Suraj Mai, submitted and Suraj Mai’s property was confiscated and given over to Jagat Singh. The siege of Kangra now began in right earnest, and, after a stout resistance of fourteen months, the garrison surrendered on 16 November, 1620. Jahangir visited the fort a year later with some Muslim divines, and to celebrate the occasion a mosque was built in the fortress. 63

In 1611 Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mai, subdued Kharda in Orissa. The Raja submitted but rebelled in 1617, and his territory was finally annexed to the empire. In 1615, Khokhar was captured with its valuable diamond mines. In 1617, the Jam of Navanagar and Bahara, two Cutch chiefs, were subdued, and three years later Kishtwar, to the south of Kashmir, submitted to the Mughuls.

The Afghans had not been fully reconciled to the loss of their political power in India at the hands of the Mughuls. Though a rising of the Afghans on an all-India scale was out of the question, ambitious Afghan officers were constantly chafing against the Mughul yoke. In 1599, ‘Usmain Khan had rebelled In Bengal, and though Man Singh put down the rising, the Afghans continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahangir’s reign. Frequent changes of provincial governors, the distance of Bengal from the capital, and the fact that Jahangir’s attention was diverted to more serious and larger issues nearer home were responsible for the easy and indifferent manner in which the Afghan rebels were treated. But on 1 April, 1612, Jahangir was informed of the victory against the Afghans and the death of the leader ‘Usman, “the last of the brave Afghans.”

Bengal, one of the most difficult provinces of India to conquer and consolidate, had taxed to the utmost the military power of Akbar because of its distance from Delhi and the power of the irreconcilable Afghan nobility, who, on being uprooted from the Gangetic plain, had found refuge there. In order to consolidate the newly conquered province Akbar had entered into a friendly alliance with Nara Narayan, the ruler of Cooch Behar, on the north-east of Bengal, in 1579. The domestic troubles of Cooch Behar led to its division into two States and weakened it considerably. Also the original friendly alliance soon became an instrument of imperial expansion in that region, and by 1596, Cooch Behar had become politically subject to the Mughuls. With the appointment of ‘Ala-ud-din Islam Khan as the governor of Bengal, a change came over the attitude of the Mughuls towards their erstwhile ally, the ruler of Cooch Behar, who was reduced to the position of a tributary vassal in 1609.

Lakshml Narayan of Cooch Behar* having lost his independence, turned to avenge his humiliation by inciting the Mughul governor against his turbulent cousin, King Parikshit of Kamrup. The Mughul governor was not slow in taking advantage of his invitation and in 1613, after a nine months’ campaign, he succeeded in conquering Kamrfup. Direct contact of the Mughuls with the Ahom kings of Assam began after the fall of the kingdom of Kamrup. Imperialistic designs, border disputes and the desire of the Mughuls for active trade relations with Assam, which the latter did not encourage, ultimately led to the invasion of Assam.

At the end of the rainy season of 1615, a large Mughul force was sent under Sayyid Abu Bakr. The army moved to Kohata, the frontier town on the Bar Nadi, and halted there for reinforcements. The struggle opened with an attack on Kajali, the Ahom frontier post on the south-west, and the defeat of the Assamese. The Mughuls moved up to Saurdhara but, in spite of initial victories, they could not retain the initiative. The Mughul army met with a serious defeat and the campaign closed ignominiously. The Ahom king retaliated by creating trouble in Kamrup and made the consolidation of the rule of the Mughuls difficult by inciting the local chiefs against them.

One of the most fascinating figures of Mughul India, around whom fact and fiction have woven a web of romance, was the famous Nur Jahan, whom Jahangir married in 1611 and who survived him by eighteen years. Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the father of Nur Jahan, belonged to a noble family of Tehran, and his father had served as governor of Yazd under Shah Tahmasp. The family fell on evil days after the death of Ghiyas’s father, and Ghiyas Beg migrated to India in search of employment and fortune. On his way to India, near Qandahar, under very distressing circumstances, his daughter,

.Mihr-un-nisa, was born in 1577. Mlrza Ghiyas travelled to India and was presented by Malik Mas‘ud to Akbar at Fathpur Slkrl. Being a talented and experienced man, he soon rose in the estimation of the Emperor and was appointed dlwdn or superintendent of the household. ‘‘He was considered’", says Mu‘tamid Khan, “exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; . . . his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring.” 6b

At the age of eighteen Mihr-un-nisa was married to ‘All Quli Beg Istajlu, better known as Sher Afgan (the tiger thrower), who had first served under Shah Ismafil II and had then come to India and taken service under Akbar. In the reign of Jahangir, ‘All Quli Beg received a suitable mansab , was styled Sher Afgan and given a jagir in Bengal. It was reported to Jahangir that Sher Afgan was insubordinate and disposed to rebellion. Qutb-ud-dln, who was sent to Bengal as governor in 1606, confirmed the reports of Sher Afgan’s disloyal intentions and was instructed to send him to the court. But Sher Afgan slew Qutb-ud-dln during an interview and was killed by the followers of Qutb-ud-dln. Mihr-un-nisa was sent to the capital and entrusted to the care of Jahangir’s mother. Jahangir has been accused of complicity in the murder of Sher Afgan, but there is no evidence in contemporary records to substantiate the charge. “A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles”, writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, “leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher Afgan’s death are of a highly suspicious nature, although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime." 7 Four years after the death of her former husband, Mihr-un-nisa was married to Jahangir. She received the title of Nur Mahall and later on of Nur Jahan, by which title she is most popularly known. The young widow, whose charm of personality was indescribable, and who had profound attachment to Jahangir, soon gained ascendancy at the court. Her success raised her ambitions, and as her husband's mental and physical powers declined, her influence and her active participation in State affairs increased. Mu'tamid Khan's plain account is both authentic and reliable: "All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. No grant of land was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nur Jahan the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription: 'By order of the King Jahangir, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam.' On all farmans also receiving the Imperial signature, the name of 'Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam', was jointly attached. At last, her authority reached such a pass that the king was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nur Jahan Begam and would say, "I require nothing beyond a sir of wine and half a sir of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she leaiffit that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned." 8

One immediate effect of Nur Jahan's influence was the rapid promotion her brother (Asaf Khan) and father (Ftimiad-ud-daula) received. But both of them amply deserved the confidence which the emperor reposed in them by reason of their outstanding personal abilities. Even without Nur Jahan to help them, they would have pushed their way up. But Nur Jahan accelerated their promotion and the Mughuls gained greatly by the ability and the devotion of these two highly gifted and talented officers. In 1612, Arjumand Banu Begam, better known as Mumtaz Mahall, daughter of Asaf Khan, was married to Prince Khurram. “This marriage”, says Beni Prasad, “symbolised the alliance of Nur Jahan, Ftimad-ud-daula, and Asaf Khan with the heir-apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nur Jahan’s sway was really the sway of these four personages.”

Nur Jahan’s political career may be divided into two periods. From 1611 to 1622, she exercised on the whole a sobering and beneficent influence in politics. Her parents, who had seen the vicissitudes of life, had a restraining influence on her. During this period, she worked in close collaboration with Prince Khurram whose cause she furthered. In 1620, Ladli Begam, Nur Jahan’s daughter by her former husband, was betrothed to prince Shahryar. This introduced an unbalancing factor in her relationship with Khurram. The latter had won a position for himself in the court and the camp; he no longer stood in need of the support of Nur Jahan, and in fact resented her interference. From 1622 Prince Khurram and Nur Jahan drifted apart. Jahangir fell more and more under the exclusive influence of Nur Jahan and the older nobility fretted and fumed at the power and influence of her family. Mahabat Khan had the courage to represent to the emperor: “Has His Majesty read in any of the histories of ancient sovereigns that there was a king so subject to the will of his wife?” “But the influence of Nur Jahan,” the author of Intekhab-i-Jahangir Shah, regretfully declares, “had wrought so much upon his mind that if 200 men like Mahabat Khan had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.” Mahabat Khan favoured the cause of Prince Khurram who was feared as a rival by Nur Jahan and Prince Khusrav alike. Prince Khurram succeeded in getting the custody of this ill-fated prince, took him to the Deccan, and in January, 1622, Jahangir was informed from Burhanpur that Khusrav had died of colic. According to De Laet, Khusrav was murdered in his bedroom by one Raza, at the instance of Prince Khurram. Khusrav was hurriedly buried in Burhanpur, but later his mortal remains were transferred to Allahabad, and buried in a garden which came to be known as Khusrav-bagh.

Jahangir’s health was rapidly deteriorating and Nur Jahan and Khurram both looked about for allies. Khurram refused to be diverted to the Qandahar campaign; he wished to be near the scene of action in case of his father’s death. He seized some of the jagirs of Nur Jahan and Prince Shahryar and, when his father reprimanded him and warned him of the consequences of his impudence, he turned a deaf ear. “He persisted in his perverse course”, Jahangir writes, “and, preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, took a decided step on the road to perdition by marching upon Agra.” Khurram hoped to capture Agra before it could be put in a state of preparation, but in this he did not succeed. He reached Fathpur and plundered the country. The rebels marched towards Delhi but were defeated near Balochpur in 1623. The Prince retired to Malwa and thence to the Deccan.

Failing to get help from Malik ‘Ambar, Khurram occupied Bihar and captured Rohtas. But at Allahabad he found the imperial officers alert and went back to the Deccan. Finally, despairing of success, he wrote to his father begging forgiveness for his conduct. Jahangir accepted Khurram’s submission on condition of his surrendering the forts of Rohtas and Aslr and giving his two sons, Dara and Aurangzlb, as hostages. Khurram complied and proceeded to Nasik. The rebellion of Khurram had seriously affected the prestige of the empire, hampered the military operations for the recovery of Qandahar and wasted the resources of the State in men and money.

The humiliation of Khurram gave secret joy to Nur Jahan, but the prominent part played by Mahabat Khan in liquidating Khurram’s rebellion and Mahabat’s alliance with Prince Parvlz was not to her liking. With the object of separating them, Mahabat Khan was ordered either to proceed to Bengal or to repair to the court. Various charges were brought against him. He was said to have realized large sums of money due to the State and also from the jagirs; he had not sent to the court the elephants obtained in Bengal; and, finally, he was guilty of contumacy in betrothing his daughter to the son of Khvaja Umar Naqshbandi, without the previous permission of the emperor, who visited his wrath on the young man by openly disgracing him and seizing all that Mahabat Khan had given him.

Mahabat Khan obeyed the royal summons and came north from the Deccan with 4000 brave Rajputs personally attached to him. Jahangir was then on his way to Kabul and was encamped on the banks of the Jhelum. Asaf Khan, who was with the emperor, crossed over to the other side with the troops, women and children, but before the emperor could go across, Mahabat Khan captured the bridge and stationed 2000 of his Rajputs there, while he himself proceeded to the royal camp and placed the emperor practically under arrest. When Nur Jahan heard of it, she collected her officers, bitterly reproached her brother and attempted to cross the river. The attempt failed though Nur Jahan later succeeded in joining her husband in captivity. Asaf Khan fled and shut himself in the fort of Attock and later on submitted to Mahabat. Nur Jahan was now left entirely to her own resources, but she did not lose her nerves and continued "to work against Mahabat both in private and in public." Mahabat Khan throughout behaved with courtesy towards the emperor. He had no backing except of his Rajputs and there was no prince of the royal blood in his hands at the time to serve as a trump card. Jahangir on the return journey from Kabul succeeded in going over to Rohtas and Mahabat Khan, whose temporary chagrin had forced him into the disloyal course, submitted. 9 He was ordered to release Asaf Khan and to proceed against Prince Khurram, who had retired into Sindh and was again on the warpath. Mahabat went and joined the Prince who later left for Nasik. Jahangir's health was now completely shattered and while returning to Lahore he died on 7 November, 1627.

National and personal considerations had induced Akbar to cultivate relations of friendship with the Portuguese. But he

does not appear to have gained much advantage from the courtesy shown to the Jesuit Fathers or the concessions granted to the Portuguese. At one time Akbar wrote to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg that he intended to drive the Portuguese into the sea. After the capture of Aslrgarh, Akbar's enthusiasm for them appears to have cooled but relations were not estranged. Jahangir desired to maintain friendly relations with them and he sent an embassy to Goa in 1607, and another in 1610. He was, however, thoroughly annoyed with the Portuguese when in 1613 they seized four imperial vessels near Surat. Failing to get satisfaction, Muqarrab Khan, the governor of Surat was ordered to chastise the Portuguese. The Mughul commander wisely and skilfully managed to come to terms with Downton, the English sea-captain, so as to remedy his own naval impotence—the weakest point in the Mughul armour. This enabled the Mughul commander to inflict a naval defeat on the Portuguese. The privileges granted to the Portuguese were withdrawn, the churches at Agra and Lahore were forcibly closed and the Portuguese living in the empire were arrested, wherever they could be found. The Jesuits, however, succeeded in restoring harmony in 1615.

Jahangir came into contact with the Jesuits during the lifetime of his father. He always treated the Jesuit Fathers with great courtesy and consideration and they held high hopes of his conversion to Christianity. But Jahangir was too good a Muslim and too proud a Mughul to accept baptism. It has been alleged that Jahangir's conciliatory attitude was due to the hopes of Portuguese assistance in case his peaceful succession to the throne was contested. That he sided with the Fathers in their debates with the Muslim divines was due to the delight it gave him to see the mullahs, always rigid and self-opinionated, worsted in polemical disputes. The veneration he showed to the pictures of Jesus and Mary was due to his personal passion for works of art and to the average Muslim's respect for Christ. He followed the policy of his father in contributing large sums for the erection of churches and showing general toleration for the Christian faith. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1616, and he permitted the baptism of the sons of his brother, Prince Daniyal, who after four years abjured the Christian faith. Father Xavier died in 1617, and Pinheiro in 1618. They were succeeded by Father R. Corsi and Joseph de Castro. The Jesuit mission now assumed the character and functions of an embassy aiming at outplaying the English and furthering the interests of the Portuguese at the court. But the Portuguese power 1 was already on the decline. They had lost the opportunity of establishing their authority and influence in the east owing to their arrogant contempt for oriental people, while their pride and religious intolerance made them feared and despised.

Captain Hawkins arrived at Surat in August 1608, with a letter from James I, King of England, and a present of 25,000 gold pieces. In spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Fathers, Hawkins was well received by Jahangir. He could speak Turkish and Persian and was in a better position to win over the Mughul emperor. His mission, however, was a failure and he left in 1611. Paul Canning appeared at the court in 1612 and was followed in 1615 by William Edwards. Both of them met with the same difficulties which Hawkins had to face. The most important and the best known English plenipotentiary who came to Jahangir's court was Sir Thomas Roe, "a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and a trained diplomatist." Well-qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade, Roe remained in India for three years but did not succeed in achieving his object. His account of his mission and that of his Chaplain, Terry, constitute a very important source of information about the manners of the court and of the social and political conditions of the time.

Babur brought to India "an unfulfilled ambition" for conquering the ancestral lands of the Tlmurids, and this ambition, coupled with the exigencies of the external defence, found expression in the Mughul policy towards the Persian empire and the Central Asian Princes. The danger of Uzbeg expansion towards India impelled the Mughuls to co-operate with the Persian empire, and frustrated the attempts of the Ottoman Sultans to draw them into a religious alliance of Sunni powers against the Shiahs of Persia. The Mughuls, further, were estranged from the Uzbegs on account of the latter's traditional hostility to the House of Timur and their constant propaganda against the Mughuls among the tribesmen of the north-west.

The relations of the Persians and the Mughuls were usually friendly. There were, however, two grounds of conflict—Qandahar was coveted by both owing to its strategic and commercial importance, and the Shiah States of the Deccan, with whom the Mughuls were often at war, were on good terms with Persia.

Jahangir's reign opened with an unsuccessful attempt by the Persians to occupy Qandahar. That the attack was not wholly unexpected is evident from Jahangir's remark: "It occurred to me that the death of His Majesty Akbar and the unreasonable outbreak of Khusrav might put an edge on their design, and that they might attack Qandahar." A semblance of friendship was maintained after this incident, as the Shah alleged that he had no knowledge of the affair and sent his officers to apologise for the indiscretion of his frontier governors. In April, 1611, the Shah sent a formal embassy and a letter which closed with the prayer "that the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduousness and the garden of intimacy and regard may acquire great splendour and greenness." Jahangir sent an embassy in return in 1613, and several more embassies were exchanged. It is very difficult to determine the nature of the Shah's diplomacy. He was very much interested in preserving the independence of his allies in the Deccan and he looked with jealousy at the rapid extension and growing prosperity of the Mughul empire. The Deccan rebellion of 1621 might have been connected with the Shah's attack on Qandahar a few months later, but Dr. Beni Prasad thinks this unlikely. The Shah could only assist his Deccan allies by creating diversions on the north-west frontier and by occupying Qandahar. He had received ambassadors from Kish and Makran and hoped some day to extend the boundary of his empire to the right bank of the Indus. It is a significant fact that the Nizam Shahi envoy, Jaish Khlan, was with the Shah during the siege of Qandahar. Certain entries in Jahangir's Memoirs leave no doubt that he was aware of these intrigues. Although Jahangir talks a great deal about strengthening the fortifications of Qandahar, little could be done owing to the attitude of Prince Khurram, and Qandahar fell after a feeble resistance in 1622. It has been suggested by Dr. Beni Prasad that Prince Khurram was in secret intrigue with the Shah. Khurram knew that with the loss of Qandahar Jahangir would be busy in suppressing the wave of unrest in Afghanistan and amongst the frontier tribes, and that this would leave him a comparatively open field in the south. This, of course, may be a mere conjecture; it is supported only by the evidence of one letter which Prince Khurram sent to the Shiah to seek his assistance. The Shah, who was anxious to maintain good relations with the Mughuls after the Qandahar affair, openly declined to help Khurram and advised him to make peace with his father.

Jahangir was too indolent to follow an ambitious foreign policy in Central Asia. He did not maintain the usual relations with the rulers of Mawarun Nahr (Trans-Oxonia) probably on account of his desire to be more closely allied to Persia.

In 1621, the mother of the king of Bukhara sent a letter to Nur Jahan who replied to it and sent some Indian rarities as presents. Shortly afterwards, a formal embassy arrived. During these years relations with Persia had become strained and Jahangir could only look to the Uzbeg ruler for support, who in turn hoped to humble Persia with the help of the Mughuls. But Jahangir's death made further progress of the alliance impossible.

Akbar's religious policy caused considerable stir amongst Muslims of all shades of opinion. Some saw in his new religion an attempt to deprive the Muslims of the dominant position they enjoyed in Indian society, while others thought it was a potential threat to the integrity of their creed and the solidarity of their millat (religious community). In particular, the orthodox scholars (ulema) and the pietists saw in it a great danger to their religion. The ulema, consequently, protested against Akbar's regulations, the most important among them being Mulla Yazdi, a Shiah divine, and Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, popularly known as the Mujaddid Alf-iSani. At the time of Jahangir's accession Shaikh Farid, otherwise known as Nawab Murtaza Khan, played a very important part in making him promise to uphold the shar'iyat. In a letter written by the Shaikh of Sirhind to Nawab Murtaza Khan, the Shaikh congratulated him on the death of one (Akbar) who was antagonistic to Islam and the accession to the throne of the emperor of Islam (Jahangir). In the same letter he exhorted the Musalmans to assist the new emperor and to help him in making the laws of the shar'iyat current in the country and in strengthening Islam. This help was to be rendered by all means available, by words and by actions. Similarly in another letter to the Khan-i-A'zam, the Shaikh, in a pathetic manner, draws his attention to the evil and unIslamic practices introduced in Islam and expresses the fear that though at present the emperor is not hostile to Islam yet he may revert to the policy of his forefathers. It was in an atmosphere charged with such hopes and fears that Jahangir ascended the throne. In addition to the fear of internal disintegration, the infiltration of a large number of Shiahs had alarmed the pietists. During this period, therefore, not only was an attempt made by the orthodox to re-establish the laws of shar'iyat but also to fight the Shiah heresy.

Jahangir, in spite of the promises that he had made, remained tolerant in religious matters like his father. In his Memoirs he says that an “audacious speculator” suggested to him the reimposition of the jizya. Jahangir repudiated this suggestion and punished the speculator. In the subsidiary regulations issued some time after his accession, he ordered his officials not to enforce Islam on anyone. Like his father; he was fond of religious discourses, though he did not give as much time to them as Akbar had done. Roe and Terry testify to the fact that he accorded equal welcome to Christians, Jews and Muslims. Hindu festivals like RakhI, Dasahra etc. were celebrated as in old days. The tula dan (weighing of the emperor against gold) was also observed.

Certain cases are cited as evidence of Jahangir’s orthodoxy and fanaticism born of the fear and suspicion of the times. For example, it is asserted that Jahangir allowed daily allowances to new converts. When he learnt that in certain localities Muslim girls were converted to Hinduism and married to Hindus, he put a stop to it and punished the guilty. From this it is inferred that Jahangir attempted to stand forth as a protector of the true faith. In this he was only following an old custom, for Muslim law does not permit the marriage of Muslim girls to non-Muslims. The protection of the Muslim minority obviously was a source of strength and vitality to the Mughuls. That he declared the forcible conversion of Hindus to be illegal 93 shows that he stood forth equally as their defender.

New temples and Christian churches were freely built during his time, though now and then, during a campaign, religious places suffered at the hands of zealous or fanatical soldiers, Hindu pilgrims freely visited their shrines. Coryat puts the number of persons visiting Hardwar at 4,00,000 while Roe puts it at 5,00,000. Jahangir' was particularly tolerant towards the Christians.

Jahangir’s attitude towards the Sikhs has been a matter of controversy. A careful perusal of contemporary evidence shows that the Sikh religious leaders suffered because they interfered with politics, which was a dangerous game and might have constituted a menace to the State unless suppressed in time. There is no evidence to show that he persecuted the Sikhs as such. The following remark of Dr. Beni Prasad deserves attention:

“The melancholy transaction (punishment of Guru Arjun) has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Mughal emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimizing the gravity of Jahangir’s mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel.” 9b

It should be borne in mind that it was the explicit policy of Akbar to compose religious differences and Jahangir followed this policy consistently 90 without interfering with the Muslim creed. His attitude towards the Sikhs was part of the same policy. He con

fined Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind in the Gwalior prison, first, because the Shaikh was accused of considering himself equal to the Pious Caliphs and, secondly, because he refused to perform the sijda (prostration) to the Emperor. Jahangir later on realized his mistake and released the Shaikh and made amends for the punishment meted out to him. Similar treatment was meted out to Shaikh Ibrahim Baba. In both cases the punishments were due to the jealousy and the fear excited by these Muslim divines amongst the less important members of their profession and the influence which they wielded on their devoted Afghan and other Muslim disciples. Dr. Beni Prasad is wrong in asserting that Ahmad Sirhindi repented or promised loyalty. 10 It was Jahangir who realized his mistake.

Jahangir is accused of having persecuted the Jains of Gujarat. This was mainly due to the fact that their leader, Man Singh, had sided with Khusrav and had prophesied the fall of the Mughul empire. Moreover, the Jains were accused of having put up temples and other buildings which were reported to have become centres of disturbances. Their religious leaders were also accused of immoral practices.

When Jahangir visited Ajmer in the eighth year of his reign, the temple of Bhagwat was destroyed. Dr. Beni Prasad says that this was done from disgust, and also out of deference to Muslim sentiment. The Mughul emperors were never superstitious and had a high aesthetic sense. But whenever any practice was calculated to play on the simplicity or credulity of the poor folk, they put a stop to it.

The admission of Hindus to the higher public service continued Of forty-seven Mansabdars above the rank of 3,000, six were Hindus (i.e. 12 per cent). Governors and Dlwans were still appointed from amongst the Hindus. Jahangir shared the zeal of his father for the reformation of Indian society. The public sale of intoxicants like bhang and wine, and the castration of children in Bengal and Assam were prohibited. The total suppression of gambling was ordered and Sati was prohibited.

There is considerable difference of opinion about Jahangir’s personal religion. Some regarded him as atheist and others, as eclectic. Some regarded him as a Christian, though superstitious, and some, a member of the Dm-i-IlaM. He could not have been all these things together, or, as Professor Sharma remarks, “even by turns.” Jahangir believed in Islam, but not in mere dogma. He was fond of Suflstic and Vedantic philosophy. The Jesuit and Christian accounts are confused, being saturated with narrow-mindedness and fanaticism. It was impossible for the European visitors of the time, who were accustomed to persecution at home, to comprehend the spirit and content of Mughul toleration. Contemporary religious Muslim literature gives Jahangir a good testimony. Blochmann’s verdict that superstition was his real religion is belied by the whole attitude of Jahangir in life. 11

Jahangir, in spite of his shortcomings, strove honestly to maintain the integrity of his empire and to follow the principles of toleration and justice enunciated by his father. His love of ease and indulgence in drink are well known. Capricious, wilful and occasionally cruel and superstitious, he had redeeming virtues. These were a high sense of justice, loyalty and affection for his family and friends, generosity, recognition of merit, and energy and firmness when the occasion demanded it; and they made up for his defects of character and early training. His hold on the government, except in the last years of his life when his health broke down, never relaxed. Neither Nur Jahan nor the other cliques really dominated over him so far as the principles of foreign and domestic policy were concerned.[12] In a fit of wrath, he was sometimes guilty of acts of cruelty, but as a rule he was affable, humane and just. According to Jerry, his character appeared "to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times, he would seem to be exceedingly pure and gentle". Under his enlightened patronage there was an all round progress in industry and commerce, while painting, literature and architecture also flourished during his reign. "The political side of Jahangir's history is interesting enough, but its best virtue lies in its artistic development."

1. For slight divergence of views on the date, cf. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir, Second Edition, 1930, p. I, f.n. 1.

The conversion of dates in Hijra Era to those of Christian Era is done in two ways, with a difference of about ten days. The dates adopted here are those given in CHI. The author of this Chapter, like Beni Prasad, followed the other system, but it has been changed (Editor).

2. For details, cf. Prasad, op. cit. pp. 3-8.

3. For a detailed account of this marriage and the other marriages of Jahangir, cf. ibid, pp. 29 ff.

4. Tuzuk-i-Jahdnglri, Tr. by A. Rogers, ed. by H. Beveridge, 2nd Ed. pp. 7-10.

4a. HIED, VI, p. 273.

5. This version is not probably the true one, but is somewhat coloured by the legend that later grew up in the Sikh community, and has been narrated at length in the Transformation of Sikhism (pp. 31-34) by G. C. Narang. Beni Prasad's account seems to be more reasonable. He says: "The Emperor was at first disposed to take a lenient view of the affair, but he fell at last into the snares of Arjun's enemies. The Guru was sentenced to death and to confiscation of his property including his hermitage." (op. cit. p. 149). (For a more detailed and somewhat different account, cf. Chapter XI—Editor).

5a. Op. cit. p. 282.

6. The statements in this chapter attributed to Mu'tamid Khan are to be found in his work Iqbal-ndma (translated in HIED, VI, pp. 393-498). For the passage quoted, see pp. 428-9.

6a. Jahangir ‘'formally desecrated the temple by sacrificing a cow/' CHI. IV, p. 169. The incident is described by Beni Prasad with full reference to authorities (op. cit. p. 313). Jahangir himself gloats over it in his memoir, Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 223 (Editor).

6b. HIED, VI, p. 404.

7. The account given above is very sketchy. A romantic legend grew up round this affair which has been fairly summed up by Beni Prasad (op. cit. p. 176). He has discarded the legend and reconstructed the true history which agrees with the view given here, but adds more details (pp. 174-80). The suspicion hinted by Ishwari Prasad, in the passage quoted, is based, among others on the fact that Mihr-un-nisa, after the tragic death of her husband, was taken to the harem of Jahangir, and not sent to live with her father who was in the capital, and held high office. For a full discussion of the historical value of the romantic story, cf. pp. 180-82 of Beni Prasad’s book (Editor).

8. Cf. HIED, VI, pp. 399, 405; Beni Prasad, op. cit. p. 183-96,

9., The account is materially different from that given by Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 387-410 (Editor).

9a. No evidence is cited in support of it, and it is belied by the author’s own statement, a few lines above, that Jahangir ‘‘allowed daily allowances to new converts.” The author further states, a few lines above, that the emperor not only stopped but punished the conversion of the Muslim girls to Hinduism and their marriage with the Hindus. It is excused by the author on the ground that in this he was merely following the Muslim custom. But did the emperor show the same attitude to the conversion of Hindu girls to Islam and their marriage with the Muslims which equally violated the Hindu custom? (Editor).

9b. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 149-151.

9c. It is difficult to accept this statement. Reference may be made to footnotes 6a and 9a above (Editor) .

10. Op. cit., p. 433, f.n. 4.

11. In the chapter, as originally written, some views were attributed to Beni Prasad which might wound the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim community. I have omitted it, because the author did not cite any authority, and the words he probably had in view do not, in my opinion, bear the interpretation he put upon them. The following passage contains Beni Prasad's view about the personal religion of Jahangir (Editor).

"The latitudinarianism revealed by the Jesuit records is fully borne out by Jahangir's diary. He often appeals to God, but never mentions the name of the Prophet. If he observed the Shab-i-barat or Id, he celebrated the Hindu festivals, Diwali, Dasahra, Rakshabandhan and Shivaratri with the regularity, eagerness, and splendour of a Hindu court. He rejoiced with all his heart at the Persian vernal festival of Nauroz which the orthodox Aurangzeb promptly abolished. He dates his diary generally according to the Persian solar era. He violated orthodox tradition in ordering a translation of the Quran. He scandalized all good Muslims by presenting hogs to Christians. His heresy gave rise to the rumour that he was an atheist at heart." (op. cit. pp. 41-2).

12. This is contradicted by the statement of Mu'tamid Khan which the author quotes on pp. 185-6 and regards as both authentic and reliable (Editor).

CHAPTER VII

SHAH JAHAN

Shah Jahan was born on Thursday, 15 January, 1592, at Lahore. He was brought up by Akbar's childless wife Ruqaiah Begam. Intelligent, quick-witted and gifted with an excellent memory, he nevertheless showed very early his predilection for the profession of arms rather than the pursuit of knowledge. In 1606 when he was fourteen years of age, he was left in charge of the capital with a Council of Regency while his father went to the Punjab in pursuit of his rebellious son, Khusrav. During the lifetime of his father, he won his laurels as a successful organiser of victories in the Me war, Deccan and Kangra campaigns. Up to 1622 he worked in close collaboration with Nur Jahan, but then he fell out of favour, broke into rebellion and, though reconciled to his father, was sent to the Deccan where he received the news of his father's death.

Nur Jahan intended to place her favourite, Shahryar, on the throne either out of sheer spite for Shah Jahan, for whom she had developed an intense dislike, or because Shahryar promised to be a pliant tool who would allow her to keep the direction of affairs in her hands. Asaf Khan would not agree to this; he was equally interested in his own son-in-law, Shah Jahan, who was certainly the ablest, the most experienced and the most popular of all the sons and grandsons of Jahangir.

Since Shahryar had proceeded to Lahore at the time of Jahangir's death, Asaf Khan, as a stop-gap arrangement, proclaimed Dawar Bakhsh, son of Khusrav, as emperor, and the khutba was read in Dawar's name near Bhimbar. Shahryar assumed the royal title at Lahore; he seized upon the royal treasures which were there and secured troops and supporters by lavish expenditure of seventy lakhs of rupees within one week. When Dawar Bakhsh arrived near Lahore, he was met by the army of Shahryar. Shahryar was defeated; he fled into the city and was captured and blinded. Tahmurs and Hoshang, sons of Prince Daniyal, were also captured and put in confinement to preclude the possibility of a rising in their favour. Asaf Khan in the meantime had sent Banarsi, a trusted runner, to Shah Jahan and summoned him to the capital. When Shah Jahan was informed of the defeat of Shahryar, he wrote to Asaf Khan to "send out of the world" his

rivals Dawar Bakhsh, Shahryar, Gurshasp, Tahmurs and Hoshang. The order was faithfully carried out. 1

Shah Jahan ascended the throne on 24 February, 1628, and assumed the title of Abu-'l Muzaffar Shahbuddin Muhammad Sahib-i Kiran-i Sani. The coronation was celebrated by the usual round of lavish festivities and distribution of offices, titles and stipends. The reign which opened with the execution of Shah Jahan's brothers and nephews was destined to close in circumstances, similarly tragic, finally ending in the death and disgrace of Shah Jahan's sons and grandsons. Muhammad Salih Kambu, the author of ' Amal-i-Salih, justifies the execution of the princes in the following callous and unemotional manner: "It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, whose total annihilation is conducive to the common good. . . ., and leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradication of rival claimants to the fortunate throne on grounds of expediency and the common welfare."

In the first year of his reign Shah Jahan had to face the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, son of Raja Bir Singh Deo, the Bundela chief who had risen to prominence in the reign of Jahangir and on whom that emperor had showered favours for the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl. The wealth and position which Bir Singh Deo had secured "without labour and without trouble" and the fact that he had his jagir in his own country, had made him restless and ambitious. His son Jujhar visited Shah Jahan at Agra and was confirmed in the rank of 4000 zat and 4000 sawar. But suspecting that an inquiry would be made into the unauthorised gains of his father, Jujhar secretly left Agra, and proceeding to Orcha, his stronghold, broke into open rebellion. Mahabat Khan was sent against him and Jujhar, realising the futility of fighting against the imperial forces, submitted. He was pardoned and sent off on service to the Deccan. Jujhar, however, had no intention of serving as a vassal of the Mughuls; he soon after attacked Bhlm Narain of Garha and compelled him. to surrender the fort of Chauragarh. Later on he put Bhim Narain to death and took possession of the fort with all the valuables it contained. On the complaint of Bhlm Narain's son, the emperor sent Jujhar an order to surrender to the imperial officer the territory he had acquired along with ten lakhs of rupees out of the spoils secured by him. Before this order could reach him, Jujhar had removed his family from Orcha to the fort of Dhamoni and had also directed his son, Bikramajit, to escape with his troops from the Balaghat, where he had gone in service with the Mughul army.

Prince Aurangzlb was put in nominal command of the army of 20,000 troops which was commissioned to reduce the rebels. Jujhar fled from Dhamoni to Chauragarh after blowing up the buildings round the fort and garrisoning it with a small force of his followers. He was closely pursued by the Mughul army and, losing all hope of successfully holding his ground against the imperial forces, he put most of the women to death and fled into the jungle, where he and his son were killed by the Gonds. A close search was made after Jujhar's death for the treasures which he had buried in the forest or thrown into the wells; and in a very short time two million eight hundred thousand rupees of treasure were unearthed. "In all about ten million rupees were credited to the royal exchequer." Besides these gains the chief zamindar of Gondwana consented to pay five lakhs of rupees in cash and goods to the imperial commanders. The fort of Jhansi was captured soon after.

Though the rebellion of Jujhar, the Bundela chief, was suppressed, in 1639 Champat Rai of Mahoba began to make incursions into the Mughul territory and this made the road to the Deccan very insecure. 'Abdullah Khan was sent against him. Champat Rai defied the Mughul forces for a long time. 'Abdullah Khan was replaced by Bahadur Khan, and finally, through the intercession of Pahar Singh, son of Bir Singh Deo, Champat Rai offered his submission.

Raja Basu of Mau Nurpur had served Jahangir faithfully and had received favours at his hands. His successor, Jagat Singh, had been similarly honoured and had been confirmed in his dignities by Shah Jahan. Jagat Singh served with distinction in Bangash and Kabul, but his son, Rajrup, began to show a refractory attitude. Jagat Singh, at his own request, was permitted to return home to bring his son back to the path of fealty. But Jagat Singh all along had been in sympathy with his son, and once back in the security of his own tribe, Jagat preferred rebellion to loyalty. A strong force was sent against him in 1641. He offered terms which were refused, and one of his forts being captured and another besieged, he was forced to submit. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena has instituted a comparison between the rising of Bir Singh Bundela and Jagat Singh; this is neither fair to Jagat Singh nor true to facts. Jagat Singh deserved well of the Mughuls because of his past services, and important officers interceded with the emperor on his behalf. Bir Singh was an upstart who had attained to his rank as a reward for the murder of Abu-T-Fazl, and public opinion was generally against him. It was not mere cupidity but political

and military considerations which impelled Shah Jahan to extirpate the house of Bir Singh, though the treatment meted out to the survivors cannot be justified. 2

The rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi gave much more trouble to Shah Jahan than the Bundela rising. Khan Jahan had been sent to replace Mahabat Khan during the latter's absence in the north towards the close of Jahangir's reign. When Khan Jahian took over charge of the Deccan, he placated the Nizam Shah by surrendering the Balaghat to him for three hundred thousand rupees. On Jahangir's death he wavered between Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan, and by his discourtesy to the messenger sent by Shah Jahan to secure his adherence, he gave the new emperor serious cause for resentment. Khan Jahan next moved from Burhanpur to Mandu and captured that fort; but he was deserted by his Rajput officers and made his submission to the emperor, who graciously pardoned him, confirmed him in the governorship of Berar and Khandesh, and commissioned him to proceed to the Deccan to recover the lost territories. But Khan Jahan prevaricated and was removed to Malwa. When later on Khan Jahan appeared at the court and received a very cold reception, he felt slighted and was also alarmed about his safety. Fearing that he would be arrested and disgraced, and conscious of his own guilty conduct in the Deccan, he secretly escaped from Agra. His party was overtaken by the imperial forces near Dholpur. The Afghans put up a stout fight, but they were outnumbered, lost courage, and fled from the field. Khan Jahan abandoned his entire camp and treasure, and crossing the Chambal with his two sons and four Afghan companions, he went to Gondwana and then, passing through Berar, entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. On reaching Daulatabad, he was well received by Murtaza II (Nizam Shah) who assigned him the pargana of Bir and advanced him money for his expenses. The presence of Khan Jahan in the Deccan gave new hope to Murtaza II and raised the fears of the Mughuls. Shah Jahian was fully alive to the danger, and, to avoid jealous conflicts between the imperial officers, he crossed the Narmada and decided to supervise the operations personally. During the campaign that followed, the Afghans suffered heavily, though Mughul losses were equally great. Khan Jahan was driven from Bir. He fell back on Shivgaon and then pushed on to Daulatabad. The imperial armies ravaged the Nizam Khfan’s territory. Famine stalked the land and Murtaza, disillusioned about Khan Jahan, gave him the cold shoulder. Khan Jahian left Daulatabad with the intention of proceeding to the Punjab, but the imperial officers were vigilant and pursued him ruthlessly till he was

driven out of Malwa, and after very heavy losses fled towards the north-east and, after a hard fight, was compelled to fly to Kalinjar. He reached the river Sindh in utter misery, but, like a brave Afghan, he preferred death on the battlefield to rotting in prison or dangling from a scaffold. He turned back upon his pursuers and was overpowered and cut to pieces. His head was sent by 'Abdullah Khan to the court. For sixteen months Khan Jahan had held out to save his honour and his dignity. "His miscalculated action”, says Dr. Saksena, "not only brought ruin on himself, but accelerated the downfall of the declining, almost moribund, kingdom of Ahmadnagar.”

The Portuguese had secured the grant of the site of Hooghly in 1537 2a and soon raised a flourishing and well-defended port at the entrance of the commercial highway of Bengal. Helped by the disturbed political condition of Bengal and the weakness and cupidity of the Mughul governors, they "became a rich and affluent community, enjoying almost independent jurisdiction.” They secured the seas in league with the pirates of Chittagong and plundered and devastated the neighbouring towns; and "often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, they carried away the entire population of villages on market days and on occasions when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriages or some festival. With piracy and brigandage they combined religious fanaticism of the worst sort, and came to be universally feared and despised.”

The Portuguese had been left alone by Jahangir. Shah Jahan, however, started a ruthless campaign against them. Not only had they not helped him when he had gone to Bengal as a rebel prince; they had cooperated with Parviz, and Manvel Tavers had played him false by seizing his boats and carrying away some of his female slaves. As Shah Jahan's attention was occupied elsewhere, the retribution was delayed till 1632.

The struggle with the Portuguese was precipitated by two events. The first was the plunder of a village near Dacca in East Bengal (now called East Pakistan or Bangla Desh) and assault on a Mughul lady by a Portuguese from the Magh territory in Eastern Bengal. The second was the complaint made to Qasim Khan, the Governor of Dacca, by a Portuguese merchant at Satgaon named Afonso. The latter "who had made a claim to certain land in Hooghly, applied to Qasim Khan in 1632 and held out the promise of a rich booty if the settlement were taken, which would be an easy task." Qasim Khan now formally proposed that the Portuguese should be suppressed and Shah Jahan sanctioned an expedition against them. Qasim Khan planned the campaign carefully and with 600 boats, 1400 horsemen, 90 elephants and a large force of infantry blocked the passage to Hooghly, both by land and sea. An attempt to bring about an amicable settlement through the Fathers of the Society of Jesus failed. The Portuguese were unwilling to carry out the demands of the Mughul commander and decided to fight. The Mughuls failed to capture the fort by assault and the Portuguese held out till the arrival of Afonso, the Portuguese; but with the coming of Mughul reinforcements, further resistance became impossible and the Portuguese left Hooghly in a body by boats and the place was occupied by the Mughul forces. The Portuguese suffered heavy losses. Ten thousand persons lost their lives and 14,400 Indians from Hooghly and the neighbouring parganas were set free. Severe punishment was meted out to those taken as prisoners; some were executed, others were imprisoned, and the rest were given the choice between death and conversion. Shah Jahan's treatment was severe, but the Portuguese richly deserved their fate. Shah Jahan has been accused of religious fanaticism, but he had cogent political, military, humanitarian and economic reasons for the policy he followed in extirpating the Portuguese pirates in Bengal. The innocent inhabitants of Bengal had suffered no end of miseries at their hands. Bernier gives a bad certificate both to Portuguese priests and laymen. 3

Among the minor annexations of this period, “Little Tibet” may be mentioned. Jahangir’s attempt to conquer it had failed. The ruler of “Little Tibet” had afforded asylum to the Chaks, the original rulers of Kashmir. In 1634 Abdal, the ruler of Little Tibet, agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughuls and have the khutba read in Shah Jahan’s name. Four years later, he repudiated the treaty. When an army was sent against him, he submitted and paid an indemnity of one million rupees.

At the time of Shah Jahan’s accession Cooch Behar was ruled by Blr Narfayan, son of Parlkshit, and Kamrup was in the nominal charge of a Mughul officer, Shaikh Zahid. The Ahom ruler of Assam had continued to give offence to the empire by sheltering its runaway officers and subjects and by his interference in the domestic affairs of Kamrup. Blr Narayan began the fray. Aided by the Ahom king, he attacked Kamrup, occupied Hajo, its capital, and drove out the Mughuls. Then Islam Khan, the new governor, drove away Blr Narayan and regained the lost territory. The imperial forces then pushed into Assam, occupied the strong Ahom outpost of Kajli, and advanced successfully up to Samdhara. Here the Mughuls met with a stout resistance. They were pushed back from the fort and defeated with heavy losses at Duminsila in November, 1639. The fort of Kajli was lost. But both parties were anxious for peace and a treaty of friendship was concluded.

The petty chiefs of Jharkhand were very head-strong and rebellious, and Shah Jahan ordered ‘Abdullah Khan to reduce their ring-leaders one by one. Pratap, the zamiiidar of Ujjainiya near Buxar, was the first to be dealt with. His fort of Bhojpur was reduced after a siege of six months and he was captured and executed. Next, Bohra Lachman of Ratanpur was forced to surrender.

Raja Pratap of Palamau had become haughty and behaved disrespectfully towards Shayista Khan, the new governor. When Shayista Khan reported the matter to the court, the emperor ordered him to drive away Pratap and to “clear the country of the filth of his existence’’. In October, 1646, a large army was sent to Palamau; Pratap submitted after some desultory fighting, paid an indemnity, and was granted a mansdb.

Bhagirath Bhil and Marvi Gond rebelled one after another. Both chiefs were defeated and their fortresses were occupied. An attempt was made in 1635 to subdue Garhwal, but the imperial army met with a heavy disaster. In 1654, another attempt was made as a result of which the Raja of Kumaun submitted, and in 1659 Medhi Singh, son of the Raja of Sirinagar (Dehradun district) came and offered his submission. The tribes on the north-west frontier, in spite of the presence of Abdal and later on of his son, ‘Abdul Qadir, were generally peaceful.

Towards the end of Jahangir’s reign diplomatic relations with Persia had been broken owing to the occupation of Qandahar by the Persians; but the Shah seems to have been anxious to revive them. After Jahangir’s death, Shah Jahan sent an embassy to Shah Safi of Persia to offer condolence on the death of Shah ‘Abbas. Shah Jahan in his letter reminded him of the old friendship between the two dynasties and stated that the late Shah had treated him in the “days of his vicissitudes” as an uncle should treat a nephew. But in spite of the embassies, which were exchanged in a spirit of cordiality, Shah Jahan had his eyes on Qandahar and was actively plotting to profit by the unrest that followed the death of Shah ‘Abbas and the youth and inexperience of the new Shah.

The death of Shah ‘Abbas had, in fact, revived the hopes of vengeance which all anti-Persian rulers had been cherishing. An attempt was once more made to form an anti-Persian league, but Shah Jahan, like Akbar, flirted both with Persia and her enemies.

He was anxious to get back Qandahar, which had considerable strategic importance for the Sindh frontier of the Mughul empire and was the meeting ground of trade-routes. It was said that 14,000 caravans passed through Qandahar every year. He may also have considered himself honour-bound to recapture a place which had been lost through his negligence and ambition. Equally keen was his old hereditary ambition to occupy the ancestral lands of the Mughuls. In the beginning Shah Jahan wished to get back Qandahar by diplomatic efforts and to conserve his resources for the recovery of Transoxiana, with Persian co-operation if possible, and without it if necessary. It was not till he was disappointed in this direction that he openly approached Persia's enemies with the proposal for an alliance. The Shah's differences with the governor of Qandahar gave Shah Jahlan the wished-for opportunity.

'Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian governor of Qandahar, had been in arrears with his revenues; he had naturally sought to taken advantage of the disturbed state of the country. He was summoned by the Shah to appear at the court, but avoided doing so. On being dismissed from office, 'All Mardan sought the assistance from the Governor of Kabul and the commander of Ghazni. In 1638 he surrendered Qandahar to the Mughuls and received from Shah Jahan, as a reward for his treachery, one lakh of tankas for himself and two lakhs for his brother and the officers of his army. Elaborate preparations were now made by Shah Jahan to hold the fort against the Persians. Bust and Zamindaar were also subdued. The Shah was too busy at the time in the west to take any effective measures for the recapture of Qandahar. In a letter to the Shah sent in 1638, Shah Jahan justified the occupation of Qandahar, apologised for any misunderstandings that may have been caused by his action, and advised the Shah to forget the incident. No diplomatic intercourse took place between the two empires till after the death of Shah Safi.

Shah Jahan later on sent an embassy to secure Persia's neutrality for his projected Central Asian campaign. There was a strong anti-Mughul party at the Persian court, but the Shah also feared the Sunni powers of Central Asia and preferred to remain a silent observer. When Nazr Muhammad Khan escaped to Persia, Shah Jahan wrote to Shah 'Abbas II explaining the causes which had led to the Mughul campaign and expressed the hope of ultimately conquering Samarqand and Bukhara.

In December, 1648, the Shah turned towards Qandahar. Mughul prestige was then very low owing to the disastrous failure of the

Mughul military venture in Central Asia. The Shah also succeeded in securing Turkish neutrality during his eastern campaign. The Persian expedition started in winter as the Shah was aware of the unpopularity of a winter campaign amongst the Indian troops. The fort of Qandahar was occupied by the Persians in February, 1649. Shah Jahan sent three different expeditions against Qandahar in 1649, 1652 and 1653 but the Mughuls could not recapture the fort.

No diplomatic relations were maintained with Persia during the rest of Shah Jahan's reign. At the outbreak of the war of succession in 1658, Murad and Dara tried to enlist the support of the Shah, who actually moved his troops to Qandahar. But the success of Aurangzib was so rapid that the Shah had to withdraw his troops. The following comments on the Qandahar expeditions by Sir Jadunath Sarkar are worthy of note: "These three futile sieges cost the Indian treasury over ten crores of rupees and ruined the Mughul prestige in the eyes of all Asia. The Persian king could rightly boast that the rulers of Delhi knew how to steal a fort by means of gold, but not how to conquer it by strength of arms. Throughout the rest of the reign, the rumour of a projected invasion from Persia used to throw the court of Delhi into the greatest alarm." Mughul failure against Qandahar is a sad commentary on the degeneration that had set in the Mughul army. Spoilt by a life of ease and luxury, and with its discipline undermined by the pettiness and the factious spirit of its commanders, the Mughul army had lost both strength and morale. Another cause of failure was the inefficient and ineffective artillery of the Mughuls. Above all, the meddling of Shah Jahan and a divided command made the successful pursuit of the campaign an impossibility. 4

Shah Jahan's reign began with an unfortunate incident which openly disturbed Mughul relations with the rulers of Transoxiana, that had been amicable since the treaty of friendship between 'Abdullah and Akbar. Nazr Muhammad Khan, the restless brother of Imam Quli of Bukhara, who was governor of Balkh, attacked the province of Kabul. The Mughul troops offered a stout resistance, and on the approach of reinforcements Nazr Muhammad had to beat a hasty retreat. Imam Quli hastened to offer apologies for his brother's conduct in a letter to Shah Jahan. The latter sent Turbat Khan to Balkh in 1633 with a letter expressing regrets on the Khan's having delivered an unwarranted attack on a Sunni power. Shah Jahan, however, thanked him for the offer of help against the Persians. The letter, was full of the sectarian bias which Shah Jahan was trying to exploit in support of his designs against Persia.

Shortly after ‘All Mardan’s surrender of Qandahar, Shah Jahan sent Prince Shuja‘ and Khan Dauran with a large body of troops to Kabul as a precautionary measure against a Persian attack. These movements frightened Nazr Muhammad Khan and he appealed for help to his brother, Imam QulL Central Asian historians insist that Shah Jahan intended to capture Balkh as he was aware of the hostility between the two brothers, but Indian historians deny this charge. Shah Jahan, on receiving a protest from Imam Quli, wrote back to assure him of his peaceful intentions. “I had only come to Kabul for hunting”, he wrote, “but if my brothers do not like it, I will go back.”

Imam Quli, who had lost his eyesight, abdicated, and Nazr Muhammad proceeded to Bukhara. But the people of Bukhara detested Nazr and a rebellion and a civil war followed. Shah Jahan, taking advantage of this, captured Kahmard in 1645. Nazr, who was hardpressed by the rebels, applied to Shah Jahan for help. Prince Murad was sent to Balkh with a large army. The campaign opened well and Qunduz was captured in June, 1646. From there the imperial armies proceeded to Balkh. Nazr was alarmed; he snut himself up in the fort of Balkh and refused to meet Murad. But he ultimately fled to Persia and Balkh fell into the hands of the Mughuls.

Neither Murad nor the Indian troops took kindly to their new surroundings. Murad proved inefficient and was recalled by Shah Jahan. Governing these provinces was, in fact, more difficult than conquering them; and the task was rendered still more difficult by the mutual jealousies of the Mughul commanders, the inveterate and sullen hostility of the people to the new and foreign regime, the unpopularity of ‘All Mar dan and the presence of the Hindus. Nazr returned with some Persian troops and concluded peace with Aurangzib who had replaced Murad. The Mughuls had to retire to India in October, 1647, and the army suffered heavily on the homeward march.

Thus ended the wild dream of the Mughul emperors for the reconquest of their Central Asian homeland. It had brought nothing but disaster, famine and death both to the Indians and the Turanians. The losses of the empire could not be calculated in men and money alone. Its prestige in Central Asian affairs had vanished and the myth of its invincibility was shattered.

The fear of a Mughul invasion of Turan, which had kept its rulers in wholesome fear, now completely disappeared. Shah ‘Abbas, as we have seen, took advantage of the situation and captured Qandahar. A wave of unrest swept through Afghanistan, and the north-west tribesmen could not be easily kept in hand now. We need not be surprised that with the failure of the Balkh campaign and the loss of Qandahar, the power of the Mughul emperors began to dwindle in Afghanistan, and the tribes got an opportunity to foment dissensions and intrigues for their own ends by playing off the Mughuls and the Persians against each other. The Abbdalis allied themselves with the Persians and the Ghilzais fell back on the Mughuls for support. This perpetual warfare encouraged the inherent lawless tendencies of the population, and “broke the thin web of administration, so ably cast by Akbar over Afghanistan.” The Central Asian venture also coincided with a nationalist revival in Afghanistan, and the country gradually slipped into anarchy and confusion, which even the strong hand of Aurangzib could not control. The healthy stream of the young Afghan recruits to the Mughul army also dried up; hereafter, it could only make drafts for its shock battalion on the Muslim man-power of Northern India and the Rajputs.

This disastrous expedition also had other far-reaching results. The famine and plague which it left behind in Central Asia ruined the prosperity of the people and weakened the Government. The age-long trade and commerce between India and Bukhara and Samarqand suffered disastrously. The occupation of Qandahar by the Persians and the virtual state of war that followed it during the reign of Aurangzib diverted trade and commerce from the northern passes to the ports of southern and western India to the great advantage of the Europeans and a corresponding loss to the Mughul treasury.

With Shah Jahan’s accession to the throne, the Deccan policy of the Mughuls entered a new phase; it became more vigorous and purposeful. Apart from political differences, the Deccan rulers had pronounced Shiahite leanings and were suspected of allegiance to the Shiah rulers of Persia. The death of Malik ‘Ambar came as a blessing to the Mughuls. In 1630 his unworthy son, Fath Khan, the minister of Ahmadnagar, informed the

Mughuls that in order to protect his own life he had placed his master, the Nizam Shah! king, in confinement. Shah Jahan in reply instructed him to “rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being.” Fath Khan complied with this order and then placed a ten-year old minor prince, named Husain Shah, on the throne. Shah Jahan next asked Asaf Khan to secure the submission of the Sultan of Bijapur, who had not so far acknowledged the imperial authority, and in case of noncompliance, to conquer his kingdom. In 1631 Asaf laid siege to Bijapur but was compelled to raise it after twenty days for lack

of provisions. The open country suffered terribly at the hands of the Mughuls.

The emperor left the Deccan for Agra on 14 April, 1632. Asaf was succeeded by Mahabat as the commander of the Deccan expedition. Mahabat laid siege to the fortress of Daulatabad. Fath Khan began to waver in his allegiance to the Mughuls and tried to postpone a decision. Finally the Khan Khanan won him over by a bribe of ten and a half lakhs and secured the surrender of the Daulatabad fort (1633). The nominal young king, Husain Shah, was condemned to life-long imprisonment at Gwalior and the Nizam Shahl kingdom came to an end. The Mughuls, however, failed to take the fortress of Parenda and retreated to Burhanpur on account of the rains.

Shah Jahan’s imperialistic designs could not be satisfied without crushing Bijapur and Golconda. He called upon the rulers of these countries to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay tribute as a mark of submission, and to abstain from interfering in the affairs of the now defunct kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Shah Jahan himself arrived at Daulatabad on 2 March, 1636, and collected an army of 50,000 men for attacking Bijapur and Golconda. Alarmed by these preparatory movements, 'Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda formally recognised the suzerainty of Shah Jahan. He promised to pay an annual tribute, to strike gold and silver coins in the emperor’s name, and to have it read in the khutba (Friday sermon).

The king of Bijapur did not, however, come down so low and would not barter away his independence. Three imperial armies marched into his kingdom from three sides. But the Bijapuris fought with the valour of despair and ultimately, tired of war, both sides opened negotiations for peace, which was concluded on the following terms: ‘Adil Shah acknowledged the overlordship of the emperor and was allowed to retain his ancestral kingdom. He got fifty pargands yielding an annual income of eighty lakhs of rupees from the territory of the late Ahmadnagar kingdom. A sum of twenty lakhs of rupees in cash and kind was demanded from him as annual tribute, and he was required to abstain from molesting the kingdom of Golconda, which was now under imperial protection. Shahji Bhonsle was not to be allowed to hold any office in the Bijapur State unless he surrendered the Nizam Shahl forts which he had occupied during the war.

The emperor set out for Mandu on 21 July, 1636; three days later he sent his eighteen-year old son Aurangzib as the Viceroy of the Deccan. The Mughul Deccan at this time consisted of the four

provinces of Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and the recently annexed Nizam Shahi territory. The four provinces contained sixty-four hill forts and their total revenue was five crores of rupees. Thus the war of 1635-37 had “enriched the Mughul treasury with tribute amounting to two crores of rupees, and added to the empire a territory which, when cultivated, yielded a revenue of one crore.”

After one year’s successful government during which the territory of Baglan and Shahji’s forts were acquired, Aurangzib returned to Agra in 1637. In 1644, he was dismissed from his post and deprived of his rank and jdglrs by the emperor. In 1653, Aurangzib was again sent across the Narmada as the Subadar of the Deccan. During the nine years following his dismissal in May, 1644, the administration of the Deccan had collapsed; the revenue had fallen to such an extent that they were not even sufficient for the normal expenditure of the Government, Aurangzib, on his return, was therefore faced with a serious financial situation. In order to meet the expenses of the administration he drew upon the cash reserves in the treasuries of the Deccan. He proposed to Shah Jahan that he and his higher officers should be assigned jdglrs in other provinces, and that the cash portion of his salary should be made a charge on the flourishing treasuries of Malwa and Surat. Shah Jahan agreed to the first proposal, but did not grant Aurangzlb’s request for monetary assistance. The jaglrddrs, whose lands were thus taken by Aurangzib, complained to Shah Jahan, who angrily wrote back to Aurangzib: “It is unworthy of a Mussalman and an act of injustice to take for yourself all the productive villages of a par gana and to assign to others only the less productive lands.”

After improving the finances to some extent Aurangzib devoted himself to promoting agriculture and to ameliorating the condition of the peasantry. In his measures in this direction, which have made his viceroyalty “memorable for ever in the history of landsettlement in the Deccan,” he received valuable assistance from an able officer named Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of the “Balaghat.” Murshid Quli Khan divided the Deccan Province into two parts for fiscal purposes. Each part was to have its own Diwan. He extended the system of Todar Mai to the Deccan and thus revived and revitalised the work of Malik ‘Ambar. The normal life of the villages was restored by bringing together and rehabilitating the scattered ryots. A regular gradation of village and local officers was established. Amins were appointed to measure the land and to prepare a record of holdings, distinguishing arable from waste land. New muqaddams (headmen) were appointed in the villages to look after the interests of the peasants and to help in collecting the revenue. Advances in cash were given to the poorer ryots for the purchase of agricultural implements. In backward and thinly populated areas Murshid Qull retained the system of fixed payment per plough; while in other places he introduced the system of batai (metaqar system) for which there were three rates. The system of assessment by jarib was also introduced and came to be known during generations as “the dhara of Murshid Qull Khan.”

After this Aurangzlb decided to crush the independence of Bijapur and Golconda. Their independence was more offensive to Mughul imperialism now than half a century earlier; and Aurangzlb, young and ambitious, wanted to pursue the imperial plans in the Deccan to their logical conclusion. The fact that the Deccan princes professed the Shiah creed and looked for patronage to th,e Shah of Persia rather than to the emperor of Hindusthan gave him the necessary public support. The tribute from the Sultan of Golconda had always been in arrears and Aurangzlb demanded a certain part of the Sultan's kingdom in lieu of the arrears. The emperor also took offence at the conquest of Carnatic by the two kingdoms. A plausible excuse for war was found in the Golconda king's treatment of his officer, Mir Jumla, who sought and secured imperial protection with the help of Aurangzlb while his family was detained by the Golconda ruler.

Aurangzlb reported these matters to Shah Jahtan and solicited his permission for attacking Golconda. Shah Jahian reluctantly sanctioned the invasion in case Muhammad Amin, son of Mir Jumla, was still detained by Golconda. Aurangzlb declared war on Golconda without even giving Abu-'l-Hasan Qutb Shah time to consider Shah Jahan's letter.

Prince Muhammad Sultan, son of Aurangzlb, entered Hyderabad in January, 1656. Abu-'l-Hasan shut himself up in the fort of Golconda and Aurangzlb laid siege to it, fully determined to reduce the fort and to annex the kingdom. Abu-'l-Hasan, in despair, appealed to Shah Jahan, who adopted a more accommodating attitude under the influence of Dlara and Jahanara Begam. Aurangzlb, much against his wishes, was ordered to raise the siege and to evacuate the occupied territories. He had no alternative but to comply and raised the siege of Golconda on 9 April, 1656. A peace was immediately concluded. Prince Muhammad was married by proxy to Abu-'l-Hasan's daughter; Abu-'l-Hasan swore on the Qur'an to obey the emperor and received in return a letter of pardon from Shah Jahan along with rich robes of honour. Aurangzlb remitted ten lakhs out of the twenty-five lakhs of indemnity money, but the Sul

tan had to cede the district of Ramglr. Mir Jumla was taken into imperial service and appointed prime minister in place of Sa'd-ullah Khan.

The conquest of Bijiapur next engaged Aurangzlb's attention. Muhammad 'Adil Shah of Bijapur died on 16 November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son, a youth of eighteen years. Aurangz'lb solicited Shah Jahan's permission for invading the kingdom on the ground that the new king was not the son of the dead ruler but a boy of obscure origin. The emperor granted him full powers to “settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.” But Shah Jahan had merely suggested an invasion of Bijapur while Aurangzib was bent upon annexing the whole territory. Sir J. N. Sarkar has rightly remarked that the war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijapur was not a vassal State; and the Mughul emperor had no legal right either to confirm or to question the succession of the Bijapur king. The true reason for Mughul interference was the helplessness of its boy-king and the discord among his officers.

Mir Jumla and Aurangzib laid siege to Bidar. It was bravely defended, but submitted in April, 1657. The city of Kalyani was then besieged by the Mughuls in May, 1657. A heroic defence was offered by Dilawar Khan, but he was at last compelled to capitulate. With Bidar and Kalyani in Mughul hands, the way was open for an attack on Bijapur itself. At this favourable moment, when the prize was nearly in Aurangzlb’s hands, Shah Jahan sent an order for the cessation of hostilities. The Bijapur agents had intrigued at the Delhi Court, and Dara, who was jealous of his brother’s success, brought about a change in the emperor’s mind. His untimely intervention checked the Mughul advance, and peace was concluded in 1657. The Bijapur Sultan surrendered Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda, and agreed to pay an indemnity of one and a half crores, of which Shah Jahan subsequently remitted half a crore.

The disorders following the illness of Shah Jahan and the war of succession saved the Deccan for the time being from the onslaught of the Mughuls. For about twenty years after his succession Aurangzlb’s attention was concentrated on other affairs and the Deccan Sultanates were left alone to heal, as best they could, the wounds of the late war. But their recovery was slow and only partial. The rising power of the Marathas and the growing demoralisation and corruption of the officers of the two kingdoms made the process of recovery difficult. It is hard to say how Aurangzlb’s plan of annexing the two States would have affected the growth of Maratha power or contributed to the stabilisation of Mughul rule in the Deccan. That Shah Jahan’s action in calling a halt to Aurangzlb’s military campaign was inopportune and unwise, no one will deny.

Orthodox Muslim religious opinion, which began to take shape from the time of Jahangir, as is shown for example by the writings of the Mujaddid Alf-i Sani and ‘Abdul Haque Muhaddis-i Dehlavi, coloured the attitude of Shah Jahan towards his non-Muslim subjects in general and his personal religious views in particular. As an orthodox Muslim he did much to restore the position of the Musalmans in the body politic. Shah Jahan never gave up the basic policy of toleration and forbearance, which had stood the test of time. In his reign, some contemporary Muslim writers declare, the arrogance and boldness of the Hindus increased and in several places mosques were converted into temples and Muslims were converted to Hinduism; and there was a challenge even to the representation of M.usalmans in the services, particularly in the revenue department. This awakened the fears of the Musalmans and Muslim public opinion was organised by Muslim divines. Shah Jahan was unable to resist the pressure of Muslim opinion or the influence of the divines. The rising tide of Marat ha militant movement also alarmed Shah Jahan and his officers. In religious matters he was more uncompromising than Akbar or Jahangir and his policy was comparatively more straight, firm, and bold than that of his predecessors. The deep conflict between the Ahl-i-Shariat or the orthodox and the followers of the mystic philosophy or the Ahle-Tariqat was demonstrated towards the end of his life over the question of succession, and was typified in the opposite personalities of Dara Shukoh and Aurangzib. 5

Shah Jahan’s education had been carried on under liberal teachers of the Sufi (mystic) school, but later on, he became more orthodox and less tolerant. He married no Hindu princess and was thus free from what Sharma calls “the mellowing influence” of the harem, an influence which had softened the fibre of the Mughuls and had made them complaisant and dependent on the Indian elements in the population. Shah Jahan, like Firuz Shiah, started his reform of Muslim society by eradicating un-Islamic practices. The sijda or prostration to the emperor was abolished and the zamiribos (kissing the ground) form of salutation was introduced. This, too, was later replaced by chahar tasleem (four salutations). This reorganisation of the Court ceremonial was intended to give it a Muslim atmosphere, and Muslim festivals were more regularly celebrated. Alms were distributed during the months of Rajab, Shaaban and Rabi‘u-1awwal. Offerings were sent to Mecca under a Mir Hajj. In his letter to the ruler of Golconda, Shah Jahan spoke of himself as the leader of the Sunnis and the destroyer of all those who did not conform to his ideas of Islam. He also suppressed heretical practices among the Afghans. But some of the older practices were preserved as being expedient and less harmful. The jharoka ceremony was continued, the tula, dan was observed, and astrologers were maintained at the court. Painting was patronised, but the wearing of the imperial likeness in the turban was discontinued.

It has been affirmed that Shah Jahian ordered that only Muslims were to be recruited to the public services. This is not correct. In the tenth year of his reign, the percentage of Hindu Mansabdars was 16 as against 12 in the time of Jahangir. It was destined to rise still higher, but towards the end of the reign the percentage of Hindu Mansabdars , which had at one time touched 38, began to decline, first on account of the Maratha wars and, secondly, owing to the clamour of the Musalmans.

Shah Jahan did not reimpose the jizya but he revived the pilgrim-tax for a short while. He forbade the completion of certain temples and prevented the building of new temples. This policy was also reviewed later on. Certain temples were destroyed, but this was due to local prejudices and to the fact that some of them were utilised against the State. Prohibition of conversion to Hinduism and Christianity was justified as a defensive measure; inquiries made in Bhambar, an adjoining area, revealed that 4,000 Muslim women had been converted to Hinduism. Laws against blasphemy were made more stringent. On the whole, Shah Jahan was more anxious than his predecessors to uphold Muslim religion and to exalt Muslim society, but his orthodoxy was neither militant nor narrow-minded. He tried to hold the balance between the policy initiated by Akbar, on the one hand, and the demands of the fanatical and orthodox Muslim divines, on the other.[6]

Shah Jahan's last years were embittered by the war of succession among his four sons, and he dragged on his life in captivity for seven and a half years after Aurangzlb's accession. No sons of the same father and mother could have been more unlike each other in temperament, in outlook on life, in manners and in morals, than the four sons of Shah Jahan. None of the great Mughul emperors attained to such grandeur and success as Shah Jahan,[7] and none was destined to greater humiliation and suffering at the end of his reign.

Dara, the eldest son, was most favoured by his father. He was 43 years of age when the war of succession started. Of comely appearance and dignified deportment, courteous in conversation and extremely liberal, he was steeped in Muslim mysticism and Hindu pantheism. His father had bestowed on him the unprecedented military rank of 60,000 zat, the command being greater than "even the combined commands of all the younger brothers." He had been allowed to rule his province as a viceroy through his agents, and the highest honours were showered not only on him but also on his sons and adherents. As a consequence, Dana never acquired experience in the art of administration or of war. He established no contacts with the people or the nobility, and in the hour of trial he was deserted by the officers who mattered. Both Manucci and Bernier refer to Dam's irascibility, stubbornness and vanity. He entertained, says Bernier, "too exalted an opinion of himself, and believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind." The jealousy of Darn's brothers and the fear they entertained of him are voiced by the contemporary historian 'Aqil Khan Razi. "Dam Shukoh was appointed by Shah Jahan as his heir apparent. His Highness, on account of his arrogance and pride.... began to suppose, in fact to believe, that he was, by right and hereditary claim, the ruler of the extensive empire of Hindustan. . .and he made it his object to put an end to the existence of his brothers, who were co-heirs and partners in the kingdom and throne."[8] Flattery had made him vain; prosperity tended to make him ease-loving, and owing to the partiality shown to him by his father he became arrogant and over-confident.

Shah Jahan fell ill with strangury in September, 1657. Despairing of his life, the emperor made his last will and commended Dam as his heir apparent to the care of his officers. The news of his illness, which was at first kept a secret, reached the three brothers in their respective provinces—Shuja* in Bengal, Aurangzlb in the Deccan and Murad in Gujarat. Shah Jahan recovered slightly in November, but this made no difference to the march of events.

Of the three princes, Shuja 4 was the first to crown himself and to march towards Delhi from Bengal. Murad followed suit in December, and formed an alliance with Aurangzlb, who was more cautious in his moves. Sulaiman Shukoh, the eldest son of Darn, was sent with Raja Jay Singh against Shuja 4 ; two other armies were also despatched, one to oppose Aurangzlb, and the other to oust Murad from Gujarat.

Murad was a vain, pleasure-loving, and indolent prince who cared more for "the nourishment of the body" than for active life of the battlefield or diligent application to duty. He started his new career by killing 4 Ali Naql, his revenue minister, and sacking

the city of Surat in order to equip himself for the forthcoming struggle for the throne. After entering into a treaty of alliance with Aurangzlb by which Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Sindh and onethird of the war booty were promised to him, Murad started from Ahmadabad on 7 March, 1658, and joined Aurangzlb at DIpalpur on 24 April.

Aurangzlb had from the beginning been very cool and cautious, and had no intention of rebelling against his father. But the conduct of Dara and the hasty action of his other two brothers left him no alternative but to enter the arena and make a bid for the supreme power. 9

Jasvant Singh, who had been sent south by Shah Jahan and Dara, was encamped at Dharmat, fourteen miles south-west of Ujjain. Here, on 5 May, the rival armies came face to face. In the fierce battle that followed, Aurangzlb won a decisive victory by his superior generalship and an efficient and scientific combination of artillery and cavalry. It was the omen of his irresistible march to power.

On the day following the battle the Princes reached Ujjain. They then marched on to Gwalior where they arrived in June. Here they learnt that Dara had personally moved to Dholpur and obtained command over all the ferries of the river Chambal. Aurangzib, with the help of a local zamindar, found a little-used ford at Bhanduli, 40 miles east of Dholpur; he crossed the river without any opposition and started on the road to Agra. Dara, foiled in his design of preventing his rivals from crossing the Chambal, had no alternative but to fall back. The two armies came face to face with one another at Samogarh, eight miles east of Agra fort. Dara was advised not to risk a personal defeat by taking charge of the army command, but he paid no heed to the advice. The battle commenced about noon on 8 June, 1658, in the fearful heat of the Indian sun. Dara's Rajput officers fought with undaunted courage and nearly carried the day; but the faulty tactics of Dara, the indiscipline of his army, and his bad generalship brought a final and irretrievable disaster to the imperial army. Dara lost nearly 10,000 soldiers, innumerable horses and elephants, and 19 Muslim and Rajput officers of the highest rank. Beaten and humbled, he escaped to Agra where he arrived at 9 p. m. and shut himself up in his house. When summoned by Shah Jahan to see him, the heart-broken prince declined. "I cannot show my face to your Majesty in my present wretched plight", he replied; "permit me to go away with your farewell blessing on the long journey that is before me."

Daria left Agra for Delhi and the victors soon after arrived and encamped in the garden of Nur Manzil outside Agra. Shah Jahan opened the gates of the Agra fort after a siege of three days, Aurangzib took possession of it, and then set out in pursuit of Dara. By the time he reached Mathura, he found that the pretensions of Murad had grown so high that, if unpunished, he would jeopardise Aurangzib's chances of success. Murad was arrested and sent to Salimgarh; later on, he was confined as' a State-prisoner in the fort of Gwalior. After three years' captivity Murad was tried for the murder of 'All Naql on a complaint by his son and beheaded in the fort of Gwalior.

Dara had marched on to Lahore when he heard of the capture of Agra by Aurangzlb. There he assembled an army of 20,000 men and sent out parties to guard the ferries of the Sutlej. Aurangzib sent an officer eastward to capture Allahabad and another to the Punjab, while he himself stayed in Delhi for three weeks to organize the administration. He was formally crowned emperor at Delhi on 31 July, 1658.

The Mughul empire reached its greatest prosperity in the reign of Shah Jahan. “The means employed by Shah Jahan in these happy years”, the author of Lubbut Tawarikh says, “to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for their welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the auditing of accounts, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil-doers, oppressors and malcontents—all tended to the prosperity of the empire.” Muslim writers hold him up as an ideal Muslim monarch, and call him the pillar of the Shar’iyat , “the defender of religion, and the restorer of the waning fortunes of Islam.” But contemporary European travellers, though testifying to the extent and the prosperity of his empire, “depict him as a despicable creature whose only concern in life was how to indulge in his bestial sensuality and monstrous wickedness.” Elphinstone describes the age of Shah Jahan as “the most prosperous ever known to India. . . .together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations.” V. A. Smith is extremely critical and unfair in his indictment of Shah Jahan. “In affairs of state”, he says, “Shah Jahan was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous. He had little skill as a military leader.... His justice was merely the savage, unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect for persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion.”

These deprecating remarks do scant justice to Shah Jahan’s qualities of head and heart. 10 Whatever his weaknesses as a prince, he proved a firm and capable ruler, who (so Bernier tells us) “reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but rather as a father over his family and children.” As emperor he led a strenuous life; this is proved by the minute details of his daily routine recorded in contemporary Persian accounts. He personally supervised the minutest details of the administration and appointed men of the highest ability and uprightness of character as his ministers. The military campaigns were organised and the details were worked out by him personally with care and assiduity. Many abuses in the mansabdari and revenue system were removed by him, and never was security of life and property greater, nor justice more quick and fair, than in Shah Jahan’s reign. A loving father, a doting husband, a loyal friend, a capable ruler and wise statesman, Shah Jahan deserved a better end. He was harsh and vindictive to his enemies, but kind and generous to his friends. He punished the unruly and recalcitrant with severity, amounting to cruelty, but he was affable, kind and forgiving to those who sought his friendship or forgiveness. His supreme endeavour was to eradicate lawlessness and rebellion, to guarantee security of life and property to his subjects, and to promote their material and moral welfare. Orthodox as a Musalman and anxious to fortify and strengthen the Muslim millat , he was never unfair to, or unmindful of, the interests of his non-Muslim subjects. 11 He loved pomp and show and considerably increased the royal retinue, the State-establishments and the magnificence of the court. The Peacock Throne, the Taj Mahal, the Agra Fort and numerous other works of architecture and art testify to his wealth as well as his aesthetic sense. He was an excellent calligraphist. His patronage of men of letters and of artisans and craftsmen was in keeping with the traditions of his family. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans—all flocked to his court and received his favours. He recognised merit and rewarded it generously. Poetry, music, painting, dancing, astronomy, mathematics and medicine flourished under the generous and intelligent patronage of the emperor. He was fond of Hindu music and patronised Hindu poets like Sundar Das, Chintamani and Kavindra Acharya. Amongst the royal musicians were Lai Khan, son-in-law of the famous Tan Sen, Jagannath, who received the title of Mahia-Kavi-Rai, Sukh Sen and Sur Sen. Shah Jahan’s solicitude for the welfare of his subjects showed itself best in measures for famine relief in Gujarat, Kashmir and the Punjab. Soup kitchen and aim-homes were established in Burhanpur, Ahmadahad and Surat. At Burhanpur Rs. 5,000 were distributed amongst the poor every Monday. Taxes amounting to 70 lakhs were remitted. In Kashmir, Rs. 1,00,000 were distributed amongst the poor besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily. Ten free kitchens were established in the Punjab. His treatment of his rivals at the time of his accession, as we have seen, is a great blot on his character; his aggressive wars were a great drain on the imperial treasury. Rut in the features of Shah Jahan the Mughul artists have succeeded in expressing that calmness and grandeur which so forcibly strikes us in the Taj Mahal, the greatest Indian architectural achievement of all times.

1. This is in accordance with the testimony of the Indian authors. There is, however, a story, recorded by some European travellers and in the annals of Persia, that Dawar Bakhsh was not actually killed but managed to escape by substituting another man in his place. For details, Cf. B. P. Saksena, History of Shar jahan of Delhi, p. 62, f.n. 88 (Editor).

2. Op. cit. pp. 102-3. It is, however, difficult to justify the author's comment and observations for distinguishing the nature of the two rebellions.

2a. The date is given as c. 1579 by V. A. Smitr, Oxford History of India, (1919), p. 395.

3. For a more detailed account and a less favourable view of Shah Jahan's conduct, cf. CHI, IV, pp. 190-192. The passage quoted is in p. 191.

4. For a detailed and critical discussion of the causes of the Mughul failure against Qandahar, cf. Saksena, op. cit. p. 235.

5. The view that Shah Jahan ‘‘never gave up the basic policy of toleration and forbearance" is belied by the author's own statements that follow. Further, this discussion, on the basis of which the author makes the categorical statement, in the last para of this chapter, that Shah Jahan "was never unfair to, or unmindful of, the interests of his non-Muslim subjects", is definitely opposed to well-authenticated facts if we remember, as we should, that the liberty to follow his own religion was regarded by every Hindu as his chief 'interest', more highly valued than any other privilege. The following passage in Dr. Saksena's book (every statement of which is substantiated by reference to authorities in the footnotes) is more in accordance with known historical facts:

"The practice of desecrating and destroying Hindu temples, though it was revived in the reign of Jahangir, became systematic under Shah Jahan. He first ordered, in January 1633, the demolition of the newly built temples in his whole Empire, especially at Benares, and this order was (in SeptemberOctober) followed by a total prohibition for the erecting of new temples or the repairing of old ones.

"Further, systematic efforts were made at the instance of the Emperor to convert the Hindus both by persuasion and bv force. The former included tempting offers of service and rewards. Shah Mir Lahauri and Muhibb 'All Sindhl were especially commissioned with this work of proselytisation. They presented new converts to the Emperor, who conferred on them titles and distinctions, or assigned special allowance to them. The Hindus were strictly forbidden to influence or dissuade their relations from turning Musalman. Two cases of conversion among the nobility are worth notice....

"There are two instances on record in which government officials were transferred or dismissed on account of their religious convictions (concrete instances given)(Saksena, op. cit. pp. 293-5).

To the above statement may be added the fact that a pilgrim tax was imposed on the Hindus (Manrique's account, Vol. II. p. 147). (Editor).

6. The whole of this paragraph is a special pleading in favour of Shah Jahan unsupported by facts and arguments. For example, no evidence is cited to prove that the Hindu temples were destroyed because "some of them were utilised against the State." Again, one fails to understand how prohibition of conversion to Hinduism and Christianity may be justified as a defensive measure. The last two sentences of this para are somewhat self-contradictory, and, in any case, do not deserve serious consideration from the point of view of the justification of Shah Jahan's religious policy.

7. This is true only in respect of the artistic achievements.

8. No evidence is cited to prove that it was a deliberate policy of Dara to kill his brothers, nor is it easy to understand how 'they were co-heirs and partners in the kingdom.'

9. It is, at best, a gratuitous assumption. Sir Jadunath Sarkar does not take such a view in his monumental work on Aurangzlb.

10. For a moderate and reasonable view between these two extremes, cf. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 296 ff.

11. Cf. foot-note 5 above.

1V.B.—The Editor alone is responsible for all the above foot-notes [Ed.*].

CHAPTER VIII

AURANGZIB (1658-1680)

I. FATE OF DARA

Muhiy-ud-dln Muhammad Aurangzib, the third son of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahall, gained two grand victories in the war of succession, the first, at Dharmat, fourteen miles south-west of Ujjain, on 15 April, 1658, and the second, at Samogarh, eight miles east of Agra fort, on 29 May; and then, after capturing the fort of Agra and imprisoning his father there, he ascended the throne at Delhi on 21 July, 1658, with the lofty title of Abu-'l Muzaffar Muhiy-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzib Bahadur 'Alamgir Padshah Ghazl.

His father and ex-emperor, "the most magnificent of the Mughul emperors", had to pass the remainder of his life as a prisoner in the Agra fort. Aurangzib's youngest brother, Murad, had been arrested on 25 June, and confined as a state-prisoner in the fort of Gwalior. But, even then, the new emperor did not feel secure about his own position, as many of his enemies were still active to strike him.

From Samogarh, Dara had proceeded to Delhi and thence to the Punjab where he expected more co-operation and assistance than in any other place, while his eldest son, Sulaiman Shukoh, after defeating his uncle Shuja' at Bahadurpur, five miles north-east of Banaras, on 14 February, 1658, and concluding a peace with him at Monghyr, was marching towards Agra.

Had Dara, instead of moving to the Punjab, marched eastward and, uniting with his son, advanced against Aurangzib, he might have created an alarming situation for his brother. But that was not to be, and his wrong move ruined his cause. An astute general as Aurangzib was, he guarded against the possible junction of the father and the son. The followers of Sulaiman found their path to the west blocked, and disheartened by the news of Daria's discomfiture at Samogarh and his flight to the north-west, deserted in large number, making his position very precarious.

Reaching Lahore, Dara raised his men to 20,000 and despatched some of them to guard the ferries at Talwandi and Rupar on the Sutlej, as well as to keep him informed of the enemy's movements. But as he was wanting in requisite courage and also did not get time enough to rally proper opposition to his brother's forces, he

fled from place to place as soon as he heard of the enemy's approach. The emperor had deputed Bahadur Khan to pursue him. Then he appointed Khalil-ullah Khan, the governor of the Punjab, with orders to take up the pursuit more vigorously. When "Bahadur Khan crossed the Sutlej by surprise at Rupar... .Dara's generals fell back from that river to Govindwal on the Beas. But when Aurangzib from Delhi reached the Sutlej, Dara fled from Lahore (18 August) to Multan, with his family and treasure, by boat. Once more Dara's courage failed before Aurangzib; he despaired of success and his despair infected his troops." 1 From Multan he fled from one place to another in Sind, all the while losing large number of his troops from desertions, and finally, he left this province at Badin, proceeding over the Rann of Cutch towards Gujarat. Meanwhile, the alarming news of Shuja°s advance towards Agra had forced the emperor to turn back from the environs of Multan for Delhi.

After his coronation (21 July, 1658), Aurangzib had assured his brother Shujia‘ of the possession of Bihar in addition to that of Bengal, but the latter, finding the deplorable plight of his father as well as of his brother, Murad, could not place reliance on his brother's promise, and when he heard of Aurangzib's absence far away from the capital, he considered this a suitable opportunity to conquer as far as Agra and release his father. Early in November, 1658, he marched out of Patna with an army of 25,000 cavalry and a park of artillery. Taking possession of the forts on the way, he reached Khajuha, in the Fatehpur district, in Uttar Pradesh, on 30 December, 1659. Here his path was barred by Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of the emperor.

Arriving at the environs of Delhi in November, 1658, Aurangzib sent reinforcements to his son, and himself advanced to meet his brother at Khajuha. On the night before the battle, Maharaja Jasvant Singh, who was the commander of the emperor's right wing, all on a sudden, attacked and plundered the imperial camp and thereafter went back with his 14,000 Rajput followers to his own country. But the imperial position was saved by the emperor’s wonderful coolness and tactful handling of the situation and Shuja‘’s hesitation to act in time.

In the encounter (5 January, 1659) the imperialists assembled 50,000 to 55,000 men whereas Shuja°s army numbered 23,000. The battle started at 8 a.m. by an offensive from Shuja‘. The imperialists were driven to such an unfavourable position that they would have given way, but the cool courage, promptitude and superior tact

of the emperor turned the impending defeat into a decisive victory, and Shuja* was compelled to take recourse to flight. His army also fled away, leaving their camp equipage and artillery as the victor’s prize.

Aurangzib sent Muhammad Sultan and Mir Jumla in pursuit of Shuja‘ who fled to Monghyr, via Banaras and Patna, and thence to the Malda district through Sahibganj and Rajmahal.

After making Tanda 2 his base of operations, Shuja* tried to check the advance of the imperialists and won over Muhammad Sultan, by offering him the hand of his daughter Gulrukh Banu. He also succeeded in recovering Rajmahal and compelled Mir Jumla to fall back from his position at Belghata, opposite Jangipur, towards Murshidabad. But when the information of the approach of another imperial army under Daud Khan, the governor of Bihar, to the assistance of Mir Jumla, reached him, he left Rajmahal and came back to Tanda (January, 1660). Sometime after, Muhammad Sultan deserted him and joined the imperialists but only to pass the rest of his life in imprisonment. Now all was over with Shuja‘. He had no other alternative but to take a precipitate flight to Dacca before Mir Jumla’s net could completely close round him. But even there, his position was not secure because of enmity of the local zammddrs. As such, he was forced to leave Bengal and take shelter with the Magh Raja of Arakan. Here he conspired to seize the throne of his benefactor and then to proceed to recover Bengal. But the plot having leaked out, he tried to take to his heels but was pursued and slain (February, 1661).

After great hardship, Daria had arrived at Ahmadabad where, with the assistance of Shah Navaz Khan, the governor of the province, he raised his army to 22,000 and marched towards Agra. On the way, on receipt of an invitation from Jasvant Singh who promised to join him with his Rajput followers, he proceeded in the direction of Ajmer. But Jasvant Singh was meanwhile won over by the emperor, and Dara had no alternative but to fight with his brother who had already arrived at the vicinity. At the pass of Deorai, four miles south of Ajmer, he was once more defeated by Aurangzib (March, 1659) and compelled to go back towards Ahmadabad. But unable to find refuge anywhere in Gujarat, he crossed the Rann once again and entered the southern coast of Sind (May, 1659). Here, too, his position was miserable, as Aurangzlb's pursuing army and local officers closed his path from the north, east and south-east. Dara moved towards the north-west, crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Persia, via the Bolan pass and Qandahar.

While on the way to Dadar, nine miles east of the Bolan pass, his beloved wife, Nadira Banu, succumbed to terrible hardship and illness. Overwhelmed with grief, the bereaved prince sent her corpse to Lahore for burial, accompanied by his most faithful officer, Gul Muhammad, the soldiers still remaining with him. But to crown his misery, the ungrateful Malik Jivan, the chieftain of Dadar, whom he had once saved from death sentence and whose hospitality he accepted, seized him along with his second son Sipihr Shukoh and two daughters, and delivered them to Aurangzlb's general Bahadur Khan.

Brought to Delhi, Dara and Sipihr Shukoh were paraded through the streets with ignominy, and subsequently the former was tried by the court theologians on a charge of apostasy from Islam. He was found guilty and put to death (30 August, 1659).

Dana's eldest son, Sulaiman Shukoh, who had taken refuge in Garhwal, was captured and brought to Delhi in January, 1661. He was then sent as a state-prisoner to Gwalior where he was put to death (May, 1662) by overdoses of opium.

At the instigation of Aurangzlb, a complaint was instituted against Murad by the second son of 'All Naqi for the murder of his father, and the prince, having been declared guilty, was beheaded in the fort of Gwalior on 4 December, 1661. Thus, after removing his rivals one by one, Aurangzlb firmly secured his position, although the means to the end are open to severe criticism.

He had celebrated his coronation for the second time on 5 June, 1659, after his decisive victories against Shuja‘ and Dam at Khajuha and Deoriai, respectively. On this occasion, not only grand banquets and dazzling illuminations enlivened the function, but many officers and nobles were promoted and new appointments made.

II. AURANGZIB AND NORTH INDIA

The long “reign of Aurangzlb is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India and the second in the Deccan. During the earlier of these two periods the centre of interest lies unmistakably in the North.... because the most important developments, civil and military, concerned this region. ... In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed: all the resources of the empire are concentrated in the Deccan; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindustan sinks back to a place of secondary importance . .. . the

administration in Northern India naturally falls into decay at the v/ithdrawal of the master’s eye and the ablest officers; the people grow poorer; the upper classes decline in morals, intelligence and useful activity; finally, lawlessness breaks out in most parts”, 3 indicating the beginning of that great anarchy which prevailed throughout the eighteenth century.

After his second coronation, the emperor gave his attention to alleviate the economic distress of the people. The prolonged war of succession and consequent disorder and confusion in the civil administration threatened the economic ruin of almost the whole of Northern India and grain was selling at exorbitant prices, beyond the reach of the ordinary people. The inland transit duties (rahdafi) at every ford, ferry or provincial boundary, and the octroi (pandari) levied in large towns like Agra, Delhi and Lahore, on articles of food and drink brought for sale from outside, enhanced the troubles as they not only hampered free movement of commodities within the country but also increased their prices. The emperor abolished both of them in the crown lands, and the assignees (jdgirdars) and landholders (zaimndtirs) were asked to do so in their respective estates. By the abolition of ruhdurl alone, the government suffered a loss of twenty-five lakhs of rupees in revenue in the crown lands per annum. As a result of these measures, there was free movement of commodities from one place to another and their prices fell considerably. Many oppressive and burdensome abwubs (cesses) over and above the regular land revenue and customs duty were also abolished. Although forbidden again and again by various rulers like Firuz Tughluq, Akbar and Jahangir, they re-appeared every time after some intervals. The important abwubs or cesses were perquisites, gifts and subscriptions exacted by the officials in their own interest, fees and commissions realized for the State on various occasions, licence-tax for certain trades, duties on local sale of commodities and some special imposts on the Hindus, viz., the pilgrim's tax, a tax on the occasion of the birth of a male child, and a tax for throwing the bones of the dead into the Ganges. Although they were abolished by Aurangzib and his actions showed his pious intention to do good to the people, his edicts could not be duly enforced in all regions, especially in far off places where the people suffered almost as before.

From 1661 to 1667 the emperor received embassies from many Muhammadan powers outside India which had trade relations with Mughul India, congratulating him on his victories over his rivals and accession to the throne. Such embassies came from the Sharif

of Mecca, the Safavi king of Persia, the kings of Balkh, Bukhara, Kashghar, the petty chieftains of Urganj (Khiva), Shahr-i-nau, the Turkish governors of Basra, Hadramaut or Southern Arabia to the north-east of Aden, Yaman and Mocha, the ruler of Barbary and the Christian king of Abyssinia. One embassy also came from Constantinople in 1690. Aurangzib's "policy at the beginning was to dazzle the eyes of foreign princes by the lavish gift of presents to them and their envoys, and thus induce the outer Muslim world to forget his treatment of his father and brothers, or at least to show courtesy to the successful man of action and master of India's untold wealth, especially when he was so free with his money." 4

Although Shah ‘Abbas II, the Safavi king of Persia, sent a grand complimentary embassy in 1661, his relation with Aurangzlb became strained later on, leading to a complete rift due to the former’s overweening pride, and aggravated by the religious difference between the two sovereigns, Shiah ‘Abbas II being a Shiah and Aurangzlb an orthodox Sunni. Parbiyat Khan, the Indian envoy, was rudely treated and humiliated at the Persian Court, and the Persian emperor threatened an invasion of the Mughul empire; though it did not materialize, Aurangzlb had to be very vigilant on the north-western frontier. With the death of Shah ‘Abbas II in 1667, the danger of Persian invasion disappeared, as during the rest of the reign of Aurangzlb, Persia was too weak to strike.

The relation between Aurangzlb and Shah Jahan since the latter became a captive in the Agra fort on 18 June, 1658, was very bitter. During the period of this captivity of the father, the son never visited Agra and his treatment of the former was a pitiable instance of open disregard for decorum and canons of morality and justice. Shah Jahan gradually realized the position into which he had been cast by the cruel hand of destiny. He was closely surrounded by the emperor’s guards and his movements within the fort were watched with strict vigilance. Acrimonious letters were exchanged between the father and the son, and when the attempts of the former to correspond with Daria and Shuja‘ were detected, they made his position worse still. His bonds of captivity were tightened and writing materials were withheld from him; whatever he desired to write, had to be written through government staff, and such correspondence passed through government agents. There were sordid wranglings between the father and the son over the crown jewelleries and those left by Dara in the Agra fort, and Aurangzlb took possession of them in spite of Shah Jahan’s remonstrances. The correspondence between them became so bitter that the father, without further complaint, at last resigned to the inevitable. The heartrending news of the sad end of Dara, Shuja‘, Murad and Sulaiman Shukoh gave him rude shocks, one after another, but he bore them with extraordinary patience. He spent his time in prayer[1], religious discourses, reading the Qur'an and performance of all other duties according to the canons of Islam. It was a great solace to him to receive till the last moment of his life the loving care of his eldest daughter, Jahanara, who shared with him all sorrows and miseries, consoling him with tenderness of a mother and daughter combined in one. Deprived of liberty, bereft of all powers and stricken down with bereavements, he only waited for deliverance from such a sad and gloomy existence, and at last it came on 22 January, 1666, at the age of seventy-four, after an illness continuing for about fifteen days.

During the first decade of Aurangzib's reign there were a few disturbances in his empire, but they were local and not of much importance, and were easily put down. Champat Rai of Bundelkhand, who had rebelled against the emperor, was hunted from place to place and eventually, unable to defend, he stabbed himself to death (1661). A disputed succession in Navanagar in Saurashtra led to the intervention of the Mughul suzerain. The faujdar of Junagarh after a desperate fight against the usurper Rai Singh, killed him, and restored Raja Chhatra Sal, Jam of Navanagar, in his possession (A.D. 1663). Rao Karan of Bikaner, who had defied the emperor's authority, was forced to submit and pardoned.

The territorial expansion of the Mughul empire, initiated and continued by the predecessors of Aurangzib, went on during his regime also, and the early years of his reign witnessed the extension of the empire in various directions. In 1661, Daud Khan, the governor of Bihar, invaded Palamau in South Bihar, then inhabited mostly by the Cheros, a Dravidian people, and conquered it. It was annexed to the Suba of Bihar. In 1665, as the result of a mission from the Mughul governor of Kashmir, the ruler of little Tibet or Ladakh, out of fear, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughuls, built a mosque at his capital and minted coins in the name of the emperor.

A great military expedition was undertaken by the imperialists on the north-eastern side, in Assam. A branch of the Shan race, the Ahoms, who had been originally inhabitants of Upper Burma, migrated to Assam in the thirteenth century, conquering a part of the Brahmaputra valley. They went on expanding their kingdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries till they held sway up to the Bar Nadi river on the north-west and the Kalang river on the south-west. They were very hardy, worshipped demons and were feudally organized, but in the course of their stay in Assam, they began to be influenced by Indian civilization and the Hindu religion. By the conquest of Kuch Hajo, embracing the present districts of Goalpara and Kamrup in Assam, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the eastern boundary of the Mughul empire had extended up to the Bar Nadi. Thus a conflict between the Mughuls and the Ahoms was almost inevitable, and as a matter of fact, much desultory fighting went on between them in the course of which the Ahoms raided the eastern frontier of the Mughul empire. At last, a peace was concluded in 1638, according to which the Bar Nadi was recognized as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

During the war of succession, taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the frontiers, the Ahoms as well as the Raja of Cooch Behar sent expeditionary forces to occupy the Mughul district of Kamrup from the east and west, respectively. Afraid of attacks from two sides, and without any hope of reinforcement from Bengal, Mir Lutf-ullah ShirazI, the faujdar of Gauhati, fled away to Dacca, leaving the district in a defenceless state. The Ahoms occupied Gauhati, without any resistance, and much booty, including 140 horses, 40 pieces of canon and 200 matchlocks, fell into their hands. They plundered the whole district and drove away the troops of Cooch Behar, and thus the whole of Western Brahmaputra valley came into their possession (A.D. 1658).

After the civil war, the emperor appointed Mir Jumla as viceroy of Bengal (June, 1660) with orders to punish the miscreants and recover the Mughul territories. Having completed necessary preparations, the viceroy started from Dacca early in November, 1661, with 12,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry and a flotilla of more than three hundred war-vessels. At first he went to Cooch Behar, the capital of which was occupied without any resistance, as the Raja and his officers had fled away in terror. After a successful campaign in this kingdom and annexing it to the Mughul empire, Mir Jumla proceeded against Assam. Although his path lay through forests and innumerable streams, he marched forward bearing all hardships and captured many forts of the enemies, viz, Joglgupha, Gauhati, Srlghat, Pandu, Beltala, Klajali, Sadhara and Simla-garh. In a naval engagement he destroyed their navy and finally reached Garhgaon, the capital of the Ahom kingdom, on 17 March, 1662. The Ahom king, Jayadhwaj, had fled away, leaving his capital at the mercy of the invaders. Immense booty was captured by the imperialists in the course of the Assam campaign.

The Mughul general made necessary arrangements for keeping hold over the conquered territories during the ensuing monsoon. A strong garrison was maintained in the occupied Ahom capital and outposts were established for guarding the routes. As the river near Garhgaon was shallow, the Mughul fleet had to be anchored at Lakhau, about eighteen miles north-west of that town, while the general himself with the main army halted at Mathurapur, a village on a high ground, seven miles south-east of Garhgaon. Such a separation of the land army and the navy became the cause of terrible sufferings of the imperialists.

The Ahoms still retained sufficient strength to give blows to their enemies. They resumed offensive and surprised the Mughul outposts by night attacks; even Garhgaon was not spared. During the rainy season the Mughul occupation of Assam was extremely precarious; the country was flooded, communications were cut off, the outposts isolated and the imperial army remained practically “in a state of siege”. Communications between the Mughul army and the navy were also cut off by the enemies who concentrated their attacks on Garhgaon, which was repeatedly attacked and saved only by the exertions and gallantry of the Mughul soldiery.

To add to the misery of the Mughuls, a serious epidemic broke out at Mathurapur, levying a heavy toll of lives in Mir Jumla’s camp. The disease spread to the whole of Assam and 230,000 of its inhabitants succumbed to it. The life at Mathurapur being intolerable, the Mughul army came back to Garhgaon, leaving many of the sick who could not be carried for paucity of transport. But the refugees infected the army at Garhgaon, making the situation worse.

“Through all these dark months of alarm, suspense and even despair” 5 the Mughul navy at Lakhau successfully maintained its touch with Gauhati and through it with the headquarters of Bengal. When the monsoon was over, Mir Jumla with great difficulty succeeded in re-opening communication with the fleet and provisions were sent in large quantities under escort from

Lakhau to Garhgaon. In place of famine, the Mughul camp was now in plenty.

Resuming operations against the enemies, the Mughul general marched to Tipam via Solaguri. But he was attacked with fainting fits which were soon followed by high fever and pleurisy. His troops refused to proceed further and enter the pestilential hills of Namrup where Jayadhwaj, the Ahom king, had taken refuge. The situation of the latter, too, became very miserable by the desertion of many of his notables and he made overtures of peace to Mir Jumla, who gladly received them, and a treaty was concluded between the two parties. By it, Jayadhwaj consented to send a daughter to the imperial harem, pay an annual tribute and a heavy war-indemnity including 20,000 tolas of gold, 120,000 tolas of silver, 53 to give hostages for full payment of the indemnity, and to cede more than half of the province of Darrang.

Thus “judged as a military exploit, Mir Jumla’s invasion of Assam was a success.” 6 It was no doubt gained at great hardships and immense loss of lives but the Mughul general shared all sufferings with the common soldiers and steered successfully through all adverse circumstances with uncommon perseverance and fortitude. He was attacked with a serious malady, consumption, which had developed from his pleurisy. Over-exertion and unhealthy climatic conditions of the country ruined his health beyond recovery, and when he was on his way to Dacca after his successful expedition, he expired on 31 March, 1663.

The Mughuls retained the conquests of Mir Jumla till 1667 when the Ahom king, Chakradhwaj, after sending two detachments down the banks: of the Brahmaputra, succeeded in capturing the Mughul forts one after another, in rapid succession. Even Gauhati itself fell into his hands and its faujdar was taken prisoner. It became the headquarters of an Ahom viceroy. The Mughuls were thus driven back to the river Monas. For many years the attempts of the imperialists to recover their lost position failed, in spite of the appointment of Raja Ram Singh, the son and successor of Mlrza Raja Jay Singh, with supreme command over the expeditionary forces in Assam and his stay at Rangamati for several years. He was ultimately recalled in 1676. Although in 1679, the Mughuls recovered Gauhati by bribery, the

Ahom king, Gadadhar Singh, retook it in 1681, and thus Kiamrup was finally lost to them.

In 1662 the raja of Cooch Behar had reconquered his kingdom by expelling the Mughul army of occupation, but, in 1664, out of fear, he again offered his submission to the imperialists and paid an indemnity of five and a half lakhs of rupees to Shayista Khian, the new Governor of Bengal. Later on, taking advantage of serious dissensions and disorders within the kingdom, the Mughuls conquered its southern and eastern portions, including the present districts of Rangpur and Western Kamrup.

One of the most brilliant achievements of Shayista Khan as governor of Bengal was the conquest of Chittagong. The Fenny river formed the boundary between the Mughul empire and the Magh kingdom of Arakan but the Magh pirates, in conjunction with the Feringis or Portuguese adventurers and their half-caste offsprings, who used frequently to come to Bengal by the river-route, not only committed depredations and other heinous acts here, but also carried off the people, some of whom were employed in pillage or some other degrading pursuits, and sold others as slaves. The raids of these pirates rendered Deltaic Bengal desolate, causing serious damage to imperial prestige and heavy loss of revenue. Situated between Arakan and Bengal, Chittagong was a convenient base of operations of these miscreants, and it was of utmost necessity to bring it under the control of the imperial administration. With this end in view, Shayista Khan built a new navy of three hundred war-vessels and made proper arrangements for the protection of Dacca against any possible attack by water. Next, in November, 1665, he captured the island of Sandwip. Meanwhile, he had been trying hard to win over the Feringis by liberal offers of service, and a serious quarrel between them and their Arakanese chiefs facilitated his design. All the Feringis of Chittagong fled with their family and property to the Mughul territory, where they were treated with liberality.

A strong expeditionary force was then sent from Dacca to Chittagong under Buzurg Ummed Khan, a son of Shayista Khan, and admiral Ibn Husain. The imperial fleet consisted of 288 vessels of their own and about 40 vessels of the Feringis, as auxiliaries. It was planned that the land army and the navy should co-operate with each other. The Maghs were defeated in three naval engagements, and in the last of these, fought near the fort of Chittagong, the Arakanese navy suffered a heavy discomfiture; several ships were sunk and one hundred and thirty-five captured by the imperialists. The fort of Chittagong was then besieged and captured, the garrison having surrendered after the resistance of a day only (26 January, 1666).

The conquered territory was placed under direct imperial administration. The name of Chittagong was changed to Islamabad and it became the headquarters of a Mughul faujdar. The most important benefits of the victory were the release of thousands of Bengal peasants who had been kidnapped and held there as serfs and the increase of cultivation in the areas so long rendered desolate by the oppressions of the Maghs and Feringis.

The north-western frontier had all along been a source of trouble to the Mughul empire. The various Afghan clans like the Afrldls, Yusufzals and Khattaks living in that hilly region were notorious for highway robbery from time immemorial. Their lands being arid and less productive, they found it more profitable for their sustenance to plunder the inhabitants of the plains and rich traders who happened to pass through their country. Finding it too difficult to keep them under control by force of arms, the Mughul emperors bribed these hillmen with a view to maintaining peace and keeping the routes in the north-western frontier open to traffic. Aurangzib paid the various border chiefs six lakhs of rupees annually, but even these bribes did not always succeed in maintaining peace in that hilly region where new leaders arose and used to plunder the Mughul territory. The trouble commenced early in 1667, when the Yusufzais living in the Swat and Bajaur valleys and the plain of northern Peshawar, rose in arms under their leader Bhagu who crowned a pretender under the title of Muhammad Shah and crossed the Indus near Attock. Entering the Hazara district he attacked the Mughul outposts there, while other Yusufzai bands ravaged the western Peshawar and Attock districts, and then coming over to the south bank of the Indus at Harun, they attempted to hold the ferry there with a view to preventing the Mughul army from crossing into the tribal territory. But they were severely beaten back by Kamil Khan, the commandant of Attock, and the Mughul territory on the south side of the Indus was thus cleared of the enemies (April, 1667). In the following month Shamsher Khan, another commander, crossed the Indus, and, marching into the Yusufzai country, gained several victories over them and destroyed many of their farms and homesteads. Muhammad Amin Khan who was next invested with the supreme command to punish these rebels, inflicted such severe blows on them that they remained quiet for some years.

In 1672 there was another rising in the frontier region. The Afrldi Chieftain, Akmal Khan, crowned himself king and declared a holy war against the imperialists, inviting all the Pathans to join him in this national struggle. The Khyber pass was closed and the rebels attacked Muhammad Amin Khan, then governor of Afghanistan, at ‘All Masjid, cutting him off from the stream from which he received his supply of water. Their severe assaults in the hilly region were too much for the Mughuls to bear and they were thrown into utter confusion. The imperialists suffered heavy discomfiture and immense losses in men and property. Muhammad Amin Khan and some of his high officers somehow succeeded in escaping to Peshawar. Such a grand victory enhanced the fame and resources of Akmal Khan and lured more recruits to his banner. The rebellion spread in the entire frontier regions; the Khattak clan, also, joined the Afrldis, and Khush-hal Khan, the poet and leader

of the former, became the guiding spirit of this national struggle of the Pathans.

The defeat of Amin Khan gave a rude shock to Aurangzib who degraded him and sent Mahabat Khan as governor of Afghanistan. But the new governor avoided any risky action and entered into a secret understanding with the rebels not to molest each other; and so the Khyber pass remained closed as before. Highly displeased, the emperor sent Shuja‘at Khan with a large force to punish the rebels but he was defeated and killed in the Karapa pass on 22 February, 1674.

The situation became so alarming that the emperor himself proceeded to Hasan Abdal, near Peshawar, for directing the operations. Mahabat Khan was removed from the governorship and all possible actions were taken against the rebels. The emperor used both arms and diplomacy with much success. Many clans were bought over with presents, pensions and posts in the Mughul army, while the more refractory clans like the Ghorai, Ghilzal, Shirani and Yusufzais were crushed by arms. The imperial commander, Uighur Khan, won repeated victories over the Afghans and created awe and panic among them. The position of the Mughuls improved sufficiently by the end of 1675 and Aurangzib left Hasan Abdal for Delhi after his stay at the former place for a year and a half.

He appointed Amffi Khan, the son of Khalil-ullah, governor of Kabul in 1677. This choice was most befitting. Amir Khan, who had already distinguished himself by his capabilities, governed Afghanistan with singular tact, energy and efficiency till his death in 1698. By his diplomacy and conciliatory policy he succeeded in restoring order in the frontier and keeping the Khyber pass open to traffic. His success was to a great extent due to the tact and wise counsel of his wife.

His policy of paying subsidies to the tribal leaders and creating dissensions among the clans bore fruit, leading to the break-up of the confederacy under Akmal Khan, and on the death of the latter, the Afrldls submitted and came to terms with the emperor. But the unbending and high-spirited Khattak leader, Khush-hal Khan, continued the struggle for many years more, undaunted by the inimical actions of the Bangashes, Yusufzais and his own son Ashraf who had joined hands with the Mughuls. Alone did he fight for the cause of Pathan independence till he was betrayed by his son, culminating in his capture and imprisonment by his enemies. The war of Aurangzib on the north-west frontier thus came to a successful end, though at a heavy cost. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is per

fectly justified when he says: “Ruinous as the Afghan war was to imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible, though Afghans were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on ShivajI by draining the Deccan of the best Mughul troops for service on the N.W. frontier.” 7 Taking advantage of this diversion of the imperial forces, the Maratha king conquered Carnatic (1667) without any opposition.

III. ORTHODOXY AND BIGOTRY

No one can possibly underestimate the great influence exerted on the life and activities of Aurangzib by the orthodox reform movement in Indian Islam started by Mujaddid Alf-i-SanI Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindl (1563-1624), the aims of which were regeneration and rejuvenation of Islam in strict accord with the shar'iyat and "the establishment of a true Islamic State conforming to Islamic ideas and practices in all its activities. . . . ". ?a While a prince, Aurangzib came into contact with Khvaja Muhammad M'asum, son of Mujaddid Ahmad Sirhindl. He held him in high esteem and sought his advice on important matters of Muslim theology. After his accession to the throne also, he maintained his contact with the Khvaja and his son Muhammad Saifuddln as well, and their influence had much to do in bringing him within the fold of the orthodox school and shaping his puritanic state policy.

Aurangzib had claimed the throne as the champion of Sunni orthodoxy against the liberal-minded Dara whom he considered to be a heretic. It was neither his personal caprice nor any political or material gain that shaped his policy. As a zealous Sunhi Muslim, he believed in the Islamic theory of Kingship according to which the ruler is to enforce strictly the Qur'anic law in the administration of his empire, or in other words, as a pious Muslim, he considered it to be his duty to "exert himself in the path of God" i.e., to carry on jihad (holy war) against infidels and convert his realm from ddr-ulharb (non-Muslim land) to dar-ul-IslcLm (realm of Islam). In pursuance of this ideal, he reversed the policy enunciated by Akbar, the Great, in regard to his non-Muslim subjects, who, in consequence, suffered from various social, political and economic disabilities and felt degraded because of the inferior position they held in the empire. Such discriminatory measures alienated the sympathy and good will of the vast majority of his non-Muslim subjects, eventually undermining the foundation on which rested the political fabric of the empire.

In 1659 he issued a number of ordinances for restoring the Muslim law of conduct according to the teaching of the Qur'an. He discontinued the practice of inscribing the kalima (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins lest they were defiled by men of other faiths, and abolished the celebration of the new year’s day (nauruz) of the Zoroastrian calendar—a custom followed by the Mughul emperors in imitation of the Persian kings. The cultivation of bhang (cannabis Indica) was forbidden throughout the empire. Censors of public morals (muhtasibs) wetfe appointed in all big cities to enforce the Qur’anic law and put down the practices forbidden in it, like drinking of wine, gambling and illicit traffic of women. Their duties also included punishment of Muslims for heretical opinions, blasphemy, omission of obligatory prayers and Ramzan fast. In enforcing orthodoxy the emperor did not spare the Sufis and Shiahs, where deemed necessary. Among the important sections of the Muslim population who suffered serious persecution for heresy was the Isma‘ilia or Bohra community of Gujarat.

In 1668 the emperor forbade music at his court and the court musicians and singers were pensioned off. The royal band was not, however, discontinued. The ceremony of weighing the emperor 1 on his two birthdays, according to the lunar and solar calendars, against precious articles like gold and silver, and the practice of Jharokd darsan, a custom according to which the Mughul emperors used to appear every morning at the outer balcony of their palace to receive the salute of the subjects, were discontinued, as these were unIslamic. The emperor also forbade the customary rejoicings on his birthdays and on the anniversary of his coronation.

Although every endeavour was made to enforce his regulations and elevate his subjects, it was not possible to achieve the desired result, as they were not yet prepared to follow his high ideals of puritanical morality. Drinking and gambling were so much deeprooted in the country that it was simply impossible to stamp out these evils by a stroke of the pen. The orders regarding the courtesans and dancing girls either to get themselves married or leave the empire were also not effective. Similarly, the emperor’s edict prohibiting the rite of satl or burning of a Hindu widow along with the dead body of her husband, could not be duly enforced owing to strong opposition of the people.

In a farmdn gr'anted to a priest of Banaras in 1659, Aurangzlb ‘avowed that his religion forbade him to allow the building of new temples, but did not enjoin the destruction of old ones'. In 1664 he forbade old temples to be repaired, and on 9 April, 1669, an

order was issued to the governors of the provinces "to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and put down their teaching and religious practices strongly." 8 Besides innumerable temples throughout the empire, even the famous Hindu temples of Viisvanatha at Banaras, of Keshav Dev at Mathura, and Somnath at Patan were destroyed. Even the loyal State of Jaipur was not spared, and sixty-six temples were razed to the ground at Amber.

An order was issued re-imposing the jizya tax on the Hindus from 2 April, 1679, "with the object of spreading Islam and overthrowing infidel practices." 9 It was a commutation tax, i.e., the price of indulgence, and had to be paid by an assessee in person with marks of humility. For its assessment and collection the nonMuslim population was roughly divided into three grades; the first grade having an income above 10,000 dirhams had to pay 48 dirhams, the second, whose income was from 200 to 10,000 dirhams paid 24 dirhams , and the third, i.e., those whose income fell below 200 dirhams paid 12 dirhams a year, the value of a dirham being a little more than a quarter of a rupee. It appears that the jizya hit the poor non-Muslim population most, as the rate of taxation in their case was heavy in proportion to their income. Women, children below fourteen, slaves, beggars and paupers were exempted from this tax. Of the monks, the heads of wealthy monasteries only had to pay; government officials were however, exempted from this tax.

Aurangzlb ignored all protests and remained adamant in realizing the jizya. He felt gratified when many Hindus, unable to pay it, embraced Islam.

Various other measures were adopted to put pressure on the Hindus with a view to increasing the number of converts to Islam. By an edict in April, 1665, the customs duty on the commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2 \ per cent, ad valorem for Muslim merchants and 5 per cent, for the Hindu merchants. In May, 1667, this duty in the case of Muslim traders was abolished, whereas it was retained at the old rate of 5 per cent, on the Hindus. The emperor offered rewards and posts in the public service, liberation from imprisonment and even succession to property under dispute in favour of those who would embrace Islam. In 1671 an order was passed for the dismissal of all Hindu head-clerks and accountants, and replacing them by Muslims, but due to paucity of qualified Muhammadans the emperor, later on, allowed half of these posts to be held by the Hindus. In 1668 all Hindu religious fairs were prohibited, and in March 1695 another order was passed for

bidding the Hindus, except the Rajputs, to ride in pallets (palanquins), on elephants and good horses; they were also forbidden to carry arms. 93

All these discriminatory measures of the emperor produced farreaching and disastrous consequences, impairing the stability of the empire. The affected Hindu community became highly discontented, and opposition to the destruction of their holy temples was offered in Rajasthan, Bundelkhand, Malwa and Khandesh, and many converted mosques were demolished or the call to prayer was stopped. In certain places the j izya collectors were assaulted and driven out.

IV. REACTION AGAINST BIGOTRY

The first great Hindu reaction against the emperor’s policy of persecution occurred in the district of Mathura. Early in 1669, the sturdy Jat peasantry under their leader Gokla of Tilpat took up arms against the imperialists and killed ‘Abd-un-Nabi, the oppressive faujddr of Mathura. They then sacked the parga^a of Sadabiad and created disorder and confusion in the neighbouring district of Agra also. A strong reinforcement under Ra‘dandaz Khan was of no avail and the emperor himself proceeded to the disturbed area. Gokla mustered 20,000 men and fought valiantly but was at last overpowered by Hasan ‘All Khan, the Mughul commandant of Mathura. The Jat leader was put to death and the members of his family were converted to Islam.

In 1672 the formidable rising of the Satnamls took place in the districts of Narnaul and Mewat. The Satnamls were a peaceful sect, believing in the unity of God, mostly employed in agriculture. They were honest, industrious and formed a brotherhood, calling themselves Satnamls, Satniam meaning good name. As they used to shave their head and face including eye-brows, they were popularly called Mundiyas. A petty quarrel near Narnaul between a Satnami cultivator and a Mughul foot-soldier of the local revenue collector led to the outbreak. The high-handedness of the soldier was too much for them to bear and the wrangling soon developed into a religious war against the Mughuls. The Satnamis defeated the imperialists on several occasions and took possession of the town and district of Narnaul. When these alarming news reached the emperor, he sent there a large force under Raʻdandaz Khan, equipped with artillery. The Satnamis fought with courage and determination but could not succeed against the well-organized and well-equipped Mughul force. Two thousand men of this sect fell fighting

on the field and many of them were killed during the pursuit. The rebellion was thus crushed and the affected areas brought under control.

Aurangzib's policy of intolerance and religious persecution roused the Sikhs to take up arms against him. He passed an order for the demolition of the Sikh temples and expulsion of the Sikh Guru's agents from the cities. Tegh Bahadur, the Sikh Guru, offered open opposition and encouraged the Hindus of Kashmir in their resistance against forcible conversion to Islam. But he was siezed and taken to Delhi where he was imprisoned. On his refusal to embrace Islam, he was put to death after torture for five days (December, 1675).

The Sikhs were thus turned into bitter enemies of the Mughul government. Govinda Singh, the next Guru and the only son of Tegh Bahadur, was determined to avenge his father's cruel murder. He devoted his time and energy in transforming the Sikhs into a military community and instituted the custom of baptism wth a new oath. Those who accepted this baptism were known as the Khalsa (pure) and the members were required to put on a distinctive dress, keeping five things on their person, viz., Kesh (hair), Kangha (comb), Kripdn (sword), Kachha (underwear) and Kara (iron bangle). They were to give up all restrictions about caste, food and drink. "The Sikhs felt themselves to be a chosen people, the Lord's elect. Everything was, therefore, ready for converting the sect into a military body obedient to its chief to the death,.... and ever ready to surrender the individual conscience to that of the guru." 10

In the hilly regions of the northern Punjab, Guru Govinda fought against the local Muslim chiefs and Hindu rajas who had been asked to co-operate with the imperial forces in suppressing him, and won some victories over them. His stronghold at Anandapur was besieged five times, and at last he had to leave it to take refuge in the plains, hotly pursued by the imperialists. His four sons were slain and he had no alternative but to proceed to the Deccan through Bikaner. He came back to Northern India after the death of Aurangzib and joined Bahadur Shah in the war of succession with his brothers. He also accompanied Bahadur Shah to the Deccan and, while encamped at Nander on the Godavari, he was murdered by an Afghan follower (1708).

He was the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs. Before his death, his instruction to his followers was to get themselves organized into a military democracy, without having any more need of a Guru.

V. FIGHT WITH THE RAJPUTS

Aurangzlb was on the look-out for a suitable opportunity to establish direct control over Mar war, one of the most powerful Hindu States in Northern India. The reasons behind his motive were that it occupied a position of strategic importance, as through it lay the shortest military and commercial routes from the Mughul capital to the rich cities and ports of Gujarat, and, secondly, such a powerful State was not only a menace to the safety of the empire but it might also offer stubborn opposition to his cherished religious policy. Its Maharaja, Jasovanta Singh Rathor, who had fought against Aurangzlb in the battle of Dharmat and committed treachery against him prior to that of Khajuha, was afterwards appointed by the emperor in responsible positions. Since the death of Raja Jay Singh of Amber in 1667, he occupied the foremost place among the Hindu peers in the Mughul court. While commanding the Mughul frontier posts in the Khyber pass and the Peshawar district, he died at Jamrud on 10 December, 1678, without an heir. This offered Aurangzib an opportunity to give effect to his contemplated design. On hearing of the Maharaja’s death, he took steps to seize Marwar and place it under direct rule of the Mughul government. He himself went to Ajmer to supervise the actions. As the State was then without a head and many Rathor officers and troops were in Afghanistan, no resistance could be offered, and Marwar was easily brought under imperial control. The emperor then went back to Delhi (2 April, 1679), and on that very day re-imposed the jizya on the Hindus. Meanwhile, he learnt that the two widowed queens of Jasovanta had given birth to two posthumous sons, but he remained adamant in his purpose without any thought of legitimate succession. Indra Singh Rathor, the chieftain of Nagaur and grand-nephew of Jasovanta Singh, was recognized as the Maharaja of Marwar on payment of a succession fee of thirty-six lakhs of rupees, and as he had no local support, the Mughul generals and other officers in occupation of the country were kept there for his assistance.

Towards the end of June, the family of Jasovanta Singh, including the surviving son Ajit Singh, reached Delhi, the other child having died a few weeks after birth. The rights of Ajit Singh had been urged before the emperor more than once. According to one opinion, Aurangzlb ordered that the child should be brought up in the royal harem till he would come of age when his rights would be duly recognized; and according to another version, "the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning Muslim. Such a proposal would be quite in keeping with Aurangzlb's past policy, as he had lately given the zamlndaris of Jogigarh, Deogarh, and

Mau to those among rival claimants who had agreed to accept Islam." 11 In 1703, also, we find the same policy pursued by the emperor when he offered the Maratha throne to the captive Maratha prince Shahu. 12 This extraordinary proposal was too much for the loyal Rathors who made up their mind to rescue A jit even at the cost of their lives. At such a critical juncture, they were fortunate in having a leader of rare ability like Durga Das, the son of Jasovanta's minister Askaran, and "the flower of Rajput chivalry." He was a man of undaunted heroism, inflexible determination, unswerving loyalty, and combined in himself all the requisite qualities of an efficient general.

Aurangzib sent a strong force to seize A jit and the Ranis. While the Mughuls besieged the mansion of Jasovanta in Delhi, a band of brave Rathors opposed them with all their might, and another party under Durga Das stealthily came out of the mansion with Ajit and his mothers in male attire and rode away towards Marwar. Although he was overtaken by the imperialists at a distance of nine miles, a band of Rajputs under Ranchhor Das Jodha opposed them to the last man and, overcoming all opposition, Durga Das and his party reached Marwar. Ajit was kept in a safe place of hiding. Baffled in his attempt to seize Jasovanta's son, Aurangzib took a milkman's baby in his harem and proclaimed him to be true Ajit. Durga Das's protege was declared fictitious and Indra Singh was removed for his incapacity; but Marwar was far from subdued. The Rathors had taken up arms against Mughul oppression, and Aurangzib again went to Ajmer (25 September, 1679), despatching his son, prince Akbar, with a large army against the Rathors. Success attended Mughul arms and all the great towns including Jodhpur were plundered and temples destroyed.

Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar realized the gravity of the situation, and could well understand that his State would be the next victim of imperial aggression. He had been asked to pay the jizya tax for his entire State and this was as humiliating as vexatious. Added to these was also his deep concern for the safety of Marwar whose queen and mother of Ajit was a Mewar princess. But ere he could strike, the Mughul general, Hasan 'All Khan, with seven thousand chosen troops attacked Mewar. Unable to defend the plains, the Maharana deserted them and retired with his men to the hills. The Mughul army occupied his capital Udaipur and the fort of Chitor, and destroyed the temples there. Pursuing the Maharana, Hasan 'All defeated him and inflicted heavy losses on him (22 January, 1680).

The emperor who had been guiding the military operations then left Udaipur and returned to Ajmer, leaving prince Akbar in Mewar

and another force in Marwar. But the Mughul troops in Mewar and Marwar were too far to combine for any united action, if need be Moreover, the troops under prince Akbar were too small for the territories to be controlled. The Rajputs carried on guerilla warfare, raiding the Mughul outposts, cutting off their supplies and thus creating terror among the Mughuls. Even Akbar's camp near Chitor was once surprised at night. After this the Mahiarana proceeded to the Bednor district, threatened Akbar's communications with Ajmer and defeated him; the losses suffered by the imperialists on this occasion were very heavy. These reverses infuriated the emperor who transferred the prince to Marwar for his slackness and incapacity, placing prince A‘zam in charge of Chitor. A grand plan was made to enter into the hills of Mewar from three directions under the leadership of three princes, A‘zam, Mua‘zzam and Akbar, but it did not eventually succeed, as the princes could not act up to the plan. As Akbar could not fare better in Marwar than in Mewar, he despaired of success. Disgusted with censures from his father and removed from Mewar, and finding no other means of improving his situation, he hailed the invitation of the Rajputs in wresting the crown of Delhi from his father with their assistance. Both Durga Das and Maharana Raj Singh assured him of their support but the death of the Maharana (22 October, 1680) delayed the project for some time. Jay Singh, the son and successor of Raj Singh, also agreed to lend his support to the prince who, on 1 January, 1681, proclaimed himself emperor of Delhi, and on the following day, marched with his Rathor and Sisodia allies against his father who was then at Ajmer, Aurangzlb had great affection for this son and was rudely shocked by his conduct. He had then a meagre force with him, and had Akbar arrived at Ajmer in haste without whiling away his time in pleasure, the emperor’s position would have been extremely critical. But a fortnight’s delay, which was solely due to his carefree movements, was fully utilized by Aurangzlb in calling reinforcements and strengthening his position. Meanwhile, despite paucity of his men, he had gone out of Ajmer and taken up his stand at a place ten miles south of it.

As Akbar advanced nearer his father, desertions followed from his camp in large number, but 30,000 Rajputs remained faithful to him. Arriving at a distance of three miles from his father’s camp, he halted there for the night for a battle on the next morning. During the night the shrewd emperor took to diplomacy for winning over the prince’s adherents. Tahavvur Khan was the righthand man of Akbar, but the father-in-law of the former then held a high office under Aurangzlb, who had a letter written by him to his son-in-law, promising him pardon, in the event of his coming over to the side of the imperialists, but in case of his non-compliance, his family then held as hostages in the imperial camp, would be materially injured. Highly perturbed, Tahavvur Khan secretly left his tent to meet the emperor but was slam by the imperial attendants.

Meantime, the emperor had written a false letter to his rebellious son, commending him for bringing the principal Rajputs with him, according to his (emperor's) plan, so as to have them crushed between the imperial army and those of the prince in the next day's battle. As intended, the letter was dropped near the Rajput camp, and it upset Durga Das when he read it. He went to Akbar for an explanation, but when informed that the prince was asleep, he sent men to call Tahavvur Khan only to learn that the latter had already left for the imperial camp. Believing treachery on the part of the prince, the Rajputs fell on his camp, looted as much as they could and hurried towards Mewar. After this, most of his other troops also deserted him and joined the emperor. When Akbar awoke and found himself in a helpless condition, he retreated hurriedly towards Mewar with some members of his family and the treasure he could carry.

As soon as the real matter came to light, Durga Das lent his helping hand to the prince and took him under his protection. Evading the Mughul pursuers, he escorted Akbar successfully through Rajasthan, Khandesh, and Baglana to the shelter of the Maratha king, Shambhuji.

Aurangzffib's plan of action in Mewar was considerably affected by the prince's flight to the Deccan, and he was eager to patch up a peace with the Maharana for personal supervision of strong military operations against his son in the Deccan. On the other hand, the Maharana also earnestly desired peace, specially because of extensive devastation of his cornfields by his enemies, threatening the whole population to starvation. He visited prince Muhammad A'zam (14 June, 1681) and concluded a treaty with him. According to its terms, Mewar was restored to Jay Singh with the title of Rana and a mansab of 5,000. He had to cede the pargands of Mandal, Pur and Bednor to the Mughuls in lieu of the jizya imposed on his kingdom. But Aurangzlb's war with Marwar continued for about twenty-seven years more. After the treaty with Jay Singh, the emperor sent a powerful force under prince A'zam to pursue Akbar and he himself proceeded hurriedly towards the Deccan, reaching Burhanpur on 13 November, 1681, and Aurangabad on 22 March, 1682.

VI. AURANGZlB AND SHIVAJ!

During the first half of his reign, as the emperor had been busy in the north, he left the administration and military operations of the Deccan in the hands of his viceroys. The two States of Bijapur and Golconda were then in process of decay, but on account of paucity of fighting forces in the Deccan, absence of firm determina 1 tion and a strong and vigorous policy on the part of the Mughul viceroys, as also lack of mutual co-operation and support of their officers, these States could not be annexed to the empire till the emperor's personal presence there in the second half of his reign.

The third kingdom in the Deccan was that of the Marathas created by the zeal and untiring efforts of their leader Shivaji, whose father, ShahjI Bhonsle, originally a small jdgirdar under the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, became later on a king-maker there, but after his defeat by the imperialists in 1636, entered the service of the 'Adil Shahll Sultan as a leading Hindu general.

A detailed account of Shivaji will be given in the next Chapter. Imbued with an uncommon spirit of adventure and love of independence from his early life, Shivaji! moved freely among the sturdy people of the Mavals or western belt of the Poona district, "hardened himself to a life of privation and strenuous exertion", and after gathering recruits from these healthy and brave men, he commenced his activities for the building up of an independent kingdom.

The continued illness of Muhammad 'Adil Shah from 1646 to his death in 1656 afforded Shivaji a good opportunity to carry out his designs and he captured, one by one, several Bijapur forts, viz., Torna, Kondhana (Sinhgarh), Rohira, Chakan, and Purandar and built the fort of Raigarh, three miles from Torna. He also surprised Shambhuji Mohite and took possession of Supa, south-east of Poona. The year 1656 saw his conquest of the State of Javll in the Mahabaleswar range and this acquisition not only opened his path for further conquests in the south and south-west but also secured him the service of many Mavle infantrymen from it. Here he acquired also a vast accumulated treasure which immensely increased his financial resources. Two miles west of Javll, he constructed a new fort for the protection of this area and named it Pratapgarh. These were followed up by his important exploits in north Konkan where the rich towns of Kalyan and Bhiwandl and the fort of Mahuli came into his possession, and in this way he got a firm footing in northern Konkan. “By the year 1659 he had extended his dominions in the uplands or Desk to the southern limit of the Satara district, and in Konkan from Mahuli to near Mahad.”[13]

The Bijapur government sent Afzal Khan in 1659 to capture the Maratha leader dead or alive, but Afzal Khan himself was slain and the Bijapur army sustained severe losses. This wonderful feat not only enhanced the self-reliance of the Maratha chief but also increased his power and prestige, and rudely shocked the ‘Adil Shah! Sultanate. Next he took possession of South Konkan and the Kolhapur district.

But next year (1660), he was besieged in the fort of Panhala by the Bijapur general, Sldl Jauhar, and compelled to evacuate it.

Taking advantage of the Mughul invasion of Bijapur and the diversion of the imperial forces, ShivajI had raided Mughul terri* tories in the districts of Ahmadnagar and Junnar (1657) and even plundered the wealthy city of Junnar. Aurangzib, who was then viceroy of the Deccan, took prompt action against him. He was surprised and routed, and Maratha villages ravaged. When Bijapur concluded peace with the imperialists, ShivajI, too, submitted to them. Although Aurangzib forgave him for the time being, he could not place reliance on his adversary’s plighted words and waited for an opportunity to strike him after the war of succession.

After his accession to the throne, Aurangzib sent Shayista Khian as viceroy of the Deccan with instruction to crush ShivajI. Commencing his campaign early in 1660, the new viceroy took possession of Poona, the fort of Chakan, Kalyan and north Konkan in the course of about a year and a half, but the Maratha chief gave him a serious blow by a surprise night attack on his residence in Poona on 5 April, 1663, wounding him and slaying, among others, one of his sons and six women of his harem. In January, 1664, ShivajI sacked Surat, a very wealthy port in the Mughul empire, and returned with a rich booty exceeding one crore of rupees in value.

Highly perturbed, Aurangzib transferred Shayista Khan to Bengal and sent Jay Singh of Amber, one of the greatest generals and diplomats of the age, with Dilir Khan, an efficient general, to put down ShivajI and chastise ‘All £ Adil Shah II for his evasion of the conditions of the treaty of 1657 and his secret aid to the Maratha chief. By his wonderful tact and skilful handling of the situation, Jay Singh succeeded in securing the support and ungrudging assistance of those whom ShivajI had antagonized in one way or the other, and thus creating a ring of enemies around the latter, the

Mughul viceroy and generalissimo of the Deccan made Shivaji’s position extremely precarious. Next, the fort of Purandar, where the families of the Maratha officers had been kept, was besieged, while another Mughul detachment was sent to plunder and burn the villages of Maharashtra.

At last, finding it very difficult to defend the fortress any longer, ShivajS personally visited Jay Singh and concluded the treaty of Purandar with him (12 June, 1665), whereby he ceded twenty-three of his forts to the imperialists, retaining twelve only for himself, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughul emperor and promised to serve him loyally in the Deccan. The Maratha chief served the imperialists with complete loyalty during their invasion of Bijapur shortly afterwards. 14

On Jay Singh’s advice and assurance of safety, Shivajif paid a visit to the emperor in his court at Agra on 12 May, 1666. There he was ranked as a mcmsabddr of 5,000 only, and feeling highly humiliated at this, he made a loud protest in the open court accusing the emperor of breach of faith, and swooned. For this unusual conduct, he was kept under guard and forbidden to attend the court. It was after three months of captivity at Agra that eluding the vigilance of the guards, he managed to escape with his son in two baskets of sweetmeats (19 August, 1666) and reached Raigarh in the guise of a mendicant on 12 September. 15

After his successful termination of war with the Maratha chief, Jay Singh had proceeded against Bijapur and conquered, one by one, many of ‘Adil Shah! forts. In spite of harassments by the guerilla tactics of the Bijapur army, he advanced within twelve miles of the fort of Bijapur, but was unable to capture it by a coup de main, on account of timely and energetic actions of the ‘Adil Shah! Sultan by strengthening its defences and taking other measures to the detriment of the imperialists. Consequently, Jay Singh decided to retreat and this he had to do against severe harassments by his enemies, besides two severe battles with them. He returned to his headquarters at Aurangabad incurring heavy losses and without achieving anything. His irate master censured and recalled him to court. His disgrace and recall were also partly due to the suspicion of the emperor about his secret aid to the escape of ShivajI from his confinement at Agra. Broken-hearted at this humiliation and disappointment, the unlucky general died on the way at Burhanpur on 28 August, 1667.

AURANGZIB

For more than three years after his return to Raigarh, Shivaji did not take up any offensive against the Mughuls, and a formal peace was effected in 1668 with the emperor who conferred on him the title of Raja . Rut in 1670, he renewed his military operations against the imperialists and captured the fort of Sinhgarh which was followed up by his seizure of Kalyan and other places of north Konkan. The quarrel between Shah ‘Alam, the Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, and his general Dilir Khan rendered it difficult for the imperialists to oppose the Maratha chief effectively, and the latter moved on with his plundering raids from place to place. He sacked Surat for the second time in October, 1670, and carried away rich booty in cash and kind. Next, he conducted most daring raids on Aurangabad and the Mughul provinces of BaglJana, Khandesh and Berar, and captured Salher, an important fort on the borders of Khandesh and Gujarat.

The emperor was much worried by his daring successes and, recalling Shah ‘Alam, appointed Bahadur Khan as viceroy of the Deccan (1672). But during the five years of his viceroyalty Bahadur Khan could not improve the position of the Mughuls there. Shivaji achieved success after success. He conquered Jawhar and Ramnagar, the two States in the KoR country, south of Surat, and levied chauth (blackmail, one-fourth of land revenue) in various places of the Deccan. Confusion and disorder in the Bijapur kingdom, following the death of ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah II in December, 1672, and the Afghan risings in the north-west frontier, necessitating the transfer of the best Mughul troops from the Deccan, gave the Maratha chief opportunities for successful military operations. From 1672 to 1678, the

Mughul generals carried on desultory fightings with him without any tangible result. On 6 June, 1674, he performed his formal coronation ceremony at Raigarh with great pomp and grandeur, spending a huge sum of money on the occasion.

In 1677 he concluded an alliance with Golconda, and conquered Gingee and Vellore with a vast territory in the Madras, Carnatic and the Mysore plateaus which greatly augmented his power, prestige and financial resources. His successful career came to an end with his death in April, 1680, but the spirit he had infused into the people of Maharashtra survived his death, and Aurangzlb could not cope with them even after his strenuous efforts for a quarter of a century with his headquarters in the Deccan.

1. J. N. Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzih, 3rd edn. Calcutta, 1962, p. 72.

2. Four miles west of the old fort of Gaur.

3. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzih , Vol. Ill, Calcutta, 1916, pp. 1-3.

4. Ibid, p.115.

5. Ibid, p.196.

5a. Ibid, Ch. XXXI, Section 18, According to CHI , 420,000 tolas of silver (IV. 235). 'Phis Statement in CHI is also by J. N. Sarkar. As this was published (probably also written) later, it may be taken as his later view and a more correct one. (Ed.)

6. Sarkar, p. 203.

7. Ibid, pp.281-282.

7a. Mohammad Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India, (1605-1748), Lakhnau, (1958), p.150.

8. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p.241.

9. Ibid., p.242.

9a. For a detailed account of Aurangzlb’s bigotry, cf. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. Ill, Ch. XXXIV, Sections 9-17 and Appendix V.

10. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. Ill, p. 358. For a detailed account, cf. Ch. XI.

11. Ibid., p.374.

12. CHI. IV, p.,247.

13. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1930, p. 42.

14. For further details, cf. next Chapter.

15. For discussion on this date, cf. next Chapter.

CHAPTER IX

SHIVAJI

I. THE RISE OF THE BHOSLES

The origin of the Bhosle (also called Bhonsle) clan of the Maratha caste and even the derivation of their name are shrouded in mystery. They claimed descent from the Sisodia Ranas of Chitor and Udaipur, and possibly a branch of their family migrated to the south after the kingdom of Chitor had been devastated by Ala-uddin Khaljl early in the fourteenth century. 1 So far as the Maratha history is concerned, the Yadavas of Devagiri, later named Daulatabad, the Bhosles of Verul and the Nimbalkars of Phaltan near Palara, are the three Maratha families which are connected with the rise of Shivaji. Of these, the Yadavas were the descendants of the renowned rulers of Devagiri who were subjugated by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji of Delhi towards the end of the thirteenth century. The descendants of this ruling Yadava family took service with the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar. This city was invaded and captured by the Emperor Akbar in 1600, and the Nizam Shah! kingdom was on the point of extinction, when an able organizer named Malik 'Ambar, an Abyssinian minister of that State, came to its rescue. 'Ambar made friends with the Hindus and, using their best talent and cooperation both for war and administration, he improved the revenues of that kingdom and successfully opposed the Mughul advance for a quarter of a century. In this grand political struggle Shivajl's father, Shahji, and grandfather, Maloji, were closely associated with Malik 'Ambar, so that they gradually realized their strength and asserted their power in the course of time.

Lukhji Jadhava of Devagiri had a clever daughter named Jija Bai, who was married in 1605 to Maloji Bhosle's son, S-hahji, a brave soldier of fortune, who long exerted himself in upholding the falling fortunes of the Nizam Shahi against the Mughul onslaught. 2

Maratha history in its initial stages is, thus, an unbroken struggle of three generations of the Mughul emperors striving to put down the three generations of the Bhosle family. In this trial of strength, Maloji and his son, Shahji, prepared the ground, of which Shivfaji, the offspring of Shahji and Jija Bai, took advantage. The three emperors, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, attempted to subjugate the Deccan and the Bhosles stood forth to defend it, although the parties were unevenly matched, the Bhosles being poor in resources compared with the might of the emperors. MalojI and Shahji acquired lands under the Nizam Shah! regime, rendering service in return. The Bhosles soon made themselves indispensable to the rulers of the Nizam Shahi State. ‘Ambar patronized them and used their services in keeping the Mughuls at bay. In the battle of Bhatvadi near Ahmadnagar in 1624 Malik ‘Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat upon the combined armies of Delhi and Bijapur. Shahji, who took part in this battle, won distinction and gained valuable experience. Thereafter for several years Shahji ably defended the Nizam Shahi State against the all-powerful Shah Jahan. Shah Jahlan, after years of war, succeeded in 1636 in extinguishing the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and expelling Shahji from his homeland. The latter sought service under the Sultan of Bijapur on condition that he should no longer live in Maharashtra.

Shahjl’s later life was spent in the regions once ruled by the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagara which had been devastated by the Muslims in 1565. Later on, when Shahji established his position at Bangalore and Kanakagiri, he had to deal with the various Hindu chieftains of the old Vijayanagara State. Here he imbibed the tradition of Hindu independence and resistance to Muslim aggression. Shahjl’s wife, Jija Bai, carried in her vein a similar tradition of her Yadava ancestors. Thus their son ShivlajI was fired from early days with the same spirit of independence. Shahji died in 1664 in Bijapur service by an accident while hunting.

II. SHIVAJl’S EARLY LIFE

ShivajI was born on 6 April, 1627, in the fort of Shivner near Junnar.[3] His mother Jijia. Bai gave birth to six sons, of whom the eldest, SambhajI, and the youngest, ShivajI, alone grew up to old age. Shahji and his father-in-law, LukhjI, often faced each other in open battles, as the latter deserted his master Nizam Shah and joined the Mughul emperor. But the spirited lady, like a pious wife, elected to follow her husband’s fortunes and refused to go to her father's home for her delivery, when picked up by him after a battle on a high road in her advanced pregnancy. In that sad plight she took her residence in fort Shivner, then under her husband's jurisdiction. In this fort was ShivajI born. Her eldest son, SambhajI, lived with his father and shared his labour in Bijapur service. Shahji thereafter deserted Jija Biai and married a second wife, Tukabai, of the Mohite family of Supa. She gave birth to a son named EkojI or Vyankojl, who later became the founder of the kingdom of Tanjore. When hard pressed by the emperor

Shah Jahan in 1636, Shahji had to flee for life after entrusting the management of his paternal jagir of Poona and the care of his wife Jija Bai and her young son Shivaji to his trusted agent DadlajI Kondadev, a clever officer in Bijapur, who discharged the duty of guardianship most creditably.

The early life of Shivaji was full of peril and adventure. For the first nine years of his life, a period of war conducted by his father against the Mughul emperor, the young boy and his mother had to wander from place to place in imminent danger of being captured and punished. Shah Jahan's officers succeeded in capturing Jija Bai, but she cleverly managed to have her son concealed in an out of the way village. Later, she was released on payment of a large fine. It was in 1636 when a formal treaty was concluded that the son and the mother found a safe and settled residence at Poona where Dadaji built them a commodious house, Ldl Mahal, as it later came to be known in history. Here Shivaji! lived for some ten years, until they removed to their newly built fort Rjaigarh, which became his first capital for the original jagir. Twenty years later, about 1667, Raigarh became the formal residence of Shivaji, where his coronation took place.

The common education of those days was imparted to Shivaji as soon as he came into a settled life. He was taught reading, writing and arithmetic, 33 and heard portions of the Ramayana and Mahabharata expounded to him by the family preceptors. He was fond of Harikirtana and devotional music, and attended the sermons of Sant Tukailam, then living and preaching in the vicinity of Poona. Shivaji received his best education, not through books and classes as in the present day, but in the wide world, by personal contact and practical experience. Intense love of religion was a trait he developed by the sight of Muslim atrocities and the reports he heard about them. He later introduced compulsory recitations of the war chapters of the Ramayana by all his fort garrisons.

Shivaji's success in life was, however, mainly due to hard and incessant knocks he had to share with his mother in his early days. Proud of her Kshatriya extraction, with vivid memories of her royal ancestors of Devagiri and their splendour, chastened by years of suffering ever since her marriage and now practically deserted by the husband, this spirited lady developed in her son a spirit of defiance and self-assertion and became to him a veritable guardian angel. All her life's ambition and solace now entirely centered in this boy's well-being and good fortune. Shahji had defied a powerful emperor for years; why may not the son imitate the same course?

The mother and the boy constantly talked of wild plans which the shrewd Dadaji wholeheartedly supported. In addition, he imparted to Shivaji his own tact and circumspection gained during the course of his management of the Poona jagir, which in itself supplied a ready field for experiment. Dadaji was not merely a clerk or a competent accountant. A strict disciplinarian and taskmaster, he was, in addition, a noble character, well versed in the politics of the day with a buoyant spirit for organizing national resources and a hatred for foreign domination with its persecution of the Hindus. He had long served the Bhosle family through weal and woe as their trusted friend and adviser. He was imbued with a deep love for the peasantry and felt a keen anxiety for ameliorating their lot.

Thus the young Shivaji looked up to these two, his mother and the guardian, for guidance in life. The secluded hilly regions of the Mavals (the western valleys of Poona) offered him plenty of outdoor occupation and opportunity for adventure. Constant exposure to rain, sun and cold and the rough life in the midst of wild nature hardened the young boy's body and mind. Riding, wrestling, spear-games, swordsmanship, swimming through torrential streams, became his main occupation and he developed from his early childhood an intimate comradeship with man and nature away from the temptations of vice and luxury of court life. He made friends with companions of his age and wandered with them through hills and dales, organizing measures for defence. The art of disguise was in those days highly perfected for purposes of protection and the needs of life. Shivaji himself could dexterously imitate the voices of birds and beasts. He could quickly cover long distances on foot or riding, eluding pursuit and enduring privations. His rambles were intensive and deliberate for acquainting himself with secret paths, recesses and strongholds of the long Sahyadri range of the Deccan plateau. With eyes and ears ever alert, he gained first-hand knowledge of the sentiments of the people, their joys and sorrows, their occupations and resources, their needs and comforts.

Dadaji's first concern was to make Shivaji a real master of the people. He gave him useful hints as to how he should appear properly attired and behave among assemblages of village panchayats and on public occasions. Dadaji proclaimed to the people that they were to look up to Shivaji for all their needs as well as for the redress of their grievances.

III. THE FIRST EXPERIMENT IN SWARAJ

The jdgir entrusted by ShahjI to the care of Jija Bal and Dadaji extended over the regions known as the Mavals mentioned above, namely the valleys to the west of Poona, roughly extending from Junnar to Wai. Dadaji raised a local militia for guarding the lives and property of the inhabitants and, along with Shivaji, toured the villages making inquiries and deciding disputes on the spot. The land revenue system, initiated by Akbar under the directions of Todarmal, had been already adopted in the Deccan by Malik 'Ambar and now Dadaji adopted it for the territories of the jdgir. Dadaji took measures to destroy wild animals that damaged the crops; fresh lands were brought under cultivation; gardening and tree-planting were specially encouraged. All this work of development which greatly enhanced the welfare of the people and were carried out in ShivajI's presence and in his name proved for him a valuable preparation in practical methods of government in his future life. It fostered a sense of emulation and self-help among the people, eliminated their usual lethargy and despair, and instilled into them a bright new hope. Friends and comrades of varied capacities quickly flocked round the new boy-master to share his labours, willing to make any sacrifice that might be demanded. ShivajI's vision expanded. He began to dream of grand prospects outside the limits of his jdgir. He held secret consultations with his comrades in arms, planning to make fresh acquisitions, repairing buildings, garrisons and forts, raising funds by daring night attacks on private and public treasures. Buried wealth was cleverly traced and carried away. It became a strong belief throughout the land that Goddess BhavanI appeared before the young hero and communicated to him the exact location of secret hoards. Earnest work earned quick results.

Shivaji possessed a persuasive tongue with which he at once won peoples’ hearts. He was alert and foremost in jumping into a risk and facing the consequences. He held secret conferences with his companions and anxiously deliberated on the liberation of his homeland from Muslim control so as to put an end to the wanton persecution of the Hindus. Shivajl’s court historian thus summarizes his sentiments:

“Why should we remain content with what the Muslim rulers choose to give us? We are Hindus. This whole country is ours by right, and is yet occupied and held by foreigners. They desecrate our temples, break holy idols, plunder our wealth, convert us forcibly to their religion, carry away our women folk and children, slay the cows and inflict a thousand wrongs upon us. We will suffer this treatment no more. We possess strength in our arms. Let us draw the sword in defence of our sacred religion, liberate our country and acquire new lands and wealth by our own effort. Are we not as brave and capable as our ancestors of yore? Let us undertake this holy mission and God will surely help us. All human efforts are so helped. There is no such thing as good luck and ill luck. We are the captains of our fortunes and the makers of our freedom.”[4]

The pious Jija Bai blessed these sentiments. She daily witnessed how complete darkness prevailed under Muslim government, where there was no law, no justice; the officials acted as they pleased. Violation of women’s honour, murders and forcible conversions were the order of the day. News of demolition of temples, cow-slaughter and other atrocities poured upon the ears of that lady so constantly that she used to exclaim: “Can we not remedy this evil? Will not my son have the strength to come forth boldly to resist it?” The Nizam Shah had openly murdered Jija Bai’s father, his brothers and sons. Bajaji Nimbalkar, the ruler of Phaltan, a scion of the old

Paramara race, was forcibly converted by the Sultan of Bijapur. The Hindus could not lead an honourable life. This spectacle moved the lady and her son to righteous indignation. An intense feeling of revolt took possession of their minds. Shivaji prayed for strength, dreamt bright visions and entered upon a wild career full of hope and promise without caring for consequences. He possessed an inborn capacity of judging the character of men almost at first sight. He mixed with all kinds of men and picked up suitable helpmates, and converted to his views even those who were leading evil lives. His sympathy and selflessness and his earnest endeavour to serve his land appealed to all, so that within a few years the contrast became glaring between the improved conditions of his paternal jdglr and the disorder prevailing in the Muslim-ruled region outside. Soon a compact, well-knit geographical unit of a small swarajya came into being in which law and order prevailed, duties of officials were clearly defined, justice quickly rendered, honest work well rewarded and where life and wealth were perfectly secure. All this had profound effect upon the ruling class and even Shivajf s father in far-off Bangalore.

IV. FIRST CONFLICT

Shahji was employed by ‘Adil Shah in the conquest of the Karnatak regions, which once formed part of the Vijayanagara empire. Shahji thus became the helpless instrument for conquering the Hindus and pouring the wealth of Hindu shrines into the Muslim coffers of Bijapur. Stories of this fresh spoliation reached the ears

of Jija Bai and Shivaji and caused them extreme distress. In the meantime, the activities of Shivaji and DadajI in the Maval lands enraged the ruling authorities of Bijapur and induced them to take prompt measures to put down the revolt. ShahjI felt extreme annoyance at the turn the affairs were taking both in his own sphere at Bangalore and in the Deccan. Jija Bai and DadajI had Shivaji married about the year 1640 to a girl from the Nimbalkar family, named Saibai. Soon after this event, the atmosphere became tense for ShahjI as mentioned above. His own position as a loyal servant of Bijapur and his son’s revolt could not go together. Very probably, ShahjI was called upon to account for the impropriety and asked to restrain his son. As Shivaji was yet too young to appear as the author of the mischief, the mother and the regent DadajI were held mainly responsible for the reported disloyalty and sedition. In such circumstances, ShahjI invited to Bangalore, for a personal deliberation, Jija B>ai and DadajI under the plea that he was anxious to see his newly wedded daughter-in-law and his young son. The party was away from home for nearly two years (1642-43), when the whole family and establishment of ShahjI met together at Bangalore. ShahjI, one may gather, discussed the situation fully and freely. Jija Bai, finding it awkward to put forth any decided plan of action, employed her sojourn, it seems, in visiting the famous shrines of the south and avoided discussion. She certainly felt no regret for the revolt her son was organizing in the interest of national honour. The authorities of Bijapur fully knew what was going on. 'Adil Shah commanded ShahjI to pay a personal visit to his court at Bijapur with all his family and there receive the Government's decision on the course to be followed in future. ShahjI therefore paid a visit to Bijapur about the year 1643, and spent some time there in answering charges preferred against himself and his management of the Poona jdgir. The defiance attributed to Shivaji in not making the prescribed bow when he attended the Darbdr, appears to have occurred at this time. It was also during this visit that Shivaji is said to have restrained a butcher slaughtering a cow in a public thoroughfare. Small though in itself, the incident reveals the audacious and uncompromising trait in ShivajI's character. When he perceived a vital wrong being perpetrated, he at once punished the wrong-doer, reckless of consequences. At Bijapur, Shivaji retaliated the outrage on a cow and would perhaps have been imprisoned had he not managed to run away unnoticed to his homeland. He lost no time upon his return in forming an independent State of his own wherein full political and religious freedom would prevail without molestation from the Muslim overlords. While at Bangalore the subject was doubtless fully discussed and again also at Bijapur,

with what outcome we have no means of knowing. It seems there was no way for a compromise. The father and the son probably formed an understanding between them how best to ward off the danger 1 apprehended from the Bijapur atrocities. The father would answer that he was not responsible for what his son did and that he was powerless to punish him. This was indeed the reality. At heart, Shahjl probably approved the way the son was following and even encouraged him by lending him some trained loyal officials from Bangalore to organize a proper government for the jdglr. Elephants, infantry, cavalry with flags and insignia of royalty, in addition to the treasure for immediate need, were, say Parmanand and Sabhasad, despatched from Bangalore by Shahjl for his son’s use. Shyamrao Nilakanth Peshwla, Sonopant Dabir and other officials of Shahjl’s trust were sent for duty in Maharashtra.

How money was collected for this venture and how ingeniously the plan was put into execution by gradual steps and careful forethought must now be told. Seven years of efficient management of the Maval jagir now began to yield fruit in the shape of a regular substantial income, which Shivaji utilized in maintaining infantry, repairing and garrisoning forts and improving the administrative machinery. Already a band of young enthusiastic comrades flocked around him to share his labours and execute his commands. One such w T as Kanhoji Jedhe, 5 Deshmukh of Kari, a leading and respectable chieftain in the employ of Bijapur and well known to the Bhosles for a long time. With Kanhoji’s help, Shivaji, after his return from Bijapur, easily acquired possession of all the twelve Maval forts, west of Poona, along with fort Rohida and fort Sinhgarh which he strongly garrisoned. He immediately started building a new fort which he named Raigarh and made it the principal seat of his government. These activities during the two years 1644-1645 could no longer be concealed from the knowledge of the Shah of Bijapur, who took immediate steps to restrain DadajI and disgrace Shahjl. The Shah called upon Kanhoji Jedhe to remain faithful on pain of death.

Shivaji replied to the Shah’s challenge, saying that he was not disloyal; he was merely putting his turbulent lands in a state of defence and bringing peace so essential for the development of this hilly country. Shivaji was, however, busy, running from place to place, securing recruits for his plan, forming friendships, encouraging, persuading, threatening and coercing people so that they soon began to talk of him as a heaven-sent leader. In 1646 the Shah of Bijapur was attacked by paralysis which kept him bed-ridden throughout the remaining decade of his life, an incident which directly favoured the task of Shivaji.

V. INDEPENDENCE TAKES SHAPE

Shivaji’s guardian, Dadaji Kondadev, died in 1647 and left Shivaji entirely to his own resources. He now set about his work with greater vigour and allowed no break in his undertaking. He soon managed to capture two strong forts near Poona, Chakan in the north and Purandar in the east, both of great strategic importance. The guardian of Purandar was one Nilopant Sarnaik, a long-standing friend of the Bhosle family whose shelter Shivaji sought during the rains of 1648. When, during the Divali celebration of that year Shivaji and his family were admitted into the fort as friendly guests, Shivaji managed to persuade his host and his brothers to accept him as their master, resigning their traditional service to Bijapur. This illustrates to what different artifices Shivaji had recourse in accomplishing his object.

Next, Shivlaji one dark 'night surprised Sambhaji Mohite of Supa, an important wealthy mart, south-east of Poona. Sambhaji Mohite’s sister, Tukabiai, was the second wife of Shahji and so Shivaji’s step-mother. Sambhaji offered but little resistance. He was captured and despatched to Bangalore, as an undesirable neighbour.

Shivaji had now two main objects in view,—first, to secure the utmost welfare of the people in his charge, and secondly, to have well-guarded frontiers which he could easily hold. He was careful not to attempt any expansion at the sacrifice of security. He proclaimed his independence in a curious fashion. He began to use a new seal on all official papers issued by him with a significant motto, which ran thus: 6 “This seal of Shiva, son of Shah, shines forth for the welfare of the people and is meant to command increasing respect from the universe like the first phase of the moon.” This seal is found attached to papers dating 1648 onward, so that one may conclude that this novel plan of Shivaji began to take shape about that year.

Similarly papers are found in which Shivaji’s title Chhatrapati and the seals of his ministers thereon are mentioned. 63 This proves that a small cohesive independent State with ministers and officials charged with definite duties came into being some time before 1653, although the final shape took many years to be completed and was announced only at the time of his formal coronation.

A serious danger, however, threatened the whole project. Bijapur could not take all this lying down. In 1648 the Adil Shahl forces led by Mustafa Khan, under whom served Shahji, were fighting before the fort of Gingee. One night, the chief commander Mustafa suddenly raided Shahji's camp and made him a captive under the orders of the Shah. He was then sent to Bijapur for trial and threatened with death if he did not restrain his son Shivaji from the wicked course he was following. Shahji was then called upon to restore Sinhgarh and Bangalore, the former held by Shivaji and the latter by his elder son SambhajL This was the move the king of Bijapur adopted to crush Shahji and his two rebellious sons. The father accordingly wrote to ShivajI to give back Sinhgarh and save his life. The elder son Sambhaji also was similarly approached in regard to Bangalore. At the same time, Bijapur forces arrived at both these places to put down the rebellious brothers and take charge of the two important posts. The two brothers fought valiantly at both places and maintained their positions, inflicting severe losses upon the opponents. But Shahji was a prisoner in Bijapur upon whom the Sultan could easily wreak his vengeance. Shahji wrote pressing Shivaji to save his life by restoring Sinhgarh. Jija Bai interceded with Shivaji for saving her husband's life and reluctantly the latter yielded and gave back the fort to Bijapur. 7

In the heart of the Maval country there ruled an ancient Deshmukh family named More in Satara District with their seat of authority in Javli in the Mahabalesvar range. Proud of their allegiance to Bijapur, the Mores moved heaven and earth to put down this new Bhosle upstart, of a low origin in their estimation. So the inevitable clash came as Shivaji could not allow such an inimical rival to remain as his neighbour. For years, Shivaji used all his arts of persuasion and amity, as he had done in other cases before, in persuading the Mores to fall in with his plan of national uplift. Failing to conciliate them, Shivaji ultimately made up his mind to teach the Mores a lesson such as others could never forget. Early in 1656 Shivaji attacked Javli and immediately captured it after killing its main defender Hanumant Rao. Some members of their family ran to different places for safety. Shivaji negotiated with them, but failing in his endeavours to win them over, he in a short time killed three more of their large family, Yasvant Rao and his sons KrishnajI and Baji. 8 The Bijapur authorities could not save them. One member alone named Pratap Rao escaped to Bijapur where he was taken under shelter and whence he continued for some time to cause pin-pricks to Shivajfs rising career. The

short work which ShivajI did with the Mores conveyed a wholesome lesson to all who would not willingly accept his plan. Here was a born leader to whom it was wise to submit. Such a belief engendered by this episode of the Mores and soon widely proclaimed outside, strengthened Shivaji's hands in all his future plans and projects, now mostly undertaken against foreign powers. No Maratha clansman dared hereafter to stand in opposition to ShivajI. A small compact little kingdom soon came into being, comprising roughly the present districts of Poona and Satara. Written evidence gives 1653 as the time of the completion of this first phase of Shivaji's swardjya. To protect this new conquest of Javli, ShivajI erected a new fort and named it Pratapgarh, which can now be sighted from the present hill station of Mahabalesvar.

VI. AFZAL KHAN OVERCOME

ShivajI quickly followed up his conquest of Javli by descending into north Konkan and capturing Kalyan, its chief city, a wealthy mart of Adil Shahi's west coast regions. He also seized by means of accurate planning a large treasure which was on its way from Kalyan to Bijapur. In the course of this affair a young fair Muslim lady, the daughter-in-law of the Governor, fell into the hands of Shivaji's officers and was presented by them for Shivaji's acceptance as a trophy of the war. ShivajI disapproved this wicked action of his subordinates, reprimanded them severely, and allowed the lady to return to her home, duly protected by his own escort. This unprecedented generosity, rare in the Muslim annals of India, enhanced Shivaji's reputation far and wide as the great respecter of the fair sex.

Having arranged the administration of north Konkan, ShivajI rapidly turned to the south, inspecting Dabhol, Shringarpur, Prabhavali, Rajapur, Kudal and other places on the coast with a view to fortifying it as a line of defence for his projected dominion. A few years later he erected the strong naval forts, a marvel of giant work even today, of Suvarnadurg, Vijayadurg, Sindhudurg (Malvan), and lastly Kolaba, and created a powerful navy with shipbuilding yards and arsenals for purposes both of defence and trade. Shivaji's ingenuity in this respect presents a striking contrast to the unpardonable neglect of the Mughul emperors for the naval defence of India. They paid no attention to what the Europeans were doing by establishing fortified factories on both the west and east coasts which ultimately proved so dangerous to the existence of the empire. ShivajI borrowed the plan from the Europeans, made friends with them and utilized their skill for his own purpose.

A turning point occurred in the politics of India about the year 1656-57. Muhammad ‘Adil Shah died on 4 November, 1656, with the result that his State began to decline and was attacked by Aurangzib in 1657. At Agra, Emperor Shah Jahan was suddenly taken ill, giving rise to a fratricidal war, in which out of his four sons, Aurangzib became victorious and proclaimed himself Emperor at Delhi in July, 1658. In view of these changes Shivaji manoeuvred his course with courage and fortitude as the sequel will show.

The widowed queen of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah decided to take vigorous measures to put down Shivaji’s power by capturing him alive or dead. For this purpose she selected an intrepid soldier of her court and a declared enemy of Shivaji’s family. She called Afzal Khan to her presence, promised him ample reward, supplied him with a strong well-equipped force and commanded him to employ all possible means to bring Shivaji, dead or alive, to Bijapur. Afzal Khan, leaving his headquarters in September, 1659, came sweeping against Shivaji, pulling down Hindu shrines on the way and plundering the prosperous regions of Shivaji’s domains. Shivaji received full details of the Khan’s atrocities through his spies and, unable to encounter the Khan in an open contest, took his residence at his new fort of Pratapgarh in the midst of hills and planned to overcome his opponent by some subtle stratagem.

The Khan, learning that Shivaji had gone to Pratapgarh, pitched his camp at Wai, about 25 miles east of the latter’s position. Agents of the two moved freely between them for some time negotiating for a personal meeting between the two for a solution. After several discussions, the Khan, confident of his strength, agreed to meet Shivaji below the fort of Pratapgarh in a specially erected tent with a decorated canopy. The meeting took place on the afternoon of Thursday, 10 November, 1659. The Khan possessed a powerful body atnd felt confident of overcoming in a personal grip his small slim Maratha antagonist, twenty years his junior in age. Shivaji similarly took all precautions for meeting any eventuality. He wore an iron cuirass of chains under his vest, a metal cap over his skull, concealed under the turban with a long white flowing robe overall, having broad sleeves, covering a dagger in one hand and tiger-claws on the other. After receiving his mother's blessings, Shivaji boldly set forth on his dangerous venture to meet his antagonist. As he walked in, the Khan rose and, in his first embrace, gripped him tightly in his left arm and stabbed him with a dagger in the right hand. With great presence of mind, Shivaji saved the blow, ripping open the Khan's bowels with the tiger

claws and instantly bringing him to the ground. The whole affair was finished in a moment. As the bearers picked up the Khan's body to carry it away in his palanquin, they were quickly disabled by Shivajl's men, who severed the Khan's head and exhibited it from a high mast of the topmost bastion of the fort. It was by then the dusk of the evening, and concealed Maratha parties, at a given signal, rushed out of the woods and routed the Khan's armies both in the wild passes of the hills and in the plain of Wai. 9

The tragic episode caused favourable repercussions for Shivaji far and near. Bijapur now lay practically prostrate before him, and he at once became a power to be reckoned with. The fort of Panhala in the heart of Maharashtra became now Shivajl's objec^ tive, as it was the last strong post belonging to Bijapur in his onward march. It took Shivaji some years more to come into possession of this renowned fortress.

VII. SHAYISTA KHAN AND PLUNDER OF SURAT

Shortly after getting rid of Afzal Khan, Shivaji had to face a new danger. A new figure had come to occupy the Mughul throne at Delhi, who took prompt measures to put down ruthlessly the rising power of this Maratha rebel. Aurangzlb nominated his uncle, Shayista Khan, to the Government of Deccan and sent him well-equipped to annihilate Shivaji while it was not yet too late. Afzal Khan was finished in November, 1659, and in the following January, Shayista Khan arrived at Aurangabad and, quickly advancing seized Poona, making Shivajl's palace his own residence. He also captured Kalyan and north Konkan which Shivaji had possessed a short while before. The Khan's strength was irresistible, being fully backed by the whole might of the Mughul empire. For three long years, Shivaji was so hunted out in all directions that he became a homeless wanderer and was at a loss how to get out of this almost hopeless situation. In this darkest hour Shivajl's innate ingenuity alone saved him and he succeeded in turning the whole game against the Khan. He employed secret agents to obtain minute details about the arrangements and disposition of the Khan's camp and hit upon a bold plan of a surprise attack at night. With about fifty clever and intrepid followers, he entered the Mughul general's harem on the evening of 15 April, 1663. After midnight, when the guards and the Khan's family were asleep and enveloped in darkness, Shivaji and his companions attacked the inmates in their beds, cutting and hacking indiscriminately. The noise and confusion that resulted was indescribable; several were killed and wounded; the Khan himself, it was later discovered, escaped with

only his forefinger lost. One of his sons, forty attendants, and six women were killed. The incident proved eminently successful for Shivaji's purpose. Without undergoing a large-scale fighting, he struck terror into the heart of his opponents. The mortified emperor at once transferred the Khan to Bengal and the Mughul hold slackened in the Deccan. ShivajI, now breathing freely, resumed his onward career without check.

For a time after the departure of Shayista Khan, ShivajI roamed fearlessly as an invincible conqueror. His spies wandered far and wide, bringing news of treasures and wealth of cities and of the weak links in the Mughul Government. His head spy, Bahirji Naik, reported to ShivajI that of all the rich Mughul possessions Surat was the most undefended and contained enormous wealth. It was the richest port of western India and was highly prized by the emperor as an important port which was used by pilgrims to Mecca. ShivajI established a secret camp near Nasik with specially selected five thousand stalwarts; and without disclosing his destination he left the base on 1 January, 1664, and proceeded north through the coastal regions. He suddenly appeared at Surat and planted his flag at its eastern gate. On the previous day he had issued a warning to the local Governor and the richest merchants to pay a certain amount which he demanded or stand the consequences of his wrath for non-compliance. The warning was not heeded and, in addition, the Governor contrived a foul attempt on Shivaji's life on the third day of his arrival. In retaliation, ShivajI let loose hell upon the hapless town, burning and sacking in every possible way. Houses were dug up and set on fire, chests were broken open and heaps of money carried away. He took care to inflict no wanton cruelty upon innocent inhabitants. Possession of wealth was the only crime which he punished. On 9 January, hearing that Mughul armies were coming upon him from Burhanpur, ShivajI hurriedly returned with such booty as could be easily conveyed. No estimate of value of what he carried away is recorded. Possibly ShivajI himself never made an exact calculation, but the plunder must certainly have been in the neighbourhood of a crore of rupees, possibly double that amount. It was taken straight to Raigarh and utilised to fortify that giant structure of his future capital.

Immediately on his return from Surat, ShivajI learned the sad news of his father's death near Harihar in the present Mysore territory. This made Jija Bai altogether disconsolate, and ShivajI was at grleat pains in dissuading her from undertaking the self-immolation of a sati.

Shivajl's sack of Surat was the severest blow to Aurangzlb and a direct affront to his power and prestige. The emperor lost his peace of mind and at once decided to send a fresh expedition against Shivajl and annihilate him for good.

VIII. SHIVAJI SUBMITS TO JAY SINGH

Aurangzlb placed this new expedition under Mirza Raja Jay Singh with Dilir Khan to assist and probably to spy. The famous Italian traveller Manucci, then residing at Delhi, was pressed into service and accompanied the General as an officer of artillery. A splendidly equipped force commanded by Jay Singh left the base in December, 1664, and arrived at Poona in March following, when Shivajl, entirely unaware of these moves of the emperor, was engaged in consolidating his southern possessions and conducting a war against Bijapur, where he had just overcome Khavas Khan and Baji Ghorpade who had come against him on behalf of that State. He killed Baji Ghorpade and, early in 1665, led a large naval expedition with fighting ships of large calibre on the Malabar coast and secured plunder from ports like Bassur. In February, he visited Karwar and while engaged in his devotions to the deity of Gokarn he learned of the terrible attack upon his homelands by Mirza Raja Jay Singh. Shivajl at once proceeded to Raigarh and set about devising measures against this new danger.

Jay Singh carried out his undertaking with all the vigour and loyalty he was capable of. He secured implicit obedience and ungrudging help from all the chiefs and powers whom Shivajl had overawed, and he actively supported those who had suffered from Shivajl’s aggression, like the sons of Afzal Khan. So Shivajl found himself paralysed in all directions, unable any longer to oppose the formidable tactics now employed against him. 9a Jay Singh established a complete hold on the north Poona regions and besieged Purandar with such vigour that Shivajl could no longer conduct any operations in open. Complete surrender was his only recourse with only such grace as the Mughul Generalissimo would choose to grant. Shivajl made approaches to Jay Singh and appealed to his religious sentiment. But the latter turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties and declined even to receive his visit, until all his possessions were conquered.

In this situation Shivajl, with an anxious heart, held constant deliberations with his mother and advisers and decided to throw himself upon Jay Singh’s mercy. He lost no time and fearlessly proceeded unarmed to Jay Singh’s quarters below fort Purandar on

11 June, 1665, just after his (Shivajl’s) valiant captain, Murar Baji, and many of his brave Maval soldiers had lost their lives in defending that fort against overwhelming forces led by Dilir Khan. Shivaji was well received on arrival and after a formal talk, was directed to meet Dilir Khan. Shiva]I then called on the Khan as he was conducting the siege and won his sympathy by his extreme humility and sweetness of manner. The three then met for consultation and a treaty was concluded on 12 June settling the terms of Shivaji’s submission. He agreed to hand over twenty-three of his important forts, keeping twelve minor ones for himself and to serve the emperor loyally, fully co-operating in the war against Bijapur which Jay Singh was now to undertake; Shivaji’s son, Shambhujl, was to be created a panjhazari mansabddr with a suitable jdglr. Jay Singh advised Shivaji to win the emperor’s favour by a personal visit to his capital and receive his pardon. Jay Singh thus hoped to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the two, a vain hope as it proved eventually.

Shivaji personally handed over to Jay Singh's son, Kirat Singh, at Sinhgarh the keys of that fort. In the following November, Shivaji joined Jay Singh with his force and co-operated in the war upon Bijapur; but for various reasons the war ended in failure.

Jay Singh made full reports to his master on his transactions with Shivaji and explained how it was impossible to put him down with their force and how it was advantageous to win him over and turn him into a serviceable ally. With this view he requested the emperor to receive Shivaji in a personal audience and employ his services in defending the Mariathia country which had never been fully conquered. Aurangzib, although not very sanguine on the outcome of such a visit, agreed to Jay Singh's proposal and invited Shivaji to his presence on a solemn promise that no harm would befall him. During the early months of 1666 the subject was hotly debated between Shivaji and his counsellors; there was a strong sentiment that he should not undertake the risk of just walking into the lion's den. The treaty of Purandar was almost a stagemanaged affair; it meant no humiliation to Shivaji, as he was neither openly beaten nor his power extinguished. Jay Singh strongly advised Shivaji to go and meet the emperor and induce him personally to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Hindus after the manner of his great ancestor Akbar.

In view of the antecedents of Aurangzib, Shivaji did not hope to be able to convert the emperor to his views, but there were other weighty considerations which impelled him to undertake the venture. Such a visit would enable him to obtain a first hand impression about the inherent strength of the empire, to study men and matters on the spot and thus to make it feasible for him to carry into effect his life's mission of a Hindu padshahi. He meditated on the subject anxiously in his own mind and spent days in consultation with his mother and advisers. He was constantly in touch with Jay Singh who sent solemn oaths about his safety and so did his son Ram Singh who served at the court. The decision was taken and communicated through Jay Singh to the emperor who paid a lakh of rupees for the expenses of Shivaji's journey and assured that Shivaji would be accorded the honours of a Shdhzada during his absence from home. On Monday, 5 March, 1666, Shivajl took his departure from Raigarh accompanied by some of his intimate helpmates and a retinue of about 300 souls all told.

IX. THE WONDERFUL ESCAPE

The emperor, proud of his victory over Shivaji, was to celebrate his accession at Agr-a on 12 May, 1666, taking his seat on the peacock throne, as his father Shah Jahan had died in the preceding January. Shivaji was to be received in a full durbar on that occasion. He arrived at Agra by slow marches in time. The Diwan-i-Am of Agra presented that day a unique spectacle; all the Mughul splendour was displayed. Through some mistake Shivaji was rather late in arriving at the durbar and was led to the emperor's presence when he had repaired to the Diwdn-i-khas. The Prime Minister, Asad Khan, led Shivaji with his son to the presence. Both made their obeisance and offered the customary nazar whereupon they were taken back and asked to stand in the third row of the nobles. Shivaji noticing this affront burst out in a sort of open defiance complaining of the breach of the terms that were agreed upon. The emperor noticed Shivaji's demeanour and sent Ram Singh to pacify him. In the meantime, Shivaji left his place and moved to a corner, vehemently protesting and imprecating, a scene unprecedented in the imperial court. The emperor closed the durbar and asked Shivaji to be taken away. It was evident that Shivaji had committed a gross offence by defying the emperor so publicly. A strict guard was placed on his residence in Ram Singh's garden, and his movements were restricted.

Both parties now began to exercise their ingenuity to end the deadlock and smoothen matters. What was possible for the emperor to do? One of these three alternatives—(1) to put Shivaji to death; (2) convert him to Islam and employ him in imperial service; or (3) to conciliate and send him back. The emperor asked for Jay Singh's advice, and after long deliberation, decided upon the first course—how best to accomplish it without incurring public blame or the Rajput hostility being the only question that he revolved in his mind. With this object, it was decided to remove Shivaji to a new residence, more secluded, where his end could be accomplished without a public scandal. During all this time Shivaji, too, exercised his brain to the utmost in finding some means of escape, fully gauging the emperor's intentions. From 12 May to

18 August, Shivaji remained in confinement at Agra, devising ways for extricating himself and his son out of the situation. Ultimately, he hazarded a contrivance and succeeded in effecting his escape. After pretending illness for some time, he sent away most of his followers with instructions to shift for themselves. He and his son, on the afternoon of 19 August, squeezed themselves in two separate baskets of sweetmeats hanging from an elastic bamboo on the shoulders of porters, and were carried away without being detected by the guards on duty.

In the darkness of the evening Shivaji proceeded towards Mathura in the north, eluding the search parties that were set in motion after his escape had been detected about noon the next day, thus gaining a clear start of about 18 hours. "Instead of moving due south-west from Agra, through Malwa and Khandesh or Gujrat, he travelled northwards to Mathura, then eastwiards to Allahabad, and finally south-westwards through Bundelkhand, Gondwana, and Golkonda, describing a curve east of the public highway to the Deccan, in returning to Rajgarh," and appeared before his mother at Raigarh in the garb of a wandering mendicant on 12 September, that is 25 days after he had left Agria. 10 It was the most thrilling exploit of all his wonderful deeds, which has for ever added a super-natural glow to his unique personality. It immediately resounded throughout the country, making Shivaji an all-India figure, divinely endowed with extraordinary powers. The incident simultaneously exposed the emperior's craft, still further adding to his evil repute for cunning and cruelty. Shivaji's reputation, on the other hand, reached its zenith for having outwitted the cleverest and mightiest of the emperors.

Aurangzib felt extremely mortified at Shivaji's escape and rued the event to the end of his days. He cited this to his sons as an instance wherein a trifling negligence led to incalculable harm. He suspected Jay Singh and Ram Singh of being privy to Shivaji's plans and disgraced them both. He appointed his son Mu'azzam, to the Government of the Deccan with Jaswant Singh to assist him.

Jay Singh was recalled and he died at Burhanpur on his return journey.

For some time after his return Shivaji took no active or aggressive measures and spent a year or two in reorganizing his resources. The new govertnor, Mu‘azzam, adopted a policy of conciliation and gave no provocation to Shivaji. A formal peace was arranged, the emperor conferred the title of ‘Raja’ on Shivaji, and on his behalf the young ShambhujI was sent to the Mughul camp at Aurangabad, serving there on behalf of his father in consonance with the treaty of Purandar. It seems ShambhujI at this time tasted the pleasures of luxury and vice, which later ruined his career.

Shivaji also effected a peaceful understanding with Bijapur and Golconda, both purchasing his goodwill by agreeing to pay him the stipulated annual amounts of chauth. Thus Shivaji was accepted as an independent ruler in Maharashtra.

X. A FRESH WAVE OF FANATICISM

Shivaji spent two years in comparative quiet and would have possibly continued inoffensive, had not a fresh impulse of fanaticism seized the emperor once more to which reference has been made above (pp. 233-36). On 9 April, 1669, he issued general orders for demolishing all Hindu schools and temples and putting down all their rleligious teaching and practices. All Hindu fairs and ceremonies were forcibly banned. The famous temple of KasI Visvesvar was pulled down in 1669 and that of Keshab Rai in 1670, the news of which flashed like lightning throughout India. New grand mosques arose on the sites of both the temples which stand to this day, visible for miles as one travels to Banaras and Mathura. Shivaji and Jija Bai received these reports with sorrow and consternation and stood forth boldly to resist the emperor in retaliation. As Sinhgarh was the key fort of Deccan politics personally handed back by Shivaji five years ago, he now attacked it openly, killed its guardian, the Hindu Udaibhan, and wrested it from the Mughul possession, although in the venture Shivaji lost his best comrade, TanajI Malusare, whose heroism Maharashtra commemorates to this day. This capture of Sinhgarh was effected in February, 1670, and was quickly followed up by ShivajI’s seizure of the Mughul territories of Kalyan and other places of north Konkan. In April, Shivaji collected a large plunder by raiding several important Mughul towns. He declared he was taking revenge for the emperor’s attack on the Hindu religion. Once more he turned his attention to Surat and plundered it for full three days in October, 1670. He continued such devastation upon the Mughul dominions for full three years.

In this new phase, war continued and severe fighting took place between Shivaji and the emperor's veteran commanders, Daud Khan, Ikhlas Khan, Mahabat Khan and others. It was round Salher that a great contest raged, as it was a key fort on the borders of Khandesh and Gujarat which commanded important routes of communication. Shivaji captured this fort in 1671 and the Mughuls put in heroic efforts to wrest it back, causing a heavy toll of dead and injured and an immense sacrifice on both sides. In this fight for Salher the Marathas fought artillery duels on a large scale, and Shivaji's Prime Minister, Moropant Pingle, earned a unique name for valour, which bards have permanently commemorated.

One must pass over minor episodes in Shiviajl's career—his renewed war against Bijapur, his capture of the fort of Panhala in 1673 and so on, which rendered the three years' period (1670-1673) one of severe strain and labour for Shivaji. Such a strain, however, called forth the best qualities of Maratha character—spirit of sacrifice and co-operation, and a sense of national unity, which Shivaji's unique leadership evoked in his followers and which for a time made the Maratha name respected all over India. This is Shivaji's greatest achievement.

XI. THE GRAND CORONATION

Thus, after thirty years of hard struggle Shivaji now reached a stage in which it became possible to legalize his position as an independent sovereign ruler—a complete master of his homeland. Such a consummation was devoutly wished for a long time and a formal ceremony was considered the best means of proclaiming its realization and, at the same time of reviving an ancient tradition. The neighbouring powers looked upon Shivaji as an upstart, a vagabond, and a plunderer. He was prevented from exercising authority on equal terms with neighbouring powers, or exacting revenue from his own subjects as a legal master. For more than twenty years he owned a separate kingdom and exercised power over it, but this de facto position required a formal announcement.

There was, however, some difficulty. Shivaji had to prove that he was a Kshatriya and therefore entitled to be formally crowned. It was discovered that the Ranas of Udaipur preserved the old Kshatriya tradition and the Banaras Brahmanas performed coronation rites for them in Vedic chants. Shivaji sent a strong deputation to Udaipur and secured evidence that his own house was descended from the iSisodia clan of Udaipur; he also obtained sanction from the Banaras Pandits for his formal coronation. One learned priest of the Bhatt family of Banaras named Visvesvara alias Gaga took a rational view of the subject, declared that Shivaji had proved by his action that he was a Kshatriya and himself came to Raigarh to conduct the coronation rites for him.

Grand preparations were made. Guests gathered in large number—agents of foreign States, local magistrates, priests, and friends. A gorgeous throne of octagonal shape with profuse decorations was constructed and suitable edifice befitting a capital town had been completed. Saturday, June 16, 1674, was fixed as the auspicious day for the ceremony, although minor rites had started long before.

An elaborate programme was drawn up and punctually carried out. The prescribed rites according to ancient tradition were gone through with Vedic incantations befitting a Kshatriya hero. Shivaji was weighed in gold and the amount of 16,000 hons (equal to about 140 lbs. weight of his body) was distributed in charity. The English ambassador, Oxenden, who attended the ceremony at Raigarh with presents from the East India Company, has left a detailed description of what he saw and heard. It is, perhaps, the most authentic account available of that event.

The cost of the ceremony together with the construction of the throne is estimated by Sabhasad at Rs. five crores. This probably includes the cost of the fortifications and buildings of the capital, as well as its tanks and the streets, of which one notices the ruins today. The ceremony alone cost about 50 lakhs and was attended by some fifty thousand people, all being fed with sumptuous meals for some weeks. Jija Bai fortunately lived long enough to see this signal fulfilment of her life’s cherished ambition—an independent Maharashtra. She died just eleven days after the grand function.

It is instructive to notice the permanent marks of royalty assumed by Shivaji on this occasion in order to announce the formation of his sovereign State. The erection of forts and the organization of an armed force and the navy are the usual requisites of an established kingdom and need not be mentioned. But the royal insignia and the particular titles he devised as marks of the Maratha ruler together with the cabinet of eight ministers nominated by him require some explanation:

(1) Kshatriya-Kulavatamsa (Head of the Kshatriya Kula),

(2) Simhasanddhtsvara (Lord of the Throne),

(3) Maharaja (Emperor),

(4) Chhatrapati! (Lord of the Umbrella),

are the four Sanskrit titles which ShivajI assumed at the time of his coronation. In addition, ShivajI introduced a new era of his own dating from his coronation, and on that account received the appellation “founder of an era” (Saka-Karta).

Another significant measure instituted by ShivajI was his cabinet of eight ministers, each with a department of his own. Most of these ministers were appointed long ago as ShivajI’s Swavdjya began to take shape. The whole scheme was completed and announced at the time of his coronation with regulations and duties properly defined.

The eight ministers were:

(1) Peshwa (Prime Minister), Moro Trimal Pingle.

(2) Muzmudar (Amatya) Revenue Minister, Ram Chandra Nilkanth.

(3) Surnis (Sachiv) Finance Minister, Anaji Datto.

(4) Waqenavis (Mantrl) Home Minister, Dattaji Trimbak.

(5) Sarnaubat (Senapati) Commander-in-chief, Hambir Rao Mohite.

(6) Dabir (Sumant) Foreign Mnister, Ram Chandra Trimbak.

(7) Nydyddhls (The Chief Judge) Raoji Niraji.

(8) Panditmo (Minister for Religion) Raghunath Pandit.

The salary of the Prime Minister was 15,000 hons a year, and of the rest ten thousand— a hon being worth about Rupees thrlee and a half. This works out the Premier's salary at Rs. 4,375 per month in the coin of those days, quite a substantial amount if the purchasing power of money at that time is taken into account. The salary for a minister was Rs. 3,000 per month.

ShivajI appears to have borrowed this departmental division from ancient Hindu scriptures which have prescribed it. ShivajI was an autocrat and allowed no definite independent powers to his ministers.

The Hindu character of ShivajI's Swavdjya was clearly marked. He excluded all foreign elements. Instead of Urdu and Persian which were the court languages for centuries past, ShivajI introduced Marathi and coined Sanskrit technical terms for administrative purposes. Thus came into being the famous Rdja^Vyava

hara-Kosa, a dictionary of official terms. This was composed by a panel of experts under the supervision of Raghunath Pandit Hanumante. The elaborate Sanskrit introduction to this dictionary is worthy of serious study. Similarly, forms of address in official and private correspondence, office regulations, seals for Government documents and similar innovations were brought into force so as to complete the scheme of this new kingdom.

This coronation ceremony marks a distinct stage in the life of Shivajl. While it gave him a new and reliable status, it increased his responsibilities in no small measure and involved him into fresh risks. While the Hindu world in general rejoiced in his achievements, there were others who became bitter in their enmity towards him. The Mughul emperor in particular started a virulent campaign to put down this new rival striving to uproot his kingdom. The year of the Coronation itself did not pass off peacefully. Bahadur Khan pressed Shivajl from the east. To counteract this move, Shivajl carried fire and sword through the Koli country of north

Konkan, Baglan and Khandesh. He also turned his attention to the Portuguese of Goa and captured their important post of Ponda. Nearer home, he captured the Bijapuri fort of Satara and established the seat of his guru, Ramdas, in the neighbouring fort of Parli, thereafter known as Sajjangarh.

XII. THE LAST GREAT VENTURE IN KARNATAK

With all the splendour and demonstration of Shivaji's coronation and the lofty titles of full sovereignty assumed by him, his actual dominion was hardly more than two hundred miles in length and far less in breadth. Even the whole Maratha country had not come under his control. The Siddis of Janjira and the Portuguese were his constant enemies on the west coast. The Mughul pressure from the north was increasing. Even his brother Ekoji in the south had imitated him and announced his sovereignty at Tanjore in a similar coronation ceremony. Expansion of his dominion thus became a necessity for Shivajl. He was the regenerator of the Hindu religion, but all the peninsular lands of South India, essentially Hindu in character, had been long under Muslim rule. The emperor had barred his way effectively in the north. So the south alone remained free for his ambition. There were other considerations which equally influenced his march southward.

The south was loosely held by the two States of Bijapur and Golconda. During Shahji's days the rulers of these tried to extend their sway throughout the southern region, but their scheme had collapsed and when Shivaji appeared on the scene as the defender of the Hindus, these southern lands began lustfully to look up to him for a helping hand. The situation rapidly changed when in 1672 the rulers of both Bijapur and Golconda died, leaving disputed successions and inevitable anarchy behind. Bijapur, all along a Shiah State, fell under the Sunni Piathan power of Bahlol Khan who would rather sell the State to Aurangzib and his nominee Dilir Khan than let it fall into the hands of Shivaji. The condition of Golconda was even worse. There 'Abdullah Qutb Shah held a precarious headship with the help of two astute, clever, Hindu ministers Madanna and his brother Akkanna. There was no Muslim chief strong enough to preserve order in the State and save it from the greed of the Mughul emperor. The two Hindu ministers therefore came forth boldly to uphold Qutb Shah and for several years so ably managed the administration that its revenues improved and it began to enjoy peace and prosperity. This Hindu regeneration of Golconda excited the extreme ire of Aurangzib at a moment when Shivaji's coronation had exasperated him beyond measure. Finding their position untenable, the two Hindu ministers decided to make a common cause with Shivaji as the only means of self-preservation.

There was another complication contributing to this fresh move. It was a grievous sight for an acclaimed hero like Shivaji to find his own step-brother Ekoji, ruler of Tanjore, holding himself a bond-slave of Bijapur and working openly against Shivaji's work of Hindu uplift. Ekoji's wise and capable minister, Raghunath Pant Hanumante, tried his utmost to dissuade Ekoji from the evil course he was following. He had with him a number of Muslim counsellors always working in the interest of the Pathan ruler of Bijapur and preventing Ekoji from making a common cause with Shivaji. On this point Ekoji and Raghunath Pant fell out so severely that the latter resigned his post in disgust, refused to be a party to the wicked policy of his master, and left Tanjore for seeking fortune elsewhere. He first visited Bijapur and, dissatisfied with the policies that he found developing in that State, went to Golconda. There he made friends with the ministers Madanna and Akkanna and concerted a grand scheme both of preserving the Muslim status of the Qutb Shah and extending the cause of Hindu regeneration in the south with the help of Shivaji. The east coast regions sorely needed some power to give them peace and order. The scheme of conquest launched by Muhammad 'Adil Shah had broken down after his death. The Nayakas of Tanjore and Madura and other minor rulers were looking askance for some one to give

them protection. Here was an opportunity for Ekoji to stand forth boldly for co-operation with his brother and extend his pro-Hindu campaign to the south, which had been begun in Maharashtra. But Ekoji did not respond and Raghunath Pant felt the urge and seized the opportunity. He induced 'Abdullah Qutb Shah to receive a visit from Shivaji and make an alliance of defence and offence with him for carrying out the conquest of the southern lands in co-operation.

This was in the year 1676 when the whole politics of the peninsula was in a fluid state. Having secured willing assent to his scheme from the men in power at Golconda, Raghunath repaired to Raigarh and there discussed with Shivaji the pros and cons of this new venture. It was heartily welcomed by Shivaji who found in the Pandit just the sort of a co-operator that he needed in order to extend his Swiardjya to regions outside Maharashtra.

Shivaji welcomed Raghunath Pant's proposal enthusiastically as it afforded a new channel for national uplift and the regeneration of the decaying Hindu prestige. Messengers hurried between Raigarh and Golconda arranging the details of the forthcoming visit. Adequate preparations were quickly made to put the grand project into shape and the machinery set in motion with definite duties assigned to the various agents. The Hindus of the south became enthused with the prospective liberation from Muslim domination. Hanumante returned to Golconda immediately.

Shivaji left Raigarh at the beginning of January, 1677, having already despatched strong parties of armed forces to subjugate local Muslim chiefs who were suspected of working against the main scheme. A ceremonial visit of a Hindu potentate to a Muslim capital was a unique event in the annals of India and Shivaji knew how to influence the Muslim world with his beneficence and sobriety. He enforced strict discipline and orderliness upon his followers, all carefully selected and tutored in advance. He reached Haidarabad early in February, and left it early in March, 1677. A most enthusiastic reception with plenty of entertainment and hospitality was extended to him. Shivaji had several ceremonial and private visits and frank talks with the Sultan. An agreement was concluded between them for jointly resisting the Mughul advance and dividing the new conquests between them half and half. Shivaji agreed to pay to the Shah a yearly tribute of 6 lakhs of hons.

From Haidarabad, Shivaji proceeded to the eastern regions with Qutb Shah! contingents, paying devotions to the several shrines on

the way. Shivaji appeared before Gingee, then held by a Bijapuri captain, who surrendered the fort after receiving suitable provision for him. Shivaji constructed new' fortifications for Gingee, the remnants of which we see at this day. He then advanced against Vellore which was captured after a year’s effort. Shivaji then journeyed to the south where deputations met him from the French of Pondicherry and the Nayaka of Madura. He then arrived at Tirumalvadi on the Coleroon, about ten miles north of Tanjore, where his brother Ekoji ruled.

Here Ekoji came on a visit to Shivaji in July and lived with him for a week. Ekoji did not show any inclination to fall in with Shivaji’s views or accept his demand for a half share in the paternal acquisitions. Although a gentle, benevolent character, Ekoji was entirely guided by Muslim advisers who had then sympathies for Bijapur, and Shivaji’s work of national uplift in no way appealed to Ekoji. Suspecting he might come into trouble Ekoji escaped under cover of darkness one night and returned to Tanjore without obtaining a formal leave. Thereupon Shivaji sent his agents to Tanjore to explain matters and, finding that the subject could not be quickly finished, Shivaji left matters in the hands of his Senapati Hambir Rao Mohite with strong forces, and his representative Raghunath Pant, and himself returned to Maharashtra where his presence was urgently needed. On the way, he seized most of Ekoji’s possessions in the Mysore plateau.

Ekoji at Tanjore decided to try his luck in an open fight and attacked Hambir Rao Mohite at Valigandpuram on 16 November, when in a severe engagement, he was routed, losing heavily in life and property. When Shivaji learned of this result he at once wrote a long conciliatory letter to his brother explaining how foolishly he brought that trouble upon himself, and how it would be wise for him to retrace his steps. Ekoji’s wife, Dipabai, was a shrewd, wise lady who brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers and induced Ekoji to entrust his administration to Raghunath Pant. The Muslim advisers were dismissed. As Shivaji died soon after, all the grand results planned and expected of this extensive Karnatak venture fell to the ground. The only benefit that accrued from it to the Mariatha nation was that during Shambhuji’s and Rajaram’s reigns these Karnatak conquests of Shivaji proved of immense benefit. When Aurangzib conquered the Maratha lands, Shivaji’s son, Rajaram, found a hospitable shelter at Gingee and the Mughul danger was warded off.

XIII. SHAMBHUJf S DEFECTION AND DEATH OF SHIVAJI

This Karnatak expedition proved to be Shivaji's last great achievement. Thereafter his health and the state of affairs both deteriorated. Dilir Khan began to exert severe pressure upon the Maratha dominions. Shivaji's son, Shambhujl, now aged twenty-two (b. 1657), had been misbehaving for some time and was kept under close supervision for a time at Shringarpur near Sangameshwar (Konkan). He was also sent to Sajjangarh to be reclaimed under Ramdas's care. He, however, succumbed to the temptations, secretly offered to him by Dilir Khan, of some splendid prospects under the Mughul Government. Without sufficient forethought or regard for consequences, Shambhujl suddenly escaped from Panhala on 13 December, 1678, along with his wife Yesubai, and was enthusiastically welcomed by Dilir Khan near Pandharpur. They together attacked Bhupalgarh, east of Satara, where, Shambhujl knew, Shivajl had deposited valuable treasure and a number of Maratha families for safety. They captured the fort in April, 1679, and committed a fearful slaughter of inmates that fell into their hands. From Bhupalgarh they proceeded to Bijlapur which was saved from falling into the Mughul hands mainly through the timely help rendered by Shivajl. Discomfited before Bijapur, Dilir Khan and Shambhujl turned their steps towards Panhala. In the meantime Shivajl had employed secret agents to induce Shambhujl to return. At Tikota, a few miles west of Bijapur, Dilir Khan perpetrated severe atrocities by plundering and slaughtering innocent population, including women and children. A similar scene was repeated at the next mart of Athni, when the suffering people appealed to Shambhujl for protection. Shambhujl made strong protests to the Khan which he resented and a severe rupture came about between them. Some of ShambhujI's friends in the Khan's camp warned him that the Khan intended a foul game against him of handing him over into the emperor's hands as a prisoner. This terrified Shambhujl so much that he left the Mughul camp at night with Yesubai in male attire. As he was proceeding to Bijapur, Shivaji's agents met him and brought him to Panhala, where he arrived on 4 December after an absence of nearly a year.

The year 1679 strained Shivaji's nerve in another direction also. Aurangzlb issued a fresh order reimposing the jizya on all the Hindu population of India from 2 April. It was an open challenge as much to Shivajl as to the many Rajput chiefs of North India. The latter in resentment started a dreadful war against the emperor, which in the long run he was at severe pains to bring to an end

(pp. 238-41). Shivaji also wrote a letter to Aurangzlb making a strong protest, couched in vigorous terms, against the unwise measure and the wrongs which it imposed upon the innocent population. He wrote: “God is the Lord of all men and not of the Muhammadans only. Islam and Hinduism are only different pigments used by the Divine Painter to picture the human species.” 11

Unfortunately, Shivaji did not live long enough to follow up the noble words with a suitable action. And now approached the saddest moment of Shivajl’s life. He well knew Shambhuji did not possess the capacity to preserve what he had secured in a lifetime of tremendous labour and activity. He could not, however, reclaim his son. Upon the latter’s arrival at Panhala Shivaji visited him and gently tried to impress upon his mind what responsibility rested on him in his prospective inheritance. He employed a large staff to prepare accurate lists of all his property and possessions— of every item, trivial or costly. But Shambhuji did not rise to the occasion and his conduct immeasurably distressed his father’s last days.

Greatly disappointed in mind and much emaciated in body, Shivaji kept strong guards to watch Shambhuji at Panhala and repaired to his guru at Sajjangarh to seek solace. But what could Ramdas do to relieve the Raja’s misery? The two lived and discussed together for a month. In February, 1680, Shivaji proceeded to Raigarh where the sacred thread ceremony of his son Rajaram was performed in March. A week later, on 23 March, Shivaji had an attack of fever from which he never recovered. He expired at noon on Sunday, 4 April, 1680 (on the previous day, according to some). Out of his eight wives married mostly on political grounds, Puttabai became Sati. One Sakwarbai long survived him keeping company to Yesubai (ShambhujI’s wife) in the emperor’s imprisonment. Soyrabai was put to death by Shambhuji. The others had predeceased their husband.

XIV. CONCLUSION

What the earnest endeavour of one man can achieve in this wicked world is illustrated in Shivajl’s life narrated so far. It has not been possible, within the limited space, to give a more detailed account of all the varied activities and achievements of that unique personality. Only the main incidents and their prominent features could be attempted. But even these will doubtless prove the divine gift of genius which Shivaji possessed and which baffles analysis.

“On more than one occasion he so recklessly plunged into a venture that he had burnt his boats and made retreat impossible for himself. Today, after the lapse of three centuries from his birth, even the most severe critic is bound to admit that though Shivaji’s dynasty is extinct and his State has crumbled into dust, yet he set an example of innate Hindu capacity and left a name which would continue to fire the spirit of man and shine forth as an ideal for ages yet unborn.” 12

We have now before us for study records and eulogies referring to Shivaji from the pen of those who came in direct contact with him—poet Parmanand, Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Raghunath Pant Pandit Hanumante, and not a few European traders and travellers who visited him in India in one connection or another. The Amatya has left a piece of writing elaborately describing the polity and personality of Shivaji, a unique production in Marathi. Saint Ramdas often gives vivid pen pictures which appear to pertain to no other person but Shivaji, whose valour, circumspection, selflessness, and devotion to religion are now attested to and scattered throughout his writings. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, a member of Shivaji’s court, composed an elaborate faithful account of Shivaji’s life and achievements, which is of inestimable value. 13

Did Shivaji aim at a Hindu Empire for India? A look at Shivajfs whole life closely discloses his intense regard for religion. He indeed cared more for religious emancipation of his land than mere political dominion. Ramdas has exquisitely described this spirit of Shivaji in his work Anandvana-Bhuvan. The religious persecution practised by Muhammed ‘Adll Shah and Aurangzlb moved Shivaji intensely and influenced all his actions. He at the same time realized that religious freedom could not be obtained without political power, and to that extent he exerted himself in freeing his homeland from Muslim control. As a result of his visit to the emperor’s court he was perhaps convinced of the hollowness of the Mughul empire, and thereafter exerted himself in bringing India under Hindu control. The imposition of chauth on lands outside his immediate sway was a means to that end. His coronation ceremony and the grand title he assumed suggest his intention of establishing a Hindu empire, certainly by degrees according to his means. His expedition to the Karnlatak was a clear move towards a Hindu India, in which he roped in Qutb Shah of Haidarabad. He had all but engulfed the State of Bijapur also. His public protest against the imposition of jiizya explains his attitude in unmistakable terms. If he had been vouchsafed a little longer span of life, he could have brought about the deposition of Aurangzlb, so clearly emphasized a little later by his son ShambhujI in his Sanskrit letter to Ram Singh. ‘This kingdom belongs to Gods and Brahmans’, ‘Hindustan is essentially a land of the Hindus’, and similar phrases scattered throughout Sanskrit and Marathi literature are sentiments actuated by Shiva ji’s endeavour, so closely followed after him by the Peshwias also. Mahadaji Sindhia indeed felt the glory of having achieved some of these dreams when he attained supreme power at the court of Delhi.

At the same time Shivaji was never actuated by a hatred of the Muslims. He was no bigot and allowed equal freedom to all faiths. He was served as zealously by the Muslims as by the Hindus. The Muslim saint, Baba Yakut of Kelsi, was treated as his guru. Mulla Haidar was his confidential secretary. Ibrahim Khian, Daulat Khan and Sidi Misri were his naval commanders. A large Muslim population lived under him in equal contentment with their brother Hindus. He respected the personal honour of a Muslim as his own. He built a mosque opposite his palace at Raigarh for the use of his Muslim subjects. Shivaji’s ideals were broad and philanthropic, embracing the highest good of all. He respected all holy men equally. Wherever he travelled in his expeditions, it was his particular passion to contact the holy men and preachers of the various localities; he valued their blessing to which he attributed his success. While he intensely respected Ramdas, it cannot be maintained that in political affairs he was influenced by that guru. They were both exalted characters and worked in different spheres in their own ways. Ramdas was a great practical teacher; he did not meddle in politics.

Shivaji's administrative measures were a marvel of his time and far in advance of his age. He strictly prohibited grants of land in lieu of military or other service, thereby avoiding the patent evils of the jdglr system. While the Mughul administration continued blindly on the same old model built up by Akbar, Shivaji had created innovations in almost every branch. His division of official work among eight ministers, his system of forts for the defence of his realm, his organization of the navy, his army regulations including those for discipline and plunder, his compilation of the Raja Vyavahara-kosa, his imposition of the system of chauth are all measures of his own creation, utterly unlike what was then in vogue. Shivaji lavished money like water on repairing old forts and constructing new ones, about 250 in all, which particularly suited the geographical situation of the Marathla region. Each fort was a selfsufficient unit with plenty of water supply and cornland enclosed, so that when besieged, each fort could stand defence by a small garrison for any length of time. The sonorous and significant names given to these forts reveal Shivaji's ingenuity even in this detail and remind us even today what their use and grandeur must have been at that time.

The annual revenue of Shivaji's dominions has been roughly calculated at seven crores of rupees, possibly much less in actual realization. It may be roughly put down that all the peninsular lands, south of the river Tapti, either wholly or partially owed allegiance to Shivaji.

Many writers, particularly the western, represent Shivaji as a plunderer and a rebel, conveying thereby that he was no steady or confirmed ruler, but a pest to the society. This is entirely a wrong view. Every patriot striving to free his land from foreign domination is bound to be a rebel until his position becomes stabilized. Shivaji never committed wanton atrocities during his raids and never harassed innocent population. He subjected Muslim lands to plunder and devastation only when he was at war with those powers. Shivaji's plunder had the nature of a war levy of our modern days.

Glowing tributes have been paid to Shivaji's character as a national hero alike by foreign biographers and his own countrymen, both of his own day and during recent times of advanced historical research. The French envoy, Germain, who visited Shivaji near Tanjore, wrote in July, 1677:

"The camp of Shivaji was without pomp, without women; there were no baggages, only two tents of simple cloth, coarse and very scanty, one for him and the other for his prime minister."

But what his formidable antagonist, emperor Aurangzib, himself wrote upon hearing of Shivaji's death is no small praise; he said:

"He was a great captain and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years and nevertheless his State has been increasing."

Insistence on order, obedience and strictest discipline were the main characteristics of Shivaji's rule. Bernier, Tavernier, Khafi Khan, Grant-Duff, Elphinstone, Temple, Acworth, W.S.M. Edwards, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and other scholars and writers have all given Shivaji glowing tributes regarding him as unequalled by any hero in recent Indian history. He was not only the maker 1 of the Maratha

nation but the greatest constructive genius of medieval India. No Bacon had appeared in India to point out a new way to human advancement. Even Ramdas did not dream of a new path. Shivaji alone understood how to organize his national resources. He called the Maratha race to a new life of valour and self-reliance, of honour and hope. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that he is the creator of the Maratha nation, as Sir Jadunath had aptly put it, "the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced." Jadunath further observes:

"He called the Maratha race to a new life. He raised the Mariathas into an independent self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and high destiny, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his race. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence, protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and oceantrading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. ShivajI has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage; that it can put forth new leaves and branches. It can again lift up its head to the skies.” 14

1., For an elaborate account of the political and social conditions of Maharashtra and the rise of the Bhosles, see G.S. Sardesai, New History of the Marathas, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 17-92.

2. Highly eulogistic accounts appear to have been recorded in Sanskrit about the exploits of Maloji and Shahji, after Shivaji's reputation had been fully established. Vide Sanads and Letters, pp. 211-215, and the unique Sanskrit composition known as Sambhajl/s dtin-<patra. Paramananda follows in the same strain in his Siva Bharat.

3. Most of the old records support this date corresponding to 2, Vaisakh Suddha, Raktakshi Samvatsara Saka 1549. However, on the basis of some epigraphical and astrological evidence, some scholars favour the date 19 February, 1630. Recently Sstu Madhavrao Pagadi has suggested that Shivaji was born on 25 April, 1628. J. N. Sarkar accepts Monday, 10 April, 1627 (Shivaji and His Times, Ch. II, Section 3, which also discusses other dates).

3a. According to J. N. Sarkar he was illiterate (op. cit. Ch. XVI, Section 9).

4. Cf. Sardesai, op.cit., Vol. I, p.97, (First Edition).

5. The well-known ‘Jedhe Chronology’ was discovered among the old papers of this family. Kanhoji Jedhe was asked by Shahji to help Shivaji. See G.S. Sardesai, op.cit., p.89.

6. Cf. G.S. Sardesai, op. cit., pp. 104-5 for a slightly different version.

6a. Ibid.

7. Cf. Siva Bharat, Ch. XVI, 45.

8. (Editors Note).

The oldest and contemporary account of the capture of Javli, written by Shivaji’s courtier, Krishnajl Anant Sabhasad, differs materially from the version given in the text which is based on the accounts of later writers. The conclusion arrived at by Sir Jadunath Sarkar after a comparison of all available texts, seems to be more in consonance with facts. His reconstruction of the episode may be summed up as follows:

The ruler of Javli was a boy of sixteen and the State was ruled by the Diwan, Hanumant Rao More. An agent of Shivaji met the latter on a false pretext and treacherously slew him at a private meeting. He escaped unscathed and quickly brought ShivajI to the Scene with a vast army. Javli was captured after six hours’ fighting, and several members of the More family were taken prisoner, but the boy king KrishnajI, with his younger brother Baji, took refuge in Raigarh, a fort belonging to Javli. ShivajI invested the fort and gained possession of it by negotiations. The boy king and his brother were carried away by ShivajI to Poona and there the former was beheaded. The younger boy escaped and later, in 1665, joined Jay Singh for war against ShivajI.

Sir Jadunath's comments on this episode are also worth quoting: “The acquisition of Javli was the result of deliberate murder and organised treachery on the part of ShivajI. His power was then in its infancy; and he could not afford to be scrupulous in the choice of the means of strengthening himself. In exactly similar circumstances, Sher Shah, his historic parallel, used similar treachery in gaining forts in South Bihar as the first step to a throne.

“The only redeeming feature of this dark episode in his (ShivajI’s) life is: that the crime was not aggravated by hypocrisy. All his old Hindu biographers are agreed that it was an act of premeditated murder for personal gain . Even Shivaji never pretended that the murder of the three Mores was prompted by a desire to found a ‘Hindu swaraj’, or to remove from his path a treacherous enemy who had repeatedly abused his generous leniency.

“This last touch of infamy it has been left to the present generation to add .... the twentieth century admirers of the national hero.” J. N. Sarkar, Shivaji and His Times, Third Edition, pp. 44-45. (The last para has been omitted in the Sixth Edition (1961)).

(In spite of his great respect for the author of this chapter, G.S. Sardesai, the Editor feels obliged to add this note as a corrective to the impression

that might be otherwise left on the mind of the readers).

9. Opinions differ on the vital point, viz. who struck the first blow, Afzal Khan or Shivaji, and on this depends the answer to the vexed and much-discussed question whether the slaying of Afzal Khan was a treacherous murder or an act of self-defence on the part of Shivaji. On this also, the opinion of

Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., pp. 72-3), supporting the version given in the text, Seems to be a fair one (Editor).

9a. It appears from some newly discovered documents that Shivaji had been receiving help from the Portuguese of Goa in his struggle against the Mughuls, but Jay Singh succeeded in winning over the Portuguese who no longer dared help Shivaji openly. This might have been a contributing factor to the submission of Shivaji. Of. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXI,

pp. 187-8.

10. This is the latest view on the route followed by Shivaji during his escape and the date of his arrival at Raigarh. According to the older view, based on Marathi records, which was endorsed by both J. N. Sarkar in the earlier editions of his book Shivaji and His Times and G. S. Sardesai, the author of this Chapter, in his draft written long ago, Shivaji passed through Mathura, Allahabad, Varanasi, Gaya and, even Jagannath Purl, and returned to Raigarh on 20 November, 1666 (Shivaji and His Times, Third Edition,

1929, pp. 153-56). The view given above in the text is quoted from the sixth edition of this book published in 1961, pp. 149-53. It is based on a spy's report received at Delhi on 14 November, 1666, to the effect that Shivaji had reached his home "25 days after escaping from Agra", thus fixing the date of his arrival at Raigarh on 12 September. Relying on this, and in consideration of the short duration of the journey, J. N. Sarkar has revised his old views and discussed the whole question in detail in an Appendix to Chapter VI of the sixth edition of his book (pp. 157-9).

In his New History of the Marathas, Vol. I, published in 1946, Sardesai states that Shivaji, after leaving Mathura, travelled through the country of

the Gonds on to Golconda and Bijapur and reached Raigarh "on 12 September, 1666, or on the 25th day after leaving Agra". But, evidently, through oversight, he gives the date of ShivajI's flight from Agra on 17 August, instead of 19 August (Vol. I, pp. 178-80), which is given by Sarkar and others, on independent grounds, and is in agreement with the interval of twenty-five days between the date of the flight from Agra and arrival at Raigarh.

11. For the full text of the letter, cf. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. Ill, Ch. XXXIV, Appendix VI.

12. J. N. Sarkar, House of Shivaji (New Ed.), pp. 103-4 and 113.

13. The estimate of Shivaji which follows may appear to many as somewhat exaggerated, particularly as there is no reference to many of the statements on which the observations are based. Unfortunately the eminent writer of this chapter passed away before the Editor had any opportunity of discussing the subject with him. The Editor, out of regard for the late lamented scholar, G. S. Sardesai, who wrote this chapter, thought it best to leave it as it is, particularly as it follows more or less the views expressed by him in his scholarly work, New History of the Marathas , Vol. I, published in 1946.

For a more proper estimate of Shivaji, reference may be made to J. N. Sarkar's two books mentioned above.

14. J. N. Sarkar, Shivaji and His Tunes, Chapter XVI, Section 9.

CHAPTER X

AURANGZIB (1681-1707)

I. THE DECCAN

After Shivaji's funeral, his younger son Rajaram, a boy of ten, was crowned at Raigarh by his mother Soyila Bai with the help of a party at the capital. But another party in the State was against this succession and Shambhuji, the eldest son of Shivaji and stepbrother of Rajaram, succeeded in securing the throne of his father, overcoming all opposition (18 June, 1680). Rajaram and his mother were imprisoned, but the latter was subsequently put to death.

Shambhuji continued his father's policy of raiding the Mughul territories in the Deccan, and in the winter of 1680-81, he plundered north Khandesh and the suburbs of Burhanpur. An attempt was also made in November, 1681, to capture the fort of Ahmadnagar, but it did not succeed. He had given shelter to prince Akbar and promised him Maratha aid in capturing the throne of Delhi. Such was the Mughul-Maratha relation on the eve of Aurangzib's arrival in the Deccan. Reaching there, the emperor made an extensive plan to invade Maharashtra from different directions and launched a vigorous offensive with a view to giving it a stunning blow. Sayyid Hasan 'All was sent to north Konkan, Shihab-ud-din Khan with Dalpat Rai to Nasik on the western frontier, Ruh-ullah Khan and prince Shah 'Alam to Ahmadnagar district to guard that side against any possible Maratha attack; and prince A'zam was directed to proceed towards Bijapur to cut off any assistance coming to the Marathas from that direction. But in spite of all these, the emperor could not gain anything substantial in 1682, and all the detachments had to be recalled in April, 1683.

Thus, even after a year of his arrival in the Deccan, the emperor could not achieve anything decisive. He was rudely shocked by the unfilial conduct of his son Akbar whom he had loved so dearly. "In truth, he was at this time passing through a domestic and mental crisis; his faith in his family had been totally shaken and he did not know whom to trust or where he would be safe. Hence his policy for some time after was hesitating, suspicious, watchful and seemingly capricious or self-contradictory.”[1] But Shambhuji’s invasion of the Portuguese territory at this time and conclusion of a treaty with the Mughuls gave Aurangzib a temporary respite to think of another offensive against the Marathas.

In the meantime prince Akbar, who had been highly disappointed at the vain expectation of aid from the Maratha King, decided to proceed to the Portuguese territory and thence to sail to Persia for refuge. After leaving his residence at Pali, he went to Banda in Savantvadi and then to Bicholim, about ten miles north of Goa. Purchasing a ship he embarked at Vingurla (November, 1683), but Durga Das and Kavi-Kalash, Shambhuji’s prime minister, persuaded him to come back, holding out fresh hopes of support from the Maratha King. He wasted another year (1684) in the Ratnagiri district, making repeated requests to Kavi-Kalash to meet him and decide on future actions. The internal condition of the Maratha kingdom was then extremely gloomy. Neglecting his duties Shambhuji was indulging in luxury of low tastes, and the government was greatly distracted by the jealousy of the Maratha nobility against Kavi-Kalash, who was a Brahman of Kanauj in northern India and hated as a foreigner at the Maratha Court. Added to these, there were rebellions in the State and desertions of officers. In these circumstances, it was not possible for prince Akbar to secure necessary Maratha assistance to fight against his father.

Taking advantage of confusion in the Maratha kingdom, Aurangzib started another offensive against it in September, 1683. The Sidi of Janjira was asked to watch the movements of Akbar and prince Shah ‘Alam was despatched at the head of a grand army to lead the main attack on the Maratha territory and penetrate into Savantvadi and South Konkan. Another detachment under Shihabud-din was posted at Poona from which he raided Nizampur in the Koliaba district. Prince A‘zam was sent to Nasik for guarding the road to Baglana and Khandesh, while Khan Jahan proceeded from Bidar to Akalkot to prevent any possible aid coming to the Marathas from Golconda and Bijapur, and the emperor himself went to Ahmadnagar.

Entering the Belgaum district Shah Alam captured some forts, cities and a large quantity of booty. Then he crossed the Ramghiat pass, twenty-six miles west of Belgaum, and proceeded into the plains of Savantvadi. After arrival at Bicholim he demolished the mansions and gardens of Shambhuji and Akbar, and planned to occupy Goa by treachery, but this was a serious blunder, as it caused rupture with the Portuguese who stopped supply of grain to the prince by sea. The invading army then moved northwards, sacking and burning the towns and villages, and turning south again, they returned to the north of Goa. Their progress was stopped by famine, and so the prince was compelled to return to the Ramghat pass where one-third of his men and a large number of horses, elephants and camels perished through pestilence. Harassed by the enemies from different directions the prince reached Ahmadnagar on 18 May, 1684, and judged by the net result of his campaign the achievement was not at all worthy of serious notice.

But the Mughuls achieved much better results in other quarters. The Marathas were defeated on several occasions and much of their territory occupied. Many Maratha captains joined the imperialists, and two wives and one daughter of ShambhujI were captured and confined in the fort of Bahadurgarh. After making a vain dash into the Mughul territory in June, 1686, and finding no ray of hope in future, prince Akbar hired a ship at Rajapur and sailed for Persia in February, 1687, reaching the Persian Court at Isfahan in January, 1688. After thus sending him out of the Indian territory, Durga Das returned to Mar war.

During the regime of Sikandar ‘Adil Shah (1672-1686), the last of the ‘Adil Shahi Sultans, the Bijapur kingdom suffered seriously from various troubles, viz, maladministration and internecine quarrels among the nobles, which paved the way for its final extinction. Taking advantage of the rivalry between the Deccani party led by Khavass Khan and the Afghan party led by Buhlul Khan and eventual disorder in the kingdom, the imperialists, on the request of the Deccani party, then out of power, took up their side, and invading Bijapur took possession of Naldurg and Gulbarga (1677).

The condition of Bijapur steadily deteriorated from day to day. On the death of Buhlul Khan on 23 December, 1677, Sldi Mas‘ud, another influential Bijapur noble, became prime minister and regent with the assistance of the

Mughuls. He made peace with them who imposed terms, suiting their purpose, viz., Bijapur should be guided by the orders of the emperor; it must not form any alliance with Shivaji; and Sikandar's sister, Shahr Banu, popularly known as Padishah Blbl, should be sent to the Mughul court to be married to a son of the emperor (prince A'zam).

But Mas'ud could not improve the dilapidated condition of the kingdom. On the other hand, by a secret alliance with Shivaji, he provoked the wrath of the imperialists who invaded Bijapur, conquered some of its territories and made extensive raids on it, sacking and committing excesses. Such was the pitiable condition of

the 'Adil Shah! kingdom before the arrival of the emperor in the Deccan.

Convinced of the assistance that the Marathas had been getting from Bijapur, the emperor despatched a strong force against it under prince A'zam (1682). But he could achieve very little to his credit; he raided the frontier and occupied the fort of Dharur, about one hundred and forty miles north of Bijapur fort. His feeble campaign was confined to the region north of the river Nlra and he was recalled to court (June, 1683).

Finding it impossible to set right the bankruptcy, chronic anarchy and other troubles in the kingdom, Mas'ud left the court in disgust in November, 1683, and sent his formal resignation from his fort of Adoni early in 1684. Aqa Khusrav, who stepped into his position, died in October of the same year. Surrounded by dangers from within and without, specially of Mughul aggression, Sikandar 'Adil Shah took vigorous steps for the defence of Bijapur and entrusted this important task to his brave general and new prime minister, Sharza Khan.

Aurangzlb, who had been bent upon annexing this decadent State, wrote to 'Adil Shah, calling upon him "as a vassal, to supply provisions to the imperial army promptly, allow the Mughal troops a free passage through his territory, supply a contingent of 5 or 6 thousand cavalry for the emperor's war with the Marathas, abstain from helping or harbouring Shambhuji, and expel Sharza Khan from his country!" 2 In the meantime the Mughuls had been appropriating parts of Bijapur kingdom and establishing their outposts in them. Mangalvide and Sangola with their environs were occupied in

May, 1684. But the emperor’s grim determination to swallow the whole of this State led him to follow a more vigorous policy. Thus a serious rupture with ‘Adil Shah seemed imminent. The latter sent a spirited reply to the emperor and acrimonious letters passed between them for some time, the interval being utilized by both the parties for their necessary preparations for the ensuing conflict. On the request of ‘Adil Shah, Abu-’l Hasan, the Sultan of Golconda, promised to help Bijapur and a Maratha contingent from Shambhuji reached it on 21 February, 1685. The Mughul siege of Bijapur fort commenced on 1 April, 1685, and prince A‘zam reached there with a large army on 14 June to take over the supreme command of the entire operation. The Bijapur army defended their capital with all their valour and strength and whenever possible, they went out to attack the besiegers, and also succeeded in bringing provisions and reinforcements from outside. In this distress of ‘Adil Shah

aid came to him from the Sultan of Goleonda, ShambhujI for the second time, and ex-minister Mas‘ud who had established himself as a semi-independent ruler at Adorn.

Prince A‘zam proceeded close to the fort on 29 June, and within a month, he had to wage three severe battles with the Bijapur army. For paucity of provisions a famine broke out in his camp but he continued the siege with determination in spite of his father’s direction to return. The emperor then sent him all possible relief in regard to provisions, money and munitions with a strong escort under Ghazl-ud-dln Flruz Jang. But even after a siege of fifteen months, the fort could not be captured, and discord and jealousy among the officers hampered the progress of the siege-operation. Realizing the absolute necessity of his personal presence for the successful prosecution of the siege, the emperor went to the Rasulpur suburb, west of the fort, on 3 July, 1686. The fort was closely beleaguered, and the siege was pressed in right earnest. The emperor himself worked hard in supervising the operations and infusing fresh spirit into his men.

On the other hand, the garrison was suffering badly from shortage of provisions causing the death of many men and animals. There was no possibility of succour from any quarters and the future of ‘Adil Shahl monarchy was extremely gloomy. The garrison lost heart and it shrank to

2,000 men only. It was therefore not worth while to resist any more and Sultan Sikandar surrendered on 12 September, 1686. He left the throne of his ancestors and went to the emperor in his camp at Rasulpur where he was well received. He was enrolled as a Mughul peer with the title of Khan, and an annual pension of one lakh of rupees.

Aurangzib entered the evacuated city of Bijapur on 19 September and erased the pictures and Shiah inscriptions on the walls of the palace and the 'Relic Shrine' (Asdr-i-sharlf). The kingdom was annexed to the Mughul empire and all the 'Adil Shahi officers were taken over into its (Mughul) service.

Sikandar was at first confined in the fort of Daulatabad and then carried with the camp of Aurangzib as a captive. He died a premature death on 3 April, 1700.

Goleonda was no less an attraction for the Mughul imperialistic design than Bijapur. For about thirty years after the accession of Aurangzib to the throne it enjoyed immunity from attack from the imperialists, as it "had not been so openly hostile to the empire as Bijapur," 23 and the Mughuls were pre-occupied with the

'Adil Shahi Kingdom and Marathas. But on the accession of Abu-'l Hasan, the last ruler of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, in 1672, various factors contributed in helping the emperor's policy of aggrandizement towards this State. Abu-'l Hasan spent his time in the company of courtesans and dancing girls, and the whole administration was practically run by the Brahman Prime Minister Madanna and his brother Akkanna. The predominance of the Hindu influence in the court of Golconda and its alliance with the Marathas were highly offensive in the eyes of the emperor. Although compared with Bijapur, Qutb Shah paid his tributes more regularly, he was also long in arrears. The incident which hastened open rupture was the interception of his letter to his agent in the imperial camp in which he had accused the emperor for his attack on Sikandar 'Adil Shah "a helpless orphan", and promised to send an army of 40,000 under Khalil-ullah Khan to the assistance of Bijapur. Offended at this, Aurangzlb sent Shah 'Alam with a large army to launch an attack on Hyderabad (July, 1685), but this army was held up at Malkhed by the Qutb Shahi force for more than two months. In October there was a change in the situation owing to the defection of Mir Muhammad Ibrahim, the commander-in-chief of Golconda, who had been bribed by the Mughuls. This defection not only disheartened his army who fled back to Hyderabad but also made the defence of the latter well-nigh impossible, and the Sultan fled post-haste to the fort of Golconda. Shah ‘Alam took possession of Hyderabad. Feeling helpless, Qutb Shah submitted and was pardoned by the emperor on the following conditions:—(a) the Sultan must dismiss Madanna and Akkanna, (b) he must cede Malkhed and Serum to the emperor, and (c) pay one crore and twenty lakhs of rupees in settlement of previous dues and also an annual tribute of two lakhs of hurts.

But this peace did not last long. Qutb Shah put off the dismissal of Madanna and Akkanna and at this, the discontented Muslim nobles, headed by Shaikh Minhaj and two widows of ‘Abdullah Qutb Shah, caused the murder of both of them in the streets of Golconda; their houses were plundered and the members of their families ruined.

Aurangzlb was not at all willing to allow Golconda to remain independent, however submissive it might be. On the fall of Bijapur (12 September, 1686) he was free to resume his operations against it, and on 28 January, 1687, he reached the vicinity of Golconda. After occupying Hyderabad, the Mughul army laid regular siege to the fort of Golconda (7 February, 1687) in which the Sultan had taken refuge. Encamped north-west of the fort, the emperor personally supervised the operations.

But the emperor’s arms were paralysed, though temporarily, by bitter personal jealousies in the imperial camp. Shah ‘Alam’s softness to save Abu-’l Hasan from utter humiliation on the one hand, and his eagerness to deprive his brother A‘zam of the credit of capturing Golconda on the other, led him to indulge in secret negotiations with Qutb Shah’s agents. The matter, however, leaked out and the irate father imprisoned his son with his family and confiscated his property. Moreover many Shiahs and orthodox Sunnis as well were not in favour of this war “between Muslims.” But nothing could deviate the emperor from his strong determination and he pushed on the siege in all earnestness, in spite of heavy rainfall, tempest, famine, pestilence, repeated sorties of the enemies and their incessant fire from the walls of the fort. Three mines were carried under the bastions of the fort and filled with gunpowder, but when fired, the first one was misdirected and took the life of 1,100 imperialists, the second produced the same disastrous effect, and the third, when fired, did not explode, as the enemies having discovered it, had filled it with water. The garrison defended with undaunted heroism and the investment continued without any ray of hope. The emperor issued a proclamation, annexing the Qutb Shahi kingdom, and posted his own officers in all parts of it with a view to stopping supply of provisions or any other form of relief to the garrison. Despite this, it was not possible to attain success and at last, the imperialists took recourse to bribery. Having been seduced, ‘Abdullah Pan!, surnamed Sardar Khan, an Afghan officer in the fort, opened the postern gate on 21 September, 1687, at 3 o’clock in the morning, allowing the Mughuls to enter into the fort. The only officer who opposed the imperialists was ‘Abdur-Razzaq Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, who had refused with scorn all the alluring offers of the emperor and fought with uncommon bravery till he was covered with seventy wounds.

Abu-’l Hasan met his fate with calmness, consoled the members of his family and then left his palace for good. He was taken by prince A‘zam to the emperor who, after accusing him for his corrupt government and favouring the Brahmans, sent him as a Stateprisoner to the fortress of Daulatabad with an annual pension of 50,000 rupees. The booty acquired by the emperor at Golconda amounted to about seven crores of rupees in cash, besides other valuables like gold, silver and jewels, and the State was annexed to the Mughul empire.

Aurangzlb then took steps to conquer the unoccupied territories and forts of Bijapur and Golconda and brought in his possession Sagar, Adorn, Karnul, Raichur, Sera, Bangalore, Bankapur, Belgaum, Wandiwash and Conjeevaram in the course of a year.

According to historians like Elphinstone 3 and Smith 4 the annihilation of the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golconda without first crushing the Maratha power with their assistance was impolitic on the part of the emperor. They are of opinion that it ‘Treed the Maratha Chiefs from any fear of local rivalry” which Aurangzib might have used profitably against the Marathas. “But”, says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, “this criticism misses the cardinal fact of Deccan politics in the 17th century. From the day when the emperor Akbar launched forth into a policy of conquest south of the Vindhyas to the day when Aurangzib rode in triumph into the fallen capital of the last of the Qutb-Shahis, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda could never for a moment forget that the sleepless aim of the Mughal Emperor was their final extinction and the annexation of all their territories. ... A union of hearts between Bijapur or Golkonda and the Mughal empire was a psychological impossibility.” 5 He holds further that it would not have been possible for the two decadent Sultanates to check the Marathas, who had organized themselves into a powerful national State, more effectively than the emperor himself could do. 6 The views of Sir Jadunath Sarkar reflect more correctly the real situation in the Deccan than those of Elphinstone and Smith and may be accepted in all fairness.

During the period when the emperor was seriously engaged in utilizing the full military resources of the empire against Bijapur and Golconda, Shambhuji did not make any well-thought-out plan to overcome the Mughul menace that hung so heavily on him and other Deccani powers.

While he was plunged into drinking and merry-making at Sangameshwar, twenty miles north-east of Ratnagiri city, without even due care for his own safety, he was surprised and captured by Muqarrab Khan, a Mughul Officer, on 1 February, 1689. His Prime Minister Kavi-Kalash and twenty-five chief followers with their wives and daughters were also taken prisoners. Dressed as buffoons, Shambhuji and Kavi-Kalash were brought to the imperial camp at Bahadurgarh in a long procession with drums and trumpets. The emperor offered to spare the life of Shambhuji if he would surrender his forts, let him know where he had hidden his treasures and disclose the names of the imperial officers who were

in league with him. Publicly insulted and degraded, and driven to despair, he disdainfully rejected the offer of life, abused Aurangzib and asked for one of his “daughters to be given to him as the price of his friendship.” 7 After severe torture for more than three weeks, both Shambhuji and Kavi-Kalash were put to a cruel and painful death on 11 March, 1689.

On the capture of ShambhujI, his younger brother Rajaram was enthroned at Raigarh on 8 February. The imperialists soon laid siege to it, but Rajaram managed to escape out of it in the guise of a hermit and went to Gingee (1 November). Raigarh fell on 19 October, and ShivajI's surviving widows and other members of the Maratha royal family including ShambhujI's son, Shahu, a boy of seven, were taken prisoners.

"Thus, by the end of the year 1689, Aurangzib was the unrivalled lord paramount of Northern India and the Deccan alike. Adil Shah, Qutb Shah, and Rajah Shambhuji had all fallen and their dominions had been annexed to his empire." 8

"All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzib now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre. His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury. Napolean I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me'. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzib." 8a

The emperor's long stay in the Deccan (for quarter of a century) with best of his officers, and his prolonged wars there with consequent drain of wealth and man-power, leaving the administration of provinces in Northern India in charge of second-rate officers with limited resources and insufficient troops, ushered in disastrous consequences for the empire. Centrifugal forces were let loose by the emperor's long absence from the capital and the lack of a strong administration at the centre. Besides the risings in the Jat territories, Rajasthan, Bundelkhand and Malwa, rebellions broke out in Gondwana, Bihar and Bengal, resulting in utter lawlessness and anarchy which ultimately sapped the foundation of the Mughul empire.

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

II. NORTH INDIA

After Aurangzib's departure to the Deccan the Mughul officers continued to be in possession of the cities and strategic places of Marwar, but the Rathor patriots who occupied the hills often came down to the plains, attacked the Mughul outposts, cut off their convoys, and rendered communication and cultivation almost impossible. From 1681 to 1687 it was a people's war in Marwar carried on by the Rathor patriots under different leaders without any central authority and common plan of action, as Ajit Singh was a minor and Durga Das absent in the Deccan. Their primary aim was to wear out the imperialists by their guerilla tactics. Durga Das returned from the Deccan in 1687 and then conducted the operations against the imperialists. With the aid of Durjan Sal Hara of Bund!, the Rathors not only obtained some brilliant successes in Marwar, but also defeated the governor of Ajmer and raided the Mughul territories in Mewat and the neighbourhood of Delhi. But it was not possible for them to recover Marwar whose Mughul governor, Shuja'at Khan, maintained the imperial hold on it by arms as well as by his clever policy of paying the Rathors clnauth or one-fourth of the imperial custom-duties on merchandise.

The emperor was anxious to bring back Akbar's daughter Safiyatun-nisa and son Buland Akhtar, both of whom had been left with the Rathors by their father in 1681. After successful negotiations by Shuja'at Khan with the intermediary of the historian Is war Das Nagar, Safiyat-un-nisa was delivered to her grandfather in 1696, and the emperor was delighted to learn that Durga Das had made necessary arrangements for her education in Islamic theology by appointing a Muslim mistress from Ajmer. In 1698 Buland Akhtar was also delivered to his grandfather. As a result of all these, Durga Das was appointed a mansabdar of three thousand and the commandant of Patan in Gujarat, and Ajit Singh received the pargands of Jhalor, Sanchor and SiWana as his jdglr , with a man§ab in the imperial army, but did not get back his kingdom.

The last stage of the struggle lasted from 1701 to 1707, at the end of which Ajit Singh marched in triumph to Jodhpur, the capital of Marwar. Although a reconciliation had been made between the Mughuls and the Rathors, as mentioned above, it did not last long as the two parties were distrustful of each other. Aurangzib ordered the governor of Gujarat either to arrest Durga Das or kill him. Alarmed at this information, the Rathor hero rode away to

Marwar, and joining Ajit Singh, again took up arms against the Mughuls. But they could not achieve anything to their credit and

there were serious disagreements between Durga Das and his master for the imperious temper and want of tact of the latter. On the other hand, surrounded by enemies on all sides, Aurangzib made peace with Ajit by giving him Merta as his jdgir (1704). In the following year Durga Das also offered his submission to the emperor who gave him back his rank and post in Gujarat. But in 1706, taking advantage of a Maratha invasion in Gujarat, followed by a serious defeat of the Mughuls, Ajit and Durga Das once more raised the standard of rebellion. Unable to cope with his enemies, the latter fled to the Koli country, but Ajit defeated Muhkam Singh of Nagaur who had fought on behalf of the Mughuls. Receiving information of Aurangzlb's death in March, 1707, Ajit Singh rode with his forces to Jodhpur, and defeating the Mughul army of occupation, took possession of it. The Rathor army also recovered Sojat, Pali and Merta, and thus after long and sustained efforts, the valiant Rathors succeeded in getting back their motherland from the clutches of the Mughul imperialists.

The effect of the Rajput wars of Aurangzib was disastrous to the empire. They not only cost heavy losses of men and money but the imperialists could not also eventually achieve the desired success. "Damaging as this result was to imperial prestige, its material consequences were worse still." 9 It was an act of political indiscretion on the part of the emperor to provoke the two leading Rajput clans into hostility and thus lose their devoted and gallant service in the north-west frontier or in the Deccan. The examples of the Rathors and Sisodlas were followed by the Haria and Gaur clans and the trouble then spread to Malwa also, endangering the most important Mughul road through Malwa to the Deccan.

The spirit which Gokla had infused among the Jats did not go in vain. Capable leaders like Rajaram of SinsanI and Ram Chehra of Soghor stepped into his place. They trained their men in open warfare, built mud-forts in inaccessible forests and carried on plundering raids even in the suburbs of Agra. Rajaram attacked and killed the famous Mughul commander Uighur Khan (1687). He also plundered the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, and according to Manucci, dug out the bones of the great emperor and burnt them. 10 In July, 1688, while fighting for a party in an internecine war between two Rajput clans, he was killed by a Mughul musketeer fighting under the Mughul jaujddr of Mewat who had taken up the cause of another rival party. The Jat strongholds of Sinsanl and Soghor were then captured by the imperialists in 1690 and 1691 respectively.

Rajaram's place was occupied by his nephew Churaman who strengthened his army, and committing daring raids on the Mughuls, increased his resources. About 1704 he re-occupied Sinsanl but lost it again in October, 1705. He continued his resistance against the imperialists with great patience and courage even after the death of Aurangzib. By uncommon tenacity and firm determination, the Jats eventually founded a powerful kingdom of their own, viz., that of Bharatpur which the Mughuls were unable to subdue.

Another outbreak of a serious nature was led by Chhatra Sal, the son of Champat Rai of Orchha, in Bundelkhand. He had served as a petty captain in the Mughul army under Raja Jay Singh and fought creditably in the Deccan. But inspired by Shivajfs example, he made up his mind to follow a similar adventurous life and carve out an independent kingdom for himself. He sought service under the Maratha hero, but according to his advice, returned to his own country where the Hindus had been seething with discontent against Aurangzib’s religious policy of intolerance and destruction of temples, and were in need of a strong and capable leader. They received him cordially and elected him king of Bundelkhand.

He defeated the Mughuls and raided Dhamoni and Sironj and began to realize chauth from the neighbouring Mughul territories. The emperor’s preoccupation in the Deccan gave him an opportunity to further his designs and he captured Kalinjar and Dhamoni. His raiding activities extended throughout Malwa and finding it difficult to check his rebellious movements, the emperor made peace with him, appointing him a mansabdar of 4,000 with a post in the Deccan. But after the death of Aurangzib in 1707, he came back to Bundelkhand to resume his activities for the establishment of an independent kingdom.

Pahar Singh, a Gaur Rajput petty chieftain in Western Bundelkhand, raised the standard of rebellion in 1685 and plundered the villages of Malwa.

Although he was defeated and slain, the rising continued under his sons Bhagwant and Devi Singh, and then by other leaders. The hostile activities of this Gaur family were eventually stopped by granting them service under the imperial government (1692).

In Bihar, a rebellion was led by Ganga Ram Nagar, the revenue officer of the estates of Khan Jahan, in Allahabad and Bihar, while the Khan was serving in the imperial army in the Deccan. Sacking the city of Bihar, Ganga Ram besieged Patna, but was ultimately forced to leave Bihar. He then went to Malwa and looted Sironj in October, 1684, but died soon after.

About the middle of the seventeenth century two kingdoms, Deogarh and Chanda, came into importance in Gondwana. Both these States had enormous wealth which roused the greed of the emperor whose religious bigotry, moreover, influenced his policy towards them. Even conversion of the Deogarh Raja to Islam did not improve his position. At last he raised the standard of rebellion, and in alliance with the Marathas, fought against the imperialists in 1701, and though defeated, did not submit. On the death of Aurangzib, he was successful in extending his kingdom.

In Bengal the English East India Company rose in arms against the Mughuls. The grievances of the English included the demand by Mughul authorities of an ad valorem duty of 3^ per cent, on the actual merchandise imported, in lieu of the lump sum of Rs. 3,000 per annum into which it had been commuted during the viceroyalty of prince Shuja‘, unauthorised and illegal exactions and oppressions of the local officials. The English, unable to redress all these alleged grievances, resolved to protect themselves by force. The war broke out in October, 1686. After a few skirmishes the English left Bengal for Madras (February, 1689). Eventually, in 1690 peace was concluded between the Mughul government and the English; and at the invitation of Ibrahim Khan, viceroy of Bengal, Job Charnock, the new English Agent, settled at a place now known as Calcutta (24 August, 1690).

III. THE TRIUMPH OF THE MARATHAS

It is a pity that Aurangzib could never gauge the real strength of the Marathas, neither in the early stage of their rise nor in the subsequent stage of their growth. He had been acquainted with the uncommon audacity and daring exploits of ShivajI as far back as 1657. The Maratha chief then raided not only the Mughul districts of Ahmadnagar and Junnar but also sacked the rich city of Junnar. He was then routed and Aurangzib got him within his reach but did not take necessary steps to prevent his future growth. Even after his accession to the throne, Aurangzib did not proceed to the Deccan till 1681, although, in the meantime, alarming news of the subversive activities of the Maratha chief had reached him on many occasions. His long dependence on his officers in that faroff region against such a subtle adversary was not at all justified and ShivajI thus got ample opportunities to fulfil his cherished ambition of establishing a powerful national State. It does not also

speak well of the efficiency of the Mughul government that such an inveterate enemy of the empire could escape from the vigilance of the imperialists! It was not till the flight of prince Akbar to the court of Shambhuji that the emperor considered it necessary to proceed to the Deccan in person. But by that time the Marathas became too powerful to be subdued and, in spite of the execution of Shambhuji, the Marathas were up in arms against imperial aggression for the preservation of their national independence. Aurangzib was slow to realize their unusual potentiality and dug his own grave, fighting against them.

In 1690 and 1691 the emperor devoted his attention chiefly towards taking possession of the southern and eastern portions of the late Bijapur and Golconda States. But he was soon faced with the ‘people’s war’ in Maharashtra. After the flight of Rajaram to the fort of Gingee, it became the centre of Maratha activities in the east coast, while in the west, Maharashtra proper, resistance to the Mughuls was organized by the leaders there. In the eastern theatre of war Prahlad NirajI was the King’s supreme agent, and in the west, the Maratha leaders were Ramchandra N. Bavdekar, Shankarjl Malhar and Parashuram Trimbak. Ramchandra Bavdekar was created dictator (Hukumatpandh) with full authority over the commanders and other officials in Maharashtra. Two generals of outstanding ability, Dhana Jadav and Santajl Ghorpare, conducted operations against the imperialists, moving from one theatre of war to another in the Deccan. By their guerilla tactics, they inflicted heavy losses on the Mughuls who, being unable to ascertain the movements of their enemies, were thrown into great confusion. “The difficulties of Aurangzib”, says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, “were multiplied by this disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, because every petty Maratha captain now fought and plundered in a different quarter on his own account. The Marathas were no longer a tribe of banditti or local rebels, but the one dominating factor of Deccan politics, and an enemy all-pervasive throughout the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, the ally and rallying point of all the enemies of the Delhi empire and all disturbers of public peace and regular administration throughout the Deccan and even in Malwa, Gondwana and Bundelkhand. The imperialists could not be present everywhere in full strength; hence, they suffered reverses in places.” 31

Rajaram had been besieged in the fort of Gingee by the Mughul commander Zu-’l-Fiqar Khan in September, 1690. But the latter could not blockade this vast fort completely and hence supplies to it could not be prevented. On the other hand, the Mara

tha bands roving around cut off the supplies of the Mughuls and harassed them in all possible manner. Finding the position intolerable, Zu-’l-Fiqar Khan gave up the siege and asked for reinforcements which reached him in December, 1691. The siege was unsuccessfully renewed in the following year, and it was abandoned on two more occasions under 1 difficult circumstances, the imperialists having suffered awfully due to repeated attacks of the Maratha army under Dhana and Santa. Zu-’l-Fiqar renewed the siege in earnest in November, 1697, and captured it on 8 January, 1698. Rajaram escaped and fled first to Vellore and afterwards to Vishalgarh.

But the Mughul-Maratha war did not cease with the fall of Gingee, and it continued in the western theatre.

Despite the severe shock to the Marathas caused by the capture and execution of Shambhuji and flight of Rajaram to Gingee, they ere long recovered from despondency and, on 25 May, 1690, gained their first important success near Sataria where the Mughul general Sharza Khan was captured with his family and entire camp and baggage by the joint actions of Ramchandra, Shankarjl, Santa and Dhana. After this, Ramchandra and Shankarji regained the fortresses of Pratapgarh, Rohira, Rajgarh and Torna in the same year and Parashuram recovered Panhala in 1692. By surprise attacks, Santa and Dhana harassed the imperialists with a view to wearing them out as far as possible. After dividing his forces Santa sent 4,000 cavalry under Amrit Rao to raid Berar and he himself proceeded with 6,000 cavalry towards Malkhed, collecting chautln. The Maratha roving bands were active throughout 1694 and 1695, making the position of the Mughuls very miserable. In December, 1695, Santa surprised the Mughul general Qasim Khan who had been directed to intercept him while carrying a rich booty to northwestern Mysore. Inflicting a severe defeat upon him, the Maratha general plundered his camp, and one-third of his army fell during the encounter or retreat. Qasim Khan committed suicide and the rest of his army had to give up all they possessed and promised a ransom of twenty lakhs of rupees. In January, 1696, Santa achieved another success over the Mughuls by defeating and slaying the Mughul general Himmat Khan and plundering his baggage.

But a civil war between Santa and Dhana weakened the strength of the Marathas and gave the Mughuls a temporary respite. Both these generals were rivals for the post of the commander-inchief (Sendpati). Though Santa was a general of extraordinary capacity and dash, he was ill-tempered and insubordinate which gave great offence to Rajaram and his nobles at Gingee, the result of which was that he (Santa) was attacked by his king and Dhana near Conjeevaram (May, 1696). But Santa succeeded in defeating both of them. Unfortunately, in another battle between the two rival generals in the Satara district, Santa was defeated owing to the defection of most of his followers for his insolence (March, 1697). Deserted by his followers, he fled from the battlefield, but was murdered in June while taking his bath near the Mahadev hill (in the Satara, district).

In July, 1697, the imperialists suffered great misery due to the heavy flood of the Bhima river which washed away their camps at Pedgaon and Islampurl, and except the fall of the fort of Gingee in January, 1698, nothing of importance happened in regard to Mughul-Maratha contest for some time more. In 1699 when, after making plans for raids through Khandesh and Berar, Rajaram marched out of the fort of Satara, he was intercepted four miles off Parenda by the imperialists under Bidar Bakht, and after a sanguinary battle, was defeated and driven towards Ahmadnagar. Although the Mariatha king's raid into Khandesh and Berlar was thus nullified, one division under the leadership of Krishna Savant plundered certain places near Dhamoni.

Rajaram died at Sinhgarh on 2 March, 1700, and a dispute over succession arose between Shivajl III, the son of the senior widow Tiara Bai, and ShambhujI II, the son of Rajas Bai, another wife of the late King. Through the ability and influence of his mother, Shivajl III was recognized as King, but he was a minor, and the real power passed into the hands of his mother whose uncommon bravery, strength of character, power of organization, and administrative ability saved the Maratha State from the awful crisis.

Although during the past decade the Mughuls had conquered Kalyfan and some other places in the northern Konkan, they could not achieve as much success as they should have gained in view of internal dissensions in the Maratha State. Aurangzib could not see any end of his war in Maharashtra, and so, in May, 1695, he sent his son Shah 'Alam to northern India to take over charge of the Punjab, Sind and Afghanistan, while he established his own headquarters at Brahmapuri in the heart of the Maratha country for more vigorous operations against the enemies. But even then he was unable to attain the desired result. By their guerilla tactics the Marathas made the life of the Mughuls extremely miserable and forced them to be on the defensive in Maharashtra and

Kannada. Unable to follow the rapid movements of the enemies, the imperialists became bewildered and terror-stricken. Many Mughul officers were compelled to agree to pay chauth to the Marathas, while some others entered into private understanding with them for sharing the plunder of the imperial territories. Sir Jadunath Sarkar correctly depicts the Mughul position when he says, ''The Mughul administration had really dissolved and only the presence of the emperor held it together, but merely as a phantom rule." 12

In these circumstances Aurangzlb decided to besiege and capture the Maratha forts in person, one after another, but this policy also did not succeed, as when he occupied one fort, another went out of his possession, and this continued till the rest of his life, undoing his labours and huge expenditure of money and loss of lives. "His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardship in marching over flooded rivers, muddy roads and broken hilly tracks; porters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was ever present in the camp and the Maratha and Berad 'thieves' (as he officially called them) not far off. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his cause or delayed his success." 13 Five years and a half (1699-1705) he spent in besieging the eight Maratha forts, Satiara, Parll, Panhala, Khelnia (Vishalgarh), Kondhana (Sinhgarh), Rajgarh, Torna, Wagingeha, and five other places of less importance.

After making necessary arrangements for fighting the Maratha roving bands, he proceeded to Satiara, capturing Basantgarh on the way. The fort of Satiara fell on 21 April, 1700. After this, Parli and Panhala were captured by bribery in June, 1700, and May, 1701, respectively. Khelna (Vishalgarh) and Kondhlana (Sinhgarh) were also captured, not by arms but by gold, and they fell in June, 1702, and April, 1703, respectively. Rajgarh, Torna and Wagingera were taken possession of between 16 February, 1704, and 27 April, 1705.

The long and continuous hard labour of the emperor even in the ripe old age was too much for him to bear and he fell very ill while encamped at Devapur, on the bank of the Krishna, after the capture of Wagingera. But he recovered from this illness, and proceeded slowly to Ahmadnagar, arriving there on 21 January, 1706.

His long warfare in the Deccan for a quarter of a century resulted in utter desolation of the country and caused indescribable misery to the people. Manucci, an eye-witness, says, "Aurang

zib withdrew to Ahmadnagar, leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is black and barren. There have died in his armies over a hundred thousand souls yearly, and of animals, pack-oxen, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred thousand. In the Deccan provinces from 1702 to 1704 plague (and famine) prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls.” 14

The Marathas followed the emperor during his journey to Ahmadnagar, attacking his men from the rear and cutting off their food supplies. By this time they became very powerful and were no longer a band of plundering light horsemen; they were equipped with artillery, musketry and other necessaries of a regular army like the Mughuls. They succeeded in establishing their mastery not only over nearly the whole of the Deccan but also in some places of Central India. Unable to cope with them, the imperialists were forced to be on the defensive. In 1706 the Marathas raided Gujarat and plundered Baroda which was then a rich trading centre. Even the emperor’s camp at Ahmadnagar was not immune from attack, and it was besieged in May, 1706, when they were driven back with great difficulty. The province of Aurangabad was ravaged on many occasions, and a large Mughul convoy was plundered on the way from Aurangabad to Ahmadnagar; Dhana attacked Beriar and Khjandesh. Thus the long and continuous endeavours of the emperor to crush the Marathas proved futile and Maratha nationalism flourished with all its vitality as a triumphant force. In the midst of these confusions and disorders, suffering from bereavements due to the death of two beloved daughters, one daughter-in-law / one sister and two nephews, and deep anxieties for the gloomy future of the empire, specially because of an apprehended civil war among his sons, Aurangzib breathed his last in his nineteenth year at Ahmadnagar in the morning of 3 March, 1707 (Friday).

He was interred near the tomb of saint Shaikh Zain-ul-Haqq at Khuldabad, four miles west of Daulatabad.

IV. GENERAL REVIEW 1. The Empire

Before the death of the emperor in 1707, the Mughul empire consisted of twenty-one provinces or subas, of which one was Kabul, fourteen were situated in northern India and six in the Deccan. The provinces in northern India were Agra, Ajmer, Allahabad, Awadh, Bengal, Bihar, Delhi, Gujarat, Kashmir, Lahore, Multan, Tatta (Sind), Malwa, Orissa; and those in the Deccan were Berar, Khandesh, Aurangabad, Bidar or Telingana, Bijapur and Hyderabad. The empire extended from Kabul and Kashmir on the north-west to Chittagong and the Monas river (west of Gauhati) on the northeast; on the west coast, it extended to the northern frontier of Goa and on the south, its boundary stretched to the Coleroon river ((north of Tanjore), but the emperor's authority was disputed in Maharashtra, Kannada, Mysore and eastern Karnataka. Excluding Kabul (Afghanistan) the land revenue of the empire about 1690 was nearly thirty-three crores and forty five lakhs of rupees. Other important sources of income to the government were zakdt (tithe from the Muslims), jizya (poll-tax from the Hindus), customs duty, salt tax and spoils from war. Aurangzlb was a believer in the Islamic theory of taxation and hence remitted those taxes which were not sanctioned by the Islamic law. The imposition of the jizya on the Hindus compensated to a certain extent the loss of revenue on account of the abolition of many illegal taxes and abwdbs.

The volume of foreign trade of the Mughul empire was too inconsiderable to form an important factor in its economy. The principal exports from India were common cotton cloth (called calicoes), plain or printed, muslin or very fine cotton fabrics, silk, indigo, saltpetre and pepper. Small quantities of white sugar from Hooghly and slaves from Bengal and Madras were also exported. Besides, towards the end of the seventeenth century "silk taffetas and brocades begajn to be exported in large quantities, and a distinct improvement in the dyeing and weaving of silk was effected in Bengal by the English Company." 15 The main imports into the country were silver and gold (in specie), copper, lead, high-class woollen clothing from Europe (specially France), glass-ware, spices, viz., cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon and cardamom from the Dutch Indies, superior variety of tobacco from America, horses from Persia and Khurasan, slaves from Abyssinia and wine and curiosities from Europe. Besides, fresh and dried fruits from Central Asia and Persia, musk and porcelain from China, pearls from Bahrein (Persian Gulf) and Ceylon, and elephants from Pegu and Ceylon were also imported into this country. But, on the whole, the total volume of import trade was small and the government income from import duty was about thirty lakhs of rupees only per annum. Indian economy was basically self-sufficient and India had a favourable balance of trade. Whatever was imported was paid for by export of cotton goods supplemented by a small variety of raw produce. The traders had

to import precious metals into India to pay for commodities exported from India.

2. Personality of Aurangzib

Aurangzib was a man of small stature with olive-coloured skin and a large nose. I,n his old age he had white round beard. He led a very simple, well-ordered and pious life, slept little and worked so hard even in his extreme old age that it was a wonder to his contemporaries. He held daily courts, sometimes twice a day, besides Wednesday trials, and worked to the minute details, even personally writing orders on letters and petitions and dictating official replies. The Italian physician, Gemelli Careri, who came to India during his reign and saw him in 1695, "admired to see him endorse the petitions [of those who had business] with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem to be pleased with the employment." 16

He had a wonderful memory and retained almost all his faculties intact to the end of his life, except slight shortage in hearing and lameness of the right leg due to an accidental dislocation in October 1700, and unskilful treatment of the doctor.

He was an expert calligraphist, had a passion for reading books and maintained his studious habit till the last day of his life, utilizing the meagre leisure that he could get in the midst of his extremely busy official duties. He was not only a master of Arabic and Persian but could also speak Turk! and Hindi fluently. "His extensive correspondence proves his mastery of Persian poetry and Arabic sacred literature, as he is ever ready with apt quotations for embellishing almost every oine of his letters.... To his initiative and patronage we owe the greatest digest of Muslim law made in India, which rightly bears his name,—the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri and which simplified and defined Islamic justice in India evein after.

“Besides book-learning, Aurangzib had from his boyhood cultivated control of speech and action, and tact in dealing with others. As a prince, his tact, sagacity and humility made the highest nobles of his father’s Court his friends; and as Emperor he displayed the same qualities in a degree which would have been remarkable even in a subject.” 17

He was free from the habit of drinking wine, and other habitual vices of his contemporaries. The number of his wives was within the Qura’nic limit of four; of them Dilras Banu and Aurangabad! Mahal died in 1657 and 1685, respectively; Nawab Bai led a

retired life at Delhi after 1660, and Udaipurl was his only companion after the death of Aurangabad! in 1685. He was ever faithful to his conjugal love, and weakness for women never tarnished his name. He was a devout Muslim and followed all the precepts and observances of his religion with sincerity and strictness. His stern a/nd austere mode of living according to the injunctions of Islam was highly admired by his co-religionists who looked upon him as zinda plr or living saint.

But the way in which he secured the throne is hard to defend. It is true that, possessed of financial and military resources, and in the absence of the law of primogeniture, the Mughul princes were generally eager to establish their claim to the throne by the trial of strength, and instances of cruelties to vanquished claimants are not wanting; but such precedents do not in any way exonerate Aurangzib from severe condemnation for his treatment to his brothers and father. Only this much may be said in his favour that he did not kill his father, instances of which, though rare, are not altogether wanting in history.

He possessed uncommon physical strength ajnd unusual bravery, of which he gave proof even at the age of fifteen when he faced a furious elephant alone. Added to these, he had dogged tenacity, coolness of temper, presence of mind, rapidity of movement and a calculating spirit which are so necessary for an efficient general, and these gave him success in the battles against his brothers. He braved all risks with a cheerful mind and coolness of temper, and encouraged his men even in the midst of thickest dangers. When, on the night previous to the battle of Khajuha, Jasvant Singh deserted him with his Rajput followers, committing depredations, he received the information with coolness, and without the least excitement, took steps to maintain his own position and prevent confusion spreading among the rest of his army. In the thickness of fight inext day he extricated himself and his men from critical situations with his unusual coolness of temper and eventually came out successful.

As an expert strategist, he took advantage of any opportunity which he could get out of the mistakes and weaknesses of his adversaries. He did not also hesitate to take recourse to stratagem and political cunning to serve his own end, as was found during the Rathor-Sisodia alliance with his rebellious son Akbar. By a false letter to the latter and contriving to let it fall into the hands of the Rajputs, he turned the whole table against his enemies. He was a skilful diplomat whose subtle activities were too much for his enemies to cope with. A man of inflexible determination, he used to cling to his object with extraordinary patience till his endeavours were crowned with success.

An indefatigable worker like him never felt satisfied without personally accomplishing the duties of the State even to the minute details as best as he could, according to his owln ideas and likings, with the least dependence on others. But in doing so, he forgot the limitations of his own capacity for work and such a spirit moreover engendered in him too much of self-confidence and suspicion of others, even of his own sons. The inevitable result of this suspicious nature was over-centralization of power and excessive interference by the emperor which destroyed the initiative and sense of responsibility of his ministers and other high officers, and reduced them to the position of clerks, merely to register his will and follow his dictates. As a natural consequence, deterioration in efficiency of administration crept in, specially with his growing old age.

He retained the military character of his government from the beginning to the end, and did not chalk out any well-planned programme either for the social and economic welfare of his subjects or for their cultural regeneration by the advancement of learning and development of arts, such as music, painting and architecture. He ought to have realized that such an empire resting on mere physical force cannot last long, and signs of its decay and dismemberment were visible even during his lifetime.

As a tool of the orthodox reform movement, and obsessed by a narrow conception without due consideration for the welfare and stability of the empire consisting of men of diverse castes, creeds and religions, he adhered to the policy detrimental to it, paving the way for its downfall. He cannot be called a benevolent despot as he had no solicitude for the well-being of all his subjects, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. In utter disregard of the interests of the overwhelming majority, he performed his duties in a way which showed that, as an emperor, his main consideration was for the Sunni Muslims only. Such discriminatory policy proved fatal to the empire. He never understood "the eternal truth that there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great people, that no people can be great unless it learns to form a compact nation with equal rights and opportunities for all." 18

"In spite of his untiring labours", says Dr. Yasin, "Aurangzib was a colossal failure and we find that during his time people were neither good men nor good Muslims; he being the only good Musalman but a bad ruler of a state of composite races, creeds and cultures.

Aurangzib's recipe might be excellent from the view-point of a Mujaddid; but it killed the patient nevertheless. In striving after the substance of Islam, Aurangzib reduced the Muslim empire to a shadow before he breathed his last leaving a legacy of communal bitterness to posterity." 19

Aurangzib was not a political genius and lacked the qualities of a true statesman who could initiate a policy and enact laws for moulding the life and thought of his contemporaries as well as of future generations. He could realize the futility of his work before his death and, full of remorse, he wrote to prince A'zam: "The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

"Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing." 20

3. India at the end of Aurangzib's reign

Taking a broad view of the state of things at the death of Aurangzib, with which the period dealt with in this volume comes to an end, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in spite of brilliant qualities of head and heart which enabled that emperor to extend the Mughul empire over the whole of Deccan and South India, the grave defects of his character are mainly responsible for the sudden collapse of the mighty empire which then included nearly the whole of India and Afghanistan. Like waves in the ocean the Mughul empire reached the highest point only to break down, and Aurangzib must share both the credit and discredit for the same, at least to a very large extent. But it was not merely the fall of an empire but also the end of an epoch which ushered in a period of decline and distress after a century of peace and prosperity—generally speaking—"under the strong and wise government" of three generations of emperors before Aurangzib. Peace and security— "the sole justification of the Mughul empire"—no longer existed in India at the time of Aurangzib's death. Political unrest and insecure roads ruined agriculture, trfade and industry in a large part of the country. "The financial exhaustion of the empire in these endless wars left Government and private owners alike too poor to repair buildings and roads worn out by the lapse of time." "The labouring population suffered not only from violent capture, forced labour, and starvation, but also from epidemics which were very frequent during these campaigns." "The starving and exasperated peasantry took to highway robberiy as the only means of living." "Trade almost ceased in the Deccan during the unhappy

quarter of a century." When Aurangzib retired from his last campaign in the Deccan in 1705 "the country presented a scene of utter desolation", of which a vivid picture has been drawn by two eye witnesses, the foreign traveller Manucci, a passage from whose writings has been quoted above, and Bhimsen. Arts and crafts could flourish only in the walled cities, and in some regions, both in Deccan and South India, "village industries and industrial classes together died out." Even the provinces in North India, where peace prevailed, in Bengal for example, the absence of a strong central Government gave a golden opportunity to the Provincial Governors to make their fortune by fleecing the traders, merchants and craftsmen in various ways, and few of them failed to make good use of it. The sad picture, of which this is merely an outline, has been brilliantly drawn by the greatest Indian historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in the last two chapters of his monumental work, the History of Aurangzib, in five volumes. The readers may form from them a fair idea of the state of things in India in the year 1707 with which this volume closes. 21

1. J. N. Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzib, p. 279.

2. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. IV (1930), p. 368.

2a. Ibid, p. 405.

3. Mountstuart Elphinstone, The History of India (6th Edition), p. 649.

4. V. A. Smith, The Oxford History of India (3rd Edition), p. 421.

5. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. IV, pp. 5-6.

6. Ibid, pp. 6-7.

7. Ibid, p. 479.

8. Ibid, p. 484.

8a. J. N. Sarkar, Studies in Mughal India, p. 50.

9. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. Ill, p. 424.

10. Storia do Mogor, N. Manucci, translated by W. Irvine, II. 320.

11. CHI, IV, p. 290.

12. Ibid, p. 296.

13. Ibid.

14. Quoted in CHI, IV, p. 300.

15. J. N. Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzib, p. 458.

16. ChurchilVs Voyages, IV, 222.

17. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, (1924), p. 475.

18. Ibid, p. 495.

19. Mohammad Yasin, A Social History of Islamic India, p. 171.

20. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, p. 259.

21. The Editor is responsible for this para which is based on Chapter LXII of the last volume of the History of Aurangzib by Jadunath Sarkar. The passages within quotation marks are from pp. 440-45. For the account of Manucci, cf. Storia do Mogor, Vol. IV, p. 252. Two passages from the Persian work, Nushka-i-Dilkushd by Bhimsen are quoted in CHI, Vol. IV, p. 300.

CHAPTER XI

THE SIKHS

I. The Muslim Oppression in the Punjab at the time of Nanak

Reference has been made above 1 to the religious doctrines preached by Nanak (1469-1538) and other medieval saints like Chaitanya, his contemporary, and Kabir whom he acknowledged as his spiritual guide. All of them founded separate religious sects which flourish even today. But there is one fact of great significance which distinguishes the followers of Nanak from those of the other two. These latter have all along been members of purely religious sects, but the political and military achievements of the Sikhs, as the followers of Nanak are called, have largely overshadowed their religious outlook and spiritual character. The latter aspect, namely the religious evolution of Sikhism which took place under Nanak and the Gurus who succeeded him as the leader, will be discussed in the Chapter on religion, while the rise and growth of the political and military power of the Sikhs under the same Gurus form the subject-matter of this Chapter.

Broadly speaking, the political-cum-military power of the Sikhs may be regarded as a reaction against the intolerance and bigotry of the Muslim rulers leading to the oppression of the Hindus. 2 As such, this requires a little elaboration, with special reference to the Punjab.

The Muslims of Central Asia had been invading and ruling over the Punjab, the homeland of the Sikhs, for nearly five hundred years before the foundation of Sikhism. The Punjab suffered the most as all the foreign invading hordes passed through it to the rich plains of the Ganga or to the south. Nearly seventy Muslim invasions 3 had taken place during five hundred years preceding Nanak. The lot of the Hindus during this long period was one of great misery and suffering. Forcible conversion, destruction of Hindu temples, imposition of taxes like the jizya and pilgrimage tax upon the Hindus, and restrictions upon the building of new temples and repairing old ones were only some of the disabilities under which the Hindus were groaning. “Throughout the journey from the coast to

Fatehpur, for instance, the Fathers found that the Hindu temples had been destroyed by the Mohammedans." 4

As a rule, Hindus were not given generally any post of responsibility in civil and military administration. They could be employ

ed only in the lowest posts in the revenue department, because they were familiar with the intricacies of local record-keeping. Hindus were called Kafirs or infidels. At times, restrictions were imposed upon them in the matters of diet, dress and transport, so that they could easily be distinguished from Muslims and could be treated according to their inferior status. They were required to put marks on their foreheads or clothes. Even during the reign of Akbar, Husain Khan, Governor of Lahore, had decreed that "the Hindus should stick patches of different colours on their shoulders, or on the bottom of their sleeves, so that no Muslim might be put to indignity of showing them honour by mistake. Nor did he allow Hindus to saddle their horses but insisted that they use packsaddles when riding." 5 In general, Hindus could not wear rich clothes and ride on fine horses. In Dera Ghazi Khan district a Hindu could ride only on a donkey. ,

Nanak was twenty years old when Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) ascended the throne. Even as a prince, Sikandar wished to prohibit the Hindus from bathing in the sacred tank of Thaneswar. 6 As a king, he broke into pieces the idols of the temples of Jwalamukhi and Kangra and gave them to butchers to be used as weights. He forbade Hindus from bathing at the ghats on the Yamuna. Barbers were ordered not to shave Hindus. Hindu temples were destroyed on a large scale and Hindus were forcibly converted to Islam. Justice was publicly denied to them. Law of blasphemy was strictly enforced, and for any criticism of Islam capital punishment was inflicted. Bodhan, a Brahmin, was executed by Sikandar Lodi for saying that Hinduism was as good as Islam. 7 Bribery and corruption were rampant. Nanak observed: "Justice hath taken wings and fled." 8 "This age is like a drawn sword, the Kings are butchers; goodness has taken wings and flown." 9 "There is no one who receiveth or giveth not bribes; the King administers justice only when his palm has been greased (filled)." 10

Guru Nanak was also an eye-witness to the treatment meted out to the people by Babur when he invaded India in 1521. Nanak was at Sayyidpur, now called Eminabad, 80 kilometres from Lahore, in the Gujranwala District. Babur ordered a general massacre of the people and thousands of persons were taken prisoners. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, in the camp, particularly of women, broke the tender heart of Nanak. In his agony he even took God to task. He said:

“Thou, O Creator of all things,

Takest to Thyself no blame;

Thou hast sent Yama disguised as the great Moghal, Babar.

Terrible was the slaughter,

Loud were the cries of the lamenters.

Did this not awaken pity in Thee, O Lord?

Thou art part and parcel of all things equally, O Creator: Thou must feel for all men and all nations.

If a strong man attacketh who is equally strong,

Where is the grief in this, or whose is the grievance?

But when a fierce tiger preys on the helpless cattle,

The Herdsman must answer for it.” 11

Babur exempted Muslims from the payment of stamp duties which Hindus alone paid. 1,2 His officers demolished Hindu temples and constructed mosques in their places at Sambhal, 13 Chanderi and Ayodhya, and broke to pieces Jain idols at Urva near Gwalior. 14

II. Martyrdom of Guru Arjun

During the pontificate of the third Guru, Amar Das (1552-74), the Sikhs had to suffer a great deal of annoyance and oppression from the local Muslim population. But though urged by his disciples to stand up against the tyranny, the Guru refused, saying, “it is not proper for saints to take revenge.” The liberal-minded Akbar was very sympathetic to the Sikhs, but far different was the attitude of his successors. It has already been related how the fifth Guru, Arjun (1581-1606), 15 was executed by Jahangir for helping his rebellious son Khusrav with money. This event proved to be the turning point in the attitude of the Sikh Gurus towards the Muslim rulers. They resolved not to submit meekly to their oppressions but to defend their rights by arms, and thus began the process of transformation of the Sikhs into a military power. In view of this, the whole incident must be described in some detail, even at the risk of some repetition, 16 with special reference to the attitude of Jahangir towards the Sikhs.

Khusrav had already met Guru Arjun in the company of his grandfather, Akbar, and when after the unsuccessful rebellion against his father, Jahangir, he fled to the Punjab, he waited on Guru Arjun at Taran Taran. The interview is thus described in the autobiography of Jahangir:

“In these days when Khusrav passed along this road, this foolishly insignificant fellow (Arjun) proposed to wait upon him. Khusrav happened to halt at the place where he lived. He came and met him. He discussed several matters with him and made on

his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which in the terms of Hindus is called Qashqa and is considered propitious.” 17

Applying the tilak implied only honourable reception and not blessing the Prince with sovereignty. Mohsin Fani says that the Guru offered prayers for the Prince. 18 The prayer indicated a wish for the safety of the individual, as the Prince was on his journey, and not for his cause. The Guru was an embodiment of moral virtues and could not bless a son in rebellion against his father. He could not forget the case of his own elder brother who had revolted against his father. The Guru could never contemplate involving himself in the struggle for the throne. This was a political matter and the Guru had nothing to do with it. 18a

The Prince then begged the Guru to help him with money. Guru Arjun replied that his money was meant for the poor and not for princes. Khusrav humbly pleaded that he was also very poor, needy, forlorn and in distress, and did not possess even travelling expenses for his proposed flight to Kabul. The Guru was moved at the Prince’s sad plight, humility and the dangerous state he was in, being hotly pursued by the Mughul army and the emperor himself. According to Macauliffe, Khusrav was provided with a few thousand rupees. Beni Prasad in his History of Jahangir 19 puts this amount at Rs. 5,000/-.

After the capture of Khusrav, Jahangir wreaked his vengeance on his supporters and followers. The list of Khusrav’s supporters submitted to Jahangir contained the name of Guru Arjun. According to the Sikh tradition, the emperor’s wrath was aroused by Diwan Chandu Shah whose offer for the marriage of his daughter with the Guru's son, Har Govind, had been earlier turned down. This might be one of the factors. Jahangir himself was opposed to Guru Arjun, possibly because of his manner of living and the deepest devotion of his disciples. He writes in his Memoir:

“A Hindu named Arjun lived at Govindwal on the bank of river Beas in the garb of a saint and in ostentation. As a result many of the simple-minded Hindus as well as ignorant and foolish Muslims had been persuaded to adopt his way of living and he had raised aloft the standard of sainthood and holiness. He was called Guru. From all sides cowboys and idiots became his fast followers. This business had flourished for three or four generations. For a long time it had been in my mind to put a stop to this vain affair (dukan-e-batil) or to bring him into the fold of Islam.” 20

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1546-1624), the head of the Naqshbandi order, was extremely jealous of Guru Arjun’s popularity and power. He greatly incited Jahangir, when he halted at Sirhind in pursuit of Khusrav, against the Guru. 21

Guru Arjun was summoned to Lahore, fined two lakhs of rupees and ordered to efface certain verses in the Adi Granth. The Guru declined to do either. Jahangir writes: “I ordered that he should be summoned. His residences, camps and sons were given over to Murtaza Khan. His property and cash were confiscated. I issued instructions that he should be put to death by torture.” 22 Mohsin Fani, who was born only nine years later, in 1615 A.D., writes that Guru Arjun was tied in the burning sun over hot sand and was tortured. 23 The severest heat of May overhead, hot sand under him and boiling water thrown on his naked body caused blisters all over. On 30 May, 1606, he took leave to bathe in the cold water of the Ravi flowing just below the Fort where he was kept a prisoner. Reciting his own composition, Sukhmani, and repeating God's Name, he had a dip, but being exhausted and famished, he collapsed in water. He was only 42 years old then.

The Sikh tradition considers it an act of religious persecution only. It is true that the Sikhs at this time formed only a religious society. They had no political consciousness. So the question of having any political aspirations does not arise. The authority of the Mughul emperors was fully accepted and implicitly obeyed. The Sikh allegiance to the State was complete. Akbar's patronage to the Sikh Gurus was highly appreciated and their loyalty to the Mughul empire was firm. It is also a fact that Jahangir was biased against the Sikh religion. In spite of this, in matters religious, he held, on the whole, liberal views. If Guru Arjun had not embroiled himself in the Khusrav affair, it appears likely that the emperor would not have taken any notice of the Sikh movement. He did not persecute the Sikhs. Beni Prasad in his History of Jahangir declares it a political execution. 23a

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: "Arjun in a weak moment blessed the banners of Khusrau, the rival of Jahangir for the Mughal throne, and even gave money help to that prince. On the defeat of the pretender, Jahangir fined the Guru two lakhs of rupees for his disloyalty to the king de jure. The Guru. refused to pay the fine and stoically endured imprisonment and torture which were the usual punishments of revenue defaulters in those days. Worn out by being forced to sit in the burning sand of Lahore, he died in June 1606." 24

III. Guru Har Govind (1606-1644)

But whatever view we might take of Jahangir's motive and action, the martyrdom of Guru Arjun had a profound effect on the future history of the Sikhs. His son and successor, Har Govind, a lad of eleven years, received his father's last injunction: Let him

sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability." Har Govind immediately hung by his sides two swords signifying

Piri and Miri. One symbolised spiritual power and the other temporal. He told a follower: “In the guru’s house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined.” “My seli (rosary) shall be a sword-belt and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette,” he declared. 125 He armed and drilled some of his sturdy disciples, and, in due course, from an inherited bodyguard of 52 soldiers came to possess a stable of seven hundred horses, three hundred horsemen and sixty gunners (Topchi). 26 He sanctioned and encouraged the use of meat and took to hunting. 27 He was a fine hunter, for he understood the ways of the beasts of the forest. He loved to chase and stalk wild boar. He excelled in hunting deer. Directly the affairs of the community were over, he would mount his charger and go into a dense jungle. At nightfall he would return home with the carcases of the animals he had killed. These he caused to be distributed among his disciples and the poor people living near his place.

The young Guru preferred gifts of arms and horses. He built a fort at Amritsar, called Lohgarh, or the steel fortress. In front of Hari Mandir, in 1609, he constructed Akal Takht or God’s throne. There he sat on a throne in princely attire, administered justice like a king in court and accepted presents. He narrated stories of deathless bravery, while some professional bards sang ballads of unrivalled heroism, especially of Rajput chivalry. The tales of the valour of Jaimal and Patta of Chitor being of recent origin, were sung with zeal and zest.

This was the beginning of militarism or the transformation of Sikhism. To the symbols of sainthood was added the paraphernalia of sovereignty including the umbrella and the crest. With meditation and preaching were included riding, wrestling and hunting. “The genial disposition of the martial apostle,” says Cunningham, “led him to rejoice in the companionship of a camp, in the dangers of war, and in the excitements of the chase.” 28 The Guru created a government of his own like that of the Mughuls. All his disciples formed a separate and independent entity, and had nothing to do with the agencies of the Government of the day. Thus, the Sikhs

came to occupy a kind of a separate State within the Mughul State, the position of which was securely established by the fiscal policy of Guru

Amar Das and Guru Arjun and his own armed system.

Har Govind established congregational prayers which not only added to the religious fervour of the Sikhs, but also strengthened the spirit of amity and cooperation among them. According to Mohsin Fani, when a Sikh wished for God’s favour or gift, he would come to an assembly of the Sikhs and request them to pray for him. Even the Guru himself asked the Sikh congregation (Sangat or Anjuman-e-Sikhan) to pray for him. 29

The royal style and warlike activities of the Guru once more aroused the anger of Jahangir. Mohsin Fani writes: “He (Har Govind) had to contend with difficulties. One of them was that he had adopted the soldierly life, wore a sword against the practice of his father, kept a retinue, and took to hunting. The Emperor demanded the balance of the fine which he had imposed on Arjun Mai. He sent Har Govind to Gwalior and kept him there for twelve years. Even saltish food was not allowed to him. During that period Sikhs and Masands used to go there and pay homage below the walls of the fort. At last the Emperor graciously set him free.” 30 This legend of twelve years’ period of the Guru’s captivity is not accepted by some writers on the ground that six children were bom to him by his three wives in 1613, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1619 and 1621. 31 They hold the view that though he was sentenced to twelve years’ imprisonment, he was set free after three years in 1612. His fellow-prisoner in the Gwalior fort, the Raja of Kahlur (Bilaspur), had offered shelter to the Guru’s family in his State. Har Govind’s disciples selected a site between the Siwalik Hills and river Sutlej and named it Kiratpur. Here they constructed some buildings, and it was to this place that the Guru returned immediately after his battles with the Mughuls.

During his captivity Guru Har Govind had learnt some elementary lessons in the art of diplomacy from his fellow prisoners, all of whom belonged to high aristocratic families. After his release in 1621, therefore, we find Har Govind playing the role of a friendly collaborator of Jahangir. Mohsin Fani says: “Hargovind was always attached to the stirrup of the victorious Jahangir.” 32 It is surmised that the Guru was invested with some sort of supers visory powers by the emperor over the Punjab affairs and was given command of a Mughul contingent consisting of 400 horse, 1,000 foot and 7 guns. In addition to this, Har Govind's personal contingent swelled considerably. Pathan mercenaries from the north-west

under their leader Painda Khan joined the Guru's banners in large number. There seems to be no doubt that Jahangir would have conferred upon Har Govind a high Mansabdari rank, but the Guru could not accept it owing to his position as the religious leader of a great community. Guru Har Govind accompanied the emperor in his visit to Kashmir. While returning via Rajauri, Jahangir died in 1627. According to Mohsin Fani, Har Govind offered his allegiance to the new Emperor, Shah Jahan, and was allowed to return to Amritsar. 33

Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim. In 1632, while returning from Kashmir, he found that some Hindus of Rajauri, Bhimbar and Gujarat accepted Muslim girls as wives and converted them to their own faith. The emperor stopped such marriages and Muslim women, already married, were seized from their husbands who were fined and, in certain cases, even executed. They could retain their wives only on their embracing Islam. As many as 4,500 such women were recovered. In 1635, it was reported to the emperor that a Muslim girl, Zinab, had been converted, given the new name of Ganga and was taken as a wife by Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhind. The woman, along with her seven children—one son and six daughters—was taken away and the man was executed. 34 Kaulan, a daughter of the qdzi of Lahore, had also run away from home, embraced Sikhism and taken shelter with Guru Har Govind, who immortalised her by constructing a new tank at Amritsar named after her, Kaulsar.

The Sikh Gurus alone had provided leadership to the down-trodden Hindus of the Punjab. Such men as had suffered for having converted wives looked up to Har Govind for guidance and support, and he was not a man to shirk his duty and responsibility. The Guru decided to defy the emperor's authority, and an opportunity soon offered itself. About 1634 Shah Jahan was busy hunting in the jungles of Jallo lying between Lahore and Amritsar. Guru Har Govind was also hunting there. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, . - the guru entered the same area in pursuit of a game, and his Sikhs quarrelled with the servants of the imperial hunt about a bird. The two parties came to blows, and in the end the imperialists were beaten off with slaughter.” 35

Shah Jahan was not going to tolerate such an effrontery, and regarded it as an act of rebellion. Har Govind’s supervisory office was taken away and the Mughul contingent was called back. “An army was sent against the audacious rebel, but it was routed with heavy loss, at Sangrana, near Amritsar, 1628.” 36 Under emperor’s orders “larger and larger armies were sent against the guru.” 37 The Guru

‘‘gained some success at first.” 38 About this time the Guru was to celebrate the marriage of his daughter. Enormous quantities of sweets were prepared on this occasion. Just then a Mughul force attacked him. After a sharp scuffle the Guru retired to Jhabal, eight miles south-west of Amritsar, where he performed the nuptial ceremony in haste on the fixed day of the marriage. The Mughuls fell on the sweets like a bird of prey. When they were surfeited, Guru Har Govind suddenly fell on them, killing many including their commander Mukhlis Khan.

The Guru’s fame spread far and wide. “Many men came to enlist under the guru’s banner. They said that no one else had power to contend with the Emperor.” 39 Har Govind retired to the northern parts of Amritsar district. There he selected a site for his residence. A township sprang up soon after and was called Sri Hargobindpur.

The matter remained at a standstill for a couple of years when Har Govind v/as again involved in trouble with the Lahore Governor. One of the Guru’s most devoted disciples, named Sadh or Sadhuram, had been sent to Central Asia to bring horses. 40 On his return journey he was accompanied by Mohsin Fani from Kabul to Punjab. Sadh had three fine Iraqi horses with him. Two of them, named Gulbagh and Dilbagh, were seized by Khalil Beg, 41 the Lahore Governor. A devoted Sikh, Bidhi Chand, in disguise took up service in the Lahore fort as a groom. In course of time he managed to escape with both the horses. A force was despatched against Har Govind who retired to Lahara and repulsed the Mughul contingent. Expecting reprisal, the Guru took shelter in the Lakhi Jungle lying between Firozpur and Bhatinda. As anticipated, a strong contingent of the Governor of

Jullundur pursued the Guru into the impenetrable retreat. The Sikhs lay in ambush and defeated the enemy, but at the loss of 1,200 Sikh soldiers.

This victory emboldened the Guru, who now returned to Kartarpur near Jullundur. 42 Painda Khan deserted the Guru and took up service under the Lahore Governor. An expedition under the command of Mir Badehra and Painda Khan was despatched against the Guru. They were joined by the Jullundur troops. The Guru had only 5,000 soldiers with him. 43 In a hard-fought battle both the enemy commanders were killed. One soldier with a drawn sword rushed upon the Guru. He warded off the blow and then assaulted him exclaiming, "not so, but the sword is used thus," and with one stroke cut off his head.

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

It was impossible for Guru Har Govind with his slender resources, to remain for long in open defiance of the Government. "Whatever he possessed was lost," 44 says Mohsin Fani. "After the battle of Kartarpur he went to Phagwara. As this place also was not far from Lahore, it was difficult for him to stay there. He hurried to Kiratpur situated in the Punjab hills. This territory belonged to Raja Tarachand who had thrown off allegiance to Emperor Shah Jahan." 45

Guru Har Govind had remained fully busy in warfare from 1634 to 1640, a fairly long period if we consider his meagre resources. Several Rajput princes of the Kangra and Chamba hills had also revolted against Shiah Jahan. The Guru was not disturbed at Kiratpur. He spent the remaining two years of his life in converting Musalmans to Hinduism. Mohsin Fani writes that "in those hills up to the borders of Tibet and Khotan the name Musalman had disappeared." 46 Mohsin Fani, who met the Guru at Kiratpur, further says that the ambassadors of the hill rajas waited upon Har Govind, and they did not know even the name of Shah Jahan though Delhi was known to them. 47

Guru Har Govind died on 3 March, 1644. 48 His activities were not appreciated and properly understood by the upper classes. They hinted that he had fallen short of the lofty ideals of his predecessors in matters religious and spiritual, and pointed out that he had not composed and added a single verse to the Holy Granth. He was dubbed as one who had been lured by the glamour of arms and love of politics. They complained that he was occasionally cooperating with the enemies of their faith. Most of the Hindus considered it beneath the dignity of a religious preceptor to indulge in hunting and sport. His encouragement of meat diet and travels in Muslim countries deeply offended caste-ridden orthodox Hindus. The Sikhs grumbled that the Guru did not stay continually at Amritsar and led a roving life. As the people of the Punjab could not think of any opposition to the mighty Mughuls, they considered Guru's warlike acts as wasteful and useless. They said that in spite of his so-called victories the Guru was driven from pillar to post, and eventually forced to seek refuge in the hilly region at Kiratpur.

The fact was generally ignored that the Guru was trying to change the age-long mentality of the Hindus of meekly submitting to the oppressor, and that after six hundred years of bondage he was awakening his fellow countrymen to the realisation that irrespective of consequences the people should rise against a Government to get their wrongs redressed. His acceptance of the high

office under Jahangir and Shah Jahan was a fine stroke of diplomacy and political sagacity. It disarmed suspicion of the local Government and afforded him an excellent opportunity to augment his military resources. The organisational evolution of Sikhism from the standpoint of religion and spiritualism was almost complete during the time of Guru Arjun. The execution of Guru Arjun and Guru Har Govind's imprisonment had clearly shown that a hard lot was in store for the new religion. Guru Har Govind had a clear conception of the changing circumstances, and had realised the necessity of playing an active role in the political life of the community. He had a clear conception that militarily he had little chance of success against the unlimited resources of the Mughul empire. Yet he considered it beneath his dignity to accept a passive role, which was nothing short of degradation. He inaugurated a policy which was sure to lead the most down-trodden people slowly but surely to political and military advancement. But his contemporaries failed to comprehend it, and they misunderstood him and misrepresented his work. In reality, Guru Har Govind rendered a unique service to his country by showing the true path of deliverance from political bondage. After all, spirituality must inspire a person to resist the wrong with courage and boldness.

Not much is known of the next two Gurus, Har Rai (1644-61) and Har Kishan (1661-64), grandson and great-grandson, respectively, of Har Govind.

IV. Guru Tegh Bahadur (1664-75)

Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind, succeeded Har Kishan in 1664. At this time, Aurangzlb was determined to establish an Islamic State in India and took various repressive measures against the Hindus, which have been mentioned in detail in Chapter VIII, Section III. Kalimdt-i-Tayyibdt says that a Sikh temple in a village in the Sirhind Division was turned into a mosque. 49 Many other Gurdwards were demolished. 50 During Aurangzlb's stay in the Punjab in 1674-5 local officials terrorised the Hindu population and converted them to Islam in large number. In Kashmir thousands of Pandits were forced to embrace Islam. This aroused the intensity of Gurus love for religious freedom. In order to infuse courage in the hearts of the Hindus and his disciples he undertook a tour of the East Punjab telling them neither to fear nor frighten others. This created confidence and courage in the minds of the people. Some of the Kashmiri leaders in sheer helplessness called on Guru Tegh Bahadur and told him of their sad plight. He advised them to inform the emperor, through their governor, to convert Tegh Bahadur first and then all of them would embrace Islam. 51

Aurangzlb's mind was already prejudiced against the Sikhs. It was now reported to him that the Guru was infusing the spirit of rebellion among the Kashmiris as well as the sturdy Jat peasantry of the Punjab. The Guru was also accused of making Mussalrnans his disciples. It was further alleged that Tegh Bahadur claimed to have possessed the power of performing miracles which was opposed to the tenets of Islam. Aurangzlb had just suppressed one of the most terrible revolts of the frontier tribes and was not prepared to witness another rising in the Punjab. He therefore decided to teach the Sikhs a lesson and summoned Tegh Bahadur to Delhi. When he arrived together with five disciples 52 he was asked either to perform miracles or embrace Islam. The Guru denied that he could perform miracles and rejected the latter, repeating “Give thy life, but do not give up thy faith” (Sar diya par sir na diya). In order to terrorise the Guru into submission, one of his disciples, Bhal Mati Das, was tied to two posts, and thus making him stand erect, his body was sawn across from head to loins. Another disciple was boiled alive. The other three fled away, but Guru Tegh Bahadur remained firm in his resolve. He was put in chains and then beheaded on 11 November, 1675.

V. Guru Govind Singh (1675-1708)

Guru Govind, the son and successor of Tegh Bahadur, ushered in a new phase of the Sikh movement. The murder of his father and great-grandfather, the imprisonment of his grandfather, and the wretched condition of the Hindus made him realise that the people must themselves find their own salvation against the tyranny of a cruel and corrupt Government.

So Guru Govind was determined to put an end to the religious oppression of the Mughul Government. His fight was with the Government and not against Islam. Its clear proof is that he recruited Pathans in his service and won the support of Muslim saints like Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura. Sa‘Id Beg and Maimu Khan fought on his side against the Mughuls, while Nabi Khan and Ghani Kh[an saved him from capture by the Mughul army. QazI Pir Muhammad did not confirm Guru’s identity and Rai Kalha looked after him. He wanted to create national awakening in the Punjab as it had been done in Maharashtra by Shivaji. The time chosen was opportune. Aurangzlb was involved in a life and death struggle in the Deccan with the Marathas. The Punjab was in the charge of Prince Mu‘azzam who lived in Kabul. The Governors of Lahore and Kangra had failed to crush him. The Government at Delhi was in a state of disorganisation. The hill rajas were in revolt against the

Mughuls. A better time could not be expected to fulfil his life's mission, and the Guru was not the man to miss it. He had first tried to instill his ideas into the heart of the warrior class of Rajputs of the Siwalik Hills. He soon discovered that the caste-ridden and class-dominated Rajputs would not respond to his appeals and would not fit in his ideology. He therefore turned his attention to the downtrodden masses. He believed that he would be able to achieve his objective by stirring the latent faculties of the human will which possessed the elasticity of rising to the loftiest height as well as sinking to the lowest depth. The Guru made full use of the strong sentiment which had been manifesting itself in the Sikh community in the form of sincere devotion and loving obedience for the person of the Guru.

The Guru, while reading the Puranas had been deeply struck by the idea that God had been sending a saviour at critical times to save the virtuous and destroy the evil-doers. 53 He believed he had been sent for the same purpose. This is proved by two sayings of the Guru in Bichitra Ndtak. According to one, 54 the Guru was in a state of communion with God when he heard the divine command, and the other contains his acceptance of the mission and admonitions to his disciples to fulfil it. 55 In the Chandl Charitra the Guru says that in the past God had deputed Durga to destroy the evil-doers, 56 and this duty had now been assigned to him. He was eager to get her blessings. He sang "the praises of Chandl so that they might be chanted for warlike purposes, and that even cowards on hearing her story might obtain courage and the hearts of the brave beat with fourfold enthusiasm. Such being the achievements of a woman, what ought not a brave man to accomplish?'' 57 The learned Pandits in the service of the Guru advised him to perform the grand ceremony of Homa. "He invited Pandit Kesho from Benares to conduct the ceremony on the hill of Nainadevi," 58 close to Anandpur. The ceremony began on the Durga Ashtami day, two days before Dusehra festival in October, 1698, and lasted for full six months. At the close of this period the sacred days of the worship of goddess (Navrdtras) began on 21 March, 1699. "When all the ghee and incense had been burnt, and the Pandit had tired himself out by mumbling mantras by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and, flashing it before the assembly, declared: 'This is the goddess of power!' " 59 This took place on 28 March, 1699, the Durga Ashtami day.

The congregation was then asked to move to Anandpur where on the New Year Day of 1st Baisakh , 1756, Vikrama Samvat, (30 March, 1699), he would create a new nation. All the persons would be fed from Guru ha Langar and after the grand function they would be entertained to a sumptuous feast. Thousands of persons assembled there. The Guru remained absorbed in meditation and contemplation. On the morning of 30 March y he sought God's blessings and entered a specially constructed canopy where a huge congregation was seated. The Guru delivered the most stirring speech on saving religion which was in great peril, and about his divine mission. The Guru first dwelt on the Government policy of religious persecution. He then explained why, in order to safeguard their spiritual and temporal rights, the people should not depend on the sovereign or princes, but take up this duty themselves. They should individually feel for the national wrongs done, and collectively organise means to withstand it. "The Kal (Age) had reached such a stage that success would come only if a brick could be returned with a stone." 60 Humility and service alone were not adequate in this age. To goodness was to be added not only condemnation of evil but also destruction of the evil-doers. Love of a neighbour must accompany the punishment of the trespasser. Service of saints implied annihilation of tyrants as well. Helping friends meant harming enemies too. God, Guru , and the Sword formed the Holy Trinity in place of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva to lead to victory. The age when salvation was needed after death had passed. Salvation was to be obtained in this very life, here and now.

In his ecstasy the Guru sang the praises of the sword. "God subdues enemies, so does the sword; therefore the sword is God, and God is the sword." 61 Addressing the sword he said:

"I bow with love and devotion to the Holy Sword.

Assist me that I may complete this work.

Thou art the subduer of countries, the

Destroyer of the armies of the wicked.

* * *

I bow to the Sword and Rapier which destroy the evil.

* Hs

Thy greatness is endless and boundless;

No one hath found its limits.

Thou art God of gods, King of kings,

Compassionate to poor, and Cherisher of the lowly.” 62

After this stimulating oration, the Guru flashed his sword, and said that ‘every great deed was preceded by equally great sacrifice; the Holy Sword would create a heroic nation after supreme sacrifice/ He then inquired if anyone in the congregation would offer his head

in the service of God, Truth and Religion. This sent a thrill of horror in the audience, and there was no response to the first and even to the second call, repeated in a sterner voice. At the third call one Dayaram, a Khatri of Lahore, rose in his seat and expressed his willingness to lay down his life. He was led into the adjoining tent and asked to sit there quietly. The sword-blade was dipped in a cauldron of blood of goats, and the Guru, returning to the assembly with the dripping sword in his hand asked for another head. Dharamdas, a Jat, offered his head and the same procedure was repeated. After five men 63 had offered to make the sacrifice and been taken away, the Guru re-entered the assembly room with all of them, dressed in the same kind of fine clothes, and gave them a baptism called pahul of water sweetened with sugar cakes and stirred with a doubleedged dagger. They were designated Five ‘Beloved Ones’ and termed ‘Khalsa.’

Each of the five letters in the Persian word Khalsa has a significance. The first two, kh and a, stand, respectively for Khud or oneself and the Akal Purkh (God). The third letter, l, signifies Labbaik, meaning the following questions of God: “What do you want with me? Here am I. What would you have?,” and the reply of the Singh (devotee): “Lord, give us liberty and sovereignty.” The fourth letter, s, signifies Sahib (Lord or Master). The last letter is written either as a or, more usually, h. The former signifies Azadi or freedom and the latter refers to Huma, a legendary bird.

Guru Govind Singh provided his followers with five jewels which were within reach of everybody. They were five K's— Kesh or long hair, Kangha or comb, Kirpan or sword, Kara or steel bracelet, and Kachcha or a pair of knicker-bockers. 64 Their salutation was to be

Wah-e-Guru ji ka Khalsa

Wah-e-Guru ji ki Fateh. 65

Guru Govind Singh enjoined that every Sikh must fight against cruelty and tyranny, and should help the poor and protect the weak. He inspired them with the belief that every Singh serving the Panth was bound to be victorious, and while engaged in a righteous cause was to consider himself a tower of strength equal to the power of one lakh and a quarter hosts. He must always be prepared to lay down his life because his victory lay in the moment of his death.

The creation of the Khalsa was an epoch-making event in the religious and political history of the country. It marked the beginning of the rise of a new people, destined to play the role of defenders

against all oppression and tyranny. The severities of the high caste people over their brethren, the Sudras, were set at naught as soon as one joined the ranks of the Khalsa, where all were equal and ready to render one another all help and useful service. Their main problem was to destroy the organised oppression and the tyrannical despotism of the Mughul Government. It was a gigantic task for the small community of the Khalsa. Under the direction of the Guru, the Khalsa took up the profession of arms and the results were most surprising. The people, lowliest of the low, who had lived for centuries in a state of servility now turned into doughty warriors, the praises of whose physique and valour were sung by all the world, including their bitterest foes.

In order to enhance the feelings of self-respect and the spirit of human dignity, Guru Govind Singh severely dealt with the institution of Masands, or tithe-collectors, on this occasion. For some time past they had become haughty, corrupt and greedy, and treated the Sikhs with contempt and insolence. Many of them acted as Gurus and kept all the offerings for themselves. With this money they indulged in personal trade or other lucrative business. Guru Govind did not believe in dismissing some and reforming the others. He also ignored the prospect of financial loss for the time being. Nor did he feel afraid of the united opposition of the Masands. He forthwith abolished this office and instructed the Sikhs to make offerings personally to the Guru on the occasion of a visit or at the time of general gathering on the days of Baisdkhi and Diwdli. 66 Thereby not only were the Sikhs freed from humiliation, but a close personal contact was established betv/een the Guru and his disciples.

Then began a series of battles 67 in which the Guru had often to face heavy odds, but in many cases the victory was on the side of the Khalsa. Anandpur was five times invested. 68 The most serious siege took place in the autumn of 1704. Under orders of Aurangzib, Vazlr Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, made full preparations to wipe out the Khalsa. The Governor of Lahore, several rajas of the Kiangra hills, and a host of neighbouring Nawabs and Jiagirdars joined the expedition. Anandpur was besieged. Provisions ran short and there were frequent desertions. At this juncture Vazlr Khan opened negotiations for Guru's safe evacuation. Solemn assurances were given on the Qur'an, and an autograph letter from Aurangzib was produced as a proof of the Governor's sacred oath 69 Final agreement was arrived at about the middle of December, 1704. The Guru sent ladies and his two younger sons under proper escort towards Nahan in Sirmur State. The second batch of evacuees along with his two elder sons and a small number of followers under the Guru himself came out of the fort.

Unluckily torrential rain began. The river Sarsa was heavily flooded. Both the parties were held up on its bank amidst bitter cold and rain and wind. The enemy considered it a Godsend to efface the Guru and his followers. They threw their solemn pledges to the winds, and made a vehement assault on the Guru at nightfall. In the confusion and darkness, the Guru's mother and his two younger sons, Zorawar Singh (born 1696) and Fateh Singh (born 1699) were separated. They fell into the hands of the Governor of Sirhind. The children were pressed to embrace Islam. They spurned the offer and were bricked up alive in the fort wall, and then beheaded on 27 December, 1704.

The Guru and his two elder sons, Ajit Singh (born 1686) and Jujhar Singh (born 1690), managed to cross the river Sarsa, with only forty followers. 70 The current swept away many of them as well as a large number of the Guru’s manuscripts and his own compositions, not to speak of other property. They took shelter at Chamkaur in a mud-built house which was immediately besieged. In the struggle that ensued on 22 December, 1704, the Guru lost both of his sons, three of the ‘Beloved Ones’ and thirty-two other followers. Govind Singh was left with only five Sikhs, who in accordance with his earlier commandment assumed the role of the Guru in the interest of the Panth and ordered him to escape. The Guru did so in the disguise of a Muslim saint.

His wanderings from Chamkaur to Nander, about 1500 miles away, present a tale of many hairbreadth escapes, unparalleled sufferings, marvellous courage and inflexible determination. Near Machiwara, he was found lying hidden in bushes, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, by two Pathans, Nabi Khan and Ghani Khan. They entertained him and escorted him safely to a distance of about 40 miles. Rai Kalha of Jagraon kept him as a guest and then let him pass through his territory in safety. Sikh stragglers began to join him. A short engagement, the last, was fought in the wastes of Firozpur district. In it forty deserters from Anandpur, smitten with remorse, fought desperately, and were all killed. A tank was constructed in their memory called Muktsar or the reservoir of salvation. While at Dina, the Guru received a letter from Aurangzlb demanding his presence at his Court in the Deccan to account for his doings. To this he gave a spirited reply in Persian verse containing 111 couplets called Zafarndma or Epistle of Victory. In it he bitterly criticised the emperor for the persecutions, wrongs and sufferings inflicted upon him and his father. He justified his revolutionary activities by saying: “When all the remedies have failed, it is lawful to resort to the sword.”

Guru Govind Singh halted at Talwandi Sabo, now known as Damdama Sahib, for nine months. At this place he completed Adi Granth by adding 116 hymns composed by Guru Tegh Bahadur, including one couplet alleged to be his own composition. His own Granth called the Dasam Granth was also given a shape here. The Guru was a prolific writer. Many of his manuscripts were lost while crossing the river Sarsa. The rest were included in the Dasam Granth. It consists of several parts, each in a different language but all in Gurmukhi script. The Hikdyats and Zafarndma are in Persian. Jap, Akal Ustat, Chaubis Avtdr, Brahma Avtdr, Rudra Avtdr, Krishna Avtdr, Rama Avtdr, Sri Mukhilak Swayyas, Pakhyan Charitra and Bichitra Natak are in Brajbhdshd, i.e. pure Hindi. Chandi ki Var is in Lanhde Punjabi, while a number of hymns are in pure Punjabi.

At Talwandi, Guru Govind received a reply to his letter addressed to Aurangzlb. The emperor expressed regret for the Guru's sufferings and invited him to meet him. The Guru was anxious to get Vazir Knan punished for his atrocities, and also wanted to study on the spot in what manner the Marathas under Tara Bai were harassing the emperor. He conveyed his acceptance of the invitation and set out on his long journey. He was in Rajasthan when he heard that Aurangzlb had died on 3 March, 1707. He turned back towards Agra.

Aurangzib's eldest son, Mu'azzam, 65 years old, had come from Kabul to Delhi and declared himself emperor under the title of Bahadur Shah. The Guru pressed Bahadur Shah to punish Vazir Khan. "The Emperor asked him to wait for some years until his government was fully established." 71 The Guru was asked to go with the emperor to the Deccan. He, therefore, joined his camp accompanied by his wife, Sahib Devi, some infantry and two to three hundred cavalry. 72 Finding the emperor unyielding, the disappointed Guru left him in despair at Nander, the headquarters of Madho Das Bairagi, alias Banda Bahadur. He reached there in August, 1707, and stayed for over a year. Banda was sent to the Punjab to chastise Vazir Khan of Sirhind, while Mata Sahib Devi returned to Delhi.

On the other hand, Vazir Khan was also plotting against the Guru's life. Two Pathan boys, who were in the service of the Guru, were set on him. One day finding him alone, they severely stabbed him in August, 1708. The condition of the wounds grew worse in October, 1708. The Guru realized that his end had come. He called together his disciples and gave them his last injunctions. He told them that everything in this world happened according to the will of the Almighty. He expressed satisfaction at the fulfilment of his mission. As the Guruship was hereditary in his family, and he had lost all his children, Guru Govind Singh thought it best, in order to avoid all possible family feuds as well as impostors in future, not to vest this high office in any person, and abolished it as summarily as he had done in the case of Masands. He declared that he was entrusting the Khalsa to the care of Akal Purkh (God). In matters spiritual the Holy Granth would be their guide, while their secular affairs would be regulated by holy panchayats meeting before the sacred Granth . He instructed them that whenever any important question affecting the Panth was to be decided, a Sikh congregation was to be held, and from the whole assembly five persons 73 were to be elected to settle the issue. In the counsels of Five Beloved Ones he would be present in spirit. Their verdict called Gurumata was to be regarded as the judgment of the Guru. It was to be passed by the whole assembly, and its execution was binding upon the whole Panth. Any infringement was to be considered sacrilegious. He asserted that God had destined the Khalsa to be the future rulers of the country, and for the realisation of this object they must continue the struggle unabated.

Following the practice of Hindu saints and sages who at the divine call would sit in a samadhi and expire, the Guru had prepared a funeral pyre within an enclosure. He banned admission into it. With folded hands he bade a dramatic farewell by uttering the salutation which he had himself coined, “Wah Guru Ji ka Khalsa, Wah Guru Ji ki Fateh,” quietly walked away, entered the walled fence and bolted its door from inside. The congregation stood aghast. In a while the pyre was seen ablaze, 74 and amidst tears and sobs of the assemblage softly rose the dirge of Sat Sri Akal (The Immortal Almighty is True). This happened on 7 October, 1708 The Guru had not yet completed forty-two years of his life.

“Thus we see,” says Sir Jadunath, “that the Mughal Government under Aurangzib did succeed in breaking up the guru’s power. It robbed the Sikhs of a common leader and a rallying centre.” 76

It should be remembered, however, that immediately after Guru Govind’s death, equally dynamic leadership, of course in affairs mundane, and with much greater success, was provided by Banda Bahadur. Guru Govind Singh's desire, "Mother dear, I have been con

sidering how I may confer empire on the Khalsa, ' was realized, though for the time being, temporarily, in nineteen months. On 12 May, 1710, Vazir Khan was dead and gone. The entire province of Sirhind between the Sutlej and the Yamuna lay at the feet of the Khalsa. They set themselves up as rulers and issued their own coins. They rose again within forty years, and then ruled over the Punjab for nearly a hundred years. It was indeed a miracle of the highest magnitude!

Though the Guru could not break the shackles of bondage and slavery in his own lifetime, as he died young, yet he had freed the souls of his followers and filled their minds with love for freedom and democracy. He had dispelled the fear of authority and destroyed the awe of an alien Government. He had the satisfaction that in the hearts of his disciples the seeds of a general revolution were germinating, and that it would break forth with greater fury if the sanctity of their rights was not admitted, and if they were not allowed a free hand in matters of their conscience. He was sure that he was leaving behind in Khalsa, an army of free, brave, selfless and sacrificing soldiers who would smile in sufferings, laugh in misfortunes, support the weak and innocent, fight against tyranny like lions in war and act as lambs in peace.

1. Vol. VI, pp. 561-71.

2. These have been discussed in Vol. VI, pp. 625-636.

3. Nearly seventy Muslim invasions had taken place up to the time of Nanak, as follows:

Arabs, 6—Sind in 636-7, Arabs in the Kabul Valley in 664, Broach, Debal, Baluchistan, Sind in 711.

Alptigln, 1.

Sabuktigln, 3.

Mahmud, 17.

Shihab-ud-dln Ghuri, 10—Multan 1175, Anhilwara 1178, Peshawar 1179, Lahore 1181, Sialkot 1185, Lahore 1186, Tarain 1191 and 1193, Kanauj 1194, Khokhars 1206.

Mongols, 25—Chingiz Khan 1220, Lahore 1250, Multan 1270, Prince Muhammad killed 1286, Jalal-ud-dln Khaljl defeated them 1292, in the reign of ‘Alaud-dln Khaljl 12 invasions, Ghiyas-ud-dln Tughluq defeated them 1324, in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq 6 invasions, Timur 1398-99, Babur 4.

4. Sir Edward Maclagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, p. 28.

5. Sri Ram Sharma, Religious Policy of the Mughals (1962), p. 14.

6. Abdulla, Tdrikh-i-Daudi, HIED, IV. 439-40.

7. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, I. 170. Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 147.

8. Tarikh-i-Firishta, I. 281.

9. Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs (London, 1960), p. 82.

10. Macauliffe, op. cit.

11. Rag Asa, Adi Granth, p. 360. Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs, pp. 86-7.

12. Tuzuk-i-Baburi, II. 281.

13. ASI, XII. 26-7.

14. Memoirs of Babur, II. 340.

15. The name is also written as ‘Arjan.’

16. For a short account of this episode, see p. 179.

17. Tuzuk-i-Jahangirx (Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow), Persian Text, p. 35.

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18. The Dahistan, p. 234.

18a. As the Sikh Gums did not always eschew politics, this explanation is not very convincing (Editor).

19. Beni Prasad, History of Jahangir , p. 130.

20. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri (Persian Text), p. 35.

21. Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, I. p. 59, f.n., 25.

22. Tuzuk-i-Jahdngiri, p. 35.

23. The Dabistan, p. 234.

23a. Cf. p. 193.

24. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, A Short History of Aurangzib, 1954 edition, p. 156.

25. Macauliffe, op. cit., IV. p. 2; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., p. 156.

26. The Dabistan , pp. 235-6.

27. Guru Har Govind's contemporary, Mohsin Fani, v/rites: "At last Hargobind, son of Arjun Mai, took to meat eating and hunting, and most of his disciples adopted his way." He narrates a story. A Pratabmal admonished his son who was inclined to become a Musalman thus: "If you want to get full freedom in eating, you may better join Sikhism where there is no restriction about food." (The Dabistan, p. 223).

28. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, p. 50.

29. The Dabistan, p. 239.

30. Ibid, p. 234.

31. But the wives of the Guru might have been allowed to stay with him (Editor).

32. The Dabistan, p. 239.

33. Ibid.

34. Abdul Hamid Lahorl, Badshah-Nama, ii, 57-58; Aminai Qazvini, BddshdhNdma , ms., 444-45, 562; Muhammad Salih, ‘Amal-l-Salih, ii, 64, 246-47; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, i, 510.

35. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., 1954 edition, p. 156.

36. Ibid. Sir Jadunath’s date, 1628, is obviously wrong.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Quoted with approval by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Ibid.

40. Mohsin Fani says that while going on his mission Sadh had not reached far beyond Amritsar, when he was informed that his only son was lying seriously ill, and he was requested to return. Such was his devotion to the Guru that he replied; “If he should die, there is wood enough in the house for his cremation. I am going on Guru’s business and I will not return.” His son passed away, but he did not come back. The Dabistan, p. 239.

41. Mohsin Fani says! “Khalil Beg’s high-handedness did not bring him prosperity. The same year his son who was responsible for this act died, and he himself suffered insults, and disgrace.” Ibid.

42. Ibid, p. 235.

43. M’Gregor, History of the Sikhs, I. 59.

44. The Dabistan, p. 235.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid. The author gives the date on the authority of Mohsin Fani (ibid. p. 237). But both Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., p. 156) and CHI (IV. 245) give the date as 1645 (Editor).

49. Kalimdt-i-Tayyibdt, p. 115.

50. Khafi Khan, II. 651-2.

51. Sukha Singh, Gur Bilas, p. 81.

52. Macauliffe, op. cit., IV (1909 Edition), pp. 373-4.

53. There is a well-known verse in the Bhagavad-Gita (IV. 8) exactly to this effect (Editor).

54. Bichitra Natak, VI; Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 299.

55. Bichitra Naitak, VI; Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 300-301.

56. Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 82.

57. Ibid, p. 83.

58. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, A Short History of the Sikhs , I. p. 68.

59. Ibid.

60. Gur Bilas, quoted by I. B. Banerjee, Evolution of the Khalsa, II. p. 95.

61. Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 83.

62. Ibid, pp. 286, 287, 289.

63. The third was Sahib Chand, a barber of Nangal Shahidan of Hoshiarpur District. The fourth was Himmat Chand Kahar (water-carrier) of Sangatpura

in District Patiala, and the fifth was Mohkam Chand Chhimba of Buria in Ambala District. (Ganda Singh, Makhiz-i-Tawarikh-i-Sikhdn, i, 8).

64. In many of these external observances a deep purpose can be traced. Guru Govind Singh wanted to make the Sikhs a fighting people, and therefore he deemed it necessary that their heads should be properly guarded from sword cuts and lathi blows by means of long hair and turbans. Comb was required to keep beards in proper shape so that they would look impressive and manly. The steel bracelet was a constant reminder to a Sikh that his spirit was equally strong and unbending. Kirpan was for self-defence as well as for the protection of the weak and the oppressed. The Kachha was more suitable and more convenient for fighting purposes than the long dhoti of Hindus and loose trousers of Muslims. Above all, the Guru aimed at giving his Sikhs a separate identity which he could not conceal for fear of death, and would remain steadfast and stable.

65. It means: “This Khalsa is Thy Own, O Lord, and so is the Victory.” The idea was to keep the Sikhs in a buoyant spirit, because by this mode of salutation a strong link was established between the Khalsa and Victory, these two being the offspring of the Lord.

66. Khazan Singh, History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, i. 181.

67. Ten battles are recorded by the author of the Battles of Guru Gobind Singh, which were fought by the Guru after creating the Khalsa. Of these, five took place at Anandpur, two at Chamkaur, and the rest at Nirmoh, Basali and Muktsar. Cf. Sunder Singh, 32-68.

68. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., p. 158.

69. Guru Govind Singh hints at it in his letter addressed to Aurangzib, called Zafarnama.

70. This number is given by Guru Govind Singh in Zafarnama.

71. Khazan Singh, op. cit., I. 196-7.

72. Khafi Khan, 652; M’Gregor, i, 99.

73. In India ‘five’ has been the sacred number from time immemorial. “ Panchon men Parmeshwar hai” is an old saying, indicating the presence of Divinity in five. Panchdyats, or councils of five elders, were common in northern India.

74. Khazan Singh, op. cit., i, 201-4.

75. The date is given by I. Banerjee as 18 October, 1708 (Evolution of the Khalsa, II, p. 151), and November, 1708, by Jadunath Sarkar (CHI, IV. p. 322) [Editor].

76. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 159.

CHAPTER XII

HINDU RESISTANCE TO MUSLIM DOMINATION

I. ME WAR Their finest hour

With the death of Mahdrdnd Sanga, a new chapter opens in the history of Mewar. The unfortunate country suffers from weak administration, disputed succession, and invasion, first by Gujarat and then by a far more formidable foe, Akbar, who after winning over a few chieftains of Rajasthan, sets out to conquer Mewar, the last bastion of Hindu power in North India. Here the great Emperor is faced by the determined resolution of one man, Pratap Singh, and all the resources of the vast Mughul empire cannot force this great Mahdrdnd of Mewar to bow his head to the alien Mughul ruler. The Mahdrdnd loses battles, but never gives up the principle for which he stands —independence, and he regains for posterity the soul of India. The great Shivaji will be proud to claim him as his ancestor, and the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the twentieth century will draw inspiration from his untiring fight against foreign domination. With Mahdrdnd Sanga the pomp and splendour of Mewar as a political power passes away—under Mahdrdnd Pratap it blazes into a glory that can never fade.

Ratna Singh (1528-1531)

Mahdrdnd Sanga had seven sons (by different wives), four of whom had predeceased him and his eldest surviving son, Ratna Singh, succeeded to the throne (1528). But before his death Mahdrdnd Sanga had promised Karmavati, the step-mother of Ratna Singh, the fort of Ranthambhor to her sons, Vikramaditya and Uday Singh, and she took possession of that fort in the name of her minor sons, with her brother Surya Mai of Hada (or Hara) clan as their guardian. She also took away with her the golden crown and belt which the Mahdrdnd had taken from the Sultan of Malwa.

Soon after his accession, Ratna Singh demanded the golden crown and the belt and also requested Karmavati and her sons to return to Chitor. She refused to do either and opened negotiations with Babur. 1 She offered Blabur Ranthambhor and the golden crown and belt in exchange of Bayana and agreed to accept his overlord

ship. Later on Babur records that he agreed to help Vikramaditya to gain his father's kingdom. 2

These negotiations led to no other result than to increase the hostility between Ratna Singh and Surya Mai. But other events demanded his attention.

Chand Khan, the brother of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, was given asylum at Malwa, and Sultan Mahmud of Malwa refused to surrender him to Bahadur. He worsened his position by attacking Mewar at this time to regain some territories lost to Malwa during Mahdrdnd Sanga's time. Ratna Singh had little difficulty in throwing out the invaders, after which he invaded Malwa and reached Sarangpur. In the meantime, Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat had started his campaign against Malwa and opened negotiations with the Mahdrdnd. Later, the Mahdrdnd visited Bahadur's camp and received from the latter "thirty elephants, many horses and one thousand five hundred dresses of gold brocade." 3 Thereupon the Mahdrdnd returned to Mewar, leaving some of his officers and soldiers with Bahadur, to help him against Sultan Mahmud of Malwa.

But the trouble with Surya Mai, the guardian of Ratna Singh's step-brothers, increased, and ultimately the latter began to hatch plans to murder him. 4 He is said to have invited Surya Mai to a hunt near Bundi. One day they went out for pig-sticking with a few attendants. Suddenly Ratna Singh attacked Surya Mai and in the scuffle that followed both of them died (1531).

Vikramaditya (1531-1536)

After Ratna Singh's death, his step-brother Vikramaditya ascended the throne of Mewar. He is described in all the Rajasthan chronicles and traditions as a stupid young man, who replaced bodyguards with wrestlers, and so insulted the nobles that they left the court in disgust. The tales of his stupidity may be exaggerated, but his ineptitude soon showed itself with fateful consequences for Mewar.

Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, determined to punish Silahdi for having Muslim women in his seraglio, invested the fort of Raisen. 5 When their condition became precarious, Silahdi's son Bhupat went to Mewar for help and Vikramaditya advanced with a large force. Bahadur Shah first sent a force under two officers to contain the Rand, but later thought his presence absolutely necessary and left Raisen and joined his force which was opposing Vikramaditya. Vikramaditya seems to have taken alarm, and sent two persons to

Bahadur's court, ostensibly to parley, but in reality to find out the Muslim strength. On their reporting that the Gujarat army was greatly superior, Vikramaditya lost heart and immediately fled to Chitor. He was closely pursued by the Gujarat army, but Bahadur decided to capture Raisen first, which he did soon after. Chanderl, Bhllsa, Gagraun and other places fell to Bahadur after the conquest of Raisen, while Vikramaditya allowed his army to be immobilized in the fort of Chitor. All this time Bahadur was actively preparing for the siege of Chitor by collecting troops, arms, artillery and ammunition.

Bahadur sent an advance army under his officers (1532) and when this advance force arrived at Mandasor, they were met by Vikramaditya's envoys, who agreed to cede to Bahadur whatever the Rdnd held of Malwa and further stipulated that "whatever tribute may be imposed on him he will pay; whatever duty is imposed on him he will perform, and he acknowledges himself a subject of the Sultan, and will never be disobedient." 6

In the meantime, stung by Vikramaditya's insult, some of his nobles, headed by Medini Riai of Chanderl and Narsing Dev (a nephew of Mdhdvdnd Sanga) had joined Bahadur, and the latter, apprised of the division among the Mewlar nobles and remembering the Rand's attempts to help the besieged garrison of Raisen, refused to accept the terms 7 and ordered his general to advance. This he did, expecting an attack by the Rand , 8 but he was allowed to invest Chitor without any opposition (1533). Soon the Muslims carried forays near the fort and captured two of its outer gates. In vain did Karmavatl send envoys to Humlayun for help.

Ultimately, in desperation, Karmavatl, who had saved Bahadur's life when as a prince he was in exile at Mewar, appealed to him, promising to cede the conquered districts of Malwa, and surrender the golden crown and belt of Malwa kings, and give him ten elephants and 100 horses and one hundred lakhs of tankahs. 9 Bahadur accepted these terms and returned to Gujarat (24 March, 1533) which had during his absence been invaded by Nizam Shiah.

Peace between Mewar and Gujarat was, however, short, as faced with a hostile Mughul power, Bahadur felt the urgency of possessing the strong fort of Chitor, or at least to crush the power of Mewar to such an extent that there could be no combination of Mughuls and Sisodias against him. Thus he sent a strong force under Tatar Khan Lodi (a grandson of Sikandar Lodi) and others towards Agra and the Punjab and himself proceeded to invest Chitor. The energetic measures adopted by Humayun foiled Baha

dur's ambitious plans. Humayun moved through Malwa to Sarangpur, capturing on his way the fort of Raisen. At this point Bahadur took counsel of his officers as to whether to raise the siege of Chitor and face Humayun, or continue the siege. His counsellors correctly advised him to concentrate his energies on capturing Chitor, as Humayun was not likely to attack him while he was fighting a 'holy war' against the infidels. This prediction proved remarkably accurate, and Humayun, after advancing up to Gwalior, calmly awaited there the result of the grim tragedy that was unfolding at Chitor, for reasons discussed in the next chapter.

The Rajput soldiers were not prepared for the second siege of Chitor. The nobles, alienated by the buffoonery of Vikramaditya, had retired to their fiefs. So when the news of the Gujarat army's advance towards Chitor came, the fort was hardly in a state of defence. In this grave predicament, the Queen-mother issued a stirring appeal to the nobles. "Up to now Chitor has remained in the possession of the Sisodias", Karmavatl wrote to the nobles, "but now it seems the day of her destruction has arrived. I am handing over this fort to you, preserve it if you can, deliver it if you must.

Remember, even if your king is worthless, the destruction of the royal dynasty can only bring disgrace to you.” 10

The nobles gallantly responded to this call. They found, however, that the provisions could not last for more than a few months, and a council of war decided to defend the fort to the last, but to remove Vikramaditya and his younger brother Uday Singh to Bundi.

This flight of Vikramaditya from the besieged fort has been a matter of reproach but there is no doubt that the decision to remove him to a place of safety was the correct one. Chitor was doomed, and if he had died sword in hand, in a final sortie, the Sisodias would have for ever perished as the Chahamana Hammir of Ranthambhor. Indeed, one of the fatal defects in Hindu defence had been up to now their suicidal reliance on the so-called impregnable strongholds. As Klauswitz remarked, a besieged garrison is as helpless as a marooned man-of-war. This dictum was fully realized later by Mahdrdnd Pratap, who never allowed the mobility of his action to be impeded by the fear of losing a fortress. For the present, the Mewar nobles stuck to their ancient military tradition, but forbore from sacrificing the life of the king and the next heir, around whom alone, in case of defeat, the nation could rally again. 11

The rest of the story can be briefly told. Bahadur’s artillery, directed probably by Turkish gunners, breached part of the bastion.

The garrison defended bravely, but when they found all further resistance helpless, the women under Rani Karmavati performed the jauhar and the soldiers rushed out of the fort and died fighting to a man (1535).

Chitor thus fell to Bahadur, but it is significant that the Muslim historians do not speak of his capturing any spoils. Possibly the treasures had been removed from the fort when Vikramaditya left it. However, soon Bahadur had to flee before the advancing Mughul army, and the Sisodias recaptured Chitor, and Vikramaditya returned to his capital.

However, Vikramaditya had learnt nothing, and while the nobles were alarmed at his conduct of government, he took into his confidence, Vanavir, the natural son of Mahardna Sanga’s eldest brother Prithvlraj. He had been banished from Mewar by Maharand Sanga and had taken refuge at Gujarat, but now finding the time propitious returned to Chitor. Soon he gained the confidence and favour of Vikramaditya and one day finding an opportunity murdered him (1536).

Vanavir next went to the room of prince Uday Singh to murder the last rightful claimant to the throne. But here he was foiled by the devotion of a woman whose name has become a byword for loyalty. Uday Singh, at this time a boy of fourteen, was under the care of his childhood nurse Panna. As soon as Pannia came to learn of Vikramaditya's murder, she managed to send Uday Singh out of the fort and placed on the bed her son who was of the same age. Soon after, the regicide entered the room, sword in hand, and asked Panna where Uday Singh was. Silently she pointed at the bed on which her son was sleeping, and Vanavir murdered the boy. Panna then left Chitor and took Uday Singh to Kumbhalmer.

Vanavir (1536-1540)

Vanavir's usurpation lasted for about four years (1536-40). The Rajasthan chronicles are silent about his achievements, if indeed he had had any to his credit. His heinous deed and low origin must have made him odious to the proud nobles, and ultimately trouble broke out due to his crude insistence in proclaiming his equality with the high-born nobles by attempting to force them to eat the left-over food from his plate (uchchishta).

During this time, Pannia had enlisted several nobles to Uday Singh's cause, and arranged his marriage with the daughter of Akhairaj. This added to Uday Singh's prestige and gave a lie to Vanavir's propaganda that he was not the real prince. Uday Singh

then issued an appeal for help and soon not only the nobles of Me war, but some other chieftains, too, joined under his banner.

Vanavlr sent an army to stop Uday Singh's progress. At a battle fought near Maholi, this army was routed, and Uday Singh proceeded towards Chitor, which surrendered after a brief resistance. There are conflicting reports about Vanavir's end; according to some sources he died fighting, while others relate that he escaped into obscurity (1540). 12

Uday Singh (1540-1572)

The early years of Uday Singh's reign were spent in fruitless wars with Maldev of Marwar. This struggle between Mewiar and Marwar may have been caused by an attempt to establish ultimate authority in Rajasthan, but the events which led to these wars were as petty as the battles were futile.

Rao Maldev of Marwar wanted to marry his beautiful sister-inlaw, but her father objected and had her married to Uday Singh. A war followed in which Maldev was defeated.

However, Mewar and Marwar soon after had to face a formidable foe, Sher Shah. He first defeated Maldev, and then turned towards Chitor. While he was a few miles from Chitor, Uday Singh sent him the keys of the fort as a token of humble submission. This satisfied Sher Shah, who left Mewar in virtual possession of the MahdrdndP

Uday Singh's next war also concerned a woman. After Sher Shah's death, his governor of Mewat, Haji Khan, driven away by the Mughuls, found refuge at Ajmer, where he was attacked by Maldev. He appealed for help to Uday Singh who immediately responded, and rescued Haji Khan. Uday Singh, however, then demanded his price, which was the favourite mistress of the fugitive Afghan. He refused to surrender her, and made a bold stand with his few thousand followers, and defeated Uday Singh.

In spite of these seemingly stupid warfares, Uday Singh did turn his attention to establishing a second capital, and to excavating a lake which still bears his name. He had apparently understood the danger of staking the fortunes of his country on the defence of a fortress, which could not be defended in the face of a determined foe.

In the meantime, Akbar had ascended the throne (1556). Six years later, he married the daughter of Raja Bharmal of Amber and his grandson, Man Singh, joined the Mughul army. Thus began a

memorable policy as a result of which pilgrim tax on the Hindus was abolished in 1563 and the hated jizya in 1564. This undoubtedly ameliorated the condition of the Hindus within the empire, and won him the friendship, esteem and devotion of many Hindu chiefs of Rajasthan. But Akbar, unlike Sher Shah, aimed at the complete subversion of the independence of Rajasthan. 14

Abu-'l-Fazl's narration of the causes which led to the Mewar campaign are too naive and may be rejected.t 5 It is definite, however, that Akbar started on his famous campaign in 1567, and on October 23 of the same year formed his camp near Udaipur. Within a month the investment of Chitor was complete.

According to Kaviraj Shyamaldas, when Uday Singh received the news of Akbar's approaching invasion, he called a council of war. The nobles pointed out the condition of the army, which had not yet recovered from the Gujarat wars, and was not in a condition to fight the Mughuls. They, therefore, advised the Mahardna to take refuge, along with the princes, in the hills, leaving a garrison at Chitor. After some discussion, Uday Singh accepted the advice of his councillors, and leaving 8000 soldiers to guard Chitor, left for the hills, and ultimately reached Rajpipla, the capital of the Guhilots of Rewakanta. 16 Akbar sent Husain Qull Khan to capture the Mahardna, but he failed. 17

It was found impossible to capture Chitor by assaults which were repulsed with heavy losses; so Akbar raised batteries and laid mines to breach the walls.

However, "on Tuesday, February 23, 1568, Akbar noticed at the breach a person wearing a chiefs cuirass who was busy directing the defence." Akbar aimed at him and his shot struck the chief, who was Jaimal, the commander of the garrison.

According to the Muslim historians, Jaimal died and the other officers, despairing of success, had their women and children perform the right of jauhar, and opened the gates of the fort the next morning and died fighting. 18 According to Kaviraj Shyamaldas, however, Jaimal was wounded in the leg, and called a council of war. He explained to them that the stores were exhausted, so it was preferable for the women and children to perform the jauhar and the men to fall on the enemy and die fighting. 19 Most probably, the provisions in the fort were exhausted, the Mughul preparations were almost complete, and on the top came Jaimal's accident. All these factors seem to have influenced the decision of the besieged generals.

During the night the women and children performed the jauhar rites. Akbar saw the flame which was explained to him by Bhagwan Das, who warned that the Rajputs would open the gates and launch a final assault the next morning. So the Mughul army was alerted, and the next morning as the Rajputs opened the gates ot the fort, the Mughuls rushed in.

Then followed a short but ferocious fighting till all the Rajput soldiers fell sword in hand (25 February, 1568). Akbar then gave the order for the mass execution of 30,000 non-combatants, for which all modern historians have condemned him. According to Kaviraj Shyamaldas, however, out of 40,000 peasants who were in the fort, 39,000 had died fighting, and Akbar ordered the remaining 1000 to be executed. 20

Akbar's Chitor campaign has been made memorable by Col. Tod's vividly imaginative description and its results have been unduly exaggerated. It is therefore necessary to remember that Akbar's primary aim was to force the Mahdrdnd into submission. Capture of Chitor was a means to achieve this end, but though he captured the fort, he failed in his main objective. Indirectly, however, he profited largely by the display of Mughul power. Ranthambhor capitulated next year (1569), and in 1570 Bikaner and Jaisalmer entered into matrimonial alliance with Akbar. 21 Thus the fabric of unity imposed on Rajasthan by Kumbha and Sanga, shattered at Khanua, disappeared for ever. Henceforth their proud descendants would struggle valiantly, but alone, not only against the Mughuls but also against the Rajputs. This is the measure of the greatness of two men—Akbar, who could transform the political situation in Rajasthan so that soon, in the words of his courtier Badauni, a Hindu would wield the sword of Islam, 22 and Pratap, undaunted by the odds against him, would carry on the struggle.

Uday Singh survived the fall of Chitor by four years. He lived mostly at Kumbhalmer, and it was remarkable that Akbar never attempted to conquer the stronghold till much later. He died on 28 February, 1572.

It is difficult to form a proper estimate of Uday Singh's character. The historians of his country, the bards of Rajasthan, used to singing the valorous exploits of the warrior chieftains, had contempt for this man, whom fate had taught from early childhood that sometimes survival is as important as fighting, and under certain circumstances it can only be achieved by flight. Naturally he suffers in comparison with his great father and greater son, but this man, who by no account was a hero, refused to surrender to

the Mughuls, while the other chiefs of Rajasthan were sending their daughters to the Mughul harem. 23

Pratap Singh (1572-1597)

Uday Singh left twenty wives and twenty-five sons, of whom the eldest was Pratap Singh. Before his death, however, he nominated his ninth son Jagmal as his successor. Jagmal actually ascended the throne while Pratap and the other nobles went to perform the funeral rites of the deceased monarch. 24 On their return, however, the nobles forced Jagmal to abdicate and offered the throne to the rightful successor, Pratap Singh, and he accepted it. Jagmal went to Ajmer, joined Akbar, and received a portion of Sirohi, but later died fighting with its rightful chieftain.

Mahdrdnd Pratap Singh ascended the throne on 1 March, 1572, and the famous battle of Haldighiat was fought in June, 1576. We do not know what measures he adopted to meet the Mughul menace during these four years of real peace which he was to enjoy as a king. If, however, his later operations are any indication, he utilized this period to consolidate his regime and prepare for the inevitable struggle. We have therefore to anticipate the future events in order to form an idea of his activities during this period.

The Mewar army at the battle of Haldlighat was quite formidable and in every way a match for the Mughul army. Evidently long time must have been spent to raise and equip this army, and get the support of Afghans like Hakim Sur Pathan, who fought for Mewar at Haldfghat. But even more important was gaining the support of the Bhils, who from now on steadfastly helped the Mahardnds of Mewar, and made possible the guerilla warfare after the battle of Haldighat. 25 This broad imaginative policy not only served the cause of Mewar’s independence, but made its young king a real national leader. One can only imagine the flush of enthusiasm among the Bhils when for the first time they were recognized as fighting partners by the proud ruling Kshatriyas.

During this period the Mahdrdnd was *also planning the war against the Mughuls. It is remarkable that after the battle of Haldighat, Man Singh could find no trace of the Mahdrdnd , his family or his nobles. Actually when Man Singh reached Gogunda, Mahdrdnd's temporary capital, the day after the battle, the town was deserted, and soon the supply of the Mughul army was cut off and the soldiers had to subsist mainly on fruits. It is no doubt possible that from the battlefield the Mahdrdnd had rushed to Gogunda, collected his family, found out an inaccessible hide-out, and then collected his men and begun to harass the Mughul army. It is, however, not unlikely that the Mahardna had carefully planned his course of action in case he lost the battle of Haldlghat. That is, he had learnt not to stake a kingdom on the outcome of a single battle, and this alone can satisfactorily explain the reason of his leaving the field before the battle was over at Haldlghat. 26

Another point is the Mahdrana s consolidation of his financial resources. Tod has given wide currency to the story that after the battle of Haldlghat, he was fleeing from one place of concealment to another in conditions of abject poverty. MM. Ojha has shown that these stories are myths. Not only the Mahardna but Amar also had enough financial resources to continue the struggle till 1614. It is remarkable indeed, as MM. Ojha points out, that though Chitor was occupied by Bahadur and later by Akbar, no Muslim historian describes any treasure having fallen into their hands. The obvious inference is that Uday Singh had secreted the wealth accumulated by Kumbha and Sanga and the Mahardna made judicial use of it. 27

It may thus be concluded, that from 1572 to 1576, the Mahdrdnd attempted to consolidate his position, marshal his resources, build an army and make adequate arrangements for defence in case the Mughuls defeated his field force. As long as Akbar sent him diplomatic missions, he behaved with them correctly, but refused to surrender any of his sovereign rights. 28 Akbar therefore decided to declare war against him, and selected Man Singh as the commanding general. 29

The battle of Haldlghat was fought on 21 June, 1576. The Mahardna had originally taken his position in the ghati which could be reached by a narrow and rugged path about a mile and a half long. Man Singh waited for him in the plain below, and in the morning of 21 June the Mahardna came out and attacked the Mughul army. As Man Singh had arranged his army in battle array, it is evident that the Mahdrdnd's attack had lost the element of surprise. Still, in the first flush of attack, his army practically broke through the Mughul army, but the rout was stopped by Man Singh and a few intrepid officers. There was a personal encounter between the Mahardna and Man Singh. But while Man Singh, on an elephant, ducked and avoided the Mahardna s javelin, Pratap's famous horse, Chetak, which had placed its forelegs on Man Singh's elephant was struck by the sword which the huge beast carried in its trunk. Chetak immediately turned and fled, and with his last breath carried his master out of danger.

The Mahdmnd's army seems to have followed him, but we do not hear of captives. The total number of dead was, according to

Badauni, five hundred, of whom 120 were Muslims and the rest Hindus. As considerable number of Hindus fought on the Mughul side, it would appear that the casualties on each side were almost equal.

The day was so hot that pursuit of the Mewar army was impossible. Next day Mian Singh occupied Gogunda, the Mahamna's temporary capital. The town had already been evacuated, still about twenty soldiers who had been left to guard the palace and the temple died fighting to satisfy their honour. "The Amirs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Rana, barricaded the streets and drew a trench and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly." 30 But the danger to the Mughul army came from another side. The Malndrdnd cut all supplies to Gogunda, and soon they were reduced to living on meat and mangoes.

Akbar was not satisfied with the results of the battle. He was vexed with Man Singh for "having abandoned the pursuit of the Rana, and so allowing him to remain alive." 31 Later (September, 1576) when "news arrived of the distressed state of the army of Kokandah (Gogunda), the emperor sent for Man Singh, Asaf Khan and QazI Khan, to come alone from that place and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Man Singh and Asaf Khan (who were associated in treachery) for some time from the court.” 32

Though Man Singh was restored to favour, the condition in Mewar being far from satisfactory, Akbar himself left for Gogunda from Ajmer on 11 October, 1576, with a large army. 33 But before he left, “the roads of ingress and egress from the Rana’s country were closed.” 34 The Maharand retired before the Mughul army into the hills and Qutb-ud-din Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and other imperial officers were sent in pursuit to capture him. As Narayan Das of Idar had joined the Malndrdnd, another army was sent against him. idar was occupied after a stubborn fight. 35

Akbar himself came to Mohi (near Nathdwara) and appointed officers to guard that place and Madariya (near Chitor). “Similarly, brave men were appointed to other places in order that whenever that wicked strife-monger (Rana Partab) should come out of the ravines of disgrace, he might suffer retribution.” 36 But the army which was sent against the Mahdrdna was unsuccessful, and its two commanders, namely, Qutb-ud-din Khan and Raja Bhagwan Das returned to Akbar who was at this time in Udaipur. They were at first censured but later pardoned, 37 and soon after another

force was despatched to Gogunda under Bhagwan Das, Man Singh, Mirza Khan (the future Khan Khanan) and others. Presumably the Mahdrdnd had recaptured Gogunda. However, Abu-’l-Fazl adds: “By the great attention of the Shahinshah that country was cleared from the thorn-brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects.” 38 But from subsequent events it appears that this expedition, though it may have cleared the Gogunda region for the time being, had produced little effect on the adversary.

Apparently, after occupying the Gogunda region the commanders returned to the court but Akbar could not be satisfied so long as the Mahdrdnd was not captured or killed. So in March, 1578, 39 he sent another army under the overall command of Shahbaz Khan, Mir Bakshi, to capture the fort of Kumbhalgarh, where the Mahdrdnd was living at the time. Shahbaz Khan sent back to court Raja Bhagwan Das and Man Singh, and unexpectedly arrived near the fort, 40 and occupied Kelwara, a town about three miles from Kumbhalgarh and at the foot of the mountain. According to Abu-’l-Fazl, “a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his (Mahdrdnd 9 s) equipment was reduced to ashes.” 40 * The fort fell on 4 April, 1578, and even he describes the gallant fight put up by the Rajputs. But the Mahdrdnd had already left the fort. Next day Shahbaz Khan captured Gogunda and at midnight Udaipur. Apparently, these places were not defended. 41

Shahbaz Khan returned a few months later but was again sent with several other officers and “much treasure” against the Mahdrdnd who, as Abu-’l-Fazl puts it, “had raised the head of turbulence.” 42 From this campaign Shahbaz Khan returned after March, 15,81, and apparently reported that the Mahdrdnd 9 s power had been crushed for ever. 43

By the end of 1584, however, the Mahdrdnd had succeeded in regaining his lost territories to such an extent that another expedition had to be sent under Raja Jagannath. 44 Abu-’l-Fazl’s description of this campaign is more vague than usual, but from his statement that, “though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were relieved,” it is permissible to conclude that some relief was given to the scattered Mughul garrisons, but the Mahdrdnas activities could not be curbed. Late in 1585, Jagannath attempted to surprise the Mahdrdnd, but the latter got timely information, and when Jagannath reached his residence, he found it empty. But Abu-’lFazl, curiously enough, remarks: “From foresight they (the raiding party) did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarat.” 45 This indicates that the mountain

passes and roads were under Mahdrdnd’s control to such an extent as to strike terror in the Mughul army.

This was practically the last expedition undertaken during Akbar’s reign against the Mahdrdnd.

The most powerful monarch of the world relentlessly attempted to destroy one man, and he braved all adversities to emerge triumphant. It is related in the Rajasthan chronicles that the Mahdrdnd adopted extreme measures to deny the Mughuls all forms of provisions. Death was the penalty for anyone who cultivated land for supplying the Mughul army. The result of this order was that the peasants left Mewar, and the Mughul garrisons had to get their provisions from Ajmer. It is related that a Mughul garrison commander induced a peasant to grow some vegetables for him. At night the Mahdrdnd went there and executed the man. 46 The Rajasthan chronicles also tell of many exploits of the Mahdrdnd and his officers. Of these the most notable was 25 lacs of rupees and 20,000 ashrafis looted from Malwa 47 On another occasion, Prince Amar Singh attacked a Mughul camp and captured the wife of the Khan Khanan, but after treating her with due honour returned her to her husband. 48

These incidents are not corroborated by any Mughul source, which is not surprising. Nor do the Mughul historians give any account of the Mahdrdnd's activities for gradually extirpating the Mughul garrisons, and freeing his country from the invaders, so that before his death, all Mewar except Ajmer, Chitor and Mandalgarh was in his hands. But the country was devastated, first, by a decade of constant fighting and deliberate destruction by the Mughul army, and secondly by the Mahdrdnd's stern order, according to the Rajput chronicles, for not cultivating the land. We may also imagine that a large number of people died of hunger, malnutrition and disease, and many peasants must have left MewSr and settled in peaceful neighbouring countries. These effects were felt keenly in the next reign.

It is related that one day while hunting, the Mahdrdnd struck his own bow and was wounded. This wound proved to be fatal, and he died on 11 Mdgh Shukla, 1653 V.S. (29 January, 1597), at the age of fifty-eight. 49

Thus died the greatest hero of medieval India, the bravest of the brave whose sturdy frame was exhausted by almost two decades of constant fighting. We may here quote V. Smith's fitting epitome of his reign: "The emperor desired the death of the Rana and the absorption of his territory in the imperial dominions. The

Rana, while fully prepared to sacrifice his life if necessary, was resolved that his blood should never be contaminated by intermixture with that of the foreigner, and that his country should remain a land of freemen. After much tribulation he succeeded, and Akbar failed." 50

Amar Singh (1597-1620)

Mahardna Pratap had eleven queens and seventeen sons, of whom the eldest, Amar Singh, succeeded him. His was a proud legacy, but beset with innumerable difficulties. He had to fight the Mughuls and at the same time maintain a machinery of administration which alone could provide him the means to prosecute the struggle for freedom. Ultimately he had to compromise, but that does not tarnish his honour.

Amar Singh began his reign by introducing certain necessary administrative reforms mainly intended to strengthen his hands against too powerful nobles. 51 But soon he had to face the enemy. Akbar sent an army under Prince Salim and Man Singh in 1600. 52 But Salim failed to accomplish anything, due, possibly, as Abu-'lFazl remarks, to his indolence. Soon after, Salim rebelled, and after his reconciliation with Akbar he was again entrusted with the conquest of Mewar. In October, 1603, 53 on the Dussera day, Akbar sent him off from Agra at the head of a well-equipped army. But arriving near Fathpur Sikri, Salim began to send demands for more troops and equipments, and ultimately gave up the venture. Thus we see that Akbar did not give up the idea of the destruction of the Mahardna from any chivalrous motive, but because of commitments elsewhere and the failure of his son. Still he made one more attempt to crush his old enemy. Towards the end of his reign, he invested Sagar, a son of Mahardna Uday Singh, with the title of Rand and designed to set him on the throne of Chitor. 54 Akbar was actually preparing to send a force under Khusrav to instal Sagar, but before this could be done, he died. 55

For reasons not difficult to guess, Jahangir, immediately after his accession, sent his son Parviz to conquer Mewar. Parvlz, who had with him 20,000 horse, was aided by several experienced commanders such as Asaf Khan and others, and Sagar, the pretender, also accompanied him. Jahangir's instructions to Parviz were: "If the Rana himself, and his eldest son who is called Karan, should come to wait upon you (Parviz) and proffer service and obedience, you should not do any injury to his territory." 56 It is interesting to note here, that three cousins of Man Singh and grandsons of

Bhagwan Das, at this time were plotting to join Amar, but their plans leaked and Jahangir ordered them to be arrested. All of them died resisting arrest.

Some time in March, 1606, came the news that Parvlz had succeeded in dislodging Amar from Mandal. 58 But then Khusrav’s rebellion broke out and Jahangir ordered Parvlz to return to the capital leaving the direction of the campaign in the hands of officers. 59 However, before Jahangir’s letter of recall had reached Parvlz, Amar opened negotiations on the basis that instead of himself and his eldest son Kama, one of his younger sons should wait upon Parvlz, and due to the exigencies of the situation Parvlz agreed, and brought Bagha Singh, a younger son of Amar, with him and presented him to Jahangir at Lahore. 60 However, nothing seems to have come out of Bagha Singh’s visit for, soon after, Jahangir appointed Mu‘izz-ul-Mulk bakshi of the army against the Mahardna and sent him there. 61

Nothing, however, came out of these expeditions. According to the Rajasthan chronicles, Parvlz had set up Sagar at Chitor as the Rana, but he could attract only a few followers, and ultimately had to leave Chitor ignominiously. 62 So in 1608, Jahangir selected Mahabat, one of the most famous Mughul generals, to lead an expedition against the Mahardna. Mahabat had under him 12,000 horse, 500 ahdis, 2000 musketeers, with an artillery of 70 to 80 guns mounted on elephants and camels. Two million rupees were ordered to be sent with this army. 63 Mahabat’s rank was also raised and he was honoured with a robe of honour, a horse, a special elephant and a jewelled sword. 64

Evidently, Mahabat Khan’s campaign was unsuccessful, and he was recalled in March, 1609, and 'Abdullah Khan, who was exalted with the title of “FIruz-jang” sent in his place. 65 The Rajasthan sources claim that a night attack took Mahabat Khan completely by surprise and he had to flee leaving his camp and equipment which were looted by the Me war soldiers. 66

‘Abdullah opened his campaign with some initial success, and occupied Chavand and Merpur. 67 His rank was raised to 5000 personal. 68 He was, however, sent as governor of Gujarat in 1611 and at his request Raja Basu was appointed to the command of the Mughul army in Rajasthan. But apparently he also did not meet with any striking success. 69 He was recalled and Khan A‘zam Mlrza ‘Aziz Koka sent in 1613 to replace him.

Khan A‘zam apparently felt the need of assistance, so at his instance Jahangir sent Khurram with 12,000 horse to take the nomi

nal command against the Mahdrdnd and himself advanced to Ajmer to “defeat and beat back the rebel Rana Amar Singh.” 70 Soon, however, the old courtier fell out with Khurram, and Jahangir’s remonstrations being of no avail, Khan Azam was recalled and Khurram left in charge of the operations. Some time before March, 1614, Khurram obtained some notable success against the Mahdrdnd and sent Jahangir seventeen captured elephants including one called “ ‘Alam-guman, of which the Rana was very fond.” 71

About Khurram’s campaign, Jahangir writes: “My son of lofty fortune, Sultan Khurram, by dint of placing a great many posts, especially in some places where most people said it was impossible to place them on account of the badness of the air and water and the wild nature of the localities, and by dint of moving the royal forces one after another in pursuit, without regard to the heat or excessive rain, and making prisoners of the families of the inhabitants of that region, brought matters with the Rana to such a pass that it became clear to him that if this should happen to him again he must either fly the country or be made prisoner.” 72

From the Rajasthan chronicles it is learnt that the condition of the Mewar army was desperate. All provisions and sources of supply were exhausted, and there was even a shortage of weapons. For food they mostly had to depend on fruits. But what hurt them most was, as Jahangir relates, Khurram’s inhuman practice of making prisoners of the women and children. Shyamaldas relates that one day the nobles represented to the crown-prince, Kama, that they had been fighting for forty-seven years, under hard conditions. Now they were without food, dress or even weapons, and the Mughuls were capturing their children and forcing them to become dancing girls or slaves. They were prepared to die; each family had lost at least four members in the war; still they would fight, but it seemed to them that even their death could not prevent their family honour from being stained; it was therefore preferable to come to some arrangement with the Mughuls, on the basis of Kama’s personal submission to the Mughul Emperor. As in the Mewar order of precedence, the crown-prince occupies a position lower than that of the chief nobles, such submission would not be too dishonourable. Kama agreed with the nobles, but according to Shyamaldas, he was afraid that Amar would not entertain any proposal of initiating peace talks. So it was decided to send two nobles, namely, Subhakarna and Jhala Haridas to Khurram without the knowledge of the Mahardnd. 131

Khurram immediately sent the two Mewar envoys to Ajmer with his personal dhvdn, Mulla Shukra-Ullah and his major-domo,

Sundardas, who, after the treaty with the Mahdrdnd was concluded, were honoured with the title of Afzal Khan and Ray Ray an. Jahangir readily ratified the terms and issued a farmdn with the mark of his palm. 74 Khurram sent the farmdn to Amar, and according to Shyamaldas it was at this time that he came to learn that the nobles headed by Kama had been negotiating with the Mughuls. The Mahdrdnd at last realized the realities of the situation and accepted the terms. 75

On 18 February, 1614, Amar with some of his nobles visited Khurram and gave him a large ruby and seven elephants. 76 Khurram, in return, gave him a “superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse with a jewelled saddle, and a private elephant with silver housings,” and the Mahdrdnd’s hundred nobles who had accompanied him received one hundred robes of honour, fifty horses and twelve jewelled daggers. 77 After Amar had left, Prince Kama arrived at Khurram’s camp, and received various presents. The same day Khurram and Kama started for Ajmer.

Jahangir received Kama as gracefully as possible, and tried to soothe his feelings by heaping on him all kinds of presents. Hardly a day passed when he did not give the Prince some present as a token of his favour. 78 Kama even had the unique honour of being present in the “darbar in the female apartments” when Nur Jahan presented him a rich dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and saddle, and an elephant. 79 In addition to what Khurram and Nur Jahan gave him, Kama received from Jahangir cash and jewellery worth 200,000 rupees, besides 110 horses, five elephants and ten Arabian hunting dogs. 80 After Kama left, his son Jagat Singh, then a boy of twelve, came to represent him while Jahangir was still in Ajmer, and Jahangir had to be satisfied with that. 81

Shyamaldas compares the Mughul-Mewar war with the AngloAfghan war, and in many respects the comparison is an apt one. The Mahdrdnd regained the whole of Mewar, parts of which ever since the days of Uday Singh had been under the Mughuls. The only restriction to his sovereignty was that the fort of Chitor could not be repaired. The obligation on the Mahdrdnd’s part was to send a contingent of troops, but it was sent on rare occasions. Mahdrdnd Pratap had fought for independence; his son retained the substance of independence by sacrificing some of its external attributes. In exchange, he gained the much-needed peace to restore the country to the level of civilized existence and gather strength for Mahdrdnd Raj Singh to fight against Aurangzlb. It has sometimes been questioned whether Mahdrdnd Pratap would have accepted

this treaty; it is equally open to question as to whether Akbar would ever have offered such terms. As Shyamaldas remarks, the land between Chitor and Udaipur was soaked with the blood of Mewar and Mughul heroes. Both sides were eager to come to terms, and the treaty does honour to both the parties who can claim to have displayed statesmanship of the highest order.

The remaining years of Amar Singh’s reign were uneventful. It is said that he felt the insult of accepting a Mughul farmdn so keenly, that he retired to his private chamber, leaving the administration in the hands of the heir-apparent, Kama. He died on 26 January, 1620. 82

Kama Singh (1620-1628)

Kama was in charge of the administration during his father’s reign when it had been his endeavour to resettle the villages and set up again the regular administrative machinery by appointing local officials. He also took in hand the reconstruction of palaces and temples. In short, his entire energy was applied to improving the condition of war-devastated Mewar, and in this he was highly successful.

His relations with the Mughul court continued to be normal till the outbreak of Khurram’s rebellion in 1622. It appears that his brother Bhlm Singh, who was possibly serving under Khurram in the Deccan, joined the Prince at the outbreak of the rebellion. 83 Bhlm Singh was one of the chief lieutenants of

Khurram during the rebellion. He captured Patna and later died fighting gallantly at the battle of Jaunpur. 84

After his defeat at the battle fought near Bilochpur (1623), Khurram entered Rajasthan and plundered Amber. His subsequent movement till he reached Mandu is not recorded by any Muslim historian, but the Rajasthan chronicles record that Kama granted him asylum at Udaipur, where he stayed for about four months. 85

After Jahangir's death, Shah Jahan returned to Agra via Gogunda where he met Kama and valuable gifts were exchanged (1 January, 1628). As usual, Shah Jahan's gifts were costly. The Mahardnd's younger brother, Arjun Singh, accompanied Shah Jahan to Agra. A few months later Kama died (March, 1628).

Jagat Singh 86 (1628-1652)

We do not know Kama's motive in helping the rebel Khurram. However, with the accession of his son Jagat Singh a change is perceptible in the policy of Me war. Jagat Singh started his reign by interfering energetically in the affairs of Deolia, with the result that Shah Jahan ultimately intervened and restored it to its rightful owner. Jagat Singh then sent an expedition to Dungarpur which sacked the capital. He also sent forces to bring Sirohi and Bianswara under his control. To please Shah Jahan he sent him a mission with some presents, and this seems to have served its purpose. But under the terms of the treaty he had to maintain 1000 troops with the Mughul army, and this he did after several reminders. However, in direct contravention of the terms of the treaty he began to repair the fort of Chitor. Thus it appears that Mewar was again preparing to renew the struggle.

Jagat Singh is famous in the annals of Rajasthan for his charity and building activities. He died on 10 April, 1652.

Raj Singh (1652-1680)

Mahamna Raj Singh succeeded his father, Jagat Singh, in 1652 at the age of twenty-three. He was duly recognized by Shiah Jahan but very soon friction arose over the repair of Chitor fort. As has been stated above, Jagat Singh had started the repair work which was taken up after his death by Raj Singh. Possibly both Jagat Singh and Raj Singh counted on the gratitude of Shah Jahan, but the emperor of Delhi was quite a different man from the fugitive prince. He left Delhi on 24 September, 1654, to visit Ajmer, and from there sent Sa'dullah Khan with an army of 30,000 troops to Chitor, and ordered Shayista Khan to be ready to come to Mewar in case of necessity, and Aurangzlb to post his son Muhammad with 1000 soldiers at Mandasor. But Raj Singh submitted, and Sa'dullah Khan completed the destruction of Chitor's fortifications without any opposition. 87 In the meantime, Raj Singh sought the protection of Dara, who was possibly instrumental in inducing Shah Jahan to send to Mewar a Brahmin envoy called Chandra Bhan. 88 It appears from Chandra Bhan's reports to Shah Jahan that the Mahardna's faults had been to have repaired Chitor, to have appointed in Mewar service persons who had left the imperial service without permission, and to have failed to maintain at full strength the contingent of 1000 soldiers which under the treaty Mewar had to supply to the imperial army. The result of Chandra Bhan's diplomatic mission was that the Mahdrdnd sent his eldest son, aged about six years, to wait on Shah Jahlan. Shah Jahan gave the young prince the usual presents and named him Saubhagya Singh, but took away from Mewar certain districts and attached these to Ajmer. 89

Raj Singh could not forget this disgrace which at that time he was unable to wipe off. But his opportunity came a few years later when Shah Jahan fell ill (6 September, 1657) and his sons rebelled. On the Dussera day (18 October, 1657) the Mahdrdnd began to prepare his army, and in November, advancing from Udaipur, sacked Khairabad, and imposed levies on Mandal, Pur, Banera, Shahpur and several other places which were included in the Mughul dominion. 90

Soon after, the rebel Aurangzlb started a correspondence with the Mahdrdnd, and seems to have received his tacit support in exchange for a promise to restore to Mewar the four districts which Shah Jahan had taken away from him. 91 When Aurangzlb occupied Agra after the battle of

Samogarh, the Mahdrdnd sent his son Sultan Singh, 92 to wait on him. Aurangzlb received the prince very graciously and gave him the usual presents, but what is more important he issued a farmdn bestowing on the Mahdrdnd the districts of Badnaur, Mandalgarh, Dungarpur, Banswara, Basabar and Gyaspur. The Mahdrdnds rank was also raised to 6000 of which 1000 personal was also do aspa and se aspa , 93 Soon Dara pathetically appealed in vain to the Mahdrdnd for help. 94

But an incident happened (1660) within a few years of the accession of Aurangzlb which changed the relation between the two. Princess Charumatl of Kishangarh, also known as Rupamatl, was betrothed by her brother to Aurangzlb. She, however, hated the idea of marrying a Muslim and wrote to Raj Singh to rescue her. Accordingly Raj Singh came with his army, and forced her brother to marry her to him. Aurangzlb's reaction to this was to detach Gyaspur and Basabar from Mewar and assign them to Raval Hari Singh of Deolia. The Mahdrdnd appealed against this decision, but it had no effect. 95 It is apparent that Raj Singh accepted the decision of Aurangzlb, and this incident did not lead to any conflict as is sometimes supposed, but this took place in consequence of Aurangzib's attitude towards Marwar.

II. MARWAR

After the death of Maharaja Jasvant Singh in December, 1678, Aurangzlb appointed Muslim officers to administer Marwar and on 9 January, 1679, himself set out for Ajmer to supervise the annexation of the Rathor State. High officials were sent to capture the treasures of the late Maharaja and destroy the temples. No resistance was offered to these acts of vandalism, possibly because the Rathor officers who were capable of defending their country were serving with their king in Jamrud and were at this time escorting

two of Jasvant's widows, who were enceinte at the time of his death. The two queens gave birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore, and the news reached Aurangzlb on 26 February, 1679. The Rathor ministers pleaded in vain for the recognition of the succession of Jasvant's new born son Ajit, to his father's dominion, the other son having died a few days after birth. Aurangzlb paid no heed to these appeals, but having completed the arrangements for the occupation of Marwar returned from Ajmer to Delhi on 12 April, 1679, and on that day reimposed the jizya on the Hindus after a century of abeyance. 96 On 26 May, in return for a succession fee of 36 lakhs of rupees Indra Singh, a grand-nephew of Jasvant, was invested as the Raja of Jodhpur, but the Mughul administrators and generals were retained there.

In the meantime, the faithful Rathors brought their infant king and his mother to Delhi (June, 1679) and represented his cause to Aurangzlb. Aurangzlb ordered the infant Ajit to be brought up in his harem with a promise that he would be admitted to the Mughul peerage when he came of age, and, according to one contemporary historian, offered the throne to Ajit on condition that he became a Muslim. 97

The Rathors, who claimed to be the descendants of the great Rashtrakutas, were seized with consternation, but it was in this hour of peril that they proved their noble descent. Fortunately they were guided by a brave hero of sturdy spirit, namely Durga Das, son of Jasvant's minister Askaran. With the chivalry and courage of his ancestors he added a genius for organisation and statecraft worthy of a Mughul minister. He saw through Aurangzlb's wretched diplomatic promise, and begged for delay promising to present Ajit to the court when he came of age. Soon Aurangzlb lost patience and on 15 July sent the Provost of Delhi and the Captain of the imperial guards to seize the queens and Ajit and lodge them in the prison of Nurgarh.

But the astute Durga Das was ready. The Mughul commanders, who had the wisdom not to provoke the impetuous Rajputs, first tried to persuade them to deliver their queens and Ajit peacefully. This having been answered with a sharp volley of musket fire, the Mughuls also opened fire in self .defence. Then Durga Das's plan—hatched in secret and almost incredible in character—was put into operation and took the Muslims by surprise.

Suddenly a gate of the mansion opened and Raghunath Bhatti, with one hundred troopers, rushed out in a wild "death-defying" charge, before which the Muslims quailed. Seizing the opportunity, Durga Das with the rest of his followers and the queens in male attire, slipped out of the mansion and took the road to Jodhpur. For an hour and a half, Raghunath dyed the streets of Delhi with blood, but at last he fell with all his comrades. Then the Mughuls set out in pursuit but in the meantime the fugitives had covered nine miles, when the Mughuls overtook them. Then Ranchhor Das Jodha turned round to check the pursuers with a small band of troopers. And they too resisted the Muslims to the last man. The Mughuls then took up the pursuit again and this time, while the rest continued their journey towards Jodhpur, Durga Das turned round with fifty troopers and fought till all but seven of them died. It was almost evening and at last the tired Mughuls gave up the pursuit and wearily made their way back to Delhi, while Durga Das and his comrades safely carried the royal party to their destination. 98

But, as has been related above, Jodhpur was under the effective control of the Mughuls, so Durga Das turned to the only power —Mewar—which could come to their aid.

Mewar and the Mughuls

During this period, Raj Singh, who was busy in developing his country, tried to maintain cordial relations with Aurangzib. While Aurangzib was grabbing Jodhpur, the Maharana did not protest. On his way back from Ajmer, Aurangzib sent a jarman on 23 March, 1679, asking Raj Singh to send his son to the court. 99 Accordingly, prince Jay Singh was sent to Delhi where he was received by Aurangzib in the usual manner (11 April, 1679). In the meantime, however, Aurangzib had imposed the jizya and soon after demanded the Mahdrdnd to impose it in Mewar. 100

The only path of duty open to a Rajput was, however, shown by Aurangzib himself. He had given a foretaste of his religious bigotry and fanaticism by breaking some of the most famous temples of Rajasthan and then carrying the images to Delhi where they were placed before the mosques as steps so that they might be trodden by the faithful. 101 Mewar had not yet been invaded by the Muslims, but the annexation of Marwar would enable the Muslims to outflank the country and enable them to enter Mewar through the Aravalll passes. Indeed, the Maharana seems to have envisaged some danger and closed the Deobari pass with huge walls and portals as early as 1674. 102

Last Muslim Invasion oj Rajasthan

The Rathors on arrival at Jodhpur began their struggle to throw out the Muslim invaders, which lasted till the death of Aurangzib (1707), with varying success on either side. It is not possible to give here the details of this heroic struggle, and only the main points may be noted.

With the arrival of Durga Das, Marwar burst into flames. Aurangzib realized that his hope of ruling Marwar with the supine Indra Singh as the nominal king under a Mughul faujdar was no longer possible. So he dethroned Indra Singh, recalled the faujdar, Tahir Khan, in disgrace, and set up a milkman's son as the real Ajit in Delhi.

After completing his political preparations, Aurangzib sent Sarbuland Khan with a large army (17 August, 1679) and himself followed a fortnight later to exercise the overall command from Ajmer. Unfortunately, the Muslims were not the only enemy of the Rathors. Fissiparous tendencies developed inside Marwar, and the Gurjara-Pratiharas, the ancient enemy of the Rashtrakutas, took this opportunity to recover their ancestral stronghold of Mandor. It was later recaptured by the Rathors.

But the Mughul invasion backed by resources of the vast empire could not be checked. The great battle of this war took place near the Lake Pushkar, where the Mairta Rathors tried to bar the advance of Mughul troops and save the Varaha temple. After three days of continuous fighting, mounds of dead bodies remained to proclaim the valour of the Hindu heroes who had died to the last man to save the temple (19 August). Thereafter, no more pitched battle was fought. Guerilla warfare began.

Soon the pretence of ruling Marwar in the name of the impostor was given up and the State was divided into regular administrative units, each under a Mughul faujdar , and prince Akbar was ordered to put down the resistance. This he attempted to do by advancing from Ajmer towards Mairta, which route even today is marked by the cenotaphs of Rathor soldiers, a mute reminder that they were not overawed by the overwhelming odds against them. "As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzib pour his barbarians over the land. . . .Jodhpur fell and was pillaged; and all the great towns in the plains of Mairta, Didwana and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down and mosques erected on their sites.” 103

Aurangzib then turned to Mewar which indeed had become the Rathor base of operations. He wrote three letters to the Mahdrdna reminding him of their past good relations, upbraiding him for sheltering Ajit and threatening him with dire consequences if he continued to support the Jodhpur prince. The Mahdrdnd sent polite but firm replies that the terror of Muslim invasion would not force him to swerve from his path of duty. 104

Aurangzib realized that to crush the determined Sisodia-Rathor opposition, quick and decisive action was necessary. So he called his son Mu‘azzam from the Deccan, and Muhammad A‘zam from Bengal, his other son Akbar being already with him. Tahavvur Khan, the governor of Ajmer, Hasan ‘All Khan, the governor of Ratanpur, and Muhammad Amir Khan, the governor of Ahmedabad, were given subsidiary commands to open the mountain passes and maintain the lines of communications.

The Mahardnd on his part took up his position on the crest of the Aravallls ready to pounce on the Mughuls whenever he thought fit. The rough circle formed by the massed hills of Mewar, stretching from Udaipur westwards to Kumbhalmer, and from the Rajsamudra lake southwards to Salumbra, formed a vast natural fort with three gates, opening east, north and west through which the defenders could sally out and fall upon any isolated enemy outpost or detachment. In short, the Mughul army was stretched along a long arc of which the Mahardnd occupied the short base. To reach him it was necessary to break through the three passes of Udaipur, Rajsamudra and Deobari. The Mughul armies of Mewar and Marwar were divided by the Aravallls, and as the passes were controlled by the Sisodias the Mughuls had to make a long and toilsome detour in transferring troops from Chitor to Marwar. Thus, while Aurangzib attempted to crush the enemy under the weight of his superior number and artillery, the Mahdrdnd took the fullest advantage of the terrain and adopted a strategy which enabled a small number of determined men to hold out against heavy odds. As we shall see later, the Mughul soldiers, always ready to fight in the open, would refuse to enter the defiles and narrow passes of the Aravalll. The Mahdrdnd also evacuated all the big cities and as much of the plains as possible.

Aurangzib struck the first blow. He left Ajmer on 30 November, 1679, and met with little effective opposition. The deserted pass of Deobari was occupied on 4 January, 1680, and soon after he entered the empty city of Udaipur. He systematically destroyed the countryside and broke the temples.

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A detachment under Hasan ‘All Khan was sent into the hills to trace the Mahdrdnd. For some time this detachment was lost, but ultimately traced and reinforced. They succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the Mahdrdnd , and capturing his camp and property. In

the meantime, Chitor was occupied, and Aurangzib visited it at the end of February, destroying sixty-three temples there. His task thus finished, Aurangzib returned to Ajmer on 22 March, leaving Akbar in charge at Chitor, satisfied, like the Mughul commanders before him, that with the capture of the cities, and establishment of some isolated Mughul garrisons, the enemy resistance would come to an end. It just began.

With the departure of Aurangzib, the Mahdrdnd launched his attack. The isolated Mughul outposts, always a source of weakness, were so harassed that the Mughul officers refused to command them. The Mughul supply trains and escorts also were attacked so successfully that soon the Mughul soldiers refused to enter any pass. Heavier attacks were also launched, including a serious reverse suffered by Akbar at Chitor. At the same time raids were carried into the neighbouring Mughul provinces of Malwa and Gujarat. The invading army of Gujarat under prince Bhlm Singh liberated Idar,; and plundered Vadnagar, Vishalnagar and some other rich cities of Gujarat including Ahmadabad, collecting much booty. In revenge for breaking the temples, Bhlm Singh destroyed one big and thirty small mosques. 105

Aurangzib recognized that his plan of defeating the enemy by holding on to strategic points and devastating his country had failed. He was particularly disappointed by the reverses which Akbar suffered at Chitor, so the latter was transferred to Marwar and a new plan adopted. Prince A‘zam, who had replaced Akbar at Chitor was ordered to advance by way of the Deobarl pass and Udaipur—Prince Mu‘azzam from the north by way of Rajsamudra, and Akbar from the west through the Deobarl pass. It was expected that the concerted action would drive the Mahdrdnd out of his mountain stronghold and eventually lead to his capture. However A‘zam and Mu‘azzam failed to achieve their objective (July, 1680).

Akbar, goaded by Aurangzib, made progress slowly and at a heavy loss. Now the Mahdrdnd and Durga Das adopted new tactics. Akbar’s second in command, Tahavvur Khan, had been ordered by Aurangzib to win over as many Sisodia and Rathor nobles as possible. Thus he came into contact with them and formed with them • a plot to declare Akbar the emperor of India, and soon the Prince was won over. Aurangzib also seems to have opened peace proposals, 106 but while these negotiations were proceeding Mahdrdnd Raj Singh died on 1 November, 1680, 107 and was succeeded by his son Jay Singh.

Jay Singh (1680-1698)

The death of Raj Singh temporarily stopped the negotiations, but soon after it was taken up. On 11 January, 1681, Akbar joined the Sisodias and the Rathors, and issued a manifesto deposing his father and crowning himself emperor. The next day he started for Ajmer to wrest the Mughul crown from Aurangzib.

If this foolish and indolent prince had not delayed on his way to Ajmer in merry-making, the history of India might have been different. For, when the news of Akbar’s rebellion reached Aurangzib at Ajmer, he had only a few soldiers with him. But every day’s delay afforded him time to bring in reinforcements.

It took Akbar a fortnight to cover 120 miles that separated him from his father. Even so, before he could take any decisive action his hopes were foiled by an astute trick. Tahavvur Khan’s fatherin-law wrote him a letter that if he came over to Aurangzib he would be pardoned, otherwise his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold for the price of dogs. This unnerved Akbar's chief commander and he secretly left the camp and reached the Mughul camp where he was soon murdered. In the meantime, a letter addressed to Akbar by Aurangzib was made to fall in Durga Das's hands in which Aurangzib thanked the prince for bringing the Rajputs to their doom and gave him further instructions for the next day's battle so that the destruction of the Rajputs might be complete. Durga Das went to find out the truth from Akbar but learnt that he was asleep. He next sent men to call Tahavvur Khan, but discovered that he had left for the imperial camp. This confirmed their suspicion and the Rajputs in a body rode off.

Durga Das, under the circumstances, was quite justified in leaving Akbar to his fate. But the next morning when the prince woke up he found himself left with a few hundred followers. He therefore turned round and followed Durga Das, with whom he was able to establish contact after about a day. Durga Das also had by that time realized the trick that had been played on them and was returning to protect Akbar, for Durga Das's honour demanded that Akbar should be saved at all costs. Akbar first went to Mewar, but the MaharcLnd refused to grant him asylum, 108 so Durga Das most chivalrously agreed to escort him to the only court in India which could afford him protection—that is Shambhuji's. After many hairbreadth escapes from the Mughuls, Durga Das conducted Akbar to Maharashtra, and there this gallant man stayed till 1687 to help the cause of the Mughul prince.

Though Akbar's adventure had failed, in a sense it helped the Rajputs. Aurangzlb's attention was diverted towards the south, and he was forced to come to terms with Mewar.

Mewar ends the war

While Akbar was proceeding against Aurangzib, a contingent of the Mewar army under Dayal Das advanced to attack prince A'zam's army. Dayal Das was defeated and forced to flee after killing his wife, lest she should be captured by the Mughuls. 109

This action took place in the first week of February, 1681, and shortly A'zam sent the Sisodia prince Shyam Singh, son of prince Garib Das and grandson of Mahdrdnd Kama, to open negotiations with Mewar. 110 He advised the Mahamnd to conclude peace as Aurangzib was most likely to offer favourable terms now in view of Akbar’s rebellion and the approaching rainy season. Jay Singh, therefore, sent some of his nobles to Ajmer, and by 23 February, the negotiations had so far progressed that Aurangzib sent a conciliatory far man to Jay Singh, accepting his peace offer, and directing him to visit Prince A‘zam, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty entered into by Khurram. 111

According to Shyamaldas, it was at this time, that Akbar was cornered by the pursuing Mughul forces and A‘zam wrote a letter to Jay Singh asking him to arrest Akbar, and if possible to kill him. Therefore Jay Singh decided not to permit Akbar to enter Mewar as stated above.

The terms of the treaty were soon arranged and were as follows: 112

1. The Mahdrdnd would cede to Aurangzib the pargands of Mandal, Pur and Bednor in lieu of the jizya demanded from his kingdom.

2. The Mughuls would withdraw from Mewar and the condition obtaining at the time of invasion was to be restored.

3. The Mahdrdnd was not to recruit any Rathor or deserter from the Mughul army.

4. Ajit would be recognized as vassal Raj'a and mansahddr when he came of age.

The treaty was concluded between Jay Singh and Prince Muhammad A‘zam on 24 June, 1681, with the usual pomp and exchange of presents, and soon after Aurangzfb sent to the Mahdrdnd the customary robe of condolence for his father’s death.

Thus the war in Mewar ended but the war in Mar war continued for another three decades which will be described in a subsequent section.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has stigmatized Jay Singh for his “signal incapacity” and the lack of military skill and the organizing genius of his great father. But Sir Jadunath also writes that “the Rajput war was a drawn game so far as actual fighting was concerned, but its material consequences were disastrous to the Maharana’s subjects. They retained their independence among the sterile crags of the Aravallis, but their cornfields in the plains below were ravaged by the enemy. They could stave off defeat but not starvation. The Mughals, on the other hand, might fail to penetrate into the hills of Kamalmer; their outposts might be surprised and convoys cut off occasionally but they held the low country and received supplies from all parts of the empire.” 113

It seems that because Mewar had surrendered three districts in lieu of jizya, the Mahardnd refused to send the 1000 troopers which was Me war’s contribution to the Mughul army. There is a letter in the Udaipur archives dated 7 August, 1684, in which Prince Muhammad A‘zam informs the Mahardnd that he will get back the districts which had been forfeited on account of the jizya if he immediately sent 1000 horse to the south. 114 It appears, however, that nothing came out of this arrangement, and Pur, Mandal and Bednor were not restored to the Mahardnd, 115 possibly because the Mahardnd had not sent the contingent. In 1690, the Mahardnd entered into a new arrangement under which he agreed to pay one lakh of rupees as jizya and receive back Pur and Bednor and his mansab was to be increased by one thousand. 116

With the conclusion of peace, Jay Singh turned his attention to the administration of the country and to several irrigation projects, of which the most important was lake Jaysamudra, said to be one of the largest artificial lakes in the world.

The last years of his reign were clouded by the rebellion of his eldest son Amar Singh, and he had to enlist the help of Durga Das and the Rathors to recover his kingdom. The nobles, however, were able to effect a rapprochement between the father and the son, but the latter had to be granted a considerable independent jdgir (1692).

Jay Singh died on 9 October, 1698, and was succeeded by his son Amar Singh II, whose history really belongs to the period covered in the next volume.

Marwar and the Mughuls

In the previous section it has been related that Mewar entered into treaty relation with the Mughuls in 1681, but this did not end the war in Marwar. For though there was a clause in the abovementioned treaty under which Ajit was to be recognized as the vassal chieftain when he came of age, for the present Aurangzib persisted in ruling Marwar through his own Muslim officers. The people of Marwar refused to accept their rule, resulting in continued warfare for practically three decades (1681-1707).

The history of this warfare can be conveniently divided into four periods, namely (i) from 1681 to 1687, during which period Durga Das was in the Deccan; (ii) from 1687 to 1696 during which period Durga Das and Ajit were fighting against the Mughuls; (iii) from 1696 to 1701, a period of truce; (iv) from 1701 to 1707, renewal of the struggle and final liberation of Marwar.

(i) 1681-1687

Durga Das, as has been stated, felt it to be his duty to escort prince Akbar to a place of safety. As Shambhuji was the only king who could shelter Akbar, Durga Das and a band of Rathors escorted the prince to Maharashtra, eluding his pursuers with great skill. Though many Rathors returned to Marwar, Durga Das felt honourbound to guide and help the unlucky prince, and stayed with him till the latter, despairing of Maratha help, left for Persia in February, 1687. Soon after Durga Das returned to Marwar.

During this period, the Rathor nobles without any central authority had been fighting the Mughuls whenever and wherever possible. They were joined in 1681 by Mahakam Singh of Mairta who left the Mughul service to join the national struggle, and the Bhati tribe of Jaisalmer in 1682. The result of this sporadic but continuous warfare is graphically described by a bard: “An hour before sunset every gate of Maru was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit. . . .The roads were now impassable.”

(ii) 1687-96

Durga Das, as stated above, returned to Mlarwar in 1687 and was joined by Hada Durjan Sal, the foremost noble of Bund!. Together they slaughtered or drove away most of the Mughul garrisons in Marwar and carried their raid into the imperial territory menacing even Delhi. However, they declined any engagement with the regular army that was sent against them from Delhi, and returned to Marwar via Sirhind. Near Mandal, Durjan Sal died in action, and Durga Das returned to Marwar, probably after sacking Mandal, Pur and Malpura.

In 1690, Durga Das signally defeated the governor of Ajmer and rendered Marwar so unsafe that Shuja‘at Khan, the governor of Gujarat (to which province Marwar was now attached), had to take personal charge of affairs in Jodhpur. He took reconciliatory measures, granting land to some Rathor nobles and thus winning them over—while strong forces were sent to check the activities of Durga Dias. It was, however, impossible to guard adequately the route over which trade passed from Gujarat to North India through M3arwar. So Shuja'at Khan first tried to come to an understanding with the Rathors by paying them one-fourth of the imperial customs dues on all merchandise, and later attempted to divert the trade through peaceful Mewjar. 117

In 1691, the Mughuls gained some respite as Durga Das and his Rathors went to help Maharund Jay Singh suppress the rebellion of his son, and in 1692 the Mughuls themselves began overtures for peace for the return of Prince Akbar’s children (a son and a daughter) whom he had left at Marwar. But nothing came out of these negotiations as Aurangzlb refused to yield to any of Durga Das’s demands. So in 1693 the war began again and Ajit guided by Durga Das began to cause disturbance, 118 but Shuja‘at Khan, aided by other Mughul officers, forced Ajit and Durga Das to flee back to the hills.

This was the last Mughul victory in Marwar. The situation in the Deccan had become desperate and there was no chance of sending fresh troops to the north. Secondly, Aurangzib became extremely anxious to get back his grand-daughter, Safiyat-un-nisa, and nego tiations for this purpose began in 1694. The niggardliness and obstinacy of old Aurangzlb protracted the negotiations till 1696, when Durga Das sent her to Aurangzlb unconditionally. When the young princess arrived, Aurangzib immediately thought of making arrangements for teaching her Islamic scriptures, but she informed him, that that part of her education had been carefully attended to by Durga Das, who had secured for this purpose a Muslim woman from Ajmer, and that she (the princess) knew the Quran by heart.

Nothing could please Aurangzib more, who in a rare moment of generosity, wanted to grant whatever Durga Das demanded. So it was arranged by the intermediary, iswardas Nagar, the historian, that Durga Das should get a mansab and a money allowance, to which the emperor readily agreed, provided he brought back Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar.

The negotiations, however, dragged for another two years as Aurangzlb refused to accede to Durga Das's demand for restoring Jodhpur to Ajit. Aurangzlb's idea was to purchase Durga Das by the offer of a rich mansab and money, but the honest Rathor spurned all proposals which involved the betrayal of the cause of his master's heir.

Unfortunately, however, Ajit longed for peace. In 1696, he had married the niece of Mahdrdnd Jay Singh and now he became eager for a settled home and income. So in 1698, Durga Das agreed to surrender Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar, in consideration of Ajit's receiving the pargands of Jhalor, Sanchor and Siwanla as his jagir and a mansab in the imperial army.

Durga Das, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, escorted Buland Akhtar to the court at Islampur on the Bhima. After the prince had been presented to his grandfather, Durga Das was called. As he was about to enter the audience hall, he was ordered to be ushered in unarmed like a prisoner. Without a moment's hesitation, the great soldier unsheathed his sword and the grand Mughul permitted him to enter fully armed. Only, as he approached Aurangzlb's throne a minister tied his wrist with a silk handkerchief, a theatrical gesture indicating captivity, and led him to the throne. The Emperor "graciously ordered Durga Das's arms to be untied, appointed him a commander of 3,000 horse (nominal rank), presented him with a jewelled dagger, a gold pendant (padak) and a string of pearls, and advanced him one lakh of Rupees from the imperial treasury.” 119

(hi) 1696-1701

This was a period of comparative quiet during which Durga Das joined the Mughul service, and in order to keep him out of Mewar, Aurangzlb posted him as the faujddr of Patan, that is Anahilapataka, the former capital of the Chaulukyas. In October, 1700, Ajit petitioned the Emperor for some cash or jagir, in exchange for which he offered to come to the court. But he never came to the court, probably suspecting treachery though repeatedly summoned to do so.

As will now appear, Ajit and Durga Das, who also kept himself away from the court, had good grounds for their suspicion. After the death of Shuja‘at Khan (9 July, 1701), Aurangzlb sent his son Muhammad A‘zam as the Governor of Gujarat with instructions to send Durga Das to the court, and, if he refused, to kill him. Accordingly, A‘zam summoned Durga Das to Ahmadabad which the latter

obeyed and A‘zam made preparations for murdering him on his arrival to pay the customary respects. It so happened that the day fixed for the interview was a dvddasv, and Durga Das had fasted the day before. So he wanted to go to the prince after taking his meals, but the latter, impatient of delay, began to send him messengers in succession, bidding him to come. This put the wary soldier on the alert and without breaking his fast, he set fire to his camp and equipage and left for Marwar.

A force was immediately sent to overtake Durga Das. As this body drew near, his grandson begged his permission to fight an action to stop the pursuers and receive his first battle scars. Probably the gallant boy wanted to emulate his grandfather’s famous rear guard action near Delhi. He succeeded in stopping the pursuers at the cost of his life.

(iv) 1701-1707

On arrival at Marwar, Durga Das joined Ajit and the struggle began again. But this time Marwar was exhausted, many Rathor nobles took service under the Mahdrdnd of Mewar and some even with the Mughuls, and above all, difference broke out between Durga Das and Ajit who had no further use for his loyal servant. This shows not only Ajit's stupidity, but the degeneration of the Rajasthan princes, who were no match for the Mughuls. Aurangzib took the fullest advantage of the situation and when in November, 1705, Durga Das, unable to maintain himself in barren independence, made his submission, Aurangzib promptly restored him his old mansab and post in Gujarat.

However, Durga Das never forgot his life's cause. Next year (1706) the Marathias inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughuls in Gujarat, and Ajit renewed the struggle for independence. Durga Das again left the Mughuls and joined Ajit.

Aurangzib took the usual measure for suppressing the Rathors, and while scattered actions were being fought in that unhappy country he breathed his last on 3 March, 1707. This happy news reached Ajit on 17 March, and he immediately took the road to Jodhpur. He expelled the Mughul commandant of the garrison and took possession of the city from which the Muslims fled in all directions in Hindu garb. "The fort of Jodhpur was purified with Ganges water and tulsl leaves". 1120 Ajit Singh sat on his ancestral throne and Durga Das's life-task was crowned with success.

III. MAHARASHTRA AFTER SHIVAJI (1680-1707)

Shambhuji (1680-1689)

The death of Shivaji (1680) was followed by internal dissensions in the newly created Maratha State. He had not named any successor and his eldest son, Shambhuji, aged 23 years, was the natural choice. But, as mentioned above (pp. 273-4), his licentious character, and particularly his defection to the Mughuls, irritated his father who virtually kept him a prisoner in the fort of Panhala. On the other hand, the only alternative to Shambhuji was Rajaram, son of queen Soyra Bai, a boy of ten, whose accession would mean a long regency of his mother, who did not possess the requisite qualification for the task. But as the two highest ministers of Shivaji, namely Moropant Pingle, the Peshwd, (Prime Minister) and Annaji Datto, the Surnis, (Finance Minister), both supported Soyra Bai, she had not probably much difficulty in convincing most of the generals and ministers, present at the capital, that the accession of Shambhuji would mean a great disaster to the State. So Rajiaram was proclaimed king and crowned at Raigarh on 21 April, 1680. It was, however, soon apparent that the people in general and the army outside the capital did not like this change in the normal order of succession. Apart from this, there was perhaps a far more serious—one might say ominous—cause for the split in public opinion in regard to the succession. This has been summed up by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the following words: “The council of regency as constituted at Raigarh meant Brahman rule, and the commander-in-chief (a Maratha by caste) was not prepared to take his orders from a priestly Mayor of the Palace, any more than another Sendpati of the Maratha realm, Khande Rao Dhabare, was fifty years later.” 121 In any case, ShambhujTs supporters, particularly soldiers, daily increased in number and he made himself free by killing the Killdhddr of Panhala. He not only made himself master of Panhala but consolidated his possession of the South Maratha country and South Konkan and openly declared himself King. In the meanwhile the two ministers, mentioned above, who supported the cause of Rajaram, had advanced towards Panhala to check him. They were disheartened to hear of the rapid success of Shambhuji and hesitated to attack him. But at the end of May, Sendpati Iiambir Rao Mohite, who was near Panhala and had joined Shambhuji, arrested the two great ministers, Annaji and Moropant and took them as captives to Shambhuji. “There all the army chiefs assembled and recognized Shambhuji as their king.” 122 The Peshwa recanted and Shambhuji took him into favour, while Annaji was thrown into prison. Shambhuji then advanced with 5,000 soldiers, which increased to 20,000 during the march, and entered Raigarh without any opposition (18 June, 1680). He treated Rajaram with kindness and acted for the first few days with “combined vigour and thoughtfulness”. 123 He formally ascended the throne on 20 July, 1680, and his coronation ceremony was performed with great splendour on 16 January, 1681.

Shambhuji enjoyed a fairly long respite from the attack of his great enemy, the Mughuls, for, as mentioned above, 124 Aurangzib had then concentrated "all the military resources of the Mughul empire" in Mewar. The Mughul army in the Deccan continued the campaign in a somewhat leisurely fashion and Shambhuji showed a great deal of activity during the first three or four years of his reign. This is all the more remarkable as the new king had to face a lot of troubles at home caused by dissensions in his own family and the Government at Raigarh.

As mentioned above, Shambhuji had imprisoned AnnajI Datto, one of the chief conspirators who planned to oust him from the throne. But he not only released the traitor, but also appointed him Accountant-General, a post second only in importance to that of the Peshwa. But, far from appreciating the generosity of the king, AnnajI lost no time in hatching a conspiracy with Soyra Bai and some other leading men to murder Shambhuji by poisoning his food. There is also a story to the effect that the conspirators approached the Mughul prince Akbar who, as mentioned above, fled from Rajputana and was given asylum by the Maratha king. But, so the story runs, Akbar not only refused to join, but informed Shambhuji about it. Whatever we may think of this story, there is no doubt that there was such a nefarious plot but it was detected in time and Shambhuji took terrible vengeance upon the conspirators. Eight ringleaders were trampled under feet of the elephants and twenty more were sentenced to death. Opinions differ regarding the fate of the prime mover Soyra Bai. She was "charged with having poisoned her husband (a year and a half earlier), and was put to a painful death, through poison (according to the Bombay factory report) or by starvation (according to Chitnis)". 125 All these took place in October, 1681, and were followed by terrible persecution of the Shirkes, the family of Soyra Bai's father. "Their property was seized, many of their members were killed, and the rest fled to Mughal territory, entered the imperial army, and tried to carry on their blood-feud with him (Shambhuji) to the end of his days." 126

All this was merely a foretaste of what happened almost throughout the reign of Shambhuji. This was largely due to the character and personality of the new king. His terrible vengeance on the partisans of Rajaram alienated the old officers of the State and "his rudeness, caprice and violence of spirit made even the highest of his officers feel insecure and unhappy in his service." The inevitable consequence was that conspiracies, desertions of officers and rebellion of vassals became almost a permanent feature during his whole reign.

ShambhujI did not trust, far less love, anybody, nor was he trusted and loved by any of his officers. There was only one exception, a learned Brahman from U.P., generally known by his title Kavi-Kalash (Pinnacle of Poets), who proved to be a devoted servant. He had gained the love, esteem and confidence of ShambhujI to such an extent that gradually he monopolised all the powers of government and was referred to as the "chiefest minister of State". Though opinions differ, we may generally accept the view that the king became a roi faineant, blindly following the advice of this upstart minister and "devoting all his time to wine and women, with fitful outbursts of martial vigour." 127 The evidence of this martial vigour was shown by minor clashes with the Mughul troops and also by surprise raids into the territory occupied by the Mughuls in the Deccan.

The most notable of these surprise raids was that against Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh, at the end of January, 1681. As this serves as a typical example of the Maratha raid in future extending as far as Bengal, more than seventy years later, it may be described in some detail. "The surprise was so complete that none could conceal or remove a penny worth of property or save his wife and children. The smoke of the burning houses first informed the governor of the enemy's presence, but he was powerless to do anything and merely shut himself up in the fort. Lakhs of rupees worth of booty was taken in every pur a (ward, seventeen of which, besides a rich suburb, were plundered). Many respectable men slew their wives and daughters and then fell desperately fighting the brigands, rather than see their family honour outraged. . . . For three days the Marathas looted the suburbs to their hearts' content, without the least interruption and dug up the floor of every house, thus discovering the buried treasure of many generations past. . . . They carried off nothing but gold, silver and gems, and left the streets littered with the metal and China ware, clothing and spices which they had at first seized.” 128

Similar raids against many other places were attempted, and though many of them were unsuccessful, they created terror and

panic as may be gathered from the following description of the people of Aurangabad on the report of the approach of the Marathas: “All houses were closed, the men sitting armed and trembling and the women weeping within doors. The streets and bazars were entirely deserted/’ 129 But the timely arrival of the Mughul army saved the town. These descriptions are echoed in the Maha rdshtra-PurdV'Ci, a contemporary account of the raids of the Bargis (Maratha raiders) in Bengal during the rule of Alivardi Khan (1740-56).

While these raids and minor clashes with the Mughul troops were going on, the arrival of the fugitive Mughul prince Akbar 130 and the protection given to him by Shambhuji (1681) opened a vista of romantic military enterprises of both against the Mughul Emperor Aurangzlb, including a plan to install Akbar on the Mughul throne after removing his father. But though ail these grandiose plans came to nothing, Akbar’s presence in Maharashtra had one important effect on the history of the Deccan. For it was the immediate cause of the arrival of Aurangzlb in the Deccan and his stay there till his death, with fatal consequences to the fortunes of Bijapur, Golconda, and, to some extent, also of the Marathas. These have been described in Chapter X and need not be repeated. The Mughul Emperor started with an elaborate plan to conquer Maharashtra but, for reasons stated above, he could not achieve any substantial gain even after a year of his arrival.

In the meanwhile, Shambhuji undertook several military expeditions. The first was directed against the Siddis of Janjira. The enmity between the Marathas and the Siddis dates back to 1679 when Shivaji fortified the island of Khanderi and defeated the combined English and Siddi fleet that wanted to capture it. When Shambhuji ascended the throne the Maratha fleet consisted of 60 ships carrying 5,000 soldiers on board, and the number had increased to 135 (120 gallivats and 15 ghurabs) by May, 1682. Towards the end of 1681 the Siddi fleet ravaged a large tract of territory near Chaul and

Shambhuji arrived with 20,000 men and a vast train of cannon to the coast opposite Janjira. From a hill he bombarded that island continuously for 30 days and all the fortifications were razed to the ground. But as the Maratha fleet was no match for that of the Siddis the Maratha army could not cross the channel, 800 yds. broad and 30 yds. deep. So Shambhuji intended to fill up the channel with stones (according to some authorities with timber and bags of cotton). He employed 50,000 men for the purpose, but before the work was completed the Mughul invasion of Northern Konkan and capture of Kalian about the end of January, 1682, forced

him to retire to Raigarh, leaving only 10,000 men to continue the siege. As the siege continued without any tangible success, the Maratha troops were carried in boats and made an assault on Janjira, but they had to retire with heavy loss (July, 1682). On 4 October, the Maratha navy of 30 gallivats was defeated by the Siddi squadron of 16 vessels, 8 miles south of Kolaba Point, while another Maratha squadron of 80 gallivats lay hiding and did not dare come to the assistance of the former. These clearly testify to the hopeless inferiority of the Marathas to the Siddis as a naval power.

Shambhuji next launched an attack against the Portuguese on the ground that they had helped the Mughuls against the Marathas in various ways, which was undoubtedly a fact. Shortly after the Mughuls retired from North Konkan, Shambhuji advanced with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot and burnt Tarapur and all other towns from Daman to Bassein. But he failed in his attempts to take Chaul and other forts of the Portuguese, though he gained some success in the Portuguese territory on the coast to the north of Bombay. The Viceroy of Goa laid siege to the fortified town of Phonda, a Maratha possession, 10 miles south-south-east of Goa in October. But though considerable damage was done to the fort, the Portuguese failed to take it and had to retreat with heavy loss. Overjoyed at this success Shambhuji next planned to seize the city of Goa and advanced with 7,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. He captured the island of Santo Estevao, two miles north-east of Goa (14 November), inflicting heavy losses on the relieving force under the command of the Viceroy in person. The Marathia force also captured Salsette, immediately to the south of Goa and the Peninsula of Bardes, north of Goa. But they were trapped into the small island of Kumbarju, immediately to the east of Goa, for as soon as the tide set in, the Portuguese flotilla occupied the two wide streams enclosing the island, and on the remaining side there was a heavy bombardment from the fort of Goa. Only "few of the 7,000 Maratha troops escaped alive." 131 On 5 January, 1684, the Mughul forces under Prince Shah 'Alam which came to the assistance of the Portuguese occupied Bicholim, an important town of Shambhuji, and three days later a very powerful Mughul fleet reached the harbour of Goa. The disaster at Kumbarju and the news of the approach of Shah 'Alam induced Shambhuji to retire to Raigarh, leaving the Mughul prince Akbar who had accompanied him and the minister Kavi-Kalash to negotiate a peace with the Portuguese. A peace was concluded on 20 January, 1684, on condition of the mutual restitution of all conquests, and the Portuguese agreeing not to allow Mughul ships to pass within gunshot of their forts. But this treaty,

forced on Shambhuji by his fear, was not ratified by him and hostilities continued till a peace, or rather truce, was patched up in October. "But languid hostilities with the Portuguese continued till the end of Shambhujfs reign." 132

Reference has been made above to the grandiose schemes planned by Shambhuji and the Mughul prince Akbar. But instead of making preparations for a grand expedition against the Mughul Emperor, Shambhuji had merely frittered his energy and resources by fights with the Siddis and the Portuguese. Between September, 1682, and the end of 1685, Shambhuji and Akbar discussed plans of invading Northern India through Surat with Akbar at the head of the expedition, but nothing came out of all these. The fact is that while the object of Akbar was to gain the throne of Delhi, Shambhuji, perhaps rightly, did not like the idea of invading North India in the company of Akbar while Aurangzlb was still in the Deccan with a mighty force. For there was the great risk that the Mughul emperor would conquer Maharashtra during his absence. In any case, Akbar gradually realized that Shambhuji did not sincerely desire to help him; so he decided to leave Maharashtra and actually embarked for the purpose, but both Durga Das and Kavi-Kalash assured him that Shambhuji would keep his word and help him to defeat the army of the emperor (November, 1683). So Akbar gave up the idea of leaving Maharashtra, and there are reasons to believe that some serious efforts were made to help him. There was a rumour in September and November, 1684, that Akbar and Shambhuji would attack Surat. But nothing happened. In October, 1685, a body of rebels, about 4,000 in number, seized Broach and proclaimed Akbar emperor; but the move ultimately failed. In June, 1686, taking advantage of the absence of Aurangzlb and major part of his forces in Bijapur, Akbar made an attempt to seize Ahmadnagar and then march to Northern India to join the Rajputs; but it failed. There were rumours about other attempts of that kind, but nothing came out of these. At long last, the disillusioned Mughul Prince Akbar left for Persia in February, 1687.

In the meantime, the Mughul forces made great headway, and, as has already been mentioned, even two wives and one daughter of Shambhuji were captured by the Mughuls. According to the reports of the Dutch fathers, supported by Manucci, Shambhuji!, after his return from the Goa expedition, gave himself to pleasure and instead of guiding the military campaigns spent his time in wine and women. Manucci further states that "ShambhujI's victories were not the fruit of his own labour, but were due to his officers." 133 When Aurangzlb was fully occupied in his campaign against Bijapur

and Golconda, ShambhujI neither helped them in the larger interests of the Deccan as a whole, nor utilized the opportunity to improve his own position by any well-conceived plan. The Maratha forces were, as usual, engaged in making plundering raids in various directions, but these did him no good. The fact is that all the old and experienced officers had been removed from the court for one reason or another, 134 and he had no competent agent to manage the distant parts of his dominions. Kavi-Kalash was the only capable minister, but being a northerner he was not liked by the Marathas. The situation was rendered worse by conspiracies, one after another, followed by the execution or imprisonment of important Maratha generals and ministers. 135 Even Madras Karnatak passed out of the control of ShambhujI, for his brother-in-law ruled practically as an independent ruler with the title of Maharaja. The English factory records refer to the economic ruin of Maharashtra, the corruption of officers and the chaos and confusion caused by constant rebellions. The records ascribe the ruin of trade and industry to the misrule of ShambhujI and his absorption in pleasure. 136 After the conspiracies in 1680, 1681, and 1684, the Shirke family whose defection has been noted above (p. 360) rose against ShambhujI in October, 1688, and attacked Kavi-Kalash. ShambhujI defeated the rebels and arrested many leading people, including ministers, on mere suspicion of complicity. 137 On his way back to Raigarh he halted at Sangameshwar. How he was captured there (1 February, 1689) and put to death after prolonged torture on 11 March has been described above (pp. 288-9). It was a great tragedy, but just on the eve of his execution he gave evidence of manliness which he did not show in life. The cruel murder of ShambhujI by Aurangzlb undoubtedly evokes our pity, but ShambhujTs life and reign hardly deserve our sympathy.

Rajardm (1689-1700)

At the time of Shambhujl's death, his son Shahu v being a minor, Rajaram, the younger son of ShivlajI, who was kept in prison by ShambhujI, was proclaimed king by the ministers and crowned at Raigarh without any opposition on 8 (or 9) February, 1689. 138 The military campaigns during his reign, both Mughul and Maratha, have been briefly described above (pp. 293 ff.) and need not be narrated in detail, but a few general features of the Maratha tactics may be stressed.

When Raigarh was besieged by the Mughul army on 25 March, 1689, Yesu Bai, the widowed queen of ShambhujI, infused courage and enthusiasm among the disheartened people by brave words and

suggested a new tactics which was followed till the end. This may be summed up as follows:

1. That the members of the royal family, including the king, and important leaders should not all be concentrated in one place, even at the strongly fortified capital, Raigarh, but should scatter themselves in different quarters of the kingdom, so that the fall of one fort would not jeopardise the fate of the whole Government and people.

2. Able military generals, including those who were unjustly kept in prison and set at liberty in the new regime, should be inspired by a sense of duty to their motherland and a spirit of supreme self-sacrifice, and carry on

unceasing guerilla warfare or surprise raids on different Mughul posts, and harass the Mughul forces in every way. 139

In accordance with this policy, Rajaram himself left Raigarh with his family and, moving from one place to another such as Pratapgarh and Panhala, ultimately reached Gingee. “Some of the other leaders, Ramchandra Pant Amatya, Pralhad Niraji and Shankaraji Malhar Sachiv, also left Raigarh and in mutual consultation from different places commenced an unprecedented campaign of fire, plunder and brigandage into the Mughul territory, using a network of spies to obtain information of the enemy’s movements.” 140 Two young chieftains, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, particularly distinguished themselves and almost created havoc in the Mughul camps. On one occasion they even stealthily approached the imperial tent and cut down the supporting ropes so that the whole tent came down and crushed the inmates. Aurangzib himself was saved by the lucky chance that he spent that night in his daughter’s camp. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has paid glowing, but well-deserved, tributes to these two heroes in the following words:

“In the long history of his struggle with the Marathas after the sun of Maratha royalty had set in, the red cloud of Shambhuji’s blood and the people’s war had begun. Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav were the two stars of dazzling brilliancy which filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade, and paralyzed the alien invader.” 141 Words like these from one who is not easily carried by emotion are very high praises indeed.

Rajaram’s flight to Gingee gives one more evidence of the great political foresight of Shivaji. By a wonderful prescience he had felt the necessity of establishing a long line of fortified possessions from Maharashtra to distant Tanj ore, via Bangalore, Vellore and

Gingee, so as to form a new line of defence which he might utilize to his advantage if occasion or necessity arose. In the dire necessity caused by all-round Mughul efforts to crush the Marathas by simultaneous invasions from different sides, it proved to be a godsend and when Rajaram found it impossible to hold Panhala against the Mughul attack, he fled to Gingee “after undergoing many perils and hair-breadth escapes from the Mughal pursuers on the way.” 142 After the romantic adventure of more than a month and a half’s journey he at last settled in Gingee, far away from

Maharashtra, in November, 1689, and was joined by his ministers and other officials. Henceforth, Gingee became the seat of the royal court and centre of Maratha activity against the Mughuls. According to contemporary account, “the Chiefs of the Karnatak lands hailed Rajaram as an uncommon hero and made his cause their own. They brought him presents of money, provisions and materials and having been actuated with a spirit of vengeance against Muslims, offered every kind of service to the Maratha king.” 143 The neighbouring city of Tanjore was the capital of a Maratha State ruled by a cousin of Rajaram. In Gingee the king administered the affairs of State with the help of his Council of eight ministers, a system established by Shivaji, to which he added a ninth called the Pratinidhi, a post specially created for Pralhad Niraji who had rendered most valuable service. As could be expected, Gingee was besieged by the Mughuls, but it was captured only after 8 years, on 7 February, 1698. Rajaram had left the place in preceding December and fixed his capital at Satara in October, 1698.

The Marathas were inspired by high hopes during this long and arduous campaign. The Maratha documents clearly state that the aim of this war was not only freedom of Maharashtra but “included even the conquest of Delhi, so as to make the whole sub-continent of India safe for the Hindu religion.” 144 This laudable object was constantly preached to wean away many Maratha Chiefs who had accepted service under the Mughuls. A stirring appeal was issued by Rajaram from Gingee on 22 March, 1690, of which an extract is quoted below:

“We have enlisted on arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local Palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard.... You must now put forth the sacrifice required on behalf of our religion.

. . .Aurangzeb has wronged you by threatening to convert you to his religion. He has already converted (names follow) .... He also entertains further deep-rooted motives of a sinister nature against our nation, of which you must beware. The Nimbalkars

and the Mianes have already deserted him and his ranks are being rapidly thinned. God is helping us. We are sure to succeed .” 145 Many documents of this nature reflect the spirit of the people and there cannot be any doubt that during the last one or two decades of the seventeenth century Aurangzib was faced with what may be truly described as a national war. “Animated by a desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the vast territories from Khandesh to the south coast, over Gujarat, Baglan, Gondvan, and the Karnatak, devastating Mughal stations, destroying their armies, exacting tribute, plundering Mughal treasures, animals and stocks of camp equipage .” 146 Aurangzib began to realize that while he could easily win a battle over the Marathas, it was very difficult for him, even with his vast resources, to cope with their guerilla tactics, particularly as they were very familiar with the layout and communications of the country, had the active and enthusiastic support of the people wherever they went and were inured to hardships, bad weather and simple food.

Moreover, Aurangzib’s shrewd attempts to win over the Marathas by temptations of all kinds, though at first successful to a certain extent, gradually failed, as stern measures were taken to punish the wives, children and even other relations of the deserters, and the traitors to the cause of the Marathas, if caught, were terribly persecuted. The justice or morality of the steps taken may be questioned, but they proved successful to a very large extent.

The guerilla warfare, which was the main cause of Aurangzib’s discomfiture in the long run, in spite of brilliant victories against Maratha troops in battle, became the typical method of Maratha aggressive warfare for more than a century and a half and led them to success after success all over India till their dream of establishing a Hindu Pad PddshaM was almost on the point of being realized. Though the beginnings of this type of warfare may be traced back to the days of Shivaji, it was fully developed in the last stages of the Mughul campaign in Maharashtra, particularly during the reign of Rajaram. It has been described as follows by Chitnis in his Rajaram’s Life in the following words:

“The Mughal forces are huge in numbers, standing firm only in open ground. The Marathas on the other hand suddenly erupt at one place today and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Then they come round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weakly held Mughal posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers. They devastate Mughal territory from the river Godavari to Bhaganagar (Hyderabad), carrying away pack animals, horses and elephants, create confusion among the enemy, and remain concealed in unfrequented thickets widely apart and make a sudden dash upon the Mughal armies proceeding towards Jinji (Gingee), occasionally engaging in an open encounter and anyhow preventing them from reaching their destination. The Emperor (Aurangzlb) found himself nonplussed how to overcome these pests. They seemed to be ubiquitous and illusive like the wind. When the attacking Mughal forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack as before.” [147] Things came to such a pass that sometimes the Mughul commanders would rather bribe the Marathas than fight them.

Santaji Ghorpade, the Sendpati, mentioned above, was reputed to be a “perfect master of guerilla warfare” and the fame of his wonderful achievements reverberated throughout Maharashtra. But, unfortunately, his biting tongue and boastful demeanour not only irritated his colleagues but even his superiors including Rajaram. The climax was reached when in the course of an altercation with his King, Rajaram, he bluntly told him: “Your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake Chhatrapati.” This was too much even for the mild king. He dismissed Santaji and appointed Dhanaji as Sendpati in his place. This led to a quarrel between these two; from words they came to blows; and there was a free fight between them in June, 1696, in which Dhanaji was defeated and one of his prominent partisans was taken prisoner and trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. This unfortunate episode need not be pursued further and described in detail. Suffice it to say that Rajaram issued orders to capture Santaji, who fled from place to place, fought with the royal force, was defeated and ultimately killed under circumstances not exactly known. [148]

But this tragic incident did not affect the guerilla warfare of the Marathas against the Mughuls. After the fall of Gingee Rajaram came back and, as Raigarh was in the Mughul possession, established his seat of Government at Satara (1698). The war against the Mughuls was carried on with full vigour by several young Maratha leaders who were destined to win name and fame in future. In a letter dated 22 December, 1699, Rajaram writes: "We have launched the full force of our armies against the Emperor.... led a furious attack upon the imperial camp . . . captured the Emperor's own daughter; fell upon a convoy of ten thousand pack animals carrying supplies.... The enemy has lost all courage, and can make no

effect against fort Satara. We now take no account of this powerful emperor whom, God willing, we shall soon put to rout." 149

Subsequent events proved that Rajaram's boast was not without justification. But, unfortunately, he was not destined to witness the final triumph. He died shortly afterwards on 2 March, 1700, at the age of thirty. Rajaram's reign was an eventful one, paving the way for the future greatness of the Marathas. But the credit for this must be given not so much to the king as to his wise counsellors and brave generals. According to Sardesai, "he possessed no dash or initiative, nor did he evince any personal valour.. . . There is not a single occasion recorded in his life on which Rajaram showed personal daring or capacity for government. ... His mind and body were both weak, due possibly to dissipation and the use of opium to which he is said to have been addicted. His virtue was of a negative kind, non-interference." 150

One significant innovation in military administration made by Rajaram was big with future consequences. He introduced the system of granting lands to military commanders in lieu of cash money which was definitely opposed to the policy initiated by Shivaji and hitherto pursued. Its origin may, perhaps, be traced to the policy of Aurangzib to make grants of lands to the Maratha leaders to induce them to join the Mughuls. As a counterpoise the Maratha Government probably felt it necessary to offer similar inducements. So they encouraged the Maratha leaders to conquer lands from the Mughuls by holding out the promise that the lands so acquired would be their hereditary property. Perhaps want of funds to provide for the expenses of the Maratha generals was an additional ground for such promise. For it is known that the leaders of Maratha troops borrowed money on the mortgage of their prospective conquests, and it is very natural that the hope of acquiring hereditary property would add zeal and ardour to their military enterprises. But whatever may be the origin of the new policy, there is hardly any doubt that it led to the great Maratha houses like those of Sindhia and Holkar, which led to the rapid extension of the Maratha dominions in future, and at the same time it was the main cause of the disintegration of the Maratha Empire.

But all these were in the womb of futurity when Rajaram died and, as stated above (p. 296), was succeeded by his son, four years old, bearing the proud name of his illustrious grandfather, Shivaji (III). It did not mean, at least theoretically, the deliberate exclusion of Shahu, the son of ShambhujI, for he was then in confinement in the Mughul camp. Tara Bai, the mother of the infant king, was

a very capable administrator and "for a time inspired greater vigour and enthusiasm among the whole Maratha nation than her husband had done." 151 All the generals and leaders rallied round her and the war against the Mughuls was carried on as before. "Tara Bai exhibited wonderful powers of organization and inspired one and all with a sense of devotion to the national service." 152 She managed the State with singular ability, a fact testified to even by Muslim writers. She herself guided the military operations moving to different forts and directing operations. To her belongs, to a large extent, the credit of the triumphant emergence of the Marathas from the great fight with the Mughuls which practically terminated with the death of Aurangzlb in 1707.

IV THE JATS

1. Origin and Early History

The Jats are a hardy tribe, pre-eminently agricultural, and well known for their valour, indefatigable energy, martial spirit and untiring perseverance. They are mostly tall, with fair complexion, dark eyes, long head, and "narrow and prominent but not very long" nose. 153 "The region mainly occupied by them may be roughly defined as bounded on the north by the lower ranges of the Himalayas, on the west by the Indus, on the south by a line drawn from Haidarabad (Sindh) to Ajmir and thence to Bhopal, and on the east by the Ganges." 154

The tribal feeling is very strong among them and although all of them do not belong to the same religious fraternity but prefer different religions, viz, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islam, they cling tenaciously to their "tribal name as a proud heritage, and with it the tradition of Kinship." 155 Another important trait of their character is strong individualism. "The Jat is, of all the Punjab races, the most impatient of the tribal or communal control and the one which asserts the freedom of the individual most strongly... .He is independent and he is self-willed, but he is reasonable, and peaceably inclined if ,left alone." 156

The system of caste distinction is not in vogue in the Jat society, and so all the Jats are on a footing of equality in so far as their social status is concerned. In their rural organisation they prefer election of headmen to succession by hereditary right. The origin of the Jats, like that of the Rajputs, has been a subject of keen controversy. Some regard them as descendants of the nomadic Scythian hordes of Central Asia who invaded India through the north-western

passes like the Sakas and the Hunas and settled in India. The close resemblance of the name alone is perhaps responsible for the theory that their forefathers were the nomadic Getae of the Oxus region. On the other hand, similarity of physical features, language and, to a certain extent, of religious and social institutions, lends support to the theory of Aryan origin of the Jats, and eminent authorities like Dr. Trumpp, Beames, Sir Herbert Risley and Dr. Qanungo are in favour of it on most or all of these scientific grounds. It is on the whole more reasonable to regard the Jats as Aryan settlers in India and not foreign invaders of a subsequent age like the Sakas and the Hunas. 157

The Jats claim that they are descendants of the ancient Yadavas. The Bharatpur princes, for example, regard themselves as of the same race as the Yadavas. 158 But we need not attach much historical value to such traditions, unsupported by positive evidence.

From the scanty information which we derive from different sources it does not appear that the Jats played any significant role in the history of India prior to the reign of Aurangzlb, although stray incidents of their undaunted valour are referred to at different times.

In the third decade of the eleventh century they were bold enough to attack the army of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni on his return journey from Somnath. It was to punish them that in the autumn of A.D. 1026 he undertook his seventeenth expedition to India. Both Nizam-ud-din Ahmad and Firishta say that he marched to Multan with a large force, and on his arrival there, he constructed a fleet of fourteen hundred boats, each of which was furnished with iron spikes, projecting from the prow and sides. There were twenty archers in each boat, with bows and arrows, grenades, and naphtha. On receipt of information of this armament, the Jats sent their families, together with their valuable articles, into the neighbouring islands, and, with a flotilla of four thousand boats according to some, and eight thousand according to others, met the enemies. A serious naval engagement followed in which they (the Jats) were defeated, and almost all of them were either drowned or slain, and their women and children made captives. 159

After the fall of Prithvlraj in the second battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, the Jats of Hariyana, under their leader Jatwan, invaded Hansi and compelled its Muslim governor to take shelter in the fortress. Qutb-ud-dln marched post-haste to his relief, and, on his approach the Jat leader raised the siege and met him in an engagement in which, after a bloody contest, Jatwan was defeated and killed. 160

Later on, references are found about their predatory habits in different places and in different times. Their activities seemed to have been kept in check to a great extent during the strong administration of the Surs and the Mughuls. As in the case of the Sikhs, 161 so in the case of the Jats, the bigotry of Aurangzib and the consequent disabilities, humiliations and sufferings of the Hindus excited the Jats and caused great discontent among them.

The Mughul government had been following a policy “which left behind it a legacy of undying hatred. 102 One faujdar of Mathura, Murshid Quli Khan Turkman (who died in 1638) had offended the Jats by abduction of women from the villages and religious gatherings at Govardhan on the birth day of &n Krishna/ 63 Abdun Nabi Khan, another faujdar of Mathura (August, 1660—May, 1669) “built a Jama Masjid in the heart of the city of Mathura (16611662) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. Later, in 1666, he forcibly removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh to Keshab Rai’s temple.’' 164 * All these at last goaded the Jats to break out into open rebellion.

2. Revolt

(a) Gokla

In 1669, the Jat peasants rose under their leader Gokla, the Zamindar of Tilpat. Abdun Nabi, who opposed them, was slain in the action. The rebels then sacked the pargand of Saidabad, and disorder and confusion followed in the neighbouring district of Agra also. Aurangzib dispatched a powerful army under Radandaz Khan to suppress them, but it was of no avail, and the situation became so critical that the emperor himself had to proceed to the disturbed area. With undaunted courage, Gokla assembled twenty thousand men, met the imperialists at a place twenty miles off from Tilpat and fought against them most heroically, but his men were no match for the disciplined and well-equipped Mughul army led by Hasan ‘All Khan, the faujdar of Mathura. Being defeated in the sanguinary battle, Gokla fled to Tilpat which was then besieged by the imperialists and it fell after three days. The imperialists lost 4,000 men while Gokla lost 5,000. Seven thousand Jats, including the leader Gokla and his family, were made prisoners. Gokla was eventually slain at Agra, and the members of his family converted to Islam. 165

(b) Rdjdrdm

But the spirit which Gokla had infused into his men did not die with him, and after several years, other capable leaders stepped into his place. They were Rajaram, son of Rhajja Singh, Chief of Sinsani, and Ram Chehra, Chief of Sogor. 1 ' 66 They gave military training to the Jat peasants, equipped them with fire-arms, and gave them the semblance of an organized and regular army. They also built several small forts (garhi) in the midst of deep forests and erected mud walls around them for defence against artillery. These forts served as refuges in times of necessity, bases for military operations and places for storage of their booty. The road from Delhi to Agra and Dholpur, and thence via Malwa to the Deccan lay through the Jat country, and the Jats carried on plundering raids on this highway and the suburbs of Agra. The emperor's long stay in the Deccan and consequent military weakness in Northern India had encouraged them to plunder the ill-guarded rich convoys passing through their country. Safi Khan, the governor of Agra, was unable to check the lawless activities of Rajaram who had closed the roads to traffic, sacked many villages, and proceeded towards Sikandra, but Mir Abu-1-Fazl, the faujddr of the place, succeeded in driving him back only after a stiff fight, thus saving the tomb of Akbar from being plundered. 167

Rajaram became more daring and attacked Aghar Khan, the great Tunani warrior, near Dholpur, while on his way from Kabul to Bijapur, and not only carried off a booty consisting of carts, horses and women but also slew the Khan with his son-in-law and eighty followers, when he was pursuing the raiders (1687). 168 Mir Ibrahim, entitled Mahabat Khan, was also attacked, near Sikandra, on his way to the Punjab, but the raiders were driven back after a hard contest. After this, Rajaram sacked the tomb of Akbar, and damaging the building, carried away carpets, lamps, precious stones, and gold and silver vessels, etc. (1688). 169

Highly perturbed at the atrocious deeds of the Jats, Aurangzib sent his grandson, Bidar Bakht, to take charge of the military operations against them. Although the prince was a lad of seventeen only, he proved worthy of the charge imposed on him, and tried his best to improve the situation. An internecine war was then going on between the Shekhawat and Chauhan clans of Rajputs in which the Shekhawat clan secured the support of the Mughul faujddr of Mewat, and the Chauhan clan that of Rajaram. When a severe battle was going on between the contending parties, the Jat leader was killed by a Mughul musketeer (July, 1688). 170

Bidar Bakht then besieged the fort of Sinsani but the Jats harassed the Mughuls in every possible manner, by cutting off their food and water supplies and making incessant night attacks in their camps. In spite of these hardships, the Mughuls continued their siege operations with great tenacity, and at last captured the fori (1690). 171 Bishun Singh Kachhwa, Raja of Ambar (Jaipur), who had been appointed faujddr of Mathura with special duty of suppressing the Jats, surprised the fort of Sogor when its gate was found open to receive its supply of grain (21 May, 1691). m

Thus fell the two important strongholds of the Jats, and their power was humbled for the time being but not crushed permanently. They remained quiet for some years till another formidable man arose to lead them.

(c) Churaman

This was Churaman (1695-1721), the son of Bhajja Singh and younger brother of Rajaram. Churaman started his career as a freebooter, and, within a short time, brought under his leadership one thousand infantry and five hundred horsemen. At first, he used to plunder wayfarers and merchant caravans, but, later on, when his strength increased, he sacked pargands also. He built a place of refuge in the midst of a thick forest about forty-eight Kos from Agra and dug a deep moat around this refuge which was gradually made into a mud fort, subsequently known as Bharatpur. 173

“Being more enterprising than those who had preceded him, he not only increased the number of his soldiers, but also strengthened them by the addition of fusiliers (musketeers) and a troop of cavalry, whom he shortly afterwards set on foot and having robbed many of the ministers of the Court on the road, he attacked the royal wardrobe and the revenue sent from the provinces.” 174

He re-occupied Sinsah! from the imperialists but could not retain it long and lost it again in October, 1705.

He had great capacity for organization and was a practical politician, who made “clever use of opportunities”, whenever possible. Many of his activities and the full development of his power were seen after the death of Aurangzib when the disturbed political conditions in the Mughul Empire due to the wars of succession among the sons of this emperor, and then among the descendants of Bahadur Shah, afforded him suitable opportunities to achieve his objective.

The history of Churaman after the death of Aurangzib will be treated in Vol. VIII.

V. THE BUNDELAS 1. Early History

The origin of the Bundela clan is extremely obscure. They themselves claim to be a branch of the Gaharwar clan and to have migrated from the country round Banaras. It is said that one Sohan Pal came down to the Western part of the region, which later came to be called Bundelkhand, and about A.D. 1292 he managed to establish a small independent principality there. In the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., one Rudra Pratap, ninth in descent from Sohan Pal, rose to eminence, and in 1531 founded the town of Orchha and made it his capital. All the existing Bundela ruling families are the direct descendants of Rudra Pratap.

The Bundelas as a race possess sturdy physique and indomitable courage. The environs of their new surroundings greatly encouraged and fostered their restless spirit of adventure and enterprise. Bundelkhand was an absolutely wild tract and especially difficult of access in the rainy season. Its dense forests, the rapid streams and the steep hills shielded them from all outside invaders.

When Akbar ascended the Mughul throne, Rudra Pratap’s second son, Madhukar Shah, was ruling at Orchha. Under his leadership the Bundelas gathered strength, extended their territories and were forged into a formidable force. All this raised Madhukar Shah’s political importance. After repeated Mughul expeditions he was forced into submission in 1578, but even later, more than one expedition had to be sent to keep him under check.

2. Blr Singh Bundela

Madhukar Shah’s reckless adventurous spirit was inherited by his second son, Bir Singh, who took up the life of a freebooter soon after his father’s death in 1592. Later, when Prince Salim revolted against his father and set up his own Court at Allahabad, Blr Singh took up service with him. Later, in 1602, at the instigation of Salim, Bir Singh intercepted Abu-'l-Fazl, then returning to Agra from the Deccan, and murdered him near Antri (about 16 miles south of Gwalior). The Mughul forces relentlessly pursued Bir Singh for this outrage during next three years but without any success. On Akbar's death, however, when Salim ascended the throne as Jahangir, fortune smiled on Bir Singh, who was duly rewarded with 3 -hdzdri mansab. Two years later Bir Singh was made the ruler of Orchha State, thus replacing his elder brother, Raja Rom Chandra (also known as Ram Shah), who had to rest contented with the small principality of Chanderi.

Blr Singh was a great favourite of Jahangir and hence 'he acquired such power as scarcely any other of the Rajas of India attained to.' The Bundela power reached its zenith under him. He grew in wealth and power, and in later days when the imperial administration grew slack, he extended his own territories and brought under his rule vast neighbouring fertile tracts and even levied contributions from the neighbouring princes. He was a great builder as well. The palace-fortress and temple at Orchha and the magnificent palace at Datia were all built by him, and are most noteworthy as marking a definite stage in the evolution of mixed HinduMughul architecture with peculiar elaborations characteristic of the local style. Blr Singh was permitted by Jahangir to build a temple in Mathura at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees, which was later turned into a mosque by Aurangzlb. Blr Singh was a great patron of Hindi poetry; the great Hindi poet, Keshav, was a jewel of his Court.

Blr Singh's reign, glorious as it was, left behind a legacy of bitter family feuds, which more than once threatened the very existence of the premier Bundela State of Orchha. The descendants of the displaced ruler, Rajia Ram Chandra, and the other branches of the Orchha family formed an opposition group against Blr Singh and his successors, and whenever any opportunity presented itself they asserted their own independence and cut themselves off from the parent State. Thus, the independent principalities of Chanderi, Datia and others ceased to follow the lead of the rulers of Orchha, and when occasion demanded they did not even hesitate to assist the Mughul forces in invading Orchha State.

3. Jujhar Singh

On Blr Singh's death in 1627, his eldest son, Jujhar Singh, succeeded him. He went down to Agra and paid homage to the new Emperor Shah Jahan. He was confirmed in his rank and jdgir but soon after he left the capital without permission and began to prepare for his own independence at Orchha. In 1629 more than one imperial force began to close down on Orchha from different sides. Irich was attacked and taken. Any further opposition seemed useless and Jujhar Singh was forced into submission. He agreed to pay a large tribute and to send down a contingent of his force on service with the imperial army in the Deccan.

But Jujhar Singh could not long remain quiet. In 1634, he took the old Gond capital, Chauragarh, slew its Raja, Prem Niarayan, and seized his treasures. Shah Jahan sent three armies to invade Bundelkhand from three different sides, wth Prince Aurangzib as their nominal supreme commander. Devi Singh Bundela, the

great-grandson of Raja Ram Chandra, who was offered the throne of Orchha, most readily assisted the imperial armies in this invasion. Thereupon, Jujhar Singh lost heart and removed his family from Orchha, which was stormed and taken by the Mughul troops in October, 1635. Jujhar Singh fled to Dhamuni and thence across the Narmada to Chauragarh. Mughul forces pursued him even further through the Gond country of Deogarh and Chanda. Jujhar Singh and his son Bikramajit were finally surprised by the Gonds when asleep in the jungles and done to death in December, 1635.

4. Champat Rai Bundeld

Devi Singh was installed as the ruler of Orchha (October, 1635), but the nobles of the Bundelas refused to bow to the traitor. They now rallied round Champat Rai Bundela of Mahoba, the greatgrandson of Udayajit, the third son of Rudra Pratiap. Champat Rai had ail along been a close associate of Raja BIr Singh Dev and had earned the reputation of being a brave fighter and courageous leader of men. He had developed his small jtigir into a principality of his own and had extended the bounds of its territories into eastern Rundeikhand at the expense of the Rajias who were still ruling there. He delighted in opposing the Mughul forces and fought both times on the side of Jujhar Singh, but he did not follow him in his flight. He crowned Jujhar Singh's infant son, Prithviraj, and raided the territories of Orchha. In the meanwhile, as Devi Singh had failed to restore peace and order in the Orchha State, it w r as taken out of his control and he reverted to his principality of Chanderi. Orchha continued to be without any ruler for the next six years.

All efforts of the various successive Mughul officers to restore peace and order in Bundelkhand failed. The boy-ruler, Prithviraj, was captured (April, 1640) and lodged in State prison at Gwalior, but Champat Rai had escaped and was still at large. At last in May, 1642, Raja Pahar Singh Bundela, the younger brother of Jujhar Singh, who had all along loyally served the Mughul empire, was appointed the ruler of Orchha. Within a month Champat Rai submitted to him and entered into his service with the approval of the Emperor. Peace and order was thus restored in Bundelkhand.

But the good relations thus established between Pahar Singh and Champat Rai did not last long. Champat Rai left Pahar Singh, took up service with Dara, and accompanied him to the third siege of Qandahar. Bitter animosity now prevailed between Pahar Singh and Champat Rai, and the former managed to bring Champat Rai into disfavour with Dara. Pahar Singh died soon after (1654), but Champat. Rai had his vengeance on Dara four years later when he showed to Aurangzlb an obscure and out-of-the way, but a safe

ford of the Chambal for his forces to cross it (May, 1658).

Champat Rai fought for Aurangzlb in the battle of Samogarh and continued to be on his side till the advance of Shuja 4 towards Khajuha, when he deserted from the army of Aurangzlb and returned home to take up his old game of robbery. He made extensive raids and rendered the Malwa roads extremely unsafe. He robbed the territories of other Bundela Chiefs also as freely as the Mughul dominions. But this could not continue long and in February, 1659, Aurangzlb sent a Mughul force under Subhakaran Bundela against him, which was further reinforced some time later by Raja Devi Singh Bundela and other troops from Malwa. Champat Rai now became anxious to make peace, but all his overtures were turned down. He moved from one place to another, seeking shelter, but was relentlessly pursued and even his one-time friends and relatives declined to give him refuge. Most of the local Bundela Chieftains, too, joined in this hunt. Finally, about the middle of October, 1661, he ended his life by committing suicide.

5. Chhatra Sal: his career up to 1707 A.D.

Thus perished Champat Rai, but his fourth son, Chhatra Sal, who had accompanied his father in his last flight, escaped his father's enemies. A few years later, at the request of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, he was enlisted in the Mughul army and accompanied him to the Deccan. lie fought well in the Purandhar campaign (1665) and the invasion of Deogarh (1667). But Chhatra Sal did not feel happy while serving the Mughuls. He longed for a life of adventure and independence like that of Shivaji; hence he visited Shivaji and sought to enter his service (1670). Shivaji, however, advised him to return to his own country and promote local risings against Aurangzlb so as to distract the Mughul forces. Chhatra Sal's efforts to win over loyal but experienced Bundela leaders, like Subhakaran, to join him in his plan for a national rising against the Mughul Empire, failed. All the enthusiasm and efforts of Chhatra Sal would have ended in nothing, had Aurangzlb not unwittingly come to his help by launching at this very moment upon the policy of temple-destruction which aroused universal indignation among the Hindus, and those of Bundelkhand and Malwa prepared to defend the places of their religious worship. Hence, when Chhatra Sal appeared in their midst to oppose the Mughul empire, he was hailed as the champion of Hindu faith and Bundela liberty. The rebels elected him as their king. Memories of Champat Rai were once again revived and the hopes of gains from plunder soon gathered round Chhatra Sal vast hordes of Bundelas and discontented Afghans who had settled down in these parts.

Chhatra Sal's earlier raids were mostly directed against the Dhamuni district and the rich city of Sironj. The Mughul officers in charge of these places were unable to successfully resist Chhatra Sal. Many petty chiefs now joined Chhatra Sal and like the Marathas he levied chauth and spared the places that paid it to him. As Aurangzlb became more and more deeply entangled in the Deccan, Chhatra Sal took fullest advantage of the opportunity. He captured Kalinjar and Dhamuni and even looted Bhilsa. The range of his raids now extended up to Malwa. In 1699, however, Chhatra Sal had to face a temporary reverse at the hands of Sher Afghan, the faujddr of Ranod, but a year later, in the return fight, Sher

Afghan was killed and there was none left in these parts of the

country who would dare oppose Chhatra Sal. Finally, in 1705, Firuz Jang induced Aurangzlb to make peace with this irrepressible Bundela. Chhatra Sal was granted 4 -hdzdrl Mansab and he visited the emperor in the Deccan. He stayed there in peace till the death of Aurangzlb, when he returned to Buldelkhand.

6. Bundelkhand in A.D. 1707

Since the time of Akbar, Bundelkhand had been included in the suba of Allahabad. The position had remained unchanged even in 1707. At this time, however, Bundelkhand itself was roughly

divided into two main political units, eastern and western. In

eastern Bundelkhand, Chhatra Sal had carved out a big kingdom for himself. The long period of his continued opposition to the Mughul rule ended in 1705, and now there followed a period of about fifteen years during which Chhatra Sal fully co-operated with the Mughul Empire. In western Bundelkhand there were two large Bundela States, Orchha and Datia, which had remained undisturbed for the last fifty years, save what depredations Chhatra Sal or his associates committed there during their innumerable raids. Raja Udaut Singh was then ruling over Orchha and he continued to guide its destinies for another thirty years. Datia State once formed part of the Orchha State, but it had lately emerged as a separate State, mainly due to the continued loyal brilliant services of its two successive rulers, Rao Subhakaran and his son Rao Dalpat. Dalpat, however, was killed in the battle of Jajau, and for once in 1707 Datia was threatened with internal strife due to disputed succession. Again, there was the petty State of Chanderi ruled over by the descendants of Raja Devi

Singh, who was installed as the ruler of Orchha in 1735. There were also numerous other small jdgirs and zamindaris interspersed with the imperial lands, which only added to the difficulties and disorders of the province.

APPENDIX

AKBAR'S MEWAR POLICY

If one may use a modern term, Akbar opened his "peace offensive" against the Rajasthan States in 1562, when he married the daughter of Raja Bharmal of Ambar. Abu-l-Fazl writes that Bharmal offered his daughter (AN, tr. II, 243), but it is more probable that he was induced to do so and, in any case, there must have been exchange of diplomatic agents and views before the Raja offered his daughter to Akbar.

During the next five years Akbar was busy with subduing various rebellions, ,and consolidating his position; but during this period, too, he remitted the pilgrim tax in 1563 and the jizya in 1564 (AN, II, 295, 317). There was, however, no response from the Rajasthan princes to these generous moves. Ultimately he must have been persuaded that force of arms was necessary to subdue Rajasthan, and that if Mewar were conquered other States would submit peacefully. This calculation was not wrong, for after the fall of Chitor several important Rajput States submitted voluntarily to Akbar (AN, II, 518, 522). Still Mewar was not conquered.

For the next few years Akbar was busy elsewhere and could afford to ignore Uday Singh. However, Akbar re-opened his "peace offensive" against Rajasthan after crushing the Gujarat rebellion in 1573. Uday Singh had died the previous year, and Akbar possibly expected his son to submit tamely. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, several officers including Man Singh, Jagannath and Gopal were ordered by Akbar to proceed from Gujarat to Dungarpur by way of Idar and from there to Agra. Abu-l-Fazl adds: "The Rana and other zamindars of the neighbourhood were to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished." (AN, tr. Ill, 48-9). Man Singh was opposed at Dungarpur, but he defeated the local army. He then went to Udaipur where he was by all accounts received cordially by Mahdrdnd Pratap. Abu-'l-Fazl states that the Mahdrdnd "put on the royal khilat", but "owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses (about not going to court) alleging that 'his well-wishers would not suffer him to go.’ ” (AN, tr. Ill, 57). Rajput chronicles are unanimous that Man Singh took umbrage at Pratap’s refusal to sit with him to dine. It is not difficult to reconcile the two versions, but the main point is that both the Mughul and Mewar versions agree that at first the Mahdrdnd received Mian Singh with at least outward show of cordiality, but refused to attend the Mughul court.

However, the Mahdrdna’s behaviour must have been such as to make Akbar believe that he could still be persuaded to accept his terms. So a few months after Man Singh’s mission, his father Raja Bhagwan Das, after subduing idar, came to Gogunda, the temporary capital of the Mahdrdnd. Abu-’l-Fazl writes that the Mahdrdnd expressed his contrition, and sent with Bhagwan Das his son (AN, tr. Ill, 93). In the previous paragraph (ibid, 92) Abu-’l-Fazl has mentioned that Bhagwan Das presented to Akbar “Umra, the son and heir of the Rana.” But this Umra or Amar was most probably the son of the Raja of Mar, whom Bhagwan Das had just defeated. Before we discuss this point, we shall only note another mission sent by Akbar to the Maharand.

Shortly after Bhagwan Das, Todar Mai also met the Maharand , but failed to accomplish anything. (AN, tr. Ill, 93). It is possible to conclude from Abu-’l-Fazl’s laconic reference to Todar Mai’s visit to the Maharand that the resources of diplomacy were exhausted and the issue could only be decided by war.

The point, however, to be considered is how far the Maharand was ready to accommodate the Mughul demand. Did he really send his son, Amar Singh, or agree to do so? The probability is against such a conclusion for the reasons given below.

In this connection Kaviraj Shyamaldas justly points out the following statement in Jahangir’s Memoirs :

“The real point was that as Rana Amar Singh and his father, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the kings of Hindustan, this should be brought about in my reign.” (Tuzuk , tr. I, 274). It is apparent, therefore, that Amar had never visited the

Mughul court. Sir Thomas Roe, who was with Jahangir, when Kama, the son of Maharand Amar, came to the court also writes that this was the first time a descendant of Porus (i.e. Kama) visited the Mughul court. It is also to be noted that in 1614, peace was concluded by Prince Khurram with Maharand Amar Singh on practically identical terms, namely that he would send his son Kama to the Mughul court but would not attend himself, and Jahangir took it to be a great triumph, which indirectly shows that Maharand Pratiap never offered such terms.

There is another factor which has not yet been noticed by any historian. Maharand Praiap had an unusually huge elephant called Ramparsad, which was captured by the Mughul army during the battle of' Haldlghat, and brought to Akbar by the historian Badaunl. In this connection Badaunl writes: "....I came back to Fathpur with news of victory and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute) from Rana Kika" (Badaunl, tr. II, 234-35). A little later, Badaunl again states: "Then the Amirs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant named Ram-parsad which had come into their hands with the spoil (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded of the Rana and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it)....," Badaunl tr. II, 241. It is evident from Badaunl that according to him the elephant was the cause of dispute. This may not be wholly true, but Abu-'l-Fazl corroborates Badaunl to some extent, for describing the battle of Haldlghat he states: ". .. .Ram Parshad. . . that noted elephant— which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies...." (AN, tr. Ill, 246) and among the booty brought by Badaunl, he specially mentions Ram Parshad (ibid, 247). By sacred assembly, Abu-'l-Fazl meant Akbar's court. It is evident

that the Mahdrdna had refused to surrender to Akbar an elephant, though Akbar's weakness for elephants was quite well known. Is it likely that such an uncompromising man would agree to send his son to the Mughul court? We do not think so. Added to this is Abu-l-Fazl's silence as to when Amar returned to his father. It seems to us, therefore, that Abu-'l-Fazl's uncorroborated testimony that Pratap sent his eldest son to Akbar's court is wrong.

1. Memoirs of Babur , pp. 612-13. Babur refers to Karmavati as Padmavatl.

2. Ibid., pp. 616-17.

3. Bayley, Gujarat^ p. 350. T';A. Ill, pt.i, 350; pt.ii, 610-11. An inscription

mentioned by Ojha (History of Udaipur p. 291) records the repair of certain Jam temples at Satrunjaya by Ratna Singh's minister Karma Singh with the help of a far mein of Bahadur. Ojha rightly points out that this far man must have been issued at the instance of Ratna Singh probably during these negotiations.

4. According to the Virvinod (II, 5) a Rajput tradition persists that Surya Mai, afraid of the growing tension with Ratna Singh, induced his sister Karmavati to send a rdkhi to Humayun. But apparently nothing came out of this.

5. Bayley, Gujarat, 357.

6. Ibid., 370.

7. Ibid., Virvinod, II, 27.

8. "Tatar Khan expected that, as the Rana had a large force at his disposal, he would offer battle and oppose his advance, but no opposition was made." Bayley, op. cit. 370.

9. Muhanote Nensi mentions (Khyat, Hindi tr. I, 54) that Vikramaditya's brother Uday Singh was given to Bahadur as hostage. But not only no other Rajput source, but not even any Persian source, mentions this event. Further, Nensi's statement that Bahadur's intention was to convert Uday Singh and adopt him as his (Bahadur's) successor seems to be quite improbable. Nensi further adds that Uday Singh, on learning of Bahadur's intention, fled from his camp, which led Bahadur to besiege Chitor for a second time.

This may appear plausible, for Bahadur was offered practically the same terms which he ultimately obtained, before he opened the siege, and then suddenly returned, which apparently seems inexplicable. But Bahadur had good reasons to draw out of Chitor, as during his absence, Nizam Shah had invaded Gujarat.

For a discussion of Nensi's story, see Ojha, History of Udaipur, I, 396, f .n. 3. Ojha also rejects Nensi's story partly on the grounds mentioned above. For Bahadur's personal obligation to Karmavati, see Bayley, op. cit., pp. 305, 372.

10. Virvinod, II, 29.

11. Bahadur committed the same mistake, when after the fall of Chitor, instead of attacking Humayun, he prepared a strong defensive position relying on his artillery to drive off Mughul attacks. As a result, soon he was reduced to such straits, that one night he had to flee from his camp, and his army, till then victorious, never recovered from this shock.

12. Virvinod, II, 63-64. Muhanote Nensi, Khyat, Hindi, tr. I, 57. Ojha, History of Udaipur, I, 404.

13. Abbas Sherwani, Tdrikh-i-Sher Shahi, HIED, IV, 406; Qanungo, Sher Shah, p. 332; Ojha op. cit., p. 406; G. N. Sharma, Mewar and the Mughul Emperors, p. 61. According to Sherwani, followed by Dr. Qanungo, Sher Shah left Mewar in charge of two Muslim officers. There is nothing how'ever to indicate that Uday Singh was driven out of Chitor. It is likely that these two

officers were political agents. .

Though no chronicles record it, it is quite probable that Uday Singh had come to an understanding with Sher Shah before he sent him the key. Sher Shah's fight with Maldev had been a very close affair, and he must have thought it politic to be a friend of Maldev's enemy.

14. "In Rajputana Sher Shah made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection as he had done in other parts of Hindusthan. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence", K. R. Qanungo, Sher Shah, 333.

15. AN, Tr. II, 443-44; Ojha, op. cit., 412; V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul; 82; Sharma, op. cit. iBadaunl, tr. II, 48.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar one day jestingly remarked to Sakta Singh, a son of Maharana Uday Singh, that though most of the chieftains of India had paid him respect, the Maharana had not done so, so he proposed to punish him. Thus alarmed, Sakta ran away without leave to warn his father. This enraged Akbar who determined to chastise the Maharana (AN, II, 442; 462). What Abu-TFazl overlooks is that up to 1567, the only State in Rajasthan which had paid homage to Akbar was Ambar.

Nizam-ud-din and BadaunI relate that Akbar was enraged at Uday Singh for his giving asylum to Baz Bahadur. This may have been a minor cause. What is surprising is first, that Akbar should have suddenly decided to attack Chitor, when from Uday Singh's past records he could have expected a peaceful surrender, and secondly that Uday Singh on his part should have contested the issue in 1567 instead of surrendering as he had done to Sher Shah in 1543. This indicates that surrendering to Siier Shah was a token surrender but Uday Singh realized that Akbar's intentions were quite different. If we ignore Tod's account of Uday Singh, which is usually accepted by modern historians, it would appear that instead of being a poltroon, Uday Singh was a cautious but determined man, without the dash and brilliant leadership of his illustrious son, but not altogether an unworthy sire. What is overlooked in the general condemnation of Uday Singh for not sharing the fate of the besieged garrison at Chitor is that he never surrendered to the Mughuls as did most other chiefs of Rajasthan. It seems to us, that under the circumstances, his decision to quit Chitor was the correct one, and the fact that the fort heroically held out for some time shows that he had some power of organization. It may be recalled that Maharana Pratap left Kumbhalmer, almost under similar circumstances, but that does not reflect on his honour, and nobody would say of him as V. Smith, following Tod, says of Uday Singh that, "Udai Singh shamelessly abandoned the post of honour and hid himself in distant forests." V. Smith, op. cit. 86.

16. Virvinod, II, 75, 83.

17. For reference, see Sharma, op. cit., p. 71.

18. AN', tr. II, 466-67, Smith, op. cit., 88. Sharma, op. cit., 76.

19. Virvinod, II, 80-81. Ojha (op. cit., 414-15) apparently follows Virvinod, though he does not refer to it. Sharma, however, contests Ojha's view on the ground, that no other Rajput source mentions it, and that the Amarakavya vamsavali states that he died on the spot. The verse quoted by Dr. Sharma, however, is corrupt, (p. 76, f.n. 61) and according to his correction (p. 252) should read as follows:

Dillisa-samyukta-guti-prahasat Srx-Jaimalakhyo ravi-mandala mahat I
Vibhidya paschat tridivam prayatah . .antahpure jvdlita eva tad bhataih II
There is nothing in the verse to show that Jai Mai died on the spot; on

the other hand paschat tridivam praydtah indicates that though he was hurt

by Akbar's shot he died later.

Dr. Sharma's other contention is that no other Rajput source corroborates MM. Ojha. Here he is wrong, for, as pointed out, MM. Ojha probably got his facts from the Virvinod. It should be noted that Kavlraj Shyamaldas

knew the other version and in a footnote remarks that Abu-'l-Fazl being on

the enemy side did not know the truth.

20. Virvinod, II, 82.

21. BadaunI, tr. II, 137, AN, II, 513-19; see also Ojha, History of Bikaner; I; 155-56.

22. BadaunI, tr. II, 239.

23. The Amarakavya, quoted by Shyamaldas, gives certain information about Uday Singh which, if true, would show that he enjoyed considerable local power, Virvinod II, 87. Shyamaldas's evaluation of Uday Singh (Virvinod , II, 86) is far nearer the mark than Tod's.

24. The custom in the Mewar royal family is that the successor to the throne does not attend the cremation of the deceased king, Ojha, op. cit., 423, f.n.

3.

25. Sharma (op. cit., 86, f.n., 14) points out that the State emblem “bears testimony to this day to the equal status given to the Bhils where both Pratap and a Bhil are standing on either side of Eklingji, the titular deity of Mewar.”

26. “On seeing this circumstance the Rana could no longer hold his ground but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Rana.” BadaunI tr. II, 238.

27. Ojha, op. cit. 463-64; for a traditional account of Bhamashaha’s (Pratap’s Prime Minister) administration of the treasury, Virvinod, 251.

28. See Appendix.

29. AN, tr. HI, 236-37. Akbar gave Man Singh written instructions. For a description of the battle of Haldighat, see AN, tr. Ill, 244-47; Badauni, tr. II, 233-44. V. Smith’s description of the actual battle is scanty (Smith, Akbar, the Great Mogul, 148-53) and he relies to some extent on Tod (Annals of Rajasthan, Routledge, 1914, I, 264-78) though he avoids Tod’s palpable mistakes without pointing them out, as was done by Shyamaldas (Virvinod, H, 154-55). See also Ojha, op. cit., 429-43, for the traditional account of the battle and for a very interesting quotation (p. 441, f.n. 1) from the unpublished Jagadis temple inscription; G. C. Sharma, op. cit., 91-106, gives the best account of the battle. He has consulted several unpublished Rajput chronicles and has discovered an interesting inscription, (p. 91, f.n., 18).

30. Badauni, tr. II, 240.

31. Badauni, tr. II, 241.

32. Badauni, tr. H, 247. Abu-’l-Fazl states: “The officers (i.e. Man Singh and Asaf Khan) from prudential motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain.” (AN, tr.

Ill, 259-60). This indicates that Man Singh was forced to evacuate Gogunda.

33. AN, tr. Ill, 269.

34. AN, tr. Ill, 267.

35. AN, tr. Ill, 272.

36. AN, tr. Ill, 274.

37. AN, tr. Ill, 274-5.

38. AN, tr. Ill, 277.

39. Abu-'l-Fazl does not give the date of Shahbaz Khan's appointment, AN, tr. Ill, 339. But it is apparent from p. 337 (ibid) that it could not have been long after 11 March, 1578. Sharma (op. cit. Ill) gives the date of Shahbaz Khan's expedition as 15 October, 1577, which is evidently wrong; Sharma does not give any reference for this date.

40. Abu-'l-Fazl states that Bhagwan Das and Man Singh were sent back, "lest

from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rana)". AN, tr. Ill, 339. It appears that

Man Singh was still under some suspicion. It is possible, as stated in the Tdrlkh-i-Nizami that he refused to devastate Mewar (Badauni, tr. II, 247, f.n. i). As we have seen, after the battle of Haldighat also Man Singh's action or inaction gave rise to suspicion. AN, tr. Ill, 259-60.

40a. AN, tr. Ill, 340. The Maharand seems to have left the fort after this accident.

41. For an account of the besieged garrison, see, Virvinod II, 257; Ojha, op. cit., 447.

42. AN, tr. Ill, 355, 380. Shahbaz Khan, like other commanders before him, seems to have thought that with the capture of Kumbhalgarh, Udaipur, etc. his task was finished.

43. Abu-'l-Fazl writes: "Owing to his (Shahbaz Khan's) energy and good Services, Rana Pertab became a desert-vagabond, and fell upon evil days. He thought every morning would be his last day, and blistered his feet with

running about in terror." AN, tr. Ill, 459-60.

44. AN, tr. Ill, 661.

45. AN, tr. Ill, 705-06.

46. Virvinod, II, 159.

47. Ibid, II, 157.

48. Amaresah Khdnkhana-daranam haranam vyadhat I Suvdsinibat santoshya preshaydmdsa tain puna'll II (Raj Prasasti, IV, v. 32. Virvinod, II, 588).

Kumarastv-Amaresa nama Mlechchhd-bhimdna

kshayakdri-dhamd Jagrdha vai Serapuraj-javena sa Khdna-khanasya-kalatram apa (Amarakdvya Vamsdvali, f. 45 (b)«

Quoted from Sharma, op. cit., 115, f.n. 119. Sharma quotes another Rajasthani verse to the same effect.)

49. Ojha (op. cit. 467) accepts the same date as given in the Virvinod, (II, 164) but gives the Christian date as 19 January. The difference of ten days is probably due to Ojha's converting it into N.S. The Maharand was born on Jyeshtha Sukla 13, 1493 V.S. 31 May, 1539).

50. V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, 151.

51. For details, see, Sharma, op. cit., 123. Ojha, op. cit., 491, 506.

52. AN, tr. Ill, 1155. It is not possible to find out the date of this expedition but it was in the 45th regnal year which began on 11 March, 1600, ibid, 1233.

53. AN, tr. Ill, 1233-34.

54. For the reasons which led to Sagar's joining the Mughuls, see, Virvinod, II, 219-21. Sagar is not mentioned in the AN, and it is possible that he came to Akbar's notice after the 46th year of Akbar's reign (1601), that is, the end of Abu-'l-Fazl's Akbar-namd. Sagar however is several times mentioned in the Tuzuk, where he is referred to as Shankar.

55. Tuzuk, tr. by Rogers, I, 17.

56. Ibid, 26.

57. Ibid, 29.

58. Ibid, 50.

59. Ibid, 70, 73.

60. Ibid, 74, 90. Shyamaldas gives a detailed account of Parvlz's campaign which, as he correctly states, is not to be found in Persian chronicles (Virvinod , II, 222-224). He states that Parvlz brought Bagha Singh to Jahangir (ibid, p. 223). Jahangir is silent about Bagha Singh's subsequent fate. Ojha (op. cit. pp. 480-81) is somewhat wrong in stating that Bagha's going to the Mughul court is not mentioned in any Mewar history, for the Virvinod, which Ojha has usually followed, definitely mentions him. Sharma (op. cit. 128) mentions that, Parviz, finding no hope of success, opened negotiations through Bagha Singh, but Sharma is silent about his coming to the Mughul court. Jahangir's evidence on this point seems to be conclusive, but it also shows that Amar was not at this time prepared to accept Jahangir's terms.

61. Tuzuk, tr. I, 76. At this time we find Rai Singh and his son Dilip rebelling in Nagor, and Jagannath Kachwa, who was operating against the Mahdrana sent to suppress this rebellion (ibid, 76); but Jahangir later pardoned them (ibid, 148).

62. Virvinod, II, 224 ff.

63. Tuzuk , tr. I, 146.

64. Ibid, 146-47.

65. Ibid, 155.

66. Virvinod, II, 225. It is stated that some Mewar soldiers entered the Mughul camp as fruit-sellers, really carrying rockets instead of fruits. At night, others, who were outside the camp, tied some lamp round the horns of buffalos and drove them towards the Mughul camp. This was the signal for firing the rockets near Mahabat's tent. When he came out he saw the rockets and moving lights in the forest, and about 500 Mewar soldiers rushing in. He overestimated their strength and ran away.

67. Madsir-ul-Umara, quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 130, f.n. 40-41. Virvinod, II, 225-7.

68. Jahangir states that 'Abdullah pursued the Rana into the hills and when night came he (the Rana) escaped with difficulty with his life, Tuzuk , tr I, 157.

69. Later Jahangir sent to his aid Safdar Khan and Badi'uz-Zaman, T'uzuk tr. I. pp. 200-201, 204-05. Shyamaldas records that in 1884 a priest called Sukhananda came from Nurpur (Raja Basu's capital) who had with him a copper-plate grant of land to one Vyasa, chief priest of Raja Basu, by Maharana Amar Singh. Shyamaldas has reproduced this grant (Virvinod , II, 227-28). He also states that Amar gave an image of Krishna called Vrajaraj, which had been worshipped by MIrabai, to Raja Basu v/hich was still in the fort of Nurpur. If this grant is genuine, then it would appear that Amar had entered into some sort of arrangement with Raja Basu.

70. For reasons which led Jahangir to go to Ajmer, see, Tuzuk, tr. I, 249, 255; for sending Khurram, and the conduct of Khan A‘zam, ibid 257-58. During his stay at Ajmer, Jahangir broke the image of Varahavatara set up by Sagar, (ibid, 254), or Shankar as he habitually refers to him. This shows the little esteem which Jahangir had for Sagar. Jahangir also refers to him now, as one of his ‘high nobles’. This indicates that Sagar had by 1613 given up all pretences to the Mewar throne, or Jahangir, in order to arrive at a peace, had withdrawn Sagar, so that Amar need have no reason to complain on that account.

71. Tuzuk, tr. I, 259 260'. It should be noted that Jahangir not only recalled Khan A‘zam, but imprisoned him in Gwalior (ibid, 261). Later, one night he dreamt Akbar saying to him: “Baba, forgive for my sake the fault of ‘Aziz Khan, who is the Khan A‘zam.” (ibid, 269). Jahangir is unlikely to have taken the drastic step of imprisoning Akbar’s favourite foster-brother unless he was involved in something more serious than disagreement with Khurram. Khan

A‘zam had been carrying on treasonable correspondence with the ruler of Khandesh during Akbar’s reign and the letters were discovered by Jahangir (ibid, 79-80), yet Jahangir took no step against him except exposing his perfidy. It is possible that goaded by the high-handedness of young Khurram, ‘Aziz Koka had started negotiations with the Maharand, and after his downfall when Khurram conducted the campaign vigorously it was decided to come to terms.

72. Tuzuk, tr. I, 273.

73. Shyamaldas began to write the Virvinod in 1879 (Virvinod, I, 184), but his present account is corroborated by the Amarakavya vamsavali written just after V.S. 1732 (A.D. 1675) quoted by Sharma, op. cit, 135, f.n. 57. Possibly Shyamaldas, who consulted all available records had seen the Amarakavya vamsavali. For the account of the surrender to the Mughuls, see, Virvinod, II, 235-36.

74. This farman was in Udaipur archives when Shyamaldas wrote his history.

75. Virvinod, II, 237.

76. Jahangir writes that the Maharand “fell at Khurram’s feet and asked forgiveness for his faults.” (Tuzuk, tr. I, 276). But the author of the Iqbal-ndma (text III, 536) states: “I as a Bakshi was present on the occasion and, therefore,

I could clearly see that the Rana was making low salutation.” quoted by

Sharma, op. cit., 136.

Jahangir most probably got the report of this interview from Khurram, who left for Ajmer (where Jahangir was staying) with Kama on the afternoon of the day the Maharand visited him. Khurram naturally was anxious to bring this affair to a speedy termination which his grandfather had tried in vain, and therefore is quite likely to have impressed Jahangir by exaggerated accounts of Rand's humility.

77. Tuzuk, tr. I, 276.

78. “As it was necessary to win the heart of Kama, who was of a wild nature and

had never seen assemblies and had lived among the hills, I every day showed him some fresh favour.” Tuzuk, tr. I, 277.

79. Ibid, 278. I think it is permissible to imagine that the Empress and the Mughul ladies were curious to see the scion of the house which had defied the Mughul arms for nearly half a century.

Jahangir’s gifts to Kama are too numerous to be mentioned in detail. But the eagerness of the Emperor to please the Prince is matched by his poetic imagination. He writes: “On the 8th I gave Kama the mansab of 5,000 personal and horse, and gave him a small rosary of pearls and emeralds with a ruby in the centre which in the language of the Hindus is called Smaran (Sanskrit for ‘remembrance’)”. Tuzuk, tr. I, 281. Jahangir had, a few days before, presented Kama with “a rosary of pearls of great value”, ibid, 278,

80. Ibid, 289, 293. Jahangir also gave him some shawls etc.

81. Ibid, 296.

82. He died on Wednesday, Magh , Sukla 2, 1676. V.S. Shyamaldas gave the date in Christian era as October 30, 1620, Virvinod II, 266. Ojha however gives the date as 26 January, 1620. Ojha, op. cit., I, 507.

83. B.P. Saxena, History of Shahfahdn of Delhi, 37. Saxena does not identify Bhlm with the Mewar Prince, but Shyamaldas states that he was the Son of Maharand Amar, Virvinod, 285.

84. Saxena, op. cit. 50, 52. For a detailed account of Bhlm's activities from the Rajasthani chronicles see, Virvinod, II, 285-88.

85. Virvinod, II, 270-73, 589. Among other proofs Shyamaldas quotes a verse from the Rajasamudra Prasasti composed about 60 years after this incident which seems to be quite conclusive.

Dillisvar a)-Jahangir a tasya Khurrama-namakam I Putram vimukhatdm prdptam sthapayitvd nija kshitau II Jahdnglre divamyate sange bhrataram-Arjunam I Datvd Dillisvaram chakre so'bhut Shdhijahdmbhidhah. II

86. For details of Jagat Singh's reign, see, Virvinod, II, 315-327 and Ojha, op. cit., II, 511-31

87. B.P. Saxena: History of Shahjahan, 320.

88. Ojha, op. cit., II, 533-34. Chandra Bhan's four letters in original Persian are reproduced in the Virvinod, II, 403-412.

89. Virvinod, II, 413-14.

91 Five letters from Aurangzlb are printed in the Virvinod, II, 415-424. The letters are not dated, but the last letter carries the news of victory of the battle of

Dharmat (April 15, 1658). Aurangzlb evidently tried to enlist the help of the Mahdrdnd, but as the latter's replies are not published, it is not possible to say what help Raj Singh rendered to Aurangzlb. It is evident from these letters that the Mewar contingent which was fighting in the Deccan (Sarkar, History of Aurangzlb, 1912 ed., I, p. 272) was with him during the war of succession.

92. Shah Jahan had named this prince Saubhagya Singh, but the Mahdrdnd did not like the name and changed it to Sultan Singh.

93. Virvinod, II, 425-431. Shyamaldas published these documents from the Udaipur archives. Sir Jadunath Sarkar did not notice these in his History of Aurangzlb possibly because he had no access to the Virvinod , as, for unknown reasons, its circulation was prohibited till recently.

94. Ibid, 432-433.

95. Ibid, 437-443. Mahdrdnd's appeal is also reproduced in which he admits having gone to Krishnagarh for marriage without permission but claims that a Rajput is free to marry any Rajput girl, though further details are not given. Ibid, 440. In the Raja-samudra-prasasti inscription, however, the allusion is quite clear.

sate saptadase purne varsha saptadase tatah gatva Krishnagade divya mahatyd senaya yutah Dilllsdrtham rakshita yd Rdjasimha naresvarah Rdthoda Rupasimhasya putryah pdnigraham vyadhat (Rajasamudra-prasasti VIII, vv. 29-30. Virvinod , II, p. 596-97). The Rajavilasa, a work composed during the life of Raj Singh gives the text of Charumati's letter (quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 160, f.n. 30). It may be noted that Charumati's sister was married to Mu'azzam.

96. For details of Aurangzlb's Marwar policy and subsequent war with Marwar and Mewar, see Sarkar, History of Aurangzlb, III (1921 ed.), 322-373; B. N. Reu, Marwar kd Itihas, Ojha and Sharma, op. cit.,

97. Sarkar, op. cit., 330.

98. This account of escape is based on Sarkar. But Shyamaldas states that Durga Das fled away with the prince a day before the action took place (Virvinod , II, 828-29). This, however, does not seem to be probable, as after

Ajit had been carried away, there would hardly be any reason for the Rathors to fight the Mughuls in Delhi. Shyamaldas also states that the other son of Jasvant Singh, named Dalathambhan, was brought to Delhi, and suggests as one of the possibilities that this child might have been brought up by Aurangzlb (ibid, 830). The difference between the two versions is due to the fact that Sir Jadunath based his account on Isvardas and rejected the evidence of the Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri, while Shyamaldas relied exclusively on the latter work. For another version based on Rajasthani chronicles, see Reu, op. cit., 254.

99. This farman is given in the Virvinod, II, 885.

100. Raj Singh is supposed to have written a letter to Aurangzlb protesting against the imposition of the j izya. Sir Jadunath Sarkar examined the letter thoroughly and came to the conclusion that it was written by Shivaji, (Modern Review, January, 1908, 21-23). Ojha, following Tod and Shyamaldas, was of the view that Raj Singh wrote the letter (Ojha, op. cit., 549-554). But Sharma (op. cit. 164) agrees with Sir Jadunath, and it also seems to us that the letter, which as usual was made current by Tod, could not have been written by Raj Singh.

101. Sir Jadunath in the History of Aurangzib, III, 339, stated that Ajitffe mother was a Mewar princess, and in the CHI, IV, 248, that she was Raj Singh’s niece. I cannot find this corroborated by any Rajasthani chronicle and B. N. Reu doubts it (Reu, Marwar Ka Itihas, I, 257, f.n. 3), but Tod calls her a ‘daughter of Mewar’, Annals, 1957 ed. I, 307.

102. It is usually assumed that the Mahaiand took this defensive measure when the Mughul invasion seemed imminent. But the inscription on the portal at Deobarl is, according to Sharma, dated V.S. 1731=A.D. 1674, Sharma, op. cit., 165. f.n. 50.

103. Quoted by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., Ill, 336.

104. Rajavilds, X, vv 1-22, f.n 137-40 quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 169, f.n. 66-7.

105. Eka-maha-masidi-vikhandita laghu-masidi-trimsat I Devalaya-patana-rushah prakdsita Bhlmasimha-vlrena II

Raja-samudra-prasasti XXII, v. 29.

The Raja-samudra-prasasti mentions the sack of Idar, Vadnagar and Ahmadabad. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, apparently on the basis of the Mirat-i-Ahmadl,

mentions the sack of "Vadnagar, Visalnagar and some other rich cities of Gujarat.and the recovery of Idar". (Sarkar, op. cit. V, 1952 ed., p. 353).

But the Raja-samudra-prasasti, XXII v. 28, definitely mentions the sack of Idar, Vadnagar and Ahmadabad. We shall see later Durga Das and Durjan Sal Hada carrying a more daring raid into the heart of the Mughul empire. Therefore a lightning raid on Ahmadabad does not appear to be improbable.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar was of the opinion that prince Bhlm's raids took place after Akbar had rebelled (Sarkar, op. cit., Ill, 366). But these raids, as mentioned in the Raja-samudra-prasasti, took place during the life of Raj Singh, therefore before Akbar's rebellion. It may be noted that this prasasti is given in the Virvinod which was not available to Sir Jadunath.

106. Raja-samudra-prasasti, XXII, v. 46.

107. This is the date given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., Ill, 353) who has used O.S. throughout his work. Shyamaldas, probably using the N.S., gives the date as 3 November, 1680. The Indian date is Kdrtik, Sukla 19, 1737, V.S. (Virvinod, II, 473).

108. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., Ill, 367) states that Maharand Jai Singh "wel

comed him with present and invited him to stay. But Udaipur was no more invulnerable to Mughul invasion than Jodhpur. Then Durga Das most chivalrously undertook to conduct Akbar to the Maratha court-". Sir Jadunath

Sarkar does not give any reference for this statement but most probably he was following Tod. I am relying here on Shyamaldas (Virvinod, II, 653) who states that though Akbar had at this time some Mewar nobles to protect him, Jay Singh wrote to them not to bring Akbar to Mewar on any account, as peace talks were going on, but to escort him south to ShambhujTis court. This appears more probable, for it is difficult to believe that Mewar could not give protection to Akbar, when it could do so to Ajit. Also, the Mughul had never been able to reach the place where the Maharand lived. Ojha (op. cit., II, 587) has followed Shyamaldas.

109. Virvinod, II, 650.

110. Sir Jadunath calls him “Shyam Singh of Bikaner'' (Sarkar, op. cit., Ill, 370) but the Raja-samudra-prasasti, XXIII, v. 32 which we have followed here definitely identifies him.

Rdnd-sri'Karnasimhasya-dvitiyas-tanayahhali I

Garibadasas-tat-putrah Sydmasimha iha-gatah II

111. The farmdn is printed in the Virvinod, II, 651-52.

112. For conditions of the treaty, see, Sarkar, op. cit., Ill, 370 and V, 216 and Virvinod II, 661-63.

113. Sarkar, op. cit., Ill, 369-70.

114. A'zam’s letter is published in the Virvinod, II, 665-66. A‘zam wrote a similar letter dated 24 Sha’ban (the year is not given), Virvinod, II, 662. It appears that he was extremely eager to come to terms with Jay Singh and gain his support. There is an initialled but unsigned treaty in the Udaipur archives, which Shyamaldas ascribes to A‘zam. This Seems to be the terms A‘zam would have offered to the Maharand if he became emperor.

115. In 1683 Aurangzlb appointed Man Singh of Krishnagarh the faujdar of Pur, Mandal and Bednor, Virvinod II, 665.

116. This farmdn, apparently issued in response to a petition by the Maharand, was signed by Aurangzlb on 6 July, 1690, Virvinod II, 669-72.

117. Sarkar, op. cit., V, 221, 226 (1952 ed.).

118. According to the Khyat, Ajit was induced by the Marwar nobles to come out of his hiding place in 1687 at the age of eight, and take part in the struggle, even before Durga Das's return from the Deccan, B. N. Reu, Marwar Kd Itihds, I, 278. This is partly corroborated by Shyamaldas who states that Ajit joined the army in 1687 at the age of eight, Virvinod II, 832. This appears to be incredible unless one assumes Ajit to have been more precocious than even Babur. It is also stated in the Rajasthani chronicles that more than once there were differences of opinion between the child Ajit and Durga Das, which probably means that some nobles wanted to remove Durga Das from his position of authority. But as the same sources state that all Such differences were ultimately made up, it indicates that Durga Das was vindicated.

119. isvardas Nagar, Futuhdt-i-Alamglri, MsS, 167a-168b, tr. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., V. 231. For the account of Durga Das, Sir Jadunath relied exclusively on Isvardas, for he was a friend of Durga Das, had been a revenue collector at Jodhpur and had been entrusted by Shuja'at Khan, the governor of Gujarat (under whom Isvardas Served) to act as the intermediary between the Mughuls and Durga Das. In fact/, the Rajasthani chronicles, namely the Ajitodaya and Ajitagrantha written at a later date, and on which B.N. Reu relies for his Marwdr ka Itihas, give much less importance to Durga Das than is due to him.

120. Sarkar, op. cit., V, 236.

121. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, IV (1929), p. 27.

122. Ibid., p. 275,

123. Ibid., p. 276.

124. See Chapter VIII.

125. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 287-8.

126. Ibid., p. 288.

127. Ibid., p. 290.

128. Ibid., pp. 279-80.

129. Ibid., p. 282.

130. See Chapter VIII.

131. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 330.

132. Ibid., p. 334.

133. Ibid., p. 355.

134. For details, cf. ibid., p. 468.

135. For details, cf. ibid., pp. 343 ff., 471 ff.

136. ; Ibid., pp. 472-3.

137. Ibid., pp. 474-5.

138. According to J. N. Sarkar, Rajaram was crowned on 8 February (ibid., p. 48i), but according to G. S. Sardesai he was proclaimed king on 9 February; New History of the Marathas, Vol. I, p. 319.

139. Sardesai, op. cit., I, 320.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., p. 321.

142. Ibid., p. 324.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid., p. 328.

145. Ibid., p. 329.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., pp. 338-9.

148. For a detailed account, cf. ibid., pp. 337-9.

149. Ibid., pp. 341-2.

150. Ibid., pp. 342-3.

151. Ibid, p. 348.

152. Ibid.

153. Risley, People of India, p. 8.

154. K. R. Qanungo, History of the Jats, p. 1.

155. Ibid, p. 2.

156. Ibbetson, quoted in the Punjab Glossary, II. p. 366.

157. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 6-9, 325; Elliot, Memoirs of the Races of North-Western Provinces of India, I, 135-137; Risley, op. cit., p. 6.

158. Growse, Mathura (1874), pp. 21-2.

159. Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Bibliotheca Indica), pp. 16-7; Firishta, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 81-2; CHI, III. p. 26.

160. HIED, II. 218; CHI , III. 41; Qanungo, op. cit., p. 32.

161. See p. 310.

162. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, HI. 331.

163. Maasir-ul-umavd, III. 422; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 331-32.

164. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 331-33.

165. Ibid, pp. 333-36.

166. Sinsanl and Sogor are situated, respectively, 16 and 4 miles from Bharatpur.

167. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 296-7.

168. Isvardas, 164 b.

169. Ibid, 132 b. Manucci says, “They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates of gold and silver and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them.” Manucci, II. 320.

170. Isvardas, 134 b; A.A., 311; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., V. 299.

171. Isvardas, 136b-137a; M.A. 334.

172. Isvardas, 137 a and b; M.A. 340.

173. Imad-us-Sadat, 55.

174. Xavier Wendel, Fr. Ms. 41 as quoted in J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., V. 302.

CHAPTER XIII

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (I)

I. GUJARAT

Sikandar and Mahmud II (1526)

It has been noted in the previous volume that Sultan Muzaffar died on 5 April, 1526, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sikandar. After a reign of six weeks, Sikandar was assassinated by one of his disgruntled nobles and an infant son of Muzaffar was raised to the throne under the name of Mahmud II (26 May, 1526). Taking advantage of the situation Bahadur, the fugitive son of Muzaffar, returned to Gujarat.

Bahadur (1526-1537)

Bahadur had quarrelled with his father, Muzaffar, a few years before the latter's death, and had first taken refuge at Chitor and then with Ibrahim Lodi. He was present at the battle of Panlpat but did not take part in fighting. After the battle, Bahadur is said to have been invited by some local nobles to fill the throne of Jaunpur, and on his way thither news reached him of the happening in Gujarat. So Bahadur returned, and almost all the nobles except the murderers of Sikandar joined him. Their opposition was easily overcome and they were executed. After this, Bahadur turned against his brothers, and his closest rival Latif was severely wounded in an action, taken prisoner and died. The boy Mahmud II and three other princes were poisoned by Bahadur, whom the humane Babur rightly castigated as a "bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man". Only his brother Chand Khan was left. This prince had taken refuge at the Malwa court, and Sultan Mahmud II of Malwa refused to surrender him, which caused a rupture of good relations between Gujarat and Mialwa and ultimately led Bahadur to conquer Malwa.

War in the Deccan and Malwa (1528-1531)

Khandesh, which had for a long time acknowledged the supremacy of Gujarat, was during this period ruled by Muhammad I, the son of Bahadur’s sister. This prince and his ally, ‘Ala-ud-dln Tmad Shah of Berar, appealed to Bahadur after being severely defeated by Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar and ‘Amir ‘All! Barld of Bldar.

So in 1528, Bahadur and his allies advanced against the Nizam Shah and invested the fort of Daulatabad. But the NiZam Shah put up a stiff resistance and cut off the supplies of the invading army, forcing Bahadur to retire. But Bahadur reopened the campaign after the rainy season of 1529 and, overcoming a stiff opposition, again besieged Daulatabad. While the operations were progressing satisfactorily, Bahadur was betrayed by his ally, ‘Ala-ud-din ‘Imad Shah, who, suspecting that Bahadur had designs on the Deccan, retired to Bldar. Negotiations for peace then began and finally both Burhan Nizam Shah and ‘Alia-ud-din Shah were forced to sign humiliating treaties.

Bahadur next turned his attention to Malwa. Mahmud II of Malwa, as has already been noted, had estranged Bahadur, by granting asylum to Bahadur’s younger brother, Chand Khan, and refused to surrender him. Mahmud made his position worse by invading those portions of Malwa which Mahdrdnd Sanga had annexed to Mewar. He thus forced Mew^ar to join Bahadur, who regarded Mahmud II as a vassal of Gujarat, since he was restored on the throne by Muzaffar II. Bahadur wanted Mahmud to come and meet him, but as the latter persistently failed to do so, invaded Malwa. Mahmud literally made no resistance, and on 28 March, 1531, Mandu fell to the invaders. The khutba was read in Bahadur’s name and the portion of Malwa which still belonged to Mahmud was annexed to Gujarat. 1

Bahadur and the Portuguese (1)

In 1528, Nuno da Cunha was appointed the governor of Portuguese India, with instructions to capture Diu. He arrived in India in October, 1529 and, while Bahadur was engaged in the siege of Mandu, a strong Portuguese fleet sailed from Bombay. It first captured Daman and then proceeded towards its main objective, namely, Diu. On 7 February, 1531, the fleet appeared near Shial Bet island, eight leagues to the west of Diu, which they captured after overcoming a stiff resistance. The bombardment of Diu began on 16 February, but no appreciable damage was done to the fortifications. So Nuno da Cunha, who was in charge of the expedition, left for Goa on 1 March, 1531, leaving a subordinate officer to cruise the gulf of Cambay. This officer systematically destroyed Mahuwa, Go go, Bulsar, Tarapur, Mahim, Kelva, Agashi and Surat. la

Bahadur and Silahdi

Now that the Portuguese menace was over, Bahadur turned to complete the conquest of Malwa, parts of which like Gagraun and

Mandasor were occupied by the Mahdrdna of Chitor and other parts like Raisen and Bhilsa by a Hindu noble called Silahdi, both of whom had unwittingly helped Bahadur in conquering Malwa. Indeed, Bahadur had, after the fall of Mandu, granted Ujjain, Bhilsa and Ashta to Silahdi and graciously given him leave to depart after giving him three lacs of rupees and a large number of horses and elephants. But Bahadur now decided to crush Silahdi; the turn of Mewar would come later.

Apparently Silahdi was too strong to be attacked, so Bahadur managed to allay his suspicion and bring him to his court where he was given the alternative of embracing Islam or death on the ground of his having a number of Muslim women in his seraglio. As Silahdi temporized, he was thrown into prison and Ujjain and Ashta were conquered from his son. Bahadur then conquered Bhilsa which having been under Silahdi for about two decades, had several temples which were destroyed by Bahadur, who next besieged Raisen. Silahdi, alarmed at the turn of events, at last became a convert to Islam, but his brother Lakshman held out against the invading army and his son Bhupat went to bring help from Mewar.

Unfortunately the help from Mewar was not effective, and in the skirmishes that took place the Hindus were worsted. Ultimately, on the pretext that the fort would be delivered if Silahdi came in and managed to persuade his queen, he was brought inside. Silahdi's relatives then asked him "what the Sultan had given him in exchange for his own honourable position," and he told them "the sarkar of Barodah." They said, "Silahdi, your life is drawing near its end, you have not long to live. Why should you wish to live, and through fear of death, cast your honour to the winds? Death is thousand times better than this. We have thus resolved. We men will perish by the sword, and our women by the jauliar, that is, in the flames. Do you also, if you have the spirit, join us in this resolution.” To this Silahdi yielded, and the women died in flames and the men sword in hand (10 May, 1532). 2

First siege of Chitor , 1533

After the defeat of Silahdi, Bahadur turned against Mewar and, as a preliminary, sent his officers to capture Gagraun and Mandasor, which had formed a part of Mewar since the time of Mahdrdna Sanga. They also conquered Islamabad, Hushangabad and other dependencies of Malwa, which had fallen in the hands of “zemindars ”, that is Hindu chieftains. 3

His ostensible reason for attacking the country, which had sheltered him during his exile, was to punish Mewar for having attempted to help Silahdi. It should be recalled, however, that some time in 1531 or 1532 Bahadur received an embassy from Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal, probably proposing some sort of alliance between Gujarat and Bengal against the Mughuls. Bahadur gave a warm reception to the Bengali envoys, but nothing came out of this as Nusrat Shah died soon after. 4 It is likely, however, that this possibility of an alliance with the Afghans against the Mughuls, encouraged Bahadur to envisage an extensive empire, the preliminary to the building of which should be the complete control over Rajasthan that controlled the routes from Delhi and Agra to Gujarat. As we shall see, this ambitious policy led to his doom.

Bahadur’s Chitor campaigns have already been described in some detail. 5 As a result of his first invasion of Mewar, which came to an end on 24 March, 1533, he gained, besides the indemnities, those territories of Malwa which still appertained to Mewar. Besides this, Bahadur conquered Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Nagar.

One of the reasons which probably prompted Bahadur to retire from Chitor was the activities of Burhan Nizam Shah and Amir ‘All Barid of Bldar, who had advanced up to Bir 6 (22° N. 76° 5' E.). Bahadur sent an army under

Muhammad Shah of Khandesh to cooperate with ‘Imad Shah of Berar, and joined him later. The Nizam Shah was defeated, but Bahadur, it seems, was content to drive him out on these terms. He then returned to Mandu, and as Sikandar says, “the ambition of conquering Chitor again took possession of him”.

Bahadur and the Portuguese (II)

But Bahadur’s ambition was thwarted by the Portuguese invasion of Gujarat coast.

In 1534, heavy reinforcements arrived from Lisbon and the Portuguese again advanced towards Diu. They opened their attack by capturing Daman, upon which, Bahadur concluded peace with them on the most humiliating terms “to secure the friendship of the Portuguese against the Mughuls”. The conditions of the treaty, which was signed in December, 1534, were “that Bassein with all its dependencies by sea and land, should be made over to the King of Portugual for ever; that all ships bound for the Red Sea from the Kingdom of Cambay, should set out from Bassein, and return thither to pay duties; that no vessels should go to other ports without leave from the Portuguese; that no ships of war should be built in any ports belonging to the king of Cambay; and that he should no more give assistance to the Rumes.” 7

Bahadur and Humayun

The Mughul menace undoubtedly refers to Humayun, whom Bahadur had affronted in various ways. For several years Gujarat had become the asylum for the rebel Afghans whom Bahadur used to receive cordially. Thus, after the defeat of Silahdi, he conferred the fiefs of Bhilsa and Chanderi on ‘Ala-ud-din Alam Khan, Humayun’s rebel governor of Kalpi, and received very cordially ‘Ala-ud-dln Alam Khan Loch, a son of Buhlul, who had managed to escape from Badakhshan where Babur had imprisoned him. Soon he, and particularly his ambitious son, Tatar Khan, rose high in Bahadur’s council and urged him to invade the Mughul dominions, to which, for the present, Bahadur prudently paid no attention. 8

Bahadur’s relation with Humayun up to this period was quite cordial and he had sent an embassy to the Mughul court in 940 A.H. (1533-34), though he had also sent some money to Sher Shah, presumably to aid him; but while the wily Afghan accepted the muchneeded money, no help came from him when Bahadur was in distress.

Matters however reached a climax when Muhammad Zaman Mirza, who had twice rebelled against Humayun, escaped from prison and was granted asylum at Gujarat (1534). Bahadur was probably at this time in Diu, where he might have gone to arrange a naval expedition against the Portuguese, when Humayun wrote to him either to hand over Muhammad Zaman Mirza to him or to expel the Mirza from Gujarat. Bahadur took this as a challenge to his sovereignty, and hastily concluded the treaty with the Portuguese mentioned above, in order to be free to meet the Mughuls.

Humayun might or might not have known of Bahadur’s help to Sher Shah, but like all weak men who suddenly become resolute, was inexorable in his demand that Muhammad Zaman Mlirza be at least turned out of Gujarat. The correspondence began with a letter from Humayun in which he urged Bahadur to act in a friendly spirit, and was followed by another in which Humayun expressed surprise at Sultan Bahadur’s unfriendly conduct. 9 Apparently these mild remonstrances failed to elicit a favourable reply, so Humayun sent another letter, more peremptory in tone, making it clear that failure to comply with his demand must lead to war. Bahadur in his reply refused to satisfy Humayun, and charged him with bad intentions for having marched to Gwalior while he (Bahadur) was busy with the Portuguese, which undoubtedly refers to the Portuguese invasion mentioned above.

It seems that Bahadur had agreed to the humiliating peace terms of the Portuguese in order to be free to meet the Mughul menace. So he seized the opportunity afforded by Humayun’s temporary absence from the capital to put down some disturbances in the eastern region, 10 , and sent Tatar Khan with a large army from Ranthambhor to harass the Agra region, and two smaller forces under ‘Ala-ud-dln and Burhan-ul-mulk to harass the Kalinjar and the Nagar regions. Bahadur then advanced to Chitor, determined to conquer it. With Ranthambhor and Chitor in his hands, it would be impossible for a Mughul army from Agra to invade Gujarat, while the Marwar route would also be safe so long as he had Nagar and Ajmer under him. He would also be in a position to help Tatar Khan when the conquest of Chitor was accomplished, and his instructions to Tatar was not to engage in a general action till he came with the main army.

But Humayun took very quick and resolute action. He sent 18,000 horse under ‘Askari, Hindal and several veteran generals against Tatar, who in disregard of Bahadur’s instructions engaged the Mughuls and died fighting; the other two raiding parties, under ‘Ala-ud-dln and Burhan-ul-mulk, also seem to have been thoroughly defeated. Humayun now seized the opportunity which Bahadur provided him. Bahadur’s subsidiary armies were gone, while his main army was immobilized around Chitor; so Humayun set out from Agra probably on 18 February, 1535 11 and, subduing Raisen quickly reached Sarangpur in Malwa. As soon as news of his advance reached Bahadur, he decided to finish the siege of Chitor before fighting Humayun.

In this connection, two interesting anecdotes are related, one by the Muslim and the other by the Rajasthan chroniclers. According to the first, Bahadur’s decision to continue the siege of Chitor instead of fighting Humayun was influenced by his conviction that Humayun would not attack him while he was fighting the Hindus, and this prognostication came true. According to the Rajput chronicles, Rani Karmavatl, the mother of the reigning Mahclrdna, appealed to Humayun to come to her son’s aid and sent him a rdkhi (ritualistic wristband or thread which binds a man and a woman as brother and sister); but Humayun, though inclined to help her at first, ultimately did nothing.

It is difficult to judge the historical value of these two interesting stories, but it is evident that Humayun did not afford any relief to the besieged garrison at Chitor, nor did he have any compunction about invading Malwa while Bahadur was fighting the Hindus. Indeed, Humayun followed consistently the policy which was of the

greatest benefit to him, and seems to have been all along dictated by self-interest rather than calls of chivalry or religious brotherhood. Thus while Bahadur was tied up in Chitor, Humayun proceeded to Ujjain and easily captured this important city. However, Chitor fell on 8 March, 1535, and as Bahadur took the road to Malwa, Humayun also marched north, and the two armies met at Mandasor.

Here Bahadur committed the fatal mistake of entrenching himself behind a barricade on the advice of his Turkish gunner, Rumi Khan, who, unknown to him, had turned a traitor for not receiving Chitor as his fief as originally promised by Bahadur. The result of this defensive tactics was disastrous. Soon, food became so scarce that the Gujarat army practically ceased to be a fighting unit, and one night Bahadur secretly left it to its fate (25 April, 1535) 112 and fled to Mandu, pursued by Humayun, who was now joined by the traitor Rumi Khan. Rumi Khan seduced Silahdi's son, Bhupat, who opened a gate to the Mughuls, and Mandu fell to Humayun. Bahadur fled again, this time to Champaner, but having placed it under trusty generals he took refuge at Diu.

End of Bahadur

At Diu, Bahadur found himself completely destitute; so he had to turn to the Portuguese once more, and on 25 October, 1535, a treaty was concluded at Diu 13 , under which the Portuguese promised to help Bahadur by land and sea in exchange for permission to erect a fort at Diu, but the latter retained the right of collecting revenues of that port. The Portuguese help amounted to very little and the Portuguese utilized this opportunity to complete their fortification. It is possible that Bahadur granted this important concession to the Portuguese with the hope that he might escape with their help if Humayun followed him to Diu.

This contingency, however, did not arise and taking advantage of popular support and collecting soldiers from Chitor, Ranthambhor and Ajmer 14 Bahadur managed to drive the Mughuls out of Gujarat by the beginning of 1536. Circumstances forced Humayun to leave Mandu for Agra in May, 1536, and though Bahadur was never destined to recover Malwa, the Mughul menace was gone.

Bahadur immediately turned towards Diu, and began negotiations with Turkey for a naval expedition. The help came after his death. For the incidents that followed Bahadur's visit to Diu the Muslim and the

Portuguese chronicles give different versions. The fact, however, is that while negotiations were proceeding, Bahadur was induced to come and meet the Portuguese governor on board a Portuguese vessel. What happened thereafter is not very clear; apparently the Portuguese wanted to capture him, and as he tried to escape, his barge was attacked by the Portuguese and he jumped into the sea. As he called out for help and tried to swim, a Portuguese sailor struck him with a halbert, as did others, till he was killed (February, 1537). 15

Successors of Bahadur

Bahadur left no son, hence there was some uncertainty regarding succession after his death, which was increased by the frivolous claim to the Gujarat throne made by Muhammad Zaman Mirza, the fugitive Mughul prince, on the ground that Bahadur’s mother had adopted him as her son. But the nobles wisely selected Miran Muhammad Shah of Khandesh, the nephew and constant ally of Bahadur, but that prince died on his way to Gujarat. Hence the nobles selected eleven-year-old Prince Mahmud Khan, son of Bahadur’s brother Latif Khan, who had been brought up under surveillance. He was enthroned on 10 May, 1538, as Mahmud Shah III. 16

Mahmud III (1538-1554)

Mahmud, being a boy, the government was conducted by three nobles, namely, Imad-ul-mulk, Darya Khan and ‘Alam Khan Lodi. Soon after, Darya Khan managed to assume complete power and drove Imad-ul-mulk out of Gujarat (1538).

Though the Muslim chroniclers describe these court intrigues in great detail they are completely silent about the most important event of the first year of Mahmud’s reign, namely, the Turko-Gujarat attempt to drive the Portuguese from Diu, which is described by Portuguese and Turkish historians. 17 It has been related above that before his death Sultan Bahadur had sent an appeal for help to Sulaiman, the Magnificent, of Turkey (1520-1568), in response to which a Turkish fleet, and considerable number of soldiers arrived at Diu some time after the death of Bahadur. Sulaiman Pasha’s instruction was to destroy the Portuguese fleet but he engaged the Turkish troops in a siege of Diu. The siege continued for several months, and though the fort was severely damaged and its defenders practically exhausted, yet Sulaiman Pasha failed to capture the fort and sailed away. One of the reasons for failure was undoubtedly the gallant resistance of the Portuguese, but the main reason seems to be the character of Sulaiman Pasha, who even in that age was noted for his cruelty, and treated the Gujaratis like defeated enemies. As a result, the joint venture, which had great prospect of success, failed to accomplish any of its objects, namely, the destruction of the Portuguese fleet and recovery of Diu.

End of Darya Khan and 4 Alam Khan

Darya Khan remained in power for about five years, at the end of which period the Sultan, unable to tolerate his overbearing manners, one night fled to Dhandhuka, where he was cordially received by its fief-holder, ‘Alam Khan. Darya Khan raised a boy of obscure origin to the throne, and advanced with a huge army to meet Mahmud and ‘Alam Khan, and though he defeated them, his troops gradually deserted him and he was forced to flee to Burhanpur (1543).

Soon, however, ‘Alam Khan became so powerful that Mahmud found that by driving away Darya Khan he had merely changed masters. ‘Alam Khan and other nobles also were disgusted by Mahmud’s profligate habits and lowly friends, and having confined him to a citadel conspired to blind him and divide the kingdom among themselves. But Mahmud forestalled their design by a daring coup and was at last able to have the reins of government in his own hand (1545).

Epic of Diu

In 1546 Mahmud again attempted to recover Diu, and this event has been characterized by the Portuguese historians as the “Epic of Diu” 18 on account of the severity of the contest. It seems, however, that before the siege of Diu began, a strong fort was built at Surat to save it from Portuguese depredation, and it is from this time that the importance of Surat as a port begins.

The siege of Diu began on 20 April, 1546, and continued till 11 November, 1546, when the Gujarat army was decisively defeated by a comparatively small Portuguese force. The Portuguese governor then rebuilt the battered fort and left for Goa which he entered in a triumphal procession reminiscent of the Roman days, while the Portuguese navy cruising along the Gulf of Cambay set about destroying the peaceful coastal towns including the ancient port of Broach. “This action”, says one Portuguese historian, “being so famous amongst our soldiers as to give him who was called Menezes (the captain of the fleet) the surname of Baroche, as the ruins of Carthage gave Seipio the name of Africanus.” 19 ' The unfortunate soil of India has had to suffer many depredations by foreign invaders and by native rulers, but nothing comparable to the cruel barbarism of the Portuguese vandals possibly ever happened before or since.

In 1548, Mahmud III again began to make preparations for investing Diu, and the Portuguese made adequate arrangements for defence. But nothing came out of it.

Internal administration and death

The administration had been decaying since the time of Bahadur and Mahmud did nothing to improve it. He was a profligate young man and, as if to atone for his vices, took stern measures against the Hindus. The Hindus had been enjoying inalienable right over a considerable part of Gujarat by virtue of a settlement made during the reign of Mahmud’s ancestor, Sultan Ahmad I (1411-1443), who found that this was the only way of maintaining peace with the warlike chieftains. Mahmud resumed these lands, 20 by what tyrannical methods we do not know. But immediately the frontier chiefs of idar, Sirohi, Dungarpur, Banswar'a, Lonawarah, Rajpipla and the chiefs on the banks of the Mahindri, Halod “and other strongholds on the frontier” broke into rebellion. The Muslim historians claim that these disturbances were put down and that “no Rajput or Koli was left who did not devote himself to agriculture. .. Every one of them was branded on the arm, and if any Rajput or Koli was found without the brand he was put to death.” 21 But this seems more like a pious wish than a statement of fact, for these States continued to flourish long after Mahmud’s dynasty had passed into oblivion. Indeed, this Hindu rebellion may have been one of the main causes for the rapid downfall of the Gujarat Sultanate.

Resumption of the Wanta grant was not the only tyranny practised against the Hindus. As Sikandar puts it: “In the reign of Mahmud, Muhammadan law and rule was so stringently enforced that no Hindu could ride on horseback in any city, nor dare enter a bazar without a patch of red on the back of a white garment, or a patch of white on red one, or to wear a dress all of one colour. Infidel observances, such as the indecencies of the Holi, the orgies of the Diwali, and the practice of idol worship, and the ringing of bells were not allowed in public, and those who practised them in private did so with fear and trembling.” 22

Sikandar was born (1553-54) during Mahmud’s reign and presumably heard these stories from his father and brothers. The stories apparently are exaggerated, and there is no reason to assume that Mahmud had such an efficient administration that he could carry out these measures in a country which was predominantly Hindu. But the rules were issued and Hindus were subjected to petty tyranny wherever possible, so that Mahmud, who treated the Muslim divines with great respect and benevolence, could claim to be the champion of Islam, and thereby possibly induce foreign Muslims to join his service. The result was that his instruments of oppression, the Muslim nobles, concentrated power in their hands, while Mahmud gave himself up to voluptuous pleasure. He was poisoned by his cup-bearer in 1554.

Mahmud had a horror of providing an heir who might contest the throne and therefore used to procure an abortion whenever a woman in his seraglio became pregnant. Hence a distant kinsman of Mahmud was raised to the throne as Ahmad III.

Ahmad III (1554-1561)

For seven years Ahmad III was the nominal ruler of Gujarat, while the nobles divided the kingdom among themselves into practically independent principalities. The shifting combination of the greedy nobles started the country on the road to speedy disintegration, and the confusion was increased by the influx of groups of Afghans.

After about five years of tutelage under 1‘timad Khan, the noble who had raised him to the throne, Ahmad fled, but was captured by rtirnad who kept him under surveillance as before. Ahmad later foolishly attempted to hatch a plot against 1‘timad who had him assassinated in April, 1561.

Muzaffar III (1561-1572)

The death of Ahmad posed another problem of succession but I‘timad produced a child called Nathu and swore that he was a son of Mahmud III. Though this does not seem to be probable, Ttimad’s story was accepted by the nobles and the child ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar III. The history of Muzaffar’s reign is a record of continuous strife among the nobles in the midst of which rtirnad managed to retain his regency until he was driven away by a Gujarat noble called Chingiz Khan and some Mirzas, that is, fugitive Mughul princes. 1‘timad Khan thereupon fled to Durgapur, and sent a message to Akbar, who was then besieging Chitor, to come and occupy Gujarat. Akbar, however, could not respond to this invitation immediately.

Chingiz Khan’s power was short-lived and he was murdered by one of his Abyssinian officers. The result was Ttimad’s return to power, and the occupation by the Mirzas of Broach, Surat, Baroda and Champaner; Hindu feudatories began to assert their power and the Riao of Cutch and the Jam of Nawanagar began to issue coins.[23] We need not trace the dreary history of Gujarat for the next few years till 1‘timad again invited Akbar to invade Gujarat. Akbar marched from Fathpur Sikri on 2 July, 1572, and when he approached Ahmadabad unopposed in the following November, Muzaffar was found hiding in a corn field and brought in. He duly made his submission (November, 1572) and was granted a small allowance.[24]

II. KASHMIR[25] Muhammad

We have noticed in the previous volume that Muhammad Shah ascended the throne for the fourth and last time in A.D. 1530.[25a] Next year KajI Chak advanced with an army, while Kamran sent another under Mahram Beg to conquer Kashmir. In this predicament KajI Chak responded to the call of Abdal Makri, who was in virtual control of affairs, and their combined forces met the Mughuls. At first the Mughuls carried everything before them, and occupied the capital, but later the Kashmiri resistance was more successful; the Mughuls were forced to negotiate peace and after receiving a few presents were allowed to depart peacefully.

Kashmir was then divided among the five great nobles, who suffered Muhammad to retain the crown lands, but soon after Mlrza Haidar invaded Kashmir.

Mlrza Haidar, born in the Dughlat tribe, a branch of the Chagtiai Mughuls, was Babur's cousin. Mlrza Haidar was at that time serving under Sultan Sa'Id Khan of Mughulistan and, along with Sa'Id Khan's son, Mlrza Sikandar, invaded Kashmir in 1532. Like Kamran, Mlrza Haidar at first was quite successful, but later dissension arose amongst his home-sick officers, and he had to retire from Kashmir by the middle of 1533, after concluding peace with Mlrza Muhammad who gave his daughter in marriage to Mlrza Sikandar.

The only other notable incident in the reign of Muhammad was a severe famine graphically described by Prajyabhatta who adds that Abdal Makri and other nobles relieved the distress of the people by feeding them. 26

Shams-ud-dln to Mlrza Haidar's second invasion

Muhammad died in the middle of 1537, and was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-dln. The hostility amongst the powerful nobles flared up and Kashmir again had to suffer prolonged civil war, as a result of which KajI Chak managed to secure control of the government.

Shams-ud-dln died after a reign of about three years and was succeeded by Nazuk Shah. 27

The year of Nazuk Shah's accession (1540) saw Humayun's defeat at the battle of Kanauj. This was followed by a precipitate flight of the Mughuls as described above. 28 All the principal Mughul leaders assembled at Lahore, and there Mlrza Haidar suggested that Kashmir should be conquered. This plan had the merit of giving the Mughuls a base in India which could be easily defended against Sher Shah; also Mirza Haidar had been approached by Abdal Makri and Regi Chak to invade Kashmir. But, for various reasons Humayun did not accept the Mirza's plan, though he allowed him to depart for Kashmir and gave him four hundred soldiers.

Kaji Chak on hearing of Mlrza Haidar's invasion defended only one route, but Mirza avoided that route and entered Kashmir by the Punch pass on 2 December, 1540. Possibly the Mirza received adequate support within the country, for Kaji Chak, without any further attempt to oppose the Mughul invader, hastened to Sher Shah for help. Mirza Haidar thus conquered Kashmir without practically having to fight for it.

Mirza Haidar allowed Nazuk Shah to continue as king with Abdal Makri as the wazir, and after the latter's death, his son Hassan Makri was appointed as the wazir. Meanwhile Kaji Chak had been cordially received by Sher Shah, who gave him 5000 horse under the command of Afghan officers. With this force Kaji entered Kashmir in the spring of 1541. An indecisive battle was followed by a stalemate, but ultimately a decisive battle was fought in August 1541, in which the Mirza with inferior numbers defeated the Afghans, and forced them and their protege, Kaji Chak and Daulat Chak, to flee to India. The Chaks thereafter made a few more unsuccessful attempts to regain their power, but the death of Kaji Chak due to fever in 1544, and of Regi Chak in action two years later, relieved Mirza Haidar temporarily of any danger from that side.

These victories made the Mirza master of Kashmir. Now he attempted to conquer the semi-independent provinces of the kingdom, such as Kishtwar as well as Baltistan and Ladakh. These adventures met with varying degrees of success, but resulted in the dispersal of his forces. The weakness of the Mirza's position became apparent in 1549, when Haibat Khan Niyazi, Islam Shah's rebel governor of Lahore, being defeated moved towards Kashmir. While on the way he met Daulat Chak and Ghazi Chak who proposed a joint invasion of Kashmir, but Haibat, instead of falling in with the proposal sent an envoy to Mirza Haidar who sent a large amount of money to induce Haibat to leave Kashmir. Thereupon the frustrated Chaks went to Islam Shah, and Mirza Haidar countered their move by sending a present of saffron to Islam Shah. Islam later sent an envoy with rich presents to Kashmir, and Haidar gave him suitable presents.

Mirza Haidar, like other Mughul princes, was a great patron of art and literature. His description of the Hindu temples is delightful reading, so that in contrast his religious orthodoxy comes as a surprise. He was a bigoted Sunni, and as soon as he felt secure, began to persecute the Nurbakshiya sect, who at that time had an influential following in Kashmir. Abu-1-Fazl also charges him with misgovernment.[29] Possibly the Mirza was a good soldier, lacking in administrative ability. To this was added his religious fanaticism and he further alienated the Kashmiris by transferring his allegiance to Humayun after the latter conquered Kabul and Qandahiar in 1545.

Trouble broke out in 1551 and the Mirza sent a force towards Punch under his cousin Qara Bahadur but he was disastrously defeated and imprisoned by the Kashmiris under Husain Makri and Idi Raina, who were soon after joined by Daulat Chak, and their combined force marched towards Srinagar. As Mirza Haidar prepared to proceed against them, serious rebellions broke out in Baltistan, Ladakh and other places and everywhere his small garrisons were overpowered and either driven off or destroyed. Still the Mirza set out to oppose the main Kashmiri army who had fortified themselves at Manar near Khianpur. As he had a small force, the Mirza decided to risk the hazard of a night attack, during which he died of a chance arrow (October, 1551).[30]

End of the Shah Mirl dynasty

The history of the decade following the death of Mirza Haidar, ending in the assumption of sovereignty by the Chaks, is rather confusing. At first the nobles accepted Nazuk Shah as Sultan, a roi faineant , the real power being in the hands of Idi Raina, the prime minister, who had taken a prominent part in the actions against Mirza Haidar. Idi Raina, however, was able at the beginning to gain the support of the powerful houses of the Chaks and Makris by judicious distribution of favour. Thus when in 1552 Haibat Khan Niyazi again invaded Kashmir, an army under Idi Raina, Daulat Chak and Husain Makri, successfully opposed him. In the action that followed, Haibat

Khan and his wife Bibi Rabi‘a, who displayed great courage fighting by her husband’s side, lost their lives, and the Afghans were routed.

Soon after the defeat of the Afghans, civil war broke out in Kashmir between Idi Raina, supported mainly by the Makris, and the Chaks led by Daulat Chak in which Idi Raina was defeated and, while flying, died accidentally. Daulat Chak thereupon assumed the office of the prime minister, deposed Nazuk Shiah, and set up Ibrahim, the son of Muhammad, on the throne (1552).

From this time the ascendancy of the Chaks was complete though the Shah Mlrl kings were allowed to rule for another decade. Dissension, however, broke out among the Chaks a few years later when Daulat Chak married his aunt, the widowed mother of Ghazi Chak. Ghazi Chak managed to capture Daulat Chak, and after blinding him, became the prime minister. He immediately deposed Ibrahim and crowned his brother Ismail, and on his death in 1557, Ghazi set up on the throne his nephew and Isma‘lTs son, Habib. Four years later (1561) Ghazi set aside Habib on the ground of incompetence and ascended the throne himself. But, as has been noted above, Ghazi had been the virtual ruler of Kashmir from the time he became the prime minister.

The period of Ghazl’s prime ministership was disturbed by local rebellions which he was able to crush. Some of the rebels, however, sought the help of Abu-’1-Ma‘all, the disgraced noble of Akbar’s court, who collected some Mughul and Kashmiri soldiers and invaded Kashmir in 1558, but was disastrously defeated. The disgruntled nobles then sought the help of Qara Bahadur, one of Mlrza Haidar’s lieutenants, but his expedition, too, met the same fate, and he escaped to Akbar. There were other disturbances which Ghazi managed to quell, but the expedition which he sent to Ladakh was a failure.

In his old age Ghazi was attacked with leprosy and entrusted his brother Husain Khan with the task of government. Soon certain incidents antagonized the two brothers, and Husain usurped the throne in 1563 after deposing Ghazi and blinding his son Ahmad.

Husain’s reign also witnessed the usual civil wars, but the most important incident of his reign was an apparently trivial affair which first interested Akbar in the fate of Kashmir. Two intemperate Mullas, one a Shiah and the other a Sunni, began by abusing each other and ended with the Shiah Yusuf wounding the Sunni Habib, and a special tribunal composed of Sunnis condemned Yusuf to death. It was at this time that Mlrza Muqim, Akbar’s envoy, came to Kashmir. Muqim was welcomed with great respect by Husain, who now referred the dispute to the Mughul plenipotentiary and a case was started against the Sunni divines for having executed Yusuf when he had merely wounded the Sunni qazl. As a result of this enquiry a few Sunnis were executed. Soon Muqim left Kashmir, laden with rich presents and Husain’s daughter to be married to Akbar. 31 But the disreputable conduct of Husain and his advisers so angered Akbar, that he declined to accept the presents and Husain’s daughter had to return to Kashmir. Muqim was in his turn judged by ‘Abdun-Nabi and others and on their advice put to death by Akbar. On hearing this Husain fell seriously ill; his nobles deserted him and joined his brother, ‘All Khan, who soon forced Husain to abdicate in his favour (1569).

‘Ali Shah’s reign was as disturbed by civil disturbances as that of his predecessors. In 1571, ‘All Khan Chak attempted to seize the throne but was ultimately defeated and captured. Next, ‘All Shah’s son and successor Yusuf, murdered Ghazi Shah’s surviving son, so that there might be no rival claimant to the throne. ‘Ali Shiah then sent a force against his son and it seemed that a war between father and son was inevitable, but the wazir intervened and effected a reconciliation. A few years later two princes of the Shah Miri dynasty, who had taken refuge in Hindusthan, attempted to capture Kashmir, but were defeated. One of the princes died fighting while the other managed to escape.

The most important event in ‘Ali Shah’s reign was his acceptance of Mughul suzerainty. In the middle of 1578, Akbar sent two envoys, namely, Mulla ‘Ishqi’ and Qazi Sadr-ud-dm to Kashmir, as Abu-’l-Fazl says, “in order that they might guide that sitter in the hills (‘Ali Shah) to obedience.” 32 The result was that ‘All Shah had the khutba recited and coins issued in the name of Akbar. Why ‘Ali Shah performed these acts is not known, but he undoubtedly provided Akbar the pretext for considering Kashmir as a vassal State.

In 1579 ‘All Shah died of an accident while playing polo, and though most of the nobles were in favour of his son Yusuf, ‘All Shah’s brother, Abdal, decided to contest the throne. Abdal, however, was defeated and killed in battle. Yusuf ascended the throne, but within two months the nobles drove him away and raised Sayyid Mubarak, the wazir , to the throne. Within a few months, however, the nobles imprisoned Mubarak and set up one Lohar Chak on the throne.

In the meantime, Yusuf Shah, despairing of success, came to Lahore to seek Mughul help from Man Singh who brought him to the court at Agra where he was received by Atkbar in January, 1580. 33 Akbar promised Yusuf the necessary help and deputed Man Singh and another officer for the purpose, with whom Yusuf left in August, 1580. But by the time he arrived at Lahore some Kashmiri nobles, afraid of the Mughul troops, opened negotiations, and Yusuf managed, though it is not clear how, to detach himself from the Mughuls and raising a small force of Kashmiris entered his kingdom. This time fortune favoured Yusuf and he was able to defeat his enemies. Lohar Chak was captured and blinded.

Resistance to Yusuf however continued though he managed to overcome all opposition. But in 1581 envoys came from Akbar and Yusuf hastened to welcome them at Baramula. He then sent his third son Haidar to the imperial court with rich presents. He was allowed to depart after a year, and this time Akbar demanded that Yusuf himself should come and wait on him. This Yusuf was not prepared to do and he sent his eldest son Ya'qub to the imperial court in 1585. Shortly afterwards, while Ya'qub was still there Akbar decided to invade Kashmir.

Some modern historians have condemned Akbar for his unprovoked aggression. It is, therefore, necessary to remember that Akbar could justifiably have looked upon Kashmir as a feudatory State on the basis of 'All Shah’s reciting the khutba and striking coins in his name. This relation became even more pronounced when Yusuf came to him for support to win his throne; Yusuf then dispensed with Mughul support, but that would hardly change his status in Akbar’s view. Moreover, when Akbar demanded Yusuf’s presence at the imperial court, the latter, instead of an unequivocal refusal, prevaricated by sending his sons. Akbar alleged in one of his letters that Yusuf’s son Haidar was not fit for service, and Ya'qub was 'somewhat mad.’ 34 There can hardly be any doubt that diplomatically Akbar’s conduct was correct, and that Yusuf had put himself in an indefensible position by failing to assert his independence at the proper time. It is also extremely doubtful if Yusuf had ever sustained any idea of independence as we understand it today. When the Mughul army under Bhagwan Das began to enter Kashmir the nobles counselled resistance, but Yusuf decided otherwise and surrendered at the earliest possible opportunity (about 24 February, 1586). 35

Yusufs surrender did not stop fighting. His son Ya'qub crowned himself and carried on the struggle against the Mughuls. At first the Kashmiri resistance halted the Mughul advance, but ultimately some landlords let the Mughuls pass through their villages, whereupon the Kashmiris came with proposals of peace. It was agreed that Akbar’s name should be mentioned in the khutba, coins struck in his name, and revenues from the mint, saffron, shawl, etc., should be collected by imperial superintendents and paid to the imperial treasury.

It is difficult to determine, who entered into this treaty-relation with Akbar. Abu-’l-Fazl says: “As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yusuf, the ruler of Kashmir.” 36 But Yusuf was at this time in the Mughul camp, so he seems to have acted as an intermediary between his son Ya'qub

and the Mughuls. This conclusion is to some extent supported by Prajyabhatta who states that after Yusuf’s surrender Ya'qub became the king. 37 On 7 April, 1586, Yusuf was presented at the court. As mentioned above (p. 148) Yusuf was imprisoned.

According to Abu-’l-Fazl, Akbar "had resolved upon restoring Kashmir to him (Yusuf) but the imperial servants represented that he ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kashmir should first be conquered and afterwards restored to him. H.M. accepted this view, and made him over to Raja Todar Mai.”[38] A year later Yusuf was released and given a fief in Bihar.[39]

Akbar has been severely criticised by some modern historians for his treatment of Yusuf. It is no doubt impossible to justify Yusuf’s imprisonment, but the statement that it led Bhagwan Das to commit suicide seems to be absurd.[410]

The terms of the treaty, as might be foreseen, were not honoured by Ya'qub. Had he, however, administered the country well, he might have defied the mighty Mughul, secured as he was behind the formidable mountain passes. But Ya'qub, instead of rallying the country around his throne, divided his supporters by his anti-Sunni policy. He could not expect any support from the Hindus either, for the Chaks had alienated them by imposing the jizya[41] Rebellion broke out which he suppressed, but some disgruntled nobles approached Akbar for help, and the emperor, who had been dissatisfied with the treaty negotiated by Bhagwan Das, seized this opportunity to send an army under Qasim Khan to conquer Kashmir (8 July, 1586)[42]

The difficult terrain and inclement weather helped the Kashmiris, though Qasim Khan overawed a section of the Kashmiri army, and a large number of officers capitulated.[43] But the resistance led by Ya'qub persisted till Qasim Khan was replaced by Mirza Yusuf Khan.[44] Mirza Yusuf seems to have been able to cope with the situation successfully so that it was possible for Akbar to visit Kashmir. He left Lahore on the eve of 7 May, 1589, the day after the death of Miyan Tansen, and reached Srinagar on 15 June, 1589.[45] On 21 July, 1589, Ya'qub opened negotiations for his surrender through his brother Abiya and on 7 August offered his formal submission.[46]

1. For the annexation of Malwa, see above, Vol. VI, p. 186.

la. Danvers, F.C.: The Portuguese in India (London, 1894), pp. 395-401.

2. Mirat-i-Sikandari, tr. Bayley (MSB), p. 364; Nizam-ud-din gives a slightly different version of this speech, TA. tr. Ill, pt. i, 366. The date of the fall of Raisen is given in MSB, p. 365.

3. MSB, pp. 367-68. Bahadur also invaded Gondwana and captured a fort called Kanur.

4. History of Bengal, II, ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 157.

5. Above, p. 329.

6. MSB, p. 373.

7. Danvers, op. cit., pp. 405-06; 416.

8. Abu-'I-Fazl relates that Bahadur who was present in the first battle of Panlpat was extremely impressed by the fighting auality of the Mughuls, A.JV. tr. I 3 294.

9. Dr< S. K. Bannerji has given translation of the earlier letters from the Arabic History of Gujarat, (S. K. Bannerji, Hvnnayun Badshah, pp. 99-111). Sikandar says that only Humayun's third and last letter and Bahadur's reply to the same have been preserved which he quotes, MSB, 375-380. Bahadur's last reply to Humayun was quite frank and outspoken and, he accepted Humayun's challenge. The story given by Sikandar and other historians is that Bahadur, who was illiterate, had this letter drafted by a man who had a grouse against Humayun, and gave orders for its despatch while under influence of drink without consulting his ministers. Next morning when the Ministers learnt about it, Bahadur agreed to change it but the messenger had already departed and in spite of best efforts could not be recalled. This story appears to be apocryphal; Bahadur was justified in asserting his right to grant asylum to Muhammad Zaman Mirza.

10. Dr. S. K. Bannerji, on the authority of the Ain (II, 184), states that Humayun had gone to Kanar in the Kalpi district (Bannerji, op. cit. 73). Dr. Iswari Prasad, who does not give any reference, states that Humayun had proceeded up to Kanauj on his way to Bengal. (Iswari Prasad, Life and Times of Humayun, p. 68).

11. For Bahadur's plan of campaign and Humayun's activities See A.N. I, pp. 293 ff. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Humayun advanced from Agra on 9 November, 1534. But this date seems to be too early. I have therefore followed the date given by Gulbadan Begam, Humayun-ndma, tr. pp. 131-32.

12. A.N. tr. I, p. 303. Sikandar gives the date as 3rd Ramazan 941 A.H., 25 March, 1535; MSB gives the date as 20th Ramazan 941 A.H. which Bailey converts into 25 March, 1535, which seems to be a mistake.

13. Danvers, op. cit., 417.

14. For the defeat of the Mughuls in Gujarat, see above pp. 47-50. Sikandar states that the troops which helped Bahadur to defeat Yadgar Nasir Mirza came from the garrison of Chitor, Ajmer and Ranthambor, MSB, 393.

15. The Portuguese historians accuse Bahadur of having intended to capture the Portuguese Governor treacherously. Erskine went into the problem thoroughly and put the entire blame on the Portuguese (W. Erskine, History of India, Babur and Humayun, II, 95, f.n.). But Bahadur either intended to play some trick after allaying the suspicion of the Portuguese or was biding his time for the Turkish fleet's arrival, MSB, pp. 395, 327; Danvers, op. cit., 425.

16. MSB does not give the date but states that Mahmud ascended the throne in 943 A.H. (A.D. 1536-1537).

17. Both Sikandar and Haji-ud-dabir completely ignore this event, though the latter describes Gujarat's attempt to recover Diu in 1546. For this encounter see M.L. Dames: "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century," JRAS, January, 1921, 15-20; E. Denison Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia", JRAS, January 1922, 13 ff. R.S. Whiteway, The Rise of the Portuguese Poiver in India, 244-60, Danvers, op. cit., 425-39.

18. For details see M.S. Commissariat: Studies in the History of Gujarat, pp. 7 ff. and History of Gujarat, pp. 436-57.

19. Quoted by Commissariat, History of Gujarat, p. 451.

20. “A fourth part of Gujarat, called Banth (Wanta), was in the hands of Rajputs and Grassiah” MSB 439. Wanta meant the enjoyment by the landlord of one fourth of a village. Forbes, Rds-mala, II, 270-71.

21. MSB, 439.

22. MSB, 439-40.

23. A few copper coins bearing the name of Mahmud-bin-Latif in Persian and the name of the Rao of Cutch in Nagari have been found, from which Hodivala concluded that the Hindu princes were minting coins during the reign of Mahmud III. S. H. Hodivala: “The unpublished coins of Gujarat Sultanate” JBBRAS 1926, 32-33. But minting copper coins was of little importance.

24. For details of Akbar’s Gujarat campaign, see above pp. 125, 133, 145. Though Muzaffar did not take any part in the Gujarat rebellion of 1573 he escaped from surveillance in 1578, and took refuge in Junagad, where he collected sufficient men to start a rebellion, and in 1583, captured Ahmadabad and declared himself King. He defeated several imperial officers, but was severely defeated by ‘Abdur-Rahim, who got his title of Khan Khanan for his action against Muzaffar. Muzaffar then took refuge in Cutch, where the historian Nizam-uddin pursued him. Muzaffar continued to give trouble till 1591-92 when he was captured and is reported to have committed suicide.

25. The proper name is Kasmlra. But as it is also a modern name it is usually written without any diacritical mark or as Kashmir or Kashmir (as in this book). The form Kashmir used in CHI seems to be erroneous. (Ed.).

25a. Vol. VI, 386. In an article published in 1956 I had shown that possibly Muhammad’s restoration in 1530 was the beginning of his fifth reign (A. K. Majumdar: ‘A note on the chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir in the Aln-i-AkbarV, JASBL, XXII, 92), but as all the authoritative texts assigned him only four reigns, I did the same. Dr. M. Husain in his Kashmir under the Sultans p. 296 (1959) has assigned five reigns to Muhammad; though he has noticed my article he has not taken into consideration the objections which prompted me to assign four reigns to Muhammad instead of five. I am therefore following the chronology proposed in my article mentioned above.

26. Rdjatarangini, (RT. Peterson's ed.) pp. 351-52, vv. 347-361.

27. For the relationship between Nazuk and Muhammad, see Vol. VI, 385. M. Husain states that Shams-ud-dln was succeeded by his brother Isma'11. Fsom the RT, p. 355, v. 399 ff., however, it seems that Nazuk succeeded Shams-uddin. Abu-'l-Fazl's testimony is conflicting. In the Am (II, p. 375, 2nd ed.) Abu-'l-Fazl has given a list of kings from which it would appear that at the time of Mlrza Haidar's invasion Isma'Il was reigning, while in the Akbar-ndma, he States that "At that time (i.e. during Mlrza Haidar's second invasion) a person called Nazuk Shah—having a name that was no name—was the reported sovereign". AN, I, 402. Unfortunately M. Husain does not discuss this problem at all and does not give any reference for his statement (p. 130) that Isma'11 succeeded Shams-ud-dln, and that Mlrza Haidar set up Nazuk Shah on the throne (p. 133). We have therefore followed the statement of RT which is corroborated by the AN.

28. See above pp. 55 ff.

29. AN, I, 405. For Mirza Haidar's appreciation of Hindu temples see Tdrikh-iRashidi tr. by Elias and Ross, p. 427.

30. M. Husain, Kashmir under the Sultans, p. 140.

31. M. Husain (op. cit., p. 156) writes that Husain's daughter was intended to be married to prince Salim. But these incidents happened in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), the year in which Jahangir was born; therefore the girl must have been intended for Akbar.

32. A.N., III, 356.

33. Ibid., 409; Yusuf's surrender to Akbar is graphically described by Prajyabhatta.

Samasta-prithivi-pdla-Jaldladlna-bhupateh I Charano,m sarani-kartum yayau Yusuba-bhupatih II RT (Peterson's ed.) p. 376, v. 637.

Of Yusuf's return it is stated:—

Jaldladina-bhupdla-pdda-darsana-harshitah I Ayayau vatsare yate Srimdn-Yusuba-bhupatih II Ibid., p. 377, v.' 643.

34. Haidar Malik: IOMS, p. 185< quoted by Beveridge, AN, III, 550, f.n.

35. TA, II, 760-61, AN, III, 724; these incidents are quite graphically described in the RT. pp. 679-82, vv. 661-695.

36. AN, III, 725.

37. Pancha-varsha=sritdn=bhogdn-bhuktvd Yusuba-bhupatih I Jallaladina-bhupala-sevanartham atha—gamat II

Gate tasmin mahlpdle Bhagavad=dasa-sainikam I Yakuba nama tat-putrah prdjyam rdjyam=athd-grahit II RT (Peterson's ed.) p. 382, vv. 694-95.

Prajyabhatta then relates in some detail Ya'qub's attempt to defend Kashmir against the next Mughul invasion under Qasim Khan, but never mentions Yusuf. That is, so far as Kashmir was concerned Yusuf's reign came to an end with his surrender.

38. AN, III, 738-39.

39. AN, III, 801.

40. ".Akbar refused to ratify the treaty which Bhagwan Das had made, and

broke faith with Yusuf by detaining him as a prisoner. The raja, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide". (W. Haig, CHI, III, 293). Haig as usual does not give any reference but the only authority for this statement can be BadaunI, who states that Bhagwan Das had given safe conduct to

Yusuf and when Akbar imprisoned him, the raja struck himself with a dagger, but recovered soon after (BadaunI, II, 364). But, as V. Smith pointed out, BadaunI was singularly misinformed about the fate of Yusuf, and his statement may therefore be rejected. V. Smith, Akbar the Great Moghul, 240. M. Husain (op. cit. 178) seems to reject Smith's contention but does not give any reason for doing so. [It is noteworthy that even CHI, IV, p. 136 differs from what is Stated in CHI, III as quoted above, Editor!.

41. Pura-chakka-kulo-tpannair-bhupair — jati-virodhatah I Brahmanebhyas —tada dahdo grihltah kila varshikah II RT, p. 400 v. 885.

The persecution of the Brahmins seems to have been quite severe and there were some forced conversions too, for Prajyabhatta adds:

Uttamo Bdhmano desam tatydja mlechhadushitam I T atyaja madhyamo lajjdm jdtim tatydja chd—dhamah II (ibid v. 888).

Akbar remitted the j izya.

Tadrsan Brahmandn jnatva J allaladlna-bhupatih /

Chakka-vamsa-krama-ydtam vipra-dandam nyavarayat /

The Chaks were religious fanatics and there can be no doubt that they were persecuting the Hindus. Akbar's conquest must have come to them as a liberation and that is probably the reason why Prajyabhatta refers to him in very flattering terms.

42. Mlrza Shah Rukh was Sent first, but was recalled as "his heart was not in the work." AN, III, 747. It appears that the conquest of Kashmir was undertaken somewhat light-heartedly. Several officers gave their opinion as to the strategy which should be adopted in conquering that hilly country and Abu-'l-Fazl naively adds* "Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for conquest, there was no good result," that is, Akbar did not accept his historian's plan for a difficult campaign. Presumably he had become cautious after BIrbal's death. However, Akbar called a meeting of astrologers, who predicted "that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made". This

excellent advice was accepted and Qasim Khan was selected for the command. AN, III, 752.

43. AN, III, 787.

44. Qasim Khan had probably become tired of the constant fight. From what Abu-'l-Fazl says (AN, III, 786) it may appear that Qasim Khan was recalled for his high-handedness but later (p. 798) Abu-'l-Fazl states that "Qasim Khan too got disgusted and petitioned for recall". He reached the court in February, 1588 (ibid, 805).

45. AN, III, 817, 827.

46. AN, III, 839, 846.

CHAPTER XIV

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

THE FIVE SULTANATES OF THE DECCAN

I. General Review

It has already been shown in Volume VI, Chapter XI, how the forces of disintegration worked in the Bahmanl kingdom and ultimately brought about its dissolution. With the weakness and incapacity of the central government, the provincial governors became all-powerful within their jurisdictions, and one by one, five autonomous States came into existence, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Berar, Golconda and Bidar. The process of disintegration started with Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, the governor of Junnar, who refused to obey the behests of Qasim Band, the Prime Minister of the roi faineant, Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmanl (1482-1518), and in A.D. 1490 assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by him. His example was followed by Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, the governor of Bijapur, and Fathullah ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berar, in the same year. These governors enjoyed full autonomy within their respective jurisdictions, 1 and owed only nominal allegiance to the Bahmanl Sultan at Bidar. Sultan Qutb-uLMulk, the governor of Telingana, also followed their footsteps in 1518 la after the death of Mahmud Shah. On the demise of Qasim Band in 1504 his son, Amir Band, controlled the administration of the decadent Bahmanl kingdom. But with the flight of Kalimullah, the last Bahmanl Sultan, from Bidar in A.D. 1528, Amir Barld was relieved of his phantom Sultan who, at first, went to Bijapur and thence to Ahmadnagar, and breathed his last in 1538. Like the four autonomous States mentioned above, Amir Barld thus had one such unit, but he never formally assumed the title of “Shah”, and it was his son ‘All Barld, who succeeded him in A.D. 1542 and assumed the title of “Shah”.£

In Berar, the khutbd was read in the name of ‘Imad-uLMulk for the first time in A.D. 1529. 3 So far as Bijapur was concerned, it was Ibrahim ‘Adil

Shah I, the fourth ruler (1535-1557), who took the title of Shah [3a] and in regard to Golconda, Ibrahim Qutb Shah, the third ruler (1550-1580), called himself Shah. But it is not of much importance if any ruler out of sentiment did not assume the regal title; the fact remains that when there was no scion of the ruling dynasty on the BahmanI throne and the Sultan ceased to function, the provincial governments mentioned above who had so long acknowledged allegiance to the BahmanI emperor acquired the position of sovereign monarchs.

Five independent Sultanates thus came into existence; namely, the ‘Adil Shah! of Bijapur, the Qutb Shahi of Golconda, the Nizam Shahi of Ahmadnagar, the Band Shahi of Bldar, and the ‘Imad Shahi of Berar. Of these, Berar and Bldar were ultimately absorbed by their respective powerful neighbours, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Berar was annexed in A.D. 1574 and Bldar in A.D. 1619. Some modern writers are of opinion that Bldar was annexed by Bijapur in A.D. 1609, but this view does not seem to be correct, for Bldar helped Malik ‘Ambar in his struggle with the Mughuls as late as 1616. [4] According to the Basatln-us-Saldim it fell in 1619, [5] and this date is accepted by Sir Wolseley Haig. [6] Of the rest, viz., Golconda, Bijapur, and Ahmadnagar, the last two played very significant roles in the Deccan and shaped the history of south of the Narmada for a long time. “The heritage of the Bahmanis passed into the worthy hands of Nizam Shah and Adil Shah. Ahmadnagar and Bijapur now became centres which fully kept up the traditions of Islamic dominion and Islamic culture founded by the Sultans of Kulbarga.” [7]

The respective positions of the five Sultanates were as follows: Ahmadnagar was situated to the south of Khandesh and north of Bijapur. Berar was on the north-eastern side of Ahmadnagar, and when the former was annexed by the latter, the north-eastern boundary of Ahmadnagar also touched the south-eastern boundary of Khandesh. Bldar was situated on the eastern and south-eastern sides of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar respectively and “Golconda’s western boundary was mostly identical with the eastern frontier of Bldar.” So Bldar was surrounded by the three powerful kingdoms of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

The most important feature of the Deccan politics was the keen rivalry and frequent warfare among the three big States, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda for hegemony of the Deccan. As all these three had the same object in view, the repeated trials of strength arising out of their selfish greed not only disturbed peace and tranquillity in that region but often retarded the progress of Islam there. The small States of Berar and Bldar were also not immune from rivalry and warfare, and they joined hands with one party or the other as suited their own purpose. But here

one question naturally arises: how could Berar and Bldar survive such a long time in the teeth of opposition from their powerful neighbours? This was possible mainly because of the natural jealousies and animosities of the great powers who were interested more in annihilation of their rivals than crushing the small States. Moreover, the rival States were always alert in maintaining the balance of power in the Deccan and did not like to tolerate any accession of strength of their adversary. This hindered the big powers from swallowing the weaker and smaller States and it also partly accounts for the prolonged life of the latter.

Although efforts were made from time to time to make up the differences of the States by marriage and other friendly alliances, they could not pave the way for lasting peace. The bitterness with which their wars were sometimes carried on led one or other of them even to take the assistance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara to crush its adversary, and it was only on rare occasions that we find them acting together for a common cause. It was for the first time in 1564 that the four Sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bldar agreed to unite and proceed against Vijayanagara and ultimately fought together in the battle, popularly known as the battle of Talikota, in 1565. Malik ‘Ambar’s adroitness again knit together Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda to stem the tide of Mughul aggression in the south.

The period which witnessed such turmoil and frequent warfare in the Deccan also produced some of the best administrators and statesmen like Malik ‘Ambar and Ibtfahlm ‘Adil Shah II, of whom any country may be proud. “Malik Ambar,” says Sir J. N. Sarkar, “is one of the three true statesmen that Islam in southern India has produced, and in some respects he is the greatest of them. In constructive genius and the combination of high military capacity with administrative skill, he towers above Khvaja Mahmud Gavan and Sir Salar Jang.” 8

Fine specimens of architecture were produced both at Golconda and Bijapur. The architectural works at Bijapur are “marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifice in India.” It was also during this period that under the patronage of some of the Sultans of the Deccan, historical literature in Persian flourished there. Among them special mention may be made of Tdrikh-i-Firishta of Muhammad Qasim Firishta, Tazkiratul-Mulk of Mir Rafl-ud-dln Shirazi, both written during the reign of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, Futuhdt-i-Adil-Shahi of Fuzuni Astarabadi written during the reign of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah and TarVkh-i

Muhammad Qutb Shah completed in the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah.

II. THE N IZAM.-S HAH I KINGDOM OF AHMADNAGAR

In A.D. 1490, Malik Ahmad, the governor of Junnar, assumed independence within his jurisdiction and henceforth he had only slender tie of allegiance to the central government.

Malik Ahmad “was the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahrl, originally a Brahmin of Vijayanagara, whose real name was Timabhat, the son of Bahrlu. In his infancy, Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahrl was taken prisoner by the BahmanI Sultan Ahmad Shah, converted to Islam, and given the name of Malik Hasan. He was brought up and educated along with Prince Muhammad and from his father’s name he was called Bahrlu, but the prince being unable to pronounce the word Bahrlu called him Bahrl, whence he was known as Malik Hasan Bahrl. Subsequently he was put in charge of the royal hawks, and the word for hawk being Bahrl, it became a part of his title.” 9 He was a man of talents and, by degrees, rose to a very high position, wielding great authority in the State. He also obtained the grand appellation of Nizam-ul-Mulk. 10

On the demise of his father, Malik Ahmad assumed the appellation of his father, and from this the dynasty is known as the Nizam Shah! dynasty. He had built a city on the bank of the river Sina, beautified it with fine buildings and gardens, named it after him Ahmadnagar, and made it the seat of his government. This city held a more convenient and strategically better position than Junnar.

One of his great achievements was the conquest of the hill fortress of Daulatabad after prolonged efforts. The acquisition of such an important fortress greatly enhanced his power and prestige. Besides this, he took possession of the hill fort of Antur and several other places belonging to Khandesh and compelled the Rajia of Baglana to pay him tribute. In this manner he not only extended the territory of his State but also consolidated his power. He breathed his last in A.D. 1509.

He never called himself ‘Shah’ and, as has been stated before, owed nominal allegiance to the BahmanI Sultan. Firishta praises him for continence and modesty, 11 and he was an efficient generlal, good administrator and fond of duelling; it was during his time that the system of duelling was introduced in Ahmadnagar and thence it spread to other places in the Deccan. 12

Burhan Nizam Shah I (1509-1553)

On the demise of Ahmad, his son Burhan, a boy of seven, was installed in his place. Mukammal Khan, who held a high position in the State, was appointed minister and regent, and his son entitled ‘AzIz-ul-Mulk was appointed commander of the household troops. The father and son exercised uncontrolled sway over all affairs of the State. But the pride and insolence of ‘AzIz-ul-Mulk became intolerable to some of the nobles and they conspired to remove both the father and son from their high position. They wanted to accomplish this by removing Burhan and raising his younger brother RajajI in his place. But this plot was not successful and the plotters had to leave Ahmadnagar and take shelter in Berar where they excited ‘Ala-ud-din Tmad Shah to invade Ahmadnagar. ‘Ala-ud-dln proceeded against the Nizam-Shahl kingdom with a large army but sustained a severe defeat and was compelled to retreat to his capital Ellichpur, leaving everything including his horses and elephants in the hands of his enemies. 13 Being pursued he fled to Burhanpur, and, at last, a peace was concluded between the two States with the aid of the ruler of

Khandesh, but quarrel over the possessions of Mahur and Pathri, the last of which was the ancestral home of the NizamShahi rulers, brought them again into conflict. Burhan, however, conquered both these places and succeeded in retaining possession of them. 13a

In 1524, IsmaTl, the ruler of Bijapur, met Burhan at Sholapur, and an alliance was formed between them. His (Ismahl's) sister, BibI Mariyam, was married to Burhan. The underlying motive which prompted him to contract such an alliance was to strengthen his position for retrieving the losses he had suffered at the hands of Krishnadevaraya, the king of Vijayanagara, and punishing Amir Barid, the arch-enemy of Bijapur.

But unfortunately the alliance could not create the desired feeling of cordiality. Asad Khan, the minister and envoy of IsmaTl, had promised in the name of his master to give the fort of Sholapur as marriage dowry to Burhan 14 but his master professed ignorance of such authorization and refused to part with it. Burhan was eager to occupy it, and made alliances with Amir Barid and Tmad Shah. 14 * In the following year, the confederate army marched against Sholapur, but they were defeated near the frontier of Bijapur, and Burhan, "overcome with the extreme heat of the day," was carried away from the battlefield in a dead faint. His losses were heavy. Thus Burhan was unable to occupy this border fortress which was always a bone of contention between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

In 1527 Ahmadnagar again came to arms with Bijapur when the latter had taken up the cause of Berar for the recovery of Pathrl, but in the following year we come across a rare occasion when Bijapur joined hands with Ahmadnagar against the combined armies of Berar, Khandesh and Gujarat. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat made the position of Burhan precarious. Both the fortresses of Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad were besieged and Burhan had to purchase peace on payment of an indemnity and causing the khutba to be read in the name of Bahadur. 14b

In 1531 war commenced between Bldar and Bijapur for the possession of Kalyani and Qandahar. Amir Barid had promised to surrender these places to Bijapur but did not act up to his promise and Isma'11 marched to occupy them by force. As it was not possible to fight alone against Bijapur, Amir Barid sought the assistance of Burhan, who at first tried to desist Isma'11 from attacking Bldar, but when he found that his endeavour did not produce the desired effect, he joined Amir Barid and moved against Bijapur with twenty-five thousand cavalry and sufficient artillery. But he sustained a severe defeat in the engagement that followed and fled post haste to Ahmadnagar.

In the following year there was an attempt to arrive at an understanding between Burhan and Isma‘Il ‘Adil Shah by dividing the Deccan between the two. A meeting was arranged between them and both agreed in fixing their respective zones of aggrandizement. It was settled that Ahmadnagar might take up the conquest of Berar, and Bijapur that of Golconda.

In accordance with these terms Isma‘11, who now joined hands with Amir Band, proceeded to Golconda and laid siege to the fortress of Kovelaconda,[15] but, all on a sudden, he fell seriously ill and expired (1534). The whole plan was upset, partly due to his sudden death and partly on account of the disputes occurring between Burhan and Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I.

In 1537, Burhan adopted the Shiah faith and although there was a Sunni rising against him, he quelled it within a short time. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I, who was a Sunni, joined the Sunni kings of Gujarat and Khandesh and made a plan to parcel out Ahmadnagar among them, but Burhan frustrated their plan.

1 here was no end of hostility between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

As both these kingdoms desired supremacy in the Deccan, none could cease taking up arms against the other so long as the power of the adversary was not crushed or sufficiently reduced. Under such circumstances excuses for attacks were never wanting. Encouraged by a dissension between Ibrahim and his Shiah minister, Asad Khan Lari, Burhan formed an alliance with Bidar and invaded Bijapur. Although crowned with temporary success he had to face reverses in the long run and to conclude a treaty with Ibrahim on condition of restoration of Sholapur which he had captured in the course of the war (1542).

His defeat and consequent restoration of Sholapur to Ibrahim were too much for him to bear and he wanted to recover it as well as “the district of Panj Tappa or the five heights on the Bijapur border.” [16] It was with the purpose of enlisting the support of Jamshld, the Qutb-Shahl ruler, that he fought on his side against his brother Ibrahim, who, with the assistance of ‘All Barld, had been trying to oust Jamshld. Before launching upon an offensive against Bijapur, Burhan succeeded in the formation of a quadruple alliance with Jamshld, Darya ‘Imad Shah and Ramaraja of Vijayanagara. It was arranged to invade the ‘Adil Shahl kingdom from different directions (1543). The forces of Vijayanagara proceeded from the south and laid siege to Raichur; Burhan and Darya ‘Imad Shah besieged Sholapur, and Jamshld, taking advantage of the absence of ‘Adil Shahl forces on the Telingana border, seized Kaknl, constructed a strong fort there and occupied the whole territory up to the walls of Gulbarga. It was extremely difficult for Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah to repulse the attacks of his enemies, and with the object of creating a diversion he and his ally ‘All Barld marched to Parenda in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, and laid siege to it. This compelled Burhan and Darya to give up the siege of Sholapur and proceed to Parenda; Jamshld also moved there. The two hostile parties met at Khaspurl, about three miles from Parenda, and, in the engagement which followed there, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah and ‘All Barld were defeated and fled to Bidar. Jamshld Qutb Shah chased them as far as the walls of Bidar and then returned to his country. Finding him detached from the confederacy, ‘All Barld took courage and invaded Golconda. The former received information of this when the enemy was only eight miles from the capital. Leaving a garrison for the defence of Golconda he created a diversion by an invasion of Bidar. As soon as ‘All Barld heard this he left Golconda and retreated towards his capital. He met Jamshld on the way where after an indecisive battle, both of them agreed to retire to their respective dominions. [17]

After some time Jamshld Qutb Shah moved for an offensive against Bidar, and on hearing of it, ‘All Barld marched to oppose him. A battle was fought at Narayankhera without any decisive result, but the campaign ultimately terminated in favour of Jamshid who occupied the districts of Kaulas and Narayankhera.

Getting an assurance of aid from Burhan, Jamshid Qutb Shah again marched against Bidar. He occupied the hill fort of Medak, whereas Burhan and his ally Darya took possession of Ausa and Udgir. ‘All Band received assistance from Bijapur, but in spite of this reinforcement he was defeated by Jamshid Qutb Shah who, after the victory, retired to Golconda. On the advice of Asad Khan Lari, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah decided to come to terms with Burhan and Ramaraja by offering some concessions to them. He ceded the district of Panj Tappla to Ahmadnagar and sent presents to Ramaraja. Thus Golconda was isolated.

A secret understanding was also arrived at between Burhan and Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah allowing the former free hand in his policy of aggrandizement in Bidar, and the latter was allowed a similar advantage in Vijayanagara. 18

After these, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah sent Asad Khan against Jamshid whom this general attacked with all his might. Jamshid was compelled to give up the siege of Yadglr in which he had been engaged and also leave the fort of Kaknl which was destroyed. He was closely pursued to the gates of Golconda where in the battle which ensued Jamshid was defeated. As Asad Khan found it beyond his power to occupy this impregnable fort, he retreated and came back to Bijapur.

Burhan attacked the fort of Qandahar belonging to Bidar, and captured it. ‘All Barld, who was unaware of the secret arrangement between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, hastened to Ibrahim for assistance, but the latter, finding this a suitable opportunity for the annexation of Bidar, confined him in prison. 19 After this, he moved to the south and conquered several places of the Vijayanagara kingdom. But his enhancement of power and territory was viewed with alarm by Burhan who attacked Sholapur. Both these Sultans now requested Jamshid for assistance. The latter left Golconda, and without joining any party, took up his position between the two contending parties. He also received messages from ‘All Barld requesting him for deliverance from his present miserable condition. The position of Jamshid was then really enviable; all the three Sultans were waiting in suspense for his favour and he exhibited his tact by sticking to his policy of neutrality to the last and, at the same time securing the release of ‘All Barld from Ibrahim and re-instating him on the throne of Bidar (A.D. 1548). 20 He thus kept Bidar as a buffer State between him and the powerful kingdoms on the west.

The relation between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur remained as strained as before; Burhan resolved to invade Bijapur once more and with this end in view contracted an alliance with Vijayanagara. It was arranged to besiege Kalyani which belonged to ‘All Barld, now ally of Ibrahim. Burhan invested it and Ibrahim proceeded there to render assistance to his ally, but he was defeated with considerable loss of men and money. At this, the garrison lost courage and surrendered.

But Ibrahim was not dismayed by this discomfiture and he marched to Parenda which he occupied easily. Leaving this fortress in charge of an officer he laid waste the neighbouring districts and went back to Bijapur. Burhan recovered it without any difficulty, as the officer in charge of it, out of fear, had fled away even when he (Burhan) was many miles away from it. On his arrival at Bijapur the timid officer was put to death.

On hearing of the preparations of Ibrahim for the recovery of KalyanI, Burhan again joined hands with Vijayanagara. It was agreed that the border fortresses, Mudgal and Raichur, situated between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, should be conquered by Vijayanagara and that Ramaraja should assist Burhan in recovering Sholapur. The allied army occupied Mudgal and Raichur and also captured Sholapur within three months.

In 1553 Burhan and Ramaraja again invaded Bijapur and proceeded as far as the fort of Bijapur which was invested, but the Nizam Shah fell seriously ill and he was compelled to return to Ahmadnagar where he expired.

Husain Nizam Shah I (1553-1565)

Burhan left six sons, of whom Husain succeeded to the throne of his father, and of his five brothers, ‘Abdul Qadir fled to Beriar, Khudabanda to Bengal and the three others, Haidar, ‘All and Mlran Muhammad Baqir to Bijapur.

During this reign, the old quarrels between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur continued. Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah’s position was, for the time being, strengthened by the arrival of two influential Nizam Shahl nobles, Khvaja Jahan Deccani and Saif-‘Ain-ul-Mulk, in Bijapur. According to their advice Ibrahim took up the cause of ‘All and it was agreed that if the latter would succeed in winning the throne of Ahmadnagar, the forts of Sholapur and Kalyani would be given to Bijapur. ‘All, with a contingent of two thousand cavalry, marched towards Ahmadnagar with a view to enlisting the support of the Nizam Shahl nobles and then to attack Husain, but he met with

little success. Ibrahim had besieged the fort of Sholapur and Husain, making an alliance with Darya Tmad Shah, marched with him to raise the siege. Both the parties met in the vicinity of this fort and drew up their forces in battle array. A sanguinary battle was fought, but Ibrahim, suspecting the treachery of Saif-Ain-ulMulk, fled from the battlefield and retreated to Bijapur. Husain also then retired to his own dominion. Although ‘Ain-ul-Mulk tried to prove his guiltless conduct and sincere loyalty to Adil Shah, it was of no avail. Thus, goaded to desperation, he became a rebel (1555) and Ibrahim’s force had to sustain several defeats in his hands till at length he was driven out of Bijapur only with the assistance of Vijayanagara. He re-entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with permission of Husain but the latter treacherously put him to death. 21

War however did not cease long in the Deccan and Husain made an alliance with Ibrahim Qutb Shah with the primary object of conquering Gulbarga, situated in the territory of Bijapur. Both the Sultans then invested it (1557). Finding it impossible to resist their attacks, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I sought the assistance of Ramaraja who immediately marched with his army towards Gulbarga. At the request of Ramaraja, the Qutb Shah agreed to mediate for a settlement between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Moreover, with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution among the parties Ramaraja met the contending parties “at the junction of the Bhima and the Krishna” and “a peace was now effected to the mutual satisfaction of all parties.” 22

Shortly after this conference, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah died, and his son, ‘All Adil Shah I, ascended the throne of Bijapur (1557). He tried by all possible means to retain the alliance with Ramaraja and even went to Vijayanagara to offer his condolence on the death of a son of the latter 23

Taking advantage of the accession of a new monarch on the throne of Bijapur, Husain Nizam Shah, in concert with Ibrahim Qutb Shah, invaded the Adil Shahl kingdom and All Adil Shah sought the assistance of Ramaraja who marched with an army towards Ahmadnagar. Both All and Ramaraja requested Ibrahim Qutb Shah to join them, as he was indeed obliged to do under the terms of the compact arrived at by the four parties, and Ibrahim joined them reluctantly. On the approach of the enemies in his territory, Husain Nizam Shah retreated to his kingdom, and unable to resist them, retired to Paithan, on the Godavari, leaving a garrison in the fortress of Ahmadnagar for its defence. He solicited the aid of Berar,

Khandesh and Bldar but no relief came from these quarters. Khan Jahan, brother of ‘All Barld, who had gone over from Bldar to Berar, dissuaded Darya ‘Xmad Shah from rendering assistance to Ahmadnagar and eventually joined ‘All ‘Adil Shah.

The confederate army penetrated as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar and after carrying on depredations in the places en route, laid siege to it. The garrison baffled all attempts of the besiegers to capture it and expected that the enemy would be compelled to raise the siege and retire with the advent of the monsoon. At the same time, Ibrahim Qutb Shah who had full sympathy for Husain, felt perturbed at the enhanced strength of Bijapur and maintained secret communications with Husain and the besieged, whom he assisted in all possible manner. When these things leaked out, ‘All and Ramaraja became highly incensed and demanded explanation from Ibrahim who decamped at night and proceeded towards Golconda 23a

In the meantime, Darya ‘Imad Shah had sent a large army under Jahangir Khan for the assistance of Husain. He cut off the supplies of the besiegers and reduced them to a sad plight. All these compelled the besiegers to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar and move to Ashti whence one party was despatched against Parenda 24 and another to Ausa. 25

The kingdom of Ahmadnagar had suffered a lot and there was still no end of suffering. In order to save his country from further devastation, Husain felt the imperative necessity of immediate peace with his enemies. He therefore sent envoys to Ramaraja for peace and at last it was concluded on three conditions laid down by Ramaraja. These were: (1) Husain should cede Kalyani to Bijapur, (2) he should put to death Jahangir Khan whose activities placed the besiegers in a miserable condition, and (3) he should also make personal submission to Ramaraja. 26 All these conditions were ultimately fulfilled by Husain.

Meanwhile Husain had troubles with the Portuguese also. They had sought his permission to construct a fort at Revdanda, near Chaul. But instead of giving them permission he constructed a fortress on the site selected by them, and had also detained their ambassador. At these, the Portuguese governor of Goa invested the fort and brought further reinforcement when Husain had to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded on condition that neither Husain nor the Portuguese should build any fort either at Revdanda or at Chaul.

Although peace was concluded with Bijapur and Vijayanagara, Husain could not forget the losses he had sustained and the humiliations he had undergone. Naturally he was on the look out for revenge, and with this end in view, he met Ibrahim Qutb Shah in the vicinity of Kalyani. He gave his daughter Jamal Bibi in marriage to Qutb Shah and thus strengthened his position (1563). As soon as the ceremonies of the nuptials were over they besieged Kalyani.

Under these circumstances Ramaraja again came to the assistance of ‘All ‘Adil Shah and the Sultans of Bldar and Berar, too, joined hands with them. Finding the Sultan of Golconda absent from his kingdom, Ramaraja despatched an army under Venkatadri to invade the southern districts of Golconda. On the approach of this confederate army Husain gave up the siege of Kalyani, and, sending his family to the fort of Ausa, he, along with Ibrahim, proceeded against the enemies; but untimely rain and storm created great havoc in their camps. Their tents were blown down, and the guns, stuck in the quagmire, became mostly useless, as out of seven hundred only forty could be removed for use. On the following morning the enemies attacked the camp of Ibrahim, who took to flight and reached Golconda with difficulty. Husain also was compelled to retreat to

Ahmadnagar but, considering it unwise to stay there, he left a garrison in it for its defence and retreated to the fort of Junnar. The enemies laid siege to the fortress of Ahmadnagar and carried on depredations in the neighbouring areas. On the advice of ‘All ‘Adil Shah, they raised the siege and proceeded towards Junnar in pursuit of Husain, who, on their approach retreated into the neighbouring hills, leaving instruction to his men to cut off the supplies of the enemies and to harass them in every possible manner. His troops did these so effectively that the movement of the confederate army was checked, and, on the approach of the monsoon they gave up the pursuit in the inaccessible hills and again invested the fort of Ahmadnagar. The army of Vijayanagara had encamped on the bank of the river Sina, but heavy rains causing sudden spate in the river during the night carried away many men. In consequence of this disaster the siege was abandoned and the confederate army marched to Golconda. All attempts of Ibrahim to repel the attacks of Ramaraja proved abortive; many places were ravaged and one fort after another occupied. Thus fell Pangal, Kovelaconda, and Ganpura, etc., and the Qutb Shah, at last, had to purchase peace by the cession of Pangal and Ganpura. 27

Ramaraja had fully realized the weakness of the Muslim States of the Deccan due to their mutual hatred, jealousy and disunion, and took advantage of it. The quarrels between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and his repeated armed assistance in deciding their struggles

enhanced his power to a great extent which adversely affected the safety of these kingdoms. The position of Vijayanagara was now unique in the Deccan. It had humbled the powers of both Ahmadnagar and Golconda, and the condition of Bijapur was also far from satisfactory, for ‘All ‘Adil Shah had also been compelled to cede some of his territories, viz., Yadgir and Bagalkot to Vijayanagara. The Muslim kings took alarm at the increase of power of the Hindu kingdom which had been invited more than once to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan. Moreover, the existence of such a wealthy and powerful neighbour was in itself a source of perennial danger to them. According to Firishta, the excesses committed by the army of Vijayanagara in the territory of Ahmadnagar were also responsible for a feeling of revenge against that kingdom. 28

When the Muslim States of the Deccan became fully aware of the mischief which some of them had committed by inviting Ramaraja to intervene in their affairs, a serious attempt was made by them to unite against their common adversary and strike, if possible, a serious blow at him. But how could it be done? Neither ‘All ‘Adil Shah nor Husain Nizam Shah was willing to approach each other direct. Firishta says that ‘All took the initiative in forming an alliance of the Sultans of the Deccan and he sent an envoy to Ibrahim Qutb Shah with a view to bringing about an agreement between him and Husain. 29 It was Ibrahim who undertook to accomplish it and there is no denying the fact that he played a very important role in the formation of an alliance between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, the two arch-enemies. Husain Nizam Shah’s daughter, Chand Bibi, was married to ‘All ‘Adil Shah, and Sholapur, which had been one of the important causes of their quarrel, was given as her marriage dowry; Murtaza, the heir of Husain, was married to Hadiya Sultana, the sister of ‘All.

Bidar, too, joined this confederacy, but Berar stood aloof on account of the treacherous murder of Jahangir Khan by Husain.

Before formal declaration of war, ‘All ‘Adil Shah demanded restitution of Yadgir, Bagalkot, Raichur and Mudgal from Vijayanagara, and when Ramaraja refused, the Deccani powers made it a plea for declaration of war. 30 The allied army marched towards the south and reached the small town of Talikota in Bijapur territory, about twenty-two miles to the north of the Krishna, on 26 December, 1564. They assembled there and it is from the name of the place of assemblage that the battle is popularly known as the “battle of Talikota”, although the actual fighting took place about twelve miles south of the Krishna, and hence at a considerable distance

from this town. The battle is also known as that of RakshasiTangadi, as these two villages of Rakshasi and Tangadi lie at a comparatively less distance from the actual site of the battle, but they were also situated on the northern bank of the Krishna. The actual site of the battle was probably Bannihatti, on the confluence of the Maski river and its southern tributary. 31

When Ramaraja received information of the movement of his enemies, he also made necessary arrangements to face them, and he had sufficient confidence in his strength. Though it is difficult from the figures furnished by different historians to form an accurate idea of the number of troops the contending parties had assembled, there is no doubt that they mustered an unusually large number, the like of which had never been assembled in any battle in the Deccan. The forces were arranged in the same time-honoured fashion of right, left, centre, vanguard and rear. The Deccani forces were commanded by ‘All ‘Adil Shah on the right, Husain Nizam Shah in the centre, and Ibrahim Qutb Shah and ‘All Band on the left. Husain’s powerful artillery under Chelepi Rurni Khan, an officer of great distinction, was placed in the centre. On the Vijayanagara side, the centre facing Husain Nizam Shah was in charge of Ramaraja himself; in spite of his old age he commanded his troops from a litter. The right wing was commanded by Ramaraja’s brother, Venkatadri, who was to oppose Ibrahim and ‘All Barld, and the left was entrusted to Tirumala, another brother of Ramaraja, to oppose ‘All.

The battle took place on Tuesday, 23 January, 1565. The Vijayanagara army commenced attack in right earnest and the right and left wings of the confederate army were thrown into such disorder that their commanders were almost prepared to retreat when the position was saved by Husain who opposed the enemy with great valour. The fighting was then continued and the loss of lives on both sides was heavy. But it did not last long and its fate was determined by the desertion of two Muhammadan commanders under Ramaraja. Caesar Frederick, who visited Vijayanagara in 1567, said that each of these commanders had under him seventy to eighty thousand men and the defeat of Vijayanagara was due to their desertion. 32 Ramaraja fell into enemy’s hands and was beheaded on the order of Husain. His army fled pell-mell in various directions and the victors pursued the defeated as far as Anagondi, in the vicinity of Vijayanagara, the capital city. The loss of the latter was appallingly heavy and it was estimated that about one hundred thousand men perished in battle and in pursuit. “The plunder was so great, that every private man in the allied army became rich in

gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired reserving the elephants only for their use.” 33

Then followed the sack and destruction of the magnificent city of Vijayanagara. Before the arrival of the victorious army there, came the robbers and jungle folk of the neighbourhood who looted whatever they could get. “The third day saw the beginning of the end. .. .for a space of five months Vijayanagara knew no rest. The enemy (i.e. the victorious army) had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. . . . Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description.” 34

The so-called battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi is one of the most decisive battles recorded in the whole history of India. It shattered the military strength of Vijayanagara and inflicted on it such irreparable damage that it was no more possible for it to regain the glorious days of the past.

The Muslims undoubtedly won a great victory over their rival and rejoiced at their grand success; Mudgal and Raichur were then easily recovered and added to Bijapur. The territories of Golconda which had been wrested by Ramaraja were also recovered.

But the union of the Sultans for concerted action was temporary, and as soon as the dread of the great Hindu kingdom was gone, they again commenced their dynastic quarrels, and their mutual hatred and jealousy hampered their onward march.

Shortly after his return to Ahmadnagar, Husain died (1565), as a result of leading an intemperate life, and his minor son Murtaza Nizam Shah I then ascended the throne.

Murtaza Nizam Shah I (1565-1588)

During the minority of Murtaza, his mother, Khanzada or Khunza Humayun Sultana, became regent and managed the affairs of the State for several years, at the end of which Murtaza took the reins of government in his own hands.

During the king's minority, ‘All ‘Adil Shah I had led a campaign against Vijayanagara which sought the aid of Ahmadnagar. In order to create a diversion with an intent to put a stop to ‘All's

policy of aggrandizement in the south, the Queen-mother invaded Bijapur, upon which its Sultan was forced to recall his forces from Vijayanagara. But no great engagement took place between them and there were only several skirmishes, after which the Queenmother retired to Ahmadnagar.

‘All ‘Adil Shah could not forget this unprovoked attack by Ahmadnagar, and mismanagement in its administration by the Queen-mother afforded him an opportunity to invade it. His forces succeeded in wresting some territories from Ahmadnagar and his general Kishvar Khan constructed a fortress in the newly conquered area and named it Dharur. It was at this stage when things were being mismanaged by the Queen-mother and her favourite brothers, ‘Ain-ul-Mulk and Taj Khan, that Murtaza seized the reins of government in his own hands.

Next he proceeded towards Dharur with all haste and, on reaching the precincts of the fort, laid siege to it. A lucky incident hastened its fall. Kishvar Khan, who was in charge of its defence, was killed by an arrow while conducting the defence and this was followed by the flight of the garrison and evacuation of the fort. The lost grounds were thus recovered by Murtaza who then invaded the territory of Bijapur in conjunction with Ibrahim Qutb Shah, but this was ultimately foiled by intrigues which led to a breach between Murtaza and Ibrahim.

In 1569-70 Murtaza in alliance with ‘All ‘Adil Shah and the Zamorin unsuccessfully invaded the Portuguese possession of Chaul. 34a

The most important achievement of Murtaza was the annexation of Berar in A.D. 1574. This considerably enhanced the territory, power and prestige of the Nizam Shah! kingdom, and although a pretender with the aid of Miran Muhammad Shah, the ruler of Khandesh, tried to revive the kingdom, it proved abortive. Not only the pretender and the forces of Khandesh were driven back, but the kingdom of Khandesh, even to the very gates of Burhanpur, the capital city, was ravaged and Miran Muhammad had to take refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh and eventually purchase peace on payment of a large sum of money to the Nizam Shah.

During this reign, Ahmadnagar reached its greatest territorial extent. On the west, it was bounded by the Arabian sea, from Bassein to Bankot, on the north it touched the southern frontier of Khandesh and “on the north-east it included Berar, which was bounded on the north by the river Tapti and the eastern and southern boundaries of which were enclosed by the Wain Ganga, Warda, and Pain Ganga rivers; the line, subsequently coming through the Godavari and the boundary of Bidar, moved first in the south-western direction, and passing Ausa and Sholapur, it took a north-western course, serving as the northern boundary of Bijapur till it reached Bankot.” 35

On the death of ‘All in 1580, his nephew Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II ascended the throne of Bijapur and taking advantage of the minority of the Sultan, Murtaza invaded Bijapur but was defeated. Within a few years of the accession of Ibrahim the marriage of his sister Khadlja was celebrated with Murtaza s son, Miran Husain, but the marriage alliance failed to establish peace between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.

Of all the actions of Murtaza his cruel and inhuman treatment of his faithful minister Chingiz Khan, whom he put to death by administering poison on the false accusation that he had been trying to make himself independent in Berar, deserves the strongest condemnation. The insinuation came from the king’s favourite, Sahib Khan, in order to feed fat his grudge on the minister, and it was too late when the Sultan discovered the truth. 36 This reminds one of the treacherous plot against Mahmud Gavan, the famous minister of the Bahmani kingdom.

The last years of Murtaza’s life were embittered by his loss of mental equilibrium which specially manifested itself in the unjustified suspicion of his son Miran Husain whom he suspected of dethroning him. To get rid of the Prince he set fire to his bed clothes, locking the door of the room from outside, while he (the Prince) was asleep. The latter was startled by the smoke in the room, and was rescued, and ultimately carried in secret to the fortress of Daulatabad with the help of his well-wishers. He soon took vengeance on his father and caused his death by suffocating him in a close heated bath (1588). 37

Firishta, the historian, had become a close confidant of Murtaza Nizam Shah during his last days, and escaped untimely death at the hands of Husain Nizam Shah, being the latter’s class mate.

Husain Nizam Shah II (1588-1589)

On the death of his father, Miran Husain ascended the throne with the title of Husain Nizam Shah II. He was a cruel and worthless Sultan who wasted his time in wine and pleasures. His cruelties and excesses were so intolerable that he was dethroned, imprisoned, and, at last, put to death. His reign lasted a little more than ten months.

lsmd 6 il Nizam Shah II (1589-1591)

Isma‘11, a cousin of Husain II, who was now raised to the throne, was the younger son of Burhan-ud-dln, brother of Murtaza Nizam Shah I. During the reign of the latter, Burhan had made a fruitless attempt to seize the throne, but having been defeated, took shelter in Bijapur. He made another effort but, this time, too, met with a similar fate, and he then went to the Mughul Emperor Akbar whose service he entered. But his two sons, Ibrahim and Isma‘Il, were left behind in the fortress of Lohargarh where he had once been confined.

During the reign of Isma‘11 the real power was in the hands of Jamal Khan, the leader of the Deccani party. He belonged to the Mahdavi sect and persecuted all those who did not belong to it. During the tumult following the murder of Husain he had ruthlessly put to death many foreigners and now he seized the properties of those who had escaped massacre, compelling them (including the historian Firishta) to leave Ahmadnagar. But these persecutions had their natural reactions and dark clouds enveloped the political horizon of Ahmadnagar. The discontented nobles headed a revolt to drive away Jamal, and at the same time, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, who bore hatred and anger against this leader for his religious persecutions and who was anxious to bring back his widowed sister Khadlja to Bijapur, sent Dilavar Khan with a large force to invade Ahmadnagar. With great intrepidity Jamal met the two enemies successively. At first he defeated his internal enemies and forced them to fly to Burhanpur. Then he proceeded against Dilavar Khan and met him at Ashti. The two armies remained face to face for fifteen days without any action and, at length, on the request of Jamal Khan, peace was concluded between them on two conditions, viz. (1) Khadlja should be sent back to Bijapur, and (2) Ahmadnagar should pay a war indemnity (1589). 37a

Isma‘il’s father, Burhan, who had been eager to gain the throne occupied by his son, took permission of Akbar to proceed to the Deccan. The Mughul Emperor proposed to render military assistance to him, but Burhan politely and tactfully refused to accept it, as that would have made him an object of hatred in the eyes of his country-men and would have brought him under obligation to the Mughuls. He went to the Deccan, and with the assistance of some of the Nizam Shahl nobles, made an attack on Berar but was defeated. He was forced to take shelter in Khandesh where he succeeded in securing the aid of its ruler Raja All Khan. Ibrahim 4 Adil Shah II also promised him assistance. Ahmadnagar was then invaded from two sides—on the north, by Burhan and Raja ‘All Khan, and on the south, by the army of Bijapur under Dilavar Khan. Jamal Khan first proceeded to the south against Dilavar Khan whom he defeated at Dharaseo. Next he proceeded towards the north and met Raja ‘All Khan and Burhan at Rohankhed but he was slain in the battle. His death was followed by a flight of his army along with IsmaTl who was captured and then confined by his father (1591).

Burhan Nizam Shah 11 (1591-1595)

Burhan was an aged man when he ascended the throne. He annulled the orders of Jamal Khan regarding the Mahdavi sect and passed order for the death of its followers with the result that they left the kingdom. The Shiah religion was re-established and the foreigners, who had been expelled by Jamal Khan, were recalled. 38

This reign witnessed the renewal of the old conflict between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. The defeat of Dilavar Khan, the Bijapur general, at Dharaseo, was a signal for his downfall. He had to leave Bijapur and go to Ahmadnagar where he was cordially received by Burhan and appointed in his service. Ibrahim requested Burhan to send Dilavar back to Bijapur along with the three hundred elephants which had fallen into the hands of Jamal Khan at the battle of Dharaseo. At the instigation of Dilavar, Burhan not only refused compliance but invaded Bijapur (1592). Finding no opposition he continued to advance in the territories of Bijapur and strengthened his position by repairing the fortress of Mangalvedha, on the bank of the Bhima. Instead of encountering the enemy in an open field, Ibrahim despatched a strong detachment of Maratha cavalry to cut off the supplies of the enemies and harass them in every possible manner. They made the position of Burhan so intolerable that he was obliged to march back to his own country to replenish his provisions. This being done, he proceeded towards Sholapur, but the forces of Bijapur inflicted a severe defeat on him. This so adversely affected his position that he was compelled to conclude peace with Bijapur and demolish the fortress of Mangalvedha, repaired by him.

In the same year (1592) Burhan made an attack on the Portuguese fortress of Chaul. Although he had some advantages at the initial stage, he suffered heavily when reinforcements arrived for

the assistance of the garrison. With the increased strength, the Portuguese not only defended Chaul but, taking the offensive, reduced the fort which Burhan had constructed in the neighbourhood, killing more than twelve thousand Nizam Shahl soldiers. Farhad Khan, the commander of Ahmadnagar, was taken prisoner.

After this discomfiture, Burhan made preparations to attack the Portuguese once more, but this did not ultimately materialize, as he marched to the aid of Isma‘Il who had rebelled against his brother Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II. But on reaching Parenda, he learnt that Isma‘Il had already been captured and put to death by his brother, and retired to Ahmadnagar, where he fell seriously ill. Ibrahim II, who was highly annoyed with Burhan for supporting Isma‘11, despatched an army against him and defeated and killed his commander Bzbak Khan. This news gave Burhan a rude shock in his weak health which further deteriorated, confining him to bed.

Burhan nominated his elder son Ibrahim as his successor, but Ikhlas Khan, ajn influential Nizam Shahl noble, taking up the cause of Ismahl, the younger son, proceeded against the Sultan who, inspite of his illness, personally took the field and defeated the rebels. The prince then fled to Parenda. But the exertion of the campaign was too much for the Sultan who expired on the day following his return to the capital (1595). 39

Ibrahim Nizam Shah (1595)

Ibrahim then ascended the throne under the title of Ibrahim Nizam Shah, but his reign lasted a few months only. Miyian Manjhu became prime minister, and the Sultan as well as the minister granted pardon to Ikhlas Khan for his past conduct. But the latter, forgetting the gratitude he owed to the minister, arrayed a strong opposition against him, although he as well as Miyan Manjhu belonged to the same Deccani party. The motive behind such action of Ikhlas Khan was only self-aggrandizement at the expense of the prime minister. When the affairs in the realm were thus heading towards a crisis, the envoy of Bijapur was insulted, and Ikhlas Khan prevailed on the young Sultan, who was given to dissipation, to declare war against Bijapur. Miyan Manjhu's efforts to avoid it was of no avail, and, to make matters worse, Ibrahim was slain in the sanguinary battle which ensued between these two kingdoms.

Chaos and Confusion

Ibrahim Nizam Shah's death was followed by the flight of his army, and the victors returned to Bijapur laden with rich booty.

This was a signal for serious confusion and disorder in the Ahrnadnagar kingdom which continued unabated for most of the time till its annexation by the Mughuls. During this period, the leading nobles looked to their own interests alone instead of devising any common programme for the welfare of the realm. Parties of different interests had existed even during its infancy, and their selfish greed sapped its vitality, but with the incapacity and weakness of the Sultans they became more powerful and brought about its final annihilation. Within a short time following the death of Ibrahim, four parties organized by different Nizam Shahi nobles arose to contest the throne. Chand Sultan, the aunt of the late Sultan and widow of 'All 'Adil

Shah I, championed the cause of Ibrahim's infant son, Bahadur, whom she proclaimed as the rightful Sultan; she became regent and appealed to the subjects for peace and amity, but in vain. The leader of the second party was Ikhlas Khan who declared a child called Moti, procured by him, as the legal sovereign. The third party was organized by Abhang Khan, 39a an Abyssinian noble, who was the supporter of Shah 'AH, the son of Burhan Nizam Shah I; and the fourth party was led by Miyan Manjhu, who declared his nominee, Ahmad, as the real successor to the Nizam Shahi throne, and proclaiming him Sultan, captured and imprisoned Bahadur. But it was soon found out that Ahmad was an impostor, and due to keen opposition of Ikhlas Khan the position of Miyan Manjhu became extremely critical. The latter took shelter within the walls of Ahmadnagar and applied to Prince Murad, the son of Akbar, then governor of Gujarat, for assistance. Akbar had already decided to attack Ahmadnagar and given instruction to Murad to that effect. The invitation of Miyan Manjhu afforded a suitable opportunity to carry out his design and the Prince, accompanied by Raja 'All Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, and Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim moved towards Ahmadnagar (1595).

In the meantime Miyan Manjhu had defeated his rival Ikhlas Khan and repented of having called in Mughul assistance. He joined Chand Sultan in her endeavour to save the kingdom from Mughul aggression and implored the assistance of Bijapur and Golconda. As regent, Chand Sultan undertook to manage all affairs of the kingdom and offered a stiff resistance to Murad who had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. At this juncture she appealed to Abhang, Khan, Muhammad Qull Qutb Shah aind Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II for help. All of them responded to her request and 'Adil Shah despatched twenty-five thousand cavalry under the command of Suhail Khan, an eunuch, and the Qutb Shah five to six thousand cavalry. 40

Ikhlas Khan and Miyan Manjhu along with the army of Bijapur and Golconda advanced to the assistance of Chand Sultan.

Prince Murad became anxious when he heard of these heavy reinforcements coming to the relief of Ahmadnagar. The progress of the siege was undoubtedly slow owing to the jealousy and differences of opinion between him and the Khan Khanan, and without wasting any more time he laid mines. Although a breach was made in the wall of the fort, it was not possible for the besiegers to enter into it due to the gallant resistance of the besieged led by the valiant Chand Sultan. During the night the breach was repaired under her superintendence, and thus the capture of the fort remained as difficult as before. Adding to their hardships, the Mughuls were experiencing shortage of provisions. On the other hand, Chand Sultan, too, was badly experiencing want of provisions and was in grave anxiety about the defence of the fort. Both sides were thus on the look out for an opportunity to terminate the war, and, at last, a treaty was concluded between them on conditions of recognition of the suzerainty of the Mughuls and cession of Berar by Ahmadnagar (March, 1596). [41]

On the return of the Mughuls, Bahadur was proclaimed Sultan and Muhammad Khan appointed prime minister. Miyan Manjhu expected that Ahmad would have preference to other rivals, but when this was not possible in a peaceful manner, he wanted to accomplish it by a trial of strength. Chand Sultan again appealed for aid to Ibrahim II who asked Miyan Manjhu to repair to Bijapur with Ahmad, and on their arrival there, both of them were taken into the service of Bijapur.

The difficulties of Chand Sultan did not end with their exit from Ahmadnagar, and more troubles were in store for her. The high-handedness of Muhammad Khan was too much for her and the nobles to bear. Once more she appealed to Ibrahim II to help her to tide over the difficulties. The latter again despatched an army under Suhail Khan to Ahmadnagar with instruction to render all possible assistance to her. Muhammad Khan opposed Suhail Khan who besieged him in the fort of Ahmadnagar for four months. Thus placed in a critical position, Muhammad appealed for aid to the Mughuls, but the garrison, highly dissatisfied at this, seized him and made him over to Chand Sultan who appointed Abhang Khan in his place. Thus she got rid of her internal foe but there was recrudescence of trouble with the Mughuls.

Her relations with them were far from cordial. They had occupied some territories of Ahmadnagar including Pathrl not ceded to them by the last treaty, whereas Gawilgarh and Narnala, the two fortresses of Berar, were still in possession of the officers of Ahmadnagar. Thus, when causes for renewal of a war already existed, the appeal of Muhammad Khan for aid to the Mughuls furnished the latter another important ground for an offensive.

Realising the gravity of the situation, Chand Sultan appealed to Bijapur and Golconda for assistance, which both of them gave. A combined army of about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Berar, and in the vicinity of Sonpet, on the Godavari, a severe battle took place between them and the Mughuls for two days in which the latter came out victorious (1597). 41a But, in spite of this, their progress was much hampered due to serious differences of opinion between Prince Murad and the Khan Khanan, and Akbar had to recall the latter, deputing Abu-1-Fazl instead.

There was lack of unity in the Nizam Shahl camp, too, and quarrels had been going on between Chand Sultan and Abhang Khan. The latter besieged her in the fort of Ahmadnagar, and taking advantage of the absence of the Khan Khanan, attacked and besieged the Mughul officer in charge of the fortress of Bir.

Abu-'l-Fazl could not improve the position of the Mughuls and on 12 May, 1599, Prince Murad died of intemperance. Under these circumstances Prince Daniyal, the youngest son of Akbar, and the Khan Khanan were sent to the Deccan, and with a view to conducting the campaigns more vigorously the emperor himself proceeded to the south, making his headquarters at Burhanpur. An army was despatched to besiege Asir, and Prince Daniyal and the Khan Khanan were directed to proceed against Ahmadnagar.

Abhang Khan raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and marched to oppose the Mughuls, but "finding himself out-manoeuvred and unable to withstand the Mughul's forces" he went back to Ahmadnagar for amicable settlement of his differences with Chand Sultan; but when this was not possible, he retired to Junnar. The Mughuls reached Ahmadnagar without opposition and invested it.

At this critical juncture, Chand Sultan, seeking the advice of Jita Khan, an eunuch and officer of rank, gave out that her past experience convinced her of the danger of placing reliance on the Nizam Shahl officers and, in her opinion, it would be proper to cede the fort to the Mughuls on condition of safe passage of the garrison and the young Sultan to Junnar. At this Jita Khan at once came out shouting that she was in league with the Mughuls for surrender of the fort. A mob headed by Jita Khan then rushed into her apartment and piit her to death (July, 1600). Her murder sealed the fate of the kingdom, and in the following month, the Mughuls stormed and occupied the fort. 41b

Thus, Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughul Empire and the young Sultan, Bahadur Nizam Shah, sent as a State prisoner to the fortress of Gwalior where he was confined for the rest of his life. Among the booty which the Mughuls received was a valuable library. 452

Malik ‘Ambar

But although the capital city and its adjoining places were occupied by the Mughuls and made a separate suba of the empire, an extensive part of the kingdom remained in possession of the influential Nizam Shahl nobles like Malik ‘Ambar and Raju Deccani. They acted independently of each other and owed no allegiance to any king. It was to the credit of the former that he revived the fallen kingdom and imparted to it a fresh lease of life.

Malik ‘Ambar was born in an obscure Abyssinian family in 1549. He was originally a slave of Khvaja Baghdadi who had purchased him in Baghdad. He was then sold at Ahmadnagar to Chingiz Khan, the minister of Murtaza Nizam Shah I. Chingiz Khan had one thousand slaves and ‘Ambar was one of them. The sudden death of his master threw ‘Ambar in a helpless condition and for more than two decades he struggled hard, serving sometimes as an ordinary soldier in Ahmadnagar and sometimes in Bijapur. But these could not satisfy an ambitious man like him. When Abhang Khan was opposing Bahadur, he joined his service and was soon promoted to the rank of a commander of one hundred and fifty horsemen in reward for his good services.

After some time he started his career as an independent chieftain, and disorder and confusion then prevailing in the country afforded him a suitable opportunity for his adventurous activities. At the time when the Mughuls were busy in the siege of Ahmadnagar, he, by his repeated sallies on the unruly men of the borders, made their lives so miserable that they were compelled to come under his leadership. These soon swelled the number of his followers to two thousand and five hundred, and encouraged by such successes, he continued from one daring act to another till he made a sudden sally on Bldar whose army he defeated. This victory enhanced his resources in men and money. After this, he became bold enough to make surprise attacks on the Mughuls in Ahmadnagar and plunder them. His followers continuously increased and many Nizam Shah! nobles joined him, adding to his strength and prestige.[43] Thus he became the most powerful factor in the Nizam Shahi politics and “brought under his possession the Nizam Shahi country from the Telingana borders as far north as within one kros of Bir and four of Ahmadnagar and from twenty kros west of Daulatabad to within the same distance of the port of Chaul.”[44]

Having thus made his position strong he took up the cause of the fallen Nizam Shahi dynasty which he wanted to reinstate at all costs. He was wise enough not to aspire after kingly position, and although there were obstacles in his way he surmounted them with his iron will. Bahadur and other members of the family were State prisoners at Gwalior and to bring them back was out of the question. He was, however, successful in finding out a scion of the Nizam Shahi family in ‘All, the son of Shah ‘All, then residing in Bijapur. It has already been stated how two fruitless attempts were made, one by Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I and later on, by Abhang Khan, to place Shah ‘All on the throne of Ahmadnagar. He was now of advanced age and Malik ‘Ambar, inviting his son, placed him on the throne with the title of Murtaza Shah Nizam-ul-Mulk (1600).

Murtaza Nizam Shah’s coronation took place at Parenda which was fixed “as the temporary capital of the kingdom, and Malik ‘Ambar became Prime Minister and Vakil-us-Sultunat (Regent of the Kingdom) and gave his daughter in marriage to the king.”[45]

Murtaza II who ruled from A.D. 1600 to 1630 was Sultan only in name and the whole governmental machinery was run by Malik ‘Ambar. The latter had to solve various problems of the revived kingdom including its protection from internal enemies and Mughul aggression. In place of chaos and confusion he soon established law and order and then diverted his attention to the self-seeking nobles, the most formidable of whom was Raju Deccani, who had brought under his possession a great part of the fallen Nizam Shahi kingdom and who, in order to fulfil his selfish design, was dragging the country to a crisis. Taking advantage of this rivalry the Mughul general, Khan Khanan, started an offensive campaign against ‘Ambar, and this was directed against his territory on the Telingana border. In one of the battles there, viz., at Nander, he was wounded (1602), and the war finally terminated in a treaty “marking out their respective boundaries.” 46

After this, ‘Ambar compelled the conspirators like Farhad Khan and Manjhan Khan to leave the kingdom and take shelter in Bijapur.

In 1607, ‘Ambar transferred the capital to Junnar on account of its strategic importance and for efficient conduct of campaigns against Raju, as it was situated at a comparatively less distance from Daulatabad, the headquarters of the latter, than Parenda 47 Circumstances now favoured the Abyssinian chief to subdue his rival. The oppression of Raju created a feeling of deep discontent among his subjects, including the soldiery, and the latter, deserting the cause of their master, joined ‘Ambar and complained to Murtaza Nizam Shah II about Raju’s oppression, requesting him to deliver them from their awful situation. Finding this a good opportunity, the Abyssinian chief marched against him with a large army. Although Raju tried hard, he could not defend for long due to lack of support from his followers, and the fort of Daulatabad was captured by the Nizam Shah! army. He became a prisoner, and his territory was incorporated in the Ahmadnagar kingdom. 48 He remained in prison for three to four years, but when there was a conspiracy to create a rebellion in his favour ‘Ambar put him to death. 49

Thus, it was due to the untiring zeal and efforts of the Prime Minister that the fallen kingdom was revived and its borders extended. Party bickerings were removed and the structure of the government was built on a strong foundation. His occasional differences with the Sultan were also always made up.

‘Ambar then turned his attention towards the Mughuls who, since the accession of Jahangir, were engrossed in their affairs in the north-west due to the revolt of Prince Khusrav and the siege of Qandahar by Shah ‘Abbas, the King of Persia. Commencing his offensive against them, ‘Ambar recovered many of the lost territories of Ahmadnagar. The Khan Khanan was thus placed in a miserable condition and recalled to Agra by the Emperor (1608) who, with a view to improving the situation, gave him a reinforcement of twelve thousand cavalry.

‘Ambar’s anxieties increased when he heard of this reinforcement, and he took steps to form an alliance with Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II. His requests to ‘Adil Shah “were three-fold; first, to render him military assistance against the Mughuls, so that he might fight them successfully.” He said, “It is my design to fight the Mughul troops so long as life remains in this body. It may be that through your Majesty’s daily increasing fortune I shall expel the Mughuls from the Deccan.” 50 The second request was “to hand over to him, for the safety of his family and the collection of rations, the fort of Qandahar which the ‘Adil Shah had wrested from the Nizam

Shahl kingdom some time back, and the third request was to bring the two states together into a close bond of union by matrimony.” 51

Ibrahim Adil Shah II was also desirous of forming an alliance with Ahmadnagar in order to check Mughul aggression in the south and it had been one of the principal reasons for his assistance to ‘Ambar in placing a scion of the old Nizam Shahl family on the throne. At the request of Ambar, ten thousand select cavalry were despatched to Ahmadnagar, the fort of Qandahar was returned, and a matrimonial alliance formed between the two kingdoms by the marriage of Ambar’s son Fath Khan with the daughter of Yaqut Khan, a nobleman of Bijapur, who was in high favour with the Sultan. Subsequently, another auxiliary force of three to four thousand cavalry was also despatched from Bijapur to Ahmadnagar. 52

Ambar had already besieged Antur and wrested it from the Mughuls. Even with his reinforcement the Khan Khlanan could not improve the situation due to discord and disunion in his camp. So, in 1609, Jahangir sent Prince Parvlz to the Deccan as Governor of Berar and Khandesh, and with supreme command to lead the campaigns, and another general named Khian Jahan Lodi was also ordered to proceed there. But in spite of these, the Mughul position, instead of improving, deteriorated further. The Khan Khanan's plan of surprise attack on Ambar ended in disaster. He was continuously harassed by the light Maratha cavalry of Ahmadnagar, well-trained in guerilla tactics, and his condition became so precarious that he had no other alternative but to patch up a disgraceful treaty with Ambar and retire to Burhanpur (1610). 53

After conquering the surrounding places the Nizam Shahl army had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar which, too, fell. These exploits enhanced the power, prestige and extent of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Its capital was then transferred from Junnar to Daulatabad, a place of greater strategic importance.

The heavy losses which the Mughuls had suffered were too much for them to bear and the Khan Khanan was recalled and Khan Jahan was promoted to take up the command in his place, but as petty wranglings among the officers continued unabated in the Mughul camp, nothing could be done to improve matters.

At last, a better plan was devised to invade Ahmadnagar from two sides—one by Abdullah Khan, who was appointed Governor of Gujarat with instruction to lead the expedition by way of Nasik and Trimbak, and the other under the joint command of Raja Man Singh

and Khan Jahan Lodi to proceed by way of Berar. Eager to gain the full credit of the victory, 'Abdullah Khan moved on without keeping in touch with the other party and entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Fully alive to the situation, 'Ambar followed his guerilla tactics as before and his Maratha bands harassed 'Abdullah Khan's army in all possible ways. Although 'Abdullah penetrated almost as far as Daulatabad, he found his position so precarious that he was compelled to retire, pursued and continually harassed by the Nizam Shahl forces up to the border of Baglan. With heavy losses he returned to Gujarat, and when Rajia Man Singh and Khan Jahan heard of his retreat, they, too, retired (1612). 54

After this victory, the capital of the Nizam Shahl kingdom was transferred to Khirki, about ten miles off from Daulatabad. Situated in a hilly region, it had natural barriers for protection against invasions from outside. It had originally been a small village but ‘Ambar peopled and beautified it with fine buildings. “The grandeur and beauty of this new capital found encomium even in the pages of Mughal history; the Maasir-i-Rahimi says that it was not only the best city in the Deccan but the like of it was not to be found even in Hindusthan.” 55

‘Abdullah Khan was severely reprimanded by the Emperor for his indiscreet actions and the Khan Khanan was again directed to proceed to the Deccan with his sons including Shah Navaz Khan.

Taking advantage of desertions of some of the Nizam Shahl nobles, Shah Navaz Khan moved direct towards Khirki. In the meantime, Malik ‘Ambar had made alliances with Bijapur, Golconda, and Bldar, all of whom responded to his call and despatched necessary quotas of troops to his aid. ‘Ambar remained at Khirki with forty thousand cavalry and another force was sent to harass the Mughuls and check their advance. But the Nizam Shahls proved powerless against the superior strength of Shah Navaz Khan who defeated them and marched towards Khirki. ‘Ambar came out and met the Mughuls at Rosalgarh, near Khirki. Here, in the sanguinary battle which ensued, he was defeated, sustaining heavy losses in men and materials (1616).

The Mughuls then entered the Nizam Shahl capital and carried on destruction in it, but they did not pursue the defeated. 56 The effect of the victory was only temporary and could not much alter the situation. Despite the presence of Prince Parviz in the Deccan for seven years, there was no tangible progress in the Mughul campaigns and he was therefore transferred to Allahabad while Prince Khurram was ordered to proceed to the Deccan. Before his departure he was conferred with the lofty title of “Shah” (1616) 56a and the emperor himself proceeded to Mandu for better guidance of the campaigns.

The Prince, at first, opened diplomatic negotiations with Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar and offered them proposals of peace on two conditions, viz., restitution of the conquered territories and payment of tribute. Weary of the struggle and afraid of the extensive preparation of the Mughuls, both Bijapur and Golconda accepted these terms and ‘Ambar, fearing the enmity of these combined powers, found no alternative but to come to terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar with its contiguous places and the Pargands of Balaghat previously wrested from the Mughuls. 57

The Abyssinian hero took this step only to ward off a crisis and wait for an opportunity to regain the lost territories.

An undue parade of the Prince’s success was made when he met his father at Mandu and among the marks of distinction, he received the lofty title of “Shah Jahan” and the special privilege of a seat near his father in darbar (October, 1617).

‘Ambar’s opportunities came after two years when Jahangir was in Kashmir, Shah Jahan busy in the siege of Kangra and the Mughul officers in the Deccan engaged in petty bickerings and rivalries. He made alliances with Bijapur and Golconda, and with about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Ahmadnagar, recovering the lost places, and besieging it. An army was left to carry on the siege, while he marched triumphantly towards Berar. He besieged Burhanpur, crossed the Narmada and plundered the environs of Mlandu.

Shah Jahan was once more directed to proceed to the Deccan. ‘Ambar, who did not like to take the risk of an open engagement with Shah Jahan, gave up the siege and retreated. But the Prince gave the Deccanis a hot chase and pursued them to the very gates of Khirki, and occupied the city after ‘Ambar had removed Murtaza II with his family to Daulatabad. The Mughuls destroyed the fine structure of Khirki and ‘Ambar, realizing the insecurity of his position, opened negotiations for peace. Shah Jahan had also to contend with many difficulties. So, he decided to accept the offer of peace. Besides promising to restore the territories occupied from the Mughuls in the course of the last two years, ‘Ambar agreed to surrender “fourteen Kros of the adjoining country” to them, and moreover, the three kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda con* sen ted to pay fifty lakhs of rupees as tribute. 58

But who could foretell then that Prince Shah Jahan would step into the Deccan as a fugitive and suppliant for aid to the Abyssinian antagonist about two years later to save himself from the wrath of his father? Malik ‘Ambar who was then not on good terms with Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II and who was anxious to gain Mughul assistance in order to defeat his enemy, gave an evasive reply to the Prince.

But what are the factors which contributed in creating a rift between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur? First, the fort of Sholapur was a frequent bone of contention between them. Secondly, taking advantage of disorder and confusion in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1600, Ibrahim II had annexed a portion of it; and not to speak of giving it back, he cherished further designs of aggrandizement. The Bijapur Sultan came to realize that the revived kingdom of Ahmadnagar under the leadership of an able general and statesman like ‘Ambar was really a menace to the safety of Bijapur. The Bijapur nobles also viewed with extreme jealousy the ascendancy of an Abyssinian slave to such a height of power and strength in the neighbouring kingdom and eagerly looked forward to bring about his downfall. Moreover, the Nizam-Shahi deserters like Farhad Khan and others who were in Bijapur service, widened the gulf between these two kingdoms. Fuzuni, the author of Futuhat-i-‘Adil-Shahl, wrote as a Bijapuri partisan, and it is difficult to believe him when he ascribed the cause of rupture of ‘Adil Shah with the Abyssinian leader to “bad behaviour and inordinate pride and insolence” 59 of the latter. But it may be mentioned here that ‘Ambar was eager to regain the territories which had been forcibly occupied by Ibrahim II.

When feelings in Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were thus strained, both tried hard to join Mughul alliance with a view to inflicting a stunning blow to the other. But the Mughuls decided in favour of Bijapur, and ‘Ambar was left alone against a formidable confederacy. He realized the gravity of the situation and removed Murtaza II to the fortress of Daulatabad for safety. He then went towards GoF conda and realized from the latter the fixed subsidy (zar-i-mukar rari) which had been in arrears for two years and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with it. 60

Thus strengthening his position, he marched against Bidar which had been under the domination of Bijapur since 1619. By a surprise attack he defeated the Bijapur army and pillaged the city. His next move was against Bijapur itself and Ibrahim II> unable to oppose him in an open fight, withdrew into the walled city which was besieged by the Nizam Shah! army. Driven to such an extremity

‘Adil Shah recalled his contingents under Mulla Muhammad Lari from Burhanpur where they had been sent to join the Mughul service in fulfilment of the terms of his alliance with them. As a result of his appeal for Mughul assistance, the Mughul governors of Ahmadnagar and Bir, with many other officers of distinction, marched in conjunction with Mulla Muhammad Lari for the relief of Ibrahim II. Alarmed at this heavy reinforcement, ‘Ambar repeatedly appealed to the Mughul officers not to support Bijapur, and to allow Ahmadnagar and Bijapur to settle their own differences, but in vain. They forced him to raise the siege of Bijapur and retreat to his own country, but closely pursued by them. Thus, goaded to the last extremity, he fell back “on Bhatvadi, about ten miles south-east by east of the fort of Ahmadnagar, and on the western bank of the Keli Nadi, a feeder of the Sina. „60a Here he exhibited uncommon bravery and resourcefulness in dealing with this desperate situation. By cutting the embankment of the Bhatvadi lake he filled the adjoining areas with mud and water and rendered it impossible for his enemies to approach the place. A heavy rain worsened the situation. To make their position still more miserable, ‘Ambar carried on surprise night attacks, plundering the enemy-camps and making it impossible for them to receive any supply of provisions. Scarcity of food made the sufferings of the army so distressing that many deserted their camp. The rival parties had encamped at a distance of two or three kros only, and, at length, both of them arranged their forces for an open engagement. ‘Ambar’s talents as a general never shone forth more brilliantly than in this battle. The Mughuls and their Bijapur allies sustained a severe defeat and their losses, too, were heavy (1624). 61 Many Mughul and Bijapur commanders fell into the hands of their enemies and Mulla Muhammad Lari was slain.

The battle of Bhatvadi was indeed one of the most decisive battles in the history of the Deccan. The victory saved Ahmadnagar from annihilation and engendered great confidence in the minds of the victors about the superiority of their military tactics and strength. It was a wonderful feat on the part of ‘Ambar and humbled the pride of his adversaries.

After sending the prisoners to Daulatabad, ‘Ambar hurried towards the fort of Ahmadnagar which was besieged. Leaving a detachment to continue its siege he marched against Bijapur, which, too, was invested as Ibrahim II had taken refuge within this walled city. He also attacked and occupied the territories of the ‘Adil Shah! kingdom upto the Mughul frontier in Balaghat. Sholapur was also invested and occupied within a short time (1625). 62

In the meantime, another force had been despatched against Burhanpur, the Mughul commander of which, unable to resist, retired into the fort which was besieged.

When ‘Ambar was thus in a favourable position, Shah Jahan, driven from the north, again came to the Deccan and an alliance was formed between them. According to the arrangement, the Prince co-operated with the Nizam Shahl force in pressing the siege of Burhanpur. Despite three successive efforts the fort could not be taken, and with the approach of Prince Parviz and Mahabat Khan, who had been chasing the rebel prince, the siege was abandoned. Later on, the rebellion of Mahabat Khan and the close attention of the Mughuls to subdue him, afforded a suitable opportunity to ‘Ambar to drive away the Mughuls from the Deccan, but his death in May, 1626, put an end to this checkered career. Before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing that he left intact the independence of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

Malik ‘Ambar was one of the greatest personalities that Islam produced in the Deccan and his wonderful abilities drew admiration even from his enemies, the Mughuls. From obscurity he rose to a position of the highest distinction, re-established and rejuvenated a fallen kingdom in the teeth of opposition of the Mughuls at the height of their power, gave it a well-organized government and consolidated it as far as practicable. He was a man of undaunted heroism, indefatigable energy and uncommon perseverance. He was a general of rare genius who remodelled the militia on a sound basis, best suited to the hilly regions of his adopted country. The guerilla tactics, so well organized by him with the Maratha bands, highly strengthened his position, and at times, the Mughuls showed their bankruptcy in dealing with him.

Great as he was as a general, he was no less famous as; a politician. His actions were always characterized by due caution and foresight. He showed his skill not only in the revival of the fallen kingdom but also in the formation of a powerful anti-Mughul coalition with the neighbouring States of Bijapur and Golconda and it was only at the fag end of his career that a rift occurred with Ibrahim II "which threw the latter into their common enemy's arms."

He was also undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen in the Deccan. By removing lawlessness and other disintegrating forces he established a strong but benign government, based on sympathy and goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Muslims. He was tolerant to the Hindus, and no historian has stigmatized him for the demolition of any temple or other place of worship. The Hindus

and the Muslims were equally eligible for government service and many Marathas like Shahji, the father of Shivaji, Sharifjl and Vithalraj occupied high rank in the Nizam Shahi government.

His wise revenue system is another instance of his farsightedness and constructive genius. Although new in the Deccan, it was based primarily on what Raja Todarmal had introduced in northern India and some parts of Gujarat and Khandesh. 'Ambar's objects "were threefold: first, the good of the peasantry, secondly, encouragement and promotion of agriculture, and thirdly, enhancement of the Government revenue." 63

Lands were classified as good or bad according to their fertility and he took great pains and a number of years to ascertain the average yield of lands. He abolished revenue farming and relieved the peasantry from oppression of the land farmers. At first, revenue was fixed as two-fifths of the actual produce in kind, but later on, the cultivators were allowed to pay in cash "representing about one-third of the yield." Although an average rent was fixed for each plot of land, actual collections depended on the condition of crops, and they varied from year to year. 64 Such kind and sympathetic consideration on the part of the government gave satisfaction to the peasants, and encouraged cultivation of waste land. 65 This not only enhanced production but also augmented government revenue.

Malik ‘Ambar was the last prop of the Ahmadnagar kingdom and his death was the beginning of its end. His eldest son, Fath Khan, was unscrupulous and incapable of holding the position of his father. Dissatisfied with his king, Murtaza II, he opened negotiations with the Mughuls, and at their suggestion, put him to death, and raised his son, Husain, a boy of ten, to the throne, with the title of Husain Nizam Shah III.

Husain Nizam Shah III (1630-1633)

Fath Khian was not sincere to the Mughuls and did not act up to his promise. So, Shah Jahan, who was then the Mughul Emperor, took steps to punish him, and along with the boy king, he had to take shelter in the fortress of Daulatabad. Unable to resist for long, he was compelled to submit before the superior arms of the Mughuls (1631). But he again broke his pledge to them and they then proceeded against him and besieged Daulatabad. After a blockade of about four months they succeeded in capturing it (1633). The young king Husain was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Gwa

lior for the rest of his life and Fath Khan taken into the Mughul service. 653

Thus came to an end the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and although an attempt was afterwards made by ShahjI with the assistance of Bijapur to revive it by setting up a scion of the Nizam Shah! dynasty, it proved abortive (1636).

III. THE ‘ADIL-SHAH1 DYNASTY OF BIJAPUR Yiisuf ‘Adil Khan (1490-1510)

The founder of this dynasty was Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, the Bahmanl governor of Bijapur, who assumed independence in 1490. In his early life he was a Georgian slave and sold to Mahmud Gavan at Bidar, but according to Firishta, he originally belonged to a royal family, being the son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey, who died in 1451 and was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad. On his accession, the latter gave orders for the execution of his brothers, including Yusuf, who was saved by the extraordinary skill of his mother. She managed to substitute a slave boy for execution and sent her own son to Persia with the help of a Persian merchant. He was secretly brought up in Persia, and when he was seventeen years of age, he came to India and was sold as a Georgian slave to the BahmanI minister Mahmud Gavan. From Firishta's writings it appears that he was satisfied as to the truth of the story. 66

By dint of his abilities as well as patronage of his new master, Yusuf rose from one position to another till he became a person of prominence in the BahmanI kingdom. Finally, he occupied the high position of the provincial governor of Bijapur, and taking advantage of the weakness of the BahmanI Sultan, he assumed a position of independence, in reality, though not in name.

The city of Bijapur was made the seat of his government. He had a formidable enemy in Qasim Barld, the powerful minister and de facto ruler of the BahmanI kingdom, who was extremely jealous of his growing power. Qasim Barld formed an alliance with Narasa Nay aka, the Regent of Vijayanagara, and Bahadur GllanI, the ruler of Konkan, and they invaded Bijapur. Narasa Nay aka attacked the Krishna-Tungabhadra doab and captured both the fortresses of Raichur and Mudgal. Unable to repel all the attacks of his enemies at a time, Yusuf made peace with Vijayanagara by the cession of the above two forts and then drove away Bahadur GllanI. Next, he marched against Qasim Barld who, in the meantime, had joined with Malik Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk and Khvaja Jahan of Parenda. He met them in the vicinity of Naldurg where Qasim

Barid was defeated, and after this, a treaty was made between Yusuf and Malik Ahmad.

As soon as he got rid of his enemies, Yusuf directed his attention to recover Raichur and Mudgal, and Narasa Nay aka marched to oppose him. In the battle which ensued, 'Adil Khan was severely defeated and, driven to a precarious condition, he took recourse to a stratagem, inviting Narasa Nlayaka and his young king Saluva Timma, with the nobles and officers for a peace conference and killing most of them by a treacherous attack; the king and the regent anyhow escaped death. After this, Yusuf recovered both Raichur and Mudgal. 663

In response to a request for assistance by Mahmud Shah, the Bahmanl Sultan, in his campaign against Bahadur GllanI, ‘Adil Khan despatched a contingent of five thousand cavalry to him. This helped his own cause as well, as it was with the assistance of the Bahmanl Sultan and his minister Qasim Band that he got back the fortress of Jamkhandi which Bahadur had occupied.

In 1504, ‘Adil Khan succeeded in gaining possession of the province of Gulbarga, then held by Dastur Dinar, an Abyssinian, who was defeated and killed. This acquisition enlarged his territory on the east.

Due to his long stay in Persia in his early life, Yusuf was deeply attached to the Shiah faith and cherished the idea of establishing it in his dominion, but so long he could not put his ideas into action, as he was preoccupied with manifold difficulties. Now that he felt secure and strong enough to carry out his contemplated project, he made this creed the State religion, but perfect toleration was allowed to his Sunni subjects. This innovation created enmity not only at home but also abroad, and a formidable confederacy was formed against him by some of his Muslim neighbours, viz., Malik Ahmad, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and Mahmud Shah, the nominal Bahmanl Sultan, under instruction of his minister Amir Barid; and, on their request, Sultan Qull Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingana, too, joined them. Unable to cope with them Yusuf fled to Berar, and, on the advice of Ala-ud-dln ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, gave orders for the restoration of the Sunni faith and withdrew to Burhanpur. ‘Imad-ul-Mulk pointed out to Malik Ahmad and Qull Qutb-ul-Mulk that Amir Barid had been on the look out for the annihilation of ‘Adil Khan for his own selfish motive and not for religion, and as ‘Adil Khan had already restored the Sunni creed, there was no valid ground for continuing the war against him. Convinced of these arguments they left the confederacy, and ‘Adil Khan

with the assistance of ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, defeated Mahmud Shah and Amir Barld who fled to Bidar. Thereupon Yusuf returned in triumph to Bijapur, and “being no longer apprehensive of his enemies, he renewed the public exercise of the Shiah religion/’ 67

Goa, which was within the territory of Bijapur, was a very important port on the Malabar coast. It “was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin as far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque, the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, desired to possess it.” 68 He made a surprise attack on it and occupied it without any difficulty (1510), but it did not remain long in his possession, as it was shortly recovered by ‘Adil Khan. 69

‘Adil Khan died in October, 1510, and was buried at Gogi, to the east of Bijapur city. Firishta praised him highly for his good qualities. He was handsome, brave, a skilled musician, “eminent for his learning, his liberality”, and “intimately acquainted with human nature.”

“Although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to these virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Turkistan, and Room, also several eminent artists, who lived happily under the shadow of bounty/" 70

Isma‘il Adil Khan (1510-1534)

During the minority of Isma‘Il, Kamal Khan, an experienced officer whom Yusuf had appointed regent before his death, carried on the affairs of the government. He established the Sunni faith as the State religion.

Albuquerque was on the look out for an opportunity to recover Goa, and in November, 1510, when most of its army was away in Bijapur to attend a State ceremony, he made a surprise attack on it and re-occupied it. Goa was thus lost for ever to Bijapur.

Concentration of too much power in the hands of Kamal Khan made him highly ambitious. He entered into a conspiracy with Amir Band and made an attempt to oust Isma‘Il and seize the reins of government in his own hands. But it proved futile and he was assassinated.

Amir Band was bent on curbing the power of Bijapur. Jahangir Khan, the adopted son of Dastur Dinar, was given all possible

assistance to recover Gulbarga which his father had once held and which Kamal Khan had also secretly promised to cede to Amir Band. It was recovered and Jahangir was placed in charge of it as a provincial governor. But Bijapur retook it, whereupon, Amir Barld, in the name of the BahmanI Sultan, Mahmud Shah, appealed for aid to Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berar, all of whom responded to the call. Accompanied by their forces, Barld, along with the Sultan marched against Bijapur. But Ismail inflicted a severe defeat on them, and Mahmud and his son Ahmad fell into the hands of the Bijapur forces. ‘Adil Khan showed proper respect to the Sultan and at the request of the latter, Bibi Musity, the sister of Ismail, who had been affianced to Ahmad, was married to the latter at Gulbarga. After the ceremony, five thousand Bijapur cavalry were sent to escort Mahmud Shah to Bldar. On the approach of this army, Amir Barld fled away but as soon as they left Bldar, he came back, and resumed control of all affairs of the BahmanI Kingdom as before. 71

Ismail had also the privilege of receiving high honour from Shah Isma‘11 Safavl, the Sultan of Persia, in return for his assistance in relieving a Persian ambassador from unnecessary detention at Bidar by the Sunni bigot, Amir Barid. Highly satisfied, the Persian king sent him rich presents and addressed him as an independent ruler. 72

The minority of the Sultan and Kamal Khan’s hostile activities against him had afforded an opportunity to Krishnadevaraya, the king of Vijayanagara, to invade the Bijapur kingdom. He attacked and occupied Raichur (1512). Getting rid of his internal troubles and in an opportune moment when Krishnadevaraya was busy in his war against Orissa, Ismail marched towards Raichur and captured it. Highly incensed at this, Krishnadevaraya again proceeded there with a large army and invested this fort (1520). Ismail also moved against him, and in the battle which ensued, he sustained a severe defeat with heavy losses. He had no alternative but to take to his heels, and while retreating, many of his troops were swept away by the strong current of the Krishna. But the Bijapur army in the fort did not yield and fought valiantly, till their commander's death paralysed the defence, and made them surrender.

Hostilities continued between Ismail and Krishnadevaraya in which the former suffered several reverses, and even the city of Bijapur was once occupied by the enemy. But after the death of Krishnadevaraya, 'Adil Khan again invaded the Raichur doab

(1530) and succeeded in gaining possession of both Raichur and Mudgal. 723

His relations with the neighbouring Muslim States have mostly been described in connection with the history of Ahmadnagar and Bldar. While he was conducting the siege of Kovelakonda, a fortress on the border of Golconda, he was attacked with a high fever which proved fatal (1534). He was interred at Gogi, close to the tomb of his father.

He was just, kind, magnanimous, averse to harsh language, and fond of wit and humour. He was also a poet and patron of the learned, a skilled musician, and an expert painter.

Mallu 'Adil Khan (1534-1535)

According to the will of I small, his son Mallu Khan was elevated in his place with the assistance of Asad Khan, the most influential Bijapur noble, who became protector of the State. The latter had been entrusted by Isma'fl to prosecute the siege of Kovelakonda, but it was abandoned, and the Bijapur forces retreated to Gulbarga.

Mallu was unfit to reign. He neglected his duties and indulged in low vices, the result of which was discontent and confusion in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity to recover the Raichur doab y Achyutadevaraya, the king of Vijayanagara, invaded and succeeded in wresting it from Bijapur, compelling Mallu to accept his terms. 73

The excesses of the latter became so intolerable that even his grandmother went against him and had him removed and blinded, raising his younger brother Ibrahim in his place.

Ibrdhim ‘Adil Shah I (1535-1557)

The first act of Ibrahim was to establish the Sunni faith, to which he belonged, as the State religion, and to discontinue the use of the head-dress of the Shiahs in his army. He then dismissed a large number of foreigners and appointed Deccanis and Abyssinians in their places. Another innovation which also went against the foreigners was the introduction of the Deccani languages like Marathi and Kannada, instead of Persian, for maintenance of Government accounts which were then kept by the Brahmins in exclusion of the foreigners. The Brahmins thus got a good opportunity of acquiring considerable influence in the government.

Ibrahim I took advantage of the internecine quarrels in Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutadevaraya and invaded that kingdom. Nagalapur, a town near Vijayanagara, was “razed to the ground” and both Achyutadevaraya and Ramaraj&, who were at enmity with each other, were afraid lest he should join hands with the other side. ‘Adil Shah besieged the city of Vijayanagara, and, by negotiations with the contending parties, settled their differences after which he returned to his kingdom on receipt of a large sum of money, twelve fine elephants, and some horses as a reward for his services. 74

Later on, his attempt to take possession of the fortress of Adoni from Vijayanagara appeared to have ended in fiasco. His relations with Ahmadnagar and other States of the Deccan have already been discussed in the section on Ahmadnagar and need not be repeated here.

Suspecting treachery on the part of some of his officers he put to death seventy Muslims and forty Hindus of high rank in course of two months. Such cruel action did not go without serious reaction, and a conspiracy was formed to depose him and place his brother ‘Abdullah on the throne (1545). But the matter leaked out and most of the conspirators were put to death. It was with great difficulty that ‘Abdullah managed to escape to the Portuguese at Goa.

Although the relation between Bijapur and the Portuguese was friendly for a considerable time, it was disturbed by the presence of Prince ‘Abdullah at Goa, as Ibrahim I was anxious to gain possession of his rebel brother. He proposed to cede Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese on condition of the surrender of his brother. But without complying with it, they proposed to send him to Malacca. They did not act up to this proposal even, but occupied Salsette and Bardez, and this finally brought Bijapur and Goa into conflict. Ibrahim I was ultimately forced to give up his claim on these places and conclude peace with the Portuguese in August, 1548, mainly for two reasons: he had become anxious when he heard of the separate treaties of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar with the Portuguese, and moreover, he was aware that enmity with Goa would mean loss of maritime commerce, as it was the Portuguese navy which then controlled the trade of the Arabian Sea. 75

‘Abdullah’s case never prospered, and, in 1555, when his cause was championed by Saif ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, then a hostile Bijapur noble, he was captured and imprisoned. 76

At the fag end of his career, Ibrahim I led a dissipated life which hastened his death. He fell ill and died in 1557.

It has already been stated that he was the first ruler of this dynasty to assume the title of “Shah”.

‘All ‘Adil Shah I (1557-1580)

Ibrahim I had a mind to nominate his younger son Tahmasp as his successor in preference to his eldest son ‘All who was a Shiah, but when it came to his knowledge that Tahmasp was a more zealous Shiah than ‘All, he became highly incensed and left the matter of succession without any decision. On his decease, ‘All ascended the throne with the aid of the influential ‘Adil Shahl nobles.

‘All ‘Adil Shah’s first act was the re-establishment of the Shiah faith as the State religion and encouragement to the foreigners to enter his service.

It has been stated in the history of Husain Nizam Shah (15531565) that ‘AH I formed an alliance with Vijayanagara against Husain (1558) and humbled him. The confederate army, particularly the Vijayanagara army, carried on depredations on an extensive scale in the territories of Ahmadnagar and these were highly resented by the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. These, along with other reasons, which brought about a coalition of the four Deccani Muslim States including Bijapur against Vijayanagara and the parts played in the formation of this alliance as well as in the battle of Talikota by ‘All I, have also been discussed above. 763

In 1569, ‘All formed alliances with Murtaza Nizam Shah I and the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese with a view to recovering Goa. The plan was quite sound, as it was decided to attack both Chaul and Goa simultaneously, thus dividing Portuguese military strength in two places at the same time. The military operations began in January, 1570. Chaul, which was a Portuguese outpost in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, was besieged by Murtaza I and Goa by ‘All I. But none of the operations succeeded, as the Portuguese repulsed all their attacks. The siege of Chaul was abandoned after seven months and ‘All also ultimately gave up the siege of Goa and retreated.

After this, ‘All decided to extend his kingdom in the south and moved against Adoni, the hill fortress of Vijayanagara, and succeeded in capturing it after prolonged siege. His enhancement of power in this region was looked upon with disfavour by Murtaza Nizam Shah I, but instead of coming to arms both of them decided amicably to allow each other to extend their respective frontiers in the areas which each coveted. A treaty was concluded permitting Murtaza I to annex Berar and Bidar, and ‘All I to conquer an equivalent territory in the Western Carnatic. 77

In accordance with the above arrangement, ‘All I marched with his minister Mustafa Khan to the Western Carnatic and conquered many places one after another, some of which were kept under his direct administration and others allowed to remain under their respective local chiefs who paid him tribute. Mustafa Khan was appointed Governor of the conquered territories with his headquarters at Chandraguni and ‘All returned to Bijapur (1575) after an absence of more than three years.

Next year, he marched to Adoni and thence to Penukoiida, the capital of Srlrahga I of Vijayanagara. On his approach, the latter retired with his treasures into the fort of Chandragiri, leaving the defence of the capital to his general Chennappa. ‘All laid siege to it but the garrison held out for three months, and when they were almost ready to surrender, &rlranga bought over a Marat ha commander of ‘All. This desertion helped the cause of Vijayanagara which received help from Golconda also, and Chennappa N'ayaka succeeded in defeating ‘Adil Shah who was compelled to raise the siege (1576) and retire to Bijapur. 773

Having no issue, ‘All nominated his nephew Ibrahim, the son of Tahmasp, as his successor. Within a few months, ‘All was assassinated by one of the two eunuchs whom he had brought from Bidar (1580) as a price for his help to ‘All Band against an Ahmadnagar invasion.

It was during the reign of ‘All ‘Adil Shah that the wall of Bijapur city was constructed, and arrangements were made for ample supply of water in the walled city by cutting an aqueduct and constructing a large reservoir. He showed his fine taste for architecture, specially by the construction of buildings like Jami Masjid, Mecca Masjid, and Gagan Mahal or Hall of Audience. Although not fully completed, Jami ‘Masjid “is the best proportioned building in the city” of Bijapur and “for simplicity of design, impressive grandeur and the-solemn hush of its corridors” it “stands unrivalled.” 78

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II (1580-1627)

Ibrahim ascended the throne at the age of nine. Kamil Khan Deccani was appointed regent and Chand Sultan, the widow of ‘All I and daughter of Husain Nizam Shah I, was entrusted with the education of the minor Sultan. But the regent having shown disrespect to Chand Sultan, she and Haji Kishvar Khan, another Deccani of

high rank, planned to remove him, and one evening, while Kamil Khan was engaged in an official work in the palace, Kishvar Khan attempted to seize him whereupon he took to flight but was seized and beheaded. 79

Kishvar Khan was then appointed regent, and, following in the footsteps of Kamil Khan, he also exercised uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Taking advantage of these internal troubles in Bijapur, Ahmadnagar invaded it, but Bihzad-ul-Mulk, the commander of the Nizam Shah! army, sustained a heavy defeat at Dharaseo and all his artillery and elephants fell into the hands of his enemies. The victory was again followed by an internecine quarrel in consequence of an order issued by the Regent to the military officers to give up the elephants, captured in the last campaign, to the Sultan. This gave offence to the nobles concerned who not only refused compliance but determined to oust him from the regency and instal Mustafa Khan, another nobleman, in his place. Informed of these designs, Kishvar Khan made a conspiracy against Mustafa and had him assassinated. 80

Highly enraged at this cold-blooded murder, Chand Sultan upbraided Kishvar Khan who, in retaliation, had her confined in the fortress of Satara. This and some other high-handed acts made him extremely unpopular and a strong party was formed against him. Feeling his position insecure and resistance impossible, he fled to Ahmadnagar, but being unable to find a shelter there he went to Golconda where he was assassinated by a relative of Mustafa. Although Chand Sultan was released from Satara, the situation in Bijapur did not improve; party strife continued, and encouraged by such internal dissensions, Ahmadnagar, in conjunction with Golconda, invaded Bijapur and laid siege to the fortress of Naldurg. The garrison defended it with all their might and its commandant resisted every effort of the enemy to reduce it. Finding difficulty in capturing it and expecting that dissensions prevailing at the capital would help its fall and hasten the conquest of other places of the ‘Adil Shah! State, the confederate army raised the siege of Naldurg and proceeded towards the capital. There were then only two to three thousand troops to defend the city, and although reinforcements arrived within a few days, there was lack of concerted action and desertions followed from their camp. On the other hand, the Ahmadnagar camps, too, were suffering from discords and dissensions which delayed their assault on the walled city.

Chand Sultan entrusted the work of defence to an able officer named Abu-'l-Hasan who saved the situation by summoning the

Maratha forces from the Carnatic and employing them in harassing enemies by cutting off their supplies and in all other possible manner. Both the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda began to feel badly the pinch of starvation and they were compelled to retreat. The Nizam Shahl army retired to Ahmadnagar after plundering some places of Bijapur on the way, while the forces of Golconda were defeated and driven out of Bijapur, even to the gates of Golconda.

When Bijapur was free from foreign aggression, internal disorders again vitiated its atmosphere. It was Dilavar Khan who had driven back the Qutb Shahl forces; and, on return from this successful campaign, he coveted the high position of minister by ousting Ikhlas Khan who was captured, blinded, and kept in confinement, and Dilavar Khan became all powerful in the kingdom. Abu-'lHasan was also blinded and put to death. Chand Sultan's power was curtailed and the Sunni faith established as the State religion. Dilavar remained the dominant force in Bijapur for eight years from 1582 to 1590 and, during this period, matrimonial alliances were formed with Golconda and Ahmadnagar. Ibrahim II married a sister of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, and his sister Khadija was married to Miran Husain, the son of Murtaza Nizjam Shah I. But within a few years, war again commenced between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and Dilavar Khan was defeated at Dharaseo (1591). This led to his fall and he was forced to leave Bijapur and take shelter in Ahmadnagar where he entered the service of Burhan Nizam Shah II. The latter refused to send him back to Bijapur and his instigation led to a renewal of war between these two kingdoms, but Burhan sustained a serious defeat. These have already been stated in the history of Ahmadnagar.

By a stratagem, Ibrahim II inflicted a befitting punishment on the traitor, Dilavar Khan, when he came back to Bijapur on assurances of safety as well as of reinstatement to his former position. He was blinded and confined in the fortress of Satara, till his death. 81

Relieved of the control of Dilavar, Ibrahim II assumed charge of the government, but even then, he was not free from domestic troubles. In 1594 his brother, Isma‘il, rebelled against him, and although the situation became very serious owing to the defection of ‘Ain-ul-Mulk, the Amir-ul-Umara, and the advance of Burhan II to aid the rebels, Ibrahim succeeded in quelling the rebellion before the Nizam Shahl army could actually come to the assistance of his enemies. Both Isma‘il and ‘Ain-ul-mulk were captured and put to death.

Subsequent relations of Ibrahim II with Burhan II and his son Ibrahim Nizam Shah have already been described in the history of the Nizam Shahl kingdom. 813 When, on the death of the lastnamed Ahmadnagar Sultan, that kingdom was convulsed by party strife as well as Mughul invasion, Ibrahim II, at the request of Chand Sultan, rendered necessary assistance to it to tide over the difficulties. Although the kingdom could not be saved, the fact remains that ‘Adil Shah was not slow in lending aid to his neighbouring State in its hour of peril in spite of long-standing enmity existing between them. Subsequently, when Malik ‘Ambar appeared as a saviour on the political arena of Ahmadnagar and sought his assistance, he helped him in his efforts to revive the fallen fortunes of the State, and like that astute politician, he, too, realized the necessity of mutual aid and co-operation with a view to protecting their kingdoms against Mughul aggression. At the request of ‘Ambar he allowed ‘All, a scion of the Nizam Shah! dynasty, then at Bijapur, to proceed to Parenda and ascend the throne of the newly revived Ahmadnagar kingdom with the title of Murtaza Shah Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Ibrahim II also joined hands with ‘Ambar in his conflicts with the Mughuls on many occasions, and it was unfortunate that a rift occurred between them at the fag end of their career, but it must be said to their credit that they foiled the Mughul efforts to annex the south for a considerable time. 81b

It was during the reign of this monarch that Bldar was annexed to the ‘Adil Shahl kingdom (1619).

In spite of his preoccupations in war, Ibrahim II devoted his time to the civil administration of his country. In this connection Meadows Taylor says: “He applied himself to the civil affairs with much care, and the land settlements of the provinces of his kingdom, many of which are still extant among district records, show an admirable and efficient system of registration of property and its valuation. In this respect, the system of Todar Mai introduced by the Emperor Akbar seems to have been followed with the necessary local modifications.” 82

About his tolerance and broadness of mind the same writer says: “Although he changed the profession of the State religion immediately upon assuming the direction of State affairs from Shiah to Sunni, Ibrahim was yet extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindus not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmins and Marathas.” 83 His liberal views were testified to by Firishta as

well, 84 and he was known as the “Jagadguru”, or “spiritual guide of the world.”

He was a man of culture, patron of the learned and fond of music and poetry. It was during his reign that Muhammad Qasim Firishta wrote the famous Tdr^ikh, better known as the Tdrlkh-iFirishta. He was also a great builder and several ornate buildings erected by him show his fine taste. Of these, the Ananda Mahal or palace of delight, built in 1589, is a very conspicuous palace in the Bijapur fort; the Mihtar Mahal, Malika Jahan Masjid and the mausoleum of his queen Taj Sultan also deserve special mention.

He died in September, 1627, and was buried at a short distance from the walled city of Bijapur. His own mausoleum in the group of buildings known as the Ibrahim Rauza is a richly decorated structure. It was not quite finished during his life-time and was completed during the reign of his son Muhammad ‘Adil Shah.

Muhammad i Adil Shah (1627-1656)

Although Darvesh was the eldest son of the late Sultan, his claim was set aside by the joint intrigues of the minister Mustafa Khan and another influential Bijapur noble named Daulat Khan. Darvesh was blinded, and his younger brother Muhammad, a boy of fifteen, was raised to the throne, under the title of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah.

Early in his reign, the Nizam Shah! army under Hamid Khan invaded Bijapur, but they were defeated and compelled to retreat to their territory.

On his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan started a vigorous policy against the Deccan States. 84a In 1631, Bijapur was invaded, and although the Mughul army scored some successes at the early stages of the campaign and laid siege to the fort of Bijapur, they were ultimately compelled to withdraw, due to acute shortage of supplies.

Shah Jahan, who was bent upon annexing the Deccan States, was highly dissatisfied at this discomfiture. The conduct of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah and ‘Abdullah Qutb Shah, who tried to seize some of the territories of the fallen Nizam Shah! kingdom and offered secret aid to Shahji in his effort to revive that kingdom, further annoyed him. Besides, the emperor, who was a staunch Sunni, bore hatred against these States, many of whose princes, nobles and people professed the Shiah faith. Both Bijapur and Golconda were

asked to accept Mughul suzerainty and some other terms. Shah Jahan personally went to the Deccan for better conduct of affairs (1636), and three armies of 50,000 men in all were kept ready for action against them.

Golconda submitted in terror, but ‘Adil Shah decided to resist Mughul aggression. Bijiapur was invaded from three sides and the Mughul armies carried on extensive devastations in the towns and villages, mercilessly massacring the inhabitants. Although the Sultan fought with great valour and defended his capital by cutting the dam of the Shahpur lake and flooding the surrounding country-side, he was eventually compelled to sue for peace, and a treaty was concluded between them in May, 1636. The Sultan of Bijapur acknowledged the “overlordship” of the Mughul emperor, promised not to cause any annoyance to the Sultan of Golconda, now his (emperor’s) vassal, and agreed to pay a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees as an annual tribute. In return, Shah Jahan assigned to Bijapur a part of the recently conquered Ahmadnagar territory consisting of fifty pargands which included Sholapur and vangi mahals, the pargands of Bhalki and Chidgupa, north Konkan, and the Poona district, yielding an annual revenue of eighty lakhs of rupees, while the Mughuls annexed the rest of Ahmadnagar. The

Sultan was ordered to abstain from aiding ShahjI in any hostile activity. 8413

After this, friendly relations prevailed between Muhammad ‘Adil Shah and the Mughul emperor, and there were exchanges of presents between the two. Thus feeling secure on the north, ‘Adil Shah diverted his attention towards the extension of his frontiers on the other three sides, viz., the east, south and west.

“The principality of Ikkeri had been raided in 1635 at the invitation of a local faction, and a heavy fine of 30 lakhs of hurts imposed on its Raja Virabhadra Nayak.” 85 In 1637 the invasion was renewed at the invitation of Kenge Hanuma, chief of Basavapattanam and Tarikere, a recalcitrant feudatory of Ikkeri. 85a Randaulah Khan, with a huge force consisting of 40,000 cavalry, besides infantry and elephant corps, invaded Ikkeri. He proceeded as far as Ikkeri, the capital city, and, unable to resist long, Virabhadra retreated to the fortress of Bhuvanagiri. After occupying the capital city, the Bijapur army laid siege to Bhuvanagiri, whereupon he was compelled to sue for peace, and, according to the terms of the treaty, he had to surrender the forts already occupied by the Bijapur army and acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultan of Bijapur. Shortly after this, Ikkeri helped Bijapur to crush Tarikere and Basavapattanam. 86

In 1647, Mustafa Khan, the Bijapur general, marched against Srlranga III of Vijayanagara, and took several places including Krishnagiri and Deva Durga. In the same year he arrived at Vellore where he met Mir Jumla, the Golconda general, and it was arranged that they would wrest the territories of £>riranga and divide them between Bijapur and Golconda. Vellore was besieged and occupied by Mustafa Khan whose victorious army took possession of many other places including Kaveripattanam, Hasan, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri and Arjunakote, all belonging to Vijayanagara. 87

On Mustafa Khan’s death in November, 1648, the command of the Bijapur expeditionary forces devolved on Khan Muhammad (Khan Khanan) who succeeded in capturing the fortress of Gingee in December, 1649. The victors received a rich booty consisting of gold, silver and precious stones worth several crores of rupees. The Nayakas of Madura and Tanjore then offered their submission, 88 and towards the west, the ‘Adil Shahi army obtained some successes against the Portuguese of Goa also. The territories of Bijapur now extended “from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, across the Indian Peninsula.” 89

It was during this reign that Shivaji started his activities against Bijapur and the serious illness of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah in 1646 afforded him a grand opportunity for the same. He occupied many forts, one after another, like Torna, Kondhana (Simhagarh), Chakan and Purandar; but, for these acts of disloyalty, his father Shahj® was arrested and Shivaji secured his release with great difficulty.

Muhammad ‘Adil Shah breathed his last in November, 1656. It was during his reign that the ‘Adil Shahi kingdom attained its greatest extent and power. At the time of his death it “had an annual revenue of seven krores and eighty-four lakhs of rupees, besides five krores twenty-five lakhs of tribute due from vassal rajahs and zamindars. The strength of the army establishment was 80,000 cavalry and 2,50,000 infantry, besides 530 war elephants. The exact extent of the kingdom can be judged from the fringe of dependent and tributary states around it, covering the Kanara and Dharwar districts of Bombay, the Bellary and Karnool districts of Madras, and much of the kingdom of Mysore.” 90

Muhammad ‘Adil Shah was well known for piety, justice and love for his subjects, and was a patron of arts, literature and science. He also earned great reputation as a builder; the most conspicuous building erected by him in Bijapur was his own mausoleum, the great Gol Gumbaz, which contains one of the greatest domes in the world.

He also erected the Asar Mahal within which was enshrined two hairs of the Prophet’s beard.

‘All ‘Adil Shah II (1656-1672)

‘All Adil Shah II, the only son of the late Sultan, was then placed on the throne with the help of Queen Bari Sahiba and prime minister Khan Muhammad. He was only eighteen years of age and incapable of controlling different factions within the kingdom. Disorders followed in some of the newly conquered territories and consequent loss of them, and the nobles began to quarrel among themselves for power. Aurangzlb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, considered it a convenient time for the invasion of Bijapur, and with the sanction of the emperor, on the plea that ‘All was not really a son of the late king, he opened his campaign against ‘Adil Shah and laid siege to the fort of Bidar. In the meantime, he had been able to seduce some of the ‘Adil Shah! nobles; Mir Jumla, who had deserted his master, the Sultan of Golconda, and joined the Mughuls, rendered immense help to him.

But this declaration of war against Bijapur on an issue which was purely its own concern, was wholly unjustified. Bidar fell after a gallant resistance of twenty-seven days (1657). Bijapur could not check the advance of the Mughuls who ravaged an extensive area of the kingdom and laid siege to Kalyani, forty miles west of Bidar, and once the capital of the Chalukya kings, which also fell (1657). ‘All ‘Adil Shah II was compelled to sue for peace, and on the intercession of Daria, Shah Jahan agreed to conclude a treaty with Bijapur. ‘Adil Shah consented to surrender Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda, and pay an indemnity of one crore of rupees to the Mughuls.

After these, the news of serious illness of Shah Jahan and Aurangzlb’s march towards the north to contest the throne, and quarrels among the Bijapur nobles, culminating in the murder of Khan Muhammad, gave ShivajI an opportunity for his ambitious projects. He hurried to Konkan and occupied Kalyan, Bhivandi and the fort of Mahuli.

In 1659 the Bijapur government sent Afzal Khan, a noble of high rank, with 10,000 cavalry against ShivajI with instruction to capture him dead or alive. It has been already narrated how Afzal Khan opened negotiations with the Maratha chief, met him in a conference, and was killed by ShivajI (pp. 258-9).

The leaderless Bijapur army became panic-stricken and had no courage to oppose the enemy. Many of them were killed and others

surrendered. Their losses were heavy and all their artillery, ammunition, and camp equipage fell into the hands of the Marathas (1659).

After this triumph, Shivaji captured the fort of Panhala and obtained more successes against Bijapur. To avenge these losses and drive away the rebel, ‘All II sent Fazl Khan and SidI Jauhar, now entitled Salabat Khan, and Shivaji was defeated and forced to take shelter in the fort of Panhala which was also besieged. It was with difficulty that the latter managed to escape.

Taking advantage of ill-feeling between the Nayakas of Madura and Tanjore, ‘All II despatched a large army against them. A surprise attack was made on Tanjore upon which its Nayaka, Vijaya> raghava, fled to Vallam and the Bijapur force occupied Tanjore without much difficulty (1659). The fort of Vallam also fell without any resistance, as the Nayaka had fled to the forests of Talavarayan and the garrison did not defend it. The victors then proceeded to the fort of Trichinopoly and laid siege to it, but due to famine and troubles created by the Kallars (robber chiefs), they had to retire on receipt of a sum of money only from the Nayaka of Madura. Soon after, Vijayaraghava reoccupied Tanjore. In 1663, another expedition was sent to Trichinopoly which was besieged, and the surrounding regions were plundered. But in spite of repeated attacks, the fort could not be occupied and the Bijapur army had to retire on receipt of a large sum of money from the ruler of Madura. 91

The Nayaka of Ikkeri had recovered several forts like Ikkeri, Soraba, Udugani, Mahadevpura and Ambaligolla from Bijapur, and ‘Ali II led a campaign against him, defeated him near Ambaligolla, and occupied Bednor, the then capital of Ikkeri. The fort of Bhuvanagiri was then invested, but Bhadrappa Nayaka, the Nayaka of Ikkeri (1662 - 64), adopted guerilla tactics and cut off all communications of the Bijapur forces who were obliged to make peace with him and retire. ‘All II sent another expedition against Ikkeri and occupied three of its forts (about 1668). 92

In the meantime, Bijapur had to face another Mughul invasion, and this was led by Jay Singh (1665-66). Although the Mughul advance was rapid for some time, it soon received a serious set-back through the exertions of ‘All II, and Jay Singh was compelled to retire without achieving anything. “Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, not a pice of indemnity was gained.” 93

After this, ‘Ali II did not at all attend to his duties but spent his time in idle pleasures. Fortunately for him, he had an able prime

minister in ‘Abdul Muhammad who conducted the administration with efficiency.

The Sultan died of paralysis in 1672 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar, a boy of four only. ‘All was a patron of Urdu literature. Among the court-poets who flourished during his reign and wrote in Deccani Urdu were Mian Nusrali, Mian Hansi and Mirjan Marsiya. “Besides the two memorable works Gulshan-i-Ishq and All Noma, Nusrali composed numerous Qasidahs and Diivan-i-Ghazals full of beauty and virility. Mian Hansi’s solid contributions to literature are his story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, Gkazals and other poems. Mirjan Marsiya, the third notable poet and writer, wrote verses in praise of the Prophet, Hasan and Husain, and the Imams.” 94

Sikandar ‘Adii Shah (1672-1686)

Sikandar was the last of the ‘Adil Shahi Sultans, and as he was a minor, the administration of the kingdom was run by its wazirs or prime ministers who also acted as regents. “The history of Bijapur from 1672 to 1686 is really the history of its v^azirs. It was a period marked by chronic civil war among the factious nobles, independence of the provincial governors, paralysis of the central administration in the capital itself, occasional but indecisive Mughul invasions, and a secret alliance but pretended hostility with the Marathas.” 95

Immediately after the death of ‘All II, Khavass Khan, the Abyssinian leader of the Deccani party, seized the real powers of the State and became prime minister and regent. But due to his incapacity and indolence there were disturbances in the kingdom, and taking advantage of this situation, ShivajI conquered some of its territories and the Mughuls began to seduce its nobles. Khavass Khan was in power for three years, and when he had quarrels and bitter animosity with ‘Abdul Karim Buhlul Khan, the commanderin-chief and leader of the Afghan party, the latter invited him to a dinner and imprisoned him in a drunken state (1675). Buhlul then stepped into his position but his regime of two years was worse. He raised his own men to high posts and expelled those of the Deccani party. Disorders followed in the kingdom and his chief adviser, Khizr Khan, was murdered; in revenge, Buhlul murdered Khavass Khan. The Mughuls took up the cause of the Deccani party who had sought their assistance and occupied Naldurg and Gulbarga (1677).

Under the Afghan regime the sufferings of the people knew no bounds, and, at last, on the death of Buhlul (1678), Sddi Mas‘ud, another Bijapur! noble, with the assistance of the Mughuls, became prime minister and regent. He made peace with the Mughuls, one of the conditions of which was that Shahr Banu Begam, Sikandar’s sister, was to be married to a son of Aurangzlb, and, according to this, she left the city of Bijapur in 1679 and was married to Prince A‘zam in July, 1681. 95a

The condition of Bijapur went from bad to worse. The government was bankrupt, and disorder and anarchy prevailed in the State due to quarrels between Mas‘ud and Sharza Khan, an influential noble. The Regent could not, in the least, improve the dilapidated condition of the kingdom and its future seemed to be doomed.

After a bitter experience of five years as wazir and regent, Mas‘ud resigned his office early in 1684. Aqa Khusrav, who then occupied his place in March, 1684, died in October of the same year. The time was extremely ominous and dark clouds were hanging on the political horizon of Bijapur. The most intrepid general, Sayyid Makhdum surnamed Sharza Khan, was entrusted with the defence of the kingdom.

In the meantime, the Mughuls had been appropriating Bijapur territories and establishing their outposts in them. Mangalvide and Sangola were conquered in May, 1684. Aurangzlb, who was determined to annex this kingdom both on political and religious grounds, took vigorous steps to prosecute his plans. Acrimonious letters passed between him and Sikandar, and a serious rupture seemed imminent, although some months passed before the formal outbreak of war. In such a critical time, the Sultan of

Golconda promised aid to Bijapur and a Maratha contingent also arrived there from ShambhujI.

In April, 1685, the Mughuls laid siege to the fort of Bijapur, and Prince A‘zam reached there in June to take charge of the operations. The Bijiapuris fought valiantly for the defence of their capital and within a month three severe battles were fought. They cut off the supplies of the Mughuls who suffered terribly for want of provisions, but the prince was resolute and conducted the siege inspite of his father’s order to return. Aurangzlb then sent sufficient provisions, money and reinforcements which saved the besieging army, but even after a siege of fifteen months, there was no real progress owing to discord and jealousy among the officers. So, the Emperor himself went to Rasulpur, a suburb west of the fort, (1686), 95b and pressed the siege in right earnest. His personal presence and firm determination to capture the fort cowed down the courage of the Bijapurls. They lost heart, as they saw no hope of

saving their capital city. The garrison had shrunk to two thousand men only and there was no possibility of assistance from outside. The scarcity of provisions due to famine made their position still more intolerable and it was not possible to resist any longer.

In September, 1686, Sikandar surrendered to the Mughul Emperor. 950 Thus, the ‘Adil Shahi kingdom lost its independent existence and was annexed to the Mughul Empire. Sikandar was enrolled as a Mughul peer, with an annual pension of one lakh of rupees, but he had to suffer life-long imprisonment and died in April, 1700, when he was less than thirty-two.

With the loss of independence, Bijapur, which was once “the queen of southern India”, wore the look of a desolate city.

IV. THE TMAD-SHAHI DYNASTY OF BERAR

The founder of this dynasty, Fath-ullah Tmad-ul-Mulk, was originally a Hindu from Karnatak. In his boyhood, he was taken prisoner by the BahmanI army, converted to Islam and appointed one of the body-guards of Khan Jahan, the governor of Berar. By dint of his abilities he rose to positions of distinction and received the lofty title of Tmad-ul-Mulk. He also became the governor of Berar, the most northern province of the BahmanI kingdom, and the weakness of the central government encouraged him to assume independence in 1490. 96

He exerted his utmost to improve and strengthen the newly founded autonomous State, and after his death in 1504, his eldest son, ‘Ala-ud-dln Tmad Shah, succeeded him as the ruler of Berar.

i Ald-ud-dln Tmad Shah (1504-30)

During ‘Ala-ud-dln’s time started the long-drawn struggle with Ahmadnagar, culminating in the annexation of Berar by the former. Various factors were responsible for this conflict. First, the relation between these two kingdoms was strained due to an invasion of Ahmadnagar by Berar with a view to rendering assistance to some disaffected Nizam Shahi nobles who had taken shelter in it. Although the invasion was repulsed by the Nizam Shahls (1510) and a peace concluded between these kingdoms, it did not last long, and they again came to arms for another and more important cause. Burhan Nizam Shah I coveted Pathrl, his ancestral home, situated in the kingdom of Berar, but bordering on Ahmadnagar and, in lieu of it, he offered another place to Tmad Shah “yielding even a greater revenue,” 963 but the latter rejected the proposal and fortified it, whereupon the former made a sudden attack and took it (1518). 97

Ala-ud-dm contracted a matrimonial alliance with Isma‘11 k Adil Khan by marrying his sister Khadija and also concluded a friendly alliance with Golconda. With a combined army of these States, he recovered Fathrl, but within a short time, Burhan again took it (1527).

The third cause of conflict between Berar and Ahmadnagar was over the possession of Mahur. Burhian strengthened his position by an alliance with Bidar and invaded Berar. He took possession of Mahur, and then proceeded as far as Ellichpur, its capital. At this critical juncture, Ala-ud-dm sought the aid of Muhammad I, the ruler of Khandesh, but this also did not improve his position, as both of them sustained a serious defeat, with the loss of all their camp equipage and three hundred elephants. Many places of Berar were occupied by the allied armies of Ahmadnagar and Bidar. The two vanquished Sultans then sought the assistance of Bahadur Shah of

Gujarat, who, finding it a suitable opportunity for extending his power in the south, responded to their appeal, and proceeded to the Deccan (1528). Alarmed at this Burhan requested Bijapur, Golconda and Bidar for help, and both Bijapur and Bidar responded to his appeal and sent him necessary assistance. Bahadur, who moved against Ahmadnagar, was defeated twice, but the allied army could not cope with him when further reinforcements joined the Gujarat army. Both Burhan and Amir Barid were compelled to fall back on Parenda and thence to Junnar, and began to harass the enemy by night attacks and cutting off their supplies. Bahadur occupied the city of Ahmadnagar and, entrusting the siege of the fort to Ala-ud-din, moved to Daulatabad. Burhan’s position became critical and he had no alternative but to sue for peace. On the other hand, Bahadur's policy of aggrandizement in the Deccan had caused grave concern to his allies who no longer wanted to act in concert with him. On his side, the latter, too, was anxious for his own safety lest he should be cut off from his country in the ensuing monsoon. Cessation of war thus became the prime consideration of both the parties and a peace was therefore effected. Burhan caused the khutba to be read in the name of Bahadur and returned the elephants seized from Muhammad I during the war but did not fulfil his promise in respect of restoration of Mahur and Pathri to Berar. 98

Ala-ud-dm died in 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son Darya ‘Imad Shah.

Darya T mad Shah (1530-62)

During the reign of Darya ‘Imad Shah the kingdom enjoyed peace and tranquillity. In the wars between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar, he sided once with Bijapur but helped Ahmadnagar on three occasions, once in 1543 and twice during the reign of Husain Nizam Shah I.

After his death in 1562 his infant son Burhan succeeded him to the throne.

Burhan ‘Imad Shah and Tufal Khan

Burhan ‘Imad Shah’s minister, Tufal Khan, a man of high ambition and of extraordinary courage, became regent. He confined the king in the fort of

Narnala and seized the reins of government in his own hands.

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As he had reasonable cause of resentment against Husain Nizam Shah I for the cruel murder of Jahangir Khan, he not only held aloof from the confederacy formed by the four Deccani Muslim powers against Vijayanagara, but also carried on depredations in the Nizam Shahl kingdom. ‘Adil Shah and Nizam Shah were highly incensed at these and they invaded Berar. It was impossible for Tuflal to fight against such heavy odds and he managed to purchase peace from ‘Adil Shah in secret on payment of a heavy sum of money and fifty elephants (1566). Finding himself deserted by ‘Adil Shah, Nizam Shah also retired.

Although Tufal saved himself from this crisis, other serious dangers awaited him. A treaty was concluded between Murtaza I and ‘All Adil Shah I, defining their sphere of aggrandizement. The former was allowed to annex Berar and Bldar, and the latter to “conquer as much of the Carnatic as would produce a revenue equal to Berar and Bldar.” 98a Then followed their activities. As a pretext for invasion of Berar, Tufal was asked to re-instate his sovereign in his position, but when this was not complied with, Murtaza I invaded Berar. Unable to check his advance, Tufal allowed Ellichpur to be occupied by his enemies and fled from place to place. Leaving Berar, he tried in vain to take shelter in Khandesh and ultimately took refuge with Burhan ‘Imad Shah in the hill-fort of Narnala, while his son went to Gawilgarh.

Due to its natural position, the fort of Narnala was favourable for defence, and here Tufal repulsed the attacks of his enemies with great valour, but was troubled by paucity of provisions. On the other hand, Murtaza, too, got tired of the protracted siege, and unable to occupy the fort by arms, he took the golden means of seducing the garrison. This produced its desired effect. Finding it impossible to defend any longer, Tufal fled into the neighbouring hills but was soon captured. Thus fell Narnala (April, 1574), and shortly

after this, Tufal’s son surrendered Gawilgarh. Burhan ‘Imad Shah along with the usurper Tufal Khan and his son Shamshir-ul-Mulk were taken to Ahmadnagar and confined in a fortress where all of them subsequently died.

It is said that their death was caused either by the Sultan’s order or cruel treatment in the prison.

Thus disappeared Berar as an independent State from the map of the Deccan.

V. THE BARID-SHAHI DYNASTY OF BIDAR

Mahmud Shah Bahmani, who reigned from 1842 to 1518, was unfit to hold the sceptre during that troublesome period. He could not cope with the situation, and disorder and confusion increased on all sides. The real power passed into the hands of Qasim Band, his prime minister, who had risen to that high position by dint of his extraordinary abilities. Originally, he was a Turk, domiciled in Georgia. He came to the Bahmani kingdom in his early boyhood and then entered the service of Muhammad Shah III. By and by, he rose to positions of distinction till he became prime minister, exercising regal power, in fact, though not in name.

Qasim Barid died in 1504, and was succeeded as prime minister by his son Amir Barid, who, too, like his father, wielded uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Mahmud Shah died in 1518, and was succeeded by four sultans, one after another, but all of them were mere tools in the hands of Amir Barid. Kalimullah, the last of them, tried in vain to regain his power with the help of Babur. At last, he fled to Bijapur and thence to Ahmadnagar; he breathed his last in 1538, but with his flight from Bidar in 1528 Amir Barid became practically independent, although he never formally asserted his independence nor assumed the title of “Shah”.

Amir Barid was very cunning, and hence he was known as Robah-i-Deccan or the Fox of the Deccan." He knew well how to play one party against the other, but such cunning brought him disgrace also and he had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Isma‘il ‘Adil Khan against whom he had plotted. Apart from political differences, the two had religious differences as well; Isma‘Il ‘Adil Khan was a Shiah, whereas Amir Barid was a bigoted Sunni. The former was highly incensed when, in 1529, it was reported to him that Amir Barid had attempted to incite a part of his soldiery against him, and observed, “it was contrary to wisdom to treat the wolf with gentleness, or the snake with kindness.” 100 At his request, when Burhan

Nizam Shah promised to remain neutral, Isma‘fl ‘Adil Khan started against Amir Barid. The fort of Bidar was besieged, and Amir

Band, who was then old, withdrew to the fortress of Udgir, leaving the defence of Bidar to his eldest son ‘All Band. However, Amir Band’s position became very perilous, and, in spite of the assistance of Golconda and intercession of Ala-ud-dln ‘Imad Shah, he was unable to save his own position. Isma‘11 was not willing to accept any terms short of complete surrender of Bidar. On hearing of it, Amir Barld came out of Udgir to entreat ‘Imad Shah once more to effect a peace, but when this was not possible, he went back to his camp close to that of the former and “to drown his cares he gave himself up to pleasures.” 100 * 1 Asad Khan, the general of Isma‘11, took him by surprise while he was in a drunken and senseless condition and carried him away to his master who gave order for his execution. On the earnest entreaty of Amir Barld, ‘Adil Khan agreed to spare his life on condition of surrender of the fortress of Bidar, but as his son refused to give it up, Isma‘11 ordered that he (Amir Barld) should be trampled to death by a furious elephant. Finding no alternative, his son evacuated the fort and retired to Udgir, with as many jewels of the BahmanI Sultans as was possible to carry in concealment. Thus ‘Adil Khan got possession of Bidar. 101

Amir Barld was made a peer of Bijapur, and after his assistance to Isma‘11 ‘Adil Khan in taking possession of Raichur and Mudgal (1530), Bidar was restored to him on condition of cession of Kalyani and Qandahar to Bijapur. But as he did not keep his promise Isma‘Il set out with his army to occupy them, and, although Burhan I came to the aid of Amir Barld, both of them sustained a severe defeat near Naldurg.

Not long after, Amir Barld was reconciled to Isma‘11 ‘Adil Khan whom he helped in his struggle against Golconda. But he again severed his connection with Bijapur and joined Ahmadnagar. While he and Burhan Nizam Shah I, were retreating towards Daulatabad closely pursued by the armies of Bijapur and Berar, he suddenly expired (1542).

Amir Barld was succeeded by his son ‘All Barld, who ruled till 1580. Among the rulers of Bidar he was the first to assume the title of “Shah”. His relations with the other Deccani powers have mostly been described in the history of Ahmadnagar. In 1564, he joined the confederacy of the Muslim States of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda against Vijayanagara and took part in defeating the latter in the famous battle (popularly known as the battle of Talikota) fought at Rakshasi-Tangadi (January, 1565).

He was a man of culture and fond of poetry and calligraphy and his tomb at Bidar and Rangin Mahal ("painted palace") built by him bear testimony to his fine taste for architecture. 101a

On the death of 'All Band his son Ibrahim Band Shah ascended the throne and reigned till 1587. He was succeeded by his younger brother Qasim Band Shah II. After the battle of RakshasiTangadi, the strength of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda increased so much that it was not possible for a small kingdom like Bldar to cope with them and naturally it gradually dwindled in extent. Qasim Barid II died in 1591 and was succeeded by his infant son, but one of his relatives named Amir Barid dethroned him and became king under the title of Amir Barid II. After a reign of about ten years he, too, was expelled by one of his relatives—Mirza 'Ali Barid (1601). He reigned till 1609 and was succeeded by Amir Barid Shah III, the last Sultan of Bidar. He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda, organized by Malik 'Ambar and fought with them against the Mughuls (1616).

As his relation with Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was far from cordial, the latter invaded Bldar, and after defeating him, annexed it to Bijapur (1619). He and his sons were brought to Bijapur and kept "under surveillance." 10113

VI. THE QTJTB-SHAH1 DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA

Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, 102 who laid the foundation of a separate dynasty of rulers in Golconda, belonged to a Turki family and was born at Hamadan in Persia. He came to the Deccan in his youth during the reign of the BahmanI Sultan, Muhammad Shah III, and started his career as a body-guard of this monarch. By his extraordinary courage, skill, and sagacity, he rose from one position to another till he became the Governor of Telingana, the eastern province of the BahmanI kingdom. He had also received the lofty title of Qutb-ul-Mulk. 103

When the weakness of the BahmanI government encouraged different provincial governors to become autonomous within their jurisdictions, Sultan Quli also took advantage of the situation and assumed a similar position on the death of Mahmud Shah BahmanI in 1518. He never assumed the title of “Shah” or the royal dignity. Neither the assertion of Firishta that he declared independence in 1512 nor the view of some modern historians that he severed his connection with the BahmanI kingdom and became independent in 1518 is tenable. The decipherment of the inscription of the Jami ‘Masjid at Golconda, built by Sultan Quli, commemoration tablet of which bears the date 924 A.H. or A.D. 1518, proves that the ruling monarch was then Mahmud Shah BahmanI and not Sultan Quli, but it does not go to prove in any way that he asserted his independence some time that year on the demise of that monarch. On the contrary, available evidences show that he never assumed the royal title. 104

During the long period of his rule, he devoted most of his energies in extending the frontiers of his kingdom. On the north, he took possession of the district of Haft Tappa from Berar, and, on the south, he conquered various places one after another including Rajconda, Devarconda, Ganpura, Kovelaconda, and Pangal.

He tried his utmost to bring as much of the Telugu-speaking country as possible in his possession and continued his campaigns one after another. He defeated Shitab Khan (i.e., Sitapati) of Bhogikula and captured Bellamconda, Indraconda, Kambhammet and Warangal, etc., and it was not possible for Shitab Khan to check his advance, as the power of Shitab’s ally, Gajapati Prataparudra, the king of Orissa, on whom he depended, had been greatly weakened by his recent discomfiture at the hands of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara. Sultan Qull then occupied Kondapalli, Ellore, and Rajahmundry belonging to the Gajapati, and compelled him, by a treaty, to give up his territories between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Next, he laid siege to the fortress of Kondavidu belonging to Vijayanagara, but here he ultimately sustained a serious defeat.

Sultan Qull had troubles with Bijapur and Bldar whose rulers made a joint effort to take the fortress of Kovelaconda, but their plan was upset by the sudden death of IsmaTl ‘Adil Khan (1534). Sultan Qull retaliated on Bldar by carrying on depredations in it and besieging Kohir. It was at last agreed that this fortress should be ceded to him.

Sultan Qull lived till the age of ninety-eight when he was assassinated at the instigation of his second surviving son Jamshid (September, 1543). 105

Sultan Qull was not only a skilful general and a strategist, but also an efficient ruler who established law and order in his country. He was a great builder as well. The Golconda fort was, to a large extent, built by him and the city was beautified with mosques, palaces and gardens. Jami ‘Masjid, a very beautiful structure, outside the fort, was erected by him.

He was a devout and God-fearing man and belonged to the Shiah creed which was established as the State religion.

Jamshid Quth Khan (1543-1550)

Sultan Qull was succeeded by his son Jamshid, who caused his elder brother Qutb-ud-din to be blinded and plotted to seize his

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younger brother Ibrahim, who, coming to know of his brother s intention, fled to Bidar for protection and assistance. He was cordially received by ‘All Barld Shah who championed his cause and proceeded with the Prince against Jamshid. They marched triumphantly to the very gates of the fort of Golconda which was besieged. At this juncture, Jamshid sought the assistance of Burhan Nizam Shah I, who immediately sent an army to Golconda. Unable to oppose these combined forces, ‘All Barld retreated towards Bijapur, but on the way, as he attempted to seize the properties of Ibrahim, the latter left him and retired to Vijayanagara where he was cordially received and given a jaglr. He remained there for seven years.

Jamshid possessed great tact and foresight, and was an astute diplomat. When he came to the throne, it was Burhan I only who offered his congratulation by sending his envoy Shah Tahir, and there was practically no Deccani power whom he could count as his ally, but he soon changed his position. As has been related in the history of Burhan Nizam Shah I, he became a party to the quadruple alliance (1543) and joined Ahmadnagar against Bijapur. But it was in 1548 that he gained a very advantageous position and raised the prestige of Golconda above all other Deccani kingdoms. Both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar were then in earnest to win his support, and ‘All Barld, who had been imprisoned by Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I, also made entreaties to him, to secure his release. The position of Jamshid was thus almost similar to that of an arbiter in the Deccan. He then exhibited his greatest tact and diplomacy. Instead of incurring the displeasure of any party, he maintained his neutrality, and, at the same time, won over ‘All Barld by securing his release and placing him back on his throne.

After these, he returned to his capital, but was attacked with cancer and, after suffering for about two years, died in 1550.

His minor son, Subhan Qull, was then raised to the throne but he had soon to make room for his uncle Ibrahim, who came from Vijayanagara, deposed him, and ascended the throne.

Ibrahim Qutb Shah (1550-1580)

Ibrahim Qutb Shah received the support of all sections of the people and established law and order in the kingdom. As has been mentioned above, he was the first Sultan of the Qutb-Shahi dynasty to assume the title of “Shah”.

His inter-state relationship, including the part he played in connection with the battle of Talikota, has been described at length in the history of Ahmadnagar.

Continuing the policy of Sultan Quli, he carried on conquests in the Telugu-speaking areas, and invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The famous temple of Narasimha at Ahobalam was sacked by his commander, Murhari Rao, a Maratha Brahmin (1579), who also invaded Udayagiri, Vinukonda and Kondavidu. There is no doubt that as a result of these invasions Ibrahim gained possession of considerable territories from Vijayanagara. 106

The Sultan also devoted much time and energy for the consolidation of his kingdom. All rebellions and lawlessness were suppressed wtih a stern hand. Telingana was full of highway robbers and thieves, and travelling was fraught with great risks, but it was to his credit that he cleared the roads from the oppression of these marauders.

Jagdeva Rao Naikwari, the prime minister, made a conspiracy to depose him and place his brother Daulat Quli on the throne. The Sultan executed one of the accomplices of Jagdeva, who, being afraid of his own safety, fled to Berar, but there, too, when his manners became overbearing, he was ordered to quit immediately, and, this he did, but came back to the Qutb Shah! territory. Being defeated here, he finally left for Vijayanagara.

There was a revolt of the Naikwaris under the leadership of Suria Rao, the commandant of the Naikwaris in the fort of Golconda, but this rising was suppressed with a strong hand and Suria Rao and other Naikwaris of this fort were executed.

Not only did Ibrahim establish peace and security in his kingdom but also made it prosperous. Trade and commerce increased enormously. “Telingana, like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Toorkistan, Arabia and Persia, resorted to it; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently.” 107

Ibrahim was a great patron of art and architecture and erected several beautiful buildings. The fortifications of Golconda were extended and strengthened, and the city was beautified with gardens, hammams, wide streets, and shops of various kinds. He established alms-house (or the Lungur), numerous colleges, one dam at Budwal and two tanks, one at Ibrahimpattam and the other called Husain Sagar. He constructed also a strong bridge, 600 feet long and 36 feet wide, on the Musi, originally called Narva, known later

on as “Purana Pul ” or “old bridge ”. It was supported by twentytwo pointed arches. 108

This reign saw the beginning of Dakhani Urdu poetry at Golconda, and four poets viz., Mulla Khiyali, Mahmud, Firuz and Ahmad composed their poems in this language.

Of all his actions, Ibrahim is remembered by the Hindus of Telingana specially for his patronage of Telugu literature. Many Telugu poets like Addanki Gangadhar Kavi, Pannaganti Teleganarya, and Kandukuri Rudra Kavi flourished in his court. Addanki Gangadhar Kavi, the most well-known of them, composed an elegant poem Tapatisama-Varanamu Upakhyanamu and dedicated it to the Sultan, who is called Malkibharam in Telugu literature. Among other things it gives accounts of the conquests of Sultan Qull and those of Ibrahim in the Telugu areas. The poet says that many learned men well-versed in Hindu scriptures adorned the court of this Sultan. He was very liberal in his rewards to the Telugu poets and tried his best to encourage them. Amir Khan, a Qutb Shah! officer of high rank, was also a patron of Telugu literature.

Though Ibrahim took a prominent part in bringing about the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, his treatments of his Hindu subjects, specially his patronage of their literature and their appointment to high posts, show that he tried to gain the goodwill and sympathy of the bulk of his population—the most essential requisites of a stable government. 109

He died in 1580 at the age of fifty and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Qull Qutb Shah.

Muhammad Quit Qutb Shah (1580-1612)

Muhammad Qull Qutb Shah inherited a peaceful and prosperous kingdom, which enjoyed peace and happiness during his reign.

In 1586, an alliance was formed with Bijapur by the marriage of the Sultan's sister, Malika Zaman, with Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, and thus, an attempt was made to establish a feeling of cordiality between the two kingdoms.

As the walled city of Golconda became congested and unhealthy, and there was scarcity of water in it, shifting of the capital appeared to be a necessity, and in 1590, the plan for the construction of the new capital at Hyderabad, on the river Musi, was ready for execution. Muhammad Qull tried his utmost to make the city as grand as possible. It was embellished with fine palaces, gardens,

and baths, and proper arrangements were made for supply of water in all its parts. Two stately edifices, viz., the Jdmi 9 Mosque and the majestic Chahar Minar or ‘four minarets’—“a square building of four broad and very lofty open arches, with four minarets 220 feet high at each corner” were built in the centre of the city, adding to the grandeur and beauty of the capital. Besides, hospitals and colleges were also established for the benefit of the people. 110

Venkata II, the king of Vijayanagara, tried to recover the Kondavidu areas, but Muhammad Qull proceeded with a big army and defeated him. The Sultan occupied Kurnool, Nandial, Gandikota and Cuddapa and laid siege to Penukonda. Venkata II was forced to sue for peace, and although there was a temporary respite, the war was soon renewed. Muhammad Quli again laid siege to Penukonda, but scarcity of provisions in his camp and apprehension of inundation of the Krishna due to approach of the monsoon which would cut off his retreat, compelled him to raise the siege and retire to his capital, after making necessary arrangements for protection and administration of the newly conquered areas. But Venkata II soon started the offensive and laid siege to Gandikota, which, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Qutb ShahJi forces, could not be saved. Although the Vijayanagara army recovered some other forts also, the Kondavidu areas remained in possession of the Sultan of Golconda, but Qutb Shah was forced to recognize the Krishna as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

During the reign of this Sultan, Shah Abbas, the Safavi King of Persia (1587-1629) sent Aghuzlu Sultan, one of his relatives, in 1603, on an embassy to Muhammad Qull, with valuable presents of jewels, carpets and horses etc., and on his arrival at Golconda, the ambassador was accorded a grand reception. He stayed at Hyderabad for six years and then returned to Persia with suitable presents for the Shah. The principal object of the embassy, as has been related, was to put the proposal of marriage of one of the sons of the Shah with Hayat Baksh Begam, the Sultan’s daughter, but the mission was not successful. 1103

In 1609, a conspiracy was made to dethrone Muhammad Quli and place his brother Muhammad Khudabanda on the throne, but the Sultan seized the ringleaders before they could create any mischief. They, along with Khudabanda, were imprisoned in the fort of Golconda where the Prince died in 1611.

In this year, the English East India company established a factory at Masulipatam, an important port in the Qutb Shahx kingdom.

As Pratap Shah, the Raja of Bastar, revolted, the Sultan sent an army against him. Being defeated, the Raja fled to an impregnable fortress in the forest, and in spite of reinforcements, the Qutb Shah! army could not force him to surrender, and a sudden heavy rainfall, spoiling a great part of the gunpowder, and want of provisions, compelled them to retreat. It was with great difficulty that they returned to Golconda.

The Sultan died in 1612, after an illness of two days only. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah has left to posterity a great name for townplanning and architecture. The foundation of Hyderabad and construction of fine buildings, gardens and baths etc., with which his new capital was embellished, show his excellent taste as a builder, and he spent a big amount every year for the construction of public buildings. Of the palaces erected by him, special mention may be made of Chandan Mahal, Hira Mahal and Nadi Mahal.

Pie was a man of charitable disposition and a lover of justice. A sum of sixty thousand hurts or two lakhs and forty thousand rupees was distributed to the poor every year.

‘‘Intelligent and learned,. . . .and of literary bent of mind, Muhammad Quli kept company with the learned. „110b He established several khankas and madrasas at Hyderabad and gave rewards liberally to distinguished literary men. “It is related, that out of four lacs of hurts secured as revenue collection from the city, a large and a greater portion was disbursed in rewarding the Saiyids and Ulemas and supplying them with two free meals per day.” 111

Muhammad Qutb Shah (1612-1626)

As Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah left no son, his nephew Muhammad Qutb Shah, son of Mlrza Muhammad Amlin, succeeded him to the throne. He was also the son-in-law of the late Sultan, whose daughter Hayat Baksh Begam he had married.

He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers against the Mughuls and tried to put a stop to Mughul aggression in the south. Although prior to/ the battle of Bhatvadi, Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II joined the Mughuls with a view to strengthening his position against ‘Ambar, Muhammad Qutb Shah did not forget the interests of the Deccan, and fully aware of the strength of the Mughuls and the Bijapurls, he formed a defensive and offensive alliance with ‘Ambar. He remained firm to Ahmadnagar and fought on its side in the battle of Bhatvadi (1624).

But he was more inclined towards the pen than the sword. He had received proper education in his young age and was fond of the association of the learned. He was well acquainted with various arts and sciences and could write both in prose and verse. Among his writings were ghazl, tarkib band and rubaiya; “his pen name was Zil-ul-lah (the shadow of God)”. 112 It was in the fifth year of his reign that the Tdrlkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah, the well-known history of the Sultans of Golconda, was completed.

To add to the beauty and grandeur of the capital city, he erected buildings and laid out gardens.

He died in 1626, and was succeeded by his son ‘Abdullah Qutb Shah, at the age of twelve.

‘Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672)

During ‘Abdullah’s long reign of forty-six years, the kingdom had to face serious problems, but he was quite incapable of wielding the sceptre at such a critical time. He was indolent, and sensual, 1123 and the administration was practically run by his mother Hayat Baksh Begam till her death in February, 1667, and then by Sayyid Ahmad, his (‘Abdullah’s) eldest son-in-law. “The clever diplomacy of these two had for half a century saved the Qutb Shahi State from being annexed by the Mughuls.” 112b

After his accession to the throne, Shah Jahan, who was wellacquainted with the Deccan politics, made up his mind to press forward his policy of annexation there. The first victim was Ahmadnagar which was incorporated in his empire in 1633. Next, he turned towards Golconda, and ‘Abdullah, in terror, accepted the terms dictated by the Mughul Emperor. He acknowledged the Mughul suzerainty and agreed to pay an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees (1636).

Thus barred in the north, Golconda engaged in a career of aggrandizement in the Carnatic and the conditions there were very favourable. Shorn of all its past glory and strength, the kingdom of Vijayanagara was confined to a small area. ‘Abdullah sent an army against it in April, 1642, and captured some of its territories, Venkata III, the reigning king, having fled to the forests. Golconda made repeated attacks on the tottering Hindu kingdom, and, in this work, Mir Jumla, the prime minister of ‘Abdullah, played an important role.

Muhammad Sayyid, who is known as Mir Jumla, came to Golconda as an adventurer from Ardistan in Persia. He was a man of

wonderful talents, and, making the best use of his opportunities, he made his mark as a diamond merchant and rose to power and wealth. His extraordinary abilities attracted the attention of ‘Abdullah who made him his Wazir. He proved his efficiency both in civil and military administrations and wielded great influence in the kingdom, but it was in the Carnatic that he showed his real mettle by his military exploits which enhanced the territories of Golconda and made him fabulously rich. Both the Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur were active in devouring the dilapidated kingdom of Vijayanagara. Mir Jumla wrested parts of Neilore and Cuddapa and occupied the territories on the eastern coast up to Pulicat. He penetrated further south and proceeded as far as Vellore, where he met Mustafa Khan, the ‘Adil Shah! general, and arrived at a settlement with Bijapur, defining their respective spheres of aggrandizement in the Carnatic.

By plundering Hindu temples and searching out hidden treasures, Mir Jumla accumulated a vast fortune, and according to Thevenot, 112c he had twenty maunds of diamonds in his possession. His jagir in Carnatic was like a kingdom, three hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth, with an annual revenue of forty lakhs of rupees, and it contained several valuable diamond mines. He had under his command 5,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and an excellent park of artillery. He was almost like an independent ruler and absented himself from the court of Golconda. Alarmed at the growing power of the Wazir , the Sultan attempted to bring him under his control, but Mir Jumla entered into intrigues with Bijapur and Persia.

Aurangzib, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan and eager to conquer Golconda, wanted to win him over to his side with a view to utilizing his services in the projected invasion. The wealth of Golconda, prevalence of Shiahism among its inhabitants, frequent arrears in payment of its annual tribute, and above all, the imperialistic policy urged Aurangzib to pursue an offensive action. He opened negotiations with Mir Jumla, when an incident furnished the cause of immediate military operations, so desired. Muhammad Amfn, son of Mir Jumla, who had been his father's deputy at the court of Golconda, was arrested and imprisoned with his family for his insolent behaviour to the Sultan (1655).

Aurangzilb utilized the situation to his advantage and obtained orders from his father directing 'Abdullah Qutb Shah to release Mir Jumla's family, and in case of his non-compliance, to invade Golconda. Without allowing a reasonable time to Qutb Shah, Aurangzib sent his eldest son Muhammad Sultan against him (1656). All

efforts of the Sultan to prevent hostility was nullified by him, as he was bent upon crushing this kingdom. 113 Hyderabad was attacked and occupied, and the Mughul soldiery plundered it. Aurangzlb himself arrived there and besieged the fort of Golconda where the Sultan had retired.

But Golconda was saved this time by the intervention of Dara Shukoh and Jahanara whom 'Abdullah's agent at Delhi convinced of Aurangzlb's most unjust and unwarranted attack on it. On receipt of his father's direction, Aurangzlb was compelled to raise the siege (1656). The Sultan of Golconda promised to pay a considerable war indemnity, and arrears of tribute which amounted to one crore of rupees, and surrender the district of Ramgir (modern Manikdurg and Chinoor). He had also to give his second daughter in marriage to Muhammad Sultan and promise in secret to make him his heir. Mir Jumla, who had already joined the imperialists, was appointed prime minister.

After this, the affairs in the Qutb Shahl State went from bad to worse. ‘Abdullah, who had narrowly escaped death at the hands of his enemies in 1656, was so frightened that he never afterwards appeared in public even to administer justice, and spent his time in frivolous sensuality, the natural consequences of which were misrule and confusion in the kingdom. Even his own family was not free from discord and unrest. 113a Amidst these, he breathed his last in 1672.

Abu-l Hasan Qutb Shah (1672-1687)

‘Abdullah had no male issue but three daughters only, the eldest of whom had been married to Sayyid Ahmad, who became prime minister and virtual ruler of the kingdom; the second daughter was married to Muhammad Sultan, and the third to Abu’l Hasan, who, on his father’s side, was a descendant of the Qutb Shahl family. On the death of ‘Abdullah, there was a contest between the first and third sons-in-law for the throne in which Sayyid Ahmad was defeated and imprisoned, and Abu-’l Hasan elevated to the throne. 114

Sayyid Muzaffar, a leading general, who had taken the most important role in the overthrow of Sayyid Ahmad, became prime minister, but he concentrated all power in his own hands, and the king became a nominal figure-head. Abu-’l Hasan could not long reconcile himself to this lot, and with the help of Madanna, “the Brahman factotum of Muzaffar,” he deprived the latter of the premiership. Madanna was raised to his master’s place and conferred the title of Surya Prakash Rao, while his brother Akkanna was appointed commander-in-chief. But the Sultan did not gain by this change of premiership and the power exercised by Muzaffar passed into the hands of Madanna. The king led a dissipated life and disorders and oppressions were rampant. “With a grasping and suspicious paramount Power, a sensual king, a venal aristocracy, and an ignorant and timid people, the reform of the kingdom was hopeless,” 115 and its fate was sealed.

Aurangzfb's long-cherished desire of annexing Golconda had not yet been fulfilled, and he therefore turned towards giving effect to his ambition. Grounds for invasion were not wanting. The Sultan was leading a dissolute life, leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of the infidels, Madanna and his brother Akkanna. "In 1677 he had given Shivaji a more than royal welcome on his visit to Hyderabad and promised him a regular subsidy of one lakh of hurts for the defence of Golconda. After Shivajis death the alliance had been renewed with his successor and the subsidy continued." 116 On his part Shivaji consented to pay to Qutb Shah an annual tribute of six lakhs of hurts. Such "fraternizing with infidels" was the worst offence of Abu-'l Hasan. 117 In 1685 he had also acted against the Mughuls by sending military assistance to Bijapur against them, and lastly, the war indemnity promised in 1656 and the annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees, according to the terms of the treaty in 1636, were long in arrears.

Open rupture occurred as a result of interception of a letter of Abu-'l Hasan to his agent in which he had accused the emperor of attacking Sikandar 'Adil Shah and promised to send an army of 40,000 men to his assistance. Enraged at this, Aurangzib sent hiis son Shah 'Alam against Hyderabad (1685) and although, at the outset, he could not make much headway, the seduction and consequent defection of Mir Muhammad Ibrahim, the commander-in-chief of Golconda, largely decided the fate of the campaign. The resistance fell through and the Mughuls proceeded to Hyderabad. No defence of the city was organized and the Sultan fled to the fortress of Golconda. The Mughul army occupied Hyderabad and carried on extensive plunder there. 118 Placed in such a critical position, Abu-'l Hasan made repeated entreaties for peace, which was at last concluded but did not last long.

One of the conditions of the peace was that Madanna and Akkanna should be dismissed, but the Sultan having put off the matter, the discontented Muslim nobles and two widows of the late king formed a plot and caused their assassination in the streets of Golconda (March, 1686). 119

After the fall of Bijapur in September, 1686, Aurangzlb was free to concentrate his attention on the Qutb.Shahl kingdom, and, in February, 1687, he reached the outskirts of the fort of Golconda. In the meantime, Abu-’l Hasan had again taken shelter in this fort and the Mughuls took possession of Hyderabad for the third time. The regular siege of Golconda lasted for seven months and a half. The fort had sufficient stocks of food and ammunition to stand a long siege, and the garrison fought with great valour and successfully resisted all efforts of Aurangzlb to capture it. Despite sufferings due to heavy rains, famine, pestilence and incessant attacks of the enemies, he tried all possible means with grim determination to paralyze the defence, but they proved futile. At last, gold wrought wonders 120 and ‘Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardar Khan, a high officer of the fort, was seduced. He treacherously opened the postern gate of the fort, thus allowing the enemies to enter into it and overpower the defenders.

By way of contrast to this traitor shines forth an instance of undaunted heroism and noble self-sacrifice, rare in the annals of any country; ‘Abd-ur Razzaq Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, a devoted and faithful noble, spurned all tempting offers of Aurangzlb and fought valiantly till he was seriously wounded.

Thus was Golconda captured by Aurangzlb (1687) and Abu-’l Hasan made a captive. The latter was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Daulatabad for the rest of his life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and the kingdom annexed to the Mughul Empire.

APPENDIX I (By the Editor)

Notes on the chronology adopted in this Chapter

The dates of some of the rulers given in this Chapter differ from those mentioned in the Cambridge History of India (CHI), Vol. Ill, pp. 704 and 708, as shown in the following list. The justification of the dates adopted in this Chapter, in each case, is indicated below.

Serial No.	Name of the ruler	Date in CHI	Date in this Chapter

I.	Murtaza Nizam Shah I	1565—1586	1565—1588	
II.	Murtaza Nizam Shah II	1603—1630	1600—1630	
III.	Mallu ‘Adil Shah	1534	1534	1534—1535
IV.	Ibrahlim ‘Adil Shah I	1534	1558	1535—1557
V.	Muhammad ‘Adil Shah	1627—1657	1627—1656	
VI.	‘Ala-ud-din Tmad Shah	1504—1529	1504—1530	

I. The date given in CHI. Ill, p. 461, of the ruler’s death is 1588, and this agrees with the date of Firishta.

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II. According to CHI. Ill, the fall of Ahmadnagar and the accession of Murtaza both took place in A.D. 1603. The date 1600 for the fall of Ahmadnagar is supported by Akbar-nama (Translation of Beveridge, Vol. Ill, p. 1159 footnote). On p. 148 of CHI. IV it is clearly stated that Murtaza was on the throne in January, 1602.

III. It is stated in CHI. Ill, p. 439, that Malta was deposed in March, 1535, and this agrees with Firishta’s account.

IV. The date 1557 is supported by Firishta (Cf. Briggs, III.

112).

V. The date of the death of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar as November, 1656 (Aurangzib , IV, 2nd Edition, p. 155).

VI. In CHI. Ill, p. 708 the date of the death of Ala-ud-dTn is given as A.H. 937 and it is equated with A.D. 1529. But the A.H. 937 really corresponds to the period 25 August, 1530, to 14 August, 1531.

APPENDIX II (By the Editor)

The causes of the Grand Alliance of the Muslim States in the Deccan against Vijayanagara which destroyed that empire require a little more elaboration. According to Firishta, Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda sent an envoy named Mustafa Khan to Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar to induce him to join the confederacy. The arguments advanced by the envoy may be summed up as follows in the words of Firishta: The ruler of Vijayanagara, “who had reduced all the rajas of the Carnatic to his yoke, required to be checked and his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam in order that their people might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels.” 121 This implies that apart from the obvious and the generally accepted view that the object of the confederacy was merely political, namely to destroy a powerful Hindu ruler in the neighbourhood, the sacrilege of Muslim holy places by the troops of Vijayanagara was another cause. Prof. H. K. Sherwani probably voiced the opinion of many when he disbelieved the statement of Firishta and observed: “It is hardly thinkable that with the ‘Adil Shah as an ally and colleague there should have been desecration of mosques.” 122 But it is somewhat curious that in the same article Sherwani gives a different opinion later. Describing the second invasion of Ahmadnagar he writes: “It is related that the army of Vijayanagara, led by Ramraj, again perpetrated every possible atrocity on the people, laid waste the countryside and did not spare even mosques. Naturally, it was not to the liking of ‘All ‘Adil Shah that crimes committed on the occasion of the first invasion of Ahmadnagar should be repeated and this time he had allied with Ramraj on the express condition that mosques and other sacred edifices should not be desecrated." In his support Sherwani states in f.n. 26, p. 263: "Fer. II, 127, Briggs,

III, 224, Basatin, 89, is quite explicit that it was 'against the understanding with 'Add Shah that Ramraj's army caused such depredations to mosques and Qurans' during his attacks on Ahmadnagar. This must have been one of the potent causes of the eventual alliances of the Deccani Sultans against Vijayanagara." 123

It is evident from the above that during the first invasion of Ahmadnagar the Vijayanagara troops had desecrated mosques and Qur'ans, otherwise such an understanding would be entirely uncalled for.

Sherwani is, however, even more explicit while stating the immediate causes of the Battle of Talikota. On p. 360 (JIH , XXXV) he writes: "No state had suffered more than Ahmadnagar at the hands of the armies of the Southern Empire, for they polluted the mosques and dishonoured women and put to fire and sword everything and every person who came in their way. . . . Ramraj's men who had committed great outrages at Ahmadnagar, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing. .. .their worship in every mosque." Though Sherwani does not give any reference, the last passage is from Firishta (Briggs, III, p. 122), and there is a similar account on the preceding page. It is evident, therefore, that though Sherwani dismisses Firishta's account as exaggeration on p. 259, he accepts the same on p. 361 (JIH, XXXV).

The historian is thus faced with two intriguing questions:

(1) Did the troops of Vijayanagara desecrate the mosques?

(2) If so, can this be regarded as a 'potent cause' of the Muslim confederacy against Vijayanagara?

As regards the first, all that can be said is that though we have no conclusive evidence to support it, it is not unlikely that the Hindu troops did retaliate, on occasions, against the systematic sacrilege of the Hindu temples and images of gods by Muslim troops and even kings.

As regards the second, the answer must be in the negative, for it is unreasonable to look for a hypothetical cause when we have obvious explanations for the rivalry between Hindu and Muslim rulers. The view that the sacrilege of the Hindu troops of Vijayanagara was the reason for the deliberate destruction of the city of Vijayanagara by the Muslim rulers after their victory, is hardly worth serious consideration and cannot be accepted as justification or even excuse for acts of unparalleled vandalism of the Muslims, particularly as the alleged grievance is not yet definitely proved.

1. H. K. Sherwani, The Bahmanis of the Deccan, p. 394. la. For references see below footnote No. 104.

2. G. Yazdani, Bidar, Its History and Monuments , p. 13.

Briggs III, 497; the date of the death of Amir Barid given here is wrong but the date in p. 92 (Briggs III) is correct.

3. Zafar-ul-Walih, 170, quoted by H. K. Sherwani in his article "Independence of Bahmani Governors" PIHC, 1945, p. 161.

3a. Ibid., 161.

4. Madsir-i-Rahimi, II, 526.

5. Basatin-us-Salatin, 272.

6. Haig: Historical Landmarks of the Deccan, 18, 101.

7. Sarkar: History of Aurangzih, IV, 2.

8. "Foreword" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in J. N. Chowdhuri's Malik Ambar.

9. Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II, 93; Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, pp. 5-6.

10. Tarikh-i-Firishta, II, 93.

11. Briggs: Firishta, III, 206.

12. Ibid., 207-209.

13. Ibid., 214.

13a. For details see below section on Berar.

14. Briggs. Ill, 52, 216.

14a. Ibid., pp. 52, 216-7. The complaint made by Isma‘Il about the treatment he received at Ahmadnagar might have served as an additional cause of friction between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar.

14b. Cf. Chapter XIII, section on Gujarat.

15. Briggs. Ill, 71.

16. Sherwani, Telingana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah, JIH, XXXV, p. 42.

17. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shah, 113-115. Briggs, III, 382-84.

18. Briggs III, 387.

19. Ibid., 387.

20. Ibid., 387-388.

21. Ibid., 238.

22. Ibid., 397.

23. Ibid., 118.

23a. For a different version, see Sherwani, JIH, XXXV, p. 260 (Ed.).

24. Parenda is situated about seventy-five miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.

25. Ausa is situated about one hundred and thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.

26. Briggs, III, 241.

27. Ibid., 408-409. Sherwani, JIH, XXXV, p. 265.

28. Briggs, III, 125.

29. Briggs, III, 123-125.

30. Ibid., 126.

31. JIH, XXXV, 374-375.

32. Purchas His Pilgrims, X, 93: K.A.N. Sastri, A History of South India (2nd edition), 284; Briggs, III, 130 footnote.

33. Briggs, IH, 130.

34. Robbert Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, pp. 206-208. The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Souza says: "The Muhammadans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagara.... In his share of the plunder, 'Adil Shah got a diamond, as large as an ordinary egg and another of extraordinary size, though smaller, together with other jewels of inestimable value." Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerq, Hakluyt Society, II, pp. CXII, CXIII.

34a. For details see below p. 451.

35. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 8-9.

36. Briggs, III, 257-259.

37. Ibid., 269.

37a. Some confusion may be caused by the fact that Briggs in one place mentions the lady as Khadlia (III. 161) but in another place (III. 278) names her as Chand Blbi. Khadlja became a widow only a short time ago and it is more likely that Ibrahim wanted her back in Bijapur. This view is also taken in CHI. Ill, p. 461.

38. Ibid., 284.

39. Ibid, 287.

39a. The name is written as Ahang Khan in CHI. Ill, p. 464 with a footnote that it is also written as Abhang Khan. But the latter form is found in the Tazkirat-ul-Mulk (Sarkar's copy, pp. 511, 573) and the Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi (pp. 267a, 268a), both written in the first half of the seventeenth century A.D.

40. The Burhan-i-Maasir says that Bijapur sent thirty thousand cavalry and Qufb Shah ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to Ahmadnagar. Burhan-i-Maasir, Sarkar's MSS. Vol. Ill, 1475. These figures appear to be an exaggeration.

41. Madsir-i-Rahimi, II, 479-481; Tdrikh-i-Firishta II, 158-162; Burhan-i-Maasir, Sarkar's MSS, III, 1475, 1492; Beveridge, Akbarnama, III, 1028, 1045-1048, 1050.

41a. Briggs, III, 306-309, CHI, III, 465.

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41b. Akbamama of Shaikh Faizi Sirhindi, Elliot VI, 144; Akbamama of Abu-'l-Fazl tr. by H. Beveridge, p. 1159.

42. Maasir-i-Rahimi, Ii, 482, 484-495, 497-499. Beveridge, Akbamama, III, 1114, 1128-1129,1132,1142- 1144, 1157-1159; Tdrikh-i-Firishta, II, 162-164.

43. Tazkirat-ul-Mulk, Sarkar's MSS. 571-572; Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi, 267a-267b (Sarkar's copy); Maasir-ul-Umard III, 7.

44. Tdrikh-i-Firishta, II, 165.

45. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar , 23-25; Tazkirat-ul-Mulk, 576-577; Tdrikh

i-Firishta, II, 164; Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi, 269b, 270a (Sarkar's copy).

46. Tdrikh-i-Firishta, II, 165; Beveridge, Akbamama, III, 1212; Ma'dsir-ul-Umard,

III, 7-8; Tazkirat-ul-Mulk, 574.

47. Basatin-us-Salatin, 270; Tdrikh-i-Firishta, II, 166.

48. Tazkirat-ul-Mulk, 576-578.

49. Maasir-i-Rahimi, II, 511.

50. Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi, 271a, translated by Sarkar.

51. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 52-53; Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi, 271a; Basatin-usSalatin, 263-264.

52. Tazkirat-ul-Mulk, 578-581; Futuhat-i-Adil Shahi, 271a, 271b; Basdtin-usSaldtin, 263-265, 267.

53. Iqbalnama, 44-45; Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pers. text (Syed Ahmad’s edition) 85-86, 88; tr. (R and B, Vol. I), 178-179, 183; William Finch in Purchas His Pilgrims,

IV, 39. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 58.

54. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pers. text 107-108; tr. (R and B, Vol. I) 219-21; Iqbalnama, 65-66; Maasiri-Rahimi, II, 520; Basatin-us-Salatin, 271-272.

55. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 70; Madsiri-i-Rahimi, II, 527. Later on, Khirki was named Aurangabad, according to the name of Aurangzlb.

56. Tuzuk-i-Jahdngiri, pers. text 153-154; tr. (Vol. I) 312-14; Iqbalnama, 84-87; Ma'dsir-i-Rahimi, II, 523-531.

56a. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, tr. Vol. I, 338.

57. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pers. text 188, tr. (Vol. I) 380; Iqbalnama, 100; Khafi Khan I, 291.

58. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, pers. text 305, 321-322, 330-331 tr. (R and B, Vol. II) 15557, 188-90, 206-8; Iqbalnama, 175-176, 181-182; English, Factories in

India (16181621), 207 , 210-211,-217-218, 231, 240, 243, 249, 257 , 259, 287 , 296—for dislocation of trade.

59. Futuhat-i-Adil-Shahi, 287a, tr. by Sarkar.

60. Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahangir! (Printed in Syed Ahmad’s edition) 386, 391;

Iqbalnama 224, 234.

60a. Chowdhuri, Malik Ahbar, p. 116.

61. Futuhat-i-Adil-Shahi, 289a, 289b, 290b, 291a, 291b; Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahangir!, 391-392; Iqbalnama, 234-237; Dilkasha, Sarkar’s MSS., 90-92.

62. Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahangir!, 392-393; Iqbalnama, 237-238.

63. Chowdhuri, Malik Ambar, 163.

64. Ahmadnagar Gazetteer, 395; 423-424.

65. Tazkirat-ul-Mulk, 578; Futuhat-i-Adil-Shahi, 268a, 270b.

65a. For details of the fall of Ahmadnagar, see above, pp. 207-8.

66. Briggs, III, 4-8.

66a. See above, Vol. VI, pp. 304-05.

67. Briggs, III, 22-29.

68. P. M. Joshi: Relations between the Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the 16th century, NIA, II, (1939-40), 363.

69. Ibid., 363; Briggs, III, 29-30; CHI. Ill, p. 434.

70. Briggs, III, 30-31.

71. Ibid., 46-47.

72. Ibid., 47-48. CHI. Ill, 434-435.

72a. For details see above, Vol. VI, pp. 314-16 and Ch. XV.

73. K. A. N. Sastri, A History of South India, 276. For details, see Ch. XV.

74. For details, see Ch. XV.

75. NIA. II, 364-365.

76. CHI., Ill, 443-444. See above, section on Ahmadnagar, p. 421.

76a. See above, pp. 424 ff.

77. Briggs, III, 135, 254-255.

77a. See Ch. XV.

78. Bijapur by H. Cousens, 17, 60; Architecture at Bijapur by M. Taylor and J. Fergusson, 32.

79. Briggs, III, 144-146.

80. Ibid., 146-148.

81. Ibid., 171-173.

81a. See above pp. 430ff.

81b. See above pp. 437ff.

82. Meadows Taylor: A student's Manual of the History of India (4th Edition), (1879), pp. 304-305.

83. Ibid., 305.

84. Briggs, III, 169-170.

84a. For details, see above, chapter on Shah Jahan.

84b. Khafi Khan I, 531-534, 537. Sarkar: Aurangzih, I, 32-4.

85. Sarkar, History of Aurangzih I, 253-254 (1912 edition).

85a .Further sources of Vijayanagara History (K. A. N. Shastri) p. 341.

86. K. D. Swaminathan, The Nayakas of Ikkeri, 73-74; Proceedings of Indian History Records Commission, XVI 50-51. (For other campaigns of Randaula based on Macleod: De Oost-Indische Campagnie, II, See the chapter on Vijayanagara.—Editor).

87. K. D. Swaminathan: The Nayakas of Ikkeri, 89. See pp. 498 ff.

88. Ibid., 89; C. S. Srinivasachari: A History of Jinji and, its rulers, 174-186; Sarkar, History of Aurangzih, I, 254. For details, see the Chapter on Vijayanagara.

89. Sarkar, History of Aurangzih, IV, 155.

90. Ibid., 155; Basdtin-us-Salatin, 346-348.

91. V. Bridhagirison: The Nayaks of Tanjore, 141-144.

92. K. D. Swaminathan: The Nayakas of Ikkeri, 95, 106-107, 110.

93. Alamgirndma, 988-1021; Sarkar, Aurangzih, IV, 118-144.

94. K. K. Basu, Some court poets of Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur (Summary) PIHC (1943), p. 379.

95. Sarkar, Aurangzih , IV, 158.

95a. Ibid., 181. _

95b. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, tr. by Sarkar, p. 169.

95c. Ibid., 171; Dilkasha; 202-203; Basatin-us-Saldtin, 540.

96. Briggs, III, 485-486; CHI., Ill, 398.

" 97. Briggs, III, 214-215; CHI., Ill, 435.

98. Briggs, III, 217-221; CHI., Ill, 436.

98a. Briggs, III, 254-255.

99. G. Yazdani, Bidar, its history and monuments, 13. For Amir Band's activities, see above pp. 466-7.

100. Briggs, III, 57.

100a. Ibid., 60.

101. Ibid., 60-64.

101a. G. Yazdani, Bidar, its history and monuments, p. 13.

101b. Basatin-us-Saldtin, 272-273; G. Yazdani, Bidar, its history and monuments, p. 14.

102. "Sultan" does not signify his royal title; it was a part of his name.

103. Briggs, III, 321-322; 339-345.

104. Ibid., 323, Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society (1918), p. 89; JIH, Vol. 33, pp. 281-283; PIHC (1945), p. 159-162.

105. Briggs, III, 323-324, 377.

106. N. Narayana Rao, Two Muhammadan patrons of Telugu literature in the 16th century, PIHC (1945), p. 297; Briggs, III, 438; K. A. N. Sastri, A History of South India, 287.

107. Briggs, III, 446.

108. Tarikh-i-Muhammad Quth-Shdhi, 165; Briggs III, 446; JIH, XXXV, p. 266; Sherwani: "Cultural and administrative set up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah," Islamic Culture (1957), p. 242.

109. Islamic Culture (1957), 130-131, 246; PIHC (1945), 296-298.

110. Briggs, III, 451-452; M. Taylor and J. Ferguson, Architecture at Bijapur, 48; Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. VI, pp. 224-253.

110a. H. K. Sherwani, "Political and military aspects of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah," JIH, April, 1962.

110b. K. K. Basu, "A chapter from Golconda History", Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXVIII, pt. II, 179.

111. Ibid., 179.

112. Hadigat-us-Saladn, Sarkar's MSS., 65; Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXVIII, pt. II, 180.

112a. Bernier, pp. 194-5; Tavernier, I, p. 158.

112b. J. N. Sarkar, History of Aurangzib, IV, 395.

112c. Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, edited by S. N. Sen (Published by the National Archives of India, 1949), p. 144.

113. For details see chapters on Shah Jahan.

113a. Bernier, 194-195; Tavernier, I, 158.

114. Khafi Khan, II, 309-313.

115. Sarkar, Aurangzib, IV, 400.

116. Ibid., 401.

117. Ibid., 402; Maasir-i-Alamgiri, tr. by Sarkar, 175.

118. Khafi Khan, II, 306.

119. Ibid., 308.

120. Ibid., 361.

121. Briggs, III, 125.

122. JIH, XXXV, 259.

123. Ibid., p. 263.

CHAPTER XV

VIJAYANAGARA

Achyutadevamya (1530-1542)

The history of Vijayanagara up to the death of Krishnadevaraya (1509-29) has been discussed in the preceding Volume (pp. 271-325)* As mentioned above (Vol. VI. p. 317), he chose as his successor Achyutadevaraya, his half-brother, in preference to his infant son and other legitimate candidates. This sowed the seed of dissension which troubled Achyuta almost throughout his reign.

Ramaraya (also called Ramaraja), the son-in-law of Krishnadevaraya, proclaimed the infant son of the latter as Emperor, and began to rule over the empire in his name. Ramaraya's attempt to seize the capital was, however, foiled by Saluva Narasimharaya Dandanayaka, the prime minister of Krishnadevaraya at the time of his death, who took possession of it in the name of Achyuta and held it for him until his arrival from Chandragiri. Achyuta, however, found it advantageous to placate Ramaraya; and therefore after reaching the capital and celebrating his coronation he entered into an agreement with Ramaraya according to which he took the latter as his partner in the administration of the empire. This estranged from the King Saluva Narasimharaya Dandanayaka, who retired to the Chola country of which he was the Governor, and entering into a conspiracy with the chiefs of Ummattur and Tiruvadi stirred up a rebellion in the south. Achyuta was obliged to march at the head of his army against the rebel Saluva Narasimharaya who opposed the royal army and was defeated; he fled to Travancore and took refuge with his ally, the Tiruvadi. The royal army under the command of Achyuta's brother-in-law, Salakaraju Tirumala, pursued him thither and having inflicted a defeat on the Tiruvadi compelled him to submit and surrender the arch-rebel Narasimharaya Dandanayaka whom they carried as a prisoner of war. Achyuta returned to Vijayanagara by way of Ummattur and ;§rirangam where he received the submission of the local chiefs. Shortly after this the death of the infant son of Krishnadevaraya eased the political situation and Achyuta invaded Bijapur and recovered the Raichur doab. But while Achyuta was engaged in suppressing some rebellion, Ramaraya removed all the old servants of the crown from positions of responsibility and appointed his own kinsmen and friends in their

place. He took also into his service 3,000 Muslim soldiers whom Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah discharged from his service on his accession to the throne in 1535. Feeling confident of his power, he seized Achyuta as soon as he returned from Tirupati, and cast him in prison. Though at first he proclaimed himself as the king, the opposition of the nobles forced him to abandon his scheme. He then proclaimed Achyuta’s young nephew, Sadashiva, emperor and began to rule in his name. Ramaraya’s usurpation was not accepted by all the subjects of the kingdom. The nobles in the extreme south of the empire refused to acknowledge his authority and withheld the payment of tribute. He was therefore obliged to lead an expedition to bring them back to subjection; but the campaign was protracted and he became involved in a long tedious war without any chance of success. In his absence, the officer whom he entrusted with the government of the capital and the custody of Achyuta turned traitor; and having set him at liberty and restored him to power assumed the office of the prime minister. He was, however, murdered soon by Salakaraju Tirumala, who then took possession of the government and began to rule the country in the name of his brother-in-law.

It has already been related above (p. 450) how Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah of Bijapur seized the opportunity and invaded Vijayanagara and how he composed the differences between Achyuta and Ramaraya and induced them to enter into an agreement. According to its terms Achyutaraya was to be the emperor with full authority over the whole empire excluding the estates of Ramaraya which he should be allowed to rule as an independent prince with full sovereign powers. Having thus settled the affairs of Vijayanagara Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah marched away to his kingdom. The terms of this agreement were faithfully observed by both the parties; and Achyuta ruled the empire in peace until his death in 1542.

Venkata I and Tirumala I (1543)

Achyuta was succeeded by his young son, Venkata I. As he was not of age, his maternal uncle, Salakaraju China Tirumala became the regent of the kingdom, though most of the nobles were opposed to him. Tirumala was not loyal to his nephew; being desirous of making himself king, he began to plot against the king. The queen-mother, Varadambika, became suspicious of her brother's good faith, and appealed to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah to help her in securing the throne for her son. But he was bought off by Tirumala and the appeal of the queen-mother made the position of her son more precarious than ever.

Ramaraya, who was closely watching the trend of events at Vijayanagara, now stepped into the field. He proceeded to Gutti where Achyuta's nephew, Sadashiva, was imprisoned, set him at liberty, and proclaiming him the emperor sent an appeal to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah for help. In response to the request, 'Adil Shah invaded Vijayanagara kingdom and advanced upon the capital. The people of the city, greatly alarmed at the danger, made Tirumala their king. He defeated 'Adil Shah very near his capital and put him to flight. To clear his path of all rivals, Tirumala strangled his nephew and massacred all the members of the royal family on whom he could lay hands. He became suspicious and in his fear he attacked friend and foe alike. His rule degenerated into downright tyranny. He was against everyone, and everyone in the kingdom was against him. The people in their distress appealed to 'Adil Shah for help. He came readily, not so much to help them as to seize the kingdom for himself. His hauteur and high-handed behaviour roused hostility all round and he was obliged to retire into his own kingdom as quickly as he came.

Ramaraya saw that the time for him to make a bid for the throne had at last come. He gathered together his forces and proceeded to take possession of the empire in the name of Sadashiva, the lawful heir to the throne. Tirumala did not easily submit. He offered stubborn resistance but suffered defeat everywhere. At last, in the battle of the Tungabhadra, Ramaraya overthrew him and put him to death. The inhabitants of the capital heaved a sigh of relief, and throwing open the gates of the city welcomed Ramaraya and his ward, the new emperor.

Sadashiva and Ramaraya (1543-1564)

Sadashiva ascended the throne about the middle of 1543. As his rivals were all destroyed by Salakaraju Tirumala he became the undisputed master of the whole of Vijayanagara empire. His rule was only nominal till 1552, the actual ruler of the empire being Ramaraya. But in 1552 he had to recognise Ramaraya as his co-regent, as the latter, not content with actual power, assumed the royal titles, as if he were a crowned monarch himself.

The accession of Sadashiva brought in its train certain important changes in the administration and the policy of the empire. In the first place, the old civil service on which the stability of the empire depended was considerably weakened, if not actually destroyed. The Brahmin officers who formed the bulwark of the State fell into disfavour with Ramaraya, as they upheld loyally the cause of Achyuta and opposed his usurpation. The first step which he took after placing Sadashiva firmly upon the throne was to dismiss all the hostile officers from the service of the State and appoint to places of trust and responsibility his own relatives, friends and followers. So long as the central government was strong, and could exact obedience to its commands, the effects of this change were not felt; but as soon as the centre showed signs of weakness, the people who rose to power by Ramaraya ? s favour, freed from the shackles of the civil service, began to manifest discontent and disloyalty and destroyed the unity of the empire.

Secondly, enormous increase of Muslim officers to responsible positions in the government undermined the strength of the State. In his eagerness to seize power Ramaraya enlisted in his service as many Muslim mercenaries and adventurers as he could get and offered them facilities to get a knowledge of the internal affairs of the empire. With the increase of Muhammadans in the army and the service of the government, the loyalty of the one and the safety of the other were considerably jeopardised.

Another important fact that must be noted here is the change in the attitude of the government of Vijayanagara in her relations with the Muslim kingdoms. Though the Rayas ever since the foundation of the kingdom came into contact with the Musalmans, they never interfered in the relations between the Muslim States of Deccan. Ramaraya was the first ruler of Vijayanagara to entangle himself in the inter-State politics of the Muhammadan kingdoms. Although he achieved by means of his great military strength and cleverness considerable success and established his influence over the Muslim kingdoms, the rapid growth of his power so alarmed his allies and enemies that they joined together ultimately and brought his downfall in the fateful battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota).

The Southern Expedition (1543-44)

As soon as Ramaraya performed Sadashiva's coronation at Vijayanagara, he was obliged to bestow immediate attention to the affairs of the Southern provinces of the empire, where owing to a number of causes great unrest prevailed. The Southern chiefs and noblemen, who a few years earlier defied Ramaraya, when having imprisoned Achyuta he seized power, were no more inclined to submit to his authority than before. Moreover, the Portuguese missionaries were making trouble in the extreme south. They converted large number of Paravas of the Fishery Coast to Christianity and induced them to recognise the king of Portugal as their overlord, thereby encroaching on the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Further, their intrigues with the rebellious chiefs of the South and plundering expeditions of the Portuguese Governor of Goa against the rich South Indian Hindu shrines created a situation which must have caused grave concern in the capital. Ramaraya therefore despatched a large army under his cousins, China Timma and Vitthala, to put down the rebels, foil the attempts of the Portuguese and restore the imperial authority all over the South.

The expedition set out from Vijayanagara. At first China Timma captured Chandragiri in the north of the Chittoor district; and having put down the rebels with a stern hand he brought the whole of Tondaimandalam to subjection. He next marched into the Chola country, reduced the fort of Bhuvanagiri and attacked the port of Nagore where he destroyed the enemies, probably the Portuguese, and restored the wealth of God Ranganatha which they had seized. Then he crossed the Kaveri, and having entered Pudukkottai region, exacted from the local chiefs tribute which they had refused to the imperial government, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions of the empire.

China Timma advanced farther south and reached without opposition Madura, where he met the Paindya king, obviously of Tenkasi, who came to him soliciting his help against Bettumperumal, the ruler of Tuticorin and Kayattar. Though the forces of the ‘Five Tiruvadis’ (small principalities) of Travancore met the invading army of China Timma at Tovala Pass they were beaten and dispersed. The rest of Travancore was then invaded. Its ruler (Tniquitibirim’) was defeated but received into favour and was allowed to rule over a large part of his old territory. The victorious general China Timma set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin.

Ramaraya and the Portuguese

Ramaraya had also to come to an early understanding with the Portuguese. They were the masters of the seas. All the sea-borne trade, specially the all-important trade in horses, passed through their hands. The Portuguese, who were friendly to Vijayanagara in the days of the great Krishnadevaraya, had turned hostile and manifested a tendency to fish in the troubled waters. They were guilty of destruction of the Hindu temples, plunder of the rich South Indian shrines, the mass conversion of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, and attempt to extend their temporal power under the cloak of religion. Though all these hostile acts loudly called for reprisals, Ramaraya was not strong enough to chastise them. He could not afford to quarrel with them, as that would drive them into the hands of the Muslim States. He therefore concluded a political and commercial treaty with them in 1547 as a consequence of which friendly relations were once again restored between the two powers. The friendship, however, did not last long, and a few years later Ramaraya was obliged to take action against them in 1558. He planned a double attack upon the Portuguese. While he personally led an expedition against San Thome for chastising the Catholic missionaries of the place, an army was despatched at the same time under his cousin Vitthala against Goa, probably to divert the attention of the Portuguese authorities there and prevent them from sending help to the people of San Thome. Both the expeditions were successful. Ramaraya plundered the rich inhabitants of San Thome, exacted a large tribute from the authorities, and taking with him five important citizens of the port as hostages against his demand for a tribute of 100,000 pagodas, returned to Vijayanagara. Vitthala, accompanied by the Ikkeri chief, Sankanna Nayak, marched on Goa and captured a part of the old town, called Pain Goa (Panjim). These victories probably taught the Portuguese a much-needed lesson; and they seemed to have been restrained from provoking hostilities with Vijayanagara in the subsequent years of Ramaraya’s rule.

Reference has been made in Chapter XIV to the internecine wars among the five Muslim States in the Deccan, which naturally induced the weaker States, threatened with destruction, to seek the help of some powerful ally. Ramaraya, who was the head of the greatest State in the south, was frequently approached for help; and he joined them, partly from motives of gain, but mostly for preserving the peace of the Deccan and preventing any one of the neighbours from growing so powerful as to become a menace to others. Ramaraya was, in fact, a staunch believer in the doctrine of balance of power, which h& perhaps imbibed from his friend and ally Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. And perhaps it was more to enforce this doctrine than from motives of self-aggrandisement that he involved himself frequently in wars with the Muslim rulers of Deccan.

Of the five Deccani Sultanates which sprang from the ashes of the old Bahmani kingdom, Ramaraya, in the twenty-one years during which he ruled Vijayanagara, was obliged to wage war on four, viz., Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Bidar and Golconda.

Reference has been made to these wars in the preceding Chapter. Though conflict with Bidar is not mentioned in the Muslim sources, the Keladinripa Vijayam, a history of the Nayak kingdom of Ikkeri, describes at some length a war between them. The causes of this war are not recorded. Probably Barid Shah showed some partiality towards Nizam Shah and brought trouble upon his own head. Briefly stated, the events of this war are as follows: when the news of Vijayanagara’s intended invasion reached Bldar, Band Shah collected his armies and proceeded to the frontier to repel the invaders. A fierce engagement took place; and Band Shah who was personally leading the force was defeated and taken prisoner together with his ministers. As a consequence of this defeat Band Shah had to join ‘All Adil Shah and fight against their enemies.

The Battle of Rakskasi-Tangadi (1565)

The battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi 1 described in the preceding chapter, was the Waterloo of Vijayanagara history. Though Vijayanagara empire flourished for nearly another century, with the fall of Ramaraya on the field of Rakshasi-Tangadi in 1565, its glory began to wane and it ceased to be the dominant power in the Deccan, and the Rayas never attempted once again to recover their lost ground. The history of this great battle is, however, immersed in obscurity. Excepting the fact that the Vijayanagara army was practically annihilated and Ramaraya was slain, everything else concerning the battle is doubtful and uncertain. This is due in a great, measure to the wilful distortion of facts by Muslim historians, and the absence of contemporary evidence with the help of which their accounts may be checked and truth ascertained.

First of all, the name of the battle itself calls for discussion. The battle of Talikota is a misnomer. Though all the Muslim writers state that the Great Battle was fought near the village of Talikota, it did not take place, as shown by the accounts given by themselves, anywhere near the village but at a distance of about twenty-five miles to the south of it, somewhere on the southern bank of the Krishna. The Hindu accounts unanimously refer to it as the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi, 2 and state that it was so called because it was fought between the two villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, situated on the northern bank of the Krishna near its confluence with the river Malapahari. As this is roughly in agreement with the topographical details furnished by Muslim historians, it seems certain that the actual site of the battle was the plain between the villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, as stated in the Hindu records. 3

Similarly, the causes which led to the formation of the confederacy of the Deccani Muslim rulers against Ramaraya and the outbreak of the war which ended in his downfall and death are not definitely known. Firishta, no doubt, attributes it to the insult which Ramaraya is alleged to have offered to Muslim women and faith. This, however, is not supported by independent evidence. The real cause appears to have been the jealousy which the Sultans of the Deccan, specially the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, felt at the growing power of Vijayanagara, and the ascendancy which Ramaraya established over the Muslim States of the Deccan. True, Ramaraya annexed, as stated by Firishta, some territories belonging to his enemies, and treated perhaps the envoys of some of them with scant courtesy; but that was not uncommon in medieval India; and Ramaraya did not violate the code of international morality, as then understood, in dealing with his enemies. It is not reasonable to suppose, as is generally done, that the Sultans of the Deccan, enraged by the outrageous conduct of Ramaraya, joined against him to defend their faith, protect the honour of their women and save their kingdom from his high-handed aggressions. Again, it is extremely doubtful whether the rulers of all the five Deccan Muslim States joined the confederacy against Ramaraya. Irnad Shah of Berar, for one, did not participate in it. ‘Adii Shah appears to have sat on the fence until almost the very end, leaving the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golconda to bear the brunt of the fight. Although Firishta attributes to ‘Adil Shah the credit of fostering the alliance of Muslim rulers against Ramaraya, and other Muhammadan writers make him one of the principal leaders of the league, he held aloof, according to the unanimous testimony of the Hindu records, until almost the end of the war, when he was constrained to join the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golconda by threats, cajolery and promises of territorial concession. Nor is opinion less divided about the duration of the war. The Muhammadan historians make it a very short affair. The Muslim armies assembled at Talikota and, advanced to the bank of the Krishna where they were opposed by Ramaraya. A fierce engagement took place on 23 January, 1565; after the fighting had gone on for a few hours, Ramaraya fell into the hands of the enemy and his army took to flight. This settled the fate of the mighty Hindu empire. The battle is said to have lasted but a while, not even the space of a few hours. This is incredible. Considering the extent, the resources, the man-power, and the past military record, it is inconceivable how the armies of the Deccani Sultans which severally and conjointly suffered defeats repeatedly on so many occasions at the hands of Ramaraya could have overthrown him within a space of less than four hours. According to the Hindu accounts, on the contrary, the war lasted for more than six months, during which several battles were fought, victory veering now to one side and now to another. One battle especially is said to have raged with intense fury for 27 days, and in the final engagement the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golconda suffered and retreated from the field in confusion. What the Sultans failed to achieve by force

of arms they gained by treachery. The Muslim historians are not in agreement about the circumstances under which Ramaraya was slain. According to Nizam-ud-dln Ahmad, the earliest Muslim historian who describes the battle, the combined armies of Husain Nizam-ul-Mulk, ‘Adil Khan Qutb-ul-Mulk and Malik Barid were on the point of defeat when a chance shot from one of the guns of Husain carried off Ramaraya’s head, and the Hindu army gave up fighting. While attempting to flee, they were surrounded and cut to pieces. Caesar Frederick attributes Muslim victory to the treachery of the Muslim troops in the service of Ramaraya. Treachery was not confined to Mussalmans in Ramaraya’s service only. In Keladinripa Vi jay am it is stated that his ally, ‘Ali Adil Shah, who had been pretending to be neutral, owing to fear of his fellow Muslim rulers, secretly joined them and fell upon him unexpectedly. Taken unawares, Ramaraya was not able to offer effective resistance and while attempting to defend himself gallantly he was captured and beheaded. The Vijayanagara Army which was already thrown into confusion by the treachery of their Muslim comrades was panicstricken by the sudden tragedy and immediately took to flight.

Though the rule of Ramaraya ended in a great military disaster, which nearly destroyed the Vijayanagara empire, it was without doubt a period of unprecedented glory. Ramaraya was indeed one of the greatest Hindu monarchs who ever ruled over South India. It was not without justification that he was spoken of by the people of his age as Bade Ramaraya or Ramaraya the great. During this time, the authority of the Rayas of Vijayanagara, according to traditions, extended all over South India and Deccan, from Setu in the South to the Narmada in the North. This is true in a sense; for all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan had to submit at one time or another to his power and carry out his behests. Ramaraya was a great soldier and diplomat. The skill with which he planned the campaign against Ibrahim Qutb Shah reveals his profound grasp over military strategy, and his dealings with the Deccani Sultans, their nobles and the Portuguese show his mastery over the art of diplomacy. His influence over the internal administration of the empire was not quite salutary. With the object of strengthening his power he destroyed very early in his career the civil service which kept under check the centrifugal tendencies of the amarandyakas (fief-holders). Though no harm was done during the rule of Ramaraya when the power of the central government was strong, the evils made themselves manifest in the years of anarchy which immediately followed the disaster of Rakshasi-Tangadi. Ramaraya was a great patron of art and letters. Many writers in Sanskrit and Telugu flourished at his court. Some of the finest buildings and temples were built in his

time. His outlook on religion was broad and liberal. Himself a staunch follower of iSrivaishnavism, he never placed any restraint on liberty of worship of the adherents of other sects. Vaishnavas, §aivas, Jains, Muhammadans, Christians and Jews were all treated equally and enjoyed the same privileges. Notwithstanding the wars in which he was frequently engaged he looked after the welfare of his subjects; and the people were on the whole happy and contented under his rule.

Saddshiva and Tirumala (1566-1570)

According to the village kaijiyats in the Andhra area, for six years after the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi anarchy reigned supreme. Several causes contributed to produce this result. The break-down of the power of the central government and the absence of proper local administrative machinery to enforce its authority let loose the forces of disintegration. The kinsmen and the friends to whom Ramaraya entrusted the administration of the kingdom asserted their independence and began to fight among themselves for strengthening their power and extending their dominion. Of the many nobles who usurped power and rose to prominence, the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee deserve special mention. The first, who had his amaram (fief) in the marches of Travancore, quickly subdued all the territory extending to the south of the Kaveri and established himself at Madura. The second, who had a few simas on the banks of the Coleroon, made himself master of the fertile Chola country. And the last who was probably the commandant of the fort of Gingee seized the major part of Tondaimandalam and bengan to rule it as if he were an independent prince. To add to the confusion, the Pdlayagars, to whom the task of maintaining law and order and protecting the highways was entrusted, turned bandits and robbed the countryside and spread terror in the minds of the people.

Tirumala, who after the death of his brother Ramaraya made himself the regent of the kingdom and the protector, was unable to check the progress of anarchy. In the first place, he had no army, and to recruit fresh forces, he had no money. Secondly, family dissensions added considerably to his trouble. Timma or Peda Tirumala, the son of his brother Ramaraya, aspired to become the regent in succession to his father, and unable to contend against his uncle appealed to ‘All ‘Adil Shah for help. The latter, desirous of profiting by the family quarrels at Vijayanagara, complied with Tirumala’s request and sent forces to his assistance. Tirumala, who had returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muslim army, found that under these circumstances, it was not possible for him to carry on the government from the city. He returned to Penugonda, and anticipating an attack from the city, strengthened its fortifications. As a matter of fact, ‘Adil Shah sent an army under Khizr Khan to invest the fort; but the commandant Savaram Chennappa Nayadu beat back the attack. At the same time Tirumala persuaded Nizam Shah to invade the Bijapur territory from the north and make a diversion in his favour; and ‘Adil Shah had to beat a hasty retreat to protect his dominions. By a sudden turn of events, he was able to carry the war into the enemy’s territory. The Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golconda who were embroiled in a war with ‘Adil Shah, invited Tirumala to join them; and in response to this invitation, he sent one of his sons with ten thousand men. Tirumala gained nothing by this alliance; instead he involved himself in fresh troubles. For, the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golconda made up their differences with ‘Adil Shah and returned to their kingdoms; and the latter, to punish Tirumala for making common cause with his enemies, invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The main objective of the invasion was the capture of the fort of Adoni where one of Ramaraya’s cousins to whom he entrusted the government of the district asserted his independence. To prevent however Tirumala from sending troops he despatched an army against Penugonda. ‘Adil Shah succeeded in achieving his object. Though the army sent against Penugonda was defeated and driven back by

Tirumala, he reduced Adoni to subjection and made himself master of the entire Krishna-Tungabhadra doab.

Tirumala was not able therefore to check the treacherous activities of the amaranayakas (fief-holders). And by the time he could equip himself with an army and concert measures to restore royal authority they became too strong to be tackled easily. Tirumala was a realist. He knew that, under the circumstances, it was impossible to restore the old state of affairs. The amaranayakas who usurped the royal domain were too many. He was old and had no time to embark upon a systematic re-conquest of the empire. Tirumala therefore resolved to compromise with the Ndyaks and bring them back to subjection. By tacitly approving of their usurpations he won them over to his side. As a consequence of this, though the royal authority was restored throughout the empire, the empire itself lost its character. It was no longer a military empire of which the Raya was absolute master. Instead it became a conglomeration of semi-independent principalities of which he was the head. The changed character of the empire brought in its train an important innovation in the administration. To keep the araarandyakas under control, Tirumala divided the empire into three subdivisions, roughly corresponding to the three main linguistic areas of which it was composed, and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his three sons. ISrirahga, the eldest, was placed in charge of all the Telugu districts with Penugonda as his headquarters. Rama, the second, was to rule the Karnataka from Srirangapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest who resided in Chandragiri, was to look after the affairs of the entire Tamil country.

Tirumala successfully overcame the obstacles that beset his path: he brought back the rebellious amaranayakas to subjection, and arrested the forces of disintegration which were fast undermining the foundation of the empire. Having accomplished the task of rejuvenating the empire he assumed the title of ‘the reviver of the decadent Karnataka empire’ and formally crowned himself in 1570 A.D. as the emperor at Penugonda. It is said on the authority of certain foreign travellers, that Tirumala, or at his instance one of his sons, specially Venkatapati, assassinated the emperor Sadashiva before the coronation. This is not probably true. In the first place

Sadashiva was quite harmless, and he gave no trouble to Tirumala in governing the empire. Secondly, there is ample epigraphic evidence to show that Sadashiva did not fall a victim to the assassin’s knife before Tirumala’s coronation, but was alive until A.D. 1576, long after the death of the latter and the accession of his son, ISrirahga I.

Tirumala did not rule long—probably for not more than a year —and abdicated in favour of his son Sriranga. He spent the remaining days of his life in retirement, studying philosophy and religion. To him belongs the credit of giving the lease of life to the framework of the empire of Vijayanagara for a century more.

The reign of Sriranga (1572-1585) was full of troubles caused by the invasions of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda who were helped by the treacherous nobles of Vijayanagara, and he lost territories both in the coastal Andhra and Northern Karnataka. The Bijapur army was, however, defeated. There is a tradition that iSrirahga fell a prisoner into the hands of the Bijapur army, but this rests on very doubtful authority. The Muslims seized many forts including Udayagiri in the Nellore District and Kondavidu.

The next king, Venkata II (1586-1614), not only re-conquered from the Muslims most of the territories lost by his predecessor, but also crushed the nobles and the Palayagdrs who attempted to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves.

The disputed succession after the death of Venkata II led to a civil war which lasted for four years and ended with the accession of Ramadevaraya (1618-1630)* His reign was full of rebellions, in

which the Nayaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore, who had played a prominent role in the civil war, also figured prominently. The Sultan of Bijapur took advantage of this to seize Kurnool.

The reign of the next king, Venkata III (1630-1641), also witnessed another civil war lasting for four or five years during which many petty chieftains, who were practically independent, fought among themselves, and some of them, even including the king, sought for the help of the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan. As a result the Sultan of Bijapur conquered the Kannada districts and the Sultan of Golconda invaded the east coast. Venkata III opposed him but was defeated and died shortly after.

His nephew, Sriranga III, who had joined the Sultan of Bijapur against him, now proclaimed himself Emperor and ruled for seven years (1642-1649). He settled matters with the Sultan of Bijapur and with his help recovered the fort of Udayagiri which was seized by the forces of Golconda. It is worthy of note that the Nayaks or Chiefs, though still paying nominal allegiance to the 'Emperor' of Vijayanagara, not only rendered no help to him in driving away the Muslim invader and caused difficulty to him by breaking into revolts, but even invited the Sultan of Golconda to invade* Vijayanagara territory promising to attack their 'Emperor' from behind. Accordingly the forces of Golconda invaded Vijayanagara. Sriranga quickly despatched an ambassador,to Gingee to win over the Nayak; and the latter consented to delay the despatch of his forces, pending the arrival of instructions from his allies, the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore. Taking advantage of the respite Sriranga marched at the head of his troops and in a battle fought on the bank of Vengallu, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Golconda army, and chased them as far as Kandukur in the north of the Nellore district. Srlranga's triumph was, however, shortlived, for the Sultan of Golconda obtained help from Bijapur, and unable to resist the advance of the combined armies of the two Muslim rulers, he abandoned Kandukur and retired to the interior of his dominions. The armies of Golconda and Bijapur made their appearance on the Vijayanagara frontier; the former under Mir Jumla overran the eastern parts of the Kurnool district, and the latter under Khan-i-Khanan reduced Nandyal, Sirivolla, Kanigiri and other forts farther west. At this stage the Sultan of Golconda suspended the war, probably due to an agreement with Sriranga III.

The situation in the South became serious. The Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee joined together and set up the standard of rebellion. Sriranga withdrew his forces from the north, and proceeded to the south burning and plundering the country until he reached Chetipattu in South Arcot district, where he lay encamped awaiting the arrival of the rebels. Though the Nayaks gathered together a large army, they were not confident of victory. They, therefore, sought help from the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda promising them to pay a large sum of money.

The Sultans, in fact, needed no invitation. The Mughul emperor, Shah Jahan, commanded them to conquer and partition the empire of Karnataka between themselves. In obedience to his command, they sent their respective armies to conquer and annex the dominions of the Raya of Vijayanagara. Mustafa Khan, who commanded the Bijapur army, marched through Malnad and arrived at Sivaganga in the Bangalore district, where the ambassadors of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee met him and requested him for help. Mustafa Khan complied with their request, and marched on Vellore, directing Khan-i-Khanan who was at Kurnool to do the same. ISriranga knew that the chances of his success lay in prompt action. He decided to strike at once before the Nayaks could join the Bijapur general. He sent an ambassador to Mustafa Khan to put him off the scent by carrying on negotiations of peace. He hastened with all his forces to the south, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nayak of Gingee and compelled him to submit. Next he attacked the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura and would have vanquished them also, but for Mustafa Khan, who having obtained information of his activities marched on Vellore. ISriranga was therefore obliged to relinquish the operations, and return with all speed to protect his capital.

While Mustafa Khan and Khan-i-Khanan were marching on Vellore, Mir Jumla, at the instance of the Sultan of Golconda, proceeded along the east coast, conquered Vinuconda, and laid siege to the fort of Udayagiri. Though ISriranga sent reinforcements to strengthen the garrison, the commander of the fort turned a traitor and surrendered the fort to the Muslims in March, 1645. Mir Jumla next turned west, and having invaded the territories of the Matli chiefs of Chittiveli captured many important forts belonging to them. Unable to offer effective resistance, the Matlis submitted and acknowledged the supremacy of Golconda.

iSriranga was utterly helpless- He was surrounded by enemies on all sides. He made in vain an appeal to people to protect their religion, temples and the Brahmins; but the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee made up their minds to get rid of Sriranga once for all, offered heavy bribes to the Bijapur generals, and persuaded them to conquer Penugonda and Kolar which were still under his control.

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

While Mustafa Khan and Khan-i-Khianan were busy in the western Telugu country, the Nayaks marched on Vellore. Though Srirahga sent an army into the southern districts to distract their attention, it produced no fruitful results; but in an engagement which took place in December, 1645, between him and the Nayak army, iSrirahga suffered a defeat and crept into the fort. He then made an attempt to come to an understanding with the Nayaks.

The combined attack of the Muslim powers on the empire of Vijayanagara seems to have at last awakened the fear of common danger in the minds of the Nayaks; for with the exception of the treacherous Tirumal Nayak of Madura, they joined Srirahga. At the head of a large army consisting of 10,000 horse, and 1,40,000 foot soldiers he advanced against Mustafa Khan. A battle was fought in which, though victorious, he could gain no advantage owing to the desertion of the Nayaks of Kangudi and Mysore.

ISrirahga retreated to his capital, and Mustafa Khan, having first reduced the territories of Jayadeva Rao to subjection, followed him there. The Nayaks became friendly to Srirahga and promised to send him men and money to defend his capital; but before help could reach him, Mustafa Khan arrived in the neighbourhood, and he was obliged, unprepared as he was, to give him battle. In a fierce engagement which took place near Vellore on 4 April, 1646, he suffered defeat, and crept into the fort, to which Mustafa Khan laid siege soon after. The Nayaks, who were jealous of one another, could not arrive at a\ny decision to help their king. In the meanwhile Mir Jumla, having completed the conquest of Chittiveli, moved towards the east, captured Ponneri, Poonamalli, Kanchipuram and Chingleput one after another in quick succession and was encamped in the neighbourhood of Vellore. The Nayaks were divided among themselves; the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee were weak, and it was not possible for them to oppose the Golcomda army; but the Nayaks of Mysore and Madura united their forces and attempted to ward off the danger. They suffered, however, a severe defeat at the hands of Mir Jumla, who then marched on Gingee and laid siege to the fort.

Mir Jumla's victory over Madura and Mysore and his investment of Gingee roused the jealousy of Bijapur; and Mustafa and Khan-i-Khanan hastened to the neighbourhood with their forces with the object of preventing him from capturing the fort. On the approach of Bijapur generals, Mir Jumla entered into an agreement with them and retired into the Qutb Shahi territories leaving them free to prosecute their designs. After Mir Jumla's departure, the Bijapur armies laid siege to Gingee and captured it. With the fall

of the fort, the Nayak kingdom of Gingee came to an end, and the territories which belonged to it passed into the hands of the Sultan of Bijapur. The Nayak of Tanjore was frightened, and, without striking a blow, submitted to the Sultan early in 1649. 1 2 3 4

Sriranga was now a king without a kingdom, and a refugee without a place where he could take shelter. He therefore fled to Mysore which still retained a measure of its independence. The flight of Srirahga was the signal for the systematic subjugation of small principalities which had not yet come within the fold of the Muslim States, and the Vijayanagara empire, which was founded three centuries ago, came finally to an end.

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

CHAPTER XVI

Chapter Notes

1. 1. There is wide divergence of views on almost every aspect of this battle, except its date and result. The account given here is materially different from that given above, in Chapter XIV (pp. 424-25). The Editor has thought it better to present both views to the reader.
2. 2. Regarding the name and location of these two villages, cf. p. 425. Saletore mentions the names as Rakshasa-Tangadi (Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vol. I, pp. 22-3). The name of the second village is also written as Tangadi (Editor).
3. 3. This is self-contradictory. As the author says, the two villages were on the northern bank of the river, while he admits that the battle took place on the southern bank of the Krishna, which is generally accepted. (Editor).
4. 4. Frequent references in this chapter to the wars and alliances between Vijayanagara and the Muslim States in the Deccan should be read along with Chapter XIV which also refers to them.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

I. PORTUGUESE ENTERPRISE AND DOMINANCE

IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

By about 1500 A.D. Portuguese competition with the Moors for the control of trade in the Indian Ocean became irresistible. On account of the geographical position of their kingdom, the Portuguese had become the natural guardians of Christendom against the Moors of Africa. Impelled by religious fervour and by crusading zeal, the Portuguese brought all their latent energies to serve the cause of commerce and colonisation. Prince Henry, the Navigator, (1394-1460) promoted maritime exploration, and visualised the founding of a maritime Empire. He fitted out several expeditions that sailed down the west coast of Africa. Within twenty years of his death the Portuguese had proceeded beyond the delta of the Niger. The then king of Portugal resolved to establish a Christian Empire in West Africa and to found a fortress on the Ivory Coast. Diego Cao voyaged southwards from the mouth of the Congo to the modern Walvis Bay (1487). Bartholomew Dias, who followed him, prepared the way for Vasco da Gama. He rounded the southernmost point of Africa and indeed reached Mossel Bay. He gave the name of the Cape of Tempests to the Table Mountain and its headlands and promontories. His voyage is one of the main landmarks of geographical exploration and removed all doubt as to the possibility of reaching India by sea.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese King sent a Jew, by way of Cairo, to the Red Sea in order to explore the way to> the land of the legendary Christian King, Prester John of Ethiopia, as well as the way to India. This Jew came to the Malabar Coast and eventually reached Abyssinia. He wrote that the ships, which sailed down the coast of Guinea, might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the Eastern Ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon.

Vasco da Gama started from Portugal in the summer of 1497; and after finally doubling the Cape of Good Hope, on Christmas Day, he came alongside of a land to which he gave the name of

Natal in remembrance of the birth of Christ. He then passed Sofala and finally reached Mozambique in March, 1498. All along the African Coast, between Sofala and Zanzibar, Muhammadan colonists had founded settlements and controlled the trade in ivory and gold. At Mombasa he secured the services of a Gujarati pilot, sailed straight north-east across the Arabian sea and finally reached the coast of Calicut on 21 May, 1498. He did not stay long on the Indian coast and embarked on his return voyage in August, 1498. 1

The Portuguese landing in India “was fortunate both as to place and time.” The Malabar Coast was then divided between petty chiefs who were too weak and torn by internecine strife to resist the Portuguese. It was a halfway house between Ceylon, Malacca and the Spice Islands on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the ports of East Africa on the other. The Empire of Vijayanagara controlled the towns of Bhatkal and Honavar on the coast, but did not interfere in the affairs of the Rajas of the coast. The Portuguese quickly perceived that their true interest lay in peaceful commerce and friendship with Vijayanagara. The Bahmani Empire was torn by internal factions and steadily disintegrating. One of its offshoots, the kingdom of Bijapur, ruled over the coastal country of Goa, but lacked an efficient navy. The Portuguese allied themselves against Bijapur with powerful pirate chiefs on the coast, like Timoja, and with the Hindu Rajas of Honavar, Bankipur and Bhatkal, who were all feudatories of Vijayanagara. As the Mughul Empire had not yet risen, there was no power, either in the north or in the south of India, to effectively bar the establishment of the Portuguese dominion on the coast.

Calicut under the Zamorins enjoyed then a high degree of prosperity. The Zamorin was kind to all classes of merchants who came to his kingdom, tolerated all creeds and allowed perfect freedom to all in mercantile affairs. Cochin was the best of all the ports in the Malabar Coast, as it was connected by means of lagoons, backwaters and creeks with all the pepper-producing districts of the neighbourhood. Its ruler was subordinate to the

Zamorin and jealous of him. Other important ports of the coast were Quilon which carried on trade with China, Arabia and other countries, Cranganore, and Cannanore which, though nominally under the Zamorin, were practically independent.

Vasco da Gama had, even during his first voyage, excited the jealousy of the Arab merchants of the East African ports. It quickly spread to the Arab and Moplah traders of the Malabar Coast. At Calicut he encountered violent and open opposition from the Mussalman merchants and only the armed guards of the Zamorin protected the Portuguese from their fury. A second expedition, under Alvarez Cabral, reached Calicut in 1500, seized an Arab vessel lying in its harbour and sent it as a present to the Zamorin. The Arabs stormed the Portuguese factory and put all its occupants to the sword, while Cabral retaliated by bombarding Calicut and setting fire to its wooden houses. He then went away to Cochin and Cannanore whose friendship he had secured.

Cabral was now convinced that, for his own safety, he must force Calicut into submission and root out the Arab trade of that place. A fresh expedition under Vasco da Gama, which started in 1502, threatened the rulers of Mozambique and Kilwa on the African coast into submission, destroyed a pilgrim ship to Mecca, and demanded from the Zamorin the banishment of every Muhammadan resident from Calicut. He strengthened the factories at Cochin and Cannanore and left a squadron to patrol the Malabar Coast and to destroy all Arab vessels coming to it from Red Sea. He put forward a definite claim to dominion over the Indian coast and the Arabian sea. On his departure the Arab merchants and the Zamorin attacked the Raja of Cochin who bravely held out until relieved by the arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in 1503.

Their artillery gave the Portuguese a great advantage in sea warfare. Even on land the Portuguese proved themselves to be the better fighters. Their reputation was greatly raised by Duarte Pacheco’s gallant defence of Cochin against the whole army of Zamorin. The next Portuguese expedition under Lopo Soares destroyed all the ports in which Arab influence prevailed, and prevented any ships coming to or leaving Cochin except their own. Soares burnt Cranganore and laid a good part of Calicut in ruins.

The Portuguese power still lacked organisation and order and their isolated factories were in danger if the seasonal winds should prevent navigation and if their squadrons in the Indian Ocean should disappear. Their power in India had passed beyond the stage when it could be managed by an annual fleet and by a few isolated factories. Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of the Portuguese in the East (1505) with full power to wage war, conclude treaties and regulate commerce. He aimed at securing the control of the East African Coast, to subdue all the Malabar ports at which the Arabs still survived, to strengthen the Portuguese factories, to divert the whole export trade of India and East Africa to the Cape route and to secure for Portugal a monopoly over the trade of the Indian Ocean. But he knew that he would have to encounter the opposition of the powerful navies of Turkey and Egypt which championed the cause of the Arabs. He easily subjugated the Muhammadan ports of East Africa, and then proceeded to the subjugation of the yet hostile Malabar ports. He befriended Vijayanagara, on the advice of the Timoja, built a fort at Cannanore, and settled a disputed succession at Cochin which was made the seat of his government. He sent his son to explore Ceylon and to close the sea-route through the Maldives which was now taken by the Arabs in order to avoid going near the Malabar Coast. The Zamorin was crippled in 1506 and the ruler of Ceylon agreed to pay a tribute of cinnamon and elephants.

The third part of Almeida’s task was to break the naval powers of Egypt which was supreme in the Red Sea, and of Turkey which had access to the Persian Gulf at Basra. Meanwhile a new expedition from Portugal under Affonso de Albuquerque strengthened the Portuguese communications on the East African Coast, and captured Socotra, but failed to reduce Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. After an initial success, the combined fleets of the Egyptians, the Zamorin and the King of Gujarat were worsted after a long and stubborn struggle off Diu (spring of 1509). This victory “secured to Christendom the naval supremacy in Asia and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea.”

Albuquerque, the next Governor, built up a great territorial power in India. He was convinced that it was beneath the dignity of Portugal to have factories which existed only by the sufferance of native rulers. His struggle was against the combined forces of the Muhammadan world. His efforts were directed towards the conquest of Goa, Malacca, Aden, and Ormuz which he considered essential for his purpose.

The plan of Albuquerque formed strategically a complete whole and consisted of three series of operations: (1) the control of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; (2) the establishment of the headquarters of the Portuguese power at a central port on the west coast of India; (3) the destruction of Mussalman trade in the Malay Peninsula and the Far East.

The conquest of Goa was Albuquerque's first achievement (February, 1610).[2] But as the city was quickly recaptured by the 'Adil Shah, he had to undertake a second expedition; he recaptured the place and fortified it against any surprise attack. Goa stood midway between the ports of Malabar and those of Gujarat and dominated the entire coast from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin. The conquest of Goa put "the seal on Portuguese naval supremacy along the south-west coast," and involved territorial rule in India.

The conquest of Malacca was the next great achievement of Albuquerque. It was situated favourably on the Malaya shore, in the middle point of the Straits between Sumatra and the mainland; and its inhabitants included Muhammadan Malayas and large bodies of foreign merchants,—Chinese, Javanese, Gujaratis, Bengalis, Burmese from Pegu and Chittagong, Ceylonese cinnamon-dealers and even Japanese. Albuquerque captured the place after several days of bombardment and street fighting. He then opened direct relations with the kingdom of Siam and despatched ships to explore the Moluccas and other Spice Islands.

In 1512 he had to relieve Goa from a fresh siege to which it was subjected by Bijapur.

His next attempt was to extend Portuguese supremacy to the mouths of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Aden, and not Socotra, was the real gate of the Red Sea. Albuquerque's first attack on it was a failure, as also his endeavour to reach the port of Jiddah. He captured Ormuz, and laid the foundation of a strong fort at the island whose markets abounded in furs from Russia, silks from Baghdad and Central Asia, and horses from Arabia, for which there was always a great demand in India.

Albuquerque was greatly worn out by these exertions and his heart was broken when he learnt, as he came within the sight of Goa, that he had been superseded by Lopo Soares, his bitter opponent, while the King had no word of thanks to offer him.

Albuquerque thus enlarged and fulfilled the aims of Almeida. He gave the Portuguese power a territorial base in India, while Malacca, Ormuz and the uncaptured Aden were to serve as strategic points for Portuguese shipping. In view of the paucity of manpower in Portugal, Albuquerque encouraged the lower classes of the Portuguese settlers to marry Indian women. He maintained friendly relations with Vijayanagara and even tried to secure the goodwill of Bijapur. He created regular bodies of trained troops from among Indians.

Albuquerque's immediate successor failed to capture Aden, but he constructed a fortress near Colombo. Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy (1529-38), captured Mombasa on the African coast, established settlements at San Thome near Madras and at Hooghly in Bengal, and thus developed commerce on the eastern coast. In 1535 he got possession of Diu in Kathiawar, and its gallant defence both by sea and land against the Turkish Admiral and the Sultan of Gujarat in 1538 was a remarkable achievement.

Joa de Castro, Viceroy (1545-48), decisively defeated the Bijapur forces which advanced against Goa. His successors systematised commerce, but made no further conquests.

In 1571 the Asiatic Empire of Portugal was divided into three independent commands, viz., a Governorship at Mozambique controlling the settlements on the African coast; (2) a Viceroyalty at Goa in charge of the Indian and

Persian territories; and (3) a Governorship at Malacca to control the trade of Java and the Spice Archipelago.

The Portuguese dominion was based upon command of the sea and upon possession of forts at strategic points along the coast. They were bitterly jealous of all rivals at sea. Gujarat and Calicut were forced to abandon construction of fresh ships or even armed rowing boats. Ormuz was not to construct ships and its people were not to carry arms. The fortified factories of the Portuguese, from Quilon and Cochin on the South, to Daman and Diu on the north, were sufficient to coerce all their Indian rivals.

Besides controlling the whole of the export trade to Europe, the Portuguese monopolised the port-to-port trade on the Malabar Coast and the trade from the Indian to the Persian Coast on the one side and Malacca on the other. All this was retained as a jealous monopoly of the King, though the private trade of the officials and their frauds were notorious. The Portuguese treatment of their native subjects and opponents showed "a consistent and systematic cruelty and barbarity lower even than the standards of a cruel age." Above all, their spirit of crusading enthusiasm soon degenerated into an unreasoning and fanatic desire to convert all and sundry of their Asiatic subjects to their own faith, even at the point of the sword. After 1540, the Portuguese Government in India markedly came to be dominated by priests —Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits—who displayed an intolerant bigotry and introduced all the horrors of the Inquisition into India.

The Portuguese monopoly of the Indian Ocean remained unbroken till 1595, fifteen years after the fatal union of Portugal and Spain. Philip II of Spain neglected Portuguese dominions in India and involved Portugal in his costly and disastrous European wars. Ceylon first rebelled against the Portuguese about 1580. In 1595 the first Dutch fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope in defiance of the Portuguese. By 1602 they had deprived Portugal of the hold over the Straits of Sunda and of the route to the Moluccas and of the Spice Islands. In 1603 they blockaded Goa itself. Soon after, they made themselves masters of Java. They expelled the Portuguese altogether from Ceylon in the years 1638-58. In 1641 they captured the great port of Malacca and in 1652 got possession of the Cape of Good Hope as well.

The English were not also behind-hand. In 1611 an English squadron under Middleton defeated the Portuguese fleet off Bombay. Four years later came their great victory over the Portuguese, off Swally, in the Surat roads. In 1616 they entered into direct commercial relations with the Zamorin of Calicut. Two years later they began to trade' in the Persian Gulf. In 1622 they had captured Ormuz and established a factory at Gombroon. In 1654 the Portuguese had to recognise the right of the English to reside and trade in all their eastern possessions.

Nor was it only from the hands of European rivals that the final blow to the Portuguese power came. In 1632 the Mughul Emperor, Shah Jahan, completely destroyed their settlement at Hooghly and carried away, as prisoners, more than a thousand of the Portuguese inhabitants. The Portuguese and half-caste pirates who had established themselves at Chittagong and raided the coasts of Bengal and Arakan were easily defeated by the King of Arakan. The descendants of those pirates, known as the Ferinqhis who infested the whole of the Eastern Bengal Coast, were totally swept away about 1665, by the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal.

The man-power of Portugal was too small to maintain a farflung empire, and was further thinned by disease, ravages and the demoralisation brought about by the inter-marriage of the Portuguese settlers with Africans and Indians. Their religious fanaticism absorbed a good portion of their energies. Even before the time of Albuquerque, priests, monks and friars had flocked in large number to Portuguese India. In 1538, Goa was made the seat of a Bishop; in 1557 it was raised to the dignity of an Archbishopric; and other Bishoprics were created at Cochin and Malacca, and for China and Japan. The priests displayed great devotion to duty and did much to spread education. They established at Goa, in 1560, the hated inquisition which burnt or punished in other cruel way, unbelievers, relapsed converts and all who were dangerous to the faith in the eyes of the priests. They did not give freedom even to the ancient Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast. In 1552, the complaint was made that the Portuguese towns in India were largely depopulated owing to the forced conversion of Hindus and Muhammadans and that every ‘gentile’ was driven to church with sticks and blows every fortnight. The Portuguese zeal for conversion was redoubled after their union with Spain. The Synod of Diamper (Udayampura) in 1599 tried to suppress completely the Syrian Christianity of Malabar. The chief results of this intolerant policy were a practical denial of justice to all non-Christians and the depopulation of Goa and other Portuguese towns.

The Portuguese Indian Church was organised under the guidance of St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, who came to Goa with the Jesuits in 1542. 23 To St. Xavier is due the conversion of the Paravars, the fishermen tribe who lived on the Coromandel Coast between Cape Comorin and Adam’s Bridge, as well as the Mukkuvas, the fishermen of the Malabar coast. St. Xavier also travelled to Malacca and Japan for this purpose. Before his death in 1552, the great Apostle of the Indies is said to have converted some seven hundred thousand men, who belonged mainly to the lowest classes of the population. He was a great churchman, and a saint who was able to win the hearts of all.

There was no continuity in Portuguese government; offices were sold to the highest bidders; there was much illicit private trade and bribery; lack of discipline and irregular pay turned soldiers and sailors into dacoits and thieves. The later history of the Portuguese in India is a continuous record of poverty and misery. They lost Bassein in 1739 to the Marathias. The old Goa Pourado (Golden Goa) whose glories were sung by Camoens, the famous Portuguese poet, in his epic poem, Os Lusiadas, describing the brilliant achievements of his nation in Europe and Asia, is now a city of broken houses and ruined palaces. New Goa or Panjim which was the seat of the later Portuguese Viceroys was founded in the eighteenth century.

Portugal was the first nation to give to Europe a knowledge of the legendary countries of the East. The Portuguese discovery of the East produced a number of brilliant writers, of whom Camoens was the greatest. His epic Os Lusiadas is a poetic historical record of the memorable voyage of Vasco da Gama; but the real hero is the spirit of the nation. More important than the poets, who sang of the deeds of the Portuguese in the east, are the histories and works of (1) Duarte Barbosa (d. 1521), (2) Gaspar Correa (1495-1561), (3) Joao de Barros (1496-1570), (4) Diogo do Couto (1542-1616),

(5) the Commentaries of Bras de Albuquerque, the natural son of the great Governor, who supplemented the Letters of his father,

(6) Dom Joao de Castro (1500-1548), (7) Garcia Da Orta (d. 1570) and several Jesuit writers. The effect of the maritime exploits of the Portuguese is fully reflected in their literature; and the decay

of their political power and naval strength was also marked by literary decay.

II. THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH 1. Early Enterprises

As mentioned above, The Union of Portugal and Spain' under Philip II in 1580 hastened the downfall of the maritime and commercial supremacy of the Portuguese in the East. The Protestant powers of England and Holland began to prey on Portuguese commerce. In 1582 the first English voyage round the Cape of Good Hope was attempted. Already in 1580 had the Spanish monopoly of the Magellan route been successfully challenged by Sir Francis Drake. In 1591 Lancaster rounded the Cape of Good Hope and voyaged to Cape Comorin and the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch expedition under Houtman to Sumatra and the Spice Archipelago was a counterpart of Lancaster's voyage. The volume of Portuguese trade with India diminished markedly after 1580. In 1596 Spain became bankrupt and Portugal had to suffer the consequence. 3

In 1599 the English declared that they had a perfect and free right to trade in all places where the Portuguese and the Spaniards had not established any fort, settlement or factory. Captain Lancaster led the first voyage of the English East India Company in December, 1599, and arrived at Achin (in Sumatra) in 1602. The second expedition of the English Company under Sir Henry Middleton traded with Bantam and Amboyna (one of the richest of the Spice Islands to the south of the Moluccas). The next expedition brought home a rich cargo of pepper from Bantam and of cloves from Amboyna.

As many as fifteen voyages had been fitted out by Holland between 1595 and 1601. The Dutch avoided small and separate voyages by individual traders. In 1602 they combined together the several Indian companies formed within their State into the Dutch United East India Company, with an exclusive right to trade with India and the East Indies for twenty-one years. This Company was endowed with ample powers of attack and conquest; it was a national undertaking and the embodiment of the newly-achieved independence and sense of unity of the Dutch nation. 4

The Dutch also attempted to secure control of the Straits of Sunda between Sumatra and Java. In 1609 they made the Raja of Bantam their dependent ally, and three years later, secured Jakarta in Java, in spite of English opposition, and seven years later they

built on its site the famous city of Batavia. They seized the best islands of the Archipelago either by conquest from the Portuguese or by treaties with the native chiefs. Thus, Ternate in the Moluccas became a Dutch ally in 1607. Amboyna, the richest island in the Southern Moluccas, was seized in 1618. They were able to monopolise the nutmeg and clove islands of the Archipelago as against their new rivals, the English.

The English asserted their counter claims and argued that long before the Dutch had occupied the islands, Drake had visited them. They vigorously denied that the small coast settlements and factories of the Dutch amounted to an effective occupation of a great Archipelago. The first three voyages of the English Company had traded with Bantam and the Spice islands.

2. English East India Company

In 1599 an influential body of London merchants formed a plan for the formation of a Company to monopolise the eastern trade. In 1593 the Levant Company had got an extended charter permitting them to trade overland with India. This endeavour, however, completely failed. Several of the promoters of the East India Company had been servants of the Levant Company. After some demur consequent on pending negotiations with Spain then, Queen Elizabeth incorporated these merchants into a Company and gave them for fifteen years the right of trading with India and all the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan except with those territories in the actual occupation of the Spanish and Portuguese. 5

The English beginnings in India were not very promising, on account of Portuguese rivalry. Captain William Hawkins journeyed from Surat to the Mughul Court (1608), but failed to get permission to erect a factory at Surat. In 1611 Captain Middleton landed at Swally near Surat in spite of Portuguese opposition, and got permission from the Mughul governor to trade at the place. The victory of Captain Best in the Surat roadstead broke the tradition of Portuguese naval supremacy and an English factory was permanently established at Surat. 6 From this place the English extended their trading operations inland and soon built subordinate factories at Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Ajmer and Agra. Sir Thomas Roe, the royal ambassador from King James I to the Mughul Emperor, succeeded in getting two farmdns by 1618, ‘one of the King and the other of the Prince (Khurram) confirming our trade and continuance’ as well as exemption from inland tolls.

The Dutch Factory at Surat was comparatively powerless and did not have much influence with the Mughul authorities. But they established themselves in greater strength on the east coast. In 1610 they established a fortified settlement at Pulicat (to the north of! Madras) whose backwater, the Pulicat Lake, afforded a safe shelter for the ships of those days, and from which they contrived to drive away the English (1623). Both the English and the Dutch competed for the trade of Masulipatam which was the chief sea-port of the great inland kingdom of Golconda and largely traded in diamonds, rubies, and textiles. In 1614 and again in 1624 the English had serious quarrels with the Dutch at this port. In 1628 they abandoned Masulipatam in despair and attempted to settle at Armagaon (Arumugam) further south. Two years afterwards, they revived their factory at Masulipatam. Chinsura on the Hooghly river, then the most inland place in the Gangetic delta accessible to ships, was also settled by the Dutch.

The history of the English settlements in Western India in the seventeenth century may be divided into three periods: the first commences with the establishment of an English factory at Surat (1612); the second begins with the formation of an English settlement at Bombay (1665); and the third commences from 1687 when Bombay superseded Surat and became the headquarters of the English on the West coast.

Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit, was the first Englishman to visit Western India. He reached Goa in 1579 and resided there for many years. In 1583 Ralph Fitch and a few other Englishmen reached India by way of the Persian Gulf. John Mildenhall, a London merchant, reached Agra in 1603 after a tedious overland journey and attempted to obtain from Akbar a farman for trade in Gujarat. Two years after Mildenhall had left Agra, Captain Hawkins landed at Surat. After the victory of Best Thomas Aldworth, a merchant of energy and great determination who stayed on at Surat, the English secured permission for the establishment of factories at Surat and three other places in the Gulf of Cambay.

After the victory of Captain Downton, came Sir Thomas Roe whose embassy is to be regarded as a distinct triumph for the English. By 1616 the English had contrived to establish four factories at Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Agra and Surat. 7 They were looked up to by the Mughuls to keep open the path of pilgrimage to the holy cities of Islam.

The chain of events that led to the establishment of the English in Bombay is interesting. Its situation enabled it to control the whole coastal trade in the West and to threaten the Portuguese and the Dutch of the neighbourhood. 8 It was thus only as the satisfaction of a long-expressed wish that in 1661 the Portuguese gave Bombay as part of the dowry of their princess, Catherine of Braganza, on her marriage with Charles II. The importance of Bombay was little understood by the English at the time; and even the Portuguese were not able to appreciate this till after its cession to the English. In September, 1662, an English fleet of five ships arrived in Bombay in order to take over the place. But the Portuguese refused to give it up and denied that the neighbouring island of Salsette was included in the treaty of cession. The fleet left a body of soldiers under General Shipman, a large number of whom perished for lack of sufficient food and protection in the unhappy neighbourhood. A long and bitter correspondence ensued between the English and the Portuguese monarchs. The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa suggested to his king that he might purchase the island from the English after it should be formally handed over to them, according to agreement. 9

Humphrey Cooke who commanded the remnants of the first English expedition to Bombay accepted the cession of merely the port and harbour which alone were offered by the Portuguese who were entrenched in the neighbouring island of Salsette and levied fines and imposts on English boats and traders. Sir Gervase Lucas, a staunch Royalist, was appointed to succeed Cooke in 1666; but he was not more successful. He quarrelled with the Company's factors at Surat and died within a few months after he had landed at Bombay. His lieutenant, Captain Gray, who succeeded him, was proud, wasteful and extravagant, while his power was disputed.

Meanwhile the Company's factory at Surat was faring equally badly. Sir George Oxenden, Governor of Surat (1662-68), had to encounter French and Dutch rivalry; he gallantly defended the factory and the property of many Indian merchants when Shivaji plundered the city in 1664. But Oxenden was jealous of the royal governors of Bombay and quarrelled with them, while the Mughuls held him responsible for the acts of the latter.

King Charles made up his mind to get rid of Bombay which was coveted by the Company though it pretended that its possession would only entail on it much difficulty and expense. A royal charter was prepared by which the island was transferred to the Company in return for an annual rent of £ 10, and Oxenden took possession of the island, in September 1668, in the name of the Company.[10]

Gerald Aungier was the next President of Surat and Governor of Bombay (1669-77). He was the true founder of Bombay's greatness. He fortified the port, constructed a dock, established a court of justice, created a police force and a militia, and made the settlement an asylum for merchants of every class and caste. He secured the lives and properties of the English during Shivajfs second sack of Surat. He suggested to the Directors, as early as 1671, that the seat of the Presidency should be removed from Surat to Bombay. Under him Bombay became the best naval station in the Indian coast and a harbour of refuge from Maratha and Malabar pirates.[11]

Under the Governorship of Rolt (1677-82), the Directors retrenched expenditure and reduced the garrison, and the result was that Bombay's very existence hung in the balance for a time. Dr. John Fryer who travelled for nine years in India and Persia (167281), wrote bitterly about the low condition into which the English prestige had fallen. 12

In 1682, Sir John Child, brother of the famous Sir Josia Child who then wielded great influence among the Directors, was appointed Chief of the Company at Bombay and Surat. From his time began the general decline of Bombay which continued till the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. 13

After Child, there followed several weak Governors, including Sir John Gayer. In Gayer's time, what was known as the New or English Company which had been founded in rivalry to the old Company, sent out one Sir Nicholas Waite to Surat as its own representative, and bitter bickerings occurred between the two Governors to the great detriment of English reputation. 14

On the Coromandel Coast the English attempted a landing at Pulicat, first in 1611 and again in 1614, but failed on account of Dutch opposition. The English first landed at Masulipatam in 1611; two years later, they were permitted to erect a fortified factory there. The eagerly sought-for diamonds, and the valuable silks, calicoes and salt-petre were all there ready for sale. On account of the rivalry of the Dutch, the English resolved, in 1628, to abandon their factory and never to return except under a direct grant from the Sultan of Golconda. In 1630 when Masulipatam was desolated by famine and plague, the English returned to Masulipatam and obtained, two years later, the long-coveted permission from the Sultan of Golconda, the Golden Farmdn, which opened an era of prosperity.

When the English first abandoned Masulipatam in 1628 they took shelter at Arumugam (Armagaon) 40 miles north of Pulicat.

It was a poor place but important historically because it was the first site territorially acquired by the English in India and on which a fort was built.

Francis Day, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, pitched upon a narrow strip of land, three miles to the north of the flourishing Indo-Portuguese colony of San Thome. He obtained from the local Naik a grant of the site and permission to build a fort and form a settlement thereon in return for an annual rental of £ 600.

Without waiting for permission from England, Day began to build a fort, and named it Fort St. George, probably because part of it was finished by St. George's Day, 1640. The attitude of the Directors was very discouraging. The English merchants at Surat and Bantam, however, realised the advantages of Madras, as a halfway house, for trade with the Archipelago. 15

After Day's departure in 1644, trade languished and the merchants remained idle and disheartened. England was then distracted by the civil war and the confusion in the Carnatic was worsened by the Muslim aggression. The Raja of Chandragiri was involved in troubles on all hands. By 1647, Mir Jumla, the general of the Sultan of Golconda, had become the master of all the country round Madras and the English factors hastened to make their peace with him. 16

Mir Jumla confirmed all the privileges that the English had obtained from the previous Hindu ruler when they gave him help against San Thome. The years 1646-47, when this revolution was being effected, were marked by a great famine in the land when a large number of people died of starvation. 17 As many as 3,000 died in Madras alone during the period from September, 1646 to January, 1647. In 1652, Madras was raised to the rank of the Presidency, independent of Bantam, and Aarom Baker was its first President. But the Directors suddenly ordered very unwisely the reduction of Madras again to the status of subordinate agency (1654). It was not until four years later that Madras was again restored to the rank of a Presidency independent of Bantam and directly responsible to the Court of Directors, while all the factories in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast were subordinated to it.

Thenceforward, Madras stood as the type of the system of fortified factories, which the conflicts of the Indian powers in southeastern India rendered indispensable for the safety of European trade.

With the Restoration, Madras entered on a new period of life. Sir Edward Winter, President (1662-65), was given summary powers to punish all private traders.. He improved the sea-trade with Bengal and Bantam and threatened the hostile Indian powers with retaliation on the sea. He began a costly scheme of fortifying Madras which displeased the Directors and led to his recall. But he took advantage of the unpopularity of his successor, Foxcroft, who was an uncompromising old Puritan, accused him of treasonable words towards King Charles, and had him kept in confinement for three years during which he ruled as Govenor (1665-68). At last Winter retired and Foxcroft was restored to office which he enjoyed only for a year. 18

Sir William Langhorne, Governor during 1670-78, put a bold front against the aggressions of the French and of the Dutch, promoted the prosperity of the Black Town, developed the English garrison and formed a body of native peons, called the Black Guards. Dr. Frayer, who visited the city in 1673, gives a good account of the life of the Europeans.

Streynsham Master, the next Governor (1678-81), framed regulations for the proper administration of justice and the conduct of civil servants, and cleverly kept Shivaji at a distance from Madras. Trade became brisk, a larger investment was made, and Master may very well be called the Second Founder of Madras.

Important events took place during the governorship of Elihu Yale (1687-92). 19 Madras got a Corporation with a Mayor and Aldermen. From Yale’s time, until 1746, when the French under La Bourdonnais captured Madras, all the Governors were merchant princes who had two definite objects in view, viz., the advancement of the Company’s trade and the accumulation of a private fortune for themselves. The Directors no longer grumbled nor grew angry at their servants’ private trade; they found that the latter could grow wealthy by private trading and could yet advance the Company’s interests. The most famous of these merchant-governors was Thomas Pitt. 20

In Bengal, in the first stage, the English Agent at Masulipatam sent up a few factors to establish factories at Hariharapur and at Balasore. The former factory fell into decay; and Balasore also would have been abandoned, had it not been for the strong recommendation of Francis Day that the factory should be retained and improved. Gabriel Boughton, who was in favour with Prince Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal, got for the English permission to trade throughout the province free of customs and other dues. 21 The

factory at Hooghly, established in 1651, did not prove promising. In 1657, an attempt was made at improving the Chief Agency at Hooghly and the subordinate agencies at Balasore, Cassimbazar and Patna. 22

There was, however, a set-back on account of the civil war of succession in the Mughul Empire and of the oppressions practised by the officials of Mir Jumla, the Viceroy. Under the rule of Nawab Shayista Khan (Viceroy from 1663) and with the help of an Imperial farman, and with the pirates of Arakan and Chittagong finally put down, the English trade increased, particularly in silk and saltpetre 23

In 1681, the Directors appointed William Hedges, one of their number, to the Agency of Hooghly which was henceforth to be distinct from Madras. But Hedges found trade low, the Mughul officials quarrelsome, and the interlopers threatening, while the Viceroy, Shayista Khan, was indifferent.

Hedges was convinced that the English should seize some convenient spot and fortify it. 24 He proposed to build a fortified settlement on the island of Saugor at the mouth of the Hooghly. The Directors suggested that Chittagong might be taken and fortified. In the end they resolved to make war on the Mughuls and got permission in 1686 to declare war against Aurangzib. Saugor was too much exposed to storms. Chittagong was too distant and Hooghly was impossible. After their expulsion from Bengal and after trying various sites, the English at last pitched upon Kalikata, the site of Calcutta, as satisfying all their objects.

When the Afghans revolted in Bengal and ravaged the whole Galley of the Hooghly, the English at Calcutta as well as the Dutch at Chinsura asked for permission from the Viceroy to fortify their factories and to raise troops, and were allowed in general terms to defend themselves (1697). The English began to build walls and bastions around their factory, and the next year they were permitted to rent the two neighbouring villages of Sutanuti and Govindapur. In 1700 the Directors constituted Bengal into a separate

Presidency, (the Presidency of Fort William) with Sir Charles Eyre as its first President. He was soon succeeded by John Beard, a trusted servant who strengthened the fortification and increased the garrison. On AurangzTb’s death in 1707 the English, fearing a civil war, built two bastions to their fort by the river side and boldly threatened retaliations on Mughul officials for any injury that might be done to them. The Emperor, Bahadur Shah, and Murshid Qulf Khan, the

Viceroy, recognised and confirmed their privileges, and the English looked hopefully towards an era of peace and prosperity.

1. It is worthwhile to emphasize the fact that “Columbus’s voyage to America was an integral part of the process of Atlantic exploration initiated by Prince Henry, the Navigator. Columbus’s knowledge of Atlantic winds and tides had been mostly acquired on Portuguese ships; his inference that a westerly course would bring him to Cipangu was to a great extent founded on data furnished by Portuguese pilots”. (Jayne, Vasco da Gama and his successors, 1910, p. 51).

2. For unfavourable versions of the capture, cf. Firishta (Briggs’s Transl.), Vol. Ill, p. 34 and Rowlandson’s Tuhfat, p. 135.

2a. For a sympathetic estimate of St. Xavier, cf. Sir J. Stephen, Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography (1849)—Founders of Jesuitism.

3. When war was declared between England and Spain in 1584-85, the English met the difficulty by directly breaking into the Portuguese preserves on the West African coast and in the Indian Ocean. When Spain tightened her hold on the Straits of Gibralter and on Sicily, Sardinia and Naples, the prosperity of the English Levant Company, which traded mainly in the products of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, was menaced and the English were forced to seek a new route. Spain attempted to close in on the Dutch at the Straits of Malacca and persuaded the native princes of the Malay Peninsula to shut them out effectively from that region (1598-1601). In 1602, the Dutch concentrated all their energies in the formation of a united and armed national trading company. Their fleet routed the Portuguese near Bantam in Java and got possession of the passage to the Moluccas and the Spice Islands. In 1603, they threatened Goa itself, and by 1619 they became

masters of Java and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope also fell into their hands later.

The exclusive possession of the Spice Islands became their great goal. Their first endeavour was to secure the entire control of the Straits of Malacca, the narrow sea between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. They entered into an alliance with the ruler of Achin (at the north-western extremity of Sumatra) which commanded the entrance to the Straits. They allied themselves with the kingdom of Johore on the opposite coast and tried to capture Malacca from the Portuguese. By 1641, the Dutch had become complete masters of the Straits.

4. The Dutch Government unified all the minor companies into one great Dutch United East India Company with a monopoly of the Eastern trade for 21 years. The Company was divided into six committees representing the six provinces which subscribed to the common capital. The Government nominated the Directors, audited the accounts, supervised the instructions to the servants and appointed an Executive Committee of seventeen who served as an intermediate body between the Government and the Company. The Company was empowered to make war or peace, seize foreign ships, establish colonies, construct forts and coin money. Even from the very beginning, the Company had a large working capital and willingly spent large sums on troops and fortresses. The Dutch Government supported the Company in all its undertakings, subsidised its expeditions and made it a semi-national concern.

5. The number of subscribers to the Company was 217. The first Governor and Committee-Men (i.e., the Chairman and the managing committee) were nominated in the charter and their successors were to be annually elected by the share-holders. The Governor and Committee-Men frequently submitted for confirmation all their most important acts to meetings or ‘General Courts’ of all the subscribers of the Company.

At first the Company conducted their trade by means of separate voyage , each separate voyage being undertaken by a minor group among the subscribers who furnished the capital required for the voyage, shared the profits and wound up the whole concern themselves, the capital being returned to each subscriber at the end of the voyage. In 1612 a new arrangement, known a 9 joint stock, was adopted by which for each joint stock, subscriptions were raised for several voyages extending over a period of years instead of for a

single voyage. But each group of voyages closed its affairs and wound up its profits in the same way as each separate voyage.

6. Surat traded largely in the fine cotton fabrics and muslins of Upper India as well as in indigo, which was produced in large quantities in the neighbourhood of Agra. Surat was then one of the chief centres of maritime trade from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf, and caravans started from it for all the inland parts of India and for the great cities of Golconda, Agra Delhi and Lahore. By their control of Surat and Ormuz, the English were able to protect the pilgrim route to Mecca from the Indian Coast from molestation by the Portuguese and the pirates.

7. The English factory at Surat became very prosperous and there "caravans came and went to all the inland capitals of India, Golconda, Agra, Delhi, Lahore; and the products of Asia from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf were piled up on the wharves of the Tapti. Merchants flocked in such numbers to Surat that during the busy winter months lodgings could scarcely be had." A number of able Presidents were responsible for this prosperity in English trade. The terrible famine that raged in Gujarat in 1631 greatly injured the position of the English and on one occasion they had to withdraw their factories from Ahmadabad and Broach and even thought of abandoning Surat, while a Mughul governor threw the English President into prison for an act of piracy committed by Courten's ships. But in spite of this set-back the Surat factors did not lose heart. The factory grew with a strength of its own until in 1657 it was constituted the sole presidency of the English in India. "Surat illustrates the position which the English quickly secured in the economy of the Mughal Empire, as sure source of revenue, as sea-police for the coast, and the patrol of the ocean-path to Mecca, gradually developing into negotiators on behalf of the native government".

8. In 1626 both the English and the Dutch advanced from Surat and seized Bombay. But they could not retain possession of it for long. In 1653 the English factors at Surat urged upon the Directors to make the island a

fortified station and to persuade the Portuguese in return for a consideration to take possession of that place and of Bassein also. In the following year the Directors drew the attention of Cromwell to this suggestion.

9. He had a clear perception of the brilliant future of Bombay and wrote to his King at Lisbon that “only the obedience I owe your Majesty, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed (i.e. the cession of the island) because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese, and that India will be lost (to the Portuguese) the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay.”

10. Oxenden gave the first impetus to the growth of Bombay. He clearly saw, even when no Suez Canal was looming in the distance, that Bombay would become key to India and he garrisoned the island and fortified it. His regulations were adopted as the model for all the military establishments of the company.

11. He died in 1677 at Surat; and his Council wrote of him thus: “Multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depict his greatness”. His character is best summarised in the following words of an appreciative historian: “The figure of Aungier stands out in bold relief on the pages of history—the first man in India who taught us the art of self-government and the wisdom of dealing with our neighbours—sage in counsel and bold in action.”' It was Aungier that, for the first time in the early history of the Company, realised the importance of a policy of religious toleration, unlike either the Portuguese or the Spaniards. With him commerce was more important than conversion, and a careful study of his life will clearly show that he and Bombay were both born for each other; in fact, it was he who indicated to the Company what its policy should be in India in the future.

12. He says that the Indians asked the English merchants: “What has your sword done? Whoever felt your power? We see Dutch outdo you; the Portugals have behaved themselves like men. You can scarce keep Bombai, which you got as we know, not by your valour but by compact (with the Portuguese); and you will pretend to be men of war or cope with our princes? It is fitter for you to live on merchandise and submit to us”.

13. During his Governorship (1682-1690), there happened three serious and unforeseen difficulties which contributed to the utter failure of his administration, viz., (1) the military revolt under Keigwin (1683-84); (2) troubles from interlopers and pirates on a large scale; and (3) the policy of territorial expansion which only brought upon the Company bitter defeat and humiliation. Child had to eat the humblei pie from the Mughul Emperor who imposed most humiliating terms upon him. He did not survive long after his disgrace.

14. The distressing events of the Governorships of Child and Gayer had a disastrous effect on the prosperity of Bombay. They seriously affected the growth of the population and prosperity of Bombay and brought the city to a chaotic condition. The favourite city of Aungier thus fell on evil days. There was plenty of crime, immorality and disease in the city; there was no control over the factors, nor any over their masters; and it became the fashion for the English to be vicious and reckless, as contemporary writers abundantly testify.

15. Day went to England in 1641 to plead personally for his settlement before the Court of Directors, while Cogan, his successor, suffered much before he was excused from all blame and from responsibility for the charge of building the fort. Even as late as 1647, the Directors were of the view that the building of the fort was a very indiscreet step. The settlement was at first governed from Bantam and its trade chiefly consisted of Indian calicoe and muslins needed for the Bantam market.

16. Agent Greenhill paid a visit to Sriranga Raya, either at Vellore or at Chandragiri and obtained a cowle for the possession of Madras. A letter from the Madras factors to Surat, dated 21 January, 1646, tells us that Greenhill had returned from the king having got some addition to the privileges confirmed by him. “In the year Parthiwa, the month Kartika, the Moon in the wane, the king over all kings, the holiest and amongst all cavaliers the greatest, Sriranga Raya, the mighty King God, gives this cowle unto Agent Thomas Ivie, Chief Captain of the English and the Company of that nation”.

Mir Jumla's authority over the coast country round Madras became fully consolidated by 1647. He had in his service a number of European guns and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European help. From Cumbum he extended the dominion of Golconda, i.e., his own power, to Gandikota, Chandragiri and Tirupati. His dominion in the Carnatic covered an area 300 miles long and 50 miles broad. He maintained an army of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry of his own, besides 4,000 horse of his Sultan's. His infantry troops numbered 20,000; he had an excellent park of artillery and a large number of trained elephants.

17. Pulicat suffered a loss of 15,000 and San Thome was injured equally badly. But, on the whole, in these years, fortune did not treat the English badly. Their trade indeed suffered from the prevailing famine and military operations. But they had got the Raya's confirmation of their privileges, and preserved the friendship of the Muslim conqueror as well as a further confirmation of their rights.

18. Thus closed an incident which had its parallel in both Bombay and St. Helena, in which the Company's authority was set at nought by its own servants under pretence of protecting the King's honour (c.f. Kaigwin's Rebellion in Bombay).

19.i In 1682 the English got permission from the Maratha ruler of Gingee to settle and trade at Port Novo and at Cuddalore. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, took refuge at Madras on his expulsion from Bengal by the Mughuls who threatened to attack Madras also. But the storm blew over and Nawab Zulfikar Khan, the Mughul General in the campaign against Gingee, confirmed the privileges in Madras and other places. In 1690 the English purchased the fort of Tegnapatam, Fort St. David near Cuddalore, from Rajaram Chatrapati, then ruling from Gingee.

The scheme of starting a Corporation for Madras had originated with Sir Josia Child who thought that if influential natives were made Aldermen and members of the Corporation, they would easily persuade the people to pay taxes. The Mayor and Aldermen were to form a court for the trial of civil and criminal cases. The Mayor's Court continues to this day under the name of the Presidency Magistrate's Court and the Corporation also continues to this day. But though the Corporation was formed with a flourish of trumpets, the taxes were not easily collected; and the people strongly resisted anything like the imposition of a house-tax.

20. He was Governor for the unusually long term of 11 years from 1698 to 1709; and his term of office proved to be “the golden age of Madras in respect of the development of trade and increase of wealth.” His successful resistance to the attack of Daud Khan, the Mughul ruler of the Carnatic, the permanent fortification of the Black Town, the acquisition of numerous villages in the vicinity of Madras, and the firm control of the so-called Right Hand and Left Hand Castes of the Black Town which frequently quarrelled and came to blows—these are the chief events of his Governorship. But his most important service was his defence of the Company and protection of its interests against the new Company that was formed in 1698, and its representatives.

21. Latest research proves beyond doubt that Gabriel Boughton got the concession of free trade for himself and not for the English in general. Cf. S. Chaudhuri “The Myth of the English East India Company’s Trading Privileges in Bengal,” 1651-1686, Bengal Past and Present, Sri J. N. Sarkar Centenary Volume, December 1970, pp. 287-292 (Editor).

22. The number of factors in the Bengal settlements was more than doubled, their moral tone was greatly improved, and everything appeared to progress very satisfactorily. The English Agent wrote to the Directors as follows: “Bengal is a rich province. Raw silk is abundant. The taffaties are various and fine. The salt-petre is cheap and of the best quality.... The goods have been sold at a great advantage. Our operations are growing so extensive that we shall be obliged to build new and large warehouses”.

23. Streynsham Master introduced a new system of management and account keeping in the Bengal factories. Later, he inspected the factories again when he was the Governor of Madras and took severe measures to correct the indiscipline that marked the life of the Bengal factors.

24. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, tried three places on the Hooghly river before he fixed upon Calcutta, viz, Hooghly, Uluberia and the island of Hijli. The towns of Hooghly and Uluberia (at the point where the Damodar River joins the Hooghly) were both situated on the western bank and completely exposed to attack by the Mughul enemy advancing from the west. The island of Hijli near the mouth of the river seemed suitable enough at first sight; but it could be easily reached by the Mughul army and was, besides, in a malarious swamp. The last site which Charnock tried was Sutanuti on the eastern bank of the Hooghly. It could not be approached by the Mughul troops from the West and was strategically safe, being flanked by morasses on its eastern and southern sides. The English by sending their troops up the river could prevent the enemy from marching on Calcutta and even cut him off at his base. At a place, a few miles lower down the Hooghly than Calcutta, the river had scooped for itself a long deep pool which at high tide was accessible to heavy ships and which was the anchoring place of the great annual Portuguese fleets to Bengal since 1530. That pool now forms the Calcutta Harbour.

The foundation of Calcutta in 1690 marks the beginning of the fourth period of the history of the English settlements in Bengal. Job Charnock clearly saw that Mughul farmdns and promises would be no good protection to the English and, like Hedges, felt that they must possess a fortified place. Charnock had to fly from Hooghly before the Mughuls on the outbreak of war to the site of present Calcutta and to Hijli. In September 1687, he anchored at Calcutta for a second time and opened negotiations for leave to build a factory. After trying several places on the river and sheltering themselves at Madras for a year, Charnock and his men were invited to settle at Calcutta by the new Mughul Viceroy; and he returned to Calcutta in August, 1690. Next year he secured an Imperial order allowing the English to continue their trade in Bengal on a small yearly payment.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE

ORGANISATION

I. NATURE OF THE MUGHUL GOVERNMENT

The Mughul emperors ruled without any effective check on their authority. In theory they were only servants of the law, the Muslim law. They could neither supersede it nor modify it. But in actual practice this was true of the personal law of the Muslims alone.

The Mughul emperors did not really claim the right to decide the religious beliefs of the Muslims. The law and practical attitude towards the Hindus has been mentioned above (pp. 234, 305-6, and later in chapter XVIII. Cf. also Vol. VI, pp. 617-622). The administrative organisation was recognised in practice as lying beyond the jurisdiction of the Qazls. Even in countries like Persia, Afghanistan, or Egypt, where almost the entire population had been converted to Islam, the Muslim rulers had felt it necessary to incorporate preMuslim customs in the organisation of the government. In India, where the preponderant bulk of the population refused to accept Islam, it was all the more difficult to organise government according to the Muslim law. The rulers exercised greater liberty in the organisation of the government. They acknowledged themselves as the agents of Islam, interested in its spread among the nonMuslims and in securing conformity to orthodox practices among the Muslims. In return, the theologians usually left them alone in the organisation of government. The practices of the first four Caliphs were exalted by the Muslim jurists as the Muslim policy. But the Shiahs differed violently from this view. Thus a good deal of latitude was left to the Muslim rulers in the organisation of the government. Most of the Mughul emperors, therefore, felt themselves at liberty to order things as they pleased provided what they did was not actually opposed to the Qur’an.

The Mughul emperors assumed titles which placed their authority far beyond the reach of the jurists. Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzlb, all claimed to be the ‘shadow of God’, ‘Vakil’ (agent) of God on Earth, ‘Khalifa (deputy of the prophet) of their age and country’. This did not, however, amount to the assertion that there was a ‘divinity hedging round the crown’, much less did

this assert the divine right of kings which the contemporary Stuarts were proclaiming in England. It was as successful agents for the spread of Islam that the Mughul emperors could claim to be the ‘shadow of God on Earth’. Akbar did not claim the authority to do what he liked; he simply asserted that his innovations should not be condemned unless they were contrary to the Qur’an. Thus the Qur’an was recognised in theory at least as the fundamental law of the State.

This should have tempered Mughul despotism and rendered it a ‘limited monarchy’. It failed to do so because there was no institution in the Mughul State capable of effectively compelling the Mughul rulers to hold their hands if they ever transgressed the law. Twice under the Mughul emperors the theologians found themselves in opposition to their rulers. When Akbar changed the religious policy of the State and intended making the law of heresy and the discriminative code against the Hindus inoperative, AbdunNabi, his Sadr, opposed it and incurred his displeasure. He lost in the end and his successor lost many of his powers. Shiah Jahan’s Chief Qazi refused to proclaim Aurangzlb as Shah Jahan’s successor when Shah Jahan was still alive. Here was Islamic polity working as the fundamental law of the Mughul State. But the resemblance is only superficial. The Qazi was appointed by the emperor and held office during his pleasure. Aurangzlb removed the inconvenient Qazi and found another, who declared that Aurangzlb was exercising royal power because his father Shah Jahan was incapacitated from acting, presumably because Aurangzlb had imprisoned him. Thus, the authority of theologians failed to make a limited monarchy of the Mughul government. It remained a despotism.

But if the Qur’an formed the fundamental law of the Mughul State it may be argued that it was a theocracy. A theocracy without an independent religious head is impossible. It is further necessary that the authority of such a theologian should be recognised without dispute by the vast bulk of the population. The Mughul government lacked such an office. The Mughul government was no more a theocracy than the government of George II in Ireland.

The Mughul government was then a despotism but of a peculiar brand. Its absolute authority was never so interpreted by its rulers. Theoretically, and to a large extent in practice, the judiciary was independent. Administration of justice through Hindu Panchayats and Qazis' courts owed nothing to the king though he made provisions for the maintenance of the Qazis. The Mughul rulers made few laws of their own and did not claim the right to do so.

II. THE EMPEROR

There does not seem to have been any generally accepted law of succession. Dominion was not even supposed to run in the house of Babur alone. Mahdl Khvaja was Babur's son-in-law. Claim to the throne does not seem to have been confined to the sons of the last ruler. Khusrav, Akbar's grandson, was a hot favourite for the throne when Akbar lay dying. Nomination by the reigning monarch did not have much effect. Babur's Prime Minister, Mir Khalifa, knew Babur's wishes when he was trying to supplant Humayun. At Jahangir's death, his nominee, Shahryar, was quietly passed over. Aurangzlb's rebellion against Shah Jahan challenged the right of the reigning monarch both to nominate a successor and to take steps that his nominee should succeed him. The eldest son does not seem to have possessed any incontestable claim. Aurangzib was not Shah Jahan's eldest son. Shah Jahan had become the eldest only after having Khusrav murdered. The empire was not considered an indivisible entity. Babur's kingdom was inherited by Kamran and Humayun. Humayun's dominion was divided between Hakim and Akbar. Aurangzib intended a fourfold division of the country.

As the new ruler took his seat on the throne, the court would resound with the cries of 'Badshah Salamat', proclaiming to the rest of the country that a new king had ascended the throne. The new monarch announced a breach with his non-royal past by taking a title—a Salim would blossom forth into a Jahangir, a Khurram into a Shah Jahan. Presents would then be offered to the new king. A design for the new coins would be selected and a verse to adorn them chosen. The popular proclamation would come on the Friday following the accession. Before the Muslims assembled for the Friday prayers, the Imam would start by reading the Khutba . This would include prayers, among others, for the reigning monarch. The new monarch’s name would now be added to the list.

The emperor was the fountain of all honours, source of all administrative power and the dispenser of supreme justice. These were not empty phrases. He summoned a few of his highest officers inside his private apartments to discuss necessary business with them. Once a week or oftener he held a court of justice. To these might be added the king’s appearance in a balcony early in the morning when he received such complaints and demands for redress as his subjects chose to present to him.

The emperors came to the salutation balcony at sunrise soon after their morning devotions. Most imperial palaces had a special

window— Jharokha —assigned for the purpose. This would overlook a spacious court where not only a large number of people could get together for Darshan, but where a review of troops could also be held. This done, the emperor felt himself free to receive petitions. BadaunTs complaints about the how people’ assembling here in Akbar’s time suggest that the institution worked effectively under Akbar. Under Jahangir we find admission to the enclosure jealously guarded by officials. Shah Jahan complained that he could not obtain even twenty petitions daily.

At noon the emperor viewed from here elephant fights held twice a week; lions fought buffaloes, leopards killed deers, jugglers performed their tricks to amuse the emperor.

The Jharokha Darshan thus mainly served as a means of proclaiming the king’s presence amidst his subjects.

The king next appeared in the Diwan-i-‘Am. Shah Jahan came to it straight from the Jharokha. Aurangzib appeared twice here, in the forenoon and the afternoon. Akbar seems to have held it in the afternoon. The morning sessions under Shah Jahan were devoted to the inspection of workshops and stables; and public business proper seems to have been done in the afternoon only. Aurangzib held two public sessions for some years only and confined himself to one afternoon session later on.

It was not a Durbar as we understand the term today—a place for formal audience and amusement of the king. It did not provide any Tamdsha. It was the king-in-court transacting State business in public. It was an assembly of officials presided over by the king.

The court had a set of officers. The Mir-i-Tuzak acted as the chief secretary. The imperial news-writer daily attended the court, with two reporters. The Superintendent of the Royal Post was present with a staff of royal messengers. The Chief Huntsman, the Superintendent of the Royal camp, the Superintendent of the Imperial Body-guard and Superintendent of the Guard were always in attendance upon the king.

The business of the day began with the reading of the previous day's orders. They were confirmed and then sent to various departments for proper action. After this the Diwdn or the Bakhshi read extracts from the official letters they had received from provincial governors, district officers, commanders of garrison towns, and collectors of customs. The emperor would listen attentively and, where needed, issue orders promptly. Some of the high officers in the court would then submit the requests of the State servants

serving in the mofussil from the private letters received by them. The emperor would pause a little for deliberation and then announce his orders, usually calling for a report from the Dlmdn, the Bakhshi or the Khan-i-Samcin. Sometimes the applicant was told to approach his immediate superiors. The imperial news-writer would also read extracts from the reports sent by his subordinates from different parts of the country. The Superintendent of various workshops or keepers of royal stores would also make reports and submit their demands. Royal messengers sent out by the emperor for bringing reports from local officials submitted them here. Royal Commissioners appointed to make investigation locally submitted their reports.

Appointments of all the mansabddrs were made here; questions of their promotion, demotion and dismissal, the grant of jdglrs to them in lieu of salary, posting them to various jobs—all required the sanction of the emperor which was granted in the durbar. Usually the governors, faujddrs and garrison commanders had direct access to the imperial court with regard to the matters in which they were concerned. The provincial revenue officials, however, had to submit all their reports to the imperial dlmdn who then presented the papers with his own recommendations. Even the underdlwdns at the capital were required to submit their papers through the imperial dlmdn who read the appropriate portions with the suggestions in the open court.

Ambassadors, distinguished visitors, defeated rebels, vanquished rulers and their representatives were all received in the durbdr bringing their presents with them. Here, again, were honours conferred on them, presents given and the terms to be granted to them announced.

The great officers of the State sent to the provinces took their leave of the emperor and received his parting instructions; successful commanders returning from their expeditions were honoured by being received in the open court, sometimes even with their retinues.

On festive occasions, the emperor received the presents of his mansabddrs, present and absent. He also announced his own gifts to them. The king’s birthdays, the lunar, and till Aurangzlb’s reign, the solar New Year’s Days, the Ids and the Dusserah were thus celebrated with great eclat.

Two secretaries belonging to the imperial news-writers’ department were on duty every day by turn. Everything said or done in the court was recorded.

The department of the Khdn-i-Sdmdn made heavy demands on the emperor’s time in the court. Superintendents in charge of various workshops had to be guided by the imperial taste. Thus all questions concerning workshops, buildings, roads, tents, gardens, imperial sport or amusements, were decided here.

The Ghusal Khdnd was a retired place for doing important work and holding important consultations where only the highly placed officials of the king were admitted. The commanders of expeditions about to leave, governors proceeding on their appointments were sometimes called to hold confidential consultations with the emperor here. Admission was regulated by permits. A Superintendent of the Ghusal Khdnd secured the observance of its rule of etiquette. Under Shah Jahan, at least, if an official was held guilty of an offence against decorum in the Ghusal Khdnd he was not allowed to leave till he had paid the fine imposed on him. It was an unceremonial gathering. Jahangir would interrupt its proceedings by taking his usual cups of wine here. Akbar discussed religious questions here. The emperor sat either on a throne, a chair or on the rich carpet specially spread for him. All members present were allowed to sit.

The Khilwat Khdnd was any place where the emperor decided to hold confidential consultations in privacy. The Dtwdn and the Bakhshz were almost always present. Other officers concerned could be summoned if the emperor so desired.

Every Wednesday the Dlwan-i-‘Am-o-Khas would be converted into a court of justice. The Superintendent of the Court presented the aggrieved persons, probably explaining in each case their grievances. The emperor would then do justice as he thought fit.

The rest of the time of the emperor was spent in the harem, or at prayers, in sleep, or in amusements.

It is necessary to remember that the Mughul emperor seldom missed attendance at one or another of these administrative conferences. As long as this continued, all went well with the empire. No fool could afford to be in the company of such a large number of highly placed officials without learning something from them. No one who was a fool could fail to be discovered as one by such discerning persons.

The Mughul Emperor thus formed the pivot on which the entire administration turned. In camp or in the palaces, well or ill, he never neglected business and thus always played an important part in the administration of the country. He presided over it, inspired its activities, and very largely he determined its character.

III. HIGH OFFICERS OF THE STATE

No absolute ruler, however diligent, can discharge all the duties of the government at the centre, alone. He must have round him persons to whom he can entrust his commissions, who act as his eyes and ears, and spare him a lot of detailed work. Under the early Mughuls, Babur had Mahdi Khvaja as his Prime Minister and Zain-ud-dln as his Sadr. Humayun does not seem to have appointed any one to a position higher than that of a secretary; on his return from Persia Bairam Khan occupied an exceptional position in the State, but more as a great commander than as a high administrator. During Akbar's minority Bairam Khan acted as his regent (Vakil), discharging all the functions of the head of the State in Akbar's name. When Bairam Khan fell, the faction that had brought about his fall could not expect to step into his shoes. Though first Maham Anaga and then Munim Khan continued to guide Akbar's administration they occupied the position of the power behind the throne. Munim Khan could not issue orders on his own without at least making the pretence of consulting his young sovereign.

Soon after this Akbar brought about a reorganisation of the government. The Vakil disappeared as an administrative officer, and the title was retained as an honorific office. Henceforward the Dlwdn signed all the State documents both as the Dlwdn as well as the Vakil.

The Mughul ministry in Akbar's reorganisation came to consist of the Dlwdn, the Mir Bakhshl, the Khdn-i-Sdmdn, and the Sadr as principal heads of the revenue, the military, the public works and industries and the judicial, ecclesiastical, and education departments, respectively. This division of work continued throughout the Mughul period. Under the Ministers, but having the right of access to the emperor, were the Mustaufi (the Auditor General), the Superintendents of the Artillery, of Elephants and of War Boats, the Chief Qdzi, the Chief Mufti (Legal Adviser) and the Chief Muhtasib (Censor).

The Dlwdn was the King's minister par excellence. The work of every other minister came under his supervision. As the keeper of the King's purse he had a say in all matters where any expenditure was to be incurred. All the earning departments were under his control. The Bakhshli , the Khdn-i~Sdmdn and the Sadr spent the revenues the Dlwdn raised. All the imperial orders were first recorded in his office before being sent, and he alone issued orders on behalf of the king. Of course, the entire revenue administration of the empire was under him. Thus, the smooth working of the administrative machinery very often turned on the way the

Diwjdn’s office was run. The Mughul emperors were very fortunate in some of their Diwdns. Raja Todarmal, Raj'a Raghunath, Diwdn Sa’d-ullah Khan and Ja‘far Khan left traditions of public service which became the envy of the later ages.

After the Diwtin came the Mir Bakhshi. The Mughul emperors never employed Commander-in-Chiefs of their entire army. This was not feasible because the Mughul army mainly consisted of the independent contingents of the Mansabdars. The Mir Bakhshi was his chief military adviser. He worked as the Inspector-General of the Contingents of the Mansabdars and their Paymaster holding annual reviews of troops and troopers.

He was the nerve centre of the administration. All the newswriters outside the capital were his agents. The provincial Bakhshi was the news-writer-in-chief for his province. The provincial Bakhshi’s report usually was a review of the work of all the Mansabdars in the province. The Mir Bakhshi was thus in a position to pass judgment on the work of all the public servants working outside the capital.

At the capital, the Mir Bakhshi had several departmental heads under him. The Superintendents of artillery, elephants and warboats were placed immediately under him. There was a separate Bakhshi of gentleman troops called Ahadis.

The Khtin-i-Sdman was the third secular minister. In theory he was an under-minister only, being technically under the Diwdn. In actual practice, however, he had independent access to the emperor and was usually allotted lump sum grants which he distributed as he thought fit. He represented his own requirements himself to the emperor in the court. He was the minister in charge of the household department, royal buildings, roads, gardens, purchase, stores and workshops. He thus performed the duties of modern ministers for public works, trade, industry and agriculture, besides acting as the controller of the royal household.

Sometimes very near the king’s person, but administratively outside the king’s servants, was the Sadr. Associated with him there were a Chief Qazi and a Legal Remembrancer (the Mufti) and under him worked the Chief

Muhtasib (Censor) and the imperial collector of the jizya, at the capital, and Qdzis, Muhtasibs, collectors of the jizya , and Sadrs in the provinces.

The Sadr was the Chief Justice, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Minister of Education, and Royal Alms, or all rolled into one. But in the judicial department he functioned more as the Chief Qdzl than the Sadr. In Aurangzib's reign there were separate Chief Qdzts and Sadrs.

The Sadr's main duty was patronage of learning, piety and scholarship. Akbar appointed provincial Sadrs besides the imperial Sadr. This curtailed the power of the Chief Sadr since recommendations for making grants did not always originate with him. Akbar seems to have made it necessary for his later Sadrs to take his orders in making grants. Under Jahangir this system continued. The Sadrs and the other officers under them were usually stipendiaries under Akbar. But Akbar gave his last Sadr a mansab.

The Muhtasib was both an ecclesiastical and secular officer. As a secular officer he examined weights and measures and saw to it that fair prices prevailed in the market. He recovered debts and traced and handed over to their owners fugitive slaves. He saw to it that public streets or markets were not built upon. Under Aurangzib his ecclesiastical functions predominated, whereas he performed certain border line functions as well; putting down the public sale of intoxicants, wine, bhang , Tddi (toddy), protecting sexual morality by preventing the prostitutes from carrying on their profession openly in the cities, and preventing gambling may be considered as his border line functions. Besides all this he had to secure the observance of the punitive law against the Hindus as promulgated by Aurangzib; thus, putting down of public worship by the Hindus, closing down of some of their shrines, the enforcement of sartorial regulations, prevention of the celebration of the Hindu festivals of DipavaVi and Holi, and putting down of newly erected temples were some of his duties. He reported apostasy and blasphemy and secured punishment of the guilty. So far as the Muslims were concerned, he had to secure the observance of the Muslim way of life as understood by Aurangzib. He put down music, prevented the lighting of lamps on Muslim tombs and shrines on Thursday, forbade the sale of toys representing animate beings, hindered the growth of the beards of uncanonical length and shape, and enforced sartorial regulations. He prevented the public non-observance of the fast during the month of Ramzan. At prayer time he sent all Muslims to pray in the nearby mosque.

The Ddrogd-i-Ddk Chaukl ran the imperial post. His agents were everywhere. At every stage, a horse was kept ready for use by his messengers. They brought news in all ways, on foot and on horse, by rivers or over the mountains.

IV. TAXATION IN MUGHUL INDIA

The Mughul emperors exploited several sources of revenue. They levied direct taxes on income and persons, profession and property. They made money by extensive commercial undertakings of various kinds. They raised substantial sums by indirect taxes such as customs duties, transit dues, octroi, sales tax, and the excise duty on manufactures. Administration of justice brought in a small sum in fines and judicial fees. The emperor was the heir to all property without proper title, and salvages from ship-wrecks were his. Registration fee was paid when transactions were recorded or certain ceremonies performed. The emperors received presents from their officers and subjects as also from foreign rulers sending embassies to India. War often became a source of income; indemnity was sometimes levied besides receipts from plunder. Under Babur and Humayun, and again under Aurangzlb, certain burdens were shouldered by non-Muslims which can be best described as taxes on religion.

It is well to remember that there was always a difference between what the citizens paid and the receipts credited to the treasury. Many officials levied charges which were not credited to the State; some of these formed customary authorised methods whereby they were allowed to supplement their salaries; others were not only not authorised but were from time to time forbidden by various emperors. The first should undoubtedly be included among taxes whereas the second class can only be termed exactions. But both formed the burden the people had to bear.

Among the direct taxes on income, the land revenue figured most. As in modern India, several systems of assessment and collection of land revenue prevailed in Mughul India. All of them were based on the principle that the land revenue demanded by the State should not ordinarily exceed one-third of the actual produce and should never be more than one-half thereof. In certain States of Rajputana as little as 1/7 or 1/8 of the produce was paid. Aurangzib fixed one-half of the produce as the maximum.

Of course, in certain cases a share of the actual produce, when harvested, was claimed. But sharing could take several other forms as well. Sometimes the standing crop was divided between the cultivator and the State. In some parts of the country, the cultivator assigned one-third of his field to the State as it was brought under cultivation. To avoid bickering on both sides Kankut was resorted to. When the harvest was ripening, skilful appraisers were appointed who tried to estimate the probable yield of the crop.

One-third of the estimated crop was then assigned to the State and was paid when the crop was harvested.

Sharing was seldom considered a satisfactory method of collecting land revenue. It provided several occasions for defrauding the State. One way out of the difficulty was provided by resorting to an outright payment in cash irrespective of the crop area or the value of the crop. This was done by taking an average of the landrevenue paid by a cultivator for all his lands during the last ten years. Nasaq, as this system was called, seems to have been much favoured by Aurangzlb.

But the Zabti was the system most in use in different parts of the Mughul empire. Developed by Akbar on the lines laid down by Sher Shah, it set up a demand schedule differing, though ever so slightly, from one assessment circle to another. There were more than 170 assessment circles in the empire, every one of them with a schedule of its own. The assessment circle represented an area where the same, or nearly the same, cash prices for agricultural produce usually prevailed. The schedule of demand was based on the principle that one-third of the produce was due to the State. For this purpose the assessment rates of Sher Shah were used. These laid down the amount in kind due to the State from one bighci of land under different crops. Sher Shiah had prepared his schedule by taking the average produce per bighci of various crops in fields of varying fertility. The average seems to have been struck some time about 1542, and the lands selected must have been in the neighbourhood of the capital, Agra.

Akbar made various experiments for successfully converting Sher Shah's demand in kind into cash. As we have seen above, he guarded against varying prices in different parts of the country by dividing it into about 172 assessment circles. In an assessment circle, the average of the prices of various crops prevailing during the past ten years was struck and used for the conversion of the State demand into cash.

Thus, wherever the Zabti prevailed the cultivators paid land revenue only for that portion of their land which was under cultivation. As it was paid in cash, the rates per bighd differed from crop to crop.

Under all types of assessments except the Nasaq , the State stood to gain if more land was brought under cultivation or if more valuable crops were substituted for those yielding lower prices. It became thus an urgent duty of the State to encourage agriculture.

A graduated system of assessment was laid down when waste land was broken or fallow land brought under cultivation. The normal rate of assessment was reached in the fifth year, thus allowing a margin for initial expenses in the first four years. Advances were also given to the cultivators in order to enable them to defray the initial cost of the change.

As the State demand was very high, whenever crops failed, remissions were granted. Under Aurangzib it was customary to leave with the cultivator at least one-half of the actual produce in bad years. Though this may have made a big fall in the income of the State, it does not seem to have provided much relief to the cultivator during famine. They left their land uncultivated and wandered away in search of food.

The cultivators owned the land subject to the State's claim to the revenue. They could sell, mortgage and give it in gift. Usually, there was not much buying of land because in most places enough wasteland was available for cultivation.

The system of collection of land revenue introduced under Akbar safeguarded the rights of the cultivators. Every season surveyors visited the village, and with the help of the Fatwari, who was an employee of the village, recorded the area under various crops. On the basis of this record demand slips were issued early in the season, indicating the amount due in cash from every cultivator. The village Muqaddam collected the land-revenue some time in cash, some time in kind, but issued receipts for cash. He paid the whole demand for the village in cash and was granted 2J% for his pains by the State. Akbar abolished all customary cesses; the surveyor's fee, the expenses of their board, and the Muqaddam's commission were all paid by the State. A copy of the demand register was sent to the Diw\dn's office. At the end of the collections for the season, an attested list of arrears was sent to the Diwan's office. The arrears formed the first charge on the crop. Any amount received in excess was credited to the next season's land revenue. The collections were made twice a year in one lump sum. In Aurangzib's reign the Nasaq revenue was realised in instalments.

Akbar's demand formed a lighter burden than the modern land revenue assessment except in ryotwari areas. No Zamindars—mere landlords —were recognised apart from the territorial chiefs. The cultivator today pays between 50% to 60% of the produce to the landlord, whereas a Mughul cultivator paid only 33 1/3% to the State. But peasant proprietors today pay about 16 2/3% of the

produce which is about one-half of what was paid by the Mu'ghul cultivators.

Much has been made of the extra exactions of the officials and their high-handedness. That they continued charging some of the taxes remitted by the emperors seems certain, but the burden of official exactions did not probably differ much from what it is today. The Mughul cultivator had to deal with his revenue officials or JdgVrddrs alone, whereas his descendant today is a victim to the exactions of the officials of the revenue, police, judicial and various other departments as well.

Several estimates have been made of the total revenue of the Mughul empire including the land revenue. Abu-'l-Fazl estimated Akbar's revenue at Rs. 13,21,36,831 and 12,00,000 betel leaves. 'Abdul Hamid Lahori estimated Shah Jahan’s revenue at Rs. 38,68,16,584 in the first decade of his reign. But this sum, huge by the standards of those days, and equivalent to about as Rs. 3,09,45,32,472 in its purchasing power today, did not represent the total receipt of the Mughul emperors. It excluded all presents received by the emperors, tributes paid by feudatory princes of various grades, the savings represented by the employment of the contingent of feudatory princes, probably income from the jizya and the pilgrimage tax, judicial fines and fees, war indemnities paid by the vanquished rulers and savings in expenditure by deductions from the salaries of public servants and by employing forced labour paid lower than their usual wages.

V. THE MUGHUL ARMY

The Mughul army was composed of several categories. The most numerous was the cavalry. The infantry numbered very much on paper, but militarily its important part was formed by the musketeers. The heavy artillery was mostly used in sieges, but Babur had used them in open warfare and his successors kept up the practice. The elephants had formed a pivot of the Indian army from time immemorial. Even the Mughuls found them useful. Campaigning in Bihar and Bengal necessitated the maintenance of a large variety and number of boats for military purposes.

The cavalry was made up of three types of contingents. There were the soldiers serving under the Mansabddrs who undertook to bring to the field a certain number of soldiers indicated by either the swar rank or otherwise in their warrant of appointment. Another contingent consisted of the soldiers provided by the feudatory princes for imperial services. A third group consisted of Ahadls, gentlemen troopers usually owing obedience to no one else but to the king. The contingents of the Mansabddrs furnished the most numerous part of the cavalry. In theory, even State contingents were contingents of their Mansabdar- princes. The Mansabddrs were organised in different ranks ranging from the commanders of 10 to those of 7000. In every rank there were three grades depending on the ratio between the zat and the swar rank of the commander. The actual number of troops brought into the field by the

Mansabdar was at first indicated by their command. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, the swar rank denoted the number of soldiers a commander was expected to bring into the field. Later on, under Jahangir and his successors, a commander was expected to furnish 1/3 of his swar rank in northern India, 1/4 in the Deccan and 1/5 for service outside India, in the campaigns beyond Kabul.

A roll of soldiers employed by the Mansabddrs was kept. Akbar introduced the custom of taking detailed description of all the soldiers paid for from the treasury. The Chahra, as it was called, secured that Mansabddrs brought to imperial service soldiers of approved physique. Every horse carried a double brand, an imperial sign and the first word of the name of his commander. Their contingents were reviewed once a year though Aurangzib excused this obligation to all Mansabddrs of 3000 and above in the Deccan.

As it was, even the original organisation of the Mughul army was defective. In the field or on the march, it was a cumbersome, slow-moving organisation into which an Akbar or a Todarmal might put some life. When Akbar appeared in Gujarat after 22 days' rapid journey, not only were the rebels taken by surprise, even the Mughul commanders would not at first credit the story. Such feats were exceptional and as long as they did take place, the empire was safe. But the vast area of the Mughul camp with its followers always made it a slow thing and an easy target for attack. The imperial harem sometimes accompanied the emperor; in the Deccan we find Aurangzib now permitting, now forbidding, the families of the soldiers from residing in the Mughul camp. But confusion was worse confounded by the fact that the Mughul commanders had no maximum of ease or comfort on the field laid down for them. They wore no uniforms. There could be no orders against wearing Mufti while on active service. The result was that neither in dress nor in equipment did the great Mansabddrs ever try to effect any simplicity on, the battle field. It became a point of honour with some of them to appear as well-fed on active service as in the streets of the capital. Their luxurious standard of life became a scandal and made the Mughul army an easy target for attack by a vigilant and more hardy enemy as the Mariathas. This was made all the more possible because there were no State arrangements for transport in the Mughul army. A soldier or an officer carried whatever baggage he could afford to take with him. This militated against the enforcement of any standard of life in the army as legitimate or permissible.

We have already seen that the lack of any State organisation for supply to the army on active service; gave an active enemy a chance of embarrassing and harassing the Mughul troops by falling on their supplies. This again became very apparent during the Maratha campaign.

The Mughul soldiers were only indirectly recruited by the emperor. The Mansabddrs raised them and paid them out of the money specially granted to them by the State. But the soldiers knew no higher loyalty than that to their own commander. Of course, when their commanders rebelled, the rank and file usually followed them in their rebellion. If their commander was killed in action, they fled knowing nobody to whom they could look to for orders or support.

There was lack of regimentation in the Mughul army. This led to a very low proportion of officers to men on active service. The five thousand soldiers under a Mughul amir knew only one commander. Thus, when the single commander was killed in action, even if the soldiers were ready to die in his cause and on his side, no one could come forward legitimately to lead them to action. The morale of the soldiers was therefore lower than it would have been in a well-officered army, such as the Maratha army proved to be. Panic could only be prevented by the appearance, actual or rumoured, of the commander as of Akbar at Haldighat, on the battle field. All other means proved usually abortive.

Chapter XVIII

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

Sources and Character of Muslim Law

As has been related in Volume VI, Chapter XIV, Muslim law or the Shar‘, which is the basis of the Islamic government and society, is considered divine by Muslims, and is, according to them, eternal and immutable. It is supreme over all persons and causes. The Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), is derived mainly from the Qur’an and the Sunnah (the practices and traditions of the Prophet). The first of these, viz., the Qur’an , is its most important source. Next to it is the Sunnah or Hadis. It is believed that Prophet Muhammad was “the besf interpreter” of the Qur’anic revelation, and hence his acts and traditions constitute the best interpretations of the law and its application. In all those matters where the Qur’an is either silent or does not give a clear injunction, the authority of the Sunnah or Hadis is unchallengeable. But as the law found itself inadequate to meet the needs of the expanding Muslim State and society, two other sources were drawn upon. These were: the Ijmd‘ or consensus of opinion or universal consent (not of laymen but of learned mujtahids or jurists) and the Qiyas or analogy, that is the analogical reasoning with regard to the principles of the Qur’an and the teachings of Muhammad. But the first two sources, namely the Qur’an and the Hadis were considered the most valuable and were described as the usul-ul-usul or the ‘bases of the bases’ of Islamic jurisprudence. 1 In the course of time the law became very complex on account of conflicting interpretations by numerous mujtahids or jurists who held divergent opinions with regard to legal points and other matters that were not covered by direct injunctions of the Qur’an or the Hadis, and therefore, there grew up several well-defined schools of law. Leaving aside the schools of the Shiah and Khdriji sects, there emerged in the course of time four schools of law in orthodox Islam (Sunnism), which are considered the most authentic schools. These are: (1) the Hanafi, (2) the Maliki, (3) the Hanbali, and (4) the Shafi. The Hanafi School was generally speaking followed in Northern India throughout the medieval period. It is so even now.

From the fact of its origin Muslim law is primarily religious, and the secular laws, if any, are subservient to the canon law. More

over, the basis of Islamic legislation is not legal; it is ethical. The Qur’an does not “lay down legal formulas, but indicates what is right conduct and what is wrong.” 2 It is for this reason that the Islamic law is not susceptible of change or growth. The one relieving feature of the law, however, is that constant interpretation and re-interpretation play an important role in its development. This sometimes softens the rigidity of the law. Sometimes Muslim jurists wisely accept the fait accompli on the part of their rulers and statesmen and recognise their enactments as legal. For example, when in 712 A.D. Muhammad bin Qasim, the conqueror of Sind, accorded the Hindus of Sind and Multan the status of zimmls which was the special privilege of Christians and Jews, the famous Muslim Jurist, Abu Hanifah, recognised this enactment as legal. It may be said that instances of such “accommodating character were rare, but they were there and on account of circumstances sometimes made Islamic wha't was originally considered un-Islamic.” 3 But the sources of Muslim law being trans-Indian, no Indian jurist, however learned and eminent, was considered competent enough to come forward with a bold interpretation of the above type. Nor was he considered capable of laying down a legal principle or elucidating any obscurity in the Qur'an or supplementing the Qur’dnic law, “by following the line of its obvious intention in respect of cases not explicitly provided for by it.” 4

Muslim Law and Non-Muslims

All the schools of Muslim law were unanimous in holding that non-Muslims had no place in an Islamic state, and that if for any reasons they were suffered to exist they could not be allowed to enjoy the same rights as Muslims who alone were its citizens. The law for non-Muslims, particularly for the Hindus, was Islam or death, and, failing that, permission could be given to them, according to Hanafite school only , to live as zimmKs, i.e., people living under an agreement as second-grade citizens with certain disabilities imposed on them. They were guaranteed safety of their lives and allowed to follow their religion, but not to observe it in an offensive manner and not to carry on any religious propaganda and proselytism. They were also subjected to some legal and political disabilities, such as not being allowed to wear fine clothes, ride on horse-back or carry arms. They were discriminated against in the matter of testimony in law courts and in marriage and also in the matter of protection under the criminal law. 5 They were not allowed to build new temples or to repair the old ones. 6 Above all they had to pay an invidious tax, called the jizya, 1 which branded them as an inferior people. In the matter of land revenue and other taxes the law required them to pay at double the rate that the Muslims paid.

The Sultans of Delhi (1206-1526) found it impossible to enforce the strict observance of the law as described in the books of Muslim jurists. Some of them tried their utmost to conform to the Islamic law and practice and enforce it in their administration, but they did not succeed. Although they did not leave the Hindus undisturbed to follow their own laws and customs, yet circumstances obliged the Sultans to make a compromise with the law of the country. Nevertheless the administration of impartial justice as far as the Hindus were concerned was unthinkable in that age. 8

Akbar repeals the Islamic law in regard to non-Muslims

The system described above remained in force during the reigns of Babur and Humayun and under Sher Shah who did not introduce any revolutionary change in their policy with regard to the status of the Hindus in the State. It was, however, intolerable to Akbar who was destined to be the first medieval Muslim ruler of Delhi to repeal the discriminatory laws against the non-Muslims so as to create one common citizenship and establish one uniform system of justice for all. This was done gradually, and it took nearly twenty years or more to complete the process. The first law, repealed in 1562, was with regard to the making of prisoners of war and their conversion and those of their families into slaves and Muslims. In 1563 the Hindu pilgrims' tax was abolished, and 1564 saw the abolition of the most discriminatory tax, namely, the jizya. The repeal of other Islamic laws followed, and one by one all social, religious and legal disabilities imposed by the Islamic law on the Hindus were repealed. 9

Akbar accorded recognition to Hinduism and other religions in the land with the rights of legitimate propaganda and proselytism. 10 He issued an ordinance permitting non-Muslims to build churches, synagogues, idol-temples and fire-temples without let or hindrance. 11 It was laid down at the same time that there should be no interference with anyone on account of his religion and that all were free to follow any religion they liked. 12 Another important change made after 1580 was the permission given to those Hindus who had been forcibly converted to Islam to revert to the religion of their forefathers, if they so liked, and to Hindu women, who were forcibly married to Musalmans to be restored to their families. 13 A very important ordinance issued was that parents who were impelled by poverty or other compelling reasons to sell

their children could buy them back from ‘servitude’ when they had means to do so. 14 A most revolutionary ordinance led to the repeal of the law imposing punishment of death for criticising the religion of Islam or the conduct of Prophet Muhammad. 15

Akbar amends personal laws of the Muslims

Akbar did not stop with repealing discriminatory laws against non-Muslims. He went further and tried to amend the personal law of the Muslims. Despite the contrary view expressed by a modern writer, 16 Akbar did make some vital amendments in the personal laws of the Muslims, specially in those relating to marriage and divorce. For example, he ordered that a man should marry only one wife, and that if she were barren, he could marry another. But normally the rule was, ‘one man, one wife’. Secondly, a woman who had passed the age of hope and ceased to have menses was not allowed to marry'. 17 Thirdly, marriage between cousins and other near relations was forbidden. 18 Fourthly, it was ordered that boys were not to marry before the age of 16 and girls before the age of 14. 19 Another law enacted was that no one was to marry a woman who was 12 years older than himself. 20 Another law was promulgated to the effect that boys below 12 years of age should not be circumcised. 21 These laws were meant to be obeyed and the kotwals in the cities were charged with the duty of enforcing them. 22

Akbar amends personal laws of the Hindus

Akbar interfered with the personal laws of the Hindus also. His regulations relating to the age of marriage for boys and girls and to monogamy were applicable to all, Hindus as well as Muslims, and so also other marriage laws. He issued an ordinance permitting widows to remarry, if they so liked, and this contemplated a basic change in Hindu law. He directed that Hindu widows were not to be compelled to become a Sati (i.e., burnt with the dead body of the husband). 23

Akbar attempts to create common law for all

Akbar made an attempt to create a common religio-social legal system. This he did by prohibiting Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis from slaughtering animals on certain fixed days aggregating about six months in the year, 24 and manufacturing and drinking wine. 25 He introduced the practice of marrying his sons with the daughters of Hindu Rajas without converging these ladies to Islam and observed both Hindu and Muslim ceremonies at these marriages. 26 The laws relating to trade, barter, exchange, sale, contract, etc., were in the main the same for the Hindus and Muslims, and Akbar abolished all discriminatory regulations in the application of these laws. Likewise he prescribed uniform rates of land revenue and other taxes relating to minerals, quarries, manufactured articles, excise, octroi, merchandise, sea-borne trade, etc. The result of these measures was the extension of the scope of common law. 27 This was deliberately done, because Akbar's policy aimed at bringing the various communities in India under one common legal system as far as possible. Conversely, the scope of Muslim jurisprudence shrank in the same proportion. Sometimes Akbar disregarded the Muslim law of evidence by refusing to rely exclusively on the evidence of witnesses. He often had recourse to other sources, such as observing the physiognomy and behaviour of the parties and sometimes even to ordeal, if necessary.

Legal changes under Jahangir and Shah Jahdn

It seems that Akbar's reforms relating to the personal laws of Muslims, especially those about monogamy, marriage between cousins and other near relatives, and the minimum age of marriage were allowed to lapse after his death. Jahangir was inclined during the first few years of his reign to favour orthodox Islam and there was no complaint of any royal interference in the traditional personal laws of the Muslims. But he retained other reforms carried out by his father except one or two such as the marrying of Muslim girls by the Hindus, which he forbade. 28 But he recognised the practice of Muslims marrying Hindu women and forbade forcible conversion to Islam. 29 Shah Jahan made some important changes in the law. He reimposed the pilgrimage-tax on the Hindus, but remitted it on a representation made by Kavlndracharya, a Hindu scholar of Banaras. 30 He forbade the erection of new temples and the repairing of old ones. 31 But this policy was reversed some years later on account of the influence of his eldest son Dara. 32 Like his father, Jahangir, he declared marriages of Muslim girls with Hindus illegal. 33 But some years later, he became indifferent and did not enforce this regulation. He, however, favoured the conversion of Hindus to Islam, and made apostasy from Islam a capital punishment. 34 Similarly he made blasphemy or use of disrespectful language towards Islam, a crime. 35 Shah Jahan's religious zeal seems to have cooled down after about ten years' reign and he gave up interfering with the legal reforms of his grandfather. 36

Aurangzib restores the supremacy of Shar (

Aurangzib, however, was determined to make the Mughul empire an Islamic State. He repealed all the legal reforms of

Akbar. 37 The Muslim law relating to circumcision, marriage, divorce, and inheritance was restored. Marriage with Hindu women was permitted only after these women had been converted to Islam. Akbar's orders regarding the grant of complete toleration to nonMuslims and the freedom given to them to propagate their religion were withdrawn. The jizya 3S was reimposed, and the Hindus were obliged to pay land revenue and other taxes at double the rate that the Muslims paid. 39 Ordinances were issued for the destruction of Hindu temples and schools. Thus gradually but steadily the Shar‘ became, in accordance with a set plan, the supreme authority in the matters of administration. The Islamic law remained in force for over twenty-seven years during Aurangzib's reign and a few years after his death. It was, however, not possible to enforce it during the reigns of his weaker successors, and therefore, its injunctions lapsed in the first quarter of the 18th century.

Criminal Law and Punishment

Islamic jurisprudence recognises three kinds of crimes. 40 These are: (1) offences against God; (2) offences agains! the State; and (3) offences against private individuals. Offences against God were those of apostasy, heresy, and criticising or insulting the religion of Islam or Prophet Muhammad. These offences were punishable with death. Akbar, however, repealed this law and accorded freedom to criticise the religion of Islam and the conduct of Muhammad. But when Shah Jahan thought of restoring Islam to its former position in the State, he, in many cases, inflicted the punishment of death for these offences. During the reign of Aurangzib apostasy became punishable with death. But with regard to women offenders the Hanafite school laid down that they should be punished with imprisonment. The other three schools, however, insisted on capital punishment for women apostates also. Similarly heretics, too, were punished with death. 41

The offences against the State and private individuals were compoundable according to the law of Islam. A man guilty of murder was not to suffer capital or any other punishment, if the murdered man's relatives did not ask for retaliation, and accepted compensation in money. It was only when the next of kin of the murdered person refused to accept compensation that the case was sent to the qdzfs court for decision. 42 Then the punishment of death was usually inflicted. It may, however, be noted that a Muslim was not to be put to death for murdering a non-Muslim unless the former had killed the latter treacherously. 43

The punishment for crimes according to Muhammadan law was prescribed under four categories, 44 namely, (1) Hadd; (2) Tazir; (3) Qisas; and (4) Tashhir. Hadd means boundary or limit or barrier, and in legal sense it means the punishment which has been exactly prescribed in the Qur'an or the Hadis. This punishment could not be altered, as it is prescribed by the canon law and is considered the right of God. Hadd has laid down definite punishments for the crimes of adultery, fornication, false accusation of adultery, apostasy, drinking of wine, theft, and high-way robbery. For example, punishment for fornication, i.e., sexual relations between unmarried persons, was 100 strokes of the whip. 45 The false accusation of a married person with adultery was punishable with 80 strokes of the whip. 46 A thief was to lose his right hand and a robber both his hands and feet. 47 Blit if a robber was also guilty of murder, he was given the punishment of death 48 A man found guilty of drinking wine was to be punished, according to Hanafi law, with 80 strokes of the whip; but according to Asshafi he was to receive forty strokes of the whip. 49

Tazir means censuring and this punishment was given in order to reform the culprit, and inflicted for offences which were not covered by Hadd. The degree of punishment under Tazir varied with the social status of the accused. Men of high rank, who were guilty of proved offences, were to be let off with a warning. Merchants were sent to prison, and common people were punished with strokes of the whip. 50 Naturally the judge used his own discretion in the matter of awarding this punishment. 51 For example, a man found guilty of stealing an article worth less than ten dirhams was to be chastised. But if he repeated the offence, he was to be imprisoned. And if he committed theft again, he was to be imprisoned for life or put to death. The stolen property was to be restored to the owner or deposited in the public treasury. 52

Qisas means retaliation. It was of two kinds. The first related to murder and the second to cases which did not prove fatal. If a person committed a wilful murder, he was liable to qisas or retaliation. The next of the kin of the murdered had the right to kill the offender, but this was to be done under the supervision of the judge. It should be noted that qisas was admissible only if the next of kin or murdered person demanded it. If there were more than one claimant for the blood of the offender, the unanimous demand of all was essential in the application of qisas. 53 In those cases where one had received a grievous injury short of death the law of retaliation meant that a hand should be cut off for a hand, a foot for a foot, a nose for a nose, a tooth for a tooth, and so forth. 54 '

Tashhir was an ancient and un-Islamic form of punishment which was inflicted in pre-Muslim days and was retained during the medieval age. It is mentioned in the Institutes of Manu. This punishment, inflicted on guilty women, meant that they were mounted on asses and paraded through the public streets. Caliph Umar inflicted Tashhir on a man who acted as a false witness. The punishment took the form of shaving the head of the culprit and parading him on an ass with his face turned towards its tail. Sometimes the culprit's face was blackened and he was paraded through the streets. Akbar retained this form of punishment, and inflicted it on men of status. In 1606 Jahangir punished his rebellious son Khusrav's two associates by getting them sewn in skins of an ox and an ass, respectively, with horns obtruding. They were seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tail and in this condition paraded through the streets of Lahore. 55 Once Jahangir inflicted this punishment on imperial officers for dereliction of duty. The heads and beards of the officers were shaved off, and they were paraded on asses dressed in female attire. 56

Offences against the State, such as misappropriation, default in the payment of revenue, and rebellions were punished according to the emperor's pleasure. Sometimes the offender was trampled to death under an elephant's feet or bitten to death by a cobra. Tortures of various kinds were also applied.

Islamic criminal law and punishment remained in force throughout the Mughul age. Even Akbar did not make any fundamental change in the criminal law. The punishments under this law were more severe in the times of Jahangir and Shah Jahan than in that of Akbar. Aurangzib was very particular in enforcing Islamic law in all branches of administration and making the law available for ready reference to his officers and judges. Besides getting a comprehensive legal digest, entitled Fatdwd-i- Alamgiri , prepared by a syndicate of learned theologians under his auspices, he issued far mans on criminal law and on offences and punishments for the guidance of his officers. One such farmdn issued to the Diwdn of Gujarat on 16 June, 1672, is available in the Mirdt-i-Ahmadi , Persian Text, Volume I (Baroda), pages 277-283. It supplements the theoretical Muslim criminal law and is a summary of Aurangzib's penal law that was enforced during his reign. It is not possible, for lack of space, to notice it here. The curious reader may read it in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Mughal Administration, 4th edition, pp. 109-115 where it is given in its English garb.

Judicial Organisation

The judicial system of the Mughuls was modelled after that of the Caliphate of Baghdad and of Egypt with such modifications as were necessary on account of the age and conditions in India. The emperor was the head of the judicial organisation and according to immemorial custom he administered justice in person in open court. In fact, he was regarded as the fountain of justice, and people looked to him for redressing their grievances and doing them justice. Naturally, therefore, his was the highest court of justice in the country. Next to him was the chief qdzi, entitled Qdzi-ul-Quzat who held the office of Chief Sadr also. Under the chief qdzfr were provincial qdzis and qdzis posted at the headquarters of the districts and the parganas. There were also qdzis in important towns and in big villages having considerable Muslim population and large enough to be called qasbas. 57 These were appointed on the recommendation of the chief qdzi. The qdzis decided religious cases mostly dealing with the personal law of the Muslims, such as cases of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the like. They were also in charge of pious endowments (auqdf) of land, property or cash for religious and charitable purposes. The qdzis were also required to officiate at the marriages of the Musalmans, to appoint guardians of the property of orphans, disabled and other handicapped Muslims, and to arrange for the marriage of Muslim widows or Muslim orphan girls. There was a second category of courts which administered secular and common law. These courts were presided over by governors and diivdns 58 of provinces, amils (collectors) in the districts and pargands and kotwals in the towns. The courts of the third category dealt with offences against the State, and were presided over by the emperor and his agents, such as governors, faujdars, kotwals etc. Besides the courts of these three categories, there were village and caste panchdyats which decided all kinds of cases—religious, civil and criminal, filed by the Hindus of the village in their jurisdiction, according to customary Hindu law and usage. These courts were not under the control of any qdzi, governor or district or pargand officer, but their decisions were recognised by the Mughuls.

The Royal Corurt

There is little evidence as to how and at what hour and day did Babur and Humayun administer justice in person. It is, however, certain that in conformity with the ancient ideal, which both the Hindus and Musalmans regarded as obligatory, they held open court once a week. We know that Babur and Humayun were keen on discharging this duty, and Humayun introduced what has been

described by his biographer as ‘the drum of justice’. It is said that a drum was placed near the audience hall and complainants were required to strike it so as to make their complaints reach the emperor. If a complainant gave the drum one stroke, it indicated a petty dispute; if two, it meant non-payment of wages or salary; if three, it meant a dispute about property, and if four, it indicated the shedding of blood. 59

Akbar made it a regular practice to listen to complaints and administer justice personally in open court every morning at the Jharokha Darshan. Here he spent about two hours in transacting judicial business. In addition to doing justice daily, Akbar set apart Thursday exclusively for holding open court for the administration of justice. This was a formal court and was attended by high judicial officials, such as the chief qazi, muftis and other important law dignitaries. The kotwal of the town had also to be present. Acting as the highest court in the land the emperor ascertained facts about every case personally, took the law from the law officers and pronounced judgment. Abu’-1-Fazl writes: “He (Akbar) opens the gates of justice and holds an open court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resources of the crafty, but draws his conclusions from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and sublime researches and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than one and a half pahars (i.e. four and a half hours)”. 60

Jahangllr followed in the foot-steps of his father, and besides deciding cases every morning, he, too, set apart every Tuesday for administering justice in the open court. In parading his love of justice he outdid his grandfather Humayun and hung a chain of gold from the balcony of his Jharokha Darshan to a pole fixed outside the Agra fort 'to which suitors for justice could tie their petitions which were drawn up and placed before Jahangir.

61 Shah Jahan, too, besides listening to complaints every morning, held court for deciding cases on Wednesday. For some years Aurangzlb followed his ancestral practice of administering justice every morning, and holding a formal court one day in the week. But in the eleventh year of his reign he gave up the practice of appearing at the Jharokha Darshan . He, however, retained that of holding a formal court for one day in the week, and this day was Wednesday. 62 He was "desirous of appearing a great lover of justice." 63 It was impossible for the emperor to investigate into all the cases personally, and some of these could be inquired into only locally. So he ordered the governors of provinces to find out the truth and do justice or send the

parties to the capital with their reports. The allegation 64 of European travellers that there was no written law and that the emperor's will was supreme in all affairs is erroneous.

This arrangement of transacting judicial business personally by the sovereign was not disturbed even when the emperor happened to be on tours or when he was engaged in a military expedition. The emperor decided both civil and criminal cases and his court was not only the highest court of appeal, but also sometimes a court of first instance as well. Sometimes the emperor would appoint a commission of inquiry and issue instructions to decide cases on the basis of facts revealed in the investigation on the spot. Usually the cases deserving capital punishment were decided by the King himself. Such cases, even if tried by governors or other authorities, were forwarded to the capital for the king's final orders. The standing instructions were that no one was to be executed until the emperor had given his orders for the third time. 65

The chief qazi

Apart from the emperor who was the fountain of justice, the chief qazi was the head of the judicial organisation, but in actual practice he was the second judicial agency in the empire. Besides being the chief qazti, he was also the chief sadr or head of the ecclesiastical and charity departments. He was appointed by the emperor and could be dismissed by him. But it was expected that there would be no interference with his work as long as he discharged his duties honestly and satisfactorily. The chief qazi was supposed to be learned in Islamic theology and law and a man of sobriety, integrity and honesty. He was required to hold his court in a mosque or in his house; but all suitors for justice must have free access to his court. During the reign of Akbar and that of his successors, State buildings were provided for the court of the qazi, and he was not allowed to hold court at his residence. The qa 2 :i was not authorised to give his own interpretation of the law and had to accept the authoritative rulings of the earlier reputed jurists which were placed before him by the mufti. It is for this reason that a deeply learned mufti was always attached to the court of a qazi who was not qualified to give fatwa or authoritative ruling 66

The duties 67 of the qazi were:

(1) to try and decide religious cases and those relating to Muslim personal law;

(2) to execute judgments;

(3) to visit jails and review the condition of prisoners and discharge those of them that deserved freedom;

(4) to recommend deserving candidates for appointment as provincial, district, pargand and other subordinate qazis.

The qazi had some other duties also, e.g., administering the pious foundations (auqaf), appointing guardians of Muslim imbeciles and such other people as were incapable of managing their property, drawing of contracts for the remarriage of widows, etc. 68 The court of the chief qd£i was primarily an appellate court, but it also decided cases of the first instance, as it was open to anyone in the empire to approach the chief qazi for justice without first having filed his plaint at a local court.

The chief qazi's jurisdiction comprised the whole of the empire. He was competent to decide all kinds of civil and criminal cases. Islamic law did not draw a distinction between civil, criminal, and personal divisions of law, and, therefore, the qazi was considered competent to administer every branch of law except that relating to political and administrative offences. On account of such a wide jurisdiction and his position as the head of the judiciary, the chief qazis of the Mughul age, though learned, were, generally speaking, corrupt, and often amassed considerable fortunes for themselves. Akbar took drastic action against his celebrated chief qazi Shaikh ‘Abdun-N'abi and exiled him to Mecca, as the emperor had become dissatisfied with his grasping conduct, religious bias, and corrupt administration both as chief qazi and chief sadr. ‘Abdul-Wahhab Bohra, the first chief qazi of Aurangzib, “was so corrupt that during sixteen years of office he amassed a fortune of thirty-three lakhs of rupees in cash, besides jewellery and other valuables.” 69 Similarly, other chief qazis of the various reigns were corrupt and unworthy. There were, however, a few notable examples of honest qazis. For exam-* pie, ‘Abdul-Wahhab’s son who, too, became chief qdzd and chief sadr, was so honest that “he did not touch a penny of his father’s ill-gotten riches, but gave away his share of them in charity. Not only did he decide all cases without the faintest suspicion of corrupt influence or bribery, but he even declined the customary presents and gifts from his closest friends and kinsmen.” 70

The provincial, district and pargand qazis as also the qazis posted in towns and qasbas discharged the same duties and had much the same powers in their respective jurisdictions as the chief qazi in the empire. There was also a qazi attached to the army and he was called qdzi-i-askar. He did not have exclusive jurisdiction over the army, for it was open to any man in the army to file his corn

plaint in the court of a city qazi. Moreover, if one of the parties to a suit was a civilian, the qdzl-i-askar had no power to entertain the plaint. 71

Secular Courts

The courts of secular and common law and those trying political cases were presided over by one and the same set of officers. That is to say, there were no separate judges (a) to administer the secular and common law, and (b) to try those who were charged with the political offences. In fact, there was no demarcation between these two types of courts, because Muslim jurists did not recognise the distinction between the civil, penal and political divisions of law. The judges for all the types of courts were the emperor, the governors and dlwdns of provinces, the faujddrs of districts, the amils (collectors) and shiqddrs of pargands , and the fcotwals of the towns. We have already seen that the emperor decided all sorts of cases and it was open to anyone to approach him for justice. The governors, dlwdns, faujddrs, collectors, shiqddrs and kotwals administered justice on the basis of the common or customary law and equity. All these officers, except perhaps the dlwdns , also administered criminal law and decided political cases and cases against robbers and rebels. But the religious and personal laws of the Muslims and the Hindus were outside their purview, which, as we have seen, concerned the qazls . Like the emperor, the governors set apart a day in the week for holding the court of justice which was attended by the provincial qazi, mufti and other law officers to assist him in the discharge of this duty. 72

While acting as a judge the governor was instructed to do his best to find out the truth, not only by cross-examining the witnesses bu ! t also by a study of the psychology and physiognomy of the parties concerned. He was required to "reclaim the criminals by good counsels, failing which he was asked to punish by reprimands, threats and imprisonment"; but he was to resort to mutilation in very serious cases and to inflict the capital punishment with "utmost deliberation." 73 In March, 1582, Akbar took away the power of inflicting the sentence of death from the governors of provinces. 74 His successors, too, were equally careful in the matter of awarding the capital punishment.

Panchdyats

The Mughul administration of justice did not concern nearly three-fourths of the total population, because the people of the rural areas had their own courts. Every village had its panchdyat which

decided civil and criminal cases. There were also as many castepanchayats in each village as there were castes inhabiting it. The members of the panchdyat were elected by the people and the punchas or judges were those who had rendered some conspicuous service to their caste, or the entire village community. The decisions of the panchdyats were almost invariably unanimous and the punishments inflicted were fines, public degradation or reprimand or ex-communication. No sentence of imprisonment or death was awarded, because there was no proper authority to execute these sentences, and also because there were no jails in the villages. The "prestige enjoyed by the Panchayats was great and their authority was moral rather than political or administrative. The fear of public opinion was one of the most potent factors responsible for the prevention of crimes and hardly did any case go out of the boundaries of a village. Normally, cases involving even murder were settled locally. The law administered by the panchdyats was usually caste and tribal usage and the customary law of the land.” 75

The administration of justice by the panchdyats was appreciated by early British administrators in India. Sir Henry Elliot, for example, describing the administration of justice by the panchdyats as had existed in the Punjab before the introduction of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, writes: “The particular value of this mode of trial was that in intricate points of native customs, often depending upon a state of feeling, which it was difficult for the English officer, as being a foreigner, to enter into, the members of the panch were thoroughly at home in their subject and were able to give due weight to a variety of minor considerations which none but a native could perfectly understand. Even in the older provinces, where the regulations are in force, it is found at times convenient to have recourse to this time-honoured method of decision, and the result is so satisfactory, that one is tempted to wish it were more largely resorted to.” 76

Defects in the organisation

There were a few defects in the organisation of the Mughul judicial system. In the first place, there were three separate judicial agencies working at the same time and independent of one another with no unifying bond between them. The chief qazi had no authority to exercise any kind of control over the courts of the governors and other subordinate officers. Secondly, all the courts were courts of first instance and some of them, like those of the emperor, the provincial qdzls and governors, entertained appeals, but they, too, acted very often as the courts of first instance.

Thirdly, the courts were not graded or qualified as lower courts or higher courts. Nor were their relationship and jurisdictions clearly defined. A suitor for justice might file a complaint either in the court of the pargand qdzl ^r in that of the district or provincial qdzl, or in the court of the chief qdzl • If he liked he could approach the emperor without first applying for justice to any of the lower courts. Fourthly, the powers of the courts, too, were not defined, i.e., it was not laid down that a particular court was competent to entertain and decide cases of certain nature or of a fixed maximum value and not beyond that. These defects remained even in the time of Akbar who had overhauled and reformed every branch of administration, but did not touch the judicial organisation. All that he did was to amend and reform the law, including that of evidence, to replace the incompetent and corrupt qdzls and other law-officers by honest, enlightened and competent ones, and to appoint Hindu judges to decide cases involving Hindu religious and personal laws. 77 At the same time he posted able officers in all important places to report the cases of the oppressed people and of the suitors for justice. 78 But the above-mentioned organisational defects, side by side with some of the reforms introduced by Akbar, including the appointment of Hindu judges, continued throughout the Mughul period.

Mode of conducting investigation

Despite serious defects in the organisation, the system worked remarkably well. All the Mughul emperors except Aurangzib, who occasionally introduced religious bias in the working of the judicial administration, were inspired by the high ideal of doing even-handed justice, and the people felt that they were receiving justice at their hands. Akbar’s standing instructions were that the judges must try to find out the facts of the cases under dispute by every possible device and that they ‘‘should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold enquiries, by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight, nor, laying the burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude.” 79 The Mir-zAdal and the qazls were instructed to begin “with a thorough interrogation and learn the circumstances of the case; and should keep in view what is fitting in each particular, and take the question in detail, and in this manner set down separately the evidence of each witness”. The judges were also required to give a little gap between the hearings of a case so as to have time to deliberate over it and then take it up and “reinvestigate and enquire into it anew, and with discrimination and singleness of view, search it to

its core.” 80 The law of evidence thus prescribed by Akbar remained in force throughout the period. Witnesses were also summoned and their evidence was given due weight. During Aurangzib's reign the evidence of Hindus was not admissible in certain cases.

Spirit underlying the administration of justice

There is little evidence to form a concrete picture of the spirit underlying the administration of justice during 'the reigns of Babur and Humayun. Sher Shah was no doubt an impartial judge but his administration of justice was marred by the fact that in upholding the supremacy of Islam, he could not but show a special regard for Muslims. Akbar's ideal as an impartial dispenser of justice is expressed in his happy saying. "If I were guilty of unjust act," he said, "I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say then of my sons, my kindred and others." 81 The above was not a copy book maxim to be repeated conveniently at times. The spirit underlying it expressed itself in action during the major part of Akbar's reign. Contemporary foreign observers were highly impressed with his policy of administering justice with humanity. Father Monserrate, who knew the emperor intimately, writes that "the king has the most precise regard for right and justice in the affairs of government.... By nature, moreover, he is kind and benevolent and is seriously anxious that guilt should be punished without malice indeed, but at the same time without undue leniency. Hence, in the case in which he himself acts as judge, the guilty are, by his own direction, not punished until he has given orders for the third time that this shall be done." 82

In order to see that justice is done impartially he ordered that the trying magistrates should not tie themselves down to the letter of the law, but should be guided by its spirit. Moreover, expeditious justice was done, and prolonged litigation was discouraged as far as possible. The emperor's aim was to reform and not to retaliate. That was why he issued instructions to his officials "to connive at men's faults (take a lenient view) as they sometimes became more hardened by punishment." 83 Akbar's successors followed the tradition handed to them by their great and reforming ancestor. Jahangir's justice was proverbial. He used to pride himself for being the dispenser of impartial justice, and the memory of him as a just ruler is kept green in Indian tradition even now. "Shah Jahan," writes Manucci, "upheld the maxim of his father that true justice must be enforced." 84 Aurangzib, too, was keen to administer justice even-handedly in cases in which the prestige and interest of Islam were not involved. He maintained that equal justice should be dispensed to everybody.

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21. Ibid, p. 376.

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33. Lahaurl, op. cit., I, II, p. 58; Qazvlnl, op. cit., pp. 444-445.

34. Lahaurl, op. cit., I, II, 58; Burn, op. cit., p. 217.

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36. Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., pp. 89, 93-95.

37. Sarkar, C.H.I., IV, pp. 240-241.

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43. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. I, 980.

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47. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 287; Dictionary of Islam, pp. 476-477.

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68. Ibid.

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70. Sarkar, Aurangzib, Vol. Ill, p. 10.

71. Srivastava, A.L., Akbar the Great, Vol. II, pp. 277-278.

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73. Ain, Vol. II, p. 38.

74. A.N., Vol. Ill, p. 380.

75. Srivastava, Akbar the Great, Vol. II, p. 279.

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77. Badauni, M.T. Vol. II, p. 356, Badaum describes the appointment of Hindu judges as the innovation introduced by Akbar implying that no Hindu judge was appointed by any Muslim ruler before Akbar’s time.

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CHAPTER XIX

LITERATURE

I. BENGALI

The Bengali literature, during the period under review, was profoundly influenced by the Neo-Vaishnava Movement initiated by Chaitanya (1486-1533) whose life and doctrine have been discussed in the previous Volume (pp. 566-69). Indeed it may be said without hesitation that the numerous poetical compositions, including lyrics and songs, inspired by the life and teachings of Chaitanya, constitute the richest treasure in the whole domain of Bengali literature before the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. This vast literature may be briefly discussed under a few broad heads.

1. Vaishnava Literature

(a) Biography

The earliest biography of Chaitanya, by one of his oldest followers, Muriari Gupta, was written in Sanskrit. The oldest biography in Bengali is Chaitanya bhdgavata or Chaitanya-mangala by Brindavandas, a classmate of Chaitanya. It was composed probably within a decade of Chaitanya's passing away, and in any case not later than 1540 A.D. It is certainly the most authentic and perhaps the most popular biography of the great religious leader. It possesses two special characteristics which are of great historical importance. In the first place, 'though the author regarded Chaitanya as an incarnation of God, he presents Chaitanya as a human, rather than divine, being. Secondly, the book gives interesting details of the social life in Bengal at the time of Chaitanya. According to a modern critic there are "lyrical touches" in the narrative of Brindavandas and "his sincere devotion and enthusiastic admiration have often imparted a glow to his diction which rescues his expression of sectarian dogma from triviality." 1

The next important biography is the Chaitanya-charitdmrita of Krishnadas Kaviraj. The date of composition of this book is a matter of dispute. According to some its probable date is some time between 1575 and 1595, while others hold that the work was completed between 1612 and 1615 A.D. Krishnadas looked upon Chaitanya not as an incarnation of Krishna alone, but of Krishna and

Kadha in the same person, and “his treatment of the life of the master was from this viewpoint.” 2 There are some distinctive characteristics of the Chaitanya-charitdmrita:

1. It is not only a good biography but also deals in detail and in a masterly manner with the mystic and philosophical aspects of Vaishnavism propounded by Chaitanya.

2. He quotes authority for his statements—a rare virtue displayed by the authors in the medieval age.

3. The book shows a unique combination of ripe scholarship and a wonderful literary style much in advance of his age.

4. The author gives due credit to the previous writers on the same subject. A classical example is furnished by his account of the quarrel between Chaitanya and the Muslim Qdzi of Navadvlp who forbade the singing of Kirtan in public. The account given by him is somewhat different even in material points from that given by Brindavandas, but yet he refers the reader to the latter’s book for a fuller and more accurate account.

5. He gives a mere outline of the early life of Chaitanya which Brindavandas had already described in detail, but gives a more detailed account of the last eighteen years of the life of Chaitanya, specially his extensive travels such as we do not find in any other biography of Chaitanya.

Krishnadas Kaviraj was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote an epic poem on the story of Radha'and Krishna in Sanskrit. But he is best known for the Chaitanya-charitdmrita which is regarded by many as the most important work in Vaishnava literature. An eminent critic has expressed the view that “as a biography and as a work of thought it is a landmark in New Indian Literature.” 3

Among other biographies of Chaitanya, mention may be made of the Chaitanya-maiigal of Jayananda, another work with the same title by Lochandas, and the Gaurdnga-vijaya of Chudamanidas. The first was composed in the fifth decade and the other two in the second half of the 16th century. Lochandas was one of fhe best lyric poets of the time and introduced a new style of folk songs, known as Dhdmdli, dealing almost exclusively with the love affairs of Krishna and the cowherd maidens. The other two books enjoyed great popularity and contain some new information about Chaitanya. There were other minor biographies of Chaitanya written in the 16th and 17th centuries. There were also biographical works describing the activities of the top-ranking Vaishnava leaders.

(b) Padavali

Next to biographical works, the lyrical poems and songs known as Padavali constitute the most important branch of the Vaishnava literature in Bengal. These dealt almost exclusively with the parakiyd prem (love outside wedlock) of Radha and Krishna. Some of the early lyrics reached a very high standard of literary excellence, expressing the intense, all-consuming, selfless love and highly passionate emotion of Radha in sweet, almost musical language. Gradually, these lyrics became somewhat stereotyped by the end of the 16th century and degenerated into mechanical repetitions in later age. In the hands of the Vaishnava poets the love episode of Krishna and Radha was classified, almost in a scientific spirit, into various distinct moods of mind according as Krishna was looked upon by the devotees as a child, a friend, a lord or a lover. The love episodes also deal with distinct phases characterised by love at sight, secret meetings, separation, union, enjoyment or ill-feeling caused by jealousy, etc. In addition to Lochandas mentioned above, some of the most distinguished lyric poets were Basudev Ghosh, Marahari Sarkar, Yasoraj Khan, Kavisekhara, NarOttamdas, Balaramdas, and Jnanadas, all of whom flourished in the 16th century. Another poet, Govindadas Kaviraj, also achieved great renown, though most of his lyrics were written in Brajabuli, an artificial language, akin to both Bengali and Maithili, but whose real origin is obscure (Vol. VI, p. 515). Many of the other poets, including Jnanadas and a few others mentioned above, also wrote in Brajabuli. Among the later poets mention may be made of Gopaldas of the 17th century, some of whose lyrics have been wrongly attributed to Chandidas, Narahari Chakravarti and Jagadananda of the 18th century, which saw the decline of Padavali literature. When the number of these lyrics grew very large, several collections of them were made towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.

Large number of narrative poems on the legends of Krishna and Radha were written with or without lyrical poems interspersed in them. Many of them were very popular and were regularly recited before large gatherings by professional kathaks (story-tellers), a religious entertainment current even today.

It may be mentioned that many composers of Vaishnava lyrics were patronised by the Hindu rulers of Tripura and Cooch Behar as well as some Muslim rulers.

Less well-known, but no less important, were the serious writings on Vaishnava doctrine and philosohpy by the Gosains of Brindavan and others, biographies of Vaishnava leaders and the historical works. More important among these are the Premavilasa of Nityananda Das, the Bhaktiratndkara and NarottamvUasa of Narahari Chakravartl, Rasakadamva of Kaviballabh, Rasakalpavalli of Ramgopal Das and Rasamanjari and Ashtarasavyakhyd of Pitambar Das.

A series of books dealing with the legends of Krishna, and known as Krishnou-mangala were written, some of which, like those of Madhavacharya, probably a contemporary of Chaitanya, Kavisekhara and many others became popular.

Particular reference should be made to the literature of a Vaishnava sect, known in later days as the Sahajiya, which had much in common with the Tantrics. They carried to an excess, in practice , the theory that love with a woman, not one’s wife (parakiya prem) , was the easiest road to salvation, and the philosophy underlying it was discussed, sometimes with great skill and learning, in a number of treatises, which belong to the Sahajiya literature.

2. Mangala-kdvya

Next to the Vaishnava literature, the Mangala-kdvyas form the most important branch of the Bengali literature during the period under review. It consists of a series of poetical works describing the glories of many popular gods and goddesses, such as Manasa (Snake-Goddess), Chandl (a form of Durga), Dharma-Thakur, Siva, and others.

The central theme of Manasd-mangala is the conversion of a rich merchant Chand Sadagar who was at first unwilling to worship Manasa but was ultimately forced to do so after his seven sons were killed one after another by snake-bite. The most interesting episode in these Kavyas is that of Behula, the widow of the seventh son, who carried the dead body of her husband in a raft to the abode of gods and had him restored to life through their graces after pleasing them by the exhibition of her skill in dance and music. The earliest extant text on this interesting theme, which has not lost its popularity even today, is Manasd-mangala of Bijayagupta (1484-5 A.D.). Among the numerous later authors of Manasd-mangala Kavyas mention may be made of Bipradas Pipilai (1495-6), Niarfayanadeva, and Ketakadas Kshemananda, probably the best of all, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century.

The Chandi-mangala Kdvya is based on two themes which describe how, through the favour of the Goddess Chandl, (1) the hunter Kalaketu becomes a king and (2) the merchant Dhanapati, after suffering various miseries in the hands of the king of Ceylon, ultimately is restored to his favour, and his son Srimanta is married to the daughter of the King.

The composition of the Chandi-mahgcila Kdvyas may be traced to Manik Datta who flourished before Chaitanya, but the oldest available texts are those of Dvija Madhava (1579-80), and Mukundaram Chakravarti, better known by his title Kavikankana, whose poem, composed towards the end of the 16th century, is regarded as the best of this class of works. It exhibits poetic talents of a very high order and many of its characters, specially P'hullara and Khullanla, the heroines, Durbala, the maid-servant, and, above all, Bhamdudatta, the cheat, are wonderful creations. An eminent critic regards the la^t-named a personification of cunning and wickedness, incomparable in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature. This Kavya has enjoyed immense popularity and high appreciation of the literary world which has not diminished in the course of time. It depicts a picture of the social condition of medieval Bengal, particularly the life of the common people, which is of great historical value.

Dharma-Thakur, the subject-matter of the Dharma-mahgala Kdvyas was a local God of Radha (West Bengal) worshipped mostly by the lowest classes of socidty such as the Dom, Bagdi, Hadj, etc. The hero of the Kavya is Lausen, victorious in many battles and always protected by the favour of Dharma-Thakur. It depicts a large number of characters of all ranks of society with great success, but is full of miraculous events. The author of the oldest extant Kavya, Manikram, flourished about the middle of the 16th century, and he was followed by Ramdas (1662), Sltaram (1698), Ghanariam (1711) and many others in the 18th century. Ghanaram's Dharmamangala is generally regarded as the best.

The Siva-mangala or Sivdyana has a long history, but no texts older than the 17th century have been discovered so far. The best known work is that of Ramesvar Bhattacharya who belonged to the first half of the 18th century A.D.

Several texts of the Kdlikd-mahgal glorifying the Goddess Kali, were written during the period under review. The main theme is the secret love of princess Vidya and Sundara, and the Goddess Kali appears in these texts at the very end when the life of Sundara, condemned to death, is saved by her intercession. The best work of this class is popularly known as Vidyd-Sundara Kavya or Annadamangal of poet Bharata-chandra, who flourished about the middle of the 18th century A.D. There are other Mangala-kdvyas glorifying minor gods and goddesses such as Sitala, Shashthi, Lakshml, Kapila, etc.

Lastly, mention should be made of Rdya-mangala which glorifies Dakshina-raya, the Tiger-god, i.e. one by worshipping whom men can be saved from the tigers. With Dakshina-raya is associated the Kalu-raya, the god who can save men from the clutches of crocodiles, and a Muslim divinity Bada Khan Ghazi (presumably the saviour from the tyranny of the Muslims no less dreaded than tiger or crocodile in the region of the Sundarbans where all the three were worshipped). An interesting episode is the fight between Dakshinaraya and the Ghazi which is ultimately stopped by the personal intervention of a god who appears on the scene in a body half of which is that of Krishna and half that of the Paygambara (Muslim Divinity).

3. Translations

Reference has been made in the preceding Volume (p. 511) to the Bengali translation of the Rdmdyana by Kri'ttivasa. He was followed by many others during the period under review. Among them may be mentioned two Assamese authors, Madhava Kandali and Sankaradeva who flourished in the 16th century and translated, respectively, the first six and the last handas (cantos). The Assamese language of these translations hardly varied from the Bengali in those days. Among the various Bengali translators, the best known is Nityananda, better known as Adbhuta Acharya, whose work was at one time more popular than even the translation by Krittivasa, at least in North Bengal.

The other great epic, the Mahdbhdrata, was translated by Kavindra Paramesvara, the court-poet of Paragal Khan, the Governor of Chittagong during the reign of Hussain Shah (1493-1519). Similarly Nusrat Khan, alias Chhuti Khan, son of Paragal Khan, had the Asvamedha-parva of Jaimini’s Mahdbhdrata translated by his court-poet Srikara Nandi. But the best and the most well-known translation of the Mahdbhdrata is the one attributed to Kasiram Das (Dev) which is still the most popular Bengali version—practically the only version known today to the generality of people, the other translations before and after him being practically forgotten. Yet it should be remembered that there are good grounds to believe that actually Kasiram Das translated only the first three parvas and about half of the fourth, the remaining fourteen and a half parvas being translated after his death by more than one person. Kasiram completed the translation of the

Virat (or third) Parva in 1604-5 A.D. Though Kasiram was the author of only a part, the whole of the translation is today ascribed to him even in the colophons of the known manuscripts. Kasiram Das was a great poet

and so were many of his collaborators who completed the work. No other Bengali work, with perhaps the single exception of the Bengali RarndyaVa of Krittivasa, is so popular among all classes of people even today. These two translations which, particularly the Ramayana, show sometimes wide divergences from the original Sanskrit texts, have enjoyed the position of national epics in Bengal for well nigh four hundred years.

Like the two great epics, the Bhagavata Purdna was also translated into Bengali. Raghunath Pandit, a contemporary of Chaitanya, wrote the Premataranginl which is really a general summary of the first nine skandhas (cantos) and the, literal translation of the remaining three skandhas of the Bhagavata. The great Sankaradeva of Assam mentioned above, and two other poets translated parts of the Bhagavata , respectively, in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Reference may also be made to the translations of the Vaishnava works of the Gosains of Brindavan, the Purdnas, Chandi and Bhagavad Gita.

4. Muslim Writers

Reference has been made above to the close political association between Bengal under the Muslim Sultans and the Mag rulers of Arakan. It was with the help of the ruler of Bengal that the king of Arakan, driven away from his kingdom by the king of Burma and after an exile's life in Bengal for 26 years, regained his throne. Arakan was under the political domination of Bengal for many years, and established its authority over Chittagong for some years. All these evidently established a close contact between Bengal and Arakan, and Bengali became virtually the cultural language of Arakan. This explains how Bengali literature flourished in that region. The earliest Bengali poet in the court of Arakan was Daulat Qazi. At the command of his patron, Ashraf Khan, a high official in Arakan Court, he rendered into Bengali some popular romantic stories current in various languages—Rajasthani, Hindi, Gujarati, etc—in Western India in the second quarter of the 17th century. His poem, known as Satl May and or Lor Chandmnl was completed after his death by a still greater poet, Alaol, another Sufi in the court of Arakan, in 1659.

Alaol, the son of a Muslim Governor of Lower Bengal, was captured by the Portuguese pirates and sold as an army recruit in Arakan. His reputation as a poet, scholar and musician endeared him to Sulaiman, a minister of the king of Arakan, Srlchandra Sudharma, and he became a friend of Magan Thakur, the foster-son of the sister of the king. The Padmdvatl, the best work of Alaol, was

written at the instance of Magan Thakur who wanted to have a rendering of Jayasi’s Padumdvat il 4 into Bengali verse. Alaol’s book, composed c. 1650 A.D., is, however, not a translation, but an abridged version, embellished by additions of new episodes to make it more suitable to Bengali readers. Alaol’s Padmavafi is a distant echo of the well-known episode of the conquest of Chitor by Alaud-din Khiljl, who was infatuated by the beauty of Padmini, but a number of new episodes of romantic love have been freely introduced. Alaol also rendered into Bengali verse the Persian romance SaifuLmulk badiuj-jamdl and two works of Nizami, and was the first to translate Persian poetry into Bengali. His poetic genius was revealed even in these translations.

Though less famous than the two mentioned above, some other Muslim poets flourished in Bengal. One of the oldest was Sabirid Khan, the author of a Vidyd-Sundara Kdvya of the 16th century A.D. The distinctive characteristics of the Muslim poets mentioned above as well as several others were their adoption of pure romantic love, not associated with any religious episode, as the theme of their writings, which is almost absent in those of the Hindu poets. But the Muslims also wrote on religious themes such as the life of the Prophet, the tragedy of Hasan and Husain at Karbala, the lives of the Ghazis, Nabis, etc. Some Muslim poets also wrote on such subjects as the Sadhan and Yoga systems of the Hindus and Vaishnava songs. One of them, Saiyad Sultan, who hailed from Chittagong, in his Rasulvijaya included some Hindu gods and Avatars (incarnations) among the prophets. His disciple, Muhammad Khan, gave evidence of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and Hindu scriptures not only in his poem Maktul Husam (1645 A.D.) dealing with the Karbala tragedy, but in his

Kdvya Yuga-sambdd or Satya^Kali-vivdd sambdd (imaginary quarrels between the Satya and Kali yugas). A few Muslim writers translated some romantic Hindi or Persian Kdvyas or rendered a free version of them in verse.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the only historical work written in Bengali during the period under review. This is the Rdjamald or the chronicle of the kings of Tripura (Tipperah) of which the first three parts, out of four, were written in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries bringing the history from the very beginning down to the reign, respectively, of Dharmamanikya, Amaramanikya, and Govindamanikya. There was also another work dealing with historical events, named Champakavijaya .

II. ASSAMESE

Reference has been made to ;§ankaradeva (? 1449-1568) who ushered in the Bhakti movement and a new era in Assamese

literature (Vol. VI, pp. 517-18). The next great poet was his disciple Madhavadiasa (? 1489-1596) whose principal works followed more or less the lines laid down by his Guru. These include:

(1) Bhakti-ratnavali, a study of the different aspects of bhakti based on a Sanskrit work,

(2) Ndma-ghosha, or Hdzdn-ghosha, a devotional handbook or prayer-book of the Eka^sarana sect, consisting of a large number of hymns reflecting different moods of a devotee,

(3) Bara-gitas, depicting the life of Krishna in Vrindavana among the gopis and containing some poems of prayer,

(4) Nine Anikiyd Nats dealing with the life of child Krishna.

One peculiarity of the Assamese literature of this age deserves notice. Like the Vaishjiava movement, of which it was a product, it ignored the entire episode of the love of Radha and Krishna which formed such an important feature in the Vaishnava movement and Vaishnava literature of the neighbouring States of Bengal and Mithila, and of the Braj area (Western U.P.), Rajasthan and Gujarat.

One of the most important writers of the movement was Rama Sarasvatl who translated four parvas of the Mahdbhdrata under the patronage of king Nara-narayana of Cooch-Behar in the 16th century. He also rendered into Assamese some stories from the Puranas depicting the slaying of a demon or a hero. These are known as Vadhakdvyas . Similarly Gopala-Chandra Dvija wrote in Assamese verses the story of Krishna as told in the Bhagavata Purdna, Vishnu Purdna and Harivamsa, while Bhaftadeva translated the Bhagavata Purdna and Bhagavad Gitd in prose.

Assamese prose was influenced by the Sino-Tibetan speech of

the Ahoms—who overran Assam and founded a “national” Kingdom in Assam (Vol. V, pp. 44-5, Vol. VI, pp. 391-396) which endured throughout the Mughul period. The Ahoms used to write prose historical chronicles called Buranjis, in their own Sino-Tibetan language which went out of use by the beginning of the 18th century. Later, when the Ahoms adopted Assamese as their spoken language, the Buranjis were written in Assamese. A number of these Buranjis have come to light, and have been ably edited and published by Assamese scholars. They date from the 17th century onwards. They have not only enriched Assamese language and literature (and extended the horizon of Indian literature as a whole) but throw valuable light on the political, social and economic condition of the country, particularly North-eastern India, during the 17th-19th centuries.

III. ORIYA

The beginnings of the Jagannatha Dasa period of Oriyia literature have been described in the preceding Volume (pp. 520-21). Many writers flourished during the period under review. They distinguished themselves by translations, adaptations and imitations of Sanskrit books, and Oriya literature was saturated with the spirit of Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit religious works and classics were thus made available in Oriya, and there were both romances as well as a good deal of technical literature. Among works of outstanding merit may be mentioned Kdvyas based on Purianic legends by poets Madhusudana, Bhima, Dhivara, Sadasiva and Sisu

Isvaradasa, as well as love-romances on non-Puranic themes by the prolific writer Dhanaiijaya Bhahja. The Oriya adaptation of Gltagovinda by Brindavana Dasa has preserved the music of the original, and Kahanu D;asa wrote a Kavya on the story of the RdmayaV^a in 108 cantos of 108 verses each. The Rasa-kallola, dealing with the love of Radha and Krishna, is a curious work in which every line begins jwith the letter (k\ Its author, Dinakrishna Diasa, who wrote many other works, was not only one of the greatest Oriya poets, but also a great scholar and a polymath in all Sanskrit sciences. Mention should also be made of some other distinguished works, e.g. "the Ushabhilasa of &Isu Sankara Dasa, the Rahasyamanjari of Deva-durlabha Dasa, and the Rukmini bibhd of Karttika Dasa. A new type, which may be called novels in verse, was Started from the beginning of the 17th century, when Ramachandra Pattanayaka wrote his HdravaU in which the hero is an ordinary householder's son and the heroine is the daughter of a farmer. Bhupati Pandita and Lokanatha Vidyadhara were other distinguished poets, of whom the former wrote a great work, the Prema-panchdrririta on the story of Krishna and the Vaishnava doctrine of faith-cum-knowledge, and the latter was marked for the mellifluousness of his languajge, comparable in this to Jayadeva himself."

The poets mentioned above, generally speaking, wrote in simple straightforward language, but some of them already showed signs of that artificial style which came to be established in the 18th century, and was marked by "verbal jugglery, unabashed eroticism and even covert or open obscenity." The greatest exponent of this new style was the great poet Upendra Bhanja (1670-1720) who ushered in a new era in Oriya literature which continued till the middle of the 19th century. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with this phase of Oriyia literature in the next volume.

IV. HINDI

The greatest Hindi writer during the period under review was Gosvami Tulasl-dasa, born in Gonda District in Eastern U.P. some

time about A.D. 1523. He left his family, became a mendicant, and began to write his masterpiece Rdma-charita-manasa in A.D. 1574 in his native AwadhI dialect (which in some respects is rather different from the standard or Western Hindi, and hence is also called Eastern Hindi). It is widely read even to-day and unquestionably, often with a modern Western Hindi bhdshcb-tiha, or translation, is “the Bible of the Hindu masses of North India”. It narrates the story of Rama and through it propounds the philosophy of the Bhakti cult. It is distinguished alike by its poetic charm and devotional spirit and its exquisite language, popular and purely Indian, with its native Hindi and borrowed Sanskrit words. Apart from the religious and literary importance of this great work, its author rendered a great service to the Indians submerged under the flood of the Islamic conquest. A modern author has paid the following tribute to Tulasi-dasa which he fully deserves:

“Tulasi was a follower and supporter of orthodox Brahmanical ways, and his advent with this and other books did the greatest service in strengthening the Hindus of Northern India in their religion, their old ways, and their culture, which seemed to be overwhelmed in the flood-tide of an aggressive Islam and by the sideattacks on Hindu cultural life through covert preaching against orthodoxy, which inculcated the study of Sanskrit books, going to places of pilgrimage and performing the various religious rites. He brought before the Hindus the ideal of Rama, the hero, steadfast and kind-hearted, truthful and beneficent, and standing up and fighting evil and defending the weak against the tyrannical demons and ogres. In the days of Turki and Pa than and Mogul rule, this bracing and manly ideal was a necessity for the Hindus, and it certainly saved them from being cast adrift from the bases of their culture. If a writer’s popularity is to be gauged by the number of quotations from him known to the masses, then there is none else in the range of Hindi to stand before Tulasi-dasa.” 5

Tulasi-dasa wrote many other devotional works of which the Vinaya-Patrika (Letters of Prayer) is the most well-known and perhaps the best. He preached pure devotion to God, but believed in a personal God, endowed with attributes, as was represented by Rama, an incarnation of the supreme spirit as Vishnu. Though mainly devotional in spirit, the works of Tulasi-dasa also display a purely humanistic approach based upon a knowledge of men and things around him. He showed a keen sense of human duty and dignity, and urged upon all the pursuit of highest virtues in life. His works have thus a universal appeal to mankind. He wrote in a high-flown Sanskritized Awadhi which strengthened the Sanskrit tradition in North India. Tulasi-dasa died in 1623.

The spirit of Tulasi-dasa animated a number of other writers. Two of his younger contemporaries, Agra-dasa and Nabhaji-dasa, wrote in Braj-bhasha the famous Bhakta-mala (the Garland of Saints), which gives brief accounts of the Vaishnava Saints from early period down to the time of Tulasi-dasa. An extensive commentary to it was written in the same language by Priya-dasa in 1704. Hindi, or, more properly, its Braj-bkashia dialect, was also enriched by a number of devotional poems by another school of writers who regarded Krishna, rather than Rama, as the highest incarnation of Supreme God, and drew their inspiration from the Bhagavata Puvaiia, instead of the Rdmayana. The intense love of Radha for Krishna, and the dalliance of the latter with the gopis or cowherd girls of Vrindavana formed the theme of many beautiful lyrics, as we find in the Bengali literature of about the same time. The greatest poet of this school was Sura-dasa who lived probably from A.D. 1503 to 1563 and wrote several thousands of lovely lyrics on different stages of Krishna’s life. He and seven other disciples of Vallabhacharya formed a group of devotees and poets of the Kriskna-bhakti cult, known as the Ashta-chdpa or ‘the Eight Stampseals’.

Another poet of this school who achieved great renown was Mira Bai (A.D. 1498 or 1503 to 1546), a Rajput princess married to a prince of Mewar. She became a widow at an early age and spent the rest of her life as a yogirii (female mendicant) or ardent worshipper of Krishna. Many romantic stories have gathered round her, and it is difficult to separate the chaff from the grain in these folk 'tales. The sweet melody of her devotional songs echoinlg her absolute self-surrender to Krishna and reflecting the throbbing yearning of her heart for union with her ‘Beloved’—the Supreme God in the form of Krishna—captivate millions of hearts even today from one end of India to the other. These songs were originally composed in the Marwari form of Rajasthani, but their language has been largely altered to the Braj-bhashla dialect of Hindi in order to make them popular in Northern India outside Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The Awadhi dialect of Hindi was enriched by a number of Sufi writers who wove some popular romantic tales of the folklore type into beautiful allegorical poems by way of elucidating the characteristic Sufi doctrines. Maulania Daud, the author of the oldest work of this type, Chanddyan (Romance of Prince Lor and his wife Chanda), and Kutban who composed the Mrigdvati (in A.D. 1501) have been mentioned above (Vol. VI, p. 505). Another poet of this

school, Manjhan, wrote the Madhu-malati (before A.D. 1532) which, though found in an incomplete form, displays 'more imagination and glory of love' than in Kutban's work. But the greatest writer of this school was Malik Muhammad Jay as! whose famous poem Paidumavati was composed between A.D. 1520 and 1540. It is a "detailed Sufi allegorical treatment of the famous story of Padminl of Chitor" (see above, Vol. VI, pp. 26-7, and p. 50 fn. 21). The work is generally regarded as 'one of the greatest books of medieval Indian literature', and its author, 'a worthy precursor of Tulasl-dasa in writing a chaste and properly Sanskrit Awadhi—perhaps the best form of Early Awadhi.' The high poetic qualities of the work are widely appreciated. It was translated into Bengali by a Muslim Bengali poet of Arakan in the 17th century, 6 and recently it has been rendered into English. The tradition of this school was continued by a number of other Muslim podts, belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries, viz. Usman, Shaikh Nabl, Kasim and Nur Muhammad. The latest writer in this line was Nazir Ahmad of Pratap-garh, who composed his romance of Nur-Jahan in 1905.

The tradition of Kabir was continued by the mystic poet Dadu Dayal (1544-1603), who is regarded as a great poet and a later counterpart of Kabir. His works show an admixture of Braj-bhasha and old Kharl-boli as in the case of Kabir.

Literature in Braj-bhasha flourished under the patronage of Akbar and was enriched by the poets and musicians of his court, including Tansen who wrote 'highly poetic and sometimes profound songs on various topics, devotional, panegyrical and descriptive'. Special reference may be made to Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan (15331626) the son of Bair am Khan (see pp. 104-10). He imbibed the Hindu spirit and wrote in Braj-bhasha poems on Krishna and other topics. Many well-known figures in Akbar's court, like Todar Mall, his finance minister, and BIrbal, his boon companion and court jester, were also literary men. One of these, Kesava-dasa (1565-1617) introduced a deliberately and artificially rhetorical and artistic type of literature.

“The poets of this Rhetorical School busied themselves with charming lyrical verses describing the beauty of fair women, nakhasikha , ‘from the nails of the toes to the topknot of hair’, cap-a-pie, so to say, and the different types of ladies in love, whether married or unmarried (Ndyika-bheda); the moods of lovers and sweethearts or married lovers; the various Rdgas and Rdgiriis or Musical Modes, conceived as heroes and heroines or as divinities male or female; descriptions of the Seasons (particularly revelling in the accounts of the rainy season and the spring); women in their occupations,

avocations and amusements, and social unions; of the various months narrating the occupations and distractions of lovers in union or in separation (milana and biraha) —the Baraha-imasi poems; and elaborate classifications of figures of speech, of the various sentiments (rasas), etc. It was a most complicated Ars Poetica and Ars Amatoria of late Medieval India, and all this finds its own proper or fitting illustration in different schools of Medieval Indian painting—Rajput and other Hindu (including Orissan and Dakhni, and the schools of the Panjab Hills), and Moghul. It became the most engrossing subject-matter for ‘Hindi’ and Rajasthani poets—and poets by the score in every decade—for three centuries, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmans and low caste people, men and women, composed on the above themes.” 7

Hindi literature in the 17th century is not marked by any originality, and it merely followed the old types and traditions. So far as the subject-matter is concerned, the noteworthy poets were “writers on rhetoric and erotics, with an undercurrent of Krsnabhakti or Rama-bhakti or Sufism. Their names are respected in annals of Hindi literature, but they hardly have an appeal for anybody except the specialist scholar.” 8

Mention may be made of Biharllal, the court-poet of Jay Singh Raja of Amber, and the famous author of the Satasal or Collection of Seven Hundred Verses. Another notable poet was Bhushana (16131712) who distinguished himself by writing laudatory verses in Brajbhasha in honour of ShivajI for his heroic fight against Aurangzlb with a view to setting up independent Hindu rule in India. These poems are specially valuable not merely for their forceful and elegant language, poetic imagery and musical melody, but also for the patriotic spirit, so rarely displayed by a Hindu writer in the Medieval Age.

Many other poets flourished in the 17th century, following either the Kablr or the Jay as! tradition. It is worthy of note that even after the emergence of Urdu literature in North India, many Muslim writers still adhered to the old Hindi tradition. The last great Hindi poet during the period under review was Lai Kavi or Gorelal Purohit, who wrote in 1707 the Chhatra-prakdsa, a beautiful epic biography of Chhatrasal, Raja of Bundelkhand.

Guru Govind Singh, the last of the Sikh Gurus (1666-1709), is included among the illustrious writers of Hindi, for he composed some important works in an old almost Apabhramsa style of Hindi, including the autobiographical poem, the Bichitra Ndtak (the wonderful Drama). 9

The Hindi literature described above was wholly in verse. The beginnings of Hindi prose writings, both Khari Boll i.e. Delhi-Hindi, and Braj-bhasha go back to the 16th century, and the style is illustrated by Sufi works and by biographies of some Vaishnavai devotees of the Krishria-bhakti school. But good modern Hindi prose did not make its appearance before the 18th century.

V. GUJARATI

Even in the 15th century Rarmananda’s influence in Gujarat was widespread and claimed writers like Bhalan (1494-1554 A.D.) who successfully translated Bana’s great classic KddambarT. Bhalan had studied the epics and the Pur anas in the original. He borrowed the episodes from these sources and moulded them in contemporary sentiments thus giving a distinct literary form through dkhydnas. Jayadeva’s Gitagovinda and Bopadeva’s Harilildmritci, dealing with the amours of Sri Krishna had by now lent a new dimension to the folk-songs relating to Radha-Krishna. Bhalan wrote several works depicting episodes from Sri Krishna’s life, making a free use of garabis . 10 He also composed poems in Braj-bhasha. 11 Poets from different parts of Gujarat, Kesav Hrideram (C. 1536) and Nlakar (C. 1550) composed similar dkhydnas, using the Bhagavata, the

Ramdyana and Bhalan's Saptasati. A professional class of Bhahmins called the gdgariabhats, the popular counterparts of the Puraniks, sprang up in whose hands the dkhydna literature became a living tradition. 113

The Bhakti cult, particularly the school founded by Chaitanya in Vrindavan, strongly influenced Gujarati literature. Miranbai and Narasiihha Mehta, the two greatest poets of Gujarat were influenced by the Vrindavan school. A pattern of poetic rhapsody developed, imbibing its inspiration from the legacy of Sri Krishna's pastoral romance in the woodlands of Vrindavan and combining lyrical verse, musical symphony and a responsive dance movement (rasa). The sweet strains of iSrl Krishna's magic flute were heard time and again and the glimpses of His eternal rdsallla recreated in the poetic compositions of these two great bhaktas of i§rl Krishna.

To Mirah, the divine singer of Lord Krishna, whom she considered as a living Bridegroom, the feet of Sri Krishna were her be-all and end-all of life. She regarded herself as a gopi of Vrindavan. 12 Her earlier songs addressed to Girdhar Gopal were written in pure homely Rajasthan!!, the parent of modern Gujarati, Mevadi and Marwadi, whereas her later songs have the impress of Braj-bhasha, the sweet language of love and devotion. In company of devotees of Lord Krishna at Dwaraka, she blossomed forth into Gujarati with

the same ease with which she wrote her earlier songs. She has thus been claimed by three regions and three languages. 13 Her songs breathe a rare intensity of feeling and sensitiveness of emotions. In sairitliness and poetic fervour, Mlran is peerless in Vaislniava literature.

Narasimha Mehta, who also lived in the sixteenth century, 14 ushered in philosophical poetry and gave a new impetus to Bhakti. About his well-known Bhajan " Vaishnava Jana to tone Kahiye," Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "That one song is enough to sustain me, even if I were to forget the Bhagavad Gita". The poet-saint not only composed this favourite hymn of Gandhiji and sang it but also lived it. And living it was a heroic struggle to this KrishnaBhakta, who was deserted by his own relatives, spurned and thrown out by his own Nagar Brahmin community and left desolate by many a domestic calamity. But not once was the saint forsaken by Lord

Krishna, for the humble devotee placed his whole life at the lotus feet of the Lord as a little flower of devotion. 15

The bulk of Narasimha's works which consists of padas , about seven hundred and forty in number, are collected in SringarrruLla. His Rasasahasrapadi is a free and elaborate rendering of rasa as depicted in the Bhagavata which also became a source of his large volume of poems relating to the episodes in Sri Krishna's life. His poems and songs with their rich vocabulary and charm of language have exercised a great influence on literature and sentiments of many generations. He was the finest representative of Bhakti in Gujarat.

Popular fiction continued to be cultivated in Gujarat along with adaptations of Puranic episodes. Many authors diverted their attention from religious to secular literature. The stories which were imitations of Gunadhya, the author of Brihatkatha in Prakrit, depicted men and women making love, going through intriguing adventures, propounding and solving riddles in each other's company. As such literature fired the imagination of the people, Bhakti, whose intensity by its very nature could be the privilege of a few, lost its vitality, giving way to contemplation of the futility of life and a sense of world-weariness. To be alive was to die to the joys of life: it was a precursor of a happy existence after death. This gospel, a result of the stagnant and political conditions of the time, found expression in the works of Akho or Akha Bhagat (C. 1615-1674).

Akho, the philosopher-poet, is hardly known outside Gujarat. Even in Gujarat not much that is authentic about his life is known

except some legendary accounts mostly garnered through his poetry. 16 A goldsmith by caste, Akho lost his parents early in life. His only sister and young wife also passed away. A lady whom he cherished as a sister suspected his honesty. While working in a royal mint, he was imprisoned on a charge of committing defalcation. Disgusted with a world so full of distrust and suspicion, he sought refuge in prayer and performed many rituals, but found no peace. His wanderings took him to Kasi where he found solace in the Vedantic philosophy. But he had seen social iniquities and all that was sham in the garb of religion; these served as a fine fabric which he fashioned into poetry.

Popularly known as the Vedantakavisiromani, 17 Akho was a seeker of ancient wisdom. His several works expounding the Advaita philosophy include Akhegltd, his best work wherein his creative faculties and philosophic thought find a full scope. He also has composed seven hundred Chhappais, epigrammatic stanzas and many poems in Hindi. He has given to the people the essence of the Vedanta philosophy in a language that can easily be understood. In literary humour in which he blended biting wit with words of wisdom, Akho has few equals.

The credit of plumbing the hearts of the people and gratifying their literary thirst goes to Premanand (1636-1724 A.D.), a born poet whose talent would have shone in any age and in any language. 18 He was the greatest medieval poet and has to his credit as many as fifty-seven works which were very popular. His works can be broadly divided into the Akhydnas from the Epics and the Puranas. He also composed original poems depicting the incidents in the life of the great poet-saint Narasimha Mehta. A supreme master in the art of narrative poetry, Premanand kept alive the Puranic traditions and gave the people episodes, fully interwoven with vivid and colourful pictures of contemporary life.

Samalbhatt, born about the year 1700, was, after Premanand, the most notable poet of the period. Many Puranic works and those of fiction are attributed to him. Gifted with a matchless style and wonderful power of story-telling, he presented stories of worldly wisdom, preserved the romantic atmosphere of early fiction, and provided a valuable literature of escape from the morbid influences of his times.

Mention must be made of the literary activity of the Jaina sddhus during the period under review. They continued to compose charitas of their tirthankaras, chakravartins and saints as their predecessors had done in tedious, monotonous rhyme. For variation sometimes they chose Kumarpal and Vastupal as their themes. Their language was archaic, and the religious and moral precepts in their compositions made them hardly attractive. However, a few Jaina scholars deserve recognition. The most notable writer of the 16th century was Lavanyasamay who composed over twenty-nine works. Four of these are rasas of tirthankaras and saints. One is Rdvanaman dodarisamvdd, a work based on the Rdmdyana. He also wrote the well-known Vimalaprabandh and other religious and ethical poems. His successor, Nayasundar, who was a student of the Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Urdu literatures wrote three social rasas, one Puranic rasa and two religious works. He embellished old rasa stories with a wealth of literary and emotional shades from Sanskrit works. His Naladamayantirds is considered to be a rendering of a lost Sanskrit work called Naldyana. Another sddhu of considerable literary powers was Samayasundar, who composed about twenty long works, besides a large number of small poems. Rishabhadas was yet another Jaina author with an untiring energy who is credited with thirtytwo works which include sixteen rasas on tirthankaras and saints.

VI. PUNJABI

The Beginnings of Punjabi Literature:

There is no written record of any Punjabi literary work prior to the time of Guru Nanak (1469-1538), founder of the Sikh faith. The Punjabi language, of course, is much older, having developed out of a Saurasem apabhramsa along more or less the same grammatical lines as Braj-bhasha, Rajasthani and Pahari, by about A.D. 1300 (Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 493-4).

The earliest authentic record of writing in Punjabi, where we may see the fixed forms of words and other traditions in language and literature, is the Sikh scripture, an anthology known as the Adi Granth, compiled finally in 1604 by Guru Arjun Dev, fifth in the line of the Gurus of the Sikh faith. Since by the Guru’s ordinance it would be sacrilegious for anyone to introduce any alteration, however minor, into the recorded text, this vast store of writing is now before us precisely in its original form and harks back at least to the 15th century, if not to earlier period. As has been pointed out by scholars, the Adi Granth is an unparalleled treasure-house of northern Indian medieval literature and verbal forms, and of literary traditions which can be studied in their authentic shape in it.

The Adi Granth:

The greatest work in Punjabi is the Adi Granth (lit. The Primal Scripture), sacred book of the Sikh people. Its nature and importance have been discussed in Chapter XX, Section II. As far

as the character of its language goes, it is only in part pure or nearly pure Punjabi. For the rest it is either some variety of Hindi, or combined Hindi-Marathi.

The arrangement of the hymns in the Adi Granth is, as was customary in medieval India, in accordance with the rdgas or musical measures in which these are to be sung.

The themes which form the basis of the devotional compositions of the Gurus are the nature and attributes of the Creator; the spiritual quest which consists on the one side in freeing the mind of the great illusion, Mdyd, and on the other in fervent devotion to God conceived of as the Beloved-Lord; the supreme importance of relating the spiritual life to the realisation of moral responsibility; the objective of the religious life as the attainment of Mukti, Nirvana, which in essence means the attainment of the state of spiritual-moral enlightenment; and untiring emphasis on the essence of the religious life as devotion, enlightenment (Jndna) and acts of disinterested good (Seva). The entire message is expressed in poetry, which through powerful image and symbol impresses the movement of the soul on the listener's mind and thus acts so as to 'convert' him.

Significant words from Muslim tradition are also employed, particularly those made familiar to the people in general by the propagation of Islam and the mingling of Hindus and Muslims in the population for three centuries or more. A fairly large collection of words of Persian or Arabic origin can be made from the pages of the Adi Granth.

A considerable part of the terminology employed by the Gurus comes from the practice of medieval Yoga, particularly in its adumbration of the spiritual ideal to be attained.

The style in which Guru Nanak has poured forth his soul is generally highly compact and aphoristic, as indicating a mind given to expressing itself in formulae or Sutras as in the Indian spiritual tradition in general. Deep, reflective and intuitive processes of the soul, blossoming forth into these aphoristic utterances —such is the impression which Guru Nanak's compositions leave on the mind. Guru Nanak's successors, in general, re-express his themes and purport, and his very phrases, expressive of deep spiritual vision, are met with again and again in their compositions.

One prevalent characteristic of the hymns of the Adi Granth, poetically of greater relevance from the literary point of view than the philosophy, teaching or message, is the adoption by the Gurus of that Indian tradition of devotional-lyrical poetry in which the entire symbolism of erotic poetry, applied to men and women is transferred to the spiritual quest and passion. In other words, this poetry is devotional-mystical as well as highly metaphysical adopting the style and tradition of medieval Indian eroticism, made current by the devotees of the Krishna cult. The Gurus, of course, adopt as the object of their devotion not the divine cowherd Krishna, but the Transcendent Creator, Par-Brahm.

Other Sikh Writers:

Besides the compositions of the Gurus, highly influential and poetically significant work in the exposition of the principles of the Sikh faith was done by Bhai Gurdas (1559-1637). Bhai Gurdas truly transferred to his own language the thought, tradition and philosophy of India which till then had been confined in northern India to various forms of Hindi and Bengali. He displays mastery of a variety of metres and in each stanza, built on a continuing rhyme-scheme, a wealth of resource in that direction which makes reading him a sheer intellectual treat. Some of the passages, such as those on Guru Nanak's Advent in Canto one and that on Guru Arjun, the Martyr, in Canto twenty-four, are examples of the supreme poetry of vision. Bhai Gurdas is a great poet whose work should be better known outside the limited circle of those who can read Punjabi in Gurmukhi.

A good deal of devotional poetry relating to the Sikh faith was also produced during this period. More significant outside the main stream, is the prose literature which grew in this period. This literature too relates mainly to the exposition of various aspects of the Sikh faith. This may be divided into two broad categories: (a) The Biographies called Janam-Sakhis (lit. 'testament of birth') of Guru Nanak, of which there are several; (b) exposition and exegesis of the principles and texts of the Sikh faith. Among the Janam-Sdkhis the oldest and the one from which stems the entire basis of the life-story of Guru Nanak is that of unknown authorship, known as the Purdtan (ancient, old) Janam-Sdkhi, whose only extant copy is now available in manuscript form in the British Museum. The Punjab Government in 1885 got it printed in zinco-photography and it can be seen now in the published copies in exact form and feature. The date of its composition from internal evidence works out to be about 1633.

Among other writers of religious prose, falling slightly outside the strict limits of the period under treatment here, though belonging completely to its tradition, is the great martyr, Bhai Mani Singh, a direct disciple and school-mate of Guru Govind Singh. In his

Gian Ratnavali he has composed the life-story of Guru Nanak as well as treated various issues concerning faith and the spiritual life. In his language he is closer rather to the idiom of central Punjabi with an admixture of Hindi.

The Romancers:

In the secular field, there was a good deal of literary production in Punjabi during this period of the consolidation of Mughul rule over India. Most of those who composed romantic and other tales were Muslims. Their works in Punjabi have popularly been known as Kissas (more puristically Qissas) which means ‘tales’. One of the earliest of the writers of Kissas was a Hindu, Damodar Ghulati, who flourished during the reign of Akbar to whom he makes a number of encomiastic references in the course of his narrative. The tale he composed is the most famous in the romantic lore of the Punjab—that of the lovers Hlr and Ranjha. Because of the orientation and finish given to this tale later by Waris Shiah, as also the tragic finale of his version, it has become the romance par excellence of the Punjab, and every Punjabi youth fancies himself in his romantic years the prototype of Ranjha and his sweet-heart the beauteous, faithful Hlr. Damodar’s version of the tale, whose incidents must have been older than his own time, despite his avowal that he was an eye-witness of all that he narrates, is plain and unvarnished, in a halting form of the popular metre called Dwaiya.

Waris Shah, whose version of the Hlr Ranjha story, as said earlier, is the most popular, was a gifted poet, with flow, command of good dialogue, deeply reflective and tragic tones, and an understanding of the human heart with which only the more imaginative poets are gifted. His version of the story is tragic, in the way somewhat of the story of Romeo and Juliet. On a false report that Hlr has died, Ranjha takes his own life. Later, Hlr dies on hearing of the sacrifice of Ranjha. The limping villain, Kaido, who plays something like an Iago in ruining these lovers, is a very well-known character in Punjab folk-lore and his name has become a by-word for perfidy and intrigue. Waris himself, and his creations Hlr and Ranjha are the national figures of the Punjab, both in the Indian and Pakistani countryside. The very popularity of Waris Shah’s version brought in continuing interpolations, which very often look like the genuine original passages.

Another famous romance of the Punjab countryside is the story of the Muslim lovers, Mlrza and Sahiban. The most famous version of the Mlrza Sahiban story is that by Peelu. This is a tale of chivalry and honour and the betrayal of love for family piety. Sahiban’s entreaty to Mlrzia to save his life by escaping the wrath of her brothers, despite her loyalty to her father’s house, is one of the finest treatments of a theme involving psychological conflict. Mlrzia, too, like Ranjha, is a hero of thq Punjabi youth, and his story evokes admiration, rather than compassion, unlike the story of Hlr and Ranjha.

A Hindu poet, Aggra, composed the Saga or Var of Haqiqat Rai, a Sikh-Hindu youth martyred during the reign of Shah Jahan for his faith at Lahore.

The Sufi Poets:

The folk Sufi poets of the Punjab, while basing their experiences within the four walls of the Muslim Sufi doctrine, and employing in their compositions occasionally terms drawn from the long tradition of Sufi lore, have employed mainly the symbols and images drawn from the Punjab countryside. Spiritual urges are expressed in terms of the simple objects familiar to the common country-folk, such, for example, as the spinning-wheel, the Persianwheel, the dancing dervishes, characters drawn from popular romances and mythology, Hindu as well as Muslim. The language employed by these Sufi poets is generally pure Punjabi of the western variety, with the rarest touch, here and there, of Hindi, drawn from(the lore of the parallel Hindu orders of Yogis. Through their language and its musical tones these poets are able to transmit passion and ecstasy. Sufi poetry, because of its appeal to the heart, is highly popular among people of all communities in the Punjab.

Among the Sufis of this period there are Hafiz t Barkhudar Vajid, ‘All Haidar, Sultan Bahu, Shah Hussain, and Bulhe Shah. The last three deserve a somewhat detailed notice for the power and popularity of their work. Sultan Bahu (1631-1691), a mystic dervish, belonged to the Jhang region (now in Pakistan) and expressed himself in passionate poetry of devotion and renunciation. His effective use of dialect and his rhythm echoing the movement of the soul have imparted to his verse the power to move and to transport.

Shah Hussain (1539-1593) was a fakir , given to a somewhat free way of life, and while perhaps reproved by orthodoxy, was loved by the people for the sincerity of his passion and devotion. His lyrics are passionate and respond immediately to music. They are suffused with ecstasy and are some of the best and purest examples of lyrical poetry in Punjabi. The variety of poetry practised by Hussain, as indeed by other Sufi poets,' is the Kafi, which is the song-lyric of western Punjabi, and connotes as much a musical measure as the lyrical content.

Bulhe Shah (1680-1758) is the prince of Punjabi Sufi poets. His lyrics or Kalis have, like the romantic stanzas of Waris Shah, passed into the tradition of the Punjab. Bulhe Shah has expressed the religion of the spirit, which transcends the creeds, and transmits ecstasy, resignation and the sheer passion and mood of love. His symbols are of the Punjab countryside, and his verse has passed into folk-lore. His rhythms are like the tuning of the flute and the gyrations of dance. Through his verse the fine feelings of the Punjab people found expression and self-awareness, in a manner which is more truly aesthetic than doctrinal or spiritual.

VII. KASMlRI

Not much is definitely known about Kasmlrl literature before the 15th century. Apart from some doubtful specimens furnished by a few stray verses, the poetic compositions of Lalla Didi (Lai Ded), in a modern Kdsmiri form , represent the oldest specimens of Kasmirl, which have been preserved down to our own times by oral tradition. Lalla was born in A.D. 1335 and died between 1383 and 1386. She had an unhappy domestic life, became a Sanydsirii (ascetic) called Lalla Yoglsvarl, and wandered about singing her little poems of mystic perception of Siva, of which more than a hundred have been edited and translated by Sir George Abraham Grierson. Next in point of time is another mystics poet, a Muslim Saint named Shah Nur-ud-dln (called by the Hindus Nanda Rishi), whose ‘‘verses and sayings known as sruks give expression to his profound faith in and love for God, and his catholicity of outlook”. These verses have been collected in a book known as Rishimamah or Nur-ndmah, a good portion of which is, however, considered as probably spurious by competent authorities. During the rule of the enlightened Sultan Zain-ul-‘AbidIn (1420-70) flourished a number of writers in both Persian and Sanskrit, as well as in Kasmlrl. But their works, mostly biographical and panegyrical, are now unknown.

During the 16th century the Kasmlrl literature was enriched by the exquisite lyrics of love and life composed by a lady, popularly known as Habba Khotun, who passed through strange vicissitudes in life. Born as a village girl and named Zun (Moonlight— Sanskrit Jyotsnd), she had an unhappy married life like Lalla, but the king of Kasmlr, Yusuf Shah Chak (1580-86), got her divorced and married her. But she enjoyed only a few years of happy life of a queen beloved by her husband. For Akbar, after conquering Kasmlr, carried off the king who was never allowed to return.

Habba Khotun lived for 20 years more, virtually as a hermitess. She is one of the most popular poetesses and occupies a place in the forefront of Kaismlrl literature. Among other poets who wrote in Kasmlrl during the period under review, mention may be made of Khwajah Hablbullah Naushahri who wrote a series of lyric poems, the Hindu poet Sahib Kaul, the author of Krishna-avatara and the Janccm-charita, both based on the

Puranas, and the poetess Rupa-bhavanI (1624-1720) who wrote a number of religious poems in a highly Sanskritized language.

VIII. MARATHI

Marathi literature of this period was given a vigorous start by three eminent saints: Santa Ekanatha, Santa Tukarama and SvamI Ramadasa. Their contribution is both voluminous and varied. They revolutionised the tone of religious writing, provided forms for artistic writing and set high standards of aesthetic expression. Their works inspired several able writers who further enriched the Marathi literature, so much so that this period can be justly termed as the most glorious period.

While the saints and writers of this age were faithful followers of the Bhakti mcLrga initiated in Maharashtra by Jhanesvara and Namadeva, the literature of this period reveals a keen awareness on the part of the writers of the radically changed political, social and religious environment.

Santa Jhanesvara flourished in the period of the Yadavas who were able to ensure their people peace and prosperity. With the fall of this dynasty and the advent of the Muslims, the people of Maharashtra were put to untold miseries. There was no security of life and property. People naturally lost their faith and neglected their social obligations. There was thus an urgent need of a movement that could restore the faith of the people in their ancient religion and culture as well as give them fresh hope and confidence. This work of national rejuvenation was accomplished by the saints and writers of the age under review. We find in the annals of this age the unique reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life, an active implementation of the altruistic faith and a vigorous plea for, and practice of, the philosophy of activism.

It is significant that this new cultural and literary movement can be traced to the very age in which we witness the advent of the Muslims into the Deccan. Janardana SvamI (1504-1575), the teacher of Santa Ekanatha, was initiated into this spiritual tradition by the famous saint Nrisimha Sarasvatl, popularly known as Sri Guru Dattatreya. Janardana SvamI was advised to lead the worldly life and the spiritual life simultaneously. He was later appointed the governor of a fort under a Muslim ruler and attained fame as an able statesman, too. Thus, he demonstrated in that difficult age how the worldly life and the spiritual life can be reconciled to the advantage of both the individual and the society. Dr. R. D. Ranade rightly points out that the Svami's life and the abhangas (laudatory verses) reveal such a unique reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life as was never attained either before or after. No wonder that the Svami was able to give Maharashtra an outstanding saint and writer of the eminence of Santa Ekanatha.

The works of Santa Ekanatha (1533-1599) 19 reveal his mastery of the Bhagavata, the Bhagavad Gita, the Jndnesvarl and the epics. They also reflect his great spiritual achievements. His commentary on the 11th chapter of the Bhdgavata, known as the Ekanathi Bhdgavata, runs into 18,800 ovi verses and is undoubtedly his masterpiece. Next comes his Bhdvdrtha Rdmayana. (40,000 ovi verses), followed by Rukminl Svayamvara (1,711 ovi verses). In addition to these he has composed hundreds of abhangas, gaulans, bharudas as well as commentaries on the Chatuhsloki Bhdgavata, Svatmasukha and Chiranjivapada. His is the unique distinction of having prepared the scholarly edition of the JnanesvarT.

Ekanatha's Bha\gavata is a spiritual treatise while his abhangas narrate his own spiritual experiences. He made the ideas of the Vedanta popular through his works. His Rukmini-Svayamvara is a fine poetical work with the theme of the union of Jiva and Siva. The epic fight of Rama and Ravana is depicted by him as the eternal struggle between the soul and the ego. He propagated the path of bhakti which led to the service of one's fellow-beings. Thus he combined successfully religion with social service. Indeed, his sympathy and affection for all was really the source of his effective delineation of all the rasas in his narratives and the abhangas. His passionate love of Manathi is expressed thus:

If Sanskrit was made by God, was Prakrit born of thieves and knaves? Let these errings of vanity alone. Whether it is Sanskrit or Prakrit, wherever the story of God is told it is essentially holy and must be respected. God is no partisan of tongues. To Him Prakrit and Sanskrit are alike. My language, Marathi, is worthy of expressing the highest sentiments, and is rich-laden with the fruits of divine knowledge.

No wonder that Ekanatha occupies a high place among the saints of Maharashtra as well as among the great poets.

According to tradition, a group of five writers form the Ekanatha Panchaka; they are: Ekanatha, Rama Janardana, Jani Janardana, Vitha Renukanandana and Dasopanta. Dasopanta (1559-1615) has left behind him a rich legacy of 45 works running into more than 200 thousand 5vi verses. His Gitdrnava, Gitarthabodha-chandrikd , Granthamja, Panchikarana and numerous collections of songs and poems, are still popular and held in high regard. He composed songs in Kannada and Telugu, too. His commentaries on the Bhagavad Gita reflect his original and dynamic thinking on many philosophic and religious problems while his profound scholarship, high poetic ability and deep faith in religious and cultural traditions are revealed in his other works.

The first Marathi version of the Mahdbharata was composed by Vishnudasanama, a senior contemporary of Ekanatha. The Budhabavani and Sukdkhyana are his other works. His prayer addressed to KamakshidevI has given rise to the speculation that he hailed from Goa.

Of the several other poets of this period, mention may be made of Sivakalyana, Mrityunjaya, Ranganatha Mogarekar, Tryambakaraj, Ramavallabhadasa, Mahalihgadasa and Lolimbaraja who have contributed much to the narrative poetry in Marathi. Of special interest is the Gurucharitra, a biography of Sri Nrisimha Sarasvati by Saras vati Gahgadhara of the Kannada region. This work is the first to use the phrase ‘Maharashtra Dharma ’ and is a useful source for the study of contemporary cultural traditions.

Santalingappa, a Lingayata poet, was the author of Karanahastaki —a poetical exposition of the principles of the Lingayata sect.

Shaikh Muhammad was the author of the Yogasarvgrdma , Pavanavijaya , Nishkalanka-prabodha and Jnanasdgara, in addition to many songs and abhangas . Mutoji Vazir-ul-mulk, a princely scholar, composed in Marathi a commentary on Sangita Makaranda, a Sanskrit treatise on music. Hussain Ambar wrote his Amhar Huseni — a Marathi commentary on the Bhagavad Gitd in 816 ovi verses.

This forceful literary movement spread far and wide and brought under its influence people of all castes and creeds. Father Thomas Stephens, an English priest, found the Purdnic form quite useful for propagating Christian religion among the natives. His '• • y m 11 j 0 0 0 ovi verses of chaste Marathi, is

still regarded as one of the fascinating works in that language. As the title suggests, it is a collection of stories and anecdotes from the life of Jesus Christ cited in the Bible. His praise of Marathi language is noteworthy: “Greenest among the herbs, sapphire

among jewels, that is my language, Marathi.” Another Christian preacher, Father Croix, composed his Peter Pumna which is a poor imitation of the Khrishta Pumna. Moreover, his uncalled for ridicule of the Hindu gods and goddesses, customs and manners, has vitiated the value of the work.

Santa Tukarama (1598-1650) gave a fresh and a more vigorous momentum to the Marathi literary movement. Born in a Kunabi (Sudra?) family of the Vitthala tradition, Tukarama was a smallscale merchant. Rakhumabai and Jijabai were his wives. In 1619, when he was only 21 years old, his family life was ruined by the death of his firss wife and first son, both victims of the severe famine. His trade was ruined too. Thus deprived of his family and occupation, he turned to the spiritual life. He was initiated by Guru Babaji in a dream, with the mantra of Rama Krishna Hari. In another dream, Tukarama had the vision of God Vitthala with Namadeva who advised him to compose the abhangas. Tukarama then studied the works of Jnanadeva, Namadeva, Kabir and Ekanatha.

Tukarama composed numerous abhangas and sang them in the assemblies of the devotees. Scholars have accepted at least 4500 abhangas as his, and they reveal his many-sided splendid personality: his deep study of the Bhdgavata, the Bhagavad Gita , as also the works of Jnanadeva, Namadeva and Ekanatha; his firm belief in God; his faith in religion; his universal love; his great spiritual attainments. His accepted mission was to propagate religion; “to advance religion and to destroy atheism is my business”, says he. His contribution to the religious literature of Maharashtra is thus really great. His abhangas are sung with delight even to-day, and they are still the source of inspiration for social progress.

SantajI Teli, Ramesvarabhatta, Sivaba Kasara, Mahadajipanta Kulkarni, Niloba and Bahinabal were the more distinguished disciples of Tukarama who have enriched the devotional literature in Marathi.

Tukarama was forced into the spiritual world by his adversities. His teachings, therefore, came to be characterised by a measure of pessimism. His emphasis on the need of a detached life was often misunderstood for a total renunciation of worldly life and social obligations. In the context of the political and social conditions of the period such a world-negating attitude could have been undesirable. But this was averted by an effective propagation of an activist philosophy by SvamI Ramadasa for whom Tukarama had great reverence.

Samartha Ramadasa SvamI (1608-1682) was a born saint. Leaving his home at the age of 12, he performed severe penance for 12 years. It is believed that he was blessed with the vision of Sri Rama. Then he travelled for another 12 years visiting holy places all over India. The miserable conditions of the people moved him greatly and he decided to dedicate himself to the service of the people. He began to preach the cult of Dhanurdhdn Rama (Rama holding the bow) and of Balabhima (the incarnation of strength). He established Mathas at several places that served as centres of religion, education and culture. He popularised physical culture and training of the youth for military purposes.

The Ddsabodha is undoubtedly the most important of his works. “It is the outcome of the fullest experience of the world by a person who has attained the highest spiritual experience. It is prose both in style and sentiment but it is most highly trenchant in its estimate of worldly affairs”. It is a veritable guide for all time and for all classes of individuals who desire happiness as well as spiritual joy. He upheld the philosophy of adtivism and maintained that the ideal man is an active man. In his Anandavana Bhuvana, he gives an inspiring vision of an ideal State where all the wicked are destroyed and all the good are protected. He sees India once again strong and prosperous.

He was, nevertheless, a practical leader. He exposes ruthlessly the evil character of the pseudo-saints in his Janasvabhdva Gosavi. He analyses rationally the conditions of the people and the causes thereof in his Asmani Sultani and Parachakra-nirupana. His Karundshtake and Manache Sloka along with the Rdmayana and Rdmavaraddyini are still regarded as the best in Marathi literature for properly moulding the minds of the young. Ramadasa composed, in addition, hundreds of ovi verses in the form of brief narratives and prayers, as well as hundreds of abhangas. The works of Ramadasa, thus, reveal his deep scholarship, keen awareness of the social and political conditions of the people, his profound love for them, his dream of an ideal State and finally his unsurpassed spiritual attainments. He was able to found a distinct school of thought by his dynamic and forceful personality as well as by his devoted life and skill of organization. Of his numerous disciples mention may be made of Jayaramasvami, Ranganathasvami, Anandamurti, Dinakara Gosavi, Venubai, Giridhara, Kalyanasvamii, Jagannathabuva, BhimasvamI, MerusvamI Hariharabuva, Uddhavasuta, Atmarama and Bahinabai (Tukarama's disciple)—all of whom have profusely written on religious and social topics and particularly on the life and teachings of Ramadasa, with an emphasis on the significance of the Ramadasa tradition.

While the disciples of Tukarama and Sviaml Ramadasa were busy with the religious and ethical teaching, there were others during this period who paid more attention to the aesthetic aspects of literature, following the tradition of Ekanatha.

The first of such poets was Muktesvara (1609-1690) a grandson of Ekanatha. His Samkshepa Rdmdyana (1725 6vl verses) and the five parvas of the Mahabharata (14,687 5vi verses) are counted among the outstanding works of Mariathi classical poetry. In addition, he wrote Suka-Rambha-samvdda, Satamukha Ravanavadha, Ekanatha Charitra, Gajendramoksha and Hanumantdkhydna. These works are still considered models of artistic compositions combined with scholarly treatment of the rasas.

Vamana Pandita (1608-1695) was the author of several works, the more important of which are: Yathartha-dipika, Samaslokl Gita , Nigamasdra, Karmatatva , Bhdminlvildsa, Rddhavilasa, Rasakridd, Sita-svayamvara .

Their captivating style and religious instruction have made them popular with all classes of readers. Vamana Pandita has employed very successfully metres, figures of speech and other techniques of Sanskrit poetry. Samaraja (1613-1700) wrote Mudgalakhyana and Rukminl-harana, the only Marathi epic poem according to the tenets of Sanskrit poetics.

Raghunatha Pandita, a contemporary of Shivajl, composed NalaDamayanti-svayamvara and Gajendramoksha. The Nala-Damayantisvayamvara has earned its author undying fame by its epic grandeur, skilful and lively portrayal of characters, figures of speech and interesting dialogues. The poet states that he was inspired to write this work by the Naishadhlya Kdvya of Srlharsha. Anandatanaya, another scholar-poet of this age, composed 20 narrative hdvyas for the use of devotees. The Sita-svayamvara, a composition of 83 slokas is his longest and the most popular work. Niaigesa, another contemporary of Shivaji, was the author of Sitd-svayamvara and ChandrdvaVi-varnand. These are full of witty and humorous observations on the contemporary social life. Vithal Bidkar (16281690) composed Rukmini-svayamvara, Sita-svayamvara and some biographies and prayers.

These writers of long narrative poems chose their themes from the epics and the Puranas, wrote in the traditional metres and style, and freely made use of the techniques of Sanskrit classical poetry. Gradually new themes and styles came to be introduced. !§ridhara (1658-1729) and Krishnadayarnava initiated the new movement. Krishnadayarnava wrote Harivarada, a commentary on the 10th chapter of the Bhdgavata. Srldhara composed narratives on the heroes and heroines of the Epics and the Puranas. The more im

portant of his works are: Harivijaya , Ramavijaya, Pdndavapratdpa, Sivalilamrita, Panduranga-mahatmya, Venkatesa-mdhatmya, Vedantasurya. Though he has borrowed freely from the earlier writers like Muktesvara, he has made his compositions more interesting than any of the earlier ones. His works are read even today by thousands of devotees and lovers of good poetry all over Maharashtra.

The scholar-poets of this age, thus, greatly popularised the narrative form of poetry and have furnished excellent compositions that can be read for personal gratification as well as for religious merit. They have, in their works, set patterns of highly artistic writings. They have also contributed greatly to the development of the Marathi language by incorporating Sanskrit, Pfiakrit and Persian words in their compositions.

Finally, mention must be made of the Rdja-vyavahdra-kosha prepared under the direction of Shivaji. It is a mine of useful information and is still regarded as an authoritative source for coining new administrative and political terms.

This period also saw the development of an indigenous form of literature known as povddas or ballads. The pdvadas are songs written in exciting style and narrate historical events in an inspiring manner. Of the numerous povtidas of this period only a few are now available. One of such ballads by Agindas records Shivajfs encounter with Afzal Khan and another by Tulsidas gives an account of the heroic capture of Simhagad by Tanajl.

IX. TAMIL

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period of decadence in the Tamil country. Petty kings and chieftains exercised a restricted or uneasy sovereignty over their peoples, while in the north the Mughul Empire was extending its sway and sprawling over the greater part of the Peninsula. Scores of poets and poetasters sedulously aped Sanskrit and classical Tamil models and somehow kept up a show of vigorous literary activity. The courts of the Tamil kings and the ;§aiva mutts (mathas) were the principal centres of such literary activity, and it is gratifying to note that the flame, however it swayed or burned dim, was not allowed to be put out altogether.

Varathunga Pandyan and Athivirarama Pandyan were cousin brothers, and both of them accomplished poets. The Pandyan kingdom had then shrunk very much in size, and Athiviraraman had as his capital Korkai and Tenkasi in the Tinnevelly district. Varathungan was blessed in an angelic wife, and they led a life of piety

at a place called Tirukkaruvainallur. Varathungan’s principal work is Pramottarakandam , an eulogy of the mystic efficacies of panchakshara, vibhuti, somvara , etc. Varathungan’s devotion to Siva is revealed in every verse of this work. One typical stanza may be rendered as follows:

Eyes that gaze at diva’s temple are alone the eyes,

Legs that enter His temple are alone the legs,

Heads that bow before Parvati’s Lord are alone the heads, Hands that make offerings to Siva are alone the hands, Tongues that sing His glories are alone the tongues,

Ears that hearken to His praises are alone the ears,

Hearts that meditate on Him are alone the hearts,

And allegiance to His feet is the only allegiance.

Varathungan’s other works include Ambikaimalai, Ilingapuranam , Tirukkaruvai Paditruppattanthati, etc. Pandit Somasundara Desikar attributes, I think rightly, the ‘ Tirukkaruvai’ poems to Varathungan, while others attribute the poems to his brother, Athiviraraman. These ‘Tirukkaruvai’ poems are all inspired by the Deity of Tirukkaruvainallur, and several verses from them have gone into popular currency. It is not surprising therefore that the title of Kutti-Tiruvachakam (Miniature Tiruvachakam) is bestowed upon the Paditruppattanthati.

Athiviraraman, the royal poet, is known to fame as the author of the Tamil Naidatham , which has gained the sobriquet of “poets’ elixir”. He was doubtless indebted to his predecessors, Vyasa, Sri Harsha, and Pugalendi, for the story, and to these as also to Kamban and other great Tamil writers for his ideas and poetic imagery. But the finished work is none the less a meritorious poem. Athiviraraman is particularly successful in his delineation of Damayantl’s deathless love for Nala, a love that transcends misery, separation and seeming cruelty:

Even should I, O King, fail to see and win you in this life, In another birth at least shall I not, I poor woman, Undergo austerities all alone.

And melt your golden heart to gain you at last?

Athiviraraman’s Kdsikandam is a long poem devoted to the praise of KasI (Benares), based mainly on Skanda Purcina. School children are familiar with another of Athiviraraman’s works, viz. Vetriverkai or Narunthokai. The verses and aphorisms of Vetriverkai are now a part of our popular culture and we are quoting or echoing them without being conscious of the fact. Here are a few samples:

The accomplished speaker, though a liar,

Gives the lie the varnish of truth;

The untrained speaker, however truthful,

Makes truth itself ring false.

Better the forest where the fierce tigers roam,

Than the city under the rule of a tyrannical king.

From the big seed of the Palmyrah Grows the sky-labouring tree Whose shade not one protects.

From the diminutive banyan seed,

Smaller than the egg of a little fish in the river,

Grows the tree whose spreading branches cast a shade Over a royal army of elephants, chariots, horses and men. The big are not thus always big,

Nor the small are always small.

The ISaiva mutts were at this time a bee-hive of literary activity. While such literary work as was produced was no doubt mainly religious, ethical or theological, several of the productions of these mutts have value as poetry as well. Kumar a Guruparar, born of Saiva parents at Srivaikuntam in the

Tinnevelly district, grew to be an austere ascetic and became an ornament of the Dharmapuram mutt • It is said he toured the north and gave an exhibition of his powers, seated on a fierce lion, before the Mughul Emperor himself. The bibliography of his writings is a long one, of which the most popular are Needi Neri Vilakkam and Madurakka lambakam. From the former two verses are here extracted:

Youth is like a bubble on the water;

Riches are the sprawling waves on its surface;

This physical frame is as durable as the writing on the water; Why then, O' Lord, do we not seek on the water;

People engrossed in work

Will be sleepless, careless of pain,

Unconscious of hunger,

Impervious to the evil around,

Unresponsive to beauty and love,

And even regardless of honour.

He wrote also many poems in praise of the deities of the various places covered during his pilgrimages in the north and the south.

Sivaprakasar, another well-known figure in Tamil Saivism, belonged to the Tirumangalam mutt. He put into flowing Tamil verse Chamarasa's Kannada classic, Prabhulinga-lile, dealing with the life of the Virasaiva saint, Allama Prabhu. Although a Vira

saiva, Sivaprakasar had his affiliations to Saivism and remained as sugar in milk in Saiva surroundings. Pandit Somasundara Desikar mentions thirty titles as constituting Sivaprakasar's work, but only Prabhulinga-lile and Nanneri are widely read today. A verse from the latter may be translated as follows:

Control over self that restrains the raging ire Is alone proof of good breeding;

Say, is it better to block up the flood,

Or let it break the banks and ravage the main?

Sivaprakasar composed Prabhulinga-lile in the year 1652 A.D. and died two years after, at the age of only thirty-two.

Paranjoti belonged to a mutt in Madura, and composed the Tiruvilayadal Puranam, a voluminous work of over three thousand stanzas commemorating the lilcis of Siva. Inspired by the Sanskrit Skandam, the Tiruvilayadal is one of the most entertaining of Tamil Puranas and is popular especially with the children. History and legend, mythology and hagiology, philosophy and ethics, all are thrown together to make an extraordinary poem. Paranjoti's other works are Potrikkalivenba and Paditruppattanthati.

Vlraraghava Mudaliar of Chingleput was a poet about whom innumerable stories are told. He was born blind, and hence he is called 'Anthakakkavi'. He travelled widely, was appreciated everywhere, and went as far as Jaffna in North Ceylon. He is credited with the composition of countless extempore verses as also such formal works as Tirukkalurkunra Puranam and Seyur Kalambakam.

Besides the Saiva poets mentioned above, there was during this period one notable Vaishnava poet by name Pillaipperumal Iyengar, also called 'Diyya Kavi\ It is said that he was in the service of Tirumalai Nayaka of Madura. Pillaipperumal was not only a staunch Vaishnava, but was fanatically devoted to Rahganatha of Srlrangam. Other manifestations of Vishnu were of little significance to him. Pillaipperumal was indeed an embodiment of bhakti and was literally intoxicated by his welling love for Rahganatha. The collection of his devotional lyrics is known as Ashtaprabandham. It has been argued by Pandit Somasundara Desikar that Ashtaprabandham is a composite work, and that only two of the eight poems included in the collection were composed by Pillaipperumal. But the spirit of the whole collection and the strength of tradition would rather support Pillaipperumal's sole authorship of Ashtaprabandham.

Padikkasuppulavar is another of those Tamil poets about whom endless stories have been handed down to us. Tradition has it that he kept every day five gold pieces on the Panchiakshara steps of Sivakami Ammai—a circumstance that gave him the name 'Padikkasu' or 'a coin for each step'. Padikkasu lived for many years at Ramnad as court-poet of the local king. Of his works the most important are Thondaimandala satakam, Pullirukku Velur Kalambakarri and Tandalayar satakam. A verse from the last is here freely rendered:

Blessed with but one grateful son,

The benefits the whole family shares;

What's the use of a hundred sons,

When all of them are bereft of sense?

The pig gives birth to a useless many Year after year;

But a baby elephant,—

Its birth most will beneficial be.

Altogether, these two centuries were a period of decadence in Tamil letters. Verbal dexterity is supposed to do duty for poetic fire and transcendent imagery. A fatal facility and fluency hide the general poverty of thought and inspiration. But the poets mentioned above, these among others, saved the period from utter barrenness and kept the spark alive.

X. TELUGU

The reign of Krishnadevaraya, Emperor of Vijayanagara (15091529 A.D.), ushered in a new era in the Telugu literature. Hitherto that literature consisted primarily of translation, adaptation and imitation of the Classical Sanskritic literary models and traditions, particularly of epic nature. The age of Krishnadevaraya opened, with new elements, neo-classical vistas and romantic panoramas in the realm of Telugu literature. The Prabandha, essentially of the Kdvya type, now occupies the place of eminence in the galaxy of literary types in Telugu. Even if the themes of several Prabandhas were borrowed from the treasure house of Sanskrit literature, they have an original flavour in treatment, a dignity in diction and an element of their own in sentiment, description, ornamentation and other aspects of poetry. According to the great Sanskrit literary critics of the past, novelty in treatment but not in theme! is the hallmark of the creative genius of the poet and the sentimental appeal of the poem which gives aesthetic delight of a high degree, and kindles an experience in a kindred reader is the be-all and end-all of all poetry, and not merely the elements of instruction or of the social life. Most of the Prabandhas of the age satisfy these norms and almost all of the composers of the major Prabandhas were poets of high intellectual calibre and acumen and were good at original composition. Yet they made use of the background of their Sanskrit lore and followed the traits of tradition to a certain extent not because of their inability to innovate things but because of a certain attitude prevalent amongst the scholarly world and the people at large as well. It was thought even by very able poets like Ramarajabhushana that fictitious themes are artificial diamonds, themes of traditional eminence are diamonds fresh from the mine and they become polished ones only when studded in the ornaments of poetic imagery. That was the order of the day and the Prabandha had its heyday in the court of Krishnadevaraya.

The court of Krishnadevaraya was named as Bhuvana Vijaya (the victory of worlds). The name was given to his court after a series of his victories and after the fashion of the “Trailokya Vijaya”, the court of the Reddy kings of Rajahmundry. Every year Vasantotsavas, i.e., spring festivals, used to take place in Vijayanagara and poets were felicitated in the Bhuvana Vijaya. It was either adorned or visited by almost all the great and eminent poets and scholars of the time. Eight of his court-poets were specially honoured by the royal patron and aptly styled as “Ashta Diggajdh” (i.e., the eight legendary elephants which are supposed to bear the burden of the mother earth). Allasani Peddana, the best of the lot and the author of Manu Charitra, was honoured with the title, “Andhra kavitd pitdmaha” (i.e., the creator of Poetry in Telugu). He gave a new orientation to poetry in Telugu with an alluring descriptive element, a vivacious portrayal of characters in various passing moods, moving passions and emotions culminating in erotic and other sentiments, a rich poetic imagery and rhetorical sublimity, and a majestic but mellifluous diction of his own. His masterpiece, the Manu Charitra, which has as its theme the story of Svarochisha Manu drawn from the Sanskrit Markandeya Purdna was enriched with the aforesaid qualities. Its characters, Pravara and Varudhini, assumed a new lively dimension, and almost became proverbial with the Telugu public. They are quoted as classical examples for austere chastity and erotic fillip in contexts of social episodes of love and romance, and became a handsome model for the following generation of Prabandhas.

Nandi Timmana, another great poet of the Bhuvana Vijaya Court composed a beautiful poem, Pdrijdtdpaharana Prabandha , based on the romantic episode of the Farijata or the achievement of Satyabhamia, in the Harivarhsa. For ages the love episode of the prota

gonists of this playful romance, Satyabhama and :SrI Krishna, has been green in the memory of the Indian people, and Timmana’s masterly delineation of the characters perpetuated their memory in the world of erotic poetry in Telugu. Scores of authors drew inspiration from him and composed works in close imitation of the Pdrijdtdpaharana and the famous Bhamakaldpam of Siddhendra Yogi is its spiritual child. The melody of Timmana’s style, together with the texture of Peddana’is diction and the lavish display of phrase of Teniali Ramakrishna, has been often applauded by the lovers of Telugu literature.

There were many other poets like Dhurjati and Madayagari

Mallana in Krishnadevaraya’s Court, and many others, like Radha

madhava Kavi and Sankusala Nrisimha Kavi who visited him. He

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was not only a great patron of letters, but himself a poet of the first magnitude too. Timmana says he was a great rasajna and praises him with an epithet, “KavitdprdviV'ya Phanlsa ”—an adept in poetic composition. He was also styled as “Sdhiti Samardnga^a Sdrva bhauma ,” i.e., Sovereign in the fields of literature and battle as well. He is said to have written many poems and plays in Sanskrit and Telugu, but only a Sanskrit play called Jambavatiparinaya and a Telugu Mahakavya called Amuktamalyada have come down to us. The latter is a versified philosophy of Visishtadvaita. It deals mainly with the story of Andal and Vishnu Chitta, two of the Alvars, the eminent advocates of a true Vaishnava Bhakti Cult in South India. It is a storehouse of his personality, scholarship, worldly wisdom, knowledge of Political Science, religious understanding and Bhakti or sense of devotion to God, and richness of imagination. The Amuktamalyada on account of its grandiloquent style and complex nature in thought and imagination is a hard nut for any ordinary reader and is considered to be one of the “Pancha Maha-Kdvyas'' (i.e., the Five Great Poems) in Telugu—the other four being Manu Charitra, Vasu Charitra , Rdghava-Pdndaviyamu and Pdndurangamdhdtmyamu, all belonging to this age.

Dhurjati, though a staunch Saivite poet, was much respected by the Vaishnavite ruler, Krishnadevaraya. He composed a great shrine-epic poem, Kdlahastimdhdtmyamu and a Centum, Sri Kdlahastisvara Sataka. He is famous for elegance of characterisation and unrivalled in sweetness of expression. He is a poet by temperament and always speaks in poetry with heart and soul. The lyrical outbursts in his Sataka give us a pen picture of his bold personality and kindred experience.

Mallana tried to create a theme of his own in his Rajasekhara Charitra , but the construction of the plot is loose and rather uninteresting. Radhamadhava Kavi, originally Chintalapudi Ellanarya by name, was so named by Krishnadevaraya after his poem Rddhdmddhavamu, in which the romance between Radha and Krishna came back to life. It is said that Sankusala Nrisimha Kavi, the author of a beautiful poem called Kavikarna-ramyanamu, though not a court-poet, was much appreciated by Krishnadevaraya for his ‘Kalpana \ The Rdmdyana was retold in the fashion of a Prabandha by Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra Kavi in his Ramabhyudaya which paved the way for certain acrobatics in expression.

Tenali Ramalihga or Ramakrisna Kavi, a poet of those times, is a very popular figure in the Telugu country—popular more for many merry anecdotes about him than for his poetry. He composed three poems: U dbhatdrddkya Charitra, Ghatikdchala-mdhdtmyamu and Pdnduranga-mdhdtmyamu. The last two are shrineepics. Pdnduranga-mdhdtmyamu, animated with interesting legends and characters and a grandiose style, earned a good name for him.

Pihgali Surana was another august figure of this age. He in his Rd\ghava-Pdndaviyamu evolved a poetic type in Telugu —"Dvy arthi i.e., double entendre —in which the stories of the Rdmdyana and the Mahdbhdrata run parallel in a single expression. ' DvyarthV is an acrobatic feat in poetic form in which pun strikes the keynote. Surana made a remarkable achievement in exploring all the possible means of pun in his work, which stood as a coveted model for other poets who composed not only double entendres but also works with threefold and fourfold meaning. Yet Rdghava-Pdndaviyamu is the first and also the foremost of its kind in Telugu. His Kalapumddayamu is another great work of all time. The theme, the statement and everything about it is novel to the core. In fact it is a poetic novel. A threefold allegory and a comedy of errors are there in its theme. A complex texture and technical perfection are there in its treatment. The phrase 'Kaldpurnodayamu' means the birth of one Kalapurna by name. There is an important character of that unusual name in the work, but it is quite possible that the poet was of the opinion that this work, as the word literally means, depicts the full bloom of the art of poetry in Telugu for the first time. Yes, it was a brand new experiment in Telugu poetry in all its aspects. It seems that it was only during the sixteenth century that the Telugu poets became quite conversant with the theories of the various important aesthetic schools in Sanskrit—the Schools of Rasa, Rati, Dhvani, Auchitya, Vakrokti and Chamatkara. But none of them except Surana got the will and mettle to tread into the realms of all these il Sdhitya Prasthdnas " in one stroll. He ventured and hence the propriety in selecting the unusual name. In its masterly

delineation of female characters, in its variety entertainment of the Sringdra Rasa and in its eloquent descriptions which often elope with the relevant incident, Surana's art is something akin to the Shakespearian. Surana was, in the opinion of Dr. C.R. Reddy, an unknown rival to Shakespeare in the East at the time. His Prabhdvatipradyumnamu is another unique poem in

Telugu. He was in his element while composing this. He tried to move far away from the rut of the Prabandha in order to find a path of his own. He made an organic plot out of a commonplace mythological theme and infused a kind of dramatic element into the characters by means of powerful dialogues and events. He is a great exponent of the ‘Kdvya Silpa’ (i.e., the art and the craft of poesy) like his great predecessor, Tikkana Somayaji.

Bhattu Murti, otherwise known as Ramaraja Bhushaaia, who lived in the middle of the 16th century, was honoured in many a royal court of the day. His poetic genius, craft and equipment were marvellous. He was well versed in music, too, and ai rhythmic being by nature. He is a great master of pun, a fountain of poetic fancy and an able exponent of the music of word and phrase and the magic of sense and meaning. His Kdvydlankdra Sangraha, also known as Narasabhupdliya, is a standard work on poetics in Telugu. He is a great architect of verse and the art of versification reached the zenith of its perfection in his Vasucharitra which led to a series of imitations. It had even the honour of being translated into Sanskrit and Tamil. We witness a jugglery of pun in his Harischandra Naldpdkhydnamu, a first rate “Dvyarthi Kdvya”.

The Qutb Shahis of Golconda, particularly Malik Ibrahim, and their feudatories extended patronage to Telugu letters for a time during the latter half of the 16th century. Sarahgu Tammayya, Kandukuru Rudra Kavi, Addanki Gangadhara Kavi and Ponnekanti Telaganna (some of the poets patronised by them) composed works of merit— Vai jay anti Vildsamu, Nirankusopdkhydnarriu , Tapatisamvarandpdkhydnamu and Yaydti-charitra respectively. Yaydticharitra , a poem composed in pure Telugu, devoid of Sanskrit vocabulary, a feat by itself ably accomplished, was the first of its kind and was followed by a host of such works. Besides this pure Telugu, the pun and the double-entendre, several other intellectual gymnastics like the Chitra, the Bandha and the Garbha were in vogue at the time.

Some of the writers of the period took to the composition of Yakshagdna, an indigenous type of popular play, set to music and dance, which was just evolving itself. The Sugriva Vijaya of Kandukuru Rudra Kavi is an eminent example of the type.

Amongst a host of the poetic works of the time, mention may be made of the following: Padas and Venkatesvara Vinnapdlu , devotional lyrics of a category and the Venkateisvara Sataka of Tallapakam Peda Tirumalayya; didactic story-poems like Panchatantra of Baicharaju Venkatanatha; Prabandhas like Sudakshina Parinayamu of Tenali Annaya, Indumati-parinayamu of Tenali Ramabhadra Kavi, Sringdra Malhana Charitra of Edapati Errana, Chandrabhdnu Charitra of Tarigoppula Mallana, Sdmbdpdkhydnamu of Ramaraju Rangapparaju and Pdnchdli-parinayamu and Rajavdhanavijayamu of Kakamani Murti Kavi; the ‘ Dvipada’ works i.e. couplets like the Ushd-parinayamu, the Ashtamahishikalydnamu and the Parama Yogi Vildsamu of Tallapakam Chinnanna and the Bhdratamu of Battepati Tirumala Bhattu.

Summing up the characteristics of the age, it may be said that the new spirit of the pompous imperial age led to neo-classical innovations and romantic enterprises. The exuberance of scholarship and enthusiasm of the poets was channelled into various new types like the Prabandha , the Dvyatthi , the Yakshayana and the like, and new features like Slesha, Achcha Telugu, Chitra, Bandha, Garbha etc., and into various Puranic themes with a few exceptions blended with new aesthetic values and various major sentiments, the predominant being the Sringdra and into a variety of descriptions charged with flights of imagination and above all a grandiloquent diction. The elements of love, devotion, philosophy and the didactic are blended with the content of many of the poetic works of the age which of course impart message of a lasting value, but do not mirror the life of the common man in the contemporary society. Aesthetic delight, more than anything else, was their aim and ambition. Yes, it was chiefly an age of aesthetic considerations in the history of Telugu literature.

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After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565 (see p. 492) we witness an age of decadence in Telugu literature in the Telugu country from early 17th century onwards almost up to the dawn of the Modern Age. But a few poets worth the name flourished during the period. Four of the Nellore Friends’ Circle flourished in early 17 th century. Kankanti Paparaju composed Uttar a Rdmdya namu with a classical dignity which excelled Tikkana’s work of the same name in quality and popularity, and Vishnumdyd Vildsamu , a Yakshagdna of note. Tekumalla Ranga Sayi composed Vdnivildsa Vanarwalikd, a miniature cyclopaedia, first of its kind in Telugu. Pushpagiri Timmakavi composed Samira Kumara Vijayamu and

Dharanidevula. Ramamantri composed Dasdvatdra Charitra. All these works are original compositions and not translations.

Never before and never after in the history of Telugu literature, were there so many royal poets as were in this age. Malli Ananta and Kumarananta of Sidhout composed Kakutstha Vijaya and Kumudvatl Parinaya } respectively, and Surabhi Madhavarayalu of Jataprolu composed Chandrikdparinaya as almost a rival to the famous Vasu charitra. Damera Ankabhupala of Vellore composed Ushd-parinaya. Bijjala Timmabhupala of Alampur translated the famous Sanskrit play of Murari, the Anargha Rdghava, in the form of a narrative poem, successfully maintaining the deftness of expression of the original. Some of the aforesaid kings extended patronage to other poets at their courts. Kavi Chaudappa, a poet of the Sidhout court, composed a Sataka which became very popular on account of its amatory and didactic fun and frolic. Elakuchi Venkata Krishnayya, reputed by the title ‘Bdlasarasvati’, the courtpoet of Jataprolu was a “ Mahdmahdpddhydya ”, i.e., a great scholar and teacher. He wrote many works of which mention may be made of his Rdghava Yddava Pdn^aviyamu, a triple entendre in which run concurrently the stories of all the three great epics, the Rdmdsyana, the Bhdgavata and the Mahdbhdrata and the translation of the three satakas of the Rubhdshita of Bhartrihari, done for the first time in Telugu.

History for the first time formed the theme of two narrative poems during this period:

1. Rdmardjiyamu, also known as Narapativijayamu of Andugula Venkayya deals with a dependable story of Aliya Ramarava, a great dictator, a king-maker and a king for some time of Vijayanagara (p. 488). 2. Krishnardya Vijayamu of Kumara Dhurjati, deals with the story of Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagara (15091529) told in the fashion of a Prabandha . Both the works are in lucid style. It is interesting to note that one Pihgali Ellana wrote a poem, Tobhya-charitra by name, dealing with a Christian theme.

Muddaraju Ramana, commentator of the Rdghava Pandaviyamu, also belongs to this period.

Appakavi, a great grammarian of the time, wrote in verse a prolific commentary, Appakaviyamu by name, on the Andhrasabdachintamani, the first treatise on Telugu grammar written in Sanskrit. Pre-eminently it is an authority on the subject, not only of Telugu grammar, but also of Telugu prosody, and is the result of deep study. The Sarvalakshana Sirdmani of a junior contemporary of Appakavi does a cyclopaedic survey of Telugu grammar.

prosody, poetics, rhetoric and lexicography. The author, Ganapavarapu Venkata Kavi, though good at writing poetry in a pleasing manner, perpetrated in his magnum opus, the Prabandhardja Venkatesvara Vijaya Vilasamu all possible feats in the witchcraft of versification in a bewildering manner, sacrificing all aesthetic considerations. His erudition, equipment and ability are amazing and commendable but not the damages caused to the very purpose of poetry. His performance was the highlight of the age, but was a hall-mark of its decadence too.

There is yet another phase in the history of Telugu literature during the 17th century. Literature in Telugu was produced outside the Telugu country also. The Royal Courts of Tanjore and Madura (which are now in the Tamil Nadu State) where the Andhra suzerainty was established under the Nayaka kings in the heyday of the Vijayanagara empire (pp. 486 ff.) extended patronage to the Telugu poets and scholars pouring in from the Telugu country with their kith and kin after the doom of Vijayanagara. The Telugu colonial literature of those times is noted for its variety in theme, freshness in treatment and for richness in type and sentiment. It was, unlike its counterpart, an age of new life but not decadence.

The Tanjore court could boast of a long line of royal patrons of poets and poetesses. The court of Raghunatha Nayaka, who ruled over Tanjore from 1600 to 1632, was described by Ramabhadramba, his court poetess, in her Raghunathabhyudaya. Raghunatha was himself a merited poet in Telugu and Sanskrit. His Telugu poems, the Ramdyana, the Vdlmtki-charitra and the Nalacharitra are resplendent with Jdti, Vdrta and Chamatkdra (three skilful means of literary expression). His court-poet, Chemakura Vepkata

Kavi, composed two poems Sdrangadhara-Charitra and Vijaya-Vildsamu, in which we often find a bewitching adroit stroke of expression accomplished with a great ease and no effort. Krishnadhvari, another poet of the court, dedicated to the patron his Naishadha Pdriydtlyamu, a Dvyarthi Kavya. Generally speaking, the poets of this southern school are not lovers of pun, but curiously enough, one such poem as this was produced, of course as a matter of accident.

Vijayaraghava Nayaka, son of Raghunatha, was very much interested and well versed in the arts of music, dance and drama. He, his son Mannarudeva, Kamarusu Venkatapati Somayaji, the poet-laureate, Rahgajamma, a poetess, and the other poets of his court composed and staged scores of Yakshaganas. The Yaksha gdna assumed the full stature of a regular play, removed the dearth

of dramatic literature in Telugu and had its heyday at Tanj ore during the rule of the Nlayaka kings and even afterwards, during the following hundred and fifty years of the Maratha rule over Tanjore. Some of the Maratha rulers and their court-poets produced chiefly a great body of the Yakshagdna literature which by then became a popular pastime and a royal entertainment. The themes and characters of the Yakshagdnas were drawn from the contemporary society. The wit and wisdom of the people and the literary amusements of the royal court found expression in them. Quite unusually, the living language of the people was employed as their medium. The element of humour which was sporadically met with in Telugu literature till then, was amply displayed. In short, they held the mirror unto life and nature. A special mention of the Mannaruddsa Vildsamu of Rahgajamma, the Raghund thandyakabhyudayamu of Vijayaraghava and the Tanjdpurdnnaddna mahdndtakam of Purushottama Dlkshita may be made in this context. It may be said to the credit of the Yakshagdna that it has been the most popular type of literature and while most of the literary types in Telugu were borrowed from one source or other, it was the only indigenous type peculiar to Telugu and was borrowed by others, i.e., the Tamilians and the Kannadigas.

The Tanjore court under Vijayaraghava was also famous for Padas (musical compositions chiefly of lyrical nature). The king and almost all his court-poets composed a large number of beautiful padas with erotic as the predominant sentiment.

The court of Madura, a rival to Tanjore, turned a new leaf in the annals of the history of Telugu literature by paving the way to the growth of prose literature and a new type of iSringara Prabandha. The Rdyavdchakamu written by a “S'thdndpati”, i.e., a court-correspondent, in the first decade of 17th century in a slang deals with the history and anecdotes of the Vijayanagara empire. Lihganamakhi Kamesvara Kavi who was in the courts of Tirumala Nayaka (1623-1659) and Chokkanatha Nayaka (1659-1682) wrote a prose work called Dhenumdhdtmyamu and two poems, Rukminlparinayamu and Satyabhdmd-sdntvanamu. A poet, probably Vikata Kavi Gopalarayadu, for some reasons, became the target of wrath of the queen Mangamma (1682-1706), was banished from the State and wrote in his exile Madhura Manga Pumschalivilasamu (the amorous sport of the whore Mangamma of Madura), a prose work interspersed with couplets here and there. It is almost an inventory of her illicit contacts and erotic deeds with contemporary princes and generals, couched in vulgar and obscene pranks and prattle. Yet it has a poetic interest of its own and may be useful to the historians to an extent. All that is best in the Madura literature was produced during the reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nay aka (1706-1732).

A few pieces of literature were now and then produced in places like Gingee and Mysore in the south during the period under review, of which the Kuvalaydsva Charitra, a poem by Savaramu Chinanarayana Nay aka of Gingee and Chikadevaraya Vilasamu, a Yakshagdna of the Mysore court deserve mention.

The 17th century literature in Telugu, colonial or regional as the case may be, though having an individuality of its own to an extent, is on the whole a huge foliage with few flowers when compared with its counterpart in the 16th century.

XI. KANNADA

From the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century Kannada literature passed through a transitional stage. Poets of great eminence were few, the prominent among them being Lakshmisa, Shadakshara, Ratnakara Varni and Sarvajna. The Virasaivas and Haridasas produced much didactic and polemical literature. The Jainas, patronised by a few chieftains of the west coast, took to popular metres like Sdngatya and Shatpadl for retelling the story of the Tirthankaras. Mangarasa wrote Nemijinesa Sangctti &antiklrti wrote Sdntindtha-purdna i,n 1519 A.D., Padma Kavi, Vardhamana-Charita, Doddayya, Chandraprabhd-Charita, Panchabana, BhujabalinCharite, Devarasa, Gurudatta-Charite, Dharanl-Pandita, Vardnga Charita and Bijjala-Rdya-Charite. Chandrama's KarkalaGommatesa-Charite deals with the establishment of the Gommata image at Karkala. Salva's Bhdrata gives the Jaina version of the Mahdbhdrata story. The greatest of the Jaina podts of this age was Ratnakara Varni who wrote the Satakas— Apardjitesvara Sat aka, Triloka Sataka, RatndkaradJilsvara pataka and probably Somesvara Sataka. His greatest work was, however, Bharatesa Vaibhava (1557 A.D.). It contains about ten-thousand verses in the Sdngatya metre and is a valuable source for the study of contemporary life.

The Virasaivas were mostly concerned with Puranic stories. Oduva Giriya (1525), Bombey Lakka and Halaga dealt with the story of Harischandra in the Sdngatya metre.

Gubbi Mallanna (1513), Virupaksha Pandita (1584), and Shadakshara (1655) are the three Virasaiva poets of eminence in this period. Gubbi Mallannarya (1513-1530) in his Bhavachintdratna, deals with the story of Satyendra Ch5la and the efficacy of the Panchaksharl mantras. His other work Vlrasaivdmritapurdna contains

7100 verses dealing with the philosophy of VIrasaivism, the lllas of Siva and stories of numerous saints of the sect. Virupaksha Pandita (1584) resided at Vijayanagara and his Chenna-Basava-Purdna contains about 2900 verses in the Vardhaka Shatpadl metre. His descriptions of nature have freshness and originality. Shadakshara, who wrote nearly three quarters of a century later, resided in Southern Mysore. His proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannada was remarkable and in popular legends he was considered equal to Lakshmxsa and Nemichandra. In Sanskrit he composed Kavikarna

Rasdyana, &ivddhikya Bhaktadhikya and other stotras. Among his three Kannada works Rdjasekhara-Vilasa, BasavOrRdja-Vijaya and SabaranSankara-Vilasa, the first is the best. He has preserved all the rigour and terseness of the Champu style and the language is usually elegant and chaste (though occasionally he displays his knowledge of obscure metres and words). This work attained great popularity among all classes.

“Sarvajna” is the pseudonym assumed by a remarkable personality assigned to c. 1600 A.D. That he was a devotee of :Siva and a Sannyasin may be inferred from his vachanas. These vachanas are not in prose but in the popular tripadi metre which is mellifluous, terse and pregnant with meaning in the hands of a master like Sarvajna. His vachanas are also remarkable for the element of satire and humour, comparatively rare in early Kannada literature. Sarvajna preached a universal philosophy transcending caste, colour and creed.

The Brahmana authors of the times were mostly concerned with the epics and the Puranas. Timmanna had completed the Mahabharata under the patronage of Krishnadevaraya. His contemporary, Nityatma Suka Ydgi or Chatu Vithalanatha, undertook the task of rendering the Mahabharata and Bhdgavata into Kannada but the Bhdgavata seems to be the work of several authors. Chayana (c. 1550) wrote a Mahabharata in Vardhaka Shatpadl. Battatlsvara (who seems to be different from the Virasaiva author of that name) wrote a RdmdyaVa in the Bhamini Shatpadl metre, but it did not attain the popularity of Rdmdyana of Kumar a Valmiki or Narahari (c. 1650). Uttara RdmdyaV'a in Kannada was written by Yogindra and Tirumale Vaidya. The story of Prahlada furnished the theme for Narahari and Chenniga. Srinivasa Kavi rendered the Stfl Parva of the Mahabharata and Mallarasa (1680) wrote the DasdvatdraCharitre.

Chikkadeva Raya (1672-1704) of the Wodeyar family of Mysore is said to have composed Bmnapa or “confession,” Gita Gopdla , Bhd

gavaia in prose, Mahdbhdrata from Santiparva onwards and Sesha dharma. The Binnappa is addressed to his favourite deity Nlarayana of Yadugiri (Melkote) with the avowed object of popularising the philosophy and teachings of the Gita. The Gita Gdpdla in imitation of Jayadeva, consists of songs probably composed by his minister Tirumalarya and other authors of his court. Tirumalarya (16451706) wrote about the exploits of his master in Chikka Deva-RdjaVijaya , Vamsdvall, Apratima Vira Charite, and his younger brother Singararya wrote the earliest extant drama in Kannada, Mitravindd Govinda, based on the Ratndvati of Harsha. Chikkupladhyaya is credited with more than thirty works including eight Sthala Mahatmyas, songs, sttotras, commentaries on Tiruvaymoli etc. He wrote the Vishnu-Purdna in prose as well as a champu. He rendered Sattvika-Brahma-Vidyd-Vildsa, Artha Panchaka and Tattvatraya on Visishtadvaita philosophy into Kannada. His Sukasaptati is in prose and the Chitra Sataka Sdngatya points out some of the peculiarities of Kannada words. Timmakavi has written three Sthala-Mdhatmyas. Mallikarjuna also wrote Sriranga Mdhdtmya.

Under the patronage of Chikkadeva two women authors flourished. i&rihgaramma (1685) wrote Padmini Kalydna in the Sahgatya metre. Sanchi Honnamma is the author of Hadibadeya Dharma or the Duties of a Pativrata. This work is remarkable for the vindication of women and pleads for a proper recognition of the status of women. “The woman is the mother who bore and protected man, yet why do men treat women as inferior?” she asks. “The ideal wife devoted to her husband is a blessing to the world and a boon to man. The daughter-in-law is also a girl like one’s own child and should be treated with the same affection. The woman also has a corresponding duty towards her husband and children”. The Jaina author Chidananda was also patronised by Chikkadeva and wrote Munivamsdbhyudaya dealing with the history of the Jaina gurus of Mula Sahgha-Desi Gana.

Among the semi-historical works apart from those written on Chikkadeva Raya may be mentioned the story of Kumara Rama by Nanjunda and Ganga, Sarja-Hanumendra-Charite of Krishna Sarma (1700), Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijaya of Bharati Nanja (1648), Raja Nripa-Charite (1610), Jagadeva Rayana Kdvya (1620), Songs on Kempa Raya of Yelahanka and Chikkadeva Raya Biligi Arasara Vamsdvali (c. 1700), Raja Sangita on Chikkadeva’s son Kanthirava (c. 1710).

A large number of devotional songs were composed by the “Haridasas” of the period who belonged mostly to the Vaishnava and Madhva sects.

The great poet Lakshmisa may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His Jaimini Bharata has been considered to be a work of high merit and is deservedly popular. It is written in the Vardhaka Shatpadi metre and contains about 1900 verses. Lakshmiisa's style is elegant, mellifluous and charming and his work has found many imitators. Among the Puranas, Timmarasa wrote the Markandeya Purdna; the Brahmdttarakhanda and Ramayana were rendered into Kannada prose by Chamaraja of Mysore and Ramachandraguru Sishya translated the Aditya Purdna. Nagarasa has given a fairly good translation of the Bhagavad Gita in the Bhamini Shatpadi metre.

Many poets wrote Satakas or centuries of verses containing didactic matter and addressed to their favourite deities. Among the purely secular works written for amusement and instruction may be mentioned Saundarya Kathdratna of Ramendra (c. 1550) based on the Sanskrit work of Kshemendra, Sringdra Kathe of Padmarasa (1579), and Narasimha's Madana Mdhini Kathe (1650).

Technical works dealing with arts and sciences are comparatively few. An anthology of verses was issued by Abhinavavadi Vidyananda (c. 1540). On prosody and rhetoric we have Salva's Rasa Ratnakara and Sdrada Vildsa dealing with Rasa and Dhvani (1550), Gunachandra's Chhandassdra and Timma's Navarasdlamkara (1600). Grammar is represented by Bhattakalanka's Sabddnusasana (1604) consisting of 592 Sanskrit Sutras for Kannada with a vrtti and a vydkhydna • It is more exhaustive than the earlier grammars. There were many works on lexicography. On Asva &astra we have two works produced under the patronage of Chamaraja of Mysore— the Asva Sdstra of Ramachandra and Hayasdra Samuchchaya of Padmana Pandita. Astrology and prognostics are dealt with in Madhava Deva's (Arhad dasa) Nara PingaU and Gahgadhara's Ratta Jdtaka • The art of cookery is finely described in Mangarasa's Supa Sdstra (1510). Vlra Bhadra Raja wrote a Kannada commentary on the Hastydyurveda of Palakdpya (1600). On medicine Salva's Vaidya Sdngatya, Chennaraja's Vaidya Sara Samgraha, and Nanjanatha Bhupala's Vaidya Sara Samgraha are notable. Mathematics is represented by Bhaskara's Behdra Ganita, Timmarasa's Kshetra Ganita, and Bala Vaidya Cheluva's Kannada Lildvati (1715) and his Ratna Sdstra deals with precious stones.

XII. MALAYALAM

The Malayalam language, with the introduction of a new type of devotional literature, underwent a metamorphosis, both in form

and content, and it is generally held that modernity in Malayalam, both in language and literature, commenced at this period.

This metamorphosis was brought by Thunchathu Ezhuthachan (16th century) who is known as the father of modern Malayalam. 20 Till his time the language of Kerala with its literary attainments indicated two different courses of development depending mainly on its relationship with either Sanskrit or Tamil. The earliest literary work in Malayalam, now available, is a prose commentary on Kautilya's Arthasastra, ascribed to the 13th century. A poetical work, Vaisikatantram, and a Champu Kdvya, Unnichairutevi-charitam, are also believed to be the works belonging to this century or, at the most, early 14th century. All these works come under a special category, known as Manipravdlam, literally the 'pearl-coral combination' of two languages, the language of Kerala and Sanskrit. A grammar and rhetoric on this hybrid literary style was written some time during the 14th century in Sanskrit, and the work, called Lilatilakam, is the main source of information for a student of literary and linguistic history.

Pdttu and Manipravdla:

According to Lilatilakam, the Manipravdla and Pdttu style of literary compositions were in vogue during the period. Pdttu means literally 'song', and is, more or less, indigenous in its characteristics, and therefore representative of pure Malayalam school of poetry. From the definition of the Pdttu style of poetry given in Lilatilakam it can be surmised that the language of Kerala during the period was, more or less, in line with Tamil, and this has misled many to think that Malayalam was Tamil itself during this period and before. A close scrutiny of the linguistic peculiarities of the then Tamil and Malayalam would certainly reveal that they had separate entities, but were closely allied in many respects. No other pair of Dravidian languages is so closely connected as Tamil and Malayalam, and the degree of affinity existing between the two languages was so high that a dispassionate analysis and evaluation of the linguistic subtleties of the two languages alone would help us to demarcate the essential differences between them. The latest researches made in this field have shown that Malayalam, as a separate language spoken in Kerala, began showing independent lines of development from its parental tongue, the proto-Dravidian, or the Tamil of the early Sangam age, preserving the idiosyncracies of the earliest Dravidian tongue, which only in due course, gave birth to the literary form of Tamil, namely Sen Tamil, and Malayalam, the spoken form of it prevalent in Kerala. However, till the 13th century we have no evidence at hand to show that the

language of Kerala had a literary tradition excepting to infer that folk-songs, chiefly connected with rituals and religious performances were there, the relics of which are now available and about the antiquity of which nothing definite can be ascertained. The indigenous school of Pdttu, referred to in Lilatilakam, is a contribution of the early compositions. Side by side with this school only developed the hybrid literary language of Manipravdlam.

Pre-Ezhuthachan period:

Thus the literary traditions prior to the age of Ezhuthachan give a rich heritage of interesting works belonging to these schools. The three early Manipravdlam Champus, a few Sandesa Kdvyas, like Unnunili Sandesam and Kaka-sandesam, and innumerable amorous compositions on courtesans of Kerala, which throb with literary beauty and poetical fancies, combined with a relishing touch of realism about them with regard to the then social conditions— all these constitute the Manipravdlam school of poetry. Many prose works, in the form of commentaries and elucidations of Purdnik episodes used by traditional mono-actors, called Chakydrs, were written in this style and they form the bulk of classical works in Malay alam.

The indigenous school also has major works, like Rdmacharitam, Rdmayanam, Mahdbharatam and Bhagavad Gitd, by a set of poets belonging to one family, called Kannassas , and Krishnappdttu by Cherusseri N'amftudiri. Some of them, like Rdmacharitam, have a close resemblance to Tamil language of the period, and the reason for this is not to be attributed to the then characteristics of the language of Kerala, but to the influence of Tamil works on native poets belonging to the zones lying near the Tamil country. Otherwise the existence of works like Krishnappdttu written almost during the same century in pure Malayalam and the early champus composed still earlier, containing similar diction and usages formed in Krishnapattu cannot be explained.

Contribution of Ezhuthachan:

It is against this background that the contribution of Thunchathu Ezhuthachan of the 16th century towards the language and literature is to be assessed. The Malayalam language was by his time developed to be the vehicle of ideas, of even thoughts on higher studies like metaphysics, economics and politics. But as the language had been developing in two different lines in its vocabulary, it became the need of the day to bring in uniformity of style. The credit to effect this goes to Thunchathu Ezhuthachan whose writings became a confluence of the two channels of linguistic currents. He profusely borrowed from Sanskrit its rich lexicography as the poets of Manipravalam school did, but with a difference that the mainstay of his style in writing verses rested on indigenous school.

The first work of Ezhuthachan was a translation of Adhydtma Rdmdyanam from Sanskrit, a Vaishnavic version of the Rama saga which inspired many poets during the same period to adopt it in their own mother tongues. What Tulasi did for the then North Indian language of the people in generality, Ezhuthachan did for the Keralites. Although the story of Rama had already been retold in Malayalam by many poets who lived before the days of Ezhuthachan, his adaptation of Adhydtma Rdmdyanam was hailed as the most enchanting work, being liked by the scholars and illiterates alike. The devotional element blended with Vedantic thoughts most artistically linked with the story of Rama opened a new chapter in Malayalam literature and brought the readers to an elevated level of literary compositions. It gave the work an entirely fresh look and ultimately it became so popular that every Hindu house made it a religious rite to read Adhydtma Rdmdyanam daily. The diversified characteristics of the language of Kerala slowly disappeared and merged into this dynamic, new-born literary style, which even today continues as it is.

Adhydtma Rdmdyanam was immediately followed by Mahabhdratam, a work of superb literary excellence, probably written by the author in the maturity of his poetic faculty. The entire bulk of Vydsa Bhdrata was condensed by Ezhuthachan allowing no episode to suffer due to this brevity of expression, but at the same time giving chance to the full display of his poetic genius wherever possible. Bhagavad GUd, running to eighteen chapters in Vydsa Bhdrata, finds a prominent place in Ezhuthachan's work, giving in a very condensed form the gist of Gita. Another speciality with Ezhuthachan's Bhdratam is that the description, figures of speech, and the portrayal of characters have something peculiar about the life of Kerala in them. Thus Mahdbhdratam stands out in Malayalam literature as a classic written in modern language, and is perhaps a unique work in that respect.

Post-Ezhuthachan period:

Many devotional works composed during and after 16th century are ascribed to Ezhuthachan but none of them stands on a pedestal with the literary excellence and beauty of expression that characterise the works of Ezhuthachan. Many Puranas were written during this period closely imitating his style. The period immediately following the age of Ezhuthachan is therefore known as the "Bhakti Yuga ", the age of devotional literature in Malayalam. Melpattur Narayana Bhattatiri, the author of the immortal Sanskrit Bhakti-Kdvya, 'Nardyaniyam ' was a contemporary of Ezhuthachan. Bhattatiri stands as a living monument of the erudition in Sanskrit the then high caste Hindus of Kerala attained. Knowledge of Sanskrit alone was counted as a symbol of scholarship not only in that period but also to a great extent during the four centuries that followed. But, a few poets following in the footsteps of Ezhuthachan made remarkable contributions to Malayalam, despite the contemptuous treatment tendered to the writers of native language. The most prominent among them is Poonthanam Nambudiri, the author of Jndnappana, a philosophical work in simple Malayalam. It was he who proved more than Ezhuthachan that high philosophical thoughts could be rendered in chaste Malayalam without the help of Sanskrit technical terms.

Later Champu period:

It was during the 16th and 17th centuries that later Champu Kdvyas, composed in Manipraviala style were written. Rdmdyanam Champu by Punam Nambudiri and Naishadham Champu by Mahishamahgalam Nambudiri are the most notable works under this category. One speciality of Champu Kdvyas was that they contained both the Sanskritic and indigenous elements of poetry in equal degree, and they finally paved the way for two types of literature unique in many respects, the like of which are not to be found in any Indian language either earlier or later than this age.

Attakkathd Age:

Attakkatha literature, closely following the champu style in the use of Sanskrit and Malayalam with a definite purpose and motive, is the first type. Attam in Malayalam means ‘dance or drama’ and Kathd, a Sanskrit term, means ‘story’. Attakkathias are therefore the stories written for a type of dance-drama, indigenous to Kerala, known as Kathakali. Kathakali, which at present enjoys international reputation, is representative of the fusion of x\ryan and Dravidian cultures in the art of histrionics. Bharata’s Ndtyasdstra had become by the time, a hand-book of the Chakyars, the traditional actors of Sanskrit dramas in Kerala temples. As early as the 9th century A.D., the institution of Chakydr Kuthu , with its colourful and interesting variation of Kutiyatto,m (staging of Sanskrit plays) was there, and the caste Hindus connected with temples looked upon the same as the best means of educating them in Sanskrit and histrionics. As it was not open to the generality of the people living outside the precincts of temples, another form of dance-drama emerged out of it, taking inspiration from the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. The story of Lord Krishna was then adapted and a Sanskrit work called Krishnaglti was composed for the purpose. The dance-drama based on Krishnaglti was known as Krishiiattam, which again was however confined to temple premises.

The Raja of Kottarakkara, a princely poet, (16th century) wrote in Malayalam the story of Rdmayana in imitation of Krishnaglti and the same was styled as Rdmanattam as against Krishnattam. The entire Ramciyana story was divided into eight parts, and they form the basis for Rdmanattam which later paved the way for the art of Kathakali.

When another prince, Raja of Kottayam, composed stories of Mahdbhdrata for the same purpose, he preferred to call it Kathakali, and the literary composition was thereafter known as Attakkathd, The two centuries which followed the days of Raja of Kottarakkara, the exponent of Rdmanattam, witnessed the heyday of Attakkatha literature, which continued to wield its charming influence for all writers of the age, and it became a rule that a poet to be recognised should compose an Attakkatha. Thus nearly thousand Kathakali plays were written during the period, although only a few of them claim literary excellence.

Unnayi Varyar, whose Nalacharitam Attakkatha is the most popular even today, was the most prominent poet (18th century) among not only the Kathakali writers, but also among the classical poets of Kerala. He is often styled as the Kalidasa of Kerala, and his Nalacharitam is the Abhijndna-Sdkuntalam of Malayalam literature. Although Kathakali is a dance-drama and its literary form should more or less be on the model of drama, there is nothing common between a typical Attakkatha and Sanskrit drama. On the other hand, the principles of dramaturgy to be observed in writing a particular type of Sanskrit drama are completely ignored or violated by an author of Attakkatha. Delineation of a particular Rasa is an inevitable feature with Sanskrit drama whereas in an Attakkatha all the predominant Rasas are given full treatment and consequently the theme of an Attakkatha often loses its integrity and artistic unity when viewed as a literary work. Any Attakkatha fulfils its objective if it affords a variety of scenes depicting different types of characters, and each scene would have its own hero with the Rasa associated with that character. When that hero is portrayed he is given utmost prominence to the utter neglect of the main sentiment (rasa) of the theme in general. This has its own justification as far as an Attakkatha is concerned. The purpose of an Attakkatha is not to present a theme with a well-knit emotional plot as its central point, but to present all approved types of characters already set to suit the technique of the art of Kathakali. It is worthwhile to point out that Unnayi Varyar’s Nalacharitam Attakkathd does not conform to the traditional monotonous setting of a Kathakali play. His composition is a happy diversion from the conservative line and therefore stands singled out as a perfect drama in all the significance and implication of the term. Drama being the most perfect poetic expression of a writer, Nalacharitam with all its artistic and literary qualities has the rare privilege of being a unique literary work of the period under review.

XIII. SANSKRIT

The Muslim occupation of large areas in North India adversely affected the growth of Sanskrit literature. Akbar attempted to create an atmosphere of tolerance and Shah Jahan and Dara gave some patronage to Sanskrit scholars. But, by and large, the atmosphere of peace and security so necessary for the progress of culture, was lacking. Even a cursory glance at the condition of Sanskrit literature in different regions testifies to this. Kasmir, which was once reputed as an important centre of Sanskrit learning, hardly produced any work worth the name after the end of the Hindu rule. In Bengal, also, practically Jayadeva's (12th century A.D.) is the last great name in its literary history. Gujarat was known for its historical kavyas during the days of the Chalukyas and their successors, the Vaghela chiefs. But the subsequent period did not produce many works of importance. Similar was the position in Bihar. If Sanskrit continued to prosper in these regions, it was mainly under the patronage of the smaller Hindu States.

Different is the story in regard to the South. The vigorous renaissance movement so ably initiated by Madhavacharya and Sayanachiarya continued for centuries to inspire both rulers and scholars to strive to enrich their culture in all possible aspects. The Vijayanagara empire lost much of its glory in 1565 but the rulers of the Tuluva and Aravidu dynasties kept alive the tradition of patronage to Sanskrit. It continued to be nourished by the chiefs of the smaller principalities that rose to prominence, like the Niayakas of Tanjore, the chiefs of Travancore and Cochin, and the Zamorins of Calicut, many of whom were erudite poets themselves.

A brief survey of the progress achieved in different branches of Sanskrit literature also confirms these observations.

THE KAVYA LITERATURE

Mahdkdvya:

In the field of Mahakavya notable contribution was made by Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore and his court-poets. A zealous patron of letters, Raghunatha was himself a well-known poet. Among his kavyas mention may be made of Achyutardydbhyudaya, Ramayanasdra-sdngraha, Gajendramoksha, Nalabhyudaya, Parijdtaharana and Rukmini-krishna-vivdha. The first one is a biography of his father, Achyutaraya.

Madhuravani, a talented lady in the court of Raghunatha, wrote a kdvya on Ramayana, in fourteen cantos, at the instance of the king. She tells us that the king was keen on getting a Sanskrit kavya written on the lines of his Andhra-Rdmdyana, and he was directed by God in his dream to entrust the work to Madhuravani.

Srinivasa Dikshita, a minister of the N'ayakas of Gingee, was a prolific writer. He is credited with the authorship of eighteen dramas and sixty kavyas. Among his kavyas, Sitikanthavijaya deals with the story of Samudramanthana. His son, Rajachudamani Dikshita, a well-known scholar in Mlmarhsa, contributed to the poetic literature also. His Rukmimkalydna is a kavya in ten cantos, with the theme of the marriage of Krishna and Rukmini.

Nilakantha Dikshita was a versatile writer who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was a disciple of Venkatamakhi, the son of Srinivasa Dikshita, and the grand-nephew of Appayya Dikshita, the famous Saiva scholar of the period. He was a minister of Tirumalanayaka of Madura. Among his numerous poetical works Sivallldrnava and Gangavatarana rank very high. The former is a mahakavya in twenty-two cantos detailing the sixty-four Vilas of god Siva Halasyanatha by which name he is worshipped at Madura. His Gangavatarana deals in eight cantos with the story of the penance of Bha^Iratha and the descent of the celestial Ganga on the earth.

Another contemporary poet of repute was Chakrakavi, the author of Jdnaktparinaya. Based on the Balakdnda of Ramayana, the poet narrates in this kdvya, of eight cantos, the story of Rama culminating with his marriage with Sita, the daughter of Janaka. Another work based on the Ramayana is

Rdmachandrodaya of Venkatesa. It is a lengthy kdvya in thirty-two cantos, probably composed in 1637 A.D. at Banaras.

Narayana or Narayanabhattatiri is considered ‘as one of the greatest scholar-poets Kerala has produced’. He was a contemporary and a friend of Manaveda Zamorin, king of Kozhikode (1637 to

1648). His contribution to Sanskrit literature is profuse and varied, covering the fields of hdvya, Mimdmsd, grammar and the like. But his fame rests mainly on his metrical composition Ndvdyamyam. Though it is a lengthy poem of over a thousand verses in the hdvya style, it can be described as a devotional hdvya in praise of god Narayana of Guruvayur. To this category may be added Rukminisavijaya of Vadiraja. This Madhva pontiff wrote many works on Madhva philosophy and he was a gifted poet too. His Sarasabharati is another poetical work, dealing with Madhva theology. His Tirthaprabandha is a rare type of work. It is a travelogue describing the holy places all over India.

Slesha-kavya:

With the growing artificiality in poetry which became the characteristic feature of the later periods, a number of works came to be written which can be included in the class of Slesha-kavya, using the words with double, treble or even more meanings. The authors of such works endeavoured to narrate more than one story in one and the same composition. In the period under study, we notice quite a few experiments of this type.

The Yddava-Rdghaviya of Venkatadhvarin (17th century) for instance, is a poem narrating the stories of both Krishna and Rama using the device of double entendre. Naishadha-pdrijata of Krishnadhvarin is a similar work dealing at one and the same time with the stories of Krishna and Nala. This device is seen further extended with the use of treble punning by Rajachudamani Dikshita mentioned above, in his kavya , Raghava-Yddava-Pandavlya. This work narrates the stories of Rdmdyana , Bhagavata and Mahabharata. Another work of the same name and the same theme is by Chidambara who was patronised by the Vijayanagara king Venkata II (15861614) of the Aravidu dynasty. In his Panchakalydna-champu the experiment has indeed reached its climax, where he claims to narrate simultaneously the story of five marriages of Rama, Krishna, Vishnu, Siva and Subrahmanya. He is also reported to have written a commentary on this work, as this was indeed necessary for the understanding of this almost impossible feat.

Historical hdvya:

Achyutavdydbhyudaya of Dindima, Rajanatha III, is an important work in this respect. The author belonged to the famous Dindima family which originally belonged to Mathura. It deals with the history of Achyutadevaraya (1530-1542), the successor of Krishnadevaraya. Varadambikd-Parinaya also pertains to the life of Achyutadevaraya. It is a champu-kdvya, its theme being the mar

riage of the princess Varadambika, the daughter of Salaka Tirumala with Achyutadevaraya. Apart from the historical value which is not inconsiderable, the kavya is considered as one of the beautiful champus of the later period. The author of the work, Tirumalamba, was a versatile lady in the court of Achyutadevaraya. She is described in inscriptions as Oduva Tirumalamma or Tirumalamma “the reader”. She is also credited with the authorship of some verses recording the grants of land made by Achyutadevaraya.

A work of the same period, Vydsayogicharita of Somanatha, throws much light on the scholastic and cultural achievements of Vyasaraya, who was the rdjaguru of Krishnadevaraya and was held in high esteem by Achyutadevaraya.

Kavindra Paramananda, a contemporary of Shivaji, composed a narrative poem dealing with the life and achievements of Shivaji. The work is known as Anubhdrata or Sivabladrata. The story was further continued by his son, Devadatta, and grandson, Govinda, to cover the period of Shambhuji. All these three compositions are collectively known as Paramdnanda-kdvyam and are valuable sources of Maratha history.

Jayarama Pande composed the Rddhamadhavcu-Vildsa champu which gives an account of poets assembled at the court of Shahji, the father of Shivaji.

Another work of considerable importance for the history of the Marathas is Rambhurdja-charita of Harikavi or Bhanubhatta. It is a poetic biography of Shambhuji, the son of Shivaji. The work is preserved in fragments only. The author Harikavi was a Brahmana from the Deccan who had settled in Surat. The work is stated to have been composed in 1685 at the instance of the king's preceptor, Krishnapandita. Harikavi also composed Haihayendra-charita which professes to be a mythical kavya dealing with the story of Kartikeya, but the story is spun around the life of his patron, Shambhuji himself.

Raj drama-char ita of Kesava Pandita is an incomplete story of Rajaram. It, however, contains a reference to his journey to Gingee.

Of the many works written on the life of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore by his court-poets, two are noteworthy. Govinda Dikshita, who was a minister of this family of rulers for three generations, wrote Sdhityasudhd which describes the life and achievements of Raghunatha. Another work on the life of Raghunatha is Raghunathdbhyudaya of R&mabhadramba. The poem contains valuable references to many historical events.

The Maratha rulers of Tanjore, Ekoji (1674-1687) and ShahjI (1687-1711) were also great patrons of letters. Many poets of their courts wrote, among others, kdvyas of historical importance also.

Gangadhara, a minister of Ekoji, wrote Bhosalavamsdvali, a kdvya dealing with the history of the Bhonsle family. In the court of king ShlahjI, son of Ekoji, flourished the poet Bhuminatha, also known as Nalla Dikshita. He wrote a Champu-kdvya called Dhar mavijayachampu to glorify the life and achievements of his patron. Another work on the life of ShlahjI is from the pen of Sridhara Venkatesa. It is a poem in eight cantos, called Sdhendra-Vildsa.

The Rdjatarangini of Kalhana, the famous work on the history of Kashmir, was continued by different authors in different periods; and the work pertaining to the period under study is the Rdjdvali pataka of Prajyabhatta and his pupil Suka. The work narrates the history of Kashmir after its conquest by Akbar.

Rudrakavi’s Rdshtraudha kdvya (1596) narrates the history of the Bagulas of Mayuragiri (Khandesh), throwing light on the political situation of the contemporary Deccan.

Karnavatamsa , an eulogistic account of the rule of Karnasimha of Bikaner, mentions names of Muslim patrons of Sanskrit. Anupasimhagundvatdra by Vitthala Krishna is a glorified account of the rule of Anupasirhha, son of Karnasimha.

In this category may be included the eulogies by Pandit a Jagannatha— Asaf Vilas addressed to Asaf Khan, Jagadabharana in praise of Dara Shukoh and Prdndbharana glorifying the rule of Prananarayana of Kamarupa, also Kavlndracharya’s Jagadvijayachandas , eulogising the achievements of Jahangir. Dara Shukoh, too, composed a prasasti in honour of Nrisimha Sarasvati of Banaras; it is in rhythmic prose full of alliterations.

Champu Kdvya:

Chidambara, mentioned earlier, is also the author of two champus. Panchakalyana-champu, already noticed, and Bhagavatarchampu narrating the story of Krishna. Rajanatha III, Dindima, also mentioned above, composed another Bhdgavata-champu. Nilakantha Dikshita, too, wrote in 1637 his Nilakaixtha-Vijaya-champu > dealing with the legend of Samudramanthana.

Tirumalamba’s Varadambikd-parinaya-champu has been noticed above. Mitramisra, the famous author of Viramitrddaya, was also the author of Anandakanda-champu, dealing with the storv of

Krishna.

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Venkatadhvarin was the author of at least four champu works: Hastigiri-champu or Varadabhyudaya in praise of Varadaraja of Kanchi, Uttara-champu, based on the Uttarakdnda of the Rdmayana, Srinivasa-champu, in praise of Venkatesvara of Tirupati and Visva gunadarsa-champd, a work of rare imagination. It deals with the journey of two demi-gods through the sky in a vimdna. They see various places and peoples. One of them sees only the good side of everything and the other only the dark side. The work mentions the Europeans and their ways. Therefore, it is ascribed by some scholars to a later period.

Lyrics and smaller poems:

Among the lyric poets of this period, Jagannatha Panditaraja was undoubtedly an outstanding scholar and poet. A native of the Andhra region, he flourished in the courts of the Rajputs, the Mughuls and the ruler of Kamarupa. He was the author of several scholarly and poetical works. A large number of stray verses, too, are ascribed to him. Of his devotional lyrics, the most beautiful poems are: the Piyushalahan or Gangdlahatl in praise of the Gahga, Amritalaharl in praise of the Yamuna, the Karundlahand in praise of Vishnu, the Lakshmilahafl in praise of Lakshml and the Sudha lahari in praise of Surya.

Gitagdvinda of Jayadeva served as the model for many devotional compositions. Gitasankara is one such work written by Anantanarayana, a grandson of Appayya Dikshita. Krishnagiti is another work of this type on the life of Krishna. It was composed by the Zamorin king, Manaveda, in 1652. Both of these provide excellent themes for dance-dramas.

Mention may be made here of another variety of kavya, the sandesa or Data- kavya—written on the model of Meghaddta of Kalidasa. Quite a few works of this type were written in Kerala. Narayana, for instance, who was in the court of Ramavarman, the ruler of Quilon (1541-1547), composed Suhhagasandesa. The author here endeavours to send a message of love to his wife at Trichur, through the messenger Subhaga, a Brahmana of the Lata country. In his kavya, Kdmasandesa, the poet Mitradatta employs Kama, the god of Love himself, as his messenger to convey his love to his wife Chandralakshmi at Tirunavaya.

Bhringa or Bhramara-sandesa of Vasudeva utilises the bee for conveying the love of the hero to his wife, who was separated from him through the wiles of a Yakshini.

NATAKA

Mythological Plays

Jagajyotimalla of Nepal wrote a drama with the popular theme of the marriage of Siva and Farvati, named Hara-Gaurl-vivdha. The story of the killing of Kamsa by Krishna is the subject-matter of the Kamsavadha of &esh-Krishna, who was a contemporary of Akbar. He is also credited with three other dramas, Murarivijaya 9 Muktacharita and Satyabhdmd-parinaya. Another play relating to the legend of Krishna is Pdrijdta-harana of Kumara Tatacharya. He was the rdjaguru of Raghunatha and his son, Vijayaraghava, of Tanjore.

Among the dramas based on the Rdmdyana mention may be made of Adbhutadarpana of Mahadeva. The author here employs the device of a magic-mirror through which Rama sees the happenings in Lanka, where Sita was imprisoned. The Jdnaklparinaya of Ramabhadra Dlkshita also deals with the theme of Ramayana. The author here uses the device of some characters appearing in disguise, —Ravana, Sarana and Vidyujjihva appearing in the guise of Rama, Lakshmana and Visvamitra, and so on. Ramabhadra belonged to the family of famous scholars of Kumbakonam and received the patronage of the Tanjore king, Shahji (1684-1711).

The story of Nala has also been dealt with by many authors. Srinivasa Dlkshita wrote Bhairmparinaya describing the marriage of Nala and Damayanti. The Nalacharita-Ndtaka of Nllakantha also deals with the same story in seven acts.

Bhuminatha or Nalla Dlkshita, belonging to the court of Shahji, wrote a drama entitled Subhadrd-parinaya on the marriage of Subhadra with Arjuna. Shahji himself was a talented author and composed a play Chandrasekharavildsa. Another work depicting the marriage of Subhadra, was composed by the Madhva pontiff, Vijayindratirtha, entitled Subhadrd-Dhananjaya.

Rajachudamani Dlkshita has yet another play to his credit, Karnulirii-kaldhamsa by name. This work, in four acts, depicts in an artificial way the love affairs of the hero and heroine.

Historical Plays

The Kdntimati-Parinaya of Chokkanatha is a play which is semihistorical in character. The theme of this play is the marriage of Shahji, the author's patron, with KantimatT. His other 1 work, Sevantikd-parinaya, deals with the marriage of Basavamja with Sevantika, the daughter of a prince of Malabar. The hero is identified with Basavappanayaka, the ruler of Keladi (1697-1714), to whose court the poet seems to have migrated.

Allegorical Plays

Chaitanya-chandrodaya is a work of Kavikarnapura of Kanchanapalll in Bengal. The drama deals with the life of Chaitanya, the famous saint of Bengal, through the allegorical figures Maitid, Bhakti , Virdga and the like.

Dharmavijaya of Bhudeva Sukla is an allegorical play eulogizing the 'advantages of the life of spiritual duty' through the characters, Virtue and Vice, in personified form. Amritodaya of Gokulanatha is also a play in five acts depicting the progress of Jiva from creation to annihilation. The author was patronised by Fateh Singh of Srinagar (1615). The famous Srinivasa DIkshita who has been referred to earlier, is also credited with the authorship of an allegorical play Bhdvana-purushottama which is stated to have been composed at the instance of Surappa Nayaka, the ruler of Gingee. Vijaylndratlrtha, mentioned above, has written an allegorical play Ubhayagrastamhudaya. He is stated to have written this work in reply to Prabodha-Chandrddaya of Krishnamisra and SahkalpaSuryddaya of Vehkatanatha Vedantadesika.

Erotic Plays

A number of Bhanas —a type of one-act play mainly dwelling on an erotic theme—were written during the period under review. Sringdra-Sarvasva of Rajachu<Jamani DIkshita, for instance, belongs to this category. Nalla DIkshita is also credited with the authorship of a similar play of the same

name. Ramabhadra DIkshita is the author of a work of this type, viz., Sringdratilaka. Rasavildsa of Chokkanatha also belongs to this category.

TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE:

Alarhkdra

Appayya DIkshita, the famous philosopher, and Jagannatha, the eminent poet, were perhaps the most outstanding scholars of this period who contributed a good deal to the study of Poetics. Appayya Dlkshita's more important works in this field are: ChitramL mdmsd , Kuvalayananda , Vrittivdrtika and Lakshanaratnavali. Of the works of Jagannatha, the notable are: Rasagangadhara, Chitra namdmsd-Khandana and Bhdmim-Vilasa. The views of Appayya DIkshita were subjected to a severe scrutiny by Jagannatha Pandita, and thus a number of intricate and finer aspects of Sanskrit rhetorics came to be well-defined in this age.

Gangadhara Kavlndra and Ramananda are two authors of Mithila who wrote Kdvyaddkini and Rascttaranginl , respectively. 6rl

nivasa Dlkshita and his son Rajachudamani Dlkshita were also wellknown writers on Alamkara. The former is credited with as many as seven works on the subject. Raghunathamanohara of Champa, identified with Choul in Kolaba district of Maharashtra, is the author of two works called Kavihaustubha and Chhundorotuamjdld. The latter is not yet found, but it is quoted in the former work.

In the field of grammatical studies Bhattoji Dlkshita stands foremost. His Siddhdntakaumudi , an elucidation of the work of Panini, is perhaps more popular than Panini's work itself. His Prawdhamcinorama is a commentary on this work and Bdlamanorarrm is its abridgement. He is also the author of another commentary on Ashtddhydyi* named &abdaka,ustubha. Niagoji Dlkshita, the disciple of Bhanu Dikshita, the grandson of Bhattoji Dlkshita, was another reputed grammarian of this period, with about a dozen works on the subject to his credit. Narayana, the author of the Ndrayamyam, mentioned earlier, wrote a work on grammar, Prakriydsarvasva, which is a commentary on the Sutras of Panini. His Mdnameyddaya is an important contribution to the Mimamsa literature.

Music: ' : -H

Many scholars in the court of Vijanayagara wrote works on music, Rama Arnatya, for instance, who flourished in the court of Aliya Ramaraya (1552-65) wrote Svarameldkaldnidhi which deals with different rdgas of the Karnataka system of music. Pundaifikavithhala, a native of Khandesh, moved to the court of Akbar and composed a number of works on music such as: Rdgamdld and Rdgamanjari. Chaturadamodara who flourished in the court of Jahangir wrote his SangUadarpana dealing with music and dance. Jagajyotimalla, referred to earlier, also wrote a work on music called Sangitasdrasarvasva.

Raghunatha, the Nay aka of Tanjore, was considered as an authority on music. His work on the subject is Sangitasudhd.

Venkatamakhi was a student of Raghunatha and patronised by the latter’s son Vijayaraghava. Among others, his work Chatur dandiprakdsikd is a treatise on music, with special reference to Vina.

Philosophy:

Appayya Dikshita, mentioned above, contributed more than hundred scholarly works to the fields of Advaita philosophy and Saiva siddhdnta. More important among his works are: Sivarkamanidtpikd which is a commentary on Srikantha’s commentary on Brahma-sutras, and Chaturmatasdra-sangraha which summarises the doctrines of Madhva, Ramanuja, Sankara and Srikantha.

Madhusudana Sarasvati was another great Advaita scholar of this period. Among his numerous works, Advaita-siddhi is considered as the best contribution to Advaita literature. It is written in reply to Nydydmrita of Vyasaraya. It is said that Akbar was impressed by his scholarship and honoured him.

Among; the scholars of the Madhva philosophy the foremost was Vyasaraya (1478-1539). He was the raja-guru of the Vijayanagara king Krishnadevaraya and continued to be honoured by Achyutadevaraya. His important works on Dvaita philosophy are Nydydmrita, Tarkatdndava, and

Chandrikd. They are collectively known as Vydsatrayl. Vyasaraya's disciple, Vijayindratirtha (1514-1595), was a prolific writer with more than 18 works to his credit, in addition to the commentaries on the works of his teacher. Vadirajatirtha (1480-1600) was a great exponent of the Dvaita philosophy, to whom over 90 works are ascribed. Many other scholars like Satyanathayati (1648-74), Raghavendratirtha (1623-71) and others enriched the literature on Dvaita philosophy considerably, by their numerous contributions.

Epigraphical Literature:

Reference should be made here, at least in passing, to the epigraphical literature. Numerous inscriptions on stone and copperplates, written in ornate poetic style, have enriched the Sanskrit literature of the early part of this period. Outstanding among them is the Rdjaprasasti at Udaipur, composed in 1676. It is a Mahdkdvya, in twenty-two cantos, engraved on as many slabs. The author was a Telugu Brahman named Ranachhoda.

XIV. ARABIC

As in the pre-Mughul period, Arabic compositions in India under the Great Mughuls mainly touched religious subjects such as the Qur'an, Hadith (Apostolic Traditions), Fiqh (Jurisprudence), Sufism and Grammar. Arabic writings on purely literary topics, such as dealt with in Persian, were few and far between during the period under review. Almost the entire range of Arabic literature then produced is represented by commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses and annotations on the Qur an.

The study of theological sciences owes very much to the frequency of visits by Indian ulemas to centres of religious instructions in the Hejaz. The establishment of the supremacy of Portuguese navigation in the Indian ocean in the 16th century made voyages between India and Arabia safe. Apart from the casual visits, there were scholars who migrated to the holy cities of Mecca

and Madina for receiving specialized knowledge in their fields of study. Among such scholar-migrants, the most conspicuous was Sayyid 'All al-Muttaqi (d. 1568) 21 of Burhanpur. He commanded great reverence and popularity not only among the contemporary learned men but also among the ruling potentates such as Ottoman Emperor Sulaiman I and Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat who granted stipends for the pupils of his madrasah at Mecca. He wrote a commentary on the Qur’an, named Shn c un al-Munazzalat, containing learned notes on grammatical and philological subtleties of Qur’anic words and phrases. But the work which gave him an everlasting fame is the Kanz al-'Ummdlj 22 an encyclopaedic collection of Apostolic Traditions, of which Abul Hasan al-Bakrl, the author’s preceptor, says: ‘al-Suyuti obliged the world by composing the Jam‘alJawdmi e , while al-Muttaqi has obliged him by re-arranging the same.’ Among the numerous pupils of al-Muttaqi was the famous ‘Abdul Wahhab al-Muttaqi, who was the teacher of Shaikh ‘Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi. Though Emperor Akbar was not the follower of orthodox religious views, there was no dearth of Ulemas and theological writings in Arabic during his period. Makhdum al-Mulk ‘Abdullah SultanpuH and Shaikh ‘Abd al-Nabi Sadr Sudur were among the leading Ulemas of Akbar’s early period, while Shaikh Sa‘duT-lah Barii Isra’il (d. 1603) of Lahore was a noted author who translated the Bahr-i-Mawwdj of Qadi Shahab al-Din Daulatabadi into Arabic. Shah Fathullah ShirazI, Mir Sadr al-Din, Mir Ghyath al-Din Mansur and Mirza Jan Mir were the standard-bearers of Islamic learning, and logic and philosophy were the subjects dealt with by them. But the most outstanding figure was ‘Abdul Haqq DihlawJ (d. 1642), 23 who wrote mainly in Persian but has to his credit some significant works in Arabic which are as follows:— Lam'at alTanqih ‘ala Mishkdt al-Masdbih, a valuable and copious commentary on the canonical Hadith collections, along with an interesting introduction which by itself forms a separate treatise on classes of Apostolic traditions; Kitdb Asrna’ al-Rijal Mishkdt al-Masabih, an important book on the science of biography in relation to the narrators of Hadith mentioned in the Mishkdt al-Mambih; Md thabata bi’lSunnah fi Ay yam al-Sanah, a peculiar work containing all traditions which relate to the months of the year; and Fath al-Marmdn fl td’id ab-Nufmdn, a treatise on Hanafite Jurisprudence 24

Akbar’s celebrated court-poet, Faizi, who held the pride of place among Persian poets of his age, used his hands in Arabic with amazing success. That Faizi had a wonderful mastery of Arabic language is illustrated by his remarkable commentary sawdti e alIlhdm, 25 a big book in two volumes without a single dotted letter

right through. The work is of little worth as a book of commentary, as Shibli Nu'mani 26 rightly remarks, but it is a commendable piece of composition in Arabic, being written in the artificial figure of speech, called Sav/at-i-Mahmalah. Zubaid Ahmad says: “I know of no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout.” Faizi’s other work, Mawdrid al-Kaldm Wa silk Durar al-Hikam, 21 written in similar vein as the preceding work, deals with moral aphorisms. In view of the fact that more than fifty per cent, of the Arabic alphabets are dotted, it is indeed a great intellectual exercise and literary skill to write page after page in Arabic without using a single dotted letter. 28 Akbar’s court-poet, Hakim ‘Alawi Khan Jilani (d. 1605) wrote an Arabic commentary on Avicenna’s

al-Qanun 29 Qazi Nurullah Shustari, an eminent Shiah scholar of Persia, was appointed Qazi of Lahore by Akbar. Though he wrote mainly in Persian, he composed several treatises in Arabic on theological topics. The sufistic mission of the Naqshbandis, 30 which spearheaded Islamic reaction against Akbar’s heresy and scepticism, produced great theologian-scholars such as Khwaja Baqibillah, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindl and Shaikh Farid. Shaikh Taj al-Din Sambhall (d. 1640), 31 who flourished during Jahangir’s reign, wrote several works in Arabic, namely al-Risdla fi Muluk Khuldsat al-Sadat Naqshbandtah, Jdmi‘-al-Fawd‘id and Addb al-Muridin. Besides, he rendered Jami’s Nafahat al-Uns and Wa’iz Kashifi’s Rashahdt into Arabic. As the Mughul patronage of culture reached its culminating point under Shah Jahan, literary pursuits in Arabic naturally received general encouragement. Of the numerous scholars and theologians for whom the Emperor reserved his special regard and favour, the most outstanding was Mulla ‘Abdul Hakim Sialkuti (d. 1656) 32 who wrote commentaries on the exegetical work of al-Baidawi and on the ‘Aqa’id of ‘Allama Taftazanl. His reputation as theological commentator had spread far beyond the borders of India even during his lifetime. 33 Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri (d. 1651) wrote a large number of glosses on various classical works. His treatise on a discussion of ‘Form’ and ‘Matter’, entitled al-Dawhat al-Mayyddah fi

Hccdiqat al-Surah wal Ma’adda and another on philosophy, called al-Hikmat al-Bdligha } are popularly studied in Indian schools.

Shaikh Nur al-Haqq (d. 1662), 34 son of Shaikh ‘Abdul Haqq Muhaddith Dihlawi, was an accomplished traditionist, jurist and historian, and worked all through his life for the cause of Hadith literature. In recognition of his scholarship Shah Jahan appointed him Qazi of Akbarabad. ‘Abdul Baqi (d. 1673) and ‘Abdur Rashid

(d. 1672) were two contemporary philosophical writers of Shah Jahan’s age. Both wrote commentaries on the Adab al-Sharifiyyah, a popular treatise on dialectics by Sayyid al-Sharlf ‘All bin Muhammad Jurjanl. Muhibbullah Illahiabadi (d, 1648), 35 renowned Sufi and author, wrote his Mardtib al-Arba‘ah, a commentary on the Qur’an from the sufistic view-point. He expounded the ideas of Ibn al-‘ArabI, on the lines of whose work Fusus al-Hikctm, he compiled his Anfds al-Khawas which is full of mystical and theosophical discussions, advocating the doctrine of Wahdat al-Wujud (Pantheism).

Emperor Aurangzib was the most enthusiastic among the royal patrons of Islamic studies and one of the best books produced on the HanafI Law is the Fatdwd-i-Alamgm, a compendious six-volume work composed by a team of Indian theological doctors headed by Shaikh Nizam. The very fact that the book was compiled by a group of eminent jurists, and not by a single author, directly under royal supervision, eloquently speaks of the significance of India’s contribution to Arabic literature on the subject of Fiqh (Jurisprudence). Aurangzib’s teacher, better known as Mulla Jlwan, wrote a commentary, entitled al-Tafsir al-Ahmadiyyah fl baydn al-Aydt alShara'vyydh, containing explanations on those of Qur’anic verses which deal with commandments and prohibitions. Mulla Jlwan’s other work, Nur al-Anwdr, is a well-praised commentary on Nasaffs famous text, called Mandr al-Anwar.

Mir Muhammad Zahid (d. 1689), son of Qazi Muhammad Aslam, rose into prominence for his highly philosophical writings. At first attached to the court of Shah Jahan and then of Aurangzib, Mir Zahid is mainly known for his collection of three glosses which he compiled under the title, Hcniidshi Thaldthat al-Zqhidtyyah. Another writer of philosophical treatises who attracted Aurangzib's attention was Muhibbullah Bihar! (d. 17 0 7) 36 who was appointed Qazi of Lakhnau. His works, Sullam al-Ulnm, a common text-book on Logic, and Musallam al-Thubut, an indispensable work on the principles of jurisprudence, form essential part of curricula of study in the Islamic religious institutions of the Indian sub-continent.

Sayyid 'All Khan Ibn Ma'sum (d. 1705), 37 who wrote purely on non-religious matter, was appointed by Aurangzib Diwdn of Burhanpur. He was well versed in the poetic art and was the author of several poetical compositions, most notable of which is his poem, al-Badi'iyyah, that contains examples of all possible rhetorical contrivances. The poem is regarded as a valuable contribution to Arabic literature on rhetoric. Besides, he compiled a biographical dictionary

of Arabic poets, called Suldfat al-Asr fi Mahdsin al-Shu'ara bi hull Misr , which included notices of about a dozen poets of Arabic who were Indian or connected with India. Sayyid 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrairii (d. 1715), 38 who flourished towards the end of Aurangzib's reigjn, was a distinguished scholar and composed fine verses. The contemporary writer, Ibn Ma'sum, mentioned above, states that he never saw in India a scholar so accomplished as he was.

Among the various centres of Arabic learning in Mughul India, Gujarat was the most prominent. Akbar's conquest of Gujarat opened up ports like Cambay and Surat to those Indian scholars who wished to travel by sea to the Hejaz for higher study. The opening of the sea traffic resulted in close and frequent contact between India and Arabia, which in turn led to the extensive study of Hadlth in v/hich native scholars from Gujarat distinguished themselves in the subsequent centuries. 39 Thus Gujarat's contribution to Arabic literature, particularly on the theological subject, deserves special mention.

'Abdullah Muhammad bin Siraj al-Din 'Umar Nahrwali alUlugkhani, better known as Haji Dabir, 40 a prominent noble and general serving in Gujarat under 'Imadul-Mulk at the time of Akbar's conquest of Gujarat, wrote Zafar al-Wdlih bi Musdffar wa Alih, a valuable history of Gujarat. Al-Nur al-Safir 'an Akhbdr al-Qaran aVAshir (1603) by Muhyi al-Din 'Abdul Qadir Aydurs 41 of Ahmadabad is a chronology of the events of the tenth century of the

Hijra, written in a simple, lucid and straightforward style. It also contains accounts of contemporary scholars and saints. Shaikh Wajih al-Din ‘Alawi of Gujarat (d. 1589) was a reputed saint-scholar who wrote several works on various Subjects of Islamic learning, mainly comprising annotations and glosses on Tajsir-i-Baiddim, Shark Wiqdya , etc.

Jamal al-Din Muhammad Tahir (d. 1578) 42 of Pattan (Gujarat) who enjoyed the title of Malik al-Muhaddithm (Prince of Traditionists), has been immortalised by his invaluable works on Hadith, the magnum opus being his Majma‘ Bahdr-al-Anwdr. It is a voluminous dictionary of difficult and uncommon words in the Qur’an and Hadlth. According to Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan, by writing this work, which met with universal approval and recognition, Tahir has placed the world of Islam under a deep debt of gratitude.

Ja‘far bin Jalal bin Muhammad al-Bukhari, better known as Badr-i-‘Alam, 43 was a leading traditionist and divine of Ahmadabad during the days of Emperor Jahangir. He wrote his commentary, al-Faiz al-Tart, on the Hadith collection of Bukhari, in two volumes.

His bigger work, entitled Rawdat al-Shdh, consisted of as many as twenty-four volumes, of which the first dealt with memoirs of the saints and the last two with traditionists and commentators of the Qur’an.

In the Deccan, the Qutub Shahis of Golconda 44 were renowned patrons of Arabic studies. Muhammad ‘All Karbala’! composed his Hada’iq-i-Qutb Shdht and Muhazzib al-Din Damamlnl wrote his wellknown commentary on the Qur’an, during the reign of ‘Abdullah Qutb Shah. Another significant work of the same age was Hakim Nizam al-DIn Gllanl’s Shajarat al-Ddnish consisting of more than a hundred brochures, pamphlets and extracts from other works on a variety of subjects such as medicine, law, philosophy and literature.

XV. PERSIAN

The advent of the Mughuls in India ushered in a glorious epoch of literary traditions in Persian, a language that enjoyed the status of the Latin of Central Asia. The impetus was given by no less a person than Emperor

Babur himself, the founder of Mughul rule in India. Although this cultured monarch is known to the literary world for his Tuzak or Memoir which he wrote in Turki, history testifies that besides his native tongue, he was an accomplished poet in Persian too.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Babur was the author of a didactic mathnavi in Persian, entitled Mathnavt-i-Mubin . 45 The Emperor's retinue included a number of poets and writers of Persian, notable among whom were F,aright, Nadir Samarqandl, Atishi Qandharl and Tahir Khawandi. Sam Mirza, the author of Tuhfad-Sdrrii, makes particular mention of two other poets, Shaikh Zain al-Din and Mulla Shihiab. 46

The influx of Persian intellectuals from Iran to India during the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes the most vital factor in the development of Indo-Persian literature. Whatever be the cause of the decline of Persian poetry in Safavid Persia, in this respect Persia's loss proved to be India's gain. Ever since the return from Persia of the fugitive Emperor Humayun, swarms of Persian poets kept migrating to India and were attached to Mughul courts, where they found the atmosphere more congenial for the display of their talent. The literary efforts of these immigrants coupled with similar efforts of indigenous litterateurs created in India an intellectual tradition which sometimes seemed to outshine that of Iran itself both in output and quality. 47

During the whole of the 16th and 17th centuries, India remained the El-Dorado of Persian emigrants. Rightly has Dr. Hermann Ethe

remarked that the India Summer of Persian poetry, brought about by Akbar and his successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, is one of the brightest features of the Mughul rule in India. The long and distinguished chain of poets of Iranian and Indian origin brought about the cultural synthesis which led to the evolution of that exquisite body of poetry called Sabk-i-Hindi (Indian style), 48 represented by such illustrious names as FaizI, 'UrfI, Nazlri, Talib-i-Amuli, Kalim, Ghani Kashmiri, Sa'ib and Bldil which could bring credit to any literature in the world. Most of these poets were born in Persia but their poetry was born in India and it invariably mirrored the distinctive features of the Indian environment. Puns, chronograms, satires, original similes and concepts constitute the salient merits of Mughul poetry. 49

Fond of poetry and poets, Humayun himself composed good verses and wrote a Persian Dlwan. 50

Among the poetic geniuses of Humayun's age were Shaikh Amanullah Panlpatl, Maulana Jalall, Mir WaisI and Damlrl Bilgraml. 51 Qasim Khan MaujI wrote a mathnavi, called Yusuf-u Zulaikha which consisted of 6000 verses. Ghyath al-Dln Muhammad, surnamed Khwandamlr, wrote the general history, Habib alSiyar and among other works, compiled an authentic versified history of Humayun, called Qdnun-i-H^mdyurii. Qasim Kahl of Kabul, court-poet of Humayun and Akbar, gained celebrity for his erudition and poetic gift. 52 Yusuf bin Muhammad, a migrant from Herat, was attached to Humayun's court and wrote Riydd al-Adwiya, Jdmi' al-Fawaid, Fawaid al-Akhbar and Badd'i al-Inshd. The emperor's ewer-bearer, Jauhar Aftabchl, though not a very learned man, prepared a Memoir of Humayun, which is of unusual importance as a source book, in view of its being a reliable record of the Emperor's private life during his exile in Iran. The Humdyun-ndma, compiled by Gulbadan Begum, sister of Humayun, is an intimate account of the events of the reigns of Babur and Humayun. Interspersed with a large number of Turkish words, the book reflects the influence which the Turkish language had on Persian at that time. Bayazld Bayat's Tadhkira-i-Humdyun wa Akbar is a useful history of the reigns of Humayun and early years of Akbar.

The accession of Akbar to the throne in 1556 marks an era of unprecedented blossoming of Persian verse and prose. The most dynamic factor behind this literary efflorescence was the munificence of patronage and encouragement which the Emperor and his nobles gave to poets and writers, historians, thinkers, philosophers and theologians. 53 Abu-'l-Fazl states that thousands of poets were continually at the court of Akbar. At least fifty of them, according

to the cumulative evidence of the Ain-i-Akbarl, Tabaqdt-i-Ndsiri and the Muntakhab al-Tawdrikh, produced Dlwans.

Ghazall Mashhad! (d. 1572), the first poet-laureate of Akbar's court, proved a very talented poet with his mathnavis, such as Mashhad-i-Anwdr, the Mir'at al-Sifat, Naqsh-i-Badi'i Qudrat-i-Athar and a Diwan, entitled Athar al-Shabdb , an anthology of poems dedicated to Akbar. Faizi, who succeeded Ghazall as Akbar’s poet-laureate, was a versatile poet and writer. 54 Badaunl and subsequent memoirwriters have ascribed the authorship of over a hundred Persian works to Faizi, but unfortunately all the titles are not known to us. Abu-’l-Fazl, however, mentions a few works of Faizi, the principal among which is his Diwan which, according to Shibli, 55 was entitled TabdsKir al-Subh. The Diwan consists of qasidas, Ghazals, Tarkib bands, TarjV bands, elegies, Qita‘s and rubais. In pursuance of the literary practice then in vogue, Faizi had planned to write a Khamsah in imitation of the Khamsah of Nizami Ganj awl. He composed some portions under each proposed title, but could complete only two, i.e., the Markaz-i-Adwdr and the Nal Daman in imitation of Nizami’s Makhzan al-Asrdr and Laild Majnun respectively. Faizi’s prose works include a Persian adaptation of Lllavatl, his Epistles, chronogrammatically entitled Latifq-i-Fayyddi and Persian translation of Hindu religious books. In short, Faizi was a true representative of a great age. A leading Iranian literary critic, Dr. Rida Zada Shafaq, 56 asserts that Faizi enjoyed a great reputation in Ottoman Turkey and his influence was responsible for the popularity of Persian literature in that country.

‘Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan 57 was the very embodiment of erudition and culture during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. An accomplished scholar and talented poet, Khan-i-Khianan’s fame chiefly rests on his large-hearted patronage of men of letters and poets. Great literati of the age such as Mulla Shakibi, Mahwl Hamadani, ‘Urfi Shiraz! and Mulla ‘Abdul BiaqiS Nihawandi were directly attached to his court. He himself produced an exquisite Persian version of the Memoirs of Babur under royal orders. His remarkable library in Ahmadabad “embalmed the great ideals of the oriental world and the memory of a culture that had in its time profoundly influenced the world.” 58

‘UrfI Shiraz! 59 was the brightest luminary in the Khan-i-Khanan’s poetic firmament and was the recipient of richest presents and highest rewards from his patron and from Akbar as well. The contemporary author, ‘Abdul BaqI Nihawandi 60 remarks that it would take a separate book to describe the numerous rewards and presents which ‘Urfi received from the Khan-i-Khanan. ‘Urfi’s great est legacy to posterity are his exquisite qasidas that are characterised by lofty themes, forceful diction, original constructions, freshness of metaphors and novelty of comparisons and lyrical dynamism which contributed very much to the embellishment and development of Persian language and literature. Another talented poet attached to the entourage of the Khan-i-Khanan was Nazir i Nishapuri (d. 1618) 61 who gave a new dimension to Persian poetry by his genius and inventive mind. His verses are deeply tinged with suflstic notions of esoteric significance and noted for introduction of new and strange words and phrases. He is regarded as the ‘Qa’-ianl of India’ for his sweetness of style and melody of diction.

The most common subject of contemporary prose-writing was history. As the Mughul supremacy in India became well established under Akbar, the emperor began the practice of commissioning chroniclers to write official annals of the dynasty’s rule. The most important official history is the Akbar-ndma of Abu-’l-Fazl, the Emperor’s confidant and minister. 62 This voluminous and monumental work is complementary to his Aln-i-Akban , an encyclopaedic directory of the administration of the day. His Inshd, collection of official despatches sent by the Emperor to foreign potentates, and his Ruqa'dt, collection of the author’s private and personal letters, written in highly florid and pedantic style with various rhetorical devices, are representative pieces of writings of the Indo-Persian literature. Selections from Abu-T-Fazl’s letters have always formed part of Persian syllabi at colleges and universities in India. The Tdrikh-i-Alfl of Mulla Ahmad Thattawi and others was also compiled at the royal command and is mainly important for an account of Akbar’s religious views. Among the unofficial chronicles are the Muntakhab al-Tawdrikh of Mulla ‘Abdul Qadir Badaunl, which is characterised by thoroughness and sincerity, competence and authenticity, and the Tabaqat-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad Bakhshi is a useful source-book, written in a simple and flowing language. Minor historical writings of the age included FaizI Sirhindi’s Tdrikhi-Humdyun Shdhi, ‘Abdul Baqi Nihawandi’s Ma’dthiri Rahtrm and Shaikh ‘Abdul Haq Dihlawl’s Tdrikh-i-Haqql. The last-named author was a leading divine and theologian of his age. He wrote on almost every theological science and has to his credit such famous works as the Akhbdrul Akhyar, containing short biographies of Sufi saints of India; Ashi‘dtu’l Lam’dt, a commentary on the wellknown book of tradition, the Mishkat, and Zddu’l

Muttaqln , another hagiological work. Amir Fathulluh ShUfiazi was another distinguished scholar of Akbar’s age. Badaunl calls him “the most learned man of his times” and Abu-’l-Fazl remarks: “If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amir would restore them”. 63

While the munificent patronage of Akbar and his nobles had more than ensured the development of Persian literature in Northern India, the ‘Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur were giving liberal encouragement to the growth of Persian scholarship in the south. The court of Sultan Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II (1580-1627) attracted a large number of poets and litterateurs from the north and from Iran itself. Malik Qummi (d. 1640) was the most prominent poet of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty. The contemporary, Mulla Zuhurl (d. 1616), decidedly the greatest of the Persian poets who flourished in the Deccan, is a consummate stylist both in verse and prose. His Saqi-ncLma, written on the model of the Gulistan of Sadi, amply reveals his exalted poetic genius. His Sih Nathr evidently projects him as a Persian writer of outstanding calibre, who dominated the intellectual taste of the contemporary elite and norms and standards of literary appreciation. Other prominent poets of the court of Bijapur were Haidar ZihnI, Sanjar, Baqar, Hasan ‘Askarl of Kashan, Rashid of Qazwin and Aqa Muhammad NamI of Tabriz. The ‘Adil Shahi period is to be especially remembered for having given to the world the celebrated Tarikh-i-Firishta or Gulistdn-i-Ibrdhim written by Abul Qasim Firishta during the reign of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah in 1611. This monumental work is the most compendious of chronicles that medieval India has produced. The Qutb Shahis of Golconda were likewise great patrons of Persian scholarship. The peshwa Ibn-iKhatun, who was Qutb Shahi ambassador to Iran, was responsible for the propagation of Persian studies in the kingdom. Mention may be made of the following Persian works of the period:

(a) ‘All bin Taifur Bustami’s Hadd’iq al-Salatin , compiled in 1681, a collection of lives of eminent Persian poets, both immigrant and native;

(b) Muhammad Husain Tabrezl’s Persian dictionary, Burhan-iQdti compiled in ‘Abdullah Qutb Shah’s reign in 1651; and

(c) Abu ‘Imad’s encyclopaedic work Khirqatu’l ‘Ilm in six volumes. Besides, there are four metrical histories of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, all compiled in the reign of Muhammad Qull Qutb Shah, namely, Nisbat Ndma-i-Shahrydri, Nasab Nama-irS hahrydri, Tdrikh-i-Qutb Shahi! and Tawdrikh-iQutb Shahi . Almost all the Deccani rulers had direct cultural contacts with contemporary Persia and hence numerous were the Irani poets and scholars who adorned their courts. 64

Literary activity received great encouragement at the hands of

Akbar’s successor Jahangir (1605-1627), who seemed to inherit the refined scholarship of his great-grand-father, Babur. His autobiography, TuZuk-i-Jahdngifl, is a work of great historical and literary merit. Left unfinished by the Emperor, the memoirs were completed by Muhammad Had! 65 His courtier, Muhamad Khan, wrote Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri, which is a primary source material of the history of Jahangir’s reign. Important historical writings of the period are Ma’dthir Jahangiri of Kamgar Khan, Mawd’lza-i-Jahangir of Baqir Khan and Akhlaq-i-Jahangin of QazI Nurud-din Khaqani. Among the learned personages of Jahangir’s reign were Ghyath Beg known as 1‘timad-u’d-Daula, Naqib Khan and Ni‘matullah. The culture-loving emperor maintained his ancestral tradition of showering generous patronage on poets, the majority of whom were emigres from Safavid Persia. Among those who basked in the sunshine of royal favour were Naziri, Talib Isfahan!, Shaida, Sa‘ida-i-Gilam, Nishani and Munir Lahurl, while the court of the Emperor’s leading noble ‘Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, as mentioned above, was adorned by such a galaxy of poets as Shikabi, Hayati, Rasmi, Nau‘I and Thana‘1. But the most conspicuous poet of the age was Talib Amuli (d. 1626), the poet laureate of Jahangir, whose poetry is characterised by novelty of topics, figurative language and fine allegories and metaphors.

Emperor Shah Jahan honoured the versifiers with bounteous rewards in the true manner of an Eastern monarch. Rightly has a Persian poet ‘All Qul! Salim compared perfection in poetry to henna that could develop its full colour only in India. Abu Talib Kallm coming from Hamadan succeeded Qudsi as Shah Jahan’s court-poet and completed, besides his Diwan, an epic poem, entitled Pddshah-ndma , commenced by Qudsi, describing Shah

Jahan’s exploits. Kalim once called India a second paradise in the sense that whoever quits this garden departs with regret. 66 But the greatest contemporary poet was Mirza Muhammad ‘All Sa’ib of Tabriz who was the creator of a new style in Persian poetry. The credit of introducing and perfecting illustrative poetry in Persian goes to him alone. Mainly attached to the court of Shah Jahan’s noble, Zafar Khan, Governor of Kashmir, $,a‘ib received from the Emperor the title of Musta‘id Khan. Though he returned to Isfahan later on, he recorded his indebtedness to India in many of his verses and once compared his nostalgia for India to a lover’s longing for a beloved. 67 Other versifiers who rose to eminence during Shah Jahan’s rule were Qasim Khan Juwaini, Mir Muhammad Husain Sharqi, Muhammad Husain Rasmi and Mir Ra<Ja Danish Mashhadi. Among the leading native lyricists were Shaida Akbarabadi and

Hadhiq Fatehpuri. The heterodox Sufi, Sarmad (d. 1660), earned celebrity for his exquisite quatrains, dealing with ecstatic and unorthodox mystic themes.

The prose literature produced in that age is almost entirely represented by histories, such as the three Pddshdh-ndmas, written by Amina-i-Qazwini, ‘Abdul Hamid Lahurl and Muhammad Warith,

the Shah Jahan-nama of Muhammad Tahir Ashna. Muhammad • • • •

Sadiq Isfahan!, an official of Bengal of Shah Jahan’s time, was a noted historian and scholar and is mainly known for his two works, the Suhh Sadiq, a detailed historical and geographical work and the Shahid-i-Sddiq, a work of encyclopaedic nature, both dedicated to Prince Shah Shuja‘, Shah Jahan’s second son. 68 The Emperor’s eldest son, Prince Dari. Shukoh was an erudite scholar and an orthodox mystic of the Qadiriyah order. 69 He had the yoga-vdsishtha, the Bhagavad-Gitd and the Upanishads translated into Persian. His M.ajma‘ul Bahrain is a collection of pseudo-lexicographical correspondence between the Sufi and Hindu cosmologies, esoteric beliefs and practices. The prince’s contribution to hagiography is well illustrated by his twin works, Saflnat al-Auliya, a biography of Muslim saints, and the Sakindt aUAuliyd, containing an account of his spiritual guide Miyan Mir (d. 1635). Another member of the royal family, Jahan Ara Begum, daughter of Shah Jahan, had a genius for poetry. Her Munis al-Arwdh, a biographical account of Khvaja Mu‘in-ud-din Chishti, is marked by simple dignity and chaste scholarship. Of the few epoch-making lexicographical works produced during the period under review, at least the following two deserve special mention: (a) The Farhang-i-Jahdngiri, compiled by Jamalud-din Husain Inju in 1608, is a well-known dictionary of purely Persian words dedicated to and named after Emperor Jahangir, and (b) The Farhang-i-Rashidi of ‘Abdul Rashid Tattawi, compiled in 1654 and dedicated to Shah Jahan, is a revised and corrected version of the preceding lexicon.

In the puritanical period of Aurangzib (1658-1707), royal patronage to poets was withheld and Persian poetry lost its timehonoured place in the imperial court. But the Emperor’s own daughter, Zibun Nisi, with the nom-de-plume Makhfl, was a gifted poetess, well versed in Arabic and Persian. 70 The Diu)dn-i-Makhfi is a great monument of her poetic genius. But the most challenging Persian poet of the age was Mirza ‘Abdul Qadir Bidil of Patna, whose poetry crystallises all the intellectual formulas of style employed by his predecessors in India. His lyrical poems, said to comprise about a lakh of verses, along with his mathnavis, evidently prove that he could produce genuine poetry in all its splendour

and yet honestly reveal his philosophical and mystical predilections. Bldil is one of the few native poets whose reputation has spread beyond the frontiers of India. He is studied with much appreciation and reverence in Afghanistan.

Several histories were written in Aurangzib’s time and they are noted for their authenticity, for they were not the results of the imperial patronage. The best and most impartial history of the period is Muntakhab al-Lubdb of Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan, which combined objectivity with historical imagination. The ‘Alamgirrmma was compiled by Muhammad Kazim under Aurangzib’s orders. 71 The Mathnam-i-Alamgirl of Saqi Musta’ad Khan is particularly rich in the description of Aurangzib’s Deccan campaigns, a chapter which was included in the work without the Emperor’s knowledge. The Mir’atu’l Alam of Bakhtawar Khan is remarkable for its biographical accounts of the intelligentsia of the age. 72

The contribution of the Hindus to the development of IndoPersian studies makes an impressive reading. Not only did the Hindus attain a high degree of proficiency in Persian but they vied with their Muslim compeers in composing verse and prose of high order. History testifies to the Muslim patronage of Sanskrit learning in pre-Mughul era, but it was only in the reign of Akbar that the Hindus participated in the literary efforts in a full-fledged manner. Hindu scholars such as Kishujoshi, Gangadhar, Mahesa, Mahananda, Devi Misra, Madhusudana Misra, Chaturbhuja and Bhavan were engaged by the Emperor to collaborate with Muslim writers like FaizI, Abu-’l-Fazl, HajI Ibrahim Sarhindl, BadaunI, and others in the execution of the programme of preparing Persian translations from Sanskrit classics. 73 The result was that the Rdmdyana , Mahdbhdrata, Singhasan Batisi etc. were rendered into Persian. Raja Todarmal (d. 1589), a Hindu courtier of Akbar, translated the Bhdgawat Purdna into Persian. 74 One Makhanlal also rendered the Rdmdyana into Persian and called it Jahan-i-Zafar. Amarnath abridged the account of the world from the four Vedas into Persian under the title Khaydldt-i-Shaidd. Jahangir continued to patronise translation of works from Sanskrit to Persian and encouraged the Hindu scholars to produce original works on Hindu law, rational sciences and lexicography. The first Hindu who achieved literary greatness in Persian was Chandra Bhan, poetically named Brahman, 75 who enjoyed the favour of Prince Dara Shukoh. His Dlwan of Ghazals and Quatrains reflected his vast erudition and poetic excellence and a happy blend of Hindu and Muslim thought. One of his contemporaries, Jaswant Rai Munshi, also compiled a Dlwan in Persian. Bhopat Rai, better known as ‘Bigham Vairagi’ (d. 1719), wrote his famous

mathnavi which mirrored his mystical thoughts and illustrates the influence of Jalal-ud-din Rumi on his poetry. Another branch of Persian writing in which the Hindus clearly surpassed contemporary Muslim achievements is epistolography; and Inshd of Madho Ram, written during Aurangzlb’s reign, marks the apex in the efforts of Kayastha Hindus in this particular field. Hindu historiography which began with Chandra Bhan Brahman’s Chahdr Chaman which is partly modelled on Abu-’l-Fazl’s A’in-i-Akbatl, was further enriched by the works of Hindu chroniclers such as Bhagwan Dias, who compiled the Shah Jahan-ntima and Rai Vrindaban, who wrote the Lubb-ut-Tawankh. Aurangzlb also found a Hindu historian to record his victories and he was Xsvardas Nagar, the author of Futdhdt-i-Alamglri. Munshi Sujan Rai’s Khulasat-iit-Tawarikh, written in 1695, is perhaps the most interesting work of history written by a Hindu in Persian. There were some minor Hindu historians such as Munshi Hiraman Lai who wrote his Gawdlior-ndma in Aurangzlb’s reign and Narayan Kaul who compiled his Tdrikh-i-Kashmir in 1710. In short, up to the 18th century the total contribution of the Hindus to Persian poetry became substantial enough to form the subject-matter of a separate book called Tadhkira-ir’Gul-i-Rdnd, by Lakshml Narayan Shafiq. In fact, as Dr. S. M. Abdullah has remarked, 76 at the end of the 18th century the contribution of Hindus to Persian literature was equal to that of their Muslim compatriots. The Persian literature produced during the heyday of the Mughul suzerainty in India exercised a tremendous influence on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by the Muslims. One of the most epoch-making results is the evolution of literary Urdu. Other sister languages modelled on the Persian tradition are Punjabi, Pushtu, Sindhi, Baluchi and Kashmiri, all of which use Persian script. To all these regional langua(ges, Persian literature gave a number of literary genres, provided models for the writers and themes for numerous literary compositions.

XVI. PROTO-URDU

The word ‘ Urdu is derived from the Turki word Ordu which meant “a military camp.” The language, now known by that name, had not come into existence during the period under review, but it was a product of the dialect current among the Muslims who ruled over Deccan and South India from the 14th century onwards. The literary speech, arising out of it, and known as Dakhni or the ‘Southern speech’, may be traced back to the 15th century. Its use was confined to the Deccan and South India, and it was employed in literature mostly by the Muslims of that region who were less influenced by the local Hindu spirit of the dialects and languages of North India than the other Muslims living in North India. This difference becomes clearly manifest from the fact that Perso-Arabian script was used in the Deccan, in writing the language almost from the beginning, and the literature gradually became more and more Muslim and Persian in its attitude, though it retained until the end of the 17th century “a good deal of its Indian vocabulary and Indian literary catchets and cliches.”

The chief centres of Dakhni literature were Gujarat, Bijapur, Golconda, Aurangabad and Bldar. The oldest writer in this ‘Muslim Hindi tradition’ was the famous Sufi Saint Sayyid Muhammad Banda-Nawaz Gesu-Daraz who played an important role in the politics of the Bahmanl kingdom in 1422, as mentioned above (Volume VI, p. 256). He is said to have written over 100 works.

Two great poets flourished in Gujarat in the 16th century, namely, Shah ‘Ali Muhammad Jan Gamodhani, whose poems were collected under the title Jawahiru-l-Asvdr (‘Jewels of Secrets’), and Shaikh Khub Muhammad, who composed Khub Tarang (‘The Waves of Khub’ or ‘The Good Waves’) in 1578.

Dakhni literature was patronised by the Qutb Shahi Sultans of Golconda, one of whom, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1612), was himself a gifted poet. One of his courtiers, Mulla Wajhi, wrote the romantic poem, Qutub Mustari, the theme of which was the love of the Sultan, when still a prince, for a Telugu Hindu girl named “Bhagmati” whom he married, and named the city built in her honour after her, first as “Bhag-nagar” and then after her Muslim name “Haider-Begum”. This became the famous city of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizams and at present of Andhra Pradesh. There were several other good romantic poets in Golconda, such as Ghawwlasi, Ibn-i-Nishati and Tab‘i.

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II (1580-1627), the Sultan of Bijapur, was a great patron of letters and he himself wrote in Dakhni a book on music. Hasan Shawql wrote a heroic poem on the famous battle, generally known as the battle of Talikota (1565) in which the Muslim Sultans of the Deccan won a decisive victory over the mighty king of Vijayanagara. Among other poets may be mentioned RustumI who wrote a poem ‘in epic vein’ (on the story of ‘All, the son-inlaw of the Prophet); Malik Khusnud, the author of the Yusuf-wZulaikha and another romance, both of Persian origin; and Mlran Hashimi. One of the greatest Dakhni poets was a Hindu (Brahmin) who wrote under the Muslim pen-name of Nusrati of whom it has been said that “he excelled in lofty imagination, freshness of subject, and aptness of diction.” He wrote a poem in eulogy of his master

Sultan ‘All Adil Shah II (1656-1672), and also a romance on a Hindu theme —the love-story of Manohar and Madhu-Malati, besides a number of odes and lyrics.

Dakhni literature flourished up to the end of the 17th century, but declined after the conquest of the Deccan and South India by Aurangzlb. By the first half of the eighteenth century, the mantle of Dakhni fell on the newly rising Urdu speech of Delhi into which this “colonial form of a North Indian speech” virtually merged, and Urdu became well-established with its present name by 1750.

1. Sukumar Sen, History of Bengali Literature, p. 96.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

4. For this work, cf. p. 567.

5. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Languages and Literatures of Modern India (Bengal Publishers Private Ltd.), 1963, p. 122.

6. See p. 562.

7. S.K. Chatterji, op. cit., pp. 128-9.

8. Ibid., p. 129.

9. Cf. p. 317.

10. For a full appreciation of Bhalan’s works, see Shastri, Gujarati Sahityanun Rekhadarshana (Khanda 1), pp. 83-95; Vaidya V.K., Gujarati Sahityani Ruparekhd , pp. 46-50 and Munshi K.M., Gujarat and its Literature, p. 168 ff.

11. Shastri calls him the Adikavi of Brajabhasha. op cit., p. 88. According to him, Bhalan was a contemporary of Surdas and was familiar with the poetic compositions in Brajabhasha.

11a. The gagarid or man bhat is peculiar to Gujarat. He has played a great role in the evolution and preservation of dkhydn literature. See Munshi, op. cit. pp. 166-167.

12. This is supported not only by her songs but also an anecdote about her meeting with Sri Jiva Gosvami, a Vaishnava Sanyasi reputed for his learning and exposition of the tenets of Vaishnavism. She had gone to his place at Vrindavan when the saint's disciples stopped her at the door and told her that their master did not see any woman's face. Surprised, Miran gave a poignant but touching retort: "I was under the impression that in this land of Braja there is only one male (Purusha), that Supreme person, and the rest are his gopis . If you have contrived to remain a Purusha despite your stay in Braja, I do not know what to say of your discretion.'' The saint was struck with Mirah's words of unique devotion. He at once realised that what he had learnt from sdstras was dry knowledge. He himself came out to pay homage to her. Ramlal, Bharat ke Sant-Mahatma , pp. 489-490, Bankey Behari, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

13. The earliest collection of her hundred songs gradually increased to more than a thousand. Later poets and devotees of Miran composed songs which they attribute to this mad musician of Lord Krishna.

14. At one time Narasirhha Mehta's date was taken as fixed between 1414 and 1480. According to Munshi, he can reasonably be placed between 1500 and 1580 A.D. See Munshi, op. cit. Note on pp. 199-200.

15. Narasirhha Mehta joyfully sang, unshaken in his faith and love: "Believe me, all worldly pleasure is shadowy. All things except Krishna are ephemeral" (Sukh Sahsari mithya kasi manjo Krishna Vina Bijun Sarva Kachu; Also Bhalu thayuh bhahgi janjdl , sukhe bhajishun Sri Gopal).

16. Joshi Umashankar, Akho Ek Adhyayana, Chapter I, Akhana Chhappd, Introduction, pp. 1-22.

17. Swayamjyoti, Akhana Chhappd, p. 25.

18. Cf. Vaidya, op cit., p. 74.

19. The date of birth of Ekanatha is given variously as 1521, 1528, 1533 and 1548 A.D. The date of death is given as 1599 or 1608, Dr. S. K. Chatterji assigns to him the date 1548-1599.

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20. A somewhat different view about the origin and antiquity of Malayalam is given in Vol. VI, pp. 529-30. Dr. S. K. Chatterji (op. cit. pp. 334-6) fixes the date of modern Malayalam in 1800 A.D.

21. Muhammad Ishaq, India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature, Dacca, 1955, p. 232.

22. Zubaid Ahmad, The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, Jullunder, 1946, p. 17, 42-43. The Kanz al-Ummdl is being published by the Da'irat 'ul Ma'arif-i-Islamlyyah, Hyderabad, in several volumes; so far, nineteen volumes have been brought out.

23. See, for a detailed study of Shaikh 'Abd al-Haq's life and works, K.A. Nizami, Haydt-i- Abdul Haqq, Delhi, 1953; Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, pp. 60—61; cf., Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, Edinburgh, 1969, p. 68.

24. Muhammad Ishaq, op. cit., pp. 146-153.

25. Zubaid Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 20-25.

26. Shi c ru'WAfam, Vol. Ill, p. 67.

27. Zubaid Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 85-86, 191-193.

28. H. K. Sherwani, Cultural Trends in medieval India , Bombay, 1968, p. 83.

29.,' Bankipore Catalogue, Vol. IV, No. 107.

30. 'Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Oxford, 1964, pp. 183-190.

31. S. M. Ikram, Rud-i-Kauthar, Lahore, 1958, pp. 206-208, 213, 222 , 280 , 285.

32. Ibid., pp. 334-335.

33. Haji Khalifa, Kashf al-Zunun, Leipzig, 1835-52, Vol. IV, p. 925; VI, p. 241; VIII, p. 914.

34. Muhammad Ishaq, op. cit., p. 154.

35. Zubaid Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

36. Ibid., pp. 56-59, 127-130.

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39. S.M. Ikram, Muslim Civilization in India, New York, 1964, p. 238.

40. Zubaid Ahmad, op. cit., p. 147.

41. Muhammad Ishaq, op. cit., p. 98.

42. Ibid., 124-129. ’

43. Ibid., pp. 164-165.

44. Dr. M.A. Mu‘id Khan, op. cit., pp. 24-34.

45. Abu-’l-Fazl, Akbar-ndma, Eng. Tr., Calcutta, 1902, p. 278.

46. M.A. Ghani, A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Moghul Court, Allahabad, 1929-30, Part I, pp. 78-80.

47. See Dr. Hadi Hasan, A Golden Treasury of Persian Poetry , Delhi, 1966, for short biographical sketches of poets, along with the specimens of their poetry in Eng. tr.

48. ftndo-Iranica, Calcutta, Vol. XIII, 2, pp. 19-30, Dr. Momin Muhyluddin's article, Sabk-i-Hindi.

49. Cf. for a detailed study of Mughul poetry, Dr. Hadi Hasan, Moghul Poetry: its cultural and historical value, Madras, 1952.

50. The unique Diwan of Humayun, belonging to the Khuda Bakhsh O.P.L., Patna, edited by Dr. Hadi Hasan, has been published at Hyderabad.

51. A. Ghani, op. cit., Part II, pp. 35-36.

52. See Dr. Hadi Hasan, Diwan-i-Kdhi, Calcutta, 1956.

53. S.M. Ikram & P. Spear, The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, O.U.P., pp. 103109.

54. Cf. Z.A. Desai's article. Life and works of Faizi, in Indo-Iranica, Vol. XVI, 1963, No. 3, pp. 1-35; S.M. Ikram, Rud-i-Kauthar, Lahore, 1958, pp. 148-160.

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CHAPTER XX

RELIGION

I. HINDU RELIGION (a) General Review

The majority of Hindus adhered to the orthodox cults of Siva, Sakti, Vishnu, Surya and Ganesa. But conflicting trends of liberalism and catholicity on the one hand, and rigid exclusiveness and conservatism on the other, were noticeable within the Hindu religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of the Vaishnava and Tantric teachers proclaimed the rights of women and :§udras in the spiritual sphere and welcomed the aboriginals and hill tribes living on the borders to the Hindu fold. Efforts were made even to accommodate the Muslim brethren who preferred to adopt Hindu ways of life and thought. But vehement opposition was offered to such tendencies by the writers of digests on the Dharmasastras who laid the greatest possible emphasis on the maintenance of ceremonial purity against contamination from people considered as unclean. Like a tortoise drawing itself within its own shell at the approach of enemy, the Brahmana nibandhakaras tried to maintain the integrity of Hindu religion by keeping themselves away from all contacts with the powerful Muslim community. They tried to regulate the life and conduct of all classes of Hindus in the minutest details for the sake of self-preservation.

The earlier nibandhakaras like Lakshmidhara in the twelfth, Hemadri in the thirteenth and Chandesvara in the fourteenth centuries were influential ministers of independent Hindu rulers like Govindachandra Gahadavala, Mahadeva Yadava and Harisimha of Mithila. They wielded both secular and religious power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had to depend on their religious and intellectual authority or at most on the support of petty chieftains. Rani Durgavati, who fell fighting against Akbar's forces in 1564, engaged Padmanabha Misra to write out a digest in seven volumes, named after her as Durgdvati-prakdsa , but only the first part could be completed before her death and the project had to be given up. Todarmal was only the revenue minister of Akbar and no independent ruler; yet he maintained the tradition of patronising the Smriti writers by engaging a host of scholars to produce the Todarduanda , an encyclopaedia of law, fasts, festivals, purificatory ceremonies, gifts, modes of conduct as well as of astronomy and medicine. In the seventeenth century Mitra Misra wrote his celebrated Vira-mitrodaya under the patronage of Virasimha of Orchha (1605-1627). Nilakantha's patron was Bhagavanta, a Bundela Chief and Anantadeva composed his Smriti-Kaustubha under the shelter of Baz Bahadur (1638-78) of Almora. Of all the later writers of Nibandha } Kesava Pandit alone had administrative experience. He served ShivajI and rose to be a Judge (Dandddhyak sha) under Shambhuji. Eminent Smdrtas like Raghunandana and Ramanath Vidya-Vachaspati of Bengal, Pltambar Siddhanta-Vaglsa of Kamarupa and Kamalakara Bhatta of Maharashtra had no royal patron to back them. But such was the tremendous force of their learning and personality that they were able to counteract much of the liberalising influence of the reformers. The majority of the Hindus remained faithful to the orthodox ideals preached by the Smdrtas.

(b) Religious Rights of the Sudras

The Bhakti movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to raise the status of the non-Brahmanas. Some of them became spiritual preceptors even of Brahmanas. But the orthodox Brahmanas resisted their claims vehemently. Some of the Smdrtas went so far as to condemn the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as Sudras and refused to concede to the latter the rights which they had enjoyed in the twelfth century. The earliest symptom of the conflict between the Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas may be detected in the famous controversy between the Vadagalai and Tengalai schools of Sri Vaishnavas in South India. The Tengalais held that a true devotee belonging to lower castes should be considered as equal to a Brahmana, because such a person rose above all castes and creeds. They further asserted that spiritual knowledge could be obtained through a teacher of the lower order. The Vadagalais were staunch followers of the caste system and they refused to admit the right of anybody excepting a Brahmana to impart spiritual initiation or instruction. 1 The liberal views of Tengalais did not remain confined merely to the theoretical plane. A Tamil copper-plate inscription of 1596 A.D. records that in the reign of Venkatapati Deva, a Sudra priest joined with a large number of other Sudras and made Kandiya

Devar King of Vriddhachalam in the presence of Muttu Krishnappa Nayaka. 2

The theory and practice of the Tengalais appear to have been introduced in Northern India by Gopala Bhatta, the South Indian follower of Chaitanya, through his work, Hari-bhakti Vilasa. He quotes the authority of the Skanda-Purana to show that not only the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas but also the Sudras and women have got the right of worshipping the Sdlagrdma-sild? Sanatana Gosvamin supports this proposition in his commentary on the above work by quoting the authorities of the Vdyu, Ndradiya and Bhdgavata Purdnas as well as the Hayaslrsa-Pdnchardtra. He also alludes to the practice of the saintly persons in the Madhyadesa, and especially of the best of the !Sri Vaishnavas of the south as valid proof for the same. It is noteworthy that his ancestors belonged to Karnatak and his great-grandfather, Fadmanabha, settled down in Bengal. He was, therefore, familiar with the southern customs. He also cites the authority of the Bhdgavata and the commentary of iSridharasvamin to prove that the Vaishnavas, even though born of lower castes, are not only equal to the Brahmanas but also superior to them. 4 He then refers to the story of Priyavrata in the Brahma-Vaivarta-Purdna wherein is related the fact that a hunter named Dharmavyadha worshipped the Sdlagrdma-sild. But in subsequent times the Brahmanas managed to interpolate certain verses in the aforesaid Purdna prohibiting the Sudras from worshipping the Sdlagrdma-sild. 5

Some of the non-Brahmana followers of Chaitanya became spiritual preceptors not only of the three lower orders but also of the Brahmanas themselves. Narahari Sarkar of Srlkhanda, Burdwan, belonging to the Vaidya caste, had many Brahmana disciples. Narottama Thakura, who was a Kayastha by caste, gave initiation to Brahmanas like Ganganarayana Chakravarti, Ramakrishna Chakravarti and Dvija Basanta. 6 In Maharashtra Tukaram, a Sudra saint in the seventeenth century, likewise made some Brahmana disciples. Similarly in Assam &ahkaradeva and his principal disciple, Madhavadeva, were Kayasthas by birth, but recruited many disciples including Brahmanas. They had to face, however, severe opposition from the Brahmanas. Many of the Brahmana disciples of

Madhavadeva such as Gopal Deb, Hari Deb and Damodar Deb seceded from him in the seventeenth century and founded separate communities. They became known as Bamunia Gosains. They insisted on the strict observance of the caste system and refused to admit the authority of any but a Brahmana to give spiritual initiation. They seem to have made a compromise with the iSakti cult as is indicated by their taking of the flesh of goats, pigeons and ducks. 7

A great saint like Tulsidas also appeared in the role of champion of the exclusive rights of the Brahmanas to be spiritual teachers.

While describing the conduct of people in the Kali age he sarcastically remarks that the &udras contend against the Brahmanas and assert that they are in no way inferior to the Brahmanas and further allege that the real Brahmanas are those who know the Brahman. He states with evident regret that the Sudras now impart knowledge to the Brahmanas, take the sacred thread and accept reprehensible gifts. He further adds that those who belong to the lowest castes like oilmen, potters, Chandalas, Kiratas, Kols and Kalwar, or those who have lost their wife or property, get their head shaved and become Sannyasis; they get their feet worshipped by Brahmanas and thus destroy their prospects in this as well as in the other world. Finally he remarks ruefully that the Sudras presume to perform japa, austerities and vratas and to teach the Pumnas from an exalted seat. 8 This is certainly a fling at the popularity of Ravidas, the shoe-maker, Dharna the Jat, Sena the barber and other religious teachers belonging to the non-Brahmana castes.

The writers of Nibandhas made determined efforts to prevent the non-Brahmanas from usurping their rights and privileges. They stoutly refused to concede to the Sudras the right to worship the Salagrama^sila. Kamalakara Bhatta, who flourished in Maharashtra in the seventeenth century, had considerable sympathy for the Sudras. But he, too, stated that the Sudras should not read the Pumnas themselves but should engage Brahmanas to expound these. 9 But Lakshmidhara in the first quarter of the twelfth century had recognised the right of the Sudras to read the Pumnas and recite the Pauranic mantras. Kamalakara allowed the Sudras only to repeat the thirteen-lettered Rama -mantra (Sri Rama, jaya Rama, jay a jaya Rama) and five-lettered Siva -mantra (Namah Sivdya). Both

Raghunandana of eastern India and Kamalakara of western India allowed the Sudras to perform Vratas and make gifts to Brahmanas, but they prohibited them from reciting the appropriate ma/ntras which were to be uttered by the priest, while his unfortunate client was simply allowed to repeat the word Namah (Obeisance). 10

Raghunandana of Navadvipa (Nadia), who introduced himself as the son of Harihara Bhattacharyya belonging to the Vandyaghatlya section, was the greatest of digest-writers on Dharmasastra in the sixteenth century. He wrote as many as twenty-eight works on different aspects of the social and religious life of the Hindus and all these are collectively known as the Smrititattva. He appears to have been indebted to his teacher Srmatha Acharya Chudamani (c. 1470-1540 A.D.) for some of the titles of his books. In his

Jyotishtattva he illustrates a certain proposition by referring to the Saka year 1489 (1567 A.D.) and it shows that he must have been alive up to that year at least. In less than half a century his authority was recognised all over northern and western India, as is proved by his views having been quoted in the Nirnayasindhu written by Kamalakara Bhatta in 1612 A.D. Raghunandana was a valiant champion of the rights of the Brahmanas. This may be illustrated by a simple example. It is stated in the Agastya-Samhitd that a person's worshipping of the deity becomes fruitless if he offers flowers from trees and plants owned by another person without securing his permission. 11 Raghunandana states in his Ahnikatattva as well as the Ekddasitattva that this dictum is not applicable to the twice-born classes. 12 He thus gives a free license to the twice-born castes to take away flowers from other people's gardens without taking the permission of the proprietor.

To Raghunandana the Brahmanas were the only twice-born caste. Citing the authority of the Manusamhitd and the Vishnu Purdna he came to the conclusion that the Kshatriyas had ceased to exist ever since the time of Mahapadma Nanda and like the Kshatriyas the Vaisyas and Ambashthas too had become Sudras on account of non-performance of appropriate duties. 13 Thus the Hindus, according to him, were classified into two categories—the Brahmanas and Sudras. Kamalakara Bhatta accepted this theory, 14 though Kesava Pandit, who was associated with the Judicial Department under Shivaji, Shambhuji and Rajaram, recognised the existence of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas and prescribed different penalties for reviling persons of different castes. In Orissa, too, the law-book attributed to Prataparudra ordained difference in the degree of penalty to be awarded to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas for slander and libel. 15 Anantadeva, whose patron Baz Bahadur ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A.D., defines a grama or village as a place inhabited by Brahmanas and Sudras, and a purl or town as one where besides the above mentioned castes, the Kshatriyas also reside. * A pattana, according to him, is one in which the Kshatriyas, duly installed, and the Vaisyas, fit to carry on business, dwell together. A Kheta is one where the three higher castes reside and live upon agriculture; a nagara is one where all the castes including the mixed ones reside and the area of which is four times that of an ordinary Kheta. 16

This question assumed great importance during the reign of Shivaji. With the support of Gagabhatta, Shivaji succeeded in restoring to the Syennavis, Chandrasenlyas, Kayasthas, Marathas and some other castes the rights and privileges of Shodasa-Samskdras.

Raghunandana conceded only one Sa 7 hskara, namely marriage, to the ISudras. 17 In a royal decree, dated 28 January, 1677, ShivajI called himself a Kshatriya and referred to the Vaisyas also. 18 All these go to show that Raghunandana’s theory about the existence of the Brahmanas and iSudras only in the Hindu religious fold was not accepted by many. Raghunandana wrote a special book entitled Sudrakriyd-Vichdra-tattva for ascertaining the religious rites and ceremonies which the ISudras were entitled to perform.

(c) The Tantrik Cults

The Tantras did not make much discrimination between the Brahmanas and non-Brahmanas in the spiritual sphere. They admitted the right of all classes to the Tantrik Gayatri and Sandhyd. All were entitled to read the Tantras and recite the Tantrik mantras. But it must be admitted that the Tantras recognised castes for all secular purposes. 19

Tantricism had fallen into disrepute in the early middle age. But earnest and sustained efforts were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to purge it of baser elements. The Kdmakhyd Tantra classifies the Tantrik worshippers into three groups —the Divyas, Viras and Pasus. Men with the Divya disposition are contented, fearless, truthful, attentive to all and loved by all. They have been compared to Siva. Those who are of Vira disposition are so strong, vigorous, courageous and enterprising as to inspire fear in the minds of the Pasus, who are slaves to the six passions, namely lust, anger, greed, pride, illusion and envy. According to the Kularnava Tantra, the Sakti of the pasu is not awakened. The same Tantra explains the true significance of the much abused five M's (pancha-makdra) . The nectar which flows from the union of the KundalinI sakti with Siva at the sahasrara in the head is true wine. He who kills by the sword of jnana the animals of merit and demerit and devotes his mind to the supreme iSiva is the true eater of flesh. He who controls all his senses and places them in his Atman truly takes fish. He who is permeated by the bliss which arises out of the union of the supreme sakti and Atman, enjoys the true union; others are mere fornicators. 20 That this is not a mere idealised picture is proved by Muhsin Fan!, an acute Muslim observer, who states that in 1623 A.D. he migrated in his infancy from Patna to Akbarabad with his relatives and came under the influence of Chaturvapah (d. 1637) and his disciple Ganesa. 21 He writes that when a learned sakta was shown a statement in a book counselling immorality, he said that the text was contrary to custom and no such thing was to be found in the ancient books.

The Muslim author refers to a class of Saktas who never drink wine and never indulge in adultery. 22

A number of saintly scholars produced a number of Tantric treatises during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus Mahldhara, a citizen of Ahichhatra settled at Varanasi, wrote the Mantra-mahodadhi in 1589 A.D. Brahmananda Giri, the celebrated author of the Sdktdnanda-tarangini and Tdra-rahasya must have been earlier than him, because his disciple Purnananda's Saktakrama was written in 1571 A.D. Brahmananda elaborates the various rites to be performed in the course of the worship of Sakti. Furnananda was a more voluminous writer. His treatises covered subjects ranging from abstruse philosophy to magical rites in connection with the Tantrik ceremonies. He was born in a village Katihali, in the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. He made many disciples in East and

North Bengal and his descendants held the position of hereditary gurus for many generations. Another Tantric writer of the sixteenth century was Sankara of Gauda (Bengal) who bore the title of Agamacharya. In his Tdrd-rahasyavarttika he explains the mode of worshipping Tara with special reference to the method of initiation and purification. 223 The most famous author of this sect was Krishnananda Agamavaglsa of Navadvlpa. His Tantrasdra is a work of high authority not only in Bengal but also in the whole of northern India. As he quotes from Purnananda's SrUattva-chintdmani 23 which was written in 1577 A.D., he must have flourished some time after that date. Ramatoshana Vidyalamkara who compiled the Prdna-toshani-tantra in 1820, was seventh in descent from Krishnananda; it may therefore be presumed that the latter flourished in the seventeenth century. 24 Those who hold that he was a contemporary of Chaitanya depend on uncorroborated legends. Another Bengali writer on the Tantras was Raghunatha Tarkavaglsa who wrote the Agama-tattvavildsa at Napada in Andul near Calcutta in 1687 A.D. Though north-western India in earlier times and north-eastern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries happened to be citadels of Tiantricism, yet other parts of India were not free from its influence. A Brahmana of the Kanchl region, named Srinivasa Bhatta

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Gosvamin went on pilgrimage to Jalandhara and was initiated by a Tantrik preceptor, Sundaracharya, who asked him to settle down at Varanasi. He wrote several works on the method of worshipping Siva, Chandl, Ganesa, Vishnu and Surya. His son Jagannivasa became the spiritual preceptor of a number of ruling chiefs, of whom the most notable was Devlsimha of Bundel. Jaitrasimha

of the Vaghela dynasty was the author of a work relating to the method of worshipping Bhairava.

Not only the !&aivas and Saktas but also the Vaishnavas drew upon the Tantras. Sanatana Gosvamin relates how one of the heroes of his Brihat-Bhdgavatdmnta, an ignorant Brahmana of Pragjyotisapura, used to worship the goddess Kamakshya sincerely. The goddess revealed to him in a dream the ten-lettered Gopdlamantra and instructed him' how to meditate on it, as well as the way of performing worship.^ 5 It is worth noting that this is the very mantra with which Isvara-Purl initiated Chaitanya at Gaya. Sanatana Gosvamin in his commentary on the tenth Book of the Bhaga vata-Purdna has cited the authority of the Trailokya Sammohanatantra 26 and the Rudra-Ydmala-tantra. 21 Gopala Bhatta has quoted the authority of many of the Tantras like the Gautamdya Tantra 28 Trailokya-Sammohana-T antra 29 Ndrada Tantra 30 Sammohana Tantra 31 and Sanatkumdra Tantra 32

The Sakta PUhas or holy places were originally four or seven in number, but these were spread over the whole of India. When Krishnananda Agamavaglsa wrote his Tdntrasdra, the number swelled to fifty-one, of which only two were located in Bengal. But the Pithanirnaya , written probably in Bengal towards the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, claims nearly one-third of the total number of Fithas for Bengal alone. 33 This probably illustrates the popularity of the &akta cult in Bengal. This is also supported by Mukundarama ChakravartI, who mentions a large number of places associated with the !§akti cult in his Chandy-mangala 34 written towards the close of the sixteenth century. The poet’s grandfather was a strict vegetarian, his village deity was Chakraditya and he begins his work with hymns to Ganesa, &iva, Sarasvati, Chaitanya, Rama, Lakshmi, Chandi and Sukadeva Gosvamin. Though his ostensible object was glorifying Chandi, he did not miss any opportunity of praising the Vaishnavas and their tenets. 35

Despite the serious attempts of learned scholars and holy ascetics to reform the Tantrik &akti cult, certain sections of people continued to follow the path of sensual enjoyment in the name of religion. Kaslnatha Bhatta Bhada, alias 'Sivanandanatha, who flourished at Varanasi in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries had to write a series of books to refute the Vdmdcharti or the Leftist doctrines and practices which, according to him, were widely prevalent in those days. He, however, claimed to have established the Dakshinackdra or the Rightist form of worship on a firm footing. 36

The Aghorepanthls whose horrible practices were condemned by Bhavabhuti and Rajasekhara continued to exist even up to the seventeenth century. A revolting account of their most abominable ways of life has been given in the Dablstdn? 1

(d) The gaivas

No new movement appears to have arisen amongst the Saivas during the period under survey. But a large proportion of the people continued to be followers of Saivism. Appayya Dikshita (1520-1592), the famous author of more than one hundred works on diverse subjects, attempted to build up a synthesis between Vedantic monism, Saivism and the Siddhanta or Agama schools. His synthetic doctrine known as the Ratna-traya-parikshd seeks to establish the identity of Sahkara-Parvatl and :&ahkara-Narayana concepts. He lived under the patronage of the Nayakas of Vellore. Tayumanavar, a famous Saiva saint of the seventeenth century, also preached the unity between the Vedanta and the Saiva Siddhanta. He was a high official in the court of the Nayaka ruler of Tiruchirappalli. It is said that as the widowed queen offered herself and the kingdom to him he gave her noble advice and left the kingdom in search of spiritual life. A group of five great saints, namely &ivaprakasa I, iSantalihga, Kumaradeva, Sivaprakasa II and Chidambara Svamin, all belonging to the Vlrasaiva or Lihgayata sect, flourished in the seventeenth century and composed beautiful hymns and scholarly treatises.

Some of the Saivas in the sixteenth century practised satydgraha and self-immolation in defence of their religious beliefs. Fr. N. Pimenta relates that he saw with his own eyes a group of Saiva priests at Chidambaram offering resistance to Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee in 1597, when the latter placed a gilded pole called Sign of Perimal at the Govindaraja shrine there. As the prince did not care to yield to their opposition, they climbed the towers and ‘cast themselves down’ in his presence and twenty of them died instantaneously. At this Krishnappa got angry and ordered the rest of the priests to be killed. Two of them thus lost their life and seeing this a woman ‘cut her own throat’. 38

In Bengal Saivism in its popular form underwent a remarkable change. The tribal deity of the aboriginal Koch tribe in North Bengal appears to have been identified with Rudra-iSiva in this period. Mukundarama Chakravarti slightly touches upon the infatuation of the Koch women for Siva. This theme has been elaborated with great gusto by Ramesvara, a poet of the early eighteenth century, in his givtiyana . The same poet has depicted Siva as a peasant cultivator, because his wife Parvatl failed to supply adequate food to her sons out of the alms secured by him.

(e) Contending Religious Forces in Eastern India

Assam, Cooch Behar and Tripura were strongholds of the &akti cult. Human beings used to be sacrificed on special occasions in all these places. Gait quotes the authority of the Haft Iqlim to show that some Ahoms used to offer themselves for sacrifice to a tribal goddess called Ai at the time of her annual festival. Such people were known as Bhogis. They were allowed to do whatever they liked from the day they expressed their desire to sacrifice their life. Rich and nourishing food was supplied to them with a view to making their body plump, as the goddess was supposed to have been specially pleased with such victims. 39 Raja Nara Narayana of Cooch Behar (c. 1555-87 A.D.) erected a new temple of Kamakhya and on the day of its consecration sacrificed as many as one hundred and forty men and offered their heads to the goddess on copper salvers. 40 The Rajamdld states that Maharaja Dhanyama^dkya of Tripura (c. 1490-1514 A.D.) stopped the practice of sacrificing annually one thousand human beings before the fourteen gods and goddesses, that is Siva, Durga, Hari, Lakshmi, Sarasvatl, Kartika, Ganesa, Brahma, the Earth, Sea, Ganges, Fire, Kamadeva and the Himalayas, the titular deities of the royal family of Tripura. He ordained that only the worst criminals and captives of war should be offered as sacrifices. Rajadhara, son of Amaramanikya, who ruled between 1586 and 1600, became a convert to Vaishnavism. He built an excellent temple of Vishnu and engaged singers to sing kirtana songs all the twenty-four hours. According to the tradition current in the Nityananda family it was Gopljanavallabha, the son of VIrabhadra, who took the lead in introducing Vaishnavism in Tripura. Bloody sacrifices, however, did not cease till Govindamanikya took effective steps to prevent them in the second half of the seventeenth century.

&ankaradeva, born about 1487 A.D. 41 of a Kayastha family of feudal chiefs of the Brahmaputra valley, 41a introduced Vaishnavism in Kamarupa and Cooch Behar. His biographers relate that he did not get congenial atmosphere in Assam under the Ahom King Chuhungmung Svargadeo (c. 1497-1539 A.D.) for the propagation of his faith and that he fled to the domains of Raja Nara Narayana of Cooch Behar. The latter allowed him liberty to preach his religion. Madhavadeva, the greatest of his disciples, met him for the first time in 1522 A.D. and accompanied him to Cooch Behar in 1543. Sankaradeva and Madhavadeva appear to have attained great success in their mission in the kingdom of Nara Narayana. Fitch who visited his kingdom in the latter part of the sixteenth century writes of the conduct of the people: “There they be gentiles and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any sick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals and keep it in their hospitals or let it go”. The Vaishnava movement attracted some tribal people too. The rulers of the Heramba principality in Cachar became followers of §ahkaradeva. Madhavadeva writes in his Nam-Ghosha: “Garos, Bhutias, Muslims take the name of Hari; it is a pity such Harimdma is criticised by some of the learned”. 42 Some Brahmanas became their disciples but the majority of them remained hostile to them. Raja Rudra Simha (1696-1714) compelled the &udra Gosains to wear a distinctive badge round their neck and prohibited the Brahmanas from showing reverence to them.

The sect founded by Sankaradeva and Madhavadeva is known as the Mahapurushias. Some European savants imagined them as followers of Chaitanya’s school. 43 But there are four fundamental points of difference between the two. Firstly, ISahkaradeva considers God as formless and does not believe in image worship, which the Bengal Vaishnavas consider essential. Secondly, salvation is considered the objective of spiritual life by iSahkaradeva while the followers of Chaitanya spurn it and yearn for loving servitude of Radha and Krishna. Thirdly, ISahkaradeva does not recognise Radha at all. Fourthly, the Bengal Vaishnavas recite the sixteen names beginning with the words, Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna, but the Assam Vaishnavas recite only four names, Rama Krishna, Rama Krishna, 44 The chief centres of propagation of Sankaradeva’s religion were the satras, or refuge of devotees. At the centre of the satra lies the Ndmaghara, where either the Gita or the Bhalgavata is kept on the pedestal and the holy name is recited.

iSahkaradeva led the life of a householder with his wife and children, but Madhavadeva remained an ascetic. Some time after the latter's death in 1596 A.D. several sub-sects sprang up. Vaihsi Gopaladeva founded a number of satras in Upper Assam and installed a stone image Govinda at Kurua Banhi. His spiritual preceptor, Damodaradeva, was the founder of the Brahma r Sam hati or Bdmunia school. Another school was founded by Aniruddhadeva, who had to secede from the main body because he could not resist the temptation of introducing some of the occult practices of Tantricism in the Vaishnava rituals. Many of his followers were

fishermen, who lived on catching the mod fish and hence the name of the sect became Mod Maria, the catchers of mod fish. But the apologists of the school explained the name as the Maya Maria or killer of nescience. The Thakuria sect was organised by §ankaradeva's grandson, Purushottama Thakur, who was originally a follower of Madhavadeva. Another follower of the latter, named Gopaladeva also seceded and founded the school known as Kala Samhati.

A careful perusal of the Chaitanya Bhdgavata, written by Vrindavana Dasa, the last disciple of Nityananda, some time between 1546 and 1550 A.D., reveals the division of Chaitanya's followers also into various sub-sects. Chaitanya died in 1533 and Nityananda and Advaita must have passed away some time before the composition of this work. This author states that an attempt was made by some people to identify Advaita with Krishna. 45 At another place he says that those who neglect Chaitanya and worship Advaita are doomed, be they even the sons of Advaita. 46 A rift was noticeable between the followers of Gahgadhara and those of Advaita. 47 The number of traducers of Nityananda was so large that Vrindavana Dasa had to undertake the writing of this work mainly with a view to extolling his virtues. Nityananda did not observe any of the social conventions. This might be one of the reasons why Rupa Gosvamin and Raghunatha Dasa did not mention his name in any of their works. Vrindavana Dasa severely condemns those who do not show proper respect to Nityananda. He also deprecates the section of devotees who take delight in describing Chaitanya as

a lover of women like Krishna. Narahari Sarkar of Srikhanda was

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the chief protagonist of such a section and that is why Vrindavana Dasa does not mention his name even once in his book. Narahari also took the lead in initiating his followers with the mantra associated with the name of Chaitanya. The theology of the Bengal Vaishnavas was formulated at Vrindavana by the six Gosvamls, Sanatana and Rupa and their nephew Jiva, Gopala Bhatta, Raghunatha Bhatta and Raghunatha Dasa. These Gosvamls drew their inspiration from Chaitanya indeed, but they inculcated the doctrine of worshipping Radha and Krishna. To them Chaitanya was more a means to an end than an end in himself. Their works were brought from Vrindavana to Bengal by Srinivasa A chary a, the disciple of Gopala Bhatta. Srinivasa was able to convert Vira Hamblr, the powerful ruler of Bishnupur in the district of Bankura in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Vira Hamblr constructed some magnificent temples dedicated to Krishna at Bishnupur and composed a few beautiful lyrics in

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Bengali. In one of these poems he states that it was Srinivasa Acharya who showed him the way of devotional life and made him discard the princely arrogance. 48 But history relates that he did not give up fighting, sometimes on behalf of the Mughuls and occasionally against them, even as late as 1608. Narottama Thakur and Syamananda, two of the associates of Srinivasa Acharya, took prominent part in propagating Vaishnavism in Bengal and Orissa respectively. The former brought about a synthesis between the different schools of Bengal Vaishnavism and held a grand festival at Khetari about the year 1582 A.D. to signalise the fact. The images of Radha and Krishna along with those of Chaitanya and his two wives were installed there on the anniversary of the birthday of Chaitanya. Narottama also introduced the Gadanhatl school of Klrtana song on that occasion. Jahnava Devi, widow of Nityananda, was accepted as the undisputed leader of the vast congregation of the Vaishnavas. It was at her instance that the various religious ceremonies were performed. She undertook three trips to Vrindavana and was received with unique honour by the Vaishnava authors and preceptors there. She is credited with propagating the religion in the localities through which she passed. 49 Slta Devi, the wife of Advaita, did not come out of the pardah but she, too, introduced a new sub-sect in which the male devotees took the garb of women. Buchanan Hamilton found the chief seat of the Sakhlbhava Vaishnavas at Jangalitala near Gauda and discovered that it was established by Slta ThakuranI, who initiated two male disciples and named them Jangall and Nandinl. 50 He noticed that the sect was popular amongst the lower order of the people.

Biographies and accounts of Vaishnavas written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reveal that out of the 490 leading followers of Chaitanya there were as many as 239 Brahmanas, 37 Vaidyas and 29 Kayasthas. 51 But the majority of the rank and file of the Bengal Vaishnavas belonged to other castes, residing mainly in West Bengal and North Bengal. Vaishnavism was carried to East Bengal by the followers of Narottama Thakur later on. An eminent historian states that Chaitanya took up the noble mission of improving the lot of the lower castes and untouchables by bringing them in his fold and according them equal status with the socalled higher castes. 52 This is why the whole of the prosperous merchant class known as the Suvarnavaniks which had been degraded by Ballalasena out of spite accepted Vaishnavism. But the virile Namasudra or Chandala caste residing in East Bengal continued to be votaries of the Sakti cult. Many influential Brahmanas, Vaidyas and Kayasthas, too, remained attached to Saktism.

Some cases of conversion of high caste &aktas to Vaishnavism are described in the Premavilcisa, Bhakti-ratndkara and Narottamavilasa, but these must have been exceptional. At the same time it is worth noting that Brahmana poets like Mukundarama Chakravartl in his Chandir-mangala, Rupamma Chakravarti in his Dharmamangala and a Kayastha poet like Ketakadasa Kshemananda in his Manasd-mangala have made obeisance to Chaitanya and to his Vai§hnava followers. Both the &aktas and the &aivas rendered homage to Manasa, the goddess of snakes, i&itala, the goddess of small-pox, Shashthi, the patron goddess of children, and to Dharma, who is supposed to have been the incarnation of Buddha. Some of the Buddhist Sahajiyas became Vaishnava Sahajiyas. Some of the earliest works of the latter were written in the seventeenth century. Thus Rasika-dasa composed the Rasatattva-sara in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Akinchana-dasa wrote the Vivartavilasa in the middle of the century and the Agama was copied in 1688. 53 These works extol extra-marital love and hold that the union of the human and divine is literally possible. 541

In Orissa the Brahmanas were attached more to the cults of Sakti and 3§iva than to Vaishnavism. The existence of the Gopinatha temple at Remuna and the Janardana temple at Alalnatha proves that Vaishnavism had some followers in Orissa before the advent of Chaitanya. Rai Ramananda wrote the drama Jagannatha-mangala, depicting the love of Radha and Krishna before he met Chaitanya. Gopijanavallabha in his Rasika-mahgala, written in 1660 A.D., states that the masses of people as well as the feudal chieftains were addicted to wine, women and other vices, and they were hostile to the kirtana song and to the Vaishnavas, whom they drove away from villages. 55 If this description is to be relied on, the conclusion becomes inevitable that Vaishnavism could not make much progress during the lifetime of Chaitanya. Five great poets of Orissa, namely, Jagannatha-dasa, Balarama-dasa, Achyutananda, Ananta and Yasovanta-dasa, were collectively known as the Panchasakhas or five friends. In the $ unya-samhitd, written by Achyutananda it is related that all of them danced and performed kirtana song in the company of Chaitanya. 56 Some of them are said to have been initiated by Chaitanya, Nityananda and Sanatana Gosvamin. But the internal evidence furnished by their writings shows that they were crypto-Buddhists. There were some fundamental points of difference in the doctrine and mode of worship between them and the Bengal school of Vaishnavism. The sub-sect founded by Jagannatha-dasa is known as the Ati-badl (too great) sect. The Oriyas claim that this appellation was given by Chaitanya in appreciation

of the Bhagavata written by Jagannatha-dasa 57 , but the Bengali Vaishnavas treat it as a term of deprecation. 58

The credit of making Chaitanyaism popular in Orissa goes to Syamananda and his disciple Rasikananda. The former was a Sadgopa and the latter a Karana by caste. Syamananda studied the Vaishnava scriptures at Vrindavana under Jiva Gosvamin. Rasikananda converted a number of feudal lords, the chief of whom was Vaidyanath Bhahjdeo of Rajgarh. Not only the Hindus but also many aborigines and a few Muslims became converts to Vaishnavism. 59

(f) Vaishnavism in Northern India

A great wave of Vaishnavism passed through the length and breadth of northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was much more emotional than the movement which originated in southern India in earlier centuries. According to the Vallabhachari sect the area between Varanasi and Prayaga was the citadel of the Sakti cult before the advent of their Master. 60 But a remarkable change took place not only in this area but also in the whole of Northern India on account of the activities of disciples and admirers of Vallabhacharya, Hita Harivamsa, Haridasa SvamI, Srlbhafta and, above all, of Tulsidasa.

The Pnshtimdrga or religion of grace set up by Vallabhacharya (1479-1531) was fully organised and developed by his son Vitthalanatha (1516-1576). While Vallabha laid emphasis on serving Krishna mentally 61 , Vitthala introduced the practice of worshipping the deity eight times a day with vocal and instrumental music and offering him daintiest food. Vallabha has not mentioned the name of Radha in his Knshnasraya and ChatuhslokH, though her name occurs in the Krishna-vremamrita , Krishnashtaka and Purushottama sahasra-stotra , ascribed to him. Vitthala is extremely devoted to Radha. He says that it is through her grace that one is able to perform worship and meditation. He holds the sweet speech of Radha dearer than salvation itself 62 . He engaged Kumbhan-dasa, Surdas, Paramananda-dasa and Krishna-dasa, four of the disciples of his father, and Govindasvami, ChhitasvamI, Chaturbhuja-dasa and Nandadasa, four of his own disciples, to compose and sing songs celebrating the love of Radha and Krishna. These eight prominent poets became collectively known as the Ashta-chhapa or the Eight Diestamps producing coins in the shape of poems. 63 Vitthala undertook extensive proselytising tours to Dvaraka, Cutch, Malwa, Mewar and other parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat and made innumerable disciples. Of these, two hundred and fifty-two were most prominent and their life is described in a big work. Vitthalanatha finally settled

down, at Gokul. He had seven sons and four daughters. His fourth son, Gokulanathji (1552-1610) was a gifted author and com* mentator. His most notable work is the Chaurdsl Vdrtd. Each of the seven sons of Vitthala established his gaddi or own seat of teaching in Rajasthan, Gujarat and the neighbourhood of Mathura, and helped to diffuse the teachings of the sect. The profession of spiritual teacher became strictly hereditary amongst the male descendants of Vitthalanatha. In most of the temples of the sect the child • •

Krishna is worshipped. 64

The most prominent poet of the sect is Surdas (c. 1478-1581). From his own writing we learn that he completed his Sur-sdrdvall in 1545 A.D. when he was sixty-seven years old. Vallabha depicts Radha as the eternal spouse of Krishna. Surdas gives an elaborate description of the marriage of Radha with Krishna, but she is not portrayed as settling down to conjugal life, exhibiting the wifely virtues like Sita or Savitri. This is why her marriage with Krishna has been called a marriage of theological convenience, for it makes their relationship more proper. 65 Unlike the Gaudlya Vaishnava poets, Surdas takes delight in describing the manifestation of the supreme powers of Krishna in his sports with friends of both the sexes. His Krishna tells Radha: “Living in Vraja, you have forgotten yourself; know that Prakriti and Purusha are the same, there is a difference only in word”. 66 To the poets and theologians of the Chaitanyaite sect Radha is the hlddinl sakti (the energy of infinite bliss) of Krishna.

The Radha-Vallabhl sect, founded by Hita Harivaihsa (c. 15031553), assigns to Radha a place superior even to Krishna. Those who are content with the love of Krishna and do not know Radha are satisfied with a mere drop of nectar while neglecting the ocean of nectar, which is Radha. 67 Commenting on this verse by the founder of the sect, Harilal Vyasa says that Radha is the only object of worship; she is the spiritual preceptor and also the mantra itself. Farquhar relates that one of the votaries of the sect told him: “Krishna is the servant of Radha. He may do the coolie-work of building the world, but Radha sits as queen. He is at best but her Secretary of State”. 68 The Gaudlya Vaishnavas hold that Hita Harivaihsa was originally a disciple of Gopala Bhatta, but as he took the food offered to the deities on the day of fasting he was discarded. The temple of Radha Vallabha at Vrindavana was constructed in 1585 A.D., according to an inscription which is missing. But an inscription on one of the pillars of the temple gives the date as 1626 A.D. The plan of the temple is much the same as that of Harideva of Govardhan, which was visited by Chaitanya, though it is on a much larger scale. Muhsin Fan! wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century that the Radha-Vallabhls ‘‘deliver their wives to the disposition of their preceptors and masters and hold this praiseworthy”. 69 But this writer must have confused the Radha-Vallabhi sect with the sect of Vallabhacharya. The latter has been held up to ridicule for such a practice in a dramatic work in Sanskrit, entitled Pdkhanda Dlnarma Khandana, written in 1639 A.D. It is stated in this work that the “chief religion of the worshippers of Vallabha is the offering of one’s son, daughter and wife—not the worship of Brahmanas learned in the Vedas, not the observance of hospitality, the Sraddhas and the Vratas ”. Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on such writings. Tod in his Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan speaks highly of Damodara, the head of the sect in Marwar and writes: “his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable”.

Another Vaishnava sect was founded by Haridasa-svamI, the spiritual preceptor of the celebrated musician Tansen. The BhdkSindhu states that Haridasa was born in Samvat 1441 and died in 1537 and at the same time describes him as a contemporary of Akbar. If we take the word Samvat for the Saka, his dates will fall between 1519 and 1615 A.D. Growse showed that as there followed only eight Mahants after Haridasa up to the Samvat 1825, Haridasa must have flourished at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. 70 The Bhaktamdla describes him as a veritable Gandharva for his melodious songs. Akbar is said to have visited him with presents. Nabhajl writes that at his door a king stood waiting in hope of an interview. The famous temple of Biharljl or Banke Biharijl belongs to this sect and it is visited by more people than any other temple at

Vrindavana. In 1876 Growse found some five hundred descendants of SvamI Haridasa managing this temple.

The Rama cult popularised by Ramananda found its greatest poet

in Tulsidasa (1532-1623). He did not establish any sect nor did he

set up any big temple. But his Rdmacharita Mdnasa (1574) exerts

a much greater influence in moulding the religion of the people of the

Hindi-speaking regions than any other book or religious reformer.

He also wrote eleven other works. The writer of the Dablstdn found

the followers of Rama cult purer in character than the devotees of

Krishna. 71 • •

This author mentions a sect known as the Manushya Bhaktas or worshippers of mankind. They knew no being more perfect than mankind 72 and recognised the being of God in man. Such an idea occurs in a poem ascribed to the Bengali poet Chandidasa. But the idea is as old as the Mahabhdrata itself. 73

(g) Bhakti movement in Western India

The Bhakti movement in Western India, which had become powerful at the time of Jnanes\ ara, received a new impetus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 74 One of its greatest exponents was Eknath who completed his brilliant exposition of the eleventh book of the Bhdgavata Parana in 1572 A.D. His date has been discussed above (p. 630, f.n. 19). He expounded the ChatnhslokI Bhdgavata in 1036 verses and also composed twenty-six abhangas called Haripdth. These works proved a great spiritual force in Maharashtra and helped to create there a sense of unity amongst different classes in society. Though a Brahmana by caste, he proved a champion of equality of rights in the spiritual sphere and a great advocate of the popular dialect. He sings the glory of the Kali age, which has been condemned as an accursed age by the orthodox writers: “Blessed is this Kali age, in spite of its wickedness, because we can attain salvation simply by singing the glory of Hari. All castes, all creeds, assemble together and praise the Lord according to their knowledge and faith. Your sex or caste does not count.... This kirtana is the privilege of the lowest and meanest person. It will deepen your faith and strengthen your spirit. Even the happiness of mukti sinks into insignificance before the ecstasy of kirtana". 15 These words strongly recall the preachings of Chaitanya. Ekniath once gave to the Mahars the food prepared as an offering to his forefathers. The influence he exercised on all classes of people was extraordinary. For example, Ramavallabha-das, son of the Prime Minister of Devagiri, happened to get a copy of his Bhdgavata during a raid on a place and considering this as a divine favour he gave himself up entirely to religious meditation. 76

Tukarlam (1608-1649) has been called the supreme exponent of Bhakti in Maharashtra. He was a great devotee of Rama and performed kirtana consisting of religious discourses interspersed with songs which attracted crowds of people. The songs were mostly composed by Tukaram himself in a metre known by the name of Abhafig. Hundreds of his Abhangs have been collected and published. Their teaching is that God is to be attained by devoted love and by no other means. In several of his abhangs he thanks God that he was born in the Sudra caste and during a famine lost his money and one of his wives was crying for food. 77 In another abhang he writes: "I was born in a Sudra family, thus was set free from all pride. Now it is thou who are my father and mother, O Lord of Pandhari. I have no authority to study the Vedas; I am helpless in every way, humble in caste says Tuka". He describes

himself as initiated into Vaishnavism by a wandering devotee called Babaji, who said that his predecessors were Raghava Chaitanya and Kesava Chaitanya. 78 Bahini Bal states in her autobiography that her guru Tukaram received initiation from Babaji Chaitanya, who in his turn got it from Kesava Chaitanya, the disciple of Raghava Chaitanya. 79 The guru of Raghava was Visvambhara, which was the name of Chaitanya when he was a householder. As four generations of gurus may cover one hundred years, and as the interval between the birth of Tukaram and the assumption of the ascetic's robe by Chaitanya is 102 years, there appears to have been some historic connection between Tukaram and Chaitanya. This hypothesis is strengthened by an abhang of Bahini Blai, who says, “My line of Guru ancestry is from the great Chaitanya. In remembering his greatness I am also great in heaven. I make my sashbdnga namaskdra to him. Let us make our offerings before Sadhu Chaitanya Raja (which means Chaitanya, the prince among saints). Chaitanya is the all-pervading sadguru'\ m Some of the hymns of Tukaram bear a striking resemblance to the last of the eight verses composed by Chaitanya. 81 Tukaram was at first persecuted by the Brahmins but later on some of them like Ramesvar Bhatt, Kachesvar Kandoba and Gangaram Mavala Kaduskar became his warm admirers and followers. In the sanad granting property to Narayanarao, the son of Tukaram, at Dehu, occurs the definite statement that “Tukaram the Gosavl used to do pujd to the god with his own hand”. 82

A new sect of Rama worshippers was founded by Dad'u, a cottoncleaner of Ahmadabad, who flourished about the end of Akbar’s reign. He inculcates devotion to Rama and meditation on him. His followers are divided into three classes, viz. the viraktas or ascetics, the nagas who are bearers of arms and enter into the service of princes, and the vistaradhdrins who are ordinary house-holders.

Ramdas (1608-1681), whose original name was Narayapa, was not associated with the Pandharpur movement. He established a small but powerful sect, worshipping Rama. He evinced much greater organising ability than any other Maratha saint. He is credited with the setting up of eleven hundred maths , many of which had temples attached to them. More than forty of these maths exist even today. These became the centres of propagating his religion. Moreover, he and his prominent disciples undertook extensive tours, in the course of which thousands were attracted to his fold. His masterly work, the Ddsabodh , proved a source of inspiration to the people of Maharashtra. Shivaji became his disciple and made hand

some donations for the maintenance of the maths. In a letter written in 1678 ShivajI acknowledged his indebtedness to his Guru thus: “You instructed me to establish a kingdom and a religion, to worship Brahmanas and deities, to protect the people and relieve them of their sorrows”. The headquarters of the RamadasI sect is at Sajjangarh, near Satara. He had many ascetic followers, but he considered family life as the best possible life for any man. He advises the householders to be kind in speech, temperate in habit and unceasing in their devotion. 83 He condemned laziness, gossiping and garrulous spirit. His high ethical teachings helped to build up the Maratha nation. But the sect associated with his name has got only a few thousand followers, while the Pandharpur movement, popularised by Tukaram, is still a great living force.

The Sakta and Saiva cults were highly popular in Gujarat in earlier times, but Vaishnavism gained larger number of followers during the period under survey. The Census of 1891 which was not conducted on a scientific basis, stated that only 2% of the Hindu population in Gujarat were Jains, 8% Saivites, mostly Brahmins, 15% were animists and 75% were Vaishnavites. 84 The sect of Vallabhacharya has got the largest number of followers amongst the rich trading and cultivator classes. Gopaldas, a disciple of Vitthalnath, wrote the V allabhdkhydna , a poem giving a lucid exposition of the fundamentals of the beliefs and practices of the sect. This work, written in Gujarati, has got commentaries in several other languages and it is read with interest wherever Vallabhism flourishes. 85

(h) Religious movements in Southern India

Having given rise to a number of influential religious sects from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, Southern India appears to have been following the older paths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The only notable exception is the rise of the Haridasa or Dasakuta movement in Karnataka in the sixteenth century. Some scholars trace the origin of the movement to Sripadaraya (d. 1492), who introduced temple services in the Kannada language in place of Sanskrit. His disciple Vyasatirtha or Vyasaraya (1447-1539) appears to have been the head of the Madhva sect at Udipi when Chaitanya visited the math. His disciples first of all began to assume the title of Dasa. 86 According to Rice the Dasa poets “received their inspiration from Madhvacharya and from Chaitanya who, about 1510, visited all the chief shrines of South India, teaching everywhere to chant the name of Hari.” 87 Purandara-dasa (14801564), the greatest of the Dasa poets, emphasised the efficacy of reciting the name of Hari. He composed more than two thousand songs. As Chaitanya and Nityananda are called the fathers of the

Kirtana song in Bengal, Purandara is called the originator of the Karnataka music. In one of his songs he condemns ostentatious austerities as a mere show for the sake of earning livelihood. He writes: “All acts done without the abandonment of the sense of T, without communion with the holy souls, without belief that everything goes on only at the instance of the Lord, and without the vision in silence of the Lord, are merely austerities practised for livelihood”. While Purandara was a Brahmin, his contemporary poet Kanakadas was born in the Kurub or caste of hunters. The Brahmins opposed his admission to the company of Vyasaraya and he wrote pathetically that the lotus born in mud is offered to the feet of god, that the milk produced from the body of the cow is taken by the Brahmins and the musk grown on the body of deer is used in anointing the body of the high-caste persons. The Dasas used to walk on foot from place to place, singing kirtana songs, exhorting the people to live a life of truth, virtue and devotion to God. They were able to reform the society by the example of their saintly life. 88

In the famous temple of Guruvayur in South Malabar a saint named Narayana Bhatta composed in about one thousand verses a summary of the Bhagavata Purana in 1588 A.D. This book, known as Ndrayaniyam, is widely studied and recited in southern India.

The Dasa saints refer to Udipi, Srlrangam and Tirupati as places of pilgrimage. The sanctity of the temple at Tirupati is also testified to by Manucci. 89 The birth-places of some of the medieval saints acquired the status of places of pilgrimage. Thus the temple at Sriperumbudur near which Ramanuja was born became a centre of attraction for devotees. 50 Alindi and Dehu near Poona have become holy places on account of their association with Jnanesvara and Tukaram respectively. Similarly Navadvipa has become a place of pilgrimage for the followers of Chaitanya, who was born there.

(i) Liberal Trends in Hinduism

While the orthodox Brahmins considered any kind of contact with the Muslims as contamination, the Vaishnavas welcomed them in their fold. Chaitanya converted not only the famous Muslim saint Haridas but also a few Pathans, headed by Bijuli Khan. 91 Muhsin Fan!, who does not make any reference to the Bengal Vaishnavas in his Dabistan-ul-Majahab, writing about the Vairagis, says: "Whoever among the Hindus, Mussalmans or others wishes is received into their religion, none are rejected, but on the contrary all are invited." 92 He must have noticed this practice amongst the Vaishnava ascetics of Upper India. He himself admits that he received the favour of a Hindu saint named Chatur Vapah. 93 In

1642 A.D. he met another saint, Narain Dias, in Lahore and wrote: "A great number of Mussalmans adopted their creed, such as Mirza Saleh and Mirza Haidar, two noble Mussalmans who became Vairagis." 94

A Hindu courtier of Akbar went so far as to produce an apocryphal chapter of the Atharvaveda entitled the Alla Upanishad. It begins with salutation to Ganesa and the invocation of the mystic Om. It states that he who sustains all things and is the bestower of blessings is Allah, and he is identical with Mitra, Varuna and Indra. Akbar is described as a messenger of God and a prophet rasul but not al-rasul, the prophet. 95 Dara Shukoh writes in the introduction to his translation of fifty-two Upanishads that some of the most learned pandits and Sannydsis of Banaras explained to him the difficult passages of the Upanishads in A.H. 1067 (A.D. 1656). This is an unmistakable evidence of liberalism on the part of the Hindu scholars.

Some sects arose in the seventeenth century to emphasise the unity of religion between the Hindus and Muslims. Dadu (15441603) founded the Parabrahma Sampradaya with a view to uniting different faiths in one bond of love and comradeship. He compiled an anthology of the religious literature of different sects in the closing years of the sixteenth century. Two of his eminent disciples were Sundaradasa (1597-1689) and Rajjab. Baba Lai, a Kshatriya of Malwa, gave seven interviews to Dam Shukoh in 1648 and their conversation is recorded in a Persian work entitled Nadu un mikat, which appears to be an admixture of the Vedanta and Sufi doctrines. Another Hindu saint, Prannath, who acquired great influence with Chhatrasal, the Raja of Bundelkhand, went a step further. He composed a book called Mahitariyal in which he placed texts from the holy Qur’an and the Vedas side by side to prove that their tenets are not essentially different. He allowed his Hindu and Muslim disciples to follow the rituals and laws of their respective religions, but insisted on both the Hindus and Muslims dining together at the time of initiation. 96

Following in the wake of Raidas, the cobbler-saint, Sadhana, a butcher, attained great reputation as a saint. He used to worship the Sulagrdma-sild. Two of his songs are included in the Granth Sahib. A robber tribe of Rajasthan called Meo produced the founder of a new sect in Laldas in the second half of the sixteenth century. His followers, known as Laldasls, do not believe in rituals and they show their devotion in singing and reciting the name of God. 97

The diverse Hindu sects were usually tolerant to one another during our period of survey. But cases of bitter hostility were not totally unknown. The Dabistan records a case of fierce fighting between the shaven-headed Yairagls and the Naga Sannyasls at Hardwar in 1640. The quarrel must have arisen on the question of precedence in taking the bath in the Ganges on the occasion of the Kumbha Mela. The Naga Sannyasls killed a number of the Vairagis. 98

II. THE SIKH RELIGION

It has been mentioned above (pp. 305 ff.) that Sikhism was, to a large extent, a reaction against the oppression of the Muslims to which Nlanak, the founder of the sect, was an eye-witness. Another contributing factor was the Bhakti cult which was then at its height in India. Nanak, like other medieval saints, such as Ramananda (14th century) Kablr and Namdev (15th century), and Chaitanya (16th century), was a child of this movement. These two factors and forces—Muslim oppression and Bhakti cult—shaped the growth and development of both Sikhism and the Sikh nation.

The same forces may be said to be at work, in greater or less degree, for the other Bhakti movements mentioned above. Thus we find that one of their principal aims was to remove the bitterness then prevailing between the Hindus and Muslims. It may not be a mere coincidence or accident that many of these movements laid great stress on the abolition of idolatry and caste distinctions, which constituted two fundamental differences and causes of provocation and persecution between the two communities. These medieval saints preached that there was only one God and laid stress on the brotherhood of man, resembling, in these respects, their Muslim counterparts, the Sufis. They all declared that it does not matter if God was called by any name, Allah, Khuda, Ram or Hari.

Nanak preached to Hindus and Muslims alike. It was then a blasphemy to equate Hinduism and Islam. But Nanak had malice to none and love for all. To win the confidence of Muslims he would sit in graveyards for hours or even for days in meditation uttering verses in praise of Allah. He would join prayers in mosques, pointing out to some that their hearts were not concentrated on God, but were wandering in their homes or fields. He explained the significance of their five daily prayers thus: they have five different meanings—firstly to speak the truth, secondly to earn their livelihood by right means, thirdly to give away in charity in the name of God, fourthly to cherish good intentions, and lastly to praise God."

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Nanak preached to Hindus against idol worship and caste distinctions both by word and deed. He preferred taking food with his disciples of low castes. People made offerings to the Guru both in cash and kind in accordance with old traditions. In the beginning Nanak distributed all this among the poor who came to listen to him. Afterwards he organised a free community kitchen called Langar where all dined without any consideration of caste, creed or religion. In the sangat 99a (congregation) and pangat (langar) all were equal. As everybody was required to earn his livelihood by fair means and hard work, all persons from a labourer to a lord and from a peasant to a prince were considered alike in dignity and prestige. The contribution made by every Sikh in the form of cash, kind or service in the Langar was held in similar esteem and regard. It was in this way that Nanak tried to loosen the bonds of caste system. This also developed the spirit of charity, fellowfeeling and service and made the new movement popular. Langar became a symbol of equality and fraternity among his followers.

Nanak laid emphasis on the observance of five things: (1) Nam or singing the praise of God, (2) Dan or charity for all, (3) Ashndn or the daily bath to keep body clean, (4) Seva or service of humanity, and (5) Simran or constant prayer for the deliverance of soul.

(a) Nanak’s journeys

Nanak wished to examine the actual working of religions at their great centres and also to give his own message of love and peace. For this purpose he undertook four great journeys. First, he went to the east (1496 to 1509) mainly to visit holy places of Hinduism up to Bengal, Assam, and Sikkim, perhaps Tibet also. Next he travelled to the south as far as Ceylon (1510 to 1515) for seeing Buddhist and Jain places of note. His third journey was to the north (1515 to 1517) to examine Sidh maths or places of famous saints in Kashmir and the Himalayas. Lastly, he went to the west (1517 to 1521) in Muslim countries of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Arabia, to study Islam. He travelled on foot.

Nanak adopted peculiar practices and repartees to drive home his teachings into the minds of his audience. At Hardwar he saw people bathing in the Ganga and throwing water towards the rising sun. He also entered into water, turned his face towards the west and began to throw water in that direction. The people asked what he was doing. He enquired what they were doing. He was told that they were offering oblations to their ancestors’ souls. Nanak replied that he was sending water to his fields in Punjab. They asked how this water could reach there. At once the retort came:

“If this water cannot reach my fields which are so near, how can your water reach heaven which is so far away?” At Mecca in deep sleep his feet turned towards the Kaba, the sacred shrine of Islam. Somebody kicked him condemning this disrespect to the house of God. Quick came the simple reply in sweet tongue: “Turn my feet in the direction where all-pervading God is not present.”

(b) Nanak’s religion

Nanak’s religion consisted in the love of God, love of man and love of godly living. Nanak’s God was the true Lord, the Creator, unborn, self-existent, immortal, omnipresent, unrivalled, transcendent, formless and omnipotent; yet He possessed many attributes of personality. He was an

Ocean of Mercy, the Friend of man, the Healer of sinners, Cherisher of the poor and Destroyer of sorrow. He was wise, generous, beautiful and bountiful. He was the Father and Mother of all human beings and took care of them. Christ could think of relationship between God and man as that between father and son. To Nanak this relationship appeared as between husband and wife. A son could not be the constant companion of his father, but a faithful wife could not remain away from her spouse. This position also raised the status of woman. True devotion, complete surrender of self and thoughtful constant repetition of the Name as opposed to mechanical ritualism, would enable an individual to reach God. “Efface thyself so that thou obtain the bridegroom.” God could be attained by repeating His Name continuously. Without Sat Nam (the True Name) nobody could get salvation. Name signified worship and devotion to God and feeling and realising His presence at all places and at all times. He thus established deep spiritual unity between man and God. The Sikhs greeted each other by saying Sat Nam, Sat Kartdr or Sat Sri Akdl, meaning True Name, True Creator or True Timeless one.

Nanak held that for the realisation of God, Guru was essential. He was a divine gift. God manifested Himself for the salvation of mankind in some teacher or Guru. Without him God could not be realised. It was only through the Guru that a man could have communion with God. “Man shall not be emancipated without the Guru’s instruction; see and ponder upon this. Even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be darkness without the Guru”. 100 The Guru could lead one to redemption, and in His presence there was no necessity to worship any god or goddess. But the Guru could be found only through God’s grace. From his disciples Nanak demanded complete surrender to the Guru. Only then salvation could be achieved through the superior spiritual power of the Guru. The faithful disciple would follow Guru’s instructions implicitly. He must listen and sing with the utmost devotion and reverence Gurbani or the hymns composed by the Guru and practise Gurmat 101 or the wisdom as revealed through the Guru’s hymns. But the Guru was a teacher and not an incarnation of God. “He was a man among men calling upon his fellow creatures to live a holy life." 102 He was to be obeyed but not to be worshipped. Nanak declared that his own Guru was God. His disciples addressed him by the appellation of Sat Guru or the True Guru.

Nanak laid stress on spiritual discipline which implied devotion, service and culture of emotions. He asserted that salvation could be attained only through upright character and good deeds. In Japji, Nanak says:

Words do not the saint or sinner make,

Action alone is written in the book of fate,

What we sow that alone we take,

O Nanak, be saved or for ever transmigrate.

He further observed: "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world: thus shalt thou find the way of religion." 103 He explained it thus: "They are not to be called pure who wash their bodies and sit at leisure; rather the pure are they, O Nanak, who enshrine the Lord in their hearts."

Nanak emphasised the importance of Karma to escape from the transmigration of soul. "Life is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is, as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot." 104 He denounced all the external marks of holiness, fasts, pilgrimages and penances. He condemned asceticism and renunciation of the world. A householder was equally acceptable to God as a hermit, and secular business did not stand in the way of emancipation. As a matter of fact ascetics and those who had renounced the world had nothing to do with Nanak's religion. His religion concerned worldly men who led a family life and earned their bread by hard labour. He bitterly censured people who in the garb of saintliness went abegging for their food and clothing at the door of a householder. Live in the world, but lead a good life, and help others to do so, he asserted. Sadh Sangat or Satsang, viz. association with virtuous and holy men, would help in achieving this object. Work, worship and distribute (Kirt karo, Nam Japo and Wand Chliako) was his motto.

In Nanak’s time Indian society was based on caste and was divided into countless water-tight compartments. Men were considered high and low on account of their birth and not according to their deeds. Equality of human beings was a dream. There was no spirit of national unity except feelings of community fellowship. In Nanak’s view, divine love was the criterion to judge whether a person was good or bad. As the caste system was not based on divine love for all, he condemned it. Nanak aimed at creating a casteless and classless society, of the modern type of socialist society in which all were equal and where one member did not exploit the other. Nanak insisted that every Sikh house should serve as a place of love and devotion, a true guest house (Sach Dharmsdla). Every Sikh was enjoined to welcome a traveller or a needy person and to share his meals and other comforts. Bhai Gurdas says: “Wherever the holy feet of Guru Nanak touched, Dharmshalas sprang into existence.” 105

Woman received great consideration from Nanak. She was given equal status with man. She was allowed to attend his sermons along with men. Purdah was discouraged. Women joined in the chorus in singing hymns. For langar men brought provisions and fuel wood, while women cooked food. Men and v/omen both served meals to the pangat • Nanak condemned Sati or the custom of self-immolation of widows on the pyres of their dead husbands. The Guru said: “How can they be called inferior when they give birth to great men? Women as well as men share in the grace of God and are equally responsible for their actions to Him.” 106

Guru Nanak called his religion Gurmat or Guru’s wisdom. This word occurs in the hymns of Guru NSnak more than two hundred times. His disciples called themselves Sikhs from Sanskrit word sishya, meaning a learner or a person who takes spiritual lessons from a teacher. The public called them Nanak Panthls, Nanak Prastan or Sikhs. 107 The Sikh congregations were called Sangat. The places where Sikhs gathered to listen to the Guru’s sermons and sing hymns in praise of God were known as Gurdwaras. im The community kitchen where all ate without any distinction was called Langar and the persons eating there formed a Pangat.

(c) Difference from other reform movements

In certain respects Nanak’s religion differed from other reform movements, as of Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya and Gorakhnath.

1. The latter laid stress on fundamentals of Hinduism, believing that their acceptance would ultimately bring about social readjustment. Sikhism from the very beginning concentrated on social reform and repetition of the Name.

2. Conception of God in Sikhism is different from that of other Bhakti leaders. The Sikh God is Akdlpurkh. He is without body, formless and timeless. The other leaders believed in Rama and Krishna being incarnations of God.

3. Sikh religion had no mythology, no traditions and no ambiguity. It was plain and simple. Believe in one God, have faith in the Guru and lead a good life, then success in this world and salvation after death are yours. The other reformers mainly concerned themselves with salvation of the soul.

4. In Sikhism renunciation of the world was prohibited, while the other sects advocated it.

5. No other Bhakti leader dislodged Sanskrit from the position of being the sacred language of Hinduism, though they preached in the local tongue. This factor was mainly responsible for confining Sikh religion to the Punjab as the Punjabi language was not understood outside this province.

(d) Guru Ndnak was a reformer and not a revolutionary

Some writers like Macauliffe, Bhlai Kahan Singh and Teja Singh are of the opinion that Guru Nanak was a revolutionary because he tried to destroy all the prevalent religious institutions as well as the structure of society of his time. They hold that the Guru’s bitterest attack was aimed at the annihilation of caste system, and that he tried to build a new society in place of the old one. Payne and G. C. Narang are of the view that Nanak belonged to the great family of Bhakti leaders. Marking the difference between a reformer and a revolutionary it may be pointed out that a reformer does not adopt an independent path and does not preach destruction. He only removes the corruption and abuses which have crept into the old institutions in such a way that it does not injure the feelings of others. A revolutionary does not care for the sentiments of other people. He fearlessly incurs the displeasure of the supporters of old institutions and invites vehement opposition to his plans. Nothing of the kind happened in case of Nanak.

(1) Nanak's denunciation of caste was not revolutionary in character. His opposition to caste system was so mild that no Brahman or any other high caste Hindu organised any opposition to him. On the contrary he was loved by one and all. The reason was that nobody objected to his reform scheme and removal of what was harmful to society. Kablr had already denounced it in equally strong terms. The German traveller, Baron Hugel, says that the Sikhs worship one God, abhor images and reject caste, at least in theory. 109

(2) In the same way, Nanak's denouncement of fasts, penances and pilgrimages implied attacks on perversions and not on the basic beliefs of Hindu religion. He laid stress on the limited utility of the existing institutions and practices. He did not call upon his disciples to give up pilgrimages and fasts altogether. He only wanted to clarify that such practices and formations had not much to do with divine love, and did not serve as a means of salvation.

(3) Nanak did not deprecate the holy scriptures such as the Vedas and the Qur'an. He never questioned the wisdom and philosophy contained in them. He criticised the blind and mechanical reading of these texts without realising God through them. "What availeth thee to read the Vedas and Puranas? It is like loading a donkey with sandal whose perfume he availeth not." 110 Bhai Gurdas declared that the superstitions prevailing at Guru Nanak's time were due to the ignorance of the Vedas by people. 111

(4) Even the sacred thread was not wholly condemned. He denounced the ignorance of the implications of its use, and wearing of it only for the sake of form. Muhsin FanI writes that a devoted and true disciple of Guru Hargobind, named Sadh, perhaps abbreviation of Sadhu Ram, accompanied him from Kabul to Punjab. He had the sacred thread on. He tore it off and gave it toi the author of the Dablstan to tie up his broken coat belt. 112 According to Malcolm, "the family of Govind, proud of their descent, had not laid aside the Zunnar, or holy cord, to which they were, as belonging to

Cshatriya race, entitled.” 113 On one occasion Guru Gobind Singh wanted some thread to fasten his sword belt. Day a Singh, the first member of the newly created Khalsa, a Khatri of Lahore, broke his sacred thread and gave it to the Guru. 114

(5) Similarly while challenging the predominant position of Hindu deities, Nanak did not hold them in any disrespect. He simply wanted to show that they were not superior to God. Muhsin Fan! says: “Nanak praised Musalmans as well as the avtars and gods and goddesses of the Hindus; but he held that all these had been created and were not creators, and he denied their incarnation. It is said that he held in his hand the rosary of Muslims and wore the sacred thread around his neck.” 115 While it does not appear probable that Nanak wore it because he freely mixed with Muslims in India as well as abroad, his disciples of high caste did not completely discard it.

(6) Malcolm further says that Nanak suggested no change in the civil institutions of Hinduism. 116 Nanak did not dictate or even preach civil or criminal laws, and no modification was proposed by him in the old system then prevalent. 117 Cunningham observes: “He

left the progress of his people to the operation of time: for his congregation was too limited, and the state of society too artificial, to render it either requisite or possible for him to become a municipal law-giver, to subvert the legislation of Manu, or to change the immemorial usages of tribes or races.” 118

It shows that Guru Nanak did not wish to destroy the existing institutions of his time. His chief aim was to condemn the form which had been substituted for the worship of the True Lord. In place of mere ritualism and conventionalism he desired sincere love and devotion. He introduced reforms in social customs, in religious practices, in the toleration of all the religions and in the unity of mankind. We may, therefore, conclude that Nanak was a true reformer rather than a revolutionary.

During the last fifteen years or so of his life, Nanak led a settled life at Kart'arpur, the present Dera Baba Nanak on the western bank of the Ravi. Here the Sangat and Pawgat, the two important institutions of Sikhism, were organised on a firm basis and functioned regularly and punctually. His disciples, though small in number, formed a well-knit community. Cunningham says: “He left them erect and free, unbiased in mind and unfettered by rules, to become an increasing body of truthful worshippers.” 119 He was loved and respected both by Hindus and Muslims alike. That is why he was called: ' !

Guru Nanak Shah faqir,

Hindu ka Guru aur Musalman ka pir.

Nanak passed away at Kartarpur on 22 September, 1539, at the age of seventy.

(e) Expansion of Sikhism , 1539-1606

Guru Nanak gave the people of the Punjab an idea which was ultimately to mould his followers into a powerful community. It naturally required time for constant schooling, under regular guidance. Before his death, he nominated his most devoted and sincerest disciple, Bhai Lahna, a Trehan Kshatriya, his successor. Nanak called Lahna Ang-e-Khud, a limb of his own body, and declared at his death that his soul would migrate into the body of Lahna. He came to be called Angad. 120 This was a step of far-reaching significance, Nanak had rejected the claims of his son Srlchand because he believed in the nothingness of the world. Nanak himself was a householder, and so was Bhai Lahna. Nanak thereby excluded renunciation of the world from Sikhism and confirmed it as a religion of householders. Further, Guruship in Sikh religion acquired a unique status, and provided a living ideal for its followers. The life of the Sikhs centred around the personality of the Guru which they assimilated and emulated by close personal contact with him.

Guru Angad (1539-1552) shifted from Kartarpur to Khadur in Amritsar District situated on the Beas river, in order to avoid the impending conflict with Guru Nanak’s sons. He turned his attention first to the collection of

Guru Nanak's hymns which were written in Lande Mahajani. Guru Angad being the son of a village shopkeeper knew Lande Mahajani script. It is rather rough and crude and cannot easily and properly be deciphered. In it vowel sounds are omitted. There was a danger that Guru Nanak's hymns written in Lande Mahajani might be misinterpreted. Guru Angad beautified the Lande alphabets by givirig them better shape, like the alphabets of Dev Nagari script, which was used for Sanskrit. He also modified the order of Lande alphabets. The new script came to be called Gurmukhi, 121 meaning that it came from the mouth of the Guru. It was in this script that Guru Angad wrote the hymns of Guru Nanak.

Following the example of Guru Nanak, the langar was continued. It was looked after by his wife, and its expenses were met out of the offerings made by his Sikhs and other visitors. Guru Nanak's son Srichand had renounced the world, and his disciples who practised celibacy and asceticism were termed Udasls. They professed to belong to Sikhism, but Guru Angad emphatically declared that there was no place for renunciation in Nanak's teachings as his religion concerned householders. He asserted that the followers of Srichand had no connection whatsoever with Sikhism. Thus he preserved the purity and originality of Sikh religion.

Guru Angad nominated his 73-year-old devout disciple, Amar Das, a Bhalla Kshatriya, his successor, who held this office from 1552 to 1574. Guru Amar Das established the practice of obliging all visitors to partake of food in his free kitchen before seeing him, thus regularising the system of interdining (Pahle pangat pichhe sang at). 122 The Sikh tradition says that Emperor Akbar visited the Guru and was so much impressed by the spirit of service and devotion among the Sikhs that he granted a few villages revenue-free for the support of the langar. Amar Das sanctified human life by declaring against torturing the body and committing Sati. He also denounced purdah system prevailing among womenfolk. He invited his followers to gather in a general body twice a year on the days of Baisakhi and Diwali in April and October-November, obviously to

enable them to fraternise with one another. Guru Amar Das made a departure from previous practice in appointing his successor. Hitherto the Guruship had been on a non-family basis. But the Guru conferred the

Guruship on his son-in-law Ram Das and his descendants, thereby making Guruship hereditary. The claims of his two sons were turned down.

Guru Ram Das (1574-1581), added to the solidarity of the growing community by providing it with a sacred tank to which he gave the name of Amritsar (the tank of nectar). 123 Before his death Guru Ram Das nominated his youngest son Arjun Mai 124 his successor against the protests of his eldest son Prithichand.

Guru Arjun, (1581-1606), fifth in succession, born on 15 April, 1563, was an original thinker, illustrious poet, practical philosopher, great organiser, eminent statesman and the first martyr to faith. He called upon sangatias to collect offerings from the Sikhs at the rate of one-tenth of their income and upgraded them as Masands or nobles. 115 This proved a profitable source of income to meet the enormous expenditure of the Guru’s building plans and made the Sikhs accustomed to submit to regular discipline.

To inspire the minds of his disciples with the grandeur and glory of the new religion Guru Arjun began to live in an aristocratic style. He erected ‘‘lofty buildings” 126 at Amritsar, wore rich clothes, kept fine horses procured from Central Asia and some elephants, and maintained retainers in attendance. The great Mughul Emperor Akbar visited him at Amritsar and showered praise on him.

But the most valuable achievement of Guru Arjun was the compilation of a holy book for the Sikhs known as Adi Granth and popularly called Granth Sahib or Guru Granth. The Guru wished to lay down the exact hymns to be sung and correct rituals to be performed by the Sikhs. He also desired to raise the status of Sikhism from a sect to a religion. This object could be attained by providing the Sikhs with holy scriptures of their own like the Vedas, the Bible and the Qur’an. He therefore decided to record the hymns of all the Gurus in the form of a book.

The Granth, written in verse in Gurmukhi script, was completed in 1604. It contained 974 hymns of Guru Nanak, 62 of Guru Angad, 907 of Guru Amar Das, 672 of Guru Ram Das, 2218 and 116 Shabads of Guru Arjun, including his famous Sukhmani or Psalm of Peace, sayings of 16 Bhaktas both Hindu and Muslim such as Farid, Kablr, Namdev, Dhanna, Surdas, Pipa and Ramanand, and songs of minstrels including those of Mardana, Satta and Balwand. One hundred and fifteen hymns of Guru Tegh Bahadur and one verse of Guru Gobind Singh were added later. The discourses of Guru Nanak as Japji, Sodar and Kirti Sola were given in the beginning.

The compilation of the Adi Granth formed an important landmark in the history of the Sikhs. It became the sacred book of the new faith, and created consciousness among the Sikhs of their being a separate community. It served as a source of divine wisdom, felicity and bliss. Its fascinating hymns chanted in deep reverence and devotion inspired the minds of listeners to lofty ideas of plain living and high thinking. The Granth serves as the symbolic representation of the Gurus.

The subsequent history of Sikhism, ending in its great transformation under Guru Govind Singh (1675-1708) has been dealt with in Chapter XI.

III. ISLAM

We have already seen how by the end of the 15th century Sufi saints had established their centres (Zdwiyas) in various parts of the country and how they, especially the saints of the Chishtiya order, had succeeded in gaining large number of adherents among the Muslim masses.

Historically, Sufism was a religious system which in the course of its development had imbibed several beliefs which are essentially of Hindu origin and which, in one form or another, were already familiar to the Hindus and the majority of the Indian Muslims converted from Hinduism, who came into contact with the great Sufi teachers. It is not strange, therefore, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it came to be a common practice with the bulk of the Indian Muslims to be attached to some religious preceptor, usually a Sufi, just as the Hindus considered the guidance of a, Guru to be essential for one's spiritual salvation, so that almost every religious-minded Muslim linked himself up with one Sufi Silsila (chain) or another as a sine qua non of respectability and religious awareness.[127]

It must not, however, be supposed that the Sufis were having it all their own way throughout these two centuries. The primal strife between the SharVat (Muslim Law) and the Tariqat Sufism) which started in the lands where Sufism first made its appearance, was very much in evidence in India also. The custodians of the Law, the ‘Ulema, usually attached to the royal court or holding lucrative posts as Muftis (Legal Advisers) and Qazls (Judges) in provincial towns, were actively hostile towards any religious movement which, in their opinion, was calculated to mar the pristine purity of Islam and to open a way towards reconciliation between kufr (infidelity) and imdn (faith). How far their hostility was actuated by a sincere religious zeal or by worldly motives, is open to doubt, but the fact remains that they often exercised a strong influence upon their royal masters and lost no opportunity of cruelly persecuting all those who were accused of the slightest deviation from the orthodox belief. There were, moreover, occasional popular movements of a fanatical type led by religious zealots styling themselves as reformers or renovators of the Muslim faith, which succeeded in doing a lot of mischief before they were suppressed and rendered innocuous. Some of these leaders took advantage of the common Muslim belief, originally Shiahite but generally accepted by the Sunnis also, of the re-appearance of the Hidden Imam, al-Mahdi, who will lead back the erring adherents of Islam to the path of virtue and piety, and fighting the forces of disbelief and heresy, re-establish the kingdom of God on this earth. One such pretender was Syed Mohammad of Jaunpur, to whom a passing reference has been made in an earlier chapter 128 and who succeeded in winning over quite a large number of followers, some of them well-placed in life and holding responsible offices. 129 The fact that his appearance almost synchronised with the unifying movement started by some of the Indian spiritual leaders, is significant and illustrates the existence side by side among the Indian Muslims, as among those of other countries, of two cross currents of thought, one leading towards tolerance and sympathetic compromise and the other heading towards bigotry and puritanic aloofness. It was chiefly due to this that the Mahdawi movement remained confined to a small section of the Muslims only and had almost fizzled out by the time the greatest of the Mughul Emperors, Akbar, came to the throne, although some remants of the Mahdi’s followers lingered on in different parts of the country, one of whom, Shaikh ‘Ala’I, was scourged by Makhdumal Mulk,[130] and died as a result of the punishment inflicted upon him.

The religious life of the Indian Muslims was agitated not only by periodic outbursts of puritanism directed mostly against any tendency that smacked of Hinduising Islam, but also by the ShiahSunnl differences which became accentuated after the establishment of the Mughul rule. Babur, the founder of the Mughul empire in India, was a devout Sunni who had been deeply influenced by the teachings of a Transoxanian saint, ‘Ubaidullah Abrar,[131] but was, at the same time, remarkably tolerant towards the Shiah faith, and his cortege contained several notable Shiahites who had served him faithfully during all his hectic career. The story that his son and successor, Humayun, was persuaded by the Shah of Iran, Tahmasp Safawl, with whom he had sought refuge after his flight from India, to accept the Shiah faith, is probably a myth;[132] yet there can be no doubt that some of his most loyal servants who accompanied him back to India and helped him in regaining his lost throne were Shiahites, the most prominent among them being Bairam Khan, a scholar and soldier of unique talents. The more or less friendly relations that continued to prevail between the Mughul Emperors coming after Humayun and the Iranian Shahs of the Safawl dynasty, encouraged further immigration of Shiahite Iranians into India where they were cordially received by their kinsfolk and countrymen already comfortably settled in the capital and other important towns. The result of this continuous inflow from Iran was a remarkable Persianization of the Mughul court—a phenomenon which on the whole helped in raising the cultural level of the higher strata of the Muslim society of India. But another result, which was not so wholesome, was the intensification of the differences between the Sunni and Shiah communities and there has never been a complete reconciliation between the two Muslim sects. That their differences have not very often resulted in blood-shed and violence, has been mainly due to the fact that the Shiahites in India formed a very small minority and have, consequently, refrained usually from any show of active hostility towards the Sunnis, who have had, more often than not, the backing of the Muslim rulers, the majority of whom were of Sunnite religion.

When, therefore, Akbar acceded to the throne of his father, he was faced with a situation which was not at all pleasant to his peaceful nature and which, moreover, was fraught with a grave danger of inter-communal strife on a large scale and the disintegration of the empire as a consequence. There were on the one hand the bigoted Sunni ‘Ulema represented by the Shaikhul Islam, Makhdum al-Mulk, and the Sadar-us-Sudur (Supreme Judge) Abdum-Nabl, both of whom had dominated the state policy to a considerable extent during the Surl period and who had continued to maintain their privileged position under Humayun and Akbar. As custodians of the Law, their verdict was looked upon as final on all religious and social matters, and the young emperor, who had not had the advantage of liberal education himself, had perforce to seek their guidance and to abide by their decisions during the early years of his reign. Any show of open hostility towards them might have cost him the support of a large and powerful section of the orthodox Muslim community, a risk which he could ill afford to take at that stage. On the other hand, the Sufis of the Chishtiya school had been gradually losing their hold on the minds of the influential Muslims ever since the death of Khwaja Nizam-ud-dm Auliya of Delhi who might be regarded as the last of the great mystic saints of India, and consequently their restraining and chastening influence was no longer there to counter the bigotry of the Sunni ‘Ulema. The greatest representative of that school in Akbar’s time was Shaikh Salim Chishti for whom, as is well-known, Akbar had a great regard, but he was not a man of the same calibre as some of his illustrious predecessors had been and does not appear to have wielded any great influence in the Delhi or Agra court circles. The emperor on his part was deeply conscious of his own duties as a ruler and realised full well that a certain amount of harmony among the various religious communities living in this vast country was essential for effective administration, and that could only be brought about by curbing fanaticism and intolerance in whatever form they might make their appearance. For a time he felt himself to be helpless, but when the high-handed actions of the ‘Ulema, taking advantage of his lenience, began to exceed all limits, he had to take courage in both hands and to adopt effective measures to dislodge them from their exalted positions. He had, moreover, become thoroughly disillusioned about the personal characters of these ‘Ulema and disgusted by their petty squabbles springing more out of mean, worldly motives than religious or moral considerations, a demonstration of which they used to give in the weekly gatherings in the ‘Ibadat Khana at Fathpur SikrI, so fondly erected by Akbar for his moral and spiritual edification, to which reference has been made above (pp. 134-5).

The second and a bolder step taken by the emperor, now in open revolt against the ‘Ulema, was to declare himself to be the spiritual as well as the secular head of the State and to be authorised in his own person to make any such changes in the Law (Shari'at) as he deemed to be in conformity with the general welfare of his subjects. This act of Akbar’s has a strangely remarkable resemblance to what an almost contemporary western ruler, Henry the Eighth of England, had done in order to free himself from the overbearing tutelage of the Church of Rome. Scriptural authority was, however, needed for this drastic measure, which was readily supplied by Shaikh Mubarak, who brought to the emperor’s notice certain Qur’anic verses and traditions of the Prophet sanctioning such powers for a Muslim ruler. A manifesto was consequently prepared by the Shaikh and duly signed by several jurists elevating the emperor to the rank of a “Mujtahid of his time” (Mujtahid

i-‘Asr). 133 Those who protested were ruthlessly suppressed and in several cases executed. 134

The comparative ease with which Akbar could adopt these drastic measures, emboldened him to advance a step further. This was the promulgation of a new religion based on a four-fold path of renunciation, 135 called the Din-i-Ildht in which the emperor appeared as not only a prophet but an “ avatar '’ of God himself to whom all homage was due and before whom every one should prostrate himself exclaiming all the while “Allahu Akbar” a form of greeting which may mean “Allah is Great” as well as “Akbar is Allah”. 136 Muslim historians generally have accused

Shaikh Mubarak and his sons, FaizI and Abu-T-Fazl—particularly the latter—of being Akbar's evil genius responsible for misleading him from the path of rectitude. But this charge is probably not substantiated by facts. There can be little doubt that Abu-'l-Fazl helped and abetted the emperor in his rebellion against the 'Ulema at whose hands he and his father had suffered grievously, but the idea of founding a new religion would seem to be Akbar's own, as by its help he sought to secure that religious unity in his dominions which was so dear to his heart. The Dm-i-Ildhi, however, remained little more than a freak and failed to exert any influence on the popular mind. Some of Akbar's closest and most devoted associates flatly refused to accept the new religion, notable among them being his foster-brother, Khan-i-A'zam Mlrza 'Aziz and Raja Man Singh. r37 The latter, when asked by Akbar to be converted as a disciple replied with characteristic candour and boldness: "Sire, if disciplehood means loyalty, I have already given ample proof of it. If, however, it means religion, I am a Hindu and can embrace Islam if you so desire. I know of no other path except these two which I might adopt." 138 Protests against these innovations were also made by some sincere well-wishers of the emperor who considered the steps taken by him to be nothing short of heresy and feared not only for his spiritual salvation but also for the welfare of the Muslims in India generally. But the emperor stuck to his own ideas of a cosmopolitan religion till his last days, although it would be too much to suppose, as certain modern historians have done, that he had definitely renounced Islam. 139 On the other hand there is evidence to show that he died a Muslim and devoutly recited the 'Kalima' before he breathed his last. 140

Akbar's innovations did not, as we have said above, produce any wide repercussions in the religious life of the Indian Muslims since he made no attempt to propagate his new religion among the masses, but some of them did affect their social customs, such as the sanctioning of marriages with non-Muslims, 141 the legalizing of brothels, the banning of cow slaughter, and the permission to shave beards. 142 That these measures which must have been hateful to the pious Muslims did not produce any general rising against him was certainly due to his statesmanship and the loyal support of his nobles, both Hindus and

Muslims. News of what was happening in India reached the neighbouring Muslim countries also and evoked protests from their rulers, but Abu-'l-Fazl, who was in charge of Akbar's foreign diplomatic correspondence, set their minds at rest—or at least tried to do so—by skilful and ingenious interpretations of the emperor's objectionable edicts, thus preventing any open breach of friendly relations. 143 According to Abu-'lFazl's explanation, the emperor claimed neither to be a prophet nor an incarnation of God, but he was only a "mujaddid", (religious reformer) and according to certain Apostolic tradition such a reformer was expected to appear towards the end of the first millennium after the Hijra. 144 In fairness to Akbar it must be admitted that similar claims had been made by other Muslim Tulers before his time, such as the Fatimid caliphs of Morocco and Egypt, and even Sultan 'Ala-ud-dln Khalji of India used to style himself as "Khallfatullah" (the Representative or Deputy of God) which was one of the titles assumed by Akbar. An echo of the belief in the spiritual powers claimed by Akbar, moreover, can be traced even in the later Mughul period, for it continued to be a common practice for the courtiers to address their royal master as "pir—o-murshid", titles which have an essentially spiritual or religious significance and could properly be used only for a moral and spiritual preceptor. It is thus that even the orthodox descendant of Akbar, Aurangzlb, has addressed his father Shah Jahan in his letters, and the same form of address was popularly used in the days of Bahadur Shah II, the last Mughul King of Delhi. 145

Nor was the emperor alone in taking advantage of the popular belief about the appearance of a reformer at the end of the first millennium, for about this time there came to India a saintly representative of the Naqshbandiya Sufi sect, one of whose pupils claimed, and is largely acknowledged, to be the "Reformer of the Second Millennium" (Mujaddid Alf Thani). The founder of this sect, Khwaja Baha'uddin Naqshband, was born near Bukhara in 1318 and died in 1389, and his teachings became very popular in Turkestan, thanks mainly to the efforts of one of his pupils Khwaja 'Ubaidullah al-Ahrar to whom a reference has been made above. The saint who introduced the new system in India, Khwaja BaqI Billah, settled down in Delhi a few years before Akbar's death. He, however, did not live there long, dying in 1603, at the comparatively young age of 41. It was his pupil, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind, popularly known as Imam Rabbani and Mujaddid Alf Than!, 146 who continued the teachings of his master and by the force of his great personality made them popular in India. He sent his emissaries and preachers to the royal camp and succeeded in converting some influential courtiers to his own point of view. His activities roused the suspicion of Emperor Jahangir specially because he was accused by some of his opponents of making extravagant spiritual claims. 147 He was summoned to the royal court and ordered to explain his conduct, and as he was unable to satisfy the emperor, the latter ordered him to be incarcerated in the Gwalior fort, where he remained for about a year. Later on the emperor pardoned him and bestowed upon him a Khil'at (robe of honour), and he remained in the royal camp for about four years, travelling with it to several places and propagating his new Sufi doctrines.

The central idea of the Naqshbandl school of Sufism which Syed Ahmad represented was to bridge the gulf, as far as possible, between orthodoxy and mysticism, in other words to purge the Sufistic discipline of all such beliefs and practices which Islam did not sanction or which in some cases were actually repugnant to its spirit. Thus the new system rigidly banned the holding of pantheistic beliefs, the listening to music (samd c) as a means of attaining spiritual ecstasy, the keeping of long vigils (chilla and muraqaba), the loud and prolonged repetition of certain religious formulas (zikr), the big concourses of men and women at the shrines of saints (Urs) and the practice of making vows and offerings in the name of these saints for the achievement of worldly ends (nazr and nayaz). We find Syed Ahmad, therefore, waging a relentless crusade against all these things, as they had in his opinion a demoralising effect and corrupted the religious beliefs of the Muslim masses, and, paradoxically enough, while making apparently fantastic claims about his own spiritual trances, rigidly enjoining conformity with the orthodox belief and practice upon his followers.

In addition to reforming Indian Sufism, a second task to which Syed Ahmad devoted himself with characteristic energy was to wean the Indian Muslims of certain social customs and practices which they had borrowed from their Hindu neighbours, and to raise up their moral outlook and social status generally. It pained him to see the Muslim converts still adhering to some of their old un* Islamic ways as much as to find that in spite of the Muslim rule in this country, the Muslims were in some spheres of life actually in an inferior position and were deprived of their legitimate rights and privileges, religious or otherwise, due to the very lenient policy of

the rulers towards the non-Muslims. He was a bitter critic of the indulgence shown in this respect by Akbar, although it would be difficult to maintain, as Maulana Azad has done, that he was responsible for uprooting the heresy the seeds of which had been sown by that monarch. 148 He advocated a firm and strong attitude towards! the Hindus in order to make them realise that they could not lord it over the Muslims inspite of their subordinate position, and may on the whole be described as an irreconcilable opponent of all attempts at Hindu-Muslim unification or rapprochement whether religious or social. He insisted on the necessity of the presence among Muslims of a supreme religious leader at all times who may keep their religion free from the dross of shirk and ilhad (polytheism and heresy), and with this end in view developed the theory of qayyumiyat, i.e. the existence of a qayyum (sustainer) in the world. The qayyum of his conception was, however, much more than a reformer; he was, according to some descriptions given by his disciples, a sort of agent plenipotentiary of God on this earth who looked after and actually controlled all that happened here. The qayyum, therefore, was possessed of the same, or practically the same powers as the functionary in Sufi hierarchy usually called the Qutbul Aqtdb (Pole of the Poles). It is needless to say that his disciples naturally regarded him as the First Qayyum, while three other great teachers of the school, namely Syed Ahmad’s son, Khwaja Mohammad Ma‘sum, Khwaja Mohammad Naqshband, and Khwaja Mohammad Zubair have been accorded the same exalted position after him.

It will be clear from what has been said that Syed Ahmad started a reactionary religious movement undoing much of the work of communal reconciliation accomplished by the Chishtiya saints. He would even appear to have influenced Emperor Jahangir to a certain extent, inspite of the latter’s gentle temperament and tolerant disposition. 149 But whatever one may think of his uncompromising attitude towards non-Muslims, there could be no doubt that he was a sincere and zealous Muslim and strove with all the means at his disposal for their worldly welfare and spiritual salvation. Yet his influence on the popular Muslim mind apparently waned soon after his death, for already in the days of Shah Jahan, himself a reputedly orthodox Muslim, the process of rapprochement had re-started and the emperor's eldest son, Dara Shukoh, and his daughter Jahan Ara, became ardent disciples of a saint of the Qadirfya school from Persia, Mulla Shah, who was noted for his religious tolerance. Dara Shukoh, as a matter of fact, was an ardent champion of Hindu-Muslim unity and hobnobbed with Hindu Yogis and Pandits as freely as he did with the Muslim mystics and scholars. One of his associates

(Munshis, to be more exact) was Chandra Bhan Brahman, who has written some very fine Persian verses in a mystic strain and was the recipient of special favours from his princely master. The Naqshbandiya school, as a matter of fact, failed to attract many Muslims to its fold at any time, although several silsilas of this sect survive up to this day either independently or merged with silsilas of other schools. It is not unusual to find the titles Chishti and Naqshbandl both together affixed to the names of pious Muslims, while some others also add to these the title "Qadiri".

The Qadiriya school, 150 which traces its origin to Shaik 'Abdul Qadir of Gilan who lived in Baghdad in the eighth century, was first introduced in India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, probably by Arab merchants visiting the ports of Surat and Khambayat, and received a great fillip due to the advocacy of its principles by another very remarkable personality of the Mughul period, namely, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi who was contemporary with Akbar and Jahangir and is looked upon as one of the greatest religious scholars born in India. He had imbibed the Qadiriya teachings at Uchch in Sind which appears to have been a great centre of this particular school of thought, and although later on he also enrolled himself among the Naqshbandiya, his religious thought and general outlook of life seem to have been determined by those teachings. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq's fame, however, rests not so much on his spiritual attainments, which must have been considerable, but on the invaluable contributions made by him to Islamic learning, specially the science of Hadlth; and he is the author of several famous works. He died in the 16th year of Shahl Jahan's reign. The Qadiriya school continued to be popular among the better educated Muslims due to the teachings of two others of its famous exponents in India, one of whom was Mir Mohammad, popularly known as Mian Mir, of

Lahore, and the other was Mulla Shah of Badakshlan, who settled down in Kashmir and used to visit Lahore frequently to pay his respects to his teacher, Mian Mir. It was in Kashmir that Prince Dara Shukoh and his sister, Jahan Ara, met the saint in 1639, and became his disciples.

With the accession of Auranfgzib to the throne of Delhi, the Sufi movement in India seems to have received a definite set-back. This stern monarch, himself an orthodox and pious Muslim, was intolerant of heresy in any form and was always prompt in punishing drastically any open breach of the Law (Shari'at). This, coupled with a general intellectual decline, was certainly responsible for any new religious ideas being developed in the 17th century in Mhslim India. Aurangzib's reign had heralded the triumph of SharVat against tarlqat. The emphasis was now on the codification and clarification of the Muslim law as expounded by the great jurists, and any attempt at original thinking was not only discountenanced but actively opposed.[151] It was sought to confine Islam to narrow channels and to deprive it of all elasticity of belief, thus creating an atmosphere of religious bigotry and intolerance. There can be little doubt that Aurangzib's policy was dictated by laudable moral ideals and he worked sincerely for rooting out corruption and dishonesty both in religious belief and worldly conduct, but it is equally true that he did not achieve any remarkable success in his efforts. On the other hand he succeeded in intensifying mutual distrust among the various sections of his subjects without bringing about any general moral uplift among the Muslims. The banning of wine and music had been tried before his time as a means of stamping out moral delinquency and had failed to achieve the desired object. Some of his officials were thoroughly corrupt,[152] and he was painfully conscious of this fact and bitterly realised the failure of his mission at the end of his long reign.

To sum up this brief survey of the religious life of the Indian Muslims during the Mughul period, we might say that on the whole this period marked the decline of the pantheistic form of Sufism and that the moderate schools, like the Naqshbandiya and Qadiriya became more popular than the Chishtiya school which had exercised undisputed sway over the minds of the devout Muslims in the preceding period. This was partly due to the fact that no outstanding saint of the Chishtiya sect appeared in India during this period and partly to the emergence of certain bitter critics of that

sect who, helped by the prevalent political and social conditions, succeeded in attracting a large number of followers. Religious divines and scholars continued to hold lucrative posts as qazis and muftis, but their power over their royal masters suffered a sharp decline, due to their worldly greed and cupidity combined with senseless bigotry and parochialism. The accounts given by contemporary historians of the fabulous wealth which some of them managed to amass by all sorts of questionable means and their high-handed actions in dealing with those who had the temerity to differ from them in religious matters, clearly show the extent of their moral turpitude, so that it was they themselves who were really responsible for their downfall and not any radical change of attitude towards religion on the part of the rulers or their subjects.

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AIll. pp. 252 ft.

2. Sewell, Lists II C.P. No. 75, p. 9.

3. Hari-bhakti Vildsa, Ch. V, pp. 491-93, (Berhampore ed.).

4. Bhagavata , IV. 21.12 and Sanatana Gosvamin’s commentary on the Hari-bhakti Vilasa, V. 223.

5. Brah ma - V aivarta-P urdua* Janmakhanda, Ch.) 21 as quoted in the SabdaA Kalpa-druma, pp. 1514-15 which also cites the authority of the Padma Purana, Pdtdlkhanda, Ch. XI showing that the &udras adhering to the Vedic path attain salvation by worshipping the &alagrama £ila.

6. Narahari Chakravarti, Bhakti-ratnakara (Berhampore ed.), p. 30.

7. Sir Charles N.E. Eliot, Hinduism in Assam in J.R.A.S., 1010, pp. 1160 ff.

8. Rdmacharita-mdnasa, Uttarakdnda, p. 483 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha ed.).

9. 6udra Kamalakara, pp. 13-14.

10. Raghunandana, Suddhitattva, pp. 624-25 (Bangabasi ed.).

11. Agastya Samhita, XIII.46.

12. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his predecessors, J.A.S., XIX, 1953, pp. 174-175.

13. £uddhitattva (Bangabasi ed.), pp. 166-67.

14. Sudra Kamaldkara quoted by P.V. Kane in the History of Dharmasastras, II, p. 381.

15. Sarasvati Vildsa, p. 478 (University of Mysore ed.).

16. Rdfadharma-Kaustubha, XII. 63 (Gaekwad Oriental series).

17. Suddhitattva, p. 163.

18.i K.S. Thackarey, Grapnanyacha Sadyanta Itihasa , pp. 154-55.

19. Gautamiya Tantra Ch. I; Sir John Woodroffe, Shakti and Shdkta, pp. 5105-6.

20. Atal Behari Ghosh, The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras in the Cultural Heritage of India, IV, p. 248.

21. Dabistan (London, 1901 ed,), p. 247.

22. Ibid, II. pp. 154, 164 (1833 ed.) quoted by Woodroffe, Op. Cit. p. 584.

22a. Chintaharan Chakravarty, The Tantras—Studies on their religion and literature, pp. 67-68.

23. Tantrasdra , p. 155.

24. D.C. Sircar, The Sakta Pithas , pp. 74-80.

25. Sanatana Gosvamin, Brihat Bhdgavatamrta, II. 1. 36-37.

26. Sanatana Gosvamin, Vaishnava-toshani commentary on the Bhagavata, X. 55.1.

27. Ibid., X.5.1-2 and X.39.37.

28. Hari-bhakti Vildsa, I. 58, 192, 236, 237, 432-35, 462, 913, 1146-50, 1208, 1344; II.9-10; III.4, 220-23; IV. 100-102.

29. Ibid., I. 60-62, 71-73, 377-8; IV.39-40, 46-49, 58-60.

30. Ibid., 1.85.

31. Ibid., I. 126, 136, 407, 410, 451.

32. Ibid., II. 16-17.

33). D.C. Sircar, The Sdkta Pithas, p. 23, and Appendix V.

34. Kavikankana Chandl—Introductory portion, Dig-Vandana (Bangabasi ed.).

35. Ibid., p. 306. See for example, merits of the Kali age towards the end of the book.

36. Chintaharan Chakravarty, Op. Cit., p. 75.

37. Dabistan, (1901 ed.), p. 253.

38. Purchas, Pilgrims , X. pp. 208-09.

39. Gait, History of Assam (2nd Ed. p. 59).

40. J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 1163.

41. The date of his birth is given as 1449 A.D. by K. L. Barua (Early History of Kdmarupa, p. 308), as one of the arguments to prove that jlahkaradeva could not have been a follower of Chaitanya. This date was doubted by Gait who thought it was thirty or forty years too early. His view agrees with the date 1487 given by R.M. Nath (The Background of Assamese Culture, p. 54) and is supported by the fact, admitted by Barua, that &ankaradeva* was a contemporary of king Naranarayana of Cooch Behar whose rule, as mentioned above, falls between A.D. 1555 and 1587, the dates furnished respectively by the coins of himself and of his successor.

41a. &ankaradeva relates the history of this family in his Assamese Bhagavata, Dasama Skandha, verses 12001 and 12002.

42. Namaghosha (ed. by Haramohon Das).

43. Eliot, Charles N.E.: Hinduism in Assam, J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 1169.

44. Namaghosha, verses 872 and 874.

45. Chaitanya-Bhdgavata , II. 22, p. 318 (ed. Atul Krishna GosvamI).

46. Ibid., III. 4., p. 460.

47. Ibid., II. 23, p. 341 and II. 24, p. 346.

48. Bhaktiratnakara, p. 581.

49. Prema-vilasa, ch. xvi.

50. Buchanan Hamilton: Purnea Report, p. 273.

51. Majumdar, Bimanbehari: Chaitanya Chariter Upadana, (2nd. ed.), p. 567.

52. Majumdar, R.C.: Kcumala Lectures, p. 124.

53. Calcutta University Ms. No. 1144, and Basu, Manindra Mohan: Post-Chaitanya Sahajiya cult of Bengal.

54. Dimock, Edward C. (Jr.): The Place of the Hidden Moon-Erotic Mysticism in the Vaishnava Sahajiya Cult of Bengal (University of Chicago, 1966).

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56. Sunya-samhita, ch. I.

57. Sivakaradasa: Jagannatha-charitdmrita, ch. III.

58. Haridasa Dasa: Gaudiya Vaishnava Abhidhana, Vol. II, p. 1241.

59. Rasika-mahgala, p. 121.

60. Chaurdsi Vaishnavoh ki varta (Agrawala Press), p. 372.

61. Vallabhacharya: Sodasa-Grantha (Bombay ed.) Siddhanta muktavali, verse I.

62. Vitthalanath: Svdmi-stotra and Svaminyashtaka.

63. Mittal, Prabhudayal: Ashta-chhapa-parichaya, p. 33.

64., S.M. Pandey and N. Zide's article on Surdas in Krsna, Myths, Rites and Attitudes, ed< by Milton Senger (University of Hawaii, 1966), p. 188.

65. Ibid., p. 185.

66. Sursugar 2305.

67. Hita Harivamsa's Rddhd-sudha-nidhi, verse 76.

68. Farquhar, J.N.: Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 318.

69. Dabistan-uLMajhab (Walter Dunne Publication, Washington, 1901), p. 262.

70. Growse, F.S. on SwamI Haridas, J.A^S.B., xlv, pt. I (1876); pp. 312 ff.

71. Dabistan, p. 263.

72. Ibid., p. 283.

73. Mahabharata (Poona ed.), XII. 288.20, which states: Na Manusha-sreshthataram kihchit.

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78. Ibid., pp. 39 and 91.

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verses with the Marathi original, p. 1, verses 7-8.

80. Ibid., pp. 97-98.

81. Cf. Chaitanya's verse in Rupa Gosvamin's Padydvali, No. 337 (ed. S.K. De)

with Tukaram's abhahga translated by Macnicol: Psalms of the Maratha

Saints, XVIII.

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83. Ddsabodh, ch. XIV., sec. 7.

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son of Bihar Khan Afghan, the chieftain of Kalinjar, by Pramatha Chaudhuri: Nana Charcha, pp. 111-127.

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96. Wilson, H.H.: Religious Sects of the Hindus (ed. 1958), p. 196.

97. Sen, Kshitimohon: The Medieval Mystics of North India (Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV., p. 390).

98. Dabistan, p. 267.

99. Selections from the sacred writings of the Sikhs, pp. 77-78.

RELIGION

99a. The word Sangat appears in the Adi Granth at numerous places.

100. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, i. 302.

101. Dr. Trilochan Singh in his Guru Nanak’s Religion on p. 1 in a footnote states that the word Gurmat is mentioned in the Adi Granth in the hymn£ of Guru Nanak in Ragas Gujri, p. 505, Ramkali, p. 904, Maru, pp. 1008, 1009; Basant, p. 1190 and Sarang, p. 1233.

102. Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, 40, f.n. 1.

103. Macauliffe, i, 60.

104. Rag Asa in the Adi Granth quoted by Cunningham, A History of the Sikhs, 39.

105. Bhai Gurdas, Var, i, pauri 27.

106. Var Asa, xix.

107. The Dabistan, 223.

108. The word Gurdwara occurs many a time in Guru Nanak’s hymns such as in Asa, p. 351, Suhi, p. 730, Ramkali, pp. 930, 933 and Maru, p. 1015; vide Trilochan Singh, Guru Nanak’s Religion, p. 2.

109 Travels, 283.

110. M;> cauliffe, vi, 247.

111. Bhai Gurdas, Var, i, 21.

112. The Dabistan , Persian, 239.

113. Sketch of the Sikhs , 67-68, f.n.

114^ Bhai Santokh Singh, Suraj Prakash, Rut iii, 28.

115. The Dabistan, Persian, 223.

116. Sketch, 44, 147.

117. Ward, The Hindoos, iii, 463.

118. A History of the Sikhs, 1966 edition, 41-42.

119. Ibid, 41.

120. Guru Nanak was so highly pleased with Bhai Lahna's devotion that he observed: "Thou hast performed excessive devotions. Between thee and me there is now no difference. None of my Sikhs hath such faith and confidence in me as thou and therefore I love thee most of all. Thou art verily Angad, a part of my body. I congratulate thee." Macauliffe, ii, 9.

121. Grierson remarks: "The true alphabet of the Punjab is known as the

Landa or 'clipped'. It is connected with the Mahajani character of Northern India and resembles it in having a very imperfect system of vowel sounds. Vowel sounds are frequently omitted." Linguistic Survey of India, ix, Part i, 624. The author remembers a joke in this connection. It is said that a banker went to a village to recover his loan. The farmer had ready money and wanted to settle the account on the spot. The banker sent a messenger with a note in Lande script demanding his bahi or account book. The word bahi was misread as bahu and the banker's wife accompanied the messenger.

122. Suraj Prakash, i, 30.

123. "In 1577 he obtained a grant of the site, together with 500 bighas of land from the Emperor Akbar on payment of Rs. 700 to the Zamindars of Tung, who owned the land". District Gazetteer of Amritsar, 1883-84.

124. The Sikhs call him Arjun Dev. Most of the writers mention his name as Arjun. The almost contemporary author, Muhsin Fani, names him Arjun Mai. The Dabistan, 233.

125. They also preached, settled disputes and kept the S-ikhs under a regular administrative system. The Masands were not paid any salary. They retained a portion of the offerings received by them with the approval of the Guru.

126. The Dabistan, 234.

127. How essential, according to the common Muslim belief, it was to have a spiritual teacher, is manifest from the phrase “be.plr” (without a spiritual guide), which came to be a term of strong reproach and abuse, synonymous almost with another term, “bad-ma’ash” meaning a rogue or scoundrel.

128. Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 608, 637.

129. He is said to have converted several rulers also, notably Osman Khan of Gujarat (Jalor) and Nizamul-Mulk of the Deccan (See Tadhkira by Nadwi). His two staunch and powerful opponents were Shaikh ‘All Muttaqi (d. 975 H.) and Tahir b. Muhammad Fatani (of Pattan) (in Gujarat), who was eventually killed by his followers in 986 H. while on his way to Emperor Akbar’s court where he was proceeding to make complaint against their high-handed actions. He was a learned scholar and a leader of the Bohras of Gujarat. For details of his career, see Tadhkira ‘Allama Shaikh Muhammad bin Tahir by Abu Zafar NadwI.

130. Another noted scholar of the period. For him, see Tadhkira (Aziad) pp. 4348. This happened in the days of Salim Surl.

131. Babur translated into Turkish a didactic poem (Mathnavi) by this saint, known as Risala-i-Walidlya. This translation, a manuscript of which exists in the Rampur State Library, was published in the Bengal Asiatic Society Journal (Special issue) in 1910.

132. Badauni (I: 445) says that Humayun was made to read out a prepared document containing a confession of the Shiah faith. Cf. Jauhar Aftabrahl.

133. For the text of this cleverly drafted manifesto, see Badauni, II: 271; Cf. Rudi-Kauthar, pp. 32-33.

134. Among these were Qutbuddln, Akbar's foster-brother, Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, Mulla Mohammad Yazdl and Muiz-zul Mulk, the last two of whom were imprisoned and ultimately done away with.

135. Renunciation i.e. of property, of life, of honour and of religion.

136. Mulla Shlrl, a contemporary poet, composed the following satirical couplet on this occasion:

Bdshdh imsal dawd-i-Nubuwat Karda-ast Gar Khuda Khwahad pas az sail Khuda Khwdhad Shudan (The king has this year claimed prophethood; God willing after a year he will become God). See Badauni, II: 309.

137. Raja Bhagwan Das was another important dissenter. Mirza 'Aziz, however, later on accepted the new cult after his return from Mecca where he had been permitted to go on his refusal to accede to Akbar's request.

138. Darbdr-i-Akbari, p. 565.

139. e.g. Sir Wolsley Haig in the Cambridge History of India.

140. Thomas Roe (according to Rud-i-Kauthar, p. 26 seq.).

141. This usually took the form of Muslim men marrying non-Muslim women, but that in certain cases, especially among the Rajputs, Muslim women were married to non-Muslims is proved by what Jahangir says about Kashmir (Tuzuk—M emoirs).

142. Curiously enough,, a Muslim jurist, Mulla Abu Said, a nephew of Khwaja Aman of Panipat, is said to have produced a tradition of the Prophet saying that the people of paradise will be without beards in support of this sanction. See Badauni, II: 301 seq. for a detailed account of these un-Islamic edicts of the emperor. Note specially the banning of Arabic studies (II: 363) and of Islamic sciences (II: 303).

143. The Uzbek Sultan 'Abdullah was one of those rulers who protested.

144. The same belief prompted the compilation of Tarikh-i-Alfi (Alf meaning a thousand), a notable historical work of Akbar's reign, which,

however, was never completed. See Badauni, II: 318.

145. It is interesting to note that by thus addressing the monarch,, the courtier placed himself in the position of a “murid” (disciple) which is exactly what Akbar demanded of those who entered the Dln-i-Ildhl, although a Hindi equivalent of the word, i.e. chela , was used for the Arabic word murid.

146. Reformer of the second millennium.

147. Shathlyat in Sufi parlance, mainly contained in his letters (Maktubat). One of these known as the eleventh letter in which he had described his maqamat (stations in a spiritual trance) specially roused a bitter controversy and alienated some of his fond admirers.

148. Tadhkira (Azad), p. 239 seq.

149. See Bazm-i-Timurlya, pp. 166-168.

150. Two other Sufi schools, the Shattarlya and the Shadhillya, also gained some adherents in India about this time, but they never became very popular. Followers of the Shadhillya sect are found in Hyderabad, and elsewhere.

151. This was in accordance with the general orthodox belief that the door of ijtihad (exercise of personal discretion) had been closed after the days of the great jurists, the founders of the four madh-habs.

152. Thus QazI ‘Abdul Wahhab, the Chief Judge of Gujarat, in whom Aurangzlb had great confidence, is said to have been addicted to wine and left behind 1 lakh gold coins and 5 lakh rupees in addition to other valuables. (See Rudi-Kauthar, p. 282; Cf. Ma (athirul Umard).

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL CONDITION

The society and culture during the Mughul Age was not entirely new or radically different from the culture of the preceding or succeeding ages. The Indian culture in all ages has been fundamentally the same, and the differences we notice at different times are, generally speaking, those of detail and not of the essence. So, an attempt has been made to describe, under a few major heads, the various facets of the society and culture during the period under review. 1

Dress

The dress of the poor people of various communities was very much alike. Workmen, tillers of the soil and other labourers contented themselves with a cotton langota tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees. Babur refers to it in his memoirs. 2 During winter common people, except paupers, put on small quilted coats which lasted for years. In northern India even the poor put on turbans to protect their head from heat or cold. In the cold weather quilted caps were common in some parts of northern India, especially in Kashmir and the Punjab. The upper classes spent lavishly on their dress, and wealthy Muhammadans wore both shdlwars and breeches or tight trousers. Over their shirts they put on narrow waist-coats. The qaba or a long coat coming down to the knees was worn as an upper garment. The rich also carried over their shoulders shawls of very fine woollen fabric of various colours. It was the fashion to tie one's waist with a scarf of beautiful and costly multi-coloured stuffs. Men carried arms and adorned themselves with a katdr or a dagger. The Mughul rulers were very particular about new fashions and invented many new dresses. Akbar employed skilled tailors to improve the style of costumes in his wardrobe. The Ain-i-Akbarl describes eleven types of coats. 3 Father Rudolf found Akbar clad in a dhoti of the finest and most delicate silk. Monserrate writes about the dress of Akbar: "His Majesty wore clothes of silk beautifully embroidered in gold. His Majesty's cloak comes down to his hose and boots cover his ankles completely and (he) wears pearls and gold jewellery." 4 Turbans were the common head-wear of all communities,^ those of the Muslims were usually white and round-shaped, while those of the Hindus were coloured, straight, high and pointed. Stockings were not used by

any section of the people. The general style of the shoes was Turkish viz. pointed in front and open above with low heels to be easily undone when necessary. The men of taste had their shoes made of velvet of several colours or of brocade covered with silk leather, and sometimes set rubies and diamonds on the instep of their shoes. Ladies had not many varieties of dresses. The common apparel of the womenfolk was a piece of cloth called ‘sari’ wrapped round the middle part of the body and thrown over the head and an dngiyd or a small jacket worn round the chest. Breeches or shalwdrs and shirts were common among Muhammadan ladies. GJidgrd too was popular among them. The rich women put on qabtis of fine Kashmir wool. Some of them also used Kashmir shawls of the finest quality. Ladies, both Hindu and Muhammadan, covered their heads with a dopdtpa of fine cotton, or silk wrought with silver or gold threads, according to their means. Muhammadan ladies, whenever they moved out, put on white shrouds or burqas. There were, of course, exceptions and local variations from the general types.

Toilets

Hair dyes, recipes for the cure of baldness and the removal of hair from the body were known from ancient times and practised in medieval age. Soaps, powders and creams had their substitutes in ghasul, myrobalans, opatanah , and pounded sandal wood. Soap was known and used in India from ancient times. Precious scents of diverse kinds were in use. The Ain-i-Akbafl gives a long list of scents and their prices. 5 Nur Jahan’s mother prepared a new itar from roses and named it itar-i-jahangiri. Abu-’l-Fazl, in the Ain-i-Akbari , describes 16 items for a woman’s toilet which include bathing, anointing, braiding the hair, decking the crown of her head with jewels, sectarian marks of caste after decking with pearls, jewels and gold, tinting with lamp-black like collyrium, staining the hands, chewing betel leaf and decorating herself with various ornaments, as nose-rings, necklaces, and wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers, etc. Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads. Sometimes they twisted up their hair upon the top of the head like a pyramid, sticking gold bodkin in the centre. The use of the false hair has also been referred to. 6 Hindu ladies considered it auspicious to put a vermillion mark and to anoint the parting of their hair. Collyrium was used for the eyes. It was usual for high class ladies to use missia for blackening between the teeth and antimony for darkening their eye lashes. 7 Indian women frequently used mehidi (henna leaves) to give red colour to their

hands and feet. It served as a nail polish to redden their finger nails. They reddened their lips by chewing betel-leaf which served them as a lip-stick.

Ornaments 7a

Women were anxious to adorn, one might say even load, themselves with a variety of bulky ornaments. Ladies bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abu-'l-Fazl enumerates 37 in his list in the Am-i-Akbari. Chank, Mang , Kotbiladar (perhaps the modern Chandraman), Sekra, and Binduli adorned the head and the forehead. Karnphul, Pipal Patti, Mor Bhanwar and Bali were the different types of ear-rings. Nose-ornaments seemed to have been introduced by Muhammadans. Nath and Besar were their different types. Laung or a flower-bud —a small stud of single diamond or ruby fixed at the corner of the left nostril—enhanced the beauty of the face. Around the neck were worn necklaces of gold, pearls, and other precious stones which contained five to seven strings of gold beads. The upper part of the arms was ornamented with bazubands, and tad. Gajrah or Kangan, a bracelet, adorned their wrists. They decorated their wrists up to the elbow with bracelets called Churis. Chhudr Ghantikd and Kati Mekhald were the two varieties of gold belts. Rings were worn on toes andi fingers. Jehar served as an ankle ornament. Ghunghru were worn between the Payal (ornaments of legs) and Jehar (ankle ornament). Bhank and Bichwah were the ornaments used for the instep while Anipat decorated big toe.

As for men, Muslims were usually against ornaments; some of them, however, put on amulets. Hindus, on the other hand, adorned themselves with ear and finger rings. Rajputs put on bracelets as well. All the Mughul Emperors except Aurangzib adorned themselves with rich jewellery on important occasions.

Diet 8

Khichari 9 was the most popular dish of the common people who could ill afford to spend on dainty dishes. Rice formed the chief food of the people of the East and South. The Gujaratis preferred rice and curd. Jahangir refers to the food of the Kashmiris which usually consisted of boiled rice and boiled salted vegetables, 10 chiefly a leafy plant called karam. The people of the North, however, generally took chappatis of wheat, jowar or bajra. The middle classes managed to have three meals a day. The poor, too, managed to have light refreshments in the form of some parched pulse or other grains between the three regular meals. The upper classes

invariably used wheat flour, boiled rice and cooked vegetables of various sorts. Hindus in general being vegetarians, confined themselves to pulses, curd, butter, oil and milk and its several preparations. They prepared rice, aromatic birinjes and puddings of rice

mixed with almonds and raisins. On his abstinence days, Jahangir would take lazizah, i.e., Khichari, prepared in the Gujarati style. 11 Abu-'l-Fazl gives a detailed list of various vegetables and meat and sweet dishes in the Ain-i-Akbari. 12

Muhammadans prepared rice and aromatic birinjes as q ahull, duzdbiryan, qimah palao, and pudding of rice mixed with almonds and raisins and strewn with butter and pepper. Sweet dishes consisted of halwa, sweetmeats, and comfits prepared from refined sugar and falpida. 13 An idea of the variety of dishes served at a noble's dinner can be had from the description of Asaf Khan's banquet to Sir Thomas Roe 14 and that of the Governor of Ahmadabad to Mandelslo. 15 Mukundarama's gorgeous description of feasts and vegetable dishes leaves us in little doubt as to their popularity among the upper class Hindus. 16

Kitchens and Utensils

The utensils used in Hindu kitchens were all made of brass or bronze, while those of the Muhammadans were earthen ware or made of copper. The Mulghul kings used gold or silver utensils and were fond of precious China and glassware. Aurangzib, however, used earthen or copper vessels. Hindus paid great attention to cleanliness and a special place called chauka invariably rubbed over with cow-dung was reserved for cooking meals, which none was allowed to enter with shoes on. Bathing was a pre-requisite before meals. Hindus would at the outset put apart a small portion of their food as an humble homage to the gods. Akbar used to pu>t apart the share of the dervishes before he commenced his meal. 17

The ordinary people used the leaves of the trees, stitched together with rushes, as plates. In the case of the Rajas and other rich men, food was brought from the kitchen in bowls or vessels of silver or gold. Table manners required not to use one's left hand or lick the fingers. Wives did not make it a custom to join their husbands at tables, but took meals separately. The kitchen and table manners of the Muhammadans were quite simple, though not always as clean as those of the Hindus. They were free to cook wherever and whenever they liked and eat everything except the flesh of swine. A dastarkhwan was spread on the floor and dishes arranged thereon. The whole family sat together and partook of the dishes jointly. No napkins were used and the procedure of washing was not always adhered to.

The manner of cooking in the royal kitchen and the process of sending in of plates and the measures adopted to check poisoning have been elaborately described in the Ain-i-Akbari. ls

Intoxicants

Wine, opi'um, bhang and tobacco, were the most common intoxicants indulged in Mughul times. Betel, tea and coffee were also sometimes included in this class. The masses were generally opposed to intemperance which was looked upon as a vice and even a sin. The strict prohibition enforced by almost all the Mughul kings was no less a factor in discouraging the use of wine among the people. Severe punishments were inflicted for excessive drinking and disorderly conduct. The nobles, however, indulged in heavy drinking and many of them fell victims to alcohol. All the Mughul emperors excepting Aurangzib took wine several times a day. Babur and Jahangir were renowned drunkards. Humayun was more fond of opium. Aurangzib totally abstained from wine while Akbar and Shah Jahan would not pass the limits of decency.

Nira, Mahua, Kherra , Bhadwar, Jagre , and toddy were some of the well-known varieties of country wine. Some superior kinds of wines were also imported from foreign countries like Portugal and Persia. Opium was in use among a large number of people especially Muhammadans and Rajputs. The latter would double the dose on the eve of a battle. Its stimulating effect animated them with extraordinary courage and bravery to fight more valiantly and heroically. Some of the Mulghul emperors particularly Humayun and Jahangir were very fond of this intoxicant. Tobacco gained rapid popularity among common people soon after its introduction in India in 1605 by the Portuguese. Smoking became so habitual with one and all in the short interval of a decade or so that Jahangir had to order its prohibition by special enactment in 1617 on account of its harmful effects. 19 The decree, however, remained a dead letter and several travellers refer to its wide popularity. Manucci mentions Rs. 5,000 as tobacco duty for a day in Delhi alone. 20

Betel was in most common use among all classes of people throughout India. It was necessarily chewed after meals but most of the people went on taking it throughout the day. Its choicest varieties were Bilhari, Kakar, Jaiswar, Kapuri, Kapur Kant, and Bangalah. Makhi leaves of Bihar and Keroah of Orissa were also much sought after.

Tea and coffee were not taken as beverages in those days but as intoxicants. These drinks were taken by quite a large number of people especially those of Coromandel Coast. There seems to have been coffee shops, if not coffee houses, in some of our cities like Delhi and Ahmadabad. 21

Houses and Furniture 22

Mughul palaces, or more appropriately palace-fortresses, were usually situated on the bank of a river or a stream. Some of these were built on rocky eminences “just turning into or overhanging lakes or artificial pieces of water.” These palaces consisted of two parts—inner and outer. The inner part contained the quarters of the queens, the princesses, the private council hall, the retiring rooms, the luxurious hammams , etc. while the other part comprised Dlvcun-i-Am, DiwcLn-i-Khds, the arsenal, the store house, etc. in their proper places. There were also pavilions for witnessing animal fights and for musical entertainments. Stables for horses, elephants, cows, etc. were also provided. Akbar's palaces at Agra, Allahabad and Lahore may serve as good examples of Mughul conception of royal palaces. 23 Most of the Hindu palaces built during the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly in the capitals of the States in Rajputana, viz., Bikaner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Orchha, Datia, Udaipur and the city of Amber (Jaipur), are unsystematic in their compositions and are built more for convenience and comfort than for architectural considerations. In their planning and construction, as is natural, Mughul style predominates. As for example, the Jahangir Mandir at Orchha was so designed that every part fulfilled its function and expressed purpose; its rooms were devised for seclusion, its terraces for the cool air, its corridors for convenience; each compartment, court hall and passage, had its specific use and was introduced into the scheme in accord with the requirements of its inmates. The houses of the nobles were luxuriously built, preferably in the middle of a garden, and had spacious lawns, tanks, choultries, etc. The house had to be so constructed as to provide for the two wings known as the mardana and the zenana. A drawing room where the nobles received visitors, and held court, a khwabagah, or the bedroom, kitchen, lavatories, besides a courtyard were the necessary requisites. Climatic conditions also necessitated a terrace where the family could sleep during summer nights. The roofs of the buildings were kept flat for the purpose. A 'barsati' or a room at the terrace was also provided. The European travellers praise the houses of the rich which, to quote Pelsaert, 24 "were noble and elegant, spacious and pleasant." The houses of the merchants at Surat

were built of brick and lime and had several storeys; the houses in Kashmir were built of wood due to frequent earthquakes. Bernier saw at Agra the mansions of nobles "interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of the banias or Hindu merchants have their appearance of old castles buried in forests." There were lofty and spacious houses of the upper classes at Delhi, Lahore and Masulipatam. In Malabar these houses were built of teakwood and did not possess more than two storeys. The houses of the traders, merchants and the petty umras were modest in their appearance as compared to those of the nobles. They lacked elaborate carvings, embellishments, and beautiful gardens. Some of them were built of brick, burnt tiles and lime; others of clay and straw. In the villages the well-to-do zamindars had several huts grouped together. These houses 243 were airy and commodious. Some of them were two-storeyed and had beautiful terrace roofs. The main features of these buildings in the cities were the provision of eave or chajja above the cornice of each storey with its great width, its cast and shadow, which helped to keep the entire building cool during summer.

The houses of the poor were thatched huts without any cellars or windows. The addition of a second hut and a granary was considered as making a house a comfortable abode. These huts had only a single opening for air, light and entrance. The floors of the houses were of pounded earth spread over with cow-dung. In their huts they had only a mat to sleep upon and a pit or hole in the ground to keep their rice in. They had only a pot or two for cooking purposes.

The houses of the rich, especially the nobles, were, however, luxuriously furnished. Their diwdn khands or drawing rooms were decorated with costly carpets from Kashmir, Lahore or even imported from Persia and Turkey. Jajams and shatrinjis and baluchis were sometimes spread over the mattresses. Big cylindrical cushions were a part of the furniture and no drawing room could be considered complete without them. Gujarati and Banarasi curtains were particularly liked. The latter were embroidered with silk. Sind had a reputation for leather hangings. Bernier gives a very interesting account about the diwdn khands of a noble. 25

The Indian mode of sitting did not necessitate chairs which were rightly regarded as superfluous and uncomfortable. Fryer and Pelsaert’s observations regarding the complete absence of chairs are, however, exaggerated. ‘Abdur Razzaq, the Persian Ambassador to Vijayanagara in 1443 A.D., and Sir Thomas Roe refer to their use. The seats, sometimes cushioned, were always wider than

those of today. The legs of the chairs were sometimes carved out and the feet were connected by means of wooden planks. 26 Stools were used in those days. Usually covered with leather or cloth, they could be interwoven with cane also. Mundas of reed and pidis or seats made of suitable wood are also referred to in contemporary literature. Tables were not in much use except by the merchants of the West Coast. Khatta or bedstead, the most common article of furniture in those days, was used by the rich and the poor alike. It was used by the poor as a couch to sit, and recline upon during day time and served the purpose of a cot at night. These bedsteads woven with cords or braids of cotton or silk according to the owner's means had their legs often painted or lacquered. The aristocracy were very particular about their bedsteads which were lavishly ornamented with gold, silver or even with jewels and diamonds. 27

Fairs and Festivals 28

Both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, had a large number of festivals which they celebrated with great enthusiasm during medieval times. There was general uniformity in their observance for the most part, throughout the country. But they enjoyed degrees of popularity and were celebrated with certain local variations. Decorations, illuminations, fire-works, splendid processions, abundant display of gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and jewels, observed by Muslims in India in the celebrations of their festivals, were the natural consequence of their contact with the Hindu culture. The enlightened rulers like Akbar and Jahangir adopted some of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in their court calendar. Humayun adopted tula dan or the weighing ceremony of the Hindus. Akbar went further and associated Holi, Dasehra, and Vasant Pan chami, with court celebrations. Jahangir and, to a certain extent, Shah Jahan continued the tradition. Aurangzib followed a reverse course. He banned most of the Hindu and Persian festivals in the court, making it Islamic as far as he could in Hindu surroundings.

Holi, one of the ancient festivals of the Hindus, was the most popular day of rejoicing, music and feast, as it is today. Colour throwing was a lively part of the celebrations. 29

Akbar observed the festival of Raksha Bandhan, and had a mkhi tied on his wrist. It became the custom for the courtiers and others to adorn the emperor's wrist with beautiful strings of silk, bejewelled with rubies and pearls and gems of great value. Jahangir, who called it 'Nighadasht', ordered: “Hindu amins and the head of the caste should fasten rakhis on my arm”.

On the occasion of the Dasehra festival royal elephants and horses were washed, groomed, and caparisoned to be arrayed for inspection by the Emperor. Diwall or Dlpawall was observed in much the same manner, as it is today; fire-works were discharged and sweets and other presents were exchanged. Gambling was considered auspicious on this day and people kept awake the whole night trying one another’s luck at dice. Akbar was interested in the festive aspect of the celebrations, while Jahangir preferred gambling. Sometimes the latter ordered his attendants to play the games in his presence for two or three nights. In the time of the later Mughuls, it appears, the permission of the Governor was necessary to hold the Diw\all fair for which a poll-tax was sometimes imposed. 30 Akbar also took part in the celebrations of Govardhan Pujd and several cows, properly washed and ornamented, were brought before him for his review. 31 Both solar and lunar eclipses were observed with all sanctity by the Hindus who kept a fast for 24 hours before the actual eclipse and passed the day in prayers. A bath in the Ganges on this occasion was regarded as of special merit and large numbers resorted to Hardwar, Kashi and Prayag.

&ivamtri 32 or the festival of Lord Siva was observed with all solemnity during Mughul times. Akbar participated in the meeting of the principal jogis of the Empire held that night and ate and drank with them. Jahangir also refers to this festival. Ramnavaml and Janmashtaml were the two other important Hindu festivals referred to by Abu-’l-Fazl in the Ain-i-Akbari . 33

Muharram, ld-i-Milad, Shab-i-Barat, Id-ul-Fitr, and ld-ul-Zuha l are some of the important Muslim festivals which were observed with all solemnity during Mughul times. The Mughul Emperors, though Sunni in belief, put no restrictions on the observance of Muharram. Aurangzlb however, stopped the practice of Muharram processions throughout his dominions. But though the tazia processions were never given up and Muharram assemblies, mourning and distribution of charity continued to be practised all over the country, sometimes Muharram celebrations were marred by riots between the Sunnis and Shiahs in which numerous lives were lost. 34

On the occasion of the festival of ld-i-Milad or the feast of Prophet’s nativity, a meeting of the Sayyids, scholars and saints was arranged in the Palace at Agra. Shah Jahan took special interest in this festival and used to give away large sums in charity. Equally popular was the festival of Shab-i-Barat or the night of the Prophet’s ascent to Heaven. The Muslims, during Mughul days, illuminated their houses and shops and displayed fire-works. Jahangir and Shiah Jahan were very particular about this festival and observed it regularly

with great pomp and show. The palaces, government buildings, public gardens, reservoirs etc. were all illuminated on this occasion and the King would distribute money among the poor. The two Ids, Id-ul-Fitr, and the Id-ul-Zuha, were the two most important festivals of the Muslims. The Id-ul-Fitr which comes after the long drawnout part of Ramzan was proclaimed by firing of guns and blowing of trumpets. Friends and relatives exchanged dainty dishes and visits and wished each other good luck. It was customary to call on elders and superiors to offer greetings. In the afternoon Muslims assembled in the Idgah to offer prayers. Id-ul-Zuha was observed with ceremonious display during Mughul times. Preparations were made both in the capital and in the provinces well in advance. The Emperor rode in procession and sometimes even took up his quarters at the Idgah. The sacrifice of a camel would be performed in his presence with due ceremonies. The people who could afford it performed the same ceremony at their homes by solemnly killing a ram or a goat in memory of the ram offered for Ismail. They also cooked stew, sweetmeats and griddle cakes and offered fatiha in the name of their deceased relatives.

Some of the other Muslim festivals referred to in the contemporary literature are Bara Wafat, Akhiri Chahar Shamba, etc.

There were a few festivals like the Nauroz (birthday celebrations of the ruling monarch), Meena or Fancy Bazar and the Ab-i-Pashan which assumed more or less national character. IVcmroz 35 was easily the greatest national festival during Mughul times and its celebrations lasted for full 19 days. It was borrowed from the Persians and was observed on the first Farwardis, the first month of the Persian Year (20th or 21st of March). In India, it marked the advent of spring. Grand preparations for the festival were made months ahead at the imperial cities, bazars, and porticoes; the public and private audience halls were profusely decorated with costly stuffs such as satin, velvet, clothes of gold, etc. The common people whitewashed their entrances and decorated the doors of their houses with green branches. The people from neighbouring towns would flock to the capital and indulge in all sorts of merry-making. Restrictions on gambling were also relaxed and people were allowed free access to the presence of the King once a week. The King and the court celebrated this festival in a right royal manner. Special kinds of coins called ‘ nisars ’ were struck by the Mughul Emperors from Jahangir onwards for distribution among the people or for offering tribute to the King on the occasion of certain festivities such as New Year’s day, or the anniversary of their coronations. During these 19 days “wine flowed in rivulets, verse and ode flew in hundreds, gaiety and merriment ruled everything.” Singers and musicians flocked to the court from all quarters particularly from Persia. Newtek girls with their wonderful and attractive performances thrilled the hearts of all those present. Several European travellers have given a picturesque description of the lavish display of wealth and magnificence on this occasion. Manrique, perhaps copying from somewhere or depending on hearsay, gives a detailed account of the decorations of the Imperial Palace at Agra. 3 ^ The nobles, too, adorned their palaces with jewels, pearls, diamonds, and their richest treasures and greatest rarities, so that, to quote Nizam-ud-dln, the author of the Tabqat-i-Akbafi, “the spectators on seeing them were filled with wonder and admiration.” The main function usually took place in the Diiv\an-i-Am which was richly decorated with velvets, gold cloth, and European durtains and screens, and the royal tent was fixed there in the middle beautified with diamonds, pearls, rubies and fruits of gold. It was? surrounded all round by the tents of the nobles. The nobles presented the King with rare and precious gifts on this occasion and the King bestowed on them jdglrs, robes of honour, stipends and titles and promotion in rank.

Birthday of the ruling monarch provided another opportunity for rejoicings. Akbar introduced the custom of observing both his lunar and solar birthdays. The royal palaces and the courts were decorated on this occasion as on the occasion of Nauroz , and the elephants and horses, bedecked in rich trappings and glittering robes, were brought before the Emperor for review. The King paid a visit to his mother to receive her blessings. Presents were offered, feasts were given and bonfires lighted. Humayun was the first Mughul ruler to adopt the custom of weighing the emperor against certain precious metals and commodities on this occasion. 37 Akbar observed it twice a year both on his solar and lunar birthday anniversaries. The practice was continued by Jahangir and with slight alterations by Shah Jahan. Aurangzlb, however, reverted to the old custom of having himself weighed only once a year and even this was dispensed with in his 51st year (March, 1670). But he allowed it in the case of his sons on their recovery from illness on the specific condition that the money and articles should be distributed among the poor. 38 The princes and their sons were also weighed on their solar anniversaries. The weighing commenced at the age of 2 years against one commodity, and one was added each year, till the number reached generally 7 or 8 but in no case was it to exceed 12. These commodities were later on distributed among the Brahmans, fakirs and other deserving persons. After the ceremony, the King ascended the throne and received presents which, according to Thevenot, were valued at millions of rupees. 39 The king would announce increase in the mansabs of some and bestowed gifts and jdgvrs.

Humayun was the first Mughul Emperor to introduce what later came to be known as Meena Bazar. The first of this kind was held on boats near the King’s palace after the customary mystic feast. 40 Akbar who continued the festival in a modified form exalted such days as Khushroz or joyful days. Shah Jahan arranged such a bazar on the occasion of every festival. It invariably followed the Nauroz celebrations. The stalls in the specially constructed bazar were distributed among nobles to be arranged by their wives or daughters who acted as traders. If we are to believe Badauni, stalls in the Meena Bazar were sometimes conducted by nobles themselves. 41 The King with princesses and ladies of the royal household would pay visits to the bazar to make his bargain, frequently disputing the value of a dam.

After the women’s bazar, a bazar for men was held; there the merchants brought their merchandise from all parts of the world.

A festival similar to Holi, called Ab-i-Pashan by Jahangir and Id-i-Gulabi (rose water festival) by Lahori, the author of Pddshdndma, was celebrated at the Mughul court at the commencement of the rainy season. The princes and the prominent nobles took part in the festival and sprinkled rose water on each other.

Sports, Games and Pastimes 42

Leaving aside twentieth century amusements like cinema-going, and outdoor games like hockey, cricket, football, tennis, etc. that have come to us through contact with the West, the pastimes in vogue during Mughul times were similar to those commonly found today. The difference, if any, lies in details only. Chess, chaupar, and playing cards were the most popular indoor games and were enjoyed by the rich and the poor alike. The various types of tiger play, games of gufis and the games of sheep and goats were favourites with the rural population. Abu-’l-Fazl has given some details about these games in Am-i-Akbari. 43 The Mughul pack of cards consisted of 12 suits of 12 cards each making a total of 144 with different kinds of kings and followers. The names of all the suits were in Sanskrit till the time of Akbar who renamed the last seven suits and reconstituted Dhanpati, the fifth. As distinguished from our present day cards, they were all in pictures; the highest represented the King, the second highest, a vazir and the rest were followers from

one to ten. The game was quite popular with the Mughul Emperors many of whom were expert players.

The game of chess 44 was equally popular with the kings, nobles and the commoners alike. Akbar is said to have played the game of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of the Pachisi court at Fathpur SikrI. Sometimes international matches were held and bets offered. Khan-i-Khanan was deputed by Jahangir to combat Shah Shafi of Persia.

The game of chaupar was quite popular among the people, but no ready-made tables for the game were available in those days. The Mughuls, it appears, were not familiar with the game as it existed in India till the time of Akbar who framed special rules and regulations. 45 It was a favourite game of Zib-un-Nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzib, who spent most of her spare time in playing chaupar with her girl friends. Ain refers to another game called Chandal Mahal which was, in fact, a modified chaupar, designed to increase the number of players to 16 with 64 pieces divided equally among them. Nard or backgammon was introduced into India by the Muslims while Pachisi was an ancient Hindu game enjoyed frequently by Akbar. The boards of this game were marked out on a marble square in a quadrangle in the Agra Fort and Fathpur SikrI. The games of Gutis—do guti, tre guti, nao gu\i, and bdra guti —were popular with the rural as well as the urban population. Mughul pathan, lam turki , bhag chal, bhag chakar, chhabis guti, bhag chal and bheri bakri were its popular variations. 46

Of the outdoor diversions, hunting, animal fights and Chaugan were the privilege of the few, while Ishq-bazi, wrestling, etc. were enjoyed by one and all. It is regrettable that no reference to kabaddi is traceable in contemporary records. But the game must have been played in the villages, as it is even today. Of all the Mughul Emperors Akbar liked Chaugan (Polo) most and even invented illuminated balls which made the playing of game on dark nights possible. The most famous of the chaugan playing fields were at Fathpur SikrI and Agra. The game of hockey, too, is referred to in contemporary records. 47 Wrestling and boxing were a favourite pastime during the Mughul Age. In Vijayanagara even women took part in wrestling contests. 48 Akbar was very much fond of boxing and kept a large number of Persian and Turani boxers at the court. Horse-racing was a source of entertainment prevalent among the high class Mughul nobles. Martial sports like archery and swordsmanship had a special fascination for the people; matches and contests were held and rewards offered.

Hunting was one of the best means of amusement and recreation during the Mughul times and was indulged in by the king, nobles and the commoners. The costly and dangerous expeditions were the privilege of the few and the quarry consisted of elephants, lions, tigers, buffaloes and wild goats. Lion hunting was exclusively reserved for the king. Elephant hunting, too, could not be indulged in without the special permission of the king. Akbar invented a special kind of hunting called ‘qamargha hunt’ 49 which became very popular with the Mughul kings, who took lively interest in the game. Shooting of birds was a common hobby and a source of entertainment for the rich and the poor.

Fishing was in vogue during the Mughul times both as a recreation and as a profession. The use of nets for catching fish was not totally unknown but professional fishermen did not have recourse to it. A special type of net called safra (or bhanwar jal in Hindi) was used.

Animal fight was one of the popular amusements and recreations of the age. The people had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats, rams, cocks, stags, antelopes, dogs and bulls to entertain their friends. Young boys favoured fight among bulbuls and sometimes quails. The kings and the nobles amused themselves with costly and dangerous combats between elephants, tigers, deer, cheetas, boars, leopards, bulls and other wild beasts. Cock-fighting was very common among the higher middle class. Ishq-bazi or pigeon flying was primarily a sport of common folk. Nobles, too, enjoyed it and brought excellent pigeons from foreign countries like Turan and Iran to be trained for the game.

Among other pastimes reference may be made to mushairas , magic shows, acrobatics and dramatic performances. Ramlild or theatrical representation of scenes from the Rdmdyana were common during the Hindu festival of Dasehra and even Muslims witnessed this show. 50 “The visits to periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage”, to quote Sir Jadunath Sarkar, “were the sole joy of the Indian village population and men and women were passionately eager to undertake them.” 51 Mathura, Allahabad, Banaras, Nasik and Madura were the main religious centres of the Hindus while Ajmer, Gulbarga, Nizam-ud-dm Auliya and Burhanpur were the seats of Muslim pilgrimage.

Customs and Ceremonies

From the few and scattered references in the contemporary literature, it is evident that both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, observed their rites and ceremonies 52 in much the same manner as they do today. Of the 16 principal ceremonies prescribed by Hindu law-givers, only 6 important ones, viz. Jdta karma (birth ceremony), Ndma-karana (name-giving ceremony), Chuddkarana (hair-cutting ceremony), Upanayana (initiation), and Vivdha (marriage) and certain funeral rites were observed by majority of the Hindus. Abu-'l-Fazl 53 describes the birth ceremony, when honey stirred in ghee is put into the mouth of the infant by means of a gold ring. Tulsidas and Surdas refer to the performance of Nandimukh Srdddha A 4 just after the birth when offerings of gold, cows, plates and jewels were made to the Brahmans. A cord made of durbd grass interwoven with mango leaves was usually hung over the main door as a mark of festivity. The Ndmakarana ceremony was usually performed after the period of confinement lasting forty days was over. 55 The ceremony of Annapvasana, it appears, was performed when the child was 6 months old. Khir, honey and ghee, according to the poet Surdas, would be placed before the child whose father helped him to take it after due ceremonies. 56 The Mundan or the hair-cutting ceremony was celebrated with due rites not earlier than the age of three leaving one lock on the top of the head. The ears of the child were also bored usually on that day. The Upanayana or the sacred thread ceremony was performed before the age of eight when a special function was held and a large number of Brahmans were invited. 57 Being thus invested with the sacred thread, the boy began his studies in right earnest. The ceremony of Samdvartana was performed when the student returned home after the completion of his studies. 58

The craving for a male child was quite intense among Muhammadans. Manucci relates in detail the rejoicings which followed the birth of a son in a rich family. 59 It was customary to pour honey into the infant's mouth immediately after birth and to press his mother's breast so that “a drop of milk comes out”. Azan , or the Muslim call to prayer was sounded in the ears of the infant. The naming ceremony was performed on the very day of his birth when the grandfather would give the name. Manucci refers to great celebrations on the Chhathi day. It was customary, after bathing the child, to cover him with a shirt made of any article of dress worn by some ancient worthy. The Aqiqah rites were usually performed on the seventh day which consisted of a sacrifice of two goats for a boy and one for a girl. The first shaving of the child was also done on this day. Abu-'l-Fazl specially alludes to a Turkish custom adopted by the Mughuls. When a child began to walk, it was usual for the father or the grandfather to strike it with his turban so that it might fall down. The Bismillah or more properly

the Maktab ceremony was performed when a boy was four years, four months and four days old. Circumcision or Sunnat ceremony was performed with great pomp and show. Akbar prohibited this rite before the age of 12 and even then left it to the boy's option.

Early marriages were in vogue in both the communities. It is, however, almost certain that the actual consummation did not take place before the age of puberty. Inter-caste marriages were out of fashion among Hindus. No such restrictions existed among the Muslims who had complete freedom of choice barring a few closer relations. Akbar, however, did not like marriages between near and dear ones. The marriage rites and ceremonies of Hindus and Muslims were observed in much the same manner as today. Dowry system seems to have been quite harsh and many a poor father had not the means to procure wedding outfits for their daughters. Tukaram could get his daughter married only through the contribution of the villagers. 60 Huge dowries have been referred to by Muhammad Jayasi, Tulsidas and Surdas. Mughul kings, too, used to accept huge dowries. Akbar was, no doubt, against this custom but he made no effort to check this evil practice.

Greater stress was laid upon the funeral ceremonies by the Hindus to whom the value of next world is higher than that of the present one. The most important ones were cremation, TJdakarma, Asaucha, Asthi Sanchayana , Sdntikarma, and Sapindtkarana. Abu-'l-Fazl enumerates certain classes to whom the privilege of burning was denied. Inhumation (burial, preferably water burial) was, however, resorted to, as prescribed by the scriptures, in the case of small children and ascetics. Abu-'l-Fazl has referred to a curious custom which was sometimes followed in Bengal. A person in a dying condition would be carried to a nearby river where the lower half of his body would be immersed in water at the moment of his death. 61 Guru Nianak refers to the Indian custom of tearing the top of a letter when announcing the death of a relative. The generality of the Hindus, it appears, followed the prescribed rules which forbid certain things during the period of defilement such as the cutting of the hair and beard, study of the Vedas, offering to the deities, etc. The positive rules which enjoin, for a period of three days, continence, sleeping on the ground, living on begged or purchased food, eating only in the day time, were also observed. 62 Gaudy dresses were avoided and the women covered their heads with white dopdttns as a sign of mourning. Sanchayana, or the ceremony of collection of bones and ashes took place after an interval varying according to different castes. The bones after being washed with milk were thrown into a river, preferably the Ganges. The period

of mourning ended on the 13th day when some offerings were made to the heir of the deceased by the relatives. Smddha , which Abu-’lFazl describes as the charity given in the name of the deceased, was observed usually on the anniversary of the deceased's death. Its significance and mode of performance has been described at length in the iin. 63

Like those of the Hindus, the Muslim funeral customs have not changed much since the days of the Mughuls. The Yasin chapter of the Qur’an was read by the sick bed of the dying person and his face was usually turned towards Mecca. Sharbat or holy water from Zamzam well at Mecca, if available, might be poured down his throat to “facilitate exit of the vital spark.” Death was announced by using certain euphemism, specially in the case of great men; for example, “Emperor Babur departed from the fleeting world for the everlasting abode in paradise”. In case of the death of a prince or a dear one to the Emperor, the vakil of the deceased would appear before the king with a blue handkerchief tied around his arm. 64 The body, covered with flowers and heavily perfumed, was carried in a befitting manner and decorum, according to the deceased’s position in life, to the burial ground. If he was a noble, his insignia of rank, flags, elephants, cavalry, etc. accompanied it. The period of mourning lasted for 40 days, according to Manucci. The Hindu custom of getting oneself shaved after the death of a dear one seems to have been followed by Muhammadans also. Dainty dishes and gaudy dresses were avoided during this period. The mourning ended on the 40th day when the relatives visited the grave and distributed food, clothes and money to the poor and the needy in the name of the deceased.

Hindus and Muhammadans differed in their mode of greeting friends, relatives and superiors. Manucci describes five kinds of salutations prevalent among the Hindus in Mughul days. ‘Ram Ram’ was the most popular form of greeting among equals. A person of higher status, a governor, minister, or a general was greeted by raising the folded hands above the head. 66 The younger would greet an elder by bowing down, touching his or her feet and raising the hand to his head. He would even prostrate himself before his teacher. The Raja or King was also received in the same manner by all classes except the Brahmans who would only raise their folded hands. Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, is said to have advised his followers to return the salutation with the words “Sat Kartar ” 67 (the true Creator).

‘Salam' was the usual salutation among all classes of Muhammadans, among whom it was obligatory to greet each other with the words ‘al-Salam alekum’ } the other responding * wa-lekum al Salam’. Friends would greet each other by raising the right hand to the forehead and would even embrace or grasp each other’s hands in token of love. 68 High personages were greeted by raising the right hand to the forehead and bending the body forward. Kurnish and taslim have been mentioned by Abu-’l-Fazl as the recognised modes of salutation to the King. Kurnish consisted in placing the palm of the right hand on the forehead and bending down the head. 69 While offering taslim, the person placed the back of his right hand on the ground, raised it slowly till he stood erect, when he put the palm of his hand on the top of his head. After raising the hand from the ground, it was usual to place it on the breast before taking it to the forehead. Akbar issued orders that the taslim should be repeated thrice. He also introduced another salutation called ‘Sijdah’ or prostration before the King. But as it was objected to by the orthodox as man-worship, he forbade it in the Darbdr-i-Am but allowed it in private assemblies. 70 This custom was, however, discontinued during the reign of Shah Jahan who introduced instead Zaminbos or the practice of kissing the ground. This, also, was given up and the customary taslim was restored with the addition that it had to be observed not less than four times. Aurangzlb completely did away with these so-called pretensions to idolatry and ordered that the usual mode of salutation ‘Salam alekum ’ be observed. 71

Mode of Travelling and Conveyance 72

Modern technical devices being unknown, means of transport in those days were confined to human carriers, beasts of burden, and wheeled traffic on land and boats on rivers and small sailing ships in the coastal seas. The ox was the conveyance of the poor in villages and even in towns. Instead of a saddle, they put on a soft cushion. Horses, ponies, mules, and even donkeys were used for riding purposes. In sandy places, like Rajasthan and Sind, camels were employed to cover long distances. The swiftest camels came from Ajmer. The traditional bail gdri or the bullock-drawn cart was much more in use then. Drawn by 2 or 3 oxen, it could cover 20 miles a day. The rich used highly decorated chariots 73 which were covered like the rooms of a house, their windows adorned with gilded leather or silk hangings, their mattresses made of silk quilts. Sometimes a beautiful canopy was used as a protection against the sun. The nobles preferred to use white oxen to drive

their carriages. Akbar preferred to drive in a two-horse chariot “wherein he would sit cross-legged upon a couch covered with scarlet rugs”. 74 An English couch presented to Jahangir by the East India Company was also used as a model by local craftsmen. Elephants with beautiful howdahs were quite often used as conveyance by kings and nobles. Princesses, too, moved about on elephants. Bernier refers to the trip of Roshanara Begam seated in a golden howdah on a Pegu elephant. During Akbar’s time there were 101 elephants in the royal stables for King’s use. They were known as Khas elephants. Abu-’l-Fazl gives a detailed list of the trappings of the elephants and other animals in the Aln-i-Akban. 15

Mules were particularly liked for travelling on uneven ground. For the poor a saddle and a rope or a chain sufficed as the equipment for riding a mule. The rich used a larger number of acces^ sories including a palan (pack saddle), a shaltang (shawl strap) palastang (blanket strap), a sardoz (common head stall), a curry comb, a hair glove etc. Horses were preferred to other beasts for their swiftness, impressive look and comfortable ride. Horses were imported from Iraq-i-Arab, Iraq-i-Ajam, Turkey, Badakhshan, Tibet etc. The nobles and wealthy, however, preferred to travel in palanquins which were covered all over with cloth. In case of rain, wax cloth was placed all over the palanquin.

Doli and dold were ordinary types of palanquins. The former was specially hired for women to cover short distances. It is still customary to carry home the bride in a doli which is covered with a red cloth. 76 In Bengal the rich used Sukhasan or Sukhpal, a crescent-shaped litter covered with camlet or scarlet cloth. Chandol was perhaps the most luxurious litter, closed or covered like the room of a house. The roof of the palanquin was covered with a piece of thick silk. It was tastefully decorated with plates of carved silver while others had been painted with flowers or other curiosities 77 The nobles also used elephant and camel litters. In summer khas tatties (screens made of the fragrant khas grass) were fixed

on all its four sides.

Ships and boats were the principal means of water transport. Some of these ships could accommodate 200 persons. Each ship had a number of cabins which were hired out to passengers. There was a fleet of 300 to 400 sea-going ships plying on the eastern coast of Bengal and Orissa. 78 Boats and crafts were used as a means of conveyance on rivers. There were different kinds of boats for purposes of war, carriage, and swift sailing. Larger boats could even carry an elephant. The boats made for the royalty were highly artistic. Abu-'l-Fazl refers to the "wonderfully fashioned boats with

delightful quarters and decks and gardens." In the coastal regions various kinds of brigantines or fustas were used for crossing rivers. Some people used coracles or round basket boats covered with hide for the same purpose. In the Coromandel Coast there was in use a type of boat called masala. 19

Postal System

Indian postal system during Mughul times did not cater to the needs of the common man. There was no regular provision for the carrying of public mail. There were, however, excellent arrangements for carrying king's mail. There were two kinds of couriers, horse and foot, posted at regular intervals. Babur had a tower built at every 9th kuroh. At every 18th kuroh (13th or 14th mile) were kept ready 6 post-horses for carrying the mail. 80 Sher Shah's sarais also served as stations of dak chaukis. Two government horses were kept ready in each sarai for carrying persons and despatches. 81 Akbar improved upon Sher Shah's system and established throughout his dominions 2 horses and several Mewars every 5th kuroh. Whenever a royal farman or a letter from a nobleman reached a chauki, it was immediately conveyed to the next chauki by a rider. According to Firishta, 50 kurohs were thus covered in 24 hours. Akbar had in his employment, for an emergency, 4,000 runners some of whom would cover a distance of 700 miles in 10 days. Runners had been posted in the villages 4 or 5 kurohs apart and they took their turn of duty day and night. Aurangzib issued strict orders that postal runners were to cover one jarihi kuroh 82 in one gdri. It took 12 days for a runner to reach Delhi from Ahmadabad. The Mughuls did not practise the ancient custom of sending letters through pigeons on any large scale. The Ain, however, refers to a special variety of pigeons known as rath pigeons which were trained to carry letters to a great distance. There were no regular arrangements for private post. It was either entrusted to these agencies or in some cases despatched through special messengers. Sometimes a touring acquaintance would take the letter for a friend or relative of the sender. Special measures were adopted for the security of the royal letters sent abroad to the Emperors or principal ministers. Letters were enclosed in a large hollow cylinder of bamboo with an opening at one end and about 2 inches long. After putting in the letter, this opening was sealed. Thus the letter was; carried neat and clean unaffected by rain or dust. 83

Position of Women

There had been definite deterioration in the position of women in the centuries that followed the Vedic Age. But in all these

periods there was no seclusion of women. With the advent of Islam new social forces affected Hindu society. Strict veiling of women was the common practice among the Muhammadans in their native lands. Naturally in a foreign country like India, greater stress was laid upon it. Even a liberal king like Akbar had to issue strict orders that “if a young woman was found running about the streets and bazars of the town and while so doing did not veil herself or allowed herself to be unveiled.... she was to go to the quarters of the prostitutes and take up the profession.” 84 Hindus adopted purdah as a protective measure to save the honour of their womenfolk and to maintain the purity of their social order. The tendency to imitate the ruling class was another factor which operated in favour of introducing purdah among Hindu families. Seclusion thus became a sign of respect and was strictly observed among the high class families of both the communities. Eunuchs were freely em* ployed as a means of communication between the male and female members of a royal or noble's family. Even male doctors were not allowed to face the ailing ladies of the noble and princely families. The ladies would stir out of their houses very rarely and that, too, in covered palanquins, surrounded on all sides by servants and eunuchs. If, for any reason, a Muslim lady of rank discarded purdah even for a temporary period, the consequences for her were disastrous. Amir Khan, the Governor of Kabul, felt no scruple in renouncing his wife when her purdah was broken in an attempt to save her life by leaping from the back of the elephant who had run amuck. 85

Purdah was, however, less rigorously observed in Rajput families. There the women, trained in all the arts of warfare, would frequently take part in hunting parties, and other expeditions. Barring notable Muslim families there, South India did not adopt purdah. No such coercive purdah system was observed among the Hindu middle class, and certainly not among the Hindu masses. Hindu ladies could move out of doors with little or no restriction. 86 Unlike Muslim women they did not cover themselves from head to foot. It was enough to have a sheet or dopatta to cover their heads. Women of the lower stratum of our society such as peasant and working classes were entirely free from the bondage of purdah. They were expected to help their husbands in all "external pursuits and internal economy."

The birth of a daughter was considered inauspicious. A Rajput was often heard to say: "accursed to the day when a woman child is born to me." A wife who unfortunately happened to give birth to girls in succession was despised and even sometimes divorced. 87

Even in the royal family the difference was clear and well marked. Only women rejoiced and feasted on the birth of a daughter while the whole court took part in the celebrations, if a prince was born. 88 The deplorable custom of infanticide was luckily confined to a very minor section of the less cultured Rajput families. The custom in those days did not allow, for whatever reasons, girls to remain in the parents' home for more than 6 to 8 years after their birth. “A father”, according to Mukundarama, “who could get his daughter married in her ninth year was considered lucky and worthy of the favours of God.” 89 The rigidity of the custom, together with the celebration of marriage at a very tender age, left no room, whatsoever, for either the bride or bridegroom to have time to think of a mate of their own choice. The custom left it solely to the discretion of their parents or nearest relations and friends to arrange the match. Dowry was demanded and sometimes parents disregarded the suitability of the match and cared primarily for a rich dowry. In some castes and localities the bridegroom had to pay money to the bride’s guardians. 90 Sometimes for the sake of wealth, a young man would marry a woman older than himself. The evil grew so much that Akbar issued orders that if a woman “happened to be older by 12 years than her husband, the marriage should be considered as illegal and annulled.” 91 Akbar tried in vain to bring home to the people that the consent of the bride and bridegroom as well as the permission of the parents was essential before the confirmation of the engagement. 92 There seems to have been greater liberty at least to girls belonging to high class Rajput families to choose a husband. Sometimes a romantic lady would fix the price of her hand. Tarabai, the daughter of Rao Surthan, promised to marry the youth who would recover her father’s domain Todah, from the Fathans. Jaimal, the brother of Prithvi Raj, won her, Karam Devi, the beautiful daughter of the Mohil chieftain, renounced her betrothal with the heir of the Rao of Mandor and chose to be the bride of Sadhu, heir of Pugal, whose admiration she had won. 93

Monogamy seems to have been the rule among the lower stratum of society in both the communities during the Mughul period. In spite of the decision of the 4 Ulema in the Ibddat Khana, that a main might marry any number of wives by mutaln but only four by nikah, Akbar had issued definite orders that a man of ordinary means should not possess more than one wife unless the first proved to be barren 94 He considered it highly injurious to a man’s health to keep more than one wife. Polygamy was the privilege of the rich Muhammadans most of whom kept 3 or 4 wives at a time. Hindus, with the exception of a small number of princes and very

wealthy persons, strictly restricted themselves to monogamy as enjoined by their social custom. In the extreme case if a wife proved to be barren, they had the liberty to marry another with the consent of the Brahmans. 948

The girl was brought up under parental supervision and was married without her consent. When married, she was under the control of her mother-in-law whose commands must be carried out. If she failed to come up to her standard, she might be divorced in a Muhammadan family, and her life would become miserable in a Hindu home. But when grown up and away from the domineering influence of her mother-in-law, she had a large share in the management of her household. She was to prove herself a devoted wife who would not take meals until her husband had dined. 94b The position of woman with regard to her husband was that of a dependent, in honourable subordination, at least as long as mutual relations remained cordial. Jahangir writes in the Tuzuk: “It is a maxim of the Hindus that no good deed can be performed by men in the social state without the partnership or presence of the wife whom they have styled the half of men.” Both would give way to accommodate each other, though the last word was that of the husband. But with all this, the ladies belonging to high and respectable old families, especially Rajputanis, were reluctant to compromise when their self-respect was at stake. Tod relates how Raja Jai Singh of Amber, once cut jokes with his wife, the princess of Haroti, about the simplicity of her dress and contrasted it with the robes of the belles of his own capital. Greatly annoyed, the princess spoke in words which clearly bring out the true sex relations prevalent among high Rajput families. “Mutual respect is the guardian not only of happiness but of virtue, and if again she was insulted he would find that ‘the daughter of Kotah’ could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Amber the scissors.” 95 It appears most of the Hindus led a happy domestic life. The woman adored her husband with passionate reverence and in return her husband rendered her all tenderness and protection.

Divorce and remarriages, common among Muslims, were prohibited to Hindu women. Widow remarriage, except for the lower caste people, had completely disappeared in Hindu society during the medieval age. Sati was the prevalent practice in spite of the efforts of the Mughuls to check it. Even the betrothed girls had to commit sati on the funeral pyre of their would-be-husbands. Those widows who would not burn themselves with their husbands were harshly treated by the society; they were not allowed to wear their hair long or to put on ornaments. These unfortunate widows had

to put up with their parents who treated them no better than ordinary maids, hated and despised by even their family as being afraid of death. 96 Whatever might have been the position of a woman as a girl, bride and widow, she certainly occupied a most respectable position in society as a mother. There are numerous instances, in the contemporary records, of Mughul kings who would travel some stages to receive their mothers. They would perform burnish, sijdah and taslim when entering their presence. 97 On his birthday, the Mughul Emperor, accompanied by princes and nobles, would necessarily pay a visit to his mother to receive her felicitations. It is interesting to recall that the first lady of the realm was not the Empress (except in cases of Nur Jahan and Mumtaz Mahall) but the royal mother or royal sister. 98 Perhaps no people showed greater regard for their mothers than the Rajputs. This is best illustrated by the ever recurring phrase "make thy mother's milk resplendent". Rana Sangram Singh II of Mewar had made it a principle to pay his respects to his mother every morning before taking his meals. 983 At the command of his mother, 16 years old Patta put the saffron robe and died fighting during the famous assault of Chitor by Akbar."

A Muslim woman inherited a definite share of her husband's or father's property with absolute right to dispose of it. Unlike her Hindu sister, she retained the right after marriage. Mahr or antenuptial settlement was her another safeguard whereas a Hindu lady had no right to the property of her husband's parents. A Hindu lady was entitled to maintenance besides movable property like ornaments, jewellery, costly apparel, etc. Thus from legal point of view, women were reduced to a position of dependency in every sphere of life. Caste and seclusion brought about her social, political and intellectual stultification. They confined themselves to household work excepting the women belonging to agricultural and labouring classes who helped their men-folk in their home industries, agriculture, breeding of animals, spinning, weaving, tailoring, etc. Some of them even kept shops. Many others, especially Muhammadans and Bengalis, took up dancing and singing as a profession. Some acted as mid wives, while the more educated adopted teaching as a profession. 100

In spite of their strict seclusion, however, some Mughul ladies were writers of distinction and administrators of rare merit. Gulbadan Begam, the author of the Humayun-ntima, and Jahan Ara, the biographer of Shibyah and Munisal Arwah hold an enviable position among the literary figures of that age. Mira Bai, Salima Sultana, Nur Jahan, Sitn-un-Nisa, the tutoress of Jahan Ara, and

Zlb-un-Nisa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzlb, were poetesses of distinction. Ramabhadramba, the author of Raghundthabhyudayam, MadhuravanI, translator in verse of Andhra-Rdmdyana , Tirumalamba, author of Varaddmbikdparinayam, and Mohanahgl, author of the love poem Marichiparinayam are well-known Sanskrit poetesses of the period. In Maharashtra Aka Bai and Kena Bai, disciples of Ramdas SvamI, were considered important literary figures. In the administrative sphere, we might mention the names of the Chandel princess of Gondwana, Rani Durgavatl, Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar and Makhduma-u-Jaha<n, who ruled Deccan as a regent on behalf of Nizam Shah of the BahmanI family. Sahibjl, the daughter of ‘All Mardan, was the actual ruler of Kabul during her husband’s viceroyalty and, after his death, ruled over the turbulent Afghans without any serious opposition. 101 Nur Jahan was the real power behind Jahangir’s throne. Tarabai Mohite was the supreme guiding force in Maharashtra after the death of her husband Raja Ram. She displayed such marvellous capacity and administrative ability in encountering the Mughul onslaught that threatened to engulf the Maratha State that all the efforts of the Emperor Aurangzlb failed miserably. Sir Jadunath Sarkar rightly observes: “Her administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in that awful crisis.”

Education

The system of education in medieval times was still at a rudimentary stage. Primary schools in the modern sense of the word, probably did not exist. Tols or schools attached to temples, Hindu or Buddhist, and maintained by grants or endowments made for that specific purpose, were to be found throughout the country. The teachers there would not only solicit contributions to raise the building but also to feed their pupils. No fee was paid as to give instruction free is enjoined by the sacred scriptures of the

Brahmans. John Marshall, who visited India in the later 17th century writes: “Hindus never teach their children for money; those they teach, they give them victuals, too, besides their learning which is estimated as a gift.” 102 Maktabs or the Muslim primary institutions, usually attached to a mosque, were common sight during the Mughul period. The traveller, Della Valle, probably refers to them when he writes that in Jahangir’s time there were private schools in every town and village. 103

There was no printed primer, but the children were made to write the letters of the alphabet and figures on wooden boards or on the dust of the ground with their fingers. Usually the students

had their lessons under the shade of a tree. Combined letters were practised and difficult words selected from a standard book like the Qur'an were dictated. Great importance was attached to calligraphy and students were instructed to imitate and practise the style of the best calligraphists of the day.

As soon as the boys could read and write, grammar, followed by the text of the Qur’an, was invariably introduced in every Maktdb. m Every child had to learn it by rote. There is definite evidence of the fact that most of the boys could read even if they did not understand the text. There is little evidence about the course of instructions in vogue in Hindu institutions. Growse, however, thinks that Ramayana formed the chief text in the primary schools. 105 But as the Ramayana was put in Hindi by Tulsi Das at the end of Akbar’s reign, that could not obviously have been a text book till the end of the 16th century. According to Bernier, however, the Puranas were taken up after learning the alphabet. The teaching of elementary mathematics went side by side with literacy. After finishing Qur'an, Muslim students took lessons in Gulistan, Bostan and poems of Firdausi, while the Sanskrit scholars studied the Puranas, Upanishads and Sastras and sometimes the Vedas. 106 At Banaras there were in existence various colleges for specialisation in different subjects such as the Vedas, grammar, poetry, Vedanta, logic, law and astronomy.

The teachers were held in high respect. The pupils would touch their feet and speak only with permission. A teacher who could lecture without the help of books was very much respected and remembered for his knowledge.

Badaum specially mentions one Shaikh ‘Abdullah of Badaon, who never felt the “necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtleties, for whatever he had once seen, he had on the tip of his tongue.” 107

The chief centres of learning or universities, if we may call them so, were at places where the renowned scholars had made their abode. Hindus preferred shrines and sacred places where pilgrim traffic supplied a subsidiary source of income to the teachers residing there, and thus, free from the worries of livelihood, they pursued their studies undisturbed. Banaras, Nadia, Mithila, Mathura, Tirhut, Paithan, Karhad, Thatta, Multan and Sirhind were the famous seats of Hindu learning. Dharmadhikarl, Sera Bhafta and MounI were the learned families which figured prominently at Banaras for more than three centuries (1500-1800). Raja Jai Singh also founded a college there for the education of the princes.

There were other seminaries where famous Pandits interpreted and expounded the fundamentals of Hindu religion and philosophy. Nadia, in Bengal, was, after Banaras, the greatest centre of Hindu learning in the country during the Mughul days. In Navadvipa alone there were 4,000 pupils and 600 teachers in 1680. Vasudeva Sarvabhauma (1450-1525), the great scholar of the 16th century, was the founder of the famous Nadia school of Nyaya which even outrivalled Mithila. Raghunatha 6iromani was also the founder of a school of logic at Banaras. Raghunandana created a school of Smriti in the 16th century along with that of logic at Nadia. Mithila retained its importance as a centre of learning during the Mughul times. In fact a student of this university performed digvijaya at the instance of Akbar, who was so pleased that he gave him the whole town of Mithila as a gift. Madura was famous as a centre of studies in Indian philosophy. There were over 10,000 students in its several colleges which specialised in the different branches of Indian philosophy. Thatta had about 400 colleges according to Hamilton. The students there specialised in theology, philology and politics. 108 Multan was famous as a centre of specialisation in astronomy, astrology, mathematics and medicine. 109 Sirhind had a famous school of medicine, most probably Ayurvedic. It supplied doctors to the whole Empire. 110

Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarat, Sialkot and Ahmadabad were some of the main centres of Muslim learning. Akbar, Shah Jahan and Jahan Ara built madrasahs at Agra. Akbar even invited a scholar, Chalpi Beg, from Shiraz to teach there.[111] Some of the renowned scholars like Sayyid Shah Mir of Samana took their abode there and attracted students from far and wide.[112] The traveller Peter Mundy refers to a College of Jesuits at Agra. At Delhi there were a number of madrasahs, important among them being Humayun's madrasah built in honour of Zain-ud-Din Khafi[113] and Maham Anaga's madrasah known as Khair-ul-Manzil, opposite the western gate of Purana Qilah, called Madrasah-i-Begam by Badauni.[114] It was a residential madrasah; students resided there in the rooms of both the storeys and classes were held in the hall. Shah Jahan built a magnificent madrasah called Darul Baqa on the southern side of the Jami' Masjid.[115] Madrasah-i-Rahimiyya known after the name of 'Abdur Rahim, father of Waliullah, was built during Aurangzlb's time.

Jaunpur and Gujarat were the two other centres where learned scholars had taken up their residence. Jaunpur, rightly called the 'Shiraz of India', kept up its importance throughout the Mughul period and attracted students from far and wide. Mukundarama, the author of the poem Chandi-mangala , refers to the existence of several maktabs in Gujarat.[116] The Madrasah Faiz Safa in Naharwara Pattan (Gujarat) and Langar-LDuwazda Imam in Ahmadabad (now called Bara Imam ka Kotla) were famous centres of learning. Aurangzib instructed, the diwdns of Gujarat to appoint every year teachers at the cost of the State and to pay stipends to students, according to the recommendations of the Sadr of the province and attestation of the teacher.[117]

Lahore's importance as a centre of learning dates from the time of Aurangzib when the reputation of its scholars "attracted many a pupil from far and wide."[118] Kashmir, with its pleasant and re* freshing climate, was a place of retreat for scholars, some of whom such as Abu Talib Kamil, Mulla Shah Badakshi completed their works there. Among other centres of learning, Gwalior, Sialkot, Ambala and Thaneswar may be mentioned.

Duration of courses, texts and certificates

The courses of study usually varied from 10-16 years for graduation. Some more years were required for doctorate after studying under a renowned scholar. No regular examinations were held in those days. A good mastery of certain specified courses, of which the teacher was the sole judge, was sufficient for promotion to the next standard. It was not surprising to see a pupil being promoted to the next standard within 6 months. No regular degrees were awarded. To have studied in a reputed institution or under a renowned teacher was the greatest qualification one could have. There are, however, instances of diplomas being awarded by great scholars of theology to the pupils conferring upon them the authority to give instructions therein.

Some sort of diploma or degree was awarded in some of the Hindu institutions, as for example, in the University of Mithila. Eaghunatha, a student of the Nadia University was deputed to “exact from Mithila, a charter to confer degrees”. An unusual type of examination called Salakd-pariksha marked the termination of the graduation course in Mithila. A candidate was expected to explain correctly that page of the manuscript which was pierced last by a needle run through it.[119] Chhurikd-bandhanam resembled our present day convocation which was marked by the tying of a dagger to the dress of the pupil as a token of his graduation.[120] Some renowned scholars earned the titles of Sarvabhauma, Akbariya Kali das, Pratyagra Patanjali, etc. The post-collegiate studies were invariably completed under a specialist. It was not easy to get one self admitted as the scholars were reluctant to have more than a limited number of students. It was with great difficulty that Mullah Shah Badakhshi agreed to take Jahan Ara as his pupil. Badauni was proud to have had the privilege to study under Mir Sayyid Jalal, the saint. For still higher studies eager scholars visited the chief places of Muslim learning in Western and Central Asia such as Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kofa, Yemen, Cairo, Nishapur (Iran), Baghdad, Hijaz, Khurasan, etc.

Courses of Study

Very little information about the curriculum then in vogue is available. The courses of study in Muslim institutions usually comprised grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, metaphysics, literature and jurisprudence. Astronomy, mathematics and medicine were included under Hindu influence. The Arabic curriculum included besides grammar, syntax, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, tafsir, fich, Hadis, etc. The Persian texts included Ruqqat-i-Abu'l-Fazl, Letters of Chandra Bhan Brahman, and Mulla Munir, Inshai-Yusufi, Insha-i-Madho Ram, Lilavati translated by Faizi, Shaikh Nasr-i-Zahuri's work, Zafar-riama-i-Kangra by Raja Husain, Akbarnama of Abu-'l-Fazl, Iqbal-nama-i-Jahangirl, Zafar-nama of Sharafuddin 'All Yazdi, Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahl, Razm-nama, Firdausi's Shah-nama, Poems of Amir Khusrav, Mulla Jami's works, Nizami's works, Dlwians of Hafiz, Khaqani, Anwari, Shams-i-Tabriz, Qasaid of Badr-i-Chach, Urfi and Faizi, Bahar-i-Danish of Inayatullah, Anwar-i-Suhaili of Husain Waiz, etc. 121

The subjects of study in Hindu institutions included grammar, logic, philosophy, history, poetry, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and veterinary science. Physics and Chemistry were studied but were regarded as a part of the science of Mathematics. Hindus, especially Brahmans, were interested in philosophy and mathematics which were in vogue in India from ancient times.

Very little attention was however paid to geography in schools and colleges. Aurangzlb heaped abuses on his tutor for wasting time on the subtleties of Arabic metaphysics to the neglect of practical subjects such as geography and politics. People Were ignorant of the geographical position of the neighbouring countries. A map of the globe was so rare a thing that Sir Thomas Roe included it among the presents he offered to the Governor of Surat.

Women's Education

Women's education was not completely ignored, though no regular separate school seems to have existed for imparting education

to girls who had their lessons usually from their parents. Girls in their childhood attended schools along with boys and learnt the Qur'an (if they were Muhammadans) and one or two other lessons by rote. The rich appointed tutors to teach their daughters at home. The daughters of Rajput chiefs and some Bengali zaminddrs were usually able to read and write. Special care was taken for the education of Mughul princesses, almost all of whom daily read the Qur'an and occasionally corresponded with their relatives. Some of them even composed verses. The average Mughul princess received but a limited education. 122 Her regular studies came to an end with her marriage which usually took place at an early age. Gulbadan Begam's Humayun-nama, too, abounds with spelling mistakes and clumsy sentences. Even the poems of Zib-un-Nisa and Zinat-un-Nisa do not rise so high in poetic excellence as those of contemporary male authors.

There is, however, little doubt about the literacy of the average middle class woman who had sufficient knowledge of either Hindi, Persian or the native provincial language to enable her to study the religious scriptures. 122a The knowledge of Sanskrit was widespread in the South. A Malayalam work Chandrotsavan gives us an idea about the general reading of educated women in the South and this includes, gakuntalam, Mdlavikagnimitram and other Sanskrit dramas. A well-known work of the period entitled Mahildmri duvani gives us a list of no less than 35 women all of importance, "not minor poets but poetesses who have left their mark on the literary sphere". Special stress was laid on the education of widows, some of whom, as for example Hatl Vidyalankara became teachers, We may well concur with Mukundarama's view that "there is evidence to show that women belonging to the lower ranks of society, such as house-maids, were illiterate, but there is nothing to discountenance female education." 123

Libraries

Quite a large number of libraries existed during the Mughul times. Every madrasah usually possessed a library, big or small, at w tached to it. We might refer here to the libraries attached to'the madrasah called Shams-i-Burhani at Ahmadabad, Madrasah Faiz Safa, Shaikh Ibrahim's madrasah at Kutiana in Kathiawar (1689) and Sultan Ahmad Khatwi's madrasah at Sarkahaiz (Ahmadabad). The biggest was, however, the Imperial Library which contained the King's collection of books. All the Mughul Emperors

124 from Babur to Aurangzib were men of literary taste; they were eager to collect and preserve rare books and valued presents of scholarly

books from learned authors. As in every other sphere, Akbar introduced reforms in the management, classification and storage of books which had by that time increased enormously. 125 The Mughul princesses Salima Sultana, and Zlb-un-Nisa, possessed libraries of their own. 126

The example of the royalty was followed by nobles and courtiers who had their own libraries. ‘Abdur-Rahlm Khan Khanan kept a staff of 95 persons to look after his huge collection of books. 127 Shaikh FaizI had about 4,600 books in his library. Mahmud Gawan, Vazlr of Muhammad Shah Bahmani, left a huge library containing 35,000 volumes.

Maharaja Chhika Deva, Raja of Mysore (1672-1704), collected in his library very rare Sanskrit and historical works which were unfortunately subsequently destroyed by Tipu Sultan. 128 Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh possessed an unrivalled library containing all the astronomical treatises available in India. He procured books even from Europe. 129 There were big libraries at the famous seats of Hindu learning such as Banaras, Tirhut, Mithila, Nadia, etc. These libraries stocked huge collection of rare, authentic and ancient works on philosophy, medicine, religion, history and many other sciences. Bernier saw a large hall at Banaras entirely filled with these manuscripts. 130 The Brahmans of Kashmir had a sufficient stock of books which they regularly studied. 131 Many of these libraries were later on destroyed by the Muhammadans.

1. This chapter is mainly based on the author’s Society and Culture during the^ Mughal Age, Second Edition, Agra, 1963, and Social Life Under the Mughals, Agra, 1963. (The picture is only a broad and general outline, as it is not possible to give details of local variations in a vast country like India —Editor).

2. Bdburnama (trans. Beveridge), p. 519. For details refer to Chopra, Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, op.cit., pp. 1-3.

3. Ain, I, trans. Blochmann (1873), pp. 88-90.

4. Monserrate, S.J., The Commentary of, Trans, from Latin by J. S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerji, 1922, p. 198.

4a. Turbans were not used by the Hindus in Eastern and Southern India, though some put them on in imitation of the Muslims—Editor.

5. Ain, I, (1873), op. cit., pp. 75-77.

6. Saletore, B.A., Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire , Vol. II, p. 302.

7. Padumavati of Malik Muhammad Jayasi, translation by Grierson, p. 569.

7a. For ornaments refer to Ovington, J., A Voyage in the Year 1689, London, 1696, p. 320; Manucci, op. cit., Ill; p. 40; Ain, III (ed. J.N. Sarkar), p. 343; Ain, II, pp. 314-16; Mandelslo, op cit., p. 50; Thevenot, Monsieur de, Travels of, Into the Levant, Trans. English, 1686, pt. Ill, chapter XX, quoted in Chopra, Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, op. cit., pp. 25-31.

8. For details refer to Chopra, op. cit., Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, pp. 32-54.

9. Mandelslo Albert, Book III, by Adam Olearious, Second Edition, London, 1669, p. 64. Della Valle, Pietro, The Travels of a Noble Roman into East Indies and Arbian Deserta, London, 1664, p. 409; Tavernier, John Baptista, The Six Voyages of, through Turkey Into Persia and the East Indies, London, 1678, p. 124.

10. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, trans. Urdu by Maulavi Abalswala Muhammad Zakriya, Osmania, 1928, p. 105.

11. Tuzuk-i-Babari, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 419.

12. Ain I, (1873), op. cit., p. 59.

13. A.N. (trans.), op. cit., I, p. 208. Faluda is "a jelly strained from boiled wheat, and eaten with the expressed juice of fruits and ice to which cream is also sometimes added."

14. Purchas, 'Hakluyt Posthumus' or Purchas and His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 41.

15. Mandelslo, op. cit., p. 69.

16. Dasgupta, J.N., Bengal in the 16th Century, p. 181. Many other Bengali texts refer to Bengali food in great detail. Cl. History of Medieval Bengal (in Bengali) by R. C. Majumdar, pp. 318-23.

17. Ain, I, trans. Blochmann (1873), p. 58.

18. Ibid., pp. 58-59.

19. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, trans. Rogers & Beveridge, I, p. 374.

20. Manucci, I, p. 175.

21. Storey, C.A., Persian Literature—A Biographical Survey, London, 1927-39,

II, Fasc. Ill, p. 460.

For a detailed treatment of the subject refer to P.N. Chopra, Social Life Under the Mughals, pp. 86-122.

Havell, E.B., Indian Architecture, London, 1913, pp. 153, 171; Percy Brown, Indian Architecture — The Islamic Period, Bombay, pp. 100, 127-130, 132; Fergusson, James, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, n, p. 170, etc.

24. Pelsaert, Francisco, The Remonstrantie of, translated from the Dutch by W H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, prp. 66-67.

24a For a contemporary account of the houses of the various classes of people refer to Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire , English trans. by A.

Constable, revised by V.S. Smith, Oxford, 1934, pp. 247, 285; Mandelslo, op. cit. y p. 54; Pelsaert, op. cit, pp. 66-67; Sen, S. N., Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri, published by National Archives of India, 1949, pp. 22, 163; Khulasat, India of Aurangzib bv J N. Sarkar, p. 34; Tavernier, J. Baptista, The Sirr) Voyages of, through Turkey Into Persia and the East Indies, London, 1)678, pt. I; Ain (Sarkar) in, p. 352; Manucci, III, p. 41.

25. Bernier, op. cit., p. 247. Also see Chopra, Social Life under the Muahals , po. 117-19; and Mahalingam, Administration and Social Life Under Viiayanaqar, p. 268; Roe, Sir Thomas, The Embassy to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615-19) edited by William Foster, London, 1899, p. 65.

26. Abdul Aziz, Thrones, Chairs and Seats used by the Indian Mughals , p. 182.

27. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 298; Mahalingam, op. cit., pp. 289-90.

28. For a detailed account of these festivals refer to Chopra, Society and Culture durina the Mughal Age, pp. 83-107.

29. Ain, III (Sarkar), p. 319; Tuzuk-i-Jahangir! (R & B), I, p. 246.

30 Macauliffe, M. A., The Sikh Religion, Introduction, pp. lxxi-lxxvi.

31. Ain , I, (1873), p. 216.

.32 .Ibid., p. 210; Tuzuk (R & B), I, p. 367,

33. Ain, III, (Sarkar), pp. 350-52. .,

34. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, n, p. 214; Sarkar, History of Aurangzib,

35 For ^details about Nauroz refer to Roe's Embassy, pp. 142-44: Mandelslo, op. cit, p. 41; Bernier, op. cit., pp. 272-73; Monserrate, S.J., The Commentary of, Trans, by J.S. Hoyland, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 175-76.

36. Manrique, F.S., Travels of, ed. by Luard & Hosten, Vol II, pp. 195-200.

37. Qanun-i-Humayuni by Khwandamir trans. into English by Beni Prasad,

38. Sarkar, J.N., History of Aurangzib , m, pp. 85-86. . . _

39 Thevenot, Monsieur de, Travels of, into the Levant, in three parts, trans

' fated into English, 1686, pt. Ill, chapter XXVI, p. 47 A _ ^ ..

40. Humayunvdma by Gulbadan Begum, trans. into English by A.S. Beveridge,

London, 1902, p. 126.

42* Fo^ctetailed treatment * of^*the subject and sources refer to P.N. Chopra,

. Mandelslo 7 op. p. 66; g Manucci, H, op. cit., p 460; Badaum, Muntakhab

uUTawarikh , trans. Vol. II by W.H. Lowe, pp. 18, 324, etc.

45 A N. II, p. 368, Tr. II, p. 534.

46! For details see Chopra, op. cit., pp. 62-65.

43.

44.

SOCIAL CONDITION

47. Majumdar, A.K., The Chaulukyas of Guj'arat, p. 359; Mazumdar, B.P., SocioEconomic History of Northern India, p. 254.

48. Sale tore, op. cit., II, p. 420.

49. Qamargha is a Turkish word denoting a great battle in which a large number of wild animals are driven into enclosure and killed. Being a Turkish game, it must have been in vogue during the regimes of Babur and Humayun but no documentary evidence is traceable.

50. Quoted from Chaitanya Bhagavata in “Indian Culture”, Vol. X, 1943, p. 121.

51. Sarkar, J.N., Aurangzih, Vol. V, pp. 471-73.

52. For a detailed treatment of this subject refer to P.N. Chopra, Social Life During the Mughal Age, op. cit., pp. 1-51.

53. Abu-’l-Fazl. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. Ill, trans. by H.S. Jarrett, revised by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1948, p. 317.

54. Nandimukh Sraddha is a commemorative offering to the Manes preliminary to any joyous occasion such as initiation, marriage, etc. in which nine balls of meat are offered to the deceased father, grandfather, great grandfather, to the maternal grandfather and to the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great grandmother. Pandey, R.B., Hindu Samskaras, Banaras, 1949, p. 123. Also see Atkins, A.G., The Ramayana of Tulsidas, English translation, Vol. I, p. 246.

55. Macauliffe, M.A., The Sikh Religion, Oxford, 1909, Vol. I, p. 242.

56. Dass, Shyam Sunder, Hindi Shabd Sagar, Vol. I, Prayag, 1916, p. 291.

57. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, trans. Rogers & H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 357.

58. Majumdar, R.C., History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 600.

59. Manucci, N.V., Storia Do Mogor or Mughal India, trans. William Irvine, Vol. Ill, p, 150.

60. ', J.R.A.S. (Bombay), III, p. 15.. Also see Macauliffe, op. cit., I, p. 145,

Jayasi’s Padumavati (Urdu), pp. 148-49; Growse, Ramayana of Tulsidas, p. 159, etc.

61. Ain, III (Sarkar), op. cit., p. 354.

62. Ibid., p. 356.

63. Ibid., p. 307.

64. Maasir ul Urnra, I, trans. Beveridge, p. 123.

65. Refer to P. N. Chopra, Social Life Under the Mughals, pp. 52-69 for details.

66. Manucci, op. cit., Ill, p. 38.

67. Macauliffe, op. cit., I, p. 49.

68. Mandelslo, op. cit.

69. Ain, I, trans. Blochmann, revised by D.C. Philliott, 1939, p. 166.

70. Ibid., p. 167 and f.n. 1.

71. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 98.

72. For details refer to Chopra, Social Life Under the Mughals, op. cit., pp. 123-40.

73. Sen, S.N., Travels of Thevenot & Careri, p. 73.

74. Hoyland, J.S., The Commentary of Father Monserrate, translated by S.N. Banerji, Oxford University Press, 1922, p. 199.

75. Ain, op. cit., I. pp. 161-62.

76. Sen, op. cit., p. 72; Das, H.H. Norris Embassy to Aurangzib, Calcutta, 1902,

p. 162.

77. For details refer to Chopra, Social Life Under the Mughals, pp. 132-33.

78. Balakrishna, Commercial Relations between England and India (1600-1757), pp. 279-81.

79. Mahalingam, T.V., Economic Life in Vijayanagar, op. cit., p. 148.

80. B.N. (Beveridge), p. 626.

81. Qanungo, K.R., Sher Shah, p. 392.

82. One Jaribi equalled 25 dhara and one dhara amounted to 42 fingers.

83. Ovington, op. cit., p. 250.

84. Badauni, II, pp. 391-92, Tr. II, pp. 404-6.

85. Sarkar, J.N., Studies in Mughal India, p. 118.

86. Della Valle, Pietro— The Travels of a Noble Roman into East Indies andh Arabian Deserta, London, 1664, p. 434; Mandelslo, op. cit., p. 51.

87. Akbamama III, p. 58 & 260; Tr. Ill, pp. 83 & 378.

88. Manucci, op. cit., p. 348.

89. Author of the poem Chandi composed in the 16th century. Translated into English by J.N. Dasgupta under the title “Bengal in the 16th century”, Calcutta, 1914, p. 178.

90. Manucci, op. cit., HI, p. 55.

91. Badauni, II, p. 39, Tr. II, p. 405.

92. Ain , I, (1873), p. 227.

93. Tod, Col. James, Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan, edited by W. Crookes, Vol. II, pp. 731-32.

94. Badauni, op. cit., H, p. 356; Tr. II, p. 367. Also Ain, I, (1873), p. 277.

94a. But in Bengal, a section of Brahmans, called Kulins, had normally many wives, whose number sometimes exceeded even fifty (Editor).

94b. Manucci, op. cit.. Ill, p. 155.

95. Tod, op. cit., II, pp. 728-30.

96. Manucci, op. cit., II, p. 60; Thevenot, op. cit., chapter XLIX, p. 84.

97. A.N., I, p. 90, Tr. I, p. 231, Tuzuk (trans. R & B), I, p. 78.

98. Sarkar, J.N., Aurangzib, op. cit., Ill, p. 57.

98a. Tod, op. cit., I, p. 479.

99. Ibid., p. 326.

100. Badauni, II, pp. 301-2, Tr. II, p. 311; Manucci, II, pp. 330-31.

101. Sarkar, J.N., Studies in Mughal India, pp. 114-17.

102. John Marshall in India, notes and observations in Bengal (1668-72), edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Oxford, 1927, p. 386.

103. Della Valle (ed. Edward Grey), II, pp. 227-28.

104. Badauni, III, p. 28, Tr. Ill, p. 48.

105. Growse, F.S., Prologue to the Ramayana of Tulsi Das, ASB (1876), pp. 22-23.

106. Bernier (1891), pp. 335-36.

107. Badauni, III, p. 56, Tr. Ill, p. 73.

108. Hamilton, Alexander, A New Account of East Indies (1688-1723), Vol. I, p. 127.

109. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, E & D. Vol. VII, p. 184.

110. Monserrate, op. cit., p. 102.

111. Nadvi, Abul Hasan, Hindostan ki Qadimi Islami Darsgahan, p. 29.

112. Badauni, III, p. 119; Tr. Ill, pp. 174-75.

113. Ibid., I, p. 471, Tr. I, p. 471.

114. Ibid., II, p. 60, Tr. II, p. 62.

115. Nadvi, op. cit., p. 22.

116. Dasgupta, op. cit., p. 91.

117 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Calcutta Review, October 1940, p. 311.

118. Manucci, op. cit., II, p. 424.

119. Mookerji, R.K., Ancient Indian Education, p. 598.

120. Altekar, A S., Education in Ancient India, pp. 292-93.

121. Refer to Appendix A, in Chopra, Society and Culture During the Mughal Age, pp. 172-73 for details. This list has been compiled from Chahar Chaman, Shibli Numani, Shir ul Ajam, III, (1922), pp. 149-50, Latif, Dr. Sayyid Abdulla, Adliat-i-Farsi Main Hinduon ka Hissa, Anj aman-i-Taraqqii-Urdu Delhi, 1924, pp. 239-42, Nadvi, A.H., Hindostan ki Qadimi Islami Darsgahan, pp. 120-24.

122. Tuzuk (R & B), II, p. 277; E D. VII, p. 162.

122a. This seems to be very doubtful (Editor).

123. Daseupta, op. cit., p. 180. So far as Bengal is concerned we have positive evidence that female education was at its lowest ebb in the eighteenth and the first half of the 19th century and there was a superstitious belief that a woman who reads or writes becomes a widow (Editor).

124. For sources refer to Chopra, Society & Culture in Mughal Age, p. 168, f.n. 1 & 2.

125. Ain, op. cit. I, p. 110.

126. Maasir-i-Alamgiri, trans. Urdu by Talab, pp. 387, 394. Also see Magan Lall, Dewan of Zeb un Nisa, BORS, Jan. 1927.

127. Maasir-i-Rahimi, III, pp. 1680, 1696.

128. Margaret, Macricol, edited, Poems by Indian Women, Heritage of India Series,

p. 26.

129. Kaye, G., Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh.

130. Bernier, Travels, op. cit., p. 335.

131. Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir! translated in Urdu by Maulavi Abalswala Muhammad Zakriya, Osmania, 1928, p. 107.

CHAPTER XXII

ECONOMIC CONDITION

India's economy during the Mughul Period (1526-1803), as in the ages before, was predominantly agricultural. More than seventy-five per cent of the population lived in the villages and were directly or indirectly connected with land. Arable land was enough and to spare, and very often the government had to resort to persuasion to make the peasantry extend the area under cultivation. The country, "full of men and full of products," 1 was divided into villages which were surrounded by cultivable fields, and had also land for pasture and forests, for fuel and other purposes. The village known as gdon was called mauza in official records. There was a wide range of variation in the area of the villages, and these were divided into fields or plots which were marked by raised borders. The peasants gave each plot , or field a name. There were two types of villages, viz., asli (one having its habitation intact) and dakhili (the deserted village) the area of which was incorporated in the neighbouring villages but its name continued to be on the government record. Another classification was into the raiyati villages and talluqa villages. The raiyati village belonged to the Khalsa land, but the talluqa village was under a zaminddr, who paid land revenue to the government. The cultivators were called asdmi or raaya or mazara. These terms were used for unprivileged peasantry, who were not zamindars 2 The cultivators followed the traditional methods of cultivation and irrigation. Babur says that there were no canals, that fields were irrigated with river, tank or well water, and describes how irrigation was done by means of buckets or wheels. "At the well-edge," he writes, "they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket. Every time the bullock turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track in pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry it by repeated efforts in pitchers." 3 This method was followed in Agra, Chandwar, Bayana and the neighbouring districts. The thirty kos long canal from Khizrabad to Safidun built by Firuz Tughlaq which had fallen into disrepair was, in the time of Akbar, re-excavated by Shaha-ud-dln

Ahmad Khan to irrigate his jdgfir land. It was repaired and a new channel from Safidun to Delhi, 30 kos long, was excavated during the reign of Shah Jahan. 3a In the Punjab and some other parts irrigation was done by means of what is called the Persian wheel. This too has been described in the Babur-ndma 4 The fields were manured with animal dung, and intensive ploughing was done. The people were familiar with the principle of rotation of crops, and in many fields they raised two crops— Kharif and Rabi —in a year. Not only were the ordinary crops raised, but in some parts special crops, such as cotton, sugarcane and indigo were grown.

Agricultural Products

The agricultural raw-materials grown may be considered under five heads, i.e., (i) grains, (ii) fibres, (iii) indigo, (iv) sugarcane, and (v) poppy. The foodgrains produced were wheat, barley, gram, rice, millets, linseeds and pulses. Wheat was commonly grown in the provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Malwa and Ajmer. 5 It was grown in the district of Qandahar also. The Qandahar wheat, a spring crop, was extremely white. The wheat crop depended on rainfall, and irrigation wherever possible. Barley was produced in almost all parts of the country, but not much in Bengal and Orissa. 6 Gram too was produced practically everywhere. Rice, a tropical commodity, required plenty of water and high temperature, and water-logging areas were suitable for its growth. Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Khandesh, Berar and Kashmir produced good quality rice. Bengal produced plenty of rice of various kinds and raised sometimes three crops a year, and supplied it to deficient areas, such as Cochin. 7 It was of several kinds, and Kar, Sukhdas and Shall , were superior qualities. Next to Bengal, Bihar produced quality rice in large quantities. Awadh produced large quantities of sukhdas , Madhkar and Jhanwdr rice “which for whiteness, delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness are scarcely to be matched.” 8 Abu-T-Fazl remarks that the Bihar rice “for its quality and quantity is rarely to be equalled.” 9 Fine quality rice was produced in Khandesh and Kashmir. Sukhdas rice was prized for its flavour and high quality. Millets consisted of cheaper grains, like jowar, bajra, kodon, siawan, mandua, etc; and formed the Kharif crops. These were grown on poorer soils of deficient rain-fall. Jowar and bajra were cultivated in Malwa, Gujarat, Ajmer, Khandesh, Delhi, Lahore, Agra, Allahabad, Awadh and Multan. 10

* Pulses were mostly grown in Bihar, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan and Malwa. The chief pulses were moong, moth,

mash, arhar, lubia, peas, etc., and these were grown in the autumn harvest. 11 These formed a great source of providing vitaminous substances in the construction of the human body and were a very important item in the diet of vegetarian population. Linseed, like mustard and alsi, were grown mostly in the subas of Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Malwa, Ajmer and Multan. 12

Fibres: Cotton

The chief fibre products consisted of cotton, wool, silk, hemp and jute. The last two furnished raw materials for some of the local industries. Cotton, wool, and silk were essential raw materials for the textile industry. Cotton required volcanic and black soil, such as that of Malwa and Peninsular India, for its growth. Khandesh and Berar were the chief centres of fibre and cotton. But these were also produced in large quantities in the provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Delhi, Awadh, Multan and Ajmer. 13 Cotton goods were much in demand in Ahmadabad and Surat for embarkation to Persian Gulf and Arabia and also for some parts of Europe. Important centres of cotton and fine cotton cloths in the 16th century were Ujjain, Sironj, Tanda, Sonargaon (Dacca), etc., in Bengal, Ahmadabad, Navasari and Pattan in Gujarat, many places in Orissa, modern U.P. and the Deccan. 14 Fine cotton cloths manufactured at Pattan in Gujarat were “taken to distant parts as gifts of value.” 15

During the Mughul age cotton was “more widely grown than is now the case, though the aggregate of production was probably less, and it is reasonable to infer that most parts of the country were nearly self-sufficient in the matter of cotton as well as of food and other requisites.” 16 In almost every village there were looms for manufacturing cloth. The production of cotton cloth not only sufficed for the needs of the people, but it was exported to Burma, Malacca, Arabia and the east coast of Africa. In the time of Jahangir (1605-1627) the prices of the finer quality of yarn varied from rupees 6 to 7 (12 to 14 shillings) per pound. 17 During the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) raw cotton was in demand for candle wicks and fustians (cloths which have flaxen warps with cotton wefts). So much cotton yarn was produced that a good part of it had to be exported, and it was difficult for other countries to compete with India in charkha spinning. 18 The chief spinning and manufacturing centres were Navapura (104 miles from Surat), Lahore, Sialkot, Sonargaon (Dacca), Satgaon and many other places in Bengal, Gujarat, Awadh, Allahabad, Agra and Khandesh. Other important centres of cotton manufacture were Cambay, Broach, Sironj, Calicut and Ahmadabad. Lahore was famous for manufacturing fine cloths, Sialkot for tray-covers, Gujarat for Chtm and coloured turbans and Dacca for very fine muslin. 19 Agra and Fathpur Slkri were notable centres for the manufacture of carpets and fine stuffs. 20 Banaras was celebrated for fine cotton and silk cloths of many kinds. In the 17th century manufactured cotton goods were, in substantial quantities, exported to Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary, Arabia, Ethiopia and some other countries. 21

Wool

Wool, though not produced in all parts of India, was nevertheless a fairly important industry in Akbar’s time. Kashmir and the western parts of Rajasthan were wool-producing areas. It was obtained from different animals, such as sheep, camels, goats and angoras. It was from the fleece of domestic sheep that commercial supply of wool was obtained. Abu-’l-Fazl speaks of the keen interest that Akbar showed in promoting the wool industry, particularly the manufacture of shawls, and carpets of different varieties and colours. He says that the ‘Tus’ animal supplied fine wool of red, black and white colours. Shawls made of it were famous for their lightness, warmth and softness. 22 In the early days of Akbar’s reign shawls and some other costly woollens came mostly from Kashmir, but on account of Akbar’s patronage these began to be manufactured in the Punjab and some other parts, and in the city of Lahore alone were established more than a thousand workshops. 23 A Lahore speciality was maydn, a light shawl of mixed silk and wool, and was used for turbans (chirds) and loin bands (fotas). 24 Most of the woollens, such as shawls, blankets, loin bands, turbans, etc. manufactured in the country came from Lahore, Gujarat and

Kashmir. 25 Exquisite carpets, takya-masnads or woollen coverlets, formerly imported from Persia began to be manufactured in Agra, Fathpur Slkri, Lahore, Jaunpur and Zafarwal. 26 According to Bernier the shawls made of Tus cost Rs. 50/- to Rs. 150/ each, in the time of Shah Jahan. In the 17th century shawls continued to be manufactured not only in Kashmir but also in Lahore, Agra, Patna and some other places 27 The industry continued in a flourishing state till the end of the 17th century. Rough woollens were manufactured at Agra and Fathpur Slkr! and in Bengal. These were used for clothing by the upper class and also to a limited extent by the middle class people. Woollen blankets, too, were manufactured at many places, and an ordinary blanket cost 10 dams or onefourth of a rupee in the time of Akbar. It seems that wool produced in the country was neither enough nor of a superior quality, and

therefore, fine quality wool was imported from Tibet and some other parts in the Himalayan regions. On account of a limited supply woollen goods were rather costly. We do not know much about the wool industry of Jaisalmer, Mar war and Bikaner. It is, however, certain that a good quantity of wool was produced in several parts of Rajasthan. For fine wool, the country seems to have depended upon its supply from foreign countries. 28

Silk

Sericulture has been known in India from remote ages. In the 16th century, though a minor industry, considering the size of the country, it was so flourishing that a good deal of silk was exported to foreign countries. During Akbar's reign Ahmadabad, Kashmir and some parts of Bengal and Bihar, including the city of Patna, were important centres of this industry. 29 Akbar encouraged silk industry and, contrary to the usual orthodox Muslim practice in other countries, large quantities of silk cloth were required for the royal workshops and wardrobe, and by the nobles and other upper class people throughout the country. Moreland is of the opinion that "a substantial proportion of raw silk was utilised for manufacturing mixed-goods, which are still a feature of the handweaving industry." 30 Silk industry progressed greatly in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Many thousand bales of silk yarn were sent out every year from Cossimbazar in Bengal. 31 We are told by Tavernier that "the Hollanders usually carry away six or seven thousand bales, and would carry away more, if the merchants of Tart ary and the Mughal Empire did not oppose them; for they buy up as much as Hollanders, the rest the natives keep to make their stuffs.” 32 Silk was very much in demand in Surat and Ahmadabad for the manufacture of carpets and satins, mixed with silk and gold threads. “Patoles, a sort of silk stuff, very thin and painted with all sorts of flowers were also manufactured, each piece costing Rs. 8 to Rs. 40.” 33 Veetapur, some eighteen leagues from Agra, was a flourishing centre of silk industry. The manufactured pieces from this place were exported by the Dutch to Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and other neighbouring islands. 34 The silk produced in Cossimbazar in Bengal was yellowish in colour like the silk of Persia and Sicily. The manufacturers whitened it with a dye made of the ashes of a tree called “Adam’s Fig Tree.” 35 This silk was like that of Palestine. The Dutch transported silk goods from Bengal through Hooghly. 36 Barbosa tells us that the Gujarat silk was sent to East Africa and to Pegu. 37

The chief centres of the production of raw silk in the 17th century were Allahabad, Delhi, Sialkot, Banaras and many places in Gujarat, Bengal and Kashmir. 38 Silk thread and manufactured articles were found in abundance in Kashmir and Punjab. Throughout the Mughul age Banaras was an important centre for the manufacture of beautiful, costly silk cloths. 39 Quite a good portion of silk was produced by domestic worms fed on cultivated mulberry.

Indigo

Indigo used for dying cloth, washing it crystal white and for paints was grown in large quantities in several parts of central Hindustan in the subas of Awadh, Allahabad, Agra, Lahore, Multan, Malwa, Delhi and Ajmer. 40 The best indigo, however, was grown at Bayana, an important town in the present Bharatpur district and second best at Sarkhej in Gujarat. The price of the best Bayana indigo in Akbar’s time was rupees ten to twelve per maund, and it was exported to Turkey and other European countries. 41 William Finch, a European traveller, who visited India during 1608-1611, gives a good description of how the indigo plants were grown and how indigo was collected and manufactured into the dye. 42. It was a costly article in the time of Akbar, but in the 17th century it became an important article of commerce. According to Sir Thomas Roe indigo in the time of Jahangir was “the prime commodity/' and was grown in Sind, Gujarat, and the Deccan besides Hindaun, Bayana, and other places already mentioned. The Bengal indigio began to come into prominence in the 17th century. The Dutch and the English exported large quantities of Bayana indigo, which was considered the best, to Europe. 43 As for the reign of Shah Jahan, commerce in indigo became much more extensive and profitable. It began to be cultivated on a large scale in the district round Ahmadabad and Sarkhej. 44 Aligarh, Khurja, and Itimadpur near Agra also became important centres of indigo cultivation. The area of indigo cultivation in Bayana now extended to comprise several villages and constituted five more centres. 45 The Dutch transported Bengal indigo from Masulipatam. Indigo was largely exported from Bengal during the reign of Aurangzib. But the best quality even in that age continued to come from Bayana and the second best from Sarkhej and Golconda. The historian J. N. Sarkar writes: “Biana indigo sold at prices 50 per cent higher than varieties grown in other parts of India.... In addition to what was exported, there was a large internal consumption of indigo because it formed the basic material for washing and bleaching ordinary cotton cloths to a pure white colour. The cotton cloths were sent from their places

of origin to central spots for washing, such as, Agra, Ahmadabad, Masulipatam, and certain places in Bengal, probably Dacca and Cossimbazar. . . . ’ ,46 Trade in indigo declined after the reign of Aurangzlb on account of accidents of season and uncertain political conditions. 47 There were two more shrubs— dl and safflower—which produced dyes and were cultivated more or less on a large scale and taxed by the government, probably throughout the Mughul age. Safflower was cultivated during the reign of Akbar in the provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Delhi, Malwa, Lahore and Multan. 48

Sugarcane

During the reign of Akbar, Bengal occupied the first place in sugar production from sugarcane and also probably from palm trees. Abu-’l-Fazl mentions three kinds of sugarcane, viz. paunda, black and ordinary. These were grown in the provinces of Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Lahore, Multan, Malwa and Ajmer. 49 It was a superior and costly crop and sold at double the price of wheat. Abu-'l-Fazl, gives the prices of ordinary sugarcane and paunda in the provinces mentioned above. He says that the cost of sugarcane of the paunda quality was the highest in Ajmer. The reason seems to be that on account of dry climate a very good quality of paunda was grown in Ajmer. He speaks highly of the sugar of extreme whiteness manufactured at Bayana and sugar candy of Kalpi. 50 In Kota the price of sugarcane was at the rate of 100 per rupee. In the 17th century sugarcane cultivation extended to other places, such as Aurangabad and several places in Bihar. Speaking of the years 1656-1668, Bernier says that "Bengal sugar in large quantity is supplied to Golkunda and Karnatik where very little is grown, to Arabia and Mesopotamia through the towns of Mecca and Basara, and even to Persia by Bandar Abbas. Bengal is famous for sweetmeats, specially in places inhabited by the Portuguese, who are skilful in the art of preparing them and these are articles of considerable trade." 51 De Laet writes that "the whole of the country between Agra and Lahore is well cultivated. .. .too much sugar is produced." He refers to Bengal as a sugar producing area. 52 Chhatarman adds that in the Aurangabad province juicy black canes were grown, each yielding five seers of juice. 53

Poppy

The cultivation of poppy, from which opium was extracted, was another important superior crop, and was taxed highly in the time of Akbar. It was used as an intoxicant 54 and was produced in the provinces of Agra, Awadh, Allahabad, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Malwa

and Ajmer. 55 It was also most probably grown in the table-land of the Deccan and in Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. It was in demand in Bengal and other parts of eastern India, and was despatched there in large quantities, by water. 56 It was exported to Pegu also. 57 Malwa opium was considered very good and in some parts of that province children belonging to all classes were given it upto the age of three. 58

Vegetable and Fruit

The Ain-i-Akbairi mentions the cultivation of numerous kinds of vegetables, such as, spinach, turnip, cabbage, kachnar, chaulai, be thuwa, ginger, boi , peas, garlic, onion, carrot, radish, lettuce, sweet potato, lemon, and numerous other varieties, too many to be mentioned. 59 These were grown in all parts of the country, especially in Agra, Allahabad, Delhi, Lahore, Malwa, Bengal, Bihar, Multan, Khandesh, etc. We also get an account of the cultivation of Pan 60 (betel leaves) in most parts of the country, especially in Bengal, Bihar, Agra, Awadh, Allahabad, Malwa, Khandesh and Berar. Fruits of numerous varieties were cultivated. Musk-melon, water-melon, apple, grape, orange, guava, pomegranate, mango, date, fig, apricot, banana, pine-apple, pear, and various kinds of berries and singha ras were grown in many parts of the country particularly in Kashmir and in the subas of Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Awadh, Bengal, Bihar, Malwa, Multan and Ajmer. 61 Diverse animals and fowl for meat were available very cheap in all parts of the country. All kinds of deer, antelopes, hares and “varieties of fish and fowl”, geese, ducks, pigeons, partridges, quails, etc. were found in abundance. Edward Terry writes that all these could be bought “at such easy rates as that I have seen a good mutton (i.e. a sheep) sold for the value of one shilling, four couple of hens at the same price, one hare for the value of a penny, three partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest.”* 2 The country liquor, called Tddi f or juice of palm-date, mahua and some other trees was found everywhere. 63 Fish formed an important element of people’s food in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa 64 and some parts of Sind 65 and southern India. Abu-1-Fazl tells us that fish-oil extracted in some parts of Sind, was used in boat-building and was in demand, as also fish-manure, at least in Gujarat as Thevenot 66 noticed it in 1666.

Forest Produce

There were extensive forests covering most parts of the country. Babur tells us that in many places the country was “covered by a thorny bush-wood to such a degree that the people of the pargana relying on these forests took shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation often continued in a state of revolt refusing to pay their taxes.” 67 There were extensive forests in the North-West Frontier province, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, modern Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, and southern India, full of trees and ferocious animals like tigers and in some parts even lions. Ralph Fitch (1583-1591) in his travels through Bengal noticed large forests infested by wild animals, including very many tigers. 68 Abu-l-Fazl says that one had to traverse a thick forest during a journey along the southern bank of the Ghagra. William Finch (1608-11) found the road from Jaunpur to Allahabad through a continuous forest. He says that there were lions and tigers on the road to Jalaur. 69 Akbar shot a tiger near the village of Midhakur, 7 or 8 miles from Agra. 70 In the 16th century some parts of East Bengal were swamps and wilderness. A large portion of the districts of Jessore, Faridpur, Noakhali and Bakarganj were full of forest inhabited by wild buffaloes, rhinoceros and tigers. Many other parts of Bengal too had large forests. Sujan Rai ?1 writes that wild elephants roamed in the forests of Bengal in the 17th century.

During the Mughul age there was no such problem as afforestation except that of planting trees on both sides of the roads. In fact, the problem was one of deforestation. Forests provided hiding places not only to ferocious animals but also to unsocial elements,— rebels, criminals and dacoits. Akbar therefore followed the policy of reclamation of forest land for the purpose of cultivation. Neither he nor his successors realised the importance of the role that forests played in the general economic prosperity of the country, and their conservation and scientific exploitation. Nevertheless the forests in the Mughul age did provide employment to a large number of woodcutters, sawyers, carters, carriers, raftsmen, and other working people who cut wood, cleared the forest and provided numerous variety of timber for building conveyances, residential houses, furniture, boats, 72 etc. Akbar abolished duties on the leaves of Dhak trees and on barks of babul trees, brought from jungles for sale. The duties on grass and fuel-wood too were also abolished. 73 The produce from the forest, such as timber, fuel, bamboos, leaves, fibres, grass,' gum, sandal and other fragrant wood and drugs formed cheap raw material from this source. Wood was essential for the manufacture of bedsteads, chess-boards, stools, inkstands, ornamental boxes, and other things of ordinary use, besides being used on a large scale in buildings, such as doors, windows, carved ceilings, etc. For these, teak, sesame, babul and mango trees were the chief material. From sandalwood costly articles were manufactured. People in the Mughul age did not make use of modern furniture, like chairs, tables, sofas, etc.; nevertheless a good deal of timber was needed as material for the manufacture of carts and boats, and for ship-building. In those days travelling by boats, particularly in Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Sind and Gujarat, was common. Abu-'L Fazl says that in Bengal ''travelling is by boats, especially in the rains, and they make them (boats) of different kinds for purposes of war, carriage or swift-sailing. For attacking a fort, they are so constructed that when run ashore, their prow overtops the fort and facilitates its capture." 74 About the boats of Gujarat he says: "Vessels sail from and trade to Ghogah. The cargoes are put into small ships called Tawari which transport them to Kambhayat." 75 Speaking about the district of Thatta in Sind, Abu-'l-Fazl writes: "The means of locomotion is by boats of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000. " 76 Akbar built many boats some of which were large enough to carry a few elephants. 77 The Portuguese, who monopolised commerce on the west coast of India, had their ships built in India. As Moreland admits: "the great bulk of the commerce in the Indian seas was carried in ships built in India, and that most of these, and certainly all the large ones, were constructed on the west coast, not at any one centre, but at various ports or inlets within easy reach of the forests. It is practically certain that India also built all the small boats required for the coasting trade from Bengal as far as Sind, and the aggregate volume of shipping was, therefore, very great when measured by contemporary standards." 78 Boat and ship-building from timber produced in Indian forests continued to be in progress in the country in the 17th century. We are told by Sujan Rai, author of Khulasdt-ul~ Tawdrtkh, that ships and boats were constructed in the province of Thatta. 79 Another 17th century writer says that 4,200 big boats and 4,400 small boats were used for navigation in Bengal. 80 Towards the end of the 16th century, the English traveller, Ralph Fitch, travelled from Agra to Bengal with a fleet of 180 boats. 81 There were similar fleets of boats for traffic in the Indus, the Ganga and other rivers. Moreland, therefore, rightly emphasises the sufficiency and utility of the forest wealth of the country.

Paper

Paper, which was required for official work on a large scale, and also by private individuals, was manufactured from wood-pulp obtained from trees in the forests. In Akbar's time a good deal of paper was manufactured from wood-pulp in Lahore, and in other

places, particularly Rajgir, in Bihar. 82 There was a considerable progress in the production of paper in the 17th century. 83 During the reign of Aurangzib paper was manufactured in Awadh also. 84

Gum Lac

Gum Lac is a kind of wax found on the barks of certain standing trees. It was an indispensable material for manufacturing bangles and toys. "The lac was extracted from the trees, and, besides being used for manufacturing women's bangles it was also utilised in varnishing furniture, doors, windows and toys." 85 "The Dutch exported it to Persia for red colour. The lac bangle and toy industry flourished most in Gujarat (specially at Surat), but it must have been diffused in other parts of India more or less." 86 A good deal of lac was found in Malwa, particularly in the jungles of Dhar. During the reign of Shah Jahan lac sold at 7 h Mahmudi (dam) per maund. The price of gum lac in sticks of wax varied from 40 to 60 Mahmudis per maund. We are told by Bernier that high-priced gum lac came from Bengal and Pegu. The people prepared from it lively scarlet colour and painted their cloth with it. The Dutch purchased large quantities of gum lac, and exported it to Persia for use in painting cloth. The English and the Dutch "carried away every year 150 chests at 10 pence per pound." 87

Miscellaneous Products

At least as early as 14th century leaves, barks and exudations of some of the Indian trees in the forest were exported to foreign countries. Some of the other forest products such as, cloves, spikenard, aloe-wood, sandal, amber, camphor and other fragrant woods and drugs were considered important articles for internal consumption and for exporting to foreign countries. Red bakham-wood was used for cosmetics and some were used as medicine and hair dyes during the Mughul age. Wood products of the forest were also made to yield perfumes. The Western Ghat forests and the Mysore forests yielded black wood and sandal wood. Malabar produced coconut and areca trees. Sandal wood of white and yellow colour was found in some forest areas. White sandal came into prominence for fragrance during the reign of Jahangir. It was supplied by the Portuguese to the gentry in Agra and other places. The Portuguese brought sandal wood from the Dutch East Indies and transported it to Malacca, Goa and Cambay. Babul bark used for tanning leather came from the provinces of Lahore, Agra and Rajasthan. 88

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Minerals

There was no scientific exploration of the mineral wealth of the country during the Mughul age, and therefore, in spite of high potentiality indigenous mineral products were far from satisfactory. Bengal, Bihar and the Kolar mines of gold did not yield a good quantity of that precious metal. We have no record to show what the mineral productions in the country were during the time of Babur and Humayun. Abu-T-Fazl was one of the earliest writers to throw some light upon the development of mineral industry in Akbar’s time. He says that gold was found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country. In the hills of Kumaun there “are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, orpiment and borax.” 89 In some parts of the Punjab and Kashmir (Pakli and Gilgit) people washed the soil “whence gold, silver, copper, rui (a mixed metal) zinc, brass and lead are obtained.” 90 “Gold may also be obtained by the Saloni process from the Ganges and the Indus, and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold; however the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit.” 91 For silver, too, people washed river sand in some parts of northern India. Abu-T-FazTs remark that “mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound” seems to be an exaggeration. 92 At Jalaur in Rajasthan there was a mine of pewter (Jast)P According to Sujan Rai there was mining of gold in the provinces of Delhi, Awadh, and Bengal and on the banks of some rivers of the Punjab especially the Beas 94 It seems that there was some progress in reclaiming gold in the 17th century. Chhatarman confirms Sujan Rai and adds Allahabad, Agra and Kashmir to the list of gold mining centres. 95 De Laet writes that there were gold mines in the neighbourhood of Patna. 96 Gold and silver were much in demand for minting coins and for the manufacture of ornaments for men, women and children of all classes of people, and for producing thread for embroidery. Ruling houses and many an upper class family had utensils and furniture of gold and silver. There were diamond mines in Golconda. Diamonds were also found in the eastern extremity of Bengal, at Harpah in Mandaran district of that province, in Berar and in Panna in modern Madhya Pradesh. 97 De Laet writes that during the reign of Jahangir "very rich diamond mines were discovered a few years ago quite by accident at the foot of a great mountain, not far from the river Krishna where the land is very rough and barren; they lie about 108 English miles from the fort of Masulipatam. The king of Golconda let out the mines at the annual sum of 30 lakhs Pagodas." 98

Tavernier says that there were diamond mines in Golconda,

Kolar, Soumelpur (Bengal), Wairagiri, and some other places. He adds that "two per cent on all purchases of diamonds is paid to the king who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine." 99 He tells us that there was a mill with iron machinery at Golconda and many prosperous merchants did successful business there. A labourer received three pagodas a day. One who found a diamond piece of 14 to 16 carats was given a special reward of one pagoda. The Kolar mine also employed a large number of labourers. Sometimes their number reached 60,000. A diamond weighing more than 60 carats became the property of the king. There was a considerable diamond trade in Goa, Chail, Surat and Bombay. During the early years of Jahangir's reign there was a diamond mine at Gokra desh in the modern Purnea district of Bihar, but it came into disuse after 1612. 100 Coal was not mined during the Mughul period. The supply of iron and steel, though found in many places in the provinces of Multan, Delhi, Allahabad, Bengal (Bazuha), Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kumaun, Indore and Nirmal (in Berar), the village of Khriu (Kashmir), and the Kingdom of Golconda, 101 was limited, and its production depended on the quantity of wood in the vicinity of copper and iron-ore mines. The 'Ain' mentions the mines of copper, naphtha and sulphur, besides those of gold, silver, diamonds and rubies in the region between Pegu and Arakan. 102 There were unprofitable mines of copper and turquoise in Toda Bhim. 103 Copper mines existed at Perath, Udaipur, Singhana, Kotputli, and Bairat (near Alwar). 104 There were silver mines at Perath and Bairat. 105 In the province of Allahabad lead was available, and there were copper mines in Ajmer, Kamaun, and Bengal, Awadh and Delhi subas. Pearls 106 were found in Kazor in the Machhukhanta pavgana of Gujarat. Diverse other minerals were found here and there in the country. Lonar in Berar contained essential materials for the manufacture of glass and soap. Orpiment and borax were found in Kumaun, sulphur at Sohra, 15 miles south of Gurgaon city, naphtha and sulphur near Tippera in Bengal. 107 Gilded glass was manufactured at Patna. 107a

Salt

There were three kinds of salt industry. First, it was obtained by evaporation of sea water; second, it came mostly from the Sambhar lake in Rajasthan and the Ran of Cutch; and third, the Punjab rock-salt supplied large quantities of salt . The Sambhar lake was 8 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth, and divided into many plots. It took fifteen to sixteen days to absorb water, and thereafter the

entire tract of land became full of salt. During the Mughul period salt was exchanged for corn by the traders, and it was sold by heaps, not by weight. The Lahori salt came from near the town of Shamsabad and the shrine of Balnath Jogi (in the Gurdaspur district) at the foot of the salt-range in the Punjab. Abu-'l-Fazl calls it Koh-i-Juda. It was 40 miles long, and salt was excavated from it. The Mughul government charged a custom duty of one rupee for every 17 maunds. 108 Sujan Rai, author of Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh, refers to the existence of salt mines at Thatta, Ayodhya and Multan. 109 But salt produced there could not have been in substantial quantities. Taking into consideration the requirements of the country as a whole there was enough salt, 110 and it was in those days cheaper than it is now. The salt from the Punjab, which was considered of superior quality, cost a little less than 5 dams per maund on an average during the reign of Akbar. 111

Saltpetre

Large quantities of saltpetre came from Agra and Patna. But the largest supply in the 16th century came from Lonar in Berar where it yielded “a considerable revenue.” 112 The Dutch had a considerable trade in the commodity, and set up a ware-house near Patna. After refining it they transported it to Hooghly. The price of saltpetre was 7 mahmudis per maund. Saltpetre was prepared from three kinds of earth—black, yellow and white—by an ingenious method. It was produced at Agra and its vicinity where five to six thousand maunds of saltpetre was obtained. 113 It was much in demand by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English for exportation to Europe. Saltpetre was developed considerably in the 17th century. It was required for the manufacture of gun-powder, and Shergarh near Agra, Thatta, Patna, Ahmadabad and Lonar (Berar) had developed into large centres of this commodity. The emperor had monopolised saltpetre and had a store house of many thousands of maunds in Ahmadabad. 114

Saffron

Saffron was cultivated in Kashmir. The ground was carefully prepared before planting the seed in March or April and then it was irrigated with rain-water. At the close of September the plants reached their full growth. The saffron plant was about a quarter of a yard in height. The “flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour

standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron.” 115 The flowers were picked up laboriously. The plants yielded flowers for six years continuously.

Saffron was cultivated in two villages, Pampur in the district of Mararaj, to the south of Srinagar, and Paraspur near Indrakot. The fields at Pampur extended over about 24 miles 116 and those at Paraspur comprised an area of two square miles. 117 Saffron was a fragrant and costly article; it was used for colouring and flavouring good quality rice. It was also used for imparting fragrance and agreeable yellow colour to some other rich dishes 118 and dyeinjg cloth. Saffron was a very superior crop and was taxed heavily. Four hundred maunds of saffron were produced every year in the time of Akbar, 119 Jahangir 120 and Shah Jahan. Jahangir was enchanted by the sight of the saffron fields. He says that one-half of the produce of saffron belonged to the government and the other half to the cultivators. A seer of saffron sold for Rs. 10/-. The labourers who picked up the flowers were paid half the weight of flowers in salt, as the latter article was not produced in Kashmir and was difficult to procure in those days. 121

Spices

India, particularly its Malabar region, was famous for its spices, and it was because of these that the Portuguese had tried hard to discover a sea route to this country. The chief spices were cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, cloves and cinnamon. Cardamom was grown in Bijapur and ginger in all parts of India. Cardamom was an excellent but costly spice. Its price varied from 52 to 80 dams per seer and it was used by rich nobles and princes in India and other countries of Asia. Ginger was produced in great quantities all over India. Pepper grew in Bijapur, Malabar, Cochin and many other places in southern India, in Champaran district in Bihar, and in the forests of Mahmudabad district in Bengal. 122 Tavernier tells us that the Dutch purchased large quantities of pepper from Malabar, in exchange for cotton, opium, vermillion and quick silver, and transported it to Europe. 123 Pepper was grown in Assam and Bantum also and was sent to Surat from where it was exported to Ormuz, Basra and the Red Sea. Cloves and nutmegs, too, were collected at Surat by the Dutch and exported to Europe. Abu-'lFazl gives the prices of the spices in the time of Akbar which were as follows:— 124

Siyahdana (Kalaunji)	1J	dams per ▪	seer
Cloves	60	>>	>>
Cardamoms	52		
Round Pepper	17	j?	3>

Long Pepper	16	??	33
Dry Ginger	4	5 3	33
Fresh Ginger	21	33	33
Cuminseed	2	33	33
Aniseed	2	33	33
Turmeric	10	3 3	33
Coriander	3	33	33
Cinnamon	40	33	33
Ajwain	70	-90 dams per maund	

Many ship-loads of pepper were exported by the Portuguese annually from the ports of Goa and Cochin, 125 and also from Masulipatam. 126 The Portuguese collected huge quantities of pepper and other spices from Sumatra and brought them to the Indian ports for export to Pegu, the Red Sea and other countries. 127 They had a great store of pepper at Quilon whence they exported it to Europe. 128 Ralph Fitch writes that at Cochin "groweth the pepper, and it springs up by a tree or a pole and is. .. .like the wheat-ear; and at the first the bunches are green, and as they wax ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leaf is much lesser than the ivy leaf and thinner.... All the pepper of Calicut and coarse Cinnamon too grows here in this country. The best Cinnamon does come from Ceylon." 129 Fitch says that pepper grew in many parts of India, specially about Cochin and that much of it grew in the fields among bushes without any labour. When ripe, it was picked up and gathered. It was green when picked up, but when laid in the sun to dry, it turned black. The ginger was found in many parts of India. The clove came from the islands of Moluccas and the nutmegs and maces from the Isle of Banda; the white sandalwood from the Isle of Timor; camphor from China and Borneo; lignum aloes from Cochin-China; benjamin from Siam and Jangomes; the long pepper from Bengal, Pegu and Java. 130

Tobacco

Tobacco was unknown in India till the last quarter of the 16th century. It was brought to Gujarat by the Portuguese in the closing years of that century, and introduced at Akbar's court in 1604 or 1605. 131 It soon became so popular that Jahangir forbade smoking in 1617. 132 But in spite of the royal orders, people in Gujarat, in the Deccan and in Northern India took a fancy for it, and it seems that in the later years of his reign, Jahangir withdrew the ban. Within a few years tobacco began to be cultivated on an extensive 133 scale, and by 1623 it became an article of export from the port of Surat. 134 It soon reached the Coromandel Coast whence it was exported to Mocha, Arakan and Pegu. Not long after, Bengal came to have a demand for it. 135 We are told by Manucci that in the early years of Aurangzlb's reign a farmer at Delhi paid a duty of Rs. 5000/- a day on tobacco. It was possibly an exaggerated statement. Nevertheless, it shows the wide extension of the cultivation of, and trade in, tobacco, within the space of less than half a century. 136 Burhanpur and parts of Bengal also produced large quantities of tobacco.

Trade

The nature of India's trade, inland and foreign, has practically been the same in the ancient and medieval ages. During the Mughul period, as in the earlier days of her history, she imported costly luxury goods and novelties, such as, woollen cloth, silks, velvets, glass and mirrors, wine and spirit, precious metals, particularly gold and silver, other metals like copper, lead, tin, zinc and quicksilver, and coral, and horses. Among the exports the largest share was that of cotton cloths. Large quantities of manufactured cotton goods divided principally into three groups—calicoes, muslins and fancy goods—formed the foundation of the export trade. The second largest commodity exported was the spices, mostly pepper. Minor spices exported were ginger, cardamoms, turmeric and various drugs. Gum-lac, pearls and diamonds too were sent out. Indigo was the third important item of export. Bengal sent out rice and sugar, and from the Coromandel Coast dyed yarn went to Pegu where it was much in demand. Brocades and embroideries were also exported. India traded with China, Persia, Arabia, Central Asia, Egypt and the countries of South-East Asia, such as Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Indian Archipelago. She had had commercial relations with some of the countries of Europe before the land routes to that continent were blocked by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. When the Portuguese discovered the sea-route to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498, trade with Europe was resumed. The English, the Dutch, and the French followed the Portuguese, and the commercial relations with Europe bceame intimate. They collected not only spices but also manufactured cotton cloth, indigo and other articles and transported them to Europe. The already existing trade between India and the countries of Central Asia, including Farghana, Turkistan, Samarqand, Balkh, Bokhara, Hisar and Badakhshan received a great fillip. Babur tells us that 7,000 horses and 11,000 camels laden with cloths, black and white, rugs, sugar, candy and medical herbs were sent every year to Kabul and from there to other countries of Central Asia. Rich Indian merchants, many of whom were Muslims, were responsible for organising and conducting commerce. Babur says: "There are many merchants who are not willing to hire less than 300 to 400 caravans (meaning perhaps horses)". Kabul seems to have been a great exchange market. Indian goods were despatched through Kabul and the commodities from Khurasan, Iraq and China were available in Kabul. Oranges, lemons and sugarcanes came from Lammet, honey came from the mountainous tracts of Ghazni, and grapes, apricots, peaches and many other fruits were imported into India from Central Asian countries. 137

Commerce with foreign countries developed greatly under Akbar and Jahangir. Indigo, cotton cloths and wool, besides the spices, were the principal articles of export. Chinese porcelain, glasses, objects of curiosity and luxury, costly woollen cloths, gold and silver, were the principal articles of import. Gold and silver were not allowed to be exported and foreign traders who purchased Indian goods had to pay in cash. "The amount of bullion," writes Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerji, "imported into India steadily increased in the Mughal period." In 1601 the English East India Company alone imported bullion valued at £22,000; by 1616 it rose to £52,000, and at the end of the 17th century it totalled annually to about £800,000. 138 An idea of the foreign curios and costly stuffs patronised by the Mughuls could be had from the fact that, besides some artistic porcelain and coloured glass utensils, Akbar left behind crockery worth rupees twenty-five lakhs. 139

It is necessary to say a word about the Indian exports and the sea-ports from where these were sent out to foreign lands, Moreland has given a conspectus of the Indian export trade at the opening of the 17th century in a tabular form. Lahari Bandar was the chief sea-port of Sind from where cotton cloths of various types, known collectively as Calico, were exported to Persian Gulf. Cambay, Gogha, Diu and Surat, the sea-ports of the province of Gujarat, transported cotton goods, yarn and indigo to Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Achin. In the Konkan region the ports were Chaul, Dabhol and Rajapur, whence Calicos and cotton cloth of

painted and superior quality and pepper were exported to Red Sea and Persian Gulf. From these ports, the above-mentioned goods were sent coastwise to Goa by sea to be transported onward. From Goa too goods of the above variety were exported to Persian Gulf, East Africa, Lisbon, Malacca, and beyond, and also to Ceylon. The main ports in the Malabar region were Calicut and Cochin from where pepper was exported to Lisbon, Ceylon and Malacca. Quilon, Tuticorin and Negapatam on the south coast sent out calico and pepper coastwise and to Malacca and beyond. San Thome and Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast exported fancy goods, calico, muslin and fine yarn to Malacca and beyond, to Achin, Pegu, and Tenasserim, besides coastwise to Goa and Malabar. From Masulipatam, another sea-port on the Coromandel Coast, calico, muslin and fancy goods and yarn were transported to Malacca and beyond, to Achin, Pegu and

Tenasserim, and to Persian Gulf, besides coastwise north and south. There were two other ports in the south, viz., Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam which sent out rice and oil seeds to various ports on the eastern and v/estern coasts of India for export to foreign countries. In Bengal, the sea-ports were Hooghly, Pipli, Balasore and Chittagong. These exported rice, sugar and muslin to various ports on the east and west coasts of India, to Pegu and Tenasserim, to Malacca and Achin. All these goods were further exported to the countries of Central Asia, to Egypt and beyond, and to Europe. The countries of South-East Asia too received Indian cotton and other goods which were in demand there. Quite a good amount of Indian goods was exported to foreign countries by land routes through Kabul and Qandahar and early in the 17th century three thousand of camel-loads of Indian goods passed annually through this route to Central Asian countries. Since the advent of Europeans the importance of the land route was lessened. Throughout the Mughul period the volume of Indian export through the north-western land routes fluctuated according to amity or hostility between India and Persia on the question of the possession of Qandahar, and sometimes on the relations between the Mughul government and the Portuguese. 140 "India maintained a balance of trade in her favour" during the Mughul age. 141

Labour supply: Industrial Specialisation

The description of agricultural and industrial activity shows that there was adequate human material and labour supply in the country. Babur noted that "the country of Hindustan is extensive, full of land and full of produce." 142 Most of those who were engaged in agriculture and industry were Hindus. About the end of the 16th century only a nominal fraction of the Musalmans,

about .08 per cent of the entire population, or one Muslim per every thousand Hindus was connected with land. 143 Most of these were zamindars and the number of Muslim cultivators was insignificant. Similarly a very small number of Muslims was engaged in trade and industry. Some wealthy Muslim merchants, mostly foreign, were engaged in large-scale inland and maritime commerce on Indian soil. Babur observed in the first quarter of the 16th century that "most of the inhabitants of Hindustan are pagans:

they call a pagan, a Hindu.all artisans, wage-earners and

officials are Hindus." 144 The labour supply was not only more than adequate, but it was also fairly efficient. Although we cannot say that during the period there existed all those conditions, such as, good health, nutritious food, adequate clothing and favourable conditions of work that go to make labour efficient, yet Indian labour was sufficiently good. People got enough to eat except during drought or a famine; they did not need much clothing except in winter; there was little interference with the labourers, artisans and agriculturists except during the later days of Shah Jahan's reign and in the time of Aurangzib on account of inefficiency and weakness of government. An important aspect of Indian life was the firm belief in fate, that is, people were born in a particular situation on account of their deeds in the past life, and they must make the best of their present situation. This saved them from a life of frustration and from running away from it. Moreover, people in general were sober, abstemious, thrifty and diligent. Though themselves poor, they made the country as a whole rich and flourishing. It is sometimes thought that there was no specialisation of labour and industry during the Mughul age. This is not wholly correct. Every industrial activity and trade was meant for a particular class of people, and for generations each caste or group followed the same industrial activity through the ages. As Babur writes: "again every artisan follows the trade that has come down to him from forefather to forefather." 145 Each caste of artisans was a trade guild, a mutual assurance society and a religious brotherhood. As a trade union the caste insisted upon the proper training of the youth in the crafts and the regulation of wages of its members, fixing the prices of the commodities, punishing the delinquents and promoting the general welfare of the group. There was thus some kind of training and discipline for the artisans. There were such trade guilds in the towns, cities and the villages throughout the country. Sometimes an important industry registered a commendable improvement on account of better training and output brought by foreign craftsmen. "Skilful masses and craftsmen," writes Abu-'l-Fazl, "have settled in the coun try to teach people an improved system of manufacture." 146 In the 17th century too the system continued, and Francisco Palsaert describing the condition of labour and industry in the time of Jahangir

says: ".workmen's children could follow no occupation other

than that of their fathers, nor can any marry with any other

caste." 147 "The embroiderer brings up his son as embroiderer,"

says Bernier, "a goldsmith's son becomes a goldsmith and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician." 148 Sir Jadunath Sarkar tells us how an improvement took place in the manufacture of industrial articles. He writes: "Skilled artisans trained in the imperial workshops, specially apprentices, after completing their technical education, found employment with the nobles and Rajahs, as all of them were not required by the Mughal government. In this way their skill was transplanted all over the country. The most notable instance of this diffusion of talent and elevation of the cultural level of the country by the action of the court is supplied by the schools of the Mughal painters and musicians." 149 It is an undoubted fact that the quality of manufactured articles in the royal and noble men's workshops had improved greatly during the age, and that the higher technical skill had diffused to some of the industrial centres in the country. The rank and file among the artisans, however, continued to produce stereotyped articles in their cottages.

Abundance and Prosperity

The first quarter of the 16th century was marked by abundance of wheat, barley, gram and other food grains. Prices of all articles of food and other daily necessaries of life were so low that during the reigns of Sikandar (1489-1517) and Ibrahim Lodi (1517-1526), one Bahloli or dam, a copper coin (equivalent to one-fortieth of a rupee), sufficed for the expenses of one soldier and his horse for a few days. 150 Almost all the cities both in the north and the south were stocked with the necessaries of life. The Persian ambassador 'Abdul-Razzaq was astonished at the prosperity of the city of Vijayanagara. 151 Paes says the same thing with regard to the other cities, towns and villages of sduth India. 152 At least seven cities, viz., Agra, Fathpur Sikri, Delhi, Lahore, Ahmadabad, Gauda and Vijayanagara were extraordinarily prosperous and had a population of two lakhs or more each. Father Monserrate who stayed in India for a few years speaks of the great wealth and prosperity of Agra and Fathpur Sikri. “All the necessities and conveniences of human life can be obtained here (Agra), if desired. This is even true of the articles that have to be imported from distant corners of Europe. There are great numbers of artisans, iron-workers and goldsmiths. Gems and pearls abound in large number. Gold and silver are plentiful, as also are horses from Persia and Tartary. Indeed the city is flooded with vast quantity of every type of commodity. Hence Agra is seldom visited by dearth of food supplies.” 153 He says practically the same thing about Delhi which he praised for its public buildings, its remarkable Fort, its walls and a number of mosques. He says that “Delhi is inhabited by substantially wealthy Brachmane (Hindus).rich men here constructed for themselves well-built, lofty and handsomely decorated residences.” 154 It was full of parks and gardens and “filled with a rich profusion of fruits and flowers.” 155 During his journey from Fathpur Sikri to Lahore, Monserrate came across prosperous towns and villages. Writing about Lahore he says that “this city is next to none, either in Asia or in Europe with regard to size, population and wealth. It is crowded with merchants, who foregather here from all over Asia. In all these respects it excels other cities, as also in the huge quantity of every kind of merchandise, which is imported. Moreover, there is no art or craft useful to human life which is not practised there.” 156 In fact this careful observer was filled with amazement at the prosperity in Northern India. The cheapness of grains in Akbar’s camp in his journey to Lahore surprised him. 157 Ralph Fitch, who visited several parts of India, found in the course of his journey (1583-1591) all kinds of food grains and other eatables, cotton cloth and other necessaries of life in plenty from Diu to Agra, from Agra to Satgaon and Chittagong in Bengal and to Pegu, and from there to Southern India and to Ceylon. Everywhere his eye met with plenty. 158 Another European traveller, named William Finch, who visited India during

1608-1611, also bore testimony to the prosperous condition of the country. 159

Famines

In spite of plenty, there were sometimes scarcity and famine on account of failure of seasonal rains, excessive floods or devastations caused by war. But fortunately these areas of drought and scarcity were localised, and did not involve the whole country. Taking the country as a whole, it seems that the main difficulty was that of transport of foodstuffs to the affected areas. The first famine recorded was that of 1555-56, the year of Akbar's accession. Delhi, Agra and the adjacent regions suffered from high mortality, caused not only by drought but also by an epidemic. The historian Badauni, an eye-witness, writes, that "men ate their own

kind and the appearance of the famine sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look at them. The whole country was a desert and no man lived to till the ground." 160 Though BadaunI's description is highly exaggerated, the calamity was nevertheless great. Five famines occurred between 1573 and 1595. In 1573 Gujarat was affected and it suffered for six months. Many inhabitants, rich and poor, left the country for fear of starvation. 161 In 1583-84 prices rose high on account of a famine in North-Western Hindustan, and many people died of starvation. 162 The famine of 1595 lasted for three or four years till 1598. The Jesuit missionaries described the horror of the famine and pestilence in Lahore and Kashmir, and the alleviation of suffering by Akbar. 163 Bengal was visited by plague in 1575. 164 In 1584-85 there was a great inundation and the Meghna Delta was washed away. 165

There was a severe famine in Gujarat and the Deccan in 1630 on account of the failure of rains that year, and unfavourable crops during the previous three years. The country suffered greatly and even the bare necessities of life were scarcely available. 166 In 1683 when Aurangzlb was conducting an expedition in the Deccan, there occurred a famine in the Konkan. It was not possible to procure grain in the region. 167 In 1686, there was again a famine in the Deccan caused by the devastation of warfare and the failure of annual rains. 168 Gujarat once again suffered from drought. Moreland has shown that between 1614 and 1660 there were as many as thirteen famines and that of 1630-31 was very severe. 169 In spite of recurring famines the Mughul government did not take adequate steps to provide relief. A comprehensive policy of the prevention of drought was unthinkable in that age. The adverse effect of most of these famines was fortunately confined to local areas, and at most to a province or two, and the growth of the population was not affected to any considerable extent.

Despite recurring famines here and there, there was, taking the entire country in view, no dearth of food grains and other necessities of life. India was, generally speaking, prosperous during the Mughul age. The ruling class rolled in wealth and luxury. The middle class people, consisting of zaminddrs (to use the word in the modern sense), merchants and the lower rank of the official staff and other employees of the same category, were fairly well-todo. The masses and the inferior artisans were, on the other hand, poor; but they did not starve except in times of drought and scarcity. We have a fairly accurate statement of the salaries of troops and skilled and unskilled labourers and also of the prices of foodgrains and other commodities in the Am-i-Akban, written at about

the end of the 16th century. The daily wages of ordinary labourers were 2 to 3 dams, i.e., 3 to 4 pice or 5 to 1\ paise in terms of the present decimal currency. The payment made to a slave per day was one dam, i.e. 2\ paise of the current decimal currency. The beldar or ordinary labourer, got two dams a day; a bamboo-cutter, too, was paid 2 dams daily; a thatcher was paid 3 dams a day; a water-carrier 3 dams; a water-carrier of inferior capacity 2 dams; a varnisher of reeds with lac 2 dams a day; a brick-layer of first class 3J dams and of second class 3 dams. 170 In Jahangir's time, the monthly wages of servants were 2J to 3 rupees. The wages paid by the Dutch factory at Agra in 1636 were 3^ rupees per month for servants, porters, and sdis (horsemen) and Rs. 5/- for the sweepers and the watermen. 171 In South India, at the Masulipatam factory, servants received Rs. 2/- monthly in 1602, and at Bombay the daily wages of labourers in 1674 were 3 pice (5 paise in the modern decimal currency). 172 The daily wages of skilled labourers and workers in Akbar's time ranged from 6 ta 7 dams (15 to 17J paise). A mason of the first class, for example, was paid 7 dams a day; of second class 6 dams, and of third class 5 dams . A carpenter of the first class got 7 dams, of second class 6 dams, of third class 4 dams, of fourth class 3J dams and of fifth class 3 dams daily. 173 During the reign of Jahangir there was hardly any increase in the wages. The average prices of principal food grains towards the end of Akbar's reign calculated on the basis of 82.3 lbs equivalent to one maund (instead of that of 55J lbs a maund which was the weight in Akbar's time) were as follows: Wheat sold at 133.3 seers a rupee; barley 200 seers, rice 54.2 seers, gram 135.6 seers, bajra 182.8 seers and joimr 108.5 seers. 174 Taking the maund as equivalent to 55J lbs (which was the ratio in Akbar's time) a maund of ghee was available for 105 dams, oil for 80 dams, milk for 25 dams, and brown sugar for 53 dams. 175 The prices of ordinary cloth of different variety were:—

1. Chhint 2 dams per yard.

2. Ghazina i.e., Gazzi, \ to 1J dams per piece.

3. Dupatta Re. 1/- per piece.

4. Silahati 2 to 4 dams per yard. 176

Taking into consideration the prices of things at the end of the 16th century, the wages paid to all kinds of workers and labourers were adequate to maintain them. Dr. Radha Kamal Mookherji rightly observes that although "adequate and accurate data for comparison of real and money wages between Akbar's time and today in Northern India are not available," yet we know from the Am-i-Akbari

and from the European factors in Gujarat, Madras, and Bengal that lj dams (3l paise of 1971) were sufficient for a worker to lead a hand-to-mouth existence. But he cannot feed himself today at less than Rs. 2\. "Thus the real wages have actually declined. In the 19th century (and much more in the 20th century) agricultural wages rose, but the real wages were reduced appreciably." 177 During the Mughul age people's wants were few and the standard of living of the common people was very low. They lived in mud houses, thatched with straw; they had very few utensils, and clothes, and their furniture consisted of bedsteads. There was little medical aid in the rural areas, and the economic condition of the masses throughout the age was very unsatisfactory. For this one cannot find fault with the lack of industry and thrift of the teeming millions or blame them for inadequate production. The faults were those of faulty distribution and governmental extortion. In spite of these drawbacks it could hardly be said that the people in that age were unhappy.

1. Babur, Tuzuk-i-Bdburi, alias Memoirs (Beveridge), p. 450.

2. Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970, pp. 8-9.

3. Tuzuk-i-Bdburi or Memoirs, Sec. Ill, 478.

3a. Elliot & Dowson, VIII, 86.

4. The Memoirs, 496.

5. Ain., Vol. II, vide tables of harvests of the subas.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 134, 353; Ralph Fitch, vide Foster, Early Travels in India, 43.

8. Ain., II, 181.

9. Ibid., 164.

10. Ibid., II, 98-117.

11., Ibid., II, 98-117.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. De Laet, The Empire of the Great Mogal, 17.

15. Ain., II, 249.

16. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, 105.

17. Calendars of Court Minutes of the East India Company, Vol. II, 179.

18. Pant, The Commercial Policy of the Mughals, 210.

19. Abu-'l-Fazl mentions various kinds of fine cotton cloths, vide, Ain . I, 100, 685.

20. Ain., II, 191.

21. Varthema, Ludovico di, Travels, tr. for the Hakluyt Society, 1863, Vide Moreland, op. cit., 172.

22. Ain., I, 97.

23. Ibid., 98, Vol. II, 356.

24. Ibid., 98.

25. Ibid., 90-97.

26. Ibid., 57, Vol. II, 169.

27. Bernier, Travels, Vol. I, 402-403.

28. For Shawl industry under Aurangzlb, see Sujan Rai, Khulasat, 49b-50a.

29. Ain., II, 247.

30. Moreland, op. cit., 172.

31. Travels of Tavernier, 126.

32 Ibid

33 S S. Kulshrestha, Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals, 97-98.

34. Travels of Tavernier, Chapter X.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Moreland, op. cit., 172.

38. Chhattarman, Chhahar Gulshan, 27, 39; Sujan Rai, Khulasat, 22, 30, 34.

39. Ain., II, 169; Manucci, Vol. II.

40. Ain., II, 76-117.

41. Ain., II, 192, 248; De Laet, 21, 23, 45-46.

42. Foster, Early Travels in India, 151-154.

43. Foster, op. cit., 148, 190-192.

44. De Laet, 26.

45. Ibid., 45-46, 62.

46. Sarkar, Studies in Aurangzib's Reign, 275.

47. Pant, op. cit., 195.

48. Ain., II, 76-93, 105-106, 114, 117, 119-120, 121-122.

49. Ain., II, 78-117.

50. Ibid., 192.

51. Bernier, Travels, 435.

52. De Laet, 54-55, 71.

53. Chhattarman, Chhahar Gulshan, 53.

54. Ain., I, 410, 417; Hawkins, vide Early Travels in India, ed. Foster, 71, 116, 142.

55. Ain., II, 78-117.

56. Fitch, vide, Early Travels in India, ed., by Foster, 18, 24.

57. Ibid., 34.

58. Ain., II, 207.

59. Ain., I, 62, 66; Vol. II, pessim (vide description of the subas); E. Tarry, vide Foster, op. cit., 297.

60. Ain. I, 77-78.

61. Ibid., 68-78; Vol. II, 135, 138, 164, 169, 190, 192, 246, 249; 283.

62. Edward Terry, Vide Foster, op. cit., 296-297.

63. Ibid., 297; Ain., I, 75; De Laet, 24.

64. Ain., II, 134, 138, 339.

65. Ain., II, 339.

66. Ain., II, 339; Moreland, op. cit., 147.

67. Babur, op. cit., 490-491.

68. Foster, op. cit., 25.

69. Ibid., 174.

70. A.N., II, 80.

71. Ain., II, 135, 136; Foster, op. cit., 24-28.

72. Ain., I, 137, 233, 237.

73. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, 94.

74. Ain., II, 134.

75. Ibid., 248.

76. Ain., II, 339.

77. Akbar the Great, Vol. I, p. 159.

78. Moreland, op. cit., 170.

79. Khulasat, 36.

80. Chhattarman, op. cit., 40.

81. Foster, op. cit., 18.

82. Ain., II, 164.

83. Pant, op. cit., 92.

84. Khulasat, 26.

85. / Ain., I, 236, 237.

86. Sarkar, Studies in Aurangzib's Reign, 281.

87. Bernier, Travels, II, 63.

88. Ain., I, 83-87; Tavernier, Vol. II, op. cit., 182; Pinkerton, Travels, Vol. VHI (Capt. Alexander Hamilton's account), 307, 308, 310, 365; Vol. VII (Goez

89. Ain., II,'235.* See also De Laet, 75-76.

90. Ibid., 317, 365. The metal called rui was "composed of four seers of copper to i of lead, and in India called Changar."

91. Ain., I, (Blochmann), 38-39.

92. Ain., Ill, (Jarrett and Sarkar), 10.

93. Ain., I, 41-42.

94. Khulasat, 22, 26, 30, 496.

95. Chhahar Gulshan, 11, 27, 37, 39.

96. De Laet, 77.

97. Ain., II, 138.

98. De Laet, 75.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

99. Travels in India by Tavernier, ed., by Ball, Vol. II, 59.

100. Tavernier, op. cit., 135-138; Sarkar, Studies in Aurangzib* s Reign , 280.

101. Ain., II, 136, 170, 172, 182, 235, 359; De Laet, 76; 78.

102. Ibid., 132.

103. Ibid., 192.

104. Ibid., 192-193.

105. Ibid., 192.

106. Ain., II, 215, 319.

107. Ain., II, 132, 239, 285.

107a. Ibid., 164.

108. Ain., II, 249.

109. Khulasat, 26, 34, 56.

110. Edward Terry, op. cit., 297.

111. Ain., I, 525, 526; Sarkar, India of Aurangzib, LXXVII.

112. Ain., II, 239.

113. Moreland and Geyl, The Remonstrantie (Jahangir's India) of Francisco Pelsaert, 46.

114. Ain., I, 58.

115. Ain., Vol. I, 89-90. Jahangir Tuzuk, Vol. II, 117) says the flower had four petals.

116. At another place Abu-'l-Fazl says 10 or 12 thousand bighaS. See Ain., Vol. II, 358.

117. Ain., II, 364, Jahangir (Vide Tuzuk, Vol. I, 92, Vols. II, 77) says saffron grows only at Pampur.

118. Ibid., Vol. II, 358-359.

119. Tuzuk, Vol. I, 92.

120. Ibid., 177.

121. Ibid., 178.

122. Ain., II, 135, 165.

123. Travels of Tavernier, II, 129.

124. Ain., Vol. I, 67; Vol. II, 76. (for Ajwain).

125. Ralph Fitch, vide Foster, op. cit., 14.

126. Ibid., 16.

127. Ibid., 41.

128., Ibid., 44.

129. Ibid., 45.

130. Ibid., 46.

131. V.A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, 407.

132. Ibid., 409.

133. Edward Terry, Vide Foster, op. cit., 299

134. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzib, 80.

135. Ibid., 81.

136. Ibid., 189.

137. The Memoirs, Vide Kulshrestha, 214-215.

138. R.K. Mookerji, op. cit., 69.

139. De Laet and Manrique, The Treasures of Akbar, J.R.A.S. , 1915, p.

140. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzib, 57-58.

141. R.JC. Mookerji, op. cit., 68.

142. The Memoirs, 408.

143. Srivastava, A.L., Akbar the Great, Vol. Ill, Chapter II, 30-60.

144. The Memoirs, 518.

145. Ibid.

146. Ain., Vol. I, (Blochmann), 93-94.

147. Moreland and Geyl, Remonstrantie, 61.

148. Bernier’s Travels, Vol. I, 259.
149. Studies in Aurangzib’s Reign, 270-71.
150. T.A.I., 335; T. Daudi, 75, 224.
151. Abdul Razzaq, vide Major, R.JL, op. cit., 32.
152. Paes, Vide Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, II.
153. Commentarius, 34-36.
154. Ibid., 96-97.
155. Ibid., 98.
156. Ibid, 159-160.
157. Ibid, 79. „ . _ . . T c An
158. Ralph Fitch, vide Foster, Early Travels in India, 8-47.
159. Foster, op cit., 186-87.
160. M.T.I., 428-29; Srivastava, Akbar the Great, I, 21.
161. M.A.Q., 319-21; T.A. II, 301; Akbar the Great, I, 169-170.
162., A.N. Ill, 420.
163. Akbar the Great, I, 408-409.
164. V.A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, 399.
165. Ibid.
166. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzlb, 210-213.
167.i C.H.I. IV, 283.

168. Ibid., 285.

169. Moreland, From Akbar to Aurangzlb, 207-213.

170. Ain., Vol. I, 235, 236.

171. R.K. Mookerji, Economic History of India, 1600-1800, Vide Journal of U-P. Historical Society, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 63.

172. Ibid., 63-64.

173. Ain., I, 235.

174. Ain., I, 65; R.K. Mookerji, op. cit., 86.

175. A in., I, 67.

176. Ain., I, 101.

177. R.K. Mookerji, op. cit., 67.

CHAPTER XXIII

I. MUGHUL ARCHITECTURE

1. Beginnings

With the advent of the Mughuls Indo-Muslim architecture reaches a unity and completeness which make the story of the architectural style that developed under their august patronage particularly fascinating and instructive. The Mughul emperors were keen lovers of nature and art, and their personality was, to a certain extent, reflected in the art and culture of their time.

The state of uncertainty in the days of Babur and Humayun was not, however, favourable, for any outstanding contribution to the development of art and culture. Babur himself was a remarkably dynamic personality—a fearless soldier undaunted by adversity, an accomplished writer and a born aesthete with a keen sense of perception for the beauties of nature and art. He is said to have undertaken several building projects of ambitious character in India that involved the employment of numerous workmen at Agra, Dholpur, Gwalior and other places. In his Memoirs he says that "680 workmen worked daily on my buildings at Agra . . . while 1491 stone-cutters worked daily on my buildings at Agra, Slkri, Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Kiul." 1 The number of workmen employed would indicate the extensiveness of his schemes. Hardly any monument definitely attributable to him has, however, survived today and it is not possible to determine the style and character of his buildings. It is said that his schemes, mostly consisting of the laying out and construction of pleasure gardens, pavilions, etc. had no sacramental or sentimental association and the consequent neglect through centuries had been responsible for their disintegration. Of one of the mosques that Babur built within the Lodi fort at Agra he complains that "it is not well done" and that it "is in Hindustani fashion". 2 It has to be borne in mind that Babur had a strong dislike for the country that destiny had allotted to him. Indian architecture of the time had hardly anything to commend to his innate artistic taste. He praises, no doubt, the remarkable skill and dexterity of the Indian workmen and was particularly impressed by the palaces of Man Singh and Vikramjit within the fort at

Gwalior which, he[3] says, “were singularly beautiful, though built in patches without any regular plan”. It is this lack of regularity and symmetry in the design of Indian buildings that strongly reacted on his orderly and sensitive mind and he expresses his dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. With the Mughuls, strict formality and balance represented the essential qualities of a good composition and any deviation would readily offend their inherent aesthetic taste. Though admiring the manipulative skill of the Indian builders and their excellent workmanship Babur was not moved by what he saw of Indian architecture of the time. He strongly expressed dislike of the state of building art in India and is reported to have invited from Constantinople several pupils of the celebrated Albanian architect, Sinan, to help him in his building projects. It is unlikely, however, that such an enterprise ever materialised. Nevertheless, the report truly reflects the working of the mind of Babur with regard to the state of architecture in India and is a clear proof of his attitude of preference for foreign ideas and inspiration to those of the country of his adoption. With such a supercilious attitude for the country and for the people and their culture it is difficult to initiate any creative and significant art movement. Hence, in spite of his high aesthetic tastes, Babur’s supreme contempt for everything Indian was not conducive to the growth of an Indian art movement under his patronage. He depended too much on imported ideas and inspiration and it is significant that whatever he might have transplanted on the Indian soil has been swept away. Objectively, it may be truly said that Babur left no impression whatsoever on the Indian building tradition.

The adverse political circumstances also did not afford much scope and opportunity for any significant architectural activity during the reign of Babur’s unfortunate son and successor Humayun. Son of an aesthete father and himself aesthetically inclined, Humayun undertook, in the early years of his reign, the building of a new city at Delhi, to be called the Dinpanah (‘World Refuge’) as the “asylum of the wise and intelligent persons”. It was to consist of “a magnificent palace of seven storeys, surrounded by delightful gardens and orchards of such elegance and beauty that its fame might draw the people from the remotest corners of the world”. The Humayun-namdh of Khondamir[4] gives a graphic account of the laying of the foundation stone of this imperial city, the first of the Mughul capitals, so to say. “The walls, bastions, rampart and the gates of the city” are also reported to have been nearly finished within a year of the laying of the foundation stone. But it is doubtful whether the city, as it was planned to be, was ever completed. Even if completed, it appears to have been hastily put up without any attention towards stability or architectural beauty. The troubled reign of Humayun would hardly afford scope for anything better.

No remains are extant of this first Mughul city, and it is likely that whatever of it was finished was destroyed by Sher Shah. The two mosques that have survived of Humayun’s reign exhibit no original or outstanding features.

With regard to the achievements of the first two Mughul emperors in the field of architecture Percy Brown aptly sums them up as follows:

“The material records which have survived of both Babur’s and Humayun’s contributions to the building art of the country are therefore almost negligible. On the other hand, the indirect influence of their personalities and experiences on the subsequent art of the country cannot be overlooked. Babur’s marked aesthetic sense, communicated to his successors, inspired them under more favourable conditions to the production of their finest achievements, while Humayun’s forced contact with the culture of the Safavids is reflected in that Persian influence noticeable in many of the Mughul buildings which followed .” 5

There was an interruption in the Mughul regime by the intervention of the reigns of Sher Shah Sur and his successors. Sher Shah, as Percy Brown says, was “a man of marked constructional propensities and architectural ideals”. At the time of his death he is said to have regretted that he was not spared to erect buildings “with such architectural embellishments that friend and foe might render tribute of applause ”* 6 The few buildings that he has left are each of an exceptional character and clearly exemplify his ideals of, and attitude towards, building art. He arrived on the scene at a time when Islamic architecture in India, particularly the Imperial style of Delhi, was already in a state of disintegration. An intelligent patronage and an aesthetic vision only could save this style from utter dissolution. Sher Shah, gifted with the imagination and outlook of a man of culture and vision, was fully aware of the needs of the time and supplied the necessary conditions, as his building projects amply testify. These projects fall into two groups of monuments situated widely apart, one at Sasaram in Bihar, the scene of his earlier activities, and the other at Delhi, the seat of his imperial government. Both these groups are important, one as the brilliant finale of an earlier tradition and the other as anticipating notable future developments. In the history of Indo-Muslim architecture Sher Shah's buildings are important as supplying a link between the earlier Indo-Muslim style, as practised under the aegis of the Delhi Sultans, and the later, i.e. the Mughul style.

At Sasaram and in its neighbourhood there is a series of five monuments, the majority being erected, in all probability, during his lifetime. Each of these is a building of noble proportions and has marked architectural character. They are octagonal in plan, in continuation of the type of tomb that was initiated at Delhi in the mausoleum of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani during the reign of FIruz Shah Tughluq and so greatly favoured by the Sayyid and the Lodi rulers. Of all these tombs, the mausoleum of Sher Shah stands out preeminently as the magnum opus —a supreme conception of extraordinary architectural interest. The octagonal type of funerary monument was initiated at Delhi and was characteristic of the Imperial style of Delhi. It is not a little surprising therefore that its supreme expression should be produced in a remote corner of Bihar, far away from the capital. Sher Shah's tomb far excels the Delhi compositions of this order in its bold and imaginative conception. The Delhi tombs belonged to a ruling authority already approaching disintegration and, in spite of their good qualities, they are expressive of the forces of dissolution. The tomb of Sher Shah, though based on the Delhi models, was a production of much higher aesthetic plane and a fitting tribute to the power and imagination of his vigorous and dynamic personality.

Not a little of the romantic beauty of this grand mausoleum depends on its picturesque situation. It stands in the middle of a large quadrangular tank, 1400 feet in length, and rises from a lofty square terrace, over 300 feet on each side, with flights of steps descending to the edge of the water. The monument was connected with the mainland by an elegant bridge, now ruined. The square terrace forms an ample court with a substantial domed pavilion at each corner. From the centre of the court rises the octagonal tomb building in three gracefully diminishing stages ultimately crowned by a low and wide dome. The lowest stage forms an arcaded corridor round the funerary hall and has a pleasing effect with the graceful shape of the arches, three on each of its eight sides, projecting eave supported on brackets and the high crenellated parapet. The two upper stages are each relieved by means of pillared kiosks, one at each corner of the octagon, alternating with effective oriel windows. From the third stage which actually forms the drum rises the semi-spherical dome, the series of kiosks at its base "carrying the eye along its spreading curves to the massive lotus finial which crowns the whole". 7 The total height from the base to the finial is 150 feet and offers a splendid harmony with the dimensions of the base.

The tomb of Sher Shah has been described as thoroughly expressive of Indian genius in building art. In its pyramidal elevation Havell has recognised the stamp of the earlier Hindu tradition. While there might be differences of opinion in this regard, nobody can deny the boldness of its conception, the majesty of its proportions and the magnificence of its execution. The transition from the square to the octagon and from the octagon to the sphere is smooth and harmonious; and the manner in which the mass has been broken up by the appropriate application of architectural details is admirable. Few buildings of the like order can surpass it in the chaste beauty of its lines, in the dignified harmony of its dimensions and in the effective distribution of its huge mass. It represents a great architectural conception and a supreme building achievement of sober and massive splendour of which any country might feel proud. It is now a grey and sombre pile, but originally it was covered with glowing colour, blue, red and yellow, boldly and finely worked into elegant and effective patterns. Traces of such patterns still remain.

Sher Shah occupied the throne of Delhi at a time when, after a long period of inertia, the architectural activities at Delhi had been showing signs of revival. A few buildings erected during the first half of the sixteenth century furnish indications of a return to the ornate architectural tradition of the Khaljls. In the Moth-ki-Masjid, built about the beginning of the sixteenth century, the 'beam and bracket' of the Tughluq style was replaced by the recessed archway, characteristic of the Khaljl buildings. The Jamali mosque, built about 1530, indicates a further advance in the new direction. Among other innovations, the white marble lacing in ashlar masonry and the double-recessed arch with 'spearheads' fringes in the outer one signify definite attempts to revive the modes of the older style of the Khaljls. In these examples there may be recognised a new awakening which required a ruler with vision and imagination to direct the activities into a strong and virile movement. This the architectural predilections of Sher Shah did, and the buildings that he erected at Delhi represent notable and purposeful creations full of import for the styles that followed.

With the assumption of imperial authority Sher Shah initiated at the capital a forceful architectural movement that is strongly expressive of his own versatile nature. He laid out a new citadel, called the Purana Quil‘a (old fort), on the site of Indrapat (Indraprastha) and around it he planned his city. The Purana QuiTa, as the extant remains indicate, was intended to be a composition of considerable size and magnitude; but it is now a mere shell bereft of the palace buildings, pavilions and other edifices that it once contained. Two gateways and a part of the rampart walls now remain, together with a notable mosque building—one of the many such elegant ones that once adorned the citadel. The massive rampart walls of rough and rugged masonry, along with substantial bastions, bold battlements, machicolations, etc. are expressive of robust strength to which the gateways of dressed sandstone, picked out in white marble and occasionally inset with blue glaze, offer a most significant contrast. The main entrance through the western gateway exhibits an exceptionally elegant treatment, illustrative at once of massive vigour and refined grace. It is a prelude to the style of buildings that once adorned this highly purposeful citadel. The Quira-i-Kuhna Masjid, the chapel royal of Sher Shah Sur, which is the only monument that has survived, possibly on account of its sacrosanct character, offers a most significant key to the admirable qualities of the various buildings that Sher Shah erected within his citadel.

The Quika-i-Kuhna Masjid represents the crystallisation of the awakened tendencies that we have already recognised in the Mothki-Masjid and the Jamali mosque built in the early decades of the sixteenth century. The accumulated experience of about half a century, under the able guidance of a monarch of liberal and aesthetic bent of mind, resulted in the production of this mosque, “a gem of architectural design”, as Percy Brown aptly describes it.

The Quika-i-Kuhna mosque does not represent a large or ambitious composition. It has no cloisters and consists simply of the sanctuary chamber, an oblong of 138 feet by 55 feet with a height of about 60 feet, and a courtyard in front with an octagonal reservoir of water in the centre for the ablution of the worshippers. The Jamali mosque, about fifteen years earlier, was the prototype on which Sher Shah’s mosque was modelled. A comparison of the two will, however, reveal what a great advance was made in architectural form and design within a comparatively short period. The design and arrangements of the two, including the scheme of the facade, the division of the interior, the structural procedures, etc. are practically the same. But whereas in the Jamali mosque the various elements and arrangements are in the rough, they appear in refined and finished forms in Sher Shah’s production. “Each architectural feature crudely fashioned in the Jamali mosque has been refined, improved, or amplified in order to fit it for its place in the finished production of the Quika-i-Kuhna. Sher Shah’s Chapel Royal in the Purana Quika represents the culmination of its type.” 8

MUGHUL ARCHITECTURE

In the Quil‘a-i-Kuhna mosque all the elements and details have been carefully disposed and harmoniously balanced so as to form one of the outstanding creations of building art. Its supreme excellence lies in the treatment of its facade which consists of five arched entrances of elegant proportions, each within a larger archway enclosed by a bold rectangular frame. The central archway is larger than the two flanking it on either side, and behind it rises the single dome of the flat Lodi type crowned by a fluted finial. The sandstone fabric is enriched with white marble inlay and inset patterns in coloured glaze and is further relieved by mouldings, carvings and bracketted openings, all disposed over the frontage in good taste. The facade represents a singularly fine achievement in its pleasing scheme and finished execution. Apart from its aesthetic character, it has also several features which are of some historical interest. The narrow turrets on two sides of the central bay of the fronton with their fluted mouldings remind one of the stellate flanges of the Qutb Minar, while a similar pair at the corners of the back wall retain the characteristic taper of the Tughluq buildings. Apart from such associations with the past, a link with the future may also be recognised in the slight drop or flatness in the curves of the arches towards the top, thus anticipating the so-called ‘Tudor’ arch of the Mughuls.

The interior arrangement of the mosque building is also equally pleasing. It is divided into five bays corresponding to five arched openings in front. The simple broad mouldings of the interior arches, the plastic treatment of the mihmb wall and the effective proportions of the bays recall the elegant treatment of the frontage; and the various expedients for the support of the roof illustrate the inventive skill and technical assurance of the builders. In the centre the dome is supported on the usual squinch arch, while the intermediate bays with vaulted ceilings have a rare variety of stalactite with ornamental arches in between. The bays at the extreme ends exhibit novel and original features in the arrangement of a kind of cross-rib and semi-vault that have been used for the support of the roof. The technique is evidently of an experimental nature. Besides being a creation of high artistic standard, the Quil‘a-i-Kuhna mosque is “pregnant with ideas, some of the past, others original” and contains “many elements of tradition” and “promises of future development”. 9 In this connection mention may be made of the treatment of the central mihmb enclosing a halfdome behind, which anticipates the semi-domed entrance used with so admirable an effect in Mughul buildings. The Quila‘a-i-Kuhna offers a clue as to the character of other buildings erected by Sher

Shah within his citadel. Such buildings have been swept away, perhaps in the frenzy of restoration of the Mughuls. The Mughul architectural style began as a definitive movement under Humayun’s son and successor, the great Akbar, and it has been affirmed, possibly with some amount of truth, that Akbar received the inspiration for his own architectural projects from the group of buildings produced under the intelligent and enlightened patronage of Sher Shah, and that the style of his buildings was influenced, to a certain extent at least, by the strong and revivified architectural tradition that flourished at the imperial capital during Sher Shah’s regime.

Akbar’s victory in the second battle of Panipat (1556) planted the Mughul dominion firmly on the Indian soil. It was with this victory that the Mughul empire in India really began. Within fifteen years Akbar became the undisputed master of a far-flung empire, much larger than what his father had inherited, and had done more to consolidate the various heterogeneous racial and religious elements of Hindustan.

It was with Akbar that the Mughul architectural style, as an individual and distinctive tradition, may be said to have begun. He undertook various building projects in different parts of his empire and was responsible for the initiation and direction of a vigorous programme of building activity that was assiduously continued by his successors.

The mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi supplies an important landmark in the history of the building art of the Mughuls as heralding the new movement. Erected by his widow, Haji Begam, during the early years of Akbar’s reign, it is one of the most striking monuments of Indo-Muslim architecture. The work was begun in 1564, eight years after the death of Humayun, and took eight years to be completed. The building itself is supported on a wide square platform, 22 feet in height, with gracefully arcaded sides. The arches recall the Persian design and form and the piers are ornamented with inlays of white marble emphasising their graceful lines. Each archway opens into a small room for the accommodation of visitors. The mausoleum building occupies the centre of this arcaded platform and represents a square of 356 feet side with each corner chamfered and the middle of each side deeply set back. This arrangement lends to the building a pleasing effect of contrasting planes and deep shadows, further variegated by white marble lacings to pick out each and every lineament of the noble structure. The design and elevation of all the four sides are essentially identical; the dominating feature on each face consists of an enormous fronton, set back in the middle, accommodating a recessed archway, and with similar archways in the embowed wings on either side. Above rises the white marble dome of a very graceful contour, raised upon a substantial drum, with a number of pillared kiosks, roofed by small cupolas. Slender turrets surround the dome at its base and all these arrangements effectively break the skyline.

The interior arrangements of the structure are equally pleasing. Instead of consisting of a single chamber, as has been the practice hitherto, we have here a combination of rooms on a regular plan— the largest one in the centre with a vaulted roof containing the cenotaph of the emperor, and a smaller one at each angle intended for those of his family, all connected with one another by galleries and corridors. Every element in this complex design is balanced and seems to fit in organically with the other.

The entire building is laid within an enclosed quadrangle designed as a formal garden and approached by an imposing gateway in the middle of each of the perimeter walls. The idea of placing a tomb building within a walled-in space is nothing new. But the credit of expanding the enclosure into a formal garden (chtirbagh) with paved walks, flowered parterres variously patterned, ornamental water-courses, avenues of trees, etc. was entirely that of the Mughuls, possibly under inspiration from Timurid architecture, and the scheme first makes its appearance in Humayun’s tomb at Delhi.

The white marble dome of Humayun’s tomb shows also certain new features in its shape as well as in its structural conception. In shape it offers a significant contrast to the low-pitched and broadbased domes of the earlier styles. Its slightly constricted neck and high pitch with the finial rising directly from the apex without any intervening member have parallels in fifteenth century Timurid architecture from which this new type of dome in India appears to have been derived, though not exactly copied. On the structural side we find here for the first time the correct and logical application of the double dome, an expedient that is known to have been in use in Western Asia for a considerable length of time. The principle was, no doubt, known in India, as may be noticed in the crude attempts in this direction in the tomb of Sikandar Lodi at Delhi. The Hindu builders also appear to have been familiar with the idea and we may refer to the double vault used in the construction of the sikhara of the brick temple at Bhitargaon (Kanpur district, Uttar Pradesh), referable to about the fifth century A.D. In the tomb of Humayun the principle appears as a fully mature and rationalised structural expedient and was evidently inspired by the technique and methods of the West Asiatic architectural tradition. A dome constructed on this principle consists of an inner and an outer shell of masonry with a hollow space in between, the inner forming the vaulted ceiling over the main chamber. It represents an effective structural expedient; not only does it reduce the load of masonry, but it also enables the ceiling to be placed in better relation to the interior dimension of the hall to be covered, without any disturbance of the proportions and aspiring elevation of the exterior.

The tomb of Humayun strikes a new note in the order of funerary monuments in India. Though built during the reign of Akbar, it stands apart from the architectural conceptions of that emperor, and in spite of its notable qualities and ushering in of new principles and wider possibilities, it failed to set a fashion immediately. The Persian inspiration is evident in the plan and elevation of the building. This is not surprising as Humayun, apart from his inherited Persian predilections, strongly imbibed Persian culture due to his forced contact with the Safavid court of Persia. It is also recorded that the architect entrusted with the building of this monument was one Mirak Mirza Ghiyas, who was almost certainly of Persian extraction. The name Arab Sarai of a nearby locality is said to be a reminder of the settlement of the foreign workmen employed in the building.

We may quote Percy Brown for an assessment of the various elements that contributed to the making of this noble monument: “Perhaps the nearest definition of the architectural style of this monument is that it represents an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception, as while there is much in its structure that is indigenous, there is at the same time much that can only be of Persian inspiration. Until now nowhere but in Persia had there appeared a dome of this shape and construction; solely in the buildings of that country had there figured the great arched alcove which gives such a character to the facade; and nowhere else but in the royal tombs of that region had there been devised that complex of rooms and corridors forming the interior arrangements. On the other hand only India could have created such fanciful kiosks with their elegant cupolas, and above all only the skilled masons of that country could have produced such excellent stone masonry and combined it so artistically with the finer marble. In spirit and in structure Humayun’s tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of two of the great building traditions of Asia—the Persian and the Indian.” 10

And the full efflorescence of Mughul architecture depends on this happy synthesis.

Outside the main stream of the Mughul architectural style, which started its definitive course in the building activities of Akbar, several monuments erected in the early years of the Mughul regime may also be found to be of some interest. The octagonal tomb style of the previous epoch, that had its brilliant expression in the tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram, reached its finale in two Delhi tombs. The first, the tomb of ‘Isa Khan built in 1547, is a composition of no mean merit. The octagonal tomb building stands in the middle of an octagonal court, enclosed by a balustrade of the same plan and including a mosque on the western side. The verandah, with three arches on each of its eight sides, terminates in a wide eave with crenellated battlements behind, the roof being relieved by eight pillared kiosks, one in the middle of each side surmounted by a dome. The octagonal mortuary chamber inside the arcaded verandah is covered by a low-pitched dome of the Lodi type with the usual finials crowning the whole. Each angle of the verandah is strengthened by a sloping buttress with a miniature turret as cresting. Similar crestings appear also at the angles of the drum surrounding the dome at its base. All the elements of the composition are in balanced relationship with one another and though it lacks the superb grandeur of Sher Shah’s tomb at Sasaram, the tomb of ‘Isa Khan may be considered to be one of the most pleasing creations of the octagonal tomb style. Compared to this, the tomb of Adham Khan at Meharauli (Delhi) fails to be convincing because of its apparent lack of balance and in spite of the embowed recesses, some with openings in the second stage of the structure. Built about twenty years later this is the last in the series of octagonal tombs. It marks the end of an imperial tradition, as Humayun’s tomb which is approximately contemporary, heralds the birth of another.

Nearly contemporary to the tomb of Humayun at Delhi is the tomb of Muhammad Ghaus at Gwalior. It is a square structure of about 100 feet side with hexagonal towers attached to the four angles. The middle of each side is projected forward to form a portico for entrance into the gallery around the mortuary chamber. This gallery is enclosed by perforated screens of finely chiselled patterns set between pillars. The square of the tomb chamber is cut off by arches at the corners and on the octagon thus formed at the upper level is supported a broad flat dome. Wide eaves surround the building and in the upper stages appear pillared kiosks covered by cupolas. But for the ill-fitting hexagonal towers at the corners

the composition may be said to be well balanced and singularly pleasing and reminds one of a type of tomb characteristic of Gujarat Muslim architecture. The use of perforated screens may also have been derived from the same source. The pyramidal cupolas over the pavilions above the porticos have affinities with similar elements in Malwa Muslim architecture. The builder responsible for this monument seems to have been inspired by the vision of a synthesis of two forceful architectural traditions.

It appears that during the early part of the Mughul regime several forces had been at work for an attempt at a revivification of the moribund building art of the previous epoch. What was necessary was an intelligent direction to guide these forces into a strong and vigorous architectural movement.

2. Foundation

Akbar was resolved wholly to identify himself with India and to rule as an Indian sovereign, not as a foreign conqueror. He was the first of the Mughul emperors to be born in India and he sincerely considered himself to be an Indian, not a stranger like his grandfather with the eyes and heart turned toward the west. Moreover, he had neither the fanaticism, nor the intolerance for other faiths and creeds that this desert religion engendered among its followers. His liberal and enlightened mind was discerning enough to recognise and appreciate the good qualities in other faiths and he had the courage to honour and patronise merits irrespective of race or religion. The catholicity of his mind and views is reflected in all his works, political, administrative, as well as cultural. There was a new direction in the policy of the State, and that direction was an emphasis on the Indian point of view which the emperor himself strongly advocated. This new policy was responsible for the phenomenal expansion of the Mughul empire and for its consolidation and ultimate cohesion. The Mughul empire had its real beginning in the regime of this enlightened ruler, and so also a com posite type of culture, known as the Mughul culture. Akbar was inspired by the ideal of a united India and this he strove to realise throughout his life. The splendid pageant of the Grand Mughuls retained its substance and reality so long as this liberal policy was maintained. The disintegration of the grand empire began as a result of the narrow and bigoted policy of Aurangzib who wanted to impose the Islamic point of view. The great Akbar fostered a forceful architectural style on a correct understanding and assimilation of the various traditions and ideals, indigenous as well as foreign. This style also languished when, as a result of the pressure of Islamic ideals, there became manifest a gradual isolation from the traditions of the soil and a greater dependence on imported, i.e. foreign, ideas.

Perhaps an unlettered person, Akbar was a man of profound culture, with a fine literary taste, a keen intellectual curiosity and a high aesthetic discernment. During his long reign he initiated many ambitious architectural projects, and his creations in this field bear the impress of his own remarkable personality and character. He was planning his structural projects simultaneously with the building of his father’s tomb at Delhi. It is significant that this tomb stands alone among all other architectural creations of his reign; and this fact would indicate that his policy and ideas in respect of building art were fundamentally different from those reflected in the tomb of Humayun. From his buildings it is clear that he did not intend to import a ready-made style from Persia or any other country. In conformity with his policy, he wanted the style that he sought to create to have an independent and Indian character. He found the Indian artists still maintaining the living traditions of their craft and was inspired with the idea of encouraging the indigenous systems in art and culture. Only when these proved to be wanting or deficient, did he turn to the traditions of other countries in order to compensate for the shortcomings of the indigenous mode.

In spite of his strong distaste for India, Babur, as has been noted above, was highly impressed by the excellence of Indian workmanship in building art. Akbar also recognised and appreciated the technical skill and dexterity of the Indian workmen and fully exploited them in his own architectural undertakings. It is this policy that lent to the Akbari monuments a specifically Indian character, as contrasted to the rather exotic appearance of Humayun's tomb at Delhi.

It is necessary to discuss briefly the palace of Man Singh in Gwalior fort which attracted the admiration of an inborn aesthete like Babur. This will help us, we think, in understanding the character of the secular buildings erected by Akbar.

Man Singh, a Tomara chieftain ruling at Gwalior (1486-1516), was one of the most enlightened among the Hindu rulers of his day and a munificent patron of music and architecture. His interest in the latter sphere is still evident in two beautiful palaces, of which the one, known after his name, has been recognised to be "one of the finest pieces of architecture in Northern India". Built at a time slightly prior to the advent of the Mughuls, it illustrates a purely indigenous style in palace architecture, and as one proceeds it will be apparent that from this style Akbar derived many useful ideas when building his own palaces within his fortified citadels.

This remarkable and interesting example of an early Hindu palace is situated on the eastern scarp of the rock on which the fort stands. Externally the dimensions are 300 feet by 150 feet, with a height of more than 80 feet on the eastern side. It is set against the eastern rampart of the fortress and the flat surface is relieved on each face by tall round bastions of a singularly pleasing design crowned by pavilions with domes of gilt copper flashing in bright sun, as Babur once saw them. Between the bastions and breaking up the skyline of the parapet there appear again elegantly designed balconied kiosks. The facades are gracefully embellished with bold patterns, plastic as well as coloured. An effective plastic design, occupying the central division of the facade, consists of a range of arcades with foliated struts. The coloured ornament in blue, yellow and green enamel takes the shape of elegant bands of patterns with figures of men, elephants, tigers, birds, makaras, plantain trees, etc. and lends a charming and picturesque effect to the massive composition of the facades. “Nowhere”, says Fergusson, “do I remember any architectural design capable of imparting a similar lightness to a massive wall.” Much of this ornament has decayed and peeled off. Yet, it represents a grand and beautiful conception, immensely effective in treatment and execution.

The Hathiya Pol or the ‘Elephant Gate’, attached to the southern end of the eastern facade, is itself a product of high artistic merit and is in keeping with the pleasing design of the palace. It consists of a handsome domed building with a massive bracket and rich corbels, the bracket shape being, to a certain extent, concealed behind two semi-circular bands of floral patterns. The sides are effectively diversified by projecting balconies, perforated screenworks, and particularly by two boldly projecting circular bastions, each roofed by a dome on a cluster of pillars.

The interior of the palace complex consists of two highly artistic open courts, each with a suite of rooms on its four sides. The courts are rather small in size, but in their exquisite designs and rich and graceful embellishments they are perhaps unsurpassed. The smallness of the scale and the wealth of decorative detail stand in significant contrast to the bold and massive conception of the exterior walls. It appears that these interior courts lacked the able guid^ ance and supervision of the master architect who might have planned and executed them in conformity with the noble and dignified conception of the outside. They are more the work of an artist and decorator than that of a builder endowed with the breadth of vision required for the creation of effective and purposeful habitations. Yet, it contains many interesting features that are of distinctly innovatory and ingenious character. The main body of the palace is divided into two storeys, with additional underground floors along the eastern wall for providing cool comfort in hot weather. The open pillared balconies in the uppermost floors overlook the courts below and add relief to the harsh four-square shape of the courts. The ingenuity of the builders is shown in the different structural expedients for support of the roofs, and the vault over a room in the south-east angle with ribs at the groins lends a charming effect to the interior. The different shapes and designs of the corbelled struts and their execution, the variegated shapes and the rich mouldings of the piers and pillars, the perforated screens of various patterns, the round and foliated arches, and the variously designed projecting eaves, including one of corrugated shape, are each a marvel of stone carving. The entire surfaces are covered with minute ornamentation in low relief and coloured glaze lending a most picturesque effect to the view of the interior. In spite of the smallness of scale, which had long been a deficiency in respect of the interior planning of a secular building, Man Singh's palace furnishes us with a singularly pleasing conception, noble and dignified and, at the same time, romantic and picturesque. It has many distinctive elements and features that can very well be emulated under intelligent patronage and guidance.

We may now turn to the architectural projects of Akbar. The regulations regarding buildings, which Abu-'l-Fazl describes in detail in the Aln-i-Akbari, 11 may serve as an effective prelude in order to understand the ideas of Akbar in this respect.

"Regulations for house-building in general are necessary; they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and art in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious and please the obedient. Delightful villas and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which are so necessary for worldly power."

"Everywhere also sarals have been built which are for the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells have been dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil. Schools and places of worship are being founded and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned."

The above observations clearly illustrate the practical nature of Akbar's architectural undertakings. All his projects were intended as much to serve utilitarian purposes as to display and emphasise the might and splendour of the government. He was the founder of several fortified royal residences, each of which served as his capital during the period that the emperor was in residence there. They have been designed, hence, in such a manner and scale as to accommodate the royal entourage.

The first of such royal residences to be erected was the fortress palace at Agra which was completed in eight years (1565-1573). It was built "under the superintendence of Muhammad Qasim Khan, the overseer of the buildings and ships". 13 In plan the fort takes the shape of an irregular semi-circle lined along the right bank of the river Jumna. The massive enclosure wall consists of a solid red sandstone rampart, nearly seventy feet high and one and a half miles in circuit, and represents the first application of sized and dressed stone on such a huge scale. Contemporary records consider the construction of this enormous mass as a remarkable feat of achievement and it is stated that "from the top to the bottom fire-red hewn stones, linked by iron rings, are joined so closely that even a hair cannot find its way into the joints." 14 This massive fabric, with its embattled parapets, machicolations, string-courses, etc. has a solemn artistic grandeur, beautiful as well as effective for its purpose.

The Delhi Gate, also known as the Hathi Pol, stands on the western side and forms the principal entrance to the citadel. One of the earliest of Akbar's buildings (it is said to have been completed in 1566), its noble conception, at once fresh and virile indicates the inauguration of a new era in the art of building. It is a massive structure designed on the usual scheme of an arched entrance flanked by two substantial bastions projecting from the rampart. The bastions are octagonal in shape and rise up boldly, each with an octagonal domed kiosk at the top. The interior of the gateway building consists of several commodious rooms for the accommodation of the guard, while the back has a charming facade with arcaded terraces surmounted by domed pavilions and pinnacles. This imposing portal is disposed in several storeys, each bastion being divided transversely by a surrounding balcony on brackets that serves as the most effective line of interruption to the solid mass of the facade. The solids and voids are also disposed very skilfully; the lower storey has no opening, except for the arched entrance, in keeping with its character requiring strength and stability, while the upper has arched recesses, one on each side of the octagon, thus imparting to the building the necessary appearance of depth. The entire surface is richly decorated by inlay as well as by coloured glaze. The patterns in white marble inlay on the arcades and panels, both inside and outside, are the most effective against the warm red texture of sandstone fabric. The patterns in coloured glaze consist of winged dragons, elephants and birds, in defiance of the Islamic injunction against the representation of living forms, and strikingly illustrate the liberal spirit of toleration that marked all the activities of this enlightened emperor.

There is no doubt that the creator of this impressive gateway was imbued with a fresh spirit, free and unrestrained. Its noble and dignified character is universally admitted. It has been aptly put: "The buildings of the Akbari period are remarkable for their animation which reflect the spirit of the time, but few are so vibrant in their character as this monumental gateway at Agra fort." 15

Abu-'l-Fazl relates in the Am-i-Akbari that within the fort the emperor built "upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone in the fine styles of Bengal and Gujarat". 16 This statement is significant. We are familar with Akbar's versatility and his desire to build up a great architecture, distinctively Indian in character. For this he wanted gifted artists from all parts of Northern India to share in his own architectural undertakings, and assembled them together to work with his master builders who, under his enlightened leadership, were inspired by the same spirit of catholicity. Thus was developed a unified and national style of building art in which each distinctive tradition, imperial as well as provincial, played an important part. Even the distant regions were not overlooked if they had some contributions to make. The impress of Gujarati tradition is clear and explicit in the predominantly prevailing system of trabeate construction and also in the exquisite stone carvings. The contribution of Bengal is not so emphatic, at least in the extant monuments. From Abu-'l-Fazl's categorical statement this province also seems to have played not an insignificant part in Akbar's architectural undertakings within the Agra fort. Only a fragment of Akbar’s numerous buildings at Agra has survived today, and the contribution of the Bengali workmen might have been swept away along with the obliteration of many of Akbar’s buildings to make room for Shah Jahan’s pretty creations in marble. The name Bengali

bastion still persists, but the building is in ruins and it is difficult to ascertain its real character. It appears more than probable that the Bengali hut-shaped roof with elegantly curved eaves, which forms a prominent feature in later Mughul monuments, made its first appearance at the imperial capital during Akbar’s regime and established itself throughout the western regions as a distinctive element in architectural design and decoration.

Akbar’s buildings at Agra occupied the southern angle of the fort and were lined along the parapet of the eastern wall overlooking the river. Most of these, as has already been stated, no longer exist. Among those that have escaped destruction, mention may be made of two palace buildings, known, respectively, as Akbar! Mahal and Jahangiri Mahal. The first was probably completed in 1571, while the second, from its character and design, appears to be a later erection, also during the emperor’s long regime, for the residence of the heir-apparent, the future emperor Jahangir. Each of these palaces was designed on the usual scheme of ranges of double-storeyed chambers around an open courtyard. The Akbarl Mahal is now mostly in ruins; from the vestiges that remain, its treatment appears to have been a little coarser, though bolder, when compared to the finer and more ornate workmanship of the Jahangiri Mahal. A part of the Akbarl Mahal was later demolished in order to accommodate the Jahangiri Mahal. The latter is approximately 261 feet by 288 feet externally and is provided with substantial bastions, crowned by domed cupolas, at the four corners. The exterior is relieved by low relief carvings as well as by white marble inlays. The palace is entered by a gateway leading by a vestibule to an entrance hall whence galleries with sumptuous colonnades run round the courtyard. The view of this interior court with the colonnades on its four sides, richly ornamented as they are, is one of impressive grandeur. Behind the galleries are the ranges of rooms the distribution of which cannot be said to be always regular. The system of construction is trabeate, the pillar, the beam and bracket and the flat ceiling forming the principal features of construction. On the upper storey the gallery on each side is faced by an arcade; but the arches have no structural purpose being employed merely in an ornamental capacity. These arcades supply an appearance of lightness to the upper storey, in contrast to the solid effect of the lower with its heavy columns and massive brackets and corbels. There is a profusion of exquisite carving all over, the plastic quality recalling the indigenous stone-carver's art. The quaint shape and design of the brackets, the inclined struts supporting the beam of the roof, the pillars with their expanding bases and capitals are

more appropriate in wooden architecture from which certainly they have been derived in the ultimate analysis. The indigenous craftsmen translated these in stone with ingenious dexterity and the stamp of their work seems undeniable in the methods as well as the decor of the palace. To sum up, one may quote Percy Brown who says: "in the general character of the fort at Agra there is a resemblance to the fortress at Gwalior, with its palaces of Man Singh built early in the century, which cannot be accidental. The elephant gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh's gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort-walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details, all indicate that the Rajput citadel, which had moved Babur to admiration some forty years before, was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandson." 17

The forts that Akbar started at Lahore almost at the same time and at Allahabad some twenty years later appear to have been carried out on the same grand scale. The former is considerably smaller, but the plan is more regular and the buildings are more symmetrically disposed. In spite of subsequent alterations, what is left of Akbar's buildings resembles those of Agra and agree with them in general style and character. There is, however, a greater picturesque effect added to the Lahore palaces, perhaps due to the aesthetic predilections of Akbar's son Jahangir. The Allahabad fort has been shorn much of its architectural interest. His buildings at this place apparently conformed to those at Agra, Lahore and other places. But all, except one, are gone. This surviving monument represents an elegant structure and indicates a fashion for peristylar arrangement, the grouping of pillars in pairs and in fours forming a novel and effective scheme.

But the most ambitious and magnificent of the emperor’s architectural undertakings is the new capital city that he built on the ridge at Slkrl, 26 miles west of Agra. This city was subsequently named Fathpur (city of victory) after Akbar’s conquest of Gujarat in 1572. The conception of the new imperial headquarters, it is recorded, is connected with the circumstances that attended the birth of Prince Salim, the future emperor Jahangir. At Slkrl lived a saint, Shaikh Salim ChishtI, who foretold the birth of a son to Akbar who would survive the emperor. One of the queens having become enciente soon after, Akbar took her to Slkrl and built for her a magnificent palace, now known as Rang Mahal, near the residence of the saint. There, in 1569, the queen gave birth to a son who was named Salim in reverent gratitude to the holy saint. The place was thought to be auspicious and Akbar conceived the idea of building an entirely new capital city at the place on a rocky eminence by the side of an extensive artificial lake. The scheme matured into the greatest of all his architectural projects, and this splendid city with its grand mosque, its delightful palaces and pavilions, its spacious official buildings and other edifices, bears witness to Akbar’s magnificent achievements as a patron of the building arts. Here we have one of the finest groups of Mughul buildings, the majority of them still intact; and they illustrate in a singularly forceful manner the emperor’s artistic ideals and his genius in this respect. Conceived and built as a single unit the work was pushed on with such phenomenal speed that, as if by magic, palaces, public buildings, mosques and tombs, gardens and baths, pavilions and water-courses were called into being beneath the barren sandstone ridge of Sikrl. In his autobiography Jahangir writes that ‘‘in the course of fourteen or fifteen years that hill full of wild beasts became a city containing all kinds of gardens and buildings, lofty edifices and pleasant places attractive to the heart.” 18 The splendour and prosperity of this capital city also evoked high praise from Europeans like Father Monserrate and Ralph Fitch, the latter describing it as greater than London with a teeming population and full of merchandise from many countries.

Among the Mughul miniatures we have more than one painting representing the building of Fathpur Sikrl. It is a scene of bustling activity, directed by the emperor himself whom we find in one of the pictures questioning a mason and urging him on, in another taking a hand in the work itself, and so on. It is this personal supervision of the emperor, possessed of an imperious and untiring energy, that was responsible for the lightning rapidity with which the work was pushed on, and it is his own artistic taste and ideals that endowed the city with so great an amount of charm and, magnificence. Even before the city was completed, it became a busy and bustling centre where poets and musicians, historians and theologians, artists and craftsmen all flocked together under the benevolent patronage and inspiring leadership of the emperor. Unfortunately, the city was completed only to be abandoned for no apparent reason that we can guess. Many scholars ascribe the creation and desertion of the city to the passing whim of a despotic ruler. But a mere passing whim rarely calls into being such an architectural magnificence, and though the court was shifted, possibly for reasons of State policy, the city was not really abandoned. Akbar, and later on Jahangir, used to visit it on occasions. Akbar had a reverent love for the place and it was here that as late as 1601 he thought of erecting the triumphal archway, the Buland Darwaza, to commemorate his conquests in the Deccan.

The city of Fathpur Sikri occupies a rectangular area, running roughly north-east to south-west according to the configuration of the ridge on which it is situated. It is enclosed by bastioned walls round its three sides, the fourth being protected by the lake. The walls, not very substantially built, were of little military value and stand in definite contrast to the sturdy and solid appearance of the walls either at the Agra or the Lahore fort. Nine gateways pierced the fortress walls and of these, the Agra gate formed the principal entrance to the city. From this gate a road led straight to the Dlwani-‘Am (hall of public audience) and further on to the great congregational mosque, the Jami‘ Masjid, that stands apart from the official and residential buildings situated on the flattened crest of the ridge. The other buildings of more or less utilitarian character, such as the caravanserais, gardens, etc. are ranged round and principally down the slope of the ridge to the north. Apart from such a rough grouping of the buildings according to their purposes and uses, there is little indication of any regular system of town-planning being followed in the lay-out and composition of the city. The main buildings, again, are aligned diagonally to the city walls, an arrangement that was necessitated to ensure regularity and conformity with the fixed orientation of the grand mosque which, with its lofty Buland Darwaza, supplies the most impressive landmark in the city.

The monuments of Fathpur Sikri may be divided into two classes, one religious and the other secular. The secular monuments, such as palaces, office buildings, sarais, pavilions, etc. are by far the most numerous, and they exemplify the various designs and shapes. It is from these buildings of the secular order that one can form an idea of the general style of architecture that was developed during this august emperor's reign. The religious buildings, because of the needs of ritualistic conventions, were differently treated and conform to the general shape and design of the monuments of this order.

Undoubtedly the most impressive creation of this new capital city is the grand Jami‘ Masjid which has been aptly described by Fergusson 19 as the ‘glory’ of Fathpur Sikri and as having been ‘hardly surpassed by any in India’. Being the first of the great congregational mosques, usually associated with the chief cities of the Mughuls, it is at the same time a magnificent monument and a model for the others that followed. Though now consisting of a group of monumental buildings, of no mean artistic merit by themselves, the mosque was originally conceived as a single and symmetrical unit of the typical design, but on a rather vast and impressive scale. It covers a quadrangular area, 542 feet east and

west and 432 feet north and south, with a high wall surmounted by a battlemented parapet surrounding an inner court of unusually large dimensions. Originally there were three gateways of uniform shape and design, one in the middle of each of the perimeter walls on the east, north and south; but only one of these, that facing the sanctuary and known as the Badshahi gate, can now be seen in its original state. The open inner court with its fine ranges of arcaded cloisters surmounted by single rows of light kiosks has a fine and dignified appearance.

The sanctuary on the western side of the court measures approximately 288 feet by 66 feet and is, by itself a self-contained unit. The facade is divided into three parts consisting of a large arched alcove wthin a rectangular fronton, flanked by an arcaded wing on either side. In conformity with the design of the facade the sanctuary is crowned by three domes of the flat

Lodi type, but considerably tilted at their bases with a view to increasing their height. The central dome, with a diameter of 41 feet, covers the prayer hall corresponding to the nave, while two side ones, each with a diameter of 25 feet, are placed over the two wings. The remaining portion of the roof is flat supported on pillars and brackets of indigenous shape and design. Each dome has a finial which again is of the indigenous pattern. The curved ribs on the inside of each dome recall the construction of the central dome of the Champanir mosque in Gujarat, a province which was noted for the traditional skill and dexterity of the indigenous craftsmen. Over the cloisters on three sides, light and beautiful kiosks line the entire length of the sanctuary roof, thus effectively breaking up the skyline. The facade is relieved by an elegant use of white marble inlay emphasising each architectural feature.

The interior arrangements of the sanctuary are characterised by the same simplicity and spaciousness of conception which distinguish the exterior. The three main divisions of the facade are maintained in the interior which consists of the central hall or the nave behind the large alcoved entrance, and two pillared aisles on two sides corresponding to the two arcaded wings of the facade. The nave is entered by three archways in the alcoved fronton and is roofed by the large central dome. It communicates with the pillared aisles by arches through the solid walls at the sides. The smaller domes over the wings mark the position of the chapels within the pillared aisles. The interior of the sanctuary, with its judicious sense of space, its long receding views along the well-grouped pillared aisles, its admirable matching of two contrasting procedures —the trabeate and the arcuate—and its rich mural decorations distributed over most of the surface, especially over the mihmb wall, in an almost infinite variety of patterns, presents a fine and superb effect.

The grand Jami‘ mosque at Fathpur Sikri had been conceived as a balanced and harmonious composition and had been executed in a masterly manner so that each part was carefully adjusted to the other and to the noble magnitude of the structure as a whole. The symmetry of the composition was, however, disturbed subsequently by the erection of other structures within the courtyard and by the rebuilding of the southern entrance to the mosque enclosure as a massive and noble composition by itself. After his successful campaign in the Deccan the emperor was resolved to commemorate his victory by the erection of a triumphal archway. The southern entrance to the Jami‘ Masjid at Fathpur Sikri was considered to be a suitable position, and the original entrance was replaced by the construction of a massive portal. This was known as the Buland Darwaza which, with its immense bulk towering above the buildings of the city, represents one of the most striking compositions ever known. It is a complete structure by itself, raised over a lofty stepped terrace, 42 feet in height, and consists of a large hall and a number of smaller apartments through which access is obtained to the inner quadrangle of the mosque. From the terraced platform to the finial it is 134 feet in height, the total height, including that of the supporting terrace, being 176 feet. The width of the front is 130 feet, while from front to back it measures 123 feet.

Like most other buildings at Fathpur Sikri the fabric of this impressive gateway is of red sandstone, relieved by carving and discreet inlaying of white marble that gives an emphasis to the bold lineaments of the composition. The front is built in the shape of a semi-octagon, projecting 33 feet beyond the encircling walls on its flanks. Apart from its chaste ornamentation, the facade is remarkable for the treatment of the entrance. An entrance portal requires massive dimensions for an effect of strength, vigour and dignity; to give a large building a door at all in proportion to its dimensions is one of the most difficult problems in the science and art of building. The problem is to fit a doorway in an immense structure, proportionate to its dimensions, and at the same time not too large as to look out of its required purpose. The problem has been exercising the ingenuity of the builders in all ages, and different countries have been trying to solve the problem in different ways. It was in Islamic architecture that a satisfactory solution of this difficult problem was achieved whereby the dignity indispensable for the situation was attained without unnecessarily increasing the size of the entrance. The principle was to diminish gradually the monumental scale of the gateway building, part by part, till it is reduced to the size of a doorway of the normal form. It requires a long experience in working along the correct principle to arrive at a satisfactory solution of such a difficult problem, and the method adopted by the Islamic builders proved to be efficient as well as highly aesthetic. In the Buland Darwaza we have a masterly conception in which the principle may be found to have been applied in its most effective and magnificent form. In the centre of this monumental portal is a huge rectangular fronton which consists of an immense archway accommodating in its rear a semi-domed bay or alcove in five planes in the shape of a halfdecagon and in three vertical stages. The alcove or semi-dome represents the modulus of the design with its scale that of the monument itself, irrespective of the size of the openings at the back. The lowest stage of the alcove consists of three ordinary-sized archways for access to the interior, and is separated by a row of arcades from the upper which consists of bold arches surmounted by a series of cross-ribs supporting the half-dome of the bay. The chamfered sides are also similarly treated with the difference that each facade is divided into two smaller alcoves with a row of arches intervening. The rectangular frame on each face is flanked by richly decorated slender quoins projecting beyond the height of the structure. The top is surmounted by battlements beyond which small light kiosks raise up their domed cupolas lending a variety to the skyline. The back of the gateway with its three arches, battlements and kiosks is more simple in arrangement and is of much smaller height.

With its immense bulk and towering height the Buland Darwaza presents an imposing appearance from whatever angle it is viewed. It has space and scale, mass and proportion, and is full of decorative elegance which, by emphasising the noble lineaments of the structure, serves its purpose most effectively. We have here a perfect co-ordination between the structure and its ornament, so indispensable in best forms of architecture. Standing out in male fashion against the barren rocks of Sikri ridge, this gateway has almost an aggressive strength, more befitting in a citadel than in a place of worship. It has to be remembered, however, that it was an afterthought in the mosque design, the intention being to raise up a triumphal archway to proclaim the might of the empire after a successful military campaign. This the whole gateway fulfils most effectively and, as a whole, it is an admirable reflex of the

mind of the emperor who called it into being. One may find an incongruity of the structure in relation to the mosque which is thrown out of balance by the immense pile of this portal. But, as already observed, this enormous gateway was no original part of the mosque design. Being an afterthought and conceived for a distinct purpose it has to be judged as a self-contained and individual unit, and as such it has hardly any parallel in any other country. “The Buland Darwaza”, Percy Brown says, “is a work of great force, especially when viewed from the ground below, as then it presents an appearance of aspiring and overwhelming strength without being weighty and pretentious.” 20

Two other later additions were made within the mosque enclosure. Although they have increased its interest as well as its sanctity, they have disturbed the symmetrical composition of the mosque as a whole by obstructing the fine spatial effect of the interior. One of these is the tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti, the patron saint of Slkrl, situated on the north side of the quadrangle. It is a small and attractive building in marble, square in plan, and stands on an inlaid marble platform with a projecting portico on the south. The cenotaph chamber, a square of 16 feet side, is roofed over by a single dome and is surrounded by a corridor enclosed by elegant marble screens, rich and varied in design and so delicate in execution as to look almost like lace-work. The tomb was erected in 1571 by Nawab Qutb-ud-din Khan, and with its marble fabric and wealth of fanciful ornament it has a soft and effeminate grace in definite contrast to the robust style of Akbari architecture. The marble work, however, seems to be an architectural palimpsest, undertaken either during the reign of Jahangir or about the beginning of that of Shah Jahan. Marble as the main building material came into fashion during the later part of the reign of Jahangir and became the prevailing mode in the time of Shah Jahan. Due to this later development the followers of the holy saint were perhaps inspired by the idea of clothing his mausoleum by the more refined and costly marble, and though certain details, such as the fanciful voluted shape of the struts, the rich traceried ornamentation, etc. were elaborations during this later transformation, the original design of the building appears to have been little affected. The pillars supporting the portico are richly carved, and particularly interesting are the convoluted struts with perforated ornament between the curves, springing from the shafts and supporting the brackets under the eaves. Such struts might have been derived from similar ones in the temples of Gujarat, but are elaborated to such an extent as to look quite fanciful. The pierced screens of the corridor are also very finely worked, the lightness of their execution being perhaps responsible for the tomb being described as ‘a gem of craftsmanship’. In its present appearance, however, it lacks the simplicity and robustness of Akbari style and is entirely out of keeping with the emperor’s ideals of building art. The interior of the tomb is also as elaborate as the exterior. The walls are variegated by rich painted patterns; the floor is inlaid in coloured marbles; and the wooden canopy over the cenotaph, consisting of four pillars supporting a handsome dome, is inlaid with ebony and mother of pearl.

Close by and to the east of the tomb of the Shaikh stands the mausoleum of Islam Khan, a grandson of the saint, that was built of red sandstone in 1612. This encroachment led to the dismantling and closing of the entrance on the north side of the mosque enclosure. Though built during the reign of Jahangir, its red sandstone fabric retains much of the quality of the Akbari style. It consists of a large domed chamber, square on the outside and octagonal inside, and is surrounded by a corridor all around enclosed by perforated screens. Later on, several burial chambers had been made on the western side by placing lateral screens across. The kiosks on the roof, apart from breaking the skyline, impart a picturesqueness to the building which, in its fabric as well as in its design, is nearer to the building of Akbar than to those of the time of Jahangir.

At Fathpur Sikrl the civil and residential structures are, by far, the more numerous. Though not imposing in size generally, they are singularly interesting as elegant types of office and domestic buildings of the period. In the former class mention should be made of at least two fine structures, one known as the Daftar Khana or the office, and the other, the Diwian-i-Khas, the hall of private audience. The former consists of a rectangular hall, approximately 36 feet by 19 feet internally, surrounded by a wide columned verandah, roughly 18 feet in depth. The roof is flat and the entire construction is of the indigenous trabeate order. The peristylar arrangement of the facades, with pillars arranged in pairs and quartettes, has a fine view of almost classical elegance.

The Dlwan-i-Khas, though not a large structure, was a highly distinctive production because of the unique manner in which the interior has been designed and treated. It is a square building, about 43 feet each way externally, the facades being divided into two stages by wide cornices, supported on heavy brackets, running on all sides. The interior consists of a single vaulted chamber,

nearly 28 feet square. The manner of the treatment of this hall is very unusual—not to be seen in any other building in any part of the world. A continuous gallery runs around the four sides, from the corners of which narrow galleries are thrown diagonally to converge at the centre. Here the diagonal passages meet a circular platform supported on a substantial and exquisitely patterned column rising from the centre of the floor and spreading into a massive expanding capital composed of a cluster of closely set pendulous brackets. It has been suggested that this circular platform of this complicated contrivance was intended for the royal throne, the whole arrangement symbolising the emperor’s dominion over the four quarters. The design of the brackets and of the galleries suggests wooden prototypes and reflects essentially the indigenous methods and systems. The arrangement of a hanging throne platform connected with hanging galleries by radiating passages represents a novel and original conception, and none but the versatile emperor could have devised it. In spite of a top-heavy appearance of the expanding ponderous brackets, the entire arrangement has a certain dignity of effect and not a little artistic significance. The roof of the building is flat and is provided with kiosk with a domed cupola at each corner. Though a novel and unique experiment, the building as a whole cannot but be regarded as a successful production.

The palaces and other residential buildings in the city are very elegant structures, in spite of the smallness of their scale. They exhibit, more or less, the same general style, the difference being marked by their plan and decorative detail. Of these, the most important conception seems to have been the one known as Jodha Bai’s palace. It is a stately building of large size and is designed in the usual scheme of suites of rooms round a paved courtyard with a substantial double-storeyed block in the middle of each side and at each corner. The two-storeyed blocks in the centre consist, more or less, of self-contained suites of apartments in the rear preceded by porticos in front overlooking the inner court. Many of these chambers are covered by waggon-vaulted roofs. They are connected with the corner blocks by continuous galleries below, each of the corner blocks being covered by a low-pitched dome. The view of the interior quadrangle, with its continuous corridor, double-storeyed blocks with their variously designed roofs, and wide eaves casting deep shadows over every facade, is remarkably impressive and provides a definite contrast to the forbiddingly plain exterior which, with continuous bare walls, serves as a high screen, no doubt intended for ensuring privacy and seclusion. Relief is obtained by the projection of annexes—a front court preceding the entrance, a service block and an airy pavilion (Hdw\a Khand)—and further by balcony windows projecting from the sides of the entrance and from near the angles.

The decorative features of the palace are in extremely good taste and indicate a preference for the indigenous motifs. The construction, likewise, is predominantly trabeate. The roofs and the parapets still retain traces of glazed tile decorations, but the attractive colour scheme was intended more for emphasis and relief, than for any brilliant flashing effect. The carved decorations on pillars, balconies, perforated grilles, ornamental niches, etc. recall indigenous patterns, and these, together with the volutes, brackets, etc. appear to have been derived from similar features in the architecture of Western India, particularly Gujarat. The use of brackets and lintels in the entrance archway also points to a strong indigenous influence in methods as well as in decorative designs and their execution. It is apparent that persons traditionally familiar with the indigenous architectural practices were responsible for the conception and construction of this beautiful palace.

The house connected with the name of Raja Birbal is a twostoreyed structure, raised on a plinth, with entrance porches on the north and the south. The ground floor has a suite of four rooms, each with a flat ceiling composed of long slabs of stone, extending from wall to wall and laid on a curved cornice supported on brackets. The first floor is reached by two staircases in the thickness of the walls, one in the south-west corner and the other in the north-east. It has only two rooms, placed cornerwise, which open on two terraces once enclosed by stone screens. Each room is covered by a dome which, though of low-pitched form, has been built on the principle of a double dome. The entrance porches on the ground floor have angular roofs, thus lending a pleasing variety to the elevational aspect of the building. The interior as well as the exterior are covered with exuberant, but forceful, carvings. The architectural treatment of the exterior is immensely diversified with pilasters, dados, arched niches, and amazingly ornate brackets supporting the wide eaves. The crest pattern on the parapet of each storey is also in refined taste. Blrbal’s house at Fathpur Slkri represents a superb example of residential structure, remarkable for its balance and harmony of design and for the distinctive way in which the structural and decorative elements have been employed in beautiful conformity with each other.

Two other buildings of this class, though simple and unpretentious, are also notable productions because of the delightful elegance of their setting as well as workmanship. One of them, known as Turkish Sultana’s house, is a modest composition of little structural value. It consists of a single one-storeyed apartment contained within a pillared gallery and situated amidst a picturesque setting of paved courts and water-courses. Apart from its beautiful situation, much of its elegance and individuality rests on the rich variety and quality of its carved decorations covering every inch of its surface inside and out. Executed in a delicate method of low relief, the carvings include, besides motifs of more conventional order, a remarkable series of naturalistic panels, so refined in treatment as to avoid any feeling of pettiness or vulgarity. “It is”, says Fergusson, “one of the richest, the most beautiful and the most naturalistic of Akbar’s buildings. ... It is impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline or any building carved and ornamented to such an extent without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste .” 21 At one time this building appears to have been covered with elaborate paintings, significant fragments of which still remain. Scholars may try to recognise the hand of Persian artists in the conception and decoration of this fine monument. But the methods of construction are purely indigenous and the character and technique of plastic embellishments suggest wooden derivations, betraying the hand of Indian workmen familiar with that tradition.

The house of Miriam also represents a small, but perfect, residential building characterised by a chaste simplicity of design. It is situated on a low terraced platform and consists of a suite of rooms with a pillared corridor along its three sides and with an open rectangular kiosk, crowned by an angular canopy, on its flat roof. The simple design of the pillars and brackets lends an appearance almost of classical dignity to the exterior; the interior was originally embellished with large mural paintings drawn with great vigour. Traces of these still remain and they supply interesting specimens of the early and formative stage in the evolution of the celebrated Mughul school of painting. It is said that the building was once profusely gilded for which it was known as Sunhera Makan or the golden house.

The Panch Mahal at Fathpur Sikri, described by some scholars as a rather “fantastic creation” is an unusual structure which displays in a singularly interesting manner the architectural preferences and ideals of the emperor. It consists of a tall pyramidal structure of five storeys, each storey designed as an open pavilion supported on clusters of pillars of graceful designs. The principal element in the composition is the hypostylar arrangement of each storey, the ground floor consisting of eighty-four pillars, the number diminishing gradually in each successive upper storey; the topmost one, which is crowned by a domed canopy, is supported on four pillars. In spite of the arrangement being so simple, the entire structure is of noble and dignified proportions. The pillars in each storey conform to a general scheme; everyone however is varied in the treatment of its cap and base, as well as in its mouldings, so that the eye finds infinite variety of interest in observing the details without any disturbance of the general effect of classic dignity and repose. The entire conception of the storeyed pavilion, including the design, the structural procedure and the shapes and patterns of the pillars and the brackets, breathes the spirit of indigenous architectural practices, and it has been rightly suggested that it is derived from the old assembly halls of India.

There are also other structures of no little artistic merit in the deserted city of Fathpur Sikri. Those described above, being the most notable, illustrate, in an effective manner, the general style of Akbari architecture. These other buildings, each designed for a special purpose, have much the same architectural character that we have already noticed in the monuments described above. One other important architectural conception was planned and initiated by this great emperor; and this was his own mausoleum building at Sikandra in the vicinity of Agra. But he did not live to complete it, a task that devolved on his son and successor Jahangir. There are reasons to believe that Akbar's original conception was, to a certain extent, .modified by Jahangir, and it is to these subsequent modifications that the present architectural appearance is attributed. It now stands apart from Akbar's own buildings and a discussion of the monument may properly be reserved for the next section.

The buildings erected by Akbar at Agra, Allahabad and Lahore have been mostly swept away or much disfigured during the subsequent operations. The noble and graceful edifices of Fathpur Sikri remain, however, practically unaltered and in much of their pristine forms. They supply, therefore, a wonderful reflex of the emperor's versatile personality and of his liberal and catholic views. Built as a single and comprehensive unit, Fathpur Sikri reflects the

mind of the emperor inspired by the vision of a united India_a

vision that is clearly evident in its various magnificent buildings. His sympathies for Indian culture led him to draw gifted artists from all parts of India. Coupled with their contributions there

were the elements of the Islamic architectural tradition as developed in India during the earlier phases of Islamic rule. Besides, there were ideas from West Asiatic building traditions. As a patron of the building arts Akbar stands unique in the history of Indian architecture. He has shown a marvellous aptitude and adaptability and himself guided the work of the builders and artists, each working according to his own tradition and capability. The emperor's liberal and catholic attitude and his highly sensitive artistic mind directed the movement in such a way as to blend and harmonise the best in every tradition into a unified and distinctive style. With its roots in the soil of the country, this style may be called truly national.

The buildings of Akbar are mainly trabeated in their construction. There is also a predominance of indigenous designs, motifs and practices. The genius of the emperor as a patron of the building arts lies in the fact that he found immense possibilities in the traditional skill and experience of the indigenous builders, and he utilised them in full in his own architectural projects. Under his inspiring leadership the different traditions commingled in such an effective and fruitful manner as to build up a forceful architectural style in which the structure with its noble lineaments is found to be in perfect unison with its elegant decor. We have in Akbar's buildings rich and variegated ornaments, no doubt, but the value of the structure was never missed. The ornaments, however exuberant, are always subservient and complementary to it as emphasising, and giving relief to, its bold lineaments. The emphasis on the horizontal, clearly evident in the wide projecting eaves throwing deep shadows across the elevation of the building, and the lines of parapets and string-courses are finely counterbalanced by the equally strong vertical passages of light and shade produced by the pillars and the brackets. The solid and massive aspect of the building is balanced by the soaring effect of lightness imparted by the graceful kiosks over the roof. It is on this impressive balance between the horizontal and the vertical, between the solids and the voids, between massive heaviness and airy lightness, that the beauty of the structure mainly depends, the elegant and refined ornamental treatment adding to its magnificence in no mean degree. In Akbar's buildings we have a noble and forceful architectural style, built up on the traditions of the soil, a truly national art movement with immense possibilities under able and intelligent patronage.

3. Development and Culmination

Jahangir's contributions to the building art appear to have been rather insignificant when compared to the vast and ambitious projects of his father on the one hand and those of his son on the other. Like his great-grandfather Babur, he was a keen lover of the beauties of nature and art and was endowed with an aesthetic sensibility much greater than that of his father. But Jahangir's tastes and predilections lay in other directions. His inclination was more towards the art of painting than towards that of building. The Mughul school of painting had its foundation in the days of

Akbar; it was Jahangir's keen aesthetic sense and critical power of judgment and appreciation that raised the school to the highest peak of its achievement. In Tuzuh-i-Jahdnglri, the autobiography of Jahangir, we have frequent references to his reactions to painting; and in these we have a frank picture of the aesthetic mind of the emperor and of his keen susceptibilities. Significantly enough, his reaction to a good building has seldom been recorded, and even when recorded, it is of a general and superficial nature which indicates that his appreciation of the building art was not above the level of that of an ordinary spectator. No wonder, therefore, that the brilliant and ceaseless architectural activity of the previous reign was followed by a comparatively uneventful period. Nevertheless, in the history of Mughul architecture the period of Jahangir was not without a certain importance, supplying, as it does, a significant link between its two grand phases—the initial phase of splendid and purposeful buildings of the time of Akbar and the culminating phase of luxuriance and exuberance of the days of Shah Jahan.

During the early years of his reign Jahangir had to take a certain personal interest in building art as the production and completion of the mausoleum, which his father had planned as his last resting place, devolved upon him. His interest and patronage, as manifested here, were not such as to hope for a continuation and development of the direction which Akbar gave to the art of building. Akbar's mausoleum stands at Sikandra, five miles west of Agra, and consists of a singular design and composition not met with in any other Mughul monument of the funerary order. It represents a unique creation; and it is apparent that it owed its conception to the versatile ideas of Akbar who intended to endow it with a novel and original character, quite different from the conventional type of tombs with which we are usually familiar. The emperor did not live to carry his remarkable project to completion, a task that had to be done by his son and successor Jahangir. The building was completed in 1613, eight years after the

death of Akbar. As it now stands, the mausoleum lacks the homogeneity and balance which constitute the essential keynotes of Akbar's buildings. It has to be noted that the major part of the building was put up at a time when the guiding mind of a genius like Akbar was no longer there to supervise the construction of this vast project through its different stages. It is possible, therefore, that some kind of alteration and modification of the original design took place, either unconsciously on the part of the builders, or due to undue intervention of Jahangir, of which we have several instances recorded in his autobiography. 22 This probably explains the fact that Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, in spite of its unique character, fails as a unified composition and represents the least successful monument associated with the name of that great emperor.

The mausoleum building is situated within an extensive garden approached by an impressive gateway in the middle of the southern perimeter wall and with three other false doorways, one in the middle of each of the three other walls provided, no doubt, for the sake of symmetry. The principal entrance on the south is a noble monument in itself because of its pleasing proportions, the variety of its carved and inlaid ornamentation, and lastly the elegant white marble minarets, one at each corner of the building. The minarets represent noteworthy introductions adding to the beauty of the design, and the type, though new in appearance, is found in a fairly crystallised form, in no way inferior to the soaring minarets, one at each corner of the terraced platform of the far-famed Taj Mahal.

The garden, as is usual, is laid out into a number of squares by broad paved walks widening out at intervals into terraces with ornamental fountains. In the centre of this garden stands the curious tomb building of a stepped pyramidal form truncated at the top. The building rises in several storeys, gradually diminishing in scale as they go up. The design is, no doubt, unusual for a funerary monument and must have owed its conception to the original ideas of Akbar. The ground storey is conceived on a superb scale and measures more than 300 feet each way and a little over 30 feet in height. Each side is pierced by a series of elegant arches with a larger arched alcove accommodated within a tall rectangular frame interposed in the middle. These arcades enclose a domed mortuary chamber, in place of the usual underground crypt. Such a conception of the mortuary chamber represents an unusual and unorthodox arrangement which might have been due to the liberal and unconventional views of Akbar. Above this lowest stage rise the other storeys, each receding in scale than the one below. Three of these storeys, built of red sandstone like the lowest, show an arrangement of superposed tiers of pillared arcades and kiosks, while the topmost, built entirely of chaste white marble, consists of an open terrace accommodating in the centre a cenotaph on a raised platform and enclosed by a beautiful colonnade on the inside, and on the outside by trellis-work of the most exquisite patterns. At each corner rises a slender marble kiosk adding to the variety of the skyline.

In spite of its unusual design and a certain lack of harmony in the different sections of the elevation, there are not a few elements in this structure which are pleasing by themselves when judged separately and independently. The ground storey is itself a noble conception, a powerful structure but not too heavy, which with the pleasing scale of its different parts represents a suitable substructure for the support of an impressive superstructure. But the upper storeys, though satisfying in themselves, are too light and out of place in the substantial composition of the lowest stage. In elevation also these upper storeys lack balance and co-ordination in relation to the substructure, and the monument, as a whole, fails as a unified and harmonious composition. One may recognise the vigorous and versatile personality of Akbar in the original conception of the monument, and it is possible that the lowest storey was completed by him before his death. In the composition of the upper storeys we fail to notice the breadth of vision and sense of harmony that characterised Akbar's buildings, and it was here that Jahangir might have intervened. Each of these upper storeys, particularly the topmost one with all its delicacy and perfect finish, might be considered as an elegant monument if it had stood apart and isolated. But they fail to harmonise with the noble conception of the ground storey, and herein lies the deficiency of the monument as a whole. In spite of all his aesthetic tastes, Jahangir had not the vision and imagination of Akbar and lacked the latter's guiding genius so as to correlate the different sections of the elevation into a pleasing and harmonious composition.

Something should also be said regarding the unusual plan and elevation of this mausoleum building. It has been suggested that this novel design was derived and imitated from the old storeyed viharas, and so far as the fundamentals of the composition are concerned, apart from minor architectural details, this suggestion appears to be reasonable.

In the history of Mughul architecture Jahangir’s reign marks the transition between its two grand phases, namely the phase of Akbar and that of his grandson Shah Jahan. Already, in the tomb of Akbar one may recognise the approach of a new direction. The direction was towards an effect of lightness and consequent weakness in the structure and to an increased leaning towards ornamentation. The arabesques make their appearance for the first time among the inlaid decorations. This tendency towards a more ornamental effect becomes gradually emphasised, not unoften to the detriment of the structural value when the vision and imagination required to correlate the ornament to the structure fail. The general trend is towards a prettiness of the building, instead of towards a grandeur of its conception. And this trend, so opposed to Akbar’s architectural ideals, becomes more and more manifest under the dilettante tastes of the aesthete Jahangir and the pleasure-seeking Shah Jahan. Mughul architecture was not destined to follow in the direction of forceful and purposeful buildings initiated by Akbar. Neither Jahangir nor Shah Jahan possessed Akbar’s genius for constructive ideas and so far as their personal influences on the architecture of the time went, they only helped to clothe in more costly materials the creative forms of the previous period and to cover them with a wealth of ornament. Both of them, particularly the latter, tried to create effect by sumptuous decoration and lavish use of costly material, rather than by an intellectuality in structural design. The history of Mughul architecture during the period of Jahangir and Shah Jahan is governed by this dominant idea and reaches a baroque phase of exuberance and over-refinement—a faithful picture of the changed outlook of the Mughul court after Akbar’s strong personality had passed away.

The most important feature of the period of transition is noticed in the substitution of red sandstone by white marble. Hitherto the main fabric of the building was composed of granite or red sandstone with occasional insertions of white marble for the sake of relief. This practice had been long continued and may be traced from the time of Ala-ud-dln Khaljl. In Akbar’s buildings white marble inlay on red sandstone fabric was frequently resorted to in order to lend relief and colour to the facades and to emphasise the structural lineaments. This white marble inlaying has been gaining ground and its effect on the red texture of sandstone fabric represents one of the most charming features in the ornamentation of the surfaces of the buildings. Always accessory to the strong lineaments of the structure, such ornaments invariably wait on the monument without any detriment to the architectural design or dignity. But this sense for the value of the structure and its design was undermined when buildings came to be composed in white marble. This happened towards the end of the reign of Jahangir.

Marble has a certain effeminate quality. At least it has not that quality of solidity and strength imparted by red sandstone. White marble takes a shining polish and is the best possible medium for fine tracery and arabesque works, for painting as well as gilding. It furnishes a very convenient surface for costly pietra dura. By its very nature it invites decoration which has a tendency to get exuberant and sumptuous almost to the point of being overdone. The result is often restless. Miraculously beautiful in detail, a building in white marble tends to lack strength. Weakness is inherent in marble fabric.

Jahangir also loved colour and this was imparted to the buildings of his period by encaustic tiling; and the system of pietra dura, i.e. the inlaid mosaic work of hard and precious stones of various hues and shades, began towards the end of his reign. These, no doubt, lent to the buildings a colourful and picturesque effect; but such ornamentations can hardly compensate for the effect of weakness and effeminacy inherent in a marble fabric. It is not surprising, therefore, that the buildings of the later part of Jahangir's reign and the pretty creations of Shah Jahan lack those qualities of substance and solidity that characterised Akbar's buildings. There is an emphasis on colour, on sumptuous decorations and on lavish display of costly materials; but they hardly make up for the loss of substance which constitutes the chief element of forceful architecture.

The change of outlook in the art of building was noticed also in other directions. Akbar's preference for indigenous ideals and traditions is clearly manifested in his architectural undertakings. Not a little of the character of his buildings depends on the work of the indigenous artists and craftsmen gathered together from various directions. Akbar had the genius to co-ordinate and harmonise the different ideals and traditions and to guide his builders to create unified and forceful compositions out of the many, and often differing, elements. He initiated an era of fruitful collaboration among artists of different traditions, not excluding the foreign; and under his inspiring leadership varying traditions adapted themselves leading to the creation of an art movement that may be considered to be a product of the soil itself. As a result, a distinctive style of architecture came into being, a style characterised by a nobility of conception and forcefulness of execution. It was founded on the traditions of the country and extra-Indian elements were adapted to suit the needs of the growing style. After Akbar, his enlightened direction was lacking and the style was diverted from its course.

His successors lacked his creative instinct as well as his absorbing spirit of collectivism. It is not surprising that they failed to supply that intelligent direction that might have led the style to further creative achievements. No new idea, no original conception had been evolved during the epoch succeeding that of Akbar. The prevailing ideas were clothed in more costly materials and covered with a lavish display of costly ornament and colour. In spite of pompous exuberance, very few notable and forceful buildings had been produced in the period of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

The Mughul court of the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan was composed of a nobility mainly of Persian extraction. The life in this court was imbued also with Persian ideas of luxury and grace. This predilection for Persianism had also its reflection on the art and culture of the time. In architecture one may easily recognise a growing preference for Persian ideas and a gradual isolation from the indigenous ideals and traditions. Akbar's national style of architecture had its foundation chiefly on indigenous sources, and a gradual separation from the ideals and traditions of the soil and a greater dependence on foreign ideas and modes diverted the course of the style from the path that Akbar had chosen for it. Lured by foreign ideas of pomp and grace the style was practically isolated from its source and the inevitable desiccation was not long to follow. This is evident in the poverty of design and lack of structural value that characterised most of the monuments produced during this later phase of Mughul architecture.

The above observations on the general trends and tendencies of this later phase of Mughul architecture seem to be necessary for a proper understanding of those sumptuously pretty marble monuments that have often been extolled by dilettante scholars as representing the grand efflorescence of the Mughul architectural style. A correct historical perspective, however, would attribute to Akbar's buildings a far greater nobility, in conception as well as in design and execution, representing an architecture of immense potentially and on a much higher aesthetic plane. The monuments of the later phase represent merely a rich and baroque form of this architecture.

Jahangir, we have already observed, left no personal impress on the architecture of his time. Even his palace in the Lahore fort, where he loved to reside, has nothing distinctive about it. A keen lover of nature, he delighted in pleasure gardens and is known to have constructed several such pleasances. The Shalimar Bagh in Kashmir is one of the most charming of his undertakings in this direction. The plan is, more or less, formal and stereotyped—an arrangement of square terraces and picturesque flower beds, paved walks and avenues of trees, crystal water-courses and splashing fountains, and airy pavilions, all laid out with the object of providing delight to the eyes and comfort and relaxation to the tired and jaded nerves. This type of ornamental pleasure gardens is inseparably linked up with the life of the grand Mughuls and the production of such pleasant and luxurious amenities suited Jahangir's tastes and temperament.

Jahangir's mausoleum at Shahdara, near Lahore, cannot claim to have any architectural distinction. Like his father's mausoleum at Sikandra, it is situated within an ornamental garden enclosed by a high brick wall with a gateway in the middle of each side. The garden occupies a square, over 1500 feet each side, the whole area being divided into sixteen smaller squares by means of paved walks with an ornamental fountain and a reservoir of water at each point of intersection. The squares were once filled up by flowered parterres, each of a different kind. The mausoleum building is situated in the centre of this garden and is a square of 325 feet side. It stands on a low plinth and consists of one storey, 22 feet in height, with a handsome octagonal minaret of five storeys shooting up from each corner to a height of about 100 feet. Originally, a marble pavilion occupied the middle of the terraced roof; with its disappearance the building now lacks balance and symmetry of composition. The facade on each side consists of an arcade with a central arch accommodating the entrance, flanked by a group of five others on either side. In the interior there are ranges of rooms on all the four sides enclosing the octagonal mortuary chamber with the marble cenotaph in the centre which is exquisitely embellished by inlaid patterns. The appearance of the whole building is unimpressive, the low facades between the minarets being ineffective architecturally. The lavish colour, so freely imparted to its surface by inlaid marbles, glazed tiles and painting, can improve very little the effect of the monument with such a strong deficiency.

Two other tombs, built towards the end of Jahangir’s reign, represent more successful achievements in respect of design as well as execution. Historically they are also interesting as foreshadowing the subsequent developments of the Mughul architectural style. One is the mausoleum of 1‘timad-ud-Daula, father of Jahangir’s famous consort, Nur Jahan, who erected it in 1626. It is situated at Agra, on the left bank of the river Jumna, within a garden enclosed by a wall, measuring 540 feet each way and pierced by red sandstone gateways, one in the middle of each side. It stands on a raised terrace and consists of a square building of 69 feet side, with an octagonal turret in two stages, surmounted by a domed cupola, thrown out at each angle, and with a square pavilion, covered by an angular canopy, placed in the middle of the terraced roof. The interior consists of a simple arrangement of a central cenotaph chamber enclosed by connected rooms. An agreeable light is introduced in the interior, both in the lower and upper storeys, by exceedingly delicate open lattice work, aptly described as a “gossamer of fretted grilles”. 23 Entirely composed of white marble, the building is covered throughout by rich mosaic of pietra dura , the first and certainly one of the most successful applications of this class of ornamentation in Mughul monuments. In spite of dwarf heights of the corner turrets, there is an effect of balance and harmony in the design and composition of the structure, the projecting cornices supported on brackets providing further a co-ordinated sense of relation between the horizontal and vertical aspects of the building. The ornaments are also in elegant taste, being accessory to the structure and its various lineaments and in spite of their rich character, they have no overburdening appearance on the building.

The tomb of Ttimad-ud-Daula is of significant interest in the history of Mughul architecture as supplying a link between its two important phases, namely those of Akbar and of Shah Jahan. It represents the transition from the red sandstone phase of Akbar’s buildings with their direct simplicity and robustness of design to that of the sumptuous marble with all the changes, as described above, inherent therein. Ttimad-ud-Daula’s tomb, as the first notable building in white marble with its rich ornamentation in pietra dura, may be regarded as heralding this new movement, that reached its culmination in the days of Shah Jahan. In this tomb, one may still recognise the value of architectural design and the subordination of the rich ornamentation to the structural form and its lines. But the white marble texture with its emphasis on colourful decoration already suggests a certain effeminacy and weakness which some describe as a reflection of the feminism of the empress who was responsible for its creation. This apart, a marble structure tends to fail in the qualities of substance and robustness which are the essential requisites of noble and forceful architecture; and weakness, coupled with an almost feminine love for display of pomp and ornament, follow as necessary corollaries. In spite, therefore, of its structural qualities, the tomb of Ftimad-ud-Daula furnishes the impression of a miniature precious object being magnified into a piece of architecture. And this impression becomes more manifest in

many of the subsequent buildings in which, not unoften, the rich overlay of ornament is found to conceal the structure itself. I‘timadud-Daula’s mausoleum thus marks the epoch of a new direction which is a presage of the decline, and represents a step towards the brilliant, but baroque, form of Mughul architecture in the days of Shah Jahan.

Another tomb, that of ‘Abdur-Rahlm Khan-i-Khanan at Delhi, was built towards the end of Jahangir’s reign or shortly after. It marks a significant link between the tomb of Humayun at Delhi and that of Shah Jahan’s queen, the celebrated Taj Mahal at Agra. Unfortunately, the building now is little more than a mere shell, being stripped of its white marble facing early in the second half of the eighteenth century. It appears to have been a copy of

Humayun’s tomb in many respects. Like the latter, it stands on a terraced basement with arched recesses on each side, and shows the almost similar arrangement in the divisions of the facades and of the roof. There is, however, a minor deviation in the angles of the building not being chamfered as in Humayun’s tomb. Despite this, the tomb of Khan-i-Khanan stands midway between the tomb of Humayun and the most brilliant culmination of the design, the Taj Mahal, and marks effectively the transition from the earlier to the later phase of Mughul architecture.

It was during the time of Shah Jahan that Mughul architecture reaches its supreme exuberance. The character of this exuberance has already been indicated. Like his grandfather, Shah Jahan was a great patron of the building arts and beautified his capitals with splendid palaces and other buildings. But he had not the vision of Akbar, nor his strength of character. This is clearly reflected, apart from other things, in the striking contrast offered by their respective buildings. The manly vigour, the direct simplicity and the varied originality of Akbar’s buildings stand widely apart from the extreme and almost effeminate grace, the sumptuous appearance and the dearth of structural designs that characterise the pretty creations of Shah Jahan. The contrast is so striking that each group seems to represent a class by itself, though both were the products of the same dynasty of rulers, one being closely followed by the other. Only a change of outlook and temper can explain this sharp contrast.

During the reign of Jahangir the Akbari style was already losing its substance and vigour. His court, particularly under the influence of his imperious consort, patronised a culture clearly eclectic in character, in which the foreign, especially the Persian,

elements predominated. In Shah Jahan’s court the Persian character was even more emphasised. We have already indicated what Persianism meant for Mughul architecture. One other point has to be noted in this regard. Some would ascribe the birth of the Mughul architectural style to inspiration from Persia. Mughul architecture had its foundation in the days of Akbar whose various architectural undertakings, as we have shown, contradict such an ascription. Persianism is a late feature in the history of Mughul architecture. It had very little part to play in the virile and creative phase of Akbar’s reign. It makes its appearance and its influence came to be felt when Mughul architecture had already entered its baroque phase. Instead of being associated with the formative phase of Mughul architecture, Persianism is linked up with its decline.

The substitution of red sandstone by costly marble was apparently inspired by the desire to impart to the buildings a rich and exuberant appearance of prettiness and elegance corresponding to the luxurious atmosphere and temper of the court. Imbued with the prevailing ideas and his love for pomp and luxury and display of splendour, Shah Jahan chose marble as the chief medium for all his architectural undertakings. The inherent weakness of marble, as indicated above, can be arrested by an intelligent and imaginative guidance and this Shah Jahan, in spite of all his architectural predilections, failed to supply. He could not rise above his environment and his mind worked in a groove which was that of the court. So, in spite of all the magnificence of his buildings, Shah Jahan failed to contribute any creative design or form in Mughul architecture. He imitated ideas and designs already known and clothed them in costly marble and overlaid them with a lavish display of rich and sumptuous ornament.

The new direction and what it presages have already been outlined. Its symptoms will become apparent as one proceeds to survey the monuments of this phase. The predilection for marble is graphically illustrated by Shah Jahan’s replacements of the earlier sandstone buildings of Akbar at Agra, described as “barbaric abominations’’ by a court panegyrist, by marble palaces and pavilions, extolled as masterpieces of “this august reign when.... lovely things reached the zenith of perfection.’’ 24 It is unfortunate that views, similar to the above, are shared also by many modern critics and scholars. It is oinly the lack of a correct historical and aesthetic perspective that can explain such misleading comparison. A comparative estimate of the Mughul architectural style in two important phases of its expression has already been indicated. The contrasts in appearance and effect will become manifest and the relative merit

of each clearly determined when one views the two series of Mughul palaces in Agra fort where the two groups are situated, as well as * demarcated, side by side. A keen observer cannot fail to perceive a nobility of conception and robustness of execution in the remains of Akbar’s productions as opposed to the pretty sensuousness and overburdened ornamentation imparted by Shah Jahan’s luxurious creations. One may excuse categorical statements as above from a court chronicler in praise of his master’s achievements, not surely from a discerning historian and critic having a true perspective and understanding of the essential elements of good architecture.

Marble of a pure white texture and delicate grain was procured from the quarries of Makrana in Jodhpur and formed the chief building material in the time of Shah Jahan. When this was not made use of, stone or brick fabrics were plastered with fine stucco, smoothed and polished to the whiteness of an eggshell to keep harmony with the white marble fabric. The fine and delicate texture of marble fabric required a new sensibility in the ornamental treatment of the surfaces. Relief decoration of an essential plastic quality has naturally to be avoided as the emphatic contours would illsuit the smooth and chaste texture of the marble fabric with its own intrinsic beauty. Moulded outlines of ornamental panels, lending variety to the surfaces, are fine with their contours as little obtrusive as possible so as not to disturb the general effect. Surface ornaments tend to subtler forms with an emphasis on colour. The costly fabric invites costly decoration; and gilding and mosaic of precious stones, i.e. pietra dura , constitute the special features of ornamentation in the marble phase. A soft and effeminate quality is immanent in marble fabric, and ornamentation remains effective so long as it is kept restrained. But thef.tendency to lavish display of pomp and ornamentation is inevitable when one remembers the atmosphere of the court with its exaggerated sense of luxury and magnificence.

The architectural elements also register certain significant changes in the marble phase. There is a predilection for curved lines, in place of the rectangular aspect of the buildings of the previous phase, particularly noticeable in the curved outlines of the roofs and cornices—an importation, no doubt, from the Bengali style. The preference for bulbous domes with constricted necks, pillars with tapering outlines and with voluted brackets and foliated bases, foliated shapes of arches, that represent the most distinguishing marks of the phase, all reflect the emphasis on curved lines. These impart, no doubt, fluidity of line and form to the structures of the period, and at the same time a certain sensuousness, if not voluptuousness, that becomes more and more emphasised.

Though not gifted with the same originality and nobility of imagination, as that of his grandfather, Shah Jahan was also a great builder. His projects were many and compare favourably with those of Akbar in vastness and extensiveness. In Agra and Lahore forts he planned to replace the sandstone buildings of the previous period by palaces and pavilions in marble, and this he carried out in a very large measure involving the construction of many new edifices. Not only that, he projected a new capital city at Delhi, that of Shahjahanabad where he built a fortress citadel of unusual dimensions and erected within it splendid palaces, office buildings and other structures. At Delhi and Agra he built two grand congregational mosques wonderfully effective, not only on account of their vast dimensions, but also for their special purposes. To enshrine the remains of his beloved consort he raised up at Agra that grand mausoleum building, the far-famed Taj Mahal, enthusiastically eulogised by many enamoured visitors as a “dream in marble”. Under Shah Jahan Mughul architecture reaped a rich harvest, but this was a harvest of plenty that augured degeneration. The tendencies, already noted, presage decay, and notwithstanding all the brilliance and splendour of Shah Jahan’s buildings, students of architecture are agreed in recognising in his monuments the symptoms of the approaching decline of the style.

Shah Jahan’s alterations and replacements in the earlier palace fortresses were carried out on a grandiose scale and apparently inspired by the desire to impart to the palaces and other appurtenances an appearance to suit the prevailing character of the court. In such operations many of the buildings of his predecessors were swept away to make room for his own sumptuous creations. They were carried on at intermittent intervals, so that neither the new conceptions at Lahore, nor those at Agra follow a symmetrical lay-out and arrangement. Efforts were concentrated on the production of pretty structures, refined in appearance and ornament, than on any new experiments, either in structural conception or in design. The court chroniclers give detailed accounts of such operations in eulogistic language with many poetic metaphors. Such eulogies may not apply to all these structures; yet, a few, by their refined and graceful contours and restricted ornamentation imparting a subdued colour effect to the surface, are not of mean artistic beauty. The art of building still retains its sense of sobriety, but destined soon to be overcome by a wealth of ornament the effect of which becomes overburdening.

In Lahore fort Shah Jahan’s erections consist of the Drwan-i‘Am, a hall of forty pillars, the Musamman Burz, the Shlsh Mahal, the Khwabagh and other buildings in the north-western sector of the fort. Some of these have undergone modifications and elaborations at subsequent dates. Originally, they appear to have belonged to the same style and character, as in Shah Jahan’s buildings at Agra and Delhi, the emphasis being on marble fabric and picturesque decoration by pietra dura and other costly modes. The appearance of the Shlsh Mahal is especially sumptuous.

In Agra fort the remodelling was undertaken on a large and extensive scale. The northern portion of the palace sector in the fort has come under such operation, for which, apparently, the earlier buildings have been swept away. The only undoubted remains of the earlier palaces are the Jahangirl Mahal and fragments of Akbarl Mahal. Nowhere is the contrast between Akbar’s architecture and that of Shah Jahlan so strongly marked as in Agra fort, the former, noble and robust, and the latter, elegant and, to a certain extent, feeble.

A doorway from the earlier sector leads to Shah Jahan’s buildings. It would be difficult to note each and every building erected during this period, and our observations will be naturally confined to the more notable ones. Not all the buildings, again, were put up at one and the same time according to a definite scheme. The first to be erected was the DIwan-i-‘Am, a spacious hall standing at the rear of an extensive court. It is said to have been built in 1627, the year of the emperor’s accession to the throne. It is in red sandstone, finely plastered with stucco to the smoothness of white marble all over, except on the floor and ceiling. The hall measures 201 by 67 feet and is open on the three sides and enclosed at the back. The roof is flat and supported by three ranges of arcades that impart an elegant effect to the interior as well as to the facades. Near the back wall of the hall there is placed in the middle an alcove of white marble, with inlaid patterns in pietra dura in a refined taste, representing the seat of the emperor. Below, in front is a marble dais, supported on four legs, meant for the grand vazlr. Because of its red sandstone fabric some scholars ascribe this building to the period of Akbar or Jahangir and attribute to Shah Jahan only the fine stucco works over sandstone fabric and the throne alcove. But such salient features as the shape and design of the pillars and the foliated shape of the arches leave no doubt about the entire conception being Shah Jahan's, possibly one of the earliest of his architectural undertakings at a time when marble was yet to become the irresistible vogue. The Dlwami-'Am in the Delhi fort, it has to be

noted, is also in red sandstone, and it is definitely known to have been the work of Shah Jahan.

Behind the Diwan-i-'Am and separated from it by the Machchhi Bhavan stands the Diwan-i-Khas that was erected, according to the inscription it bears, in 1636-37. It is entirely in marble and consists of an open colonnade with an enclosed hall behind. The double columns of the colonnade are of graceful execution and carry foliated arches above. The inlaid patterns in red carnelian and other stones impart an elegant effect to the wall surface.

Close by to the south is situated the sumptuous block of buildings, known as the Khas Mahal, with the spacious court of Anguri Bagh in front. In contemporary chronicles it is called Ardm-gah-iMuqaddas or the holy abode of rest, indicating that it was a private palace intended for relaxation and retirement. The Khas Mahal stands on a marble terrace overlooking the Jumna and consists of three white marble pavilions of elegant design and form. The middle one overlooking a court, 112 feet by 96, consists of a rectangular building with an open colonnade in front showing five arched openings of foliated shape springing from piers. Three of the archways lead from the colonnaded gallery to the inner hall having three windows in the back wall overlooking the river and opposite to the arched entrances in front. The roof is flat with domed kiosks at the corners. According to the Pddshdh-ndma of 'Abdul Hamid Lahaurl the ceiling was once inlaid with patterns in gold and colour, traces of which are still discernible. The court in front has a big ornamental pool, about 42 feet by 29, with five fountains. A series of subterranean chambers below this court were intended for retirement in summer heat. In the north-east corner of the court, at a lower level is the Shish Mahal (palace of mirrors), a unit of two chambers with arrangements for baths, so named because of the walls and ceilings being spangled with tiny pieces of mirror glass set in gilt and coloured stucco. The reflection of light on this mirrored mosaic is charming and not to be easily forgotten.

On either side of the central building of the Khas Mahal there is a pavilion, each joined to the central block by means of doorways. Each is of a similar design and consists of a room at either end with a communicating gallery in between and a screened court in front. The gallery is covered by a curved roof with curved cornice, while the rooms have angular canopies. According to the Pddshdh-ndma these pavilions were once profusely ornamented in gold and colours, while the curved roofs are stated to have been plated with sheets of gold.

In front of the court of the Khas Mahal, at a slightly lower level, is situated the spacious court of Angurl Bagh (vine garden) which is a rectangle of 220 feet by 169. A red sandstone walk runs round the sides, while two marble roadways traverse the rectangle from the middle of each side and intersect in the centre which expands into an extensive terrace accommodating an ornamental pool with fountains. The four smaller rectangles, thus formed, are divided into numerous pleasingly patterned parterres by sandstone ridges. Except on the east where it faces the Khas Mahal, the court is enclosed on the other three sides by double-storeyed chambers built of red sandstone with marble facing on some of them. The sandstone fabric and the plan may lend some illusion to their being the works of Akbar; but the foliated arches leave no doubt that they were erected during the regime of Shah Jahan.

Close by and communicating with the northern pavilion of the Khas Mahal, is the Musamman Burz (octagonal tower), known also to some as Saman Burz (jasmine tower). It is an exquisite building because of its richly inlaid patterns and marble filigree, both indicating a high degree of technical craftsmanship and sense of ornamentation. Like a fairy tower it overhangs the river and presents a wide vista along the river front. It was here that the captive emperor breathed his last in 1666, with his eyes turned on the pearly dome of the Taj Mahal as popular mind would like to believe. Some scholars are of the opinion that it was built by Jahangir. But the court chronicler, ‘Abdul Hamid Lahauri, distinctly says in his Padshah-ndma that on this site there was a house built by Akbar which was pulled down by Jahangir to make room for a structure that, again, in its turn, was dismantled by Shah Jahan and replaced by the present monument intended for the residence of his favourite empress, Mumtaz Mahal.

A little apart from the group described above, stands the Moti Masjid (Pearl mosque), described by Fergusson 25 as “one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere”. Situated on a high eminence it commands a fine view of the palaces, pavilions and courts. Completed in 1654, it consists of the usual courtyard with an ornamental cistern in the centre and surrounded by cloisters on the three sides and the prayer chamber or sanctuary on the west. The entire building is of pure white marble raised on a stylobate of red sandstone. It occupies a quadrangle, 234 feet by 187 externally, and is approached by three gateways, one in the middle of each cloister. The view of the interior, an unbroken whiteness, in and out, above and below, is exceptionally beautiful and comes as a surprise after the prevailing red glow outside. The prayer chamber, 159 feet by 56 internally, opens on the court by seven arches of great beauty, all foliated in design, and is accessible at both ends from the private apartments by marble screens of exquisite workmanship. The prayer spaces are marked on the floor by inlaid strips of light white marble, the only attempt to colour effect in the whole building. The receding views of the interior arcades are also supremely beautiful. The roof is surmounted by three graceful domes of bulbous shape, the central dome with a substantially raised elevation in relation to the two at the flanks. At each corner rises an octagonal pavilion crowned by a cupola, while a range of light kiosks runs along the line of the parapet in front. In its flawless whiteness, in refined architectural proportions, in the skilful modulation of the various elements, including a charming variety imparted to the skyline, and in the masterly technique in which the materials have been manipulated, the Motl Masjid at Agra has a remarkably restrained beauty, in contrast to the florid appearance of the residential and office buildings created by Shah Jahan. Its outstanding qualities illustrate Shah Jahan’s building style at its peak.

In 1638 Shah Jahan began at Delhi the construction of a new capital city, that of Shahj ahanabad, to contain within its perimeter a sumptuous palace fortress for the accommodation of the imperial household and court. The city was of the shape of a quadrant on the right bank of the river Jumna, with the palace at the apex of the river and the grand congregational mosque, the Jami £ Masjid, at an angle formed by two wide streets traversing from the main gates of the fortress to the city gates. The palace fortress, the Red Fort as it is known because of the red sandstone fabric of its rampart walls, has been designed on an unprecedented scale with all the amenities of the busy and luxurious life of an imperial house and court provided for within its walls in a regular and systematic order. Built at one time and by one of the most splendid of the Mughul emperors, it excels the other Mughul palaces in the largeness of its conception, in the uniformity of its arrangements and in the magnificence of its execution.

The fortress with its halls, palaces, pavilions and gardens was completed in 1648 when, on an auspicious day the emperor entered it ceremonially and formally inaugurated the new capital city. It remained the seat of Mughul government for a little over two hun

died years and, though shorn of much of its one-time glory and splendour in the days of its disintegration, it still stands as a witness to the many vicissitudes that befell the empire of the grand Mughuls.

The fortress is planned in the shape of a parallelogram, with its angles slightly canted off, and measures 3200 feet by 1600 feet exclusive of the gateways. It is encircled by a massive rampart wall of red sandstone, relieved at intervals by boldly projecting bastions with domed kiosks on the roof. It has two main gateways, one in the middle of the western wall and the other in the south. The former, known as the Lahore Gate, forms the principal entrance and faces the Chandni Chauk of historic memory. This portal leads to a wide arcaded passage that communicates with an open square courtyard of 350 feet side, from either end of which arcaded passages run north and south, the former leading to the gardens and the latter to the south gate, known as Delhi Gate. This arrangement encloses on the east a rectangle, occupying nearly twothirds of the fortress area, and accommodates an orderly array of the most sumptuous buildings and gardens arranged into a regular system of squares and rectangles, planned and designed apparently by the emperor himself.

At the eastern end of the above-mentioned square courtyard stands the Naubat Khana (Music Pavilion), a double-storeyed building, which leads, again, to another great rectangular court, 550 feet by 385, with the hall of the Dlwlan-i-‘Am at its eastern apex. This hall of public audience has been designed in a stately manner to suit the solemn functions for which it was intended. The spacious court in front was once surrounded by colonnades that imparted an impressive grandeur to the entire setting. It is built of sandstone, but was originally covered with shell plaster polished to the smoothness and whiteness of ivory to fit in with the white marble structures that stand around. It is a colonnaded hall, open on three sides and enclosed at the back, the facade showing an arcade of nine foliated arches springing from double columns in the middle and from four at the corners. The interior corresponds to the facade in having similar arcades in three aisles, while set in an alcove near the back wall is the canopied platform in white marble, richly inlaid with precious stones, intended for the imperial throne. The superb magnificence of this throne platform, known as Nashihmamri-Zill-iIlahi (seat of the shadow of God), at once visualises the splendid pageant of the grand Mughuls in days of their supreme brilliance. The recess behind the platform is covered by panels of pietra dura work, attributed to one Austin de Bordeaux, which, although rich

and fine in execution, cannot be said to have been quite in keeping with the setting that is entirely eastern in design and appearance. The hall was richly painted and covered with gold; but all such costly decorations have vanished.

On either side of this hall and at the back along the eastern rampart 'wall overlooking the river, the whole area is laid out in buildings, courts and gardens. The space to the south was possibly occupied by the private apartments of the zenana and that to the north by halls, pavilions, gardens and courts, with the magnificent Rang Mahal in the centre connecting the two blocks. The halls and pavilions in both the blocks are lined along the rampart wall in the east and face the courts and gardens on the west. Along the entire length run beautiful channels of crystal water, widening out at intervals into ornamental pools with fountains. A constant supply of water was obtained from the Jumna, seventy miles up the river, brought to the fortress by the canal of ‘All Mardian and introduced into the palace through an artificially scalloped marble cascade placed near the Shah Burz in the northern extremity of the eastern wall.

It will be difficult to describe each and every element of this sumptuous conception. The palaces and halls along the eastern wall represent the most resplendent creations in white marble, and on these the highest skill was lavished, particularly in decorative treatment. With a succession of turrets, kiosks, golden domes, projecting balconies, overhanging the sandstone ramparts, they present a fine view from the river, the three towers—Asad Burz and Shah Burz at the two comers and Musamman Burz in the middle raising up their heads in male fashion above the tops of other structures and imparting an attractive variety to the skyline along the river front. The inside, with the picturesque gardens with fountains, flower beds, pavilions placed within ornamental pools and the Nahr-i-Bihisht (Stream of Paradise) with its rippling water-course traversing the palace area, represents also a fine and magnificent setting for the superb structures. All combined, we have in the sumptuous lay-out and arrangement of the palace area a confirmation of the truth of the Persian couplet, inscribed on the Dlwan-iKhas, that “if there is a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this”.

In design and style these structures are approximately identical. We have usually a single-storeyed hall, open on all sides, the interior being divided into a number of bays and aisles by massive piers carrying foliated arches and supporting the flat roof. The ceilings were once plated with silver or gold, and the interior surfaces.

those of the piers, arches and walls, are richly ornamented with precious inlay, low relief carvings or patterns in colour and gold. Everywhere there is an emphasis on costly splendour and sumptuous ornamentation, and the latter though at times having an appearance of exuberance and of being overdone, illustrates the highest skill and the most perfect workmanship, so far as technical craftsmanship is concerned. The intricate tracery of the screen bearing the ‘Scales of Justice’ shows in the fineness of its design and the flawless accuracy of its execution the fine needle-work of an embroidery transferred by chisel of the stone-cutter on the hard fabric of marble.

Two buildings, representative of the style, may briefly be referred to here for an idea of the grandeur and brilliance of this sumptuous palace conception. One of them is the DTwan-i-Khas (hall of private audience) which is an indispensable feature of Mughul court life and etiquette. In these halls of audiences conferences of a special and ceremonial character were held. The other is the Rang Mahal (palace of colour, or, differently, palace of pleasure), intended for the delectation of the emperor and his household after a busy and tiring day. Both belong to the same general style that we have described; but they excel the other buildings in having the most lavish ornamentation and costly splendour strewn over all the interior surfaces and with an almost overbearing effect.

The Dlwan-i-Khas, also known as the Shah Mahal, is an open colonnaded hall of one storey enclosed at the back by marble trellises. The front consists of a fine arcade of five foliated arches springing from massive piers, with similar arches, but of varying sizes, on the two sides. The interior is divided into bays and aisles by massive piers carrying foliated arches that support the flat roof. At the top may be seen a beautiful kiosk at each corner. The building is entirely in white marble; but the chaste and elegant appearance of the facade is lost in the interior by a bewildering maze of rich and lavish ornamentation distributed over every available space in brilliant colour, lustrous gold and costly pietra dura. The ceiling also was plated with gold, patterned with arabesques and flowers; but this has since disappeared. Fergusson 26 considers it to be “if not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shahjahan’s buildings.”

But even this splendid hall recedes into the background by the conception of the Rang Mahal, also called Imtiyaz Mahal (palace of distinction) in Shah Jahan’s time and described by a modern critic as the “crowning jewel of Shah Jahan's seraglio". 27 Its sumptuous appearance confirms the statement of the court chronicler that "in

excellence and glory it surpasses the eight-sided throne of heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise". 28 Very few traces now remain of its original decoration; but there are still enough to enable one to visualise its former splendour and magnificence. Externally the building measures 153 feet by 69 feet, and the interior consists of a main central apartment with smaller chambers at either end. Foliated arches on massive piers divide this central apartment into a number of bays, each 20 feet square. Along this central apartment runs a marble water channel expanded into an ornamental fountain basin in the central bay. It is a part of the elaborate water course of the Nahr-i-Bihisht that reaches its most enchanting expression in this palace of colour and adds to its beauty in a supremely effective manner. The basin is designed in the shape of a large lotus flower with delicately modelled petals enclosed within a shallow, but exquisitely patterned, square frame. In the centre, on the pericarp of the lotus, is again a small flower through which the water of the fountain bubbles up, "enhancing the pleasantness of the surroundings and adding to its beauty", as recorded by Muhammad Salhi, the biographer of Shah Jahan. The picturesque account of this fountain by Sayyid Ahmad Khan is interesting and may profitably be quoted. He says that the Rang Mahal "has a tank the beauty of which baffles description. It is made of marble and fashioned in such a way that it resembles a full-blown flower. Its inlay of flowers and foliages in various coloured stones has been so finely executed that it is beyond the power of any one to describe it. Although the tank is seven gaz square, yet it is of very little depth. It is just like the palm of a hand. The particular beauty of this is that, when it is full of rippling water, the foliage of the inlay work appears to wave to and fro. In its centre is a beautiful flower like a cup of marble; moreover, on each curving point and arched cusp, flowers and leaves of coloured stones spring from creeping plants, and creeping plants from flowers and leaves. Within the cup you will find a hole through which the water bubbles up from a hidden channel underneath. The sheet of water falling from the edges of the cup and the waving of the plants and flowers under the dancing water are nothing less than a scene of magic." 29

In keeping with the highly ornamental character of the fountain, the central feature of this elaborate composition, the whole interior of the building was once gorgeously decorated by painting, gilding and pietra dura ; the traceried marble screens, originally enclosing the arches on the outside and separating the central apartment from the chambers at the sides, were of much intricate decorative

workmanship. According to Muhammad Salhi the original ceiling “was gilded and ornamented with golden flowers”; but this was apparently replaced by a silver one that again was removed in the reign of Farrukh-siyar ‘to supply a pressing need’ and substituted by one of copper. The copper ceiling was also taken off in the reign of Akbar II and a wooden one was put up in its place. The Rang Mahal is one of the most sumptuous conceptions of Shah Jahan’s undertakings in building art, truly representative of the splendour and magnificence of the Mughul court at the highest peak of its brilliance, and such acts of spoliation, noted also in other buildings of the citadel, reflect in a poignant manner the decadence that usually follows a peak of plenty.

The grand Jami‘ Masjid at Delhi, the largest and most wellknown in the whole of India, forms also an essential element of the scheme of the city of Shahjahanabad. Begun in 1644, it was completed in 1658 when Shah Jahan had already ceased to reign. It is of the usual orthodox plan of an open courtyard with ranges of cloisters on three sides and the prayer chamber on the west. The courtyard has in the centre a reservoir of water for ritualistic ablution and is approached by three gateways, one in the middle of each cloistered side. Its impressiveness is due to the vast scale in which it had been designed and the admirable manner in which each part had been disposed and adjusted in relation to the other. The entire scheme is raised over a lofty terraced basement with majestic flights of steps leading to the imposing gateways that tower above their surroundings; and added to these, the substantial corner turrets, each with a domed pavilion at the top, and the tall minarets, flanking the facade of the prayer chamber, impart an effect of noble height and dignity to the external appearance of the composition. In the interior the immense quadrangle surrounded by arcaded cloisters, each interrupted in the middle by the rear face of the gateway, and the superb sanctuary with its varied elevations create an effect of spaciousness combined with a rich variety in composition in which all the parts are found to be pleasingly co-ordinated to one another so as to produce a unified and impressive design. At the same time it has a severe and imperious aspect, and the "uncompromising rigidity of its long horizontal lines, the harsh black and white inlay of its domes and minarets, its very vastness which necessitates the unending repetition of each detail, all combine to give this otherwise magnificent structure a character which never wholly attracts". 30

Almost simultaneously another congregational mosque was erected at Agra, just outside the Delhi Gate of the fort. It is said

that Shah Jahan built it in order to please his favourite daughter, the accomplished princess Jahanara. It is neither so large nor ambitious, and lacks the impressive grandeur of its counterpart at Delhi. The facade is divided, not by foliated arches, but by those of the so-called 'Tudor' type; the three domes, without necks at the springs, lack the height and fluidity of contour; and there are no tall minarets to add to the effect of elevation. Yet, its merit depends on its pleasing proportions, the admirable distribution of the arches of its facade, the slender pinnacles intermingling with beautiful kiosks lining the parapet, and the zigzag ornament in white marble on the domes. The Jami' Masjid at Agra has an emotional character, in contrast to the severe and imperious appearance of its counterpart at Delhi.

But all the above architectural creations of Shah Jahan are thrown into shade by that superb conception of the mausoleum that the emperor raised up at Agra to enshrine the mortal remains of his beloved consort, Arjumand Banu Begam, better known as Mumtaz Mahal. The Taj Mahal, as it is called after the title of the empress, stands on an elevated ground on a bend of the river Jumna so that it has a fine view from whatever angle it is seen. As usual, the conception takes the form of a garden tomb, the whole being placed within a rectangular court enclosed on all sides, except on the river front, by a high wall with octagonal turrets, surmounted by domed pavilions, at the corners, and approached by a grand portal in the middle of the southern wall. The rectangle of the court is aligned north and south with the garden occupying a square of about 1000 feet side on the south and the raised terrace of the tomb building and two other accessory structures in the oblong portion at the northern end overlooking the river. The design, to a certain extent, is unconventional, the plan of the courtyard being rectangular, not square, and the tomb itself being situated, not at the centre of the court, but at one end. What impresses the visitor is the beautiful harmony that exists among all parts of the conception. All arrangements, beginning from the entrance portal, lead on, and converge to, the main theme of the entire composition, namely the superb mausoleum building poetically described as a “tender elegy in marble”.

The entrance portal, rising up to a height of about 100 feet, is by itself a monumental composition and has been called “a worthy pendant to the Taj itself”. Its central archway offers a magnificent vista, a framed picture so to say, of the snow-white mausoleum building standing at the farthest end. The facade is divided into an enormous arched alcove within a rectangular frame, with a similar smaller fronton in two storeys on each side and a turret with a domed pavilion at each corner. The red sandstone fabric is profusely inlaid with white marble and mosaic of precious stones. Along the frame of the central alcove are inscribed Qur‘anic texts in black letters, inlaid on white marble ground, in such a manner that the letters appear to be of the same size throughout the entire height. The black marble inlay of inscriptions on white marble surface constitutes one of the most effective ornamental motifs in the decorative scheme of the Taj Mahal, used with the charming elegance of embroidery, not only on the gateway but also on the mausoleum building. The arched alcove opens into an octagonal chamber with a smaller room on each side and a staircase at each corner leading to the upper storeys.

The gateway building descends down to the square court laid out in the formal pattern of a Mughul garden. Two ornamental channels of water with rows of fountains and flanked by marble walks run along the middle of the square. In the centre of the garden court the two are joined by a cross channel, this arrangement being expanded into a wide raised platform with a reservoir of water with fountains. Avenues of cypress trees line the marble walks backed by foliage and flowers in neat and small parterres. The lay-out is balanced and harmonised in such a manner as to fit in with the architectural elements and to furnish a beautiful setting and perspective to the tomb building that stands in the centre of the northern end of the court. As Edwin Arnold says, "the garden helps the Tomb, as the Tomb dignifies the garden".

At the northern end of the garden court stands the red sandstone terrace extending to the wall from east to west. The tomb building stands in the centre of the terrace on its own marble platform, flanked by two other subsidiary structures on the two sides. They are built entirely of sandstone. That to the west is a mosque; the corresponding one to the east has no special significance, but is provided for to ensure symmetry, the jawab as it is known. Their situation and elevation are so judiciously disposed as to bring into full and fine relief the snow-white tomb building standing in the middle.

The marble platform of the mausoleum building is exactly 313 feet square and a little over 22 feet in height from the garden level. It is approached by two flights of steps concealed within a passage in the middle of the south side. At each corner rises a stately white marble minaret in four storeys ending at the top in a neat pavilion crowned by a graceful dome. From the level of

the garden the total height of each minaret is 162 feet. The tomb building rises abruptly from the centre of this substantial platform and externally is a square of 186 feet side with each corner canted off. Each facade consists of a huge arched alcove, set within a rectangular frame, in the centre flanked by similar arched recesses in two stages on each side and chamfered angle. The entire facade is richly ornamented by inscriptions of Qur'anic texts in black letters on white surface within rectangular bands, and flowers, arabesques and other patterns in precious inlay. In elevation the scheme resolves into two parts, each approximately of equal height. The lower consists of the enormous facades with chamfered corners forming the ground storey, and the upper of the milk-white soaring dome with its encircling domed pavilions. From the garden level the entire height of the building is over 200 feet, a remarkable achievement carried out in effeminate marble. The horizontal and vertical aspects of the building have been so pleasingly combined as to render the external appearance and elevation perfectly balanced and harmonised.

The interior arrangements of the building are equally elegant and illustrate the sense for a unified and balanced design. In the depth of the marble platform is accommodated the subterranean crypt containing the graves proper. Above we have an octagonal hall in the centre, forming the cenotaph chamber, with two-storeyed apartments, one at each angle, all linked up by radiating passages and corridors. The cenotaph chamber is covered by a vaulted ceiling just below the central dome, while the angle-apartments have each a domed pavilion over the roof of the second storey. Light is admitted into the interior by double perforated screens of v/hite marble set in arched recesses. In the centre of the octagonal hall and marked off by an octagonal rail of trellised marble of exquisite beauty and workmanship lies the cenotaph of the empress with that of Shah Jahan placed by its side on the west. It is said that the emperor planned to erect a black marble mausoleum on the opposite bank of the river as his last resting place and to join the two by a bridge over the river. But the vicissitudes of fortune in his last years prevented the scheme from being materialised and he lies beside his beloved queen in the monument that was intended solely for her. The cenotaphs are composed of lovely white marble of the most translucent kind and are covered all over with the most beautiful ornamentation in costly pietra dura. The marble railing around the cenotaphs is said to be a later replacement, the original having been one of gold set with jewels.

It is impossible, within the short space at our disposal, to convey even a cursory idea of the exquisite ornamentation of this beautiful edifice. The charming effect of the Qur‘anic inscriptions in black letters on white marble has already been alluded to. They appear on the facades and also on the interior surfaces in bold and effective bands. Certain elements of the building are embellished with patterns in low relief, but such ornamentations have been worked without any plastic emphasis so as not to disturb the effect of the smooth white texture of the building. The decorative scheme consists principally of floral and arabesque patterns in costly pietra dura. In contemporary records we have an account of as many as forty-two kinds of precious stones having been used in the pietra dura works, and the infinite skill of the workmen is clearly evident in the perfect and finished execution of the intricate patterns, ranging from the broad scroll-works on the arch spandrils, soffits, etc. to the tiny floral motifs on thb cenotaphs and the marble grille encircling them. The numerous shades of this rich kind of ornamentation are so elegantly and perfectly blended that even a close observation and scrutiny fail to discover the points of unison in any part, although a powerful microscope might reveal as many as seventy to ninety such pieces in the composition of a single small flower. 31 The marble trellises with their varied patterns show also an inimitable delicacy of carving along with a fine sense of effective design. The structure and its ornament are in perfect unison with each other, and the balanced design of the entire conception and its beautiful setting have almost a universal appeal.

In the construction of the Taj the builders also show a perfect mastery of technique, as is evident in every lineament of this snowwhite misty pile. The solid foundations and the substructure of the terrace on the river front are, in themselves, feats of remarkable engineering skill. The practical soundness of the system that prevailed among the Mughul builders for construction of compact masonry foundations is manifest in the fact that in spite of its situation by the river that continually laps its side, the monument has not suffered the least damage or deviation due to a set-back in the foundation. The overhang of the great dome indicates a knowledge on the part of the builders of the principles of tension, stress and strain, and at the same time imparts an appearance of surprising lightness and soaring quality to the whole building. This becomes more apparent the farther one recedes from it. The harmonious grouping of pavilions of apparently indigenous derivation around a dome of evidently Persian extraction illustrates a sense of balanced design, and the rustication on the face of the tall minarets produce a subtle contrast to the smooth texture of the mausoleum building situated in the centre of the area marked by them. As a writer poetically observes, the minarets serve as sentinels over the structure that stands within, as if keeping guard over its fair beauty.

By its stately and perfect proportions, the delicacy and purity of its lineaments, its milk-white texture assuming different hues and tones at different times and under different conditions, the flawless execution of the structure and of its varied ornaments, and, lastly, by its picturesque setting aided by the ingenuity of man, the Taj Mahal at Agra stands as a creation of superb beauty and magnificence, not only in Mughul architecture but in Indian architecture as a whole. There have been controversies regarding the designer of this lovely monument and a statement of Father Sebastian Manrique was responsible for initiating the belief that the Taj owes its design to a Venetian, Geronimo Verroneo. 32 This belief, however, is unwarranted as the design is wholly eastern and, in India, a near prototype is recognised in the tomb of Humayun at Delhi erected a little over half a century ago. The Taj is just the culmination of the conception, first noticed in Humayun's tomb and later on continued in the tomb of 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, also at Delhi. It fits into a perfectly logical cycle of evolution of an Indo-Persian design. There are contemporary documents recording the names and respective salaries of the builders, artists and craftsmen responsible for the creation of the monument, the chief being Ustad 'Isa who, according to Diwan-i-Afridi (manuscript in Khuda Bux Oriental Library, Patna), was a citizen of Agra. The garden, though typically Mughul, was the work of a Hindu garden-planner of the name of Ranmal who came from Kashmir. The attribution of the pietra dura ornamentations to a French jeweller, named Austin de Bordeaux, has also to be discountenanced, as the task is stated to have been entrusted to a group of Hindu craftsmen from Multan and Kanauj. The writer of the inscriptions, Amanat Khan ShirazI, came from Qandahar, while the maker of the dome, IsmaTl Khan RumI, apparently hailed from Constantinople. The services of these two were requisitioned from outside, perhaps because of their special proficiency, each in his particular field. There is no evidence of any western artist being concerned in the production of this monument. The list of the principal artists, masons and craftsmen, together with the countries of their origin, as we have in the contemporary chronicles, indicates how the whole eastern world was laid under contribution in the creation of this mausoleum that still stands as a notable monument in the entire range of eastern

architecture. As the development of an Indian style the monument belongs to India and has an Indian appearance and character, despite the hands of foreign workmen employed.

With its luminous beauty and picturesque setting the Taj has been attracting enamoured visitors from far and near, and each one has a reaction according to his own emotions and susceptibilities. Not a little of its appeal attaches to the fact that here we have an emperor’s love given concrete shape in stone, his grief for his beloved materialised into a monument of snow-white texture and uncommon grace and elegance. This romantic association has added to its human interest and to its universal appeal. We have many beautiful and poetic eulogies in praise of this superb monument, but they all appear to have been swayed, to a certain extent, by the romantic story behind its creation. Our poet, Rabindranath, describes the Taj as a “tear-drop” wrung from the sorrowing heart of the emperor. Similar sentiments seem to inspire such romantic statements as that of Bayard Taylor who spoke of the Taj as a “fabric of mist and moonshine with its great dome soaring up like a silvery bubble”. Many a spectator has seen in the monument the fairy-like beauty of Mumtaz Mahal materialised in marble, while such reactions as expressed in the following couplet from the pen of an Englishman of the early eighteenth century are also not uncommon:

“Oh thou! whose imperial mind could raise

This splendid trophy to a woman’s praise:

If joy or grief inspired the bold design,

No mortal joy or sorrow equalled thine.”

With its milk-white texture and purity of lineaments, the Taj has, no doubt, a beauty of its own. Its picturesque situation and every arrangement and setting, so contrived and designed as to concentrate on the structure itself, have added to its charm. Its subtle proportions and varied ornaments, perfectly executed and finished, represent the highest skill. Added to these there is the romantic appeal. The Taj enchants the eye and fills the heart with reverence for an undying love that could find eloquent expression in mute marble. The poetic eulogies bestowed on the Taj ever since its completion will indicate that through the successive ages it has been viewed and considered more as a monument of immortalised love and materialised sorrow than as a creation of architecture. It is emotions of this kind that prevent a dispassionate study of the monument and its place in the history of Mughul architecture. When so viewed, its beauty and perfection are found to be of an illusive kind. Its specialised glamour tends to wear thin on a closer analysis and from a correct perspective. What strikes the critics first is the inappropriateness of the material in relation to its magnitude; and the impression of a precious miniature casket being magnified into a monumental size appears to be inevitable. Its effeminacy is apparent, and no amount of praise as its being the tribute to a woman of uncommon beauty and grace can justify the inherent weakness and lack of strength which, as already observed, constitute the spirit of the time. The purity of its outlines is nothing short of a rigidity and the lack of variety in its architectural forms is striking. Aldous Huxley recognises in the composition of the Taj a "poverty of imagination" which, again, is apparent when the monument is viewed more closely. Moreover, there is a lack of shadow along its front and flanks imparting, to a certain extent, a sense of monotony. The elaborate and costly ornamentations are, no doubt, exquisitely done and are flawless in their accuracy; but close at hand they appear to be restless and overrich. Hence it is a distant view of the monument that is the most satisfying, as it brings into magnificent relief the snow-white monument amidst a gorgeous setting of a luxuriant garden with its rippling water-courses reflecting the throbbing monument against the background of the horizon. The Taj is not so much a triumph of architecture as of splendid decorative setting; and to this the monument owes much of its charm and beauty. 33

4. Decay and Disintegration

Aurangzib's accession to the throne marks the end of the rich harvest in building art. It may appear that the abundant and ceaseless output that characterised Shah Jahan's regime brought in a natural exhaustion and the decay of the Mughul architectural style followed as a matter of course. Signs of decadence were, however, evident even before the reign of Aurangzib in the weakening of the architectonic design and in the tendency to sumptuous decoration and lavish expenditure in material. Mughul architecture displayed the full vigour of a progressive style during the time of Akbar; but after him it degenerated into a style that "was sweet rather than strong, and dainty rather than dignified." Shah Jahan indulged his artistic taste in extravagantly ornate buildings. His palaces, halls and pavilions, with their effeminate forms and precious inlay, give at their best a picture of decadent splendour and belong rather to the category of exquisite bijouterie than architecture. In spite of the brilliance of his architectural undertakings, he could not contribute any new idea or form to the Mughul architectural style. None of his buildings is distinguished by an intellectuality in design, and even such impressive creations as the Jami‘ Masjid at Delhi, the Moti Masjid at Agra, or the splendid Taj Mahal fail to rise above the contemporary flavour of an effete and overstressed magnificence.

The reign of Aurangzlb saw the rapid dissolution of the Mughul architectural style. “There are few things”, says Fergusson, 34 “more startling in the history of this style than the rapid decline of taste that set in with the accession of Aurangzeb”. The empire of the grand Mughuls reached a tottering height during his reign and the inevitable crash was not long in coming. Symptoms of disintegration were apparent even during his lifetime and with his death vanished the splendid imperial fabric raised up by the great Akbar. It is only natural, therefore, that during these declining days all forms of cultural activity languished. Aurangzlb’s own temperament seems to have contributed more to the rapid decay of the architectural tradition than any of the natural causes. His austere puritanism gave little encouragement to art, and his narrow bigotry tried to exclude all non-believers from participating in the construction of monuments of the Islamic faith or of those intended for the use of the believers in Islam. Mughul architecture, we have already observed, had its foundation in the days of Akbar on a happy and fruitful collaboration among diverse ideas and techniques, and much of its character as a national art movement depended on the capacities and achievements of the indigenous ideals in adapting the other trends and elements to the requirements of the new and growing style. In the later phase of Mughul architecture there was noticed a slow and gradual isolation from the indigenous inspiration, thereby leading to a poverty in architectonic design and loss of structural dignity. Still, the technical skill and efficiency of the indigenous artists and craftsmen were recognised both by Jahangir and Shah Jahan who utilised their services a good deal. With the advent of Aurangzlb even this stopped and the style was nipped at the roots. When the indigenous source dried up the style disintegrated with phenomenal rapidity.

The productions of Aurangzlb's reign are few and are of a decidedly inferior quality. Two mosques, erected during his reign, deserve brief mention. The first is the Moti Masjid within the Delhi fort, put up in order to enable the emperor at various times of the day and night to pay his devotions without the trouble of a retinue or long journey. It is a small but graceful structure in marble of the most polished kind. The curved eave over the central archway of the sanctuary is noteworthy, and curves seem to predominate also in the rounded contours of the domes. At the same time it has a restrained beauty, and being erected towards the early part of Aurangzib's reign it appears to reflect, to a certain extent, the flavour of Shah Jahan's buildings. The Jami‘ or Badsh&hl mosque at Lahore, built in 1674 by Aurangzib's Master of Ordnance, Fidai Khan Kuka, is a more vigorous composition and has an imposing appearance in spite of the partial collapse of a few of its eight minarets which constituted the chief feature of its design. Though not comparable to the Jami‘ Masjid at Delhi, either in scale or in effect, the broad quadrangle of the Lahore mosque with the arcaded facade of the sanctuary in red sandstone crowned by three white marble domes has a certain dignity. These two mosques retain some semblance of the former achievements, perhaps because of sacred and orthodox character. At the same time there are symptoms of the approaching decline. The spirit of the style seems to have evaporated.

The tomb of Aurangzib's queen Rabi‘a-ud-DauranI at Aurangabad illustrates in a pathetic manner the rapid deterioration of the Mughul architectural style. Erected in 1679 it is a frank imitation of the Taj Mahal at Agra, though on a much smaller scale. The difference between this tomb, known as the Deccani Taj Mahal, and Shah Jahan's masterpiece is striking in view of so short -an interval that separated the two monuments, and shows in an effective manner the rapid decay and impoverishment of the style. Like the Taj Mahal at Agra we have in this tomb a domed structure in the centre raised on a terraced platform with four minarets at the four corners, all laid within a formal garden. The lay-out of the garden is also practically the same. The composition lacks, however, the subtle and satisfying proportions of the prototype, and the weak foliations of the arches and meaningless ornaments strewn all over the surface of the monument lend it almost an insipid appearance. Compared to the Taj Mahal, the tomb of Rabi‘a-ud-DauranI is a very mediocre production which, as Fergusson says, “narrowly escapes vulgarity and bad taste”.[35]

With the death of Aurangzib in 1707 the grand empire vanished under a maze of fratricidal struggles, ignominious internal intrigues and intrepid foreign aggressions. With it collapsed also the splendid pageant of the Mughul court. The life and spirit of the Mughul architectural style had already gone and the outer shell also collapsed. The tomb of Safdar Jang at Delhi, erected about 1754, is the final effort to recall the old spirit of the style; but in this it fails miserably. There was no hope of recovery even of the old glamour, and the architectural style, associated with the name of the grand Mughuls became extinct long before the last of the dynasty was pushed out of his titular sovereignty.

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1. Extract in CHI. IV. 524.

2. Memoirs, II. 533.

3. ibid., p. 384.

4. Elliot, V. 124-26.

5. CHI. IV. 525.

6. Elliot, V. 108-09; CHI. IV. 531.

7. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic), p. 91.

8. Ibid., p. 93.

9. CHI. IV. 530.

10. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic), p. 97.

11. HIE A. H. 175.

12. Ain. I.

13. CHI. IV. 535-36.

14. Ibid., p. 536.

15. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic), p. 100.

16. CHI. IV. 537.

17. Ibid., pp. 537-38.

18. Memoirs, I. 2.

19. HIE A. II. 294.

20. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic), p. 105.

21. HIE A. II. 294.

22. CHI. IV. 549-50.

23. Ibid, p 553.

24. Badshah-nama, I. 221.

25. HIE A. II. 317.

26. Ibid. p. 311.

27. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic), p. 112.

28 Ibid. p. 112.

29. Extract from Asar-us-Sanadid of Sayyid Ahmad in CHI. IV. 557.

30. CHI. IV. 559.

31. Journal of Indian Art, 1885, p. 61.

32. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic), p. 116.

33. The author's estimate of the artistic excellence of Shah Jahan's buildings—in particular Taj Mahal—as expressed in this para, and also elsewhere in this chapter, is not likely to meet with the general approval, even of scholars, not to speak of readers in general. It may be argued, for example, that final judgment on fine arts, including architecture, must give due consideration to technical excellence and/or propriety, as well as to the extent to which it kindles the sense of beauty inherent in human beings of all ages and climes. Judged by this test the Taj Mahal perhaps ranks much higher than any other building of any age or country. (Editor).

34 HTEA. II. 321.

35. Ibid. p. 322.

CHAPTER XXIV

MUGHUL PAINTING

I. Pre-Mughul Period

The Mughul school of painting represents one of the most significant phases of Indian art. Though miniature paintings in the form of manuscript illustrations were much in vogue in eastern and western India long before Babur won the battle of Panipat, the numerous miniatures illustrating historical events, literary passages, court scenes, portrait studies, natural history drawings, genre scenes, etc., painted during the reigns of the Imperial Mughuls unfold a completely new concept in Indian art. In their ideas and execution the Mughul miniatures show something never seen before in India, and their lasting effect reverberated throughout the Deccan, Rajasthan, the Punjab Hills and northern India long after the ‘Grand Mughuls’ vanished.

Not a single miniature or illustrated manuscript has so far been identified as definitely emanating from the Sultanate court of Delhi, though references to wall-paintings and painters are found in contemporary literary works of Amir Khusrav Dihlavl, Shams-iShiraj ‘Afif, Maulana Da’ud, etc. It appears that the art of miniature painting or manuscript illustration did not get any patronage from the Sultans of Delhi, though many of them built up large libraries and madrasas, which must have contained illustrated manuscripts prepared in ‘Iraq and Persia.

The situation was very different in some of the provincial Sultanates—especially in Malwa, Gujarat, and Jaunpur, where manuscripts were prepared and illustrated. Mandu, Ahmadabad and Jaunpur were important centres of trade and commerce inhabited by communities of prosperous and influential Jain merchants. The Jains consider the gift of sacred books to their preceptors a pious act; the books were in turn deposited with jnanabhandaras attached to the Jain places of worship. Some of the old and flourishing jnanabhandaras in Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Gujarat have yielded, in recent times, a large number of dated or datable manuscripts containing numerous miniatures. Some of these illustrated manuscripts help us to trace precisely the evolution of the art of miniature painting in the 15th and 16th centuries.

With the replacement of inconveniently narrow and brittle palmleaf by hand-made paper during the 13th century revolutionary changes took place in the field of Gujarati manuscript painting. The painter found more freedom in his choice of colours and more working space at his disposal; and the miniatures began to show signs of improvement in colouring, composition, delineation and decorative details. At the outset the change was slow and hesitant, as evidenced in the illustrations of a late 14th century combined Kalpasutra-KdlakdchcLrya-Katha MS. in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and another MS. of the same subject dated 1414 A.D. in the collection of P.C. Jain, Bombay. Similar changes are noticed in the Supdsandhachariyam MS. dated 1413 A.D., written at Delvada in Mewar, in the collection of Hemachandnacharya Jnanamandir, Patan, and a Kalpasutra MS. of c. 1425 A.D., written at Mandu, in the collection of Atmananda Jndnabhanddra, Baroda. These changes led to their logical culmination in the style of painting evidenced in the beautifully drawn illustrations of a Kalpasutra MS. dated 1439 A.D., written at Mandu, now in the National Museum, Delhi. Another MS. of the Kdlakdchdrya~ Kathd , now in the Muni Punyavijayji Collection, Ahmadabad, probably came from the same centre and bearing a similar date. The new development became even more evident in the illustrations of a golden lettered Kalpasutra MS. written in 1465 A.D. at Jaunpur, now in the Narasimhajina Polna Jndnabhanddra at Baroda. The miniatures and border decorations of the well-known Kalpasutra MS. in the Devasano Pado Bhandar, Ahmadabad, written in c. 1475 A.D. at Ahmadabad, show daring experimentation by introducing decorative motifs and figural details directly lifted from Persian paintings. In dress, textile decoration, landscape and architectural details, in the depiction of elliptoid foliage, Chinese-type floating clouds, arabesques and ornamental decorations, in the use of colours, and finally, in the representation of 'Shahi' type kings and foreign soldiers with Mongoloid face, small eyes, pointed beards, drooping moustache and sandal-paste coloured body, an over-whelming impact of Persian paintings of Turkoman and other schools become frankly apparent. The illustrated scroll of the Vasartta Vilasa , written in 1451 A.D. at Ahmadabad, though not a Jain hieratic work, may also be included in this category. Thus within the span of a few decades the rigid and orthodox style of the Jain painters was replaced by a more flexible, naturalistic and lively style.

The provincial Sultanates of Mandu, Jaunpur and Ahmadabad could not keep themselves aloof from this current of change. Examples which could be firmly dated and placed at Ahmadabad are not yet available, but Mandu shows the way with no less than

four remarkable MSS. The most interesting and important MS. painted at Mandu, the Ni’matndma (colour plate 1), a treatise on the art of cooking, is unfortunately undated. Its colophon, however, bears the name of Sultan Nasir-uddln Khalji, son of Ghiyasud-dln Khalji, and many of the miniatures illustrate the portraits of the former. Though Mlandu was the centre of considerable art activity in the field of Jain miniature painting, the illustrations of the NVmatndma give evidences of a developed and sophisticated tradition revealing close affinity with contemporary Persian paintings. The colour scheme is bright and lively, the foliage rich and fresh, and the human figures naturalistic and beautiful. The gay abandon of the Mandu court is amply reflected in the miniatures of this MS. A similar trend is noticeable in another MS, the Miftdh u’l-Fuzala, a dictionary of rare words, produced at Mandu. An altogether different trend, which could hardly be differentiated from contemporary Persian style, is noticed in the illustrations of a Bustdn MS., painted at Mandu in 1502 A.D. by one Haji Mahmud. The style is so different from the style of Ni’matndma and the Miftdh-u’l-Fuzald illustrations that it becomes difficult to reconcile it with the fact that these were all painted at Mtajndu for the same patron. Simon Digby mentions the title of another MS., the ‘Aj d’ihu’s-San‘afi, painted at Mandu in 1508 A.D., examined by Abdulla Chughtai but never seen again. An Anwdr-i-Suhaili MS., recently acquired by the National Museum, Delhi, may also be included in this group. The miniatures of this MS. are however of inferior quality differing widely from the style of the Ni’matndma.

Jaunpur became a flourishing literary centre where art, architecture and music were encouraged with equal passion by the Sharqi rulers. The city came to be known as ‘Dar-ul-Aman’, the Place of Refuge, where Qutban wrote his AvadhI romance Mirgdvat during the reign of Husain Shah Sharqi

(1458-1479). Some of the groups of MSS. discovered in recent years, namely, the Hamzandma at Tubingen State Library, the Khamsa-i-Amir Khusran, the Sikandarndma-yi-Bahri in an American private collection, the Shdhndma in Bharat Kala Bhavan, Bananas, a Persian Mathnavi in the N. C. Mehta collection, now in Ahmadabad Culture Centre, another Sikandarndma whose present whereabout is not known, may have come from the Agra-Delhi-Jaunpur region, though no corroborative evidence has yet been discovered to prove this.

Ahmadabad also became a prosperous centre of prolific literary and architectural activities, where many Jain MSS. and such secular works as the Vasanta Vildsa were prepared. But so far we have come across only one Islamic MS.—an Anwdr-i-SuhaiU of a much

later date (1603 A.D.), which bears a colophon mentioning the name of Ahmadabad.

II. Period of Transition

The changes noticed in the above groups of illustrated MSS. Jain and Islamic—gradually crystallized into new artistic conventions, and a new style of painting emerged in the succeeding decades. This is borne out by a group of MSS. containing miniatures painted in a suave and refined style with a rich and lively colour scheme and a wide repertoire of motifs and designs. This particular group is commonly designated as the Laur Chandd-Chaurapanchdsikd group, and includes MSS. and isolated folios of a large variety, namely, a MS. of the Ar any aka Parvan of the Mahdbhdrata in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Bombay; the MSS. of Laur Chanda in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the John Rhylands Library, Manchester; some dispersed folios of another Laur Chanda MS. in the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums; the miniatures of a Chaura-panchdsika MS. in the N. C. Mehta Collection, now deposited with the Culture Centre, Ahmadabad; the Gita Govinda fragment in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; the dispersed folios of a Bhdgavata Purdna in various Indian and foreign collections; the Rdgamdld folios in the collection of Vijayendra Suri; some folios of a Mirgdvat MS. in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, and a Mahdpumna MS. in the &ri Digambara Jaina Atisaya Kshetra, Jaipur. Only two of these, namely the Ar any aka Parvan and the Mahdpumna , have dated colophons with names of painters and places of execution. The former was painted in 1516 A.D. at a place near Agra, and the latter in 1540 A.D. at Palam near Delhi. These dates help us to place the entire group and a majority of the miniatures in the northern belt in the first half of the sixteenth century, though with obvious reservations.

The illustrations in these MSS. are of uneven quality and exhibit features which are exclusive to some MSS., but totally absent in most others. The illustrations of the Laur Chanda MSS. in the Prince of Wales Museum and the John Rhylands Library are of a high standard with marks of refinement lacking in other MSS. Miniatures of the Prince of Wales Museum, Gita Govinda, the dispersed folios of the Bhdgavata Purdna , the Lahore and Chandigarh Museum Laur Chanda, the Ar any aka Parvan of 1516 A.D. and the Chaura-panchdsika show signs of a common style which, though not as refined as that of the Bombay and Manchester Laur Chanda MSS., is of a reasonably good quality. As with the case of the Aranyaka Parvan the MSS. of this group appear to be prepared for the bourgeoisie and not for any royal patron.

The Mahapurdna MS., painted near Delhi, is of great interest as it was prepared in 1540 A.D., that is during the early years of the Mughul period. Its miniatures belong to a style continuing the late fifteenth century Jain tradition, but at the same time reveal connection with the school of paintings whose earliest example is provided by the Aranyaka Parvan of 1516 A.D. There is, however, a great problem in dating the other MSS. of this group because some of them do not depict the typical five-pointed jdma (chakdar jdma) so conspicuous in the Hamzanama and other early Akbari MSS. So far not a single dated pre-Akbari MS. has been discovered where this particular jdma has been shown. This has led a group of scholars to believe that the miniatures of the Laur Chandd-Chaura-panchdsikd group prominently featuring this jdma may belong to the early Akbar period. This does not appear to be convincing because these miniatures are closely linked with the style of painting started with the Aranyaka Parvan MS. of 1516 A.D. in all other respects. The whole group probably belongs to the northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur.

The miniatures discussed above generally have a red, and in some examples blue, green or yellow background, a simple composition featuring females with narrow waist, heavy breasts, pointed nose, large eyes and squarish face, and a minimum of architectural or landscape details with occasional conventionalised trees, foliated rocks and strips of blue sky. In many examples the prevailing mood is that of a gay abandon not to be met with in the hieratic productions of the late 15th century. Their movement is free and unsophisticated. The basic theme of these works is varied and free from established conventions. Such popular subjects as Krishna legend, Rdgamdld, or popular tales as Laur Chanda, Chaura-panchdsika, Mirgdvat, etc. opened up new avenues of ideas to the artist. These miniatures contributed largely to the origin and evolution of the Rajasthani styles of painting, though it has not been possible yet to assess their precise contribution to the origin and growth of Mughul painting.

III. Early Mughul Painting

The foundation of Mughul painting was laid by Humayun during the years of his exile in Persia and Afghanistan. It was mainly due to the coincidence of the Shah of Persia Shah Tahmasp's increasing disinterest in the arts for religious bigotry, and Humayun's unexpected presence in Persia that the services of two of Persia's greatest masters, Mir Sayyid 'All and 'Abdus-Samad, could be secured by the Mughul emperor. They started to work at the temporary

Mughul capital at Kabul where young Akbar was also enlisted to have lessons in painting from them. A few of 'Abdus-Samad's works executed during this period are to be found in the Gulshan album compiled by Jahangir, now preserved in the Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran. Further details about the activities of the Kabul atelier cannot be traced as these have not been recorded in contemporary chronicles.

Both the masters followed Humayun to Delhi when he was able to recover the lost throne of Hindustan and continued to work after organising a flourishing art establishment for Akbar. A large number of talented painters were recruited from various parts of the country for working in it, and within a short time it became celebrated for its fine and sophisticated productions.

The most important work produced in the Mughul studio in the first few years of its existence is the unusual manuscript DastS-ni-Arrfir Hamza, better known as the Hamzanama. The completed work consisted of nearly 1200 paintings drawn in bold and vivid colours on linen pasted on one side of the unusually large-sized folios, twenty-seven inches by twenty (colour plate 2). Unfortunately, only a small fragment of the work has survived, and that too is widely distributed among various collections in Europe and America, with only three or four folios and a few detached fragments in Indian collections. The bulk of the surviving folios are to be found in the Museum of Industrial Art, Vienna, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum, London. Akbar was extremely fond of these semi-mythological fantasies dealing with the exploits of the Prophet's uncle, Amir Hamza, and kept the gigantic illustrated volumes handy in the zanana. None of the folios, so far found, is signed or bears any contemporary attribution to any artist, and the colophon of the MS>. has never been found, rendering the task of fitting this important work into a secure chronological sequence extremely difficult. The Hamzanama is mentioned by Abu-'l-Fazl, Badauni and Shahnawaz Khan, but there is considerable discrepancy between their accounts regarding its authorship, antiquity and even the exact number of its folios. Badauni and Shahnawaz Khan mention that the work of preparing the illustrations was initiated at Akbar's instance and took fifteen years and the toils of fifty 'Bihzad-like painters' under the supervision of Mir Sayyid 'All, and subsequently of 'Abdus-Samad. Another author, Mulla 'Ala J ud-Daula QazvinI, refers in his Nafais-ulMa'asir to the Hamzanama as a brain-child of Humayun who appointed Mir Sayyid 'All to supervise its completion with scrupulous care. Though many earlier scholars subscribed to this view, it does

not seem to be plausible to create such a style of art as reflected in the paintings of the Hamzandma outside India or in the unstable political conditions in which Humayun had to live during the years of his exile. The work was probably completed by 1575-76 A.D. The complicated compositions, consisting of architectural details, interiors of palaces, forts or pavilions, and armies of attendants, heroes or women in vivid and violent action show a remarkable grasp on treatment and technique. The colour scheme is invariably very bright with splashes of red, blue, yellow, green, etc. Exotic plants with colourful flowers and foliages and minute details of architectural decorations and furniture, etc. characterise the paintings of the Hamzandma.

The miniatures of an ‘Ashiqa manuscript dated 1568 A.D., an Anwdr-i-Suhaill manuscript dated 1570 A.D., and an undated manuscript of Tildsm and Zodiac have closely similar appearance. Some miniatures of the Anwdr-i-Suhaili manuscript of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, follow the Persian tradition more faithfully than the rest which have close affinity with the Indian realism where the trees, flowers, birds, and animals are represented in a highly naturalistic manner (colour plate 3). The animal studies in the miniatures of this manuscript are particularly striking for their realistic appearances. They are more lively and self-possessed than the conventional mask-like animals found in Persian painting. The trees and flowers depicted in these miniatures are mostly Indian, though the composition of rocks and hills and forms of cloud follow the Persian tradition. The numerous illustrations of the Tutindma of the Cleveland Museum of Art probably belong to the next decade when the painting atelier underwent considerable structural change.

With Akbar’s increasing interest in religion and his insatiable desire to go into the depth of various religions—Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Christianity and Judaism—the extent and scope of his library was enlarged. He wanted the basic religious texts of other religions—especially of Hinduism—translated into Persian so that he himself, members of the royal family and his officers might have first-hand knowledge about these works, and ordered for the preparation of sumptuous manuscripts of these translations filled with appropriate illustrations. Abu-’l-Fazl gives a list of important works including books on history, biography, Persian classics, poetry, theology, etc. specially written for the emperor by leading calligraphers and illustrated by the painters of the imperial atelier. Besides the two Persian pioneers, a large number of Indian painters were employed in the studio and placed under them, many of whom

in course of time became celebrated masters. Abu-’l-Fazl mentions the names of fifteen painters. Das want, Basawan, Kesav, La‘l, Mukund, Mishkin, Farrukh the Qalmaq, Madhu, Jagan, Mahes, Khem Karan, Tara, Sanwala, Haribans and Ram, who became outstanding masters of art amongst more than a hundred painters most of whom were Hindus. They were recruited from various centres— Gwalior, Gujarat', Lahore, Kashmir, and also probably from Malwa, Rajasthan, and western and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Akbar took a keen personal interest in the works of his artists, examined their weekly output, assessed their merit and rewarded the painters accordingly. All types of artists' materials and costly ingredients were made readily available to the painters, and the paintings dazzled in rich gloss and warm colours. Abu-'l-Fazl narrates in his chronicle how Akbar was personally impressed by the works of an humble painter named Daswant, the son of a Kahdr or Palki-bearer, who was helped to become 'the first master of the age', whose works 'did not trail behind those of Bihziad and the painters of China'.

The only manuscript in which paintings drawn by this celebrated painter is to be found is the Razmndma , now preserved in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur. The manuscript was in course of preparation when Daswant became mentally unbalanced and committed suicide in 1584. 'Abdus-Samad's courtierson, Muhammad Sharif, supervised its illustration, and Daswant drew the preliminary outlines of as many as twenty-nine miniatures, all of which were however completed by a second painter. Besides those mentioned above, all other painters mentioned by Abu-'l-Fazl, with the exception of Farrukh the Qalmaq, participated in illustrating this important manuscript. The MS. constitutes a landmark in the history of Mughul painting as it was the precursor of a series of well-written MSS. with a large number of well-chosen miniatures for the personal use of the emperor. Many hands were employed to illustrate this MS. and as many as three painters collaborated to produce some of the finest and fairest examples of Akbari painting. Besides Daswant, Basawan, La'l, Tulsi and Mishkin were responsible for painting some excellent compositions. Basawan was the most outstanding painter amongst them who excelled in all the branches of painting—drawing of outline, application of colour, portrait and landscape painting, etc. In a monochrome sketch in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, showing Majnun in the wilderness with an emaciated horse, Basawan (plate 57) can be seen at his best.

After the Razmndma a large number of illustrated manuscripts were prepared in the imperial atelier which include the Rdmayana completed in

November, 1588, also preserved in the same Museum; the

Diwdn of Anwari dated 1588, in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.; the Tdrikh-i-Khdnddn-i-Ttmuryya in the Khudabux Oriental Library, Patna; the Akbar-ndma, the bulk of whose miniatures is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the BdhdriStdn written in 1594-95, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Khamsa of Nizami dated 1595-96 divided between the Walters Gallery, Baltimore and the British Museum; the Anwdr-i-SuhdiU prepared in 1595-96 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras; the Bdburndma prepared in 159596 in the National Museum, Delhi; the Jdmi'ut-Twdrikh dated 1596, in the Persian Imperial Library at Tehran; a Khamsa of Amir Khusrav Dihlavi; the Diwans of Hafiz and Shahl; and a sumptuous copy of the Tdrikh-i-'Alfi which was commissioned in 1594 but left unfinished, etc. The miniatures included in these manuscripts constitute numerous excellent examples of miniature painting prepared in the Mughul studio. In respect of compositional unity and distribution of space and colour they reveal a masterly command over technique and a mature and lively interest in man and nature. The paintings also reveal a superb blending of heterogeneous Persian, Pre-Mughul Islamic and indigenous, Deccanese and European artistic elements into a concerted and well-blended style which became typical of the developed Akbari idiom. The colour-tones became more subdued, lines more sure and subtle, expression more lively and composition well-knit. The painters succeeded in a brilliant way in expressing the ideals of amity and synthesis preached by their imperial patron. The Dtwdn-i-Hdfiz manuscript in the collection of the Raza Library, Rampur, contains some delicate miniatures finished by individual masters including a very fine one by Farrukh Beg (plate 59).

Some of the finest paintings of the last decade of the 16th century are to be found in the Akbar-ndma fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Though the paintings continue the same tradition of miniature painting apparent in the manuscripts of Timurndma, Jdmi'ut-Twdrikh, Tdrikh~i-‘Alfi, etc., they reveal a sense of realism and authenticity, witnessed or experienced by the painters themselves, which is missing in those works. The portraits are lifelike, the architectural details contemporary and the flora, fauna and landscape in most examples authentic. In one miniature graphic details of the celebration of the much-awaited birth of an offspring to emperor Akbar (colour plate 4) have been painted with a suave charm and lively naturalism which was unknown in early Akbari paintings.

Along with the uncertain political condition emanating from Prince Salim’s rebellion and the untimely deaths of Princes Murad

and Daniylal, signs of slackness in the rate and quality of artistic production of the Akbari atelier became apparent. The number of manuscripts came down and the number of miniatures also decreased considerably. Amongst the manuscripts produced durirtg the last seven years of Akbar’s reign, mention may be made of the Bdbur-nama manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Museum of Eastern Cultures, Moscow; the Jog Bdshisht dated 1602 in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; the Nafahat-al-TJns dated 1603 in the British Museum; another Akbar-nama manuscript dated 1603-4 distributed between the British Museum and the Chester Beatty Library; and the Iyar-i-Ddnish dated 1604-5 divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay. Most of the miniatures included in these manuscripts are neatly drawn with a simple composition and sombre colour scheme and executed by single painters. Works of the masters mentioned in Abu-’l-Fazl’s list become scarce while a new group of painters who worked as assistants in the earlier years predominate.

IV. Newi Tradition under Jahangir

Another important development took place during these years which led to a rapid change in the style of Mughul painting. Prince Salim started a new studio under an emigre Harati painter named Aqa Riza which worked in full swing at Agra and during the years of Salim’s rebellion at Allahabad, and brought about a ‘minor artistic revolution’. We know of at least two interesting manuscripts—the Rajkunwfrr dated 1602 in the Chester Beatty Library (colour plate 5) and the collection of Ghazls and Rubd‘is of Amir Nazm-ud-DIn Hasan Dihlavl dated 1602 in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore, which were produced at Allahabad. The pocket size Diwdn of Hafiz divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the British Museum, the Anw\ar-i-Suhaili containing works of Aqa Riza, Anafnt, Abu’l Hasan, Bishndas, etc. in the British Museum were certainly taken in hand during the same period, though completed at a later date after Salim ascended the Mughul throne as Jahangir in 1605. The paintings of these manuscripts with the exception of a few examples in the Diwdn-i-Hdfiz, show a certain simplicity and rustic charm which is rare in the refined and sophisticated productions of the Akbari atelier. The colour-tones are generally very subdued and the composition rather simple (colour plate 5). Besides these manuscripts sumptuous muraqqa's or albums were compiled by his painters in which the collection of Persian masterpieces by Bihzad, etc., European engravings and early Akbari productions, along with calligraphic panels written by Mir ‘All, Sultan ‘All, etc., were used as centre

pieces, while the margins of the folios were embellished with floral designs, landscape patterns and miniature pictures of everyday scenes and important personalities.

The trend started in his princely days was vigorously pursued by Jahangir and Mughul painting reached its logical culmination in the course of his reign. He helped it to be free from its bond with the text of manuscripts as it was his desire to have a small group of master painters, each highly specialised in one or more branches of the art, who could prepare pictures of persons or groups or themes selected by him and pulsating with life.

At the outset he instructed his painters to bring out some interesting manuscripts from the imperial library for adding new miniatures. Later on he became interested in portraits and had a large number of portraits of the members of the royal family, dignitaries of the court, important persons in the fields of religion, literature, music, art, etc. He even sent his leading portraitist, Bishndas, to Iran with his envoy Shiah ‘Alam for a set of lifelike portraits of the Shah, his nobles and family members. Portrait painting was practised in Akbar’s time also. Akbar himself ‘sat’ for the preparation of his own portraits and instructed his painters to prepare albumfull of portraits of the members of the royal family and the leading grandees of the realm. These portraits are in most cases full-length standing representations with the face in either profile or threequarter profile against a monochrome background. In some examples preserved in the Jahanglri albums the names of the persons are noted by the emperor himself, and in some cases he even mentions the names of the painters and the year of execution. Though at the outset Manohar, Nanha (plate 61) and Farrukh Beg were entrusted to paint these portraits, later on Manohar, Abu-'l-Hasan and Bishndas prepared most of the individual and group portraits. These minutely drawn portrait-studies were widely copied at later times and introduced the fashion of having albums of portraits of important officials and generals during the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzlb.

Jahangir was keen to preserve a faithful account of his activities and important events in the form of a memoir and commanded his painters to prepare pictorial records of important festivals, assemblies, as well as of unusual interesting birds, animals or flowers seen and appreciated by him. Many delightful paintings depicting Jahangir's coronation and assemblies held during such festivals as holi, ab-pashi (plate 63), birthday weighing, etc. and meticulously delineating the emperor's hunting expeditions, formal receptions and travels, are preserved in Indian and foreign collections. Parts of his original memoir written in his own handwriting have

been acquired by the National Museum, Delhi, and a fragment containing some exquisite illustrations like Khusrau's trial, scenes of Jahangir's journey to Kabul, festival of db-pdshi, etc. is preserved in the Rampur Raza Library. In an example in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Jahangir is shown as exhibiting his hunting skill to the Rajput prince Karan (plate 62) when he fired at the right eye of a lioness exactly as indicated by the latter.

During the later part of his reign Jahangir became addicted to wine and opium to such an extent that the control of the imperial authority was usurped by his all-powerful wife, Nur Jahan, and son Khurram. Some superb miniatures were painted by the Jahanglri painters like Abu-'l-Hasan, Bichitr, Hashim, etc. in which the emperor was given grossly exaggerated importance in a symbolic way as if to make up the loss of his political stature. In some examples in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, he is shown as receiving and embracing Shah 'Abbas of Iran, whom in reality he never met, or presiding over an imaginary assembly of holy men and emperors of distant lands or shooting at the severed head of his arch-enemy Malik 'Ambar, whom he could in fact never subdue. This feature of presenting the patron-emperor as an all-powerful entity pampered by the gods, respected by the kings and loved and feared by the subjects, was a new feature in the development of Mughul painting. Slowly the earlier tradition of preparation of illustrations for manuscripts was discarded in favour of muraqqa‘s or albums of single miniatures, portraits, natural history studies, drawings and copies of European engravings.

Amongst the host of painters working under Jahangir, Farrukh Beg, Daulat, Manohar, Bishndas, Mansur and Abu-’l-Hasan secured their places in the history of Mughul painting by virtue of their artistic genius. Farrukh Beg entered into the Akbari atelier during its heyday but maintained his individualistic style which was never submerged in the millieu of its syncretistic atmosphere (plate 59). He continued to work for some years in the Jahangir studio and prepared some wonderful studies of old poets, dervishes and a superb study of the Bijapurl Sultan Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah. Daulat, Manohar, Bishndas and Mansur all worked during the last few years of Akbar’s reign as budding masters. From a fragmentary inscription on a miniature of the Nafahat-al-ZJns in the British Museum we come to know that Daulat was a pupil of Farrukh Beg. The colour scheme of his works has a freshness which is rare amongst the works of his other contemporaries. During the first few years of Jahangir’s reign

Daulat prepared some excellent portraits of his fellow painters_

Bishndas, Govardhan, Abu-’l-Hasan and a self-portrait—at the corn

mand of the emperor. These studies along with some portraits of calligraphers presented singly or with painters or assistants, on the margins of folios or under the colophon of manuscripts, provide us with interesting documents of social history.

Manohar, son of the celebrated Akbari master Basawan and Bishndas, nephew of another well-known Akbari painter Nanha (plate 61) excelled in portrait painting. Though Manohar was never mentioned in the Tuzuk, there is no doubt about his competency and the emperor’s reliance on him for the preparation of some of the finest portrait-studies and assembly groups showing multiple portraits of princes, nobles, officials and foreign envoys in formal groups. Jahangir was satisfied with the work of Bishndas when he returned from Persia with pictures of Shah ‘Abbas and members of his family and court. Some of his works surviving at Boston, Leningrad, etc. fully testify to the fact of his competence.

The most important of all Jahangiri painters were Ustad Mansur and Abu-'l-Hasan. The emperor himself speaks highly of them and bestowed the titles Nadir-al-'Asr and Nadir-uz-Zaman on them in recognition of their merit. Ustad Mansur started his career during the last few years of Akbar's reign as a minor painter but due to Jahangir's profound personal interest he became an incomparable expert of drawings of natural history subjects. His studies of rare animals, uncommon birds, unusual flowers etc. are so meticulous and lively that ornithologists and zoologists wonder at his scientific power of observation. Two signed works of this great master—one of a rare Siberian crane and the other of a Bengal florican (plate 64)—are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, while some more may be found in the National Museum, Delhi, the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Some of his universally known studies may be viewed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Metropolitan Museum, and the Freer Gallery of Art. Abu-'l-Hasan was a far more sophisticated painter who was born within the Mughul household being a son of Aqa Riza, and grew up in the shadow of Prince Salim's presence. His earliest known work is, interestingly enough, a copy of Durer's St. John drawn in his thirteenth year in 1600. Gradually he became a master artist and painted many important works including the iconographical paintings where he elevated his patron to the level of an all-powerful superhuman. He was equally proficient in all branches of miniature painting, but the most interesting feature of his works is the colour scheme—very effective, very attractive and colourful. The extraordinary painting of a chanar tree with hosts of squirrels in every conceivable position in the collection of the India Office Library, London (plate 65) is generally attributed to Abu-'l-Hasan, but if any reliance is placed on the late attributions mentioned at the back of the picture, it is likely to be a joint work of Mansur and Abu-'l-Hasan.

Mention should be made here about the impact of European art on the development of Mughul painting. Though there were some contacts with

European traders and missionaries before, the first real contact with Europe was established through the first Jesuit mission of 1580, which came to Fathpur SikrI from Goa on special invitation from Akbar. Along with other things the Jesuit fathers presented European prints and engravings of Christian subject-matter which were appreciated and received with much enthusiasm by the Mughuls, especially Prince Salim. By virtue of their novelty and superior technical quality these European art objects made the Mughul painters realise their own shortcomings and within a short time we notice quite a few of them drawing inspirations from these. At the outset the Akbari masters copied out designs and details from European engravings and applied typical Mughul colours—red, blue, yellow, green, magenta, etc. on them. The result was a curious admixture of oriental taste and occidental technique, which can be seen from a remarkable work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Kesavdas (plate 58). Similar studies made by such leading Akbari masters as Basawan, Sanwala aind Mishkin testify to their serious interest in European workmanship. The precise and sure line work apparent in the deep and penetrating expression in Basawan's line drawing study of Majnun and the emaciated horse (plalte 57) reveal the extent of seriousness this great painter attached to the masterworks of Europe pouring in the Mughul capital.

In the next stage the Mughul painters introduced occasional European figures and scenes in their own works—with a considerable improvement on the technique of shadowing, modelling and perspective. In order to relieve the monotony of their flat bird'seye-view perspective they started introducing replicas of European cityscapes and landscapes with occasional figures of European men and women in the distant background. These features became quite evident in such early works as the Jaipur Razmndma and Rdmdyana, TdHkh-i-Alfi, Bdhdristdn, etc. Under Jahangir the painters went far ahead and adopted many European religious motifs and symbols in their effort to evolve a new iconography. The colour scheme of a typical Jahangir period painting is more subdued and naturalistic, its perspective more accurately drawn and lines more sure and subtle —a lot of which is the result of technical improvement and the new experience of his painters. Abu-'l-Hasan used many European motifs and ideas in his works by drawing inspiration from these European materials and even colouring or copying the engravings. The most important painter who studied and incorporated interesting details from European paintings was of course the great painter Basawan. In sum, the total impact of European art on Mughul paintings became pronounced in these directions: in such technical matters as colour modelling, indication of depth and true perspective, in changing the general attitude of both the painter and the viewer by enlarging the range of subjects; and incorporating various motifs and symbols—mainly of religious nature like cherub, hour-glass, bird of paradise, angel, crown etc.—for expressing the theophanic ideas of Jahangir.

V. Period of Decadence

Mughul painting lost much of its glamour and refinement and reached a torpid stage within a few years after Jahangir's death. Though Shah Jahuan was interested in good miniatures in his princely days and maintained his preference for miniatures and illustrated manuscripts (as evidenced by his autograph notes on so many of them) during the first few years after his accession, much of his enthusiasm later was reserved for architecture. Aurangzlb was so orthodox and averse to painting (and music) that the highly developed art of miniature painting headed for a steady decline. The sprawling art-atelier was virtually disbanded and the painters either ceased to paint or chose to migrate to the courts of favourable patrons in other centres.

For the first few years Shah Jahan allowed the painters to work in the same manner as they were doing during the last decade of Jahangir's reign. The style of their works changed as Shah Jahan's taste differed from that of his father. He loved however to have himself portrayed as a universal monarch under divine care—eulogised by angels who carry his crown from the Heaven or hang the banner for his long and victorious life. Whether standing or seated on the peacock throne or riding on his favourite horses he is invariably shown as clad in the finest attire and jewellery, and haloed. In the large number of court assemblies to be seen at the India Office Library, the Bharat Kala Bhavan, the Bodleian Library, the Jaipur Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, and elsewhere he is invariably given the most exalted position amongst the multitude of courtiers and officers. There is yet another category of pictures where he is shown in company with his father Jahangir and grandfather Akbar, all enthroned under a richly embroidered canopy, where Akbar is shown as handing over the crown to him.

At the initial stage some illustrated manuscripts including a Bustdn in the British Museum, a Gulistdn in the Chester Beatty Lib* rary and a Mush-wa~Gorbeh in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, were prepared. Their miniatures retain the basic traits of Jahangir paintings and are well-finished with an attractive colour scheme. In many of these miniatures as well as the single portrait studies a noticeable peculiarity is the indication of depth and perspective achieved throhgh the depiction of hazy, lightlycoloured cityscape in the distant background. In the allegorical pictures of ‘Ubaid’s celebrated work Mush-war-Gorbeh the animals are depicted with a loving care which is so characteristic of Akbari and Jahangir! paintings. Here of course the colouring is very subdued.

Similar formal setting fading into a cityscape background is also noticeable in the miniatures commonly known as ‘conversation pieces’. Though Jahangir was shown in company of ascetics like Gosain Chidrup or Mulla Mir, etc., and isolated entertainment scenes of poets and religious teachers occur in the Dlwidn-i-Hdfiz manuscripts at Rampur Raza Library (plate 59) or the fragment of the pocketsized work in the Chester Beatty Library, scenes showing assembly of poets or law-givers were never very popular in Jahangir’s time. Similar studies of poetic and religious discussions are also included in the album prepared by Dara Shukoh as a present to his wife. The latter work also contains some exquisite studies of young princes and beautiful maidens. Portrait painting in general was practised more vigorously during Shah Jahan’s reign than in his predecessor’s time, and formal portraits of high nobles and courtiers as well as delicate line-drawing portraits like that of a musician by Muhammad Nadir Samarqandi were painted in abundance. These remarkable works of art attracted the attention of celebrated painters and critics by virtue of their fine draftsmanship and soft feminine touch.

Though Shah Jahan devoted his whole-hearted energy and interest for architectural monuments of unique delicacy and beauty, his art-atelier was still capable of producing the celebrated manuscript of Shdhjahdn-ndma as late as in 1657. The pictures in this manuscript represent the last flicker of the great Mughul art tradition. They are all conceived in a grand scale with meticulous attention devoted to men and nature. The portraits are finished with loving care. The well-known painting in the Indian Museum showing Shah Jahlan witnessing Sufi dance (plate 67) is a fine example of the style of this period. The famous painting of Dancing Dervishes with well-finished portraits of Hindu and Muslim religious teachers and saints of the Spencer Churchil collection, now in the Victoria

and Albert Museum, is generally assigned to this period when Dara Shukoh was taking deep interest in the teachings of mystics and saints of all religions.

Jahangir's preference for assembling albums containing calligraphic panels and pictures of all sorts was also imbibed by Shah Jahian. In the Shah Jahani albums portrait-studies of important officials (plate 69), poets, singers, etc. along with studies of birds and animals made by Hunhar, Bichitr, Morar, Muhammad Nadir Samarqandi, etc. were used with the calligraphic panels. The margins of these albums generally depict the sophisticated floral motifs and flowering spray motifs in brilliant colours resembling the motifs used in the Red Fort or the Taj Mahal. In many examples human figures have also been introduced amidst scrolls of floral and vegetal motifs.

The production of the Shah Jahani atelier displays an extravagant use of richness in decorative details and colours which take away the lively vigour and freshness so evident in the Jahangir! paintings. The period of decay has already set in and Mughul painting deteriorates into conventionalism and lifeless repetition of a set formula (plate 70). Aurangzib (cf. plate 68) hastened this process of decadence by his bigotry and hatred against the art of painting. He might have revived some interest at the end of his long rule, as a result of which a number of miniatures of reasonably good quality were prepared in which he is shown hunting, in court or at war. But this was not enough to keep the workshop engaged and alive. The centres of artistic activities have already shifted to other regions where interesting developments in the saga of Indian painting were taking place.

VI. Regional Centres

A detailed notice of developments in the field of Indian painting as achieved in different centres of Rajasthan and Central India —like Mewar, Amber, Bikaner, Bundi, Malwa, etc.—need not be included here because the style and contents of the productions of these schools were very much different and distinctive. The impact of Mughul painting was undeniably tremendous as details of dresses and costumes, interior decorations, artistic conventions, colour scheme, and technique followed the Mughul pattern, but the art of Rajasthan belongs to a different tradition and the indebtedness to Mughul painting did not change its basic traits and character in its entirety. As many of the Rajput rulers had to serve the imperial Mughuls and spend much of their time in the Mughul capital they were familiar with all the developments that were taking place in every field of human endeavour. Rajasthani painting of the 16th and 17th centuries betrays a close knowledge of all these developments within the framework of its own traditions.

Mention should however be made of the brief but glorious developments that were taking place at the remote corners of the Peninsula—at Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar. The style of painting prepared at these Deccanese kingdoms was highly refined and sophisticated with a brilliant colour scheme and rich decorative details which differ considerably from the general style of Mughul painting. These paintings have a cool poetic quality which is rarely found in the numerous paintings prepared at the Mughul studio. Though there are some dated materials from which it is possible to trace some of the earlier productions, the achievements of the three centres cannot be easily differentiated for their complicated relationship with each other and the consequent migration of painters from one place to another. The landmarks in the history of these Deccanese kingdoms are the battle of Talikota in 1565 jointly fought by them against Vijayanagara and the beginning of Mughul onslaught in 1591.

The earliest Deccanese paintings, discovered so far, are to be found in an unfinished manuscript of Tdrif-i-Husain Shahi in the Bharata Itihasa Sarixsodhaka Mandala, Poona. These were painted between 1565-1569. The remarkable palette of blue, gold, mauve, pink, red and yellow with tall and stately ladies clad in colourful saris and the happy intermingling of idea and expression make these paintings unique in the history of Indian art. Some extraordinary examples of Ragas and Raginis were prepared at Bijapur during the last decade of the 16th century from which the solitary example of Hindola Raga in the National Museum, Delhi, may easily be regarded as one of the finest musical paintings ever painted. The other set—of which ten exquisite pieces were brought by Raja Anup Singh of Bikaner—reveals indebtedness to Mughul painting and has been assigned a similar date. The well-known encyclopaedic work Nujum-al-ulm dated 1570 in the Chester Beatty Library containing 876 illustrations of different sizes was also probably prepared at Bijapur.

The enchanting and gorgeous picture of an unknown lady (plate 71)—sometimes identified as a yogirii and sometimes as the Queen of Sheba—definitely hails from Bijapur as the exotic flowering plants, golden sky and rich attire of the subject could not have been conceived in a centre of less importance.

MUGHUL PAINTING

The enlightened rulers of Bijapur, ‘All ‘Adil Shah I and his successor Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, provided good patronage for the development of art and music and lent the school of Bijapur its poetic charm and delicacy. A series of great portrait studies were painted at Bijapur, with some brilliant and remarkable likeness of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II. These portraits have a feeling of intense liveliness and exotic romanticism which are rarely found in Mughul portrait studies. The colour scheme is worked out meticulously to make these studies so strikingly effective. The interesting portrait of a prince and his minister in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (plate 72) may also have come from the same centre, though its painting style is less opulent and more straightforward. Interesting portraits were also prepared in Golconda during the first half of the 17th century from where equally striking pieces of painted textiles were manufactured and exported. From about the middle of the 17th century these important centres seem to have ceased to produce good paintings though inferior examples continued to be painted for many more years.

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CHAPTER I SOURCES

As this Chapter is itself an analysis of the various sources for the study of Mughal India, a bibliography on it becomes superfluous and so no such attempt is made. Only commentaries on sources are enlisted below.

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CHAPTER II BABUR

1. Original Sources Primary: Turki

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V. B. D. & Marshall, D. N.

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(b) Facsimile from a manuscript belonging to the late Sir Salar Jang of Hyderabad, edited with a preface and indexes by A. S. Beveridge. Leyden and London, 1905.

Translations: Persian

(a) By Shaikh Zain-ud-dm Khvafi who was Sadr in Babur’s reign and died in 940/ 1533-34. MSS. in the British Museum and Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.

(b) By Payandah Hasan, commenced in 994/ 1586 and continued by Muhammad Quli Hisari. MSS. in the Cambridge University, British Museum, India Office and the Bodleian.

(c) By Mirza ‘Abdur-Rahlm, completed in 998/1589-90. MSS. in the British Museum, Bibliotheque Nationale, India Office, Bodleian, Ry lands and many other libraries abroad and in India.

Lithographed edition, Bombay, 1308/ 1890-91.

French

By A. Pavet Le Courteille from Ilminsky’s text. Paris, 1871.

English

(a) By John Leyden and William Erskine from ‘Abdur-Rahim’s Persian version. London, 1826. Second edition, London, 1844.

Annotated and revised by Sir Lucas King. Oxford, 1921.

(b) By F. G. Talbot. Summarised from Leyden and Erskine’s translation with an introduction and supplementary notes, London, 1909.

(c) By A. S. Beveridge from the Turki (Hyderabad Codex), London, 1921.

German

By A. Kaiser from Leyden and Erskine’s version, Leipzig, 1828.

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Habib-us-Siyar

Tdrikh-bRashidi

Humayun-nama

Ahsan-us-Siyar

Tdrikh-i-Amir

Mahmud

Tarikh-i-ilchi-iNizdm Shah

Shdh-ndma-i

Qdsimi

Tdrikh-i

‘Alamdrai

‘Abbdsl

Persian

by Khvand Amir, commenced in 927/1521 but continued to 935/1529. It is a general history, but valuable for Babur's career outside India. The author was Babur's contemporary and met him in India. Lithographed text, Teheran, 1271/1855. Also Bombay, 1273/ 1857.

by Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, composed in 952/1545-46. The author who was Babur's cousin was in intimate contact with him during his Kabul career and took part in various important political affairs. The work is valuable as it is of help in filling the lacunae in the Babur-ndma. British Museum MS. Or. 157. English translation by Sir E. Denison Ross, with a preface by N. Elias, London, 1895.

by Gulbadan Begam. The authoress was the daughter of Babur and her work contains some personal recollections of her father. Text edited and translated into English by A. S. Beveridge, London, 1902.

by Mirza. Barkhwardar Turkman, completed in 937/1530-31. Important for relations between Babur and Shah Ismafil. MS. in Nawab 'Abdus-Salam Khan's library, Rampur.

by Muhammad bin Khvand Amir, compiled after 957/1550. It is a history of Shah Ismafil and Shah Tahmasp and valuable for Babur's career outside India. The author was the son of the famous historian Khvand Amir, British Museum MS. Or. 2939.

by Khur Shah, compiled in 971/1563-64. It is a general history including chapter on Safavi Shahs and Indian rulers. The author was an envoy of the Nizam Shiah of Ahmadnagar to the Shah of Persia and remained in Persia from 952/1545 to 971/1563-64. This lends supreme importance to his work for Babur's history outside India, particularly for his relations with Shah Isma'11 and the Uzbegs. British Museum MSS. 23, 513 and Or. 153.

by Mirza Qasim GunabadI, composed after 971/ 1563-64. It is a poetical history of Shah Isma'11 and Shah Tahmasp. British Museum MS. Or. 339. The First daftar on the history of Shiah Isma'11, completed in 940/1533 was lithographed at Lucknow in 1870.

by Iskandar MunshI, composed in 1038/1629. It is one of the best authorities for the history of the Safavi kings of Persia and is

Akbar-ndma

Tabaqdt-i-Akbari

Tarlkh-i-Firishta

Tdrikh-x-Ha qqi

Tdrikh-i-Alfi

very valuable for Mughul-Safavl relations during the period it covers. Contains a detailed account of the relations between Babur and Shah IsmaTl. Valuable for Babur’s career outside India. MS. at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Lithographed, Teheran, 1313-14/1896-97.

SECONDARY

Persian

by Shaikh Abu-’l-Fazl, completed in 1004/ 1596. Published by the ASB in three volumes, Calcutta, 1873-86. Also lithographed edition, Lucknow, 1284/1867-68. English translation by H. Beveridge, published by the ASB, Calcutta, 1907, 1912 and 1939. Volume I deals with the reigns of Babur and Humayun and is of some value in connection with Babur’s various Indian invasions.

by Khvaja Nizam-ud-dm Ahmad, composed in 1002/1593-94. Volume II gives a brief good account of Babur and Humayun, though the chronology is defective and there are inaccurate statements as well. Lucknow, 1875 and Calcutta, 1931. English translation by B. De, Volume II, Calcutta, 1936.

by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah better known as Firishta, completed in 1015/16067. Though a southerner, Firishta’s chapters on Mughul history are of importance as offering a neutralist view. Scholars rather undervalue his work. He gives a dispassionate and accurate account of Babur’s career and is of value in filling the lacunae in the Bdbur-ndma. Lithographed text edited by J. Briggs, Bombay and Poona, 1831-32. Also Lucknow text, 1864-65 and Cawnpore, 1874, 1884 and 1905-6. English translation by J. Briggs, London, 1829. Reprinted Calcutta, 1908-10.

by ‘Abdul-Haqq Dihlavl. It is a brief history of India from the time of Muhammad Ghurl to 1596. For the period from Buhlul Lodi onwards it is based on oral tradition and personal observation. Useful for Babur’s relations with the Lodis. The author’s account of certain events is different from that of other contemporary chroniclers. British Museum MSS. 26, 210 and the Bodleian Ouseley MS. 59.

by Ja’far Beg Asaf Khan, composed in 997/ 1588-89. It is a syndicate work on general history up to 1589, but the fourth volume in

Haft IqVim

Tdnkh-i Ibr dhtml

Majdmi‘-ul

akhbdr

Rauzat-ut-Tahirin

Ma‘dan-i-Akhbdr i-Ahmadi

Iqbdl-ndma

which the history of the Mughul emperor from Babur to Akbar occurs, is attributed to the authorship of Ja’far Beg Asaf Khan. The account closely resembles that of the Tabaqdt-i-Akbari. India Office MS. No. 3293 which is a very beautiful copy. Also British Museum MS. Or. 465.

by Amin Ahmad Razi, composed in 1002/159394. Though a work on geography and biography, it gives a succinct account of Indian history in connection with Agra. Amin Ahmad was a foreigner, but he came to India and stayed here for a considerable time. Though his account is very brief, its importance lies in the fact that it corroborates the statements of other historians and offers the stand-point of an independent author who was not connected with the Mughul Court. MS. at the ASB library, Calcutta.

by Ibrahim bin Harir, composed in 957/1550. It is a general history including that of Muslim India up to 1550. Its treatment is quite different from that of Niziam-ud-din and Abu-’I-Fazl whom the majority of chroniclers follow. Its account is methodical and the work ‘is very remarkable for its accuracy in the chronological part’ (Sachau). India Office MS. 104 and Bodleian MS. 97.

by Muhammad Sharif-ul-Husaini, known as Waqu‘i, completed in 1000/1591-92. It is a compendium of general history and in dealing with the Mughul period of Indian history shows independence of Abu-’I-Fazl and Nizam-ud-din. It corroborates as well as corrects some of the statements of Nizam-uddm. The author was a poet of Akbar’s court. The work is far more detailed than the Tdrikh-i-Haqql and seems to be also better as a chronicle. India Office MS. 119.

by Taher Muhammad Hasan Tmad-ud-din, completed in 1015/1606-7. It is a general history of the Muslim East including India up to the last year of Akbar’s reign. British Museum MS. Or. 168.

by Ahmad bin Bahbal, completed about 1023/ 1614. It is a general history and consists of two volumes. The second volume comprises the history of the Chaghatai dynasty from Timur to Jahangir. India Office MS. 121 which is the only one extant.

by Mu‘tamid Khan, composed in 1029/1619-20. It is divided into three volumes: the first treats of the history of Muslim India from

T cirikh-i-Khdnddni-Ttmuriya

Wdqi‘dt-i

Mushtaql

Nafais-ul

Maasir

Ahscm-utTawuflkh or Muntakhab-ut Tawdrikh

Zafar-ul-Wdlih bi-Muzaffar wa Alih

Tazkirat-ul

Muluk

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Muhammad bin Sam to Humayun. India Office MS. 312.

Composed early in the reign of Akbar. It is a history of Timur and his successor in Iran, and of Babur, Humayun and Akbar down to the twenty-second year of his reign. MS. 551 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna, which is the only one extant.

by Shaikh Rizqullah, composed in 980/157273. Detailed accounts and anecdotes relating to the times of the Lodis, of Babur, Humayun and Akbar and of the Surs. He was a detached and religious-minded person and his account of contemporary events is the main source of Nizam-ud-dm, Ni‘mat-Ullah, ‘Abdullah and Ahmad Yadgar. British Museum MS. Or. 1929.

by Mlrza ‘Ala-ud-Daula Qazvini, composed in 983/1575. Though the work is mainly devoted to notices of poets of the sixteenth century, it contains a short account of the Mughul emperor Babur, Humayun and Akbar. British Museum MS. Or. 1761. Photostat copy at the Calcutta University Library.

by Hasan bin Muhammad-ul-Khaki-us-Shirazi, completed in 1019/1610-11. The author came to India from Shiraz in the time of Akbar and held different offices under him. His work is a general history up to the date of composition and in the Indian section he closely follows Nizam-ud-din. British Museum MS. Or. 1649 and the MS. at the Public Library, Lahore.

by ‘Abdullah Muhammad bin ‘Umar al-Makkl, completed in 1020/1611. It is a history of Gujarat written in Arabic, but it gives a summary of the reigns of the Mughul emperors. It mainly follows Abu-’l-Fazl, but gives occasionally new details. Edited by Sir E. D. Ross in three volumes. London, 1910, 1921 and 1928.

by Rafi‘ud-din Shirazi, composed in 1020/1611. Though a history of the Deccan, it deals with the history of the Mughul emperors of India and of the Safavl monarchs of Persia. Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s copy, made from the MS. at the Salar Jang Library, Hyderabad, A.P.

by Ahmad Yadgar, composed about 1023/1614. It is a history of Afghan rulers of India from Buhlul Lodi to the defeat and death of Himu and is of value for Mughul-Afghan relations. Besides it deals also with the reigns of Babur and Humayun. The author’s father was in

Ahsan-ut

Tawdrikh

Khulcisat-ut Tawdrikh

Rauzat-us

Safavtya

Khuldsa-u

Maqdl

Nusakh-i

Jahdndrd

Lubb-ut

Tawdrikh

Zubdat-ut

Tawdnkh

Caldecott, R. M. Edwardes, S. M. Erskine, W.

Grenard,

Fernand

Poole, S. Lane Williams, L. F. Rushbrook

the service of Mirzia ‘Askari and he supplies several details of incidents occurring during the last few years of Babur’s reign which are not found in any other chronicle. Edited by M. Hidayat Husain. Calcutta, 1939.

by Hasan-i-Rumlu, composed in 985/1577. Though the work professes to be a general history, it is mainly a history of Shah Isma‘11 and Shah Tahmasp. Text, Baroda, 1931. English translation by C. N. Seddon, Baroda, 1934.

by Ahmad Ibrahlmi, completed in 1000/1592. A history of the Safavis. (It is of great importance for Mughul-Safavi relations. MS. at Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Photostat copy at the Calcutta University Library.

by Mirza Beg, compiled about 1035/1625. A fairly detailed history of the Safavi dynasty, it is valuable for Babur’s career outside India and for Mughul-Safavi relations during the period it covers. MS. P. 583 at the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta.

by Muhammad Tahir, composed under Shah ‘Abbas II (1052-1077/1642-1667). A history of the Safavi dynasty, its treatment is different from that of other Safavi chronicles. Bodleian MS. which is the only one extant.

by Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari, composed in 972/ 1563-64. It is a general history of the East including that of the Safavi and Indian rulers. British Museum MS. Or. 141.

by Yahya bin ‘Abdul-Latif Qazvini, composed in 948/1541. It is a general history from the earliest times to the date of composition. MS. 469 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

by Muhammad Afzal Husaini, composed about 1063/1652. Malcolm and Morley valued the work very much as a history of the Safavi dynasty. MS. 1750 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

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3. Select articles

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(b) ‘Babur’s post-war settlements in the Doab, Malwa and Bihar’, PIHC, 1946, 296300.

‘L’lndia vista da due grandi personalita’ musulmane. Babare Biruni’, Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume, 1951, 53-76.

(a) ‘Babar Padshah Ghazi’, Calcutta Review, Volume CV, No. 209.

(b) ‘A letter from the Emperor Babur to his son Kamran’, JAS . N.S. (1919), 329-334.

‘Babur and the Afghans’, Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference (1958), 203-15.

‘Varying cultural influences of the last Timurid Age in Samarkand. An aspect of the character of Zahir A1 Din Muhammad surnamed Babur (the tiger), founder of the Dynasty known as the Great Moghuls of India’, Trudui XXV dvadtzat pyatogo Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov, Moskva 1960, tom III (1963), 217-221.

‘A Soyurghal of Babur’, IHRC. Proceedings. 36 ii (1961), 49-54.

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‘Some unpublished verses of Babur’, Is. C. 30 (1956)," 44-50.

‘Khalifa’s conspiracy’, University of Allahabad Studies, 1943. History section.

‘Mughul Relations with Persia’, Is. C., 8 (July 1934), 457-64.

‘Le Padishah Baber (1483-1530) son passage a Kaboul. Afghanistan’ (Societe des etudes histo'riques d’Afghanistan), 1946, 3. 36-46.

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l The story of Babar’s death’, JRAS. (1926), 295-98; (1928), p. 399.

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CHAPTER III

HUMAYUN

1. Original sources Primary

For Tarikh-i-Amir Mahmud, Tarlkh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizam Shah, Shah

nama-i-Qasimi, TarIkh-i-‘Alamarai ‘AbbasI, Nusakh-i-Jahanara, Lubbut-Tawarlkh and Tankh-i-Ibrahlml, see Chapter II.

Tazkirat-ul

WdqVdt

Tdrikh-i Humayun Shahi

Humayun-nama

Muklntasar or Tdrikh-iHumdyun wa Akbar

Humdyun-ndma

by Jauhar Aftabchl, composed in 995/1587. A contemporary straightforward and eye-witness account, it is the foundation of our knowledge of Humayun’s reign. It is, however, weak at chronology. British Museum MS. Add. 16, 711; India Office MS. 221; Lindesiana MS. 412 now in John Rylands Library, Manchester; and Punjab University Library MS. at Lahore.

English translation by Major C. Stewart, London, 1832. Also Calcutta, 1904. by Shaikh Ilahdad FaizI Sirhindi composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a recension of the Tazkirat-ul-Wdqi‘dt written at Jauhar’s request by FaizI Sirhindi for presentation to Akbar. India Office MS. 222. by Gulbadan Begam, composed in 1000/159192. As an eye-witness and contemporary account by Babur’s daughter, its importance is next to Jauhar’s chronicle. It throws considerable light on the manner and customs of the period. Gulbadan Begam is, however, more an affectionate sister than a dispassionate historian of Humayun. The work has been edited and translated into English by A. S. Beveridge, London, 1902. Lithographed edition, Lucknow, 1925. by Bayazld Blyat, completed in 1000/1591-92. It is a history of the reigns of Humayun and Akbar from 1542 to 1591. For Humayun’s reign it is a contemporary account as the author was with him for a considerable time. India Office MS. 223. Text published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1941.

Abstract in English by H. Beveridge in JAS, lxvii, no. 1 (1898), pp. 296-316. English translation excluding chapters i-iii by B. P. Saksena in Allahabad University Studies, Vol. VI, pt. 1, (1930), pp. 71-148. by Khvand Amir, composed in 941/1534. It is an eye-witness account of the rules and ordinances of Humayun, description of court festivities and of some buildings erected by him. Text edited by Hidayat Husain under the title of Qanun-i-HumayunI and translated into English by Baini Prasad and both published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940.

Tarikh-i-Rashidt by Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. See chapter

II. The author knew Humayun intimately; and his assessment of Humayun’s character and some details about his reign are of

Mirdt-ul

Mamdlik

India Office MS. 224

Haft Risdla-iTaqwim-ulBulddn

British Museum Add. MS. 1688

‘Indyat-ndma

Faiyydz-ul

Quwdnln

Durar-ul-mansur

much value. He gives an eye-witness account of the battle of Kanauj.

by Sidl ‘All Ra‘Is. Translated into English by A. Vambery under the title: The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi ‘AU Ra c is in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556, London, 1899. The Turkish admiral arrived in India in 1556 and was in this country at the time of Humayun’s death. Valuable for the last days of Humayun’s life.

Date of composition not known. It contains historical extracts dealing with Humayun’s flight to Persia and the recapture of Qandahar.

Buhar Library (National Library), Calcutta, MS. 45. The contents are similar to those of the India Office MS. 224.

It is of very great importance as it reproduces several letters of Humayun and Shah Tahmasp which are not found elsewhere.

by Tnayat Khan Rasikh, compiled in 1163/ 1750. It is a collection of letters and other historical documents by the Mughul emperors Babur, Humayun, Akbar and others and eminent men of the Mughul empire. India Office MS, 411.

Compiled by Nawab ‘Ali Husain Khan of Lucknow. Contains letters of Humayun and Akbar. Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s copy of the MS. now at the National Library, Calcutta.

by Muhammad ‘Askar! Bilgrami, compiled in 1231/1816. Contains the letters of Shah Tahmasp and Humayun. MS. at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

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For Akbar-nama, Tabaqat-i-Akbarl, Tarlkh-i-Haqqi, Tarlkh-iAlf!, Haft Iqlim, Majami‘ul-Akhbar, Rauzat-ut-Tahlrin, Ma‘dan-iAkhbar-i-Ahmadi, Iqbal-nama by Mu‘tamid Khan, Tarikh-i-Khiandani-Tlmurlya, Tazkirat-ul-Muluk, Nafa‘is-ul-Maasir, Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan, Waqi‘at-i-Mushtaqi, Tarikh-i-Shahi or Tarlkh-i-Salatini-Afaghina, Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan-i-Rumlu, Khulasat-ut-Tawarlkh, Rauzat-us-Safaviya, Khulasa-i-Maqal and Zubdat-ut-Tawarlkh by Muhammad Afzal Husain!, see chapter II.

Tdnkh-i-Akbari by ‘Arif Qandahari, composed during the reign

of Akbar. It is a general history of India from the early Muslim period to the reign of Akbar. The MS. at the Rampur State Library is a fragment dealing with the reign of Akbar, but the Allahabad University Library MS. gives a brief account of some details regarding Humayun from his sojourn in Persia to his death. The reign of Humayun is also

Humayun-nama in verse

Iqbal-nama or Tdrikh-iHumayun Bddshdh Muntakhab-utTawdrikh

Tarikh-i-Firishta

Zubdat-ut Tawdrikh

Subh-i-Sddiq

Muntakhab-ut

Tawdrikh

Mujmal-i Mufassal

Asdr-i-Shdh

Jahdni

not in the E. G. Browne MS. at the Cambridge University Library.

Composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a poetical account of Humayun. The author’s name and date of composition are not mentioned. The work was probably composed during the reign of Akbar who is alluded to as the reigning sovereign. British Museum MS. Or. 1797.

Composed by the poet Faizi bin Mubarak. Lindesiana MS. 431 now in John Rylands Library, Manchester.

by ‘Abdul-Qadir Badauni, composed in 1004/ 1596. Volume I deals with the history of Humayun in considerable detail. Though Badauni generally follows Nizam-ud-dln, he has always something new to give. Text published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1868. English translation by G.S.A. Ranking published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1898. See Chapter II. Firishta’s treatment is his own; and he has occasionally something new to offer. In his treatment of Humayun’s reign he is brief, systematic and comparatively free from any prejudice.

by Nur-ul-Haqq, composed in 1014/1605. It is a general history of India from Muhammad of Ghur to the accession of Jahangir. The author was the son of ‘Abdul-Haqq, author of the Tdrikh-i-Haqqi. India Office MS. 290.

by Muhammad Sadiq, composed in 1048/163839. A considerable portion of this voluminous general history is devoted to an account of the Mughul dynasty till the author’s times. It deals with Humayun’s reign at considerable length. MS. 471 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

by Muhammad Yusuf, completed in 1056/1646. It is a general history up to the accession of Shah Jahan and gives a summary account of Humayun’s reign. MS. 476 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

by Muhammad Barari Ummi, composed in 1085/1655. It is a general history of the East from the earliest times to 1627. Contains a brief account of Humayun. MS. 43 at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Also Bodleian MS. 101.

by Muhammad Sadiq Dihlavi, composed during the reign of Shah Jahan. It traces the history of the Mughul emperor from Babur to Shah Jahan. MS. 564 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

Tdrikh-i-Sher

Shahi

Tdrikh-i-Khdn Jahdnt wa Makhzan-iAfghdni

Tarikh-i-Ddudi

Afsanah-i Shahan

Tdrikh-i

Gujardt

Mir at -iSikandari

Zafar-ul-Wdlih bi Muzaffar wa e Alih

Tdrikh-i-Sind, better known as Tdrikh-i Ma (sumi

by ‘Abbas Khan Sarwianl, composed after 987/ 1579. It is a biography of Sher Shah written by order of Akbar. Transcript of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, now at the National Library, Calcutta. See chapter IV.

by Khvaja Ni‘mat-Ullah, completed in 1021/ 1613. History of the Afghans to the date of composition. MSS. at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Edited by S.M. Imamud-din, Dacca, Vol. I, 1960; Vol. II, 1962. See chapter IV.

by ‘Abdullah, written during the reign of Jahangir. History of the Afghan rulers of India up to the year 983/1575-76, based on the Waqi‘at-i-

MushtaqI. British Museum MS. Or. 197. Also transcript of Sir Jadunath Sarkar now at the National Library, Calcutta. See chapter IV.

by Muhammad Kabir bin Shaikh Isma‘Il, composed in all probability towards the end of Akbar’s reign. The author was reported to have met Akbar three times. Narratives and anecdotes concerning the Lodi and Sur Sultans of Delhi. British Museum MS. Add. 24409.

by Abu Turab Vail, composed before 1003/ 1595. It is a history of Gujarat from 932/1526 to 992/1584. The author’s father and uncle were in the service of Humayun. Valuable for Humayun’s relations with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Edited by Sir E. D. Ross and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1909.

by Sikandar bin Muhammad Manjhu, completed in 1020 or 1022/1611 or 1613. It is a history of Gujarat from 798/1396 to 1000/ 1591. Bombay, 1831, 1890. English translation by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi. Bombay, 1899. Also English translation by E. C. Bayley entitled Local Muhammadan Dynasties: Gujarat, London, 1886.

by ‘Abdullah Muhammad, see chapter II. Valuable for Humayun’s relations with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

The author was in the Mughul emperor’s service for some time and retired in 1606. It is a history of Sind from the Muslim conquest to 1600.

The work is of importance for Humayun’s activities in Sind. Edited by U. M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938. English translation by Captain G. G. Malet, Bombay, 1855.

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Kazimi, M. R.

Khan, I. A.

Qanungo, K. R.

Rahim, Abdur

Ray, Nishith Ranjan Ray, Sukumar

Rodgers, C. J.

Sharma, Sri Ram

Varma, R. C.

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Shahi

Makhzan-i

Afghana

Tarlkh-i-Daudi

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The Life and Times of Humayun, Calcutta, 1955.

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(a) ‘Humayun’s religion’, PIHC, I (1935), 4661.

(b) ‘Humayun’s religion’ JIH, 17 (1938), 151164.

(c) ‘Kingship and nobility in Humayun’s time’, JUPHS, 14 (1941), 25-38.

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‘Notes on the death of Humayun’, JAS, Vol. XL (1871), 133.

‘Humayun and Maldev’, JIH 11 (1932), 192

‘The relation of the Mughals with the tribes of the North West, Is. C., 24 (1950), 258-60.

CHAPTER IV

SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS 1. Original Sources (a) Afghan Sources

‘Abbas Sarwani. Translated in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 305-433.

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‘Abdullah. Partly translated in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 434-513.

Qanungo, K. R.

Roy, N. B. Srivastava, A. L. Thomas, E.

(b) Non-Afghan Sources

Ta'rlkh-i-Rashidi, Muhammad Haidar Dughlat, Tr., Elias and E. Denison Ross, 1895. Tazkirat-ul-Waqi‘at, Jauhar, Translated by C. Stewart, 1832.

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Also see Bibliography on chapter III.

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‘Revenue System of Sher Shah’, JIH, 37 (April 1959), 57-66.

CHAPTER Y AKBAR

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For Tarlkh-i-Ilchl-i-Nizam Shah, Tarikh-i-‘Alamarai ‘Abbasi, Majami‘-ul-Akhbar, Nafa‘is-ul-Maasir, Ahsan-ut-Tawarlkh by Hasan, Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh by Hasan-i-Rumlu, Rauzat-us-SafavIya, Khulasa-i-Maqal, Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh by Muhammad Afzal Husaini, Tnayat-mama, Faiyyaz-ul-quwanln, Subh-i-Sadiq, Mujmal-i-Mufassal, Asar-i-Shah JahanI, Waqi‘at-i-MushtaqI, Makhzan-i-Afghani, Tarlkh-i-Daudi, Afsanah-i-Shahan, see chapter III.

Akbar-nama by Shaikh Abu-’l-Fazl, completed in 1004/

1596.

The main foundation of our knowledge of Akbar’s history. Behind the rhetoric and adulation of Abu-’l-Fazl, there is a vast mass

Bhattasali, N. K. Karim, Abdul

Saran, P.

Misra, Satish Chandra

-do

Am-i-Akbari

Muntakhab-ut

Tawdrlkh

Tabaqat-i

Akbarl

Tarikh-i-Akbart

of material in the Akbar-nama which is not to be found elsewhere. Abu-'l-Fazl's defects as a historian have been unduly exaggerated. Vols. II and III. Text, Lucknow, 1284/ 1867-68. Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1877-86. English translation by H. Beveridge, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. II, 1912 and Vol. Ill, 1939.

by Shaikh Abu-'l-Fazl, completed before 1011/ 1602. Extremely valuable for administrative system, statistical and geographical account of the Mughul Empire under Akbar. Edited by H. Blochmann in two volumes, Calcutta, 1867-77. English translation, Vol. I by H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873 and Vols. II and III by H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1891, 1894. Second edition of Vol. I revised by D. C. Philiot, Calcutta, 1939 and of Vols. II and III, revised and further annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar: Vol. II, Calcutta, 1949 and Vol. Ill, Calcutta, 1948.

by 'Abdul-Qadir Badauni. See also Chapter III. Volume II is on the history of Akbar's reign and Volume III gives an account of the eminent men of the Mughul empire in arts, letters and science. Badauni wrote the history of Akbar from the point of view of a bigoted Sunni, but it is extremely valuable as a check on the lop-sided rosy picture of Akbar and the Mughul empire by Abu-'l-Fazl as well as for the evolution of Akbar's religious beliefs. Text, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1865 and Vol. Ill, Calcutta, 1869. English translation of Vol. II by W. H. Lowe, Calcutta, 1898; second edition, 1924 and of Vol. Ill by T. W. Haig, Calcutta, 1925.

by Khvaja Nizarn-ud-dm Ahmad, completed in 1002/1593-94. Volume II gives the history of Akbar’s reign—a bare narrative of events. Volume III deals with provincial histories and is of value in connection with Akbar’s conquest of these kingdoms. Text, Lucknow, 1875 and Calcutta, Vol. II, 1931 and Vol. Ill, 1941. English translation by B. De: Vol. II, Calcutta, 1936 and Vol. Ill, Calcutta, 1940.

by Muhammad ‘Arif Qandaharl, completed in 1580. See also chapter III. The author was Mrr-i-Saman to Bairarn Khan and also served as an officer under Akbar’s vazir Muzaffar Khan Turbati. Though it is a history of Akbar’s reign up to only 987/1579, it is of great value as offering a view-point independent of Abu-’l-Fazl and Nizam-ud-dm and

Tdrikh-i-Hurndyun wa Akbar

Tdrikh-i-Khdnddn

i-Timunyci

Akbar-nama

Takmila-i-Akbarnama

Zubdat-ut

Tawdrikh

Ma‘dan-i-Ak~hbdr

i-Ahmadi

lnslnd-i-Abu-l

Fazl or Mukdtabat-i-‘ Alldmi

throws new light on Akbar’s personality and government. Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s transcript of the MS. at the Rampur State Library.

by Bayazid Blyat. See chapter III. Though it is not a systematic account of Akbar’s reign, it is valuable as a plain straightforward narrative of events by a contemporary.

See chapter II. It gives the history of Akbar’s reign up to the twenty-second year. It is valuable as the earliest written account of Akbar.

by Shaikh Ilahdad FaizI Sirhindi. It is a plain account of Akbar’s reign to 1010/1601 composed at the suggestion of Akbar’s chief BakhshI, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, who died in 1616 and under whom the author served. Valuable for the history of some of the last years of Akbar’s reign and particularly for the eye-witness account of the siege of Aslrgarh. India Office MS. 289.

by Tnayat-Ullah. A detailed account of Akbar’s reign from the forty-seventh year to his death, a continuation of Abu-’l-Fazl’s Akbarndma. The Text has been published at pp. 802-43 of the Calcutta text of the Akbarndma, Vol. Ill and the English translation at pp. 1206-62 of H. Beveridge’s translation of the Akbar-ndma, Vol. III. For various issues regarding the author and date of composition see Beveridge’s translation, Vol. Ill, p. 1204.

by Shaikh Nur-ul-Haqq, composed in 1014/ 1605. Though the work is based on the Tarlkh-i-Haqql, the narrative is brought down to 1605 with addition of numerous informations. Valuable as a contemporary account. See chapter III.

See chapter II. Valuable as offering an independent view, independent of Abu-’l-Fazl and Nizam-ud-dm and particularly for biographical materials regarding Bairam Khan and ‘Abdur-Rahim. The India Office MS., the only one extant, breaks off in the thirtyseventh year of Akbar’s reign, 999/1590-91. Ni‘mat~Ullah, author of the Makhzan-iAfghdm, valued it as the best historical work.

Compiled in 1015/1606-7 by his sister’s son ‘Abdus-Samad. It contains letters written in Akbar’s name and by Abu-’l-Fazl to kings and nobles which throw considerable light

Ruq‘dt-i-Abu-’l

Fazl

Jarida-i-Faramin

i-Salatln-i

Delhi

Tdrlkh-i-Firishta

Iqbdl-nama

Anfa‘-ul-Akhbdr

Haft Iqlim

Madsir-i-Rahimi

Hdldt or Wdqiati-Asad Beg

on Akbar’s relations with neighbouring rulers and with his own officers. Calcutta, 1810 and Cawnpore, 1913.

Compiled by his nephew Nur-ud-dln Muhammad. Date of composition not known. These letters are addressed by Abu-’l-Fazl to his friends and contemporaries, among them being Akbar, Daniyal, Murad, Salim, Akbar’s queens and daughters. They throw much light on Akbar’s history. Lucknow, 1913.

It contains letters addressed by Akbar to Raja ‘All Khan and to several nobles as well as his instructions for the administration of the cities and countryside. Aligarh Muslim University MS.

See chapter II. Firishta offers to some extent a dispassionate neutralist view of Akbar’s reign and is of special value for Akbar’s relations with the Deccan Sultanates. He has avoided several errors of Nizam-ud-din. His importance has been rather undervalued by modern scholars.

by Mu‘tamid Khan. See chapter II. Volume II of the work deals with the reign of Akbar, mainly based on Abu-’l-Fazl’s Akbar-nama. India Office MS. 312. Also Buhar (National Library, Calcutta). MS. 66.

by Muhammad Amin, composed in 1036/162627. Valuable for a brief account of the last years of Akbar’s reign. Extracts on events of 1003/1595 and 1012-14/1603-05 in Sir Henry M. Elliot: Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1850; Persian Text, pp. 91-93 and English Translation, pp. 389-94.

See chapter II. Besides offering the standpoint of an independent author not connected with the Mughul court, it contains valuable geographical account of the Mughul empire as well as accounts of the notables of the time.

by Muhammad ‘Abdul-BaqI Nihavandl, completed in 1025/ 1616. Though primarily a life of ‘Abdur-Rahlm Khan-i-Khanan, it contains a history of Akbar’s reign in the first volume and the second gives a biographical account of Bairam Khan and history of the provincial kingdoms. Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1924 and Vol. II, 1925.

by Asad Beg who was employed in the Deccan. The Memoirs from 1011/1602 to 1014/1605

‘ Abdullah-nama

Tdrikh-i-Gujardt

Mimt-i-Sikandari

Zafar-ul-Wdlih bi M.uzaffar wa Alih

Tdrikh-i-Ma‘ suml

Sarvadesha

Vrittanta

Samgraha

Bhdnuchandra

Charitra

Vira Bhanudaya Kavyam

Dalpat Vilds

Khydt

Bir Singh-Deva Charitra

are valuable for the last years of Akbar’s reign, particularly for the murder of Abu-’1-Fazl. Transcript of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, now at the National Library, Calcutta.

by Hafiz Tanish. Valuable for Akbar’s relations with his arch-enemy ‘Abdullah Khan Uzbeg. Punjab University Library, Lahore.

See chapter III. Important for Mughul activities in Gujarat during Akbar’s reign.

See chapter III. Valuable for Akbar’s conquest of Gujarat.

See chapter II. It is of value, particularly for Akbar’s relations with Gujarat.

See chapter III. Valuable for Akbar’s relations with Sind.

Sanskrit

by Mahesh Thakur. It is a history of the Mughul emperors from Biabur to Akbar. It is a summary in Sanskrit of Abu-'l-Fazl's Akbar-ndma and has no independent value. Photostat copy of the India Office Ms. at the Calcutta University Library.

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Bhanu, Dharma

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Maasir-i - Ra himi

Shash Fath-iKdngra

Khuldsat-ut

Tavc\drikh

Muntakhab-ul

Lubdb

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Fa dshah-ndma

Padshah-ndma

Padshah-ndma

Padshah-ndma

Shdhjahdna-nama

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Tdrikh-i-Shdh

Sujd%

Tdrtkh-i Aurangzib

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Akham-i-Alamgm

Ruq‘dt-i-‘Alamgiri

Kalimdt-i

Tayyibdt

KalimcLt-i

Aurangzlb

Raqaim-i-Karaim

Dastur-ul- amali-Agahi

Rumuz-wa

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kalam

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Matin-i-Inshd or Mufid-al-Insha

Riydz-al-W addd 'Arzdashts

Durr-al-Ulum

Nigarnama-i

Munshi

Ruq'dt-i-HamdcLud-din Khan

Ruq‘dt-i-Nawdzish

Khan

Inshd-i-Madhuldl

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&

Kiihnel, E.

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Wilkinson,

J. V. S.

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O. F. & Gyuzalyana,

L. T.

Ilendley, T. H.

Karl Khandalavala &

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Skelton, R.

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Staude, W.

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CHRONOLOGY

1026

1192

1300

1318-1389

1335-1383

(1386?)

1394-1460

1411-1443

1420-1470

1443

1447-1539

1450-1525

1458-1479 1469-1538 c.1470-1540 1475-1534

c. 1478-1581

1479- 1531

1480- 1564 1480-1600 1482-1518

1483, February 14 c.1486

1486-1516

1486-1533

1487

c. 1487

1487-1517 c. 1487-1539 1490

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni raids India for the seventeenth time (p. 372).

Fall of Prithviriaj Chauhan at the second battle of Tarain (p. 372).

Punjabi language develops (p. 572).

Khwaja Baha’uddin Naqshband, a Sufi reformer (p. 670).

Lalla Didi (Lai Ded) Rasmirl poetess (p. 577).

Prince Henry, the Navigator (p. 502).

Sultan Ahmad I of Gujarat (p. 400).

Zain-ul-‘Abidin, Sultan of Kasmlr (p. 577).

‘Abdur Razzak, Persian Ambassador at Vijayanagar (p. 685).

Vyasatlrtha (Vyasaraya), a pontiff of Madhva sect. (p. 652).

Vasudeva Sarvabhauma, founder of the famous Nyiaya school of Nadia (p. 705).

Husain Shah Sharqi (p. 805).

Guru Nanak, (p. 572).

!§rinatha Acharya Chudamani (p. 636).

Khvand Amir, author of Habtb-us-Siyar and Humdyun-ndma, which give information about Babur and the first three years of Humayun’s reign respectively (p. 3).

Surdas (p. 648).

Vallabhacharya, the propagator of Pustimarga (p. 647).

Purandara-dasa (p. 652).

Vadirajatirtha, Dvaita philosopher (p. 615).

Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahamani (p. 412).

Birth of Babur at Farghana (p. 25).

Birth of Farid (Sher Shah) in the paragana of Narnaul (pp. 68, 69).

Man Singh, Tomara Chieftain of Gwalior (p. 753).

Chaitanya, the Vaishnava saint (p. 555).

Diego Cao voyages southwards from the mouth of the Congo to the modern Walvis Bay (p. 502).

&ahkaradev, who introduced Vaishnavism in the Brahmaputra valley, is born (pp. 642, 675).

Sultan Sikandar Lodi (pp. 306, 733).

Chuhungmung Svargadeo, Ahom King (p. 642).

Malik Ahmad, gr. of Junnar, assumes independence (p. 415).

Qasim Barld assumes independence (p. 412).

1490

1490-1510

1490

c. 1490-1514 1492

1493- 1519

1494- 1554 1496-1509

1497, November

1497

1497

1498, May 21 1498, June 1498, August

1498-1546

1500, November

1500

.1500 1500-1580 1501, May

1501

1502

1503, June

1503

1503-1553 1504, October

1504

Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, the gr. of Bijapur, proclaims independence (p. 412).

Yusuf ‘Adil Khan, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 445). Fathullah ‘Imad-ul-Mulk, gr. of Berar, proclaims independence (pp. 412, 463). Maharaja Dhanyamanikya of Tripura (p. 642). Srlpadaraya, founder of Ddskuta movement in Karnatak, passes away (p. 652).

Paragal Khan, gr. of Chittagong (p. 560). Bhalan, Gujarati writer (p. 569).

Guru Nanak undertakes a journey in the eastern parts of India (p. 656).

Babur wrests Samarqand from Baisunqur Mlrza to lose again after about 100 days (p. 25).

Babur loses both Farghana and Samarqand (p. 25).

Vasco da Gama leaves Portugal on his eastern voyage (p. 503).

Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut (p. 502). Babur recovers Farghana (p. 25).

Vasco da Gama starts on his return voyage (p. 503).

Mira Bai (Some give this date as 1503-1546) (p. 566).

Babur wrests Samarqand for the second time from Shaibani Khan (p. 25).

The second Portuguese expedition to India under Alvarez Cabral reaches Calicut (p. 504).

Moth-ki-Masjid at Delhi is built (p. 745). Narasiriiha Mehta, Gujarati poet (p. 630). Babur is badly defeated by Shaibani Khan at Sar-i-pul and is forced to offer his eldest sister Khanzada Begam in marriage to his enemy (p. 25).

A throneless Babur is forced to retire to Tashkent to seek shelter under his maternal uncles—Sultan Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Khan (p. 25).

A fresh expedition under Vasco da Gama starts for India (p. 504).

Ahmad Tambal inflicts a crushing defeat on Mahmud Khan and Ahmad Khan (maternal uncles of Babur) at the battle of Archiyan (p. 26).

A Portuguese fleet reaches Malabar coast (p. 504).

Hita Harivamsa, founder of the Radha-Vallabhi sect (p. 648).

Babur crosses the Hindu Kush and captures Kabul from Muqim the Arghun (p. 26). Qasim Band passes away (p. 412).

1504

1504-1575

1504

1504-1530 1505, January

1505, May

1505

1506, May 5 1506, October 26

1506,

December 24

1507, June 1507, September

1503

1509

1509

1509-1529

1509- 1553

1510

1510, October 1510

1510

c.1510

1510- 1515

1510-1534

1511, January

Yusuf ‘Adil Khan gains possession of the province of Gulburga held by Dastur Dinar (p. 446).

Janardana Svarhi, the spiritual preceptor of Sant Ekanatha (p 578).

‘Ala-ud-din ‘Imad Shah, succeeds as Sultan to the throne of Berar (p. 463).

Ala-ud-din ‘Imad Shah, Sultan of Berar (p. 463).

Babur makes his first invasion on Hindustan via the Khyber Pass, reaches Tarbila on the Indus and fights the Afghan tribes (p. 26).

Babur returns to Kabul via Ghazni (p. 26).

Francisco de Almeida is appointed the first Portuguese viceroy in the East (p. 504).

Death of Sultan Husain Mlrza Baiqara of Herat (p. 26).

Babur joins the two sons of Sultan Husain Mlrza Baiqara on the river Murghab and accompanies them to Herat to fight the Uzbegs (pp. 26, 27).

Babur returns to Kabul from Herat (p. 27).

Shaibani Khan captures Herat (p. 27).

Babur sets out for the Indus and advances up to Mandrawar but returns to Kabul (p. 27).

Babur suppresses the rebellion of Ullugh Mlrza (p. 27).

Malik Ahmad, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, passes away (p. 415).

A Portuguese fleet defeats a combined fleet of the Egyptians, the Zamorin and the Sultan of Gujarat, off Diu and establishes naval supremacy (p. 505).

Krishnadevaraya, Vijayanagara emperor (pp. 486, 588).

Burhan Nizam Shah, Sultan of Ahmadnagar (p. 416).

Yusuf ‘Adil Khan captures Goa, which remains under him for a short time (p. 447).

Yusuf ‘Adil Khan passes away (p. 447).

Shaibani Khan is killed in a battle against Shah Isma‘ll, the Safavl ruler of Persia (p. 28).

Nizam Shahi army repulses an attack by the Berar army (p. 463).

Chaitanya visits the chief shrines of South India (p. 652).

Guru N'anak undertakes a journey in the southern parts of India (p. 656).

Ismla‘il ‘Adil Khan, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 447).

Babur reaches Qunduz; receives an embassy from Shah of Iran (p. 28).

1511

1512, May

1512, November

1512

1512

1514, August 1514, November

1514- 1595

1515- 1517

1516- 1576 1517, November 1517

1517

1517- 1521

1517- 1526

1518

1518

1518

1518- 1522

1519-1615

1519

1519

Babur sends an embassy under Wais Mirza to the Safavi King, Shah Ismail of Iran and gets an assurance of friendship and help (p. 28).

Babur is defeated by the Uzbegs at Kul-iMalik in the vicinity of Bukhara and loses Bukhara and Samarqand. Babur retires to Hissar (p. 28).

Babur marches against the Uzbegs to Bukhara with the aid of Iranian army under Najm Beg but is defeated at Ghazdawan (pp. 28, 29).

Krishnadevaraya occupies Raichur (p. 448).

Bijapur army raids Goa but the attack is repulsed (p. 506).

Shah Ismail, the Safavi king is defeated at Tabriz by the Uzbegs (p. 29).

Babur returns to Kabul after an unsuccessful attempt to capture Bukhara (p. 29).

Vijaymdratirtha, Madhva commentator (p. 615).

Guru Nanak undertakes a journey in the northern parts of India (p. 656).

Vithalanatha, s. of Vallabhacharya (p. 647).

Death of Sultan Sikandar Lodi (p. 70).

Ibrahim Lodi ascends the Delhi throne (p. 29).

Babur makes an unsuccessful attempt to capture Qandahar (p. 31).

Guru Nanak undertakes a journey in the western parts of India (p. 656).

Ibrahim Lodi, Sultan of Delhi (p. 733).

Sultan Qutb-ul-Mulk, the gr. of Telingana, declares independence (pp. 412, 468).

Nizam Shahi army captures Pathri (p. 463).

Mahmud Shah BahmanI passes away (p. 466).

Farid (Sher Shah) acts as deputy to his father in the paraganas of Sassaram and Khavaspur Tanda (p. 70).

Haridasa-svami, founder of a Vai§nava sect, (p. 649).

Babur crosses the Khyber pass and advances up to Peshawar subduing Yusufzai Afghans on the way (p. 31).

Babur raids Bajaur, conquers it and reaches Jhelum after crossing the Indus; sends an unfruitful embassy under Mulla Murshid to Ibrahim Lodi claiming Punjab as his hereditary possession; (returns to Kabul, subduing Gakkhars on the way (pp. 30-31).

1519-1526

1519

1520

1520

1520

1520

1520-1540

1520-1568

1520-1592

1521 1522,

September 6 .1523 1524

1524

1525,

November 17 1525

1526, April 5 1526, April 21

Babur's seven raids on Hindusthan. First in 1519, as per his own statement. Raids of 1505 and 1507 as the first and second and the third in early 1519, according to Abu'-lFazl. Babur himself states he raided India five times. Firishta regards the two invasions of 1519 as the first and second invasions on India (pp. 30-31).

Santiklrti, Kannada poet, writes his Sahtintithapurdna (p. 597).

Babur invades India for the fifth time and advances up to Sayyidpur but cuts short his advance to return to Kabul (p. 31).

Babur makes an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Qandahar (p. 31).

Babur becomes master of Badakhshan on the death of Wais Mirza and puts Badakhshan under his son’s charge (pp. 31-32).

Kri^hnadevaraya wrests Raichur from Isma‘il Adil Khan (p. 448).

Malik Muhammad Jayasi composes his Padu mavati (p. 567).

Sulaiman, the Magnificent, of Turkey (p. 398).

Appayya Diksita, a :§aiva writer on philosophy (p. 641).

Babur makes another unsuccessful attempt to conquer Qandahar (p. 31).

Babur captures Qandahar without opposition (p. 31).

Birth of Gosvami Tulsidasa (p. 564, 565).

Babur undertakes his sixth invasion of Hindustan at the invitation of Daulat Khan Lodi, viceroy of the Punjab, and reaches Lahore where he meets Ibrahim Lodi’s army and defeats it. Babur returns to Kabul (p. 32).

Isma‘il ‘Adil Shah of Bijapur and Burhan Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar form an alliance to challenge Krishnadevaraya of Vijayanagar and punish Amir Band. However, this alliance did not come off (p. 416).

Babur sets out on his last Indian expedition (p. 33).

The combined armies of Burhan Nizam Shah, Amir Barld and ‘Imad Shah raid Sholapur but are repulsed by the Bijapur army (p. 416).

Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat passes away (p. 391).

Babur defeats Sultan Ibiiahim Lodi at the battle of Panipat. Ibrahim Lodi is killed in the battle (p. 34).

1526, April 27 1526, May 26

1526, December

1526

1526

1526-1537

1527,

February 11 1527, March 17

1527, April 7

1527

1528,

January 28 1528, February 2

1528,

September 26 1528,

November 13

1528

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1528

1528-1531

Babur becomes Emperor of Hindusthan (p. 35).

The infant son of Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat is raised to the throne under the name of Mahmud II (p. 391).

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi’s mother makes an unsuccessful attempt on Babur’s life by poisoning through royal servants (p. 36).

Humayun captures Jaunpur, Ghazlpur and Kalpi (p. 35).

Farid (Sher Shah) enters the service of Sultan Muhammad (Bihar Khan Lohani) who declared independence after the battle of Panipat (p. 71).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat (p. 391).

Babur sets out on his first jihad against Rana Sangram Siriiha (p. 36).

Battle of Khanua is fought in which the Rajputs are completely routed (p. 37).

Babur marches into Alwar, capital of Mewat (p. 37).

Farid (Sher Shah) joins Mughul camp being deprived of his jdgir (p. 71).

Babur besieges Chanderi and captures it the next day (p. 37).

Babur sets out on an eastern campaign against the Afghans (p. 37).

The battle of Jam is fought between Shah Tahmasp and the Uzbegs, who are defeated (p. 38).

Babur advises Humayun to undertake an expedition against the Uzbegs (p. 38).

Farid (Sher Shah) gets back his jdgir, of which he had been deprived, in recognition of his services rendered to Babur (p. 71).

Death of Sultan Muhammad (p. 71).

Jalal, son of Sultan Muhammad, is raised to the throne on the latter's death (p. 71).

The combined armies of Muhammad I of Khandesh, 'Ala-ud-dln Tmad Shah of Berar and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat invest Daulatabad held by Nizam Shah but have to retire due to stout resistance (p. 392).

Nuno da Cunha is appointed Portuguese gr. in India (p. 392).

Amir Barld, prime minister of Bahamani kingdom, becomes practically independent (p. 466).

Ratna Singh, Rana of Mewar (p. 327).

1529, May 6

1529

1529

1529

1530,

December 30

1530,

December 30

1530

1530

1530

1530

1530

1530

c. 1530 1530-1542

1530-1562

1531, February

1531, March 28

c.1531, September 1531, December

1531 1531

The battle of Gog'ra (the last exploit of Babur) is fought between the Mughul army and the Bengal army, which is defeated. Babur becomes master of northern India and frustrates the last stand of the Afghans to oust the Mughuls (p. 38).

Jalal becomes a vassal of Babur (p. 71).

Farid (Sher Shah) is appointed deputy (nciib) to administer the principality of Jalal (p. 71).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat, forces ‘Ala-ud-dln ‘Imad Shah of Berar and Burban Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar to conclude peace (p. 392).

Death of Babur (p. 45).

Humayun ascends the throne (p. 45).

Farid (Sher Shah) celebrates his second marriage with Gauhar Gossain (widow of N'asir Khan Lohani) (p. 71).

Farid (Sher Shah) acquires the fortress of Chunar by his marriage with Lad Malka, widow of Taj Khan (p. 71).

Muhammad Shah, ruler of Kashmir, ascends the throne of Kashmir for the fourth and last time (p. 402).

Isma'il ‘Adil Khan gains possession of Raichur and Mudgal (p. 449).

‘Ala-ud-din ‘Imad Shah of Berar passes away (p. 464).

Isma‘il ‘Adil Khan restores Bidar to Amir Barid (p. 467).

Jamal! mosque is built (p. 745).

Achyutadevaraya, emperor of Vijayanagar (pp. 486, 608).

Darya ‘Imad Shah, Sultan of Berar (p. 464).

The Portuguese fleet in India bombards Diu and other fortifications under Bahadur Sultan of Gujarat (p. 392).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat, captures Mandu and annexes that portion of Malwa which is ruled by Mahmud II (pp. 47, 392).

Humayun defeats Afghans led by Sultan Mahmud at the battle of Dadrah (pp. 46, 72).

Humayun invades Chunar and forces Sher Shah to come to terms as a vassal (p. 46, 72).

The Mewar Rana, Ratna Singh, and Surya Mai die in a scuffle (p. 328).

Rudra Pratap founds the kingdom of Bundelkhand with Orchha as capital (p. 376).

1531/1532

1531- 1536

1532, May 10

1532

1532

1532- 1623

1533, January

1533, March 24 1533, August

1533

1533

1533-34

1533-1536

1533-1599 1534, July

1534, November

1534, November 1534, December

1534

1534

1534

Hostility breaks out between the Sultans of Bidar and Bijapur for the possession of Kalyani and Qandahar (p. 417).

Sultan Nusrat Shah of Bengal sends an embassy to Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat (p. 394).

Vikramaditya, Rana of Mewar (p. 328).

Silhadi's army fights against Bahadur's army but is defeated (p. 393).

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat annexes to his kingdom Raisen, Chanderi, Bhilsa and captures Ranthambhor (p. 47).

Mirza Sikandar invades Kashmir (p. 402).

Tulsidasa (p. 649).

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat lays siege to Chitor (pp. 47, 329).

Sultan Bahadur raises siege of Chitor on certain conditions and returns to Gujarat (pp. 329, 394).

Humayun lays the foundation for a new city in Delhi known as Dinpanah. Some believe this to be the site of old Indraprastha (p. 46).

Mirza Haidar, who had invaded Kashmir, retires from Kashmir after concluding peace with Mirza Muhammad, Shah of Kashmir (p. 402).

Chaitanya, the Vaishnava Saint, passes away (p_. 644).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat, sends an embassy to Humayun (p. 395).

Sher Shah consolidates his position in Bihar (p. 51).

Santa Ekanatha (pp. 579, 630).

Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Muhammad Sultan Mirza (brothers of Humayun) rise in revolt against Humayun, but are defeated and imprisoned (p. 46).

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat again besieges Chitor and breaks the treaty of 1533 (March) with Humayun (p. 47).

Humayun undertakes an expedition to Malwa (p. 47).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat, and the Portuguese conclude peace (p. 394).

Sher Shah defeats the Bengal army at Surajgarh (pp. 51, 73).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat, gives asylum to Muhammad Zaman Mirza (p. 395).

Isma‘il ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, passes away (pp. 417, 449, 469).

1534-1535

1535,

February 18 1535, March 8 1535, April 25

1535, August

1535, October 25 1535, December

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1535- 1557

1536, May 25

1536 1536

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1536- 1540

1537, February

1537, July

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1537

Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad Khvand Amir writes Qdnun-i-Humdyunl dealing with the first few years of Humayun’s reign (p. 4).

Mallu ‘Adil Khan, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 449).

Humayun leaves Agra to challenge Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (p. 396).

Humayun Captures Chitor (p. 47).

Bahadur Shah of Gujarat flees towards Mandu when challenged by Humayun at Mandasor.

[MhUt-i-Sikandari gives this date as 1535, March 25 (pp. 47, 65, 367)].

Xkhtiyar Khan surrenders the fort of Champaner and thus Humlayun becomes master of Gujarat (pp. 48, 49).

The Portuguese and Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat conclude a treaty (p. 397),

The local chiefs and people of Gujarat rise in rebellion against Humayun in favour of Bahadur Shah and the Mughul officers are driven away from Navsari, Broach, Surat, Cambay and Patan (p. 49).

Sher Shah conquers territory of Sultan Mahmud up to Bhagalpur (p. 73).

Chitor falls to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat (p. 331).

Portuguese capture Diu (p. 506).

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 412).

TardI Beg Khan, Mughul governor of Gujarat, retreats to Mandu from Champaner and thus Gujarat and Malwa are lost to Humayun (p. 50).

Humayun leaves Mandu for Agra (p. 397).

Bahadur, Sultan of Gujarat, drives away Mughuls from Gujarat (p. 397).

Sher Shah compels Sultan Mahmud of Bengal to conclude peace on payment of huge indemnity (p. 31).

Vikramaditya, Rana of Mewar, is murdered by Vanvir (p. 331).

Hamid bin Fazullah writes his Siyar-ul-Arfln (p. 14).

Vanvir, Rana of Mewar (p. 331).

Death of Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat at Diu (p. 398).

Humayun starts on an expedition to Chunar (p. 51).

Sher Shah besieges Gaur under the pretext of non-payment of the annual tribute by Sultan Mahmud (p. 74).

The Portuguese receive grant of the site of

Hooghly (p. 201).

1537

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1538, March 1538, April 6 1538, May 10

1538, June

1538, August 15 1538

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1538-1545 1538-1554 1539, March

1539, June 26

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1539

1539-1552 1539-1593 1540, May 17

1540,October end 1540,

December 2 c. 1540

c. 1540

Muhammad Shah, ruler of Kashmir, passes away (p. 402).

Shams-ud-din, s. of Muhammad Shah of Kashmir, ascends throne (p. 402).

Sunni rising against Burhan Nizam Shah on his accepting Shiah faith (p. 417).

Sher Shah loses Chunar to Humayun (p. 74).

Mughuls capture Gaur (p. 52).

Mahmud Khan, s. of Sultan Bahadur's brother (Latif Khan), is raised to the throne of Gujarat under the name of Mahmud III (p. 398).

The battle of Teliyagarhi is fought between Mughuls and Sher Shah's army led by Jalal Khan and the Mughul advance party retreats to Colgong (pp. 52, 75).

Humayun conquers Bengal (pp. 51, 52).

Sher Shah celebrates his coronation at Gaur and assumes the title of Farid-ud-duniya Wadin-Abu'l MuzafTar Sher Shah (p. 75).

Goa is made the seat of a Bishop (p. 508).

A fleet under Turkish admiral and the fleet of Gujarat Sultan attack Diu unsuccessfully (p. 507).

Kalimullah, the last Bahmani Sultan, passes away in Ahmadnagar (p. 412).

Sher Shah Sur (pp. 18, 45).

Mahmud II, Sultan of Gujarat (p. 398).

Humayun sets out to his capital after the conquest of Bengal (p. 53).

Sher Shah attacks Humayun at Chausa and annihilates Mughul army. Humayun escapes by crossing the Ganga with the help of a water-carrier (p. 54, 76).

Humayun leaves Gaur to challenge Afghan menace (p. 75).

Sher Shah's second coronation at Gaur (p. 77).

Guru An gad, the Sikh Guru (p. 663).

Shah Hussain, Sufi poet (p. 576).

Sher Shah attacks Humayun on the Ganges at Bilgram and defeats Mughul army completely. This battle is known as the battle of the Ganga or the battle of Bilgram. Humayun returns to Agra (pp. 55, 77, 78).

Humayun leaves Lahore (p. 56).

Mirza Haidar enters Kashmir and conquers it without any fight (p. 403).

The Portuguese introduce inquisition in their Indian settlements (p. 507).

Brindavanadas writes Chaitanya-Bhagavata (Chaitanya-mangala) (pp. 555, 644)

Uday Singh captures Chitor from Vanvir (p. 332).

1540

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1540-1545 1540-1572 1541, January 26

1541, August

1541, November 6 1541

1541-1547

1541-1551

1542, March 4 1542, July 31

1542, October 15 1542

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1542-1580 1543, January 1543, June 1543, July 11

1543, September

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1543

Shams-ud-din, ruler of Kashmir, passes away (p. 402).

Nazuk Shah ascends the throne of Kashmir (p. 402).

Humayun in exile (p. 45).

Uday Singh, Rana of Mewar (p. 332).

Humayun encamps at Rohri (Sind) and the period of his exile begins (p. 56).

Kaji Chak enters Kashmir with a force lent by Sher Shah, is defeated and both Kaji Chak and Daulat Chak flee to India (p. 403).

Humayun (in exile) reaches Sehwan and lays siege (p. 57).

Sher Shah raids Gaur and takes Khizr Khan, governor of Bengal, a captive (p. 79).

Ramavarman, ruler of Quilon (p. 611).

Haidar Mirza enjoys an independent kingdom in Kashmir which is short-lived (p. 66).

Humayun raises siege of Sehwan and retreats to Bhakkar (p. 57).

Humayun reaches Bikaner with the hope of enlisting sympathy of Raja Maldev of Marwar (p. 57).

Birth of Akbar (Emperor) at Umarkot (p. 58).

Sher Shah invades Malwa and conquers it (p. 80).

Ali Barid, ruler of Bidar, assumes the title of Shah (p. 412).

Sholapur is restored to Bijapur Sultan by Amir Barid on concluding a peace treaty (p. 418).

Amir Barid passes away (p. 467).

St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, organises the Portuguese Indian Church (p. 509).

‘Ali Barid, Sultan of Bidar (p. 467).

Sher Shah invades Chanderi (p. 81).

Sher Shah captures Raisen (p. 81).

Humayun leaves for Sehwan and advances up to Shal on his way to Qandahar (p. 58).

Sultan Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda is assassinated (p. 469).

Sher Shah invades Marwar (p. 81)

Sher Shah conquers Upper Sind (p. 80).

Darya Khan, a noble of Mahmud III of Gujarat, who wants to capture power, flees to Burhanpur (p. 399).

A quadruple alliance amongst Burhan Nizam Shah, Jamshid Qutb Shah, Darya ‘Imad

Shah and Ramaraja of Vijayanagar is concluded to invade ‘Adil Shahi kingdom of

Bijapur (pp. 418, 470).

1543

1543-1550

1543- 1564 1544, January 1544, August

1544, November

1544

1544- 1603 1544

1545, March 21 1545, May 22

1545, May 26

1545,

September 3 1545, October 1545,

November 18 1545

1545

1545-1548

1545-1554

1545-1554

1545

1546, March 1546, April 20 1546,

November 11 1546-1550

1546-1624

Venkata I and Tirumala I of Vijayanagara. (p. 487).

Jamshid Qutb Khan, Sultan of Golconda. (p. 469).

Sadashiva and Ramaraya of Vijayanagar. (p. 488).

Humayun being pursued by Mirza Askarl's men enters Shah Tahmasp's territory, (p. 59).

Humayun calls on Shah Tahmasp of Persia at the latter's summer capital (p. 59).

Sher Shah marches on Kalinjar (p. 83).

Sher Shah invades Mewar and captures Chitor. (p. 82).

Dadu, founder of Parabrahma Sampradaya. (pp. 567, 654).

Kaji Chak passes away. (p. 403).

Humayun raids Qandahar. (p. 59).

Sher Shah is fatally wounded by gun-powder blast during the siege of Kalinjar and passes away the same night (p. 83).

Jalal Khan, the second s. of Sher Shah, ascends the throne at Kalinjar on the death of Sher Shah and assumes the title of Islam Shah, (p. 90).

Mirza ‘Askarl surrenders Qandahar fort to Humayun and Qandahar is made over to the Persians, (p. 59).

Humayun wrests Qandahar from the Persians (p. 59).

Humayun enters Kabul after exile (p. 60).

Mahmud III, Sultan of Gujarat, forestalls a coup and takes the reins of government in his own hands (p. 399).

Surdas compiles his Sur-sardvall (p. 648).

Joa de Castro, Portuguese viceroy for the east (p. 507).

Humayun makes preparations for recovering his lost dominions (p. 45).

Islam Shah Sur (p. 90).

Mirza Haidar, ruler of Kashmir, accepts Mughul suzerainty (p. 404).

Humayun sets out on a (first) campaign of Badakshan (p. 60).

Mahmud III, Sultan of Gujarat, attempts to recover Diu from the Portuguese (p. 399).

The Portuguese defeat the Gujarat army at Diu. (p. 399).

Vrindavana Dasa writes his Chaitanya Bhaga* vata (pp. 555, 644).

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, head of the Naqshabandi order (p. 309).

1547, April 27 1547

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1548, June 1548, August 17

1548, August

1548

1549, February

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1550, January 14

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1550-1580

1551, October

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1552 1552 1552

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1552-1574

1552-1610

1553 1553

1553

Mirza Kamaran escapes from Kabul when the fort is besieged by Humayun (p. 60).

Ramaraya concludes a political and commercial treaty with the Portuguese (p. 491).

The Tomb of ‘Isa Khan is built at Delhi (p. 751).

Humayun sets out on a (second) campaign against Badakhshan (p. 60).

Mirza Kamaran surrenders Taliqan fort and submits to Humayun, who pardons him. (p. 61).

Ibrahim Adil Shaiah I concludes peace with the Portuguese (p. 450).

Jamshid, the Qutb Shahi ruler of Golconda, secures release of ‘Ali Barid from Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah I of Bijapur (p. 419).

Humayun leads a campaign against Balkh and the Uzbegs, but the campaign results in a fiasco (p. 61).

Birth of Malik ‘Ambar (p. 435).

Birth of Abu-’l-Fazl Allami at Agra (p. 5).

Humayun marches towards Ghurband to chastise Mirza Kamiran, but is wounded in an engagement (p. 61).

Humayun captures Kabul from Mirza Kamran

(p. 61).

Jamshid Qutb Khan, Sultan of Golconda, passes away (p. 470).

Ibrahim Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda (pp. 412, 470).

Mirza Haidar, ruler of Kashmir is fatally shot by an arrow in a night attack on the rebels (p. 404).

Rebellion breaks out in Kashmir under the leadership of Husain Makri and Idi Raina (p. 404).

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat composes Tarikh-i-Rashidi (Persian), which gives information about Babur and Humayun (p. 3).

Haibat Khan Niyazi invades Kashmir and the Afghans are routed (p. 404).

Nazuk Shah, ruler of Kashmir is deposed and Ibrahim is set up on the throne (p. 404).

Portuguese settlements in India are depopulated owing to forced conversions (pp. 508, 509).

St. Francis Xavier passes away (p. 509).

Amar Das, the Sikh Guru (pp. 307, 663).

Gokulnathji, author and commentator (p. 648).

Humayun gets Mirza Kamran blinded (p. 63).

Burhan Nizam Shah and Ramaraya of Vijayanagar jointly invade Bijapur (p. 420).

Burhan Nizam Shah passes away (p. 420).

1553-1556

1553-1565

1554,

November 22 1554,

December 25 1554

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1554-1556 1554-1561 1555, February 1555, February

1555, May

1555, June 22 1555, July 23

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1555-1556

1555-1556

c.1555-1587 1556, January 26 1556, January 1556,

February 14 1556,

November 5

1556,

December 7

1557, July 25 1557, October 5

The Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Rais in India

(p. 20).

Husain Nizam Shiah I of Ahmadnagar (p. 420).

Islam Shah Sur passes away (p. 92).

Humayun leaves Afghanistan on his march to Delhi (p. 62).

Flruz Shah, minor son of Islam Shah Sur ascends the throne on the death of his father, but is murdered by Mubariz Khan (p. 94).

Mahmud III, Sultan of Gujarlat, is poisoned and meets his end (p. 400).

Bair am Khan joins Humayun in his Indian campaign (p. 62).

Muhammad ‘Adil (Adli) Shah Sur (p. 94).

Ahmad III, Sultan of Gujarat (p. 401).

Humayun occupies Lahore (p. 95).

Humayun’s forces defeat Afghan troops at Dipalpur (p. 95).

The battle of Machiwara is fought between the Mughul and the Afghan army in which the Afghan army is defeated (p. 63).

Humayun’s forces defeat Sikandar Shah at the battle of Sirhind (p. 95).

The victorious Humayun reaches Delhi and distributes offices and commands to his faithful servants (p. 63).

Saif-Ain-ul-Mulk, who had joined Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah of Biiapur, turns into a rebel (p. 421).

Sikandar Shah, defeats Ibrahim Khan Sur and captures Delhi and Agra (p. 95).

Humayun occupies Lahore (p. 95).

Humayun’s restoration on the throne of Delhi as emperor (p. 45).

Delhi, Agra and the surrounding areas are visited by a severe famine (p. 734).

Raja Nara Narayana of Cooch Behar (p. 642).

Humayun passes away (p. 64).

Hlmu occupies Agra and Delhi (p. 96).

Akbar ascends the throne (p. 104).

Battle of Panipat is fought between Hlmu and the Mughul army. Hlmu is taken captive and both Bairam Khan and Akbar severe his head from the body (pp. 96, 100, 106).

Bairam Khan sends an army under Iskandar Khan to deal with Sikandar Shah Sur

(p. 106).

Sikandar Shah Sur surrenders Mankot to the Mughuls (p. 107).

Mlrza Kamran passes away on his way to Mecca (p. 67).

1557

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1557-1580

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1559-1615

1559-1637

1560, October

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1561, January 31 1561, March 29

1561, April

1561, November

1561 1561

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1561-1572

1562

Muhammad ‘Adil Shah Sur is defeated by Khizr Khan Sur of Bengal in a battle (p. 97).

Isma‘il, who is raised to the throne of Kashmir after deposing Ibrahim, passes away (p. 404)_.

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, passes away (p. 421).

Husain Nizam Shah I and Ibrahim Qutb Shah jointly invade Gulburga, but a solution is found with the intervention of Ramaraya of Vijayanagar and peace is effected (p. 421).

Bishoprics are created in Cochin and Malacca (p. 508).

Goa is raised to the status of Archbishopric

(p. 508).

‘AH ‘Adil Shah I, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 451).

A large Persian force led by Sultan Husain Mirza invades Qandahar and captures it (p. 153).

Abu-’1-Ma‘ali with the help of Mughul and Kashmiri soldiers rises against Ghazi Chak, but the rebels are defeated (p. 405).

‘AH ‘Adil Shah I forms an alliance with Vijayanagar (p. 451).

Ramaraya of Vijayanagar raids Portuguese territories (p. 491).

Muhammad ‘Adil Shah Sur passes away (p. 97).

Dasopahta, Marathi poet (p. 580).

Bhai Gurdas, the Sikh writer (p. 111).

Bairam Khan rebels, but surrenders to Akbar

(p. 111).

The Mughul army, raiding Kashmir under Mirza Qara Bahadur, is defeated by the forces of Ghazi Khan near Rajaori (p. 146).

Inquisition is launched on with vigour at Goa by the Portuguese (p. 508).

Bairam Khan is assassinated (p. 111).

Akbar’s army defeats Baz Bahadur at Sarangpur in a campaign against Malwa (p. 112).

Ahmad III, Sultan of (Gujarat, is assassinated (p. 401).

Akbar appoints Atga Khan his prime minister (Vakil) (p, 113).

Mirza Sulaiman, r. of Badakhshan, seeks Akbar’s help against the Uzbegs (p. 156).

Mughul army suppresses an uprising of the Afghans under Sher Khan Sur (p. 113).

Daulat Chak, the prime minister sets up Habib as king of Kashmir (p. 405).

Muzaffar III, Sultan of Gujarat (p. 401).

Akbar decides on Rajput alliances (p. 113).

1562

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1562- 1601

1563, April 15

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1563- 1624

1564, May 13

1564,

December 26

1564 1564 1564

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1564

Akbar overthrows Maham Anaga group (pp.

114, 115).

Shah Tahmasp sends an embassy to Akbar (p. 154).

Darya ‘Imad Shah, Sultan of Berar, passes away (p. 464).

B urban ‘Imad Shah, s. of Darya ‘Imad Shah, ascends Berar throne (p. 465).

Akbar repeals the Islamic law with regard to the making of prisoners of war and their conversion with their families into slaves and Muslims (pp. 115, 539).

Akbar curtails the authority of Sadr-us-Sudur (p. 115).

Akbar sends an expedition against Malwa under Abdullah Khan, who restores Mughul authority in Malwa (p. 113).

Akbar marries the daughter of Raja Bharmal of Ambar (p. 381).

Akbar pursues a policy of expansion of his empire (pp. 115, 116).

Birth of Guru Arjun, the Sikh Guru.

Akbar remits the pilgrim tax on the Hindus (p. 539).

Hussain Khan, br. of GhazI Khan usurps Kashmir's throne (p. 405).

Ibrahim Qutb Shah marries daughter of Husain Nizam Shah I (p. 423).

Mujaddid Alf-i-SanI Shaikh Sirhandl, who started the Orthodox reform movement in India (p, 233).

Sulaiman MIrza defeats Shah Abu-'1-Ma'all on the bank of the Ghurband and delivers him to Muhammad Hakim, who had him hanged (p. 143).

The confederate army of Deccan Sultans encamps at Talikota to crush Viiayanagar (pp. 414, 424).

Akbar abolishes the jizya on the Hindus (pp. 115, 381, 539).

Akbar appoints Muzaffar 'All Turbatl as the finance minister (Dtw&n) (p. 115).

Akbar lays the foundation of a township Nagarchain (the city of repose) near Agra

(p. 116).

Akbar marries daughter of Mubarak Shah, r. of Khandesh (p. 118).

Taj Khan KararanI, an officer of Sher Shah, overthrows the Surs, who had befriended Akbar (p. 129).

Akbar receives embassy from Shah Tahmasp (p. 154).

Death of Rani Durgavatl (p. 633).

1564

1564-1572 1565, January 23

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1565-1572

1565-1573

1565-1588

1565-1617

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November 16

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1566-1570 1567, August 31 1567, September 1567,

October 23

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1567-1568

1568,

Construction of Humiayun’s mausoleum at Delhi (p. 748).

The battle of Talikota (also known as Rakshasi-Tangadi) is fought between Vijayanagar and the confederate armies of Deccan Sultans (pp. 414, 425, 492-495).

Akbar sends an army against the Uzbeg officers in his service who had shown signs of a rebellion. Ultimately Akbar grants amnesty to the Uzbegs (pp. 117, 118). In 1566 also these Uzbeg officers rose in rebellion against Akbar but Akbar, after quelling the rebellion, forgives them and re-instates them in their positions (p. 119).

Shaikh 4 Abdun-NabI replaces Muhammad Salih of Herat as Sadr-us-Sudur (p. 115).

Husain Nizam Shah passes away (p. 426).

Downfall of Vijayanagar empire (p. 593).

Revival of Bengal Sultanate under Sulaiman Kararam (p. 129).

Akbar constructs the fortress palace at Agra (p. 756).

Murtaza Nizam Shah I (pp. 426-428).

Kesava-dasa, Hindi poet (p. 567).

In response to a call for help from Muhammad Hakim, Akbar sets out to Punjab (p. 143).

Tufal Khan, the regent of Burhan ‘Imad Shah, purchases peace with the Bijapur Sultan on payment of heavy sum of money (p. 465).

Akbar constructs the Delhi Gate at Agra (p. 756).

Sadashiva and Tirumala of Vijayanagar (p. 495).

Akbar starts on an expedition against the MIrzas (p. 120).

Akbar undertakes an expedition to Chitor (p. 121).

Akbar encamps opposite Chitor fort on his campaign against Mewar (pp. 121, 333).

rtimad Khan, a noble of Muzaffar Shah III, seeks Akbar's help against Chingiz Khan (pp. 125, 126).

Akbar suppresses finally the Uzbeg rebellion; in a battle at Sakrawal (Mankarwal) on 9th June, 1567, Khan Zaman is slain and Bahadur Khan is taken captive and later on executed (pp. 119, 120, 172).

Caesar Frederick visits Vijayanagar (p. 425).

Ibrahim Sur passes away (p. 97).

Jai Mai, the commander of Chitor fort is shot

February 23 1568,

February 25 1568, September

1568

1569, March 21

1569, August 30 (or September 9) 1569

1570, January

1570, June 7 1570, November

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February 28 1572, March 1

1572, July 2

1572,

September 10 1572, Novemb

1572, November

fatally by Emperor Akbar when Chitor is besieged (pp. 122, 333).

Chitor falls to Akbar and Akbar orders mass massacre (p. 334).

Akbar takes steps to improve administration in his empire (p. 122).

Akbar posts his Ambassadors Mirza Muqim and Ya‘qub at the Court of Husain Shah, r. of Kashmir (p. 146).

Rai Surjan Har(d)a, chief of Bundi, surrenders the fort of Ranthambhor and his two sons and accepts other conditions (p. 123).

Birth of Salim (Jahangir) (pp. 125, 175, 195 fn. 1).

‘All Khan (Shah) forces his brother Husain Khan to abdicate Kashmir throne in his favour (p. 406).

Murtaza Nizam Shah I, in alliance with ‘All ‘Adil Shah of Bijapur and the Zamorin, unsuccessfully raids Portuguese possessions of Chaul and Goa (pp. 427, 450).

Murad (Prince) is born (p. 125).

Baz Bahadur surrenders to Akbar and joins Akbar’s service (p. 113).

Tirumal celebrates his coronation at Penugonda (p. 497).

Akbar decides to make Sikri his capital (p. 125).

‘All Khan Chak attempts to seize the throne of Kashmir from ‘All Shah (p. 406).

The Asiatic empire of Portugal is divided into three independent commands (p. 507).

Purnanand writes his Saktakarma (p. 639).

Akbar constructs Akbar! Mahal at Agra (p. 758).

The tomb of Shaikh Salim Chishti is built at Sikri (p. 765).

Uday Singh, Ran a of Me war, passes away (p. 334).

Mahdrdnd Pratap Singh ascends Mewar throne (p. 335).

Akbar sets out on a campaign of Gujarat (pp. 126, 401).

Shaikh Daniyal (Prince) is born (p. 125).

Muzaffar III, Sultan of Gujarat, submits to Akbar (p. 401).

Akbar receives Yar ‘All Beg, envoy from Sultan Muhammad Khudabanda, gr. of Khurasan (p. 154).

Akbar defeats Ibrahim Husain Mirza at Sarnal (p. 127).

1572, December

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1572-1576

1572-1585

1572-1597

1573,

January 22 1573,

February 26 1573, June 3

1573, August

1573,

September 2

1573, October 5 1573

Death of Sulaiman KararanI, Bengal Sultan (p. 129).

Bayazid, s. of Sulaiman KararanI, ascends the throne of Bengal, but is murdered within a few months (p. 129).

Daud, Sulaiman's younger son, is raised to the throne of Bengal after murdering Bayazid (p. 129).

'Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg ruler, sends to Akbar his first envoy HajI Altamash who is received coldly and ultimately dismissed (p. 156).

'Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg ruler, objects to giving protection to MIrzJa Shah Rukh (p. 156).

Shah Tahmasp writes Tazkimt-i-Tahmdsp, which gives a history of Humayun's sojourn in Persia (p. 4).

Death of Ghazall MashhadI, Akbar's court poet

(p. 622).

Eknath completes his eleventh book of the Bhagavata Purdna (Marathi) (p. 650).

Maharana Pratap Singh consolidates his position (p. 336).

Srlranga, Vijayanagar ruler (p. 497).

Maharana Pratap Singh of Mewar (p. 335).

Mughul forces defeat the combind armies of Muhammad Husain MIrza, Shiah Mirzia and Sher Khan FuladI at Patan (p. 127).

Surat surrenders to Akbar (p. 127).

Akbar returns to Fathpur Slkrl after his Gujarat campaign (p. 127).

Muhammad Husain MIrza, Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khan FuladI create fresh troubles for Akbar in Gujarat

(p. 128).

Akbar reaches the vicinity of Ahmad&bad to deal with the threat of the confederacy of the rebels—Muhammad Husain MIrza, Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk and sons of Sher Khan FuladI. Akbar defeats the combined rebel forces and is victorious in the second campaign of Gujarat (p. 128).

Akbar returns to Fathpur Slkrl after his successful second campaign of Gujarat (p. 128).

Akbar introduces the far-reaching reforms in his administration such as branding system (dagh), conversion of assignments (jdglrs) into reserved lands (khdlisa), fixing the rank (mansab) and the gradation of pay of the officers of the State (p. 129).

1573

1573- 1595 1574, March

1574, June 20

1574, April

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1574

1574- 1581

1575, April 12

1575,

September 25

1575 1575

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1575

1575- 1595

1576, April

1576, June 21

1576, July 12

1576, October 11

1576

Akbar despatches envoys to the Courts of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar (p. 161).

Emperor Akbar crushes the Gujarat rebellion (p. 381).

Five famines visit northern-India (p. 735).

Chandra Sen, s. of Raja Mai Dev of Jodhpur rises against the Mughuls (p. 131).

Akbar starts for Patna to reduce Daud, Sultan of Bengal (p. 130).

Narnala is captured by Murtaza I (p. 465).

Murtaza Niziam Shah I annexes Berar to Ahmadnagar kingdom (pp. 161, 413, 427).

Bhakkar surrenders to Mughuls (p. 151).

Gosvami Tulsi-dasa commences writing his Rama Charita Mdnasa (p. 565).

Guru Ram Das, the Sikh Guru (p. 664).

Daud, Sultan of Bengal submits to Munim Khan, Mughul commander at Cuttack and is given a fief, after his defeat at Tukaroi on 3rd March, 1575

(p. 130).

Mughul army under Mun‘im Khan captures Tanda, capital of Daud, Bengal Sultan (p. 130).

Ibadat-Khana (House of Worship) is founded by Akbar at Fathpur Sikri (p. 134).

Mirza Sulaiman, r. of Badakhshan, who is expelled by his rebellious grandson, Mirza Shah Rukh, seeks Akbar’s protection (p. 156).

Mirza ‘Ala-ud-daulah Qazvini writes his Nafdis-ul-Maasir which gives biographical accounts of Persian poets of Akbar’s time (p. 8).

Plague visits Bengal (p. 735).

Composition of Chaitanya Charitdmrita by Krishnadas Kaviraj. Some hold that this was written between 1612 and 1615 (p. 555).

Akbar sends an expedition against Maharand Pratap Singh of Mewar under the command of Rajia Man Singh and Asaf Khan (Ghiyasud-din ‘All) (p. 131).

The battle of Haldighat is fought between Maharand Pratap Singh and Mughul army and Maharand Pratap is defeated (pp. 132, 335,336).

Daud, Sultan of Bengal, who rises against Mughuls again, is defeated at the battle of Rajmahal, taken prisoner and executed (p. 131).

Akbar leaves Ajmer for Gogunda with a large army against Maharand Pratap (p. 337).

Shah Tahmasp passes away (p. 154).

1576

1577, February

1577, July 9 1577

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1578, March

1578, April 4 1578, October

1578, October

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Vijayanagar army defeats the Bijapur army when the latter laai siege to Chandragiri (p. 452).

Akbar despatches an expedition under Shihabud-din Ahmad Khan against Raja ‘All Khan of Khandesh, who refused to recognise the sovereignty of Akbar and pay tribute (p. 161).

Two envoys of Mlrza Shah Rukh of Badakhshan reach Akbar’s Court (p. 156).

Mihr ‘All, a servant of Ibrahim Husain Mlrza rises in revolt against the Mughuls (p. 133).

Akbar receives envoy from the Sultan of Ahmadnagar (p. 161).

Akbar receives a second embassy from ‘Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg ruler (p. 157).

Mihr-un-nisa (Nur Jahan) is born near Qandahar (p. 184, 185).

Hasan Beg Romulu writes his Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh, which gives a contemporary account of Persia (p. 7).

Purnananda writes his Srltattva Chintamanl (p. 639).

Akbar sends another expedition under command of Shahbaz Khan to capture Kumbhalgarh (p. 338).

The Mughuls capture Kumbhalgarh (p. 338).

Akbar sends an expeditionary force under command of Shahbaz Khan against Mahamna Pratap, who had started recovering his lost territories (p. 132).

The Xbadat Khana (House of Worship) founded by Akbar becomes a Parliament of Religions (p. 135).

Dastur Mahyarjl Rana, an exponent of Zoroastrianism, arrives at the Court of Akbar (p. 137).

Muzaffar III of Gujarlat, who is in custody of Mughuls since 1572, escapes to Saurashtra (p. 145).

Akbar sends a mission to Muhammad Hakim, r. of Kabul to acknowledge his sovereignty, but in vain (p. 144).

Akbar sends Mulla Tshqi and QazI Sadr-uddin as Mughul envoys at the Court of ‘All Shiah, r. of Kashmir on the acceptance of Mughul suzerainty by the Shah (pp. 147, 406).

The Portuguese viceroy of Goa sends Antonio Cabral as an ambassador to Akbar's court (p. 159).

Akbar sends an envoy to Mlrza Shah Rukh of Badakhshan (p. 156).

1578

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1578- 1580 1579, June 26

1579,

September 2

1579 1579 1579 1579

1579- 1580

1580, January 1580,

February 28 1580, November 8

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Madhukar Shah, the Bundela chief, submits to Mughuls (p. 376).

Haidar Malik writes his Tdrikh^i-Kdshmir (p. 12).

Death of Jamal al-DIn Muhammad Tahir, Arabic writer (p^ 619).

Haji Muhammad ‘Arif Qandaharl writes his Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi, a most valuable history of Akbar’s reign, (p. 4).

Akbar recites the Kh(utba composed by Faizi in verse which ends with the words Allahu Akbar and claims that he is the agent of God—Khalifatu’lldh. (p. 135).

Akbar becomes the Imam and the Mujtahid of the age by the famous declaration (Mahzar) which he obtained from tne Ularna. Akbar becomes the Khalifa (head of Islamic faith) in India, (pp. 135, 136, 158).

Akbar enters into a friendly alliance with Nara

N'arayan of Cooch Behar. (p. 184).

All Shah, the ruler of Kashmir, passes away, (p. 406).

Golconda army under Murhari Rao sacks Ahobalam and invades other places, (p. 471).

The first Englishman, Thomas Stephens (a Jesuit), visits western India (Goa), (p. 512).

Akbar revises the policy of assignment system introduced in 1573. (p. 129).

Lohar Chak(k) overthrows Yusuf Shah, ruler of Kashmir, (p. 147).

The first Jesuit Mission from Goa arrives at Akbar’s Court on an invitation from Emperor Akbar. (pp. 137, 159).

Yusuf Shah, dethroned ruler of Kashmir, defeats Lohar Chak(k), the usurper at Sopur and regains his kingdom without Mughul assistance, (p. 147).

Akbar sends an army under the command of Raja Man Singh to help Yusuf Shah to wrest Kashmir throne from the usurper, (p. 406).

Mirza Hakim raids Mughul territories of the Punjab, (p. 144).

Rebellion breaks out in Bengal with the slogan “Islam in danger .” (pp. 139, 141, 142).

‘All Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, is assassinated. (pp. 429, 452).

Ibrahim Qutb Shah Sultan of Golconda passes away. (p. 472).

The ‘Union of Portugal and Spain’ under Philip II hastens the downfall of maritime and commercial supremacy of the Portuguese in the East. (p. 510).

1580

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1580-1586

1580-1587

1580-1612

1580- 1627

1581,

February 6 1581, February 1581, July 12

1581, August 10

1581,

December 1

1581

1581- 1582

1581-1606

1582, April

1582 1582

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Ceylonese rise in rebellion against the Portu* guese. (p. 507).

The Spanish monopoly of the Magellan route is successfully challenged by Sir Francis Drake, (p. 510).

Decline of Portuguese trade with India, (p. 510).

Akbar permits those Hindus, who had been forcibly converted to Islam, to revert to the religion of their forefathers, and restores the Hindu women forcibly married to Musalmans to their families, (p. 539).

Yusuf Shah Chak, ruler of Kashmir, (p. 577).

Ibrahim Barid Shah II, Sultan of Bidar, p. 468).

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda. (p. 472).

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, Sultan of Bijapur. (p. 452).

Man Singh, Mughul commander, repulses the attack of Mlrza Hakim and defends Lahore, (p. 144).

Akbar sets out from Fathpur Slkri to chastise Mlrza Hakim, (p. 144).

Prince Murad defeats Mlrza Hakim in a battle near Kabul, (p. 145).

Akbar triumphantly enters Kabul.

Akbar returns to Fathpur Slkri after an expedition against Mlrza Hakim and pardoning him and reinstating him to the Government of Kabul, (p. 145).

Akbar sends Mlrza Tahir and Salih ‘Aqil as envoys to Kashmir Court, (p. 147).

Prince Salim at the age of 12 assumes nominal charge of government departments and military detachments, as per the Tlmurid custom, (p. 175).

Arjun, the Sikh Guru. (pp. 307, 664).

Khan A‘zam is appointed Mughul governor of Bengal, (p. 142).

Akbar promulgates the Dln-i-Ildhi. (p. 138).

Akbar receives a Jain delegation, which he himself had invited, (p. 137).

Akbar effects further curtailment of power of Sadr-us-Sudur and appoints six provincial Sadrs, (p. 115).

An English fleet attempts voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. (p. 510).

Akbar withdraws from the provincial governors the power of inflicting capital punishment. (p. 549).

1582

1583, February 1583, March 1583, September

1583,

November 26

1583

1583-1584

1583-1591

1584, January

1584, March

1584 1584

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1585,

December 31

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1586,

February 24 1586, February

Narottam Thakur brings about a synthesis of different schools of Bengal Vaishnavism and holds a grand festival to mark this synthesis, (p. 645).

Fr. Rudolf of the Jesuit Mission leaves Akbar’s Court, (p. 159).

Khan A‘zam recovers Teliyagarhi, which was taken by the rebels, (p. 142).

Muzaffar III raises a rebellion against the Mughuls and captures Ahmadabad. (p. 145).

Shahbaz Khan, a Mughul commander, defeats M‘asum Khan Kabuli, a rebel leader of Bengal, (pp. 141-142).

Ralph Fitch and a few other Englishmen reach India via the Persian Gulf. (p. 512).

Famine visits North-Western India, (p. 735).

Ralph Fitch, European traveller, tours India, (p. 734).

Akbar sends an army under Mlrza Khan to quell the rebellion on Muzaffar III in Gujarat. (p. 146).

Mlrza Khan defeats Muzaffar III at Nandod and puts him to flight, (p. 146).

Akbar adopts the solar Ilahi era. (p. 137).

‘Abdullah Khan Uzbeg of Bukhara occupies Badakshan and incites the frontier tribes to rise against Mughuls. Mlrza Shah Rukh seeks refuge at Akbar’s Court, (pp. 151, 156).

Mahdrdnd Pratap Singh recaptures many of his lost territories, (p. 338).

Akbar sends an expeditionary force under Mlrza Shah Rukh and Raja Bhagwan Das to subjugate Kashmir, (p. 147).

Bayazid passes away. His son Jalal-ud-dln becomes the leader of the Raushanais. (p. 148).

Kabul is annexed to Mughul empire, (p. 151).

A party of three Englishmen—John Newbery, Ralph Fitch and William Leedes—arrive at Akbar’s Court with a letter from Queen Elizabeth of England (written in February, 1583) recommending favourable reception, friendly treatment and suitable privileges.

(p. 160).

Akbar orders an expedition under Khan Azam against Berar which does not come off till 1586 (p. 162).

Rajla Jagannath attempts to crush Mahdvdna Pratap Singh, but in vain. (p. 338).

The temple of Radha Vallabh is constructed at Vrindavana. (p. 648).

Emperor Akbar’s army invades Kashmir and Yusuf Shah submits to Akbar. (p. 147, 407).

Death of Raja Birbal. (p. 149).

1586, March 11	Akbar receives an envoy (Mir Quraish) from
	Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg chief, (p. 157).
1586, April 7	Akbar refuses to recognise the treaty entered into with Yusuf Shah of Kashimr, and imprisons Yusuf Shah, although he was assured of safe conduct by Raja Bhagwan Das. (p. 148).
1586, July 8	Ya'qub, son of Yusuf Shah ruler of Kashmir challenges Mughul authority over Kashmir, (p. 148).
1586, July 8	Akbar sends an army under Qasim Khan to chastise Ya'qub, son of Yusuf Shah, ruler of Kashmir, who challenged Mughul supremacy
1586, August	over Kashmir, (pp. 148, 408).

7	Ya'qub, the Kashmir rebel, surrenders to Akbar at Sopur. (p. 148).
1586, October 15	Qasim Khan, Mughul commander, defeats Kashmiri forces and enters Srinagar, (p. 148).
1586	Jalal-ud-din forms a confederacy of Raushanais, Yusufzais, the Mohmands, the Khalils and other tribes against Mughuls and raids Mughul territories, (p. 150).
1586	Ya'qub makes two ‘unsuccessful attempts to wrest Srinagar from the Mughuls. (p. 148).
1586	Mughuls besiege Sehwan. (p. 151).
1586	Jam Beg, ruler of Bind, offers submission to Akbar, but later on asserts independence, (p. 151).
1586	Mughul expedition under Khan ‘Azam against Berar fails and the Mughul forces have to retreat from the battlefield of Chandur
	against the combined opposition of Raja ‘All Khan and Nizam Shah. (p. 161).
1586	Ibriahlm ‘Adil Shah II, Sultan of Bijapur, marries Malika Zaman, sister of Sultan of
1586-1600	Golconda. (p. 472).
	Rajadhara, ruler of Tripura, (p. 642).

1586-1614 Venkata II, ruler of Vijayanagar. (pp. 497, 608).

1587 Akbar transfers Raja Man Singh to Bihar.

(p. 150).

1587 Ya'qub makes a third attempt to wrest Srinagar from the Mughuls, but his attempt is foiled by Mirza Yusuf Khan, governor of Kashmir, (p. 148).

1587 Akbar suppresses finally the revolt in Bengal (p. 142).

1587 ‘Abbas Sarwani writes his Tdrikh-i-Sher Shahi alias Tuhfd-i-Akbar Shahi which deals with the reign and administration of Sher Shiah.

(p. 8).

1587

1587

1587-1591

1587- 1629

1588, June 14 1588

1588

1588- 1589 1588-1589

1589, April 1

1589, May 6 1589, August 7 1589, October

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Jauhar Aftabchi writes Tazkirdt-ul-Wdqui'ut, a wellknown chronicle of Humayun’s reign under Emperor Akbar’s orders, (p. 4).

Gulbadan Begum (daughter of Babur) writes Humdyun nama , in Persian at Akbar’s instance which is a first-rate authority on the domestic relations of the first two Mughul rulers with their wives, sons, daughters, and other members of the royal family and on their social and harem life. (p. 3).

Qasim Barid Shiah II, Sultan of Bidar. (p. 468).

Shah Abbas, the Safavi King of Persia, (p. 473).

Closer contacts are established between Akbar and Shah Abbas of Persia, (p. 154).

Husain, son of Murtaza Nizam Shah I, murders his father and succeeds to Ahmadnagar throne, (p. 161, 428).

Mughul army under the command of Zain Khan undertakes a campaign into Swat and Bajaur. (p. 150).

Narayana Bhatta composes his Ndrayamyam. (p. 653).

Husain Nizam Shah II, Sultan of Ahmadnagar. (p. 428).

Jaffar Beg and Asaf Khan write Tarfkh-i-Alfi under orders from Akbar. (p. 13).

Husain, son of Murtaza Nizam Shah I of Ahmadnagar, is deposed and murdered by the nobles. Isma'Il, son of Burhan-ud-din, younger brother of Murtaza Nizam Shah I, is raised to the throne, (p. 161).

Death of Miyan Tansen, the reputed singer at Akbar’s Court (p. 408).

Ya'qub, Shah of Kashmir sumbits to Emperor Akbar. (p. 408).

Akbar visits Kabul, (p. 150).

Burhan-ud-dTn, the younger brother of Murtaza Nizam Shah I, invades Berar. (p. 162).

Akbar visits Kashmir for the first time. (p. 153).

Hakim Humlam, an envoy of Akbar who had gone to the Court of 'Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg, returns to Akbar’s Court with a letter from ‘Abdullah Khan. (p. 157).

Raja Bhagwan Das passes away. (p. 167).

Raja Todar Mai passes away. (p. 167).

Peace treaty is concluded between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. (p. 429).

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II builds Anand Mahal at Bijapur, (p. 456).

Death of Shaikh Wajih-al-Din ‘Alawi, saint, scholar and writer, (p. 619).

Mahldhara writes his Mantra-mahodadhi. (p. 639).

1589-1591

1590

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1590, August

1590

1591,

January 4 1591, May

1591, August

1591, October

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1591-1592

1591-1595

1591-1601

1592, January 15 1592, April 18

1592, July

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1592

1592

Isma‘11 Nizam Shah II. (p. 429).

The Afghans repudiate the treaty with the Mughuls and capture Puri. (p. 152).

Khan Khanan ‘Abdur-Rahim invades Sehwlan. (p. 151).

Mughuls conquer the kingdom of Afghan ruler Qutlu Khan Lohani in north-Orissa and the ruler’s son Naslr Khan pays homage to Man Singh, (p. 152).

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda, builds a new capital at Hyderabad, (p. 472).

Maulavi Husain, an envoy of ‘Abdullah Khan, reaches Akbar’s Court, (p. 157).

Burhan-ud-dm, younger brother of Murtaza Nizam Shah, deposes Isma‘11 and occupies the throne of Ahmadnagar as Burhan Nizam Shah II. (p. 162).

Akbar sends ambassadors to the Sultans of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. (p. 162).

Khan Khanan ‘Abdur-Rahim inflicts a severe defeat on Jani Beg and ultimately Jani Beg submits to Mughuls. (p. 151).

Salim tries to seize sovereign power, (p. 166).

Akbar receives the second Jesuit Mission at Lahore, (p. 159).

Shah ‘Abbas sends his envoy Yadgar Sultan Rumlu to Akbar. (p. 155).

Bijapur army led by Dilavar Khan is defeated by Ahmadnagar army at Dharaseo. (p. 454).

Captain Lancaster rounds the Cape of Good Hope and voyages to Cape Comorin and the Malay Peninsula, (p. 510).

Bayazid writes Tdrikh-i-Humdyun which gives history of both Humayun and Blabur. (p. 4).

Burhan NiZam Shah II. (p.48).

Amir Band II, Sultan of Bldar. (p. 468).

Birth of Shah Jahan at Lahore, (p. 197).

The Afghans and the Mughuls fight a battle at Benapur (in Orissa) and the Afghans are defeated, (p. 152).

Akbar leaves for Kashmir to deal with Yadgar (cousin of Mirzla Yusuf Khan) who rebelled against Akbar. (p. 153).

Jalal-ud-din, after his return from Turan, gives troubles to Mughuls in the N. W. Frontier region. (p. 150).

Madhukar Shah, the Bundela chief, passes away. (p. 376).

Burhan Nizam Shah II raids Bijpaur. (p. 430).

1592

1592-1593

1593, January

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1594 1594

1595, April 18

1595, April 1595, May 5

1595,

December 26

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1595

Burhan Nizam Shah II raids Chaul, a Portuguese fortress but ultimately has to retreat, (p. 430).

Mughul campaigns against Jalal-ud-din, leader of a confederacy against Mughuls (p. 150).

The Mughuls conquer Orissa (p. 152).

Zain Khan, Mughul commander, suppresses the rebellion of Afghan and other tribes in N'.W. frontier region and receives submission of the rebel leaders, (p. 150).

Muzaffar III, who is hounded like a wild beast by the Mughuls, is captured by Khan A‘zam, governor of Gujarat, but Muzaffar commits suicide on the way. (p. 146).

FaizI, an envoy of Akbar, and other envoys who had been sent to Deccan Sultans by Akbar, return to Akbar’s Court without getting acknowledgement of Mughul sovereignty from the Deccan Sultans, (p. 162).

Jam Beg is appointed governor of Multan and afterwards of Sind by Akbar. (p. 152).

Shaikh Mubarak, Akbar’s counsellor, passes away. (p. 167).

The Levant Company of England gets an extended Charter permitting it to trade overland with India, (p. 511).

Akbar sends an embassy to Shah ‘Abblas of Persia, (p. 155).

Isma‘il, brother of Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, rebels, but the rebellion is suppressed, (p. 454).

Akbar finally conquers Qandahar without a battle when Abdullah Khan surrenders the fort. (pp. 151, 154).

Burhan Nizam Shah II passes away. (p. 162).

A Jesuit Mission (third) consisting of Fr. Jerome Xavier, Fr. Emmanuel Pinheiro and Br. Benedict de Goes arrives at Akbar’s Court at Lahore, (p. 159).

Mughul forces under Prince Murad, Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim and Raja ‘All Khan besiege Ahmadnagar (pp. 163, 432).

Akbar annexes Baluchistan (p. 151).

Akbar annexes to his kingdom Cutch, Makran and territories up to the border of Qandahar (p. 153).

Akbar completes conquest of northern India, including Baluchistan, but excluding Assam (p. 153).

Faizi, the poet laureate passes away (p. 167).

Burhan Nizam Shah II passes away (p. 430).

1595

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1595-1601 1596, March 23

1596, May 1596, June 14

1596-1597

1597,

January 29 1597,

February 8/9

1597, July 30

1597

1597-1620

1597- 1689

1598, February

1598, November

1598

1598

1598- 1650

1599, March 11

1599, May 12 1599, May

Ibrahim Nizam Shah, Sultan of Ahmadnagar, whose reign lasts only for a few months, is slain in a battle against Ahmadnagar (p. 431).

The first Dutch fleet passes Cape of Good Hope despite Portuguese defiance (p. 507).

The Dutch complete as many as fifteen voyages to the East (p. 510).

Chand Sultan, on behalf of Ahmadnagar, concludes peace with Prince Murad by agreeing to cede Berar to Mughuls (pp. 163, 433).

Haushanais again rise in revolt against the Mughuls in N.W. frontier region (p. 151).

Akbar sends his ambassadors Khvaja Ashraf Naqshbandl and Shaikh Husain to ‘Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg (p. 157).

‘Abdul-Haqq writes his Tarikh-i-Haqql (p. 7).

Maharana Pratap Singh passes away (pp. 132, 339).

The battle of Ashti (near Sonpet) is fought between the Mughul forces and the forces of Bijiapur and Golconda who had rushed to the rescue of Ahmadnagar in which the Mughuls are victorious (pp. 163, 164, 434).

‘Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg, sends back Akbar’s envoys with his own envoy Mir Quraish to Akbar’s Court, who reach on April, 29, 1598 (p. 158).

Akbar visits Kashmir for the third and last time (p. 153).

Maharana Amar Singh of Mewar (p. 340).

Sundaradasa (p. 654).

‘Abdullah Khan, the Uzbeg ruler, passes away (p. 158).

Minuchihr Beg, envoy of Shah ‘Abbas, arrives at Akbar’s Court (p. 155).

Mughul forces take Gawil, Narnala, Kherta and a few other forts in Berar (p. 164).

The King of Spain instructs the viceroy of Goa to maintain the Jesuit Mission at Akbar's Court, although Akbar could not be converted to Christianity (p. 159).

Santa Tukanama (p. 581). Some assign to him the date 1608-49 (p. 650).

Mlrza 'All Beg, envoy of Shah 'Abbas, arrives at Akbar's Court (p. 155).

Prince Murad passes away (pp. 164, 434).

Abu-'l-Fazl at the head of the Mughul army reaches Burhanpur but fails to win over Raja 'All Khan to Mughul side (p. 164).

1599,

September 29 1599, December

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1599-1606 1600, January 1

1600, March

1600, April 8

1600, April 21 1600, April

1600, June 21 1600, July 23

1600, August 28 1600,

December 9 1600,

December 21 1600

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1600

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1600- 1632 1601, April

1601, August 23

1601

1601- 1609

1602, May

Akbar leaves for the Deccan with a mighty force (p. 164).

Captain Lancaster leads the first voyage of the East India Co. to the East (p. 510).

The Synod of Diamper (Udayampura) tries to suppress completely the Syrian Christianity of Malabar (p. 509).

An influential body of London merchants plan the formation of a company to monopolise the eastern trade (p. 511).

The English declare that they have a right to trade in all places where the Portuguese and the Spaniards have not established any fort, settlement or factory (p. 510).

‘Usman Khan rises in rebellion in Bengal against Jahangir (p. 183).

John Mildenhall tours India (p. 20).

Prince Daniylal, who is appointed to the Deccan command, reaches Burhanpur (p. 164).

Akbar sends an embassy to viceroy of Goa purely with a view to gaining political alliance (p. 159).

Akbar reaches Burhanpur on the Deccan expedition (p. 164).

Mughuls besiege Ahmadnagar (p. 165).

Chand Sultan is put to death (p. 165). Some give the date as July 1600 (cf. p. 435).

Mughuls capture Sapan hill (p. 165).

Salim makes an unsuccessful attempt to seize Agra (p. 166).

Mughuls capture Ahmadnagar (p. 165).

Mughuls capture Mallgarh near Asirgarh (p. 165).

Bahadur Shah of Khandesh comes to Akbar's camp for negotiations (p. 165).

Jalal-ud-din, leader of the Raushanais, passes away (p. 151).

Akbar makes a fresh attempt to annex Mewar (pp. 133, 340, 386).

Malik ‘Ambar raises Murtaza Shah Nizam-ulMulk (Murtaza II) to Ahmadnagar throne and makes Parenda temporary capital (p. 436).

Sarvajna, Kannada poet (p. 598).

Raghunatha Nayaka, ruler of Tanjore (p. 595).

Salim rises in revolt against Akbar (p. 166).

Akbar returns to Agra from his Deccan campaign (p. 166).

Akbar conquers Asirgarh (p. 116).

Mirza ʻAli Barid, Sultan of Bidar (p. 468).

Salim sets up as an independent monarch at Allahabad and sends an envoy to Akbar to negotiate peace (pp. 166, 167).

1602, August 19 1602

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1603, October 1603

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1604, April 1604,

November 16

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1604-1605

1605,

October 25/26 1605, November 3

Bir Singh Bundela, an accomplice of Salim, falls upon Abu-'l-Fazl's party and slains Abu-'l-Fazl (p. 167).

Takhta Beg Mughul commander suppresses the revolt of Raushanais, Afridis, Pani, Orakzai and the Suri tribes led by Ahdad (p. 151).

Ma'sum Khan Bhakkari, Akbar's envoy reaches the Court of Shah 'Abblas, the Safavi ruler (p. 155).

The Dutch gain supremacy over the Straits of Sunda, the route to the Moluccas and Spice Islands (p. 508).

The Dutch combine the several Indian companies in their State under one Dutch United East India Co. (p. 510).

The Dutch form a United and armed national trading company (p. 518).

Salim is deputed to lead an expedition against

Rana of Mewar but expresses his reluctance (pp. 168, 340).

John Mildenhall, an English merchant, arrives at Akbar's Court with a letter from Queen Elizabeth of England and gifts (pp. 160, 512).

The Persians wrest from the Mughuls Zamin Dawar and Garmsir which were taken earlier by Shah Beg Khan, Akbar's general (p. 154).

Shah 'Abbas, the Safavi king of Persia, sends an embassy to Muhammad Qull Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda (p. 473).

Death of Khwaja Baqi Billah, a Sufi (p. 670).

Muhi-ud-din 'Abd-ur Qadir writes An-nur-usSafir which contains a general history of the period (p. 8).

Prince Daniyal passes away (p. 168).

Rapproachment between Akbar and Salim (p. 168).

Man Bai, wife of Prince Salim, passes away (p. 175).

Guru Arjun Dev compiles finally the Adi Granth (Granth Sahib) which is written in verse in Gurumukhi script (pp. 572, 664).

Tobacco, which was unknown in India till the last quarter of the 16th century and which was brought to Gujarat by the Portuguese, is introduced in Akbar's Court (p. 728). Akbar, the great Mughul emperor, breathes his last (p. 169).

Jahangir (Prince Salim) ascends the Mughul throne at Agra (p. 175).

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1605- 1627 1606, April 6

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1608-1682

1608-1695

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Jija Bai is married to Shahji Bhonsle (p. 247).

Muhi-ud-dm ‘Abd-ur-Qadir writes Rauz&t-utTdlnirin, which is a general history of the period (p. 8).

‘Inayat Ullah completes his Takinil-i-Akbcirndma, which is a continuation of Abu-lFazl’s Akbar-ndma (p. 7).

Death of Hakim ‘Alawl Khan JllanI, Court poet of Akbar (p. 617).

Yahya-bin-‘Abdul Latif writes his Muntakhabut-Tawdrikh, which gives an account of Babur, Humayun and Akbar (p. 8).

£ Abdus Samad writes his Akhbdr-ul-Asfiya (p.

14).

Vlrasimha, ruler of Orchha (p. 634).

Khusrav escapes from Agra, goes to Punjab and on his way raises troops (p. 179).

Arjun Dev, the Sikh Guru, passes away (p. 309). (Sir Jadunath Sarkar gives this date as June, 1606).

Qutb-ud-dln is appointed Mughul governor of Bengal (p. 185).

Mulla Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah writes his Gulshan-i-Ibrdhimi alias Tarikh-i-Firishta, which is a general history of Muslim India up to Jahangir and history of the Deccan Sultanates (p. 7).

Har Govind, the Sikh Guru (p. 310).

Jahangir sends an embassy to Goa (p. 189).

Malik ‘Ambar transfers the Nizam ShahS capital from Parenda to Junnar (p. 437).

Jahangir sends the second expedition under Mahabat Khan to Mewar but the expedition is a failure (pp. 180, 341).

Jahangir sends Khan Khanan to Deccan (p. 181).

Captain Hawkins arrives at Surat with a letter from James I, King of England, and a present of 25,000 gold pieces to JahJanglr (p. 190).

Captain William Hawkins goes to Mughul Court seeking permission to erect a factory at Surat for the English East India Co., but in vain (p. 511).

William Finch, a European traveller tours India (pp. 20, 718, 734).

William Hawkins travels in India (p. 20).

Samartha Ramadasa Sviami! (pp. 582, 651). (some give the date as 1608-1681).

Viamana Pandita, Marathi poet (p. 583).

Cooch Behar becomes a vassal kingdom of the Mughul empire (p. 184).

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1609-1615

1609-1619 1609-1690 1610, February

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Jahangir replaces Mahabat Khan by ‘Abdullah Khan for Mew&r campaigns, who is also subsequently replaced (pp. 180, 341).

Prince Parviz is appointed governor of Khandesh and Berar (pp. 181, 438).

Har Govind, the Sikh Guru, constructs the Akal Takht (God’s Throne) at Amritsar (p. 310).

Prince Parviz’s Deccan campaign (pp. 181, 182).

Amir Barid Shah III, Sultan of Bidar (p. 468).

Muktesvara, Marathi poet (p. 583).

Affonso de Albuqlierque conquers Goa (p. 505).

The Dutch establish a fortified settlement at Pulicat (p. 512).

Jahangir sends an embassy to Goa (p. 189).

The English fleet under Captain Middleton defeats the Portuguese fleet off Bombay (p. 508).

The English attempt a landing at Pulicat but fail due to the opposition of the Dutch (p. 514).

The English land at Masulipatam for the first time (p. 514).

Captain Middleton gets permission from the Mughul governor for the English East India Co., to trade near Surat (p. 511).

Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mai, subdues Kharda (in Orissa) for Mughuls (p. 183).

Jahangir marries Nur Jahan (p. 184).

Captain Hawkins, who had brought a letter from James I of England, presents it to Mughul Emperor, and returns to England without accomplishing his object (p. 190).

The Shah of Persia sends a formal embassy to Jahangir (p. 191).

‘Abdullah Khan (Firuz-jang) is appointed Mughul governor of Gujarat (p. 341).

Eredia de Manual Godino tours Gujarat (p.

21).

‘Abdullah Muhammad bin ‘Umer al-Makki writes his Zaifar-ul-Walih bi Mfuzaffair wa Alih (p. 11).

Nur Jahan exercises a sobering and beneficent influence on Mughul politics (p. 186).

Khan Khanan is put again in charge of the Deccan campaign (p. 182).

Mughuls subdue finally the Afghans in Bengal (p. 183).

Arjumand Banu Begam (Mumtaz Mahall), daughter of Asaf Khan, is married to Prince Khurram (p. 186).

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1615-1619 c.1615-1674

Har Govind, the Sikh Guru, who was held in captivity by Jahangir is set free (p. 311).

‘Abdullah Khan, Mughul governor of Gujarat raids Nizam Shahi territory and penetrates up to Daulatabad but is forced to return to Gujarat (p. 439).

Muhammad Qull Qutb Shah passes away (p. 474).

The English establish their first factory at Surat (p. 512).

The Mausoleum of Islam Khan is built at SikrI (p. 766).

Kamalakara Bhatta writes his Nirnayasindhu (p. 637).

Muhammad Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda (p. 474).

Mughuls conquer Kamrup (p. 184).

Portuguese sieze four Mughul vessels near Surat, which leads to the defeat of Portuguese navy by Mughuls (p. 189).

Jahangir sends an embassy to the Shah of Persia (p. 191).

Khan A‘zam Mlrza ‘Aziz Koka replaces Raja Basu, Mughul commander in Rajasthan (p. 341).

Sikandar bin Muhammad writes Mirat-i-Sikandafi (p. 11).

Muhammad GhausI Shattari writes his Gulzdri-Abmr (p. 14).

Samaraja, Marathi poet (p. 583).

Bhushana, Hindi poet (p. 568).

After concluding peace with the Mughuls, Maharania Amar Singh, visits Khurram’s camp (p. 343).

The English again attempt a landing at Pulicat but fail due to the opposition of the Dutch (p. 514).

Muhammad Sadiq Kashmiri Hamadani writes his Kalimat-us-Sadiqm (p. 14).

Jahangir sends an expedition to Kangra under Murtaza Khan and Suraj Mai (p. 183).

Mughuls capture Khokhar (p. 183).

Jahangir sends an unsuccessful expedition against Assam under the command of Sayyid Abu Bakr (p. 184).

The Jesuits have reconciliation with Jahangir (p. 189).

Paul Canning, an Englishman, arrives at the Court of Jahangir (p. 190).

Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador in India (p. 21).

Akho (Akha Bhagat) (Vedantakavisiromani), Gujarati poet (p. 570).

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1620, January 26 1620,

November 16

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The Nizam Shahl army led by Malik ‘Ambar is defeated at Rosalgarh by the Mughul army led by Shah Navaz Khan (p. 439).

The English enter into commercial relations with the Zamorin of Calicut (p. 508).

The ruler of Kharda who had accepted Mughul suzerainty in 1611 rebels, but is subdued and his territory is annexed to Mughul empire (p. 183).

Prince Khurram, in charge of the Deccan campaign, reaches Burhanpur (p. 182).

The rulers of Navanagar and Bahara submit to Mughuls (p. 183).

Fr. Xavier passes away (p. 189).

Jahangir forbids smoking (p. 729).

The Dutch capture Amboyna island in the Southern Molucass (p. 511).

Sir Thomas Roe, the royal ambassador from King James I of England, gets two farmans issued by the Mughul Emperor and Prince Khurram—one for trade and the other for exemption from inland tolls (p. 511).

Ramadevaraya, emperor of Vijayanagar (p. 497).

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II of Bijiapur annexes Bidar to his kingdom (pp. 413, 455, 468).

The Dutch become masters of Java and Ceylon (p. 518).

Death of Maharaja Amar Singh of Mewar (pp. 344, 387).

Kangra surrenders to Jahangir (p. 183).

Malik ‘Ambar wins back all the territories lost to Mughuls (p. 182).

Kishtwar submits to Mughuls (p. 183).

Ladli Begam (Nur Jahan’s daughter by her former husband) is betrothed to Prince Shahryar (p. 186).

Karna Singh, Maharana of Mewar (p. 344).

Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (p. 21).

The relations between Bijapur and Ahmadnagar become strained and both of them seek Mughul help (p. 182).

Prince Khusrav is murdered by one Raza (according to De Laet) (p. 187).

Qandahar is captured by the Persians (p. 191).

The English capture Ormuz and establish a factory at Gombroon (p. 508).

Prince Khurram rises in rebellion against Jahangir but the rebel forces are defeated near Balochpur (p. 187).

Prince Khurram plunders Ambar (p. 344).

Death of Gosvami Tulsi-dasa (p. 566).

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1623-1624

1623-1659

1623-1671

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1626- 1672

1627, April 6 1627, September

1627, November 7

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1627- 1656

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January 1 1628,

February 24 1628, March

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1628- 1652

1628- 1690

1629- 1643 1630

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1630- 1633

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Surat starts exporting tobacco grown in India, after its introduction in India by the Portuguese (p. 729).

Pietro Della Valle travels in India (p. 21).

Tirumala Nayaka, ruler of Madura (p. 596).

Raghavendratirtha, Madhva pontiff and commentator (p. 615).

Malik ‘Ambar inflicts a crushing defeat on the combined forces of Mughuls and Bijapur at Bhatvadi (pp. 248, 442, 474).

Shah Jahan demolishes the fortifications of Chitor (p. 345).

Rupa-bhavanI, Kashmiri poetesss (p. 578).

Sholapur is conquered by Nizam Shahi forces (p. 442).

Malik ‘Ambar passes away at the age of 80 (pp. 182, 443).

Muhammad Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda, passes away (p. 475).

Both the English and the Dutch advance from Surat and seize Bombay (p. 519).

Muhammad Amin writes his Anafaul-i-Akhbdr, a general history of the Muslim world (p. 8).

‘Abdullah Qutb Shiah, Sultan of Golconda (p. 475).

Shivaji is born at Shivner (pp. 248, 278).

Ibrahim ‘Adil Shah II, Sultan of Bijapur, passes away (p. 456).

Jahangir passes away (p. 188).

Jujhar Singh, the eldest son of BIr Singh Bundela, ascends the throne of Orchha (p. 377).

Muhammad ‘Adil Shiah, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 456).

Shah Jahan and Karna Singh, Maharana of Me war meet at Gogunda and exchange gifts (p. 344).

Shah Jahan ascends the Mughul throne (p. 198).

Karna Singh, Maharana of Mewar, passes away (p. 344).

The Dutch abandon Masulipatam (p. 512).

The English abandons Masulipatam on account of rivalry of the Dutch (p. 514).

Jagat Singh, Maharana of Mewar (p. 344).

Vithal Bl$kar, Marathi writer (p. 583).

Sebastian Manrique travels in India (p. 21).

Fath Khan places under confinement Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar (p. 207).

The English return to Masulipatam (p. 514).

Severe famine in Gujarat and the Deccan (p. 735).

Husain Nizam Shah III, Sultan of Ahmadnagar (p. 444).

1630-1634

1630-1641

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1632, April 14 1632

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1634-1640

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c.1634

1635, October 1635, October

1635, December

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Peter Mundy travels in India (p. 21).

Venkata III, ruler of Vijayanagar (p. 498).

Asaf Khan, the Mughul commander lays an unsuccessful siege to Bijapur (pp. 207, 456).

Fath Khan, son of Malik ‘Ambar, submits to the Mughuls (p. 444).

A severe famine visits Gujarat (p. 519).

Asad Beg writes his Wdqaya or Htil&t-i-Asad Beg, which is a memoir of the author and gives an authoritative account of the murder of Abu-’l-Fazl and the pursuit of his murderer, Bir Singh Deva Bundela and about the conspiracy to place Khusrav on the throne (p. 8).

Shah Jahan leaves for the Deccan campaign

(p. 208).

Shah Jahan launches an expedition against the Portuguese (pp. 201, 202).

Shah Jahan completely destroys the Portuguese settlement at Hooghly (p. 508).

The Mughuls secure surrender of Daulatab&d by bribery; the young king Husain Shah is condemned to life-long imprisonment at Gwalior and thus the Nizam Shahi meets its extinction (pp. 208, 444).

Shah Jahan sends a letter of protest to Imam Quli of Bukhara for the invasion of Kabul by Nazr Muhammad Khan, br. of Imam Quli (p. 205).

Year of writing of Par at an Janam-Sdkhi (p. 574).

Abdal, the ruler of Little Tibet acknowledges supremacy of the Mughul emperor (p. 202).

Har Govind, the Sikh Guru, repulses Mughul attacks (p. 314).

Jujhar Singh raids Chauragarh, Gond capital, kills its ruler Prem Narayan and seizes the treasure (p. 377).

Har Govind, the Sikh Guru, is attacked by the armies of Shah Jahan (p. 312).

Mughuls capture Orchha, capital of Bundelas (p, 378).

Devi Singh, the great-grandson of Raja Ram Chandra, who helped Mughuls in liquidating Jujhar Singh, is elevated to the throne of Orchha (p. 378).

Jujhar Singh, the Bundela chief, and his son Bikramjit are done to death by the Gonds in the jungles (p.,378).

Mughul army subdues Garhwal, but meets with a heavy disaster (p. 203).

Bijapur army raids Ikkeri (p. 457).

Death of Miyan Mir (p. 626).

1663, March 2 1636, May

1636, July 21 1636, July

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1636- 1724

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1637- 1648

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1638- 1658

1638-1678

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January 21 1640, April

Shah Jahan reaches Daulatabad in his campaign against Bijapur and Golconda (p. 208).

Muhammad ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, on being defeated by the Mughul army accepts Mughul suzerainty (pp. 208, 457).

Shah Jahan sets out for Mandu (p. 208).

Aurangzib is appointed viceroy of the Deccan

(p. 208).

‘Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda accepts Mughul suzerainty (pp. 208, 475).

Nizam Shahl kingdom of Ahmadnagar meets extinction (p. 248). (Under 1633 it is said that Nizam Shahi meets its extinction).

Shahji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji, enters the service of Bijapur Sultan as a general (pp. 242, 248).

An abortive attempt is made by Shahji with the assistance of Bijapur to revive Ahmadnagar kingdom (p. 445).

Shahji Bhonsle leaves to the care and guardianship of Dadaji Kondadev, his jdgir of Poona, Jija Bai and Shivaji (p. 249).

Muhammad Amin Qazvini alias Aminai Qazvini completes his Padshah-nama, a Court chronicle written at the instance of Sh&h Jahan, which contains the history of the reign (first ten years) of Shah Jahan (p. 9).

Premanand (p. 511).

Bijapur army under Randaulah Khan raids Ikkeri (p. 457).

Manaveda Zamorin, king of Kozhikode (pp. 307,608).

‘All Mardan, the deposed governor of Qandahar, surrenders Qandahar to Mughuls (p. 204).

Peace treaty is concluded between the Mughuls and the Ahom King (p. 227).

Shah Jahan begins construction of a new capital city Shahjahanabad at Delhi (p. 787).

The Portuguese are driven out from Ceylon (p. 508).

Baz Bahadur of Almora (p. 634).

Shah Jahan suppresses the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, Bundela chief (p. 199).

A treaty of friendship is concluded between the ruler of Cooch Behiar and Shah Jahan (pp. 202, 203).

Dara Shukoh completes writing of his Safinatul-Auliyu, containing the biographical notes of orthodox Caliphs, Imams, Sufis etc. (p. 14).

The Mughuls capture Prithviraj, the boy-king of Orchha and lodge him in prison (p. 378).

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1640-1667

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1642, May

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1642-1643

1642-1649

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1644, March 3

1644, May

1644-1658

1644-1661

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1645, March

1645, December

1646, April 4 1646, June

Shivaji marries Saibai of Nimbalkar family (p. 253).

Francis Day, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, builds Fort St. George (p. 515).

A fierce fighting ensues between Vairagis and the Naga Sannyiasls at Hardwar, probably at the time of Kumbha Mela, wherein a large number of Vairagis are killed (p. 655).

Jean Baptist Tavernier travels in India (p. 22).

Jagat Singh of Man Nurpur rises against Shah Jahan but is subdued and forced to submit (p. 199).

The Dutch capture the port of Malacca (p. 508).

Zahur bin Zahurl writes his Muhammad-ndma

(p. ID.

Aparao Bholanath writes his Sdhibiyd (p. 14).

Raja Pahar Singh Bundela, the younger brother of Jujhar Singh, is appointed by the Mughuls as the ruler of Orchha (p. 378).

‘Abdullah Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda captures some territories of Venkata III, the Vijayanagar ruler (p. 475).

Shivaji and Jija Bai meet ShahjI at Bangalore (p. 253).

6riranga III, ruler of Vijayanagar (p. 498).

Shahji Bhonsle is summoned to Bijapur Court for ShivajI’s (mis) conduct (p. 253).

Ardhakathdnak is written by BanarasI Das

(p. 16).

Har Govind, the Sikh Guru, passes away (pp.

314, 325).

Aurangzib is dismissed as viceroy of the Deccan and deprived of his jdg^rs by Shah Jahan (p. 209).

Construction of the grand JamI‘ Mas j id at Delhi (p. 792).

Har Rai, the Sikh Guru (p. 315).

Shah Jahan captures Kahmard (p. 206).

Mustafa Khan, the Bijapur general, gains possession of Udayagiri (p. 499).

Srlranga III, ruler of Vijayanagar a, suffers defeat at the hands of the Nayaks (p. 500).

Srlranga III is defeated by Mustafa Khan, the Bijapur general near Vellore (p. 500).

An expedition under Prince Murad leaves for Balkh to the help of Nazr Muhammad and on way captures Qunduz. Nazr Muhammad flees to Persia and Balkh falls into the hands of Mughuls (p. 206).

1646, October

1646-1647

1646-1656

1647, October

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1648, November

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1648-1674

1649, December

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1652, April 10

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Raja Pratap, ruler of Palamau, submits to Mughuls (p. 203).

A severe famine visits South India (p. 515).

Illness of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 242).

Mughul forces retire to India from Balkh after Aurangzib concludes peace with Nazr Muhammad (p. 206).

Dadaji Kondadev, Shivaji’s guardian, passes away (p. 255).

Bijapur army, under Mustafa Khan, marches against Srlrahga III, and conquers territories of Vijayanagar (p. 458).

Mustafa Khan, the Bijapur general, passes away (p. 458).

The Shah of Persia starts on an expedition of Qandahar (p. 204).

ShivajI starts stamping papers with his own seal (p. 255).

ShivajI restores Simhagarh to Bijapur (p. 256).

ShahjI Bhonsle is taken a captive to Bijapur (p. 256).

Sah Jahan ceremoniously enters the newly constructed capital city—Sahjahanabad and formally inaugurates it (p. 787).

Death of Muhibbullah IllahabadI, a Sufi writer (p. 618).

Satyanathayati, Madhva scholar (p. 615).

Bijapur army conquers Gingee (p. 458).

The Persians wrest Qandahar from Mughuls (p. 205).

Mughul expedition to capture Qandahar fails (p. 205).

The Nayak of Tanjore submits to Bijapur Sultan (p. 501).

The English establish their factory at Hooghly (p. 517).

Death of Mulla Mahmud Jaunpurl, Arabic writer (p. 617).

Jagat Singh, Rana of Mewar, passes away (p. 345).

Mughul expedition to capture Qandahar fails (p. 205).

The Dutch get possession of Cape of Good Hope (p. 508).

Madras is raised to the rank of a Presidency (p. 515).

iSivaprakasar composes Prabhulinga-lile (Tamil) (p. 587).

Makalrrm Baba Lai wa Dara Shukoh (Dialogues of Baba Lai and Dara Shukoh) is compiled (p. 15).

1652-1680

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1655-1656

1656, January

1656, April 9

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1658-1672

1656-1688

1657, April 1657, May 1657, November

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Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar (p. 345).

Mughul expedition to capture Qandahar fails (p. 205).

Aurangzib is sent again to the Deccan as Subaddr (p. 209).

The English factors at Surat propose to the Directors at London to persuade the Portuguese to take over Bombay and Bassein for a consideration (p. 519).

Shivaji carves his independent kingdom with ministers and officials; completion of first phase of Shivaji's Swiamjya (pp. 255, 257).

Manucci travels in India (p. 22).

Raja of Kumaim submits to Mughuls (p. 203).

Pahar Singh, Bundela, passes away (p. 378).

The Portuguese recognise the right of the English to reside and trade in all their eastern possessions (p. 508).

Madras is reduced to the status of a subordinate agency (p. 515).

Moti Masjid at Agra is completed (p. 786).

'Abd-ur-Rasul Chishti writes his Mirat-ulAsrar (p. 15).

'Ala-ud-dln Muhammad Chishti Bar navi writes his Chishtiya-i-Bihishtiya (p. 15).

Mughul forces under Prince Muhammad Sultan raid Hyderabad while Aurangzib lays siege to Golconda (p. 210).

Aurangzib raises siege of Golconda on instructions from Shah Jahan (p. 210).

Muhammad ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur, passes away (pp. 211, 258, 458).

Shivaji conquers Javli (pp. 242, 256).

Death of Mullla ‘Abdul Hakim Sialkuti, theological commentator (p. 617).

‘AH ‘Adil Shah II, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 459).

Francois Bernier travels in the Mulghul empire (p. 22).

Bidar surrenders to Mughuls (pp. 211, 459).

Kalyani surrenders to Mughuls (p. 211).

Raj Singh, the Mewar Rana, wrests from the Mughuls lost territories (p. 346).

Shah Jahan concludes peace with the Sultan of Bijapur (p. 211).

Shah Jahan is indisposed (p. 214).

Aurangzib attacks Bijapur (p. 258).

Shivaji raids Mughul territories in Ahmadnagar district and plunders Junnar (p. 243).

Birth of Shambhuji, son of Shivaji (p. 273).

Dilras Banu, Oueen of Aurangzib, passes awav (p, 300).

Surat is constituted the sole Presidency of the English in India (p. 519).

1658,

February 14 1658, May 5

1658, June 8

1658, June 18 1658, June 25 1658, July 31 1658, August 18 1658, November

1658

1658- 1729 1659, January 5

1659, February

1659, March 1659, June 5

1659, August 30

1659, September

1659,

November 10

1659 1659 1659

1659- 1682

1660, June

Sulaiman Shukoh defeats his uncle Shuja* at Bahadurpur near Banaras and proceeds towards Agra (p. 220).

Aurangzib wins a victory over Jasvant Singh who had been deputed by Shah Jahan and Dam at Dharmat (pp. 215). (On p. 220 J. N. Sarkar gives this date as April 15, 1658).

The armies of Dara and Aurangzib fight a battle at Samogarh (near Agra) and Darn's army is defeated and Dara escapes to Agra (p. 215). (This date is given as 29-5-58 on

p. 220).

Shah Jahan is imprisoned by Aurangzib at Agra (p. 225).

Prince Murad is arrested and made a State prisoner (p. 220).

Aurangzib is formally crowned as the Mughul emperor at Delhi (p. 216).

Dara flees Lahore when Bahadur Khan takes him by surprise at Rupar (p. 221).

Shuja‘ with a view to release his father, from imprisonment, sets out from Patna and conquers territories up to Khajuha which he reaches on Dec. 30, 1958 (p. 221).

The Ahoms capture the whole of Western Brahmaputra valley (p. 227).

Srldhara, Marathi poet (p. 583).

In an encounter between Shuja* and Aurangzib Shuj&‘ is defeated and Shuja* flees (pp. 221, 222).

Aurangzib sends an expedition under Subhakaran Bundela against Champat RSi (p. 379).

Aurangzib defeats Dara at Deorai (p. 222).

Aurangzib has his coronation for the second time (p. 223).

Dara is tried by the court theologians on a charge of apostasy from Islam, is found guilty and executed (p. 223).

xAizal Khan leaves Bijapur to capture Shivaji dead or alive (pp. 258, 459).

Shivaji and Afzal Khan meet below the fort of Pratapgarh and Afzal Khan is slain (p. 258).

Aurangzib issues a number of ordinances for restoring Muslim Law of conduct (p. 234).

Medhi Singh, son of Raja of Srinagar (Dist. Dehradun), submits to Mughuls (p. 203).

Bijapur army captures Tanjore (p. 460).

Chokkanatha Nayaka, Ruler of Madura (p. 596).

Mir Jumla is appointed Mughul viceroy of Bengal (p. 227).

1660

1660

1660

1660

1661, February

1661, October

1661, December 4 1661

1661

1661-1667

1661- 1664

1662, March 17

1662, May

1662, September

1662

1662

1662- 1664 1662-1665

1662-1668

1663, March 31 1663, April 5

1663

1663

1663

Sldi Jauhar, Bijapur general, besieges Panhala and Shivaji is forced to evacuate it (p. 243).

Shayista Khan, Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, launches campaign against Shivaji (p. 243).

Death of Sarmad, the heterodox Sufi and Persian writer (p. 626).

Goplianavallabha writes his Rasika-mangala (p. 646).

Shuja‘ tries to seize the throne of his benefactor Magh Raja of Arakan, but the conspiracy leaks out and Shuja‘ is slain while on the run (p. 222).

Champat Rai Bundela, hounded by Mughuls and his own kith and kin, commits suicide (pp. 226, 379).

Murad is beheaded at Gwalior (p. 223).

Daud Khan, Governor of Bihar, invades Palamau in South Bihar and conquers it (p. 226).

Charles II, King of England, marries Princess Catherine of Braganza and gets Bombay island as part of dowry (p. 513).

Aurangzib receives embassies from several Muslim countries of the west (pp. 224, 225).

Har Kishan, the Sikh Guru (p. 315).

Mir Jumla, Mughul viceroy of Bengal, invades the Ahom capital Garhgaon and the ruler Jayadhwaj flees (p. 227).

Sulaimlan Shukoh, Dara's son, is put to death by overdoses of opium (p. 223).

An English fleet of five ships reaches Bombay to take possession of the island given over as part of the dowry to Charles II (p. 513).

The raja of Cooch Behar wrests his kingdom from the Mughuls (p. 229).

Death of Shaikh Nur al-Haqq, jurist and historian (p. 617).

Bhadrappa Niayaka, Ikkeri chief (p. 460).

Sir Edward Winter, English President of Madras (p. 516).

Sir George Oxenden, English governor of Surat.

Mir Jumla, Mughul viceroy of Bengal, passes away (p. 229).

Shivaji attacks Shayista Khan at night at Poona in which Shayista Khan escapes (p. 243).

Raja Chhatra Sal, Jam of Navanagar, is restored to his kingdom which was usurped by Rai Singh (p. 226).

Bijapur army besieges Trichinopoly and plunders surrounding regions (p. 460).

Nawab Shayista Khan is appointed Mughul governor of Bengal (p. 517).

1664, January 1 1664, January 9

1664, December

1664

1664

1664

1664-1675 1665, April

1665, June 12

1665, November

1665, November

1665

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1665

1665-1666

1665-1668

1666,

January 22 1666,

January 26 1666, March 5 1666, May 12 1666, May 12 1666,

May 12 to August 18 1666, August 19

1666,

September 12

Shivaji starts on his Surat campaign (p. 260).

Shivaji leaves Surat after its plunder (pp. 243,

260).

Mughul expedition under Mirza Raja Jay Singh and Dilir Khan leaves to subdue Shivkji

(p. 261).

The Raja of Cooch Behar submits to Mughuls (p. 229).

Aurangzib prohibits repairs to old Hindu shrines and temples (p. 234).

Shahji Bhonsle, father of Shivaji, passes away while on a hunting expedition (p. 248).

Tegh Bahadur, the Sikh Guru (p. 315).

By an edict Aurangzib levies discriminatory customs duty on Hindus (p. 235).

Shiviaji concludes peace with the Mughuls at Purandar (pp. 244, 262).

Shivaji joins Mughuls in a campaign against Bijapur (p. 262).

Shay is t a Khan, Mughul governor of Bengal captures Sandwip (p. 230).

The ruler of Little Tibet acknowledges the suzerainty of the Mughuls (p. 226).

Shivaji sends a naval expedition to Malabar coast (p. 261).

Mughuls raid Purandar (p. 379).

The Mughul viceroy of Bengal completely annihilates the Feringhis from Eastern Bengal coast (p. 508).

An English settlement grows up in Bombay (p. 512).

Mughul forces led by Jay Singh raid Bijapur (p. 460).

Foxcroft, English governor of Madras (p. 516).

Shah Jahan passes away (p. 226).

The Mughul expeditionary force under Buzurg Ummed Khan and Admiral Ibn Husain capture Chittagong (p. 230).

Shivaji leaves Raigarh for Agra to meet Aurangzib (p. 263).

Aurangzib celebrates his accession at Agra (p. 263).

Shivaji pays a visit to Aurangzib's court at Agra (p. 244).

Shivaji remains in confinement at Agra (p. 264).

Shivaji escapes with his son Shambhuji from Agra (pp. 244, 264).

Shivaji reaches Raigarh after his escape from Agra (pp. 244, 264, 279, 280).

1666-1709 1667, April

1667, August 28 1667

1667

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1667

1668, September

1668 1668 1668

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1668- 1672

1669, April 9

1669

1669

1669- 1677

1670, February 1670, March

1670, April 1670, October

1670 1670

Guru Govind Singh, the last Sikh Guru (p, 568).

The Yusufzais of N. W. frontier attack Mughul territories under their leader Bhagu but Kamil Khan, Mughul commandant of Attock beats them back (p. 231).

Death of Jay Singh, general of Aurangzlb, at Burhanpur (p. 244).

Chakradhwaj, the Ahom king, captures a few Mughul forts and the Mughul forces are driven back (p. 229).

Aurangzlb abolishes customs duty in the case of Muslim traders but retains it in the case of Hindu traders (p. 235).

Raja Jay Singh of Ambar passes away (p. 238).

Mughuls raid Deogarh (p. 379).

M. de Thevenot travels in India (p. 22).

Bombay island is transferred to the English East India Co. by a royal charter (p. 513).

Aurangzlb pensions off the Court musicians (p. 234).

Aurangzlb prohibits all Hindu religious fairs (p. 235).

ShivajI concludes peace with Aurangzlb who confers the title of R&ja on ShivajI (p. 245).

Bijapur forces raid Ikkeri kingdom and occup}^ 3 forts (p. 460).

John Marshall travels in India (p. 22).

Aurangzlb issues orders to his provincial governors to demolish schools and temples of the Hindus and put down their teaching and religious practices (pp. 235, 265).

The Jats under their leader Gokla rise in rebellion against religious persecution of the Hindus by Aurangzlb (pp. 236, 373).

Aurangzlb pulls down the famous Kasi Visvesvar temple (p. 265).

Gerald Aungier, English governor of Bombay and president of Surat (p. 514).

ShivajI wrests Sinhgarh from the Mughuls (pp. 245, 265).

Aurangzlb puts a stop to the custom of the Mughul Emperor being weighed against precious metals on his birthdays (p. 689).

ShivajI plunders many important Mughul towns (p. 265).

ShivajI plunders Surat for a second time (p. 245).

Aurangzlb pulls down the famous temple of Keshab Rai (p. 265).

Chhatra Sal Bundela offers his services to ShivajI (p. 379).

1670- Sir William Langhorne, English governor of

1678	
	Madras (p. 516).
1670-1720	Upendra Bhanja, Oriya poet (p. 564).
1671	Aurangzib orders dismissal of all Hindu headclerks and accountants from his service (p. 235).
1671	Shivaji captures Salher from the Mughuls (p. 266).
1672	Akmal Khan, the Afridi chieftain, rises in rebellion against Mughuls (p. 231).
1672	The Satnamis rise in revolt against the religious persecution under Aurangzib's rule (p. 236).
1672, December	Death of Bijapur Sultan 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (pp. 245, 461).
1672	Bahadur Khan replaces Shah 'Alam as Mughul governor of the Deccan (p. 245).
1672	'Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Sultan of Golconda, passes away (p. 477).

1672	Death of ‘Abdur Rashid, Arabic writer (p. 617).
1672-1681	John Fryer travels through India and Persia (pp. 22, 514).
1672-1686	Sikandar ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 461).
1672-1687	Abu-’l Hasan Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golconda (pp. 286, 477).
1672	On the death of Sultans of Golconda and Bijapur, anarchy prevails in these two kingdoms (p. 270).
1672-1686	Sikandar ‘Adil Shiah, Bijapur Sultan (pp. 283, 461).
1672-1704	Chikkadeva Raya, ruler of Mysore (pp. 598, 709).
1673	Shivaji captures Panhala (p. 266).
1673	Dr. Fryer visits Madras (p. 516).
1673	Death of ‘Abdul Baqi, Arabic writer (p. 617).
1674, February 22	Shuja‘at Khan, who had been specially deputed to suppress the rebellion in the N.W. frontier, is defeated and killed in the Karpa pass (p. 232).
1674,	Shivaji has his formal coronation at Raigarh with great pomp

June 6	and grandeur (p. 245).
1674, June	Jija Bai, Shivaji's mother, passes away (p. 267).
1674	Maharana Raj Singh closes the Deobari pass with huge walls and portals, fearing invasion by the Mughuls (p. 348).
1674	The Jam! (Bladshahi) Masjid at Lahore is built (p. 801).
1674-1687	Ekoji, ruler of Tanjore (p. 610).
1675.	Tegh Bahadur, the Sikh Guru is beheaded

November 11 1675

1675-1708

1676, February

1676,

November 16

1677, July

1677,

December 23 1677

1677

1677

1677- 1682

1678,

December 10

1678,

December 13

1678- 1681

1679, January 9

1679, March 23

1679, April 2

1679, April 11 1679, April 1679, April

1679, May 26

under orders of Aurangzib (p. 316). According to some (p. 237) this date is Dec. 1675).

The Mughul authority reestablished in the N. W. frontier region (p. 232).

Govind Singh, the Sikh Guru (pp. 316, 665). (On p. 568 this date is wrongly given as 1666-1709).

‘Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda and Shivaji enter into a treaty (p. 271).

Shivaji’s forces defeat Ekoji at Valigandapuram (p. 272).

The French envoy Germain visits Shivaji near Tanjore (p. 277).

Buhlul Khan, prime minister of Bijapur, passes away (p. 283).

Aurangzib appoints Amir Khan as governor of Kabul (p. 232).

Shivaji concludes alliance with Golconda and conquers Gingee, Vellore and parts of Madras, Carnatic and Mysore territories (pp. 245, 478).

The Mughuls take up the cause of the Deccani party and occupy Naldurg and Gulburga (pp. 283, 461).

Rolt, English governor of Bombay (p. 514).

Maharaja Jasovant Singh Rathor of Marwar passes away at Jamrud (pp. 238, 346).

Shambhuji escapes from Panhala along with his wife and joins Mughul camp near Pandharpur (p. 273).

Streynsham Master, the English governor of Madras (p. 516).

Aurangzib sets out for Ajmer to supervise the annexation of Marwar (p. 346).

Aurangzib issues a farmdn asking Raj Singh, Rana of Jodhpur, to send his son to the Court of the emperor (p. 348).

Aurangzib re-imposes jizya on the Hindus with the object of spreading Islam and uprooting infidel practices (pp. 235, 273).

Aurangzib receives Prince Jay Singh, son of Raj Singh Maharana (p. 348).

Dilir Khan and Shambhuji together capture Bhupalgarh, east of Satara (p. 273).

Aurangzib annexes Marwar to his kingdom (p. 238).

Aurangzib installs Indra Singh, a grandnephew of Maharaja Jasovant Singh, as the Raja of Jodhpur (p. 347).

1679, July 15

1679, July

1679, August 19

1679,

September 25 1679,

November 30 1679,

December 4 1679 1679 1679 1679-80

1680, January 4 1680, January 22

1680, April 4 1680, April 21

1680, June 18

1680-1689

1680, October 22

1680-81

1680-1698

1681, January 1

1681, January 16 1681, January

Aurangzlb sends a detachment to seize the queen of Jasovant Singh and his infant son A jit, who had come to Delhi to plead their case, but Durga Das foils their attempt and takes the royal party to Jodhpur (p. 348). Prince A‘zam marries Shahr Banu Begam, sister of Sikandar ‘Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur (p. 462).

Mairta Rathors fight to the last man to bar the advance of the Mughul army and save the Varaha temple near Lake Pushkar (p. 349).

Aurangzlb personally goes to Ajmer to suppress the rebellion in Marwlar (p. 239). Aurangzlb leaves for Rajasthan to subdue the Rathors (p. 351).

Shambhuji returns to Panhala after an year's absence after flirting with Dilir Khan (p. 273).

Shivaji defeats the combined English and Sidi fleet in a naval engagement (p. 362).

The Mughuls recover Gauhati by bribery (p. 229).

The tomb of Aurangzib’s Queen Rabi‘a-udDaurani is built at Aurangabad (p. 801). Muhammad Baqa Sahananpurl writes his Riydz-ul-Auliyu, which contains biographical notes of the first four Caliphs, Imams and Sufis (p. 15).

Mughuls occupy Deobari pass (p. 350).

Mughul army under Hasan ‘Ali Khan capture Udaipur and Chitor and defeats Maharana Raj Singh (p. 239).

Death of Shivaji (pp. 245, 270).

Rajaram is proclaimed king and crowned at Raigarh (p. 359).

Shambhuji wrests the Maratha throne from Rajaram, his younger brother (p. 281). Some give this date as July 20, 1680 (p.

360).

Shambhuji, Maratha ruler (p. 359).

Death of Maharana Raj Singh of MeWar (p. 240).

Shambhuji plunders Khandesh (p. 281). Maharana Jay Singh (p. 352).

Prince Akbar (s. of Aurangzlb) proclaims himself emperor of Delhi and marches against Aurangzlb, who is at Ajmer (p. 240). Shambhuji’s coronation takes place at Raigarh (p. 360).

Shambhuji makes a lightening raid on Burhanpur (p. 361).

CHRONOLOGY

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1681, February 1681, June 14

1681.

November 13 1681

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1681

1681

1681

1681-1707

1682, January 1682, March 22

1682, October 4

1682,

November 14 1682

1682

1682-1600 1683, June

1683, November

1683

1684, January 5

Mewiar army under Dayal Das is defeated by Prince A‘zam (p. 353).

The Rana of Me war, Jay Singh, concludes peace with Prince Muhammad A‘zam and Mewar is restored to Jay Singh, who cedes some territories to the Mughuls (pp. 241, 353).

Aurangzib reaches Burhanpur in pursuit of his son. Prince Akbar (p. 241).

Gadadhar Singh, the Ahom king, wrests Gauhati from the Mughuls and thus Kamrup is finally lost to the Mughuls (p. 229).

Shambhuji attempts seizure of Ahmadnagar

(p. 281).

Shambhuji arrives with a large force opposite Janjira of Siddis (p. 362).

The conspirators on the life of Shambhuji are put to death by Shambhuji (p. 360).

Prince Akbar (s. of Aurangzib) seeks asylum with Shambhuji (p. 362).

William Hedges is appointed director for Hooghly Agency of East India Co. (p. 517).

Jahamara Begam writes Munls-ul-Arwdh (p. 14).

Marwar asserts independence and fights Mughul imperalism (pp. 290, 355).

The Mughuls capture Kalian (p. 362).

Aurangzib arrives at Aurangabad in pursuit of his son Prince Akbar (p. 241).

Shambhujl’s fleet is defeated by the Siddis of Janjira (p. 363).

Shambhuji captures the Portuguese island of Santo Estevao near Goa (p. 363).

Aurangzib sends an expeditionary force against the Marathas under the command of Prince A‘zam (p. 284).

The English get permission from the ruler of Gingee to settle and trade at Port Novo and Cuddalore (p. 520).

Sir John Child, governor of Bombay (p. 514).

Aurangzib recalls his son A‘zam from his Deccan campaign (p. 284).

Prince Akbar is dissuaded from leaving for Persia by Durga Das and Kavi Kalash on behalf of Shambhuji with promise of help in securing Delhi throne to Prince Akbar

(p. 282).

Aurangzib launches fresh campaign against Shambhuji (p. 282).

Mughul forces under Prince Shah ‘Alam join the Portuguese near Goa to oust Shambhuji’s forces (p. 363).

1684, January 20 1684, May 18

1684, May

1684

1685, April 1 1685, June 14

1685, July

1685

1686,

September 12

1686, October

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1687, February 7

1687, February

1687,

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1688, July

1689,

February, 1 1689,

February 8

Peace is concluded between the Portuguese and the Marathas (p. 363).

Prince Akbar reaches Ahmadnagar after a fruitless campaign on the west coast (pp. 282, 283).

Mughuls capture Mangalvide and Sangola (pp. 284, 462).

Ganga Ram Nagar rises in rebellion against the Mughuls in Bihar (pp. 292, 293).

The Mughuls besiege Bijapur (pp. 284, 462).

Prince A‘zam reaches Bijapur with a large army and takes over Mughul command (p. 284).

Aurangzib sends an army under Shah ‘Alam to attack Hyderabad (pp. 286, 478).

Pahar Singh, a Gaur Rajput, rises in rebellion against the Mughuls (p. 292).

Sikandar Sultan of Bijapur submits to Aurangzib at Rasulpur (pp. 285, 463).

The English East India Co. rises in arms against the Mughuls (p. 293).

The local agency at Hooghly gets permission from the East India Co., to wage war against the Mughuls (p. 517).

A severe famine visits the Deccan (p. 735)

The Mughul army lays siege to Golconda

(p. 286).

Frustrated Prince Akbar, son of Aurangzib, leaves for Persia (p. 355).

Golconda is annexed to Mughul empire and Abu-1 Hasan, the last Qutb Shah! ruler, becomes a captive (pp. 287, 479).

Rajaram, the Jat leader, kills Uighur Khan, the Mughul commander, in an engagement (p. 291).

Durga Das returns to Marwiar from the Deccan (pp. 290, 355).

Rajaram, the Jat leader, sacks the tomb of Emperor Akbar at Sikandra and makes a bonfire of his bones (p. 291).

Raghunatha Tarkavagisa writes his Agamatattvavildsa (p. 639).

Rajaram, the Jat leader, is killed in an encounter with the Shekhavat and Chauhan clans of Rajputs (pp. 29, 374).

Shambhuji is captured at Sangameshwar by a Mughul officer, Muqarrab Khan (p. 288).

Rajaram, younger brother of Shambhuji, is raised to the Maratha throne after capture of Shambhuji (p. 289).

1689, March 11	ShambhujI and Kavi Kalash, under orders of Aurangzlb, are put to a painful and cruel death (p. 289).
1689, October 19	Raigarh is captured by the Mughuls and Shambhujl's son Shahu, is taken a prisoner (p. 289).
1689, November 1	Rajaram, the Maratha king, reaches Gingee (p. 289).
1689	Aurangzlb becomes the unrivalled lord paramount of Northern India and the Deccan (p. 289).
1690, May 25	The Marathas capture Mughul general Sharza Khan near Satara (p. 295).
1690, August 24	Job Charnock, the English Agent settles at a place now known as Calcutta (p. 293).
1690, September	Zu-'l-Fiqar Khan, a Mughul commander besieges Gingee (p. 294).

1690	Aurangzlb receives embassy from Constantinople (p. 225).
1690	The Jat’s stronghold Sinsani submits to Mughuls (pp. 291, 375).
1690	The Mughuls and the East India Co. come to terms (p. 293).
1690	The Marathas w’rest from the Mughuls Pratapgarh, Rohira, Rajgarh and Torna (p. 295).
1690	Maharana Jay Singh enters into a new arrangement with the Mughuls (p. 354).
1690	Durga Dias inflicts defeat on the Mughul governor of Ajmer (p. 356).
1692	The Gaur Rajputs accept service under Mughuls and thus the risings in western Bundelkhand are subdued (p. 292).
1692	The Marathas wrest Panhala from the Mughuls (p. 295).
1693	A jit Singh, aided by Durga Dias, creates disturbance for Mughuls in Marwar (p. 356).
1695, March	Aurangzlb deprives Hindus of the use of palanquins, elephants, good horses and arms (pp. 235, 236).

1695, May	Aurangzlb establishes his headquarters at Brahmapuri to deal with the Marathas (p. 296).
1695	Santa, the Maratha general, defeats the Mughul general Qasim Khan and puts the Mughul army to rout (p. 295).
1695	Gemelli Careri, the Italian physician, calls on Aurangzlb (p. 300).
1695	Thevenot and Careri travel in India (p. 22).
1695-1721	Churaman, the Jat leader (p. 375).
1696, May	
1696	
1696	
1696	
1696-1714	
1697, March	
1697, June	
1697	
1698, January	
1698, October 9	

1698

1698

1698-1709

1699, March 30

1699

1699

1700, March 2 1700, April 3 1700, April 21

Rajaram and Dhana attack Santa near Conjeevaram in which the ruler and his general are defeated (p. 296).

Saflyat-un-nisa, grand-daughter of Aurangzib, is delivered to the Emperor (p. 290).

The Maratha general Santa defeats and slays Mughul general Himmat Khan and plunders his baggage (p. 295).

Dhana (jl), the Maratha commander, is wounded in a fight between him and Santa (ji) (p. 369)

Raja Rudra Simha of Heramba principality (Kachar) (p. 643).

Santa and Dhana, the two Maratha rival generals, fight with each other and Santa is defeated and flees (p. 296).

Santa, the Maratha general is murdered while taking his bath (p. 296).

The Mughul governor of Bengal permits the European settlers to defend themselves against any aggression by the rebellious Afghans (p. 517).

The Mughuls capture Gingee (p. 295).

Mahararia Jay Singh passes away (p. 354).

Durga Das agrees to surrender Prince Akbar’s son Buland Akhtar to Aurangzib in consideration of restoring the paraganas of Jhalor, Sanchor and Siwana to Ajit Singh, Maharana, and restoration of his own jdglr and a mansab in the imperial army (pp. 290, 357).

Rajaram shifts his seat of government from Raigarh to Sataiia (p. 369).

Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras (p. 521).

Govind Singh, the Sikh Guru makes a stimulating oration and creates Khalsa (pp. 318, 319).

Rajaram, the Maratha ruler, is attacked by Bldar Bakht, a Mughul general, and Rajaram is defeated near Parenda (p. 296).

Chhatra Sal Bundela receives temporary setback in his raids on Mughul territories (p, 380).

Rajaram, the Maratha ruler, passes away (pp. 296,370).

Sikandar Sultan, the ex-ruler of Bijapur, dies in captivity of the Mughuls (pp. 285, 463).

Sstara falls to Aurangzib (p. 297).

1700, June	Mughuls capture Parll (p. 297).
1700	The Director of the East India Co. constitutes Bengal into a separate Presidency and appoint Sir Charles Eyre as the first President (p. 517).
1701, May	Panhala is captured by Mughuls (by bribery) (p. 297).

1701	The Raja of Deogarh in Gondwana rises in rebellion against the Mughuls (p. 293).
1702, June	Khelna (Vishalgarh) is captured by the Mughuls (p. 296).
1702-1704	Plague visits the Deccan (p. 298).
1703, April	Kondhana falls to Mughuls (p. 297).
1704,	The Mughul army besieges the camp of Guru Govind Singh but the Guru escapes (p. 321).
December 22 1704, December 27	The two sons of Guru Govind Singh, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh, are bricked up alive in the fort wall and then beheaded under orders of Aurangzlb (p. 321).
1704	The Mughul army, under orders from Aurangzlb, raids Anandpur (p. 320).
1704	Aurangzlb concludes peace with Ajit Singh of Mar war (p. 290).
1704	Churaman, a Jat leader, wrests SinsanI from Mughuls only to lose again in October 1705 (p. 292).
1705	Durga Dias submits to Aurangzlb and is granted his old mansab and post in Gujarat (p. 291, 358).

1705	Mughuls wrest SinsanI (p. 292).
1705	Aurangzib returns to Ahmadnagar from his Deccan campaign (p. 297).
1706, January 21	Aurangzlb and Chhatra Sal Bundela come to terms (p. 380).
1706	Marwlar raises the standard of rebellion against Aurangzlb (p. 291).
1706	The Marathas raid Gurajat but are driven back (p. 298).
1706-1732	Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka, ruler of Madura (p. 597).
1707, March 3	Aurangzib, the Mughul Emperor, breathes his last at Ahmadnagar (pp. 298, 358).
1707, August	Govind Singh, the Sikh Guru, comes to Nander (d) (p. 322).
1707	Ajit Singh captures Jodhpur (p. 291).

1707

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1708, August 1708, October 7 1710, May 12 1739

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1787-88

Chhatra Sal of Bundelkhand resumes activities for the establishment of an independent kingdom after severing connections with the Mughuls (p. 292).

Lai Kavi writes his Chhatraprahasa (an epic biography of Chhatrasal, Raja of Bundelkhand) (p. 568).

Govind Singh, the Sikh Guru, is stabbed by two Pathan boys (pp. 237, 322, 323).

Govind Singh, the Sikh Guru, immolates himself before a congregation (p. 323, 326).

Vazir Khan of Sirhind passes away; the Khalsa set themselves as rulers, (p. 324).

The Marathas wrest Bassein from the Portuguese. (p. 509).

Alivardi Khan of Bengal, (p. 362).

The French, under La Bourdonnais, capture Madras, (p. 516).

The tomb of Safdar Jang is built at Delhi.

(p. 801).

Shah Naw&z Khan completes his Maasir-ulUmrd (p. 12).

Gulam Husain Salim wrties his Riydz-usSalatin. (p. 11).

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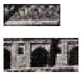

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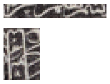

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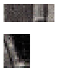

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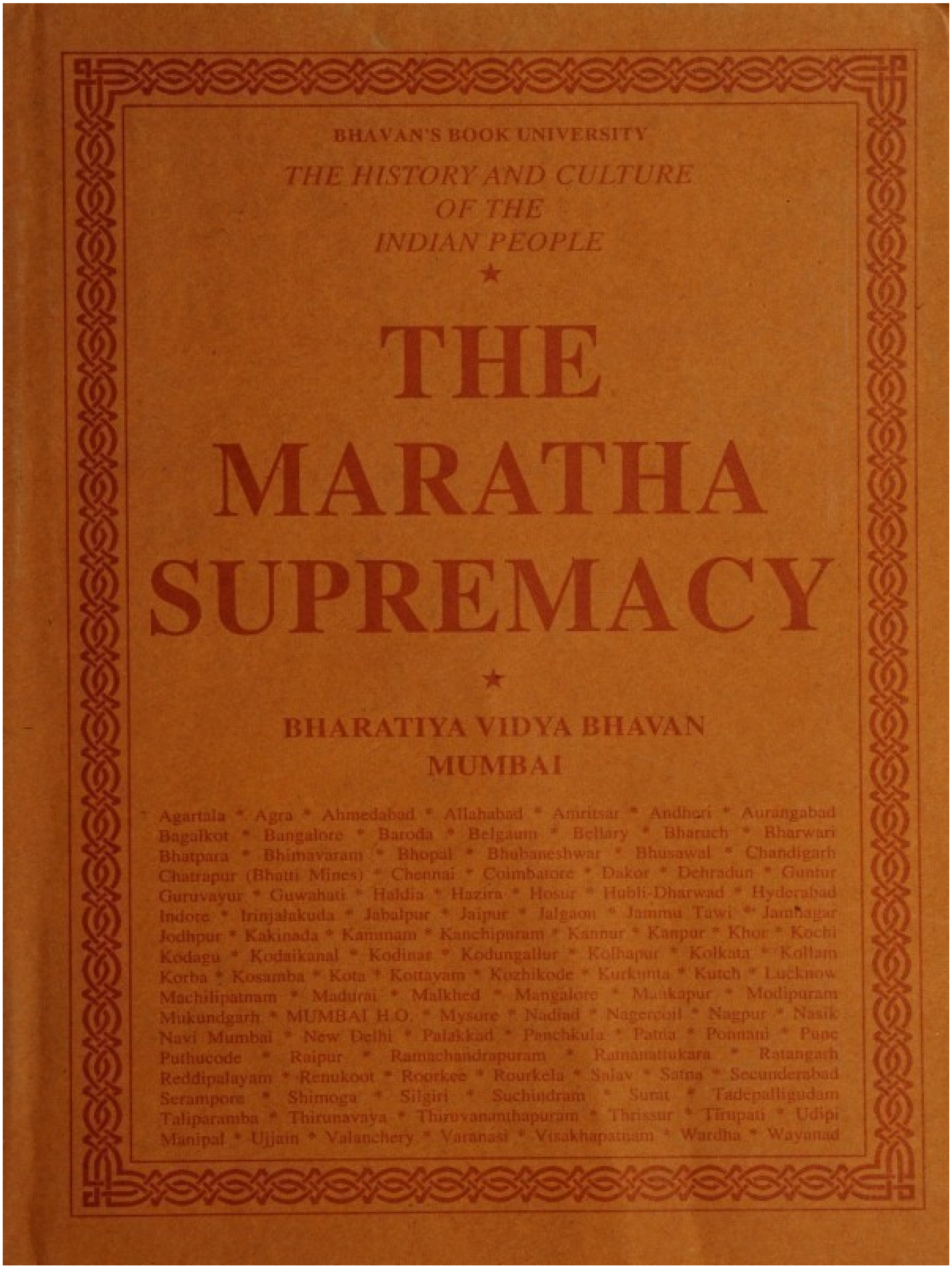

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S. Ramakrishnan, General Editor

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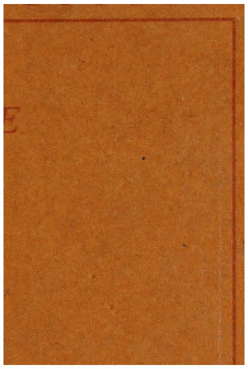

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irt the seventh volume of -this series it was stated that the

phase oPconquest and expansion of the two great military powers in India — the Marathas and the Sikhs — and of the foreign powers one of which was ultimately to play a* dominant role in the history of this continent, would be set forth in Volume VIII Which/woaki complete this series of "The History and Culture of the Indian People''. This has now been done in this volume. It deals with the period from the death of Aurangzib (1707) to the third Anglo-Maratha War (IBIS), ' ; "b . V' •'

Irwas an eventful'period that witnessed the end of Muslim rule, the rise and fall of the Maratha empire and the foundation of British empire in India,

This period—the eighteenth century—is rightly looked on as the age of Maratha Supremacy. The Maratha dominated the Indian political scene right upto the end of the century. With the death of emperor Aurangzib vanished the glory and pregtige of the Mughul empire. The governors of distant provinces assumed independence for all practical purposes. The Afghans started sweeping down to the plains of India from their eyries in the mountains in the north west. Among the Hindu populace of the empire, there were revolts against foreign rule and resurgence. The Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats; the Bundelas and the Marathas all started thinking in terms of independence and challenged the might of the empire. The Marathas proved the most successful of the lot, liberated their homeland and carried the war into the enemy's country. Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath set on the bold adventure of participating in the imperial affairs by the treaty of 1718. Under his son and grandson, Peshw3 Baji Rao and Balaji Rao, participation made wav for direction and control. The Marathas succeeded to a large extent in conquering Malwa. Gujarat and a part of Bhundelkhand and levying tribute from Bengal to the Punjab and from Agra to Arcot. Unfortunately they were unable to develop satisfactory administrative, political and cultural institutions to evoke the cooperation of the local people and win their loyalties. The defeat at Panipat (1761) and the First Anglo. Maratha War created in the MaratKas State which were never healed.

All this While, the British were pushing forward their conquests from the East and the South, and it was dear they would one day clash with the Marathas for supremacy. This fact remained hidden temporarily by Mahadji Sindia's assumption of the powers of a king-maker at Delhi (1784-94). During the decade that followed his death, all the great and wise leaders of the Maratha State departed from the earthly scene and the great proconsul Wellesley found himself dealing with small men who could not understand that their interest lay in cohesion and unity. British diplomacy created disarray among Maratha chiefs and fought them separately Maratha supremacy was gone. A sleepy, inert, feudal society was overpowered by an aggressive imperialism deriving its strength from the new learning and new science.

Religious reformers arose who tried to interpret tenets of Hindu religion in a liberal way. among the Muslim there was a harking back to the old days of simplicity in religion. The sel ient economy based on domestic consumption was shattered first fey extraordinary privileges the British conquerors claimed for themselves, and later by the unequal competition of the Industrial Revolution of the West. AH this

would be found discussed in the present volume.

The contributors to the vojume are eminent scholars such as Prof. B. P. Saksena, Prof. K. K.. Datta, Prof. H. R. Gupta, Dr. Raghubir Singh, Prof. Puntamfcekar, Prof. C S. Sririivasachari, Prof. A. P. Dass and Prof. R. K. Mukherjee and others. ' 7

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Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

Rigveda, I-89-i

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S. RAMAKRISHNAN

History and Culture of the Indian People

Volume VIII

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The publication of this volume completes " THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE " Series published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. It was originally planned to consist of only ten volumes; and the first six volumes, ending with the history of the Delhi Sultanate, were published between 1951 and 1960.

In the meanwhile the idea had gradually gained ground that the British period of Indian history ending with the independence of India was so important both from practical and sentimental points of view that it must take precedence over the other volumes and should be dealt with in three volumes instead of two, assigned to it. So Volumes IX, X and XI, dealing with the British rule in India, were published between 1963 and 1969. Volume VII dealing with the Mughul period was then taken up and published in 1974. The present Volume VIII, dealing with the period from 1707 to 1818, completes the scheme, initiated in 1944, of writing the history and culture of the Indian people from the earliest times.

The project of writing this history was conceived by Dr. K. M. Munshi and the idea lying behind it is stated by him in the following words in the

Foreword to Vol. I of this series:

“In the course of my studies I had long felt the inadequacy of our so-called Indian histories. For many years, therefore, I was planning an elaborate history of India in order not only that India’s past might be described by her sons, but also that the world might catch a glimpse of her soul as Indians see it. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, an educational society which 1 founded in 1938, took over the scheme. It was, however, realized only in 1944, when my generous friend Mr. G.D. Birla, one of India’s foremost industrialists, lent me his co-operation and the support of the Shri Krishnarpan Charity Trust of which he is the Chairman. As a result, ‘The Bharatiya Itihas Samiti*, the Academy of Indian History, was formed with the specific object of preparing this series, now styled “THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE. ”

In the same Foreword Dr. Munshi defined the scope and object of history (quoted again in Vol. VII, p. vii) which have always been kept in view by the Editor in preparing this series.

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When, in 1944, Munshiji conceived the project of writing this history, there Were two other schemes of writing such a history of India, respectively, in twenty and twelve volumes. Only two volumes of each of these projects have been so far published. This clearly indicates the handicaps under which such projects have to be carried out in this country and is cited here not as an excuse or explanation of the long period of thirty-two years required for the completion of this series of eleven volumes, containing about 9,000 pages, 283 plates and 20 maps.

When I naturally feel a sense of relief and exaltation that I have lived long enough to see the completion of the hardest and most arduous and ambitious literary work in my life, I cannot but recall without deep, sorrow that Munshiji is no longer with me to share this emotion. Fortunately, Gunanidhi Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla, whose munificent donation enabled Munshiji to start this project, as mentioned albove, is still with us to see the completion of the project.

I take this opportunity to offer my heart-felt thanks to the scholars —about seventy-five in number—who have enriched this series by their contributions. Many of them, alas! are no longer with us to share our joy. To this category belongs Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, the Assistant Editor of the first six volumes. I cannot express in words the deep obligations I owe to him for helping me in various ways in preparing the first six volumes. I take this opportunity to place on record my deep obligations to the other Assistant Editors who rendered Very valuable service in preparing this series. These are Dr. A. K. Majumdar, Dr. J. N. Chaudhuri, Dr. D. K. Ghose, Dr. S. Chaudhuri and Dr. V. G. Dighe, who are all happily alive to share my joy at the completion of this series of eleven volumes.

I also convey my thanks to the editors of the various journals whose favourable reviews of the different volumes proved to be a great source of inspiration and enthusiasm that sustained me in carrying on thi$ arduous task of editing the eleven volumes. I still remember hOw encouraged I felt when I read the review of the First Volume in the Times Literary Supplement containing the following appreciative remarks: “.....This history, unlike its predecessors, is first and foremost a history of India and of her people, rather than a history of those who have invaded her from time to time. The standard, in a word, is very high.”

The following expressions—to quote only a few—-in the reviews of the subsequent volumes in pre-eminent journals, both Indian

and European, offered very flattering tributes beyond our highest •expectation: will transform the study of Indian histbry”;

".... authors are not only writing history, they are making history.. “ magnificent piece of exact and unbiased scholar

ship_“_ will be accepted as the standard and authorita tive work on Indian history....".

Today, when this 32-year old scheme has had a successful completion, the 88-year old Editor considers it as the proudest day in his life and takes leave of the readers of this series by uttering Nunc Dimittis, "Oh my Lord, let me die in peace."

4 , Bepirt Pal Road,

Calcutta-26 .

October 2, 1976,

Vijayadasami. R, C. MAJUMDAR

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PREFACE

This volume deals with the history of India from the death of Aurangzlb (1707) to the Third Maratha War (1818). It was an eventful period that witnessed the end of Muslim rule, the rise and fall of the Maratha Empire and the foundation of the British Empire in India.

The period began with political disintegration leading to struggle for power, not only among the Indian States but also between the French and the British trading companies in India. This chaotic political situation facilitated, if not invited, foreign invasions, notably those of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, which bear comparison, both in nature and effect, with those of Sultan Mahmud and Tamerlane.

But there is no cloud without a silver lining. This period of political disruption leading to great disasters also witnessed the rise of great personalities—not less than ten within a century—that shed lustre on the age. These were Balaji Vishwanath, BajI Rao I, Nana Phadnis, Mahadji Sindia, Haidar ‘All, Ranjit Singh, Robert Clive, J. F. Dupleix, Warren Hastings, and Marquess Richard Colley Wellesley.

But the political history, highly important though it was, was not the only important feature of the period. It paved the way for India's transition from the Medieval to the Modem Age in the nineteenth century. It was during this period that India first came into close contact with the Western World—Europe and America— which was big with future consequences so far as Indian culture is concerned. It brought about those remarkable changes in almost all aspects of Indian culture in the nineteenth century, which is generally referred to as Indian Renaissance. It was during the period under review that the Indians first learned the English language, which may be regarded as the most important single factor that brought about those far-reaching changes in Indian life, thought and education as well as social and' religious concepts in the course of one hundred years in the 19th century, such as were not noticed during the previous thousand years. That the nineteenth century India was a New India was mainly due to those forces and factors which began to influence India during the period under review. To realise this truth, it is only necessary to point out that the Fort William College was founded in 1800 and the Hindu College was established in Calcutta in 1817. The Pandits of the Fort William College laid the foundation of modern Bengali language and literature, which served as the model for the rest of India, while at the Hindu College the young generations of Bengalis imbibed the ideas of free thinking and social and political reforms. And these formed the foundation on which New India was built.

Against this background of all-round signs of progress must be seen the deterioration in the economic condition to such an extent that it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that India, which was one of the wealthiest countries in the world, sank to the position of one of the poorest in the world during the period under review. This was as much due to the British rule in India as the brighter features of cultural regeneration noticed above. The ruthless economic exploitation of India by the British was undoubtedly the cause of the deplorable poverty in India following the ruin of trade and industry by the unfair competition of British merchants and manufacturers aided by the political power of Britain.

Many of the chapters were written long ago, and the Editor places on record his deep regret at the death of Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, Prof. Biman Behari Majumdar, Dr. N. K. Sinha and Prof. D. N. Banerjee who contributed scholarly chapters to this volume.

My special thanks are due to Dr. V. G. Dighe not only for his contributions to this volume but also for the valuable service he rendered as Assistant Editor. Owing to my serious illness while this volume was in the press, the editorial work had mainly to be carried on by him, and I am deeply grateful to him for his ungrudging performance of this duty with conspicuous success.

I also convey my sincere thanks to Dr. C. M. Kulkami for the help I received from him and to the several contributors for the services Tendered by them in the preparation of this volume.

There is no separate Chapter on Art in this volume as the art of this period has already been dealt with in Chapter XLV of Vol. XI of the Series.

Before I take leave of this stupendous project, it is my pleasant duty to thank the staff of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for the devotion they have shown in this work throughout the long period -of thirty-two years. I would specially like to mention the very capable Executive Secretary, Shri S. Ramakrishnan, whose sustained interest in this project made it possible to complete the History Series. The former Production Manager Shri S. G. Tolat and his successors Shri M. K. Rajagopalan (who died prematurely in 1975), and Shri B. Srinivasa Rao, the present holder of the post, have all bestowed great care in the printing and publication of the present as well as the earlier volumes, for which I am much indebted to them. I also take this opportunity to thank the Library authorities of the University of Bombay and the Director of Archives, Government of Maharashtra, for granting facilities to our contributors and editors to use their vast treasure-houses.

The printing of this History Series was made possible because the Bhavan has behind it the experience and willing help of the Associated Advertisers and Printers, and my thanks are also due to the staff of the Press.

4, Bepin Pal Road ,

Calcutta-26.

October 2, 1976.

Vijayadasami. R. C. MAJUMDAR

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ABBREVIATIONS

Titles of works referred to in the volume run into hundreds and have been indicated in full at the end of each chapter, as far as possible. But some of the series and publications have been so frequently referred to, that it was deemed proper to use abbreviations instead of the full titles of books every time. In most cases primary sources have been utilised; elsewhere secondary sources of great importance have been used:

ALS

BISMQ

BISMSV

Aitihasik Lekha Samgraha, ed. by V. V. Khare, sometimes indicated as Khare, Vols. 1-14.

Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Quarterly.

Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Sammelan Vrittd.

MIS

KSPY

Ait. Patra

S.P.D.

Marathyanchya Itihdsachi Sadhanen, ed. by V. K. Raj wade, Vols. I, II, III, IV, VIII, XII, XIII, XV, XX have been used.

Kavyetihas Sangraha Patre Ycudin Vagaire, ed. by Sardesai, Kale and Vakaskar (3rd edition, 1930).

Aitihasik Patravyawahar, ed. by Sardesai, Kale and Kulkarni.

Selections from Peshwd Daftar (45 Vols. in Marathi, ed. by G. S. Sardesai (1930-33).

Four or Five Bakhars of major importance have been used.

They are: Chitnis, Malhar Ram Rao, Sapta prakaramatmak Charitrd or Shiva Charitrd (ed. by R. V. Herwadkar).

Sambhaji Maharaj and Thorle Rajram Maha raj Yanchi Charitren, (ed. by R. V. Herwadkar).

Bhau Sahebanchi Bakhar, ed. by S. N. Joshi (1959).

Shiv Chhatrapatiche Charitrd, by Sabhasad, Krishnaji Anant, edited by Sane (1923).

ABBREVIATIONS

Holkaranchi Kaifiydt f ed. by Y. N. Kelkar (1954).

Peshwyanchi Bakhar, by Sohani, Krishnaji Vinayak, edited by Sane, (1925) used only for the events of the last days of the Peshwa regime.

P.R.C.

History

New History

Fall

Shivaji

Among English works used are:

Poona Residency Correspondence series, ed. by Sardesai and Sarkar (14 Vols).

History of the Mahrattas, by James Grant Duff (1921 edn. in two Volumes).

New History of the Mar at has, by G. S. Sardesai, three volumes.

Fall of the Mughal Empire, by Jadunath Sarkar, 4 volumes.

Shivaji and His Times, by Jadunath Sarkar, (4th Edn. 1948).

Maratha Series Selections from the Letters, Despatches and

other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Home Series volumes and Maratha Series, ed. by G. W. Forrest.

Central India A Memoir of Central India (2 vols. 1880), by

Sir John Malcolm.

Some of the contributors worked in record offices and have utilised the material which is shown under the full title Public, and Pol. and Secret Department Diaries are from the Maharashtra State Archives; Madras Military Consultations are from Madras Record Office, etc.

CHAPTER I

INDIA ON THE DEATH OF AURANGZ1B

Retrospect and Survey

When the last of the Great Mughuls was in the throes of death, his mighty empire was convulsing with upheavals of far-reaching nature. Aurangzlb’s successes and failures had neutralised each other; the traditional glory and greatness of his house was tottering to a fall. His vast empire presented a pathetic picture of a body without soul—a body in the grip of the process of disintegration and decay. Everywhere centrifugal tendencies were raising their heads, and the inexorable forces of history were converging fast, one upon the other, to lead to the inevitable dissolution. The dying monarch’s mind Was torn with pangs of bitter failures and frustration. He had pitched his ambition too high and had played the political game for heavy stakes. He lost more than what he could gain and the consequences of his fruitless aggressive policy proved more tragic than he could ever imagine.

Thus, imperial politics towards the close of the first decade of the 18th century was in a state of flux. The foundations of peace and stability had been steadily eroded during the last fifty years; now they had to bear the stress of more violent and virulent forces which, though shaping for a considerable time before, gained terrible momentum from the blunders of Aurangzib. But it must be frankly admitted that he was neither the author nor the sole cause of the downfall of the Mughal empire. His role, at the worst, was that of a passive agent. He failed to ride successfully through the political storm of his age; he was simply swept off by it.

Bengal:

The first province to react to the process of disintegration was Bengal. Throughout mediaeval history, it had been a headache to the rulers of Delhi or Agra. Its distance from the headquarters rendered its effective control almost impossible. The ruling turbulent Afghans, backed as they were by the other sections of the indigenous population, could never reconcile themselves to the new order initiated by the Mughul; and they never missed the opportunity of challenging the central authority. But such intervals of disorder alternated with periods of peace and prosperity. The last was under Murshid Qull Khan[1] who raised the province to the highest degree of affluence; but he was loath to play the second fiddle to the Viceroy, Prince ‘AzIm-ush-Shan, who hatched a plot to murder him.[2] Murshid Qull, however, outwitted his enemy, and to guard himself against any attempt on his life in future, he took up his residence at a new place called Maqsudabad[3] which he renamed Murshidabad. In January, 1703, Prince ‘AzIm-ush-Shan was ordered to Bihar,[4] while his son Farrukh-siyar remained at Dacca as his deputy. In the following year Murshid Qull Khan was promoted to the rank of 200 + 1100 and the diwani of Bihar was added to his charge. Henceforward he became the virtual Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, because he wielded the financial as well as the executive authority. It was his writ which was obeyed in these provinces, the authority of the emperor having been reduced almost to a cipher.

The Sikhs:

The state of affairs at the other end of northern India in the Punjab was perhaps much worse. During the emperor s absence in the Deccan, the Sikhs had organised themselves into a solid military fraternity under the leadership of the last of the Gurus, Guru Govind Singh. He embarked upon a plan of sporadic forays into the imperial territories and the neighbouring hill states. His uninterrupted successes alarmed the government officials in the Punjab and they became equally a source of grave anxiety to the hill chiefs. The latter addressed a petition to the emperor saying, “He (Govind Singh) has vowed to avenge the death of his father. He wanted us to join him in his seditious projects. On our refusal to prove false to our most just and merciful emperor, he has become hostile to us and our people. He has founded a new sect which he calls the Khalsa or the Pure, but which in reality is the impurest medley of sundry low-born castes in the world. To these low-born people he holds out hopes of power and sway in this world, and of salvation in the next. Their heads are turned; they allow us no rest.

We, Your Majesty’s humble slaves, have turned our combined strength against them, but have not been quite successful. We are in a sore plight. To whom should we turn for help, but to our benign emperor?- kindly send a large army. We shall pay all its expenses.” 5

In other words, the Punjab, the key province of the Mughul empire was passing through a grave political crisis. Such a state of affairs could be tolerated only at a serious risk to the peace of the western region; hence strenuous efforts were made to deal with the insurgence of the Sikhs. Guru Govind Singh was driven from pillar to post till in sheer frustration and disappointment he had to retire to Damdamah, and he even made up his mind to come to terms with the emperor. He composed in exquisite Persian verse an address known as Zafarnama. 6 It is a mixture of words of threat and conciliation. The author prophesied that a day would come when the Sikhs would avenge fully the injuries inflicted upon them; and there is no doubt that for a considerable time they remained a running sore to the empire.

The Jats:

The Sikh obduracy and spirit of defiance proved to be very catching. The Jats, living within striking distance of Delhi and Agra and hitherto a hard-working and peaceful community engaged in agricultural pursuits, abandoned the plough am} took to arms. In view of the fact that a vast majority of Sikhs were originally Jats, it may be reasonably presumed that the former were in constant contact with their brethren who inhabited the region south of the two capitals of the empire. No wonder, therefore, that the Jats would have received inspiration and encouragement from their neighbours and erstwhile kinsmen. Their resistance was organised under the leadership of an intrepid adventurer named Gokla. It is difficult jio ascertain the cause or causes of their grievance. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has attributed it to their religious resentment; but there is little evidence to show that the Jats were a community of strong religious convictions and over-sensitive about their faith. On the other hand, Prof. Irfan Habib has ventured to suggest that the Jat rising was primarily agrarian, the consequence of financial distress which had overtaken the Mughul empire. But this contentioii also cannot be sustained, because beyond the general presumption that the rate of revenue demand had increased during the reign of Aurangzlb, there is no record to show that it had become exorbitant or back-breaking. Moreover, there were no such agrarian risings in other parts of northern India. So, the only conclusion which appears to be convincing is that the slackening of central administrative machinery and its consequent ineffectiveness encouraged the sturdy Jat community to make a bid for freedom. And what is more striking is that, in comparison with the Sikhs, their rise was far more phenomenal. Within the space of a decade or so, the Jats became a power to be reckoned with. They proved themselves as dangerous to the Mughul empire as to the neighbouring State of Amber. In other words, the Jat rising was primarily a political phenomenon having very little concern either with religious susceptibilities or economic distress. If there were any such considerations they were merely a cloak and a pretext.

The Bundelas:

On the direct line of communication between northern India and the Deccan lay Bundelkhand, the home of a warlike and adventurous community. Ever since the time of Akbar the Great, it had off and on proved a source of anxiety to the government. But like the rulers of Rajasthan, the chiefs of Bundelkhand lacked unity of outlook and the sense of common brotherhood. In the famous war of succession, Chhatrasal had helped Aurangzlb; 7 but his ambition could ill reconcile itself to a life of abject subordination. At one stage he even thought of joining hands with Shivaji; the latter, however, advised him to return to his homeland and work for its salvation. But he was sternly dealt with and even compelled to go to the Deccan and join the imperial service. Here he was appointed commander of Satara fort. 8 But he resigned his post soon after and returned to Bundelkhand to reorganise resistance to the central government. As a result, much earlier than expected, the problem of the Bundelas assumed proportions which sorely tried the wits of the politicians as much as the genius of the military commanders of the Mughul empire. And, though unlike the Jats, they were unable to establish an independent unified state, their insurgence ate into the vitals of the central administration.

Malwa:

During the closing years of the seventeenth century, the two provinces of Malwa and Gujarat had also begun to suffer from the effects of mal-administration and Maratha encroachments. In November, 1699, a Maratha contingent of troops crossed the Narmada and raided Malwa up to Dhamuni. 9 Four years later Nemaji Sindia burst into Berar, defeated and captured the Mughul general Rustam Khan. 10 Then he marched to Sironj, plundering the villages and towns on the way; though Nemaji was repulsed and put to flight by Firoz Jang, great was the consternation and alarm which had seized the people and local officials alike. Upon this, Prince Bidar Bakht was appointed Viceroy of the province with instructions to deal effectively with the marauders. 11 When two years later the prince was transferred to Gujarat, Malwa was placed in charge of Khan-i-Alam. But conditions did not improve; they became worse. The Marathas, the Bundelas and the Afghans constantly fomented trouble there and Malwa was completely ruined.

Rajasthan:

Like the Sikhs in the Punjab and the territory immediately to the south of Agra and Delhi, most of Rajasthan was also seething with discontent on the eve of Aurangzlb's death. The emperor had failed to suppress the resistance movement which had originated in the latter part of Shah Jahan's reign. It was sheer coincidence that Mewar and Marwar had allied themselves to face the common enemy. In the end, Aurangzlb made peace with Mewar on terms which did little credit to him. But, worse than that, he left behind him bitter feelings of rancour and resentment. Disaffection continued to blaze in Marwar, and its leaders were not inclined to keep quiet or modify their spirit of defiance. But in striking contrast to these two States, Amber maintained its loyalty to the Mughul emperor and its rulers played an important role in the imperial politics of the post-Aurangzib period. Similarly, the Rajput chiefs of Kotah, Bund! and Sirohi maintained their allegiance to Delhi. Therefore, the statement that Aurangzlb went to the Deccan with one of his arms amputated is not wholly correct. He had forfeited the confidence of Marwar and Mewar, but not of the entire Rajput community. Indeed, in the last part of his reign the Rajputs constituted 17.6

per cent of the total imperial nobility. They were not humiliated either. 12 On the other hand, they were given higher status than was conceded to the Hindus in general, and they were also exempt from jizya. In 1704, even Ajlt Singh and Durgadas made peace with the emperor.

The Deccan and Far South:

Aurangzlb spent the last twenty-five years of his life in a fruitless conflict against the Marathas and in satisfying his long cherished ambition of subduing the two semi-independent States of Bijapur and Golconda. Although he had the morbid satisfaction of wiping out the existence of these two States, he had to realise in the end that the success which he had achieved was fraught with fatal consequences for his own empire. It indirectly encouraged the Marathas who now ravaged with impunity the entire* region south of the Narmada. Furthermore, they were emboldened to play a game of hide and seek with the imperialists whom they harassed incessantly by plundering their convoys and by interrupting their lines of communication.

Indeed the failure of Aurangzlb’s Deccan policy brightened the prospects of Maratha imperialism. The Marathas could now dream of unrestrained expansion not only in the south, but also towards the north. Hence it would not be too much to assert that Aurangzlb

prepared the way for the future Maratha empire. It may sound paradoxical that he inadvertently strengthened the hands and enhanced the prestige of the Maratha chiefs by granting them high mansabs. And towards the end of his reign, the proportion of the Maratha mansabdars had risen to 16.7 per cent, 13 which gave them a place of influence in the Mughul governing class. In the long run it proved disastrous to the empire.

This brief review of the political condition of the Mughul empire on the eve of Aurangzib’s death brings into bold relief some of its interesting aspects. That it was tending towards decline admits of no doubt. The process of incessant expansion had sealed its fate. It was impossible to manage and control this vast region with the resources and means then available to the central government. Similar experiment had been tried by Muhammad Tughluq, but it had miserably failed. And though history is a stern teacher, few learn the lesson. Moreover, a succession of military campaigns in various parts of the empire, either for fresh conquests or for the suppression of internal risings, was gradually but steadily, leading to economic crises. Though for another fifty-five years or so the sea-borne trade of India still remained in a flourishing condition, its profits did not flow into the imperial coffers. Similarly, although there is reason to believe that agriculture also expanded, it did not add to the financial resources of the empire, because of the prevalence of the jagir and ijara (contract) systems. Finally, the administrative machinery had not only become expensive but also cumbersome, top-heavy and obsolete. Neither could it be effectively controlled, nor did it function to the advantage of the empire. The administrators were turning more and more into politicians, forming cliques and groups with a view to seize power, which they saw, was falling from the hands of the emperor. The era of despotism was at an end and that of anarchy and dissolution had set in.

NOTES

1. Riyaz-us-Salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim, pp. 254-60.

2. Ibid, p. 249.

3. Ibid, p. 251; Sarkar, Jadunath, History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, p. 401.

4. Ibid , p. 252.

5. See Zaluki (Zahiruddin), Aurangzib and His Times, pp. 255-56; Nijjar Bakshis Singh, Punjab Under the Great Mughuls, p. 94.

6. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, Vol. V, p. 201.

7. Chhatraprakash (Pogson), p. 32. Manucci and BhimSen confirm it. Irvine, Later Mughuls, Vol. II, p. 224.

8 Ibid, p. 229. For Chhatrasal’s life, see Sarkar, Aurangzib, Vol. V, pp. 390-99.

9. Bhimsen, Dilkushd, f. 129 a; Akhbardt (1699)—The expedition was led by Krishnaji Sawant.

10. Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 383-85.

11. Inayat Ullah, Letters (Aligarh MS), f. 43 a, 45; Sarkar, op. cit., p. 384.

12. Athar Ali, The Mughul Nobility under Aurangzib, p. 25.

13. Ibid, p. 30.

CHAPTER II

SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZIB

During his reign of about half a century Aurangzlb had created more problems than he was in a position to solve. Certainly some of them he had inherited from his forbears, but many were of his own making. These together shook the empire to its very foundations. No wonder that at the time of his death the political and financial horizon betokened the dark prospects of decline, decay and dissolution. The far-famed glory of the Mughul empire was now becoming past history; its tragic end was in the offing. The following half a century witnessed many a blood-curdling event. It was a period of clash of ambitions, of group rivalries, of base intrigues, of licentious orgies and, above all, of the decline of moral and ethical values. The political field was crowded with individuals devoid of sober vision or abiding loyalty. They were permeated with callous indifference towards the interests of the very institution which was the main source of their honour and sustenance. These courtiers failed to realise that they were playing with fire—a fire, the flames of which would consume the empire more speedily than they could imagine. Thus, the history of the Mughul empire in the 18th century is, an agonising story of its steady disintegration.

Despotic Militarism :

Multitudinous were the causes which dragged the empire to this tragic end, some inherent in the political system of the mediaeval age, whereas others were its concomitants or corollaries. As in other parts of the contemporary world, the Mughul political system derived inspiration and vitality from militarism, which reduced it to a machine for incessant territorial expansion. And when it was capped by the vices of absolute despotism, the inexorable fate could not be avoided or postponed. Thus, there arose a situation when the army, instead of becoming a bastion of the imperial fabric, turned into an agency for its destruction. The military leaders, immersed in narrow selfishness, began to grind their own axes. Moreover, the army which the successors of Aurangzlb had inherited was matched in its cumbersomeness by its rank inefficiency. It could neither be controlled nor be dispensed with. On the other hand, the rulers were called upon to meet its over-growing demands which caused constant financial drain. In other words, the military system had begun to sink under its own weight.

Unwieldy Expansion and Degeneration of the Nobility:

Again, the uninterrupted territorial expansion extending over a period of 150 years, had increased the dimensions of the Mughul empire to almost unmanageable proportions. In an age when scientific inventions had not yet eliminated the barriers of time and distance, the administration of an extensive empire required a host of loyal and efficient officers. For a variety of reasons the supply of officers of the right calibre was falling short of the actual demand. The Rajputs were not only reluctant to enrol themselves to defend the cause of the empire, but also lacked the qualities and military leadership of a Man Singh, Jagat Singh or Jay Singh. Immigration from Persia and Trans-Oxus region had almost come to a dead stop. A life of pleasure and opulence had adversely affected the morale and physique of those foreigners who had settled in this country. They could only still boast of their pride of birth; as to their worth, it had become conspicuous by its absence among them. They had plenty of ambition; but they sought to satisfy it at the cost of the empire. Like the proverbial wood-cutter they cut the very branch on which they were perched.

If the officials and nobles were greedy and inefficient, the sovereigns who were expected to set the ideal, were immersed in licentiousness. Their vision hardly ever travelled beyond the four walls of their palaces. They spent most of their time in the harem-making merry with the cup and their concubines, or in the gay company of poets and musicians in utter disregard to their own duty. Such debased specimens of humanity could hardly evoke sympathy or inspire respect. They could not but be the architects of their own doom and passive witnesses to the tragic fate besetting the empire. With the partial exception of Bahadur Shah, the immediate successor of Aurangzib, none was gifted with even a modicum of initiative. They were reduced to the unenviable position of being the nominees of their supporters instead of being their leaders.

Centrifugal Tendencies:

To add to the distraction of their puppets and their protagonists, the entire sub-continent Was overtaken by a mixed wave of regeneration and reaction, which intensified the centrifugal tendencies. The States of Awadh, Rohilkhand and Bengal represented one phase of the movement, and the Maratha expansion and the foundation of Hyderabad symbolised the other phase. But, in the context of the empire the result was the same, i.e., the dismemberment of the parent body. It would, however, be erroneous to presume that any of these States were moved by religious fervour. They were primarily political entities, each struggling against the other to preserve its existence or to promote its own growth and expansion. In fact, religion had almost ceased to influence either political or moral values. Selfishness and narrow parochialism had gained the upper hand. It was an age of fortune-hunters and of bold military adventurers.

Thus passed the first three decades after the death of Aurangzib, and during this period the internal conditions became more and more complicated. On the one hand, there were local risings of the Sikhs, Jats and Bundelas, and on the other the Maratha aggression was fast enveloping the entire sub-continent. So, it became almost impossible to focus attention on one particular source of peril; the outbreaks were at times simultaneous and sometimes the insurgent groups were in league with each other. Moreover, it was not unoften that the leaders of cliques in the court themselves encouraged defiance as and when it suited the promotion of their selfish ends. On the top of it all, came foreign invasions, which dealt stunning blows to the dwindling prestige of the emperor and the empire.

Contemplated Partition:

In the closing years of his life, Aurangzib was much perturbed at the gloomy prospects of a bloody civil war amongst his sons. Like his father, therefore, he also attempted an equitable distribution of the empire among the future claimants. It reminds one of a similar scheme adumbrated by Babur, the founder of the Mughul empire. Aurangzib, on his part, had intended that the eldest, Mu'azzam, should receive 12 subahs with his capital at Delhi; the second, A‘zam, should have Agra, the subahs of the Deccan, Malwa and Gujarat; the youngest, Kam Bakhsh, should have the two provinces of Bijapur and Hyderabad. Though the will (alleged to have been found by Hamid-ud-din Khan) confirming this distribution is of doubtful veracity, the presence of Mu‘azzam in Kabul, deputation of Kam Bakhsh by his father to Bijapur, and that of A‘zam to Malwa, lend support to the presumption that Aurangzib did not want his sons to be near one another or to be at each other’s throat. [1]

A‘zam Proclaimed Emperor:

But his wish in this respect, as had happened in the past, was not respected. It would have violated the hoary Timurid tradition of fratricide. When the frightful tradition had been followed by the father, why should his sons lag behind? So, when the emperor had breathed his last, Vazlr Asad Khan who was master of the situation, assembled the other amirs and in consultation with them, sent messengers to A‘zam asking him to return post-haste to Ahmadnagar. [2] Accordingly Prince A‘zam arrived there and was proclaimed king on 14 March, 1707. [3]

Although most of the officers and commanders, present in the camp of the late monarch, had tendered their submission to the new emperor, there were others who were indifferent towards him. Even Asad Khan, so enthusiastic in the beginning, became lukewarm later on. As to the Turanis like Chin Qilich Khan, his father Ghazi-ud-Din Khan Firoz Jang, and Muhammad Amin Khan, they were definitely unwilling to take any risk by extending support to a prince having Shl‘a inclinations. [4] Undeterred by the dubious attitude even of his supporters, A‘zam decided to march straight to Agra. This was what Shah Jahan had attempted in the past. Indeed, the project of seizing Agra had emanated from Prince Bidar Bakht, and his father A‘zam had already commissioned him to undertake it. But on subsequent considerations, he countermanded his earlier instructions, and thus inadvertantly ruined his chances of success. [5]

Mvfazzam's Activities:

While A‘zam was making for the north, his elder brother Mu'azzam was not sitting idle. He left Kabul and arrived at Puli-Shah Daulah where he celebrated his accession, assuming the title of Bahadur Shah. 6 He had already conciliated Budh Singh Hada of Bund! and Bijay Singh Kachhwaha of Amber and had, through them, enlisted a large number of Rajputs. 7 Luckily for Mu : azzam, his second son, Prince Muhammad ‘Azim-ush-Shan, was on his way to the Deccan in response to the summons of his grand-father. 8 It was at Shahzadpur that he heard of the latter’s death. 9 He lost no time in grasping the situation, and made straight for Agra where he joined his father. The capital thus fell into the hands of Mu'azzam, who thereby scored a march over his rival. 10 Because, though Bidar Bakht had succeeded in forcing through the line of the Chambal held by Muhtashim Khan, on behalf of Mu'azzam, the fate of A‘zam had been sealed. The rival armies faced each other at Jajau near Samugarh. A bloody conflict ensued in which A‘zam was killed, and so also his sons Bidar Bakht and Wala Jah. 11

Kam Bakhsh:

But Jajau did not end the struggle for succession. There was yet another claimant in the field. Kam Bakhsh had already the

Khutba recited and coins struck in his name in the Deccan. He assumed the style of Din Panah, 12 and appointed Ahsan Khan as his Bakhshi and Taqarrub Khan as Vazir. n He next turned his attention to recovering places which had either shaken off allegiance to the imperial authority or had declined to recognise him as sovereign* Wakinkhera, Arcot, Kurnool and Hyderabad were reduced to submission one after the other; but the commandant of Golconda refused to surrender the fort on the plea that he had received a communication from Bahadur Shah.

It must be said to the credit of Bahadur Shah that before proceeding to extremes, he made a sincere effort at conciliation. He wrote a very affectionate letter to his brother asking him to resign himself to God’s will. 14 But Kam Bakhsh suspecting the messenger who had brought the letter to be a traitor, subjected him to cruel indignities, and put to death many innocent young men suspected to be in league with him. 15 Nor did the remonstrances of the Vazir Taqarrub Khan have any effect on the mind of the young man. He turned a deaf ear to all overtures for peace.

Bahadur Shiah was thus left with no other alternative than to make an appeal to the sword. He marched to Hyderabad and arrived there in January, 1709. On the eve of the decisive battle which occurred on January 13, 1709, the position of Kam Bakhsh was very pitiable. He had neither men nor money; still he bore the brunt of the imperial attack very bravely. His son, Muhi-us-Sunnat, also displayed remarkable courage. But in the face of superior numbers, their efforts proved of little avail. They were wounded and capture ed. The same afternoon Kam Bakhsh was brought in a palanquin to Bahadur Shah who was very affectionate towards him. He wiped off the dry blood from his brother's wounds, and even persuaded him to take some food. But he died at night. 16 This was the last war of succession in which the initiative lay in the hands of the royal contestants who made their own plans. After this, it was the Vazir or some other influential noble who shuffled the cards and coaxed his trump piece to the forefront.

Bahadur Shah's Character:

Bahadur Shah was now the undisputed lord of the Mughul empire. He was the first and the last of the Mughuls to have exercised real authority associated with their names. Though his administrative talents were not of a high order, by his affable temperament and conciliatory attitude he managed to retain the support of every one of the numerous factions and groups in the imperial court. His per

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sonality had a very sobering effect on the rivalry and bitterness among his nobles and officers. By nature he was not stern; but he had a full grasp of the political situation. He attempted to discharge his-onerous responsibilities by a skilful process of adjustments and compromises. At times he was even able to assert himself.

After the battle of Jajau, the task to which he addressed himself was the reconstitution of his government. In doing so, he was called upon to pay due consideration as much to the tradition as to the exigency of the moment. His father had left behind a number of capable and experienced officers whose record of past services could not be bypassed. Nor could he leave in the lurch those who had advocated his cause and had stood by him through thick and thin. Ministerial changes after every accession were a normal feature of the Mughul politics, and Bahadur Shiah would have been fully justified in brushing aside the claims to office of the previous incumbents. But the situation in which he was placed was peculiar in so far as he could not afford to lose even a grain of sympathy, if he was to steer successfully through the troubles which lay ahead of him. Therefore, he decided upon the only feasible course in the circumstances, that of making as little change in the political and administrative set-up as possible.

Raj put and:

After the distribution of posts and honours the emperor turned his attention to tackling political problems. Embers of disaffection were still alive in Rajputana. The Rathor ruler, A jit Singh, had expelled the imperial officers after the death of Aurangzib and occupied his capital Jodhpur. 17 The Kachhwaha chief, Jay Singh of Amber, a young man of about 21, had, by throwing in his lot with A‘zam Shah, given a cause of offence to the new sovereign who had been for considerable time befriending a rival claimant in the person of Bijay Singh. 18 Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur also was not well inclined towards the changed order in the Mughul empire. 19 The ruler of Kotah, Ram Singh, was in the Deccan with Zu’lfiqar Khan and the Raja of Bundl, Budh Singh, was with Bahadur Shah. The strategic position of these States in relation to the far-flung possessions of the emperor required bold and immediate action.

Bahadur Shah was not slow to react to the gravity of the situation, He resolved to march to Jodhpur by way of Amber and Ajmer. His departure from Agra, which betokened his firmness, cowed down the spirits of the Rana of Udaipur and he sent to the emperor his brother Bakht Singh with a letter of congratulations and numerous costly presents. 20 As to Amber, the country was made over to Bijay Singh who was distinguished by the title of Mirza Raja. 21 Meanwhile A jit Singh had been defeated and put to flight by Miharab Khan, the faujdar of Jodhpur, and the fort of Merta had been occupied. 22 Further resistance being out of question, A jit Singh decided to tender his submission. He was pardoned, given a special robe of honour and the title of Maharaja, and his rank was fixed at 3500 zat and 3000 sawar. His two sons, Abhay Singh and Rakhi Singh, were also enrolled as mansabdarsP

But the peace thus restored in Raj putana did not prove to be enduring, mainly because it did not satisfy the ambitions of the hostile parties; and incidentally because the emperor could not prolong his stay there owing to the distraction caused by the activities of Prince Kam Bakhsh in the Deccan. Taking advantage of the change in the political situation, Ajit Singh, Jay Singh and Amar Singh formed a confederacy with the object of completely rooting out the Mughul influence from Rajputana. The Maharana married his daughter to Jay Singh on the specific condition that the son born of the wedlock would be the heir-apparent of the State of Amber to the exclusion of any other elder male progeny by other wives. 24 The allies invested Jodhpur and compelled the faujdar to abandon the fort. Encouraged by these successes they marched towards Agra and defeated the faujdar of Hindaun and Bayana. Then proceeding by way of Ajmer and Merta, they bore down on Sambhar which was the garrison town of the imperialists; but they were repulsed by the combined forces of the faujdars of Mewat and Narnaul. 25

The situation had indeed become very critical. To meet it the emperor issued urgent instructions to Asad Khan and other prominent officers in and near the capital to assemble their armies and march to the place of trouble. On the other hand, the policy of conciliation too, was not altogether discarded and it bore fruit. Jay Singh opened negotiations for a peaceful settlement, and upon the intercession of Prince ‘Azim-ush-Shan, he and Ajit Singh were restored to their former ranks. 26 It is, however, evident that Bah§dur Shah regarded the arrangement to be tentative only, because when he had settled the affairs of Kam Bakhsh, on his way back to the north he paid a second visit to Rajputana. But the outbreak ot trouble in the Punjab precipitated his departure from there. In short, Bahadur Shah’s Rajput policy fully reveals his temperament and political sagacity. He was firm in suppressing the insurgents, but was not averse to. holding out an olive branch towards them. He displayed the strength of his arms, and subsequently, in keeping

with the exigency of the situation, he restored to Jay Singh and Ajit Singh their capitals and homelands. Later, when in October 1711, the two kings arrived at the court they were sent to Sadhaura to guard the foothills from the raids of the followers of Banda. 27

The Sikhs:

Bahadur Shah had for a considerable time past been on friendly terms with Guru Govind Singh. 28 The Guru met the new emperor at Agra and was received with honours due to him; and he was successfully persuaded to accompany the imperial army to the Deccan. On reaching Nanded, the Guru separated himself from the emperor, and being attracted by the natural beauty of the spot, decided to pass the rest of his earthly life there. It was here that he was murdered on 17 November, 1708 A.D. 29

At Nanded, the Guru came in touch with a bairagi named Lachhman Das who enrolled himself as a disciple and styled himself Banda or slave. The Guru commissioned Banda to go to the Punjab, act as the temporal leader of the Khalsa, and in consultation with five of his councillors to punish the enemies of the Khalsa. He was strictly warned against assuming or aspiring to the spiritual leadership of the Sikhs. Fired with the zeal of his new mission and burning with feelings of revenge, Banda arrived in the Punjab, collected a large army, and making his way into the hilly districts, established himself at Sadhaura. 30

Swift was the conflagration which spread in the country between the Sutlej and the Jamuna. The Sikhs chose Sir hind as the main target of their attack, and succeeded in capturing it. 31 They then moved towards Thaneshwar, but their progress was checked by a local Muslim Rajput Zamlndar. They, however, crossed the Jamuna and occupied half of Sarkar Saharanpur. The demoralisation of the imperial officials was complete. Taking advantage of it, the Sikhs moved westward to seize Sultanpur, and they extended their depredations to the Shalimar gardens, a suburb of Lahore. For several months they closed the north-western road from Delhi. 32

The plundered inhabitants of Sirhind, Thaneshwar etc., arrived at Ajmer to represent their tales of woe and misery to the emperor. Winding up the Rajput affairs, Bahadur Shah left Ajmer on 27 June 1710, and hurried to the scene of trouble. He even bypassed Delhi, prohibited his soldiers from visiting the capital, and issued orders to the Hindus in his train to shave off their beards, 33 so that they may be distinguished from the enemy. Extensive preparations were made to suppress the insurrection. In the face of such heavy odds the

Sikhs were unable to keep firm to their ground. They were driven out of Thaneshwar, ousted from Sirhind, expelled from Lahore, closely invested at Lohgarh, and made to suffer crushing defeats at numerous places. Nevertheless, they did not give up their plan of harassing the imperialists and plundering those who sided with them. Thanks to the mutual rivalry between the two imperial generals, Muhammad Amin Khan and Rustam Dil Khan, Banda was able to effect his escape; but the moment the storm had abated a little, he reappeared and raised fresh disturbances in the Bari Doab. But he was defeated and repulsed by Muhammad Amin Khan, Banda was now exposed to a grave peril, but the sudden death of the emperor, and the departure of Muhammad Amin to participate in the war of succession staved off the doom. The Sikhs succeeded in recovering Sadhaura and Lohgarh. 34

Death of Bahadur Shah:

As to the Deccan, it appears that Bahadur Shah was unable to formulate a clear-cut and decisive policy. After the defeat and death of Kam Bakhsh, Zu’lfiqar Khan was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. He favoured conciliation with the Marathas, whereas the Vuzlr Mun‘im Khan counselled a different approach. Striking the mean between the two conflicting views, the emperor restored to Shahu his former mansab ; but he was reluctant to recognize his claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi on the six subahs of the Deccan. But this half-hearted concession did not cut much ice and the Marathas restarted their plundering raids. They ravaged even the jagirs of Zu’lfiqar Khan. His representative secretly concluded a pact with Shahu, conceding his claims; but this was not formally confirmed by the emperor. And so the Deccan remained a scene of confusion and lawlessness. After bringing under control the trouble created by the Sikhs, Bahadur Shah marched to the Punjab. He arrived at Anwala near Lahore on 11 August, 1711 and pitched his camp there. For some time past no Khutba had been recited at Lahore because of the objections of the learned divines, who resented the addition of the word Wasi after the name of *Ali, as an indication of the emperor's ShVa proclivities. 35 The latter now assembled together the learned men of the city and attempted to convince them of the propriety of his innovation. But he failed and he lost his temper. An ugly situation was averted only when the emperor gave way to the popular demand, viz., that the word Waisi should be dropped. But he was very much distressed. He now busied himself in improving and altering the Shalimar Gardens. About the middle of January 1712 his health began to decline and he died on 27 February, 1712.

With the death of Bahadur Shah disappeared even the last semblance of the glory and greatness of the Mughuls. Though mild, generous and accommodating, he held the reins of administration fast in his hands. In matters of state, his word was final. He rose high above party factions and court intrigues and rarely allowed himself to be swayed by passion or prejudice. But it was impossible for him to liquidate the evil consequences of the mistakes of his predecessors. Compared to them his outlook was limited and his equipment poor; yet unlike his successors, he cannot be said to have played the role of a mere puppet. When Banda escaped capture, the emperor did not fail to reprimand his favourite Prime Minister Mun'im Khan. Jn his dealings with the Rajputs he displayed both firmness and discretion, though the final solution of the Rajput problem proved to be beyond him. He might have succeeded in suppressing the Sikhs, but his untimely death left the situation in a state of flux. To sum up the policy and administration of Bahadur Shah, it may be stated that he remained in power for too short a period to achieve any permanent results. He could overawe the Rajputs, could persecute the Sikhs, but he failed to find even a temporary solution to the Maratha problem. Though his attitude towards the Hindus was less intolerant than that of his predecessor, he did not abolish the jizya or rescind discriminatory regulations, but the rigour of their application was considerably softened. Nor could he arrest the acceleration of financial crisis. He granted jagirs recklessly and gave promotions and rewards to all and sundry. When he ascended the throne, he found 13 erores worth of coined and uncoined gold and silver in the treasury at Agra. By the end of his reign all of it had been spent away and the salary of artillery men had fallen into arrears.

The Last War of Succession:

Bahadur Shah left behind him a numerous progeny. When he died at Lahore, his four sons Jahandar Shah, 'Azim-ush-Shan, Rafiush-Shan and Jahan Shah were with him. Of these, the second was by far the most capable and resourceful. But the arch-intriguer ZuTfiqar Khan, who was keen to play his own game, succeeded in combining the eldest with the other two. 'Azim-ush-Shan was defeated, and he disappeared in a sand-storm which swept the bed of the Ravi. But the victors could not agree among themselves, and the conflict reopened. Jahan Shah, who was the* first to strike the blow, was killed in an encounter with Zu'lfiqar Khan when on the brink of success. In the end, Rafi-ush-Shan also drew sword to defend his claims. Deserted and deceived, he fought valiantly and faced death with the supreme courage of a soldier. 36

Jahandar Shah:

Jahandar Shah proclaimed his accession at Lahore. Though about fifty years of age, he behaved like a frivolous young man of eighteen. His morals were highly depraved. He drank heavily and passed most of his time in the company of his mistress—-Lai Kunwar, whose relations had obtained high posts in government service. Nor could his Vazir Zu'lfiqar fill in the void successfully. He had been overtaken with senile decay. He devolved his entire responsibility on his favourite, Sabha Chand. 37 So he lost all the influence Which he had built up; nay, he was bitterly hated, as was his master. With such persons at the helm of affairs, the fate of the empire can better be imagined than described.

Farrukh-Siyar's Bid jor Power:

While Jahandar Shah and his Prime Minister were living in fool's paradise in Delhi, a severe political storm was brewing in the eastern provinces.

Here ‘Azim-ush-Shan’s son, Farrukh-siyar, had succeeded in winning the support of Sayyid Husain ‘Ali, the governor of Patna, and Sayyid ‘Abdullah, the governor of Allahabad. 38 He advanced with a large following towards the west to contest the throne with his uncle. On the way he overcame the opposition of his cousin A‘zz-ud-Din who blocked his path at Khajuha. 39 Near Agra he confronted the hastily assembled hosts of his uncle. Treachery in his camp, combined with improper disposition of his forces ; brought defeat upon the head of Jahandar Shah, who, with his mistress, fled to Delhi in a bullock cart. 40 Zu’lfiqar Khan was already making fast for the capital. The fallen emperor took protection with Asad Khan, the VakilA-Mutlaq who betrayed him to his enemies. 41 For such an act of treachery, he and his son Zu’lfiqar, had to pay dearly; one suffered disgrace, the other was put to death.

Farrukh-siyar ascended the thronO burdened with a deep debt of gratitude to his supporters, particularly the Sayyid brothers, Husain ‘Ali and ‘Abdullah. The latter became the Prime Minister with the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk , and the former was appointed Mir Bakhshi and was styled Amir-ul-Umara. During his seven years of the so-called regal authority, the new emperor was constantly afflicted by mental conflict caused, on the one hand, by his will to assert his power and prerogative, and by his concern, on the other, not to wound the susceptibilities of his benefactors. But in the midst of deceipt and dissimulation, his weakness of will prevented him from faking bold decisions and suppressing his enemies. He proved himself unfit to be a sovereign. Fate had raised him to the throne; the very same fate hurled him down from it.

Military Campaigns:

Three military campaigns were undertaken during the reign to suppress the spirit of defiance which was prevailing in northern India. In Marwar, Ajit Singh had re-asserted his independence, and even occupied Ajmer. The Amir-ul-Umara marched against him and pursued him from pillar to post. In the end, Ajit Singh begged for peace which was granted on condition that he gave one of his daughters in marriage to the emperor, sent his son Abhay Singh to the court, and promised to attend in person whenever summoned. 42 Similarly, an army was sent against Banda who was compelled to evacuate Lohgarh and retreat to Gurdaspur. Even here he was not allowed to live in peace. The place was stormed and Banda was forced into submission, brought to Delhi where he was brutally put to death. 43 The third military project related to the suppression of the Jats who had again become obnoxious under the leadership of Churaman. He had commenced levying unauthorised road-tolls, terrorised the local jagirdars and constructed a stronghold at Thun. Raja Jay Singh pressed him hard, and Churaman approached the Vazir to secure pardon for him. Farrukh-siyar had to give in. 44

Party Politics:

Both during the Marwar and Jat campaigns, factions at the court resorted to underhand dealings. Ajit Singh was encouraged in his opposition to the Amir-ul-Umara and was promised rich rewards if he succeeded in frustrating the plans of the latter. During the Jat campaign the Vazir asked Churaman to foil the attempts of Jay Singh. 45 Such were the earlier rumblings of the violent storm which was to burst upon the political atmosphere. That the emperor did not trust his constitutional adviser, the Qutb-ul-Mulk, became a matter of common knowledge—a knowledge which produced a rich crop of intrigues and counter-intrigues.

Thus party politics formed an important phase in the court life during the reign of Farrukh-siyar. But these parties conformed neither to religion, nor to race—nor even to nationalities. As to principles, there was none whatsoever. It were the individuals and their satellites who mattered. Their governing passion was self-interest, and tneir guiding maxim personal aggrandisement. The Sayyid brothers wanted to lord it over the emperor. Others like Mir Jumla, Jay Singh and Muhammad Murad Kashmiri were equally keen to do the same. And none cared for the fairness or foulness of the means to achieve his end. The repercussions of such display of rivalry and disunity were very far-reaching on the fortunes of the empire and disastrous for those of Farrukh-siyar.

Farrukh-siyar and the Sayyid Brothers:

The relations between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers were very much strained from the very beginning. The breach widened with the lapse of time. It was made up temporarily when Farrukh-siyar's favourite, Mir Jumla, was sent away to Patna, and the Amir-ul-Umara, Sayyid Husain 'Ali, left for the Deccan as the Viceroy of the six subahs of the Deccan. 46 The fire of misunderstanding was fanned to full fury again when Mir Jumla came back from Patna 47 and the Nizam-ul-Mulk from the Deccan, 48 and when 'Inayatullah Kashmiri was appointed Diwan-i-Khalsd , 49 much against the wishes of the Vazir, Sayyid 'Abdullah. The quest by Farrukhsiyar of a substitute for the Vazir brought the quarrel to a head. The elder Sayyid succeeded in weaning away from the side of the emperor all his adherents. He then sent express messages to his brother in the Deccan asking him to return to Delhi as quickly as possible.

Husain 'Ali and the Peshwd:

To buttress himself against all eventualities, Husain 'Ali opened negotiations with Peshwd BalajI Vishwanath. The latter demanded the recognition of Shahu's succession to Shivajl's kingdom, of the right of levying chauth and sardeshmukhi on the six provinces of the Deccan, confirmation of recent Maratha conquests in Berar, Gondwana, Karnatak and the return of Shahu's mother and his family to the Deccan. In lieu of these concessions, the Peshwd promised to pay a tribute or peshkush for the sardeshmukhi, to preserve and guard peace in the Deccan, and in return for the chauth place 15,000 Maratha horsemen at the disposal of the Mughul Viceroy. The terms being advantageous to both parties, the bargain was soon struck. But when these were laid before the emperor for final confirmation, he rejected them with indignation. 50

End of Farrukh-siyar:

Thus commenced the final act in the tragedy of Farrukh-siyar. The more he strove to thwart the plans of the Sayyid brothers, the greater the troubles he had to face. At length Husain 'Ali arrived at Delhi with his Maratha allies. The city was thrown into a state of alarm and so was the emperor. He now made desperate efforts to undo the mischief by placating the Brothers, but they were impervious to tears and threats alike. Farrukh-siyar had, by this time, been completely isolated. Even his father-in-law, Ajit Singh, deserted him . 51 He was overpowered, arrested, and consigned to prison. He was subjected to all sorts of tortures by his jailors. Bitter and over-salted dishes were served to him; even slow poisoning was attempted for some time. But he survived all these base experiments. At last, executioners were sent and they strangled him to death in April 1719. 52 This was the first instance of a sovereign of the Mughul dynasty losing his life at the behest of a noble. The Brothers had to pay for this dastardly crime with their blood.

R afi-‘ud-Darajat:

But for the moment the Sayyids were maddened with their success. They raised to the throne Rafi‘ud-Darajat, a puppet. The Marathas were permitted to return to the Deccan. They carried with them three farmans granting the concessions which they had demanded. 53

The Brothers now found they were sticking their hands in a hornets’ nest. Their cruelty to Farrukh-siyar was resented by the people of Delhi; their ally Ajit Singh was subjected to insult and ridicule; and their rivals set up Niku-siyar, 54 another puppet emperor at Agra. Add to this, the growing mistrust and rivalry between the Brothers themselves. The Vizir favoured settlement with Nikusiyar; the Amir-ul-Umara insisted upon a fight with him. The latter’s view prevailed.

Rafi‘ud-Daulcvh:

Meanwhile Rafi‘ud-Darajat’s health began to decline fast, and on his suggestion, the Sayyids raised to the throne his elder brother Rafi‘-ud-Daulah on 6 June, 1719. The new sovereign, Shah Jahan II, was virtually a prisoner, in charge of Sayyid Himmat Khan Barha. He was not permitted to attend the Friday prayers, nor to go out hunting, nor even to converse with any noble, except in the presence of his custodian. He fell ill and died on 17 September 1719. 55

The tragic end of Farrukh-siyar and the succession of two puppets, one after the other, brought to the fore certain political complications which, in the absence of a master-mind, defied solution. In the first place, it was patent now that henceforward the Mughul emperor was to reign only and not to rule. He was not the master of his destiny; it was to be shaped by others. Secondly, group rivalries became more acute than ever, and conflict of interests rendered the pursuit of a strong and effective imperial policy not only difficult but almost impossible. Zu'lfiqar Khan had advocated pro-Maratha attitude; but the Vazir Mun'im Khan was against it. So the court circle became divided on this vital issue, which continued till 1761. Thirdly, there was clash between the liberal and conservative outlooks. The Sayyid brothers favoured conciliation of the Hindus;

whereas the Turani leaders like the Nizam-ul-Mulk pressed for the revival of Aurangzlb's methods of coercion and suppression of nonMuslim elements as the only remedy for preserving the integrity of the empire. Even so, if the Brothers befriended the Jats and the Bundelas, they did not look with a kindly eye on Jay Singh. This was the paradox of the situation. For the moment, however, the Maratha peril was the gravest, and strenuous efforts were needed to meet it.

Muhammad Shah :

The 'King-Makers' now selected another puppet, Prince RoshanAkhtar, son of the late Khujista Akhtar Jahan Shah, the fourth son of the emperor Bahadur Shah. He was proclaimed emperor on 28 September, 1719, and assumed the style of Abul Muzaffar Nasir-uddin Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi. 56

Never before did a more care-free sovereign sit on the throne of Delhi. This lad of 17 had passed most of his time within the four walls of the palace, in the society of eunuchs and ladies of the harem. None had oared for his education, because few could foresee the good fortune which lay in store for him. Though fairly intelligent, he never attempted to make of his wits. He was of a generous disposition and never gave his consent to shedding of blood or doing harm to God's creatures. 'Timid and wavering, he was free from insolent pride'. He was a lover of pleasure, indolent and addicted to loose habits. He made it a rule of his life never to decide anything for himself; his favourites did it for him. He readily lent his ears to the advice of others without pausing to reflect •upon the consequences of accepting it. He had no initiative, nor even the dash of some of his predecessors. He was utterly ignorant of the elementary rules of the game of politics; he was not even anxious to know them. Rustam 'Ali, the author of Tarikh-i-Hind, says that 'Muhammad Shah was negligent of his duties; but the fact is that he did not know if he had any duties to perform'. His reign may justly be styled as the period of the ascendancy of favourites.

For full one year after his accession, Muhammad Shah remained a virtual prisoner in the hands of the Sayyid brothers. He was surrounded by 'numbers of their trusted adherents; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months, he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back'. After the disappearance of the * King-Makers 9 he fell into the clutches of Rahmat-un-Nisa KokI Jiu, the eunuch Hafiz Khidmatgar Khan, the necromancer Shah 'Abdul Ghaffar, and

Turrabaz Raushan-ud-Daulah Zafar Khan Panlpatl. In 1732 they were supplanted by Khan Dauran Samsamud-Daulah and his brother Muzaffar Khan. After their death in 1739, they were succeeded by another set consisting of Amir Khan, Muhammad Ishaq, Asad Yar, who in 1743 were joined by Safdar Jang. 57

The reign of Muhammad Shah divides itself into two broad periods of unequal duration, the dividing point being the invasion of Nadir Shah. Besides the petty court intrigues, the main interest in the political sphere centres round the steady expansion of the Maratha influence, and its pressure on imperial possessions. They spread the network of their activity from Gujarat to Bengal, and from the Narmada to the Jamuna, and even up to the Ravi. Their leader was the second Peshwa, BajI Rao, the strong man of action. Under his inspiration the Marathas cut across the limits of the Deccan and carried their arms right to the very heart of the Mughul empire. There was none to obstruct this terrific onrush of their progress.

Fall of the Sayyid Brothers :

The indignities which the Sayyid brothers had heaped upon the royal house had made them sufficiently odious; but in their extreme greed for power, they failed to discover the halter which was speedily closing in round their necks. They conciliated Jay Singh, who never made a secret of his pro-Farrukh-siyar sympathies, by assigning to him the Sarkar Sorath in the Subah of Ahmadabad. 58 They suppressed and killed Budh Singh, and seated their ally Bhim Singh on the gadi of Bundl. 59 They attempted to disperse the Turani group, by sending away Nizam-ul-Mulk to Malwa. They sent forces against Chhabela Ram, the rebellious Governor of Allahabad who was devoted to Farrukh-siyar. On his death, his nephew Girdhar Bahadur was persuaded to surrender Allahabad, and in lieu thereof he was made Governor of Awadh and received 30 lakhs of rupees. 60

So far, events had moved in favour of the Sayyids, but soon alarming reports began to upset their equanimity. The Nizam-ulMulk, after reaching Malwa, 61 gave free play to his ambitions. He marched to the South, defeated and killed in two separate battles Dilawar ‘Ali Khan and ‘Alam ‘Ali Khan, and seized the Deccan Subah. 61 The apple-cart of the Sayyid supremacy was now overturned. The Brothers were now on the horns of a dilemma. ‘Abdullah did not trust Husain ‘Ali, and neither of the two could count upon the support of a few faithful adherents. After prolonged discussion they decided that ‘Abdullah should remain at

Delhi and Husain ‘Ali and the emperor should go to the Deccan to deal with Nizam-ul-Mulk. 63 This marked the beginning of their end.

Accordingly, Muhammad Shah and the Mir Bakhshi Husain ‘Ali left Delhi. They chose the Ajmer route in the hope of meeting Raja A jit Singh and reinforcing the imperial army by his Rajputs. Up to Agra nothing untoward happened. But after the departure from the place, the conspirators became more active. Muhammad Amin Khan, Qamar-ud-din Khan, Haidar Quli Khan, Mir Jumla, Sayyid Muhammad Amin and Sa’adat Khan began to think out schemes for the assassination of the Mir Bakhshi. They even succeeded in winning over the emperor’s mother. At last on 8 October, 1720, their plans bore fruit, and Husain ‘Ali was stabbed to death. 64 This was followed by the arrest of Ratan Chand and Muhkham Singh Jat who were the supporters of the Qutb-ui-Mulk ‘Abdullah. 65 The very next day after the murder of Husain ‘Ali, Muhammad Shah appointed Muhammad Amin Khan minister and other' conspirators were rewarded by promotion to higher ranks or offices. The conspirators then marched northward against ‘Abdullah and the imperial army reached Hasanpur, fifty miles south of Delhi on 14 November, 1720.

When ‘Abdullah heard of the assassination of his brother, he remonstrated with the emperor against the perfidy and demanded dire punishment of the miscreants. Not being hopeful of a favourable response from Muhammad Shah, he set up a rival at Delhi in the person of Prince Ibrahim, brother of Rafi‘-ud-Daulah and proceeded to meet the advancing imperial army. But ‘Abdullah suffered a crushing defeat at the battle of Hasanpur. He was taken prisoner and handed over to the charge of Haidar Quli. He was poisoned and killed two years later, and was buried by the side of his mistress Kesar Bai.[66]

Gujarat:

After the fall of the Sayyid brothers, thanks to the pusillanimity of the central government, the distant provinces of the empire began to yield rapidly to the Maratha incursions. Gujarat witnessed a conflict between the representatives of Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sarbuland Khan to whom the province had been assigned after the former’s resignation from the vizaratf 1 Though Sarbuland Khan succeeded in expelling his rival’s nominees, he failed to prevent the Marathas from overrunning the province, their help having been purchased by Nizam-ul-Mulk.[68] He was replaced by Abhay Singh in 1730, and to overawe the Marathas he assassinated one of their leaders, Pilaji Gaikwar.[69] This occasioned a widespread upheaval among the local population. Pilajfs brother MahadajT seized Baroda;[70] his eldest son Damaji reduced eastern Gujarat and even invaded Jodhpur. Gujarat was finally lost to the empire in 1737.

Malwa:

Nizam-ul-Mulk remained, with a few breaks, the governor of Malwa till 1724. After this, the vigorous administration of Girdhar Bahadur and his nephew Daya Bahadur, along with the pre-occupation of the Peshwd elsewhere, reduced Maratha fortunes here to the lowest ebb for two years—1726-27. But the very next year the Peshwd despatched a large army under his brother Chimnaji Appa. He defeated and killed Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur and the Mughul administration in South Malwa collapsed completely.[71] Jay Singh and Muhammad Khan Bangash made some attempts to retrieve the situation, but in vain. In 1736, BajI Rao made demands asking for virtual control over Malwa, Bundelkhand, Bengal and the Deccan. 72 Next year (1738 Jan.) he defeated the Nizam-ulMulk at Bhopal and compelled him to sign a convention whereby (a) the whole of Malwa was granted to the Peshwd, and (b) also the right to levy tribute from the Rajas in the region between the Narmada and the Chambal. 73 After the invasion of NSdlr Shah, Jay Singh was once more appointed as Viceroy of Malwa; but he gave up in despair the task entrusted to him. He came to terms with the Marathas and ceded the province to them in 1741.

Bundelkhand:

Barring a few intervals of peace, Bundelkhand had remained constantly in a state of unrest against the imperial authority ever since the reign of Shah Jahan. The valiant Bundela leader Chhatrasal joined Bahadur -Shah in his struggle against Kam Bakhsh and vigorously participated in the campaign against the Sikhs. He appears to have done little to embitter his relations with the imperial power till the end of Farrukh-siyar’s reign. But after Muhammad Shah’s accession he could not refrain from anti-Sayyid activities. At the instigation, of Budh Singh Hada he created trouble on the borders of Malwa between Agra and Allahabad.

In 1720 Muhammad Khan Bangash was appointed to the Subah of Allahabad and he decided to deal with the Bundelas who had sacked Kalpi and extended help to the rebel Girdhar Bahadpr at Allahabad. 74 The Bangash army succeeded in ejecting the insurgents from Kalpi, but its leader Diler Khan was defeated and killed by Chhatrasal. The Bundelas now overran the entire Bundelkhand and though by the end of 1728 they had been driven to bay, the enemies of Muhammad Khan encouraged Chhatrasal to continue his resistance. Further support came to him from the Peshwa. When the Bundela leader died in 1731, the Marathas occupied a part of the province and the imperial hold over it became very feeble. 75

Rajputana:

Rajputana too, began gradually to slip out of the imperial sphere of influence. The inter-state politics of the region became complicated and unsettled. Jay Singh of Amber was ambitious and restless, and was keen to assert his supremacy over other Rajput States. He reduced Bund! to the status, of a vassal by removing Budh Singh and placing Dalel Singh on the throne. 76 In Malwa he pursued the policy of appeasing the Marathas, but he had to return home disappointed. Subsequently in April 1734, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia stormed Bundi, carried off the Regent, Salim Singh and restored Budh Singh. 77 They even extended support to Anand Singh and Raj Singh against Abhay Singh in Marwar. The Maharaja remained helpless and could do nothing when the Maratha generals swooped upon Rampura. 78

Jay Singh convened a conference of all the Rajput chiefs at Hurda on July 17, 1734, to explore ways and means for keeping the Marathas south of the Narmada, and although they signed an agreement for joint efforts, it virtually remained a dead letter because of the absence of a common bond of interest among them. Abhay Singh was engrossed in his ambition of extending his domain in Gujarat; Budh Singh was preoccupied in his feud with Dalel Singh and Maharana Jagat Singh considered his elephant fights more important than keeping off the common enemy. 79

In 1735, the Marathas burst into Rajputana, and Malhar Rao and Ranoji Sindia after routing the imperial troops cbnverged on Jaipur, Kotah and Bundi. Next year they plundered Udaipur, Ajmer, Roopnagar and Merta. In distress, Jay Singh in consultation with Khan-i-Dauran, extended an invitation to Peshwa Baji Rao to come to Jaipur to discuss terms, but the effort proved fruitless. But after Nadir Shah’s invasion, the situation became favourable and Jay Singh succeeded in persuading the emperor Muhammad Shah to grant the deputy-governorship of Malwa to the Peshwa (1741). In this \fray, inadvertently he opened the flood-gates of the Maratha

advance into Rajputana. When he died in 1743, the political situation in that region became still more complicated. Bundl, Kotah and Jaipur became involved in internal strifes and the Marathas began to take sides.

Awadh :

It was during this period that Awadh became a strong and almost semi-independent political unit. The credit for this change goes to Mir Muhammad Amin, surnamed Sa‘adat Khan, who. was appointed governor of this province in September 1722. 80 He seized Lucknow from the Shaikhzadas, suppressed the refractory chiefs e.g., the Kanhpurias of Tiloi, the Bais of Baiswara and the Chandels of Chachendi; and in this way enlarged his possessions. 81 He was held in esteem by Muhammad Shah, because of the part he had played in the conspiracy against the Sayyids. Indeed, it was Muhammad Amin, who after the assassination of Husain ‘Ali, forced his way into the ladies’ apartment taking the head of the Sayyid in his hand, and with the humblest apologies snatched the emperor from the lap of the Queen-mother and brought him out into the open to assure the conspirators and alarm the enemies. It was in his life-time that he secured the deputy governorship of Awadh for his nephew and sonin-law, Abul Mansur Safdar Jang.

The Jats:

Near the capital, the Jats had for a long time been a source of trouble. Their leader, Churaman, was an active partisan of the Sayyid brothers whom he followed like a shadow. He was with the army of Husain ‘Ali at the time of the deposition of Farrukh-siyar. and accompanied him to Agra to fight Niku-siyar. After the assassination of his patron, he was persuaded to join Muhammad Shah; but he went over to ‘Abdullah and created much confusion in the rear of the imperial army. He now set up as an independent chief, and allying himself with Ajit Singh of Marwar sent assistance to the Bundelas to keep the imperialists busy in the east. But his leadership was seriously imperilled when he at first imprisoned his nephew Badan Singh,* and then released him at the intercession of other Jat Chiefs.

In 1720 Sa‘adat Khan was appointed subdhdar of Agra with specific instructions to deal with the Jat insurgents. But his deputy, Nilkanth Nagar, was defeated by Muhkam Singh, the son of Churaman. Upon this Sa‘adat Khan was removed from his post and was replaced by Jay Singh. Churaman having committed suicide, the

new subahdar took up the cause of Badan Singh, and expelled the sons of the late Thakur from Thun. Badan Singh was now installed on the gadi.

Within a very short time he became powerful, shook off his dependence upon Jaipur, and dominated over the entire districts of Agra and Mathura. He arrogated to himself the title of Braj Raj and built a strong fortress at Dig. His followers plundered a portion of Nadir Shah's treasure when he was retreating towards the Punjab. 82

Recall of Nizam-ul-Mulk :

It was in this atmosphere of distraction and disintegration that Muhammad Shah and his court minions were almost compelled to select a suitable person to deal with the perilous situation. The task was evidently beyond them. They now began to make a frantic search for a talented administrator who might stave off the impending doom. Their choice fell on Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was once more summoned from the Deccan. He arrived at the capital on July 12, 1737, and was accorded a warm welcome. He was appointed governor of Malwa superseding BajI Rao, and also governor of Agra vice Raja Jay Singh. He started for the former province to drive away the Marathas; but he had to sign a disgraceful convention at Bhopal on 7 January, 1738. 83

Nadir Shah's Invasion :

Meanwhile, the spectre of a foreign invasion began to loom, large over the political horizon of the western parts of the Mughul empire. Nadir Qull, after consolidating his position in Persia, had assumed the title of Shah-in-Shah. He was warlike and ambitious and was keen to earn a name and fame and to raise his country to the glory which it had enjoyed under the Safavi rulers. He entertained aggressive designs both eastward and westward. He came into conflict with the Turks and he sent troops to punish the governors of Balkh and Andkhud. He then decided to conquer Qandahar, which was a running sore to the security of his eastern possessions. He won remarkable success in this enterprise. Where Mughul princes like Aurangzib and Dara Shukoh had met with disgrace and disaster, Nadir Shah scored a decisive victory. He captured Qandahar by storming his way into it. 84

But he had purchased his victory at a very heavy price. To collect adequate resources for the. Qandahar campaign, he had despoiled the inhabitants of

Gombroon, and so denuded the province of Kirman that it was exposed to famine for seven or eight years

afterwards. Contributions were extorted from other parts of the empire as well. In short, in his hour of triumph, financial stringency impeded his further conquests. If he was to implement his future plans, he had to replenish his treasury as speedily a possible. And here lay the genesis of his Indian invasion. What encouraged him in his design was the growing weakness of the Mughul empire and the information about the enormous wealth of India, which his successive ambassadors must have conveyed to him. In the words of Lockhart: “With the spoil of India he could raise and pay more the Afghan and Uzbeg levies, and so renew war with Turks; besides by invading the Punjab, he would be following the example of Alexander the Great, Mahmood Ghazni, and thereby merit the title of ‘World Conqueror’.” 843 Thus the real motive for the invasions was the greed for wealth.

It is also suggested by some Indian and European writers that both Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sa‘adat Khan, the two rivals in the Mughul court, had invited Nadir Shah to invade India. 85 But these allegations need definite and decisive proofs. It is likely that rumours to this effect might have been circulated by interested parties. Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan has rejected the allegation against Nizam-ul-Mulk. He says: “Most probably the party of Samsamud-Daulah and Raja Jay Singh was responsible for spreading this rumour in order to discredit Nizam-ul-Mulk in the eyes of the Emperor”, and cover up their own incompetence. As to Sa‘adat Khan, his behaviour and conduct throughout the tragic episode belies the presumption of his complicity. Hanway has rightly remarked, ‘it appears to me that Nadir did not stand in need of such instruments for the execution of his ambitious designs.’ 853

Apart from the greed for wealth, the immediate pretext for the invasion of India was the alleged disregard for Nadir Shah’s repeated requests to the Mughul emperor to desist from affording asylum to the Afghan rebels. Indeed, even after the siege of Qandahar had commenced, the Mughul authorities did nothing to close the western frontier against the refugees. And when Muhammad Khan Turkman, the Persian envoy, delivered in person the protest of his master to the emperor Muhammad Shah, instead of giving any straight reply, his advisers wasted their time in the controversy as to how to address the Persian upstart. Thus tl*e envoy was unduly detained much to the chagrin of Nadir Shah who had explicitly directed him not to prolong his stay beyond forty days. 86

Muhammad Khan Turkman had been preceded by two other envoys viz., ‘AH Mardan Khan Shamlu and Muhammad *Ali Khan.

They had brought similar requests; but they had received evasive replies. What added fuel to the fire was the murder of two Persian couriers who had been sent to Delhi under escort to bring news of Muhammad Khan Turkman. Nadir Shah’s patience was exhausted and his ire was inflamed to the highest pitch. He marched straight to Ghazni. While leaving this place, to cover up his real intentions, he sent word to the Kotw^al of Kabul assuring him that he had no territorial ambitions, that he only wanted to extirpate the fugitive Afghans and that he was expecting hospitality on his arrival there. He used Qandahar as a vital base for his Indian expedition. His onward journey was uninterrupted. He arrived at Ghazni from where he marched to Kabul which he occupied after a brief resistance on the part of the commander of the citadel, Shirza Khan. Here again, he professed his friendly intentions towards the Mughul emperor saying that his sole object was to punish the rebel Afghans and that he had no territorial designs. He also accredited an envoy to the Court of Delhi, but the envoy was killed at Jalalabad. Soon, however, Nadir Shah ruthlessly avenged the murder and sacked the town of Jalalabad. 87

It would be erroneous to believe that the political leaders at Delhi were totally unaware of the reaction which the political developments in Persia would have on the situation in India. The shrewd Nizam-ul-Mulk had advised the Mughul emperor to extend a helping hand to the ruler of that country 88 and had volunteered to go there himself. But Muhammad Shah took the matter lightly and failed to come to any decision. Ultimately, when Nadir Shah came out victorious, Nasir Khan, the governor of Peshawar and Kabul, sent a note of warning and appealed for reinforcements. 89 To his representatives, the Amir-ul Umara Khan-i-Dauran replied, “know you not that I am a man of too great experience to be caught by such stories that are often made up to extort gold .... my house is in the plain and my imagination only dwells on what my eyes can see. Your house is on the mountains and perhaps from its summit you have caught a glimpse of the Persian host.” 90 When such was the estimate of the Mir Bakhshi of the empire, what preparation could be made for the defence of the western frontier? The inevitable happened. Indeed, the court atmosphere was so surcharged with intrigue, neglect and indifference, that it was impossible to have a clear picture of the crisis which had developed.

Nadir Shah left Jalalabad and marched towards Peshawar. Meanwhile Nasir Khan had, by his own exertions and at his own initiative, collected 20,000 Afghans whom he had stationed in the Khyber Pass to check the progress of the Persian army. But by making a detour the Persian invader avoided confrontation with the Afghans and taking an unfrequented route, he entered the Bazar valley, and advanced towards Jamrud. On the way, he came face to face with Nasir Khan’s Indo-Afghan troops which he drove back with heavy losses. Nasir Khan and a number of his officers were taken prisoners. 91

The Afghans posted in Khyber pass having taken to flight, the way was clear for Nadir’s baggage train and artillery which joined him in full strength. Peshawar was easily occupied, and the region between Peshawar and the Indus was thoroughly sacked. A bridge was constructed at Attock and the Persian army crossed over to the other side. It then marched towards Wazirabad and crossed the Jhelum without any difficulty. At Kunja Mazra, (Irvine reads it as Kacha Mirza), an Indian army led by Qalandar Khan barred the enemy’s advance; but the general was killed and his troops were dispersed. 92 Nadir Shah resumed his march and crossed the Chenab. On his way to Lahore the entire region was subjected to wanton plunder. Near Lahore, the Mughul governor Zakariyah Khan had deployed his troops along the Ravi. But because of inadequacy of numbers and carelessness of the imperial officers to send reinforcements, he considered it discreet to come to terms with the invaders. He made an abject surrender and by offering a gift of 20 lakhs of rupees and several elephants he saved his skin and the property and honour of the people of Lahore. 93 Nadir Shah stopped here for twelve days. He restored to Zakariyah Khan the governorship of Lahore and gave to Nasir Khan the subahdari of Kabul and Peshawar. He then marched to Sirhind where he arrived on February 16, 1739. From here he sent out 6,000 Kurdish cavalry under the command of HajI Khan to reconnoitre the Indian position. 94

From Sirhind he set out for Ambala where he deposited his heavy baggage and harem. He then advanced to Shahabad, thirtyfour miles north of Karnal. Meanwhile, his Kurdish patrols had come into conflict with Indian forces, and many of them were killed and captured. From Ambala he marched to ‘Azimabad where he planned his strategy to meet the Indian army. From ‘Azimabad he marched towards Karnal crossing the ‘All Mardan canal. At the head of some of his bodyguard, the Shah rode up to the Indian camp, but returned quietly without hazarding a battle.

The fall of Ghazni should have opened the eyes of the emperor Muhammad Shah to the grave peril which was threatening the

Mughul empire. But he paid no heed to it, and he and his advisers remained absolutely inactive. 95 They awoke only after Kabul had been occupied by the Persians and the Indus had been crossed by them. Now feverish efforts were made to stem the tide which was raging in full fury. The Amir-uUUmara sent urgent messages to Rajput princes to arrive at Delhi and stave off the impending catastrophe. But there was no response worth the name. They remained silent spectators of the tragedy.

The emperor summoned Burhan-ul-Mulk, Sa‘adat Khan, from Awadh, 96 but did not wait for his arrival. He immediately held a council of war with Nizam-ul-Mulk, Khan-i-Dauran and Itimad-udDaulah and decided that the nobles should march to Karnal and wait for the enemy there. The number of combatants in the Indian army at the moment was about 75,000. The imperialists pitched their camp and laid out fortifications to defend their position. Shortly after, arrived Sa‘adat Khan with his exhausted and tired troops. He went to pay his respects to the emperor. Meanwhile, news was brought to him that the Persians were plundering his baggage. Upon this he could not restrain himself. He hurriedly left the audience, called his men to arms and rushed to save his baggage. Evidently his action was not only desperate, but unwise and impetuous. It left no time to the imperial army to work out a planned strategy to meet the enemy. When Sa‘adat Khan emerged from the imperial camp, the Persians feigned retreat. He moved ahead to pursue them, and thus he lost all contacts with the base. Realising the gravity of his situation he sent urgent appeals to the emperor for speedy help. After much discussions Khan-i-Dauran with about 8,000 or 9,000 cavalry was sent to the assistance of Sa‘adat Khan. But the imperial Mir Bakhshi was only a carpet knight, ignorant of military tactics. He knew only how to brag.

Thus a minor action developed up into the battle of Karnal. 77 The Persians with regular volleys of swivel guns slaughtered a considerable number of Sa‘adat Khan’s men. But the Khan stood his ground firmly. At this critical juncture arrived Khan-i-Dauran, and though the two combined chiefs offered brave resistance, they could not reverse the situation. Khan-i-Dauran was fatally wounded in the face and fell unconscious in the howdah. Likewise Sa'adat Khan also received two wounds. Even when everything had been lost, he went on boldly shooting arrows to resist capture. At the last moment, at the instance of a young Persian of Naishapur, he surrendered and was carried a prisoner to the camp of Nadir Shah.

It appears strange that emperor Muhammad Shah, his Vazir Qamar-ud-dm and his adviser Nizam-ul-Mulk should have complacently watched the terrible carnage which was going on before their very eyes. The Indian left wing under their commands remained intact to the last. It could have advanced to the succour of the hard-pressed imperial forces. Only two explanations may be given for this criminal and heartless inactivity. Either Nizam-ul-Mulk was taking a malicious pleasure in the humiliation of his two rivals, or otherwise he considered it futile to combat the superior tactics of Nadir Shah,, Anyway, it is difficult to defend his reprehensible conduct.

When Sa‘adat Khan was led into audience of Nadir Shah, he tactfully answered the questions put to him. He proclaimed his loyalty to the Mughul emperor, though he hailed from the same country as Nadir Shah. He impressed upon the latter that there were still vast resources at the disposal of Muhammad Shah and that he was in a position to fight on equal terms. He advised him to send for Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was the ‘key of the empire’, and negotiate with him. Accordingly, an invitation was sent through a trustworthy person, with a copy of the Holy Quran as a guarantee for good faith. In view of the past attitude of Nadir Shah, the Mughul emperor apprehended treachery on his part; but the Nizam dispelled all such doubts from his mind and went to the Persian camp along with his nephew ‘Azimullah Khan Bahadur.

He succeeded in negotiating peace with the Persian invader on the following terms:

(1) That the Persian army would not advance towards Delhi,

provided an indemnity of 50 lakhs of rupees was paid to the invader. ,

(2) That out of this stipulated amount, 20 lakhs would be paid immediately —10 lakhs at Lahore, 10 lakhs at Attock, and the balance at Kabul.

(3) That no territorial annexations would be made. 98

Evidently the terms were satisfactory to both the parties and the Nizam returned to the Mughul camp with flying colours. This was followed by a visit of emperor Muhammad Shah to the Persian camp, where he was received with great honour and consideration. Everybody now thought that the storm had blown over and that the empire would regain its peace and would be saved from further bloodshed. But this was not to be. The mutual jealousy between Nizam-ul-Mulk and Burhan-ul-Mulk irretrievably upset the terms of

peace which had been concluded and on which the ink was not yet dry.

When Muhammad Shah returned to his camp, he was apprised of the death of Khan-i-Dauran. He immediately conferred on Nizam-ul-Mulk the title and post of the deceased noble." This was bitterly resented by Burhan-ul-Mulk Sa‘adat Khan, who himself had for some time past been coveting the post of Mir Bakhshi. Casting to the winds his loyalty to the emperor and his devotion to the country of his adoption, he became eager to take full revenge on his rival, the Nizam. He impressed upon Nadir Shah that he had been duped by the latter who would have agreed to pay much more. He suggested to him to take Muhammad Shah, the Nizam and others into custody, march to Delhi and make himself master of the immense treasures in store there. Nadir Shah accepted the suggestion, because it was after his heart. To make his assurance doubly sure, Sa‘adat Khan summoned his troops from the Mughul camp and quartered them near the Persian army.

For the next few days there was a lull in the atmosphere; but the storm was steadily brewing. Nizam-ul-Mulk was again invited to the Persian camp and on his arrival there, he was asked to furnish twenty crores of rupees in addition to 20,000 cavalry to serve under the Shah. When he pleaded his inability, he was placed under surveillance. Similarly the emperor Muhammad Shah, Vazir Qamar-ud-dln and the royal harem were also placed in custody. Sa‘adat Khan was elevated to the post of Vakil-i-Mutlaq, and along with Tahmasp Khan Jala’ir was sent to Delhi with instructions to the governor Lutf-ullah Khan Sadiq to hand over the keys of the imperial palaces and establishments. Preparations were begun, at the capital for the reception of the two monarchs—one a captive and the other a victor.

They left Karnal on 12 March ^arid after six days arrived in Shalimar Gardens near Delhi. The emperor was permitted to enter the city beforehand to enable him to accord a suitable welcome to his honourable visitor. On March 20, Nadir Shah entered Delhi in a magnificent procession headed by 100 elephants each of which had several Jazairchis . Nadir Shah himself was mounted on a horse. Near the fort, he was greeted with the booming of guns, and the emperor received him at the gate with great pomp and show and placed before his guest all the royal treasures and jewels. After this Nadir Shah took up his residence near the Divjan-i-khds in the palace built by Shah Jahan, while the emperor occupied a building near Asad Burj or Lion Tower. Next day (March 21) the Khutba was read in all the mosques of Delhi in Nadir Shah’s name and coins were also struck in his name.

Sa‘adat Khan, though high in favour with the Persian invader, was feeling distressed at his inability to collect the large amount which he had promised. Afraid of being slighted on that account, he committed suicide. But contemporary historians have given different versions regarding his death. ‘Abdul Karim attributes it to excessive pain in his leg; Abul Qasim Lahori attributes it to some bodily ailment; but Har Charan Das definitely says that “as Nadir Shah demanded the sum he had promised, Sa‘adat Khan took diamond powder to save his name and honour and died the following morning.” Rustam ‘All in his Tarikh-i-Hind gives more details. According to him “Nadir Shah publicly abused Nizam-ul-Mulk and Sa‘adat Khan and threatened them with corporal punishment.” To save themselves from dishonour they made a suicide pact; but the Nizam did not abide by it, whereas Sa‘adat Khan ‘like a true soldier drank a cup of poison and departed to the next world’. 100

When the exchange of courtesies between the two monarchs was over, towards the close of the day Nadir Shah retired to his own palace. But in the city wild rumours were spread that he had met with untimely death or had been seized or imprisoned by the orders of the emperor. None cared to verify the truth and great commotion arose. Mobs collected at various nooks and corners and, in the excitement, began to attack the Qizilbtish, troops in the town. The Persians were in a state of consternation because of the reports of their master’s death. Thus about 3,000 of them fell a prey to the wanton attacks on the part of the people of the capital. Add to this, the indiscretion of two Indian nobles, Sayyid Niyaz Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan, who collected 500 men, raided the royal elephant stables, killed the superintendent and removed the elephants.

At first Nadir Shah refused to believe the reports of the disturbance and blamed his own men for stirring up the trouble. But when two of his Yaswals, sent one after the other to inquire and ascertain the true state of affairs had been mercilessly killed, he sent a body of his troops to quell the rioters; but owing to darkness and smallness of their members, they failed to restore order. The Persians passed the whole night under arms and next morning the Shah rode through the streets to the Golden Mosque in Chandni Chowk. On the way a bullet missed him, but killed one of his officers. Mounting the roof of the mosque, red with anger, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of the capital. “The

Persian troops began their dreadful carnage at 9.00 a.m. The soldiers forced their way into shops and houses killing the occupants and laying violent hands on anything of value. The moneychangers' bazar and the shops of jewellers and merchants were set on fire and destroyed, all the occupants perishing in the flames. No distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty, male and female, old and young." I00a While the work of death and destruction was going on, Nadir Shah remained sitting in the mosque with his drawn sword beside him. The massacre continued for about six hours. It is difficult to give the exact number of lives lost. It varies from 8,000 to 40,000. Sir Jadunath Sarkar puts it at 20,000, besides several hundred women who committed suicide. This dark day has become proverbial in the history of India and Nadir Shah stands as a symbol of pitiless cruelty and wanton disregard for human life. The streets of Delhi remained littered with corpses for several days; but at length Nadir Shah directed the kotwal to burn them. Timber from the wrecked houses provided fuel for funeral pyres, on which the bodies of Muhammadans and Hindus were burnt without distinction of creed and caste. Many thousands of corpses were collected and thrown into the Jamuna.

At the fervent appeal of the emperor Muhammad Shah conveyed to Nadir Shah by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Qamar-ud-dm Khan, he ordered his soldiers to halt the carnage. But Sayyid Niyaz Khan and Shah Nawaz Khan were not allowed any respite. They were captured and put to death. The heavy bloodshed satisfied only the beastly instincts of the Persian invader and earned for him everlasting hatred. His lust for gold had not yet been satisfied. 'His agents went from house to house to prepare inventories of the properties of the citizens of Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk Itimad-ud-Daulah and Sarbuland Khan were appointed to supervise the collection work. The capital was assessed at two crores.' According to one author, Nadir Shah obtained from the emperor, his nobles and people about 70,00,000 rupees. I00b Anand Ram has aptly remarked "the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed hands in a moment." Next to the famous Peacock throne, there was the Koh-i-Nur diamond which Nadir Shah grabbed with avidity. 101 Besides these he also confiscated the properties of Khan-I-Dauran and Muzaffar Khan. Then he sent a strong contingent of Persian troops to Awadh to bring the treasures of Burhan-ul-Mulk.

Having thus gratified his lust for money, Nadir demanded the hand of a Mughul princess for his son Nasrullah. His demand could not be refused and a great grand-daughter of Aurangzlb was married

to him. To celebrate the occasion, Nadir ordered illuminations, display of fire-works and lavish entertainments. The people of Delhi were in a state of mourning, but the despoiler Nadir Shah was in a festive mood. His Indian adventure was not only most successful but was also the most glorious event of his life.

Summer having advanced, any further stay in this country was inconvenient. So Nadir Shah held a darhar on May 12 to which he invited the emperor and the principal nobles and in their presence placed the crown on his head and conferred robes of honour on others. In this way, he vindicated the long-standing claim of the Persian rulers, of their superiority to the Mughul sovereigns whom they had regarded as their beneficiaries, because they had extended help to Babur and given asylum to Humayun and several other princes of the Chaghtai family. Finally, he gave some advice to Muhammad Shah on the art of government and exhorted the nobles to obey him promising all help in case of emergency. “He also warned the emperor particularly against Nizam-ul-Mulk whom he had found to be cunning, self-seeking and more ambitious than became a subject”. 102

He marched out of Delhi on 16 May, 1739. His homeward journey was not without mishap. His long and richly laden baggage train consisting of, besides costly jewels and cash, hundreds of camfels, mules and elephants, was subjected to plunder and loot by the hardy and daring peasants of the Punjab. He occasionally put some of them to sword; but they would not desist. Thus trudging his way, he returned home via Peshawar and Kabul.

Nadir’s invasion was in the nature of a holocaust. It is a record of wholesale destruction, blood-curdling massacre, plunder and rapine. It gave a severe blow to the Mughul empire. Moreover, it proved to be the harbinger of future invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and led to the horrible tragedy of Panlpat. It shook the nerves of many Indian politicians and statesmen. The French, the English and the Dutch trading companies were also frightened. Raja Jay-Singh of Amber sent his family to Udaipur. Peshwa BajI Rao was so alarmed that he asked Chimnaji Appa to abandon his campaign against the Portuguese and to join him as speedily as possible. He made peace with his enemy in Central India exclaiming, “there is now but one enemy in Hindustan.” In fact, the entire sub-continent was terribly shaken.

The imperial court, after the departure of Nadir Shah, presented a tragic picture of confusion and discord. Gone was its famous glamour and gone its wealth which had dazzled even the foreigners. Of the older nobles, Jay Singh had already retired to his own country; Nizam-ul-Mulk was called away to the Deccan to meet the Maratha pressure on his possessions; and Sa‘adat Khan was dead. As to Itimad-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-dln Khan, his indolence and licentiousness had rendered him a broken reed. The younger men who stepped into the political void were a band of self-seekers, unfit to discharge their responsibilities in conditions of constant strife and struggle. The empire began to disintegrate more rapidly than ever before.

The Rohillas:

The Rohillas under the leadership of ‘All Muhammad Khan were steadily pushing on their conquests in all directions. They were being secretly supported by Qaim Khan Bangash, the successor of Muhammad Khan and by the Vazlr Qamar-ud-din. 103 In this way they had become a veritable source of danger to Safdar Jang of Awadh who had now worked himself into the favour of Muhammad Shah. At the instance of the former, a campaign against the Rohillas was sanctioned. On this occasion was exposed the total bankruptcy of the military leadership of the emperor’s favourites. In the end, upon the intervention of the Vazlr, ‘All Muhammad tendered his submission. He was sent away to Sirhind. When Ahmad Shah Abdali entered Lahore, he opened negotiations with him and succeeded in recovering Rohilkhand in 1748. 104

Bengal:

In the distant provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, conditions were no better. The governor owned only vague allegiance to Delhi. Shortly after the invasion of Nadir Shah, ‘Ali Vardi Khan killed his master Sarfaraz Khan, Governor of Bengal, and secured the recognition of his title by bribing the emperor. 105 But his claim for the possession of Orissa was disputed by a relation of the .former subahdar of Bengal, who invited the intervention of the Marathas. Henceforward, the three provinces in the east were subjected to a series of Maratha incursions, till in 1746 Orissa passed into the possession of RaghujI Bhonsle. From the Bengal revenue twelve lakhs of rupees a year had to be paid to RaghujI as chauth for that province according to the treaty concluded in May 1751.

The Punjab:

At the time of Nadir Shah’s invasion, the governor of the Punjab was Zakariyah Khan. At the invader's instance, Multan was added to his charge and he was created an eight -hazari. But when he died in 1745. a civil war broke out among his sons, one of whom invited

Ahmad Shah Abdali to come to his assistance. The invitation was responded to with alacrity. 106

Ahmad Shah Abdali:

Ahmad Shah was originally a general of Nadir Shah, who, after the latter’s assassination, proclaimed himself king. He occupied Kabul and Peshawar, crossed the Indus and seized Lahore. He then marched towards Delhi. When the emperor received the report of his. advance, he despatched a large army under the Vazir Qamar-uddin Khan, the Mir Atish Safdar Jang, and Ishwari Singh. They were later on joined by Prince Ahmad. The imperial army marched to Karnal, and passing Sirhind crossed the Sutlej. But the invader had crossed the same river at a different place and occupied Sirhind. The Mughuls thereupon turned round and commenced their backward march. They contacted the enemy near Sirhind, and inflicting a crushing defeat on Ahmad Shah, pursued him up to Lahore. But just on the eve of the battle, the Vazir Qamar-ud-din was hit by a cannon-ball and killed. Shortly after, the emperor who had been ailing for some time, also breathed his last (25-6 April 1748). 107

Between the death of Aurangzib in 1707 A.D. and that of Muhammad Shah in 1748, the imperial politics passed through a tortuous course of base intrigues, underhand dealings, treachery and blooshed. But strangely enough though the empire was falling to pieces, the name of the Mughul emperor and his titular supremacy had still some prestige left. He was recognised sovereign as much by the aggressive Marathas as by the succession States of Bengal, Awadh, Rohilkhand and Hyderabad. Even the Rajputs did not repudiate formal allegiance to him. The sikka was struck and the Khutba was recited everywhere in his name. The ruler of Hyderabad styled himself Nizam-ul-Mulk and that of Awadh styled himself Nawab Vazir. Similarly, no other chief either cared or dared to assume the supreme title of king or emperor.

Another feature of Muhammad Shah's long reign of twentyeight years is reflected in the growth of cliques and groups in the court i;o which some reference has already been made. They were neither based on religious affinity, nor on any healthy political principles. They came into existence and changed their complexion and composition in the context of the interest of an individual or a group of individuals. Similarly, loyalty to the emperor was conspicuous by its absence among them, though some of them enjoyed special favours of the sovereign and were called as "King's favourites" Others came together to promote or pursue a policy which was of advantage to them. And in this background certain queer combinations may be noted. Zu-'fikar Khan, an Irani, was supported by 'Abdus-Samad Khan, a Turani, Dau'd Khan Panni, an Afghan, and Rajputs like Rao Singh Hada and Rao Dalpat Bundela. The Sayyid brothers sought thd co-operation of the Turanis, although they were deemed to be pro-Haindustani. The Turani-Muhammad Amin Khan and Irani Sa'adat Khan joined hands to bring about the downfall of the Sayyid brothers. Later on Vazir Qamar-ud-dln Khan, Sa'adat Khan, Muhammad Khan Bangash and Raja Abhay Singh formed one group, while Khan-i-Dauran, Jay Singh and some other Afghan amirs formed the opposite party. Even Nizam-ul-Mulk came to terms with the Marathas, whom he bitterly hated. Besides these ever-shifting groups, there were the favourites of the emperor who also had a hand in shaping contemporary politics and in interfering with administrative details.

A third feature of this reign was the growing licentiousness both among the royalty and the nobility. Muhammad Shah and his Vazir Qamar-ud-dln closely resembled each other in their habits and temperament and they were inseparables. Their example was eagerly imitated by other amirs. And soon the imperial court became a centre of jest and frivolity much to the annoyance and disgust of conservatives and disciplinarians like the Nizam-ul-Mulk.

In the colourful language of Macaulay the position is thus stated: "A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bhang, fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. . . . The Jauts spread dismay along the Jumna. The highlands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power.. Every corner of Aurangzeb's empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahrattas. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poona, at Gwalior, in Guzerat, in Berar and in Tanjore." 108 The expansion of their power and its nature will be traced in subsequent chapters.

NOTES

1 . William Irvine. Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 6 and foot note.

2. Jangndmah . f. 1(b); Ruznameha, ff. 16 and 16(b); Irvine, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 7. Hamid-ud-din has in his W aqai-Alamgiri given quite a different version of this will and he does not refer to partition at all. Irvine refers to 20 subahs only, whereas a MS copy in the India Office refers to 21 subahs.

3 Akhbdrat : Kamraj, lbrat Ndmah f. 10(b); Bhimsen. Dilkusha, f. 162.

4. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 13 and note.

5. Irvine, op. cit., Vol! I, pp. 14, 18.

d. There is a difference of opinion among the contemporary historians with regard to the date when Prince Mu'azzam received the report of his father's death. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 573; Dilkusha, f. 164; but Irvine's conclusion is correct; Vol. I, p. 18.

7. Irvine L op. cit., Vol. I, p. 19.

8. Jangrvamah, f. 1(b).

9. Ibrat Namah by Muhammad Qasim Lahauri, f. 8; Kamraj, (f. 10) writes that Azim-us-Shah received the news at Kanauj.

10. Nushka-i-Dilkusha, f, 164; Kamraj, f. 9.

11. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 33; Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. II, pp. 579-88; Jangnamah, f, 28.

12. M. Hadi Kamwar Khan, Tazkirat-us-Salatin-i-Chughtai, f. 308; Kamraj, Ibrat Namah, f. 37; Dilkusha, f. 162; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 569.

13. Khafi.Khan, Vol. II, p. 569.

14. Kamwar, op. cit., f. 309; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 608.

15. Vir Vinod, Pt. II, p. 930; Irvine, op cit., Vol. II, pp. 56-57.

16. Akhbdrdt, 4 January 1709; Kamraj, f. 39.

17. Khafi Khkn, Vol. II, p. 605; Mdsir-ul-Umard , Vol. I. p. 178; Adhunik Rajasthan, pp. 156-57.

18. Akhbarat, 28 April, 1707 A-D.: Dilkusha, f. 166(b); Iradat Khan, Tazkirah , p. 37.

19. According to V7r Vinod , Amar Singh did not take sides in the war of succession. (Vol. II, p. 746). In the opinion of Udayaraj Singh, with the exception of the ruler of Jodhpur, other Rajput princes were friendly with the Mughuls. Unpublished thesis, p. 139.

20. Akhbarat, 30 October, and 30 November, 1707; Dilkusha, f. 170.

21. Perhaps the reason for this change of rulers was Jay Singh’s intrigue against Vijay Singh; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 47.

22. Dr. Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court, p. 32.

23. Kamwar, Pt. II, f. 308 (b); Kamraj, f. 37 (b); Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 661.

24. Vamsa'Bhaskar, pp. 3, 17-18; Vir Vinod, Vol. II, pp. 769-71; Jodhpur Ki Khyat, Pt. II, p. 83; Ojha G. H., Jodhpur, p. 536.

25. Ojha, Udaipur, Pt. II, p. 605; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67: Jodhpur Ki Khyat, Vol. II, p. 83; Vir Vinod , Pt. II, p. 834.

26. Akhbarat, September 26, 1708 A.D.; Arzdasht of Jaipur Vakil, June 30, 1708.

27. Akhbarat, October 3, 1711; Kamwar . Pt. II, f. 329.

28. Govind Singh fought on the side of Bahadur Shah at Jajau: Ganda Singh, p. 12.

29. Govind Singh was placed in charge of the Godavari valley. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 72; Lahauri, f. 27(b)-28-(b). Ganda Singh, p. 22; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 652.

30. Ibid.

31. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 662-63.

32. Irvine, ibid. Vol. I, p. 98.

33. Akhbarat, July 5, 1710 and August, 1710; Vomisa Bhaskar, p. 303.

34. For further details see Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 93-121. Akhbarat, Kamwar etc.

35. According to Kamraj [f. 45(a)], the situation became so grave that the emperor did not dare going out on hunting excursions or boating trips; Khafi Khan, pp. 680-81; Akhbarat.

36. For the details of intrigues and the internecine struggle, see Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 158-85.

37. He was a Kayastha and was promoted to the rank of 2000-j-1000. Dr. Satish Chandra, op. cit., p. 68, f.n. 26; Irvine,, op. cii,, Vol. I, p. 197

38. At first Sayyid Husain ‘Ali was very reluctant to support Farrukh-siyar. Dr. Satish Chandra, “Early Relations of Farrukh-siyar and the Sayyid brothers”, Mediaeval India Quarterly, Vol. II.

39. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 216-19. Khan-i-Dauran fled from Khajuha and Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, the Diwan, deserted Prince A‘zz-ud-din. Khafi Khan, p. 717; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 190.

40. Ibrat Namah, f. 15(a), Khafi Khan, pp. 718-24, Irvine, op. cit., pp. 219-36.

41. Waris, Mirat-i-Waridat, f. 145 and f. 275; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 236-40.

42. Ajit Singh had given to the Emperor several causes of offence; his men had

murdered Muhkam Singh and the Rathor Raja honoured them; he had established thanas at Rupnagar: he contemplated aggression against Malwa, etc., and established thanas at Todah and Malpura. He refused to comply with the imperial orders; Mundiyesh ki Khyat, p. 246; Ibrat Namah, f. 60(a); Irvine. op. cit., Vol. I, p. 290.

43. Qasim Lahauri, Ibrat Namah, f. 174(a); Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 307-19.

44. Qanungo, K. R., History of the Jats , p. 60; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 321-27.

45. Bhargava, V. S., Mewar and the Mughnl Emperors, holds that no such letters were written, p. 158.

46. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 741; Akhbarat.

47. Mir Jumla entered Delhi secretly. He had returned from Patna in complete

frustration. Ibrat Namah, ff. 48a-51(a>. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 769. The em

peror was annoyed and deprived him of his titles, which were subsequently restored. Dr. Satish Chandra, op. ch., p. 119; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 330 and f.n. 3 and pp. 352-56. He was expelled twice from Delhi.

48. Nizam-ul-Mulk arrived at Delhi on June 13, 1715, Hadiqat-ul-Aiam, p. 93.

49. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 774; Ibrat Namah 70 (a). Satish Chandra, op. cit.,

pp. 120-26.

50. For details, see Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Charitra (1924), pp. 54-56. Grant Duff, Vol. I, (1921 ed.), pp. 337-8.

51. For the role of Ajit Singh, see Satish Chandra, op. cit., pp. 139 and 141; Yusuf Husain, p. 98; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 348, 363, 374, 380, 382.

52. Khafi Khan, Vol. n, pp. 819-20; Ajit Singh’s letter in Sobhavat Dayal, May 4, 1719.

53. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 406-07; Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 101-02. Satish Chandra, op. cit., p. 149.

54. Satish Chandra, op. cit., p. 145; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 408-20; Kamwar Khan, Khafi Khan, p. 827.

55. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 431; Yusuf Husain, pp. 104-05.

56. Kamwar, p. 413; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, p. 166.

57. Sarkar Jadunath , Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

58. Khafi Khan, p. 838.

59. Ibid, p. 851; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 5-6.

60. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 6-16.

61. Nizam-ul-Mulk accepted the governorship of Malwa on condition that he would not be transferred on flimsy grounds. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 17; Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 101.

62. Khafi Khan, Vol. II, pp. 852-97. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 107-41; Satish Chandra, op. cit., pp. 154-60.

63. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 136; Irvine, op. cjt, Vol. II, pp. 51-52; Khafi Khan, Vol. II, p. 897.

64. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 56-67; Khafi Khan, pp. 902-05; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari , pp. 271-73. Despatches from the Court to Jay Singh; Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 136.

65. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 65.

66. Satish Chandra, op. cit, pp. 161-62; Irvine, op. cit., pp. 75 96.

67. Irvine, op. cit, Vol. II, p. 185.

68. Irvine, op. cit, Vol. II, pp. 170-90.

69. I.H.R.C. report, 13th Session, Jodhpur letters and Shahu Roznishi, No. 161.

70. Jodhpur Raj Ka Itihas, Vol. II, p. 630.

71. SPD. XIII, Nos. 16, 17, 23-28, 31-35.

72. Dighe, V. G., Peshwa Bdji Rao, I, pp. 127-8.

73. Ibid ; SPD. XV, pp. 83-90.

74. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 231.

75. Irvine, op. cit, Vol. II, pp. 232-33 and 238-41; J.A.S.B. (1878) Fart IV, p. 301.

76. Jagdish Singh Gahjot, Rdjputana ko.Itihas, Vol. II, p. 81.

77. Tikkiwal, H.C., Jaipur and the Later Mughals, p. 79.

78. Ibid, pp. 79-30.

79. Ibid, pp. 79-80.

80. Srivastava A. L., First Two Nawabs of Oudh (1933), p. 30.

81. Ibid, pp. 33-43.

82. Ibid, pp. 28-29.

83. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 208-15; SPD. XV, p. 66, Brahmendra-Charitra, Appendix 35, 116.

84. Ibid., p. 220; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 320.

84a. Lockhart, L., Nadir Shah (1938), p. 123.

85. For a discussion of this point, see Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 221-22; Rustam Ah believed in Sa'adat's complicity, Elliot and Dowson's History, Vol. VIII, p. 60; Fraser, pp. 129-32, Hanway IV, 142. Lockhart, op. cit., p. 139.

85a. Hanway, Vol. IV, p. 142.

86 Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 223; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 321.

87i. Irvine, Vol. II, pp. 326-28; Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 224.

88. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 219.

89. Ibid, p. 220.

90. Tazkirat of Anand Ram Mukhlis (Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VIII, p. 78).

91. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 330-31

92. Lockhart, op. cit., p. 129.

93. Ibid, pp. 130-31.

94. Ibid, p. 133.

95. Srivastava A. L., First Two Nawabs of Oudh, p. 62.

96. Ibid, p. 62.

97. For the battle of Karnal, see Srivastava A. L., op. cit., pp. 62-67; Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 225-26 and Lockhart, op. cit., pp. 135-43.

98. Yusuf Husain, Ibid., p. 228; Srivastava A. L., has given more details, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

99. Srivastava A. L., op. cit., p. 69. Yusuf Husain says that the post had been promised to Burhan-ul-Mulk, p. 229.

100. Srivastava A. L., op. cit., pp. 74-75.

100a- Lockhart, op. cit., p. 148.

100b. Lockhart, op. cit., p. 152.

101. For the controversy regarding the identity of Kohi-Nur, see Aziz Ahmad, Treasury of the Mughals.

102. Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 362; for the details of Nadir Shah’s invasion, see Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 335-59. Srivastava, A L ,

op. cit., pp. 61-75. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 217-36. Lockhart, op. cit., pp. 122-54.

103. Srivastava A. L., op. cit., p. 107.

104. Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, (1932), pp. 57-65.

105. Ibid, pp. 71-72.

106. Ibid, pp. 189-196.

107. Ibid, pp. 200-33.

108. Macaulay T. B., Critical and Historical essays (J. M. Dent & Sons, 1933), pp. 487-88.

CHAPTER III

RISE OF THE PESHWAS—BALAJl V1SHWANATH

The eighteenth century is rightly looked on as the age of Maratha supremacy. The Marathas dominate the Indian political scene right up to the end of the century to the exclusion of any other power. Their predecessors, the Mughuls, suffered a decline as dramatic as it was unexpected. The Deccan campaign of Aurangzlb drained the moral and material resources of the empire and brought it to the brink of disaster. As the shrewd Italian traveller Manucci noted, “King Aurangzlb repents of having entangled himself in the war with the Marathas. In this war over a hundred thousand souls have died yearly, and of animals, horses, pack oxen, camels, over three hundred thousand. The great nobles are in distress, their families are begging.” [1]

The three succession wars during less than a decade took a heavy toll of their nobility and of their armies from which the successors of Aurangzlb never recovered. It is a misfortune of hereditary succession that it does not ensure capable descendants; nay, on the contrary, being brought up in leisure and luxury of the royal household and shielded from the hard life of the field and practical world, these scions of royalty lack the hardihood of their forefathers and the will to rule, are encouraged in vicious ways and licentious habits at a very early age by fawning servants, and easily become tools in the hands of ambitious men. This was the fate that befell the Mughul empire after the death of Aurangzlb. With the burial of the dead emperor at Khuldabad in 1707, vanished the glory and prestige of the empire. The governors of distant provinces, while professing loyalty to the throne, refused to take orders from the royal court and assumed independence for all practical purposes. The Afghans who swept down to Delhi more than once, esteemed the throne not worth the keeping! Near at home there was fierce rivalry for the control of the emperor and the royal household and direction of imperial affairs. Among the Hindu populace of the empire, there were revolts against foreign rule and resurgence. The Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats, the Bundelas and the Marathas started thinking in terms of independence and challenged the might of the empire. The Marathas on account of their simple habits, hardihood and national fervour, proved the most successful of the lot, liberated their homeland and carried the war in the enemy’s country. Khafi Khan wrote,

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“for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of this prince .... the power of the Mahrattas increased day by day.... They divided all districts among themselves and in the imperial fashion they appointed their Subahdars , Kamaishdars and Rahdars. They attack and destroy the country as far as the borders of Ahmadabad and the districts of Malwa and spread their devastation through the provinces of the Deccan to the environs of Ujjain.” 2

Shahu Raja’s new Peshud, BalajI Vishwanath, perceived the shift in the political atmosphere and reoriented the foreign policy of the Maratha State. Instead of following the traditional policy of directing expansion of the Maratha State in the eastern and southern parts of the Deccan, he set on the bold adventure of participating in the imperial affairs by the treaty of 1718 with Sayyid Husain ‘Ali, Subahdar of the Deccan. Under his son and grandson participation made way for direction and control. The Marathas succeeded to a large extent in conquering Malwa, Gujarat and a part of Bundelkhand and levied tribute from Bengal to the Punjab and from Agra to Arcot. Unfortunately they were not able to develop satisfactory administrative and political and cultural institutions to evoke the cooperation of the local people and win their loyalties. After the setback received at Panipat (1761) and the first Anglo-Maratha war (1774-82) MahadajI Sindia became the king-maker at Delhi and directed imperial affairs till his death in 1794. So, when Lord Wellesley came out to India to settle the Indian problem, his opponents were the Marathas and not the Mughuls. During the last decade after MahadajI Sindia’s death, all the great and wise leaders of the Marathas had departed from the scene and the great proconsul found himself dealing with small men who could not understand that their interest lay in cohesion and unity. British diplomacy created disarray among Maratha chiefs and fought them separately. The Patwardhans and other southern jagirdars were seduced by Arthur

Wellesley in 1800. Sindia and Bhonsle were defeated in 1803; Holkar in 180 105 and the Peshiva was finished in 1817-18. Maratha supremacy was gone and new forces began to shape Indian destinies.

Aurangzib himself was not unaware of the drift of events, and during the last years of his life had tried to come to an understanding with the Marathas, to obtain peace with honour. He had an idea of making use of the captive Shahu to gain his ends, but his suspicious nature defeated the move. On his death, therefore, his son A 4 zam began his march northward without concluding any formal agreement with the Marathas. The Marathas in his rear were soon active and renewed their attacks on the imperial territory. The captive Shahu, unwilling to be dragged to far off Delhi, began efforts

to remain his liberty. The party in his favour at the emperor's court consisting of Zu'lfiqar Khan and the Rajput nobility, advised A'zam to allow Shahu to return to the Deccan, reclaim his patrimony and rule it as a feudatory of the empire. That would, they contended, ensure the safety of Mughul dominions in the south by having a friendly prince as their neighbour, or should Shahu fail to obtain general recognition, embroil the Marathas in civil war and remove this source of danger for some time.

Shahu's Release and Home-coming:

A'zam, therefore, gave a willing ear to Shahu's proposals. Between March and May, 1707, there were two or three audiences between the two princes, and robes and titles conveying royal favour were conferred on Shahu. The talks, however, appeared to have a tendency to protract over a long period as the Mughul prince, busy planning the campaign for the throne, had little time for delicate negotiations. Uneasy at the prospects of further detention, Shahu left his Mughul friends one night at Duraha near Sironj about 8th May with a very slender escort consisting of his immediate attendants. To elude pursuit he plunged in the Vindhya forests and made his way to Bijagarh, south of the Narmada. The Rawal of that place, Mohan Singh, gave him a cordial welcome and helped him to get on to Sultanpur in Khandesh. Near Sultanpur Amrut Rao Kadam Bande joined the prince's cause and they advanced to Lambkani in Khandesh. Word went round that the exile prince was returning and now veteran soldiers, loyal servants, and adventurers began to flock round his standard. In his imprisonment Shahu had contacted several Maratha chieftains; to them and to others he wrote tactful and conciliatory letters inviting them to come and help him in the task of rebuilding the shattered Maratha State and reviving its faded glory. One of the first influential chiefs to respond to the prince's call was Parsoji Bhonsle of Berar. His example proved infectious; Nemaji Sindia, Chimnaji Damodar Moghe, Haibat Rao Nimbalkar and a host of Maratha captains in Khandesh hurried to join his standard and swear allegiance to their new, yet rightful master. His army thus swelled, Shahu advanced to Ahmadnagar; this old town was the seat of Muhammadan authority for over two centuries and occupied a central position and to it Aurangzlb had repaired in the last year of his life. From here Shahu paid his respects to the remains of the old emperor buried at Khuldabad and communicated his arrival to his aunt Tara Bai who was ruling as regent at Satara on behalf of her infant son, Shivaji, eleven years of age.

Shahu's Struggle with Tara Bdi:

Shahu, having informed the ruling party at Satara of his return, invited from them proposals for the future government of the Maratha State. The regent Tara Bai was a woman of imperious temperament and the prospect of resigning the reins of administration to her nephew and accepting a subordinate position was distasteful to that masterful lady. She refused to believe the reports of Shahu's release, discredited his letters and declaring the new claimant for the Gadi to be an impostor, ordered her generals to destroy him wherever they should find him. This ruse could not stand for long; Shahu was personally known to the leading Maratha chieftains and officers who had come in contact with him. As a proof of greater conviction Parsoji Bhonsle publicly dined with him. Tara Bai then put forth another and a stronger reason why she was not prepared to admit Shahu to government. She argued 'that the Maratha kingdom had been reared up with painful toil by the great Shivaji. This was lost by Shambhuji, Shahu's father, and her husband Rajaram raised the edifice anew out of ashes. He defended it against the Mughuls' onslaught and hurled them back. The present Maratha State, she contended, was her husband's creation. She also argued that the great Shivaji had expressed a wish on his death-bed that the succession should go to his second son Rajaram, the elder, Shambhuji, being unfit to rule. Shlahu thus in no way could lay any claim to the Gadi .’ 3

Tara Bai’s specious arguments could make little impression on the Marathas, always zealous of the right of the elder or the senior branch to which Shahu belonged. They had fought all these years to liberate their homeland and obtain the release of their legitimate Prince Shahu to whose freedom and reinstatement they had looked forward as the natural culmination of that struggle. The sacrifice the nation had made was not to uphold the cause of Rajaram or his son, but to save the honour of the house of Shivaji of which Shahu of the senior branch was the living symbol, and whose return had great significance to them. Even Rajaram at the time of ascending the Gadi in 1689, had declared that he was holding the office of Chhatrapati (the King) only in trust for his nephew then absent in the Mughul camp and that he would be only too happy to step down for the rightful owner. The issue had always been presented to the masses as the restoration of the senior branch tt> its rightful authority; and the widow’s quibbles regarding the superior claims of her son deceived nobody. Herein lay Shahu’s advantage. The common people and soldiers were solidly on his side. It was ultimately this support of the common people that sustained his cause and helped him triumph over odds. Though commanded by the Queen to swear fidelity to her son on milk and boiled rice, Tara Bai’s officers did so with a reservation that their first loyalty would be to support the cause of legitimacy and uphold the dignity of the house of Shivajl. 33

Shahu advanced to Khed on the Bhima; his further prospects depended on the attitude of the great Maratha captains and especially of the Senaputi (DhanajI Jadhav) who commanded the largest Maratha army in the field. DhanajI knew young Shahu personally and was convinced of his superior claims to Maratha leadership by his Diwan Balaji Vishwanath and Khando Ballal, the Chhatrapati’s hereditary Secretary. The old soldier refused to take arms against his legitimate sovereign and carried with him the major part of the army. The remnant was too small to make a stand against the combined forces and fled to Satara. (Battle of Khed, 12 October 1707).

Important consequences flowed from the battle of Khed. It opened to Shahu the gates of Swaraj, the heart of the hilly country of Poona and Satara, where the great Shivajl had begun his wonderful career and which he took care to fence round with formidable fortresses. The powerful forces led by Sendpati DhanajI had declared in his favour; Shahu decided to press home his advantage. He marched on to the capital occupying on his way Jejuri, Shirwal and Chandan Wandan. The Sachiv of Bhor, ShankarajI Narayan, held some of the important hill forts in the tract; he was summoned by the young prince and assured of royal favour. Torn between his personal loyalty to the Queen and his higher duty to his nation and the cause of legitimacy, the old veteran decided the issue by putting an end to his life. 4 (27 October 1707). Shahu sent messages of sympathy to the bereaved family. By his conciliatory conduct he made an excellent impression on his compatriots and obtained the hill forts of Rajgarh, Torna, Rohida, and Yichitragarh without striking a blow. These forts were the sites of ShivajI's first exploit's. His rear thus secured, Shahu was free to commence the siege of the capital. Tara Bai in the meanwhile had fled to Panhala with her son and her Amatya, Ramachandra, leaving the defence of Satara to Parashuram Pant Pratinidhi. The garrison and the commandant had no heart to fight their own brethren. By seizing the Commandant's family at Wai, Shahu forced him to open the gates of the fort and city. It was on a Saturday in January 1708, that the victorious entry was made; and the memory of the happy event was kept green by the custom of beating of drums on Saturdays at the fort.

After a week's time Shahu ascended the Gadi in ceremony 43 and appointed his new ministers. Anxious to conciliate old families he made few changes and made them where absolutely necessary. The post of Peshmd went to a son of Moropant Pingle; Dhanaji Jadhav was confirmed as Senapatl and the right of making collections in several districts was delegated to him. At this period of confusion (as remarked by Duff) "the revenue was realized on no fixed principles but levied as opportunity presented itself in the manner of contribution." The infant son of ShankarajI Narayan was likewise confirmed as Sachiv; Gadadhar Pralhad Niraji at Jinjee, was elevated to the post of Pratinidhi as Parashuram Pant Proatinidhi refused to abjure his oath to Tara Bai. The Chitnis family was continued in its office. Dhanaji’s Diwdn, Balajl Vishwanath, who had materially helped the Prince’s cause, was taken in direct service of the king, appointed Mutaliq or Deputy to the Amdtya, and was honoured with the dignity of ‘Send Karte\ probably in appreciation of his skill in obtaining loans, raising new contingents and furnishing them properly. The great Maratha captains NemajI Sindia, Parsoji Bhonsle, Haibat Rao Nimbalkar and a host of others received high-sounding titles and robes and confirmed in their conquests as the sovereign had yet little to confer on the powerful chieftains.

But Shahu was not yet out of the wood. His aunt had fled before him to Rangna and from there was busy fomenting discord among Maratha ranks and sowing disunity among Maratha chiefs. Many Maratha leaders like Ghorpades, Chavans, Dabhades, and Thorats had risen to greatness in her husband’s service; the great house of Santaji Ghorpade was the rival of Dhanaji Jadhav and competed with the Jadhav family for the honour of the generalship. Ramachandra Amdtya and the queen who had directed the defence of Maharashtra for over a long period, from Panhala, claimed personal devotion from not a few commandants of forts in the Ghat region. Shahu, therefore, had to follow Tara Bai to the hills. He offered to cede to his cousin, territory south of the Warna to put an end to the internecine strife. Tara Bai refused the concession. How could she accept this small consolation when, she wanted the sovereignty of the entire Maratha State for her son? The offer was spurned and the struggle went on for quite a while; Shahu’s forces occupied Kolhapur and invested Panhala; Tara B§l abandoned it for Rangna, and feeling insecure there moved to Malwan. Panhala was-occupied by Shahu’s forces; he attempted to storm Rangna but failed and returned to the capital to spend the monsoon (1708 June).

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Failure of Negotiations with Bahadur Shah:

It was not possible for Shahu to resume the offensive against Tara Bai after the close of the monsoon. The new Mughul emperor Bahadur Shah had been called to the south by the assumption of authority by his brother Kam Bakhsh. Bahadur Shah arrived in the Deccan in January, 1709, called upon Shahu to aid him and sent a general call to the Deccan chiefs to lend him support in suppressing the revolt. Shahu’s relations with the Mughul authorities were of a nebulous kind; vague promises had been held out to him, but no definite agreement concluded, no farman granted. Shahu despatched an envoy to the emperor's presence to obtain the farmans of Swaraj, Chauth and Sardeshmuhhi, while a strong force under Chandrasen Jadhav hovered in Khandesh to back up his request. By Zu'lfiqar Khan's representations Bahadur Shah was inclined to favour Shahu's cause; but Tara Bai (about this time) sent counter proposals saying that her son was the lawful sovereign of the Maratha State and offering to accept much lower terms. The enemy's game of throwing an apple of discord amongst the Marathas succeeded. Bahadur Shah refused recognition to either party asking them first to settle between themselves as to whom he should deliver the goods, lie retired to Hindustan in the summer of 1709; Mughul goodwill was one of Shahu's assets; its hollow nature was now exposed publicly. The Maratha prince, if he was to rule his kingdom in the plenitude of his grandfather's power, must do it on his own. The failure of his mission to the emperor thus revived the embers of the civil war which, before this, were flickering out.

The suspense in which things were left by the retiring emperor stiffened the attitude of some of the local Officials. Lodi Khan of Chakan had become quite an eye-sore to the Marathas by his depredations in the Poona district as far south as Purandar. He now showed the audacity of blocking up the path of the Maratha force retiring from Khandesh through the Junnar pass; he was defeated and killed and his assistant, Karim Beg of Junnar, was taken prisoner. 5 At the same time Tanaji Jagtap, Yasin Khan, the Sidi of Janjira and several others became restive and started trouble in the Maratha territory. However, so long as Dau'd Khan, a nominee of the friendly Zu'lfiqar Khan, continued as Deputy Governor, Shahu had no fear of general opposition to the establishment of his authority. But it was obvious that the most he could expect from this quarter was neutrality and not active help ih his cause. 53

The second prop that gave way about this time was Shahu's Senapati, DhanajI Jadhav, who died in August 1708. His army had materially contributed to the early successes of Shahu. The great Maratha soldier died at Vadgaon on the Warna from the effects of one of his old wounds. His son Chandrasen inherited the father's army, but not the old tradition in which his father had been reared.

Shahu's third prop disappeared when Parsoji Bhonsle died in 1709. Parsoji was one of the few great chiefs who had declared themselves early in Shahu's favour. He was of the same house as the Prince and had been able to carry with him a number of chieftains in Khandesh.

The situation demanded of Shahu a quick decision, high organising capacity and daring, and swift action of a skilful general, which, by rapid successes, would overwhelm his opponents, and rally to his standard not only the common peasantry who believed in the righteousness of his cause, but also the waverers and trimmers who were but too anxious to throw in their lot with the winning party. Unfortunately, young Shahu, though full of personal courage, lacked qualities of military leadership. He had passed his youth as a prisoner in the Mughul seraglio and had no opportunity to cultivate habits of active life and no chance to obtain administrative experience or to learn military tactics and planning. Nor had he that iron discipline so essential for a successful soldier in those rough times when the king was primarily a military leader before anything else. A great landslide began round Shahu.

Renewal of the Civil War — Chandrasen's Revolt:

Tara Bai's partisans who had kept themselves aloof during the first rush of Shahu's victory, now came out in the open. Hindu Rao Ghorpade joined Hamid Khan and opposed collection by Shahu's officers near Bijapur (14 November, 1709). In March 1710, Hamid Khan surrounded Jadhav near Burhianpur. Before the end of the year 1710, Tara Bai's intrigues had begun to bear fruit. Rambhaji Nimbalkar walked over to the Mughul camp and accepted service as Faujddr of Ahmadnagar. The air was thick with whisperings of a wide-spread conspiracy. 6 The blow descended in the form of the revolt of the King's Sendpati, Chandrasen Jadhav.

Chandrasen was in a peculiar position about 1710. At the head of one of the largest forces in Maharashtra he was being courted by Tara Bai on the one hand, and by the Mughul Subdhdar on the'other. Young Chandrasen's head was swollen with his importance; he had little regard for the monarch whose resources were of a very meagre kind, who looked to his chieftains to do for him the hard work of

fighting and yet could hold out no hopes of rich rewards, and who refused to share his confidence with the youthful commander. Chandrasen lent a willing ear to Tara Bai's overtures, and a conspiracy was formed under his leadership; prominent Maratha chieftains, the Thorats, Shahaji Nimbalkar and Dabhade were to join under Chandrasen, march against Satara, and oust Shahu in favour of Tara Bai's son. These secret negotiations perhaps did not pass quite unnoticed. Shahu had invited these chiefs to Satara in October 17,10, and when Chandrasen moved out in the next campaigning season, Balaji Vishwanath was sent after him to watch his steps. Chandrasen was already jealous of the great influence Balaji Vishwanath had obtained over his father as his Diwan; the latter's elevation in the King's council had done nothing to abate the jealousy. Early in 1711 Chandrasen's force was foraging round Baramati with Balaji trailing behind him as a revenue official of the king. There was no love lost between the two and a petty dispute between the followers of Chandrasen and Balaji was taken up by the principals. Chandrasen attacked Balaji, dispersed his force and sent the latter flying to the Kang. To the King's protest against the outrage, the SendpaU sent an insolent reply that Balaji should surrender to him, or he would no longer consider himself bound by his oath of fealty. Such an open defiance of authority Shahu would not- tolerate. He ordered his Sarlashkar, Haibat Rao, to hold up the rebel's advancing columns and sent him reinforcements. Chandrasen was defeated in two battles near the Adarki pass and Salpa pass (old Phaltan State) and turned back to join Dau'd Khan near Bahadur Garh. His later movements, till he was befriended by Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1713, are uncertain. If he joined Tara Bai, he seems to have achieved precious little. 7

Chandrasen's revolt was a signal for a general rising all round. Tara Bai's followers—Ghatge, Ghorpade and Chavan, took up arms, occupied Vadgaon, Kumtha, Shirala, Karhad and other places and threatened to advance on Satara. Chandrasen, with the aid of the Mughul officers, began raising fresh troops to renew the contest. Even in closer quarters, Shahu's authority came to count for nothing. The petty Inamdar of Khatav, Krishna Rao, proclaimed his independence. Damaji Thorat, another dependent of

Tara Bai at Hingangaon, (Patas pargand, Poona district), turned out the King’s officers. Parashuram Pant, who some time back had made a show of being reconciled to the new regime, had been granted the dignity of Pratinidhi and rewarded with the Vishalgarh jdglr. His son in possession of the jagir, now declared for Tara Bai. Shlahu suspected the father to have instigated the treachery and, losing his usual equanimity of temper, ordered the jdgtr to be confiscated and the old

Pratinidhi to be blinded. The execution of the extreme penalty was stayed by the intercession of Khando Ballal Chitnis, but Parashuram was thrown into jail once more . 8

The most serious danger to Shahu, however, came from Konkan. Here the powerful Angria, on Tara Bai's orders, drove Shahu’s garrisons out of the Konkan forts of Rajmachi, Tung Tikona and Ghangarh, occupied Lohgarh, seized his Peshu’u Bahiro Pant Pingle and threatened to march on Poona.

Shahu’s position was a precarious one. Though he had tried hard to conciliate the leading members of the old nobility, they, with a few exceptions, refused to respond to his call and work with him wholeheartedly. On slight pretences they were changing sides and thwarting his plans for the settlement of the country. The Sendpati was up in arms against him; his Peshwd had shown himself altogether devoid of initiative or capacity; the Pratinidhi was wavering in his loyalty, and the Sarkhel, after capturing the Peshwd, threatened to march on the capital; Dabhade, Ghatge and Thorat were all either sitting on the fence or actively taking part in fanning the civil war. The only party that stood to gain by this internecine struggle was the Mughul Subahdar of the Deccan. The Deccan governorship had in the meanwhile changed hands, and in place of the friendly Zu’lfiqar and his nominee Dau’d Khan, brought on the scene Nizam-ul-Mulk, a man of different metal, who meant to follow a different line of action towards the Marathas.

Rise of Balaji Vishwandth — Change of Policy:

Shahu’s intimate friends and counsellors, foremost among whom were Khando Ballal Chitnis and Balaji Vishwanath Bhat, advised him to make an immediate change of policy. The lesser nobility and the common masses believed in the righteousness of the cause of Shahu, as being the senior member of Shivaji's house and therefore, the lawful and hereditary heir to the Maratha throne; they had been greatly impressed by his loving, God-fearing, saintly disposition, and w T ere therefore solidly behind the new king. What was necessary was to organise this general goodwill in the King's behalf and to assure the warring nobility that the new position they had acquired in the changed circumstances would be duly recognised and maintained. For the time being, at least, there was no going back to Shivajl's days and Shivaji's constitution of centralised monarchy.

Shahu, being at his wits' end, called upon Balaji Vishwanath to shoulder the responsibility and carry out the policy he advocated.

Balaji was not an altogether unknown figure in politics. His forefathers were hereditary Deshmukhs or revenue collectors of Mahal Danda Rajpuri and Shriwardhan in Konkan, about fifty miles south of Bombay. The family had left Konkan and migrated to Desh country owing to troubles with the Sidi rulers of Janjira. BalajTs native cleverness, his experience as revenue officer and pleasant manners brought him employment immediately and secured his advancement in the Maratha country. He worked as Subdhdar (Administrator and revenue collector) in Poona and Aurangabad districts in Rajaram's time, and thus became familiar with the currents and cross-currents of Mughul-Maratha politics and the leading personalities in both the camps. Since Shahu's return to Deccan he had faithfully followed his fortunes and had shown great organising capacity and skill as a mediator. It was his advocacy that had brought to Shahu's cause the veteran leader DhanajI Jadhav in 1707 and secured him his ancestral throne. Again, in 1711, by his activity, watchfulness and tact, he had foiled Chandrasen's conspiracy and defeated Shahu's rivals. By defeating Krishna Rao Khatavkar, he had taught a stern lesson to the rebels. Shahu felt that Balaji was the only man who could save his affairs and bring order out of chaos. On 17 November, 1713, he appointed him his Peshwa or Prime Minister, gave him a fresh jagir of six Mahals and two forts to meet the ex-, penses of his troops, and asked him to proceed against Kanhoji Angria. 9

Kdnhoji Angria Conciliated:

The Angrian threat was quite a formidable one. Kanhoji Angria was brave and active and had risen to the admiralty (1698) by personal prowess. He had attracted to his service some of the most daring men of all nationalities. His ships scoured the western waters and brought him a treasure that was reported to be fabulous. His name had become a veritable terror to the Sidi, the English, the Dutch, and the Portuguese. To contend with the Sarkhel looked quite a perilous task, but Shahu's new Peshwa showed himself quite the master of the situation. In dealing with Kanhoji Angria he decided to rely more on his powers of persuasion and diplomatic skill than on force. His personal friendship with that great chief in his former days proved a great asset to him. Marching towards Konkan at the head of about 4,000 troops he invited the great Angria to a personal meeting, and told him that a great future awaited their country provided they closed their ranks, and exposed the folly of the course he was pursuing; it was sin, he told him, to oppose the lawful heir to the Gadi. "Your father Tukoji*', he told Angria,

"was raised to his high position by the great Shivajl. Is it right that you, his son, should so far forget your loyalty to the senior branch of ShivajI's house that you should overrun Shahu's kingdom and seize his minister? This is outright treachery. If you feel you have given your word of honour to the Queen, go and stay with her in peace. Why disturb our provinces? The best course for you, when the junior branch was defeated, was to acknowledge your mistake, reaffirm your allegiance and win Shahu's favour. There is no third alternative for a subordinate chieftain. I have been asked to fight you and recover the territories you have seized. Remember you are surrounded by enemies who would be too glad to attack you at the first opportunity. Once hostilities start, it may be difficult to obtain Royal pardon.'' 10 The great Angria was a shrewd man and knew the strength as well as the weakness of his position. He understood full well that when a sea-power acquired territory on land with a frontier open to the attack of a military State, it incurred great danger. Kanhoji felt he was no longer bound by his oath to the Queen, and ShambhujI (the successor to T§ra Bai's son) had neither a programme nor showed promise of repeating the glories of his father or grandfather. Kanhoji entered into Balaji's proposals and accepted his offer. 'On being confirmed in command of the fleet, his territory in Konkan and his title of Sarkhel, he agreed to renounce ShambhujI, to release the Peshvfia, to restore all his conquests except Rajmachi and maintain the cause of Shahu.’ [11]

This agreement which was soon ratified at Satara was a great triumph for B&lajI Viswanath’s diplomacy. It won over to Shahu’s cause, without bloodshed, the most powerful chieftain from Tara Bai’s party and established his power on firm foundations. The new policy enunciated by the Peshwa in dealing with the Angrian chief, carried assurance of security to other chieftains who willingly came with declarations of loyalty.

About this time Tara Bai, the source of all this trouble, lost her power in Kolhapur and was thrown in confinement. GirjojI Yadav and Tulaji Sitole were the arch conspirators who effected the revolution. [12] It is not known what part Balaji had in the revolution in the Kolhapur camp.

The Nizam in the Deccan:

It was none too early that Shahu secured peace on the home front. The several revolutions at Delhi had removed from the scene his old friends and brought in new personalities and developed a new situation. Imperial authority was on the decline and the empire was showing signs of dissolution. The friendly Zu’lfiqar Khan was no more, his place at Delhi having been taken by the Sayyid brothers, ‘Abdullah and Husain ‘Ali. They appointed to the Deccan governorship Nizam-ul-Mulk who had different ideas about the policy to be pursued towards the Marathas.

The Deccan had peculiar fascination for the Nizam. Having spent his early career in the south in the emperor’s campaigns, the Nizam had obtained an intimate knowledge of the province, its people and its problems. Separated by a long distance from the heart of the empire, the southern province offered great possibilities to an ambitious man in the declining days of the empire, and the Niz5m was not one who would not perceive them. The only effective opposition to the establishment of his independent authority in the Deccan might come from the Marathas who were his rivals in the field. To check their rising power and keep it within proper limits became the watchword of his policy.

This advocate of a strong policy arrived in the Deccan in June, 1713. He found his charge in a strange condition. The local representative of his predecessor, Da’ud Khan Pani, had conceded to the Marathas the rights of collecting chauth which Bahadur Shah had refused to grant in 1709; the Maratha agents had established a kind of parallel government and were everywhere active, collecting their dues direct from the ryots. No merchandise could pass without paying their toll. A Maratha chief, Nemaji Sindia, had been taken in MugJiul service and held charge of Aurangabad division which enabled him to extend his influence right up to Malwa and Central India. The very existence of Mughul authority in the south was at stake.

The Nizam immediately set himself to put the house in order. He repudiated the convention entered into by his predecessors and turned out the Maratha officers from their military posts in his territory. The Bhima-Godavari basin became the battle-ground where the two powers faced each other. Here the Nizam sent a strong force to seize the advance posts of the enemy. At the same time he decided to take advantage of the dissensions in the Maratha court, invited to his service the traitor Chandrasen Jadhav from Kolhapur and through him, opened negotiations with the Kolhapur party.

To counteract the Nizam’s activities the new Peshwd took the field immediately on his return from the Konkan. A number of

indecisive engagements took place; in one such battle Haibat Rao Nimbalkar was killed at Chanda; in another the Nizam claimed to have defeated the Peshwa near Purandar; in yet another the Mughul Fauzdar of Baglan, Muhammad Ibrahim Tabrizi, was lured into an ambuscade and killed by Khande Rao Dabhade while convoying a caravan from Surat to Aurangabad. The Peshwa also instigated several risings within the Subahdav's territory with the help of the Maratha officials who had entrenched themselves in Mughul districts. 13

While the Nizam was trying to grapple with the Marathas in the Deccan, his enemies at Delhi gave him no rest. They appointed as his Diwan Haidar

Quli Khan who affected to act independent of the Subcihdar. The task of contending with enemies outside and within proved beyond the strength of the Nizam. He came to an understanding with the Peshwa, withdrawing his troops and retiring from the Poona district. A few months later he was recalled to Delhi, his place being taken by Sayyid Husain ‘Ali (1715 May).

Agreement with Husain ‘Ali:

The Nizam’s transfer from the southern scene did not bring on an immediate improvement in the situation. His successor, Husain ‘Ali Sayyid, for a time tried to follow the Nizam’s strong policy towards the Marathas. One of their chiefs, Khande Rao Dabhade, had established himself in Khandesh and levied fee on all merchandise passing from Surat to Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The Mughul Viceroy despatched a strong force of ten thousand under a dashing soldier Zu’lfiqar Beg to bring Dabhade to book and clear up the road. The Beg’s column pursuing the enemy dispersed into the hills, when it was surrounded and cut up to a man. ‘Not one bullock, camel or horse belonging to that army was saved.’ 14

Husain ‘Ali retaliated by sending yet another and a stronger expedition under his Diiudn, Muhkam Singh, accompanied by his brother Saif-ud-din Khan and Chandrasen Jadhav. Dabhade skilfully retired before the enemy, fighting rear-guard actions. A major engagement took place near Ahmadnagar. The Maratha troops succeeded in breaking out and crossing the Bbima. Sweeping aside the enemy’s light cavalry that was harassing his flanks and rear, Muhkam Singh pressed towards Satara in the hope of coming against the rriain army. Dabhade bided his time and went to Raja Shahu who had moved to Satara fort. The Maratha garrisons, which were posted in various places, held their ground. Whenever the Mughul army approached, the Maratha force dispersed, and as soon as it departed they returned and occupied their positions. Against such a wary enemy the Mughul force could make little progress. Muhkam Singh and Jadhav retired the way they had advanced. 15 (December 1716-January 1717).

Husain ‘Ali’s discomfiture against Khan<Je Rao Dabhade was learnt by Emperor Farrukh-siyar with evident satisfaction. Farrukh-siyar was a

strange admixture of bravado and cowardice; he owed his elevation to the two Sayyid brothers, yet he did not like to surrender himself completely to their advice. He was jealous of the great powers wielded by them, plotted against them practically from the first day of his accession, and wrote to his distant governors and feudatories to make war on them to bring about their ruin. Among others, Shahu and several Maratha chieftains received these royal far mans with which they complied most readily. Bands of horsemen overran imperial' districts in the Deccan reducing everything to utter chaos.

Distracted by the Maratha attacks on one side and court intrigues on the other, Husain ‘Ali had recourse to negotiations with Shahu. To this course he was advised by ShankarajI Malhar, a former minister of Rajaram now in the confidence of the Sayyid. The Subahdar deputed ShankarajI Malhar to Shahu’s court to find out a basis for peace. The Maratha viewpoint in the discussions was set forth by Peshwd Balaji Vishwanath.

Some kind of a formal agreement between the two powers was long overdue. Aurangzlb had not been able to make up his mind on what terms to purchase peace. A‘zam held out vague promises which both parties were interpreting differently. Bahadur Shah evaded the issue asking Shahu to settle first the question of succession, with his rival of the Kolhapur party. 16 Though the highest authorities were thus burking the issues on some pretext or other, the ground was slipping under the feet of their local representatives. No longer able to hold their own against growing Maratha pressure, they very conveniently sought accommodation with Maratha chieftains as best as they could. This indefinite state of affairs only served to increase the general anarchy and profited none of the principals. The Marathas were extending their depredations to Gujarat and Malwa. Bold and intrepid spirits raised levies and began to make collections on their own. Partisans of ShambhujI were overrunning the Karnatak subdh of Bijapur. No wonder both parties were keen on a settlement.

Balaji Vishwanath, in the name of his master, asked the right of levying chauth throughout the six provinces of the Deccan (Auran

gabad, Berar, Khandesh, Bidar Golconda and Bijapur which included the whole of Karnatak, including the tributary states of Mysore, Trichinopoly and Tanjore). He argued that the Marathas over two decades were raising contributions from the Deccan provinces of the Mughul and this fact should now be formally recognised by an imperial grant. He also demanded chauth of Malwa and Gujarat which Maratha horse had invaded. He demanded likewise the right of raising an additional impost of ten per cent for the Raja as Sardeshmukh or head of the landed gentry. The old conquests of Shivaji in Maharashtra— Swaraj —was to be completely restored, and Subahdar would issue orders for the release of such forts and districts as still continued under Mughul occupation. Shivner, ShivajTs birth-place, was required to be given up, as also the fort of Trimbak in Nasik district. Conquests lately made by Parsoji Bhonsle in Berar and Gondwana were to be confirmed. The old districts in Karnatak were demanded in the name of Fateh Singh Bhonsle. The mother and the family of Shahu detained at Delhi were likewise to be set free and restored to the Raja.

On his side, for the grant of Chauth s the Peshwd, on behalf of his master, promised to maintain 15,000 troops with the Subahdar to aid the emperor; for the hereditary right of Sardeshmukhi he agreed to pay the fee of ten per cent of the annual income from that source and bound himself to keep law and order in the country and suppress banditti; for the Swaraj or old territory the Raja agreed to pay a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees every year. It was a condition of all these grants that the Rdjd would be faithful to the imperial throne and serve it loyally. 17

The choice of the envoy had evinced the Subahdar’s anxiety to come to an understanding with the Marathas. The proposals worked out by his envoy were immediately accepted with the exception of claims on Gujarat and Malwa. Husain ‘Ali delivered a sanad , containing the articles of peace, under his seal to the Vakils of Raja Shahu and made no delay in writing for a royal jarman confirming the agreement. He introduced the agents of Raja Shahu everywhere and orders went round for restoring Swaraj territory to the Raja's officials. 18

The importance of the treaty was not lost upon the emperor. It practically meant complete abdication of imperial authority in. the Deccan, and strengthening the hands of his tormentors. He could not tolerate this and refused to ratify the agreement. He prepared for war, and called to his aid

Sarbuland Khan from Patna, Nizamul-Mulk from Moradabad and A jit Singh from Gujarat.

They arrived in the capital but found that they had neither the emperor's confidence nor authority to act, and wisely made their peace with the Sayyids. The Sayyid brothers, informed of the monarch's intrigues, prepared to strike. Husain 'Ali marched to the capital with his Maratha allies and arrived in Delhi in February, 1719. The brothers surrounded the palace with their troops, entered the palace, and seized the emperor's person after some altercation. The hapless monarch was thrown in confinement and subsequently put to death. A puppet was set up in his place, all power passing into the hands of the Sayyids. The treaty entered into between Raja Shahu and Husain 'Ali Khan was ratified and farmans confirming the arrangements of Chauth, Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj were issued on 13 and 24 March, respectively. 19 Balaji Vishwanath, who had accompanied Husain 'Ali, the Amir-ul-Umara } to the capital, returned to the Deccan in May 1719, with the deeds and the Raja's family. 20

A right royal welcome awaited the minister at Satara. He had at last obtained recognition of the claims for which the MughulMaratha struggle had continued over two decades. The treaty marked a triumph for Raja Shahu. His recognition by the Mughul authority gave him a distinct advantage over his rival Shambhuji and made other Maratha chieftains look up to him as the fountain of authority. The Mughul rulers accepted the fait accompli and recognised the supremacy of the Marathas in the south by granting them the right of collecting revenue from the six provinces of the Deccan.

Criticism of the (Delhi) Treaty of 1719:

The treaty has been criticised variously by different writers. While some have hailed it as a great diplomatic triumph, others have questioned its moral basis; yet a third school of historians condemn the minister for accepting Mughul suzerainty and perpetuating Muslim rule. They contend that while ShivajI fought for an independent Maratha State, his grandson, acting on the advice of his Peshwd, threw away the jewel of liberty accepting in exchange the badge of Mughul slavery. This is an extreme view and loses sight of the fact that in politics satisfactory solution^ of vexed problems are often found in face-saving devices or fictions. To accept the fictions literally, to analyse them in a legalistic way without taking into account how they worked in actual practice, is mere casuistry and evinces a frame of mind ill becoming a dispassionate historian. A tributary state has no independent authority to make war or

peace, has no claims on the sovereign. Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the six Subahs of the Deccan were granted to the Marathas who went on exploiting their advantage till they demanded tribute from the whole of the imperial domain. No man of commonsense would look on this relation as one of subordination to the Mughul Crown. The Marathas were realists and were satisfied with the direction of policy leaving ostentatious display to the effete successors of Aurangzib.

Criticism may rather be levelled against the scheme for realising the claims through a number of agents instead of obtaining the revenues direct for the royal treasury and thereby putting central authority on firm foundations. For, according to this scheme, the collections in Gujarat were assigned to the Senapati , those in Berar and Gondwana to the Bhonsle of Nagpur, of the Satara region to the Pratinidhi, of the Mawals (Poona district) to the Sachiv; to the Peshwa was granted Khandesh and Baglan and Central India for his activities; the Sarlashkar obtained the basin of the Godavari, and Fateh Singh Bhonsle was expected to make the annual levy from the Karnatak. Konkan was left in the possession of Kanhoji Angria. It was of the essence of the scheme that the chieftains whose authority had been established in a particular area should be recognised as the immediate rulers or law-givers of the region, should administer it and appropriate its revenues towards the maintenance of their troops, while they contributed only a small share to the Royal Exchequer. Darrackdars or revenue officers for each Saranjam were sent from the centre, but they seem to have been unable to curb the powers of the feudatory chiefs.

Balaji perceived that the revival of Maratha power in its old monarchical form was no longer possible, that it would be difficult to harness the nation’s military resources to the common cause unless concessions were made to the great war-lords who had won an important place for themselves. He made them subordinate allies or confederates of the sovereign, granting them a free hand in administering their conquests, called from them no greater sacrifice than uniting on matters of common policy. The arrangement, however, left too much authority in the hands of these chiefs without providing for checks to call them to account. This was the beginning of the jagir system or feudalization of the Maratha State which was responsible for the speedy expansion of the Maratha power and its rapid dissolution. Historians point out that ‘this granting of authority over territory instead of salaries to the officers by Balaji Vishwanath was a departure from the wise rule of Shivaji[1], but throw the blame on the master and not on the minister. They suggest that BalajI substituted for the autocracy of the sovereign the Maratha. confederacy, because he saw that Shahu had not the commanding talents and energy which had made possible the great King’s concentrated dominion. But it has been made plain in these pages that it was the support of the common people, of the Maratha peasants and the Maratha Shiledars, that enabled BalajI to beat down the opposition of the great war-lords and wrest victory for his master. In his desire to conciliate the great barons, BalajI Vishwanath appears to have gone too far and compromised royal authority. In leaving large powers in their hands BalajI undoubtedly surrendered the gains of the battle after winning the victory.

But it would be wrong to hold the Peshwd solely responsible for the defects which the system developed later. He accepted the situation and found in the jagir system the best solution possible to bring peace to the distracted country. He had seen the Maratha State wilting under the fierce onslaughts of the Mughul and had also witnessed the tide slowly turning against the enemy. He grasped, as few men of his generation did, the significance of the changes in the political atmosphere and was determined that his country should profit by them. His conciliatory approach enabled the great Maratha soldiers to come under the common flag and unite their skill and resources for common purposes. Playing cleverly on the rivalries and factions of the Mughul court, he wrested from the emperor terms which secured for his

State the gains of the bitter fighting of a quarter of a century and established the political supremacy of the Marathas in the Deccan.

BalajI Vishwanath did not live long to work out his scheme in detail. After the monsoon he marched south and dispersed the Kolhapur force at Ashta and laid siege to Kolhapur. After some desultory fighting he retired to Saswad near Poona and died there on 2 April, 1720. He left behind his widow, Radha Bai, two sons, and three daughters. The eldest son, Baji Rao, who had been his companion in most of his campaigns in his later years succeeded him to the Peshufaship.

BalajI Vishwanath has been truly called ‘the second founder of the Maratha State’. He piloted the ship of the State through dangerous waters and brought it to a safe haven. His greatness has been dimmed by the brilliant victories of his son and successor to the Peshwtiship. But it need not blind us to the fact that it was the father’s statesmanship that brought order out of chaos, upheld national interests and preserved the unity of the State when it look

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ed as if the Maratha State would once more be split up into a number of petty principalities, making war upon each other and ending in submission to a foreign aggressor. The treaty with Husain ‘Ali Sayyid was a great diplomatic triumph which secured to the Maratha people the gains of their suffering for a quarter of a century and created a wide field for their restless ambition.

The term of Balaji’s Peshwaship marks the transition from the royal period to the age of the Peshuxis. It ushers a new era in the history of the Marathas. The feeble successors of the House of Shivaji fade into insignificance and become mere figure-heads with the passage of time. The reins of government pass into the hands of the able Prime Ministers, who direct the course of Maratha polity for the next century.

NOTES

1. Niccolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor , Vol. IV, pp. 96-97.

2. Khafi Khan, Muntakhab-uVLubab as translated in History of India, Vol. VII by Elliot and Dowson, p. 374.

3. Original paper published in Vividh Dnydn Vistdr, Feb. 1924. Cited by Sardesai in Marathi Riyasat V. Shahu (1942), pp. 35-6.

3a. Chitnls, Shahu Charitra, pp. 14-15.

4. Itihas Sangraha, Vol. VI, Peshwa Daftarantll MahitI, pp. 188-89.

4a. The dates given by Sardesai of the capture of Satara by Shahu and of his coronation and followed by later writers lack in authority. Sardesai takes these from Shedgaonkar Bakhar and in looking up the calendar makes a slight mistake. If Satara was captured on a Saturday, that day cannot be 1st January of 1708 as given by Sardesai, which according to the calendar was a Thursday. Then the SarvadhAri Hindu year given in Shedgaonkar Bakhar accords with 1709 and not with 1708.

5. Bharat Itihas Samshodhak MandaVs Quarterly , Vol. VII, p. 86.

5a. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Vol. I (1921 Ed.), p. 319. Duff depends on Khafi Khan.

6. Jaipur Akbhars (Unpublished).

7. Chitnls, Thorle Shahu Mahar&j Yanche Charitra, (1924 ed.), pp. 25-31. Selections from Peshwa Daftar, Vol. VII, pp. 8-91.

8. Shahu Roznishi, p. 55; Chitnls, Shahu Charitra, pp. 31-33.

9. Shahu Roznishi, pp. 45-46; V. K. Rajwade, Marathyanchye Itihasachi Sadhanen , Vol. IV, pp. 32-37; Itihas Sangraha, Peshwa Daftarantll MahitI, pp. 13, 122-24. S.P.D. Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2 and 40. Tritiya Sammelan Vritta, pp. 84-9i and 149-52.

10- Chitnls, op. cit., (1924 Ed.), pp. 38-39. Bharat Itihas Samshodhak MandaVs Quarterly, Vol. . XXVIII, p. 76.

11. Chitnls, op, cit., Thorle Shahu Maharaj Yanche Charitra, p. 40. V. K. Rajwade, Vol. II, pp. 23-25; Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Ed. by Mawji and Parasnis, pp. 197-199.

12. A. G. Pawar, Tara Bai Papers (Persian-1971), Nos. 12, 111, 112 and 201.

13. Khafi Khan in Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 450-51.

14. Elliot & Dowson, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 463.

15. Ibid, pp. 463-64; S.P.D. XXX, pp. 235-40.

16. Khafi Khan in Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 409.

17. Thorle Shdhu Mahara) Yanche Charitra, pp. 50-55; Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, ed. by Mawji and Parasnis, pp. 1-9; also Khafi Khan, p. 467.

18. Khafi Khan in Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 468.

19. Dr. A. G. Pawar, Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, Vol. XVII, pp. 209-13.

20. S.P.D., Vol. XXX, pp. 255-65.

CHAPTER IV

PESHWA BAJI RAO I (1720-40)

I. The Peshwa’s Problems:

Baji Rao, the eldest son of Balaji Vishwanath, who was about twenty years old, succeeded him in the Peshwdship x>n 17 April, 1720. His extreme youthfulness, his bluff manner and his passion for military adventure, were held against him as disqualifying him for the highest ministerial post in the realm. But the Raja, grateful to his late Peshwd for securing his throne against heavy odds, waived aside the objections of his counsellors and conferred the robes of the Peshwdship on Baji Rao at Masur. His argument was that the father had not survived long enough to enjoy the fruits of his achievements and he owed it to the son to appoint him to the father’s post. If the new Peshwd proved unworthy of his responsibilities, he would think of replacing him in proper time.[1]

The fact of the matter was that the late Peshwd had on his own responsibility raised large loans and put armies in the field to secure the ChhatrapaWs position. The Chhatrapati was not very keen to involve himself in the military and administrative problems of his kingdom, but was content with a nominal supervision of the same. Raja Shahu was now in the prime of his life, being thirty-eight years old. If he had the will to rule and not only reign, he could have easily taken over the reins of government in his hands and conducted the administration in the manner his grand-father, the Great ShivajI, did. But Raja Shahu, by the circumstances of his upbringing and his inclinations, lacked the will to exert himself and refused to be bothered with the details of administration or lead armies in the field. The result was the gradual transfer of the chief executive powers to the Peshwd’s hands from those of the Chhatra -. petti. The transfer of power, which was. legalised by the rescripts of, Shahu written on his death-bed and later strengthened by the agreement of Sangola in 1750, was thus a gradual process which started much earlier. It will be discussed in a later section.

The several problems that confronted the young Peshwd were a legacy of his father’s policy. The great feudatories of the State who were acting independently posed a problem. It was necessary that the royal authority, if it was tc* be effective, should be strong enough to override that of the feudatories and bend them to its will.

The security of the homeland had been guaranteed by the grants of Swaraj, and chauth and sardeshmukhi of the six subahs of the Deccan by the treaty concluded by Sayyid Husain ‘Ali Khan in 1718 and ratified by the emperor in Delhi in March, 1719. That treaty, however, had been concluded by the Sayyid brothers who v/ere out of favour with the new emperor and whose party was overthrown within a year of the conclusion of the agreement. Their rivals—the Turani party, came into power and were not likely to abide by the commitments of their predecessors. The Deccan was seized by the Nizam, the most capable among the Mughul or Turani chiefs. He had no respect for the agreement concluded by his opponents which made mockery. of his authority. In collusion with Raja Shahu’s rival, ShambhujI of Kolhapur, he threatened to destroy the Maratha State. The Nizam thus posed a serious challenge to the very existence of the Maratha State, and required to be watched. A part of the Swaraj territory was yet in the hands of Mughul officers like the Sidi of Janjira and had to be wrested from them. The civil war with the Kolhapur party was only in abeyance, the faction of ShambhujI refusing to accept a subordinate position.

To these problems awaiting solution must be added the Maratha claims on Gujarat and Malwa which had not been admitted by the Mughul Court. As a reply to the Mughul offensive against their homeland, the Marathas had crossed into these provinces to cut off the rear of the enemy and had made inroads as far as Ratanpur in Gujarat and Sironj in Malwa in the days of Aurangzlb. These had been repeated with greater boldness in the second decade of the eighteenth century. But these attempts, not being backed by organised authority, could not produce the necessary impact to make the adversary yield. The Peshwd was determined not to lose the advantage of the ground thus prepared, but to consolidate the gains and make a further advance. While on a visit to Delhi with his father in 1719 he had seen enough of the Mughul Court to convince him of its weakness. The parties anxious to dominate at the Court were bidding against each other for

Maratha co-operation, and the young Peshwd was too shrewd not to perceive the advantage such a situation gave him. He realized early, as few of his contemporaries appeared to have done, that the Mughul empire was rushing to its doom and that it was time for his people to march into Hindustan and seize supreme power instead of remaining confined within the narrow limits of their Deccan homeland. His early movements and his great victory at Palkhed over the Nizam secured his position at home and increased his confidence and resources, and in 1728 his

armies burst into Central India. With Rajput help he secured a safe base for his further advance. In 1731 he overawed the lesser chiefs by destroying the Sendpati at Dabhoi and later recovered Maratha territory from the Sidi and the Portuguese. His rapid gains thus facilitated his plan of Maratha domination at the Delhi Court which became the watchword of Maratha policy and animated all Maratha activities in the years to come.

II. The Nizam humbled:

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The first problem that confronted the young Peshwa was the security of the homeland. The Sayyids' party which had conceded Raja Shahu's claim to rule over Swaraj and had granted him rights to collect the chauth and sardeshmukhi from the six subdhs of the Deccan, was in disgrace. The emperor, who had ratified the treaty rather unwillingly, plotted against his benefactors, had Sayyid Husain 'Ali murdered in September, 1720 and his brother 'Abdullah in 1722. The grants of Swaraj, chauth and sardeshmukhi had to be reconfirmed by the Mughul or Turani party, which was opposed to any concessions to the Marathas. Shrinivas Rao Pratinidhi, th$ Sarlashkar, and Fatesingh Bhosle who had been granted the six subdhs as their spheres of activity were stay-at-home politicians, unable to raise resources and force issues. 2 The early years of the Peshwa were therefore spent in watching events in the Deccan and at the Mughul Court at Delhi and the movements of the Turani leader, Nizam-ul-Mulk.

Born in 1671, Mir Qamar-ud-din as he was first known, saw much service in the Deccan. In 1683 he accompanied his father in the expedition of Poona and Supa; in 1688 he was active in the siege of Adoni and in 1693 in that of Panhala. In 1698 he led independently in the expedition against the rebels of Nagori near Bijapur. In 1699 he was given a high rank as Chin Qilich Khan. The next year he was busy in the investment of the fort of Parli and was rewarded with the jj aujddri of Bijapur. Two years later he was raised to the governorship of Bijapur, and Azamnagar, Belgaum and Sampgaon were added to his charge. He took a prominent part in reducing Wakinkhera and acquired great influence over the emperor. While the emperor was at Ahmadnagar in 1707, he made Chin Qilich Khan responsible for the administration of Fifoznagar and Talikota. As his end was nearing, Aurangzib called Chin Qilich Khan for consultation. The emperor desired that the Turani party of which Chin Qilich was now the leader, should lend its support to his favourite son Kam Bakhsh.

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Chin Qllich refused to take part in the fratricidal war that followed the death of Aurangztb and was rewarded by Bahadur Shah with the Subdhdari of Awadh and a high-sounding title in 1707. The Subdhdari he refused as he did not like to work under Zu'lliqar Khan who had assumed supreme command at the Court, and went into voluntary retirement. In 1713 Zu'lfiqar Khan's nominee, Jahandar Shah, was defeated and the royal sceptre was wrested by Farrukh-siyar. Zu'lfiqar Khan's star waned and he met with an ignominious end for his part in the death of Farrukh-siyar's brothers. Chin Qllich Khan who had stood aloof and prevented the Turani party from joining Jahandar Shah, was rewarded with the title Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fateh Jang and was appointed Viceroy of the six subahs of the Deccan. 3

The Nizam sensed the coming dissolution of the empire and nursed dynastic ambitions. His first governorship was very brief lasting over only two years. But during the short period the policy he was to pursue later, was developed. The Maratha claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi brought in a foreign element in his administration and reduced it to impotence. He therefore determined to repudiate their claims at all costs. But he knew he could not succeed in opposing the Marathas where the full might of the empire had failed. He would therefore foment disputes among the Maratha chiefs and then reject their claims. During the brief spell of two years

(1713-15) he incited ShambhujI of Kolhapur, Chandrasen Jadhav and other disgruntled Maratha chiefs to create disturbances in Shahu's territory. 4

But the Nizam's Subdhdari of the Deccan did not last long. In 1715 he was removed from the Subdh, which was taken over by Amir-ul-Umara Sayyid Husain 'All Khan. The Sayyid brothers were at loggerheads with the emperor, and to secure Maratha aid they made an agreement with Raja Shahu recognizing his succession to Shivajl's Swaraj (old Kingdom) in lieu of which Shahu promised a tribute of ten lakhs of rupees; Maratha claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi over the six subahs were also conceded; for the first the Marathas agreed to serve the emperor with a contingent of fifteen thousand horse; for the sardeshmukhi the Marathas agreed to put down disturbances and pay ten per cent peshkush, qf which a fourth only was to be paid immediately and the rest later. Sayyid Husain 'Ali marched to Delhi accompanied by a Maratha contingent, deposed the fickle-minded Farrukh-siyar, put another scion of the Mughul house on the throne and had the agreement made with the Marathas ratified by the new emperor. 5

But the Sayyids' power was short-lived. The new emperor conspired against the brothers and had Husain 'Ali murdered in September 1720. The eldest brother 'Abdullah was defeated, thrown into prison and was despatched in 1722. The Turani party came in power. Muhammad Amin Khan became the Vazir and Nizam-ul-Mulk seized the subdh of the Deccan.

The Marat ha Court and the Peshwd were bewildered spectators of these political changes at the Mughul capital. When the Nizam came south to fight Husain 'Ali's deputy, 'Alam 'Ali Khan, the Peshwd fought by his side, but withdrew with his troops to Khandesh on the latter's defeat on 31 July, 1720. In the cold weather of 1720-2T the Peshwd invaded Khandesh, perhaps to realize Maratha claims of chauth and had his first meeting with the Nizam on 4 January, 1721, near Chikhalthan. Khandesh and Balaghat were included in the Peshwa's sphere of activity and he wanted to keep Maratha claims of chauth over the region alive and was moving in the region in 1722 as well.

In the meanwhile, the Nizam went back to Delhi lured by the prime ministership of the empire. But he did not hold the post long. The emperor and his boon companions did not like the austere manners of the new Vazir, nor his administrative measures, nor his suggestion of redistributing imperial jagirs to worthy persons. When the Nizam added the subdh of Gujarat to his charge of the Deccan and Malwa, there were loud rumours in the Court suggesting that the Vazir was very grasping and perhaps intended to reduce the emperor to a cipher. In the circumstances, the Vazir thought it wise to retire to his Deccan principality. On the pretext of ill-health he left the capital and reached Ujjain in 1724. In the meanwhile the emperor had relieved the Nizam of the governorship of the Deccan and Malwa and sent orders to his officers and feudatories in the Deccan to treat the Nizam as a rebel. Mubariz Khan, Subahdar of Hyderabad was asked to oppose the Nizam with the help of Raja Shahu. 6 The Nizam in search of allies, met the Peshwd at Nalcha on 18 May and won him over to his cause with all kinds of promises. 7 In the struggle that ensued, the Nizam defeated his rival Mubariz Khan at Shakarkharda (1 October, 1724) with the help of his Maratha allies. By way of reward the Peshwd was awarded the rank of 7,000 Zat and 7,000 horse, an elephant and jewellery. 8

Trusting to the friendship of his new ally, Raja Shahu suggested joint expeditions into Karnatak for establishing Maratha claims of chauth . 9 Twice Maratha forces under the command of the Pratinidhi and the Peshwa marched into Karnatak (1725-26, 1726-27) only to be met by opposition from the Nizam’s officers. 10

The Nizam, as soon as he had triumphed over his Mughul rivals, began his efforts to free himself from the shackles of Maratha demand. As a first step he removed his capital from Aurangabad to Hyderabad, and negotiated through the Pratinidhi exemption of the district of Hyderabad from the claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi in lieu of a jdgir granted to the Minister in the Balaghat-Gangathadi region.

Shahu’s activities in the Karnatak region roused the enmity of Shambhuji of Kolhapur who began to concert measures to prevent further encroachments on what he regarded as his own sphere of influence. Through the renegade, Chandrasen Jadhav, he made overtures to the Nizam to secure his own recognition as head of the Maratha State and oppose Shahu’s all-pervading claims of chauth. Wa

Shambhuji’s proposals were most acceptable to the Nizam. The emperor had confirmed his appointment as Subahdar and had acquiesced in his usurpation. Relieved from the pressure from the north, the Nizam no longer had any use for his alliance with Raja Shahu and was anxious to shake off the hated claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi over his subah. Shambhuji’s force effected a junction with the Nizam’s force and the joint army began to move ominously towards Maratha country. The Nizam declared himself unwilling to observe the terms of the pact entered recently with Raja Shahu, till the rival claims of the cousins were settled. In pursuance of this policy, he dismissed Shahu’s officers and asked him to submit his claims to his arbitration. 11 In one of his letters to Sawai Jay Singh he boasted of his plan: “With a view to carry out the emperor’s order, I have with God’s help, called to my side Raja Shambhuji (of Kolhapur) who is Shahu’s rival, conciliated him and engaged in punishing and exterminating Shahu. Sultanji Rao (Nimbalkar, Sar lashkar) who was the general of the enemy’s army came and saw me and was appointed to command Raja Shambhuji’s army. I am hopeful that other partisans of Shahu would desert him soon and his party would cease to exist. I have challenged the Marathas to battle out of reliance on the grace of God and the Emperor’s favour and aid” 12

Shahu was dumbfounded. Under the advice of the Prcvtinidhi he had pursued a conciliatory policy towards the Subahdar. And here was the Subahdar, denying him his right to the throne. He hastily recalled his army from the south and asked his Killadars to

hold on to their posts. The Peshwd on his arrival in May, 1727, asked the Raja to break off negotiations with the Nizam. On 1 August orders for a general mobilisation were given and as soon as the monsoon was over, a large army consisting mainly of light cavalry and led by the Peshwd, invaded the Nizam’s territory and marched towards Aurangabad. There was a skirmish near Jalna with the Nizam’s force led by Iwaz Khan; but the Peshwd avoiding a general engagement, pushed northward towards Burhanpur. Then taking a westerly route the Maratha army moved into northern Khandesh and then into Gujarat, with the Nizam’s force in pursuit. 1 * The Nizam abandoned the pursuit in the hilly tract and marched in the direction of Poona. Quite a few outposts like Udapur, Avasari, Pabal, Khed and Narayangarh surrendered. While returning^ the Nizam occupied Poona and advanced against Supa, Patas and'Baramati. When he was in Baramati he heard the news that the Peshwd had burst eastward through the Kasarbari pass and was marching towards Aurangabad, the heart of his kingdom. 14 The Nizam started in pursuit of the Maratha army, asking his Maratha allies to show the same vigour and mobility as the Peshwd's army which was closing on the Nizam's and harassing his rear and wings. Both ShambhujI and Chandrasen pleaded inability to counteract the Peshwd's tactics. 15 The Nizam found himself challenged for action in a waterless tract near Palkhed on 25 February. 16 Starved of food and water, the Nizam's army would not fight. Through the intercession of Iwaz Khan, the Nizam sent the Peshwd a word of his miserable plight and his willingness to come to terms.

The Mughul army was then allowed to move to the vicinity of the river and a treaty was concluded at Mungi-Paithan in pargana Shevgaon on 6 March, 1728. The main articles were the recognition of Raja Shahu as Chhatrapati and of the grant of chauth and sardeshmukhi of the six subahs to him which had been withheld. All t^lk about ShambhujI's succession to the Maratha throne was stopped. Baji Rao had demanded the surrender of the person of ShambhujI to which the Nizam as a point of honour, would not agree. ShambhujI was sent away to Panhala. Whatever outposts like Poona, Khed, Baramati, Narayangarh, Akkalkot and the districts surrounding them had been seized by the Mughuls, were restored.

Field Marshal Montgomery who took a leading part in the defeat of Hitler and the destruction of his war machine, has recently published a book, A History of Warfare (1968), in which he discusses some of the important battles fought since ancient times to this day. He has selected the battle of Palkhed as an action which was fought

in the style of Mongols and the original Turkish invaders of India. He writes:—

“The Paikhed campaign of 1727-28 in which Baji Rao I outgeneralled Nizam-ul-Mulk is a masterpiece of strategic mobility. Baji Rao's army was a purely mounted force, armed only with sabre, lance and a bow in some units, and a round shield. There was a spare horse for every two men. The Marathas moved unencumbered by artillery, baggage or even handguns and defensive armour. They supplied themselves by looting.

“In October 1727 with the end of the rains Baji Rao burst into the territory of the Nizam. The lightly equipped Marathas moved with great rapidity, avoiding the main towns and fortresses, living off the country, burning and plundering. They met one reverse at Jalna at the hands of Iwaz Khan in the beginning of November but within a month they had fully recouped, and were off again, dashing east, north, west, with sudden changes of direction. The Nizam for a time pursued them but was bewildered by the swift and unpredictable movements of the enemy, and his men became exhausted.

“At the end of January the Nizam changed his strategy; he gave up the pursuit of the elusive Maratha forces and instead made direct for their heartland round Poona, which he ravaged and captured. Baji Rao received urgent calls to come back. But with good strategic sense he resisted the call and instead countered the Nizam’s move by in turn threatening his capital Aurangabad. Baji Rao had not actually captured the capital but he had pillaged the neighbouring area. As the Nizam once again endeavoured to catch Baji Rao, the Marathas harried and circled round his forces. The Nizam preserved his army intact, but in March 1728 he gave up. By the peace terms some of their territorial claims were conceded.” 17

The Nizam’s attempt to challenge Maratha supremacy in the Deccan failed in a decisive manner. Maratha expansion to the east and south became a matter of time and will, to press the advantage home by the Raja’s ministers who had been assigned these spheres for their activity. Its legality was never called into question. The Nizam had invaded Maratha territory not to recover this province or that district, but he aimed a deadly blow at Shahu’s authority. By this defeat of the great Mughul chief the Peshwfa won for himself a place of confidence in the Raja’s counsels which nothing could shake.

The Kolhapur prince, having lost the support of the Nizam, could

no longer resist the superior claims of Shahu. He was defeated in 1730. But Shahu was anxious to conciliate his cousin. Instead of laying down harsh terms he met him near Karhad and invited him to visit Satara. The visit lasted over two months at the end of which the treaty of Wama was concluded on 13 April, 1731. The territory held by ShambhujT was recognised as his State, and his right to expand southward right up to

Rameshwar was also recognised. Both States were to act with one accord and not to harbour each other's enemies. There was an exchange of some enclaves so as to straighten up the frontiers of the two states. 18 But the Raja of Kolhapur showed little interest in the expansion of Maratha power in Kamatak region and could not claim any part of the conquests made by the Peshwd. Kolhapur now came to occupy the position of a prince who was given full internal autonomy.

The Nizam continued to be a thorn in the side of the Maratha State. He continued to foment discord among the Maratha chiefs, but when pressed hard, would yield ground. In 1732 he came to an understanding with the Peshwd to give the latter a free hand in the north. As the Iqbal Nama puts it, "the tempo of Maratha attacks and invasions continued to increase and those who were at the imperial court represented that all this was due to Nizam-ulMulk. 19

III. Peshwd-Senapati Strife:

The defeat of the Nizam besides securing the safety of the Maratha homeland, had other repercussions as well. It immensely increased the Peshwd's prestige both at home and abroad. This was reflected in the increased activities of his armies in Malwa and Gujarat. In Malwa his army secured a decisive victory over the subahdar Girdhar Bahadur at Amjhera and overran the whole province. These developments will be described later on. We may now turn to the developments in Gujarat where the Peshwd, started staking his claims for chauth from 1725.

The Maratha State was fast developing into a feudal state with the powerful chiefs administering their jdgirs nominally with the authority of the Raja but practically independent of him. According to Grant Duff, "The Peshwd and Senaputtee, charged with the command of a great proportion of the Raja's personal troops, were ordered to direct their attention to the general protection and defence ot the territory." 20 But in their race for power, the Peshwd had by now far outstripped Sendpati Dabhade.

Dabhade family had seen service in the days of the Great ShivajI and Rajaram. Khanderao Dabhade had built a number of fortlets on the Khandesh-Gujarat route and had defeated a Mughul general who tried to oust him from the Baglan region. He had accompanied the Peshwd to Delhi in 1719 and his son had taken part in the Kamatak expedition. But during the last five or six years he was an ailing man and had not been able to keep pace with the rising fortunes of the Peshwd. Khandesh, Balaghat and Malwa formed the sphere of activity of the Peshwd. The Sendpati was vested, with similar authority in Baglan and Gujarat. Pilaji Gaikwar and Bande were working on behalf of the Sendpati and had penetrated as far as Surat by 1723. This, according to Mirat, was the first year in which the Marathas levied a regular tribute on Gujarat. In June 1724 Trimbak Rao Dabhade, the son of the Sendpati, was reported to be active in Surat Athavisi. 21

Gujarat was then in the throes of political turmoil. The province which had been put under the governorship of Nizam-ul-Mulk only a year back, had been transferred from him to Sarbuland Khan. But the Nizam was in no mood to surrender his authority to his successor and had asked his deputy, Hamid Khan, to defy the new governor's orders. Sarbuland Khan was slow in taking over charge of his new office. He had asked a local chief Shuja‘at Khan to deputise for him till his arrival at Ahmadabad. Hamid Khan, the deputy of the rebel Nizam, called in the help of Kanthaji Kadam Bande and Pilaji Gaikwar, and with their aid, defeated and slew Shuja‘at Khan within sight of the walls of the capital. His brother Rustam ‘Ali met with the same fate at Basu, 25 miles away from Ahmadabad on 11 February, 1725. He was surrounded by the force of Hamid Khan and of his Maratha allies, which was further strengthened by a contingent of the Peshwd led by Udaji Pawar. The chauth of Gujarat was shared between Bande and Gaikwar as the representatives of the Senapati, and Udaji Pawar acting on behalf of the Peshwd. 22

In the meanwhile Sarbuland Khan arrived in Gujarat with feelings of great trepidation about dealing with the Marathas. He inflicted a defeat on the Senapati's chiefs, Gaikwar and Bande near Sojitra (January, 1726) and chased them out of the province. But another force led by the Peshwa's Diwan, Ambaji Purandare, and Baji Bhivrao entered Gujarat from the north-west. They exacted four lakhs of rupees from the merchant princes of Vadnagar. Kanthaji and Pilaji again threatened to attack the province. Sarbuland Khan felt himself unequal to deal effectively with the menace. He

agreed to grant the chauth of Gujarat to the Peshwd in April 1726. 23

Shahu issued orders to PilajI Gaikwar and Kadam Bande that half the chauth of Gujarat had been granted to the Peshwd and the ether half to Trimbak Rao Dabhade on behalf of the Senapati and that they should not disturb the arrangement. 24 Next year also (February 20, 1727) Sarbuland Khan repeated the agreement granting chauth to the Peshwd on behalf of the Chhatrcvpati. For this he was to serve the Suhdhdar with a contingent of 2,500 horse and chase away marauders and disturbers of peace—a clause directed against PilajI Gaikwar and Kadam Bande. The Raja was happy to receive the amount of rupees four lakhs and thirteen thousand as sardeshmukhi. 25 Sarbuland Khan felt almost helpless; his provincial force was unable to meet the waves after waves of Maratha horsemen entering his province, and the central government was too lethargic to send him aid. When such a powerful chief as the Nizam invited the Peshw\a to personal meetings and conceded him the chauth and sardeshmukhi of the six subdhs of the Deccan, how could he deny the Peshwd's demands on Gujarat? It was not necessary for him to consider the legality or otherwise of the Peshwd's claims. The Peshwd appeared the most powerful Maratha chieftain and promised to punish the disturbers of peace.

But Senapati Dabhade objected to the Peshw\a's aggression in Gujarat. In Dabhade Hakikat it is reported that while the Chhatrapati had assigned the mulkgiri of Gujarat to the Senapati and that of Malwa to the Peshwd, the latter suggested that the Senapati should yield half the Mahals of Gujarat to the Peshwd and he in his turn would give over half his conquests in Malwa to the Senapati. The Senapati did not favour this kind of arrangement. But the Peshwd v/as powerful and would not abandon his designs on Gujarat. He continued his aggressive activities in Gujarat. Oh 30 July, 1727, Shahu issued orders that "the Mokasa in pranth Gujarat previously granted to Chimnaji Ballal is now,given to Khanderao Dabhade towards the maintenance of his troops." 26 The Raja gave the clear verdict that the

Peshwd should keep his hands off Gujarat. He disapproved of the Peshwd's aggression in Gujarat. Besides, as the Nizam was threatening to advance in the Maratha country, Shahu did not like his Peshwd and Senapati to be contending and disunited. If the Peshwd had loyally obeyed the orders of his master, the future dispute between the two leading Maratha chiefs could have been avoided. But the Peshwd would not readily abandon the Gujarat enterprise. He had raised vast forces and during the last two years he had-triumphed over the Subahdars of Malwa* and Bundel

khand. Elated by his victories he was in no mood to give up his grip over northern Gujarat. In December 1729 he sent another army under the command of his brother Chimnaji Appa to Gujarat. Pawagarh occupied by Kadam Bangle fell on 6 January 1730 and then the army marched northwards reaching Petlad and Nadiad in the first week of March. 27

The situation became most alarming. Sarbuland Khan being detested at Delhi, could not count on drawing support from the Court and the enemy began knocking at the door. The desperate situation required a desperate remedy and the Khan sought it in coming to an agreement with Chimnaji by renewing the treaty concluded in February, 1727. The new agreement was concluded on 23 March, 1730. Sardeshmukhi or ten per cent of the whole revenue, both of the land and customs with the exception of Surat and chauth of the province were granted to the Peshwd. The Peshwd was to keep 2,500 horse for keeping peace in the province and agreed to punish disturbers of peace—a clause aimed at preventing the entry of the Senapati's troops into Gujarat. 273

The agreement concluded by Chimnaji Appa was clearly an infringement of the Senapati's claims over Gujarat. The Peshwa appeared to be claiming a superior authority over other chiefs and subordinate them to his dictation. This was resented by the Senapati and by all those whose interests the new agreement affected. The Senapati became the leader of opposition to the Peshwa and round him- rallied the disaffected elements—PilajI Gaikwar, KanthajI Kadam Bande, Kanhoji Bhonsle, UdajI Pa war and others. The party counted on being supported at Court by the Pratinidhi.

At this stage of dispute young Dabhade (the father died in September, 1729) committed a tactical blunder which cost him the sympathies of the Court and placed him in the position of a renegade against constituted authority. Apprehending he might not get justice from the monarch he entered into secret negotiations with the Nizam to invoke his aid. The Nizam readily seized the opportunity of weakening his opponents, sent encouraging replies to the Senapati and assumed threatening posture towards the Peshwa's agents. 28

The report of these intrigues reached the Peshwd. Before the disaffected elements could formulate their plan of action and effect a junction with the Nizam, the Peshwd entered Gujarat at the head of a picked force, renewed the engagements with the Subahdar concluded last year and then advanced upon Baroda held by PilajI Gaikwar. Trimbak Rao Dabhade hastened to meet the challenge, was

joined by Bhil and Koli levies and by a detachment of the Nizam. The two armies met at Dabhoi on 1 April, 1731. The battle was sanguinary and lasted over six hours. The superior leadership of the Peshwa won the day. Trimbak Rao Dabha<Je Sendpati fell on the battlefield and his force was dispersed. 29 The Nizam’s attempt to exploit differences in the Maratha Court had once more been baffled and his intrigues defeated. Gujarat was restored to the Senctpati on whose behalf the Gaikwar worked and brought the province under Maratha control by 1737.

The battle of Dabhoi and Baji Rao’s victory form a landmark in the history of the Peshicds. It left the Peshwa without a rival at home and “with all but nominal control of the Maratha sovereignty.” ' 0 The Peshwa on his return to Satara met the mother of the dead Dabhade in a contrite mood, gave up his claims to the districts of Gujarat and took over the charitable practice of honouring Shdstrls and Vaidiks from the Sendpati. The ShravaV Dakshand became one of the cultural institutions of the Maratha State at which learned Brahmins were shown regard according to the state of their learning, and continued to the end of the Peshwds’ rule.

Nizam-ul-Mulk whose intrigues had been exposed, thought it convenient to come to terms with the Peshwa. He concluded an agreement with the Peshwa in December, 1732 by which “the former was to be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, while the Peshwa obtained a free hand in the north.” 31

IV. Campaign against the Sidi of Janjira:

The coastal strip of Maharashtra or Konkan from Jawhar in the north to Karwar in the south formed a part of Shivaji’s Swaraj . Two powers—the Sidis of Janjira and the Portuguese of Goa held out against him clinging to their small maritime possessions. But during the interregnum of his death in 1680 and Shahu’s home-coming in 1707 during which the Marathas were fighting the Mughuls for their very existence, these two powers had seized outlying Maratha territory in Konkan and refused to surrender it after the withdrawal of the Mughuls. The draft treaty which was sent with Balaji Vishwa-. nath to Husain ‘Ali Sayyid in 1718 contained as its first article restoration of the forts like Raigarh, Miraj, Junnar, Chaul, Kalyan and Bhivandi with their surrounding districts. The Sidis had been put in possession of the important fortresses of Raigarh and Mahad, Dabhoi and Ratnagiri by Aurangzib, and had on their own, grabbed several coastal points like Revas, Thai and Anjanwel from which the}' harassed Maratha shipping and sent raiding parties inside Maratha territory.[32] The Sidis had become a thorn in the Maratha side and had to be taught a stern lesson.

Konkan had been assigned to KanhojI Angria as his sphere of activity. His resources in men and money were not adequate to deal with the two deadly enemies of the Marathas—the Sidis and the Portuguese—and yet he did not like to see the intrusion of the King’s forces in his territory. So nothing much could be done while he remained at the helm of the admiralty. His death in 1729 cleared the way for reoccupation of the lost parts of the Maratha homeland.

These political considerations for expelling the Sidis were aggravated by the atrocities one of the Sidi chiefs committed on temple near Chiplun. Brahmendra Swami, a religious person, was much respected in the Peshwa’s family and shown very high regard by the entire' Maratha Court. He had built lovely temples dedi* cated to Shiva, Ganapati, Maruti, Renuka, a dharmasala, deepamala at Parashuram near Chiplun. Sidi Sa‘at, the commandant of the nearby fort of Anjanwel, taking offence with the

Swami, made a sudden raid on the place on Mahdsivardtri day (February 8, 1727) and razed to the ground the lovely temples and the rest houses and ill-treated the Brahmin priests. The Swami's rage knew no bounds; he rained curses on the Sidi, left Konkan and settled at Dhavadshi near Satara preaching a crusade against the despoiler of his temples. 33

In 1733 a political revolution occurred at Janjira. The Sidi chief, Sidi Rasul Khan, died in February, 1733, and his eldest son and successor was murdered by other claimants to the command. The son of the murdered 'Abdullah fled to the Marathas for protection and asked their help to get him the Nawabship. 34 A powerful Sidi chief, Yakub Shaikhji, who was in command of the Sidi fleet and was a partisan of Abdullah, agreed to transfer his allegiance and come over to the Maratha side for a substantial reward. Yashwant Rao Potnis had carried out these secret talks. Though it was the height of summer and end of the campaigning season, two forces—one under the Peshwa and Fateh Singh Bhosle and the other under the Prati nidhi, were immediately ordered to march into Konkan and seize Janjira and Raigarh. The Peshwa descended into Konkan and arrived before the island castle of Janjira on May 2, 1733. 35 The suddenness of the approach of the Maratha force took the enemy by surprise. Rajpuri and Khokri on the coast were seized 36 as well as places inland like Tala, Ghosale, Birwadi etc. Part of the Sidi's fleet lying in the creek came over to the Peshwa with its commanding officer Shaikhji, and Abdur Rahman, the contender for the Nawabship. The rebels, after a feeble resistance, fled to the castle

and closed its gates before the pursuing Maratha force could get in.

Janjira is a fortified island girdled by the sea all round. It lies within the entrance of the Rajpuri creek about half a mile distant from the mainland. In shape it is irregularly oval and is girt by walls which at high tide rise to a height of about fifty feet. The walls are battlemented and loopholed. The passage from Rajpuri to the castle was then covered'by artillery, making the approach of any outsider well nigh impossible. An attacking force without adequate support of a fleet and long-range artillery and mortars, was helpless before it. The Peshwa invited Sekhoji Angria, son of the famous KanhojI in command of Maratha navy, to meet him and prepare a-concerted plan to attack the castle. He looked to the admiral to provide naval support for his enterprise. But owing partly to the lateness of the season and partly to the jealousy Angria felt at the intrusion of the King's forces in his field, Angria was slow in supporting the Peshwa. 31 Shaikhji, the Sidi commander from whom much was expected, proved of little help after the first surprise. 38 Help began to pour in at Janjira from outside.

The Janjira campaign was being directed by the Raja in person. The gains and conquests were to be his and therefore, his feudatories were loath to risk their money and men in the enterprise. The Peshwa after the first surprise, realized the difficulties of-reducing the castle. The few vessels that had fallen in his hands were taken away by Sekhoji Angria. While the Peshw\a sat helplessly before Rajpuri asking for reinforcements from Satara, the Admiral occupied himself with the capture of Revas, Thai and such other coastal places. He planned an assault on the castle after the rains. In the meanwhile the Sidi chief had appealed successfully to the English at Bombay, and obtained their succour for their beleaguered garrisons at Underi and Janjira. 39 Capt. McNeil arrived on the scene with a powerful squadron and the attack on Janjira had to be abandoned. 40

Shrlnivas Rao Pratinidhi, who had been sent into South Konkan, bribed the Killadar of Raigarh and occupied the fort on 8 June while the Peshwa was already negotiating for its surrender. 41 Vijaygarh and Mandangarh were seized by Sekhoji Angria in July, 1733.^ The occupation of Raigarh by the Pratinidhi kindled the Peshwa s ire. The two chiefs began to work at cross purposes making further progress in the expedition impossible. In the meanwhile, Sekhoji Angria died on 28 August. 43 The Peshwa , tired of sitting before the island castle without hope of reducing the place,

advised the Raja to accept the terms offered through the English. Truce was declared and on December 1, Abdur Rahman, the Peshwa's nominee, was seated on the Janjira masnad. The preliminaries were settled, the Peshwd agreeing not to claim beyond what territory was then in actual possession of the invading force. BajI Rao abandoned the siege of the island castle and marched away from Rajpuri (December, 1733). 44

The results of the campaign were not altogether unsubstantial. The Sidi was driven back to the sea, his territory dwindled to the rock islands of Janjira, Underi, Anjanwel and Govalkot in the south. The Marathas became masters of much of his land possessions. Raigarh, the capital of the Great ShivajI, was recovered as also Chaul, Thai and Revas. Sidi Sa‘at of Anjanwel continued to give trouble for some time; there was much fighting about Bankot, Govalkot and Anjanwel. 45 But Sidi Sa‘at was overcome in 1736, when taking his fleet to Bombay waters, he pounced upon Revas and marched to Kolaba. His small force was overwhelmed by a numerous army led by the Peshw’s brother Chimnaji Appa near Revas. 46 A final treaty was concluded on 25 September, 1736, establishing dual government in the eleven mahals formerly owned by the Sidi. The Sidi continued to administer the five and half mahals near the coast while the rest were taken over by the Peshwa’s officers. The Sidi’s power declined and the Sidi became in all but name, a tributary of the Maratha State. 47

V. Conquest of Mdlwa: (1700-1730)

The eighteenth century witnessed a change of the first magnitude in the political aspect of India—the rise of Maratha power to eminence in Indian politics. Aurangzlb’s Deccan war (1681-1707), proved a colossal failure. His enemies, the Marathas, ill-equipped to fight the Mughuls in their manner, resorted to guerrilla tactics which demoralised the splendid armies of the emperor, broke their spell of invincibility and wore them out. In the process, the magnificent fabric of order and civil administration built up by the great Akbar and his successors was dissolved and Mughul authority lost popular respect. The aged emperor Aurangzib during his last days tried to come to some sort of understanding with the Marathas, but died before a settlement could be effected. His son, A‘zam, on the advice of his noble Zu’lfiqar Khan, released Shahu, recognising him as the head of the Maratha state and promising him chcmth and sardeshrrmkhi of the Deccan. 48 Though A‘zam was defeated at Jajau (June, 1707) the pact made with Raja Shahu continued in

operation. 49 The Mughul Government was no longer in a position to refuse the victorious Marathas the chauth and sardeshmukhi of the six snbdhs of the Deccan. After much procrastination the claims were given legal recognition by the treaty concluded in 1719. 50 Though put in the form of concessions made to Raja Shahu by the Mughul overlord, the grants signified a vital change in MughulMaratha relations. The Marathas had broken the power of the Mughul enemy and demanded tribute, which it suited their genius to take in the form of the inflated chauth or one-fourth of the standard revenue of the six subdhs of the Deccan.

The Marathas entered the northern provinces of the empire in the first decade of the 18th century; a measure adopted in the early stages of the struggle as a counterpoise against Mughul attacks on their bases, the northward drive gained momentum as the century advanced.

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the first invasion of Malwa by the Marathas occurred in 1699 when Krishna Sawant (?) crossed the Narmada with 15,000 cavalry and ravaged places near Dhamuni and retired. “The path thus opened was never again closed till at last in the middle of the 18th century Malwa passed into the regular Maratha possession.” 51 In 1703 after the rains NemajI Sindia burst into Malwa near Handia and marched down to Sironj, plundering and burning villages on the way. By February, 1704 he had advanced as far as Kalabag. To stop his activities and open up communications the emperor had to despatch a special force under Firuz Jang. These raids were repeated with greater boldness in the decade that followed and NemajI Sindia, KanhojI Bhosle, Santaji Bhosle, Gangaram, Khanderao Dabha^e and other Maratha chieftains fought Mughul subahdars with varying fortunes.

In Peshwa Baji Rao the policy of northward expansion found its most fearless champion. He realized full well the weakness of the empire, the levity of its rulers, the incompetence and corruption of its officers, and made a bid for a dominant position in the Mughul empire. To the energy of his people that was being wasted in fratricidal war and internal disputes the best remedy and outlet was expansion of Maratha power beyond the Narmada. Combiningqualities of military leadership and diplomatic skill, the Peshwa adopted the policy of northward drive and steadily pursued it during his life-time, bringing Malwa, Bundelkhand and Gujarat under Maratha control. This achievement of the Peshwfi, of controlling Hindustan from the Deccan must be regarded as a radical, revolutionary change from the traditional trend; it guided Maratha policy

till about the end of the 18th century and gave the Marathas ascendancy in the politics of north India. If ShivajI secured the freedom of his people, Peshwa Baji Rao gave them a wider field of activity, brought renown to his state and made the Marathas an all-India power. 52

Though the draft treaty, concluded with Sayyid Husain ‘All Khan in 1718, contained the clause relating to the chauth of Malwa and Gujarat, this claim had been rejected by the Mughul Court. The Peshwa would wrest by arms what his father could not achieve by diplomacy.

The old province of Malwa which is now merged in Madhya Pradesh, was the connecting link between the Deccan and Hindustan proper. On account of its central position the province was looked on as an important charge of great strategic significance. The highways of commerce and military routes to the Deccan and Gujarat passed through it and armies based in Malwa could strike at Rajputana or Bundelkhand with the greatest ease. First conquered by Humayun and then reduced by Akbar, the subdh of Malwa enjoyed peace for over a century. This peace was disturbed when Aurangzib began to exhibit bigotry against the Hindu subjects by levying Jizya, destroying their temples and draining away the provincial revenues for his Deccan war. Provincial administration lost its efficiency and minds of men were disturbed when they found themselves discriminated on grounds of religion and ill-governed. The discontented Rajput chiefs, zamindars and their Hindu subjects refused to co-operate with the Mughul subahdatr; on the contrary, they welcomed the Maratha invaders, gave them secret information about rivers, fords and mountain passes and facilitated their early aggressions; 53

In the apportioning of spheres of influence following the imperial grants of chauth and sardeshmukhi in 1719, Khandesh and the province of Malwa bordering on it were assigned to the Peshwa for making collection, as a stroke of deliberate policy. The Peshuxi and the Court looked on the possession of Malwa as the best guarantee for the security of the Maratha homeland and the Deccan. Maratha influence had penetrated the province for some time and for this they were anxious to obtain legal recognition. The Peshwa invaded Malwa in February, 1723 and again in May, 1724, collected chauth and met the Nizam on both the occasions. Home affairs kept him away for the next four years, but his subordinates kept the pressure on and laid southern Malwa under contribution.

The appointment of Girdhar Bahadur as Subahdar in June, 1725 prevented for a time the disorder in Malwa. Girdhar Bahadur was an officer of strong character and refused to compromise with the enemies of the empire. He turned out Maratha Kamavisdars and chased Maratha troops beyond the Narmada. It was only after the defeat of Nizam-ul-Mulk at Palkhed in February, 1728 that the Peshwfi, could respond in a fitting manner to this challenge to his authority. About the end of 1728 two big armies invaded Central India. The first under the Peshivfa's brother Chimnaji Appa entered Malwa by the Mandu Ghat and surprised the Snibahdar Girdhar Bahadur in his camp at the border town of Amjhera (November 29, 1728). Girdhar Bahadur's troops fought with the courage of despair, but they were outnumbered and outmanoeuvered. After six hours of fierce fighting the Mughul force was annihilated, its commanders Girdhar and his cousin Daya Bahadur with a number of chiefs were slain; its colours and all camp equipage were captured by the Marathas. It was a complete victory for Chimnaji and congratulations were showered on him from all quarters. 54

Resting his troops for a couple of days Chimnaji pressed on towards the capital Ujjain. The brave defence put up by the Subahdar's son, Bhavani Ram, held up the Maratha advance for some time. But Chimnaji moved in the open country and made collection from Sarangpur, Rajgarh, Bhanpura, Rampura and Jawad, and then by way of Jhalod, retired to the Deccan.

There was utter confusion in the imperial ranks in Malwa. No money or reinforcements could be obtained from the emperor. The troops clamoured for their arrears. Sayyid Najmuddin 'Ali Khan who had been ordered to support Bhavani Ram, preferred to look on himself as the Subahdar and called on Bhavani Ram to account for the revenues of the province. The defeat of the Subahdar's troops and the subsequent squabbles of the generals encouraged the peasantry and local zamindars to withhold revenue. All the efforts of Bhavani Ram who succeeded his father in the governorship, failed to hold up the avalanche. The mountain passes into Malwa were lost to the Marathas; the flood-gates were thrown open and the tidal waters now rushed in, and within a decade Malwa passed into the hands of the Marathas.

About the end of 1729 Sawai Jay Singh was appointed governor of the province. His tenure witnessed the beginning of a new policy—the policy of appeasement—towards the Marathas. The growing power of the Marathas and the convulsions in Malwa made a deep impression on Jay Singh's mind. He perceived that the only

practicable policy that might succeed in the circumstances, was the policy of appeasement which was in consonance with his sympathies for Maratha aspirations. 55 The immunity of Malwa was to be secured by the grant of a jagir to Raja Shahu worth ten lakhs of rupees. It was expected that the grant of this jagir would induce the Raja to keep his generals in check and prevent their inroads in the province.

To this end a Maratha general was to serve under the imperial

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banner. 56 Written undertakings were exchanged with Dado Bhimsen, Shahu Raja's envoy, and Deep Singh, an eminent Rajput, was deputed (September, 1730) to the Maratha country to bring about a lasting settlement and an enduring peace. 57 The fort of Mandu captured by Holkar and Pawar was restored to the Subahdar in March, 1730 and Maratha chieftains in Malwa were asked to cease operations. 58

None of the parties were sincere in their professions of friendship and none believed that the arrangement would fulfil its purpose. Sawai Jay Singh wanted to seize the Subah of Malwa for himself and to set up practically as an independent ruler; for the Peshwa, Malwa was the sphere of his activities and he was not likely to abandon it lightly in lieu of a small jagir to his sovereign. The Mughul Darbar was suspicious of the activities of Sawai Jay Singh in Malwa, and when it found him negotiating a settlement with the Marathas, it replaced him by an anti-Maratha Subahdar , Muhammad Khan Bangash, in September, 1730. The Mughul policy was now to alternate between peace negotiations through Rajput and Hindustani chiefs at the Court and war and resistance as advocated by the Turani chiefs. The Marathas made their demands look tempting and acceptable by professing loyalty to the Mughul throne and offering their services to protect the imperial territory over which their claims were to be, recognized.

VI. Progress in Bundelkhand:

While Chimnaji was reducing Malwa, the Peshwa entered Bundelkhand at the head of another large army. His help was invoked by Raja Chhatrasal when he was hard-pressed by Muhammad Khan Bangash, governor of Allahabad. 59 The Bundela chief in great distress requested the Peshwa to come to his aid. He sent him a poetic letter of which the following lines are famous:

"I am in distress like the famous Gajendra Unless you rush to my aid, I am lost."

Muhammad Khan Bangash had been appointed to the Subah of

Allahabad in 1720. From 1727 he had opened the campaign against the rebellious Bundelas and captured their strongholds one by one. The last to surrender was Jaitpur which surrendered in December, 1728. Thus all Bundela forts had passed into Bangash's hands; their forces had been beaten in the field, and were scattered. Bangash sent back the major part of his army and lay encamped at Jaitpur with hardly 10,000, men. 60 He allowed the Bundela chiefs to remove to a distance on the pretext of celebrating the Holi. The Peshwd in the meanwhile had pushed on into Bundelkhand from Deogarh. Near Mahoba he was joined by the Bundela chiefs with their men. With his army, now swollen to near 70,000 men, the Peshxva invested the Subdhdar in his encampment. Reduced to great straits, Bangash invited reinforcements from Allahabad and from Delhi. His son Qaim Khan tried to send relief but was defeated. 61 The imperial Court, immersed in its rounds of pleasures, had no time and no inclination to attend to the demands of its Governors. Bangash retired from Bundelkhand leaving the Bundelas masters in their home. The grateful Chhatrasal came to look on the Peshwd as his son, and promised him a part of his kingdom. The actual grant of jagir was made after the old man's death by his sons Jagat Raj and Hirdesa, who gave the Peshwd districts worth two and a quarter lakhs of rupees and promised to assist him in all his enterprises in Hindustan. The grant was later on increased to rupees five lakhs. 62 The Marathas thus obtained another foothold from which to mount their offensive against the Mughul empire.

Raja Jay Singh of Amber (1729-30, 1732-37) and Muhammad Khan Bangash (1730-32) who held between them the governorship of Malwa from 1729 to 1737 tried, as indicated earlier, appeasement and war in turn, but neither policy proved successful. Bangash governed the province from September, 1730 to October, 1732, chasing the Marathas from place to place, but found his resources altogether inadequate to throw them out. Raja Jay Singh who succeeded Bangash in the governorship, was the ruler of the importtant principality of Jaipur, a friend of Khan-i-Dauran, Mir Bakhshi f and wielded considerable influence at the Mughul Court. Jay Singh was a man of culture and refinement; he advocated the policy of winning the Marathas over to the imperial cause by malting large concessions and satisfying their demands. Aware of the decay creeping over the Mughul empire, the Rajput prince entertained secret ambitions of enlarging his kingdom of Amber so as to include in it the rich province of Malwa. For this it was necessary to persuade the Rajput nobility to accept his leadership and conciliate the Marathas. 63 But diplomacy rarely succeeds unless backed by force and the Rajput was too sensual and pleasure-loving to exert himself in the field. The Rajput princes refused to unite under the Kachhwa banner and nothing short of the subahdari of Malwa would satisfy the Peshwa. Jay Singh purchased peace by sharing with the Marathas the large sums sent to him from Delhi for the defence of the province.

In October, 1730, Malhar Rao Holkar was granted the entire assignment on the province of Malwa. Next year in October, 1731, Ranoji Sindia was associated with him. The Pawars likewise were given a share in the collection the same time. From 1732 the collections made from Malwa came to be shared regularly among the Peshwa's chief Sardars, Holkar, Sindia and the Pawars. Udaji Pawar, who had taken a prominent part in leading Maratha armies in Malwa claimed half the share, was refused and joined the party of the disgruntled Senapati. This was the end of his career. His brother Anand Rao and his cousins TukojI and JivajI were favoured along with Holkar and Sindia. Holkar and Sindia made Indore and Ujjain their headquarters and the Pawars settled at Dhar and Dewas. The revenues were shared equally between the Sindia and Holkar and the Pawar brothers, 64 after the usual deduction of 45 per cent, as the dues of the Peshwa.

From 1732 the Maratha offensive took the form of a two-pronged drive. One army under Sindia and Holkar would pour into western Malwa by way of Gujarat while another taking a north-easterly route would enter Bundelkhand and with the aid of their Bundela allies, ravage the country as far north as Gwalior and Gohad. In February, 1733, Sawai Jay Singh was surrounded near Mandasor and extricated himself by paying six lakhs in cash in addition to the revenue of 28 pcurgands already collected. In April, 1734, Bundi was attacked and Jay Singh's nominee Dalel Singh was driven out; a force that advanced to Sironj under Muzaffar Khan was invested and escaped with difficulty.

Two large armies marched against the Marathas in the cold season of 1734-35. Vazir Qamar-ud-dln Khan came up against Pilaji Jadhav in February, 1735, near Narwar, but found himself in great distress by the constant attacks of the light Maratha horse. He sought refuge in the fort of Orchha and had to bribe the Marathas with five lakhs of rupees before they retired. Jadhav made collections in the pargands of Sivpuri, Kolaras, Pohari and Narwar before retiring to the Deccan. 65

The second army under Mir Bakhshi, Khan-i-Dauran, left the

capital in November. It was joined on the march by Sawai Jay Singh, Abhay Singh of Marwar and Durjan Sal of Kota till it swelled to near two lakhs. The imperial forces were unwieldy and difficult to manage. While encamped at Rampura, Sindia and Holkar surrounded them and cut off their supplies. Then abandoning the blockade they passed the* rear of the Mughul army, crossed the Mukundra pass and by way of Bundi, entered the territory of Sawai Jay Singh. On February 28, the rich city of Sambhar was plundered yielding a rich harvest. This sudden eruption of the enemy in their rear caiised dismay in Mughul ranks and the Rajput allies insisted on going back to save their homes. Khan-i-Dauran's army retired and while he was at Kota, a meeting was arranged with the Maratha chieftains on March 24, 1735, at which they agreed to accept twenty-two lakhs as chauth for Malwa. 66

“The Marathas”, says the author of Siyar-ul Mutakherin, “continued to extend their ravages and incursions to which they had been encouraged by receiving contributions in order to purchase their forbearance wherever they appeared. When they saw no measures were taken to oppose their movements, they recommenced their operations in the next year. At length they assumed absolute dominion of the districts which formerly only paid tribute. By these encroachments the frontier of the empire receded while that of the Marathas advanced. By the supineness of the emperor they now occupied territories as far as Gwalior and approached the vicinity of Akbarabad” (Agra). 67

The policy of appeasement pursued by Sawai Jay Singh had not been very successful. Fresh concessions had called forth fresh aggressions. Having succeeded in levying chauth and sardeshmukhi in Malwa, the Peshwd now applied through Jay Singh for the formal grant of Malwa and Gujarat in jdgir. The growing encroachments of the Marathas had given rise to serious misgivings at the Imperial Court. Was Raja Jay Singh, his enemies openly asked, in league with his co-religionists and encouraging their aggressions, or was he incompetent to deal with them? The Court blamed Jay Singh and Khan-i-Dauran for the continued aggression. Sa‘adat Khan told the Emperor: “Jay Singh has ruined the empire by his secret support to the Marathas. Give me only the Subahdari of Agra and Malwa. I dp not ask for treasure. I want to save the empire. Jay Singh and party ask for crores of rupees to meet the expenditure. The Nizam is my friend. We will hold up the Marathas south of the Narmada.” To this a reply was made by Khan-i-Dauran, “The Marathas cannot be effectively subdued by fighting. By friendly negotiations

I shall induce either the Peshwa or his brother to meet your Majesty. If his demands are accepted there will be no disturbances in the imperial domain in future. If, on the other .hand, Sa‘adat Khan and the Nizam combine, they would set up another emperor.” The Padshah felt that there was some truth in this. Khan-i-Dauran further submitted: “I only promised the Maratha generals that they would be given as jaglrs those parganas of Malwa which are in the hands of the refractory Rohillas and other brigands. Then they will not disturb any other district under the emperor’s rule. Baji Rao desires the emperor’s patronage and will serve him. He has brought his family from the Deccan on the plea of bathing in the Ganga." 68 However, Jay Singh felt that his position was seriously assailed and invited the Peshwa to a personal meeting at which he hoped to evolve a formula satisfactory to both parties and yet keep the subahdari of Malwa to himself.

There were reports also of the emperor having effected a reconciliation between the Vazlr Qamar-ud-dln and Abhay Singh of Marwar and of his having appointed the former to the charge of Agra, Malwa and Gujarat. If Jay Singh joined the Vazlr, his territory was not to be molested. Otherwise no consideration was to be shown to him. The emperor was dissatisfied with Jay Singh's handling of the Maratha problem and wanted to put it in abler hands. It was common talk that two armies would take the field against the Marathas— one led by Jay Singh and Khan-i-Dauran by way of Jaipur and the other by way of Gwalior under the command of Vazlr Qamar-ud-din Khan, Sa'adat Khan and Abhay Singh. 69

The Peshwa felt he could no longer remain away from the scene. He left Poona in October, 1735, at the head of a large force. His march to the north created quite a stir at the Courts of foreign rulers. There were wild rumours about his real intentions; and the Peshwa added not a little to the confusion by making an appeal to all Hindu rulers to gather under his banner. 70 About the beginning of February he arrived at Udaipur and met the Rana in a formal Darbar. On 4 February, 1736, he visited the Maharana's famous w r ater-palace known as Jal Mandir in the Pichola lake. 71 The Peshwa wanted the pargana of Banera to be conferred on him as jdglr. The Maharana politely declined to give away the pargana as jdglr, but agreed to allot its revenues to the Peshwa 72

Agents began to arrive from Sawai Jay Singh and from the Imperial Court carrying drafts of agreements which would prove acceptable. Jay Singh's proposal amounted to the grant of a subsidy of twenty lakhs of rupees, a jaglr of forty lakhs in Malwa and tan

khah on the territory of Dost Muhammad Rohilla. 73 The meeting with Sawai Jay Singh took place on March 4, at Bhambholao near Kishangarh.

The emperor was prepared to concede to the Peshwa chauth and sardeshmukhi of the subdh of Malwa, an assignment of thirteen lakhs of rupees on the revenues of districts south of the Chambal and authority to levy 'tribute from the Rajput States from Bund! in the west to Bhadawar to the east. 74 The concessions excited the Peshwa’s cupidity and called forth fresh demands; he went on raising his claims till at last he demanded:

(i) The subdh of Malwa inclusive of the tributary States to be granted in jdglr to the Peshwa ;

(ii) the Rohilla chiefs of Bhopal and Bhilsa to be ejected from the province and their jdglrs to be made over to the Peshwa ;

(iii) the forts of Mandu, Dhar and Raisin (commanding passes into Malwa from the south) to be ceded to the Peshwa;

'(iv) the territory up to the Chambal to be granted to the Peshwa in jdglr;

(v) an assignment of fifty lakhs of rupees or the revenue of Bengal to relieve the Peshwa’s debts;

(vi) the cession of the holy places of Allahabad, Banaras, Mathura and Gaya;

(vii) the cession of Sardeshpandeship of the Deccan, and lastly

(viii) demand for another jdglr of fifty lakhs of rupees in the subdh of the Deccan, while the subdh is held by a son of the emperor. 75

From the modest demands for cession of chauth and sardeshmukhi of Malwa and war indemnity to meet his debts, the Peshwa had gone on to ask for the virtual control of Malwa, Bundelkhand, Bengal and the six subahs of the Deccan. This was really staggering and the Mughul Court decided to fight. As long as the Peshwa remained in Malwa with his troops, it procrastinated merely to gain time.

The Peshwa went back to the Deccan leaving behind his generals, Sindia and Holkar, to press his demands. 76 All that Jay Singh could persuade the emperor to grant to the Peshwa was the deputy governorship of the province, which fell far short of the latter s expectations; and the renewal of hostilities was inevitable. 77 VII. Peshwd Marches to Delhi:

When the next campaigning season opened, the Peshwd marched into Hindustan at the head of an army, fifty thousand strong. Bhopal and Bhilsa, the only islands of opposition held by Rohilla chieftains, were reduced 78 and the Peshwd then struck in the north-eastern direction and attacked the Jat Raja of Bhadawar. The Raja made his submission agreeing to pay twenty lakhs of rupees in tribute and presented ten elephants. 79

The Peshwa’s arrival on the northern ^borders of Bundelkhand, hardly 70 miles distant from Agra, constituted a threat of the first magnitude to the empire and roused the Court to feverish activity. Large armies were equipped and put into the field under the command of Vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan and Mir Bakhshi Khan-i-Dauran. Royal letters were despatched to provincial governors, and Mughul and Rajput chiefs to rush to the defence of the capital. The movement of troops and their concentration in the Delhi-Agra area were reported from all sides. 80 It was necessary to counter this convergence of Mughul troops and create a diversion. A strong detachment under Malhar Rao Holkar therefore crossed the Yamuna and entered the Doab. Moving swiftly, Holkar plundered Itimadpur and Firozabad opposite Agra. At Jalesar, however, he was surprised by Sa‘adat Khan, Governor of Awadh, and repulsed with losses. 81 The Peshwd was foiled in one more attempt to dissolve the concentration of enemy forces and had to think of other plans. Retiring to a little distance from Agra he sent away his baggage and camp-followers under heavy escort of his Rundela allies. The temporary withdrawal of the Peshwa’s troops created the impression that the Marathas, unable to face the imperialists, were making for the South. Sa‘adat Khan wrote to the emperor glowing accounts of his victory, boasted of his soon being able to drive the Marathas beyond the Chambal and advised the emperor to break off negotiations with the PeshwdP

The Peshwd's Vakil, Dhondo Govind, who was in the camp of the Mir Bakhshi communicated Sa‘adat Khan’s accounts of his success and the violent reaction it had produced at the Court. The Peshwd was resolved to tell the emperor the truth, “to prove that he was still in Hindoostan, and to show him flames and Mahrattas at the gates of his capital.” 83 While the Mughul chiefs were celebrating Sa‘adat Khan’s recent victory, the Peshwd making a wide detour through the Jat and Mewat country on the west, passed the enemy’s

rear and arrived in the vicinity of the capital on 29 March, 1737. Leaving Barapula and the Kallka temple (near Okhla) to his right the Peshwa arrived in the plain near the capital. On reaching the walled city, the Peshwa changed his mind of sacking the city; he knew that the emperor and Khan-i-Dauran were inclined towards peace, but the Mughul party was opposed to such a move. In case of an attack on the capital, the Mughul Court would be driven to take extreme measures and negotiations would break down. Therefore, forbidding any destruction of the city, he sent friendly messages to the emperor inviting fresh proposals. As the presence of the army was likely to lead to disturbances, the Peshwa moved in the direction of the Jhil tank. As the Peshwd’s army was changing grounds the next day, the move was misunderstood as retreat and the defenders sallied out to attack the Peshwd’s troops. The Peshwa’s commander, Satvoji Jadhav, lured the Mughul force beyond the protection of its artillery and then enveloping it, completely routed it. On 31 March, learning of the approach of the enemy troops, the Peshwa disappeared as suddenly as he had appeared before the capital. He hoped to draw the Mughul armies in the arid hills of the Mewat country, but the enemy refused to take the bait. 84 Wearied by marching and counter-marching, the Mughul Vazir and Mir Bakhshi retired to their mansions. The emperor felt nothing but disgust and contempt for Sa‘adat Khan for making wild claims and refused to grant him an interview or appoint him to the Subahdari of Malwa and Gujarat. 85 By his clever strategy the Peshwa outmanoeuvred his opponents and completely immobilised them. The Turani party which opposed Maratha ambitions was discredited in the councils of the empire and the influence of the Hindustani leaders, Jay Singh and Khan-i-Dauran, once more became supreme.

The Peshwa retired through Jaipur territory to Bundelkhand and picked up his baggage. The Marathas were lightly armed, and the privations they had suffered during the last fifteen days had rendered them unfit to face the respectable force of Jay Singh. But so great was the awe inspired by the Peshwd’s army that Jay Singh begged of him to spare his country. 86

VIII. Battle of Bhopal:

Now a new combination of forces threatened the realization of the Peshwd's schemes and challenged his supremacy in the imperial council. Nizam-ul-Mulk, though he had agreed in 1732 to give the Peshwa a free hand in Hindustan, watched his extraordinary progress beyond the Narmada with the greatest anxiety. He thought

that the Peshwd's new entanglements would reduce the latter s resources and allow himself greater freedom in the south. Events, however, belied the Nizam's expectations. The weakness of the empire revealed itself more and more glaringly as the Maratha-Mughul struggle developed and Mughul armies suffered reverses after reverses. Instead of being checked and driven back, the Peshwd reached the very gates of Delhi and threatened to subvert the empire itself. The Nizam could no longer remain an idle spectator while the bulwarks of the empire were crumbling round him. The news of the Peshwd trying to obtain greater control over his subah of the Deccan and rivet further chains on his authority was most disquieting. The Nizam decided to make common cause with the imperial government to save it and save himself thereby. 87

So deeply upset was the Nizam over the Peshwd's negotiations with the Mughul Court that he could not wait till the latter's return to the south. He left Deccan and on his march to the capital encountered the Peshwd's army near Sironj, met the Peshwd's deputy PilajI Jadhav, made friendly professions to the Peshwd and slipped away to the north. 88

The Mughul Court having realized its weakness in opposing Maratha encroachments invited Nizam-ul-Mulk to its aid and suspended peace talks. On his arrival in Delhi in June old jealousies and suspicions were set aside. Muhammad Shah showered favours on the Nizam, gave him the best residence in the capital, and restored to him the government of Malwa and Agra on condition that he would drive the Marathas beyond the Narmada. 89 At the head of an army of thirty-five thousand men and a fine park of artillery the Nizam left the capital to seek and, if possible, destroy the enemy. He marched southward through Bundelkhand where he was joined by Sa'adat Khan's troops and also those of the Rajput and Bundela chiefs, till his force increased into a vast army of nearly seventy thousand. About the middle of December he arrived at Bhopal. His strategy was to catch the Maratha army between two pincers—to crush it between the imperial army under his personal command and another force striking from the south under his son, Nasir Jang. 90

But before the Maratha outposts on the Narmada could be seized and their garrisons thrown out, the Peshwd invaded lyialwa at the head of eighty thousand troops and came up with the Nizam at Bhopal. 91 He posted a strong detachment under his brother on the Tapi to prevent relief going to the Nizam from the Deccan. Raghuji Bhosle at the same time defeated Shuja‘at Khan in Khandesh; and

no troops could march to Bhopal to succour the Nizam from the Deccan. The Mughul Court had given him sixty lakhs of rupees to equip his army, while the chief nobles at the Court and Rajput princes had been asked to join him. Delhi was in no position to send further ^reinforcements. The Nizam thus found himself completely isolated and invested in the town of Bhopal. The grain supply in his camp soon ceased and men and animals famished for want of food. Two detachments that tried to carry relief to the beleaguered army—one from Shahjahanpur and the other from Burhanpur—were cut off. The Nizam’s attempt to break through the enemy’s cordon and escape to Delhi under cover of his artillery was foiled by the Maratha horse hovering round and galling the Mughul army with showers of rockets and matchlock fire. Unable to hold out any longer the Nizam begged for terms on 7 January, 1738, at Duraha Sarai, 92 and signed a convention 93 promising the Peshwd :

(i) the subdhdari of the province of Malwa;

(ii) levy of tributes from the Rajas in the region between the Narmada and the Chambal,

(iii) imperial grants confirming the same, and

(iv) promise of 50 lakhs of rupees to meet his war expenses. 94

The victory of Bhopal marks the zenith of the Peshwa’s triumphant career. Nizam-ul-Mulk who was opposing the grant of chauth and sardeshmukhi of

Malwa had been forced to concede the entire province in jagtr and recognize the Peshwd's claims up to the Chambal. The Peshwd accomplished the conquests he had set before himself since he came to the Peshwaship. Creating powerful armies out of divergent elements of Maratha Shiledars, he invaded Hindustan, brought to grief one imperial army after another sent against him, and acquired immense territory till the Maratha outposts reached the southern banks of the Chambal and the Yamuna. The disaster of Amjhera (1728) first opened the eyes of the imperial government to this menace from the south. But the measures it adopted to fight it were feeble and half-hearted, and lacked in consistency. The friendship of Raja Jay Singh enabled the Marathas to plant their power firmly in Malwa. The later attempts of the Mughul government to oust the Marathas failed on account of the pusillanimity of its leaders and want of energy in its administration. The defeat of the confederate armies at Bhopal by the Peshwd established the supremacy of Maratha arms in Hindustan and announced the birth of a new power.

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The Nizam failed to keep his promise of getting the convention ratified within his lifetime. Serious doubts assailed the mind about effectiveness of the Peshwa's military strategy which allowed the Nizam to escape unscathed at Palkhed in 1728 and again at Bhopal in 1738. Unless the enemy's military strength is destroyed and he makes suitable amends, his acknowledgement of defeat is meaningless. In the first World War "over the whole period of the Allied offensive campaign from July 18th to November 11th, 1918, the captures were about four hundred thousand men and 5,618 guns." The German military machine was crippled, the generals had to resign and the Kaiser had to flee the country. 95 As against this the Peshwa informed his brother how difficult it was to close with the Nizam's army bristling with artillery and why he readily accepted peace terms. 96

No new Subahdar however was sent from Delhi and the province remained in Maratha hands. Sindia and Holkar who had already set up their headquarters at Ujjain and Indore, shared the revenues with the Peshwa.

IX. Nadir Shah's Invasion:

The invasion of Nadir Shah next year convulsed the Mughul empire and hastened its decay. The emperor became a shadow figure exercising little direct authority beyond the provinces of Agra and Delhi. The Irani's irruption however seriously challenged Maratha scheme of expansion in Hindustan and of controlling the Mughul empire.

Nadir Shah had liberated his country of Iran from Afghan domination and had followed his Afghan enemies to their stronghold of Qandahar. When the Afghans escaped towards Kabul, Nadir Shah sent a strong protest to Delhi and asked the Delhi Court not to harbour his enemies. But the Mughul Court disregarded his protests, kept his envoys waiting and murdered a courier carrying a message from the Shah. Enraged at this treacherous conduct, but tempted more by the defenceless condition of the empire, Nadir Shah at the end of 1738 invaded India. On 26 November the Khyber pass was occupied and Nadir Shah was in Peshawar on 29th. After a feeble resistance Lahore surrendered on 25 January, 1739. Laying waste the surrounding country he advanced to Karnal', defeated the imperial army with great slaughter on 13 February, and demanded a huge indemnity. The sum of rupees fifty lakhs was first suggested by the Nizam which Sa‘adat Khan raised to twenty crores. When Muhammad Shah went to the Persian camp to plead with the conqueror, he was made a captive (24 February). The Maratha envoy

in the imperial camp who slipped away on 25 February, wrote on reaching Jaipur (6 March); “The Chaghtai empire is gone. The Irani rule has commenced.” 97

The day after he had seized the Mughul emperor, Nadir Shah despatched to Delhi Sa‘adat Khan as the emperor's representative and Tahmasp Khan Jalair as his own plenipotentiary to take possession of the city and palaces therein. On 20 March, 1739 Nadir Shah entered the city with his army and on the next day was proclaimed sovereign from the pulpits of Jama Masj id and other places of prayers. The same afternoon he made the Mughul emperor disgorge all the accumulated wealth of the empire. Then arose a great tumult in the capital; there were wild rumours of the death of Nadir Shah, and the harassed citizens of Delhi started attacking the Persian soldiers wherever they found them.

Nadir Shah’s anger knew no bounds. From the Golden Mosque in Chandni Chowk he ordered, without regard to sex or creed, a general massacre of the populace; and for six hours from nine in the morning till three in the afternoon the luckless citizens of the capital suffered unimaginable horrors. Their property was looted, their houses burnt and levelled, their womenfolk dragged and dishonoured and the men put to the sword. How many perished that day and subsequently, nobody could say with certainty. If the reports in Marathi letters are to be believed, three to four lakhs of the populace were killed, thousands of women were carried away in captivity and treasure and jewellery worth fifty crores of rupees seized. 98

The upheaval at Delhi bewildered the Peshwd. Nadir Shah was giving out that Maratha aggression was the main cause of his coming to India and that he would save the Mughul empire from their encroachments. The Peshwd was convinced that the days of the Chaghtai empire were numbered and a great calamity had arisen for the Hindus."

The Peshwd had been informed that the Nizam had behaved in an atrocious manner in the whole affair and had suggested the seizure of the emperor to the Persian adventurer. 100 This infamous act, the Peshwd thought, had completely discredited the Nizam in public estimation and disqualified him to rule over the Deccan. The Peshwd would put an end to the Nizam’s rule and occupy the Deccan provinces. Earlier reports that the Persians intended to punish the Maratha aggressors had already reached the Peshwd. The Peshwd wrote from Khandesh to his brother to finish the Bassefn siege and join him to hold the enemy beyond the Chambal. If the Chaghtai

rule had ended, he felt it was good opportunity to establish Hindu sovereignty. 101 But this confrontation with the Persian adventurer never came. Nadir Shah left Delhi on May 16, enjoining on the princes of India to obey and please the emperor. The wealth accumulated during two centuries of Mughul rule, amounting to nearly one hundred crores in coins and jewels, disappeared in less than a months’ time. India’s north-western gates had been thrown open and the situation offered a serious challenge to Maratha designs of controlling the empire.

X. Bassein Campaign:

While the Peshwa was overrunning Hindustan, another Maratha army under the command of his brother Chimnaji Appa succeeded in wresting Salsette-Bassein tract from the grip of the Portuguese and thus liberating a part of the Maratha homeland. The Portuguese had seized these districts of the Maratha country two hundred years ago and made Bassein the capital of their Province of the North and raised mighty fortifications round it. Bassein lay within a fertile tract; its equable climate, administrative importance and commercial prosperity drew to it many rich Portuguese families from Goa and the entire territory came to be looked on as a valued possession of the Portuguese empire in the east.

In the 18th century, however, the Portuguese power was on the decline. The command of the sea had passed to the Dutch and the English, and the Portuguese clung to their outposts with difficulty. But they had not the wisdom to understand their unstable position; they had few friends among country powers and they made their subject people their worst enemies by their harsh and intolerant treatment. The inquisition was active in Goa and Bassein from 1550 persecuting all those who did not conform to the Christian doctrine. 102 As soon as Maratha rule was established in the neighbouring Kalyan district (1719), the popular discontent found expression. The Hindu leaders of Bassein secretly invited the Peshwa to deliver them from foreign yoke and restore their religious liberties. The Portuguese, aroused by the danger threatening them, began to put Salsette and Bassein in a proper state of defence and ordered the local population to contribute money and labour. A cry went up among the local people and in desperation they invoked the Peshwa to take possession of the country, offering him their whole-hearted co-operation in the enterprise.

Portuguese activities in Konkan were also running counter to the interests of the Peshwa .. In the domestic dispute of the Angria

family, the Portuguese supported Sambhaji Angria who was flouting the Peshivd and became particularly obnoxious to him. Probing attacks on Portuguese territory had started since 1723. Their safety against these and the intrigues of the Hindu subjects lay in the new fortifications that were being built and these the Portuguese pressed on with vigour. The attack on the Portuguese territory could no longer be delayed, and, in March, 1737, a strong force under the Peshwa's brother, Chimnaji Appa, prepared to strike at the Portuguese possessions and gathered in secrecy at Kalyan.

The terrain of Salsette and Bassein is peculiar; the narrow coastal strip is cut up in many places by inland channels made by the sea and the rivers flowing into it. This is not a country for large-scale movements of cavalry. Knowledge of fords and their control, therefore becomes an important factor of military strategy in this area. The Peshwa's contacts with the leaders of the local population—the Anjurkars and the Kavles 03 and others—and secret information obtained from them of the geography of the country and the strength of the defence works proved very useful in this respect. On the night of 26 March, at low tide, an advance detachment of Maratha horse surprised the patrol at Thana ford, attacked the St. Jeronimo tower and secured the passage into the island of Salsette. The next day the entire force poured in with its equipment and stores. The surprise was complete. The commanding officer made no effort to give battle, and left the island on 27 March; and the main fort of Thana surrendered without much fighting. Detachments were immediately sent out to reduce the remaining fortified places within the island and to dislodge the enemy from the ports of Bandra and Verso va. 104

While the main army under the command of Chimnaji Appa was operating against Salsette and had forced its way into the island, another force, 2,200 strong, moved against Bassein and attempted to gain admittance inside the walls by the same stratagem. But the plan miscarried; the Portuguese commander of Bassein had been warned of enemy movements and had, in consequence, posted strong patrols at all fords and outposts, and had taken every precaution against surprise. The Maratha force negotiated numerous river channels and arrived within the enemy country but was stopped at the wall. 105 Means had to be devised to besiege and assault the formidable fortress of Bassein. Outlying posts like Jivdhan, Takmak, Kamandurg, Tandulwadi, Mandvi, Manori were seized, but the embattled walls of the fortress guarded by the sea on three sides and open only on the north stood frowning on the besiegers. 106 The

Maratha commander, Shankaraji Phadke, called for reinforcements, suggested blockade of the fortress and made three vain attempts to carry the place by escalade. 07 As the fair season opened, the Portu* guese received reinforcements and issuing from the walls of theii fortifications, they counterattacked Maratha forces in the open country, cutting up their detachments at Mahlm, and Dharavi. In November, 1738 they even tried to recover Thana and sent a large expedition up the creek. The attempt, however, failed miserably, the Portuguese commander Pedro De Mello was killed by a cannon shot and his ships sailed away. 108

The Marathas now took the offensive and collected a formidable force for the final assault. Another force under Vyankat Rao Ghorpade invaded Goa and cut off supplies going to Bassein. 109 The defenders of Bassein were reduced to great straits; they even melted the Church plate to purchase ammunition from the English at Bombay, but would not talk of surrender. Maratha artillery roared day and night pounding the walls and leaving the enemy no time to recover his breath. Both Xavier Pinto, commandant of the fort and Martinho De Sylveira, General Commanding, were hit by Maratha fire and killed. Mines under protection of raised platforms, were run to the walls and exploded on 2 May. A general assault followed and, after two days of heavy fighting, Bassein capitulated on 5 May, 1739; the garrison marched out a week later. The Marathas suffered over five thousand casualties in dead and wounded, while on the other side the losses were equally heavy. 110

The fall of Bassein marked the end of Portuguese rule in north Konkan. The treaty of September, 1740, set the seal on the end, the Portuguese ceding their entire province of the North with the exception of the port of Daman and a few villages surrounding it. The Marathas acquired besides Bassein, eight cities, twenty fortresses and the island of Salsette. The conquest of Bassein was long cherished by the Marathas as a matter of national pride and glory.

XI. Enduring Achievements:

The last few years of the Peshwas life were clouded by domestic discord. His fondness for his mistress MastanI exceeded all bounds. In her company the Peshwd indulged in drinking and eating meat. This transgression roused the ire of the family and the orthodox society of the day. It was not unusual in those days to keep mistresses; that was permissible. But that the Peshwd should drink and eat prohibited food in the company of his favourite Kanchani (dancing girl) was anathema. The Raja was asked to interfere in the

affair, and offered sage advice; vows were exchanged on the holy Canga waters and for some time MastanI was kept confined in the Shaniwar Wada out of sight of the Peshwa . m

From these distractions the Peshwa sought escape in the field. Nizam-ul-Mulk had not fulfilled the conditions of the convention of Duraha Sarai (1738). No new Sanad had come from Delhi appointing the Peshwa as Subahdar of Malwa; and the Nizam had been detained in Hindustan by the violent events in the capital. The Peshwa now demanded from the Nizam's deputy, jagir of the districts through which lay his route to Hindustan. When this was turned down, hostilities were renewed. Nasir Jang, the Nizam's deputy, could not succeed where the experienced old man had failed. On account of scarcity of foodgrains in the city of Aurangabad he was forced to leave the protection of the walls and move out in the open. Here he was surrounded by Maratha horse and harassed day and night. After two months of fighting Nasir Jang agreed to surrender the districts of Handia and Khargon, and peace was restored. After fraternization the Peshwa marched in the direction of Hindustan. 112

While encamped at Raverkhedi 36 miles from Khargon he contracted fever on 23 April; after a short illness he passed away on Monday, 28 April, 1740, lamented by his family, by his King and by his people. "He died as he had lived," says Sir Richard Temple, "in camp under canvas among his men and he is remembered to this day among the Marathas as the fighting Peshwa and the incarnation of Hindu energy." 113

Peshwa Baji Rao was incessantly fighting from the time of his assumption of the Peshwdship in 1720 right up to the moment of his death in 1740. At the time of his appointment, Shahu's place as Chhatrapati of the Maratha State was in jeopardy; it was being challenged by his cousin ShambhujI, who was being abetted by the Subahdar of the Deccan. The Raja's chiefs like Sendpati Dabhade, Angria, Bande, Gaikwar, Pawar, Bhosle were in a refractory mood. The Peshwd won his first big success at Palkhed over the Nizam (1728). By his swift movements he brought the Nizam to bay, made him agree to uphold the grants of Swaraj, chauth and sardeshmukhi of the six subahs of the Deccan in Raja Shahu’s name and not to harbour the Raja’s rival. By defeating Sendpati Dabhade in a decisive manner he put an end to the rebellious activities of the feudatory chiefs and within a few years came to overshadow the monarch himself.

After thus securing the Deccan parts of the Maratha State, he turned his attention to expansion in Hindustan. He perceived, as few of his contemporaries did, that the far-flung empire of the Mughul had lost its vitality and was tottering to its fall, and he hastened to take the controlling hand in its administration. For this purpose he cleverly utilised the mutual jealousies and hatreds prevailing among the court factions at Delhi. Leading his armies beyond the Narmada he overran the Mughul provinces of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, and to make an impression of his might on the emperor, made a dash to the imperial capital in the face of two hostile armies (1737). At Bhopal (1738) he again frustrated the enemy’s designs and established Maratha superiority at the Mughul Court. It was his policy of northward drive that brought the provinces from Punjab to Bengal under Maratha influence by 1760, and gave the Marathas an eminent position at the Mughul Court. If his successors had understood his policies well and carried them out fruitfully, the Marathas might have succeeded the Mughuls in the overlordship of the Indian continent. Peshw\a BajI Rao made a beginning and planted Maratha power in Malwa and Bundelkhand.

Some historians are critical about the Peshwa’s policy of northward expansion before the Nizam’s rule was crushed in the Deccan. The Peshwd had forced the Nizam to recognize Maratha claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi over his domains by the treaty of MungiPaithan (1728). He could not go beyond this. The Nizam’s territory of Neerthadi, Gangathadi and Karnatak had been assigned by the Raja as spheres of their activity to the Pratinidhi f the Sarlash kar and Fatesingh Bhosle. These three chiefs talked of raising forces and invading the Nizam’s territory. But their intentions remained on paper; they never ventured out on their own and challenged the Nizam’s authority in their spheres. 114 It was only after Shahu’s death that the Peshwd, setting aside these carpet knights, could turn his attention to the Nizam’s provinces in the east and to Karnatak. But by that time the situation had become complicated by the advent of the French and the English in Indian politics.

If the security of the homeland was his objective in all the Peshwd’s Deccan campaigns, what made him go over to the offensive in Hindustan? Raj wade, Savarkar and other writers credit him with founding a Hindu empire supplanting the empire of the Chaghtai. This facile explanation is accepted by recent writers. For example, Panikkar, the scholar-diplomat, remarks, “if Shivaji was the founder of the Maratha state, BajI Rao could claim that he transformed what was a national state into an empire. He was the first man to see the possibilities of succeeding to the Grand Mughul’s estate

and building up a Maratha empire.” 115 After 1728 the Peshwa, no doubt, led his armies into Hindustan, occupied Malwa, exacted tribute from Rajput and Bundela chiefs and rode up to Delhi. With his success his demands went on rising. But contemporary evidence does not warrant the conclusion that the Peshwa aimed at supplanting Mughul rule. “The Raja,” wrote the Peshwa to his brother in May, 1739, “has no desire to become the emperor. He only wants to see that the Mughul empire is well administered. It is better far to renovate an old temple than to raise a new one.” 116 If the master (Chhatrapati) did not entertain imperial designs, how can we expect them in his servant?

In a letter written to Sawai Jay Singh after the Peshwa’s demise, his brother Chimnaji explains the Peshwa’s objectives as under: “The Peshwa wished nothing more than to administer well the imperial government, earn the goodwill of the subject people, bring prosperity to the land, fill up the imperial treasury and earning renown by good administration of the empire, win favour of the emperor. With this intent the Peshwa had established contacts with Khan Dauran through Sawai Jay Singh.” 117 Just as Clive laid the foundations of the British empire in India, the Peshwa may be regarded as having made possible the raising of such a superstructure by his successors. But unlike Clive, there were no Hastings and Wellesleys among the Peshwa s successors; they lacked his vision and his military talents, and organizing capacity, and the Peshwa's dream of a Hindu sovereignty, if there was any, remained unfulfilled.

Peshwa BajI Rao had established very cordial relations with Sawai Jay Singh and the Bundela chiefs. But contemporary records offer little evidence of a grand design of establishing Hindu-padpddshdhi or Hindu sovereignty. Powerful chiefs seizing provinces of the empire began to administer them independently while making profuse professions of loyalty to the throne. Such of them as were more ambitious also took part in the rivalry for leadership at the Court between the Turani and Hindustani factions. The Peshwa followed the example of these chiefs and managed to build up Maratha influence at the Mughul Court. In doing this he succeeded in fulfilling his master's promise—that he would rush to the rescue of the empire when in danger, and achieving his own design of getting control over the outlying provinces. Large Maratha armies roamed over the provinces of the empire and exacted tribute, but no thought appears to have been given to problems of their good government and prosperity. There were possibilities of restoring Hindu sovereignty in India, but that probably formed no part of the policy of the

Maratha successors of ShivajI and certainly did not materialize.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar attempts to give an explanation of the failure. "The Peshwa's work," according to him "was that of a conqueror, not that of a consolidator. He was a matchless cavalry leader but no statesman, no far-sighted reformer. The very idea of remodelling the political institutions of the Marathas and setting up of schools for training the new type of captains and civil servants required by the altered conditions of the Maratha State, and the sudden impact of European arts and arms upon the old Indian world, never entered BajI Rao's head, nor into that of his more happily situated son and successor. 1 ' 18

How ill-managed were the state-finances of the Peshwd is writ large over his entire correspondence. The one topic of discussion that runs through all these papers is raising of money to meet the expenditure of the army and of the Raja's court and household. It would appear that the Peshwd was unable to meet the expenditure of his large armies from the income of his jdgirs and the tribute he exacted. By 1736 the debts were mounting to twenty lakhs of rupees. In one of his letters he expresses his desperation to his Guru: “Tied an expedition to Hindustan (1736); the expedition was successful, but brought in little gain. The army suffered great hardships. I have fallen into that hell of being beset by the creditors. To pacify the Sahukars and Shileddrs I am falling at their feet till I have rubbed off the skin of my forehead. The other chiefs like Dabhade, Gaikwar and Bande have managed to get hold of treasures worth crores, while I, your devotee, am in straitened circumstances, even for my daily needs.” 119

But it would be unjust to hold Peshwd BajI Rao responsible for all the lapses and failures of the Maratha State in the 18th century. A great man like ShivajI with a prophetic vision who moulds society to his heart’s desire and raises its intellectual and moral standards, is a rare phenomenon. Most of the great men are representative of their times and reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people among whom they move. A few of them succeed in realizing and giving shape to these aspirations. In this sense Jadunath Sarkar calls BajI Rao a Carlylean hero as a man of action.” He gave the young Maratha State stability and secured its freedom and opened before it a wide prospect of expansion.

NOTES

1 Sardesai, Kulkarni and Vakaskar, Kavyetihas Sangraha Patre Yadi Vagaire (2nd Ed. 1930), No. 496, p. 495.

2 Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Mahdraj Charitra (1924), p. 47; Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, (1921), Vol. I, p. 432; SPD, XIV, No. 32, XVII, Nos. 46, 47; SPD, XXX, 171.

3. Yusuf Husain, The First Nizam (1963), pp. 34-53.

4 Pawar, A. G., Tdrdbai Papers (Persian), 8, 12, 13; Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 58-60.

5. Pawar, A. G., Indian Historical Records Commission, Report, XVII (1940), Some Documents bearing on Mughal Grants to Raja Shahu, p. 204; Grant Duff, op. cit., 337-38; Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. I, pp. 382-84, 406-07.

Mawji and Parasnis, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, pp. 1-10.

6- Irvine, William, Later Mughals, Vol. II, p. 137.

7 SPD, XXX, pp. 267-71; Peshwd Rozkird, 1724 (MS.).

8. Yusuf Husain, op. cit., p. 136.

9 Purandare, K. V., Purandare Daftar, I, 77.

10 Khare, G. H., Nivadak Lekha, (1972), pp. 127-32.

10a. Jadhav Ghardnyachi Kaifiyat, p. 81.

11 . Hadiqat-ul-Alam, p. 138.

12. MS (Sir Jadunath Sarkar Collection).

13 Vad, G. C., Bala ji Bajirao, Peshwd Dianes, pp. 228-29.

14 SPD, X, 50.

15 Shahu Charitra, (1924), pp. 77-78.

16. SPD, XXX, pp. 282-83.

16a. SPD, XV, pp. 83-84.

17 Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein, A History of Warfare, (1968), p. 406.

18 Kavyetihas Sangraha Patre Yadi Vagaire, (1930), p. 43.

19 Elphinstone, History of India, p. 689; Mardtha History Seminar, (Kolhapur, 1971), p. 157.

20 Grant Duff, op. cit., (1921), Vol. I, p. 342.

21. SPD, XXX, Nos. 349, 354; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol.. I, Pt. I, pp. 303-04.

22 SPD, XXX, 312; Commissariat, A History of Gujarat (1957), Vol. II, pp. 410-15; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II. pp. 170-71.

23 Shahu Chhatrapati Diaries, 105; Itihas Samgraha, p. 11; Lele, Dhdr Samsthdncha Itihas, pp. 16-30; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 307.

24 Shahu Diaries, 105.

25. SPD, XV, pp. 84-85.

26 Shahu Diaries, 159.

27 SPD, XXX. pp. 296-97: Gense & Banaji, Gaikwads of Baroda, Vol. I, p. 10; SPD, XII. Nos. 27, 32.

27a. SPD, XV, p. 82.

28. SPD, X, No. 72.

29 SPD, XII, 42-6: Dabhade Ballad in BISM Quarterly, Vol. XIII, (1933), and Surat Factory Records, p. 614, Daniel Innes to Henry Lowther, 7 April 1731.

30 Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 377.

31 Siyar-ul-Mutakherin (Paniiii Ed.), p. 235: Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 687 and BISMQ, (1940), pp. 11-12.

32 Shahu Charitra (1924), pp. 88.

33. Parasnis, D. B.. Brahmendra Swamiche Charitra, p. 23.

34 Bombay Council to Directors. 14 April. 1733; Shahu Charitra, pp. 88-89.

35 Baji Rao Ballal. Roznishi (MS).

36 SPD., Ill, 2.

37 SPD, XXXIII. 10, 40: Purandare Daftar, 102-06.

38 Kavyetihas Sangraha Patre Yadi Vagaire (1930). 22.

39 SPD, III. 64-65, 69: Forrest. G. W.. Home Series, II. p. 51.

40 Ibid.

41 SPD , III, 7: Raj wade. MIS.. VI, 86; Purandare Daftar, I. 105.

42 SPD, XXX. 95, XXXIII. 66: Rajwade. op. cit.. HI. 305.

43 SPD. Ill, 78-80. 1

44 SPD. XXXIII. 131.

45 SPD. III. 179. 192.

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46. Ibid.

47. Mawji and Parasnis, Treaties, Engagements & Sanads, pp. 107-113.

48- Khafi Khan's Muhtakhab-ul-lubab in Elliot and Dowson's The History of India, Vol. VTi, p. 395. Hereafter referred to as Khafi Khan.

49. Irvine, W., op. cit ., II, p. 163.

50. Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, Aurangzib, V, p. 382.

51- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, op. cit., p. 385; Shiva Charitra Pradeep, Gadadhar Pralhad Shakavali, pp. 67-68.

52. The claim made by Maratha writers like Sardesai, Raj wade and others that the Peshwd aimed at establishing Hindupadpddshahi or Hindu empire, appears chauvinistic and seems to be going against facts. Shahu concluded treaties as a vassal of the empire and like other powerful vassals, attempted to influence Mughul politics. The Peshwds continued the policy and always spoke of defending, not replacing, the Mughul power.

53-. Malcolm, Sir John, A Memoir of Central India, (1880 Ed.), Vol. I, pp. 44-46, 50-51, 59. John Malcolm, who wrote his Memoir during the regime of Lord Hastings (1814-23) is a much more reliable guide to understand the sentiments of the local people of Malwa than writers of modern times; Also See Holkar Kaifiyat, pp. 8-9. The Kaifiyat bears out what Malcolm says.

54. SPD, XIII, 15-17, 23-28, 31-35 and Jaipur Akhbars.

55. Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, History of Jaipur, (MS.).

56. Ibid.

57. SPD, X, 66.

58- Shahu Roznishi, 198.

59- SPD, XIII, 10, 22, 23, 30, 33, 45; Parasnis, D. B., Brahmendra Charitra,

60. JASB,' 1878 (IV) pp. 297-98.

61. SPD, XIII, 45, Rajwade MIS, in, 14; SPD, XXX, p. 291.

62. SPD, XIV, 9; Mawji and Parasnis, Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, p. 32; B. D. Gupta, Maratha Bundela Relations. Maratha History Seminar, (Kolha

. pur), 1971, pp. 127-38.

63. Raghubir Singh, Malwa in Transition, p. 194, 222; Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II.

64. SPD, XIII, 54-56; SPD, XXX, pp. 301-07; KSPY (1930 ed.), 496; Itihds Samgraha, Peshwd Daftar, p. 127, 203, 208.

65. SPD, XIV, 65, SPD, XIV, 1, 2, 21-23, SPD, XV, 6.

66. SPD, XIV, 24-27, XXII, 285; Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, p. 244 and Rustam Ali in Elliot & Dowson, History, Vol. VIII, pp. 50-51.

67. Siyar-ul-Mutakherin (Panini Ed.), p. 242.

68. SPD, XIV, 47.

69. SPD, XIV, 39.

70. SPD, (New Series), I, 27.

71. SPD, XXX, 142-43.

72. SPD, XIV, 50.

73: SPD, XV, pp. 93-94 and Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. I (1921 ed.), pp. 390-91

74. SPD, XV, pp. 95-96. P

75. Ibid, should be dated 29 Sept. 1736.

76. Rajwade, MIS, VI, 95-97.

77. SPD, XV, pp. 95-96.

78 . SPD, X. 27; XXII, 339, 341.

79. SPD, XV, 18, 47.

80 Peshwd Rozkird and Elliot and DowSon, History, Vol. VTII, p 53- SPD XV 89

81. SPD, XV, 17, 22, 27-28, 47; SPD, XXX, 198, 365-66. ’ ' '

82. Brahmendra Charitra, Correspondence, pp. 21-30.

83- Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 393; Br. Charitra, Corresp., No. 27, p. 24.

84, Br: Charitra, Corresp ., pp. 24-30; Siyar-ul-Mutakherin (Panini Ed) pn 396-97SPD, XV, 37, 47. pp. o»oy/,

85- SPD, XV, 29, 47; Elliot and Dowson, op., cit., Vol. VIII p 55 86. SPD, XV, 23, 79.

87. SPD, XV, 29, 33; also Setu Madhav Rao Pagdi’s article in Nav Bharat Julv 1966

88. SPD, XV, 44, 45, 48, 49.

89. SPD, XV, 53; Irvine W., Later Mughals, Vol. II, p. 301.

90. SPD, XV, 56, 58; Br.' Charitra, No. 134.

91. Ibid.

92. Duraha Sarai is about 20 miles s w. of Bhopal.

PESHWA BAJI RAO I

93 The best authority for the campaign is Peshwa's letter printed in Brahmendra Swamiche Charitra, Corresp., Nos. 33-36; also SPD, XV, 56, 59-60, 66.

94. Brahmendra Charitra, Corresp., No. 35.

95. Hart, Liddell, The War in Outline, p. 251.

96. Br. Charitra, Corresp., No. 35, pp. 52-53.

97. Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 330-50; Br. Charitra, pp. 117-18. Lockhart, Nadir Shah, pp. 121-154.

98 Rajwade, MIS, VI, 131; also Anand Ram Mukhlis, Tazkira, pp. 81-90.

99. Irvine, W., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 364-71; SPD, XXII, p. 193; also SPD, XV, pp. 71-6, 80; SPD, XXX, pp. 225-226, 229; Rajwade, MIS, VI, pp. 131, 133-34; Brahmendra Charitra, Corresp., Appendix 41-42.

100 SPD, XXX, 226; Hanway, Travels in Persia, Vol. IV, p. 142; Lockhart, Nadir Shah, p. 139.

101. Br. Charitra, Corresp., No. 41.

102. Salsette Chronicle, pp. 2-4; Grose, A Voyage to the Indies , p. 69; English Factories in India, Vol. XI, p. 144; SPD, XVI, 11, 16, etc.

103. SPD, XVI, 4, 5, 8 and Salsette Chronicle pp. 10-12, 24. Br. Charitra, Corresp., 47.

104. SPD, XXII, 348-50; Public Deptt. Diary, X, pp. 71-73; SPD, XXXIV, 23, 24; Salsette Chronicle, p. 37.

105. SPD, XVI, 42; SPD, XXXIV, 20, 21, 25.

106- For description of Bassein fort, see Thana Gazetteer (Old Ed.), Vol. XIV, pp. 28-34; SPD, XVI, 42, 44-45; SPD, XXXIV, 25; also Br. Charitra Corresp ., No. 52.

'*'107. SPD, xxn, 359; Rajwade, MIS, VI, 114-15. Pissurlencar, Como Se perdue Bacaim.

108 Pissurlencar, op. cit., p. 58; Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India.

109. SPD, XVI, 147, 150.

110. For an account of the final assault, see SPD, XVI, 162; Br. Charitra Corresp ., No. 52; also Forrest, Maratha Series, pp. 36-40; SPD, XXII, pp. 191-92.

111. SPD. IX, 30-36; SPD, XXX, 363; Rajwade, MIS, VI, pp. 30-31.

112. Br. Charitra Corresp., 55; Purandare Daftar, I, 138-39; SPD, XXII, 144; Grant Duff, History, I, (1921 Ed.), p. 410.

113. Temple, Sir Richard, Oriental Experiences, I, p. 390.

114. SPD, XVII, 46, 47; SPD XXX, 171; Shdhu Charitra, p. 47.

115- Srinivasan, C. K., Baji Rao I , Introduction.

116- Br. Charitra, p. 119.

117. Khare, G. H., Hingne Daftar, I, p. 13.

118- Sarkar's Introduction to Sardesai's Peshwd Bap Rao I.

119- Br. Swamiche Charitra, Corresp., No. 32.

CHAPTER V

DISRUPTION OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

(a) Bengal Subah:

Within a few years after Aurangzib's death in 1707 Bengal became completely independent of imperial control under Murshid Quli Khan. At the time of Aurangzib's death Murshid Quli Kh§n was naib ndzim or Deputy Governor of Bengal and full Governor of Orissa, as well as diwdn or revenue chief of these two provinces. On his accession to the throne in February 1713, Farrukh-siyar confirmed him in the diwani of Bengal and, in September 1713, made him also Deputy Governor of Bengal and on 6 May, 1714, he received the subdhdari of Orissa with the title of Jafar Khan. In September, 1717, he was made full subdhdar of Bengal with the title of Mutamanul-Mulk Alauddaulah Jafar Khan Bahadur Nasiri, Nasir Jang. He transferred the capital of Bengal from Dacca to Murshidabad, which was named after him.

By moving the imperial court, Murshid Quli secured on 11 September, 1711, an order by which the collectorship of customs of Hugli port and the faujddri of the Midnapur district, then held by Zia-ud-din Khan was again placed under the control of the provincial diwdn, from whom these had been removed and placed directly under the central government two years before. Murshid Quli could not dislodge Zia-ud-din from Hugli. But when Zia-ud-din received information on 22 April, 1713, that the emperor had appointed him diwdn of the western Karnatak he left Hugli at the end of June and the man appointed by Murshid Quli got possession of it. 1

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As a strict ruler Murshid Quli sought to enforce his authority in various ways and established an efficient administration. He effectively reorganized the revenue system by converting all the officers' jagirs in Bengal into Khdlsa directly under the Crown collectors and by introducing the ijara system according to which contracts were given for collection of revenue. “In the second or third generation, these contractors came to be called zaminddrs and many of them were dignified with the titles of Rajas and Maharajas, though not of princely birth, but merely glorified civil servants paid by a percentage on their collection”. Thus a new landed aristocracy was created in Bengal, whose “position was confirmed and made hereditary by Lord Cornwallis”. 2 The defaulters in collecting revenue were treated with draconic severity and so the revenue contractors tried to make collections in time.

Increase of revenue was also due to Murshid Qull’s economy in administration and maintenance of internal peace by him. For revenue collection he divided the whole of Bengal into thirteen chaklds or circles, ‘which were subdivided into thirteen tracts under collection by jagfcrddrs and twenty-five areas reserved as Khdlsa (crownland) farmed out to contractors’. 3

While some of the zaminddrs enjoyed Murshid Qull’s favour and three ruling houses, that is, those of Cooch Bihar, Tipperah and the hill Raja of Jaintia paid tribute, Sitaram Ray of Bhusna pargand who had much influence in bis area, was crushed by him in FebruaryMarch 1714, and thus disappeared the last Hindu kingdom in Bengal.

To improve economic prosperity of the province, Murshid Qull showed much indulgence to the traders of all categories, but was somewhat partial*to the Mughuls (i.e., Persians). The Dutch and the French East India Companies were not in good condition, and the Ostend Company, started in Austrian Netherlands by a charter from the emperor in 1723 had its privileges suspended under diplomatic pressure for seven years in 1727. The English East India Company secured some important concessions by sending an embassy to the Delhi Court under John Surman, and by emperor Farrukhsiyar’s farman of 1717, which permitted them to trade in Bengal, free of all duties, subject to the payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum, and to rent 38 villages of Calcutta. Though Murshid Qull opposed the grant of additional villages to the English, prosperity of Calcutta increased so that it came to have a population of 1,00,000 by 1735.

Some contemporary Muslim writers have bestowed high praise on Murshid Qull. Writing in 1763, Salimullah, the author of Tarikh i-Bdngdld,, observes:

"Since the time of Shaista Khan there had not appeared in any part of Hindustan an dmir who could be compared with Jafar Khan for zeal in propagation of the faith; for wisdom in the establishment of laws and regulations; for munificence and liberty in the encouragement and support given to men of family and eminence; for rigid and impartial justice in redressing wrongs and punishing offenders. His judicial decisions were rational and proper..

"He despised all kinds of luxury, and particularly in dress and food. He possessed very extensive learning, and paid great

respect to men who were eminent for their piety or erudition. During his government, the meanest peasant was secured from injustice and oppression. Two days in the week he admi

nistered justice in person and was so impartial in his decisions, and rigid in the execution thereof that no one dared to commit oppression."

Twenty-five years after Salimullah, the author of Riyaz-us-Saldtin added: "Never in his life did he take any consort except his one married wife. Such was his delicacy of feeling that he did not admit into his harem any eunuch or any woman who was not of known character and trustworthiness".

After critically examining these observations Sir Jadunath Sarkar expresses the following view: "A puritan in his private life, strictly attentive to his public duties as he understood them, gravely decorous and rigidly orthodox as befitted a favourite disciple of Aurangzlb, and a propagator of his faith as ordained in his scriptures, Murshid Quli Khan presents one side of his character in a brilliant light. But his heart was cold and his sympathies narrow; his calculating vindictiveness, his religious bigotry, and his utter lack of warm, all-embracing benevolence, denied this conscientious civil servant the right to be ranked as a statesman or even as a truly great soul." 4

After the death of Murshid Quli Khan, on 30 June, 1727, without any male issue, his son-in-law Shuja-ud-din Muhammad Khan, who had been Deputy Governor of Orissa, ascended the masnad of Bengal. He had married Murshid Quli Khan's daughter named Zinat-un-nisa, and had a son through her named Sarfaraz. Soon after his accession Shuja-ud-din appointed his friends and kinsmen to the principal offices of his government. His son, Sarfaraz, remained as the nominal diwdn of Bengal; his second son, Muhammad Taqi Khan (born of a wife different from the daughter of Murshid Quli Khan) was Deputy Governor of Orissa and his son-in-law, Murshid Quli II, was appointed Deputy Governor of Jahangiirnagar (Dacca). 'All Vardi and his three nephews got high posts. Alam Chand, previously diwdn of Shuja-ud-din in the Orissa Government, was now appointed diwdn of the Khdlsd at Murshidabad and got from the imperial court a personal mansab of 1,000 with the title of Rdy-i-rdydn , which had not been so long conferred on any Bengal officer. In managing all important affairs of administration Shuja-ud-din followed the counsel of 'All Vardi, of his brother Haji Ahmad, of Rdy-irdydn , Alam Chand, a loyal officer and an able financier, and of Jagat

Seth Fateh Chand, the famous banker of Murshidabad, who, being owner of vast wealth, had much influence in Bengal politics.

During the early part of his regime Shuja-ud-din paid due attention to the affairs of administration and sought to promote welfare of his subjects. He was charitable to his old friends, kind and bountiful towards his officers and was hospitable towards those who happened to come to Murshidabad. With due regard for justice, he dispensed it impartially. Ghulam Husain, the author of Siytir-ulmutakherin, observes: "He was so impartial an observer of justice, and a judge of so much benignity, that the poorest suitor was sure of being in his presence upon a footing with his very son; and the fearful sparrow, certain of finding in his bosom a shelter against the hawk's pursuit, flew towards him with a perfect reliance on his goodness. People acquainted with history thought they lived in Naushirvan's reign". 5

But some vices in Shuja-ud-din's private character impaired the efficiency of his administration towards its close. Supreme power fell into the hands of his advisers, HajI Ahmad, Alam Chand and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand, who degenerated into a clique of selfseekers and fomented intrigues and conspiracies to serve their own interests at the cost of government.

Shuja-ud-din created four divisions for the administration of the Bengal subah, each being placed under a Deputy Governor. Western, Central and a portion of Northern Bengal formed the Central Division; the Dacca division comprised Eastern and Southern Bengal, a small portion of Northern Bengal, Sylhet and Chittagong; the third division was Bihar, and Orissa was the fourth division. Bihar was efficiently governed by its Deputy Governor, ‘All Vardi Khan; Dacca was administered well by Murshid Quli II, son-in-law of Shuja-uddin, with devotedness and ability of his deputy Mir Habib. But some official changes in Dacca after Murshid Quli IPs transfer to Orissa on the death of Muhammad Taqi Khan caused deterioration in its administration, and Jaswant Ray, who served as its diwan for some time, resigned. The Rajahs of Cooch Bihar and Dinajpur were reduced to submission. Badi-uz-zaman, the Afghan zamindar of Birbhum, was also brought under the Nawab’s control.

Shuja-ud-din had to remit a sum of Rs. 1,25,00,000 a year to the Imperial Government at Delhi. 6 The standard collections received from the zarniiiddrs amounted, as before, to Rs. 1,42,45,561. Shujaud-din added to it a further amount of Rs. 19,14,095 by imposition

of ahwnbs or additional imposts following an old practice of Murshid Qull Khan.

Shuja-ud-din strictly asserted his authority over the European trading Companies in Bengal like the English, the Dutch and the French and some minor ones like the Austrian, the Polish, the Portuguese, the Danish and the Swedish. The English described him as a “rash and powerful subah”, and did not consider it advisable “to risk an open rupture with him”. 7 They had to satisfy him occasionally by payment of large sums of money.

After the death of Shuja-ud-din on 30 March, 1739, his body was interred in his favourite garden on the west bank of the river Bhagirathl. His son Sarfaraz ascended the masnad of Bengal and following the death-bed instructions of his father, he retained the old officers, the more important of whom were Haji Ahmad as the chief diwan, and Rdy-i-rdyan Alam Chand as diwdn of the khalsd. Excessively addicted to debauchery Sarfaraz did not possess the essential qualities needed for the ruler of a state and indulged in licentiousness. For all this he had to pay a heavy price by losing his life and the masnad of Bengal. The masnad was seized by ‘All Vardl.

From humble positions in the government of Shuja-ud-din, ‘All Vardi Khan, originally known as Mirza Muhammad ‘All, rose gradually to higher ones by dint of his tact and ability. In 1728, Shujaud-din appointed him faujdar of the chakla Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), which was a place of historic importance, 73 in different periods. All Vardi governed this area efficiently securing peace and prosperity to its people. ‘All Vardi’s brother, Haji Ahmad remained at Murshidabad as one of the chief advisers of Shuja-ud-din; his eldest son Muhammad Raza (later on called Nawazish Muhammad Khan) was appointed Paymaster of the Nawab’s troops and Superintendent of Customs at Murshidabad and his second son Aga Muhammad Said (later on known as Said Ahmad Khan) was appointed jaujddr of Rungpur.

There was a fortunate turn in the career of ‘All Vardi with his appointment as Deputy Governor of Bihar in 1733. Bihar was then in a disturbed state due to the weak administration for about seven years of its old Governor Fakhr-ud-daulah. ‘Ali Vardi restored peace and order in Bihar by some vigorous steps and measures of conciliation. He suppressed the disturbances with firmness. Its zamindars, who had not been quite amenable to the authority of the Nawab’s government, were reduced to submission. They were the Bhojpuri zamindars of Shahabad, Raja Sundar Singh of Tikari in the Gaya district, Kamgar Khan May! of Narhat-Samai, 8 and the Rajas of

Bettia and Bhanwara. 9 He then suppressed the Chakwars, a brave and semi-independent Hindu tribe, who with their stronghold at Sambhoo in the Begusarai district, had defied the authority of the emperors of Delhi and the subahdars of Bengal. ‘All Vardi also chastised the turbulent Banjaras who, disguising themselves as traders and travellers, had been devastating different parts of Bihar.

Weakness of Delhi authority, inefficiency of Sarfaraz and machinations of HajI Ahmad at Murshidabad in collaboration with Rdy-U ray an and Jagat Seth Fateh Chand excited ‘All Vardl’s ambition to seize the masnad of Bengal for himself. With this object he left Patna for Murshidabad towards the end of March 1740. Sarfaraz was soon convinced of ‘Ali Vardl’s infidelity and left Murshidabad to check his advance. In a furious contest between the armies of the two parties at Gheria 10 on 10 April, 1740, there were heavy casualties in Sarfaraz’s army and he died from a chance shot on his forehead. Marching from Gheria to Murshidabad, ‘Ali Vardi formally ascended the masnad. He secured imperial confirmation of his new position by remitting huge amounts of money to Delhi. He tried his best to assuage the wounded feelings of the relatives of Sarfaraz. Khwaja Abdul Karim writes that “by behaving kindly and being on friendly terms with all, by distributing money and by acting with discretion, ‘All Vardi gained over to his cause all men living far and near.” 103

‘All Vardi made some changes in the offices of the government. He appointed his eldest nephew Nawazlsh Muhammad Khan diwan of crown-lands and Deputy Governor of Dacca with Husain Qull as his deputy. The Deputy Governorship of Bihar was given to his youngest nephew Zain-ud-din Ahmad, who had been married to his daughter Amina Begam (mother of Siraj-ud-daulah), ‘Abdul ‘Ali Khan, a cousin of ‘All Vardi, was placed in charge of the government of Tirhut in addition to his duties as the revenue-collector of the pargands of Bihar and Biswak. Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan was appointed Paymaster of the army in place of ‘All Vardl’s brother-in-law, Qasim ‘Ali Khan was made faujddr of Rungpur, and Nurullah Beg Khan was made Paymaster of the new army. Ataullah Khan, a sonin-law of HajI Ahmad and faujddr of Rajmahal, was appointed as faujddr of Bhagalpur also. ‘All Vardl’s new position was challenged in Orissa by its Deputy Governor Rustam Jang (originally known as Murshid Qull II). But the latter was ultimately overpowered and fed to the Deccan.

The Bengal Revolution of 1739-40 is a clear instance of the Vitiated atmosphere of the period, and of the result of inordinate ambition, treachery and ingratitude. But the masnad of Bengal did not prove to be a bed of roses for ‘All Vardl. The repeated incursions of the Marathas into Bengal and Bihar from 1742 to 1751 harassed him very much, subjected its people to various oppressions and seriously affected its economic condition. The Maratha invasions were complicated by the rebellions of his Afghan Generals, Mustafa Khan, Shamsher Khan, Sardar Khan and the Afghan soldiers in 1745 and 1748, and added to his troubles. During the Afghan insurrection of 1748, ‘Ah VardTs nephew Zain-ud-din and his brother Haji Ahmad were assassinated and Patna was under Afghan usurpation for full three months which caused untold miseries to its people. The Afghans were ultimately vanquished by ‘Ah Vardi in a battle with them at Ranichak or Ranisarai, near Barh, in 1748. ‘All Vardi returned to Murshidabad in November, 1748, after staying at Patna for six months to arrange for its administration. He made his grandson Siraj-ud-daulah nominal Deputy Governor of Bihar, while the actual work of administration was entrusted to Raja Janakiram as Siraj-ud-daulah’s Deputy. Janakiram worked in this capacity till his death in 1752, when Raja Ramnarain was appointed Deputy Governor of Bihar.

Worn out with incessant toil and weighed down with age, at the age of 75, ‘All Vardi Khan concluded a treaty with the Marathas in May or June, 1751, on the following terms:

(1) Mir Habib was to be henceforth regarded as Deputy Governor of Orissa on behalf of the Nawab.

(2) From October, 1751, twelve lakhs of rupees were to be paid annually to the Marathas from Bengal revenue as the chauth of that suhdh in two instalments, on condition that the Marathas would never set their foot again within the dominions of Bengal subdh.

(3) The river Subarnarekha near Jalesar was fixed as the boundary of the Bengal subdh, and the Marathas agreed never to cross it again.

Notwithstanding the odds noted above, ‘AH Vardi governed his province ably and with prudence and foresight. In his private life he was free from the prevailing vices of the ruling and aristocratic classes of those days. A contemporary historian, Ghulam Husain thus writes in high terms about him: “A prudent, keen general and a valorous soldier; there are hardly any qualifications, which he did not possess”. 11 Another contemporary writer Karam ‘All, author of Muzaffamdmah, equally praises him. With due allowance for exag geration in the views of such writers who were obliged to the Nawfib in several ways, one can well assert that “he was, after all, a tactful and strong governor, who tried to infuse spirit and vigour into every branch of his administration and to serve the interest of the governed”. 12

“All VardI never realized money forcibly from the people, and the mode of collection was not arbitrary. But to meet extraordinary financial needs during the first eleven years of his government, when the revenue collections fell short of the standard assessments, he took ‘casual aids’ from the European traders and the principal zemindars of the province. ‘All Vardl’s attitude towards the European trading companies in Bengal was strict and he asserted his authority over them. But he was not in any way oppressive to them as he realized the importance of encouraging commerce in the interest of the State.”

‘All VardI died on 10 April, 1750, and was succeeded as the subah dar of Bengal by his favourite grandson and heir-designate Siraj-uddaulah whose regime forms a turning point in the history, not only of Bengal, but of India as a whole. He had enemies among his near relations who coveted the Bengal masnad or influence through it. They were his cousin Shaukat Jang, who had been Naumb of Purnea since 27 March and his mother’s eldest sister Ghasiti Begam, who had amassed immense wealth which she had kept with herself, well guarded by armed retainers, in the castle of Motijhil, a few miles north of the city of Murshidabad. Siraj-ud-daulah’s most formidable enemy was Mir Ja‘far ‘Ali Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the army. Siraj-ud-daulah “came to his long assigned throne in a house divided against itself, with a hostile faction in the army and a disaffected subject population.” 13

Soon after his accession Siraj-ud-daulah seized the huge wealth of Ghasiti Begam to curb her ambition for acquiring influence in government. He removed the traitor Mir Ja‘far from the post of bakhshi or Commander of the army and appointed in his place the brave and devoted Mir Madan. Another faithful and able officer, Mohan Lai, was made peshkdr of the diwdn-rkhanah.

All this was followed by Siraj-ud-daulah’s rupture with the English. Siraj-ud-daulah had three specific grievances against the English. One was that they had "built strong fortifications and dug a large ditch in the King's dominion contrary to the laws of the country". The second one was that they had "abused the privilege of their dastaks by granting them to such as were in no way entitled to

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them, from which practice the King has suffered greatly in the revenues of his customs". His third complaint was that they had given protection in Calcutta to some of the King's subjects and instead of giving them up on demand they allowed such persons to shelter themselves within their bounds from the hands of justice. He expressed that he "would pardon their fault" if they promised "to remove the foregoing complaints of their conduct" and agreed "to trade upon the same terms as other merchants did in the time of Murshid Qull Khan". Certainly the charges were not baseless. The English in Calcutta also insulted Siraj-ud-daulah's messenger Narayan Singh or Narayan Das.

The conflict between the English and the Nawab soon started. On 4 June, 1756, the factory of the English at Kasimbazar was stormed by the Nawab's soldiers, and starting for Calcutta on 5 June, the Nawab captured Calcutta on 20 June. Already on 19 June, Governor Drake with some of his followers had fled from Calcutta to Fulta and some Englishmen were made prisoners. But Hoi well's story of the 'Black Hole' has been proved by modern researches to be untrue.

Siraj-ud-daulah also made himself secure from the design of Shaukat Jang who being instigated by Mir Ja'far, sought to contest the subahdarship of Bengal. By marching from Calcutta towards Purnea, on 24 September, 1756, Siraj-ud-daulah defeated and killed him in a battle at Manihari on 16 October, 1756. After this Sirajud-daulah returned to Calcutta "in gold-decorated boats with every pomp". 14

As the historian Ghulam Husain writes, Siraj-ud-daulah was now at the zenith of his power and prosperity. But his star soon began to pale.

On hearing of the disaster of the English in Calcutta, the Madras Council sent there reinforcement of troops under Admiral Watson and Colonel

Clive, who recovered Calcutta by the first week of February, 1757. Adverse circumstances now forced Siraj-ud-daulah to conclude the treaty of ‘Alinagar on 9 February, 1757, by which trade rights and factories of the English East India Company were restored to them, and restitution apd compensation money were promised by the Nawab to the Company, its servants and tenants. Further, the English were granted permission by him to fortify Calcutta and to coin sicca rupees. Clive rightly described the terms of this treaty as both “honourable and advantageous for the Company”. 1 ' 5

(b) Awadh (Oudh)

The subah of Awadh also became virtually independent of the decadent Mughul empire. Jurisdiction of the subah of Awadh then extended not only over Awadh but also over Banaras to the east of it, a good part of the territory to its west and some districts near Allahabad and Kanpur. Sa‘adat Khan, an immigrant from Khorasan and originally known as Mir Muhammad Amin, was the founder of the kingdom of Awadh. After being in Sarbuland Khan’s service (1710-12), he joined Farrukh-siyar’s service, became faujddr of Hindaun and Bayana, and was made a noble on 9 October, 1720. He was appointed Governor, first of Agra (1720-22) and then of Awadh (September, 1722), and extended Awadh’s jurisdiction over Banaras, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Chunar. He gradually acquired power and fame and was summoned to Delhi at the time of Nadir’s invasion. But, for some undesirable transactions with Nadir, he committed suicide on 20 March, 1739. Sa‘.adat Khan, a prominent Mughul noble, was a successful soldier and a wise ruler. The next Governor of Awadh was Sa‘adat Khan’s nephew and son-in-law, Safdar Jang (1739-54).

After the first Maratha invasion of Bengal in 1742 emperor Muhammad Shah asked Safdar Jang to protect Bihar, and if necessary, to enter into Bengal. So, he started from Faizabad for Bihar in December, 1742. He entered Patna City on 7 December 1742 and encamped at Bankipur, five miles west of it. From this place he began to behave as the virtual ruler of Bihar. At this ‘All Vardi requested the Mughul emperor to recall him from Bihar. So Safdar Jang left Bihar on 15 January 1743 and returned to his dominion early in February.

Safdar Jang was appointed Vazir of the Mughul emperor in 1748. Safdar Jang's position was "one of unusual difficulty". He was "considered an interloper by the old nobility whose pedigree went back to the reign of Aurangzlb or even earlier". 16 He had to meet opposition of Nizam-ul-Mulk's son and grandson, of Javid Khan, the "real power behind the throne", and of the sons of the late va&ir Qamar-ud-din. He had contests with the Afghans (1748-52), was defeated at Ram Chatauni in September 1750, and made peace with the Rohillas and Bangashes under orders of the emperor at the beginning of April 1752. Safdar Jang got his opponent Javid Khan murdered in 1753. Safdar Jang had no administrative capacity or statesmanly vision. He tried to grasp everything and became extremely domineering after the murder of Javid Khan. All this engendered Court conspiracy against Safdar Jang and caused a civil war between the

emperor and Safdar Jang from March 1753 and ultimately he departed for Awadh in November 1753. Thus ended Safdar Jang's inglorious period of vazirship. But he gave "a lasting peace to Awadh and Allahabad; broken only by temporary Bangash occupation of a part of the subdh and a few local, spasmodic outbreaks in the beginning of his rule." 17

Safdar Jang died in October 1754 and his son Shuja-ud-daulah became subdhdar of Awadh. Shuja-ud-daulah's personal character was not at all commendable. M. Jean Law wrote about him thus from personal observation in 1758-61: "Shuja is the most handsome person I have ever seen in India. He towers above the Vazir (Imadul-Mulk) by his figure, the latter being small and I believe also by the qualities of his heart, but he has to yield to him (Imad-ul-Mulk) in all that relates to the spirit. He is occupied in nothing but pleasures, hunting and the most violent exercises". 18 Later, an English observer, not biased against Shuja-ud-daulah wrote: "Shuja-uddaulah was not endowed with the genius of a soldier. He wanted that valour, or courage, which is ever shown in the event of common danger. He evinced throughout the Ruhela war a marked pusillanimity sheltering himself in the rear and betraying evident signs of fear. He had acquired an extensive knowledge in the practice of every species of deceit, and could perform with facility every character that was necessary to conduct the various purposes of delusion or treachery. Generosity did not form a fixed part of his disposition. He was equally rapacious in acquiring, as sordid in preserving wealth. His excesses in venery, which knew no control, led him to commit actions derogatory from his station, as well as pernicious to his health.” 19

But Shuja-ud-daulah had an important role in history in that period of rapid and significant political changes. Shuja-ud-daulah’s relations with the Imperial Vazir, Imad-ul-Mulk, were extremely bitter and led to plots and counter-plots. After some fighting there was peace between the two in June 1757. Malignant hostility of the unscrupulous, jealous and all-powerful Vazir Imad-ul-Mulk led the Imperial Prince ‘Ali Gauhar (Shah ‘Alam II) into friendship with Shuja-ud-daulah. In 1758-59 Shuja-ud-daulah encouraged Prince ‘Ali Gauhar to invade Bihar. But ‘Ali Gauhar's Bihar expedition in 1759 ended in failure.

During the Maratha-Afghan contest (1759-61) each of the rival parties sought to draw him over to its side and he engaged himself in various activities during it. He fought as an ally of the Abdall.

DISRUPTION OF THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

Shuja-ud-daulah was formally invested by Shah ‘Alam II with the office of the Vazir on 15 February, 1762. 20 In March-April 1762, Shuja-ud-daulah conducted an expedition against Hindupati, lord of the major part of Bundelkhand, taking Shah ‘Alam II with him. After some negotiations it was settled that Hindupati would pay a fine of seventy-five lakhs of rupees and an annual tribute of twenty five lakhs.

Deposed and driven by the English in July 1763, Nawab Mir Qasim got shelter in the court of Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah of Awadh. The emperor Shah ‘Alam II was also then with the Nawab Vazir and agreed to help Mir Qasim in his efforts to get back Bihar and Bengal when Mir Qasim visited him in February 1764. Shujaud-daulah also agreed to help Mir Qasim in recovering his lost province more out of motives of self-interest than out of humanitarian considerations to help a distressed brother-ruler. The exile Mir Qasim helped Shuja-ud-daulah in subduing the rebels of Bundelkhand. Mir Qasim promised to pay to the emperor and Shuja-ud-daulah ten and seventeen lakhs, respectively. Joined by a party of French adventurers, the allies marched to Bihar. In the first half of 1764 there were some indecisive engagements between the English army and the army of the allies. The English army was not then under proper discipline due to lack of military talent of Major Carnac. But on the arrival of Major Hector Munro as commander of the army, they were duly brought under control, the mutineers among them being punished.

The two armies met at Buxar on 22 October, 1764. It resulted in Shuja-ud-daulah's crushing defeat. After running from one place to another he was finally defeated at the battle of Kora on 3 May 1765. Munro had already handed over the command of the army to Colonel Fletcher on 6 January, 1765, and the latter overran Shujaud-daulah's territory and occupied Banaras, Buxar and Allahabad. Awadh fell completely under British control. Shah 'Alam II, who had been insulted by Shuja-ud-daulah shortly before the battle and abandoned after it, threw himself under the protection of the English who arranged for his residence in the Allahabad fort.

The battle of Buxar was certainly one of the decisive battles of Indian history. It confirmed British supremacy over Bengal and Bihar and placed Awadh and Shah 'Alam II completely under their influence. "The victory has proved so complete" wrote the Council in Calcutta to the Court of Directors on 26 November, 1764, "that our troops meet with no further resistance". Referring to this battle Broome rightly observes: "Thus ended the famous battle of Buxar on which depended the fate of India, and which was as gallantly disputed as it was important in its results". [21]

Clive returned to Bengal as Governor of the. English Company for the second time in May 1765. He met Shuja-ud-daulah at Banaras on 2 August and the Mughul emperor at Allahabad on 9 August and concluded treaties with both of them within a few days. By the Treaty of Allahabad dated 16 August, 1765, all the territories of Shuja-ud-daulah were restored to him, with the exception of the districts of Kora and Allahabad which were given to the emperor, Chunar which was retained by the English, and the zcmindari of Banaras, which was to belong as before to the family of Balwant Singh under English protection, though formally subordinate to the

Nawab of Awadh. Shuja-ud-daulah agreed to pay 50 lakhs of rupees to the English as compensation for expenses of the recent war. He entered into a defensive treaty with the English for mutual support in the defence of his territories and agreed to defray the cost for maintenance of troops for this purpose. This treaty made the Nawab of Awadh for all practical purposes a dependent and subordinate ally of the English, to be utilized against invasion of their territories by the Marathas.

Clive convened a congress at Chapra in north Bihar in July, 1766, which was attended by Shuja-ud-daulah and the envoys of the emperor, the Jat Raja and the Rohilla chiefs. They concluded a treaty "for their mutual defence and security" against all attempts of the Marathas to invade their respective territories. Referring to the terms of the treaty with Shuja-ud-daulah, the Select Committee in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on 8 September, 1766: "The cheerfulness with which he (Shuja-ud-daulah) met the Right Honourable President at the last Congress held in the Bihar province, the ready compliance he showed in paying the remainder of the indemnification to the Company stipulated by treaty even before the time limited for payment expired, and the engagements which he has renewed for mutual defence and security, afford the strongest testimony of the sincerity of his gratitude and friendship". The emperor who had conferred the vazlrship of the empire upon his son on being abandoned by Shuja-ud-daulah at the end of 1764, now reappointed Shuja-ud-daulah as Vazir under pressure from Clive,

At Chapra, Shuja-ud-daulah managed to obtain Clive's consent to punish those whom he considered to be disloyal officers and on his return to, his kingdom he proceeded to deal with them. The first man to suffer from this was Shuja-ud-daulah's prime minister Beni Baha- / dur. After Beni Bahadur, Muhammad Elich Khan became prime

minister of Shuja-ud-daulah in March 1767. Shuja-ud-daulah remodelled his army on the western model. But his early designs for subjugation of Rohilkhand were foiled. Further, Richard Smith, who commanded the Company's brigade at Allahabad, sent reports to the Select Committee in Calcutta about what he considered to be anti-English designs of Shuja-ud-daulah. Smith’s reports were, however, rejected by the Select Committee as there was no ground for accusing Shuja-ud-daulah of anti-English designs. But as a measure of precaution the English concluded a treaty with Shuja-ud-daulah on 29 November, 1768, which “checked the strength and progress of the Vazir’s army and freed the English from apprehension from their ally.” 22 This treaty left a scar on the heart of Shuja-ud-daulah, who, as a contemporary English writer observed, “saw that his ambition and schemes of aggrandisement would ever be encountered with the jealousy of the English, whom he now beheld with mistrust and resentment; and knowing the Frenchmen were the common enemy of our nation, the Wazir held out many inducements to engage their assistance”. 23 This treaty did not cement the alliance between the English and Shuja-ud-daulah, with whom “it was a sore point”. 24 Hastings wisely reversed it in 1772 and cancelled it fully on 8 September, 1773, permitting Shuja-ud-daulah to maintain an army as he desired.

Shuja-ud-daulah’s relations with the Mughul empire were not quite cordial between 1765-68 as he'wanted to have full control over the imperial court as de facto vazir by eliminating the influence of Munir-ud-daulah in whom the emperor had much confidence. But a deputation consisting of Cartier, Smith and Russell went to Allahabad and effected a reconciliation between the emperor and Shuja-uddaulah in November 1768, and the latter now became the de facto vazir for which he had been trying since 1766. As regards the emperor, the relations between him and Shuja-ud-daulah were cordial in the period from 1769-71. But when in 1771 emperor Shah ‘Alam XI returned to Delhi with Maratha help, Warren Hastings deprived him of the districts of Kora and Allahabad and transferred these to Shujaud-daulah in lieu of fifty lakhs of rupees and an annual subsidy foif maintenance of a garrison of the Company’s troops for the protection of the Nawab. This arrangement was ratified by the treaty of BanSras on 7 September, 1773, when blastings had a conference with the Nawab-vcmr.

Some other matters were settled between the Nawab-nazir and Warren Hastings at the Banaras conference. Warren Hastings promised to help Shuja-ud-daulah in conquering Rohilkhand; cancella tion of the treaty of 1768 was confirmed. Shuja-ud-daulah agreed to receive an English gentleman of Warren Hastings' confidence to stay at his court and act as Political Resident in Awadh; the claim of Chait Singh and his heirs to the estate of Balwant Singh was recognized by a special agreement dated 6 September, 1773, and Warren Hastings decided not to pay tribute any longer to Shah 'Alam II.

What was decided between Warren Hastings and Shuja-ud-daulah at this time led to the war against the Rohillas. The fertile region of Rohilkhand, situated at the base of the Himalayas to the north-west of Awadh with a population of 6,000,000, the bulk of whom were Hindus and governed by a confederacy of Rohilla chiefs under the leadership of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, had been coveted by the Marathas since 1771. The Nawab of Awadh also wanted to occupy Rohilkhand as he had no love for the Afghans. But common interest now drew them together. To prevent incursions of the Marathas into Rohilkhand a treaty was concluded between Shuja-ud-daulah and the Rohillas in the presence of the British Commander-in-Chief, Robert Barker, on 17 June, 1772, by which the Rohillas promised to pay forty lakhs of rupees to Shuja-ud-daulah on his expelling the Marathas from their territory. When the Marathas invaded Rohilkhand in the spring of 1773 they were repulsed by the combined British and Awadh forces. After this they could not then think of repeating their incursions into Rohilkhand due to their internal troubles in Maharashtra after the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao I. Shuja-uddaulah demanded from Hafiz Rahmat Khan, leader of the Rohillas, payment of the stipulated sum of forty lakhs, but the latter evaded payment. At this, early in February 1774, Shuja-ud-daulah demanded, from the English, help in this matter on the strength of the treaty of Banaras (September 1773). Warren Hastings and the Council in Calcutta acceded to this demand. A British army was sent under Colonel Champion on 23 February, 1774. The combined forces of Shuja-ud-daulah and the English marched into Rohilkhand on 17 April, 1774. The decisive battle was fought at Miranpur Katra six days later. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed fighting bravely. About 20,000 Rohillas were expelled beyond the Ganga, and their province became a part of the Awadh kingdom. But a fragment of it together with Rampiir, and some other adjacent districts yielding a revenue of Rs. 14,75,000 was left with Faizulla Khan, son of 'Ali Muhammad Rohilla, founder of the Rohilla power, according to a treaty between him and Shuja-ud-daulah, concluded through the intervention of Colonel Champion. It was also stipulated that the Khan would retain in his army only 5,000 troops, and would at all times and on all occasions support him. 25

Shuja-ud-daulah died on 26 January, 1775, and was succeeded by his eldest son Asaf-ud-daulah. Awadh, for all practical purposes, became a dependency of the East India Company.

(c) The Deccan:

The Deccan also became independent of Mughul control under Nizam-ul-Mulk. His grandfather, Khwaja Abid Shaikh, Shaikhul-Islam of Bokhara, migrated to India and entered the service of Aurangzlb about the middle of the seventeenth century, and his father, Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang held several important posts in the Mughul empire. Chin Qilich Khan also held various posts in different parts of the Mughul empire. At the time of Aurangzib's death, Chin Qilich Khan was at Bijapur, and observed a neutral course during the war of succession among the sons of Aurangzlb. Bahadur Shah removed him from the Deccan and made him the Governor of Awadh and faujdar of Gorakhpur on 9 December, 1707. For some time he retired from public service and joined it again towards the close of Bahadur Shah's reign with the title of his father, Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang. In 1713 Farrukh-siyar appointed him Governor of the six subahs of the Deccan by investing him with the titles of Khan Khanan and Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang as a reward for his having espoused his cause. 26 Extremely ambitious, he wanted to rule over the Deccan independently of Delhi and he used the troubles prevailing in the Delhi Court to his own advantage.

From the commencement of his viceroyalty in the Deccan Nizam-ul-Mulk as an astute diplomat sought to check the growing power of the Marathas by stopping the payment of chauth and by indefatigably instigating the disaffected, self-seeking and ambitious chieftains of Maharashtra against Shahu 27 With selfish motives and personal ambitions chieftains like Chandrasen Jadhav, Rambhaji Nimbalkar, Shripat Rao Pratinidhi, Raghuji Bhosle and Dabhade, undermined the prestige of the central authority. But intrigues of the Delhi Court soon led to Nizam-ul-Mulk's recall from the Deccan by the end of 1715 and Husain Ali was appointed Governor of the

Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk was transferred to Muradabad and subsequently his removal to Bihar was also contemplated. But before he assumed charge of his new office, the regime of Farrukh-siyar came to a close and he was transferred to the Government of Malwa. He started for Ujjain on 15 March 1719 on receiving the pledge that he would not be transferred again.

In Malwa Nizam-ul-Mulk was able to lay the foundation of his future greatness. His activities here roused the jealousy of the Sayyid brothers and an order was passed for recalling him on the

plea that it was necessary for the protection of the Deccan that Husain ‘All Khan should have the charge of Malwa. This time Nizam-ul-Mulk decided to act in self-defence by arms. He occupied the fortress of Asirgarh on 20 May, 1720, and three days later Burhanpur fell into his hands. The Sayyid brothers sent urgent orders to Sayyid Dilawar ‘All Khan and the Deputy Governor ‘Alam ‘All Khan to oppose the march of Nizam-ul-Mulk. But Nizam-ulMulk defeated and slew Dilawar ‘All Khan in the battle of Khandwa on 19 June, 1720. ‘Alam ‘All Khan was defeated and killed at the battle of Balapur on 10 August, 1720. Husain ‘AH while getting ready to march against the Nizam was stabbed to death by Haidar Beg, also a Sayyid, near Toda-Bhim, on 8 October, 1720. Sayyid Abdullah was defeated in a battle at Hasanpur on 13 November, 1720 and imprisoned. After two years he was done to death by poison.

After the fall of the Sayyids, Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself master of the six subdhs of the Deccan and began his operations against the growing power of the Marathas. But the very next year he received an Imperial summons to proceed to Delhi at once and in February 1722 “he was appointed vazir and received the usual robe, a dagger, an ornamental pen case and a diamond ring of great value”. 28 The vitiated atmosphere in the Delhi Court was not congenial to him and his enemies poisoned the emperor Muhammad Shah’s mind against him. 29 So he left for the Deccan in the third week of December 1723, and reached Aurangabad, the capital of the Deccan in June 1724. But the enemies of Nizam-ul-Mulk succeeded in persuading the credulous emperor to believe that he was in rebellion and to send secret instructions to Mubariz Khan, Governor of Hyderabad, urging him to fight against Nizam-ulMulk and promising him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in case of his success. Mubariz Khan had offended the Marathas by his hostile activities. So Nizam-ul-Mulk could enlist support of the Marathas. With their combined armies Nizam-ul-Mulk marched out in the first week of September 1724. A decisive battle was fought in October 1724 at Sakharkharda in Berar where Mubariz Khan was defeated and slain. 30 Nizam-ul-Mulk followed up his success by reducing Mubariz Khan's son and taking possession of Hyderabad by the beginning of 1725. "From this period may be dated", writes Irvine, "Nizam-ul-Mulk's virtual independence and the foundation of the present Hyderabad State. Henceforth he bestowed offices in the Dakhin (Deccan); he made promotions in rank, conferred titles and issued assignments on the land revenue at his own will and pleasure. The only attributes of sovereignty from which he refrained

were the use of scarlet or imperial umbrella, the recitation of the Friday prayer in his own name, and the issue of coin stamped with his own superscription". 31 Nizam-ul-Mulk's strong administration in the Deccan has elicited much praise from Khafi Khan. 32 Ghulam Husain, the author of Siyar~ul-mutakherin also remarks: "It is such an extensive tract (the Deccan subdh) that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years." 33

The Nizam-ul-Mulk justly realized that the activities of Peshwa Baji Rao I were opposed to his policy of establishing supremacy in the Deccan, and so he took steps to oppose him seriously. He also incited many Maratha chieftains against the Peshwa. He made them his allies by grant of jdgirs and also instigated Raja Shambhuji (of the Kolhapur branch of ShivajI's family) against Shahu (of the Satara branch). So Nizam-ul-Mulk, Shambhuji and Trimbak Rao Dabhade whose interests in Gujarat had been rudely interfered with by BajI Rao I, united against the Peshwa. Baji Rao I was thus engaged in a war with them which lasted for about five years from 1727 to 1732. In November 1726, after the departure of Baji Rao and the Sendpdti for Karnatak, the Nizam started hostilities against Shahu. But Baji Rao I took the counter-offensive within a year and won a victory over the Nizam at Palkhed in February, 1728. This was followed by the treaty of Mungi-Shevgaon concluded on 6 March, 1728, in which Nizam-ul-Mulk .accepted all the terms dictated by Baji R&o I, except one. By his superior genius Baji Rao I foiled the ambitions and plans of the confederates. The Nizam was defeated at Palkhed in 1728 and his great adversary at the Court Sendpati Trimbak Rao Dabhade was slain in a battle in 1731 fought on the plains of Bhilapur near Dabhoi between Baroda and that town.

The death of Sentip&li Dabhade knocked the bottom out of Nizam-ul-Mulk's intrigues and he felt that under the prevailing circumstances it would be advisable to come to terms with the Peshwa. The latter realized that it would not be possible to carry on his campaigns in the north so long as Nizam-ul-Mulk threatened his base in the Deccan. So in consideration of self-interest the two chiefs arrived at a compromise in December 1732 by which the Nizam was to be at liberty to gratify his ambitions in the south, the Peshwa in the north. 33

After Baji Rao's sudden dash on Delhi, the Mughul emperor summoned the Nizam from the Deccan. The Nizam responded to this call and leaving his second son Nasir Jang in charge of the sou

them dominions proceeded towards Delhi and reached there about July, 1737. The emperor showered many favours on the Nizam and conferred on him the title of Asaf Jah which meant "equal in dignity to Asaf, the minister of King Solomon". After collecting forces and securing services of some of the Rajput chiefs, the Nizam marched towards Malwa, but he was defeated near Bhopal and was compelled to conclude on 7 January, 1738, a convention at Duraha Sarai (sixty-four miles from Sironj). "In his own handwriting the Nizam promised to grant to Baji Rao the Subdhdari of Malwa, and rights over the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal; tc obtain a confirmation of this cession from the emperor; and to use every endeavour to procure the payment of fifty lakhs of rupees, to pay Baji Rao's expenses". 35

During Nadir Shah's invasion the emperor called Nizam-ulMulk to Delhi to negotiate the terms of agreement with the invader. But nothing could be done in this matter because of Nadir's increasing demands. The Nizam retired at the age of 70 for good to the Deccan. Early in 1741 he suppressed the rebellion of his second son Nasir Jang and restored order in the Karnatak. In 1743 he appointed Nasir Jang subdhdar of the Karnatak and granted him the jdgir of Adoni. Nizam-ul-Mulk died on 21 May, 1748, at the age of seventy-seven. After this, the question of succession in the Deccan and the Karnafak gave opportunities to the Marathas and the European trading Companies to fish in the troubled waters of the Deccan. After many vicissitudes Nizam ‘All rose to power about 1760 and held the highest post till the end of the century.

The Deccan soon fell into disorder and confusion due to the policy of the revived Maratha power after their recovery from the blows of Panipat, the rise of Haidar ‘Ali of Mysore to power, the vacillating policy of the Nizam, and growing political ambition of the English, frequent shifting of alliances among them making confusion worse confounded. In 1765 the Madras Council agreed to help the Nizam against Haidar ‘Ali and in 1766 the English, the Marathas and the Nizam formed a triple alliance against Haidar. The Nizam marched against Mysore on April 17 with a party of English troops under the command of General Joseph Smith, but his enterprise was not successful. Under the influence of Mahfuz Khan, brother and rival of the pro-English Nawab Muhammad ‘All and enemy of the English, the Nizam soon deserted the English and formed an alliance with Haidar. But General Smith defeated the new allies at the Pass of Changama and Trinomali in September 1767. Haidar’s fickle ally, the Nizam, soon left his party and concluded an ill-advised treaty with the English on 23 February, 1768. By this the Nizam confirmed his old treaty engagements with the English in as irresponsible a manner as he had broken them. The Nizam promised to help the English and the Nawab of Karnatak in chastising Haidar and the English agreed to “send two battalions of sepoys and six pieces of artillery, manned by Europeans, whenever the subah (the Nizam) would require them and the situation of their affairs will allow of such a body of troops to march into the Deccan, provided the subah pays the expenses during the time that the said .troops are employed in his service”. This treaty did not prove to be helpful to the English, but rather provoked Haidar more bitterly than before. “You have brought us into such a labyrinth of difficulties”, wrote the Court of Directors to the Madras Council, “that we do not see how we shall be extricated from them.” Ultimately, the Nizam had to pay a heavy price for his vacillation and quick change of alliance and he was reduced to the position of the weakest of the Indian powers. In September 1798 he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English and became their subordinate ally.

(d) Invasions of Ahmad Shah AbddU:

Nadir Shah never returned to India after his first terrible invasion. He was assassinated in 1747. One of his officers named Ahmad Shah, an Afghan noble of the Abdall clan, made himself independent ruler of Afghanistan. He styled himself Durr-i-Durran, "the pearl of the age", and his clan henceforth came to be known as the Durrani. While coming to India with Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdall had seen with his own eyes "the weakness of the empire, the imbecility of the emperor, the inattentiveness of the ministers, the spirit of independence which had crept among the grandees". So, after strengthening his position at home, Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India seven times between 1748 and 1767. 36 These invasions were not mere predatory raids. They indicated a general revival of the Afghans within and outside India, who made a bid for supremacy on the ruins of the Mughul empire. 37 In analysing the motives of Ahmad Shah Abdall's Indian expeditions Elphinstone has noted that through these he hoped to consolidate his power at home £y gaining resources through foreign wars and thus obtain means to heap favours and rewards on the Afghan chiefs. 38

After having conquered Qandahar, Kabul and Peshawar, Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India for the first time in January 1748 with 12,000 picked troops. But he was defeated at tho battle of Manupur by Ahmad Shah, the Mughul heir-apparent, and Muin-ul-Mulk or

Mir Mannu, son of the deceased vazir Qamar-ud-din, and was repulsed. Mir Mannu was appointed Governor of the Punjab. But he had to encounter various difficulties which prevented his being settled in his new position. So Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Funjab for the second time in 1750 and conquered it after defeating its Governor. In the absence of any support from the Delhi Court, the Mughul Governor found resistance futile and entered into an agreement with the invader. Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the third time in December 1751, defeated Mir Mannu, conquered Kashmir and forced the Mughul emperor Ahmad Shah to cede to him the portion of India up to Sirhind. This meant further reduction in the territorial extent and power of the Mughul empire. Mir Mannu submitted to the invader and was appointed by him his Governor of the Punjab in 1752. He promised to remit to the Abdali the surplus revenue of the Punjab and not to transact any important business without his orders.

After the death of Mir Mannu in November 1753 and that of his son and successor in May 1754, the province of the Punjab fell into disorder and anarchy, due largely to the caprices of Mir Mannu's widow—Mughlani Begam. On an appeal from her for help, Imadul-mulk, the all-powerful vazir at Delhi, marched to the Punjab which he coveted for himself. He brought it under his control, appointed Mir Mumin, “the leading nobleman of Lahore”, Governor of the province and put Mughlani Begam, whom the Abdali had addressed as daughter, under restraint. All this enraged Ahmad Shah Abdali, who invaded India for the fourth time in November 1756. This invasion was more serious than before and Ahmad Shah reached Delhi on 23 January, 1757. The imperial city was “plundered and its unhappy people (rich and poor) were again subjected to pillage”. Imad-ul-Mulk surrendered to the invader and was pardoned by him. The invader further forced ‘the Mughul emperor to formally cede to him the Punjab, Kashmir and Thatta as also the Sirhind district. For the government of these ceded tracts Ahmad Shah left his son, Timur Shah as his viceroy in Lahore, with Jahan Khan, an able Afghan general as the latter's vazir. After plundering the Jat country, south of Delhi, the Abdali returned from India in April 1757.

During Timur Shah's administration for one year, from March 1757 to April 1758, utter lawlessness and disorder prevailed in the Punjab. Ghazi-ud-din recovered Delhi and deprived Najib-ud-daulah, a leading chief of the Rohilla Afghans of his high office and influence in the Mughul government. Jahan Khan infuriated the Sikh community by “maltreating one of their most respected members, a religious guide. The Sikhs rose up on all sides”. 39 Adina Beg Khan, governor of the Jullundur Doab, revolted against the Afghans and requested the Marathas to help him. Raghunath Rao marched to Delhi with a strong Maratha army and proceeded to the Punjab in April 1758. He defeated the Abdali's governor there and expelled the Afghans. .Raghunath Rao and his army left the Punjab by appointing Adina Beg Khan as their governor there on payment of an annual tribute of 75 lakhs. Adina Beg died in October 1758. Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India for the fifth time in October 1759 and secured the alliance of the Rohillas and Shuja-ud-daulah of Awadh (jealous of Ghazi-ud-din and his Maratha allies). As both the Marathas and the Afghans were aspiring for the supremacy of Hindustan, a severe clash between them became inevitable. This took place on 14 January, 1761, on the historic field of Panipat, where the fate of India had been decided twice before. This battle "registered crowning victory" for the Abdall and its results were disastrous for the Marathas. It frustrated their ambition for north-western advance, caused them heavy losses in men and money and dealt a severe blow to their prestige.

Ahmad Shah Abdall retreated from India on 20 March, 1761. Najib-ud-daulah and Munir-ud-daulah agreed to pay him, on behalf of the Mughul government, an annual tribute of forty lakhs of rupees. The Abdali's parting instructions were that "Shah Alam should be recognized as Emperor, lmad reappointed as vnzir and Najib Mir Bakhshi. . .. But a river of blood lay between Shah Alam and lmad, and the opportunist Najib used this fact to secure his own elevation as regent of the empire for the next ten years". 40

But the Sikhs soon recovered their power, occupied Lahore, killed Khwaja Abid, governor of the Durrani at Lahore, and occupied the city in February 1764. At this Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India for the seventh time in March 1764. But after a fortnight's stay at Lahore he had to retreat to his own country, owing to internal troubles there, particularly mutiny of his own troops. Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India for the last time in 1767. But he could not suppress the Sikhs and had to retire soon "with a consciousness of his ultimate failure". The long "contest with a nation in arms (the Sikhs), while no dependable ally or lieutenant could be found by him in India, at last wore Abdall out; his illness, too, proved to be hopelessly intractable; his soldiers became rowdy through his frequent failure to pay them, and a large contingent of them mutinied and left for Afghanistan in open mutiny". 41

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Ahmad Shah Abdall returned home hurriedly. But his repeated invasions of India affected the history of this country in several ways. Besides checking the rapid progress of Marathas in Hindustan, it hastened the dismemberment of the Mughul empire. Further, it indirectly helped the rise of the Sikh power. It has been significantly observed that the Abdall's "career in India is very intimately a part of the Sikh struggle for independence". 42

(e) The Sikhs:

After the assassination of Guru Govind Singh in 1708, the Sikhs got a leader in Banda, his chosen disciple, about whose antecedents and early life nothing very definite and trustworthy is known, though there are several accounts about these. 43 With Banda began the Sikh war of independence against Mughul imperial authority. Banda gathered round him about 40,000 well-armed Sikhs,^ "bearing with him the arrows of Govind as the pledge of victory". He overpowered the Mughul authorities in the neighbourhood of Sirhind and captured Sirhind for wreaking vengeance on Wazir Khan, faujdar of the place and murderer of Guru Govind's children. The faujdar was killed by a musket-shot. "The baggage was plundered, the elephants captured. Not a single Muhammadan escaped with anything but the clothes upon his back." 44 Banda committed great atrocities at Sirhind by way of vengeance. Here all power passed into the hands of the Sikhs, and one Bar Singh, belonging to pargana Haibatpur Patti in the Bari Doab was appointed Governor of Sirhind. Banda occupied the area between the Sutlej and the Jamuna and built the strong fort of Lohgarh at Mukhlispur, half way between Nahan and Sadhaura, where he tried to assume something of regal state. "He was the Sacchd Padishah, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all Singhs or lions. A new form of greeting, Faith daras (May you behold victory!) was invented.... coin was struck in the new sovereign's name". 45

On hearing of the movements of Banda, emperor Bahadur Shah hastened towards the Punjab, where his local officials had been engaged in suppressing the Sikh rising. Banda was besieged in his new stronghold. After some successive skirmishes Banda escaped with many of his followers into the hills north of Lahore, and "laid the fairest part of the Punjab under contribution". 46 Bahadur Shah on reaching Lahore died there on 28 February, 1712. After this Banda came out of his hiding place, recovered the fort of Lohgarh, occupied the town of Sadhaura, and built a fort of considerable size with high and thick walls at Gurdaspur between the Beas and the

Ravi. The Viceroy of Lahore marched against Banda but he was defeated in a pitched battle. A party of the Sikhs advanced towards Sirhind; the governor marched forward to oppose them, but he and his followers were overpowered.

At this emperor Farrukh-siyar ordered Abdus Samad Khan, the governor of Kashmir, a Turani noble and an able general, to assume the command in the Punjab and sent some chosen troops to help him in 1715. With many of his warlike countrymen and a train of artillery, Abdus Samad Khan left Lahore and defeated the Sikh army after a fierce resistance on the part of Banda. "The success was followed up, and Banda retreated from post to post, fighting valiantly and inflicting heavy losses on his victors; but he was at length compelled to shelter himself in the fort of Gurdaspur." 47 The Sikhs fought desperately "contending among themselves for martyrdom and many among them were captured after a fierce resistance" against "all the forces that the empire could bring against them for the space of eight months". 48 But Banda eventually surrendered on 17 December, 1715, after all provisions in the fort were exhausted. Banda and his followers were sent to Delhi and severe tortures were inflicted upon them. Banda was kept in an iron cage, placed on the back of an elephant. "A reward was given for every Sikh head". Taunted by a Muslim noble, Banda replied that he had been "a mere scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of the wicked and he was now receiving the meed of his own crimes against the Almighty". Government committed all kinds of atrocities. Banda's own son was killed before his eyes; and he himself 'was tormented to death' with various tortures on 19 June, 1716.

After the death of Banda "an active persecution was kept up against the Sikhs, whose losses in battle had been great and depressing". 49 In fact, "fortunes of the Sikhs were reduced to the lowest ebb in 1716."

But the military spirit of the Sikhs could not be completely crushed. "The tenets of Guru Nanak and Govind had taken root in the hearts , of the people; the peasant and the mechanic nursed their faith in secret, and the more ardent clung to the hope of ample revenge and speedy recovery". Gradually the disorganized Sikhs began to raise their heads again and they found a leader in Kapur Singh, a resident of Fyzullapur, who began organizing what later on developed as the celebrated Dal Khdlsd or the army of the theocracy of the Singhs. The invasion of Nadir Shiah in 1739, which brought confusion and disorder in Upper India, helped recovery of the Sikhs.

"The Persian invasion is a very important event in the history of the rise of the Sikh power. In the first place, it enfeebled the strong government of Zakariya Khan (in the Punjab). The commotion and the confusion were very favourable to the rise of the Sikhs. „5 ° They utilised these to augment their financial resources and to increase their military power. "The suppression of the Sikhs, difficult under all circumstances, became even more difficult now". 51 Even in 1745 after the death of Zakariya Khan, Jassa Singh came down to the plains, and raided Kasur with the help of other Sikh Sardars.

The Sikhs organized themselves at a place called Dalewal and built a fort there. From this place they carried on their depredations round the country and extended them up to the very neighbourhood of Lahore. Nadir Shah confirmed Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan in the Nizamat of Lahore, whereupon the Sikhs withdrew from Lahore and its neighbourhood and carried on their activities in the Jullundur Doab. After the departure of Nadir Shah, Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan placed Adina Beg Khan in charge of Jullundur Doab authorising him to reduce the Sikhs. But Adina Beg did not execute his task properly by trying to subjugate the Sikhs completely, "which he thought, would undermine his influence and power". 52 The Trans-Sutlej Sikhs were kept under check by Zakariya Khan till his death in 1745. But "in the Cis-Sutlej region under the Delhi Subdh, the utter weakness of the Government gave the Sikhs a much freer hand to carry on their plundering raids". 53

After the death of Zakariya Khan in 1745 intrigues of the rival parties in the Mughul Court prevented immediate appointment of governor of the Punjab. Soon vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan was made the absentee governor. All these factors contributed “to destroy the peace and prosperity which the just rule of Zakariya Khan had given to the Punjab.... Disorder broke out. Everywhere lawless men, plunderers and adventurers, who had so long kept themselves in hiding, now came out in the open and began to desolate the realm.... On one side the Raja of Jammu rebelled and on the other the Sikhs began to cause tumult and trouble”. 54 At last the emperor agreed to the appointment of Yahya Khan, a son of Zakariya Khan, as the Deputy Governor with the vazir as the titular subdhdar. After receiving the reins of government Yahya Khan tried to suppress the Sikhs. Many Sikhs lost their lives at Sahidganj, the chief martyr being Bhai Taru Singh, one of the revered Sikh religious leaders. Yahya Khan passed an order for a general massacre of the Sikhs. But this was prevented by quarrel between

Yahya Khan and Shahnawaz (Hayatullah, another son of Zakariya Khan). Whenever Yahya Khan sent troops against the Sikhs, Shah Nawaz helped the latter in various ways. “This fratricidal war gave the Sikhs the breathing space which they so badly needed”. 55

Ahmad Shah Abdall led his first invasion against India in 1748 and his repeated inroads between 1748-1767 “exercised a very decisive influence on the history of the rise of the Sikh power”. 56 It has therefore been said that Ahmad Shah Abdall’s “career in India is very intimately a part of the Sikh struggle for independence”. 57 In his first invasion Ahmad Shah Abdall had some initial success. But under the able guidance and the gallantry of the deceased vazlr’s (Vazlr Qamar-ud-din died on 11 March, 1748) son, Muin-ul-mulk or Mir Mannu, the imperial army fought bravely. In the battle which took place at Manupur, a village ten miles northwest of Sirhind, the Abdall had 12,000 picked troops and the number of the imperial army was between 60,000 and 70,000. But due to an accident in the Afghan army, which found some rockets in Lahore and used them in the wrong way, the Abdall had to retreat. The Sikhs pursued the Afghan army up to the banks of the Indus and plundered Abdall’s baggage. In the confusion which followed it, the Sikhs began to consolidate their position quickly and brought a large portion of the Bari and Jullundur Doabs under their control. During the Abdall’s flight, Sikh Sardars like Jassa Singh, -Chharat Singh, Bharo Singh and Karora Singh, organized a party of six to seven thousand fighters and named it Dal Khdlsdji or the army of the theocracy of the Singhs.

The Subahdcvr of Lahore, Muin-ul-mulk or Mir Mannu tried his best to subdue the Sikhs. But their depredations could not be thoroughly checked, though many of them were imprisoned and killed. “Those Moslems who could bring severed Sikh heads got rewards”. 58 Muin-ul-mulk could not devote his undivided attention to the suppression of the Sikhs, as Safdar Jang, who was appointed vazlr on 20 June, 1748, was jealous of him and fomented plots and conspiracies against him. The first instrument of Safdar Jangk malicious design was Nasir Khan, whom Muin-ul-mulk had appointed faujdar of the ‘four mahals’ —Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujarat and Aurangabad, but because of his treachery Muin-ul-mulk compelled hhn to retire to Delhi. Safdar Jang also utilized Shah Nawaz Khan, ffeft second son of Zakariya Khan, against Muin-ul-mulk. All -this some respite to the Sikhs. But they had as yet no strong fortified place to fall back upon and were scattered throughout the province of the Punjab.

Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded the Punjab once again in 1750. This time, after an indecisive engagement, Muin-ul-mulk considered it advisable to come to an understanding with the Abdali. 59 He, therefore, stopped his advance by promising to pay him fourteen lakhs of rupees as surplus revenue of the four mahals —Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujarat and Aurangabad. 60 During the next two years the Abdall did not press Muin-ul-mulk, who devoted himself to chastise the Sikhs. During the commotion which followed, Jassa Singh, Ahluwalia, Hara Singh, Karam Singh, Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Naja Singh and Chharat Singh “had asserted themselves with their combined host, the Dal Khalsdji”. 61 Adina Beg, whom Muin-ul-mulk had engaged to suppress the Sikhs, did not take suitable steps for this but began to intrigue with them. The Sikhs built the mud fort of Ramrauni, later on famous as Ramgarh. But Muin-ul-mulk soon effectively subdued the Sikhs. As the Sikhs sought shelter in the hills or the jungles, the hill Rajas were asked to drive them from their territories and to send them to Lahore. Many Sikhs lost their lives at gahidganj. “The Sikh nation might have been destroyed”, writes Forster, 62 “but for the intervention of Mir Mannu’s minister, Koura Mai, himself a member of the Khalsa sect". Through his mediation an accommodation was reached. The Sikhs "were left to strengthen themselves, enlarge territory;.... whilst Koura Mai lived, his influence upon the Sikhs restrained their depredations".

Muin-ul-mulk continued his ruthless policy against the Sikhs till his death. One expedition led by himself against the Sikhs towards the close of 1752 has been thus described by his page: "When the Nawab Sahib (i.e., Muin-ul-mulk) was out on an administrative tour, in the Batala district, he heard that a large body of Sikhs were causing disturbances in the neighbourhood, stopping the roads and ruining the cultivators. He then sent Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan with his Bakhshi Ghazi Beg Khan to punish them. These officers marched to the scene, fought the Sikhs and put them to flight. Nine hundred of the Sikh infantry threw themselves into the small fort of Ramrauni, close to Chak Guru Hargovind, which Jamil-ud-din immediately invested. After a few days the garrison rushed out sword in hand, fell upon the besiegers, and were all slain." 63 But "this slaughter had no more effect than stamping upon a few hundred white ants. Such conflicts with Sikh bands continued till the very day of Muin's death (1753), and grew more numerous after him". 64

Various factors, such as the "support of Koura Mai, the selfish policy of Adina Beg, rivalry between Safdar Jang and Mir Mannu, Javld Khan and Safdar Jang, the weakness of Ahmad Shah, the

Mughul emperor, the ability of his namesake, the Abdali chief —all had something to do with the survival of the Sikhs". 65

The Sikhs again plundered Jullundur Doab. This led Muinul-mulk to send Adina Beg and Siddiq Beg Khan against them. This time Adina Beg attacked them at Makhowal, killed many of them, and forced them to disperse. "He checked them but did not try to crush them entirely." 66 "He entered into a secret understanding with them, by which their excursions were limited. .. . and they gathered strength and resources for future efforts."

After Muin-ul-mulk's death the Punjab was in a state of utter confusion and disorder, which were aggravated by the "profligacy and capriciousness" of his wife, Mughlani Begam. When all this was happening, Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the fourth time in November 1756. The Sikhs had already been strengthening themselves. "The Sikhs took all those advantages which the local distractions of a falling empire offered them, of extending and establishing their power. Their bands under their most active leaders plundered in every direction". 67

When Ahmad Shth Abdali invaded India for the fourth time in November 1756, the Sikhs could not openly oppose him, but "hung about his wings, plundered all people who straggled from his camp and cut off his provisions". Sikh marauders caused some troubles to the Abdali army and so he asked those whom he left behind "to take vengeance on the Sikhs for all the excesses which they had committed". 68 The Mughul emperor formally ceded to Ahmad Shah Abdali the Punjab, Kashmir, Thatta and the Sirhind district. Ahmad Shah Abdali left his son, Timur Shah for administration of these districts with the able Afghan General, flahan Khan, as his vazir.

Timur Shah and Jahan Khan soon thought of subjugating the Sikhs. On hearing that many Sikh soldiers had assembled at Chakguru, that is, Amritsar, for their holy bath, Jahan Khan attacked and defeated them there. Many of the Sikhs were killed. "Amritsar was occupied and the holy shrine desecrated".

The Sikh community was very much infuriated when Jahan Khan insulted one of their notable religious guides who was also a rich revenue-farmer. "From that day the peace and orderly rifle which had been recently established in the country disappeared and the Sikhs rose in rebellion on all four sides". Adina Beg Khan, faujddr of the Jullundur Doab, was summoned by Jahan Khan to help him in this critical situation. But instead of obeying the summons, he fled away to the Balwan (Balsan?) hills. He even entered

into an alliance with the Sikhs "founded on a scheme of combined hostilities with the Afghans". "In consequence of it, utter disorder spread throughout the Punjab. The Vazlr Jahan Khan sent Sarfaraz Afghan of Attock and Gafran Khan as governors of Jullundur and Kashmir respectively, but both of them returned defeated in the course of a month.

Utter lawlessness prevailed. Every force that was sent out by Timur was defeated. Even the environs of the capital were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to assemble and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls of Lahore; but no force was sent to repel them, and the city gates were kept closed by way of precaution". 69 This disorderly state of affairs lasted from November 1757 to February 1758. The Sikhs gathering together under Maratha advice, "began to attack Abdall's rule; from some places they expelled his outposts. They defeated Sa'adat Khan Afridi, plundered all the Jullundur district, and forced him to flee to the hills. By order of the Subdhdar , Khwaja Abid came from Lahore with 20,000 horse and foot soldiers to fight the Sikhs. In the end, he was defeated, many of his captains were slain, all his camp and baggage were plundered; all the artillery left behind by Abdall was captured". 70

Adina Beg invited the Marathas to help him against the Afghans. The first Maratha invasion of the Punjab began by the middle of February 1758, and Adina Beg joined the Marathas before Sirhind, and Abdus Samad, the Durrani Governor of Sirhind, was worsted, "the Marathas and Sikhs thoroughly looted Sirhind city". 71 But a genuine Sikh-Maratha combination could not be effected. "The unbecoming pride and presumption of the Marathas, their failure to grasp the realities of the situation, the proverbial Maratha greed for plunder, the presence of the wily Adina Beg, whose interest it was to keep the two peoples divided, the prevalent Sikh view that regarded the Marathas as intruders—all combined to make a fusion between the two peoples beyond even the domain of possibility". 72

A new scene was opened with another Abdall invasion and the defeat of the Marathas on the historic field of Panipat on 14 January, 1761. In the course of his return march, the Abdall was harassed by the Sikhs. Browne wrote: "After the third battle of Panipat as soon as the Durrani army had passed the Sutlej the Sikhs began to plunder the stragglers, but Ahmad Shah could do nothing as his army was loaded with plunder. Every night he had to throw up a light work round his camp and in this manner he continued his march up to Attock, the Sikhs following him all the way. When the Afghans crossed the Attock, the Sikhs returned to blockade Lahore". 73

In the post-Panipat period, the Abdall repeated his inroads into India till 1767, which aggravated confusion and disorder in the Punjab and afforded opportunities for further assertion of Sikh influence and 'power. "The Sikh nation was now", a modern writer has observed significantly "far more strong and far more well organized than it had been in the days of Zakariya Khan. The most glorious chapter of Sikh history was now to begin. It is a record'of the duel in which the all-powerful Afghan conqueror was worn out by an obscure people who successfully wrested from his closed fist that part of India which the House of Timur had failed to preserve from him". 74 The Sikhs bravely withstood defeats and persecution, including the coercive pressures against them on the part of Najib-ud-daulah, the AbdalTs friend in India and virtual dictator of Delhi (1761-70). But undaunted by these they presented stiff opposition to the Afghan invader and his followers. In 1764, the triumphant Sikhs assembled at Amritsar and struck here the first coins of good pure silver with the inscription " Degh, Tegh, Fateh", This was the first public proclamation of the establishment of sovereignty of the Sikh community. On the final retreat of the Abdall from the Punjab, the Sikhs "reappeared in all their force. Lahore was reoccupied as also the entire open country." 75 Between 1767 and 1773, the Sikhs extended their power from Saharanpur in the east to Attock in the west,

* t from Multan in the south to Kangra and Jammu in the north, and

they organized themselves into twelve misls or confederacies, the Bangi Misl, the Ahluwalia Misl, the Faizullapuria Misl, the Ramgarhia Misl, the Kanheya Misl, the Sukerchakia Misl, the Nakhai Misl, the Dalewalia Misl, the Karora Singhia Misl, the Phulkias of Patiala, Nabha, Jhind and Kythal.

(f) The Rohillds:

In the sixteenth century the Mughuls wrested the sovereignty of Hindustan from the Afghans. But there was an Afghan bid for supremacy in the middle of the 18th century oh the growing dismemberment of the Mughul empire. After the second battle of Panipat (1556) the Afghan ruling houses in different, parts of India had disappeared and there was no Afghan State in any quarter of this country. But there were Afghan settlements in

Allahabad, Darbhanga, Orissa and Sylhet, which had been replenished in the 17th century and in the first half of the 18th century when there was a fresh wave of Afghan immigration into Northern India [76] Afghan adventurers found military employment in many places either as retainers or as mercenaries. Many of them settled in a solid block between Delhi and Agra on the west and Awadh and Allahabad on the east and became a serious menace to the declining Mughul empire by the middle of the 18th century. Their Indian settlement, formerly known as Katehr, now came to be called Rohilkhand from its ‘new dominant race’. This area was bounded by the Ganga on the west and the Garra (also called Deoha) river on the east, with the Ramganga flowing almost midway between the two.

The Rohilla power had its beginning in the early years of the 18th century in a village situated at the south-west corner of the Bareilly district, through the efforts of Da’ud, an Afghan soldier of fortune, who came from Qandahar province. Da’ud and his party of Afghan adventurers hired themselves out first to the landowners and then to the imperial governor of that place. Da’ud “laid the foundations of an estate”. On his death in 1721, his adopted son ‘All Muhammad Khan obtained command of his retainers and sought to implement his ambitious plans. By occasionally serving the imperial faujdar of Muradabad and further by depriving the local zamindars and jdgirdars of their territories, he soon formed a big estate in the Bareilly district, with its centre at Aonla, a village eighteen miles south-west of Bareilly city.

There was a favourable turn in the career of ‘All Muhammad Rohilla when, after his victory at Manauna over Muhammad Salih, an eunuch of the Mughul imperial court in 1727, he seized the villages which had been granted on lease to the latter. “After this success, he ordered high and low alike to call him Nawab, appointed the officials usual to a royal court and set up a crimson tent for himself, which was an exclusive privilege of the emperors of Delhi”. [77] Through the intercession of the vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan, he got himself appointed as revenue-collector in the place of his victim.

The adverse effects of the invasion of Nadir Shah on the Mughul empire, emboldened ‘All Muhammad Rohilla to seize territories right and left. At this, the vazir , to whom had been granted the district of Muradabad as a fief, asked his local deputy, Raja Harnand Arora to expel the Rohilla chief. But the Raja was defeated at the village of Asalatpur-Jarrai on the Aral river, and killed in a night attack, all his property being captured by the Afghans. “This far-reaching success immensely increased the resources and fame of the Ruhela upstart; the country lay helpless at his feet, and thousands of Afghans flocked to his victorious standard.” 78

By various concessions received from the unprincipled vazir, “the Ruhela power, as represented by Muhammad, gradually extended westwards from a few pargands in Badaun and Bareilly (dis

tricts). About 1740-1741 he managed to annex the bulk of Muradabad”. 79 Between 1741 and 1748 ‘All Muhammad Rohilla extended his conquests in the north and the east, occupied the Pilibhit district and the kingdom of Kumaun. In 1748 the whole of the Bijnor district passed under his control.

By 1742 ‘All Muhammad Rohilla had gathered a force of thirty to forty thousand horsemen, besides many others permanently settled in Rohilkhand. Further, the numerical strength of the Afghan force, its racial character and military organization made it still more formidable. An eye-witness of the imperial campaign against ‘All Muhammad Rohilla in 1745 noted in his diary: “Every soldier in his army, whether horse or foot, carries a musket; every commander of ten or a hundred infantry has his own small banner of parti-coloured cloth, and these are carried at the head of the cavalcade in marching, so that it looks as if a flower garden is travelling with them”. 80 The Afghan soldiers possessed excellent fighting qualities. “They were cool, accurate shots, clever in executing night attacks and ambuscades, extremely mobile on foot, and yet capable of acting in concert and of controlling their fire at the direction of leaders. Their well-regulated volleys, delivered at the right moment, had an electric effect in shaking their enemies’ nerves and deciding battles at one stroke”. 81 Moreover, above the feud between one clan and another of the Afghans there arose “the consciousness of the oneness of their race”. 82 Though not free from vindictiveness and cruelty, the Afghan race, as rulers, protected and encouraged the peasantry and traders and drove the robbers from their lands. Thus they won their sympathy and support.

The emperor Muhammad Shah was persuaded by Safdar Jang, who had been appointed Mir Atish in 1744 to lead an expedition against ‘All Muhammad Rohilla in 1745. After three months’ campaigning it “achieved only a superficial and ephemeral victory and that too, more by persuasion than by compulsion”. 83

Apprehending the risks of journey during the ensuing rainy season, the emperor was persuaded by the vaz%r to make peace with ‘All Muhammad Rohilla on 23 May, 1745. The Rohilla chieftain agreed to dismantle the fortifications of Bangarh and to surrender the fiefs usurped by him to the new imperial officer, Farid-ud-din, the son of Shaik Azmatulla Khan of Muradabad. Soon he received a 4,000 mansab and was sent to Sirhind as imperial faujdar of that place after being detained at Delhi for some months, his two sons being kept there as hostages for his fidelity. But the new arrangement in Rohilkhand removing the usurper’s authority, caused

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anarchy there. The author of the Siyar-ul-mutakherin who was then present in Bareilly observed: “Thousands of Afghans were living there, and having struck their roots had become owners of the 'land and made it impossible for anybody else to govern that tract”. 84

Hedayat ‘All (father of the historian Ghulam Husain) who was sent to administer Bareilly and seventeen other mahdls on behalf of the Nizam, to whom these had been granted previously, could not successfully cope with the situation there, and he had to retreat to Delhi with great difficulty. On hearing of Ahmad Shah Abdall’s capture of Lahore and his intended advance towards Delhi, ‘All Muhammad Rohilla left his post at Sirhind in the middle of February, 1748, and returned to Rohilkhand with his full contingent of Afghans. He re-established his own authority by March/April 1748. Thus imperial rule was overthrown in Rohilkhand.

‘All Muhammad Rohilla died on 15 September, 1748. Of his six sons, the eldest two, Faizullah and Abdullah, were then captives at Qandahar where the Abdali had sent them after his capture of Sirhind, and the other four were very young. "Summoning, therefore, his Chiefs around him he made his will before them. His third son, Sadullah was to be his successor until, if ever, his elder sons returned. Rahmat Khan was to be regent (hafiz) and Dundi Khan Commander-in-Chief. .. . Fatti Khan was to be steward (Khanisaman) with the special care of his three younger sons, while Sardar Khan was appointed paymaster of the troops. These chiefs were enjoined to consult together when any common danger required their concerted action". 85 This arrangement was thought necessary to protect the Afghans from ambition and hostility of their powerful neighbours. "Hafiz Rahmat, Dundi Khan and others were each the father-in-law of a son of 'All Muhammad and in the names of their sons-in-law divided the conquests of 'All Muhammad among themselves and brought the lands into their own hands. Giving a few villages for sustenance to their sons-in-law, they themselves enjoyed the rest in royal pomp". 86 As Sadullah was of an extremely dissipated character, "the whole charge of the revenue and the management of the troops devolved on Hafiz". The ambition of Shaikh Qutb-ud-din to get back the faujdari of Rohilkhand, which his grandfather had once enjoyed, was frustrated at the beginning of 1749 after his defeat in a battle at Dhampur, 38 miles north-west of Muradabad.

After sometime the vazir Safdar Jang formed a new plan to suppress the Rohillas. "He did not like Afghan rule in a district

so close to his subdh. .. . and looked upon the Ruhelas as serpents infesting his road to Delhi". He sought to destroy one Afghan, by means of another, "so that whichever side lost he had one enemy the less". 87

Safdar Jang instigated Qaim Khan (the Bangash chief) to drive out the Afghans by appointing him faujddr of Rohilkhand and, after some negotiations which were not acceptable to the Rohillas, the latter fought a battle with them at Daunri, four miles south-east of Badaun city. After some successes at the beginning, Qaim Khan's army met with disaster and he himself was shot dead. "All the possessions of the Bangash house on the left or eastern bank of the Ganges (except three pargands) were annexed by the Ruhela regent (Hafiz Rahmat), but he dissuaded his victory-flushed clansmen from crossing the river and invading Qaim Khan's territories on its western bank, saying that the Afghans should mot destroy one another by internecine war". 88

Within a few months, Safdar Jang became unpopular with the Bangash Afghans, was defeated at the battle of Ram Chatauni on 13 September, 1750, and was disgraced at the Delhi Court. But he soon re-established his position and formed an alliance with the Marathas and the Jats for invading Rohilkhand. The allies won a resounding victory over the Rohillas (April 1751). But on hearing of the Abdalfs invasion of the Punjab in early 1752, the emperor asked the vazir to make peace with the Afghans of Rohilkhand. So at the beginning of 1752 a peace was concluded on the-following terms: "Farrukhabad and some other mahdls worth 16 or 22 lakhs of rupees a year, were left to Ahmad and other sons of Muhammad Khan Bangash, while the sons of 'All Muhammad Rohilla were confirmed in the possession of Mirabad and some other mahdls which they had seized after the death of Qaim Khan, but they were subjected to the payment of revenue for these. Qanauj, Akbarpur Shah, and other possessions of the Bangash family were put in the possession of Govind Pant Bundele, the Maratha agent. Safdar Jang kept a few of the places, for himself. The Bangashes and Rohillas thus emerged from this overwhelming invasion with surprisingly little permanent loss". 89

"Matters remained in this position till after the third battle of Panipat in January 1761". By rendering good services to the Abdall in this battle, the Rohillas and the Bangashes made some gains.

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was not only a brave warrior but also a wise ruler and the years 1761 to 1768 formed a peaceful and prosperous period of Rohilla rule. 90

But Rohilkhand was again threatened by the Marathas in 1772. The Nawab of Awadh also coveted Rohilkhand. But the common Maratha menace led to the conclusion of a treaty between the Rohillas and the Nawab of Awadh on 17 June, 1772, in the presence of Sir Robert Barker. This soon dragged the Rohillas into a war with the English, the result of which was their complete defeat though they fought with "great bravery and resolution".

Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed while fighting bravely; about 20,000 Rohillas were expelled beyond the Ganga. Their province was annexed to the Awadh kingdom; only a fragment of it, together with Rampur, was left in the possession of Faizullah. Khan, son of ‘All Muhammad Rohilla.

(g) The Bundelas:

Reference has been made in the preceding volume (pp. 379-80) to the career of Chhatrasal up to the death of Aurangzlb.

In the early part of Bahadur Shah’s reign Chhatrasal did not attend to the summons of the Delhi Court. But on 30 May, 1708, when Bahadur Shah was proceeding to the Deccan to fight against his younger brother, Kam Bakhsh, Harde Narayan and the other sons of Chhatrasal appeared before him and got mansabs. On 22 April, 1710, when the emperor was at Karatiya in the Kota country on his return journey to northern India, Chhatrasal presented himself before him and joined the army which was then marching against the Sikh leader, Banda. On 10 December, 1710, he participated in the assault on the Sikh fortress of Lohgarh. He retained imperial favour during the reign of Farrukh-siyar. On 21 January, 1714. he got the rank of 6,000 zait (4,000 horse). On 3 May, 1718, three of his sons and some grandsons attended imperial court and received presents. 91

On 25 December, 1720, Muhammad Khan Bangash was rewarded with the government of Allahabad for deserting Sayyid Abdullah Khan. Within the area of this province lay the greater part of Bundelkhand including the entire portion over which Chhatrasal had established his authority. The Mughuls had little authority in this region. 92 Dilir Khan, a favourite follower of Muhammad Khan was placed in charge of this area. In 1720, the Bundelas revolted, sacked Kalpi and killed the local amil. In a fierce fight on 25 May,

1721, between Chhatrasal and his men with those of Dilir Khan, the latter and his five hundred men were slain. Chhatrasal had already incurred the displeasure of the imperial government by sending aid to Girdhar Bahadur at Allahabad and to the rebel Kichar Zamindar of Asothar in the Doab. After Dilir Khan’s defeat and death, Chhatrasal’s suppression was considered imperative by the Delhi Government. This was postponed for some time due to the Mughul emperor’s quarrel with Raja A jit Singh of Jodhpur.

After peace with Ajit Singh, concluded towards the end of 1723, Muhammad Khan was asked to lead an expedition into Bundelkhand to check the aggressions of Chhatrasal. But Muhammad Khan remained engaged in other quarters and the Bundelas continued their inroads and Baghelkhand was overrun by them.

Towards the end of 1726, Muhammad Khan was asked to restore order in Bundelkhand. Crossing the Jamuna on 3 February, 1727, his vanguard first cleared the eastern part of Bundelkhand, with the exception of Tarahwan. Entrusting his eldest son, Saif Khan, to conduct the siege of that place, Muhammad Khan moved on to within eight miles of Sahenda. He brought under his possession pargand Bhend, Mauda, Pailani, Agwasi and Simanni. Tarahwan also was occupied by Qaim Khan on 22 December, 1727.

On 22 May, 1727, Muhammad Khan encountered the entrenched position of the Bundelas at Ijoli in pargand Mahoba. Chhatrasal and his party sought refuge in the forest of Salhat, nine miles due east of Jaitpur. Here also the imperial army attacked. them on 19 June, 1727. But- before the Muhammadan troops could come near the Bundelas, the latter went away to Mahoba. The former pitched their camp two miles beyond Mahoba and after spending the rainy season there resumed their advance in November 1727. Active hostilities were resumed in April 1728, and in the month of December 1728, the fortress of Jaitpur fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. Qaim Khan cleared the country to the east as far as Bargarh. Muhammad Khan sent a detailed report about the battle to the emperor. 93

After some time during which there were signs of submission by the Bundelas, they renewed their activities by February 1729, and Muhammad Khan met with difficulties and reverses. Raja Chhatrasal beseeched the Peshma to come to his aid and the Marathas under the Peshma, BajI Eao, responded and attacked Muhammad Khan in his encampment on 22 Match, 1729. Muhammad Khan and his troops were reduced to straits and had to suffer much for lack of provisions. On hearing of this at Tarahwan, Qaim Khan reached Supa, 12 miles north-east of Jaitpur, with some reinforcements and supplies. Coming out of their hiding places the Bundelas fought against Muhammad Khan, who withdrew to Jaitpur, The Marathas after defeating Qaim Khan besieged the town and the fort into which Muhammad Khan had withdrawn. Here also the garrison was subjected to acute troubles, for want of foodstuffs. Muhammad Khan appealed to the emperor and the great nobles to help him in this dire distress. “Not a hand was raised to help or encourage him”. 94 Khan-i-Dauran Samsam-ud-daulah, whom the emperor asked to proceed to Jaitpur, put off his journey and secretly encouraged Chhatrasal to proceed against Muhammad Khan.

On the outbreak of epidemic in the Maratha camp and before the rains set in, the Marathas raised the siege and returned to the Deccan. Considering that it would be more prudent to come to terms, Chhatrasal and his men allowed Muhammad Khan to evacuate Jaitpur in August 1729 “on signing a written agreement not to attack them again, but content himself with the tribute they had formerly paid”. 95 Muhammad Khan and his party recrossed the Jamuna at Kalpi on 3 October, 1729 and never again came to Bundelkhand.

Chhatrasal died at Panna on 14 December, 1731, at the age of eighty-two. Of his many sons, the eldest two Harde Sah and Jagat Raj divided the State between themselves. A small jdgir was also granted to the Peshwd. Harde Sah became Raja of Panna and died in April 1739. Jagat Raj became Raja of Jaitpur and died in 1758. The younger sons got small appanages for their maintenance.

(h) Rajasthan:

Aurangzib’s intolerance and persecution had alienated the Rajputs. So after his death the prominent Rajput rulers like Amar Singh of Mewar (Udaipur), Ajit Singh of Marwar (Jodhpur) and Jay Singh of Amber (Jaipur) sought to cast off their allegiance to the Mughul empire and to assert independence. When Bahadur Shah proceeded to subdue them, Amar Singh averted the attack on him by sending his brother Bakht Singh to Agra with a letter of congratulations, one hundred gold coins, one thousand rupees and some costly presents. The emperor also brought Amber under his control and made it over to Bijay Singh,. Jay Singh's younger brother, who on 30 April, 1708, received the tilde of Mirza Raja. 36

After staying in Amber for three days Bahadur Shah continued his march towards Jodhpur. Its ruler Ajit Singh also tendered sub

mission to Bahadur Shah. He received the title of Maharaja and the rank of 3,500 zat and 3,000 horse, a standard and kettle-drums. But soon on 30 April, 1708, Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, Jay Singh II of Amber and Durgadas Rathor left the emperor's camp, when it was near Mandasor in Malwa. They had "entered into an agreement for joint resistance". 97

In view of the Sikh rising in the north of Sirhind, Bahadur Shah adopted conciliatory measures in relation to the Rajputs between October 1708 and June 1710. On 6 October, 1708 on the intercession of Prince 'Azlm-ush-shan, Jay Singh and Ajit Singh were, restored to their ranks in the Mughul service.

During the confusion which followed Bahadur Shah's death Ajit Singh, "after forbidding cow-killing and the call of prayer from the Almagiri mosque, besides ejecting the imperial officers from Jodhpur and destroying their houses, entered the imperial territory and took possession of Ajmer". 98 Sayyid Husain 'All was sent to subdue Ajit Singh. But so vitiated was the court politics of those days that "official orders were given in one sense, and the opposing side received secret letters of a different purport, assuring them of future favour if they made a vigorous defence and defeated the imperial general sent against them. Letters were despatched to Raja Ajit Singh urging him to make away with Husain 'All in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the BakhshVs property and treasure would become his; and he would, in addition, receive other rewards." 99 But Ajit Singh did not offer any opposition and concluded a treaty according to one article of which he agreed to give one of his daughters in marriage to the emperor. The marriage was celebrated next year.

During the reign of Farrukh-siyar "the houses of Jodhpur and Jaipur played a conspicuous part in Delhi politics arid by their opportune aloofness or adherence they added to their kingdoms a large portion of the empire". To strengthen their own party the Sayyids attached to it the Rajput chiefs who got various appointments, besides holding their fiefs in their own territories. Ajit Singh received the governments of Ajmer and Gujarat, which he held till 1721. On the fall of the Sayyids, Jay Singh of Jaipur became also the Governor of Agra. After Muhammad Shah's accession he was conciliated by being given the government of the Sarkar of Surat and a large amount of money. "In this way the country from a point sixty miles of Delhi to the shores of the ocean at Surat was in the hands of those two Rajas, very untrustworthy sentinels for the Mughals on the exposed frontier". 100 Ajit Singh secretly assisted

the Marathas in their movements in western India. But after reaction in the Mughul court against the Sayyid brothers, who had been in alliance with the Rajputs, he was removed from the government of Gujarat at an inopportune time when this 1 subah was in the welter of internal anarchy, and Haidar Quli Khan was appointed in his place. Thus Jodhpur was alienated and Gujarat moved away from Mughul control. Ajit Singh met with a tragic death at the hands of his second son, Bakht Singh.

The revival of the Rajput chiefs after decadence of the Mughul empire was temporary and was not of a national type, the chiefs being led by motives of personal aggrandisement. Absence of internal unity and cohesion produced confusion and disorder in Rajasthan and subjected it to external aggression. Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes: "The imperial Government of Delhi had held together and protected all the feudatory States of India. But when the Emperor became a lifeless shadow confined within the harem, when the wazir's role was pursuit of pleasure varied only by contests with his court rivals, this unifying bond and common controlling authority was dissolved. No superior power was left to enforce lawful

rights and prevent ambitious conflicts between one vassal State and

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another, and between one prince and another of the same royal house. All the pent-up personal ambitions and inter-State rivalries (hitherto checked) now burst forth without fear or check. And Rajputana became a zoological garden with the barriers of the cages thrown open and the keepers removed. The fiercest animal passions raged throughout the land". 101

The chief storm centres in Rajasthan during the second quarter of the eighteenth century were Bundi, Jaipur and Marwiar. The Hada country of Bundi was confronted with a threat when Sawai Jay Singh embarked upon a campaign to make Bundi a vassal State of Jaipur by removing its legitimate ruler Budh Singh and giving its throne to Dalil Singh in 1729. For the following nineteen years the dispossessed Budh Singh and his gallant son Ummed Singh made various attempts to recover their own authority and there was ultimately complete triumph of Ummed Singh. In Jaipur there was struggle between Ishwari Singh (reign 1743-1750) and his younger brother Madho Singh, ishwari Singh tried t6 keep Madho Singh satisfied by heavy concessions to him and he got the throne only after the death of the former without any issue. In Marwar there was rivalry between Ram Singh, the successor of Maharaja Abhay Singh and his paternal uncle Bakht Singh, the chief of Nagore. They entered into contest in 1749 soon after the death of Abhay

Singh. Bakht Singh gained the throne in 1751 and bequeathed it to his own progeny. But there was no peace in the territory till the death of the dispossessed Ram Singh in 1773.

The deplorable effects of these internal quarrels have been aptly described in the following words: “Each of these three dynastic quarrels drew into its vortex the neighbours of the two main contestants, and in time all three became merged into one, with a clearcut array of allies facing opponents similarly confederated. The Marathas were called in to decide the issue, and that by every party and almost in every year. In the end the three claimants mentioned above gained their ancestral thrones, but only after ruining and weakening their kingdoms and leaving the Marathas in supreme command over a divided, impotent and impoverished Rajputana which lay helplessly subject to their annual exactions and ravage.” 102

The Maratha advance into the province of Malwa served as a “convenient starting point for raids into Rajputana”. The Marathas defeated and killed its subtihdar, Girdhar Bahadur, in the plain between Amjhera and Tirla near Mandu, on 29 November, 1728. His cousin Daya Bahadur was also killed in another part of the same field. On 22 April, 1734, Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia attacked Bundi. This caused alarm in the whole of Rajasthan and in the second half of October 1734, Sawai Jay Singh summoned a conference of all the Rajas of Rajasthan at Hurda to prepare a concerted plan for checking Maratha spoliation of their country. But nothing came out of it.

On 15 January, 1736, the Peshwd BajI Rao I appeared at the southern frontier of Mewar. The terrified Rana Jagat Singh (17341751) welcomed him at Udaipur and signed a treaty promising thereby to pay an annual tribute. The treaty “remained in force during ten years when grasping at the whole they despised a part, and the treaty became a nullity”. 103

After Nadir Shah’s invasion had dealt a shattering blow to the Mughul empire, the imperial authority disappeared from Rajputana in all but name. “The Rajput princes were left entirely to themselves, to wrangle and fight within the confines of their own country, with the result of establishing a new master, the Marathas, as the arbiter of their destinies. This change was rendered easier because in the course of the next eleven years all the last Rajput princes who had counted for anything in imperial politics were removed from the scene—Sawai Jay Singh in 1743, Abhay Singh in 1749 and Ishwari Singh in 1750. The smaller men who succeeded them and who could not look up to any great suzerain for support, were naturally powerless to make a stand against the Marathas.” 104

Jay Singh died on 21 September, 1743 and was succeeded by his eldest son ishwari Singh, but his reign of seven years was one long struggle with his younger brother Madho Singh and his Rajput and Maratha allies. Jagat Singh supported the claim of his nephew Madho Singh and advanced towards Jaipur. But with the support of the Marathas, Ishwari Singh defeated the Rana early in February 1745. The Rana then managed to secure the help of Malhar Rao Holkar. In March 1747, a combined army consisting of the troops of Marwar and Bundl assisted by Holkar’s under his son Khande Rao was defeated at the battle of Rajmahal (ten miles north of Deoli cantonment and south of a bend in the Banas river).

At the end of 1750, Jaipur had to suffer from “a new and disastrous visitation of the Mara thas and saw a revolution in its affairs”. Disgusted with the galling yoke of the Marathas, ishwari Singh committed suicide in December 1750, and Madho Singh occupied the throne. But in this war of succession the Marathas became the arbiters of Rajputana. 105

Jagat Singh had no strength of character and administrative ability to prevent Maratha aggressions. In the reign of his successor Pratap Singh II (1751-1754) the Marathas exacted large contributions from Mewar, which was tormented by disputed successions. During the reign of Raj Singh II (1754-61) the repeated invasions on his country so exhausted it ‘‘that the Rana was compelled to ask pecuniary aid from the Brahmin Collector of the revenue, to enable him to marry the Rathor chieftain’s daughter”. 106

Even after 1761 the recurring Maratha raids into Rajasthan sucked its life-blood and added to the woes of its unhappy people. The Maratha invasions resulted in anarchy, plunder, economic ruin and humiliation of the noble race (the Rajputs) who ultimately courted alliance with the British power by entering into treaties with it during the Governor-Generalship of Marquess of Hastings.

(i) Mdlwa: (1707-1818 A.D.)

The story of the infiltration of the Marathas in Malwa, of the defeat of the Mughul Subdhdar Girdhar Bahadur in November 1728, and of his successors by Peshwd BajI Rao, has been told in detail in the earlier chapter. The Nizam by the convention of Durah? Sarai in January 1738 promised to obtain for the Peshwd the Subdh aari of the province. The promise was fulfilled three years later,

when in July 1741 the Peshwd (Balaji Rao) was granted the deputygovernorship of Malwa. Thus, Malwa ceased to be a part of the empire.

1. The Maratha Domination (1742-1766 A.D.)

Maratha domination over Malwa having been thus legalised, it was finally and completely cut off from the Mughul empire. The Mughul administrative control and the government machinery thereof had been rapidly breaking up since the battle of Amjhera (November, 1728) and now it was completely destroyed. The Marathias had by then been in virtual control of the entire province for about ten years, but they did not provide any centralised provincial administrative machinery of their own to take the place of the shattered Mughul administrative set-up in the province. Consequently after the end of the Mughul rule in Malwa, the different Maratha commanders did not find it very easy to establish, much less to strengthen, their hold over the parganas assigned to them, which were generally spread over large areas and geographically non-contiguous. During the early decades the Peshwd too was quite often changing these assignments to different commanders. Therefore, their revenues were invariably quite inadequate even for their everincreasing armies, more often than not on the move, and more so for the local administrative purposes.

The Maratha commanders in charge of the Malwa region had, however, to contend with another important factor in the polity of Malwa, viz., the Rajput principalities and estates, of varying status and powers, spread throughout the province. Having been there for quite some time, these Rajput ruling families were well entrenched in their respective principalities; therefore, the Maratha commanders had necessarily to leave them alone, provided their due contributions were paid off with some semblance of regularity. Hence, with the establishment of the Maratha domination there, all these Rajput States of Malwa, began to assume for themselves added powers and greater authority than ever before.

Moreover, there was complete anarchy within khdlsa par gands and those held by absentee landlords. Various daring Rajput adventurers in the region collected bands of roving horsemen, and taking advantage of the prevailing fluid conditions, began to establish estates or zamiiiddris of their own. Many of the petty Rajput estates and thikanas in Central and Western Malwa, not comprised

in the then existing Rajput principalities, were thus established during these troublous decades of anarchy after 1732 A.D. These adventurous new occupants were later accepted by the Maratha commanders as the masters of those territories, as they readily agreed to pay off the Maratha dues levied on their holdings. Later, by the end of the 18th century, when the successors of these estate holders were dispossessed of their holdings, many of them readily became outlaws and disturbers of peace, and came to be termed ‘girasva$\

With the passage of time the cruel hand of death brought about series of inevitable changes in the personnel controlling the Maratha affairs in Malwa., The principle of heredity had already begun to prevail in matters of succession to these early Maratha jucftrs in Malwa. But th Maratha commanders had been getting more and more involved in the Rajasthan and Delhi affairs since 1747 A. D. wherein the House of Sindia suffered series of casualties. Malhar Rao Holkar, however, secured in 1757 A.D. from Madho Singh of Jaipur the pargands of Rampura-Bhanpura in north-western Malwa, once ruled over by the Chandrawats, but the dispossessed Chandrawats lost no opportunity to disturb the pargands or to seize Rampura. Again, due to l^ck of sufficient Maratha forces in Malwa, none of the Maratha commanders were able to strengthen their hold even on their saranjdm pargands there. Thus seething discontent among the residents and the local zaminddrs of Ahirwada, including the Raja of Raghogarh, came to surface in May, 1760, which made roads passing through that region unsafe for traffic and even for Maratha couriers.

The repercussions of the Maratha disaster at the third battle of Panipat (1761) were very great in Malwa. “Everywhere the dispossessed or humbled original chieftains, and even petty landlords, raised their heads and talked of shutting the southern invaders out of their country”. The Chandrawats captured Rampura, the Bhopal Nawab occupied Bhilsa, and Abhay Singh Rathor, an officer of Maharao of Kota, raised the standard of revolt in the Malwa pargands of the Kota State. For full three months or more the position of the Marathas in Malwa was very critical. But Malhar Rao Holkar, the only senior notable survivor, now in supreme control of the Malwa affairs, successfully retrieved the situation, as there was no great leader among the countless separate caste and tribal chiefs in Malwa to unite them and win their freedom from the Maratha domination. Malhar

Rab Holkar was, however, ailing, and he died at Alampur on May 20, 1766. With him not only the first phase of the anarchy in

Malwa ended, but also the predominance of the Holkars in Malwa affairs. With the rise of Mahadji Sindia the balance of relative importance naturally tilted in his favour.

2. Increasing Mardthd hold on Malwa (1766-1795 A.D.)

The forces of the revived Maratha power were once again on their northward march, but the affairs of Malwa continued to remain unsettled as the youthful Peshwd Madhav Rao took some time to come into his own to assert his authority. In the meanwhile Ahalya Bai had assumed herself all ruling powers over the possessions of the Holkar family and retained her hold over them till the end. Her benign and benevolent rule ensured peace and prosperity in those regions, which were only occasionally disturbed by irreconcilable Rajput zaminddrs or restive Bhils, who were successfully put down at her bidding.

Similarly, there was much delay in the appointment of a permanent successor to the House of Sindias; hence the situation in the Malwa possessions of the Sindia House remained fluid. Mahadji Sindia was ultimately acknowledged the sole successor to the Sindia's heritage. Still even thereafter the overall situation in Northern Malwa continued to remain quite chaotic. The Ahirs were in revolt and in the adjoining Khichiwada the Raja of Raghogarh became defiant, Elsewhere too in all the mahdls Bhils, Bhumias, and Rangda Girasias (Rajput outlaws) were disturbing the entire country. But as Mahadji could only occasionally spend a few months in Malwa and that too while passing through it, no lasting results could be achieved.

During the First Anglo-Maratha War, however, when in 1760, the British decided to invade Malwa, Mahadji rushed to save it and cantoned there during that rainy season. He was thus able to avert the loss of Malwa, but even then he could not follow it up with any further effective measures to consolidate his Own hold there. Hence, even after being made the Deputy Regent of the Mughul empire, in 1784 A.D., Mahadji found the vital line of communication to Ujjain and southwards threatened due to intransigency of

Raja Balwant Singh of Raghogarh. The expeditionary force sent against him ultimately made the Raja and members of his family captive, and confined them in different forts. All his property was confiscated and thus an attempt was made to extinguish this old Rajput State, but the redoubtable Khichis could not possibly be thus crushed. Sher Singh, a Khichi cadet, rose in revolt, secured the escape of Jay Singh, the son of Raja Balwant Singh, from his prison in the Bhilsa fort, and then both of them together carried on ceaseless guerilla warfare in this region, making the Deccan roads more unsafe than before. Even Mahadji's wife, then proceeding northwards, would have been captured by them, but for personal interposition of the Minister, Chhote Khan of Bhopal. The fateful battle of Lalsot (July 27, 1787) had serious repercussions throughout Malwa, and there were series of risings all over the province, and Mahadji had to send out forces to put them down. Thus, after seizing the Raghogarh State from the guerillas Mahadji wisely made up with Raja Balwant Singh by restoring his territories to him on the promise of paying tribute. This policy of pacification, coupled with the armed fist, proved effective and there was some peace in the Malwa region.

The military might of Mahadji increased due to De Boigne's trained battalions, and it ensured the continuance of semblance of peace in Malwa for some years till 1795 A.D., which marks the end of an epoch in Malwa. Due to their increasing military might the Maratha hold on Malwa continued to increase in spite of local uprisings and serious discontent throughout the region against Maratha domination. But nothing was done by the Maratha rulers there either to organise the local administration or to mitigate the misery of the people of Malwa in the least. Hence as a result of series of deaths among the Maratha ruling houses in Malwa, when new persons came to the helm of affairs, even this semblance of peace and order there finally ended.

3. The Last Phase of Anarchy and 'Gardz kd Waqt 9 in Malwa:

(1795-1817 A. D.)

Daulat Rao Sindia succeeded Mahadji Sindia to the heritage of the House of Sindias, but the administrative disorder and falling revenues of the State made it impossible for his appointees in Malwa to do anything at all there. Moreover, before long the situation further worsened as a result of some fateful happenings in Poona. Taking advantage of his dominance at the Poona Court, Daulat Rao tried to regulate the affairs of the House of Holkar after the death of Tukoji Holkar, which ultimately resulted in the ascendancy of Yashwant Rao Holkar, the illegitimate son of Tukoji Rao Holkar. In the meanwhile Daulat Rao Sindia's war with Mahadji's widows entered Malwa and Yashwant Rao Holkar joined them to complicate the situation there. Thus "in the year 1798 the dark clouds of

anarchy, rapine and popular suffering descended on the unharrov land (of Malwa)".

Daulat Rao Sindia ruined Malwa by wrong policies and dilatoriness. After his victory at Newri and defeat at Satwas, Yashwant Rao Holkar captured Ujjain (July 1801). Three months later Daulat Rao's general, Sarje Rao Ghatge, defeated Yashwant Rao Holkar at Indore (October 1801), but Daulat Rao could not follow up the victory due to utter lack of money and daily mutinies of his long unpaid soldiery. Efforts for peace between them failed because of irreconcilable claims of both sides, and then Yashwant Rao Holkar carried his war against Daulat Rao to the gates of Poona, which ultimately shattered Daulat Rao's power and destroyed Maratlia hegemony once for all.

One major outcome of the Second Anglo-Maratha War was that all European officers of Sindia's forces, save Jean Baptiste Filose were seduced away by the British. This greatly reduced the military might of Sindia. Again, during the following decade the series of court intrigues and consequent ministerial changes by Daulat Rao repeatedly threw his policies and his entire administration into turmoil time and again. Naturally it became weak, confused and bankrupt.

The treaties concluded with the British also greatly reduced Sindia's territories with the result that the ambitions and arms of Sindia were now cooped up within the barren sands of Rajasthan and the then desolate plains of Malwa. Daulat Rao sent his expeditionary forces against the various

Rajput States in Malwa to extend his power over them and to exact as much money or territory from them as possible. The Raghogarh Raja Jay Singh became a fugitive and his State was annexed. This Rajput policy of Daulat Rao Sindia, following in succession to their decades-old military suppression under Mahadji Sindia, left a legacy of bitter hatred for the Maratha name in Rajput hearts.

The situation within the territories under the control of the

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house of Holkar was no better. Yashwant Rao Holkar, the only man of military leadership among the Marathas then living, returned to Malwa after concluding the Treaty of Rajghat (Dec. 24, 1805) with the British. Making Bhanpura (48 miles south of Kota) his headquarters he began to reorganise his military forces, when on 20 October, 1807 he had his first fit of insanity. During the period of his insanity there was complete anarchy in the Holkar State. When Yashwant Rao Holkar died at Bhanpura on 27 October, 1811, he was succeeded by his minor son Malhar Rao Holkar, born of Kesar Bai.

The series of treaties concluded by the British with Daulat Rao Sindia and Yashwant Rao Holkar up to 1805, had ended hostilities

between them, but it marked the beginning of ever increasing disorder and anarchy throughout Malwa. The unpaid, unruly, starving soldiers of the inflated armies of Sindia and Holkar then began to roam about over the length and breadth of Malwa like beasts of prey attacking the undefended inhabitants, rich and poor alike, throughout the region. Amir Khan, the Pathan employee of Yashwant Rao Holkar, who had collected a large powerful army of banditti under his leadership, became a major factor at the court of insane Yashwant Rao Holkar, and ultimately also the absentee regent of the minor Malhar Rao Holkar. To these were added the large hordes of Pindaris, who were loosely grouped into *Shinde-ShdhV and ‘Hoikar-'Shdhi* bands and worked without the least fear or restraint under the protection of these two major Maratha ruling Houses in Malwa. These Pindari hordes had their own notorious leaders, and the sole objective of these myriads of wolves was to plunder and collect wealth, for which they committed most atrocious outrages upon all classes of peaceful inhabitants.

These human locusts spread utter devastation, desolation and destruction wheresoever they went.

Thus this period of anarchy and utter devastation, known in Malwa as the ‘Gardi-fcd-Waqt’ reduced it to the state of utter misery and severe distress. All this was further augmented by the Maratha subahdars sent out by the various Maratha rulers to collect revenue, accompanied by large military detachments, which were obliged to live on the country, while at the same time extorting maximum funds for their rulers. By 1817 A.D. the disorder in Malwa was complete and reached its climax, ‘a state of anarchy and general distress, ever unheard of, which had reached its crisis in the absolute depopulation of the country’.

4. The Establishment of the British Domination over Malwa and Malcolm’s Malwa Settlement: (1817-1818 A.D.)

When Lord Moira (Hastings) began his campaign for suppression of the Pindaris towards the close of 1817, ‘the hunt of the Pindaris became merged in the Third Maratha War’, which sounded the death-knell of the absolute domination of the Maratha rulers over Malwa. Sindia had to sign the Treaty of Gwalior (5 November, 1817). Holkar, defeated in the battle of Mahidpur on 21 December, 1817, signed the Treaty of Mandasor on 6 January, 1818. The Pindaris, in the meanwhile, had been driven across the Chambal, and by the end of January 1818, their organised bands had been eliminated.

Thus the path was clear for the vitally important settlement of Malwa, which was effected by Sir John Malcolm, the victor of the battle of Mahidpur. Agreement previously made with the Naw&b of Bhopal in the last months of 1817 became the basis of a formal Treaty (26 February, 1818). Amir Khan and his brother-in-law, Gafur Khan of Jaira, were confirmed in their territorial possessions in Malwa. But the territories of all the States, big and small, and the estates and jnglrs of varying sizes and differing in status, were so interspersed and intermixed, that there was inextricable confusion as regards their actual boundaries, particularly because of continuous disputes and changing situations, vis-a-vis the two conflicting parties. Hence Malcolm froze the boundaries of one and all as they existed in January 1818, and took up the task of finalising their respective claims. Moreover, they were all linked up together by political agreements or specific understandings, which could not possibly be duly enforced by either party.

Consequently, Malcolm secured to the Maratha rulers their due tributes, and at the same time secured to their tributaries their tankhas, which were originally a form of blackmail. These tributaries were also guaranteed the permanent possession of the land they then held, so long as they kept the peace and carried out the conditions laid out in their respective scrnads. All these agreements, mediated by Sir John Malcolm or his assistants between the two parties, the Maratha ruler on the one side and the Rajput ruler or thdkur on the other, carried in addition to signatures of both parties an endorsement of the same having been ‘confirmed and guaranteed by the British Government’. The basis of all these agreements was thus enunciated by Lord Hastings: “No acknowledged usage stood in the way to establish principles between the sovereign and the subject advantageous to both, giving these principles a defined line of practical application, a departure from which would afford to either party a right of claiming the intervention of our paramount power. While the sovereign had his legitimate authority and his due revenue insured to him, the subject was protected against exaction and tyrannical outrage”.

Malcolm’s much-acclaimed Malwa Settlement produced immediate results and before long, peace descended on this greatly troubled land of ancient glory and greatness and the most distracted population then in India became in a few months a comparatively lawabiding community. But the general confusion that existed in the administrative sphere for a long time, however, could not possibly be eliminated forthwith due to the continued serious distrust between the Rajput feudatories and their Maratha overlords, which had far-reaching effects in the years to come. Under the ‘guarantee

system’ introduced by Malcolm in the Malwa Settlement, the British had merely undertaken to ensure that the Maratha ruler and his feudatory, both carried out their prescribed parts duly and faithfully, and to intervene only if the conditions laid down in the agreements were disregarded. But in reality there grew a form of political practice, greatly resented by the Maratha overlords, which was very much different from what was actually contemplated by Lord Hastings or ever thought of by Malcolm, and the same could ultimately be ended only a century later on 14 March, 1921.

(j) The Jats:

Reference has been made in the preceding volume (p. 375) to the early career of Churaman Jat till the death of Aurangzlb. He took full advantage of the war of succession, after Aurangzib's death, between Bahadur Shah and his brother A'zam with a view to strengthening his position. After the victory of Bahadur Shah, he professed allegiance to him and received a mansoib of 1500 zat, 500 horse. A clever man as he was, his policy was to wait for a suitable moment for furtherance of his own ambition. Next he joined the imperial forces at Ajmer and fought in their campaign against the Sikhs at Sadhaura and Lohgarh (1710). 107

In 1712, on the decease of Bahadur Shah there was again a war of succession among his four sons, and Jahandar Shah, the eldest son, having been triumphant, ascended the throne, but he was totally unfit to wield the sceptre. Churaman took this opportunity to go back to his own country and devoted his energy to increase his power. But when Farrukh-siyar, the nephew of Jahandar Shah, approached Agra to contest the throne, Churaman without rendering any aid to the emperor, looted the baggages of both parties.

On the defeat of Jahandar Shah, Farrukh-siyar ascended the throne (January 1713). Chabela Ram, the imperial Subdhdar of Agra, then tried hard to subdue the Jat leader, but in vain. By conciliatory method, the next Subahdar Samsam-ud-daulah (Khan i-Daur&n) succeeded in bringing him to the imperial court, where he was cordially received and placed in "charge of the royal highway from Barapula near Delhi to the crossing on the Chambal. But by slow degrees he fell into disfavour, the extent of the country he took possession of was thought excessive, his realization of road dues was objected to, and his interference with jdgtr-holders was. disliked. All that a jagirdccr could collect from him was a little money thrown to him as if it were an alms". 108 Churaman had also

constructed a fortress at Thun in the midst of a thick and thorny forest.

The conduct of the Jat leader enraged the emperor who wanted to punish him and entrusted the task to Sawai Jay Singh of Jaipur. On arrival in the Jat country the latter besieged Churaman in his fort of Thun (November 1716). The siege dragged on for a long time, and, at last, tired of it, and, experiencing various difficulties, Churaman made proposals of peace to the Vazir, Sayyid ‘Abdullah, offering to pay a tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees to the imperial government and a present' of twenty lakhs of rupees to the Vazir himself. Both parties having agreed to the conditions, peace was ratified, and Jay Singh was compelled to raise the siege. Thereafter, the Jat leader visited Delhi with his nephew Rupa in April, 1718. 109

When, later on, quarrels broke out between Sayyid ‘Abdullah and the emperor Muhammad Shah, Churaman joined the former, and to him “was confided the duty of harassing the imperial force and plundering it wherever he could”. 110 On the first day of the battle between the emperor and his minister, near Hasanpur, he plundered the imperial baggage, but when, on the following morning, Sayyid ‘Abdullah’s position became hopeless, he plundered the baggages of both sides and retired with the spoils to his own country (November 1720). 111

Besides his faithless conduct, Churaman’s alliance with Ajit Singh of Jodhpur against the interests of the imperial government and his assistance to the Bundelas against the Mughul governor of Allahabad irritated the emperor who ordered Sa‘adat Khan, the new governor of Agra, to chastise him. But his deputy Nilkanth Nagar, while riding out on an elephant, was shot dead by a Jat. 112

Churaman had undoubtedly gained in strength, but he committed a serious mistake by imprisoning his nephew Badan Singh who, when released at the intervention of other influential Jats, fled to the Mughul camp. On the other hand, as Sa‘adat Khan was unable to bring the Jat leader to his heels, he was replaced by Jay Singh as governor of Agra. On advancing into the Jat country the Raja besieged the fort of Thun; Badan Singh pointed out its weak places to him and thus helped him in its reduction. In the meantime Churaman had quarrels with his son Muhkam Singh and committed suicide by taking poison. Despairing of success after some resistance, Muhkam took to flight whereupon the imperial army occupied the fort (November 1722). 113

Badan Singh

Badan Singh, the son of Churaman's brother Bhao Singh, was then recognized as the chief of the Jats by Jay Singh and this was confirmed by the Imperial Court. 114 It was a very critical time for the Jats. "There was as yet no Jat State, no politically united Jat nation, no Jat King" and even the 'small beginning of a tribal organisation and foundation of a state was totally destroyed' after the death of Churaman and fall of Thun. 115 So, Badan Singh had to commence everything afresh. By his amiable conduct he won over the support of Jay Singh who bestowed on him "the tika, the nishan^ the kettle-drum, the five coloured flag and the title of Brajay raj (or lord of the Holy Land of Mathura)... But... Badan very astutely abstained from assuming the title of Rajah. .. . and throughout life styled himself only Thakur or baron and represented himself publicly as a mere vassal of the Rajah of Jaipur". 116 An apt and capable leader with indefatigable energy, he united the scattered units of the Jats, and all lands and wealth held by Jat village headmen were brought under his control. He strengthened his position in two ways—-first, by application of force where necessary, and secondly, by matrimonial alliances, specially with some influential families of Mathura.

*

He organized a strong army, consisting of infantry and cavalry, constructed four strong forts, viz., Dig, Kumbher, Ver and Bharatpur, and provided them with ample provisions and sufficient artillery. 117

It was Badan Singh who laid the foundation of a new ruling house, viz., that of Bharatpur, with an enlarged territory. In 1752 he was created "a Raja with the title of 'Mahendra' by the Mughul emperor Ahmad Shah". 118

Badan Singh was also a patron of architecture. He constructed a temple at Vrindavan, known as Dhir Samir, fine palaces in the fort of Dig, a beautiful house with a large garden in the fort of Ver (Wair), 119 and palaces at Kamar and Sahar. 120

He died on 7 June 1756, at a ripe old age, and was succeeded by his adopted son Suraj Mai.

Suraj Mai

V

During the latter half of Badan Singh's regime his son Suraj* Mai acted as regent owing to the inactivity and growing blindness

of the father, and it was during this period that he earned fame as an able warrior, efficient leader and able statesman.

When, after the death of Sawai Jay Singh, a serious struggle ensued between his two sons, Suraj Mai, on appeal for assistance from the eldest son, joined him with 10,000 cavalry; undaunted by the enormous strength of the enemy, he earned undying fame for his valour and military skill. 121 On January 1, 1750, he inflicted a crushing defeat on Salabat Khan, the commander-in-chief of the Mughul army, and compelled him to accept his terms.. In the same year and, again, in 1751-52, he rendered material assistance to the imperial Vazir Safdar Jang against Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farrukhabad and the Rohillas. 122 A few days later "the office of faujdar of Mathura" was conferred on Suraj Mai. "This gave him the governorship of most of the territory on the two sides of the Jamuna, in the province of Agra and the environs of that city for an annual tribute". 123

During the civil war (1753) between the Mughul emperor Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang, Suraj Mai, out of gratitude, rendered all possible assistance to the latter and plundered old Delhi and its suburbs mercilessly. 124 After the civil war he obtained pardon of the emperor through the new Vazir Intizam-ud-daulah. 125 Next, the Jat country passed through a great ordeal due to Maratha attack under Raghunath Rao and Malhar Holkar, and eventually, the country was saved on promise of payment of a heavy indemnity. 126

On the death of Badan Singh (1756) Suraj Mai assumed powers in name as well as in fact. By this time he had established his reputation as an able ruler and efficient general, and he could tackle every problem of the State with due foresight.

After settling the affairs in Delhi, Ahmad Shah Abdali marched to the Jat' country for forcible realization of tribute and compelling the Jat Raja to enter his service. He besieged and captured the fort of Ballabhgarh, putting to death all its inmates (March 1757).

In the meantime, overcoming the opposition of Jawahir Singh, Jahan Khan, the Abdali's general, entered Mathura and carried on indiscriminate plunder and massacre of the inhabitants. Gokul was saved by the stiff resistance of four thousand warlike Naga Sannyasis, but, for want of opposition at Vrindavan, it suffered terribly. 127

In 1760 the Abdali again demanded tribute from Suraj Mai and invaded the Jat country, besieging the fort of Dig, but fortunately

for the Jats, the siege was afterwards lifted and the Abdali moved towards Mewat.

The political situation in India became unusually tense due to the rivalry and deadly animosity* between the Marathas and the Abdall. The former enlisted the support of Suraj Mai, but soon a rift occurred between them for various reasons—Sadashiv Rao Bhiau's rejection of the war-plan of Suraj Mai who was in favour of predatory warfare and keeping the army free from women and heavy baggage; 128 and the removal of the silver ceiling of the Divxin-i-Khas. l2 $ Suraj Mai felt so much disgusted that, deserting the cause of the Marathas, he returned to his own country, apprehensive of a future Maratha attack against it in case of their victory against the Abdali.

But notwithstanding their differences, Suraj Mai was generous enough to provide food and shelter to the Maratha fugitives who survived the disaster of Panipat and entered his country. He did this at the risk of vengeance from the Abdali 130 whom he appeased by an offer of tribute. On receiving a rich booty worth fifty lakhs of rupees by capturing and plundering the city of Agra, he paid one lakh to him, promising him to pay five lakhs more, which he never did.

By his tactful and efficient guidance of the State affairs during this period of turmoil, Suraj Mai not only proved his political foresight and sagacity, -but remained "the strongest potentate in India with absolutely unimpaired forces and an overflowing treasury, while every other chief had been more or less ruined". 131

Suraj Mai then wrested considerable portions of the Doab from the Marathas, recovered his lost places in Aligarh and Bulandshahar districts from the Abdall's possession and conquered also some places of the Agra district and Haryana. But his bright' and victorious career came to an end by his sudden death in a contest with Najibud-daulah, the Rohilla chief and the Mir Bakshi and "Regent of the imperial administration" on the bank of the Hindaun, about fourteen miles east of Delhi (December 25, 1763). 132

Suraj Mai was then fifty-five years of age and his demise was a rude shock to the Jats. Sayyid Ghulam Husain says that Suraj Mai was "the eye and the shining taper of the Jat tribe—a prince who rendered himself famous by his good manners and civil deportment, as well as by his conquests and his superior knowledge in the arts of government". 133 He gave his State peace and prosperity, was

loved and respected by his subjects and admired and feared'by foreigners. He has also been described as "the Plato of the Jat tribe" and "the Jat Ulysses" for "his political sagacity, steady intellect and clear vision". 134

V

During his regime the Jat State reached its highest extent. Besides the original Bharatpur principality, it embraced the districts of Agra, Dholpur, Mainpuri, Hathras, Aligarh, Etawa, Mirat, Rohtak, Farrukhnagar, Mewat, Rewari, Gurgaon and Mathura. Its annual revenue was one hundred and seventy-five lakhs of rupees, whereas the expenditure was sixty to sixty-five lakhs, and he left a reserve fund of ten crores, inherited and acquired taken together. At the time of his death his army consisted mainly of 15,000 cavalry and 25,000 infantry, besides fort garrisons. 135 His cavalry, in particular, was highly spoken of by Sayyid Ghulam Husain. 136

Suraj Mai possessed fine taste for architecture which is testified by his construction of noble edifices at Dig like Gopal Bhavan, Suraj Bhavan and Krishna Bhavan. Thornton says that the palaces which he constructed "are surpassed in India for elegance of design and perfection of workmanship only by the Tajmahal of Agra”. 137

Jaw&hir Singh (1764-1768)

Suraj Mai left five sons, of whom Jawahir Singh succeeded in capturing the vacant throne of his father. 138

He made grand preparations against Najib-ud-daulah with a view to taking revenge of his father’s death. Besides his own army he hired twenty-thousand Maratha cavalry under Malhar Rao Holkar and fifteen thousand Sikhs, 139 marched to Delhi and laid siege to it. Shahdara, which had large stocks of grain was plundered, and although the beleaguered city was suffering from acute shortage of provision, and its fall became inevitable, the Jats could not reap the desired benefit due to the faithlessness of Malhar Rao and treacherous conduct of a section of the Jat officers. Finally, an agreement was arrived at in 1765; but it was not possible for Jawahir Singh to achieve the object for which the campaign had been undertaken. 140

On his return from the above campaign he turned his attention against those influential and powerful Jat leaders whom he considered to be refractory. He enlisted into his service foreign troops, including the contingents of Captain Samru, and With their aid, he arrested the Jat leaders, including Balaram, “once the chief minister of the State”, and Mohanram, “the ex-chief of the artillery”. Balaram committed suicide in prison, Mohanram and some other chiefs died under torture, and others saved their lives by surrendering their wealth. Jawahir Singh imprisoned also his rebellious cousin Bahadur Singh but released him later on. All such actions alarmed the Jat people, alienated their sympathy from him and created a feeling of bitterness against him. 140a

After the above, he was involved in a quarrel with the Marathas who had supported his brother Nahar Singh in his claim to the throne of his father. Jawahir Singh defeated his enemies (March 1766) and captured Dholpur, held by Nahar Singh as an appanage. In conjunction with the Jat prince of Gohad he raided also the Maratha possessions in Northern Malwa. 141 In the rainy season. of 1767 he invaded Ater and Bhind, formerly tributary to the Maratlias, "and quickly effected a conquest of all the domains of the Marathas and the petty Zamindaris, up to Kalpi". 142

Freed from troubles and master of a big and flourishing State, he was then at the height of his power, but he soon brought misfortune upon himself by his quarrel with Madho Singh, the Raja of Jaipur. Besides, frontier disputes, his pride and insolence, his demand for the surrender of the widow of Nahar Singh, who had taken refuge in Jaipur and, lastly, damage done to Jaipur territory by the Jat soldiers during their march through that State to the Pushkar lake, greatly offended Madho Singh. When Jawahir Singh was on his return journey, the Jaipur army, which had been following the Jat army, attacked him at Maonda in Jaipur territory on December 14, 1767. Although Jawahir Singh maintained his ground till nightfall and claimed the victory, he lost his artillery, tents and baggage. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has justly observed that "it was a most pyrrhic victory", and he "returned home pillaged, stupefied and overthrown.... The country beyond the Chambal rose at the first report of that rout and was gone as quickly as it was taken". 143

Madho Singh then invaded the Jat country and defeated Jawahir Singh, but, when the latter was reinforced by 20,000 Sikhs, the Rajputs retired to their country.

In the same year (1768) Jawahir Singh was assassinated by one of his soldiers.

He was a strong ruler and centralized all powers in his own hands. But this centralization of power, with mercenary troops at its back, weighed too heavily on the freedom-loving spirit of the Jats. He did not possess foresight, tact and wisdom, as shown by his

father Suraj Mai. His finances were, however, in good order and he maintained a magnificent court.

Ratan Singh (1768-1769)

“Brain and character alike were wanting among the successors of Jawahir Singh, and, in addition, the lack of a strong man at the head of the State let loose all the selfishness and factious spirit among the other members of the royal family, which completed the national downfall in a few years”. 144

Ratan Singh, younger brother of Jawahir Singh, succeeded to the throne of Bharatpur, but he was thoroughly unfit for such a position. Neglecting the duties of the State, he wasted his time in worthless, amusements. He reigned less than a year and was murdered by an alchemist on 8 April, 1769.

Kesari SUgh (1769-1775)

Kesari Singh, the infant son of Ratan Singh, succeeded to the throne of his father. During his rule a civil war ensued between the regent Nawal Singh and his brother Ran jit Singh, both halfbrothers of the late Raja, for the above post, leading to the invitation of the Marathas and the Rohillas. The Jat State suffered terribly due to this civil war, the legacies of which were “a mutilated State, a factious nobility, a demoralised army,” and “a depleted treasury”. 145 Although Nawal Singh remained regent, the losses to the State were beyond calculation.

One ominous cloud after another enveloped the political horizon of this State. In 1772, the desertion of Rene Madec, who had rendered valuable services to it, weakened its military efficiency. In the following year, the imperialists under Mirza Najaf Khan, the commander-in-chief, attacked it, and, after defeating the Jat army, plundered the city of Barsana 146 and occupied the fort of Kotavan. 147 Then the forts of Agra (February, 1774; and Ballabhgarh fell before his arms. Farrukhnagar was also occupied. Added to these losses, was the desertion of Samru with his contingent. “The Jats, mostly ignorant peasantry, had not been able to adopt the European discipline and tactics which had now come to sway Indian warfare. This military weakness of their state was for a time concealed by their employment 148 of Madec and Samru, but with their exit, the weakness of the Jat army was revealed.”

The imperialists again invaded this State and took possession of many territories including the pargana of Jewar and the fort of Ramgarh (Aligarh)

(1775).

On the death of Nawal Singh, the regent, at Dig in August 1775, Mulla Rahimdad, the Rohilla chief, an ally of the Jats, who was then there with his army, seized the person of Kesari Singh and retaining him on the throne, proclaimed himself regent.

Ran jit Singh marched secretly at night from Kumbher to Dig with his loyal followers and two thousand Maratha mercenaries, and drove away the traitor. After this, in view of the grave dangers facing the State, he was installed on the throne in place of his minor nephew Kesari Singh.

Ranjit Singh (1775-1805)

Ran jit Singh had to face serious troubles both from within and outside. Within the State disunion and discords among the Jat leaders were rampant, and, on the other hand, Mirza Najaf Khan, the Mughul Vazir, marched to Dig and laid siege to it. Hard-pressed by food shortage, epidemic of disease and desertions from the garrison, Ranjit Singh left the fort one dark night (April 1776) and succeeded in reaching the fort of Kumbher.

Taking advantage of the pre-occupation of Najaf Khan elsewhere^ Ranjit Singh surprised the Mughul collector of Farah, midway between Mathura and Agra, killed him and ravaged the territories up to the walls of Agra. On hearing this, Najaf Khan took the field, drove the Jats back and captured the forts of Sonkh (almost midway between Kumbher and Mathura) and Kumbher. Bharatpur was then besieged. Unable to defend it long, the Jat Raja had to yield, and, on the entreaty of Rani Kishori tc show mercy, Najaf Khan gave her the fort of Kumbher for her residence and territories around it for her support. The fort of Bharatpur and territories yielding a revenue of seven lakhs of rupees were bestowed on Ranjit Singh (c. February 1778). 149 The Jat State was thus reduced to a very sad plight.

Ranjit Singh entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the English in September 1803, and fought with them in the battle of Laswari against Daulat Rao Sindia. But repudiating the conditions of the above alliance, he joined Yashwant Rao Holkar I, in the following year in his attack on Delhi against the English and the same feeling of hostility having been shown by him against them at Dig, it was besieged and captured. The English then laid siege to Bharatpur. With the utmost valour, Ranjit Singh repulsed four successive assaults of General Lake. But as his men began to lose heart, he became apprehensive and opened negotiations for peace

which was finally concluded (April, 1805). He promised to pay an indemnity of twenty lakhs of rupees and desist from holding any communication with the enemies of the English or employing any European without their permission. The English held on to Dig till they were satisfied with his faithful observance of the terms of the treaty. As he remained faithful, Dig was afterwards restored to him.[150]

Ran jit Singh died about seven months after the above treaty. He left four sons, of whom, the eldest, Randhir Singh succeeded his father.

(k) Jammu and Kashmir: (1707-1818)

1. Jammu

The hill States lying between the Indus and the Ravi in the outer ranges of the Himalayas fell into two political groups. The first group comprised Kashmir and many small States situated between the Indus and the Jhelum, all ruled over by Muslim chiefs. The second group embraced Jammu and the petty States lying between the Jhelum and the Ravi, numbering twenty-two in all. Out of these, eight States, chiefly situated between the Jhelum and the Chenab, were under Muslim chiefs, mostly descending from Hindu Rajas. They were Akhnur, Riasi, Kishtwar, Rajauri, Punch, Kotli, Bhimbar and Khari-Khariali. The remaining fourteen were Hindu, all lying between the Chenab and the Ravi, namely Jammu, Bahu, Dalpatpur, Samba, Jasrota, Trikot, Lakhanpur, Mankot (now called Ramkot), Behandrata, Chaneni, Bhoti, Bhadu, Balor (now known as Basohli) and Bhadarwah. Ten States—Jammu, Bahu, Dalpatpur, Samba, Jasrota, Trikot, Lakhanpur, Mankot, Riasi and Akhnur—were ruled by a family of which the chief of Jammu was the head, and three—Basohli, Bhadu and Bhadarwah—were governed by branches of the same family. Jammu had been under the rule of a Hindu Rajput dynasty since olden times.

The Mughul Faujdars

The Mughul emperors kept a Muslim faujdar at Jammu to realise tribute from the hill States and to suppress any revolt in the region. As long as the tribute was regularly and punctually paid, he did not interfere in their internal affairs.

On Guru Gnvind Singh's death in October, 1708, Banda Bahadur took charge of the political and military affairs of the Sikhs. In May 1710, he conquered Sirhind province and appointed Sikh officers in the civil and military departments. He was expelled from his capital at Lohgarh by emperor Bahadur Shah in December, 1710. Banda seized Pathankot and Gurdaspur in March, 1711. In June Qutb-ud-din Khan Kheshgi, faujdar of Jammu, marched against him. His nephew Shams Khan was the jaiujddr of Sultanpur in the Jullundur Doab. He advanced to join his uncle. In the battle fought in the area of Raipur-Bahrampur Shams Khan was shot dead, while Qutb-ud-din Khan was seriously wounded, and died after three days. [151]

Emperor Farrukh-siyar appointed Zakariya Khan faujdar of Jammu in 1713. Banda had recovered Lohgarh by that time. He was again besieged by the imperial army. Banda held his ground for six months. He then escaped into the hills and rested on the bank of river Chenab, 60 miles from Jammu. The place came to be called Derah Baba Banda. Zakariya Khan pursued him, captured a number of Sikhs and sent their heads to Delhi where they were produced before Farrukh-siyar on 13 December, 1713. Zakariya Khan was granted a robe of honour with the rank of 3,000 Zat and 1,000 Sawar. [152]

Zakariya Khan was again present in the siege of Banda at Gurdas Nangal, a hamlet 4 miles to the west of Gurdaspur. Banda with 1,250 followers faced the Mughul army from Delhi, Sirhind, Lahore and Jammu for eight months, and surrendered with 740 followers on 7 December, 1715. Zakariya Khan accompanied these prisoners first to Lahore and then to Delhi and participated in their procession in the streets of the capital.

With the decline of the Mughul power, the Raja of Jammu began to assert his independence. About 1746 he stopped paying tribute to the Mughuls. 153

Raja fianjit Deo

Jammu was under Ran jit Deo from 1750 to 1781. He was a man of great administrative ability. Taking advantage of the confused political state of the Punjab, owing to the decline of the Mughul rule, the Durrani invasions and the rise of the Sikhs, Ranjit Deo extended his authority over all the hills situated between the Chenab and the Ravi, and over some of those lying to the west of the Chenab. His dominions stretched into the plains to the northern parts of Sialkot district. Ranjit Deo was a dependable ally of Ahmad Shah Abdall. He helped the Shah in conquering Kashmir in 1752 and again in 1762. In April, 1757, Ahmad Shah Abdali confirmed

his alliance with Ranjit Deo by granting him three parganas of Zafarwal, Sankatra and Aurangabad. He held sway over the country lying north of a line drawn from Dinga in the Chaj Doab to the river Chenab at Kalowal, and from Roras to Sankatra, extending up to Munda Khail in Shakargarh pargana on the Ravi. 154

Ranjit Deo struck coins during the earlier part of his reign in the name of the Mughul emperors of Delhi; but later on they were struck in his own name. On these coins he used the Yikram Samvat, but retained the year of the reign of Shah ‘Alam II (1759-1806). It was a time of upheavals and extreme lawlessness, “yet his little State was an abode of peace and safety (dar-ul-aman)”. 155 During Ranjit Deo’s reign the city of Jammu prospered greatly. It became a centre of trade both of the plains and hills including Kashmir. Even rich bankers, merchants and high officials of Lahore and Delhi, both Hindus and Musalmans, found a place of refuge at Jammu. During Abdali’s third invasion (December 1751 to March 1752) Muin-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Punjab, sent his family and treasures to the care of Raja Ranjit Deo of Jammu.

A despatch received by the Governor-General at Calcutta on 9 April, 1780, spoke highly of Ranjit Deo: "That said Raja is distinguished for his courage and valour and is so just and kind to his ryots that the inhabitants of the Punjab and the Doab (Ganga) have since the time of Nadir Shah's invasion, always found a safe refuge in his country from the tyranny of unscrupulous adventurers .... The writer knows of no people from Attock to Delhi who live more free from care and fear than those of Jammu". 156

Ranjit Deo could not escape the Sikhs. About 1770 he submitted to Jhanda Singh Bhangi and agreed to pay tribute. 157

On Ranjit Deo's death in 1781 he was succeeded by his son Brij Raj Deo. During his reign the Jammu State came completely under the subjection of the Sikhs.

2. Kashmir

'Abdus Samad Khan was the governor of Kashmir under Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. Farrukh-siyar transferred him from Kashmir to the Punjab. The great Mughul emperors had maintained their hold on Kashmir by visiting the valley frequently in hot weather. Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzlb built palaces and gardens at Srinagar. After Aurangzlb's death the decline of the Mughul power affected the political condition of Kashmir, which generally remained disturbed up to 1752. No Mughul emperor visited Kashmir after Aurangzlb. Ahmad Shah Abdali conquered Kashmir in 1752. The Afghan rule lasted for 67 years up to 1819.

Afghan kings were mainly interested in getting tribute which was fixed at twenty lakhs of rupees a year. As long as this amount was remitted punctually and regularly, the kings left the governors with full powers, and would take no notice how they ruled, ably or tyrannically. 158

There were twenty-eight governors during the Afghan rule. Only one of them was a Hindu while all others were Afghans. 'Abdullah Khan Ishaq was the first Governor. His chief secretary was Sukhjiwan Mai, a Punjabi Khatri of Bhera. He had taken up service under Abdali's prime minister, Shah Vali Khan, during the first invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1748. Shah Vali Khan was so much impressed with his ability and honesty that he appointed him to this high post in 1752. 159

'Abdullah Khan Ishaq was a despot and a despoiler. He denuded the State treasury, and for money he fleeced the people sparing none from his operations. In six months he collected about a crore of rupees in cash and goods. In order to deposit it safely in his home town, Kabul, he left for Afghanistan appointing Khwajah 'Abdullah Khan as his deputy. His rule was equally unpopular on account of his greed and extortion.

A local leading noble, Abdul Hasan Khan Bandey, prevailed upon Sukhjiwan to murder Khwajah 'Abdullah Khan, and assume the governorship himself. The deputy was killed after four months' rule. Sukhjiwan took charge of the State and conveyed his submission to Ahmad Shah Abdali. This took place in the earlier part of 1753. He was the first Hindu chief in Kashmir since 1320 in 433 years. Ahmad Shah Abdali confirmed him and appointed Khwajah Kijak as his deputy.

Sukhjiwan was a brave soldier, wise administrator, scholar, linguist and a poet. He engaged five good scholars to compile a history of Kashmir from the earliest times. Each writer was provided with ten assistants. The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufiq whose original name was Lalaju. 160

Sukhjiwan's government proved the best and most efficient both for Hindus and Muslims, Sunnis and Shias. His liberal and sympathetic outlook won the hearts of all. In 1754 a severe famine broke out in Kashmir owing to the failure of rains. Sukhjiwan purchased large quantities of rice from the Punjab, and distributed one lakh bags of rice among, the poor quite free, while to the rich it

was sold at a concessional rate. Again in the winter of 1755 heavy snowfall and blizzards destroyed all vegetation. Sukhjiwan supplied subsidized ration to the people. 161

Ahmad Shah Abdali "demanded an exhorbitant tribute equal to ten times the revenue of the country". Sukhjiwan ignored the demand on the, ground that no money could be saved from regular revenues, whilst he was opposed to extortion. He offered allegiance to emperor ‘Alamgir II (1754-59) who conferred the title of Raja on him. 162

Ahmad Shah Abdali was in the Punjab from January to December 1762. In June he sent an expedition against Sukhjiwan, but it failed. Ranjit Deo of Jammu was hostile to Sukhjiwan. He envied his efficiency and popularity. Besides he cast longing eyes on the pretty valley. Hence another expedition was despatched in October under the guidance of Ranjit Deo. The Afghan forces entered Kashmir by Tosha Maidan Pass. Sukhjiwan came to oppose them at the head of 50,000 troops. His commander-in-chief Bakhtmal, was won over by Ranjit Deo, and he deserted his master. Sukhjiwan was captured, immediately blinded and sent to Lahore where he was trampled to death by horses. 163 After this the Afghan rule in Kashmir was mainly a tale of atrocities.

In Sarbuland Khan Bamzai’s rule, 1763-65, Sunni-Shia riots broke out, in which the latter sustained heavy losses in men and material. The next five years saw six governors in quick succession. Amir Khan Jawansher, 1770-76, built a number of bridges and buildings, but his deputy Mir Fazil persecuted the Pundits. 164 Haji Karimdad Khan (1776-82) fleeced money from everybody, Hindus and Muslims alike. Azad Khan (1782-95) and Madad Khan (179596) were both cruel.

Mir Hazar Khan in 1793 sewed up Hindu leaders in gunny bags and threw them into the Dal Lake to be drowned. 165 ‘Abdullah. Khan Alkozai (1796-1800) collected one crore of rupees as his personal wealth. 166 Ata Muhammad Khan Alkozai (1800-05) forcibly seized pretty girls to satisfy his lust. “Many parents were compelled to shave the heads of their daughters rather than allow them to be molested and degraded. 167 Many Pundit families migrated to Batote, Kishtwar, Bhadarwah, Punch, Rajauri and Delhi. 168 As a result of this oppression great unrest spread in the province, The neighbouring tribes like Kakkas, Bambas and Gujars sacked the Valley. 169 It was conquered by Ranjit Singh in 1819. 170

1. History of Bengal, Vol. I, Ed. by Jadunath Sarkar (1948), pp. 407-08.

2. Ibid, pp. 409-10.

3. .Ibid, p. 414.

4. Ibid, pp. 420-21.

5- Siyar-ul-Mutakherin (English Translation), Vol. I, p. 323.

6- Letter to Court of Directors, 29 Nov. 1735, para 71.

7. Letter to Court, 26 Dec. 1733, para 57.

7a. Muzajfamamah, f. 124.

8- This zamindari extended over the south-east of old Zila Bihar. An area of 10£ sq. miles of the Narhat pargana was in the south-east of the old Bihar subdivision of the Patna district, while the rest of it and the whole of the Samai pargana were in the old Nawadah sub division of the Gaya district.

9- Bhunra, 19 miles north-east of Bettia.

10. Giria is situated on the east bank of the Bhaglrathl at a distance of about five miles north-west of Jangipur.

10a. Bayan-i-waqai by Khwaja Abdul Karim, fs. 101-03.

11. Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 162.

12. Datta, K. K., Alivardi and His Times , p. 140.

13- History of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 470.

14. Muzajfamamah, f. 576.

15. Hill, S. C., Bengal in 1756-57, III, p. 239.

16- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, (second edn.), p. 195.

17- Srivastava, A. L., The First Two Nawdbs of Oudh, p. 246.

18- Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 531.

19. Ibid .

20- Srivastava, A. L., Shuja-ud-daulah, Vol. I, p. 141.

21. Broome, Bengal Army, p. 480.

22. Srivastava, A. L., Shujti-ud-daulah, Vol. II, p. 84.

23. Forster, George, A Journey, etc., p. 158.

24. Davies, C. C., Warren Hastings and Oudh, p. 15.

25- Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, No. 13158.

26- Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 268-72.

27. Dighe, V. G., Peshwa Bdji Rao I, (1944), p. 8.

28- Khafi Khan, in Elliot & Dowson's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 518.

29- Ibid, pp. 523-25.

30- Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 148.

31. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 154

32. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 527.

33- Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. Ill, p. 283.

34. Elphinstone, History of India, p. 657; B.I.S.M. Quarterly, XXVI, pp. 11-13.

35- S.P.D., Vol. XV, pp. 56, 59-60, 86.

36- In some English records there is a reference to an invasion of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Abdall in 1769; Indian Historical Quarterly, Dec.

1934.

37- Datta, K. K., Alivardi and His Times, p. 114.

38- Sinha, N. K., Rise of the Sikh Power, p. 19.

39 Ibid, p. 44.

40. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 377.

41. Ibid, p. 500.

42. Sinha, N. K., op. cit., p. 19.

43- Cunningham, History of the Sikhs, p. 86.

44. Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 96.

45. Ibid, p. 110.

46. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 87.

47- Ibid, p. 88.

48- Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 315.

49. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 89.

50. Sinha, N. K., op. cit., pp. 10-11.

51. Ibid, p. 12.

52. Ibid, p. 14.

53. Ibid, p. 14.

54. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, (Revised Edn.), p. 107.

55. Sinha, N. K., op. cit., p. 17.

56. Ibid, p. 18.

57. Ibid, p. 19.

58. Ibid, p. 24.

59- Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, III (Eng. translation), p. 289.

60. Ibid.

61. Sinha, N, K., op. cit., p. 27.

62. Quoted in ibid, pp. 28-29.

63. Quoted in Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, (1932), p. 426.

64. Ibid.

65. Sinha, N. K., op. cit., p. 32.

66 Ibid, p. 35.

67. Quoted in Sinha, N. K., op. cit., p. 39, from Malcolm, Sketch of Sikhs, p. 93. 68 Malcolm, op. cit., p. 94.

69. Quoted in Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 69.

70. Ibid .

71. Ibid, p. 73.

72 Sinha, N. K., op. cit., p. 49.

73 Browne, India Tracts, p. 22.

74. Sinha, N. K., Rise of the Sikh Power, p. 64.

75. Ibid, p. 84.

76. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I (Revised Edn.), pp. 25-26.

77. Ibid, p. 28.

78- Ibid, p 29.

79. Quoted in ibid.

80. Quoted in ibid, p. 30.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83- Ibid, p. 33.

84. Quoted in ibid, p. 36.

85- Quoted in ibid, p. 211 from Bareilly Gazetteer.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid, p. 213.

88. Ibid, p. 215.

89- Ibid, p. 231.

90. Sir J. Strachey, Hastings and the Rohilla War (1892), pp. 31-32.

91. Ibid, p. 230.

92. Ibid.

93 • Ibid, pp. 233-36.

94. Ibid, p. 239; J A S B., 1878, IV, pp. 297-8.

95. Ibid, p. 241.

96. Irvine, The Later Mughals, Vol. I, pp. 45-47.

97- Ibid, p. 67.

98. Ibid, p. 285.

99. Ibid, p. 286.

100- Irvine, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 4.

101. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I (Revised Edn.), p. 131.

102. Ibid, p. 134.

103. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. I (Crooke's Edn.).

104. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol I (Revised Edn.), p. 156.

105. Tod, op. cit., Vol. I, Chap. XV, SPD, II, 19, 31, XXI, 34.

106. Tod, Annals of Mewdr, Chp. XVI.

107. S<adhaura is twenty-six miles east of Ambala, and Lohgarh twelve miles northeast of Sadhaura.

108- Irvine, W., The Later Mughals , I, p. 323.

109- Ibid , pp. 323-27; Siyar-ul-Mutakherin Vol. I, pp. 106-07.

110. Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 81.

111. Ibid, pp. 85-6, 89, 93.

112. Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, tr. Vol. I, pp. 238-39; C.H.I., IV, p. 348.

113. Qanungo, K. R., History of the Jdts, p. 59; Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, tr. Vol. L p. 239.

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114. Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, tr. Vol. I, p. 239.

115. Sarkar, Sir J. N., Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II (1934), p. 425.

116- Ihid, p. 428. Badan Singh was in possession of a part of Braj (Mathura).

but his son Suraj Mai brought the whole of it in his possession.

117. Ibid, pp. 428-30; Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., p. 64.

118- Sarkar, Sir J. N., op. cit., II, p. 435.

119. Ver is about twelve miles north-west of Bayana.

120. Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., p. 64. Growse, Mathura, p. 139.

121. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 66-70; Sarkar, op. cit., I, 293-94; II, p. 318.

122. Imad-us-Saadat, pp. 49-51, 57-59, 64. Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., pp. 80-83.

123. Sarkar, J. N., op. cit., II (1934), p. 435.

124. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 63.

125. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shdhi, pp. 81b-83a.

126- Ibid, pp. 108b-110a; 114a, 117b, 128a; S. P. D., XXVII, Nos. 79, 81, p. 94.

Bhau Sahebdnchi Bakhar, (Ed.), S. N. Joshi (1959), pp. 2-8.

127. Indian Antiquary , Vol. XXXVI, pp. 60-62; SPD, XXI, 107; XXVII, 152.

128. Imad-us-Saadat, pp. 170-80.

129 Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., pp. 129-37.

130. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 203; Sardesai, New History of the Marathas, II, p. 443.

131- Sarkar, Sir J.. N., op. cit., II (1934), p. 442.

132. Nur 66a-70b; Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, tr. IV, pp. 31-32. Hindaun is a tributary of the Jamuna.

133- Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, tr. IV, p. 27.

134. Imad-us-Saadat, p. 55; Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., p. 65.

135 Sarkar, J. N., op. cit., pp. 455-56.

136- Siyar-ul-Mutakherin, IV, p. 28.

137- Quoted in A Gazetteer of the Bhurtpore State by Captain Walter, p. 29.

138 Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., pp. 159, 171-72.

139. Sarkar, Sir J. N., op. cit., pp. 457-58.

140- Wendel, Memoires des Jats, 59; Nur, 74b-92b.

140a. Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., pp. 179-84.

141. Gohad is to the north-east of Gwalior.

142. Sarkar, Sir J. N., op. cit., II (1934), pp. 475.

143- Ibid, pp. 478-79; Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 202-211

144. Sarkar, Sir J. N., op. cit., Ill (1938), p. 4.

145. Qanungo, K. R., op. cit., p. 238.

146- Barsana is situated twenty-two miles north-west of Mathura.

147. Kotvan is in the Mathura district and on the Delhi-Agra Trunk road.

148- Sarkar, Sir J. N., op. cit., Ill (1938), p. 3.

149. Ibid, 117; Ibratnama, I, pp. 317, 345-47.

150- Col. H. Pearse, Memoir of the Life and Military Services of the Viscount Lake, pp. 355-89; Fortesque, A History of the British Army, V, pp. 70-137; Captain Walter, A Gazetteer of the Bhurtpore State, pp. 13-16; Malcolm, The Political History of India, Vol. I, p. 374.

151. Masir-ul-umara, iii, pp, 129-30.

152. Karam Singh, Banda Bahadur Kaun Tha (Urdu), p. 94; Ganda Singh, Banda Singh Bahadur , p. 191.

153- Bute Shah, Tarikh-e-Panjab (Persian MS.), 255b.

154. Shamshir Khalsa (Urdu), 93; Khazana-e-Amira (Persian), 100; Sialkot District Gazetteer, pp. 16, 17.

155. J A.S B., Liv. Pt. i, 63, 65.

156- C.P.C., V, 1836.

157- Forster, i, 286-87; Raj Khalsa (Urdu), iii, 4; Sialkot District Gazetteer, 18; Khushwaqt Rae (Persian MS.), 155..

158 Gwasha Lai Kaul, Kashmir Through the Ages, p. 68.

159. Parmu, R. K., A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir: 1320-1819 (1969),

pp. 354, 358.

160. Khazana-e-Amira, 114-16; Siyar (Persian), iii, 74; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari 122a-b.

161. Narayan Kaul, Tarikh-i-Kashmir (1846) (Persian MS.), 185a; R. K. Parmu, op. cit., 356.

162. Parmu, R. K., op. cit., 355.

163. Khazana-e-Amira, 114-16; Siyar, iii, 74-75; Tarikh-e-Muzaffari, 122a-b.; Khushwaqt Rae, 155; Ahmad Shah Batalvi (Persian MS.), 886; Narayan Kaul, op. cit., 186a-187a.

164. Parmu, R. K., op. cit., p. 362, Gwasha Lai Kaul, p. 67 calls him Faqirullah.

165. Parmu, R. K., op. cit., p. 369.

166- Gwasha Lai Kaul, op. cit., p. 68.

167- Lawrence, Walter, R., The Valley of Kashmir, London (1895), p. 198.

168. Gwasha Lai Kaul, op. cit., pp. 68-63.

169- Parmu, R. K. op. cit., p. 353.

170- N A I.. Foreign Department, Miscellaneous, No. 305, Chap. 2, paras 4, 5; Umdal-ul-Tawarikh (Persian), Daftar, ii, pp. 134-35; Parmu, R. K., op. cit., p. 353.

CHAPTER VI

BALAJI RAO (1740-1761)

I. Balaji Rdo Peshwd's Grand Design

Balaji or Nana Saheb as he was called, was the third great Peshwa of the Maratha State during Shahu's reign. He succeeded Baj! Rao I on 25 June, 1740. He was only nineteen at the time but had been associated with his father and uncle in the work of administration and warfare. He was appointed by Shahu to the Peshwa's post on account of the qualities he possessed. Peshivdship at that time was not a hereditary office and the Raja had full authority and freedom to choose a proper person on his merits. In spite of some opposition and adverse influences like those of RaghujI Bhosle and others, Balaji was chosen as the fittest person to occupy the Peshwa's responsible office. He administered the affairs of the Maratha State and its expanding empire from 1740 to 1761.

His regime of 21 years is packed with events of momentous importance in Indian history. It saw the end of an epoch—the Mughul empire of India—and the beginning of another—the Maratha empire in India.

BalajI's reign saw the zenith of the expansion of the Maratha State in India and the success of Maratha arms in its various parts. But it also witnessed the appearance of four new powers in the political contest for supremacy in India, namely, the Afghans, the Sikhs, the French and the English.

The Mughul empire had grown weak and corrupt. The rising power and aggression of the Marathas, Nadir Shah's invasion, loot and massacre, the incompetency and voluptuousness of emperors, the selfishness of the Vazirs or chief ministers and great nobles, and their personal jealousies, rivalries and dissensions, had all shaken it

to its foundations. It had practically disintegrated. The Subahdars

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and Nawabs had usurped the emperor’s powers, had risen in rebellion against his authority and had consolidated their own powers with the help of independent feudal armies and mercenary arms, both in the north and in the south. Such were the Nawabs of the Deccan and Karnatak, the Nawabs of Awadh and Allahabad, and the

Nawabs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Similar usurpations were made by smaller officers and nobles in the country.

The Marathas had invaded, conquered and occupied the provinces of Gujarat, Malwa, Bundelkhand, Berar and other parts of the empire. The emperor was compelled to grant them the rights of chauth and ■ sardeshmukhi over various subdhs or provinces of the empire as they could not be defeated and driven away.

Balaji had to consolidate these conquests and to regularise these rights acquired during Baji Rao’s period, and also to expand the Maratha State and influence in other parts of India. His grand design, like his father’s, was to bring the whole of India under Maratha influence and paramountcy, either by conquest and annexation or by levying chauth and sardeshmukhi . He was, however, not served well by his ministers and generals. They quarrelled amongst themselves, took opposite sides and fought against one another for personal gains and prestige. Senior Maratha ministers and generals were jealous of the young Peshwd’s power.

Balaji’s first task lay in making good the territorial gains and claims of chauth acquired during his father’s regime. He had also to meet the legacy of debt of about Rs. 14 lakhs left by his father— incurred during the campaigns in the north. He had to wage constant war for these purposes. He had also to fight against opponents at home and to eliminate them. Then his policy of fresh advance and aggression in the north and south required fresh arms and resources. It was a Herculean task that he undertook.

II. Defects in the Design

Balaji’s Peshwdship may be divided into two periods: one from 1740 to 1749 and the other from 1749 to 1761. During the first period the Peshwd was somewhat restrained by the Raja who tried to control the direction and policy of Maratha affairs and movements. Though he never took an active part in military campaigns, he would not allow his Peshwd to change the main principles of his policy. He divided the work and various spheres of Maratha activities in the north and the south and allotted them to different ministers, generals and nobles, so as to avoid or minimise conflict amongst them. His aim was to bring all India under Maratha influence or paramountcy, while maintaining the Mughul empire in name. He wanted the power of Maratha arms to reach beyond Attock, but in alliance with, or as an agent of the Mughul empire. It was to be a Mughul-Maratha alliance for the governance of India as a whole.

This could be done either by accepting governorships of provinces from the emperor and administering them directly, or accepting annual tributes in the form of chauth and sardeshmukhi, leaving the administration of provinces in the hands of the emperor's nominees, but protecting them from foreign invasions.

The weakness of Maratha politics lay in this policy of Shahu which he pursued for 42 years of his reign. It could not result in any outright conquests and annexations of territories. Therefore Maratha politics had no stability and Maratha warfare, no finality. It became merely a process of flow and fluctuation.

At home Shahu would not allow the suppression of old ministers and sard&rs even when they acted as traitors or rebelled against the State, entered into conspiracies with the enemies of the State or opposed the policies and plans of the Chief Minister in various theatres of war. Moreover, Shahu was against the amalgamation of Kolhapur and Satara States even after his death. He had not his grandfather Shivaji's vision of the unity of the Maratha State and the centralisation of its power and administration. BalajI had to work with this background and to carry out his own plans of building up a great Maratha State and empire.

During the second period BalajI became free from the control of the new Maratha King. Ram Raja, the successor of Shahu, was a posthumous son of Tara Bai's son, Shivaji II, and had been brought up secretly in humble circumstances. He had not the ability and training of a ruler and fell a prey to the intrigues of his grandmother Tara Bai. He was ultimately confined in his palace at Satara and lost all control over the political affairs of the Maratha State.

Besides the political difficulties inherent in the feudal organisation of the Maratha State, BalajI had to face great financial difficulties. The Maratha State had not adequate resources to finance its growing responsibilities and military expenses. Its armies of expansion and military advance depended on the tributes and contributions of the defeated princes who remained in possession of their power and territorial administration.

There were two main centres of Maratha political activities: one in the north and the other in the south. Eastern (in the north) and Western (in the south) theatres were of minor importance.

The achievements in the north were primarily due to the Peshwd and his new generals. Sindias, Holkars, Pawars and Jadhavs were the most prominent amongst them. As regards the south, west and east, the old Maratha ministers like the Pratinidhi, and sardars like Bhosles, Dabhades and Angrias had vested interests, influence and power, and these spheres were marked as their

field of operations. The Peshivfa could not fully direct and control the politics there nor would Shahu allow him to do so. Still it was the Peshwa, BajI Rao and BalajI Rao, who checked the Nizams and the Sldls and some rebellious sardars and jagirdars, Dabhades, Gaikwars, and Angrias, in their conspiracies and aggressions against the Maratha State. Thus the Marathas lacked a common will and policy, one unified control and direction in military affairs and political administration. Hence a centrally directed and controlled Maratha State could not be built up.

During Balajfs regime the first year in northern politics culminated in the recognition of Maratha claims and conquests in Malwa by the grant of a farman of that province by the emperor in 1741. 1 Gujarat was already conquered by Dabhades, Gaikwars and Peshwas. The Marathas had begun to interfere in the affairs of Bundelkhand, Rajputana and other parts of Hindustan as far as Delhi during BajI Rao’s period. BalajI’s period saw the extension of their activities further to the north beyond Delhi into the Punjab as far as Attock, and to the east into the Doab, Awadh, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The Peshwa and his generals worked in the north and Raghuji Bhosle in the east. Their policies and activities proved at first at cross purposes, but later on Shahu fixed their separate spheres of activity. Still the weakness of the Maratha power lay in the fact that it was not one unified power. It became an aggregate of powers with conflicting aims, policies and interests. They even conspired and fought against one another, and BalajI was not able to centralise the power of the Maratha State into one hand and thus direct all affairs according to a common policy and a common plan.

The main problems which BalajI had to face in internal politics were: (1) the constant opposition of some old ministers and sardars; (2) the succession issue and Tara Bai's machinations; (3) financial difficulties and debts; and (4) administrative arrangements of old and new conquests.

In external politics his aims were: (1) to advance and establish Maratha paramountcy over the whole of India; (2) ^o control the Delhi emperor and to administer imperial provinces in his name or to secure the grant of annual chauth from them; (3) to liberate the Deccan province from the Nizam; (4) to establish supremacy over Karnatak rulers; (5) to bring Bihar, Bengal and Orissa under Maratha influence and to secure chauth from them; and (6) to deliver the sacred places of the Hindus in the North from Muslim control. As the chief minister of the Maratha central and supreme power, did BalajI succeed in solving these problems and achieving these aims? He seemed to make progress, but his achievements

were often nullified by the new powers and alliances which arose in Indian politics, and by the internal dissensions and cross purposes of Maratha ministers and sarddrs. The rise of British power in Bengal in 1757 and the failure of Maratha arms at Panipat in 1761 proved a great set-back to whatever Balaji had achieved.

Balaji was not an active soldier like his father. He however proved to be a diplomat and a leader of no mean quality. He possessed greater vision and vigour than his associates. But as he had neither dominant and decisive military qualities and foresight nor sound financial resources to support his undertakings and enterprises, his achievements did not prove lasting. He could not meet his debts and the ever-increasing military expenses as his wars and conquests did not lead to lasting results and settlements: He had to meet the same problems and dangers again and again, and thus the energy and resources of the State were exhausted. No doubt, he kept the core and the central part of the Maratha State (Sward jy a) independent and properly administered, and its frontiers advancing and increasing. But this was not enough. The newly acquired provinces had to be consolidated and properly administered from the centre, and this he was not able to do. His energies were spent in undertaking constant external warfare and in settling internal dissensions.

The system of chauth and sardeshmukhi or tribute had elements of political dominance and disturbance but not of political permanence and governance. Two powers, one in actual possession of territories, and the other only demanding regular chauth and sardeshmukhi or tribute, one unwilling to pay or pay only under duress, and the other constantly forcing it to pay, could not create a stable polity or politics in the anarchic conditions of that period. It was a period of great anarchy. There were wars of succession and usurpations in all parts and provinces of India. Maratha help was sought by the defeated and discontented parties. North of Malwa the Marathas appeared more interested in interfering and helping to gain control and money. Thus they interfered in the making and unmaking of the rulers of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, the Doab, Awadh, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the north. In the Deccan and Karnatak provinces in the south, however, they showed concern in ac quiring territory.

But Maratha successes were not decisive as their policy was halfhearted. They did not establish their own regular administration nor succeed in realising regularly their claims to chauth and sardeshmukhi or to large jagirs. Their invasion and occupation of

those parts did not result in any political permanence or financial assurance.

III. Northern Campaigns and Politics: First Phase (1740-1749)

The Marathas alone thought in terms of India as a whole and as one. They followed two policies in the north; one of conquest and annexation preceded by a demand for chauth as in Gujarat and Malwa, and the other of imposing merely chauth on territories invaded and conquered. The second policy proved ineffective in developing their permanent influence and political power in those territories. It merely resulted in a ‘fight and carry’ system, not in a ‘conquest and stay’ system. Hence Maratha prowess in the north beyond Malwa did not result in achieving the permanent expansion of Maratha power. It left the administration in the hands of old rulers who were neither loyal nor completely destroyed.

The Marathas had partitioned the Mughul empire into separate spheres of influence and military activities amongst their military captains or sarddrs. Northern India was primarily the field of the Peshwd and his generals, Sindias, Holkars and Pawars.

Balaji organised four expeditions to the north between 1740 and 1748 in which he was personally present. The first one was in Rajputana (1740-41) which had become a centre of succession wars and civil wars. There were disputes for the thrones of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Bundl, and the help of the Marathas was sought by one side or the other. The imperial authority was completely destroyed in Raj pu tana after 1740. Hence the Marathas as the stronger power came in by invitation.

The Maratha chiefs helped one side or the other after taking huge subsidies or tributes. If they were not paid, they helped those who paid more. Thus the Maratha interference did not help to stabilise the politics of Rajput States. There was no final settlement. There were conflicting policies amongst Maratha sarddrs themselves and therefore there was no unity of action. These sarddrs sometimes helped opposite sides. The Peshwd was not* able to check this completely. Thus the politics in Rajputana remained in a perpetual turmoil and its economic life was ruined by constant warfare and the pecuniary demands of the Marathas.

The Peshwd’s main object was money, the realisation of chauth and tribute demanded for help given. In the first expedition he entered Rajputana via Bhilsa and’ met Sawai Jay Singh at Dholpur and tried to settle through him Maratha-Mughul relations. He received

15 lakhs from the emperor, and was promised a jarman for chauth and sardeshmukhi of Malwa. This he got on 7 September, 1741. 2 The Peshwd had demanded chauth over all the imperial provinces.

In the second expedition (1741 to 1743), he passed through Bundelkhand and entered the provinces of Bihar and Bengal. These were considered by Raghuji Bhosle of Nagpur as his field of military activities. These Subdhs had been captured by ‘All VardI Khan by an act of usurpation and by defying imperial authority in 1740. The Peshwd wanted to establish the Maratha claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi over these provinces in his name. Raghuji Bhosle claimed the provinces as lying within his sphere of influence. This conflict between the Peshwd and Raghuji led to the seeking of help from the Peshwd against Raghuji by ‘All VardI Khan. The emperor granted the chauth of these provinces to Shahu on the condition of their being protected from any interference. From Berar to Bengal Raghuji had made Eastern India as his sphere of military activities. He carried on a number of expeditions there from June 1741 and reduced the authority of the Nawab in Orissa and western Bengal. ‘All VardI Khan sought the help of the Peshwd as the protector of imperial provinces, having promised to cede the chauth to him. The Peshwd wanted to check Raghujfs rising power and to establish full claim to the chauth of these provinces. While his object was money and supremacy, that of Raghuji was the acquisition of tribute, territory and political power for himself. 3

BalajI proceeded towards Bengal on 8 December, 1742, entered Bihar in February, 1743, met ‘All VardI Khan on 8 March, 1743 and expelled RaghujI’s forces from the province. Raghuji appealed to Shahu. Shahu divided the spheres of the Peshwd and Raghuji on 31 August, 1743. Four Subdhs of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer and Allahabad, and the estates of Tikari and Bhojpur in the Subdh of Bihar were assigned to the Peshwd , and Raghuji was given the Subdhs of Bengal, Orissa, Awadh and parts of Bihar. 4 They were ordered not to interfere in each other’s spheres. In 1745 the emperor promised to pay chauth to Shahu—25 lakhs for Bengal and 10 lakhs for Bihar. The conflict about shares in the amount between the Peshwd and Raghuji, however, remained. But the Peshwd did not interfere in the sphere of Raghuji. There were about six invasions of Bengal by Raghuji. The fortune of arms was not constant in favour of one or the other. The

Marathas, however, gained Orissa. Finally in 1751 a treaty was made between ‘All VardI Khan and Raghuji which settled their relations. The surplus revenue of Orissa was to be paid to Raghuji and 12 lakhs of rupees were to be paid annually to him as the chauth of Bengal and Bihar. On these terms the Marathas agreed not to enter Bihar and Bengal again. Later on, the Bhosles of Nagpur annexed Orissa to their kingdom of Berar and established their full sovereignty over it. 5

On his return from Bengal the Peshrvd defeated the RHjas of Bundelkhand who had refused to accept Maratha supremacy and demands of chauth and tribute. He settled the affairs there by appointing Naro Shankar as the commander-in-charge. 6 After the defeat of Bundela Rajas, Govind Pant Bundela was established at Saugor to realise the Maratha dues.

The third campaign of BalajI took place again in 1744-45 to settle the affairs in Rajasthan and Bundelkhand. The politics there was in eternal flux. In this expedition Bhilsa was captured by Ranoji Sindia on 11 March, 1745, 7 from the Nawab of Bhopal. Hostilities however, continued in both areas till 1747.

The fourth expedition was undertaken in 1747. BalajI went to the north on December 6, 1747. One of BalajI’s objects was to help the emperor against Ahmad Shah Abdali who invaded India in 1747. The other was to settle the affairs in Rajasthan and to realise Maratha claims. Abdali was defeated by the emperor’s forces on 3 March, 1748; the Peshwd was not required to proceed further. He met Madho Singh of Jaipur in April, 1748, at Newai, south of Jaipur, and after some arrangements, returned. But he was not able to settle the affairs finally.

The results of these expeditions were meagre and not decisive enough to establish Maratha paramountcy anywhere in northern India. The Marathas had to fight constantly to realise their chauth and the tributes promised. The Rajput princes, who had welcomed the Marathas to fight against the Mughuls and to settle their internal disputes, now became hostile to them.

Maratha sardars supported opposite sides and increased their heavy pecuniary demands constantly and did not settle any matter finally. 8

A case to the point is the mean treatment meted out to Ishwari Singh, Raja of Jaipur, in 1751. Sawai Jay Singh, the father of Ishwari Singh, was a friend of the Marathas, had facilitated their entry into Malwa, and had persuaded the emperor to agree to their demands. May be, he had his personal ambitions to be a leader of Rajasthan chiefs and to have a dominant position in the Mughul Court. BalajI Vishwanath and BajI Rao, the first two Peshwds, had befriended him and acted as his allies. But all this goodwill evaporated after Sawai Jay Singh's death in 1743. His two sons, Ishwarl Singh and Madho Singh, began to contest for the chiefship of the State. Madho Singh, though junior, staked his claim to the throne on the ground of his birth of a Udaipur princess. Ishwarl Singh promised his brother an appanage of 24 lakhs of rupees, but Madho Singh wanted a half share in the kingdom. Ishwarl Singh with the help of his Maratha allies—Sindia and Holkar—nipped in the bud an attempt to seize by force Jaipur territory in 1745; but then Maharana Jagat Singh of Udaipur, with whom Madho Singh was residing, held out promises of a large subsidy to the Marathas in case Madho Singh's , cause was upheld. The Peshw\d instead of evolving just principles for succession, now started pleading the cause of Madho Singh, because his uncle, the Rana of Udaipur, promised a large subsidy. To Sindia who entered a protest against the proceedings, he wrote a mollifying letter. 9 In March, 1747, at the battle of Rajmahal, Ishwarl Singh routed his opponent. Madh5 Singh and his uncle, the Maharana of Udaipur, would not accept the defeat gracefully. They bribed Holkar heavily and sent their envoys to Poona to exact from Ishwarl Singh the fulfilment of his earlier promise, offering Shahii a tribute of a few lakhs of rupees. The Peshwa suggested to Malhar Rao Holkar and Sindia's Diwan Ramchandra Baba to persuade Ishwarl Singh to cede the promised territory to his younger brother instead of letting this fratricidal struggle continue. 10

When the demand for half the territory of his kingdom for Madho Singh was placed before Ishwarl Singh he declined to accede to it. He angrily replied that there was unique and hereditary friendship between the Peshwa and himself. Balaji Rao Peshwa knew well how thick was his father with him and what services he rendered to BajI Rao. Up till now he (Ishwarl Singh) was acting according to the Peshwa 3 s advice. But the question was one of inheritance of ancestral property. They were rajas and must follow their hereditary usage. This dispute was in respect of territory of the kingdom. How could he give it away? “I had previously given to Madho Singh what your chiefs (Holkar and Sindia) had,asked me to grant by way of service to the State. How can I part with more without fighting? How can I bring down upon myself the name of a coward and an unworthy son by dividing my entire kingdom with a younger son? The Peshwa and his chiefs want more territory to be given to Madho Singh than before, but it cannot be done.

The chiefs have changed sides for reasons well known to therrv selves”. 11

But Ishwarl Singh was humbled next year. He fled from the battle-field when sent against the Abdall in March, 1748. When the entire Maratha army converged on his kingdom two months later, he was in no position to refuse the Peshwa’s demands. 12 But Ishwarl Singh was not a willing partner to the contract and tried to wriggle out of it. Holkar marched against him with a force in August, 1748 and exacted fulfilment of the terms. 13 Ishwarl Singh agreed to give five pargands to his brother and restore Bund! to Ummed Singh.. On 9 August he met Holkar and his captains and swore mutual friendship and promised tribute.

At the end of 1750 the Marathas once more visited Jaipur for exacting payment of the promised tribute. The land had been impoverished by constant warfare and marches and countermarches of rival armies. The Jaipur treasury was empty. The Raja did not know how to meet the Maratha demands. “In utter desperation he ordered his servant to bring a live cobra and some arsenic needed to prepare a medicine. At midnight he swallowed the poison and caused the cobra to bite him. When the Maratha army approached the city, they were surprised to be greeted by a silent city. Soon the news of the horrible tragedy spread and Vakils came from Jaipur to negotiate a settlement. The Maratha protege, Madho Singh, reached the city within a fortnight, but instead of fulfilling the financial agreements, attempted to destroy his allies by treacherous attacks' 7 . 14 The Jaipur invasion ended in a fiasco and permanently lost to the Marathas the goodwill and friendship of the Rajputs. They came to be hated in Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur and lost their prestige and influence amongst them. 15 Their heavy demands of money alienated all. On 10 January, 1751, they wqre massacred at Jaipur by the Rajputs on account of their rising hatred of the Marathas. 16

IV. Southern Campaigns and Politics: The First Phase (1740-49)

BalajI had three main objectives in the south: (1) to liberate the Maratha part of the Deccan from the Mughul rule; therefore

the Nizam's power had to be liquidated or brought under control;

• * _

(2) to bring the outlying Deccan and Karnatak provinces under control; and (3) to crush rebellious poly gars and nawdbs .

Balaji had no free field in the south as in the north. Shahu was not prepared to destroy the Mughul power in the south. He only wanted his rights to chauth and sardeshmukhi recognised and realised. If the Nizam paid them regularly then there was no question of war with him. As against this, the Nizam wanted to free himself from these obligations to the Marathas. He tried to weaken the Marathas by fomenting quarrels and conspiracies among their sarddrs and rival claimants. He had his own army and was supported by a number of local Maratha sardars hostile to Raja Shahu; these

sarddrs held jdgrrs and estates in the Maratha part of the Mughul Deccan. The Nizam also had an eye on the Karnatak which now consisted of a number of independent poly gars and nawdbs.

Then there were a number of old sarddrs who were interested in controlling and conducting the politics and warfare in the south, and who were opposed to the Peshwd's dominant role in it or control of it. Consequently the Maratha policy towards the Nizam was not fixed, but was vacillating, though the latter was completely opposed to the Maratha expansion in the south. Some of these ministers and sarddrs sided with the Nizam against the Peshwd. Consequently the Nizam's power could not be liquidated, though he was defeated a number of times. Internal rivalries of Maratha politics, and dangers and diversions in northern India politics saved the Mughul Deccan from being finally conquered and annexed. All the Maratha warfare and successes proved of no avail in the end.

In 1741 Nizam-ul-Mulk was supported by the Peshwd in his fight against his own son Nasir Jang who wanted to usurp the subdhdarship of the Mughul Deccan. He defeated Nasir Jang and established himself again as the Subahdar of the Mughul Deccan. 17 In 1743 he invaded Karnatak and wrested it from Maratha hands. After this till his death he did not fight the Maratha forces in any theatre of War. 18

Karnatak expeditions of the Peshwd were necessitated by the aggression of Muslim rulers on Hindu kingdoms of the south. The help of the Marathas was also sought in quarrels over succession amongst local Muslim rulers in Karnatak. In 1740 Shahu entrusted the task of defeating Muslim rulers to Raghuji Bhosle. He defeated Dost 'Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, in the battle of Damalcheri on 20 May, 1740. Trichinopoly was taken on 26 March, 1741, and Chanda Sahib, his son-in-law, was captured and imprisoned. Thus Maratha supremacy was established over the Karnatak. 19

Nizam-ul-Mulk, however, could not tolerate this. He also laid claims to Karnatak as part of the Mughul empire. While BalajI and Raghuji were engaged in the Bengal campaign in 1742-43, Nizam-ulMulk invaded Karnatak in January, 1743, with a large force and brought it under his control. He thus completely undid the work of Raghuji. 20 Shahu entrusted the task of opposing the Nizam to Babuji Naik and Fateh Singh Bhosle, who were defeated on 15 February, 1745. 21 On 5 December, 1746, the Peshwd sent Sadashiv Rao, his nephew, to settle the affairs there. 22 Nizam-ul-Mulk, however kept quiet till his death in 1748. Sadashiv Rao's campaign was

successful. He conquered a number of places in Karnatak and collected tribute from them. He returned on 13 April, 1747. But Balaji could not get a grip over Karnatak till Shahu's death. Shahu did not want to displease even those who proved incompetent and treacherous, like Babuji Naik. BalajI’s progress was hampered in the south, owing to the conflicting interests of Shahu’s sarddrs.

Shahu died on 15 December, 1749. Balaji was desirous of uniting Kolhapur and Satara States, and thus creating one Maratha * State. He had therefore agreed secretly to support ShambhujI’s (king of Kolhapur) succession to Satara. But Shahu was against the union. He appointed Ram Raja, Tara Bai’s grandson, as his successor. Tara Bai proved that he was not a pretender. Thus a war of succession was avoided in the Maratha kingdom, but unfortunately Kolhapur and Satara remained separate States. Ram Raja being weak and incompetent and being a puppet in the hands of Tara Bai, the power of the State gradually fell into the hands of the Peshwd.

Shahu’s disposition was not active and military. He did not want to disturb the existing conditions and vested interests. His vision was limited. He was not able to coordinate and' control the work of his ministers and sarddrs, nor could he coerce them into submission when necessary. He never interested himelf in creating a strong, unitary and centralised administration in his Swaraj, much less in his new conquests. He would not allow the Peshwd to change the old order and bring in the new by way of reforms.

Balaji became free from Sh&hu’s control at the end of 1749 and from succession affairs in 1751. The new ruler, Ram Raja, was a mere nonentity. He was confined to his palace and was not allowed to take any active part in state affairs, first by Tara Bai and then by Balcijl.

The legacy of Balaji was, however, not a happy one. There was no conception of a centralised and integrated state. The Maratha State was merely a loose collection of feudal entities. It was only in the Swaraj territory that there was some centralised and unified administration. The outlying parts of the State were administered by the military sarddrs to whom they were assigned as military grants (Saranjams).

In the second period of Balaji’s regime, his aims and problems remained the same. He, however, being more free to direct his policy, wanted to bring to a conclusion many of the old festering problems both in the north and in the south. The new dangers which developed during this period were the conquests made by Ahmad Shah Abdali in the Punjab, and the military interference of the French and the English in the politics of both north and south.

In order to free himself from domestic troubles the Peshwd arrived at a settlement at Sangola in October, 1750 with Ram Raja. It defined the claims and spheres of various ministers and sarddrsP On 24 November, 1750, Ram Raja was put in confinement by his grand-mother Tara Bai. He thus ceased to be an active or directive factor in the politics of the Maratha State. 24

V. Southern Campaigns and Politics: Second Phase (1749-1761)

In 1748 Nasir Jang succeeded Nizam-ul-Mulk, but was challenged by his nephew Muzaffar Jang. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Saheb sought the help of the Marathas. But they immediately received the help of French forces and defeated Nasir Jang and the Nawab of Arcot. Then Chanda Saheb became the Nawlab of Arcot, and Muzaffar Jang assumed the title of the Nizam. Nasir Jang sought the help of the Peshwid. He defeated his opponents but was killed on 5 December, 1750 in the battle between him and the opposite forces led by Bussy. Thus Muzaffar Jang became the Nizam, but he, too, was killed in a melee in 1751. Then Salabat Jang was installed as the Nizam by Bussy. In 1751 Salabat Jang arid the Peshwa entered into an agreement. But the agreements proved short-lived; in November, 1751, Ramdas, the Diwan of Salabat Jang, on the advice and aid of Bussy, invaded the Maratha territory. In the battle of Ghodnadi a number of skirmishes took place. Ramdas was not successful and concluded a treaty at Shingwa. 25

Ghazi-ud-dln, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was at Delhi came to the Deccan in October, 1752, with a farman of the emperor to take over the subdhdarship of the Mughul Deccan, but before he could succeed he was poisoned by one of the wives of Nizam-ul-Mulk, mother of Nizam ‘Ali, at a banquet on 16 October, 1752. The Peshwd and his sarddrs had lent support to Ghazl-ud-d!n’s claim. Then Salabat Jang made peace with the Peshwa at Bhalki in November, 1752. It was agreed that both parties were to conduct jointly the invasion cf Karnatak. 26 There was no warfare between the

Nizam and the Marathas till 1756. But in 1757 again incidents occurred and there was the campaign of Sindkhed from 17 August, 1757 to 2 January, 1758. It was undertaken to realise the 25 lakhs jdgir promised by the Nizam to the Peshwd. A peace was made at Sakharkharda, and the Peshwd was again promised the jdglr.v But the terms of the treaty were not carried out. The Nizam's strength which lay in the

French arms, was weakened by Bussy's departure in 1758. He then took the help of the British.

In 1759 Balaji decided to crush the Nizam finally. The campaign of Udgir took place from October, 1759 to February, 1760. The Nizam's forces were completely defeated. The Marathas captured four famous places—B'urhanpur with fort Asirgarh, Daulatabad, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. Final victory was gained on 3 February, 1760. Sadashiv Rao Bhau conducted the campaign and led Maratha forces to victory. The Nizam proposed peace. Sixty lakhs worth of jdgir territory, Asirgarh and Daulatabad forts, Bijapur and Burhanpur were ceded. Ahmadnagar had already been seized. But the battle of Panipat and disasters in the north prevented the Peshwa from taking full advantage of the victory. 28

VI. Kamdtak Campaign

From 1753 to 1760, the Peshwa conducted a number of campaigns in Karnatak to establish Maratha supremacy and to secure a regular flow of money by way of tribute. In 1753 his forces entered Seringapatam (Srirangapattan). In 1754 they went to Bagalkot, Savanur and Harihar; in 1755 to Bidnur; in 1756 to Savanur; and in 1757 to Srirangapattan. In the next three years the Peshwa sent his sarddrs. A lot of tribute and some territory was acquired. But matters were not finally settled. 29

VII. TulajI Angria and the Peshwa

It is to the eternal discredit of Balaji that he destroyed the naval power of TulajI Angria with the help of the British. Without creating a new strong naval arm of the Maratha State, which was an absolute necessity against European powers in the western seas, he destroyed the old. He did not fully realise the political danger coming from the sea-powers of the west like the Portuguese, the French and the English.

TulajI Angria did not keep on good terms with the Peshwa and was often arrogant and disloyal. His opposition and disloyalty became a thorn in the eyes of Balaji. He therefore sought the help of the British in the home affairs of the Maratha State. It was the greatest mistake committed. TulajI had defied western powers on the seas and checked their ambition and aggression all these years. Balaji did not fully weigh this fact*. The British were very glad of this golden opportunity to crush the Maratha naval power completely, Balaji was blind to this. Thus, one of the greatest achieve

ments of the Marathas and a century-old unique creation of Maratha naval genius was destroyed by the Peshwa with the help of a foreign enemy. It was a suicidal act born of a short-sighted policy.

Tulaji Angria who had succeeded SambhajI Angria in 1743, proved strong and daring enough not to allow the Europeans to establish their naval supremacy on the western coast till 1755. But the Peshwa and the British entered into a treaty of aggression against Tulaji on 19 March, 1755. 30 Tulaji was defeated by the combined forces, and Suvamadurg was captured on 4 April, 1755, 31 and Vijayadurg on 13 February, 1756. 32 Vijayadurg was taken possession of by the English against Peshwd's desire. It was a great success for the British whose navy could now control the whole of the western coast. The Peshwa took Underi from the Sidis in 1759. But the English would not help the Peshwa in destroying the power and fort of Sidis. What a contrast between the English and the Peshwal

VIII. Northern Campaigns and Politics:

Second Phase (1749-1761)

The years 1748 and 1749 are very important in the political history of India both in the north and in the south. Indian politics then was primarily personal, not institutional. The death of emperor Muhammad Shah on 14 April, 1748, of Nizam-ul-Mulk on 21 May, 1748, and of Shahu on 15 December, 1749, removed men of old traditions and great influence. Similarly, the Anglo-French wars and their successful interference in Indian politics, and Ahmad Shah Abdall’s invasions and temporary conquests created new dangers and introduced new forces in Indian politics. The old world of the Mughul supremacy practically ended, and a new world of usurping nawabs and nizdms, ministers and generals arose. We do not find one power as that of the Mughul emperor dominating over India, but a number of usurping powers—ministers and governors—holding that power separately and using it against the unity and safety of the empire itself in their own dynastic and narrow feudal interests. The age may be called the age of Vazirs and Peshwds or prime ministers, both in the north and in the south, or of subdhdars (governors) and sarddrs. The Mughul emperor of the north, and the Maratha king of the south had become puppets or nonentities in the politics of the country. They had no character or ability or strength and proved mere ghosts of their famous predecessors and ancestors, sitting on their thrones as mere puppets.

The Delhi emperors had asked for Maratha help against foreign invaders like Nadir Shah in 1739, and against Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1747. Baji Rao had started but could not reach in time to fight against Nadir Shah. Balaji reached Jaipur in 1747, but Abdall was defeated before he could reach Delhi. Maratha help was also sought by the Vazirs of the emperor against their rivals from the time of Baji Rao. During BalajI’s time a Maratha contingent was placed at Delhi according to an agreement of 1752 33 to serve the Delhi emperor and his Vazir. Thus Maratha influence in Delhi politics went on increasing. Later on, their help was also sought in the Afghan quarrels in the Doab and in the quarrels in the Punjab against the Afghan aggression from beyond the Indian borders.

The Peshwd had his sardars —Sindia, Holkar and Pawar and other officers, administrators and representatives, permanently placed in important parts of northern India. Ran5jl Sindia, the founder of the Sindia house, died in 1745. His sons Jayappa and DattajI were good soldiers and continued their father’s work in the north as the military generals of the Peshwd . Malhar Rao Holkar lived during BalajI’s regime and carried on Maratha military activities in the north, specially in Malwa, Rajputana, Bundelkhand, the Doab and Delhi areas. Other sardars and officers were engaged in minor and restricted theatres of war.

Balaji did not personally go to the north after he returned from Jaipur in 1748. His sardars and representatives were carrying on military and diplomatic activities on his behalf to secure for him financial and territorial gains and to advance his political interests and supremacy in the north. Balaji kept himself in touch with northern politics through correspondence. He had envoys at various courts. Hingnes were entrusted with the diplomatic work at Delhi as the envoys of the Peshwd.

During the second period of Balaji's regime four great campaigns were organised in the north—two under the command of Raghunath Rao, the third one under DattajI Sindia and the last one under SadAshiv Rao Bhau. Delhi emperors and Vazirs had asked for Maratha support in their internal quarrels and against foreign invasions. Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India a number of times. Though he was defeated in 1748, he was successful in later campaigns, being invited by discontented governors and nobles of the Punjab and the Doab. The emperor being weak had to cede some districts in the Punjab to the Abdall in his second campaign.

The Peshwd's chief aim in undertaking these expeditions was to realise the vast sums of money promised by north Indian rulers and governors. The first expedition to the north under Raghunath

Rao took place during 1753-55. He was the commander of the Maratha forces and was assisted by Sindia and Holkar. This campaign lasted till October, 1755. The Marathas arrived in Rajputana in October, 1753. They were promised tribute by Kota, Bundi, Jaipur and other States. They fought with the Jats from 16 January to 22 May, 1754, but failed. After that they marched towards Delhi. They helped Ghazl-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk in putting a new emperor on the throne and in making him the Vazir. Raghunath Rao moved round Delhi and its environments; then he entered the Doab and after realising some contributions from Rohillas and others, he returned to Poona on 10 August, 1755. Malhar Rao Holkar had accompanied Raghunath Rao in this campaign. The subsidy of 40 lakhs promised to the Marathas by the Vazir could not be realised. Only a small amount was paid. The Marathas were therefore given 22 villages in Saharanpur and a few others from the empercfcr's estate. 34

IX. The Punjab Politics and Campaigns in the Second Period

The Punjab politics was at the time in a confused state. Claimants and usurpers were quarrelling for its governorship. The Sikhs had risen in rebellion. In this state of affairs, Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded the Punjab and stayed there from December, 1747 to March, 1748. Shah Nawaz Khan who had usurped the governorship of the Punjab sought his help against the emperor. An engagement between the Afghans and the Mughuls took place on 11 January, 1748, and Lahore was captured by the Afghans. Then the Afghans took Sirhind. But they were defeated by the imperialists on 11 March, 1748. 35

Their second invasion occurred in December, 1749. The subahdar of Lahore granted Abdali the revenues of four Mahals and he retired.

The third invasion took place in December, 1751, in order to realise the promised annual revenues of the four mahdls, which were not sent. Muin-ul-Mulk, the governor, had to surrender to Abdali at Lahore on 5 March, 1752. Thus the Punjab was lost to the em. pire and subdhs of Lahore and Multan were added to the Durrani empire by a treaty which was confirmed by the emperor on 13 April, 1752. Abdali then conquered Kashmir.

After the third invasion of Abdali, the Vazir Safdar Jang and Khoja Javid Khan, a favourite and confidant of the court, persuaded the emperor to enter into an agreement with the Marathas in May, 1752, for undertaking the duty of defending the empire against its

external and internal foes. 36 Antaji Mankeshwar was placed in charge of the Maratha military force at Delhi for this duty. In return, the Marathas were to get the chauth of the North-Western provinces usurped and occupied by the Afghans. But that chauth could only be secured by actual conquest. The Marathas were also given the subahs of Ajmer and Agra which were in the ha,nds of Rajputs and Jats. This created antagonism between them and the Marathas.

After the murder of Javid Khan on 27 August, 1752, by Vatfr Safdar Jang, Imad-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan’s son, with the help of the Marathas drove away Safdar Jang in 1753 to Awadh, and in June, 1754 he deposed the emperor Ahmad Shah. Raghunath Rao, Malhar Rao Holkar and Najib

Rohilla assisted him to become Vazir in place of Intizam-ud-Daulah, the son of the old Vazir Qamar-ud-din.[37]

The fourth invasion of Abdali took place in November 1756. The Punjab politics and life were in chaos and confusion. The Sikhs had risen everywhere. The Marathas were interfering in the politics of Delhi and harassing the governors and the governed for money. At this time, Ahmad Shah Abdali was invited to invade India by Mughlani Begam, the widow of the late subdhdar Muin-ul-Mulk, Najibud-Daulah, and the emperor ‘Alamglr II, all of whom promised him full support.[38] On this occasion there was no opposition to him till he reached Delhi. Delhi was looted and ravaged systematically. Sacred places like Mathura and Vrindavan suffered the same fate. There were massacres and rapes. Cholera epidemic in his army, however, made him return. While on his way back Ahmad Shah again sacked Delhi, annexed Sirhind, and laden with immense booty, left Delhi on 2 April, 1757. He gave the office of the Vazir to Imadul-Mulk and that of Mir Bakhshi to Najib-ud-Daulah, making the latter his own plenipotentiary and the real master of the Mughul government.[39]

The defect of Maratha politics in the north lay in the constant change of policy and allies. This created suspicion and distrust in the minds of all, against them. They thus alienated the sympathy of Rajputs, the Jats, the Awadh Nawabs and the Rohillas. They had no real and constant allies left for achieving their political objectives in the north.[40]

The fourth invasion of Abdali broke the back of the Delhi power and also swept off Maratha influence there. After Abdall’s departure the Marathas again came and established their supremacy at Delhi and ousted Najib-ud-Daulah. They entered into a new treaty in June, 1757, with Imad-ul-Mulk. Instead of one-fourth they were promised one-half share of all the revenues that they might gather from the Mughul dominions.[41] This meant that the Marathas must use force on all sides to get their dues. Their main object, however, became the establishment of their supremacy in the Punjab province.

After May, 1757, the condition of the Punjab politics was that Abdall’s son, Timur Shah, was the viceroy at Lahore and Jahan Khan, his general and guardian. There were two other parties who claimed the governorship of Lahore—one, the Mughul party led by Mughlani Begam, the widow of Muin-ul-Mulk, the. old governor, who died in 1753, and the other, the party of Sikhs who had risen as a people against -the Mughul rule. Adina Beg Khan, one of the officers, was carrying on guerilla warfare with the help of the Sikhs for power. The Sikhs had made stable rule of the Afghans in the Punjab impossible by defeating their generals. Adina Beg Khan invited the Marathas to help him. The Maratha plan was to prevent Abdall from crossing the Indus. They, therefore, undertook the campaign in the Punjab with the consent of the V&zir Imad-ul-Mulk in March, 1758. Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao led this campaign.

This was the second expedition of Raghunath Rao carried on during 1757-58. Large Maratha armies began to move and stay in the north for this purpose. Raghunath first invaded Rajputana and then moved on to Delhi. He attacked Delhi on* 11 August, 1757 and took it. Najib Khan Rohilla made peace with the Marathas on 9 September, 1757. Thus Raghunath established Maratha supremacy over the Delhi area. But Najib-ud-Daulah continued his secret alliance with the Abdall and invited him to drive away the Marathas from the north.

The first Maratha invasion of the Punjab took place in 1758 under the leadership of Raghunath. He was assisted by Malhar Rao Holkar. It was Adina Beg whcr had requested Raghunath, when at Delhi, to extend the Maratha dominions as far as the Indus. The invasion began in February 1758.

The Maratha troops were about 50,000. ManajI Paygude, the able Maratha captain, led the Marathas to Lahore, on 20 April 1758. Timur Shah and Jahan Khan retreated beyond the Chirrab. Then Raghunath and Malhar Rao returned by the end of May, 1758, at the call of the Peshwd. The whole administration of the Punjab was left in the hands of Adina Beg who promised to pay 75 lakhs a year to the Marathas. 42

The danger to the Maratha power lay in not staying in the Punjab in sufficient strength and consolidating their conquests. That was the weakness of the whole of their northern and Deccati policy and politics. A small force could not meet all eventualities. However, on their return, Raghunath sent Vithal Shivdeo, and Malhar Rao sent TukojI Holkar to the Punjab.

Raghunath in his letter to the Peshwti from Lahore on 4 May,

1758, describes the Maratha achievements in the Punjab as follows:

“We have already brought Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and other subdhs on this side of Attock under our rule for the most part... Ahmad Khan Abdali’s son, Timur Sultan, and Jahan Khan, have been pursued by our troops, and their forces completely routed. Both of them have now reached Peshawar with a few broken troops. .. we have decided to establish our rule up to Kandahar”. 43

Adina Beg died in October 1758. After his death a great scramble for power began in the Punjab. Tukoji on behalf of Holkar marched on beyond the Jhelum and the Indus in pursuit of the Afghans in October, 1758, and thus carried Maratha arms and standard beyond Attock to Peshawar. Sabaj I Sindia who had been sent by Dattaji, followed suit and joined him there. They continued there for four months till they returned to Lahore in March 1759, after new Afghan pressure.

But the anarchy in the Punjab and the consequent injury to Maratha interests there compelled the Peshwa to send a fresh strong force to the province under the able leadership of Dattaji Sindia. He arrived near the Sutlej in the first week of April, 1759. Here he was met by Adina Beg’s son who paid a part of the tribute. Dattaji then sent Sabaji Sindia with an army to take over Lahore and its governorship directly into his own hands. Sabaji Sindia was obeyed as governor as Dattaji was there to help him with his large force. In August, 1759 Sabaji drove back the invasion of Jahan Khan coming from Peshawar. The Afghan general retreated across the Indus. His son died and many of^his troops were killed and wounded.

But Jahan Khan again crossed the Indus in October 1759, with a strong Afghan force, and marched towards Lahore. At this time Dattaji was engaged in the siege of Shukartal. Sabaji was not strong enough to oppose

Jahan Khan; he therefore retreated from Lahore and thus deserted the Punjab.

Dattaji and Jankoji, who had gone as far as the Sutlej in April,

1759, did not stay there long enough to. organise the Punjab conquests. They returned, depending on Sabaji and his forces to hold

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the Punjib. The Peshwd asked them to return to Delhi as he was in great need of money to pay his heavy debts. He wanted Dattaji to undertake a new campaign to Bengal to get money.

The Marathas were in the Punjab from April, 1758, to October, 1759. They acted as representatives of the emperor, and collected the revenue with the help of local Mughul officers. The Marathas had about 15,000 troops there to oppose the fifth invasion of Abdall.

The whole province of the Punjab was occupied by the Afghans without a blow.- Maratha detachments which were dispersed throughout the province, lost heavily. Abdall established his government at Lahore in October, 1759, entered Sirhind on 27 November, 1759, and annexed the Punjab. This was his fifth invasion of India. It was undertaken to remove the Maratha danger once for all. Najibud-Daulah, his Indian ally, invited and helped him in this task.

X. Rdjputdna Politics and Campaigns in the Second Period

By 1751 the claimants whom the Marathas had supported in Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bundi, had succeeded to their principalities. But the huge sums which were promised to the Marathas had not been paid and not even a part of them could be realised except by force. In ,1751 and 1752 the Marathas were helping Safdar Jang of Awadh against the Afghans of the Doab. In 1752 Malhar Rao Holkar was supporting Ghazi-ud-din, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, to secure the viceroyalty of the Mdghul Deccan.

From 1753, the Marathas again took an active part in Rajputana politics. Sindia and Holkar were the chief Maratha sarddrs who were entrusted with preserving Maratha interests there. Jayappa Sindia was not successful at first at Ajmer, but invaded Marwar again on 23 June, 1754. At this time Raghunath Rao came from the south along with Malhar Rao Holkar. He gained some contributions, but his main object was to go to Delhi to help Imad-ulMulk. He reached there on 1 June, 1754. Jayappa Sindia completely defeated Bijay Singh of Marwar on 15 September near Merta. Though Jayappa had early successes in Marwar in 1755 also, his unco-operative conduct and exorbitant demands ruined the cause of the Marathas in Rajputana. On 25 July, 1755, he was murdered by a Rathor envoy in a heated discussion during negotiations for peace. Therefore warfare continued furiously, and with the help of Dattaji Sindia and other sarddrs the Marathas were successful. Jaipur and Jodhpur made peace with the Marathas in February, 1756. Ajmer

ort and district were ceded to the Marathas. An indemnity of fifty lakhs was promised. Ram Singh, whom the Marathas supported, got half the territory of Marwar.

In the year 1757, the Peshwa ordered Malhar Rao and Raghunath Rao to realise the promised tribute. They had first intended to march to Delhi against Abdali, but were not well equipped for it. They had neither sufficient money, nor proper fighting forces and materials, and were not successful in realising the total amount of contributions in spite of threats of force. Jaipur under Madho Singh resisted their exorbitant demands, and began to conspire with the Afghans against them. Raghunath Rao could get only eleven lakhs from Jaipur, but was not able to continue hostilities for want of more money. Nobody offered him any loan, and looting could not maintain an army for long. During this time, while he was engaged in minor conflicts, Abdali's fourth expedition took place. The Shah sacked and ravaged not only Delhi, but also the holy places of Mathura and Vrindavan and Raghunath Rao was not able to do anything to check him. Raghunath returned to the south in June 1758. From July, 1758, Jankbji Sindia, son of Jayappa, was trying to realise > tribute from those Rajput States which had agreed to pay, and to use force against those States which were forming anti-Maratha coalitions and alliances.

In July, 1759, Malhar Rao Holkar was sent to Jaipur to force it to pay the annual tribute which had not been paid for long. Madho Singh had become pro-Abdall. The Peshwa wanted money badly, but Holkar, in spite of his military superiority, was not successful in his objectives. He had, moreover, suddenly to abandon Rajputana in December, 1759, at the request of Dattaji Sindia to come to his help. Madho Singh delayed Malhar Rao's departure till Abdali had reached Sirhind on 27 November, 1759. Malhar Rao left for Delhi on 2 January, 1760. Rajputana affairs thus remained unsettled during 1760.

XI. Delhi Politics and Campaigns

The Peshwa had appointed Dattaji in 1758 to replace Malhar Rao, who was dilatory in diplomacy and warfare in northern India. Dattaji Sindia's campaigns in the north took place during 1759-60. He adopted a stronger policy towards Delhi than that of Malhar Rao Holkar. His policy was anti-Najib as Malhar's was pro-Najib. He was commissioned to realise all the tributes promised from various imperial provinces. Raghunath Rao's expeditions had not been fruitful. Dattaji threatened the Vazir, Imad-ul-Mulk and, after a few skirmishes near Delhi on 29 January, 1759, there was an agreement about the money to be paid by the Vazir. Dattaji then marched towards the Punjab on 1 February, 1759 and brought it again under control. He returned to Delhi in May, 1759, as he wanted to lead an expedition to Bengal as suggested by the Peshwa. He entered into an agreement with Najib-ud-Daulah to help him in building a bridge across the Ganga. Dattaji entered the upper Doab and met Najib. But Najib did not like to accompany the Marathas in their Bengal expedition. Being suspicious of their intentions he defeated their plan by false promises and dilatory tactics. Then monsoon came and the bridge could not be built. Najib had invited Abdali and was organising a secret alliance of the Mughul nobles and Afghan and Rajput rulers in order to drive away the Marathas from the north. Dattaji, therefore, decided to crush him. But Najib had already taken an unassailable position at Shukartal on the bank of the Ganga, where he entrenched himself. At this place Dattaji wasted four months but failed to dislodge the Rohilla chief. 44

Sabaji Sindia, the Maratha governor of Lahore, abandoned the Punjab and reached Dattaji's camp on 8 November, 1759. Najib would not agree to pay an indemnity of 25 lakhs, and the war went on; but Dattajfs position at Shukartal became untenable. On 23 November, a small remnant of Maratha troops of the Punjab defeated by the Abdali reached Dattaji's camp. Dattaji raised the siege, as he had to meet the new Afghan danger. The Afghan army met Dattaji's forces near Thaneswar on 24 December, 1759. Dattaji, being checked, fell back towards Delhi. A battle took place at Barari or Buradi Ghat on 10 January, 1760 in which Dattaji was killed, and the Maratha army retreated. 45 Jankoji Sindia fled, and Malhar Rao Holkar, who was called for help, joined him on 15 January, 1760. Both kept hovering round Delhi, and Malhar Rao was defeated at Sikandarbad in March, 1760. 4 * Abdali did not return to his country after this, but remained in the Doab at the request of Najib to meet the new Maratha menace coming from the Deccan to avenge the disaster at Buradi Ghat

Sadashiv Rao's expedition to the north took place in 1760. The Peshwa learnt on 27 January, 1760, of Abdali's invasion, of Maratha retreat from the Punjab, and of Dattaji being forced to raise the siege of Shukartal. Then the shocking news came on 15 February, 1760, of the death of Dattajf and the destruction of the army under him. Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the victor of Udgir, was appointed to lead the expedition to retrieve the Maratha fortunes in the north. 47 He was, however, not free to decide matters on his own responsibility, as

Vishwas Rao, the son of Balaji Rao, was made the nominal commander-in-chief. Bhau reached the Chambal on 8 June, 1760. Malhar Rao Holkar joined him there. Shuja-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Awadh, joined Abdall's side at the persuasion of Najib Khan. Bhau invited all chiefs in the north to join in driving out foreigners, 48 but there was no response from any quarter. Rajput princes were either hostile or neutral. Only Suraj Mai Jat helped the Marathas by providing them supplies. All the Muslim rulers of the north combined against the Marathas. That the Hindu rulers did not join or support Bhau was a fact which weakened the Maratha financial resources and military strength. There were differences about the plan of campaign among the Maratha chiefs themselves. On 16 May, 1760, Ilafiz Rahmat came from Abdall, met Malhar Rao Holkar and Suraj Mai, and proposed peace. But there was no agreement as the Maratha terms were exorbitant.

Another attempt at peace was made after the capture of Delhi by Bhau. Shujarud-Daulah proposed to bring about peace between Abdall and the Peshwd. The conditions proposed were that Shah ‘Alam should be acknowledged as emperor and his eldest son Jawan Bakht as his heir, that Shuja should be appointed as Vazir, and that Abdall should then return to his own country and the Marathas to their own. But the opposition of Imad-ul-Mulk and Suraj Mai to this proposal defeated the new peace move.

The Marathas thought in terms of India as a whole. They had invited all the rulers to join them against Afghan foreigners. Bhau aimed at fixing India’s boundary at Attock. Peshawar and beyond was to be left to the Afghans. The Marathas were to administer imperial provinces in the name of the Mughul emperor. 49

Sadashiv Rao Bhau captured Delhi on 2 August, 1760. He was helped by Malhar Rao, JankojI and Balwant Rao Mehendale. But Suraj Mai, who was on the Maratha side, left the Maratha cause because peace proposals unacceptable to him, were being entertained. His departure was a great loss, as no ally was left to the Marathas in the north. Suraj Mai suspected Maratha intentions against his own possessions. The Marathas had now to rely solely on their own resources and leadership. No peace was possible as the Peshivd would not agree to cede the Punjab to Abdall or recognise Najib Khan’s possessions in the Doab, though Bhau was prepared to entertain these

proposals.

The capture of Delhi restored the prestige of Maratha arms which had been lost after the fall of Dattajl. At this point Abdall

showed his readiness for an honourable peace between the Rohillas and the Marathas and then would have liked to return to his country. But Bhau*s success at Delhi overcame his sense of reality. He exaggerated the differences and anxieties felt in Abdali's camp. Najib and Shuja continued peace talks with Bhau during «August and September, 1760. They did not succeed as the Peshwd's demands were exorbitant.

After the conquest of Delhi, Bhau was drawn further north and his difficulties increased as regards food supplies. There was starvation arriongst his' soldiers. No money or loan was available. His financial resources were exhausted and dried up as there was no local tribute available. Bankers had already disappeared. 50

XII. The Battle of Pdnipat (14 January, 1761)

Bhau captured Kunjpura on 17 October, 1760. This was necessary in order to cut off Abdah's communications and to capture his provisions there. But Bhau neglected to keep his own line of communication intact and watch the fords of the Jamuna to prevent Abdali's crossing. While at Kunjpura, news reached him that Abdali had crossed the Jamuna near Baghpat and was striding across his path to the south. He then began his march towards Delhi and reached Fanipat on 29 October, 1760. Abdali, in the meanwhile, had crossed the Jamuna, arrived at Sonepat on 20 October, 1760, and reached Panipat on 1 November, 1760. Bhau's communications with Delhi and the Deccan were consequently cut off. $

During March to October, 1760, Abdali had destroyed the Maratha power in the Punjab, captured Delhi, killed Dattaji Sindia and driven out Malhar Rao and other Marathas from the Upper Doab. He also had compelled Suraj Mai to promise tribute. He would have gone back to his country had not Najib-ud-Daulah insisted on his staying on in order to destroy the Peshwd's army coming from the south. So he remained in India after April, 1760, to settle issues with the Marathas.

Shuja-ud-Daulah of Awadh was won over by Najib Khan on 18 July, 1760. Abdali's difficulties of food and fodder during his encampment in the Doab were met both by Najib and Shuja.

Abdali's forces consisted roughly of 40,000 horse and 40,000 foot. His own army consisted of 30,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry and 2,000 camel-swivels. The rest of the troops—10,000 horse and 30,000 foot—belonged to his Indian allies. Sadashiv Rao's army roughly consisted of 55,000 horse and 15,000 foot. This included 9,000 disciplined sepoys under Ibrahim Khan Gardi. AbdalTs forces were superior both in number and quality. There were quite a large number of irregulars accompanying both the sides. The odds were against the Marathas and AbdalTs generalship was superior. His cavalry was the finest in Asia, and his artillery was very mobile. Sadashiv Rao had a famished army, and his horses were poor and starved. His artillery was not equal to AbdalTs.? 1 AbdalTs. organisation and discipline of the army were far superior to that of Sadashiv Rao Bhau. The Afghan's was a compact centralised organisation. As against this, Maratha organisation was feudal and individualistic. The Maratha army was not well-knit in spirit and movement, and its discipline was loose and lax.

Both armies entrenched themselves at Panipat. Skirmishes and minor battles began from 1 November, 1760. The first regular battle was fought on 7 December, 1760, when the Rohillas penetrated suddenly into the Maratha trenches. They were defeated, but Balwant Rao Mehendale, an important sardar, fell. He was the chief counsellor of Sadashiv Rao and an able military leader.

The Afghan cavalry patrols were able to dominate the environs of the Maratha camp. They cut off Maratha communications, correspondence and food supplies. This weakened Bhau's military strength, because he lost connection with his base. His horses and soldiers were starving, and his ammunition was being exhaust.ed. The treasure coming from the south was stopped and cut off. His condition in Panipat thus deteriorated. Govind Ballal Bundela failed to send help and supplies. He was killed in a raid in the Upper Doab on 17 December, 1760. A Maratha raid in Awadh also failed in January, 1761. The treasure which was sent to Bhau by Govind Pant was also cut off near Panipat on 6 January, 1761. Thus Bhau's condition became worse and full of despair. His army was beleaguered and starved and his food resources were exhausted. Under these conditions Bhau proposed peace at any price, but Abdali rejected it on the advice of Qazi Idris who preached Jehad against the Marathas.

Therefore on 13 January, 1761, the starving Maratha army decided to fight and next day marched to battle, (on 14 January). The rival armies had encamped close to each other for three months.

The Afghans had received fresh reinforcements from home, and their discipline and morale were excellent. AbdalTs army worked under him as one force, and his artillery was more efficient and mobile. The Afghan soldiers were well-armed and well-clad and their military tactics were superior to those of the Marathas.

♦With the Marathas cut off from their base, the Panipat campaign developed into a huge siege operation. Bhau’s superiority lay in his heavy artillery and trained battalions, with which he surrounded himself in his entrenched camp at Panipat. Having retired within the defences of this fortress Bhau expected the Abdali to attempt to take the place by assault. Abdali’s response was different. Instead of hurling his men against Maratha cannon, he chose to starve out the beleaguered garrison. Bhau’s hope lay in holding out indefinitely and annoying the besiegers by frequent sorties and by calling his supporters outside to attack the Afghans. None of the measures he could pursue with success, as he was in a friendless country without outside supporters. The sorties made by the Marathas succeeded partially, but by themselves they could not decide the issue. Bhau’s primary mistake was to allow himself to be besieged in a foreign land. This view of the event explains why Abdali delayed the attack for such a long time, and forced the Marathas to abandon their defences and come out in the open. When the besieging party is unable to carry a place by assault it seeks to reduce the defence by starvation. The explanation given by some writers that Abdali feared to close with the Marathas and was doubtful of the ultimate issue till the last moment, misses the real issue.**

Bhau did not get any additional reinforcements from the south. He made a great mistake in not guarding adequately the fords at the Jamuna and maintain his connection with the south. In this battle of Panipat the Marathas were routed and defeated completely. It was a great disaster to them. Vishwas Rao and Sadashiv Rao BhaU were killed. Most of the officers fell. A large part of the forces were massacred and annihilated. The remnants were pursued and slaughtered. A large amount of booty was captured by the victors. The total loss of the Marathas is estimated at 50,000 horses, 2,00,000 cattle, thousands of camels, hundreds of elephants and a large amount of cash and jewellery. 52

The Marathas lost heavily in men, money, military power and political prestige by this defeat at Panipat, and lost the empire of India. It proved a great set-back to their political ambitions, and they had to re-establish their position in the north.

Ahmad Shah Abdali left India in March, 1761. He gained very little except booty and prestige, and was prepared to make peace with the Marathas in April 1761. But the attempt proved a failure.

Morally, the defeat of Panipat was a disaster to the Marathas. They lost their support and prestige in the north, their help was no more sought in quarrels by local potentates and rulers.

BALAJI RAO (1740-1761)

Shortly after hearing the result of the battle of Panipat BalajI Rao Peshwa died on 23 June, 1761. It came as a great shock to him, as all his life's work lay in ruins. His mistake lay in not keeping open a line of constant communication with Sadashiv Rao Bhau, in not properly estimating the needs of his army, in not watching constantly the position of Bhau's forces, and in not keeping a constant flow of reinforcements and supplies to his army. He was not near the field of battle where the fate of his empire was being decided.

Sadashiv Rao Bhau's ideal was India for the Indians. 53 The country up to Attock or the Indus was to bqv governed by Indians themselves, not by Turks, Persians or Afghans. He failed because his captains did not understand his strategy and tactics of warfare. Representing the Peshwa, he wanted to defend the Mughul empire from the internal and external enemies from 1752. He received authority from the emperors and Vazirs for this purpose throughout India.

But Maratha habits and character and their own equipment in men, money, resources and knowledge were not adequate for such a huge task in face of foreign military powers and internal selfish and aggrandising rulers and officers.

APPENDIX

(By the Editor)

The description of the Battle of Panipat, given above, in the text, seems to be not only meagre and therefore somewhat misleading, but also inaccurate in some details. The author being dead long ago it could not be revised by him. Though there is some difference of opinion even among modern scholars, the best available accounts are those given by Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, Sardesai in his New History of the Marathas, (Yol. II, pp. 435-44) and Shejwalkar in his monograph Panipat, 1761.

Sardesai’s estimate of the strength of the two hostile armies is a little different from that given in the text. He estimates Abdali’s army as sixty thousand Strong, nearly half of which was foreign and half Indian, of which the major portion was cavalry with a small admixture of infantry; the strength of the fighting Maratha force was f6rty-five thousand Marathas “who were certainly weakened by starvation and the loss of animals.” Shejwalkar calculates the strength of the Maratha army in the final action at 50,000. The Marathas’had a powerful artillery of more than two hundred pieces commanded by Ibrahim Khan. AbdalT, on the other hand, “had no heavy guns of the Maratha type; he had, instead, an efficient fire-arm of about two thousand light guns, camel-borne swivels, which could inflict severe havoc upon the dense mass of the Maratha ranks at short range” (Sardesai’s New History, Vol. II, p. 440).

So far as the actual combat is concerned the following account seems to be nearest to truth from available sources of information: The battle lasted from about 9 A. M. to 3 P. M. The Marathas fought vigorously for a few hours at the beginning, creating great havoc in the enemy’s ranks. AbdalT was “for a moment nervous about the issue” (p. 441) and called the select reserve force of six thousand Kazalbash cavalry corps who retrieved the position. The Maratha Commander and the Peshwa’s son made such a fierce onslaught upon the enemy’s centre commanded by the Vazir of AbdalT that KashTraj (who has written an account of the battle) saw him “sitting on the ground, beating his forehead in agony and trying to rally his fleeing followers piteously crying, ‘where are you running away my friends; Kabul is far off; you can’t reach it by running away’ ” (p. 441). AbdalT who had been constantly on the move watching the situation in different parts of the battle-field, realized his (Va&r’s) dangerous position. “He immediately detached fresh troops for his relief and had all the fleeing soldiers called back on pain of cutting them down. Until about two o’clock in the afternoon the Marathas continued their furious offensive. The enemy was yielding .ground and the Marathas appeared almost within an inch of winning” (p. 442). At this moment the thirteen thousand soldiers who had withdrawn from the battle but returned on pain of death, joined the combat. The Maratha troops who had been strenuously fighting “for over five hours without food and water, now showed signs of exhaustion”. Abdall who had been watching the situation now called in his reserve of ten thousand men and they turned the scale decisively against the Marathas. The destruction of the Maratha army was completed by the Afghan squadron of 1500 camel swivels firing from a close range, and a stray bullet killed Vishwas Rao a little before three in the afternoon. Then commenced a general flight of the Maratha troops followed by a terrible carnage. About seventy-five thousand Maratha soldiers and camp followers were killed and twenty-two thousand saved their lives by paying ransom (p. 443).

This account of the battle is corroborated in a general manner by the victor himself, as will appear from the following extracts of a letter written by Abdall to Raja Madho Singh. This letter was published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the Modem Review (May, 1946).

“The enemy distinguished themselves and fought so well that it was beyond the capacity of other races. Gradually the fighting passed from the exchange of cannon and rocket-fire to the discharge of muskets, from which it proceeded to the stage of combat with swords, daggers and knives. They grasped each other by neck; These dauntless bloodshedders (the Marathas.) did not fall short in fighting and doing glorious deeds. Suddenly the breeze of victory began to blow and as willed by the Divine Lord the wretched Deccanis suffered utter defeat. .... Forty to fifty thousand troopers and* infantry men of the enemy became as grass before our pitiless swords.

All the enemy's artillery, elephants and property have been seized by my men".

The letter adds that both Vishwas Rao and Bhau were killed, and removes all doubts of the death of the latter. 54

NOTES

1. Selections from Peshwd Daftar, Vol. XV, pp. 97-98, hereafter referred to aa S.P.D.; Purandare Daftar, I, 149, Raj wade, VI, 151; also Sardesai, New History , II, pp. 202-3.

2. Ibid, also Rajwade, II, 95; Malcolm, Memoir of Central India, I, 1880 edn., pp. 75-77.

3 For ^Maratha conquests of Bengal, see S.P.D., XX, 24-28, 29, 48-49; Aitih&sik Patravywahar, 35-36; Rajwade, III, 184, 217, 535, VI, 169r71; Vad, PeshwA

Diaries, Balaji Bdji Rdo, Vol. ii, pp. 242-43; Siyar-ul-Mutakherin (Eng. Translation), II, p. 117-130 and Maharashtra Purana, ed. by Edward C. Dimock and P. C. Gupta (1961).

4. Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 35-36.

5- See note No. 3; also Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 166.

6- Sardesai, New History of the Marathas, Vol. II, p. 230; S.P.D. XXVII, 7; Bharat

Varsha, I.

7. Sardesai, op. cit., p. 232; Rajwade, VI, 166-67; S.P.D. XXI, 7.

8- S P D. II, 9 and Sardesai, op. cit., pp. 237-40; Rajwade, VI, 190-1, 581.

9 Aitihasik Patravyawahar (1933)) ,68.

10. S.P.D. XXVII, 18, 19, 26.

11. S.P.D. II, 11, XXVII, 18, 19, 26, 38.

12. S.P D. XXVII, 30.

13. Raj wade, M.I.S. VI, 190-91, 581.

14. S.P.D. H, 31.

15- Marathd History Seminar (Kolhapur, 1971), Dr. Raghubir Sinh’s paper.

16. S.P.D. II, 31 and XXVII, 64-65.

17. Hingne Daftar, I, 20 and Brahmendra Swami Charitra, 20; also see Yusuf Husain, The First Nizam (1963), p. 208.

18- Yusuf Husain, op. cit., pp. 212-14.

19. S.P.D. XX, 21-22, Rajwade, M.I.S. VI, 149. Purandare Diary in Raj wade, M.I.S. VI gives details of this episode; Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 26.

20. Yusuf Husain, op. cit. ,

21. S P.D. XXV, 10-72, XXVI, 13, 16, 20-29, XXVIII, 34-35, 52-53; KSPY., 45, 48, 52-54.

22 S.P.D. XXV, 29, 46-72, Purandare Daftar, I, 59, Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 73-78.

23 Itihasa Sangraha , Peshwa Daftarantil Mahiti, pp. 321-51^ Grant Duff, op. cit.,-I, p. 448.

24. Dhakta Ramaraja Charitra, p. 11; S.P.D. VI, 119, 124, 127, 139, 141, 147.

25. Rajwade, M.I.S. VI, pp. 71-73, 110, 232, M I S. Ill, 390, 400, Purandare Daftar, I. 372. Itihasa Sangraha, Ait. Sankirna Sahitya, 145-53.

26. S.P.D. XXV, 144-49, XXVI, 202, Rajwade, M.I.S. Ill, 415, K S P Y, 114.

27. S.P.D. XXV, 179-84 and Rajwade, M.I.S. I, 73-119.

28 S.P.D. I, and Rajwade, M.I.S. I, 166.

29. \S.P.D. XXVIII, 140, 182-83, 185, Rajwade, M.I.S. Ill, 472-73, 479-81.

30 Secret & Political Deptt. Diary, Vol. I, pp. 1-35.

31. Ibid, p. 14.

32. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 34-36.

33 Rajwade, M I S. I, No. 1.

34. Bhau Sahebdnchi Bakhar (1959 ed.), pp. 2-8, K.S.P.Y. 122-31, S P D. II, 36, 39, 42, XXI, 58, XXVII, 79-83.

35- S.P.D. II, 9,'K-S.P.Y. 65, Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire , Vol. I, pp. 215-32.

36 Rajwade, M I S. I, No. 1, VI, 82.

37. S.P.D. XXI, 60, XXVn, 90.

38- Nur-ud-dln 146; for emperor’s invitation to Abdali, see Francklin’s Shah Aulum, pp. 4-5.

39- Ahmad Shah Abdali in Delhi, 1757: the most detailed and authentic sources are Delhi Chronicle, an anonymous Persian MS., described by Jadunath Sarkar in the Proceedings of the Ind. Hist. Records Commission, Vol. II (1921) and Tarikh-i-Alamgiri Sani in Elliot and Dowson's History, Vol. VIII; also S.P.D . XXI, 95-111; Hingne Daftar, Vol. I, 193.

40. S.P.D. XXI, 117.

41. S.P.D. II, 84.

42. S.P.D. XXVII, 218.

43. Parasnis, Itihasa Sangraha, Aitihasik Sphuta Lekha, IV, 11.

44. Rajwade, M.I.S. Vol. I, 138-46, Bhau Sahebdnchi Bakhar (1959 ed.), pp. 47-53.

45. S.P.D. n, 114, Rajwade, M I S. I, 165.

46. S.P.D. II, 121; XXI, 187-88.

47. Rajwade, M.IJS. I, 168, 204, Shejwalkar, T. S. Panipat, p. 37.

48 Rajwade, Ibid., 174, Purandare Daftar, I, 287.

49. Rajwade, Ibid, 179-80, 226.

50. S.P.D. II, 130-31.

51. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, 285-89; Rajwade, Vol. I, 168-69.

* Editor's addition.

52. Kashiraj, Battle of Panipat (1926 ed.), pp. 40-45; A. Macdonald, Memoir of Nana Farnavis (1851), (1927 ed.), p. 17. Macdonald says, "...of the fighting men only one-fourth are supposed to have escaped, and of the followers about an equal proportion; so that nearly two hundred thousand Marathas perished in the campaign."

53- Shejwalkar, T. S., Panipat 1761, p. 123.

54. Bhau’s death is corroborated by letters of Nana Phadnis, published in Sangli Publication (1965) Pdnipatcha Sangrdm in Nana’s words, pp. 1-10.

CHAPTER VII

PESHWA MADHAV RAO I

I. Raghunath Rao as Regent and Rebel:

In the graphic words of Kashiraj Pandit, the third battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) was ‘verily Doomsday for the Maratha people’. The victims included the Peshwd’s eldest son, Vishwas Rao, his cousin, Sadashiv Rao Bhau, and leading generals like Jankoji Sindia, and TukojI Sindia. The field of battle as well as the ditch round the Maratha camp were full of dead bodies, and more than twenty thousand prisoners were captured by the Afghans. Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao received the news of this terrible disaster at Bhilsa on January 24. He retreated to Poona, where he died on June 23. ‘It was a dismal sunset to the glorious noon of his father’s and his own reign.’ 1

Raghunath RaO) the eldest surviving member of the Peshwa family and the leader of the great Punjab expedition of 1758, was the natural pilot of the Maratha State in this unprecedented crisis. Madhav Rao. the second son of Balaji BajI Rao, was placed on the Peshwa’s gadi in his seventeenth year; Raghunath became Regent and the de facto ruler of the State.

The minor Peshwa and his vacillating but ambitious uncle had to deal, first of all, with the Nizam of Hyderabad. Anxious to reverse the terms of the treaty imposed by the Marathas after the battle of Udgir, Salabat Jang (under the guidance of his brother and Diwan, Nizam ‘All) invaded Maratha territories soon after Balaji BajI Rao’s death. Skirmishes extending over several months were followed by a decisive battle in January, 1762, in which the Nizam’s army suffered a clear defeat. Although several Maratha chiefs (like Gopal Rao Patwardhan of Miraj and JandjI Bhosle of Berar) asked Raghunath to take this opportunity of crushing the power of the Nizam, the Regent, led by his crafty adviser, Sakharam Bapu, conciliated the defeated enemy by granting him very favourable terms. 2 It is clear that Raghunath was already anticipating a struggle for power with the minor Peshwa —a struggle in which the goodwill of the Nizam was likely to be of great value.

Towards the close of Balaji Baji Rao’s life the relations between Poona and Bombay were not at all cordial. Victories in the Kar*

nafcak and in Bengal strengthened the position of the English, and they began to exploit the difficulties of the Marathas. When the Nizam’s invasion was imminent Raghunath concluded an agreement with the Bombay Government (September 14, 1761); the Marathas made substantial concessions, but received nothing in return. Soon afterwards the Marathas opened negotiations for military assistance, in return for which the Bombay Government demanded the ceding of Salsette and Bassein. Fortunately the Marathas were able to repulse the Nizam’s invasion without the assistance of English troops and guns. 3

The conclusion of peace with the Nizam was followed by Madhav Rao’s first Karnatak expedition, which will be described below. Dissensions broke out between Raghunath and the Peshwa even before the Karnatak campaign was over. The Peshwa’s mother, Gopika Bai, wanted to secure for her son an increasing share of political power; moreover, her personal relations with Raghunath and his wife, Anandi Bai, were very unhappy. In the open contest which followed, the Peshwa was supported by powerful chiefs like Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Malhar Rao Holkar, while Raghunath, guided by Sakharam Bapu, received active assistance from Nizam ‘All and JandjI Bhosle. In November, 1762, the Peshwd’s army was defeated in two battles. 4 A reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew followed, and once more Raghunath became the de facto ruler of the Maratha. State. He surrendered to Nizam ‘All several districts including the forts of Daulatabad, Shivneri, Asirgarh and Ahmadnagar. His supporters, like Sakharam Bapu, were appointed to high offices, and some of the Peshwa’s prominent supporters, like Babu Rao Phadnis, were dismissed. Gopal Rao Patwardhan’s jagtr was seized. 5

The victims of Raghunath’s wrath invoked the assistance of Nizam ‘All, who was also joined by Janoji Bhosle, lured by the prospect of being made Regent for the phantom King of Satara. In May, 1763, Nizam ‘All plundered Poona. The Peshwa had already decided to avoid open engagements to plunder the territories of the Nizam and Bhosle, and thus to compel them to turn back. Entering Berar in February, 1763, the Peshwa plundered the suburbs of Hyderabad, burnt Bidar and ravaged several districts. The Maratha allies of Nizam ‘All, including Janoji Bhosle and Gopal Rao Patwardhan, were won over. On August 10, 1763, a portion of Nizam ‘All’s army under the command of Vithal Sundar was defeated by the Peshwa in the battle of Rakshasbhuvan. Peace was concluded on September 25, 1763, Nizam ‘All agreeing to surrender

territories worth 82 lakhs. Janoji Bhosle was given territories worth 32 lakhs, and Miraj was restored to Gopal Rao Patwardhan. This treaty proclaimed the recovery of Maratha power after the disaster of Panipat. In domestic politics it marked the end of Raghunath’s regency. 6

Two years later the Peshwd concluded an alliance with Nizam ‘All, promising to restore to him the territories given to Janoji Bhosle after the battle of Rakshasbhuvan. The purpose of this alliance was to crush Jandji Bhosle who was then intriguing with Haidar ‘All and encouraging Raghunath’s ambitious project of capturing power. Threatened simultaneously by the Peshwd and the Nizam, Janoji Bhosle concluded peace and surrendered territories worth 24 lakhs, of which a portion worth 9 lakhs was taken by the Peshwd, and the remainder was to be given to the Nizam. In this expedition Raghunath co-operated with the Peshwd. 1 After the conclusion of peace he led an inconclusive campaign to Northern India, which will be described below.

On his return from Northern India in 1767 Raghunath stationed himself at Anandavalli near Nasik and began to make preparations for an open contest with the Peshwd . In 1765 he had demanded the partition of the Maratha State betWeen himself and the Peshwd. He had instigated the Peshwa’s officers to defy his orders. Madhav Rao was anxious for conciliation. He met Raghunath in September, 1767, and concluded an agreement; but as soon as he returned to Poona, Raghunath opened negotiations with Ni^am ‘All, Haidar ‘All, Janoji Bhosle and DamajI Gaikwar. Mostyn, who came to Poona in November, 1767, as the envoy of the Bombay Government to ask for the Peshwd’s assistance in the First Anglo-Mysore War, tried to secure Raghunath’s friendship. Raghunath himself expressed his desire ‘to engage the English bn his side and receive help from them v/hen he might take up arms’ against the Peshwd. Although the Company was not yet strong enough to interfere openly in the internal affairs of the Maratha State, Raghunath’s impending rebellion dislocated the Peshwa’s plan in all directions. He could not take advantage of the Anglo-Mysore War to increase his influence in the Karnatak. He had to cancel his programme of sending an expedition to Northern India. He had to conciliate the Nizam. He had to give up his project of attacking the Sidis of Janjira. All his resources had to be mobilised for civil war.

As Raghunath counted upon the support of Janoji Bhosle he marched to Dhodap, a fort in the Chandore range. There a decisive battle was fought and won by the Peshwd on June 10, 1768. The fort was captured. Raghunath was taken to Poona and confined in the Shaniwar Wada.[8]

After punishing Raghunatji’s accomplices, Gangadhar Yashwant Chandrachud (the former Diwdn of the Holkar State) and Govlnd Rao Gaikwar (the eldest son of DamajI Gaikwar), the Peshwd marched against JanojI. Bhosle. Once again Nizam ‘All co-operated with the Peshwd against his northern neighbour. Unable to face the combined armies of the Peshwd and the Nizam, JanojI Bhosle embarrassed them by adopting the old Maratha system oi a guerilla war. The Peshwd plundered Nagpur, captured several forts and ravaged Berar. Peace was ^concluded at Kanakapur (at the confluence of the Manjra and the Godavari) on 23 March, 1769. JanojI Bhosle surrendered territories worth 8 lakhs and agreed to perform the duties of a loyal vassal.[9] He faithfully observed the terms of this agreement till his death (May, 1772).

Raghunath could not reconcile himself to his lot even after the final submission of all his supporters. He carried on secret negotiations with the Nizam and Haidar ‘All. He was released from confinement in March, 1772.

II. The Karnatak Expeditions:

In 1759 the Marathas got an excellent opportunity for the conquest of Mysore; that opportunity was, however, neglected because troops were badly needed for the grand Northern expedition and the campaign against the Nizam. Haidar ‘All got rid of the Maratha army assisting Mysore Diwd/n Khande Rao by promising to surrender Baramahal to the Peshwa; but this inconvenient promise was forgotten aS soon as the news of the disaster of Panipat reached Mysore. Emboldened by the temporary eclipse of the Marathas, Haidar ‘All openly adopted an aggressive policy and began to push hik frontier towards the Krishna. He found an ally in Basalat Jang, Nizam ‘All’s disappointed brother, whose ambition was to establish an independent principality in the Karnatak. In 1761 Haidar and Basalat captured Hoskote, Dod Ballapur, and Sira. Haidar gave nothing to his foolish ally. Early in 1762 he occupied Chik Ballapur, Kodikonda, Penukonda, Madakasira, Raidurg, Harpanahalli, and Chitaldurg. His aggressions in the Karnatak deprived Poona of tribute amounting to about 50 lakhs of rupees. 10

After the conclusion of peace with Nizam ‘All in January, 1762, the Peshwd led an expedition to the Karnatak. He was accompanied by his uncle Raghunath and Trimbak Rao Pethe. Tribute was realised from several districts, including Kittur and Bidnur. .Instead of confronting the Marathas Haidar retreated to a forest. Scarcity of provisions, want of money and dissensions at home forced the Peshwa to return to Poona without achieving any definite result. 11

While the Mariathas were paralysed by internal strife and Nizam ‘All’s second invasion, Haidar ‘All occupied Bidnur, Sonda, Ratehalli, Bankapur, Shirhati, and Dharwar in 1763. The Nawab of Savanur, whose territory lay between the rivers Tungabhadra and Malaprabha in the direct line of all Maratha armies proceeding to Mysore, was defeated and compelled to recognise Haidar’s suzerainty. The frontier of Mysore was pushed nearly to the banks of the Krishna.

After the battle of Rakshasbhuvan, Madhav Rao found himself free to attend to the affairs of the Karnatak. Instead of returning to Poona after the conclusion of the hostilities against Nizam ‘All, this energetic young Peshwa at once proceeded towards the Tungabhadra. He crossed the

Krishna in February, 1764. Haidar tried to form an alliance with Nizam ‘All, who promised help but did nothing. The Peshwa occupied Manoli and Hubli, secured the allegiance of the Nawab of Savanur, who was glad to escape from Haidar’s yoke, and crossed the Tungabhadra. Haidar took shelter in the forests near Ratehalli, but in May, 1764, he was drawn out. of his retreat and defeated by the Marathas. This defeat cost him more than 1,000 dead and about the same number wounded (very few of whom survived). On the Maratha side not more than 50 soldiers and 100 horses were killed and 200 soldiers wounded. The Peshwa wrote in exultation to his mother that from that battle Haidar took; a terror of the Maratha name. 12

Haidar could not forget the lesson of this battle. He decided to avoid another open contest with the Marathas. So he marched with his army to the entrenched fort at Anavati. The Marathas could not dislodge him from this position, for the road was bad and the* rainy season was near. Unwilling to return to Poona after so inconclusive a campaign, the Peshwa cantoned his troops near Dharwar. In June, 1764, Haidar sent a detachment to ravage the Savanur territory, but the Peshwa’s timely arrival saved it. Gopal Rao Patwardhan was entrusted with the difficult task of defending Savanur.

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Haidar tried to draw his isolated force to a pitched battle, but he skilfully avoided the trap. The Marathas occupied Haveri in September, 1764, and began the siege of Dharwar, which capitulated early in November. Twice Haidar made overtures for peace, but nothing came out of them. He opened negotiations with Nizam ‘All and JanojI Bhosle. The Government of Bombay sent him some cannon, gun powder and fire-arms. Wilks is, therefore, hardly correct in saying that during the rains Haidar’s army “wretched* spiritless, and sickly.. .looked with apathy or aversion to the renewal of active operations”. 13

In November, 1764, the Peshwa encamped near Anavati, and on December 1, took place the decisive battle of Jadi Anavati, in which the Peshwa personally took the leading part. Haidar lost about 2,000 men and was himself wounded. 14

Meanwhile the Peshwa had asked his uncle Raghunath Rao to come to the Kamatak and to assume the command of the expedition. Probably the Peshwd’s motive was to keep his unsteady uncle under observation, so that he might create no trouble during his absence from Poona. Anyhow, Raghunath Rao came to the Kamatak with a fresh army.

In February, 1765, the Peshwa marched towards Bidnur, where Haidar had in the meanwhile shut himself up. Honnali, Kumsi, Anantapur, and Chitaldurg were occupied by the Marathas. Haidar was certainly in a desperate position, but the Peshwa also had his difficulties. The road to Bidnur ‘led through woods difficult for cavalry’. Nizam ‘All was plundering Maratha territory, and the English merchants of Bombay were creating troubles on the Konkan coast. Both sides were, therefore, ready for peace, and an agreement was concluded in March, 1765. Haidar surrendered several Maratha districts, including Bankapur, gave up all claims on the Nawab of Savanur, and agreed to pay 30 lakhs of rupees tribute. 15 Wilks rightly says that tlp$lwas “an adjustment of extreme moderation, considering the desperate circumstances in. which Hyder was placed”. 16 The responsibility foreshowing so much leniency to so powerful and determined an enemy lies wholly on Raghunath. Wilks also says that among the terms “were without question some secret articles which were the foundation of that good understanding which ever afterwards subsisted” between Haidar and Raghunath. 17 Whether the Peshwa was aware of these ‘secret articles’, we do not know; but he was not in a position to protest against the selfish policy of his uncle, who could obtain the aid either of Nizam ‘Ala or of Janoji Bhosle, and perhaps of both. So the Peshwa returned to Poona, leaving Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Murar Rao (of Gooty) to protect Maratha territories in the Karnatak against Haidar ‘All’s encroachments.

PESHWA MADHAV RAO 1

Madhav Rao was anxious to resume his unfinished operations against Haidar ‘AIL In order to secure the safety of his rear he conciliated Nizam

‘All and gave him territories worth 15 lakhs. The result was a general understanding about co-operation against Haidar ‘AIL 18

Anticipating a renewal of struggle with the Marat has, Haidar ‘All tried to secure the active alliance of the English. In July, 1766, the Bombay Government proposed a treaty of peace and friendship. But the Court of Directors were then unwilling to become ‘involved in hostilities, especially as principals, in any case short of absolute defence/ Moreover, the Company was very anxious to secure control over the Northern Sarkars, and for this purpose an alliance with the Nizam was necessary. On 12 November, 1766, General Caillaud concluded a treaty with the Nizam, which indirectly provided for the employment of English auxiliary troops in the Nizam’s impending war against Haidar ‘All. 19

Meanwhile Haidar’s troops were ravaging Maratha territory in the Karnatak and demanding tribute from important posts like Raidurg, Bellary, Harpanahalli and Chitaldurg. The Peshwd completed his preparations and crossed the Krishna in January, 1767. Jetgi, Kittoor, Kenchangudd, Gadwal, Bellary, Shidnoor, Adoni and Devdurg were occupied. 20 Haidar fortified Bangalore, Sira and Bidnur, and shut himself up with his army at Seringapatam. Unwilling to engage in pitched battles, he devastated his own territory, so that the Marathas suffered from the scarcity of food and water. “Such a plan”, says Wilks, “may distress but cannot stop such an army.” 21

In February, 1767, the Peshwd went to Sira, which was defended by Haidar’s General, Mir Reza. After some resistance Mir Reza surrendered the fort and accepted service under the PeshwdP 2 The capture of Sira was a great political and personal triumph for Madhav Rao. In March he captured the fort of Madgiri, where he found the former Raja and Queen-Mother of Bidnur, imprisoned by Haidar in 1763. He took them under his protection. Several important posts—Chennarayadurg, Dod Ballapur, Chik Ballapur, Devanhalli, Hoskote, Nandigarh, Kolar—fell to the Marathas. The Nizam began to advance to join the Peshwd. Haidar was thoroughly alarmed, and pressed for peace. The Peshwd also found it difficult to advance further, for he had no money to meet the expenses of the camp, and no boats to cross the river in the impending rainy season. Moreover, he did not like to give the Nizam a share of victories to which he had contributed nothing. 23

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Peace was concluded at the beginning of May, 1767. The Peshvcd retained Chennarayadurg, Madgiri, Dod Ballapur, Hoskote and Sira. Kolar, Chik Ballapur and Nandigarh were to be returned to Haidar. Kadappa and Gurrumkonda were to be left to Mir Reza. Haidar agreed to pay 31 lakhs to the Peshwd and 18 lakhs to the Nizam. 24 The Peshwd started for Poona in May, 1767, leaving Murar Rao to protect the newly annexed districts. The Nizam was not satisfied with the terms offered to him,, and it seems that the money promised by Haidar was never paid.

The outbreak of the First Anglo-Mysore War soon afterwards (August, 1767) made the Marathas the decisive factor in South Indian politics. The Peshwd was courted by the English and Muhammad ‘All (Nawab of the Karnatak) on the one side and by Nizam ‘All and Haidar on the other. 25 The Madras Government was anxious to purchase the Peshu)d 9 s support by allowing him to annex Bidnur; Mysore was to be restored to the Hindu Raja under the British protection and subject to the payment of chauth to the Marathas. 26 But the Peshwd demanded ‘the entire extirpation of Nizam ‘All and the whole family of Nizam-ul-Mulk from the subdhship of the Deccan’ and the establishment of one of Shah ‘Alam’s sons at Hyderabad. The Madras Government considered that such a step would increase the power of the Marathas and ‘make them dangerous neighbours to the Company’s possessions both in Bengal and on this coast’. The Bengal Government discouraged the proposal foi Maratha alliance. 27

In November, 1767, the Bombay Government sent to, Poona an envoy named Thomas Mostyn for the purpose of preventing the Peshwd from joining Haidar and Nizam ‘All. The English required the military assistance of the Marathas when they would attack Haidar ‘All’s possessions on the western coast. In return for such assistance Mostyn was instructed to offer Bidnur and Sonda, provided the Peshwd agreed , to assign to the Company Bassein and Salsette, as well as the Maratha 'share of the revenues of Surat 28 in addition to some commercial privileges. The envoy was also advised to take full advantage of the quarrel between the Peshw\d and his uncle, and to ‘encourage any advances’ which might be made by the latter. 23

Mostyn remained at Poona for about three months (November 29, 1767 to February 27, 1768). He had several interviews with the Peshwd. Early in December the Peshwd received an agent Nagoji Rao from the Nawab of Arcot. NagojI Rao was instructed by the Madras Government to secure the Peshwd’s military assistance, or

if that was not possible, at least his neutrality. If the Maratha court appeared hostile, it was to be informed that Jandji Bhosle was soliciting the friendship of the English in Bengal.

In his negotiations with the Peshw\a Mostyn did not clearly show his cards, for he felt that there was ‘no appearance at present’ of the Peshwa’s taking part with the Nizam and Haidar ‘All. As Haidar ‘All was the declared enemy of the Marathas, it would not be wise for them to contribute to his safety or prosperity. Moreover, the Peshwa’s hands were not free. The Jats and the Rajputs were creating troubles in Northern India, and, nearer home, Raghunath was preparing for civil war. The state of the Peshwa’s finances was also very unsatisfactory. Under these circumstances Mostyn shrewdly suspected that the Peshwa had no other course open to him except neutrality. He sent Brome to negotiate with Raghunath, who demanded British assistance against his nephew.

On 17 January, 1768, Mostyn heard that the Nizam had concluded peace with the Nawab of Arcot. Haidar ‘All was now left alone; therefore, said Mostyn, “the forming a junction with the Marathas appeared the less necessary, more especially as the jealousies and disputes between Madhav Rao and his uncle Raghoba would... . prevent their joining Hyder ‘All or giving us any material assistance. .. ” 30

In February, 1768, the Bombay Government sent an expedition against Haidar ‘All’s fleet and possessions on the western coast. Mostyn was instructed to secure the Peshwa’s neutrality. Madhav Rao “had no objections to... .punishing Hyder ‘All, but he claimed Bidnur and Sonda, and wanted the English to surrender any part of them which they might take. The former Raja of Bidnur was then at Poona under the Peshwa’s protection. He wanted to recover his territory with the assistance of the Company, but Mostyn refused to entertain his proposal because it was not acceptable to the Peshwa. After Mostyn’s departure from Poona, a Maratha agent went to Bombay and demanded Mysore, Bidnur, and Sonda. This demand was peremptorily refused.” 31

Some months later it was reported that the Nizam was repentant for making a hasty peace, and the despatches of Brome, the envoy of the Bombay Government at Poona, gave enough cause to apprehend that the Peshwa was ready to join Haidar ‘All. The latter’s vakil promised payment of arrears of tribute in return for military assistance. An agreement was concluded between the Peshwa and the Nizam. A joint expedition was to be sent against the Nawab of Arcot; of the territories taken from him, one-fourth would be retained by the Peshwa, and the rest would go to the Nizam.

Early in 1769 the position of the Madras Government was so desperate that it was anxious for peace ‘on almost any terms’. A despatch to the Government of Bengal, dated January 28, 1769, contains the following statement: “there being no room to doubt of Madhav Rao’s intentions of hostilities, and considering the state of our treasury and resources, it appears evident almost to demonstration that in a x very little time, far from being able to maintain an army in the field, we should not even have the means of paying our forces in garrison’. The old theory of utilising Haidar ‘All as a ‘barrier’ against Maratha expansion was revived: “Haidar is the best barrier to the Carnatic against the Marathas with whom he ever has been and ever must be at variance and probably never will pay the chauth but when they can demand it at the head of a superior force.” 32

All speculations came to an end when Haidar ‘All dictated the terms of peace (April 2, 1769). The second article of the treaty laid down “that in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall from their respective countries mutually assist each other to drive the enemy out.” Haidar wanted to be sure of British assistance against the Marathas; so he was anxious that the alliance should be defensive as well as offensive. But the Madras Government refused to make an offensive alliance. 33

It is quite clear that Madhav Rao failed to exploit the First Anglo-Mysore War for his own advantage. He could neither get money from Haidar ‘All by helping him, nor acquire territory by joining his enemies. The responsibility for this failure to utilise an advantageous situation lies not on the Peshwa but on Raghunath Rao and Janoji Bhosle, whose unpatriotic ambitions crippled the Maratha State.

On the conclusion of peace with Janoji Bhosle in 1769 Madhav Rao decided to lead another expedition against Haidar ‘All, who, instead of paying the arrears of tribute, levied contributions upon some of the Poligars tributary to the Peshwa. Mir Reza, who had entered the Peshwa 9 s service in 1767, rejoined Haidar and occupied Bagepalli and Talpula. Murar Rao of Gooty had to purchase peace by promising to pay tribute to Haidar ‘All. Tribute was realised from Chitaldurg, Harpanahalli, and some other places, and even the Nawab of Savanur placated Haidar by secretly paying him a large sum of money. Although Haidar was thus encroaching upon the

Maratha sphere on all sides, he tried at the same time to prevent by negotiations another Maratha expedition to the Karnatak. He also tried to create troubles for the Peshwa by instigating Raghunath and JanojI Bhosle to revolt against him.

Madhav Rao was determined to take strong measures for the complete subjugation of the Karnatak. Gopal Rao Patwardhan and Anand Rao Raste were sent to watch Haidar’s movements. In October, 1769, the Peshwa left Poona and marched directly towards Seringapatam. The Maratha army proceeding to the Karnatak consisted of about 75,000 troops and had 50 guns. 34 The Peshwa, says Wilks, “seemed to abandon the ordinary routine of Maratha plunder, and to point to the fixed conquest of the whole country. Among other arrangements he was accompanied by garrisons regularly organised and independent of his field force, for the occupation of the principal posts.’ ,35 The English authorities wrote on March 10, 1771: “From the present conduct of the Marathas both in the North and the South, and from the genius, spirit, and ambition of Madhav Rao, we are inclined to suspect that their designs are not confined to the mere collection of chauth but to extend to the subjection of the whole peninsula.” 36

Within two months (January and February, 1770) the Peshwa occupied several important posts—Budihal, Kandikere, Handikere, Chiknayakanhalli, Bhairavdurg, Nagamangala* Balapur, Nandigarh, and others. Even after the loss of so many posts Haidar remained apparently undisturbed. Wilks observes that he ‘did homage’ to the ‘military talents’ of Madhav Rao by refusing to confront him in the open field. Haidar deliberately followed his old plan of devastating his own territory. He took shelter in the forest of Udagani. His son Tipu was sent to Seringapatam “to collect all the straw and wood that was possible and to burn all that could not be removed, to fill up the wells and ponds and to give notice to the people to retire from the villages into the larger towns.” 37

In January, 1770, Haidar left Udagani, went to Turuvekere, and then marched towards Seringapatam under Cover of darkness. His real intention was to deliver a night attack on the Marathas. An engagement took place between Haidar and a Maratha detachment led by Gopal Rao, Murar Rao, and Anand Rao Raste. Haidar’s artillery proved too strong for the Marathas. They were compelled to retreat, and their camp was plundered. But the victor hurriedly marched to Seringapatam; he was not prepared to be caught in between the two Maratha armies, led by the Peshwa and Gopal Rao

respectively. He was joined by Mir Reza and Tipu, who had been creating diversions for the Marathas. 38

At Seringapatam Haidar collected all his treasures from other forts. His Portuguese officer Peixoto says: “No other fort in Haidar’s dominions has a neighbourhood so fit as this for the encampment of a powerful army that requires many necessities for its subsistence, particularly the three essential ones—provisions, water, forage. Provisions for 12 years are laid up here. There is no lack of water, for the Kaveri runs close by the walls, and the fort is in an island!”

In April, 1770, the Peshwa captured the strong forts of Devarayadurg and Nijgal. 39 Then he started for Poona, for his health was gradually giving way. Trimbak Rao was left in charge of the operations in the Karnatak. The

Peshwa might have concluded the campaign by taking tribute from Haidar, but he was determined to crush his enemy. Trimbak Rao was left at the head of a large army, and he had an able lieutenant in Gopal Rao.

Peixoto gives us a good idea about the relative positions of the two powers in 1770: "The Marathas have not only the greatest force on their side, but the prayers of all the people, who everywhere without exception are robbed and harassed (by Haidar) and under a weight of contribution that it is not possible for them to bear. The Nabob (i.e., Haidar) has a large force but not to be compared with that of the Marathas.... In artillery the Nabob has not, as yet, the advantage, for the Marathas have much more. The Nabob's advantage is that all his troops are better disciplined. But if he resolves to give battle in the plains or to retire into any stronghold, he is ruined." 40

For two years Trimbak Rao, ably assisted by Gopal Rao till his death, carried on operations against Haidar 'All with conspicuous bravery and success. After the departure of the Peshwa the Marathas captured Chik Ballapur, Gurrumkonda and some important places in the Kolar district. Towards the close of the year 1770 the Peshwa again proceeded to the Karnatak but ill health compelled him to return to Poona, where he reached on January 20, 1771. Haidar was still at Seringapatam, surrounded by the Marathas on two sides. He desperately sued for peace, but his terms were rejected by the Marathas. His position was somewhat improved by the death of Gopal Rao on January 17, 1771. Murar Rao was ill, and Trimbak Rao became very unpopular owing to his irritable temper.

Towards the close of February or early in March Trimbak Rao appeared near Seringapatam. Haidar now left the protection of the fort, probably in order to prevent the Maratha invasion of Bidnur, and met the Maratha army at Moti Talav, about 10 miles north-west of Seringapatam city, on March 7, 1771. The Mar&thas secured a decisive victory. Trimbak Rao claimed that 75 guns, about 8,000 horses, 20 or 25 elephants, treasure and jewellery were captured. Some of Haidar's principal officers were captured and he himself fled to his capital in the guise of a monk or beggar. 41 But the Marathas failed to gain any permanent advantage from this victory. They foolishly allowed the remnant of Haidar's army to reach Seringapatam and gave Haidar the long interval of ten days to complete his arrangements for the defence of the capital. When Haidar had partly recovered from the shock and losses of the defeat, Trimbak Rao came to Seringapatam and tried in vain to capture the fort by a half-hearted siege. Weakened by the scarcity of provisions he gave up the siege towards the close of April and sent some detachments to occupy other forts and ravage Haidar's territory. These indecisive operations and fruitless negotiations for peace occupied the rainy season, at the end of which Trimbak Rao advanced towards Tanj ore in response to an appeal for help against the Nawab of Arcot from the Maratha ruler of that principality. This expedition (September, 1771-February, 1772) yielded some money, but Haidar got the breathing time which he so badly required.

The Peshwa had urged Trimbak Rao to proceed against Bidnur instead of wasting time at Seringapatam. On his return from the east he made preparations for invading Bidnur, but it was already too late. The Peshwa s illness had become serious, and the Poona treasury was exhausted. In April 1772, the Peshwa asked Trimbak Rao to conclude peace by whatever means possible. Haidar shrewdly exploited the weakness of the Marathas. He paid 31 lakhs in cash and jewellery and promised io pay 19 lakhs more in three years. The Marathas retained Sira, Madgiri, Gurrumkonda, Dod Ballapur, Kolar and Hoskote with their dependencies; but important posts like Nandigarh, Chick Ballapur and Devarayadurg had to be surrendered to Haidar. The Maratha army began its march to Poona in June 1772. Althqugh this expedition cannot be described as wholly successful, yet Haidar's northern boundary was reduced within narrower limits than those which had been possessed by the Hindu ruler of Mysore at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Still, greater success could have been won if Trimbak Rao had not failed to exploit the situation arising out of the battle of Moti Talav. The

Peshwa's fatal illness and the chronic financial difficulties of the Maratha State furthered Haidar's cause no less than his ingenuity and his disciplined troops. 42

The East India Company played an indecisive part in this war. At the beginning of the hostilities both parties appealed for assistance to the Madras Government. Haidar naturally cited the second article of the treaty of 1769. But the Madras authorities decided to remain neutral, for they were anxious to maintain the balance of power in the Karnatak. It was thought best to follow the policy of ‘keeping alive the hopes and fears of both parties by not determining in favour of either and without assuring assistance to the one or the other’. But it was difficult to explain away the treaty of 1769. Haidar was told that he was the aggressor; it was also argued that the treaty was ‘an act of necessity’. Neutrality might have some pretence of justification, but the Madras authorities were aware that they could not help the Marathas ‘without a certain manifest violation of the treaty’. The cause of the Marathas was, however, strongly urged by the Nawab of Arcot, who had a strong personal antipathy to Haidar ‘Ali. When Haidar’s position became critical, the Madras Government drifted to the conclusion that he should be assisted, but nothing could be done ‘without the revenues and resources of the Carnatic’, which the Nawab plainly refused to employ in the service of his rival. Towards the close of 1771 it was suspected that the Marathas would invade the east coast, and precautionary measures were taken by the Madras Government; but the Marathas were wise enough not to throw the English in the arms of Haidar ‘All. The shifting diplomacy of the Madras Government in 1769-1772 alienated Haidar without conciliating the Marathas. 43

III. Revival of Maratha Power in Northern India:

The destruction of the Maratha army at Panipat was naturally followed by a revolt against Maratha domination everywhere in Hindustan—in the Gangetic Doab, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, and Malwa. Although Madhav Rao was fully busy with the consolidation and expansion of his power in the South, he was not at all indifferent to Maratha interests in the North. For some years after Panipat the Marathas found it impossible to resume seriously their activities in Hindustan. The premature death of BalajI Baji Rao, the invasions of Ni?am ‘All, the question of succession to JankojI Sindia, the intrigues and rebellions of Raghunath Rao, the revolts of JanojI Bhosle, and the long struggle with Haidar ‘Ali naturally kept them away from the stormy North. It was only towards the close of his brief

but glorious administration that Madhav Rao found it possible to make a serious and successful attempt to recover Maratha authority in Hindustan.

The task of restoring Maratha authority in Rajputana and Malwa immediately after Panipat, fell upon Malhar Rao Holkar. After the capture of Rampura and Gagroni in May-June, 1761, he turned his attention to Madho Singh of Jaipur, who had been trying to set up an anti-Maratha coalition consisting of Najib Khan, Yaqub ‘All (Ahmad Shah Abdall's agent in Delhi) and the exiled emperor Shah ‘Alam II. He was also joined, or was likely to be joined, by some petty Rajput chiefs of Malwa and Rajputana. Unable to deal with this menace during the rainy season of 1761, Malhar returned to Indore. He resumed the operations after the rains and defeated the Jaipur army in the battle of Mangrol on 29 November, 1761. 44 This decisive victory destroyed Madho Singh’s fond hope of uprooting Maratha power from the North and restored Maratha prestige throughout Hindustan. Holkar advanced as far as Manoharpur (40 miles north of Jaipur); but Jaipur was saved from invasion as Holkar’s attention was diverted due to the invasion of Bundelkhand by Shah ‘Alam II and Shuja-ud-daulah.

Shah ‘Alam was at this time living as a protege of Shuja-uddaulah, who had undertaken to escort him to Delhi. After the rainy season of 1761, they started for the expulsion of the Marathas from Bundelkhand. The general weakness of the Marathas, the disobedience of the local chiefs and the treason of Maratha officers like Ganesh Sambhaji (who joined the imperial army) made it easy for Shah ‘Alam and Shuja to establish their authority over a portion of Bundelkhand. Crossing the Jamuna at Kalpi in January, 1762, Shuja captured Kalpi, Mot (Jhansi district) and Jhansi and realised tribute from the chiefs of Orchha and Datia. After an unsuccessful attempt to subjugate the ruler of Mahoba he re-crossed the Jamuna and returned to his own dominions. 45

From Rajputana Holkar had to go to Indore, for he was temporarily incapacitated by a serious wound which he had received at Mangrol. This left the enemies of the Marathas free to work out their plans in Malwa, Rajputana and Bundelkhand. Some energetic officers, however, tried to consolidate Maratha authority in Gohad and Ahirwada. Even after his recovery Holkar could not venture into the scene of his former triumphs; he was gradually sinking due to old age and ill health. Mahadji Sindia was busy with the question of succession, and the Poona Government as yet showed no desire to profit by his abilities. During the years 1762-64 the Marathas did not pursue a vigorous policy in Northern India, and no systematic attempt was made to recover the lost ground.

But the triumph of the Marathas in the South was not without its influence on their position in the North. In 1764 Ahmad Shah Abdali ratified a formal peace with them. This was a much-needed relief, and at the same time an indirect recognition of their still surviving power. In 1765 the East India Company considered it necessary to support Shuja-ud-daulah's restoration, for his removal 'would have destroyed the strongest barrier against the Marathas'. If a strong barrier against the Marathas was a necessity to the Company even after the battle of Buxar, the Peshwas prospects in Hindustan could not have been very unfavourable.

In October 1764, Malhar Holkar came to Jobner (13 miles east of Sambhar) in order to compel Madho Singh of Jaipur to clear his dues. Then he proceeded, in response to advice from Poona, to assist the Jat Raja, Jawahir Singh, against Najib Khan. 46 But Malhar had no intention of seriously weakening his 'foster son', and his lukewarmness compelled the Jat Raja to make peace with Najib in February, 1765. Malhar's next adventure was directed against the East India Company. He met the English at Kora on 3 May, 1765, but he was defeated by Sir Robert Fletcher. Then he recovered Jhansi (December, 1765), resumed his operations against the Rana of Gohad and hastened a rupture with Jawahir Singh. Before bringing these operations to a satisfactory conclusion he died on 20 May, 1766. His alliance with the Jat Raja had one good effect for the Marathas, for it intimidated Madho Singh, who agreed to make a satisfactory arrangement for the payment of His tribute. Mahadji Sindia, who had in the meanwhile come to Northern India, adopted a less conciliatory policy than Holkar and pressed Madho Singh for arrears. 47

The annual subsidy promised by the Rana of Udaipur to Peshwd Baji Rao in 1736 was never regularly paid. During the years 17611764 complications in the Deccan, Malwa and Jaipur prevented the Marathas from making any attempt to put pressure on that prince. In July 1765, Mahadji Sindia settled the tribute of Kota at 15 lakhs, and left his Diwan Achyut Rao to collect tribute from Udaipur, Shahpura and Rupnagar. Rana Ari Singh II of Udaipur agreed in 1766 to pay a total sum of Rs. 26,30,221 in four years. 45

We have already referred to Malhar Holkar's rupture with Jawahir Singh. The Jat Raja had become so angry at Malhar's collusion with Najib Khan that on the conclusion of peace he refused

to pay the balance of 12 lakhs still due out of the promised 22 lakhs. 49 The outbreak of a civil war in the Jat State provided a welcome opportunity to the Marathas. Nahar Singh, Suraj Mai's beloved son and Jawahir's disappointed rival for the throne, renewed his claim to succession under Malhar's protection. The Marathas knew that there was in India no other place for money like Bharatpur, 50 and they gladly prepared themselves to play the same mercenary part in this fratricidal struggle as they had previously played in the case of Jaipur. A detachment of 15,000 horse was sent by Malhar (who was then fighting against the Jat Rana of Gohad) to plunder Jat villages on the other side of the Chambal. Jawahir came to an understanding with the Sikhs. He paid them seven lakhs in cash in order to bring their plundering activities to an end, and hired 25,000 Sikh horsemen to fight against the Marathas. 51

Jawahir Singh at first tried to divert the attention of the Marathas by plundering the territory of their vassal Madhd Singh of Jaipur. Madh5 Singh appealed to the Marathas for immediate relief, promising to pay them a daily allowance of Rs. 5,000 by way of expenses. Mahadji Sindia's troops were at once sent against the Jats, while the Sikhs were bought off by Madhd Singh. Jawahir was thus compelled to conclude a hasty peace with Jaipur. 52

In the meanwhile Malhar Rao had established his camp at Dholpur, the appanage of Nahar Singh. His troops frequently ravaged Jawahir's territory. The Sikhs also grew restless at the irregularity of payment, and sometimes plundered the districts of their ally. Jawahir decided to put an end to his trouble with a bold step. He conciliated the Sikhs, left his camp at Shahgarh, and attacked the Marathas near Dholpur (13-14 March, 1766). The combined JatSikh army defeated the Marathas, captured some Maratha generals and occupied Dholpur. 53 The captured Maratha generals were released in December next in accordance with a treaty concluded by Naro

Shankar. Jawahir Singh could have crossed the Chambal and defeated Malhar Rao himself—then a dying man—but for the refusal of his Sikh horsemen to follow him in the terrible summer heat through a grassless and waterless tract. The Sikhs returned to the Punjab. Nahar Singh was abandoned by the Marathas and committed suicide (December, 1766).

Towards the close of 1765 Raghunath Rao made preparations for leading an expedition to the North. He advanced to Malwa, took tribute from Bhopal, and was joined by Malh§r Rao Holkar and Mahadji Sindia near Bhander in April, 1766. Holkar died a month later.

Raghunath tried to finish the contest begun by him against Gohad. The misunderstanding which had arisen between Raghunath and Mahadji Sindia over the question of succession to the Sindia State rendered it impossible for them to work in sincere co-operation. Moreover, the Rana of Gohad was being assisted openly by the victorious Jawahir Singh. After a long siege the Rana made peace through Sindia's mediation (December 1766), agreeing to pay 15 lakhs. Raghunath then intended to proceed against Jawahir Singh, who. however, concluded peace by surrendering the Maratha commanders captured in March, 1766. 54

It seems after the settlement with Jawahir Singh, Raghunath intended to proceed towards Rajputana. He captured Bhilsa and marched towards Kota. We are told that Madho Singh collected troops and made preparations to resist the Marathas. The Jaipur ruler was probably alarmed at the report that Raghuath would insist on strict payment from the Rajput princes. But Raghunath's plan remained unexecuted. Ahmad Shah Abdali had, in the meanwhile, appeared in the Punjab and "written to Raghunath in a proud and haughty manner threatening him with war and rapine." 55 The Peshicu's uncle considered it imprudent to meet him and hurriedly left Hindustan. In vain did Shuja-ud-daulah and the English ask him to remain where he was. The Governor of Bengal wrote to Raghunath that he was prepared, in alliance with the Nawab of Awadh, to support the Marathas against Ahmad Shah Abdali, and asked him to return to the North 'lest Abdali should think he was running away to the Deccan in fear'. Nothing, however, could bring Raghunath back to the North. Within a short time Ahmad Shah returned to Lahore to punish the Sikhs, leaving the Marathas free to prosecute their operations—an opportunity which Raghunath did not utilise.

Raghunath’s departure provided an excellent opportunity for Jawahir Singh. Strengthened by the death of his rival, Nahar Singh, and the subjugation of his disloyal Gosain troops, he occupied Maratha domains from Bhind to Kalpi. Only Gwalior and Jhansi remained under Maratha control. The Jat Raja established his authority in the Kalpi district, levied tribute from Datia and Seondha, advanced up to the bridge of Narwar, and formed ah alliance with the rulers of Picchor and Gohad. 56 In December 1767, Jawahir won a ‘pyrrhic victory’ over Jaipur troops in the battle of Maonda. 57 While the Jat Raja was pursuing a policy of aggrandisement, the ambitious Nawab of Awadh had' not been sitting idle. He wanted to occupy Bundelkhand and asked the Governor of Bengal to exercise British

influence in his favour. The Governor recommended a policy of caution.

The temporary eclipse of Maratha influence due to Raghunath’s hasty retreat did not last long. Maratha officers in Bundelkhand succeeded in recapturing many posts occupied by the Jats. 58 Their position was further improved by internal dissensions in the Jat kingdom. Jawahir Singh was assassinated in July, 1768, 59 and his successor, Ratan Singh, was murdered in April, 1769. A civil war then weakened the Jat kingdom. Meanwhile the Marathas had re appeared in the North. Jawahir Singh’s aggressions had led the Peshwa to decide that an army under Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar should be sent to Hindustan in order to deal with the growing menace of the Jats. These two chiefs accordingly proceeded to the North, but before dealing with the Jats they invaded Mewar. Rana Ari Singh II had offended many powerful nobles of his court, who had thereupon set up a rival for the throne in the person of Ratan Singh, falsely reported to be a son of Rana Raj Singh II. In May, 1769, Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar appeared near Udaipur to support the cause of Ratan Singh. Differences, however, soon arose between the two chiefs, as a result of which Tukoji Holkar returned to Kota in June. Mahadji remained idle and took no steps to deliver an assault on Udaipur. He found that it was better to give up the cause of Ratan Singh, who had no money, and to support Ari Singh, who was prepared to pay. Ari Singh agreed to pay 64 lakhs as present to Sindia, and to alienate 1£ lakhs worth of jagir in favour of Ratan Singh. 60 With these favourable terms Sindia left Mewar and joined Holkar in September, 1769. Then they advanced to Karauli in order to put pressure for tribute on Jaipur. Before this purpose could be accomplished, they were lured away by the envoys of Ranjit Singh, Ratan Singh's ambitious brother, to take part in the civil war which was then desolating the Jat kingdom. Meanwhile a great Maratha army had already arrived in the North to strengthen the force acting under Sindia and Holkar. Its leader was Ramchandra Ganesh, a distinguished soldier. He was assisted by another commander, Visaji Krishna.

Early in March 1770, about 30,000 Maratha troops encamped outside the fort of Kumbher and began negotiations with Ranjit Singh. When they found that the Jat Chief was unable or unwilling to pay the stipulated sum of money, they ravaged the territories of both Jat rulers, Ranjit Singh and Nawal Bingh, without distinction. An alliance was concluded with Najib-ud-daulah, with the expectation that his support would enable the Marathas to induce Shah ‘Alam to get rid of the protection of the English. Najib's death in October 1770, frustrated this project; but his adherence to the Maratha cause alarmed the Jats. Nawal Singh was severely defeated near Sonkh (a place midway between Kumbher and Mathura) on April 6, 1770. 61 He took shelter in the fort of Dig, which was then barricaded by the Marathas. Najib-ud-daulah occupied several Jat parganas which he refused to make over to the Marathas.

The Marathas halted at Mathura, and dissensions at once arose regarding the policy to be pursued. It was a very favourable opportunity for restoration of Maratha influence in the North, for ‘no strong enemy was left in the region west of British-protected Oudh’; but personal jealousy and lack of statesmanship once more stood in the way of success. Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna were so jealous of each other that they could never act in sincere co-operation. Holkar was surrounded by ministers who continued Malhar's tradition of hostility to the Sindia family. Naturally, therefore, the four chiefs failed to agree about their course of action after the victory of Sonkh. Mahadji Sindia wanted to make peace with Nawal

Singh in return for a moderate sum of money, to conquer the terri- | tories of the Rohilla and Bangash Chiefs in the Doab, and to punish Najib, the bitterest enemy of the Marathas in Hindustan. Ramchandra Ganesh, on the other hand, wanted to squeeze as much money as possible from Nawal Singh and to conquer his territories in the Doab with Najib's assistance. He was unwilling to offend Najib, lest he should oppose the Marathas at the head of a powerful Muslim confederacy consisting of the Rohilla and Bangash Chiefs as well as the Nawab of Awadh. The Peshvxi supported Ramchandra Ganesh. 62

An open breach with Najib-ud-daulah was followed by the conclusion of peace with the Jats. Nawal Singh agreed to pay 65 lakhs in three years and an annual tribute of 11 lakhs. 63 After Najib's death the Marathas proceeded against the Bangash and Rohilla Chiefs. The districts of Etawa, Shukohabad, and Kanauj were ravaged, and some important posts were occupied from the Afghans. By this time the quarrel between the Maratha Chiefs had reached its climax. Ramchandra Ganesh left the camp in disgust. Under the joint leadership of Visaji Krishna and Mahadji Sindia the Marathas now decided to occupy Delhi.

As a prisoner of the Company at Allahabad Shah 'Alam could not cease hankering for return to Delhi. The English and the Nawab of Awadh never gave him anything but sweet promises. In 1766 Raghunath Rao made certain definite proposals which the emperor

could not accept owing to the hostility of his English protectors. The growing weariness of the fugitive, as also his anxiety that some other Mughul Prince might be put on the imperial throne either by the Marathas or by the Sikhs, threw him into the arms of Mahadji Sindia in December 1770. In January 1771, Mahadji Sindia and Visaji Krishna occupied Delhi. Shah 'Alam started from Allahabad in April 1771 and reached the imperial city on January 6, 1772. 64 The Peshwa recalled Ramchandra Ganesh and entrusted the supreme command to Visaji Krishna.

Unfortunately neither victory nor unity of command could prevent dissensions in the Maratha camp. Visaji Krishna found it impossible to control Sindia and Holkar, each of whom pursued the policy that suited him best. None cared for the interests of the Maratha State. Zablta Khan, Najib-ud-daulah’s son and successor, was defeated, but at the intercession of the Nawab of Awadh he was given back his father’s estates in Najibabad and Saharanpur. A violent quarrel broke out between Visaji Krishna and Mahadji Sindia on this issue, and all the political arrangements of the Marathas were thrown into confusion. 65 Yet the growing strength of the Marathas alarmed the Rohillas, and on June 17, 1772, they concluded their famous treaty with Shuja-ud-daulah, a treaty which soon afterwards led to their ruin. Towards the middle of 1772 the Nawab of Awadh requested the Bengal Government to be ready to send a large force to his assistance at the beginning of the winter, for he was afraid that the Marathas would invade Awadh after the rainy season. In December 1772, Holkar and Visaji Krishna compelled the helpless emperor to confer the office of Mir Bakshi on Zablta Khan and to grant Kora and Allahabad to the Marathas.

It is impossible in this brief survey to refer to all the complications of North Indian politics during the eventful period covered by this chapter. We have naturally concentrated our attention on the efforts made by the Marathas to recover that authority and influence over Malwa, Bundelkhand, Rajputana, and the Doab which they had lost as a result of their rout at Panipat. In estimating the extent of their successes in this difficult enterprise we must not forget either the dangers which they had to confront in the Deccan or the number of enemies they had to deal with in the North. In spite of these difficulties they succeeded in re-occupying Malwa and Bundelkhand, in exacting tribute from the leading Rajput Princes, in almost crushing the Jats and the Rohillas, and, finally, in occupying Delhi and establishing the fugitive emperor on his ancestral throne. Their success would certainly have been more spectacular had their leaders

not been pre-occupied with personal interests and mutual jealousy. The great Peshwd was not present in the field to restore unity in a house divided against itself. Even after his death his generals lingered on in the North with a view to consolidate their position by fresh victories, but domestic troubles, culminating in the murder of Narayan Rao, compelled them to return to the Deccan in 1773.

IV. Peshwd’s Character:

Madhav Rao died a premature death on 18 November, 1772. He was very much devoted to his mother. His devotion to religious observances was so great that on one occasion the venerable Ram Shastri had to direct his attention to his duties as the ruler of the State. His sincere faith in rituals was quite in keeping with his aversion to luxury. “While Raghunath Rao writes for a supply of pretty and well-trained dancing girls, his puritanical nephew refuses to wear gaily coloured clothes”. 66 Probably he had “an irritable temper, not always under command, which was his greatest defect”. 67

All authorities agree in describing Madhav Rao as a great administrator. He did not introduce any institutional changes; for this failure, however, he deserves no blame. His reign was too brief and too tempestuous to provide that leisure and calm which administrative reforms demand. Moreover, as Grant Duff justly points out, ‘he had to contend with violent prejudices, 68 and with general corruption’. So the Peshwd tried to make the existing machinery work well, and for the accomplishment of this purpose he was prepared to take infinite pains. His attention to details excites the admiration of all readers of contemporary Marathi documents.

In this brief survey we have tried to review the character and activities of Peshwa Madhav Rao from many points of view, and not unoften have we looked at him from his enemies’ eyes. An eighteenth century ruler whose reputation can survive so close a scrutiny was no ordinary man. A bare enumeration of his exploits in war is a great testimony to his capacity for leadership. It is remarkable that Haidar ‘All, whose military genius was a terror to British generals, was defeated in all the campaigns led against him by the Peshwa. Within a brief period of less than eleven years Madhav Rao succeeded in extending his authority from Delhi to Seringapatam. And these exploits were accompanied by the suppression of serious internal revolts and a minute supervision of administrative affairs. The Peshwa’s private life was blameless, and offers a striking contrast to that of his contemporaries. He was never guilty of treachery even towards his enemies. It is interesting to speculate whether such a ruler, had he been blessed with a longer life, could have averted the downfall of the Maratha State.

NOTES

1 Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. II, p. 360.

2 Aitihasik Patravyawahar, Ed. Sardesai, Kale etc. (1930), No. 103; S P D., XXXVIII, pp. 30-50.

3 Aitchison, Treaties , Engagements and Sanads (1863), Vol. Ill, pp. 22-24; Bombay Pub. Deptt. Diary, Vol. 37, pp. 720-21.

4. Khare, ALS, Vol. I, 89, 91, 105; Purandare Daftar, III, 3, &, 17-19, 73.

5 Grant Duff. History of the Mahrattas, (1921 ed.), Vol. I, pp. 538-39.

6 Khare, ALS, I, 320-365; Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 105, S P D. XXXVIII, 93-106.

7 Ibid , XX, 165-73; Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 107.

8. S.P.D. XIX, 52-92.

9 Ibid, XX, pp. 200-215, 224, 241, 246-58, 261-70: Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 116-20.

10 Khare. Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha, II, p. 696.

11 Khare. Vol. II. 67: S.P.D. XXXVII, 5-9.

12. Khare, ALS, II, 509-10; S.P.D. XXXVII, 53-55.

13. Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India, Vol. I, pp. 464-65.

14. S.P.D. XXXVII. 55; Khare, ALS, II, p. 747; Peixoto III, pp. 22-23.

15. Khare, op. cit., II, Nos. 420-565; SP.D. XXXVII, 60-63.

16. Wilks, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 466.

17. Ibid.

18. S.P.D., XX, 159, 168.

19 Wilson, History of the Madras Army, Vol. I, p. 11; Aitchison, C. U., Treaties. Engagements and Sanads, Vol. V (1864), pp. 14-18.

20. Khare, op. cit., Ill, 644-80; S.P.D., XXXVII, 122-35.

21. Wilks, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 302.

22. S.P.D, XXXVII, 122, 133-42; Khare, op. cit., Ill, 680-90.

23. S.PD. XXXVII, 148-52; Khare, op. cit., Ill, 680-91.

24. S.P.D. XXXVII, 158-61; Khare, op. cit., Ill, 721.

25 Grant Duff, op. cit., I, p. 557 and footnote 3.

26 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 21 September, 1767.

27. Ibid, 3rd Oct. 1767.

28. Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 557.

29. Forrest, Selections, Maratha Series, Vol. I, pp. 141-43.

30. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 169.

31. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 157-75; Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 30A, p. 633.

32. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 1 March, 1769.

33. Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 33, p. 231.

34. Khare, op. cit., Ill, p. 1383.

35. Wilks, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 135.

36 Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 10 March, 1771.

37. Peixoto, History of Hyder Ali Khan, V, 163.

38. Khare, op. cit., Vol. IV, Introduction.

39. S.P.D. XXXVII, p. 203-7; Khare, op. cit., Ill, pp. 1402-04; Wilks, op. cit, Vol. II, pp. 136-37.

40. Peixoto, History of Hyder Ali Khan, VI, p. 101.

41. S.P.D. XXXVII, No. 226; Khare, ALS, 1102-1121; Pethe Daftar, Vol. I, p. 60.

42. S.P.D. XXXVII, p. 233; Khare, AL,S, 1165-75; Wilks, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 149.

43. Madras Military Consultations, Vol. 36, p. 49.

44. S.P.D. XXI, 93 , 94; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, pp. 506-09.

45. Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. II, pp^543-44.

46. S.P.D. XXIX, 72.

47. S.P.D. XXIX, 99, 102-08.

48. Vad, Madhav Rao Peshwd I Diaries, pp. 266-69.

49. Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 468.

50. Ibid, p. 471.

51. S.P.D, XXIX, 102, 105, 121, 197; Wendel, Memoirs de origin des Jats.

52. S.P.D. XXIX, 105.

53- S.P.D. XXIX, 117, 126-7, 204; Wendel, Memoirs, etc., pp. 105-6.

54. Khare, ALS, III, 634-44, S.PD. XXIX, 160, 164; Sarkar, op. cit., II, pp. 471-74.

55. Calendar of Persian Papers, H, 207.

56- S.P.D. XXIX, 185, 149, 169, 196, 207-08, 215.

57- Sarkar, op. cit., II, pp. 476-79.

58 SJP.D. XXIX, 75.

59. Qanungo, K. R., History of the Jats , p. 2171.

60 S.P.D., XXIX, 87, 233-45; also Sarkar, op. cit., II, p. 521.

61 For details see, Sarkar op. cit., EU, pp. 8-12.

62 S.P.D. XXIX, p. 238, 242-46, 255, K S P., pp. 222-24.

63 Calendar of Persian Papers, III, 323, 445.

64 C P C. HI, 693-810; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, pp. 550-55.

65. S.P.D. XXIX, 276.

66. S.P.D. XXXII, Introduction.

67 Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 577.

68 Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 564.

CHAPTER VIII

MARATHA PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES

PART I

I. Feudalization of Mar&tha. State:

Shivaji established a strong well-knit monarchy of a unitary type. The king was the leader of his military forces as well as the head of the civil departments of his government. The Raja's vast forces—two hundred thousand strong—were commanded either by the Raja in person or by his officers. The plans of campaigns were drawn up by him and when he was elsewhere, he supervised and kept himself informed of the movements of his armies. His officers were paid directly from State treasury and had to account for any levy made on enemy territory. The same procedure obtained in respect of the civil departments—revenue, customs, excise, mints and justice. The Raja took interest and supervised the details of the working of the several departments and paid his officers in cash or kind. It was only at the village level that the old village servants like the Patel, Kulkarni, Chaugula and the different artisans who served the needs of village communities were permitted to hold on to their watans —small pieces of land in lieu of the services they performed. They also received some other perquisites. The village officers collected land revenue and other cesses for government, sent the amount to the tdluka officers and managed local affairs. They had little voice in shaping State policies and politics. Where was the Raja to find officers with intimate knowledge of the numerous rural communes, who had daily contacts with the peasants and artisans of the villages and who could manage local affairs, if not in the hereditary village servants? Hence the old practice continued: land-gifts (Dhcvrmccday inams) were also made towards the maintenance of temples and other charitable institutions. There were no intermediaries and the Raja's writ ran throughout his kingdom. 1

But from the eighteenth century, direct rule gave place to indirect rule. The villages continued to function as before, but otherwise the State administration underwent a change. The Raja divided his patrimony among his ministers and commanders of military forces. He expected them not only to raise forces and maintain them to manage their territory but also make fresh conquests, obtaining in return a small share of the revenues, a kind of pension known as Raj Babti. Assignments of revenues to captains of troops became the order of the day. In the Swaraj territory, though many grants of revenue were made, regular administration continued to function as before (described in Elphinstone's Report on Territories Conquered from the Peshwa (1822), for which further evidence may be obtained from Vad's Peshwa Diaries).

Initially the assignments (Saranjdms) were made for short periods; the subordinate position of the assignee (who was called Saranjamdar in Marathi) was clearly defined. But after the passage of time, the Saranjdms became hereditary and the terms of agreement were evaded as much as possible. The Maratha power that spread over India thus became a feudal State with its feudatories affecting independence in everything but name. It was from such feudatories that most of the eminent Maratha dynasties arose. It will not be out of place to give a more detailed description of the working of the Saranjdmdari sysltem before w T e go on to give accounts of a few prominent Maratha houses.

The term Saranjdm is of Persian origin. It means apparatus, provisions, furniture, materials or what is essential to any undertaking. The term acquired a somewhat technical sense, meaning a kind of land tenure. Amongst the Marathas the expression was applied especially to temporary assignment of revenue from villages or lands for the support of troops or for personal military service. The expression was also applied to grants made to persons appointed to civil offices of the State to enable them to maintain their dignity, and to grants for charitable purposes. It was the practice with Muhammadan dynasties to maintain a species of feudal aristocracy for State purposes by temporary assignments of revenue (Jagir) either for the support of troops or for personal service or for maintenance of official dignity or other specific reason. Circumstances obliged the Maratha King Rajaram (1689-1700) to fall in line with the Jagirddri system and to assign districts and provinces in Saranjdm. What was then known under Muslim rulers as Jagirddri system came to be known under the Marathas as Saranjdmdari system.

The defence given by the protagonists of the system is, that it enabled the ruler to administer far-off provinces by creating centres of power when means of communication were not developed. The defence in itself contains the fallacy of the argument. The chief in

the distant province is a law unto himself, caring little for the restraints placed on him and even eager to break from the weak bonds that bind him to the superior power. The jdgir or saranjtimi system is, therefore, incompatible with a strong monarchy. The jdgirdar at the slightest sign of weakness in the central government is apt to assume independence. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha State, had a clear conception of the needs of an efficient government and would not countenance the jdgir system. He insisted that his officers be paid directly from government treasury and not by assignments of revenue. He did his utmost to undo the evils of feudalism by depriving the old collectors of land revenue—Deshmukhs and Deshpandes—of some of their obnoxious rights and prerogatives. He pulled down the fortified places of the petty local tyrants and he was determined not to create new fiefs and renew the evils of military tyranny and feudal anarchy.

Shivaji died in 1680. The Mughul emperor Aurangzib deployed large forces and moved personally southward to direct a campaign to crush the nascent Maratha State. Shivajfs successor Shambhuji was unable to keep up the unequal struggle. His army was defeated and

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dispersed; the Maratha King was taken prisoner and beheaded. The brutal murder of their King roused the ardour of the maratha people. They took up the Mughul challenge and renewed their struggle for ousting the Mughuls from their territory. This war of independence lasted over twenty-five years at the end of which the Maratha people emerged triumphant. But during the interregnum the well-knit state organisation built by Shivaji disintegrated and disappeared.

Rajaram, who succeeded Shambhuji in 1689, did not possess the magnetic personality of his father. He delegated his authority to his Brahmin officers —the Pratinidhi and the Amdtycv —thus lowering the prestige of the royal office in an age when the ruler was either the supreme war-lord of the State or a mere cypher. The task which the King delegated to his Brahmin officers was arduous; they were expected to repel the onslaughts of the Mughul empire, suppress internal rebellions, if any, and run the administration. The majority of the Marathas were disposed to support their King; the inability of the ministers to command the same loyalty that was shown to the King, obliged them to purchase it for a price, by promising their adherents large concessions and by reviving the jdgir system; many times jdglrs were granted in districts still in possession of the enemy and the jdglrdars were expected to wrest the territory from their opponents before they could realise revenues from them. Only a soldier of fortune would accept such a gift and

would have little respect for the grantor. The decline of the monarchy continued after Rajaram's death. For a small revenue share, the King gave away large tracts and became a pensioner living on the charity, or even at the mercy of his military captains.

Shahu who became King in 1708 was rescued and enabled to hold his position with the support he obtained from his able Peshiva , Balaji Vishwanath. Balaji Vishwanath, to win over the great captains like Parsoji Bhosle, Khandoji Dabhade, DhanajI Jadhav and KanhojI Angria, allowed them to hold territories they had wrested from the enemy as their hereditary fiefs on condition that they recognized Shahu as their sovereign, served the King with their forces and made stipulated contributions to the royal treasury. In the initial stages, there were certain other checks on these feudal chiefs; their DTwans and Accountants and other officers were sent from the centre; they were supposed to render annual accounts of their income and expenditure and there was a regular check on the troops maintained by them. The jaglrdars chafed at the restraints placed on their powers, ignored them when they could, and in course of time, came to eclipse the royal authority in their domains. The feudalization of the State was complete when Raja Shahu died (December 1749).

Raja Shahu must himself be held responsible for the growth and encouragement of this feudal mentality. He was released from Mughul custody in 1707 on condition that he ruled his father's patrimony as a Mughul vassal and rendered tribute. Shahu not only acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the empire, but to the end of his career, affected to consider himself merely as a zamlndar of the empire in all his transactions with it, (all Rajput and Bundela Rajas were called Zamlndars in Mughul documents) and he insisted that all old watans, inams and saranjdms be continued to their holders. The jagirdari or Saranjdmddri way of thinking thus came to permeate the entire Maratha State, and it is, therefore, not surprising to find the Peshiva accepting the system and working through it. As the Raja's chief executive officer, he, on one side, claimed precedence over other ministers, seized parts of their jdgirs whenever he could, and expected them to accept his direction; on the other, he went on expanding his own sphere of activities, assigned his conquests to his military captains —Sindia, Holkar, Pawars, Patwardhans and others. He enlarged his own resources and retained his conquests in north India and on the west coast as his jdgirs. The armies that he raised owed their first allegiance to him; the provinces he acquired were managed by his agents. The Peshwd, the de facto ruler

of the Maratha State, thus became the biggest jagirdar or feudatory of the State.

In 1750, on the death of Shahu, the Peshwa's position became supreme and the Saranjami system came into full operation. A number of agreements between the Peshwa and his feudatories could be found recorded in the Peshwa's archives, which bring out the essential relationship between the two parties. Saranjams were granted to military chiefs, civil officers, and for maintenance of forts and Deosthans. The Sindias, the Holkars, the Gaikwars, the Patwardhans and a host of smaller Saravrfdfndars were allowed to administer their fiefs and collect revenue 6n condition of military services when required. A nazar was paid by the chief on his appointment to the Saranjam. Three conditions were exacted. The first was the grant of a document by the Sarkar in the form of a sanad, memorandum or agreement conferring the saranjam. The second condition was that of faithful service. The number of troops with which service was to be rendered was laid down. The party was also to avoid on their own all hostile or offensive entanglements with neighbouring powers. Payment of nazar on succession and also on special occasions was the third requisite. In case of dispute over Saranjam property, the final word lay with the Sarkar. The succession to the Saranjam was not automatic but required the Sarkar's consent. Once the Saranjam was granted, its management rested with the grantee. He could not touch other Huqdars and Dumala grants in his Saranjam but could appropriate the rest of the revenue. The civil and criminal jurisdiction remained with the Saranjamdar and there was little interference in his jurisdiction so long as he continued to perform the service expected of him and retained the sovereign's favour.

Malet, the British Resident at Poona, pointed out the defect of this arrangement as early as 1788. He observed, "the feudal nature of the tenures of the great Maratha chieftains leads them to a desire for an affection of independence of the Brahmin or civil power." 1 *

Elphinstone, who was Resident at the Peshwa's Court from 1811 to 1817, was called upon to decide the disputes between the Peshwa and the southern jdglrdars. The terms he set down are in no way different from those mentioned above. According to Elphinstone, the following were the terms for the settlement of dispute brought about at Pandharpur in 1812:

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"1st.: A body of troops, the number, description and pay of

which is fixed, to be maintained by the jdgirdars. The personal

allowance to the jagirdar is fixed; allowances are also granted in some cases to his relations and to some of his ministerial officers.

2nd.: The jagirdar 1 s troops may be mustered as often as the Peshwa pleases. No men are to pass muster that are not of a certain description and mounted on horses of certain value.

3rd.: All the expenses of the Saranjam troops without exception are to be paid from the assigned revenue.

4th.: The expenses of collecting the revenue and protecting the jagir in ordinary times are to be paid from the assigned revenue.”

The Peshwa also hal other claims such as appointment of Dwrrukdars or officers employed for inspecting the management of the Saranjam lands and payment of troops. 2

Not all the Saranjamdars were the Peshwa’s creatures. Some of them were relations of the Raja of Satara, his ministers and commanders sent out to conquer territories and afterwards allowed to retain them. Of this description were the Rajas of Kolhapur and the chiefs of Nagpur who considered tnemselves rather as confederates than as vassals. Then there were the members of the Raja’s cabinet—the Pratinidhi , Sendpati, Amatya, Mantri, etc. After these, came the large number of jagirdars created by the Peshwa in the provinces held by him. It is not possible to trace the accounts of all the Maratha families; we shall merely give brief accounts of the families of the two Bhosle families— Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur and Rajas of Nagpur. Sindia, Holkar, and Gaikwar, who spearheaded Maratha advance in Malwa and Gujarat need our special attention, as also the house of Angria, who for a time were a terror to the western powers. 23

II. The Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur:

The House of Kolhapur must be looked on as the junior branch of the Maratha State. It owes its rise to Tara Bai, who acted as Regent for the Maratha State after her husband’s (Rajaram’s) demise in 1700. She ruled as Regent for seven years, in the name of her child ShivajI till 1707. In that year Shahu was released from Mughul captivity and allowed to claim his father’s kingdom as a vassal of the empire. When Tara Bai’s specious argument that Shahu was a pretender failed, she put another ingenious one to keep him out. She argued that ShambhujI had lost the Maratha kingdom

to the Mughuls, her husband regained it by his efforts, thus creating by his efforts an altogether new State; Shahu thus could have no claim and legal title to inherit the Maratha State. 3 Her argument carried little conviction and the main part of the army under its Senapati DhanajI Jadhav, joined Shahu. Shahu defeated the remnant of Tara Bai’s army led by the Pratinidhi, occupied the capital Satara and had himself crowned. Tara Bai with her son ShivajI sought shelter in fort Panhala.

Raja Shahu suggested that the districts marked off by the confluence of the Warna and the Krishna rivers up to the Tungabhadra should be held by his cousin while he ruled the rest of the kingdom. 4 Tara Bai was too ambitious to remain content with a small part. She claimed royal authority over the entire Maratha State for her son. Shahu was thus forced to fight to a finish. He marched into Kolhapur territory, occupied the town and laid siege to the hill-fort of Panhala. Tara Bai escaped to another remote hill-fort, Rangna, where the pursuers had to abandon the siege and fall back upon Satara. 5

The struggle went on intermittently for another two decades. In l7l4 a revolution occurred in Kolhapur which swept away Tara Bai and her son, ShivajI, and put the second son of Rajaram—ShambhujI—on the throne. But the old policy of confrontation continued. ShambhujI found a welcome ally in the new Mughul Subahdar of the Deccan, Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Viceroy of the Deccan was unwilling to recognise Maratha claims of chauth and sardesh mukhi over his provinces and asked the two cousins to submit their claims to his arbitration. Raja Shahu was confounded by the move of the Nizam, but he had a very capable Peshwd who soundly defeated'the Mughul Viceroy at Palkhed in February 1728 and forced him to recognize Shahu’s sovereignty over Maratha dominions and grant him the rights of chauth and sardeshmukhi over the six subahs of the Deccan. After the defeat of the Nizam, the Kolhapur prince was isolated; his army- was routed at Shirole in March, 1730; after negotiations and a personal meeting of the two cousins, the treaty of Warna was concluded in April, 1731. The treaty defined the spheres of the two parties—the territory extending from the south of the Warna to the Tungabhadra was recognized as belonging to the Raja of Kolhapur. The country beyond this point up to Rameshwar was to be shared between the two parties. Both parties were to be of one accord and not to harbour the servants or enemies of the other. There was an exchange of territory, the fort of Koppal going to Raja ShambhujI and fort Ratnagiri to Shahu. The

southern Konkan districts were assigned to the Kolhapur Raja; in exchange Shahu was to take possession of fortified places like Miraj, Athani, and

Tasgaon which the Kolhapur feudatories refused to surrender and which were later seized by the Peshwa by force. 6 “Included among the possessions of the great Shivaji, Kolhapur remained an integral part of the Mailatha empire until the treaty of Warna (in 1731) formed it into an independent principality. The principality contained about 4,000 sq. miles and yielded a revenue of Rs. 28 lakhs. The treaty of Warna was offensive and defensive and provided for the divisions of such conquests as might be conjointly made. But there never was any great cordiality between the Kolhapur and Satara chiefs; and from the first a decided animosity existed between the former and the usurper of the authority of the latter (the Peshwa)”. 1 This animosity was to be a deciding factor in the later history of Kolhapur.

“The mass of the people—mostly Maratha peasants—entertained an enthusiastic veneration for the reigning dynasty. The details of government were conducted by the Rani and the Karbharis. The formation of the country helped greatly its independence. There were no great towns which would attract the invader. The whole tract was well-watered by a number of rivers that passed through it and received good rainfall. The frontier forests were exceedingly difficult of approach and the summits of the ghats were formed into natural strongholds.

“Besides these protective forts every village contained its distinct party of able-bodied militia who held small lots of land on a service tenure and crowds of these military ryots, trained from youth in the use of arms, eagerly assembled to support the regular standing army of the State when called upon for the defence of their land, or for a marauding foray in the enemy’s territory; and from the earliest times an army of 20,000 could be brought into the field at a very short notice.” 73

But with all these advantages Raja ShambhujI showed little talent either for administration or war. In imitation of his cousin at Satara he appointed a council of eight ministers but except for the Pratinidhi, the Amdtya and the Senapafi, little is heard of the rest. Even these three were at loggerheads amongst themselves and with the Prince. The Raja divided his principality among his ministers and his military chieftains like UdajI Chavan, Ghatge, Patankar, Sindia, who were not always amenable to royal authority, and the Raja often, turned to his cousin at Satara to bring them

round. Shambhuji visited Satara in 1732, 1734, 1735, 1736 and 1740. He not only discussed boundary disputes but expected Raja Shahu to effect the conquest of the southern region for him. Shahu extended his cousin every hospitality but he was in no position to grant or to promise military aid.

The visit of the Kolhapur Prince to Satara in 1740 is rather memorable. The great Peshwa Baji Rao died in April, 1740, and his son Balaj I Rao came to Satara to receive the robes of Peshw&ship. Balaji Rao (or N'ana Saheb as he was called) during the visit met the Kolhapur Prince. The Peshwa by then had become practically the chief executive officer of the senior branch of the Maratha State, and thought it a good idea to unite the two branches under one sovereign, with himself as the chief minister after the demise of the ageing Raja Shahu. He entered into a secret pact with the Kolhapur Prince, that after Shahu's death he (Shambhuji) should succeed to the Satara throne, the two States should be united and the Peshwa should serve the new sovereign loyally. 8

The pact never came into effect. It had been concluded by the Peshwa behind the back of his lawful sovereign, without ascertaining his wishes. Shahu was a man of kindly disposition and a forgiving nature. But he could not forget that his cousin had joined hands with the Mughul Subahdar of the Deccan to oust him and had on another occasion sent assassins to get him out of the way\ 9 He nursed feelings of repugnance towards his cousin and on his death-bed gave an injunction that on no account should the Kolhapur prince be adopted and allowed to succeed him. 10 The Kolhapur party in the meanwhile went on reminding the Peshwa of his secret engagement and sought his help to seize territory in the Karnatak. n On hearing of Shahu's death (December, 1749) Shambhuji prepared to march on Satara, but his path was barred by a strong force of the Peshwa. 12 Secure in the possession of supreme power, the Peshwa was no longer anxious to stand by a pact by which he would have to share authority with somebody else. He therefore kept silent over the agreement, but four years later (1754) paid a personal visit to the Kolhapur Prince to mollify him. In February 1759, he was again at Kolhapur and concluded two agreements with the Prince to help him out of his financial straits and gave him military aid to bring his feudatories to book. The State of Kolhapur looked to the Peshwa to prop up its collapsing foundations—a development which the Peshwa heartily welcomed.

During the last ten years of his life Shambhuji left the admi

nistration to Rani Jija Bai and “spent most of his leisure hours with dancing girls and dissipated his revenue in drinking and debauchery.” 13 He died on 18 December, 1760 without a male issue.

On the death of the Kolhapur Raja, the Peshwd made one more attempt to unite the two kingdoms under his authority. His troops were to march into Kolhapur territory, seize the two strategic hillforts of Panhala and Rangna and place on the throne his nominee, UmajI Bhosle of the Mungikar family. Rani Jija Bai, under the scheme was to be given a pension and allowed to look after the palace administration, but was to have no hand in the management of the State, which was to be supervised by the Peshwd ’s officers. JIja Bai was too spirited to accept the Peshwd*s scheme and become his pensioner. She sent letters of protest to the Peshwd, his chief feudatories and other neighbouring powers informing them that one of the queens was pregnant and it was the wish of the dying monarch that the infant should succeed him. The Peshwd then faced a very grave situation in Hindustan and had little energy left to devote his attention to the succession issue at Kolhapur. He failed to support his troops that had advanced into Kolhapur territory. Jija Bai defeated the small force and adopted a young boy from the Khanwat Bhosles in the Indapur taluk. The boy was renamed Shivaji (II) and as he was barely five years, Rani Jlya Bai became the Regent. The Rani thus became the saviour of the State of Kolhapur and the second founder of the State. r

In the meanwhile the Peshwd’s army had suffered a crushing defeat at Panipat in January, 1761 and he himself died of a broken heart in June of that year. In this atmosphere of gloom and despair of defeat and discord in the Peshwd’s family, it was easy for Jija Bai to obtain recognition of her nominee as the ruler and herself as the Regent. For the next ten years Jija Bai ruled Kolhapur with an iron hand.

The reign of Shivaji II of Kolhapur (1762-1812) proved to be one of great turbulence—especially in its later stages. Kolhapur State had so far shown little interest in schemes of conquest, either on its own or in co-operation with the Peshwd. The result had been that the Peshwd's armies had marched east and south and had occupied much of the northern Karnatak region. The principality of Kolhapur thus came to be ringed round by the jdgrirs of the Peshrvd's feudatories—the Patwardhans, Hastes and Gokhales.

Though Kolhapur State could not effect any conquest and remained quiescent while the Peshwd's armies were overrunning the

Karnatak region, it made a grievance of the Peshwd's success in the southern region, felt itself defrauded of its share, and had no qualms in joining the Peshwd's enemies—the Nizam and Haidar 'All in the former's hour of adversity. The districts east and south of Kolhapur had come to be held in jagir by the Peshwd's feudatories—Patwardhans, Rastes and Gokhales—and with them Kolhapur remained locked in strife for more than a quarter of a century till the British intervened in 1812, and put an end to the independence of the jdcfirdars and of the Kolhapur chief.

But this was a later development. Immediately after she obtained the Peshwd's consent to the succession of her nominee, Rani Jija Bai begged the Peshwa's help to recover her southern outposts— Hukeri, Raibag, Kagal and the taluks of Chikodi and Manoli where her authority was being defied by her feudatories. Peshwd MSdhav Rao obliged her in 1764 when he was leading an army against Haidar 'All; in lieu of seven hundred thousand rupees to meet his military expenses, he put down the rebels. But the Rani unable to pay cash from Kolhapur treasury, mortgaged the two districts to Sdhulcars who made them over to the Patwardhans for realizing their revenues. The temporary possession of Chikodi and Manoli thus became another cause of friction which embittered the relations between the two parties.

The beginning of the civil war in Poona was the signal for Kolhapur to send its troops across the Peshwd's territory. It attacked Ichalkaranji, but the Jagirdar was a relation of the Peshwd and invoked the aid of the Patwardhans for his protection. In 1775 Konher Rao Trimbak attacked Kolhapur troops and inflicted defeat on them. In 1776 there was fighting between the two parties; the Patwardhan troops arrived within the precincts of Kolhapur and showing little regard for the monastery of Shankariacharya, plundered it (9 March, 1776). 14 But Kolhapur was saved when the Patwardhan forces were diverted to meet Haidar ‘All’s advance towards the Krishna. Haidar ‘All sent money to the Kolhapur Raja and promised him further military aid to keep up hostilities wjth the Peshwd’s troops.

Haidar ‘All’s advance into North Karnatak and the possibility of his joining hands with Kolhapur aggravated the situation. The Poona Government despatched a strong force under Mahadji Sindia to put an end to the activities of the Kolhapur party. Mahladji invested Kolhapur for three months (February-April* 1778) and beat back sortie after sortie of the besieged. The Kolhapur party agreed to pay Sindia the sum of Rs. 15 lakhs for abandoning the .siege.

Kolhapur showed little regard for the agreement and imprisoned all those who stood guarantee for the tribute of Rs. 15 lakhs to be paid to Sindia. It practically repudiated the agreement and invested Kagal in 1779. Parashuram Bhau, who was in Kamatak now advanced on Akewat and took the place by assault in June,

1779. The Poona Kdrbharis were busy quelling Raghoba’s rising and meeting the English challenge. They came to an understanding with Haidar ‘All and the Nizam, thus isolating Kolhapur. Its outpost at Shirole from which Kolhapur troops often descended into Patwardhan territory was invested and taken with great loss in May,

1780. Gokak fell in June and the Kolhapur troops that were plundering Waive, Islampur and Karhad, were defeated at Waghapur. By the agreement concluded on 22 January, 1781, peace came to the harried land. The Patwardhans were asked to abandon the outposts and districts belonging to Kolhapur which they had seized during the last five years’ struggle/especially Chikodi, Manoli, Hukeri and Raibag taluks. The dignity of the Kolhapur Prince was to be respected and his Kdrbhari or Ditvdn

Yashwant Rao Sindia to be trusted. From 1781 to'1793 there was peace on the eastern" frontier of Kolhapur.

But the State was not altogether free from internal troubles and other disputes. In 1781 the garrison of Bhudargarh revolted and the stronghold passed into the hands of Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan. In 1784 the Bawda garrison rose up against the legitimate authority. The revolt was somehow quelled. In 1787 Kolhapur made war on the Sawant of Wadi, because the latter was assuming superior airs and flaunting the honours received from the Mughul emperor through Mahadji Sindia's agency. The war put a great strain on the ruler of Wadi; to enable him to push back the Kolhapur troops he obtained aid from the Portuguese Government of Goa by surrendering to it the districts of Dicholi, Pedne, Sankhli and Sange. The English had, in 1765, inflicted punishment on the State for piracies committed against their ships. In 1792 the E.I. Co. sent another maritime expedition against Kolhapur and obtained not only reparations for losses suffered by its ships, but also permission to open factories at Malwan and Kolhapur.

In 1793 the Kolhapur State found itself again at war with the Patwardhans. Mahadji Sindia had arrived in Poona a year before and now insisted that the Poona Court should move its Karnatak

forces against Kolhapur which was holding on to the coastal districts of his relation, the Sawant of Wadi. The Patwardhan force under Ramchandra Parashuram advanced to Alte in Kolhapur State, but was dispersed with great loss. Then the great Bhau himself marched on Kolhapur with a larger force and cannon and laid siege to the capital. After a month's siege, and much privations suffered by the garrison, an agreement was concluded by which the ,State agreed to pay the Bhau an indemnity of ten lakhs of rupees; so long as the sum remained unpaid the districts of Chikodi and Manoli were to remain in the possession of Parashuram Bhau. The Bhau had to pay soon a heavy price for this arrangement.

The death of Peshwd Sawai Madhav Rao in October, 1795 shook the Maratha State violently. Nana Phadnls who wielded the Peshwd's authority as his guardian, was openly challenged by Daulat Rao Sindia and his ministers. In the tortuous struggle that ensued, Parashuram Bhau was made a prisoner and the entire Karnatak province including Bhau's jdgtr lay open to the march of Kolhapur troops. Nana who had fled to Mahad suggested to the neighbouring powers, including the Raja of Kolhapur, to attack the Patwardhan districts. The Raja needed no such encouragement. He first occupied the stronghold of Bhudargarh v recovered Chikodi and Manoli, captured Hubli and then turning to Bhau's jagir, seized Tasgaon and burnt down the Patwardhan mansions and established outposts upto the Krishna. In 1798 the British Resident at Poona reported, "the Raja of Kolhapur (the head of the Malwans) was creating disturbances in the quarter of Merritch, Tasgaum, Darwar and Shahnoor. It is reported that the Raja of Satara, the nominal head of the Maratha empire, has seized the persons placed over him by Nana Furnavees, that he is in complete possession of the fort of Sattara and forming connection with the Raja of Kolapore, who is also of the ancient Bhonsla family, he is raising troops. . . .Raste was yesterday appointed to proceed with a force of about 3,000 men, ostensibly for the settlement of affairs in the Satara quarter." 15 In June the Kolhapur Raja was recommending it to Tipu Sultan to avail himself of the distractions in the Poona State. 16

Raste proved himself unable to quell the disturbances of the two Chhatrapatis , and the Peshwd in alarm set Parashuram Bhau free and sent him against the royal insurgents. Bhau defeated the Satara force on 4 August, 1798, placed outposts round the city on 9 August and occupied the fort on 31 August. After that he left for his jdglr and for chastising the Kolhapur forces which had encroached on Peshwd's districts in Karnatak.

Parashuram Bhau's health was in a declining state, but he kept the field throughout the rains and recovered the posts between the rivers—Ghataprabha and Malaprabha. In the month of September he advanced from Gokak towards Kolhapur, but near the village of Pattankudi he encountered the Kolhapur forces headed by the Raja himself when he suffered a total defeat and was mortally wounded (16 September, 1799). Nana Phadnis despatched fresh troops from Poona and five of Sindia's battalions to support Bhau's son Ramchandra Appa and reduce the Raja to submission. 17 The Raja retired to the protection of Panhala before the new army and the city of Kolhapur was invested by the Poona troops. But on the death of Nana Phadnis in March, 1800, the Poona force was recalled and Kolhapur

State was saved, which would otherwise, in all probability, have been subverted.

The death of Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan did not bring any relief to the State of Kolhapur. The British took the Peshwa under protection by the treaty of Bassein (December, 1802) and warned Kolhapur against disturbing the Peshwa s districts in Karnatak, The Raja of Kolhapur “pretended authority over the chief of SawantWarree, made war on the Wadi chief and wrested from him the forts of Bharatgarh and Narsingagarh and territory attached to the two forts. The Wadi party called in the help of Sidhoji Rao Nimbalkar or Appa Desai of Nipani”. 1 * Appa Desai occupied Chikodi and Manoli taluks, and advanced against the Kolhapur force and defeated it with great loss near Savgaon (1808). Kolhapur sought to bring about peace by entering into a matrimonial alliance with Appa Desai. But the Desai suspected treachery and departed immediately after the marriage. He renewed attacks against- Kolhapur in 1811. Kolhapur had suffered heavy losses; it readily agreed to British arbitration. 19 “By the terms accepted by the Raja of Kolhapur (8 October, 1812) he renounced all rights to Chickoree and Menowlee, which were ceded to the Peshwa; but all other places taken from the Raja were restored. To the British government, the Raja ceded the harbour of v Malwan, which included the forts and island of Malwan or Sindhudurg and its dependencies; he also agreed to renounce piracy, to permit no armed vessels to be fitted out and to restore wrecks as well as to assist vessels in distress. He also became bound to pursue no manner of hostility against any other State, without the consent of the British Government. The British guaranteed the\ Raja’s possessions against the aggression of all foreign powers and States.” 20

The condition of Kolhapur during the reign of Shivaji II (1762

1812) is thus described by Major Graham: “The long reign of ShivajI had been from the commencement one of almost incessant hostility and continued suspense between the prospects of ruin and of conquest; and to support the fierce struggle for independence, every effort to provide means had been resorted to—piracy at sea, plunder at the Court and oppression in the collection of the revenue, and all frequently without avail.”

“Grants of lands were unsparingly made to the impoverishment of the crown estate; two-thirds of the entire country were thus transferred to partisans for military services, and a swarm of reckless characters were left behind who rejoiced in anarchy and whose livelihood was to be gathered among the troubled waters. All the evils of the feudal system prevailed in full force; continued warfare was allowed between the petty authorities; - the rayats were oppressed and the entire rent forcibly seized during the harvest season; fines increased as commutation for all other punishment; justice was one-sided and only meted out to favoured followers; merchants and way-farers were despoiled during the journey; the labour of the cultivator was exacted without remuneration; and a multiplicity of monopolies existed to the destruction of all trade.” 21 The result of the anarchy was that the total revenue of the State had come down to Rs. 10 lakhs of which Rs. 4 lakhs was given away in jagtr 22 The area of. the State had dwindled to 3,184 sq. miles and the estimated population in 1853 was 5,56,156. 23

The State of Kolhapur saved itself from total extinction by accepting British protection. Raja ShivajI died early in 1813. His successors were not very competent persons—one of them was murdered by one of his feudatories. There was so much confusion in the State that the British had to appoint a Diwan from outside the state in 1844. Kolhapur was said to be involved in the rising of 1857. But about the end of the 19th century the State of Kolhapur woke up to the needs of the modern age. Schools and libraries were started; the city affairs came to be managed by a municipality. Kolhapur had now turned its back on mediaevalism and was marching into the modern age.

III. The Bhosle Rajas of Nagpur:

The Bhosle Rajas of Nagpur claim close kinship with the Chhatrapatis of Satara. They are known as Hingnikar Bhosle, being Patels of Hingni in the Poona district. The founder of the family was Mudhoji, father of the famous ParsojI Bhosle. ParsojI and Mudhojl’s biother RupajI are mentioned among the eminent captains of the great ShivajI in Sabhasad and Chitnis Bakhars. ParsojI led expeditions in Berar and Gondwana and rendered material assistance to Chhatrapati Rajaram. In

1699 he was rewarded with the title of Send Sdheb Subdh, was granted Saranjam and was asked to collect chauth in Berar and Gondwana. ParsojI made Bham in Berar his headquarters and was active in Khandesh, Berar and Gondwana.

When Shahu returned home in 1707 under Mughul auspices, ParsojI Bhosle was one of the first chieftains who hastened to join his standard. 1 Doubts expressed by the Regent Tara Bai about Shahu's identity were dispelled by ParsojI eating from the same plate with Shahu. Shahu in return confirmed his title of Send Sdheb Subdh and issued a sanad granting to ParsojI six sarkars and one hundred forty-seven mahals(?) in Berar. ParsojI died in 1709 and was succeeded by his son KanhojI.

KanhojI Bhosle got involved in disputes with his sovereign and with his relatives. He appears to have mismanaged his saranjam and could neither pay the Raja's contribution nor give proper allowances to his uncle and nephew, RanojI and RaghujI. The Raja consequently ordered a division of the saranjam 2 which displeased KanhojI Bhosle. He opened negotiations with Nizam-ul-Mulk and offered to take service with him. 3 When the Raja came to know this, he sent the nephew against the uncle KanhojI and had him imprisoned.

RaghujI Bhosle now succeeded to the title and the Saranjam of the family. He was the most capable of the Bhosle family and expanded its conquests right up to Bengal. In return for the right of collecting chauth from Berar, Gondwana, Allahabad, Patna (Bihar) and Maksudabad (Bengal), RaghujI "gave a bond to maintain a band of five thousand horse for the service of the State, to pay an annual sum of nine lakhs of rupees to government; and, exclusive of ghasdana (of Berar), the half only of all other tribute, prize property and contributions, was to be accounted for to the head of the State. He also bound himself to raise ten thousand horse when required and to accompany the Peshwa or to proceed to any quarter where he might be ordered." 4 Very few of these conditions were fulfilled by the Bhosles.

ParsojI and KanhojI had established themselves in Berar and Gondwana. Raghujfs earliest activities naturally extended in that direction. The Raja Chand Sultan of Deogarh died in 1735 and the

Gond State was usurped by his illegitimate son Vali Shah. The mother of the legitimate successor, Ratan Kuvar, called in the help of RaghujI Bhosle. In two years' campaign RaghujI Bhosle defeated Vali Shah's party and acquired a third of the Gond kingdom. In 1748 there was an uprising when the Diwan Raghunath Singh tried to throw off Maratha yoke. The attempt failed and the two sons of Chand Sultan—Akbar Shah and Burhan Shah—were brought to Nagpur. RaghujI took over the administration of the entire State of Deogarh in the name of the Gond king. The arrangement continued right up to the end of the Bhosle rule of Nagpur. The Bhosles considered themselves as ruling on behalf of the Gond rulers.

Far off Karnatak was to be the scene of the next exploit of RaghujI Bhosle. Pratap Singh, Raja of Tanjore, was in distress and implored Raja Shahu to send an army to save him from the harassment of the Nawab of Karnatak. Raja Shahu despatched an army 50,000 strong, nominally under the command of Fateh Singh

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Bhosle, with RaghujI as his chief aid. The allies met the Nawab of Karnatak, Dost 'All, at the head of his troops at Damalcherry pass on 19 May, 1740, killed the Nawab and put his force to rout. RaghujI temporarily returned to Satara to support BabujI Naik's claim to the Peshwdship. But his design failed and RaghujI once more invaded the Karnatak, took Trichinopoly by storm, made Chanda Sahib, the commander of the fort, a prisoner and overran Karnafak, demanding tribute from the petty Rajas and polygars. A force of 15,000 Marathas approached Pondicherry and under RaghujI's instructions, demanded reparations from the French for supporting their enemy. The French Governor Dumas prepared the place to stand a siege and sent a spirited reply declining any demand for tribute, but to mark his goodwill he sent a dozen bottles of French liquor as a present to the Maratha General. The General, already informed of the military preparedness, was impressed by the valour of the French and won over "by the golden produce of France's vineyards." 5 He had fulfilled his mission of chastising the Nawab and returned with prestige enhanced.

For the next ten years RaghujI Bhosle was embroiled in the struggle for power in the eastern region. 'All VardI Khan, the governor of Bihar had rebelled against his master Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, killed him (10 April, 1740) and usurped the Subahdari of Bengal (which then included Bihar and Orissa). But the dead man’s relations and followers, among whom was Mir Habib, a prominent officer in Orissa, would not acquiesce in the usurpation. They invited the

Marathas to their aid and continued to resist the new governor. While ‘All VardI Khan was in Orissa dealing with the rebels, a Maratha army under Raghujl’s minister, Bhaskar Ram Kolhatkar, entered Bihar by way of Pachet and reached Burdwan (April 1742). ‘Ali VardS Khan abandoned his Orissa campaign and came on the heels of the Marathas. Bhaskar Ram invested the Nawab’s camp and cul off its food supplies. A part of the Maratha army roamed over the country, plundering the villages far and wide and making it impossible for the Nawab’s army to get any foodgrains. The Nawab tried to fight his way back to Katwa, but his flight was discovered. The encircling Maratha horse cut down stragglers and the rearguard, but somehow the Khan succeeded in reaching Katwa with a small detachment.

The campaigning season was almost over as the rains would now set in any moment and swell the Bengal rivers, making movement of troops well nigh impossible. Bhaskar Ram wanted to return to Nagpur, but Mir Habib, his ally, pointed out that Murshidabad, the rich and defenceless capital of Bengal, would prove an easy prey if the Marathas attacked it during the absence of the Nawab. He himself led the attack at the head of a small column, crossed over into the city on 6 May, 1742 and plundered rich men’s houses and disappeared before the Nawab arrived on the scene. On the advice of Mir Habib, Bhaskar Ram abandoned his plan of retiring to Nagpur, and continued to remain in camp at Katwa. His troops spread over western Bengal and the Nawab’s rule ceased to exist in that region. Gangaram, the author of Maharashtra Purdna speaks of atrocities committed by Maratha troops, but he himself says in the beginning that the Badshah wrote to Shahu that “he (‘All VardI) who was a servant has killed the governor; he has become very powerful and does not pay me the tax. I have no army. Therefore, you should send men there to take the chauth.” 6 What was wrong in the whole episode was the way the Maratha army made war on the civil population.

‘All VardI Khan in the meanwhile collected troops and surprised Bhaskar Ram’s camp at Katwa on 27 September, 1742. The Maratha army fled in great confusion. 7 The next two attempts by Raghujl to secure the chauth of Bengal were foiled by the Nawab. In 1743 he obtained the aid of the Peshwa’s army and drove out the Bhosle troops from the province. 8

Raghujl visited Shahu’s Court and complained against the Peshwa’s interference in his sphere. The Raja marked out the

spheres of the two parties by agreements made in August, 1743. 9 Raghuji was now free to pursue his conquests in the eastern region. He sent Bhaskar Ram once more to Bengal. The Nawab in desperation resorted to a base design to destroy his enemy. He invited Bhaskar Ram to a personal meeting to discuss the payment of chauth. Bhaskar Ram had been given solemn promises of safe conduct, but as soon as he, with his party, reached the tent where the meeting was to take place, the Nawab gave orders to kill his visitors. Soldiers rushed in from all sides on the unsuspecting visitors and cut down all of them (30 March, 1744). In 1745 there was mutiny in the Nawab’s army. Raghuji taking advantage of the mutiny, took possession of Orissa and invaded Bihar. Once more Raghuji dashed to the capital of Bengal (21 December, 1745) only to be driven back. In 1747 there was severe fighting at Medinipur and Burdwan between the two armies. The Marathas kept on the pressure; they harassed the Nawab by avoiding open contests but seeking his troops in out of the way places. ‘All Vardi Khan was now a weary man of 75 without energy to keep up the funning flight. At last in May, 1751, a treaty was concluded between the two parties. The following were the terms of the settlement:

“ (1) Mir Habib would now become a servant of ‘All Vardi Khan and act as naib-nazim on his behalf. He should pay the surplus revenue of the province to Raghuji's army as their salary.

(2) From the Bengal revenue twelve lakhs of rupees a year would be paid to Raghuji as chauth for that province.

(3) The Maratha Government agreed not to set foot in ‘All Vardi’s dominions again.

(4) The frontier of Bengal was fixed at and including the river Suvarnarekha. Thus the district of Medinipur which the Marathas had overrun, was restored to Bengal.” 10

Raghuji Bhosle had thus succeeded in winning for himself a kingdom extending from Berar in the west to Orissa in the east and from Garha-Mandla on the north to Chandrapur in the south. In Berar he shared the revenue with the Nizam, but in other regions his rule was supreme. The large and compact territory of Raghuji Bhosle roused the jealousy of the PeshvM. After RaghujTs death in 1755 the Peshwa took advantage of the succession dispute to reduce the power of the Bhosle family and persuade it to accept the Peshwa’s primacy.

RaghujI died on 14 February, 1755 at the age of 60. He had four sons—Janoji, MudhdjX, BimbajI and Sabajl. Janoji was the eldest son, but born of a junior wife. MudhojI therefore claimed the patrimony. When the dispute was submitted to the Peshwd for decision, he demanded a big nazar, claiming himself to be the supreme law-giver of the Maratha State, and divided the Nagpur principality in two or three parts. Janoji was to retain the title of Send Sdheb Subah and to administer the Bhosle. territory except Chandrapur and Chattisgarh districts, which were to be placed respectively in charge of Mudhdji and BimbajI Bhosle. The decision was given in 1757 but the actual sanads were granted in 1761. The Peshwd’s decision of dividing the estate among the brothers weakened the chiefship and was not liked by Janoji or his Karbhdris . There were endless disputes among the four brothers often leading to civil strife. The Bhosles, engrossed in their domestic feuds, took little part in the common affairs of the Maratha State and even failed to assert their claim to the chauth of Bengal. The Peshwd’s assumption of the leadership of the Maratha State and his decision in respect of the Bhosle principality so antagonised the Bhosle brothers that they lent a willing ear to the intrigues of the enemies of the Maratha State.

Janoji Bhosle, though he had agreed to pay a nazar of ten lakhs Of rupees on his accession and pay a part of the revenue into the central treasury, never made any payments. On the contrary, in 1762, he joined Raghunath Rao in his plot to oust Jus nephew. Janoji was to be rewarded with the kingship of Satara. Nothing came out of this sordid intrigue.

Janoji then made common cause with the Nizam in yet another bid to challenge the Peshwd’s authority. The combined army of the Nizam and the Bhosle entered the heart of the Maratha country and burnt suburbs of the Peshwd’s capital, desecrating many temples in their march. The Peshwd used threats and diplomacy to divide his opponents ana defeated the Nizam signally at Rakshasbhuvan in August, 1763. Janoji, as the price for abandoning the enemy, was given in jagir territory worth 32 lakhs of rupees.

Janoji was not destined to enjoy the additional jdgtr long. Though he had agreed to send a contingent to operate in the Kamatak campaign against Haidar ‘All, he evaded his promises. In Berar again where he shared the revenue with the Nizam, his officers would not allow any collection by the Nizam. The Nizam who had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Peshwd after the battle of Rakshasbhuvan, now called on the Peshwd to fulfil the terms of the agreement. The Peshwd was keen to punish Janojl Bhosle for his duplicity and decided to help the Nizam. The Peshwd , in October, 1765 at the head of a large force entered Berar by way of Khandesh. He was joined by the Nizam’s Diwdn Rukn-* ud-daulah with a force of eight thousand. Balapur amd Akola were laid uhder contribution. The Bhosle brothers abandoned the capital and with their families sought shelter in the fort of Amner. Not feeling safe, they sent their families to Chandrapur and joined their army. Janojl realized the weakness of his position and through the Peshwd’s envoy Vyankat Moreshwar, sought for terms. He 'pleaded that he was not responsible for the destruction of the Peshwd’s capital and the Peshwa’s present proposal of transferring his new jagir to the Nizam was ‘like giving milk to the serpent’. The Peshwd relented in order to keep the Bhosle within the confederacy; he allowed him to keep a small part of the jdcfir, transferred fifteen lakhs worth territory to the Nizam and himself took over districts worth nine lakhs. The treaty was concluded at Kholapur near Daryapur in January 1766. The Bhosle was supposed to send a contingent to work with the Peshwd’s army going to Hindustan. But no

Bhosle contingent joined the Peshwd’s army and Janojl soon reverted to his bad ways and provoked the wrath of the Peshwd . n

In 1768 differences arose between the Peshwd and his uncle Raghunath. The uncle aspired for the Peshwdship. When he could not get it, he asked for a partition of the Peshwa’s estate. Such a proposal the Peshwd would never entertain and Raghunath went on scheming against the nephew, seeking aid from the Nizam, Haidar ‘Aff, the English at Bombay, and even Maratha members of the confederacy like the Gaikwar and Bhosle. Raghunath was defeated in jAne, 1768 and then the Peshwd marched into Bhosle territory. Janojl sent his Diwdn Divakar Pant to conciliate the Peshwd . But the Peshwd, suspecting the bonafides of the Diwdn , had him imprisoned and continued the march. He had mobilized a strong army to settle the affairs of Hindustan and that army took the field against Janojl Bhosle. The Bhosle territory west of the Wardha, ‘ including his capital was occupied. While a part of the army laid siege to Chanda, the rest started in pursuit of Janojl Bhosle, who kept up a running flight. Bhandara near Nagpur was reduced by RSmachandra Ganesh. In another action on IQ January, 1769, at Panchgaon, Narahar Ballal, a Bhosle Sardar, was defeated with heavy losses. After a month’s fighting Janojl Bhosle was brought to bay near Kanakapur on the south frontier of his territory. A treaty was concluded on 23 March, 1769. The agreement contains 19 articles written in the form of demands and replies “and amounting in substance to an agreement by Janoji that he and his house would ever implicitly obey the Peshwa as the head of the Maratha State; that he would not increase the prescribed number of his army; that he would serve the Peshwa with five thousand troops whenever called upon to do so; that he would pay a tribute of five lakhs of rupees annually; and that he would conduct no negotiations with any foreign power without the express permission of the Peshwa” [12]

According to Sardesai, “this short war marks the signal triumph of the Peshwd’s policy. An attempt was for the first time made to define clearly the relations between the central power and its feudatory members.” [13]

Janoji Bhosle did not survive long after the conclusion of the treaty. He died on 16 May, 1772. During his seventeen years' regime he could neither govern his principality well, nor establish cordial relations with his brothers or the Peshwd > the chief executive authority of the State. The four brothers quarrelled among themselves; the army was ever ready to break out in mutiny and there was chaos in the general administration. In consequence the Bhosles became ineffective as a military power. The English realized their weakness, refused them the chauth of Bengal and often bribed them to act on their pleasure.

Janoji died without an issue'and the question of succession to the Nagpur estate became complicated. Before his death, however, he had informed the Peshwa that he desired to adopt Raghujl, (born 1757), the son of his brother, MudhojI. The formal adoption however did not take place immediately. Therefore not only the father of Raghujl (Jr.), but Baka Bai the favourite wife of Janoji, and his brother Sabaji, came forward with some kind of claims to be put in charge of the management of the estate. The Peshwa went back on his word and suspecting the loyalty of MudhojI, who was a partisan of Raghunath Rao, sent the robes of the post to his brother, SabajI. The result was open outbreak of hostilities between the two brothers, MudhojI and SabajI. The issye became complicated by civil war in the Peshwa's house after the murder of Narayan Rao Peshwa. Raghunath Rao supported MudhojI, while the Bdrbhdis or the party of the Poona Court supported SabajI. Fighting between the two brothers went on intermittently for two years till Sabaji died in the battle of Panchgaon on 26 January, 1775. MudhdjI was left without a rival; his son became Send Saheb Subdh on 24 June,

1775. MudhdjI gave a written agreement that he would have no truck with the party of Raghunath Rao, but would loyally support the young Peshwd and the Karbharis. 14

But MudhdjI had no strong loyalties, no feeling of patriotism. He followed the rule of expediency. In 1777 the British encouraged him to claim the Satara Gadi. As a price for the British goodwill Mudhoji gave facilities to General Goddard's force to march through his territory to Surat, though it was known that Goddard was going to the west coast to reinforce the Bombay army in its struggle against the Marathas.

The Bengal Government had in 1767 made advances to Janoji Bhosle to transfer Orissa to the E.I. Company on condition of payment of Bengal chauth, but Janoji had the wisdom to reject them. Warren Hastings made another unsuccessful attempt to rent a tract of country on the Orissa coast from MudhdjI. In 1780 when Nania Phadnis, the great Maratha Machiavelli, formed the quadruple alliance against the British, MudhdjI Bhosle as a member of the alliance was asked to despatch a strong force to attack Bengal, while the Nizam, Haidar ‘All and the Poona Government would exert pressure against British possessions in the South and the West respectively. Mudhoji carried the information of the alliance to the British, assured them that he would feign compliance and that his force in Orissa would in no way hinder British movements. 15 The British were more than glad to buy the Bhosle with the paltry sum of two million rupees. Not only did the Bhosle army not attack the province of Bengal but it heartily co-operated with a Bengal force marching southward through Orissa under Col. Pearse. 16 The short-sighted diplomacy of the Bhosle shattered the strength ojf the alliance.

MudhdjI died in 1788 and from that time Raghujl II began to exert his authority uncontrolled by anybody. He sent his force to fight in the battle of Kharda against the Nizam in 1795. By 1800 Raghujfs kingdom extended over a vast territory yielding revenue worth a crore of rupees. 17 But the kingdom of Nagpur was illmanaged and its resources were frittered away on a second-rate Court and a second-rate army. The Bhosle realized very late that the Peshwa's acceptance of British paramountcy (1802) meant a death-blow to the independence of the whole Maratha State. He attempted to bring about a conciliation between Sindia and Holkar and fought with Sindia’s battalions at the battle of Assaye. He was, however, soundly beaten at the battle of Argaon and made peace

by the treaty of Deogaon concluded on 17 December, 1803. By the treaty the Raja was stripped of the province of Orissa and of the Country west of the Wardha and south of the Narnalla and Gawilgarh hills. The treaty was confirmed by the treaty of 1804 made with the Peshwd . 18 Its effect was to reduce the revenue of the Nagpur State from - about a crore of rupees to sixty lakhs. The Bhosle also agreed to accept British arbitration in any dispute with the Nizam or with the Peshwd, not to engage any European in his service without the consent of the British, and renounced adherence to the confederacy formed with Daulat Rao Sindia. He agreed to the residence of a permanent British Resident at his Court.

Raghuji died in 1816 and soon his nephew Appa Saheb concluded a treaty of subsidiary alliance with the British "agreeing to receive one regiment of Native cavalry, six battalions of Native infantry, one complete company of European artillery and one company of pioneers with the usual proportion of field pieces .attached and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition, which force shall be stationed in perpetuity in the Raja's territory." 19 The benumbed existence of Nagpur State was terminated next year when Appa Saheb tried to get out of the meshes of the subsidiary alliance. Appa Saheb went into exile and a puppet occupied the throne till 1853 when the Nagpur State was annexed to the British empire for want of a legitimate issue.

Jenkins in his report on Nagpur (1827) has described the state of affairs at the Court in the following words: 20

"From the Rajah downwards to the lowest Mootsuddee, no means of making money, by traffick, was deemed disgraceful, and the revenues of Government, as well as the interests of the industrious classes of the population, were sacrificed to give them monopolies in the various articles which they chose to deal in. Whole bazars in the city were the property of the Rajah himself, his ladies, and his ministers, with various privileges, and remissions of duties, totally subversive of free trade. Rughojee made every advantage of the necessities of his troops and subjects, caused by his own measures. He withheld the pay of the former, and, in the mean time, through his various banking establishments, he lent them money for their immediate subsistence at enormous interest, and when he paid them the arrears, he gave a third in clothes from his own Dookans, at enhanced values. He exacted advances of revenue from his collectors, and was frequently himself the lender of the money to the ryots, like other Sahookars, at high rates of interest, and frequently forced the grain in his stores on the Bunneas of the city, at his own prices. Grass and wood for building, and fuel, were publicly sold by him, and other sales frequently stopped, until his own stock was disposed of; thus taking the bread from the poorest classes of people by competing with them, in their traffick in these articles. In short, no source of gain, however trifling, escaped him, or the members of his family and court.

“From this spirit of meanness and rapacity, as well as from his unwarlike character, Rughojee was not unfrequently called, in derision, the great Bunneah; and it must be confessed, that in public as well as in private concerns, the love of money has, for the last twenty years, appeared to be the predominating passion in the court of Nagpore, to the exclusion of everything great, liberal, or even respectable.”

NOTES

SECTIONS I & II, pp. 225-239: FEUDALIZATION OF MARATHA STATE & THE CHHATRAPATIS OF KOLHAPUR

1. Sabhasad, Shiva Chhatrapatiche Charitra, ed. by Sane (4th edition, 1923), pp. 27-28. Sarkar, Shivdji (1948), pp. 350-51.

la. P.R.C. II, p. 132.

2. P.R.C. XII, pp. 87-88.

2a. See Francklin’s Shah Aulum, pp. 29-30.

3- Letter in Vividh Dnyan Vistar, Feb. 1924, cited by Sardesai in Peshwd Balaji Vishwanath, p. 36.

4. Raj wade, MIS, XX,- 282.

5- Rajwade, MIS, XV, 59; Parasnis, Itihas Sangraha, Peshwa Daftar, p. 12.

6- Kavyetihas Sangraha Patren Yadi, (1930 ed.), 19.

7. Graham, D. C., Statistical Report of the Principality of Kolhapur (1854), p. 492. 7a. Graham, Ibid.

8. Kavyetihas Sangraha Patren Yadi (1930), No. 246, pp. 218-220. Cited by S. M. Garge, Karweer Riyasat, p. 151.

9. Sane, K. N., ed. Thorle Shahu Maharaj i Charitra (3rd Edn.), (1924), pp. 74-75, 82.

10. Parasnis, Itihas Sangraha, Vol. VII; Nos. 4-6; also cited in Chitnis Shahu Charitra, pp. 134-35, Pratinidhi Gharanyacha Itihas, Vol. IV, ab. pp. 213-14.

11. SPD. VT, 1, 2, & XXVI, 17, 28.

12. K.S.P.Y. 71 and S.P.D., XXVI, 163.

13. Graham, D. C., op. cit., p. 496.

14. Sardesai, Mardthd Riyasat, (Uttar Vibhag), I, p. 459.

15. P.R.C. VI, p. 123.

16- P.R.C VI, p. 182.

17. P R C. VI, pp. 517-21; Kavyetihas Sangraha Patren Yadi , No. 467 gives a detailed account of the battle of Pattankudi and of Bhau’s death.

18. P R C. VII, p. 36.

19. For British arbitration in the Kolhapur dispute, see P R, C. XII, p. 80, 159-62 225-27, 228-29.

20- Grant Duff, History of the Mahrdttas, Vol. II (1921 Edn.), pp. 422-23.

21. Graham, op. cit., p. 513.

22. Graham, op. cit., p. 537.

23. Graham, op. cit, p. 127.

SECTION m, pp. 239-249: THE BHOSLE RAJAS OF NAGPUR

1. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Vol. I, (1921 ed.), p. 314; Sabhasad, Shahu Charitra, p. 12.

2. Vad, Shahu Roznishi, p. 80.

3- S.P.D. X, p. 73.

4. Grant Duff, op. cit., p. 384.

5. Hatalkar, V. G., The Mardthds and the French, p. 69.

6- Mah&rashtrd Parana, ed. by Dimock and P. C. Gupta (1961), pp. 6-8.

7- Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. I, p. 92.

8. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 99.

9- Ait; Patravyawahar , 35-6.

10 Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, p. 166.

11. Kale, Y- M., Nagpur Prantacha Itihas, pp. 163-65; Sardesai, Riyasat, Madhya Vibhdg, IV, p. 152-53.

12 Sardesai and Kale, Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 117-19.

13- Sardesai, New History of the Mardthds, II, p. 530.

14. Nagpurkar Bhosle, Letters, 7, 48; Itihas Sangraha, Aitihasik Vividh Vishay II, 32.

15. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. V, 1957.

16- Aitchison, C. U., Treaties, Engagements & Sanads (1863), Vol. Ill, pp. 95-96.

17- Kale, Nagpur Prantacha Itihas, p. 382.

18 Aitchison, C U., Treaties, Engagements & Sanads , Vol. Ill (1863 ed.) pp. 91-97 and pp. 76-78.

19, Ibid, pp. 101-7.

20 Jenkins, Richard, Report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur (1827)

PART II

IV. The Sindias of Gwalior:

The name Sindia, it is said, is derived from Sendrak, an ancient Kshatriya clan. Many Sindia families rose to eminence in the Bahmani kingdom. One Nemaji Sindia, invaded Malwa in 1704, reaching as far as Kalabagh. Nemaji was an important chieftain and his early adherence to Shahu's cause, strengthened Shahu's position. History does not record the further career of this soldier. The Patels of Kanherkhed in Satara district, were Sindias who had one of their daughters married to Raja Shahu while he was in Mughul captivity. RanojI Sindia was, therefore, not the first in the family who rose to fame, but he was the founder of the family which had left its impress on the course of Maratha history. Three generations of Sindias served the Peshwds loyally and sacrificed their lives in the cause of their master and their country.

RanojI Sindia was perhaps a junior member of the Patel family of Kanherkhed. To seek his fortune he entered the personal service of Peshwd BalajI Viswanath. As Malcolm remarks, "it is probable that ambition, not indigence, influenced a member of the Patel family to become, in the first instance, the menial servant of BalajI Vishwanath." 1 He was soon promoted as a captain of cavalry under the Peshwd's able son, BajI Rao. 2 In 1720 when BalajI Vishwanath died and his son's (BajI Rao's) succession was under discussion, RanojI Sindia was a prominent chief in the Peshwd's service. 3 The Peshwd's cavalry assisted the Nizam against Mubariz Khan in October 1724. RanojI was wounded in the battle. 4 Some critical movements depended on him in the Peshwd's campaign against the Nizam in 172728.

In July 1729 RanojI was further elevated; he was granted the saranjam that was previously enjoyed by PilajI Jadhav and also received the honour of using the palanquin. 5 In 1730 the chauth and sardeshmukhi of subah Malwa was granted to Malharjl Holkar. 6 Next year, on 20 October, 1731, RanojI Sindia was associated with him with equal powers. 7 About the same time the Peshw&’s seals were sent to RanojI to be used at his discretion. 8 After this, Malwa

became the field of RanojI’s activities with Ujjain as his headquarters, where he revived the worship in many ancient temples. 9 He accompanied the Peshwfr in his expedition to meet Sawai Jay Singh in 1735-36 and was left behind to collect the tribute when the Peshwd Returned to Poona. As the Mughul went back on his word, the PQshwd made a dash on the capital, and defeated the forces sent by the emperor. Ranoji was one of the commanders who led the army against the Mughul and also fought against Sa'adat Khan. 10 A year later, Nizam-ul-Mulk, apprehensive of the Peshwd's victories in Hindustan, marched northward, was put in command of imperial forces and met the Peslnwd at Bhopal (January 1738). The Peshwd invested the Nizam in that place and Ranoji distinguished himself in the contest. 11 The Nizam signed a convention granting the subah dari to the Peshwd. The imperial farman came three years later. Sindia and Holkar stood guarantee for due performance of duty by the Peshwd. n *

The Peshwd's victory over the Nizam released large forces locked in that struggle. A large part of them poured into the Konkan theatre of war where Chimnaji Appa was attacking the Portuguese. “Ranoji Sindia invaded Daman district, overpowered the small garrison of Nargol, Khatalwad, Umbargao, Dahanu and laid the enemy's country under fire and sword.” His detachment led in the final assault on the mighty fortress of Bassein. 12

Ranoji Sindia died at Shujalpur in July 1745, while in service. He had three sons from his first wife-^Jayappa, Dattaji and Jotiba and two from the second, Mahadji and Tukojl. Jotiba predeceased his father, but the rest distinguished themselves in various fields of operations.

Jay appa succeeded his father in his jdgtr which was then worth about Rs. 65 lakhs per annum. His position was made difficult by the new Peshrm Balaj I who could not see beyond immediate gains, and who in his inordinate greed for money, forgot the old ideals of forging alliances with Hindu rulers and establishing Hindu ascendancy. The Peshwd set aside the sage advice of Jayappa not to support Madho Singh in his dispute for the Jaipur throne with his brother Ishwarl Singh, and in the end alienated the entire Rajput princely order. 12a

The feebleness of the Mughul empire invited foreign invasions from the north-west. Ahmad Shah AbdaR who had made himself master of Afghanistan on the death of his master Nadir Shah in 1747, started invading Hindustan and encroaching on Mughul territory.

He found willing allies in the Afghans who had settled in Rohilkhand. As the Abdall troops marched into India, the Rohillas would revolt and seize the adjoining districts belonging either to the emperor or his Vazir Safdar Jang. At one stage it appeared that the junction of the two—the Abdall forces and the Rohillas would engulf Mughul rule and establish Pathan rule in its place. To avoid such a possibility the Vazir invited Maratha aid against the Afghans. In two great battles fought in March-April 1751, the joint armies of the Vazir and that of the Maratha chiefs—Sindia and Holkar, inflicted severe defeats on the Rohillas and almost annihilated their forces. For a time the Pathan danger was averted. The Peshxvu eulogized the services of his two chiefs in the highest terms. 13

Next year the two chiefs, Sindia and Holkar, came to the south taking under their wings the Nizam's eldest son Ghazi-ud-din and proclaiming him subdhdar of the Deccan. There was a revolution in the Nizam's Court, both Ghazi-ud-din and Nasir Jang were killed. The Maratha army in which Sindia's contingent took a leading part, surrounded the new Nizam at Bhalki in 1752 and liberated Junnar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh districts of Maharashtra from Mughul rule. 14

Next year a big army marched into Hindustan under the nominal leadership of the Peshwa's brother, Raghunath Rao. Jayappa Sindia and Malhar Rao Holkar were the main advisers. Raghunath on his arrival in the Jat country demanded the huge tribute of one crore of rupees. The Jat Raja Surajmal pleaded his inability to pay such a big amount and asked the Maratha chiefs to show some consideration. Raghunath on the advice of Holkar, refused to budge an inch from his demand and began the siege of the fort of Kumbher wherein the Jat Raja was sheltering. The Maratha army was ill-equipped for siege-operations and made little impression on the Jat defences. One day a stray shot from the defenders killed Malhar Rao Holkar's only son Khande Rao, whose death Holkar vowed to avenge. The siege had dragged on for 3 months keeping a huge Maratha army tied down. On the intercession of Jayappa Sindia, Raghunath agreed to accept a much smaller tribute and raised the siege, Sindia's intervention in the dispute looked on as the beginning of discord between the two houses of Sindia and Holkar. 15

From Kumbher the Sindian force under JayappS marched into Marwar where Maratha aid had been invited by the lawful heir Ram Singh to regain his kingdom of Jodhpur against the usurper Bijay Singh. Kishangarh, Ajmer, Merta, fell into the Maratha hands by February 1755 and Bijay Singh was hemmed in the fort of Nagore. When Bijay Singh found that his position was altogether hopeless, he resorted to base means to destroy his enemy. While his envoys pretended to continue negotiations, his agents made a murderous attack on Jayappa as he was finishing his bath. The attack proved fatal and Jayappa died oil 25 July, 1755. But the enemy did not benefit by the assassination of the Maratha chief. Jayappa's brother DattajI rallied his men, declared JankojI, Jayappa's son, as successor to the jacfrr and continued the siege operations. Fresh troops poured in from the Peshivti; Antaji Manakeshwar, Yashwant Rao Pawar and Samsher Bahadur arrived with their forces to help Sindia. Bijay Singh at last agreed to surrender half the kingdom of Marwar to his cousin Ham Singh, cede the forts of Ajmer and Jhalor to Sindia and pay him a tribute of fifty lakhs of rupees. The longdrawn siege was raised and the Maratha army marched away. 16

The Peshwu called the Sindias to Poona where he confirmed Jankoji in Sindia's j dglr. The Sindian force fought with great bravery in the battle of Sindkhed, 12-17 December, 1757. It was despatched to Hindustan in mid-1758 to guard the new Maratha conquests, to defend the Mughul empire against the Afghan menace and levy tribute from Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In 1759 DattajI Sindia marched into the Punjab, put SabajI Sindia in charge of the province and then in June crossed the Jamuna to punish Najib Khan

Rohilla. The Rohilla chief was already in league with the Afghan king and played a waiting game. By the end of 1759 Ahmad Shah Abdall had descended into the Punjab, and made short work of the Maratha garrisons stationed in that province. DattajI Sindia realized too late the treachery of Najib Khan. He broke his camp at Shukartal, sent away his heavy baggage and non-combatants and moved in the direction of the capital. The Abdall! king, in the meanwhile, had joined Najib Khan in the Doab and the two together marched on the capital along the eastern bank of the Jamuna. They crossed Over at Barari ghat on 10 January, 1760 and overpowered Sindians force. DattajI Sindia was leading the vanguard and fell a victim to a bullet from the enemy's sharpshooter. Sindia's force 20,000 strong was unable to withstand the overwhelming number of the enemy, armed with muskets and swivel guns. 17 Malhar Rao Holkar tried guerilla tactics till fresh reinforcements equipped with artillery, arrived in the north. But on 4 March, 1760, he was surprised near Sikandrabad and defeated with heavy losses. The

Maratha force fled southward to await the arrival of the Bhau with the Peshwa's grand army.

The battle of Panipat (14 January, 1761) has been described elsewhere. On that fateful day the Maratha army was annihilated and with it the faithful contingent of the Sindias. TukojI Sindia died fighting, while Jankoji was wounded, taken prisoner and killed by the enemy. The Sindian force suffered a severe set-back from which it took several years to recover. But from the battle-field providentially escaped Mahadji Sindia, who was later on to build up the vast Sindia State in Hindustan. Raghunath Rao desired to put another Sindia in possession of the jagir, but Peshwa Madhav Rao appreciated the loyal services of RanojI's sons and appointed, despite his illegitimate birth, Mahadji to the jdgir in 1767. 18 With the death of Malhar Rao Holkar in May 1766, and Raghoba's defeat at Dhodap (1768) Mahadji was firmly in the saddle. He was already functioning as de facto chief of the Sindia jdglr from 1762. In 1766 he succeeded in taking Gwalior from the Rana of Gohad and thence began the historic association of Gwalior with the house of Sindia.

A great Maratha army led by Ramchandra Ganesh and Visaji Krishna entered Hindustan at the end of 1769. The Peshwa wanted to efface the ignominy of the disaster of Panipat, punish the treachery of Najib-ud-daulah Rohilla, and regain Maratha ascendancy in the north. The Jat army that barred Maratha progress was defeated on 5 April, 1770. But dissensions then broke among the Maratha generals. They could not agree on the policy to be followed towards Indian princes, especially Najib-ud-daulah. Holkar was friendly to the Rohilla chief who did his best to defeat Maratha plans and secretly formed an anti-Maratha alliance. However Najib died on 31 October, 1770. Ramchandra Ganesh was recalled and the leadership of the expedition fell to Visaji Krishna and Mahadji Sindia. Mahadji defeated the Pathans near Farrukhabad, and reoccupied the old Maratha districts in the Doab. On 10 February, 1771, he took the fort of Delhi by assault and invited the emperor Shah ‘Alam to return to his capital. The exiled emperor entered the city on 6 January, 1772. The Maratha army then started in pursuit of Zabeta Khan, the son of their avowed enemy, Najib. It defeated him at Shukartal and overran his place, Najibgarh. Mahadji had the satisfaction to see the deaths of his brothers and nephew avenged. The untimely death of Peshwa Madhav Rao halted further progress of Maratha arms in Hindustan. 19

The decade from 1772 io 1782 was a period of stress and strain for the Maratha State. Narayan Rao, who had succeeded his brother in the Peshwdship, was murdered in August 1773. It was soon discovered that his uncle Raghunath and his wife were the prime movers behind the plot to remove the nephew and usurp the Peshwdship. The entire council at Poona felt great repulsion to the base act and vowed to keep Raghunath out of the Peshwuship. They formed the league of the Bdrbhdis, a regency council, and acting in the name of the infant son of Narayan Rao, sent a force in pursuit of the murderer. Raghunath Rao in hopes of winning support from Sindia and Holkar, fled to Indore, but having failed in his expectations, concluded a treaty with the English on 6 March, 1775 at Surat. The treaty lost to Raghunath what little sympathy he had among his countrymen. For some time Mahadji Sindia was with the Gujarat army of the Peshwd, trying to bring about reconciliation between the Regency Council and Raghunath Rao. But Raghunath showed more faith in his English allies than his own compatriots and took shelter with them. Since then Sindia swung over to the Bdrbhdis and became their chief military supporter. He overawed a Kolhapur force in 1777 which was harassing the Peshwd's territory near its (Kolhapur's) western frontier and arriving at Poona in June 1778, suppressed the insurgency of Moroba Phadnis. He was Nana's principal adviser when Raghunath Rao advanced on Poona at the head of an English force by way of Panvel, Khandala, Kamshet, Wadgaon and Talegaon. While myriads of Maratha horse closed on the small British force from all sides, the country through which it passed was completely denuded of men, animals and foodgrains. The Regency Council adopted a scorched-earth policy. Even the capital of Poona was evacuated and large buildings were filled with hay and combustibles. The English force which had been assured of a cordial welcome and hearty co-operation by Raghunath and his friends, was almost overwhelmed, and concluded on 16 January, 1779, the convention of Wadgaon, agreeing to the surrender of Raghunath Rao, evacuation of Salsette and other islands and return of the Bengal force to its base. Mahadji Sindia was the architect of this debacle of English arms at Wadgaon. 20

The Governor-General not only rejected the humiliating terms of the convention but sent a force to attack Mahadji Sindia's jagtr and cripple his sources in Malwa. Col. Popham surprised the fort of Gwalior on 3 August, 1780 and Hastings called it the most gallant enterprise nearly equal in its advantage to the battle of Plassey. Sindia, who had been fighting in Gujarat, now arrived in Malwa in June 1780 to defend his territory. 21 Hastings despatched Col. Camac and Col. Muir to support Col. Popham's offensive. The British force then advanced to Sironj and later surprised Mahadji Sindia on 24 March, 1781 near Kolaras. 22 Sindia improved his position by constantly harassing the enemy's flanks and inflicting a defeat on 1 July, near Sipri. 23 On 13 October, 1781 a temporary truce was effected between Mahadji Sindia and Col. Muir on terms of no gain, no loss to either party. 24

By this time the Governor-General had become aware of the grand alliance formed against the East India Company by the country powers, and knowing English inability to fight on several fronts simultaneously, was anxious to come to an understanding with the Marathas. The temporary truce of 1781 was spelt out in a formal treaty of seventeen articles at Salbai on 17 May, 1782, and ratified by the Governor-General, on 6 June, 1782. By the 16th article of the treaty, Mahadji Sindia agreed to be “the mutual guarantee of both parties for the perpetual adherence to the conditions of the treaty.” The English surrendered Raghunath Rao, the root-cause of the seven years’ war, and all the territories occupied by them except Salsette and two other islands near Bombay.[25] “Sindia was given to understand by the Governor-General that his government would not interfere with his views at Delhi.”[26]

The situation at Delhi was very favourable to recover the lost ground and regain Maratha ascendancy in the imperial court. Shah ‘Alam had bartered away to the English the Diwdni of Bengal for a pension of 26 lakhs of rupees and a promise to lead him back to the capital. His demand for the fulfilment of the promise had been met with all kinds of excuses by the English. The emperor had become sore with the English and had often thought of taking refuge with the Marathas, and lending his name and support to their ambitious plans in Hindustan. His V&zir, Mirza Najaf, had starved the emperor, his vast harem and his dependants. In agony the emperor cried out, “I am sick of this life—no subsistence money, overwhelming debts to the bankers and traders of Delhi. I cannot bear the shame of it any longer.” He felt that the Marathas alone would save the situation and a vast Maratha army would silence the English guns.[27] *

Mirza Najaf Khan, the emperor’s Regent, died on 6 April, 1782, a month before the treaty of Salbai was concluded. Mahadji Sindia was now free to prosecute his ambitious plans in Hindustan. The two years from the conclusion of the treaty with the English to his meeting with the emperor at Agra on 14 November, 1784 he spent in consolidating his position in Malwa and Bundelkhand. He put down the petty chiefs of Bhopal, Datia, Chanderi, Narwar, Khechi and Gohad. Gwalior fort was reoccupied on 31 July, 1783 and Gohad was reduced on 26 February, 1784. Mahadji wrote to the Poona Minister that Hastings had arrived at Lucknow and the English v/ould gladly advance to Delhi if the Marathas refused to support the emperor. Nan§ urged Sindia to take the initiative and establish Maratha influence in Delhi. 28

Of the four lieutenants of the dead Regent, two—Mirza Shaft and Afrasiyab Khan met with violent ends. Muhammad Beg Hamdani was in revolt and Najab Quli was sunk in debauchery. There was none left to take up the responsibility of managing the emperor’s affairs. Shah ‘Alam now turned to Mahadji for protection and for regulating his empire. On 1 December the emperor at a public darbar appointed the Peshwd as his Deputy (Ndib-i-Mundib) as well as Commander-in-Chief (Bakhshi-til-Mamdlik) subject to the condition that Mahadji Sindia himself should be permanent agent of the Peshwd in discharging the functions of these two offices. On the 3rd of the month the emperor appointed Sindia Vakil-i-Mutlaq, Regent plenipotentiary, direct from himself. The Poona Minister Nana Phadnis protested that Sindia had accepted honours higher than the Peshwd, and later on, the honour of V akil-i-Mutlaq was conferred on the Peshwd, with Sindia as his deputy.

As a result of the agreement, Sindia obtained the executive authority of the Mughul empire such as it was, the command of the imperial army and of the two provinces of Delhi and Agra. The Marathas at last seemed to have realized their long-cherished dream of ruling from Delhi. Their constitution was so elastic that it did not matter how many overlords Mahadji Sindia, their chief in Delhi, had.

Unfortunately Mahadji Sindia and the Poona Darbar miscalculated his gains from the new venture. The devastation by constant war and the maintenance of armies by Mirza Najaf Khan and after his death by his four lieutenants, had left little money in the royal exchequer. Sindia’s own resources were not equal to his vaulting ambition and he soon found he could pay regularly neither the emperor for his subsistence, nor the Mughulia troops, nor his own troops. If he had succeeded in establishing Maratha supremacy in Delhi, “it was”, wrote Browne, the British agent at Delhi to the Governor-General, “more by a concurrence of fortunate events than

by any great exertions of his own. The Musalman chiefs, dispersed and deprived of their power, want nothing but a head to enable them yet to assert their own independency”. 29 To the hostility to Sindia on religious grounds, there was another and a stronger reason, for their animosity. Sindia, to raise funds, started investigating the titles of the Mughul nobility to their jagirs 30 and pressed the Rajput chiefs for the arrears of their tribute due to the emperor. 31

An inquiry into the titles of the jagirs was perfectly justifiable. Under the Mughul emperors mansabs were given only for life and were resumed on the death of the recipients. The emperors did not want to create a feudal aristocracy which would threaten their authority. But in the disintegration of the empire what had been granted temporarily or for life, had come to be regarded as having been ceded in perpetuity. Sindia could make the two provinces granted to him viable and pay his military expenses, only if he coujd get rid of these usurpers and utilize the revenue to raise a new force loyal to him. No wonder the Musalman chiefs lined themselves up against the Maratha Regent of the emperor.

The Rajput Rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur, though Hindus, had suffered much from the rapacity of the Marathas, detested them and had no intention of paying the imperial tribute to strengthen the hands of the Maratha Regent of the emperor.

The emperor had broken with the English and left their protection because they would not pay his allowances regularly nor take him to Delhi. He expected Sindia to make regular payments towards the maintenance of his household and his dignity. Suspicion and indecision were the hall-mark of his character and even his best friends and well-wishers could not be sure of his constancy. 32 Besides, Nana Phadnis, the Maratha Machiavelli, though he professed to rejoice at Sindia’s success and rise to power in the imperial court, inwardly felt jealous of him and was reluctant to support him unless Sindia agreed to share that power with the Peshwa’s government, which really meant subordinating himself to the dictates of the minister. 33

Then there were the Sikhs who made raids on the imperial provinces of Delhi and beyond and who refused to abide by any agreement made with some of their chiefs.

Mahadji thus had to steer his course through dangerous waters. He had to create instruments which could help him coerce all opposition into submission. He had observed the superior fighting qualities of disciplined troops of the East India Company in Gujarat and in Malwa, and had made up his mind to build his army on the new model. He was fortunate in acquiring the services of the Savoyard soldier, De Boigne. Count Benoit De Boigne first joined Sindia's service at the end of 1784 and raised for him two battalions of infantry with proper equipment of cannon, etc. These battalions first saw service in Bundelkhand under Appa Khande Rao. Later at the battle of Lalsot (28 July, 1787) when the Mughul troops started deserting Sindia, De Boigne's battalions saved the situation in the course of the fighting and during the subsequent retreat. 33a

The Marathas, long used to horsemanship and predatory warfare, looked with disdain on the infantry and refused to be recruited in De Boigne's Campoos. The Savoyard, therefore, was obliged to fill up his battalions from non-Mara tha elements—Rajputs and MusalmanS hailing from Awadh, Rohilkhand and the Doab. Two battalions, though they held back the Rajputs at Lalsot, counted for little in the sea of Maratha cavalry. At the end of 1788 De Boigne asked for permission to raise a full brigade of ten battalions, but was refused, and left Sindia's service for a short while. In 1789 he was recalled, given a jaidad and asked by Sindia to raise a campoo (a brigade) to meet his enemies in the field. This was done and within the course of the next five years De Boigne raised three brigades officered by European soldiers. The new army brought Sindia spectacular successes against Indian rulers, but during the process, the military became completely denationalised. The brigades when pitted against British armies at Assaye and Laswari in 1803, failed miserably, because the European officers deserted them and the rank and file had not grasped the higher tactics and strategy. The famous Maratha cavalry had lost its 41an.

But let us revert to the main narrative. The battle of Lalsot against Rajput combination turned out to be almost a second Panipat on account of the desertion of the emperor’s Hindustani battalions—about 14,000 infantry with 80 pieces of cannon, only two days after the fighting commenced. Mahadji broke off the engagement, sent away his heavy baggage, females and non-combatants to Gwalior by way of Khushalgarh. He himself retreated to the protection of the Jat Raja’s fortress of Dig, recalled his detachments from the north and the east, deposited heavy guns in the fort of Bharatpur and strengthened the garrisons of Aligarh and Agra. 34

For a year Sindia remained in the wilderness. “He showed great fortitude and conduct during the crisis.” 35 He sent fervent

appeals to the Poona Minister to rush him reinforcements and treasure if'he desired him to re-establish Maratha supremacy at the Mughul Court. “Mahadji happened to remark that the Sindia family had made the supreme sacrifice on several occasions previously. Everybody advised him to retreat before the advancing enemy, but to save himself by retiring, he felt, was worse than death.... Ten thousand Maratha troops were surrounded by one hundred thousand Hindustani troops and the Sardar (Mahadji) was therefore anxiously awaiting succour from the South. His condition was like that of the Gajendra who was being dragged into the deep pool by the crocodile.” 36 “We serve”, appealed Mahadji, “a common master; let our exertions be directed to the common cause. Let the cause of the Maratha nation be upheld in Hindustan and prevent our empire from being disunited and overthrown.” 37

Nana's response was tardy; he despatched some treasure and asked ‘Ali Bahadur and TukojI Holkar (Sindia’s rival) to march to the help of Mahadji. ‘Ali Bahadur reached Sindia after a year and Holkar six months later. Mahadji had to act on his own with great circumspection.

Ismail Beg who had succeeded to the leadership of the Hindustani forces, was joined by the Rohilla Ghulam Qadir, and they proceeded to recover Mughul provinces from the Marathas. Aligarh at

once yielded, the small Maratha force at Delhi fled, only Agra held

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out under Lakhba Dada. Ismail Beg with the Rohilla Ghulam Qadir, moved out against Sindia's forces marching to the relief of Agra. At Chaksana, eight miles from Bharatpur, the two armies met (April 1788). The Maratha cavalry cracked before the furious onslaught of the Musalman chiefs, but the day was saved by De Boigne's battalions; the Maratha army withdrew in the failing light of the evening.

The Sikhs were reported to have invaded Ghulam Qadir's jacfir whereupon he marched away to its defence. Sindia's forces once more took the field and this time destroyed Ismail Beg's army on the plains of Agra (18 June, 1788).

Sindia would not proceed to the capital in the wake of the defeated army. He was uncertain of the king's attitude and w'anted to stabilise his position at Agra before moving north. This delay and indecision on the part of Sindia brought disaster on the king and his family. The two desperate Musalman chiefs marched to Delhi, obtained entrance into the red fort through the treachery of Nazir Manzur 'Ali and asked the king to discover to them the hidden treasure in the fort. When the poor man denied knowledge of any concealed wealth, he, with his sons and female members of the family, w~as beaten k tortured and disgraced. In a fit of anger the ruffian Ghulam Qadir, plucked out the eyes of the monarch. Such ill treatment of the royal family was unheard of and Ismail Beg separated from the Rohilla. Ghulam Qadir now knew that the net was closing round him; he sent the plundered wealth to his fort in his ancestral jdgir district and fled from the palace on the night of 1 October. The Maratha army which arrived the next day found the fort strangely silent. The imprisoned princes implored the Maratha general to enter the fort and dccupy it.

Now began the pursuit of the Rohilla chief which ended with his

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capture on 31 December, 1788 and his decapitation and death two months later under the king's orders. Mahadji arrived in the capital and reinstated the emperor with great pomp. He received, in return, confirmation of the dignities of Vakil-i-Mutlaq and Ndib-i-Mundib conferred five years back.

But this did not put an end to his difficulties. ‘Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar who had ostensibly come to Hindustan from the Deccan to help Sindia, wanted the glory of conquest without the pains and toil of campaigning; they began demanding equal shares in the conquests and openly encouraged Sindia’s enemies. Mahadji now realized what a false friend Nana was and decided to go it all alone. De Boigne, who had left Sindia’s service at the end of 1788, was recalled from his exile at Lucknow and was asked to raise one or two brigades in full strength.

Ismail Beg, the Hindustani chief, and the Rajput Rajas were preparing for the coming contest and were sending agents to the British Resident at Lucknow and the Governor-General, soliciting British aid to drive away the Marathas beyond the Narmada. In February 1790, they invaded the country of the Jat Raja, Sindia’s firm ally. It was the beginning of May when Sindia’s army under Gopial Bhau left Gwalior. Ismail Beg was strongly entrenched at Fatan, 80 miles north of Jaipur, and his army—30,000 infantry and 17,000 cavalry—looked almost invincible. But De Boigne’s brigade closed in on the enemy and stormed his lines (20 June, 1790). The enemy gave way on all sides and fled from the field leaving their guns, baggage, behind. ‘Ismail Beg’s fine army was annihilated and Jaipur was knocked out of the ring.’ 38

In the battle of Merta fought on 10 September, 1790 the flower of Rathor cavalry was destroyed by De Boigne’s disciplined troops and the Raja of Jodhpur begged for terms. He was heavily fined;

the fort and the district of Ajmer were surrendered to Sindia as also Sambhar and the stirrounding districts. The power of the Rajput Rajas was broken in one decisive campaign. Ismail Beg was pursued into the fort of Kanud and was at last seized in April 1792. He spent the rest of his life as a prisoner in Agra fort where he died in 1799.

Mahadji after reducing Chitorgarh and restoring it to its rightful owner, marched to the Deccan. He was now the master of Hindustan and he wanted to draw full support for himself from his master the Peshwd and put an end to the sniping of the minister. He reached Poona on 12 June, 1792 and remained in the capital till his death in February, 1794. He wanted a fair and frank discussion of the entire political situation, of the administration of his new conquests, of the rivalry between his house and that of Holkar, of the expenditure incurred by him in raising troops for his new responsibilities and of the tribute to be paid -by him. 39 ' The minister was afraid of losing his position and evaded open discussion. On one occasion "he enumerated his faithful and important services to the Peshwd and his house, declared that he had no object but the augmentation of the power and possessions of the State and if the Peshwd wished that his rival should triumph over him, he was prepared to resign his authority and possessions into his hands. This artful speech made a visible impression on the mind of the young Peshwd and caused him shed tears." 40 In July 1793 Palmer was to report to his superiors of the three chiefs (Mahadji Sindia, Nania Phadnis and Haripant Phadke) entering into mutual engagements to reconcile their differences to support the Peshwd's Government, to confirm the authority of Sindia in Hindustan and to accommodate the dispute between him and Holkar. 41 It is idle to speculate on what happened during the meetings. Seven months later Mahadji was still in Poona. He died at Wanawdi on 12 February, 1794, after a short illness.

Mahadji's death brought all powers into the hands of Nana Phadnis which he directed against the Nizam, the festering ulcer of the Maratha State. The Nizam was defeated and lost half his kingdom. But Nana's glory was short-lived. The Peshwd from whom he derived support, accidentally fell dowm from a palace window or committed suicide (27 October, 1795). The great minister's Wings were clipped and he found himself pitted against lying conspirators and ruffians of the worst type. The dismal story of the last days of the Peshwd's raj has been told elsewhere in this book. Suffice it to say that the last decade of the eighteenth century was one "of constant clashes between Sindias and Holkars, of civil dissensions, monotonous in repetition and appalling in brutality. The brutality stands out because in comparison with the hideous cruelty of Asiatic contemporaries, the Maratha record has been generally humane. But during the last decade of the eighteenth century, as one after another every respectable leader passed away, the nation lost its honourable characteristics, including its humanity.

On occasions, Maratha executions vied in cold-blooded ferocity with the worst of other lands.” 42

Mahadji Sindia died in February, 1794, and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, a boy of fifteen years. Daulat Rao Sindia’s one aim was to obtain ascendancy in the Poona Court, but Nana Phadnis’s to retain it in his hands. But Nana so far had derived his strength from the dead Peshwd. The new Peshwd, Baji Rao Raghunath, refused to be a tool in the hands of Nana and secretly won over Daulat Rao Sindia by promising him fabulous treasure which he did not possess. So when Baji Rao was seated on the musnad with Sindia’s aid (December, 1796) he gave the latter a free hand to realise the amounts from his erstwhile minister, his friends and the rich residents of the capital of Poona. This work Sindia assigned to Sharza Rao Ghatge, his new favourite whose pretty daughter he married. Ghatge was a monster in human form; he let loose on the city the fury of hell. The fair capital of Poona suffered at the will of its own master horrors similar to those suffered by Delhi at the hands of Nadir Shah. 43

The widows of Mahadji Sindia made loud complaints that Daulat Rao was not attending to their needs and had cut down their allowances. Sharza Rao Ghatge who was asked to settle the dispute, dragged the ladies out of their tents and had them whipped. A feeling of horror went up in Sindia’s army where the ladies had sympathisers. They raised the banner of revolt and thus commenced the “widows’ war” which added to the general confusion.

But what brought down the gigantic fabric of Sindia’s empire, reared with such great toil by Mahadji, was Daulat Rao’s vain attempt to subordinate the house of Holkar. Tukojl Holkar died in 1797 and Daulat Rao Sindia immediately took up the cause of the imbecile Kashi Rao Holkar. The other Holkars refused to recognize this succession; their camp was attacked, Malhar Rao II was killed and the force dispersed. One of the Holkars had the misfortune to be captured by the Peshwd's troops. He was brought to Poona and was trampled to death by an elephant under the orders of the Peshwd like

an ordinary felon. His brother Yashwant Rao who escaped to Khandesh, raised an army amongst Holkar adherents and laid waste Sindia’s territories in Malwa. To meet the Holkar challenge, Daulat Rao Sindia at last left

Poona in November 1800, and marching leisurely northward, started sending his battalions in small batches over the Tapi. Yashwant Rao recognizing the folly of his opponent, hurled his cavalry against the scattered battalions of Daulat Rao Sindia and destroyed them piecemeal. MacIntyre was defeated at Newri on 25 June, and on 18 July, 1801, Holkar and his ally Amir Khan advanced on Hessing’s battalions drawn up under the walls of Ujjain. Holkar dispersed Sindia’s horse and a charge made by Amir Khan annihilated the battalions, Hessing alone escaping. Ujjain, Sindi'a’s capital, was laid under a heavy fine. 44

Daulat Rao Sindia calling in his forces from Hindustan and the Deccan, overwhelmed Holkar at Indore on 14 October, 1801, scattered his battalions, captured his guns and sacked the city of Indore. But Daulat Rao was too indolent to pursue his enemy and allowed Holkar to slip away to Khandesh and raise another formidable army to challenge Sindia once more on the plains of Hadapsar (25 October, 1802). Yashwant Rao asked the Peshwa to arbitrate in the dispute with Sindia. He wanted to be declared as Regent to the child Khande Rao in Holkar’s Malwa jdgir and sought parity with Sindia in Hindustan, thus sharing his conquests. The Peshwa was in no position to arbitrate even if he meant to. When Holkar’s army defeated the joint forces of Sindia and the Peshwa at Hadapsar, the Peshufa took to flight and from Bassein negotiated with the English the subsidiary alliance with which to obtain their help to regain his Gadi.

The English were determined to be the dominant power on the Indian continent and too willing to give such help. They took the Peshuba under their protective wings and asked the Maratha confederates to abide by the treaty made with the Peshwa. Sindia understood that the treaty spelt an end of his supremacy and evaded reply to gain time to build an alliance with Bhosle and Holkar against the English. The British would not put up with the delay and declared war on him. At the same time, they issued a proclamation asking Sindia’s European officers (about 300) to leave him. In two sanguinary battles fought at Assaye (23 September, 1803) and at Argaon (28 November), Sindia’s French-trained campoos in the Deccan were soundly beaten. In the northern theatre his general Perron abandoned the army at the eleventh hour and the leaderless host was almost annihilated by the English C-in-C, Lord Lake, in the battles of Aligarh (4 September), Delhi (11 September) and Laswari (1 November, 1803). In twelve weeks' fighting Sindia's* army numbering 43,000 infantry, 35,000 cavalry and 464 guns were destroyed. By the treaty of Sarje Anjangaon concluded on 30 December, 1803, Sindia "ceded to the Company all his forts, territories and rights in the country situated between the Jamuna and the Ganga, also his territories with forts in the countries to the northward of those of the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur. He likewise ceded to the Company the fort of Broach and territory depending thereon, the fort of Ahmadnagar and surrounding territory, all territories southward of the Ajanta hills including Jalnapur and Gandapur districts. He also renounced all claims on the British Government and their allies, the Subahdar of the Deccan, the Peshwd and Anand Rao Gaik war." Sindia found it difficult to reconcile himself to such huge losses (almost one crore and 25 lakhs revenue) but the return of Gwalior and Gohad and the conciliatory policy initiated by Cornwallis brought him round and in 1804 he accepted-even a subsidiary force of 6,000 regular infantry. 45

The next ten or fifteen years Daulat Rao employed in reducing the numerous petty chieftains of Central India and adjoining territories who owed him tribute. The curious may read of his activities during the decade in Broughton's Letters from the Mahratta Camp.

Two events during the period deserve notice. One was Sharza Rao Ghatge's violent end in 1809. Sharza Rao was killed by two of Sindia's chiefs in a scuffle; and the other was Daulat Rao Sindia selecting a site near Gwalior in 1810 for pitching his camp. The camp developed into the chief town, superseding the former capital of Ujjain.

The result of Sindia's warfare in Central India was all-round devastation and the rising menace of the Pindaris. Once he was free from the Nepal war, Lord Hastings made grand preparations to put down the Pindaris. He peremptorily demanded of Sindia to join the British force or be prepared to face the consequences. Sindia meekly signed the treaty of Gwalior in November 1817, promising the fullest co-operation. A readjustment of boundaries was effected. Daulat Rao died in March 1827 at the comparatively young age of forty-eight. A life of pleasure cut short a career which had witnessed momentous events. Broughton thus describes his appearance in 1809. “He is turned of thirty; about five feet five inches in height and inclined to be fat. His complexion is rather dark and

his features agreeable. But his appearance indicates a debauchee. He was dressed in a plain manner but wore several strings of pearls and uncut diamonds round his neck, of which he is particularly vain.” 46

The Gwalior state about the middle of the last century was said to contain 2,500,000 souls and to yield a revenue of Rs. 95,00,000, quite considerable taking into account the losses incurred by the treaties of 1803, 1817 and 1844.

V. The Holkars of Indore:

The Holkar family is wide-spread all over Maharashtra. They belong to the shepherd caste, a sturdy tribe with habits of outdoor living and moving from one pasture to another. The transformation of the Dhangars into Marathla warriors was therefore smooth and easily accounted for. The first of the Holkars to rise to eminence was Malhar Rao. The family’s first place of residence was Wafgaon in Khed taluka near Poona from which they moved to Hoi Murum near Jejuri on the Neera river, forty miles south-east of Poona. The Holkars take their name from the village of Hoi where Malhar Rao Holkar’s father, Khan<Juj!, was a respectable cultivator and chaugula. To him was born Malhar! on 16 March, 1693. The father died when Malhar! was barely three years old. The mother then left the village to stay with her brother Bhojraj Bargal at Talode in Khandesh district. The district was no man’s land, both the Mughuls and the Marathas claiming overlordship of the territories. Bhojraj instead of tending sheep, had raised a pathak —a body of mounted troops with which he served under Kanthaj! Kadam Bande, and in which he accommodated his nephew as soon as he could ride a horse and wield a lance. The story recorded in Holkar Kaifiyat and repeated by Malcolm in his Central India, 1 of Malhar! tending a flock of sheep, falling into sleep and being protected by a cobra from the sun’s rays is apocryphal. Malhar Rao Holkar came to the notice of Peshwd Baj! Rao when he fought the Nizam in 1720. In 1721 Malhar Rao fell out with Bande 2 and entered the Peshwd’s services. His local knowledge of Khandesh topography was of great use to the Peshwd and his rise from that year was meteoric. In 17J25 he was granted the command of 500 horse and

was active on the northern frontier of Khandesh. Holkar with Ranoj! Sindia and Udaj! Pawar took a leading part in the battle of Amjhera (29 November, 1728) in which the Subdhdar of Malwa, Girdhar Bahadur, 3 and his army defending the province were destroyed. From

that date Malhar Rao became the right hand man of the Peshwa. in Malwa and all other northern enterprises. In 1730 he was appointed Subdhdar of Prant Malwa and was made responsible for the collection of chauth from that province, with RanojI Sindia as his collaborator. 4

In the absence of the Peshwa in Malwa between 1729-1735 Malhar Rao Holkar kept the Maratha flag flying in that region. He made the governorship of Muhammad Khan Bangash (1729-32) difficult by attacking him at Sarangpur in June 1731 and marching to Sironj next year. Bangash realised that he was no match for the numerous cavalry led by Holkar and came to an understanding, with the latter by granting him the chauth of Malwa. 5

In Octooer, 1731, the Peshwa divided the work of realising the chauth of Malwa between Holkar, Sindia and the Pawars. 6 In 1733 a Maratha force under Holkar and Sindia surrounded the new subah dar of Malwa, Sawai Jay Singh, near Mandasor and levied tribute from 28 pargands of the province. In 1734 they again entered Malwa, marched up to Bund! and seated on the Gadi the rightful heir, Budh Singh. 7 In February 1735 Holkar led a force against Khan Dauran Mir Bakhshi and crossing the Mukundra pass, cut the Mughul army's line of communication. Khan Dauran's allies, the Rajput Rajas, became anxious to save their kingdoms from devastation. The Mir Bakhshi thus finding fighting to be useless, agreed to pay the Marathas 22 lakhs of rupees as chauth for Malwa and went back. 8

In 1736 when the Peshwa led an expedition to the north, Holkar worked under him. As Abhay Singh of Marwar was opposing Maratha ambitions and had joined the Turani party at the Court, Holkar at the head of a large force marched into Marwar. He visited and laid under contribution Merta, Nagore, Ajmer. The talks with Sawai Jay Singh proved inconclusive and next year the Peshwa marched on to Delhi. Malhar Rao took conspicuous part in the fighting with Sa'adat Khan and the imperial force outside the walls of the capital. 9 Next year he was present at the battle of Bhopal. 10

After defeating the Nizam, Holkar and Sindia were sent against Kota. 11 When in 1741 the royal orders were issued appointing the Peshwa governor of Malwa, Holkar and Sindia appeared in the deed as guarantee for the Peshwa's loyalty. 12

Peshwa Baji Rao passed away in 1740 to be succeeded by his son BalajI. BalajI lacked the statesmanship and military leadership of his father and was not clear about Maratha ideals. His grand-father

and father had established friendly relations with the Rajput chiefs and it appeared that the Marathas in alliance with the Rajput chiefs, would form a great confederacy and bring Mughul rule under their joint control. But Balaji on the advice of Malhar Rao Holkar, worked against the healthy tradition of fraternising with the Rajput chiefs and started levying heavy tribute on them under the pretext of mediating in their succession disputes. Thus Jaipur, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bundl, Kota and other Rajput states were alienated and the Marathas came to be looked on as enemies and found themselves isolated. 13

Another reason for Maratha isolation was their association with the adventurer, Ghazi-ud-Din, the most unscrupulous man to become Vazir of the Mughul empire. He despoiled the royal palace, murdered one emperor and grossly mismanaged affairs. The support lent to this diplomat brought great odium on the Marathas and made them enemies of the Mughul nobility. When Ahmad Shah Abdall invaded India on the appeal of Najib Khan, formed a league with the Rohillas and other Muslim chiefs, and surrounded the grand Maratha army at Panipat, no Indian power came to their rescue and their army was annihilated on 14 January, 1761.

It was fortunate that Abdali did not stay in India after his victory at Panipat. Holkar who had escaped unscathed from that carnage, defeated a great Rajput rising at the battle of Mangrol (30 November, 1761). 14 He went to the Deccan and helped the Peshwd win his spectacular victory over the Nizam at Rakshasbhuvan on 10 August, 1763. 15 But Holkar's cavalry armed mainly with swords and lances, was in no position to face the East India Company's force fighting in formations with long-range fire arms like guns and cannon. Shuja-ud-daulah who had suffered at the hands of the English at the battle of Buxar in October, 1764, called in Malhar Rao

Holkar to his aid. The British force advanced to Kora and routed the Maratha horse (3 May, 1765). 16 "The guerilla warfare of the Marathas was doomed." 17

Malhar Rao Holkar died next year at Alampur (40 miles from Gwalior) on 20 May 1766. 15 His only son, Khande Rao, had predeceased him, being killed by a stray shot fired from the walls of Kumbher. The succession descended to Malhar's grandson, Male Rao. Male Rao sank into insanity and died within a year of his succession. 19 Khande Rao's widow, Ahalya Bai, who was managing the j&gir during Malhar Rao's last days, now became the head of the administration defeating the intrigue of Raghunath Rao and the Hol

kar's Diwdn, Gangadhar Yashwant, to seize Holkar's private treasure and put a minor on the Holkar Gadi. 2()

She had offered to do Sati on the death of her husband but had been dissuaded from the extreme sacrifice by her grief-stricken fatherin-law. She combined talent, virtue and energy which made her a blessing to the country over which she ruled.

Ahalya Bai appointed Tukoji Holkar, a trusted officer of Malhar Rao Holkar but no relation, to the command of the army. The divided authority continued for about thirty years undisturbed by jealousy or ambition. 21 The main reason for this was the competence with which Ahalya Bai managed the civil affairs, the support she gave to Sindia (Rs. 30 lakhs in loan) 22 and the sanctity she gained by her charities. Tukoji who owed his elevation to the lady, remained content with military command.

The private hoard of the family calculated at 20 lakhs of rupees remained with Ahalya Bai. Besides, she had personal estates yielding annually about four lakhs, which with the above hoard she expended at her discretion. All the rest of government revenue was brought into a general account and applied to the general expenditure of the government. Accounts were kept with scrupulous exactness. After paying civil and military charges Ahalya Bai sent the balance to supply the exigencies of the army employed abroad. 23

"The character of her administration was for more than 30 years the basis of the prosperity which attended the Holkar dynasty; it continued to sustain its rank during her life as one of the principal branches of the Maratha empire. The management of all the provinces in Malwa and Nemaur was her peculiar department and her great object was, by just and moderate government, to improve the condition of the country, while she promoted the happiness of her subjects. She maintained but a small force, independent of the territorial militia, but her troops were sufficient, aided by the equity of her administration to preserve tranquillity; and she relied on the army of the State actively employed in Hindustan and the Deccan, and her own reputation, for safety against all external enemies." 24

Ahalya Bai took upon herself the direct management of affairs and sat everyday for a considerable time in open Durbar, transacting business. Her first principle was moderate assessment and sacred respect for the rights of village officers and proprietors of land, and quick justice. .She referred cases to courts of equity and arbitration (Panchdyats) and to her ministers for settlement, but

when appeals were made to her decision, she heard every complaint in person with great patience.

The success of Ahalya Bai in the internal administration of her domains was altogether remarkable. Raj wade in the introduction to the first volume of his Sadhanen traces the failure of the Marathas in Hindustan to their failure to work out the ideal of Maharashtra Dharma in a wider perspective. If only they could have emulated Ahalya Bai and succeeded in evolving good and just administration in their northern conquests as the lady did, the people of Hindustan might have gladly accepted their rule. So efficient were the relations which Ahalya Bai established with foreign powers that her territories were rarely invaded during her life-time. She was indulgent to the peaceable class and just and considerate towards the predatory. She had no occasion to change her minister or her revenue collectors. Her capital, Indore, she always regarded with particular consideration; and under her fostering care, from a village, it developed into a prosperous city and wealthy mart for Malwa products. The fond object of her life was to promote the prosperity of all around her; she rejoiced when she saw bankers, merchants, farmers and cultivators rise to affluence and considered their prosperity a legitimate claim to increased favour and protection.

When the family treasure came into her possession, she appropriated it for the purpose of charity and good works. She built several fords (Ghats) and at that of Jaum, constructed a linking road with great labour and cost over the Vindhya range. She spent considerable sums on religious edifices at Maheshwar and built many temples, rest-houses (Dharmashdlds) and wells throughout the Holkar dominions. But her munificence was not limited to her own territories; at all the places of Hindu pilgrimage in the east, west, north and south—Jagannath Puri, Dwaraka, Kedarnath and Rameshwar—she built holy edifices, maintained establishments to feed the poor and the brahmins, and sent annual sums to be distributed in charity. Besides fixed annual disbursements to her establishments at the holy shrines of India, proportionate sums were remitted to other sanctuaries. She also took pleasure in supplying holy Ganga water to many shrines in the south to wash the sacred deities. Religion was one of the elements which inclined her to these charities and good deeds; but they also proceeded from wisdom and benevolence. Like St. Francis of Assisi her compassion extended not only to her own kind but also to beasts of the field, birds of the air and fish of the river. “The peasant near Maheshwar used in hot days to see his yoke of oxen stopped during their labour to be refreshed with water brought by a servant of Ahalya Bai; while fields she had purchased were covered with flocks of birds driven by cultivators from destroying their grain.” 25 She refused to be drawn in rivalry with Mahadji Sindia when he was extending his influence over imperial affairs and raising campoos (European trained infantry) to beat down his enemies. Foreign diplomacy and conquests of the Maratha State she left to such stalwarts like Mahadji Sindia, Nana Phadnis, Haripant Phadke and Parashuram Bhau. On charities she spent from her private sources. State revenues she applied to State administration and this was the field in which she excelled. Under her careful management, the territories of Holkar enjoyed peace and prosperity unknown before and which no amount of military expenditure could have secured. She seems to have anticipated long before, Morley’s dictum that “the distinctive mark of the true statesman is a passion for good, wise and orderly government.” 26 She won empire over the hearts of the people and was held in the highest regard by the neighbouring rulers, the Peshwu, the Nizam and even Tipu Sultan, and was sanctified during her life time. Sardesai’s judgement that “the pious lady Ahalya Bai could hardly control the disorder in her own house or the external politics in which Sindia now attained prominence;"while she was lavish in her charities, she did not see the necessity of improving her armies on the new model or of co-operating with Sindia,” 27 seems very uncharitable and perverse. To Sardesai perhaps, the blaring of war trumpets, the clattering of war horses and the roar of cannon sounded sweeter than the ringing of temple-bells and laughter of children in their farm-houses.

The above eulogy of Ahalya Bai should not mislead the reader into the belief that Holkar’s force was turned into a peace corps after the death of Malhar Rao. It participated in the great northern expedition of 1769-72, fought in Gujarat, Konkan and at Talegaon, in the first Anglo-Maratha war. It again saw some fighting when the Peshwa led his forces against Tipu Sultan in 1786.

The years 1788-93 the Holkars wasted in meaningless rivalry with Mahadji Sindia at Nana’s bidding. At Lakheri (1 June, 1793) the Holkar troops led by the braggart Malhar Rao Holkar were soundly beaten, thus ending a long family dispute. It was sad to see the two main props of the* Maratha confederacy working against each other and in the end weakening the entire structure. Mahadji died in 1794 to be followed by Ahalya Bai next year. Tukoji Holkar lingered on for another two years, but was too old and ill to take any effective part in the diplomatic game that was then being played between the great Nana Phadnis, the wicked Baji Rao Raghunath Peshwid and the youthful but unwise Daulat Rao Sindia. Nana was imprisoned and sent to Ahmadnagar fort. Two of Tukoji’s sons were eliminated in the time’s confusion. 28 The paralytic and imbecile Kashi Rao became a tool in the hands of Sindia.

But the adherents of Holkar’s house gathered round the flag of Yashwant Rao Holkar who fled from Poona to Nagpur and then reappeared in Malwa.

Yashwant Rao gave out that he was fighting on behalf of the young Khande Rao to preserve the honour of the Holkar house. He raised an army into which all classes—Pindaris, Bhils, Afghans, Marathas and Rajputs were indiscriminately admitted. Yashwant Rao had no fixed country, so he sustained his huge army by all-round plunder. Holkar's war with Daulat Rao Sindia has been treated in gruesome detail elsewhere • (Chapter XV). From their time began what is known in Maratha history as Gardi Ka Wakt or the period of trouble (1800-1818). Malwa never witnessed such devastation as it did in the two years, 1801 and 1802 when Sindia and Holkar were struggling to get the better of the other. Sindia offered to release Malhar Rao Holkar's infant son and with him all the Holkar possessions if Yashwant Rao would cease from further spoliation of his territories. But the latter now came forward with fresh demands of cessions from Mahadji Sindia's new conquests. On this being refused, Yashwant Rao prepared to carry on the war on an extended scale in a new theatre of war. He moved southward to the Deccan asking the Peshwa to mediate in the dispute. 29 The Peshwa, even if he meant to do so, was in no position to dictate to his powerful feudatories. A battle was fought between the two sides at Hadapsar on 25 October, 1802, in which the joint forces of the Peshwa and Sindia suffered a total defeat and Daulat Rao's friend, the Peshwa, fled the capital. Yashwant Rao Holkar sent many messages to the Peshwa to return to his capital, assuring him of his loyalty and devotion. But the Peshwa felt he could save himself and fight the peril only by purchasing military aid from the English. The latter were only too glad to extend to him the subsidiary alliance, make the Peshutfi their subordinate and break the power of the Maratha confederacy. Holkar tried to build an alliance sending envoys to the Nizam, Sindia and Bhosle. But such was the deep-rooted jealousy between the parties that they could not agree on a common programme. While the British were making military arrangements to break the power of the Maratha confederates, the Marathas wasted time in fruitless negotiations.

The Peshwd himself was dismayed by some of the articles in the treaty of Bassein. He sent out secret messages to Daulat Rao Sindia and the Bhosle to do something to save him from the British clutches. Daulat Rao Sindia came to the Deccan and made appeals to all Maratha chiefs to rescue the Peshwd from British captivity. But the appeal fell on deaf ears. Anand Rao Gaikwar and the Nizam had already bartered away their independence, the Patwardhans and the Rastes had been won over, and British diplomacy took care that Holkar would not join the confederates by putting in his hands some incriminating correspondence in which Sindia had declared his intentions of pursuing Holkar as soon as the English were out of the way. The new model army on which Sindia prided himself, was made innocuous by persuading the European officers to leave their commands. In five months' campaigning, four major battles and three secondary actions had been fought. Sindia's army of 40,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry was ground to dust and lost upwards of a thousand field guns. The only help Holkar gave to Sindia was his advice to fight in the Maratha style and not face the English with his regular army—advice to which Sindia did not pay much attention.

With superb Machiavellianism Yashwant Rao Holkar had held aloof from the confederacy in the hope that the war would be a long-drawn affair and that he would join it when both sides were exhausted and he could claim the credit for ultimate victory. The speed of the British victories however left him no chance to intervene. Overlooking the divided counsels among the Marathas he attributed the British success to the treachery of the French officers in Sindia's service and the imbecility of the confederates in not pursuing the traditional warfare and foraging in the enemy's country with their light cavalry and conserving their infantry and guns under the protection of their forts.

Meanwhile when Sindia and Bhosle were fighting the British, Holkar left the Deccan, plundered Ujjain, Mandasor and then marched towards Jaipur levying tribute on the Rajput Rajas. The Rajputs had accepted British suzerainty and Holkar's action was thus a challenge to the Company's authority. The British for a time took no notice of Holkar's activities as they had the war on their hand. But Lord Wellesley, Governor-General, had marked out Yashwant Rao Holkar for punishment when a convenient time came. He wrote to Lord Lake on 9 January, 1804, "the authority exercised by Jeswant Rao Holkar, in the name of Khande Rao over the possessions of Holkar family is manifestly an usurpation of the rights of Cashi Rao Holkar,

the legitimate heir and successor of Tukoji Holkar. Consistently therefore with the principles of justice no arrangement can. be proposed between the British Government and Jeswant Rao which would exclude Cashi Rao from his hereditary dominions." 30

"Under the Peshwa's authority the British Government would be justified in adopting measures for the limitation of Jeswant Rao's power and the restoration of Cashi Rao's rights either by force or compromise, and the spirit of our engagements with the Peshwa imposes on us obligations to conjply with a requisition from the Peshwa: of this sort." 31 The real reason for the Governor-General's solicitude for Kashi Rao Holkar's legitimate rights was Yashwant Rao Holkar's "enterprising spirit, military character and ambitious views which rendered the reduction of his power a desirable object with reference to the complete establishment of tranquillity in India," or in other words, British supremacy in India.

By article 12 of the treaty of Bassein, the Peshwa "engaged never to commit any act of aggression against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta empire", and Arthur Wellesley was assuring Holkar that 'so long as you do not interfere with the legitimate interest of the Company, or their allies, we have no desire to come in your way'. The Governor-General, however, took the opposite view and told Lord Lake on 17 January, 1804 to convey to Yashwant Rao Holkar that "the British Government was disposed to arbitrate the differences between him and his half-brother and to adjust the claims of the several branches of the family on the principles of equity and justice." Wellesley held that it was his business to settle every one else's business on the lines that seemed to him right—on the lines that gave the British supremacy op the Indian continent. Yashwant Rao Holkar not only rejected the offer, but sent his vakil to Sindia proposing an alliance and renewal of war. He also wrote letters to the Rajas of Nagpur, Jodhpur, Macheri and several other chiefs calling upon them to rise against the allgrasping power of the British. Wisdom had dawned on Yashwant Rao rather late and the appeal had been made to the victims of his rapacity, and they were too glad to forward these letters to the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Lake.

To Lord Lake who had offered to mediate in his dispute and arrange his affairs, Yashwant Rao sent in March, 1804, several extravagant proposals. He asked for Haryana and territory in Bundelkhand, and districts in the Ganga-Jamuna Doab formerly held by his family, as well as what he now occupied; also that his right to levy chaiuth on other districts should be recognised. 32 These proposals were rejected and Holkar was asked to return to his own dominions before any talks could start with him. Holkar wrote to Arthur Wellesley and the Governor-General in defiant terms. If his request was not acceded to, he declared “countries of many hundred coss should be overrun and burnt. That the Commander-inChief should not have leisure to breathe for a moment and that calamities should fall on lacs of human beings by the attacks of Holkar’s army which overwhelms like the waves of sea.” 33

On 16 April, 1804, war was declared against Holkar both in Hindustan and the Deccan. “The basis of that plan was a combination of the movements and operations of the British troops and those of Daulat Rao Sindia and Gaikwar acting against the forces and territories of Holkar from Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan, while the main British army pursued Holkar from Hindustan.” 34

But nothing worked according to plan. “Holkar’s power resided not in the extent of his territory, but in the number of his adherents. His standard was the common rallying point of all the disbanded soldiery of upper India and such other restless spirits. His empire indeed was the empire of the saddle. Holkar was bold, lawless and unscrupulous and he had sixty-thousand horsemen and an imposing park of artillery at his call.” 35 Holkar was not going to fight pitched battles and throw his men against cannon; he reverted to guerilla tactics and fought in the traditional Maratha style.

There were four main phases of the war. Lake opened the offensive with a thrust southwards through Central India, preceded by a detachment under

Col. Monson, while Col. John Murray began an advance on Indore with another force from Gujarat. Monson and Murray were to join their forces. But the plan miscarried and Monson after having advanced fifty miles in Holkar's territory beyond Mukundra pass, began his disastrous retreat on 8 July. Holkar's full fury was let loose on his five battalions, six companies and 3,000 irregular horse. Next day the irregular horse was attacked and destroyed. The Raja of Kota refused to give shelter to Monson's battalions and the troops plodded on through the quagmire that Malwa had become in torrential rains. The rivers had swollen and become impassable. Puns had to be spiked and abandoned. While crossing rivers and nallahs British troops were attacked by Holkar's hordes at Rampura, Khushalgarh and Hindaun. On 31 August the

broken army reached Agra in a state of utter demoralisation and disorder.

Yashwant Rao Holkar was now the man of the hour. Round his standard gathered thousands of soldiers released from service in the armies of Sindia and Bhosle. With his ranks swollen to nearly 1,00,000 men Yashwant Rao returned to Hindustan, flushed with victory. He triumphantly marched to Mathura, which the British abandoned. All Hindustan lay within Holkar's grasp and for a moment it looked as if "he would succeed in restoring Maratha supremacy over India." 36

But Holkar made a serious mistake; he remained revelling at Mathura for four precious weeks with the stocks of wine and liquor abandoned by the British. Thus, when he made an attempt to storm Delhi and take possession of the emperor in October, it was too late. The enemy had used the respite to put the capital's defences in proper shape.

In the meanwhile the British Commander-in-Chief was not lying idle. He left Kanpur on 3 September and arrived within the vicinity of Agra on 22 September. He pushed on to Delhi and on 18 October Delhi was relieved.

Foiled in his attempt to occupy the capital, Holkar now determined to harass the enemy in the true Maratha style. He sent his infantry and heavy artillery to the protection of the fort of Dig and himself moved northward and then crossed into the Doab below Panipat. Lake was confronted with a difficult choice; he had to pursue Holkar and at the same time destroy his infantry. He divided his forces, sent Col. Frazer with infantry and artillery against Dig, while he himself started in pursuit of Yashwant Rao who threatened to lay waste the Doab and the Nawab Vazvr's territory. Holkar's infantry was brought to battle on 13 November and scattered to four winds. Four days later at Farrukhabad, Lake was able to surprise Holkar's cavalry while the men were lying asleep. The 60,000 cavalry force which had accompanied Holkar to Farrukhabad was reduced to half its size.

Holkar's power was broken. For a while he sustained his position by the valiant defence his force, joined by the Jats, made at Rharatpur. Sindia declared that he intended to march to Bharatpur to mediate between the warring parties. But the Jat Raja made a treaty with the British on 17 April 1805 and Holkar retreated from Hindustan with an army defeated and disgraced and with its equipment lost.

The two defeated leaders met at Sabalgarh in May; despite early fraternizing, differences soon appeared. Sindia did not like

to be "subjected to frequent demands of a pecuniary nature and the outrageous insolence with which these requisitions are insisted on by Jaswant Rao Holkar." 37 Sindia and Holkar parted company, Holkar resting with his diminished army in Mewar. He then proceeded to the Punjab hoping Ranjit Singh and the Afghans beyond Punjab might rise with him against the British. But Ranjit Singh gave no encouragement to Holkar's chimerical scheme and Yashwant Rao was too glad to come to an understanding with the British by the treaty of Rajpoor Ghat on 24 December, 1805. 38 By the treaty Yashwant Rao was recognised as the legal ruler of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa and Haroti; Chandore and Amber were to be restored to the family after two years.

Yashwant Rao's health had been undermined by nine years' long struggle and habits of a dissipated life. After returning from the Punjab he started casting cannon and attempting improvements in his army with an ardour and violence that indicated the onset of insanity. The defeat had unsettled his mind and he soon sank into complete insanity in which condition he lingered till his death on 20 October, 1811.

Yashwant Rao Holkar is idolised in certain quarters because he inflicted a crushing defeat on a British force and gave them some anxious time. But after watching his career one cannot but come to the conclusion that he was not the man who could have revived Maratha glory. He lacked Shivaji's virtue and his organizing capacity.

Yashwant Rao left behind a son, Malhar Rao. During his minority the regency was assumed by Yashwant Rao's favourite mistress Tulsa Bai. But there was utter chaos in the State and the army became insubordinate. When Tulsa Bai tried to come to an understanding with the British Government she was murdered. Holkar's army sustained a complete defeat at Mahidpur. On 6 January, 1818, the treaty of Mandasor was concluded by which Holkar gave up all his claims to territories in Rajputana, Khandesh, Bundelkhand, agreed to keep a small force of 3,000 and accepted a subsidiary force. 39 Holkar's independence was gone and the State lingered on as a feudatory of the British Government.

VI. The Gaikwars of Baroda:

The house of the Gaikwars of Baroda was considered as one of the four pillars of Maratha Confederacy, though the Gaikwars, for

a long time, did not owe allegiance to the Peshwas, considering themselves as subordinates to the Sendpati. After the defeat and death of Trimbak Rao Dabhade Sendpati in April 1731 at the battle of Dabhoi, the house of the Sendpati exerted little influence over the army or the province of Gujarat. It was in 1751 that Damaji Gaikwar who had revolted against the Peshwd, was brought to heel, surrendered half of Gujarat to the Peshwd and agreed to accept his hegemony.

The Gaikwars were the hereditary Patels of Davdi, a village near Talegaon in Poona district, and rose in the services of Sendpati Dabhade. They were associated with the Sendpati from the beginning in the conquest of the province of Gujarat. The founder of the house was Damaji, grandson and son of Nandaji and KerojI respectively. He so distinguished himself in the battle of Balapur (1720) that on his return to Satara, the Sendpati recommended his lieutenant to the Raja's notice, in the warmest terms. 1 Unfortunately Damaji died too soon to enjoy the favours of the Raja.

Khande Rao Dabhade was advanced in years and though he participated in the Karnatak campaign of 1725-26, and in the Palkhed campaign (1728), against the Nizam, he had lost his vigour and left affairs to his son Trimbak Rao and his subordinate PilajI Gaikwar.

The decade from 1721 to 1731 forms a period of great confusion in the history of Gujarat. Maratha armies had entered the province of Gujarat and levied contributions there since the first decade of the 18th century. Raja Shahu, therefore, in the draft treaty he sent to Sayyid Husain ‘All in 1718, had demanded the chauth of Gujarat and Malwa, along with that of the six subdhs of Deccan. This had been refused in the final treaty, the emperor conceding only the chauth of the Deccan. But Baglan and Gujarat were assigned to Sendpati Dabhade as his sphere of activity and he was asked to make good his claims by arms. This was the time when the Mughul empire was crumbling and governors of distant provinces like Nizam-ul-Mulk, ‘All VardI Khan, Sa‘adat Khan and others were becoming independent and carving out kingdoms, and petty Musalman Amirs like the governors of Surat, Broach and Cambay were becoming Nawabs. The Marathas posed a serious challenge to Mughul authority. Peshwd BajI Rao, Malharjl and PilajI Gaikwar invaded Mughul provinces of Khandesh, Balaghat, Gujarat and Malwa.

The last three had for their objective the conquest of Gujarat which they carried out sometimes in combination, sometimes independently of each other. The prize in the beginning was not the

acquisition of territory, but the right to extract from the emperor’s viceroy the chauth or fourth part of the revenues.

Pilajl, the adopted son of DamajI, was first given the command of about fifty horse and was stationed at Navapura. Pilajl soon joined the main force of the Sendpati at Talegaon. Owing to his sagacity and energy he rose to the leadership of a pdgu. He took his post at Songarh (border of Surat district), a hill in the wilderness difficult of access, belonging to Bhils and Kolis of the region. Songarh henceforth became the cradle of the Gaikwar house.

Pilajl conciliated the local hill-people and made an alliance with the Raja of Rajpipla, and started systematically encroaching on Gujarat. In 1720 he made an excursion into northern Gujarat and obtained a portion of the chauth of that part of Gujarat. In 1723 he marched on Surat and defeated the governor of that place, Momin Khian, after which his levy of chauth in Surat athavisi became a •regular feature. In his enterprise he was joined by the Desais or Patels of Padra, Chhani and Bhayali in the Baroda pargana. Their local knowledge of the region was of great value to Pilajl Gaikwar.

While Pilajl was operating in south Gujarat, the Peshwd invited UdajI Pa war to co-operate with him in Malwa and the bordering districts of north Gujarat. He gave him a letter (3 December, 1722) that the Pawars would receive for their services twenty-five per cent of the entire mokassa or revenue of Gujarat. Another chief who was active in the region was KanthajI Kadam Bande who had established himself in north Khandesh and carried raids both in Malwa and Gujarat.

The situation in Gujarat became further complicated by the frequent changes in the governorship of the province. Haidar Quli Khan, emperor Muhammad Shah’s favourite, took over as Subahdar in June, 1722, but quit the province within less than a year (16 February, 1723). Nizam-ul-Mulk who was then functioning as Vazir, took upon himself the governorship and appointed his uncle Hamid Khan as deputy governor (12 February, 1723). Nizam-ul-Mulk did not retain the province long. He resigned the office of Vazir and with it the governorship of Gujarat and Malwa in December, 1723.

Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk was the next governor. He nominated Shuja‘at Khan, a local nobleman, as his deputy and Rustam ‘All Khan as governor of Surat. The official orders about the new changes reached Ahmadabad in August 1724. The new deputy asked peremptorily the man in office, Hamid Khan, to vacate the

governor^ palace in the city. He trained guns on the palace to force Hamid Khan to leave the city immediately. Hamid Khan left the city and reaching Dohad, 110 miles from the capital, reported the matter to his patron, Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Nizam was sour with the Court for the shabby treatment meted out to him and to his followers and entered into engagements with Kanthaji Kadam Bande offering him the chauth of Gujarat in return for assistance to his uncle Hamid Khan. At the end of the rainy season Kanthaji joined Hamid Khan with 20,000 horse and marched on Ahmadabad. Shuja'at Khan was taken unawares. About four kos from the city his force was attacked and dispersed by the allies, Shuja‘at Khan himself being killed. On the next day (17 December, 1724) Hamid Khan re-entered the city from which he had been driven out five months back. The chavCth and sardeshmukhi of Gujarat was granted to Kanthaji. He sent out his agents to Viramgaon to levy ransom. Meanwhile Hamid Khan turned out the imperial officers and took possession of the province. Henceforward the revenues of the province were lost to the emperor.

As soon as the news of the revolt of Hamid Khan reached Delhi, orders were issued by the Court to Rustam ‘Ali Khan, Governor of Surat, to draw money from Surat treasury and raise a force to oppose Hamid Khan. He offered terms of alliance to PilajI Gaikwar, and with his new ally, marched from Surat to Ahmadabad. The two forces sighted each other near Aras on* 7 February, 1725. During the night Hamid Khan sent his agents to PilajI Gaikwar and won him over. When, on the next day, issues were joined, Rustam ‘All Khan found himself deserted by his Maratha ally and was overwhelmed by the joint forces of Hamid Khan and Kanthaji Kadam Bande. Then Hamid Khan bestowed on PilajI Gaikwar half of the chauth of Gujarat which he had promised to Kanthaji. Naturally the two Maratha allies of Hamid Khan came to blows over the spoils and fought each other near Cambay. Hamid Khan needed the support of his two allies, and interceding, granted the chauth of north Gujarat to Kadam Bande, and of south Gujarat to PilajI Gaikwar. 2

Sarbuland Khan’s governorship proved altogether ineffective. He drove out Hamid Khan but was powerless against Maratha hordes. He came to an understanding with the Peshwd by granting him chauth of Gujarat. Dabhade Sendpati resented this intrusion in his sphere. The rivalry between the two Maratha chiefs ended in the Senapati’s defeat at Dabhoi in 1731. (For details see Chapter IV). The Peshwd’s action was resented at the Court and he was asked to restore the Gujarat tribute to the Sendpati’s successor.

Having established his primacy among Maratha chiefs, Peshwa BajI Rao in deference to the Raja’s wishes, withdrew from Gujarat for a while. The post of Sendpati was conferred on Trimbak Rao’s younger brother, Yashwant

Rao. Uma Bai, the mother of Trimbak Rao, became the guardian of the young man, and Pilaji Gaikwar worked as his deputy. The Gaikwar had now at his disposal the resources of the Sendpati. He was the master of Songarh, Baroda and Dabhoi, and was the ally of the Bhils and Kolis of the region and the friend of the local zaminddrs. He almost overwhelmed the Subdhdar, Abhay Singh. Abhay Singh resorted to treachery to get rid of his enemy. He invited Pilaji to a conference at Dakore and had him murdered. But the foul deed brought him no advantage. PilajI's son, Damaji, took the field against the Subdhdar, and with his allies of the hills, marched on Ahmadabad, sending a part of his horse into Marwar. Abhay Singh retired to Jodhpur to defend his patrimony, leaving Ratan Singh Bhandari to oppose the Marathas. Ratan Singh could not succeed where his master, with greater resources, had failed. Baroda was reoccupied by the Gaik wars in 1734. In 1735 the chauth of the northern half of Gujarat passed to the Gaikwar after he had defeated his rival Bande at Anand Mogri, 25 miles south-east of Kaira and expelled him from that district. In 1737 the viceroyalty of the province was transferred to Momin Khan, the Governor of Cambay. Finding that he could not drive out the Marwaris without external aid, he invited Damaji Gaikwar to his help promising him half the revenue of Gujarat, except that from his own jdgir lands in Ahmadabad and Cambay. The alliance was kept up till the death of Momin Khan, which occurred in 1743. In 1738 Ratan Singh Bhandari was driven out of Ahmadabad. Damaji Gaikwar came to occupy half the city of Ahmadabad, sup^

pressed Kolis round Viramgaon, increased his hold over Sorath and

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took Bansda. He became master of considerable territory in Gujarat and the real chief of his party, as Yashwant Rao Dabhade though nominally Sendpati, was lacking in the qualities of leadership. The next Viceroy, Fakhr-ud-daulah continued the alliance with the Gaikwars and granted them the districts of Borsad and Nadiad for the aid he received. 3

The years 1750-52 were a critical period in Maratha history and proved a turning point in the fortunes of the Gaikwars. Raja Shahu died in December, 1749 and was succeeded by Tara Bai's grandson, Ram Raja. Tara Bai nursed ambitions to carry on the administration in the name of her grandson. She clashed with the Peshwd who had become the hereditary chief minister of the Chhatrapati.

Tara Bai tried to align the Maratha chiefs against the Brahmin Peshwd. The only Maratha chief to respond to her call was Damaji Gaikwar who considered himself as deputy of the Senapati and as such standing in special relationship with the Crown.

Damaji Gaikwar responded to the dowager queen’s call and with an army of 15 r 000 strong, started raiding the Peshwd's territory. On 18 February, 1751, an action was fought between the Peshwd’s troops and those of the Gaikwar at Bahadurpura in Khandesh. Brushing aside the Peshwd's troops^ Damaji marched on to Satara* by way of Sangamner, Davdi, Pabal. The Peshwd’s forces challenged the Gaikwar on the Venya river near Satara, defeated him and trapped his force in Satara on 15 March, 1751. 4 At the end of ^April the Peshwd arrived on the scene and demanded twenty-five lakhs of rupees as military reparations and half of the province of Gujarat. When the Gaikwar would not consent, the Peshwd plundered his camp on 30 April and confined Damaji Gaikwar and his nominal master, Dabhade. After much parleying between the two sides which dragged on for a year, the Gaikwar “agreed to pay fifteen lakhs as arrears; he also agreed to maintain 10,000 horse and to aid the Peshwd when called on to do so; his yearly tribute was fixed at five lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees, besides a sum for the maintenance of the Dabhade Senapati. Above all, he consented to part with half of his dominions and to account for all future conquests in money or in land at the same rate. In return, the Peshwd bound himself to assist Damaji in the capture of Ahmadabad and the expulsion from Gujarat of the Mughul government”. By the arrangement, the Peshwd obtained in Gujarat territory ;worth Rs. 24,68,700 and the Gaikwar Rs. 23,72,500. The curious may obtain the details of the transaction from Appendix IV in Elliot’s book. 5

From this date, the Gaikwar became a subordinate tributary of the Peshwd paying him tribute or falling in arrears. The subordinate position was acknowledged by the Gaikwars, but it needed one more struggle and defeat to rivet it firmly. After this event which occurred in 1768 just before

Damaji’s death, the Sanad of appointment of successive Gaikwars was granted by the Peshwd, exacting a ncuzardhd on the occasion, up to the end of 1798. The Gaikwars paid the Peshwd in tribute Rs. 2,96,98,644. A sum of Rs. 65,70,000 was remitted and still there was a balance of Rs. 39,82,798, which was never paid.

The partition of Gujarat took place in 1752. Immediately after the release of Damaji in 1753, a combined Maratha army led by

Damaji Gaikwar, the Peshwd's brother Raghunath Rao, Vithal Shivdeo Vinchurkar and Naro Shankar Raje Bahadur, undertook the siege of Ahmadabad. The capital of Musalman kings for over three centuries was stoutly defended by Jawan Mard Khan Babi. After a long investment Babi surrendered the capital city on 20 March and retired to his jdgir at Radhanpur.

In 1756 the Nawab of Cambay seized the city while the Maratha Siibdhdar was away at Poona. DamajI Gaikwar recovered it from the Nawab after some arduous fighting.

In 1760 Damaji joined the Peshwd’s army marching to Hindustan to seek the Abdall. He gave a good account of himself in the bloody battle of Fanipat, assisting Ibrahim Khan Gardi to destroy the right wing of the enemy’s army. He was one of the chiefs who returned home unscathed. Immediately after the disaster of Panipat, the Nawabs of Radhanpur, Palanpur, Cambay and other places rose against Maratha rule. Damaji put down the revolts; between the years 1763-66 he dispossessed the children of Kamal-ud-din Babi of Patan, Visalnagar, Vadnagar, Kheralu and Vijapur. In 1763 he took part in the battle of Rakshasbhuvan against the Nizam, and his horse materially contributed to the final victory.

Damaji Gaikwar had come to cultivate friendly relations with Raghunath Rao since 1753. He supported the uncle Raghunath against the Peshwd. At the battle of Dhodap in 1768, a Gaikwar contingent under DamajI’s son Govind Rao, fought against the Peshwa and was defeated. Govind Rao was taken prisoner. “For his part in the civil strife Damaji was fined Rs. 23,25,000 and hig arrears of tribute for three years preceding were fixed at

Rs. 18,75,000." 6 The annual tribute was raised to Rs. 7,79,000 but his military service was reduced to four thousand cavalry.

Damaji died op 18 August, 1768, before the agreement had been finally concluded. By far he was the ablest of the Gaikwar family. He brought practically the whole of Gujarat, including Kathiawar under his rule, expelling the Muslim nawabs of the province. His acceptance of the overlordship of the Peshwd brought him in the Maratha confederacy and was a source of. strength so long as the confederacy remained united and an active force. His friendship and loyalty to the uncle Raghunath drew on him the wrath of Peshwd Madhav Rao and the Gaikwar State was burdened with huge demands by way of outstanding tribute, fines and nazardnds in the next two decades. In fact, the history of the State till the close of the century is not the story of further conquests and wise administration, but a sickening tale of fratricidal strife between members of the Gaikwar family, and the intercession of the Peshwa's government and the Company's government to satisfy their own ends, of which we will take only a brief notice.

After Damaji's death, the Peshwd decided the succession in favour of his son, Govind Rao, who agreed to serve the Peshwd with 4,000 horse, pay a fine of 23 lakhs of rupees, a nazarand of twenty lakhs and the balance of last year's tribute of seven lakhs—altogether fifty lakhs of rupees in cash. Govind Rao, who had been detained ip Poona after the battle of Dhodap, was unable to raise such a huge amount. His younger brother, Fateh Singh, who was ambitious and could change sides quicker than the chameleon his colours, now came forward to negotiate another settlement in favour of the eldest son Sayaji, born of the second wife of Damaji. Sayaji had been passed over because he was an imbecile. But he obtained recognition by the settlement of 1771, effected by Fateh Singh. Fateh Singh paid the nazarand on succession and became the Mutaliq or deputy to the Senrikhaskhel. Under the new arrangement, Govind Rao was to remain satisfied with a jaglr worth three lakhs per annum and was to stay at the ancestral place of the Gaikwars, Davdi. The two brothers Govind Rao and Fateh Singh became bitter • enemies and fought on opposite sides in the first Anglo-Maratha war. Their wrangling continued even after the conclusion of

Anglo-Maratha hostilities. Another member of the family, Khande Rao', a brother of Damaji took sides in the dispute of the brothers as suited his interest best.

Fateh Singh when he returned from Poona in 1772, secured also non-compliance of the service clause on condition that he paid annually a sum of Rs. 14,54,000 for the tribute and remission of service as well. Though unhappy with the burden, Fateh Singh, for the time being, pretended to be pleased with the terms.

In the meanwhile a civil war had broken out at Poona. Madhav Rao Peshwd died in November, 1772, and his brother Narayan Rao who had succeeded him in the Peshwdship, was murdered in August, 1773. Raghunath Rao who became Peshwd , immediately recognised Govind Rao as Senakhaskhel and chief of the Gaikwar fief and sent him to Baroda to claim his patrimony. Raghunath was not destined to remain Peshwd for long. A league of the Kdrbharis (councillors) known as the Bdrbhdis was formed against him and drove him out of Poona. Raghunath Rao fled before the confederate army, and with a small force, joined Govind Rao Gaikwar at Baroda on 3 January, 1775. Here he was pursued by the army of the confederates and defeated at Anand Mogri near Aras on 17 February, 1775. Raghunath fled by way of Cambay to Surat, and Govind Rao Gaikwar with the remnant of the army, fell back on Kapadvanj. At Surat Raghunath Rao concluded a treaty with the English on 6 March, 1775, invoking their military aid in his hour of crisis. An English force of 2,500 strong, with cannon and other military equipment was to take the field on his behalf, for which he agreed to pay a lakh and a half rupees per month, and to cede in perpetuity Bassein with its dependencies, Salsette and other islands, the districts of Jambusar, Olpad and part of Ankalesar. [7]

Col. Keating’s campaign against the Marathas was not much of a success; in three months’ time the force had marched from Cambay to Dabhoi, a distance of about 100 miles only. [8] The Supreme Government at Calcutta on I being informed of the proceedings of the Bombay Government, declared the treaty concluded with Raghoba (Raghunath Rao) invalid and the Maratha war as ‘impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust’, and asked the ‘Bombay Government to withdraw its force to its garrison’. 9 However, there was one distinct gain. Fateh Singh Gaikwar had changed sides and gone over to the English.

When war again broke out between the Marathas and the English two years later (1778), Gujarat became the battle-field and General Goddard found it easy to win over the old ally, Fateh Singh Gaikwar. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the two parties on 26 January, 1780 at Kandila near Dabhoi. By the treaty the Peshwa’s share of the territory north of the Mahi river was to be given to Fateh Singh, in lieu of which he agreed to cede his share of the revenue of the districts known as Surat Athavisi , of Broach and of Sinnore on the Narmada to the British. Fateh Singh was to aid Goddard with three thousand horse.

After the conclusion of the treaty, the allies marched on Ahmadabad and took it by assault on 15 February, 1780, whereupon it was delivered to Fateh Singh. 10 He, in turn, surrendered to the English the districts in Surat Athavisi, retaining only Songarh. Goddard later tried to surprise Mahadji Sindia and Holkar, but the fighting was inconclusive. Fateh Singh, to the end, succeeded in defending Gujarat against the allies’ troops. In the year 1781 fighting moved away from Gujarat to Konkan. Goddard’s troops were much harassed by Maratha horse when they tried to cross the Ghats. Nana Phadnis, in the meanwhile, to remove the enemy’s pressure, forgetting old animosities, forged an alliance with Haidar ‘All, the Nizam and the Bhosle of Nagpur. The resources of the Company’s government were stretched to the utmost limits and Hastings in order to detach the Marathas from the alliance, concluded with them a treaty (Treaty of Salbai) on May 17, 1782. Article VIII of the treaty provided that “the territory which has long been the jdcfir of SayajI and Fateh Singh Gaikwar, shall forever hereafter remain on the usual footing in his possession; and the said Fateh Singh shall pay for the future to the Peshwa the tribute as usual previous to the present war, and shall perform such services and be subject to such obedience as have long been established and customary. No claim shall be made on the said Fateh Singh by the Peshwa for the period that is past.” 11 Thus after a five years’ war, Fateh Singh was left in possession of all the territory he possessed at its commencement, while the Peshwa was not to claim from him any arrear of tribute which had fallen due during the period of the war. The Gaikwar’s status was acknowledged to be that of a jagirddr of the Maratha State and he was to render the usual service to the Peshwa.

Fateh Singh died in December, 1789. Between the period of the conclusion of the treaty of Salbai (1782) and his death, he conducted the administration with great cleverness and prudence. For defence of his jdgtr he began engaging large bodies of foreign mercenaries and others, who later were to bring on the State disaster and ruin. Fateh Singh can be credited to have managed the State with ability during his stewardship.

Goyind Rao was by far now the most lawful heir. But he lacked monetary resources, and another son, Manaji, conducted the regency for the next four years, by promising to pay the Poona Court the huge sum of sixty-nine lakhs of rupees by way of Nazarand and arrears of tribute. Manaji died on 1 August, 1793 and SayajI predeceased him in 1792. The field was now clear for Govind Rao. But the Poona Government would not recognise his right to succession unless he agreed to pay a nazarand of Rs. 56,38,000, the arrears of Rs. 43,00,000 which represented tribute and the remission for service, and the debts of Manaji amounting to Rs. 20,00,000, altogether amounting to a crore and twenty lakhs of rupees. For meeting these demands he was asked to surrender all jewellery, treasure and cloth in the Baroda treasury and palace and to part with the Gaikwar territory south of the Tapi river. The impression spread that Nana Phadnis was resolved to ruin the Gaikwar family by the dismemberment of the Baroda State. But the British Resident at Poona intervened; Malet reported that “a formal retraction (of its

usurpation of Gaikwar territory) was effected by his interposition in a very delicate manner.” 12

Fateh Singh Gaikwar, despite his unscrupulous ways, had managed his State in a competent manner. Not so Govind Rao, who had been kept waiting for the Senakhaskhelship for twenty-five years. He brought his

Kdrbhdris, Diwan RaojI Appaji, Majumdar and Phadnis from Poona, and their mutual rivalries and ambitions brought the State to the verge of ruin. The Poona Court had obtained ascendancy over the jdgir and was burdening it with all kinds of claims. “The evil was intensified by son striving against father, brother against brother, cousin against cousin, while wives and mothers pushed the interests of their husbands and sons with an entire disregard of justice or the common good of the family.” 13

Govind Rao’s promises to pay the Poona Court the sum of a crore and twenty-lakhs of rupees, forced the State into a very abject position. By 1797, he had paid the Peshuia Rs. 78,33,212, had been excused from paying another sixty lakhs, and yet he owed Poona Rs. 39,82,789. 14

Even on his entry in Baroda in December, 1793, Govind Rao met with opposition from his son KanhojI. However, Kanhoji was betrayed by his mercenary troops and placed in confinement. He escaped to the hills, was joined by the Bhils and ravaged Sankheda and Bhadarpur. He was subsequently joined by Malfiar Rao, son of the late Khande Rao of Kadi, who commenced hostilities against Govind Rao for not granting him certain favours.

In 1794 the Gaikwar forces attacked Cambay, but were turned off by the English. In 1795 they were present at the battle of Kharda.

In 1800 when Nana Phadnis died, Peshwd Baji Rao asked Govind Rao Gaikwar to eject Aba Shelukar (Nana’s nominee) from Ahmadabad and take the Peshwa’s share of the province in farm. One consequence of this was that the Gaikwar obtained the administration of that half of northern Gujarat which belonged to the Peshwd and did away with the evil of divided authority. Gaikwar’s commander Babaji defeated Aba Shelukar, took him prisoner and kept him at Borsad. 15

The great anxiety of the Gaikwar to keep the farm, the interest of the Bombay Government in continuing the arrangement, and the policy of Peshwd Baji Rao to resume Gujarat districts, led ultimately to the rupture between the Peshwd and the British Government and the independence of the Gaikwar.

Govind Rao Gaikwar died in October, 1800. 16 The State or rather the jdgtr had been impoverished by the huge tribute of 78 lakhs of rupees exacted from him by the Poona Government. 17 “The treasury was empty; almost all the districts were mortgaged to creditors and the few remaining ones were farmed to unscrupulous men who made haste to extort money; the tributary states withheld their tributes with impunity. The maintenance of the army alone exceeded the receipts of the State; no attention was given to the administration of justice, the protection of the subjects and such other matters; there was, properly speaking, no government, for all power lay in the hands of rapacious and overbearing Arab soldiery and the government was distrusted most of all. Meanwhile Sindia and the Peshwd were watching the dissolution of the State with interested views.” 18

The greatest evil from which the State suffered was the mercenary force first introduced by Fateh Singh Gaikwar. Govind Rao and his Diwdn Raoji AppajI went on increasing their number, which in 1800 stood at 13,126 foot and 3,730 cavalry. Their monthly expenses were Rs. 2,99,642. The most esteemed among them were pure Arabs hailing from Arabia. Arab garrisons held the forts of Baroda, Borsad, Sankheda and other strongholds. They were amenable only to their pay-masters—Mangal Parekh and Samal Bechar, the two Sahukdrs, who supported the administration of any ruler, who could pay them best. The Arab soldiery was looked on as guarantee (Bahandari) for any promise made by the Government, wfiich invested their leaders with unlimited powers to interfere ir* the day to day administration.

During the prevailing confusion Govind Rao died and was succeeded by his son Anand Rao, another member of the Gaikwar house of feeble mind, rendered infirm from addiction to‘wine and opium. Rani Gahina Bai, with the minister Raoji, his brother BabajI, Mir Kamal-ud-din and the two pay-masters, formed a regency. But KanhojI (the eldest illegitimate son of Govind Rao) who returned to Baroda, gained the confidence of Anand Rao and became Mutaliq , pushing out the members of the regency. But KanhojI did not retain his authority for long. The main problem was to raise money to meet the demands of the soldiery. For this KanhojI treated harshly most of the members of the Gaikwar family and respectable men in Baroda and mulcted them of money and jewellery. He Went to the length of confining the chief, Anand Rao himself. The Arab soldiers got tired of him and seizing him, liberated Anand Rao; Raoji AppajI was again brought in to run the administration.

Raoji found that his Diwdnship was not a bed of roses. The Arab troops demanded their arrears. The jagi'rddr of Kadi, Malhar Rao Gaikwar, was up in arms and was demanding the remission of his peshkash . Other members of the family were demanding something from Raoji, while he had nothing to give. Raoji turned to the Company's Government to help him out of the predicament, offering to surrender the Chaurasi pargand (the district surrounding Surat) and the Surat chauth. Malhar Rao also sent an agent to Surat.

The Governor of Bombay, Duncan, sent Major Walker to arbitrate between Raoji and Malhar Rao Gaikwar. Major Walker reached Baroda on 29 January, 1802, met the Maharaja (Anand Rao) and held several discussions with him. He found the State sunk in debt, the soldiery in mutinous condition and the entire administration in a state of suspended animation. Walker sided with the minister and entered into a convention with him at Cambay in March, 1802 by which Raoji agreed to receive a subsidiary force of two thousand sepoys and to cede territories for the expenditure of the troops. On 3 May, 1802, Malhar Rao was defeated and his place Kadi was taken. Another rebel Ganpat Rao Gaikwar was likewise disposed of. 19

But the third and the most difficult problem was the disbanding of the Arab soldiery. On 18 December, 1802, the fort of Baroda was invested and after much fighting the Arabs agreed to evacuate it on getting their arrears. The arrears (17£ lakhs) were paid and Anand Rao returned to Baroda as a British protege. He had already (6 June 1802) entered into a subsidiary alliance with the East India Company, taking a force of two thousand British sepoys with a battery of European artillery, for which he ceded territory worth Rs. 7,80,000 (Dholka 4£ lakhs, Nadiad 1£ lakhs, Vijapur 1.3 lakhs and Kadi Rs. 25,000) to the British. They had before this obtained Chaurasi pargand and the Surat Athavisi, and the pargands of Chikhli and Kheda, altogether worth Rs. 2,58,000. 20

The revenues of the Gaikwar State amounted to fifty-five lakhs of rupees; out of which it now gave away ten lakhs for the subsidiary force. The rebels Malhar Rao and Ganapat Rao were taken care of, as also the Arab soldiery. The debts, exclusive of the heavy balance claimed by the Peshwd „ were compromised for a sum less than fortytwo lakhs, and money was raised on the security of the British Gov

ernment for its liquidation. Major Walker also paid much attention to the collections from Kathiawar. From all these considerations Baroda State fell under the control of a regency consisting of the British Resident Walker, Carnac and William.

The treaty of Bassein between the Peshwd and the East India Company in its 14th article recognised the existence of the treaty between the Company and Anand Rao Gaikwar and directed that the demands and papers of account between the Peshwa and his erstwhile feudatory should be examined and adjusted by the British Government.

Peshwa Baji Rao after 1813 became anxious to resume his share of Gujarat districts, cancelled its farm to the Gaikwar Government and brought huge claims against that Government for arrears. 21 When Gangadhar Shastri visited the Poona Government for the adjustment of claims and counter-claims, he was murdered, but his murder absolved his Government from any claims of the Poona Court. Within a couple of years of the perpetration of the heinous crime, the Peshwd was bundled off to Bithur and British influence became supreme at Baroda. The Gaikwars became one of the subordinate allies of the British.

VII. The Angrias of Kolaba:

The conquest of Konkan brought Shivaji early in conflict with the Sidis of Janjira who commanded the western coast and taught him the necessity of building a strong navy. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar has remarked, “to the owner of Konkan it was essential that the Sidi should be either made an ally or rendered powerless for mischief. Without a navy his subjects on the sea-coast and for some distance inland would remain exposed to plunder, enslavement and slaughter at the hands of the Abyssinian pirates. The innumerable creeks and navigable rivers of the coast, while they naturally fostered the growth of rich ports and trade centres, made it imperatively necessary for their protection that their owner should rule the sea.”[1]

The year 1659 marks the date of the beginning of the Maratha navy. The shallow ports of Pen, Panvel, Kalyan, Bhiwandi saw considerable activity in building small crafts for the Maratha navy and by 1664 Shivaji was able to fit out a fleet of sixty frigates for a distant expedition. “The English President describes the Maratha vessels as pitiful things, so that one good English ship would destroy a hundred of them.”[2] Though the small Maratha vessels appeared insignificant to the English merchants in comparison with their ocean-sailing ships, they were active enough in harassing the Sidis and their new master, the Mughul emperor. Within twenty years ShivajI’s fleet had grown to 400 vessels, most of them small galbats not more than fifty tons. The fighting strength of the navy was, according to the English factory reports, represented by about 160 vessels.[3]

The fortunes of the Maratha navy reached their lowest ebb by 1690. ShambhujI, the king of the Marathas, was captured and executed by the Mughuls; their strongholds in the upcountry were occupied by them. A formidable army under Matabar Khan pitess-. ed the Marathas from the north; the Sidi found the opportunity to assert himself; he recovered the territory lost during the last regime and his fleet scourged Maratha vessels and swept them off the sea. At a time when the political existence of the Maratha State was at stake, it was not to be expected that the Marathas would have the will or find means to save their fleet. The whole naval establishment crashed and went to pieces. In this critical condition the Maratha flag was kept flying aloft over the sea by the daring, resourcefulness and initiative of the famous KanhojI Angria of Kolaba.

Little is known of the family and early days of KanhojI. His daring activity and skilful seamanship are traced by European writers to his Abyssinian parentage, but nothing can be far from the truth. The Angrias, whose family name is Sankhpal, hail from a tiny village, Angarwadi, in the Mawal hills, six miles from Poona. They are blue-blood Marathas and would spurn to marry in families lower than those of Deshmukhs, Jadhavs, Jagtaps and Shltoles. 4 Tukoji Sankhpal took service under the great Shivajl about 1658 and distinguished himself in several actions. He was rewarded with a command of 200, and posted at Suvarnadurg, an important naval post which occupied a menacing position hardly twenty miles south of the Sidis' frontier. Here KanhojI first opened his eyes and passed his childhood. Here he watched Maratha ships making out for the open sea and falling upon the enemy's fleet, and here he received the practical training of seamanship from the uncouth but faithful Koll sailors.

KanhojI made his mark during ShivSjl's time and is honourably mentioned in the Chitnis Bakhar. 4 * The family history would have us believe that the Kiladar of Suvarnadurg, Mohite, being hardpressed by the Sidi, proposed surrendering the place. KanhojI sent news of this treachery to the authorities and seized this chicken-hearted fellow. Taking on himself the command, he not only declined yielding the place, but boldly attacked the besiegers. In one of the sorties he fell in the enemy's hands, but extricating himself from his confinement, KanhojI managed to reach the walls of the castle and beat off the Sidi's attack. He was then appointed second in command to Si doji Gujar, the Sar-Subha of the Maratha navy. When the latter died in 1698, he succeeded him in the entire command of the navy, making Kolaba his headquarters. 5

His task was not an easy one. The central Maratha authority had disappeared; the Konkan province had been overrun and devastated by the Mughuls. There were no allies to help, no resources tamely upon and no reinforcements to be expected. On the other hand, in the absence of human allies, his sea-girt castles and their geographical situation in a far-away corner afforded KanhojI excelr lent protection, and from here he sallied forth to attack enemy ships and prey upon their merchantmen. By 1700,' KanhojI is mentioned in foreign records as one of 'the most daring pirates' that infested the Malabar coast and made commerce hazardous.

To get a right perspective of Angria's maritime activities they must be viewed as a part of the general struggle of the Maratha nation against the

Mughul conquest of their homeland. This explains Angria's inveterate hostility to the Sidis who were the Mughul representatives afloat. The chief objective to which his policy was directed was to recover Maratha territory occupied by the Sidis during the interim that followed ShambhujI's execution, drive the Sidi to his island retreat, annihilate his independence and render him powerless for mischief. The western seas were to be Maratha waters and all who visited ports established in them, were to be taught to respect Maratha sovereignty and secure his permission for trading in those waters by buying his passes. Whatever power refused to conform to his orders, would do it at the peril of bringing on its merchantmen his strong hand. His claim was challenged by the Sidis as well as the Western powers —the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch, who on account of the important trading interests they had established in western waters, found such a demand most galling and injurious to their commerce. With their strongly built ships they were confident of their strength on the sea, manned as their ships were by skilful sailors and equipped as they were with far superior armaments. Their chief factories being established in the Mughul's territory they were afraid that their recognition of Maratha claim and any assistance given in pursuance thereof, would antagonise them with the emperor and draw upon them

his wrath. Their interests, therefore, dictated that they should range themselves on the side of the enemies of the Marathas when they could not maintain their neutrality. During the fifty years of Sarkhelship in the Angria family the Maratha power increased and almost overshadowed the Mughul empire. This growth of Maratha power is reflected in the annihilation of some of the maritime rivals of the Angria and the submissive attitude of the remaining in the halcyon days of its rule.

Angria's heavy hand soon fell on the Sidi and the Mughul. In January, 1700, the Bombay Factory recorded "that KanhojI Angria was at war with the Sidi and he was getting better of his enemy." The war went on intermittently. Though the Sidi sought the help of the Portuguese in the contest with the Angria, he was not able to make much headway against him and was forced to yield to his op- 7 ponent two-third of the revenue of Kolaba, Khanderi and Sagargarh and part of the revenue from Chaul. 6

As his resources increased KanhojI began challenging foreign merchantmen that ventured on the sea without his passes. In 1702 a small, trading vessel from Calicut with six Englishmen fell into his hands and was carried into one of his harbours. To a demand for its release he sent a reply That he would give the English cause to remember the name of KanhojI Angria'. In 1703 the Viceroy of Goa found it necessary to address him a friendly letter. 7 "Two years later he is described as a rebel 'independent of the Raja ShivajT, and Mr. Reynolds was deputed to find him and tell him that he would not be permitted searching, molesting or seizing vessels in Bombay waters, to which he returned a defiant answer, that he had done many services to the English, who had broken faith with him and henceforth he would seize their vessels wherever he could find them." 8 In 1707 the Bombay frigate was blown up in an encounter with Angria's , ships. In 1710 a Dutch sloop of war was captured and the Godolphin narrowly escaped the same fate. In 1711 the Directors were told that Angria could take any ship except the largest ones; "along the coast from Surat to Dabul he takes all private merchant vessels he meets". The next year he captured the Governor of Bombay's armed yacht and the Anne of Karwar 9 and attacked the Somers and the Grantham, East Indiamen. While thus already contending with the Sidi, the Portuguese and the English, he was in 1713 embroiled in the civil war between Tara Bai and Shahu. KanhojI Angria, a staunch partisan of Tara Bai, advanced to Rajmachi, defeated Shahu's Peshwd, Behro Pant, and threatened to march on Poona.

Though he had succeeded so far, KanhojI knew the limitations of his strength. He understood that when a sea-power acquired territory on land with a frontier open to the attack of a military state, it incurred a great danger. It was necessary for his success on the sea that his back-door should be secure with a friendly neighbour guarding the western passes. BalajI Vishwanath, Shahu's new Peshwa , convinced Angria of the wisdom of subordinating to his master, assured him how an alliance with Shahu would benefit both parties and finally won him over (28 February, 1714). In consequence, while Angria acknowledged allegiance to Shahu, he was confirmed in the command of the fleet, granted twenty six; forts and fortified places in Konkan, among which was Khanderi, hardly ten miles from Bombay. He was also promised assistance in a contest with the Sidi. As some of the places that had been made over to Angria by the treaty were yet in the hands of the Sidi, hostilities followed. The Sidi, being no match for the joint forces of Angria and the Peshwa, was defeated, and surrendered to KanhojI valuable territory on the mainland. 10

While the negotiations with Shahu demanded his attention Angria was wise enough to patch up his differences with the English. He invited an English agent to Kolaba and agreed that “in future English ships should be free from molestation, that no ships of any nation coming into Bombay harbour should be interfered with between Mahim and Kennery, that English merchants should have liberty of trade in Angria’s ports on payment of the usual dues, and that Angria should be responsible for any damages done in future by the ships belonging to his Maratha superiors. In return the Governor engaged to give passes only to ships belonging to merchants recognised by the Company and to allow Angria’s people full facilities in Bombay.” 11

The treaty concluded with the English proved but a temporary truce. With the arrival of Charles Boone in December 1715, as Governor, the Bombay settlement began to show great activity in equipping its fighing marine. The immediate cause of hostilities was the capture of three merchantmen, the Success, the Robert, and the Otter by Angria. 12 KanhojI contended that these vessels belonged to foreign merchants, and though laden with the goods of the Company, could claim no exemption from his passed, The English retaliated by the seizure of one of Angria’s shibar that visited Mahim and by attacking his coastal towns. The war against Angria in 1718 failed. The causes of the failure were obvious. The batteries the English ships carried, though effective against Angria’s floating

castles of wood, were powerless against the rocky walls of his castles. The Company’s soldiers at this period were ill-paid, ill-disciplined end had little training. The men in command were mere clerks, and the trappings of military dress could not transform them into soldiers who could hold their own against the astute Angria. While the English squadron attacked more than a hundred miles away from its base, the communications of the fort with land remained safe so that it continued to ,draw support from the mainland.

Least disheartened by this failure, the English now turned their attention nearer home. On the close of the monsoon another expedition was fitted out against Khanderi. 13 After a fruitless bombardment against the island and Kolaba, the fleet sailed southward and visited Gheria (Vijayadurg) and Karwar and then returned to Bombay (November, 1718-January, 1719) to defend it against Angria's fleet which had been called north from Vijayadurg. Angria then for a time lulled the Bombay authorities with talks of peace, but when the danger blew away he withdrew his offer.

The English Governor was determined to destroy Gheria which he regarded as the nest of the pirate Angria, and despite his two failures, fitted another expedition against that place. It consisted of nine ships of the line and several fishing boats for landing troops. On board were about 600 picked soldiers commanded by Walter Brown, one of the Bombay Factors.

On 19 September, 1720, the fleet arrived in sight of Gheria. The shells from the London and the Prahm, a floating battery, burst in vain against the solid rocks of the Victory fort (Vijayadurg). The only alternative left to the besiegers was to destroy Angria's ships that had retired up the river; for attacking the castle from the land the party was altogether inadequate. The fort on the landside was covered by the town which had to be occupied before the walls could be assaulted. The fleet divided, a part of it sailed in the harbour skirting the walls of the castle and opened fire. A number of Angria's ships were destroyed, but this made little impression on the castle. Brown was no soldier, knew nothing of strategy, nor how to handle the men, and had no consistent plan of attack. The first attempt at landing having failed disastrously, the men refused to embark on another fruitless trial. The squadron, after making a demonstration against Deogarh, prepared to retire to Bombay when as ill-luck would have it, it fell in with pirates and was dispersed. Thus ended most ignominiously the attempt on Vijayadurg. 14

Angria's career was unchecked and he now threatened to march

his men to Bombay. The two heavy defeats made the English forget for a time their jealousy of the Portuguese and seek their cooperation in crushing their common enemy. The repeated losses Portuguese shipping had suffered, persuaded the Goa authorities to accept the overtures of the

English, and a treaty providing for a joint attack on Kolaba was concluded on 20 August, 1721.

In consequence, there was feverish activity in Bombay, Bassein and Goa, and news of the hostile preparations soon reached Angria. He immediately made offers to compose his differences with the Portuguese; threw provisions and ammunition in the fort of Kolaba and requested King Shahu to succour him.

The arrival of a royal squadron in Bombay under Commander Mathews further added to the strength of the allies. On 29th November the expedition sailed from Bombay and joined the Portuguese force at Chaul. The English contingent consisted of over 2,400 men amply provided with artillery. The Portuguese assembled a still larger force which carried over 30 field guns. The combined army, 6,000, assisted as it was by a powerful fleet, appeared invincible. 15

The country between Chaul and Alibag, a span of ten miles, is covered with wood and is swampy near Kolaba. The crossing of the Kundalika and the march to Kolaba with the heavy guns delayed the army on the road for over a fortnight: The time gained was sufficient for Pilaji Jadhav and Peshwd Baji Rao to pour their horsemen through the Konkan passes, and when the allies appeared before Kolaba on 12 December, 1721, they found themselves in great danger of being outnumbered by Maratha cavalry. While the Portuguese commander was surveying the field accompanied by Mathews, a Maratha horseman suddenly sprang upon the party from behind a bush and wounded Mathews with his lance.

As the enemy’s strength was daily increasing it was necessary to deliver the attack without loss of time. Not estimating the number of the army that was opposing them, the allies divided their force; the English undertook to assault the fort, while the Portuguese were to hold at bay the enemy that was encamping outside, and to defend the camp and the rear against surprise. The superiority of the allies lay clearly in their artillery, and their neglect of this advantage rendered them helpless against Maratha cavalry. While the little English party attacked the walls, Baji Rao threw himself against the Portuguese column and sent it flying. The assaulting party under Col Braithwaite met with a hail of shot and stone and when the Portuguese force dispersed, its rear was threatened and it was obliged to fall back. “All the field guns and a great deal of ammunition fell in the hands of the Marathas.” 16

There were now bickerings among the allies; the English laid the blame for the miserable episode on the Portuguese, charged them with cowardice and their commander in a fury rushed at the Portuguese captain and roughly handled him. This insolent behaviour was not calculated to hold together the loosely knit alliance. Peshwa BajI Rao on behalf of Angria made overtures of peace which were honourable to both the parties and were readily accepted by the Portuguese on 9 January, 1722. The alliance that had been heralded with so much eclat, broke up without achieving any of its objects. 17

The war with the English continued with pauses at intervals. When pressed in other quarters Angria would hold forth the olive branch and express willingness to make peace on his own terms. Such an attempt was made in 1724 when KanhojI wrote a friendly letter to the new Governor Phipps and requested him to depute an agent of credit to discuss terms of peace. The Governor turned down his request, charged him with piracy, asked him to renounce war and demanded a proof of his sincerity, by immediately setting at liberty English prisoners. This called forth Kanhojfs ire; he replied that “it little behoved merchants to say that his government was supported by violence, insults and piracies; for the great Shivaji founded his kingdom by making war against four Kings; and that he himself was but his humble disciple; that he was very willing to favour the merchants trading according to the laws of his country,” and offered to release the English prisoners if his men, imprisoned by the English, were set at liberty. The negotiations were completed and an exchange of prisoners effected in 1725. 18

The vessels Angria developed and used for fighting his enemies were of various types—the Pal, the Shibar, the Machwa, the Galbat or Gallivat and the Ghurab. The chief war-vessels were the ghuraib (grab) and the galbat supporting the ghurab, and acting as its scout. The galbats, according to Low, were large row boats built like grabs but smaller, not more than seventy tons. They had two masts, a strong main mast and a slight mizzen mast, the main mast bearing a large triangular sail. Forty or fifty stout oars could send a galbat four miles an hour. Some large galbats had fixed decks, but most had spare decks made of split bamboos. They carried six to eight three or four pounders^

“Angria’s grabs were of two classes, two masters upto 150 tons (600 khandis), and three masters upto 300 tons. They were broad in proportion to the length and drew little water. They narrowed from the middle forwards, where instead of bows, they had a prow of a Mediterranean galley. Two nine-to-twelve-pounder cannon were planted on the main deck under the forecastle, pointing forward through port holes cut in the bulkhead and firing over the prow. The cannon on the broad sides were from six to nine pounders.”

In its method of fighting, Angria’s navy reproduced the guerilla tactics which had proved so successful on land. The light Maratha boats sailed faster, and sailed round the clumsy merchantmen, and if pressed, could find safety in the shallow creeks and river mouths along the coast where the European men-of-war could not pursue them. When the heavy enemy ship was becalmed in the sea and could not move, the small Maratha vessels, moved as they were by oars and not dependent on wind, found their opportunity. They prowled out of their hiding, and reaching the stern of the enemy vessel, one by one they unloaded their prow-guns at a close range and sheered off to load their guns and return to the attack. Their strategy consisted in avoiding the fire from the broadsides of the enemy’s ships. After the enemy guns were silenced, two or three of the grabs ran aboard their victim and attacked sword in hand.

Kanhoji’s relations with the central authority were marked with the greatest cordiality after the treaty of 1714. That treaty allowed him full independence in the management of his fief and assured him ample resources for the navy so long as he acknowledged the king of Satara as his liege-lord and paid him tribute. Shahu respected the Admiral who, almost single-handed, recreated the navy and when the two met at Jejuri in March, 1718, the occasion was marked with great ceremony and pomp.

The last few years of Kanhoji’s life were years of comparative peace. He had many sons of whom Sekhdji, Sambhaji, Manaji and Tulaji maintained their father’s tradition of seamanship. He died on 20 June, 1720.

On his father’s death, Sekhdji Angria succeeded to the admiralty, receiving the investiture robes from the king on 5 August, 1729. 19 As a loyal feudatory he agreed to participate in the problems facing the Maratha State. The first occcasion arose when the Marathas attacked in 1731 places in the Portuguese province of the North near Kalyan. In support of the attack on land SekhojI attacked Portuguese vessels at sea and captured two merchant Pals and one gallivat. 20 The attack on the province of the north was not pressed home and hostilities were soon stopped.

Much more serious was the Maratha attempt on the Sidi’s territory and castle of Janjira. The attack was discussed for years from 1727 onwards; when SekhojI visited Raja Shahu at Satara in 1731, the former agreed to support the expedition with his fleet. The details of the attack were, however, never discussed. In February, 1733, the head Sidi—Sidi Rasul—died and there was a split among his commanders about the successor. Raja Shahu despatched a force under the Peshwa to capture the enemy’s castle of Janjira and overrun his territory. SekhojI was asked to cooperate in the venture. The Peshwa descended into Konkan in May, 1733, and seized Rajpuri and Khokri on the mainland opposite the castle and a part of the Sidi’s fleet lying in the harbour. He invited SekhojI Angria to help him blockade the castle of Janjira. 21

The attack on the castle came at an odd season of the year when the sea was rough and SekhojI was not willing to risk his fleet in the enterprise. He pleaded his inability to support the Peshwa immediately. He however, occupied lower Chaul, Thai and Rewas near his headquarters Kolaba. As the Sidi was a protege of the English, he (SekhojI) sent agents to Bombay to secure their neutrality in the forthcoming contest with the Sidis. 22 But the English refused the guarantee and with the Sidi’s consent, occupied the island of Underi at the entrance of Bombay harbour on 16 July, 1733. The English presence at Underi caused great consternation in Angria’s camp. Before he could achieve anything, SekhojI died on 28 August, 1733 after a short illness. 23 As he had no child of his own he was succeeded to the admiralty by his brother, Sambhajl.

The importance of Angria’s house started declining with the death of SekhojI Angria. There were two reasons for this. Ciyil war broke out among the brothers; ManajI Angria sought help not only from the Peshwa, but from the English and the Portuguese— the sworn enemies of the family. Both were jubilant and glad to extend help to ManajI and thus reduce the strength of the Maratha navy. The Peshwa’s moves in the dispute were deplorable. Instead of supporting the naval strength of the Maratha State represented by Sambhajl, he took ManajI under his protective wing and did everything to reduce Sambhajl Angria’s strength. The Peshwa was fast developing as the chief executive authority of the Maratha State and sought to bring the Angrias under his influence. Sambhajl refused

to accept the Peshwa’s leadership and was twice foiled (1735 and 1740) in his attempts to gain the possession of Kolaba, which place had been associated with the chiefship of Maratha navy. So SambhajI Angria’s exploits at sea remained isolated instances of his prowess, but did not contribute to the advancement of Maratha power. A few details in the career of SambhajI would clarify the issues.

In May, 1734, the Bombay Government reported that Angria’s whole fleet stationed at Gheria consisted of 13 grabs and* 30 gallivats, and it feared that he would be out earlier than usual, trusting to the superiority of his number. But within a few months its fears were laid at rest as civil war broke out between the two brothers—SambhajI and ManajI. SambhajI suspected ManajI of secretly plotting against his life with the support of his arch enemies—the English and the Portuguese. ManajI, when SambhajI called him to account for his action on his visit to Kolaba at the beginning of 1735, sought the shelter of the Portuguese at Revdanda. The Peshwa, keen to have a deciding role in Konkan, visited Kolaba from February to April, 1735 and divided the Angria jdgir between the two brothers. ManajI was resettled in the possession of the northern Konkan with its headquarters at Kolaba, with the title Vajarat-maaib. SambhajI as Sarkhel was allowed to keep "the main fleet with his headquarters at Vijayadurg. 24 His possessions narrowed down to a barren strip in south Konkan stretching from Bankot to Malwan, the revenues of which were hardly adequate to keep his fleet afloat. 25 The days of the Maratha navy as a powerful arm of the Maratha State, were over.

The result of the division made by the Peshwa was that SambhajI Angria lost all interest in the prosecution of the war against the Sidis of Janjira. He earned the odium of being in league with them—the enemies of the Marathas. When Sidi Sa'at's force was destroyed in the battle of Charhai Kamarle by ChimnajI Appa in April, 1736, a contingent of ManajI Angria fought by the side of the main force led by ChimnajI and ManajI's stock went up at the King's Court. When SambhajI tried to bring his ships to the attack of Anjanwel, he was foiled by the English navy. His difficulties were not appreciated at the Court where he became suspect of dereliction of duty and neglect of his responsibilities. All this caused great vexation to SambhajI Angria.

SambhajI retaliated against the English by the capture of the Company's ship Derby under the command of Capt. Anselm. On the morning of 26 December, 1735, the ship was sighted near Suvama

durg. The wind had fallen and the sea was becalmed. Angria's gallivais sallied forth to attack the ship and in a hard fight lasting over ten hours, shot away all the Derby's masts, boarded it and captured it. About 115 sailors were taken prisoners. After six months' imprisonment, Capt. Inchbird negotiated their release, promising peace for the next six months and discussion of other disputed points. 26 But the English soon went back on their word on a paltry excuse and started attacking Angria's ships at sea.

Sambhaiji Angria was the arch-enemy of the English and they were always deliberating his destruction. One such deliberation took place on 8 July, 1737, when according to information "the enemy had constantly in pay fifteen or sixteen thousand men and could easily raise another six thousand on a short warning. It was therefore thought convenient to lay aside all thoughts of making an expedition by land against the enemy."

The motion "whether destroying the enemy's grabs in his ports could not be effected being next taken into consideration the commanders of the cruisers acquainted with the situation of Gheria, informed the Board that when the enemy's grabs were in the river, they were constantly hauled up into a bay round the fort which formed a half moon and they lay close to two lines of guns near the water side and a new tower lately built which commanded the river and the bay where the grabs lay. That on dark nights there were lights constantly burning upon the river and a careful watch was kept by the enemy. It was thought that making an attempt on the fortifications would prove ineffectual and was therefore dropped.” 27

In 1738 Commodore Bagwell was ordered to blockade Angria’s fleet at Gheria. But the Commodore failed miserably, reporting that the Company’s marine was not strong enough to withstand Angria’s fleet and that Angria was a stronger enemy than the Bombay Government thought him to be. 28

All the while SambhajT’s fleet was also chasing Portuguese merchantmen and in 1738 he even captured the Portuguese warship Sao Miquel near Gheria. Soon after that SambhajI seized two Dutch vessels. In reprisal the Dutch sent a fleet against Gheria, but the fleet could make little effect on the place and sailed away. 29

From March, 1737 to May, 1739, the Marathas were at war with the Portuguese over their Province of the North (Salsette-Bassein district). In the war the Angria brothers did make an attempt to capture Portuguese ships carrying succour to Bassein, but lacking a concerted plan, their fleets were in no way helpful to Maratha armies lying before Bassein.

In January, 1740, SambhajI Angria’s fleet was seen prowling near Bombay and made an unsuccessful attack on the English squadron, but his real objective was Kolaba. He seized Hirakot, Sagargarh and Chaul and besieged the fort of Kolaba. When the news reached ChimnajI Appa, within five days he appeared near Kolaba with a much superior force, seized Pali, Mirgarh and Ur an belonging to Manaji Angria and defeated Sambhajl’s small force. The English also sent assistance to the beleaguered garrison and Kolaba was saved for Manaji. 30

SambhajI was not reconciled to the loss of Kolaba and opened negotiations with the Sidi, the English and the Portuguese to secure their neutrality in his domestic dispute. 31 But before anything could be done in the matter, a fire broke out in his fleet about September, 1741, by which he sustained considerable loss; many of his seasoned sailors left him on account of his poverty. 32 Proud man that SambhajI was, he could not stand the barbs of misfortune; he died on 12 January, 1742. 33

The death of SambhajI Angria did not restore peace and greatness to the house of Angria. Manaji sent his agents to Satara to obtain the Sarkhelship but the king conferred it in 1743, on TulajI Angria, Sambhajl’s brother, who worked with him, exhorting him to do something worthy of the honour. TulajI was brave like his brothers, and despite enemy opposition, succeeded in capturing the fort of. Anjanwel lying at the mouth of the Vasishthi river, and Govalkot near Chiplun on 25 January, 1745. 34 Two years later he visited Satara to pay homage to the king. He also paid his respects to the Raja’s two wives.

About the end of 1747 a great dispute arose between TulajI Angria, the Pratinidhi of Vishalgarh, Amdtya of Bawda and Savant of Wadi over Angria’s capture of Mudagarh. Making Mudagarh his base, TulajI started an all-round aggression and came in conflict with the petty feudatories in the region. 35 TulajI was defeated when the feudatories received aid from the Peshwd.

In 1748 TulajI was again defeated with heavy loss at Kudal by a Savantwadi force and was pursued as far as Sangva near Ratnagiri and his country was laid waste. 36

But TulajI Angria’s career at sea was unchecked. He was an intrepid seaman and would not easily give up the claim of the sovereignty of the sea made by his father KanhojI and his brothers Sekhdjl and SambhujI. In April, 1743 he engaged the Ketch Salamander and forced it to seek the shelter of Kolaba. On 22 November, his squadron of seven grabs and eight gallivatts fell in with an English convoy and exchanged gun fire with it for twelve hours. On 1 December three grabs and four gallivats of Angria were sighted off Mangalore and chased away by English vessels.

37 Another squadron consisting of seven grabs and seventeen gallivats attacked Portuguese men of war between Honavar and Goa, carrying on the fight for two days and two nights. Despite Tulajl's offer of peace, the English sent the Restoration and the Bombay grabs in December,

1744, to assist the Sidi to foil Tulaji in his attempt to seize Anjanwel and Govalkot. Raja Shahu sent a message to the English Governor at Bombay not to afford any assistance to the Sidi at Anjanwel. But the Governor obdurately replied that Tulaji and his predecessors had committed untold miseries on the Company's trade and obliged them to spend immense sums for its protection. He had therefore no option but to take all opportunities of distressing the Angria. 38

Tulaji however captured Anjanwel and Govalkot on 25 January,

1745, and continued to challenge English ships at sea. In December, 1745, there were reports from Tellicherry that Angria's ships were near the place looking out for merchant vessels, and seized the Princess Augusta and the Expedition , 39 In February, 1746, he took three out of five Gujarat vessels. In November, 1746, Angria landed his force at Mangalore and laid waste the place. 40 In January his fleet seized two Dutch sloops between Calicut and Tellicherry. He was again active in 1748 and in December his fleet was cruising off Mount Daily near Cannanore. In October, 1749, he attacked Commodore James' fleet and took the Restoration grab near Gheria. "The engagement began at night and on the 13th about noon it being calm, she was boarded on all quarters and the vessel was taken." 41 Next year Tulaji was bold enough to attack Commodore Lisle in command of several vessels. Again in February, 1753 he attacked three Dutch ships of fifty, thirty-six and eighteen guns, burnt two large ones and took the third as prize. 42 So great was Angria's strength and such were his movements from Cochin in the south to Diu in the north that for forty years the E. I. Company incurred heavy expenditure (Rs. 5,00,000 per annum) to protect her trade. 43

Elated with his successes Tulaji built several new vessels and boasted that he would soon be master of the west coast Tara Bai the Regent Queen, knowing Angria's hostility to the Peshwd, encouraged him to attack the Peshwd's places in Konkan. In February, 1753, TulajI besieged Vishalgarh but was driven off. 44 By 1754 TulajI Angria's. cup was full; the European powers—the English, the Dutch, the Portuguese—hated him like poison. His warships sailing from Cochin to Diu threatened the very existence of their commerce. From the time of their conquest of Salsette-Bassein, ChimnajI Appa had suggested to the English a joint expedition against the Angria. 45 So long as Raja Shahu was alive, he would not allow the Angrias to be annihilated. But after his death in December, 1749, the Peshwd was free to follow his own line with the recalcitrant feudatories. The succession dispute, the Gaikwar's revolt and the Nizam's activities made him overlook TulajI's insolent behaviour. In April, 1753, he made it plain that he would not permit Angria's persecution of Brahmins and vatandars any longer. 46 In early 1754 BalajI BajI Rao sent letters to the Bombay Council, "earnestly desiring us to join our forces with theirs to demolish TulajI Angria". 47 The Peshwa's Subdhdar RamajI Mahadeo pressed the English to attack Gheria and bring about the total destruction of Angria. A treaty was concluded on 19 March, 1755, by which it was settled that the English should be in charge of naval operations and that ships, treasures, guns etc., captured from the Angria should be equally shared. 48

By 7 April, 1755, Suvarnadurg and three other castles to the north had fallen to the joint attack. As the monsoon was now advancing, the English squadron under Commodore James returned to Bombay. But the Peshwas land troops pressed on the campaign, overran Angria's territory and captured Angria's stronghold of Anjanwel, Govalkot and Ratnagiri.

After the monsoon of 1755, the allies renewed their attack on Angria's headquarters—Vijayadurg. Admiral Watson had arrived in India with a royal squadron and he was directed by the Madras authorities to go to the west coast to join the attack on Angria. With him sailed the hero of Arcot, Clive, with a battalion of 800 Europeans and another of 1,000 sepoys. According to Ives, the Maratha army consisted of 6,000 horse and the same number of foot. Ives seems to have left out of account the army that was already operating in Konkan under KhandojI Mankar and Samsher Bahadur. The Maratha fleet cooperating with the British squadron consisted of four ghurabs and fifty gallivats lying in the Rajapur creek, four miles north of Gheria.

The British fleet joined by the Company’s marine, sailed from Bombay on 7 February, 1756, and arrived before Vijayadurg four clays later. The cannonading of the castle started on 12 February. At

four in the afternoon, a chance shot falling on one of Angria’s ships, set fire to his entire fleet cooped up in the bay, and in a short time all the seventy ships lying in the harbour belonging to Angria were burnt down. TulajI Angria had no allies left, his country was overrun by the Peshwa’s armies and his headquarters surrounded by the enemy. His predicament was a hopeless one and he gave himself up to the Maratha commander. In his absence the fort could not hold out long. Clive landed his troops on the I3th and encamped on grounds between the fort and the town, from where the Peshwd’s troops could not communicate with the besieged. The same evening, the British took possession of the ‘impregnable’ fort wherein they found 250 guns, considerable amount of gunpowder, six brass mqrtars, ten lakhs of rupees in cash and about four thousand pounds worth of goods and valuables. They now demanded the surrender of TulajI Angria who was in the Maratha camp. The Maratha commander refused the English demand on which the English declined to hand over the fort to the Marathas.

The Peshwd entered a strong protest to the Bombay Government about its breach of a solemn promise, after which the allies came to an understanding and Vijayadurg was restored to the Peshwd on 12 October, 1756. In lieu of it, the English obtained Bankot and ten surrounding villages.

TulajI Angria remained in custody of the Peshwd till his death in 1786. His sons, however, escaped to Bombay.

After TulajI’s subjugation the southern Konkan was put under the command of Anand Rao Dhulap. RamajI Mahadeo, who was Subdhdar of north Konkan obtained Suvarnadurg. After Ramaji’s death, Phadke held charge of North Konkan.

The Peshwd’s relations with the other branch of the Angria family—ManajI Angria—were not very happy. He was always encroaching on Angria’s territory and took a number of outlying forts. ManajI died in 1758 as a feudatory of the Peshwd and was succeeded by RaghujI. RaghujI was a good ruler and did much to improve the land from the salt-marsh. In 1776 he seized the impostor of Sada5 hlv Rao Bhau and handed him over to the Poona Government. Forbes who visited his country has given a pleasant account of it. RaghujI died in 1793, after which there was great confusion in the succession to the title. The Maratha navy was no longer the terror that it was to foreign rulers and in 1839 the small jdgir of ManajI Angria lapsed to the British Government for want of a direct heir and became a part of the present Kolaba district.

SECTION IV, pp. 250-266: THE SINDIAS OF GWALIOR

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Z- S .P D., XXX,' p. 246.

3. K S P Y. y No. 496.

4. S P.D., XXX, p. 270.

5. S P D., XXX, pp. 290-94.

6. Ibid., p. 300.

7. Ibid, pp. 304-06.

8 Ibidy p. 306.

9 Ibid, p. 321.

10 Brahmendra Swaminche Charitra f No. 27; S P D. X, XV, pp. 37-49.

II. Br. Ch., No. 33-38.

11a. Malcolm J., op. cit., pp. 78-79.

12. S.P.D., XVI, 127; K S P Y., no. 31; Salseite Chronicle, p. 48; Pissurlencar. Marathas & Portuguese , p. 68.

12a. Aitihasik Patravyawahar, Nos. 68, 76.

13. K.S.P Y. (1930 Ed.), pp. 87-89.

14. S.P.D. , XXV, pp. 144-49; XXVI, p. 202.

15. Bhau Sahebanchi Bakhar (Ed. by S. N. Joshi, 1959), pp. 4-7; but from Aitihasik Patravyawahar , 41, 76, (1933), the differences began much earlier.

16. Raj wade, MIS., Vol. I, 37, 39; K.S.P.Y., pp. 128-39; S.P.D., II, pp. 48-65; XXI, pp. 70, 82, 83; XXVII, pp. 105-10.

17- Raj wade, op. cit., 156, 165; SPD., II, p. 114; XXI, p. 181, 182, 185; XXVII, ^247; Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, II, pp. 220-22.

18. Rajwade, M.I.S., XXII, nos. 59-60.

19. S.P.D., XXIX, 219-80; Persian Calendar, III, 544, etc.

20 Gleig, G. R., Warren Hastings, II, p. 39.

21. Sardesai, Hist. Papers Re: Mahadji Sindia, (1937), Nos. 103-109.

22. Ibid, Nos. 134-46, 152

23. Ibid, No. 154.

24. Ibid, Nos. 182, 188-90.

25 Aitchison, Treaties & Engagements , etc. (1863), Vol. Ill, pp. 49-54.

26 Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, Vol. II (1921), p. 153.

27- Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. Ill, p. 200, 221, 289-90.

28 V. V. Khare, Life of Nana Phadnxs (1927), p. 137; Nana Phadnis to Mahadji Sindia, printed in an Appendix in Life of Mahadji Sindia by V. R. Natu (1894), pp. 296-7.

29 Browne to Macpherson, G. G., cited by Desmond Young, Fountain of Elephants, p. 83; also see Brown's letter to Hastings 10 January, 1785, Browne Correspondence, pp. 266-74.

30 P R C., I, pp. 69-70.

31- Ibid, p. 61.

32. Ibid, p. 64, 81.

33. Ibid, pp. 178-79, 387, P.R.C., II, pp. 258-59, 288-89.

33a. For De Boigne's career as Sindia's general see Desmond Young, Fountain of Elephants , pp. 74-175.

34. Hist. Papers of Mahadji Sindia (Ed. Sardesai, 1937), Nos. 503, pp. 6924)7.

35 Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 182.

36- Cited by Sardesai in Marathi Riyasat, Uttar. Vibhag, II (19290,, p. 127.

37. Grant Duff, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 183.

38. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV, p. 26.

39 PTR.C., II, pp. 254-55, 258-59; also Sardesai, New History, Vol. Ill, pp. 228-42;

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40, P.R.C., I, pp. 388-89.

41 Ibid, p. 390.

42 Thompson, Edward, The Making of the Indian Princes, pp. 11-12.

43. V. V. Khare, X, pp. 5309-18.

44. P.R.C., IX, 28; Malcolm J., Central India (1880), I, pp. 175-76.

45. Aitchison, Treaties & Engagements, etc. Vol. IV, pp. 221-25, 233-43.

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SECTION V, pp. 266-277: THE HOLKARS OF INDORE

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2. S.P.D., XVII, 1.

3 S.P.D., XIII, 31-38 and Jaipur Akhbars.

4 S.P.D., XXX, p. 285, 292, 300, 304.

5. Irvine, William, The Bangash Nawabs of Farukhabad, J.A.S.B., 1878, pp. 316-21.

6. Peshwa's letter in Appendix IV of Barve's Life of Malhar Rao Holkar.

7. S.P.D., XIV, 11, 18; XV, 1; Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, I, pp. 249-52.

8 S.P.D., XIV, 21, 23; Sarkar, op. cit., p. 285.

9. S.P.D., XV, 47. Tarikh-i-Hind in Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII.

10. S P.D., XV, 68.

11 Brahmendra Charitra, App. 52.

12. Malcolm, Central India, I, pp. 78-79. 121; S.P.D., XV, p. 86.

13 Aitihasik Patravyawahar, 68; S.P.D., II, pp. 129-33. See also Dr. Raghubir Sinh's Paper, Rajput-Maratha Relations, Mardtha History

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14 S P D XXI 92-94

15. Khare, V. V., I; 3*33-35; SPD., XXXVII, 105-06.

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17. Sardesai, New History, II, p. 505.

18 Chandrachud Daftar, I, 104-5; Parasnis, Maheshwar Darbarchi Batamipatren, 204.

19- Chandrachud Daftar, 202.

20. Holkar Kaifiyat, pp. 42-47; S.P.D., XXIX, 176, 180.

21 Malcolm, Central India, I, pp. 129-60. Malcolm was the Political Agent from 1818-25 and drew up the report which was the basis of his Memoir of Central India, 1826. This was reprinted in 1880 in two volumes which have been used for the' section. Nana Phadnis often tried to pension off the lady and make Tukoji the sole administrator of the Jagir. But Ahalya Bai refused to oblige the Poona Gooti (See Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Uttar Vibhag, pp. 1-11).

22 Malcolm, op. cit., I, p. 149.

23. Malcolm, op. cit., I, p. 136; See also Holkar Kaifiyat (1954), p. 121.

24. Malcolm, op. cit., I, 143-49.

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CHAPTER IX

THE ENGLISH, THE FRENCH AND OTHER EUROPEAN COMPANIES IN INDIA

ANGLO-FRENCH CONFLICT UP TO 1763

I. The English Presidencies upto 1746:

The increasing disintegration of the Mughul empire became marked after 1720 and was conducive to the growth of the English settlements in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast, The overrunning of many parts of the country, particularly of Bengal and the Karnatak, by the Marathas, further contributed to the disintegration of the Muslim power over them and to the growing assertiveness of the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Fort William. The Nawabs of Bengal were greatly weakened by domestic squabbles andHindu disaffection. In the Karnatak the situation was even worse, and further complicated by the turbulence of the poligars and the suppression of the old Nawayat ruling family by the new dynasty of Anwar-ud-din Khan.

In England itself the wisdom and policy of Sir Robert Walpole encouraged a policy of peaceful trade. The Government supported the Company against the claims of the Ostend Company formed by the Austrian emperor Charles VI in 1717, and contrived the formation of a triple alliance of France, England and Holland which forced the emperor, among other things, to wind up his Company which was suspended in 1727 and suppressed four years later. 1

The E.I. Company got from King George I a charter of confirmation with ampler powers, among which was a provision for the starting of Mayor's Courts in the three Presidencies and extending its life to 1766, with the usual stipulation of three years' notice before termination. In 1742 the Company offered to the Government a loan of one million sterling on condition that its monopoly should be extended to 1780 and even then it should continue to be a trading body without the monopoly.

The growth of the three Presidencies was well marked during the period 1708-1746. Madras was fortunate in its succession of Governors which included men like Thomas Pitt, Edward Harrison,

Joseph Collet, James Macrae and Richard Benyon. Harrison (1711-1717) strove hard with the Nawab to secure the grant of sonr suburban villages. The Madras farman , comprehended in the Imperial grant secured by John Surman, exempted the Company's goods from customs in all the ports of Golconda and confirmed the grant of the suburban villages. Governor Collet planted the first large suburban village of weavers so necessary for the cloth trade of the settlement. In the time of Governor Macrae (1725-30) a royal charter reconstituted the Corporation and remodelled the Mayor’s Court which had been in existence from 1687. Governor Morton Pitt (1730-35) arranged for the policing of the Black Town (occupied by Indians) of the settlement. His successor Benyon (173544) was faced with the threat of Maratha attack and with growing anarchy in the Karnatak.

Nawab Zu’lfiqar Khan who established Mughul dominion over the Karnatak was followed by Da’ud Khan Panni, who transferred the headquarters of the Karnatak Subah from JinjI to Arcot. Da’ud Khan’s Diwan and Faujdar, Muhammad Sayyid, later Nawab Sa‘adatullah Khan, was the acknowledged Nawab of the Karnatak during 1710-32; and he was confirmed by Nizam-ul-Mulk when the latter established his authority in the Deccan. The rule of Sa‘adatullah was noted for its justice and equity. 2

In 1725 the Trichinopoly country was ravaged by one Iwaz Khan; and Sarfoji Raja of Tanjore who belonged to a collateral branch of the Bhosle family, appealed for help to Raja Shahu who sent Fateh-Singh with an army. The Marathas exacted tribute from the regions of Bidnur and Seringapatam.

Nawab Sa’adatullah appointed to the charge of many killas (forts) in his subah his own followers of the Nawayat community. On his death, Baquir ‘All, a nephew, who was the killedar of Vellore, became his successor; but he gave up the masnad to his younger brother, Dost ‘Ali Khan, and retired into private life. Dost ‘Ali had an only son, Safdar ‘Ali, and five sons-in-law, of whom the eldest was the infamous Ghulam Mqrtaza ‘Ali of Vellore and third was the well-known adventurer, Chanda Sahib.

In 1734, Safdar ‘Ali and his brother-in-law Chanda Sahib went on a roving expedition to the South. Our sources of information are not agreed as to the sequence of the events that led to the unscrupulous seizure of Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib from the hands of Rani Mlnakshi, the widow of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha, the last Nayak of Madura. Chanda Sahib advanced to Trichinopoly a second

time in 1736, captured Madura and Dindigul and became master erf the Nayak kingdom, while Rani Minakshi committed suicide in despair, and Bangaru Tirumala, the father of. her adopted son, sought refuge into the forests of Sivaganga. The great Maratha invasion of the Kamatak in 1740 was instigated by, among other factors, Bangaru Tirumala; RaghujI Bhosle, the leader of the Maratha army, directed Murari Rao Ghorpade who was made the Governor of Trichi no poly, to place Bangaru on the Nayak throne. When Nizam-ulMulk came down to the south country and seized Trichinopoly (1743), Bangaru sought Maratha assistance but in vain. With him disappeared the last vestige of Hindu rule in the southern district. 3

According to the historian Mark Wilks, Safdar 4 Alt and Mir Asad, the Diwan of the Nawab, had secretly invited the Marathas; but the defeat and death of Dost ‘Ali in the pass of Damalchefuvu foiled their plan by which the invaders were to have by-passed the Nawab quietly and made an attack on Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly. On his father’s death, Safdar ‘Ali shut himself up in Vellore, negotiated with the invaders through Mir Asad and got a secret understanding with them by which they were to get a large portion of the dominions under Chanda Sahib as the price of his effectual removal from the country. After some time the Marathas renewed their pillaging operations in the coastal districts. Chanda Sahib had provisioned Trichinopoly against a likely siege; but being deceived by the temporary withdrawal of the Marathas, he sold off the provisions. His negotiations to avert an attack, did not succeed, and after his brother Bade Sahib was defeated and killed by the enemy, he surrendered Trichinopoly in March 1741. 4

The weak rule of Safdar ‘Ali gave a chance to his crafty cousin Murtaza ‘Ali of Vellore to supplant him. The Nawab was assassinated when he visited Vellore on a feast day (October 1742); but the usurper could not secure the masnad. The nobles represented to the Nizam that the elder of the two sons of the murdered Nawab should be raised to the dignity.

Nizam-ul-Mulk advanced to the Karnatak in the early part of 1743; he put the elder son of Safdar ‘Ali in charge of one of his own officers and restored a semblance of order (August 1743). He then proceeded to Trichinopoly which he contrived to secure, after six months of desultory operations. Khwaja ‘Abdullah Khan who was in charge of the Arcot subdh, was commissioned to re-establish Mughul authority in the east. The Nizam left Arcot for Hyderabad after formally appointing ‘Abdullah Khan as the Nazim, but the

latter died all of a sudden (it was alleged of colic in March 1744); and another noble in his service, Anwar-ud-din Khan, who was greatly conversant with the politics of the Deccan, was immediately appointed. Anwar-ud-din took charge of the Karnatak subah in April 1744, as well as the boy-prince. Soon after, the boy-prince (Sa’adatullah Khan II) was assassinated by some discontented Afghan troopers during a marriage festival (July 1744); and Anwar-ud-din was suspected of having had a hand in the tragedy. 5

Anwar-ud-din was confirmed in his post; he tried to deprive the old Nawayat ruling family of all chances of regaining power.. He was, however, ignorant of the conditions prevailing in the European settlements on the coast and unable to keep the chiefs and poligars in submission and order. Hence his administration was not efficient. 6

It was soon after the accession of Nawab Anwar-ud-din when Nicholas Morse had succeeded Benyon as the Governor of Madras that news reached the coast that England and France were at war. But the English Presidency was then more concerned with Maratha and Karnatak politics than with distant European affairs.

In Bengal the English power grew up steadily in strength and prosperity. There were constant rumours, during the War of the Spanish Succession, that French privateers would attack English shipping in the Hughli river. Nawab Murshid Quli Khan (170425) was a little jealous of the English, particularly when, as a fruit of the embassy of John Surm&n to Farrukhsiyar, they obtained a jarman ordering the Nawab not to meddle with them and empowering them to continue to enjoy all their existing privileges.[7]

The Nawab granted the English the right of free trade only on payment of a large sum. His successor, Shuja Khan, (1725-39) was more favourably disposed towards the Europeans; but he was indolent and guided wholly by two brothers, the younger of whom, the famous ‘AH VardI Khan contrived to get the succession on his master’s death. ‘All VardI Khan respected the privileges of the European settlements,, as he appreciated the benefits accruing from their trade and he is even said to have foreseen, their coming supremacy over the country. He fought several campaigns against the Marathas who invaded Orissa and Bengal from their base at Nagpur. During one of these invasions the English at Calcutta were permitted to dig an entrenchment round the city, the remnants of which are still to be seen and the memory of whicji is kept up in popular memory as the Maratha Ditch. Though Calcutta grew rapidly in population, its fort remained relatively weak. On ‘All VardI Khan’s death in 1756, the English were more concerned with the doings of the Nawab than with the activities of the Dutch and the French in the province.[8]

In Bombay since 1690 the English position continued weak. The trouble from Kanhoji Angria persisted; he frequently threatened the safety of Bombay itself from the island of Khanderi; and his depredations injured the subordinate English agencies at Surat, Karwar, Tellicherry and Anjengo. Further trouble came from the Arab pirates of Muscat. Kanhoji’s successors continued to be hostile. After some time the position improved; the English made a treaty of friendship with the Peshwd in 1739 after his conquest of Bassein. Bombay, however, was the weakest of the three Presidencies, though from the point of view of its fortifications it was superior, to both Madras and Calcutta. The destruction of the Angria power and the storming of their fortress Vijayadurg (Gheria) in alliance with the Peshwd were effected in 1756. Thus only gradually did the English free themselves from every one of the dangers that beset them, viz., the Angria power, the Sidis, oppressive control of the Mughuls which now disappeared from Gujarat after 1737, and the Peshwas who were now befriended.

Already the effect of European trade was seen in the smothering of the Indian hold on trade and shipping. The local carrying and foreign trade slipped more and more from Indian hands and the loss became steadily greater. It was more marked irt the field of foreign trade. The Dutch were the first to enforce the most thorough-going action in this field. But the English quickly followed and outpaced them. The growth of the Company's trade and shipping while having an adverse effect on Indian shipping and trade, strengthened largely the mercantile marine of England. 9

II. French Fortunes down to 1746:

After the death of Martin, Pondicherry deteriorated. Chevalier Hebert who was Governor in the years 1708-13 and 1715-18, strove to raise funds and improve trade. He invited prominent Indian merchants from Madras to settle at Pondicherry. Among these was Tiruvengadam Pillai who laid the basis for the influence and power which his famous son, Ananda Ranga was to enjoy later as Dubash and Courtier. Lenoir, during his first governorship (1721-23) built up French credit with the Indian merchants despite lack of a regular supply of goods and bullion from home. In his time the commerce of Pondicherry began to revive rapidly.

Lenoir was Governor for the second time for nine years (1726-35), and further increased the prosperity of Pondicherry. 10 His successor, Benoit, enlarged French influence and secured for it considerable political power. It was during his time that Karikai 11 was acquired and the bonds of French friendship with the rulers of the Karnatak were strengthened.

In the face of the Maratha invasion of 1740 Dumas offered a refuge to the families both of Safdar 'Ali and of Chanda Sahib within the walls of Pondicherry and defied boldly the Maratha demand for their surrender, for which he got the personal title of Nawab and the rank of Mansabddr of 4,500 horse.

Dupleix who succeeded Dumas perceived that the affairs of the Karnatak were rapidly drifting into anarchy and determined that Pondicherry should be strengthened against possible attacks by Indian powers or European rivals. He was convinced that in the event of an attack by an European power, the reputation and the position of the French would depend much upon the Indian estimate of the French power and therefore he strove hard to gain the esteem of the Indian rulers. While he carried out the orders of the Directors to reduce expenditure, he ignored their instructions to stop all further fortifications of Pondicherry which he completed with moneys from his private purse.

At the outbreak of the war in Europe between England and France (March 1744) the English and the French Companies were in possession of about equal power and equal extent of territory. But the advantage really lay on the English side, in respect of financial stability, commercial prosperity and material resources. Both were suffering from a chronic lack of resources and were, bitterly jealohs of each other. Each attributed its failure in commerce to its inability to maintain a strict trade monopoly between Europe and India due to the jealousy and opposition of the other. Both were unscrupulous in the methods of trade and diplomacy. Dupleix had, for the present, the idea of creating "power by means of native alliances and of making France a great power in India by the side of native powers." 'The English were, in a military sense, powerless, so far as their strength then stood to seriously injure their rivals, but expected that the European war would bring reinforcements.

As early as 1742 the French, fearing that hostilities might damage their power in India, had approached the English Government

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for a convention of neutrality between the two Companies. The

French Ministry was so sure of obtaining this convention that it ordered their Directors to instruct Dupleix to cut down expenditure and to stop the work of fortifying Pondicherry which was going on. On the other hand, the English who were then eager for war, rejected the French offer and despatched a naval squadron under Commodore Barnett to intercept and capture French vessels in the eastern seas and to help the English in crippling French commerce in South India. Dupleix now tried every possible means to bring about a convention of neutrality as between Pondicherry and Madras; but Morse refused to agree. Dupleix's alternative hope was that La Bourdonnais, the enterprising Governor of Mauritius and Bourbon who had provided himself with a fleet of cruisers and aimed at a dash on the English settlements, might come to his help. But this hope ended also in disappointment, as La Bourdonnais was just then ordered to send his ships to France. Dupleix, however, was not daunted. He appealed to Nawab Anwar-ud-din to prohibit the English from attacking the French within his jurisdiction. The Nawab sent a letter to the English Governor that the English would be punished for aqy injury that they might inflict on the French; and in answer to Morse's protest that he had imperative orders from England to attack the French, the Nawab replied that it was the duty of the English as settlers on the Coromandel Coast to obey his commands (July 1745) 12 Consequently Commodore Barnett who had reached the coast had to sail away without attacking Pondicherry which he could have easily captured. Meanwhile La Bourdonnais had managed to fit out another squadron at the Islands with which he reached the Coromandel Coast in July 1746. He met the English fleet under Peyton (who had succeeded Barnett) off Negapatam in an indecisive' engagement. Peyton thereupon made for Trincomalee to repair his ships, and La Bourdonnais reached Pondicherry. In August he again encountered the English squadron near Negapatam, but Peyton refused action under the impression that the French ships had a heavier complement of guns, and made for Pulicat, from where though he learnt that Madras was about to be attacked by the French squadron, he quickly sailed for Bengal. The urgent appeal of Governor Morse to him came too late and Peyton escaped it by the haste of his departure.

III. The Anglo-French Struggle: First Phase (1746-1749) :

From the arrival of La Bourdonnais on the coast the commencement of the actual struggle between the English and the French in India may be reckoned. 13 La Bourdonnais made Pondicherry safe for the time; his fleet commanded the whole coast, while Madras was

unprotected. Morse promptly claimed the protection of the Nawab which he had promised to extend to the English in such a contingency.

But the Nawab gave no definite answer to the English appeal and was wavering in mind; nor would he order the French not to attack the English territories in his province. But Dupleix apd La Bourdonnais had all along regarded the capture of Madras as the certain fruit of a decisive French victory at sea; and both regarded it as a certainty from the moment of the retirement of the English squadron. La Bourdonnais' fleet, supplied with additional guns, ammunition and men from Pondicherry, appeared in the roads of Madras in the middle of September 1746. The French erected batteries, and after a short bombardment received the surrender of the Fort from the English (September 21). Now began a bitter quarrel between the two French leaders as to the disposal of the captured place. 14

The real facts of the case seem to be something like this. As soon as Dupleix received La Bourdonnais' first letter announcing the capture of Madras, he was overjoyed. La Bourdonnais himself was at first disposed to be guided by his advice and said that he had some discussion with the English regarding the ransom of Madras, but had entered into no definite agreement with them as yet. Dupleix had resolved from the very first that all discussion about ransom should be abandoned; he claimed that he had supreme authority as Governor-General of French India to decide the fate of Madras^ and that La Bourdonnais was subject to his authority. Dupleix pleaded at length with La Bourdonnais, how, with Madras in French hands, Fort St. David could not long resist capture, and it would be easy to capture even the settlement of Calcutta. Further he argued that if Madras were restored to the English for a ransom, the latter as soon as their fleet should return, would try to capture Pondicherry itself. La Bourdonnais, partly unwilling to submit to Dupleix's authority and also because he might have received a private present from the English, declared that he had already pledged his word for a ransom, hastily concluded an agreement for the French evacuation of Madras by January 1747, and left the coast soon after. 15

Dupleix was unshaken in his determination to retain Madras and treated the English at Madras as prisoners of war. But he had lost the help of the fleet, while the Nawab held that his action was but a trick to cheat him out of Madras. He sent a strong force under his eldest son Mahfuz Khan to wrest Madras from the unfaithful French. The details of the battle 16 of Adyar river between Mahfuz Khan and Paradis, are told at length in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai. The French fire was too hot and quick for the Muhammadans.

Dupleix, now free from all immediate danger on the Nawab's side, was emboldened to proceed to the attack of Fort St. David,, the only remaining possession of the English On the coast. He had already directed two futile attempts on the fort before March 1747. Now Admiral Griffin arrived with a powerful British squadron on the coast, saved Fort St. David for the time, and in a short while, closed the seas to all French trade. Each succeeding attempt of Dupleix to capture Fort St. David angered the Nawab against him more and more; and each failure increased the deadlock of the struggle. Though the French enjoyed military superiority, they had to garrison Fort St. George, in addition to Pondicherry and Karikal, and could not get provisions and other things by sea. In January 1748 Dupleix personally commanded the third expedition against Fort St. David; but it fared no better than the previous ones, since an English squadron approached the coast. For some .months the deadlock continued; in June a French fleet reached the coast and Dupleix launched yet another attack on Fort St. David at a time when the English fleet was away. The attempt could have succeeded, but for the skill of Major Lawrence who had assumed command of the English garrison and forced the French to retreat. In the meantime an English fleet under Admiral Boscawen reached the coast in July, with the definite aim of reducing Pondicherry before the rains should set in. But as the English fleet had been long expected and as Dupleix had taken measures to strengthen his fortifications, the English attack could make no impression and had to be withdrawn with considerable loss through sickness and lack of caution. Dupleix's reputation stood greatly enhanced after this set-back for the English.

News of the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle reached India when Dupleix, much elated by his late success, began to plan yet another attack on Fort St. David. There was mutual exchange of prisoners and places taken in the war. The English got back Madras and the French, Cape Breton Island in North America. Thus closed the first phase of the Anglo-French struggle. 17

IV. The Renewal of the Struggle—The War down to thb recall of Dupleix (1749-1754):

The temptations which prompted both the English and the French to interfere in the politics of the Indian powers were very strong and not easily resisted. The English were the first to move. Shahuji, the exile Raja of Tanjore, had offered to cede to them the port Devikottai at the mouth of the Coleroon and to pay their expenses, though Pratap Singh, the actual ruler, had been in correspondence with them and they had courted his assistance as against the French. The expedition which they sent against Devikottai failed. But a second one succeeded. The English thus secured the reward without performing their part of the bargain. When Pratap Singh promised to confirm the English in their new possession, the latter not only renounced the cause of Shahuji but agreed to keep him in confinement in Madras. Comment on this action is needless. 18

On the death of the aged Nizam-ul-Mulk in June 1748, his second son Nasir Jang, who had been for the greater part in the/Deccan and had acted for his father, promptly seized the treasury and assumed the powers and title of subahdar of the Deccan. But a favourite grandson of Asaf Jah, Muzaffar Jang by name, who had been governor of Adoni and Bijapur for some years, claimed the subahdari on the ground that his grandfather had nominated him his successor by a will.

Affairs were also taking a serious turn in the Karnatak. Dupleix had clearly seen that Anwar-ud-din was not to be depended upon as a firm ally and was disinclined to value or solicit European aid. The name of Sa‘adatullah Khan was still popular and the members of the Nawayat group to which he belonged were still in control of numerous strong forts. Chanda Sahib had been till recently prisoner of the Marathas in the Deccan. His wife and family had been sheltered at Pondicherry since 1740, and through them Dupleix had maintained a close correspondence with him. Largely through his good offices, Chanda Sahib was liberated in the early part of 1748 and even furnished with some Maratha troops. After some movements in which his help was solicited by both the rulers of Chitaldurg and Bidnur and he lost his eldest son Abid Sahib in the battle of Ivlyconda, he contrived, according to Orme, in obtaining a complete victory for his Chitaldurg ally and raised a force of 6,000 men. Chanda Sahib then joined Muzaffar Jang and persuaded his ally to venture upon the claim to Hyderabad. Early in 1749, French negotiations with Chanda Sahib were complete, by which French help was promised to him in his plan of attack against Anwar-ud-din. 19 Chanda Sahib persuaded Muzaffar Jang to begin their combined operations in the Karnatak where the former’s influence would be of great help to the latter. In June 1749 they moved together towards the Karnatak and were joined by a small French force. Anwar-ud-din was now thoroughly alarmed and tried to prevent their entry into the Payen Ghat or lower Karnatak country. At Ambur, 50 miles to the west of Arco’t, Anwar-ud-din was defeated and slain, the defeat having been due to the treachery of Husain Khan Tahir, the Jdglrddr of Ambur. Mahfuz Khan, the elder son of the Nawab, was made prisoner and the younger, Muhammad ‘Ali, escaped to Trichinopoly, of which he was the governor (August 1749). The victors entered Arcot in triumph and Chanda Sahib was formally installed as the Nawab of the Karnatak by Muzaffar Jang. After spending some time in receiving the homage of their vassals, the victors proceeded to Pondicherry where they indulged in a round of festivities; and Chanda Sahib made a grant to the French of eighty villages in the vicinity of Pondicherry, while Muzaffar Jang declared his intention of giving the districts round Masulipatam to them as soon as his authority should be established in that quarter. Dupleix urged that the victors should advance without the least delay against Trichinopoly and drive Muhammad ‘Ali out of the place. But when Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib actually set out from Pondicherry in December 1749, they turned towards Udaiyarpalayam and Tanjore where they expected large contributions which would relieve them from their intense financial embarrassments. At Tanjore their doings were not fruitful; the Raja procrastinated, Muzaffar Jang was not amenable to the directions of either Dupleix or of Chanda Sahib and suddenly news reached that Nasir Jang was fairly well on his march into the Karnatak with a huge army. When the latter reached Chengamah in March 1750 Chanda Sahib retreated in haste from Tanjore across the Coleroon, dragging Muzaffar Jang along with him and exposed him to stray attacks from the Maratha adventurer, Murar Rao of Gooty. Even when protected by the guns of Pondicherry, Muzaffar Jang was restive and surrendered to his uncle Nasir Jang and was kept a captive. The French troops who were to help Chanda Sahib refused to continue in camp on account of some grievances.

In the meantime, the English were not idle. Madras was restored to them in August, 1749, and all its old inhabitants whom Dupleix had tried in vain to seduce to Pondicherry, readily returned to it. After the battle of Ambur, Dupleix had tried to secure San Thome which would serve as a standing check on Madras, but the English cleverly forestalled him by seizing the place by virtue of a grant made to them from Muhammad ‘Ali. They sent troops to help their ally at Trichinopoly. 20

The actual entrance of Nasir Jang in the Karnatak was preceded by the rush of Maratha horsemen under Murar Rao. Chanda Sahib aimed at avoiding encounter with the huge army of Nasir Jang and hoped it would eat up the resources of the country and then withdrew. In spite of the retreat of the French commander D’Auteuil to Pondicherry when Nasir Jang advanced near it, and of Muzaffar Jang’s surrender to his uncle, Chanda Sahib continued unshaken in his loyalty to Dupleix who was not at all disheartened and kept up high pretensions in his negotiations with Nasir Jang insisting that, as a necessary condition to any peace, Nasir Jang should recognise Chanda Sahib as the rightful Nawab of the Karnatak and no member of the family of Anwar-ud-din should be appointed Nawab (March-April 1750). When negotiations broke off, Dupleix resorted to intrigue and undermined by bribes and other inducements, the loyalty of the Pa than Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur; and the court of the Nizam was split into two factions, of which the pro-French one was headed by Shah Nawaz Khan and his crafty Peshkar , Ramdas Pandit.

Captain Cope who assisted Muhammad ‘Ali, fought an indecisive action with the French who did not fail to profit by the indolence into which Nasir Jang fell. In July Dupleix sent some French troops to Masulipatam and occupied it. He followed up this success by the capture of the temple fortress of Tiruviti from which Muhammad '‘Ali had to flee to Jinji, where his troops reassembled. A small French force under D’Auteuil and Bussy then advanced against Jinji; and their assault and capture of the place in the course of a night attack greatly raised their fame. 21 These exploits, besides raising the reputation of the French, roused Nasir Jang from his fancied security. The latter marched from Arcot whither he had retired towards Jinji; but as the monsoon set in, his movements became difficult, and his army suffered from scarcity and sickness. In these circumstances, he opened negotiations with Dupleix, who, insisted as before, upon the recognition of Chanda Sahib as the rightful Nawab, the liberation of Muzaffar Jang and the cession of Masulipatam and Jinji to the French. During the progress of these negotiations, Dupleix had tin*e to enter more fully into intrigue with the treacherous Pa than Nawabs. Before Nasir Jang had time to make new proposals, the French commandant of Jinji advanced in his unwieldy and sprawling camp. In the midst of the confusion, Nasir Jang was shot dead through the heart by one of the Nawabs and Muzaffar Jang was released from prison and promptly elevated to the throne. Chanda Sahib, on hearing of this revolution, hastened to Pondicherry where he and Dupleix embraced ‘like two friends, escaped from shipwreck.’ (December, 1750). 22

Dupleix had now attained the summit of his ambition. The Karnatak was in a manner his own and the Deccan was under his influence. Two days after his elevation to the masnad of the Deccan Muzaffar Jang was received at Pondicherry with acclamation, confirmed Chanda Sahib in the Nawabship of the Karnatak and appoint ed Dupleix to be his representative in the whole of the country up to the south of Krishna. Muhammad ‘Ali’s hold on Trichinopoly, to which he had escaped from the camp of Nasir Jang, was the only obstacle to Dupleix. He had been negotiating that Dupleix would persuade Muzaffar Jang to give him a governorship in any other part of his dominions, as the condition of his surrender of the place. This point was the height, of the ascendancy of the French power in India.

Muzaffar Jang left Pondicherry for his capital in January 1751 and was accompanied by a French force under Bussy on whom his hopes of secure power and even personal safety depended. He had scarcely traversed some distance from Pondicherry when the Pathan Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savanur who* were discontented with their share of the spoils raised a melee in the Cuddapah district in the course of which Muzaffar Jang was cut to pieces. In the confusion Bussy persuaded the nobles to agree to the choice of Salabat Jang, one of the surviving sons of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who promptly confirmed the French in all their privileges.

Now the English perceived the gravity of their situation. Saunders, the English Governor of Madras, despatched a body of English troops and sepoys under Captain Cope to Muhammad ‘Ali’s assistance. The latter, taking courage, had broken off air negotiations with the enemy, and when Chanda Sahib, after receiving the submission of the chiefs to the north of the Coleroon, prepared to march against Trichinopoly in person, the English sent an additional contingent to Trichinopoly, which, after a surprise attack at the hands of the French near Valikandapuram, reached Muhammad ‘Ali with great difficulty (July 1751).

The operations round Trichinopoly which now commenced and lasted for nearly three years, were very complicated. They are narrated in great detail and with splendid animation by the contemporary historian, Robert Orme.

Chanda Sahib and the French occupied the island of Srirangam, drove the English from the fortress of Koiladi and encamped on the south bank of the Kaveri to the east of Trichinopoly. The English were twice reinforced, but the enemy troops were far more numerous

and there were no deceiving operations for some time. Meanwhile the diversion on Arcot was planned. Muhammad ‘Ali, to whom the credit for this suggestion should really go, had been of the view that troops from Madras could take possession of several places in the Arcot country and thus compel the enemy to desist from marching. After the English reverse at

Valikandapuram, Saunders appreciated the value of the Nawab's proposals. But still he doubted whether even the combined forces of the English $nd Muhammad 'Ali, even if they should take Arcot, might be strong enough to keep it and collect the tributes from the poligars without considerably diminishing the garrison at Trichinopoly and thereby facilitating the enemy. Muhammad 'Ali strongly urged his plan and Saunders entrusted Clive, who now came into prominence, with the task of the capture of Arcot.

The capture of Arcot by Clive 23 (August 1751) assisted by the Nawab's troops did not make any impression on Dupleix who believed that the place could be easily retaken. The subsequent siege oi Arcot by Raza Sahib, assisted by French troops lasted 50 days. Murtaza 'Ali quarrelled, or pretended to quarrel with Raza Sahib, while Murar Rao definitely went over to the side of the English. On the 24th of November the enemy raised the siege and retreated—the event being deemed to be 'the turning point in the eastern career of the English'. Clive pursued the retreating enemy through Chettupattu to Jinji. After a short stay at Fort St. George, he reassembled his troops as the enemy began to ravage the neighbourhood. In February 1752, Clive won the victory of Kaveripauk. Just then he was summoned to lead a body of troops to relieve Trichinopoly which was still besieged. He accompanied Major Lawrence who had assumed the command and reached the place by the end of March 1752. Muhammad 'Ali's chief reliance was on the help from Nanjaraj of Mysore. The accession of Mysore to his side was followed by that of the Raja of Tanjore and of Murar Rao. But all this was little avail so long as the French were superior in regular forces. Dupleix, anxious to retain the superiority, had strictly ordered Law, the French commander at Trichinopoly, to attack and intercept the advancing forces of Lawrence. But Law was unenterprising while Lawrence cleverly distracted his attention and by-passed him. Law now foolishly resolved to retreat into the island of Srirangam, which was within actual cannon-shot and could be cut off from all supplies and communication. Chanda Sahib protested against this suicidal course; and Dupleix held it to be the worst piece of folly that Law could commit and urged him that if he should retreat at all, he should

march back on Pondicherry so as to allow reinforcements joining him at a distance from Lawrence's forces. Clive took up a strong, position to the north of Srirangam and on the road to Pondicherry* with a view to cut off any reinforcements;* from Dupleix reaching Law. He also repulsed a surprise attack made on his position. Law’s only hope of safety now lay in his conjunction with D’Auteuil who headed the convoy from Pondicherry. But Captain Dalton tricked D’Auteuil into the belief that the entire British army was advancing against him and forced him to retreat, leaving* all his stores and ammunition in English hands.

The communications of the enemy were now completely cut off; and most of Chanda Sahib's adherents now deserted him. He had frequently urged upon Law the necessity of their making a final effort to break away. But repeated failures had depressed his mind and undermined his health. He attempted to gain over the Tanjore general to his side, in the hope that the latter might aid his escape tc Karikal. But when he surrendered, he was promptly imprisoned. Lawrence proposed that Chanda Sahib should be given over to the English for safe custody; but the proposal was unacceptable to all his native allies, especially to Muhammad ‘Ali. Ultimately Chanda Sahib was killed, it is said, at the instigation of Muhammad ‘Ali (June 17521. 24

Thus ended the French siege of Trichinopoly. No such blow had fallen on the French since they entered the field of Indian politics. Their ally, Chanda Sahib, was no more, and their military prestige was vastly lowered. The triumph of the English was great; their representative, Muhammad ‘Ali, was now the undisputed master of Trichinopoly. Bussy, the only capable general on the French side was by the side of the Nizam far away from Pondicherry. Pondicherry itself had been denuded of its garrison; and JinjI and other

places in French possession were equally unprotected.

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V. French influence in the Deccan:

But French influence in the Deccan continued to be in tne ascendant. The events which followed Salabat Jang’s elevation strengthened the French hold over him. Scarcely had he crossed the Krishna on his march to his capital, when the Peshwa attacked his dominions, having come to a secret understanding with Ghazi-uddin Khan, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk who had hitherto remained at Delhi and now put forward a claim to his father’s throne; but

domestic troubles forced the Marathas to retire to Poona for the time. The threatened arrival of Ghazi-ud-din, the possibility of a renewed Maratha invasion and the spirit of disaffection which prevailed in the northern part of his dominions compelled Salabat to set off for Aurangabad where Bussy restored discipline among the troops and won, by his tact, the respect of the nobles. When the Marathas renewed their invasion, Bussy pursued the war into the enemy country and defeated the retreating Maratha troops very near Poona itself (December 1751). The Marathas lost heavily and Bussy’s fame resounded throughout the land. Raja Ramdas who was now in great power at the Nizam’s court, was sincerely devoted to French interests and almost an agent of Dupleix; and Salabat Jang reconfirmed the cession to French of the territory round Masulipatam and conferred the government of Karnatak on Dupleix and his successor.

When Raja Ramdas was killed by assassins (7 April, 1752), Salabat Jang retreated to Ahmadnagar and submitted to an armistice and Bussy cleverly conciliated Sayyid Lashkar Khan, the new minister, who was inimical to the French. Within a few months Ghazi-ud-din Khan appeared in person at Aurangabad armed with a grant from the titular Mughul emperor appointing him to be the Niz&m. He was quickly joined by the Peshwa; and when his offer to Dupleix on condition that French assistance was to be withdrawn from Salabat Jang was refused, he gave a formal grant to Muhammad ‘Ali of the Nawabship of the Karnatak. The contest between Nasir Jang and Muzaffar Jang seemed now about to be repeated. But the situation was saved by the sudden death of Ghazi-ud-din by poison.[25] Bussy, influential as ever, defeated Raghuji Bhosle of BerSr who was ravaging the northern districts and came to an understanding with the Peshwa and Bhosle at Bhalki (November 1752). As his reward, Bussy got the grant of an extensive district on the right bank of the Krishna, which he immediately made over to his nation. It was his wish to take Salabat Jang to the Karnatak where French affairs had badly deteriorated. But a sudden revolution at Hyderabad where Sayyid Lashkar Khan contrived to take advantage of

Bussy’s retirement* to Masulipatam for recouping his health, scattered the French troops in different parts and induced Salabat Jang to dismiss his French bodyguard and even enter into an active correspondence with the English.

Dupleix saw the seriousness of the situation, directed Bussy to proceed forthwith to Hyderabad and learnt with satisfaction that the latter had succeeded in overawing his enemies and in making. Sayyid Lashkar Khan, the new minister, to submit to a settlement. 26

The French occupation of the Northern Sarkars was not entirely peaceful. The local Muhammadan governor and the powerful Raja of Vizianagaram were subdued only after great difficulty. Meanwhile Bussy was engaged in various punitive campaigns in order to reduce the half-independent zaminddrs and hill-chiefs of the interior. He also adjusted several disputes which had arisen between Salabat Jang and the Raja of Mysore and Murar Rao.

To revert to the Karnatak affairs: Lawrence thought that he had nothing more to do, now that Chanda Sahib had disappeared, than to put Muhammad ‘Ali in possession of all his territories. But he soon perceived that serious dissensions had arisen between the Nawab and his other allies, the Mysoreans and the Tanjoreans. Nanjaraj, the Mysore general, demanded the cession of Trichinopoly and its dependencies to himself, while the astute Murar Rao, offering to mediate between the Nawab and the Dalwai, only made the breach wider. The Nawab protracted negotiations and the Dalwai tried to persuade Lawrence to return to Madras, because on the English departing, he could easily secure Trichinopoly either by force or fraud.

Dupleix now got some reinforcements and profiting by these dissensions, audaciously claimed the right to act in the name of Salabat Jang, and even proclaimed Raza Sahib, the son of Chanda Sahib, to be the rightful Nawab of the Karnatak. An English attempt to reduce Jinji was repulsed; and elated by this success, Dupleix sent a force to march against Fort St. David, which was however compelled to retreat. Lawrence refrained from an actual violation of French

territory, observing the rules of war then in force, but contrived to

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induce the French to come out of Pondicherry and severely defeated them at Bahur (near Pondicherry) Clive reduced the forts of Covelong and Chingleput and then retired on sick leave to England; and Lawrence went back to Fort St. David for the monsoon season.

Meanwhile Dupleix reopened negotiations with the Mysore Dalwai and persuaded Murar Rao 27 to join him openly. In December, 1752, the Madras Council declared Nanjaraj to have become an open enemy After a few skirmishes the English were compelled, on account of their poor strength, to remain on the defensive; while the Mysoreahs began so close a blockade of Trichinopoly, that when Lawrence proceeded to its relief early in 1753, he had to remain in* active for some time, and his supplies from the friendly Raja of Pudukottah were attempted to be cut off by Astruc, the astute French commander. 23

In other parts of Karnatak also, affairs were moving badly for the English. Tiruviti fort to the west of Cuddalore, fell into French hands. Tiruvannamalai was threatened by them and Muhammad ‘Ali’s troops were driven from Arcot and Dupleix sent a strong reinforcement to Astruc which rendered the position of Lawrence most perilous. The latter however launched an unexpected attack against a strong rock position which struck the French with panic and created dissensions between them and their allies. He also gained the Raja of Tanjore over to his side and got reinforcements from Fort St. David, and in a few days was able to inflict a second defeat on the enemy, following it by driving the French out of an entrenched position. When Astruc retook the command, Lawrence again launched a sudden attack on the French position, dispersed their allies and took Astruc himself prisoner. But Dupleix sent every available soldier to Srirangam where the French were then encamped, and in a sense of over-confidence, they attempted to storm the fort, but only exposed themselves to a severe and devastating fire. This success saved Trichinopoly from the most serious danger that had befallen it during the course of the war (November 1753) and Captain Dalton, “the hero and defender of Trichinopoly „J , beat up the Mysore camp and expelled from the city all

Mysoreans. (Letter from Lt. J. Harrison, dated 13 December, 1753—in Orme, MSS , India III, 26).

The acute part of the struggle was now over. But though Lawrence could defeat the French in the field, he could not drive them away being deficient in cavalry. On the other side, Dupleix also was at the end of his resources. In the beginning of January 1754, commissioners from Madras and Pondicherry met at the Dutch settlement of Sadras to adjust the claims of the English and Muhammad 4 Ali as against those of Salabat Jang and the French. But the basic demands of the two parties were quite irreconcilable with each other from the outset.^ 9

At the same time the English negotiated with the Mysoreans. Lawrence continued on the defensive trying to secure supplies from Tanjore and Pudukottai. In the course of these operations Lawrence was helped by a brave Indian soldier, Muhammad Yusuf Khan, who was the captain of the sepoys in the English service and later became the Nawab’s governor of Madura and Tinnevelly. At last the French, disheartened by their repeated failures, attempted to destroy the dam across the Kaveri river on which the prosperity of the kingdom of Tanjore depended. This act threw the Raja of Tanjore firmly into English hands. But before a decisive struggle could be fought, the rains had begun and operations had to be suspended.

Lawrence retired to winter quarters; and about the same time a strong English fleet under Admiral Watson reached Madras. Immediately afterwards, news was received of the recall of Dupleix and of the conclusion of a truce preparatory to a final peace between the two Companies. 30

VI. Events down to the advent of Lally (1754-58):

Before his departure from Pondicherry, Dupleix gave Godeheu, his successor, a detailed account of the military operations in progress and advised him to maintain Bussy at the Nizam’s court to strengthen the French hold over the Northern Sarkars, to push on vigorously the operations against Trichinopoly and to send there the reinforcements that came along with him before the expected arrival of Admiral Watson. Godeheu gave no indication of the course that he intended to pursue. The provisional treaty of

January 1755 between himself and the English Governor declared that both the Companies should renounce all Indian governments and dignities and not interfere in the disputes of the Indian powers; and both parties should restrain their native allies from carrying on the war. No mention was made of Muhammad ‘Ali and not a single reference was there as to the pretensions of Dupleix to the rulership of the Karnatak

Dupleix declared that Godeheu signed away in this treaty “the ruin of the country and the dishonour of the nation” and held that when Godeheu landed at Pondicherry in August 1754, French affairs had already taken a turn for the better. Even Cultru, a recent French exponent of Dupleix’s genius and work, leans to this view. Godeheu himself found “on his arrival the greatest confusion, the army clamouring for pay, and the treasury empty” and was convinced that it would be folly to continue the war. The Pondicherry Council wrote to Paris immediately after the provisional treaty of January 1755 that nothing more fortunate could have happened to the French. The English were also of the same opinion. They held that the peace was unduly favourable to the enemy. Admiral Watson loudly declared that the treaty tied his hands and robbed the English of further victory. Edward Ives, who came to India with Watson’s fleet in the latter part of 1754 wrote thus: “The peace was by all deemed to have been a masterly stroke of French politics. ” 3 °a Orme, the contemporary historian of the Anglo-French Wats, is also of the same opinion; and he wrote that the English were obliged to conclude “a truce on such precarious and unequal terms as would enable the French to recommence the war with double strength if

the conditional treaty were not accepted by their ministry in Europe.” It must also be remembered that Godeheu at first stood out for higher terms, and it was only after the arrival of Watson’s fleet with a strong force on board that he came down in his demands. It is also a mistake to suppose that the peace was in any sense humiliating to the French or deprived them of their possessions and power to an undue extent. “Godeheu fully appreciated the work of Bussy, who himself had no illusions as to the critical position of affairs; and in spite of the clause against interference in native politics, the latter was left undisturbed at Hyderabad. Finally the peace was only provisional and required ratification, which never came, for the outbreak of the Seven Years' War occurred before the decision of the home authorities was known. Therefore, even the slight territorial changes suggested in the draft treaty were never made.... and it was the outbreak of hostilities in 1756, and not Godeheu's treaty which ruined the French settlements in India "

An enthusiastic French admirer of Dupleix says that "the English have charged themselves to prove to the world that Dupleix was no dreamer and that his plans were never chimerical; on the contrary the English themselves have adopted them; they were his disciples."

Opposed to this view is the reverse side of the picture, which paints Dupleix in comparatively dark colours. Thornton, the eminent historian of British India, declares that in Dupleix's character, ambition, vanity and duplicity formed predominant elements. His ambition was that of a man who aspires to sudden greatness. His vanity was well-known to his contemporaries; and his duplicity was carried in some instances to a very bad extent. Major Lawrence wrote of him a few months before his departure, that "he neither values men nor money, nor anything but what can gratify his own ambition. ... he talks not like the Governor of Pondicherry, but as the prince of the province." Dupleix treated the Directors and ministers at Paris as if they were persons of no importance at all. He withheld from them information as to the real state of affairs, informing them of his victories, but concealing from them his reverses.

Dupleix's policy was not so consistent and far seeing as has been alleged sometimes. His plans of an extended dominion and of the destruction of the English power are not traceable distinctly before 1746. With many splendid gifts he was defective in calm and plain judgment. His plans were boldly outlined and skilfully formed, but the course which he pursued was not cautious and definite.

ENGLISH, FRENCH AND OTHER EUROPEAN COMPANIES IN INDIA

His ostentatious parade of Mughul dignities and of sovereign power and his intrigues with the Indian princes were blunders, because a European governor ought to rule on European principles and by European forms.

Yet in spite of his many defects and his final failure, Dupleix is a striking and brilliant figure in Indian history. The mature judgment of Elphinstone pays a warm tribute to the memory of the great French Governor thus: "We look with admiration on the founder of the European ascendancy in India, to whose genius the mighty changes which are now working in Asia owe their being; the first who made an extensive use of disciplined sepoys; the first who quitted the ports on the sea and marched an army into the heart of the continent; the first above all, who discovered the illusion of the Mughal greatness, and turned to his own purposes the phantom." (The Rise of the British Power in the East , pp. 226-27).

Soon after the conclusion of the Treaty both parties began to regard it as a mere truce, and while pretending to adhere to its provisions, each tried to secure for himself special advantages, the French in the Deccan and the English in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly where by subduing the poligars for their Nawab, they hoped to gain financial benefit. Godeheu and Saunders left India soon after the peace; and De Leyrit, the new Governor of Pondicherry, was soon convinced that a further war with the English was inevitable.

When news of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War reached India towards the end of 1756, De Leyrit learnt that France was preparing to send a powerful armament and sent all available troops against Trichinopoly which was then but weakly garrisoned. The French contrived to occupy several strong positions to the east and south of the city. But a relieving English force under Caillaud entered Trichinopoly cleverly and forced the French to retreat to Pondicherry (June 1757). After this the French concentrated all their forces on the relief of Wandiwash fort which was then threatened by the English. They followed up this operation by capturing Tiruvannamalai and several neighbouring forts. When Lally landed at Pondicherry in April 1758, the situation had veered round definitely to the advantage of the French. All the strong forts of the Karnatak with the exception of Arcot, Vellore, C^onjeevaram and Chingleput were in their hands. The English forces were shut up in Trichinopoly; they had to garrison Madras and Fort St. David and their available troops had been despatched in the previous year to

Bengal, while the fleet under Watson was in the Hughli. For the moment, on the Coromandel Coast the French were not only masters on the land, but were also supreme at sea up to the end of 1758.

VII. Deccan hffairs:

Both De Leyrit and Godeheu maintained Bussy and the French contingent at the Nizam's court. But Dupleix's departure shook the confidence of the Nizam and his advisers in the strength of the French, and when Bussy announced to Salabat Jang the terms of the Treaty of Pondicherry, the latter significantly remarked: "You know that the state of my affairs necessarily demands the support of European power; on this condition I am able to govern. Either you must remain here or I must enlist the English in my interest." Bussy's prompt help to Salabat Jang who marched against Mysore for claiming all arrears of tribute, his success in protecting the country along the march from plunder and pillage and in bringing about peace with the Mysoreans, as well as the Marathas who made a simultaneous attack, enabled French influence to continue unabated in 1755. In the next year Shah Nawaz Khan and the anti-French party in the Deccan got the ears of Salabat Jang who was then staying at Aurangabad, turned his mind against the French and applied to the Peshwd for assistance in driving them out. The latter most readily accepted the invitation and cleverly made an offer to Bussy that he should enter the Maratha service. Bussy, who was then at Masulipatam, made his way to Hyderabad where he determined upon the bold expedient of attacking the city itself and there standing on the defensive. The reinforcements sent to him in time from Masulipatam succeeded after much fighting into forcing their way to his camp. This bold stand of Bussy impressed the feeble mind of Salabat Jang. On the same day, when Bussy was joined by the reinforcements under Law, his rank and honour were fixed as high as before at a public durbar (August 1756). But he no longer experienced or retained that complete hold which he had hitherto enjoyed. 31

Salabat Jang's reconciliation was chiefly due to the revolution in Bengal and the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daulah and the diversion to Bengal of the proposed English expedition. Bussy spent some months in the subjugation of the unsettled parts of the Northern Sarkars. He made a triumphal progress through the country and met with no resistance at all, except at Bobbili where, at the instigation of the crafty Vijayarama ^Raju of Vijayanagaram, he pul to the sword all the brave defenders. 32 He secured Vizagapatam and

other settlements of the English in the Sarkars. He was even tempted by Siraj -ud-daulah to march into Orissa and Bengal and help him against Clive who had arrived at Calcutta at the head of the avenging expedition. But he soon learnt that Clive had forestalled him, coerced the Nawab into submission and taken by assault Chandranagur, the French settlement on the Hughli. He proceeded to attack the English establishments within the Sarkars and captured all of them (1757).

While Bussy was thus occupied with the affairs of the Sarkars, a conspiracy was formed against Salabat Jang by Shah Nawaz Khan for raising Nizam 'Ali, his younger brother, to power and expelling the French with the assistance of the Marathas. Bussy quickly marched to the rescue of his master. The presence of the French army and the personal influence of Bussy tore the conspiracy to shreds. Salabat Jang, who had been reduced to impotence,, was restored to power, and Nizam 'Ali was forced to take refuge in flight (February 1758). Bussy succeeded in restoring some degree of order and stability in the state and returned in triumph to Hyderabad, where he received from Count de Lally, who had just then landed at Pondicherry, orders to. return to the Karnafak with all his troops.

VIII. Lally and the End of French dominion (1758-61):

Count de Lally was descended from an Irish emigre family and had distinguished himself in the War of the Austrian Succession, and accompanied Prince Charles in the Rebellion of the Forty-five'. He was a brave, conscientious and incorruptible soldier, but insolent, irritable and destitute of comprehension and extended vision. His voyage to India was protracted and attended by the loss of a good proportion of his men. But when he landed at Pondicherry in April 1758, the bulk of the English troops and their whole fleet were away in Bengal with no prospect of their speedy return. Only a portion of the Englsh fleet returned from Bengal and met the French squadron that carried Lally's expedition, in an indecisive engagement near Cuddalore. Immediately after his landing, Lally marched a portion of his army against Fort St. David. He became impatient over the preparations for the expedition with De Leyrit and indiscriminately impressed many Indian inhabitants of Pondicherry. When the weak garrison of Fort St. David capitulated, after a short resistance, Lally was overjoyed and immediately despatched a detachment to Devikottai which also surrendered. It was expected that he would now turn to the capture of Madras whose Governor, George Pigot, had appealed to Clive for reinforcements. But the latter was convinced that Lally could not take Madras as it was well supplied with provisions and declined to weaken his own position in the imminent crisis he had to face. Meawhile Lally had quarrelled most violently with De Leyrit as he was unable to furnish him with money or means of transport, but found that he could do nothing except lose his temper. D'Ache, the French Admiral, was also obstructive. Lally resolved to march into the Tanjore country to enforce from its Raja the payment of a bond executed by him in 1750 to Chanda Sahib for 56 lakhs of rupees which had been handed over to Dupleix. He proceeded to Karikal, ravaged the country along his march to Tanjore, and after fruitless negotiations, began a regular siege of the fort. But after some days, on account of lack of ammunition and provisions, and because the English fleet now actually threatened Karikal, which was his base, he spiked his guns and retreated in haste to Pondicherry, closely followed and harassed by the enemy (July-August, 1758). D'Ache after fighting an indecisive engagement with the English, decided to quit the Coromandel Coast for Mauritius, against the united opinion of Lally and the Pondicherry Council. From this time (August 1758) the English had the undisputed command of the sea. In April 1759, D'Ache appeared again on the Coromandel Coast, but his stay was short, and after a feeble encounter with the English fleet, he quitted never to appear again.

Lally's ineffective entry into the Tanjore country discredited him very much. Another great mistake he committed was the recall of Bussy and Moracin, the Governor of the Northern Sarkars, to join him with all their troops, leaving at Masulipatam only a small force under the capable Conflans. 33

A few days before the battle of Condore, Lally began the longpending siege of Madras (December 12), which was defended by Colonel Lawrence and Colonel Draper under the invigorating inspiration of Pigot. The French occupied the Black Town to the north of the fort and indulged in a continuous cannonade of the fort for ten weeks. Meanwhile Caillaud, joined by Muhammad Yusuf and ‘Abdul Wahab Khan, repulsed a French force in the neighbourhood (December). When the English fleet under Admiral Pocock was sighted off the coast, Lally precipitately raised the siege and moved to Arcot which he had captured previously and wherein he was joined by Bussy and proclaimed Kaza Sahib as the rightful Nawab.

The war in the Karnatak dragged on. The French troops became utterly demoralised. The garrisons in some forts even made

overtures to the enemy. After D’Ache’s departure from the coast in April 1759, there was absolutely no hope of further reinforcements from France, while the estrangement between Lally and the Pondicherry Council grew rapidly worse. Kaveripauk was evacuated in July. But the English capitulated at Tyagadurg. Colonel Eyre Coote, now in command, resolved to strike a blow at the fort of Wandiwash which, with the exception of Arcot, was now the most important place. Lally made an attempt to recover it. In the battle which followed, Coote won a decisive victory, while Lally lost heavily in men and guns, Bussy himself being among the prisoners taken (January 1760). 34 The moral effect of the English victory was great. Lally was forced to fall back on Pondicherry with a demoralised army and disabled from attempting any operation in the open field. Coote followed up his victory by capturing most of the remaining fortresses in French hands, like Arcot, Tiruvannamalai, etc. Even Pondicherry would have fallen easily, but for the unexpected emergence of a new ally to Lally in the shape of Haidar ‘Ali of Mysore.

Towards the end of August 1760 an English fleet appeared on the coast. With its co-operation, Coote proceeded to an active investment of Pondicherry. He soon captured all its outposts and instituted a strict blockade. After more than four months of desperate resistance, Lally, sick and worn out with despair and exhaustion, surrendered unconditionally (January 1761). The English ruthlessly demolished all the fortifications of the city. Tyagadurg and JinjI, the two remaining fortresses of the French in the Karnatak speedily surrendered and Mahe was also reduced. By April 1761, not a single place remained to the French in India. They never recovered from the ruin into which they were plunged. The treaty of Paris restored to them Pondicherry and other settlements. But they were restored "dismantled and defenceless, with their trade annihilated, with their influence gone, with the curse of their defeat and failure stamped upon their habitations." The English had by this time, become dominant in Bengal and firmly rooted in the Karnatak. There were later attempts of the French made from time to time to regain their dominion till the era of Napoleonic wars. Financial weakness, slack trade, lack of sea-power and of protection against naval attack and communications with home, were the main causes cf the defeat of the French. The English displayed a commendable military superiority and in all the phases of the struggle their fleet came to their rescue. Clive's services in the most critical situations of the struggle should be remembered. Bengal gave them after

1757 an invincible strength of force and an overwhelming superiority in finance.

NOTES

1. The Ostend Company's trade was vigorous during the few years that it lasted and it managed to pay good dividends to its shareholders. Its settlement at Bankibazar in Bengal was destroyed by the Nawab at the instigation of the English and the Dutch.

2. The rule of Nawab Sa'adatullah as Nawab (1710-32) is praised in the Tuzuk-iWalajahi of Burhanuddin. (Pt. I, tr. by S. M. H. Nainar, 1934), p. 68.

3- Conflicting versions are given of the course of events that led to the extinction of the Nayak line by the indigenous chronicles—that of Narayana Kone and the Telugu History of Karnatak, and by writers like Wilson (The Pandian Chronicle), Orme and Wilks.

4. Great uncertainty prevailed as to what the Marathas would do. One view was that the Hindu chiefs and the Tanjore Raja who assisted the Marathas stipulated that Trichinopoly should not be left in Muslim hands. Both the English and French letters graphically describe the anarchy prevailing in the country and the poverty and impotence of Nawab Safdar ‘AH. The adventurer, Murar Rao, was left in charge of Trichinopoly till he was forced by Nizam-ul-Mulk to evacuate it in the latter part of 1743. The Maratha campaign enabled RaghujI Bhosle to secure over the mind of Raja Shahu, as' powerful a hold as that enjoyed by BajI Rao Peshwd himself.

5. The contemporary letter from Fort St. George (dated Sept. 5, 1744), absolved Anwar-ud-din from all share in the guilt though he had an idea of settling the succession to the Nawabship after himself in favour of his son Mahfuz Khan. It says that Murtaza ‘Ali hired Pathans to assassinate Anwar-ud-din also.

6- Paupaya the Younger, who was the Company’s interpreter at Madras and who prepared a manuscript history of the Karnatak in 1749 (now preserved among the Orme Manuscripts in the India Office) held the rule of Anwar-ud-din in scanty estimation and declared that it was “the most spiritless, covetous, severe

and unjust_ among all the late governors of the Carnatic.” (Orme, MSS,

Pt. II: India, Vol. 1(2), pp. 5a-100 (1-50): History of the Carnatic to 1749 hy Paupa Bramin.

7- John Surman was accompanied on his mission by an Armenian, Khwaja Sarhad. The plan of the embassy was originally conceived by Governor Thomas Pitt of Madras. See Diary of Messrs. Surman and Stephenson, Pt. II in C R. Wilson’s Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. II, ed. by W. Irwin, 1911.

*8. For the Nawab’s relations with the English and other Europeans, see Chap. V of K. K. Datta’s Alivardi and His Times (1939) based on the records and on the observations of Jean Law, Scrafton, Hill and others, and on the Siyar-ulMutakherin.

9. “The constant depredations, frequent piracies, naval fights, sporadic hostilities of these Europeans amongst themselves and with the Asiatic powers, intimidated Indian merchants and shippers. A positive discouragement was the result of the stringent measures which were deliberately adopted, to monopolise, comer and control the purchase and sale of important merchandise, so that Indians and generally all Asiatics were excluded from every lucrative branch of the foreign trade of the country. Along with these are to be counted the great concessions .of lower customs duties, freedom from transit dues, as well as from harassment and delay on the way at the numerous toll-houses. These three categories of causes narrowed down the activities of Indian merchants to the inland trade alone.” Balakrishna, Commercial Relations between India and England, pp. 163-74.

10- He was able to transmit to Europe 31 lakhs of rupees of merchandise and carried out those improvements in the town which had been in contemplation from the time of Martin.

11. Karikal gave the French a port on the rich Tanjore coast.

12. In September 1745 the Nawab made a state entry into Pondicherry and was royally received by Dupleix.

13 • This struggle lasted for about 16 years, from the French capture of Madras in 1746 down to the English capture of Pondicherry in 1761.

The whole course of the struggle may be divided into three periods. The first of these divisions lasted from the commencement of active hostilities in 1746 down to the conclusion of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which restored, for both’the combatants, the conditions existing before the war. The second period began almost immediately after the conclusion of the treaty and was terminated by the Treaty of Pondicherry in 1754. This period saw the contest waged in another form, that of an indirect struggle in which both the nations, nominally at peace in Europe, were allies of warring native powers, but scarcely less vital. It ended with the French Company’s recall of Dupleix and its attempt to reverse his policy. The third stage began with the declaration of the Seven Years’ War in Europe in 1756 and lasted until the final destruction of French power in 1761.

14. Early English historians were inclined to exonerate La Bourdonnais from all blame; afterwards opinion changed and Dupleix was praised, arid La Bourdonnais blamed as the chief cause of the quarrel. Truth lies probably in a middle course— See for a detailed discussion— Misunderstandings between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, pp. 32-37 of C S. Srinivasachari's Ananda Ranga Pillai: The Pepys of French India (1940).

15. One reason that he assigned for his hasty departure was that the north-east monsoon rains were approaching and had already damaged some of his ships. La Bourdonnais had studied the memorandum and plan prepared by . Paradis, who had made a secret visit to Madras under instruction of Dupleix and he had early explained his project to capture the place when war should be declared. He found the plan of Paradis feasible even before his earlier return from the coast to Mauritius after re-establishing the French Factory at Mahe. Dupleix himself had had Madras once more thoroughly inspected and produced a plan of the place from his step-daughter, who had married an Englishman. (G. W. Forrest: The Siege of Madras in 1745 and the Action of La Bourdonnais 1908).

16. The battle is regarded by Malleson as a most memorable one. The same significance was expressed by Dupleix himself in his own Memoires. It reversed the relative position of the Nawab and the French; and every subsequent battle of the Europeans with the Indians was half won even before it was fought.

17- The European treaty made a direct attempt to place the English and French Companies in India in the positions which they occupied before the war, arid to persuade the rivals to settle down peacefully to commerce.

It is of course true that the French had the best of it in the late war. Their capture of Madras, their victory over Mahfuz Khan and their successful defence of Pondicherry raised their military prestige. Dupleix had trained on the European model a considerable number of spoys, and his political ambition now soared higher than ever.

18 For the identification of the Tanjore pretender, see Note 18, pp. 93-95 of Ananda Ranga Pillai: The Pepys of French India.

19. Dupleix’s close attachment to Chanda Sahib through all the vicissitudes of his fortune, is a well rooted idea, but must be modified in the light of facts.

20 In fact, the English learnt Dupleix’s lesson with greater promptness than they have usually been credited with. They saw at a glance the advantages which would accrue to the French from the establishment of a French Nawab. They also saw the advantages that the English would obtain if they assisted in the

overthrow of the usurper (Chanda Sahib) -The English governor sent help

to Muhammad ‘Ali, confident that at Nasir Jang’s coming, the rebellion (of Chanda Sahib arid Muzaffar Jang) would collapse with hardly a struggle....

They did all in their power to hasten the coming of Nasir Jang_ When

Nasir Jang at last arrived in the Kamatak they sent Lawrence to join him with a body of troops. (Anand Ranga Pillai s Diary, Vol. VI; Dodwell’s Introduction, pp. xvii and xviii).

For the English seizure of San Thome, see Extract from Despatch from. Fort St. David, October 18, 1749, in Vol. II of Forrest’s Bengal and Madras Papers (1688-1757).

21. Orme, Hindostan (Vol. I, pp. 151-52); and A. Martineau’s Dupleix et VInde Francaise, Vol. Ill, 1749-54, pp. 134-38.

22. A. Lehuraux’s La decouverte de Dupleix Fathabad (1944) on the place of Nasir Jang’s death.

M.S.— 22

23- See The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XIV, pp. 545 et seq: (Nawab Muhammad ‘Ali and the Siege of Arcot by C. S. S. Chari); and The Proceedings of the All India Modem History Congress, Poona, 1956, Pt. II, pp. 10-23; also Percival Spear, Master of Bengal, (1975), pp. 50-51.

24. Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book—Military Department, 1752, pp. 51; Tuzuk-i-Walajahi, Vol. I; Orme, Vol. I,* pp. 236-42 and Wilks, Vol. I, p. 177; also R C. Cambridge, War on the coast of Coromandel, 1761, p. 28.

25- Madras Military Consultations, 1752, p. 41. The date of his death is 16 October, 1752.

26- The settlement was: (1) that four districts near Masulipatam should be assigned to the French for the maintenance of their army; (2) the Nizam's person should be protected by a French bodyguard; (3) the Nizam should, in no \way, interfere with the Karnatak, and (4) all the affairs of the state should be \carried on with Bussy's advice. The districts newly ceded to the French together with those already possessed by them, were known as the Northern Sarkars, and extended from Guntur to the neighbourhood of the Chilka Lake. They were about 450 miles long and varied in breadth from about 30 to 80 miles and possessed an area of 17,000 sq. miles. Their situation made them very convenient to an European power and they contained a population of three million and yielded an annual revenue of over half a million pounds sterling. Moreover they were protected on the interior by natural barriers of jungles and mountains.

27- Martineau, Dupleix et ITnde Francaise , Vol. Ill, .pp. 308-09 and p. 310.

28- Martineau writes that "it is not to be doubted that Dupleix was thinking of

Trichinopoly on his own account, if chance should favour him."

29. The English insisted as a preliminary basis for negotiations that Muhammad

'AH should be recognised as the Nawab of the Karnatak and the Raja of Tanjore should be guaranteed in his kingdom. The French demanded that

Salabat Jang should be recognised as the Nizam and should be left free to

arrange for the government of the Karnatak. The conference failed.

30. The Directors of the French Company were filled with delight and admiration at Dupleix's successes in the first years of the war. They procured for him in 1752 the title of Marquis and promised him liberal support. But the failure of the French before Trichinopoly in 1752 and the surrender of Law shook their confidence in Dupleix.

30a. Edw Ives, (1773), A voyage from England to India, p. 46.

31 • Bussy could not get the removal of Shah Nawaz Khan from office, nor the surrender of Muzaffar Khan who had left him.

32. The tragedy of Bobbili (January 1757) was a momentous historical event in the annals of the Northern Sarkars and still survives in the popular ballad, entitled ' 'Rangardyacharitamu. ,>

33- No sooner did Bussy depart for Pondicherry, than Ananda Raj, the Raja of Vijayanagaram revolted, assaulted Vizagapatam and sent urgent appeals to the English at Calcutta and at Madras for assistance in expelling the French. The Madras authorities were not in a position to lend him any effective assistance; but Clive decided to send from Calcutta a strong force under Captain Forde! Forde quickly joined the rebel chief, attacked the French who were strongly posted at Condore about 40 miles from Rajahmundfy, and secured a decisive victory. The battle of Condore is one of the most important fought by the English in India; it struck the first severe blow to the ascendancy of the French in the Deccan and finally destroyed the confidence that the Nizam reposed in them. Forde pushed forward his success and got possession of the fort of Rajahmundry; while Conflans fell back on Masulipatam with the wreck of his forces. Forde was unable to proceed further owing to want of funds and vacillation on the part of Ananda Raj (October 1758).

34. Muirland' Baillie-ki-Paltan, (1759-1930), p. 80; Wyllie, Life of Sir Eyre Coote (1922), pp. 72-78. The victory caused in Madras "joy almost equal to that of Calcutta on the victory of Plassey".

CHAPTER X

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN BENGAL (1757-1772)

PART I

On 23 June, 1757, took place one of the decisive events in world history. Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah, the Subdhdar of Bengal, found himself deserted in the field of battle by the general under whom was ranged the major part of his forces, discovered that he was the victim of a conspiracy, lost his nerves and fled, leaving the field to the English as victors and to the traitor Mir Ja'far as an abject suppliant for Col. Clive's favour. From the military point of view the battle of Plassey was an insignificant engagement. The English gathered an undeserved victory on account of the Nawab's order of recall to his attacking troops at a moment when he should have seen that, even without Mir Ja'far, his victory was certain. Nor could it be said that Bengal lay at the feet of the English by right of conquest. A revolution had been effected at the centre and the English were just one of the conspirators who had taken part in it. For their participation in the conspiracy they got their reward according to the terms of their agreement. They were entitled to nothing further. Apart from their position as mere traders, they were no more than one of the Zamindars under the Subdhdar of Bengal. Before Plassey, they were Zaminddrs of the three villages of Kalikata, Sutanati and Govindpur paying an annual rent of Rs. 1,200 a year. After Plassey, the 24 Pargands were added to their Zamindari. J

Whatever their apparent position, in fact, they had become as a result of the sequence of events which culminated in Plassey, the real masters of Bengal. They had overthrown one Nawab and set Up another in his place. They had backed Mir Jaffar as he seemed to them to have the largest public support. They might as well have set up Yar Lutf Khan, the nominee of the Seths, and managed to keep that bete noire on the masnad of Bengal. Mir Ja'far did not dare to seat himself on the throne till Clive arrived at Murshidabad and conducted him to the masnad. And then Mir Ja'far had to pay the price with which he had purchased his position. The treasury was exhausted in satisfying the English demands. The specie was

inadequate, and the English did not hesitate to accept jewels and plates instead. Even these were not sufficient to fulfil the promises made and it was agreed to receive the remainder in instalments and assignments were obtained on the future revenues. The Nawab of Bengal was financially crippled and his army, for want of regular pay, became a mutinous rabble. Mir Ja‘far had no other alternative than to lean on the help of the English.

Bengal was in a condition of anarchy, and a strong military force was needed to restore order. The English were the only party which had such a military force and it was only with Clive’s assistance that Mir Ja‘far could quell the rebellion of the Raja of Midnapur and the insurrection at Dacca. There was trouble at Purnea. But when the troops were ordered to march they refused to do so unless their arrears were paid. It was only after partial payments that their reluctance was overcome.

Mir Ja‘far weakened his position considerably by conceiving hostile designs against the two most powerful Hindus of the time, Raja Ramnarayan of Bihar and Raja Durlabh Ram, and thereby throwing these Hindus on Clive’s protection. Ramnarayan had been appointed deputy governor of Bihar by ‘All Vardi Khan and there were reports of his intriguing with the Nawab Vazir of Awadh to overthrow Mir Ja‘far. As such there were grounds for action against Ramnarayan. But to Raja Durlabh Ram, the Dhvdn, Mir Ja‘far was under the deepest obligation and it is difficult to understand his resolve to crush him. Anyway Raja Durlabh soon found conspiracy gathering round him, and finding his personal safety threatened, consigned himself to the care of the English. Similarly Clive also took Ramnarayan under his wings and procured for the Bihar governor an assurance of security of tenure so long as he paid his revenue and did not intrigue with foreign powers. Clive found the means of benefiting the English out of this last transaction. He secured for the East India Company the monopoly of the trade in saltpetre which was produced in North Bihar.

Thus, thwarted in his wanton acts of aggression, Mir Ja‘far grew restless of English protection. He is reported to have declared “that if a French force would come into the province he would assist them, unless the English released him from all their claims of money, territory and exemptions”, and actually entered into relations with the Dutch. But events proved his absolute dependence on the English. The Shahzada with the assistance of Muhammad Qull Khan, subahdar of Allahabad, and the encouragement of the Nawab Vazir of

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Awadh advanced towards Bengal. Mir Ja‘far was unable to withstand an invasion, unaided and his only hope of succour lay in Clive. A joint army of the Company’s and the Nawab’s troops marched to Patna, which had been besieged by the Shahzada. At this time fortune favoured both Clive and M3r Ja‘far and the invaders withdrew for their own reasons. Mir Ja‘far, grateful for his deliverance, bestowed on Clive the rent which the Company as Zamindar was bound to pay the Nawab for the lands which they held around Calcutta (June 1759).

The significance of Clive’s participation in the opposition to the Shahzada’s entry into Bengal was indeed very great. He had opposed the legal heir to the Mughul throne in his claim to the submission of one of the provinces of his empire. This was rebellion. But Clive knew that “there will be no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms”. As to what should be the right course of action at this critical juncture, Clive had not as yet been able to make up his mind. It was possible for “the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves” of. these provinces. This he thought could be confirmed by securing a sanad from the emperor on promise of payment of annual tribute. He had been offered the high dignity of Diimn of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. “But this high office” Clive wrote to Pitt, “I have been obliged to decline for the present, as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Subdh, especially as I see no likelihood of the Company’s providing us with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ and which would open a way to securing the Subdhship to ourselves”. At the moment however it seemed to him that thfc best course was for the ministry in England to take upon itself the government of the territories over which the Company exercised its control on payment of an annual tribute to the emperor. 1 This was what he actually suggested to Pitt, but Pitt was afraid that this anight lead to infringement of the legal rights of the Company and kept silent.

As yet it was necessary that appearances must be kept up and the real power in Bengal must remain in disguise. The danger of arousing the jealousy of the other European powers was soon demonstrated by the Dutch invasion of Bengal. The Dutch, envious of the recent successes of the English and solicitous for the future of their trade interests in this province, became anxious to supplant English influence in Bengal. As has been already noted, they started negotiations with Mir Ja‘far and received encouragement from him. An expedition was despatched from Batavia, but delayed so long at Negapatam and at the mouth of Hughli that Clive got sufficient time for preparations and to bring up reinforcements, with the result that the Dutch were badly defeated and humbled (December 1759).

While the position of the English in Bengal was thus still uncertain and depended on the adroitness with which Clive managed the self-seeking cowards at the helm of affairs in Bengal, an important change took place in the Company’s government at Fort William. Clive suffering from indifferent health and, angry with the Court of Directors, left India in February 1760. It was at his request that two of the Company’s Madras servants were brought over to Bengal to take charge of the military command and the civil administra^ tion. Caillaud arrived before Clive left, to take the command of the troops, but Vansittart did not reach Bengal till July 1760. In the meanwhile Holwell acted as Clive’s successor in the civil government.

The Shahzada had again invaded Bihar, and Caillaud with Miran had taken the field against him when Clive left Bengal. The Shahzada was beaten in an engagement at Sirpur, but Miran would not follow up the victory and withdrew to Patna to nurse some slight wounds which he had received. This gave the Shahzada the opportunity to raid into Bengal but he was so closely followed by Caillaud that he had to withdraw. Not only was Miran reluctant to support Caillaud but Mir Ja‘far entered into correspondence with the Shahzada “declaring, it was believed, that his resistance was solely due to the insistence of the English”.

As we have seen, the relations between Mir Ja‘far and the English under Clive had been far from friendly. The situation grew worse with Clive’s departure. Holwell could not secure “that deference to his advice which the Nawab had yielded to Clive’s commanding talents”. 2 The Nawab allowed the payments for the maintenance of the Company’s troops to fall into arrears and the English had to take a loan from the Seths for the purpose. To the English who found the Nawab so difficult to manage, their policy of controlling Bengal politics through a protected prince seemed to have failed. We have already noticed Clive’s letter to Pitt suggesting that the state could take upon itself the sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Within a year and a half from the battle of Plassey, he had felt that the revolution of 1757 could not be a permanent arrangement. The reasons for thinking so are clearly stated by Clive himself in the course of that letter. He wrote: “The reigning Subah,

whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still, it is true retains his attachment to us, and probably while he has no other support, will continue to do so, but.... should he ever think it his interest to break with us, the obligations he owes us would prove no restraint; and this is very evident from his having lately removed his Prime Minister, and cut off two or three principal officers, all attached to our interest, and who had a share in his elevation. Moreover he is advanced in years; and his son so cruel, a worthless young fellow, and so apparently an enemy to the English, that it will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession.” 3 After Clive’s departure the need for a change was more keenly felt. Hoi well was of opinion that “the country will never be in a settled peaceful state whilst this family is at the head of it”, but that^ no useful purpose will be served by replacing the present Nawab by another. His solution was to secure a farman from Delhi appointing the Company “perpetual subah of the province”. 4 This was an anticipation of the settlement of 1765. Had this plan been carried out the Mir Qasim episode in the history of the English conquest of* Bengal would not have taken place. But Mir Qasim’s stars were ascending and he so successfully exploited the differences between the English and the Nawab that Hoi well and his associates changed their views so far as to bring about a revolution, not in order to assume the responsibility for the administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on themselves, but to set up Mir Qasim—no weakling like his father-in-law—on the masnad and thereby virtually effected a counter-revolution.

At first Mir Qasim's ambition was limited to securing the deputyship of Bihar in place of Ramnarayan. But in July 1760 Miran was killed by lightning. This event at once brought into prominence the question of succession to Mir Ja'far. Mir Qasim's ambitions were now raised. He had already ingratiated himself with Holwell who was supporting his pretensions, and he now desired that he should be named the Diwdn and Mir Ja'far's successor. At this juncture, the new governor Henry Vansittart arrived from Madras. He was a believer in the policy of non-intervention and he agreed to Holwell's schemes of supporting Mir Qasim. No wonder, therefore, that on 11 September, 1760 the Select Committee at Fort William resolved that it was not desirable to seek any independent powers from the Shahzada. They declared: "Our views in adopting this system should be directed rather to strengthen than weaken or overthrow the present nabob. All we desire is to see the powers remove ed out of the hands of that sort of men who now rule and direct his

affairs". 5 On 27 September a treaty was signed between Mir Qasim and the English by which the English agreed to appoint Mir Qasim to the post of Diwan and promised him the succession to Mir Ja'far, while Mir Qasim agreed to cede to the English the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. So far the intentions of the English were only to substitute the Nawab's advisers, by Mir Qasim. But Mir Ja'far, who saw clearly that the appointment of Mir Qasim as his Diwan would mean complete loss of his powers, could not be persuaded to give effect to the new arrangement. When persuasion failed, force was applied and Mir Ja'far after some hesitation resigned his office altogether and placed himself at the mercy of the English. He came down to reside at Calcutta under English guard and Mar Qasim was installed on the masnad. The presents which the Governor and his Councillors accepted as the price of installing Mar Qasim casts a sordid shadow over the whole business. But the English paid dearly for it. From the English point of view the step taken was a blunder. It was, in fact, a retrograde one which delayed the slow process of the consolidation of English power in Bengal and prolonged the sufferings of the people of this province by protracting the struggle of the two opponents for mastery of their land. The position of the English in Bengal and their relation to the Nawab remained undefined as before, while the masnad went to a man who was endowed with far greater personal capacity than Mir Ja‘far. Mir Ja‘far, as we have seen, had felt the English as very uncomfortable friends. He had obstructed them, and on more than one occasion sought the alliance of their enemies. Nevertheless he had always yielded, especially to the far superior personality of Clive. With smaller men now to cdntend with and possessing greater talents than his predecessor, Mar Qasim could easily defy the English and aim at complete independence of their control. In this he was not a little assisted by Vansittart’s weak policy.

The Shahzada was still in Bihar and military Operations were afoot against him. Caillaud was recalled to Madras and Major Carnac took command of the English troops at Patna. On 15 January, 1761, Carnac inflicted a severe defeat on the Shahzada who soon offered terms and accompanied Carnac to Patna. Before his elevation to the masnad Mir Qasim had agreed to the proposal of the English to make peace with the Shahzada and assist him to establish himself as emperor at Delhi. 53 Mir Qasim now became greatly suspicious of English designs. He felt nervous that the English might obtain for themselves the subahdari of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Shahzada, and he hastened to Patna to take part in the negotiations. At Patna however Mir Qasim refused to visit the Shahzada in his camp and an interview had to be arranged between the two in the hall of the English factory. Mir Qasim promised to pay annually twenty four lakhs of rupees to the Shahzada as his sovereign on condition of receiving investiture as subfihdar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Mir Qasim however refused to proclaim him as the emperor. After sometime the Shahzada, at the invitation of the Nawab Vazlr of Awadh and some Afghan chiefs retraced his steps towards Delhi. Major Carnac escorted him to the borders of the province.

It was only after the Shahzada had left the province that Mir Qasim declared him emperor. Even this was done under threat from Coote who had in the meanwhile superseded Carnac. Mir Qasim was perhaps justly afraid of the friendship between the Shahzada and the English., The Shahzada had, it seems, actually offered at different times to grant the Subahdari and the Diw&ni of the provinces to the English whenever they should ask for it. Whether Mir Qasim’s suspicions were right or wrong, he had his way and it was mainly owing to his disinclination that the English had not been able to render the Shahzada that assistance to recover the throne of Delhi which they had intended to give. The English would have acted foolishly if they had embroiled themselves in the politics of northern India by championing the cause of the Shahzada, but they we re prevented from doing so, not because of their foresight; but on account of what may be called a' lucky defeat before the superior will of the new Nawab.

Mir Qasim had thus successfully overcome the first hurdle in the race for consolidation of his position. Unlike Mir Ja‘far he was clear sighted enough to see that he must appease the army and rid himself of his financial obligations to the English. He found the treasury practically empty. However, by systematic spoliation of the office-holders of the old regime on the ground, right or wrong, of embezzlement of public money, and also by stringent economy in the administration and in the expenses of his household, Mir Qasim was so far able to improve his financial position that he had within a few months of his accession, p^id up the arrears of thje English troops and, to a large extent, met the debts of his predecessor and his own. He also paid five lakhs to the Company in discharge of his promises and also made presents of large sums to the members of the Select Committee. He- suppressed with a strong hand the zaminddrs of Birbhum and Burdwan who had taken up arms in furtherance of the Shahzada’s plan to invade Bengal simultaneously with a band of Marathas, and also expelled the Marathas from the province.

Mir Qasim felt that he could not establish his control over the administration of Bihar so long as Ramnarayan was there in charge. Here was a subordinate of the Nawab who enjoyed a peculiar position. He was an official whom the English had always used as a powerful counterpoise against the NawSb of Bengal. The protection he had received from Clive had prevented Mir Ja‘far’s attempt to ruin him. And the same protection had been guaranteed to him by Vansittart. Unless removed, Ramnarayan would be a perpetual source of danger to Mir Qasim. The loyalty of

Ramnarayan to the subahdar was always open to question.. His opposition to the Shahzada had often been half-hearted. Mir Qasim had been from the first hostile to Ramnarayan. One of his earliest plans in his adventurous career had been to supplant Ramnarayan in the administration of Bihar, and he now decided to crush him altogether. The method which the Nawab followed was to call on him to account for his revenues. Only the accounts of the last three years had not been settled. During this time it had been extremely difficult for Ramnarayan to collect the revenues on account of the constant depredations of the Shahzada.. Besides, his coffers were drained by the necessity of keeping an army in the field to cope with the invaders. Mir Qasim however insisted on his pound of flesh, and sent his complaints against Ramnarayan to Governor Vansittart. Vansittart informed the Nawab that Ramnarayan was a friend of Clive and the Nawab should settle affairs amicably with him (22 April 1761). At the same time Coote was instructed that "Ramnarayan was to be protected from injustice and preserved in his government." But the Nawab was unceasing in his complaints, and in May 1761 Vansittart though urging a friendly settlement, permitted the Nawab to act as the best interests of the government might require. In June, the Nawab suspended Ramnarayan from his office, to which the Select Committee agreed. In despair, Ramnarayan sought Coote's protection, to secure which he began to influence Coote against the Nawab. But in July Coote was recalled and Ramharayan found himself alone and friendless. In August Raj Ballabh was appointed Naib in place of Ramnarayan with Vansittart's approval. Ramnarayan's property was then confiscated, he was imprisoned and subsequently put to death. Thus Mir Qasim demonstrated to his subjects that English protection counted no longer and that their lives and properties depended on his goodwill.

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN BENGAL (1757-1772)

By the end of 1761 and the beginning of 1762, Mir Qasim was so far established in his position as to regard infringements on his sovereign rights as unbearable. He had removed himself from too close a proximity to the seat of English authority and had made his headquarters at Sasaram and Monghyr. And what was far more important, he had disbanded the useless rabble of 90,000 men known as the Nawab's army and created a new army of much smaller size trained along western lines by the Armenian,. Gurgin

Khan, and independent of foreign supply by reason of having its own factories for casting cannon and manufacture of muskets.

The time had now come for an open challenge and the arbitrament of the sword to decide whether Bengal, Bihar and Orissa belonged to the English by virtue of Plassey or the Nawab was to be supreme in his own territories.

The final phase in the story of the Nawab's assertion of complete independence of English interference began with his resentment at the conduct of the Company's servants in connection with their claim to take part in the inland trade free of duties. This claim was an unjustifiable application of the jarman which the English had obtained from the emperor Fafrukh-siyar to trade dutyfree throughout the empire. Murshid Qull Khan, Subahdar of Bengal, had insisted that the privilege conferred should be restricted to the Company's export and import trade, and the E. I. Company not interested in the internal trade, had acquiesced in this limitation. However, the Company's servants had occasionally engaged themselves in the internal trade and abused the Company's passes' to trade free of duty and even sold them to other merchants to the detriment of the Nawab's revenues and the trade of the province. On his accession to the masnad in 1757 Mir Ja'far re-affirmed the right of the Company to trade free of duty. Mir Ja'far's sanad added "Whoever acts contrary to these orders, the English have power to punish them". The sanad which was vaguely worded did not expressly authorise the inland trade and Clive seems to have held that the English had obtained no new privileges from Mir Ja'far. But the Company and its servants continued to participate illegally in the inland trade and to abuse the free passes for the export and import trade. Mir Ja'far complained, but his protests were of little avail, and the Company's servants continued to amass fortunes with remarkable rapidity.

Mir Qasim acquiesced in this situation until he felt himself strong enough to thwart the English, and then he set himself to stop

the abuses. Mir Ja'far's concession to the English that cases of dispute in trade matters arising between the Nawab's officers and the Company's agents were to be decided by the English, was inconsistent with the independence of the Nawab of Bengal, and Mir Qasim justly claimed the right to administer justice himself. The constant complaints of the Nawab against English agents and the interference of the Nawab's officials in the legal and illegal trade of the English, created a strained situation which made it necessary for Vansittart to visit Mir Qasim at Monghyr at the close of 1762. The Nawab agreed to levy not more than 9 per cent on the inland trade of the English while as much as 25 per cent or more were to be paid by native merchants. Vansittart, on his side, conceded that cases of disputes arising on trade matters were to be decided by the Nawab's officials. The Council at Calcutta was indignant, refused to ratify the agreement and resolved that the English would pay only 2\ per cent on salt and that the agents of English traders were to be tried by the English alone. Mir Qasim replied by abandoning all transit duties on inland trade and thus placing the native traders on the same footing as the English. The Council, Vansittart and Hastings dissenting, took up the absurd position of denying the right of the Nawab to abolish all inland duties and interpreted this as an act of enmity to the English nation. Among these members of the Cduncil the predominant feeling was that either Mir Qasim must do what they dictated or he must be overthrown. With the object of taking stock of the situation by direct conversation with Mir Qasim, a deputation consisting of Mr. Amyatt and Mr. Hay was sent to Monghyr (4 April 1763) In the meanwhile the attempt of Mir Qasim to stand forth as the Nawab was leading to cases of violence. The whole atmosphere had changed. The English no longer received that deference to which they had become accustomed since the revolution of 1757. The spirit of independence flowed downwards from the Nawab to his officials. The English trade was being interfered with, sometimes rightly and sometimes wrongly, and the English gomastas were being harassed. The English were replying by seizing, binding and beating the Nawab's officials. The atmosphere was surcharged with the smell of war. The Council discussed military measures that were to be adopted in the event of the outbreak of war, and Mir Qasim realising that the two years had not been enough time to consolidate his position sufficiently for a contest with the English, sought the assistance of the emperor and the Nawab Vazir of Awadh. In such an atmosphere the deputation could not hope for success. Mir Qasim rejected all the demands of the Council as designed to deprive him of his authority and permitted Amyatt and his suite to commence the return journey only on condition of leaving Hay behind as a hostage for the Nawab's officials whom the

English held as prisoners in Calcutta. This was in the last week of June 1763. Few weeks ago some boats laden with arms for the English garrison at Patna had arrived at Monghyr. Mir Qasim had allowed them to pass after retaining them for some time, but he was extremely nervous about Ellis, the chief of the English factory at Patna, whose attitude towards him was known to be inimical. On 21 June, Mir Qasim sent some troops to Patna. On the news of their arrival Ellis took the precipitate step of seizing the city by a coup de main and the killadar of Patna fled. The war had thus begun.

Mir Qasim issued orders that Englishmen wherever they were found, were to be seized and imprisoned. In consequence Amyatt and his party were stopped near Murshidabad. Amyatt attempted resistance and in the struggle he and some of his men were killed. Patna was recovered with ease by Mir Qasim's troops in no time and the factory at Kasimbazar was plundered and the English made prisoners. The English army now took the field. The Nawab's army was routed at Katwa, at Murshidabad and at Udaynalla and the English then laid siege to Monghyr. Mir Qasim had withdrawn to Patna. Overcome with despair and anger at his defeat he caused Gurgin Khan, his Armenian Commander-in-Chief, the Seths and then his English prisoners, to be murdered in succession, and when the English army carried Patna by storm, Mir Qasim escaped into Awadh. Here the treasures that Mir Qasim carried, purchased for him the alliance of Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Awadh, and the emperor Shah 'Alam joined the allies. Had the motives of Shujaud-daulah been sincere the English would have had to contend with a serious situation. This could have been treated as the first alliance of Indian powers against the political ambitions of the British in India. But Shuja-ud-daulah was not honestly espousing Mir Qasim's cause and even opened negotiations with the English for personal gains. 6 Anyway, after long delay on the border of Bihar the English army under Major Munro invaded Awadh and on 22 October, 1764, completely defeated the allies at Buxar. Before the battle Mir Qasim had been imprisoned and deprived of his possessions by Shuja-ud-daulah. The hapless prince was therefore not even interested in the issue of the battle. However he was allowed to escape from the battle-field, led a wandering life for some years till he met with his end near Delhi in 1777. Thus ended the last

efforts of a Bengal prince to maintain his independence of English control.

On the outbreak of the war with Mir Qasim, the choice of the King-makers at Calcutta had fallen for the second time on Mir Ja'far. For this favour Mir Ja'far confirmed Mir Qasim's grant to the English of the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, exempted the trade of the Company's servants from all duties except 2\ per cent on salt and agreed to cancel Mir Qasim's ordinance remitting all commercial imports, to pay the Company 30 lakhs of rupees as compensation and 5 lakhs per month towards the expenses of the war, to reimburse individuals for personal losses and to allow no Europeans except the English to erect fortifications in Bengal. In spite of these very generous concessions the financial demands on Mir Ja'far were continually increased in the most shameless manner. "The Company", said Clive, "became possessed of one half of the Nawab's revenues". He was allowed "to collect the other half for himself, but in fact he was no more than a banker for the Company's servants who could draw upon him as often and to as great an amount as they pleased." 7 Indeed, finding Bengal at their mercy, the Company's servants spared nc occasion to suck her life-blood and the instalment of a Nawab was a splendid chance every time for a fresh draw. Not only was the Nawab embarrassed with financial demands which he could not meet, but the Company's servants carried on their private trade in a manner which ruined the commerce and industry of the province. In this orgy of spoliation, the importance of determining the relationship between the Nawab and the Company was forgotten and the only step taken was to appoint Samuel Middleton as Resident at the Darbar to safeguard English interests there. The choice of his ministers still rested with the Nawab and the English devised no means of controlling his government. That they were likely to be in the same difficulty which they had experienced in the period of Mir Qasim's rule was shown when in spite of information that Maharaja Nandkumar, whom Mir Ja'far had appointed as his chief minister, was carrying on negotiations with Shah 'Alam, the Nawab Vazir of Awadh and Mir Qasim, they were unable to secure his removal.

Mir Ja'far who was old and very ill died in February 1765. The English now decided to establish their control definitely over the government at Murshidabad. Four councillors were deputed to Murshidabad to instal Mir Ja'far's son Najm-ud-daulah and to get him to sign a treaty in accordance

With their new plan. A deputy sub&hdar who was to be a nominee of the English was to be appointed and he was to have immediately under the Nawab, the chief management of all affairs. Nandkumar was deprived of his great position and Muhammad Reza Khan, naib of Dacca, was appointed deputy subdhdar. The business of revenue collection was divided into two branches and Nandkumar and Rai Durlabh were appointed in charge of each with equal powers. The appointment and dismissal of the principal revenue officials and the allotment of their districts were to be made by the Nawab .but with the approval of the governor and council. The new Nawab was not allowed to maintain any troops except such as were required “for the dignity of his person and the business of his collections throughout the provinces”. Further the Nawab was to make no application to the emperor for sanads except through the English.

The Nawab’s hesitation to accept the treaty and his unwillingness to agree to Reza Khan’s appointment were of no avail and he found that there was no other alternative but to agree. The man who stood to the last behind the young prince before he was reduced to a mere figurehead was Nandkumar, and the counter-actions to the English plans came from this 1 quarter. In order that he might preserve his de jure position, Najm-ud-daulah had applied, on Nandkumar’s advice, to the emperor of Delhi for a parvjidnah. The members of the deputation however did not allow the Nawab to receive the parwdnah and themselves proceeded to instal him publicly. Nandkumar then tried his best to prevent the English from obtaining an idea of the state of the collections. He continued t6 exercise the powers of the chief minister and the officers of the cutchery would not make their usual acknowledgements to Reza Khan. The members of the deputation reported to Fort William, “.... all the people about the Nawab’s person are absolutely devoted to Nandkumar and enemies to this change...”. The English therefore revived the old charge against Nandkumar of conspiring with the Nawab Vazfir of Awadh and removed him in spite of the utmost unwillingness of the Nawab. They also proceeded to establish a large number of their own nominees in the collection of the revenues. 8

In May, 1765 Clive arrived at Calcutta to commence his famous second administration. Najm-ud-daulah met him at Calcutta and laid before him his grievances. Clive thereupon proceeded to modify the arrangements made by Spencer's government. The newly created post of deputy subdhdar was abolished. A sort of a cabinet consisting of Muhammad Reza Khan, Rai Durlabh and the Seths was set up to assist the Nawab in the administration. Muhammad Reza Khan was to be naib, Rai Durlabh the Diumn and the Seths were to

act as chiefs of trade. It was decided that each should enjoy an equal share of power and authority. The appointment and dismissal of the officers and the management of the entire revenue administration were to be in their hands. If they disagreed among themselves or failed to keep law and order, the governor and council were to take measures that were found to be necessary. Further, a member of the council was to reside at Murshidabad, paid suitably according to his rank out of the Nawab's treasury and "the accounts of the receipt and expenses for the business of the government, etc. shall be laid before him monthly for his perusal." 9 Najm-ud-daulah also agreed to make over all the revenues to the Company, accepting a pension of 50 lakhs of rupees for himself. Thus nothing was left to the Nawab but "the name and shadow of authority". The administration was to be carried on by nominees of the English, subject to English supervision, though in the name of the Nawab.

It was practically this position which Clive legalised when he met Shah 'Alam at Allahabad in August 1765 and obtained from him a formal grant of the Diwdni of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Clive strengthened the position of the English in Bengal still further by a wise settlement with the Nawab of Awadh. Spencer had promised Awadh to Shah 'Alam. But Clive realised that it was not possible for Shah 'Alam to maintain himself in Awadh without English assistance. Bengal was more than what the English could manage at the time and it would have been dangerous for them to get embroiled in the affairs of northern India by taking such a step. Clive therefore restored Awadh to Shuja-ud-daulah. Shuja-uddaulah agreed to pay 50 lakhs to the Company by instalments and entered into a defensive alliance with the English. Thus the English got a grateful ally on the border of Bihar. Handsome provision was made for the emperor, to whom were given the districts of Kora and Allahabad taken from the Nawab of Awadh.

For the first time since Plassey the position of the English in Bengal had come, within some definition. By assuming the office of the Diwdn they had become servants of the Great Mughul. In the Mughul imperial system the Nawab was the Nazim. He was responsible for law and order and the administration of criminal justice. The Diwan's office was separate. He was responsible for the collection of the revenues and for the administration of civil justice. There was obvious advantage in theoretically being the Diwdn. It served as a mask for the political power wliich the Company actually wielded and guarded the Company not only against the jealousy of the

French and the Dutch, who had possessions in Bengal, but also protected them from the interference of Parliament.

As yet the English had neither the inclination nor the capacity to take upon themselves the administration of the province. They had only devised a method of holding safely their power in Bengal, so that, as Clive fixed the desideratum, they may "always have it in our power to overcome the very Nawab we are bound by treaty to support". 10 In consequence, power was divorced from responsibility and all the evil results thereof followed. The Nawab's administrative organisation was paralysed; a new one was not set up in its place, and Bengal lapsed into a state of anarchy with attendant suffering for her people.

Having effected the political settlement, Clive proceeded, to reform his own house. It is easy to realise the extent to which the Company's officials had been demoralised by the atmosphere in which they worked. Their salaries were low, but easy wealth could be had by the game of Nawab-making and by participation in trade. The Court of Directors had prohibited the acceptance of presents. But this had remained unheeded. Clive made the Company's servants, civil and military alike, to sign covenants agreeing not to accept presents in future. Clive realised that it was not possible to prevent the Company's servants from taking part in the internal trade unless adequate salaries were paid to them. But he knew that the Directors could not be persuaded to do it. He therefore, hit upon a novel device. He instituted a society of trade for carrying on the trade in salt which was a government monopoly. This trading company was to be under the control of the council. Shares were issued to the principal civil and military servants. Clive intended that the profits from these shares were to be allowances, though in an indirect form, to supplement their salaries. The Directors disapproved of this scheme and ordered that the internal trade was to be abandoned entirely. So far, Clive was dealing with illicit gains. But when he came to deal with acknowledged allowances because their payment strained the Company's purse, he met with serious resistance. The military officers had been accustomed to receive a 'batta' or field allowance to cover the extra cost when they were not living in garrison. These allowances had been paid by the Indian princes and now it had become a charge on the Company. The Directors ordered the payment of the field allowance to be stopped. When Clive proceeded to give effect to these orders, several army officers combined to resist by throwing off their commissions simultaneously. Clive met the situation with firmness, and

the resistance melted away. Severe measures were taken against some of the officers and others were pardoned.

Clive finally left India in February 1767. The five years between the departure of Clive and the assumption of the office of governor by Warren Hastings witnessed the failure of the dual system of government which Clive had brought into being in Bengal. Under the terms of the treaty of Allahabad, the English as Diwdn had guaranteed to pay out of the revenues 26 lakhs of rupees to the emperor, 50 lakhs to the Nawab of Bengal and keep the remainder to themselves. The Company received their revenues but left the work of collection to the existing machinery. In his parting

advice to the Calcutta Council Clive said: "To appoint the Company's servants to the offices of the Collector, or indeed to do any act by an exertion of the English power, which can be equally done by the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask, would be declaring the Company subdh of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage and complaints preferred to the British Court might have very embarrassing consequences.” 11 The Court of Directors also enjoined their servants not to interfere with the business of government. Their views of the new position were clearly expressed in their despatch to Calcutta dated 17 May, 1766. They wrote: “We conceive the office of Diwdn should be exercised only in superintending the collection and disposal of the revenues; which office, though vested in the Company, should officially be exercised by our Resident at the Durbar, under the control of the Governor and Select Committee, the only bounds of which control should extend to nothing beyond superintending the collection of the revenues and receiving the money from the Nawab’s treasury to that of the Dewnnah or the Company. .. . This we conceive to be the whole office of the Dewanny. The administration of justice, the appointment to offices or Zemindaries, in short, whatever comes under the denomination of civil administration we understand is to remain in the hands of the Nawab or his ministers”. Thus the English as Diwdn contented themselves with receiving the revenues through the existing Diwdni executive headed by a deputy for each part of the province—Muhammad Reza Khan for Bengal, Shitab Roy for Bihar and Rai Durlabh for Orissa. Not only were the English unwilling to exercise their responsibilities as Diwdn, but they had crippled the Nizdmat side of the administration by paralysing the source from which all authority emanated. The result was complete absence of government and consequent anarchy. The situation is well summarised by Monckton Jones. “The whole horde of minor officials, Muttasaddis, Kanungos, Amils, Zemindars, etc. were let loose to raise what they pleased from the cultivators and traders. If the victims appealed to the Ndib Nazim or his faujddrs, these had not the land servants or peons by means of whom they had formerly enforced justice and if complaints were addressed to the only man who heard them, the English Resident, he could not tell right from wrong, and was besides peremptorily forbidden to interfere. The peasants were without appeal, and many in despaiir deserted their holdings, became vagabonds or dacoits or were merely starving”. 12 After nearly four years’ operation of the dual system, Becher, Resident at Murshidabad, made the most crushing comment when he wrote, “. .. . this fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards its ruin while the English have really so great a share in the administration". (Becher to, Select Committee of the Council at Calcutta, 24 May, 1769).

Gradually the contrast between the wretched condition of the diwdni lands and the comparative prosperity of the English zamindari of 24 Parganas and the ceded districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong, where the English had started direct administration, became apparent to the Court of Directors. In their famous despatch dated 30 June 1769 they wrote: "The like abuses which have been corrected in these districts are still severely felt through all the provinces of Bengal and Bihar.... To correct abuses of so long a growth will require much time and industry and above all a patient and moderate exertion of the powers invested in us by the grant of the Diwdni, for we do not mean by any violent and sudden reform to change the constitution, but to remove the evil by degrees by reducing the immense number of idle sycophants who.... are placed between the tenant and the public treasurer....". Accordingly they suggested a plan for a Committee at Murshidabad and another at Patna to look after the diwdni revenues of Bengal and Bihar respectively.

Before these instructions could reach India the Calcutta Council had sown the first seed of the English administrative organisation in the diwdni provinces. In August, 1769 they appointed European servants of the Company throughout the whole country to superintend native officers in their work of revenue collection and administration of justice. These new officials were called Supervisors. Their first task, it was pointed .out to them, was to secure information. They were to prepare a history and make a complete economic survey of the districts assigned to each. It was essential for a foreign nation, whether starting a new administrative machinery or supervising the old, to know all the facts relating to the lands, viz., what was the amount of the cultivated lands, to whom they belonged, what was their yield, the customary demands on the ryots, the method of collecting the revenue, etc. This information they wanted the Supervisors to compile. But it was not to the interests of the Zamindars and the Qanungos to let their new masters have the knowledge and the Supervisors never had the correct information they needed. The best way of knowing the facts was to undertake a general survey of the lands, but this the Company never did, because they never had the European staff necessary for the supervision of such a huge project. In consequence they remained in ignorance and their land revenue arrangements were always open to objections.

In order that the Supervisors might be free to engage themselves in the important researches they had been directed to make, they were to have in the first instance, as little to do with the collections as possible. However, they were to have a controlling power over the collections; that is to say, the revenue officials were to "consult and mutually act on every occasion with, and report all transactions to the Supervisors, and in case any points of difference should arise, the Supervisor must have a negative voice until he can report his reasons for such negative to the Resident at the Durbar, and receive from him the orders of the ministry on the occasion. The Supervisors should also have the same negative voice in all judicial proceedings/' 13 In the exercise of these powers also the Supervisors met with opposition. The revenue collectors had been entirely without control since 1765. The interference of the Supervisors seemed to them to be intolerable and they now protested that it was impossible to collect the revenues. In many cases their protests must have been genuine, for the Supervisors were young servants of the Company with little or no experience of the revenue system and it is not unlikely that they often misused their checking powers. Anyway, a deadlock ensued. The Resident at Murshidabad reported that, "the Zamindars, amils and farmers appear unwilling to enter into any engagements for the revenues of the approaching season unless they can be assured of being supported in their authority in the province and offered to make their collections without interruptions from the Supervisors or their people." 14 Further, "On the footing you have directed the Supervisors to remain, the business of the collections cannot proceed.... You must either proceed further and have the Supervisors to make the settle

merits in the different districts or you must recede in part for the present." 15 As a result the controlling powers of the Supervisors were withdrawn, except in the case of four experienced men who held the posts. These men were not only continued in their office, but they were allowed to make the revenue settlements themselves in their districts. At this point an unfortunate quarrel arose between the Select Committee and the Council at Fort William over their respective powers and functions. As against the Select Committee, the Council contended that they were competent to deal with Diwfini matters and accordingly gave effect to the orders of the Directors conveyed in their letter of 30 June, 1769 by appointing Councils of Revenue at Murshidabad and Patna. In contradiction to the orders of the Select Committee restricting the powers of the Supervisors, the Council confirmed their controlling powers and even directed the Councils of Revenue to "represent what addition to that authority you think necessary." According to the Council the Supervisors were to act under the Council of Revenue. The Select Committee, not recognising the Council's authority, instructed the Supervisors to act independently. The Directors to whom this quarrel was referred upheld the steps taken by the Council, expressed their disfavour of the members of the Select Committee, and directed the Governor, Mr. Cartier, to resign, appointing Mr. Hastings in his place (1772). 16

While the servants of the Company were thus wrangling over fine points of jurisdiction, one of the worst tragedies of human history befell Bengal. This was the Begal famine of 1770 in which nearly a third of the population is said to have been swept away. The absence cf a government, properly speaking, and the action of self-seeking men in cornering grains, intensified the severity of the famine.

The next year the Directors took the momentous step of deciding that they could not shirk their responsibility any longer. Clive's dual system had failed, the failure of the Supervisors was apparent, and decreased revenues and lower profits on their investment brought home to the Directors the conviction that they must go a step forward and take upon themselves actively the administration of these provinces. In their letter dated 28 August, 1771, the Directors ordered the Governor and Council at Calcutta "to divest Muhammad Reza Khan and every person employed by or in conjunction with him, or acting under his influence, of any further charge or direction in the business of the collections" and announced their famous resolution "to stand forth as duan, and by the agency of the Com pany's servants, to take upon ourselves the entire care and management of the revenues." Mill describes this change as "a revolution much greater probably than any previous conjuncture—than even the change from Hindu to Mahomedan masters had been able to create."

The Directors had recommended a total change, but they had not laid down the details of the future system of Government. This was left to the judgment and discretion of the new governor Warren Hastings. The reforms in Bengal that followed are therefore in their details the work of Hastings. For Hastings to proceed with, there was nothing but the administrative structure of a commercial corporation and the remnants of a broken-down government. His task was to build up a new structure on the remains of the old. The enormity of such a task can easily be realised.

Hastings proved that he was a man of insight and vision. He did not attempt to* introduce a purely English system, as perhaps others less gifted might have done. He saw that the new scheme must not involve a break with the past, and that the administration must continue to be in form and in principle Indian. Discussing the measures which he proposed to adopt, Hastings wrote in a letter to Colebrooke, Chairman of the Board of Directors: "Many other correspondent regulations will be necessary, but not one perhaps which the original constitution of the Moghul Empire hath not before established and adopted and thereby rendered familiar to the people. But it is unnecessary to mention them because none of them can be now carried into execution. All that can be attempted at this time, will be to alleviate the effects of the present system. To change so much of it as shall be found hurtful to the country or prejudicial to the interests of the Company, and to establish such partial or temporal regulations as the letter and evident spirit of the Company's orders shall admit of, for the ease of the inhabitants and the improvement of the revenue." 17

Actively administering the provinces "by the agency of the Company's servants" meant not only drastic changes in internal government, but also throwning off the mask by which power in Bengal was held, which in its turn involved a readjustment of foreign relations. If Clive's dual system of government had to be abandoned, it only followed logically that his external engagements required modification. The emperor was at this time practically a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas. To continue to pay homage to him by sending the annual tribute had become dangerous. The tribute was

not only a financial loss to Bengal but a gain to the Marathas. Hastings decided that “not a rupee should pass through these provinces till they had recovered from the distresses which lavish payments to him had principally contributed”, and refused to pay the tribute when demanded. 18 At the same time Hastings strengthened Awadh as a buffer state by returning to the Nawab Vazir the districts of Kora and Allahabad and by lending a brigade of the Company’s troops to protect his territories. The emperor’s enmity was secured against Shuja-ud-Daulah, and with the Marathas and Rohillas menacing his border, his position as a suppliant for English help was assured. As to the Nawab of Bengal the stipend of 50 lakhs which Najm-udDaulah had enjoyed had been reduced already to 32 lakhs after Mubarak-ud-Daulah’s accession. This was now further reduced by order of the Court of Directors to 16 lakhs. The Company no longer needed to pose as humble servants of the Nawab. Moreover, the Nazim had become powerless, and the new policy formulated by the Directors implied that the English were to be responsible for the whole administration. It was, therefore, decided that the Nawab could do with very much less than he had enjoyed before. The management of the minor Nawab’s household had been in the hands of Muhammad Reza Khan who was now to be tried. The charge of the household, therefore, was given by Hastings to Munni Begam, widow of Mir Ja‘far. As a lady could not be expected to transact all the business in this connection, Raja Gurudas, son of Maharaja Nandkumar, was appointed to act under her.

As regards internal changes, the first to take place was the abolition of the office of naib diwdn of Bengal and Bihar. The two deputies were by order of the Court of Directors prosecuted and tried for peculation. Their only fault, it seems, was that they were responsible for carrying on administration under a system which had failed. The Directors need not have indicated their recognition of the failure of a system by making scapegoats of those whom they had charged with operating it. They were subjected to the ignominy of a long trial and were then acquitted. Like the offices of the deputy diwdn , the Councils of Revenue at Murshidabad and

Patna were also done away with. The revenue administration was placed under the direct control of the Governor and Council who formed themselves for the purpose into a Commitee of Revenue. This Committee of Revenue was to audit the accounts of the Diwdni assisted by an Indian Officer called the Rdy-rdyan. The salary of this post was Rs. 5,000 a month and the first holder was Raja Raj Ballabh. The "Supervisors" were to be called "Collectors" and they were to be helped

and checked in their work by Indian officers appointed for each district styled diwans, The work of these diwans was to be supervised by the Ray-rayan who was to receive from them the accounts in the Bengali language and to transmit to them copies of such orders as the Committee of Revenue might issue to the Collectors. The Khdlsa or Exchequer was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta, which not only strengthened the Council's direct control over the revenues, but openly declared the English as masters. The Governor and four members of the Council constituted themselves a Committee of Circuit to tour the districts and form the revenue settlements. It was felt that the best method of finding out the real value of the lands was to farm them out to persons making offers. At the same time the principle was' laid down that "a settlement with established zemindars and talukddrs, on conditions similar to those required from the farmers was preferable to letting the lands to other persons". Accordingly as the Committee toured from place to place advertisements were put up, offers received and the lands settled for a period of five years. In many places settlement was made with the existing zaminddrs and talukddrs who were in those places either the highest or the only bidders.

The entire system of the administration of justice required to be overhauled. Courts situated at a distance from Murshidabad had fallen in abeyance. In their places justice was being dealt out by revenue officers of the zaminddrs and local magnates without any legal authority to do so. This was of course better than total anarchy, but a very rough and ready sort of justice could be obtained in these courts. There was enough room for bribery and corruption and for the rich to oppress the poor. Hastings set himself to revive and reform the native system of justice. He established two courts in each district, the M>ofussil Diwani Addlat, to decide civil suits, and the Faujdari Addlat to try criminal cases.. The Diwani Addlat was to be presided over by the Collector who was to be assisted by the Diwdn and officers of the cutchery. The Faujdari Addlat was to be presided over by the Kdzi or Mufti of the district and two maulvis, but their proceedings were to be supervised by the Collector. In order that it might not be necessary for the peasants to leave their lands and travel to the district headquarters for justice in small matters, it was laid down that cases up to the value of ten rupees were to be decided on the spot by the head farmer of each pargand. Collectors were to avoid summoning cultivators to the District Court during the harvesting months. In all cases of disputed accounts, partnerships, debts, non-performance of contracts,

etc., the Collector was to encourage the parties to submit their disputes to arbitration. In order that the injured might prefer their complaints to the Collector without fear or. hindrance, it was provided that "a box shall be placed at the door of the Cutchery in which the complainants may lodge their petitions at any time or hour they pleased". While Hastings sought in this manner to make justice cheap and easily available to rich and poor alike, he took steps to discourage useless litigation. The broad principle adopted by him was that justice should be administered with the advice and help of Indians and according to the laws and customs of the country. He specially enjoined that "in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usages and institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans and those of the shaster with respect to Jentoos shall be invariably adhered to; on all such occasions the Moulvies or Brahmins shall respectively attend to expound the law, and they shall sign the report and assist in passing the decree". 19

Two superior courts were established at Calcutta. The Sadr Diwdni Addlat heard appeals from the mofussil Diwdni Addlats. The Governor and two members of the Council assisted by the Rdyrayan and officers of the cutchery constituted the court.

There was also to be a Sadr Nizdmat Addlat to hear criminal appeals and to investigate into capital sentences passed by the district courts before they could be referred to the Nazim, who was to be assisted by the Chief Kdzi, the Chief mufti and three capable maulvis.

The Company as Diwdn had nothing to do with the administration of criminal justice. The Company’s servants, therefore, did not form a part of the criminal courts. As in the districts the criminal courts were supervised by the Collector, so also at the Sadr Hastings provided that the Governor and Council would only watch the proceedings of the Nizdmat Addlat, “so that the Company’s administration in the character of the king’s dew\an may be satisfied that the decrees of justice on which both the welfare and safety of the country so materially depend, are not injured or perverted by the effects of partiality or corruption”.

In effect, Hastings had only revived some of the native courts which had fallen into desuetude, required the Collectors to preside in the local civil courts, and to prevent miscarriage of justice in the local criminal courts, transferred the appeal courts from Murshidabad to Calcutta and provided for the same control as in the districts. This was in accord with his policy of remedying the defects without destroying the traditions of the indigenous system. The native magistracy was retained as well as the laws to which the people were accustomed.

The judicial reforms of Hastings have received a very high measure of praise, but his revenue reforms have met with severe criticism. The two main grounds of such criticism are, first, that by adopting the farming system he had placed the ryot at the mercy of unprincipled speculators and second, that the lands had been very much over-assessed.

We have Hastings’ own defence on record. He wrote: “It is true that the lands were let in general too high. . . The exact value of the lands was known only to the zamindars and old farmers from whom it was not to be expected that they should part with their knowledge. To find out the real value the, most probable method was to let them to the highest bidders”. Where lands were overrated, he added, “abatements have been allowed. ... and a competent knowledge has been obtained of the stated capacity of the lands throughout the provinces which will be of great advantage in forming the next settlement when the term of the present shall have expired”. 20 Again he asks his opponents: “Are they certain that they would have considered themselves better qualified to judge of the real value of the land than those who offered to farm them? Would they have informed a zamirtdar or farmer who proposed to pay a revenue of 20 lakhs of rupees that he had offered five lakhs too much? When they declare that they would have proportioned their demands to abilities of the people, I have a right to ask them by what rule their ability could have been ascertained. When they assert that they would have collected a less revenue, I have a right to expect that they will point out how the service of government might have been reduced in the same proportion?" 21 Mr. Ramsbotham's remarks may be quoted here with profit. "The revenues had been farmed long before the Company's days but the farmers had been selected by government from men of position, who knew the land. The new regulations.... made it possible for any man to bid for the land.... the land revenue was placed at the mercy of every kind of disreputable gambler.If farming was necessary, it could have been carried out on different lines, working with the assistance of men of substance and with the existing zamindars, many of whom found themselves ousted.... The problem was very difficult. Hastings and his Committee tried to solve it by concentrating power at headquarters and by an efficient control of the Khalsa; experience was to show that efficient district Officers and a judicious decentralisation were the real solution. .. ." 22

When all is said, the fact remains that Hastings faced boldly and with the best of intentions a problem which presented enormous difficulties. He laid down as a fundamental for the quinquennial settlement which he made in 1772 that, as far as practicable, settlements were to be made with the existing zaminddrs and tolukddrs and in many cases this was done. A large number of vexatious levies were abolished and deductions allowed on their account. Where the hustabood was fixed at the same amount at which it had stood before the famine, reductions were considered. Nevertheless, it is true that in their anxiety to have the lands, farmers as well as zaminddrs in many places settled at so high a value that the amount could not .be realised and modified settlements had to be made. Hastings' anxiety for the protection of the ryots from undue exaction and the encouragement of cultivation is manifest in the leases given to the farmers in 1772. The lease ran: "should it be known that you exact more, you will net only have to repay the ryots the sum which you have so exacted but also to make a proportional forfeit to government, and if it is represented that you a second time are guilty of any oppression on the ryots, your farm shall then be made Khas and you shall pay a fine to government.... On the other hand, if by promoting cultivation and agriculture you can by any legal means reap any advantage from your farm you have nothing to pay to government, exclusive of the medguzzary, that advantage will be your own.” 23 That these leases failed to protect the ryots, that many of the salutary regulations passed by the Committee of Circuit in 1772 remained pious wishes, and the fact that the settlement of 1772 was open to serious objections, do not deprive Hastings of his right to be praised for an honest attempt to solve a very intricate problem. He, like his colleagues, was groping in the dark. In the next few years alternative schemes were tried, none of which could be said to have succeeded until the English grew tired of this vexed problem and shelved it permanently in 1793.

Before assuming his office as Governor, Hastings had protested against the despotic powers which the Supervisors exercised ill the districts and the want of control over them by the Council at Calcutta. To Mr. Purling, Chairman of the Court of Directors, he had written in March 1772: “The obvious remedy to these evils is to redeem the authority of the government by abolishing the Boards of Revenue, recalling the Supervisors, and bringing the collections to Calcutta”. When later on in the year he carried out the reforms of 1772 in accordance with the orders of the Directors, he abolished the Boards of Revenue and centralised the revenue administration, but he could not dispense with the district officers, though he sought to check abuse of their powers. In January 1773, Hastings wrote to Dupre: “We have suffered one capital defect to remain in our constitution—I mean the collectors. ... It was once intended to withdraw the collectors entirely. They monopolise the trade of the country. .... They are most of them agents of their banyans and they are devils.... It appeared that there were among them so many sons, cousins, or relatives of directors and intimates of members of council, that it was better to let them remain than provoke an army of opponents.... They continue, but their power is retrenched and the way paved for their gradual removal, and the Court of Directors have sufficient arguments furnished them to order their recall immediately.” 24

The Directors in their letter to the Governor and Council at Fort William dated 7 April, 1773, ordered that the Collectors may be withdrawn as soon as possible and asked them, “to substitute some other plan for making yourselves acquainted with the exact value of every district and for giving relief to the inhabitants, till we shall be able to send you complete regulations for conducting this branch of our affairs which we have now under consideration.” Hastings realised that the immediate recall of the Collectors and a drastic change following so soon after the changes of the previous year, would not be wise. So it was decided to adopt certain temporary measures preparatory to the introduction of the change. The final plan was to leave the districts entirely in charge of Indian subordinates and to exercise control by means of a Committee of Revenue at Calcutta assisted by occasional inspectors. This was not applied before 1781 and will be discussed in the next chapter. In the meanwhile as a temporary measure the three provinces were divided into six divisions, each under a provincial council. A diwdn was appointed to each of the provincial councils. As soon as the Collectors had adjusted their accounts, they were to hand over charge to naib diwans who would be appointed by the provincial councils to take charge of the collectorate. These naib diwans were also like the Collectors to preside over the district diwani addlats. To keep the judicial administration in line with the revenue, provincial diwani addlats as Intermediate courts between district and Sadr courts had been constituted. Appeals from the district courts were to lie to these provincial diwani addlats.

Such changes only touched the surface of the problem and failed to improve the condition of the people of the country. The very basis of a satisfactory settlement, viz., exact information of what was due from the ryots and what was actually levied from them by the farmers remained to be collected. Soon the Regulating Act of 1773 came into operation. As a result, a new Board of Revenue took charge. Their attempts to tackle the problem will be reviewed in the next chapter.

NOTES

1. Malcolm, Sir John, Life of Clive, Vol. II, pp. 119 et seq., Clive to Pitt, 7 Jan. 1759.

2. Dodwell, H. H., Dupleix and Clive, p. 194.

3- Malcolm, op. cit., p. 120.

4. Dodwell, op-, cit., p. 197.

5. Dodwell, op. cit., p. 203.

5a. His father had been murdered on 29 November, 1759, by his Vazir.

6- Chatterji, N. L., Mir Qasim, (1935), pp. 252-58.

7. Mill, History of British India, Vol. Ill, p. 316-17.

8. Dasgupta, A. P., Studies in the History of the British in India, pp. 36-45.

9. Ibid, pp. 50-53.

10. Ibid, p. 55.

11. Monckton-Jones M E., Warren Hastings in Bengal, p. 62.

12. Ibid, pp. .63-64.

13. Resolutions of the Select Committee, Calcutta, Dec. 15, 1769, see Monckton Jones, op. cit., p. 89.

14. Monckton-Jones, op. cit., p. 90; Resident at Murshidabad to Select Committee, Calcutta, 9 June, 1770.

15. Ibid, pp. 90-91. Resident at Murshidabad to Select Committee, Calcutta, 21 June 1770.

16- Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 12-32.

17 . Monckton-Jones, op. cit., p. 151; Hastings to Colebrooke, 26 March, 1772.

18. Monckton-Jones, op. cit., p. 169.

19. Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar 15 August, 1772 (Pub. Govt, of Bengal, 1926).

20. Minutes of 8 March, 1775,

21. Minutes of 29 Mlay, 1776.

22. Ramsbotham, Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal (1769-1787), pp. 30-31.

23. Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar (Pub. Govt, of Bengal, 1926), pp. 17-18.

24. Gleig, G. R., Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. I, p. 268.

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH POWER IN BENGAL (1773-1784)

PART II

The consolidation of the British position in Bengal depended largely on a successful frontier policy. In order to understand the frontier policy of Warren Hastings, it is necessary to recount the political settlement made by Clive after Buxar. The battle of Buxar had placed Awadh at the disposal of the English Company, and Shah ‘Alam had thrown himself on their protection. How could the English utilise this situation to their best advantage. They had become the virtual rulers of Bengal and Bengal needed protection from the attack of other Indian powers—especially the Marathas. The English decided that the best way to protect themselves from the jealousy of Indian and foreign powers was to conceal their real position and to pretend to be a servant of the emperor of Delhi. The English, therefore, by the Treaty of Allahabad (12 August, 1765) and by subsequent arrangements with the emperor, secured from him a jarmari ’to act in perpetuity as his Diwdn for the collection and administration of the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. As Diwdn , the Company stipulated to pay the emperor a tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees a year. Two Awadh districts, namely Kora and Allahabad, were given to the emperor for the support of his dignity and expense and a brigade of the Company’s troops was stationed at Allahabad for the protection of the emperor. With the exception of Kora and Allahabad, Awadh was restored to Shuja-ud-daulah. Though Shujaud-daulah had acted inimically to the English even after Buxar, the English were shrewd enough to see that Awadh under Shah ‘Alam would never serve as an efficient buffer against Maratha encroachments. Raja Balwant Singh of Banaras who had befriended the English in their campaign against Mir Qasim and his allies, was to be maintained in his zaminddri though it was still to remain parf of Awadh. Shuja-ud-daulah was to pay an indemnity of 50 lakhs of rupees for the Company’s expenses in the late war and as soon as the last instalment of this indemnity was paid the English would withdraw all troops from

Awadh, with the exception of a garrison at Chunar and the troops for the emperor's protection at Allahabad.

The alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah was a defensive one. The Company would assist him in any war for the defence of his dominions, but they were not bound to go to his aid if he waged war for the extension of his dominions. The settlement had two points of weakness. It was necessary for Awadh to have Rohilkhand in order to obtain a strategic frontier and it would have been better to keep Kora and Allahabad with Shuja-ud-daulah as the handing over of these districts to the emperor was unsound from the military point of view. Both these points cropped up during the administration of Warren Hastings.

For the first few years this arrangement worked well. Then it was upset by the Marathas. In 1769, the Marathas who had withdrawn into the Deccan after the disaster at Panipat, again advanced into northern India and in 1771 occupied Delhi. In May of that year Shah 'Alam left the protection of the English and proceeded towards Delhi where he was installed on the imperial throne by the Marathas. Shah 'Alam soon found that he was virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas who forced him to make over to them the'districts of Kora and Allahabad. This situation made the continuation of the settlement of 1765 concluded by Clive, impossible. Both the Rohillas and Shuja-ud-daulah became nervous at the advance of the Marathas. In June 1772 Shuja-ud-daulah entered into a treaty with the Rohillas which stipulated that if the Marathas entered Rohilkhand, Shuja-ud-daulah would go to the help of the Rohillas for which he was to get 40 lakhs from them. Sir Robert Barker, Commander-inChief of the British army in Awadh, was present at the signing of this treaty which led Shuja-ud-daulah to believe that the treaty had the approval of the English.

Therefore, when early in 1773 the Marathas crossed the Ganga into Rohilkhand, Shuja-ud-daulah was pledged by the treaty to go to the assistance of the Rohilla chiefs. The boundary between Rohilkhand and Awadh lay in an open plain without natural defence and Hastings, who was then Governor of Fort William, became concerned for the safety of the frontier. Barker was given instructions to enter into a treaty with the Rohillas for the protection of the part of Rohilkhand, lying on the same side as Shuja-ud-daulah's territories. Barker was not to cross the Ganga in the Rohilla districts beyond that river. He was to avoid embroiling the Company in any offensive war with the Marathas. In March of the same year the combined forces of the English and .Shuja-ud-daulah entered Rohilkhand and advanced in the direction of the Maratha camp. The Maratha forces hastily retreated. For the time being, the Marathas ceased to be a

menace. With the melting of the snows the Ganga became unfordable. Moreover the murder of Peshwd Narayan Rao and the internal dissensions which followed at Poona again obliged the Marathas to withdraw from northern India.

This temporary freedom from danger, however, was no reason for indefinitely postponing plans for strengthening the defence of Awadh. The political settlement of 1765 needed revision in the light of changed circumstances. Moreover, the arrangements had proved a heavy drain on the financial resources of Bengal. Shuja-ud-daulah was paying only the extraordinary expenses of the Company's troops employed by him. Hastings argued that he should bear all expenses of such troops, not merely the extraordinary. The Company had kept a considerable part of their army at Allahabad for the protection of the emperor. This had cost the Company nearly eighty lakhs of rupees in three years, all of which had been remitted in specie from Bengal.

In June 1773 Hastings left Calcutta for Banaras for conference with Shuja-ud-daulah. The result of this conference was the treaty of Banaras signed on 7 September, 1773. Shuja-ud-daulah was given Kora and Allahabad for which he was to pay 50 lakhs of rupees. If Shuja-ud-daulah required the use of the Company's troops he was to pay at the rate of 2 lakh ten thousand rupees per month. This was calculated on the basis of all expenses for the troops including pay, batta, stores, and all contingencies. The Nawab of Awadh agreed to receive a servant of the Company to be deputed by Hastings to reside near his person. The Company was to cease to pay tribute to Shah 'Alam. By a special agreement Chait Singh was confirmed in his father's zammddri. There was also a verbal agreement by which Hastings was to assist Shuja-ud-daulah against the Rohillas for which the Company Was to receive forty lakhs of rupees.

Hastings had been always opposed to the payment of the tribute to the emperor and the Company did not pay any tribute to Shah ‘Alam after he became Governor at Fort William. Now that Shah ‘Alam had gone over to the Marathas, the continuation of the tribute was dangerous. On this subject Hastings wrote: “. . . his late conduct has forfeited every claim to it, and made it even dangerous to allow it. . . It is unjust to argue in support of his pretensions on the Company, that the tribute is no more than a reasonable acknowledgement for the favour which they received from him in the grant of the Diwdni. They gave him all, they received nothing from him but a presumptuous gift of what was not his to give, but what they had already acquired by their power, the same power to which he was indebted for his crown, and even for his existence.” 1

As regards Kora and Allahabad, Hastings rightly argued that these districts had not been given in exchange for the grant of the Diwdni. They were given without any consideration, for the support of his dignity and expenses. Moreover, Shah ‘Alam had made them over to the enemies of the Company by- which act a powerful force had been placed on the borders of Awadh thus facilitating their attack on Bengal. Again the English had recovered them not from the emperor, but from the Marathas and, therefore, had the right to dispose of these districts as they liked. In selling Kora and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-daulah Hastings’ object was two-fold. He wanted to strengthen Shuja-ud-daulah, as he rightly believed that a strong ally was a better one than a weak ally. Besides, he had the shrewd feeling that the addition of these districts to Awadh would be an additional cause of friction between the Marathas and Shuja-ud-daulah and increase his dependence on the Company. Hastings explains his action thus:

‘By ceding them (to Nawab of Oudh) we strengthen our alliance with him, we make him more dependent upon us, as he is more exposed to the hostilities of the Marathas; we render a junction between him and them, which has been sometimes apprehended, morally impossible, since their pretensions to Kora will be a constant source of animosity between them; we free ourselves from the expenses and all the dangers attending either a remote property or a remote connection; we adhere literally to the limited system laid down by the Honourable Court of Directors....

We provide effectually for the protection of our frontier, and reduce the expenses of our army, even in employing it, and lastly we acquire a nett sum of 50 lacs of rupees most reasonably obtained for the relief of the Company's necessities." 2

Soon there were other developments. The Rohillas had not paid the forty lakhs promised to the Nawab of Awadh for his assistance. Added to this cause of grievance was the attempt of the Rohillas to take advantage of the confusion in the affairs of the Marathas and occupy the Doab, on which region Shuja-ud-daulah also had his eyes. The Nawab, therefore, called upon Hastings to assist him as promised at Benaras, in expelling the Rohillas from Rohilkhand. Hastings and the Select Committee decided that they were bound by promise to help him. Hastings made it clear to Shuja-ud-daulah that though he was pledged to assist him in Rohilkhand he would not take any part in the operation in the Doab which would involve him in a war with the Marathas. Without English assistance Shuja-uddaulah expelled the Maratha garrisons from Etawah and the neighbouring Doab districts. Shuja-ud-daulah then decided to march into Rohilkhand. The English now ordered Col. Champion, who was then Commander-in-Chief, to march to the Nawab's assistance (February, 1774). On 17 April, 1774, took place the battle of Miranpur Katra in which the Rohilla chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khan, was killed and the Rohillas were totally defeated. About twenty thousand Rohillas were driven out of the country. Rohilkhand was annexed to Awadh with the exception of only a small portion including Rampur which was given to Faizullah Khan, son of the founder of the Rohilla power, who entered into a treaty with Shuja-ud-daulah agreeing not to form any alliance with surrounding powers, not to retain more than 5,000 troops in his service and to provide Shuja-ud-daulah with two to three thousand troops when he went to war.

Hastings has been severely condemned by some historians for the Rohilla war, while others have put forward strong arguments in his defence. The charges against Hastings and the points in his favour have been ably summarised by P. E. Roberts in the Cambridge History of India (Vol. V) and by Davies in his excellent work entitled Warren Hastings and Oudh and need not be repeated here. The chief object of Hastings was to provide Awadh with an easily defensible frontier. If money had been the main consideration, he would have accepted the offer of Faizullah Khan to pay the Company eighty lakhs of rupees, double of what Shuja-ud-daulah was to give, if he was given Rohilkhand. Before the acquisition of Rohilkhand Shuja-ud-daulah had been exposed to attack not only from the Rohillas but also from the Marathas. Now a constant source of uneasiness to Shuja-ud-daulah and therefore to the English had been removed and Shuja-ud-daulah had obtained, in the words of Hastings, "a complete state, shut in effectually from foreign invasion by the Ganges, all the way from the frontier of Behar to the mountains of Tibet." 3

So long Warren Hastings had wielded unquestioned supremacy in directing the affairs of the presidency. The Regulating Act of 1773 however altered the position and Hastings found himself criticised and thwarted in every direction. The Rohilla war came in for severe criticism by his new colleagues in the Council and his Awadh policy was partially reversed.

The circumstances under which a bill for better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company had been introduced in the English Parliament need not be discussed in detail here. The East India Company was no longer only a chartered company of traders. It had in fact established an empire in India whatever might have been the legal status of its possessions. It had become impossible for the Home Government to allow, at the risk of a dangerous shifting of the centre of political gravity, this empire to remain outside the sphere of its control. The result was Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. 4 The monopoly of trade, the disposal of patronage and details of administration were left to the Company, but the state was to exercise a control over all the higher affairs of government. The principal provisions of the Act with which we are concerned were the following.

The Governor of the Presidency of Fort William was renamed the Governor-General. The Governor-General was to be assisted by four Councillors. Decisions were to be taken by a majority of votes. The Governor-General was to have a casting vote in case of equal division of opinion. The Governor-General and Council was given a very limited amount of control over the subordinate presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Governments at these presidencies were forbidden from issuing orders commencing hostilities or declaring war against, or concluding any treaty with, any Indian power without the previous consent of the Governor-General and Council. This restriction was not to apply in case of imminent necessity and the receipt of special orders direct from the Court of Directors. In case of violation of these restrictions a President and Council could be suspended by the Governor-General and Council. The subordinate presidencies were to transmit regularly to the Governor-General intelligence of all transactions relating to the Government, revenues or interests of the Company. The Crown was empowered to establish by a Charter a Supreme Court of Justice consisting of Chief Justice and three puisne judges. All the above provisions of the Regulating Act were mischievous in their effects as they led to the most unseemly quarrels between the different organs of the Government. The Governor-General and members of the Council were soon at loggerheads. Disputes ensued in no time between the newly created central authority and the subordinate presidencies endangering the safety of the Company's possessions. The Supreme Court arrogated to itself a position which led to serious conflicts with the Council and brought about a situation in Bengal akin to anarchy:

The story of Warren Hastings' Governor-Generalship is largely woven around the conflicts generated by the Regulating Act.

The Governor-General and the four members of the Bengal Council were named in the Act. Warren Hastings became the Governor-General. Philip Francis, Sir John Clavering, Colonel Monson and Richard Barwell .were appointed Councillors. They were appointed for five years. Any casual vacancy in the membership of the Council could be filled by the Directors with the assent of the Crown. After five years the Company was to have the full patronage.

Francis, Clavering and Monson were men without Indian experience. They came out with a preconceived and unaltering notion that everything in the conduct of affairs here was vicious and deserved to be condemned. Barwell was the only new Councillor who was already resident in India. He was at first critical of Hastings, but later became his staunch supporter.

The majority of the Council being hostile to Hastings, the Governor-General found himself counteracted in every, direction and a bitter struggle between him and the majority ensued, which for six years seriously endangered the affairs of the Company in India. The quarrel was embittered by acute personal enmity and things came to such a pass that for four days in June 1777, Clavering contested with Hastings for the Governor-General's chair and in July 1781 Hastings forced Francis to a duel in which Francis was badly wounded, and after sometime, returned to England.

One of the first acts of the new Council was to condemn the Rohilla war, to order the withdrawal of the Company's troops from Rohilkhand, at the same time to demand from the Nawab of Awadh the forty lakhs which he had promised and to reverse the arrangement made by the former administration in Awadh. Middleton, who had been appointed by Hastings as Resident in Awadh in terms of the Treaty of Banaras, was recalled and Bristow, a protege of Francis, was appointed in his place. In January 1775 Shuja-ud-daulah died and was succeeded by his son Asaf-ud-daulah. The majority in the Council forced a treaty on the new Nawab imposing fresh conditions on him different from the treaty of Banaras. This treaty was settled by Bristow, acting under orders of the Council, with the Nawab in May 1775 and is known as the treaty of Fyzabad. The Council guaranteed to Asaf-ud-daulah the possession of the subdh of Awadh and subject to ratification of the treaty of Banaras by the Court of Directors, the possession of Kora and Allahabad. The Council was

unwilling to accept responsibility for the defence of the Rohilla country and the recent conquest in the dodb, though they finally agreed to send troops to defend these unguaranteed parts of his dominions. Asaf-ud-daulah ceded to the Company in full so.vereignty all the territories of Chait Singh together with the mint and the Kotwdli of Banaras. The subsidy for a brigade of British troops which was Rs. 2,10,000 was now raised to Rs. 2,60,000 per month. All foreigners in the employ of Asaf-ud-daulah were dismissed and the Company's consent was made essential to the employment of any European. Thus the majority showed themselves to be more greedy than Hastings by increasing the tribute from Awadh and forcing the Nawab to cede a part of his dominions.

The acquisition of the new territories comprising the zamindari cf the Raja of Banaras made it necessary for the Company to enter into an arrangement with Chait Singh. Francis Fowke, son of Joseph Fowke, who was co-defendant with Nandkumar in a suit brought by Hastings, was chosen by the majority to proceed to Banaras and deliver to Chait Singh his sanads of investiture as zaminddr, amin, and faujdar of Banaras and certain other districts. Chait Singh was to have the mint i.e., the privilege of coining and Kotwdli of Banaras for which he was to pay a fixed annual compensation in addition to the tribute that he was to pay as zaminddr. The total annual tribute was fixed ultimately at 22J lakhs of rupees. The Raja was to pay nazrana to the Company and issue a proclamation explaining his actual position to the inhabitants of his zamindari. He was forbidden, on the point of forfeiture of his zamindari, to carry on negotiations with the enemies of the Company and he was to maintain a body of 2,000 cavalry, disciplined and equipped after the European fashion, for the protection of his territories. It will be seen from the above that Chait Singh was left free to mint coins and to collect revenues and exercise police jurisdiction within his zamindari , but the exercise of these functions rested on grants from the Company in whom vested the sovereignty over these territories. It would not be correct, therefore, to describe him as an independent prince.

One very unfortunate result of the quarrel in the Council was the use made by the majority of Maharaja Nandkumar and his victimisation by Warren Hastings. In March 1775 Nandkumar brought against Hastings the charge of having received from Munni Begam a bribe of Rs. 3,54,105 for appointing her guardian of the young Nawab. When the majority of the Council entertained the charge, Hastings was furious. In April Hastings, Barwell and Vansittart charged Joseph Fowke and Nandkumar for endeavouring to coerce one Kamal-ud-din to accuse Hastings and Barwell of having received other bribes. In May one Mohan Prasad brought a charge of forgery against Nandkumar, and two judges of the Supreme Court sitting as magistrates committed Nandkumar for a trial on the forgery charge. Nandkumar was tried by the Supreme Court, and a jury entirely consisting of Eurasian inhabitants of Calcutta under English law which was of doubtful application at the time in India, and was sentenced to death on the charge. Nandkumar appealed piteously to Francis from prison, but neither Francis nor his friends, Monson and Clavering, raised a finger to come to Nandkumar's assistance and back an application for reprieve. Hastings had made no secret of his detestation of Nandkumar and was glad that he was being removed from his way. One of his dependants even exerted himself to prevent a petition of reprieve from being presented. Thus ended the life of a true patriot as the victim of a conspiracy.

One of the reasons for parliamentary interference in the affairs of the Company was the desire of the people in England to check the abuse of authority by the servants of the Company in this country. For this purpose the existing judicial arrangement in Bengal was considered unsatisfactory. The Mayor's Court which administered English law, had authority only over the town or district of Calcutta and its subordinate factories. There were many British subjects resident in Bengal who did not fall under the jurisdiction of English law. Again, the fact that the judges of the Charter Courts were subject to removal by the Governor-General and Council made it difficult for them to punish the Company's servants without fear of consequences. The Regulating Act, therefore, provided for a judiciary emanating directly from the Crown. The Act, however, failed to define clearly its jurisdiction or its relations to the GovernorGeneral and Council and the existing judiciary. The Supreme Court was constituted of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges appointed by the king from barristers of five years' standing, to hold office at pleasure. The Court had authority over all European and British subjects resident in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It could decide suits brought against any British subject in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa as well as suits against any person employed by or in the service of the Company. It could also decide any suit brought by a British subject against any inhabitant of India within Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on any contract in writing agreeing that in case of dispute the matter should be determined in the Supreme Court, provided the cause of action exceeded five hundred rupees. The rules,

ordinances and regulations for the good order and civil government of Fort William and the subordinate factories were not to have effect until registered in the Supreme Court with its approval. Thus the Court was to serve as a check on hasty legislation. 5

The Parliament, says Mills "saw not that they were establishing two independent and rival powers in India, that of the Supreme Council and that of the Supreme Court, they drew no line to mark the boundary between them; and they foresaw not the consequences which followed, a series of encroachments and disputes, which unnerved the powers of government and threatened their destruction". 6 The Supreme Court started to exercise its powers pedantically. The Court was a king's court and the judges were the king's judges. They derived their power from a source which was superior to the power from which the position of the Governor-General and Council emanated. 'They claimed that they were here to afford protection to whomsoever sought it and went so far beyond the vaguely defined limits of their jurisdiction that they paralysed the work of the Company's Government and even challenged the Nawab's authority over the nizdmat. Though, in April 1775, Hastings seemed so pleased with the Court as to mention to Lord North "the protection which it affords to the weak against oppression", he did not hesitate to tell the sponsor of the Act as follows:

"It appears to me defective only in the inadequacy of its natural powers to the extent of its jurisdiction. I much fear that it will be found scarce possible in practice to make the distinction intended by the Act, and Charter, between such persons as are employed in the service of the Company, or of British subjects, and other native inhabitants. The mutual concerns and connexions of two classes so formed of the same people will bring about every man of property within the sphere of the Supreme Court, independently of the'necessity to which it seems unavoidably liable of exercising a temporary authority, even over those not subject to it by the Act for the purpose of ascertaining their exemption from it. The geographical measurement of the provinces of Bengal exceeds, perhaps that of Great Britain, and the number of litigable disputes is at least as great. Judge then, my Lord, how incompetent a single court, however composed, must be for the efficient distribution of justice to such a nation?"[7]

To remedy the defect. in the Act, Hastings suggested to Lord North that the Company's Civil Courts may be made dependent on the Supreme Court and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may be given a seat on the Council Board.[8] Firminger correctly interprets the intentions of the framers of the Act when he says:

"That the Court was not intended to hold an unlimited jurisdiction throughout the province is clear from the repeated references to European and British subjects, to natives under the protection or in the employment of British subjects. The Supreme Court was in fact to occupy the position of the Mayor's Court and its institution was believed to be necessary because the Mayor's Court had been found an insufficient deterrent to wrong doings on the part of the company officials. ... It was not intended to supersede or trespass upon the judicature deriving their authority from the Moghul Sovereignty by practically edging it into limbo. The establishment of the Supreme Court enabled the Directors to take the trial of alleged offences of its servants out of the hands of a complacent Council Board and have such cases determined by the Court of puisne justices of the Crown."[9]

Again what law the Court was to administer was not settled in the Act, probably because the assumption was that the Court was meant for those who were actually or constructively British subjects and therefore required English law. There was no idea of introducing English law with all its technicalities throughout the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Soon the defects in the Act pointed out by Hastings became apparent. The Court gave the widest interpretation to the word 'British subjects' and persons in the employment of the Company and all persons connected with the collection of rents and Indians imprisoned by those collectors were all brought within their jurisdiction. As a matter of fact, writs of habeas corpus were freely granted to public debtors so imprisoned.

The work of revenue collection and administration of civil justice was nearly brought to a standstill. The Governor-General and Council declared, “By the several acts and declarations of the judges, it is plain that the Company’s office of Dewan is annihilated; that the country government is subverted and that any attempt on our part to exercise or support the powers of either, may involve us and our officers in the guilt and penalty of high treason”.

For the judges of a Court in the constitution of which the sovereignty of the king of England over Bengal might be construed, it was difficult to understand the peculiar status of the Nawab of Bengal and the de jure position of the Company in this province.

The anxiety of the Company to keep up the appearance of the Nizdmat was not understood by them and they claimed jurisdiction, civil as well as criminal, over the whole of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Mr. Justice Hyde declared publicly on the bench, ‘The Act of Parliament does not consider Mubaruck-ud-Dowla as a sovereign prince;

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the jurisdiction of this Court extends over all his dominions.”

Let us now illustrate the effects of the interpretation given by the judges of the Supreme Court of their powers and functions. The Patna case illustrates how a thirst for enlarging its jurisdiction led the Supreme Court to interfere with the administration of justice by the Company’s Civil Courts. On the death of a rich Mahommedan, both his widow and his nephew claimed his whole property. The Provincial Council at Patna, before whom the case came up in January, *1727, deputed, according to usual practice, a Kdzi and two Muftis to enquire into the claims of the parties according to Mahommedan Law. The Kdzi and the Muftis reported that the property should be divided into four parts and one part given to the widow and three parts given to the brothers of the deceased and father of the nephew. The Council considered the report, heard the parties and ordered the distribution of the property as recommended. The widow refused to submit to the decision of the Provincial Council and to accept her share and brought an action in the Supreme Court against the nephew, the Kdzi and the Muftis for the part they had taken in carrying out the orders of the Council. The objection raised by the nephew to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was overruled by the judges who declared that every renter was a servant of^the Company. The Kdzi and the Muftis pleaded that they had acted regularly in their judicial capacity in obedience to the lawful orders of their legal superiors. The judges decided On the maxiin of English law that the provincial council could not delegate any authority to the Kdzi and the Muftis, even as their agents, and therefore all that they had done was without authority. The nephew and the Kdzi were arrested at Patna. The bail demanded was four lakhs of rupees. The Council of Patna decided to offer bail for the prise** ners. The Governor-General and Council resolved that “they he supported and indemnified by Government from all consequences from which they can be legally indemnified”. The Supreme Court gave judgment against the defendants who were to pay to the widow 3 lakhs of rupees as damages and 9,208 rupees as costs. The defend dants except the Kdzi who was an old man and expired on the way^, were then conveyed to Calcutta under a guard of sepoys and lodged in jail. They were released in 1781 by the interference of the firs*

tish Parliament and granted a pecuniary compensation. The Muftis were mot only reinstated but promoted.

Not satisfied, the widow also brought an action against the members of the Provincial Council in the Supreme Court and obtained damages amounting to 15,000 rupees which money was paid from the Company’s treasury.

The Dacca case is an example of the interference of the Supreme Court with the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts functioning under the Nizdmat. A ‘Paik’ or messenger had been convicted in the Faujddri Court at Dacca for a misdemeanour and put into jail. This man brought a suit before the Supreme Court against the diwdn of this Court for trespass and false imprisonment. One of the judges of the Supreme Court issued a process of arrest against the diwdn (1777). An attorney of the Supreme Court residing at Dacca deputed his bailiffs for executing the process of arrest. The bailiffs proceeded to the faujddr’s house and attempted in a violent manner to seize the diwdn who was present there. The faujddr refused to allow the diwdn to be arrested, whereupon the attorney proceeded to the house in person with a large number of attendants, broke down the gate and forcibly entered the house. The result was an affray in which the fcqujddr's father was wounded in the head with a sword by an attendant of the attorney and the attorney himself shot the faujddr's brother-in-law with a pistol and wounded him dangerously. Justice Hyde highly approved the conduct of the attorney and promised him the Court's support. The Provincial Council bailed the diwdni and wrote to the Governor-General and Council that "all criminal justice is at a stand, and seems not likely to be resumed until the decisive consequences of the present disputes shall be publicly declared and known."

The Supreme Court was at open war with the Supreme Council when in 1779 it proceeded against a zaminddr of Midnapur, the Raja of Kasijora, on the complaint of Kasinath Babu, his agent at Calcutta. When the Raja evaded arrest by absconding, the Court issued a writ to sequester his land and effects. The Sheriff despatched to Kasijora an armed force for the execution of the writ. Under orders of the Governor-General and Council their party was seized and detained by the officer commanding the troops at Midnapur. The Supreme Council notified all zamindars and tahsildars in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa that except in the two cases of being the Company's servants or bound by their own agreement, they were not to consider themselves subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The provincial Chiefs were forbidden to lend any military force to assist in the execution of the orders of the Court. The Supreme Court took revenge by committing the Company's attorney to jail and serving summons individually on the members of the Supreme Council to answer to Kasinath Babu for trespass. The members of the Council refused to submit to the Court in any proceedings brought against them as individuals. 10

Hastings was anxious to put an end to this intolerable situation and at the same time to improve the judiciary. The Sadr Dhvani Addlat had been kept in abeyance because the Governor-General and Council had no time for judicial duties. The Provincial Courts also, it was admitted, had not been working satisfactorily. On 11 April, 1780, the Governor-General and Council passed a series of regulations for the administration of justice. The six provincial councils which were supervising the district diivdni adalats were to remain courts of justice for the trial and decision of cases relating to public revenue only. There were to be six divisional diwdni courts to try all other civil suits. These courts were to be presided over by a covenanted servant of the Company with the title of the Superintendent of the Diwdni Addlat. Provisions were laid down to avoid clashes between the Superintendents of the Adalats and the Provincial Councils. The Sadr Diwdni Addlat was now revived and it was laid down that in cases of sums exceeding Rs. 1,000 appeals were to lie to "The Governor-General and Council in their department of Sadr Diwdni Addlat. Such appeals must go through the Chief of the provincial council of revenue."

Though the Sadr Diwdni Addlat frad been revived, the pressure of business prevented the members of the Council from actually sitting as a court and important cases were decided on the recommendation of the Keeper of Khalsd Records without the members hearing the evidence at all.

On 29 September, 1780, therefore Hastings brought forward his famous scheme for the revival of the Sadr Diwdni Addlat. The Sadr Diwdni Addlat was a Court of Appeal. It had also to exercise a general supervision over the inferior courts. This authority the Board was incapable of exercising. Therefore, he suggested that the Chief Justice be requested "to accept of the chargq and superintending of the office of the Diwdni Adala!t f1 and be styled the judge of the Sadr Diwdni Addlat. Wheler and Francis objected to the proposal, and Hastings supported by Sir Eyre Coote carried the proposal with his casting, vote and in October Impey accepted the post offered him.

Wheler was right in contending that the appointment would be contrary to the spirit of the Regulating Act. The Supreme Court had been set up to deal with complaints against the Company's servants. The Chief Justice would be now in the pay of the Company and at the head of the Company's judiciary which was staffed by those very servants. Obviously Impey had placed himself in an invidious position. He was open to the charge that he had been bribed by Hastings and had forfeited his judicial independence.

Impey's appointment was looked upon with disfavour in England and the Court of Directors and the House of Commons petitioned the Crown for his recall. Impey left India in 1783 to answer charges against him. In the meanwhile orders from the Directors arrived instructing the Council to resume its jurisdiction.

In the meanwhile a petition had been sent by the principal British inhabitants in Bengal to Parliament against the exercise of their powers by the Supreme Court. The Governor-General and Council had also petitioned the Directors. These together with a petition from the East India Company were placed before the House of Commons and were referred to a Select Committee. The result was the Att of 1781 amending the Constitution of the Supreme Court. The Act provided that:

(i) The Governor-General and Council were not to be subject to the Supreme Court*for acts done by them in their official capacity.

(ii) The Supreme Court was to have no jurisdiction in matters concerning the revenue or its collection.

(iii) Mere employment by the Company or by a native of Great Britain should not render a person subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court except in actions for wrongs and trespasses and also except in any civil suit by written agreement of parties to submit to the Court's decision.

(iv) Persons exercising judicial offices in the Indian adalats and persons acting under such authority were not to be amenable to actions for wrong or injury in the Supreme Court.

(v) The Supreme Court was to have jurisdiction over all inhabitants of Calcutta, but Hindu or Muhammadan laws were to be administered in cases of inheritance, contract and succession.

Thus the powers of the Supreme Court were at last defined and the court was kept away from mischief. The need of a central authority to^control the dealings of the British Presidencies with the Indian powers, with a view to secure a uniform policy, had been felt for sometime before the Regulating Act and Lord Clive had suggested that such an authority should be established in Bengal. 11 The Regulating Act provided that the Goyernor-General and Council of Bengal shall have "power of superintending and controlling the Government and management of the Presidencies of ^Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively so far and insomuch as that it shall not be lawful for any President and Council of Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen to make any orders for commencing hostilities or declaring or making war against any Indian Prince or power, or negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace or other treaty with any such Indian Princes or powers, unless the consent and approbation of the said Governor-General and Council had been obtained first, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaties until the order of the GovernorGeneral and Council might arrive; and except in such cases where the said presidents and councils shall have received special orders from the said United Company. . . .” A penalty was prescribed for disobedience of the orders of the Governor-General and Council, which was suspension from office. The Presidencies were to transmit regularly to the Governor-General and Council advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall come to their knowledge relating to the Government, revenues, or interests of the said United Company.’' 12 It will be seen that no* positive power was given to Bengal. The Governor-General and Council could only say ‘Yes’ or ‘IVo’ when matters relating to commencement of hostilities or negotiations of treaties were referred to them. The pleas of imminent necessity and orders from the Directors could be preferred at every step by the subordinate presidencies, leaving the central authority powerless while the subordinate presidencies brought the affairs of the Company to a critical position. On the other hand, a responsibility for “the security of the possessions and revenues of the Company’’ had been thrust upon the GovernorGeneral and Council by the Directors. This made it necessary for the Governor-General and Council to intervene in the affairs of the subordinate presidencies even in matters in which their legal powers could be questioned. The financial resources of Bombay and Madras were meagre and they depended for men, money and supplies on Bengal in times of war. The Supreme Council could be asked to finance a war for which they were not responsible. There would be the natural temptation, after help had been sent, to seek to regulate the conduct of the war and to decide when, how and on what terms a treaty was to be concluded, for which the Supreme Council had no legal power. This absurd position led to the most unfortunate relations between the Central

Government and the Governments of Bombay and Madras and on occasions endangered the safety of the British possessions in India. A detailed discussion of the relations between the Central Government (and the subordinate presidencies under the Regulating Act of 1773 is beyond the scope of this chapter. It is sufficient to say that the Company's possession of so rich a province as Bengal enabled it to finance the wars undertaken by the Bombay and Madras presidencies and to save the British position in India. When the revenues of Bengal were not enough to make up the money required for these wars, Hastings had to adopt questionable methods of extortion of money as in the case of Chait Singh and the Begams of Awadh.

We have now to resume the account of the efforts made by the Company's servants towards devising an efficient system of land revenue collection at the point at which it was left in the preceding chapter. The results of the quinquennial settlement of 1772 were proving more deplorable each year. The necessity of devising some fresh method had become imperative. Accordingly in March 1775 Hastings invited the opinions of the members of the Council on the subject. Hastings and Barwell presented a joint plan in which they practically adopted the principle of a permanent settlement by recommending leases for life or for two joint lives, forming such settlements with zaminddrs wherever possible. Francis opposed this plan and in January 1776 brought forward his own plan. He proposed that the new settlement was to be based on an estimate of the actual requirements of the Company instead of being based on an estimate of what the lands could bear. The amount Government needed to raise by way of land revenue was to be ascertained. The contributions of the districts would be settled accordingly and fixed for ever. This fixed settlement was to be made with the zaminddrs, who he argued were the lawful owners of the soil. To guard against deficits he proposed that the zaminddris which defaulted were to be sold. As to the machinery of revenue collection, Francis contended that the institution of the Provincial Councils was fundamentally wrong and recommended the reappointment of Supervisors. Francis' views, which he publicised in England, exercised a great influence in preparing the revenue policy dictated by Pitt's India Act of 1784.

The quinquennial settlement was coming to an end in 1777 and a fresh settlement had to be made. Before the settlement could be made it was essential to obtain accurate information as to the real value of the lands, as an assessment based on faulty information would be disastrous. Hastings proposed the appointment of a commission to undertake the task. An additional object of the proposed commission was “the better and more effectual regulation of pottahs for the security of the ryots in the perpetual and undisputed possession of their lands”. David Anderson, George Bogle and Charles Croftes were appointed members of the Commission. Henry Vansittart was the Persian translator and Ganga Govind Singh was appointed Peshkar. The Governor-General was to be in direct control of the proceedings of the Commission.

As in the case of all other proposals put forward by Hastings, Francis came out with his objections to the appointment of this Commission and was supported by Clavering and Monson. Hastings was obliged to get the matter through the Council by means of his casting vote. The Commission immediately got to work and sent out amins into all the districts to collect necessary accounts and papers. The report of this Commission, known in history as the Amini Commission, was completed in March 1778.

“The Amini Report was the first technical and professional explanation of the system employed in collecting the land revenue of

Bengal that was placed before the Company. The various

classes of landlords and the different forms of land tenure are set forth, together with a description of the hereditary and temporary agencies that existed for administering and collecting this revenue at the time when the Company assumed the Diwani. The accounts of a district are explained in detail, their modus operandi and their interdependency. The decline in administrative efficiency, resulting in oppression of the ryots and the defrauding of Government is related with comments showing how the zaminddrs trusting to the want of information in Government had deliberately increased the areas of land alleged to be free from taxation, because they were ostensibly used for religious uses. The report lays stress on the necessity of expert and continual supervision by responsible officers of the revenue collections, and concludes by suggesting a few general principles to be observed in assessing the land revenue of a district.”[13]

Unfortunately the Directors disapproved of the appointment of the Commission as they saw no reason why after so many years of investigation further information should be still required. Confused as they were by the conflicting opinions of their servants on the spot, they were unable to take any definite decision and decided to mark time. Accordingly in December 1778 they sent orders for the land revenue to be settled annually.

It will be remembered that the machinery for revenue collection which was in operation was a temporary arrangement pending the application of a more permanent plan kept in readiness. The essence of this permanent plan was ‘that all the collections of the provinces should be brought down to the Presidency and be there administered by a Committee of the most able and experienced of the Covenanted servants of the Company under the immediate inspection of, and with the opportunity of constant reference for instruction to, the Governor-General and Council.’[14] In February 1781, it was decided to give effect to this plan. Accordingly—

(i) A Committee of Revenue consisting of four Covenanted servants of the Company was constituted. The first to be appointed to the Committee was David Anderson, John Shore, Samuel Charters and Charles Croftes. Ganga Govind Singh was appointed diwan. The Committee was to be entrusted with the charge and administration of all the public revenues under the control of the GovernorGeneral and Council.

(ii) The Provincial Councils were dissolved, but the chiefs of the Councils were to remain in the temporary charge of the respective divisions under the authority of the Committee.

(iii) The office of the Superintendent of the Khalsa records was abolished and the functions of Khalsa were transferred to the Committee of Revenue.

(iv) The office of the Rciy ray an was placed under the Supreme Council and its holder was forbidden to interfere in the business transacted by the diwan of the committee.

(v) The Collectors were replaced in all the districts.

(vi) The Kanungos were reinstated.

Though the collectors were reappointed, they were denied any interference with the new settlement of the revenues. Even as the collecting agencies, the local collectors were not trusted. The new collectors were mere figureheads. The mofussil Kanungos who were reappointed to assist the Collectors were under the control of the Sadr Kanungos who bowed at the feet of the Committee of Revenue. This extreme centralisation led to the failure of this scheme. The Committee of Revenue became a tool in the hands of the diwdn. It could not discover the real state of any district, nor could it distinguish truth from falsehood. Without an effective local agency, the ryots could not be protected from oppression, and regular reaiisasation of the revenues could not be secured.

The settlement of 1781 was made principally with the zaminddrs for varying periods, not exceeding three years in different districts. For the years 1784-86 annual settlements were concluded by special officers deputed by the Committee.

Warren Hastings left India in February 1785. With his departure, the coming into operation of Pitt’s India Act of 1784 and the arrival of Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General, a new epoch in the history of the East India Company’s administration of its possessions in India begins. It is, therefore, necessary at this stage to examine how far the English had consolidated their position in Bengal at the end of Hastings’ period of rule. The security of the province of Bengal had been obtained by the judicious, creation of Awadh as a buffer state. The English had stopped payment of the tribute to the Mughul emperor and no longer felt it necessary to masquerade as mere servants of the Great Mughul. The process of erosion of the sovereignty of the Nawab of Bengal was almost complete and he was now only a pensioner of the Company. The Company’s authority over

Bengal had been firmly established. The task of revenue collection and the administration of civil justice was fully exercised by the Company, and the administration of criminal justice and the police of the districts was under their control, though still in theory with the Nawab. It was left for Cornwallis to do away with the small remnants of the rights vested in the Nawab as Nazim .

No account of the administration of Warren Hastings can be complete without a reference to the spirit in which he approached his great task of governing a subject people. The voluminous records of his administration evince his solicitude for the people he was called upon to govern, his desire to respect their customs and past traditions and to associate the natives of the soil with the administration. In the copious minutes and notes relating to local revenue administration, Hastings’ concern for the security of the ryots is evident. The affection and esteem for the people of Bengal which

he developed while he lived among them as a humble clerk of the Company survived his elevation to a position of great power.

Hastings knew Bengali and Persian very well. He had a working knowledge of Urdu and knew a little Arabic. Though he never learnt Sanskrit, he associated with the welLknown pundits of his time and his unbounded admiration for the philosophy of the Gltd and for Sanskrit learning is brought out abundantly in his introduction to Wilkins’ translation of the Gita, where he says that “the philosophy of the Gita has a permanent value and will continue to influence the world long after the British empire will have been forgotten.” Hastings’ interest in the civilisation, thought and languages of India led him to encourage the study of Persian at Oxford. He established the Calcutta Madrasah in 1781. Inspired by his respect and zeal for oriental learning; a number of the servants of the Company began to take to oriental studies. Halhed translated the Digest of Hindu Law from Persian into English. Halhed's grammar of the Bengali language was printed in 1778 with type cast by Wilkins. Wilkins was proficient alike in Persian and Sanskrit and translated the Bhagavad Gita from Sanskrit. The great orientalist Sir William Jones arrived in 1783 and with the assistance of Pundit Jagannath Tarkapahchanan began the translation of the Laws of

Manu. Hastings, Jones, Wilkins and Halhed joined in founding the Asiatic Society for the furtherance of the knowledge of the East. Thus it will not be inaccurate to say that the Indian Renaissance which blossomed in the 19th century had its roots in this period of Hastings' administration.

NOTES

1. Davies, C. C., Warren Hastings and Oudh (19390,, p. 36.

2. Forrest, G. W., Selection from State Papers, etc., Vol. I, p. 30.

3 Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 219.

4. Keith, A. B., Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, Vol. I, pp. 49-59.

5 Keith, A. B., Constitutional History of India, p. 75.

6 Mill, History of British India, Vol. V, Chap, xxx, p. 268.

7 • Gleig, Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, Hastings to Lord North (2

April, 1775), Vol. I, pp. 540-41. V

8. Ibid, pp. 541-42.

9 Firminger, Introduction to the Fifth Report.

10 Mill, op. cit., Bk. V, Chap. VI, pp. 282-96.

11 Dasgupta, A. P., The Central Authority in British India, 1774-84, pp. 2-4.

12. Keith, A. B., Speeches and, Documents on Indian Policy, Vol. I, pp. 46-47.

13 Ramsbotham, Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal , pp. 96-97.

14 Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 427.

CHAPTER XI

MARATHAS AND THE NORTH INDIAN STATES

(1772 - 1799)

Confusion in Mughul Court:

Northern India had passed through a series of political convulsions and moral degeneracy during the reigns of Farrukh-siyar and Muhammad Shah. Masters of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, the Marathas had demonstrated the weakness of the empire by suddenly appearing in the environs of Delhi in 1737. Nadir Shah's invasion of 1739 was a mighty blow, but the empire survived it, somehow. In 1748 the Mughuls exhibited a flicker of their former strength by scoring a victory over the Afghans at Sirhind. But in 1752 the resourceful Afghan—Ahmad Shah Abdall—annexed the two frontier provinces of Lahore and Multan. The helpless Mugfiul emperor Ahmad Shah craved Maratha protection and entered into an agreement with Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindia in May 1752; The Marathas gained from the emperor the chauth of the Punjab, Sind and the Doab, in addition to the sub&hdari of Ajmer and Agra; in exchange the Marathas agreed to protect the, emperor against external enemies and recalcitrant subjects. This agreement has been described as "a defensive subsidiary treaty". 1

The risky commitment to which Sindia and Holkar agreed could only have been successfully carried out had they acted in close cooperation and received adequate support from Poona. It was, therefore, no wonder that the Marathas had to succumb to the combination of Indian Muslim chiefs and the Afghan adventurer, Ahmad Shah Abdall, on 14 January, 1761, on the fatal field of Panipat, despite the extension of their power up to the river Chenab, effected mainly through the agency of the Peshwd's brother, Raghunath Rao. The battle of Panipat left the Rohilla chief, Najib-ud-daulah, Abdall's Indian supporter, as the undisputed master of Delhi during the next nine years. The Marathas were so emasculated that everywhere in Hindustan—in the Gangetic Doab, in Bundelkhand, in Rajputana and in Malwa—the dispossessed rulers and petty landlords raised their heads.

From this perilous situation the Marathas recovered slowly. A spasmodic start had been made by Malhar Rao Holkar who defeateu

Madho Singh of Jaipur at Mangrol near Kota (29 November, 1761). An indirect recognition of the continuity of Maratha power in north was provided by the formal acceptance of status quo by Ahmad Shah Abdall in 1763. Three years later the Marathas—led by Raghunath Rao, Malhar Rao Holkar and Mahadji Sindia—reappeared on the northern political spectrum but only to withdraw a year later following a revival of the Abdall menace.

Najib's death in 1770 induced the Mughul emperor, Shah 'Alam, who had been living in exile at Allahabad as a pensioner of the East India Company, to think seriously of coming back to Delhi, where he could regale himself with the yet visible symbol of imperial sovereignty. He had been repeatedly duped by the British promises of help; he, therefore, turned expectantly towards the Marathas. On 12 February, 1771, the emperor ratified a formal agreement with the Marathas and left Allahabad two months later. Mahadji Sindia met him at Anupshahar and the exiled emperor entered Delhi on 6 January, 1772, as a Maratha protege. At last Peshwd Madhav Rao had the satisfaction of having effaced the ignominy of Panipat and restored Maratha power once more to its unenviable position. The policy laid down by BajI Rao I and extended by his son now seemed to be reaching fulfilment.

No sooner did the Marathas begin to reassert their power in Hindustan than they were diverted to momentous issues in the south which engulfed the Marathas following the murder of Peshwd Narayan Rao (30 August 1773) and the outbreak of the first war with the English. The emperor was a mere puppet in the hands of the all-powerful chieftain, Mirza Najaf Khan. But this chief died on 6 April 1782, and the emperor once more exhibited a pathetic picture of indolence and vacillation.

Confusion reigned supreme in the Mughul Court and there was no semblance of law and order in the city of Delhi. "The Sikhs have plundered the country close to the city, and the Mewatis and Gujars, who are common robbers, so totally infest the country on every side. .. that travellers cannot pass from any one city to another; this, joined to the failure of the harvest, has produced a famine at Delhi; so that the distresses of that capital are extreme".?

The British were not slow to take advantage of the emperor’s miserable plight. Warren Hastings, now emerging from the Maratha War, sent Major Browne to the emperor, in the summer of 1782, on an exploratory mission. He was asked to study the character, connection, influence and power of the several competitors for the possession of the King’s favour or the exercise of his authority, and the views of foreign powers. His offer of military aid was conditional and limited.'

Having reached Delhi early in 1783, Browne warmly advocated the emperor’s cause and tried to quicken Hastings’ zeal by his eloquence. He observed: “The whole Mughul empire looks tp you for redemption from the utmost distress and confusion”. 3 But Hastings did not wish to be drawn into a situation by any. unwise or wrongful action; even Browne’s request in early 1784 to form an alliance with Shah ‘Alam and Afrasiyab Khan, the adopted son of Mirza Najaf Khan, met with no response from Hastings. In April, 1784, the whole situation took a sudden turn by the flight of Prince Jahandar Shah (Jawan Bakht), the emperor’s son and heir to the tlirone, to the protection of the vazlr and the British in Lucknow. Mahadji Sindia, who had now been able to consolidate his position in Malwa, suggested to Hastings that the British should dissociate themselves from the Prince and the latter be restored with Maratha assistance. Meanwhile ‘Abdul Ahad, the emperor’s minister and a henchman of the British, had been imprisoned by Afrasiyab Khan on 30 May 1784. Hastings had to give up with reluctance his cherished desire of turning the Mughul emperor into a stooge of British imperialism. He refused to undertake fresh commitments, exhausted as the Company had been by the Maratha-Mysore wars. To Hastings it also appeared that Sindia, through whose mediation the treaty of Salbai had been concluded, would be too preoccupied in numerous difficulties to embark On any adventure either against the English or their ally the Nawab-Vazlr of Awadh.

Mahadji becomes Supreme:

Meanwhile the imperial court was riven by two factions—one headed by Afrasiyab Khan, mentioned above, and the other by Muhammad Beg Hamdani, Governor of the Province of Agra. Mahadji was sensitive to

British infiltration in Delhi politics and asked Afrasiyab Khan to remain vigilant and to keep the emperor under his control. Mahadji apprised Afrasiyab that the emperor should be arrested if necessary but must not be allowed to seek British sanctuary.[4] Proceeding from Gwalior on 5 October 1784, Mahadji advanced towards Agra where the emperor was halting. On 23 October, Mahadji met Afrasiyab in the vicinity of Fatehpur Sikri. But hardly had Afrasiyab conferred with Mahadji when he was murdered by Zain-ul-abdin on 2 November. Mahadji acted promptly and succeeded in capturing the fugitive. By this stroke Sindia

established his unquestioned supremacy in imperial politics. Browne reported from Delhi on 12 November:

"From Gujarat to Jammu, and from Attock to Rohilkhand, there is no power but Sindhia and the Sikhs, every thing else is but a name. If they should dispute, the contest will be serious and important: should they unite, their strength will be irresistible".[5]

The death of Afrasiyab Khan left the emperor with no capable deputy and he looked to Mahadji as the deliverer from all misfortunes. The emperor met Mahadji at Fatehpur Sikri (14 November, 1784) and appointed the Peshwd as his deputy (Naib-i-Munaib) as well as Commander-in-Chief (Mir Bakhshi). Mahadji, on behalf of the Peshwd, should discharge the actual functions of these exalted offices. The emperor also honoured Mahadji Sindia with the title of Vakil-i-Mutlaq , or Regent Plenipotentiary, the highest post in the imperial government.* The importance of this momentous step was emphasised by Browne who wrote as follows:

"This office being superior to even that of Vizier, Sindia by this step raised the Mahratta power above every other in the empire; and by taking this office for the Peshwd, he has given himself good ground to expect the support of the whole Mahratta state, in case of any attempt of any of the neighbouring states to reduce his power; while from the Peshwd's youth, and the weak state of his ministry, Sindia is pretty certain of enjoying all the benefit of the office himself for many years".[6]

Sindia's difficulties:

All these seemingly impressive grants brought little gain to Mahadji. The two nerve centres—Delhi and Agra—were still held by Afrasiyab's men. The imperial territories had been sucked dry and could contribute but little either in military strength or 'in revenues. The Mughul nobles looked sulkily towards Mahadji and were eager to throw off their present thraldom. The Sikhs were no less troublesome and were harrying the environs of Delhi and northern parts of the Doab. The Rajputs were trying to shake off the Maratha yoke.

Mahadji faced the new situation with stubborn resolution. He struck first against the fortress of Dig which surrendered on 30 December, 1784. Agra also capitulated on 27 March, 1785, after a feeble resistance. The subdhdari of Agra province was conferred on

Akbar Shah, the emperor's second son, and the deputyship on Ladoji Beshmukh, Sindia's son-in-law. Rayaji Patil was appointed governor of the fortress. But Sindia found it difficult to reduce the fort of Aligarh as its commandant Jahangir Khan received secret encouragement from Cummings, British General at Anupshahar. Mahadji protested against this and the Governor-General recalled Cummings. Rayaji besieged the fort which surrendered on 20 November.

Sindia now turned towards the Sikhs whose friendship he valued most. A preliminary treaty of peace was concluded between Ambaji and the Sikh chiefs through the intervention of the Macheri Raja, Pratap Singh The Sikh chiefs agreed to receive one-third of the territories jointly conquered with the Marathas. The friends and enemies of both would be mutual. The preliminary treaty crystallised into a final agreement between Mahadji and the Sikh .chiefs on 10 Mays On joining Sindia with 5,000 cavalry the Sikh Chiefs were to receive a jdgtr worth 10 lakhs. 7 They were not to create any disturbance in the dominions of the English and the Nawab of Awadh who were friends of Sindia. The treaty was an event of great significance: directly it strengthened Sindia as the latter hoped to utilise the Sikhs against Jaipur and Marwar and indirectly afforded the Maratha chief an opportunity for territorial aggrandisement in the Sikh dominions as their leaders were engaged in mutual dissensions. The English could not view the newly established friendship between the Indian powers with equanimity. They expected the break-up of the union and in that event they could count upon Sikh support. To a certain extent the British assumption was proved right. Though some Sikh chiefs like Bhangel Singh, Ray Singh and Goordut Singh became friends of the Marathas, the others continued to create troubles for them. Mahadji, therefore, had h to take preventive measures against the malcontent Sikhs by deploying forces under Dharrao Sindia.

Throughout 1785 Mahadji had to struggle against heavy odds. His troops were engaged in different places like Aligarh, Raghogarh, Jaipur and. Panipat. Even the British Resident, Anderson,- apprehended that Sindia might be involved in difficulties from which it would well nigh be impossible for him to extricate himself. Anderson expressed his misgivings on 8 September in no uncertain terms:

“In setting on foot so many distant expeditions, Sindia seems to have departed from his usual wisdom.... and a defeat of any of these detachments to which they are at all times liable, might involve the ruin of all his schemes”. 8

Mahadji’s primary concern was to secure the territory of Raghogarh as it commanded the strategic areas of northern and central India. His next objective was to subjugate the Khichi Rana Balwant Singh who had helped the British in the first Maratha War and whose ancestors had long acknowledged Maratha overlordship by paying tribute. After a prolonged siege in which Ambaji Ingle played a conspicuous role, Raghogarh surrendered and the Rana was kept a prisoner in Gwalior fort. In June 1785 Mahadji had to deal with two powerful unscrupulous nobles—Gosavi Umraoglr and Anupgir (the latter being popularly called Himrpat Bahadur). For ten mdnths they harassed the Marathas and when Devji Gauli was sent to chastise them their spirit of resistance wore down. They at last found refuge with the Nawab -Vazlr of Awadh. Some other chiefs in Bundelkhand, who had created troubles were also quickly put down.

It was against this backdrop of Maratha supremacy in North India that the Governor-General Macpherson thought it wise to recall Browne from Delhi. For the time being, the British had to reconcile themselves to the changed pattern of political set-up in north India. They maintained a dignified aloofness in north Indian politics and the British ambassador Anderson repeatedly discouraged the Nawab-VazTr of Awadh from entering into any hostility with Sindia. He wrote to Macpherson on 8 May, 1785:

> “There is no pretext on which the English could take a part with him (Nawab Vazir of Oudh) in any offensive war at present and whether we should be successful or miscarry in it, effects almost equally fatal would be the probable result of it. Were we to take up arms in vindication of the rights of the King with the professed intention to free him from his present thraldom we might soon succeed in this object; but incapable as he is of governing himself we should be under the necessity of either abandoning him again to the usurpation. of others or of keeping a large body of troops constantly employed for his support at a great expense and subject to many risks.” 9

Rajput war: Battle of Lalsot:

Throughout 1785 the question that dominated the thoughts of Mahadji was the reduction of Jaipur. The Raja of Jaipur, PrithvI Singh (7 March, 1768-16 April, 1778) was succeeded by his dissolute brother, Sawai Pratap Singh, although the former had left behind a son named Man Singh, then about six months old. Matters became complicated when the erstwhile Jaipur vassal Rao Raja Pratap Singh Naruka made himself independent at Macheri in the vicinity of Alwar. He bore implacable enmity to the Jaipur ruler, ingratiated himself with the emperor and Sindia and offered his help in replacing Pratap Singh by Man Singh.

Mahadji’s interference in Jaipur affairs stemmed from its ruler’s vassalage to the emperor and to the Marathas. As the Jaipur Raja could not repay the tributes which he owed to both these powers, Mahadji, on becoming supreme administrator in the imperial government, claimed payment of these arrears. But the Raja was not in a complaint mood. Instead he enlisted the support of Raja Bijay Singh of Mar war and made frantic attempts to obtain armed assistance from the emperor, the Nawab-Vctztr and the English.

Early in 1786 Mahadji took up the challenge. Arriving with the emperor at Sanganer, seven miles south of Jaipur, he demanded the arrears of tribute amounting to 3 crores and 40 lakhs of rupees. Discussions commenced on 10 March through intermediaries and after considerable exacerbation it was agreed that the Jaipur Raja should pay 63 lakhs of rupees. Rayaji Patil was left in the Jaipifi: territory to recover the dues, while Mahadji and the emperor returned to Mathura and Delhi respectively. 10

Despite his apparent submission the Jaipur Raja had no wish to honour the settlement. Apart from forming a defensive alliance with Jodhpur, he endeavoured to secure British assistance to overawe Sindia. In April 1786, Anand Ram, his agent at Lucknow, made an attempt to rouse the British feelings against the Marathas, but failed as the Company's Government had already been wedded to a policy of neutrality in Indian affairs. Even the arrival of *Daulat Ram, ex-Diwan of the Jaipur Raja, at Lucknow in May did not affect the policy of the Company already decided upon. Harper, the British agent at Lucknow, reminded Daulat Ram of the traditional bravery of the Rajputs and dispelled the illusion of entertaining any hope of assistance from foreign powers. In an allegorical style Harper observed: "Sindia's name only may be literally said fo be as great a bugbear to the different powers of Hindustan, as the stories of Hobgoblins which nurses use in our country to frighten children". 11

Mahadji's settlement with the Jaipur Raja proved to be illusory. The Raja had no intention of paying anything. Instead he remained entrenched in his capital and asked his countrymen to * resist the Marathas by force. Mahadji also prepared for. the coming struggle by effecting junction with the emperor, by subjugating the

Mewatis and taking suitable steps to curb the Sikhs. Proceeding by way of Dig, Sindia reached Daosa, 38 miles east of Jaipur, on 24 March, 1787. In early April he advanced further and lay encamped at Moti hill, 14 miles from Jaipur. Diplomacy now became active to avert the threatened conflict. Agents of Jaipur met Sindia on 5 April and proposed to pay the tribute amounting to 12 lakhs; 4 lakhs immediately, 2 lakhs afterwards, and the remaining 6 lakhs in assignments. The envoys conducted the negotiation with an air of superiority and continued it with so much vehemence that Sindia at last refused to treat with them.

On 8 April Sindia proceeded to Bhankri, only 13 miles from Jaipur, his agent, Rayaji Patil, having already advanced to the gates of Jaipur. Sindia reopened the negotiation. The Jaipur agents offered to pay 4 lakhs of the dues and demanded the surrender of Khushhali Ram Bohra, the dismissed prime minister of Jaipur. Sindia rejected the proposal outright.

From the beginning the prospects of Mahadji looked grim as his Hindustani troops began to Waver in their allegiance. His army lacked efficient artillery and was composed of disparate elements and was disaffected owing to arrears of pay. Sindia, therefore, fell back from his advanced position and began to harass the Rajputs by seizing the fortresses in the neighbouring areas. On 6 May Zu'lfiqar 'Ali Khan and Manzur 'Ali Khan, two Hindustan Captains, defected to the enemy; but the worst disaster that happened was the desertion of Muhammad Beg Hamdani on 27 May.

Taking advantage of the weakness of Sindia, the Rajputs boldly came out of their entrenched position. This was Sindia's opportunity to strike at his opponents in the open country. He, therefore, advanced on 15 June, 1787, to Lalsot, situated about 30 miles south-east of Jaipur. By the middle of July, Sindia had been strengthened by the arrival of Khande Rao's division from Bundelkhand, the two battalions of infantry trained under De Boigne and Ambaji Ingle's army. The two parties manoeuvred for a vantage position for winning success. At last the trial of strength between the Marathas and the Rajputs took place on 28 July on the plain of Tunga, about 14 miles north-east of Lalsot. The battle commenced with the usual cannonade, but the Rajput guns being bigger in size, played havoc on Sindia's army. Four thousand Rathors flung themselves desparately before the artillery of Khande Rao Appa. Even De Boigne with his sepoys fell back in confusion. The cool Savoyard reformed the survivors and opened small arm fire. After a sanguinary contest, the

Rajputs retired. The death of Hamdani who was struck by a cannon shot, broke the spirit of Rajput resistance. The Marathas could not pursue the fugitive Rajputs as it started raining in the afternoon.

But Mahadji could not afford to rejoice on his victory over the Jaipur Raja. Seven thousand Hindustani troops whose loyalty had long been wavering, now demanded their arrears of pay at gunpoint, and refused to listen to any appeal. Instead of yielding to the request lest it should encourage other troops to make similar demands, Mahadji disbanded the rebel troops and allowed the latter to join the Rajputs. It was an anxious moment for Mahadji as any hasty action at this stage might create another Panipat. He extricated himself from this critical situation with uncommon ' fortitude and began his retreat on 1 August after destroying his baggage. "Throughout the ten days following the battle of Tunga, the phantom of Panipat kept haunting the memory of every Deccani in his camp. But if Lalsot did not prove a second Panipat, it was because Mahadji Sindia was no Sadashiv Rao Bhau and he had better subordinates than that hero of the Chitpavan tragedy". 12 Retiring from Lalsot, Sindia at first proceeded to Dig from where he went to Macheri territory. Here he remained from the end of August to the beginning of November 1787 as an impotent spectator of his deeds being undone by vicissitudes of fortune.

Ghularn Qadir's brutalities:

Lalsot emboldened Ghularn Qadlr to resume his offensive operations. Suddenly he appeared before Delhi. LadojI Deshinukh arid Shah Nizam-ud-din, the Maratha agents at Delhi, fled precipitately on 24 August. Deprived of Maratha tutelage, the emperor became helpless and had to invest Ghularn with the dignity and office of Amir-ul-umara and Mir Bakhshi in the beginning of September. The emperor could thus postpone the impending danger, but the day of reckoning was soon to follow. Sindia's star had now sunk to the lowest ebb while Ghulam's was on its way to meridian. Forster, an acute observer, described the political scene with candour:

"Ghularn Qadlr is now the established master of Delhi, having obtained by a bold effort and peremptory language, the office of Amir-ul-umara or Captain General. His military spirit, his station in the upper part of India, with the aid of family pretensions, have elevated him to the rank made vacant by the misfortunes of Sindia. I am here, prompted, my Lord, to draw your attention to a view of the effects of the late Revolution which conspicuously exhibit the miserable policy of an Hindustan Government, its instability, and the rapid transition of fortune, which involve its rulers. Sindia, who, but yesterday, possessed a numerous respectable army, with funds for its support, who had absorbed in himself the executive administration of the empire, is now stripped of power, sheltering the remains of a broken, disspirited army in the territory of a chief, branded throughout the country for his treachery, cruelty and private vices". 13

Misfortunes which enveloped Mahadji after Lalsot continued unabated for a few months more. On 16 September Isma'il Beg, who was acting in co-operation with Ghulam Qadir, occupied the city of Agra, while Lakhba Dada continued to maintain a desperate resistance to save the fort from Mughul forces. Ajmer was similarly occupied by the Raja of Jodhpur on 27 August. Ambaji Ingle who had been commissioned to ravage Jaipur territory, was severely defeated and forced to retire to Alwar. Mahadji made a spasmodic effort to free the emperor from his abject condition by himself moving from Alwar on 28 October and by deputing Ambaji Ingle with necessary forces to Delhi. But the situation became so unpropitious that he had to abandon his designs for the time being. The emperor, expecting to be relieved of his distress by Prince Jawan Bakht, invited the latter who had been living at Banaras on British pension. He arrived at Delhi in December, but instead of relieving the situation, became a source of irritation to the emperor. In order to avoid his unwelcome presence, the emperor conferred on him the subahdari of Agra which was in possession of Isma'il Beg. The Shahzada tried unsuccessfully to get the city of Agra and even tried to befriend Ghulam Qadir. But an effeminate adventurer like him could hardly expect assistance from any quarter and the Prince had to go back in despair to British protection in February, 1788.

Maratha overlordship in Hindustan seemed to be threatened not only by Rohillas, Rajputs and Mughuls, but also by the Afghans. Raja Bijay Singh, of Jodhpur requested Timur Shah Abdali to take up arms against the Marathas and offered passage through his territory if the Sikhs should obstruct Abdali at Lahore. Even if Timur Shah could not come personally, the Jodhpur Raja said, Shahzada Humayun Shah should be allowed to take up the project of invading India. But the danger blew over as quickly as it had come as Timur Shah expressed his inability to spare himself or Humayun Shah owing to preoccupations elsewhere.[14] All these sombre developments could not escape the attention of ever-observant Hingne, the Maratha envoy at Delhi. He could not feel comfortable about the British despite their rigid adherence to neutrality in the imperial concerns. He had reasons to feel chary about the British as the latter had tried earlier to infiltrate into Delhi politics. His words of wisdom to Nana go to prove that the Marathas were not oblivious of the importance of imperial politics in the north:

“The two enemies of the emperor are Abdall and the English. Abdall is far away and is not likely to come to Delhi. The English are near-by and very clever too. But they are awaiting instructions from London. If they enter Delhi politics, India is lost to us. We should therefore control Delhi so that we can assert our right over Bengal”.[15]

Nana Phadnis was not impervious to the dangers that had overtaken Mahadji after his retreat from Lalsot. War with Tipu had just been concluded and Nana arranged the despatch of forces under TukojI Holkar and ‘Ali Bahadur. He also remitted 5 lakhs of rupees to replenish the depleted resources of Sindia. But it is doubtful whether Nana sincerely wished to help the cause of Mahadji. It was rightly suspected that Nana’s seeming concern for Maratha affairs in the north by sending two leaders from the south was in reality a camouflage to circumvent Mahadji’s growing power.

Having failed to rescue the emperor from the clutches of Ghulam, Sindia had retreated to the south of the Chambal at the end of December 1787. He was not prepared to imperil his position unless reinforced by men and unless he could consolidate his position in Malwa. By the end of March 1788, he had gathered strength to respme his offensive operations north of the Chambal after subduing the rebel chiefs in the Gwalior region and after receiving reinforcements from Jamgaon under the command of Devji Gauli on 16 March.

Sindia’s first attempt after a lull of one year was to recover the city of Agra then under Isma‘il Beg. Ghulam Qadir’s sudden appearance in Agra completely changed the situation and the Maratha troops under Rana Khan and Rayaji Patil fled towards Bharatpur. From the middle of March to the end of April 1788 sharp encounters took place between the opposing forces in the neighbourhood of Bharatpur in which the Marathas were at a disadvantage. Isma‘il Beg and Ghulam Qadir thereafter unsuccessfully attacked Bharatpur and Dig, the latter being heroically defended by the Jats and the Marathas.

After being strengthened by the much-awaited reinforcements from the south, Mahadji adopted the strategy of dividing the enemy by attacking the Rohilla possessions in the Doab and by intercepting their supply lines. The Marathas occupied Mathura and Vrindaban and dispersed the Rohillas at Mot and Mahaban. The city of Koil v/as also plundered. Ghulam, therefore, hastened back to secure the safety of his own dominions. Isma'il Beg, who was left alone at Agra, found it hard to maintain his position and in a decisive encounter on 17 June he was defeated. Isma‘il first went to Ghulam and thence to the emperor at Delhi to ci;ave the latter’s indulgence. But he was forced back from Delhi by Himmat Bahadur.

Sindia was now in the saddle and tried to ensnare Ghulam Qadir. Rayaji Patil with his forces was closely pursuing him. Ghulam was defeated when he came out of Aligarh; from there he retreated with a slender force to Khurja, many of his soldiers deserting him on the way for non-payment. On 1 July, 1788, he arrived in the vicinity of Delhi and formed a pact with Isma'il for enriching themselves by plundering the royal treasury.

The emperor was in great alarm. In his predicament he implored Sindia to come to Delhi. Sindia could spare only a small force of 2,000 under Ravloji Sindia and Bhagirath Sindia. Isma‘il successfully won over some of the Mughul nobles, and Himmat Bahadur along with his forces, fled to Faridabad, 17 miles south of Delhi. The Marathas thus completely lost grip over the situation leaving the emperor to his fate. On 15 July the emperor was forced to.grant an audience to Xsma‘il and Ghulam. On 18 July they occupied the city and on 30 July took possession of the fort and the palace inside. Ghulam Qadir deposed the emperor and on 1 August placed Bidar Bakht, the son of Ahmad Shah, on the throne. Shah ‘Alam and his nineteen children were imprisoned. Isma‘il Beg did not approve of Ghulam Qadir’s action as the former contemplated to put Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh, the son of the deposed monarch, on the throne. Ghulam Qadir’s chief object was to appropriate the emperor’s wealth and to achieve this object he unleashed indescribable cruelties on the Begums and the princes. On 10 August when he persisted in demanding money from the emperor the latter replied bitterly: “I have kept it in my stomach. Whatever was in my house, you have taken”. 16 At last on the same fateful day the hapless emperor was blinded. But Ghulam Qadir was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his ghastly crime; estrangement grew between him and Ismafll over the division of the spoils. Isma‘il began to feel that Ghulam Qadir was a dangerous associate. He separated from the faithless Rohilla and joined the Marathas. Mahadji rewarded his

defection by giving him 50,000 rupees for his expenses and the territory of Ghausgarh.

After undue vacillation Sindia stirred himself to activity. On 28 September the Marathas occupied Old Delhi and the city proper on 2 October. Ghulam managed to escape from the palace—Red Fort on 10 October. The next day Himmat Bahadur, Ravloji Sindia and Rana Khan entered the fort and found the blind emperor in a miserable plight. On 16 October Rana Khan -seated the phantom emperor on the throne with every mark of respect.

Now began the frantic hunt for Ghulam Qadlr. Rana Khan, Rayaji Patil, Jivba Bakhshi, and later on ‘Ali Bahadur were engaged in tracking down and intercepting the fugitive criminal. Aligarh, his stronghold, surrendered to the Marathas on 20 October. Thereafter he took shelter in Meerut fort with 15,000 forces and 100 guns which the Marathas besieged for six weeks. While affecting, to negotiate with Rayaji Patil, Ghulam Qadlr slipped out of the fort with 500 horsemen and fled to Ghausgarh. He was hotly pursued by Jivba Bakhshi, and after a short encounter in which he lost his followers, he concealed himself in the house of a Brahmin at Bamnauli, 24 miles from Meerut. The Brahmin conveyed the intelligence to ‘Ali Bahadur whose forces captured him on 19 December. He along with his followers, Manzur ‘Ali, Maniyar Singh, Bilas Rai and other Rohilla chiefs, who were also seized, were sent to Mahadji at Mathura on 31 December 1788. For two months Mahadji tried to extort from Ghulam the hidden treasure. Then under an express order of the King, Sindia asked Hakim Akmal and the emperor's chief secretary, Mir Ghalib ‘Ali, to go to Ghulam’s prison, extract his eyeballs, cut off his ears and nose and put them in a casket for being sent to the emperor. 17 The order was executed on 3 March. Then the mutilated rebel was taken to a place 12 miles from Mathura and was put to death. “When the casket reached the Delhi palace, Shah ‘Alam’s revenge was gratified as the blind old man fumbled its grisly contents and felt that his enemy had been paid back in his own coin". 18

The Maratha position in the north had been considered highly critical before the middle of the year 1788. Mahadji’s troops had been fighting without any break since 1780 without any prospect of relief from Poona. Mahadji expected to retrieve the situation with the help of detachments from Poona under the commands of ‘Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar. But the reinforcements arrived only after the enactment of the cruel tragedy in the House of Timur in

August 1788. Being discouraged by the receding prospect of receiving reinforcements from Poona, Sindia endeavoured to obtain the assistance of the English and their protege, the Nawab-Vazir of Awadh, in restoring Shah ‘Alam to the throne. The British Resident Palmer thwarted Sindia’s move by declaring unequivocally British reluctance to interfere in the contest for the Delhi masnad.

The arrival of ‘Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar did not mitigate Sindia’s difficulties as was expected. Nana Phadnis directly instigated ‘Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar against Mahadji and thus ruined the hard-earned prestige of the Marathas in the north. In utter disgust Mahadji meditated to retire to the south after placing ‘Ali Bahadur in charge of northern affairs. He even expressed surprise at Nana’s silence over Holkar’s clandestine relations with Jaipur and Jodhpur chiefs 19 which in his' opinion, should have deserved scathing censure.

But neither the Poona Court nor ‘Ali Bahadur felt strong enough to contend with so many difficulties in the north. ‘Ali Bahadur, conscious of his limitations, refused to take up the responsibility of Delhi affairs. Even Nana who had baulked Mahadji in various ways, was not blind to the realities of the situation. The crisis was not yet over and the recalcitrant nobles, though subdued, were waiting for an opportunity to assert themselves. On 21 December, 1788, Nana, therefore, cautioned ‘Ali Bahadur: “Administration of the territories will be weakened in the absence of Mahadji and you may court a failure”. 20 The misunderstanding between Mahadji and ‘Ali Bahadur which had been brewing for some time, came to be temporarily adjusted in the beginning of April 1789. Sindia tried to come to an understanding also with Holkar by sharing with the latter the new conquests, on condition that Holkar should maintain harmonious relations with him (Sindia) and should support him in all his undertakings. Even the pious lady Ahalya Bai put some feelers for reconciliation between Sindia, Holkar and ‘Ali Bahadur, though without any apparent success.

Sindia asserts himself:

Before the year 1788 ended Sindia had the supreme satisfaction of rehabilitating Maratha power in north India. He remained in Mathura for a few months and employed his diplomatic tact to crush the surviving independent chiefs of Hindustan by setting them against one another. Mahadji’s sojourn at Mathura was disturbed when he fell seriously ill in the month of June. 21 For a while the

people gave up any hope of his recovery and the British Resident Palmer dreaded the consequences of his death in North India. “In case of his demise”, Palmer wrote on 25 June 1789, “the Maratha power and influence in Hindustan would probably be almost instantly annihilated. The united force of ‘Ali Bahadur and Holkar

would not be adequate to the maintenance of their authority in the Mogul Government”. 22

Sindia’s ailment could not be diagnosed properly. In those superstitious days it was attributed to black magic performed by a woman at the instigation of Himmat Bahadur Gosavi. Sindia had overlooked the Gosavi’s previous disloyal conduct, but it became a serious matter when he was engaged in secret intrigues with Holkar and ‘Ali Bahadur and even with the

Nawab-Vazir of Awadh, in whose dominion he had earlier found political asylum. Himmat Bahadur was arrested. But when he was being conveyed to Mahadji's camp, he found means to escape to 'Ali Bahadur's camp. In vain did Sindia protest as 'Ali Bahadur refused to surrender the fugitive without the Peshwd's order. Moreover, 'Ali Bahadur received covert encouragement from Nana in his defiance to Mahadji. It was more in sorrow than in anger that Sindia expressed his sentiment to Nana: "It is surprising that you should help a man who tried to murder me. This is against brotherly relations". 23

It was in this embarrassing situation that Sindia considered it wise to conciliate TukojI Holkar by granting him jdgir worth 10 lakhs in North India. Mahadji even went to the length of appeasing 'Ali Bahadur by assigning to him the district of Aligarh-Koil. But 'Ali Bahadur's uncompromising attitude did not change thereby: 'Sindia must not lay hands on Himmat Bahadur (Gosavi) and should remove the guard from around his family'. Towards the end of January 1790, 'Ali Bahadur asked Mahadji to make a settlement with the Gosavi and tried to cajole him by arguing 'if the Peshwd sent a robe of honour to Himmat Bahadur, what face would be left to Mahadji Sindia'? 24 At last a compromise was effected. On 6 February, 1790, Sindia visited the camp of 'Ali Bahadur when the Gosavi Himmat Bahadur was introduced to him. Sindia pardoned all his offences, gave him a robe of honour and released his family members.

Sindia's alliance with Isma'il Beg had been a makeshift arrangement intended to counteract the enemies of the Marathas. Isma'il also felt sore about his friendship with Sindia. He suspected that Sindia might have had a hand in Kashi Rao Holkar's occupation of

some of his posts in Mewat. Though Isma'il was strong enough to drive away the usurpers, he made no secret of his feeling when he censured Mahadji for his questionable conduct: "If you want to dismiss me, say so, and I shall go elsewhere for service. If you want to fight me, come on. But do not set other people against me." 25 At last Isma'il's defection to the

Rajputs took place in February 1790 when the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur agreed to relieve his financial liability by partly defraying the arrears of pay of his troops.

Battles of Pdtan and Mertd:

The Lalsot episode had left ineffaceable memories on Mahadji. He was determined to retrieve the situation and for this he made adequate preparations. He raised a corps of infantry consisting of six battalions armed and disciplined in the European manner under the supervision of the Frenchman De Boigne. The Rajputs also did not lag behind. They were strengthened by lsma‘il’s adherence and were moving heaven and earth to mobilise themselves.

The campaign opened in May 1790. The Rajputs and the Mughul soldiers encamped at Patan, 60 miles north of Jaipur, in the vicinity of a hill. Mahadji after harnessing all his available resources waited for the denouement in a place about eight miles east of Patan city. A decisive battle was fought on 20 June in which the Marathas charged the Rathors in the centre and later on pretended to give way just to draw the enemy out of their sheltered position. The strategy met with unqualified success. The Rajputs descended into the plain and De Boigne’s muskets played havoc on them. Isma‘il Beg with only 14 men fled precipitately to Jaipur. Finding resistance useless, the Raja of Patan, Rao Sampat Singh, surrendered the fort. Palmer’s despatches contain the following observation about the battle of Patan:

> “The victory obtained by the Maratha army over Ismail Beg and the Rajpoots seems to have been complete and decisive; all the artillery has fallen into their hands and ten corps of infantry have been compelled to surrender and deliver up their arms”. 26

The battle of Patan was not the grand finale. Though the Jaipur Raja was forced to remain in utter inactivity for a decade, Raja Bijay Singh of Jodhpur still hoped to hold his own against the overwhelming Maratha superiority. Qn 21 August Sindia’s generals laid siege to Ajmer fort. At the same time Sindia took effective steps to neutralise the Jaipur Raja by mobilising forces on the eastern fron tier of the Jaipur State. The Maratha forces under Ladoji Deshmukh, Gopal Rao Chitnis, Jivba Dada, Kashi Rao Holkar cantoned at Merta, rightly called the gateway of Marwar. After reaching Merta on 9 September, De Boigne made a surprise attack in the early hours of the following day. The Rathor cavalry charged desperately 'with the full violence of the waves of the sea' till they were all overwhelmed by grapeshots. Gangaram Bhandari surrendered the Merta fort. 27

While Mahadji by his circumspection and the assistance of the formidable brigade of De Boigne had won the battles of Patan and Merta, his misunderstanding with 'Ali Bahadur and Tukojl Holkar nearly blighted his prospects in Rajputana. It was in vain that Mahadji attempted to win over 'Ali Bahadur for expedition against Jodhpur by offering two lakhs of rupees. 'Ali Bahadur exposed himself fully when he recalled his forces from the battle-field of Merta. Mahadji rembnstrated ineffectually: "He ('Ali Bahadur) betrayed the oath taken in the name of the Peshwa. Confidence cannot be achieved in this circumstance". 28 Besides this, 'Ali Bahadur had accepted presents from the Jaipur Raja when Sindia's forces were fighting at Patan. It was too much for Nana to swallow this bitter pill and he who had formerly instigated 'Ali Bahadur now upbraided the latter in the following words: "Let Holkar follow his own way, but it is regrettable that you have accepted presents from the Jaipur Raja". 29

Holkar's conduct was no less reprehensible. Sindia's assiduous attempt to secure Holkar's support against Jodhpur by assigning to the latter territories in Saharanpur and Mewat was of no avail, and he recalled the forces from Merta. While withdrawing, his forces harassed the chief of Kishangarh who was Sindia's ally. Thus a rapprochement between the three chiefs—Sindia, Holkar and 'Ali Bahadur—seemed to be almost impossible as they refused to work in harmony for the common cause of the Marathas in North India. Mahadji lamented to his agent in the Deccan, Ramji Patil:

"Holkar and 'Ali Bahadur who were described by you as our brother and nephew have behaved in a questionable manner. How can we remove suspicions from our minds? We are serving the government to the best of our ability. The two Sardats should be asked to do their duty. It is impossible for us to work together any longer". 30

On account of these unseemly dissensions in the Maratha camp the battle of Merta lost its practical utility. Bijay Singh, the Raja

of Jodhpur, seduced Kashi Rao Holkar by a bribe of four lakhs of rupees for espionage in Sindia's forces. The Jodhpur Raja also welcomed Isma'il Beg and spurred him against Sindia. But things did not assume serious proportions because of Sindia's prompt handling of the situation. He came to Sambhar on 29 December, 1790, and the Jodhpur Raja opened negotiations with Sindia through his agent Budh Singh. On 6 January, 1791, the following terms were agreed upon: Bijay Singh was to pay by instalments 40 lakhs of rupees in one year. A tribute of 20 lakhs was imposed upon the Raja and for this amount Sambhar, Parbatsar and two other mahals Were given in assignments; the amount was to be realised in four years. In addition, Ajmer fort was to be handed over to the Marathas who would then give up Merta to the Raja. Sindia was put in possession of the Ajmer fort on 7 March, 1791. 31 Bijay Singh did not live long after this treaty; he died in July 1793.

The Jaipur Raja, being left alone, thought it necessary to come to an agreement with Sindia. He attempted to do so but did not succeed till February 1791 when an agreeemet was made with Sindia through the instrumentality of his minister RodojI Khawas. 32 The Jaipur Raja agreed to pay three lakhs in cash and one lakh in kind. Sindia was allowed to collect eleven lakhs from the jacfirdars of the Jaipur Raja. The Raja promised to pay fifteen lakhs as compensation for the guns that were handed over to him by Hindustani rebels in the battle of Lalsot. To the Mughul emperor the Raja was liable to pay sixty-three lakhs as arrears of tribute. This he promised to settle by annual payments. He also pacified Holkar by ceding the district of Rampura in lieu of monetary contribution.

The magnificent achievements of Mahadji and his vast military resources made a profound impression on Timur Shah, ruler of Afghanistan. He sent peace overtures to Mahadji by proposing that the Marathas should extend their dominion up to Lahore and the Shah should have control beyond that territory. Both should agree to help each other in times of danger. The Afghan ruler would assist Sindia with 10,000 cavalry if required to do so. Though nothing tangible resulted from these offers, it showed that Sindia by his courage and indomitable will had made the Marathas formidable and respectable in North India. Writes a contemporary: “Such moves are new and are the result of increased prestige of the Peshwd ”. 33

Mahadji now found it easy to deal with Ismafil Beg. The latter was now a spent force, and moved from place to place in his futile

bid to receive assistance from any power. His only possible supporter, Najaf Qull, died on 23 August, 1791. At last he received summons from the widow of Najaf Quli to take possession of Kanud. But before he could reach Kanud, Khande Rao Hari intercepted him and on 4 December, 1791, inflicted a heavy defeat on him. But he (Isma‘il Beg) succeeded in escaping to the fort of Kanud with a few horsemen. It was alleged that Holkar secretly helped Isma‘il to move towards Kanud. Khande Rao successfully besieged Kanud and on 15 April, 1792, Ismafll gave himself up to Perron, the officer second-in-command to De Boigne. Ismafll was kept a prisoner in Agra fort where he died in 1799. Thus “the Mughal name was entirely sunk and lost in political estimation by the capture of Isma‘il Beg, the last leader who contended even for its nominal existence”. 34

Having performed prodigies of strength and valour in Northern India Mahadji intended to repair to Poona. But when he came to Pushkar in March 1791 to celebrate the spring festival, he was approached by Bhim Singh, Rana of Mewar, to save the State from internal crisis. The Maharana, through his envoy Zalim Singh of Kota, sought Mahadji’s help to recover Chitor which had been usurped by Bhim Singh Salumbar. In the middle of September Mahadji, accompanied by the Maharana, came to the celebrated fort of Chitor and subjected the fort to intensive siege operations and heavy bombardment. At last on 17 November Bhim Singh Salumbar surrendered the fort and agreed to pay an indemnity of 12 lakhs. Mahadji could feel gratified at the reduction of the fort when he reminded the Peshwd : “The fort which Akbar took twelve years to reduce was captured by your blessing in a few days”. 35

Sindia now bade adieu to his northern dominion and set out for Poona on 6 January, 1792. Although the rapid development of Sindia’s power was unwelcome to the British, it did not affect the British policy of non-intervention. Palmer did not foresee any portent of danger to British interests as he was conscious that the baffling problems of administrative reorganisation and revenue collection in Hindustan would be too much for Sindia to contend with in a country harassed by warfare and desolated by famines. Palmer was a shrewd judge of political affairs. The departure of Sindia for the south marked the beginning of the process of disintegration of the Maratha power in the North.

Sindia-Holkar rivalry:

Sindia's absence from the north provided TukojI Holkar a convenient opportunity of interfering in the region to the detriment of

Maratha interests. As long as Sindia was present in the north, he avoided an open rupture with Tukoji by a policy of appeasement. But no sooner had he left for Poona, than the rancorous jealousy between the two chieftains burst forth in uncontrolled fury. Tukoji Holkar began to interfere in the Alwar State following the death of Rao Raja (24 November, 1790), who had been a devoted ally of Sindia. He even started intriguing with the English for aid against Sindia. 36 It was a perilous moment for Sindia. He had not yet been able to come to a settlement with the Poona Government while his hard-earned settlement in Rajasthan seemed to be threatened by Holkar's opposition. Sindia's generals—Gopal Bhau and Jivba Dada —faced the situation with great resolve. They advanced from the north-east of Jaipur and made a surprise attack on 8 October, 1792, on Holkar at Suravali in the region of Sawai Madhopur, south of the river Banas. TukojTs camp was thrown into confusion. The affair was temporarily closed when Bapu Holkar and Parashar Dadaji, on behalf of Tukoji, made a working compromise with Sindia's generals.

The defeat at Suravali embittered the mind of Tukoji. He tried to fan the anger of the saintly Ahalya Bai by observing that "if the defeat was not avenged, Sindia would be so powerful as to annihilate the Holkars. So they should fight to the last". 37 It was curious that when the enmity between the two chieftains was reaching a critical point, the Poona darbar made no serious effort to stop the mutual antagonism. Perhaps it wanted to utilise Holkar as a barrier against the overwhelming power of Sindia. The situation took a sudden turn when Malhar Rao Holkar, Tukoji's impetuous young son, thought of making short-work of Sindia's army with his light cavalry.

Assuming the chief command of army, Malhar Rao advanced to Panchilas village to meet Sindia's force. Early on 29 May, 1793, De Boigne with his infantry and light guns successfully attacked Holkars' front and the latter fled away with the broken remnant of his army to jLakheri, near Ajmer. Three days later, on 1 June, a pitched battle took place at Lakheri. Despite a formidable force consisting of 30,000 cavalry and four battalions of Chevalier Dudrence with 38 guns, Malhar Rao could not make any headway against the disciplined valour of De Boigne's contingent. "Hemmed in front by De Boigne's ten battalions and on the two flanks and rear by Gopal Bhau's cavalry, with sixty light guns firing on them at pointblank range, Holkar's northern sepoys fought on till they were almost all annihilated". 38

Lakheri expedited Mahadji's settlement with the Poona Darbar for which he had been labouring so long.since his arrival at Poona.

But by an unfortunate coincidence hardly had he reached the acme of political greatness, when his life was cut short by a fatal illness. He died on 12 February, 1794 in his camp at Wanavdi near Poona at. the age of 67. A few months before his death he had adopted his nephew's son, Daulat Rao, then about 14 years old.

Death oj j Mahadji Sindia: Consequences:

Mahadji's death was a turning point in the history of the Marathas. The removal of this great Maratha chieftain did away with the major barrier to the expansion of British power in the north. Historians feel amazed when they think of his strategy, comprehension of responsibilities, steady perseverance, and infinite resourcefulness. One cannot but feel wonder at Siridia's grasp of diverse political and military problems when in 1785 he distributed his forces numbering 1,57,000 in different parts of Northern India. His success depended to a large extent on De Boigne who entered his services at the end of 1784 and built up a vast military engine of great efficiency. His unflinching loyalty to Sindia saved the latter from many pitfalls. Compton observes: "As a general he may take his stand amongst the greatest India has ever produced. In times of crisis and sudden danger his presence of mind was incomparable". 39 A recent judgement by a military expert declares him "to possess all the necessary qualities, including the rare and invaluable one of prescience, and that what he had to do he did with classic efficiency” 39a Sindia rewarded his services by granting him jdcfirs worth 35 lakhs of rupees situated partly in Mewat and partly in the Doab.

The successive British Residents with Mahadji—David Anderson, James Anderson, William Kirkpatrick and William Palmer— were men of varied elements, yet their conflicting views were reconciled by Macpherson, Cornwallis and John Shore. James Anderson was embittered in the last stage by the refuge given by Sindia to Faqir Khair-ud-din and his brother Salih-ud-din who had long served the former (Anderson) as writers and diplomatic agents, but it did not diminish the personal regard entertained by the Resident towards Sindia. To his successor Kirkpatrick, James Anderson wrote on 5 December, 1786:

“Sindia, altho’ in the eagerness of ambition he may have committed many imprudences with respect to us, has never, actually been guilty of a breach of faith, but has, on the contrary, in the course of our connection given several instances of un common liberality”. 40

Kirkpatrick, on the other hand, viewed with concern the growing power of Sindia. He decried the British policy of appeasement towards Sindia and regretted that Sindia had never suffered any rebuff from the British in his North Indian adventure. In his opinion the establishment of Maratha power in the Doab should have been opposed either by arms or by negotiations. It was his conviction that Sindia was the prime mover in the emperor’s claim of tribute on Bengal in 1785. Though the British remonstrance made him disavow his connection, yet there were ample grounds for the British to feel uneasy about his intention. Kirkpatrick faithfully portrayed his feeling when he wrote:

“Sindia has experienced so much overstrained complaisance from us, that he may be compared to the spoiled child who after being indulged in a variety of demands cried at last because it could not obtain the moon”. 41

Kirkpatrick’s overweening conduct so much strained the relations between the Company and Sindia that he gave up his assignment in October 1787.

Major Palmer, who succeeded Kirkpatrick, was a man of rare refinement and enjoyed implicit confidence of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis.

For more than a decade Mahadji Sindia held North Indian political fabric under the surveillance of the Marathas and had re-established the Maratha power in an unenviable position. But with his death tragical events followed in close succession. The emperor keenly felt the absence of a strong personality. The Maratha power in the north, which had withstood so many shocks, now suddenly found itself confronted with hostile forces. In his confidential talks with Hingne in May 1794, the emperor complained of an incident whicih, though trivial in its nature, was typical of the tensions which were afflicting the Maratha state in the changed set-up:

“For twelve years Mahadji served the emperor unflinchingly without ever disowning the Peshwti’s authority over Hindustan. The job of Kulmukhtydri, a delicate one of revenuemanagement, which Mahadji had entrusted to Baloba Pagnis, could not be performed by the incumbent with diligence. Aba Chitnis, therefore, stepped into his place and he proved the right man for it. After Mahadji’s death, Chitnis carried on his job. We were pleased to hear this. But now it is reported that Pagnis had ingratiated himself with the impressionable Daulat Rao and his lieutenant Sadashiv Malhar. And now comes the shocking news that Daulat Rao has insulted Chitnis on Pagnis’

advice. So long the Peshwa’s decision was to be obeyed without any murmur and it is an excruciating experience that the Peshwa could now no more restrain his servant from interfering with Chitnis’ work. The Maratha interests in the north would suffer irreparably if all these unseemly wrangles were allows ed to thrive with impunity. The cohesion of the Marathas in the north showed signs of cracking up which must have emboldened the disaffected elements to take advantage of the situation. The Peshwa must maintain control over Hindustan in order to keep in check the fleeting elements”. 42

Daulat Rao Sindia’s ineptitude:

The history of North India after Mahadji's exit from the political spectrum offers a disconsolate picture. Mahadji had maintained a harmonious balance in his ministry by delegating civil administration to the DeshaStha Brahmins while placing his army under the Shenvi Brahmins. But after Mahadji's death, his successor, DaulatRao, a pleasure-loving young man, did not have the capacity to maintain the delicate balance, and caste rivalry reared its head again with disastrous consequences to the Marathas. Aba Chitnis, Krishnoba Chitnis and Gopal Bhau—men belonging to the Deshastha group were superior to the Shenvis in administrative ability and political understanding. But Daulat Rao in his blind ignorance allowed the latter to gain full control of the political lever. The Shenvis —Jivba Dada, Jagu Bapu, Lakhba Dada, Baloba Tatya Pagnis and Sadashiv Malhar (popularly known as Bhau Bakhshi)—were openly countenanced. Aba Chitnis resigned his post in sheer disgust, Gopal Bhau was removed from the supreme command in Northern India, and the Shenvi generals—Lakhba Dada. and Jagu Bapu—were appointed in their stead. Baloba Pagnis and Sadashiv Malhar were appointed mukhtyars. De Boigne lost no time in protesting against the hasty decision of Daulat Rao in removing Gopal Bhau from the chief command as it was he who had faithfully discharged his duties. But Daulat Rao shut his eyes and pursued his course with blind obstinacy.

Like others, Shah Nizam-ud-din, the keeper of the blind emperor, keenly felt the change of Maratha leadership in the north. He expected his own fall, but never faltered in the discharge of his duties in the midst of personal crisis. Nothing could prevent Nizamud-din in issuing sermons to Hingne on 14 September 1794: "Under the present multiple leadership of Sardars, administration has been difficult. The English, Rohillas and other enemies are awaiting to enter the field. Ruining the empire will bring down the high prestige of Sindia." 43 But his words of wisdom could do< nothing to prevent his downfall. In June 1796, he was dismissed and Jaswant Rao Sindia, a great-grandson of Mahadji, assumed his office.

Lakhba Dada in collaboration with his colleague Jagu Bapu, became Daulat Rao Sindia's viceroy in Northern India in November 1794. He felt the magnitude of the problem and found it an insuperable task to conduct the administration with even a semblance of authority. The report which Palmer wrote from the Maratha camp at Mathura on 6 April 1795, highlighted the Maratha maladministration in North India:

"The officers who have lately succeeded to the administration of the Maratha affairs in Hindustan found them in a state of very alarming disorder; the revenues grossly mismanaged or embezzled and the collections so reduced as to be very inadequate to the expenses of Government. The Deccan troops and Hindustani irregulars, mutinous i and disaffected for want of pay, and with difficulty restrained from the greatest outrages by the corps under M. De Boigne; the tributary Rajahs retaining their respective contributions and preparing to resist the future exactions of them; the Sikhs ready to invade and ravage the western provinces.... The Maratha State.... is but ill-qualified for permanent conquest or civil administration, however formidable may be the means which it possesses of ravage and devastation. The country under its subjection from the Chambal to the Ganges is in the most miserable state of neglect and disorder, the lands deserted and the cultivation so scanty as scarcely to supply subsistence to the remaining inhabitants, the roads infested with numerous bands of robbers.... particularly in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where they are so formidable as to set the forces of the Government at defiance and to menace even the city itself". 44

The unfortunate set-back in Maratha affairs in North India encouraged the Rajputs to free themselves from the trammels of the Marathas^ The Rajas of Jaipur and Kota tried to cultivate British friendshipdn their bid to defy the Marathas, but without any success. The threatened invasion of Zaman Shah Abdall in 1795 and 1796 so greatly overawed the Marathas, Rajputs, Sikhs and the British, that it stimulated a spate of speculations. But nothing concrete emerged as a result of this threatened danger, and the alarm died down. Perhaps Palmer was right in drawing the following conclusion:

"My own opinion is that the Shah 'will never invade Hindoostan, and it is formed on my knowledge of the difficulties he will have to surmount both in advancing and returning, and of the little inducement which Hindoostan holds out to such an undertaking". 45

But Palmer's calculation did not diminish the great alarm with which Zaman Shah's presence in India was viewed by all his Indian contemporaries. The probability of his invasion of India still remained and in that case Palmer thought it wise to form a defensive alliance with the Marathas. It would, Palmer believed, deter the Abdali from executing his warlike projects on India and would perhaps hold the disaffected Afghans of Rohilkhand and Farukkabad as well as the Nawab-Vazlr's subjects—who might be disposed to join the Abdali—in awe and restraint. 46 Palmer's remedy against this threatened danger knew no ambiguity when he wrote to Shore on 9 February, 1797:

"If it should be your final determination to oppose the entrance of the Shah into Hindoostan, under whatever profession he may attempt, an alliance with the Marathas appears to me the best, and indeed the only one which you can form for that purpose with any prospect of success. Of their fidelity and hearty co-operation little doubt can be entertained, when their own preservation will be the first consequence of their combination". 47

But Shore did not like to enmesh the Company in an alliance with the Marathas as Abdali's invasion seemed to him as a distant and airy project. He expressed his feelings in a minute on 2,5 January, 1797:

"We have always considered an invasion of Hindoostan by Zaman Shah, as highly improbable. His object in such an attempt must be either permanent conquest or predatory acquisition .... The supposition of a predatory incursion beyond Punjab without subduing the Sikhs seemed still more improbable. Delhi from its poverty has no temptation, and although the plunder of Lucknow or Benares might repay an expedition against either, it is contrary to every maxim of policy to suppose that Zaman Shah would advance so far whilst he left behind him a numerous and warlike people unsubdued, not to mention the Mahrattas and the opposition of the Company's arms. It is

obvious therefore to conclude that the projects assigned to Zaman Shah would prove as chimerical this year, as reported invasions, for so many preceding seasons". 48

Shore concluded that Abdali's scheme of re-establishing the family of Shah 'Alam on the throne appeared not only a romantic and unprofitable object, but in the highest degree improbable, unless the Sikhs were previously subdued. It was Shore's belief that Zaman Shah would hardly be able to secure the co-cperation of the Sikhs or their consent to allow him an unmolested passage through their dominions. Shore made a comparison between Zaman Shah's projected invasion of India with Ahmad Shah's. He wrote on 4 July, 1797:

"On a comparison of circumstances now, and those at the time of Ahmad Shah Abdall, it may be observed that the power of the Marathas was then in its zenith, but the dominion of the Sikhs is now more extensive and better established; that although they are distracted by internal dissensions, the pressure of external danger might unite them, and nothing is wanting but union to render their power formidable; that Zaman Shah wants the experience, resources and abilities of his grandfather, nor can he expect a similar co-operation from those whose assistance so materially promoted the success of Ahmad Shah or equal advantages from success". 49

Shore understood the numerous difficulties which Zaman Shah would have to face when invading India. He, therefore, did not suggest any defensive preparations to meet the conjectural danger.

With the arrival of Lord Mornington as Governor-General in 1798, the British policy of non-intervention underwent a radical transformation. The Governor-General had received a letter from Zaman Shah in which the latter requested the assistance of the British and Nawab-Vaztr of Awadh for restoring Shah 'Alam to the throne of Delhi unfettered from Maratha bondage and for expelling the latter from the North-west frontier of India. The new Governor-General did not want to leave things to chance. According to him it was unquestionable that Zaman Shah entertained a design on India and for which he justified with admirable reason, the adoption of military preparations and conclusion of defensive engagements with Sindia as well as with other allies of the British Government. 50 Dundas was also sensitive to the Abdall menace and admitted with candour that were that adventurer able to gain a material footing in Hindustan, Sindia's expansive dominion must fall the first victim to

his ambition. It was Dundas' personal wish that instead of immersing in meandering politics of Poona which Daulat Rao Sindia had been pursuing with remorseless perfidy and intrigue, he should be persuaded to return to the north which was considered to be his patrimony. The Abdali menace, Dundas said, foreshadowed infinite evils to the Company's Government. He struck a note of warning to the Governor-General when he observed on 9 October, 1799:

"It is impossible for the British power in India to be an indifferent spectator or inattentive to the consequence of so powerful and restless a chief (Zaman Shah) coming on the back of our territories. He would not long remain quiet, but the country of Oudh would be the immediate object of his ambition, and I need not detail to your Lordship the fatal consequences to our Bengal province, if ever he should be successful in such an enterprise. Such an attempt must be met and resisted in the first and in every stage... . Our own resources alone in the Bengal province would be sufficient for the object, and as the Mahrattas, particularly Sindhia, have so manifest an interest in the question, there seems no reason to doubt his cordial concurrence in the resistance of such an invasion. But I do not think even there it ought to be allowed to rest; for by keeping up a connection with the various tribes on the north-western part of India, it is not a difficult matter to find him at all times in business at home to prevent him from hazarding so dangerous an enterprise at so great a distance from home. With this view allow me to direct your attention to the Indus river and those who inhabit the borders". 51

But the intended invasion of Zaman Shah never took place although it did not fail to produce infinite perplexity to the Company, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Zaman Shah ceased to be the ruler of Afghanistan in May 1801 and his successors, gravely embarrassed by local dissensions, abandoned the design on India.

The new Maratha viceroy in North India, Lakhba Dada, found his task irksome because of the impoverished state of the country and the prevalence of simmering jealousy among Sindia's generals. He could expect no relief either from Poona or from his master, Daulat Rao, all of whom were embroiled in Poona politics following upon the death of Peshwd Sawai Madhav Rao (27 October, 1795). Despite his meritorious service in occupying Sabalgarh fort situated in the Kerauli State (August 1795) and the town of Narwar (October 1795), Lakhba Dada could not tolerate the inconsistent actions of

Daulat Rao. Baloba fell out of favour with his master when he could not provide the latter with necessary funds. He was placed under arrest on 26 October, 1796. Baloba was Lakhba's patron and the former's humiliation brought about the simultaneous degradar tion of the latter. Lakhba with his sane and reasonable temperament, did not want to sully his reputation by resisting Daulat Rao, and he chose to lead a quiet and retired life in Gopalgarh. Lakhba's fall struck a grievous blow to Sindia's prestige in Hindustan. In those days of divided loyalties and of criss-cross ties, Lakhba Dada's imperturbable loyalty elicited admiration from Palmer when he wrote on 8 November, 1796: "I lament the fall of Lakhba Dada on account of his personal character which for mildness and moderation exceeds that of any Maratha I know". 52

But Lakhba was not allowed to remain in passivity. Zaman Shah's reported move to Lahore and Delhi in December 1796 made Daulat Rao panicky and the latter requested Lakhba to ward off the coming danger. But Lakhba could not be hustled to activity, and during his political eclipse Jagu Bapu exercised the supreme power in Hindustan. But in the next year when Zaman Shah occupied Lahore (3 November) and the Rajput Rajas showed impatience to throw off the Maratha yoke, Daulat Rao well understood the portents of danger. He asked General Perron and other officers commanding the trained corps to consider themselves under the supervision of Jagu Bapu and Lakhba Dada, while the latter were requested to march to Mewat and Jodhpur.

Sarza Rao Ghatge in power:

But as soon as the Durrani menace disappeared, Daulat Rao, under the debasing influence of Sarza Rao Ghatge (who became all-powerful at Sindia's Court because of the marriage of his daughter Baiza Bai to Daulat

Rao Sindia). unleashed a reign of terror in Poona (February 1798). Palmer gives us first-hand account from Poona:

"Sindia is principally occupied in raising money to appease the clamours of his troops for their arrears. For this purpose he employs Sarza Rao Ghatge, his father-in-law, who seems to be as fit an instrument of rapine as can be found. This man has taken up his residence in the house of Nana whence he issues orders for the seizure of all persons of reputed wealth, and by violence extorts, or endeavours to extort from them individually, such portion of it as he arbitrarily demands, without even

the pretext of right or any other plea than the necessities of Sindia. It is not however very probable that Sindia will obtain any considerable relief from these odious and unjustifiable practices. The Mahrattas are remarkably tenacious of their property and will frequently part with their lives rather than surrender the small portion of it to violence and injustice". 53

At the instance of Ghatge, his evil genius, Daulat Rao asked his chiefs Lakhba Dada and AmbajI Ingle to come to Poona; they however, evaded the order when they understood that Sindia's real object in calling them to Poona was to extort money from them. Next, Lakhba and Jagu Bapu marched towards Bhopal where they had been invited to interfere in the succession dispute. Hardly had they reached Sagar when they were arrested by Harji Sindia (10 March, 1798), and under direction of Daulat Rao, AmbajI assumed charge of northern affairs. Gopal Bhau was restored to Sinda's confidence and Narayana Rao Bakhshi, son of Jivba Dada, was imprisoned.

Daulat Rao's folly led the Marathas to further trouble. He provoked the wrath of Mahadji's widows—Bhagirathi Bai, Yamuna Bai, and Lakshmi Bai—by refusing to give them a sufficient maintenance allowance which he had promised before his adoption. The widows' cause appeared to be just and popular and most of the old Sardars— Aba Chitnis, Narayan Rao Bakhshi and army captains of Sindia— arrayed themselves in their favour. With a large following these ladies marched from the north upon Poona in order to seek redress of their grievances. Daulat Rao was unduly alarmed at the news. In the last week of March 1798, many prominent persons—Deoji Gauli, Rayaji Patil and Ramji Patil—suspected of partisanship with the ladies—were arrested by Ghatge and on 6 April Nana Phadnis (who had been seized in December 1797) was confined at Ahmadnagar fort. 54 As Palmer reported:

“Sindhia’s having for sometime past devolved the management of his affairs upon persons of obscure and profligate character by whom most of the old and respectable ministers of his Government have been plundered, confined or driven into exile universal discontent and distrust prevails throughout his service, which in all probability will soon produce a general defection and terminate in the subversion of his dominion and the transfer of it to some other member of his family”'. 55

On the approach of Sindian ladies Sarza Rao Ghatge duped them with false hopes and on 15 May, 1798, personally ill-treated them. On 25 June in a battle at Bhamburda the widows were defeated.

Thereafter they took to a running fight for which Daulat Rao’s trained battalions were altogether unsuitable. Meanwhile Jagu Bapu succeeded in escaping from confinement on 5 August and Lakhba Dada was released three days later. They espoused the widows’ cause and gained the city of Ujjain (15 September) without striking a blow. But three months later Bala Rao Ingle, AmbajI’s brother, succeeded in recovering the city.

Daulat Rao’s difficulties seemed to be insuperable. “In his Northern dominions”, Bradshaw reported on 27 May, 1798, “dislike to his government prevails thick and I have reason to believe that. Mahratta supremacy is equally obnoxious to both Hindu and Mussulman”. 56 With a force numbering about 20,000, Lakhba began his campaign in January 1799 in Malwa and outmanoeuvred Bala Rao Ingle in more than one engagement. On 8 March Lakhba overpowered the troops of Bapu Sindia and Satvaji Patil, who were proceeding to reinforce Bala Rao. In the beginning of April Lakhba entered Mewar and attacked Hamirgarh.

AmbajI Ingle’s only chance of success was swiftness and audacity and he sadly lacked those qualities. As Lakhba’s rebellion assumed a wider dimension, the officers in charge of Agra, Aligarh and Delhi refused to deliver these forts to Perron. Daulat Rao in utter bewilderment sought reconciliation with Lakhba and the widows and, therefore, released Baloba

Tatya from confinement. 57 Moreover Yashwant Rao Holkar's restless ambition and Lakhba's alliance with him made Daulat Rao nervous.

Bala Rao Ingle, who had made an armistice with Lakhba on 15 May began several parleys with him. Daulat Rao assuaged the wounded sentiment of Lakhba by appointing him once again his viceroy in Hindustan. But AmbajI would not part with his vicero— yalty over Mewar. He was a powerful chieftain and it could hardly be expected that he would compromise his position. The territory which he held on behalf of Sindia extended from Ajmer to Gohad, including the forts of Gwalior and Narwar, yielding a crore of rupees; besides this he entertained a numerous force. Though he professed attachment to Daulat Rao, his secret ambition was to establish an independent government of his own in place of what he now administered in subordination to Sindia. In September 1799, AmbajI was deprived of his authority over Mewar by Daulat Rao, and the latter appointed Lakhba Dada and Jagu Bapu as his deputies in Hindustan in a bid to win their allegiance. A peaceful settlement was made between Lakhba and Perron at Muzzamabad (mid

way between Kishangarh and Jaipur) on 27 October on the following terms:

(1) Lakhba Dada was acknowledged by all parties to be Sindia's deputy in Hindustan and the detachment of Perron's army commanded by Sutherland was tp remain under Lakhba's order.

(2) Perron was to retain possession of the forts of Delhi, Agra and Aligarh until Daulat Rao's final decision on this point be known.

(3) Ambaji Ingle was to remain in undisputed possession of Gwalior and all other districts which he held formerly, but give up Mew&r and every pargand taken from the party of widows. 58

Lakhba Dada's second term of viceroyalty, which began in November 1799 augured well 'for Sindia's North Indian dominions. The .widows had been temporarily pacified and Yashwant Rao Holkar's mischievous activities had somewhat abated. With the restoration of Baloba Tatya as Diwdn of Sindia, Lakhba's position became strengthened and he ruled over Hindustan with tact, vigour and prudence.

Sikh revolt:

Despite the peace that had been concluded between the Marathas and the Sikhs in May 1785, the latter continued to make occasional raids in the upper Doab and North Delhi districts in the following years. Though Baghel Singh was the first Sikh chief of considerable importance to welcome Mahadji's authority, the jacfirdars in the cis-Sutlej country became defiant and refused to pay tribute due to the emperor. It was with great effort that Mahadji could keep the Sikh chiefs in apparent subordination when he granted a large jagir to Baghel Singh. But the Marathas could only maintain a semblance of authority in the Upper Doab as many of the newly recognised Sikh chiefs of that region were unable to keep in check the restless elements from harassing the Maratha territories. The Sikhs were kept in check for some time when De Boigne's disciplined brigades were stationed at Sonepat (April 1792). After the death of Mahadji, Lakhba's Deputy, Nana Rao—who was posted at Karnal—made an attempt to collect the revenues due from the cisSutlej country. This provided an excuse for war. In October 1795, the Patiala queen and Bhanga Singh of Thaneswar assailed the Marathas so fiercely that Nana Rao beat back a hasty retreat to Delhi.

Immediately after this a body of five thousand Sikhs swept through the Upper Doab like a hurricane. But the courage of George Thomas, supported by Apa Khande Rao, stemmed the onslaught; for this glorious service Thomas was appointed by Lakhba as Warden of the Marches to guard the Jamuna frontier of the Doab and was assigned the pargcmds of Panipat, Sonepat and Karnal for the maintenance of his army. "Up to the end of 1797, George Thomas had been a regular servant of some lawful authority or other. But when Apa Khande Rao's successor (Waman Rao) terminated his services, Thomas became a private robber-captain for his living". 59 He made Haryana, with Hansi as its capital, the centre of his roving raids. The Marathas having sacrificed Thomas, could not fare well with the Sikhs in April 1798 and entrenched themselves at Saharanpur. 60 Thereafter, desultory war took place between them without any positive advantage to either.

The Maratha affairs in North India in the last quarter of the eighteeenth century assumed importance on account of the admirable success which they had won, largely owing to the resourcefulness and sagacity of Mahadji Sindia and the military efficiency of his French-trained battalions commanded successfully and successively by De Boigne and Perron. The fleeting appearance of Ghulam Qadir on the North Indian horizon, the treachery of his Hindustani troops just immediately after the battle of Lalsot and the covert opposition of Nana Phadnis and faithlessness of ‘Ali Bahadur and Tukoji Holkar sometimes bedevilled Mahadji, but on the whole he surmounted all these obstacles with rare equanimity and inflexible resolution. It was indeed true that the disunity and dissension among the Rajputs considerably helped Mahadji to raise the Marathas to the amazing height of glory; and the decade spanning the battle of Merta (1790) and Malpura (1800) saw no major contest between the Rajputs and the Marathas.

The death of Mahadji Sindia in 1794 created many vexatious problems for the Marathas to the solution of which Daulat Rao, a pleasure-loving, thoughtless young man, proved utterly unequal. In the unusual situation at Poona, he engaged himself in unseemly political squabbles, while allowing his North Indian domain to drift towards anarchy and chaos under his lieutenants. His rashness provoked the enmity of Mahadji’s widows, and the simmering distrust among his lieutenants was glaringly revealed with the outbreak of open hostility between Lakhba and Ambajl. Collins, British ambassador with Daulat Rao, did not fail to notice all these symptoms

of danger. He submitted a dreary report to the Governor-General on 22 July, 1799:

“Unless Sindia should effect a cordial relation with the Bais, by which event he would be enabled to return to Hindustan, his possessions in this quarter can never be restored to tranquillity, the Government thereof being contested by two chieftains, each of whom seems determined on supporting his own authority, though both must be sensible that the consequences of their dissensions cannot but be ruinous to the interests of their master”. 65

It is an irony of history that the Marathas who had restored the Mughul emperor, Shah ‘Alam II, to the masnad of Delhi in 1772 and again in 1788 after his temporary eclipse for a few months, allowed him to languish in the palace with a niggardly allowance under the grasping guardianship of Shah Nizam-ud-din. By propping up the imperial edifice the Marathas had derived considerable advantage, but it was a sad commentary that they did not mitigate the King’s pecuniary distress. This sordid policy had not only disgusted the royal house of Timur, but had also roused the indignation of many Muhammadans in Hindustan, who felt for the abject condition to which the imperial family was subjected. It was, therefore, not unnatural that in September 1803 the hapless Mughul emperor welcomed the English as deliverers.

Few stories in our history are more politically instructive than the last few years’ pitiless apathy of some Maratha leaders to the broader political problems when the new Governor-General Wellesley subdued the Nizam with the chains of subsidiary alliance on 1 September, 1798, and annihilated Tipu Sultan a few months later. “Henceforth, the Peshwa and Sindhia seemed to act like birds fascinated by the blazing eyes of a python and walking unresisting into its open jaws” 62 Only Nana prophetically observed: “Tipu’s defeat is not a good omen for the Peshwa”. 63 BajI Rao II lay supine while Daulat Rao, with seeming unconcern, pursued the vain dream of controlling the Peshwu’s government. At last being conscious of his peril, he (Daulat Rao) left Poona in December 1800, only to paper over the cracks which had already manifested in North India.

NOTES

1. Rajwade, MIS., I, 1, Shejwalkar, Panipat (1961), p. 5; also Sardesai, G. S.: Nevj History of the Marathas, II (1948), pp. 365-66.

2 Bhargava, K. D. (Ed.): Browne Correspondence ; Browne to Hastings, 2 November, 1782, letter No. 2.

3- Ibid., Browne to Hastings, 16 September, 1783, letter No. 51, p. 108.

4 Sardesai, G. S. (Ed.): Historical Papers Relating to Mahddji Sindia (1937), p. 408.

5 Bhargava, K. D. (Ed.) Browne Correspondence: Browne to Hastings, 12 November, 1784, No. 114. Later on, at Nana's insistence, the Peshwa obtained the title 'Vakil-i-Mutlaq f and Sindia became his Naib or Deputy.

6- British Museum, Add. MSS., No. 29, 209.

7. P.R.C., Vol. I, pp. 25-6, 30.

8. Foreign Dept. Secret Consultation, 11 October, 1785, No. 4.

9. Ibid , 26 May, 1785, No. 5.

10. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, III, pp. 344-45.

11. Foreign Dept. Secret Consultation, 23 June, 1786, No. 30.

12. Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, III (1938), p. 388.

13- Foreign Dept. Secret Consultation, 3 October, 1787, No. 14.

14. Parasnis, D. B. (Ed.): Dilli Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarane, I, No. 266.

15. Ibid, No. 238.

16- Sarkar, Jadunath, Delhi Affairs, Persian Records of Mardtha History, I, p. 199.

17. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, letter No. 244.

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20- Bhagwat, A. N. (Ed.): Holkarshahichya Itihasachi Sadhane: Patravyavahar Purvardha Khand , I, Letter No. 20.

21. Ibratnamah, Asiatic Society of Bengal MSS. No. 178; Sindia's illness, Fol. No. 303A-309A.

22. Foreign Dept, Secret Proceedings, 8 July, 1789, No. 5.

23. Sardesai, G. S. (Eld.): Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia (1737), No. 561.

24. Sarkar, Jadunath (Ed.): Sindia as Regent of Delhi, Persian Records of Mardtha History, II, p. 34.

25- Parasnis, D. B. (Ed.): Dilli Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarane, I, Letter No. 371; also Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, Nos. 570-71, quoted in Fall of the Mughal Empire, TV (1950), p. 17.

26. P. R. C. Vol. I, pp 368 70; for details see De Boigne's letter in Desmond Young, Fountain of the Elephants (1959), pp. 115-20.

27- Historical Papers of Mahadji Sindia (Ed. Sardesai), pp. 829-30; also Desmond Young, op. cit., pp. 123-28.

28 Sardesai, G. S.: Ibid, p. 862.

29- Bhagwat, A. N. (Ed.) : Holkarshahichya Itihasachi Sadhane: Patravyavahar Purvardha Khand I, Letter No. 57.

30- Sardesai, G. S. (Ed.): Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, p. 846.

31. Ibid, pp. 855-57, 864.

32. Sardesai, G. S. (Ed): Ibid, Letter No. 591, pp. 862-65.

33. Ibid, p. 864.

34. Foreign Dept. Pol. Cons. 27 June, 1792, No. 5; Palmer to Malet, 17 May, 1792; also Grant Duff's History,. Vol. II, pp. 223-24.

35- Sardesai, G. S. (Ed.): Historical Papers Relating to Mahadji Sindia, p. 874.

36*. Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. X, p. 236.

37- Thakur, V. V. (Ed): Holkarshahichya Itihasachi Sadhane, Vol. I, Pt. II, Letter No. 385.

38 Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV (1950), p. 95. Sarkar describes the battle in detail at pp. 89-96.

39. Compton, H., A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, p. 105.

39a. Desmond Young, op. cit., p. 128.

40. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. I, No. 65, p. 98.

41 For. Dept Sec Cons , 288 August, 1787, No. A.

42- Parasnis, D. B. (Ed.): Dilli Yethil Marathyanchi Rajkarane, II, Letter No. 121.

43. Ibid, Letter No. 130.

44. P R C. Vol. Vm, No. 11, pp. 33-35.

45. Ibid , Vol. VIII, No. 53; Palmer to Malet, 26 Dec. 1796.

46 For. Dept. Pol. Cons., 24 February, 1797, No. 95.

47. Ibid, 6 March, 1797, No. 15.

48 For. Dept. Sec. Cons., 25 January, 1797, No. 1.

49. Ibid , 7 July, 1797, No. 1.

50. British Museum, Add. MSS., No. 13, 456; Mornington to Dundas, 28 February

51- Ibid , No. 37, 274: Dundas to Momington, 9 October, 1799.

52. P.R.C., Vol. VIII, No. 42.

53- For. Pol. Dept., 9 July, 1798, No. 33; Palmer to Sir Alured Clarke, 13 April, 1798.

54. Khare, Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha, X, Letter No. 4194.

55- For. Pol. Dept., 9 July, 1798, No. 33.

56. Ibid, 9 July, 1798, No. 112.

57- Khare, Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha , XI, No. 4860.

58- P.R.C., Vol. VIII, No. 185.

59 Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV (1950), p. 236.

60. PJ1.C., Vol. VIII, No. 217.

61. Ibid, No. 158, p. 197.

62. Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV, p. 156.

63 Khare, Aitihasik Lekha Sangraha , XI, No. 5045.

CHAPTER XII

MARATHAS AND THE SOUTH INDIAN STATES

(1772-1799)

From 1772 to 1799 during which the sway of the Marathas became paramount in North India, their power in the South was somewhat limited in extent. Their relations with the two foremost southern powers—Mysore and Hyderabad—alternated with fluctuating periods of friendship and hostility. Their ephemeral friendship with Mysore in 1780 was followed by their alliance with the Company against that indigenous power which in a way altered the balance of power in the Deccan. Mysore, crippled in wars with the British, ceased to be a rival to the Company, and the Nizam, emasculated by the Marathas in 1795, maintained a pitiful existence till 1798 when he was the first among the Indian powers to embrace the subsidiary alliance of Wellesley. The Marathas looked on South Indian States as their subordinates, which did not foster mutual understanding and respect. The divergence of interest among the South Indian powers ultimately weakened them all and enabled the British to impose their authority upon them. The story of Maratha relations with South Indian States is, therefore, a sad tale of Maratha collaboration with the British against Mysore and the crippling of the Nizam in 1795. The Maratha aloofness from the last war with Tipu showed their lack of foresight and when they realised their mistake, the inexorable force of circumstances gripped them more strongly than ever before, from which they could not extricate themselves.

Marathd-Mysore Relations:

For several generations, Maratha-Mysore relations had been very unfriendly. Peshwd Baji Rao had been granted Khandesh and Malwa as his field of activity and his appearance in the south was in a secondary capacity as an aid to the Pratinidhi and Fateh Singh Bhosle. He had turned only cursorily to the south, and in 1726 exacted contribution from Mysore. With the passing away of Shahu Raja in December 1749, the Peshwd took over Karnatak, and in four swift campaigns, brought much of the province under Maratha sway. The battle of Panipat (1761) meant not only the temporary eclipse of the Maratha power in the north, but the rise of Haidar' 'Ali which checked the Maratha expansion in the south as well. Peshwd

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Mudhav Rao, therefore, was forced by the political situa'ion to spend the best part of his life in immobilising Haidar 'Ali and putting a curb to his aggressions. Haidar 'Ali was completely defeated in 176465, but Raghunath Rao prevailed upon the Peshwd to grant him easy terms. Another campaign in 1766-67 further weakened Haidar. The Maratha expedition in 1769-72 was eminently successful under the generalship of Trimbak Rao Pethe who rendered meritorious service in the Karnatak with the co-operation of the Patwardhans. On 5 March, 1771, he inflicted upon Haidar a crushing defeat near Seringapatam in the battle of Moti Talao (or Chinkurli). But, in spite of this reverse, Haidar showed unexpected sign cf fortitude by opposing the Marathas with sullen obstinacy. In the meantime the Peshwd, who was ailing for some time, became increasingly apprehensive of his approaching death and asked Trimbak Rao to conclude peace by whatever means possible (April, 1772). Moreover, with its depleted resources, Poona could not carry on the war indefinitely. Haidar was also wearied with a hopeless war involving terrible exhaustion of his resources. So Trimbak Rao concluded a treaty with Haidar by which the latter agreed to pay a sum of Rs. 31 lakhs in cash and surrender valuable territories south of the Tungabhadra. "Madhav Rao, the greatest of the Peshwds, must be regarded as the most formidable antagonist whom Haidar had to meet on the battle-field. Haidar was no doubt defeated by Smith as also by Sir Eyre Coote, but he could keep the influence of these defeats confined within a narrow sphere. But Madhav Rao inflicted on him defeats in the field and followed up each blew by the recovery of valuable territory"'. 1

The premature death of Peshwd Madhav Rao (18 November, 1772) and the succession of his brother Narayan Rao, an incompetent, fickle-minded young man, emboldened Haidar 'Ali to take full advantage of the embarrassing situation at Poona. He sent his troops* to Chitaldurg and Savanur and threatened to attack Sira, Maddagiri and Gurramkonda. The Marathas made feeble efforts to counteract Haidar by appointing Trimbak Rao as the chief commander and sending some forces under Muhammad

Yusuf. Narayan Rao asked Haidar to pay the arrears of tribute amounting to 50 lakhs of rupees. But the Peshwd was rebuffed when Haidar replied that the demand would be met on the restoration of places conquered by the late Peshwd Madhav Rao.

The short but uneventful Peshwdship of Narayan Rao was highlighted by the eruption of domestic discord that had been brewing for a long period. There was avowed enmity between the Peshwd and his unscrupulous uncle Raghunath Rao which culminated in the

assassination of Narayan Rao (30 August, 1773). After years of impatient waiting and ceaseless intriguing, Raghunath Rao at last became the Peshwd, but he was not destined to enjoy the dignity for long. A well-concerted opposition grew up against Raghunath Rao, and in order to deflect the attention of the Poona Council he set out on foreign expeditions expecting to rehabilitate himself by strokes of victories over the Nizam and Haidar ‘Ali. He defeated the Nizam but granted him such easy terms that they betrayed his weakness and lack of foresight. Meanwhile news trickled through, that most of the important ministers were rallying round Ganga Bai, the widow of Narayan Rao, now known to have advanced in pregnancy. Raghunath Rao was too eager to settle matters with Haidar, and agreed to receive from him 72,000 rupees as tribute from Bellary. 2 In his eagerness to mitigate his acute financial distress, Raghunath Rao gave up all claims to the Maratha districts of Maddagiri, Hoskote and Chandragiri upon Haidar’s paying 25 lakhs of rupees. By the treaty of Kaliandurg, Haidar recognised Raghunath Rao as the Peshwu and agreed to pay him an annual tribute of 6 lakhs. The territory conquered by Madhav Rao was ceded to Haidar. 23

The birth of Sawai Madhav Narayan, the posthumous son of Narayan Rao, threw Raghunath Rao into political limbo. In despair he tried to secure the military assistance of the East India Company by concluding with the Bombay Government the Treaty of Surat on 6 March, 1775. He also importuned Haidar to assist him with military and financial help and to take possession of the Maratha territory up to the right bank of the Krishna. In March 1776 the Treaty of Surat was substituted by. the Treaty of Purandhar by which the Calcutta Council agreed to renounce the cause of Raghunath Rao. “The death of Madhav Rao, the murder of Narayan Rao

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and the quarrel between Barbhais and Raghoba, gave Haidar a welcome respite from Maratha invasions and an opportunity not only to regain what he had lost to the Marathas but also to conquer Coorg and reconquer Malabar”. 3

In March 1776 Haidar captured Gooty and imprisoned its irrepressible ruler, Murar Rao along with his two sons. He also created troubles in the Maratha territory north of Tungabhadra. Throughout 1776 the Marathas had been busy in subduing an impostor who posed as Sadashiv Rao Bhau. But the tragic end of Murar Rao in prison, roused the Marathas to feverish pitch of anger and excitement. The menacing activities of Haidar produced an alliance between the Poona Government and the Nizam and it was decided they should share the conquered territory equally. The Marathas

assembled an important galaxy of prominent generals in the persons of Patwardhan chiefs like Pandurang Rao, Konher Rao as well as Krishna Rao Panse, Sivaram Ghorpade (nephew of Murar Rao), Nilkanth Rao Sindia, the Desai of Nargund and chiefs of Dharwar district. The Nizam’s general Ibrahim Khan Dhausa and the Maratha commander Haripant Phadke were to move in complete concord against the Mysore ruler.

Haidar’s triumph became unmistakable when he succeeded in defeating the Patwardhans in a sanguinary contest on 8 January, 1777, at Saunshi, near Dharwar. Konher Rao was killed and Pandurang Rao was taken captive with some of the Ghorpades. The Marathas endeavoured to keep up the morale of the troops in high key by sending Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan, who at once began the celebrated Maratha system of guerilla warfare. But the outbreak of domestc dissensions in Poona in the first half of 1778 obliged the Bhau to fall back and emboldened Haidar to achieve his obvious objective. With his well-trained force of cavalry and infantry, Haidar conquered important places in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. The Chiefs of Nargund, Shirhatti and Dammal tendered submission and were confirmed in their respective territories on promising to pay usual tribute to

Haidar. The resistance of Dharwar for a considerable period v/as the only flickering light of courage and resolution in the pervading gloom of despair and tame submission. Thus Haidar was able to move forward along the path of his heart’s desire when he annexed the territories up to Tungabhadra as well as between the Krishna and Tungabhadra at a time when the Marathas were passing through a domestic ordeal. The days of Madhav Rao were obviously over when the relentless Maratha pressure on Haidar had kept the latter in perpetual dread of the Marathas. The internal crisis that gripped the Marathas from 1774 to the middle of 1778 favoured Haidar in his much-coveted design of recovering the lost territories and conquering new ones.

The outbreak of the First Anglo-Maratha War effected a radical change in the policy of the Marathas when the latter, with good sense dawning on them, projected a rapprochement with Haidar in the beginning of February 1780. Nana’s diplomatic genius brought about a coalition of Indian powers consisting of the Peshiva. Bhosle, the Nizam and Haidar ‘Ali, which threatened to shake the very foundations of British power in India. In this broad-based coalition it was decided that the grand army under Sindia and Holkar was to oppose Goddard, Mudhoji Bhosle. to invade Bengal and its dependencies, Nizam ‘Ali the Northern Sarkars and Haidar the Karnatak.

A series of incidents shook the complacency of Haidar ‘Ali. By the treaty which Haidar concluded with the British in 1769, he was to receive military aid from the Company in time of need. The Marathas attacked him in the next year and the British betrayed him by not sending any succour. With the outbreak of war between England and France in 1778, the English besieged Pondicherry which fell in a short time. The Madras Government cast a covetous glance on Mahe, the last citadel of French power in the south. Haider lost no time in sending a note of warning to the Madras Government. “Should the English create a disturbance in the French factory of Mahe, he would punish them by devastating the whole country from Madura to Madras. He would totally efface them from the face of the earth. The defeat which they received at the hands of the Mahrattas would be completely eclipsed by what he should inflict on them”. 4 In the treaty concluded with the Marathas on 20 February, 1780, Haidar offered to pay the latter fifteen lakhs of rupees ‘in settlement of their former accounts’, while he also promised them an anuual tribute of twelve lakhs. The Poona

Darhar recognised Haidar’s sovereignty ‘on this side of the Tungabhadra as also on the other side’; his right to the Maratha territories south of the Krishna was also admitted. Both parties agreed not to make separate peace with the English. 5

It is paradoxical that the treaty of Salbai (17 May, 1782) which put an end to the First Anglo-Maratha War, was concluded not only without reference to Haidar ‘Ali, but with a specific provision that the Peshwa would compel him to relinquish all his conquests in the Karnatak and to release all prisoners within six months of the rati.fication of the treaty. In addition to this specific article (Art. 9) Mahadji Sindia solemnly promised that if Haidar ‘Ali should refuse to abide by the terms of the treaty, the forces of the Peshwa would join the English in compelling him to accept them. 6 Thus by his clever diplomacy -the Governor-General, Hastings, succeeded in fulfilling the intention of his friend Sullivan who had comprehended the destruction of Haidar in close collaboration with Poona, Berar and Hyderabad. To Sullivan, Haidar was an anathema and he was convinced that “Haidar must be destroyed to secure our own power. There is no medium. Mysore reduced in strict alliance with Berar, Hyderabad and Poona, with proper bridles upon all, will be the only system of duration”. 7

Hardly had Haidar died (7 December, 1782) when his son Tipu began to show scant regard to the treaty of Salbai. Consequently, a new treaty was concluded on 28 October, 1783, between the Marathas and the English. In case of Tipu’s refusal to accede $0 the terms of the treaty of Salbai, the Peshwd would assist the English and make war against him; territories conquered from Tipu would be jointly shared by them ‘according to the vicinity of their respective situation’. 8 Grant Duff’s comment on this transaction is weighty and carries conviction: “It was as much the wish of Nana Furnuwees as of Sindia to oblige Tippoo to conform to the terms of the treaty of Salbye, in order that he might appear to the other powers of India a Maratha dependent as well as a tributary”. 9

While the Maratha preparations for commencing hostilities against Tipu were well under way, the Madras Government was compelled to conclude with him the treaty of Mangalore on 11 March, 1784, which provoked the ire of Warren Hastings. The Poona Government were left ignorant of the transactions as it had already sent its forces under Haripant Phadke to oppose Tipu. The treaty of Mangalore, however, did not put a brake on Nana Phadnis' warlike preparations. He urged Tukojl Holkar to join Haripant while he himself along with Parashuram Bhau met the Nizam at Yadgir in the Raichur district on 16 May, 1784. After protracted negotiations "the conference terminated in a general treaty of alliance, the particulars of which were to be specified as soon as they found themselves prepared to enter upon its execution". 10

Tipu reacted promptly when he called upon the Nizam to hand over to him Bijapur. He at once followed up the threat with an attack on the Nizam's territories south of the Krishna, while sending Burhan-ud-din to besiege Nargund. Nana's preparations in the initial stage were not adequate as he was deluding himself to arrive at a compromise with Tipu for which the latter was negotiating through his agent at Poona. He agreed to pay two years' tribute to the Peshwd provided Nargund was left to his discretion. Nana was quick to seize this proposition anxious as he was to get the money and to protract matters till the end of the rainy season. Scarcely had Tipu practised this monumental deceit when he captured Ramdurg (5 May, 1785) and Nargund (29 July, 1785), consigning the latter's Brahmin ruler Vyankat Rao Bhave and his Diwdn Kalopant Pethe to prison at Seringapatam. By the end of December 1785, Dodwad, Dharwar, Sampgaon and Jamboti had passed under the occupation of the Mysoreans.

Tipu's activities shook Nana's complacency. He now turned to the British at Bombay for armed help and offered them any sea-port in Tipu's dominions provided his territories were conquered. But Nana's expectations of British help were blown over when Boddam,

the Bombay Governor, reiterated the Company Government's policy of neutrality. Mahadji Sindia harped on the treaty of Salbai which obliged the English to enter into hostilities with Tipu whenever the latter should break the peace with the Peshw\d. 11 The Calcutta Council said in reply that Mahadji was wrongly interpreting the treaty of Salbai, as by the treaty of Mangalore, the British were required not to assist the enemies of Tipu. But the British policy gained a sudden momentum when it was apprehended that the Marathas, being disgusted with the British, might draw closer to the

French. Moreover the presence of the French agent, Montigny, at Poona increased the apprehension of the Frahco-Maratha collaboration. British imagination also became active when it suddenly heard the reported news of Tipu's death. Though the news was later found to be false, the immediate reaction was a sense of utmost concern to the British as the Mysore Government, distracted by this calamity, might form a dangerous coalition with the French. It was this sheer necessity, the Calcutta Council observed on 14 February 1786, that forced the British to deviate from the policy of neutrality And it decided to offer the Marathlas the assistance of three battalions of sepoys with the important reservation that they should not be employed offensively against the Mysore Government but only in defence of the Peshwa's person or of any of his forts within his own dominions. The British flattered themselves with the following reflection:

"We consider the Maratha Government as the natural allies of the English in India for the two Governments united can give law to India.... The Government of the Peshwa is permanent, as it is so far like the Government of the English that no changes of the rulers affect either nation. The Governments of other states of India depend on the continuance of particular rulers". 12

The British offer of aid was Macpherson's doing. The next successor, Lord Cornwallis who assumed office in September 1786, came to India with instructions to adhere scrupulously to Pitt's India Act which forbade the Company to declare war or conclude treaties with any Indian power without the consent of the Court of Directors. In a minute dated 27 September, 1786, the new Governor-General explained:

"We cannot give the three battalions without going to war. We cannot go to war without offending the laws of our country. It is therefore high time to extricate ourselves from our present critical and dangerous situation the continuance of which will

not only give the most just grounds of offence to Tippoo, but will probably produce a quarrel with the Poona ministers who already express a diffidence of our sincerity". 13

The British ambassador to Poona, Malet, performed the delicate task of conveying to Nana Phadnis the newly oriented British policy. Emphasising on change of circumstances as Franco-Mysore coalition appeared by now chimerical, Malet dwelt on the necessity of strict adherence to treaties. But this did not assuage the frayed temper of Nana who failed to see any rectitude in the British diplomacy. 13a He would not concede that this should happen when Macpherson had already agreed to assist the Marathas.

Meanwhile, the Marathas had begun to make brisk preparations for their struggle with Tipu. It was with great difficulty that Nana could obtain Mudhojl Bhosle's co-operation. He agreed to give up Garha-Mandla to Bhosle and the latter agreed to collect 15,000 horse and to pay Rs. 32 lakhs. Nana also craved Holkar's co-operation and it was only after considerable monetary sacrifice amounting to ten lakhs of rupees which Holkar required for discharging the arrears due to the army that Nana could obtain his concurrence. On 15 February, 1786, Nana and Nizam 'Ali once again met at Yadgir. Nania almost ruined the prospect of success of the meeting when he expressed his desire to return to Poona after leaving the command of the army to Haripant Phadke. Nizam 'Ali loudly expressed his resentment at this conduct of Nana and the latter therefore decided to stay on. It was agreed after long parleys that the Nizam and the Peshwa's Government were to divide the conquests equally among themselves. 14 It is curious indeed that it was the Nizam and not Nana who left the camp in the month of April by leaving the command of his forces under Tahawar Jang. 15

At this crisis Tipu made frantic efforts to dissolve the confederacy or at least to avert the war. But the situation was past beyond reconciliation. Nana pursued his war efforts with relentless zeal by sending his agents—Krishna Rao Ballal to the Nizam and Balwant Rao to Holkar—to push them along the path of action. 16

Despite the concourse of prominent personalities, the Maratha army presented a distressing spectacle. According to a newswriter:

"The Mahrattas seem at a stand what to do, and the whole of their affair in a state of suspense, their opinion much divided and whatever Nana proposes to the Peshwa's chiefs, is paid little or no attention; their troops much in arrears, and little or no money in their camp to pay them, and every necessity amazingly dear, and they by no means prepared to attack their enemy, and it is imagined without a speedy change in their present mode of conduct that Tipoo will in the course of a few months, enlarge his dominions at their expense". 17

Military operations began on 1 May with the investment of Badami. The fort capitulated after being subjected to three weeks' incessant bombardment. The fall of Badami might have generated a feeling of complacency among the Marathas as Naha set off for Poona, Mudhoji Bhosle to Nagpur and Parashuram Bhau to Tasgaon. Hari Pant marched on Gajendragarh, a town in the Dharwar district, in June 1786 and the fort surrendered. Tukoji Holkar had also been able to secure every part of the Kittur district except the fort of the same name.

To offset these losses, Tipu made a surprise move by suddenly appearing before Adoni, a strong post of Nizam 'Ali. Despite the allied efforts to protect Adoni, it could not be saved. On 29 June Tipu appeared before the fort and occupied it without firing a shot. Nana Phadnis felt mortified at the loss of Adoni which he called the key of the Deccan. To retrieve the situation Hari Pant arrived with his forces before the strong fort of Bahadur Benda and on 17 August the fort surrendered.

While Hari Pant was relaxing at Bahadur Benda, he received the news that Tipu had performed a daring feat by crossing the Tungabhadra in the rainy season with the help of basket boats. Hari Pant changed his ground for the convenience of forage and proceeded to Savanur, the Nawab of which had beseeched him to come to his rescue against Tipu-'s atttack. 18 Tipu encamped about 8 miles from Savanur when he was soon joined by Burhan-ud-din and BadrUz-Zaman Khan who arrived with a large convoy of provisions from Bidnur. The Marathas became reinforced by the arrival of Raghunath Rao Patwardhan from Koppal as well as by Tukoji Holkar who came with 50,000 men.

On 1 October a little before dawn Tipu's columns enveloped the Maratha camp. The Maratha force, being unable to sustain the fierce attack of the Mysoreans, was obliged to retreat. Tukoji's heroism made no impact in the complexion of the war. By the beginning of October 1786 the Maratha army left Savanur along with its Nawab, Hakim Khan and the place surrendered on 6 October. Hari Pant afterwards, moved to Shirhatti, a fortified town about 20 miles north-east of Savanur. On 11 November Hari Pant invested

the fort which surrendered on 14th after a feeble resistance.

On 24 November me Marathas left Shirhatti. On 2 December it was decided at a council of war to make a general attack on Tipu. But on the next day the Marathas, for some inexplicable reasons, began to falter and made preparations to march back. This was Tipu’6 opportunity and by constant barrage of rockets he threw the Maratha camp in confusion. Tipu’s forces became master of tke whole baggage. But the most heinous deed was committted by Tukojl’s cavalry who plundered the Maratha camp as much as the enemy did. The suspicion gained credence when it was found that Holkar did not suffer any loss during Tipu’s attack. 19 In the unimpeachable account of contemporary observer, Yvon, we find the following clue to the treachery:

> “The treason carried on in this army is evident, and for the present has rendered the army incapable of coming to action. TukojI Holkar and Bonsla are the principal traitors who carry on open correspondence with Tippoo, and have voted for a conclusion of peace”. 20

This disgrace rankled deeeply in Hari Pant’s mind and he was determined to achieve some brilliant military strokes. By sending the artillery and superfluous baggage to Badami, Hari Pant lay encamped at Bahadur Benda and afterwards between Gajendragarh and Koppal. Meanwhile Tipu had advanced to Bahadur Benda and occupied it after a week’s siege. On 16 January Tipu made an abortive attempt to surprise the Maratha camp.

The Maratha-Mysore war lacked any dramatic element in which neither party gained any positive advantage over the other. As the war continued, Tipu’s increasing concern was that the British might not remain aloof in the contest and inevitably would support the cause of the confederates. It was this anticipated British collaboration with the Marathas that made Tipu to broach peace proposals to the different personalities—Holkar, Hari Pant and Haste—despite his slight edge over the confederates in fighting. But it was only in December 1786 that the Marathas listened to peace overtures from Tipu with all seriousness. Tipu proposed that the Marathas should recognise his sovereignty over the territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. In return he would pay 48 lakhs of rupees as arrears of tribute —32 lakhs immediately and 16 lakhs after six months. 21 But Hari Pant refused to accept the proposal as it fell far short of his Government's expectation. It had been its desire to re

siime all the territories possessed by the Marathas during the days of Madhav Rao, to which Tipu would not agree. But Tipu dared not cut off the process of negotiation; instead he sent Badr-uz-Zaman and 'Ali Reza who arrived in the Maratha camp towards the last week of January 1787.

Quite unexpectedly a settlement was reached in March 1787 at Gajendragarh between Tipu and the Marathas. This volte face is explained by the fact that the fear of British intervention lurked more in Tipu's mind than the hostility of the Marathas, and he naturally desired to compromise with the latter. By this treaty the Marathas regained possession of Badami, Nargund and Kittur. 22

Adoni was restored to Mahabat Jang, nephew of Nizam 'Ali. Tipu was to retain possession of Savanur, Dharwar, Bahadur Benda and all the forts situated between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. He also agreed to pay four years' arrears of tribute amounting to 60 lakhs of rupees which his father had stipulated to pay. 23 From the total a deduction of 15 lakhs was obtained by Tipu in compensation of damages sustained by him during the war. Of the remaining 45 lakhs, 30 lakhs were paid and the remainder promised at the expiration of the year. Nizam 'Ali was included in the treaty.

Thus ended a war in which Tipu had a decided superiority over the Marathas. As Wilks has put it: "The success of his night alarms, in the. late campaign, had been considerable, and he is diffuse in his description of various stratagems, by which he kept his enemies perpetually awake.... it is certain from the impression produced in every part of India, by the events of this campaign, that it must have been conducted, on the part of the Sultan, .with a degree of energy and enterprise which established a general opinion of his military superiority". 24 Tipu had triumphed over the confederates and kept the Maratha army on the defensive. The continuance of war seemed to Nana an expensive affair and he was eager to get out of it.

“In fact”, as Malet reported on 24 March, 1787, “the Poona Government was reduced to the necessity of adopting so disagreeable an alternative. Nania cannot but have perceived that the progress of the army was by no means proportioned to the excessive expenses of its maintenance. He must have had some reason to doubt the abilities of his commander, the good faith of his allies and even some of his own chieftains”. 25 But the situation turned in favour of the Maratha Government when Tipu on his own initiative opened peace negotiations. Tipu made his choice of befriending the Maratha Government to subvert the power of the English.

But success eluded him as events moved in such devious ways that the Maratha Government and the Nizam, instead of supporting an indigenous neighbour, fell victims to foreign wiles and walked into the British web of alliances.

Though the British studiously kept aloof from the war between Tipu and the Poona Government, they were ever watchful of the conduct of Tipu lest he might be strengthened by the French. Humours of French designs were rife in 1787 and Cornwallis immediately instructed Malet at Poona to secure the co-operation of the Maratha Government, if the Franco-Mysore combination was ever to take place. Cornwallis made tempting offers to them—territorial compensation and reimbursement of war expenses. But the British reservation that they should not be forced to assist the Marathas in the event of their being attacked by Tipu alone, made Nana Phadnis cynical about the proposal. Cornwallis could feel the pulse of the Marathas when he wrote to Dundas on 16 November, 1787:

“There appears such a jealousy and coldness in the disposition of the Marathas towards us v that I do not flatter myself, in the event of a breach with Tippoo, that we could derive any immediate assistance from them”. 26

But despite Nana’s apathy to an alliance with the British, he was willing to consider it only on the following conditions. 27 In case either of the contracting parties should be attacked by Tipu, the other should ask him to desist and in case of non-compliance should Join the party attacked to punish him. Nana further pledged himself for Nizam ‘Ali’s acceding to this defensive alliance. Nana’s definition of the defensive alliance—the protection of the contracting parties against any attacks of Tipu, singly or jointly with the French, left no room for evasion and put the British in a tight corner. Cornwallis could not visualise an alliance with the Marathas on such terms and, therefore, rejected Nana's proposal.

In October 1787 the British were on the brink of war with France over the Dutch affair. But in the beginning of 1788 peace was established between England, France and Holland. Cornwallis, therefore, could afford to be negligent in cultivating the friendship of the Marathas. But events moved inexorably towards a war and Tipu felt that Cornwallis was bent on hostilities when he proposed (on 7 July, 1789) unqualified military assistance to the Nizam against Tipu. Towards the close of December 1789, Tipu, therefore, made a surprise attack on Travancore, an ally of the Company.

War with Tipu being now inevitable, Cornwallis began to lean towards the Marathas with intense ardour. The value of Maratha friendship had not been perceived by Cornwallis alone. In England Dundas had been voicing this sentiment with utmost frankness:

> "I feel that an alliance with Mahrattas of the closest kind is all that is required to keep the whole world in awe respecting India. The aid of their cavalry seems all that is wanting to make our power complete". 28

Malet who had been striving hard to secure the alliance of Marathas now found to his delight that they were solicitous to enter into alliance with the British. On 1 June, 1790, a treaty (called the Treaty of Poona) was, therefore, concluded between Malet on the part of the Company and Nana Phadnis on the part of the Peshwa. It was stipulated that the forces of the Peshwa and the Nizam numbering about 25,000 should assist the Company in invading the territories of Tipu. The British were to assist both the powers with two battalions of the Company's forces and their expenses were to be borne by the Peshwa and Nizam 'All respectively. All conquests were to be equally shared and the poligars and zaminddrs formerly dependent on the Peshwa and the Nizam were to be reinstated on paying a nazar which was to be equally divided among the allies. Peace should be made by mutual consent and if after the conclusion of peace with Tipu, he should attack either of the contracting parties, the others should join to punish him. 29

The British Resident at Hyderabad, Kennaway, found it easy to seduce the Nizam who was considered to be a spent force in South Indian politics. The Nizam's increasing anxiety was to secure himself against future Maratha attacks to which Cornwallis could not, with propriety, agree. But the Nizam raised so many objections to the Treaty of Poona that Kennaway was obliged to conclude a separate treaty with him (Treaty of Pangal, 4 July, 1790) the terms and conditions of which were nearly the same as those of the treaty signed by the Peshwa on 1 June. It was this alliance with the Peshwa and the Nizam, reinforced by friendship of the Rajas of Coorg, Cochin and Malabar Chieftains, that heartened Cornwallis to expect the most promising support in the war.

Cornwallis entered the war with the zeal of a crusader. To Pitt, he assured: "I will not quit the helm in time of danger unless I am required to do so and I will spare no pains to bring the war to a speedy and honourable conclusion". 30 He received hearty co-operation from all his colleagues—General Medows and General Abercromby, the Governors of Madras and Bombay Presidencies respectively, as well as from military commanders like Kelly, Maxwell, Floyd and Hartley.

In 1790 the march of events was not altogether unfavourable for the British. They had established unquestioned supremacy in Malabar, though they had not fared well in Coromandel. On 10 December Hartley utterly routed Tipu's forces at Calicut and four days later Abercromby reduced Cannanore. But the British resources without the co-operation of the Peshwti and the Nizam were wholly inadequate against the mounting pressure of Tipu's attack.

Parashuram Bhau assumed the chief command of the Maratha forces. Strengthened by the Maratha contingents under Raste and Prtttinidhi and

British troops under Captain Little, Bhau proceeded towards Dharwar. Meanwhile the Maratha forces had been able to occupy Hubli as well as Kittur. From the beginning Dharwar exercised a magic spell on the mind of Parashuram Bhau as the latter considered it a place of strategic importance. Truly did Little observe from Dharwar: “By report it is well supplied with artillery, ammunition and a great store of provisions. On this place the enemy put their whole dependence for the defence of the country on this side of the Tungabhadra”. 31 The fort was so well-stocked with men and provisions that it was least expected that its commandant, Badruz-Zaman Khan, would placidly relinquish its possession.

On 18 September the Maratha army reached the fort and started bombardment. But neither did it cause any damage to the fort nor did it create a sense of perplexity to its sturdy defenders. The Maratha army lacked efficient artillery and gunpowder. They were constrained to admit:

“We have only ten guns—one of them is already broken, two are very small, five are made of cast iron and the remaining two are only made of metal. The fort is very strong and the enemy have 40 guns. Our preparations are meagre”. 32

On 13 December the town was stormed by the combined forces of the Marathas and the English. But the siege of the fortress was carried on in such a half-hearted manner that it drew from Lt. Moor a cryptic comment “that the Marathas would not with twenty guns against the present garrison, approach and breach Dharwar in twenty years”. 33 The arrival of Lt. Col. Frederick from Bombay

did not improve upon a situation which was truly considered hopeless for the Marathas. Chagrined by the failure to surprise the fort, Frederick suggested the withdrawal of forces. Bhau’s conscience was assailed. He harped on the consequences of withdrawal—disgrace and dishonour to the armies of both nations. 34 Frederick did not live long to see the reduction of the fort which capitulated on 3 April.

Meanwhile, the war assumed a new complexion with the assumption by Lord Cornwallis of the chief command of the forces. In a letter to Henry Dundas, Cornwallis wrote on 12 November, 1790:

"That we have lost time, and our adversary has gained reputation, which are two most valuable things in war. It is vain now to look back; we must only consider how to remedy the evil, and to prevent the ill effects which our delay may occasion in the minds of our allies. It immediately occurred to me that nothing would be so likely to keep their spirits, and to convince them of our determination to act with vigour, as my taking the command of the army". 35

Cornwallis clearly perceived the British limitations in the exertions of the war. He was also conscious of the lukewarm attitude of Nana Phadnis; but against this hazard he could do nothing as he himself admitted: 'I know of no remedy that it is in our power to apply.' 36

On 29 January, 1791, Corn\vallis assumed command of the army and came dashing against Bangalore which he carried by assault on 21 March. Nana might have brooded over the British efforts in the war and these must have led him to despatch Hari Pant Phadke on 1 January, 1791, with 30,000 forces. Marching through Kurnool, Hari Pant proceeded to Pangal to consult with the Nizam about the future course of action. "At this conference it was agreeed by Nizam Ali and Hurry Punt, on the part of his master the Peshwd, that they should abide by the terms of the treaty with the English, but only so far as might humble Tippoo, without absolutely annihilating his power". 37 The Maratha Government was anxious to resume its territory south of the Krishna acquired by BalajI Baji Rao and Madhav Rao with much fighting and seized by Haidar and Tipu after the murder of Narayan Rao in 1773.

Having secured Bangalore, Cornwallis at once proceeded towards Seringapatam, the fall of which would have enabled him to

make short work of the enemy. He, therefore, made pressing application to Hari Pant to come to his relief. But Hari Pant made a pretence of joining Cornwallis and wasted precious time in desultory operations. Bhau also followed the same lackadaisical policy of engaging his forces in reducing minor forts. Little, who accompanied Bhau's army, made a despairing comment to Cornwallis on 30 April, 1791:

“I am apprehensive we may be delayed some time by the reduction of several small forts in the way to Seringapatam which I was at first given to understand would be avoided. Some time also has been lost lately by unnecessary halts”. 38

But Bhau found it difficult to stave off the greater needs of the war when he heard the news of Cornwallis’ march to Seringapatam. He hurried to join Hari Pant and at Nagamangala, about 20 miles from Seringapatam, the Maratha forces were united. But Tipu’s vigilant intelligence service prevented the Marathas from conveying any news of their approach to Cornwallis, who was then engaged in a desperate battle with Tipu at Seringapatam. In the third week of May Cornwallis, finding his position untenable, began to retreat after destroying the whole of the battering train and equipment of the army.

Hardly had Cornwallis abandoned his design in despair when news was received of the arrival of the Marathas. On 28 May Cornwallis met Parashuram Bhau and Hari Pant Phadke at Melkote. The arrival of the Marathas at this juncture was a welcome relief to the half-starved British army. What followed next could best be described in Dirom’s graphic language:

“The famished followers of our army now ran to the Mahratta camp in thousands, and were happy to purchase grain at any rate. Luckily the want of money was none of our difficulties, else we should have profited little by this supply; for the chiefs. . . sold everything at the most exorbitant rates. Three seers of rice, and six of raggy or gram, for a rupee, was the common, and in general, the lowest price. But grain was now worth its weight in gold; and, while this lasted, there was no hesitation in making the exchange”. 39

Cornwallis would not have forsaken his grand design had he got timely intelligence of the arrival of the Marathas. It was a sad commentary on the inadequate communication service which frustrated Cornwallis’ cherished object for the time being.

The onset of the monsoon kept the allied army in a state of enforced inactivity. The Maratha army commanded by Parashuram Bhau and the

Bombay Brigade of three battalions under Little separated from the grand army on 8 July and proceeded towards Sira and Chitaldurg. Nijgal surrendered to Bhau. But the Marathas found it difficult to reduce the hill fort of Devarayadurg which they had to abandon. Proceeding from Devarayadurg and Sira, the latter being formerly occupied by Hari Pant, the army marched to Erode, which secured Bhau’s protection by paying a considerable sum. But this did not prevent the Marathas from ransacking the town.

Early in August the army arrived in the neighbourhood of Chitaldurg. “Chitaldurg has ever been deemed the strongest hill in India; indeed, if properly defended, there appears no possibility of taking it”. 40 The fort was garrisoned by 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry under its commandant Daulat Khan who was firm in his determination to repel the attack. Finding it difficult to reduce the fort either by assault or siege, Bhau moved off on 2 November and halted at Chandgiri till the middle of December. Then he moved to the eastern bank of the Tungabhadra, about eight miles from Hole Honnur. The Marathas wrought such havoc in this rich part of the country that it earned for them opprobrium from Moor.

“This part of the country was the richest we had yet seen, abounding in villages and towns, so thick that the night we came to this ground we counted ten villages in flames at the same time. It was by no means uncommon to see six or eight burning at once in several parts of this fine country. In this style do the Mahrattas carry on a war. It is indeed the only way in which, as enemies, they are at all formidable; they can pour on an enemy’s country in inundation of a hundred thousand horse; and when we consider the ruin and devastation spread by such a host of locusts, we are inclined to think that the curse of God could not have fallen in Egypt in a more destructive form”. 41

Bhau was required to operate on the right flank of the British army between Sira and Sivaganga, effect a junction with Abercromby and proceed to Seringapatam. But nothing could persuade Bhau to give up his desultory operations on the Tungabhadra. 42 However, he endeavoured to give a good account of himself when on 18 December, 1791, he appeared before Hole Honnur, situated at the confluence of the Tunga and Bhadra. On 21st morning the place was carried by storm. After three . days Benkipur surrendered

without any resistance to the Bhau. Advancing along the left bank of the Tunga, Bhau arrived at Shimoga, a place noted for its strong fortifications. The place being flanked on the right by the river Tunga and on the left by a very thick jungle, enabled its commandant, Muhammad Reza, to repulse the combined attack of the Marathas and the English. But the exemplary conduct of Little who rallied the whole force, broke the back of the enemy's resistance and the fort capitulated on 3 January. Grant Duff pays Little a glowing tribute:

"The whole conduct of Captain Little on this occasion was most exemplary; it reminds us of the generalship of Lawrence or of Clive and of itself entitles him to a very respectable rank in the military annals of British India". 43

Bhau loitered at Shimoga until the middle of January 1792 and got possession of several neighbouring forts which he captured without serious efforts. Next he proceeded towards Bidnur and had the satisfaction of capturing Kumsi and Anantapur with surprising ease. On 28 January he arrived within sight of Bidnur and was about to invest it when suddenly he abandoned the project. Leaving sufficient garrisons to protect Hole Honnur, Shimoga and the neighbouring areas, Bhau began his march to Seringapatam on 10 February. He had been repeatedly urged by Cornwallis to co-operate in the grand undertaking by remaining in the vicinity of the English army. Bhau could afford to ignore Cornwallis' summons, but he found it hard to resist the pressure of Hari Pant when the latter asked him to proceed without a moment's delay to Seringapatam. Hari Pant's importunities had a ring of sincerity:

"I have been praying God for your immediate arrival and was glad to receive your letter informing that you will be coming to Pattan". 44

The operations of Cornwallis, after his retreat from Seringapatam, were confined to the limited sphere of Baramahal. In July the British troops occupied Hosur and Rayakotta. Cornwallis next succeeded in reducing the hill-forts interspersed between Bangalore and Gurramkonda and between

Bangalore and Seringapatam. The capture of these strong fortresses increased the security of the convoys and enabled Cornwallis to strike the final blow with great confidence. He wrote to Pitt on 23 January, 1792:

“If we can subsist in .the neighbourhood of Seringapatam, there is in my opinion no doubt of our complete success, and I

have taken so many precautions to insure the safety of our supplies, that I trust it is hardly possible that they should fail”. 45

While Cornwallis was engaged in occupying the hill-forts, he was fretting with impatience about the arrival of the Maratha detachment under Parashuram Bhau and the Nizam’s forces under Prince Sikandar Jah. Though a part of Nizam’s army joined Cornwallis on 25 January near Outradurga, Bhau appeared on the scene when the war was over. Cornwallis appeared before Seringapatam on 5 February. Dividing the army in three columns—the right under General Medows, the left under Col. Maxwell and the centre under his personal care—Cornwallis on the following night occupied Lalbagh, Tipu’s beautiful garden and Shehar Ganj. 46

The realities of the situation now prompted Tipu to offer peace overtures and he sent Ghulam/‘Ali and ‘Ali Reza to the allies respectively—Kennaway representing the English, Govind Rao Kale and Bachaji Mehendale representing the Peshwd and Mir ‘Alam representing the Nizam. Being left without any choice Tipu hastened to conclude the preliminary articles of peace on 23 February and the final treaty on 18 March. Tipu agreed to cede to the allies half the territory from the countries adjacent to their respective boundaries; to pay three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees, one half immediately and the rest by three instalments within a year; and to release all prisoners of war held since the time of Haidar. 47 He also agreed to deliver two of his sons, ‘Abdul Khaliq and Muiz-ud-din as hostages for the due performance of the stipulations. The boundaries of the Maratha state were again extended to the Tungabhadra and now included Savanur, Lakshmeswar and Kundgol in the subdh of Dharwar. The Nizam obtained Cuddapah, Gooty with the districts between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. The British acquisitions were substantial—the rich districts of Baramahal, Dindigul, t Salem, a large slice of the Malabar Coast, including the ports of Calicut, Cannanore and the territory of Coorg.

Cornwallis, therefore, could feel gratified when he wrote to Dundas on 4 March, 1972:

"We have at length concluded our Indian war handsomely and I think as advantageously as any reasonable person could expect. We have effectually crippled our enemy without making our friends too formidable... I shall therefore. only express my hopes that the Gentlemen who talked so much nonsense about the balance of power and the barrier of Tippoo will have the grace to be ashamed of themselves" 48

MARATHAS AND THE NORTH INDIAN STATES (1772-1799)

By the end of March, the allied army dispersed for their respective cantonments. Before Hari Pant Phadke left, Tipu found a pretext to visit him, and cautioned him in a prophetic vein: "You must realise that I am not your enemy. Your real enemy is the English". 49 The intended visit of Mahiadji to Poona was a source of great irritation to Nana and the latter asked Bhau to bring Little's platoon to the Maratha capital. But this did not seem to happen and Little was given a send-off at Moti Talav. 50 This war so dramatically altered the political balance of India that superiority irrevocably passed to the British, and the Maratha Government had to play a second fiddle to the overgrown power of the Company.

It is an irony of history that from the middle of 1792 the Marathas began to entertain a soft attitude towards Tipu. Rumours were rife of a coalition between Tipu and the Marathas against the British and the Nizam. With the arrival of Wellesley and the unfolding of the ingenious plan of subsidiary alliances, Tipu could well understand the deep-laid schemings of the Company. But he showed an unbecoming diffidence of coming to grips with the Company, crippled as he was after his defeat in 1972. He missed the opportunity of improving his relations with the Marathas and when his agents Ahmad Khan and Fakhr-ud-din arrived at Poona towards the end of December 1798, the die had already been cast. The object of the agents was not merely to secure the Maratha aid, but also the Peshwa's mediation between their master and the British. Baji Rao did indeed propose a mediation but that was spurned by Wellesley with the following observation:

"How could the Peshwa undertake the office of mediationwithout the most flagrant inconsistency? As a member of the Triple Alliance he has already declared himself to be an aggrieved party". 51

The British attempt to court the friendship of the Marathas was

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not destined to be successful. It was alleged that the Peshwa's neutrality had been purchased by Tipu for a sum of 13 lakhs of rupees. Moreover, Baji Rao's vacillating conduct, whether to help the British or to remain neutral, frustrated Anglo-Maratha partnership in the last war against Tipu. Baji Rao perhaps thought that the war would go on for quite some time and he would determine his policy according to the exigencies of the situation. But the sweeping and rapid victory of the British arms and the death of Tipu Sultan on 4 May, 1799, upset all Baji Rao's calculations. To Nana the British appeared as a formidable power and his warning to Baji Rao fell

on deaf ears. It failed to save the latter from the clutches of the British in December 1802:

"Tipu is finished; the British power has increased; the whole of east India is already theirs; Poona will now be the next victim. Evil days seem to be ahead. There seems to be no escape from destiny". 52

Mardtha-Nizdm Relations:

We can now turn to Maratha-Nizam relations which in the last quarter of the eighteenth century fluctuated between friendship and hostility. In 1773 there was an open war between Raghunath Rao and the Nizam. In 1779 the Nizam took an active interest in the formation of the anti-British confederacy in collaboration with the Peshwa, Haidar and Bhosle. The Treaty of Yadgir concluded in June 1784, the object of which was the humiliation of Tipu, marked the culmination of Maratha-Nizam friendship. In the 8th article of the treaty it was laid down: 'Neither party shall ever adopt any measure of hostility against the other'. In the middle of 1790 both the powers bound themselves in separate treaties to co-operate with the British against Tipu:

Poona-Hyderabad partnership disappeared with the defeat of Tipu. The Poona Government now began to press forward its ancient claims on the Nizam. It was Baji Rao I who had first imposed chauth upon the Nizam's dominions; his successors Balaji Baji Rao and Madhav Rao had brought the Nizam's power to exhaustion and the chauth to be paid by him now accumulated to huge amounts. To all intents and purposes the Nizam was a tributary of the Maratlias; but the Nizam, strengthened by acquisitions from Tipu's dominions and by alliance with the British, fondly hoped to shake off the Maratha tutelage.

The Nizam found it difficult to evade the demands of the Poona Darbar, especially the chauth and sardeshmukhi of Bidar, Adoni and Berar. Mir 'Alam, the Nizam's agent, recognised the justice of the demand, although he expected moderation from the Poona Government. But once the propriety of Poona Government's claims was accepted, the quarrel could have been settled had there existed mutual goodwill between the respective ministers of the two courts— Nana Phadnis of Poona and 'Azim-ul-Umara of Hyderabad.

The British Governor-General, Sir John Shore, wedded to the policy of non-intervention, was reluctant to interfere in the Maratha-Nizam dispute, except in case of extreme necessity. But he did

not question the legality of the Peshwfa's demand; the fact was irrefragable and the 'quantum of the demand upon the Nizam' was only to be assessed. 53 Meanwhile it had been decided to send Mir 'Alam in an embassy to Poona to adjust the dispute between the two Governments. The British Government decided to countenance Mir 'Alam through its Residents at Poona and Hyderabad to help him arrive at a mutual settlement of the dispute. "This circuitous mode of moderating between the parties", Kirkpatrick, the British Resident at Hyderabad observed, "was preferable ' to a direct or formal offer of our mediation". 54 It would prevent the Company from tying itself with the Nizam and would not be able to injure the Maratha susceptibilities.

It was in this deepening crisis that the Nizam craved the protection of the British. On 29 May, 1794, the British Resident, Kirkpatrick met 'Azim-ul-Umara; the latter tried to rouse the British sympathy by insinuating that he had incurred the displeasure of the Peshwd by maintaining close connections with them. He, therefore, could reasonably claim the Company’s protection and was prepared to obtain it at any cost. ‘Azim-ul-Umara wanted to ascertain the British attitude towards the dispute and to what length they would go in Nizam ‘Ali’s support. To this crucial question, Kirkpatrick evaded answer and urged the minister to expedite the deputation of Mir ‘Alam: “Unless he agreed to it and that readily, it would be hmself and not the Marathas that would be open to the suspicion of insincerity”. 55

The Maratha-Nizam dispute centred round the personal rancour between Nana Phadnis and ‘Azim-ul-Umara. It is doubtful whether any rapproachement was possible unless the Nizam sacrificed his minister. Uhthoff, the acting Poona Resident, discussed the situation in all its facets: ‘The Poona Court might, perhaps, be induced? to acquiesce in an accommodation, if His Highness would concede the two points of sacrificing ‘Azim-ul-Umara and commuting the current claims and those in arrear for the cession of a tract of country”. 56 It must be remembered that Kirkpatrick was not disposed to see the humiliation of the Nizam at the cost of reconciliation between the two ministers, but nevertheless he inveighed against ‘Azimul-Umara, whom he considered as the root of all troubles in Hyderabad. He was, therefore, prepared to accept the disgrace of the minister, if it could lead to a happy solution of the dispute. He observed in this connection:

“I am further ready to grant that if the sacrifice could be supposed to be in the end inevitable, it would be wiser in His Highness to make it at once than after a struggle which would, in this case, only serve to rivet his chains still stronger. In fine, I heartily wish the appointment of a better minister than 4 Azimul-Umara”. 57

In despair, the Nizam invoked the 6th article of the treaty of 1768 in which it was declared that the friends and enemies of one of the contracting parties were to be deemed the friends and enemies of the other. Kirkpatrick brushed aside the stipulation of the treaty by quoting Cornwallis' explanatory letter of 7 July, 1789, which forbade the employment of the Company's forces against any power in alliance with the British. In any case, the British refused to be drawn in the dispute and Kirkpatrick blasted the illusory hope of the Hyderabad Government by denying any hope of British assistance.

Towards the close of July 1794 Mir 'Alam, accompanied by Rai Rayan arrived at Poona. But his powers were so circumscribed that he was not authorised to settle the Faisleh Kuleat or general political probleilis; he could only adjust minor details or juziat claims. The restriction of Mir 'Alam's powers was undoubtedly 'Azim-ulUmara's creation who made the former's task more delicate by employing too many emissaries at Poona. Mir 'Alam, Rai Rayan, Govind Bhagwant, Raghunath Rao—men of different characters representing various shades of opinion—raised doubts about the practicability of any satisfactory solution. Malet could doubt the success of Mir Alam's mission when he observed: "What good can be expected from an assemblage that has not a single atom of concord in its whole composition?" 58

It was only after wasting two precious months that Mir 'Alam could begin negotiations when he had fulfilled the semblance of diplomatic etiquette as required by the Poona Darbar. He was given full latitude to prosecute the juziat negotiations; but as to the Kuleat, he was to seek previous permission of the Nizam. Negotiations began in early October on the Adoni article. The Poona Darbar claimed from that district about 1,75,000 rupees which the Hyderabad Government was ill prepared to grant. The Bidar article met with a similar fate. The Nizam's agents could not agree to the Poona Darbar's demand of one-fourth of its revenue. Negotiations drifted towards a deadlock when proposals and counterproposals were submitted by both parties with no signs of settlement.

Meanwhile the armies of the Peshwd and the Nizam marched to advanced positions. Mir 'Alam met the Peshwa and his ministers

on 10 December and expressed the futility of conducting the nego tiations when military preparations were set afoot by both parties. The Poona Government assured Mir 'Alam that it was prepared to maintain the status quo despite its military movements, provided similar assurance was given by Hyderabad. It is curious that the article in regard to the chauth of Bidar was settled at Hyderabad through the mediation of the Poona agent, Govind Rao Kale.

Mir ‘Alam had to suffer disappointment in his fresh negotiations at Poona. The Poona Darbar refused to suspend its warlike preparations by countermanding the march of forces from northern India as well as from Berar. Jivba Bakhshl’s troops on their way to the south laid waste the Nizam’s border territories in the Daulatabad region and Holkar’s forces also plundered Malkapur, another territory of the Nizam. Though the Bidar article was settled at Hyderabad, the Peshwd did not take any notice of it. The Poona Darbar

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continued negotiations with Mir ‘Alam on other points of dispute, e.g., Berar and Berar Balaghat.

Meanwhile British relations with the Poona Government had been somewhat strained owing to the former’s feeble attempt at mediation in the Maratha-Nizam dispute. Shore, the British GovelnprGeneral, decided to leave no stone unturned in removing the lingering misunderstanding by his unequivocal declaration. On 29 December, 1794 he said:

“Ignorant as we are of the true grounds of disagreement between the Peshwd and the Nizam and of the right of their respective claims, we could take no part with either, unless we were to exclude the consideration of justice and equity, and determine to interfere on the principle only of assisting the weakest... . Having adopted a system of neutrality, our adherence to it has been strict and every appearance of partiality has been avoided”. 59

Though the British neutrality seemed to be threatened by the reported move of a coalition between Tipu and the MarathSs to be directed against the Nizam, Shore was not in a mood to jeopardise British interests by risking a war in support of the Nizam. Shore knew too well the magnitude of the resources of the Marathas and the decrepit state of the Nizam’s administration, apart from the fatal result that would ensue to the British in carrying on war against the united forces of the Marathas and Tipu. To Shore the paramount object was to preserve inviolate the British dominion. He struck the key-note of British policy by observing: “We must attend to self preservation including the permanency of the British possessions in India”[60]

In weighing motive for keeping the Company uninvolved in the Maratha-Nizam quarrel, Shore was guided by the strategic necessity of appeasing the Marathas at any cost. He understood that nothing decisive could be gained by the Nizam’s friendship as he was considered to be the weakest among the Deccan powers. Shore enunciated the central theme of British policy:

“The consolidation of our alliance with the Marathas is an object of the first importance to us. With their aid which we might expect we could always hold Tipu and any European power; from Tipu, we could never hope for assistance, or scarcely neutrality”.[61]

All things conspired to the inevitable conflict between the Marathas and the Nizam. Nizam ‘Ali was the first to move with the hope of taking the Marathas at a marked disadvantage. Proceeding along the banks of the Manjra, he advanced from Bidar towards the Maratha frontier. The Marathas harnessed all their resources in their struggle with the Nizam. All the principal feudatories of the empire—TukojI Holkar with Dudrence’s forces, Sindia’s army under the command of Jivba Bakhshi, Perron, Devjl Gauli, Raghuji Bhosle, Ciovind Rao Gaikwad’s forces, Parashuram Bhau and Baba Phadke (son of Hari Pant)—congregated under the banner of the Peshwa. The great Southern jdglrdars belonging to the Brahmin families of Patwardhan and Haste, the Pratinidhi, the Pant Sachw, the Mankaris—Nimbalkar, Ghatge, Pawar, Thorat with many others of less eminence, swelled the Maratha ranks.

The Nizam’s army numbering about 110,000 men encamped on the river Khar below the Mohri Ghat, about 2 miles from Kharda. The Maratha army under the command of Parashuram Bhau mainly occupied the bank of the Sina river. After initial skirmishes lasting for two or three days, the final battle took place on 11 March, 1795. Finding his position precarious, the Nizam began to move in the direction of Parenda, situated 26 miles south of Kharda. The unwisdom of the Nizam's action now became plain. Severe fighting ensued and Sindia's forces forced back the Nizam's troops. The Nizam took shelter in the small fort of Kharda during the night. The Marathas at once invested the fort. There were no provisions in the fort and no water, and the Nizam realised the futility of resistance and requested for a cessation of hostilities. 613

The cease-fire took place on 13 March, 1795, but the final treaty was not concluded till 10 April. The Nizam employed the intervening period in averting the disgrace of his minister, 'Azlm-ulUmara. But the Maratha attitude was explained by the emphatic repudiation of this idea. In vain did the Nizam employ various persons—Tahawar Jang, Rao Rambha—to postpone the dishonour of dismissal of his favourite. Since the Marathas would not be coaxed, 'Azim-ul-Umara tried to ingratiate himself with Nana by sending him his own Diwan Neem Want. The agent made tempting offers— two crores and a half and territories worth 8 lakhs in annual value — to Nana on condition of 'Azim-ul-Umara's retaining the lever of Nizam's administration. Nana Phadnis, in the temper with which he glowed, fired back: "That even should he agree to pay one hundred crores and surrender all his master's territory his being permitted to remain in the management thereof was inadmissible". 62 When 'Azim-ul-Umara felt that nothing on earth would change the irrevocable decision of Nana, he arrived in the Maratha camp on 27 March and was received by Nana. "Thus has ended," as Kirkpatrick rightly said, "and not less ingloriously for the Nizam than miserably for himself, the administration of 'Azim-ul-Umara''. 63 Mir 'Alam, stung by the fall of 'Azim-ul-Umara, was scornful of the British policy of non-intervention in the dispute.

'Azim-ul-Umara's surrender removed the main cause of deadlock between the Marathas and the Nizam. A treaty was concluded on 10 April on the following terms:

(1) Territories yielding an annual revenue of about 32 lakhs of rupees in the quarter of Daulatabad and Parenda, including the fort of Daulatabad, were to be ceded tn the Peshwd.

(2) Nana Phadnis and other ministers were to receive territories yielding an annual revenue of about two and half lakhs of rupees.

(3) Raghuji Bhosle was also to be given some territorial concession.

(4) An indemnity of one crore and another crore for accumulated arrears of tribute were to be paid to the Peshwd.

(5) About a crore of rupees was to be given to Daulatrao Sindia and Raghuji Bhosle, including the darbar charges.

(6) A time limit of three years was fixed for all these pecuniary payments.

(7) Maratha-Nizam relations with Tipu were to be regulated according to the treaties of Poona, Pangal and Seringapatam. 633

The Nizam had no intention to execute the terms of the treaty. He begged to be excused on account of a domestic trouble in which he was involved owing to the rebellion of his son ‘Ali Jah. The Marathas retaliated by forcibly occupying the fortress of Daulatabad. Govind Rao Kale gave a good account of Nizam ‘Ali’s pusillanimous conduct after the conclusion of the treaty:

“Nizam Ali has set his heart upon getting out of these harsh conditions. He is not inclined to fulfil the terms. Honesty, promise, pledge have no value with him, steeped as he is in crafty devilry. On his return from Kharda his look changed. He says lie must meet the Peshwa personally before he can execute the treaty-. He goes on delaying these matters. His son’s rebellion has added to his troubles”. 64

The Nizam did not rest satisfied submissively. He was reported to have started secret negotiations with Tipu Sultan. He dismissed the British battalions and augmented the corps of the French adventurer, Monsieur Raymond.

Reports soon gained credence that the Nizam might seek assistance from the French. But all his subtle calculations went awry with the outbreak of ‘Ali Jah’s rebellion. Once more the Nizam sought the military assistance of the English and the latter were ready to give it. ‘Ali Jah was captured but he took away his own life.

The battle of Kharda seemed to ruin the semblance of Nizam’s independence. Its immediate consequence to the Marathas was also not a little flattering. Nana Phadnis was now at the zenith of power, thanks to the energy and political sagacity which he had exhibited against the Nizam. The British attributed the formidable state of the Maratha Empire in 1795 to Nana’s great statesmanship, critical comprehension and measurement of all the forces at work. Grant Duff was not partial when he wrote:

“Naha Furnuwees was now at the summit of prosperity; without the intervention of a foreign power he had obtained every object of his ambition. Daulat Rao Sindhia was favourably disposed towards him. Tookajee Holkar had become imbecile, both in mind and body, and his officers were subservient

to Nana. Rughoojee Bhonslay was completely secured in his interests, and the Brahmin Jagheerdars were of his party”. 65

The short but dramatic period which engulfed Poona affairs after the death of Sawai Madhav Rao enabled the Nizam to defy the harsh stipulations of the treaty of Kharda. From his sanctuary at Mahad, Nana arranged through Govind Rao Kale a secret treaty with the Nizam. By this contract which was signed on 7 October, 1796, all the territories ceded to the Peshwd by the Convention of Kharda were to be restored and the balance of the tribute remitted, on condition that Nizam ‘Ali supported Nana in installing Baji Rao in the Peshwaship. The treaty was made subject to ratification by Baji Rao v/hen he becatne the Peshwd. Thus, owing to fluctuating, fortunes in the politics of Poona, the ruler of Hyderabad was saved from being overwhelmed by Maratha encroachments.

The Nizam could save himself from Maratha thraldom thanks to fortuitous circumstances, but he could not stand against the irresistible pressure of the Company. Immediately on his arrival Wellesley bound the Nizam with the subsidiary alliance on 1 September, 1798, and substituted his French force with that of the British. Dundas congratulated Mornington in the following words:

“I have long felt unhappy from the circumstances of the French force in the service of the Nizam. ... Your treaty with the Nizam effectually puts an end to every alarm upon that part of the business, and whether you consider it negatively as removing the French force from our neighbourhood, or positively in respect of the additional strength it affords to ourselves and the aid it gives to our finances, it is a transaction which tells in our favour in a variety of ways and was well worth accomplishing at any risk, even if the Mahratta powers had been dissatisfied with it”.[66]

Thus the Maratha relations with the South Indian States have a melancholy interest for the historian. It was an irony of history that the anti-British confederacy organised in 1780 among the Indian powers— Peshwd, Bhosle, Nizam and Haidar—could not be repeated in the following years. Ignoring this make-shift coalition, the Peshwd signed the treaty of Salbai in complete disregard of Haidar ‘Ali. Mahadji Sindia went a step further by concluding a new treaty (October 1783) with the English to enforce the treaty of Salbai on Tipu. The way by which Cornwallis enmeshed the Peshwd in the cobweb of British alliance against Tipu in 1790 reflects the bankruptcy of Maratha diplomacy. The Nizam in his blind rage for the Marathas entered into the Company’s fold in the same year against Tipu, although he had been divested by the Company of the Guntur Sarkar in 1788.

For the last time the Marathas presented a solid front when they met the Nizam in 1795 in the battle-field of Kharda. It was the last flicker of Maratha unity. Harsh fate was to envelop them in no time when they relapsed into petty squabbles and moral degeneracy in total ignorance of nascent British imperialism that was unfolding itself in a devious way. Maratha resentment against Tipu in 1790 and the Nizam in 1795 was a sad testimony of their inability of comprehending the seamy side of British diplomacy. With the death of Tipu in 1799 and the defeat of the Marathas in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the South Indian politics pivoted round the unassailable sway of the Company.

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CHAPTER XIII

MYSORE: HAIDAR ‘AlI AND TIPO SULTAN

The State of Mysore, situated at the junction of the Eastern and Western Ghats, was ruled over by the Wodiyar dynasty from the fourteenth century. Between 1731-34 the Government of Mysore was usurped by two brothers-—DevrSj and Nanjaraj, who left to the King Chik Krishnaraj only the exterior appendages of royalty. Devraj was the D&lwtii or Commander-in-Chief and Nanjaraj was the Sccrvddhikari or Controller of revenue and finance. But from 1746, Devraj, grown old, allowed his brother to lead distant expeditions, himself taking charge temporarily, during his absence, of revenue and finance.

In the service of Nanjaraj there was a young volunteer horseman named Haidar, serving in a detachment led by his own brother Shahbaz. In 1749, he caught the eye of Nanjaraj in a shooting competition at Devanhalli, was promoted to the command of 50 horse and 200 peons. Between 1750-60 Haidar, known in the early days of his military career as Haidar Naik, came steadily into prominence and rose from prominence to power. Circumstances were favourable. Peshwd BalajI BajI Rao began to pursue a policy of southward expansion, without abandoning his forward policy in the north. Mysore was invaded by the Marathas in 1753, 1754, 1757 and 1759. Nizam-ul-Mulk regarded Mysore as Mughul territory and his successors also considered that Mysore was a part of their territorial legacy. Thus Mysore was drawn within the circle of the conflict between the Peshwd and the Nizam. To add to the complications, Nanjaraj conceived the project of seizing Trichinopoly with its dependencies by taking part in the struggle between the French and the English in what is known as the Second Karnatak war. Muhammad ‘Ali offered him this bait and he eagerly swallowed it. From February to December, 1752, the Mysoreans and the British fought as allies against the French at Trichinopoly. But later Nanjaraj changed sides and through 1753 and 1754 he was the ally of Dupleix as against Muhammad ‘Ali, backed by the English. The Mysorean had to become the ally of the French when he found that Muhammad ‘Ali would not hand over Trichinopoly to him and the British associated themselves with this “Fraud of Trichinopoly”. Nanjaraj was recalled by Devraj in April, 1755 to meet an invasion of Mysore by

Salabat Jang, guided by Bussy. The heavy expenses estimated at 3 to 4 crores incurred in the Trichinopoly venture, the drafts twice made by the Marathas, a sum of 56 lakhs that had to be paid to Salabat Jang—all combined to make the very solvent Mysore State of 1752 almost bankrupt in 1755. 1 The Government was unable to pay its soldiery and defray its expenses. Thus were created those conditions that brought about the subversion of the existing authority.

Haidar was with Nanjaraj throughout the Trichinopoly campaign. There Haidar was not merely conspicuous for his intrepidity and daring, but was also successful in securing rapid promotion, as also a considerable share of plunder. Towards the end of his stay there, he was officially at the head of 1,500 horse, 3,000 regular infantry and 4 guns. He was now appointed as the jaujddr of Dindigul, a rock fort belonging to Mysore, 65 miles south-east of Trichinopoly. 2 It is relevant to note that at Trichinopoly Haidar learnt his lessons in the art of war. He was an eye-witness of the attacks and counterattacks of Clive and Lawrence as also their French opponents. Ambitious, able to take advantage of his opportunities, he learnt what the art of war meant , in those days in the western sense of drill, discipline, attack and defence.

While he was consolidating his position at Dindigul during the years 1755-57 Devraj and Nanjaraj quarrelled and Devraj withdrew from Mysore to Satyamangaiam, leaving Nanjaraj as the undisputed usurper. But Nanjaraj could find no opportunity of consolidating his position. The Marathas again invaded in 1757 and Nanjaraj agreed to pay them 32 lakhs, but could pay only six, and for the payment of the balance handed over fifteen taluks as security. Shortly after this, Haidar came to Mysore and advised Nanjaraj to expel the Mariatha garrisons from those taluks on the approach of the rains. Nanja.raj acted according to this advice and this made inevitable another Maratha invasion of Mysore. When the Marathia army came in 1758, as the Mysore troops were still in arrears, none of the old veterans agreed to take command of the army; Haidar took personal responsibility for arrears and was placed in charge of the field army. He somehow held his own, remained on the defensive, hoping thereby to wear the Marathas out. The Marathas agreed to withdraw if they were paid thirty-two lakhs. Half of this was paid by raising forced contributions. For the remainder, Haidar gave his personal security and he took the thirteen ceded districts under his control. His next step was to oust Nanjaraj. This he managed very adroitly with the assistance of his Diiv&n Khande Rao who had won over the nominal King in the interest of Haidar. Deserted by the soldiers at whose head he now found Haidar, Nanjaraj decided to retire. He was given a jacfir and he promised to withdraw to Coonoor; but on the way he entrenched himself at Mysore. He failed, however, to maintain his position because the Portuguese Officer commanding his white troops proved to be a traitor. He had to capitulate and withdraw to Coonoor. The King now found that he had only exchanged one master for another. Haidar had now in his direct possession more than half of the kingdom and the King discovered that under the new dictator he continued to be a figure-head as he had been in the previous regimes of Nanjaraj and Devraj.[3]

As the de facto ruler in Mysore Haidar had. now to consolidate his authority. But in the meantime the Court party in league with Khande Rao came to an understanding with the Maratha Chief Visaji Krishna and tried to launch a concerted attack on Haidar. On 12 August, 1760, a cannonade was opened from the ramparts of the fort of Seringapatam on Haidar’s residence near the modern Darya Daulat Bagh. Haidar was taken by surprise. The Marathas could not arrive in time. Haidar ran away leaving his family at Seringapatam.[4] He reached Bangalore. His brother-in-law, Makhdum ‘Ali, had been sent to help the French at Pondicherry in the Third Karnafcak war. He was not asked to return. But the Marathas defeated him on his way back at Anekal. A relieving force sent by Haidar ‘Ali from Bangalore to his aid was also defeated. Haidar’s career appeared to be approaching its close when suddenly the Marathas expressed their willingness to withdraw on his paying 51 lakhs and ceding Baramahal. Visaji Krishna had to withdraw because of the serious aspect of Maratha affairs in the north which culminated later in the disastrous Maratha defeat at Panipat. 5 When Haidar heard about it, he refused to hand over the Baramahal districts. Khande Rao, left alone, was unable to cope with the wily Haidar, who had even induced Nanjaraj to join him and bless his cause. When Haidar besieged Seringapatam, the King made an abject surrender and handed over Khande Rao. Nanjaraj was sent back to Coonoor to fade into complete obscurity. Khande Rao was kept a prisoner in a cage in which he languished for a year and died. 6 Haidar could now feel that he was safely established in Mysore.

Between 1761-63 Haidar succeeded in conquering Hoskote, Dod Ballapur and Sera with its dependencies. The Poligar of Chik Ballapur exasperated Haidar by his, tough resistance and was despatched as a prisoner to Bangalore 7 while the Poligar of Raidurg for his willing submission was generously treated. Haidar next took up the cause of Chen Basavaiya, who was believed to be the fugitive boyking of Bednur, adopted son of the deceased Bednur Chief Basavappa Nayak. The queen of Bednur could offer but feeble resistance. After the conquest of Bednur was completed in the name of the boy-king, Haidar declared him an impostor and threw him into prison. 8 According to Wilks the loot of Bednur alone brought Haidar 12 million sterling. Haidar next conquered Sonda, the king of Sonda, Savai Immadi Sadasiv, flying to the Portuguese for protection and surrendering to them his territory below the Ghats in return for an asylum and a stipend. 9

Haidar had now to reckon with the Marathas with whom he had to fight at very frequent intervals from 1764-1779. He was unable to cope with Peshwd Madhav Rao and it was only the premature death of that great ruler that saved Haidar from annihilation. Haidar's recent conquests, his plan to extend his frontier up to the Tungabhadra and even beyond, brought him into collision with the Maratha power, recovering from the stunning blow of Panipat, under the wise guidance of Madhav Rao. Haidar ‘Ali was defeated in an engagement at Ratehalli, 70 miles south-east of Dharwar on 3 May, 1764. He had to fall back to an entrenched fort at Anavatty. But here too, he found his position untenable and suffered a complete defeat. The Peshwd made a triumphant march towards Bednur. At this stage, Raghunath Rao, uncle of the Peshwd , thought it necessary to intervene and a treaty was concluded by which Haidar paid 28 lakhs as tribute and restored all the territory of Murar Rao of Gooty beyond the Tungabhadra as also the territory of the Nawab of Savanur between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, because these two chieftains were in Maratha interest. 93 The Peshwd marched against Haidar again in November, 1766. He succeeded in persuading the Nizam, Nizam ‘Ali, to join him in a scheme of offensive* alliance against Haidar. But Nizam ‘Ali soon after concluded an alliance with the British and he hoped to dictate in any scheme of the partition of Haidar’s territory. But this at once made Madhav Rao determine to act on his own. He marched very quickly, realizing tribute from most of those places south of the Tungabhadra that had recently submitted to Haidar. Haidar sued for peace. He agreed to pay a tribute of 33 lakhs to the Peshwd and got back most of his territory including Sera, Chik Ballapur and Kolar, but the Marathas retained Dod Ballapur, Hoskote and some other places. Nizam ‘All was outwitted and Peshwd Madhav Rao without waiting for his ally went away. Nizam ‘Ali thought it proper to come to terms of accommodation with Haidar.

Madhav Rao invaded again in 1769. Haidar’s persistent and systematic encroachment on the Maratha sphere of influence could only be countered by a relentless offensive against him. Haidar had even compelled Savanur and Gooty to pay him tribute. The campaign of 1769-70 kept Haidar on the defensive. But the Peshwa became so ill that he could not lead the campaign of 1770-71. Trimbak Rao, who was left in command, defeated Haidar completely in the battle of Chinkurli or Moti Talao on 5 March, 1771, almost within the sight of Seringapatam. Haidar lost his entire equipment, his store and all his artillery. He and his son Tipu narrowly escaped being taken prisoners. But so tough and stubborn was Haidar that this defeat Was not followed by a collapse of his military power. The Marathas were so much intent upon plunder that they let ten precious days pass before they laid siege to Seringapatam. After besieging Seringapatam in vain for a month and ten days, Trimbak Rao withdrew to Bellur, in view of approaching rains. He began campaigning again in September, 1771, but the Peshwa’s condition worsened and the campaign had to be abandoned. The Marathas retained Sera, Hoskote, Dod Ballapur, Kolar and Gurrumkonda and gave up the rest. 10 Haidar promised to pay sixty lakhs.

During the prolonged campaign of the Marathas Haidar was expecting British aid because he had concluded a defensive alliance with them. The British did not come to his aid and this partly explains the strong anti-British turn which Mysore foreign policy took later.

Fortunately for Haidar Peshw id Madhav Rao died in November, 1772, and the chaos that now began in Maratha affairs, helped Haidar ‘Ali not merely to regain his lest ground but also to conquer and consolidate his sway up to the Tungabhadra, and extend his conquests up to the Krishna. He took the fullest advantage of the chaos and confusion in Maharashtra caused by the murder of Narayan Rao, opposition to the regime of Raghunath Rao and the resultant civil war. Haidar recognised Raghunath Rao as the Peshwa and agreed to pay him an annual tribute of 6 lakhs. The territory conquered by Madhav Rao in his three expeditions was ceded to Haidar. Between February 1774 and April 1776, Haidar not only recovered all that Peshwa Madhav Rao had taken but also annexed Bellary, Cuddapah, Gooty and Kurnool. He also annexed Coorg in 1780. With the fall of Gooty Haidar got under his control all that was included within the Maratha sphere of influence south of the Tungabhadra. The Poona Ministry learnt to their dismay that Haidar began* in 1776 to conquer Maratha territory between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. They could not, however, organise an expedition before

1777. Hari Pant was commissioned to oust Haidar from Maratha territory in concert with Nizam’s general Ibrahim Khan Dhausa. But the troops of Hari Pant were in arrears, Dhausa was lukewarm, the emissaries of Haidar were at work and nothing very effective could be done during the year 1777-78. In the meantime, at Poona Nana Phadnis, who seemed temporarily to be eclipsed by his cousin Moroba, resumed his former power. Haidar took advantage of these complications in Maratha affairs to seize all the important places in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. In view of the British supporting the cause of Raghoba which resulted in the first Anglo-Maratha War, Nana was on the look out for allies, and that great Maratha statesman had to recognise all these acts of aggression in order that he might enlist the support of the Mysoreans against the British. 11

Haidar’s relations with the British prior to the outbreak of the second Anglo-Mysore war are best studied separately. It would be a mistake to think that Haidar was anti-British from the very beginning of his career. No doubt Haidar gave the French some help in the Third Anglo-French War but that was because the French supported him in his usurpation and promised him valuable territorial cession in case of a favourable termination of their conflict. At the time of the Khande Rao impasse the British carried on some negotiations with the king of Mysore, no doubt with the object of temporizing at the end, but this left a trace of bitterness behind. French influence in Haidar’s Court began to increase and French officers like Chevalier Du Mouhy, De La 1 Tour and others joined him. Haidar gave shelter to Mahfuz Khan, the elder brother and necessarily an enemy of Muhammad ‘Ali, Nawab of Arcot. He also entertained in his service Raza Saheb, son of Chanda Saheb, Muhammad ‘Ali’s mortal enemy. There were also territorial disputes between Arcot and Mysore. But all this would not possibly have led to open war between the British in Madras and Haidar ‘Ali in *1767 if the British had not made the mistake of concluding a treaty with Nizam ‘Ali in 1766 artd helping him with a detachment of their troops in his operations against Haidar. It is relevant to note that in May, 1766, Haidar had offered to the British a defensive alliance against the Marathas and the Nizam. His exasperation naturally knew no bounds when he found the Nizam backed by the British engaged in operations against him in apparent concert with the Marathas. 12 He concluded a separate treaty with the Marathas, won the Nizam over and persuaded him to join an offensive alliance against the British and Muhammad ‘Ali. Together they carried the war into the territory of the Nawab of Arcot.

In the first battle of the war, Colonel Smith won a nominal victory over Haidar ‘Ali and Nizam ‘Ali at Changama. It was on the whole a very indecisive affair. Strong in cavalry, the confederates had no difficulty in getting into Karnatak. The next engagement was at Trinomali, where also the confederates were defeated. Thereupon Nizam ‘Ali withdrew from the conflict. But Haidar ‘Ali continued to maintain his offensive. There were engagements at Vaniambadi (December, 1767), at Mulbagal (4 October, 1768), at Ariyalur (22 November, 1768). Haidar was not successful in any of these, but neither was he worsted. He was unable to cope with Col. Smith but he was more than able to hold his own against other commanders like

Wood aifd Lang. His cavalry gave him greater mobility and he made excellent use of rapidity of movement in the closing stages of the war. Having successfully screened his movements from the British field army, he appeared before the gates of Madras. The panick-stricken Madras Government was induced to sign a treaty on 4 April, 1769, that provided for mutual restitution of conquests and a defensive alliance. The Court of Directors later remarked that the Company's interest and influence suffered much diminution and discredit as a consequence of this war and the treaty that ended it. 13

This defensive alliance with the Madras Government was regarded by Haidar as the sheet-anchor of his foreign policy. But in January, 1770, when the Marathas invaded his territory, the British would not go to his help. He solicited the assistance of the Company again and again. In the twenty-fourth month of this long protracted war, the Madras Government at last asked him what money and provisions he could provide if they were to assist him and they informed him sometime afterwards that the Home Government had forbidden any assistance. Besides this infringement of the treaty of 1769, there were other sins of omission and commission that ultimately made Haidar 'Ali conclude that it would be a mistake to depend upon British friendship. The British would not supply him guns, saltpetre, lead and such other things that he required, but the French from the port of Mahe supplied him liberally. He repeatedly attempted to renew the violated conditions of the Treaty of 1769 but met with prevarication on the part of Muhammad 'Ali. Between 1775-79 many events happened that stiffened Haidar's attitude. When war began between England and France,, the British led an expedition against the French possession of Mahe which fell on 19 March, 1779. Haidar's vakil had earlier protested that his

master regarded all trading settlements on the Malabar Coast as under his protection. Haidar's troops actually assisted in the defence of Mahe and his flag had been hoisted over it. The Madras Government had also foolishly assured Basalat Jang of Adoni, a brother of Nizam 'Ali, unconditional defence of the place. They even advanced detachments to his place through the territory of Haidar 'Ali and Nizam 'Ali. This aroused the antagonism of both. Basalat yielded to their joint pressure and the march of the British detachment had to be countermanded. Besides these episodes there were boundary disputes. In July 1780 Haidar launched his war flooding the Karnatak with immense armies. Their activities have been described by Burke in his famous speech indicting Warren Hastings. “A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every* temple. The miserable inhabitants fleeing from their flaming villages were either slaughtered or swept into captivity.” An English brigade under Baillie was surrounded and cut up. Munro, the victor of Buxar, smirched his reputation by abandoning his artillery and retreating in panic to Madras. However, on 1 July, 1781, a very important battle was fought at Porto Novo which Coote won by consummate generalship. Coote turned Haidar’s entrenched position, forced him in the open field, and against odds, made the best possible use of the echelon formation. It was a great tactical victory for the British, but it had no important strategic effects. In 1781, Coote defeated Haidar on two other occasions in the second battle of Pollilore (27 September) as also at Solingar (27 October). These two defeats in succession gave a great shock to Haidar’s prestige. Vellore, besieged by Haidar, was relieved by Coote and this closed the campaign of 1781. But early in 1782, a disaster befell the British. Col. Braithwaite, while encamped with a detachment of the British army south of the Coleroon, was surprised and cut down by an army led by Tipu. Braithwaite was taken prisoner. Admiral Suffren, one of the best seamen that France ever produced, arrived off Pulicat on 15 February at the head of 12 ships. Five naval engagements took place between Admiral Suffren and Admiral Hughes, without any decisive result. But Suffren succeeded in seizing Trincomali in Ceylon which, as a base for French maritime operations, was immensely superior to distant Mauritius. Haidar’s heart was growing sick and his trust in the French was evaporating. He was, however, reassured by this brilliant French admiral that Bussy would soon arrive with reinforcements. But Bussy did not actually arrive until after Haidar’s death. The most important action in the campaign of 1782 was that of Ami, which in the words of Fortescue, “produced no result beyond the heightening of Coote’s reputation in the eyes of Haidar”. Haidar had also to detach Tipu with reinforcements to Malabar where the British were trying to create a diversion by sending a detachment under Humberston and McLeod. But on 7 December, Haidar died and Tipu had to hasten back to join the main army. He was quietly proclaimed and his succession was accepted without any opposition. Brigadier-General James Stuart, who had now succeeded Sir Eyre Coote as the British Commander-in-Chief on his death in April 1783, failed to take advantage of the consternation in Mysore caused by the rumours of the death of Haidar and the possibility of a disputed succession.

On 28 June, news arrived that peace had been concluded between the English and the French in Europe. The British were now free to deal with Tipu. General Matthews, Commander-inChief of the Bombay Presidency, was leading the British army in Malabar. He was asked to abandon operations on the coast and push on to Bednur. This he did successfully and took Bednur. On the western coast Mangalore was also taken by the British. But Tipu now advanced with his full force, invested Bednur and compelled the British to capitulate. It is said that safe conduct was promised to the British but Tipu violated the terms. Almost all the conquests of Matthews were retaken by Tipu, and Mangalore alone held out. Tipu besieged Mangalore and the siege lasted from 20 May, 1783 to 30 January, 1784. Campbell, who defended the place capitulated on condition that the English garrison should be transported to Tellicherry. The terms were faithfully observed. Negotiations had already been begun by Macartney, Governor of Madras. Tipu at last agreed to make peace. There was to be a mutual restitution of conquests. The prisoners were to be restored. The Treaty was signed on 11 March, 1784.

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Mangalore, it might have been expected that Tipu would remain quiet for sometime and try to make friends with the Marathas and the Nizam. But it was very difficult in the existing circumstances for these three Indian powers to co-operate. The Nizam had not, in any sense, played the part he had agreed to play as one of the confederate anti-British powers. The Marathas had concluded even before the death of Haidar the Treaty of Salbai (May 1782) which was, of course, ratified after Haidar's death. Nana Phadnis was anxious to get back the region between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra and Nizam 'Ali was further alienated and alarmed by Tipu's assertion of claims over Bijapur. Tipu, lacking in moderation, created fresh grounds of dispute.

i

The Desai of Nargund, connected by marriage with one of the leading Maratha chiefs, had been compelled to transfer his allegiance from the Marathas to Mysore when Haidar annexed the KrishnaTungabhadra Doab. The Maratha government was assured by Haidar 'Ali that all the chiefs in the Doab area, who had been dependent upon the Marathas, would be fairly treated by him. But Tipu is said to have seized the Desai of Nargund by treachery and the whole family was put in the Mysore State prison. The Desai of Kittur was also overwhelmed. Three years' tribute at the rate of 11 lakhs a year remained unpaid to the Maratha Ddrbar. Nana Phadnis knew very well that the circumstances leading to the Treaty of Mangalore and the treaty itself were regarded by Englishmen as humiliating. As Nana and Nizam 'Ali drew closer together they presumed that in case Tipu proved to be very much superior, cr in case he was effectively helped by the French, they might even get English help.

In 1786, Tipu's answer to this Maratha-Nizam coalition was to complete his preparations and to read the Khutba in his own name because "Shah 'Alam in whose name the Khutba was so long read was the prisoner or servant of Sindia". In the war that ensued,' the confederates took Badami. But while they, were being watched by a Mysore army, Tipu by forced marches advanced from Bangalore to Adoni, the most important fort of the Nizam, south of the Tungabhadra. Tipu could not carry the place by assault and had to raise the siege as the confederates marched to its relief. But as no arrangements had been made for a prolonged campaign, south of the Tungabhadra, the confederates evacuated the place which fell into the hands of Tipu. Immediately after they recrossed the river, it was in spate and they expected that they would have a free hand-in. the Doab. But Tipu performed the very remarkable feat of crossing the river which was in flood in basket boats and rafts. The Sultan succeeded in repulsing the confederates near Savaniir which he entered without opposition. He next made a very successful night attack in which he got possession of the camp equipage of Tahavar Jang, who commanded the forces of Nizam 'Ali. Tipu, however, exr pressed an anxious desire for peace because he was apprehensive, in spite of the pacific professions of Lord Cornwallis that the English would most probably join the confederates. English military establishments were being reorganised and this perhaps made the Sultan believe that they were preparing for war. Tipu agreed to pay arrears of tribute. Badami was ceded. Adoni, Kittur and Nargund were to be restored. Wilks distinguishes between the political and military

conduct of the war. The generally accepted opinion was that Tipu concluded a successful campaign by an inglorious peace. But Malet, British Resident at Poona, thought that the treaty was highly advantageous to Tipu. “He has dissolved a formidable confederacy and dissipated an immense army, the members of which, embittered against each other by mutual distrust, disspirited by ill success, disgusted by disappointment, were not likely to be so formidable again”. 14 It is only relevant to note that the rapid and accurate fire of Tipu’s artillery, directed by French officers, very much impressed the Maratha Chiefs and can be said to account for Maratha eagerness for British help in the later stages of the war.

Lord Cornwallis arrived in India in 1786. He perceived from the beginning that a war between the British and Tipu was inevitable. Malet, ambassador at Poona, told him “Tipu is prompted to conquests by the ambition of a despot and the wild enthusiasm of a bigot, supported by a consciousness of superior military talents, founded on frequent success”. 14a Cornwallis wrote to Malet in December, 1787: “As the French policy has been generally extremely ambitious and as there appears to be no bounds to the designs of Tipu, the violence or injustice of either of these powers, may soon remove the present political restraints of this government and leave us free to form the closest alliance with the Marattas”. 15 The settlement of the Guntur Sarkar with the Nizam provided Cornwallis with an.opportunity of winning him over against Tipu. He elucidated ambiguous articles of the British treaty of 1768 with the Nizam in a way that really led to the formation of an alliance against Tipu. Tipu’s diplomatic manoeuvres, on the other hand, failed. He had sent an embassy to Constantinople in 1784 and another in 1785. Only 68 men out of 1100, sent to Constantinople in 1785 actually returned. He also sent an embassy to the French King in 1785 with valuable presents of jewels, and the bonds given by the general officers for supplies to the French troops during the last war were cancelled, as a proof of his esteem for the French. But nothing tangible could come out of these diplomatic feelers. 16 After the termination of the war of 1786-87 an attempt was also made in 178889 to bring about a union between Nizam and Tipu, the two powers to pledge on the Quran to form a strict and indissoluble union. The Sultan proposed an intermarriage between the two families, but Nizam ‘Ali was unprepared for this social degradation. 1 ? Thus Tipu was left politically isolated as the British, the Marathas and the Nizam drew closer together. 13

The immediate cause of the war was Tipu’s attack on Travancore lines on 29 December, 1789. The Raja of Travancore was included in the Treaty of 1784 among the friends of the English. The Travancore lines were 30 miles long, extending eastwards from the island of Vipeen. A part of these lines was within Cochin. But Jaikottai and Cranganore belonging to the Dutch in Cochin were situated close to these lines and were necessary for their defence. Alarmed by Tipu’s attitude the Raja induced the Dutch to sell these places to him. Tipu regarded Cochin as a tributary state and gave out that this was the purchase and sale of a part of the kingdom of Mysore.

Isolated and apprehending a concerted attack, Tipu’s plan was to secure every part of Travancore, if possible in December, 1789, invade the southern provinces of the British and by the time the British would be prepared, he would be able “to begin his war with the Kaveri as his frontier towards Coromandel, a boundary anxiously and incessantly desired by the rulers of Mysore since 1751”. Tipu’s first attack on Travancore lines failed. 19 He gave out that he was searching for fugitives. His next attack came in April, 1790. 20 He carried everything before him and the Travancoreans retreated to their fortresses in the south. Cornwallis made his treaty with the Marathas on 1 June, 1790 and with the Nizam on 4 July, 1790. The war had actually begun in May, 1790.

This war lasted two years. The British plan was that the Madras army under General Medows would seize Coimbatore and thence invade Mysore from the south after an ascent via Gazalhatti pass. Colonel Kelly with three brigades would guard the passes leading from Mysore to the Karnatak, and if possible, penetrate to Baramahal. General Abercromby with the Bombay army would subjugate Malabar. General Abercromby would perform his part of the task quite easily. Medows succeeded in capturing the posts extending to the Gazalhatti pass. The British army did not meet with any opposition so far. Tipu’s corps of observation under Sayyid Saheb was driven across the Bhavani by Floyd who took Satyamangalam. But the

British troops were dispersed in three divisions at Palghat, Coimbatore and Satyamangalam. Tipu saw his opportunity and.inflicted swift blows in quick succession on the three dispersed detachments. Floyd had to retreat precipitately. Medolvs advancing, was for sometime unable to establish any contact with him and a repetition of the Munro-Baillie affair was barely averted. Kelly's detachment, commanded by Maxwell also barely escaped disaster. Tipu next made a raid on Trichinopoly, turned back after plundering Srirangam and, in the style of Haidar, kept the British army under Medows dancing about him in the Karnatak. The Governor-General, who was also the Commander-in-Chief decided to take the command himself.

The new British plan of campaign was to evacuate all the posts captured by Medows in the last campaign except Palghatcherry and Coimbatore, to divert a part of Tipu's forces from the main army under Cornwallis, and with that end in view the Bombay army under Sir Robert Abercromby was to advance from Tellicherry upon Seringapatam by the pass of Periapatam. The Marathas and the Nizam besieging Dharwar and Koppal, were to invade Tipu's dominions from the north. Cornwallis himself advancing with the main army towards Seringapatam succeeded in deceiving Tipu as to the exact route he would take, and ascended by the Pass of Moogli, thus opening the campaign very skilfully. There was really no opposition until the British reached Bangalore, which important place they succeeded in taking without much difficulty. But as Cornwallis marched in the direction of Seringapatam, Tipu's plan of campaign W'as revealed. On 13 May Cornwallis was at Arikera, nine miles from Seringapatam. Tipu made it impossible for Cornwallis to secure supplies and forage. Tipu's excellent intelligence service kept concealed from Cornwallis all news about Abercromby's movements as also those of the Marathas coming to join him. In an action at Arikera Tipu could not maintain his ground and had to withdraw to Seringapatam. Rains fell and the "utter failure of all the equipments of the English army" compelled Cornwallis to retreat and his cup of misery woud have been full but for the oppportune arrival of the Marathas with plentiful supplies. His siege train having been destroyed, Cornwallis was not in a position to renew his atttack on Seringapatam and fell back to Bangalore. Tipu recaptured Coimbatore. After the rains, Cornwallis began his preliminary operations. A line,of posts was established preparatory to a final advance upon Seringapatam. With an army of 22,000 together with 18,000 horse furnished by the Nizam and a detachment of the Marathas, Cornwallis began his advance towards Seringapatam. Tipu trusted too much to the defences of Seringapatam, where his father had so often defied his enemies, but, as Wilks says, unlike his father who extracted some advantage from every discomfiture, he was intoxicated with success and desponding in adversity. When the most important of his redoubts, called the Sultan’s redoubt, was taken by Cornwallis and Abercromby formed a successful junction with the main army, Tipu offered terms. Half of his territory he surrendered, to

be divided equally among the three allies. Maratha dominion extended to the Tungabhadra. The Nizam got territory extending from the Krishna to beyond the Pennar with the forts of Ganjikotta and Cuddapah. The British got Baramahal, Dindigul, as also Malabar. Tipu had also to give independence to the Raja of Coorg, and had to pay an indemnity of three crores and thirty lakhs of rupees. Tipu was still left with sufficient territory “to make him respectable and still in some degree formidable to his neighbours”, thus leaving unaffected the balance of power in the south. 21

The fourth Anglo-Mysore War seven years later ended in complete collapse of Tipu’s power. The situation is best described in the words of Wellesley: “Tipu has preserved without abatement implacable sentiments of revenge since the hour of his last defeat. It has always been well understood that Tipu Sultan’s resentment was not to be appeased by any conciliatory advances on our part, nor by any other means than the recovery of lost power, the disgrace

of the British army, and the ruin of British interests in India. His intrigues at the courts of Hyderabad and Poona, together with his embassy to Zaman Shah, were sufficient indications of an hostile mind.” But the immediate reason for this declaration of war was that he sent an embassy to the Isle of France which according to the Governor-General, proposed an offensive and defensive alliance against the British in India and levied a military force which was actually landed in Tipu's country. Wellesley admitted that the succour received was inconsiderable but he thought that this must be regarded as "a public, unqualified and unambiguous declaration or act of war". 22 Wellesley apprehended that Tipu's earliest hostile movements would lead to the general hostile movements of the French adventurers in the Indian Courts and more effectual French succour might arrive. Wellesley's aim was to bring such a reduction of Tipu's power as would establish a permanent restraint upon his future means of offence, to seize his whole maritime territory, to compel him to defray the expenses of war as also to compel him to admit permanent Residents at his court from the British and their allies. Tipu in reply said that "forty persons, French and of a dark colour, of whom ten or twelve were artificers and the rest servants paid the hire of the ship, came here in search of employment". 23 As Mill says about this Mauritius episode, it really disclosed that the connection between Tipu and the French was very trifling and their mode of intercourse childish. There may be some difference of opinion as to the nature and extent of the French menace. But it cannot be denied that in the existing circumstances war was inevitable.

Tipu was an enemy of the British, beaten on his own ground yet able to hurt. He would not consent to sink to the level of the Nizam and he believed that he was destined by the English to the fate of a pensioned Nawab.

Tipu was completely outmanoeuvred and out-generalled. He had no allies to help him. The Nizam's army did not play much effectual part on the British side and the Peshma's troops were not there to help the British. But the organisational work was this time very efficient. Tipu was defeated by Stewart at Sedasere and by Harris at Malavally. He was driven to the defences of his capital, of which the siege was begun on 17 April and the assault was made on 4 May, 1799. Tipu fell fighting bravely. His sons surrendered and the rule of the dynasty came to an end. The Wodiyars, who were nominal rulers in the days of Haidar ‘Ali and in the early years of Tipu Sultan’s regime, were restored to a portion of the dominions ruled by the Sultan and his father. Besides Kanara, Coimbatore, Wynaad and Dharapuram, the entire sea coast of the kingdom of Mysore was annexed by the British. By Article 8 of the Subsidiary Treaty with the Raja of Mysore the East India Co. was “to undertake the defence and could garrison in whatever manner they may judge propel all fortresses and strong places in the Mysore territory.” Arthur Wellesley, later famous in English history as a soldier and a statesman, first came into prominence as the leader of the Hyderabad contingent in this Anglo-Mysore War and then played a prominent part along with Col. Close, the Resident, and Purnaiya, the old finance minister and now the Diwan, in the establishment of the new order in Mysore. Tipu’s family was sent to the fort of Vellore, which was appropriated for their residence. Sir Arthur Wellesley thus summarises the Governor-General’s first year’s work: “Our principal ally, the Nizam, was restored to us, the French State growing in the peninsula of India was destroyed, our formidable native enemy Tipu, the ally of the French, was subdued”. 24

Wilks says that “the decision of history will not be far removed from the observation almost proverbial in Mysore that Haidar was born to create an empire, Tipu to lose one. Haidar was an improving monarch and exhibited few innovations, Tipu was an innovating monarch and made no improvements”. 25

In civil administration the first thing to note was the difference in the attitude of the father and 3on to the nominal king. Haidar never openly assumed the royal title. He maintained an attitude to the old dynasty more or less like that of the Peshwds to the successors

of Shivaji? Tipu dethroned the Raja, made him practically a state prisoner and openly assumed the title of Sultan in 1786. The coins of Haidar ‘Ali are remarkable for their conservatism. He exercised the sovereign right of striking coins in his own name for the first time in Bednur which he described as his swarajya and whose name he changed to Haidarnagar. None of Haidar’s coins anywhere exhibit more than the initial letter of his name and in associating his coins with Hindu deities, he showed very remarkable toleration. 26 Tipu had even a new calendar based on the mauludi year. He changed the names of the mint towns as well. Kirkpatrick says in this connection that Tipu's calendar was that in common use in Mysore but he substituted Arabic names for Hindu ones, assigned to the cyclic years and months.

Haidar's finance was also characterised by his conservative traditional outlook. He would rent his country in large districts to amildars. His terms were favourable. They paid regularly but succeeded in amassing large sums even after payment of public revenues. Haidar's spies would inform him. The amildars would be asked to attend the Darbar, compelled to disgorge their wealth, given a small present and sent to other districts. Tipu changed the institutions of his father and also changed his own pretty often. He wanted to introduce a system of checks and balances. In each area the military were under an officer called Sudur, the civil under an officer called Asaf. The Killadars were under the former. The Asaf had the tahsildars and head farmers under him. The Sudur and the Asaf had their cutcheries in the same hall. But as has been said, "all these checks served only to diminish the revenue. All parties soon found that it was wiser to agree and divide the public money than to quarrel and send their complaints to the Sultan. The Asaf and the Sudur with their cutcheries, the tahsildars and their cutcheries and the head farmers and the accountants of villages,'all had their respective shares which were as well ascertained as their pay. The whole amounted on an average throughout the extent of Tipu's dominions to above 30 per cent."

The Mysore government under Haidar was a very simple and despotic monarchy. Every department, civil as also military, felt the touch of the genius of the great ruler. Justice was impartially administered. Every important officer owed his position to his ability, not to his social position, and most of the trusted men were raised from obscurity. In these circumstances his Government had a vigour unexampled in India. Tipu's great drawback was his restless spirit of innovation and the increasing bigotry of his later years.

Sir Thomas Munro wrote to his father: "The great blow of the loss of half of his country seems to have confounded him. He never had the talents of his father but he had always till that event paid his army regularly, kept it in good order, gave a good deal of his attention to business and managed his finances tolerably well.” It is no wonder that the dominions of Tipu showed indications of good government that surprised the British invaders. The revenues of Tipu’s dominions, according to the terms of the Treaty of 1792 were 2 crores and 37 lakhs of rupees. 263

In connection with Haidar’s public works we should specially mention Dariya Daulat and Lalbagh and the establishment of a grand bazar town named Ganjam &ahr. It is relevant to note that in 1774 when the house of Kadimuddin at Seringapatam caught fire, many buildings including a portion of the temple of Rangaswami were destroyed. Haidar rebuilt the temple in so short a period as one month. Tipu’s most important constructive work was in Malabar. He was the pioneer of Malabar roads. There were no highways in Malabar before him. Tipu projected and constructed an extensive chain of roads there. The intolerance of Tipu Sultan has been very much exaggerated. The Sringeri letters of Tipu Sultan show that Tipu carried on a correspondence with Jagadguru Shri Shankaracharya in a spirit that we can associate only with a very religious prince. The monastery suffered much in 1791 at the hands of Maratha pindaris. The Guru was supplied by Tipu with necessary funds for replacing the displaced image and for necessary ceremonies. In 1793, Tipu wrote to him, “You are the Jagadguru. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and the people may be happy”. These letters prove definitely the sincerity of Tipu’s tolerance and do not fit in well with the details of persecution with which we are familiar. Political,, military and administrative considerations were responsible for some of the measures of persecution of Haidar and Tipu—transplantation and forcible conversion of rebels and the formation of Chela battalions of captive converts like the Turkish janissaries. It would be a mistake to regard these measures as indications of their attitude to their Hindu subjects. 27

The efficiency of the military system of Haidar ‘Ali and Tipu Sultan cannot be denied. But in this sphere too Tipu departed to a large extent from the principles of his father. In 1767, at the time of the first Anglo-Mysore War Haidar had 210 Europeans, 800 excellent Mughul horse, 12,000 other cavalry, 5,000 grenadier sepoys, 8,000 sepoys with European muskets, 1,000 topasses and 4,000 matchlockmen. In 1780, when he entered the Karnatak he had, as

has been mentioned, about 90,000 troops with him. At the outbreak of the war in 1790 Tipu's force was 45,000 regular infantry and 20,000 horse, exclusive of irregular peons. In. 1793, after the loss of half of his territory, his army consisted of 30,000 regular infantry, 7,000 regular cavalry, 2,000 artillery and 6,000 irregular horse, besides a large number of peons. Besides the field army Haidar and Tipu had to maintain garrisons in times of war at Seringapatam, Sera, Bednur Sonda, Chik Ballapur, Dod Ballapur, Kolar, Hoskote, Bangalore, Dindigul, Coimbatore and Mangalore. 28

In the days of Haidar the British army, small in numbers, was composed almost wholly of infantry. Haidar was strong in horse, though not strong enough in infantry and artillery. He lost many battles without injury to his affairs because the British were unable to pursue. A single big victory in the field over Sir Eyre Coote would have made him master of almost every place in the Karnafak. But the situation of the British Government with regard to Indian powers changed completely in the days of Tipu. Cornwallis took with him quite a big army and he was helped by the cavalry of the Marathas and the Nizam. But in 1799, the British army was by itself quite strong both in infantry and cavalry, in quality and number. The superiority was so great that the issue could not be doubtful. Tipu's artillery and infantry showed the effects of intensive training by Frenchmen, but in the altered circumstances this could not avail. It has been said that his grand military mistake was the neglect of his cavalry, a proper use of which would have made his defeat a much more difficult proposition. The organisation of the army showed traces of weakness. His army was overstaffed. He had about 150 general officers for an army, less numerous than what his father took into the Karnatak in 1780 and for which he had only ten generals. Tipu's army also fell more and more into arrears and when Seringapatam was attacked by the British, it had received only two issues of pay in 14 months. He went on adding to the defences of Seringapatam for which he spent about 12 lakhs of pagodas. After the opening of the campaign he did nothing effective to retard the progress of the British armies. He had seen his father defy his exultant enemies by shutting himself up in his capital until the rains. He perhaps hoped to repeat his father's performance. But circumstances were changed and he also was very much unlike his father “whose equanimity was uniform in every aspect of fortune and who generally extracted some advantage from every discomfiture.”

In connection with the navy of Haidar and Tipu it is necessary to note that Haidar and Tipu commanded the entire sea board from Sadashivgarh to Cochin. Haidar’s conquest of Bednur and Sonda in 1763-64 brought the ports of Honavar, Mangalore, Bhatkal, and Sadashivgarh in his possession. He could now have a fleet of his own and in 1765, according to the Portuguese, he had thirty vessels of war and a large number of transport ships. In 1766, his fleet was of very considerable help in the conquest of Malabar. It consisted of 80 vessels, 13 top-sail vessels, several machwas of war, besides a great many shibars and small crafts. The conquest of North Malabar and South lyTalabar completed, Haidar had more ports under his control. In 1769, Haidar temporarily abandoned Malabar, which he reconquered soon after the Maratha menace was over. The Moplahs were great navigators and they formed excellent sailors. Haidar’s fleet had two commanders—Stannett and Latif Ali Beg. In 1768, when the Bombay government sent a squadron of ships to the Malabar coast with European troops and sepoys, Haidar’s naval power collapsed. The British expedition failed on land but Stannett proved to be a traitor. He joined the British with a part of his fleet. Undaunted by this collapse of his naval power, Haidar began another ship-building programme. With the help of some Portuguese and Dutch ship-builders he strove to realize an ambitious scheme of shipbuilding. But he could not realise his plan. Sir Edward Hughes in 1780 entered Mangalore harbour and destroyed the enemy’s ships he found there. Thus failed the second attempt of Haidar. Tipu, however, walked in the footsteps of his father. General Mathews on getting possession of some of his seaports in 1783 found 19 large ships, some completely built and others in great forwardness. In 1796, Tipu established a Board of Admiralty and planned the erection of 20 lines of battle ships and 20 frigates. , Neither Haidar nor Tipu had the necessary respite that alone could have enabled them to equip a fleet strong enough to hold its own against the British on the west coast. 29 Unable to build a strong navy of his own, Haidar depended in his campaigns of 1781 and 1782 very much on French naval support and he occupied Porto Novo in order to provide the French with the necessary landing facilities. The French never gave him adequate naval support and in spite of the triumphs of Suffren at sea, there must have been profound distrust in his mind of the French promises and it was perhaps in this mood that he remarked to Purnaiya about the British navhl power—"I can ruin their resources by land but I cannot dry up the sea."

MYSORE — HAIDAR 'ALI AND TIPtr SULTAN

NOTES

1. Diary of Ananda Rdnga P illai, Vol. IX, pp. 369-70 & S P D., XXVIII, Nos. Ill

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2. Wilks, Mysore, Vol. I, p. 352.

3. Sen, S. N., A Portuguese Account of Haidar AH, Calcutta Review, 1937.

4 S P.D., XXVIII, 266; Wilks, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 418.

5. Parasnis, Itihas Sangraha, Ait. Tippanen, II, 16, 17; Ibid, Peshwa Daftarantil

Mahiti, p. 44.

6. Peixoto, Book 1 .

7 . Nishan-i-Haidari.

8. Orme, MS, Vol. 72. Peixoto, Book II.

9 Pissurlencar, Antigualhas, II & LXXXI.

9a. S P D,, XXXVH, 60-63.

10. See Chap. VII, Peshwa Mddhav Rao for Maratha campaigns against Haidar 'All.

11. Mawji and Parasnis, Treaties, Engagements , etc., p. 85. Rajwgde, X, 235.

12. Madras Records, Military Consultations, Vol. XXIV, p. 615 13 Sinha, N. K., Haidar ‘All, pp. 91-94.

14. Poona Residency Correspondence Series, Vol. II, p. 122.

14a. PRC., Ibid, No. 32, p. 68.

15 P R C., Ill, p. 24.

16. P.R.C., III, pp. 8-10, 45-46.

17. Ibid, p. 28.

18. Ibid, III, pp. 42-45, 74-77.

19. Ibid, pp. 49-52.

20. Ibid, p. 113, 129-30.

21. Ibid, p. 501.

22. Wellesley Despatches (Martin), Vol. I, p. 159. Pp. 448-53 contain the declaration of Governor-General against Tipu Sultan.

23 Ibid, p. 382.

24. Owen* S. J., A Selection from the Wellington Despatches, p. 10.

25- Cited in Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II (1930 ed), p. 2671 and p. 2674.

26- For Haidar’s civil administration, see N. K. Sinha, Haidar ‘All, pp. 233-45. 26a. Sinha, N. K., op. cit., p. 249.

27. Wilks differs from this view, see Mysore Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 2668-74. A large number of people from Malabar and Southern Maratha country were forcibly converted to Islam.

28 Mohibul Hasan Khan, History of Tipu Sultan (1951), p. 351.

29. Ibid, pp. 352-53.

CHAPTER XIV

PROGRESS OF THE BRITISH POWER

(1785-1798)

British Relations with the Mardthas:

Warren Hastings left India in February, 1785. Macpherson as senior member of the Council officiated as Governor-General until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in September, 1786. Macpherson, according to Cornwallis (1 November, .1789) “was the most contemptible and the most condemned Governor that ever pretended to govern”. He was indifferent to anything except his personal interests. The administration of Macpherson saw no departure from the principles and policy of Warren Hastings. According to the system established by the Treaty of Salbai, Sindia was the most important ally of the British. The Court of Directors wrote to Cornwallis on 21 July, 1786: “It does not at present occur to us that almost any system of politics can soon take place in India which with the aid of Sindhia we may not be able to counteract, if in its tendency (it is) prejudicial to us”. 1 The position accorded to Sindia in the scheme of things associated with the Treaty of Salbai best illustrates subsequent history. Burke said that the negotiations of Warren Hastings with the Mughul Court covered “an insidious design to betray” Shah ‘Alam into the hands of Sindia. On this charge Hastings replied, “I declare that I entered into no negotiations with Madajee Sindhia for delivering the Mughul into the hands of the Marattas, but I must have been a mad man indeed if I had involved the Company in a war with the Marattas because the Mughal as his last resource had thrown himself under the protection of Madajee Sindhia.” It was, therefore, not unnatural in these circumstances, that Sindia’s demand on behalf of Shah \Alam of the tribute due to the Great Mughul from Bengal should be refused peremptorily by the Government of Macpherson. Hastings had also declared in 1783 that British connection with the Mughul had long been suspended and he wished never to see it renewed, as it had proved a fatal drain to the wealth of Bengal and the treasury of the Company. Besides this refusal of tribute, the Government of Macpherson was also responsible for another move to checkmate the ambitious designs of Mahadji Sindia. Ambaji Ingle, Mahadji Sindia’s Subdhdar of the mahals bordering on Sikh territories succeeded in negotiating a treaty with the Sikh chiefs in March, 1785. It contained the following claiuse: "of whatever territory on his side or that side of the Jumna, independent of the royal territories, may be taken in concert with each other from the Hindus and Mussalmans, one third should be given to the Sikh chiefs". 2 Macpherson's Government saw in this a danger to the political interests of the East India Company and to the territory of the Nawab-Vaztr. Pressure was brought to bear upon Mahadji. A satisfactory explanation was demanded of his late negotiations with the Sikhs. Mahadji Sindia agreed to include the East India Company and the Nawab-Va^ir as his friends and to add "Let there never be any injury offered to their country." The Sikh Sardars received some encouragement from Lt. James Anderson, Company's Resident at the Court of Sindia, broke away from Mahadji, made an offer*of an alliance to the Company through Sir John Cumming, who commanded the Company's detachment on the frontier of the Vastir. Macpherson's Government which did not desire any friendly connection between the Sikhs and the Marathas, assured the Sikh chiefs that under no circumstances would the English take any part against them and this helped materially to complete the estrangement without any commitments. 3

War with Tipu Sultan:

Lord Cornwallis was responsible for the following moves in his relations with country powers: (1) non-participation in the war between the Maratha-Nizam coalition and Tipu, (2) successful negotiation with the Nizam regarding Guntur Sarkar and arrears of peshkush, (3) formation of triple alliance and war with Tipu,*and (4) securing of the assignment of the Karnatak revenue in 1792 and a new settlement with Awadh.

The Marathas at this stage did not meditate any attack on the powerful East India Company, and their policy seemed to be directed to the conquest of the weaker neighbours in the north and south.

. The systematic encroachment of Tipu led to the formation of an alliance against him of the Nizam and the Marathas. But the Maratha attempt to enlist British support against Tipu was not successful. The British expressed willingness to assist the Marathas in case of a joint attack from Tipu and the

French, but beyond this they would not go. The British attitude towards the Maratha-Mysore war is

best described in the words of the Secret Committee to the Grover

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nor-General and Council: “Your principal attention must be to avoid shaking the friendship and confidence of the Marathas and at the same time to remove, if possible, any unfavourable impression

which your assurance (if published) may have made upon Tipu”. 4 In spite of the anxiety and chagrin caused by the rejection of Maratha request for British help Nana Phadnis was not antagonised. 5 But Tipu must have formed a very unfavourable impression of British attitude and this perhaps explains his anxiety to conclude the war with the Marathas and the Nizam.

Cornwallis had explicit orders to demand from the Nizam the Sarkar of Guntur. By the treaty of 1766 with the Nizam as revised in 1768 the British held the Northern Sarkars except Guntur which they were to have after the death of Basalat Jang to whom it had been granted for life. They paid a tribute of seven lakhs to the Nizam for four of the five Sarkars and they were to pay two lakhs more when they would get Guntur. Basalat Jang died in 1782. But Nizam ‘Ali retained the possession of the Sarkar and the British Withheld the peshkush . Capt. Kennaway was sent by Cornwallis to negotiate. The Nizam was also eager to negotiate. His renters mismanaged collections and he was not getting much from Guntur. He could also see for himself that he would gain rather than lose from a connection with the English. He surrendered the Sarkar in September 1788. The necessary financial adjustment was made not long after on the basis of the payment of the arrears of peshkush and the balance from the revenue of Guntur since the death of Basalat Jang. The Nizam also evinced a great anxiety to enter into a defensive alliance which would ensure his security against Tipu Sultan and the Marathas. In this connection Cornwallis wrote to the Secret Committee on 1 November, 1789: “As his Highness’ political situation with the Marathas has long approached almost to a state of dependence on the Poona Government, we make no alteration in the terms of our agreement with the Nizam without its being construed by the Peshwd’s ministers as an attempt to detach him from them." Cornwallis considered that a rupture with Tipu was almost inevitable in the near future. He, therefore, did not want to antagonise the Marathas and was not unwilling to reassure the Nizam. His expedient amounted in the words of Malcolm to a trespass on the spirit of non-intervention as proclaimed by Parliament in the Act of 1784. He wrote a letter to the Nizam in July, 1789 in which he asserted that the treaty of 1768 was still effective. The Nizam would get the help of two battalions of sepoys and six cannon whenever he would apply for them provided they were not employed against the Company's allies viz., the Maratha chiefs, the Nawabs of Awadh and Arcot and the Rajas of Travancore and Tanjore. 6 Tipu's name was not included. Article 10 of the treaty of 1768 provided for the transfer of the Karnatak Balaghat to the Company, at that time possessed by Haidar 'Ali. The Nizam now wanted that this article should be carried into effect. Cornwallis wrote, "circumstances have totally prevented the execution of these articles and the Company are in full enjoyment of peace with all the world. But should it hereafter happen that the Company should obtain possession of the country mentioned in these articles, with your Highness' assistance, they will strictly perform the stipulations in favour of your Highness and the Marathas". 7 In the words of Wilks all this amounted to the conclusion of "a very intelligible offensive alliance" 7 ® against Tipu and it was well calculated to produce a war with him.

Tipu's attack on Travancore on 29 December, 1789, precipitated matters and led to the stabilization of British alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas. In June 1790, the Treaty of Triple Alliance was completed. 8 In Lord Cornwallis' letter, the treaty with the Nizam was declared a fourth treaty, the three former treaties being those of 1759, 1766 and 1768. The league was formed with a view to punish Tipu and "deprive him of the means of disturbing the general tranquillity in future". Article 13 of the treaty further provided: "If after the conclusion of peace with Tipu, he should attack or molest either of the contracting parties, the other shall join to punish him, the mode and conditions of effecting which shall be hereafter settled". 9 In connection with the Third Anglo-Mysore War it is necessary to ascertain why Cornwallis spared Tipu. Sir John Shore thus analysed the motives of Cornwallis in his political reflection on the state of Hindustan written about 25 March, 1793. 10

(1) "An entire partition would have thrown a decided weight in the scale of the Marathas, already too powerful.

(2) "Policy certainly dictated the propriety of an independent sovereign over the Mysorean State, possessed of power sufficient to serve as a barrier, but inadequate to the object of a successful invasion. The question could only be in this case whether that independency should be left with Tipu or be transferred to the ancient sovereigns of Mysore.... his substitute must have been supported by the same power, which restored him to the throne."

Cornwallis boasted not without reason: "We have effectually crippled our enemies without making our friends too formidable".

After the outbreak of the war with Tipu, Cornwallis thought it necessary to assume the direct administration of the Karnatak on the lines followed by Macartney during the Second Anglo-Mysore War.

The entire revenues of the Nawab had been restored to him in 1785. In February, 1787, it had also been arranged by the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, that the Nawab was to get nine lakhs of pagodas from his revenues and 12 lakhs were paid each year by the Nawab to his creditors according to the arrangement of the Board of Control. When war came in 1790 Cornwallis assumed possession of the revenues of Kamafak. It was further provided by treaty in 1792 that the Company was to have entire control of the Kamatak in case of war but was to restore it to the Nawab on the conclusion of peace. The Company was empowered to occupy specified districts in case the Nawab's payment fell into arrears. The Nawab was to pay to the Company in future nine lakhs during peace and 4/5 of his revenues in war. He was to pay his creditors six lakhs instead of 12 in future. As Mill said, "Cornwallis did not see far beyond first appearances—management during a limited and precarious period precluded that minute knowledge on which alone could be founded an assessment, just either to the Company or to the inhabitants." An efficient administration by Indians was also impossible in view of the provision of war emergency, and even during the war emergency people “had an interest in courting the Government which they were again to obey”.

Settlement with Nawab-Vazir:

Cornwallis was also responsible for a new settlement with the Nawab-Vazir of Awadh. In this connection he referred to Macpherson’s system as “the dirtiest jobbing”. Asaf-ud-daulah was negligent, profuse and debauched. But his personal character alone does not explain the evils from which Awadh suffered. Macpherson, on the testimony Cornwallis himself, was only too ready to provide for persons not in the Company’s service, riding contracts, monopolies and other privileges to be secured from the Nawab. British contractors claimed there a right of pre-emption, of exemption from duties in their provision for investment. Between September 1793 and February 1794 an enormous sum of 2 crores and 39 lakhs were exported in specie and this immense and constant drain of specie added to the prevailing distress. To this estimate of the export of specie should be added the sum sent down to Calcutta to answer bills drawn for the payment of troops and on private account. Asaf-ud-daulah wanted the additional brigade at Fategarh to be withdrawn and his pecuniary burdens reduced. Cornwallis agreed to make a reduction of the sum payable by the Nawab from 84 lakhs to 50 lakhs, but he refused to remove the detachment at Fategarh as he

considered that one British detachment in Awadh was not sufficient, British military prestige having suffered considerably during the Second Anglo-Mysore war.

In connection with Cornwallis’ relations with country powers we should note that he tried very much to have a treaty of guarantee as between the Marathas, the Nizam and the British. Article 10 of the Treaty of 1792 included a mutual guarantee against the sovereign of Mysore. 11 He tried to secure an express treaty with that single object in view. The Governor-General knew that the Indian horizon was never free from clouds and he did not want to have an entangling alliance. He wanted to include in the proposed treaty an article by which the allies were not to assist one another “until they were convinced that the party requiring assistance had justice on his side and all measures of conciliation had proved fruitless”. 12

Cornwallis was anxious to conclude this treaty. The Nizam was also eager to have it. But the Marathas were really disinclined to enter into it as it would mean security for the Nizam against Maratha attacks. The Marathas claimed the recognition of their right to levy chauth on the Indian powers. Cornwallis wanted that the British power should assume the position of a mediator between the various Indian chiefs. Naturally there could be no treaty of guarantee. Lord Cornwallis wrote, 13 "with regard to the presumptuous Maratha claim of Chauth, I wish that as far as relates to ourselves, it should not only be treated with contempt but the Marathas should also know that it can never be mentioned by them without exciting our displeasure and indignation, and it may likewise be proper that they should clearly understand that we do not look upon ourselves as in the most distant degree engaged to support them in such a claim upon any other power in India."

Administrative Reforms:

But Lord Cornwallis' term as Governor-General is better known for the internal reforms that he carried out. Whether all of them benefited the people of India is disputable, but there can be no doubt that they strengthened the foundations of British Government in India, raised its prestige and gave it a long lease of a century and a half.

The first crying evil was the corruption among the civil servants of the Company and the private trade they carried on to the detriment of the Company's interest. As conquerors the civil servants thought themselves as superior to the natives of the country

and as foreigners subject to no local restraint. The Company's servants felt that they had come to India to shake the pagoda tree and return to the home country with as big fortunes as they could collect by devious means. Even highly placed officers like Clive, Members of the Bengal Council and Judges had joined the race and went home laden with their ill-gotten wealth, lived in great style, bought parliamentary seats and were spreading their pestilential influence in the English society of the day. Cornwallis abolished sinecures, put an end to private trading, packed away the most corrupt officers and granted generous salaries for covenanted servants of the Company, expecting in return that they administered their charge with clean hands. The Collector was given an important place in the district hierarchy. He at first presided over the old civil and new revenue court. But soon Civil Zillah courts were set up which dealt with both civil and revenue matters. They were supervised by four provincial courts at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Dacca and Patna. Appeals in important cases lay to the Supreme Council sitting as the Supreme Court. The Collector, however, retained his magisterial powers for retaining prisoners under trial or execution of sentences; dealt with cases of affray and inflicted punishment within certain limits, the more serious cases being referred to Faujdari Adalat.

The conduct of criminal justice was also investigated by Cornwallis. He found defects both in the law and its administration. Criminal justice was in the hands of Indians, mostly Muslims, and punishments were at variance with English ideas of justice. “I conceive”, Cornwallis wrote on 2 August, 1789 “that all regulations for the reform of that department would be useless and negatory whilst the execution of them depends on any native whatever”. So Cornwallis changed the personnel—Muhammad Reza Khan who presided over the Nizdmat Adalat was removed in 1790 and the court reestablished under the Governor-General and Council aided by a Kazi and two Muftis.

In the place of district courts with Indian Darogas four courts of circuit were established. Each was presided over by two covenanted civil servants assisted by Indian advisers. The courts were to make tours twice a year throughout the districts. Appeals from them lay to the Supreme Court. An elaborate Code of Regulations drawn up by George Barlow was printed and published to guide the officials of the new courts.

Important police reforms were carried out to supplement the judicial changes. In 1791 Superintendents of Police were created

for Calcutta with the function of maintaining order and arresting criminals. Next year in the districts powers of criminal jurisdiction were taken away from the Zamindtirs and small districts were put under a daroga subject to supervision by the Company’s representative. This system was perpetuated in the Regulations of 1793.

Special attention must be devoted to Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement of Bengal land revenue. Jonathan Duncan, John Shore and Charles Grant who had made a special study- of revenue collection, were his main advisers. In 1790-91 the subdh of Bengal yielded land revenue of Rs. 2,68,00,000. In place of annual settlements, Shore had suggested decennial settlements. Cornwallis, faced with a country in ruins, decided on Permanent Settlement making the zamindtirs or rent collectors permanent land-owners. The settlement secured for the Company a fixed amount of revenue without fluctuation and with the prospect of expansion when more land would be brought under the plough. There was also advantage arising from the abolition of the entire revenue machinery— Tahsilddrs, Qtinungos, Patwtiris and a host of revenue officials. The zamindtirs were given property rights, not theirs, and relapsed into a selfish careless class. The ryot who toiled on the land and created wealth for the zamindtir and the government was sadly neglected under the settlement. The status of the ryot was impaired and it was not until 1859 that the Bengal Land Act afforded him some relief.

Sir John Shore succeeded Cornwallis. He was famous for his unrivalled knowledge of the revenue system of India. He was chosen for his pacific habits. At the time of the passing of the Charter Act of 1793, the Company's spokesmen in Parliament had referred alluringly to "a large superabounding sUm which would be annually received from India". They hoped that Sir John Shore would make good this assurance.

Battle of Khar da:

The most important event of Sir John Shore's administration was the Nizam's defeat at Kharda in March, 1795 by the Marathas in consequence of the adherence by Shore to the policy of non-intervention. This British failure to maintain the integrity of the Hyderabad State has been condemned by most British historians. As the proposed Treaty of Guarantee could not be effected, the Nizam remained exposed to Maratha attacks. On 1 January, 1794, Kennaway, Resident at the Nizam's Court, described him to the Govemor-Gener ral as prepared to form with the English engagements which would render them masters of his country for ever. The Maratha claims over the Nizam had been temporarily relaxed during the war with Tipu. Now they wanted to assert their claims. The English Government's offer of mediation was treated with "frigid indifference" by the Marathas. Was Shore justified, from the British point of view, in abandoning the Nizam to his fate? The arguments for British intervention in the Nizam-Maratha conflict can be thus summarised.

The Nizam had declared at the time of his entry into the alliance against Tipu that he did it only because of the confidence he reposed in English faith. As he was received into the alliance upon this declaration it was a virtual pledge for protection. At the time when he agreed to be the ally of the British in the war with Tipu, his alliance was so valuable that the British would have been ready to make it an offensive and defensive alliance if he had insisted on it. The Nizam was irr urgent need of protection. He had been led to expect it. After the war was over, expectations were kept alive by the negotiations of Cornwallis. The cession of Guntur and adjustment of the peshkush gave him some claims on British support. The abandonment of the Nizam brought the British down from the high station in which they had overawed the princes of India. According to Sir John Malcolm, the English could have prevented hostilities by the terror of their interference. He wrote, "no ground of political advantage could be abandoned without being instantly occupied by an enemy; and to resign influence, was not merely to resign power but to allow that power to pass into hands hostile to the British Government". 14

As against these arguments it is only proper to note that Shore weighed very carefully the reasons suggested for and against interference by the Residents at Hyderabad and at Poona; and his decision to agree with the conclusion of Malet, Resident at Poona, was the result of very mature consideration and justified by him on grounds of expediency. This 'inept' policy of non-interference in the Nizam-Maratha conflict was not due to the incapacity of a civil servant in his exalted position to deviate from the instructions of his superiors but was the mature conclusion of a statesman who weighed very carefully the pros and cons. Shore wrote in a letter in February 1795: "We were not bound by the terms of any existing treaty to defend the Rajah of Travancore, but the former treaty of peace with Tipu placed him specifically under our protection; and the relative situation of that Raja and the Nizam is very similar as regards the principle of an authorised interference”. The Poona Court regarded the Nizam as its tributary and dependent. The Nizam’s Government according to Shore was ‘flimsy’, its policy characterised by “temporary expediency and palpable chicane”-. Shore also admitted that “the Maratha influence over the Nizam’s country is so incorporated with the internal administration that it requires uncommon abilities, energy and perseverance to destroy it, and as it exists the Nizam can scarcely be called an independent prince”. Grant Duff admits that the Court of Hyderabad was trying *“to effect an evasive purpose and if British interference had enabled the Nizam to do this, it would have been regarded as an injustice to the Marathas” [15] and it could not be denied that the Nizam’s minister precipitated this war by insult and defiance. Shore’s arguments on the ground of expediency were the following: The Nizam being weak, the Maratha power alone would serve as a counterpoise to Tipu. He, therefore, wanted to retain the friendship of the Marathas. Tipu, maimed and mauled, had not yet ceased to be dangerous and he was moving heaven and earth to secure allies. The death of Mahadji Sindia, instead of weakening the Maratha State, tended to concentrate all civil and military power in the Peshwa’s hands, a state of things which was sufficiently menacing to the British. If the Marathas, provoked by British interference joined Tipu, it would be very difficult to sustain a war against them. [16] The Governor-General thought that the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Abercromby, was not equal to the situation. He wrote, “I know not one equal to the conduct of a war and if the Marathas or Tipu were to attack us we should be in a deplorable situation”. Moreover, the mutinous discontent of the Bengal army further incapacitated Shore from taking any decisive action. Shore also believed that “victors in a native war would eventually quarrel over the spoils”.

All this shows that Shore had very good grounds for this decision not to interfere in the war between the Nizam and the Marathas. The increase of French influence in India in consequence of this non-interference has been largely exaggerated. Subsequent events proved that the basis of French influence in India was very unsound. But the loss of British prestige resulting from non-interference cannot be denied.

In the Nizam's war with the Marathas the British subsidiary force did not accompany him. On his return from this disastrous campaign, the Nizam informed the British that the services of the two British detachments were no longer necessary. The Nizam also moved the corps under the command of the Frenchman Raymond to Cuddapah near the British frontier. But the rebellion of his eldest son 'Ali Jah made him once again eager to seek British favour. He agreed to recall Raymond's corps from Cuddapah and asked for the return of the British detachments. Before the British troops could arrive, 'Ali Jah had been worsted and committed suicide. There was another rebellion of a member of his family shortly afterwards. The British detachments helped him very considerably in this war. British influence in the Nizam's court was, even after Kharda, not inconsiderable, though the British plan of encouraging English adventurers to take services under him, was not successful. The Nizam was always eager to dismiss his French Corps provided the number of British troops was increased and the troops were available for the purposes of defence against all enemies. This, of course, the British were not at this stage willing to do and the French Corps under Raymond, therefore, remained at Hyderabad. Thus French influence at Hyderabad existed only because the British would not undertake the defence of the Nizam and when they decided to do it, the French Corps could be easily surrounded and disarmed.

Fortunately for the British, the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan in October 1795 caused the most serious division among the Maratha chiefs. The Nizam rapidly recovered from the blow of Kharda. At the same time the conditions that determined the foreign policy of Shore disappeared. The influence of Nana Phadnis was subverted and as Malet had foreseen, there was no longer that consistency and moderation which characterised

Maratha counsels and there was instead in the words of Malet, “a wildness of spirit, prompted by the boundlessness of ancient and recent pretensions not containable within the limits of good order and good neighbourhood”. 17

Spoliation of Awadh:

Even the mild, non-interventionist Governor-General joined in the game of spoliation of Awadh, his excuse being the threatened invasion of Zaman Shah. In 1797, he paid a visit to Lucknow. The Vazir had to agree to increase his military establishment by adding one European and one native regiment of English cavalry and for this he had to raise his former subsidy. But shortly afterwards Nawab-Voztr Asaf-ud-daulah died. Shore, acting on reports from Lucknow recognised Mirza ‘Ali, better known as Vazir ‘Ali, as his successor. But very soon there wds a spate of rumours about the spurious birth of the new Nawab. Shore once again went to Lucknow. He wrote about the succession dispute, “I never was involved in a scene of more perplexity and profligacy.” Vazir ‘Ali was deposed and pensioned off, Sa‘adat ‘Ali, a brother of the deceased Nawab, was raised to the throne. The annual subsidy payable to the British was raised to 76 lakhs and the fort of Allahabad was made over to the English. The English regular army in Awadh was to be about 10,000. The number of the Vazir’s troops was to be strictly limited. The Nawab was not to have any communication with a foreign power, nor to have any European in his service, nor to permit any to settle in his dominion. The Court of Directors and the Board of Control approved of his arrangement and praised very much “the temper, impartiality, ability and firmness” displayed by the Governor-General who was, in recognition of his Awadh settlement, raised to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth. But the extraordinary maladministration in Awadh went on unchecked. For this, as has been shown, the British were as much responsible as successive Nawab- Vazirs. The British were providing against Durrani menace at the expense of Awadh and the military burden imposed was too much for the resources of that State. A prodigal Government, an impoverished people, a bloated military expenditure, a combination of causes, some local, some due to British connection, made maladministration in Awadh almost the worst in the history of British rule in India.

Sir John Shore's vigorous action in Awadh was due to the Durrani menace. Zaman Shah, grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdall, ascended the Afghan throne in 1793. He wanted to revive the tradition of Ahmad Shah Abdall. Soon after his accession he came to Peshawar in 1794, reconquered Kashmir, whose governor had revolted after the death of his father. In 1795, he retreated precipitately after a week's stay at Hasan Abdal as he heard the news of the invasion of West Khorasan by the King of Persia. His next Indian invasion took place in 1796-97. His route was Hasan AbdalRawalpindi-Rohtas-Gujarat-Gujranwala-Lahore. Zaman Shah had the intention of marching on to Delhi and actually pitched his tent four or five kos further onwards on the side towards Delhi. But there were commotions in Kabul and Zaman Shah instead of advancing, had to go back. He left behind him a detachment under Ahmad Khan Shahanchi in the Doab. But these troops were overwhelmed by the Sikhs. Zaman Shah invaded for the last time in October 1798, and reoccupied Lahore, but very soon he received the unwelcome news that his half-brother Shah Mahmud had induced the King of Persia to invade Afghanistan. This was his last invasion and his reign came to an inglorious close in 1799.

Sir John Shore regarded this revived Durrani menace not of course with unconcern, but he refused to believe that these illdirected and ill-timed attempts of Zaman Shah were serious enough to alarm the English. He, however, strengthened the military defences of Awadh. He wrote in September, 1796 about Zaman Shah: "The execution of his intention will be hazardous unless he can obtain the co-operation of the Sikhs and hostages for the continuance of it and I have great doubt as to its success''. In 1797, Sir John Shore took a more serious view and wrote, "many circumstances concur to make me suspect that the Shah's views are more extensive than the mere expulsion of the Marathas from Hindustan and his expedition is planned in concert with Tipu for the ultimate purpose of depressing the British power in India" and he added, "it is certainly the duty of this

Government to extend its vigilance and precaution". His very vigorous action in Awadh can be explained by the reappearance of the Afghan threat.

Sir John Shore was succeeded by Lord Wellesley in May, 1798 and he thought of checking the Durrani monarch at the greatest possible distance from the British frontier. Major General Craig regarded British alliance with the Sikhs and the Rajputs as impracticable. Lord Wellesley claimed that the missions he sent to Persia first of Mehdi 'Ali Khan and then of Malcolm "were responsible for the active measures adopted by the Court of Persia that produced the salutary effect of diverting the attention of Zaman Shah from his long projected invasion of Hindustan. The assistance afforded by Mehdi 'Ali Khan under my orders to Prince Md. Shah originally enabled that prince to excite those commotions which have recently terminated in the defeat of Zaman Shah, in his deposition from the throne and in the entire extinction of his power. To the consolidated and active Government of Zaman Shah has succeeded a state of confusion in the country of the Afghans highly favourable to our security in that quarter". 18 Lord Wellesley makes an exaggerated claim of having contributed to the disappearance of the Durrani menace. "Many and various things brought about the collapse of Zaman Shah's empty schemes of ambition."

In Sir John Shore's administration no attempt was made to straighten out the problem of British relations with the Nawab of the Karnatak and the ruler of Tanjore. Muhammad 'Ali died in October, 1795 and Umdat-ul-Umara succeeded him.

NOTES

1 P.R.C., II, p. 28, Court of Directors to Governor-General, 21 July, 1786.

2. P.R.C., I, 15A.

3. PRC., I, 14.

4 In this connection see Governor-General's letter to' the Poona Resident of 26 Feb. 1787, P R C., H, 54.

5. PRC., H, 37, 39, 42, 54.

6 Cornwallis' letter of 1 July, 1789.

7. P R C., HI, pp. 42-45; Cornwallis to the Nizam, 7 July, 1789.

7a. Wilks, Historical Sketches, III, 38.

8- P R C., HI, pp. 115, 117, 118, 145-52.

9- Aitchison, C. U., Treaties, Engagements (1863), pp. 58-59.

10. P R C., H, p. 345-46.

11. P.R .C., H, p. 257.

12. Cornwallis to Malet, 7 Aug. 1972 cited by Malcolm, J., The Political History of India (Reprint 1970), p. 67.

13- P R C., II, p. 256, also pp. 245-48.

14. John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India, p. 225.

15 Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas (1921), II, p. 242.

16- PRC., IV, Introduction, pp. xiv-xv.

17- Malet to Lord Cornwallis, 5 April, 1793; PRC., II, No. 175, p. 282.

18- Martin, Wellesley Despatches, n, p. 134, 155-56.

CHAPTER XV

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MARATHA POWER

(1799-1818)

1. Decline of the Marat ha Power (1799-1802):

When Napoleon was on the point of crossing the ‘French Lake’ to make a grandiose effort of expansion and glitter in the Levant, Lord Wellesley arrived in India to assume charge of the Company’s government. The imperial tide set in with the arrival of Lord Wellesley in India as Governor-General: “Evil days seem to be ahead. There seems to be no escape from destiny”—in these words at that time Nana Phadnis, in the sunset of his life, scanned the horizon of future and spoke about his disturbed spirit and the fate of the Maratha State.

A sinister warning which sounded like the whispering of nemesis was given by Tipu to Hari Pant Phadke: “You must realize that I

am not at all your enemy. Your real enemy is the Englishman of

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whom you must beware”. 1 Peshivd Baji Rao II, Daulat Rao Sindia and RaghujI Bhosle II had sent vakils to Tipu Sultan on the eve of the Fourth Mysore War and the latter had requested the former to remain neutral in the war against the English. 2 The Peshivd is reported to have said that Tipu’s death had been like the loss of his right arm. 3 It was Nana Phadnis who had prevailed upon Baji Rao II to dismiss Tipu’s vakil. 4 But the readings of history were clear to Nana Phadnis when he warned the Peshivd saying: “Tipu is finished; the British power has increased; the whole of east India is already theirs. Poona will be the next victim”. 5

It is true that Lord Wellesley’s first problem in the south was the Tiger of Mysore, but very few Maratha statesmen could guess that the Governor-General was at the same time studying their motives and watching their activities. In his numerous despatches, Lord Wellesley referred to the ‘treachery, low cunning, captious jealousy and perverse policy’ of the

MaratMs. 6 The pivot of his Maratha policy was to treat the members of the Maratha state as independent powers and to weave a cobweb of engagements with them. On the fifth day after taking office, Lord Wellesley impressed upon the Peshivd the necessity of continuing friendly relations with

the Company and returned the jewellery which Raghunath Rao had pawned with the British Government. 7 As early as 8 July, 1798, Wellesley directed Palmer, the Resident at Poona, to make a treaty with the Peshwd to exclude the French from his army, and to furnish him with a strong force from Bombay on the condition that the Peshwd should arrange for the regular payment of the troops. 8 The 'just, reasonable, temperate and moderate proposals' for a secret treaty with the Peshwd were renewed in 1799, 9 on 12 April, 1800 and on 30 November, 1801. 10 Col. Close made friends with the European officers of Daulat Rao Sindia who importuned the Peshwd not to negotiate any treaty with the English without his concurrence. 11 It is significant to note that Wellesley transferred Palmer for his failure to manoeuvre the Peshwd into the acceptance of British suzerainty. 12

Lord Wellesley obtained a stranglehold over the Gaikwar State in 1802. 13 An and Rao Gaikwar sought financial and military assistance from the British at Cambay against his cousin, Malhar Rao Gaikwar and Arab mercenaries. Jonathan Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, sent Major Walker with a force of two thousand to Baroda. Walker concluded a treaty with Anand Rao Gaikwar's Dewan at Cambay and brought Malhar Rao Gaikwar of Kadi to submission. 14

To Colebrooke, the Resident at Nagpur, Raghuj! Bhosle I expressed his desire to join in an alliance against Tipu and become a mediator between the Company and the Peshwd. But as his conduct during the whole course of negotiations appeared to be insincere and illusory, 15 Colebrooke urged Lord Wellesley to abolish the residency of Nagpur. These facts clearly indicate how Lord Wellesley* was preparing patiently for a judicious final stroke. His sound im* pulses and unfailing sense of reality in politics did not play him false.

The Maratha state, like the Holy Roman Empire, was 'a curious and baffling political puzzle'. Its whole texture was neither solid nor rational.

There were cross purposes at work and the degeneration was emphasised by internal convulsions. Shahu II, the Chhatrapati of Satara, was a prisoner in his palace; and he was looked upon by the Peshwd as a costly appendage. Shahu's brother Chhatra Singh reacted violently against the wretched condition to which the Raja had been reduced. The two brothers were anxious to free themselves from the. thraldom of the Peshwd and regenerate the Maratha State by bringing about the cohesion of the several members of the state. They overpowered the Peshivd's managers, Apte

and Abhyankar, at Satara in March 1798. Shlvaji III, the Chhatra pati of Kolhapur, his able minister Ratnakar Pant and the widows of Mahadji Sindia made a common cause with Shahu II and Chhatra Singh. Their combined army defeated the Peshufa's commander Madhav Rao Raste, on 16 June, 1798. Parashuram Bhau of Tasgaon, who was then confined at Mandavgan, was released by the Peshtm to restore the situation. Parashuram Bhau broke down the Satara Raja's resistance. 16 But he was defeated and killed in an encounter with the joint forces of Kolhapur and Chhatra Singh at Pattankudi on 17 September, 1799. 17 After Parashuram's death, his son Ramachandra Pant along with his three valiant brothers besieged Kolhapur. The Peshwa and the Sindia despatched ManajI Phakde, Maloji Ghorpade, Vinchurkar, the Pratinidhi and Captain Brownrigg with a strong artillery and trained battalions to the assistance of Parashuram's sons. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur was defeated in December 1799, and compelled to take shelter at Panhala. 18 Lord Wellesley watched with great interest these domestic entanglements and distractions in the Maratha State.

Peshwn BajI Rao II, son of Raghunath Rao, was the villain of the piece. He was installed as the Peshxvd at the age of twenty-one on December 5, 1796, by Nana Phadnis with the consent of the great feudatories of the State— Sindia, Holkar, Bhosle and the Nizam. Elphinstone has painted his character in the following words:

"He is eager for power, though he wants the boldness necessary to acquire it, and is tenacious of authority, though too indolent to exercise it. Even his indolence is broken in by his habits of suspicion and vigilance, and there is no part of his character that is to be found unmixed and entire. His love of consequence makes him fond of the company of low dependants, where he can enjoy his superiority unrestricted.

“He is vindictive to the extreme, he never forgets an injury, and spares no machinations to ruin the object of his resentment. To his habitual insincerity he joins a talent for insinuation and a natural love of artifice and intrigue. He has a general distrust of others.

“He is a slave to superstition; half of his life is spent in fasts, prayers and pilgrimages. A large part of his revenue is consumed in magical practices. His superstition, however, imposes no restraint upon his pleasures and the greater part of his time that is not occupied by religion is devoted to vicious indulgences. Though he affects great purity in his own person, scarcely a day passes that he does not spend some hours with his favourites in large assemblies of women, when he enjoys the coarsest buffoonery and witnesses most disgusting scenes of debauchery”. 119

The author of Peshwyanchi Bakhar, Krishnaji Sohoni, who was an officer in the last days of the Peshwa and therefore, a close observer of events, was constrained to remark, “words fail to describe Peshwa BajI Rao, who unlike any other member of the family, was lacking in manly character, suspicious of nature, incapable of choosing wise advisers and was altogether wanting in military talent”* 20

He was not the man who could arrest the decay and dissolution of the Maratha State that had set in before his accession, but he accelerated it by his antics. In the new administration Nana Phadnis became his Prime Minister, with Trimbak Rao Parchure as his assistant. The Peshwa was jealous of Nana Phadnis; but at the same time, he was constantly hard-pressed by Daulat Rao Sindia for money. Nana Phadnis, Baloba Tatya, the chief minister of the Sindia, and Parashuram Bhau were all supporters of BajI Rao IPs rival brother, Amrit Rao. On 31 December, 1797, Nana Phadnis was arrested by Michael Filose, an officer of Sindia, and was sent a prisoner to Ahmadnagar. Being distracted by the clamour of soldiers for payment of arrears, Daulat Rao Sindia employed his father-inlaw Sarza Rao Ghatge to raise money from Poona. For three months Sarza Rao created a reign of terror in the Maratha capital like that of Nadir Shah in Delhi. 21 Responsible opinion now came to Nana's side and Daulat Rao Sindia had to release him on 15 July, 1798. On 17 January, 1799, BajI Rao II reluctantly gave formal leave to Daulat Rao Sindia.

The last phase of Nana Phadnis' administration (1798-180Q) v/as not a fitting epilogue to his career. He was only a puzzled and ostensible Prime Minister, and he left the administration in the hands of Naro Pant Chakradeo. 22 In his last days the precision and punctiliousness of the 'Maratha Machiavelli' weakened and he ruined Maratha national interests by selfishness and want of statesmanlike vision. After Nana Phadnis's death in March 1800, Daulat Rao Sindia managed the Peshwa's administration, but his measures did not lead to any wholesome change. Shortage of money led to daily mutinies by the Sindia's long unpaid soldiers. The Peshwa and the Sindia quarrelled over the treasures of Nana Phadnis. Fearing that the PeshWa intended to fly flom Poona, Daulat Rao Sindia kept a guard for some time over his palace. 23 BajI Rao II now followed the imbecile policy of making Sindia and Holkar dependent on the Poona

Government by encouraging their friction in Malwa. Obviously, the Maratha State was rapidly heading for the crisis of 1802.

The affairs of Daulat Rao Sindia, who possessed eastern Malwa, the territory west of the Jamuna and the upper Ganga-Jamuna Doab, were not very satisfactory. Daulat Rao Sindia (son of Mahadji Sindia's nephew Anand Rao) was officially installed as successor to Mahadji Sindia on 10 May, 1794. Dull of intellect and with practically no education, he had fallen in public esteem by his debauchery, vices and frivolous amusements like kite-flying and jackal-hunting. 24 There was also a growing discontent among the subjects against his father-in-law Sarza Rao Ghatge who ill-treated the widows of Mahadji Sindia (Lakshmi Bai, Yamuna Bai, Bhagirathi Bai and Kesar Bai) by entering their apartments, whipping them and dragging them out for being sent off to some prison fort. The Shenvi party headed by Lakshman Anant Lad (popularly known as Lakhba Dada), Niarayan Rao Bakshi, Devji Gauli, Rayaji Platil, and Ramji Patil rallied round the widows who were held in high esteem. A civil war on a vast scale, known as the Widows' War (1798-1802) now broke out against the grinding tyranny of Daulat Rao Sindia and his stooge Sarza Rao. Daulat Rao Sindia subsequently realised that he was only sinking deeper and deeper into the quicksands of that war. 25

Holkar’s territories embraced the south-western part of Malwa and these were governed by Tukoji Holkar from 1795 to 1797. After the death of Ahalya Bai in 1795, there was chaos in Holkar’s State. Tukoji Holkar passed away on August 15, 1797. After his death violent quarrels broke out among his two legitimate sons, Kashi Rao Holkar and Malhar Rao Holkar. Kashi Rao was a weak-minded cripple and Malhar Rao Holkar was a ruffian; “his insane pride, reckless violence, habitual drunkenness and addiction to the predatory way of life had brought him to the level of a Pindari looter”. 26 Yashwant Rao Holkar, the third son of Tukoji, born in 1776, was full of adventure and resourcefulness; Vithoji, the youngest son of Tukoji, trained for no worthy work, took to the predatory way of life. 27 Yashwant Rao and Vithoji were passionately attached to Malhar Rao. Kashi Rao purchased for 14 lakhs of rupees the help of Daulat Rao Sindia against Malhar Rao, who was killed in a surprise night attack at Bhamburda on 14 September, 1797. 28 It was but natural for Yashwant Rao to make an attempt to thwart the ambition of Daulat Rao Sindia to reduce the House of Holkar in vassalage to himself. Yashwant declared Khande Rao Holkar, the infant son of Malhar Rao Holkar II, as the lawful head of the House of Holkar, with himself as regent and working head of the State. 29 His bold challenge to Sindia rang throughout the Maratha empire.

As fugitives from Bhamburda, Yashwant Rao and his faithful follower Bhawani Shankar were pursued from September 1797 to June 1798, but they managed to escape. Yashwant captured Maheswar in January, 1799, and wrought widespread ravages in Malwa. His success as a leader of brigands drew to his side ambitious adventurers like Shahmat Khan, Vazir Hasan, Mihrban Singh, Zaman Khan, Fateh Singh Mane and others. Most valuable among the new adherents was Mir Khan, a rising leader of Pa than brigands, who was a source of strength to Yashwant Rao Holkar. 30 Daulat Rao Sindia refused to release Khande Rao Holkar who had been kept confined in the fort of Asirgarh. He also refused to confirm the agreements between Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar and levied contributions by raiding Holkar's villages in Malwa and Khandesh. In reprisal Yashwant Rao took to plundering Sindia's possessions north of Ujjain 31 and defeated Sindia's officer MacIntyre at Newri (16 miles north-west of the Unchaud pass) on 25 June, 1801. 32 But near Satwas, Captain Brownrigg, another officer of Sindia, defeated Yashwant Rao on 4 July, 1801. 33 Yashwant Rao redeemed his honour by the capture of Ujjain on July 18, 1801. 34 Though aided by the July shower, Yashwant displayed remarkable originality, boldness of plan, an eye for strategic situations and rapidity of movement. Yashwant Rao, however, suffered a defeat at the hands of Sarza Rao Ghatge on 14 October, 1801, 35 but he was still potent for mischief. He carried on a roving predatory campaign in Malwa, Khandesh and the Desh districts of Maharashtra.

While Yashwant Rao was menacingly advancing towards Deccan, all was not well at Poona. VithojI provoked the wrath of the Peshwa by his devastations round Pandharpur. He was captured alive by Bapu Gokhale, given 200 stripes on his body, tied to the foot of an elephant and killed with horrid cruelty. 36 BajI Rao II and his favourite Baloji Kunjar gleefully watched the sight. In this context, Yashwant's final warning to the Peshwa should not be overlooked: "If you wish to avoid bloodshed, send to me at once Baloji and Dajiba Deshmukh on your behalf, and Baburao Angria and Nlmaji Bhaskar on behalf of the Sindia to negotiate terms". These were the persons who were responsible for the murder of VithojI. 37 Outwardly Yashwant assured the Peshwa that he would serve him faithfully, 38 but covertly he made preparations to avenge his brother's death.

The Peshwd's Karbharis had foolishly persuaded him to underrate the strength of Yashwant Rao Holkar. On 8 October, 1802, Fateh Singh Mane scattered the forces of Nana Purandare, the commander of the Peshwd, at Baramati (40 miles s.w. of Poona) , 39 This was followed by Yashwant's victory over Sindia's general Sadashiv Bhaskar in the plains of Hadapsar on 25 October, 1802, incidentally also the day of Diwali. 40 The Peshwd fled from Poona. On 27 October, 1802, he crossed the Western Ghats at midnight, spent a month at Birwadi near Mahad spinning out negotiations with the English for their support. 41 The Civil War in Maharashtra in 1802 was the outcome of calamitous follies of the Peshwd and his great feudatories. Yashwant Rao Holkar’s triumph at Hadapsar drove the Peshwd into the arms of the English.

In the new regime at Poona Yashwant Rao reserved for himself the general command of the troops, while Amrit Rao assumed the headship of the State. They used every possible argument to convince Col. Close, the British Resident, of the justice of the cause of the party in power at Poona. Col. Close had remained attached throughout to the cause of BajI Rao II and continued to guide him from Poona. 42 The Resident was allowed to leave Poona on 28 November. He met the Peshwd at Bassein on 16 December and next day began the discussions with him regarding the terms of the proposed treaty in the light of instructions received from the GovernorGeneral. Balwant Rao Nagnath and Raghunath Janardan, the two advisers of the Peshwd, lost no opportunity of convincing their master of British integrity, magnanimity and regard for the plighted word, and the Peshwd signed an agreement which went far beyond his original intention of hiring British troops for a limited purpose. 43

The proposals which the Peshwd had made on 25 October, 1802, supplied the basis for the treaty of Bassein which was “constructed after the latest and most approved model of subsidiary alliances”. 44 It was signed before the commencement of the New Year and ratified by the Governor-General on March 18, 1803. By this treaty, the Peshwd agreed to receive from the Company on a permanent basis no less than 6,000 regular native infantry with the usual proportion of field pieces and European artillerymen attached, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunitions. For the payment of these troops, the Peshwd agredd to cede in perpetuity to the Company’s Government, territories yielding an annual income of 26 lakhs of rupees. These territories were situated in four different parts of the Peshwd’s 'possessions—Gujarat, the territories to the south of the Tapti, territories between the Tapti and the

Narmada and the territories near the Tungabhadra. Baji Rao II relinquished for ever his right over the city of Surat. The Peshwd agreed to accept British arbitration in cases of disputes arising with the Nizam and to give up all claims for chauth on the Nizam’s dominions. He was to respect the treaty of friendship already contracted (June 1802) between the Gaikwar and the

English. The Peshwd was not to keep in his employment any European hostile to the English and was not to engage in negotiations with other States without previous consultation with the Company's Government. 45

The Treaty of Bassein was something more than a defensive alliance. Wrote Valentia, a contemporary English traveller: "The treaty of Bassein has in fact annihilated the (Maratha) Empire". 46 Lord Castlereagh, the President of the Board of Control, pointed out that it tended to involve the English 'in the endless and complicated distractions of the Maratha Empire and hostility with the three greatest military powers'. He also deprecated the article in the treaty of Bassein by which the Peshwd was bound to accept a British arbitration in all disputes. 47 Arthur Wellesley's private opinion was that 'it was a treaty with a cipher who, in the shape of a friend, is our worst enemy', but in public, he offered the best defence he could for his brother's policy 48 It has to be noted that Arthur wrote in 1806: "Upon the whole, then, I conclude that the treaty of Bassein was wise, just and a politic measure". 49 Perhaps it would not be overemphasising its importance if we say that the treaty of Bassein put an end to Maratha independence, 50 gave the Company "the unquestionable supremacy over the Maratha State," 51 and by its direct and indirect operations gave the Company the empire of India. 52 There is no denying the fact that by this treaty, the head of the Maratha confederacy was brought under the complete control of the Company and the latter got a "lawful right to take steps for the Peshwa's authority". 53

2. The Second Anglo-Maratha War:

The new regime of Yashwant Rao Holkar at Poona was a flimsy' structure—his approach to various problems was characterised by short-sighted opportunism. His financial difficulties became acute with the increase in his forces to meet which he heaped terrible misery upon the city of Poona. 54 Yashwant Rao failed to seat Vinayak Rao, son of Amrit Rao, in the place of Baji Rao II. While .he was trying to organise a Maratha confederacy he was writing to the British Resident requesting his help in an adjustment with the Peshwd. 55 YashwanPs negotiations with the Sindia were very slow

and not fruitful either. 56 In the words of Lord Wellesley, "the situation of Holkar is precarious and accidental". 57 Yashwant Rao left Poona on 25

February, 1803, 53 leaving a small corps under Harnath Singh. Then he took the road to Hyderabad and Ahmadnagar to maintain his huge army by plundering. 59 Amrit Rao left Poona for Junnar on 20 April, 1803. On 13 May, 1803, declared a lucky day by the astrologers, the Peshwd, backed by British bayonets, entered Poona. The restoration of the Peshvxi was largely due to the consummate planning and skilful execution by Arthur Wellesley. 60 The latter assured Amrit Rao of British protection against the Peshwd and also other chiefs. 61

Daulat Rao Sindia was now called upon by Lord Wellesley through Collins, the Resident at Sindia's court, either to give his consent to the terms of the treaty of Bassein and take a decision 'upon terms of equality and honourable to all parties' or to be prepared for a war. 62 Daulat Rao was singled out by Lord Wellesley for the use of pressure tactics as he was convinced that the former alone possessed the means of offering any serious opposition to the British. 63 It was also Wellesley's ambition to destroy the French party at Sindia's court. 64 Daulat Rao and Raghuji Bhosle exerted all their ingenuity to form a Maratha coalition. 65 They instigated Gosain Himmat Bahadur and Gani Beg in Bundelkhand to prepare for a war against the British. 66 A conspiracy for the overthrow of British influence was afoot at the court of Baroda. 67 The Nizam seemed a bit inclined to support the confederates. 68 Yashwant Rao Holkar alone stood aloof. Daulat Rao, in response to /the Holkar's demands, released the infant Khande Rao and agreed^to settle the differences through the mediation of Raghuji Bhosle. 69 Bhosle's ministers presented to Yashwant an order from Daulat Rao releasing Holkar's territory in Malwa which Sindia had occupied after his victory at Indore. 693 But while their negotiations were proceeding at a slow pace, Lord Wellesley was going ahead with his plans. On 7 August, 1803, he issued a proclamation of war; but Yashwant Rao still showed no disposition to join the Sindia and the Bhosle. He turned towards Burhanpur and then encamped at Bhikangaon. 70 Sir Thomas Munro observes, "Had Holkar taken a decided part against us or had the French been able to land a strong detachment, our difficulties would have been so much increased, that I doubt if we should have made any new conquests". 71

Various explanations have been given for Holkar's not showing any 'disposition to fulfil his word', 72 and betraying the confederates.

According to Duff, Yashwant excused himself on the ground that if

all were to be engaged in the Deccan War, no one would be able “to take care of Hindustan”. 73 Besides, Yashwant knew that Daulat Rao’s first object after re-establishing his influence at Poona would be a war of extermination against him. 74 Malcolm tells us that Yashwant wrote a long letter to Sindia explaining his absence for want of money 75 Pearse holds that Yashwant Rao Holkar was afraid of assisting Daulat Rao Sindia lest he should become the chief power in India. 76 Arthur Wellesley and Collins believed that Yashwant’s “object was to keep himself out of the contest while urging others into it”. 77 In explaining the absence of Holkar from the coalition, Sardesai attaches considerable importance to Arthur Wellesley’s letter to the former dated 16 July, 1803. “I am anxious”, wrote Arthur, “to cultivate the good understanding which subsisted between the Company’s Government and you” 78 It is significant to note that on the eve of the war, Amrit Rao intercepted a letter in which Sindia wrote to the Peshwa: “Let us make a show of satisfying his demands. After the war is over, we shall both wreak our full vengeance upon him (Yashwant Rao)”. 79 Amrit Rao placed that letter in Arthur’s hands, and the latter had it diverted to Yashwant Rao. 80 Then Yashwant Rao wrote to Sindia and Bhosle from Bhikangaon: “I am ready to join you in this business according to your letter. But you, in spite of all your promises and oaths, have a different intention and do not consider an alliance v/ith me advisable”. 81 The primary responsibility of the break-up of the Maratha coalition rests on Daulat Rao Sindia.

Daulat Rao Sindia and Raghuji Bhosle met with quick reverses. Arthur Wellesley captured Ahmadnagar on 12 August, 1803. His problem was to guard among a hostile population the famine-stricken Poona district and the Nizam’s territory. 82 The essence of Arthur Wellesley’s rule of war was never to let the Maratha raiders remain undisturbed, never to attack them when holding a strongly defended position, to force them on to move, and to strike them when thrown into disorder. 83 Stevenson fought skirmishes against the foraging parties of the Pindaris at Jafarabad. On 23 September, 1803, in the hotly contested battle of Assaye (a village situated about forty-five miles north-east of Aurangabad), the combined army of Sindia and Bhosle led by Gopal Rao Bhau and Vithal Pant Bakhshi was soundly beaten by Arthur Wellesley. ‘It was a triumph more splendid than any recorded in

Deccan history', 84 but achieved at an enormous cost of men (663 Europeans and 1,778 Indian killed or wounded). Stevenson captured Burhanpur on 15 October, 1803, and Asirgarh on 21 October, 1803. Wellesley's and Stevensons'e corn

bined army decisively defeated Bhosle at Argaon on 29 November, 1803. Bhosle's troops behaved with conspicuous gallantry. Arthur and Stevenson captured Gawilgarh on December 15, 1803.

In the northern theatre of war, Lake launched his attack with impetuous vigour and captured Aligarh on September 5, 1803. Perron, the French adventurer, who was responsible for managing the northern possessions of Sindia, selfishly removed the most seasoned battalions far from the expected point of attack. Lake then defeated M. Louis Bourquien, Perron's successor of Sindia's army, at Patparganj near Delhi on 11 September, 1803. 85 Lake personally headed every charge of his infantry. Two days later he took into his possession the blind eighty-three year old Mughul emperor, Shah 'Alam II, and left Colonel Ochterlony in command at Delhi. Having concluded a treaty with the Raja of Bharatpur, Lake captured Agra on October 17, 1803. The remaining forces of Sindia were finally vanquished at Laswari (20 miles south of Bharatpur) on 1 November, 1803. 86 Ambaji Ingle, who held the Subahdari of the Sindian province south of Agra and the whole of Malwa, fled from the battlefield. The battle of Laswari completed the destruction of Sindia's power. The victory was purchased by Lake at a heavy price (822 men killed and wounded including Major-General Weir and Major Griffiths) , 87

Success attended the arms of the English in Gujarat, Bundelkhand and Orissa. Colonel Murray captured Broach on 29 August, 1803, Champaner and Pavagad on 17 September, 1803. The province of Cuttack including Balasore was conquered in October, 1803. A large number of minor chiefs such as the Rajput and Jat princes, the Nawabs of the Doab, the Bundela chiefs, Himmat Bahadur and Shamsher Bahadur, and Ambaji Ingle were detached from Maratha allegiance.

Lord Wellesley desired that Sindia and Bhosle should be sent to Calcutta to beg for peace at his feet. But Arthur Wellesley considered it a better policy to make the subdued chiefs innocuous than to humiliate them. By the treaty of Deogaon (19 December, 1803), Raghuji Bhosle II ceded to the British Government the province of Orissa with its whole coast including Balasore, and the whole of the territory and share of the revenues to the westward of the river Wardha and south of the hills on which stand Narnaulla and Gawilgarh. However, he retained in his possession the two forts with districts below with a revenue of four lakhs. The province of Western Berar up to the river Wardha was ceded to. the Nizam. Bhosle was

to respect all the treaties concluded with his feudatories by the Bri u tish Government. No British subject, European or American, was to be entertained by him without the consent of the British Government. RaghujI renounced his adherence to the Maratha state, recognised the treaty of Bassein and admitted Elphinstone as the British Resident in his court. 88

Daulat Rao Sindia sent his agents Kamal Nay an Munshi and Vithal Pant who concluded the treaty of Siirji Anjangaon on 30 December, 1803. He recognised the treaty of Bassein and surrendered his territories between the Yamuna and the Ganga and all those situated to the north of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohad. He ceded to the British Government Ahmadnagar, Broach and his possessions between Ajanta and the Godavari. Sindia renounced his claims on the British Government, the Peshmd , the Nizam and Gaikwar. He confirmed all treaties made by the British Government with his feudatories and recognised their independence. He agreed never to retain in his service any European, American or any British Indian subject, and he renounced his control upon the Mughul emperor. Daulat Rao admitted Malcolm as British Resident in his court, but he refused to accept a British subsidiary force. On his representation, Burhanpur, Pavagarh and Asirgarh were restored to him. By a separate treaty concluded on 27 February, 1804, Sindia entered into a defensive alliance with the English. 89

During the first phase of the second Anglo-Maratha War, Yashwant Rao Holkar’s conduct had been rather favourable to British interests. After the defeat of Sindia and Bhosle, he tried to raise a coalition of Indian rulers and entered into secret correspondence with the^Rajas of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Udaipur, Begam Samru, the Raja of Machery, the Rohilla chief Ghulam Muhammad and the Sikh chiefs Rao Singh, Mir Singh, Gurpal Singh, Banga Singh and Jadu Singh. 90 Yashwant sent an envoy to Daulat Rao on

5 February, 1804, in order to persuade him to withdraw from the British alliance. Daulat Rao promptly acquainted the British with these overtures.[91] Yashwant thought that he would now be singled out for attack by the English and he was not unwilling to enter into a defensive alliance with the British Government on the same terms as had been the case with Sindia. But as a preliminary to peace with the English, Yashwant Rao demanded that the British should not interfere with his traditional claims of chauth upon some Indian chiefs. The territories which were actually in his possession should be guaranteed to him, and the territories formerly held by the Holkar family in the Doab and Bundelkhand such as Etawa and Haryana should be restored to him. If his request was not acceded to, he declared that countries of many hundred kos should be overrun and plundered and burnt. That he (C-in-C) should not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and that calamities should fall on lacs of human beings by the attacks of Holkar's army which overwhelms like the waves of the sea".[92] The high tone of the demands foredoomed the negotiations to failure. In March 1804, Holkar ravaged Pushkar and Ajmer. His acts of brigandage at Jaipur were a direct challenge to the British Government as the Raja of Jaipur had already accepted a British subsidiary force.[93] Another act of his barbarity was the murder of his three British officers—Vickers, Dodd and Ryan—who had expressed their desire to resign from his service in obedience to the proclamation of the Governor-General.[94] War was declared against Holkar in April, 1804. On 5 June, 1804, the Governor-General in Council wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors: "The reduction of that predatory power was manifestly a measure not only of just policy and necessary security but of ultimate economy with reference to the finances of the Honourable Company".[95] Lord Wellesley thought that one action was sufficient to annihilate the army of Holkar.[96] Arthur Wellesley also opined that a war against Holkar should not be more than a 'Polygar War',[97] and should not last even a fortnight.[98] Brigadier Monson advanced about 50 miles from the Mukundra pass (about 30 miles south of Kota) and was defeated by Holkar. Monson was obliged to retreat to Agra towards the end of August, 1804, losing five battalions and six companies. Yashwant

adopted the old Maratha predatory tactics and tried every means to crush the enemy. To his long catalogue of errors, more than to any other cause, the disastrous retreat of Monson must be ascribed. 99

Monson's defeat encouraged Holkar to return to Hindustan. He had 60,000 cavalry, 16,000 infantry and 192 guns. Lieutenant Col. Ochterlony and Lieutenant Col. Bum repulsed the attack on Delhi by Holkar's commander Hamath Singh. 100 The latter suffered a reverse at Dig on 13 November, 1804. Holkar himself was routed by Lake at Farrukhabad on 17 November, 1804, 101 and was compelled to turn to Ranjit Singh, the Raja of Bharatpur, for supplies of money and arms. Ranjit Singh assigned the fort of Dig to Holkar and placed his diman Rai Singh and his son Lachman Singh with two fully armed battalions under the Maratha chief. 102

Dig was captured on 23 December, 1804, and the remnant of Holkar's army took shelter in the fort of Bharatpur. The siege of Bharatpur by Lake began on 7 January, 1805. Three attempts to take the fort by assault having failed, Lake converted the siege into a blockade. 103 The Jats of Bharatpur revealed the grim resolution of their race. Lake made hurried and overconfident attempts with an insufficient battering train. 104 Holkar's forays against the besiegers failed. The Raja of Bharatpur, despite his success, realised he could not stand up to the British and sued for peace. He sent his vakils to Lake's camp on 10 March, 1805, and exactly after a month concluded a treaty. He paid twenty lakhs to the Company's Government, renounced his alliance with the enemies of the British Government and his claim to advantages secured by the former treaty with Lake. The fortress of Dig was to remain with the English, and a son of Ranjit Singh was to reside with the commanding officer of the British forces in suburbs of Agra and Delhi. From the British point of view, the treaty of Bharatpur was an honourable settlement. In the siege of Bharatpur, however, 3,203 men including 103 European Officers were killed and wounded. 105 This had something to do with the recall of Lord Wellesley in July, 1805 by the Court of Directors. Under the pressure of Wellesley's forward policy, the debt of the Company increased from 17 millions in 1797 to 31 millions in 1806. Pitt thought that Lord Wellesley had acted most imprudently and illegally. 106

Then began the last phase of Yashwant's career. Through Sarza Rao Ghatge, Yashwant Rao received a cordial reception in Sindia's camp at Sabalgarh. But he achieved nothing tangible because of the temporising policy of Ambaji Ingle, the rekindling of old Sindia-Holkar rivalry and above all because of Sindia's conviction that it was futile to fight against the English. 107 Daulat Rao Sindia concluded the treaty of Mustafapur with the Company's Government on 21 November, 1805. Gohad and the fort of Gwalior were restored to him. But he renounced his claims on the territories north of the Chambal. The Company was not to enter into treaties with the Rana of Udaipur, the Rajas of Jodhpur and Kota and make claims on the territories south of the Chambal. 108 Meanwhile Lake had pursued Yashwant up to Amritsar, where the latter proceeded expecting help from the Sikh chief, Ranjit Singh. Yashwant Rao was compelled to conclude the treaty of Rajpurghat with Lake on the banks of the Bea$ on 24 December, 1805. He renounced his rights to every place to the north of the Chambal and all claims on Poona and Bundelkhand. He agreed not to employ any European in his service without the consent of the Company ;s Government and never to admit Sarza Rao Ghatge into his counsel or employment. Yashwant Rao was allowed to return to his own dominion by a route prescribed by the

British Commander. The Company's Government agreed not to interfere in Holkar's territories south of the Chambal. The forts and territories belonging to the Holkar family in the Deccan excepting Chandor, Ambar, and Shegaon, were to be restored to Yash want Rao Holkar. This was a conditional measure adopted as a security for Yashwant's good behaviour during the period of 18 months. 109 Sir George Barlow made an alteration in the treaty and restored to Holkar Tonk, Rampura and all the territory north of the Bund! hills. Thus the Raja of Bundl, who had rendered valuable help to Monson, was abandoned to his fate. The declaratory article to the treaty of Rajpurghat, which was ascribed to the dread of the military talents of Yashwant Rao Holkar 110 came as a surprise to the latter. The treaty of Rajpurghat rang down the curtain on Yashwant Rao Holkar's conflict with the English.

3. Fall of the Maratha Power (1806-1817):

Sir George Barlow’s uncalled for generosity rekindled Yashwant's ambition to reunite the members of the Maratha confederacy. He commenced a complete reorganisation of his army and opened a gun factory at Bhanpura. 111 Sindia did little except holding whispered conferences. 112 The ceaseless campaigning, the dissipating habits and the frustration of his plans affected Yashwant’s mind and he sank into insanity from which he never recovered. There was complete anarchy in Holkar’s State during the period of his insanity (1807-1811). Death put an end to his sufferings on 27 October, 1811 at Bhanpura—he had not completed the 35th year of his life. The Peshwa, who had described Yashwant as a monster, stopped his naubat (band) for three days on hearing of his death. 113

Tulsa Bai, a mistress of Yashwant Rao, now assumed power in the name of his son, Malhar Rao, a four-year-old son of Yashwant from another wife. Tulsa Bai managed the Holkar state with the help of Mir Khan, Ghafur Khan and Zalim Singh of Kota. She possessed beauty, talents, winning manners and learning; but at the same time she was cruel and dissolute. 114 Her difficulty was want of funds to meet the demands of the army. At the same time Sindia was attacking the defenceless possessions of Holkar in Malwa. Tulsa Bai was therefore in favour of accepting the terms of an alliance offered by the English in 1817. But her mutinous soldiery urged a recourse to hostilities with the English. Roshan Beg was at the head of the disciplined regiments of Holkar. Ram Din, a north-Indian Brahmin, commanded Holkar’s cavalry. They carried Tulsa Bai to

the banks of the Sipra at Mahidpur (about 30 miles north of Ujjain), struck off her head, and cast her body into the stream. 115

Daulat Rao Sindia’s indolent optimism had been severely shaken in the war against the English. After the death of Yashwant Rao, he attacked the undefended possessions of Holkar and even made an attempt on the lives of Tulsa Bai and Malhar Rao Holkar III. The Governor-General, however, reduced the power of Daulat Rao Sindia by the treaty of Gwalior on 5 November, 1817. By the treaty, Sindia agreed to assist the English against the Pindaris, and not to interfere in the internal affairs of Udaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Bund!. 116

In the regime of Major Walker at Baroda, Anand Rao Gaikwar and his brother Fateh Singh Gaikwar were virtual prisoners under the British guards. Walker's appointment of a Regency Commission in 1806, and the high-handed policy of his successor Captain Rivett Carnac provoked the formation of an anti-British party at Baroda headed by the Ranis of Anand Rao Gaikwar, Sitaram Raoji, Govind Rao BandhujI and Bhagwant Rao Gaikwar. The crisis was averted by Gaikwar's principal minister, Gangadhar Shastri, 117 who kept the Resident of Baroda well informed with the details of their secret activities. By a treaty with the Company on 6 November, 1817, the Gaikwar agreed to add 1,000 regular infantry and two regiments of cavalry to his subsidiary force, cede some of his districts to the Company for additional expenses and discharge a part of his irregular troops.

RaghujI Bhosle II maintained an attitude of sullen indifference and refused to accept a subsidiary alliance. In 1809 he compelled Mir Khan to retreat from Nagpur. The efforts of Bhonsle and Sindia to capture Bhopal in 1813-1814 were foiled by Nawab Vazir Muhammad. RaghujI died in March, 1816. After his death his son, Parsoji Bhosle succeeded to the chief ship. He was sick, blind and paralytic and his cousin Appa Saheb became the regent of the State. The struggle for supremacy between Appa Saheb and Raghuji's widow, Baka Bai, drove Appa Saheb into the arms of the British with whom the Regent concluded a treaty of subsidiary alliance on 27 May, 1816. Soon after the event Appa Saheb succeeded to the Gadi on the death of Parsoji on 1 February, 1817. In July 1817, Appa Saheb had secret meetings with the vakils of the Peshwa and Sindia. He also befriended the Pindari leader Cheetu. All this came to the knowledge of the British Resident whereupon the Governor-General issued a stern warning to the Nagpur Raja. 118 On 24 November,

1817, Appa Saheb, against the wishes of the British Resident, received robes of Sena Saheb Subah from the Peshwa . The Bhosle gradually became restive of British control. 119

4. The Third Anglo-^Maratha War:

The first few years after the conclusion of the second AngloMaratha War (1803-09) were marked by the greatest cordiality between the Peshwa and the English. Released from the galling tutelage of Nana Phadnls, as well as the dreaded rivalry of his powerful feudatories, the Peshwa was free to follow his inclination in the arrangement of his affairs. He selected men after his own heart for office in government and gave himself up entirely to a life of vicious pleasure alternated by religious observances. The British Resident at Poona took care to see that he did not involve himself in foreign intrigues and was kept in good humour, and the presence of the subsidiary force hastened the restoration of tranquillity in the Peshvxi's dominions. Out of the revenue of 12 million rupees per annum the Peshwa saved almost half and his treasury was now overflowing. The Peshwa was profuse in expressing his gratitude to the British "for saving him from destruction and demanding nothing in return". 120

But the honeymoon did not last long. Col. Close had avoided discussion of unpleasant topics in which he had been helped by the non-interference policy of Barlow and Minto at the head of the Company's Government. But all this changed with the appointment of Elphinstone as Resident at the Poona Court in February, 1811. His direct dealing with the visitors to the Residency, his settlement of the Peshwa's dispute with the Southern Jagirdars —the Patwardhans, Rastes, Desais of Kittur and Nipani—were highly displeasing to the Peshwa. The treaty of Pandharpur, as the settlement was called, obtained for the jagirdars a pledge of security from the Company's Government. This pledge of security to the jagirdars made a mockery of the Peshwft's authority over his subjects. It was not so much their allegiance that he desired as their destruction. The arbitration effected by the Resident embittered the Peshwa's mind. This was the first serious rift between the Peshwa and the English. 121

The discussion of the Peshwa's claims on'the Gaikwar of Baroda led to further deterioration in the Anglo-Maratha relations. Gangadhar Shastri, the Gaikwar's envoy who came to Poona with British guarantee to discuss the Peshwd's financial claims over the Baroda state, was foully murdered at Vithoba's temple at Pandharpur on 20 July, 1815. Elphinstone immediately demanded punishment of the authors of the crime. He asked the Peshwd to confine Trimbakji Dengle, his favourite, who, the Resident declared, was condemned by the universal voice of his subjects. After much protracted negotiations the Peshwd yielded. But the arrest and imprisonment of his favourite was looked on by the Peshwd as his own disgrace. At the same time the Governor-General conveyed to the Peshwd a message telling him that his authority no longer extended over his former feudatories, and the Company's Government would not restore the old order of things. 122 This the Peshwd felt as a deliberate insult added to injury, and his thoughts noW turned to revenge and retaliation. Baloji Kunjar, his favourite minister, made a tour of the Maratha States and Raj I Rao put a crore of rupees at Bapu Gokhale's disposal. 123 The Peshwd increased his revenues and forces, repaired his forts, and made fresh recruits at the annual fair ef Mahuli. 124 He sought the co-operation of the Burmese King, 125 Ranjit Singh of Lahore, the influential people in Nepal, 126 Bhosle, the Raja of Satara and Sindia, against 'the dwellers of the waters*. Baji Rao also made friendly gestures to the Patwardhans, the Panses, the Rastes and Appa Desai of Nipani. He also attempted desertion among the sepoys and European soldiers in the British army through his agents.

All these preparations could not escape the vigilance qf tfhe British Resident who reported them to the Governor-General. Circumstances compelled Lord Hastings to take up the broken thread of Wellesley's Maratha policy. He wrote on 23 March, 1816: "Enough, however, had been detected to make it expedient that I should write to the Peshwd for the purpose of showing him that we are apprised of what he had been doing" 127

On 10 May, 1817, Lord Hastings instructed Elphinstone to circumscribe the Peshwd's power and to obviate inconveniences found to exist in the performance of the articles of the treaty of Bassein. The Peshwd was compelled by Elphinstone to sign the treaty of Poona 128 on 13 June, 1817. His moral influence received a deadly blow and his material interests were affected seriously. The Peshwd declared Trimbakji Dengle as the murderer of Gangadar Shastri and promised to deliver him to the English. Until Trimbakji's delivery, his relations were to remain as hostages of the Company's Government. The Peshwd recognised the dissolution in form and substance of the Maratha confederacy and confirmed the treaty with the

Southern jagtrdars. His claims on Baroda were commuted to an annual payment of four lakhs of rupees. The Peshwd agreed

to let the farm of the revenues of Ahmadabad to Gaikwar for a sum of 4^ lakhs of rupees annually. He ceded in perpetuity to the Company the fort of Ahmadnagar and surrendered his rights, interests and pretensions over Bundelkhand, Malwa, territories to the north of the Narmada except those he possessed in Gujarat, and also the fort of Mailghat, a possession on the Nizam's frontier. The article in the treaty of Bassein regarding his obligation to send a contingent to act with the subsidiary force was annulled. The Peshwa ceded in perpetuity to the Company territory yielding 34 lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of a force of 5,000 cavalry and 3,000 infantry with sufficient military stores and ordnance. He promised not to maintain a foreign agent at his court. For the Peshwa, the terms of the treaty of Poona 'made the British control more difficult to resist, but more irksome to bear'. 129 The third Anglo-Maratha War was indeed the aftermath of a decade of British diplomacy at the Court of the Peshwa .

It has been pointed out that the hunt of the Pindaris became merged in the third Anglo-Maratha War. 130 The Pindaris, who were a horde of obscure freebooters and cruel marauders and heard of as auxiliaries in the Maratha army as early as 1689, rose like 'masses of putrefaction in animal matter out of the corruption of weak and expiring States'. They had neither the tie of religion nor that of national feeling. They were all mounted on horse; they avoided pitched battles and their sole object was plunder. Their rendezvous was at Nemawar. Prolific in crime, their accursed prominent leaders like Hera Buran, Cheetu, Karim Khan, Dost Muhammad, Wasil Muhammad, Shaikh Dullo and Namdar Khan turned Malwa, Rajasthan and Madras Presidency into wilderness. The Pa than condottiere like Shahmat Khan and Mir Khan extorted money from merchants by tying cotton to their fingers and then setting it on fire. They extorted treasure from princes and men in power, and moved about with the materials of regular battles and sieges. Lord Hastings' plan was to round up these predatory hordes and all those elements that were abetting them. Malcolm met the Peshwa, the Nizam and Appa Saheb Bhosle for this purpose. There was no sufficient response from the Peshwa and Appa Saheb. Metcalfe formed special treaties with the chiefs of Kota, Bhopal, Bundi, Udaipur, Jodhpur and Jaipur so that none of them could harbour the Pindaris. According to the terms of the treaty of Gwalior, Sindia agreed to extend his co-operation for the suppression of the Pindaris. Lord Hastings moved first to the British camp on the Yamuna opposite Agra and later to Bundelkhand. He gathered together a huge army of 113,000 men and 300 guns. The army of Hindustan consisting of four divisions were commanded by Lord Hastings and General Ochterlony. The army of the Deccan consisting of five divisions was under Sir Thomas Hislop with Malcolm as his political agent. Lord Hastings opened the campaign on 16 October, 1817. Karim Khan and Wasil Muhammad were routed on 13 December, 1817, at Shahabad never Jlialwar. Karim Khan submitted to Malcolm on 15 February, 1818, and he was given a small estate near Gorakhpur. Wasil Muhammad surrendered to Sindia and then committed suicide after an unsuccessful attempt to escape. On 3 February, 1818, Namdar Khan submitted to Colonel Adams at Devrapur near Bhopal. Mir Khan accepted the Nawabship of Tonk in November, 1817; Cheetu was devoured by a tiger in March, 1818. According to Sardesai, the Pindari war was only a grand British plan for extinguishing all vestiges of the Maratha power and establishing British supremacy in India. He says that the Pindari war and the Maratha war form complements of one and the same objective. 131 It is true that Baloji Kunjar met Cheetu at Nemawar and Trimbakji planned to unite the Pindaris against the English. 132 The Peshwd also sent an emissary to Mir Khan. 133 But it has to be noted also that the Pindari chiefs tried to secure the support of the Maratha chiefs, but received only a partial response. 134 The Peshwd himself gave useful suggestions to Elphinstone for the suppression of the Pindaris. It is also significant that one of the favourite plans of Yashwant Kao Holkar was the complete extirpation of the Pindaris whom he never allowed to sit down in his presence. Holkar even reproached Sindia for the encouragement he had given to the Pindari chiefs. 135 The Pindari war gave the Peshwd an opportunity ‘to wipe out his disgrace and recover his possessions’, 136 and ‘to recruit a large army under pretence cf helping the British Government in suppressing the Pindaris.’ 137 Prinsep rightly says that during the Pindari war, the Peshwd and Bhosle reckoned with certainty on their ability to overwhelm the small British force stationed at their respective capitals. [138]

It is not clear whether Elphinstone exasperated the Peshwd to violate the treaty of Bassein and thus offer a pretext to the English to declare war against him. [139] It is certain, however, that Elphinstone found it impossible to keep peace with the Peshwd [140] who behaved with studied disrespect towards the former. [141] Baji Rao II misjudged the political situation, played into Elphinstone's hands, and supplied the legal justification for war. The slowly growing resolution of the Peshwd ripened to action on 5 November, 1817, when his military adviser Bapu Gokhale set fire to the Residency buildings. Bapu Gokhale with 18,000 horse, 8,000 foot and 14 guns launched an unsuccessful attack on the small force led by Captain Burr, who had 3,000 men and 5 guns on the plains extending from the Chatushringi hill to Kirkee near Poona. [142] In the battle of Kirkee, the British losses were 86 killed and wounded as against 500 of the Marathas. From Sirur General Smith arrived at Kirkee, defeated Bapu Gokhale at the battle of Yeravda on 15 November, 1817, and compelled the Peshwd to retreat to Purandhar.

Appa Saheb, too, rose in arms against the British, but he betrayed 'the greatest weakness and want of judgment'. He took advantage of the small British force, and with the help of three or four thousand Arabs, captured the Sitabaldi hill on 26 November, 1817. Captain Fitzgerald and the Bengal cavalry bravely defended the Residency of Nagpur. [143] Appa Saheb, who had 18,000 men and 26 guns, was defeated after fierce fighting at the battle of Sitabaldi (2 miles west of the old city of Nagpur) on 27 November, 1817. He surrendered on 16 December, 1817, and accepted the conditions offered by Resident Jenkins. Lord Hastings directed Jenkins to confine Appa Saheb in the fort of Allahabad. Raghuji Bhosle IPs grandson Bajiba Gujar (son of his daughter Banu Bai) was adopted by Parsoji's wife Durga Bai, and seated on the throne at Nagpur as Raghuji III on 16 June, 1818. On way to Allahabad, Appa Saheb effected a romantic escape from Raichur and took shelter in the Gond country of the Mahadev hills. [144] On 8 April, 1819, General Doveton, with the help of Sir John Malcolm, wrested Asirgarh from its commandant Yashwant Rao Lad. In vain did Appa Saheb retire to

Una in the Punjab hills to seek the assistance of the Sikhs. 145 Subsequently, he sought shelter with Man Singh, the Raja of Jodhpur, and passed away in 1840.

'Little flickers of sympathetic revolt* burned in Indore'. Young Malhar Rao Holkar III, his brave widowed sister Bhima Bai, Vithoji Holkar's son Hari Rao Holkar, and Ramdin fought with desperate courage at Mahidpur on 21 December, 1817, and suffered a decisive defeat. Their artillerymen stood to their guns till they were bayonetted. Malhar Rao, seated on an elephant shed tears on seeing his troops routed. 146 Negotiations for peace were opened by Malcolm with Tantia Jog. By the subsidiary treaty of Mandasor (6 January, 1818), 147 Malhar Rao Holkar III agreed to accept the British suzerainty, limit his troops to three thousand, maintain a British subsidiary force, submit all his foreign affairs to the arbitration of the Company, renounce all rights to the territories of Mir Khan and to all of Holkar's territory north to Bund! and South of the Satpura

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range. Ghafur Khan received a jdgir at Jawra. Ramdin alone with his impetuous courage and relentless energy proceeded to join the fugitive Peshwa.

Bapu Gokhale and Trimbakji Dengle continued to harass the British forces. Naro Pant Apte fetched Chhatrapati Pratap Singh, his mother and two brothers from the fort of Wasota and joined Bapu Gokhale on 14 December, 1817. On 11 February, 1818, Elphinstone issued a proclamation urging the subjects of the* Peshwa not to afford any assistance to him. 148 A number of jagirdars left the Peshwa's standard. 149 Elphinstone rescued the Raja of Satara and treated him with courtesy. On 20 February, 1818, Bapu Gokhale was overtaken by General Smith at Ashta and killed in a hotly contested battle. 150 BajI Rao II was surprised by Colonel Adams near Shevni on 17 April, 1818. He surrendered to Malcolm at Mhow near Indore on 3 June, 1818. The Peshwa lost his title 'Srimant'. His military following was disbanded. Trimbakji was condemned to life-long imprisonment in the fort of Chunar. Chhatrapati Pratap Singh was set up as a ruler of a small principality “as a sop to Maratha sentiment”. Munro’s suggestion that the Company should stand forth as the Peshwa , was not accepted by Lord Hastings. The GovernorGeneral at the request of Malcolm reluctantly guaranteed the Peshwa a pension of eight lakhs of rupees per annum. 151 BajI Rao II was allowed to live at Bithur, 12 miles north-west of Kanpur, for more than thirty years in splendid isolation till his death on 14 January, 1851. There is no doubt that “the year 1818 marks a watershed in the history of British India. In that year the British dominion in India became the British dominion of India.” 152

5. Causes of the Fall of the Maratha Power:

The history of ‘Sunset over Maharashtra* with its dramatic climax and grim aftermath has no simple explanation. It is a complex phenomenon and various explanations have been advanced to explain the fall of the Maratha power. “The rottenness at the core of Indian society”, 153 “the non-progressive social forces of the Marathas, their stagnant social order, their decadent social institutions’*, 154 “the lack of rational outlook and scientific knowledge*’, 155 the lack of artillery as the vital basis of warfare, and well-trained soldiers equipped with up-to-date arms and led by competent officers, 156 the want of requisite knowledge of military strategy and the scientific processes in the use and manufacture of superior arms, “the value attached to trained battalions on the European model and elbowing out of the native infantry and cavalry ele

merits,” 137 “the insensate dissensions, inordinate folly and criminal self-seeking” 138 have been mentioned as some of the responsible causes for the decline and fall of the Maratha power. These views no doubt reflect a facet of the truth. Put if any one of them is open to criticism, it is their emphasis on a single factor to the exclusion of others. N. C. Kelkar enlarges the discussion and focusses our attention on inordinate passion for separate domain, the absence of national patriotism, well-drilled army, and modern guns. 139 According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar “the victories of ShivajI and Baji Rao I created a reaction in favour of Hindu orthodoxy, it ran counter to the homogeneity and simplicity of the poor and politically depressed early Maratha society. It sapped the foundations of success” 160 thus encouraging forces of separatism.

If is indeed difficult to lind out a definitive ‘starting date’ of the decline and fall of the Maratha power. S$n maintains that in the very prosperity of the Maratha empire lay the germs of its disintegration, decline and decay. “While engaged against a powerful external enemy the Marathas, for the time being, could forget their private differences, but hardly was the crisis over when they prosecuted their quarrels recklessly, oblivious of everything else”. 161 Tarachand finds unmistakable signs of the ‘cracking of Maratha polity’ before 1761. 162 Sharma asserts that the Panipat disaster, Raghoba’s desertion to the English and the treaty of Bassein were the obverse and reverse of the same coin. 163 In his opinion, “the greatest blunder” committed by the Marathas was their northern adventure. ‘Maratha barbarism’ in the north created a host of enemies and they failed to organise their conquests. Commenting on the consequences of the third battle of Panipat, Sarkar says: “But what a change from the Indian world of 1760! The contrast can be most easily realised if we imagine that the Marathas had triumphed on that 14 January” 164 Sardesai, however, thinks that the Panipat disaster decided nothing, but it marks a turning point by ushering in a new participant (the English) for Indian supremacy. 163 To Duff, “the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha empire than the early end of Peshwa Madhav Rao on November 18, 1772”. 166 Sardesai and Banerjee maintain that had Madhav Rao I been alive, Haidar and Tipu would not have been able to reign unmolested, the British power would not have been able to come forward so easily and there would have been no treaty of Bassein. Sardesai asserts that in eastern lands individuals aldne can make or mar a nation’s fortunes. 167

Individual failings, however, arise from the social background. We should bear in mind that the Maratha state was gradually converted in consequence of the saranjdmi system from an ‘organic whole into an inorganic mass’, and ‘a loose confederacy of ambitious feudal chiefs’. 168 In the last decade of the eighteenth century, like the Chhatrapati, the Peshiuti too became the powerless head of the Maratha confederacy. 169 The new nobility—the Sindias, the Holkars, the Hastes, the Phadkes, the Patwardhans, the Bundelas and the Purandares—formerly regarded the Peshwd as their master whose bread they ate. But gradually they were influenced by the example of the old nobility—the Gaikwars, the Dabhades, the Bhosles—who claimed to hold their possessions by virtue of Shahu’s sanad and regarded themselves as equals of the PeshuXi. Consequently all sardars began to think of themselves as independent rulers of their own principalities. 170

The Maratha polity dissolved through internal stress. The conflicts between Nana Phadnis and the House of Sindia, between the Peshvxi and the Chhatrapatis of Satara and Kolhapur, between Daulat Rao Sindia and Yashwant Rao Holkar, between Malhar Rao Holkar II and Kashi Rao Holkar, between Parsoji, Baka Bai and Appa Saheb, between Tulsa Bai and Ram Din, between Anand Rao Gaikwar and KanhojI Gaikwar, are some instances of this suicidal schizophrenia.

It is difficult to overstate the evils which originated from the Sindia-Holkar rivalry. Its genesis is to be found in the political psychology of the times. It started as a race for obtaining power in Malwa and ended with a struggle for ascendancy in the Peshwa's Darbar at Poona. The Poona Darbar followed the imbecile policy of maintaining its hold by encouraging this friction. Nana Phadnis. made Tukoji Holkar his instrument against Mahadji Sindia. It is tragic indeed that even pious Ahalya Bai Holkar constantly egged on Tukoji Holkar to assert himself on terms of equality with Mahadji Sindia. 171 Surprisingly enough, a point of prestige rather than any substantial material gain was sometimes the cause of this conflict. The Sindia-Holkar rivalry disturbed the peace of the land, bred suspicion, fostered internal dissensions, hampered the establishment of Maratha hegemony in North India, and Anally broke up the Maratha coalition against the English.

The internal stress in Maratha State was emphasised by administrative anarchy. "Nothing could exceed the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the country; at the court, bribery, execution and murders; in the provinces violence, rapine and bloodshed ,, . m It is significant that when santoshpatti or contentment tax was imposed as a mark of popular delight on Peshwfr BajI Rao IPs accession, the shopkeepers of Poona closed their business and went on strike. 173 The Huzur Daftar or the Imperial Secretariat was sadly neglected. "People were even permitted to carry away the records, or do with them what they pleased". 174 We hear of so many cases of the failure of justice for the lack of settled procedure. Prinsep rightly pointed out that the army of Sindia and Holkar were the whole machinery of their government and were at all times kept in motion for the purpose of enforcing contributions from reluctant tributaries. 175 In Poona Residency Correspondence Volumes and Broughton's Letters Written in Mahratta Camp, we read the unending intrigues among Sindia's counsellors, the bankruptcy of his government, the disorder in his territories, the chronic mutiny of his troops and the sufferings of the traders and tillers of the soil. Yashwant Rao Holkar, too, had no settled government. His empire was the empire of the saddle. George Forster wrote to Charles Malet, describing how the administration of Bhosle was fast declining in strength and activity. He referred to Raghujl Bhosle II's seeming incapacity of governing and common dislike of his person. 176 The domestic policy of the Baroda Government was equally deplorable. Palmer rightly remarked that the Maratha State was "illqualified • for permanent conquests or civil government, however formidable might be the means which it possessed of ravage and destruction". 177

The Maratha chiefs believed that the highest political wisdom consisted in finesse or diplomatic intrigue. 178 But diplomacy in their hands stooped to the low level of playing a waiting game, base treacheries and selfish intrigues. The niethods employed by Maratha diplomats were extremely crude. Against this the diplomacy of the English was remarkable as they were always careful to win over a section of the opponents. Lord Wellesley made two timely proclamations on 29 August and 16 September, 1803, and approached the Rajput chiefs, the Raja of Bharatpur and Bhaktwar Singh, the Raja of Macheri, in order to effect the diplomatic isolation of the Maratha chiefs. Lord Hastings and Elphinstone kept strict watch ever the Peshwa's communications. Elphinstone had a regular postal system for communication with 'native Courts of India'. There was hardly any chief in the Peshwa's services who had not been won over by British money. 179

The military organisation of the Marathas was ill-organised, illeuipped and ill-disciplined. 180 In the army of Peshwd Baji Rao II, the rank of officer was given to men like Qadir Khan who was a butcher. 181 Discipline was lax and the emphasis was on pomp and display. Forbes tells us that the tails of grey horses were frequently dyed red and their manes plated with silk ribands and interspersed with silver roses. 182 At Laswari, Ambaji Ingle's richly caparisoned elephant drew everyone's attention. The Maratha chiefs and soldiers became addicted to the vices of camp-life. In 1800, Daulat Rao Sindia covered the 140 miles between the Tapi and the Narmada in 18 days, whiling away his time in attending to dance and music of dancing-girls, tiger-shooting and kite-flying. Bhosle's troops were imperfectly disciplined. Yashwant Rao Holkar commenced a complete reformation of his army only after his defeat in 1805. Elphinstone described the Maratha army as a "loose and straggling mass of camels, elephants, bullocks, nautch-girls, fakeers and buffoons, lancemen and matchlockmen, banyans and mootasuddis". 183

According to some Maratha scholars, the Marathas neglected to develop artillery as their main support of defence. But Ranade rightly says that the Marathas did not possess the requisite knowledge of scientific processes in the use and manufacture of superior arms. 184 The Marathas were also not very skilful in plying longrange guns; they lacked good gunners and artillerymen; they were handicapped by the absence of galloper guns; there were no pioneers attached to Maratha artillery to repair roads. They were also far behind the British sepoys in the accuracy and rapidity of their fire. Daulat Rao Sindia had a splendid park of artillery at Assaye. 185 At Patparganj, Laswari and Mahidpur, the British army was subjected to tremendous fire from the formidable train of Maratha artillery, 186 but the European commanders in Maratha service left on the eve of the war, and their trained battalions, for want of leaders, went down fighting against better-led and better-disciplined armies.

In fact, the Marathas became obsessed with the belief that artillery was everything in war. They had not been trained for the push of the pike or for the crossing of the bayonets. 187 They forgot that a cavalry with galloper guns could successfully oppose numerous heavy artillery. There was no perfect coordination of action in the Maratha army between cavalry, infantry and the advance of artillery in* close support of moving infantry. With the notable exception of Yashwant Rao Holkar, who had 60,000 horsemen, the Maratha chiefs did not maintain the efficiency of cavalry. 188 Sindia's cavalry was weak in number and poor in quality. Ambaji Ingle's cavalry fled away from the battle-field without plying their swords. The 29th Light Dragoons scattered Gulab Rai Kadam's cavalry like chaff. In contrast to all this, the British cavalry at Laswari covered 42 miles in 24 hours, though their horses were not watered or fed for 20 hours. The spearhead of the British attack at Laswari was a single cavalry regiment—the 29th Light Dragoons. Deliverance came to Arthur Wellesley at Assaye from his cavalry. The Maratha cavalry was useful for light raiding only, and it was never trained to deliver shock attacks. 189 Our attention has also been drawn to the fact that the Maratha chiefs' lack of knowledge of the geography of the country was suicidal for successful military operations.

A nation's liberty cannot be preserved only by foreign mercenaries. The Maratha army was not homogeneous in composition—the Maratha chiefs recruited the Arabs, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Sindhis, the Rohillas, the Abyssinians, the Pathans and the Topiwalas or Europeans in large number to strengthen their army. There were about 5,000 Arabs in the forces of Nana Phadnis. 190 In the first decade of the nineteenth century there were European officers, the Hindustani sepoys—mostly Purbias or men of Awadh, the Rajputs and the Pathans in the Maratha army The force which Baji Rao II raised in February, 1813, was composed mostly of North Indian men. 191 It is remarkable that there was not a single man of the Maratha race in Sindia's infantry and artillery that fought at Laswari. 192 Preference for foreign mercenaries in the Maratha army is obvious from the rates of pay of soldiers. An Arab soldier was paid Rs. 18 a month, a Christian and Portuguese soldier Rs. 15, a Hindustani sepoy Rs. 8 and a Maratha and Deccani soldier Rs. 6.*

The Maratha chiefs made a serious mistake in entrusting the defence of their country to foreigners. 193 Lake remarked that if Sindia's army had been sincerely led by French officers, the success of the English would have been extremely doubtful. Pohlmann, who had one full brigade at Assaye, marched away from the battle-field with his forces intact. 194 It was a French deserter who informed Lake about the difficulties and disorders within the fort of Aligarh. Captain Lucan, an Irish deserter from Sindia's army, guided the British storming party at Aligarh. Louis Bourquien fought half-heartedly at Patparganj on 11 September, 1803, and gave himself up as prisoner to the English. The general view was that Perron's conduct assured the English the supremacy of Hindustan. He gave antiBritish counsels, but removed the best and the most seasoned battalions of Sindia's corps from the expected points of attack. Napoleon rightly denounced Perron as a traitor to his profession. 195

There were discordant elements and ignominious betrayers among the Marathas too. Natu, Yashwant Rao Ramchandra, Yashwant Rao Ghorpade, and Daulat Rao Ghorpade supplied valuable information to the British Residents. 196 Ambaji Ingle took to flight from Laswari at the first sign of battle. The Maratha chiefs failed to secure the willing allegiance of their followers. The Maratha nation, as a whole, did not participate in the Anglo-Maratha wars.

Elphinstone observes: “The Marathas had at their command ample means of waging a successful war—armies, arms, ammunitions. Everything was ready. They only lacked a leader” He says that “it was the good fortune of the British that neither BajI Rao II nor Daulat Rao Sindia possessed the strength and spirit to stand forth boldly at a critical moment. If there was any other more intrepid man occupying the Peshwas position at that time, it was not difficult to conceive how the British would have fared”. 197 The Peshwd was notorious for his hasty retreats from battle-fields or watching them from the top of hills. Sindia's actions were marked by delay, indecision and theatrical demonstrations. As his dominions lay in the centre of the country, he had the advantage of operating on short inner lines, but this favour of geography was nullified by his imbecility and slackness. Yashwant Rao Holkar was the last typical Maratha soldier to make a name in history.

On the British side, the military preparations, the tactical moves and the most extraordinary exertions and gallantry were worthy of a race that deserves to win an empire. Lake gave constant exercise to his regiments according to a uniform system and personally headed every charge of his infantry. At Laswari, Lake rode in the front rank. He had two horses shot under him, and turning to look at his dying son, he led the infantry to the charge on the right of the 76th British Foot. Arthur Wellesley's war preparations were perfect. He made Ahmadnagar his fortified depot for food and munitions, organised the famous Mysore bullock teams and designed coracles and pontoons of copper-sheet barrels. Arthur always forced the Marathas to move in order to throw them into disorder. In the second Anglo-Maratha war, British officers like T. V. Vandeleur, Maxwell and Macan displayed amazing combativeness. Success was achieved by the most extraordinary exertions and determined fighting of the 19th Light Dragoons, the Madras Cavalry, the 8th Light Dragoons, the 29th Light Dragoons and the 76th British Infantry. In the third Anglo-Maratha War, the campaigns of Lord Hastings and General Smith are notable instances of inspired leadership, resolution and movements.

Some historians are of the opinion that the Marathas made a mistake by the untimely abandonment of their old guerilla tactics. BajI Rao II, Yashwant Rao Holkar and Sarza Rao Ghatge advised Daulat Rao Sindia to adopt guerilla tactics. Holkar exasperated Lake so much with his guerilla tactics that the latter wrote to Lord Wellesley, “I never was so plagued as I am with the devil”. [198]

For such tactics, only Holkar’s myriads of light forayers and indigenous cavalry were well suited. But even Holkar and the Pindari hordes were ultimately firmly dealt with by the Company’s war machine.

From the economic point of view, the Maratha State had no stable basis. Agriculture was dependent upon precarious rainfall. Commerce was subjected to harassment. There was little industry. The evils of the feudal system were too deeply entrenched. The cultivator’s marginal existence was jeopardized by farming and saranjami system, numerous civil wars and the exactions of the kamavisadars and the mcmdlois. Accounts were not properly maintained. Nana Phadnis’ hoarded treasure ran into several crores. It is true that there are numerous evidences to show the Peshwas concern for his ryots. But their agrarian legislation was Inadequate. The Maratha chiefs even authorised the plunder of their own territories for the subsistence of the troops. Their elastic sources of revenue were chauth and sardeshmukhi. The desultory warfare in the Maratha State in the last years is a gruesome tale of murder, pillage and desolation throughout Malwa, Khandesh and Desh districts of Maharashtra. The Maratha chiefs were greatly embarrassed for want of money. Their camps were never free from creditors. Sometimes, they had to raise money by mortgaging the future revenues of their territories. Their unpaid soldiers used to stage dhamas (coercive demonstrations) against their employers. 199 Daulat Rao Sindia had to face severe financial crises, submit to dhamas on many occasions and rely on rich money-lenders and bankers like Gokul Parekh. His unpaid soldiers staged a dharna before the battle of Assaye. 200 The keepers of Asirgarh surrendered the fort on receiving cash from Arthur Wellesley to clear up the arrears of the garrison amounting to seven lakhs. But Daulat Rao Sindia possessed a privy purse of 50 lakhs of rupees which no distress was sufficient to dislodge. Other Maratha chiefs were not so fortunate in having a surplus or reserve fund to fall back upon.

Much has been written on the ample financial resources of the Company. It is true that in the period following 1793, the major

portion of India's European trade passed into the hands of Great Britain. But it is true as well that at the end of the second AngloMaratha War, Lake's army was five months in arrears. 201 To meet the dire want, a sum of 25 lakhs was taken out of the cash meant for China. Under the pressure of Lord Wellesley's forward policy, the Company's debt increased from 17 millions in 1797 to 31 millions in 1806. 202

Various forms of moral cankers were also eating into the vitals of Maratha society—the popularity of erotic compositions of Anant Phandi and Ram Joshi, the wide-spread belief in witchcraft, the great demand of the services of astrologers, marriages of infant girls. Concrete instances are on record of excessive indulgences in sensual pleasures, drunkenness and frivolous enjoyments of the most degraded type on the part of top-ranking Maratha leaders like Peshwa BajI Rao II, 203 Nana Phadnis, Daulat Rao Sindia and Yashwant Rao Holkar.

The Marathas lacked the corporate spirit so essential for their national independence. To every one in that age his own fief (watan) was the only reality. Feudal system fostered individual selfish tendencies. The Maratha chiefs also failed to protect their subjects from excesses of their own armies. Peasants tended to turn towards anyone who could give them protection. The Maratha government was not influenced by the people and so the people did not take any interest in its permanence. 204 The cohesion of the Maratha people was not organic but artificial, accidental and therefore, precarious. The Maratha chiefs could not sink their differences and unite, even in times of common danger, for the service of the State and nation. Nationalism of the 19th century was unknown to them.

Casteism also added to want of social cohesion. Caste jealousy did play a part in the conflict between the Angrias and the Peshwas. As between caste and caste, the later Peshwas did not always maintain the balance evenly. 205 The partiality towards Brahmins imposed a heavy burden upon the finances of the Government. As Ranade remarks, “the infusion of the racial and caste elements among the military leaders of the nation was the most distinguishing mark of the latter half of the century. Ramdas’s high ideal was lowered and the usual consequences followed, such as decadence of virtues.” 2053 In the regime of Peshwa Madhav Rao I, we find Brahmins claiming commutation for money payment as a customary favour shown to them. Ptshwfo Narayan Rao took up the orthodox party’s cause. Under the order of the Peshwas, the Paithan Brahmins who refused to accept the verdict of the sastras were ex-communicated. The British Resident at Poona thought that all members of the Brahmin caste were more or less benefited by the Peshwa regime which was “after all a Brahmin raj”. 206

It has been said that the religious policy of the Peshwa was “reactionary to the extreme” 207 It should be called static rather than reactionary. We do not come across any punitive legislation against non-Hindus except in respect of cow-slaughter. The Muslims were not debarred from holding offices under the Peshwa s government. They were allowed free exercise of their religion without payment of any special tax. There were no discriminating tariffs. The Peshwds officially recognised the festival of Id-ul-Fitr. They paid homage to the dargas of Sayyid Sa‘adat and Shaikh Salla at Poona. Khairat Kharch or charity to Muslim institutions was a special item in their budget. The other Maratha chiefs were also liberal in their outlook. Muharram was the most popular festival at Sindia's capital. Daulat Rao Sindia always joined the Muharram procession. Yashwant Rao Holkar fed faqirs at Ujjain and visited the tomb of Qutb-ud-din Bakhtyar Kaki in Delhi. The Gaikwars confirmed to the pious Muslim grantees all their lands, emoluments and privileges which they used to enjoy under the previous government. It was customary for the ruler of Baroda to be present at the time of the Id prayer. It would thus appear that the religious policy of the Peshwds and other Maratha chiefs was tolerant of all religions.

Jadunath Sarkar 208 and Sen 209 hold the view that creative elan was arrested in the Maratha State as there were no well-thought out schemes of education and that the policies of the Maratha chiefs proceeded from their intellectual limitations. It is true that the Peshwds were never profoundly stirred by winds of change or zest for new education.

Kelkar and Sardesai recognise "the play of the contingent and the unforeseen" in the fall of the Maratha power. They think that nemesis overtook the destiny of the Maratha nation with the death of Ram Shastri in 1789, Hari Pant Phadke in 1794, Ahalya Bai Holkar in 1795, TukojI Holkar in 1797, Parashuram Bhau in 1799 and Nana Phadnis on 13 March, 1800. 210

The tragedy of the Maratha power was the inevitable result of nascent, formidable and aggressive British imperialism bursting upon a sleepy, inert and medieval society. The Maratha chiefs lived in the lengthening shadows of the medieval feudalism without

any idea of the sweeping changes that were then taking place in the western world.

NOTES

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154 Nadkami, R. V., The Rise and Fall of the Marathd Empire, p. 375.

155 Potdar, D. V., Review of Mardthe va Ingraj, p. 20.

156 Sardesai, op. cit., HI, p. 516.

157- Ranade, Miscellaneous Writings, p. 354.

158 Tarachand, History of the Freedom Movement, I, p. 263.

159. Kelkar, Mardthe va Ingray , pt. II, p. 17.

160- Sarkar, Shivdji (4th Edn.), p. 357.

161- Sen, S. N., Military System of the Marathas (1928), pp. 259-60.

162. Tarachand, op. cit., I, p. 62.

163- Sharma, Making of Modern India, p. 300.

164. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, II (1934), p. 355.

165. Sardesai, op. cit., II, p. 455.'

166. Duff, op. cit., (1921), I, p. 577.

167- Sardesai, op. cit,, III, p. 515.

168. Ranade, M. G., Miscellaneous Writings, p. 349.

169. Ranade, op. cit., p. 349.

170- Ibid.

171 Selections from Chandrachud Daftar, p. 9.

172. Duff, op. cit. (1912), III, p. 325.

173. Khare, X, 3933.

174. Macleod, J., Appendix to Elphinstone*s Report, p. xxix.

175. Prinsep, Transactions, I, p. 23.

176. P R C., V, p. 4

177. P R C., VIII, No. 11, p. 34.

178. Sarkar, Shivdji, p. 365 (1948 Edn.).

179. Peshwyanchi Bakhar (5th Edn.), p. 217.

180. Sen, Military System of the Mardthas, p. 259; see Maleti Report in P.R C., IV, pp. 266-77.

181. Khare, op. cit., XTV, 6405.

182. Forbes, James, Oriental Memoirs, II, (1813), p. 42.

183. Colebrooke, Life of Elphinstone, II, p. 137.

184. Ranade, M. G., op. cit., p. 354.

185- Malleson, The Decisive Battles of India , p. 264.

186 Pester, War and Sport in India, p. 155; Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, II, p. 63.

187- Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV, p. 309-10.

188- Sen, Military System of the Mardthas, p. 268.

189. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 309-10.

190- Peshwyanchi Bakhar (5th Edn.), p. 196.

191. Sardesai, op. cit., Vol. Ill, p. 446.

192. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire , Vol. IV, p. 298.

193. Sen, Military System of the Mardthas, p. 267.

194. Fortescue, V, p. 232, cited by Sen in op. cit.

195- Sardesai, op. cit., p. 414; see also Roberts, P. E., India Under Wellesley, p. 224.

196. Sardesai, op. cit., p. 488.

197. Colebrooke, Life of Elphinstone, I, p. 372.

19&. Martin, Wellesley*s Despatches, Vol. IV, p. 46.

199. P R C., Vm, pp. 106-08.

200. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV, p. 323; Khare, A L S ., XTV, 6734.

201. Sardesai, New History of the Mardthas, HI, p. 433.

202. Ross, Correspondence of Cornwallis, III, p. 522.

203. Khare, op. cit., XTV, 6710; PRC., XII, p. 467; Malcolm, Memoir, I, p. 212.

204. Peshwyanchi Bakhar, pp. 211-12.

205. Ranade, M. G., op. cit., pp. 350-51.

205a. Ranade, M. G., ibid.; See also H. G. Limaye, Life & Writings (1948), pp. 72-73.

206. P R C., n, p. 132, 342.

207. Qanungo, K. R., Historical Essays, p. 103.

208. Sarkar, Shivdji, (1948), p. 359.

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210. Sardesai, Main Currents of Mardthd History (1933), pp. 205-06.

CHAPTER XVI

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

(1799 - 1823)

Subsidiary Alliance System:

Lord Wellesley (Mornington) by his annexations and absorptions, established Great Britain as the ascendant power in India. The outright annexations, made after the war with Tipu, have already been referred to. Lord Wellesley resorted to arbitrary methods by which territorial acquisitions were made. In the case of three States—Tanjore, Surat and Farrukhabad he took over' the administration leaving to the ruler his title and a fixed income. But the most important development in British relations with ‘country powers’—Mysore, Hyderabad and Awadh, reveal very fully the nature of the subsidiary alliance system. The Treaty of Bassein, concluded by Wellesley with the Peshwd precipitated the second Anglo-Maratha War, and the subsequent subsidiary treaties with other Maratha Chiefs are best studied in connection with the AngloMaratha conflict.

The subsidiary alliance system did not originate with Lord Wellesley. As Malcolm says “alliances of the same character as those formed by Lord Wellesley had been entered into by almost all bis predecessors from Lord Clive downwards”. British alliance with Shuja-ud-daulah and his successor Asaf-ud-daulah of Awadh had some of the features of a subsidiary alliance system though in a rudimentary form. The treaty concluded with the Nizam in 1768 also contained a clause assuring him that some British contingents would be sent to his help when called upon to do so. Wellesley’s subsidiary alliance system, in its mature form, had the following features:—

(a) A subsidiary force was permanently stationed within the frontier of the allied State.

(b) A part of the territory was surrendered for the maintenance of the force.

(c) The subsidiary State was not to negotiate with any other power without previous consultation with the Company’s Government.

(d) It was not to take any European into its service except with British consent.

(e) A British Resident was stationed in the subsidiary State.

In this connection it should be noted that there were some variations in the terms of the Treaties with different States. Article 15 of the subsidiary treaty with Hyderabad dated 12 October, 1800, declared: “The Hon’ble Company’s Government hereby declare that they have no manner of concern with any of His Highness’s children, relations, subjects or servants, with respect to whom His Highness is absolute.” But the sixth article of the treaty with Awadh “reserved the positive right of interference in the internal management of that part of the country retained by the Nawab VazTr’*. The subsidiary treaty with Mysore of 13 July, 1799, belonged to a special category. It provided for a suitable subsidiary force for which the Maharaja would discharge the increased expense. “In case the Governor-General in Council apprehended failure in the supply of funds he shall be at liberty to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collections”.

Mill’s comments on this subsidiary alliance system in its mature form deserve to be quoted in full. “The oppressions of the native governments were limited by their weakness. When they received the use of English strength their oppressions were limited by nothing. Among small sovereignties of India misgovernment produced weakness and weakness invited conquest. The misgovernment, for example, of the Karnatak and Awadh would infallibly have produced the conquest of the one by Tipu, of the other by the Marat has.”

The system thus supported weak and vicious rulers. Though all interference in internal government was disclaimed, in some cases interference became generally inevitable. Wellesley’s charge against Awadh was chronic misrule. His own brand of subsidiary alliance by sapping the spontaneous energy of the protected state could not certainly improve the character of its government. As no national or patriotic vigour was now necessary, decay became very rapid. Wellesley could, however, justify his subsidiary alliance system in its imperial aspect. It enabled the British to maintain an efficient subsidiary army whose expenses were paid by Indian rulers. Wellington wrote: “The consequences have been that in this war with the Marathas, which it is obvious must have occurred sooner or later, the Company’s territories have not been invaded, and the evils of war have been kept at a distance from the sources of our wealth and power”. This policy in its imperial aspect formed the line of least resistance and the military line remained in advance of the political frontier.

CONSOLIDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1799-1823)

The expansionism of Wellesley is best studied in detail iin his relations with the Nizam, the ruler of Awadh and the chiefs of Tanj ore, Kamatak and Surat. Philip Francis said in parliament in March, 1804, “the fable says the fierce, rebellious lamb would never suffer the mild, gentle, moderate wolf to be quiet”. (Hansard: Parliamentary Debates, Vol. I, pp. 866-67).

The Nizam:

The subsidiary treaty of 1 September, 1798 was of a temporary nature, contracted “for the gentle conquest of an army of 14,000 men under the command of French officers in the service of the Nizam”. After the fall of Tipu, Wellesley made his next move. The Nizam was now promised protection against all enemies in a revised subsidiary treaty, clause 2 of which provided that the British Government “would not permit any power or state whatever to commit with impunity any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights or territories of His Highness”. To ensure this protection against the Marathas the subsidiary force was increased to eight thousand infantry, one thousand cavalry and the usual proportions of artillery. The Nizam assigned in perpetuity all that he had acquired from Mysore in 1792 and 1799. The Treaty of 12 October, 1800, also guaranteed him protection against subjects or dependants who withheld payment of tribute or excited rebellion or disturbance. As payment was made in perpetuity, the Nizam could not fall into arrears. Moreover, the territory he ceded was not traditionally a part of his dominions. Bitterness was not, therefore, generated by this treaty. But the Nizam had to disband large numbers of his own troops and they were responsible for local disorder for a long time. Wellington described the state of the Nizam’s country as late as January 1804 as ‘chaos itself.’

Awadh:

In January 1799, the Governor-General demanded of Sa‘adat ‘All of Awadh that he should disband his large, useless, expensive but dangerous army, to be replaced by new British contingents in addition to the existing troops of the Company. The Nawab was unwilling to agree to what Mill calls ‘total annihilation of his military establishment’. He was paying the instalments of his subsidy punctually, but it was argued that at one stage while the danger from Zaman Shah was great, he had demanded the services of a part of British troops in his capital for the protection of his person and authority from his disorderly troops. The British demand amounted actually to “peace-establishment in Oudh to the perpetual extent of war-establishment for defence against the Afghans”. This claim

was based on the 7th article of Sir John Shore’s treaty, but the Governor-General very conveniently wanted the ‘occasional augmentation’ to become a ‘permanent establishment’. Mill rightly says “such is the logic of the strong man towards the weak”. (Mill’s History o/ India, Vol. VI, pp. 142-43).

At one stage of the negotiations the Nawab-Vazir, in disgust, had perhaps expressed a desire to abdicate. The Governor-General wanted him to abdicate by a secret treaty in favour of the East India Company. “The vivacity of the Governor-General in the pursuit of his object was too great’’. The Nawdb-Vazir naturally withdrew his offer of abdication.

Wellesley now literally compelled the Nawab-Vazir to agree to disband his own army and maintain an augmented British military establishment. The Nawab began to pay his increased subsidies in regular Kists and when a demand for territorial cession was made, he protested. But the imperious Governor-General was not to be denied. The Nawab held out for more than seven months. He wanted an exclusive authority in that portion of his dominion that would be left to him. The Governor-General sent his brother Henry Wellesley to negotiate. He wanted an appearance of consent. The unfortunate Nawab had to yield, “a passive, helpless and reluctant obedience”. In November 1801 a new subsidiary treaty was signed by which he ceded what are now known as Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand divisions, besides the lower portion of the Ganga-Jamuna Doab. In the remaining portion of his dominion the Nawab-Vazir was “to act in conformity to the counsel of the officers of the Company”. It is relevant to note that the plea of misgovernment which was used against him at one stage of the negotiations does not appear to be a very convincing argument. It was used to reinforce others. The Nawab was not able to ensure better government in his reduced dominions and he later actually told the Governor-General that he did not possess sufficient authority in his dominions, and that he was galled by the interference of the Resident. But the Governor-General declined to exempt him from a restraint which, in his own words, only ensured “that degree of interference and control which is indispensably necessary for the support of British influence in Oudh”. (Martin, Wellesley Despatches, Vol. II, pp. 679-80). Wellesley was always thinking imperially and his manner, as Sir Alfred Lyall points out “showed very little patience, forbearance or generosity”.

The advantage derived by the British Indian Government from Wellesley’s arrangements in Awadh could not be denied. The

Nawab’s military power was now totally extinct. The British maintained a very considerable portion of the Bengal army at the Nawab’s expense and as the territory was permanently ceded, regular payment was also assured. Awadh w^s now entirely surrounded by British territory except in the direction of Nepal. It was no longer a buffer state and Sindia’s possessions in the north and those of the British in this region now lay contiguous to each other. As Wellington put it “the frontier was not increased. The Company were equally bound to defend and had actually defended the same frontier in 1798 and 1799. .. so that all will gain strength without the smallest degree of disadvantage or weakness”.

For the settlement of the ceded provinces, Wellesley appointed a board of commissioners. His brother Henry Wellesley, famous later in England as the diplomat Lord Cowley, was appointed as the Lieutenant Governor. A preliminary settlement was made and in 1803 the Bengal Code of regulations was introduced. It should also be noted that the Nawab of Farrukhabad, whose territory extended for about 150 miles along the western bank of the Ganga, was persuaded in June 1802 to cede his country in perpetuity to the English in return for a pension. The Nawab was under the suzerainty of Awadh but was by treaty under special British protection. It should, however, be noted that “the ground upon which the necessity of taking the country was founded, the bad character of the Nawab, was discovered and that before the conclusion of the business to be false”.

Karnatak (Arcot):

Wellesley was perhaps justified in his decision to end the administration of the Nawab of the Karnatak. The subsidy paid by the Nawab for the maintenance of the British army bore so large a proportion to his revenues that he was forced to incur debt. The Company’s servants becoming creditors, there existed a divergence between their interests and those of the Company. The poor inhabitants suffered miserably. Wellesley decided to end this very undesirable state of things. He might have adopted a straightforward course and “a technical and legal screen need never have been erected”. He declared, however, that a mass of papers had been found which proved that a secret correspondence existed between Muhammad ‘All, his son Umdat-ul-Umara and Tipu Sultan. A sort of exparte judicial investigation was made. The so-called inimical correspondence was really ‘a mass of rubbish’. It contained only expressions of friendly sentiment in the usual flamboyant Persian style. Even then these were merely Vakil’s reports—second-hand evidence at best. On the basis of this, to declare that Umdat-ul-Umara was a public enemy was preposterous. In his usual grandiloquent style Wellesley declared that the Karnatak Nawab had forfeited his throne. Unfortunately for the Governor-General Umdat-ul-Umara died\ on 15 July, 1801, when the decision was to be communicated to him that he was to be pensioned off. Of his boy successor a demand was made in indecent haste to agree to surrender his administration and retain the title and a liberal pension. On his declaring his inability to agree to this arrangement, the offer was made to a nephew of the deceased Nawab, Azim-ud-daulah. He accepted because he had everything to gain and the whole civil and military administration was taken over by the British. (P. E. Roberts’ India Under Wellesley, pp. 101-107).

Surat and Tan] ore:

Another such unceremonious act of dethronement was that of the Nawab of Surat. In this case, however, Wellesley made a new claim that the Company succeeded to the power of the Mughul empire. Sarphoji of Tanjore also sank into a pensioner, the terms of the Governor-General being dictated to him.

Awadh, Arcot, Tanjore, Surat and Farrukhabad were too weak to oppose what was demanded of them, but the Maratha opposition to the establishment of British ascendancy, inevitable after the signing of the Treaty of Bassein on 31 December, 1802, continued even in July 1805 when Lord Cornwallis came to India as the successor of Lord Wellesley. He summed up the position thus—"We are Still at war with Holkar and we can hardly be at peace with Sindia". In the despatch which the Court of Directors sent to the Board of Control for their approval, known as Draft No. 128, they censured Lord Wellesley and thus summed up the political situation in India: "The territories which we have lately acquired under treaties and by conquest are of so vast and extensive a nature and the engagements lately concluded with the several chiefs and rajahs so complicated that we cannot take a view of our situation and of the political relation in which we now stand towards the various Indian powers without being seriously impressed with the wisdom and necessity of that solemn declaration of the legislature, 'that to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour and the policy of the nation'." (Home Mis. Series, 486, pp. 153-54).

Cornwallis died on October 5, 1805. His successor, Sir George Barlow, in his relations with 'country powers' tried to act according to the declared principle of the foreign policy of the Court of Directors. The Jamuna became the British frontier in the West. Favourable terms were granted to Sindia and Holkar. But the treaties of Bassein, Hyderabad and Lucknow remained, and all territorial arrangements made by Wellesley prior to the second Anglo-Maratha War were left undisturbed.

Three extracts from Sir George Barlow's minutes explain very fully why in some cases he deviated from a system of non-interference and adhered to Wellesley's subsidiary system. Barlow thus wrote about the subsidiary treaty with the Nizam: "The object of this alliance was to combine in perpetuity the interests of the two States, to concentrate their strength for their mutual safety and for the maintenance of peace and participation of the hazard and advantages of unavoidable war; that its stipulations were not conditional but absolute; that it became interwoven in the system of respective governments and complicated with the relations which both governments separately and conjointly bore to other states and that new relations and new obligations of public faith and honour had been engrafted upon it and had grown up with it." He even justified interference in the internal affairs of the Nizam. He wrote, "the adoption of that system necessarily presupposed a just conception on the part of His Highness of the true principles and solid advantages of the alliance and a sincere disposition to maintain it. It presupposed a degree of firmness, discernment and dignity on his part which would lead him to reject the councils of profligate and interested advisers who would endeavour to persuade him that the obligations of dependence and degradation are synonymous". Barlow would not also make any change in the Treaty of Bassein in deference to the wishes of his employers. He wrote, "in the dissolution of the alliance with the State of Poona the question of our public faith is involved not only with the Peshwa but with His Highness the Soubahdar of the Deckan, the Treaty of Bassein containing stipulations in favour of His Highness of which the foundations were laid in the Treaty of Hyderabad, concluded in October, 1800".

Sir George Barlow has been described by some as "the meanest of the Governor-Generals". He dissolved the ties established recently with the chiefs of Rajputana and the cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs by Lord Lake. But his policy was not one of total reversal as was proved by his refusal to modify existing relations in the south. According to Barlow's arrangements west of the Jamuna, Macheri and Bharatpur were the only States that continued to have a defensive alliance with the Company. But it was impossible to make the Jamuna a barrier. As Lake had written, "it was fordable in several places above Agra even before the 1st October and it was not a boundary of any strength at any place above the junction of the river with the Chambal for more than a few weeks of the rainy season." The Court of

Directors themselves felt that Barlow's abandonment of Jaipur to Maratha attacks was not perhaps proper. In their letter dated 30 October, 1805, they even wrote, "to recede is often more hazardous than to advance".

Lord Minto's Administration:

Lord Minto came to India in July 1807. The period of his administration extends upto October 1813. Sir John Malcolm wrote, (Malcolm, Sir John, Political History of India, p. 244): "The Government of Lord Minto had no result more important than the impression it conveyed to the authorities at home of the utter impracticability of perseverance in that neutral policy they had desired to pursue. It was a progressive return to a course of action more suited to the extent, the character and the condition of the British power".

Lord Minto sent Metcalfe as an ambassador to Ranjit Singh. The Treaty of Tilsit, concluded between Napoleon and the Czar Alexander in July 1807, had made the British foreign office nervous. In view of the possibility of a Franco-Russian advance in the direction of India the British Indian Government sought to win over the rulers of Lahore, Kabul and Teheran. Malcolm was sent to Persia, Elphinstone to Kabul, Metcalfe to Lahore. But in the meantime taking advantage of the British policy of non-intervention west of the Jamuna, Ranjit Singh, master of Lahore and Amritsar had attempted in two expeditions in 1806 and 1807 to bring the Sikh chiefs between the Sutlej and the Jamuna under his control. These cisSutlej Sikh chiefs, in their alarm had approached the British Resident at Delhi but had received no encouragement: This was the state of things when Metcalfe came to the Punjab on his mission. Ranjit Singh must have argued in his mind, "if the British really thought his friendship essential he might as well get a price for it." Before the negotiations had advanced, Ranjit Singh embarked on his third cis-Sutlej expedition which has been compared by a contemporary chronicler to an earthquake. All the cis-Sutlej chiefs practically acknowledged his overlordship and paid a nazarana. As he came back from the expedition Metcalfe under instructions from the Governor-General demanded that he must surrender all the places he had conquered in his third expedition and that the cis-Sutlej Sikh chiefs "are and will remain under the protection of the British Government". The political situation in Europe had improved for England on account of the Spanish insurrection, the victories of Sir Arthur Wellesley at Talavera and -Bussaco and the signing of the Treaty of Dardanelles between England and Turkey. Lord Minto was no longer anxious to have an anti-Gallican alliance. He rather wanted to check the rising Sikh power, "to oppose the extension on the Indian side of the Sutlej of the ambitious military power which would be substituted upon our frontier for a confederacy of friendly chiefs rendered grateful by our protection and interested in our cause". Ranjit Singh was not prepared for a sudden change in the political situation. At one stage he even meditated war. British troops under Sir David Ochterlony were sent to Ludhiana to back British demands. At last Ranjit Singh yielded. His consciousness of his inability to meet the British power at this moment, his fear that the Sikh chiefs on the other side of the Sutlej would take advantage of the impasse, compelled Ranjit Singh to yield. A treaty was concluded. Ranjit Singh retained the territory he had possessed on the left bank of the Sutlej before the coming of Metcalfe, but he was not to maintain in that territory more troops than were necessary for internal duties. Now the car of Juggernaut rolled over the small cis-Sutlej states. The Sutlej, instead of the Jamuna, became the British frontier.

Lord Minto also took vigorous measures against the refractory chiefs of Bundelkhand, reduced the celebrated forts of Ajaygarh and Kalinjar and established tranquillity in Bundelkhand. Amir Khan, the Pindari chief, menaced Berar. The Raja of Berar did not solicit British aid, but Minto assembled a considerable force on the eastern border of Berar as also on the south-western frontier of Bundelkhand. Colonel Close occupied Sironj, the, .capital of Amir Khan. Amir Khan, however, escaped. Minto could have, with the force at his disposal, conquered Malwa, but he desisted from an active policy of conquest. Negotiations for a subsidiary treaty with the Raja of Berar were carried on for some time, but then the Governor-General turned his attention to the conquest of Java and the negotiations were not brought to any conclusion. Lord Minto would have perhaps returned to the subsidiary system of alliances if his preoccupations elsewhere had not prevented him. He wrote to the Resident at Poona on 11 Nov. 1811: "It is not the intention of these remarks to question the policy of those subsidiary alliances or the great and beneficial influence on the condition of the British Empire in India in times past, present and to come. They have added most materially to our power and Resources and they have placed for ever at a distance dangers far greater than any to be apprehended from

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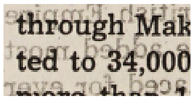

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CONSOLIDATION (1799-1823)

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JSiepaiese province of Kumaon bordering upon RohUkhand jvilfe ri?

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M Major Hearsey. Gardner succeeded in pushing the .g^lias up to AUnora. But Hearsey advancing up the Kali river

by the Gurkhas and taken prisoner. However, British troops Gurkhas who were forced back, had to sUr

render the whole district of Kumaon with all the forts $nd withdraw to the west of the Kali river. Ochterlony’s communications were now clear and he advanced another step. compelled the Gurkha , 1 ^er s ^W) ^§y}gJt/J’h 1 ? ipa to surrender the strong fort; of Malaun

east of the Kali river.

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independence of the. Sikkim. Raja, who had, allied himself with the

9 f#,Sritish,%sidency at Khatmandu,,-.,Bi?t the war ^fte^^^epdant at the Gurkha capital, the treaty,, though

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upon Hariharpur, another up the Gandak to Ramnagar and the main body under Ochterlony marched straight up to Khatmandu. Ochterlony had an uninterrupted career of success. He came up with his enemy at Makwanpur, about 20 miles from Khatmandu and succeeded in defeating them. The rapid success of Ochterlony's operations and the consciousness that the capital now lay open to assault, induced the Nepalese Darbar to ratify the treaty. The treaty of Sagauli signed in March 1816 made some modification in the terms concerning the cession of the T&rai "a considerable tract between the Michi and Gandak rivers, exclusive of a small space on the Saran frontier but comprehending Bhotwal, was restored to the Nepalese". A portion of the Tarai was given to the Raja of Sikkim. The Raja of Sikkim also signed a protective treaty in February 1817. (History of British India by H. H. Wilson, Vol. II, pp. 52-53).

It is significant to note that this cession of Garhwal and Kumaon to the west of the Kali river drove a wedge of British territory between Sikh dominion on the one side and Gurkha dominion on the other. Ran jit Singh commented in a private conference in May, 1815: "Though apparently sincere friendship is supposed to exist between myself and the English Sahibs, yet in reality our relations are merely formal and conventional. Therefore, I had thought often to myself that if ever the English Sahibs would act differently in their 'dealing with me, I would call upon the Gurkhas and make friends with them, and in case they showed any hesitation I intended to make over the fort of Kangra to them to win their comradeship. Now they have gone away from the mountains... I never expected such a thing to happen as would make the mountain regions become empty of them so suddenly". (Events at the Court of Ran jit Singh, p. 192).

Suppression of the Pinddris:

After the successful termination of the Anglo-Nepalese war, Lord Hastings reduced Hathras, whose chief, a British tributary, had become contumacious. The next important achievement of Lord Hastings was the suppression of the Pindaris, "who had arisen like masses of putrefaction in animal matter out of the corruption of weak and expiring states". Extension of the subsidiary system and disbandment of the Indian troops of the ‘country powers’ had considerably increased these lawless elements. As Sir Thomas Munro said, “they had become so amalgamated with the whole of the loose part of the military population of India that it had become a system, not a particular force that was to be subdued”. They have been compared to swarms of locusts. The anarchy produced by the Pindaris could be compared to the state of affairs around the shores of the Levant in Pompey’s days. The number of these freebooters in Malwa was estimated by Captain Sydenham at 30,000 horse. Tod’s estimate was 41,000. The numbers certainly varied, for their ranks were recruited whenever there was any prospect of plunder from the troops of Sindia, Holkar and Amir Khan. There were a certain number of leaders, possessing territories and forts and a body of attached adherents. In the time of Lord Hastings the three chief leaders were Cheetu, Wasil Muhammad and Karim Khan. The connection between Amir Khan and the Pindaris was very intimate some years before, and even in the days of Lord Hastings they looked up to him and were associated with his followers by similar habits of life. The army of Amir Khan lived by plunder in a defined sphere. The Pindaris lodged their families and wealth in their haunts “situated upon or near the great range of the Vindhya mountains between which and the right bank of the Nerbudda there intervenes a strip of fertile country interspersed with ridges of low hills and forests”. Malwa, Marwar, Mewar and other states of Rajputana were devastated by them. Some of them began to plunder Berar and entered the dominions of the Nizam and the Peshwd. In their quest for new lands to plunder they began to raid the territory of the Company—Mirzapur and South Bihar in 1812 and Northern Sarkars in 1816. The Directors in England at last ordered that necessary steps should be taken to root out this evil. Lord Moira knew that this could not be done by a purely defensive system.

As soon as it was generally known that the British Government was willing to abandon the system of non-interference, the Rajput States, harried and plundered by the Pindari bands, became anxious to enter into treaties of alliance. Udaipur, Jodhpur, Kota and Bundi and thirteen other Rajput states entered into treaties that guaranteed them protection. The tributes due to other powers were transferred to the British Government, each being guaranteed against any attack, external or internal. Each was definitely told that independent external relations were forbidden. They were at the last gasp of their existence and they were glad to enter the company’s system. The Nawab of Bhopal also signed a treaty and became a British ally. The Jaipur chief for some time procrastinated and was the last of the Rajput States to enter the British political system. Negotiations were also opened with Amir Khan, the Pindari chief. In November 1817, his Vakil concluded a treaty with Metcalfe. He was recognised

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Sir Thomas Hislop. The operations began from Handia Qp the. Nar oiBoiitnwisy- asw jumpiirt offf bna^sfli! ctfA

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were fenced off by clever strategical movements. By the .end of

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Vasil Muhammad committed suicide and Cheetu was devoured.by a, tiger in Asirgarh jungles. But the hunt of the Pindaris became, itierged in the third Mkratha war. As A MSlcofm..^roie,..^roni approbation of his superiors, Lord Hastings carriedflne^ plans r Joi Lord WMlfesley to comple¥i8if Wai fc y&y^wj^ere Weir pro]g£k&s to a successful issue had^ beefl 1 artesfetf twel^e^yea^^iDefore^

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1 rThus ended the terrible anarchy : and disorder, qfo Raj putana and Malwa. Central India was- tranquillised. T The! extension of -British? influence? was, based ln these regions upon sthef destruction; of* the prek d^tory system* As it has been said^ the ipolitical 1 frarhework^ofe ©rM tish India was finished in all essentials. During the subsequtenfc years only details were changed. The central power, once dominant, nkfdrally gri^^tf f ^kli 1 scattered u tlnlmselyes

againSt this Central power in vain. Lord'tlksilng^s sea? r/o 1 longer proclaimed that the Governor-General was a servant of the Great Mughul. The supremacy now belonged to the British GoVerhmpnt andnwas Accepted by th<e Indian rulers. 1 19f ^° n99tiinf Bns

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SftetS^Sgive accounts of the system. 4 All these soihheS 3 ^# the leaiA^ Hhc^S^ased on thhin, in addition to Ayna patra 5 and Elphiristfahe'^ Reph^t oti ihe T&trivories Conquered from 1 th0SiPMfy'mi(l&i9h givel usi a^good account as to how the Maratha Gqy^||omOhtBiupetioneddnBth^il7th and 18th centuries and how their

(mobilized arid fought, j Shall we ostrich-like bury our

head and ignore this original contemporary material in the Marathi language and base our conclusions on writings of distant British and Dutch merchants whose trade was thrown in confusion by Shivaji's revolt for the liberation of his homeland, or on the Muslim chronicles which breathe antipathy to the Hindu rebel in every sentence? Vincent Smith and his followers have given a warped view of Marathi administration as it obtained in the homeland. The time has come to challenge the Vincent Smith School postulates and cultivate a correct perspective, taking account of the newly discovered material and the works of Ranade, Sarkar, Sen and Kulkarni.

Administration: ShivajVs period:

The King:

Monarchy as an art found one of its brilliant exponents in Shivajl. He was truly a Carlylean hero as King. "His mission was order. He was here to make what was disorderly, chaotic, into a thing ruled, regular." 6 His government was rationally organised and was guided by noble ideals of beneficence. His reforms remind us of measures usually associated with a civilized state. Shivajl attempted to wield the scattered elements of his people into a nation and organize them as a political community. The Maratha State under him could be described as a national monarchy. The activities of his government were not merely confined to law and order and collection of revenue, but embraced the entire life of the community. As the author of the Shiva Bharat says, “The Maharashtra country attained its literal significance, viz., the great nation, on account of Shivaji’s efforts. The people of Maharashtra became rich and happy.” 7 In every department of administration and grasp of details, Shivajl invites comparison not only with the famous Indian rulers and administrators like Asoka, Akbar and Sher Shah, but Europeans like Napoleon, Frederick the Great, and Americans like George Washington. He represented the principle of harmony in society and acted as the Protector of Dharma (Righteousness). Tradition says that Shivajl offered his kingdom to his Guru Ramdas and ‘acted merely as dust on his Master’s feet,’ 8 but in practice he exercised the supreme direction, was the supreme executive and the commander-in-chief of his forces., The author of the Ajhapatra regards him as the creator of an altogether new order. 9

Since the downfall of the Yadavas in 1318 A.D. the political history of Maharashtra is a story of humiliation of the upper classes and degradation of the masses. It was a period of complete national prostration. Feudalism had become the bane and blight of preShi vaji Maharashtra. The whole country was covered with petty Watandars, who while pursuing their selfish ends, tyrannized the poor peasantry. The rivalries of these feudal barons were numerous, the feelings were hot and collisions frequent; these feudal lords were always engaged in savage blood-feuds which are recounted in Raj wade’s 15th volume of his Sadhanen in gruesome details.

To make matters worse, the Deccan at that time was visited by a terrible famine. Thus the prevailing famine and feudalism with its concomitant evils of private war, blood-feuds, anarchy and oppression rendered the life of the masses miserable. Sir Jadunath Sarkar remarks: “In that dissolution of civil administration and social order which marked the twilight before the emergence of Shivaji as an independent king, no justice could be had, no legal rights enforced by normal peaceful agency, because such agencies had perished. The strong alone could hold their own, but they did not stop with self-defence and usually turned into usurpers of other people's rights". 10 Shivaji's organization of a systematic and orderly government with its emphasis on impartial justice and equal treatment to all "was the most conspicuous feature against this background of disorder and anarchy". 11 Cosmo de Guarda who wrote his Vide e accoens do famoso e felicissimo Sevagy in 1695 observes: "Such was the good treatment Shivaji accorded to the people and such was the honesty with which he observed his capitulations that none looked upon him without a feeling of love and confidence. He was exceedingly loved by his people; both in matters of rewards and punishments he was so impartial that while he lived he made no exception for any person, no merit was left unrewarded, no offence went unpunished." It was his high sense of justice and genuine concern for the welfare of his subjects that made an intense, appeal to the people of Maharashtra and they hailed him as their emancipator and deliverer. "Shivajl's dominions," remarks Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "first of all spread through the conquests of hearts which the honest and strong administrator alone can achieve among a simple ahd rustic population". 12

Another equally striking feature of the New Order was Shivajl's concern for the common man, irrespective of wealth, caste or creed, in his scheme of national regeneration. By setting before them the goal of Swarajya (our own government) and by providing them equal opportunities for advancement in life, depending on merit, rather than heredity and pride of pedigree, he converted the extreme Individualism and turbulent spirit of the Maratha character into a

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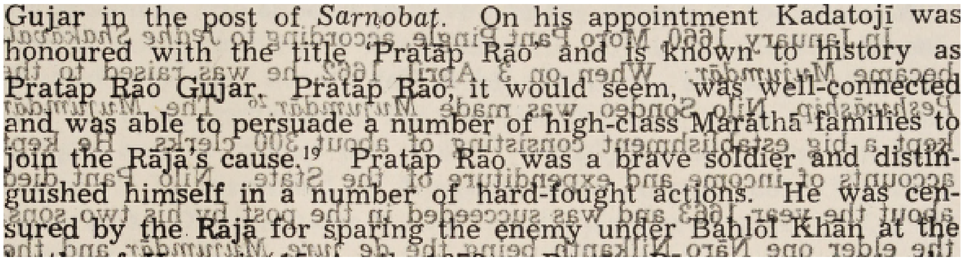

Gujar in the post of *Sarnobat*. On his appointment Kadatojī was honoured with the title ‘Pratāp Rāo’ and is known to history as Pratāp Rāo Gujar. Pratāp Rāo, it would seem, was well-connected and was able to persuade a number of high-class Marāthā families to join the Rājā's cause.[19] Pratāp Rāo was a brave soldier and distinguished himself in a number of hard-fought actions. He was censured by the Rājā for sparing the enemy under Bahlol Khān at the

February, 1674) in a wild charge. 20

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pointment as under: “When Shivajl was sent back to the Poona jdcfir in 1640-41, Balakrishna Pant, cousin of Naro Pant Dikshit, went with him as a Mujumddr' 925

In January, 1660, Moro Pant Pingle, according to Jedhe Shakavali became Mujumddr . When on 3 April, 1662, he was raised to the Peshwdship , Nilo Sondeo was made Mujumddr 26 The Mujumddr kept a big establishment consisting of about 300 clerks. He kept accounts of income and expenditure of the State. Nilo Pant died about the year 1663 and was succeeded in the post by his two sons, the elder one Naro Nilkanth being the de jure Mujumddr and the younger one, Ramchandra Nilkanth the de facto Mujumddr , as he possessed the necessary talent. 27

The Qatiu Zabta or Code of Conduct was promulgated by the Raja at the time of his Coronation. 2 * Though doubts have been raised about the date of the document, 29 the Zabta may be considered as a fair exposition of the duties of the eight ministers. 30

(1) The Peshwd or Mukhya Pradhdn was to supervise the general administration of the kingdom. His seal on all royal documents was necessary if they were to be effective. He was, when necessary, to lead the armed forces in battles, make arrangements for the administration of newly

acquired territories. He was to work with the counsel and co-operation of his colleagues.

(2) The Amdtya) or Mujumddr was the Finance Minister. He was to supervise the income and expenditure of the State. For this purpose the record-keepers and accountants of the Subdhs were to be subordinate to him. He was required to put his seal on all official documents and the statements of income and expenditure. Like the Peshwd , he was not merely a civil officer, but when necessary was to fight and protect territory. At the Coronation the post was held by the two sons of Nilo Sondeo. Naro Nilkanth was the elder of the two. But as he was lacking in ability, the work of the post was looked after by his younger brother Ramchandra Nilkanth. 308 He fully justified his choice and in later days was the leader of the hosts which defeated Mughul armies.

(3) The Sachi'i) (Persian Surnis) was to examine all royal letters and put them in proper shape by carrying out necessary corrections. He was to serve in war and protect the acquired territory. His seal was necessary for all royal documents. Annaji Datto was the famous S&chiv of Shivaji who carried out survey of land, and his assessment is known as Annaji Datto’s DJiord.

(4) The Mantri (Waqnis) was a kind of Home Minister. He was not a mere chronicler as Sir Jadunath Sarkar would have us believe. According to the Zabta he was to deliberate on all political problem?. He appears to have had the powers of the Home Minister of the present day. Invitations (to Royal audiences?), chronicling of important events, fell in his province. His seal was necessary for royal documents. He was also required, when called upon, to fight and to protect the taluka. Gangaji Mangaji was the first Waqnis to be succeeded by AnnajI Datto in August 1661. Within a year Anna j I Datto became Sumis and his place was taken by Dattaji Trimbak.

The duties of the Senapati (Commander-in-Chief), Pandit Rao (Danadhyaksha) and Chief Justice were clearly cut out. The Senapati was to look after military affairs, deal with the problems of his men and lead the army into battle. The Pandit Rao' was the Ecclesiastical head, looking into religious problems. The Chief Justice was to supervise the administration of justice. Justice was, in most cases, locally administered by village and Pargana Pan chdyats or caste Panchayats. It was only when the p&rty wfis not satisfied with the decision of the Panchayats that the Subdhdar referred the matter to higher authorities who, in the first instance, granted him a fresh Panchdyat and when that decision was also not satisfactory, the question came before the entire court. Such occasions must have been rare indeed.

The Pandit Rao was the expounder of Hindu Law and the &astras; all matters of religion, religious disputes, grants to holy per*sons and temples were referred to him.

For the proper administration of the country, the-country was divided into three divisions; upper Konkan was placed under Moro Trimbak Peshivd , Southern Konkan under Annaji Datto Sachiv. The Desh country was put unter Dattoji Trimal Waqnis. Revenue and other collections were made through Karhurts, Tarajdars and Havaldars. Over them were Subdhdar s whose work was supervised by the Ministers. These three were to submit to the Raja the state* ments of accounts and were to deliver balances into the treasury. 31 Obviously they did not remain at the court throughout the year, but functioned through their Mutaliqs or deputies.

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It is said that at the time of the Coronation the eight members of the council got their Sanskrit names and stood round the throne to pour holy water from gold and silver jars on the King’s head. They stood in the following order, 32

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negotiations in person. At best, they were his'^dyisq^S and secretaries who looked to the details, once the Raja laid Sown

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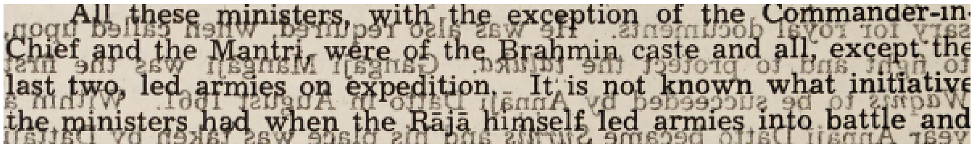

All these ministers, with the exception of the Commander-in-Chief and the Mantri, were of the Brahmin caste and all, except the last two, led armies on expedition. It is not known what initiative the ministers had when the Rājā himself led armies into battle and

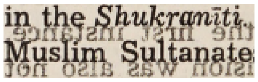

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with eighteen forts; (13) Prant Vellore —modern Arcot district with twenty-five forts; and (14) Prant Tanjore with six forts. The kingdom covered the Sahyadri range (from Daman to Bidnur) and varied in breadth from fifty to one hundred miles at the most.” Dr. Balkrishna v/ould have us believe that the kingdom was divided into 35 districts. 3 *

The average pay of a Subdhdar was four hundred hons per annum, i.e., about rupees 100 per month. The Havaldar received half the amount as his salary and the accountant about one hundred and twenty-five hons per annum. The bordering districts were strengthened with larger garrisons. 39 It is obvious that the work of the district officers was collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order. But no details are available about the working of the district offices. The main work, however, was to classify lands, inspect condition of crops and make settlement in the presence of village officers and the ryots.

The villages from time immemorial, managed their own affairs. The Patel, Kulkarni and Chaugula collected revenue as settled by government Karkuns and despatched it to the district authorities. Thfey decided minor disputes and levied cesses both on government account and for village expenses such as strengthening the village walls, digging wells for water, maintenance of temples, holding annual fairs or occasional kirtcms. The village officers and artisans held inam lands and the officers received small presents on special occasions. Shivaji did not disturb village government, but expected from the villages loyal service for the peace he assured them. He abolished many extra cesses taken from the peasants. He established direct relations with the ryots doing away with the intermediaries like Deshmukhs and Deshpandes who in earlier times collected ten times what they paid to government, built strong palaces and defied the government of the day. 40

As territory, treasure, ministers and army for defence are looked on as essential for a king, it is worthwhile examining the sources of income of the Marltha kingdom. Land revenue was the chief source, and from a few stray references in the Bakhars we get an idea as to how the collection was made.

Public Finance: Land Revenue:

Shivaji's kingdom consisted of territories he wrested from the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and the emperor of Delhi. The southern districts bore the mark of Vijayanagar rule. Thus the re

venue systems of four different States were prevalent in Maharashtra. Shivaji tried to bring financial unity in diversity by establishing one common method for collection of revenue. The people of Maharashtra had suffered much from the wars between the Nizamshahi rulers and the Mughuls. Large tracts of land were lying desolate and agriculture and trade had declined. If these districts were again to be brought back to life and prosperity, they had to be assured of peace and the demand on peasant proprietors had to be a fixed one, settled on easy terms. Shivaji revived the principles of Malik Ambar's revenue system. The Kathi or the measuring rod was to be five cubits and five fists in length. Twenty Kathi square made a bigha and 120 bighas one Chawar.

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The first important step taken by Shivaji was to have a survey of the lands and then to assess the rent and other dues payable by the cultivators. These surveys were made at different times; the first v/as made by DadajI Kondadeo in ShahjI's jdgir at Poona; the second one was begun by Moro Pant Pingle; and the last one was carried out by Annajl Datto which really covered most of the Maratha districts. 41 The main features of Ambar's system accepted by Shivaji were "(i) the classification of lands according to fertility; (ii) ascertainment of their produce; (iii) fixing the government share; (iv) collection of rents either in kind or money, and (v) abolition of the intermediate collecting agents as farmers of revenue." 42 The State claimed twofifths share of the land produce leaving three-fifths to the peasants. The Tagai and Istaw\d principles were accepted to bring new lands under the plough. New cultivators were given seeds and cattle, and loans advanced to them were recovered over a period of years. The cultivable waste lands were excluded when a village was assessed. When later, some of the waste lands were brought under cultivation, they were taxed moderately to begin with. There is some truth in Lalji Pendse's statement that Shivaji was a conspicuous leader of the down-trodden peasantry against the big landlord class.

Grant Duff has outlined the revenue arrangement of Shivaji. He bases his account on the chronicles and the men who operated the system in Peshwds' times and gave him information for his History (1826) and may, therefore, be accepted to be fairly correct. He says: "The assessments were made on the actual state of the crop; the proportionate division of this was three-fifths to the ryot and two-fifths to government. As.soon as he got permanent possession of any territory, every species of military contribution was stopped; all farming of revenue ceased, and the collections were made by agents appointed by himself.

“Every two or three villages were superintended by a Carcoon under the Turufdar or Talookdar who had charge of a small district and was either a Brahmin or Purvoe. A Maratha Havildar was stationed with each of them. Over a considerable tract there was a Soobahdar or Mamlitdar who had charge of one or more forts in which his collections both of grain and money were secured.

•'Shivaji never permitted the Deshmookhs and Deshpandyas to interfere in the management of the country; nor did he allow them to collect their dues until they had been ascertained, when an order was annually given for the amount. The Patels, Khots and Koolkurnees were strictly superintended which (made) Shivajl’s government popular with the common cultivators.” 43

“He discouraged the assignment of revenue or jagirdari system which he felt would cause such a division of authority as must weaken his government and encourage the village and district authorities to resist it.

“His revenue regulations were simple and judicious. But during his short span of life, it is impossible to say how far they were attended to by his officers and what results they produced. Muslim writers and an English traveller, Fryer, describe his country as in the worst possible state, but this is probably due to prejudice. The districts directly under him experienced great benefit.” 44

Besides land revenue there were other sources of revenue which classified as under: 45

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(1) Customs

(2) Transit duties

(3) Judicial fees and fines

(4) Forest revenue

(5) Profits of mintage

(6) Presents by subjects and officers

(7) Escheat and forfeitures

(8) Plunder of hostile territory

(9) Booty in war

(10) Chauth and Sardeshmukhi

(11) Capture of ships

(12) Monopolies

(13) Various kinds of cesses

Customs:

Shivaji became master of coastal territory; the ports of Kalyan, Bhiwandi, Nagothana, Chaul, Dabhpl and Ratnagin came under his influence. Foreign goods entering these ports or going out paid a small customs duty of 2 \ per cent. European travellers complained about the harassment of customs officers who perhaps overvalued goods or demanded bribe for their clearance.

Transit duty known as Rahddri or ZakcLt was another tax on goods and animals passing from one place to another. The officers operating it made it irksome by insisting on search of packages and persons.

Judicial fees:

In cases that went before a Panchdyat appointed by government, the winning party had to pay Harki and the losing party Gunhegdri or fine for crime. How much was realised thus, it is difficult to say.

Treasure trove, fisheries and mines:

The right to hidden treasure has always been claimed by the State in India from time immemorial. ShivajI claimed treasure troves by right.

Mercantile marine:

From 1659 ShivajI began building a navy, specially to bear down the Sidi's opposition. Some of his ships traded with ports in Arabia and Persia. English records inform us that ShivajI possessed eight or nine ports on the coastal belt and 'from every port he used to send two or three Or more trading vessels to Persia, Basra, Mocha, etc.' How much he made out of this trade is not known. But the English records add that "his fleet consisted of very small vessels and with his men totally inexperienced to sea, not much danger could be apprehended from them." 46

These records mention that the Raja had the monopoly of salt trade.

ShivajI's navy was active on the sea and captured enemy vessels which were then ransomed by the other party.

Forfeiture of watans and Inams were usual for disloyalty. ShivajI followed a conciliatory policy to win over the old aristocracy to his cause and allowed the Deshmukhs to draw their allowances from the land revenue after the general collection was made. At the time of his succession the watanddr usually offered a small present.

Profits from mints:

"Indian rulers did not set much store on the royal prerogative to coin money. One mint and one currency did not find much recognition in the Deccan." 47 The Deccan Sultans and Mughul emperors issued their gold mohurs and silver rupees but did not interfere with local currencies. The Government left these currencies to

find their own value in the market. Goldsmiths and Sahukars (bankers) obtained licence to manufacture coins under conditions and restrictions laid down by the rulers; one of the conditions was to pay the State a licence fee. These coins bore the marks of the manufacturer and the place of their origin. Shivaji had his mint at Raigarh. His first coins were issued before

1674. Reverend Abbot had made a collection of about 25,000 coins of Shivaji. 48 All sorts of foreign coins were current in his kingdom. Fryer says that “Shivaji.forbids not the passing of any manner of coins.” 49 Sabhasad mentions 32 different kinds of gold coins and different kinds of silver. Gold coins were Gambars, Mohors, Putlis, Padshah Hons, Satlamis, Ibrahimis, Shivarai Hons, Kaveripak , Sangarai Hons, Devarai Hons, Ramchandra Rai Hons, Gooty Hons, Dharwar Hons, Fdlams, Pralakhati Hons, Adoni Hons, Jadmal Hons, Tadpatri Hons, etc. 50 -A hon was worth Rs. 3-4. The Maratha Mohor approximated to the Delhi mohur (Rs. 14.50). 51 Shivarai was the most widely circulated coin. The fractions of a pice were counted in cowries .

Shivaji founded a new kingdom practically beginning from a scratch. He had to find means to raise his armies, equip them with arms, build forts, buy guns and ammunition. All these could come from the plunder of the enemy’s courltry and defeat of his forces. It is well known that the Raja obtained huge quantities of treasure and equipment when he defeated the Adil Shahi general Afzal Khian in 1650, Mughul general Kar Talab Khan in 1661, 52 and Bahadur Khan. He sacked the towns and marts of Kalyan, Bhiwandi in 1657, twice raided Surat (1664 and 1670), Khandesh and Berar in 1661, plundered Hubli, Vengurla, Raibagh and Dharangaon.

ChavCth and Sardeshmukhi were the two instruments used by Shivaji to obtain treasure from the enemy country he invaded. He demanded from the subjects of his enemies, tribute roughly equivalent to one-fourth of the estimated revenue of the province to save themselves from harassment of his armies. He seized rich people of hostile territories and obliged them to agree to the ransom. If Shivaji levied this chauth as early as 1661 and 1670 as Jadunath Sarkar says, 53 all the discussion about its origin from the Ramnagar Raja's demand on Daman villages is futile. Shivaji needed money for his wars and demanded it- at the point of the sword.

He also posed as Sardeshmukh of the Deccan, the supreme revenue collector, and demanded another ten per cent from his conquests.

Under the Peshwds. the emperor’s sanction was obtained to collect chauth and sardeshmukhi from the six subdhs of the Deccan for which the Marathas agreed to serve the Mughul government with i.5,000 horse and pay a small sum as fee. Thus the enemy sources were gradually exhausted and the Marathas were enabled to extend their boundaries. In this sense Ranade and Sardesai compare the chauth with the subsidiary system. However, under the subsidiary system the control of the British over the other party was far more complete and exacting than under the Maratha system. The Maratha Government failed to extend the protection given by the British to their subordinate allies.

The total income of Shivaji's State is stated by Sabhasad to be a crore of hons 54 and there the matter must rest in the absence of evidence to the contrary. Sarkar's statement that it was considerably less is his personal guess.

Expenditure:

But it would not be true to say that he amassed this wealth as a personal fortune. He maintained a large army of 200,000, and spent liberally on it. 54a He also paid the civil service, spent on building new forts and repairing old ones, tanks, canals and other government buildings, encouraged learning by giving presents to temples and learned Brahmins.

"Besides regular pays and allowances, soldiers and officials were given additional allowances for meritorious work. Shivaji conferred pensions, bounties and prizes for those who shed their blood for the cause of the Maratha state. The sons of soldiers who fell on the battle-field were absorbed in the State services. He directed that the widows of the soldiers who had no sons, should be maintained by an equitable pension. The wounded received monetary rewards according to the seriousness of wounds and captains of renown were sumptuously rewarded and given bracelets, necklaces, horses and elephants as marks of distinction". 55

He arranged for the defence of his forts and territory, made provision for his forces and civil services, moderated the demand on the peasants and ruled justly. Rightly does Chitnis observe that his subjects felt that they must cultivate rectitude of behaviour to uphold the king's rule which was of great beneficence. 56 Prof. Kulkarni after examining the heads of expenditure comes to the conclusion that the purpose of public expenditure was fully realized in the Maratha State of 17th century. 57

Shivaji Successors:

ShambhujI's succession was contested. Some of the ministers like Moro Pant Pingle, AnnajI Datto suspected to be plotting against

him were thrown into prison. Later, an attempt to poison him so enraged Shambhuji that he put to death AnnajI Datto, his brother SomajI, HirojI Farzand, Balaji Avjl Chitnis, Mahadeo Anant and twenty-five other persons. A Kanoji Brahmin, Kavi Kalash, became his confidant, and naturally senior officers became jealous of an outsider who wielded so much power with their master. Though Shambhuji tried to run the administration on the lines laid down by his illustrious father, senior ministers and officers felt disgusted with "the Raja's rudeness, caprice and violence of spirit, and could not render him the same devoted service as they did to the father." 58

While Shambhuji was engrossed in his domestic disputes, the Mughul emperor marched to the Deccan at the head of an immense army and arrived at Burhanpur in November (1681). Shambhuji led futile attacks against the Mughuls and frittered away his resources in wars against the Sidis of Janjira and the Portuguese. Aurangzlb destroyed the neighbouring kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda in 1684-86 and 1687 respectively, and then turned his full fury against the Maratha king who had eluded him so far. The net closed round Shambhuji and he was taken captive at Sangameshwar in January, 168S. After a month and a half, he was put to death in a cruel manner on 11 March, 1689. After this, many forts fell into the hands of the Mughuls and Shambhujfs successor, Rajaram, escaped to JinjI.

Feudalization:

In the interregnum from ShambhujI's capture in 1689 to the home coming of Shahu in May 1707, conditions in Maharashtra were abnormal. The machinery of government as devised by ShivajI broke down. A number of Maratha captains raised forces on their own, led expeditions in Mughul territory and made collection of revenues from which they reimbursed themselves. Shahu, when he returned home with a handful of body-guards, was called upon to establish his superior claims against local Mughul officers and the protege of his aunt, Tara Bai, and set up his authority over the warlords. At first the patriotic tradition of his grandfather and the support of the Mughul grandee Zu'lfiqar Khan, enabled him to hold his own against his rivals. But this initial advantage needed to be buttressed by personal valour and leadership in a country bristling with arms. Shahu lacked the commanding talents and energy of his grandfather, and the patriotic tradition could not help him long; he was Scarcely able to hold his own against the party of his aunt when the support of Zu'lfiqar Khan was gone. Balaji Vishwanath

who became Peshwa in 1713, in face of mounting difficulties, came to realize that it was no . longer possible to adhere to ShivajI's old constitution under which the king, aided by his eight ministers, was the sole ruler of his dominions. The king's position as against the warlords who were themselves practically independent in several parts of the Deccan, had deteriorated. The only way to save the kingship being submerged and the country being involved in civil war and turmoil, was to accept the chiefs as vassals with practically free reins in their territory, to acknowledge them as hereditary jagtrdars who would bring their forces to the common standard when called upon to do so, but who otherwise would have a free hand in the management of their jdcfirs. Shahu accepted the advice of the Peshwa , concluded an agreement with KanhojI Angria, Tara Bai's chief adherent,, on these lines, and gave similar freedom of action to other chiefs. A revolution in feudalizing the Maratha State began.

Shahu's stay-at-home policy accelerated the process of feudalization and the want of capacity in his successors completed it. The chiefs who raised men and money for realizing the claims of chauth and sardeshmukhi in distant lands on their own, could not be expected to be subservient to royal commands and render minute accounts to court officers, when the sovereign himself gave no directive and showed little interest in distant operations. BajI Rao, who succeeded to the Peshwdship in 1720, proved himself an able commander and effected large conquests in Hindustan. The Peshwa who could have saved royal authority from falling into disuse, himself became the leading feudal chief and kept his conquests on the w T est coast and Hindustan, and was copied by other ministers and chiefs. The Pratinidhi, the Amdtya, the Shchiv, the Sendpati and other cabinet members, though they retained their nominal rank, became transformed into hereditary feudatories, and the new warlords that had sprung into existence during the war with Aurangzib swelled their ranks.

The position was confirmed by Raja Shahu himself. On his death-bed he wrote two rescripts. By the first he asked the Peshwa to wield supreme authority as there was none of his family to carry on the government wisely. By the second he directed his successors to maintain the Peshwa in power. 59

The Raja having thus resigned royal authority, it was assumed by the Peshwa. Some of the chiefs like the Pratiiiidhl, Raghuji Bhosle and Gaikwar demurred, but were overawed by a demonstration of force. The successor of Raja Shahu, Ramraja, was an adopted child, born and brought up in humble circumstances. He could not muster force strong enough to oppose the Peshwa and gave his written sanction that the Peshwd's authority should be obeyed. 60

The supreme, authority that the Peshivfa came to wield in 1750, he did not enjoy long. The Battle of Panipat (1761) made a serious crack in his position. His grand army was destroyed. His cousin and his counsellors were all killed on the battle-field and his treasury was empty.

The losses in men and treasure and deaths in his family and among his friends unhinged Peshwa BalajI Rao's mind and within six months of the Battle of Panipat, he died a broken-hearted man.

His son, Madhav Rao, who succeeded to the Peshwaship, was barely eighteen years old. The eldest surviving member of the Peshwd's family was Raghoba, BalajI's brother, who expected the government to be conducted under his direction. Raghoba had little abilities and was unpopular with a party in the Peshwa's family. An acrimonious dispute plagued the Peshwd's court for over eight years dividing the loyalty of the chiefs. Raghoba was imprisoned in a fort in 1768, but the civil strife in the family did not abate. It was fanned into white heat when Madhav Rao's successor was murdered (1773) at the instigation of Raghoba or of his ambitious wife. The court party led by Nana Phadnis made a solemn resolve to drive the usurper from the Peshwd’s Gddi and had to look for support to the powerful Maratha chiefs and make them concessions. The usurper Raghoba fled from the capital and a newly born child, Sawai Madhav Rao, ascended the Peshw\a’s masnad. Sindia, Holkar, Gaikwar, Bhosle, Pawars and other Maratha chiefs now affected more independence in their own jaglrs, and claimed even the right of interference in the Peshwd’s domain. All the evils inherent in the feudal system now came to the surface. Though the Maratha power sprawled over a large part of the country, no centralized authority guided its policies. The different units, small and big, followed their own interests, acting on their own. If the interests of the Poona government were threatened by the Nizam or Tipu Sultan, it could not look to its feudatories to come to its help. The Raja of Jaipur could with impunity defy Sindia’s demands for tribute and he could look to Holkar for support in his defiant attitude. Even the Nizam played the Peshwd’s feudatories against his Diwan, and for years withheld the tribute. The British government took advantage of this position and by the end of the century affected to treat the big feudatories as equal members of a confederacy and concluded separate treaties with the Gaikwar and the Peshwa, thus isolating other units. In the war that followed the treaty of Bassein in 1802 the English fought the feudatories separately. The British army marched through the PeshuAd’s territory and defeated the armies of Sindia and Bhosle, while Holkar looked on. Holkar’s turn came in 1804. He was' defeated at the battles of Dig and Farrukhabad. In 1817 the Peshwa became restive under British restraint and called on his erstwhile subordinates to join in a general rising against the British. But the call came too late and went unheeded. Sindia and Bhosle had been paralysed and the Pindari troops which were active, were a mere rabble and hunted down to their lairs by the British. The Peshwa himself was run to ground and threw himself on the mercy of his.opponent. Thus ended very ignominiously the career of the Maratha State which once had become the terror to the Mughul empire.

The organization of the Maratha State was thus very peculiar and without a precedent. The Raja of Satara, the formal head of State, who bestowed dignities and posts on the Peshwa, other ministers and chiefs, looked on himself as a vassal of the Mughul em

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peror, who himself was a shadowy figure and wielded no power. The Padishah was never consulted by his Maratha vassal on any matter of policy, and after 1750 never mentioned in any of the treaties and engagements relating to the territories in the Deccan. The Raja was a prisoner and a pensioner of the Peshwa . The RajMandal or council of ministers ceased to function and its members became jdgirdars supervising not only revenue collection but also the civil and criminal administration in their assigned districts. The Peshwa so long as he retained the primary, formulated policies and gave direction to state affairs to some extent. But this was gone after the death of Madhav Rao Peshwa in 1772. The chiefs assumed greater independence and none concerned himself with the commonwealth. The bond of union holding the Maratha people under one banner snapped completely. "The change meant" as Ranade points out, "the conversion of the organic whole into an inorganic mass". 61 The Maratha State that spread over more than half of Indian territory, was not one united power directed and operated by one powerful will, but hundreds of big and tiny islands of authority, each following its own course.

Financial weakness:

One result of feudalization* showed itself in the weakness of the financial position of the Maratha State. ShivajI though he was coil

stantly engaged in warfare with his neighbours, left an overflowing treasury. 62 The balances were frittered away by his son ShambhujI and the long protracted war that followed his death, put a heavy strain on his successor, Rajaram. Raja Shahu when he came to the throne in 1707 inherited a great tradition but an empty exchequer. In- the arrangements that were later made for his government he had little direct control either over finance or the army. His feudatories were to fight his wars and supply his public and domestic needs. The Rdybdbti or the Raja's share of the chauth was to be collected by the Pratinidhi, the Peshwd and the Sachiv. Other chiefs were also expected to pay a portion of money to the treasury. 63 The collections were neither regular nor adequate and the poor Raja often found himself in dire distress. The State never seems to have had funds adequate enough to perform its duties in a competent manner, though the burden of taxation was in no way light.

Peshwd Baji Rao who launched on a vigorous programme of expansion of Maratha power, had to raise large armies and became involved in debts. A stage was reached when the bankers who had already advanced him lakhs of rupees, refused to make further advances. In his correspondence with his Guru Brahmendra Swami, he often complained that while his subordinates were enriching themselves and amassing fortunes, he himself had fallen into that hell of being beset by creditors, and had to pacify Sahukars and Siladars. "I am falling at their feet" he writes, ''till I have rubbed the skin from my forehead". 64

His successor Balaji Rao was in no better position. The rivers of gold from Hindustan and the Karnatak, he lamented, only served to enrich his army leaders, but disappeared before they reached the Maratha country. 65 According to the Peshwd Diaries the debts contracted by this Peshwd between 1740 and 1760 amounted to a total of a crore and a half rupees. Owing to the disaster at Panipat matters became worse in the elder Madhav Rao Peshwd's time. That prince when he died, left a debt of 24,00,000 rupees. 66

The system of Maratha conquests added to the financial difficulties of the State. Maratha chiefs would invade a part of the country, spread over it like flood-waters and then recede within a few months. The local rulers, to stave off the fury of Maratha arms, would agree to pay tributes which were recovered only partially and many times remained in arrears. The back of the local resistance was never broken; it raised its head as soon as Maratha armies retired. The feudal ievies, never paid regularly by their chiefs, often

plundered the countryside through which they passed, bringing odium to their leaders.

State Revenue:

Assessment on land was the main source of state income. It absorbed almost forty per cent of the gross income from land. In addition there were professional taxes; customs levied on goods in transit; customs levied at ports, dahakpatti which jagirdars and zamindars were called upon to pay from time to time; duty on sales in the weekly market; duty on sales of cattle; cess on digging wells; levy on widow marriages; in fact, every economic activity was taxed.

The nominal revenue of the whole Maratha empire at this time was estimated at ten crores of rupees. Of this, though the actual amount realized was seven crores and a quarter rupees, much of it was minutely sub-divided in grants of jdgirs and indms and barely three crores were received in the Peshwd's treasury, which was hardly sufficient to maintain the State in a state of efficiency.

Local administration:

The Village:

The changes at the upper levels in the state did not affect much of its organization in the home country at the lower levels where government impinged on the masses. The self-contained' village remained the primary unit of administration. Each village had a headman, the Patel (the pattakila of ancient lithic and copperplate records), who came from peasant stock and who combined the functions of revenue officer, magistrate and judge, and acted as intermediary between the village and Government officials. Though he held his office by a grant from the Government, his office was hereditary and was the subject of sale and purchase, and his emoluments, which varied slightly from village to village, consisted of rent-free lands and receipts from every villager of a fixed share of his produce. These receipts ranged from a daily supply of betelleaves, provided by dealers in pdnsupdri, to tax on the re-marriage of a widow; and in return for these emoluments and for his^recognition as the social leader of the community, the Patel was expected to shoulder the responsibility for the village's welfare and good conduct. The Kulkami, or village clerk and record-keeper, who was always a Brahmin, was second in importance to the Patel, and like the latter, was remunerated by a variety of perquisites. He was Often expected to share the Patel's responsibility for the good behaviour of the village community, and ran an equal risk of oppression

and imprisonment by casual invaders or tyrannous officials. The Mahar was another important functionary of the community. He was the watchman of the village. He knew the boundaries of individual fields, kept an eye on all and sundry passing through the village and was on the look-out for thieves and trespassers. He was the messenger and provided escort for government treasure to the headquarters of the pargana.

Excluding the Chaugula who had custody of the Kulkarni's bundles of correspondence and who assisted the Patel, the communal duties and wants of the village were performed and supplied by the Bara Balute or twelve hereditary village artisans, who received a recognized share of the crops arid other perquisites in return for their services to the community. The personnel of the Bard Balute was not invariably the same in all parts of the Deccan, and in some places they were associated with an additional body of twelve village servants, styled Bara Alute.

As a revenue officer the Patel "allotted the lands to such cultivators as had no landed property of their own, and fixed the rent which each had to pay; he collected the revenue for government from all the ryots, conducted all its arrangements with them, and exerted himself to promote the cultivation and prosperity of the village. Though originally the agent of Government, he came to be regarded as equally representative of the ryots, and was not less useful in executing the orders of the Government than in asserting the rights, or at least in making known the wrongs of the people". 67

District:

The backbone of the Maratha district administration was supplied by the mdmlatdar , who was in charge of a division styled pargo na or prdnt, and by the kamavisddr > his subordinate or deputy who administered a smaller territorial area of the same kind. The mdmlcCtdar, who corresponded roughly to the subahdar or mukhya deshadhikari of Shivajl's days, and the kamavisddr were directly subordinate to the Peshwd's secretariat at Poona, except in the case of Khandesh, Gujarat and the Karnatak, where a superior official styled sarsubahdar was interposed between them and the government. Originally the mamlatddr and the kamavisddr were appointed for short terms only, but in practice they managed frequently to secure renewals of their term of office in a district. As the direct representatives of the Peshwa they were responsible for every branch of the district administration, including agriculture, industries, civil and criminal justice, the control of the sibandi (militia) and the

police, and the investigation of social and religious questions. They also fixed the revenue assessment of each village in consultation with the Patel, heard and decided complaints against the village officers, and were responsible for the collection of the state revenue, wrhich in case of recalcitrance they were accustomed to recover through the medium of the sibandi.

The mdmlatddr combined in himself executive and judicial functions, but he was not the complete autocrat which this would suggest. His powers were restrained by custom, by the check of the hereditary zaminddrs and darakhdars —a set of officers appointed from the centre in each pargdna or district. In theory the mdmlat ddr's accounts were not passed by the secretariat at Poona, unless corroborated by corresponding accounts from these hereditary officials; and in all disputes regarding land, the Deshmukh was expected to produce his ancient records, containing the history of all watans, inams and grants, and the register of transfer of properties, which he maintained in return for the annual fee or perquisites received from the villagers. The safeguards not infrequently proved illusory, for there was nothing to prevent the mdmlatddr obtaining official approval of his returns by methods of his own while the Deshmukh's registers were irregularly written up and often very incomplete.

The second check upon the mdmlatddr was provided by a staff of hereditary darakhdars or office-holders, appointed to the various provinces or major divisions of the Maratha dominions by the Central Government; they were directly subordinate to the Peshwa, and reported direct to the Government in Poona. The officials were eight in number, viz., the diwdn or mdmlatddr 1 s deputy, muzumddr, phadnis, daftarddr, potnis, sabhdsad, and chitr\is; and they were expected to act as a check, not only upon one another but also on the mdmlatddr, who was not empowered to dismiss any one of them.

Huzur Dafitar or the Peshwd’s Secretariat:

The central authority was represented by the Huzur Daftar. Under the supervision of the Phadnis, 200 Karkuns of the Huzur Daftar (Peshwd’s Secretariat), dealt with the revenue transactions and the expenses of all civil, military and religious establishments. The Huzur Daftar was divided into several departments, the chief of which were the Chdlte Daftar and the Ek Beriz Daftar . The Chalte Daftar under the direct supervision of the Phadnis was divided into several branches:* (a) the Phad checked all accounts and kept Rozkirds (records of daily transactions), (b) the Beheda framed the estimate budget, depending on the abstract of the actual receipt and expenditure of the revenue during the past year (taleband) and the estimate of possible income and expenditure for the current year (ajmds), (c) the Saranjdmi department kept accounts of saranjdm and dumalla lands (lands under dual authority). In the Ek Beriz Daftar were kept classified accounts of all departments. It also framed the tarjumd (the total receipt, expenditure and balance of the government income for the year) and the khataunis (abstracts of all expenditure arranged alphabetically under their proper heads). The Huzur Daftar sank into insignificance during the administration of Peshwd Baji Rao II, because the Peshwd farmed the revenues of entire provinces. 673

Civil Justice:

The Maratha judicial system looks rather imperfect to the modern observer used to the paraphernalia of codes and laws passed by the state and the courts of justice which apply these laws to disputes brought before them. Justice was administered in a much simpler way; the community was left to its own resources to get its disputes settled. In villages the complainant took his plaint to the Patel who after trying to get the dispute settled through his own influence, called on a few village elders to sit together and hear the parties. The saraunsh or the summary of the evidence was noted by the village writer with the decision, the execution of which was the duty of the Patel or the mamlatddr. In both the cases the main object aimed at was amicable settlement, and arbitration was, therefore, the first step in the disposal of a suit. If arbitration failed, the case was transferred for decision to a panchayat, appointed by the Patel in the village and by the shete mahdjan, or leading merchant, in urban areas. An appeal lay from the decision of a paxu chayat to the mamlatddr, who usually upheld the verdict, unless the parties concerned were able to prove that the panchayat was prejudiced or corrupt. In serious or important suits, however, it was the duty of the mamlatddr to appoint an arbitrator or a panchayat, the members of which were chosen by him with the approval and often at the suggestion, of the parties to the suit. In such cases the panchayat's decision was subject to an appeal to the Peshwd or his legal minister, the nydyddhash.

The system of panchdyats left a good deal to be desired from the standpoint of modern legal administration. These bodies were slow in action and uncertain in their decisions. The attendance of the members was irregular, depending as it did entirely upon the individual’s sense of duty or fear of public opinion. The powers of the panchdyat were limited; it was exposed to constant obstruction, and it possessed no authority to enforce its decisions, which were left to the mdmlatddr to carry out or neglect as he pleased. It had likewise no power to compel the mdmlatddr or other local official to supply a petty officer for this purpose. Yet despite its primitive character and its liability to be improperly influenced, the panchdyat was a popular institution, and the absence of a decision by a panchdyat in any suit was almost always regarded as complete justification for a retrial of the issues. Among themselves, within the confines of the self-contained ancestral village, the peasantry did obtain a fair modicum of rude justice from the village panchdyat. What they failed to obtain either from the panchayats or from the government was any measure of redress against the merciless oppression of their superiors.

Criminal Justice:

In the Peshuxi’s times the Patel was the unit of the police force. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his village. He was helped by the chaughula, the Kulkarni, and generally by the villagers in general. But his chief resource lay in the village watchman, or Mahar. It was the latter's duty to keep watch at night, scrutinize strangers, and report suspicious individuals to the Patel. When a theft was committed, it was the Mahar's duty to detect the thief. And, as he was always moving about tbe village either to collect his share of grain or his fee, there was little therein that escaped his observation. He was also a skilled tracker and could often follow the footsteps of the criminal to his home or hidingplace. If the thief's foot-prints led to another village, the watchman of that village had to take up the pursuit, and the last village to which the foot-prints could be traced was held responsible for the losses caused by the theft.

Over the headman was the Mdmlatddr, who kept up a force of slbandis, or irregular infantry, and a small body of irregular horse. They were posted at the district headquarters, but moved out when necessary. They were, however, intended to oppose violence rather than to detect crime. The Kotwals were charged with the comprehensive duties of maintaining public order and supervision of markets in all towns.

This system, rudimentary although it seems, worked admirably well until the time of Baji Rao II, when the disorders in the kingdom strained to the breaking point. To remedy the weaknesses of the district police, Baji Rao created a body of officials known as

taptisnavis, who corresponded with the modern Criminal Investigation Department, and whose duty was not only to detect crime, but to prevent it by superior vigilance. This arrangement worked well^ and as Elphinstone has admitted, violent crimes were rare and few complaints reached him of the insecurity of property. 68

The punishments inflicted were confiscation of property, imprisonment for various terms, internment and fines, flogging, mutilation of limbs, slavery, penal servitude, banishment, social boycott and execution. In case of forcible marriage, the usual form of punishment was confiscation of property or imprisonment. Punishment in adultery cases was inflicted by penal servitude or mutilation for female offenders. Fines were imposed according to the resources of the offender. Treason, murder, dacoity and theft were punishable by mutilation. Elphinstone writes that highway robbery was punished with death. Women were never put to death. Brahmin offenders were starved or poisoned to death. Capital punishment was inflicted for various crimes during the regime of Nana Phadnis. Sometimes watans of murderers were confiscated. Political prisoners were imprisoned in the forts. In some cases their irons were not removed except at dinner time. Ordinary prisoners were well-treated. They were permitted to go home to perform religious ceremonies. Sometimes the relations of the prisoners were allowed to live with them and they were fed by the Government. 69

Maratha Rule in Hindustan:

After the grants of Swaraj, chantth and sardeshmukhi of the six subdhs of the Deccan were obtained in 1719, the process of conquest of Mughul provinces began. Arrangements were made for the collection, not by one agency, but by different parties, of various shares. Nothing was said in the arrangements about the good government of the country, nor any rules laid down about the civil administration. The districts which paid these claims had thus to maintain two sets of rulers—the local zamindars or Mughul officers who were not displaced and the Maratha overlords who claimed the chauth. The local zamindar would not pay unless pressed at the point of the sword. To force the zamindars and princes to pay the chttuth, annual expeditions were undertaken, which devastated the countryside through which the army marched, and rendered the country poorer. A great anarchy spread in the Mughul provinces of India which made the Marathas detested outside Maharashtra. While the government was mild at home and there was a semblance of regular administration, beyond there was anarchy and disorder. This perhaps explains the

divergence or dichotomy in the description of Maratha administration as given by Maratha scholars drawing on Marathi sources or even by Elphinstone in his Report, and that drawn by foreign scholars. While the former dwell on the mild and orderly government in the home country, the latter describe the anarchy outside Maharashtra, In this connection Rawlinson remarks, “the chief objection to be urged against the Maratha system of government is that outside its. own territory (Swaraj or Maharashtra) it was almost predatory. .. . Other Hindu states took a pride in improving the condition of the territory they conquered. They constructed temples, wells, canals, roads and other public works. The Marathas did nothing of the kind. Their mulkgiri raids by destroying the industries and wealth of the countries overrun, merely killed the goose that laid the golden eggs'". 70

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Raj wade and Sardesai say the same thing in a different way. "When Peshwd Baji Rao and his son Balaji Rao overran practically the whole of Hindustan, they were confronted with three tasks;

(1) to persuade the conquered people to acquiesce in Maratha rule,

(2) to exhort the military chiefs to work for the common good of the State, and (3) to remain loyal to the Maharaja of Satara. None of the three objects were properly achieved. The first in importance was acquiescence of the people in Maratha rule. No institutions were set up to explain to the conquered people Maratha ideals and Maratha objectives and rally their support to the Maratha cause. To the Kannadigas, the Andhras, the Gujaratis, the Bundelas, the Purbias, the Sikhs and the Rangdas, the Marathas, in their new conquests, remained strangers like their former Muslim overlords and they could never count on local support when threatened by an outside enemy. At the time of the battle of Panipat the Peshwd came to know how unstable was his power in Hindustan". 71

Sardesai has observed that Balaji Viswanath and his son Baji Rao won Rajput friendship to make progress in their northern enterprise. This asset was lost by the third Peshwd's inept handling of the succession disputes of the Rajput chiefs. 72 The Peshwd's aim of squeezing huge sums <from the parties completely alienated the Rajputs.

The Maratha chiefs bent on collecting their chauth did not care to see in what manner the territory was being administered. As Jadunath Sarkar points out, "the Maratha Government in Hindustan had no competent civil service, no stable government and no wise foreign policy. Their foreign generals like De Boigne and

Perron gave their jaidod lands peace and security for producing crops and paying revenue. Not so the Maratha chiefs. With the exception of Ahalya Bai they were unwilling to undergo the drudgery of daily calling their collectors to account. The revenues were, either farmed out to Banias or left to their Brahmin Diwans and Prabhu clerks; and these men were notorious for their love of peculation and ignorance of the economic law that the revenue could not be increased simply by squeezing the peasantry. The rapacious and inefficient governments of the Maratha agents in Hindustan kept lawlessness always raging in their jacfirs and the desolate land could yield no produce for feeding the population or paying for the administration." 73 x

Vasudeo Shastri Khare is in agreement with Jadunath Sarkar when he regretfully remarks "that the Maratha State would have obtained stability had the Chhatrapati (the Raja) asked his chiefs to establish orderly government in their early conquests (in the Deccan) to repress disorders, give peace and prosperity to these territories. Instead they led expeditions to provinces as far distant as Lahore, neglecting the country nearer home. In peace times Maratha rule prevailed everywhere; in times of confusion it was nowhere. The main reason for this state of things was that Maratha conquests were superficial and Maratha rule disappeared as soon as their troops marched away". 74 The Marathas could not rise to the new opportunities presented to them by the weakness of the Mughul rule. They could make new conquests but could not consolidate them. As Palmer wrote to the Governor General in 1795 "the Maratha Government in Hindustan is but ill-qualified for permanent conquest or civil administration, however formidable may be the means which it possesses of ravage and devastation". 743

Military organization — Shivaji's period:

Shivaji started his career as a jagirdar with a small militia. As a born strategist he knew what he needed to expand his Poona jdgir and utilised indigenous sources for his expanding kingdom. His country was studded with forts which either commanded fords, ghats, or the plain country, and afforded easy protection when pursued by a superior enemy. He would occupy these forts and from there sally forth to attack enemy detachments. In his wanderings in his jdgir he had visited the hilly mdval country—the western belt of the Poona district, about 100 miles in length and extremely rugged. The climate was dry and invigorating and heat less oppressive than in the plains. The people living in the region were

stronger built, hardier, simpler and spoiled neither by luxury nor vice. He mixed freely with them, made friends with them and from amongst them formed his infantry which would attack the enemy and retire to their inaccessible haunts where cavalry could not pursue them. The foundation of ShivajI's power was thus his infantry, which preponderated over the cavalry. It was formed of the mdwlas of the Ghat Mdtkd and hetharis of Konkan. Both of them were expert climbers and excelled in marksmanship. "Their arms consisted of swords, shields, daggers, poniards, straight rapiers, spears, bows and arrows, and when possible, matchlocks. The men brought their own arms and were only furnished with ammunition by government. They were dressed generally in a pair of short drawers coming half-way down the thigh, turban, a cotton frock and a band about the loins and a cloth round the waist. For desperate attack with swords in hands, the Mdwlas of ShivajI became celebrated." 75

Every ten men had an officer called a naik and every fifty a Havdldar. The officer over a hundred was termed Jumladdr and th& commander of a thousand was styled Hazdri. Over the Hazards was Samobat who commanded 7,000 infantry. Yesaji Kahk was the first Samobat of the infantry.

"The Mawlas sometimes enlisted on condition of getting only a subsistence in grain; but the regular pay of the infantry was from four to twelve rupees a month". 76 The company commander Jumladdr received about one hundred rupees a month. The company had its accountant and commissariat offices. All received regular salaries from government.

ShivajI did not require cavalry in the hilly country and in the inaccessible forests of the Sahyadri range. His numerous forts needed a large force of brave foot soldiers. So, for the first fifteen years of his career, ShivajI mainly -recruited, equipped and trained infantry divisions. His organizing capacity, personal bravery and military leadership endeared him to his men and he made heroes of the simple, uncouth but sturdy mdwlas. To the last, the infantry bore an equal proportion to the cavalry—100,000 infantry and 100,000 cavalry. 768

After his victory over Afzal Khan, the Raja devoted himself to the raising of cavalry. With the enormous wealth obtained in the Khan's camp and loot captured in subsequent expeditions he increased his military strength. Cavalry was needed for far-ranging

attacks and swift raids in the enemy country and its increase was made possible by the Raja's victories over Bijapur armies.

In the cavalry the unit was formed by 25 troopers (bdrgirs); over 25 men was placed one huvdlddr, over 5 havdlddrs one jumlddar and over ten jumldddrs one haztiri. Still higher ranks were Panch Hazari and the supreme commander or Samobat of cavalry. NetajI Palkar, Pratap Rao Gujar, Hambir Rao Mohite were some of the famous commanders of the Raja.

The Siladars, or troopers who supplied their own horses and arms, were organized on a different plan, but were under the orders of the same Samobat of cavalry and ranked lower than the paga horsemen. 77 "The pdgd jumldddr had a salary of 500 Hons a year and the right to use a pdlki. Attached to him was a inajumdar on 100 to 125. hons. A hazdri drew 1,000 hons a year. Under him were majmudar, a Maratha Karbhari (steward) and a revenue-writer (Jama-navis) for whom 500 hons were assigned. The accounts of military income and disbursement had to be made up with the signature of all the four. Every unit of 25 had one farrier and a pakhalji. The Punch Hazarf drew a salary of 2,000 hons. To his corps were

attached a number of clerks, reporters and spies." 78

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"The troops went into cantonments in the home country during the rainy season. Grain, fodder and medicines were kept in stock for the horses, and the huts of troopers were kept thatched with grass. On the day of Dussard the army marched out from the camp to the country the Raja had decided to attack. At the time of their departure a list was made of all the property that every man, high or low, of the army carried with himself. The troops were to subsist in foreign parts for eight months and also levy contribution. No woman, female slave or dancing girl was to be allowed to accompany the army. A soldier keeping any of these was to be beheaded. No woman or child was to be taken captive, but only men. Bullocks (not cows) might be taken for transport only. Brahmins were not to be molested. No soldier was to misbehave. On their return after eight months' campaigning, the whole army was to be searched, the property was to be compared with the old list, and the excess found was to be deducted from the salary. Anyone attempting to conceal his booty was liable for punishment on detection.

"The generals on their return were to see the Raja, deliver their spoils in war in gold, silver, jewels and costly cloth to him, present their accounts and take their dues from the treasury. The officers and men were to be promoted or punished according to their conduct during the last campaign. Then they would again remain in camp for four months." 79

Without tents and equipage, without provisions and other commissariat encumbrances, without heavy artillery, the Maratha light cavalry and infantry moved with the greatest celerity. The soldiers gathered their provisions as they went along. Their diet was of the simplest kind. These hardy peasants, subject to all kinds of inclement weather, performed deeds of extreme endurance and valour which astonished the world. Dr. Fryer comparing the Maratha and Muslim armies, remarks, 'Sevaji's men thereby being fitter for any martial exploit having been accustomed to fare hard, journey fast, and take little pleasure. But the other will not miss his dinner, must mount in state and have his arms carried before him, and his women not far behind him with masters of mirth and jollity; will rather expect than pursue a foe; but they stand it out better; for Sevaji's men care not much for a pitched battle, though they are good at surprising and ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring spirits". 80

Dr. Fryer also remarks on the Spartan simplicity of the Maratha army, of the men and the officers. “No intoxicant or drinks were permitted to the officers and no whore or dancing wenches were allowed in the camp”. 81

Abbe Carre observes that “he greatly cherished the officers whom he called his brothers and friends, living familiarly with them* and attending to their needs. He conducted himself with such ability, not affecting anything. Always being at the head of his troops, Shivaji knew not pleasure”. 82

Shivaji’s cavalry at the end of his career numbered almost 100,000, three-fourths of which consisted of Bargirs mounted and equipped by government and one fourth of silddars mounted at their own expense.

The French envoy, Monsieur Germain who spent three days in Shivajl’s camp on the Coleroon (1677) gives a graphic account of the Maratha king’s spartan simplicity and efficient arrangements: “His camp is without any pomp and unembarrassed by baggage and women. There are only two tents in it, but of a thick simple stuff and very small, one for himself and the other for his minister. The horsemen of Shivaji or-dinarily receive two pagodas per mqjith as pay. All the Jiorses belong to him and he entertains grooms for them. Ordinarily there are three horses for every two men, which contributes to the speed which he usually makes. This chief pays his spies

liberally which has greatly helped his conquests by the correct information they give”. 83

Forts:

Forts were the basis of Shivaji’s kingdom. His strength lay in the everlasting hills of Maharashtra which he used as places to shelter from the enemy or points to sally forth to attack. These he strengthened with masonry walls, parapets and bastions, water tanks and gateways. Ramachandra Amatya in the Ajnapatra says that the master created the kingdom with the help of forts. It was his forts from Ahiwant to the banks of the Kaveri that enabled him to wage a continuous struggle with his enemies. The Bakhars give the number of forts as 240.

Every fort was in the possession of the government and defended by a garrison the strength of which depended on the importance of the place. In every fort there were three officers of the same status and joint authority. The Havaldar was the head of the garrison and was entrusted with the keys of the fort. It was his personal duty to see that the gates were locked at nightfall and opened at daybreak. The Sabnis was in charge of accounts and the Kdrkhdnis of that of commissariat. All the three officers were to work jointly. The letters written for the Havaldar were drafted by the Sabnis. and entered in his ledger by the Kdrkhanis. The Raja laid down that the Havaldar should be a Maratha of good family, the Sabnis was to be a Brahmin known to his personal staff and the Kdrkhanis was to be a Prabhu. If a fort was a large one, the Havdldar was assisted by tat-sarnobdts who watched over the walls at night. The garrison was armed with swords, spears, matchlocks and muskets. Some of the forts had cannon, but the Marathas were slow in learning the science of fire-arms. Most of their cannon and gunpowder they brought from foreign companies. Stones were heaped and tumbled down when the enemy attacked. The use of fire-arms, especially mortars and long range artillery, reduced the importance of forts. But this was a phenomenon of the late 18th century.

Marathd Navy:

As the coastal districts came into his possession, ShivajI found the need of building a navy to protect his harbours and towns from enemy ravages. But his main eriemies were the Adil Shahi kingdom and the Mughuls, and to his navy he could devote little attention.

The Maratha chronicles speak of Shivaji’s navy as consisting of seven hundred vessels of various sizles and classes, such as Ghurabs,

taramdis, tarambes, gallivats, shibars, pagars, machwas, etc. The English factory records put the strength of fighting vessels at 60 only. They were formed into two squadrons (of 200 vessels according to Marathi sources) commanded by two Admirals who bore the title of Darya Sdrang and Mai Naik.

Post-Shivdp period:

The ^Maratha army underwent a radical change after Shivaji. It no longer represented the united military might of the national monarchy. The monarchy was eclipsed and the chief executive authority first passed to the Prafiinidhi and then to the Peshwd. A number of chiefs raised forces on their own and fought the Mughul officers wherever they encountered them. Grant Duff presents a graphic picture of the Marathia armies at the beginning of the 18th century: ‘‘Different from the organized bands of Shivaj! (they formed) an irregular assembly of several thousand horsemen united by prie-concerted agreement in some unfrequented part of the country. They set off with little provision, no baggage except the blanket on their saddles, and no animals but led horses, with bags prepared for the reception of their plunder. If they halted during a part of the night, they slept with their bridles in their hands; if in the day, whilst the horses were fed and refreshed, the men reposed with little or no shelter from the scorching heat, excepting such as might be found occasionally under a bush or a tree; and during that time their swords were laid by their sides, and their spears were generally at their horses’ head stuck in the ground; when halted on a plain, groups of four or five might be seen stretched on the bare earth sound asleep, their bodies exposed to the noon-day sun, and their heads in a cluster under the precarious shade of a black blanket or tattered horse-cloth extended on the points of spears”. 84 Their great object was to seek thle enemy in a difficult position. The leaders, though they generally rendered a partial account to the head of the State, embezzled or dissipated the greater part of their collection. The revenues raised by the emperor from his Deccan provinces, dwindled; treasure coming from the north was oftten attacked by Maratha force.

Shahu found it difficult to sdbdue these irregular assemblies of troopers. His Peshwd BalajI Vishwanath came up with a clever plan of recognising the conquests made by the chiefs if they agreed to Raja 6hahu’s leadership and surrendered to him a small part of their recoveries, and also to take a supervisory staff from the centre. The feudalization of the Maratha state, thus begun under the force of circumstances, never stopped. As Raja §hahu showed little inclination to govern, the chief executive authority passed on to the Peshwa. The first four Peshwas proved capable men. The Maratha State expanded under their authority and included almost threefourths of the Mughul India. But the Maratha State was an inorganic mass loosely held together by the head. After 1773 when a minor came to govern as Peshwa, there was great rivalry among the feudatories to wield the supreme power and they fought it among themselves only to lose to the British.

Orme in his Historical Fragments, analyses the strength of Maratha armies. “The strength of their armies consists in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of resisting fatigue than any in India, large bodies of them having been known to march fifty miles a day. They avoid general engagements and seem to have no other idea in making war but that of doing as much mischief as possible to the enemy’s country. This they effect by driving off cattle, destroying the harvest and by such other means as make the people of the open country take flight on the first rumours of their approach. The rapidity of their motion leaves the prince with whom they wage war little chance of striking a decisive blow against them or even of attacking with effect any of their detachments. Hence the expense of maintaining an army in the field against the Marathas with very little probability of ever fighting such an enemy; and the greater detriment arising from devastations they commit, generally induces the governments they attack to purchase their retreat with money.”

Orme thus brings out two characteristics of the 18th century Maratha armies. The first was their extreme mobility. They consisted mainly of cavalry without any encumbrance in the form of baggage, tents, supplies or artillery.

The second characteristic was that they always pursued enveloping tactics, intended to harass their enemy and cut off his supplies. They avoided pitched battles as far as possible. Hence the Maratha army was called by the north Indian people Ghanimi Fauj. Vast hordes of horsemen marched long distances with extreme speed and secrecy, dispersed for foraging or bewildering the enemy and yet combined for striking a blow. This mobility also enabled them to break off an engagement at any time they chose and vanish to a safe distance. Sudden surprise of an unprepared enemy by vast bodies of light cavalry and complete envelopment of his position were the secret of success of the Maratha system of warfare. 85

The expeditions of BajI Rao I in Malwa and Bundelkhand show the Maratha system at its best. At Bhopal a vast horde of 80,000 horsemen surrounded the Nizam, starved his army and forced him sign a convention, yielding the Peshwa's demand.

Malet, the British Resident at the Peshwa's court, sent in a detailed report on the organization of the Maratha army in March, 1795 after the battle of Kharda. On that occasion the Marathas had brought an army of 127,665 strong against the Nizam. Of this, 70,665 cavalry belonged to the Peshwd, 25,000 horse and foot provided by Daulat Rao Sindia, 15,000 by RaghujI Bhosle and 10,000 by Tukoji Holkar and 7,000 by Parashuram Bhau. Malet remarks: 86

"The foregoing bodies of troops are either under the command of feudatory chieftains whose authority over their own troops is absolute and without appeal, as the four last and many others, or under leaders of corps paid by Government either in money or land, under the denomination of Nukdee or Tunkaw (land assignments resumable at pleasure), and in the same manner as the mass of the force of the Mahratta Empire is thus composed, so the force of the various chieftains is in like manner composed in a smaller or greater degree of the same materials. Thus, for instance, the general Mahratta force is composed of Jagheerdars like Sindia, and Holcar, of Nugdee or ready money corps as Shah Meer Khan, Monsieur Noronha and Buchaba Sirolkur or of Tunkadars as Bugwunt Singh Weys, Paugeahs, etc. Now all these different descriptions are again detailed in the composition of the Sindean or other Jagheerdars ' forces; that is to say, it contains every species of service, but the number is generally far short of the quota stipulated by the original feudal tenure. But though the Nagdee or ready money corps are not looked upon in so respectable a light as those paid in lands, the general term for which is saranjamee, yet are the commanders absolute in the management of them and in the disposal of the sums they receive for their payment, which generally runs to a certain rate per man and a fixed sum for the commander; and, as in the management of these corps the payment by Government is generally very tardy, the commanders have recourse to every trick by which they can possibly elude the checks by which Government attempts to insure faithful service, viz., by the appointment of Duan, Furnavees, etc., government officers to^every corps through (sic) whom the most scandalous venality prevails, which is practised in collusion with the commahder by which means it happens (but this must be understood more particularly in the Peshwa's service) that a corps of 100 men has seldom more than 50 effectives, while the allowance of Government is reduced to half before it reaches the sepoy.

"The corps of the Paugheas*, that is, commanders of bodies of cavalry paid either in ready money or land assignments or Tunka , are smaller or greater according to the interest of the Paughea, as for instance, one has a Paugha of 50, another of 500, reckoning the whole at a certain sum per head, with a distinct allowance for the chief, who again distributes that allowance at his pleasure, giving to one 20, to another .200 rupees per month. Properly speaking, the Paughas should be composed of the horses of the Government or the chief, mounted by Bargheers, i.e., hired troopers, but this is not always the case, for Silladars (literally, bearers of arms), that is, horsemen with their own horses, often compose a large portion of a Paugha, and though every horseman throughout a Mahratta army looks upon himself as company for his chieftain and always sits down with him, yet is the Silladar looked upon in rather a superior light to the Bargheer. To the Paughas, as to the Nugdee corps, there is an establishment of civil officers to enforce justice between Government and its servants, but the multiplication of checks seems to have had no other end than the* increase of corruption, for not only is half the grain and forage allowed to the horses embezzled, but hordes are changed, reported dead and every species of the most flagitious peculation practised with impunity arising from the general interest and participation therein, insomuch that I have sometimes been inclined to think that the Government must have some mode of reimbursing itself for these palpable dilapidations by withholding the pay due to its troops, for the clamors arise therefrom; yet from the ample profits of peculation, the chief is generally wise enough to keep his complaints within bounds, since his illicit profits are secure, and his tardy receipt of payment from Government furnishes a specious pretext for not paying the poor sepoy who through poverty' is often forced to take another service with the loss of all his arrears, which his chief collects as he can, or to compound the whole for a part, which is generally anticipated by loans taken up of his Jummadar (chief) or the Karkuns (civil officers) of his corps at an exorbitant interest.

“Besides Bargheers and Silladars, there is another description of horsemen known in Mahratta armies by the denomination Yekan dia f which signifies single. These are generally men of family, who with a few attendants, go in quest of service, and are frequently entertained on the footing of companions by the great Chiefs on most ample allowances, for instance, from Rs. 100 to Rs. 1,000 per month with one or two horses from the Chiefs stable at their command.

“The arms of the Mahratta cavalry are swords, spears (bhallas), matchlocks and a few bows and arrows. The sword is universal and indispensable; the matchlock frequent and almost universal in the Paugahs and seems to daily gaining ground of the long spear or bhalla, long a favourite weapon of the Mahrattas; but many cf the Silladars , Yekandias and those who claim or affect superiority of birth and rank, seldom encumber themselves with anything but a sword or two. It must, however, be understood that the arms, accoutrements and clothing of the horseman being his own property, there is not the smallest uniformity, every individual being equipped as his taste or circumstances suggest.

“The Paugahs have (seldom) more than one large routy, the most common kind of tent, and perhaps a shameana j or canopy belonging to the Paugah pitched at one end of a street formed by the horses of the troops picketed in two lines fronting each other. This routy serves to shelter the troopers and their furniture in bad weather and as a place of assembly for the corps morning and evening At other times the trooper generally posts himself with his saddle, arms, etc., in front of his horse, where also he sleeps having nothing but what he can conveniently dispose of and convey to any distance

♦Commander of a Paugha

on his horse. There are however generally a number of tuttoos (little horses) attached to each Paugah, that while the army is marching are dispatched with the syces (grooms) to forage, by which means they generally get to the ground as soon as the main body of the army reaches the camp laden with provender for the Paugah horses, or they sally forth in quest of it as soon as they have disposed of their burthen, though the failure ofLthis reliance would not distress the Mahrattas, who are. not yet sufficiently pampered by wealth to despise that necessary part of military dpty or to affect being above providing provender for the noble animal who administers so effectually to their ease and advantage.

“Over and above the foregoing constituent parts of the Mahratta army, it is to be observed that they have nowdntroduced large trains of artillery and formidable bodies of regular infantry, the organisation of which being copies of our own, needs no particular explanation.

“The safety which Mahratta armies enjoy as to their communications from the multiplicity of their cavalry, insures them such ample supplies from vast droves of Bunparries (grain merchants) constantly marching with and hovering round their armies, as to render them totally indifferent to every other circumstance of encampment but water, and as to magazines either of grain or forage or dependency on the protection or supply of fortified cities, they seem unacquainted with those grand objects of consideration to an European army. This security gives a peculiar character to their camp and armies, for so little danger seems to attach to following their camp that shop-keepers, handicrafts and every species of profession carry on their callings seenyngly as much at their ease as in their cities, which gives a conveniency and facility to a military life not to be met with perhaps amongst any other people, and may (added to the simplicity and absence of wants of Mahratta manners) account for their spending their lives as happily in the field as other nations do in towns: a circumstance, which while done with so great ease to them, gives them a vast advantage over all other people, who, while they are in the field, are in a constant state of exertion and hostility v/ith their convenience.

“The safety of the Mahratta camps is to be attributed to the vast numbers of their cavalry hovering round in every direction, rather than to any of the precautionary measures of trenches, posts, guards, etc., systematically used in our armies. They have indeed, at night, patrols of Horse (Shabeena) sent out in different directions. But the ampleness of their equipment, at least of the host with which I marched, and of which I now write, enabled them always to keep up a large army under the denomination of Vanguard (Harole) in advance, and when they approached the enemy, to divide that again by an advance under the denomination Chiny Fouge or Fouge Jereed, which signifies the unencumbered army, being literally so much so as scarce to have a tent in it, every thing but the immediate apparatus for service being left at a convenient distance and under a very slender guard in what they call the Baggage Camp (Beheer or Boonga) so that at the time of the action with the Nizam on 11 March, the Mahrat + a army consisted of 3 camps, the Peshwa's or , Head Quarter Camp, being upward of 20 miles in the rear of the Chiny Fouge whose Beheer or Baggage Camp was between both; it will be easily understood that while this division of force both in marching and encamping opens'a field of great advantage to an active enemy provided with cavalry, yet little advantage can be taken of it by armies of infantry or much inferior in cavalry, whose camps must constantly be blockaded if they make a proper use of their advantage by their more numerous cavalry in so much as to prevent the smallest movement without discovery; for exclusive of

their hosts of cavalry serving on pay there are always great numbers of Pindaras or Predatory Horse that march with Mahratta armies, who instead of receiving pay, actually purchase the chief privilege of plunder at their own risk and charge, a predicament that gives a singular edge to their appetite for depredation and renders them infinitely more active and destructive than those who by receiving pay have not an equal stimulus to rapacity. They reside principally in Malwa and generally attach themselves to the armies of Holkar and Sindia, and generally speaking they are poor (for those who are lucky enough to get wealth seldom expose themselves while it lasts). Their horses are small but hardy and their equipment mean, so that they are by no means a match for any cavalry tolerably appointed. The depredations of these troublesome people are so dreaded throughout all the countries that are in the habit of being exposed to them that all the villages in such countries are walled, generally have a little citadel or gurry in the center.

Battle order of the Mardthds:

“I have heard but of two instances in which the forces of this State may be said to have engaged in pitched battles; one at Panipat, where, previously reduced to straits by the superior activity of the Pathan and Mogul cavalry, which was numerous enough to beat them in their own style of cutting off their supplies, and failing, were subjected to one of the most bloody defeats that we read of; the other was the battle (of Moti Talao) in which Trimbuk Mamma defeated Hyder, not far from Seringapatam. But I am unacquainted with the order of battle observed on those two occasions. It is reasonable to suppose that the introduction of infantry^ and artillery, forming so large a part as they now do in armies of this Empire, must cause a material alteration, if not a total change, in this part of their military service; while by giving to their armies a kind of base or center of union it alters their former predatory and desultory style of warfare. And while on one hand, this alteration makes their invasions infinitely more formidable to States unprovided with the means of opposing an increase of that description of strength, 1 am not without an idea, that as such increase of strength is necessarily attended with increasing incumbrances hostile to rapidity, that increase of strength may be disserviceable to their operations against a State such as ours in the degree that the increase affects the former desultory velocity. The decision of this point in which I suppose, our infantry and artillery are as light and rapid as this State’s, whenever the contest happens, will form an epoch of the

most critical interest to the welfare, I may say, existence of our Empire in the East.

“I am, however, from a general observation of the manners of the people and extreme looseness of particular discipline or general arrangement amongst them, strongly of opinion that they would afford very easy conquest to any army of a more rigorous composition that could bring a sufficient number of cavalry to prevent their making a sport of war and retreating, when they are no longer disposed to maintain the contest, in safety and leisure."

Malet proved very much right in his prophecy. The new brigades proved the undoing of the Marathas when they were pitted against the English. About the middle of the 18th century the Marathas began to come in contact with the trained battalions of the English and the French. The fire-power of the trained infantry proved its Superiority over the old type of Maratha system using simple weapons like the sword and the spear. The system had failed against walled cities and well-provisioned camps, guarded by artillery. The Marathas in a haphazard manner attempted to bolster their cavalry with the newly modelled infantry. Mahadjf Sindia carried out, on a large scale, the new system of raising disciplined battlions under European officers, supported by artillery. Sindia was fortunate in getting the help of a French soldier De Boigne in raising the brigades, defeating his Indian enemies and making himself the king-maker. But as Lyall has pointed out 87 ". .. the regular troops and cannon hampered those rapid daring marches and manouevres of fight armed cavalry which had for a hundred years won for the Marathas their victories over the unwieldy Mughul armies, and had on various occasions perplexed and discomfited English commanders. The armaments and tactics of civilized nations imply high proficiency in the art of war, abundant supply of costly material and a strong reserve of well-trained officers. They cannot be adopted by an Asiatic people unaccustomed to such inventions," and ignorant of the physical and chemical sciences on which they are based. The Duke of Wellington expressed the same opinion. Writing to Major Shawe in November 1803, he remarked, "I have no doubt whatever but that the military spirit of the nation has been destroyed by their establishment of infantry and artillery. The destruction of these establishments contributed to the success of the contest" 88 The Maratha soldier never enlisted in the Brigades, and the new army of Sindia enlisted men from Awadh, Doab and other parts of Hindustan. In this manner the foreign element grew rapidly and

the Maratha armies became denationalised, with their cavalry playing a secondary role.

The mercenary brigades were no match for the East India Company's army. Between the days of Warren Hastings and the coming of Lord Wellesley as Governor General (1784-1798) the Company had taken care to raise regiments of cavalry to meet the Maratha threat. So when the British and the Marathas clashed in 1803, Great Britain had superiority in training, fire arms, officers and morale. By issuing a proclamation on the eve of the

Second Anglo-Maratha war the British persauded most of Sindia's foreign officers to leave his service. So the Campoos that fought at Assaye, Argaon, Aligarh and Laswari were sheep led to their slaughter. They fought with the courage of despair. In the battles, though they were sharply contested, British victories were decisive. The blows were delivered at close quarters upon compact bodies of troops which, once they were destroyed, could not be replaced. The defeat of Maratha chiefs was complete and placed them at the mercy of the conqueror.

NOTES

1. Vincent Smith, Oxford History of India (1958), pp. 494-95; P. Spear, India, A Modern History, p. 277.

2 Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, p. 351.

3. Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. XIII (Elphinstone's Embassy), p. 410, also Elphinstone's Report on the Territories conquered from the Peshwa. Kulkami, A. R., Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji (1969).

4. Ranade, M. G., Miscellaneous Writings (1915); Kelkar, N. C., Marathas and the English (1918); Sen, S. N., Administrative System of the Marathas (1925);

5- Ajhapatra, (Moramkar, 1926 edn.).

6. Carlyle, Thomas, On Heroes and Hero-worship, etc., (World's Classics), p. 204.

7. Shiva Bharat, 10 32.

8 Ranade, R. D., Pathway to God in Marathi Literature, (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1961), p. 290.

9- Ajnapatra, p. 4.

10. Sarkar, Jadunath, Shivaji and His Times (1948), p. 28,

11. Naik, J. V., Nature and Significance of the New Order Created by Shivaji, (Bombay University Seminar, 1975).

12. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 29.

13- Sarkar, ibid, p. 30.

14. Sabhasad, Shiva Chhatrapatiehe Charitra (4th Edn. 1923), pp. 3-4.

15. Joshi, S. N., Arvdchin Mahardshtretihds Kdldtil Rajya-Kdrbhdracha Itihas (1959), pp. 66-69.

16- Patra Sdr Samgraha, 722; Sabhasad says TukojI Chor was the first Sarnobat.

17. Jedhe Shakdvali in Shiva Charitra Pradip, p. 22; Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 7; Chitnis, op. cit., p. 43; Khare maintains that Mahadeo was the second Peshwa of Shivaji from 1662-72. It was only in 1672 that Moropant became th^ Peshwa. See Khare, G. H., Niva&ak Lekha, p. 248.

18. Sabhasad, op. cit., p 87; 91 Qalmi Bakhar , pp. 76-77; Sarkar, op. cit., p. 57.

19. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp 57-58

20. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 78-79; Sardesai, G. S., New History of the Mardth&s, Vol. I, pp. 202-03.

21. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 80.

22. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 38; Sarkar, Jadunath, op. cit., p. 120.

23. Jedhe Shakdvali, p. 22 and Joshi, op. cit., p. 140.

24. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

25 Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 4.

26 Jedhe Shakdvali , p. 27.

27. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 84.

28 Aitihasik Patren Yadi Vagaire (1930 ed.) No. 2; also Chitnis, Sapatprakarnatmak Charitra (Hervadkar, 1967), pp. 228-29.

29 Joshi, S. N., op. cit., pp. 51-52.

30 Aitihasik Patren Yddi Vagaire, No. 2.

30a. Chitnis, op. cit., p. 170.

31 Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

32. ibid, pp. 83-84.

33 For a discussion of this point, see Shejwalkar, Shiva Chhatrapati, pp. 538-42; also Kunte Maharashtra State Gazetteers , History, pt. II, pp. 381-84.

34 Balkrishna, Shivdji the Great, pt. IV, pp. 57-58; Chitnis, op. cit., pp. 229-30.

35 Chitnis, op. cit., p. 107.

36 Sabhasad, op. cit. r p. 28.

37 Chitnis, op. cit., pp. 206-13 and Ranade, Rise of the Mardthd Power, (1900 ed.), pp. 117-18.

38. Balkrishna, op. cit., p: 43.

39. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 28-9.

40 ibid, p. 30.

41. Chitnis, op. cit., pp. 113-14.

42. Balkrishna, Shivdji, pt. IV, p. 108.

43 Grant Dull, History of the Mahrattas (1921), I, pp. 182-83.

44 ibid, p. 183.

45. Balkrishna, op. cit., p. 119.

46. English Records on Shivdji, I, pp. 44-48, 97, 132, 146; II, pp. 6 7.

47. Ranade, M. G., Miscellaneous Writings, pp. 331-32.

48. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XX, 109*45.

49 Fryer, Vol. I, p. 206.

50 Sabhasad (1923), op. cit., p. 96-97.

51 Kulkami, A. R., Maharashtra} in the Age of Shivdji, p. 24.

52. Sarkar, Shivdji , (1948), p. 69, 82, 213, et seq.

53. ibid, p. 83, 176.

54. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 104.

54a. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 97, Ajhdpatra, p. 4.

55 Sabhasad, op: cit., p. 21, A. R Kulkhrni, op. cit., p. 181

56 Chitnis, op. cit., (Hervadkar ed.), p. 123.

57 Kulkarni, op. cit., p. 185.

58 Sarkar, Jadunath, Aurangzib, IV, p. 253.

59 Parasnis, Itihds Samgraha, VII, Aitihasik Sphufa Lekha, pp. 4-5; also Shahu Charitra, pp. 134-35.

60- Dhdktd Rdmrajdchi Bakhar and Itihds Samgraha, Peshwa Daftarantil Mdhiti, pp. 321-51.

61. Ranade, M. G., Miscellaneous Writings, p. 349.

62. Sabhasad, Shiva .Chhatrapati Charitra (1923), pp 96-97

63. Chitnis, Thorle Shahu Mahdrdj Charitra, (1924), p. 46, Grant Duff, History, I, pp. 341^42.

64. Grant Duff, op: cit., I, p. 390, f.n. 2.

65- Rajwade, op. cit., VI, p. 160.

66 Grant Duff, op. cit., I, p. 584.

67. Elphinstone, Report , Selection of Papers from the Records of the East India House , IV (1826), p. 159.

67a. Appendix to Elphinstone’s Report.

68 Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 158-67 & 175-83.

69. Tone, Institutions of the Mardthd People, pp. 15-16.

70. Cambridge History of India , Vol. IV, p. 414.

71 Rajwade, MIS, I, Introduction, p. 96.

72 Sardesai, Marathi Riydsat, V, pp. 135-36.

73 • Sarkar, Jadunath, Fall of the Mughal Empire, IV, pp. 112-13.

74. Khare, V. V., Foreword to Kelkar’s Mardthas and the English, p. 15.

74a. PR. C., VIII, p. 34.

75. Grant Duff, op. cit., pp. 175-76.

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76- Grant Duff, ibid, p. 179.

76a. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 98-99.

77. Sabhasad, op. cit., p. 25.

78. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 25:26.

79. Sabhasad, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

80. F^yer, A New Account of East India & Persia, p. 175.

81. Dr. Fryer as cited by Balkrishna, Shivdj I, IV, pp. 70-71.

82. Hist. Miscellany, pp. 48-55.

83 Memoirs of Francois Martin, II, 113-19 cited by Jadunath Sarkar, Military History of Indiq, p. 154.

84. Grant Duff, history of the Mahrattas (1921), Vol. I, p. 302.

85- Sarkar, Jadunath, Military History of India, pp. 155-59.

86 • P R C, IV, pp. 269-77; Malet’s report on the military organisation has been overlooked by scholars so far and therefore is quoted at length. Malet

was British Resident at the Peshwa?s Court and was present with the Maratha army in 1795 and describes in vivid detail its organization, weapons, dress of the Maratha soldiers, etc. James Forbes, however, has included the despatch in the second volume of Oriental Memoirs (1813) at pp. 143-157.

87- Lyall, Alfred, The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India, (3rd ed., 1905), pp. 225-26.

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[The Asst. Editor (Dr. Dighe) has drawn on many papers he read at seminars in Bombay, Poona and Delhi for the chapter.]

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CHAPTER XVIII

ADMINISTRATION IN BRITISH TERRITORIES

IN INDIA: 1707-1818

PART I

Bengal:

The history of the evolution of British administrative institutions in Bengal from 1707 to 1818 may be roughly divided into two periods. The first period in this history may be said to have come to an end in 1774 with the coming into force 1 of what is popularly known as Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773. 2 The second period began in 1774 with the coming into operation of the Regulating Act, and continued for our present purposes, till 1818.

First Period: 1707-1774:

Before, however, we actually deal with the English political institutions in Bengal during this period, we consider it necessary to say, by way of introduction, a few words in regard to two preliminary matters, namely, (i) when Bengal first became a Presidency under the English, and (ii) what was the manner in which the affairs of the East India Company—or, to be more precise, of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies —were administered in England during this period.

(i) Bengal: A Presidency : 3

Roughly speaking, before 1682 Bengal had been subordinate to Fort St. George (Madras). In 1682, however, it became, although for a brief period, independent of the latter. One Mr. William Hedges was appointed to be the first independent Agent and Governor of the (first East India) Company's "affairs and factories in the Bay of Bengal". 4 His commission of appointment was dated 14 November, 1681. He landed at Hoogly on 24 July, 1682, and held office as Agent and Governor of the Company's "affairs in the Bay of Bengal", from that date till 30 August, 1684, when he was superseded 5 by one Mr. William Gyfford (Gifford) who had previously

been appointed Agent and Governor of the Company's affairs in the Bay of Bengal, in addition to his duties as Agent and Governor of Fort St. George, Madras. Thus, Bengal once more became subordinate to Madras, and continued to be in this state of subordination from September, 1684 to December, 1699, when one Sir Charles Eyre was appointed Governor of Fort William at Calcutta and President of all the Company's "Settlements and Affairs in the .... Kingdoms of Bengal and Behar in the East Indies". 6

Sir Charles Eyre actually assumed office as Governor of Bengal on 26 May, 1700. 7 Thus Bengal again became independent of Madras, with Sir Charles Eyre as its Governor. This, in brief, is the history of the origin of the Presidency of Bengal.

(ii) Home Administration of Indian Affairs : 8

Briefly speaking, the constitution, rights and privileges of the East India Company—or, to be very precise, of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies 9 —practically during the whole of the period with which we are now concerned, 10 were in essence based upon, and derived from, the Charter which King William III had granted on 5 September, 1698, to the bulk of the subscribers to a loan of two millions sterling to the State, incorporating them as a New East India Company under the denomination of "The English Company Trading to the East Indies". The King had granted this Charter under the authority conferred upon him by an Act of Parliament.

Under this constitution, there were two bodies for the adminis

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tration of the affairs of the Company in England: a General Court of Proprietors and a Court of Directors. The supreme authority for the administration of those affairs was, however, vested in the General Court of Proprietors. The Chairman of the Court of Directors of the Company was its “ex-officio Chairman”, and consequently presided over the meetings of its General Court.

The Court of Directors consisted of twenty-four members who were annually elected by the General Court of Proprietors from among its own members by a majority of votes. The election was held “on some day or days, time or times, between the twentyfifth day of March and the twenty-fifth day of April in each year”. After the constitution of a new Court of Directors at the end of a year, it would, at its first meeting, elect by ballot, from among its own members, its Chairman and Deputy Chairman for the next succeeding year. Although the number of Directors was twenty-four, any thirteen of them would be sufficient to constitute a Court. This number, therefore, was the quorum for all purposes of the Court, and any action taken by any thirteen Directors would be an action of the Court.

The Court of Directors was ‘the executive body’ of the Company. It was empowered “to act according to such Bye-Laws, Constitutions, Orders, Rules, or Directions, as shall from time to time be made and given unto them by the General Court (of Proprietors) of the ...... Company”. In the absence of any such byelaws, etc., it would, subject to the constitution of the Company as based upon the Act of Parliament and the Royal Charter previously referred to, “direct and manage all the affairs and business of the .Company”; choose and appoint its agents or servants from time to time; ‘allow and pay reasonable salaries and allowances’ to them, or ‘remove or displace them, if necessary; and generally do such other business as it would judge necessary for the well ordering and managing of the.Company and the affairs there of’. Lastly, it would, subject to the same restriction as noted above, “do, enjoy, perform, and execute all the powers, authorities, privileges, acts, and things in relation to the . Company as fully, to all intents and purposes, as if the same were done by the whole Company, or by a General Court (of Proprietors) of the same”.

It may be noted here that only a holder of “five hundred pounds, or more, share or interest, in the stock” of the Company would have a vote in the General Court of Proprietors, but that no person could act as a Director till he had taken an oath that he possessed £ 2,000 of the Company’s stock, or, if a Quaker, made a declaration to that effect. Nor could a person be “chosen a Director of the.Company” who would not, “at the time of such choice, be a natural bom subject of England lor naturalised, and.have in his name or in his own right, and for his use two thousand pounds, or more”, of the Company’s stock.

The Charter of King William III provided for the appbintment of sub-committees by the Court of Directors from among its own members, for the execution of the business of the Company. Actually, however, the term used was “committee” and not “sub-CommitUe”. There were several such committees which would be formed by the Court of Directors at its first meeting after its reconstitution at the end of a year, and amongst which its business would be divided: namely, the Committee of Accounts, the Committee of Buying, the Committee of Correspondence, the Committee of Law suits, the Committee of Shipping, the Committee of Treasury, the Committee of Warehouses, and the Committee of Private Trade. In April, 1771, a new Committee for the management and application of the Military Fund instituted by Lord Clive, was added. The Chairman and the Deputy Chairman of the Court (of Directors were exofficio members of all the Committees. 11

There was another Committee of the Court of Directors to which we find frequent reference in contemporary letters from the Court to the President and Council in Bengal. This Committee was styled the Secret Committee of the Court. Like its other Committees, it used to be formed by the Court from among its own members, after its own reconstitution by the General Court of Proprietors at the end of a year. It consisted of the Chairman of the Court of Directors, its Deputy Chairman, and some other members thereof, not less than two, or more than seven in number. Any three members of the Committee would constitute a quorum. Any "instructions, orders, and directions" which the Committee or any three members thereof might think fit to issue to any person or persons in the service of the Company in Bengal (or, for the matter of that, in the East Indies), had to be "duly observed and complied with'* by them. 12

English Administrative Institutions in Bengul: 1707 to 1774:

Broadly speaking, during the whole of this period the affairs of the Company in Bengal were ordinarily administered, subject to the control of its Court of Directors and, ultimately, of its Court of Proprietors in England, by a President and Council 13 consisting of its superior servants. The President was also known as Governor. Moreover, there would often be appointed, during the later part of this period, a Select Committee to help the President and Council in the administration of the affairs of the Company in Bengal. The principal settlement of the Company in Bengal was at Fort William in Calcutta. Under this principal settlement, there were several minor settlements 14 of the Company in this side of India. They were referred to either as 'subordinates' or as factories. This nomenclature, however, was not always strictly adhered to, and a 'subordinate' would often be referred to as a factory. 15 A factory would ordinarily be under a 'subordinate'. Subject to the control and direction of the President and Council at Fort William, the affairs of a 'subordinate' were originally managed by a Chief and Council, and those of a factory by a Resident. Later on, the heads of 'subordinates' were also sometimes designated Residents. It may be

mentioned here that there were two other principal settlements of the Company in India during the period with which we are now concerned: one at Bombay, and another at Fort St. George, Madras. All these three settlements were also called Presidencies, probably because at the head of each of them there was a President. Broadly speaking, the affairs of the Company in the Presidencies of Bombay and Fort St. George were administered in the same way, and subject to similar control from England, as in the case of the Presidency of Fort William. It may also be noted here that, although the three Presidencies often acted, as a matter of fact, on the principle of mutual help and co-operation in relation to one another, they were, constitutionally speaking, absolutely independent of one another. The President (or Governor) and Council at each Presidency were responsible to the authorities of the Company in England for the proper execution of their duties in India.

The principal settlements of the Company at Bombay and Fort St. George at Madras also had minor settlements under them, as in the case of Fort William at Calcutta.

We shall now deal with the position and powers of the President, Council and the Select Committee at Fort William.

The Governor:

The Governor 16 of Fort William in Bengal was appointed by the Court of Directors of the Company. This was also the case with the Governors of Fort St. George in Madras, of Bombay and of Fort Marlborough at Bencoolen, Sumatra. It was an invariable usage of the Company that the post of Governor and President in a Presidency should be filled by one of its civil servants. In the later part of the period now under consideration, the Governor was required to take an oath and to enter into a penalty bond that he might be "restricted in points of trade and private interest". Moreover, he was required to give a security of £ 10,000 for the faithful performance of his Covenant regarding the non-acceptance of any presents from, any person.

Powers of the Governor:

In his Memoirs of Warren Hastings} 1 Gleig has stated in connection with the office of President (i.e., the Governor) that he "may be regarded as bearing to his Council no other relation than that of primus inter pares". This statement is substantially correct, as the President and Governor did not possess in those days the power of overriding the majority of his Council or Select Committee and act

ing on his own authority and responsibility in special eases. 1 ® As a matter of fact, the power to override the majority of their Council and to act on their own responsibility “in cases of high importance’** in the executive sphere was first conferred upon the Governor-General of Bengal, and also upon the Governors of Madras and Bombay, by a Parliamentary enactment of 1786. 19 Technically, therefore, the President was the first among, usually, nine to sixteen ‘equals’ 20 and every question brought before a meeting of the President and Council was decided, if the whole Council had been duly summoned, by a majority of the Council. 21 And a mere change in its personnel would not affect the system of the Company’s Government at Port William. This will be evident from the following extract from a letter of the President and Council of Fort William 22 to the Nawab of Murshidabad: 23

“That as the Nabob seems to conjecture there is a total suspension of our Government until Lord Clive’s arrival. It becomes necessary to explain to him that the system of our Government is always the same and can never lose its force by the change of individuals—and that whoever be President9* he does the duties of his office, until a succeeding President takes the Chair and jointly with the Council conducts all the Company’s business with the same authority.”

The President and Governor had, however, certain special powers and privileges which contributed much to the dignity, prestige and the influence of his office. For instance, he alone was empowered to carry on correspondence with ‘the Country Powers’ in India. Again, the Governor of Bengal was also, under the terms of his appointment, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Company’s forces in the Presidency of Bengal. And we find in a General Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council at Fort William, dated 30 June, 1769:

“We are much surprised at the many questions which arose in the disputes 25 between our President Mr. Verelst and General Smith concerning their respective Military Authorities. As $ full answer to the whole, in a few words, you are to understand that our Governor is to all intents and purposes the Commander in Chief of our Forces and whatever orders he sends to <i ny officer , must be obeyed. 26 He is answerable to us for the use he makes of this power, and if he takes upon himself to give orders

without the consent of the Council or Select Committee upon points belonging to their management he will suffer our severest resentment.”

It is evident from all this that the President and Governor of Fort William occupied a very important position in the early governmental system of the Company in Bengal. Indeed, he was consider^ ed as' ‘the supreme Magistrate in Military as well as in Civil Affairs', and as ‘the head of both civil and military establishments', because of his ‘pre-eminence in all Departments'. His general position as the head of the Company’s affairs in Bengal and the duty of the Council at Fort William towards him, had been explained by the Court of Directors in one of its earlier letters of 31 January, 1755 to the President and Council at Fort William, as follows:

“All the rules and directions we can lay down will be of no effect nor can we ever expect to see our affairs properly conducted unless the President for the time being agreeable to his situation and the real intention of his post is a General Inspector and Supervisor oj the whole machine ; 27 in that light we look upon the President and we expect Mr. Drake 25 will exert himself accordingly. We shall then find that the seyeral important posts which have been hitherto conducted too independently will be properly checked and controlled and our servants in general will likewise be in all respects kept to their duty. Whenever therefore the President shall lay before you 29 any complaints or observations upon the conduct or management of our servants of any rank or degree or proposes any regulations for the better management of our affairs in general or any particular branches of them, you are seriously to attend to and consider them and apply such remedies as the nature of them requires."

The Court also directed in the same letter that, in consequence of the authority vested in the President, he was ‘to call upon the several persons employed to see in what manner their business’ was executed, so that it itself might have fewer occasions for complaints against the way in which they performed their duties.

We may also note in this connection what Lord Clive stated in the course of a parting message to Mr. Verelst who was to succeed him in the office of President and Governor of Bengal, and to the other members of the Select Committee at Fort William: 30

“The people of this country have little, or no idea of a divided power: they imagine all authority is vested in one man. The Governor of Bengal should always be looked upon by them, in this light, as far as is consistent with the honour Of the Committee and Council. In every vacant season therefore, I think

it expedient that he take a tour up the country in the quality of Supervisor General. 31 Frauds and oppressions of every sort, being by this means laid open to his view, will in great measure be prevented, and the natives preserve a just opinion of the importance and dignity of your President, upon whose character and conduct much of the prosperity of the Company’s affairs in Bengal, must ever depend.”

In the exercise of his powers, however, the President and Governor was subject to the control and direction of the Select Committee and the Council at Fort William, and to that of the Court of Directors in England, and he was accountable to therti for the manner in which he executed the duties of his office.

Such, in brief, were the position, powers and responsibilities of the Governor of Bengal as these had been, before what is known as the Regulating Act of 1773 came into force. We may observe, however, that, apart from the specific powers vested in him, much depended upon personal factors. If the Governor happened to be a man of strong character and personality, and he himself was above temptations—and there were many in his way in those days—he would certainly be able to maintain the dignity of his office and exercise a considerable influence over men and affairs. But things would be otherwise if the Governor happened to be a weak man or if he was not himself above temptations. 32

The Council:

The constitution of the Council differed from time to time, the number of Councillors including the President and Gdvemor, varying, ordinarily, from nine to sixteen. 33 The views of the Court of Directors on the question whether the Commanding Officer of the army in the Presidency of Bengal should have a constant seat on the Council, also varied from time to time. Members of the Council also varied from time to time. Members of the

Council were, like the President and Governor, ordinarily appointed by the Court of Directors. But vacancies would often occur in the membership of the Council either as a result of the death, going away, dismissal or the suspension of its members, or otherwise. If any such vacancies occurred, the President and Council were empowered to fill them provisionally, pending the approval of the Court, by appointing some superior servants of the Company in Bengal. It should, however, be noted here that seniority alone was not to be a ground for such appointments. In its General Letter to Bengal, dated 24 December, 1765, the Court of Directors directed the President and

Council "to be extremely careful .... not to admit any one into Council" unless they were fully satisfied that his "abilities, integrity,* circumstances and good character in general" rendered him fit for so important a station as the membership of the Council.

We have stated before that the President and Council were empowered provisionally to fill vacancies in the Council by appointing some superior servants of the Company from within Bengal. But sometimes such vacancies would be filled by the appointment of civil servants from other Presidencies. For instance, in 1765-66 four vacancies in the Council were filled by the appointment of four civil servants from the Presidency of Madras.

Public and Secret Departments:

The Council would sometimes form itself into two Departments, Public and Secret, for the transaction of its business. For example, it did so at a (Public) Consultation, held at Fort William on 3 November, 1763.

The Select Committee:

The Select Committee at Fort William generally consisted of five persons including the President and Governor there. Sometimes, however, it consisted of six persons and sometimes only of four (and even three) persons in certain circumstances. Although it was an almost invariable practice on the part of the Court of Directors to include a military officer—generally the Commanding Officer, for the time being, of the Company's army in Bengal—in the Select Committee, yet it would often lay it down as a general principle that the Commanding Officer should not be allowed to have a constant seat on the Committee.

Select Committees were ordinarily constituted from time to time by the Court of Directors, but casual vacancies therein were filled by their members themselves under the authority vested in them in this regard by the Court. Further, the President (at Fort William) would sometimes himself appoint senior servants of the Company available at Fort William, to be temporary members of the Select Committee. The usual quorum for the Select Committee was three, although "the Select Committee did not lay down any rules for themselves".

The Select Committee constituted by the order of the Court of Directors, dated 1 June, 1764, resolved at its first meeting held at

Fort William on 7 May, 1765, that the following oath should be taken by its members:—

"I, A.B., do swear that I will not reveal to any person whatever, any of the proceedings of this Committee, until the same be laid before the Council or until this Committee be dissolved."

And we find from subsequent records of the Proceedings of the Select Committee that every person who became a member of the Committee later on, had to take this oath of secrecy before entering upon the duties of his office.

Powers of the Council and the Select Committee:

Briefly speaking, except during a short period in which the Select Committee was, as will be shortly noticed, endowed by the Court of Directors with extraordinary powers and was, therefore, to quote the words of Malcolm, 34 'the real engine of government', and except during such an emergency as will be referred to hereinafter, the powers of the Council were really immense, since it was vested with 'a general supervising power' over the administration of the Company's affairs in Bengal. Thus we find the Court of Directors laying down in a letter, dated 23 March, 1758, that the

Council should have the power of “ordering, governing and managing all the Company’s affairs at Fort William in Bengal, and all its dependdent places and settlements with as full power and authority as the Presidents and Councils in Bengal have been usually invested with”. And in a previous letter, dated 11 February, 1756, the Court had directed that the Council constituted thereby would have the power of presiding over and managing “all the Company’s affairs at Fort William in Bengal, and all the several dependencies thereunto belonging”. In another letter, dated 8 February, 1764, the Court stated: “We have appointed the following gentlemen to be the Council for managing and conducting the Company’s affairs at our Presidency of Fort William to whom all obedience is to be paid,” etc. Again, shortly afterwards, in reconstituting the Council at Fort William by its letter of 1 June, 1764, the Court described its power as “managing and conducting all our affairs at the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to whom all obedience is to be paid”. Lastly, we may mention that in the Court’s commissions appointing a President and Council at Fort William, dated, for instance, 11 February, 1758, and 31 May, 1764, we find that the Council was vested with the power

of “governing and managing all the .Company’s affairs in

Bengal and the places and provinces thereunto belonging”.

Although the Court of Directors vested such extensive powers in the Council as shown above, yet it directed 35 in 1758 that, if ever Fort William were attacked by an enemy, the powers of its Governor and Council were, so far as its defence was concerned, to be suspended, and that the sole authority therefor was to be exercised by a Military Government consisting of the “President, the Major, the Engineer, the Master Attendant for the time being and the next most capable military officer to be appointed by the said persons . This direction of the Court regarding the setting up of a Military Government at Fort William in the event of its being attacked by an enemy, was in essence repeated by it in its General Letters to Bengal, dated 13 March, 1761, 1 June, 1764, and 23 March, 1770, although the Military Government itself was ordered to be constituted differently on different occasions.

It may also be noted here that the President and Council were empowered by a Royal Charter, dated 8 January, 1758, to make byelaws for the good government and regulation of the Mayor's Court and other Courts erected under the same Charter “for the town of Calcutta at Fort William” and places subordinate thereto, and of the inhabitants thereof. These bye-laws, however, were not to have ‘any force or effect’ until they were ‘approved and confirmed* by the Court of Directors. The President and Council were also vested by the same Charter with certain powers relating to the administration of justice at Fort William and at places and factories subordinate to it.

It will be clear from all this that the President and Council of Fort William were vested at the same time with executive, legislative and judicial powers, and that the principle of separation of powers was not followed in framing the governmental system of the Company at Fort William.

Powers of the Select Committee:

The powers of the Select Committee varied from time to time; but except during emergencies when it would be invested by the Court of Directors with extraordinary powers, it was the Council, and not the Select Committee, which was vested with ‘a general supervising power’ over the administration of the affairs of the Company in Bengal. During an emergency, however, the Select Committee would be vested with special powers. Thus we find that in its General Letter to Bengal, dated 1 June, 1764, the Court stated that the intention of the General Court of Proprietors in desiring Lord Clive to go to Bengal, in view of the critical situation of the Company’s affairs in the Province was:

“That by His Lordship’s character and influence, peace and tranquillity might be the easier restored and established in that Subaship.

“In order therefore to answer these purposes in a manner that we apprehend may prove most effectual, we have thought proper to appoint a Committee on this occasion consisting of his Lordship, Mr. Wm. Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier General Carnac, also Messrs. Harry Verelst and Francis Sykes to whom we do hereby give full powers to pursue whatever means they shall judge most proper to attain those desirable ends; but however in all cases where it be done conveniently, the Council at large is to be consulted by the said Committee, though the power of determination is to be in that Committee alone.”

As a consequence of the conferment of these special powers upon Lord Clive and his Select Committee, the Council at Fort William became, for the time being, a factor of secondary importance in the administrative system of the Company. This state of things continued till the “general superintending power” which had been vested in the Select Committee by the Court of Directors by its General Letter to Bengal, of 1 June, 1764, and which had been confirmed by its General Letter to Bengal, of 17 May, 1766, was withdrawn from the Committee by the Court by its General Letter to Bengal, of 12 January, 1768.

Considerations of space do not permit herje any detailed reference to the prolonged controversy which took place in 1770 between the Council and the Select Committee over the question of their respective jurisdictions. 36 The matter was referred, however, to the Court of Directors both by the Council and by the Select Committee, for its decision thereon. In reply, the Court upheld the contention of the Council as against that of the Select Committee. 37 With its powers thus defined by the Court, the Select Committee continued to function till October, 1774, i.e., practically till the introduction of the new system of Government constituted under what is popularly known as Lord North’s Regulating Act of 1773.

Judiciary before 1774:

We shall now briefly 3 ® notice the system of judiciary which the Company set up in Bengal before 1774. In the first place, there were established in each district two “Courts of Judicature; one by the name of Mofussal Dewdnnee Audawlut , or provincial Court of Dewdnnee, for the cogniz(ance) of Civil Causes; the other by the name (of) Phoujdarree Audawlut, a Court of Phoujddrree, for the trial of all crimes and misdemeanours”. Over the first the Collector of the district presided ‘on the part of the Company in their quality of King’s Dewdn\ He was ‘attended by the provincial Dewdn appointed by the President and Council’ and some other officers. No cause could'be ‘heard or determined but in the open Court regularly assembled’. In the second the Cauzee and Muftee of the district and two Maulcovis would ‘sit to expound the law and determine how far the delinquents shall be guilty of a breach thereof’. The Collector of the district, however, was required to ‘make it his business’ to attend to the proceedings of this Court “so far as to see that all necessary evidences are summoned and examined, that due weight is allowed to their testimony, and that the decision passed is fair and impartial according to the proofs exhibited in the course of the trial”. He was thus ‘to exercise a sort of general superintendence’ over the procedure of this Court. Here also no causes could be ‘heard or determined but in the open Court regularly assembled.’

Secondly, two ‘Superior Courts of Justice’ were established at Calcutta: “one under the denomination of the Dewdnnee Sudder Audawlut and the other the Nizdmut Sudder Audawlut”. The President with two members of the Council at Fort William presided over the Dewdnnee Sudder Audawlut, “attended by the Dewdn of the Khdlsa, the head Canongoe and other officers of the Cutcherry”. In the absence of the President a third member of the Council might sit along with the other two members. That is to say, not less than three members of the Council were to ‘decide on an Appeal’. But the whole Council might sit if it so thought fit.

A ‘Chief Officer of Justice appointed on the part of the Nazim’ presided over ‘the N'hamut Audawlut by the title of DarogoAudaulut (Daroga-Audawlut). He was assisted by the Chief Cauzee, the Chief Muftee, and three capable Maulavis. Their duty was “to revise all the proceedings of the Phoujddrree Audawlut , and in capital cases by signifying their approbation or disapprobation thereof with their reasons at large, to prepare the sentence for the Warrant of the Nazim, which shall be returned into the moffussil and then carried into execution”. With respect to the proceedings of this Court a power of control was vested in the President and Council at Fort William similar to what was vested in the Collectors in the Districts over the Phoujddrree Audawluts, so that “the Company’s administration in the character of King’s Dewdn”, might be satisfied that the “decrees of justice on which both the welfare and safety of the country so materially depend, are not injured or perverted by the effects of partiality or corruption”.

Thirdly, with a view to preserving ‘the dignity and importance of the Two Superior Courts’ just referred to, there were established ‘Two Courts of Audawlut’ at Calcutta, ‘exactly on the same plan as those of the Districts’. A member of the Council at Fort William presided over ‘the Dewannee* Court, and another member of the Council exercised the same kind of control over the Phoujddrree Court as was exercised by the Collector over the Phoujddrree Audawlut in a district. These duties were to be performed by the members of the Council in rotation. These two inferior courts of justice at Calcutta superseded in 1772 what had previously been known as the Zamindari Courts in Calcutta. As Zamindar of Sutanati, Calcutta and Govindpur, the Company used to exercise criminal, civil and religious jurisdiction in these places through these Zamindari Courts. 39

Lastly, mention may be made here of the Courts of law existing in Calcutta which owed their origin to a Charter of Justice granted to the Company by the King of England on 8 January, 1753 —we mean the Courts known as the Mayor’s Court, the Court of Appeals, the Court of Requests as well as certain other Courts, such as the Court of Quarter Sessions, for the administration of justice in criminal cases. The Mayor’s Court consisted of a Mayor and nine Aldermen. An appeal could be made from the judgment of the Mayor’s Court to the President and Council of Fort William. And in certain circumstances a further appeal might be made to the King in Council from a judgment given on appeal by the President and Council.

Such, in brief, was the system of judiciary which the Company had set up in Bengal before a Supreme Court of Judicature was established at Fort William under a Royal Charter, dated 26 March, 1774. We shall have an occasion to refer to this Court of Judicature later on.

English Administrative Institutions in Bengal: 1774-1818:

The Regulaiting Act oj\ 1773:

Many things contributed to the awakening of the conscience of the people of England to what had been happening in India, and to the consequential enactment by Parliament 40 of the Regulating Act of 1773 with a view to a better regulation and management of the affairs of the Company both in India and in England. Among these we may mention the heavy drain of the wealth of Bengal following the acquisition by the Company of the Devtiini of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on 12 August, 1765; the impoverished and miserable condition of the people of Bengal 'since the accession of the Company to the Deiodnnee'; stories of various abuses and iniquities on the part of the Company's servants in this country and of 'colossal fortunes' acquired by many of them, often by unscrupulous means; unhealthy influence exercised by many of these people on English public life on their return to England; war in south of India with Haidar 'All and its financial implications; the terrible famine of 1770 in Bengal and its dreadful consequences; revelations made by the Select and the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1772, in regard to the affairs of the Company; payment of ever increasing dividends to the share-holders of the Company and also of a tribute to the British Exchequer of an annual sum of £ 400,000; and ultimately, financial embarrassments of the Company which practically brought it to the verge of bankruptcy and compelled it to apply to the British Government for a loan for enabling it to get out of its difficulties.

It appears from the Report of a Parliamentary Committee that the authors of the Regulating Act had "five fundamental objects" in view. They were, briefly speaking, as follows: 41

"Istly: The reformation of the Court of Proprietors of the East India Company.

2ndly: A new model of the Court of Directors, and an enforcement of their authority over the servants abroad.

3rdly: The establishment of a Court of Justice capable of protecting the natives from the oppressions of British subjects.

4thly: The establishment of a General Council to be seated in Bengal, whose authority should, in many particulars, extend over all the British Settlements in India.

5thly: To furnish the Ministers of the Crown with constant information concerning the whole of the Company's correspondence with India, in order that they might be enabled to inspect the conduct of the Directors and servants, and to watch over the execution of all parts of the Act; that they might be furnished with matter to lay before Parliament from time to time, according as the state of

things should render regulation or animadversion necessary”

It need hardly be pointed out here that we are concerned in this chapter mainly with the last three objects of the Regulating Act..

Salient features of the Regulating Act:

We shall now notice some of the salient features of the Regulating Act. In a preamble the Act stated that, whereas the powers granted to the Company by Charters had been ‘found by experience not to have sufficient force and efficacy to prevent various abuses’ which had prevailed in the government and administration of the affairs of the Company, ‘as well at home as in India’, it had therefore become highly expedient that certain further regulations, better adapted to its then circumstances and conditions, ‘should be provided and established’. Accordingly, the Act laid down, in the first place, that, ‘at the next ensuing general election’, instead of twenty-four Directors being all elected for one year only, six should be elected ‘expressly’ for one year; six for two years; six for three years; the remaining six for four years; and that “at the expiration of every year, six new Directors, and no more, should be chosen”, “in the place of such Directors whose term shall have expired and who are hereby declared incapable of being then re-chosen” In effect, this meant that the members of the Court of Directors, should, instead of being annually elected as before, ordinarily hold office for four years, one-fourth of their number 42 being elected annually. The object of this provision was to strengthen ‘the authority of the Court of Directors’ and to prevent ‘instability in the Councils and measures’ of the Company.

Secondly, the Act declared that no person employed in any civil or military office or capacity in the East Indies should be eligible for appointment as a Director until such person should ‘have returned to and been resident in England for the space of two years’.

Thirdly, the Act forbade, on pain of severe penalties, any collusive transfer of any stock of the Company for the purpose of voting at any election. Moreover, it raised, with effect from 1 October, 1774, the qualification for a vote at any General Court of Proprietors from £ 500 to £ 1,000 stock, and declared that no person would ordinarily be entitled to such a vote unless he (or she, etc.) had previously possessed the stock for ‘twelve calendar months’. The Act also provided for a plurality of votes in certain circumstances upto a maximum of four votes for any proprietor. 43

Fourthly, the Act declared that, for the government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, there should be ‘appointed a Governor-General, and four counsellors’; and that the whole civil and military government of this Presidency and also the management and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, should, during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues remained in the possession of the Company, be vested in the said GovernorGeneral and Council of the Presidency of Fort William, ‘in like

manner.as the same now are, or at any time heretofore might

have been exercised by the President and Council, or Select Committee in the said kingdoms’ In case of any difference of opinion on any question proposed at any consultation, the Governor-General and Council were, to be bound ‘by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present’. And in case of an equality of votes on any question, as a result of the death or removal or the absence of any member of the Council, the Governor-

General, or, in his absence, the eldest counsellor present at the consultation, was to ‘have a casting voice’, and his opinion was to be ‘decisive and conclusive’.

Warren Hastings was to be the first Governor-General under the Act, 44 and Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honourable George Monson, Mr. Richard Barwell and Mr. Philip Francis were to be ‘the four first counsellors’. They were, subject to what follows, to hold ‘their respective offices’ for five years ‘from the time of their arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government’ of the Presidency. They could not be removed from office in the meantime, except by the Crown on a representation made by the Court of Directors. If a vacancy occurred in the office of the Governor-General during these five years as a consequence of his death, removal, or resignation, it was to be filled, ‘during the remainder of the term aforesaid’, by the member of the Council who stood next in rank to the Governor-General. And if a vacancy occurred, during the same time, in the office of a member of the Council, as a result of his death, removal, resignation, or promotion, it was to be filled, for the unexpired portion of the said term of five years, by the Court of Directors with the consent of the Crown. The Governor-General and Council were empowered to act in spite of any vacancy in the Council. At the expiration of the said term of five years ‘the power of nominating and removing the succeeding Governor-General and Council’ was to be vested in the Court of Directors of the Company.

Fifthly, the Act took the first step towards the centralization of the governmental system of the Company in India. It laid down that the Governor-General and Council were to have ‘power of superintending and controlling the government and management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen’, 45 ‘so far and in so much as’ that it would not be lawful for any President and Council of Madras, Bombay, or Bencoolen, ‘to make any orders for commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war, against any Indian princes or powers, or for negotiating or concluding any treaty of peace, or other treaty, with any such Indian princes or powers’ without the previous consent of the Governor-General and Council, except in such cases of imminent necessity as would render it dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaties till the arrival of such orders, and except in such cases where the said Presidents and Councils had received special orders from the Company. Any President and Council who would offend against these provisions of the Act would be liable to be suspended from office by the order of the GovernorGeneral and Council. Moreover, every President and Council of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen were required by the Act to pay due obedience to such orders as they might receive 'touching the premises' from the Governor-General and Council, and 'constantly and diligently to transmit' to the Governor-General and Council 'advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever' that would come to their knowledge, relating to the government, nevenues, or interest of the Company. The Governor-General and Council in their turn were required by the Act to pay due obedience to all such orders as they might receive from the Court of Directors, and 'constantly and diligently' to communicate to the Court 'an exact particular' of all matters that would come to their knowledge, 'relating to the government, commerce, revenues, or interest' of the Company. The Court of Directors, too, was required by the Act to transmit, within fourteen days of its receipt of any 'letters or advices' from the Governor-General and Council, (i) to the Treasury 'a true and exact copy of such parts of the said letters or advices' as would relate to the management of the revenues of the Company, and (ii) to a Principal Secretary of State 'a true and exact copy of all such parts' thereof as would relate to the civil or military affairs and government of the Company.

Thus a chain of connection was established by the Act between the administrative machinery set up by the Company in India and His Majesty's Government in England.

Sixthly, the Act declared that, as the Royal Charter, dated 8 January, 1753, which, amongst other things, constituted and established courts of justice at Fort William, did not sufficiently "provide for the due administration of justice in such manner as the state and condition of the Company's Presidency of Fort William in Bengal" required, it "shall and may be lawful" for the Crown to erect and establish by charter a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William. This Supreme Court was to consist of a Chief Justice and three other judges who were to be barristers in England or Ireland, of not less than five years' standing, and were to be appointed by the Crown from time to time. It was to have full power and authority to exercise all civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to appoint such clerks and other ministerial officers, with such reasonable salaries, as would be approved of by the Governor-General and Council. Further, it was empowered to 'form and establish' such rules of practice, etc., and to do all such other things as might be found necessary for the administration of justice, and for the due execution of powers to be vested in it by the Charter. It was to "be, at all times, a court of record, and .... a court cf Oyer and Terminer, and Gaol Delivery, in and for the said town of Calcutta, and factory of Fort William ...... and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto". Moreover, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to extend to "all British subjects" residing in the kingdoms or provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, or any of them, under the protection of the Company. And it was to "have full power and authority to hear and determine all complaints against any of His Majesty's subjects for any crimes, misdemeanours, or oppressions, committed, or to be committed; and also to entertain, hear, and determine, any suits or actions whatsoever, against any of His Majesty's subjects in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and any suit, action or complaint against any person.employed by, or directly or indirectly in the service" of the Company or of any of His Majesty's subjects.

The Supreme Court was not, however, to be competent to hear, try or determine any indictment or information against the Governor-General or any member of his Council, for any offence, not being treason or felony, which they might be charged with having committed in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Nor could the GovernorGeneral, any member of his Council, or the Chief Justice or any puisne judge be arrested or imprisoned upoh any action, suit or proceeding in the Supreme Court. An appeal would lie to His Majesty in Council from a judgment of the Supreme Court, subject to such conditions as might be laid down in the royal charter establishing the Supreme Court.

Seventhly, the Act directed the Company to pay, during such time as its territorial acquisitions remained in its possession, the following annual salaries to the Governor-General and others as shown below:—

The Governor-General

Each member of the Council at Fort William Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Each puisne judge

£ 25,000 £ 10,000 £ 8,000 £ 6,000

In view of these salaries, the above-mentioned persons were forbidden by the Act to accept any other fee, perquisite, emolument or advantage whatsoever. They were also forbidden to accept, from any person on any account whatsoever, any present or reward, pecuniary or otherwise, or any engagement for any present or reward; or to be concerned in any traffic or commerce, except the trade and commerce of the Company itself. A similar restriction was imposed by the Act upon every person holding any civil or military office under the Crown or the Company in the East Indies. Further, the Act laid down that it would not be lawful for any Collector, Supervisor, or any other of His Majesty's subjects, employed in the administration of justice, or their agents or servants, to be concerned in any trade in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, except on account of the Company. These provisions were inserted in the Act, obviously with a view to ensuring purity and efficiency in the administration of the Company.

Eighthly, the Act empowered the Governor-General and Council "to make and issue such rules, ordinances, and regulations for the good order and civil government" of the Company's settlement at Fort William and other factories and places subordinate thereto, as might be deemed just and reasonable and would not be repugnant to the laws of the realm, and "to set, impose, inflict, and levy, reasonable fines and forfeitures for the breach or non-observance" thereof. But these rules, ordinances, etc., were not to be valid until they were duly "registered and published" in the Supreme Court to be set up under the Act, with the consent and approbation of the Court. And it would be lawful for any person or persons in India "to appeal therefrom" to the King in Council, who was empowered by the Act to set aside any such rules, etc. Moreover, the GovernorGeneral and Council were required by the Act to transmit copies of such rules, ordinances, and regulations to a Principal Secretary of State; and it would be lawful for the King to signify to the Company his disapprobation and disallowance thereof.

Ninthly, the Governor-General and Council and the Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court were empowered by the Act to act as Justices of the Peace for the Company's settlement at Fort William and for several settlements and factories subordinate -thereto.

Finally, the Act adequately provided for the trial in England, by His Majesty's Court of King's Bench, of any Governor-General, or any other person employed in the service of the Company in any capacity, or of the Chief Justice or any Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, or of any of His Majesty's subjects residing in India, who might commit any offence against any of its provisions, or might be guilty of any crime, misdemeanour, or offence, committed against any of His Majesty's subjects, or any inhabitant of India within their respective jurisdictions.

We have given above a summary of what appear to have been the principal provisions of the Regulating Act of 1773. The three new Councillors, namely, John Clavering, George Monson and Philip Francis arrived at Fort William from Europe on 19 October, 1774. The first meeting of the new Council under the Regulating Act was held at Fort William on 20 October, 1774, under the Presidentship of Warren Hastings, (now) Governor-General. 46 The other members who attended this meeting were the three new Councillors from Europe, namely, Clavering, Monson and Francis. Richard Barwell could not attend this meeting, as he came to Calcutta two days later. At this first meeting, the Regulating Act was read, together with the Instructions which the Court of Directors had sent to the Governor-General and Council on 29 March, 1774, in connection with the Act. Besides, it was resolved at this meeting that a Proclamation should be made at the Court House by the Sheriff (of Calcutta) at 7 on the next morning. Among other things, this Proclamation was to announce that the powers vested by the Act in the Governor-General and Council were to "commence and take place from the date of the Proclamation" obviously from 21 October, 1774. The new Council also executed some other business at its first meeting.

As authorized by the Regulating Act, a royal Charter was issued by the Crown on 26 March, 1774, providing for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. It was to consist of, as stated before, a Chief Justice and three Puisne

Judges. Sir Elijah- Impey was appointed to be the first Chief Justice, and Messrs. Robert Chambers, Stephen Caesar LeMaistre, and John Hyde, the first three Puisne Judges. The Charter also ordered the abolition of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, without prejudice, however, to the judgments already pronounced by the Court.

Some serious difficulties were experienced in the actual work^ ing of the Regulating Act. This was largely due to what were considered to have been defects in its provisions. The first difficulty occurred owing to the absence of any power in the Governor-General to override his Council. As we have seen before, under the Regulating Act, if there arose any difference of opinion on any question brought before a meeting of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal, they were to be bound "by the opinion and decision of the major part of those present at the meeting". Only in case of an equality of votes, the Governor-General, or, in his absence, "the eldest counsellor present" at the meeting, was to have a casting vote, and his opinion was to "be decisive and conclusive". As a consequence of this provision in the Act, Warren Hastings who had been appointed to be the first Governor-General of Bengal by the Act, was often powerless and helpless before his Council, as three of his four councillors, namely, Clavering, Monson, and Francis generally acted together in opposition to him. His difficulties disappeared, however, with the rather 'timely' death of Monson in September, 1776, as he could now have his own way by means of his casting vote; but the lesson taught by them was there. And it may be noted here that when Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the office of Governor-General of Bengal in 1786, he made it a condition of his acceptance of the office that he "should be given the constitutional power to overrule his Council", if necessary. Accordingly an Act 47 was passed by Parliament in 1786 which in effect empowered the Governor-General to overrule, "in cases of high importance, and ^specially affecting the public interest and welfare", the majority of his Council and to act on his own authority and responsibility. 4 ® Ever since 1786 this overruling power had been retained, in one shape or another, ever down to the last days of British rule, as a feature of the Indian Constitution.

A second difficulty experienced during the working of the Regulating Act arose from the inadequacy of the power of control and superintendence vested by it in the Governor-General and Council of Bengal over the subordinate Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. And we particularly notice this in the following observations of

Warren Hastings, made in the course of a letter to Lawrence Sulivan, dated at Fort William 22 March, 1776: 49

"You long ago knew my wish to see a control given to this government over the other Presidencies, but I never meant such a control as is now exercised; nor did the Parliament mean it. The Act gives us a mere negative power, and no more. It says the other Presidencies shall not make war nor treaties without the sanction of this government, but carefully guards against every expression which can imply a power to dictate what the other Presidencies shall do . ..... Instead of uniting all the powers of India, all the use we have hitherto made of this Act of Parliament has been to tease and embarrass."

The third great difficulty experienced during the actual operation of the Regulating Act, arose from the absence of a precise definition by it of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to be established thereunder, and also of the relationship to subsist between the Supreme Court and the Governor-General and Council. This difficulty took the form of serious conflicts between the GovernorGeneral and Council on the one side and the Supreme Court on the other. 50 And it was perhaps inevitable. As James Mill has rightly observed by way of a comment on this aspect of the Regulating Act:

"They (i.e., the British Parliament) saw not, that they were establishing two independent and rival powers in India, that of the Supreme Council, and that of the Supreme Court; they drew no line to mark the boundary between them: and they foresaw not the consequences which followed, a series of encroachments and disputes which unnerved the powers of government and threatened their destruction." 51

However, an amending Act was passed by Parliament in the year 1781, which removed some of the difficulties arising from the Regulating Act. Among other things, the Act of 1781 laid down, in the first place, that the Governor-General and Council of Bengal were not to be subject, jointly or severally, to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court "for or by reason of any Act or Order, or any other matter or thing whatsoever, counselled, ordered, (or) done by them in their public capacity only, and acting as Governor-General and Council."

Secondly, no action for wrong or injury was to lie in the Supreme Court against any person whatsoever exercising a judicial office in the country courts, for any judgment, decree, or order of the

said Court, or against any person for any act done by or in virtue of the order of the said Court.

Thirdly, the Supreme Court "was not to have or exercise any jurisdiction in matters concerning the revenue, or concerning any act done in the collection thereof, according to the usage and practice of the country", or the regulations framed by the GovernorGeneral and Council. 52

Fourthly, the Act of 1781 declared:

"And whereas the Governor-General and Council, or some Committee thereof or appointed thereby, do determine on appeals and references from the Country or Provincial Courts in Civil Causes; be it further enacted that the said Court shall and lawfully may hold all such pleas and appeals, in the manner and with such powers as it hitherto hath held the same, and shall be deemed in Law a Court of Record; and the judgments therein given shall be final and conclusive, except upon appeal to His Majesty, in civil suits only, the value of which shall be five thousand pounds and upwards."

The said Court 53 was also declared to be "a Court to hear and determine on all offences, abuses, and extortions, committed in the collection of revenue, or on severities used beyond what shall appear to the said Court customary or necessary to the case, and to punish the same according to sound discretion, provided the said punishment does not extend to death, or maiming, or perpetual imprisonment".

Judicial and discretionary powers vested in the Governor-General and Council by these provisions are worthy of note.

Fifthly, the Act of 1781 indemnified the Governor-General and Council and the Advocate-General at Fort William as well as all persons acting under their orders, from any action, suit or prosecution whatsoever, for or on account of any disobedience to, or resistance to the execution of, any process or order of the Supreme Court.

Finally, this Act empowered the Governor-General and Council to frame, from time to time, regulations "for the Provincial Courts and Councils", and directed them to transmit, within six months after the making of these regulations, copies thereof to the Court of Directors and to a Secretary of State. These regulations ijiight be disallowed or amended by His Majesty in Council, and would come into "force and authority", if not disallowed within two years, subject to such amendments as might be made therein.

As Ilbert has observed, the decision of Parliament, as embodied in the Act of 1781, was substantially in favour of the GovernorGeneral and Council and against the Supreme Court on all points. 54

Pitt's India Act:

We shall now pass on to what is popularly known as Pitt's India Act; 1784. This Act introduced some important changes into the system of Indian administration. Its object was to provide "for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company, and of the British possessions in India; and for establishing a Court of Judicature for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies". Space does not permit us to deal here with the Parliamentary history of this measure. 55 It may, however, be noted here that its enactment had been preceded by elaborate inquiries by two Parliamentary Committees into the affairs of the Company in India, and that the reports submitted by these Committees were largely responsible for it.

We may now notice some of the principal provisions of the Act of 1784. In the first place, this Act empowered the Crown to appoint, for the better government and security of the British territorial possessions in the East

Indies, a Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, not exceeding six in number, as it might think fit, who were all to be members of the Privy Council, and of whom one of the Principal Secretaries of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the time being, were to be two. Any three members of the Board would form a quorum "for executing the several powers" to be vested in the Commissioners. The Secretary of State,* or, in his absence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or, in the absence of both of them, the senior of the other Commissioners, "according to his rank in seniority of appointment", was to "preside at, and be President" of the Board. In case of an equality of votes at any meeting of the Board, the President was to have a second or casting vote. The Commissioners were invested by the Act "with the superintendence and control over all the British territorial possessions in the East Indies, and over the affairs of the Company", as shown hereinafter.

This Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India was generally known as the Board of Control, and will be so referred to by us hereinafter.

Secondly, the Act fully empowered the Board "to superintend, direct, and control, all acts, operations, and concerns, which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies". And, in view of this, all the members of the Board were, at all convenient times, to "have access to all papers and muniments" of the Company, and to be furnished with such extracts or copies thereof as they might require from time to time. The Court of Directors of the Company were "required and directed" by the Act to deliver to the Board of Control, "within eight days after the holding of such respective courts", copies of all minutes, orders, resolutions, and other proceedings of all general and special Courts of Proprietors of the Company as well as of the Court of Directors itself, so far as they related to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies. Further, the Court of Directors was required to deliver to the Board copies of all dispatches which it itself, or any of its Committees, might receive from any of its servants in the East Indies, immediately after the arrival thereof; and also copies of all letters, orders and instructions whatsoever which it itself, or any of its Committees, might think of dispatching to any of its servants in the East Indies. Moreover, the Court of Directors was required by the Act to pay due obedience to, and be "governed and bound" by, such orders and directions as it might, from time to time, receive from the Board of Control, touching the civil or military government and revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies.

Within fourteen days after the receipt of such copies as mentioned above, the Board of Control was to return the same to the Court of Directors with its approbation thereof, or its reasons at large for disapproving the same, together with its instructions in respect thereto. And the Court of Directors, thereupon, was to dispatch the letters, orders, and instructions so approved or amended, to its servants in India without any further delay, unless, on any representation made by it, the Board directed any alterations to be made therein. But no letters, orders, or instructions were at any time to be sent by the Court of Directors to the East Indies, on any account or pretence whatsoever, until after such previous communication thereof to the Board of Control as shown above.

If, however, the Court of Directors ever neglected to transmit to the Board of Control its intended dispatches on any subject within fourteen days after requisition made, then it would be lawful for the Board to prepare and send to the Directors any orders or instructions concerning the civil or military Government of the British territories and possessions in the East Indies. And the Court

of Directors was required to transmit in effect the said orders and instructions to the Governments and Presidencies in India concerned, unless on any representation made by the Directors to the Board, the latter directed any alteration to be made therein. It would be permissible, however, for the Court of Directors to apply by petition, in certain circumstances, to His

Majesty in Council, touching such orders and instructions. The decision of His Majesty in Council on the application would be final and conclusive.

Thirdly, the Court of Directors was required by the Act to appoint, from amongst its own members, a Secret Committee, consisting of not more than three persons. And if, in the opinion of the Board of Control, any matter required secrecy, then it would be lawful for it to send secret orders and instructions to the Secret Committee of the Court, which was thereupon required, without disclosing the same to any other Director, to transmit the said orders and instructions to the Governments and Presidencies in India. And these Governments and Presidencies were directed to pay a faithful obedience to such orders and instructions, and return their answers to the same, to the Secret Committee, which was to communicate forthwith such answers to the Board of Control.

Fourthly, the Board of Control was not to have any power of nominating or appointing any of the servants of the Company. The power of filling a vacancy in the office of Governor-General, Governor, any member of Council, or any Commander-in-Chief was vested by the Act in the Court of Directors. It would, however, be lawful for the Crown as well as for the Court of Directors to "remove or recall" from office any Governor-General, or Governor, or Member of Council, or any other person holding any office, civil or military, under the Company in India.

Fifthly, the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, also referred to in the Act as the Supreme Government, was to "consist of a Governor-General and three Supreme Counsellors only", of whom the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India for the time being, was to be one and to have "voice and precedence in Council next after the Governor-General." 56 And the Government of each of the Presidencies of Fort St. George, and Bombay was to consist of a Governor or President and three Counsellors only, of whom the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency was to be one, "having the like precedence in Council as in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal", unless the Commander-inChief of the Company's forces in India happened to be present in

the Presidency; and in that case the latter was to be one of the Counsellors, instead of the local Commander-in-Chief who would, however, have during such time only a seat, but no voice in the local Council. No resignation of the office of Governor-General, Governor, Commander-in-Chief, or Member of Council in any Presidency was to be deemed "legal or valid" unless it was "made by an instrument in writing under the hand of the officer or person resigning the same".

Sixthly, the Governor-General and Council of Fort William were empowered "to superintend, control, and direct, the several presidencies and governments now or hereafter to be erected or established in the East Indies" by the Company, "in all such points as relate to any transactions with the country powers, or to war or peace, or to the application of the revenues or forces of such presidencies and settlements in time of war, or any such points as shall, from time to time, be specially referred by the Court of Directors of the said Company to their superintendence and control". And the said presidencies and settlements were bound to obey the "orders and directions" of the Governor-General in Council "in all cases whatever, except only where" they had received positive instructions from the Court of Directors, or from the Secret Committee of the Court, "repugnant to the orders and instructions" of the Governor-General and Council, and not known to the latter at the time of dispatching their orders and instructions. Thus the controlling authority of the Supreme Government at Fort William over the subordinate governments of Madras and Bombay was increased and the process of centralization of power commenced by the Regulating Act of 1773 was carried a step further by the Act of 1784.

Seventhly, if "any act, order, resolution, matter, or proceeding" of the Court of Directors had once received the approval of the Board of Control, it could not be revoked or rescinded by the General Court of Proprietors.

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Eighthly, the Act of 1784 declared that, "whereas to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation", it would not be lawful for the Governor-General and Council of Fort William, "without the express command and authority" of the Court of Directors or of Its Secret Committee, "to declare war or commence hostilities, or enter into any treaty for making war, against any of the country princes or States in India, or any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of any country princes or states”,

except where hostilities had actually been commenced, or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities, against the British nation in India, or against some of the princes or States dependent thereon, or whose territories the Company had agreed to defend or guarantee in accordance with any existing treaty. Similarly, it would not be lawful for th6 Governor and Council of Madras ot* Bombay or of any other subordinate settlement to issue any order for commencing hostilities or levying war, or to negotiate any treaty with any Indian prince or State (except in cases of sudden emergency or imminent danger, when it might appear dangerous to postpone such hostilities or treaty), unless in pursuance of express orders from the Governor-General and Council, or from the Court of Directors, or from its Secret Committee. And every such treaty was, if possible, to “contain a clause for subjecting the same to the ratification or rejection of the Governor-General and Council”. Further, every such Governor and Council were required to pay due obedience to all such orders as they blight from time to time receive from the Governor-General and Council concerning the above. Any Governor and Council who would wilfully refuse to pay due obedience to such orders and instructions as they might receive from the Governor-General and Council were liable to be suspended from office by order of the latter. Moreover, Governors and Councils of subordinate presidencies were required constantly and diligently to transmit to the Governor-General and Council at Fort William exact copies of all their “orders, resolutions, and acts”, and “also advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters” which would come to their knowledge, or which the Governor-General and Council might from time to time require.

Finally, the Act of 1784 made “elaborate provisions for the prevention ana punishment of corruption, misgovernment or disobedience’ on the part of the Company’s servants in India. For instance, the demanding or receiving of any sum of money, or other valuable thing, as a gift or present by any British subject holding any office under His Majesty or the Company in the East Indies, was to be deemed to be extortion, and to be proceeded against and punished as such. The offender was also to forfeit to His Majesty the whole gift or present so received, cr the full value thereof. It wds provided, however, that the Court of Justice before which every such offence would be tried, would have full power and authority to direct the said present or gift, or the value thereof, to be restored to the party who had given the same, or "to order the whole, or any part thereof, or of any fine" which the Court might impose on the

offender, to be paid or given to the prosecutor or informer, as the Court might think fit.

The Act was to come into force in Great Britain immediately after it had received the royal assent, and in India with effect from 1 January, 1785.

We have given above a summary of what appear to us to have been the principal provisions of the Act of 1784. It will be evident from what we have stated that, except in respect of the power of appointment to offices in India and the management of the Company's trade, the Act virtually made the Board of Control the supreme authority in regard to the affairs of the Company in India and placed the Company, to quote the words of Ilbert, "in direct and permanent subordination to a body representing-the British Government". 57 This Board of Control which was really to form a part of the Ministry in England, was to be the machinery which would "enable the Ministry to control the proceedings of the Company". 58 As a matter of fact, subject to the superintendence of the Board of Control, the Court of Directors "conducted the correspondence with the Company's officers in India". 59 The Court of Directors exercised, however, the rights of patronage in regard to appointments in India. The Board of Control was, as Pitt had intended it to be, strictly a Board of Control; 60 it had no power of appointment, nor any patronage. The functions of the Board were in practice exercised by its President, 61 who "occupied in the Government (of the day) a position corresponding to some extent to that of a modern Secretary of State for India", 62 and would thus always be a member of the British Cabinet. 63 So far as the home administration of Indian affairs was concerned, this state of things practically continued down to 1858.

Another noticeable feature of the Act of 1784 was its attempt to produce, to quote the words of Pitt, "a unity of system" in the Indian part of the Company's administration, "by investing the supreme government to be seated in Bengal, with an effectual control over every other presidency, and by investing the supreme government with executive power". 64 Particularly, the power of suspension vested in the Bengal Government in relation to other Presidencies gave it a considerable controlling authority over them. It is quite true that this controlling authority could not always be effectively exercised in actual practice, owing to the difficulties of "communication between different capital towns" in those days. Nevertheless, its very existence went a long way towards producing a unified and a centralized system of Government in this country.

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

We have already referred to an Act of 1786, and also to the particular provision thereof, which empowered the Governor-General of Fort William in certain circumstances to override his Council and act on his own responsibilityThis "discretionary power of acting without the concurrence" of his Council, or of forbearing from any action according to its opinion, "in cases of high importance, and specially affecting the public interest and welfare", was conferred upon the Governor-General, with a view to giving "energy, vigour and dispatch to the measures and proceedings of the Executive Government". But the practical result of this discretionary authority was, as Chesney has observed, "to render the power of the Governor-General supreme". 66 This Act of 1786 also enabled the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to be united in the same person if this was considered necessary. 67

Before we conclude this chapter we should like to refer to one or two more Acts of Parliament relating to India. None of these Acts, however, introduced any institutional change of a really constitutional importance into the administrative system of the Com pany in Bengal. Let us take, for instance, what is popularly known as the Charter Act of 1793. It was practically a consolidating measure. Among other things, it provided that the Board of Control to which we have referred before, was to consist of "such members of the Privy Council (of whom the two Principal Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were always to be there) and such other two persons as the v Crown might think fit to appoint." The first-named Commissioner in the letters patent appointing the Board, was to be its President. As before, three members of the Board were to form a quorum. And for the first time, provision was made for the payment of salaries to the members of the Board.

This Act also declared that when the office of Governor-General and the office of Commander-in-Chief of all the forces in India were not combined in the same person, such Commander-in-Chief might be a member of the Council at Fort William if he was “specially authorized for that purpose” by the Court of Directors, but not otherwise.

An Act of 1797 reduced the number of judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta to three—a Chief Justice and two Puisne Judges.

What is known as the Charter Act of 1813, the enactment of which had as usual been preceded by elaborate Parliamentary inquiries into the affairs of the Company in India, provided, among other things, for the continuance of the Company, for a further period of twenty years, the enjoyment of its territorial acquisitions and revenues, “without prejudice to the undoubted sovereignty of the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in and over the same”. Further, it retained to the Company its monopoly of trade with China and also its trade in tea, but threw open to all British subjects the rest of the trade with India, subject to some conditions.[68] Thirdly, this Act provided for the separation of the commercial accounts of the Company from its territorial accounts.[69] Fourthly, it laid down that the appointments to offices of Governor-General, Governors, and Commanders-in-Chief were to be made by the Company, subject to the approval of the Crown. Finally, the Act empowered the Governor-General in Council to direct “a sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year” to be “set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India”.[70] This provision of the Act of 1813 is interesting as it represents the first attempt on the part of the British Government at imposing an obligation on the Company of fostering education in this country.

NOTES

1. The first meeting of the Governor-General and Council under the Regulating Act of 1773 (13 Geo. Ill, c. 63) was held at Fort William on 20 October, 1774. It may, therefore, be held that the Act came into force on this date. See the General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 21 November, 1774, Para, 2.

2 The East India Company Act, 1773 (13 Geo. Ill, c. 63).

3. For a detailed history of the origin of the Presidency of Bengal, see, D. N. Banerjee, Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, Vol. I, 17'65-1774, Appendix 4. For further references in this connexion also see the same, p. 629n.

4. It may be noted here that, according to C. R. Wilson (The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, p. 83), the "Commission which made Hedges Governor, associated six others with him in the Council of the Bay, Job Chamock, John Beard, John Richards, Francis Ellis, Joseph Dodd, and William Johnson".

5. Mr. William Hedges appears to have been dismissed from the service of the Company.

g. For the relevant documentary evidence, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 631-32.

7. With, according to C. R. Wilson (op. cit., p. 157), the following four gentlemen as the members of his Council at Calcutta:

"John Beard, second, and accountant; Nathaniel Halsey, third, and warehouse-keeper; Jonathan White, fourth and purser marine; (and) Ralph Sheldon, fifth, and receiver of revenues".

Thus, altogether the Calcutta Council consisted of five members including the President and Governor.

8. For details in this connection, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 104-116 and note.

9. The history of this name is as follows: There were two English East India Companies at the beginning of the eighteenth century: one, incorporated by Queen Elizabeth by a Charter, dated 31 December, 1600, was designated "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies";

and the other, incorporated on 5 September, 1698, by a Charter of King William III, was styled ''The English Company Trading to the East Indies". They were also referred to as the first and the second East India Company; the Old and the New Company; and as the London and the English East India Company, respectively. These two Companies had become serious rivals to each other in their East Indian trade, and this rivalry had naturally been proving disastrous to the interests of both. Their rivalry, however, was brought to an end in 1702 by an Indenture Tripartite, dated 22 July, 1702, "between Queen Anne of the first part; the Old Company of the second part; and the New Company of the third part". This indenture was the first substantial step towards the ultimate amalgamation in 1709 of the two Companies into a United Company. One of the terms of this indenture was that "in two months after the expiration of seven years from its date, the Old Company would surrender their Charters.... intp the Queen's hand", and that the Queen would "accept of such surrender". Further, "from thenceforth the New Company" was "to be called The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies whose affairs" were to be conducted by its "own sole" Directors, agreeably to the provisions of its Charter granted by King William III on 5 September, 1698. The indenture also provided for some transitional arrangements for the carrying on of their East Indian trade by the two Companies during the said seven years from its date. This is how the name of the United Company of Merchants, etc., originated.

We may add that by a deed, dated 22 March, 1709, the Old Company surrendered its "Charters, and Corporate Capacity" to Queen Anne, and the Queen accepted the surrender on 7 May, 1709, "by patent under her great seal of this date;" and that, previously to this, the Old Company had, by a deed, dated 22 July, 1702, conveyed to the New Company the island of St. Helena as well as all its forts, lands, factories and other territorial and other possessions in the East Indies (i.e., lying between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan), and the Earl of Godolphin, the Lord High

Treasurer, had "in pursuance of an Act of the sixth year of Queen Anne" (6 Anne, Chap. XVII) given, on 29 September, 1708, an award on certain points of dispute still subsisting between the two Companies. Thus the union of the two rival Companies was actually effected in 1709 in accordance with the terms of the Indenture Tripartite previously referred to, and the provisions of the award of the Earl of Godolphin. For further details in this connection, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 104-06 and note as well as the authorities referred to therein.

10. Technically speaking, between 1709 and 1774. As shown in the preceding footnote, the union of the Old and the New East India Companies was actually effected in 1709. During the short period between 1707 and 1709—or rather, Between 1702 and 1709, there were some transitional arrangements for the carrying on of their East Indian trade by the two companies. For the purpose of this Chapter, we can ignore those arrangements between 1707 and 1709.

11. See Peter Auber, Analysis of the Constitution of East India Company, 1826, p. 182. For further details and references, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 11316 and note.

12. For further details, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit.; pp 114-16 and note.

13. It may be interesting to note here that during the period from 1 February,

1704, to 20 July, 1710—presumably, pending the arrival at Calcutta of the information of the actual union of the Old and-the New East India Companies and consequential arrangements thereafter—there were "no less than three Councils" functioning at Calcutta. "In the first place", writes C. R. Wilson, "there was the Council for the management of the separate affairs of the Old* London Company, at the head of which was John Beard. Then there was the Council for the separate affairs of the new English Company, which left Hoogly for Calcutta in May, and at the head of which was Sir Edward Littleton. And lastly, there was the Establishment Council for the management of all the United Company's affairs in Bengal". This last body consisted of eight persons, including Mr. Robert Hedges and Mr. Ralph Sheldon: "four members of the Old and four members of the New

Company's Service". "It was presided over in alternate weeks by Hedges and Sheldon_ The 'rotation govern

ment*, as it was called, came into power on 1 February, 1704. This state of affairs came to an end with the assumption, on 20 July, 1710, of the office of Governor and President of Fort William by the Hon'ble Antony Weltden,

with Mr. Robert Hedges and seven others as members of his Council. Obviously, the new Government had been ordered to be so formed by the United Company after the actual union of the Old and the New East India Companies in 1709. See C. R. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 161-63, 186-87, 227-28 and 337-38.

It may also be interesting to note here that in 1757-58 another attempt was made by the Court of Directors of the United Company to establish a Rotation Government in Bengal. Actually, however, it was not established. See for details in this connection, D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 136-39n.

14. Such as Cossimbazar, Dacca, Patna, Maldah, Luckeypore, etc.

15. It appears that a factory of considerable importance would be designated a 'subordinate'.

16 - For a detailed treatment of the position, remuneration and the powers of the Governor, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., Chapter II.

17. Vol. I, p. 23 (Ed. 1841).

18- Thus we find Henry Vansittart, President and Governor of Fort William, writing to the Court of Directors in 1763:

The powers of the President, the Select Committee and the Council require to be settled and better distinguished. I think they might be so-regulated as to check and balance, each other, and render the administration of your affairs more steady than it can be at present. In the last disputes I found myself, without the least authority beyond and other Members of the Council, nor could I prevent or put a negative upon the most unjust and unproper Resolution of the majority. I was obliged to be myself the channel for conveying those Resolutions to the Nabob (Cossim ‘All Khan), otherwise instead of threatening him with a rupture they would immediately have declared a rupture and ordered the Army to march against him so that upon the present footing it is in the power of any majority of the Council to engage the Company in new wars, whenever a Party shall be inclined to make new

demands_ Most of the members of the Board (i.e., the Council) have been

taught by those who were at the head of the party against the late government that everyone had a right to equal authority with the President in the management of all affairs with the Country Powers, consequently they have all formed plans of their own.... and if your Honors do not take effectual care to prevent it, you may very soon hear that the present system is voted injurious to the Company’s interests or insufficient for the management of the Court.

From Henry Vansittart’s letter to the Court of Directors, dated (presumably) 8 October, 1763. (For a discussion about the date of this letter, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., p. 149n.)

We also find in a letter from Warren Hastings to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 11 November, 1773:

The powers of the Governor, although supposed to be great, are, in reality, little more than those of any individual in his Council. Their compliance, his own abilities, or a superior share of attention and the opinion that he possesses extraordinary powers, may give him the effect of them, and an ascendant over his Associates in the Administration; but a moment’s consideration is sufficient to discover the nakedness of his authority, and to level him with the rest.

The Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy , appointed (by the House of Commons) to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, and of the condition of the British Possessions in those parts, printed in the year 1782, Appendix 5; also Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. I, p. 370.

19. 26 George III, Chap. XVI, Sections VI & XI.

This special power was “not to be exercised by any Governor-General oi Governor or President who would casually succeed to such office as a result of death or resignation of any Governor-General, Governor or President, unless he was provisionally appointed to succeed to the office by the Court of Directors or unless he was confirmed in the office by the said Court . ibid., Section X.

20. In certain circumstances, even seventeen. See D. N. Banerjee, op. cit, pp. 192 and note.

21 And apparently, not by the majority of those present at any meeting. See ibid., p. 149, f.n. 1, and pp. 243-44 and note.

22. Presumably, dated at Fort William, 10 November, 1764, as the letter occurs in

the Proceedings of the Consultation, Secret Department, held at Fort William on 10 November, 1764.

23- (At that time) Jaffer ‘All Khan, i e., Mir Jaffar.

24. The italics are ours.

25- For details in regard to these disputes, see D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 154-69 and notes.

26 . The italics are ours.

27. The italics are ours.

28. Mr. Roger Drake Junior, the then President of Fort William.

29. That is, the Council at Fort William.

30- See Lord Clive’s letter, dated at Calcutta, 23 January, 1767, addressed to Harry Verelst Esqr., and Members of the Select Committee, entered in the Proceedings of the Select Committee, Fort William, of 11 February, 1767.

31. The italics are ours.

32. See in this connection D. N. Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 185-91 and note.

33. For details in this connection see Ibid ., Chapters IH & IV.

Under an order of the Court of Directors, dated 1 June, 1764, the maximum number might even be seventeen for certain purposes. See ibid., pp. 192-93 and note.

34. Sir John Malcolm, The Life of Robert, Lord Clive, Vol. Ill, p. 152.

35- See the Company's General Letter to the President and Council of Fort William in Bengal, dated 12 May, 1758, para 20.

36. For details, see Banerjee, op. cit., pp. 293-313.

37 • See the Court's General Letter to Bengal, dated 10 April, 1771, and its additional General Letter to Bengal, dated 25 April, 1771.

38- For details, see Banerjee, op. cit., Chaps. VII & VIII.

39- Known as the Phoujdarree Court 'for the trial of crimes'; the 'Court of Cutcherry for civil causes'; the 'Collector's Court for matters of revenue'; and according to some writers, a Caste cutcherry for taking, 'cognizance of all matters relative to the several caste (sic) tribes of the Hindoo religion*.

40. The East India Company Act, 1773 (13 George, III, C. 63). See Keith, Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy (The World's Classics) Vol. I, pp. 45-60.

41. Ninth Report from the Select Committee, House of Commons, appointed to take into consideration the state of the Administration of Justice, etc., printed in the year 1783.

42. The total number of members of the Court of Directors was twenty-four.

43- Thus the possession of £ 3,000 stock would entitle a proprietor to two votes; that of £ 6,000 stock to three votes; and that of £ 10,000 stock or more to four votes.

44 He had previously been appointed Governor of Bengal with effect from 13 April, 1772.

45 That is, Fort Marlborough in Sumatra.

46. See the General Letter to the Court of Directors, dated at Fort William 21 November, 1774; also Appendix 44 to the Fifth Report from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, etc., printed in the year 1782.

47 26 George HI, Chap. XVI.

48 This "discretionary power" of the Governor-General to overrule his Council was not however to be exercised in regard to judicial or legislative matters.

It was only to operate in the executive sphere. See ibid.

49 See Gleig, Memoirs of Warren Hastings, Vol. II, (1841), pp. 41-42.

50- For details, see in this connection, among other works, James Mill, History of British India, Vol. IV, Wilson's Edition, Book V, Chap. VI; also Firminger, Historical Introduction to the Fifth Report (1812), Chap. XIII.

51 See James Mill, op. cit., p. 309.

52. See Ilbert, The Government of India, 3rd Ed., p. 55; also Peter Auber, Rise and Progress of the British Power in India (1837), pp. 588-89; also the Act of 1781 itself.

53 That is, The Governor-General in Council.

54. Ilbert, op. cit., p. 58.

55. See in this connection James Mill, op. cit., Chap. IX; also Peter Auber, Vol. I Chap. XII, and Vol. H, Chap. I.

56- It may be noted here that the Act of 1786 (26 George III, Chap. XVI), "enabled the offices of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief to be united in the same person.” See Ilbert, op. cit., p. 67.

57. Ilbert, op. cit., p. 62; also Report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs , London (1919), James Mill, op., cit., pp. 559-60 says:

“Of two bodies, when one has the right of unlimited command, and the other is constrained to unlimited obedience, the latter has no power whatsoever, but just as much, or as little, as the former is pleased to allow. This is the relative position of the Board of Control and the East India Company. The powers of the Board of Control convert the Company’s Courts into agents* of its will. The real, the sole governing power of India is the Board of Control, and it only makes use of the Court of Directors as an instrument, as a subordinate office, for the management of details, and the preparation of business for the cognizance of the superior power”.

58 See Chesney, Indian Polity, pp. 41-42.

59 See The Report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs, 1919.

60 See Pitt’s speech on the India Bill on July 6, 1784; Mukherji, Indian Constitutional Documents , 1600-1918, Vol. I, p. 53.

61. The Report of the Committee on the Home Administration of Indian Affairs, 1919.

62 See ihid.; also Ilbert, op. cit., p. 66.

“In point of fact”, writes James Mill, “the whole business of the Board of Control rested with the senior member of the Board other than the Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the other Commissioners being seldom called to deliberate, or even for form’s sake to assemble. The senior is known by the name of the President of the Board of Control, and is essentially a new Secretary of State; a Secretary for the Indian department” James Mill, op. cit., p. 558.

63- Chesney, op. cit., p. 360.

64. Pitt's speech on the India Bill on July 6, 1784, P Mukherji, op. cit., p 53.

65. A similar power was also conferred by the Act of 1786 (26 George III, Chap. XVI) upon the Governors of Fort St. George (Madras) and Bombay to override their respective Councils in certain circumstances.

66. See Chesney, op. cit., p. 45.

67. Ilbert, op. cit., p. 67; also Peter Auber, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 13.

68- Ilbert, op. cit., pp. 75-77; also Auber, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 488-91.

69- Ilbert, op. cit., pp. 78-79; also Auber, op. cit., Vol II, pp 488-91

70 • Ramsay Muir, The Making of British India, pp 296-97

CHAPTER XVIII

PART II

I. The Madras Presidency down to 1818:

(a) The 17th Century:

For long, the system of administration in the Company's Indian settlements was a haphazard growth. 1

The Company's factors were subject of course to the orders of their own immediate chiefs. The factors' relations with Indians, and their disputes with them were adjusted by the tribunals of the Indian powers. As among themselves, justice was administered in criminal cases by virtue of a King's Commission under the Great Seal which empowered the Commissioners to punish and execute offenders by martial law. In civil cases the President or the Chief of the Factory had absolute powers.

All the establishments on the Coromandel Coast, including Madras, also for some years, were subject to the factory at Bantam. Each Presidency came to be under a President and Council; and in course of time the control of the naval authorities was shaken off. The authority of the President became supreme; the Council came to possess definite functions, and by the close of the 17th century, there had grown up the nucleus of the body, that was known under British rule as the Indian Civil Service, with the gradations of Writers, Factors, Merchants, and Senior Merchants.[2]

In 1641, shortly after its foundation, the seat of the Agency was transferred from Masulipatam to Madras. Andrew Cogan, the first Agent, was succeeded by Francis Day, the real founder of the settlement; and both took a good share in the erection of the Fort and the colonization of the place.

The civil establishments slowly increased in importance; and the Agency began to exercise real control over the other coast factories and the small Bengal establishments then recently started. The first direct communication between Madras and the Company at home was despatched in 1642-43, "in which the Agent and the Council acquainted the Court of Directors with the absolute necessity of giving a due equipment to the Fort". In 1658 all the factories on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal were made subordinate to Fort St. George.

The Governor or Agent was the First Member of the Council, the Book-Keeper was the second, and the Ware-house Keeper and the Customer were the other two members. The duties of the Customer were to receive customs, rents and other taxes; he also exercised magisterial functions. "His office has been continued uninterruptedly to the present day, remaining now under the designation of the Collectorate of Madras and the Sea Customs." The Council, consisting of four members, passed orders on all matters concerning the factories and,the servants of the Company. The Secretary kept a diary of the proceedings and consultations; and a copy of it was sent to the Company each year, "together with a general letter reviewing the proceedings; while in reply a general letter was received each year from the Court of Directors". The Collector of Customs, as Magistrate in the Black Town, sat alone. Europeans were tried by the Governor and Council in the Fort with a jury of 12 Europeans. In the White Town, the public peace was maintained by the Agent (Governor) as Commander of the garrison. In the Black Town it was kept by an Indian public officer known as pedda Naik.

In 1661 Sir Edward Winter, a member of the then triumphant Cavalier Party, was appointed Governor. He quarrelled with his Council and alienated the Indian powers. In 1665 he was superseded and made second in Council, while one Mr. George Foxcroft, a London merchant, was made Governor. Winter resolved on the bold expedient of usurping the Governorship. He alleged that the language of the new Governor was treasonable to the English Crown, and with the aid of the Commander of the garrison and other friends, he arrested and imprisoned Foxcroft, and himself assumed the Governorship. However, Foxcroft was soon restored to the governorship and Sir Edward Winter retired.

The Directors were long, unaware of the revolution at Madras. They even sent Foxcroft in 1666 a fresh commission constituting him Governor (with the King's special authority) with power to try persons charged with capital offences. 3 Foxcroft was the first Agent to be created Governor of Fort St. George, a title which was transmitted to a long line of distinguished successors.

Governor Streynsham Master (1678-81) framed regulations for the proper administration of justice. He reorganised the Choultry Court, which had been long held at the Choultry , or Town House, where justice was administered to the Indian inhabitants by persons, either Indian or European, appointed by the Governor, who were to try causes and register bills of sale of land and other property.

Master also established a Superior Court for the trial, by jury, of civil and criminal offences by virtue of the powers granted by the Charter of 1661. According to his scheme, the Governor and Council were to sit for the trial of causes according to English laws. This court was not intended to supersede the Justices of the Choultry, who were to continue to decide all small misdemeanours, breaches of peace and civil actions for debt not exceeding 50 pagodas. This court was superseded in 1684 by an Admiralty Court presided over by a Judge-Advocate from England.

By the Charter of 1683 the Company were given full power to declare and make war and peace with native powers, to raise and keep military forces and to exercise martial law in their jurisdiction. The same Charter established a court of judicature to hear and determine all maritime cases, including injuries and wrongs done on the high seas, "according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the laws and customs of merchants ." 4 The Court of Admiralty was established in 1686, its judge and his two assistants being Members of Council and civil servants of the company. Later a Judge-Advocate was appointed from England, made Third in Council and was to preside at the Quarter Sessions. Courts-martial were also proclaimed under the authority of the charter. The Governor usually presided at the trial of pirates; but occasionally the Judge-Advocate sat for such trials.

James II delegated to the East India Company the power of establishing, by charter, a Municipality at Madras, and this charter was issued by the Company under their own seal, under the authority of the charters of 1661 and 1683 of Charles II and that of 1686 of James II. According to this charter, a Municipality and Mayor's Court were established at Madras.

The Municipality was to consist of a Mayor, 12 Aldermen and 60 or more Burgesses. The Mayor was to hold office for a year, the Aldermen for their lives or during their residence in Madras. The charter further nominated 29 free merchants as Burgesses. The new

Mayor was to be elected from the Aldermen annually; vacancies among the Aldermen were to be filled up by election from among the burgesses; and three of them were always to be covenanted servants. The Mayor and Aldermen were empowered to levy taxes for the building of a town-hall, a public gaol and a convenient school house, where native children might be taught to speak, read, and write the English tongue, as well as arithmetic and accounting. They were also empowered to build sewers and to regulate the paving of streets and lanes. After the establishment of the Corporation, directions were given to increase the quit-rents and to impose a duty on licenses of public houses.

The Mayor's Court was to have a Recorder, being an Englishborn covenanted servant of the Company. According to the charter, there was a right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty. On account of quarrels with the Mayor's Court, the Government resolved to erect a new court of judicature. The Choultry Justices continued all this time; they were magistrates, and the senior among them was called the

Chief Justice. The Aldermen of the Corporation sat as Justices at the Choultry. However* Government soon resolved to erect a new court of judicature consisting of a JudgeAdvocate and four Judges. The Governor was to act as Judge-Advocate pending an appointment from England. The Judges were to include among others an Armenian merchant and the Company's Chief Merchant.

In 1692, the Supreme Court of Judicature was revived and the Company sent out a new Judge-Advocate from England. It inflicted sentences of death, whipping, pillory, etc. After some time the Judge-Advocate was removed from office and his place was ordered to be filled by the Members of Council in succession. In 1698 Governor Thomas Pitt was directed to frame a table of fees to prevent extortion by the law courts; and the Governor and his Council superseded the Court of Admiralty as a Court of Appeal. The sale and purchase of slaves for domestic purposes were recognised but had to be registered at the Choultry Court. The stealing of children was strongly condemned and the export of slaves was absolutely prohibited in 1683, though it was allowed later under certain conditions.

(b) The 18th Century:

In the time of Governor Macrae (1725-30) the Mayor's Court was reorganized by virtue of a royal charter, granted in 1726, for establishing or reconstituting municipalities at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta and setting up or remodelling Mayor's and other Courts in each of these Presidencies. The Mayor and the Aldermen were to constitute a Mayor's Court with civil jurisdiction, subject to an appeal to the Governor, or President in Council and a further appeal in more important cases to the King in Council. The Mayor's Court now also gave probate and exercised testamentary jurisdiction. The Governor, or President and the five senior members of the Council were to be Justices of the Peace and were to hold quarter-sessions four times in the year with jurisdiction over all offences except high treason. At the same time, the Company were authorised, as in previous charters, to 'appoint generals and other military officers with power to exercise the inhabitants in arms, to repel force by force and to exercise martial law in times of war.’ The President and Council were also to be a Court of Appeal from the jurisdiction of the Mayor’s Court; while a Court by Requests or a Court of Conscience was instituted for the decision by summary procedure of pecuniary questions of inconsiderable amount.

In 1727, soon after the reorganisation of the Mayor’s Court, the President and five Senior Councillors constituted themselves into a

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Court of Appeal and a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery; while the five Justices of the Peace appointed by the royal charter were also appointed Justices/of the Choultry to decide small debts not exceeding twenty pagodas. It was found inconvenient that the Justices of the Choultry who were also members of the Superior Court should appeal to the Mayor’s Court; and so the Sheriff constituted a court (Consultation of November 27, 1727) to decide all petty cases without appeal as far as five pagodas and further up to a limit of twenty pagodas, allowing the parties the liberty of appealing to the Mayor’s Court. The register of slaves was to be kept by the Sheriff in the place of the Justices of the Choultry , as well as the register of sales and mortgages of houses. The Justices of the Peace were to take cognizance of all petty breaches of the peace, larceny, etc; for lesser faults they were to inflict corporal punishments, and for the others they were to bind over the accused to the sessions or to the Choultry , The Register’s fees at the Mayor’s Court were also published.

Owing to the French capture and occupation of Madras (174649) the continuity of the Municipal Corporation and the Mayor’s Court was destroyed and the charter of 1726 was surrendered. A fresh charter was issued in 1753 which exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor’s Court all suits and actions between ‘Indian

Natives only’ and directed that all these suits were to be determined among themselves only, unless both parties agreed to submit them to the Mayor’s Court. This new charter (issued in January 1753) provided for the revival of the Mayor and the Aldermen; seven out of the nine Aldermen were to be natural born subjects of the King and only two could be foreign Protestants. The Aldermen were to continue in office for life; and from among them two were to be elected annually by the Corporation one of whom was to be chosen as the Mayor by the Governor-in-Council. The Mayor and Aldermen were to form a Court of Record for civil suits, not being between natives, and arising in Madras and its subordinate factories. Appeals up to 1,000 pagodas were to lie to the President and Council and in judgments for larger sums an appeal might be made to the King-in-Council. There was to be a Court of Requests for the decision of petty civil suits summarily by Commissioners appointed by Government. The President and Members of Council were to be the Justices of the Peace for Madras and the subordinate factories, to hold quarter-sessions and Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and to be a court of record dealing with all offences excepting high treason. The mode of trial was to follow the English practice and the Sheriff was to summon persons to serve as grand and petty juries.

Thus the earliest Madras courts worked under the authority of the charters of Charles II and the earlier charters which might be construed as giving judicial powers. Up till 1678 the arrangements in Madras for the administration of justice can be gleaned from the rules and regulations framed by Governor Master and his Council in January 1678. The first Supreme Court was established in 1678 (March) in the person of the Governor and Council, sitting to hear causes, but not superseding the Justices of the Choultry who still decided on small misdemeanours and actions for debt. An Admiralty Court with a Judge-Advocate from England was established by virtue of the charter of 1683 and by the Directors' despatch of January 7, 1687. This is the forerunner of the present High Court. The first Mayor's Court was established in the same year with an appeal to the Court of Admiralty. A Recorder was also appointed to be an assistant to the Mayor. The Admiralty Court was soon afterwards superseded, on account of some reasons, by the Governor and Council functioning as a court of appeal from the Mayor's Court. The new Mayor's Court created by the charter of 1726 was a court of record from which an appeal lay to the Governor and Council who were constituted Justices of the Peace and a Court of

Oyer, Terminer, and Gaol Delivery. The Court of Directors sent out, with the charter of 1726, a book of instructions with respect to the method of proceeding in all actions and suits, civil and criminal, and also the forms of the oaths to be taken. It is noteworthy that this book of instructions laid down probably the rule that by the charter of 1726 all Common and Statute Law at that time extant in England was introduced into the Indian Presidencies and that all the Parliamentary enactments passed since that period were excluded unless their Extension to India was specially declared. The charter of 1753 recreated the Mayor's Court, with some not very material alterations, but excluding suits between Indians, unless entertained with their consent. The jurisdiction of the Government courts in criminal matters was also limited to offences committed within the Presidency and the factories subordinate thereto. Later the arrangements made by Warren Hastings and known as the Addlat Scheme were applied to the Madras territories, viz., the Jagtr District round Madras acquired in 1765, in the Northern Sarkars acquired in 1766 and in the Guntur Sarkar acquired in 1778. The Mayor's Court retained all its jurisdiction, till it was superseded by the Recorder's Court established in 1797, consisting of the Mayor, three Aldermen and a Recorder and having jurisdiction in civil, criminal, ecclesiastical and admiralty cases. Their jurisdiction was transferred to the Supreme Court established in 1801 by Letters Patent. Both the Recorder's Court and the Supreme Court could establish rules or practice and hold Oyer, Terminer and Gaol Deliveries; and their jurisdiction was subjected to the same restrictions as the Supreme Court of Bengal. An appeal lay from their decisions to the King-in-Council. 5

Municipal functioning proper was given to Madras only by an Act of Parliament of 1792 which empowered the Justice of the Peace in the Presidency Towns, assembled in their quarter-sessions to arrange for the care of the streets and to assess the owners or occupiers of houses at 5 per cent of their gross annual value. The Act also provided for the collection of the assessment and the licensing of the sale of spirituous liquors. "This is the commencement of the Madras Municipality as such"

In the Government itself power was long vested in the majority of the Council. From the time of Foxcroft, the Council, which was nebulous till then, came to be definite in shape; and met with considerable regularity. The Governor had, as the commander of the garrison, certain ill-defined separate powers. The Council usually consisted of five or six members at first. The Governor was Trea surer; the second was Accountant and the other members managed the import and export warehouses, the customs and the mint. The youngest member of the Council was the Scavenger who collected rates and not dirt. The Council, till the establishment of the Recorder's Court in 1797, functioned as an appellate tribunal for both civil and criminal justice. French wars and political complications which increased from about 1775, led to the increase of the number of the Councillors to ten which was the limit in the second Governorship of Pigot. A Select Committee was created within the Council to deal with military and political matters and to ensure secrecy. The first Select Committee was formed in 1752. A second was appointed by the Directors in 1754, with greater powers; and it lasted till 1758. There was a third Select Committee to deal with the First Mysore War and the Nawab's debts, which lasted till 1775. A fourth Committee was created in 1778 to deal with all military, political, naval, and secret affairs.

It was only in 1785 that the situation was really understood and Government was reduced to the President and three Members of Council. In 1786 boards were formed under Government, like the Board of Revenue, the Military Board, the Board of Trade, the Hospital Board and the Marine Board, which managed the various departments and were the channels of communication for the orders of Government; and the Members of Council ceased to be direct administrative officers.

From December 1750 matters of a secret nature, whether military or political, were separated from the rest, under the title of "Extraordinary Occurrences and Consultations". From September 1754 the transactions with the country powers were carried on by a Committee 6 composed of the Governor and four Members of his Council. There were occasional consultations of the whole Council on matters of special importance.

In 1778 they appointed a fresh Select Committee consisting of the Governor, Commander-in-Chief and two members. This continued till 12 February 1785, when the new form of government prescribed by the Act of 1784 came into force.

In 1786 the Directors ordered a Military Board, a Board of Revenue, and a Board of Trade to be established, and in 1800 a Marine Board was started. As early as 1774 we find the revenue consultations being separated from the others, and there was a Committee of Assigned Revenue for the collection of all the Nawab's revenues. This continued till 1790, when the Board of Revenue was directed also to act as the Board of Assigned Revenue.

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY II. The Districts:

In the eighteenth century complete anarchy prevailed in the land and the condition of the people was miserable, marked by insecurity of property, obstructions to trade, heavy taxation, uncertainty in the value of the currency and by distressing poverty among the agricultural classes. The wars of the Mughul captains in the earlier decades of the eighteenth century, the struggles that ensued consequent on the frequent inroads of the Marathas, the disputed successions to the thrones of Hyderabad and Arcot, the bitter wars between the English and the French, and the subsequent English operations in Tamil Nadu and elsewhere, had so devastated the land and demoralised the people, that in the words of the Fifth Report , "the system of internal management had become completely disorganised, and not only the forms, but even the remembrance of civil authority, seem to have been wholly lost." 7

The jdgir or Chingleput district was twice ravaged by Haidar 'All* once in 1768 and again in 1780. The English had obtained it from the Nawab by grants of the years 1750 and 1763 and rented to him largely on annual leases till about 1780 when the Presidency took over its management.

During the time that the district was rented by the Nawab, a survey was made of it by Mr. Barnard in 1776 based on the statement of the kamams (village accountants) and the principal inhabitants. When it was assumed by the Company's Government, the district was placed under the Committee of Assigned Revenue, which let out the land in 1783 in fourteen large farms on leases of nine years at progressive rents. A Resident Officer was appointed in the next year to see to the several stipulations of the kawls being carried out. In 1788, shortly after the district was placed under the sole charge of a Superintendent, it was formed into two divisions, each under a Collector. In the next year, an Additional Collector was appointed; and the office of the Superintendent was abolished.

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The settlements made in 1789 yielded a considerable increase in the revenue for the years 1791-92. In 1793 assistants were appointed to the Collectors; and in the succeeding year the country was put under the management of the famous Mr. Lionel Place.[8]

The cultivators were thrown a great deal into contact with the dubashes or Indian agents of the European officers and merchants who bought up the lands for almost nothing, leaving the former owners as cultivators. They found means to introduce their own amildars into the management of the country and fomented quarrels between the cultivators and the Company's renters.

Mr. Place introduced a settlement on the basis of village rents and of the produce. The parties who entered into the engagements were the principal holders of land in the village jointly.[9]

The District of Nellore was acquired from the Nawab of the Karnatak by the Treaty of July 1801. It did not seem to have suffered much in comparison with the rest of the region in the wars of the eighteenth century.

The great mass of the people were small cultivators, who were oppressively fleeced by the renters of the Nawab; many of the head inhabitants of the villages were themselves sub-renters and additional extortioners. The chief outlet for trade was by the sea from which grain, tobacco and some cloth were exported while cattle were sent out in some quantity, chiefly to Hyderabad. The cloth trade was insignificant and declined perceptibly after 1800. The grain trade was principally with the southern districts, and was carried on by sea in small country craft. Land transport was mainly by means of pack-animals, chiefly bullocks. In addition to the heavy charges of transport, there were oppressive customs and tolls.

The incidence of land-rent in the early years of British rule pressed heavily on the cultivators and was positively oppressive in lean years. About one-half of the estimated produce was demanded by the state as its revenue under the new system.

The Northern Sarkars comprehended Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari and Guntur (acquired from the Nizam in 1766, as Chicacole, Rajahmundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar and Murtizanagar Sarkars); Krishna had been acquired in 1793 (as Masulipatam Sarkar); and Palnad from the Nawab of the Karnatak in 1801.

At first the Nizam's officials who were in charge of these Sarkars were continued; but in 1769 they were placed under the charge of Provincial Chiefs and Councils into which the Company's commercial factories were then converted.

This system of administration continued until 1794. In 1775 a Committee of Circuit composed of five members of the Madras Council was appointed to inquire into the condition of the Sarkars and was revived after a first abolition. This Committee issued reports from time to time. Mr. James Grant, a Senior Merchant of

Bengal, while residing at Hyderabad, had access to valuable public records and issued his famous Survey 10 which threw much light on the revenue economy of the land and was published as an appendix to the Fifth Report .

The English Government first imposed on the zaminddrs the character of tributary chiefs, the fallacy of which soon became obvious. Their practice was at first to allow the zemindars to appropriate the revenues of their charges for their own use on condition of their paying the stipulated jumma. They collected the revenue either in kind or money, and generally by farming it out to persons on annual or longer leases.

The village communities retained their old organization of the pdtel, the karnam who kept the registers and accounts of cultivation, the boundary man who preserved the limits of the village and gave evidence in cases of dispute, the taliar and the totee and the superintendent of tanks and water-courses. In many cases the zaminddrs had usurped the judicial powers that were formerly exercised by the amalddrs and faujddrs. The duties of the police were generally performed by the revenue servants and the military peons of the zaminddrs and the renters' peons and servants. The towns had a distinct establishment of kotwals and peons; but these were merely local and not connected with the general police of the country.

The Ceded Districts:

This region comprised all the territories acquired by the British Government in 1800 by treaty with the Nizam and situated south of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra rivers. The districts are so called because they were ceded to the Company by the Nizam in 1800. Sir Thomas (then Major) Munro was their first and their most famous Principal Collector. He held immediate charge of the taluks which now constitute the Anantapur district and of the Rayadurg taluk of Bellary district and the rest of the territory was divided into the two Collectorates of Bellary and Cuddapah.

It was computed by Munro that, in 1800, there were scattered throughout the area, exclusively of the Nizam's troops, about 30,000 armed peons all of whom were under the command of about eighty palegars, subsisting normally by rapine and committing everywhere great excesses.

The palegars with whom the country abounded, had greatly intensified the effects of war, famine and bad management. The

indolence and corruption of the.Nizam's officers had led them to abandon the collection of revenue to the pdlegars and the village patels. Almost every village was a garrison, the inhabitants of which turned out and fought a pitched battle with their neighbours as well as with the peons of the pdlegars. 11

The Bellary district gave less trouble than Cuddapah though it was disturbed during the Pindari campaign of 1818. The district of Anantapur gave less trouble than the rest of the Ceded Districts.

Munro made for the year 1800-01 a settlement, mozawar, for each village as a whole and held the headmen severally responsible for the assessment of their own villages and jointly for the whole of the district. In the next year 1801-02 (jjasli 1211) he introduced the kulwdri or ryotwari settlement which was in theory regulated by the quality of the land and the value (according to the prices prevailing over a series of years) of the supposed net produce, of which last it purported to take 45 per cent.

Munro’s survey and settlement of the whole of the Ceded Districts were finished in the years 1802-05. In 1804 a desire was expressed by Government to revert from the ryotwari to a permanent settlement, in which each village was to be rented out as a whole for three years for a fixed sum to zaminddrs and proprietors or, failing them, to the headmen; and the renter was alone to be responsible for the payment of fixed rent. Munro condemned the proposal, and declared that a direct settlement with the cultivators was more suited to them, more likely to reclaim the people from their wandering habits and fix them to their fields and would also afford greater security to the revenue and raise more produce than the system of great estates would do. In 1807, he reiterated his conviction in favour of the ryotwari settlement; and he fully set out his views as to the modifications in his own system that he deemed necessary. [12]

Malabar:

In Malabar which was acquired by treaty in 1792, even under Haidar the quarrels between the different rajas and the turbulent spirit of the Nair chiefs, greatly obstructed for long the introduction of order and settled government.

The district was formally ceded to the British by the Treaty of Seringapatam and was first administered by a Commission on behalf of the Bombay Government. In 1800 the Commission was abolished, and the territory was transferred to the Madras Presidency. The situation in 1792 was very depressing. South Malabar was in a condition bordering on anarchy. The Joint Commissioners worked with untiring industry, proclaimed freedom of trade in all articles of merchandise except pepper, established courts of inquiry and justice presided over by themselves in rotation and declared a general amnesty. But their mistaken revenue policy, adopted under the orders of the Governments of India and Bombay, retarded for years the pacification of the district and culminated ultimately in the fierce blaze of the Pychy rebellion.

The two Pychy rebellions (of 1797 and of 1800-05) were rendered worse by the attempt of Major Macleod to disarm the district in 1802 and to enhance the land assessments.

Early English authorities like Mr. Farmer, one of the first Commissioners, and Dr. F. Buchanan, stressed upon the jenamkars (freeholders) who held their lands either by purchase or by hereditary descent and the komamkars or mortgagees, "to whom the land had been pledged in security for the interest of money advanced to the jenamkar, which advance is the kanam that is ever incumbent on land until it be redeemed."

The peculiarity of the kanam of Malabar mortgage is that it is never foreclosed; the quantum of money lent characterised the different gradations of the kanam tenure. Dr. F. Buchanan mentions another tenure, the Virpattam, in which the tenant deducted from the gross produce the quantity of seed sown and an equal quantity which was the whole granted them for their stock and trouble.

Tanjore and the Karnatak:

Tanjore was annexed in 1799 and the Karnatak was absorbed in 1801. In many parts of these regions the ryotwdri system /Was found applicable, while in Tanjore the village organisation was similar in many respects to that prevailing in Chingleput. The village system allowed and even encouraged oppression of the people by the superior landholders. The Board of Revenue, therefore, preferred the ryotwdri system and prepared surveys for most of these districts. Collectors, many of whom were trained in the school of A. Read and Munro, who were the real parents of the ryotwdri system, were clever in adapting the system to the requirements of their several districts. Annual settlements had everywhere to be resorted to. Abuses were generally guarded against, because the collectors were in touch with the villages and their reports to the Board of Revenue were useful reservoirs of experience, precedents and variegated data.

In the Baramahal acquired in 1792 the ties binding the villagers were thin and joint action was not developed. Here Captain A. Read, the father of the ryotwdri system, dispensed with all middlemen and renters, and dealt directly with the individual cultivators; and he made a detailed fieldwise survey and promised the individual cultivators a fixed, unchanging assessment; but the level of his assessment proved too high for effective improvement and impossible of collection in bad seasons. His assessment, moreover, did not give the cultivator freedom to relinquish the land he did not want. The defects of the system were perceived by Munro, then one of Read's assistants, who made his mark as a revenue administrator under Read, and came to be convinced, during his Collectorship of Kanara (1799-1800), that the ryotwdri system was indigenous to South India and best suited to the needs of the people. Munro applied the principles of ryotwdri more thoroughly in the Ceded Districts, to the charge of which he was transferred in 1800, soon after their acquisition. The seven years of his stay in those districts for whose improvement and security he laboured very hard, made him completely a champion of ryotwdri. He came to think that not only yearly settlements were the best but the ryots must be further free to choose for themselves and must not be bound to hold for a second year what they did not want and found it better not to keep.

But by Regulation XXV of 1802 the Madras Government declared for a zaminddri settlement and attempted to create a class of zaminddrs in Salem, for whom a permanent peshkush was to be fixed.

But the result was not commensurate with the expectation, as by 1821 the revenue fell to less than half of what it was in 1806. Many of the estates were attached by Government for arrears. The failure of this mitta (estate) system was due to the high original assessment of Read, of which Munro had all along been complaining, to the unwillingness of the new landlords to invest capital in the improvement of their estates, to the difficulty of dealing with the ryot, to the power of dividing the estates possessed by their holders which acted both ways—'accelerating the return of some of the country to the ryotyydri system and elsewhere establishing more firmly the new landlords'—and to the harsh rules of collection which were introduced by Regulation XXVIII of 1802 and which placed all the machinery of the courts at the disposal of the zaminddr. In Kanara, as noted above, of which

Munro was Collector for some time, the indigenous land revenue system was even more ryotwdri and under his reforms it gave good results.

Under the pressure of the Bengal Government a special Commission was appointed in 1802 which in the course of the years 180204, effected or tried to effect a permanent settlement in the Northern Sarkars, in the Jdgir District, in Baramahal and in Dindigul. 13

The Pdlayams:

A list of the Palayams in the Karnatak with the amounts of their tribute or peshkush is given as they stood in the Fifth Article of the treaty of 12 July, 1792 concluded by the British with the Nawab. Colonel Fullarton has given an account of the palegars of Tinnevelly in Letter 2 of his book A View of the English Interests in India, which is a compte rendue, to the Select Committee of Fort St. George and contains an accurate, though harrowing, picture of the land. The pdlegar chiefs could, at that time, bring 30,000 men into the field.

After the Company took up the management of the Karnatak, the Directors elaborated, in a Despatch of 1795, the rights acquired by the Madras Government to reform the administration of the pdlegar territories. This was further supplemented by a Report of the Board of Revenue made in 1797 and by a Minute of Lord Hobart— (Governor 1794-98). Again, the Directors in their Despatch of 5 June, 1799, insisted on “the absolute suppression of the military power of the palegars and on the substitution of a pecuniary tribute, more in proportion than the ordinary peshkush to the revenues of their pdlayams, and more adequate to the public demands for defraying the expenses of general protection and government.”

The so-called Palegar War of 1799-1801 was marked by a recrudescence of anarchy and followed by their final suppression. Government, by a proclamation of 1 December, 1801, suppressed the use of all weapons of defence and promised a general amnesty and a permanent assessment on the principles of zamiiiddri tenure. This proclamation followed soon after the assumption of the Karnatak by the British* and insisted on the surrender by all the inhabitants of the districts of Dindigul, Tinnevelly, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Madura of all arms into the hands of the British military officers, and it also gave amnesty to all except a few most guilty persons. It was like the emergence of light after the darkest hour of predawn.

In all the ryotwdri areas, the functions of criminal and civil justice were performed by the Collector and his assistants. But in all those regions under the sway of the palegars, especially in the

Madura and Tinnevelly regions, the peons of these chiefs exercised police duties, not only in their own villages but also presumed to protect the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the neighbouring Sarkar villages and roads. The village fees known as stalam or kudi kdval were of a much older creation than the pdlegars themselves, and being coeval with the villages themselves. The Deshakaval (or Disaikaval) or district watching fees originated either from a grant of the ruler or from the voluntary action of 'the villagers who were unable to protect themselves and submitted to such contributions. It was through claiming kdval fees that the pdlegars rapidly extended their power and jurisdiction. Mr. Lushington reported that he found in the districts of Tinnevelly in 1799, the kdval of 1,635 villages out of 2,113 villages were in the hands of the pdlegars and their men. When the latter found that they could not appoint their own followers to the kdval of a village, they enforced an annual contribution on the villagers as the price of their forbearing to plunder them. These fees were violently and arbitrarily increased, particularly in the years 1740-46 and by 1799 they had risen to ten-fold their original level. 14

It has been conceded that the zaminddrs and pdlegars easily acquiesced in the loss of their military power and were benefited by the permanent zaminddri settlement. But the scheme for creating new estates (mittas) as in Salem, failed miserably. Meanwhile opinion veered round from the zaminddri} to an appreciation of the indigenous rydtwdri system. The Directors and Lord William Bentinck, Governor of Madras (1803-07) supported the new doctrine. But while further progress with the zaminddri settlement was stayed, the Board of Revenue sought permission from Sir George Barlow, Bentinck’s successor in the governorship, to experiment with the village settlement. J. Hodgson, who now dominated the Board of Revenue and had come to appreciate the corporate life of the Tanjore villages held that the village system might be applied throughout the whole presidency and that the revenue due to Government might be leased to the principal inhabitants of the villages, on the basis of the average collection of the previous years and might be substituted later for a term and in perpetuity. 15

In 1808-09 the District Collectors were required to lease out the villages on the new basis. But this attempt also failed; in many places the villagers refused to bind themselves with the leases; in others there was deceit and oppression, and in still others the revenue could not be collected at all from the cultivators, mainly because, as in the case of the early settlements of Read and Munro,

the assessments had been fixed too high. In spite of unfavourable reports from the Collectors, Government decided in 1813 to try new village leases for a period of ten years and even proposed that they should be made perpetual. But now the authors of the Fifth Report , wherein they reviewed the affairs of/ the Madras Presidency, did not believe in the wisdom of creating artificial zaminddris, nor in the advantages claimed in the villages lease system and held, believing in Munro's experienced views, that ryotwdri was the most suited to the people and that if the judicial machinery then in force did not suit it, it was the judicial system that had to be modified.

So in 1812, the Madras Government received orders to revert to the ryotwdri system. In 1814, the Directors recommended certain administrative changes to meet Munro's views as to the necessity of lowering the assessment and giving the ryot more freedom to change the area of his cultivation from year to year. Munro was sent out as Special Commissioner in 1814 for drawing up the new judicial regulations; and in 1816 the Madras Government passed a series of Regulations giving effect to the changes.

By the Regulations of 1793 all powers had been withdrawn from the hands of Indians. The village bodies and the jurisdictions of the zaminddrs had been abolished. One or two European functionaries were in entire charge of a district. The Collector was confined merely to the collection of revenue, while the Judge was in entire charge of hearing and determining all causes, taking cognisance of all offences and regulating all matters of police. He was assisted by a single European Registrar and a specified number of Indian assistants, while all the police affairs were managed by a score or so of Indian darogahs; but in reality, his powers were very much limited. He had no summary mode of proceeding, except in cases of small breaches of the peace. In other cases the offenders were to be kept in jail till the arrival of the judges of the Circuit Court, before whom they were arraigned after the manner of English General Gaol Deliveries. The Collector was not even competent to decide any dispute between his servants and the ryots, while the Judge was not allowed very much of discretionary power. 16

Court fees were made costly, the processes became more complicated and the collection of revenue more oppressive, while the zaminddr could not collect the rents from the tenants, by a tedious process of legal action. After Munro was appointed to the new Commission for Judicial Regulations, the Directors elicited the opinions cf eminent retired servants of the Company on the operation of the

judicial system. Their despatches were so worded as to presage an entire renovation of the judicial system. Munro had to assure the people that only a reform, and not a repeal, of the existing regulations was intended. He took charge of the office of Head Commissioner towards the end of 1814; and as a result of his labours, the Madras Government passed a series of Regulations in 1816 by which the office of District Magistrate and the control of police were transferred from the Judge to the Collector, the Darogahs and the Thanadars were abolished, and the police work was to be done by village watchmen and the collector’s revenue servants. Indian District Munsifs were appointed in some number to try all petty civil causes of value up to Rs. 200; and village headmen were empowered to try petty civil suits; they could also summon village panchayats, which were competent to determine all suits without limit of any value if the parties should agree to their arbitration. 17

The Board of Control and the Court of Directors, had by now openly condemned the creation of artificial zamindaris and the latter body now issued instructions to all the Collectors for the re-introduction of the ryotwdri system, revised with some changes on the basis of the ideas adumbrated by Read and Munro. Munro advised that these ryotw&ri

instructions should be so issued that Government should control the Collector's discretion and limit opportunities for the interference of the court.

Thus the subjugation of the pdlegars, the establishment of a ' proper judiciary, and the improvement of the revenue system absorbed all the energies of the Madras Government till 1818, and through all these decades no attention was devoted to the protection of industry and the welfare of the people. No action was taken either about the promotion of education or about the abolition of slavery, the existence of which both on the Coromandel and West Coast had compelled Government to gather information. Famines were dealt with by ad hoc measures as and when they occurred; there was evolved no settled policy. Munro was the only one among the Europeans who felt the error of excluding Indians from all higher services under the Government; he wrote: 18 "Among all the disorders of the native states, the field is open for every man to raise himself; and hence among them there is a spirit of emulation, of restless enterprise and independence, far preferable to the servility of our Indian subjects." Except in a few places irrigation works were not cared for, and even existing works were not properly repaired.

"Their exclusion from offices of trust and emolument has become a part of our system of government, and has been productive of no good. Whenever from this cause, the public business falls into arrears, it is said to be owing to the want of a sufficient number of Europeans; and more European agency is too expensive; and, even if it was not, it ought to be abridged rather than enlarged, because it is, in many cases, much less efficient than that of the natives " (Gleig: Life of Sir Thomas Munro , Vol. I, p. 518).

III. The Bombay Presidency to the end of the 18th Century:

The Factory at Surat was the earliest and the most typical of the British Factories in India. It attained, through the efforts of Best and Downton, Aldworth and Sir Thomas Roe, a high degree of reputation. "Caravans came and went to all the inland capitals of India, Golconda, Agra, Delhi, Lahore; and the products of Asia from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf were piled up on the wharves of the Tapti. Merchants flocked in such numbers to Surat that during the busy winter months lodgings could scarcely be had.” The Surat Factory was controlled by its Council of Factors; but often the general or commander of the fleet had a controlling authority. The Factors complained that he regulated even their promotion and precedence, that consultations were often held on board the ships, in the roads and that the Chief of the Factory often signed his name after that of the chief naval officer and that captains of the ships sat often in their Councils and interfered in their affairs (e.g., the complaint of Joseph Salbank, one of the senior Surat Factors made to the Directors in 1617 against Captain Keeling, who subordinated him to raw and junior men).

In disputes between the English merchants and Indians, the decision rested with the tribunals of the country powers. Captain Best’s treaty with the Mughul viceroy of Gujarat declared that “in all questions,' wrongs and injuries that shall be offered to us and to our nation we^do receive from the judges and those that be in authority, speedy justice according to the quality of our complaints and wrongs done us and that by delays we be not put off or wearied by time change.” In civil cases the Chief of the Factory had absolute powers. Justice among the English residents was administered in criminal cases by virtue of a King’s Commission under the Great Seal which empowered the Commissioners to punish and execute offenders by martial law, as illustrated in a Surat record of 1616

describing the criminal proceedings which condemned a murderer tc death.
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The internal economy of the Surat Factory set the norm for other factories and Presidencies. In 1657, it was constituted the sole Presidency of the English in India, though subsequently Madras was restored to the Presidency rank. When Bombay was acquired by Charles II, it came to be ruled by Governors under the Crown, first by Sir Abraham Shipman, who perished in a few months, vainly trying to get possession of the Island from the Portuguese, and then by Humphrey Cooke, who only too readily accepted the mere cession of the port and harbour of Bombay, when offered by the Portuguese. Sir Gervase Lucas, a staunch Royalist, succeeded Cooke, but died within a few months after his landing, and his lieutenant and successor, Captain Henry Garey, was equally unsuccessful. When Bombay was ceded by Charles II to fhe Company, the latter's Governor of Surat, Sir George Oxinden took possession of the place (September 1668). He saw, with considerable precision, how Bombay was destined from its geographical position to become the key to India. His regulations for the civil and military administration of the settlement were adopted as the model for all the military establishments of the Company. Gerald Aungier, his successor, was President of Surat and Governor of Bombay from 1669 to 1677. He was the true founder of Bombay's greatness; and besides fortifying the city and constructing a dock, he laid out a town and established a court of justice for all litigants; created a police force and a militia and started a mint. He revived the old Panchdyat system for the different castes to whom justice was thereby brought to their very door in minor causes. 20

It was he that suggested, as early as 1671, that the seat of the Presidency should be removed to Bombay, whose population rose under him to 60,000 and its revenue increased three-fold. Aungier had schemes for organising the Indian merchants into guilds and for draining the tidal swamps that rendered Bombay so unhealthy. He was the first English Governor to realise the importance of a policy of religious toleration. Under Rolte, the settlement suffered a setback. Under Sir John Child, President of Surat and Governor of Bombay (1682-90), there occurred three serious difficulties which contributed to the utter failure of his administration. The first was the rebellion of Captain Keigwin, the Commandant of the Bombay garrison, who broke out in revolt, managed to get himself proclaimed as the Governor of the Island, annulled the authority of Child and of the Company and declared Bombay to be under the immediate

control of the King (December 1683). He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Bombay in the name of King Charles, dwelling on 'the intolerable extortions, oppressions and unjust impositions' of the Company; and he also wrote letters both to King Charles and his brother the Duke of York (afterwards King James II), explaining that the selfish and unscrupulous schemes of Sir Josia Child in England and of Sir John Child in India were at the bottom of the whole trouble, and that he would keep Bombay in faithful allegiance to the Crown.

Keigwin governed Bombay with remarkable success till November 1684 in the name of the King and submitted only on the appearance of a naval force sent with the sanction of Charles himself.

Sir John Child was the namesake and the willing agent and tool of the very masterful Sir Josia Child, who was the Governor of the Company in 1681 and continued to be the all-dominant force in its affairs until his death in 1690. Sir Josia was a great admirer of Dutch colonial policy and wanted to build up a similar power for the English in India. According to him Bombay was to be strongly fortified and protected and the charges incurred were to be met from increased rents, customs duties and municipal taxes. President Sir John Child was appointed Captain-General of the Company's forces on the Bombay coast, as well as Director-General of all mercantile affairs; and he was also authorised to regulate the affairs of the factories in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast. Ordinarily he was to reside in Bombay, and was given the imposing title of Captain-General, usually shortened as the General. Bombay in consequence superseded Surat as the seat of the Western Presidency. It was thus given extended powers and made supreme over all the Company's establishments in India.

To check the interlopers who were giving increased trouble, a Court of Admiralty was set up in Bombay in 1684 under Letters Patent obtained from the King in 1683. In the disastrous war with the Mughuls that ensued as the result of Child's policy, to fight out and establish their privileges by arms, Bombay was besieged by Mughul forces and was to submit to a humiliating peace, one of the conditions of which was the dismissal of Child, who, fortunately for himself did not long survive this disgrace. General Sir John Child was thus the first Governor-General of India. 21

The internal administration of Bombay in the first half of the eighteenth century was marked by the establishment of a bank in 1720 and by the formation of a large dockyard some time later under

a Parsi ship-builder of Surat. A Mayor's Court similar to that which was functioning at Madras under the Charter of 1726 was established in 1728. 22 By 1744 the population had risen to 70,000 and the revenues amounted to 160,000. According to the evidence of J. H. Grose who visited the island in 1750, the chief characteristic of the administration of Bombay was "the mildness of the government and its toleration of all religions", which contributed, to his popularity. 23

It is a matter of common historical knowledge that when the Regulating Act was passed, there arose a quarrel between the Bombay Council and the Supreme Council of Calcutta over the negotiations with Raghunath Rao. The Council were uncertain in view of the provisions of the Act, whether they had powers to make a treaty independently without sanction from Bengal. But they decided to act as they had not been notified of the arrival of Bengal Councillors. Their conclusion of the treaty of Surat (March 1775) was declared by the Supreme Government as being not merely impolitic but directly contrary to the provisions of the Regulating Act. Warren Hastings who was not in favour of the majority decision in the matter, but was out-voted, expressed his opinion that the distance between Bombay and Calcutta might render fatal the insistence that the Government of Bombay should await confirmatory orders from Calcutta. 24

NOTES

1 John Kaye remarks: "We traded, we conquered, we governed. It was long before this matter of government came palpably before us. At first all that we had to do was to govern ourselves, and' this we did in a very loose manner —rather according to laws of power and impulses of passion than to principles of justice and reason."

2. The names of the Company's servants had to be enrolled in a regular seniority list; they could be transferred from one Presidency to another; and on occasions of emergency or when there was strife in any agency (as the subordinate factory was called) the Directors sent out one of their own number to improve the affairs. It was- also their custom to cut down the pay of their servants when trade was slack. The Directors kept a paternal eye on their Servants in India and sent out to them chaplains and books on theology. The chaplains often proved as keen traders as the factors themselves. Usually the factors got lodgings and free board at the common table. The diet and sumptuary allowances to the President often far exceeded his salary; the three Senior Merchants next to the Governor who constituted the Council, might live outside the factory, and got house and table allowances of their own. The servants of the Company followed, from

the beginning, the Portuguese practice of private trade. The Company allowed its servants to supplement their wages by granting them an interest in the trade, and, in certain cases, a share in the profits; and it always protested "not against private trading, but against excessive private trading."

3. The Charters obtained from Queen Elizabeth and King James in 1600 and 1609, 1611 and 1622, conferred no privileges except the exclusive trade to the East Indies, which was an exceptional privilege in the light of the political economy of the times. The next important charter after the famous one (of 1657) of Cromwell was granted by Charles II in April 1661; and according to this, the

Company were given power and command over their fortresses and were authorised to appoint Governors and others for their government. The Company were also empowered to send ships of war for their factories, to choose officers by commission under their common seal, to erect fortifications and to seize unlicensed persons and punish persons in their employment, to govern their factories by martial law and to make peace or war with any non-Christian power.

Prior to the issue of this Charter, the Agent and Council very probably possessed no judicial authority over the inhabitants "but such as was derived from the native suzerain." Justice towards natives and towards European subjects of foreign powers was administered in that way. Offences by British subjects were dealt with by the Agent in Council.

4. It was provided that the President should be Judge-Advocate till one should arrive from England (July, 1684).

5. The Admiralty Court, by fusion with the Recorder's Court created in 1797 became in 1801 the first Supreme Court appointed by the Crown and the latter, by fusion with the East India Company's Sadr Courts became in 1862 the present High, Court.

6 This committee continued until 1758 under the altered title of "Select Committee for transacting Country Affairs." During Daily's siege of Madras (December 1758-February 1759) the Government was committed

to Governor Pigot and Major Stringer Lawrence. As soon as normal government was restored, secret matters began to be dealt with by the whole Board in their Secret Department. In 1761 the Directors ordered the reappointment of a Select Committee for affairs requiring special secrecy, but presumably the Council reverted at once to the practice of dealing with all secret matters in the Military and Secret Department. In 1769 the Directors ordered the formation of a Select Committee to deal with political questions and military operations.

7 • Governor Sir Archibald Campbell (1786-90) in whose time the administration

came to be divided into departments, each under a board of officers, formed a Committee of Police for the regulation of wages and prices, which was ultimately superseded by a Board of Police in 1797.

8 Mr. Place’s vigorous administration, which continued till 1798, busied itself with investigation of the land revenues, the discovery of abuses in connection with their collection and management, and the acquisition of information respecting the situation, the rights and the privileges of the ryots. He abolished altogether the office of kanungo which had been already discontinued by the Nawab and instituted a department of record and accounts consisting of a sheristadar and gumastas to assist him in the various divisions of his charge; he strove to restore the office of karnam to its original efficiency. He did away with the office of d^shmukh, but he revived the natwdurs who were the headmen of larger subdivisions each including a circle of villages.

9- Dr. Francis Buchanan who toured in the district in 1800 found that the condition of the people was better than that of the people of Bengal; while the town of Kanjivaram was regularly built with wide and clean streets.

10. From the Survey we learn that the sarhars were properly regarded as the ‘granary of the Carnatic during the north-east monsoon, in like manner as Tanjore is reckoned on for the other season of periodical winds from the opposite point of the compass.’

11. The palegars never paid their peshkush with any regularity. Munro, therefore, assessed the palegars at the highest peshkush which they had paid either to the Nizam or to Haidar, and in case of their refusal or neglect they were coerced by his military peons. The Directors of the Company wanted that the palegars should be reconciled to British rule by more gentle measures and characterized Munro’s actions as disingenuous; and the latter retorted by showing that “neither on the ground of their ancient rights, nor of their later conduct, were the palegars entitled to ‘gentle measures’, and their ‘feudal habits and principles’ consisted of crimes, oppressions and contumacies, which, if permitted to continue would have rendered good government impossible.”

12. He held that to give land any saleable value at all, the assessment should not exceeed one-third of the gross produce; and as his own rates took about 45 per cent. He recommended that all his rates should be reduced by about 25 per cent. And an additional 8 per cent, (or 33 per cent in all) should be knocked off the rates on all land under wells and small tanks, on condition that the ryots agreed to keep these in workable repair. He also proposed that the ryots should be given complete ownership of the land for which they paid assessment and that they should be at liberty at the end of every year to throw up their holdings or to occupy more land provided there was a proper proportion of good or bad land taken up or relinquished and that unoccupied land should remain in the hands of Government. It was only long afterwards that his views were given very partial effect to.

13. The zamindars were forbidden to keep a military establishment, and were deprived of their police authority and their control over the miscellaneous sources of revenue. They were declared to be proprietors of their estates, with the cultivators for their tenants. They were given the power of distraint and were authorised to collect rent at the rates which prevailed in the year preceding the Permanent Settlement. In return they were required to pay yearly a peshkush fixed in perpetuity; if the peshkush fell into arrears their estate could be attached and sold. The peshkush was usually calculated to be the equivalent of one-third of the gross produce, or two-thirds of the gross rental, of the estate; but deviations from the standard were allowed in special cases.

14. Besides, the palegars also levied in all possible cases taxes on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers. They confused by their encroachments the distinction between palayam lands and sarkar lands. They had usurped, in a large number of the sarkar villages, the power of appointing and controlling the sthalakavalkars and receiving from them russums or fees. They also levied hunting batta, contributions to marriage parties and a number of other payments, either fixed in a lump on the whole village, or levied on ploughs, looms, shops and labourers. They also received allotments of lands in the sarkar villages on which they received the government share or assessment and claimed the right of madisum (madhyastham) on behalf of the sarkar ryots as against the latter’s revenue collectors; and thus discontented sarkar ryots would be settled in palayam villages. Their right of arbitration was recognised, the sarkar renters’ power was diminished and the deshakaval of the palegars fortified.

15. Hodgson was influenced by the belief that it would keep alive and stimulate the habit of village self-government, a habit which the ryotwari system tefided to destroy. He also realised that it was not only principal inhabitants who could be oppressive. All collectors were not Munros. Some were corrupt and many were lazy. The Indian agency at their command was by tradition highhanded, extortionate, and venal. Under a corrupt or slack collector the ryotwdri system gave these men ample opportunities and thus Government would share the discredit of their misdeeds. The Board also hoped for some saving in expenditure under the village lease system, since the task of assessing and collecting the dues of each cultivator would be left to the villagers.

16. A variety of forms were invented, without paying strict attention to which no business could be done; a legal language was introduced entirely unknown to the mass of the people; depositions were required in all cases, to be taken down in writing; oaths were fabricated, repulsive to the religious prejudices of the community; nay, a distinct class of vakeels or advocates was created, without the intervention of one or more of whom, no suit could be tried, nor any cause determined. As a matter of course, the business of every court fell, under such circumstances, rapidly into arrears, till at last the evil became so glaring as to demand the application of some immediate remedy. (Life of General Sir Thomas Munro, Vol. II, p. 410).

17- Munro, as the head of the judicial commission did not agree cordially with the Governor, the Right Hon'ble Mr. Hugh Elliot. Munro complained that the Governor and Council, the Board of Revenue and the Sadr Adalat were all hostile to his favourite scheme of ryotwari assessment. As a result of the Regulations of 1816 the police came to perform many of the duties for which sepoys were formerly employed.

Another reform effected was the substitution of the rupee for the star pagoda as the standard coin for the Presidency, the rupee being calculated at the rate of for one pagoda.

There was also started in 1812 the college of Fort St. George, in imitation of Lord Wellesley's college of Fort William which trained civil servants in the vernaculars of the province, supervised the instruction of munshis and of persons who were to be appointed as law-officers and pleaders in the provincial courts. This college had a very useful career.

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

18- "With what grace can one talk of paternal government if we exclude the native from every important office, and say, as we did till very lately, that in a country containing fifteen millions of inhabitants, no man but a European shall be entrusted with as much authority as to order the punishment of a single stroke of a rattan. Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign power tomorrow, let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust and emolument, and let them in every situation be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge, and all their literature, sacred and profane, would not save them from becoming, in another generation or two, a low-minded, deceitful and dishonest race." (Munro)

19- Pietro Della Valle visited Surat in 1623, and gave a good picture of life in the factory; while Mandelslo, coming fifteen years later, described in praiseful terms the life of the factory community "the strict order observed, the deference to the President, the collegiate life of the Factory, the common table with the Chaplain to say grace, above all, the divine service held daily and on Sundays three times."

20. Even foreigners of other nations residing in English Factories were subject to English law. Indians were nominally independent of English authority and outside the limits of the English factories they could claim the protection of their own ports even where a European was concerned in the disputes. For transactions outside his factory the Englishman himself would be subject to the judiciary of the country. The Charter of Charles II of 1661 empowered the Governors and Councils of the several factories in India to "judge all persons belonging to the Governor and Company of the East Indies or that should live under them, in all causes whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of the kingdom, and to execute judgement accordingly. English Statute Law was here expressly recognized; and the expression, 'those that should live under them' was held to include all classes. Only for Bombay which was more than a trading station and was ceded by a formal treaty, did the Company obtain, by a special grant, power to pass laws and constitutions for the good Government of the settlement and to inflict the necessary punishments. But the question of jurisdiction, apart from that legislation and judicial action, remained rather anomalous as under the terms of James I's charter of 1624.

21. The subsequent history of the title is interesting. After the death of Sir John

Child, Sir John Goldsborough was sent out (1691) as commissary and supervisor; and two years later he was made Captain-General and Commander-in Chief, with Madras as his headquarters, while Sir John Gayer was to act as the Lieutenant-General and Governor of Bombay. On the death of Goldsborough, Gayer succeeded to the post of 'General' (1694), remaining at Bombay; while Hingginson, the Madras President, became Lieutenant-General. Ten years later (Gayer being kept in prison at Surat by the Mughul authorities) Sir Nicholas Waite, the new Governor of-Bombay, assumed the title of "General" and upon his dismissal in 1708, his successor, Aislabie, laid claim to the same designation. The title was abolished in 1715 when the new post of President and Governor of Bombay was created, with,Boone as its first occupant. The title of Lieutenant-General had lapsed in 1698, when Thomas Pitt was appointed Governor of Madras. %

22. In the instructions for the procedure of the Mayor's Court in all actions and suits both civil and criminal, in the proving of wills and the granting of letters of administration of the estates of intestates, together with the forms of the oaths, directed by the Charter to be taken, was embodied as there is reason to belieye that the originals were lost, though duplicates were sent out on 24 January 1753. The doctrine was first laid down that by the Charter of 1726 all the common and Statute Laws at that time extant in England were introduced into the Indian Presidencies and all Parliamentary enactments passed since then excluded, unless expressly extended to India by special provision. This doctrine had been long established beyond dispute, but in the celebrated trial of Nand Kumar in 1775 all the Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta appear to have considered it clear that the dividing line was drawn by the Charter of 1753. The latter charter expressly exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court all suits and actions between the natives only which should be determined among themselves unless both parties submitted to the determination of that court. But the registers show that Indians continued to

resort to the English courts as much as before. There was the usual machinery of Sheriffs and Courts of Quarter Sessions presided over by the Governor and Councillors.

23. Some details as to the condition of Bombay are available in the series of letters, ascribed to Commodore John Burnell; the first letter is dated May 1710. (Orme MSS; VIII 17), (India Office Record).

24. One of the members of the Bombay Council, by name William Taylor, who made a report on the negotiations, contended that the Regulating Act supported the position of his government inasmuch as it exempted them from referring to Calcutta matters on which orders had been received direct from the Directors. He also pleaded that such a control from Calcutta would degrade the Bombay Government in the eyes of the Indians.

The Governor had a Council of two civil members and of the Commanderin-Chief; but often the Governor himself was the Commander-in-Chief. Under the Council, there were three boards, viz., the Board of Trade, the Board of Revenue and the Military Board which carried on the details of the administration and were normally presided over by the members of the Council. In Bombay the administration of mofussil districts came only with the wars of 1817-18 resulting in the annexation of the Peshwd's territories and, therefore, district administration came only later. There was in Bombay the same judicial administration as had been established in Madras.

CHAPTER XIX

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. BENGALI

In a sense, Bengali literature of the eighteenth century was a continuation of that of the seventeenth. The Vaishnava songs and biographies continued to be written, though they were much inferior to their predecessors. But the Mangala-kavya, the origin and nature of which have been described in the preceding volume (pp. 558-60), formed the best poetical literature of the period. The earliest work of this type during the period under review was the Shiva-samlcirtarM or Shivdyana of Rameshvar Bhattacharya, composed about 1712 A.D. The theme is that of the Chandi-mangala of Mukundaram, but the distinctive characteristic is its refined taste as contrasted with the amorous contents of the books of this class. Rameshvar may justly claim to be one of the best poets of the century. Another poet, Ghanaram Chakravarti was a contemporary of Rameshvar and wrote a Dharriia-rnakgala Kavycn. Another Kavya of this class was written by Manikram Ganguli about half, a century later (1752-53 A.D.). 1

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The greatest poet of the period was Bharatchahdra Ray Gunakar, born some time about 1710 A.D. 2 in a Brahmin family of Bhursut area in the southern part of West Bengal (Radha). He learnt Sanskrit and Persian and made his debut in 1737 with two very short poems on the popular deity Satyanarayana. After passing through many vicissitudes in his life, which are reflected in his poems, he found a good patron in Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia. Here he wrote his magnum opus “Annada-mamgala”. It was completed in 1752-53 A.D. and enjoyed reputation as a masterpiece for more than a century. Bharatchahdra was regarded as the best Bengali poet until the middle of the 19th century A.D. when revolutionary changes took place in Bengali literature.

The Annada-mangala really comprises three independent parts. The first part is the Mangala-k&vya proper, dealing with the episodes of Shiva, Parvatl (Annada) and other minor deities. It, however, contains some new episodes such as Parvatl's offering cooked food to Shiva, her description of her own life in verses of double entendre

conveying two diametrically opposite ideas. Besides, the gods and goddesses and Narada are endowed with human sentiments and the author shows great skill in describing them as such.

The second, the best of the three parts, is the romantic story of the secret love of Vidya and Sundara, carried on through Hira MalinI (florist of princess Vidya). Sundara visited Vidya every night through an underground passage from Hira's house to the bedchamber of Vidya. The love intrigue was discovered and the royal father of Vidya ordered Sundara to be put to death. Of course, Suhdara's prayer to the Goddess Kali saved him from imminent death; he married Vidya and everything ended happily. The secret amours of Vidya and Sundara are described in beautiful verses, very skilful and highly charming, but artificial and occasionally obscene. The character of the florist Hira is superbly drawn and almost unparalleled in Bengali literature.

The third part of Annadd-mangala deals with a historical theme centering round the victory of the Mughul General Man Singh over Pratapaditya, the ruler of a petty principality in South Bengal. The heroic stand of Pratapaditya, as described by the poet, is without any historical foundation, but has enchanted the Bengali readers for more than a century, and is still regarded as historical truth by many. Apart from the principal characters, the author has shown great skill in drawing some minor characters like Dasu, Basu, etc. The description of the battle is also very lively.

Although the main episode is unhistorical (except, of course, the defeat and capture of Pratapaditya), the Annada-rnangala has got some passages of great historical importance. It gives a vivid picture of the great dissatisfaction, amounting to hatred, towards the Muslim ruler in Bengal, ‘All VardI Khan, a contemporary of Bharatchahdra. It is said in the introductory part that when ‘All VardI destroyed the Hindu temples in Bhubaneshwar (Orissa), Nahdl got furious and took up his javelin to destroy the Yavanas, but Shiva prevented him, saying, “My devotee, the ruler of the Bargis (i.e., the Marathas) will subdue the Yavanas”. So he appeared before the Maratha ruler in a dream and he sent Bhaskar Pandit to Bengal to whom reference will be made later.

In the third part also reference is made to the oppressions of the Muslims, such as destruction of temples and the insult of Brahmins (p. 196). Far more interesting is, however, a speech put in the mouth of the Mughul emperor Jahangir, which is a violent denunciation of Hindu religion and society, ending with Jahangir's exclamation: “The very sight of a Brahmin is loathsome to me (lit. burns my body) and the desire often seizes me to convert all the Hindus to Islam.” All this should be a corrective to those who fondly believe that the Hindu-Muslim differences were artificially created by the British.

Bharatchandra wrote an erotico-rhetorical work, Rasamanja*fi, based on a Sanskrit work by Bhanudatta of Mithila, describing the signs and feelings of lovers. It was composed before 1749. Bharatchandra could also write good Sanskrit verses as shown by the Ndgdshtaka, a poem in eight stanzas, written in double entendre , which in one sense describes the Puranic story of the suppression of the Nag (serpent) Kaliya by Krishna, and in another sense refers to the oppressions of Ramdev Nag, an agent of his landlord, Raja of Burdwan, and an appeal for remedy to Krishnachandra, the patron of Bharatchandra.

Bharatchandra’s Vidyasundara contains a number of beautiful songs “which resemble Vaishnava lyrics in spirit and content but differ from them in structure and fineness”.

Ramprasad Sen:

Another great figure in the Bengali literature during the period under review was Ramprasad Sen, a junior contemporary of Bharatchandra. He was born in Halishahar-Kumarhatta on the Ganga, about 25 miles from Calcutta. He is far better known as a great devotee of the Goddess Kali and a sadhak (saint). His devotional songs, quite large in number, are still highly popular in Bengal and are sung as a regular feature on the Calcutta Radio. He, too, wrote a poem depicting the amours of Vidya and Sundara which bears clear signs of the influence of Bharatchandra. He also wrote two other poems in the form of Panchalis, namely Kdli-lcirtan and Krishna kdrtan. Ramprasad was born in 1720-21 A.D. and died sometime between 1759 and 1795 A.D. 3

Secular poems:

The stream of religious poetry which had been flowing throughout the medieval age continued till the middle of the eighteenth century when its force was considerably weakened. This is exemplified by the growth of new types of literature such as "short poems on romantic love or on historical and topical subjects and short secular love-songs." A sort of compromise between the old and the new ideals gave rise to the Kabi poetry and Panchdli which flourished about the middle of the eighteenth century and continued almost throughout the period under review.

The earliest writers associated with the Kabi poetry were Lalchandra and Nandalal, but by far the best was Ramnidhi Gupta, better known as Nidhu Babu (1742-1839 A.D.), He is one of the leading sponsors of the style of music known as Akhadai and introduced the now famous Tappd style. Among other composers of songs may be mentioned Ram Basu.

As regards Pdnchali, a Muslim writer Shaikh Faizullah was the author of Satyapirer Pdnchali, a popular semi-religious legend on which various PdnchaU poems were written. Faizullah flourished early in the 18th century A.D. and composed two other poems, Goraksha-vijaya and Ghdzi-vijaya.

Special reference should be made to a collection of songs and ballads, known as Mymenshhha-Gitikd, so called from the fact that these were current mostly in the Mymensingh district, now in Bangladesh. These were collected together early in this century and published by the Calcutta University. Two special features of these are: first, they anticipate romantic sentiments expressed in the Western literature which was a dominant feature in Bengali fiction, poetry and drama since the middle of the nineteenth century, and secondly, they are altogether free from reference to gods and goddesses and show no religious sentiments. The stories of these ballads are based on love and sentiments of ordinary men and women, narrated in simple but charming verses which make a profound appeal to human heart. These poems attained great popularity within restricted areas in East Bengal, but were practically unknown outside East Bengal. The date of composition of these verses is a matter of dispute. According to some, they belong to the medieval age, while others regard them as belonging to a period not earlier than the late eighteenth centry. There seems, however, to be little doubt that in their present form they cannot be much earlier than the 19th century, and if they were composed earlier, their language must have subsequently undergone considerable modification. There is, however, general agreement on one point, namely that they show no influence of Western literature and reflect the feelings and sentiments of the unsophisticated rural folk.

Historical Literature:

Reference has been made in the preceding volume (p. 562) to the Rdjamdld — Chronicle of kings' (of Tripura or Tippera). It was

begun in the 15th century and dealt with the history of Tripura from the very beginning up to the rule of Dharma-manikya in the 15th century. In each of the next three centuries addition was made to bring the Chronicle up-to-date. The fourth and last part was written during the reign of Krishna-manikya (1760-83 A.D.). Though dates, events and even genealogies of kings in the Rdjamdld have in many cases proved to be wrong, it undoubtedly possesses great importance, being the only general history of a region or kingdom, written in Bengali before the middle of the 19th century. Mention may be made of two other historical works of Tripura, namely Champakavijaya and Krishnamdld dealing respectively with some specific events during the reign of Ratna-manikya II (1685-1710 A.D.) and the life of Krishna-manikya, two kings of Tripura. The latter was written during the reign of Rajadhara-manikya (1783-1802 A.D.) nephew of Krishna-manikya. To this class belongs another Bengali book, also written in verse, known as Maharashtra Purdna . 4 It was written by one Gangaram of whom nothing is known. The date given in the only available manuscript, namely 14th Paush, Sala 1158, Shaka 1672, shows that it was written in 1751-52 A.D. and this is probably also the date of composition, which, in any case cannot be much earlier. The manuscript, containing 716 lines, ends with the words: "Thus ends the first part of the Maharashtra Purdna (called) Bhdskara-pardbhava'\ This indicates that either there were other parts, now lost, or the author intended to, but could not, write the other parts. The book gives an account of the Maratha raids in Bengal during the reign of 'All Vardi Khan, from 1742 to the treacherous murder of Bhaskar Pandit, the Maratha General, by 'Ali Vardi Khan in 1744.

The Chronicle is of great historical importance as it contains a contemporary account of the military raids of the Bargis (the nickname given to the Maratha soldiers by the Bengalis) the memory of whose oppressions and cruelties has been still preserved in the lullaby songs in Bengal. The author gives a vivid picture of the atrocities perpetrated by the Marathas and the miseries and sufferings of the people caused thereby, such as is not available from any other source. It is not unlikely that the author himself was a witness of, if not a sufferer from, these raids. The importance of the poem from this point of view will be evident from some passages quoted below.

The following passage describes the state of things which followed the defeat and flight of Nawab 'All Vardi Khan:

"Then the Bargis began to plunder the villages, and all the people fled in terror. Brahmin Pandits fled, taking with them loads of manuscripts. (Similar statements follow in respect of goldsmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, potters, fishermen, conch-merchants and petty traders). The people fled in all directions; who could count their numbers? Kaestas, Baidyas—all who lived in villages fled, when they heard the name of the Bargis. Ladies of good family, who had never before set foot on the road fled from the Bargis with baskets on their heads. (Similar descriptions follow of other well-todo classes). And pregnant-women, all but unable to walk, began their labour on the road and were delivered there. And all the Sikdars and village officials fled for their lives when they heard the name

l Bargi ’_ From every village, big or small, people fled in fear of

the Bargis. 115

But even such hasty wholesale flight was of no avail. When they had plundered all they could in the fields, “Maratha horsemen entered the villages and set fire to large houses. They stole all their gold and silver and did many foul things to the women. Bang alas (Bungalows), Chaudris (thatch-roofed houses), Vishniu-rriandapas (temples)—they burned them all, large and small. They destroyed whole villages and swept, looting, into all the four directions. They bound some people, their hands behind their backs, others they threw to the ground and while they were on their backs on the ground, kicked them with shoes. They shouted over and over again “Give us money ,, , and when they got no money they filled peoples’ nostrils with water, and some they seized and drowned in tanks, and many died of suffocation. In this way they did all manner of foul and evil deeds. When they demanded money and it was not given to them, they would put the man to death. Those who had money gave it. Those who had none were killed.” 6

This passage is followed by a long list of places burnt, destroyed and houses razed to the ground. No such vivid account of the brutal oppression of the Marathas is to be found anywhere else and this is the justification of the long quotation. It is also of great historical importance. The view of the Marathas entertained by the Bengalis, and probably also in other parts of India invaded by the Marathas, is certainly not calculated to favour the idea of a political hegemony of Hindu India under the'Maratha rule, and we may understand why the dream of ShivajI of founding a Hindu empire was never realized.

Another type of Bengali literature which also broke an altogether new ground was the Book of Travel. It is represented by the

Tirtha-mangala. Krishna Chandra Ghoshal, a rich man of Kidderpore near Calcutta, made a journey by boat as far as Benaras and Allahabad. Bijayaram, a member of the party accompanying him, wrote an account of the journey and of the places visited, shortly after their return to Calcutta in 1770. The book written in simple verses contains much interesting information.

Prose Literature:

The vast Bengali literature described above and in the preceding two volumes was all written in verse and there was no prose Bengali literature, properly so called, during the period under review. There are short sentences in the Vaishnava esoteric and catechismal treatises and long or short letters written in prose, but hardly any composition that could be really called literature, except a few books belonging to the two following categories:

1. Tracts written by Christian Missionaries, mostly Portuguese.

2. Translation of Legal Codes by the order of the East India Company towards the end of the 18th century.

This needs no detailed discussion.

As regards the first, two small tracts are said to have been written in prose by the Portuguese missionaries towards the end of the 16th century and a Bengali Grammar and Dictionary in the seventeenth century; but these are no longer available.

The oldest Bengali book written in prose, so far known, is the Kripdr Shdstrer Arthabhed (written as Xrepar Xaxtrer Orth Bhed). It was composed by Manoel da Assumpcam in Dacca in 1734 and printed in Roman type in Lisbon in 1743 together with the Portuguese original. He also published in the same year a Bengali Grammar in Portuguese with a Bengali-Portuguese Dictionary. The next in point of time was the Brahman Roman Catholic Sambdd —a dialogue between a Brahmin and a Roman Catholic in which the latter seeks to establish the superiority of Christianity to Hinduism. It was composed in 1743 by a Hindu of East Bengal converted to Christianity. He was born in an aristocratic family but was stolen in his boyhood by the Arakanese pirates (1683). A Portuguese Missionary purchased him and converted him to Christianity under the name of Dom Antonio.

These two books clearly show the beginning of the Bengali prose. The only other prose writing is found in two long letters

written by Maharaja Nahdkumar in 1771 and 1772 and in a large number of short letters.

It was in the first two decades of the 19th century that we find the beginning of the literary prose style, properly so called. But though it falls during the period covered by this volume, it is dealt with in the next volume for the sake of showing a continuous development.

Bengal owes a debt of gratitude to the Portuguese not only for their pioneering efforts for the development of Bengali prose style but also for the first printed books in Bengali; the Portuguese had established a printing press in Goa—the first in India—in 1556 A.D. Bengali language borrowed many Portuguese as well as Arabic and Persian words. We often forget that familiar words like almirah (almdri), botdm, chhabi, sdban, Darajd, jandld, etc., are really derived from the Portuguese words with only very slight alterations.

II. HINDI

Hindi literature during the period under review continued the style and tradition of the preceding period and was not marked by any originality, though several writers give evidence of high talent and technical perfection. The poets mostly wrote in Braj bhdshd and their composition was highly artificial, full of ‘pretty sentiments and rhetorical flourishes’. Particular reference should be made to Bhushana (1613-1712) who wrote several short works panegyrizing the great Maratha hero Shivaji in most musical Braj bhdshd marked by ardent patriotism of a Hindu, clothed in beautiful poetic image.

The Hindi prose, both in Khari Bolt and Braj bhdshd, whose beginnings go back to the 16th century A.D., was highly developed. Very good progress of Khan BoB, i.e., Delhi Hindi is evidenced by the prose rendering of Yogavdsishtha Rdmdyana completed by Ramprasad Niranjani in 1741 and the Jain Padmapurdna of Pandit Daulatram (1761). Another writer of repute is Sadasukhlal Niyaz of Delhi who composed some episodes from the Vishnu Purdna in Sanskritic Hindi. Mention may also be made of Insha Allah, one of the earliest writers to turn Hindi prose from religious to secular subjects.

The development of modern Hindi from the beginning of the 19th century is dealt with in the next volume.

Reference has been made in the preceding volume (p. 564) to the rise of an artificial style in Oriya. Its great exponent, Upendra Bhanja (1670-1720), introduced a new era in Oriya literature which continued throughout the period under review. His works, not less than 42 in number, demonstrate the treatment of all the literary genre of Orissa. The following view of an eminent literary critic gives a fair idea of his style and literary output:

“The tour-de-force of the Sanskrit Chitra-kavyas, poems with verbal plays, acrostics, combinations of different sounds etc., find their unheard of fulfilment in Upendra Bhanja’s works. Loveromances, poems based on the Sanskrit epics and the Puranas, lyrics, compositions in various metres, works on rhetoric, lexicons—all of these feature in Upendra Bhanja’s literary output. About 10 great romances are the most esteemed among his larger compositions. In the Vaidehisha-vildsa, based on the story of the Rdmdyana, every word beginning a line and a half-line has ba (or va) as its first consonant; in the Subhadrdparinaya, similarly sa has been employed, and in the Kald-kautuka every line begins and ends in the syllable ka. In the Avani-rasa-taranga, words with simple vowels only have been used. A section in the Koti-brahmdnda-sundairi can be made to give descriptions of three seasons, the rains, winter and summer, according as it is read in its entirety, or with one or two syllables of each line omitted.” 7

Upendra Bhanja’s works exercised a profound influence upon Oriya literature and a large number of writers imitated him. The story of Krishna is almost a common theme of these writers, who, however, also wrote on

PurSnic themes and love romances, but without any novelty. There are, no doubt, some exceptions. Mention may be made, for example, of Brajanath Badajena's Samara taranga } a spirited ballad describing the fight between the Marathas, who invaded Orissa, and the Oriya force led by the Raja of Dhenkanal. Reference may also be made to Maguni Dasa's Kdnchi Kdveri, a historico-romantic poem based on the love between king Purushottama-Deva and princess Padmavatl.

Reference should also be made to some family chronicles written in prose and a vast folk literature dealing with fasts, feasts and festivities.

IV. ASSAMESE

The most noticeable change in Assamese literature during the period under review is the greater emphasis laid upon secular,

rather than religious, subjects as before. Apart from stories and romances, books were written on astrology, mathematics, veterinary science, rituals, dancing and music. So far as veterinary science is concerned there are three treatises, namely, Hasti-Vidydrnava, an illustrated and scientific book on elephant-lore based on the Sanskrit work Maitafiga-Uld and another book on the same subject with the same title, composed in 1734 by Sukumar Barkath; while a third book, Ashwaniddn, dealing with the diseases of horses, their prevention and treatment, was compiled in 1806 by Suryakharl Daivajna. As to the other scientific treatises, mention may be made of the Bhasvati, an astronomical work by Kaviraja Chakravarti, and Kitdbat Manjari, a treatise on Arithmetic composed by Bakul Kayastha about 1734 A.D. Reference may also be made to the Hasta Muktdvali , a book on dancing by 6ubhankara Kavi and the romantic poem Mrgawati Charit by Ram Dvija.

Reference has been made in the preceding volume (p. 563) to the origin and nature of the Buranjis. These prose chronicles continued to be written during this period. Among the Buranjis written during this period or shortly before it, the following is a list of important ones with approximate dates within brackets:

Padsha Buranji (c. 1650-178G), Asam Buranji (c. 1681), Kamrupa Buranji (c. 1700), Kachan Burahji (c. 1706), Jayantia Buranji (c. 1742), and Tungkhungia Buranji (c. 1804). 8

There are also Buranjis written in verse, two of which are wellknown. Being commissioned by the last Ahom Prince Kameshwar Sinha in 1806, Dutiram Hazarika wrote the Kali Bharat —a history of the Ahom kings. Similarly at the command of the feudatory Prince Purandar Sinha (1832-38), Bishveshvar Vaidyadhipa wrote the Belimarar Buranji (History of Sunset), a chronicle of the last Ahom rulers.

To this class of literature belongs the Durangardja-Vamshavali (Chronicle of the Darang Kings) compiled by Suryakharl Daivajna in 1798 and the Koch-Rdja-Vamshavali (Chronicle of the Koch Kings) by Rahikanta Dvija in 1802. 9

V. GUJARATI

Gujarati literature of the eighteenth century is quite rich in contents and in the varieties of literary forms, in spite of deteriorating social, economic and political conditions prevailing in Gujarat at that time. Recent research has revealed that hundreds of manuscripts of the works of Jain poets and authors of this period have been preserved in the Jain Bhandars at different places. It shows that quite a good number of poets and authors have made a very large contribution towards the development of the Gujarati literature of the eighteenth century. Most of the works of the poets and authors are still unpublished. The history of medieval Gujarati literature will have to be written again when most of the medieval manuscripts are published and the works of the poets and authors are made available to scholars.

In the medieval Gujarati literature, since the time of Hemchahdracharya, particularly till the sixteenth century, the contribution is mainly from the Jain poets and authors. After the sixteenth century the medieval Gujarati literature flows into two different currents, Jain and non-Jain. This demarcation between Jain and nonJain literature is necessary in medieval Gujarati literature, because most of the poets and authors were inspired to write by the religion they followed and the subjects of their works were mostly religious;

The major contribution of this period is in the field of Rasa literature, in which the poets have narrated the biography or history of important Jain Tirthahkaras, Acharyas, §hreshthis, Tlrthas, etc. Along with Rasa), contribution in the literary forms of Phdgu, Pra bandha, Akhydna, Padyavarta, Bdramasi, Stavana, Sajjhaya, Kafi, Chdbakha 9 Arati, Pdja, Bhajcma, Bdldvabodha, etc., were made by several poets and authors. This literature throws much light on the social, political, economic, cultural and religious life and conditions prevailing in Gujarat and Rajasthan during that period.

Jinalnarsha:

Poet Jinaharsha (d. 1723) was born and brought up in Rajasthan. As a sadhu, he belonged to the Khartar Gachcha, and he was a disciple of Shahtihar$ha. He spent his later life in Gujarat, mostly in Patan. 10

Jinaharsha is one of the major poets of this period. His contribution to literature is spread over a period of more than fifty years. He has written, both in Gujarati and Rajasthani, about seventy works of the types of Rasa, Chaupai , etc., and has written more than four hundred poems of the type of Stavana, Sajjhaya), Hundi, etc. Some of his important works are Chandan-Malayagiri ChaupaiVidydvilas Chaupai, Shukardja Rasa, Shreepdla Rgjano Rasa, Ratnashhha Rdjarshi Rasa, Kumdrpdl Rgsa, Harishchandra

Rasa, Haribala Lachbhino Rasa, Abhaykumdra Rasa,, Sheelavati Rasa , J ambus wdmi Rasa, Ardmshobhd Rasa. Most of his works are still unpublished.

The longest work of Jinaharsha is Shatrunjaya Mahdtmya Rasa which is available in his own handwriting. The Rasa runs into more than 8,568 lines. The historical and religious importance of the chief Jain Tirtha, Shatrunja, is described at length in this Rasa . Jinaharsha had a great command over languages. He was also well-versed in Rag-RaginI and therefore we find in abundance varieties of musical tunes in his poetry. Among the stavanas, his famous Stavana named ‘Antarjdmi’ for Lord Farshvanatha is still boing sung everyday by devotees in Jain temples.

Udayaratna:

Poet Udayaratna was a popular and prominent poet of this period. He was a disciple of Shivaratnasuri. From his works we learn that he spent most of his time, as a sddhu, in Gujarat, in places like Patan, Ahmadabad, Cambay, Kheda, etc. He has written more than twenty-five Rasas and many poems of the type of Stavanas and Sajjhayas. Very few of his works are published. Among his Rasas the prominent are J ambus wdmi Rasa, Ashta-Prakdri Pujd Rasa, Sthulibhadra Rasa, Rdjasimha Rasa, Malayasundari Rasa , Yashodhara Bhuvanbhdnu Kevali Rasa, Lildvati Rasa, Harivamsha Rasa. 11 In Jambuswdmi Rasa , written in Kheda-Hariala town, the poet has narrated the life of Jambukumara. The Rasa runs into more than 5,000 lines divided into dhals. Jambukumara, son of a merchant, was inspired by the preaching of Sudharamaswami and decided to adopt the path of renunciation, but his parents insisted that he should first marry the daughters of the merchants in order to respect their commitments and then he would be free to adopt dikshd. The parents knew that it was very difficult for a young man to think of dikshd once he entered married life. But to the surprise of his parents and of all, Jambukumara on the very first night of his marriage, successfully persuaded all his eight wives to adopt the path of dikshd along with him. - His parents and others also joined him. The story of Jambukumara itself is very interesting and the poet has shown distinct poetic qualities in narrating it.

Udayaratna has written many stavanas and sajjhayas. His stavanas of Shamkheshvara Parshvanatha and his sajjhayas on anger, pride, infatuation and greed are very popular till today and are being regularly sung by the Jains.

Devachandraji:

Devachandraji is one of the most remarkable poets of this century. A Rasa on the life of Devachandraji was written in 1769 and is available. This Rasa throws much light on the life and works of Devachandraji. 12 Devachandraji was born in Raj&sthan in 1760. At the age of ten he became

Dikshit and then the disciple of Muni Rajasagara, who had forecasted, before the birth of Devachandraji, to his parents, that their son will be a great sddhu. Devachandraji was very bright and in his young days studied several shdstras and works of his predecessors. He spent several years in Gujarat and Saurashtra, did many religious performances, helped people and princes in times of natural calamities, made pilgrimages to Shatruhjaya and participated in religious discussions with leaders of other religions. He was one of the great scholars and philosophers of the period and was a very pious sddhu. He has written Stavana Chovishi, sajjhayas, etc., which are full of deep meaning. His stavanas are very popular even now and are being regularly sung by the Jains in temples and Upashrayas. His language has the characteristics of both Gujarat and Rajasthan.

Mohanavijaya ;

Nothing is known about the birth-place and birth-date of this poet, but from his works we learn that he belonged to Tapagachcha and he was a disciple of Rupavijaya. He has written several Rasas, some of which are Narmada Sundarino Rasa 9 Punyapdl Gunasundari Rasa , Chand Rdjdno Rasa, etc. In all his Rasas, he has mentioned the year in which they were written. Thus most of his works were written in the beginning of the eighteenth century in

the towns of Gujarat such as Mehsana, Patan, Saminagar, Rajnagar,

* .

etc. In addition to Rasas, Mohanavijaya has also written Stavana Chovishi in which his stavana for Bhagavan Rishabdhev, beginning

with ‘Olambhade Mat Khijo’ is very popular among the Jains.

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Jnanavimal:

Jnianavimal was born in Bhinnamala, in the year 1638. He became a disciple of Dhiravimalgani. He spent much of his time in Surat, Cambay, Ahmadabad, Patan, Radhanpur, Palitana, Junagadh, etc., and passed away in Cambay at the age of eighty-nine. He has written several works both in prose and in poetry such as Sddhuvandana, Jambu Rasa, Tirthamdla, Chand-Kevali Rasa, Ashokchandra Rohini Rdsa, etc., and has also written many stavanas, sajjhayas , bhashyas, etc.

Nemavijaya was a disciple of Tilakavijaya of Tapagachcha. He has written several Rasas and Bar-masas. Among his Rasas, Shilavati Rasa, Vachchraja Charitra Rasa, Mantri Nrip Rasa and Tejasara Rajarshi Rasa are available, though they are not yet published. The manuscript of Tejasara Rajarshi Rasa is available in his own handwriting.

Prose Literature:

During this century, as in the previous one, the Jain authors contributed very largely to the development of medieval Gujarati prose. In fact, there is hardly any literature in prose by the nonJain authors and, therefore, the contribution of the Jain authors in this field is remarkable. Old manuscripts of more than three hundred different works in prose, of the type of Bdlavdbodha, Stabak, Tikd, Vartik, Sdroddhdr, etc., are available.

Among the non-Jain poets of this period we have Shamal, Pritamdas, Dhiro, Bhojo, Day a ram and other poets who have contributed largely towards the development of the medieval Gujarati literature.

Shamal:

Though born in the later part of the seventeenth century, poet Shamal's literary works were written during this period. Shamal, a Brahmin from Venganpur, knew Sanskrit, Braj and Persian languages. Shamal, in the beginning, wrote religious didactic poems, but subsequently decided to write narrative poems. He has written puranic works in Gujarati such as Shiva-Purana, Angadvishti, Ravana-Mandodari Samvdd, etc., but his major contribution is in the field of fiction in poetry. His outstanding works are SimhdsanaBatrishi, Suda-Bahoteri, Vetdl-Pachisi, Pancha-danda, Madanmohana Padmavati, Vidydvilasini, etc. His fictions in poetry run into several thousand lines. Shamal's poetry was very popular, particularly among the common people because his works are full of imagination and practical wisdom. Shamal is known for depicting very bright female characters and is also known for his chhappas describing problems of practical wisdom. Poet Shamal is one of the most outstanding story-tellers of the medieval Gujarati literature.

Pritamdds:

Pritamdas (1720-1798), blind since birth, was born at Bavla, but he settled down in Sandesar in Kheda district. At the age of

fifteen he came in contact with some of the sddhus of the Ramananda sect and imbibed from them the knowledge of bhakti, vedanta and yoga. Pritamdas has written works like Saras-gitd, Prem-Pra hash, Jhana-gita, etc*., and has also written many padas, some of which are also in Hindi. Pritamdas is much known for his sweet padas. His pada } Harcno Mdrag is very popular in Gujarati literature,

Niranta:

The padas of poet Niranta (1747-1852), born at Dethan near Miyagam, are still recited regularly by his followers during their daily prayers. Niranta has written in simple and lucid language poems of different types such as Sakhi, Kundalia, Jhulana , Dhol, Chhappa, Kafi, Vanr, Tithi and Mahina. He has written some poems in Hindi also, and he has even addressed letters in verses to some of his contemporaries who were known for bhakti, jnana and vairagya. Subjects of Niranta’s poems are mainly self-realisation through knowledge, premlakshana, bhakti, nirgunopasand, etc.

Ratno:

Ratno was a cloth-dyer of Kheda. He is known for his poem Mahina (1739) which is one of the best of its type in medieval Gujarati literature. In this poem he describes vividly the delicate feelings of love and separation of Gopis from Krishna, in the context of the natural surroundings which keep on changing according to the months of different seasons.

Narbheram:

Narbheram (1768-1852), a resident of Pij, was a disciple of Guru Chhotalal, who diverted him towards bhakti of Krishna. Narbheram, since then, used to visit regularly the places of pilgrimage— Dwaraka and Dakor. He has written several poems of bhakti of Ranchhodrai. In one of these poems he has described the bravery of Bhakta Bodana, who had daringly shifted the idol Ranchhodrai from Dwaraka to Dakor.

Dhiro:

Poet Dhiro, born at Gothada, started writing his padas at the age of seventeen. His married life was not happy as his wife was hot-tempered. This also seems to have made Dhiro interested in philosophy. He studied Sdmkhya, Veddrita and Yoga. Dhiro has written Ranayajna, Swarupani Kafi, Aval-Vani, Yoga Mdrga, Jhdna

Kakko, etc. He is more known for his poems of the type of Kafi, which are written in five stanzas. The subject of his poems lays much stress on Atma-Jndna, (knowledge of the Self).

Bhojo Bhagat:

Bhojo Bhagat, a poet from Amreli, was illiterate as he never knew how to read or write. He was very popular among his followers who used to write down the poems for him. Bhojo has composed Selaiya Akhyan, Bhakta-Mal, Brahma-Bodh and a number of pada\s. Among his padas the type of Chdbakhd (lashes) are more popular. In Chdbakhds Bhojo attacked with bitterness, sometimes in the language of warfare, the hypocrites of different sections of the society including pseudo -sddhus. His language is simple and sincere and, therefore, it appealed to the masses.

Bapu Gdikwdd:

Bapu Gaikwad (1777-1843), a Maratha of Baroda, having come into contact with two of his senior contemporaries, Dhiro and Niranta, became detached towards worldly pleasures and subsequently resigned from service in the State and spent his time in religious activities and in writing padcts. He has written poems of the typ'e of Kafi, Rajia, Garabi, etc., in which he has attacked the meaningless conventions of his time. Though a Maratha, he has written poems in chaste Gujarati.

Poets of Swdmindrdyana Sect:

During the eighteenth century, the people, particularly of the lower strata, in Cutch, Saurashtra and Gujarat experienced a tremendous wave of bhakti under the influence of Sahajananda (17811830) and his disciples, Muktananda, Nishkulanahda, Brahmananda, Prem-Sakhi, Premananda, Devananda, and others. His disciples have written hundreds of jjarabis and pad<is of bhakti and vairdgya in addition to longer poems such as Mukundbavani, Uddhavw-gitd. Brahmavildsa, Upadeshchintdmam (by Brahmananda). Among the poets of this sect Brahmananda and Prem-Sakhi are superior to ethers in their imagination, diction of language and style.

Dayardm:

Dayaram, who has been compared with Hafiz, or Byron, or Surdas of Gujarati literature, has written more than forty works in addition to his miscellaneous padas. Some of his important works

are Rasik-Vallabh, Bhakti Poshan, Ajdmil Akhydn, Rasik Rahja)n, Satyabhamano-vivaha, Rukmini-vivdha, Rdsa-Leeld, PcCtra-Leela, Prem Parikshd, Hanuman-Garuda Samvdd. Dayaram has also written several poems in Braj, Maithili, Sindhi, Punjabi, Urdu, Marathi and Sanskrit languages. Dayaram’s major contribution to the Gujarati literature is his poetry of the type of Garrabi —lyrical poems on some single thought, feeling or situation. Gopis’ or Radha’s love for Krishna is a subject for his Garabis. Dayaram is a master of Garabis, as he achieves poetical heights in them.

Poetesses:

During this period some poetesses have also made contribution towards the development of Gujarati literature, though the authenticity of some of the works, said to have beqn written by them, is still doubtful. Among these poetesses we may mention Gauri Bai, Divali Bai, Krishna Bai, Radha Bai, Puri Bai, Varanasi Bai, Jani Bai, Nani Bai, Ratna Bai and Sadhvi Hemashree.

Thus the medieval Gujarati literature of the eighteenth century is rich both in contents and in varieties of literary forms. On account of the break-up of the Mughul empire and the incursions of the Marathas, there was confusion everywhere. The popular frustration found expression in religious literature.

VI. PUNJABI

There is a tradition, which is part of the history of the Sikhs, that in order to inspire his own followers and the people in general, Guru Govind Singh (1666-1708) kept in his employ fifty-two poets who composed in the prevalent mode of neo-classical Hindi poetry works whose themes were heroic, didactic and philosophical. All the waitings of these poets whose names are known to history, though all of them may not have been in attendance upon the Guru at the same time, were written down in the Gurumukhi script. They are reported to have recited their compositions in special assemblies convened by the Guru. Their felicities of expression such as the pun, simile, metaphor and classical allusion are reported to have elicited great praise and ovation, and rich rewards are mentioned to have been conferred upon these poets from the Guru's bounty.

A dominant theme of these poets was to give poetic form to the teaching of Guru Govind Singh, who enunciated the gospel comprehending the supremacy of meditation and bhakti, the vision of a society free from caste distinctions and sectarian rancour and the urge for heroic action to defend Right, in which the Indian mind would be able to see the resuscitation of the ancient heroic ideals of India. All this great body of literature, which is said to have comprised a great mass, is called collectively Vidyd-sdgara (ocean of learning).

Unfortunately the bulk of the literature produced under Guru Govind Singh’s patronage was lost, and only a part has survived in scattered copies in different places. Bhai Mani Singh, priest of the holy Hari Mandir at Amritsar, now famous as the Golden Temple, at some time during the fourth decade of the eighteenth century got together whatever had remained of the compositions of the Guru Govind Singh era and compiled it to form a large volume, later known as the Granth of the Tenth Master (Dasham Granth). There are divergent opinions as to the authorship of the compositions contained in this large volume of more than 1,400 pages in print. The consensus appears to be to ascribe the prayers and some of the philosophical portions to Guru Govind Singh himself, an accomplished poet, and the rest to other poets, whose contribution cannot now in all cases be accurately identified.

One fragment highly valuable from the historical point of view is Bachittar-Natak, which contains a narrative of Guru Govind Singh's life up till about the year 1690.

Dasham Granth comprises three versions of the epic of the goddess Chandl, based on the story of her fight with Mahisasur, the Buffalo-Demon. Two of these are in Hindi, and the third in Punjabi. This last is believed to *be Guru Govind Singh’s own composition, while the other two are very likely by the hands of some bards. Guru Govind Singh got composed a great deal of literature of a martial nature, based on the tales of heroism from the mythology of India, whereby he sought to invoke the spirit of the heroic past and to arouse his contemporaries to crusade for the higher values to which he gave the name Dharma. Oriented to a similar objective are some Puranic tales—stories of the avatars or incarnations of Vishnu. In these, too, the dominant spirit in the episodes is heroism. Some portions of the Dasham Granth are devotional and philosophical. These rephrase the monistic-monotheistic teachings of the Founders of Sikhism, in a classical idiom, taking their phraseology from the Indian spiritual sources, incorporating at the same time some vocabulary drawn from Islam. This last was intended to inculcate the spirit of tolerance, and to raise the seeker to the higher levels of spiritual experience where the creeds melt into the universal mystical vision. A number of hymns form part of the corpus of this Gromth s set to the classical Indian ragas. A considerable portion is taken up with short tales portraying the wiles of woman (Charitropakhyan) in the medieval Indian tradition of social thought. These are likely to be by some of the poets attendant upon the Guru.

A number of similar stories in Persian called Hikayat (tale) are also given. One celebrated part of the contents is Zafar-Namah (Epistle of Victory) believed to be addressed by Guru Govind Singh to Aurangzib in the Deccan, castigating the emperor's deputies for their treachery and tyranny, and breathing the spirit of freedom. Dasham Granth , thus, is a treasure house of history, devotional literature and treatment of mythological themes. A detailed critical study of this remarkable volume is still to be made, though the process has already been initiated by Hindi scholars.

A remarkable work in the volume of the Sikh literature of this period is a prose narrative Prem Sumarg . It is difficult to fix its precise date. Even the name of its writer is not known. From internal evidence, however, this appears to be a kind of early sketch of Sikh polity of a period when the Sikhs had established their principalities or commonwealth over the Punjab, and free from Muslim persecution or fear of domination, could think of the principles on which their rule might be established. The principles articulated are humane, in the spirit of the Sikh religious teaching. The ruler is enjoined the duty to cherish his subjects' welfare, to provide employment to all, and to maintain justice. There are traces of conservatism, such as would belong to a society which emerged out of the Hindu masses. For its historical significance this work, though comprising less than 200 pages, is remarkable. Its language is a mixture of Hindi and Punjabi, the former predominating.

Bhai Mani Singfi, the compiler of Dasham Granth, is credited with two prose works on Sikh religious themes. One is Bhagat Ratnavali, containing brief biographical episodes about the devoted Sikhs who were contemporary with the first six Gu'rus of the Sikh faith. The other, Gian Ratnavali, is a commentary on Japaji. This last one gives very valuable insights into the meaning of this difficult sacred text.

Among the Sikh and Hindu poets and writers may be mentioned the names of Kirpaldas, Senapati, Sarupdas Bhalla, Kesar

Singh Chhibbar and Gulab Singh. A great poet, Nandlal, who had mastery over the Persian language, has left voluminous works of a devotional-philosophical character, which is a part of the Sikh religious canon. Nandlal is reported to have been an especial favourite of Guru Govind Singh and attended his court.

A number of Hukam-Namahs or Encyclicals of Guru Govind Singh, Mata Sundari, his widow and the hero Banda Bahadur were circulated to the Sikhs in the early part of the eighteenth century. These are brief, but contain valuable historical material. Their language is Punjabi with an admixture of Hindi, Recently these have been published and are a part of the background history of the Punjab.

Some short epics, called Vars in Punjabi, appeared during the period under discussion. Besides Chamdi-di-Var, already mentioned in connection with Dasham Granth, are Nadir-Shah-dLVar by Najabat, a Muslim, and Var Haqiqat Rai by Agra. Nadir-Shah-di Var narrates the story of the devastation and loot of northern India by Nadir Shah. Its narrative is forceful and dramatic and its language is bardic Punjabi. Agra's Var on Haqiqat Rai is the story of a Sikh youth of tender years martyred in 1734. It is deeply touching in tone and atmosphere. Haqiqat Rai is one of the heroes of the Punjabi people. A number of other Vars were composed on episodes from the life of Guru Govind Singh and from the Indian religious lore.

Gurdas Singh, a devoted follower of Guru Govind Singh, composed his Var on the Guru's eulogy, which is generally appended to the pre-existing Forty Vars of Bhai Gurdas who flourished earlier in the seventeenth century. This is a powerful paen of the glory of Guru Govind Singh and the Khalsa and the famous refrain runs through it— Wdh Wah Govind Singh ape Guru-Chela (Hail, Hail, Govind Singh! Master and Disciple). From internal evidence this too, like Prem Sumdrg points to its period of composition being sometime in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Sikhs had begun vigorously the process of overthrowing the Mughul power in the Punjab. In a couplet in the body of the Var itself the year of its composition is stated to be 1757 (Vikram Era) which would work out to 1700 of the Christian Era. But that is not likely.

Muslim Literature:

Allied to the Var is Qissa (tale, romance), a form based on the Persian masnavi, and touching generally themes from Muslim religious lore or romantic tales current among the Muslim people. Later, the themes of the Qissai came to embrace a wider field. In the eighteenth century the favourite theme of Qissa was the romance of Yusuf and Suleikha, based on the story of Joseph in the Quran , though highly embellished and romanticized by the Muslim poets. Two ill-starred Muslim lovers of Sind, Sassi and Punni, Came in for treatment, and their story has been the theme of Punjabi poets now for more than two centuries. Another famous romantic tale is that of Hir, the Jat belle whose love for the cowherd Ranjha is the national romance of the Punjabi people. While a number of versions of the story of Hir in various styles are extant, the earliest going back to Akbar’s time, the doyen of the Hir romancers is Waris Shah (c. 1730-90), to whom reference has been made in Vol. VII (p. 575).

A form of narrative and romantic poetry current in the age was Si-Harfi , a kind of acrostic built on the letters of the Arabic alphabet, each stanza beginning with one of these letters in succession, and thus over the whole narrative. To carry this kind of narrative through was regarded as a matter of great poetic skill.

A great deal of romantic and Sufi poetry was composed by the Muslim poets during this period. The Sufis wished to express the spiritual experience in universal terms, inclining however, to employ the Muslim vocabulary. Bullah is the greatest Sufi poet of the period, and like Waris Shah, has acquired the status of the spokesman of the Punjabi mind. Other Sufi poets are Muqbil, Fard Fakir, Hamid and Sayyid Ghulam Qadir. Muqbil also made his version of Hir, which popularly ranks second only to that of Waris Shah. Muslim poets as a whole may be distinguished by their use of the vocabulary drawn from the Perso-Arabic sources, though in their general orientation they are overwhelmingly Punjabi. The Punjabi language for them was till then their favoured medium of expression. Urdu, which became later the dominant language of education and administration, came only with the establishment of British rule over the Punjab. The Muslims have excelled in the romantic and lyrical fields of poetry besides the Qissa or tale. During this period their general sensibility was national and free from religious rancour and they expressed the general woes of the people in the period of the decline of the central authority at Delhi and the repeated invasions from Kabul and Iran, the loot and the anarchy. While the literature of this period is not generally great, it is historically valuable and contains a few masterpieces.

VII. MARATHI

Marathi literature during the period under review was varied in form and artistic in style. The age of spiritual poetry of the saints had already given place to that of the poetry of the Pandits. The authors of this period continued the earlier tradition, but they wrote with a greater sense of art. It was the age of Maratha supremacy in the political field which inspired many poets to compose patriotic poetry. The literature of this period may be classified under four sub-heads: (i) Scholastic poetry (traditional Pandit poetry), (ii) Ballad poetry (the Powd&ds and Ldvms), (iii) The Bakhars and historical letters in prose, ynd (iv) Miscellaneous.

Pandit or Scholastic poetry:

The traditional narrative poetry based on the Epics and Puranas, which began earlier, got a fresh impetus in this period. The scholar poets of this period tried to enrich the literature externally and intrinsically in various forms. Along with the old traditional narrative poetry, a new class of biographers and composers of verses known as padas to be sung at the time of kirtanas came into existence.

Kacheshwar Brahme (1731) belonging to the traditional narrative school wrote Gajehdra-moksha (95 slokas) and Sud&macharitra (103 slokas) in various metres. He also wrote Adi Bavachi (121 Ovi and Abhangas), an autobiography, and some padas. Shahii Chhatrapatl of Satara and BalajI Vishwanath, the Peshwd, were his disciples.

Bajaji alias Niranjan Madhav (1703-1790) was a near contemporary of Samraj, Nagesh and Vifhal. Being an ambassador of the Peshwds in distant territories such as Karnataka, he was noted for his political activities. Simultaneously he was engaged in writing stotras (hymns), biographies, works on travel and Vedantic compositions continuously for thirty-seven years. Krishndnanda Sindhu (1735) is known to be his first composition. It took twelve years to complete. He wrote Chittabodha-Rdmdyana) a commentary on the seven Kandds of Adhyatma-Rdmayana. Out of it, only the Bdlakanda is available. He also wrote Jnaneshwaravijaya (1765) in 1038 Ovi verses, a biography of Jnaneshwar based on the work of Namdev. His other work is Vrittamuktdvali (1761), a treatise on prosody. His Subhadrdchaihpu is the only champu in Marathi literature. His other works on prosody are Vritta-Vanamdla and Vrittavatansa, which were written at the age of seventy. His twenty-one

stotras written on various occasions are compiled in his Stotrakalpa. Of these, Ramakarnamrita of 111 slokas is the longest one. His Niro§htha Rdghavacharitra is a typical example of word jugglery.

Niranjan Madhav’s travel literature consists of his religious visits to various places in India such as Uttaramanas, Dakshinamanas, Sri Prayag and Kashi. He describes graphically in it how the socalled priests and government officials harass pilgrims for their selfish purposes. He refers to the jizya or poll-tax of the period. He also describes the other side of the picture, viz., the lovely banks of the Ganga and gaily dressed ladies trying to please the youths. He is also known to have written Bodhapradipika and Advaitdmrita, prose commentaries on Shankaracharya’s treatises. Though he appears to have borrowed many ideas from Sanskrit, he has maintained his individuality and appreciative sense, full of devotion.

A new class of writers composing pasdas appeared on the scene in this period. The Ndradiya Kxrtan tradition, though age-old, had taken a popular turn at this time on account of the padas sung in sweet tunes. They wrote short devotional poems to be sung with sweet melodies in Klrtana. The average man welcomed them as they appealed to his ear and mind.

Tryambak alias Madhvamuni (1731), belonging to the Madhva school of philosophy, occupies a prominent place in this respect. He is more known for his padas describing practical life than for his narrative poetry. His padas like Chxmandsa Rama and Uddhavd Shdntavana Karajd are as sweet as honey. After Tukaram, he came forward to popularise the Bhakti school by his appealing words. Amritrai alias Raiji (1698-1753), the disciple of Madhvamuni, surpassed his guru by his melodious padas. His poetry in

Kanaka metre known as Katav attracted the people by its harmonious and lucid words. His Santapadachl jod de re Han is very popular. He possesses an extraordinary skill in drawing pen-pictures. His poetry is enriched by an artistic mixture of Hindi and Sanskrit words. His alliterations are so powerful that the audience is carried away by the delightful magical sound in his poetry. It was Amritrai who was mainly responsible in making the Kirtana tradition popular by his padas. Even the Klrtanakdrs of today use freely his padas to create interest in their Klrtanas. The rich vocabulary and the skill in the. arrangement of words coupled with his wonderful memory are some of his special features.

The new tradition of the padas included Abhangds, Aratls , Stotrds, Ashfakds, BJvtipdlis, Prabhdtagitas (songs of dawn), DhavaUs

(invocations) and Paifrias (lullabies). They had some relation to the earlier tradition of Bhajant KXrtana in this respect.

Though writing of biographies began in the initial stages of Marathi literature, this century saw the rise of the biographers who established a regular biographical tradition in Marathi. NabhajI of Gwalior (1700) wrote Bhaktamdla, a book containing the biographies of saints in the local dialect. It is not a biographical work in the true sense of the term, as it mentions only the names of saints. His disciple Priyadas wrote Bhaktirasabodhini, a commentary on Bhaktamdla , and Martand Bawa wrote a Marathi commentary on Bhaktirasabodhini which is also known as Bhaktamdla . These commentators added their own material to the original and their commentaries naturally developed into the biographical form.

Daso Digambar’s Santavijaya (34 chapters) belongs to this school. It may be noted that these biographers never critically analysed their material consisting of anecdotes which they received traditionally.

Mahipati Tahrabadkar (1715-90) stands out as the foremost writer who devoted all his life in writing the biographies of saints.

The biography of Tukaram in his Bhaktavijaiya (1762) is his masterpiece. Although his work is marked by a historical sense, he does not seem to have made use of his material for discovering the * truth, naked, unblushing truth, the first virtue of more serious history', which as Gibbon points out, should be the sole recommendation of any good biography. Mahipati wrote other biographies, viz., Smtalilamrita. Apart from these, he composed Kathdsdrdmrita , Tulsimahdtmya, Ganesapurdrui, Dattdtreyacharitra, Rishipanchami, Anantachaturdashi , texts of religious or ritualistic nature. Aparddhanivedana Stotra and Pdnduranga Stotra are some of his other works in addition. Mahipati did a lot of pioneering work and furnished profuse data for the use of future biographers of saints. Thus by his writings he has added a new dimension to the art of biography in Marathi, though we may not agree with his viewpoint.

After Mahipati, Bhlmaswami of Ramdasi Math, Tanjore, and Rajaramprasadi, the noted biographer of Ramdasi School, carried on this tradition further. Rajaramprasadi, the author of Shribhakta manjarimdla, narrated the lives of nearly a hundred saints, not included in Mahipati's work. These biographers wrote like other narrative poets whose works were characterised by devotion.

Moropant (1729-94) was the most luminous star in the galaxy of narrative poets of this century. In the words of V. L. Bhave, "he was well versed in all the shastras. A man of keen intellect and high erudition, he was a versatile national purdnik (an exponent of puranas)." 13 He was the last poet of the narrative tradition before the advent of the British paramountcy and Indian renaissance.

Moropant's period oi writing may be conveniently divided into four parts as follows: First period (1752-61); Pant, as he is popularly called, started his composition of poems at the age of about twenty-two. Kushalavdkhydna is his first work. Besides, he wrote Brahmottarkhanda, Shri Krishna Vijaya (first part 1-49 adhydyas), Pralhadavijaya, Madalasacharitra, Harischandrdkhydna, Devimahdt mya , Saptashafi, Vinayakamahdtmya and Sdra-Rdmdyana.

Second period (1761-72): He wrote Sitdgitd , Sdvitrigitd and Rukminigita —all female songs in the beginning of this period. Later he wrote Shri Krishna Vijaya (50-79 adhydyas), Suddma charita, Bhasmdsurdkhyana, Bhrigucharitra and many slokas (hymns) in praise of holy rivers like the Krishna and also of deities, Shri Krishna Vijaya (latter part: 80-90 adhydyas

), Mantra Rdmayana, Aryamuktamdla, Samshayaratndvali, Arya Kekdvali, Ndmdryd , all in Aryd metres, and also some poetical chapters like Bhishmabhaktibhdgya, Avatar amJald, , etc.

Third period (1772-82) was the glorious period of the composition of Mahabhdrata. During this period he wrote Amritamanthana, Vdmanacharitra and Mantra Bhdgavata (10th chapter of Bhagavat Purana).

Fourth period: In this last period, Mantra Bhdgavata } Hari vamsha , Sankirna Rdmayana (about 108 chapters, but actually 90 available) were his voluminous works. Shloka-Kekdvali is the famous devotional poem of this period. As compared with his earlier writings, his later works are of a higher order from the literary point of view. His Mahabhdrata, the story of Pandavas, as he calls it, is rich in presentation and surpasses the works , of other writers on this subject. Its place is unique in the history of Marathi literature.

Moropant followed meticulously the method of expanding and abridging portions of the original Mahabhdrata, Rdmayana and Bhdgavata Purana into Marathi. He paid more attention to the story element in these works and skipped philosophical discussions and descriptions. These are not mere translations, as some scholars assert,

because he has maintained his individuality of conceiving absolutely original ideas which are often absent in such types of works.

Jyotipant Dada Mahabhagawat, the exponent of the Bhdgavata Purana, and Sohiroba Ambiye, author of Siddhdntasamhitd, Mcihadbhuvaneshwari, and also of padas, abhangas, were contemporaries of Moropant, who continued the tradition of philosophical poetry. Krishnadayarnava, author of Harivarada, Madhavaswami of the south, the exponent of Bhagavad Gitd, Anu Gita and Yogavdsishta and Shivaram, the exponent of Bhdgavata Purana of this century belong, to this school, while Gopala, Shubhananda and Anantatanaya, all composers of Mahdbhdrata, were the exponents of the school of longer narrative poetry of this period.

Bardic Poetry:

Side by side with Bhakti movement of the traditional narrative poets dedicated to 'spiritual democracy', the Shdhirs or the composers of historical ballads (Powddas) and lyrics of love (Lavnis) inspired the people with national spirit, as well as romantic love, the natural instinct in human life. The ballads are historical poems which sing of the valiant deeds of the Maratha heroes. This poetry taught people how to live and enjoy vigorously a practical life. The Powadas or ballads are much older than the Lavnis. They have their origin in the reign of Shivaji and his times. Out of the three hundred ballads available, seven belong to this period. About hundred and fifty Powddds were composed during the Peshwa period, particularly the latter part of it, and the remaining in the beginning of the British period. The Shdhirs, belonging to all castes, recited mostly the historical incidents of their times and entertained the people in the popular language. They sung to the accompaniment of the drum, the lyre and cymbals. "Apart from their (ballads) value as national poetry," says H. A. Acworth, "their phraseology is well worthy of study as an example of the flexibility, the force, the richness, and capacity of the vernacular language of the Maratha ryot". 14 Prof. S. R. Sharma writes, "This is a mode of poetic composition which is peculiar to Maharashtra, and its vogue has not died out even now...."

If the Powadd is masculine in its robust vigour, the Ldvni is feminine in its tone and tenor. 15 The great stalwarts of this Ldvni form were Anant Phandi (1744-1819), Parashuram, (1754-1844), Ram Jqshl (1758-1813), Prabhakar (1769-1843), Saganbhau (1778-1840) and HonajI Bala (1790). Anant Phandi is known for didactic

Kat&vs and Parashuram for his pictures of social life and varied subjects. Scholarship forms part of the poetry of Ram Joshi, while the 'outer' or descriptive element is very strong in Prabhakar. Saganbhau has a special love of saints and gods of Maharashtra. Honiajl started a new experiment in this field by his lucidity and musical tunes. These Shahtrs not only sang the heroic deeds of the Marathas, but also lamented the deaths of the heroes and the decline and fall of the Peshwas. These poets sang spontaneously on public platforms the songs which were mostly unwritten. Although some of the Lavnis are pornographic, a great majority of them are undoubtedly poetic. Honaji's Ghanashydm Sundard Shridhard (an invocation to Lord

Krishna at dawn) is a case in point. A few of these Ldyms are typically philosophical. The Shahirs continued their tradition even after the downfall of the Maratha State in 1818. This literature marked the decadence of Maratha power and society.

The Bakhars and Historical Letters:

While the Powd^ds (ballads) are in verse, the Bakhars —the chronicles of Maratha history—of this period are in prose. The term Bakhar is the metathetical form of the Arabic word Khcubar which means news or report. In Marathi this term is used in a limited sense, namely, political history or the history of the times. The writers of Bakhars wrote imitating the Tawarikhs of the Muslim potentates. 16 The Bakhars were written to order by court-writers for their masters. Like the Poroddas , the Bakhars had their tradition in Shivajfs times, though they had their origin even earlier. In the Peshwa period this form of literature developed as the Maratha kingdom expanded. Raj wade estimates the total number of the Bakha/rs at more than two-hundred. 17 Actually only half of them are extant and of these about seventy have so far been published. They can be classified as biographies, autobiographies, family histories, accounts of great events, news and reports and translations.

The oldest Bakhar , according to Raj wade, is Shdlivahandchi Bakhar. 18 There are about twelve Bakhars dealing with the life and achievements of Shivaji. A few Bakhars are contemporary, while a great many are of later period. Most of the Bakhars have been composed on the events of the Peshwd period. The battle of Panipat forms the theme of many of them. Bhdusdhebanchl Bakhar , a contemporary one, dealing with this theme is unique among all the Bakhars from the point of view of literary style, narrative skill and impassioned prose. Bhausahebanchi Kaifiyat and Raghunath Yadav’s Panipatchl Bakhar are also contemporary ones on the same subject.

The Kaifiyat is believed to be the original, while BhausahebancKi Balchar is an enlargement of it. 19 The other contemporary Bakhars on the same subject, viz., the autobiography of Nana Phadnis and Holkardnchi Thaili, throw new light on the history of the times. Peshwydnchi Bakhar by Krishnaji Vinayak Sohoni narrates the full history of the Peshwds beginning with BalajI Vishwanath up to Baji Rao II, the last of the Peshwds. Written in the last days of the Peshwds it is reliable only for events of the last Peshwa's regime. The Bakhars composed during this century are both rich in expression and subject. Like the bardic poetry, Bakhar- writing continued even after the downfall of the Marathas in 1818. Malhar Ramrao Chitnis has left to us the lives of the Satara Kings in the Bakhar form.

The beginnings of historical letters written by prominent personalities can be traced to the rise of the Marathas under Shivaji. This form of writing was however, fully developed during the 18th century. Some of the letters merit our attention for their literary value. To mention a few of them: Letters written by Brahmendra Swami Dhavadshikar, the Guru of Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Satara and Baji Rao, Chinujiajl Appa, BalajI BajI Rao and others. Even ladies like Tara Bai, the wife of Rajaram, Anahdl Bai and Ahalya Bai Holkar wrote letters which are not only informative but interesting too. The Peshwd Daftar in forty-five volumes edited by Sardesai practically covers the whole Peshwd period and deals with the important events of the times. Some of them e.g., No. 4, Reports about Anandi Bai and No. 19, Peshwd Madhav Rao's opposition to Raghunath R5o, reveal the personalities of their writers.

Ajnapatra, a treatise on polity was written in 1715 under the orders of Shambhuji of Kolhapur. It is ascribed to Ramchandra Pant Amatya, the statesman who saved the Maratha kingdom under Tara Bai's leadership. Divided in nine chapters, the document depicts Maratha administration in ShivajI's times. It discusses the duties of a ruler who desires to see his kingdom prosper. The Ajnapatra is an important document written in a powerful and masterly style. It is valuable both from the literary as well as the historical point of view.

The Bakhars and historical letters contain many Persian words which were current in court circles. Though foreign, they enriched the Marathi language with force and meaning. They fill in the lacunae of prose-writing during this period. Like bardic poetry, they clearly reflect the true picture of Maharashtra of those times.

Miscellaneous ;

During the last phase of the Peshwd period, Shahmuni (Shah Husain), a Muslim follower of Mahanubhava Sect, wrote Siddhdntabodha (1795) in ovi verse (50 adhydyas). He himself refers in his work that his personal name was Shah and Muni was his preceptor. He propounds the Advaila philosophy. He attempted to harmonize the philosophy of Mahanubhava with the Advaita philosophy. He refers to the various commentaries on the Gita, such as Digaui ban, Shfi Hari, Madhusudani, Bhdskari and Bhingdri and also Jnaneshwar's Bhavartha Dipika f Vaman's Sama Sloki and Yatharthadtpika and Sapta Shlokis of Nivritti, Sopana and Mukteswari of Mukta Bai. It is noteworthy that there are practically no Arabic and Persian words in his work. He maintains that Allah, Jesus and Vishnu are one and the same. Krishna Muni Panjabi alias Khyali Bahadur, another Mahanubhava writer composed his poems in various languages, particularly in Hindi. Mukundraj Karanjekar, a Mahanubhava poet, also belongs to this period. His sto'tras are wellknown. Besides Lilrnnritasihdhu including Rukmini Swayamvara of Pandit Damodar Dharashivkar of Vasmat, Padasangraha of Vaku Bidkar, Bharatarnava of Mahant Relkar are some other works of the Mahanubhavas of this period. In the opinion of Y. K, Deshpande, Kaivalya Sanjwam, a prose commentary on the Gita by Govind Muni Jamadkar may perhaps belong to this period. 20

Some Jain poets also contributed to Marathi literature at the end of the eighteenth century. Among them was Jina Sagara. 21 He is known as scholar poet. He wrote Jivandhdrdpurdna (1744) in 1530 ovis. The subject of this work is the story of JIvandhara, a contemporary of Mahavlr. He also composed Vratakathd (stories ol religious rites) and short religious stories and stotras in verse. His translation of Manatungacharya's famous Bhaktamarastotra is very delightful. ScCtiinahdtmya 9 a short poem by an anonymous author, belongs to the period of Raghuji Bhosle II of Nagpur (1772-1816). Mention must also be made of Mahati Sagar's Ravivdr Kathd (1801) and Adinath Panchakalydni (1810), Vishalldrti's Dharmaparikhd (1&07), and Ratnaklrti's Marathi translation (1812) of Shatkarmo padesha, a Sanskrit work by Sakalabhushana of sixteenth century.

The Virasaivas also played a great part in contributing to Marathi literature in this century. Among them was Brahmadas who wrote Jnandbdhitaranga (1708) in 3857 ovi 1 verses. This is the biography of Allamaprabhu, a great figure among the Virasaivas. Its style is lucid and narration attractive*.

The Ganeshopdsakas (the devotees of Lord Ganesh), too contributed greatly to Marathi literature by their works. For example, Niranjandas Ballal of Bid wrote Ganeshagitatika (6323 ovi verses) in 1729. Before that he composed Ganesha Purana (1726), a Marathi treatise based on the original one in Sanskrit. Yadumanik wrote Sanjivini (1725), a commentary on certain portions of Ganesha Purana and Ganesha Gita. Ganesh Yogindra (1703-1808), another noted writer of this School, composed Ganesha Vijaya (4522 ovi verses), Yogeshwari, a commentary on Ganesha Gita, Ganeshguhya Stotra (201 ovi verses), Mayureshacharita and &lokas, Abhangas and Aratis in praise of Lord Ganesh. Peshwa Nana Saheb, a devotee of Lord Ganesh, wrote Shri Ganeshakutukamrita which is rather incomplete.

Ajnasiddha of Nagesh sect composed Sankatharanl (a Stotra work of 137 ovi verses), Varadanagesha, a philosophical treatise, stotras, Aratis, ets. in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

D. K. Kelkar, a perceptive critic has aptly remarked: “The literature of the 18th century reflects the values of a static or stagnant society. The one refrain is to stoically accept one’s position in society and find salvation in it. There is no call in it for revolt against social or political injustice. Women are condemned as the source of all evil. The low castes are persuaded to accept their degraded status as arising out of the deeds of their past life. One firm impression which this literature leaves on the minds of readers is one of acquiescence in their wretched condition. There is no trumpet call in it to break centuries-old shackles and march forward to a new life.” 22

[See Appendix at the end of this chapter]. 23

VIII. TAMIL

The century following the death of emperor Aurangzib was a period of stagnation and wretchedness in India. The shifting political situation, the endless internal conflicts, the Anglo-French rivalries and their repercussions, all contributed to the general demoralisation. Even in the Tamil country, removed though it was from the scene of many of the conflicts, the epidemic of demoralisation was seen raging violently. The old vitality was gone, the age-long zest for life was no more, and the Tamils were but inexpertly fumbling with the arts of war and the arts of peace. Literature too. was in a bad way. In the mathas, reaction and obscurantism sat enthroned; and in the courts, the poetasters lisped the language of banality and futility, turning out verses with clock-work precision and lifelessness. It was a waste land in appearance, lacking pith, lacking colour, lacking life.

But this bleakness and seeming barrenness were (as events proved later) but the seed-time of a renaissance. It was during this century that the Christian missionaries sowed—though in their own ways and for their own purposes—some of the seeds of rebirth. They set up printing presses in India, learned the indigenous languages, issued vernacular editions of the Bible and generally drew the first uneasy outlines of a scientific study of the Indian languages and literatures. The Danish missionary, Zeigenbalg, wrote a Tamil grammar and put the Bible into Tamil in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The Italian Jesuit, Constantine Beschi, was a more dynamic figure and with his forceful personality and adventurousness he made many converts and won a place in the affections of the Tamil people. He began learning Tamil during his stay in the Tinnevelly district and mastered the language sufficiently to compose in the fullness of time a full-fledged epic in Tamil by name Tembavani. It is remarkable as a tour de force rather than as a supreme classic. But in its peculiar historical context, Tembavani acquires an importance that must not be belittled. Tembavani is a Christian purdna in thirty cantos, retailing Biblical episodes" and charged with a Christian atmosphere. Fr. Beschi's Aviveka Parana Guru Kathai is a children's classic. The Guru and his followers are variations of the Wise Men of Gotham, suitably clothed in the Tamil garb. Fr. Beschi's literary labours included the composition also of grammars and catechisms. Known popularly as Virama Munivar , Fr. Beschi lived a colourful and adventurous life and died in 1746 in the Tinnevelly district.

There were, besides, Muhammedan poets, who let into the world of Tamil a significant Islamic stream in thought and mysticism. Sakkarai Pulavar, one of the earliest of them, composed a Tamil poem on Medina and another, Muhammad Ibrahim, wrote a Muhaidegn Purdnam. A third Muhammedan poet, Masthan Saheb, was a consummate lyricist and devotional poet. In this manner, Christian and Islamic cross-fertilization of Tamil letters gave the much needed pith to the soil, promising a rich harvest in the tomorrows to come.

The one outstanding Tamil poet of the eighteenth century was the great Saiva mystic and bhakta, Thayumanavar. He was born of Vellala parents, and for a time he was in the service of the ruler of Trichinopoly. After living the life of a householder for a short time, he became an ascetic on the death of his wife and wandered

from place to place singing soul-stirring songs that were a unique blend of rapture, mysticism and philosophy. It has been rightly said that Thayumanavar taught the shdstras in terms of music. The fervour of his devotion may be seen in strains like the following:

Jewel! Precious Gold! saying so I danced,

Flood of Bliss! saying so I danced,

Cried seeking and desiring You,

Whimper-ed and screamed;

My whole being thrilled as I saluted,

Tears in torrents streamed down my cheeks,

And I was reduced to exhaustion.

Have I ever stood apart from You,

Haven’t I ever been your slave,

However unworthy I should be,

Wouldst Thou abandon me?

Thayumanavar’s was a welling love that embraced all mankind and he accordingly declared:

Beyond desiring a happy life for all,

I know no other thought, O Lord!

To see in another's mine own pain and pity it —

May Your grace teach me this wisdom, O Lord!

Thayumanavar’s apprehension of the indwelling God can be inferred from a moving asseveration like this:

1 cannot worship Thee, O Lord, in any material form;

I find Thee in the flowers,

and how then may I pluck the dew-filled gems?

Neither can I raise my hands before Thee in worship —

I feel ashamed because Thou art Within me all along.

The songs of Thayumanavar are grouped under Paraparakkanni, Painkilikkanni and Ennatkanni.

Two or three more eighteenth century writers deserve mention here. Arunachala Kavirayar was well versed in Tamil and Sanskrit and tried his hand at various literary forms. He is today remembered mainly on account of Ramandtakam, a dramatised version of the Rdmdyana . Rajappa Kavirayar composed two Saiva works, Kuttala Stha'lapuranam and Kuttala Kuravanchi. Vedamalayappan Pillai wrote the Maccha Purdnaih, largely based on the Sanskrit original.

Gurupada Dasar composed the Kumaresha Shataka'm consisting of a century of homely stanzas evoking vivid pictures and reiterating moral or worldly-wise maxims. It is very good verse, but only very rarely poetry.

In conclusion, reference may be made to what may be called a unique type of Indian literature. This is the diary in Tamil prose written by Ananda Ranga Pillai, a commercial agent to the French— a Dubhdshi (one who knows two languages) and adviser to Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry. Ananda Ranga Pillai kept a diary of events during the period 1736 to 1760. It contains not only a faithful record of events but gives evidence of the writer's "profound capacity for political judgment." It is justly regarded as the most valuable source of history for the period and has earned for the author the title "Pepys of Tamilnad". The manuscript of the diary, written by the author mostly in his own hand, is fortunately well preserved, and only a few pages have been recently published, But there is an English translation of the whole diary by H. Dodwell. None before Pillai, and only a few after him, have left a literary work of this kind in any Indian language. Ananda Ranga Pillai died on 12 January, 1761, only four days before the English captured Pondicherry.

Reference may also be made to another type of literary work in Tamil, semi-historical in character. A good illustration is furnished by the ballad in memory and honour of Tej Singh who was appointed Governor of Jinjee (c. 1700) by Zu'l-fiqar Khan and died thirteen years later while defending the fort besieged by the Nawab of Arcot. Tej Singh's wife committed suicide by becoming a Sa'ti. A modern writer has observed: "The Tej Singh-Rajan ballad is as famous in Tamilnad as that of Prlthviraj Chauhan is in Rajasthan. The ballads made the theme popular by dwelling on the romantic and heroic elements which have a historic basis but really partake of the character of folk songs. The poet's talents are best displayed, for example, not in recording the actual events but in describing the occasion of the hero bidding farewell to his wife on the eve of his departure to battle."

IX. TELUGU

Changing political and cultural environment of the 18th century had its impact on the growth of Telugu literature as elsewhere.

The rise of petty principalities and foreign pockets brought about a radical change in the character and quality of the literary works of the period. Hitherto, poetry used to be mostly the monopoly of the niyogi brahmins. Now, with the change, vaidikai brahmins and many non-brahmins began to compose shatakas, yakshaganas, prose works, ballads, dandakas (a type of encomium), treatises on grammar, prosody and other laws of poetic composition, lexicons and commentaries on classics, besides imitations of the great prabandhas of the past—all of which show that the creative geniu^ of the authors was at a low ebb. The dialects and slangs of various parts of the country and the foreign vocabulary found place in the compositions of the times. The religious unrest of the day and the society was reflected in literature more than before. As early as in 1712 the Christian missionaries introduced the printing press, and other foreigners, many things including the stuff and habits of coffee and tobacco. It was a period of transition in our society and literature where adherence to and pursuance of the tradition was being overpowered by an urge for a change, and a new order was already in the womb. A brief mention of some literary works would illustrate the truth of these remarks.

Ananda Rangaratchandam of Kasturi Rangakavi was the result of a fruitful research on prosody and occupies an important position among the works on the subject. His Sambanighantuvu is a lexicon of pure native Telugu.

Radhamddhava Samvadam of Velidinala Venkatapatl is a work of poetic genius with vivacious characters and dialogues and made an indelible mark amongst a host of sringdra kdvyas in Telugu.

Rlgvedi Venkatachalam made a free style translation of Bhoja’s Champil Ramayana into lucid Telugu keeping the emotional pulse of the theme as high as possible.

The Kuchimanchi family in the East Godavari District has long been celebrated for its scholars and poets. Timmakavi of this family who assumed the title of Kavisdrvabhauma was a prolific author who was patronised by the Pithapuram court. He was a pastmaster in pure Telugu compositions— Ramdyanamu and Neelasundariparinayamu. His Rasikajanamanobhiramamu is an erotic poem and a foster child of Vdsucharitra in its craft played with word and phrase. Glimpses of his contemporary society are discernible in his work called the Bharga Shataka and the Kukkuteshwara Shataka. The plight of a common peasant is interestingly portrayed in his own slang in the Bharga Shataka. In the latter shataka the poet denounces the character of misers, criticises the base and the vile, sympathises with the ill-fated agriculturists, preaches morals and principles of good conduct and devotes exclusively a few verses for the depiction of the evening of his own life. The personality of the poet can be seen in these verses and moving through them the reader is automatically affected by a touching experience. The Kukkuteshwara Shataka has inspired several other poets to compose similar verses of social significance. Timmakavi's Sakala Lakshana sara Sangrahamu is a scholarly treatise on the validity of poetic usage and its grammatical justification.

Kuchimanchi Jaggakavi is as much famous as notorious for his poem called Chandralekha Vildpamu. He first wrote Chandralekha Vildsamu, an amorous poem. When he did not get reward from his patron he changed it to Chandralekha Vildpamu (i.e., the hue and cry of Chandralekha) which debased the fine face of the erotic sentiment of the poem, yet reserved a secure place for it in the pornographic literature of the country. He was no doubt an able poet endowed with imagination and scholarship. His Bhaktamandara Shataka stands as a full compliment to his poetic pride.

Enugu Lakshmana Kavi's translation of the three shatakas of Bhartrihari, on account of his skilful rendering, besides being quite faithful to the original, has an original flavour of its own and became very popular.

Adidam Surakavi, son of Bala Bhaskar, was a famous poet of those times and was much feared by his antagonists for his biting tongue. Royal patronage was extended to him by Padavijayarama Raju (1741-57) but afterwards during the despotic rule of Seetarama Raju he left the Vijayanagaram court offering castigating criticism of the misrule in his Rdmalingesha ShaJtaka. His Kavijanaranjanamu competes with Vasucharitra in its pedantic setting. Kavi Samshaya Viccheda is a treatise on some special aspects of Telugu Giammar; Chandraloka is a translation of Appayya Dikshit's Kuvalaydnanda Kdrikas which are otherwise labelled as

Jayadeva’s Chandraloka; Andhranamaseshamu is a small dictionary of the pure Telugu vocabulary in verse form.

Gogulapati Kurmanath Kavi was undoubtedly a great poet of the century. His Mrityunjaya Vildsamu is in a class by itself in Yakshagdna literature. His Simhddri Narasimha Shataka is historical in its appeal. It gives us a vivid picture of the unhappy results of the Muslim inroads into our country and the destruction of tern

pies; the poet questions God in various ways about his partiality, silence and existence even.

The Shuka Saptati of Palavekari Kadiripati, assigned by literary historians to this century, is an interesting poem of erotic tales told in a lucid style, pleasing manner and sweet idiomatic Telugu. Mangalagiri Ananda Kavi was a Brahmin poet of the 18th century, who has given an effective portrait of Jesus Christ in his Vedanta rasa yanamu. His chief source was the Bible. He has another poem to his credit— Vijaytinandana-vilasamu , the story of Shashirekha’s marriage with Abhimanyu drawn from the Hindu mythology. His style and descriptions are captivating.

Gudipati Kodandapati was the author of a commentary on the Amuktamalyada, the magnum opus of Sri Krishna Deva Raya, the ruler of Vijayanagar (1509-1530 A.D.). He also rendered

Bhanudatta’s Rasamanjari into Telugu; his verses are memorable for constructional delight.

Telangana consists of nine districts in the present Andhra Pradesh, which was formerly in the Nizam’s dominion. There was a marked flourish in literature in that area during the 18th century—a number of small royal principalities like Surapuram, Gadwal, Palvancha, Domakonda, Jataprole, Vanaparti, etc. contributed to the growth of literature. Independent of any patronage, Lingamurty of Parashuram Panthulu family, originally belonging to a Maratha stock, composed a great work called Sitdrdmanjaneya Samvddamu wherein good poetry is coupled with lucid exposition of the advaita philosophy in all its aspects. It became since its appearance a handbook of every teacher and preacher of philosophy in the Telugu country.

The Maringati family of Nalgonda district is reputed for its generations of scholars. Venkata Narasimhacharya (1730 A.D.) was a great scholar poet and composed 13 poems in Telugu, out of which only Chiluvapadaga Rereni Katha (in pure Telugu) and Godavadhuti * parinayamu have been published. The scholarly family of the Tirumala Bukkapattanamu was associated with and held in esteem by the rulers of Surapuram. Kiriti Vehkatacharya, a distinguished scholar poet of this family composed 13 works. His Achalatmaja Parinayamu is in double entendre, wherein the marriage stories of Sita and Parvati are woven into one—a feat of scholarship and a kind of intellectual gymnastics.

Vi

The Telugu literary muse had its heyday in Tamil Nadu and also in Karnataka even from earlier times.

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

ShahjI Bhosle (1684-1712), the eldest son of Ekoji I, the founder of Maratha rule in Tanjore and the step-brother of ShivajI the Great, composed twenty plays in Telugu which display a blend of the form and spirit of the Yakshagana and the Veethi Nataka or the popular street-play. All his court poets, Darbha Giriraju and others composed such plays in numbers. Curiously enough, the erotic adventures of ShahjI happened to be the theme of many of those plays. TukojI (1728-36), brother and successor of ShahjI, wrote two plays in Telugu Shivakama Sundariparinayamu and Rdjarahjana Vidyd Vilasamu. The latter is a spiritual descendant of Krishna Misra’s Prabodha Chandrodaya and has adopted the technique of Sanskrit drama to some extent. He conferred the title of ‘Andhra Kalidas’ to Aluru Kuppana, the author of the Pdrthasdrathi Vijaya or the Bhagavata Yakshagana and the Achdrya Vijayamu. Ekoji II composed the Ramdyana in dvipada metre. Pratapa Simha extended his patronage to Muddupalani who composed the Rddhikd Satitvanamu, a poem which is replete with all the charm of the erotics and a sweet expression but lacks in decency and decorum.

Shri Narayana Tirtha, the author of the famous Sri Krishna Leeldtarangini in Sanskrit composed Parijatapaharanarh Yakshagana in Telugu. The great celebrity in the world of music, Tyagaraja, was just coming into limelight through his unique skill in the art of music and his compositions.

The Madurai court witnessed its golden age during the reign of Vijayaranga Chokkanath (1706-38). Its speciality lies in its crop of prose literature and erotic poetry. Vijayaranga has to his credit two beautiful pieces in prose—Shrirahga and Mdgh Mahdtmyam. His courtier Sanmukham Venkata Krishnappa rendered Pinaveerana's Jaimini Bharata of the late 15th century and Chemakura's Sarvangadhara Charitra of the early 17th century c., into prose in a grandiloquent style. Another court-poet called Kundurti Venkatachalapati rendered all the three great classics— Bhdrata } Bhagavata and Ramdyana into Telugu prose.

The Shashdnkavijayam of Sesham Venkatapati and the Ahalyd Sahkrandanam of Sanmukham are the two popular poetic adulations of adultery that the court of Vijayaranga offered to the lovers of sringara.

Telugu literature received some attention and patronage in Karnataka even before the 18th century at the hands of some Kempa Gowda princes and Chikadevaraya Wodeyar. His son and successor on the Mysore throne was Kanthirava Narasa Raju (1704

14) who was the author of eight works—more or less of the Yak shagdna type, and scores of sringara padas.

Gunuguturi Venkata Krishnayya of Kolar composed his NalaRdghava Yadava Pandaveeyamu, every verse of which has a four-fold meaning to suit the four stories running concurrently.

Koti Raya Raghunath Tondaiman's poem called ParvaUpari nayam is the product of a creative genius of a high order, rich in scholarship, descriptions and chaimatkars and crafty in poetic diction. Nudurupati Vengana, his court poet, compiled a masterly lexicon on indigenous Telugu in veitee form called Andhra Bhashdrnavam.

To conclude, there was indeed a rich crop of literary works but not of the highest quality. Some of them are translations from Sanskrit and some are imitations of Telugu classics. Kavbdjamano ranjanam, Rasikajanamamohhirdmam and Kavijanaranjancmh are some of the heirs and adopted children of Vasucharitra. Most of the translations of the period are, of course, quite faithful to their Sanskrit originals, but they are neither sound in their method of translation, nor do they exhibit the natural potentialities of the poet as in the case of the translations of the previous generations, for instance of the Kavitraya or Sreenatha or Potana. Enugu Lakshmana Kavi’s translations from Bhartrihari and the like are only a few exceptions. Likewise there are a few poems beaming with an original touch of their own, which are products of a rich imagination and results of a real craftsmanship, e.g., Rddhdmadhava Samvadamu, Shashdnka Vijayam, Ahalyd Sankraiidcmam. The literature of the period was mostly influenced by the padas of Kshetrayya of the previous century in structure and spirit. A few Yakshaganas of the period like Tyagavvnoda Chitra Prabandha, Rdjamohana Koravanji, Rajaranjana Vidyavilasamu, Mrityunjaya Vilasamu and a few shaitakas like the Kukkuteshwara, the Simhadri Narashmha and the Ramalingeshwara shatakas show an individuality of their own. The prose literature is no doubt a pride of this period to the extent that the ages bygone did not see so much of output as this, but it lacks novelty in theme or language or style.

A variety of themes is also seen in the literature of the time. Classical themes from the Rdmayana, the Bharata and the Bhdgava'ta were very much respected, but contemporaneous and foreign themes were also accepted. The erotic muse played her part with no little eclat, but the philosophical, didactic and devotional elements also had their sway. The Sitdrdmdnjaneya Samvadamu can be counted as one of the few best literary productions of the period.

The general trend of the literature of the period shows slackness in the traditional texture, decency and soundness and a considerable craze for experiment which pursues its prospect in modernity.

X. KANNADA

Karnataka in this period passed through political revolutions which broke up even the nominal unity given to it by the Vijayanagar empire. The northern parts were divided between the Marathas and the Nizam while in the south Mysore and Keladi chiefs disputed the sovereignty. The chiefs of Keladi-Ikkeri were followers of Vlrasaivism while the Wodeyars of Mysore, though occasionally patronising the authors of other faiths, mainly encouraged Brahminical authors. Hence we find that Brahmin authors who had until then left the field of vernacular literature mostly to the Jains and Virasaivas turned out works in greater numbers than the Jains and Virasaivas put together. The local chieftains or Poligars were mostly interested in local histories and legends. With the disappearance of the Keladi chieftainship at the hands of Haidar, Virasaiva as well as Brahmin authors were deprived of patronage. Haidar and Tipu usurped the throne of Mysore, and Kannada literature in the south showed a decline down to the beginnings of the nineteenth century.

The Jain authors of the period were mostly concerned with the vindication and glorification of their faith. The story of PadmSvati was told in yakshagdna and sangatya by Rama and Surala. Payanna (1748) wrote Ahiihsd Charite and the Jain Ramdyana story was dealt with in the Jina Ramdyana of Chandrasagara Varni (1810) and Padmanabha. Ananta wrote a history of Gommata. Brahmananka wrote the Jina Bharata and Chandrasagara, Parasurdma Bharata. Padmaraja and his younger brother Devachandra (1770-1841) were the only two Jain authors of some eminence. Padmaraja wrote a story of Pujyapada in the sangatya metre. Devachahdra was associated with Colonel Mackenzie and collected many local legends in his Rdjdvali Kathe which professes to give a history of many local dynasties and castes. His Rama kathdvatdra deals with the Ramdyana story. He appears to have been a precocious and prolific author of shatakas, yakshagdnas, commentaries and philosophical works. Chandrasagara Varni wrote some small semi-historical works like Kadamba Purdna and Bijjala Raya Purdna. His Mulla-shastra professes to derive Islam from the teachings of an apostle from Jainism.

Among the Vlrasaiva authors Ka<Ja Siddha, Yogananda, Nirahjanarya, Nijalingaradhya and Shivayogishvar have written shatakas. Vlrasaiva ritual is described in the works of Nirvana Mantri, Virakta Shadakshara and

Mahumurti. Ni^chihtatma and Virupanayya have dealt with the story of Virabhadra. Among the Pur anas the Kanchi Purdim of Niranjanamurti and Halasya Purdna of Murige Swami may be mentioned. The Yakshagdna form has been employed in Nandinath's Valli-Kanthabharana, Kapotavakya of Nanjayya, the Stories of Karibanta and Sdrangadhara by Sambayya, Girijakalyana of Ganga, Saundarakavya of Nuronda.

The Brahmin authors who dealt with the Bharata story are Lakshmakavi (1723) and Paramadeva of Ttirahga Bharata (1777). Lakshmakavi wrote in the vdrdhika~sajtpadi metre and mainly concentrated on the relationship between Krishna and Arjuna. He is also the author of Rukmangada Charitre. The Rdmayana versions are found in the Ananda Rdmayana of Timmamatya, Hanumadrdmdyana of Subramanya, Mula Balaramayana of Haridas, Rdmayana of Varada Vithal and Venkamatya (a minister of Haidar Ali). Among the Purdnas Depa's Devdnga Purdna and Markandeya Purdna of Bele Raya are of note. Sthaila Purdnas or Malndtmyas were written by Vaidyeshvarabhakta (Setu) f Venkatesha (Hdldsya), Rangayya (Kaveri) f Singaracharya (ShrU ranga), Kalale NanjarSja and others. Bobbur Ranga in his Ambika Vi jay a and Parashurdma Rdmayana shows a little originality. Pattabhirama, a Brahmin author, wrote for the sake of a Jain friend Ratnashekhara Charite in strict accordance with the tenets of Jain religion. The Sdngatya, Yakshagdna and Chaupadi forms have been employed by several authors for the stories of Padmini (Chennayya), Chandrahasa and Sitd Kalyana (Giriyamma), MalUkarjuna (Kashi Ram), Sibi (Chenna) and Nala (Kempayya). Depa has narrated the story of the Battisa Putthali.

The women authors of note were Helavanakatte Giriyamma and Cheluvamba. Cheluvamba was the queen of Dodda Krishna Raja (1717-1731). Her Varanandi Kalydna deals with the legend of Bibi Nachiyar. She has also composed songs and commentaries. Helavanakatte Giriyamma was a lady of great sanctity, and spiritual attainment. She has composed many songs instinct with devotion and narrated the stories of Chandrahasa and TJdddlika in the sdngatya metre.

The Haridas movement is represented by Vijaya Das (1725) and his disciples. Vijaya Das's songs have the ankita Vijaya

Vithala. His four pupils Gopal Das, Venugopal Das, Mohan Das and Hayavadana Das were men of great devotion. Varaha Timmappa and Vithal Das (c. 1759) have also composed numerous songs. Gopal Das's disciple Jagannath Das, besides songs dedicated to Jagannath Vithal, has written Harikathdmrta sdra. Guru Gopal Das and Varada Gopal Das were also pupils of Gopal Das. Vyas Vithal Das was a disciple of Venugopal Das. Venkata Das and Mana Madure Das lived at the end of the eighteenth century. Shrida Vithal Das and Shripati Das were also pupils of Jagannath Das. The songs composed by these are very numerous and there are also compositions of many unknown authors with many ankitas.

The history of Mysore was written by Nagarada Puttayya and Shanubhoga Venkataramanayya, whereas the Keladi Nripa Vijaya of Linganna gives the history of the chiefs of Keladi. Madakeri Rajendra Dandaka is the eulogy of a chief of Chitradurga. The Vaidya Kanda of Brahma and Vaidya Samhitasararnava of Kalale Vira Raja are works on medicine.

Kalale Vira Raja's sons, Deva Raj and Nahjaraj were the allpowerful Dalavais and king-makers in the middle of the eighteenth century. Nahjaraj was a great scholar as well as a general and a patron of Sanskrit, Telugu and Kannada authors. The Nanjardjayashobhusana (containing a drama Chahdrakala parinaya) by Nrsimha is written in praise of him. Karachuri Nahjaraj, as he is also styled, discovered the genius of Haidar at the siege of Devanahalli and was responsible for the rise of Haidar who ultimately proved as ungrateful to his master and patron as to the nominal Maharaja. The political and martial exploits of Karachuri Nahjaraj, who was the de facto ruler of Mysore, extended to the whole of the south as described by Peixoto. Nahjaraj wrote in Sanskrit Sahgita Gangddhara and other works. In Kannada about twenty works have been attributed to him. Of these, seven describe the sanctity of holy places like Sivaganga, Bhadragiri, Setu, Halasya Kshetra, Nanjangud, and Kashi. From the Skanda, Padma , Bhavishyottara Puranas he has selected and translated Shiva Gita, Shiva Dharmottara and other portions describing the greatness of the Saiva faith. He has also rendered the Bharata, Harivamsa and Mdrkdndeya Puranas into Kannada prose. Under his patronage Nuronda wrote Saundara Kdvya and Venkatesha Halasya Mahatmya. Katti Gopalaraja, related to Immadi Krishnaraja of Mysore (1734-66), also wrote a Sthala Purana. Shalayada

Krishnaraja (1748-74), who resided at Mysore, was also a prolific author. He wrote several Shatakas and philosophical works like Vivekdbharanu and Anubhava Rasayana.

His Satpratyaya deals with metres. Other compositions are in the form of songs and Yakshagdnas.

Haidar's minister Vehkamatya (c. 1770) wrote in Sanskrit Alaiinkdramanidarpana, Sudhdlahari, Kdmavildsa Bhana, Mahendraka Dima, Kharadarpaghdtana —a vydyoga, a kdvya — Hanumajjaya f a prahasana—Kukshvmbhari Bhaikshava and in Kannada a Rdmayana in vardhikashatpadi, a champu Ramabhyudaya y and Hanumadvilasa . Jakkamatya (1750) wrote a commentary on the Saundarya Lahari . Chidananda is the author of Juana Sindhu, Devi Mahdtmya, Tattva Chintdmani and Panchikarana . In the same advaita tradition

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Shivaram composed Siva Bhaktisara in the Bhdminisatpadi metre.

XI. MALAYALAM

By the dawn of the 18th century Malayalam literature was in its full bloom, thanks to the rich contribution of Ezhuthachan, who is looked upon as the father of modern Malayalam. His translation of Adhydtma Ramayanam and Bhdratam brought a revolution in Malayalam language in so far as it underwent a thorough change in its vocabulary and style, freeing itself from the bondage of the archaic forms almost akin to Tamil, and establishing itself as an independent language, with a bias for Sanskrit. It was the works of Ezhuthachan that standardised the language of Kerala. Modern Malayalam has not changed in its style and idiom from those of Ezhuthachan's.

The major literary output of the century was in the form of an indigenous play composed for the art of kathakali, the dance drama of Kerala. The kathakali plays are known as dttakkatha, literarily the story for dance drama. It seems the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva gave a model to this type of literary composition. The verses or slokas in Sanskrit metre narrate the story and the dialogue is composed in imitation of songs in Gitagovinda, set to music in appropriate ragas of classical Karnatak style.

The Raja of Kottarakkara, a principality in south Kerala, was the first exponent of dttakkatha literature. He composed eight plays based on the story of Rdmayana and they were known as RamaTvdttam plays. Literary status to this type of plays was given by another royal poet, the Raja of Kottayam, belonging to north Kerala. His works are based on the stories in Mahabhdrata. Unnayi Varyar, who composed the story of Nala (N ala char it am) in four parts, is considered to be the greatest among the Kathakali poets. Critics of the day maintain that Nalacharitam dttakkatha is an original work

of great dramatic excellence. No other poet in Malayalam could rise to his level in retelling a purdnic story with as much originality as any poet could claim, not only in the presentation of the theme dramatically but also in the portrayal of the different characters in the play so realistically. Even the minor characters in the play leave an indelible impression on the minds of the readers. The songs or padas from Nalacharitam are so popular among the women of Kerala that they are adapted to a folk dance of women known as kaikottikkali.

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Unnayi Varyar had many followers in the field. Nearly hundred plays were composed during the century by poets belonging to all categories and standards. Irayimman Tampi, Maharaja Karttika Tirunal, Ashvati Tirunal Raja and Kilimanur Koil Tampuran are but a few among them whose plays gained popularity through the medium of the dance drama, Kathakdli.

, Devotional literature in Malayalam found its heyday during the early phase of this period. Ezhuthachan was indeed the pioneer in this field and many works in imitation of his Ramdyana and Mahd bharata were composed, giving emphasis to the Bhakti cult, by the ardent followers of its first exponent. Jvdnappdna by Puntanam Nambudiri, a contemporary of Narayana Bhattatiri, the author of Nardyaruyam, is a unique work in the branch of philosophic poetry. Written in simple and unostentatious language Jnanappdna , the song of real knowledge, is a sincere approach to the advaita philosophy by the author who uses no unintelligible technical expressions to drive home in an inimitable simple style his vision of life to the readers, both literate and illiterate.

It was during this period that the evangelists and missionaries from the West made their contributions to Malayalam by compiling dictionaries in the language, translating the Bible into simple prose and Writing original works in prose and verse on Biblical themes. The modern prose owes much to the innovations of these Western missionaries. They were more conversant with the speech of the illiterate mass of the country and thus picked up genuine popular usage from their mouth to be employed in literary writing. It niay be said that thanks to these foreigners, more or less, a revolution in prose writing was effected, freeing it completely from the bondage of pedantic Sanskrit style. In short, Malayalam prose found its own genius in their writings only, which remain even today a model to the modern prose writers.

Books on astronomy, astrology, mathematics and medicine were written during this period by scholars in Sanskrit. They are either in the form of commentaries on the original Sanskrit works or in imitation of them in the local language. These writings, for obvious reasons, have a bias for Sanskrit style and these two different strata of prose writings, one in popular style and the other in scholastic and pedantic language, came into vogue. It took nearly two centuries to evolve a happy blending of these two styles and to bring Malayalam prose to its present form, rich in vocabulary with Sanskrit language but at the same time flexible, pliable and effective with popular parlance.

Kunjan Nambiar, the people’s poet of Kerala, lived in this century. He brought about a revolution in the cultural and religious outlook of the people by bringing art and literature from its high and pedantic sphere down to the popular standard. The art and literature, especially the histrionic arts, and religious, philosophic and Puranic writings, were the monopoly of the caste Hindus, actively connected with temples and other religious institutions. The Nambudiri Brahmins, princes and the intermediary communities alone were directly connected with the temple arts like kuttu, kutiyattam and kathakali which were strictly and exclusively presented in the temple precincts. These temple arts served as effective media for the propagation of Sanskrit literature and Hindu religion through Puranic stories. Among caste Hindus the non-Brahmin communities, viz., the Nayars, who formed the majority'of the population and who were subdivided into many clans, were not directly involved in the abovementioned cultural and religious activities. They had the privilege of witnessing the above from a respectable distance. Only the nobility among them were influenced beneficially; the rest whose main vocation was either military service or hunting, remained somewhat aloof in so far as the cultural enlightenment was concerned. The lower Hindus and the others like Christians and Muslims were completely cut off from this higher strata of society. Casteism, untouchability, slavery and many other social evils were rampant throughout.

Kunjan Nambiar who belonged to the intermediary community of temple servants expounded a new solo dance art known as tullal for which he himself wrote more than fifty works, all in simple, but elegant verse. Kunjan, in fact, is the first people’s poet. Of course, he chose Puranic themes for his dance recitals, but he retold the stories in a different manner. He narrated the stories in the social background of his times, converting all Puranic characters into ordinary human beings, the exact type of which he picked up from among the people around him. Thus Arjuna, Duryodhana, Kaihsa and Ravana were the prototypes of the kings who ruled different principalities during his times. They talked and behaved like ordinary men. At the same time the poet was keen about preserving the spirit of the Puranic stories he handled. The people, especially the illiterate mass who heard him, felt that they were listening to their own stories. The Puranic themes, thus retold, attained the status of being a realistic representation of the lives of the people. This, indeed, was a new innovation in those days as the people were made to feel by the poet that art and literature have predominantly a social function to perform.

The dominant note of his works was humour and satire. Kunjan Namblar’s poetical works thus attracted the masses more than the writings of any of his predecessors. They enlightened and educated the people. They created a social awareness among them. And no wonder 4 , even today Kunjan Nambiar is looked upon as the greatest of the popular poets, the best humorist and satirist, and more than that, a poet of progressive outlook.

Ramapurattu Varyar, a contemporary of Kunjan Nambiar who wrote only one original poetic f work, namely, Kuchelavrittam, the story of Kuchela (Sudama), is considered to be the morning star of the modern Malayalam lyrics.

The importance of Kuchelavrittam cannot be exaggerated as it is the first work in Malayalam which embodies the personal emotions and feelings of the writer. The longer poems of lyrical nature written two centuries later by the modern poets, especially Ullur Parameshvara Ayyar, Vajlathol Narayana Menon and Kumaran Asan, the great trio of the century { found their model in Kuchelavrittam .

Many missionary workers from abroad settled down in Kerala, and their contribution to the language and literature is praiseworthy. Several works on grammar were written by them, and indeed they are the pioneer works in the field, although treatises on grammar were there in the language in the traditional style. A travelogue, the first of its kind in the language, was written by a native missionary, Governor Parammekkavil Toma Kattanar, who accompanied his Bishop Kariyattil Joseph to Rome towards the end of the century.

The period under review is characterised by a few distinctive features. The best of the classical poets Unnayi Varyar, Kunjan Nambiar and Ramapurattu Varyar flourished in the first half of the

century. The literary output of the period maintained a high quality. The prose writing made its appearance during this period, inaugurating a new branch in literature. The close of the century witnessed a decline in the quality of literary productions.

XII. URDU

The Urdu poets of Delhi, writing under the influence of Wali (1667-1707) were partial to lham, which was, at that time, practised not only in Persian but in Hindi also, especially in Dohas. Yet their poetry was not without genuine emotions and charm. The language, however, continued to be in a fluid state. The rules of grammar and spelling were not cared for; Urdu poets also did not bother about Radif and Qaftyas as the Arabic and Persian poets did. They, in fact, paid more attention to the sounds of words than to their relative spellings. Abd-us-Salam Nadvi condemns these 'defects' of their poetry, but Muhammad Husain-Azad had rightly defended them on an earlier occasion for these poets had written in the language and idiom of the day. However, a few of them may be noted here.

Najmud-din Sliah Mubarak Abru (1692-1747) is one of the earliest poets who wrote under the influence of Wali, whom he pays due homage by calling him as his teacher.

Sharf-ud-din Mazmun (1689-1745) was a soldier-turned-dervish and a poet. His style is very much artificial.

Sayyid Muhammad Shakir Naji (d. 1754) died young. He, a promising poet, is accredited with a Mukhammas, wherein he had criticised the king and his courtiers for their cowardice and effeminacy shown at the time of Nadir Shah's invasion and destruction of Delhi in 1739.

Ashraf 'Ali Fughan (d. 1772) kept himself away from lham. His style is smooth and direct. His poetry has an element of pathos in it. Shah Hatim (1699-1787), a leading poet of the time of Muhammad Shah, wrote under the influence of Wali and was closely connected with the lhami poetry. But he, nevertheless, joined the reformers of his time and made a selection of his poetry and called it "Diwan Zadeh" (1757). Along with others, Hatim brought about many learned and academic changes in the Urdu language and poetry. They believed in and insisted on using the loan-words from Arabic and Persian in the original* sense and with the original spellings. This meant subservience to Arabic and Persian and, yet, it

became the fashion and practice of the then and future writers and poets of Urdu to follow their dictates. But it had its own reaction which got manifest in the prose-works Rani Ketki ki Kahani and Darya-e-Latafat of Insha.

Mirza Muhammad Rafi Sauda (1713-1780) decided on the advice of Khan-e-Arzu, to go over from Persian to Urdu. This decision had a far-reaching effect on his own poetic career and the development of Urdu poetry. In fact, Sauda did more than any other single writer of the day in raising Urdu to the status of a literary language for, unlike his predecessors, who were mostly ghazal-writers , he wrote, besides ghazals, qasida, satire, masnavi, wasokht and other lesser forms in Persian. Sauda seems to be well conversant with all the moods and human feelings at all levels of life, and he has, at his command, an ample vocabulary to express them with ease and vigour without showing any sign of exhaustion, strain or repetition at any time. He is the pioneer of Tamsilia Shairi in Urdu. He is rightly considered as the greatest qasida and satire writer of Urdu. In his social satires, he castigates the political, social and moral vices and defects of his age. Some of his personal satires are unpardonably vulgar.

Mir Muhammad Taqi Mir (1722-1810) is called Khuda-e-Sukhan (the Lord of Speech). It is a homage that people pay him for his great service rendered in the cause and uplift of Urdu poetry. He was a man of great merit and talents, which were duly reflected in the art and realism of his poetry. He wrote what he actually felt in his heart and mind pertaining to his personal life or the environment he lived in. As such his poetry, especially his ghazals, is a graphic document of his own moods, sentiments and feelings and the happenings of his age. His non-Ishqia masnavis are a fine example of objective poetry. They give the impression of being exact and truthful. His emotional experiences are that of a sad, gloomy and pathetic nature. He is ever quiet and subdued. We rarely come across a happy and joyful expression in his poetry; yet, it is moving and powerful and has a direct appeal to his readers. He has hundreds and not just seventy-two couplets of lasting beauty, nevertheless, his readers agree with Shefta that “his (Mir’s) high is very high and his low is very low”. His style is simple and direct. His best media of expression are his ghazals, especially those written in shorter metres.

Khwaja Mir Dard (1719-1785) is known for his learning and scholarship on the one hand and for his piety and high values of life on the other. He had mysticism in his blood. His religious studies

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were very deep. He lived a life of contentment and had a sterling

character. He was well-versed in music and was duly acknowledged as a Guru. He is accredited with a number of Khayals, Thumris and Dhrupads. His services to the Urdu language and ppetry are great. The mushairas held at his place were well-known for their literary contribution. Delhi poets like Sauda, Mir and Soz participated therein and, later, they discussed the ways and means of improving the Urdu language and enriching the Urdu poetry.

Dard’s poetry embodies authentic ideas of Sufism. In his nonsufistic poetry, he is keen and sincere and expresses his ideas in a simple and direct style. Like Mir, he too excels in ghazals written in shorter metres.

Dard’s younger brother, Mir Asar, will ever be remembered for his beautiful masnavi called Khwab-o-khayail which depicts the earthly as well as the spiritual love of the poet with utmost intensity of his feelings. It is a lyrical and subjective masnavi without a story.

Mir Ghulam Hasan (1727-1786) is known as a great masnavi writer on the strength of his Sihr-ul~Bayan. It is the best metrical romance in Urdu. Mir Hasan’s skill and excellence lie in his direct and simple style, vivid description, appropriateness of expression apt to the compositions of the occasions. But his characterisation of aristocratic ladies is uncharitable. Sihr-ul-Bayan reveals his knowledge of humanity, nature and life, especially in their externals. Astonishingly enough, he maintains the same good level in his masnavi throughout. He, as yet, is unsurpassed in the domain of masnam-writing.

Now, we come to a very notable poet called Wali Muhammad Nazeer (1740-1830). He was a school-master and wandered from place to place seeing and tasting life at all levels. He never cared for the dictates of etiquettes or the accepted norms of poetry with regard to thought, subject, form, diction and expression. He wrote of what he saw and felt in life and that too in a way which satisfied his own sense of language and poetry. He wrote of the masses and for the masses, who liked his poetry, for it touched their heart and mind. He is ever fresh in singing of the life and culture of the land and its people, no matter to what caste, creed and religion they belong to. His language and expression is bold and original. In matters of descriptive poetry, he equals Mir Anis of Lucknow.

The prominent poets of the period who gave a distinguishing shape to the language and poetry of Lucknow are described here.

Shaikh Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi (1750-1824) migrated from Delhi to Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh. He was influenced by the trends of life and poetry of Lucknow, but, truly speaking, they did not go well with his temperament. Nevertheless, he serves as a bridge between the old and the new. He has something of Mir, Sauda, Insha and Jur'at, but he lacks the respective distinguishing features of these poets. He, as such, does not have any characteristic of his own.

Sayyid Insha Allah Khan Insha (1756/58-1817) had a knack of learning languages. He knew Persian, Arabic, Turkish and many native languages. He was well conversant with the scientific principles connected with the nature of a language. At the same time he had mastered the art of poetry and was a noteworthy poet too. He was conscious of his attainments in the various fields. Now, with his wit and brilliance added to it, Insha became sarcastic and pugnacious in his remarks. Over and above this, he always tried to assert himself. This led to many quarrels at Delhi and Lucknow.

Insha may not, in future, be remembered much for his poetry, but he would ever be honoured in the domain of Urdu prose on account of his Rani Ketki ki Kahani and Da\rya-e-Latafat. In Rani Ketki ki Kahani Insha has net used Arabic and Persian words, yet, it does not sound artificial. His style is direct and forthright. It seems to have been written as a revolt against the dominance of Arabic and Persian languages. It gives an air of independence to the 'local* language. The same trend is evident in his Darya^eLatafat , a work on linguistics setting principles which are valid even today. These books amply prove that Urdu has a genius of its own and that it should not be tied down to Arabic or Persian, etc.

Shaikh Qalandar Bakhsh Jur'at, a close friend of Insha, got attached to Mirza Sulaiman Shukoh. His poetry is a true picture of life at Lucknow where he was brought up. His poetry, however, written before his early blindness, is distinguishable from the one written after it. The earlier poetry is gay, witty and joyful, whereas the latter one, has an under-current of seriousness and pathos. His blindness deprived him of what life had given him or could have given him. Religion or intellectual pursuits could not help him in his misfortunes. It was bis devotion to music which sustained him in his hard, difficult and unfortunate life.

Imam Bakhsh Nasikh (d, 1838) had acquired a taste and refinement of language which is amply borne out by his poetry. But his poetry like his ethics has no depth. Although he believed in the greatness of Mir's poetry, he ardently followed Sauda, and, yet he has not given us an admixture of both. It is rarely that we come across a personal note in his poetry. Hence, not so as a poet, Nasikh would certainly be ever remembered for his stupendous service rendered to the Urdu language. He not only carried forward the work of early scholars of improving and developing the Urdu language with greater vigour and vehemence, but he also became almost the first person to codify and formulate definite rules regarding the usage, diction and grammar of Urdu. He also fixed the genders and formulated idioms to be used in Lucknow. Along with him and his disciples, others too followed his dictates. This made the language of Lucknow independent of the one at Delhi.

Khwaja Haidar 'Ali Atish (1778-1846) merits a greater notice as a poet. He was independent and care-free by nature and lived a life of contentment being satisfied with what he got from Nawab Muhammad Taqi, his patron. This has given vigour and power to his expression and language. His poetry was very popular on account of his craftsmanship, smoothness in versification and refinement of his language.

Something need be said about Rekhti with regard to Urdu poetry produced in Lucknow. Rekhti is the feminine form of Rekhta 9 Urdu poetry in general, for it is written in the language of the women-folk which is different from that of the men. Hashimi of Bijapur is said to be the first poet to write Rekhti , but it had no complete form as such. Hence, because of the completeness and the varied feelings of a woman in love with a man that it depicts, the credit of its intention is given to Sa'adat yar Khan Rangin (17561834), who is said to have got the idea from Insha. Rangin was mostly in the company of courtesans and dancing girls and his poetry reflects his amours with them.

In Rekhti, woman narrates the love on her side. It was new and unique compared to the general love poetry in Urdu, and as such, it was a return to the Hindi tradition wherein a woman describes her feelings of love for her man. But Rekhti seldom rises to this level. The language of Rekhti is not treated as a literary one, yet it has its own importance, for, it distinctly tells us of the language used by women at large. Rekhti became popular as it satisfied the taste of the degenerated nobility of the time.

The period under review is mostly important for its poetry. But it attains significance with regard to prose because of InSha's two monumental works, Rani Ketki ki Kahani and Darya-e-Latafat,

mentioned earlier. They were preceded by Deh Majlis (1714) of Fazli and Naw Tarz-e-Murassa of Ata Husain Tahseem (1798). Both are highly Persianised and written in a rhythmic and affected style. A little different from them is Gulshan-e-Hind of Mirza 'All Lutf. In comparison with the language used in Urdu poetry the language of these prose-books sounds most unrefined and under-developed. Perhaps writing prose was not in vogue at that time. Persian was used practically for all prose expressions. Moreover poetry was very popular and it was used while writing letters also. Prose, therefore, had no chance to improve and develop.

Hence the credit for direct, simple and, yet interesting Urdu prose goes, in general, to the writers connected with the Fort William College of Calcutta, which was founded to teach the native languages to the British employees of the East India Company. In this regard, Mir Amman deserves a special mention for his Bagh-o-Bahar, which is written in almost the spoken language of the day. Other writers of significance are Sher 'Ali Afsos, Haidar Bakhsh Haidari, Nihal Chand Lahauri, Bahadur 'Ali Husaini, Kazim 'Ali Jawan, Hafizuddin and Lallu Lalji.

XIII. SINDHI

Sind is known among the Sindhis as providing a fertile soil for the growth of poetry. There is a large number of poets—both classical and modern—

who have moulded the life and thought of the Sindhis. Of these, there were three stalwarts—the Triumvirate of Sindhi poetry—Shah (the Prince), Sachal (The Truthful) and Sami (the Master). Their poetry throws a flood of light on what the Sindhis are^-on their customs, manners, religion, ways of life and ways of thought.

Shah is the foremost among these three poets. He puts the kettle to the boil; Sachal takes the lid off it; while Sami passes the beverage on to the rank and file of the people so that they may be brought to an intense awareness of God even in the day-to-day affairs of life. There is not a scholar, past and present, but has paid tributes to these three who are still the primary sources of literary inspiration.

Shah is a great narrative artist, who puts across to the reader his philosophy of life, love and God through characters that are alive and are yet symbolic and almost legendary as well. But in all his works, it is he who is the hero or the heroine, he who celebrates in

himself the upsurge in the hearts of men, he who is every man: he is the Seeker, he is the Talih or Jagyasu.

This great poet was born in 1689 and died in 1752. But though he is dead, he survives in his work and in the hearts of those who love him.

Whatever Shah said in symbols, Sachal said in plain language. He is direct and forthright in his utterances, clear and lucid as are the great Greek poets.

When asked about his religion, he says:

“I am not a Muslim, nor a Hindu;

I am bigger than either.”

When told that by birth he was a Muslim, he looks up and says:

“It is not the Raima that makes me a Muslim Nor did the Prophet bring faith from Arabastan”.

"Oh! Sachal, you are the King of Kings Though you may be only a man in the eyes of Man!"

This is Sachal, the revolutionary poet who followed in the footsteps of Shah and carried the message of his Master in the rough-hewn language of the common man, touched with the wonder and beauty of a mind in harmony with the pulse of the Infinite. It is a wonder that though Bilwal and Shah Inayat, the great Sufis, were tortured and killed for their seemingly blasphemous utterances, Sachal escaped the gallows. This is because even the MIrs and Talpurs, who were the rulers of Sind, were his followers, and therefore, no one dared lift his hand against the Master.

Sachal was a revolutionary. He had a restless, seeking mind, for it is only through spiritual unrest, through a desire to know, that one can reach out to the ultimate Reality. He wanted others to be equally restless, so that they might be his comrades in his search of the Great Ideal. Sachal was born in 1739 and died in 1829.

Sami, the Master, was born in 1743 and died in 1850. He teaches us the eternal verities of life, teaches us that the world is a shadow and that the only reality lies within the deep-feeling heart of man. And this wisdom of his is evolved out of life rather than from a study of books, and comes straight from the heart to speak to that which lies deeply buried in the heart of man.

Sami speaks directly from the heart to the heart in a language which surprises by its directness and freshness. This is one of the chief charms of his poetry, for it finds an answering echo in the minds of the high and the low alike. He himself used to say that he had merely vernacularised Vedantic lore.

Here are some slokas of Sami which illustrate his philosophy:

"God is manifest, O S'ami! like the sun,

The blind see HIM not, unclosing their eyes;

Why dost thou at every door run,

And chatter like lunatics, O unwise?”

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“The fool perishes in ego’s vortex,

Entangled like an ape’s hand filled in greed;

He awakens not to draw the veil of darkness;

When the Master wills, S’ami is from misery freed!”

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“He who hath the chaos of ignorance destroyed,

Achieves the mighty pinnacle of Atman.”

XIV. ARABIC

Like the previous centuries of Muslim rule in India, the period under review also saw the Arabic language being learnt and studied by the Muslims as an indispensable medium for acquiring theological education, which assumed a special importance following the downfall of Mughul supremacy. As the religio-ethical and socio-economic health of the Muslim community came to be adversely affected by the weakening of the imperial authority, the intelligentsia among them, particularly the doctors of divinity, went for the revitalization of the Muslim morale by means of religious reforms. And Arabic became the natural medium for fulfilling the requirements of religious rethinking among the Muslims in the early part of the eighteenth century. Behind the production of Arabic religious literature worked the powerful reformist movement of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, son of the eminent theologian of Aurangzib’s time, Shah ‘Abdur Rahim Dehlavi. 24

Born in 1703, four years before Aurangzib’s death, Shah Wallullah 25 represents the transition of the Indo-Islamic Culture from the medieval to the modern perilod. On his return from the Hejaz, where he received his formative education under the acknowledged masters of theology, Shah Wallullah wrote his chief works in

Arabic. His magnum opus, the Hujjat Allah al-Bdlighaih, which earned him the title of Imam Ghazall of India, constitutes his most important contribution to theological dialects. In this outstanding work, the author attempts a rationalist approach to religious problems and takes an evolutionist view of human history. His other notable works include Ta'wil Ahadith, on the interpretation of the sayings of the Prophet; al-M.usawwa, a copious commentary on the well-known work, al-Muwatta, of Imam Malik; al-Tafhtm aU Ilahiyya , dealing with Sufistic doctrines; and 'Iqd al-Jtd fi Ahkdm al-Ijtihad wa'l TaqUd, on the problem of ijtihdd (use of individual reasoning) and taqlid (conformity), used as an oft-quoted book of reference by. the ulema of later generations. Shah Wallullah also wrote Arabic poetry, which mainly comprises eulogistic poems on the Prophet. Shah Wallullah's mission generated tremendous reformist shock-waves which reverberated through the posterity of Muslim intellectuals in India. After him, the mission was carried on most effectively by his illustrious son Shah 'Abdul Aziz Dehlavl (d. 1823) 26 who employed, unlike his father, Persian rather than Arabic for his numerous compilations. Of his Arabic writings, the Sirr aUShahadatain, which deals with the rationale of the martyrdom of Syedna Imam Hussain at Karbala, has proved to be the most popular and revolutionary book ever written on the subject by an author of Shah 'Abdul Aziz's calibre.

It is generally remarked that the decline of Muslim political power brought about a simultaneous decay in the progress of Muslim learning. The opinion does not appear to be supported by facts. Though the disintegration of the Mughul administration gradually removed the economic stimulus which involved religious schools to produce trained qazis for the purpose of judicial appointments, the reduced calls thus made by the state employment on the Muslim man-power left more men free to devote themselves to academic and literary work. A number of educational institutions and foundations, such as those established by Ghazi-ud-dln Khan Firuzjang, Sharaf al-Daulah and Raushan al-Daulah sprang up in Delhi. The standardization of the curriculum of Arabic education was accomplished in the period under review of Mulla Nizam-ud-dm (d. 1748) of the celebrated school of Farangi Mahall (in Lucknow). 27 The Dars-i-Nizamiyyah, as the curriculum was named after its founder, enjoyed country-wide acceptance (still retained by madrassahs throughout the sub-continent) and provided instruction in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, Quranic sciences, Islamic jurisprudence and Apostolic Traditions.

Mulla Nizam-ud-dln's son, Maulana Abdul Ali 'Bahr al-'Ulum' ('Ocean of Learning') 28 is the most well-known alumnus of the Farangi Mahall School. A prodigious teacher, he taught in many leading religious institutions of the country before settling down in Madras, where he died in 1819. A prolific author, he wrote a number of treatises and dissertations, commentaries and annotations on religious texts of classical masters. Among his numerous disciples, Maulvi Muhammad Ghauth Sharaf al-Mulk (1822), 29 following his master's example, compiled various works, of which the most notable is Nathr al-Marjdn fi Rasm-i-Nazmi'l, Quran in seven volumes.

Bilgram, near Lucknow, is a place with which are associated names of great litterateurs and scholars, the foremost among them being Sayyid Ghulam 'All Azad (d. 1786), 30 who wrote in 1764 a very curious w r ork, entitled Subhat al-Marjan, which deals with topics such as references to India in Quranic commentaries and hadith , biographies of Indian scholars, rhetorical figures of Sanskrit and types of lovers depicted by the poets. Azad happens to be the most important Arabic poet of India. He has left seven diwans, selections from which have been published under the title, Sab'ah Sayydrah. For his collection of na't (panegyrics in praise of the Prophet), Tasllyat al-Fu'dd, Azad has rightly won the title of Hassdn al-Hind, like his Persian counterpart Khaqani who is known as Hassan al^Ajam. Azad had a critic in his younger contemporary, Muhammad Baqir 'Agah' (d. 1805) of Madras who deserves mention as a prolific writer and a good poet in his own right. Another noted literary figure of Bilgram is Murtada 'All Zabld! (d. 1790), 31 who compiled a comprehensive lexicographic commentary entitled, Taj al-Urus on the wellknown Qamus of Maj al-DIn Flruzabadl. His Ithaf al-Saddt, an illuminative commentary of Imam Ghazali's Ihyd bears ample testimony to the author's knowledge and wonderful learning. Rahman 'Ali has listed a total of sixty-six works by Zabidl. Another conspicuous lexicographer of the 18th century is Muhammad 'Ali alFaruq of Thanabawan, who compiled a dictionary of Arabic technical terms, called Kashshaf Istildhdt al-Funun. Among other poets of Bilgram deserving mention are Syed Tufail Muhammad (d. 1738) and Sayyid Muhammad Yusuf (d. 1758).

A learned family of Khairabad, near Sitapur (in U.P.) produced scholars and theologians of eminence, such as Sifat Allah ibn Madlnat Allah (d. 1744) and Shaikh Ahmadullah (d. 1735). ‘Allama Fadl-i-Imam KhairabadI (d. 1837) 32 attained great fame for his very popular text-books on logic, entitled Mirqat.

Sayyid Dildar ‘All Lakhnawl (d. 1812), 33 the first Shia mujtahid of India, flourished during the period. His contemporary, Tafaddul Husain Khan Kashmiri (d. 1800), who knew Arabic, Persian, English and Latin, was the author of several treatises on mathematics, in which he had excelled in his time. Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janan (d. 1780), the revered Sufi saint, had a large number of learned disciples, of whom QadI Thana ‘ullah Panlpatl (d. 1810) won wide acclaim as ‘Muhaddith’ and has been described by Shah ‘Abdul ‘Aziz as the “Baihaqi of India”.

XV. PERSIAN

In the post-AurangzIb period of the history of Mughul India, the status of the Persian language faced a challenge as a result of the collapse of the central authority of the Muslim rulers and the emergence of Urdu as the potential lingua franca of the country, though it was not until 1837 that Persian ceased to be the official language of India. Excepting the art of historiography and memoir-writing, which found favour with both the Muslims and the Hindus, there occurred a virtual decline in the output of poetical compositions during the period. The time-honoured emigration of writers and versifiers from Persian-speaking lands of Central Asia to India, which reached its zenith in the heyday of the Mughul ascendancy under Shah Jahan touched a low ebb in the second half of the seventeenth century. But the Persian and Afghan invasions of the subcontinent, though devastating both in nature and extent, brought in its wake numerous men of culture who perfected their creative art on the Indian soil. The native Rekhta writers invariably had something to write in Persian too.

Shah Wallullah Dehlavl, 34 the doyen of Islamic learning in India, though writing mostly in Arabic, took a revolutionary step by translating the Quran into simple Persian. Persian translations of the Muslim scripture were attempted earlier, but none of them had gained such currency. The reason of the translation’s popularity was that it formed a part of the broad-based movement initiated by the savant to bring the knowledge of the Quran within the reach of the average literate Indian Muslim who generally spoke Persian. Equally popular was the tafsir, named Fath al-‘Aziz, written by his illustrious son, Shah ‘Abdul ‘Aziz Dehlavl, 35 who also had several other religious works to his credit, namely Bustdn al-Muhaddithin, ‘Ufala-i-NafVah and Tuhfa-i-I'thnd ‘Ashariyya. About the same time, ‘Allama Fadl-i-Imam KhairabadI prepared the famous Amadndma , which proved to be a must for anybody who desired to learn Persian*.

As theology was the subject-matter of scholars of Arabic, writing of history and biography became almost an obsession with those who tried their hand in Persian. The mass of historical writings clearly outweighs the quantity of belles lettres created during the period.

Mubarak Allah Wadih. (d. 1716), who received the title of Iradat Khan in the 40th year of Aurangzib’s reign, wrote in 1714 his history entitled, Tdfikh-i-Irddat Khan or Mdqtal al-Salatin, containing chronicles of the seven years following Aurangzib’s death down to the year 1714 when Farrukh-siyar entered Delhi. He has also left a diwdn and a mathnawi, known as Aina-i-Raz. Muhammad Shall Warld, who served for some time under Prince ‘Azam but soon retired and devoted himself to writing, compiled two historical works, named Mir’at-i-Wdriddt and Tdrikh-i-Chaghtdi and four mathnawis , viz., Gulistdn-i-Nayrang, Mir’at-i-Farrukhi, Chaman-i-Dtddr and Sdql Ndma>, apart from a diwdn of lyrical odes. A precious narrative of the life and reign of Muhammad Shah was written by MIrza Muhammad Bakhsh ‘Ashub (d. 1785), who was also a poet of no mean order. Mir’at-i-Ahmadi of Ali Muhammad Khan, who was appointed Diwan of Gujarat in 1746, is a very reliable source of accurate information of diverse kinds about the Mughul empire, particularly Gujarat. It happens to be the only work of its kind after Abu’l Fazl’s Ain-i-Akbari .

The Persian tradition of Hindu historiography, which had its beginning during Shah Jahan’s reign with works like the Chahdr Cha man of Chandra Bh5n Brahman 36 and the Shahjahdn nama of Bhagwan Das, was maintained throughout the eighteenth century with undiminished brilliance. Lai Ram's Tuhfat al-Hind, a general history of India from the earliest times to the reign of Farrukh-siyar and written in 1735, provides a rare instance of a Hindu author's complete self-identification with the Muslim view-point and style. 37 Imitating the same pattern is the Tdrikh-i-Muha,mmadshdhi of the noted Kayastha historian, Khushal Chand. The Shdhndma-i-Munawwar al-Kalam of Shiv Das Lakhnawd is a valuable document depicting the life and time of Farrukh-siyar. It is not a connected history, but a compilation of court news and detached narratives, official letters and far mans. Ray Rayan Anand Ram Mukhlis (d. 1751), an eye-witness of much that occurred during Nadir Shah's Indian sojourn, was a versatile Hindu scholar of Persian. Besides a diwdn and some epistles, he wrote a very authentic account of Muhammad Shah's war with Nadir Shah. The Majma c aUAkhbdr of Harsukh Rai, written in 1805, is a general history divided into eight books, the seventh

of which deals with rulers of different provinces of India, while at the end of the sixth is given the history of Mughul rulers up to the time of Shah ‘Alam. Lakshmi Narayan Shaflq of Aurangabad, author of the famous biographical dictionary, Gul-i-Ra'na , wrote several important historical and topographical works, such as Haqiqatha-iHindusthdn, Ma'dthir-i-‘Asafi and Ahmdl-i-Haidard f bad. His tazhldra of poets, named Chamanistan-iShuafard, occupies a coveted place in the history of Persian biographical literature.

The Awadh rulers patronized several Hindu chroniclers, of whom Harcharan Das and Harnam Singh deserve mention. The former wrote Chahdr Gulzdr-i-Shujd'i, dedicated to Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah, which is a discursive but significant book of history, while the latter compiled Tdrikh-i-Sa‘adat-i-Javoid, dedicated to Sa‘adat ‘All Khan, Nawab Vazir of Awadh, which is a general history of India, useful for the biographical details it gives of the nobles and dignitaries from the time of Muhammad Shah to that of the author's own.

The eastern part of the tottering Mughul empire, particularly the Bengal Subah, made a commendable contribution to the Persian historical literature of the 18th century. The celebrated Siyar alMuta'akhkherm of Ghulam

Husain Tabataba'I is a general history of India from Aurangzlb's death to Nadir Shah's departure in 1739, with special section on the history of Bengal from the death of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah to the ye^r 1781. Rightly considered as the last great historian of Muslim India, the author has some penetrating observations to make regarding the East India Company which was rapidly acquiring political hegemony in the country. The Siyar is written in the style of a private memoir, the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume. There are also poetical pieces composed by the historian. 38

Among the independent subdhdars of Bengal, Nawab Ali Vardi Khan is the most conspicuous for his patronge of chroniclers, scholars and poets. Yusuf All Khan (d. 1781) wrote the Tdrikh-i-Bangdla-iMahdbhatjangi, 39 which is a unique store-house of valuable historical details, gathered by the author from personal observation and experience. The author of the Siyar is heavily indebted to this book for his own account of All Vardi, of the Maratha invasions of Bengal and of the Afghan rebellion. Yusuf All's other notable works include Hadiqata-i-Safa , a comprehensive history, remarkable for its extremely accurate chronology and its notices of the learned persons of single epochs. There is also a memoir of poets and a rare compendium compiled by him. Yusuf All's son-in-law, Nawab All Ibrahim Khan, who held the office of Chief Magistrate of Benaras, was the author of several voluminous tazhkiras, including Khuldsat al-Kalam. Tarikh-i-Ali Ibrahim Khan, composed during the administration of Lord Cornwallis, is a clear and succinct account of the Maratha wars.

Tarikh-i-Bamgala of MunshI Salimullah 40 and the Riydd al-Salatin of Ghulam Husain Salim 41 were written at the instance of English patrons. The former work, which is of special value for the career and administration of Murshid Quli Khan, was written by the order of Governor Henry Vansittart (1760-64), while the latter, which is the fullest account in Persian of the Muslim history of Bengal from the earliest times to 1786, was composed in Malda at the behest of George Udny, the author's patron and commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at Malda.

Two interesting works, relating to the history of the Nizamat in Bengal, which bear the stamp of rhetorical skill are the Waqdi-Fath-i Bangdla, written in 1748, by Muhammad Wafa and the ‘ Ibrat-i-Arabdb i-Basar written in 1757, by Rai Balmukund, where narratives are throughout written in chronogrammatic sentences. Another title worth mentioning is Maharaja Kalyan Singh’s Khuldsat al-Tawarikh written in 1783, 42 which comprises a portion which is sometimes differently called Wariddti-Qdsismi. The work is a good statistical account of Bengal and other provinces of the Mughul empire.

To the court of Sayyid Muhammad Riza Muzaffarjang (d. 1791) Naib Nazim of Bengal, were attached two chroniclers, Muhammad ‘All Khan Ansarl and Karam ‘All, whose works Tdrikh-i-Muzaffari and the Muzaffarndma respectively are indispensable source materials for the reconstruction of the history of the period in which the two authors lived. Closely associated with Nawab Muzaffarjang was one Haji Muhammad Beg Khan, whose son Mirza Abu Talib Khan 43 became one of the most interesting intellectual luminaries of the 18th century, A man of keen intellect and wide learning, he wrote on a variety of topics and composed poetry, criticism and travelogue. In 1791, he brought out at Calcutta a scholarly edition of the Diwdn-i-Hdfiz which was followed in 1792 by Khuldsat al-Afkar , a magnificent survey of the biographies of about 500 ancient and modem poets of Persian. He also compiled two works of history, namely, a histpty of the kings of India and Lubb al-Tawdrikh, a compendious accoun of the kingdoms of Europe and other western countries. Tafdih alGhdfilin is a first-hand account of the events connected with the administration of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daulah of Awadh. He also wrote a diwdn which was edited by A. Swinton with English translation under the title Poems of Mirza Abu Talib Khan and was published a

London in 1807. But what fetched MIrza Abu Talib Khan a lasting fame is his account of his travels in Asia, Africa and Europe, entitled Mastr-i-Talibt fl bilad-i-Afranp. The travelogue became so popular that it was translated into English, French, German and Urdu, sometimes with more than one edition.

The Nawabs of Bengal, being men of learning and culture, extended liberal patronage to men of letters and scholars. During the rule of Nawab All Vardi Khan, Murshidabad shone as a focal point for poets and writers, most distinguished of whom, according to the author of the Siyar , was Mir Muhammad ‘All Fadil, 44 held in high esteem for his vast learning and scholarship. Murshid Qull II, sonin-law of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah of Bengal and deputy governor of Jahangirnagar, was a gifted poet and wrote good poetry under the pen-name makhfi.

The poetical literature of the period under review is quantitatively negligible as compared with that of the preceding. In this connection, it is remarkable to note that almost every poet of name had some biographical writings to his credit too. Among such versifiers the pride of place belongs to Shaikh Muhammad ‘All Hazan 45 One of the most accomplished writers of the age, Hazin, after extensive wanderings in Iran and Arabia, emigrated to India in 1733, mainly to avoid Nadir Shah’s persecutions in his native country. At last, he settled down in Benaras where he died in 1766. His Kulliyat, which contains qasidas, ghazals, ruba’is and mathnawis, reflects an excellent blend of classical and modern styles in Persian verse. His autobiography, Tazhkirat al-Ahvyal, compiled in 1741, is a veritable repository of information about the events and leading personalities of his age. The Tazhkirat al-M.uasirin, comprises short biographical notices on about a hundred contemporary divines and poets. Hazin’s friend, All Quli Khan Walih (d. 1756) of Daghistan, 46 is a very colourful literary personality of the time. An aristocrat by birth, Walih came to India in 1735 and received in course of time honours from Muhammad Shah. Though he completed a diwdn in 1748, Walih’S fame chiefly rests on his monumental memoirs of poets, entitled Riydd al-Shua’ara , which contains quotations of verses of undoubted merit, observations on prosody and poetical figures, historical information and critical judgments on poetical qualities of poets discussed. Ac? cording to Sprenger, “in India this Tazhkira is more esteemed tha© any other.” 47

Siraj ud-Dln All Khan Arzu (d. 1756) 48 was an excellent, poet, a reputed scholar and an officer of rank in the time of emperor Far* rukh-siyar. Patronized by Raja Anand Ram Mukhlis, Salarjang and

Shuja-ud-Daulah, Arzu wrote a number of works on a variety of subjects. He wrote commentaries on Sikandarndma of Nizami qasidas of Urfi and Gulistan of Sadi. His lexicographical works are: Chirdgh-i-Hidayat, a dictionary of poetical expressions used by the poets of his time, -and the Ghardib al-Lughdt, a vocabulary of Hindi words in Persian. But his masterpiece is Majma al-Nafdis } a biography of 1419 classical and modern poets of Persian. Ghulam All Azad BilgramI, 49 mentioned above in connection with his contribution to Arabic studies, is the author of several remarkable Persian books, of which the most notable are: Ma'dthir al-kiram, lives of saints and mystics of Bilgram; Yad-i-Baidd, alphabetically arranged biographies of 532 classical and modern poets; Scfrrw Azdd; Khazana in-Amirah; and a diwdn of ghazals. 50 "The fame of the poet's learning", remarks T. W. Haig, "is such that parents take their children to his shrine in order that they may, by picking up with their lips a piece of sugar from the tomb, obtain both a taste for knowledge and the ability to acquire it." 51

The Mughul royalty, though shorn of their political influence, displayed glimpses of their hereditary cultural lustre. Emperor Shah 'Alam who reigned between 1759 and 1806 was the foremost among them to have a fine literary taste. He adopted 'Aftab' as his pen-name and compiled a collection of Persian verses, entitled Diwan-i-Aftab .

With the close of the 18th century, and the beginning of the 19th, the great political game of the British trading company for the establishment of the British paramountcy in India started. As a part of the concerted policy of the new rulers to put down as effectively as possible the last vestiges of the Mughul power and dominance in India, Persian was sought to be abolished as court language in Hritish India, apparently on alleged economic grounds but really on a^ political one. Persian formally ceased to be the court language with effect from 20 November, 1837, by a legislative order.

XVII. SANSKRIT

A brief survey of Sanskrit literature during the days of Maratha supremacy and the early British rule reveals that Sanskrit continued to flourish along with the other regional languages. The patronage of the rulers, munificent donations of the agraharas to distinguished poets, and the literary activities at the popular pilgrim places and temple centres like Benaras encouraged Sanskrit writers in different fields. Royal personalities like Sarphoji (1711-28) and

Tukoji (1729-35) in Tanjore, Martanda Varma in Travancore, Kalale Nanjaraja in Mysore, Kolluri Rajashekhara in Andhra, the Peshwds in Maharashtra, Sawai Jay Singh in Jaipur, and Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia (1728-82) in Bengal, invigorated, as it were, the Sanskrit literature that was at a low ebb, at least in North India, during the Muslim rule. With the advent of the British rule, Sanskrit study gained gradually a prestigious status.

Another noteworthy feature of this period is the foundation of a few Sanskrit institutions. The Peshwds of Maharashtra had set aside funds for the dakshina, which was responsible later for the present Deccan College. The rich collection of the Saraswati Mahal Library at Tanjore has for its nucleus the Sanskrit manuscripts, zealously preserved by Raja SarphojI. In 1791 was founded the Varanasi Rajaklya Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, known at present as the Varanasi Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya.

The Kdvya Literature:

Mahdkavya:

Anantanarayana (also known as Pahcharatna), under the patronage of king SarphojI, wrote Raghavacharita (also known as Sangrahardmayana) describing the story of Rama in 12 cantos. The story of Ramayana forms the theme of another poem entitled Rama charitam (12 cantos) by Ramavarma, the Yuvaraja of Cranganore. But a more noteworthy work based on Rama’s life is the poem Rdgha vlyarh (20 cantos) composed by the famous poet of Sanskrit and Prakri 4 , Ramapanivada of Malabar. He also wrote Vishnuvildsa (8 cantos) eulogizing the deeds of Vishnu in his different incarnations. Another Maithilian poet Krishnadatta, the son of Sadaram, composed Radharahasya (22 cantos) depicting the amours of Radha and Krishna. Ghanashyam (also known as Aryaka), the minister of the king Tukoji of Tanjore (1728-1735 A .D.), in his poem Vehkafeshacharita narrates the story of Lord Venkateshwara of Tirupati. The Kerala poet Ramapanivada wrote Mukundastavah at the instance of king Ramavarma. Shiva’s defeating Kali by his cosmic dance at Chidambaram is the theme of Nateshavijayam (7 cantos) of Vehkatakrishna, patronised by Gopal, a governor of ShivajI’s provinces near Chidambaram. Duhkhabhanjana of Benaras composed Chandrashekharacharita. Another great poet Ramfabhadra Dikshit, the son of the grammarian Yajharam Dikshit, composed Patanjalicharita (8 cantos) describing the life of Patanjall, the well-known author of Vydkarana Mahdbhasya. His patron, the king SarphojI of

Tanjore, bestowed upon him the agrahara of Shahjirajapura (now known as Tiruvalnular). An important work for the history of Tanjore is Shahendravildsa (8 cantos) of Shridhara Venkatesh, describing the exploits of the patron king Shahji.

Slesha Kavya:

Poems with words having two or more meanings were also attempted. The story of Rama and Nala was simultaneously narrated in the two cantos of the Rdghavcmaishadhlya of Haradatta, the son of Jayashankar of the Gargya gotra. The Kosalabhosallyam (6 cantos) of Seshachalakavi deals with the story of Rama and Shahji. Ghanashyam’s Abodhdkaram, narrates the story of Nala, Krishna and Harischandra, at once. He also wrote the poem Kalidushana , which can be read both in Sanskrit and Prakrit.

Champu Kavya i;

The Champu literature continued to grow with themes, religious and biographical. Based on the Bhagavata, we have the Bha gavatachampu of Somashekhara (also known as Rajashekhara) and the Madhavachampu of Chiranjlva. Sarphoji, the second son of Vyankoji Raja wrote the Kumarasaimbhcivachampu. The other Chaihpus with religious themes are the Uttarachampurdmayana of Venkatakrishna, the Gaurimayurachampu of Appa Dikshit and the Garigdvataranachampu of Shankar Dikshit. The latter writer described the life of the Benaras king Chet Singh in his Shankarachetovildsachampu. The other noteworthy biographical chaihpus are Vikramasenacharhpu of Narayana, the Dharmavijayachampu (dealing with the life of Shahji) of Bhuminatha, the Bhosalavamshavall of Venkatesh and others. Raghavacharya’s Vaikunthavijayachampu describes many temples and places of pilgrimage and Baneshvara’s Chitrachampu contains useful historical and geographical details. The political affairs of contemporary Deccan and Karnataka as well as the Anglo-French conflicts form the theme of the Anandarangacharhpu of Shrlnivasa.

S hdstranistha-kavya ;

A few poets illustrated the alamkdra through their poems glorifying the royal deeds. Devashankara Purohit’s Alamkaramanjushd praises the achievements of Peshwa Madhav Rao I and his uncle Raghunath Rao. The merits of the Tan j ore king Shahji are sung in the Shdhardjiyarh of Kashi Lakshmana. Sadashivamakhi, the son of

Kokkanatha, composed a rhetorical work Rdmavarmdyashobhiishana. The Gunaratnakara of Nrisirhha sings of king Sarphoji. Ramadeva’s Vrittaratndvali is a panegyric of Yashavantasimha, illustrating different metres.

Other Kdvyas:

Shrldhara Venkatesh, a protege of the king ShahjI, composed Daydshatakarh, Mdtrbhushdtakam, Tdravalishatakam., Artiharastotra, etc. Vancheshvara’s Mahisashataka is a satirical poem on the minister of the king TukojI of Tan j ore. Jagannath described the life of Sarphoji in his Sharabhardjavildsam. Dhundhiraja, the commentator of Mudrdrdkshasa f wrote the musical poem Shdha vilasam following the pattern of Gita Govinda and Abhinavaka d^mbari. Baneshvar wrote a century of verses on Benaras. The Angrejacandrika of Vinayaka Bhafta and the Itihdsatamomani of Ramaswami Raju deal with the British rule.

On the life of Shankaracharya, we have Shankaradigvijayasdra by Sadananda Yati who also wrote a commentary on the Bhagavad Gita and an independent work entitled Pratyaktattvachintdmani, the Guruvamshakavya by Kashi Lakshmana Suri and the Brihaicchankaravijaya by Brahmananda Sarasvati. Moropant, a Maharashtrian poet, composed in all about 4,918 verses in praise of Rama and other gods. His best known work is Mantra-Rdmdyana comprising 3,992 verses. Among the Samdesha Kdvyas, patterned on Meghaduta r Chandraduta of Krishnachandra, Tarkalamkara, Tulasiduta of Trilochana, Kokiladuta of Haridas, Kdkaduta of Rama go pal, etc., were composed.

Among the musical compositions, reference may be made to

Shivagitimdlikd of Shri Chandrashekhara Saraswati, and Krishnalild

taranginl of Narayana Tirtha. Nahjaraja, the Sarvadhikari of

Krishnaraja II of Mysore, composed the Saivite poem Samgita

gangddhara, imitating Gita Govinda. In the same strain are written

Gita Sundara by Sadashiva Dikshit, and the Gita Gaiiapafi by

Krishnadatta.

*

Parankusha Ramanuja composed Shriprapattih, Narasrriihamangalashamsanam, Khsiranadistavah, Vihageshvarastavah, Devarajasfta* vah and other stotras. Vrajanatha’s Padyatarangini and Subhdsitasuradruma by Basava Nayaka of Ikkeri are the anthologies compiled during this period.

Ndtaka, Natika:

The life of their patrons was dramatised by many a playwright. Venkata Subramanya, a descendant of Appayya Dikshit, wrote Vasulakshmikalydnam, dealing with the marriage of his patron king Ramavarma of Travancore (1758-1798) with Vasulakshmi, a Sindhu princess for securing a political alliance. The Balamartandavijayam (5 Acts) of Devaraja, the son of Shesadri, describes the heroic exploits and liberality of his patron king Martandavarma (1729-1758) of Travancore. It also refers to the renovation of the shrine of Shri Padmanabha at Trivandrum by the king. The separation and the reunion of Kalavatl and the prince Nandaka form the theme of the play Kaltinandakam, written at the behest of the king Tulaji of Tanjore (1765-1787) by Ramachandrashekhara, who had performed a Paundarikayaga.

Vishvanath, the son of Trimaladeva of Andhra, who migrated to Benaras, composed Mrgdnkalekhd, a natika in four Acts, describing the marriage of Mrgankalekha, the daughter of the king of Kamarupa with the Kalinga king Karpuratilaka. This play was staged at the Kashi Vishveshvara festival. Another natika entitled the Skrhgdravdtikd, depicting the love of the Avanti king Chandrakell with Champavati and Kantimati, was written by Vishvanath, the pupil of Dhundhiraja. The Maithilian poet-dramatist Krishnadatta penned Kuvalaydshviyam (7 Acts) depicting the love of Kuvalayashva and Madalasa, Puranjanavijayarii (also known as Puranjanacharita) based on the Puranjana-upakhyana of the Bhagavata } and an entertaining farce, the Sandrakutuhalam. On the occasion of the coronation of Sabhasundara, the grandson of the Chatrasal of Bundelkhand, was written the play Pradyumnavijayam by Shankara Dikshit. Liberal like the patron Vikramaditya, Ramavarmavanci Yuvaraja (also known as Ashvini Maharaja) (1757-1789), the son of Martandavarma, wrote Rukminiparinayam besides Malayalam dramatic pieces called Kathakalis. Jagannatha, the son of Balkrishna who was the minister of the king Sarphoji of Tanjore, wrote Ratimanmatham and Vasumatiparinayam. The famous poet land the devotee of Rama, Ramapanivada wrote two dramas, the Lalitdrdghaviyarh and the Padukapattabhishekarh. The literary genius of Almoda, Vishveswara, the son of Lakshmidhar of Pande family, wrote a natika called Navamdlika describing the amours of Vjiayasena and Navamalika of Avanti. His other works are Rukminiparinayam, a ndtaka and Shriigdramanjari, a Sattaka in Prakrit. The life of Shri Ramanujacharya was'dramatised in the Yatirdjavijayani (also known as Vedanta vildsam) by Varadacharya of Kanchi.

Ghanashyam, the minister of the king TukojI of Tanjore wrote the Prachan^ardkudaya, to refute the views put forth in the play Samkalpasuryodaya of Venkatanatha Vedantadeshika. Jatadeva, who became a recluse after performing a somaydga, composed the play Purnapurusdrthachandrodayam wherein the king Dashdshva (i.e., the atma, the lord of ten horses in the* form of ten indriyas) is united with Anandapakvavalll (the highest bliss) with the help of Sushraddha and Subhakti. The union of Vidijd and jivdtmd is presented in the Vidydparinayam of Vedakavi. In his Shivalingasuryodaya (5 Acts), Malian Aradhya establishes the superiority of Vira-Saivism. Nrisiihha’s

Anumitiparinaya explains the Nyaya doctrine of inference through the marriage of Anumiti (daughter of Paramarsha); and Nyayarasika Ramadev, (also known as Vamadev), the grand-son of Kashinath, the famous palmist of Bengal, wrote a humorous quasi-dramatic work entitled Vidvanmodatarangim wherein he brings home the truth of different religious and philosophical doctrines. Among the less important works, reference may be made to the Chittavrittikalydnam and the Jivanmuktikalydnam of Bhuminath (also known as Nalla Dikshit) and to the Amritodaya of Gokulnath of Mithila.

Other types:

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Varadacharya (known as Ammalacharya) wrote Vasantdtilaka* bhana (also 1 known as Ammal Bhana) to vie with the Shringdratilaka (also known as Ayya Bhana) of Ramabhadra. Ghanashyam’s Madanasamjwana, Ashvini Maharaja’s Shringdrasudhdkarabhd'tia and Jagannatha’s Anangavijaya are the other three noteworthy Bhdnas of this period. Kashlpati Kaviraja wrote the Mukunddnanda, a mishrabhana wherein the erotic adventures of the Vita alludes ob

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liquely to the sports of Krishna.

Among the Prahasanas, a reference must be made to Ghanashyam’s Damaruka which is like a collection of select scenes. Ramapanivada wrote Madanaketucharitam, a prahasana and Chandrikd y a vitM, said to have been enacted during the reign of the king Vanchimartantfa at Trivandrum.

Miscellaneous Works:

The tradition of writing pkas was vigorously followed by the prolific writer Ghanashyam, who wrote commentaries on many works like the Shakuntald, Mahdvimcharita, Venisamhara, Bhojachampu and

Dashakumdracharita. In a single night of a RamanavamI, he is said to have written a commentary on the Uttarardmacharita. He also completed the drama Mahdviracharita by adding the last two Acts. He is said to have written 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in other dialects. His wives Sundarl and Kamala wrote a commentary on Viddhasdlabhanjika . Dhundhiraja's commentary on the Mudrardkshasa is well-known. Ramapanivada wrote also commentaries on the Krishnavildsa, Govindabhiseka and Dhdtukdvya and Achutaraya Modak on the Bhaminlvilasa.

Vishveshvar wrote a katha called the Mandaramanjari.

As an example of geographical works, Ramakavfs Pandavadig vijaya, a work bigger than the Mahabhdrata, may be mentioned. It describes, through the conquest of India by the Pandavas, customs, manners and social conditions of different parts of India, before and after the Muslim conquest. It also includes the stories of Vikramaditya, Shalivahana, Shankaracharya, etc., and of the kings like Prataparudra of Orissa and Jayachandra of Kambhoja.

Basava Nayak of Ikkeri compiled Shivatattvaratndkara f an encyclopaedic work giving the essence of different arts and sciences treated in the Vedas and the Agamas. Another encyclopaedic work covering contemporary history and other subjects is Bhuvanapradi pika of Ramakrishna Shastri. Raghava Appa Khandekar wrote the lexiconic work Koshdvatamsa.

It is interesting to note that the Missionaries at Serampore published in three volumes the Sanskrit translation of " The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ " entitled ishvarasya Sarvavdkyam. Sir William Jones and his wife published a list of Sanskrit works at the Royal Asiatic Society.

Technical and Scientific Literature:

Alamkdra:

In his short-lived life of thirty-four years Vishveshvara Pandit, son of Laxmidhara, wrote many works like the Alomkarakulapradipa. Alanhkdrakaustubha, Alamkdramuktdvali , Kavln drak amd b harana . Rdvyatilaka, Rasachandrikd and a commentary on Rasamanjctri called the Vyadgd'rthakaumudi. Another well-known writer Baladeva Vidyabhushana of Bengal wrote a commentary entitled Sdhityakau mudi on the karikas of the Kavyaprakasha , calling them the Bharata Sviras. He gives his own illustrations in praise of Krishna and adds a chapter covering topics not referred to in the Bharata-Sutras. The Kdvyavildsa in two parts of Ramadeva (also known as Vamadeva and Chiranjiva) deals with Rasa and Alamkara. Kalyanasubramanya, patronised by the king Ramavarma of Travancore, wrote the Alamkdrakaustubha dealing with the Arthalamkaras only. Nagesha composed a number of commentaries such as Marmaprakdsha on the Rasagarigddhara, the Udyota on Pradipa, a commentary by Bhatta Govinda on the Kdvyaprakdsha, Uddharanadipika on the Kdvyaprakasha, Prakasha on the Rasammjari, and the Visamapada-Vydkhydnasatpadananda on the Kuvalaydnainda. Mammata’s Kdvyaprakdsha was also commented upon by Bhimasen Dikshit of Kanyakubja, Gopalabhatta, Gokulanath Upadhyaya and Gokulanath, the son of Pitambara who wrote the Sudhdsdgara, Sdhityachwddmanl, Vivarana and the Rasdrnava respectively. Hariprasada, the son of Gangeshvara wrote the Kdvydloka in seven Prakashas and Achyutaraya Modak wrote the Sdhityasdra in twelve Prakaranas. A reference may also be made to works like Alamkaramakaranda of Kolluri Rajashekhara, Alamkdramanidarpoina of Pradhan Venkappayya, Aldrhkdrasamud gaka, Rasaratnahdra and Visamapadi (a commentary on the Kdvya prakasha) of Shivarama Tripathi, the son of Krishnaram; KavikauStubha of Raghunath, Kdvyakaumudi or Ratnabhushana, the Kavyasdrasamgraha (comprising three parts: Kavyalakshana y Varnasamgraha and Subhdsitasamgraha) of Shrinivas Dikshit, the Rasamlmdmsd and the Nauka (a commentary on the Rasatarangim of Bhanudatta) by Gangaramajadi, the Rama (a commentary on the Chandrdloka of Jayadevapiyu§avarsa) by Vaidyanatha Payagunqla, the

Rasikaranjana (a commentary on Bhanudatta's Rasamanjari) by Vrajaraja Dikshit and the Alamkaramanjarl of Sukhalala.

Grammar:

The distinguished writer in Grammar, Nageshabha^ta (well known as Nagojibhatta), the student of Haripant, the son of Bhattoji Dikshit, wrote Paribhdsendushekhara } Laghumanjushd, Sphotavada , Laghushabdendushekhara and the Brihatshabdendushekhara } the commentaries on the Siddhdntakaumudl, the Mahdbhdsyapradlpodyota, a commentary on Kaiyata's Pradlpa, a commentary on the Mahabhasya and the Mahdbhdsyapratydkhydnasamgraha. Besides works on grammar he is accredited with a number of works on Dharmasastra, Jyotisha, Saddarshanas and Alamkarashastra. He ascribes his commentary gabdaratna on the Praudhamanoramd to his teacher Hari Dikshit. His disciple Vaidyanath has written many commentaries viz., Gadd on the Paribhdsendushekhara, Chaya on the Mahdbhdsyapradipodyota f Raid on the Vaiyakaranasiddhantarnanjusd, Prabhd on the £abdakaustubha etc.

Jnanendrasarasvatl's Tattvabodhim is a commentary on Sid dhantakaumudi.

Music and Dance:

Tulajirao, the king of Tanjore (1729-35) wrote the Sangitasdram rita, an extensive work on the southern system of music. His Ndtyavedagama deals with dancing. Ahobila Pan<Jit (1750-77) composed the Sangitapdrijdta, which was translated into Persian by Dinanath. He, for the first time, described the twelve svairas in terms of the length of the string of the Vina. Based on this work, Pandita Shrinivasa wrote Rdgatattvctivibodha wherein he fixes the positions of his shuddha and vikrita svaras with the help of the sounding string of the Vina. He also gives interesting details about the srutisvaras and the Murchhands. With the help of musicians, Pratapasimha Deva, the Maharaja of Jaipur (1779-1804) compiled the SahgUasdgara, an encyclopaedia of music. Tyagaraja, the great musician and the devotee of &ri Rama, composed some of his songs in Sanskrit, like the other two great musicians, Muttuswami Diksita and Shyamasastri. One of the distinguished writers of this period was the Maharaja Bala Rama Varma (1724-1798) of Travancore, who was also a poet of distinction. Based on the contemporary

theatrical tradition of Kerala, he wrote the Balardmabharata, which, besides expounding the details of Bharata's Natyasastra, refers to the details of Abhinaya as in vogue in Kerala. The King Narayanadeva's treatise Samgitandrdyana (4 chapters) deals with music, dancing, musical instruments and musical compositions. Vasudevapatra's Kavichintdmam (24 Kiranas) deals with music in the last three Kiranas.

Astronomy, Astrology:

In the field of Astronomy, Raghava (also known as Appiajlpant Khandekar) wrote Khetakriti. Ramarudra of Bengal wrote Jyotishasdrasamgraha, Paddhcutichandrika and Panchdngdrka.

Dinakar of Poona wrote a number of works on the Jyotish-shastra such as Grahavijnanasdrim, Masapraveshasdrim, Yantrachintdmariitlka, etc. Mathuranath wrote the Y antrarajahatand and Jyotishasid dhdntasdrah. Chintamam Dikshit's Suryasiddhantasdrini and Goldnanda and Raghudev's Dinasamgraha dealing with the auspicious days for religious observances, are the other noteworthy works.

Medicine etc.:

Under Mahadji Sindia, Jogaraja composed Ashvaphalaprakdsha, a work on the veterinary science. Another medical work Pratdpakal

padruma was written by Ananta under the patronage of Pratapasimh of Jaipur. The Vichdrasudhakara of Ranga Jyotirvid of Junnar (district Poona) deals with piles.

At the request of Rajavrajalala of Benaras, Bhaskara Nrsimha wrote a commentary on the Kdmasutra.

D harmashdstra:

The field of Dharmashastra was enriched by many works. Kashinath Upadhyaya wrote the Dharmasindhu (also known as the Dhormasdra), Prayashcittendushekharai etc. Pandits like Colebrooke, Kuberopadhyaya and Chitrapati wrote Dattakachandrikd and the Vyavahdrasiddhdntapiyusa respectively. Under the orders of the Prince Cheta Sinh of Benaras (1770-1781), Devaraja compiled the PrayashciHaswrngraha. Mayaramamisra Gauda composed the Vydvahdranirnaya, Vyavaharasdra, Mitaksarasara etc. Bapubhatta Kelakar wrote the Utsarjanopdkarmaprayoga, PrdyashchittamanjarX and ShrdddhamainjcLri. At the instance of Samgramasimha, the Sadd~ chararahasya was compiled by Anantabhatta. Nagesh, the son of Venkatesha of Haldipur wrote the Agamagrantha, Tarttrikamuktavali and SmrtyarthamuktdvaVi. Other important works were the Balambhatti of Balambhatta Payagunda, Ddyakramasamgraha of 6ri Krisna Tarkalamkara, DharmcCtattvaprakdsa of Shiva, Vratamja of Vishvanatha, Dattachandrika of Raghumani, Snvrtichandra of Bhavadeva Nyayalamkara, Nirnayasdra of Nandarama Misra, Navyadharmapradlpa of Krparama, Sahanumaranaviveka of Anantarama, Nirnayakaustubha) of Vishveshvara, Vivadarnavasettu compiled by the Pandits Baneshvara and others at the instance of Warren Hastings, etc.

Philosophy:

In the realm of the Advaita philosophy, Sadashiva Brahmendra Sarasyatl, wrote Brahmatattvapraikdshikd, a commentary on the Brahmasutras, SiddhdrttakalpavalVi, a poetic version of the Siddhdnta leshasangraha of Appayya Dikshit, Atrimndtrimviveka^cimgraha, Sarvavedantasdrasamgraha etc. Besides his commentaries on all the 108 Upanisads , Sri Upanisad Brahmendra Sarasvati wrote other works like the Bhagavadgitdbhdsya, Pararnddvaitasiddhdntaparibhd^a, and Tattvasiddhdntavritti —in all comprising 45,000 granthas. Ayyanna Dikshit discussed the interpretation of the Brahmcvsutras by different teachers in his Vydsatatparyanirnaya and pointed out the tenability of the & diikarabhdsya . Among other works, we may mention Tryambak Shastri's Bhasyabhdnuprabhd, ShriXtimatodaya) and Advaitasiddhdntavaijay anti.

The Shuddhadvaita school was enriched by Dasha-digantavij ayi Purushottam (1668-1781), the seventh descendant of Sri Vallabhacharya. He wrote the Prasthanardtndkaird, AvatdravddqLVCili besides, commentaries on the Vallabhacharya's Anubhdsyd 9 Tattvadipanibandha etc., and on Vitthalesha's Vidvanmandana. He is said to have written more than 67 works comprising nine lacs of slokas. Gopeshvaraji, honoured as

Sarvajna, wrote the commentary Raskrrvi on the commentary Prakasha of Purushottama on the Anubha&ya , and the Bhaktimdrtanda which analyses the doctrine of Bhakti under foujr heads viz. prdmdnd, prameya, sddhana and phala.

The Dvaita doctrine was' further expounded by Raghunath TErtha (alias Sesachandrikacharya) whose commentary Sesachandrikd was written to complete the Tatparyachandrikd of Vyasaraya. His other works include a commentary on Tcmtrasdra, on the Isdvasyo panisadbhdsyafikd (in 1,720 granthas) and on Karrnxmirnaya. Sumatindra Tirtha of the Raghavendra Mutt was a prolific writer—a doctrinaire, a poet and an Alamkarika. His works include glosses on the Prameyadipikd of Jayatirtha, the Rgbhdsya, the Tantrdsara etc. Satyaprlya Tirtha also wrote glosses on the Tdttvdprdkdshika, Mundakopcmi?dd, Mdndukyopdnisad etc. The magnum opus, the BhasyadXpika (19,150 granthas), of Jagannatha Tirtha explains every word of the Madhvdbhdsya. He also wrote the Sutrddipikd (1,630 granthas) giving the Madhva interpretation of the Brdhmasutrds. Vadindra Tirtha commented on the Tattvcuprakashika and composed the Gurugundstdva, a poem in thirty-six srdgdhdra verses, in praise of Raghavendra. The last of the pontifical writers was Satyadharma Tirtha, the contemporary of the Peshwa Baji Rao II (1795-1818). He wrote glosses on the Tdttvdsdmkhyand and on the Bhdgdvdtd, and commentaries on the Visnutdttvanirndya and on a part of Valmiki’s Rdmdydna, besides the Nitydsdmsdrilingdbhanga, a theological work. A compendium of Madhva philosophy called the Mddhvdsiddhdntd >sqjrd was prepared by Vedagarbha Padmanabhacharya.

Bhaskarakantha of Kashmir wrote the Bhdskdn, a commentary on Abhinavagupta’s Pratydbhijridvimdrsim. His Ldlldvdk is a Sanskrit translation of the Kashmiri work of Lalla. Shivopadhyaya expounded the Vij'nrnidbhditdvatantrd by writing a commentary on it. The Saivaite tenets were defended by Appayya Dikshit of Edayattumangalam in his Vimdtdbhdnjdna and by Tyagaraja Makhin (popularly known as Raju Shastri) in his Nydyendushekhdrd.

Baladeva Vidyabhusana’s Govinddbhdsya cn the Brahmd Stitrds, Siddhdntdrdtna and Prdmeydrdtnavdli deal with the Chaitanya Vais navism like Vishvanath’s Kri^abhdvanamrta, Gaurdngalilamrta and Krisnahnikakaumudi. Among the Jaina works, a reference may be made to the Prameyaratndlamkara of Abhinavacharukirti Panditacharya.

In the field of Nyaya, Krisnakanta Vidyavagisha wrote the Nydyaratnavali, the Uparndnachintdmanitikd and the Sabdashakti prakdshikdfikd. Rudrarama’s Vadapariccheda, V yqkhytivyuha, Chittarupam and Vaishe§ikashdstrfyapadarthanirupamam as well as Gaurikanta Sarvabhauma’s Bhavarthadipika (a commentary on the Tarkabhasa) and Saduktimuktdvali deserve to be noted along with the Gadadharikarnikd of Krishnabhatta Arde and the Vydptirahas yafika of Mahadeva Uttamakara. In the Prabhakar school, Ramanujiacharya wrote the Tantrarahasya.

APPENDIX

The Historical Value of the Marathi Bakhars

(By the Editor)

The writer of this chapter has given an account of the Bakhars (pp. 666-667) but has not discussed the value of these well-known chronicles as source-material for history. As this is expected in a historical work, the following statement may be quoted as a reasonable one:

“The Bakhars are neither acceptable as real literature nor as history. They can only be classed, as Hervadkar says, in a separate category, embodying both features. From the historical point of view they are very valuable as revelations of the spirit of Maharashtra—its characteristics, traditions, dress, ornaments, culture, social life, religious movements—in other words, the image and personality of Maharashtra, are brought to life. As a source of Mar£thi§ culture they are invaluable. But as a source of authentic history they are dangerous—projecting a distorted, one-sided, prejudicial view of history—and cannot be accepted as source-material by any serious historian. Grave error has been perpetrated and harm done to Marath& history by the use of Bakhars in writing so-called histories.”

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

NOTES

1. Mukhopadhyaya, Sukhamay, Madhyayuger Bangla Sahityer Taihya O Kalakrama (In Bengali, p. 304).

2. Ibid, p. 314.

3. Ibid, pp. 321-22.

4. The account that follows is based upon the text of the Maharashtra-Purana, Ed. by Eld Weird C. Dimock and Pratul Chandra Gupta, (1961).

5. - Ibid, pp. 26, 28, 30.

6. Ibid, pp. 30, 32.

7- Chatterji, S. K.: Languages and Literatures of Modem India, p. 208.

8. B. K. Barua, Assamese Literature (P E N. Books), p 87.

9. History in Modern Indian Literature, Ed. by Dr. S- P- Sen, p. 45. The date of the Duranga-raja-Vamshavali is given by B. K. Barua as 1806 (op. cit.).

1(J. Jinaharsha Granthavali, Ed. by Shri Agarchand Nahta. (Published by Shadul Rajasthani Research Institute, 1962).

11. Jaina Gurjar Kavio, Pt. II, p. 386.

12. Ibid, Pt. n, p. 473.

13. Bhave, V. L., Maharashtra-Saraswat, 1963, p. 493.

14. Powadas or Historical Ballads of the Marathas, Ea- H- A. Acworth, 1891 (Introduction) .

15- S. R. Sharma, The Founding of Maratha Freedom (Orient Longmans), 1964, pp. 442-443.

16. Rajwade, V. K., Aitihasik Prastavana , 1928, p. 2.

17. Ibid, p. 349.

18. Ibid, p. 348.

19. G • S • Sardesai, Marathi Riyasat, Vol. 6, Peshwa Balajirao Nanasaheb, 1953, p. 437.

20. Y. K. Deshpande, Mahanubhaviya Marathi Vangmaya, (Shaka 1847), p. 94.

21. R. C. Dhere, Prachin Marathichya Navadhara, 1972, p. 23.

22. D. K. Kelkar, Marathi Sahityache Sinhavalokan, (1963), pp. 506-509.

23- History in Modem Indian Literature, Ed. by Dr. S. P. Sen, p. 146.

24. Rahman Ali, Tadhkira-i-Ulama-i-Hind, Karachi, 1961, p. 296.

25. Ibid, p. 542; S. M. Ikram, Ab-i-Kauthar, Lahore, 1940, pp. 191-224; Viswabharati Annals, Vol IV, Santiniketan, 1951, pp. 1-51; Zubaid Ahmad, The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, Allahabad, 1946, passim ; Ghulam Husain Jalbani, Shah Waliullah ki Ta J lim, (in Urdu), Hyderabad-Sind, (Pakistan), 1963, passim; Aziz Ahmad, Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment, Oxford, 1964, pp. 220-222; Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, Bombay, 1959, pp. 62-63.

26. Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition), p. 59; Muhammad Ishaq, India*s Contribution to Hadith Literature , passim; Rahman Ali, op. cit., p. 302; Aziz Ahmad, An intellectual history of Islam in India , Edinburgh, 1969, pp. 68-70; Malfuzat-i-Shah Abdul Aziz, 1960, pp. 8-35.

27. Rahman Ali, op. cit., pp. 525-526.

28. Cf. Dr. Iqbal Ansari’s article on ‘Bahr al-Ulum* in Burhan Monthly, Delhi, Vol. 74, May, June and July, 1975; Rahman Ali, op. cit., pp. 304-306.

29- Muhammad Yusuf Kokan, Khanwada-i-Qadi BaSr al-Dawlah, Madras, 1963. Vol I, p. 148.

30. RahmaruAH op. cit, pp. 362-363, Brockelmann, GAL, SII, Leiden, 1938, p. 624; C. A. Storey, Persian Literature, pp. 855-862.

31. Rahman Ali, op. cit., pp. 491-494.

32. Cf. Burhan Monthly, Delhi, Vol. 75, September 1975, pp. 155-171.

33. Si M. Ikram, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

34. Rahman Ali, op. cit., pp. 142-143.

35. Vide supra, foot-note No. 2.

36. Vide supra, foot-note No. 3.

37- See F. M. Asiri’s article, Chandra Bhan Brahman and his Chahar chaman, in Viswabharati Annals, Vol. IV, pp. 51-62; Iqbal Husain, Chandra Bhan Brahman, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, xviii, 1945,- p. 115.

38. Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 237.

39. S. M. Ikram, The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan , O U P., 1953, p. 108.

40. Cf. the writer’s critical edition of the text, published by the Asiatic Society Cal., B I. Series, 1969.

41. Storey, op. cit., p. 716.

42. Storey, op. cit., p. 718

43- Cf. S. H. Askari's article on 'Kalyan Singh's Khulasat al-Tawarikh,' in Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVII, No. 3, 1941, pp. 340-358.

44. Russell lecture delivered by Prof. Humayun Kabir at Patna College on 'Mirza Abu Talib Khan', as published in Indo-lranica, XVII, No. 4, pp. 1-23.

45. Siyar, (Tr.), Vol. II, pp. 164-185.

46. Storey, op. cit., pp. 840-849.

47. Ibid, pp. 830-833.

48- A. Sprenger, Oudh Catalogue, Calcutta, 1854, p. 132.

49 Storey, op. cit., 834-840; Sprenger, op. cit., p. 133.

50. Storey, op. cit., pp. 862-866.

51. Historical Landmarks of the Deccan, Allahabad, 1907, p. 58.

CHAPTER XX

RELIGION

Hindu Religion ;

A foreigner visiting India in the 18th century was much impressed by the religiosity of its people. From the early hours of the morning till late at night there were manifestations of the overpowering fervour of religion. In the morning, the river banks, lakes and ponds, were thronged with men and women taking a dip in the cold water, chanting religious hymns, and then making their way to the nearby temples to offer flowers and fruits and incense to their favourite deities. Then small processions with music playing, were seen winding their way to temples. In the afternoon the Puranik read out to his audience portions of religious works like Jndneshwari or Pdndav Pratdp or Bhdgavata Purdna. In the evening Hari Kirtans were common.

In the house of the Hindu there was a small niche where he worshipped his family deities, and ancestors. When he sat down to lunch or dinner, he would make offerings to his deities. There were special days like Rama Navami, Ganesh Chaturthi to mark the worship of some God or other. Religious performances filled the days of the Hindu. There were temples dedicated to Rama, Shiva, Ganesh or Hanuman, in towns, among shady groves or on crests of hills which pilgrims were always visiting, greeting each other with the name of their deity from time to time. When the end came, the name of Rama was always on the lips of the dying man.

As Forbes found out, "divested of extraneous matter, there was a great deal of purity and sublimity in the genuine principles of the Hindu religion. In its simplicity, it taught that there was one supreme ruler of the universe who was styled Brahma, the Great one; this supreme intelligence consisted of a triad or triple divinity expressed by the mystic word OM, and distinguished by the name of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, or the creative, preserving and destructive powers of the Almighty. Images of these attributes were placed in temples and worshipped daily." 1

This abstruse and sublime religion had, in course of time, been supplanted by a system of polytheism and idolatry. The higher ranks of the Hindus had always the Vedanta philosophy at th6 back

of their mind. Not wishing to disturb the popular mind, or actuated by their respect for immemorial custom, they permitted the worship of the established gods to continue representing them as so many forms or symbols of real Divinity. Thus "ancient polytheism kept its ground and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes who superseded the deities from whom they derived their divinity." 2

Decay of learning was responsible for this state of affairs and led to gross superstition, a childlike faith in religious rites, idolatry, necromancy and belief in astrology from which the Indian mind is not yet totally free

Symptoms of decadence were discernible in some of the religious sects amongst the Hindus, but saints like Prananath in Bundelkhand, Shantidas and SwamI Narayan in Gujarat, RampraSad Sen in Bengal and Baladev Vidyabhushana in Orissa made heroic efforts to raise the spiritual life of the people to a new height. Bitter quarrels prevailed amongst the Tenkalai and Vadakalai sections of the followers of Ramanuja in the south, culminating in the institution of a law suit by the latter in the court of the Collector of Trichinopoly in 1833. 3 The hostile attitude of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Krishnagar and his courtiers compelled the Vaishnavas of Navadwip to hide the image of Chaitanya in a jungle. As many as eighteen thousand Vaishnava Bairdgis are said to have been killed by the Nagas in a free fight between the two sects in 1729-30 A.D. 4 But the Peshwas followed a tolerant policy towards all religious sects. M. G. Ranade recounts that 8 Muslim Dargds, 10 places dedicated to the Devi, 52 to Maruti or Hanuman, 18 to Rama, 9 to Vishnu, 34 to Vithoba, 12 to Balajl, 40 to Mahadeva, 36 to Ganapati and 32 to the aboriginal gods received financial help from the Maratha State. 5 The preponderance of the temples dedicated to Hanuman and Rama must have been due to the influence of the preachings of Ramadas and his followers.

A remarkable feature of the religious life of the eighteenth century was the production of a series of biographies of saints in some of the most important modern Indian languages. The earliest of these was written in 1712 by

Priyadasjl in Hindi in the form of a commentary on Nabhajl's Bhaktamdla. It is really a supplement to the original work which contained only a string of names with a few broad hints on the lives of saints. • Nafahari Chakravarti wrote his Bhaktiratndkara and Narottamavilasa in the early part of the eighteenth century in Bengali. The most prolific writer on the lives

ot saints was Mahlpati (b. 1715), the grandson of the famous Maratha poet Bhanudas. He wrote the Bhaktavijaya in 1762 and the Bhaktaltldmrta) in 1774. All these books became immensely popular, and helped to sustain the strength and vigour of the masses in the midst of political catastrophe and economic spoliation. These works throw important light on the social life of the period. Great saints had appeared in Maharashtra from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century preaching divine presence everywhere.

The Shakti cult in Gujarat received a great impetus from the writings of Vallabha Bhat (c. 1680-1751?), Nath Bhawan (c. 16811761?) and Mitnu Bhagat (1738-1796). All these poet-saints were Brahmins. Vallabha Bhat's Garbds are sung in Gujarat even today during the Navardtri festival. They are full of tender sentiments, humility and the spirit of self-surrender which usually characterise the lyrics written by the Vaishnava devotees. Three new sects with distinctly reformist tendencies attracted a number of converts in Gujarat. The first of these was the Ramasanehi sect founded by Sadhu Shantidas according to some, and by Ramacharan according to others. 6 Being born at Jaipur in 1719, he became an ascetic at the age of thirty-one, founded the sect in 1769 and died in 1798. He asked his followers to abjure image worship and to concentrate their thoughts on Rama. He prescribed the offering of prayers in the morning, noon and in the evening and prohibited the taking of any food at night. He was pained to find moral laxity in the Vallabhachari sect. He enjoined strict moral discipline and did not allow men and women to sit together at the time of prayers. His followers are to be found at Ahmadabad, Surat, Bombay, Poona, Hyderabad and in Rajasthan. They do not observe the Hindu festivals like Diwdli, Holi and Dasserah, but celebrate the Fuldol in the first month of spring, by feeding a large number of Sadhus with sweets. On this occasion eight of these Sadhus constitute a court to try cases of moral turpitude. Those who are found guilty are excommunicated. 7 The second sect was founded by Madhavgar, a Karibi farmer of Nadiad in Gujarat in the early years qf the nineteenth century. He raised his voice not only against the worship' of images, but also against the practice of rendering homage to Gurus. He condemned the caste distinctions and did away with the practice of untouchability. But as he had no church organisation to back up his efforts, he failed to make many disciples. 8

The greatest of the reforming sects in Gujarat was founded by Sahajanahda Swami, who became famous as Swam! Narayan (17811830). He was bom at Chappaiya, about ten miles from Ayodhya,

on the Rama NavamI day. Like Nityananda he became a Sannyasin at the age of twelve in 1793. His Guru was one Ramananda, who after visiting many holy places, settled in Kathiawar. Sahajananda was accepted as an incarnation of God as early as 1804, when his disciple Laljee described him as such in his book, called Yama Danda? About that time he settled down at Ahmadabad, but the orthodox Brahmins made his stay there so uncomfortable that he had to retire to Wartal. He erected there a temple of LakshmiNarayan. At present there are two other main shrines there, one containing the image of Krishna in the middle, Radha on the right, and Swam! Narayan on the left, and the other having images of Krishna, Dharma and Bhakti. He directed his efforts to the abolition of bloody sacrifices, Satl, infanticide and especially the eradication of immoral practices prevalent in the Vallabhiachari sect. A large number of people joined the Satsang, set up by him and gave up meat and wine. Many people belonging to the so-called criminal tribes gave up opium and tobacco and took to honest occupations. Prof. Monier Williams visited Wartal in 1875 on the occasion of the Kdrtiki Pumimd. He saw a concourse of at least 10,000 members of the sect and estimated the strength of the sect at more than 2,00,000 persons. He procured a copy of the Shikshapatn of Swami Narayan, covering 212 precepts and published its translation. In these Swami Narayan prohibited adultery, killing of any living creature—not even a louse, flea or the most minute insect—and the use of intoxicating liquor. He showed some sympathy for the untouchables and allowed them to sit in a corner at the ceremonial annual congregation. But his general attitude to the caste system was conservative in nature. He wrote:

“Nowhere except in Jagannath Puri let a man accept water or food which has been cooked by one from whom food is not to be taken, even though that food may have formed the prasada of Krishna.

“Let no one abandon the duties of the class and order to which he belongs, nor practise the religious duties of others.” 10

He prescribed different sectarian marks for the twice-born classes and the Shudras. He was not in favour of remarriage of widows. He wanted them to live always under the control of the male members of their family and prohibited them from receiving instruction in any science from any man excepting their nearest relations. He asked his male disciples never to listen to religious discourses delivered by women. He held the tenth book of the Bhdgavata Purdna as the supreme authority.

Prananath, a Kshatriya by caste, became prominent as a religious teacher at Panna in Bundelkhand at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He acquired great influence on Raja Chhatrasal by helping him to discover a diamond mine. He was equally proficient in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. He wrote as many as fourteen treatises, trying to prove that there is no essential difference between the teachings of the Vedas and the Holy Quran. The construction of his writings is purely in Hindi, but the vocabulary is mainly supplied from Persian and Arabic sources. He recruited his followers both from the Hindus and the Muslims and allowed them to retain the rituals and practices of their forefathers. But at the time of initiation they had to take the meal in the company of members of both the communities. The concluding portion of his book on the Day of Judgment exhorts:

Put off sloth, be vigilant; discard all pride of learning. He who hears with perfect faith will be the first to believe. Afterwards when the Lord has been revealed, all will believe... . Lay your soul at your master’s feet; this is what Chhatrasal tells you. 11

The followers of the sect are called Dhdrrus because they consider God as their Dhdma or home. Prananath laid great emphasis on service, love and compassion for humanity.

Another promoter of Hindu-Muslim unity was Jagjlvan Das, a Kshatriya belonging to Awadh. He was the disciple of a neo-Sufi named Bulla, the disciple of Yari Saheb (1668-1725). His Hindi book Juana Prahash was written in 1761. He founded the Satnami sect, though there were people called Satnamis even before his tim§. The Satnamis believe in monotheism, but adore the incarnations of Rama and Krishna. The lay followers of this sect are to be found in Varanasi, Kanpur, Mathura, Delhi, Ayodhya, Hyderabad and Gujarat.

Shiva Narayan, a Rajput of the Uttar Pradesh, founded a sect in the first half of the eighteenth century with the object of bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer. Disciples were admitted to the sect not only from these two communities but also from the Christian. Shiva Narayan wrote as many as twelve works in Hindi and one of these is dated 1735 A.D. He was a pure monist and he did not admit the validity of image worship. The followers of this sect are forbidden to use any animal food or intoxicant. They are exhorted to follow the path of devotion and self-restraint and cultivate the spirit of loving all mankind.

Garibdas (1717-1778), born in a Jat family in Rohtak district, founded a small sect, the followers of which worship God in the name of Rama, Hari and Allah. Garibdas advised his followers to eschew empty rituals and to adhere to the path of love and devotion. The attempts to build up a synthesis between the Hindu and the Muslim faiths, however, failed to achieve any lasting success.

The reformers who confined their activities to the Hindu fold only, attracted larger number of followers. One of them was Charanadas, born in Alwar in 1703 A.D. He denounced the prevailing tendency to moral laxity and laid great emphasis on the purity of character. According to him:

This universe is permeated by Brahman ; symbols like the Tulsi plant and Shdligrama shild are, therefore, useless. A good and pure life is the first word in religious life; love and devotion are its soul. But these are futile unless they are expressed through service, for the emotions of the heart are substantiated by action. 12

But, later on, the followers of the sect founded by him adopted Tulsi plant and the Shdligrama Shild with a view to disarming the hostility of other Vaishnava sects towards them. They worship Radha and Krishna. The secular followers of the sect belong mostly to the mercantile class. Their chief centres are in Delhi and in the upper part of the Doab. Charanadas himself wrote several books in Hindi and translated the Bhagavata Parana. His sister, Sahaji Bai, who succeeded him in spiritual authority, was also a learned lady. Her Hindi works, the Samdja Prakdsh and the Solah Nirnaya as well as the poems composed by her, are studied and recited even now. The Sadhus or clerical followers of the sect wear yellow garments and a small pointed cap round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban.

Towards the close of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century a new religious sect was founded by Paltudas. His spiritual preceptor was Govind Saheb, born in the district of Varanasi. The centre of the sect is at Ayodhya. The Paltudasis do not worship any image. The adherents of this sect are to be found in Awadh and Nepal. 13 \

The Rama cult received a new orientation in the poetic compositions of Ramasakhejl, whose Nritya-Raghava Milana was written in Hindi according to his own statement in 1747 A.D. He was born in a Brahmin family at Jaipur and was initiated by Vasishtha

Tirtha at Udipi. His works are considered as authoritative texts by the Rasika sub-sect of the Rama cult. The term Rasika is defined by him ‘as one who does not look at anything except the beauty of Rama and does not forget him even for a moment. When he hears the sound of a cuckoo or sees the dance of a peacock he becomes eager to meet Rama.’ He abjures the rituals prescribed in the scriptures and also does not care to refrain from the prohibitions ordained in them. 14 Ramasakhejl depicts Rama as performing the Rdsa-lild in a moonlit night on the banks of the river Sarayu. Like Krishna of the Bhagavata Puriina, Rama too disappears suddenly from the dance and his lady friends make frantic efforts to search him out in every bower. Following the examples of Rupa and Raghunath Gosvami of the sixteenth century, Ramasakhejl surrounds Rama and Sita with young devotees called Manjaris, whose highest ambition is to serve the holy couple without any expectation of reward. Besides these Rama is described as being surrounded by a hundred million male and female friends. In his Janakl-nau-ratnamanikya he describes the Danalild of Rama who, in the guise of a collector of tolls, exacts his dues in curds and pleasures from Sita and her female companions and later on takes them in a boat across the river Sarayu. The Naukd-vildsa of Krishna is hinted at in the Prakrit Paingala, a work of the fourteenth century and the Danalild is described by Narsi Mehta of Gujarat. These sports have been attributed to Rama in the middle of the eighteenth century by Ramasakheji. This is a departure from Valmlki, Kamban, Kumar Valmiki, Krittivasa and other writers of the Rdmdyana in modern Indian languages who describe Rama as devoted exclusively to his single wife Sita. ;

The followers of the Rasika sub-sect depict Rama as performing Rasa-lild with Gopakanyas, Devakanyas, Nagakanyias, Gandharvakanyas and Rajakanyas in his adolescence before his marriage with Sita. 15 Even after his marriage he is described to have performed Rdsa-Uld with the maids of Devas, GandharVas, Kinnaras, Vidyadharas and Yakshas as well as human princesses. 16 In imitation of the Krishndhnika Kaumudi of Kavi Karnapura and the Govindalildmrita of Krishnadas Kaviraja, Ramacharan Das wrote the Ashtayama-pujd-vidhi in the first quarter of the last century. The devotees of this sub-sect are instructed to consider themselves as sakhis or female friends of Sita and attend on her and Ramachandra, even when they are engaged in the most intimate relations.

Some of the adherents of the Bengal school of Vaishnavism carried the identification of Chaitanya with Krishna to such an extent that they atributed to the former the love sports of the latter and described Gauranga as a Nagara or lover of women. Qhaitanya is depicted in his standard biographies as a man of exceptionally pure character. He banished a favourite follower simply because he begged some fine rice from an old lady. But Narahari Chakravarti composed numerous songs describing how Gauranga responded to the love manifested towards him by married ladies of Navadwip. 17

Vrindavan and its surrounding areas became centres of propagation of the Bengal school of Vaishnavism amongst the people whose mother-tongue was Brajabha^ha. Priyadasjl, the commentator of the Bhaktamala, became a follower of the Chaitanyaite sect. His grandson, Rasajani Vaishnavadas completed the Bhdgavata in Brajabha$ha in 1750 A.D. and he commenced this work with adoration to Chaitanya. Many of the standard works of the Gosvamis were also translated in the Brajabha§ha in the eighteenth century.

A new sub-sect of the Vaishnavas, known as the Kartabhajas t arose in the district of Nadia. According to the tradition current in this sect it was founded by a recluse named Aulchand about the year 1721 A.D. He recruited a band of twenty-two principal disciples, the most important of whom was Ramasharan Pal, who is reputed to have organised the sect. He probably died in 1783. The headship of the sect devolved successively on his wife, then his son Dulal and then the latter's wife. In 1848 Akshoy Kumar Datta found millions of people adhering to this sect. Mahantas were set up at different rural centres to recruit new followers, to impart instructions to them and to collect the customary gifts and remit them to the headquarters at Ghoshpa^a. 118 This sect introduced the recital of mantras in Bengali and acknowledged the authority of Gurus from the non-Brahmin community. Pious Mussalmans were also selected as the heads of certain centres and the devout Hindu followers did not hesitate to take the remains of their food in secret. 19 The Kartabhajas were far in advance of the orthodox community in matters relating to social reform. They encouraged the remarriage of widows and discouraged the observance of rigidity of caste system in dining. Though the majority of recruits to this sect belonged to the Shudra order, yet some high class Brahmins also accepted this faith. Thus Jay Narayan Ghoshal, the Raja of Bhu-Kailash, refers to Ramasharan Pal along with Jesus Christ and Nanak as prophets of the age in his KaruTM-nidhdna-vilasa, published in 1813 A.D. He also states in the preface to this work that is one, Guru is one,

but devotees are many. At another place he regrets that he is too infirm to sing the qualities of the Kartd In 1819 Ward estimated

the number of Kartabhajds under the leadership of Dul&l Pal at 20,00Q. 21 A number of followers of the Kartabhajd sect disowned the authority of the Pals and set up an eclectic sect called Rdma'vallabht at Bamsabati. They regarded Ramavallabha as an incarnation of Shiva and held a great fair and festival on the Shiva Chaturdashi day in his honour and paid equal honour to and sang the names of Kali, Krishna, God and Khuda with equal gusto. 22 Another branch of the Kartabhajd sect became known as Sdhebdhani. It was founded by DukhI Ram Pal, who preached against the servility to the Guru and denounced image worship. They used to hold congregational worship every Thursday and freely partook of the food prepared by the devotees belonging to different castes and communities. 23 A sect known as the Spastaddyaka came into some prominence in Calcutta at the beginning of the last century. They did not recognise the divinity nor the absolute power of the Guru. Men and women lived in monasteries like brothers and sisters. The women shaved their heads but kept a small tuft of hair. 24 .

A vigorous protest against the authority of the Guru was also made by the Kishori-bhaja sect, organised by Kalachand Vidyalankara of Vikrampur. According to this sect there are two universes, one external with the planets and the other internal in the body of human beings. Man and woman should consider each other as the Guru. Males regarded themselves as Krishna and the females as Radha. They used to meet at night and sing and dance together. 25 Some of the songs recited by them were published by a band of reformers who wanted to have the sect suppressed. 26

Immoral practices indulged by a few persons here and there brought disgrace to the whole of the Vaishnava community both in western and eastern India. Ramaprasad Sen complained in the middle of the eighteenth century that the Vaishnavas corrupted the damsels and daughters-in-law in many households. 27

The moral standard which prevailed amongst the Shaktas was not much higher. Ramaprasad himself describes, how the hero of his Vidydsundara prayed to Kali for success in his efforts to seduce an unmarried princess and received her benedictions. Bharatchahdra goes a step further. As the goddess was pleased with the hymn composed by Sundara, she supplied him not only with the weapon with which the passage to the room of the princess was to be opened, but also took the trouble of writing an incantation on a copper-plate to help him in his design. In the earlier centuries deities like Chandi and Manasa are depicted as offering wealth power and progeny to their worshippers. But on the eve of the battle of Plassey they are represented as helping them in satisfying their carnal appetite. Signs of moral degeneracy can be detected also in the Shaivite literature. Rameshvara (c. 1677-1744) in his Shivayana describes how Shiva went out for alms to a village inhabited by the Koch tribe; and the young Koch women on hearing the sound of his bugle came out in large numbers and were seduced. 28 Raja Prithvichandra of Pakur also gives an account of the dalliance of Shiva with the Koch women in his Gauri-mangala, written in 1806 A.D. 29 This is a sad transformation of the great deity who burnt down Eros by his angry look.

The lower strata of the Hindu society in Bengal and Bihar worshipped strange creatures like Kaloo Rai, the patron saint of tigers, Rama Thakur, a ghost, and Malik Bayo, a deified Muslim conqueror. A poet named Nityananda wrote Kdloo-rdi-mangala under the patronage of Raja Rajanarayan of Kasijora (1756-1770). The book relates how the ferrymen adopted the worship of Kaloo Rai, the lord of tigers. 30 The cult of Baro Bhaiya, twelve Demons, the son of Vana Durga, a tree-goddess, came into vogue probably in the eighteenth century. This village cult was affiliated to Tantricism and Sanskrit mantras came to be used in its worship. 31

In some parts of Bihar the masses came to worship Rama Thakur, a ghost, whose cult was introduced, according to Francis Buchanan, by the grandfather of Raja Mitrajit of Tekari, who flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century. Buchanan also states that Malik Bayo, a Muslim conqueror, came to be worshipped as a village deity in the interior of the Gaya district. The Dusads worshipped a patron deity named Guriya. 32

It is no wonder that the Depressed classes should have a separate goddess for themselves. The Brahmins of Southern India considered it a defilement to tread upon the shadow of an outcaste Panchama. The upper castes of northern India did not consider it obligatory to bathe with their clothes in case of such a defilement, but they treated the Chandalas as worse than cats and dogs. There arose a number of saintly reformers amongst the Depressed classes. Following in the wake of Ra vidas, the Dorns or sweepers organised a sect called the Harischandris. Wilson only heard the name of the sect but could not ascertain what their tenets were. 33 Akshoy Kumar

Datta found by means of personal investigations the existence of at least two sects among the Depressed classes in Bengal and one in Orissa. Of these Balarama Hadi, the founder of the Balfc

rami sect, was born at Meherpur in the old Nadia district in 1785 A.D. His followers considered him as an incarnation of Rama and he himself explained that he was called a Hadi because he created the Hadct or bone. The Balaramls condemned caste system and image worship. 34 A cobbler of Shantipur (Nadia district) named Dapa Muchi founded a sect called after the Sanskritised form of his name Darpa-ndrdyani. He preached the identity of man with God. 35 A sect known as the Chamar Vaishnavas flourished in Orissa. They gave initiation to the cobbler caste. 36

Some of the hill tribes in Eastern India came within the fold of Hinduism during this period. A temple was dedicated to Krishna at Manipur during the reign of Charai Rongba (1698-1709). Gharib Niwaz Panhava, who was brought up by a Naga chief, ascended the throne of Manipur in 1714 A.D. He was converted to Vaishnavism of the Bengal school by Shahtidas Adhikari and advised his subjects to accept his religion as their own. The introduction of the new faith was opposed by Khongnangthaba, the champion of the tribal religion. But the King is said to have ordered the destruction of all the scriptures of the old religion. 37 According to some traditions current in Manipur, he became a follower of the Ramanandi sect later on. 38 The Chaitanyalte Vaishnavism was firmly established in Manipur during the reign of Jay Singh (1759 and 1763-1798) popularly known as Rajarshi Bhagya Chandra. He installed the image of Govinda in 1780 and introduced the artistic Rasa dance. 39 In 1790 the Kachhari Raja of Khaspur and his brother became recognised as Kshatriyas after entering the body of the copper effigy of a cow and emerging out of it. 40

In the border area of Orissa and Bengal arose two persons, Ramachandra Yati and'Raman anda Ghosh, claiming to be the incarnations of. Chaitanya and Buddha, respectively. Ramanahda Ghosh composed the Rama-tattva in 1762 and the Chandi-mangala in 1766. This illustrates the catholicity of his views. He has been eulogised as the founder of a new sect by his disciples Krishnakanta and by Ramshankara Deva, the author of Abhaya-mangalai 41 Ramachandra Yati states in his Rdmdyana that Kali sent him to this world with a view to exterminate the Mlechchas. But towards the end of his book he admits that he has failed in his mission. A manuscript of his work is dated in 1779-80 A.D. 42

A philosopher and leader of the Vaishnava community in Orissa, named Baladeva Vidyabhushana wrote an original commentary on the Brahmasutra some time before the battle of Plassey. He under took the task because the followers of Ramanuja, Nimbarka and Vallabhacharya tauntingly said that while each of the older Vaishnava sects had their special Bhashyas on Vedanta, the followers of Chaitanya had none. In explaining the aphorism II.3.47 he states that the individual is different from God. The sixteenth century philosopher, Jlva Gosvamin held that the relation between God and the individual is like that of Shakti with Shaktimat or the relation of the sun to its scattered rays. Baladeva thus made a significant departure from the philosophical tenets preached by the earlier teachers of the sect. His Guru was a disciple of Nayanananda, the grandson of Rasikananda, a great religious preacher of the early seventeenth century. Baladeva’s commentary on the Utkalikdvallari of Rupa Gosvamin was written in 1764 A.D.

The fervently emotional mystic songs composed by Ramaprasad Sen made the Shakti cult a great spiritual force in Bengal. He received a stipend in 1749 and a grant of land in 1759 from Maharaja Krishnachandra of Krishnagar and got one-third of an acre of residential land at Halisahar near Kalyani from Subhadra Devi in 1758. He condemned ostentatious ritualism and wrote: “Mind, why are thou so anxious? Utter Kali’s name, and sit in meditation. From all this pomp of worship the mind grows proud. Worship in secret, that none may know.” Again, he sang: “What have I to do with KasI? The lotus-feet of Kali are places of pilgrimage enough for me. Deep in my heart’s lily meditating on them, I float in an ocean of bliss.” He ridiculed the idea of fearing death and wrote: “You, a serpent, fearing frogs! How amazing! What terror of death is this in you, the child of the Mother-Heart of all? 43

Hindu power having been reestablished in Maharashtra at the end of the 17th century, Hindu religion received a stimulus unknown before. Old temples were repaired, morning and evening worship and religious celebrations were revived. Repetitions of religious texts and of holy books like Gita, Jnaneshwafi, Kirtans became the order of the day. The Peshwds and their Sardars spent lavishly on building new temples and renovating old famous ones. Among other temples the Peshwds built were Vateshwar by the side of the river Karha, Baneshwar near Sivaganga river, Devadeveshwar on the Parvati hill near Poona, Shakunteshwar in the sands of the Krishna river. The Tryambak temple was completed in 1786. The Peshwds also built ghats or steps leading to fords at Varanasi, Nasik and other holy places. His jdgirdars emulated his example in raising temples, Dharmashalas, etc. The charities of Ahalya B&i Holkar, who built temples at Maheswar, ghats at Varanasi, are well-known. Nana

Phadnis spent much money on temples at Menawali, Wai and other places up to Ellora. 44

The poet saints from Jnaneshwar to Ramdas popularised the central doctrine of the Maratha religion. It was that the great Divine Being pervaded the universe, that the soul of every human being was part of the universal spirit and it was man’s duty to seek perfection and reunion with Brahman by devotion, deeds of charity and undergoing a process of purification. The highest bliss, Moksha, was the ultimate reward of the good, while the wicked were punished by being reborn in forms distant from the union. The doctrine of all-pervading Divinity was accepted all round, but in actual life God was worshipped in various forms as Shiva, Vishnu, Ram, Ganapati, Devi Rhavani, Khandoba, etc. Temples dedicated to these deities occupied prominent places in towns, and studded the country-side.

Equally important with the public or communal worship was the worship of the family deities. Every household would have a comer assigned to worship and here would be a small collection of the Arddhya Devatd, the Kulaswdmi or the tutelary deity which in many cases would be Devi Bhavani or Khandoba. There would be small brass or silver idols representing Balakrishna, Parvati and Ganapati, Shaligram representing Shiva and a few taks which represented the family ancestors. A Maratha after ablution in the morning would spend some time in the Pujd before starting the work of the day. The higher castes spent more time and money over the daily rituals. Special days and occasions were marked for the public worship of particular deities by offering them incense, flowers and fruits and other gifts through Brahmin priests. The Ekadashi (11th day) of Asddha and Kdrtika became occasions for pilgrimage to Pand-harpur. Maha SMvardtri was dedicated to Shiva and there were special days for public worship of Ram, Ganapati and Dattatreya.

The family priest or Upadhyaya advised the family about religious and social observances. But its keeper of conscience was a saintly person of repute. In Hindu religion Sadhus and Sannyasis have always been held in great reverence on account of their selfless life and renunciation of worldly affairs. Some of these Sannyasis would get such celebrity that people would flock round them for advice and instruction. Such a person was styled Guru or Mahapurush. ShivajI, the founder of the Maratha State, venerated Ramdas. He likewise respected Mauni Bawa of Patgaon and found time

to visit him amidst his busy round of duties. Brahmehdra Swami was the spiritual guide of the Peshwd family and much respected at Raja Shahu’s court. Maratha chiefs sought his intercession in their affairs. Mahadji Sindia used to seek advice of a Muslim saint Shah Mansur and used to prostrate himself at his feet. He spent much money in renovating temples at Mathura, Gokul, Vrindavan and Pushkar. 45

Despite the general prevalence of Hindu beliefs the worship of pre-Aryan tribal gods continued to thrive. The general mass of the people were ridden by superstition, and the Brahmin priests did little to discourage queer ceremonies and strange rites. In villages, temples to Bhairoba and Jotiba were common. Bhairav was kept happy by application of oil and Sindoor and cured snake-bites. He also forecasted the success or failure of undertakings. Mhasoba, Vetal, Vaghoba, Satwai, Tukai were other godlings whom the villagers feared and worshipped. These aboriginal godlings had been transformed into manifestations of Shiva and his consort, and were supposed to look after the health and welfare of the villagers. The nearby fields and orchards and hills had their spirits to be appeased with buffaloes, goats and fowls, depending on the degree of their malevolence. There was not a river, ford or tank which was not haunted by spirits and ghosts. Even the gates and walls of forts were not free from their influence. 46

The Bhakti movement of the middle ages was a protest against the ritual of Brahmanism and the superstition of the masses. The supremacy of one God was the first creed with everyone of the saints. The various forms in which God was worshipped were believed to merge finally into one Supreme Being. The rude concepts which prevailed among the people, the aboriginal and village gods, their frightful rites and sacrifices were denounced in forceful language. In the annual concourses at Pandharpur and Jejuri men forgot their caste distinctions and hailed each other as brothers united in a common endeavour. The movement had a general liberalizing influence on society and created a healthy social atmosphere rare elsewhere in India. 47

Islam:

The eighteenth century may be regarded as the period of transition from the Medieval to Modern Islam in India, and Shah Wallullah of Delhi (1703-62) has been aptly described as forming the bridge between the two. He was born on a cultured Muslim family

and his father Shah ‘Abd-al-Rahlm rendered great help in the compilation of the Encyclopaedic collection of religious edicts commissioned by Aurangzib. Waliullah proceeded to Arabia to study Islamic doctrines and sat at the feet of eminent teachers like Shaikh Abu Tahir Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al Kurd! of Medina who taught him Hadith, and Shaikh Sulayman Maghrib! who taught him Malikite Jurisprudence. He also studied under other Arab scholars. It is a strange coincidence that he was not only a contemporary of the great religious reformer, renowned all over the Islamic world, ‘Abdal-Wahhab of Nezd (1703-87), but both sat at the feet, more or less, of the same eminent Arab teachers. An eminent scholar, who lays stress on this point, has observed: “The two systems these two divines of the eighteenth century world of Islam worked out had the same source of inspiration, going back through the tradition of the study of hadith in unmystical Hijaz to the orthodox discipline of ibn Taimiya, and though it is difficult to establish any theory of mutual influence of either on the other, their two systems did come closer, if not actually merge, in the Indian Islam of the eighteenth century.” 4 *

This view, however, is not shared by all. For example, Murray T. Titus, the eminent author of the well-known book Islam in India and Pakistan , does not even mention the name of Shah Waliullah in connection with the Wahhabi Movement in India and observes: “The Puritanical sect, founded in Arabia during the eighteenth century by Muhammad ‘ Abd-ul-Wahhab, was destined to have farreaching influences throughout the Muslim world, and nowhere outside the land of its birth has that influence been more pronounced than in India. Although the sect as such has never been formally organised in India under the name ‘Wahhabi', yet the doctrine preached by certain of the Indian reformers have been of that school, and the popular tendency has been to describe their activities as the ‘Wahhabi' Movement'. 49

There is, however, no denying the fact that the ideas and doctrines of Shah Waliullah more or less conform to the Wahhabi doctrine summed up as follows by Titus himself:

“In general, the movement has been marked by renewed emphasis of tcuwhid (the unity of God); adherence to the principle of ijtihad , or the right pf the individual to interpret the Qur’an and the hadith (traditions), and rejection of the four orthodox schools of canon law; opposition to the worship of saints, which they hold to be a form of polytheism (shirk); and earnest endeavour to re

move all traces of the practices of early faiths from the worship of Hindu converts to Islam.” 50

These ideas were also preached by WalTulliah as has been briefly referred to in Vol. IX (p. 884) of this series.

According to Titus, the first appearance of the Wahhabi ideas in India was about 1804 A.D. when the Farazi sect was founded in Eastern Bengal by Hazi Sharlatullah. 51 This, has been described in Vol. IX (p. 884 ff.), but, as pointed out there, the movement in India was really started by Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Bareilly (1786-1831) who came under the influence of ‘Abdul Aziz, son of Shah Wallullah, and was inspired by the views of Shah Wallullah. As a matter of fact, there was hardly any difference between Wallullah and ‘Abdul Wahhab as regards the ends in view—Pure Islam must be reenacted and regenerated and the Muslim society in India which had been reduced to the lowest level, particularly in the political field, must again be mighty. But as compared with the views of ‘Abdul Wahhab, Waliullah’s Islam was more comprehensive, richer and more flexible and retained a marked Sufi colouring. In his Islam there was room not only for the Sunnis but also for the Shiahs who, quite contrary to the practice of the Wahhabis, follow various Imams.

Shah Wallullah, like ‘Abdul Wahhab, fully realised the danger of religio-ethical disintegration of Islam and his main efforts were directed towards rehabilitating the theory and practice of orthodox Sunni belief. “To this end he relied much more on the Malikite than the Hanafi approach to the Sunnah, regarding it as the most distinguished among theological sciences and their sources, a historically stable factor which could undergo no change.” 52

The collapse of the Muslim power in India in a way helped Wallullah’s ideas of restoring the vitality of Islam in India. During the heyday of Muslim rule the Qazls played a dominant role in the administrative system, and apart from the power and position their offices were also lucrative from the economic point of view. So a great stress was laid on the study of fiqh for the proper training of the Qazis. But this economic stimulus declined with the decay of the Muslim rule. So Wallullah could successfully commend the subordination of Muslim jurisprudence to the discipline of hadith on the one hand and a total absorption of the remnants of various Sufi disciplines into the orthodox Islam on the other. He thus completed the work of Sayyid Ahmad Sirhindl of the 17th century by channelling the streams of Sufi spiritual heritage into traditional Islam. 523

It is not possible in a general work of history to deal with the views of Wallullah in greater detail. But enough has been said to indicate that he was perhaps the most forceful personality during the eighteenth century who gave a new trend to Islam in India which bore fruit in the nineteenth century. This is amply testified by the activities of the movements generally referred to as Wahhabi Movements in India and dealt with in Volume IX of this series.

The Wahhabi Movement in India developed a militant political aspect, inspired by the dream of re-establishing Muslim rule in India by driving away the British. This has been dealt with in Volume IX, pp. 880 ff.

Fusion of the Muslim Communities:

The eighteenth century also witnessed the gradual fusion of the different groups or communities of Indian Muslims, known by the names of their original homes in Western and Central Asia (Iranis, Turanis, Afghans or Fathans) and the Hindu converts to Islam. They regarded themselves, and were regarded by others, as so many distinct classes or communities within the fold of Islam in India. The difference was akin to, but less rigid than, the different castes of the Hindu society. A brief reference may be made to the first three, but the fourth, who vastly outnumbered them, requires a somewhat prolonged discussion.

(i) The Iranis or Persians occupied a special position on account of their ancient culture. It has been said that the old cultural link between India and Iran was renewed by the advent of Islam. Their superior cultural heritage received due recognition and it has been well said that during the pre-Mughul period "the Turks and the Afghans were the muscles whereas the Persians supplied the brain of the Muslim aristocracy of India." 53

(ii) The Turanis were Turko-Mongol by race, "more to be commended for their valour than beauty; a square, stout, strong people, having flatter faces and flat noses. .. ." 54 They were far more numerous than any other foreign Muslim people who settled in India. They are described as follows by Aurangzlb in his last will and testament:

"The Turani people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night-attacks and arrests. They feel no suspicion, despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat in the very midst of a fight,. . . and they are a hundred stages remote from the crass stupidity of the Hindustanis, who part with their

heads but not leave their positions (in battle). In every way, you should confer favours on this race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can." 55

(iii) The Afghans or Pathans never forgot that their ancestors were once the rulers of India and entertained the hope of again becoming the masters of the country. They had a 'deep-seated hatred for the Mughuls and, generally speaking, the relations between the two were never friendly.’ This spirit is reflected in some proverbs and games well known, at the beginning of this century, in Bengal where they found their last refuge. 56

(iv) The Hindu converts to Islam were by far the largest in number, but at the same time the lowest in social position among the Indian Muslims. From the very beginning, i.e., the conquest of Sind in 712 A.D., up to the eighteenth century, the conversion of the Hindus to Islam went on, not in hundreds but in thousands, specially in the Punjab and Bengal. The main instruments of this conversion on a massive scale were:

(i) Sheer force or violence,

(ii) Temptation of money and power,

(iii) Missionary efforts.

Each of these requires some elucidation. The first includes not merely actual violence and threats to violence but also the prospect of life that a Hindu had to face for refusal to accept Islam. This was clearly elucidated by a QazI of the Great Sultan Alauddin Khilji in the following words as recorded by a great Muslim historian:

“They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should without question, and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the officer throws dirt in their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it.To keep the Hindus in abasement is spe

cially a religious duty.” This is the best treatment that a Hindu could expect if he refused to accept Islam. For only the great doctor Hanifah allows the Hindus to live the life of a Zimmi as described above. The great historian clearly says that “doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but ‘Death or Islam.’ ” 57

That such treatment was actually accorded to people and various temptations were held out by offers of money and other privileges has been discussed in detail in Vol. Ill (p. 458), Vol. V (pp. 497-502), Vol. VI (pp. 24-25, 615-636) and Vol. VII (pp. 233

236) of this series. As a matter of fact, beginning from the conquest of Sind (A.D. 712) up to the death of Aurangzlb (A.D. 1707)—and in a few cases even beyond that—we hear too often of the massacre on a large scale of the Hindus and also forcible conversion on a mass scale caused by the fear of such a catastrophe. Titus remarks: “The slaughtering of ‘infidels’ seemed to be one thing that gave Mahmud (of Ghazni) particular pleasure”. 58 But this was true of many other Muslim invaders. Mahmud had good precedents. Muhammad ibn Qasim, the first successful Muslim invader of India, after conquering Debal, “forcibly circumcised the local Brahmins and when they objected to this treatment he put all the males over seventeen to death and the others, including women and children, were led into slavery.” No wonder, therefore, that “as he advanced and took their cities some people embraced Islam rather than die, and we may be sure that all who were made slaves were compelled to embrace the religion of the masters to whom they were allotted.” 59 When Qutb-ud-din approached Koil, Hasan Nizami tells us, “those of the garrison who were wise and acute were converted to Islam, but others were slain with the sword.” 60 At Kalin jar fifty thousand were taken as slaves. Such sickening stories 61 may be added in any number. We may therefore conclude with one of the latest incidents that happened in the middle of the eighteenth century. Muhammad Aslam tells us very candidly that “after the crushing defeat of Hindu arms near Delhi by Ahmad Shah Abdall about ninety thousand persons, male and female, were taken prisoners, and obtained eternal happiness by embracing the Muslim faith.” 62 We may be quite sure that these people were more anxious for their lives than “eternal happiness.”

No one outside a lunatic asylum would seriously believe that in such mass scale conversions sincere faith in Islam or anything like it would count in the least. Yet this process must be regarded as the major cause for the enormous growth of the Muslim population in Bengal, and so far as the recorded evidence goes, this one factor seems to be responsible for at least three-fourths—if not more—of the conversion of the Hindus to Islam.

As regards the last means of converting the Hindus to Islam, we have no definite information as to the extent of their success beyond a very moderate scale. There is not the least doubt that one of the major causes of whatever success they achieved was the very degraded position of the lower classes in Hindu society. There is some truth in the following statement of W. W. Hunter: “To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates and low-caste tillers of the

soil {to which others may be added), Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race; its missionaries were men of zeal, who brought the Gospel of the unity of God and the equality of men in His sight to a despised and neglected population/’ 63 But when we contrast the result of the activities pf the Christian missionaries in the 18th and 19 th centuries in a situation not very dissimilar, we cannot help thinking that other factors, notably the active official support and other temptations, counted for much in the success of the Muslim missionaries.

According to some writers the missionary efforts must be given the chief credit for the large number of conversions of Hindus to Islam. But this is a mere conjecture unsupported by facts recorded in history, as we have in the case of the first two means of conversion, namely force and violence accompanied by temptation.

It is a well-known fact that the largest number of converted Hindus is to be found in East Bengal, now called Bangladesh. The following statement of Titus may be quoted in support of what has been stated above: “Generally speaking, Muslim missionaries have followed in the wake of conquering armies. This was the case in the north, and in Bengal especially. Muhammad Bakhtyar Khalji swept over Bengal and Bihar at the close of the twelfth century A.D., and founded a Muslim kingdom there with headquarters in Gaur. Under the protection of this Muslim sovereignty, missionaries of the faith found freedom for the exercise of their zeal; and, as a result pf certain social and religious causes, they were eminently successful. In eastern Bengal, Islam is not confined to the cities and centres of Government, as is largely the case in Northern India. Here, even under the admittedly severe measures of many of the Muslim rulers to spread the religion of Islam, but few, comparatively, of the village people embraced the religion of their conquerors. But in eastern Bengal we find it mostly in the villages; and judging from the manners and customs of the followers of the Prophet, their physical appearance, and the caste distinctions which they still retain, it seems clear that these converts were recruited from the original inhabitants of the soil. In this part of India, Hinduism was not nearly so well organized and consolidated as in the northern, western, and southern parts of the country. The inhabitants were under the influence of a crude form of Buddhism; and, despised as they were by their proud Aryan rulers, who held them in disdain, they apparently welcomed the Muslim missionaries gladly." 64

There is some truth in the above statement, but we have no reliable and positive evidence in support of the view that the missionary efforts, pure and simple, should be counted as a very important, far less dominant factor, not to speak of the major factor, in the conversion of Hindus to Islam in India, in general, and in Bengal in particular. It is difficult to believe that pure missionary efforts should be more successful in Bengal, the remotest region from the centre of Muslim culture and authority, than the neighbouring provinces, or provinces like Madras (Tamil Nadu) where the lowest classes of people—the Panchamas—were the most despised or illtreated people in the whole of India.

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CHAPTER XXI

ECONOMIC & SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I. Economic Condition:

Changes in the social stratification:

The economic stratification in the Mughul period resembled a pyramid with a very small but extremely rich and extravagant upper class on the top and poor agriculturists and artisans at the wide bottom. The older Mughul aristocracy gradually decayed due to the escheat system, extravagance, profligacy and maintenance of large harems, as well as diminution of family size caused by the wars. Miscegenation was also a major factor in the degeneration of the Turkish and Afghan nobility settled in India. With the consolidation of the Mughul empire, the Brahmins retired from Muslim Courts, and pursued their traditional learning and taught the various systems of Hindu philosophy in their regular tols in big villages and towns far away from the capital cities. In, each village the school teacher was usually the Brahmin or the priest, though of course, Kayastha or Baniya schoolmasters were sometimes met with. It was some sort of universal education that was attempted in the villages of India in the mediaeval period when teachers were often hereditary, enjoyed rent-free lands or received voluntary gifts from each household; again, in an annual festival held in their honour, collections were made for them.

If the Brahmins fled from Muslim Courts, the latter found in the Kayasthas of Northern India capable and pliable instruments for the conduct of administration. The Kayasthas acquired the knowledge of the Persian language and of accounts, and filled all offices from secretaries and clerkships in the administration and the army down to the lowest village stewards. As the Muslim conquest extended southward to the Deccan the Kayasthas accompanied their Muslim masters as revenue officers and accountants, the Qanungos of districts and Patwaris of villages, and today this c&ste represents at once the most ubiquitous and flexible of all Hindu castes in India, abjuring cultivation and menial labour and cherishing the vocation of writing and keeping accounts everywhere. During the Mughul period Another Hindu caste, the class of Shroffs and Sahukars, traders and merchants also grew in wealth and importance, especially in the coastal regions of Bengal, Gujarat and the Coromandel.

The Economic Condition of the Agriculturists and Artisans:

Below this growing middle class, represented by the Kayasthas and the Baniyas who lived by service and trade respectively, were the mass of agriculturists. Even in Bengal which was a land of plenty they lived poorly. The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh, written in 1695, mentions that the staple food of the people of Bengal was rice and fish.

“The people have not even the custom of eating bread. Having cooked brinjals, herbs and lemon together, they keep it in cold water and eat it the next day. It is very delicious when mixed with salt. They carry it to distant places and sell it at a high price.”

Manrique, writing during 1629-1643, also gives the same picture:

“Their daily meal consists of rice with which, if they have nothing else to add, they take salt and are satisfied. They also use a kind of herb which is usually called Xaga (i.e., shakha or greens); those better off use rhilk, ghee, and other lacteous preparations.” 1

The Khulasat mentions that in Gujarat the principal food of the people comprised jawar and bajara. The rahi harvest was scanty. Both wheat and rice had to come from outside, wheat from Malwa and Ajmer and rice from the Deccan. Ovington (1689), mentioning that khichri was a very common food among the people, observed that it was made of dal, i.e., a small round pea and rice boiled together. John Fryer (1633-1681), who travelled mostly on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, mentions, “boiled rice, khichary, millet, and (in great scarcity) grass roots as the common food of the ordinary people; which with a pipe of tobacco contents them." 2 The mention of tobacco consumption by the general population is significant.

The artisan class also did not live in prosperity even where the fabricated luxury goods were in constant demand in the provincial and imperial Courts. For these, state monopoly of some kind was established or the supply of products sought to be insured by the appointment of state overseers. Peter Mundy (1630-1632) records that the sale of skein silk in Patna seems to have been a monopoly of the Governor. All silk yarn had to be bought through the Kotwal of the city at rates 25 to 37 per cent higher than what the

latter paid to the dealers. Similarly a Daroga i of the king's weavers was appointed for Bengal for the regular supply of muslin to the imperial Court. Sometimes the interference of the administration went to the extent of monopolising looms to secure special trading privileges for officials, or a ban was imposed on the use, purchase, and sale of certain luxuries. 3 Or again, the Governors made monopolies of important articles of food and clothing. Therefore, prices of articles depended not only on the annual rainfall but also on monopolistic conditions and cost of carriage. Only costly articles like indigo, cotton and silk piece-goods, spices, pearls and rubies could bear the high cost of carriage. For foodgrains, there could be only local markets.

In the eighteenth century when the calicoes, muslins and silks from the innumerable weaving centres of India were pouring into the Asiatic, African and European markets, the Dutch and the English factors and merchants contacted the weavers through Indian contractors and brokers (dalals) who had to reduce the prices of cloth (and hence the weavers' earnings) at the behest of the European merchants as it was the latter who solely monopolised the entire overseas trade. Later on, the European merchants employed their own salaried servants— gumastas^ Mutchulcahs, jachandars —who exploited the artisans even more. They obtained advances sometimes from different rival European Companies and distributed the capital among the groups of weavers, clandestinely trading on their own account, and keeping the weaving population under their strong grip.

Formerly, as Bolts mentions, “it was a common practice for reputable families of the tanty or weavers caste to employ their own capitals in manufacturing goods, which they sold freely on their own accounts. Thus an English merchant in the older days could secure 800 pieces of muslin one morning at Dacca without the interference of any dealers, pykars , or gumastas.” 4

But as the Company came to employ their own servants or gumastas to deal with weavers and artisans and armed them with its dustuck, they bought and sold duty-free, and the ‘inland trade of Bengal’, as Verelst observed, “soon grew into a vast monopoly in the hands of the servants of the Company and their gumastas. In every district, village and factory they brought and sold salt, betel-nut, ghee rice, straw, bamboo, fish,, ginger, tobacco, opium, and other commodities. They forcibly took away the goods of ryots and merchants for a fourth part of their value, and obliged the ryots to

give five rupees for articles which were not worth one.” 5 Similarly the gumastas took advantage of the Company’s monopoly in the cloth trade in exploiting, overawing and oppressing the weavers. Fines, imprisonments, floggings, forcing bonds from the weavers etc., were described by Bolts as the common method adopted by the Company’s agents and gumastas, as the result of which the number of weavers greatly decreased and the manufacture became dear and debased. 6

Dacca was one of the most important weaving centres in the 18th century. According to Abbe Raynal who wrote in 1785, even here the position of the weavers became precarious. He observed: 7

“Till of late, Delhi and Murshidabad were furnished from thence with the cotton wanted for their own consumption. They each of them maintained an agent on the spot to superintend the manufacture, who had authority, independent of the magistrate, over all the workmen, whose business had any relation to the object of his commission. It was a misfortune to them to appear too dexterous, because they were then forced to work only for the Government which paid them ill, and kept them in a sort of captivity. When the caprices of tyranny were satisfied, Europeans, other strangers, and natives were allowed to begin their purchases, but still, they were obliged to employ brokers established by the ministry, and as corrupt as they were.

These restraints and rigours put an end to industry, the child of necessity, but the companion of liberty.”

The Ru\n of the Indigenous'Shroffs and Mercantile Houses:

When the European factors and merchants first came, they borrowed capital freely from the Indian bankers or shroffs who had their Kothis interspersed throughout India from Dacca to Lahore and from Multan to Masulipatam. It is well known hov^ in the middle of the 18th century the Jagat Seths grew into great political importance in Bengal. It was they who were the financiers of the court of Murshidabad remitting the tribute of the province to the Delhi exchequer. The English Company also had to deal with the Jagat Seths. It was through them that they paid Rs. 12 lakhs to the Nawab of Bengal when he blockaded the Kasimbazar factory in 1749. Their wealth is thus described in Siyar-ul-Mutakheriii. ‘Their riches were so great, that no such bankers were even seen in Hindostan or Deccan, nor was there any banker or merchant that could stand comparison with them all over India. It is even certain that all the bankers of their time in Bengal were either their

factors, or some of their family.” Without the conspiracy of the Jagat Seths and another Hindu millionaire Umi Chand (who became the principal contractor of the English Company) with the English, Bengal could not have been conquered by them. A year after the battle of Plassey, when the Jagat Seths refused to provide a large loan to the English, Holwell wrote to Hastings, “A time may come when they may stand in need of the Company’s protection in which case they may be assured they shall be left to Satan to be buffeted.”

In Madras the English Company also sought and obtained the assistance of the Chetties, some of whom became the Company’s merchants and bankers supplying them with cash or bills of exchange on other Indian towns and cities. Similarly, in Gujarat the Nathjis became the shroffs of the Company assisting it in difficult financial times. It was the Nathjis ’ loan of 30 lakhs to the English in Bombay which supported Lord Lake’s expedition in 1804. Similarly, the Nepal War was financed by them in 1814.- 8 As the English Company established their monopoly in the inland trade of salt, cloth, betel-nut, tobacco, and other business, the big mercantile houses of the past gradually lost their importance, not to speak of their political influence. The price of salt doubled about 1765, and Awadh, Allahabad and Malwa, instead of importing salt from Bengal, began to consume rock salt that was produced in the dominions of the Rohillas. Similarly the trade in betel-nut and tobacco, two other necessaries of life, was monopolised in 1768 by the Company. All the merchants, including its own, were forbidden to carry these beyond the limits of Bengal.[9] When the European merchants first arrived, the Indian traders served as their brokers and cashiers lending or procuring them money upon bottomry or at interest. This interest which was usually 9% at least* was higher when the English Company was under the necessity of borrowing from the Seths. But the rich Armenian, Greek, Bengali, 'Moorish' and up-country merchants were gradually ruined due to the monopoly established by the English Company in the ordinary trade of the country. Bolts writes that the English Company ventured to assert that they had a right to trade in India and directed certain merchants, inhabitants of Calcutta, not to trade.[10] Many persons belonging to the merchant class now gave up trade, and thanks to the land reform introduced by Lord Cornwallis, acquired large and small estates.

The Kasimbazar estate was founded at the time of Warren Hastings by a gift to a silk merchant, Kantu Nandi, who once helped Hastings to escape from his enemies at Varanasi. Similarly, Hastings' Munshi, Nabakishen, became the founder of the Sovabazar estate and the chief zaminddr of Calcutta. The Chait Singh spoliation episode at Varanasi also created another zaminddri, that of the banker, Kashmiri Mai. In this manner, the accumulated capital which could no longer be adequately employed due to the ruin of trade and industry, began to be invested in land.

The Disruption of Village Communities and Peasant Rights:

Village communities began to disintegrate in the eighteenth century as the result of the increasing vogue of farming of government revenues. The farmer or contractor exercised some powers of sovereignty within the allotted district and owed allegiance to a superior chief or ruler according to his relative military strength or hold upon the rural population. The disorganisation of village communities was speeded up by Maratha invasions and by the creation of the new landlords by the British, side by side with the old farmers or assignees, chaudhuris, talukdars, jagirdars and other rentiers and superintendents. The Maratha overlords farmed out their pargdnas to bankers and Sahukars. All these intermediaries now dealt individually with the peasants or with the older headmen (now transformed into superior dealers), hardly invested capital in the land, and made the most of their temporary and insecure possession of the estates. When the East India Company assumed the Diwdni, about one-sixth part of Bengal according to Dow, was found by them in possession of the favourites and adherents of the princes, jagirdars, zammdars, farmers of revenue, etc. Many of these estates came into the Company's possession due to the failure of heirs and non-transferability. At this stage Lord Cornwallis created another fresh class of zamindars.

This caused an obliteration of many cherished customary rights and privileges of the peasantry. The cultivators gradually lost several important rights. For instance* in Bengal the ryot held his land by a kind of lease or pattd that was irrevocable, and could not be dispossessed until after a failure in rent payments for a year. Such a right was extinguished. The cultivator also received considerable tagavi advances from Government for the purchase of cattle and for constructing necessary reservoirs and canals for irrigation. 11 Buchanan mentions (1808-1815) that in most parts of Dinajpur district leases were granted in perpetuity to the ryots and in some places they "pretend to a right of perpetual possession at the usual rate of rent, if they have occupied a farm for 10 years."

This fixity of rents (that was later on to be restored through the creation of occupancy tenancy in Bengal) was done away with as a result of the Permanent Settlement. The "natural rent" at the beginning of the 19th century did not exceed one-fourth of the produce of the holding in Bengal.

Further, as new classes intervened between the actual tillers of the soil and the State, the profits of agriculture could not go back to the land, but were intercepted by the increasing group of intermediaries. A class, not altogether new to India, the landless proletariat comprised of serfs and farm-hands, also multiplied and was soon to come into great prominence in the economic life of the country.

The Vogue of Slavery:

It appears that slavery became wide-spread in India in the 18th century. Manrique stated that the governors of the provinces seized the wives and children of those cultivators who could not pay the revenue, made them into slaves and sold them by auction. Hamilton also mentioned that he was himself empowered to sell up the families of his debtors in Tatta without going to court. 12 Famine, epidemic, and eviction from the land were responsible for a considerable amount of slavery that was in existence throughout the country.

The Portuguese carried on throughout the 16th and 17th centuries a profitable trade in slaves, captured especially from Bengal, including "men, women, children and even babies at the breast who were carried off and sold at the slave market at Hughli." With the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hughli, Akra and Budge-Budge, lower down the Bhagirathi, were infested by slave ships even as late as 1760. In 1717 the Maghs carried off from the southern part of Bengal 1,800 men, women and children, and sold them off at Rs. 20 to Rs. 70 each for work inland in Arakan. It was estimated that three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arakan were natives of Bengal or their descendants.

Slaves were also used to be exported abroad normally from Bengal in the 17th century and were also included among the exports of the Dutch and English traders at Surat, Madras and Masulipatam! 3 In a Bengali document (1729), we read that a person sold himself for Rs. 11/- only with his wife, children and descendants for generations to come. In 1752 we find slaves being regularly purchased and registered in the kacheri or court-house of Calcutta,

each slave paying a duty of Rs. 4/- to the East India Company for such registration. Coffrees or Abyssinians were frequently employed as domestic slaves by the Europeans in Madras, Calcutta and Surat. Some of the rich

Indian merchants of Surat had also Abyssinian slaves, but in their households they were brought up as children of the family, trained in business and even allowed to dispose of their income in favour of their descendants. 14 As late as 1785 Sir William Jones eloquently exposed before the Grand Jury at Calcutta the evils of slavery:

“Hardly a man or a woman exists in a corner of this populous town who hath not at least one slave child either purchased at a trifling price or saved perhaps from a death that might have been fortunate for a life that seldom fails of being miserable. Many of you, I presume, have seen large boats filled with children, coming down the river for open sale at Cal« cutta. Now can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought perhaps for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity?”

By a proclamation in 1789, the traffic in slaves was abolished in India.

But rural slavery still continued to flourish in large parts of India. Buchanan’s elaborate social and economic survey of North Bihar and North Bengal undertaken in the first decade of the 19th century showed that domestic slavery was prevalent, especially in the households of landlords, or wherever the nobility was represented by the Muslims, and the Mohammedan law prevailed.

Slaves were more commonly employed as farm hands. These serfs cultivated for their masters, who had small estates or rented lands, and received an allowance of grain and coarse cloth for subsistence. The allowance usually given was a piece of coarse cloth and about 15 maunds of grain. The slaves generally belonged to the depressed castes like the Dhcmuks 9 Chamars, and Rawaries who sold their children. The prices of slaves mentioned by Buchanan were:

An adult slave Rs. 15 to Rs. 20

A lad of 16 years Rs. 12 to Rs. 20

A girl of 8 to 10 years Rs. 5 to Rs. 15

Or, again, for each year of his age until he: reached 20, the slave fetched a rupee more. In Purnea, Gaya, Shahabad, Bhagalpur and some other districts slaves were freely bought and sold. “The Assamese”, observes Buchanan, “sell a good many slaves and the people

of Bihar are willing to carry on the same trade.” In 1812, it was

estimated that one-sixth of the population of Sylhet consisted of

slaves, mostly descendants of insolvent debtors; in Kamrup 12,000

slaves were released after its cession to the British. 15

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During his tour of social and economic investigation which began earlier (1800) in South India, Buchanan found slavery widespread also there. Land was largely owned by the Brahmins who almost entirely filled the different offices for the collection of revenue and administration of justice; they were also exclusively employed as messengers and inn-keepers. But the cultivation was, for the most part, left to the slaves of the inferior or depressed castes— the parriar, the haluan, the shekliar, the tati , the vullam, the kana kum, and the eirlay. Even the few Muslim cultivators employed slaves. The slaves were the absolute property of their lords. They were not attached to the soil but could be hired, or sold or mortgaged. Only the husbands and wives could not be sold separately. A young man with his wife could be sold for 250 to 300 phanams-, two or three children would add 100 phanams. The annual hire for a slave was 8 phanams for a man, and half as much for a woman. A good slave would sell for about 4 guineas but an ordinary slave sold from 20 to 60 phanams (9 S. 6Jd- to 28s.8d.) The average price of a slave was much lower than in Bihar and Bengal. The master was considered bound to give the slave a certain subsistence allowance and also requisite clothing. But when there was no work in the fields, the slaves were asked to eke out their subsistence in whatever manner they could. Buchanan naively compares slavery in Malabar and in the West Indies as follows:

"There can be no comparison between their condition and that of the slaves in the West Indies Islands, except that in Malabar there are a sufficient number of females, who are allowed to marry any person of the same caste with themselves, and whose labour is always exacted by their husband's master, the master of the girl having no authority over her so long as she lives with another man's slave. This is a custom that ought to be recommended to our West Indies Planters, and if adopted would induce the Negro women to breed." 16

In Central India Malcolm also found in the beginning of the 19th century numerous slaves in the households of the Rajput chiefs and Brahmins. Many of them became slaves during a famine or scarcity when men sold their children for bread, and others were stolen from their parents by ban jar as > or grain-carriers. Female

slaves were sold from Rs. 40 and Rs. 50 according to appearance and were not permitted to marry, a shameless traffic being carried in Malwa, Rajputana and Gujarat with the Deccan. Some times they were cruelly treated, but not generally. A great number of the slaves of Central India were from Marwar and Gujarat where maratha raids and distress compelled many to part with their children. Malcolm mentions that in the famine of 1813-1814 Amir Khan formed in Marwar a battalion of slave children and youths 1200 strong. Female slaves were still maintained here and there in the families of Rajput chiefs and zamlndars in Central India, but male slaves were not common and were generally treated more like adopted children than menials. 17

Agrestic serfdom continued in India until the middle of the 19th century especially in the Punjab, Eastern U.P., North Bihar, North Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Central India, Central Provinces and the South-Eastern coast of India.

The Trend of Real Wages:

We shall now consider the trends of wages and prices in India with reference to the standard of living of the common man in the 18th century. At the beginning of the 18th century wages for ordinary workmen in

Calcutta ranged from 8 as. to 12 as. per mensem. By the 70s, wages of the coolies rose from Rs. 3 to Rs. 3-8-0 per mensem.

The 18th century saw a complete revolution in the price structure of India. One of the causes of the downfall of the Mughul empire was the intolerable increase of the burden of revenue of the agriculturists due to the depreciation of the value of silver in terms of copper, from 40 to 30 dams, for the revenue demand was assessed in dam (copper) but was actually paid mainly in silver. By the 17th century, the copper mines of Rajputana and Central India were exhausted and India had to depend upon the Dutch for the fluctuating and precarious import of that metal from Japan. This led to the appreciation of copper dam which was equivalent to a general fall of the prices of agricultural produce, and diminution of agricultural income measured in terms of dam. As the revenue demand reckoned in dam remained fixed, the peasantry had to part with a larger share of their produce not only to meet the State demand but also for payment of interest to their creditors. So the grinding poverty of the bulk of the population was rendered more severe. The Mughul practice of assigning jaglrs to a host of civil and military officials, instead of giving them fixed salaries in rupees, also resulted in greater exploitation of

the peasantry due to the fall in the value of silver, while the official class would not permit any reduction of their official expenses and their standard of living and status as well as the cost of the troops and horses which they were bound to maintain. Sayyid Ghulam Husain Khan (1783) observes that the dam was really equal to a 40th to 48th part of a rupee, but in the Chamber of Accounts 40 dams always made a rupee. 18 The weight of the dam was by this time reduced by one-third.

The lighter copper coin, the ‘little' pice, as contrasted with the greater (double) pice introduced by Aurangzlb, continued to be current in India later on in the times of Bahadur Shah and Farrukhsiyar. Such currency debasement led to steady diminution of the real wages in the 18th century. The trend of prices in Bengal in the mid-18th century is briefly shown below:

Table captionRate per rupee

Commodities 1729 1738 1751 1754 1760 1776

Mds.	Srs.	Mds. Srs.	Mds. Srs. Mds. Srs. Mds. Srs. Mds. ■ • ' • /	Srs.	
Coarse Rice	3	80	3 0	118 0 • 40 0 25 1	10
Wheat	... 3	30	— —	1 18 — — — — 0	35
Barley	... 8	00			13

The decline of real wages in the 18th century would be apparent from the following table:

1600 Base Year

1600	100.00
1650	184.51
1729	62.04
1807	69.82

1807 was the year in which Buchanan undertook statistical investigation in North Bihar and Bengal and recorded that the wages of the agricultural workers ranged from 3 pies to one anna per diem, while a rupee could buy three maunds of rice and 70 seers of wheat or barley.

The Maratha Bargir was paid Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month and ordinary labour Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per month.

Currency Debasement by the East India Company:

The East India Company also took advantage of the currency confusion to debase the coinage leading to a great loss for the population. Thus we gather from the account of Abbe Raynal that the Company struck gold rupees to the amount of about 15 millions nominal value but which represented in fact only 9 millions, so that four-tenths or something more was alloy. In the treasury at Calcutta, the creditors received for each gold rupee not ten rupees and a half of silver which it was worth but the equivalent of six rupees of silver. Raynal adds that an oppression so general and contrary to the principles of trade and public faith must necessarily be attended with violence; and consequently it has been necessary several times to have recourse to force of arms to carry into execution the orders of the Council at Calcutta. [19]

Bolts also refers to the over-rating of the gold ‘mohurs’ issued by the Company to the extent of about 38 per cent above the current market rate. Similarly the silver vaziry rupee issued at the mints of Varanasi and Allahabad was also a debased coin “almost 10 per cent less than Arcots”.

Throughout Northern India gold almost vanished in the 18th century and the currency consisted of silver, copper, and cowries. Cowries were specially used in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa until the second decade of the 19th century; 3 cowries made one dam, while 25 dams made a pice. Later on 300 cowries made an anna or four pice. [20] In 1781 the East India Company first issued copper coins. The experiment was not successful as copper pice came back to the treasury due to the over-valuation of the copper. The Company thus after the conquest of Bengal systematically tried to debase the value of both silver and copper and this contributed not a little towards the reduction of real wages in the country since the wage rates could not readily be adjusted to currency and to economic conditions generally.

Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad writing at the end of the 17th century mentions no less than 26 sorts of Hons current in south India. “On Shahu’s return to Satara he set up a mint at Satara from which gold, silver and copper coins were issued. The Kolhapur Raja established a mint at Panhala. Peshwa BalajI Rao granted licenses to private persons to coin money in consideration of a small fee to the State.” 21

Comparisons of the Standards of Living.:

As compared with the period of Akbar, real wages in India, measured in terms of the principal foodgrains, were only three-fifths after the British conquest of Bengal. The trend of decline of real

wages in India that was marked since the 17th century has continued till modern times. The deterioration of the standard of living of the people is especially marked in the diminution-of consumption of ghee, oil, salt and sugar that were cheap formerly relatively to both money and cereals.

Sugar was available for the masses of the population in the preBritish period under 5 pice per lb. In respect of salt, the monopoly of the servants of the East India Company and, later on, the governmental monopoly pushed up salt prices. At the close of the 18th century, a maund of Bengal salt was sold at Patna for Rs. 3/- while the worst quality of rice was sold at 72J seers per rupee. In terms of rice, salt had more than twelve times its present price. For South India, a comparison of Buchanan’s price schedules at the beginning of the 19th century and of present relative prices of commodities indicates that cloth, salt and sugar have now become many times cheaper in terms of rice. 21a The exchange ratio of salt was 10 times in terms of rice, of cloth 9 times, and of sugar 5 times, as compared to the present parity. At least sugar and salt were much cheaper relatively to both money and foodgrains in Mughul India than in the beginning of the 19th century,—sugar selling at only 2d. per lb. or under about 5 pice according to Terry and salt at 67 seers per rupee according to Abu-’l Fazl.

Buchanan estimates (1808-1815) that in North Bihar a family could be supported on a minimum of Rs. 5/- per mensem and that the wages of agricultural labourers ranged from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 monthly when food and land were not given. The poorer people wore coarse linen made of jute and used blankets and woollen goods in the rains and winter, now no longer available for them. Cotton spinning was the leisure-time occupation of all the women of the higher rank and of the greater part of the agriculturists' wives who thus added to the family income. Women also worked on the looms or did embroidery or chikan work. One ox and Rs. 5 of capital would enable a grain-dealer to start his trade that could yield a profit of Rs. 50 per mensem.

Famines:

The major famines in the 17th and 18th centuries are listed below:

Year

Area affected

1595—1598 1614—1615 1618—1619 1630—1682 1638—1634 1635

1642—1643

1645—1646

1647

1648 z 1650

1659

1661

1670—1671

1705—1708

1709—1711

1717—1718

1722

1728

1731—1734

1737

1747

1751

1769—1770

1782

1783—1784

1788

-1790—1792

1799—1801

.. Whole of India.

.. Punjab as far east as Delhi.

.. Coromandel Coast and Vijayanagar.

.. Vijayanagar, Deccan, Gujarat and Sind.

.. Deccan and Gujarat.

.. Surat and Golconda.

.. Orissa and Bengal.

.. Coromandel Coast, Southern Section.

.. Rajputana.

.. Coromandel Coast.

.. Awadh, Gujarat and almost the whole of India.

.. Sind and Gujarat.

.. All parts of India.

.. Bihar.

.. Deccan.

.. Madras and Bengal.

.. Coast and Bay districts, Ahmadabad and Surat.

.. Bombay.

.. Madras and Bombay.

.. Madras.

.. Madras.

.. Bombay, Surat, Ahmadabad and Aurangabad.

.. Bengal.

.. Bengal and Bihar.

.. Bombay, Mysore and Madras.

.. Northern India from Multan to Murshidabad.

.. Bengal.

.. Hyderabad, Deccan, Gujarat and Northern Madras. .. Northern India to Hyderabad.

Each famine in the past resulted in appalling mortality from starvation, slavery and cannibalism. -It is interesting to record the evidence of the French writer, Abbe Raynal, that in the Bengal famine of 1770-1771, the chief agents of the East India Company and the Council of Calcutta "kept locked up in their magazine a part of the harvest, and carried on the most odious and the most criminal of all monopolies." There were of course a complete failure of harvest in 1769 and a partial failure in 1770, but the Council of Calcutta, in order to gain a few millions of rupees, "devoted to destruction several millions, in Bengal due to their cruel monopoly." Thus the famine of 1770-1771 which still haunts the people of Bengal like a nightmare was as much man-made as the most recent famine of 1943 in this province.

II. Social Condition:

From different points of view the eighteenth century is an inglorious period in the history of India. Gradual disintegration and ultimate collapse of Mughul imperial authority and debased character of the nobility marred in that period all progressive forces and subjected the country to\dreadful political turmoils, social disorder and confusion and a grievous economic decline.

Religion:

But even in this debased atmosphere some of the traditionally good features continued in the spheres of religion, culture and society. Hinduism was still characterised by an attitude of toleration towards other faiths and adaptation to new environments and conditions. Grose observed in the mid-eighteenth century: "As to that spirit of toleration in religion, for which the Gentoos (Hindus) are so singularly distinguished, it is doubtless owing to their funda j mental tenet of it, of which the purpose is that the diversity of modes of worship is apparently agreeable to the God of the Universe; that all prayers put to Him from man, are all equally acceptable and sanctified to him/' 22 The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who visited India between 1768 and 1771, wrote: “These three distinct nations, the Moors (Muslims), the Gentoos (Hindus) and the Parsees, whose religions are wholly different from each other, exercise the greatest toleration and indulgence in this respect, towards one another; no one is molested on account of his religion.” 23 William Henry Tone, employed in a regiment of infantry under the Peslnwds, remarked about Poona in 1799: “In Poonah, which is the metropolis of the (Maratha) Empire, and the seat of Brahminised authority, there are many mosques and one Christian Church, where the votaries of both religions may offer their devotions without any hindrance or molestations.” 24

The general body of the Hindu population were followers of the old forms and practices of religious worship. There were many worshippers of Shakti, “the power or energy of the divine Mother in action”. Worship of the mother-goddess, Durga, Kali, Tara, Manasa was widely prevalent in Bengal and in the eastern districts of Bihar. 25 Tantrism was practised in Mithila, Bengal and Assam and some works on Tantra were written in Mithila and Bengal during this period. There were many followers of the cults of Shiva and Vishnu and of their sub-cults which had appeared in course of time and spread in different parts of the country. There were a large number of followers of §rl Chaitanya in Bengal, Orissa and some in Bihar. Adherents of sects like the Ramanujis, the Ramanandis, the Kablrpanthls, the Nanakpanthls, the Radhaballavis, etc. were scattered in different areas. Many in Bengal and Bihar worshipped the Sun God and they were known as Saurapatyas, or Sauras. There were worshippers of Ganesha called Gdnapatyas.

Besides the old religious sects some new ones appeared during the eighteenth century. A few of the latter were either of an eclectic or monotheistic nature, and the rest were Vaishnava sects. The founders of these sects were mostly of the non-Brahminical castes, and Guru worship was a common feature of all of them.

All these new sects raised voices of protest against certain prevailing abuses which had crept into the religious system in course of centuries. There had been growth of popular belief in magic and witchcraft, emphasis on rituals and ceremonies and undue influence of priesthood which were responsible for some undesirable practices even in places of worship, particularly at centres of pilgrimage.

But it is not possible to agree with the prejudiced views of some contemporary English writers like Grant 26 or Martyn 27 and biased opinions of some Christian missionaries about Indian religion and morals. One of them made the monstrous observation: “All your Gods are nothing but demons. You will go to hell to expatiate in eternal flames the crime of your idolatry .” 28 Ward observed wrongly: “Here everything that assumes the appearance of religion ends (if you could forget its impurity) in an unmeaning ceremony and leaves the heart as cold as death to every moral principle .” 29

Some contemporary European writers were justly impressed by the good features of Indian religion. Abbe de Guyon remarks that by virtue the Indians understood “a certain greatness of soul which despises dangers and death, and has glory for its object; which tramples under foot ease and the pleasures of life; which seeks after the esteem of mankind ”. 30 “Their rules of morality”, observes Craufurd, “are most benevolent; and'hospitality and charity are not jonly strongly inculcated but I believe nowhere more universally practised than amongst Hindus .” 31 Orme refers to “humane and gentle manners” of the Hindus who were “charitable even to relieving the necessities of strangers .” 32 Forbes mentions the influence of religion “in elevating people to display human instances of selfdenial, of laborious and painful exertion, which almost exceed belief .” 33

Education:

The educational system of a country has considerable influence in moulding its society. In the sphere of education the old universities or centres of learning of international reputation, had disappeared in course of time under the influence of some adverse forces. But in other ways the traditional features prevailed. “The English

found in India”, wrote Thomas in the closing years of the nineteenth century, “a widespread system of elementary education and higher education, of which the former was mainly practical, the latter mainly literary, philosophical and religious.” 34 There was no system of education organized by the State. Education was patronised by some local rulers and members of the aristocracy and supported by contributions of some persons of benevolent disposition belonging to other sections of the population.

The celebrated lady-ruler Rani BhavanI of Natore and Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia were great patrons of learning in their respective jurisdictions and the Raja of Darbhanga was a patron cf it in Mithila. The Peshwds greatly encouraged traditional education. They paid donations and rewards to Brahmins, "whose proficiency in science and mythology, entitled them to distinction", and "rewards were conferred in proportion to the acquirements, moral conduct and sanctity". 35 In 1823 in the Madras Presidency 12,498 schools were "supported partly by the endowment of native Princes, but chiefly by the voluntary contributions of the people". 36

The institutions for higher Sanskrit learning, known as Chatuspathis or Tols in Bengal £nd Bihar, existed also in other parts of the country, such as Dravida (South India), KasI (Benaras), Tirhut (MithilA) and Utkala (Orissa). A writer described Nadia in 1782 as "the Oxford of the province". 37 He further observed that Nadia was "the focus of intellectual development, the land of the Naiydyikas, who reasoned and argued on every conceivable topic, the abode of astronomers whose panjikds and almanacs still regulate the festivals and pujas and the daily domestic concerns of the Hindus". In 1787, Sir William Jones expressed feelings of joy for "spending three months every year near an ancient University of Brahmins (Nadia) with whom he began to converse fluently". 38 He considered Sanskrit language to be "of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than the Latin and more exquisitely refined than either". 39

Benaras, described by Bernier in the 17th century as "the Athens of India", continued to hold a premier position as a centre of Sanskrit learning in India. Some Europeans who came to India in the eighteenth century were highly impressed with the high standard of Sanskrit education at Benaras and also with the astronomical observatory built there by Raja Jay Singh II of Jaipur. 40 Regarding the institutions for higher Sanskrit learning in India, Forbes remarked: "We contemplate the Hindoo colleges and Brahminical seminaries, at Benaras and different parts of Hindustan, with plea sure; they are useful institutions; and however limited in their benefits to particular castes and descriptions of people, they are.the nurses of literature, medicine and science as far as deemed necessary among the Hindoos". 41

With the patronage of Muslim rulers and nobles, Persian education was then in a flourishing condition. For the Muslim population Persian was the most important medium of higher education, and many Hindus learnt it as a matter of practical necessity in view of its importance as official language for many years. The famous, mid-eighteenth century Bengali poet Bharatchandra, had a good knowledge of Persian, and Raja Navakrishna of Sobhabazar (in Calcutta) was Persian tutor to Warren Hastings in 1750. 42 Many Persian schools had Hindu students. Azimabad (Patna) was a premier centre of Persian education in Bengal and Bihar. Ghulam Husain, author of the important contemporary work Siyar-uU Mutakherin, writes that there "were in those tim'es at Azimabad a number of persons who loved science and learning and employed themselves in teaching and in being taught; and I remember to have seen in that city and its environs nine or ten Professors of repute and three or four hundred students and disciples from whence may be conjectured the number of those that must have been in the great towns or the neighbouring districts." In the mid-eighteenth century some scholars, well-versed in Persian, came to India from Iran and settled particularly in Patna and Bihar province. Madrasahs were maintained at different places for higher education in Arabic and Persian.

There were some famous poets in Orissa during the eighteenth century. They were Upendra Bhanja, Ramadas, Krishna Sinha, Sadananda Kavisuryabrahma, Abhimanyu Samanta Sinha and Brajanath Barajena. Some of them knew other provincial vernaculars besides Oriya. Upendra Bhanja had some knowledge of Sanskrit. Abhimanyu Samanta Sinha "was a man of good education and knew Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi and Bengali". 43 His "famous work, Vidagdha Chintamani was modelled after the Sanskrit work Vidagdha Madhava, of the Neo-Vaishnavite School". 44

Elementary education was widespread. There were institutions for it in urban as well as rural areas, and it was encouraged in almost every stratum of society. Edward Ives, who came to Bengal in the mid-eighteenth century, 45 observed regarding this province that "there were many schoolsr for the education of children . Craufurd 46 observed a few years later that "there were schools in all the towns and principal villages". About Central India, Malcolm 47 wrote in the early years of the nineteenth century: "Though there is not one public place of instruction endowed or supported by any State in this country, yet private schools, both in the towns and villages, are very numerous". As he estimated, every village having above one hundred houses had a school-master, who taught "the children of the Banias or shop-keepers, and those of such cultivators as choose". Elphinstone 48 gives the following account about schools in the territories conquered by the British from the Peshivd: "There are already schools in all towns and in many villages, but reading is confined to Brahmins, Banyas, and such of the agricultural classes as have to do with accounts". As noted by Forbes , 49 there were "in all towns numerous schools for the education of other boys; they are generally in the open air, on the shady side of the house. The scholars sit on mats, or cowdung floors, and are taught as much of religion as their caste admits of, as well as reading, writing and arithmetic".

There was a maktab or Persian school attached to every mosque and such schools functioned at other places too. "Elegant penmanship" was "considered a great accomplishment".

Generally in the institutions for primary education, teachers were appointed and students were admitted irrespective of caste or creed. In Bengal some of the so-called depressed classes worked as teachers in such schools and at some places there were Muslim teachers for Hindu boys.

The general features of elementary education were similar in different parts of India, with some differences in details. In the village schools which were accommodated in simple thatched houses or in parts of buildings meant for other purposes, the students were taught to write in four successive stages of instruction, on the ground, palm leaf, plantain leaf and paper. They learnt the rules of arithmetic and accounts (agricultural and commercial) and some of the rudiments of physical and natural sciences. Thus they became acquainted with such matters as were needed for a common civic life, not so complex as that of today, and higher virtues of life were also inculcated into their minds.

General Social Life:

For study of general social life in the eighteenth century our main sources are contemporary historical works, accounts of foreign writers and of the Christian missionaries and contemporary vernacular literature. In spite of anarchy and confusion of the eighteenth century which were affecting the general conditions of life in the country, society in India retained most of the traditional features with some changes under new environments. But it would not be fair to condemn the entire social life and to agree with the prejudiced and uncritical views of some of the foreign writers or the Christian missionaries. Some of the European writers of the eighteenth century or early nineteenth century, who were connected with Indian administration of the English East India Company, have recorded comparatively favourable opinions about the Indian society of the time. Thus Malcolm observed in his Notes of Instructions to Officers and Assistants working under him: "I do not know the example of any great population, in such circumstances, preserving, through such a period of changes and tyrannical rule, so much of virtue and so many good qualities as are to be found in a great proportion of the inhabitants of this country. This is to be accounted for, in some degree, by the institutions of the Hindus, particularly, that of caste, which appears to have raised them to their present rank in human society, at a very remote period; but it has certainly tended to keep them stationary at that point of civil order to which they were thus early advanced. With a just admiration of the effects of many of their institutions, particularly those parts of them which cause in vast cases not merely an absence of the common vices of theft, drunkenness and violence, but preserve all the virtuous ties of family and kindred relations, we must all deplore some of their usages and weak superstitions; but what individuals or races of men are without great manifold errors and imperfections, and what mind that is not fortified with ignorance or pride can, on such grounds, come to a severe judgment against a people like that of India ". 50 "Having lived twentythree years in India, and passed much of that time in intimate intercourse with various nations", R. Rickards wrote, “I have constantly seen, in their acts and conduct, the practice of the most amiable virtues. I have experienced, from many, the most grateful attachment. I believe them capable of all the qualities that can adorn the human mind; and although I allow many of their imputed faults (where is the individual or the nation without them?) I must still ascribe those faults more to the rigour of the despotisms under which they have so long groaned, and which unhappily we have but slenderly alleviated, than to natural depravity of disposition, or to any institutions peculiar to themselves”.

The most striking feature of Hindu society was the institution of caste; and caste rules were strictly observed in matters of marriage, diet, inter-dining, etc. the caste rules had various defects.

But these helped specialisation in vocational professions. “In general, it is remarked”, notes Edward Ives, “that whatever be the trade of the father the same is that of the son; so that the families of boatmen, fishermen, etc. are boatmen and fishermen to all generations”. 51 But on account of the economic and administrative changes in India since the middle of the eighteenth century, there was some laxity in professional specialisations on caste basis. Referring to this Buchanan 52 observes: “All proper Hindus regret that in these days no caste adheres to its proper duties, but many persons, in order to procure a subsistence, betake themselves to professions for which they were not ordinarily intended”. He notes that of the entire Brahmin population of Mithila only 10 per cent devoted themselves to literary works instead of accepting service; about 68 per cent were proprietors of land; about 10 per cent were employed in various zamiiiddris or carried on business; and the rest engaged themselves in the profession of priests or copied manuscripts of religious books for sale.

There was something like caste polity to look after proper observance of caste rules. Caste matters were decided by caste councils or caste chiefs. Excepting capital punishment various punishments like fines, penances, excommunications, etc. could be inflicted by them on defaulters of caste rules.

Family system was mainly patriarchal in character, except in Malabar and among some primitive communities in comparatively backward areas. So the senior most member of a family was its head and the women were normally “subject to the will of their master”. In a joint family the mistress of the house had a dignified position and she had the authority in regulating its affairs.

Piety, charity, modesty and affection were considered to be essential qualities of a Hindu wife. Some contemporary European writers like Forbes^ 53 Orme and Abbe Dubois, have highly praised these qualities of Hindu women. “Segregated from the company of other sex”, writes Orme, “and strangers to the ideas of attracting attention, they are the only handsomer for this ignorance; as we see in them beauty in the noble simplicity of nature”. 54 “What we call love-making”, *iotes the Christian Missionary Abbe Dubois, “is utterly unknown among the Hindus”. He further writes: “Whatever may be said to the contrary, Hindu women are naturally chaste. To cite a few examples of unseemly conduct, a few lapses attributable to human frailty is no proof of their want of chastity as a body; I would even go so far as to say that Hindu women are more virtuous than any of many other civilized countries.” 55

Society in general had feelings of reverence for its womenfolk. “Women are so sacred in India”, remarks Alexander Dow 56 significantly, “that even the soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The harem is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wife”. “A Hindu woman can go anywhere alone”, writes Dubois, “even in the most crowded places, and she need never fear the impertinent looks or jokes of idle loungers. A house inhabited solely by women is a sanctuary which the most shameless libertine would not dream of violating.” 563 This noble feature has been referred to by some other contemporary European writers like Forster 57 and Buchanan. 58

Purdah or seclusion of women in houses was observed in Hindu and Muslim families. It was in practice among the Moplahs of Malabar. 59 Women of poor families who had to go out to work for their livelihood, could not observe it. Regarding South India, Dubois noted that it was not practised there.

Marriage was a universal social practice except on the part of those who observed celibacy on religious grounds. To arrange for marriages of sons and daughters was considered to be a duty of the parents. In Hindu society, marriage was an indissoluble and sacred bond for a happy conjugal life and not a contractual relation for material comforts. It was celebrated with solemnity by offering prayers and invocations to gods. A duly married wife could not be discarded except on the charge of adultery. Marriages of both boys and girls were celebrated at an early age, although consummation did not take place till they attained maturity.

Good women served as “ministering angels” at home. But if necessary some of them could stand by the side of men “in the world’s broad field” and “in the bivouac of life”. With much experience of the affairs of Maharashtra in the eighteenth century Malcolm remarked about the women there: “The females both of Brahmin and Sudra Mahrattas have, generally speaking, when their husbands are princes or chiefs, great influence, and mix, not only by their power over individuals but sometimes ... personally in the affairs of the State. If married to men of rank, they have usually a distinct provision and estate of their own; enjoy as much liberty as they can desire; seldom, if ever, wear a veil and give feasts and entertainments to their friends on births and marriages and on particular anniversaries”. Two highly significant illustrations of

such a role on the part of women in the eighteenth century are those of Rani Bhavaru of Natore and Shri Devi Ahalya Bai, who ruled over Indore from 1766 to 1795. Rani Bhavahl was guided by deep religious convictions with considerable capacity for administration and wide-spread charity for pious objects, which have immortalised her memory. Beveridge has described her as a ‘‘heroine among the Bengalees”. Ahalya Bai was inspired by higher virtues of noble idealism and piety. Her charity was extensive and her skill and capacity in matters of administration were highly commendable. Her manifold qualities have been highly praised by Malcolm. 60 “In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears, within her limited sphere, to have been one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever existed; and she affords a striking example of the practical benefits a mind receives from performing worldly duties under a deep sense of responsibility to its creator."

Some of the Muslim ladies also participated in political affairs. Thus, Dardanah Begum, wife of Murshid Qull, Governor of Orissa, exhorted her husband to fight against 'All VardI when the latter proceeded to subjugate Orissa. Zebunnisa, Begum of Nawab Shuja-uddin, assisted her husband in matters of administration. 'AH Vardi's Begum also extended co-operation to her husband in administrative affairs and encouraged him in fighting against the Maratha invaders of Bengal. Hoi well thus writes about her: "A woman whose wisdom, magnanimity, benevolence and every amiable quality, reflected high honour on her sex and status; she much influenced the usurper's ('All Vardl's) councils and was consulted by him in every material movement in the State except when sanguinary and treacherous measures were judged necessary, which he knew she would oppose as she ever condemned them when perpetrated, however successful, predicting always that such policies would end in the ruin of his family." 61

There was ordinarily no polygamy. Ward observes: "All the Hindus acknowledge that it is a great mistake for a man to have two wives; especially if both live in one house".* 2 Dubois notes significantly: "Polygamy is tolerated amongst persons of high rank such as Rajahs, Princes, statesmen and others. None the less plurality of wives amongst the great is looked upon as an infraction of law and custom, in fact, as an abuse ... I know only of one case in which a man can legally marry a second wife, his first wife being still alive; and that is when, after he has lived for a long time with his wife, she is certified to be barren, or if she has borne only female children. . . .But even in this case, before a man contracts a second marriage it is necessary that he should obtain the consent of the first; and she is always regarded as the chief wife and retains all her prerogatives". 63

But polygamy had become a regular and notorious practice among those who were regarded as KuVms in Bengal and among some of the Brahmins of Mithila. Highly shocking abuses which Kulmism produced have been graphically described by some contemporary European travellers, and in contemporary literature. Among the Kullns family pedigree was like a marketable commodity. Claiming high lineage they sold it and amassed wealth by marriages with a large number of women quite regardless of age or marital adjustment. Sometimes out of financial considerations a girl of full-blown youth was married to a boy of 12 or 13 and a young girl was married to an old man. The Kullns seldom lived with their wives who spent their days in acute mental agony in their father's or brother's houses, which were occasionally visited by their husbands for exacting money. "A Parhi Kulin Brahmin", remarks Buchanan, "may marry as many wives as he pleases, and some have 60; but in general they cannot procure above 8 or 10. They visit them alternately and give themselves no sort of trouble about the maintenance of either the mothers or children." 64 Referring to Mithila, he writes: "A man of high rank is often hired when toothless or even moribund, to marry a low child who is afterwards left a widow, incapable of marriage, for the sake of raising her father's family and rendering her brothers more easily marriageable". In the year 1805, the Raja of Darbhanga, who was acknowledged as the undisputed head of the Mithila Brahmins, "prohibited any man on his estate from taking more than five wives; formerly it was usual for men to take a good many." 65

Dowry system was not compulsory or prevalent among those who were not Kullns. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the first fearless champion of women's rights in modem India, made a strong protest against "horrible polygamy" and wrote against Kulmism and polygamy.

Polyandry was exceptionally practised in Indian society. Buchanan writes that polyandry prevailed among the Tiyahs in Malabar. 66 Though the Nair women had the "privilege of changing their husbands they did not entertain more than one husband at a time". 67

Remarriage of widows in high Hindu families was not permissible. But in 1756 Raja Rajballabh of Dacca tried to remarry his widowed daughter and referred the matter to the learned Pandits of Dravida, Telanga, Benaras, Mithila and of some other places. They expressed an unanimous opinion: "Women are at liberty to marry again if their husbands be not heard of, die, retire from the world, prove to be eunuchs or become out castes". Raja Rajballabh's efforts did not succeed owing to the opposition of Raja Krishnachandra of Nadia and the Panfats of that place.

But remarriage of widows was permitted at some places outside Bengal. The Peshwas collected a tax called patdam on the remarriage of widows. The famous Maratha General Parashuram Bhau, moved by the widowhood of his daughter at a very tender age, thought of her remarriage. The Pandits of Benaras gave an opinion in favour of it, but it was not possible to have this remarriage as Parashuram Bhau's wife was not of the same view. 68 Widow remarriage was widely prevalent among the non-Brahmins of Maharashtra. There were two forms of remarriage —Pat and Muhurta. The Pat seems to have been more informal. The Mon Bhunyas of Malwa and the Maroo or the Jaudhpurl Brahmins "introduced this happy change in their social system". 69 Raja Jay Singh II of Jaipur, Raja Zalim Singh of Kota and some others "rendered their names famous in the cause of humanity by their laudable exertions in the furtherance of that object." 70

One shocking practice rampant in certain parts of India was Sati, that is, women burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. The efforts of some of the Mughul rulers to abolish it proved to be fruitless. During the eighteenth century it was more widely prevalent in some parts of northern India on the banks of the Ganga and in Rajasthan 71 than in the south. Dubois writes: "In the southern parts of the Peninsula of India Suttees are seldom seen. I am convinced that in the Madras Presidency which numbers about thirty millions of inhabitants, not thirty widows allow themselves to be thus burnt alive during a year." 72 Regarding Central India, Malcolm notes: "The practice of Suttee or self-immolation of widows was found very common in Central India. .. .This usage prevailed most when the Rajpoots had power and influence . .. the Mahrattas, since they acquired paramount power in this country, have, by wise neglect and indifference, which neither encouraged by approval nor provoked by prohibition, rendered this practice very rare. In the whole of Central India there have not been, as far as can be learnt, above three or four Suttees annually for the last twenty years". 73 In the south-west of India the practice was not probably so much prevalent as in Bengal. 74

Even regarding Bengal, Scrafton observed about the mid-eighteenth century that the practice was “far from common and was not complied with by those of illustrious families”, 75 and Stavorinus wrote just after a few years that it was in practice amiong “some castes”. 76 Sati was not universally prevalent among all castes. But its number increased considerably during the closing years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century. In the year 1799 twenty-two wives of a Kulin Brahmin burnt themselves with his dead body at Nadia. About the same time many wives of a KuVin Brahmin offered themselves as Sati on the funeral pyre of their husbands at Sukchara, three miles east of Serampore. About three hundred women burnt themselves with their husbands within forty miles round Calcutta in the year 1804.

Compulsion may have been used in some cases by priests and relations to force women to offer themselves as Satis . But it often was the result of conjugal fidelity. Bolts writes in this connection: “Even those very women, who live sequestered from the world, and of course are inexperienced in such difficulties and misfortunes as will render life irksome and impel to desperation, often manifest much fortitude as amazes Europeans but to hear of, in the deaths which they voluntarily brave of burning alive with the dead bodies of their husbands in funeral pyres”. 77 Another contemporary writer Scrafton observes: “Another circumstance that contributes to form their general character, is their marrying when infants, and yet no women are more remarkable for the custom of burning with their husbands. Many authors ascribe this to have been instituted to prevent their wives poisoning themselves; but I am persuaded that they submit to it by a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection.” 78 “Such is the influence of customs and sense of shame”, writes Craufurd, “that women of highest birth will undergo this awful sacrifice with as much fortitude and compassion as ever were exhibited by any philosopher of antiquity.” 79 The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who witnessed a ScCti case at Chinsura on 25 November, 1770, mentions that the woman “underwent everything with the greatest irn trepidity and her countenance seemed at times to be animated with pleasure, even at the moment when she was ascending the funeral pile”. 80

New forces which appeared in the first three decades of the nineteenth century as a result of the spread of western education, the growth of an enlightened public opinion under the leadership of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and consciousness on the part of some officers of the Company's Government, some influence of Christian missionaries, helped the Government of Lord William Bentinck to pass the Regulation XVII, dated 4 December, 1829, abolishing the Sati practice.

Slavery was another common social evil. From the medieval period "slaves formed a familiar feature of every respectable Muslim home".[81] Slavery was widely prevalent in India during the eighteenth century. There were two types of slavery in India,—domestic slavery and feudal servitude. In the latter the serfs attached to lands were considered to be property of their masters, and when lands were transferred from one master to another they had also to change masters. This practice prevailed both in the north and south of India. Referring to the Pariahs of Malabar, Dubois writes: "All the Pariahs born in the country are serfs for life, from father to son, and are part and parcel of the land on which they are born. The landowner can sell them along with the soil and can dispose of them when and how he pleases."[82] But the landowners sold their slaves only "in cases of great emergency" and not ordinarily. During his survey of South India from 1800-1806,[83] Buchanan saw many slaves there.

Circumstances which forced persons to sell themselves as slaves are mentioned in some slavery documents of the 18th century and the early nineteenth century.[84] It is mentioned in these how a poor and needy man sold himself under perpetual bondage to a rich man of his locality and also how one sold his children (males or females) as slaves or servants in lieu of money. Persons sold themselves or their children as slaves on account of distress caused by natural calamities like famines,[85] floods, etc. Mr. Day, Collector of Dacca, wrote to the Committee of Revenue in Calcutta on 2 March, 1785: "The long continued distress this district has laboured under from general scarcity of grain, and the failure of crops in consequence of the last deluge, has reduced its inhabitants to the lowest pitch of misery and distress; the poor and the lowest class of people, to secure themselves a subsistence are reduced to a sale of their children and many hundred have been purchased.” Referring to the districts of Patna and Bihar, Buchanan writes: “Kurmis and Dhanuks born free occasionally give themselves up as slaves when they fall into distress.” 86 About Central India, Malcolm notes: “Numbers date their condition from a famine or scarcity, when men sold their children to those who were able to support them, with a natural view of preserving the lives of their offspring, at the same time that they obtained means of protecting their own.” 87 As it has been pointed out by Malcolm, “Slavery in Malwa, and adjoining provinces, is chiefly limited to Sondees; but there is, perhaps, no part of India where there are so many slaves of this sex. The dancing-girls are all purchased when young, by the Naikins, or heads of the different sets or companies, who often lay out large sums in these speculations. Female children and grown-up young women are bought up by all ranks. Among the Rajpoot chiefs these slaves are very numerous, as also in the houses of the principal Brahmins. The usage, however, descends to the lowest classes, and few merchants or cultivators are without mistresses or. servants of this description: male slaves are rare, and. never seen but with men of some rank and property, with whom they are usually the confidential servants.” 88 Malcolm refers to the “mixed progeny of these unfortunate women” (female slaves). Buchanan holds that in northern India, the Rajputs, Khatris and Kayasthas openly kept “women slaves of any pure tribe, and the off-springs of such connections were classed in one group for marriage.”* 9 Rich Muslim families in Bihar maintained large number of male slaves called Nafars and female slaves called Lc&undis. 90 They also kept a distinct class of slaves known as Moldzddds. 91

In Indian families slaves were not ordinarily subject to harsh treatment. The Committee of Circuit rightly observed in June, 1972: “The ideas of slavery borrowed from our American colonies, will make every modification of it appear in the eyes of our countrymen in England a horrible evil. But it is far from otherwise in this country; here slaves are treated as the children of the families to which they belong and often appear in a much happier state by their slavery than they could have hoped by the enjoyment of liberty.” 92 In the opinion of Malcolm slaves were “generally treated more like adopted children than menials.” 93 Tod notes that the slaves of Mewar received good treatment. We get the following account of slavery prevalent in Peninsular India in a Report by William Chaplin, printed under the authority of the Commissioner in the Deccan: "It is however a very mild and mitigated servitude rather than absolute slavery. ... Slaves are treated by the Hindoos with great indulgence, and if they conduct themselves well are considered rather as hereditary servants of the family than as menials. They become domesticated in the houses of the upper classes, who treat them with affection and allow them to intermarry with the female slaves, and offsprings of their connection, though deemed base born, if males, are often considered free; but if females, they remain slaves. Marriage however is equivalent almost to emancipation, because when married, slaves become rather an encumbrance to their owners." 938

Compared to this the condition of the slaves in European, Eurasian and Portuguese families, particularly in Calcutta, was hard.

They were subject to various indignities and even corporal punishments for trivial offences. Sir William Jones observed in his charge to the Grand Jury in Calcutta in 1783: "I am assured from evidence which, though not all judicially taken, has the strongest hold on my belief that the condition of slaves within our jurisdiction is, beyond imagination, deplorable, and that cruelties are daily practised on them, chiefly on those of the tender age and the weaker sex." 94

The French and the English Companies, the Portuguese and the Maghs of Arakan carried on traffic in slaves, and there was a slave market in Calcutta in the eighteenth century. Slaves were carried from one part of India to another and were also imported into Bombay and Calcutta from Africa and some areas round the Persian Gulf, America mid Mauritius. Coffree (African) boys and girls were sold as slaves in Calcutta. The Portuguese and traders of some other European countries transported Indian slaves to St. Helena, the French islands in the Indian Ocean, and to Ceylon. Against the unlawful selling of Indian slaves in St. Helena the Govemor-General-inCouncil of Fort William (Bengal) issued a proclamation on 5 August 1794, that "criminal prosecutions for the public offence and civil actions for the private injury arising from the unlawful sale or giving away of any person as a slave at St. Helena or elsewhere... will be instituted here against such persons as are amenable to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Judicature, and against whom sufficient evidence can be obtained to support the same; and moreover, that in future all persons in whose service natives shall embark from Bengal to England, will be required to give good and sufficient security against such natives being sold or given away as slaves at St. Helena or any other .place or settlement during the voyage to Europe."

Under the influence of humanitarian forces during the first half of the nineteenth century, slavery was abolished and the India Act of 1843 removed legal recognition of slavery.

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CHAPTER XXII

TRADE AND INDUSTRY

India lived in her villages and agriculture was the very backbone of her economic life. The Indian village was a self-sufficient unit. In times of normal rainfall it produced sufficient foodgrains for its subsistence. Other needs of the people living in it were few and they were met by the village artisans. The agricultural surplus went to the King in the form of land revenue, and the peasant, after paying the government, had little surplus left with him for purchasing the goods of urban industry. What remained went to meet his needs of salt, spices and clothing. In the circumstances, there could be little exchange of goods between the village and town.

Besides meagreness of demand, another factor restricting exchange of goods between the rural communes and towns was lack of good roadways. Before the nineteenth century, no pukka roads, with bridges spanning waterways, existed and merchandise had to be transported by pack-animals. Banjaras driving thousands of loaded bullocks were no uncommon sight. But the bullocks themselves consumed a lot. This raised the cost of hauling goods, restricting trade to commodities of luxury, display and high value, which only rulers and their retinue—the feudal nobility and court officials, could afford to purchase.

The second restricting factor to the enlargement of trade in the middle ages down to the end of the 18th century was the customs duties (zokat) and tolls levied on goods in transportation from the place of production to its final destination. The injunctions of the Nitis that merchants were ornaments of the kingdom remained in the book. The reality was otherwise. Endless levies on goods brought to the market or in transit by state officials and zamindars were a source of perpetual harassment to the producers and carriers of goods. The Peshwd Diaries, Chapekar and Chaplin, list over fifty Pattis or levies on goods bought or sold or in transit. 1

Khafi Khan’s comments on the subject are worth reproducing:

“The rahdari in particular is condemned by righteous and just men as a most vexatious impost and oppressive to travellers..

but a large sum is raised by it. In most parts of the Imperial territories the faujddrs and jagirddrs by force and tyranny, now exact more than ever from the traders and poor and necessitous travellers. The zaminddrs also, seeing that no inquiries are made, extort more on roads under royal officers. By degrees matters have come to such a pass that between the time of leaving the factory or port and reaching their destination, goods and merchandise pay double their cost price in tolls. Through the villainy and oppression of the toll-collectors and zaminddrs , the property, the honour, and the lives of thousands of travellers and peaceful wayfarers are frittered away.” 2

This is not to sa^ that trade and industry did not exist in the country. The imperial court, its nobility and its retinue, its feudatories and provincial officials with their establishments, though small in number compared to the general mass of people, formed a considerable class; they liked to eat, dress and live well and created a great demand for articles of luxury and display. The poor man contented himself with the rough cloth woven in the village, but the rich decked themselves with fine Bengal muslins, Benaras silk, Dacca calicoes and Kinkhabs of Ahmadabad (silk cloth) shot with gold thread; their wives were loaded with jewellery in gold and diamonds, rubies and pearls; their drawing rooms were covered with fine carpets and contained beautiful furniture and objects of art. It was these things that attracted the foreign traders. Between the rich class and the foreign companies they created a demand not only for spices, but for cotton and silk piece-goods, Kinkhabs, indigo, saltpetre, etc.

The organisation of industry for supplying the needs of the rural community was primitive. The artisans formed part of the village community, worked for the villagers part-time and were allotted a share in the produce of the farms fixed by custom and rarely by the market forces of demand and supply. They often worked on small farms of their own.

The producers of high quality luxury goods worked either in their homes or the State Kdrkhands (workshops) in the towns. Such village artisans who acquired special skills in their crafts, also made their contribution to the supply of these luxury goods. Normally the elder craftsmen trained their children in their hereditary occupation. As most of the craftsmen were poor, they worked for merchants who advanced them money for raw materials and their Wages. Till the stipulated quantity of goods was produced for the merchant, the craftsmen were bound to work for them. The finished products were placed on the market by the merchant himself or the foreign company’s agents.

Quite often the rulers and nobles had direct dealings with the artisans. They organised Karkhanas at their capitals. Bernier describes large halls occupied by different craftsmen under the direction of daroghas who controlled them. The rulers sometimes showed interest in their work and encouraged promising craftsmen by special rewards.[3]

There was no home market for luxury goods. The foreign companies could offer in return woollens, lead and tin for which there was a small market. So most of what the foreign companies purchased had to be paid for in specie. India thus became a sink of precious metals throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

India in these centuries was the magnet of the world’s precious metals, her commercial activity far surpassing European commerce. The European merchants of Venice, Genoa and Lisbon acted as intermediaries of traffic in the precious goods that found their way to Europe through the Levantine and Egyptian 'ports or by the newly opened sea-route via the Cape of Good Hope. In 1600, neither Portugal nor Holland nor England produced much that could be exported to India and the East Indies in exchange for spices and pepper of the southern Islands and cotton and silk goods, pepper, indigo and saltpetre of India that were in world-wide demand. Only broad cloth, gold and silver embroidery and a few other luxuries for the nobility, coral, tin, and lead were imported in India from Europe, that therefore had to pay chiefly in bullion or specie for the increasing value of Indian exports. It was India that was the hub of this world commerce prior to the period of the Industrial Revolution.

By the end of the 18th century, however, trade, both internal and foreign, suffered a decline. There were many causes that brought about the decline; but the chief one was lack of peace in the land. The Mughul empire was in decline and it could no longer keep peace in the country. In the first place, the Mughul armies were exhausted by Aurangzib's long-drawn Deccan war; the wars of succession between his sons and grandsons drained the empire of financial and human resources and weakened the imperial fabric; foreign adventurers began swooping down the land from the north-west plundering imperial treasure; governors of provinces affected independence and were challenged by other officers of the empire; there were risings of local populations like those of the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats, the Bundelas and the Marathas. All this affected the tranquillity of the land which, in India, was the first requisite of a prosperous agriculture, a thriving trade and a flourishing maritime commerce.

The rise of Maratha power and its expansion in the 18th century was another factor which ultimately affected adversely the general production of wealth and its distribution through trade and commerce. In the earlier half of the century, the Marathas appeared to carry everything before them and evolve a new order to replace the old. But their imperial design was frustrated by a combination of local Muslim chiefs and the Abdali Shah of Afghanistan in 1761 at the battle of Panipat. After this, the Indian empire of the Mughuls dissolved into a number of competing Subahdaris and Zamindaris and warring Hindu kingdoms, and the country suffered the worst anarchy it had ever witnessed.

The Maratha system of exercising their supremacy over conquered provinces by demand of tribute (chauth), without organising proper administration, was wasteful and expensive. Their armies overran territories, destroying everything which they could not take away and impoverishing the rulers and the subjects who were supposed to provide extra funds for meeting Maratha demands. In their hurry to grasp the much-needed cash, their demands of tribute were often sold to bankers at a discount and districts were placed at the mercy of rapacious money-lenders. Many old cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Ahmadabad, Cambay which were great trading centres, lay in ruins. Nana Phadnis who tried to obtain art objects from Hindustan, was informed by his agent that skilled artisans were no longer to be found in Delhi or Agra, because there was no demand for the products of their crafts.[4] James Forbes travelling in India in 1785 lamented: “The country through which we travelled for several days past has presented a melancholy picture occasioned by a dreadful famine which had sadly diminished population and left the survivors in a state of misery. At Gwalior whole suburbs were strewn with skeletons; from thence to Agra the villages were generally uninhabited and the land become a wilderness from want of cultivation. In Agra on all sides there were objects of fallen grandeur; mosques, palaces, gardens, caravanserais and mausoleums mingled in one general ruin. The country between Muttra and Delhi had been completely depopulated by famine. Ruins of sarais, mosques, mausoleums and other magnificent structures surround the city of Delhi.” 5

Besides, Indian shipping was ruined first by the Portuguese then by Dutch and English rivalry in the Asiatic seas, and Indian trade by differential trade monopoly and extraordinary privileges at home in favour of the European factors and merchants who obtained special privileges from the Indian rulers and misused them. While \ the Indian cotton industry was also hard hit by the loss of the English market due to the prohibition since the beginning of the 18th century of the import of Indian calicoes and silk, by the discouragement by the East India Company of the manufacture of cloth goods of high counts and silk fabrics in India, it also suffered by the loss of her old markets in the Indian Archipelago, Persia and Africa, with the dwindling of the Indian mercantile marine.

Another factor in the declining trade was, as pointed out by Dr. Satish Chandra, the deepening crisis of the jagirdari system which reduced the available social surplus. The number of government officials increased while the price of silver declined, which led to a rise in the cost of administration. The Mughul emperors lived in great style, luxury and pomp and were imitated by their nobles and subdhdars. This, no doubt, gave employment to artists and artisans, but did not solve the problem of agricultural production. Agricultural production, then as now, formed the mainstay of the Indian economy and a growth In the national income could proceed only from a rise in the volume and value of agricultural produce. A rise in the requirements of the ruling class without a corresponding rise in agricultural production resulted directly or indirectly in the growth of economic pressure on the producing classes. During the early part of the

Mughul period (1530-1627) there is evidence of a continuous expansion of the cultivated area. But the limit was reached and Shah Jahan had to scale down the salaries of his noblemen. The financial crisis could not be solved by reduction in salaries. Aurangzib launched the Deccan War which exhausted the imperial resources. What was required was the rapid expansion of trade and industry and increased agricultural production. But the barriers of the existing social order and the general disturbed political situation encompassed trade and industry. 6 Hen6e any improvement in the situation was not possible. The Indian economy was a shrinking economy.

Indian Inland Trade and Transport:

A large inland trade was maintained efficiently by organised caravan and river-borne traffic, a network of banking and wholesale mercantile establishments in all the trade and industrial centres of India with branches abroad and the system of payment by hundis. Caravans and Cafilas travelled long distances, as for instance from Chittagong, Hughli and Kasimbazar to Agra via Patna, Benaras and

Allahabad; from Agra to Multan and Lahore and thence to Kabul and Kandahar; and from Agra to Surat via Burhanpur or via Ajmer and from Agra to Sakkar and Lahari Bandar, on the Indus river.

Travel from Surat to Agra occupied about 35 to 40 days and cost about Rs. 40 to Rs. 45 on a bullock cart with two oxen. The journey from Agra to Lahore took 15 to 21 days. From Agra to Benaras, Patna, Hughli, Dacca and Chittagong in Bengal the river boats called ‘patellas’ plied regularly on the Jamuna and the Ganga or the Padma bringing salt, opium, king (asafoetida), lead and carpets from Northern India. From the industrial centres of Kasimbazar, Dacca Malda, Patna, Baikunthpur and Benaras the far-famed silks and muslins went via Agra to Lahore and thence to Persia, Turkey and Khorasan. Plain calicoes from Bengal went to Masulipatam in order to be dyed or printed there and silks to Patna, Agra, Ahmadabad and Surat to be fabricated into superior fabrics. Saltpetre and sugar similarly moved out to the ports. From far-off Bengal, sugar came regularly to Surat for supply to Golkonda and Karnatak and export to Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia. From Surat about 7,000 to 8,000 bales of raw cotton were carried down the Ganga to Bengal and bartered there for Kasimbazar silks, brought thence to Surat. The surplus cotton of Gujarat was also disposed of to China, Persia and Arabia. Bengal indigo came to Masulipatam. Indigo from Bayana and Ahmadabad went to the West through the port of Surat. The inferior indigo from other places went to Kabul and Kashgar. Gradually the trade shifted to Bengal which became the chief source of supply at the beginning of the 19th century. The far-famed red cloth of Masulipatam went to Persia both by the land route via Golkonda and Surat or by the sea-route. Awadh calicoes, especially the Derriabads, went to Europe through Surat after being dyed and finished at Agra and Ahmadabad. Hence these were sometimes called Agra clothing. 'Agra clothing', which had an exceedingly profitable market in Persia, the Red Sea coast and the Indian Archipelago, included North Indian cloth made in Awadh or the Punjab, but bleached and transformed in Surat, Broach, Ahmadabad apd neighbouring English factories. Some of these calicoes, after bleaching, found also a suitable market in England . Similarly, large quantities of silk came, as Tavernier tells us, from Bengal to Ahmadabad and Surat, where they were woven into fabrics. 7

Saltpetre from the Patna region used to come all the way from Bihar to Surat. It was estimated by Abbe Raynal that the Europeans exported about ten million pounds for the use of theif settlements in Asia or for their home consumption in their respective

countries where it was sold for about four times the price on the spot. The inland trade in salt produced in the Punjab, Sambhar Lake and elsewhere, was also very important.

The Decline of Trade:

The inland trade in foodgrains was in the hands of the Banjaras who moved from one part of the country to another in bullock convoys and also catered to the requirements of armies on the march. European armies in the 18th century also depended upon them for their supplies. With the breakdown of the Mughul authority the system of policing the roads and customs disintegrated. In large parts of Central India, subject to MarathS invasions and Pindari raids, inland traffic was much impeded and subjected to vexatious imposts of Rajput princes and petty chiefs.

The period of anarchy developed, however, its characteristic trade and insurance organisation. This is vividly described by John Malcolm:

“Every trader had his party of armed men, formed connections with ministers and commanders of armies, contracted engagements with plundering chieftains and robbers and had his goods, whether exported or imported, guarded like the baggage of an army. The insurance companies at Ujjain, Indore and Mandasor, kept a small corps, which were supported by the high premiums charged on all articles that were exported or imported between Malwa, Gujarat, the Deccan and Hindustan. These companies were compelled to bribe the most powerful plunderers of the day, who in their demands upon them and the merchants, had no other standard than their own temporary interests.” 8

Yet in spite of sporadic disturbances the smooth movement of trade from one part of the sub-continent to another continued, maintained by a considerable traffic in Hundis. At the beginning of the 19th century Malcolm notes:

“The provinces of Central India send rich produce to Deccan and Gujarat; but export few articles to Hindustan; and to Mirzapore and Benares, from whence a great proportion of their imports are received, hardly any goods whatever are sent; add to this* that the bankers and agents of Ujjain and Indore are often the medium of the Gujarat payments for the merchandise from the Bengal provinces, and we shall account for a great proportion of the remittances that are made.” 9

In 1817 Malcolm notes that the exchange was five per cent premium for bills on Farrukhabad, Benaras, Delhi, etc., which was about the same rate as formerly when the country was in prosperity.

In Bengal the inland trade and prosperity of artisans and merchants suffered a serious set-back due to the innumerable ways of violence and transgression of the East India Company’s agents, gomastas “erecting themselves’*, in the words of Warren Hastings, “into the lords and' oppressors of the country instead of confining themselves in honest and fair trade”. The Nawab Mir Qasim complained without avail to the English Governor in 1762:

“From the factory of Calcutta to Kasimbazar, Patna and Dacca, all the English chiefs with their Gomastas, officers and Agents, in every district of the Government, act as collectors, renters, zamindars, and Talookdars, and setting up the Company’s colours, allow no power to my officers. And besides this, the gomastas and other servants in every district, in every gunge, perganah and village, carry on a trade in oil, fish, straw, bamboos, rice, paddy, betel-nuts and other things; and every man with a Company’s Dustuck in his hand regards himself as not less than the Company.”

This, the Nawab averred, went on with impunity “in every pargana, in every village and in every factory”. 10

And this resulted in the abandonment of several prosperous towns, markets and aurangs. The Collector of Dacca reported to the English Governor: “Many hauts, gauts and parganas have been ruined”. Similarly, in South India the oppressions of the East India Company were responsible for the decline of the trade and industry in Madras. Thus R. & J. Dodsley observe:

“The trade of Madras was some time ago thought to be upon the decline through the oppression of the servants of the Company which has caused many merchants to withdraw. The Moors, Hindus and Armenians have got possession of the trade they were wont to carry on to Pegu, the English being now chiefly employed in ship-building.”

Nor was the weaving population inconsiderable in numbers. It is estimated that in South India the East India Company engaged approximately 50,000 workers on 40,000 looms and that the total number of weavers of South India was probably about half a million. Bengal, it may be estimated, had in the middle of the 18th century about a million weavers. But the famine of 1770 killed off probably

half of the weaving population, dealing a severe blow to the declining industry. This famine swept away one-third to one-half of the whole population of Bengal, and, coming as it did on the top of the miseries and oppressions of that strange masterful foreigner —the Company Sahib Bahadur, which squeezed the land, still exercises a profound influence on the imagination of the Bengalis. A profound sense of disappointment and tragedy dominated the mindp of the people.

The contemporary historian, Syed Ghulam Husain, wrote in 1780:

“Life is become disgustful to most. Comparing the present with the past, one is apt to think that the earth is overwhelmed with an everlasting darkness.” 11

In the religious lyrics of the contemporary poet Ramprasad Sen (c. 1720-81) who lived through the manvantara (famine) catastrophe, we encounter a sombre, tragic attitude towards life and poignant recognition of the contrasts between the rich, who lived in palaces and owned elephants, horses and chariots, and the have-nots who did field work, ate rice and salt and bore on their shoulders the palanquins of the former. “Are the Haves, Divine Mother,” he asked in agony, “your grandfathers and we only your discarded children?” 12

Stages in India's Economic Decline:

The economic decline of India may be said to have begun from the middle of the 17th century when the English (1652) and the Dutch (1665) obtained from Shah Jahan exemption from all tolls from Surat to all inland centres and from Hughli or Pipli to Agra . and Delhi and reduction of customs duties, along with other privileges that the Indians did not enjoy (whose inland trade thus gradually passed into their hands), and at the same time enforced, like the Portuguese, a system of cartasses or passes for Indian ships en route. The year 1716 saw an extraordinary reduction of customs duties for the English at Surat and in Bengal by a farman from Farrukh-siyar, such preferential treatment greatly aiding the transfer of foreign and inland trade from both Indian and Dutch to English hands. The year 1700, exactly a century after the establishment of the English and Dutch companies, saw the prohibition of the use of Asiatic silks and printed and dyed calicoes, though these could yet be imported for re-exportation. This was followed up in 1720 by the prohibition, with certain exceptions, of the wear and use of calicoes dyed or printed in England.

Protective duties for the English weaving industry against Indian products were gradually raised to about 80 per cent in the subsequent decades. The next significant event was the grant of the Diwdni of Bengal to the English. The assumption of the Diwdni by the East India Company in 1765 gave it not only the whole revenues of the eastern provinces but also tremendous political and economic power that was at once utilised for the discouragement of handicrafts and the ousting of Indian, Dutch, French and Danish factories and merchants from trading in salt, betel-nut, tobacco and foodgrains. A group of zaminddrs mustered courage to submit to the Members of the Council in 1765 a complaint against the monopolies and oppression of the Company's servants, among whom there was a general rush towards the interior trade of the three Provinces due to their meagre salaries:

"The factories of English gentlemen are many and their Gomastas are in all places and in every village almost through out the province of Bengal; tobacco, turmeric, oil, rice, Jiem^>, gunnies, in short in all kinds of grains, linen and whatever other commodities are produced in the country; that in order to purchase these articles, they force their money on the ryots, and having by these oppressive means bought their goods at a low rate, they oblige the inhabitants and shopkeepers to take them at a high price, exceeding what is paid in the markets; that they do not pay the customs due to the Sircar, but are guilty of all manner of seditious and injurious acts. There is now scarce any thing of worth left in the country."

Only four years after the Diwdni (1769) an arbitrary order was passed by the East India Company for the prohibition of home work of the silk weavers and their forced labour in the English Company's factories. In that very year the French Company which found their trade reduced to insignificant proportions was abolished. Chevalier complained from Chandernagore that the English Company imposed customs duties from which the French had always been exempted, abolished old privileges, invalidated their passports, and even insulted their colours. The French historian, Abbe Raynal. also points out that the English Company monopolised the sale of salt, betel and tobacco, augmented the customs and at last caused an edict to be published which forbade every European except the English from trading in the interior parts of Bengal. Besides, weavers were forbidden to work for others until the English Company's orders were completed. The weavers consequently were forced to deliver their goods at any price that the Company's agents fixed for them. On the proposal of the Dutch Company "for a participation with the weavers" the President of the Council at Calcutta wrote to the Directors in 1767 remonstrating that this would be tantamount "to throw off the mask and counteract the endeavours we use of seeming to act from the Nabob's authority only."

Thus the English thenceforward had no European rivals in trade and industry. The Dutch finding their trade in Bengal seriously in jeopardy and the oppression of both the English Company's agents and the Nawab's officials intolerable, challenged the English by a naval expedition up the Hughli, but suffered a decisive defeat (1759).

The Dutch trade, formerly very profitable, now ceased to be so. Within a few years the province of Bengal was held in complete economic grip by the English Company and its servants and agents through a system of monopoly, coercion and exaction that sucked the people dry. The system was described by a contemporary English merchant, Bolts, as follows:

"It may with truth be now said that the whole inland trade of the country, as at present conducted, and that of the Company's investment for Europe in a more peculiar degree, has been one continued scene of oppression, the baneful effects of which are severely felt by every weaver and manufacturer in the country, every article produced being made a monopoly in which the English with their Banyans and black Gomastas arbitrarily decide what quantities of goods each manufacturer shall deliver, and the prices he shall receive for them." 13

Such a system of monopoly and coercion in which "the most sacred laws of society were atrociously violated" virtually continued till 1784, when Pitt's India Bill placed the administration of the Company under the Crown and compelled some reforms. In a minute of 1789 it was stated that one-third of the Company's territory in x Hindustan was a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts. Lord Cornwallis who came to India to effect a change in the administration by his system of land reform, created the zamindars of Hindustan on the analogy of the landlords of Great Britain out of a class that was deemed by the contemporary Indian chronicler, Ghulam Husain Khan, as "refractory, untrustworthy, incorrigible and accustomed to infest the highways, torment the subjects, ruin the revenue and distress the

Government.” This new landed aristocracy was built up as allies of the Company’s Raj by obscuring and obliterating the customary rights of ryots in the cultivated land, in the pasture land and

uncultivated waste and in irrigation, thus depressing the economic status of the majority of the agrarian population. Since 1793 the economic condition of the agriculturists of Bengal greatly deteriorated, while land became the chief source of investment and social prestige in the country where a phonomenal decline in handicrafts and trade was taking place and causing serious overcrowding in agriculture and chronic unemployment. During this period Indian calicoes and silks could sell in Great Britain at a price 50 to 60 per cent lower than the price of the British fabrics; and the annual import of Indian piece goods was valued on an average at £ 2.8 millions, representing about 33 per cent of the value of the aggregate imports from India. Riots and tumults among the British weavers in London and elsewhere, however, led to drastic protection of the woollen and silk manufacturers by Acts of Parliament 1813 was the year in which the Parliament, in order to protect the British manufacturers, raised the duties against the Indian piecegoods at their highest—78 1/3 per cent ad valorem duty on calicoes and 31 1/3 per cent on muslins.

Before this year Indian silk manufactures and piece-goods made of cotton and silk intermixed were altogether excluded from the British market. At the same time the advantages of the use of machinery in large-scale factory production were showing theii effects not merely in the displacement of the Indian by the British goods in the home market, aided by protection, but also in the British goods ousting the Indian goods from the Asiatic, including the Indian markets. In 1813 Great Britain sent out to ports east of the Cape of Good Hope, mainly to India, cotton goods worth £ 108,824. On the one hand, the manufacture and export of cloth goods quickly dwindled, and on the other hand, the import of British cloth goods into India began quickly to rise from about 1813.

In the same year the Charter Act of 1813 was passed terminating the monopoly of the East India Company and permitting private traders or free merchants to trade under special license. Three years later (1816) Abbe Dubois, who spent many years as a missionary in South India, wrote:

"This revolution (the invention of industrial development in England) threatens to ruin India completely. Just before returning to Europe I travelled through some of the manufacturing districts and nothing could equal the state of desolation prevailing in them. All the work-rooms were closed and hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants composing the weaver caste, were dying of hunger; for through the prejudices of the country they could not adopt another profession without dishonouring themselves." 14

In North Bihar and Bengal, however, Buchanan's contemporary survey (1808-1815) showed that the destruction of the handloom industry was not so sudden and immediate as in South India as it appears from the account of Dubois. "Buchanan counted 6,114 looms in Gorakhpur, 7,950 in Shahabad, 13,500 looms in Pumea and 4,800 looms in Malda with lakhs of women finding employment in cotton spinning."

The Charter Act of 1813 was followed up later on by the Charter Act of 1833 which abolished altogether the mercantile character of the East India Company, that had closed most of their factories by this time, and also considerably reduced its trade operations. The way was now prepared for private British capital and enterprise to exploit unhindered, without the license system, the resources of India that was already "reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country."

British interest in India was now focussed towards the improvement any export of Indian raw materials, such as cotton, silk, hides, oil seeds, dye stuffs and jute which were essential for the progress of British manufactures.

The year 1813 saw the final conversion of India from the industrial workshop of the world to its richest raw material country. This year saw also the imposition of various discriminatory import duties against non-British Indian ships visiting the ports of England that was most injurious to Indian shipping and ship-building. Next year, in 1814, the British Parliament enacted that no ship, even though British, can enter London that has not on board 3/5 of crew of British mariners. In the beginning of the 19th century,. Calcutta, Daman, Surat, Bombay and Pegu were the major ship-building centres. Between 1781 and 1813, 181 vessels were built on the Hughli alone and their tonnage amounted to 83,246. 15 But the industry declined as a result of discriminating legislation.

Economic Factors in the British Conquest of India:

Three important changes in the economic relations between England and India, which had far-reaching consequences, took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century. First, it was in the early years of the eighteenth century that English interest in trade was transferred definitely from the Archipelago of the East Indies to India.

Secondly, it was in the first decades of the eighteenth century that the English, anticipating the approaching disintegration of the Mughul empire, definitely changed the strategy of their trade. The year 1702 saw the union of two companies in England with one Charter. The United East India Company now emerged as a powerful and adventurous corporation, backed by the Government, to whom they made liberal advances, and invested with the authority to make war and peace in India. In the past they had followed a cautious policy of "quiet trading" believing that the "keeping of soldiers beggars a nation". But now following the policy of the "wise Dutch" the English began to run their factories in a manner that these could pay their own expenses and defend themselves against aggression, with fortifications and acquisition of adjacent hinterland. Thus the Company started on the road to become, in the words of Caraccioli, "the most formidable commercial republic known in the world since the demolition of Carthage". 16 The French also had this pre-vision, for Francois Martin wrote home in 1700, "prosperous settlements and a few well fortified places will give (the Company) a great position among these people," and fortified Pondv cherry. But the English did not draw the line between defence, aggression and piracy in India. Fifteen years earlier (1685), the English Company obtained permission of James II to fit out and send one fleet to cruise off Surat and take, plunder and destroy all Indian ships and vessels; and another fleet with troops to Bengal to act vigorously in that quarter.

Thus piracy was openly practised by the English on both coasts of the Indian Peninsula. Bolts describes the result:

“The fleet on the Malabar Coast made immense booty at sea from indiscriminately plundering all Indian merchant ships; whilst the troops in^ Bengal, under the command of Mr. Job Charnock, the Company chief factor at Hooghly, experienced many changes of fortune.” 17

Sir John Child, the Company’s Governor at Bombay, who is desscribed by Hamilton as being “guilty of every species of tyranny, oppression, injustice and plunder alike toward the natives and his own fellow subjects”, prolonged this ‘war’ until 1690. It is true that both the earlier piracy and Sir John Child’s imprudent aggression in Surat that was supported at home by his masterful Chairman kinsman Sir Joshiah, came to grief. Aurangzib’s seizure of the English factory at Surat led to the complete forfeiture of all trade privileges and loss of prestige of the English in India. From Bengal they were also expelled by Aurangzib’s viceroy in 1688. Thus the

theory of the mailed fist had to be abandoned for the time being by the English. But terms were soon settled between the two sides both in Western India and Bengal. Child’s removal of the seat of government (1687) in the course of the Mughul war, from Surat to Bombay, that was directed to be made* “as strong as money and art could make it,” was a part of the English total plan of defence and cffence.

Thus Was founded the English gateway to the East.

Three years later (1690) in Bengal Job Charnock acquired by negotiation SutanatT, Govindptir and Kalikatta on a strategic site on the eastern bank of the Hughli most helpful to the English to ward off the Marathas and at the same time to fight their European rivals as well as the Nawab of Bengal. Here was built later on, the second city of the British empire, as the English after a decade (1700) resorted more ‘to the use of the military’ than bribery and presents for successfully rejecting the demands of the native officials and even the Nawab. On the Western Coast Mughul arms and prestige were dealt a severe blow by Shivaji whom the English looked upon with fear and respect. But the feebleness of ShivajI’s successors and the disorder following the death of Aurangzib were incentives to the English to resort to force. Surat greatly declined in trade and prosperity at this time, and the English were induced by the people of the city, fed up with local dissensions, to take over the possession of the castle, the government and the fleet from the Siddi in 1759. Though the Marathas did not interfere, the English in their turn recognised the strategic importance of this possession. “Surat which has ever been considered as the emporium of this side of India, admirably well suited for a general mart connecting the produce and wants of Hindustan, Deccan, Arabia, Persia, Europe and China, is besides the only check to the absolute dominion of the Mahrattas in these parts.

Thirdly, the opening of the eighteenth century also saw the acquisition by the English of extraordinary trade privileges that enabled them to oust native traders and merchants from both inland and overseas trade. In 1692 the East India Company got their customs duties, transit duties and other charges commuted into an annual lump sum of Rs. 3,000 only. Port duties, town customs, presents and other charges were, however, continued to be levied from the general body of native merchants. The Dutch merchants were at that time paying no transit tolls, but a 4 per cent duty at Hughli, and 5 per cent at Pipli and Balasore. At Surat they were paying 2 1/2 per cent duty in lieu of which the English paid a sum of

Rs. 10)000 only per annum according to the terms of a farman they secured from Farrukh-siyar. That the native traders in particular were unfairly treated was recognised even by the foreigners themselves. Thus the English Company wrote in 1698:

“The Company have by grants, firmans and mutual stipulations obtained very great privileges and immunities in most parts of India, not only beyond any other natiops trading thither, but even beyond the natives themselves.” 18

European Piracy in the Indian waters:

The unequal struggle between the European and Indian merchants due to the exemption of inland dues and duties was rendered all the more difficult because of the danger to Indian shipping in the Asiatic seas from the European pirates against whom no protection was forthcoming from the native administration. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Indian vessels manned by Indian navigators and lascars moved in the Asiatic waters from Jeddah and Mocha on the Red sea to Malacca and Bantam in the East. Indian ships have been described by many European navigators and merchants as much bigger than the contemporary European vessels. It appears that the Indian vessels, intended largely for peaceful trade, were strongly and capaciously built, but lacked manoeuverability and fell an easy prey to the European pirates. In certain ports of India there assembled as many as 500 Indian vessels. The Gujaratis, Canarians and the Bengalis of the eastern Bengal won reputation as lascars and captains. Raynal records in 1752:

“With regards to their (Indian) sailors commonly called lascars, the Europeans have found them serviceable in their voyages from one part of India to the other. They have been employed successfully in bringing home into our stormy latitudes such ships as had lost their crews.” 19

Various kinds of ships mostly of 1,000 to 1,200 tons were built in numerous ship-building centres of India, the most important of which, in the 18th century, were Bassein, Goa, Surat, Masulipatam, Hughli, Dacca and Chittagong. Indian vessels used to proceed to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf in the month of January, returning in September or October, while the voyages to the Indian Archipelago were undertaken in September, the ships returning in April. Evidently the stormy monsoon months were avoided by the Indian navigators and merchants in the Asiatic seas. It took .nearly three

or four months to reach the African coast and the Red Sea ports; while the voyage to Canton on the Chinese coast via Malacca, Patani and Siam also took about four months. In the Archipelago Indian and Chinese junks moved about in large numbers. European piracy began in the Indian waters with the Portuguese who were especially notorious on the coasts of Gujarat and Malabar and also in Bengal where, according to Finch, they ‘lived in no forms of subjection to God or Man’. Both the Dutch and the English Companies followed their example, not to speak of the high-handed adventures of the private merchants and interlopers. That piracy was a ruthless weapon employed by both the Dutch and the English for ousting Indian vessels from trade with the Archipelago is clearly indicated in two English letters from Surat. In 1647 a letter was addressed from here to the East India Company recording the publication of “resolutions” by the Dutch at Surat, “at the coast and other places, to intercept all such shipping as they shall encounter bound thither (Achin. 5).” In 1658 a letter addressed from Surat to Madras contains the following:

“In a postscript dealing with a Madras letter just received it was laid down that for the future none but the Company’s ships were to be allowed to trade to Achin, Bantam, or elsewhere. You suffering no private man’s ships of our nation whatsoever to voyage to and fro, neither to the ports the Honorable Company trade not unto, as well as where they do; nay, not suffer Banias or Moors (vessels) (except the king’s) to trade at the ports the Company does, to their prejudice. The Dutch do not any, why we? It is our practice here, and it will be the better for our Master’s profit that you do it there also.” 20

*

Such piracy and seizure of Indian vessels at sea continued unabated. The abuse became so intolerable in Bengal that in 1748 Nawab All Vardi Khan admonished the East India Company’s Governor Barwell in a parwandh as follows:

“The Syads (Arabs), Moghuls, Armenians etc., merchants of Hooghly have complained that lacs of goods have been seized and plundered, and I am informed from foreign parts that ships bound to Hooghly you seize under pretence of their belonging to the French. The ships belonging to Antony (an Armenian) with lacs on board from Mocha and several curiosities sent me by the Sheriff of the place, you have also seized and plundered.... As you were not permitted to commit piracies I write to

you that on receipt of this you deliver up all the merchants* goods and effects to them.** 21

This warning went unheeded compelling the Nawab to take resort to various repressive measures against the English traders in their different factories. But a weak ruler could not but submit to foreign high-handedness, backed by sea power that gradually drove the mercantile marine of the Indians as well as of the Armenians and the Turks out of the Asiatic seas. As the traffic in Indian merchandise was gradually transferred to the European mercantile marine due to European naval supremacy, the Indian merchants had to pay heavy freight charges while the Europeans paid nominal or no charges in the vessels of their own Companies. Gradually the English Company ousted not only the Indian but also the Dutch and French merchants from the carrying and maritime trades.

Indian Export of Cotton Goods:

We would now review briefly the trend of India's foreign trade in the eighteenth century. India's articles of export were calicoes, raw silk and raw cotton, indigo, pepper and various drugs and salt-petre. The most important item was, of course, calicoes— the products of Gujarat, Sind, Agra, Awadh, Bihar, Bengal and the Coromandel Coast that were sold in England and other countries in Europe, the Guinea Coast and East Africa, Burma, Pegu, Siam, the Indian Archipelago and Japan, Persia and Western Asia. The total annual export of Indian handloom products by sea in the 17th century has been estimated by Moreland at about 50 million sq. yards; 15,000 bales of cotton goods were exported by the English merchants, and 10,000 bales by the Dutch to Europe, making a total of 25,000 bales or 32 millions of sq. yards for Europe excluding the trade of the French, the Portuguese and Danes. Markets in the Far East, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf supplied by the Europeans as well as by Indian, Javanese, and Siamese merchants, absorbed, it is roughly computed, another 18 million sq. yards of cloth. One and a half to three million sq. yards more represented the cloth export to Persia and Central Asia up to the borders of the Caspian sea by the land route. 22 Thus the total annual export of cotton goods by sea was between 50 and 60 million sq. yards, to which should be added 3 million sq. yards representing the export trade by thet northwestern land routes. Tavernier estimates that the Dutch took from Bengal 6,000 to 7,000 bales of silk annually, and the merchants of Tartary took another 6,000 to 7,000 bales.

Reckoning a bale to consist of about 1400 sq. yards, the Bengal silk trade alone may be taken as somewhere about 19.6 millions of sq. yards at this period. Stavorinus also estimated that 3,00,000, to 4,00,000 lbs. of unwrought silk from Kasimbazar were consumed in the European manufactories. This excludes the silk fabrics exported to Europe from that centre.

Up till the beginning of the nineteenth century vast quantities of cotton piece-goods from Bengal, the Coromandel Coast, Gujarat and other parts of India were exported by the English and French merchants to Europe in spite of various restrictions imposed on this trade. Thus, while the value of export of Indian cloth goods represented £ 200,000 to £ 300,000 per annum between 1677-80 and to £ 1 million between 1697-1702, it was about £ 1.4 millions per annum between the years 1786-1790. And the export of Indian cotton and silk goods to England at the opening of the nineteenth century amounted to £ 2.5 millions. France was also importing annually at this time (the figure is that of 1791) £ 1.2 millions worth of Indian cotton piece-goods; while a considerable quantity of these was also exported in American vessels (valued at Rs. 5,600,000 in 1816-1817).

Export Specialities and Centres of Handloom Production:

A very large number of handloom weaving centres existed in India throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

Calicoes (from Calicut) was the general name adopted by the East India Company for Indian cloth goods exported to England, but there were two hundred distinct trade names of Indian cloth goods recorded in the correspondence of the English, Dutch, and French factors and directors. Such names are derived both from the centres of production in India and from the foreign consuming markets. A few names of such handloom products selling in European, Asiatic and African markets are adduced below: Semianoes (cloths made at Samana in Patiala), Derriabdds, Kerriabads and Eckbarrys (from Daryabad, Kairabad, Akabarpore or Akabarpur respectively in Awadh); Gelalpores (from Jalalpur in Fyzabad); Mercooleces (from Nygome or Nayagon in the district of Harodi); Ambertees (from Patna, Benaras, Lechore or Lakhawar, 30 miles south of Patna); Fotas, Ginghams, Hummums, Sanoes, Sologesses, Elaches, Mulmuls and Cassas (from Bengal); Serribaffs (from the Deccan); Buritungeers (from Sind); Salempores, Moorees and Per calles (from Gujarat) were the goods commonly met with in foreign trade.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Indian cloth goods sought mostly in different countries in Europe were Garas, Rumals , Ghtgfoams, Cassas and Mulmuls from Bengal, napkins, Salempores and Beiilles from the Coromandel Coast, Derriabads from Awadh and Baftds from Gujarat. White and blue Guineas were also still being exported by the European merchants for the Guinea coast in Africa where these were worn by slaves. Coarse dutties from Gujarat went to Persia, Arabia, Abyssinia and the east coast of Africa; the Chintz of Cambay were used in Arabia and Turkey as mantles; the Baftds and Gauzes were used for summer wear in Turkey and Persia; the famous printed calicoes of Ahmadabad went to Europe and to Persia, Turkey and the Indian Archipelago; and the shawls made in Kashmir and Surat were used for the winter covering in India, Persia and Turkey. 23 A large variety of cotton and silk goods, especially from Malda, Kasimbazar and Dacca, went from Bengal not only to Europe, Persia, Turkey and Egypt but also to Ceylon, Pegu, Siam, the Indian Archipelago and Japan.

This is a list of the export specialities included in the merchandise brought by seven French ships to Europe in 1742. 24 As many as 51,710 pieces of white Gar a from Bengal, 58,325 pieces of Guinea from the Coromandel Coast and 71,096 pieces of napkins (Rumals) from Bengal, Masulipatam, Pondicherry, Tranquebar and Pulicat went in these French ships. This volume of the French trade in Indian calicoes is significant since French political influence was destroyed in another two decades.

India’s eastern customers of cotton goods included Japan with whom the Dutch merchants built up an appreciable business after about 1625 and Siam, Indo-China, the Moluccas, Ceram, Banda, Amboyna, Macassar, Borneo,j Sumatra and Java. Across the Indian ocean in the west, South and East Africa, and Abyssinia furnished limited markets. But West Africa, Egypt, and the adjacent parts of North Africa, and the West of Arabia were important consuming regions. Persia, Central Asia, Russia and Turkey were supplied through the overland route via Lahore and Kandahar by caravans carrying there the specialised cotton fabrics of Dacca and Bengal. Turkey, Muscovy, and Poland preferred, according to Tavernier, the printed cloth goods from the Deccan, but Western Europe imported silk fabrics and cheap calicoes from various textile centres, specially Gujarat, the Coromandel

Coast and Bengal. The export trade of Indian cotton goods in the 17th and 18th centuries bore ample testimony to the adaptation of fabrics by Indian weavers of quality and prices to the various requirements, fashions and tastes of peoples

representing different cultures and stages of development from savages and slaves to kings, noblemen and common people in different lands.

Throughout the 17th century Indian calico was used as household linen in Europe and America. All classes of people in England "from the greatest gallants to the meanest cook maids" used both plain calico and chintz , (or printed cloth goods). The English flannel and broadcloth were given up in favour of light and elegant apparel.

Gradually the prints and the fine muslins captured the entire European market replacing the British and French stuffs. England developed, however, her own calico printing industry at the beginning of the 18th century in Surrey, Kent and other southern countries, imitating Indian methods of production and printing calicoes. The Dutch, however, were the first to introduce the Indian process of cloth printing into Europe which , was later on learnt by the French and the English. Even the Indian designs and motifs were reproduced in the European printed calicoes in order to satisfy the customers. England now imported plain calicoes from India in larger quantities, sending out the finished products to the colonies and elsewhere, as well as meeting the needs of home consumers, in spite of the agitation carried on against this new industry on capitalistic lines by the domestic woollen and silk weaving industries. The English calico printing industry thus throve on the import of Indian plain calicoes throughout the 18th century; it was only in 1799 that the prohibitive import duty of £ 67-10-0 per cent was imposed on 'plain white calicoes'.

Raw silk and wrought silk fabrics also greatly increased in value among the items of Indian exports to England since the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, to the great detriment of silk and woollen manufactures in England and the loss and chagrin of the English merchants trading with Turkey. Silk goods thus came under the schedule of prohibitory import duties in the first decades of the 19th century. It was the English who "first set the Indians on that vast increase of silk works" in Kasimbazar, where the production increased from 4,000 bales to 22,000 bales of silk per year due to the high prices offered by the competing Dutch, English and French factors and exporters.

The major centres of silk production in India in the 17th and 18th centuries were Kasimbazar, Murshidabad, Saidabad, Malda, Satgaon and Sherpur-^-all in Bengal, and Patna and Baikunthpur in

Bihar and Balasore in Orissa. It appears that the Bengal silk came into great favour not only in Europe but also in Japan and became a successful competitor of Persian and Chinese silk in overseas markets. Large quantities of silk also used to come from Bengal to Ahmadabad and Surat, where they were woven into silk fabrics for export to Europe. Silk rumals or handkerchiefs and taffaties used to sell most in the European markets. From the first decade of the 19th century all manufactures of silk and taffaties were prohibited for import to England—for silk and mixed cotton replaced ntany kinds of Norwich and London stuffs made of English silk and wool. This aroused English opposition and was responsible for the enactment of the various prohibitory and sumptuary laws in England between 1700-1730. Milburn observes in this connection:

“The use of printed Indian calicoes, both in apparel and household furniture, became at this time so universal as to be a great detriment and obstruction to the woollen and silk manufactures of the kingdom. This had occasioned several riots and tumults of the weavers in London, etc. It was, therefore, found necessary to redress the grievance, wherein so many^were interested. An Act of Parliament was in consequence passed, to preserve and encourage the woollen and silk manufactures, etc., which absolutely prohibited the wear thereof under the penalties of £ 5 for each offence on the wearer and of £ 20 on the seller. 25

As a result of the total prohibition of import of Indian silks and printed calicoes to England in 1720, these were re-exported by the East India Company to some countries in Europe, whence again these were gradually excluded as they, in their turn, developed their own industries.

The following schedule of tariffs obtained in England at the beginning of the 19th century (1812). Muslins paid on importation to England 10 per cent and £ 27-6-8 per cent for home consumption. Calicoes paid £ 3-6-8 per cent on importation and £ 68-6-8 per cent for home consumption.

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Prohibited coloured cotton goods paid a duty of £ 8-6-8 per cent on importation and were not allowed to be used in England. All silk manufactures and piece-goods made of silk and cotton (taffaties) were prohibited.

The consequences were described by Tucker in 1823, i.e., a decade after a Parliamentary enquiry in regard to the protective tariff was instituted:

“The silk manufactures and piece-goods made of silk and cotton intermixed have long since been excluded altogether from our markets; and of late, partly in consequence of the operation of a duty of 67 per cent, but chiefly from the effect of superior machinery, the cotton fabrics, which hitherto constituted the staples of India, have not only been displaced in this country, but we actually export our cotton manufactures to supply a part of the consumption of our Asiatic possessions.”

India was thus reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of a raw-material-producing country. In order to safeguard first of all her calico-printing industry in the South and then the powerloom textile industry in the North, England not only prohibited the wear of printed calico and gradually increased the duties on imported Indian cloth goods rising up to 80 per cent ad valorem, but she also forbade the export of tools and machinery and even migration beyond the seas of artificers and workmen employed in printing calicoes, cottons, muslins, and linens. Thus the only country from which India could obtain her apprenticeship in large-scale manufacturing production, denied her this opportunity.

Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution progressed in England introducing undreamt of economies in the methods of production of cotton goods. The Industrial Revolution and the progress of mechanisation which first completely transformed the textile industry in England were almost contemporaneous with the assumption of the Diwani in Bengal by the British in 1765. Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny two years later and

Arkwright his water-frame about the same time, although the third of the great trio of the spinning inventions had to wait till 1779. Four years after the Diwani (1769) the following order of the Directors of the East India Company was communicated:

“Manufacture of raw silk should be encouraged in Bengal and that of manufactured silk fabrics should be discouraged and silk winders should be forced to work in the Company’s factories and prohibited from working in their houses under severe penalties by the authority of the Government.”

This may be contrasted with the beneficent efforts of the East India Company in the 17th century who “first set the Indians on tha$ vast increase of silk-worms” in Kasimbazar where the production vncreased from 4,000 bales to 22,000 bales of silk per year due to the high prices offered by the competing Dutch, English and French exporters. The English East India Company’s training of Indian

workers by sending out from England dyers and throwsters also contributed towards the development of the Bengal silk industry and expansion of the silk export trade. Thus the way was surely and steadily prepared for the supplanting of the Eastern textile workshop of the world by the Westerners.

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Effects of the East India Company's Monopoly and Coercion on the Cotton Industry:

From the inside there were also forces of disintegration of organisation of handicrafts at play introduced by foreign trade, monopoly and coercion. At the time of the opening of the foreign markets for the Indian handlaom industry in the 17th century the weavers worked in their own cottages or under master artisans and entrepreneurs in kdrkhdnas. European and Indian merchants as well as agents of governments would often give the artisans advances in order to obtain their products. For over a century the European merchants preferred to employ contractors, called (dadani y merchants, who made contracts with handloom weavers and gave them advances of money for obtaining the finished cloths. Such contractors could be distrained by the English East India Company, if necessary. These Indian contractors were entirely under the thumb of the European merchants, because without the intervention of the latter the wholesale market would be closed for them. “Were the present substantial merchants to be laid aside, it would be their ruin.” 26 Thus the Indian merchants had to reduce their profits while contracting in order to secure the custom of the European companies" and this meant reduction of the prices of cloth and the earnings of the weavers. Gradually the Indian merchants found it to their interest to become gumastas, the salaried servants of the Companies, instead of independent traders participating in the risks of business with the weaving population. The gumastas, however, in the new industrial organisation, became more oppressive than the merchants, and, having distributed the funds of the Companies among the weavers, often speculated on their own account, and sold off cloths to other traders. 27

By the middle of the 18th century, the English East India Company gave up the contract system and appointed a large number of gumastas who advanced money to the weavers, obtaining from them signed chits and exercising a monopolistic control over them so that the weavers were not permitted to work for others. Thus the weavers could not obtain a just price for their cloths. Bolts

mentions that the English East India Company’s jachandars i in league with gumastas, fixed prices in all places at least 15 per cent, and in some even 40 per cent, lower than the cloths would sell in the public bazar or market on a free sale On the other hand, the weaver in order to obtain a fair price would attempt to sell his cloths secretly to others particularly to the gumastas of the competing French and Dutch companies who were always ready to receive them. This led to great invigilation on the part of the peons and gumastas and to corporal chastisement and oppression of all kinds.

Bolts mentions that in the time of Mughul government and Nawab

All VardI Khan, the weavers manufactured their goods freely, and

*

without oppression; and though there was no such thing at present, it was then a common practice for reputable families of the tanti or weaver craft, to employ their own capital in manufacturing goods, which they sold freely on their own account. With the introduction of monopoly, the entire weaving population as well as the merchants and intermediaries connected with the cloth trade were subjected to oppression and even “the most sacred laws of society were atrociously violated”. “Merchants from the upper parts of Hindustan were in fact expelled and those concerned with exports by sea discouraged”, thus wrote Lord Cornwallis in 1788. But the effect of coercion on the weaving community was even more farreaching.

Bolts (1772) describes the pernicious effects of the monopoly thus:

“With every species of monopoly, every kind of oppression to manufacturers of all denominations throughout the whole country has daily increased, in so much that weavers, for daring to sell their goods, and dailais and pykdrs, for having contributed to or connived at such sales, have, by the Company’s agents been frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged, and deprived, in the most ignominious manner, of what they esteem most valuable, their crafts. Weavers also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the name of mutchulcahs, to make good the deficiency and the winders of raw silk called nagads have been treated also with such in-, justice, so that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk. This last kind of workmen were pursued with such vigour during Lord Clive’s late Government in Bengal, from a zeal for increasing the Company’s investment of raw silk, that the most sacred laws of society were atrociously violated, for it was a common thing for the Company’s sepoys to be sent by force of arms to break open the houses of the Armenian merchants established at Sayedabad (who have from times immemorial been largely concerned in the silk trade) and forcibly take the ‘nagads’ from their work, and carry them away to the English Factories.”
28

Whether the details of this oppression were true or not, the economic results were the wholesale abandonment of the occupation by the weavers, and the decline of the weaving industry in Bengal. Such was the direct consequence of the growth of the industrial monopoly by the English Company, and oppression exercised by the Company's peons, sepoys and gumastas against weavers and intermediaries in the cloth trade, which came within their grip as the Company extended their factories in the interior of the Provinces.

Verelst referred in 1767 to the unusual scarcity of weavers, a great many of whom had deserted their profession to seek subsistence from a less precarious calling. The Aurangs were not so well peopled as they were twenty years before, he observes, and yet the demand for cloth goods in Europe was then much greater than what the country could supply.

There was yet another method by which the weaving industry was hit by the English East India Company in the 18th century. They established some kind of monopoly of Bombay and Surat raw cotton, and thus the prices of cotton in Bengal rose from Rs. 16-18 per maund (about 80 lbs. weight) to Rs. 28 and Rs. 30. To counteract this, upcountry cotton began to be brought down the rivers Jamuna and Ganga, but the Company forced Muhammad Reza Khan to levy a new and extraordinary duty of about 30 per cent on the cotton, so as to prevent its entry into the Bengal Province. Abbe Raynal points out that the English Company obliged the Nawab of Bengal to establish in their favour a monopoly for the sale of cotton brought from any other province in order to raise it to an exorbitant price. 29 The gradual rise of the raw cotton prices towards the end of the 18th century deprived India of the advantage which she had formerly enjoyed in having cheap cotton. Since the 17th century the price of raw cotton in India increased by almost one and half times, whereas in England by the first quarter of the 19th century the price of cotton was reduced by one-third as compared with the price which prevailed down to 1780.

This increase of cotton price was true not merely of Bengal but also of Gujarat and the Coromandel Coast. In the latter region* the increase was from 4d. per lb. in the 17th century to 6d. in the early years of the 19th century. In England, on the other hand, the price of cotton was reduced from Is. 8d. in the 18th century to 7d. per lb. by 1828 when the American and West Indies cotton began to be imported. This factor also placed the Indian handloom industry at a disadvantage as compared with the British powerloom industry. Yet, India used to export raw cotton, especially from Gujarat, Madras and Bengal. As late as 1827 India exported 68 million lbs. of cotton to England as compared with her American cotton import of 294 million lbs.

Other Items of Indian Export Trade:

Among other items of export of India in the 18th century besides cloth and raw cotton were raw silk, indigo and saltpetre. Raw. silk was the basic material of the English silk-weaving industry which gradually developed fabrics ousting the imported Chinese fabrics. Saltpetre was also an important Indian export to Europe. As an important ingredient for the making of gunpowder its demand in Europe fluctuated, being determined by wars and expectation of wars.

In peace time saltpetre could hardly be sold. The great export trade to Europe of saltpetre was largely concentrated in the 18th century in Bihar and Bengal, where European Companies established factories for its production. In the year before the battle of Waterloo (1815) the East India Company exported 146,000 cwt. of saltpetre to England. After the Napoleonic wars the trade in saltpetre became unprofitable.

Indigo had been an important Indian export in the 17th and 18th centuries. Its centres of production were Gujarat, Agra, Sarkhej, Bayana, Bihar and Bengal. But the trade of indigo along with that of sugar was very unfavourably affected by the rise of the plantation system in the West Indies and the U.S.A., at the end of the 17th century. The West Indies, however, after a few decades, changed from indigo to crops enabling the Indian export trade in indigo to re-establish itself. After the destruction of the indigo factories in St. Domingo, which supplied the bulk of the world with indigo, the indigo factories in Bihar and Bengal suddenly leaped into prosperity in the second decade of the 19th century. There were as many as 400 indigo factories under about a thousand Europeans in Bengal and Bihar, chiefly in Jessore, Nadia, Murshidabad and Tirhut, and indigo worth £ 3.6 million was exported to England. But indigo plantation led to a great oppression of the cultivating class leading to widespread agrarian discontent in Bengal that was immortalised in Dinabandhu Mitra's piognant drama, Nila Darpan, The causes of this discontent, discussed by Buchanan, for the district of Dinajpur in Bengal were that the English indigo planter deterred cultivators form the work of ordinary cultivation, cheated them both in the measure of their land and the crop and treated them as his slaves, beat and confined them whenever he was dissatisfied. He, in fact, suggested that new licenses for indigo plantation should be refused, and also that the Europeans not responsible to the East India Company for their conduct, be restricted to a residence in the principal towns and sea-ports.

Throughout the 17th and the 18th centuries India maintained a favourable balance of trade. Her important commodities of import were gold, silver, lead, tin, woollen goods, horses, spices, tobacco and glassware. The creditor position of India was maintained until even the first half of the 18th century.

But the political subordination of India not only led to the strangulation of India's European trade, but at home she was left completely at the mercy of England who forced upon her English cotton piece-goods without payment of any duty. The loss of Indian shipping and its displacement by- British shipping also led to the loss of her nearer markets in Africa, Arabia, Persia, Indian Archipelago and further East that had for centuries depended upon her handloom products.

The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain hit Indian industry very hard. The handloom and other handicrafts, however cheap the labour, could not complete with the flood of goods pouring from factories using labour-saving machinery.

The Indian practice of burying gold and silver in the ground had pernicious effects on trade and industry. In the 18th century India, a considerable body of the industrial and trading population was represented by the Hindus. The Hindu trader concealed much of his wealth for fear of being despoiled. The Muslim's accumulated capital was escheated to the State on his death. The middle class consisting of traders, merchants and petty officials was not strong and enterprising enough for initiating industrial or commercial changes by investment of capital in new directions. The feudal aristocracy which controlled much wealth was extravagant and hardly used it for trade and productive purposes.

The wide gulf between the intellectual and working classes not merely prevented any mechanical improvement in the arts and handicrafts of the country, but left the bulk of artisans and workers in the cold shade of social neglect and low status. Thus the intellectual, social, economic and political circumstances of India in the 18th century all conspired towards the loss of her industrial and commercial hegemony in the Orient.

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ERRATA

Page	line	for	read
21	19 from above	make of his wits	make use of his wits
45	1 -do	remain	regain
87	20 -do	or	on
92	2 -do	assailed	assail
93	4 from bottom	Persians	Persian
199	note 1	7 Sept. 1741	12 May, 1741 according to Khare
234	22 from above	Jiya Bai	Jija Bai
264	12 -do	but	omit ‘but’
305	25 -do	stronghold	strongholds

308	Note 21	Gooti	Govt.
337	Note 17	Spoys	Sepoys
340	12 from above	plates	plate
364	18	may	might
373	last line		omit ‘and Vansittart’
375	5 from above	Mills	Mill
393	11 -do	complaint	compliant
394	23 -do	Hindustan	Hindustani
409	7 -do	showed	shows
440	8 from bottom	1972	1792
456	10 -do	store	stores
481	2 -do	detachments	battalions

496	12 -do	eighty-three year old "	eighty-three years old
519	Note 130	p. 254	1957 ed. p. 568
519	Note 132	Prinsep III	Prinsep II
727	last line	on	in

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1658

1681, November 14

1683

1693, March 16 1699

1702-8

1703

1704

1707, March 3 (New style)

1707, March 14 1707, May 8 1707, June 18

1707, October 12 1707

1708, January 1708, August 1708, October 6

1708, November 17

1709, January 13 1709

English factories on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal made subordinate to Fort St. George (p. 615).

William Hedges appointed first independent Agent and Governor of East India Company's factories in Bengal (p. 578).

By the Charter of 1683, the East India Co., is gjjfven full powers to declare and make war and peace with native powers (p. 616).

Birth of Malhar Rao Holkar (p. 267).

Marathas invade Malwa for the first time (p. 79).

Union of the rival East India Companies.

NemajI Sindia bursts into Malwa near Handia and reaches Sironj (p. 79).

A jit Singh of Mewar and Durgadas of Marwar make peace treaty with Aurangzib (p. 5).

Death of Aurangzib.

Azam, second son of Aurangzib, proclaims himself Mughul emperor (p. 10).

Raja Shahu leaves Mughul camp for home (p. 45).

Prince M‘uazzam defeats and kills Prince A‘zam at the battle of Jajau near Samugarh (pp. 11, 78).

Battle of Khed between the armies of Raja Shahu and Tara Bai (p. 47).

Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, Jay Singh of Amber and Amar Singh of Udaipur form a confederacy (p. 13).

Raja Shahu ascends the Marat ha throne at Satara (p. 48).

Death of Dhanaji Jadhav, Raja Shahu's Sena pati (p. 49).

Bahadur Shah (Mu'azzam) restores Jay Singh of Amber and Ajit Singh of Jodhpur to their ranks in the services (p. 141).

Murder of Guru Govind Singh at Nanded (pp. 14, 126. Also see ibid, pp. 237, 322 & 323 of Vol, VII).

Bahadur Shah disposes of Kam Baksh (p. 11).

Death of ParsojI Bhosle (pp. 50, 240).

1710, December

1712, February 27

1713, January 1713, September

1713, November 17 1713

1714, May 6

1715, December 7 1715

1716, June 19

1716, November

1717, September

1717

1718

1719, February 1719, March

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Emperor Bahadur Shah expels Banda Bahadur from Lohgarh fort (p. 162).

Death of Bahadur Shah, Mughul emperor (pp. 15, 126).

Farrukh-siyar ascends the Mughul throne on the death of Bahadur Shah (p. 152).

Farrukh-siyar confers diwani of Bengal subdh on Murshid Qull (titled as Jafar Khan) (p. 104).

BalajI Vishwanath appointed Peshwa of Shahu's kingdom (p. 53).

Chin Qilich Khan appointed by Farrukh-siyar as the governor of the six subdhs of the Deccan with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahadur Fath Jang (p. 119).

Murshid Qull Khan (titled Jafar Khan) made Deputy Governor of Bengal, and Subahdar of Orissa (p. 104).

Banda Bahadur captured by the Mughuls with his followers at Gurdas Nangal (p. 162).

Nizam-ul-Mulk, Governor of Deccan, recalled and in his place Sayyid Husain Ali appointed (p. 119).

Banda Bahadur, the Sikh leader, tortured to death (p. 127).

Sawai Jay Singh of Amber, on instructions of the Mughul emperor, raids Thun, but is compelled to raise the siege as the Jat leader Churaman makes peace with Sayyid Abdulla, Vazir (p. 153).

Murshid Qull Khan, Deputy Governor of Bengal, made subahdar of Bengal (p. 104).

Farrukh-siyar issues a farman granting the English East India Co. permission to trade in Bengal, free of all duties, on a payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum (p. 105).

The Peshwa and Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, Deccan Subahdar 9 enter into a treaty and the Peshwa gets the grants of Swaraj , Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six subdhs of the Deccan (pp. 44, 64, 80).

Sayyid Brothers seize emperor Farrukh-siyar and put him in prison (p. 59).

The Sayyids who had seized power from Farrukh-siyar grant sanads to Raja Shahu agreeing to his demands of Chauth , Sardeshmukhi and Swaraj of the six subdhs of the Deccan (p. 59).

1719, March

1719, April 1719, May

1719, June 6

The new Mughul emperor, Rafi-ud-Darjat, ratifies the grants of Swaraj, Chauth and Sardeshmukhi of the six subdhs of the Deccan to the Peshwd, agreed to in 1718 (pp. 64, 79, 80).

Farrukh-siyar done to death (p. 20).

BalajI Vishwanath, Peshwd, returns to Deccan with the deeds granting Chauth, Sardesh mukhi and Swaraj, along with Raja Shahu's mother (p. 59).

Rafi-ud-Daulah is raised to Delhi throne by the Sayyid brothers (p. 20).

1720, April 2 1720, April 17

1720, September 19

1720, June 19

1720, July 31 1720, October 8

1720, November 13

1720, December 25

1720

1720

1720-21

1721, January 4

1721, May 25

\

1721, August 20

1722, February

Death of BalajI Vishwanath, Peshwd, at Saswad (p. 61).

BajI Rao succeeds to the peshwdship on the death of his father BalajI Vishwanath (p. 63).

The English navy attack Gheria (Vijayadurg), the stronghold of Kanhoji Angria unsuccessfully (p. 296).

The battle of Khandwa fought between Sayyid Dilawar All Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk. Dilawar All Khan is killed (p. 120).

‘Alam ‘All Khan, deputy of Husain ‘Ali, is defeated by the Nizam at Balapur (p. 67).

Sayyid Husain All, one of the Sayyid brothers, assassinated by Haidar Beg near Toda-Bhim. (pp. 23, 65, 67 & 120).

Battle of Hasanpur. Sayyid Abdulla captured and imprisoned (p. 23, 120).

Muhammad Khan Bangash appointed Governor of Allahabad (pp. 83 & 138).

The first Bank established in Bombay (p. 634).

The Bundelas rise in revolt against Mughul Governor of Allahabad (p. 138).

Peshwd BajI Rao invades Khandesh (p. 67)

Peshwd BajI Rao meets Nizam-ul-Mulk for the first time near Chikalthan (p. 67).

Chhatrasal Bundela defeats Dilir Khan (a general of Muhammad Khan, Governor of Allahabad). Dilir Khan is killed (pp. 138 & 139).

The English and the Portuguese enter into an alliance to end the menace of Kanhoji Angria (p. 297).

Nizam-ul-Mulk is appointed Vazir (p. 130).

1722, September

1722, November

1722

1723, February

1723 1723 1723

1724, May 18

1724, October 1

1725, February

1725, June

1725

1725- 26

1726, January

1726, April

1726

1726- 27

Mir Muhammad Amin alias Saadat Khan is appointed Mughul Governor of Awadh (p. 26).

Jay Singh, Governor of Agra, conquers Thun (p. 153).

Murder of Abdullah, one of the Sayyid brothers (p. 65).

The Peshwd invades Malwa and meets Nizamul-Mulk at Badaksha near Jhabua (p. 80).

Pilaji Gaikwar defeats Momin Khan, governor, and levies chanith in Surat Athavisi (p. 280).

Raja Ajlt Singh of Jodhpur and the Mughul emperor enter into a treaty (p. 139).

The Maratha army commences probing attacks on Portuguese territories on the West coast (p. 95).

Nizam-ul-Mulk meets the Peshwd at Nalcha, enters into an agreement with the Peshwd BajI Rao and wins him over to his cause (p. 67).

Nizam-ul-Mulk defeats Mubarlz Khan, Subah dar of Hyderabad, at Sakharkharda (p.67).

Hamid Khan, the Deputy of Nizam with the aid of Kanthaji Kadam Bande and Pilaji Gaikwar defeats Shuja‘at Khan, a deputy ot Governor Sarbuland Khan, and kills him (p. 72).

Girdhar Bahadur is appointed as Mughul subdhdar of Malwa (p. 81).

Nizam-ul-Mulk recovers Hyderabad, From this period dates the independence and the founding of the Hyderabad State (p. 120).

Maratha forces, under the leadership of the Pratinidhi and the Peshwd , invade parts of Karnataka but are met with opposition by the armies of the Nizam (p. 68).

Sarbuland Khan, Mughul Governor of Gujarat* defeats Pilaji Gaikwar and Kanthaji Kadam Bande in a battle near Sojitra (p. 72).

Sarbuland ,Khan agrees to grant chauth of Gujarat to the Peshwd (p. 73).

The Court of Directors send along with the Charter of 1726, a book of instructions with respect to the method of proceeding in all actions and suits —civil and criminal (p. 620).

Maratha forces under the leadership of the

Pratinidhi and the Peshwd again invade parts of Karnataka but are met with opposition by the armies of the Niz5m (p. 68).

1727, February 8

1727, February 20

1727, June 30 1727, July 30

1727

1727, August 1

1728, February 25 1728, November 29

1728, December

1729, March 22

1729, June 20 1729, July

1729, August 5

1729, September 1729, December

1729 (end)

1730, March 23

Sidi Sa‘at, commandant of Anjanwel fort, razes to the ground the temples and dharmasala raised by Brahmendra Swami at Parshuram (p. 76),

Sarbuland Khan, Mughul Governor of Gujarat, continues the agreement made in April 1726 to grant chauth and Sardeshmukhi of Gujarat to the Peshwa (p. 73).

Death of Murshid Quli Khan (p. 106).

Raja Shahu orders that ‘the Mokasa’ of prant Gujarat previously granted to Chimnaji Ballal be given to Khanderao Dabhade towards the maintenance of his troops (p. 73).

The Mayor’s court is re-organised (p. 618).

The Maratha army under the generalship of Peshwa Baji Rao invades Nizam’s territories of Khandesh and Gujarat (p. 69).

The Nizam defeated at Palkhed. Treaty of Mungi-Paithan (pp. 69, 81, 97, 98, 121).

Chimnaji Appa attacks Subddhar GirdharBahadur at Amjhera and. completely annihilates the Mughul army (pp. 81, 91, 143, 144, 145, 267).

Jaitpur, a Bundela stronghold, a surrenders to Mughul governor Muhammad Khan Bangash (p. 83).

Peshwa Baji Rao, on a request from Chhatrasal Bundela for help, defeats Muhammad Khan Bangash and obtains a Jogfa* in Bundlekhand (pp. 83, 139, 40).

Death of Kanhoji Angria (p. 299).

Ranoji Sindia is granted Saranjam previously enjoyed by Pilaji Jadhav (p. 251).

Sekhoji Angria succeeds to the Admiralty of the Maratha navy on the death of his father Kanhoji Angria (p. 299).

Death of Khanderao Dabhade Senapati.

Chimnaji Appa, brother of the Peshwa, raids Gujarat, and occupies Pawagarh held by Kanthaji Kadam Bande (p. 74).

Sawai Jay Singh appointed Governor of Malwa. Suggests a policy of appeasement (p. 81).

Sarbuland Khan, Mughul Governor of Gujarat, further extends the treaty concluded in April 1726 and continued on 20 February 1727 granting chauth of Gujarat to the Peshwa (p. 73).

1730, March

1730, September

1730, October

1731, April 1

1731, April 13

1731, December 14

1732, December

1732

1732

1733, February 1733, February

1733,

May-December 1733, June 8

1733, July 16

1733, August 28 1733, December 1

1734, April 22

The fort of Mandu (Malwa), captured by the Marathas (Holkar and Pawar) restored to the subdhdar as a result of the understanding arrived at between Raja Shiahu and the Mughul emperor (p. 82).

Muhammad Khan Bangash is appointed Mughul subdhdar of Malwa in place of Sawai Jay Singh (p. 82).

Malhar Rao Holkar is granted the entire assignment of the subdh of Malwa (p. 84).

Armies led by Trimbak Rao Dabhade Senapati and the Peshwd clash against each other at Dabhoi and the army led by the Senapati is defeated and he is slain (pp. 75, 121, 279, 281).

A treaty (offensive and defensive) concluded between Raja Shahu and Raja Shambhuji of Kolhapur (pp. 71, 231-32).

Death of Chhatrasal Bundela at Panna at the age of 82 (p. 140).

Meeting between Peshwd Baji Rao and the Nizam at Rohe Rameshwar. An agreement concluded by which the Nizam was to have a free hand for expansion in the south and the Peshwd in the north (pp. 75, 121).

Peshwd's chief sardars—Holkar, Sindia and Pawar—-start sharing collections from Malwa (p. 84).

The Marathas launch an offensive against Malwa (p. 84).

Death of Sidi Rasul Khan, the Sidi chief (p. 76).

The Marathas surround Sawai Jay Singh near Mandasor and extract from him Rs. six lakhs in addition to the revenue of 28 parganas already collected (p. 84).

Peshwd Baji Rao's campaign against Janjira (pp. 76-78).

Shripat Rao Pratinidhi occupies Raigarh fort (p. 77).

The English occupy Underi with the consent of Sidi of Janjira (p. 300).

Death of Sekhoji Angria (pp. 77, 300).

Truce is declared between the Marathas and the Sidis and Abdur Rahman, grandson of Sidi Rasul Khan, is seated on the Janjira masnad (p. 78).

Malhar Rao Holkar and Ranoji Sindia capture Bundi, oust Dalel Singh (nominee of Jay Singh of Amber) and reinstate Budh Singh to the throne of Bundi (pp. 25, 84, 143).

1734, October

1735, February 28 1735, February

1735, March 24

1735, October 1735

1736, January 15

1736, February 4 1736, February 1736, March 4

1736, April 1736, September 25

1737, March 26/27

1737, March 1737, March 30

Jay Singh of Amber convenes a conference of all the Rajput chiefs at Hurda to explore ways and means of holding the Marathas beyond the Narmada, in which all agree and sign an agreement. The agreement remained a dead letter (p. 25).

The armies of Sindia and Holkar plunder Sambhar (p. 85).

Vazir Qamar-ud-din Khan attacks Maratha army under the leadership of Pilaji Jadhav in vain near Narwar (p. 84).

The Maratha chieftains agree to accept Rs. 22 lakhs as chauth for Malwa and thus the Mughul efforts to hold at bay the Marathas prove a failure (p. 85).

Peshwd Baji Rao I starts from Poona on his north-Indian campaign (p. 86).

On the death of Chand Sultan, Raja of Deogarh, his illegitimate son Vali Shah usurps the throne (pp. 240-41).

Peshwd BajI Rao I on his north Indian campaign reaches Mewar frontier and compels Rana Jagat Singh of Mewar to sign a treaty (p. 143).

Peshwd BajI Rao visits Jalmandir in Pichola lake (p. 86).

Peshwd BajI Rao I and the Rana of Udaipur meet in formal Darbar (p. 86).

Peshwd Baji Rao I meets Sawai Jay Singh at Bhambholao near Kishangarh to discuss the jaglr and chavCth to be conferred on the Peshwa on behalf of the Mughul emperor. The Peshwd demands control over Malwa, Bundelkhand, Bengal and the Deccan (pp. 24, 87).

Chimnaji Appa, the Maratha General, defeats and destroys the force of Sidi Saat at the battle of Charhai Kamarle (p. 301).

A treaty concluded between the Sidi chief and Chimnaji Appa, by which a dual government is established in the eleven mahals, formerly owned by the Sidi. The Sidi becomes a tributary of the Maratha State (p. 78).

An advance detachment of the Marathas enters Salsette island in a surprise attack. Thana fort under possession of the Portuguese surrenders (p. 95).

Peshwd Baji Rao I marches to Delhi (p. 89).

Peshwd's commander, Satvoji Jadhav, routs the Mughul army near Delhi (p. 89).

1737, July

1737

1738, January 7

1738, November 26

1738, November

1739, January 25 1739, February 16

1739, February 24

1739, March 12

1739, March 20 1739, March 20

1739, March 21

1739, March 30 1739, April 1739, May 5

1739, May 12

Muhammad Shah, Mughul emperor, summons Nizam-ul-Mulk to the court. Nizam-ul-Mulk is appointed Governor of Agra vice Jay Singh (p. 27).

Gujarat is finally lost to the Mughul empire (p. 24).

Peshwa BajI Rao defeats Nizam-ul-Mulk at the battle of Bhopal and compels him to sign a convention at Duraha Sarai by which the Peshwa gets subahdari of Malwa, tributes from the Rajas between the Narmada and the Chambal and Rs. 50 lakhs from the Nizam to meet war expenses (pp. 24, 91, 122, 144).

Nadir Shah on his way to India, with an intention of invading, occupies Khyber Pass (p. 92).

The Portuguese make a vain bid to recapture Thana, occupied by the Marathas in March 1737 (p. 96).

Lahore surrenders to Nadir Shah (p. 92).

Nadir Shah arrives at Sirhind on his invasion of India (p. 30).

Emperor Muhamifiad Shah is made a captive by Nadir Shah (p. 92).

Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, enters the Shalimar Gardens near Delhi with his captive Muhammad Shah, emperor, Vazlr Qamar-ud-din and the royal harem (p. 33).

Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, enters Delhi with his army (pp. 33, 93).

Sa'adat Khan (originally known as Mir Muhammad Amin), a Mughul noble and the founder of the kingdom of Awadh, commits suicide (p. 113).

Nadir Shah proclaimed sovereign of Delhi. Due to a rumour, a tumult breaks out and Nadir Shah orders a general massacre of Delhi population in which 4 lakh lives are butchered (pp. 33 & 93).

Death of Shuja-ud-din, Governor of Bengal

(p. 108).

Harde Sah, son of Chhatrasal Bundela and Raja of Panna, passes away (p. 140).

The Marathas succeed in wresting Bassein fort from the Portuguese. Portuguese power wanes (p. 96).

Nadir Shah as Sovereign of India, holds a Darhar at Delhi (p. 36).

1739, May 16

1740, January

1740, April 10

1740, April 28 1740, May 19

1740, June 25

1740, September 1740-41

1741, March 26 1741

1741, July

1741, September 7

1741-43

1742, January 12 1742, April 1742, May 6 1742, September 27

1743, January

1743

Nadir Shah, the Persian invader, leaves Delhi on his homeward journey (pp. 36, 94).

Chimnaji Appa foils attempt of SambhajI Angria to wrest Kolaba from Manaji Angria. The English send succour to Manaji (p. 303).

All Yard! Khan, Governor of Bihar, rebels against Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, his master, kills him and usurps the subdhdari of Bengal (pp. 109, 241).

Death of Peshwa Baji Rao I at Haverkhedi, 36 miles from Khargon (p. 97).

The allied Maratha army under Fateh Singh Bhosle and RaghujI Bhosle, defeats Dost Ali, Nawab of Arcot, in a battle near Damalcherry (p. 180).

Balaji Rao Peshwa, alias Nana Saheb, succeeds Baji Rao to the Peshwaship (p. 170).

Treaty concluded between the Marathas and the Portuguese (p. 96).

Expedition of Balaji Rao Peshwa against Rajputana (p. 175).

RaghujI Bhosle wrests Trichinopoly and captures Chanda Sahib (p. 180).

Nasir Jang, son of Nizam-ul-Mulk who rises against his father for grabbing subdhdarship pi the Deccan, is defeated with the aid of the Marathas (p. 122, 180).

Jay Singh of Amber as Mughul Viceroy cedes Malwa to the Marathas and appoints Peshwd } Balaji Rao as the Deputy Governor of Malwa (pp. 24, 145, 173).

Balaji Rao Peshwa gets chauth and sardesh mukhi of Malwa by a jarman from Sawai, Jay Singh, Mughul Governor of Malwa (p. 176).

Expedition of Balaji Rao Peshwa against Bengal and Bihar (p. 176).

Death of SambhajI Angria (p. 303).

Marathas invade Bengal (p. 113).

Mir Habib plunders Murshidabad (p. 242).

All VardI Khan raids the Maratha camp under the command of Bhaskar Ram and Maratha army flees (p. 242).

Nizam-ul-Mulk marches into Karnataka and brings it under his control and the Marathas are ousted (p. 180).

Nizam-ul-Mulk appoints his second son Nasir Jang as the subahdar of Adoni (p. 122).

1743, April 1743, August

1743

1743, September

1744, March 30

1744-45

1745, January 25 1745, February 15

1745, March 11 1745, May 23

1745, July

1745, December 21 1745

1745

1746, September 21

1746

c. 1746

1747, March

All Vardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, with the help of Peshwa's army, drives out of Bengal Raghuji Bhosle's army (p. 242).

Raja Shahu settles the dispute between the Peshwa and Raghuji Bhosle and marks out spheres of the two. This was done as a sequel to interference of the Peshwa in Bengal which was Raghuji Bhosle's sphere (p. 243).

Tulaji Angria is appointed Sarkhel by the Raja of Satara setting aside the claim of Manaji Angria (pp. 184, 303).

Death of Jay Singh of Amber (p. 26).

Bhaskar Ram Kolhatkar, invited by All Vardi Khan, Nawab, is treacherously murdered by him (p. 243).

Expedition of BalajI Rao Peshwa against Rajasthan and Bundelkhand (p. 177).

Tulaji Angria captures Anjanwel and Govalkot. (p. 303).

Nizam-ul-Mulk defeats the Maratha army led by Babuji Naik and Fateh Singh Bhosle in Karnataka (p. 180).

Ranoji Sindia wrests Bhilsa from the Nawab of Bhopal (p. 177).

A peace treaty concluded between Muhammad Shah, emperor and All Muhammad Rohilla (p. 135).

Death of Ranoji Sindia, founder of the House of Sindia at Shujalpur (p. 252).

Raghuji Bhosle raids Murshidabad, but the attack is repulsed by Nawab’s forces (p. 243).

Death of Zakariyah Khan, Mughul governor of the Punjab. A civil war among his sons breaks out and one of his sons invites Ahmad Shah Abdall for his help (pp. 37-38).

The Afghan generals and Afghan soldiers of All Vardi Khan rise in rebellion against All Vardi (p. 110).

The French capture Madras Fort (p. 318).

Orissa passes into the possession of Raghuji Bhosle (p. 37).

The ruler of Jammu stops paying tribute to the Mughuls (p. 162).

Jagat Singh, Rana of Udaipur who supported the claims of Madho Singh, is defeated at Rajmahal by the combined armies of Jaipur, Marwar and Bundi (pp. 144, 178).

1747, June 1747

1748, JanuaryMarch

1748, February

1748, March 11

Nadir Shah assassinated (p. 123).

Balaji Rao Peshwa goes on his North-Indian campaign (p. 177).

Ahmad Shah Abdali, the ruler of Afghanistan, raids India for the first time, but his attack is repulsed (pp. 123-24, 129, 177, 186).

All Muhammad Rohilla, who was appointed faujdar of Sirhind, returns to Rohilkhand with his followers and re-establishes himself in March/April 1748, overthrowing Mughul rule (pp. 37, 136).

Death of Vazir Qamar-ud-din (p. 129).

1748, April 25

1748, May 21 1748, June 20 1748, August

1748, September 15

Death of Mughul emperor Muhammad Shah (pp. 38, 184).

Nizam-ul-Mulk passes away (pp. 122, 184).

Safdar Jang is appointed Vazir (p. 129).

Holkar marches against Ishwari Singh and compels him to share his kingdom of Jaipur with Madho Singh (p. 179).

Death of Ali Muhammad Rohilla (p. 136) ,

1748

1748

1748

1748-67

1749

1749, August 1749, August 1749, December 15 1749, December

Mustafa Khan, Shamsher Khan and Sardar Khan, the Afghan generals and Afghan soldiers of All Vardi Khan rise in rebellion. All Vardi defeats them in a battle at Rani Chak (Ranisarai) (p. 110).

' Siraj-ud-daulah is appointed nominal Deputy Governor of Bihar (p. 110).

Revolt in Gond State and Diwan Raghunath Singh tries to throw off Maratha yoke. Raghuji Bhosle takes over the administration of the State (p. 241).

Ahmad Shah Abdali raids India seven times (pp. 123 and f.note 36, p. 166).

The French promise their help to Chanda Sahib against Anwar-ud-din (p. 320).

Death of Anwar-ud-din, subdhdar of Kamatak at the battle of Ambur (p. 321).

Madras is restored to the English by the French (p. 321).

Death of Raja Shahu, the Maratha ruler (pp. 181, 184).

Ahmad Shah Abdali raids India for the second time and conquers the Punjab after defeating the Mughul Governor (pp. 124, 130, 186).

1750, January 1

1750, September 13 1750, October

1750, November 24 1750, December

1750, December

1751, January 10 1751, January

1751, February 18

1751, March/April

1751, May

1751, November

1751, December

1752, March 5

1752, March

Suraj Mai Jat defeats the Mughul army led by Salabat Khan and compels him to accept his terms (p. 155).

Safdar Jang is defeated by the Afghans at Ram Chatauni (pp. 113, 137).

BalajI Rao Peshwa arrives at an agreement with Ram Raja, making his own authority supreme in the State. This is known as Sangola agreement (pp. 63, 182).

Tara Bai puts Ram Raja, the Maratha ruler, in confinement (p. 182).

Nasir Jang is shot dead in an encounter with the forces of Nawab of Kamatak (p. 322).

Ishwari Singh of Amber commits suicide (p. 144).

The Rajputs massacre the Marathas in Jaipur (p. 179).

Muzaffar Jang, Nawab of Karnatak, is cut to pieces in a melee in the Cuddappah district (p. 323).

The battle of Bahadurpura is fought between the army of Peshwa BajI Rao and Damiaji Gaikwar, but Damaji forces his way towards Satara (p. 282).

Safdar Jang's alliance with the Marathas. The combined armies of Mughuls and the Marathas inflict severe defeats on the Rohillas (p. 253).

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Treaty concluded between Nawab All Vardi Khan and RaghujI Bhosle, ceding Orissa to the Marathas and agreeing to pay Rs. 12 lakhs as chauth to RaghujI from Bengal revenue (pp. 37, 110 & 243).

Ramdas, the Diwan of Salabat Jang, invades Maratha territory on the advice of the French and concludes treaty at Shingwa

(p. 182).

Ahmad Shah Abdall raids India for the third time, defeats Governor Mir Mannu and conquers Kashmir (p. 124, 186),

Muin-ul-Mulk, the Mughul Governor of the Punjab, surrenders to the Abdall and thus the subdhs of Lahore and Multan go to the Durranis and the emperor confirms these in a treaty entered into with Abdall on April 13, 1752 (p. 186).

Gujarat partitioned between the Peshwa and Damaji Gaikwar (p. 283).

1752, April

1752, May

1752, June 1752, August 27 1752, October 16

1752, November

1752

1753, January 8 1753, March 20

1753, November

1753, MarchNo vember

1753-60

1753

1754, June 2

1754, June 23 1754, September 15

1754, October

1754

1755, February

Safdar Jang, Vazir, under orders of the Mughul emperor makes peace with the Rohillas and the Bangashes (p. 113, 139).

The Mughul emperor enters into a defensive subsidiary treaty with the Marathas and entrusts the Marathas the task of defending the empire from internal and external aggressions (pp. 186-87, 387).

Chanda Sahib is killed at the instigation (?) of Muhammad Ali (p. 325).

Khwaja Javid Khan, a favourite and confidant of Mughul emperor, is murdered (p. 187).

Ghazi-ud-din, eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who gets a farman from the Emperor as subdhdar of the Deccan, dies of poisoning

(p. 182).

Treaty of Bhalki concluded between the Nizam and the Peshwa (pp. 182, 253, 326).

The Marathas wrest from the Nizam Junnar, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh districts (p. 253).

By a royal charter Courts of Justice are established at Fort William (p. 596).

Jawan Mard Khan Babi, the Mughul commander, surrenders Ahmadabad to the Marathas (p. 284).

Death of Mir Mannu (Muin-ul-Mulk) (p. 124).

A civil war ensues between emperor Ahmad Shah and his Vatfr Safdar Jang (p. 114, 155).

Peshwa Balaji Rao conducts a number of campaigns in Karnatak to collect tribute and establish Maratha supremacy (p. 183).

Sukhjiwan Mai submits to Ahmad Shah AbdalT as a feudatory (p. 164).

Imad-ul-Mulk, with the help of the Marathas, deposes Mughul emperor Ahmad Shah (p. 187).

Jayappa Sindia raids Marwar and collects some contributions (p. 190).

Jayappa Sindia defeats Bijay Singh of Marwar near Merta (p. 190).

Death of Safdar Jang. His son Shuja-ud-Daulah becomes subdhdar of Awadh (p. 114).

Treaty of Pondicherry between the English and the French (pp. 329, 337).

Death Of RaghujI Bhosle (p. 244).

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

1755, March 19

1755, April 7

1755, July 25

1756, February 12

1756, February 13

1756, February

1756, April 21

1756, June 4

1756, June 20 1756, October 12

1756, October 16 1756, November

1756

1757, January 23

1757, January-April

1757, February 9

1757, March

Balaj I BajI Rao and the English conclude a treaty to wipe out the power of Tulaji Angria on the West Coast (pp. 184, 305).

Suvarnadurg fort held by Tulaji Angria falls to the joint attack of the English and the Peshwd (p. 305).

Jayappa Sindia assassinated (p. 254).

Tulaji Angria surrenders to the Maratha commander when attacked by the joint forces of the Marathas and the English and the navy (p. 306).

The English occupy Vijayadurg against the wishes of the Peshwd Bala j I Rao (p. 184).

Jaipur and Jodhpur make peace treaty with the Marathas (pp. 190-91).

Death of All Vardi Khan, Subahdar of Bengal. Siraj-ud-Daulah succeeds him (p. 111).

Siraj-ud-Daulah's soldiers storm the English factory at Kasimbazar (p. 112).

Siraj-ud-Daulah captures Calcutta (p. 112).

The Peshwd and the English come to an understanding and Vijayadurg is restored to the Peshwd and Bankot and ten surrounding villages go to the English (p. 306).

Siraj-ud-Daulah defeats and kills Shaukat Jang in a battle at Manihari (p. 112).

Ahmad Shah Abdalx invades India for the fourth time and reaches up to Delhi on January 23, 1757 (pp. 124, 131, 187, 191).

The Nawab of Cambay seizes Ahmadabad but D&maji Gaikwar recovers it (p. 284).

Ahmad Shah Abdall in his fourth invasion of India reaches Delhi and plunders the city and the people are subjected to pillage (pp. 124, 187).

Mughul emperor formally cedes to Ahmad Shah Abdali the Punjab, Kashmir and Thatta and the Sirhind districts (p. 124).

Siraj-ud-Daulah and the English conclude a treaty known as Treaty of Alinagar by which (1) trade rights and factories are restored to the English (2) the subahdar agrees to pay compensation, and (3) the English are granted permission to fortify Calcutta and coin sicca rupees (p. 112).

Ahmad Shah Abdall during his invasion of India raids the fort of Ballabhgarh held by the Jats and puts to death all the inhabitants (p. 155).

1757, April 2

1757, June 23 1757, June

1757, August 11

1757, August to 1758, January 2

1757, September 9

1757, December 12-17

1757-1760

1758, FebruaryApril

1758, April 1758, April

1758, October 1758, October

1758

1758

1759, January 29

1759, October

1759, October to February 1760

Ahmad Shah Abdall leaves Delhi for his home country (p. 187).

Battle of Plassey (p. 339).

The Marathas enter into a new treaty with Imad-ul-Mulk and get one-half of all the revenues that they could gather from the Mughul dominions (pp. 187-88).

Raghunath Rao, the Maratha general, attacks Delhi and captures it (p. 188).

Sindkhed campaign of Balaji Rao Peshwa against the Nizam for realising the promised Jagtr of 25 lakhs (p. 182).

Najib Khan Rohilla makes peace with the Marathas (p. 188).

Battle of Sindkhed (p. 254).

Clive's first Governorship.

The first Maratha invasion of the Punjab under the leadership of Raghunath Rao assisted by Malhar Rao Holkar (pp. 132 & 188).

Count de Lally reaches Pondicherry (p. 333).

A Maratha army under Raghunath Rao defeats Abdali's Governor of the Punjab and expells the Afghan army, and Raghunath Rao appoints Adina Beg Khan as the Maratha Governor of the Punjab (p. 125).

Adina Beg Khan, Governor of the Punjab, passes away (pp. 125, 189).

The Marathas under the leadership of Tukoji Holkar march beyond Attock and reach Peshawar (p. 189).

Death of Manaji Angria (p. 306).

Jagat Raj, son of Chhatrasal Bundela, and Raja of Jaitpur passes away (p. 140).

Dattaji Sindia meets the Vazir's (Imad-ulMulk) forces near Delhi and after a few skirmishes compels the Vazir to an agreement (p. 192).

Ahmad Shah Abdali, invades India and establishes his government at Lahore. This invasion was on an invitation from Najib-uddaulah, who actively helped the invader (p. 190).

Sadashiva Rao Bhau, on behalf of Balaji Rao Peshwa conducts the campaign of Udgir against the Nizam and defeats him completely (Feb. 3, 1760) (p. 183).

1759

1759, December 1759

1760, January 10

1760, February 1760, March 4

1760, May 16

1760, August 2

1760, September

1760, October 17 1760, October 29

1760, November 1

1760, December 18

1761, January 14

1761, January 15 1761, January 1761, March 20

1761, April

1761, May/June 1761, June 23

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Ali Gauhar’s (Shah Alam II) Bihar expedition fails (p. 114).

Clive humbles the Dutch forces in Bengal (p. 342).

Peshwd BalajI Rao wrests Underi fort from the Sidis (p. 184).

Dattaji Sindia is killed in the battle of Buradi Ghat against Ahmad Shah Abdall (pp. 192, 254).

Clive leaves for England (p. 342).

The Maratha army under the command of Malhar Rao Holkar is defeated by Ahmad Shah AbdalTs forces at Sikandrabad (pp. 192, 254).

Hafiz Rahmat, on behalf of Ahmad Shah Abdall meets Malhar Rao Holkar and Suraj Mai for peace, but the Maratha terms being exorbitant, no agreement is reached (p. 193).

Sadashiv Rao Bhau, the commandant of the Marathas, captures Delhi (p. 193),

Mir Qasim is made subahdar in place of Mir Jafar by the English (p. 344).

The Bhau advances to Kunjpura (p. 194).

The Maratha army, under the leadership of Sadashiv Rao Bhau, retraces its steps and reaches Panipat (p. 194).

The invader, Ahmad Shah Abdall, reaches Panipat along with his allies for ousting the Marathas from the North (p. 194).

Death of Raja Shambhuji of Kolhapur (p. 234).

Ahmad Shah Abdall, defeats the Maratha army at the third battle of Panipat (pp. 44, 125, 132, 137, 146, 194-97).

The English force, led by Major Carnac, defeats Shahzada (p. 344).

Lally surrenders to the English at Pondicherry (p. 335).

Ahmad Shah Abdall starts on his homeward journey after winning the battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) (p. 125, 196).

Ahmad Shah Abdall makes an unsuccessful attempt for peace with the Marathas (p. 196).

Malhar Rao Holkar captures Rampur^ and Gagroni (p. 215) .

Death of BalajI Rao Peshwa (p. 197).

1761, September 14

1761, November 29/30

1762, January

1762, February 15

1762, March/April

1763, February 1763, April 4

1763, May 1763, June 21

1763, June

1763, July 1763, August 10

1763, September 25

1763, December 25

1763

1764, February 1764, May 3 1764, October 22

Raghunath Rao, the regent, concludes an agreement with the English making substantial concessions to the English but receiving nothing in return (p. 202).

Malhar Rao Holkar defeats the Jaipur army of Madho Singh in the battle of Mangrol (pp. 215, 269, 388).

The Nizam invades Maratha territory but suffers a defeat (pp. 201, 204).

Shuja-ud-daulah appointed Vazir (p. 115).

Shuja-ud-daulah conducts an expedition against Hindupati, ruler of Bundelkhand (p. 115).

Peshwd Madhav Rao I plunders suburbs of Hyderabad (p. 202).

An English deputation consisting of Amyatt and Hay wait on Mir Qasim for settling levies on inland and foreign trade (p. 348).

Nizam Ali plunders Poona (p. 202).

Ellis, chief of the English factory at Patna, seizes Patna city and begins war (p. 349).

Mir Qasim routed at Katwa and Murshidabad. Murders his commander-in-chief and the English prisoners (p. 349).

Nawab Mir Qasim deposed by the English (p. 115).

Nizam All's army under the command of Vithal Sundar defeated by the Peshwd Madhav Rao

I at the battle of Rakshasbhuvan (pp. 202, 244).

Peace concluded between Nizam Ali and Peshwd Madhav Rao I (p. 203).

Death of Suraj Mai Jat in a contest with Najib-ud-daulah on the bank of the Hindaun (p. 156).

Haidar Ali expands his dominions almost to the banks of the Krishna by subjugating Peshwd's territories (p. 205).

Exile Mir Qasim promised help by Shah Alam

II in recovering Bihar and Bengal (p. 115).

Haidar Ali defeated by the Marathas at Ratehalli (pp. 205, 455).

Battle of Buxar between the English army under Major Munro and Shuja-ud-daulah and Mir Qasim. The allies are defeated. The battle established the supremacy of the English (pp. 115, 349>.

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

1764, November

1764, December 1

1764

1764

1764

1765, February

1765, February 1765, March

1765, May 3

1765, May 1765, July

1765, August 12 1765, August 16

The Marathas recapture Dharwar from Haidar All (p. 205).

Battle of Jadi Anvatti between Haidar All and the Maratha army led by Peshwd Madhav Rao I. Hadiar All defeated (p. 206).

Shuja-ud-daulah reappointed Vazir under pressure from Clive (p. 116).

The triumphant Sikhs establish their sovereignty in the Punjab, assemble at Amritsar and strike coins of gold and silver with the inscription “Degh, Tegh, Fateh” (p. 133).

Ahmad Shah Abdali ratifies a formal peace with the Marathas (p. 216).

Jawahir Singh Jat makes peace with Najib Khan Rohilla (p. 216).

Death of Mir Jafar (p. 350).

Agreement is concluded between Haidar All and Peshwd Madhav Rao I, and Haidar Ali surrenders several Maratha districts including Bankapur and gives up claim over Savanur and Gooti and agrees to pay tribute of 32 lakhs (p. 206).

The allies of exile Mir Qasim, Shuja-ud-daulah and Malhar Rao Holkar are finally defeated at Kora by the English army under Sir Robert Fletcher (pp. 115, 216).

Clive arrives in Calcutta for the second time to administer the English affairs (pp. 116, 351).

Mahadji Sindia settles the tribute of Kota at 15 lakhs and leaves Diwan Achyut Rao to collect the tribute from Udaipur, Shahpura, and Rupnagar (p. 216).

Farman from Shah Alam granting the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the E. I. Company (pp. 352, 502).

The treaty of Allahabad concluded between Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah and the English, terms being (1) restoration of all the territories held by the Nawab with the exception of Allahabad and Kora districts given to the emperor, (2) Chunar to be retained by the English, (3) the faujdari of Banaras to be with the family of Balwant Singh under English protection although formally subordinate to the Nawab of Awadh, (4) The Nawab to pay to the English Rs. 50 lakhs as war indemnity, (5) The Nawab of Awadh to defray the cost of maintenance of the troops for the defence of his territories under the defensive treaty clause (p. 116).

1765, October

1766, January 1766, March 13/14

1766, April

1766, May 20 1766, July

1766, November 12

1766, December 1766, December

1766, December 1766

1766

1767, January

1767, February 1767, May

Peshv>d Madhav Rao I, marches against Janoji Bhosle and brings him to book—Treaty of Khalapur (p. 245).

Raghunath Rao leads an expedition into Hindustan (p. 217).

The combined Jat-Sikh army under the leadership of Jawahir Singh defeats the Maratha army at the battle of Dholpur and .occupy Dholpur (p. 217).

The Maratha armies under Malhar Rao Holkar and Mahadji Sindia join the forces under Raghunath Rao near Bhander (p. 217).

Death of Malhar Rao Holkar at Alampur (pp, 146, 217, 255, 269).

Robert Clive convenes a congress at Chapra which is attended by Shuja-ud-daulah and the envoys of the emperor, the Jat Raja and the Rohilla chiefs in which a treaty is concluded for ‘mutual defence and security’ against Maratha invasion (p. 116).

General Caillaud, on behalf of the English, concludes a treaty with Nizam Ah which indirectly provided for the employment of English auxiliary troops by Nizam against Haidar All (p. 207).

Nahar Singh Jat, a rival of Jawahir Singh Jat and a protege of the Marathas, Commits suicide (p. 217).

Jawahir Singh Jat concludes peace with Raghunath Rao by surrendering Maratha commanders captured in March, 1766

(p. 218) .

The Rana of Gohad makes peace with Raghunath Rao through Mahadji Sindia and agrees to pay 15 lakhs (p. 218).

Rana Ari Singh II of Udaipur agrees to pay to the Marathas a sum of Rs. 26,30,221 in four years (p. 216).

The English, the Marathas and the Nizam form a triple alliance against Haidar All (p. 122).

Peshwd Madhav Rao I marches into Karnatak and captures several forts held by Haidar All (p. 207).

Robert Clive leaves India (p. 354).

Peace is concluded between Haidar Ali and Peshvod Madhav Rao I. Peshwd recovers lost territory in Karnatak. Haidar also agrees to pay 3 lakhs to the Peshwd in tribute

(p. 208).

1767, July 1767, August 1767, September

1767, November 1767, December 14 1767

1767

1767-73

1768, February 23 1768, February

1768, June 10

1768, July 1768, August 18 1768, November 29

1768, November

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Raghunath Rao returns from Hindustan discomfited.

The first Anglo-Mysore war breaks out

(p. 208).

The English troops under the command of General Smith defeat the forces of Haidar All and Nizam All at the pass of Changama and at Trinomali (p. 122).

Thomas Mostyn, an envoy of the English, sent to Poona to persuade the Peshwd to join the English against Haidar Ali (p. 208).

Jawahir Singh wins a pyrrhic victory over Jaipur troops in the battle of Maonda (pp. 158, 218).

The Bengal Government make advances to Janoji Bhosle for the transfer of Orissa on condition of payment of chmith of Bengal, which Janoji rejects (p. 247).

Jawahir Singh Jat raids Maratha possessions in northern Malwa and conquers large areas (p. 158).

The Sikhs extend their power from Saharanpur in the east to Attock in the west, from Multan in the south to Kangra and Jammu in the north and organize themselves into 12 misls (confederacies) (p. 133).

Nizam Ali confirms the old treaty of 1766 (p. 123).

The Bombay Government send an expedition against Haidar All's fleet on the west coast (p. 209).

Battle between Peshwa Madhav Rao I and his uncle Raghunath Rao at Dhodap in which Raghunath Rao is defeated and taken a captive (pp. 203-04, 245).

Jawahir Sigh Jat is assassinated (p. 219).

Death of Damaji Gaikwar (p. 284).

The English conclude a treaty with Shuja-uddaulah which checked the strength and progress of his army. Hastings reversed it in

1772 and cancelled it fully on September 8, 1773 (p. 117).

The English effect a reconciliation between the Mughul emperor and Shuja-ud-daulah and Shuja-ud-daulah becomes the de facto Vazir (p. 117).

1769, March 23

1769, April 4

1769, April 8 1769, May

1769, October 1769

1769-70

1770, A}?ril 6

1770, October 31

1770, December

1771, January 1771, February 10

1771, March 5

1771, February 12 1771

Peace is concluded between Peshwd Madhav Rao I and Janoji Bhosle at Kanakapur and Janoji surrenders territories worth 8 lakhs to the Peshwd and promises loyalty to the Peshwd (pp. 204, 210, 246).

The English (Madras Government) sign a treaty with Haidar All which provides restitution of mutual conquests and is a defensive alliance (p. 458).

Ratan Singh Jat, ruler of Bharatpur, is murdered by an alchemist (p. 159). Civil war ensues (p. 219).

Mahadji Sindia and TukojI Holkar appear near Udaipur to support the cause of Ratan Singh (falsely reported to be a son of Rana Raj Singh II). But no action takes place as differences develop between Sindia and Holkar and Ari Singh agrees to pay 64 lakhs as present to Sindia and alienate 1J lakhs worth jag^ir in favour of Ratan Singh (p. 219).

Peshwd Madhav Rao I starts on his expedition of Karnatak (p. 211).

The English appoint European servants throughout the whole country to superintend native officers in their work of revenue collection and administration of justice (p. 355).

A terrible famine visits Bengal (p. 357).

The Marathas defeat Nawal Singh, Jat ruler, near Sonkh (p. 220).

Death of Najib-ud-daulah Rohilla (p. 255).

Shah Alam II, the emperor, who has been a pensioner of the English, negotiates with Mahadji Sindia (p. 221).

Gopal Rao Patwardhan, an able general of Peshwd Madhav Rao, passes away (p. 212).

Mahadji Sindia captures Delhi and requests Shah Alam to return to his capital (pp. 221, 255, 367).

Trimbak Rao Pethe, the Maratha general, defeats Haidar AH in the battle of Moti Talav, and Haidar All escapes (pp. 213, 423, 456).

Shah Alam II ratifies a formal agreement with the Marathas (p. 388).

Fateh Singh Gaikwar, younger brother of Govind Rao Gaikwar, obtains recognition for Sayaji Rao as chief from the Peshwd in preference to Govind Rao (p. 285).

1772, January 6 1772, March

1772, April

1772

1772, April

1772, May 16 1772, June 17

1772, November 18 1772, December

1773, August 30 1773, September 7

1773 (Spring)

1773

1774, March 26

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Shah Alam II, enters Delhi as emperor ynder protection of the Marathas (p. 388).

Raghunath Rao, who had rebelled against Peshwa Madhav Rao I and had been kept in confinement, is released (p. 204).

Peshwa Madhav Rao I and Haidar All conclude peace. Haidar pays 31 lakhs to the Peshwa and promises to pay 19 lakhs. The Marathas retain Sira, Madgiri, Gurrumkonda, Dod Ballapur, Kolar and Hoskote while Nandigarh, Chik Ballapur and Devarayanadurg go to Haidar. 1772-85 Warren Hastings' Governorship.

Quinquennial settlement (p. 363, 382).

Warren Hastings stops payment of pension to Shah Alam (p. 117).

Death of Janoji Bhosle of Nagpur (p. 246).

Shuja-ud-daulah, Nawab of Awadh, concludes a treaty with the Rohillas in the presence of Sir Robert Barker, English commander, under which the Rohillas agree to pay Rs. 40 lakhs to the Nawab for expelling the Marathas from Rohilkhand (pp. 118, 138, 221, 367).

Death of Peshwa Madhav Rao I (p. 222).

The Marathas (Holkar and Visaji Krishna) compel Shah Alam II to confer the office of Mir Bakshi on Zabita Khan (son of Najibud-daulah) and grant Kora and Allahabad to the Marathas (p. 221).

Peshwa Narayan Rao is murdered (p. 388).

The English and Shuja-ud-daulah conclude the treaty of Benaras under which the districts of Kora and Allahabad were given to the Nawab for a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs and an annual subsidy for the maintenance of a garrison of the Company's troops for the protection of the Nawab. The other matters protection of the Nawab. (pp. 117-18, 368).

The combined forces of the English and Awadh repulse the Maratha attack on Rohilkhand. (pp. 118, 367).

The Regulating Act for the better management of the Company's affairs (pp. 370-72).

A Royal Charter is issued by the English Crown providing for the establishment of a Supreme Court (p. 598).

1774, April

1774, October 20

1774-82

,i

1775, January 26 1775, January 26

1775, February 17

1775, March 6 1775, March

1775, May

1775, May

1775, April-June

1776, March 9 1776, March

1776, March

1777, January 8

1777

1777

The combined armies of the English and Shuja-ud-daulah march into Itohilkhand on the failure of Hafiz Rahmat Khan to pay Rs. 40 lakhs to drive out the Marathas and occupy Rohilkhand. Hafiz Rahamat Khan is killed in the battle of Miranpur Katra (pp. 118, 370).

The first meeting of the new Council under the Regulating Act is held under the presidentship of Warren Hastings, GovernorGeneral (p. 598). .

First Anglo-Maratha war (pp. 44, 147).

Death of Shuja-ud-daulah (p. 119).

The battle of Panchgaon fought between Mudhoji Bhosle and Sabaji Bhosle in which Sabaji is killed (p. 246).

Peshwd Raghunath Rao, who flees Poona and joins Govind Rao Gaikwar at Baroda when pursued by Barbhais, is defeated at Anand Mogri (p. 286).

Treaty of Surat. Raghunath Rao obtains British help against the Poona Council (pp. 256 286, 424, 635).

Nandkumar brings against Warren Hastings a charge of accepting bribe from Munni Begam, guardian of Nawab of Awadh (p. 373).

Treaty of Fyzabad between the Nawab of Awadh Asaf-ud-daulah and Bristow on behalf of the Bengal Council (pp. 372-73).

Nandkumar executed on forgery charges.

Konher Rao Trimbak Patwardhan attacks Kolhapur and defeats the Kolhapur army in the civil war (p. 235).

The Patwardhans once more attack Kolhapur and plunder it (p. 235).

Haidar All captures Gooty and imprisons its ruler Murar Rao Ghorpade along with his two sons (p. 424).

Treaty of Purandhar to secure a general peace between the E.I. Company and the Marathas (p. 425).

Haidar All defeats the Maratha army led by Patwardhans at Saunshi (p. 425).

Death of Mir Qasim (p. 349).

Mudhoji Bhosle lays claim to Satara throne under English encouragement (p. 247).

1778, FebruaryApril

1778, November

1778

1779, January 16

1779, March 19

1779

1780, January. 26 1780, February 15

1780, February 20

1780

1780, April 11

1780, August 3

1781, January 22 1781, July 1

1781, July 1

1781, September 27

1781, October 27

1781, October 13

1781

THE MARATHA SUPREMACY

Mahadji Sindia invests Kolhapur and Kolhapur Raja agrees to pay Rs. 15 lakhs to raise the siege (pp. 235-36).

The British renew war with the Marathas.

War breaks out between England and France (p. 426).

Convention of Wadgaon (p. 256).

Mahe, a French possession, falls to the English (p. 458).

Nizam takes active interest in the formation of anti-British confederacy in collaboration with the Peshwa, Haidar All and Bhosle of Nagpur (p. 442).

A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance is concluded between Fateh Singh Gaikwar and the English at Kandila (p. 286).

The allied army of the English and Fateh Singh Gaikwar captures Ahmadabad (p. 286).

Haidar Ali concludes a treaty with the Marathias (p. 426).

Nana Phadnis forms a quadruple alliance against the English with Mudhoji Bhosle, Nizam and Haidar All as his allies to oust the English (p. 247).

The Governor-General and the Council pass a series of regulations for administration of justice (p. 379).

The English force under Col. Popham surprise Gwalior (p. 256).

The Maratha war with Kolhapur ends (p. 236)

Coote defeats Haidar All in the battle of Porto Novo (p. 459).

Mahadji Sindia defeats an English contingent near Sipri (p. 257).

Coote defeats Haidar Ali in the second battle of Pollilore (p. 459).

Coote defeats Haidar Ali in the battle of Solingar (p. 459).

Truce between Mahadji Sindia and Col. Muir of East India Co. effected on terms of no gain no loss to either party (p. 257).

The British Parliament passes the Act of Amending the Constitution of the Supreme Court in India (p. 380).

Death of Mirza Najaf Khan, emperor Shah Alam's regent (p. 257).

1782, April 6

1782, May 17

1782, December 7

1783, October

1784, March 11 1784, April

1784, June

1784, November

1785, February 1785, March

1785, May 10 1785, May/July

1786, September 1786

1786, March-April

1787, March

1787, July 1787

1788, April 1788, June 17/18 1788, July 30

The treaty of Salbai between the Marathas and the English (pp. 257, 287).

Death of Haidar All (pp. 426, 460).

Mahadji Sindia concludes a new treaty with the English to enforce the treaty of Salbai on Tipu (p. 449).

The treaty of Mangalore between the English and Tipu is signed (p. 427, 460).

Prince Jahandar Shah (Jawan Bakht) runs to the protection of the English at Lucknow (p. 389).

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The treaty of Yadgir between the Nizam and Marathas is concluded (p. 442).

Mahadji Sindia attains supreme power in Delhi (pp. 258, 390).

Warren Hastings leaves India (pp. 385, 472).

Ambaji Ingle, Mahadji Sindia's subdhdar concludes a treaty with the Sikh chiefs (pp. 472-73).

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Tipu Sultan occupies Dodwad, Dharwar, Sampgaon and Jamboti belonging to the Marathas (p. 427).

Lord Cornwallis arrives in India as GovernorGeneral (p. 472).

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Mahadji Sindia demands arrears of tribute from Jaipur.

The Poona Government and Tipu reach a settlement (p. 432).

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The Kolhapur army attacks the Sawant of Wadi (a feudatory) who flouts the authority of the Raja of Kolhapur. The Raja of Sawantwadi is helped by the Portuguese in facing the Kolhapur army (p. 236).

Sindia's army is defeated at the battle of Chaksana by the Rohillas (p. 261).

Mahadji Sindia's forces defeat Ismail Beg at Agra (pp. 261, 398).

Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg jointly take possession of Delhi (p. 398).

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Ghulam Qadir's atrocities.

Mahadji Sindia occupies Delhi (p. 399).

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Nizam All surrenders Guntur Sarkar to the English (p. 474).

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Tipu attacks Travancore but fails in his design (pp. 433, 463).

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Ismail Beg defects to the Rajputs (p. 402).

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Treaty of Poona between the Peshwd and the English directed against Tipu Sultan (pp. 434, 463).

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Kennaway, on behalf of the English, concludes a separate treaty with Nizam All, to secure his alliance against Tipu Sultan (pp. 434, 463).

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Khande Rao Hari, a commander of Mahadji Sindia, intercepts Ismail Beg on his way to Kanud and defeats him (p. 405).

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Tipu Sultan defeated by the allies: treaty of Seringapatam (p. 440).

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Holkar’s troops are defeated by Sindia’s army in the battle of Lakheri (p. 272).

Death of Raghuji Angria (p. 306).

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Death of Mahadji Sindia at Vanawadi (near Poona) (pp. 263, 407).

Daulat Rao Sindia, son of Anand Rao Sindia, is installed as successor to Mahadji Sindia (p. 490).

Nizam Ali and the Marathas commence negotiations for a settlement (p. 444).

Lakhba Dada appointed Daulat Rao Sindia’s viceroy in northern India (p. 410).

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Death of Ahalya Bai Holkar (p. 272).

Lakhba Dada, the Maratha viceroy in north India, occupies Sabalgarh (p. 413).

Accidental death of Peshwd Sawai Madhav Rao (p. 263).

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Lakhba Dada, the Maratha viceroy, occupies Narwar (p. 413).

Nana Phadnis enters into a secret treaty with Nizam Ali (p. 449).

Baji Rao Raghunath becomes Peshwd (p. 488).

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1798, July 15 1798, August 4

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1798, October

1799, April 17 1799, May 4 .1799, May 5 1799, September 16

1799, September 1799, October 27

1799, December

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1800, March 13

1800 September

Death of TukojI Holkar (pp. 264, 490).

Malhar Rao Holkar II killed in a fight at Bhamburda by the forces of Daulat Rao Sindia (p. 490).

Zaman Shah occupies Lahore (p. 414) .

Nana Phadnis is arrested by Michael Filose, an officer of Daulat Rao Sindia, and made a prisoner (p. 489).

Lakhba Dada arrested under orders of Daulat Rao Sindia by Harji Sindia (p. 415).

The combined armies of the Rajas of Satara and Kolhapur and Chhatra Singh defeat the Peshvxi's army led by Madhav Rao Raste (p. 488).

Nana Phadnis released from confinement (p. 489).

Parashuram Bhau defeats the Satara Raja and occupies the fort of Satara on 31 August, 1798 (p. 237).

Wellesly binds the Nizam with a subsidiary alliance (pp. 123, 449).

Zaman Shah invades India for the last time; reoccupies Lahore but retreats (p. 483).

The allies (the English and Nizam) lay siege to Seringapatam (p. 466).

Tipu Sultan falls fighting at Seringapatam against the combined armies (p. 441, 446).

Lakbha Dada and Rala Rao Ingle make an armistice (p. 416).

Parashuram Bhau defeated and killed in the battle near Pattankudi by the Kolhapur forces (p. 238).

Daulat Rao Sindia deprives Ambaji Ingle of authority over Mewar (p. 416).

A peaceful settlement is entered into between Lakhba Dada and General Perron at Muazzamabad (pp. 416-17).

Shivaji III, Chhatrapati of Kolhapur, defeated by Peshwa's forces and compelled to seek shelter at Panhala (p. 488).

Death of Ismail Beg at Agra fort while in imprisonment (p. 405).

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1802, March

1802, June 6 1802, October 8

1802, October 25

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Daulat Rao Sindia attacks Indore and scatters the forces of Holkar (pp. 149, 265, 491).

The Nawab-Vazir of Awadh enters into a new subsidiary treaty with the English (p. 524)

Convention of Cambay between the Gaikwar and the English. The English obtain a stronghold over Anand Rao Gaikwar (pp. 290, 487).

Anand Rao, the Raja of Baroda, enters into a subsidiary alliance with the English (p. 290).

Fateh Singh Mane, an adventurer, who had joined Yashwant Rao Holkar, defeats the Peshwd's forces led by his commander Nana Purandare at Baramati (p. 492).

Yashwant Rao Holkar defeats the combined armies of the Peshwd and Daulat Rao Sindia at the battle of Hadapsar (p. 265, 273).

Peshwd Baji Rao II, makes proposals to the English for subsidiary alliance (p. 492).

Treaty of Bassein: Peshwd Baji Rao aqcepts subsidiary alliance losing his independence (p. 238).

Governor-General ratifies the treaty of Bassein (p. 492).

The Peshwd, who had fled Poona, returns to under British protection (p. 494).

Arthur Wellesley declares war on Bhosle ~and Sindia (p. 494).

The English capture Broach (p. 496).

The English army led by Lake defeats Sindia's forces at Aligarh (pp. 266, 496).

The English army defeats Sindian forces at the battle of Delhi (pp. 266, 496).

Shah Alam seeks British protection.

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1803, September

1803, October 15 1803, October 18 1803, October 21 1803, October

1803, November 1

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1803, December 15 1803, December 17

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1804, February 5

1804, February 27

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The English capture Champaner and Pavagarh (p. 496).

Arthur Wellesley defeats the combined armies of Sindia and Bhosle at the battle of Assaye (pp. 265, 495).

Ranjit Singh Jat enters into a defensive and offensive alliance with the English (p. 160).

The English capture Burhanpur (p. 495).

The English capture Agra (p. 496).

The English capture Asirgarh (p. 495).

The English become masters of the province of Cuttack (p. 496).

The English forces defeat Sindia's army at the battle of Laswari (p. 266).

The English defeat Bhosle's forces at the battle of Argaon (pp. 265, 496).

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Treaty of Deogaon between Bhosle of Nagpur and the English (pp. 248, 496).

Treaty of Sarje Anjangaon concluded between Daulat Rao Sindia and the English (pp. 266, 497).

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Daulat Rao Sindia concludes a defensive alliance with the English (p. 497).

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Yashwant Rao Holkar routed by Gen. Lake's army at the battle of Farrukhabad (p. 498).

The English capture Dig (p. 498).

With a new treaty made with the Peshwa, the treaty of Deogaon concluded in 1803 is confirmed (p. 248).

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Ranjit Singh, the Raja of Bharatpur, makes peace with the English (pp. 161, 277, 499).

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1817, February 1817, June 13 1817, October 16 1817, November 5

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Yashwant Rao Holkar enters into treaty with the English at Rajpoor Ghat (pp. 278, 499).

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Appa Desai of Nipani attacks Kolhapur army' which suffers very badly. This defeat leads to British arbitration (p. 238).

Treaty of Pandharpur between the Peshwa and his feudatories through British mediation (p. 503).

Settlement between the Peshwd and Kolhapur Raja is reached through the British (p. 238).

The College of Fort St. George, in imitation of Lord Wellesley's College of Fort William, is started to train civil servants (p. 637).

The Anglo-Nepalese war is launched (p. 530).

The treaty of Saugauli is signed between the English and the Raja of Nepal (p. 533).

Death of Raghuji II Bhosle (pp. 248, 501).

Appa Saheb, cousin of Parsoji Bhosle, concludes a treaty of subsidiary alliance with the English (p. 501).

The Raja of Sikkim signs a defensive treaty with the English (p. 532).

Peshwd Baji Rao II is compelled to sign the Treaty of Poona (p. 503).

Marquis of Hastings opens campaign against the Pindarjs (p. 505).

Bapu Gokhale, Peshwd’s commander, sets fire to the Residency buildings and attacks the English. Battle of Kirkee (pp. 505-06).

Daulat Rao Sindia signs the treaty of Gwalior with the English (pp. 150, 266, 501).

The English army led by General Smith defeats Bapu Gokhale at the battle of Yervada (p. 506).

Appa Saheb Bhosle of Nagpur receives from the Peshwa the robes of Sena Saheb Subah (p. 502).

Battle of Sitabaldi fought between the English and forces of Appa Saheb Bhosle in which Bhosle’s forces are defeated (p. 506).

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1817, December 21

1818, January 6 1818, February 20

1818, May 1818, June 3

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Appa Saheb Bhosle, Raja of Nagpur, surrenders to the English (p. 506).

Battle of Mahidpur fought between Holkar and the English. Holkar is defeated (pp. 150, 506).

Treaty of Mandasor concluded between Holkar and the English (pp. 150, 278, 506).

The battle of Ashta fought between the English and Bapu Gokhale, in which Gokhale is killed and his forces defeated (p. 507).

Appa Saheb Bhosle escapes from British custody and seeks refuge with the Rajputs.

Baji Rao II, Peshwd, surrenders to the English at Mhow (p. 507).

Bajiba Gujar is raised to the throne of Nagpur as Raghuji III (p. 506).

The English wrest Asirgarh from its commandant Yashwant Rao Lad (p. 506).

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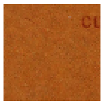

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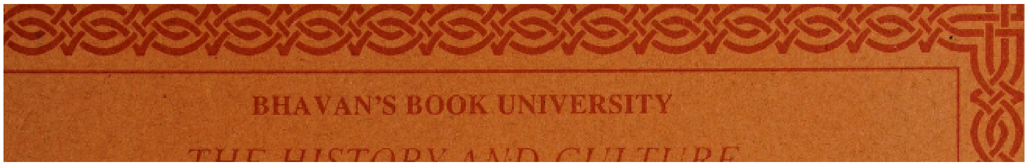

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Government of the day in order to justify their unjust action against them, though a little inquiry would have sufficed, to.

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Typical instances of the former are supplied by the accounts given of the annexation of Burma, Awadh, Nagpur, Jhansi:, Sindh and the Panjab, as .well as dealings of Ellenborough. with Sindhia. As regards the latter, it is only necessary to refer

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Volume IX

BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

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ABBREVIATIONS

Normally; the name or title of the author has been used as abbreviation for his book, included in either General Bibliography or Bibliography to the relevant Chapter. When more than one book is listed under one author, the Roman figure after his name or title denotes the serial number of the entry. Absence of any such figure denotes the first book, if there is more than one. When more than one author has the same surname, it denotes the first entry under that surname, initials being added to the rest. Thus Dutt-I denotes the first book mentioned against Dutt, Romesh, or Romesh Dutt.

Additional abbreviations are noted below :

ADV	An Advanced History of India, by R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and Kalikinkar Datta.
AS	Anderson and Subedar, The Last Days of the John Company.
Bengal Celebrities	A General Biography of Bengal Celebrities

both Living and Dead, by Ramgopal Sanyal, 1889.

CHBFP

CHI

Congress

CR

CRO

Dacoitee

DG

Freedom-Assam

Freedom-Bihar

Freedom-Bombay

Freedom

Hyderabad

Freedom-U.P.

Hist. Congr.

Hume

ICD

ICND

IHQ

Imp. Gaz.

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JIH

MH

Montford Report

MR MS. L

Mukerjees

Muslim League

Narrative

PHE

PIHRC

Rammohun Roy

RI.

RPD

SB

Private Corres pondence. SAK

Sed. Com. Rep. Sel. Cal. Gaz.

Siege

Singh

Sketches.

Sources

TB

THG

THG 2

Warner

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Sketches of Rulers of India, Vol. Ill, by G. D. Oswell.

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For special abbreviations used in the footnotes of Chapter XXVII, cf. the Bibliography of that Chapter.

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar GENERAL EDITOR

Volumes IX and X deal with the history of India from 1818 to 1905. These two dates are significant landmarks in the history of Modern India. The establishment of British paramountcy in India was completed in 1818, and the year 1905 marks the beginning of that national struggle by the Indians against the British rule which culminated in the achievement of independence in 1947. This volume describes the nature of British rule in India for nearly a century after it had become the dominant political power; and the next volume delineates the social changes and cultural renaissance which led to the emergence of India from the Medieval to the Modern Age, and set in motion those forces and tendencies which created the Indian nation out of heterogeneous groups of peoples. It is hardly necessary to point out that the events described in these two volumes are inextricably mixed up. and they should be looked upon as parts of a single work describing the different aspects of the history of India during the nineteenth century. As a matter of fact, when the plan for the History and Culture of the Indian People was first drawn up in 1945, only a single volume, namely Vol. IX. was designed to cover all the topics which are now treated in Vols. IX and X.

Vol. IX is divided into two Books which deal, respectively, with the political and economic history of the period. The political history is again divided into three parts; the second part dealing with the mutiny and revolt of 1857-8, and the other two with the periods before and after it.

The political history has been designed to be not a mere chronicle of events, but a broad review of the British rule, bringing out its two main characteristics, namely, the establishment of paramount authority all over India, and the creation of a framework of an allIndia administration on a solid basis, such as India has probably never known, save under the Maurya and the Mughul Emperors. It also seeks to draw, in true colour, the colonial imperialism of Britain which forms the real background of British rule in India in the nineteenth century. It omits the meticulous details which are more suitable for a chronicle or a Gazetteer, and avoids, as far as possible, emphasis on personalities,—Governors-General. military commanders and high Civil Officials—whose individual activities loom large in the current histories of British India.

The materials for writing the history of India in the 19th cenr tury are both ample and varied in character. Apart from numerous printed books, pamphlets and periodicals, the very nature of the British Government in India has been of great help to the historians in this respect. Being merely a subordinate body to the superior authority—East India Company up to 1858 and the British Crown, thereafter—residing in England, almost every transaction of any importance had to be put on record for the examination by the latter, and there was a continuous stream of correspondence, both official and private, between the two. It has furnished invaluable sourcematerials, such as has been seldom the good luck of a historian to possess. The confidential minutes and despatches of the GovemorsGeneral and the Court of Directors or Secretary of State, as well as private correspondence between them, have thrown very interesting light on the inner motives that inspired the British policy and activities in India. They have also supplied positive evidence as to the real nature of many aspects of British imperialism, and thrown off the mask of benevolence under which it was successfully hidden for a long time. As more and more of these records are gradually being thrown open to the public, the historian has been in a position to rearrange the different elements of British policy in India properly in order to draw up an integrated picture of the British rule in India in the 19th century.

A very valuable supplement to these private and confidential official documents is supplied by the speeches and writings of a few liberal-minded Englishmen who felt real sympathy for Indian aspirations. The adverse comments on the various aspects of British rule in India by Englishmen like George Thompson, John Bright, Henry Fawcett, Sir Charles Digby, Wyndham and Sir Henry Cotton cannot be lightly dismissed as irresponsible criticism dictated by selfish motives, sense of frustration, or an anti-British spirit—insinuations such as are usually made in regard to any unfavourable criticism of British rule by even the highest Indian. The adverse comments on British rule in India by the Britishers themselves are therefore of inestimable value to a historian, when they lend support to Indian criticism which would, otherwise, not carry much weight, having emanated from an interested party with natural repugnance against the British.

The historian of British India has therefore no complaint about lack of materials;—he rather suffers from a plethora of them. It is impossible for a single individual, however industrious he might be, to peruse all the available records of the 19th century. All that he can hope to do is to go through a judicious selection of them, and utilize the monographs written on various aspects of British administration by specialists who based their work on a minute and critical study of all relevant documents on the subject. There are many valuable works of this nature, but they are unequal in value and need to be studied with care. For, generally speaking, both British and Indian writers were, more or less, influenced by personal feelings and prejudices, and few could rise above them in order to produce a real objective study.

There are a number of important historical works of a general nature covering the whole or parts of the 19th century, written by contemporary Englishmen. The earliest work relating to the period under review is H. H. Wilson's Supplement, in three volumes, to the six-volume History of James Mill. This Supplement continues the history of British India from 1805 to 1835. Next comes Thornton's six-volume History of the British Empire in India, covering the period up to nearly 1845 when the last volume was published. Two other less voluminous works are Beveridge's Comprehensive History of India in three volumes, published in 1867, and Trotter's History of the British Empire in India (1844-58), published in 1866. These were not followed by any such comprehensive history written by a Britisher for more than half a century. It is not a little curious, that although a great deal of fresh materials became available as the years rolled on, no British historian felt inclined to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessors mentioned above, and write a comprehensive history of the glorious achievements of his country in a far distant land. Instead, we find only a small number of short treatises of the nature of advanced text-books, written by Meadows Taylor (1870), Sir Alfred Lyall (1894*), V. A. Smith (1919), P. E. Roberts (1921), and Thompson and Garratt (1934). But scholarly books were written on select topics, primarily with a view to defend British officials and British policy in India against charges levelled by older writers, including.English historians. In general, the historical writings of Englishmen from about the last quarter of the 19th century were, more or less, tinged by the spirit of imperialism which they inherited as a legacy from the British rule in India during the preceding century. The most typical example of such a historical work is furnished by V. A. Smith's Oxford History of India (1919) on a smaller scale, and The Cambridge History of India , Vols. V(1929) and VI(1932), on a more comprehensive scale. One may be pardoned for gathering the impression from these books, that they were products of men who honestly believed in the doctrine,—'my country, right or wrong,'—and used the medium of history to defend British imperialism which had by that time come in for a good deal of criticism both in India and abroad. The Cambridge History of India, Vols. V-VI, the last great historical work on modern India written by British historians, looks at India purely from the standpoint of British officials and statesmen. Its attention was mainly directed to, and its interest was primarily concerned with, the British dominion and British administration. While minute details are given on these points, the story of Indians, as such, is almost completely ignored. One may go through the two ponderous volumes without gaining any idea of the great cultural renaissance in India in the 19th century which transformed her from the Medieval to the Modern Age. While reference is made in detail to official transactions or administrative machinery, there is hardly any reference, except by way of casual mention as a part of administrative history, to the great social and religious reforms, literary revival, and political aspirations, which so strongly marked the 19th century. One comes across enthusiastic references to British Governors-General, Governors and even lesser officials, but looks in vain for the names and careers of men like Rammohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Ramkrishna Paramahamsa, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Vivekananda, Dayananda Saraswati, Surendra Nath Banerji, M. G. Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and a host of others,* who will be remembered as makers of Modern India, long after the names of officials, with whose careers the two volumes of Cambridge History abound, have been completely forgotten.

But the errors of Cambridge History are not of omission only. The errors of commission are equally, if not more, grave and serious. Differing in spirit even from the old English historians of British India, it has put forth only the official or imperial view of British transactions in India, without any attempt to discuss the dissentient views. It suppresses truth in many cases where the preservation of good name for the British rulers requires it; worse still, it repeats the official calumny against Indian rulers concocted by the British Government of the day in order to justify their unjust action against them, though a little inquiry would have sufficed to demonstrate the totally unreliable character of the evidence on which the statements of the Government of India were based. Typical instances of the former are supplied by the accounts given of the annexation of Burma, Awadh, Nagpur, Jhansi, Sindh and the Panjab, as well as dealings of Ellenborough with Sindhia. As regards the lattfer, it

Note 1

is only necessary to refer to the grounds on which the rulers of Mysore, Coorg, Cachar, and Satora were dethroned, and an armed expedition was sent against Manipur and its Commander-in-chief, Tikendrajit, was hanged.

There was no dearth of Indian historians, and it may be asked why they did not expose the true character of the history of modern India written by the Britishers. This was not only an academic question, but should have been prompted by a sense of patriotic duty when it was clearly realized that the British version was being gradually accepted, at least in most cases, as unvarnished truth. Without making any attempt to defend the Indian historians against this charge, it is only fair to state that they were working under a serious handicap in this respect during the British ruie in India. It may be easily understood why no Indian historian during this period dared discuss feely and in detail, either the shady transactions of the British in respect of the princes and people of India, or the ignoble selfish motives which inspired the Government of India in different spheres of activities. In particular, no adequate reference could be made to the iniquities, injustice and oppression* perpetrated by the British in India. These difficulties were removed with the extinction of the British rule, but another difficulty presented itself. The current books on the history of India under the British, written by English historians since 1870, were mostly influenced by the spirit of jingoism which looked at every event through official eyes and from the standpoint of the imperial interests of the British. There was, besides, the over-powering sense of racial superiority which made even some eminent Englishmen, including Governors-General and British Cabinet ministers, look upon the Indians as little better than animals or primitive savages. It is therefore scarcely a matter of surprise that the British historians would give a picture of Indian history, during the British rule, which suffered to a very large degree from distortion and suppression of truth, biassed judgment, and wrong inference, wherever the British prestige was likely to be damaged by a narration of actual events.** Unfortunately, many

Note 2

statements of these later Biitish historians, owing to constant repetitions over a long period of time, have now come to be regarded as true, even though earlier British historians gave an altogether different version which approximated more nearly to truth, and expressed different views which were fairer and more reasonable.

A modern historian of British India, therefore, finds it absolutely necessary to dispose of a large legacy of falsehood, half-truths, and perversion of facts and judgments, which are now passing current as history. To expose their true nature and seek to establish truth on the basis of facts and reason, is by no means an easy task. A simple statement of facts, where it differs from the current view, is not likely to be accorded any historical value unless elaborate evidences and arguments are added to demolish the views or theories that have been in vogue for a long time. This renders the task of writing history of Modern India a very difficult and laborious one. As the present volume is the first comprehensive history of British India, written after the end of British rule, the onerous duty of setting an example of writing the history of Modern India, free from all restraints and strictly from historical point of view alone, devolves upon the editor of this volume. Such a history should seek to establish truth by removing the cobwebs of falsehoods, prejudices and misrepresentations that have gathered round it. This paramount task has always been kept in view, though, in practice, it led to disproportionate allotment of space and emphasis to different topics, judged purely from their intrinsic importance in a general history of India. For example, thirty-three pages have been devoted to the British invasion of the petty Manipur State, though it does not form a very important event in a general history of India. But the treatment of this episode by the British (and following them, Indian) historians has generally been so perverse and misleading, that real truth had to be established on a sound basis which would carry conviction against long-established tradition. Ellenborough has been praised for his moderation in dealing with Sindhia, but the truth is just the reverse. His action was most autocratic and tyrannical. A British historian has represented the last ruler of Coorg as almost a monster in the guise of human form, in order to justify the annexation of his territory, but this is contradicted by all available evidence, and there are grounds to believe that Coorg was annexed on account of its coffee-plantation and a climate suitable for the British. The dethronement of the Raja of Satara, though supported by the British historians, was undoubtedly an unjust anc(high

cises a constant silent censorship, which has'made British-Indian hbtory the worst patch in current scholarship.” Edward Thompson and G. Garrat, Rise and Fulfil

Rule xn India < Bibliographical Note at the end of the book (Mac

handed act. A simple denial of the statements of British writers which have gained currency as truths, or a short accurate statement of the actual case would not serve any useful purpose, as they would be attributed to the bias or prejudice of an Indian writer. It was, therefore, felt necessary to discuss each of these episodes fully on its merits by citing material evidence, and this has required much greater space than would possibly be given to it on the ground of its intrinsic importance to India.

Two other topics may be cited among those which would perhaps be regarded as occupying a space somewhat out of proportion to their importance in a general history. These are the famines and wars. The recurring famines in the 19th century constitute the blackest spot in the history of the British rule in India, and most severely affected that section of the people—the dumb millions— whom Lord Curzon and others repeatedly declared to be the real people of India, and of whose material interests they claimed to be the sole guardian. The British politicians and rulers declared ad nauseam that the chief concern and object of their rule in India was to secure the material prosperity of that section, heedless of the hostile comments of the educated Indians who formed but a microscopic minority. The extreme poverty and misery of the masses was due to heavy assessment of land-revenue and the ruin of industry brought about by unfair means on the part of the British and their unwillingness to help or foster its growth; The recurring famines, which were the inevitable consequences of the British policy, expose the real character of the paternal solicitude for the peasantry or dumb millions on the part of their self-constituted trustees or guardians. The famine and land-revenue system have been treated at some length because they go to the root of the vital problem of the welfare of the masses—the raison d’etre of the British rule according to its supporters.

It has been the general attitude of the British historians to look upon the growth and expansion of British empire in India as an accident rather than the result of a deliberate policy or design. They hold that the wars by which new territories were gained were forced upon them, and were not due to any aggressive or imperial policy of expansion. The wars in the Panjab, Sindh,i and Burma have been dealt in some detail Tn order to expose the unreal character of these pretensions. These wars were prompted by the deliberate policy of expansion, and the two wars against Afghanistan were the direct consequence of British imperialism.

Another topic which has occupied considerable space is the great outbreak of 1857. It is one of those episodes which no educated

Indian or student of Indian History has ever regarded without interest, and few Without prejudice. Its memory served as an inspiration to the Indians in their fight for freedom against the British in the twentieth century, and consequently an exaggerated idea of its importance and an emotional view of its real character gained currency among all classes of Indians. It was hailed as the first national war of independence against the British, and this aspect was emphasized during the celebration of its centenary all over India. Much has been written on this question on that occasion, and both before and since, by professional historians as well as amateur writers who were mainly prompted by patriotic sentiments. No general consensus of opinion has yet emerged about the real nature or true character of the movement, but, on the whole, the tendency to look upon it as a national war of independence shows visible signs of decline. Although big historical texts and numerous monographs on the subject have been published during the last hundred years, it has not yet been adequately treated in any general history of India. Except a single book of small size, there is no monograph or special history of the Mutiny of 1857, which gives even a brief but systematic account of the outbreak of civil population in various localities in 1857-8. Yet this is a very important factor in making a proper estimate of the character of the movement. In view of the great importance which every educated Indian attaches to it, the editor has felt it necessary not only to add a detailed account of the local outbreaks, apart from the mutiny of sepoys, but also to discuss the causes and nature of the whole outbreak and describe in some detail the atrocities perpetrated by both sides,—information which is generally lacking in a general history of India.

Another topic which is generally ignored, or has received but scant attention so far in a general history of Ipdia, is the series of violent outbreaks of armed resistance to the British authority which occurred frequently before the great outbreak of 1857, and also, at greater intervals, after it was suppressed. The pre-Mutiny outbreaks have greater significance. They showed that the embers of the chaos and anarchy of the eighteenth century—when India was under free lance—had not died out, and proved to be but isolated manifestations of the old spirit which burst out in a concentrated fury in 1857. They also indicate the process and stages in the evolution of Pax Britannica which was gradually established in the second half of the nineteenth century,. The disturbances before 1857 have therefore been collectively described, in some detail, in Chapter XIV. The disturbances after 1858 were more sporadic in character, but none the less of great significance, as they show that under the calm, placid surface of Pax Britannica there were violent

eddies which marked the suppressed wrath and discontent against the British rule. These have been discussed in Chapter XXIX.

Special mention may be made of two of these violent outbreaks, whose roots lay deep in the soil long before 1857. The first is the Wahabi Movement which is remarkable for two reasons. It was the first national movement of the Muslims to restore their lost power and glory, and it evolved a highly developed organization, extending from the foothills of the Hindu Kush in the north-west, right across, the plains of North India, to the eastern border of Bengal. The Wahabis offered a stiff armed resistance to the British, and deeds of bravery,, heroism and sacrifice displayed by individual members are worthy of being recorded in the annals of India.

The second is the organized resistance of the poor cultivators to the indigo-planters. The story of the merciless exploitation and ruthless oppression of the peasants by the British planters in Bengal, and to a certain extent also, in Bihar, forms one of the most dismal and disgraceful episodes in the history of British India. But the tyranny of the white indigo-planters, backed by the British officials, and sometimes even by the Government, provoked a strange reaction—a resolute determination on the part of the cultivators not to sow indigo, come what may. This organized passive resistance, which brought the issue to a successful end, may be justly regarded as the forerunner of the non-violent non-co-operation or passive resistance which Mahatma Gandhi launched on a massive scale more than half a century later to free India from the British rule.

The third remarkable episode is the attempt of Vasudeo Balwant Phadke to overthrow the British Government with the help of a secret organization. This underground movement did not achieve any success, but is very significant as the forerunner of what was known as the “terrorist” movement in Bengal in the first decade of the twentieth century.

These as well as the agrarian riots form important episodes in the history of British India; from Indian point of view, but hardly any attention has hitherto been paid to them even in the comprehensive Cambridge History of India (Vol. VI). It has therefore been necessary to refer to them in some detail in order to convey their real significance.

The General Editor felt the need of describing these and other topics in detail in order to establish the real facts and demolish the false notions still current about them. It has, however, led to a change in the entire plan of this series of Indian history, so far as the last two volumes are concerned. In 1945, when the plan of this history was finalized, a single volume was thought sufficient for the

delineation of the political -history and cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century. It has now been necessary to devote two volumes to the same topics, as mentioned above. In order to emphasize that these two volumes really deal with only the different aspects of one and the same subject, the Table of Contents in each gives a complete list of chapters in the two Volumes, arranged in consecutive order.

Not only the plan, but the method of execution has also undergone a considerable change. It will strike even a casual reader, that whereas the previous volumes of this series have been the joint product of a large number of contributors, the editor himself is the author of almost all the chapters of Vol. IX, with the exception of five chapters on economic history (XXXIV—XXXVIII), parts of the two chapters on Administrative Organization (XII, XXVIII), the section on the Wahabi Movement (XXIX), and the chapter on Indian States (XXX).

This new ‘method’ was suggested by two considerations. In the first place, the editor, while engaged in writing the history of the freedom movement in India, on behalf of the Board of Editors appointed by the Government of India, realized, as the result of an intensive study of mote than two years, the shortcomings of the current text books on the history of the British rule in India, although there were enough materials, even outside the Archives, for a proper treatment of the subject from a detached standpoint. He became painfully conscious of the necessity, after the achievement of independence, of approaching the subject from an altogether new point of view, untramelled by the traditions and conventions that gathered round the history of British India during the nineteenth century. He also keenly felt the responsibility lying upon an Indian editor of the first comprehensive history of India during the nineteenth century written after the achievement of independence. He had the onerous duty as well as the proud privilege of a pioneer to lay down a plan and establish a standard which, with all its defects and shortcomings, might help to form a secure foundation for others to build upon in future.

While overwhelmed with the responsibility of this task, the editor found to his dismay, that of the contributors, originally fixed up on the plan of 1945, many did not respond to his invitation to write, and a few, who did, wrote in the old traditional manner of pre-independence days, which was not in keeping with thfe/ new ideal or standard referred to above. Besides, it became apparent that there was a sort of unity underlying the whole history of the nineteenth century which must be conceived as an integrated whole

and therefore interpreted from a single standpoint. If different contributors write different chapters there is the great danger of differences and contradictions, explicit or implict, which would destroy the integrated picture, or damage it irretrievably. The editor therefore decided that he himself would write most of the chapters with the few exceptions noted above. But the co-operative principle, followed in the preceding volumes, was not altogether given up. The editor utilized the writings of eminent specialists in different aspects of Indian history, and adopted their mature views wherever he found them reasonable. This explains the extensive quotations from the writings of Romesh Dutt, Kaye, B. Mazumdar, P. Mukherjee, Ganda Singh and many others which lie scattered throughout the work.

It might appear strange to many that the editor, whose studies were hitherto confined to the ancient period of Indian history, should now take up the writing of modern Indian history. The task was, however, thrust upon him when, early in 1953, he undertook to write the history of the freedom movement in India, on behalf of the Board of Editors set up by the Government of India for the purpose. Though the Board was dissolved in 1955, the work remained unfinished and the editor completed the work, in his personal capacity, during the last six years. The study of the modern period of Indian history, which the work involved, for a total period of nine years emboldened the editor to undertake the gigantic task of writing, almost unaided, the history of India from 1818 to 1947, of which the first period up to 1905 is dealt with in this and the next volume. It need hardly be stressed that much of what is contained in these two and Volume XI covers the same ground as his forthcoming History of the Freedom Movement mentioned above.* The vexed problem of the great outbreak of 1857-58 formed the subject-matter of the editor's book, The Sepoy Mutiny and Revolt of 1857, published in 1957,** and the Cultural Renaissance in the nineteenth century was treated by him in a recent publication, Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century. These three books and several articles on the subject have been a sort of preparation for Vols. IX, X and XI, and have been freely utilized in all these volumes.

The editor does not claim any credit for original research, his main interest being concentrated on the proper presentation of historical truth, on the basis of facts already known and published, and a correct interpretation of them without being influenced in any

Note 3

Note 4

way by the long-standing notions, conventions or traditions. In order to form correct opinions and judgments, he has tried to ascertain contemporary views of an impartial character. For views unfavourable to any group or community he has cited evidence, as far as possible, of distinguished persons belonging to that group or community, for pTvma facie they are not likely to cherish any bias or prejudice against their own kith and kin. Wherever available, views of committees, appointed to inquire into any specific case, have been cited in preference to views of individuals, unless they happened to occupy a high and distinguished position or status.

As stated above, the editor’s task has been to collect information already known, rather than to discover new facts, and to pass judgments on the basis of available evidence, after taking due note of the views previously held on the subject.

Nevertheless, the editor feels that Vols. IX and X would throw fresh light on a few points on the basis of records, either unpublished or not generally known. As instances in Vol. IX, may be cited the documents from National Archives at Delhi concerning Sikkim (pp. 1067 ff.) and Manipur (pp. 709 ff.). The Wahabi Movement has been described in detail, and its real nature and importance brought out, probably for the first time, with the help of original documents, not utilized so far. A dumber of records, not generally known, have formed the basis of the chapter on Indian States (Chapter XXX). The five chapters on the economic condition (Chapters XXXIV-XXXVIII) are principally based on original records. As regards the outbreak of 1857, also, the letters of Bahadur Shah and his family, the Rani of Jhansi, and Nana Sahib, published for the first time by the editor in his book on the Sepoy Mutiny, have thrown a flood of . light on the nature of the outbreak and of the leading personalities that guided it.

Views, radically different from those generally current today, have been expressed on a variety of topics, notably the British transactions in regard to Afghanistan, Burma, Awadh, Assam, Satara, and the Panjab. But these are mostly based on the works of various specialists who h^ve carried on research on these topics. The editor has tried to maintain the principle of co-operative work followed in earlier volumes by freely using their works to which detailed reference has been given in the footnotes. The editor has treated these scholars, as if they were asked to write the chapters on topics in which they have specialised. The editor has tried to give full reference to the writings on which he has relied, and hopes to be excused for any error of omission or commission in this respect, due to inadvertence.

The editor begs to draw the attention of the readers to his observations on pp. xxix to xxxii of Vol. VI of this series, on some peculiar difficulties. The present volume, as well as the next two, is subject, in a far greater degree, to the same difficulty and inconvenience of dealing with the topics which form live issues even today. The relation between the Englishmen and the Indians, and between the Hindus and the Muslims, cannot but form important episodes in the history of modern India. Yet, it is difficult to believe, that any English, Hindu, or Muslim historian could really approach the subject in a purely detached spirit. The editor has nothing to add to what has been said on p. xxix of Vol. VI in regard to HinduMuslim relation. Vols. IX, X, and XI, however, have also to deal with another subject, no less delicate, namely Indo-British relations. Although the British have set the example, almost unique in the history of the world, of relinquishing the sovereignty over a large country without any fight, the foreign rule of a century and a half, and the struggle for independence extending over nearly half that period, inevitably embittered the relations between the ruler and the ruled, and generated passions and prejudices which die hard. Both the Indian and British historians have therefore the same difficulty in writing the history of the period through which they themselves have lived, or the effects of which they have personally experienced. The editor has been a witness to the grim struggle for independence which began with the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued till the achievement of independence in 1947. He does not pretend to have been a dispassionate or disinterested spectator; he would have been more or less than a human being if he were so. His views and judgments of the English may, therefore, have been influenced by passions or prejudices to a certain extent. Without denying this possibility, the editor claims that he has tried his best to take a detached view of men and things—a task somewhat facilitated by lapse of time. How far this claim is justified, future generations of readers alone would be in a position to judge.

The editor begs to draw the attention of the readers to the policy adopted by him in this series and enunciated in the preface of Vol. VI in the following words:

“It would be the endeavour of the present editor to follow the three fundamental principles enunciated above: firstly,* that history is no respecter of persons or communities; secondly, that its sole aim is to find out the truth by following the canons commonly accepted as sound by all historians; and thirdly, to express the truth, without fear, envy, malice, passion, or prejudice, and irrespective of all extraneous considerations, both political and humane. In judging

any remark or opinion expressed in such a history, the question to be asked is not whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, mild or strong, impolitic or imprudent, but simply whether it is true or false, just or unjust, and above all, whether it is or is not supported by evidence at our disposal."

After having stated the general policy and principles, it is necessary to refer to some important changes in the original plan and programme of this series, other than those indicated above in respect of Vols. IX and X. In the first place, these two volumes appear before the publication of Vols. VII and VIII. This is mainly due to the increased interest, now felt all over India, in the history of the British rule in this country. For the same reason the next volume—Vol. XI—, dealing with the period from the beginning of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1905 to the achievement of independence in 1947, will also be published before Vols. VII and VIII. Of course, this change of procedure will be noticeable only during the next three or four years, for Vols, VII and VIII are likely to be published by the end of that period, and then the reader will have the whole series before him without any break.

Another noticeable change is the general absence of diacritical marks in writing the names of Indian persons and places. Though these marks were used in some cases, specially in the earlier parts, the editor found it difficult to maintain uniformity of any kind and finally gave up the attempt in despair. The name of Surendra Nath Banerji, for example, is written in English in no less than four or five different ways. The Punjab, the official spelling, has been mostly superseded by the more rational form Pan jab. Diacritical marks have also been avoided for the reason that they would appe*. very incongruous to readers in cases of well-known Indian names of modem age.

The editor notes with deep regret the death of Mr. N. B. Ray who wrote a section of Chapter X in Vol. VI, and places on record his appreciation of the work of Mr. Ray as a historian of the Medieval Age.

Dr. A. D. Pusalker was unable to continue for long his work as Assistant Editor on account of troubles in the eye. So, Dr. A. K. Majumdar continued to work as Assistant Editor, and during his stay in U.K, the work was taken up by Dr. D. K. Ghose. The editor fakes this opportunity to thank both of them for their valued assistance and co-operation, and Prof. Sachchidananda Bhattacharya for correcting proofs during their absence. The editor also begs to convey his thanks to the contributors to this volume for their sincere cooperation.

In conclusion, it may be stated that Vol. X, the next Volume, is expected to b*? published in 1963.

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CHAPTER i

SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL

The brilliant administration of Marquess of Hastings came to a sad end, owing to the unfortunate controversy over the transactions of William Palmer and Co. in Hyderabad. This firm advanced huge loans to Chandu Lai who, in concert with the Resident, exercised the real authority in the Nizam’s dominions. Under an Act of Parliament passed in 1797 such loans were made illegal, unless advanced with the previous written permission of the Court of Directors or of one of the Governors in Council in India. Apprehending that their previous loans might be invalidated by this Act the firm covered them by a fresh loan of sixty lakhs of Rupees. This new loan was represented to be necessary for improving the finances of the State and received the sanction of the Governor-General in Council. But it transpired later that “there had been no real advance and the loan was nothing more than the transfer of a previous debt to’a new account.” 1 The sanction of the Government had thus been obtained by false pretences. Several factors in this transaction touched the GovernorGeneral personally. The proposal for sanctioning the loan was carried in the Council by the casting vote of the Governor-General. The wife of a leading member of the firm of William Palmer and Co. had been brought up by Marquess of Hastings in his family and loved like a daughter. These naturally gave rise to insinuations about the personal integrity of the Governor-General, though there are good grounds to believe that he was guilty of no more serious crime than lack of proper caution and an error of judgement. In any event the Court of Directors strongly disapproved of the whole of the transaction, and asked the Government of India to revoke their sanction and not to help the firm in enforcing their claim. These instructions, .particularly the suspicion cast on his honour, which some expressions in them seemed to imply, mortified Marquess of Hastings. He resigned the office of Governor-General in 1821 and left India on January 9, 1823.

The Court of Directors and Proprietors jointly passed a vote of thanks to him for his able administration, but a motion for the award of a pecuniary grant was not carried. Later, after all the relevant papers were circulated, a meeting of the General Court “while admitting that the purity of his motives could not be impeached,” “approved of certain despatches in which the Directors strongly censured the countenance” given to the firm of William Palmer and Co. 2

On the resignation of Marquess of Hastings, Mr. Canning, a notable figure in British politics, was appointed his successor. Canning accepted the appointment, but changed his mind on the sudden death of Marquess of Londonderry as this unexpected event opened to him the possibility of becoming the Foreign Secretary. Lord Amherst was then selected as the successor of Marquess of Hastings, and he joined his post on August 1, 1823, Mr. Adam, the second member of the Council, having officiated during the interval.

The chief event during the period of Amherst’s office was the First Burmese War (1824-26). Among others may be mentioned the mutiny of troops at

Barrackpur, the rebellion at Bharatpur, treaty with Nagpur, acquisition of territories in Malay Peninsula, and treaty with Siam.

In March 1828 Lord Amherst left India, and Mr. Butter worth Bayley officiated as Governor-General. Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck, who succeeded Amherst, was the second son of Duke of Portland. He began his life as a soldier, and took part in the Napoleonic wars. In 1803 he was appointed Governor of Madras, but the Court qf Directors disapproved of his conduct in connection with the mutiny at Vellore in 1806, and he was recalled in 1807.

After his return, Bentinck resumed his military career and took an active part in the Peninsular War. In 1811, he was appointed Commander of the English troops in Sicily, and fought with the French in Italy. On his return he entered the Parliament and was offered the Goverorship of Madras in 1819, which he declined. But in 1822 when the return of the Marquess of Hastings was announced, he made "a representation of his claims to be nominated his successor." 3 A hostile critic has condemned it as "the unusual step of offering himself as a candidate." 4 But as Bentick himself put it, he was prompted by the idea that his selection as Governor-General would be a gratifying vindication of his conduct in 1806. He was, not, however, successful in his endeavour. But when Lord Amherst

retired he was appointed to succeed him and joined his post on July 4, 1828.

The most memorable event during the administration of Bentinck was the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1833, and the consequent changes both in its character and the method of administration of its Indian territories. His rule was distinguished by social and educational reforms of a far-reaching character, in particular the suppression of the sati and the official adoption of western education for India. Among his most important administrative measures may be mentioned the suppression of the thugee, the systematic appointment of Indians in administrative

offices which were hitherto reserved exclusively for Englishmen, and the restoration of financial stability by curtailing expenditure, both civil and military. The reduction of Batta (extra allowance to military officers), which caused a saving of £20,000, caused a great commotion, and "during the whole controversy (1828-30) the Calcutta Press teemed with personal attacks on him, often of abusive nature.” In his relations with Indian States, Bentinck followed the traditional imperial policy, and his annexation of Cachar and Coo**g, and taking over the administration of Mysore can only be regarded as high-handed acts inspired by an aggressive expansionist policy.

Widely divergent opinions have been held of the ability of Lord Bentinck and the success of his administration. High encomiums have been paid on him by Macaulay and these found an echo in the hearts of the Indians. But contemporary Anglo-Indians, particularly the official world, held a very poor opinion of his ability and character. The historian Thornton even proceeded so far as to remark that but for the indulgence in a variety of whimsical or inconsiderate acts which did him little credit, “the administration of Lord William Bentinck would appear almost a blank, and.were all record of it obliterated, posterity would scarcely observe the deficiency, while it is certain they would have little reason to regret it.” 5 He makes only a single exception, namely the abolition of Sati.

Early in 1835, Bentinck tendered resignation of his office and Sir Charles Metcalfe, a distinguished official in India, was selected by the Court of Directors to succeed him, as a provisional measure. But this was objected to by the British ministry on two grounds. First, that a permanent successor should be appointed without delay, and secondly, that in their opinion ‘the highest office in the Government of India should not be held by any servant of the Company, however eminent his knowledge, talents and experiences might be;—it should be always filled from England in order to maintain the one main link between the systems of the British and Indian governments’. The Court of Directors thereupon selected Lord Heytesbury, and the appointment was immediately approved by the crown. But shortly after Lord Heytesbury was sworn into office, there was a change of ministry in Britain, and the Whig party came into power. Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, was an inveterate Russophobe and did not like Heytesbury who had been an ambassador at St. Petersburg, and was an ardent admirer of the Tsar Nicholas. At Palmerston’s instigation the Cabinet advised His Majesty to revoke the appointment, and postponed the question till the arrival of

Lord William Bentinck. 6 The Court of Directors strongly remonstrated against this measure which, in effect, rendered

the appointment of Governor-General a matter of party politics. The question was also debated in the House of Commons, but the ministers did not yield their ground.

Lord William Bentinck left India on March 20, 1835, and Sir Charles Metcalfe succeeded him by virtue of his provisional appointment. His brief tenure of office for one year has been rendered memorable by the new press law which removed the restrictions to which the public press in India was subjected.

In the meantime Lord Auckland was appointed to succeed Bentinck. George Eden, Earl of Auckland, second son of the first Baron, had a distinguished Parliamentary career. He held the two posts of President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint in 1830-34, and became the First Lord of the Admiralty on the reconstitution of the Whig ministry in 1834.

He took over charge as Governor-General on March 5, 1836. The tenure of his office is marked by the First Afghan War which caused the greatest misfortune that ever befell the British arms and dealt a severe blow to their prestige in India. This grim tragedy occurred on the eve of his retirement, and the post was offered to Lord Ellenborough. He was Lord Privy Seal (1828) and President of the Board of Control for India (1828-30). He became President of the Board of Control in 1841, when he was appointed GovernorGeneral "to restore peace in Asia". He arrived at Calcutta on February 28, 1842, and Auckland, promoted to an Earldom for his initial success in the Afghan War, sailed for home on March 12.

Lord Ellenborough brought the Afghan War to an end after the honour and might of the British were vindicated by a successful expedition to Kabul. His short regime was marked by two highhanded acts of injustice, namely, the annexation of Sindh and the coercion of Sindhia into a humiliating treaty. But he was not allowed to complete his term of office. The Court of Directors recalled him after two years,—the only instance of the exercise of a power vested in that body by the Act of 1784. Apart from his unjust annexation of Sindh and arbitrary coercive measures adopted towards

Smdhia's Government, Ellenborough bad irritated the Court of Directors by his other arbitrary acts and haughty, almost insolent, attitude towards them. He had dominated over them for many years as the President of the Board of Control, and could not adjust himself to his new position in which he was theoretically the servant of the body. His reply to the criticism of his actions by the Court of Directors was not always couched in a language befitting his new office, though it must be adfnitted that in some matters, precipitating the crisis, he was undoubtedly within his rights. His refusal,

for instance, to admit the Law Member to the meetings of his Council which discussed purely executive and not legislative matters, was strictly in accordance with the letter of the law. There is perhaps some truth in his view that the Directors disliked him because he stood in the way of their patronage by way of appointments. In any case, the Court of Directors felt that Ellenborough was placing their authority at naught and setting up the powers and privileges of the Councils, and the Company's own servants, against their own power. So, in defiance of the Cabinet and express remonstrances of Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, the Court of Directors unanimously passed a resolution on April 24, 1844, recalling Lord Ellenborough. In justification of their resolution they placed on record a comprehensive review of the whole administration of Lord Ellenborough, including his treatment of Sindh and Sindhia. But, as the Chairman of the Board of Directors admitted, the main ground of recall was "their desire of preserving their own authority". Ellenborough's recall was,. therefore, due not so much to his iniquitous acts as to his defiance of the Court of Directors and the usurpation of what they conceived to be their rights and prerogatives.

The disgrace implied in the recall was, to some extent, counteracted by the vote of thanks passed by the House of Commons to the retiring Governor-General, though it was not without some opposition. Broad hints were also conveyed to the Directors that their crime would be punished by the curtailment of their rights at the next revision of their charter. In any event, the Directors climbed down and, to make amends, agreed to appoint as Ellenborough's successor his brother-in-law, Sir Henry Hardinge, who took charge from him towards the end of July, 1844. 7 Hardinge had distinguished himself as a military officer in the Peninsular War. In the final stages of the war against Napoleon in Belgium, he joined the Prussian army under Blucher as British Military Commissioner and lost his left hand at the battle of Ligny» The Duke of Wellington had presented the sword of the great Napoleon as a sword of honour to Hardinge. Hardinge had also a Parliamentary career extending over twenty years. The period of his rule in India is chiefly memorable for the First Sikh War. He took an active part in this campaign and while the critical battle was being fought at Ferozeshah, he unbuckled Napoleon's sword which he had been wearing, and sent it to a place of safety in the rear, lest it should fall into the hands of the Sikhs. He introduced the principle of giving preference to English-educated Indians for public employment—a policy which gave great fillip to English education but changed its character.

The suppression of human sacrifice by the Khonds was his other great achievement.

Lord Hardinge left India in January 1848 after personally handing over charge to his distinguished successor, Lord Dalhousie, in Calcutta, on the 12th of that month. The father of the new GovernorGeneral was one of Wellington's Generals and had become Commander-in-Chief in India.

Lord Dalhousie entered Parliament in 1837 and succeeded Gladstone as President of the Board of Trade in 1845, in the second Peel Cabinet. After the resignation of Peel in 1846, the new Prime Minister Lord John Russell offered him a seat in the Cabinet, but Dalhousie declined it. Next year, when he was merely thirty-five years of age, he was offered the post of Governor-General of India. He had to choose between a promising political career in Britain and the highest office in India. He accepted the latter on the understanding that he was to be left in "'entire and unquestioned possession" of his own "personal independence with reference to party politics." 8

The strong personality indicated by the above expression was manifest throughout his long career of eight years in India (184856) unusually crowded with big events. When Dalhousie assumed his office he assured Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, that everything was quiet. Lord Hardinge, too, had remarked on the eve of his retirement, that so far as human foresight could predict, it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years. The English Press echoed the same view. But before three months had elapsed Dalhousie was engaged in the Second Sikh War, perhaps the one most severely contested in the whole history of British India. He was also involved in war with Sikim and Burma. The result of the Sikh War was the annexation of the Punjab. Henceforth the annexation of native states seems to have been adopted as the guiding policy by the new Governor-General, who thus reverted to the principles of Marquess of Wellesley and Marquess of Hastings.

No other single Governor-General of India added even half the extent of territories which were incorporated into the British dominions during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, and were nearly twice the area of England and Wales. Besides the Punjab, Lower Burma and tracts of Sikim were conquered by arms, and the kingdom of Awadh (Oudh) was seized by mere threat, on the plea of misrule of its ruler. Berar, at first held as a security for the regular payment of the British contingent in Hyderabad, was for all practical purposes annexed to the British dominions. In addition to these the kingdoms of Nagpur, Satara, Jhansi and a number of minor States were annexed by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse, i.e., due to the failure of male heirs, an adopted son not being recognized as such. Besides, Dalhousie abolished the titles of the Nawab of Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore, and stopped the pensions of ex-Peshwa Baji Rao after his death.

But the annexations of territories, by which Dalhousie left to his successor "a country whose area was a third and a half larger than the country he had himself received charge of from his predecessor", [9] were not the only distinctive features of his administration. The improvements he effected in the internal administration of the large empire were many and varied in character. These would be referred to in detail in proper places. It would suffice here to mention only a few. The Governor-General was relieved of his additional but onerous duty of governing also the province of Bengal, which was in future to be ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor with his headquarters in Calcutta. This city still remained the imperial capital, but in view of the large accessions of territory it was decided to locate the imperial Government at Simla during a considerable part of the year, and also to remove the military headquarters from Calcutta to an inland station a thousand miles away. The introduction of the Railway and the Telegraph systems, along with cheap postage, revolutionised India in more senses than one. These, along with the creation of Public Works Department and the construction of many canals, including the great Ganges Canal, vigorous campaign of social reforms and organisation of education on the lines laid down in the famous despatch of 1854, must be reckoned as the great factors in the evolution of modern India.

The heavy burden of responsibility and enormous amount of work carried on during eight years of unremitting labour, amid domestic sorrows, completely broke down the health of Dalhousie. He came to India in the plenitude of his youthful vigour, but when he handed over charge to Lord Canning, he was, as he described himself, a “poor, miserable, broken down dying man.” He set sail for England on March 6, 1856, and died on December 19, 1860.

Lord Canning, who succeeded Dalhousie, was the third son of William George Canning, a distinguished English statesman and Foreign Secretary who, as noted above, had accepted the office of Governor-General in 1823, but did not actually join his post. Lord Canning served as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs and also obtained a seat in the Cabinet in L<3rd Palmerston’s ministry (1855). Like Dalhousie, Canning sacrificed a promising political career in England by accepting the Governor-Generalship of India. Canning reached India early in 1856, but as he halted at Bombay and Madras, he did not reach Calcutta and take over charge till the month of February.

As at the beginning of his predecessor’s administration, everything in India seemed quiet. But Dalhousie’s experience had made him wiser, and in a narrative of his rule written later in life he had observed: “No prudent man would ever venture to predict unbroken tranquillity within the Eastern possessions of Great Britain.” Canning also echoed the same feeling in a speech which he delivered at a farewell banquet given in his honour by the Court of Directors. “We must not forget,” said he, “that in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man’s hand, but which, growing bigger and bigger, may at last threaten to overwhelm us with ruin. What has happened once may happen again.” What exactly the Governor-General designate had in view, particularly in the last sentence, no one knows. Whether it was merely a premonition, psychological in character, or a shrewd anticipation of events, it is impossible to say. But Canning’s words turned out to be a prophetic utterance, and have been quoted, ever since, more often than perhaps any other saying of any GovernorGeneral. For, a little more than a year after Canning took over charge of his high office, the thunderstorm burst in the shape of the mutiny of sepoys which was soon widely spread and gradually merged itself into a popular revolt in certain areas, threatening to overwhelm the British dominions in India in utter ruin. That story will form the subject-matter of Part II.

Taking a broad view, the period of forty years (1818-1857) covered by these Governors-General must be regarded as one of great importance in the history of British rule in India. The British definitely assumed the powers and responsibilities of the paramount power and the first phase of British imperialism made itself fully manifest with all its good and evil characteristics. So far as the Indians were concerned, they did not accept the new position without demur or expressions of discontent. The chiefs and people of India chafed at the rigours of the new rule and regarded themselves as helpless victims of the iron yoke of the British. Nevertheless discontent sometimes led to armed resistance not unoften developing into open rebellions. Although these were local or sectional risings, and there was no concerted plan of action, it would be a mistake to dismiss them as of no significance. They were the outward manifestations of a sullen spirit of resistance against a foreign rule and novel system of administration, and mark the tedious and painful stages through which the British Government had to pass before they succeeded in establishing the Pax-Britannica in the second halt of the nineteenth century.

Again, it is to be noted that these disturbances and risings set the stage for the great upheaval of 1857, which shook the mighty British Empire to its very foundation. With the failure of that rising, but not till then, did the Indians realise the futility of armed resistance against the British and accept their rule as a fait accompli . The period from 1818 to 1857 may thus be looked upon both as a culmination of the process that had set in with the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and a preparation for that unchallenged supremacy of the British which gave to India peace for a century known as Pax Britannica.

1. Beveridge, m. 123-4.

2. Ibid, 128.

3. Bentinck (RX), 53.

4. Thornton, V. 177.

5. Ibid, 234-6.

6. Thornton, VI. 22-3; CHBFP, IL 201.

7. Imlah, 224.

8. Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th Edition), p. 765.

9. Sketches, 21.

CHAPTER n

Chapter Notes

- * Only a casual mention is made of a few of them in connection with the storv of British administration.
- ** Two modern British historians of India, while admitting the truth of this charge, have offered an explanation which may be stated in their own words: “Of general histories of British India, those written a century or more ago are, with hardly an exception, franker, fuller, and more interesting than those of the last fifty years. In days when no one dreamed that any one would ever be seditious enough to ask really fundamental questions (such as ‘What right have you to be in India at all/), and when no one ever thought of any public but a British one, criticism was lively and well informed, judgment was passed without regard to political exigencies. Of late years, increasingly and no doubt naturally, all Indian ovestions have tended to be approached from the standpoint of administration: ‘Will this make for easier and quieter government?’ The writer of to-day inevitably has a world outside his own people, listening intently and as touchy as his own people, as swift to take offence. ‘He that is not for us is against us’. This knowledge of an overhearing, even eavesdropping public, of being in p artibus infidelium. exer
- * As a matter of fafct, Vols. IX, X, and XI of this series and the three volumes of The History of the Freedom Movement in India by the editor of this series (of which the first volume will shortly be out) have many things in common, and these two series may be regarded as complementary to each other,
- ** A revised edition is in the press.

THE BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND

IMPERIALISM

I. GENERAL REVIEW

The end of the Third Maratha War constitutes a definite landmark in the history of the British rule in India. The kingdom of the head of the proud Maratha nation was now a part of the British dominions, and the other Maratha chiefs were humbled to the dust. There was no power In the whole of India, from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and the Sutlej to the Brahmputra, which could challenge the authority of the British.

The part England took in destroying the power of Napoleon gave her self-confidence and raised her prestige as a great military power of the world. It is not surprising therefore that the political outlook of the British in India also underwent a great transformation. Hitherto they were engaged in the task of consolidating their rule; now they looked upon themselves as the Paramount Power in India. The Marquess of Hastings, whose achievements brought about this change, had a very clear conception of this new position and planned his activities accordingly. He himself enunciated the new policy in the following words:

"Our object ought to be to render the British Government paramount in effect, if not declaredly so. We should hold the other States as vassals, in substance though not in name; not precisely as they stood in the Mogul Government, but possessed of perfect inters nal sovereignty, and only bound to repay the guarantee and protection of their possessions by the British Government with the pledge of the two great feudal duties. 11

"First, they should support it with all their forces bn any call. Secondly, they should submit their mutual differences to the head of the confederacy (our Government), without attacking each other's territories, a few subordinate stipulations on our part, with immunities secured in return to the other side (especially with regard to succession), would render the arrangement ample without complication or undue latitude. Were this made palatable to a few States, as perhaps it easily might, the abrogation of treaties with the Powers who refuse to submit to the arrangement would soon work upon their apprehensions in a way that would bring them at last within the pale of the compact. The completion of such a system, which must include the extinction of any pretension to pre-eminence in the court of Delhi, demands time and favourable coincidences. While, on the other hand, the difficulties bequeathed to me are imminent, and might break upon me at any instant. A new Government always produces some suspension in animosities. I have endeavoured to improve the juncture by courteous and conciliatory language to the native Powers; and I do hope I may remove considerable soreness. As for the rest, fortune and opportunities must determine; but it is always well to ascertain to oneself what one would precisely desire had one the means of commanding the issue.” [1]

Lord Hastings himself gave a practical demonstration of this new policy in his settlement with the Maratha and Rajput States, to which reference will be made in the next section. His successors not only followed his policy but carried it to its logical conclusion. Between Paramountcy and aggressive Imperialism there is but a short step, and sometimes there is hardly any line of demarcation. So Paramountcy cum Imperialism was the key-note of British policy in India during the period under review.

The British historians and statesmen have given wide currency to the view that the establishment of the British empire in India was the effect of a number of unforeseen factors, and not the result of a policy of aggressive imperialism deliberately adopted by the authorities. This is only partially correct, but in view of its hold on the public mind it is necessary to review the question at some length.

As far back as 1784 the British House of Commons adopted a resolution to the effect that “to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India is contrary to the wish, the honour, and policy of the British nation”. But in spite of it the House of Commons accorded its sanction to the wars and conquests of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley. The Court of Directors, with the true instincts of a mercantile body, was more sincere in its desire to avoid further expansion of its Indian dominions. It opposed the expansionist policy of Wellesley, and for some time studiously avoided all political complications in India in spite of urgent remonstrances.- It endorsed and reiterated the Resolution of the House of Commons with the following preamble: ‘The territories which we have lately acquired... are of so vast and extensive a nature that we cannot take a view of our situation without being seriously impressed with the wisdom and necessity of that solemn declaration of the legis* lature... .” 1a

Among those who most vehemently denounced the conquests of Wellesley was the Earl of Moira, the future Marquess of Hastings.

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When he accepted the office of the Governor-General he decided to follow the policy of peace without any reservation, and as he himself said, “in his original plan there had not been the expectation or the wish of adding a rood to the dominions of the Honourable Company”. 2 But his views underwent a radical change after a few years’ residence in India, and he adopted an out and out imperial outlook, as has been mentioned above. As usual, the Court of Directors censured the Governor-General, both for his military campaigns and the extension of territory, but were not prepared to forego the profits accruing therefrom.

The Marquess of Hastings was not, however, either the first or the last Governor-General who left the shore of England with an avowed determination to pursue a policy of peace, but was seriously engaged, while in India, in costly campaigns to further the imperial interest of the British. Lord Ellenborough, for example, came out to India “to restore tranquillity to both banks of the Indus; in a word to give peace to Asia”. 2a But once in India, he proved himself to be one of the worst among the imperial autocrats, in his dealings with Sindh and Gwalior. Sir Henry Hardinge was chosen his successor with the strictest injunction to avoid war and, above all things, annexation. But he fought one of the bloodiest campaigns in India and, as will be shown later, it was certainly not a fight in selfdefence as it is generally believed. When Hardinge retired from India he declared that there would not be a shot fired for the next seven years. 2b But before a year was over, Lord Dalhousie fought another bloody war and pursued that policy of military conquest and annexation by all means which coloured red the whole map of India.

A perusal oft the following pages will show that in almost all cases, the British Governors-General, including those mentioned above, were not forced by circumstances to pursue an aggressive imperial policy, but adopted it as a matter of choice, though in many cases it involved gross injustice and breach of pledges. It would perhaps be unjust and unnatural to regard all the Governors-General as devoid of sense of justice and morality. The real explanation of the strange phenomenon recorded above evidently lies in the political disintegration of India and the ease with which her different parts could be absorbed in the British Empire. India presented the spectacle of gardens full of ripe mangoes without ajly strong watchmen to protect them from intruders, and the Governors-General were overcome by the irresistible temptation to swallow them. It might be illegal, unjust and immoral, but may also be looked upon as a law of nature, howsoever undesirable its effect might be upon the owners of thc^ gardens. The same idea has been put in a more precise scientific form, and a British writer has put up the best defence of the action of his countrymen, in the following words:

“It is unavoidable not to recognise a law, like that Which in Physics makes the greater attract and absorb the less, compelling the march of the energetic Saxon over and through the weak oriental masa. Acts of injustice, indeed, must not shield themselves under any such law, but practical sense will acknowledge its existence” [20]

Whatever we might think of this defence, it is difficult to endorse the view that the British empire in India was the result of a series of unforeseen accidents, and not the effect of any deliberate effort. The analogy of the mango garden gives us a clue to the real explanation. 'It may be true, to a certain extent, that the British did not come to India with a ready-made plan to rob the mango gardens, but it is equally true that the mangoes did not fall into theft mouths, of themselves, directly from the trees; they had to pluck the fruits one by one, through ingenious devices backed by force, too strong for the helpless watchmen.

Thus, whatever might have been the views or desire of the home authorities, their pro-consuls deliberately dragged them on along the road which led to British imperialism in India. In the history of its progress the year 1818, as noted above, constitutes a definite landmark. The struggle for supremacy was oyer, and there was no Indian power which could question the authority of the British power or dare raise their voice or hands against it. Slowly but surely, the Government of India adjusted itself to the new position and realised its duties and responsibilities. But, as in the physical world, a force, once it gets a momentum, is apt to run its full course, so also in the political world the imperialistic idea, once set in motion, is hard to stop and often runs beyond the limit which prudence or justice might dictate. So it happened in India. The Government of India, in most cases without the knowledge or approval, and not in a few, in open defiance of the home authorities, pursued unchecked the policy of aggressive imperialism in all its naked brutality, under the thinly veiled disguise of the duty of a Paramount Power. The political history of India during the period under review is but the history of this imperialistic policy pursued by the British rulers in India. In some cases it may be accounted for, even justified, by the considerations of the duty and prerogative of Paramountcy; in others the unselfish character of the motive, as well as the justice of the course actually pursued, may be seriously doubted; and there are not a few which deserve serious condemnation as unprovoked aggression.

BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

It appears that with the gradual expansion of the British empire in India and the material gains accruing therefrom, the views of the home authorities also underwent a radical change. In 1841 the Court'bf Directors laid down that the Company should “persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of rights are at the same time scrupulously respected,” 3 a sentiment that was echoed by Dalhousie. 4 If it is remembered that the determination of “justice” or “rights” was necessarily left to the ex parte decision of the Paramount Power, the principle, enunciated above, practically gave a free rein to the galloping horse of British imperialism in

India.

The imperialistic policy, broadly speaking, assumed two forms. First, the tightening of the hold over, leading sometimes to the annexation of, smaller States within the limits of the British empire in India; and secondly, the expansion of its frontier both towards the east as well as to the west, even beyond the natural boundaries of the country.

As regards the first, it was inevitable that there would be clashes between the Paramount Power and the subordinate States ruled over by Indians. The inefficiency and curruption of many of these States sometimes brought about such chaos and confusion in the internal administration that the Paramount Power could hardly look on with indifference upon the miseries of the suffering subjects, or the reaction it was not unlikley to produce upon the neighbouring territories. On the other hand, temptation to extend authority or dominions on the pretext of misrule in Native States was too great not to profoundly influence the judgment or decision in ifiany cases. It was in any case a difficult task to avoid the Scylla of laissez faire and the Charybdis of undue and unjust interference. The difficulty was further increased by the tacit assumption, gradually growing into a deep-rooted conviction in the minds of many Britishers, that British rule being hundred times preferable to a native rule, the extension of the former must be effected by all means, fair or foul, the end always justifying the means. This policy was buttressed by the specious plea that the people of the Native States themselves preferred the British rule. This might have been true in some cases, but in most cases where the plea was put forward, either as a cause, or as a justification, of the interference, it was demonstrated to be false by the subsequent conduct of the people themselves.

A definite change was noticeable in the attitude of the British rulers in India. While, previous to 1818, they were generally satisfied with the exercise of influence and suzerainty over, the Native

States, they were gradually led to the idea of incorporating them in the British dominions. A pointed reference to this change is made by Sleeman in his letter to Sir James Hogg, as the following extract will show:

“Few old officers of experience, with my feelings and opinions on this subject, now remain in India; and the influence of.. .a school .. .characterised by impatience at the existence of any native state, and its strong and often insane advocacy of their absorption—by honest means, if possible—but still, their absorption.. .is too great over the rising generation, whose hopes and aspirations they tend so much to encourage. There is no pretext, however weak, that is not sufficient, in their estimation, for the purpose (of annexation); and no war, however cruel, that is not justifiable, if it has only this object in view.” 6

The modus operandi of the annexation of the Indian States is thus described by the Marquess of Hastings:

“In our treaties with them we recognise them as independent sovereigns. Then we send a Resident to their courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassador, he assumes the functions of a dictator; interferes in all their private concerns; countenances refractory subjects against them; and makes the most ostentatious exhibition of this exercise of authority. To secure to himself the support of our Government, he urges some interest which, under the colour thrown upon it by him, is strenuously taken up by our Council; and the Government identifies itself with the Resident not only on the single point but on the whole tenor of his conduct. In nothing do we violate the feelings of the native princes so much as in the decisions which we claim the privilege of pronouncing with regard to the succession to the musnud. We constantly oppose our construction of Mahoniedan law to the right which the Moslem princes claim from usage to choose among their sons the individual to be declared the heir apparent.” 6 He might have well added Hindu Law in the same category.

The word ‘interest* in the above extract deserves more than a passing notice. What type of interest the Marquess had in view it is difficult to say. But in practice, the climate, strategic position or commercial possibilities of a State or locality offered the strongest inducement to British officers to annex the territory to the British dominions.

In addition to the modus operandi described above there were many others, the most favourite ones being to paint an Indian ruler in the blackest colour, attributing to him all types of cruelty and

vices, or to charge him with intrigue against the British Government, sometimes with even treasonable plot to conquer British territories. There was almost no limit to such extravagant or ridiculous charges put forward for ousting an Indian ruler. Fortunately for historians there were not wanting a few honest British people who could rise above the petty meanness of officialdom and dare express the bare truth exposing the hollowness of these charges. The history of India owes a great deal to these noble men, for, but for their testimony, it would have been difficult to ascertain the truth, and the official version would have been taken as historical facts. What is still more important, their testimony furnishes the most irrefutable evidence about the generally unreliable character of the version, supplied by the Government of India, about their own iniquitous activities.

One of the underlying causes of interference, in not a few cases, was the conscious or unconscious desire to remove a strong personality from the helm of affairs in a Native State. A Paramount Power would naturally prefer only mediocrities who were more likely to be subservient to it. A preference for this class, and an aversion towards the other, explain many cases of interference in Native States. Indeed a British Minister openly declared in the House of Commons that the Government of India had never encouraged men of ability, good character and popularity to wield any power or authority in a Native State—they had always hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and had always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. This was a policy, he continued, which they had inherited from Tarquinius Superbus. But times were changed. So, they did not cut off the heads of the tali poppies, as recommended by the Roman king, but took more merciful means of removing any person of dangerous political preeminence to a harmless condition. 7 Though this confession was made by an Under-Secretary of State for India towards the close of the period covered by this volume, there is no doubt that the policy was at work even at the very beginning. As will be shown in Ch. VI, Maharaja Pratap Singh of Satara was an early victim to it, but he was neither the first nor the last victim of this type during the British rule.

This naked spirit of aggression was sought to be hidden under a cloak of piety. The expansion of British dominions, in and outside India, was always represented as a measure which was urgently required for safeguarding the interests of Indian people, or forced upon the British by the contumacy, arrogance, or evil designs of the opponents. But in most cases, if not all, it would appear to be the result

of British imperialism masquerading in the guise of political necessity or injured innocence* and dictated by the interests of the British people rather than the Indians. The British rule in India has always been the rule of one people by another people and for another people. 8 The establishment of the British empire in India may have been fully justified by its results. This and the allied questions will be discussed elsewhere. But these speculations are beside the point in an objective study of the history of the British empire in India, It would be hard to maintain that the successive stages of its growth were always marked by political virtues* and dictated by an altruistic motive or benevolent spirit, as most English* men, historians included, would have us believe. The British empire in India rose and fell very much like all empires in ancient, medieval, and modern age, and if the method pursued can hardly claim any special virtue, it does not call for any special condemnation. These preliminary considerations would be of great help in forming a just and proper estimate of the history of the British empire in India which it is the object of this volume to unfold.

The new consciousness of the British Paramountcy in India was also manifested in the attitude of the Governors-General to the titular Emperor of Delhi. He had by this time lost all authority outside the precincts of his palace (Red Fort) in Delhi, but although the substance of his imperial authority was gone, the shadow still remained. It should be remembered that by the treaty of 1765 the East India Company held their possessions as the Diwan of the Emperor, and as this was not amended or modified by any subsequent treaty, the old fiction continued in so far as it was compatible with the actual state of affairs. The money coined by the Government of India still bore the effigy of the emperor of Delhi, and was "issued in the 9th regnal year of Shah Alam"! The British Resident at Delhi, on certain ceremonial occasions, presented him the usual nazar in the name of the Governor-General, and the Goveror-General's Seal bore a phrase declaring himself to be the servant of the Emperor. The Marquess of Hastings abolished both these practices as in pursuance of his imperial policy he found it necessary to 'extinguish the fiction of the Mogul government/

This attitude of the Marquess is perhaps also to be explained by the change in the relations in which India stood with His Britannic Majesty. Although the British Parliament interfered in the affairs of the East India Company, the latter was still regarded as the sovereign of India, and a distinction was maintained between British subjects and Indians. It was not till 1813 that the British Government took advantage of the renewal of the Company’s Charter, to declare in unequivocal terms “the undoubted sovereignty of the crown of the United Kingdom” in and over the territorial possessions under the ‘control’ of the Company.

We need not enter into the legal quibble whether this clause in the Charter Act of 1813 automatically dissolved the status of the Company as Diwan of the Emperor of Delhi created by the treaty of 1785. The Marquess of Hastings, in any case, “denied that the Company held territory on this dependent tenure” and hence “held it right to discountenance any pretension of the sort (on the part of the house of Timur), either as it applies to us or to any of the native princes!”[9]

A practical demonstration of the new attitude was given by the Marquess in 1815 when he was touring near Delhi. It was suggested that he should pay a formal visit to the Emperor Akbar II who had succeeded his father Shah Alam in 1806. Hastings refused point blank because, as he says in his private journal,^ “His Majesty expected my acquiescence in a ceremonial which was to imply an acknowledgement that he was the liege-lord of the British possessions”.

A further and more striking illustration of the Marquess’ view, quoted above, is afforded by the change in the title of the ruler of Avadh. He was encouraged by the Governor-General to discard his old title of Wazir or chief minister (to the Mughul Emperor) and assume that of Padshah or independent king, in 1819. The Marquess of Hastings says that he “sanctioned the change” (euphemistic way of expressing that he instigated it) “on the ground that it would benefit British interests, by dividing the Muhammadans among themselves, and by weakening the moral power of the house of Timur which nominally reigned at Delhi.”[10] The Nizam, however, resisted a similar suggestion, as he regarded it as an act of rebellion against the Emperor.

The refusal of the Marquess of Hastings to visit the Emperor of Delhi had the desired effect. The objectionable ceremonials were abolished and in 1827 Lord Amherst met Akbar II on equal terms at the Diwan-i-Khas within the Red Fort of Delhi. Amherst also introduced modification in the style of communication with the Emperor. The old conventional form, conveying allegiance on the part of the Company, was removed, though the new one, in a way, recognized the superiority of the Emperor. In 1835 the old coins were replaced by new ones bearing the name and image of the British sovereign.

The Emperor Akbar II sent Rammohan Roy as an envoy to London to represent his grievances to the British King, George IV, and seek redress. The principal items of complaint were the smallness of the annual stipend granted to him (12 lakhs of rupees), and the change in the ceremonials and forms of address introduced by Lord Amherst. The Emperor invested Rammohan with the title of ‘Raja, and sent a personal letter with him to the king of England. The Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, refused to recognize either the title or the character of envoy conferred upon Rammohan, and so the latter proceeded to England (November, 1830) as a “private individual”. Nevertheless he circulated to influential Englishmen a printed statement corresponding in substance to the letter from the Emperor. As a result of the exertions of Rammohan, the Court of Directors increased the annual stipend of the Emperor by three lakhs of rupees (February 13,1833), but the latter got no redress of the other grievances.

Even the additional stipend did not benefit the Emperor in the least. The Court of Directors, in their letter, dated 13 February, 1833, directed the

Governor-General to raise the royal stipend to 15 lakhs of Rupees per annum, leaving it to him to distribute the additional amount of three lakhs among the other, members of the imperial family in such manner as he thought just and proper upon a consideration of their respective claims. The Emperor of Delhi did not like this idea and at first declined, but later accepted, the additional grant. The scheme of distribution proposed by him was, however, thrown away, and he complained to the Governor-General that according to the distribution made by the Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces, "not a farthing (has been) reserved for me, my sons, nor their descendants". The Governor-General refused to interfere in the proposed distribution, and so the titular Emperor of Delhi did not get any part of the increased allowance of three lakhs. 10a

As mentioned above, the practice of payment of the nazar by the Governor-General was abolished by the Marquess of Hastings. The Commander-in-Chief, however, paid the nazar as late as 1837, on the accession of Bahadur Shah. When Lord Ellenborough paid a visit to Delhi in 1842-3, his secretaries consulted the darbar records and followed the usual practice of presenting nazar without any reference to the Governor-General. The latter was surprised and indignant in the extreme, when he heard of this, and put a stop to the nazar-giving for ever. Mr. William Edwards, one of the secretaries, has left a graphic account of the ceremony of presenting "the last nazar to the king of Delhi". The following extract will give some idea of the ceremony destined to be the last of its kind.

4 'Mr, Thomason and myself, accompanied by Colonel Broadfoot, proceeded to the palace on elephants, each being provided with a silk bag full of gold mohurs for presentation to the King. We were required to proceed without any shoes into the immediate presence-^ such having been in all ages in India the usual mark of respect on the part of an inferior on approaching a superior. On this occasion we compromised the matter by putting short worsted Cashmere socks over our boots, and thus entered the hall of audience. On a curtain being drawn aside, we saw the old King, then apparently a very feeble old man above seventy years of age, seated on his throne, which was elevated so as to have the royal person, as he sat cross* legged, on a level with our faces. We made a low obeisance to the Emperor, and on approaching the throne, each in succession presented the bag of gold

mohurs, and inquired after his Majesty's health and prosperity. I confess to a feeling of awe and solemnity passing over me as I stepped up and addressed this representative of a long line of kings and of a once powerful empire, and presented my nuzzur for his Majesty's acceptance,.. .The King simply received it, and ordered us to be robed in dresses of honour, and to have turbans bound round our heads. This was done in due form; we made our obeisance to the King, and departed." 10b

The process of debunking the titular Emperor of Delhi went on apace, though at times the authorities at home had to curb the zeal of their pro-consuls in India. Ellenborough abolished the payment of nazar, both on his own behalf and on that of the Resident: but he did not succeed in carrying out his scheme whereby the Emperor would voluntarily (?) resign his title and quit the Red Fort in Delhi, and then the Chiefs of India would voluntarily (?) offer the imperial title to the Queen of England. Dalhousie, who abolished the title of 'Nawab of the Carnatic' and 'Raja of Tanjore', proposed that the imperial dignity and royal title should be abolished and the Red Fort should be vacated after the death of the Emperor Bahadur Shah II, who had succeeded his father Akbar II in 1837. Although the Court of Directors were strongly opposed to this view, they were forced to sanction it at the dictation of the President of the Board of Control. In view oiAhe strong opposition at home, Dalhousie modified his plan, and a secret agreement was reached with the heir apparent, Prince Fakir-ud»dih, by which the latter was to be recognized as the head of the family, on the death of his father, on condition that he would be satisfied with the title/of mere Shahzada or Prince, agree to meet the Governor-General bn equal terms, and vacate the Red Fort, taking his residence with his family somewhere near the Qutb Minar. The Prince evidently agreed because he feared, and rightly too, that his claim would be passed over by his father.

Unfortunately, nothing came out of it, as the Prince died before his father, in 1856. But the secret leaked out, and caused great resentment and mortification to the Emperor and his family. Further complication arose when Bahadur Shah nominated, as his heir, Jawan Bakht, a younger son by his favourite queen Zinnat Mahal, and, in spite of repeated requests of the Emperor, the GovernorGeneral refused to recognize his nomination, or to increase his pension. Canning, who succeeded Dalhousie, reiterated his proposal to abolish the imperial dignity altogether. The home authorities agreed, and it was decided that the imperial dignity, descending in an unbroken line from Babur more than three hundred years ago, should end with the life of Bahadur Shah. But the question was decided long before that event and in a far more tragic maimer. Bahadur Shah II was tried for the part he took in the mutiny of troops at Delhi in 1857, condemned, and exiled to Rangoon, and all pretension of the imperial dignity of the house of Timur was extinguished for ever. The consummation of the efforts of successive Governors-General was reached when Queen Victoria was declared the Empress of India (Kaisar-i-Hind) on January 1, 1877. The credit for this crowning achievement, however, belongs to the two great imperialists, Lord Lytton and Benjamin Disraeli.

One of the earliest instances of the exercise of authority as Paramount Power by the British is furnished by the events in the State of Alwar in 1824. Ahmad Buksh Khan, a soldier of fortune in the service of Alwar, was rewarded for his help to the British during the Second Maratha War with the principality of Firozpur under the supremacy of the British. An attempt was made to assassinate Ahmad Buksh. The assassin, when seized, confessed - that* he was employed by a minister and some influential members of the court of Alwar. The British Government directed the Raja of Alwar to arrest the accused persons and send them to Delhi for trial. The Raja did not comply with this request, and even rejected the proposal of a judicial investigation by British functionaries as incompatible with his rights as an independent prince. The Raja assembled an armed force, put the fortress of Alwar in a state id defence, and opened negotiations with the rulers of Jaipur and Bharatpur, “in both of which, dissatisfaction with British policy was busily fermenting”. 10 * Nothing serious happened in Alwar or Jaipur, but it was necessary to send a regular military expedition to Bharatpur to which reference will be made in Section III of this Chapter.

But while interference in Alwar and Bharatpur may be regarded as beneficent aspects of Paramountcy, the worst features of Paramountcy cum Imperialism were manifested in the high-handed and

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unjust action of Lord Ellenborough in his handling of the situation at Gwalior in 1843. The episode was much criticised at the time and formed one of the grounds for the recall of Ellenborough; but curiously enough, British historians have generally paid but scant attention to it, and represented the whole thing as mainly an act of •rebellion on the part of the all-powerful but unruly troops of Sindhia. Nothing can be further from the truth. In reality, Ellenborough's act is a prominent illustration of the abuse of the newly assumed dignity of Paramountcy. A military expedition was undertaken by the Governor-General in person to coerce a ruler on the ground of his contumacy, though the latter had not violated a single provision of the treaty which regulated his relation with the Paramount power, and made humiliating submission even to the most unjust demands of the Governor-General. The pleas advanced by Ellenborough to justify the action he took reminds one of the Aesop's fable of the wolf and the lamb, and his arguments aptly illustrate the logic of the strong towards the weak. In order to demonstrate the true nature of the episode and remove the false impressions that have been created by current history, it has been necessary to discuss the question at some length which may appear to be somewhat out of proportion to the intrinsic importance of the subject. The elaborate and detailed account given in Ch. IX will show that the ostensible ground for the military expedition against Sindhia was a mere pretext to cover the real motive of removing a strong force close to Agra which might prove to be a great danger in the rear in the impending conflict with the powerful Sikh army of 70,000 men standing in a menacing attitude on the banks of the Sutlej.

Other concrete illustrations of the different phases of British imperialism are furnished by the military expedition to Afghanistan in 1839, described in section IV of this Chapter, and the annexations of various kingdoms, in and outside India, dealt with in the next two Chapters.

II. SETTLEMENT OF THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS.

A. Maratha Dominions

As a result of the Third Maratha War in 1817-18, described in the preceding volume, the Peshwa, Baji Rao II, Appa Sahib, the Bhohsle chief of Nagpur, and Malhar Rao Holkar were all defeated by the British. Baji Rao lost his throne and was exiled to Bithur, near Kanpur, on a pension. His vast possessions were incorporated in the British dominions, with the exception of a small portion, which formed the Satara State, and two parganas granted to the

Raja of Kolhapur. The post of Peshwa was abolished, and with it even the nominal symbol of the Maratha sovereignty and unity was extinguished for ever.

Holkar concluded the treaty of Mandasor on January 6, 1818, by which he accepted a British Resident at his Court, ceded all territories south of the Narmada, gave up all claims of sovereignty in Rajputana and other outlying territories, acknowledged the independence of the Pathan chief Amir Khan, reduced his own army, and agreed to maintain a contingent to co-operate with the British.

Appa Sahib, the Bhonsle chief of Nagpur, concluded a treaty on January 6, 1818, by which he ceded all territories lying to the north of the Narmada, and was allowed to retain a nominal sovereignty over the rest of his kingdom. But as he oifice more began to intrigue with the Peshwa he was arrested and deposed. His escape and subsequent adventures have been noted above. A grandson of Raghuji Bhonsle was placed on the throne. But as he was a child, the administration was carried on by British officers under the supervision of the Resident, and Bhonsle’s army was placed under British officers.

In December, 1826, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Bhonsle chief of Nagpur. By virtue of this nfew treaty, the English ceased to act as the guardian of the Raja and he was permitted to administer his own kingdom. By other provisions of this new treaty, the hills of Sitabaldi and the neighbourhood were annexed to the British Residency, and the British Government was entitled to garrison and occupy such forts and strong places as they might determine. The Bhonsle Raja gave up all connection with the other Maratha rulers, including the Raja of Satara, and all pretensions and ceremonies associated with his former position in the Maratha confederacy. His relations with foreign powers, as well as the strength of the force to be maintained by him, were to be regulated by the British. The Raja also formally gave up all his claims to the territory ceded to the Company by Appa Sahib by the treaty of 1B18, the other provisions of which were all renewed as far as they were compatible with the preceding provisions.

Sindhia was forced, without any actual war, to conclude a treaty at Gwalior in November, 1817. He agreed to co-operate with the British in the campaign against the Pindaris, and also to cancel the clause in the treaty of Surji Arjungaon (A.D. 1803) by which the British were prevented from concluding alliance with Rajput and other chiefs. As Sindhia did not render the promised help in the Pindari campaign he was forced to conclude another treaty in

1818 by which he ceded Ajmir to the British. As noted above, he w^s deprived of the fort of Asirgadh in consequence of his duplicity.

The Gaekwar of Baroda had already entered into subsidiary alliance with the British in 1802, 12 and had been loyal and faithful to them ever since. The treaty concluded between the Peshwa and the British Government on June 13, 1817 contained some stipulations in his favour which increased his revenue to the extent of twenty-two lakhs of Rupees. In return the Gaekwar agreed, by a treaty in November, 1817, to increase the subsidiary force maintained by the British at his expense. As the Gaekwar, Anand Rao, was an imbecile, the administration was practically carried on by the British. On his death in 1819 he was succeeded by his brother Sayaji Rao, who concluded a new treaty with the British in 1820, by which the British control was relaxed a little and the Gaekwar’s authority in the internal affairs was somewhat increased.

The dominions of the Peshwa, with the exception of those portions Where native rulers were set up, were incorporated into the British empire and formed the major part of what now became the Presidency of Bombay. Elphinstone, who became its Governor in 1820, adopted wise measures in order to reconcile all classes of people to the new government and in this he was eminently successful.

Among the new Native States carve-out of the Peshwa’s dominions, the most important was that of Satara, where a descendant of Shivaji was placed on the throne with very limited powers. The circumstances under which Pratap Singh became the first ruler of Satara, and was later deposed on allegations, which appear to be unfounded to a very large extent, will be described in detail in Chapter VI.

The districts ceded by the Bhonsle in the valley of the Narmada, hitherto ruled by various native chiefs, were placed under a Commissioner in 1818; in 1827 Sagar was added to his jurisdiction, constituting the ‘Sagar and Narmada’ territories.

Like the Gaekwar of Baroda the Nizam of Hyderabad was also rewarded for his loyalty out of the spoils of the Third Maratha War. He was relieved of the antiquated claim of Chauth made by the Peshwa which had been a perpetual source of dissensions and disputes. There was also an exchange of territories. The Nizam received certain districts ceded by the Bhonsle, the Peshwa, and the Holkar, which were contiguous to his territories, and gave up, in return, to the British territory of less value. By this exchange the Nizam’s dominions were consolidated and the frontiers on the west more precisely defined.

THE BRITISH PARAMQUNTCY AND IMPERIALISM

B. Rajput States

The treaties with the Maratha leaders freed the old States in Rajputana from the control which the Sindhia and Holkar had exercised over them. This paved the way for a series of treaties concluded between the British and the various major and minor Rajput States which placed them under the protection of the Government of India, with rights and obligations, which continued, without much alteration, down to the end of British rule, one hundred and thirty years later. There can be no question that the Rajput rulers welcomed the British Protectorate. They had suffered so long and so severely from the depredations of the Sindhias and Holkars, as well as of the Pathan or Pindari hordes, that most of them were reduced to a state of utter exhaustion, and found no means to protect themselves without the aid of the British. The position was summed up by one of them as follows: —“Some power in India had always existed to which peaceable States submitted, and in return obtained its protection against the invasions of upstart chiefs and the armies of lawless banditti; that the British

Government now occupied the place of that protecting Power and was the natural guardian of weak states, which were continually exposed to the cruelties and oppression of robbers and plunderers, owing to the refusal of the British Government to protect them.” 13 These few lines put in a nutshell the cause and justification of the assumption of the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power in India by the British. It was a natural sequel of the military triumphs of Wellesley, but its operation was suspended by the policy of non-interference since pursued by the British for more than a decade. The Marquess of Hastings rendered this paramountcy practicable, nay almost inevitable, by bringing within direct British control, or their sphere of influence, the vast stretch of region roughly comprising Malwa, Central India and Rajputana. The Maratha chiefs and Pindaris had to yield to the force of arms, but the Rajput chiefs agreed with alacrity to barter away their independence for a British Protectorate.

When Lord Hastings decided to crush the Pindaris he formulated a general policy of bringing the Rajput States within the sphere of British influence in order to “establish a barrier against the revival of the predatory system or the extension of the power of Sindhia and Holkar”. With this view it was thought desirable to conclude engagements with the Rajput States “on conditions which should give to the British Government the entire control over their political relations and proceedings with each other and with foreign States, secure to them the enjoyment of their territorial possessions and the independent exercise of their internal adminis

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tration under our protection and guarantee, and render their resources available for defraying the charge that will be incurred in the establishment and support of this system.” 14

This new system was accepted by several minor Rajput States, such as Karauli and Kota in 1817, and Bundi, Bikaner, Kishangarh, Banswara, Pratabgarh, Dungarpur and Jaisalmer in 1818.

The relation with the three major Rajput States, namely Mewar (Udaipur), Jaipur (Amber), and Marwar (Jodhpur) was de* fined by treaties which provided for ‘perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests’ between these States and the British from generation to generation. The treaty with Mewar was signed in Delhi on January 13, 1818; its main provisions are noted below.

1. The British Government undertook to ‘‘protect the principality and territory of Udaipur.”

2. The Rana of Udaipur promised to “act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy”, and not to have “any connection with other chiefs or States”, nor “to enter into any negotiation with any chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government.”

3. All disputes between Mewar and other States would be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

4. The Rana should always be the “absolute ruler of his own country” and British jurisdiction should not be introduced into his principality.

5. The Rana agreed to pay an annual tribute amounting to one-fourth of his revenue for the first five years, and to three-eighth after that in perpetuity.

The treaty with Jaipur was signed on April 2, 1818. It included the first four provisions, mentioned above, and fixed the annual tribute on a graduated scale, amounting to eight lakhs in the sixth year and ever afterwards, until the Raja’s revenue should exceed forty lakhs, when, in addition to eight lakhs he should pay fivesixteenth of all the revenue beyond forty lakhs. The treaty further provided that Jaipur “should furnish troops according to its means at the requisition of the British Government.”

The tribute imposed upon Jaipur was undoubtedly very heavy. Tod observed: “The Jeypur Court justly deemed one-fifth (eight lakhs) of the gross revenues of the crown, a high rate of insurance for protection; but when we further stipulated for a prospective increase of nearly one-third of all surplus revenue beyond forty lakhs, they saw, instead of the generous Briton, a sordid trafficker of mercenary protection whose rapacity transcended that of the Mahratta.” 16

The treaty with Marwar, concluded on January 6, 1818, included the first four provisions mentioned above in connection with the treaty with Mewar. The Rana further agreed to pay to the British the tribute which he had hitherto paid to Sindhia (one lakh and eight thousand Rupees). It was also stipulated that “the State of Jodhpur shall furnish 1,500 horse for the service of the British Government whenever required, and when necessary, the whole of the Jodhpur force shall join the British army, excepting such a portion as may be requisite for the internal administration of the country.”

The proud Rajputs who had defied the Muslims for five hundred years voluntarily surrendered their independence to the British.

The annexation of Cutch may also be regarded as a part of the general settlement of the Marquess of Hastings. Reference has been made above to the treaty of alliance concluded between the British and Rao Bharmal II, ruler of Cutch, in A.D. 1816. But when the Rao murdered his cousin, and the British interfered on behalf of the widow of the deceased, he regarded it as undue interference in his internal administration not authorised by the treaty. He raised Arab troops to fight against the British and, in 1819, laid siege to a fortified town belonging to a Jhareja chief under British protection. A British force acompanied by the leading Jhareja chiefs laid siege to the capital city Bhuj and captured it without any difficulty. The Rao, Bharmal, who surrendered, was deposed, and his infant son, Rao Desal II, was installed as chief. The administration was carried on by a Regency with the British Resident as its head and some Jhareja chiefs as members. A new treaty was concluded in 1819 which confirmed most of the articles of the treaty of 1816. The State agreed to pay a subsidy of two lakhs of Rupees per annum and in return the Government of India guaranteed the integrity of Cutch and promised to protect it from all internal and external enemies. 16 But, though Cutch thus came within the sphere of British empire, disturbances continued for a long time, as will be described later.

III. BHARATPUR

The first clear and formal enunciation of British Paramountcy in India was made in settling the affairs at Bharatpur. Raja Ranadhir Singh, the ruler of Bharatpur, died in 1823 without any issue. His brother named Baldeo Singh thereupon assumed the government and requested the British authorities to serfd him Khilat of investiture. Sir David Ochterlony, the British Resident in Malwa and Rajputana, supported the application of Baldeo Singh, but intimated

at the same time that Durjan Saul, the son of a younger brother of the deceased Raja, was likely to contest the succession on the ground of his having been adopted by the late ruler. But as the claim of Durjan Saul proved to be utterly unfounded, Baldeo Singh was recognised as a ruler of Bharatpur and received due investiture. On ascending the throne the new ruler of Bharatpur asked for the British guarantee for his minor son to succeed him. Although the British Government did not actually agree to this, and no definite authority was given to the Resident, the latter communicated to the ruler that his son was acknowledged as his heir and the ceremony of investiture took place early in February, 1824. On February 26, 1825, Raja Baldeo Singh died. Thereupon Durjan Saul, obviously encouraged by the reports of British reverses in the Burmese War, won over several battalions, captured the fort of Bharatpur, seized the boy-ruler, and murdered his uncle, who was his guardian and the prime minister. At this turn of events Ochterlony assembled all the soldiers he could gather and issued a proclamation that British troops were advancing to rescue Balwant Singh, the boy-ruler, from the hands of the usurper Durjan Saul. These acts were, however, strongly disapproved by the Governor-General in Council and all the military preparations were suspended. 17 The Government also practically censured the Resident on the imperfect manner in which he reported the events of Bharatpur. Thereupon Sir David Ochterlony resigned his office. Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed to the Residency of Delhi, and the duties connected with Rajputana were allotted to him, Malwa being transferred to another officer. As soon as the military preparations were countermanded, Durjan Saul preferred a claim to the throne on the ground that he had been adopted by a previous ruler of Bharatpur. The situation of Bharatpur became further complicated by the quarrels between Durjan Saul and his brother Madhu Singh, who retired to the strong fortress of Deeg, established his authority over the surrounding region, and collected troops with which he repulsed the attack made by Durjap Saul. This civil war led to chaos and confusion, not only in the dominions of Bharatpur but also in the neighbouring British territories, which were plundered by some of the Marathas, who joined one or the other of the rival parties. The Governor-General in Council now regarded the situation as alarming, but there was a difference of opinion among the members of the Council regarding the proper line of policy to be pursued. The Governor-General held the orthodox view that it was inexpedient to interfere in the internal concerns of Bharatpur. and argued "that such interference was not called for by the treaty nor had ever been practically exercised, except in acknowledging, when invited, the lawful successor to the Raj." The other member

of the Council were, however, strongly in favour of interfering in the affairs of Bharatpur. Their arguments more or less amounted to this that the British Government now occupies the position of paramount authority in India and the duty of maintaining general security and prosperity of the whole country "is now happily vested in the British Government." The Commander-in-Chief upheld the same view on the ground of the danger "to which the British Government was exposed by the probable extension of disturbances beyond the boundary of Bharatpur." On the arrival of Sir Charles Metcalfe in Calcutta (fom Hyderabad where he was posted before) all the reports and the documents connected with the affairs of Bharatpur were placed before him and he was requested to state his opinion. Sir Charles .Metcalfe drew up a memorandum which must be regarded as very important inasmuch as it enunciated a new policy of imperialism which henceforth guided the policy of the British Govern-* ment in India. He admitted that things have changed a great deal after the Third Maratha War, which made the British the .paramount State of India, and asserted that it was now "an established principle of our policy to maintain tranquillity among the states of India, and to prevent the anarchy and misrule which were likely to disturb the general peace." He further held that if the British Government refused to put the legitimate ruler on the throne of Bharatpur, they would "throw the weight of British power into the scale of usurpation and injustice." He continued: "Our influence is too pervading to admit of neutrality, and sufferance would operate as support." He further observed with reference to Indian States that "we cannot be indifferent spectators of long-continued anarchy therein without ultimately giving up India again to the pillage and confusion, from which we rescued her in 1817 and 1818". He also pointed out, by quoting instances, that the policy of non-interference adopted after the peace of 1806 had absolutely failed. In conclusion he observed: "We are bound, not by any positive engagement to the Bharatpur State, nor by any claim on her part, but by our duty as supreme guardians of general tranquillity, law, and right, to maintain the legal succession of Raja Balwant Singh to the raj of Bharatpur, and we cannot acknowledge any other pretender. This duty seems to me to be so imperative, that I do not attach any peculiar importance to the late investiture of the young Raja in the presence of Sir David Ochterlony. We should have been equally bound without that ceremony, which, if we had not been under a pre-existing obligation to maintain the rightful succession, would not have pledged us to anything beyond acknowledgment." On perusal of the memorandum of Sir Charles Metcalfe the Governor-General changed his views and remarked: "I have hitherto entertained the opinion that our Interference with other states should be limited to cases of positive injury to the Honourable Company, or of immediate danger thereof. In that opinion I have reason to believe that I am not supported by the servants of the Honourable Company most competent to judge of its interests and best acquainted with the circumstances of this country. I should, therefore, have hesitated in acting upon my own judgment in opposition to others; but I am further free to confess, that my own opinion has undergone some change, and that I am disposed to think that a system of non-interference, which appears to have been tried and to have failed in 1806, would be tried with less probability of success, and would be exposed to more signal failure, after the events which have occurred and the policy which has been pursued during the last nineteen or twenty years. A much greater degree of interference than was formerly called for appears to have resulted from the situation in which we were placed by the pacification of 1818. It might be a hazardous experiment to relax in the exercise of that paramount authority which our extended influence in Malwa and Rajputana has specially imposed on us. Applying these general principles to the particular cases before us, and believing that without direct interference on our part there is a probability of very extended disturbances in the Upper Provinces, I am prepared, in the first place, to maintain by force of arms, if necessary, the succession of Balwant Singh to the raj of Bharatpur.* Thereupon a resolution was passed by the Governor-General in Council on September 18, 1825 to the following effect: "Impressed with a full conviction that the existing disturbances at Bharatpur, if not speedily quieted, will produce general commotion and interruption of the public tranquillity in Upper India, and feeling convinced that it is our solemn duty, no less than our right, as the paramount power and conservators of the general peace, to interfere for the prevention of these evils, and that these evils will be best prevented by the maintenance of succession of the rightful heir to

the raj of Bharatpur.authority he conveyed to Sir C. T. Metcalfe

to accomplish the above object, if practicable by expostulation and remonstrance, and, should these fail, by a resort to measures of force." The fort of Bharatpur, which had defied four attacks of Lord Lake in 1805, was regarded as an impregnable one throughout India, and the British Government now wanted to remove this impression caused by their previous failure. So after the negotiations with Durjan Saul proved futile, Sir Charles Metcalfe, on November 25, 1825, issued a proclamation denouncing the pretensions of Durjap Saul and declaring the intention of the British Government to support the interests of the rightful prince. A large force was sent against Bharatpur under the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Cum

bermere. The General reached Bharatpur on December 10, and after a breach was effected by bombardment from the artillery and by laying undergound mines, the fort of Bharatpur was taken by assault on December 18, 1825. The failure of Lord Lake in 1805 was thus avenged. After the fall of Bharatpur other fortresses within the dominions readily surrendered and the Raja's authority was firmly re-established all over the country. 18

Though by itself the incident at Bharatpur may be regarded as a trifling one, it has been discussed at some length because the imperialistic policy of the British was never before so clearly and elaborately defined by the Government. As we shall see, this principle henceforth formed the sheet-anchor of the British policy in India.

IV. AFGHAN WAR

The imperial policy of the Government of India, as mentioned above, led them to look beyond the north-eastern as well as the north-western frontier. The result of the first was the war with Burma and that of the second, the war with Afghanistan.

There was, however, an essential difference between the two. The imperial policy on the north-east was primarily inaugurated by the British officials in India and pursued without the knowledge and approval, sometimes in defiance, of the clear direction or instruction of the home authorities. The imperial policy on the northwest was dictated by the latter in the larger interests of British imperialism.

The north-western frontier policy of India began in the closing years of the eighteenth century as a defensive measure against the threatened invasion of India from that side, first by Napoleon, and next by Zaman Shah, ruler of Kabul. To counteract this *he British secured the alliance of Persia, and thus this far-off region was thrown into the vortex of Indian politics. But though Napoleonic menace ceased with his downfall, and Afghanistan's striking power practically collapsed as a result of internal dissensions that followed the death of Zaman Shah in A.D. 1800, a new danger soon appeared in the growing power of Russia. The aggressive and imperialistic policy, pursued by that power in Central Asia, and the methods adopted for its realisation, did not differ in kind from those *of Britain in India. But imperialism, as a rule, tolerates no rival, and Russia not only stood in the way of further expansion of British power beyond the borders of India, but even seemed to threaten the security of India itself. The British statesmen naturally stressed only the latter aspect in justification of their anti-Russian policy and measure, though at that time not only Sindh, the Punjab and Afghanistan, but a vast stretch of territory beyond the Hindu Kush mountains separated the British dominions in India from the advance-posts of Russia. There is no doubt that the ambition of extending the British power in Central Asia was an important factor in shaping the British foreign policy. Palmerston and Disraeli, the two outstanding statesmen of Britain in the nineteenth century, though belonging to opposite political parties, were at one about the forward policy in Central Asia, and hence imbibed an anti-Russian attitude. The two Afghan wars, at an interval of forty years, may be directly traced to them, and in both cases the Government of India merely carried out the policy dictated by home authorities. But though this remark applies generally to the negotiations with Persia and Afghanistan, and the general line of policy and course of action pursued up to the arrival of Lord Auckland as Governor-General, his personal attitude came to play an increasingly important part in the practical application of the policy which led to the First Afghan War. The policy decided upon was to maintain a friendly Government in Kabul in order to checkmate Russian designs, and a mission was sent to Kabul for this purpose. But Auckland misled the Home authorities by supplying a garbled version of the report of Bumes, the special British envoy sent to negotiate with Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Kabul, and decided to oust him by force and place on the throne Shah Shuja, an ex-ruler of Kabul, who had been living as an exile in India for nearly thirty years. Auckland thus deliberately precipitated a war which could have been easily avoided. He is also, at least partially though indirectly, responsible for the massacre of the entire British force of 4,500 and camp-followers numbering 12,000, the worst tragedy that ever befell the British army in the whole course of their history in India.

A detailed account of the negotiations and events leading to the first Afghan War (1839-42) is given in Ch. VII. It will be seen that the current view about the hands of the British being forced by the pro-Russian and anti-British attitude of Dost Muhammad would not bear a momenta scrutiny. In any case Dost Muhammad was more sinned against than sinning. The military expedition was decided upon as a counter-measure to the threatened occupation of Herat by Persia, but when Persia raised the siege of Herat and withdrew her forces, that fear disappeared altogether. But though the casus belli was removed, Auckland continued the military preparation, which he could easily stop, and launched a full-scale attack upon an inoffensive ruler who, as he knew full well, had done or meant no harm, and, for the moment at any rate, was incapable of doing any. The gross injustice of the war is underlined by the

fact that it was barren of all result that was expected from it. The new friendly Amir, Shah Shuja, who was placed on the throne of Kabul in order to safeguard the interests of the British and help them in the political game, met with a tragic end. The British were obliged to restore Dost Muhammad after unnecessarily making him a bitter enemy. The only positive result was the grim and gruesome tragedy of the wholesale massacre of the retreating British army, the unparalleled disgrace of British arms, and the irrevocable loss of prestige and good name of Britain. So far as India was concerned, she had no say in the whole affair, but had to bear the whole expenditure of the war which was fought in the interest of British imperialism.

1. The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, pp. 30-1.

la. Arnold, II. 7-8.

2. Sketches, 92-3.

2a. Arnold, II. 10.

2b. Ibid.

2c. Ibid, 11.

3. CHI, V. 582.

4. THG, 397.

5. THG, 382.

6. The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, pp. 26-7. Italics mine.

7. Henry Cotton, Indian and Home Memories, 253-4. See Ch. XXVII.

8. In other words, on principles diametrically opposite to what Abraham Lincoln declared to be essentials for democracy and liberty, namely, the rule of a people by the people for the people.

9. MH, 191.

10. Ibid, 190.

10a. B. N. Banerji, 'Raja Rammohun Roy's Mission to England' in Modern Review, January, 1930, pp. 60 ff.

10b. Kaye-I, Vol. II, pp. 12, 661-2.

10c. Mill, IX. 183.

11. For the texts of the various treaties referred to in this Chapter Cf. Aitchison. For the summary of the treaties with various Rajput States, cf. A. C. Banerji, Rajput Studies.

12. A Convention was signed on March 15, 1802, by which the Gaekwar agreed to maintain a Subsidiary Force. A formal treaty was signed to this effect on July 29, 1802. This was supplemented by an agreement in 1803 by which the Gaekwar ceded some districts for the support of the Subsidiary Force. These three engagements were consolidated in a definitive Treaty of General Defensive Alliance on April 21, 1805.

13. Sketches, 85.

14. Secret Consultations, October 28, 1817, No. 26 (quoted by Banerji, op. cit. p. 323).

15. James Tod, The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vol. II (Calcutta 1894), pp. 313-4.

16. SB, 162-3.

17. This decision was probably influenced, to a large extent, by the events of the Burmese War. Wilson observes: "Embarrassed at this period by the continued difficulties and heavy disbursements of the war with Ava, and aware of the unfriendly feeling, with which its progress was watched by the princes of India, the British Government was not unnaturally anxious to avoid a rupture, the consequences of which, in the case of any reverse, might endanger the stability of the British Indian Empire (Mill, IX. 185).

18. This account is based upon Thornton, V. 120 ff.

CHAPTER III

EXPANSION OF BRITISH DOMINIONS (1823-48)

I. BURMA AND ASSAM

Baron (later Earl) Amherst, who succeeded Marquess of Hastings as Governor-General, had every reason to follow the policy of peace. The arduous and prolonged military activities of his predecessor cried aloud for a halt, and this was underlined by the known views of the Court of Directors who selected him after openly denouncing the stormy regime which had just come to an end. Yet we find Amherst engaged in two military campaigns which strikingly illustrate the two different ways, mentioned above, along which British imperialism always advanced in India.

The first arose out of the growth of Burmese power in the north-eastern corner of the British territory. Neither the increase in Burmese activities nor the troubles arising therefrom on the borders of Assam and Chittagong were of recent origin, and had been going on for some time. But now that the British power was thoroughly established and there was no danger of internal troubles, the imperial instincts of the British rulers in India looked for fresh fields and pastures new. Several reasons combined to induce them to make a serious endeavour .to curb the growing power of the Burmese. The security of the borderlands was certainly one, but only one, of the reasons. It was the only one publicly announced, but it is difficult to believe that the further expansion of British dominions to the north-east, up to the natural frontier, and to secure a footing on the soil of Burma, rich with commercial possibilities, were not equally imperative motives behind the campaign. A medieval country like Burma, ill-acquainted with weapons and methods of modern warfare, and with its base situated at a great distance from Indian border and divided from it by almost impenetrable hills and forests, could by no means be regarded as a serious menace to the British power in India after A.D. 1820. Her claims of sovereignty over Eastern India and pretentious demands couched in insolent language, which formed the casus belli, were more deserving of ridicule than any serious consideration. As regards border disputes which led to warlike operations, any impartial critic is bound to admit that there were provocations on both sides, and even according to the British version of the case, which alone is available, it would be unfair to throw the war-guilt upon the Burmese alone. In any case the actual matters of dispute were so trivial in nature as could be easily settled, perhaps amicably, and if necessary by local military expeditions.

A detailed account of the First Burmese War (1824-26) t and the events leading thereto, has been given in chapter V. The declaration of Cachar as a British protectorate, which was the immediate cause of the war, was certainly calculated to give just offence to the Burmese who had a claim over it, which was at least far more legitimate than that by which the British had acquired most of their possessions in India. This justice of the Burmese cause was patent even to some British officials, but Amherst paid no heed to their advice. The real motive of the Governor-General is revealed in his despatches. The Burmese had established their political authority in Assam and the neighbouring districts, up to the borders of Bengal, by the same method which was followed by the British. But the two of a trade can never agree, and so the growing empire of Burma was looked upon as a rival to the British empire in India, and became an eyesore to the Governor-General. The First Burmese War was, therefore, really a struggle between two rival empires, and was the first fruit of the new imperialistic ambition which animated the British rulers in India. But this was not all. Amherst had far-reaching designs. The very fact that in addition to military campaigns on the borders of British India, the war was carried to the soil of Burma proper by a well-equipped British expedition to a remote and unknown region in South Burma shows the ambitious designs of the Governor-General. It would be idle to pretend that such a risky arid costly expedition was undertaken only to divert the military resources of the enemy from the British border. The real reason was undoubtedly the establishment of a secure footing in South Burma which possessed good harbours and afforded facilities of a rich trade. After the British power was securely established in

India its scope for further expansion lay beyond her borders on the east and the west, the north and south being unfortunately shut off respectively by impassable Himalayas and the Indian ocean without limit. The actual insolence of the Burmese king offered an excuse for the war in the east, and the pretext of insolence on the part of the ruler of Afghanistan gave a similar opportunity on the west. The imperial policy worked on parallel lines in both cases, though there was an interval of more than a decade. On the northwest, too, the security of the border was an excuse, the menace of a rival Russian empire the real ground, and the ambition of carrying British flags to the he’art of Central Asia, the dream which determined the imperial policy.

The British expedition in Burma met with serious calamities, not so much from the enemy, but from natural causes and inade opiate provision to prevent or forestall them. This brought a just rebuke upon the Governor-General. But the fate of the war between a tost class modern European power and a medieval Asiatic kingdom was never in doubt. The Burmese were defeated on all fronts and forced to accept terms that fulfilled aH the objects for which the war was begun, and must have satisfied even the extreme imperialists. By the treaty of Yandabu, concluded in 1826, the Burmese ceded not only Assam, Arakin and the territories between the two which were contiguous to British India, but, even the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui and Tenasserim on the east coast of Bay of Bengal. Thus were fixed the two ends of the noose round the neck of Burma, and all that was needed to strangle her was to tighten the rope on suitable opportunities. As three wars with Carthage enabled Rome to finish that kingdom, so three wars during the period covered by this volume ended the existence of Burma as an independent kingdom. The process was hastened by the appearance of France as a rival colonial power in Indo-China, like Russia in Central Asia, but in any case the fate of Burma was sealed by the First Burmese War.

The fate of Assam and the small adjoining districts ceded by the Burmese will be described in detail in Ch. V. These, as well as the other ceded territories, were administered by the Government of Bengal. At the outbreak of the war, the British, in order to win over the sympathy and support of the people of Assam, promised to restore their independence as soon as the Burmese were driven away. But such promises are never meant to be kept. The British immediately annexed a part and adopted various plans to give a semblance of self-rule to the rest. But these did not prove satisfactory to either side, and within almost a decade all the small principalities, set up in the region under British suzerainty, were formally incorporated within the British dominions. Assam proper was annexed in 1838, Central Cachar in 1834, Jaintia in 1835, and most of the frontier States at about the same time. The vestiges of autonomy that remained were gradually swept away.

The Government of Bengal administered Arakan through its own officers who were given different designations and different degrees of authority at different times. There were at first Joint Commissioners, till 1829; then a Superintendent under the Commissioner of Chittagong till 1834; thereafter a Commissioner, helped by an Assistant Commissioner for each district and the capital city Akyab. Tenasserim was similarly administered through a Commissioner and Assistant Commissioners for the districts and the capital city Tavoy. But in view of the great distance and difficulties of communication the Government of Bengal could exercise but little actual control, and mismanagement, maladministration and even corruption among high officials were rife. When Pegu was annexed after the Second Burmese War, it constituted the third Commissionership But these three Commissionerships of Arakan, Tenasserim and Pegu were formed in 1862 into the new province of British Burma, with its capital at Rangoon, directly under the Government of India. When Upper Burma was annexed in 1885 it was added to the old province, which was ruled by a Chief Commissioner from 1862 to 1897 and thereafter by a Lieutenant-Governor.

II. MYSORE, COORG, AND MINOR STATES

It is a significant comment on British imperialism, in India that its process ran the usual course even when a man of pacific disposition like Lord William Bentinck was the Govern or “General. Reference will be made in Chapter V to the annexation of the petty States of Cachar and Jaintia in Assam. More importance attaches .to the occupation of Mysore and the annexation of Coorg. Historians of India have paid little attention to these imperialistic activities of Bentinck, and the Camb'ridge History of India 1 devotes one sentence each to Coorg, Mysore and the two States in Assam. Yet the dealings with these four States fairly illustrate the policy of aggressive imperialism which was the order of the day. Only a short war was necessary in the case of Coorg, while the other three were seized without firing a shot. Macaulay's famous epigram that “peace hath her victories no less than those of war” was thus applicable to Bentinck in more senses than one. In view of the general ignorance or indifference to this aspect of the administration of Bentinck, his political measures, referred to above, require a more elaborate treatment than would otherwise be necessary.

A. Mysore

As mentioned above, the old Hindu ruling family of Mysore was restored to power after the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan in A.D. 1799. A boy of three years was placed on the throne and the administration was carried on by an able Dewan, named Fqrnia. In 1811 the minor king Raja Krishna Udaiyar attained majority and took over the administration in his own hands. According to the British official version there was gross misrule in Mysore for twenty years with the result that the treasury was depleted and there was a rebellion which could not be quelled till force had been sent from Madras. During this period of twenty years the Governor of Madras more than once remonstrated with the Raja, but no improvement followed. On September 7, 1831, Bentinck addressed a long letter to the Raja of Mysore stating the above facts and bringing some specific charges of maladministration and misgovemment. He concluded by informing the Raja that by virtue of the articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty of 1799 (which he quoted for ready reference) he has transferred the entire administration of the country into the hands of British officers “who will proceed immediately to Mysore”. 2

Thus the Raja of Mysore was dethroned with as little ceremony —or perhaps less—as is usually shown in dismissing a clerk in an office. Several interesting facts must be stated in order to form a proper judgment of the whole case.

The chief accusations against the Raja were made by Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, who was strongly opposed to the original plan of restoring the old Hindu family to the sovereignty of Mysore. In 1805, General Sir Arthur Wellesley had written to his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, in the following terms:

"I still fear the new Government of Madras, one of whose objects I believe is to overturn the existing system in Mysore, of which I have hitherto been the principal support". 3

A high English military officer writes: "The hostility to the local self-government of Mysore became even stronger than before in Madras about the year 1820, and seems to have been strangely compounded of jealousy against native pretensions and partial independence, the greed of good appointments, and a strong desire to obtain the salubrious and pleasant station of Bangalore either as the permanent seat of the Madras Government, or as an occasional residence for the Governor and his Councillors. This last consideration was even urged by Lord William Bentinck upon the Court of Directors in 1834, as an argument in favour of that plan for dividing the Mysore territories between the Raja and the East India Company.. ." 4

In 1825, Munro visited Mysore and warned the Raja that, if the disorders in the State were not checked, direct interference of the British Government would be unavoidable. Now, under Article 4 of the Treaty which was invoked by Bentinck for taking over the administration of Mysore, it was clearly'laid down that in case of maladministration which, it might be feared, would not leave in the treasury sufficient fund for the maintenance of troops, the Government of India shall have full right and power either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as may be deemed necessary for the improvement of administration, or to bring under direct British administration such part or parts of the territorial possessions of the Raja as may be necesary to make available sufficient funds for

defraying the expenses of the army. But Munro issued no ordinances or regulations and allowed the abuses to grow until the outbreak of a rebellion gave a sufficiently good pretext for taking over the administration, not of a part or parts, but of the whole of Mysore. 0

Bentinck's action was inspired by the highly exaggerated reports of the Madras Government, 6 and the Raja was given no opportunity to defend himself. How ill-informed Bentinck was may be gathered from a single instance. In his letter dethroning the Raja, Bentinck alleged that "the subsidy due to the British Government has not been paid monthly according to the Treaty of 6th July 1799". But the fact is, as Bentinck himself later indirectly admitted, that the subsidy had. never been in arrears even for a day.

After taking over the administration of Mysore, Bentinck appointed a Special Committee of Inquiry into the affairs of Mysore. This Committee submitted its Report on December 12, 1833. The Committee condemned the Raja's misrule, but they included in their censure the period of Purnia's administration, and with the exception of a profuse expenditure, no new charge was brought against the Raja. The Committee held that the assessment all over the country had been screwed up by Purnia to a height at which it could not have been maintained for many years longer; and that the decline of the revenue since the minister's dismissal had not "been caused entirely by misgovernment", but was "partly attributable to causes which were beyond the control of the Raja's administration." The Committee also pointed out that at the same time, and for the same cause, namely oppressive taxation, there was an insurrection in the adjacent British district of Canara, where the assessment of land revenue was much higher than that prevailing in Mysore. The Committee further held that the rebellion which broke out in Naggur in Mysore was not a popular rising caused by intolerable tyranny, but was chiefly the work of some interested persons, aided by British insurgents and sustained by a firm belief, universally prevalent throughout Mysore, that the British Government was in favour of the insurgents, and would not support the Raja's authority. 7

The views of Bentinck were radically changed by the Report of the Special Committee of Inquiry as well as by his own local investigations. He also realised the unconstitutional nature of his act in taking over the administration of the whole of-Mysore. All this is evident from his long despatch to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated April 14, 1834. He refers to the Raja in the following terms: "It is admitted by every one who has had an opportunity of observing the character of the Rajah, that he is in the highest degree intelligent and sensible. His disposition is

described to be the reverse of tyrannical or cruel...... I believe he

will make a good ruler in future...” Accordingly Bentinck suggested that three districts of Mysore yielding sufficient revenue for the upkeep of the military force, should be ceded to the Company and the remaining three districts of Mysore should be restored to the Raja’s direct rule. 8

In this despatch Bentinck had the candour to admit that he could not help entertaining doubts, both as to the legality and the justice of the course that has been pursued. He then continues:

“The Treaty warrants an assumption of the country with a view to secure the payment of our subsidy. The assumption was actually made on account of the Raja’s misgovernment. The subsidy does not appear to have been in any immediate jeopardy. 9 Again the Treaty authorises us to assume such part or parts of the country as may be necessary to render the funds which we claim efficient and available. The whole has been assumed although a part would unquestionably have sufficed for the purpose specified in the Treaty; and with regard to the justice of the case, I cannot but think that it would have been more fair towards the Rajah, had a more distinct and positive warning been given him that the decided measure, since adopted, would be put in force, if misgovernment should be found to prevail.” 10

Thus. Lord William Bentinck acted in haste and then repented at leisure. He should have appointed the Committee of Inquiry before, and not after-, punishing the Raja, and he should have given more serious attention to the actual facts and the exact provisions of the treaty. His belated confession of guilt does honour to his head and heart, but brought no relief to the unfortunate Raja of Mysore, who was not restored to the sovereignty of either the whole or a part of his territory. It is somewhat singular that in spite of the confession of Bentinck himself, the British historians have fully approved of the annexation. Nor did this deplorable action make Bentinck much the wiser. For as we shall see, he pursued the same unwise procedure in the affair of Coorg with more drastic consequences and irreparable mischief.

In fairness to the Britishers, however, reference should be made to the very honest criticism of Bentinck’s action by Major Evans Bell, from which the following extracts are quoted:

*The summary substitution of direct British management was a somewhat harsh remedy for any administrative abuses, when the Treaty gave us the power of dictating and enforcing the acceptance of such ordinances as might have removed all cause of offence.

According to the strict letter of the Treaty (article IV), when it should be thought necessary to have recourse to this extreme measure, we had no right to attach the whole of Mysore, but only “such part or parts” as should be required to render the funds of the State ‘sufficient and available either in time of peace or war 5 .

“The first attachment of the country by Lord William Bentinck was not justified either absolutely by the terms of the Treaty or morally by any special urgency of outraged humanity, or of danger to the tranquillity of our own adjacent provinces.. .The fact is that the subsidy had been always paid with the utmost punctuality, and that not a single instalment was due at the date of the GovernorGeneral’s letter.

“Thus the grounds alleged for the original attachment of the country are not only unsustainable by terms of the Treaty, but are found to be even more opposed to truth than Lord William Bentinck was ever made aware”. 11

There is a great deal of force in the above argument and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the taking over of the entire administration by the British was both unjust and uncalled for. The administration by a Regency headed by the Resident would probably have met the situation. There are, however, two points in connection with the seizure of Mysore, which may be regarded as almost unique in the annals of British imperialism in India. In the first place, the Governor-General, responsible for the action, admitted his mistake and regretted the action taken. Secondly, although the Court of

Directors declined to reverse the sequestration, immediately after the error was recognized by its author, they ultimately made amends for it. When the deposed Raja of Mysore died in 1887, the British Government decided to restore the kingdom to his adopted son as soon as he came of age. 11a This was actually done in 1881. There has been more unjustified annexation, severely condemned by the Directors, but no restitution. Sindh is a glaring example. The rendition of Mysore is the solitary exception to the rule followed by the British authorities, namely condemning the action but fully enjoying the fruit thereof.

B. Coorg

Mysore shows how the general process of annexation of weak States followed the usual pattern of giving the dog a bad name and then hanging it. This is more strikingly illustrated by the annexation of Coorg (Kodagu) which followed shortly after. Coorg was a small principality on the border of Mysore. The British had received considerable help from the rulers of Coorg during their war with Tipu and a treaty was concluded in 1790 by which the British

‘guaranteed the independence of Coorg and the maintenance of the Raja’s interests as long as the sun and moon endure. 12 Since then the rulers of Coorg had always been faithful to the British and not only invested large amounts in East India Company’s Stock, but also advanced considerable amount to the Company. But shortly after the accession of Viraraja the Younger in 1820, serious accusations began to pour in against him from the British officers. He was reported to have practised the most blood-thirsty tyranny, and a series of monstrous crimes, including wholesale massacre of members of the royal family, were attributed to him. The stage was thus set for his ultimate expulsion; and the actual course of events, as officially related, may be summed up as follows:

Being persecuted by the Raja, his sister, together with her husband, fled to Mysore in 1832, and claimed the protection of the British Resident, Mr. Cassamajor. This led to a series of altercations between the Resident and the Raja of Coorg who demanded the surrender of the two fugitives. Other causes of difference soon arose. A rebel from Mysore, which was now being administered by the British, had fled to Coorg, and when the Raja was asked to send him back, he retorted by saying that his claims for the surrender of his rebel subjects, who had taken refuge in Mysore, were disregarded by the British. Cassamajor was gradually convinced of the hostile intention of the Raja who was reported to have increased his army. An envoy was sent to negotiate with him, but the Raja refused to see him on ground of illness. Later, two Indians were sent for the same purpose, one of whom, Karunakara Menon, was forcibly detained by the Raja on the pretence that he was guilty of carrying on intrigues against him. The Governor-General, who proceeded on a tour to South India, personally wrote to the Raja from Calcutta requesting that either he himself or one of his agents might meet him at Mysore in order to adjust the existing differences. As no answer was received to this letter by the time the Governor-General arrived at Madras, he again addressed the Raja on the same subject, expecting to receive a reply at Bangalore. But no reply was received even to this letter, nor was the native agent released.

An ultimatum was given to the Raja of Coorg that unless Menon was released within six days hostilities would begin. On March 15, 1834, Bentinck issued a Proclamation of War against Coorg. 12a It gave a long list of the charges against the Raja, among which the following were the major items:

1. Severe oppression and cruelty towards the people of Coorg.

2* Wanton disrespect of the authority of, and most hostile disposition towards, the East India Company.

3. Letters replete with insulting expressions to the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General.

4. Friendly reception and encouragement to the proclaimed enemies of the British Government.

5. Detention of Menon.

6. General attitude of hostility and defiance.

Immediately after the issue of this proclamation four British armies advanced against Coorg from four different directions. The Raja of Coorg also issued an appeal to his people to resist the invasion. But though the people fought bravely on all fronts, the result was a foregone conclusion. On April 6, the British force entered the capital of Coorg, Madikeri or Mercara, and five days later Coorg was annexed to the British dominions by a formal Proclamation.

The Raja, Viraraja the Younger, surrendered with his family on April 23. He was exiled, first to Bangalore, then to Vellore, and finally to Banaras. In 1848 the Raja asked for permission to visit England, and necessary permission being accorded on March 20, 1850, he sailed for England with the full knowledge of the Goverment of India that he intended to fight for certain pecuniary claims against the East India Company.

There are good grounds to believe, that as in the case of Mysore, so in the case of Coorg, perhaps in a greater measure, Bentinck was misled by the exaggerated reports of his officers. Fortunately, there are some means to test the truth of the three main allegations against Viraraja, namely, his cruelty, his attitude towards his sister, and the detention of K. Menon. As regards.the first, there is no independent and reliable evidence to support it. Even the British officer Col. Fraser, who was in charge of Coorg after the expulsion of the Raja, admitted in his final report that ‘there was no proof to testify to his cruelties.’ 13 Mr. Cassamajor, the British Resident of Mysore, who went to Mercara (Madikeri), the capital city of Coorg, in 1826, to make enquiries on the spot, ‘could not get any bad reports against the Raja’ and Mr. Lewis Rice had to admit that ‘his (Cassama jot’s) account of the Raja was on the whole rather favourable’. 14 Some members of the royal family, alleged to have been killed by Viraraja, were shown to have died of cholera. 16 Serious charges were made against the Raja by a British officer, Mr. S. Greame, on November 6, 1833. The Raja asked him in writing to let him know the names of the parties he put to death, the place, the date etc. Mr. Greame wrote as follows to the Raja on November 17,1833: “After many humble apologies, I beg to state that it was the mistake of the translator. I do not bring such charges against you and beg of you to forgive me and what I said was that you must prevent your officers from doing anything of the sort.” 16 It may not be out of place to mention here that the way in which Viraraja deported himself after his exile at Banaras elicited high praises from many Englishmen including Lord Ellenborough and Lt. Cal. Carpenter, agent to the Governor-General. 17 No reference to all these is made by historians like V. A. Smith who pictures the Raja as a devil incarnate. 18

Most scandalous insinuations have been made regarding the attitude of the Raja towards his sister, but there is no evidence worth the name. It has been suggested that the sister had pretensions to the throne and, as is usual in native courts, made intrigues for this purpose. Ultimately, being foiled in her attempts, she fled with her husband. This version also lacks evidence, but in any case such a state of things is not unusual, and it is not unlikely that in order to poison the minds of the British and advance her own interests she manufactured all the tales of cruelty against the Raja. 19 As regards the detention of Menon, the Raja, it is said, suspected him to be a spy of the British on account of his not producing proper credentials. 20 The fact that the Raja did not detain the companion of Menon certainly goes in his favour. In any case the act of the Raja stands on the same level as that of the British in not surrendering the sister of the Raja.

It is therefore difficult either to accept as valid the serious charges brought against the Raja, or to justify the ex parte decision of the British to dethrone him. But if this was bad enough, the annexation of Coorg was much worse. It has been justified on two grounds. 21 The first was the assumption that the Raja was childless. The fact seems to be that the Raja had more than one son. 22 He had certainly a daughter, who later accompanied him to England and embraced Christianity. The succession of females was well known in this part of India. 22 ® The official proclamation bases the annexation on another ground, namely, “the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government.” 23 This is a pet argument of the British which was frequently advanced to justify any annexation. It is, however, interesting to note that in not a single instance they chose to divulge how, when, arid by whom the opinion of the people was ascertained< In the case of-Coorg “the unanimous wish” was certainly a myth. In the despatches of Col. Fraser it is said that the people of Coorg desired that their Raja should be retained. 24 The feelings of the people may be ascertained from an Address presented to the Raja by 500 persons on April 13, 1834, "expressing their satisfaction for

the manner in which he had conducted the State affairs from the beginning to the days of his dethronement.... " The removal of the Raja from his country, they continued, "causes us pain and brings shame to us." 2 ° When it is remembered that the Address, was presented when the Raja had lost all power and authority over his people, the theory or perhaps pretention of the "unanimous wish" of the people for British rule appears in its true colour.

The ignoble spirit of vengeance with which the East India Company pursued the Raja makes the tragedy still more deplorable. In a petition which was placed before the British Parliament the Raja complained:

"The East India Company took possession of his dominion, seized his treasury and valuable amount of £150,000 and in flagrant violation of the Law of Nations appropriated to themselves the capital of £80,000 East India Stock together with dividends." 26 Apparently for this contumacy the Raja was also deprived of his monthly pension. 27

The Raja proceeded to England and appealed to the British Parliament. The Marquess of Clafiricarde, who introduced the subject in the House of Lords in 1856, observed with Reference to the stoppage of pension, that "a more despotic act was never perpetrated." 28 Lord Ellenborough also remarked that "the conduct of the Court of Directors in refusing payment to the prince was very ungenerous and unwise." 29 Evidently as a result of the discussion in the House of Lords, the Court of Directors decided to pay the pension in full from the time of the suspension of its payment. The Raja, however, got no satisfaction for the confiscation of his property.

The money looted from the Raja was generously distributed as prize money among the British officers. Sir P. Lindsay received onesixteenth of the whole amount and + he other officers .shared as follows: 30

Colonels

Lieut-Colonels

Majors

Captains

Subalterns

Rs. 25,000 each ,, 15,000 ,,

„ 10,000 ,

„ 5,000 „

„ 2,500 „

It may be ungenerous, but perhaps not unreasonable, to find in such distribution the incentive to wage hostilities against the Indian rulers and prepare the way therefor by attributing all the vices to them. On the whole it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the annexation of Coorg was pre-planned, the alleged cruelty and misconduct of the Raja, and the unanimous desire of the people for the

British protection being merely lame excuse and concocted justification. Coorg lost its independence not so much on account of the contumacy or cruelty of its ruler, as for possessing, like Mysore, a salubrious climate aggreable to the British, and in addition, extensive lands eminently suitable for coffee plantation. 31

C. Minor States and Territories

Two other minor annexations were made by the next two Go Ver nors-General. The Company had acquired suzerainty over the Jdgir of Kurnool, in Madras, in 1800. A disputed succession of 1815 led to interference and temporary occupation of the city of Kurnool. In 1839 the Nawab Rasul Khan, whom the British had installed in 1823 after arresting the legitimate heir on a charge of murder, was himself charged with conspiracy against the British. When Commissioners with troops were sent to make inquiry into his conduct he took refuge with some Rohilla and Arab soldiers. He was defeated and his State was annexed by Auckland in 1839. 32

The annexation of Kaithal (Kythul) by Ellenborough in 1843 deserves more than a passing notice. Kaithal, in the district of Karnal, was one of those cis-Sutlej Sikh States which had sought for British protection against Ranjit Singh and had come under British protection in 1809, as mentioned above.

33 The proclamation, dated May 3,1809, which defined the status of these States declared them to be absolute in their own territories and exempt from the payment of any tribute. Nevertheless, when the Chief of Kaithal died, without leaving any male issue, Ellenborough declared that the territory had lapsed to the British. He annexed four-fifths of the territory, leaving the rest to a distant branch of the family. This was a high-handed act, even according to the famous Doctrine of Lapse, evolved a few years later; for Kaithal was not a State created by the British. The Political Officer who proceeded with a small escort to take possession of Kaithal was met by passive resistance on the part of the female relations and ministers of the late chief. The escort was defeated by the military retainers of the State. When a larger British force arrived on April 16, 1843, the town was evacuated and Kaithal was occupied without any further resistance. 34

Some small territorial acquisitions were made by more peaceful means. By a treaty signed between Great Britain and the Netherlands in 1824, Dutch territories in Bengal, viz., those at Fulta, Ch insura, Kalkapur and Dacca were ceded to the British. The town of Serampore, near Calcutta, was purchased from the king of Denmark in 1845. Darjeeling and adjacent territories were also acquired

from Sikkim, partly as present, and partly by a military expedition in 1850.

III. THE CONQUEST OF SINDH

The disastrous Afghan campaign was followed by the forcible seizure of Sindh (1843) of which a detailed account is given in Ch. VIII. It was an instance of unmasked aggression, backed by sheer brutal force, to which there are few parallels in the whole course of Indo-British history. For this exhibition of the worst type of imperialism the blame must be shared equally, and almost exclusively, by Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier. The elaborate arguments in defence of their action form an apt illustration of the logic of the strong towards the weak. But the annexation of Sindh is marked by a unique feature.- It is perhaps the only one of the many unjust annexations of Indian territories by the British which was unequivocally condemned by both the people and the Government in Britain. Even Napier, the joint author of the tragedy, himself described the act as a 'piece of rascality’. But it is interesting to note, as an illustration of

Britain's political morality, that while fully admitting the injustice of the action, she did not make amends for it by the restoration of the prize, so wrongfully gained, to its rightful owner.

Though mainly dictated by the imperialist policy, the British conquest of Sindh was also partly a reaction of the Afghan war. At its best, it may be described as an attempt to rehabilitate the British power and prestige which had suffered almost irretrievably by the disastrous retreat of the British army through the Khyber Pass. At its worst, it was the action of a bully who, being kicked by a stronger neighbour, wreaks vengeance on a weaker and unoffending one.

IV. THE CONQUEST OF THE PANJAB

The fear entertained by Ellenborough of an impending conflict with the powerful Sikh army was not altogether unfounded. Several reasons combined to make it almost inevitable. The British, who had conquered the rest of India, naturally desired to extend their authority up to the Sindhu which formed the natural boundary of India. So long as Ranjit Singh lived and ruled with an iron hand at the head of his wonderfully trained Khalsa army, the Government of India thought it politic to humour him and not to provoke his wrath and hostility. On the other hand, Ranjit was too shrewd a statesman to under-estimate the real power of the British, and always took good care to keep on friendly terms with the Government of India. A man of blood-and-iron policy, he restrained himself from the conquest of Sindh for fear of incurring the displeasure of the British. His participation with the British in a joint endeavour to place Shah Shuja 'on the throne of Kabul, of which a detailed account will be given in Ch. VII, shows how he maintained this friendly attitude till the last.

The death of Ranjit Singh in A.D. 1839 precipitated the crisis. The absence of a strong leader who could succeed Ranjit Singh, and the anarchy and confusion that consequently followed in the Panjab after his death, offered a tempting opportunity to the British of completing the conquest of India up to its natural frontier on the west. This alone can satisfactorily account for the steady increase in the military force on the border, as will be shortly mentioned. The annexation of Sindh, which left the Panjab as the only enclave in India free from British control, in a way facilitated its conquest by the removal of a potential danger on the flank.

Either due to a knowledge or intelligent anticipation of such an attitude on the part of the British, or to an under-estimate of the British military strength owing to recent events in Afghanistan, or to some other factor, yet unknown, the Sikhs, forgetting the wisdom of Ranjit Singh's policy, gradually, but unmistakably, developed an unfriendly feeling towards the English. This could be clearly seen in their lack of hearty co-operation with the English in the later stages of their joint military enterprise against Afghanistan to which reference will be made later. So the two-fold reaction of Ranjit Singh's death, on the English and on the Sikhs, tended to bring about a conflict between the two.

The actual events or circumstances leading to the war are but imperfectly known, and these have been described in detail in Ch. X. Although the Sikhs were made to appear as aggressive and unnecessarily provocative, the British were not perhaps the innocent lambs as they are usually represented. The sense of injured innocence which is echoed in the Governor-General's declaration of war is hard to reconcile with the fact that ever since the death of Ranjit Singh the British troops on the border of the Panjab were steadily on the increase. Up to 1838, there were no more than 2,500 men with six pieces of artillery. Auckland raised it to 8,000, and when Lord Ellenborough left India in 1844 the number rose to 17,612 men and sixty-six guns. By the end of December, 1845, there were 40,523 men and ninety-four guns. This rapid increase could hardly be justified as a purely defensive measure. A critic, designated hostile, made a pithy remark which is very significant. "To be prepared is one thing," he said, "to be always making preparations, another." Besides, the preparations were not all of a defensive character. Boats were being constructed at Bombay for the construction of bridges of boats across the Sutlej, and troops were assembled in Sindh which could have no other object than attacking Multan. With the fate of Sindh in recent memory, the Sikhs may be certainly excused if, as Cunningham tells us, they looked upon the British military preparations as "a campaign, not of defence, but of aggression."

As will be explained in Ch. X, there is no doubt that the internal situation of the Panjab mainly accounts for the fact that the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej without any formal declaration of war. But the righteous indignation felt by the British authorities at this conduct should have been considerably mollified by the reflection that the Sikhs had merely taken a leaf out of the book of their general Sir Charles Napier. Like him, the Sikhs also perhaps believed in a surprise attack as having the best chance of success. In any event, the tactics adopted only two years ago by the mighty British against weak and helpless Sindh, when resorted to by the Sikhs against themselves, need not have inflamed their moral sense to a feverish heat.

Like the origin of the war, the incidents of the campaign are also partly shrouded in mystery. We shall never know what part treachery played in the discomfiture of the Sikhs at the four successive battles of Mudki (December 18, 1845), Firozshah (December 21-22), Aliwal (January 28, 1846) and Sobraon (February 10, 1846). But there is no doubt that the Khaisa of Ranjit Singh gave a good account of themselves, and as far as fighting quality goes, brought no discredit on the name of their great leader. It was remarked by the British general on December 21, after the first day of battle in Firozshah, that "the fate of India trembled in the balance". At the next battle at Mudki, the victory was gained at such a great cost, that the Governor-General requested the home authorities to recall Gough, the Commander-in-Chief, and necessary orders were at once issued, though by the time they reached India the decisive victory of Gough over the Sikhs at Sobraon rehabilitated his credit and it was not thought necessary to make the orders public.

The treaty concluded on March 9 at Lahore brought the hostilities to an end. Its details, given in Ch. X, need not be repeated here. The Sikh Government had to cede the Jalandar dodb between the Beas and the Sutlej and all the territories lying to the south of the last-named river. The British also got Kashmir, Hazara and other hilly regions between the Beas and the Sindhu, in lieu of the war indemnity of one and a half crores of Rupees. Out of this

Ghulab Singh, who had rendered valuable services to the British, was granted Kashmir for a sum of money. Dalip Singh was recognised as the Maharaja, and the British Government promised not to interfere in the internal administration of the country.

A British force was left in the Panjab and Henry Lawrence was appointed the British agent at Lahore Durbar. Events, however, marched rapidly, as will be described in detail in Ch. X. Intrigues and insurrections, aided by British diplomacy, led to a revision of the treaty which virtually transferred the administration of the State to the hands of the British and authorised the British to garrison the whole country by their own troops at the expense of the Sikh Durbar. So long as Henry Lawrence was the British Resident, things went on smoothly, but under his successor, Sir Frederick Currie, troubles began, and things were cleverly manoeuvred towards an open rebellion on the part of the Sikhs such as would justify the wholesale annexation of the Pan jab, which had long been regarded by the British statesmen as a 'consummation to be devoutly wished for.*

The contumacious conduct of Mulraj, the Governor of Multan, gave the requisite opportunity. It is to be noted that the British Resident, charged with the administration of the Panjab, did not immediately take sufficient steps to crush him. There are good grounds to believe that disaffection was deliberately allowed to be spread so that the Government of India might have a casus belli for the fight to a finish.

V. TERRITORIES OUTSIDE INDIA

The conquest of the island of Ceylon had been completed ill 1815. It has been noted above 35 that during the Napoleonic wars in Europe an expedition from Bengal conquered Java, but it was restored to the Dutch in 1814. The Dutch, however, tried to exclude the British from all share of trade in this region and Lord Hastings feltj the necessity of securing the trade-route to China by strengthening! British possessions in the east. He therefore approved of the proposal, recommended by Sir Stamford Raffles (originally Governor of British possessions in Java and then of a small colony in Sumatra), of occupying the island of Singapur, which was then peopled by only a few fishermen. In spite of the protests of the Dutch authorities, Raffles seized the almost deserted island in A.D. 1819. Friction between the Dutch and the English continued till 1824, when a treaty was signed defining their respective spheres of influence. By this treaty the British received from the King of the Netherlands the Dutch possessions in India, as well as Malacca and Singapur, in exchange for the British settlements in Western Sumatra. 365

The situation of Singapur was recognised to be of great Importance from both commercial and political points of view, but its possession was involved in some difficulty. Two Malay Princes had a claim over it, of whom one was nominally a vassal of the other, but had actual and effective possession of the territory. The relations of both of these with the King of the Netherlands was also not quite clear. Therefore, on receiving the rights of the latter, the British entered into a definite agreement with the two native princes, known as Sultan and Tumongong of Johor. By a treaty concluded on August 2, 1824, both the princes ceded the island of Singapur together with the adjacent sea-straits and islands, up to a specified limit, to the British "in full sovereignty and property." In return, an annual grant was made by the British, but this was to lapse with the lives of the existing princes. 36

During the First Burmese War, a treaty was concluded between the British Government and the King of Siam on July 20, 1826. The help given by the ruler of Siam during the war was fully recognised and mutual alliance and friendship and facility for commerce were provided by the treaty. The British also agreed to recognise the existing boundaries of the kingdom of Siam. 37 This meant, in effect, that the possession of Kedda was guaranteed to the Siamese. The justice and expediency of this may well be questioned, for Kedda had a previous history. It was situated on the Western coast of Malacca and formerly belonged to a Prince with whom the British had concluded several engagements. "In the year 1786, Captain Light, the master of a country ship received from the King of Kedda the island of Pulo Penang (since called Prince of Wales Island), as a marriage portion with the sovereign's daughter. Captain Light transferred it to the East India

Company, by whom he was appointed Governor, and an arrangement was concluded with the King of Kedda for the payment to that Prince of six thousand dollars annually, to compensate for the loss of revenue which he was likely to sustain. In 1800, a cession of territory on the mainland was made to the Company. This acquired the name of Province Wellesley, and in consideration of its surrender the payment to the King of Kedda was raised to ten thousand dollars. In 1821, the remaining territories of the King of Kedda were invaded by the Siamese and quickly subdued, the prince thereupon taking refuge in Prince of Wales Island." 38 In view of the above circumstances it is difficult to justify the action of the British in guaranteeing the possession of Kedda to the Siamese.

Difficulties, however, soon arose when Kedda was restored to its old ruler by means of a military expedition, the preparations for which were made within the British territory. As soon as this was brought to the notice of the British Government, they forced the ruler of Kedda to remove to Malacca. Further, the British Resident at Singapur helped the Siamese Government in recapturing Kedda by blockading the mouth of the river. This action was disapproved by the Government of Bengal, but before their instructions reached the Resident, the Siamese had already taken possession of Kedda. The whole transaction reflects great dishonour upon the British who gave away to the Siamese the territories of a prince with whom they had friendly relations for forty years.

There were troubles also in Malacca. After receiving this territory from the King of the Netherlands, the British claimed authority over a number of petty native principalities in the neighbourhood. One of these was Nanning, the chief of which resisted the demands of the British, and a military force was sent against him. After a great deal of difficulty, and not without some loss, the British ultimately subdued the chieftain. 33

Considerations of trade and commerce influenced British policy net only in the eastern but also in the western sea. The piracy in the Arabian sea was a great menace to trade and several expeditions were fitted out in 1819-20 to check this growing evil. In course of two years piracy was effectively stopped by the suppression of the predatory fleet near the coast of Western India.

Aden was conquered in 1839. The crew and passengers of a ship under British colours, vTecked near Aden, were ill-treated by the Arabs, and the British seized this opportunity to secure possession of this much-coveted entrepot of the trade between the West and the East, famous as such since the beginning of the Christian era. The Sheikh of Lahej, to whom Aden belonged, was held responsible for the outrage, and the Government of Bombay demanded an explanation. The upshot was that the Sheikh was forced to agree, not only to make compensation for the plunder of the ship, but also to sell the town and port of Aden to the British. The son of the Sheikh, however, refused to comply with these terms. Thereupon a combined naval and military force was sent, and Aden was captured and annexed to British India on January 16, 1839.

1. CHI. V. 578.

2. The letter is quoted in Bell-1, p. 278.

3. Bell-1, p. 16.

4 . Ibid, 17. The 'plan' will be referred to later.

5. Sir Frederick Currie says: "The conditions of the 14th Article of the Treaty

the British Government had themselves, it must be admitted, 'failed to fulfil,' when they systematically withheld from the Rajah the advice which, by that Article, they are bound to give to him in the conduct of every detailed department of the administration." Sir Henry Montgomery, Member of file India Council, wrote in his Dissent of July 13, 1863: "_it is well-known

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and officially on record, that not only tos no advice tendered, but that It was systematically and purposely withheld . Bell-1, p. 16.

Munro had left on record his firm convictions that no good could come the administration of the Raja, and his successor held the same view. (Bell 1,

p. 20).

Bell-1, 25-6.

As^n<rted above there was no arrear in the payment of subsidy, and Bentinck used this disingenuous expression in order to avoid flat contradiction to his original charge that the subsidy was not regularly paid.

Bell-1, p. 22.

gf'the Proclamation issued on 30-3-1868 (Aitchison, Vol. IX, p. 249). Aitchison, IX, 357.

Muthanna^I.M., A Tiny Model State of South India (1953), p. 69.

Ibid, 61.

Ibid, 94.

Ibid, 93.

V * A 7 Smith writes: "He murdered aU his male relatives and many of (he femaiesToften with his own hands... His adherents * ^5

Bangalore and overthrow the Company s Government (Oxford History of India, 1919, p. 660). Smith cites no evidence for the charges. *

these is directly contradicted by the British officers mentioned above. The

second charge is not referred to by the contemporary historian Thornton, and is too ridiculous to be taken seriously into consideration without the strongest

positive evidence.

Basu-1, p. 776.

Muthanna, op. cit. 64.

Muthanna quotes the evidence of British officers to the effect that t^ere were two sons of the Raja born respectively in 1821 and 1832. He also says: The sons and the widow of the Raja who were in Benares (where the Raja

lived in exile before he went to England) had sent men m 1865 to obtain

wives from among the leading Codagu families (pp. 95, 9o, The daughter of Viraraja, the Elder, ruled for two years.

Aitchison, IX, 361.

Muthanna, op. cit., 96.

Ibid, 74.

Ibid, 89.

Ibid, 85.

Ibid, 87.

Ibid.

Asiatic Journal, May, 1836, p. 33. .i _

In a letter dated April 17, 1834, the Governor of Madras drew the attention of Col. Fraser to the good climate and other agreeable features of Mysore and Coorg and it is a reasonable assumption that the arbitrary annexation of Coorg' on false pretexts was greatly influenced by these considerations. Even, an Englishman, Mr. Cassell, wrote: "Codagu's annexation was preplanned. (Quoted by Muthanna, p. 70).

CHI VI 38

Detailed account is given in Vol. VIII. Cf. Cunningham, History of the Sikhs (19041 197-204.

Ellenborough's letter to the Queen, dated April 20, 1843; Basu-1, p. 852.

See Vol. VIII. . ,. , .. , ..

For the terms of the Treaty of 1824, the negotiations leading to it and its

effect upon the British expansion in the east, cf. The British in the Malay Indies by Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Ch. VI.

Thornton, V. 169-172.

Ibid, 101-4.

Ibid, 192-3.

Ibid, 189-200.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANNEXATIONS OF DALHOUSIE

A. THE PANJAB

The policy of Lord Dalhousie towards the Indian States was thus formulated by him: “I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves”. 1 Lord Dalhousie carried the theory into practice with such a determination that ‘he changed the map (of India) with speed and thoroughness no campaign had equalled ’. u The additions he made to the British territory in India increased its revenue by four millions and a half sterling and its area by districts equal to Russia in Europe. 1b

But in doing this he does not seem to have remembered the condition of such acquisition, which he recorded a few lines later in the s&me minute, namely, “Where even a shadow of doubt can be shown, the claim should at once be abandoned”. 2

When Dalhousie arrived in India as the Governor-General, it did not take him long to find out that the Panjab was a ripe fruit only waiting to be plucked. So once more the war machinery was set in motion. But there was a great deal of difference between the First and the Second Sikh War. This time there was no plea of aggressive attack by the Sikh army. Instead, we find a few local rebellions in a territory under the administration of the British and protected by their own troops. When or how these rebellions merged into a full scale war, it is not easy to determine. Even Lord Gough, the Commander of the British troops, who had crossed the Sutlej with his army on November 9, 1848, remarked on November 15, ‘that he did not know whether he was at peace or at war, or who it was he was fighting for’.

This curious state of things has been discussed in detail in Chapter X which also gives a description of the two battles successively fought by the British at Chilianwala (January 13, 1849) and Gujarat (February 21). As in the first war, the Sikh soldiers fought with great bravery and skill. The victory at Chilianwala—if victory it may be called—was won at a great cost. The British losses were over 2,000 and four guns, and the colours of three regiments were captured by the Sikhs. As in the First Sikh War, Lord Gough was superseded by the home authorities, but before the news could reach India, he retrieved his honour by his second victorjf which proved decisive. The Sikh army made unconditional surrender. Peshawar capitulated, and the Afghan auxiliaries hurried back to their home. The war was over and the Panjab was formally annexed to the British dominion. Dalip Singh was set aside on a pension.

Whatever views one might entertain about the cause of the war, there can hardly be two opinions on the injustice of the annexation of the Panjab. The Panjab, it should be remembered, was at that time under the absolute control of the British, and the administration was being carried on by the Resident on behalf of the minor Dalip Singh. If there were local rebellions, the Government had undoubted right to punish the rebels. But it passes one’s comprehension how the penalty can be visited upon the unoffending boyruler. He evidently forfeited his throne for failing to check the revolt; in other words, for not doing what he had no power or authority to do under the terms of a treaty imposed by the British themselves. By what logic, one might ask, was Dalip Singh deprived of the power, position and privilege which the British had granted to him by one treaty and undertaken to protect by another. The only logic which could be invoked was the logic of the strong towards the weak, which has been the corner-stone of British imperialism in India.

B. BURMA

The Panjab was not the only military conquest of Dalhousie. Another victim was Burma. The occupation 6f ArSkfin and Tenasserim, as a result of the First Burmese War, was merely the beginning of a process which, in its natural course of development, was bound to swallow up the rest of the kingdom. How this process usually worked is illustrated by the dealings of colonial European powers with Asiatic and African peoples. The commercial importance of Burma attracted English merchants. These unwelcome guests, conscious of their military strength and proud of their superior civilization, were arrogant in their demands and loud in their complaints against the Government of Burma. There were undoubtedly corruptions of local Burmese officials, and there was also some truth in the complaints. But if a body of people feel that they were not justly treated in a foreign land, ruled by different laws and procedure to which they could justly object, international law and practice, as understbod and applied in Europe, alike prescribe that they might quit the land under protest. The policy and mora

Uty of the colonial Europeans in Asia were, however, different. They took for granted their inherent right to be wherever they chose, and also to establish their rights and prerogatives, as they conceived them, by either mending the ways of the recalcitrant Asiatic sovereigns, or, if necessary, by ending them, by the use of force. This truth was well illustrated in China less than a decade before Dalhousie arrived in India. As it was connected with India, we may go into some details. The Chinese, foolishly enough as it seems, tried to stop the import of Indian Opium which was sapping the vitality of the whole nation. British army not only forced the opium down the throat of the Chinese, but also compelled them to pay a heavy indemnity, cede Hongkong, and make other concessions which facilitated future exploitation of the same kind (A.D. 1842). It is worth quoting, in full, the observations of a British historian on this disgraceful transaction. “Moralists of the severer type were unable to reconcile themselves to the arguments adduced in justification of the war. Ashley even brought forward a resolution for the suppression of the opium trade, but withdrew it after a debate turning on the inability of the Indian Government to part with a revenue of £ 1,000,000 or more.” 3

Lord Dalhousie was evidently not a moralist of the severer type, and certainly felt no scruple in upholding the most arbitrary act of violence on the part of his own officer against the ruler of Burma, even when he was convinced of its injustice. This will be demonstrated by the detailed account of the circumstances leading to the second Burmese war, given in Chapter V. It is curious that as soon as Dalhousie gave a practical demonstration of his new forward policy by the annexation of the Panjab, complaints of oppression began to pour in from the British merchants of Burma. Although the British residents in Burma alleged that they “had suffered for long time , they did not place their grievances seriously before the Government of India before 1851, 4 when Dalhousie’s policy of annexation was at work in full swing. Another curious fact is that about the same time there was public agitation on the part of the British, through the press and on the platform, about the eminent desirability of conquering Burma.

Neither the local authorities nor the Government of India made any proper inquiry into the alleged charges against the Burmese officials. But Lord Dalhousie decided to demand reparation from the Government of Ava, and for this purpose sent Commodore Lambert of the Royal Navy with the ships under his command and other available vessels. The choice of such “diplomatic” mission to settle political disputes is perhaps unique. As soon as Lambert arrived in Rangoon, no less than 38 new charges were made by the British residents against Burmese officials. So Lambert demanded the removal of the Governor of Rangoon. The Burmese Government sent a most conciliatory reply and even conceded the high-handed demand of Lambert by removing the Governor of Rangoon. But the old fable of the wolf and the lamb was repeated. A deputation sent by Lambert to the new Governor felt insulted at the manner of their reception. Immediately after receiving their report, and without asking for any explanation, Lambert blockaded the rivers of Rangoon, the Bassein and Salween, and seized a ship belonging to the king of Burma. The rest was, of course, a foregone conclusion. A full scale military expedition was sent to Burma. The Burmese were defeated and the important cities of Prome and Pegu were captured by the British forces. As the Burmese Government, though unable to fight, refused to sue for peace, Dalhousie annexed the province of Pegu, with some territory above Prome, by a formal proclamation on December 19, 1852.

C. AVADH

In addition to the Panjab and Lower Burma, a third large province, namely, Oudh (now called Avadh) was annexed to the British dominions in India by Lord Dalhousie. No military expedition was necessary, and the mailed fist of Dalhousie was enough to coerce into submission the helpless ruler of Avadh, who had been recently elevated to the status of an independent king by the British themselves. The annexation of Avadh was the culminating act of a series of extortions and oppressions upon the hapless rulers or Avadh since the fateful day when Suja-ud-daulla asked for military help from Warren Hastings to conquer the neighbouring province of Rohilkhand. The subsequent history of Avadh is but the story of gradually increasing interference in its internal administration by the British, and their growing exactions, which reduced the country to an intolerable state of chaos and confusion. No doubt, the depraved character of the rulers contributed to no small extent to this miserable state of things; but this was largely the result of the dual government set up in Avadh, in which the British had all the power without any responsibility, and the Nawab had all the responsibility without any real power to deliver himself or his people from the Octopus of British hold. The successive acts in thitf tragic drama till the fall of the curtain on the eve of Dalhousie’s departure from India (as a matter of fact, his term of office was extended in order that he might see the business through) will be related in Chapter XI. It will suffice to state here that probably no other act of Dalhousie received such a strong condemnation both in India and England. It is only fair to state that in equity the blame must be shared, to some extent, both by the authorities at home and the predecessors of Dalhousie in India. When Dalhousie appeared on the scene it was no longer the question of whether, but when, Avadh will be added to British India, and the utmost that can be said is that he merely quickened the process and thereby ended the prolonged agony of the king and the people of Avadh.

D. ANNEXATIONS BY THE DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

In addition to the Panjab, Burma and Avadh Lord Dalhousie’s period of administration is marked by the annexation of a large number of other Indian States, both large and small, and escheat of dignitary titles and pensions, the last vestiges of once powerful and independent States. These were made by the mere fiat of the Paramount Power without any resort to, or even show of, force.

We may begin with the famous Doctrine of Lapse which accounts for the annexation of Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi and several smaller States, and the extinction of the nominal sovereignty of the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore.

There is a long-standing usage, sanctioned by religious scriptures, by which a Hindu, without any male issue, may, after observing some rites and ceremonies, adopt a son, subject to some prescribed restrictions in the choice of the person so adopted. Such a son, simply by virtue of the process of adoption, becomes immediately possessed of all the rights and obligations, both secular and religious, of a son born of a legitimately wedded wife.

So far as the law and general usage are concerned, every Hindu has the unrestricted right of adoption. This was also at first recognized by the British rulers. In 1825 the British Government passed a formal resolution to the effect that “Sovereign princes in their own right have, by Hindu law, a right to adopt... .and that the British Government is bound to acknowledge the adoption. 4 * Later, they held that so far as a dependent ruling chief was concerned, the power of adoption, according to prevailing custom, was subject to the consent of the suzerain authority. The obvious practical implication was that no subordinate Hindu ruler could adopt a son without the previous consent of the British Government, and any adoption, so made, would be invalid, so far at least as succession to political rights was concerned. Thus the Bombay Government resolved in 1831 to “continue to grant or to withhold its permission to adopt according to circumstances” 6 . In 1834, the Court of Directors issued the following directive for the guidance of the Indian Government.

Wherever it is optional with you to give or to withhold your consent to adoptions, the indulgence should be the exception, not the rule, and should never be granted but as a special mark of favour and approbation.” 6

The -method of practical application of this theory is not, how* ever, quite so clear. In a large number of instances the Hindu ruler of a State, and in a few cases even his eldest widow, was allowed to adopt a son. In more than one case, the British Government or its local agent was eager that a ruling chief, without any male issue, should make an adoption during his lifetime. Daulat Rao Sindhia died on March 20, 1827, without having adopted a son, but his widow Baiza Bai adopted Jankojee Rao on June 18, 1827. On the latter’s death in 1843, the senior widow adopted Jayaji Rao, the nearest in blood. It has been justly observed that the British Government itself, in truth, had so thoroughly recognized the right, and supported it in the case of Hindu principalities, that ‘actually there were many more successors by adoption in the Hindu royal houses than by direct descent, at the time that this universal privilege was denied to the Rajah of Satara.’ 8 John Sullivan says that in accordance with the Resolution of 1826 no less than fifteen instances of adoption by succession were recognized by the British government between the years 1826 and 1848, seven of which were made by reigning princes. 8 ®

On the other hand a few instances may be cited in which adoption was set aside. One of the earliest cases of this nature occurred in Jhansi in 1835. Ram Chandra Rao, the Raja of Jhansi, died after adopting a son without the sanction of the British Government, and his claim to succession was passed over in favour of Raghunath Rao, an uncle of the deceased ruler. But, as will be shown later, the adoption was set aside, not because it had not the sanction of the British Government behind it, but probably on the ground that it was irregular, i.e. it did not fulfil all the conditions prescribed for adoption in Hindu Scriptures. In any case the invalidity of adoption did not lead to annexation. The next is the case of Jalaun in Bundelkhand, where an adoption was allowed in 1832, but in 1840 Ellenborough refused to sanction a second adoption and the State lapsed to the British Government.® Jalaun, however, be it noted, was really a jdgir, rather than a sovereign principality. The next case is that of Colaba. Its ruler, Raghoji Angria, concluded, in 1822, a treaty with the British by which “the entire supremacy” and the “right of investiture” were expressly reserved to the

British Government. In 1841, standing on the right of investiture, Lord Auckland refused to permit an adopted son to succeed. This action has been condemned on the ground that “this right of investiture was not a right of arbitrary resumption, or of escheat on failure of lineal heirs”. [10] Whatever one might think of this argument, the case of Colaba undoubtedly stands by itself and cannot create a precedent, in view of the express stipulation reserving the right of investiture to the British Government. The small State of Mandavi also lapsed. Mandavi was a small State in Bombay, consisting of the town of that name on the Tapti with 162 villages. It was founded by a Bhil chief and owed allegiance to the Peshwa. In 1803 it became tributary to the British. As the last chief died without issue, and even the most legitimate claimant was very remotely connected with him by blood, the Government of India, with the full approval of the Court of Directors, annexed the State. The Bill for the purpose was introduced during the regime of Hardinge though the Act was not finally passed till 1848, after Dalhousie had taken over charge. [11]

The whole policy of sanctioning adoption by Indian rulers was thoroughly discussed by the Government of India in 1837, when Raja Tej Singh Bahadur of Orchha applied for grant of recognition to his adopted son, Sujan Singh, as his heir and successor. [12] Mr. Fraser, the Political Agent of Bundelkhand, collected all possible information and precedents, and submitted a comprehensive review of the general question of succession. He did not deny the right of adoption, but contended, that before recognizing it the British Government should carefully consider the claims of collateral heirs as well as the rights and interests of the Paramount Power. “He did not find any reason why the right of the latter to resume hereditary territories in the absence of lineal descendants should not be asserted and enforced”. [13] Sir Charles Metcalfe, who was then the Lieutenant Governor of N.W.P., did not accept this view, for he thought that Fraser ignored the differences between the sovereign princes and the Jaglrddrs. The former, he said, “had a right to adopt to the exclusion of their collaterals and the so-called reversionary rights of the Paramount Power in accordance with the laws of the land. In their cases, the British Government was bound to acknowledge adoptions, if they were regular and not in violation of their customary legal tenets. In the cases of the second category of states, the Paramount Power was entitled to limit successions according to the terms of the. grants which were, in general, confined only to the legitimate sons and consequently precluded adoptions.” To Metcalfe it seemed that the “Raja of Orchha was a sovereign Prince, and being a Hindu, he was fully entitled to adopt a son and successor in the absence of his own. He regarded the adoption made by the Raja as an unobjectionable arrangement”. He disputed the statement nf

Fraser that the former decisions of the British Government in acknowledging successions in the States of Bundelkhand were inco» herent, and said that the one underlying principle, which generally operated on such occasions, had been that of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Indian States by which a succession, appa* rently agreeable to the Prince and the people or to the latter on the demise of the former, was recognized. 14

Before the case of adoption by the ruler of Orchha was finally decided, it was complicated by his alleged complicity with a subordinate Jagirdar in his rebellion against the British authority. Nevertheless, the case was regarded so important that the question of the political status of Orchha was discussed threadbare by the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

Both Fraser and Maddock, the Secretary to the Government of India, doubted if Orchha was ever regarded as a sovereign State* Metcalfe expressed the view that the ruler of Orchha was a sovereign prince and was fully entitled to adopt a son. Lord Auckland endorsed this view. “In support of his contention, he recalled the preamble to the treaty with Orchha, concluded on the 23rd December, 1842, which clearly defined the status of its ruler whose ancestors had been holding the state since ancient times without paying tribute or acknowledging vassalage to any other power. The treaty was designated as one of friendship and alliance by which the state was guaranteed to its ruler and his heirs and successors. In view of these clear terms, Lord Auckland considered it impossible to r&ise any doubt as to the status of the Raja and decided to regard him as a sovereign Prince who was entitled, as suggested by Metcalfe on the 28th October, 1837, to make an adoption which the British Government was legally bound to recognize, provided that the adoption was regular and not in violation of the Hindu Law". 16

Two members of the Executive Council wrote minutes about this case. W. W. Bird subscribed to the views of Lord Auckland and saw no reason to depart from the well-established policy. "H. T. Prinsep was of opinion that the states of Bundelkhand in their relations with the British Government were not better than the protected states of other regions. Among them, Orchha belonged to a superior class like the ruler of Rewa in Baghelkhand. Having no natural heir, the Raja provided for succession and he had every right to do so even to the exclusion of the claims of his collaterals. Being an old inheritance, neither of British creation nor a product of the Peshwa's bounty to whose rights the company had succeeded, the British Government was not entitled to claim the Raj as a lapse on failure of a direct heir to the prejudice of his right to adopt

or of the rights of his collecterals to succeed. He treated this case as quite different 'from that of Jalaun which was only a jagir and a subordinate province of the Peshwa to which only direct descendants from the first Subedar could have a just claim to succeed". 16

Thus Lord Auckland, W. W. Bird, H. T. Prinsep and C. T. Metcalfe held more or less the same view, while those of Fraser and Maddock were different. The view of the Governor-General therefore prevailed as the decision of the Supreme Government, and the right of the ruler of Orchha to adopt a child as his heir and successor was formally acknowledged.

The view so strongly expressed by Lord Auckland in sanctioning adoption by the ruler of Orchha acquires a special significance when we remember that the titular dignity of the Nawabs of Surat was extinguished in August 1842, and that on this occasion Lord Auckland's Government endorsed the general principle of "abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue, while all existing claims of right are at the same time scrupulously maintained.". 17

Such was the situation when Lord Dalhousie took over the administration of India. The principle on which Lord Dsdhousie acted, and which was supported by the authorities at home, was explained by him in several minutes. He classified the Indian States into three categories, namely, (1) the creation of the British Government, (2) tributary and subordinate, and (3) independent. He laid down as a general principle that no adoption should be permitted to the first, no adoption without previous consent should be recognized in the case of the second, while there should be no interference in the case of the third. 18

The legitimacy, morality, and expediency of this doctrine of lapse have been discussed at length by various authorities, but there is no consensus of opinion on the subject. There is no doubt that the adoption, involving the right to succeed like an ordinary child, was an approved custom among the Hindus, sanctioned by ancient law; and there is no clear reason or precedent, sufficiently Strong, to set it aside as obsolete or illegal. The only support in Hindu scriptures for the theory, that a valid adoption requires the sanction of the king, is furnished by a dictum in the Vasish$ha Sanhhitd which, according to Colebrooke's Digest, lays down that s person, before making adoption, "must give humble notice to the king". 19 The actual passage in the Dharmasutra of Vasishtha (XV. 6) has been translated as follows:

> He who desires to adopt a son, shall assemble his kinsmen, announce his intention to the king, make burnt offerings.

The announcement of intention to the king is somewhat analogous to the 'registration' of a document, to ensure its bonafide character, and cannot, by any stretch of imagination, convey that no adoption is valid without the sanction of the king. Indeed, so little importance was attached to this detail, that no other ancient text contains it.

As to precedents, no one has been able to point out a single clear instance supporting the contention of the British Government. Bell asserts that "neither the kings of Delhi nor the Peshwas ever exercised or claimed the right of forbidding adoption in the families of dependent chieftains"; at least "there is not a single case on record." The following observations of Bell have not been refuted so far by any cogent argument.

“The prerogative of recognising or refusing to recognise the adopted son of a native prince never belonged to the paramount power in India. The assumption of such prerogative is historically false. Neither the doctrine nor the practice has yet been proved by any authentic record. The summary of Hindu laws and customs in the Deccan printed by the order of Elphinstone in 1826 sanctions adoption, even by the widow, who may adopt one of the husband’s relations, with their concurrence and with that of the caste, who will be the heir. This was the opinion of the Resident in the case of Daulat Rao Sindhia who died without adopting a son in 1827. His widow Baiza Bai, who would have postponed adoption in order to keep authority in her own hands required the pressure of the Resident to adopt Jankoji Rao Sindhia on June 18, 1827. Jankoji died in 1843 without adoption, but the senior widow adopted Jayaji Rao Sindhia. The same opinion was given by Col. Sutherland, Governor-General’s agent in Central India, in the case of the petty Rajput State of Kishengarh:

“The British Government has on many occasions introduced limitations into those clauses of treaty which guaranteed hereditary descent such as legitimate offspring (Rao of Cutch in 1819), descendants (Jhullawur in 1838), the heirs male of his body (Ghulab Singh of Kashmir) and even so late as 1856 in the proposed treaty with Oudh the succession was to be confined to the heirs male of his body born in lawful wedlock. It follows that when a treaty contains no such restriction no rule except that of Hindu law in all its integrity can have been contemplated by either party.”

Bell also categorically maintains ‘that the Adoption despatch itself tacitly acknowledged, that the imaginary precedents for ignoring adoption by ruling chiefs could not be found; did not in fact exist’. [21] Lee Warner has pointed out, by way of precedents, that the Peshwa usually sold the Sanad , or title to adopt, to the highest bidder. He charged a nazamna or succession duty. From this he draws the inference that British Government had a perfect right either to follow this precedent or to introduce some other plan in regard to succession. [22] This is a queer inference, to say the least of it. Some have quoted precedents where Jagirdars, or persons of still lower category, had to obtain the consent of the rulers before adoption, [23] One can hardly regard them as evidence of an established custom, applicable to ruling chiefs vis d vis their suzerains. At least not a single concrete instance in support of such custom has been brought forward. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that the validity of such principle or custom was not clearly recognized by the Indians at any time, and the mere ex parte decision of the British could not create it. The Doctrine of Lapse, and the annexations based upon it, particularly those of Satara, Jhansi and Nagpur, were undoubtedly regarded as complete innovations all over India, and as abrogations of a right enjoyed by the ruling chiefs in India for a long time. Admitting that the British Government adopted the principle in theory, for its own guidance, as far back as 1831, or even earlier, it does not necessarily follow that an action based on the fiat of executive authority was right, or proper, or thereby created any legal sanction. None of the numerous treaties, concluded between the British and the Indian States, expressly referred to the invalidity of adoption made without the consent of the former, and there was no legal enactment to that effect. It is interesting to note that the legal point involved in the Doctrine of Lapse did actually come up for decision before a judicial tribunal. In the important case of Bhasker Buchajee Vs, Naroo Rugonath (Select Reports, 24) it was decided "that want of the permission of the ruling authorities is an insufficient ground for setting aside an adoption once made with the proper ceremonies." 24

In view of all this it is difficult to maintain that the British Government was within its rights, merely by an executive fiat, in the absence of any legislation, to annul the adoption of an Indian ruler, and to annex his State on the ground of failure of male issue.

So far as the morality or expediency of this doctrine is concerned, it is, of course, a matter of opinion, and arguments have been advanced both for and against it. But a few points may be noted. Lord* Dalhousie's confident assertions that the change of rule in Nagpur, Avadh and other annexed provinces was hailed by the population as a blessing, and that not "a murmur was heard beyond the palace walls", 26 were erroneous and unfounded. The great excitement at Nagpur and the popular support of the civil commotion at

Avadh, during the outbreak of 1857-8, sufficiently testify to the feelings of the people on the annexation of these provinces by the British. That great outbreak also proves, in an indirect manner, that the Doctrine of Lapse was regarded as highly inexpedient, if not immoral and illegitimate. For, shortly after it, the British Government voluntarily wrote to the ruling chiefs of India, assuring them of the full and unrestricted right of adoption. On this occasion Sir Charles Wood wrote in his despatch to the Government of India dated July 26, 1860, that the British Government should practically demonstrate that "we are as willing to respect the rights of others as we are capable of maintaining our own". He thus practically conceded that the Indian States had a right to adopt.

Fortunately or unfortunately for Dalhousie, he had to deal with a number of cases, involving a decision on the right of adoption.

1. Satara

The Raja of Satara died in 1848. He had no male issue, but adopted a son without the previous consent of the British Government. It was a clear case to be decided on the principle laid down by Dalhousie, but some complications arose in view of the language of the treaty which created the State. It conferred the State on the first Raja "and his heirs and successors". It was contended that this implied the right of the adopted son to succeed, as he was unquestionably an heir. A few members of the Governor-General's Council objected to the annexation, and the whole question was referred to the Court of Directors who agreed with the view of the majority, in favour of annexation, as "being in accordance with the general law and custom of India". 26 Satara was accordingly annexed and the claim of adopted son set aside.

2. Jhansi

Gangadhar Rao, Raja of Jhansi, died on November 20, 1853. On November 19, he decided to adopt a son and sent a communication to this effect to Major Ellis, the Assistant Political Agent of Bundelkhand. The ceremony of adoption was actually performed on the 20th. Ellis received the Raja's letter on that date and saw him. The dying Gangadhar Rao requested him to try his best to secure the approval of the Government to this adoption, and also wrote to Malcolm to the same effect. In this letter he referred to the article 2 of the treaty of 1817 which recognized Ramchandra Rao and his heirs and successors as rulers of Jhansi. In 1817 the Peshwa Baji Rao II transferred his interests and pretensions in Bundelkhand to the British Government by the Treaty of Poona. The territories

in the possession of the Subahdar of Jhansi were confirmed by the British Government "in perpetuity" to his grandson Ramchandra Rao, "his heirs and successors", by the treaty of 1817. The preamble and the first article of the treaty of 1817 prove that the treaty of 1804 was in full force during the first three years of Ramchandra Rao's reign, and that a new treaty was only concluded "in consequence" of the altered relations of the British with the Peshwa. There was no gift, because Ramchandra Rao was already in possession; there was no pretension to the relations between sovereign and subject, for there already existed relations of amity and defensive alliance. Lord Dalhousie is therefore clearly wrong when he says (in para 6 of his minute) that Jhansi was "held by a Chief under very recent grant from the British as sovereign", (and in para 12) "such as is issued by a sovereign to a subject". It is true that the Chief was made Raja in 1832, but the inferior title of Subahdar involves no inferiority in sovereign power or hereditary right. Sindhia, Holkar and Gaekwar were originally Subahdars and feudatories of the Peshwa like the Subahdar of Jhansi.

In paras 7 and 11 of Dalhousie's minute it is said that Rao Ramchandra did adopt a boy, but the British Government did not acknowledge the boy as successor, and this is cited as a precedent for refusing to sanction adoption. But the fact is that there was a disputed succession in 1835, there being four claimants. The Secretary to Government refers tc it as follows: "On this occasion the lawful heir by blood, descended of the body of Sheo Ram Bhow, was recognised as successor to the Raj, to the disallowance of a boy alleged to have been adopted or nominated as successor by the late Rajah the day before his death, who, if adopted, would have been unquestionably the heir to any property of his adoptive father to the exclusion of the uncle; and this was done without enquiry into the fact of adoption or nomination (which was doubtful) as though it was an immaterial circumstance." On that occasion the question of annulling adoptions was not even discussed. 26 *

In the inquiry which preceded the annexation of Jhansi reference is made both by Dalhousie and the Secretary to the Views of Metcalfe. But as will be seen from the observations of Metcalfe, quoted above, they go definitely against the views of Dalhousie. In a letter, dated 16-2-1854, the widowed Rani Lakshmi Bai, destined to attain immortal fame four years later, wrote a long letter to the Governor-General. After referring to the loyal services rendered to the British by the past rulers of the family, the Rani drew the attention of the Governor-General to the article 2 of the treaty of 1817 referred to above. She pointed out that two different words— Warisdn and Janisintin —have been used to denote the heirs and successors, of which the first means normal heirs but the second includes adopted sons.

But before the end of February, 1854, Dalhousie decided to annex Jhansi on the ground that there was no male heir. He stressed the point that the ruler of Jhansi was originally a provincial Governor and cannot be regarded as a ruling chief. He also pointed out that the adopted son of a previous ruler, Ramchandra Rao, was also not recognized as his heir.

Lord Dalhousie’s reference to the status of the ruler of Jhansi is very misleading. The relevant facts may be summed up as follows:

Jhansi formed a part of the dominions of the Peshwa. Its ruler, Shib Rao Bhao, however, rendered signal service to the British during the Second Maratha War. In recognition of these services, the British Government, in 1804, while formally recognizing the sovereign rights of the Peshwa, made a treaty of defensive alliance with his nominal tributary, Shib Rao Bhao, the Subahdar of Jhansi.

3. Sambalpur

Narayan Singh, the ruler of Sambalpur, died in 1849. His widow Rani Mukhyapan Devi assumed the reins of Government, but Lord Dalhousie set aside her claim, and as the late ruler had left no male issue, annexed Sambalpur to the British dominions. It was alleged that no adoption had ever been proposed, and that Narayan Singh, the last ruler, had, during his lifetime, expressly intimated his wish that the British Government should take possession of his principality and provide for his Rani. 26b

4. Nagpur

The Raja of Nagpur died in 1853. He had no male heir and did not actually adopt any son. Dalhousie regarded Nagpur as a State belonging to the first category mentioned above, i.e., a creation of the British, and therefore recommended its annexation. But, as will be shown later, Dalhousie's presumptions were wrong, and many of his advisers opposed it on general principles based on the wellknown views of Elphinstone, Monroe and Metcalfe. The question was referred to the Court of Directors who supported the GovernorGeneral. Nagpur was accordingly annexed to the British dominions.

5. General Review

In all these cases the ultimate responsibility for escheat and annexation rests, at least technically, on the shoulders of the authorities at home, and Dalhousie cannot be held responsible for it. Still, as he held, very strong views in favour of annexation which must have largely influenced the opinion at home, he cannot altogether escape the praise or blame for these transactions.

In fairness to Dalhousie, and in order to form a just opinion of the share of responsibility belonging to each of the parties concerned, it is necessary to refer to some of the views expressed in connection with the annexation of Satara which was the first case that had to be dealt with by Dalhousie under the Doctrine of Lapse. The contingency arose when Appa Sahib, the Raja of Satara, died on April 5 , 1848 . But long before that event, Sir John Camac, the Governor of Bombay, anticipated the later decision. When Pratap Singh, the Raja of Satara, was deposed in 1839, as described in chapter VI, Camac recommended that Appa Sahib, the brother of the ex-Raj a, should be appointed his successor. While making this proposal he pointed out that neither the ex-Raj a nor his brother any children or were likely to have any, and then significantly added: It follows, therefore, that on the demise of the new Raja the Satara State would lapse to the British Government". 2 ? Nor

™ e . r ® ^ h ° me authorities ^ emphatic on the point. Hobhouse, who at that time presided over the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, popularly known as the Board of Control, expressed his

views as follows in a letter which he wrote to Dalhousie on December 24, 1847:

The death of the ex-Raja of Satara certainly comes at a verv opportune moment. The reigning Raja, I hear, is in very bad health and it is not at all impossible we may soon have to decide upon the a e of his territory. I have a very strong opinion that on the death

. P re . S . ent P T Ce Wlth ° Ut a son ' no ad °Ption should be permitted, and this petty principality should be merged in the British

t "JTi ^ lf the question decided in my "day of sextonship" 1 sha11 ! r ea ^ e no st °ne unturned to bring about that result. But of course, I should like to have your opinion on the subject". 2 **

o " •!! difficult to conceive of a stronger pressure from a higher authority on a subordinate, who had just assumed the office of

the Governor-Cenera! and had not yet formulated his views on the

Sf* W °i er ' therefore - that in a minute, dated August 30,

, Dalhousie laid down his views as follows: "I hold that on all occasions where heirs natural shall fail, the territory should be made to lapse and adoption should not be permitted, excepting in

ln ™ h f ich some str °ng political reason may render it expedient to depart from this general rule". 29

As noted above, Dalhousie later modified his policy, and varied it in accordance with the status of the State under consideration. But the views quoted above leave no doubt that, annexation by lapse was the generally approved policy, both in India and at home, though there were some Indian officials who held a contrary view. Thus Sir George Clarke, the Governor of

Bombay, and six members of the Court of Directors were against the annexation of Satara. 30

As regards the purely legal aspect, the case of Satara is highly instructive. Some English writers have held that it was a wellestablished principle in India, and the Hindu Law clearly laid down, that the adopted son of a subordinate or dependent ruler had no right to inherit public property, as opposed to private estates, without the sanction of the suzerain authority. 31 But, as already noted above, 32 no evidence has been cited in support of such a categorical assertion, and its truth may be doubted. But this issue seems to be irrelevant in the case of Satara. For, by no stretch of imagination, can it be regarded as a dependent State. The Company's own proclamation, dated 1818, declared that "the Rajah of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Baji Kao's hands, will be released, and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty.... " The Treaty concluded between the restored Raja of Satara and the British is quite in accordance with this declaration. "All its language seems that

of a convention between equals,_Furthermore, the wordings of

the articles reinforce the notion of sovereign equality". For the Raja is called "Chhatrapati ", an ancient term denoting independent sovereignty. What is more relevant to the present issue, the Treaty, mentioned above, clearly establishes the rigfit of perpetual succession without any hindrance. "The words in the original for "sons, heirs, and successors" are Persian vocables and phrases, the first implying an own son, the next answering to the idea of an adopted son, the third applicable to "assigns", representatives, or a regency". "The word 'perpetuity' also sudodit could not have been rendered stronger, for the vernacular implies "for ever" "as long as the sun and moon endure". As Arnold justly remarks: "It is difficult to see how an instrument could better assure to a Hindoo prince the rights and the various modes of succession common to Hindu thrones". 33

Bell observes: In the case of setting aside the adoption of Appa Sahib, the Raja of Satara, next to that of Colaba, every authority, including Dalhpusie, referred to the opinion of Willoughby. This gentleman always refers to a series of precedents going hack to the "Imperial house of Delhi" for "the universal and immemorial custom of India", but does not cite a single precedent or a single document except that of Colaba. Willoughby asserts that the Treaty of 1819 with the Raja of Satara '"limited the succession to the descendants of the party on whom it was gratuitously conferred". In that treaty there is no such thing. It was a treaty of "perpetual friendship and alliance" with the Raja of Satara, his heirs and successors, and contains nothing whatever to restrain the operation of the ordinary law of inheritance. Sir George Clerk, Governor of Bombay, accepted this interpretation and recognized the adopted boy as successor. In the discussion before the Court of Directors and the Board of Control in London, the adoption was supported by a strong minority who made written protests. Mr. R. D. Mangles, the only member on the opposite side who gave a written reply, quoted as a precedent the case of Krishna Rao whose father by adoption had received a grant of a nemnook which was refused him by the Gaekwar. A nemnook is a hereditary pension in money, usually connected with some honorary or sinecure office. The document granting an annuity to the family of a subject and servant is compared by him with a treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance made with a sovereign, "his heirs and successors", and he refers to this treaty as an agreement. Mangles' argument shows that the supporters of Dalhousie were in fearful straits for a precedent. 33 ®

The annexation of Sat&ra was il e blow to such reputation for straightforwardness as the Company still possessed". Mr. Elphinstone was shocked beyond measure, and "the treatment of the Satara Sovereignty as a Jageer, he regarded as a monstrous one". 34

As regards Nagpur, Dalhousie wrote an elaborate minute, dated January 28, 1854, in which he proved, to his own satisfaction, that Nagpur was a dependent State conferred by the British upon Raghuji Bhonsle, his heirs and successors, and that he had died without heirs natural or adopted, leaving no one who had a claim to the sovereignty. 36 "The simple question", said Dalhousie, "for determination is, whether the sovereignty of Nagpur, which was bestowed as a gift upon a Goojur by the British Government in 1818, should now be conferred upon somebody else as a gift a second time". 36 The question was not, however, really so simple. The

State of Nagpur cannot be regarded as a dependent State, created by the British, and conferred by them upon Raghuji Bhonsle. It was an ancient MarathS State which, by rights of the Treaty of 1803, stood in the same relation with the British as the States of Sindhia and Holkar. It is true that the ruler of Nagpur rose against the British in 1818, and the British Government might have, in consequence, annexed it in 1818, or granted it for life, or made any other arrangement. But they did nothing of the kind, and acknowledged the ruler as a suzerain and guaranteed to him, and to "his heirs and

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successors", the State of Nagpur without any new limitation or qualification. This arrangement was confirmed by a special treaty in 1826, by which certain provinces were ceded to the British "for ever", which expression obviously applies also to the portion that was left and constituted the Nagpur State. 37

The other assertion of Dalhousie, that the late Raja made no adoption and there was no claimant to the throne, leading to the more categorical assertion, that the "Raja never adopted a son, and his Ranees neither adopted nor expressed any intention of doing so," 38 can only be regarded as one of those clever half-truths which are deliberately designed to mislead the unwary reader. The fact is that Raghuji Bhonsle III, Raja of Nagpur, who died in 1853 after a few days' illness, had decided to adopt his grand-nephew, Appa Sahib. He was the nearest collateral heir to the throne, and was chosen to succeed in default of heir-male of the body. He had been brought up in the palace in a way suitable to the dignity of an heir apparent. His mother had given birth to the lad in the palace and a royal salute of 21 guns was given at his birth. He was always seated by the Maharaja's side at all court ceremonials. The king had deferred formally adopting him, probably entertaining the hope of having a son of his own; he was forty-seven when he died, and might therefore still expect progeny. 39 But before his death, he frequently represented to the Resident that there was no probability of his having any issue and that therefore he should be permitted to adopt a son as successor to the Raj and territory of Nagpur, according to the treaty, and according to the custom of the family. 40 Immediately after the death of the Raja, the boy was adopted formally by the senior widowed Rani, when the parents of the boy formally handed him over to her. 41 The funeral ceremonies and rites of the late Raja were duly performed by Appa Sahib as the adopted son.

The widows of the deceased Raja notified the adoption to the Resident, but suspended the usual pomp and ceremonies, observed on such occasions, pending the formal permission of the British Government. The Ranis frequently requested the Resident to accord the necessarv sanction, and submitted three memorials to

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the Governor-General on the subject. They pointed out that the formal adoption was only "suspended to please the Sircar (Government)", and "should not be construed by it as having been abandoned." 42

These facts show' the misleading character of the assumptions made by Dalhousie and his apologists, that the Raja of Nagpur never adopted a son, and his Ranis neither adopted nor expressed any in

tention of doing so. Indeed such a position would appear almost incredible to those who are familiar with the notions, practices and customs of the ruling families of India at the time. The defence of Dalhousie and his apologists in regard to the annexation of Nagpur is thus not only the weakest of its kind, but may even be regarded as dishonest. It also conveniently ignores the fact that there were cases on record within recent memory where, as in the case of Sindhia family, the widowed Ranis, on two successive occasions, in 1827 and 1843, were not only permitted, but even urged to adopt, as already mentioned above.

As a matter of fact, the widowed Ranis of Nagpur were denied any hearing on their behalf. Dalhousie suppressed all references to their petition for adoption and had the hardihood to say that there was no claimant to the throne. This was bad enough, but was rendered far worse by the statement of some of his apologists to the effect that after the decision of Government in favour of annexation, and after the death of the senior widow at the close of the year 1855, the Ranis adopted Appa Sahib, and "of course antedated his adoption.” 43 No comment is called for on this outrageous statement. Bell’s observations on Dalhousie’s minute, dated January 28, 1854, are worth quoting:

The Nagpur dominions were not annexed by the Company, and then conferred as a gift on the late Raja. It was administered during his minority in his name by British officers until he attained majority in 1826 when a treaty was concluded in which he was expressly declared to have “succeeded” to the musnud of Nagpur and in which he was required to confirm former cessions, which of course would never have been required or permitted had he received the principality as a gift or new grant. The late Raja was a Gujar, but he was also the grandson of Raghuji Bhonsle II. The treaty of 1826 guaranteed the Nagpur dominions to the Raja, “his heirs and successors.” “Wherever we have guaranteed a Principality to a Hindu prince, “his heirs and successors,” surely there can be no doubt that no law of inheritance except the Hindu law in all its integrity was ever contemplated by either party to the treaty. And the addition of the word “successors” indicates that the protecting power claims no right to interfere in the domestic policy of the reigning family, except so far as it is entitled to do so by the express stipulations of the treaty”. “-The word “heirs” is used in all European and Indian treaties, to denote the regular succession in the reigning family; the word “successors”—translated in Persian “jae nishee nan”, literally “sitters in the place”,—while including all heirs, is used to denote the succession of sovereign power ” (Napoleon is not

an heir but a successor of the Bourbons). 438 Bell fully endorses the statements, made above, about the adoption of Appa Sahib (subsequently called Janoojee Bhonsle). 43b

In considering the above concrete instances, where the Doctrine of Lapse was invoked to justify annexation, it is necessary to bear in mind one important principle. Even supposing that the adoptions were invalid, and there was no male heir of the body, do they necessarily empower or even justify the British to annex these States, far less impose a solemn obligation to do so? It might be argued, on the analogy of private States, that it would have been a more equitable course, on failure of normal succession, to find out the heir next in kin, or appoint a successor in accordance with the tradition of the family or custom of the locality. Hindu rules of succession go very far in this direction, and failing everything else, a suitable choice could always be made in consultation with the family.

This important consideration was overlooked, or rather deliberately ignored, for there is no doubt that the annexations, though claimed and justified on legal right, were really based upon other considerations. This is quite clear from the policy which Dalhousie himself enunciated, as far back as 1848, when he wrote:

T cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of seizing the advantage of any just opportunity for consolidating the territories that already belong to us, by taking possession of states which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of these petty intervening principalities, which may be a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength; for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the universal application of our system of Government to those whose best interests, I sincerely believe, will be promoted thereby. 44

In other words, Dalhousie "resolved—acting upon an old theory, be it said—to take kingdoms in wherever they made a gap in the red line running round his dominions, or broke its internal continuity. n44a Even if we give the most liberal interpretation to his words, annexation is justified because it adds to the consolidation of the British dominion by completing the circle of the red line, or is otherwise advantageous to its administration. His observations on each of the annexed States from this point of view are worth quoting. 46

1. SATARA. "The territories lie in the very heart of our possessions. They are interposed between the two principal military stations in the Presidency of Bombay, and are at least calculated, in the hands of an independent sovereign, to form an obstacle to safe communication and combined military movements. The district is fertile, and the revenue productive. By incorporating Satara with our possessions we should acquire continuity of military communication, and increase the revenues of the State."

2. JHANSI. “It lies in the midst of other British districts, and the possession of it as our own will tend to the improvement of the general internal administration of our possessions in Bundelkhand”.

3. NAGPUR. “Its incorporation, however, with the British

Empire would extinguish a Government having separate feelings and interests, and would absorb a separate military power out of which there must always be a possibility that embarrassment, if not anxiety, might some day arise. The incorporation of Nagpur would give to us territory which comprises 80,000 sq. miles producing an annual revenue of forty lacs of Rupees and containing more than four million of people who have long desired to return to our rule. It would completely surround with British territory the dominions of his Highness the Nizam.... It would render continuous several British provinces between which foreign territory is now interposed.It would place the only direct line of communication which exists between Calcutta and Bombay almost within British territory.... To sum up all in one sentence, the possession of Nagpur would combine our military strength, would enlarge our commercial resources, and would materially tend to consolidate our power”.

4. Sambalpur was surrounded by British territory.

There were, however, several who opposed these annexations on the ground of expediency. Sir George Clerk and Colonel. Low opposed Dalhousie’s policy in the Council. They contended that “dependent states were useful, inasmuch as they afforded employment to a native nobility and turbulent spirits who would not be employed by us, and who would sink into 'the dead level’ of the population under our rule; that absorption of native states would therefore create discontent among a ,large body of men; that the rulers of other native states would be alarmed by these annexations, fearing the application of the same doctrines to their own successions; a childless ruler would feel no interest in the future wellbeing of his state and might even be tempted to extort as much as possible from his subjects during his lifetime; that our territory was already large enough, and that natives prefer their own rulers to the British Government.” 46

“Sleeman was strongly against annexation, and warned Lord Dalhousie in writing ‘that the annexation of Oude would cost the British power more than the value of ten such kingdoms, and would inevitably lead to a mutiny of the sepoys’, a prediction he died jifit too soon to see fulfilled. He held, as others of his way of thinking did, that the native states were ‘breakwaters, and when they are all swept away, we shall be left to the mercy of our native army, which may not always be sufficiently under our control.” 47 Lord Stanley also unequivocally condemned the annexation policy. 48 Sir Henry Russell, Malcolm, and Elphinstone expressed, respectively, the following views on the subject: “I consider the extinction of a Native State as a nail driven into our coffin”; “Tranquillity, not to say security, of our power will be hazarded in proportion as the territories of native princes and chiefs fall under our direct rule”; J ‘The period of our downfall in India will probably be hastened by every increase of our territory and subjects.” 48 *

It would appear that the question of annexation was fought more on the grounds of expediency than on any abstract principle of invalidity of adoption or consequent lapse of succession. This is supported, among other things, by the following passage in a minute of Dalhousie recommending the annexation of Nagpur: “I conscientiously declare that unless I believed that the prosperity and happiness of its inhabitants would be promoted by their being placed permanently under British rule, no other advantages which would arise out of the measure would move me to propose it.” 49 The expression, “other advantages”, in the above passage, of course, refers to the advantages accruing to the British as mentioned above. We may well believe that Dalhousie was really influenced by these two considerations. The legal aspect of adoption and lapse was merely invoked as a just excuse, and utilised as a good opportunity of carrying out what he desired on other grounds. In short, the motive behind the annexations of Dalhousie was exactly the same which induced Sir Charles Napier and Ellenborough to annex Sindh. Dalhousie, however, could always show a plausible excuse, whereas the others were less fortunate in this respect, and so their actions partook of the character of aggressive spoliation. That Dalhousie was prepared, if need be, to follow their example, is proved by his annexation of Avadh and Lower Burma to which reference has been made above.

Dalhousie's administration witnessed the climax as well as the end of a new era of annexation. Whatever one might think of Dalhousie's personal share in the series of annexations noted above, there is some truth in Sleeman's statement, quoted above, that the new generations of officers formed a school "characterised by impatience at the existence of any native State, and its strong and often insane advocacy of their absorption." He adds that "there is no pretext, however weak, that is not sufficient, in their estimation, for the purpose (of annexation); and no war, however cruel, that is not justifiable, if it has only this object in view."[60]

In respect of one Indian State, Dalhousie could not carry the Directors with him. The Raja of Kerauli, a State on the border of Rajputana, died in July, 1852, after adopting a boy without the sanction of the British Government, and Dalhousie recommended its annexation. He held that it was a State of the Second Class, mentioned above, and subordinate to the British, as by the third article of the treaty, Kerauli specifically admitted the British supremacy. The Court of Directors, however, held that Kerauli was only a protected ally, and refused to interfere in the adoption. Kerauli was saved, but here, too, expediency, rather than legal right, decided the issue. Lord Dalhousie, though recommending annexation on the Doctrine of Lapse, took care to point out to the Directors that "the state is isolated, and would not consolidate our territories as in the case of Satara." He added: "Though not a very old State, still it is a Rajput principality, and unlike the existing Maratha and Muhammadan dynasties, has the claim of antiquity in its favour. The refusal of sanction to adoption in the case of Kerauli might create alarm and dissatisfaction in the older and more powerful states in Rajputana, as being apparently significant of the intention of the British Government towards themselves."[51] This again clearly shows that Dalhousie was influenced less by abstract legal rights or justice and more by considerations of expediency.

Two other petty States, namely, Baghat and Udaipur (to be distinguished from the State of Mewar with its capital of the name), which were annexed by Dalhousie, respectively in 1851 and 1852, were afterwards restored to native rule. As they illustrate how the Mutiny of 1857 had brought about a change in the policy of annexation by lapse, their history may be noted beyond the period under review.

The ruler of Baghat showed unfriendly attitude towards the British during the Nepal War of 1815. For this offence three-fourths of his estate were forfeited and sold to Patiala, and the remaining portion was restored to its ruler, Mahendra Singh. On his death without issue in 1839, Auckland treated his estate as a lapse, but the Court of Directors did not approve of it and Ellenborough restored a part of it to his brother Bijay Singh. This ruler having died in 1849 without issue, Dalhousie referred to the Court of Directors whether they intended. to recognize the custom of collateral successions in the Hill States of the Panjab. The Court replied that as a matter of right none but a descendant of Mahendra Singh was entitled to succeed, the succession of Bijay Singh being merely an act of grace. Dalhousie, to whom the final decision was left, annexed the State, but the family of the deceased ruler refused to accept the pension in order to keep open their claim. After the Mutiny Canning entered into a new arrangement by which the son of a first cousin of Bijay Singh became a tributary ruler, and the State of Baghat was granted to him and the "‘heirs of his body" by a new sanad in 1862. [62]

Udaipur was a tributary and subordinate State under the Raja of Sarguja. The chief of Udaipur and his brother were imprisoned on a charge of manslaughter, and as the former had no son, his estate was annexed by Dalhousie in 1852. During the Mutiny the two brothers escaped from prison and re-established their authority. One of them died and the other was captured and transported in 1859. But the State was conferred in 1860 on the ruler of Sarguja as a reward for his loyalty during the Mutiny. [63] Although theoretically Udaipur was still treated as a lapse, in practice the policy of annexation was reversed.

6. Spoliation of the palaces of Nagpur and Avadh.

The annexations of native States, one after another, were bad enough, but they were rendered far worse by the method of executing them, at least in some cases. Two notorious cases, namely those of Nagpur and Avadh, may be cited as illustrations. In a minute, dated 10th June, 1854, Dalhousie noted that the "property of the Bhonsla was considered by the Honourable Court (of Directors) to be fairly at the disposal of the Government." He, however, did not think it desirable that the property should be 'either alienated from the family, or given up, to be appropriated and squandered by the Ranis/ In order to avoid these dangers he suggested that "jewels and furniture, and other personal property, suitable to their rank, having been allotted to the Ranis, the value of the rest of the jewels etc. should be realized, and that the proceeds should be constituted a fund for the benefit of the Bhonsla family." 64

Whatever one might think of this laudable desire, it should have been obvious that the procedure suggested could not be followed without serious wrangles and dissensions, and the sale by auction of the property at Nagpur, before the eyes of the members of the royal family, would be highly impolitic. It would not fetch a reasonable price and highly exacerbate the feelings 6f those who re

garded themselves as victims of a high-handed action of injustice. Nor could it be reasonably expected that the British officials, entrusted with the task, would always act with moderation and a strict sense of jusice, as they were unacquainted with the local customs and feelings, and imbued with a haughty feeling of superiority over members of an Indian State which was being ruthlessly spoliated by the orders of the superior Government. The unfortunate and painful incidents that followed need not be related in detail; it will suffice to state that there were unseemly quarrels and disputes between the Ranis and officials, ending in a riot in the palace. 65 The general impression left on all neutral observers may be gathered from the following lines of Kaye.

"The live stock and dead stock of the Bonslah were sent to the hammer. It must have been a great day for speculative cattle dealers at Seetabaldee (suburb of Nagpur) when the royal elephants,

horses,, and bullocks were sold off at the price of carrion;.the venerable Bankha Baee (widow of the deceased Raja's grandfather), with all the wisdom and moderation of fourscore well-spent years upon her, was so stung by a sense of the indignity offered to her, that she threatened to fire the palace if the furniture were removed. But the furniure was removed, and the jewels of the Bonslah family, with a few propitiatory exceptions, were sent to the Calcutta market. And I have heard it said that these seizures, these sales, created a w r orse impression, not only in Berar, but in the surrounding provinces, than the seizure of the kingdom itself." 56

Dalhousie was not inspired by purely beneficent and humane considerations as his minutes would lead one to suppose. The best interpretation of his act may be given in the following words of Mr. Bell.

"He intended absolutely to appropriate the private property of the family, and with the proceeds to supply, or reduce as much as possible, the annual expense of their maintenance. Considering the huge income of the state seized by the British, the Ranis and other members of the family might have been easily spared the indignity and humiliation to which they were subjected for the sake of the amount which the auction sale of their property fetched, and which after paying other expenses constituted the Bhonsla Fund for the benefit and support of the Bhonsla family." 67

As in the case of Nagpur, the annexation of Avadh was accompanied by needless acts of spoliation of a cruel and barbarous character. Various charges were brought which were thus summed up by Kaye:

"It was charged against us that our officers had turned the stately palaces of Lucknow into stalls and kennels, that delicate women, the daughters or the companions of Kings, had been sent adrift, homeless and helpless, that treasure-houses had been violently broken open and despoiled, that the private property of the royal family had been sent to the hammer, and that other vile things had been done very humiliating to the King's people, but far more disgraceful to our own." 68

E. OTHER ANNEXATIONS AND ESCHEATS

1. Nana Sahib

An act of Lord Dalhousie, which has obtained undue prominence, and is usually, though wrongly, regarded as one more application of the doctrine of lapse, is the rejection of the claim of Dhundu Pant, better known as Nana Sahib, the adopted son of ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II, to the annual pension of eight lakhs of rupees enjoyed by the latter. Baji Rao died in January 1851, leaving by a w T ill all his property to Nana Sahib. Nana accordingly took possession of the personal property of his father which he admitted to be of the value of twenty-eight lakhs of Rupees, though it is generally believed to be worth considerably more than that amount. On July 29, 1851, Nana made an application for a continuance of the pension and Jdglr. The Lieutenant-Governor of N.W.P., who first considered this application, rejected the demand for pension, but recommended that the "land contained in Bithur Jaghir should be allowed to continue free of land-tax during the life of Nana, provided he continued to reside there". Lord Dalhousie agreed with this recommendation, but went out of his way in making some observations, which were not very happily worded. Referring to Baji Rao II he said: "He had no charges to maintain, he has left no sons of his own, and has bequeathed property to the amount of twenty-eight lakhs to his family. Those who remain have no claim whatever on the consideration of the Government. Neither have they any claim on its charity, because the income left to them is amply sufficient." 69

The words "he has left no sons of his own", and the reference to the ample income left by the ex-Peshwa, gave rise to the impression that the decision to discontinue the pension rested upon two grounds, namely, (1) inadmissibility of the claim of an adopted son, and (2) the absence of the need. Naturally, the first revived the whole question of the doctrine of lapse, and the second was challenged on the ground that if the claims of Nana were just, It is immaterial whether the property left by Baji Rao II was ample or not. Actually both these points were debated at length by Nana Sahib as well as the outside critics of Dalhousie.

Really speaking, Lord Dalhousie rejected the application of Nana Sahib on the ground that the pension granted to ex-Peshwa Baji Rao was personal and not hereditary, and even a legitimate son of Baji Rao II, had there been any, would not have been entitled to it. Nana sent a memorial to the Court of Directors. He “relied on the terms of the arrangement, entered into between Malcolm and Baji Rao II, granting a pension to the latter ‘for the support of himself and family’, and argued that such expression indicates a hereditary grant inasmuch as it is uncalled for in a mere life-grant, which necessarily included the maintenance of the family.” The Court of Directors, however, upheld the view of Dalhousie that the pension was not hereditary, and therefore Nana Sahib had no claim to its continuance. 60

The point was vehemently argued on both sides, but it is not possible to give a decided verdict on one side or another. While pension undoubtedly means, in a general way, a personal grant, the additional words, mentioned above, may be held to qualify it in favour of Nana. There is, however, no doubt that Malcolm, who negotiated the treaty with Baji Rao II, certainly intended a lifepension and not a hereditary one. This is clear from his. letter of June 19, 1818, in which, in support of the terms he offered to Baji Rao, he said, that “if Baji Rao had continued the contest, a course which the agreement with him sought to prevent, the British would have been forced to make military preparations which would have cost more than the value of the life-pension granted to Baji Rao”. 61 It is a well-known rule of equity that where the interpretation of a word or an expression is doubtful, the intention of the man who used it must be taken into consideration. In accordance with this principle, the view of Dalhousie, upheld by the Court of Directors, must prevail in preference to the contention of Nana. The fact that Baji Rao II himself “often pressed upon the Government the propriety of making a future provision for his family” 62 indirectly proves that he, too, regarded the pension as personal and not a hereditary one. On the whole, the legality of the claim of Nana Sahib does not appear to be very strong. In any event, his case was not treated as being affected by the doctrine of lapse, though some words used by Dalhousie might have lent colour to the supposition.

2. Carnatic

The case of the Nawab of Carnatic was of a somewhat different kind. As noted above, by a treaty concluded in 1801, Nawab Azim ud-daulla was reduced to the position of a titular dignity, enjoying a pension secured on the revenues, but deprived of all powers of actual administration. 53 On October 17, 1855, Muhammad Ghaus, the Nawab of the Carnatic, died without leaving any issue, and his uncle Azim Jah claimed the rank and dignity of the Nawab on. the ground that he was the nearest relation to the deceased Nawab. It was, however, decided that the title of Nawab should be abolished. Lord Dalhousie held that the treaty df Wellesley with Nawab Azimud-dualla was a personal one, and though several of the latter's descendants were allowed to succeed, that was due to the favour of the British Government and not by the hereditary right of succession. In support of this view it was pointed out that Wellesley deliberately omitted from the first draft of the treaty all references to hereditary succession of the Nawab. Further, whereas in other treaties, made by Wellesley with the ruling chiefs, as in the case of Avadh, express mention is made of the heirs and successors of the other contracting party, here the treaty was negotiated with Azim-ud-daulla alone. It was urged, on the other hand, that the words, 'of his ancestors', occurring in the preamble and first article, indicate hereditary succession. Reliance was placed also on Article 4 which lays down that revenues of the Carnatic, with the exception of the portion appropriated for the maintenance of the said Nawab, "shall be for ever vested in the said English Company". Against this it was argued that 'for ever' qualifies the enjoyment by the Company and cannot be treated as equally applicable, by inference, to the maintenance of the Nawab, who is singled out as 'the said Nawab'. The use of the word 'ancestors', it was pointed out, merely states a fact but does not create any right, particularly as all reference to hereditary right was deliberately expunged from the first draft of the treaty. More important are the following words used in the preamble to the treaty with reference to its object, namely, "establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security, in all times to come; wherefore, the following treaty is now established.for settling the

succession to the subadari of the territories of Arcot." These words are certainly very inappropriate if the treaty were intended to be merely a personal one. They certainly indicate that the "framers of the treaty intended it to operate in perpetuity," as was also proved by regular succession of the Nawabs, up to 1855; but it is a debatable point whether these words alone, taken along with the points noted above, give a clear right to the succession of the Nawabs in perpetuity. Lord Dalhousie contended that the two Nawabs who followed Azim-ud-daulla "occupied that position solely by the grace and favour of the British Government and not as of right." But he

had the candour to admit that the uncle of the late Nawab, who claimed to be his successor, was actually referred to as such in certain official papers. He agreed that these references certainly indicated an expectation on the part of the British Government that if Muhammad'Ghaus should have no children, his uncle Azim Jah would be allowed to succeed him as Nawab. But, he argued, "to indicate an expectation, or even an intention, is not to recognize or confer a right". 04

As in the cases of annexations, so, here also, expediency and self-interest played an important part. A minute written by Lord Harris, with which the Governor-General fully concurred, lays down five distinct grounds for abrogating the rights and privileges of the Nawab of Carnatic, if it can be done 'without a violation of faith'. Two of these may be noted below:—

1. It is not only anomalous, but prejudicial to the community, that a separate authority, not amenable to the law, should be permitted to exist.

2. It is impolitic and unwise to allow a pageant to continue, which, though it has been politically harmless, may at any time become a nucleus for sedition and agitation. 05

"In later years Azam Jah repeatedly appealed to the home authorities, but they declined to re-open the decision as to the abolition of the title of Nawab of the Carnatic, although in 1867 a new and inferior title of Prince of Arcot was conferred upon him and his heirs by Her Majesty under letters patent. A pension, the dignity of a salute, and certain exemptions from the jurisdiction of the Civil Courts were also granted". 66

3. Tanjore

By a treaty concluded in 1799 with Lord Wellesley, Raja Sarroji of Tanjore transferred the whole of his territory, except the fort, to the British

Government. He remained the titular sovereign of Tanjore, but his actual sovereignty did not extend beyond the fort where he resided. On 29 October, 1855, died Shivaji, the Raja of Tanjore, who had two daughters but no male issue. Thereupon Mr. Forbes, Resident at Tanjore, proposed, with the consent of the family, that the younger daughter should succeed her father as the elder was on her death bed. He quoted authorities to prove that females could inherit in default of male issue, and cited an actual case in support of it, namely, that in 1735 a Raja of Tanjore was succeeded by his widow. The Council of Madras;' attended by Lord Dalhousie, however, decided that the Tanjore Raj was extinct, and

this decision, leading to the annexation of Tanjore, was later upheld by the Governor-General in Council. They, and later, the Court of Directors, which supported them, took the view that the right of 'succession of a female to Hindu Raf was never recognised by Hindu Law, the isolated cases, like those of Ahalya Bai, being merely exceptions to the general rule in special circumstances.

The real ground for the annexation of Tanjore is revealed by Lord Dalhousie in a minute. Referring to the report of the Resident that the late Raja 'betrayed a disposition on all occasions' "to do whatever he knew the Resident would not allow, and to use the whole weight of his authority to frustrate whatever management might be proposed for the advantage of the Durbar", Lord Dalhousie observes: "I certainly think the British Government would be deeply to blame if it revived this dead sovereign in the person of a young girl, who, helpless now, would be nothing less than a tool in the mischievous hands of others in future years. 67 The Court of Directors added one more reason, namely, the inadvisability of "perpetuatinga titular principality at a great cost to the public revenues". 68

Now, opinions might differ regarding the right of the daughter to succeed, but if one has to judge on the basis of Hindu laws and precedents, going back to the Hindu period, the succession of a daughter to the throne is not less supported by rules and precedents, nor is more objectionable on general principles, than the British view of the invalidity of adoption made without the previous consent of the sovereign authority.

A more serious issue is involved in the question. The Raja of Tanjore was not a dependent ruler, but an independent sovereign, so far as the last remaining portion of his State, namely, the fort, was concerned. Nor was the State of Tanjore created by the British. So, even according to the principles laid down by Dalhousie as mentioned above, there should not have been any interference with its succession. Even the apologists of the Doctrine of Lapse must admit that the fort of Tanjore, representing the old State of Satara, "was not a fief which could lapse or escheat to the British Government." This was the view even of a great lawyer who took upon himself the task of vindicating the administration of Lord Dalhousie. 69 There can be hardly any doubt that the British Government had neither the legal nor the moral right to interfere in the^ question of succession to the Tanjqre Raj. The arbitrary procedure by which Tanjore was annexed was rendered far worse by the seizure of even personal and private property of the family. 70 It is unnecessary to refer at length to the litigation arising out of it, both in India and in England. Suffice it to state, that the Supreme Court at Madras

had decided in Rani's favour, and the Privy Council set aside the decision only on the ground that, as the Governor-General had acted for the Company in his interpretation of a treaty, a law-court could take no cognisance of the Rani's plaints. Lord Kingsdown, however, declared that the Company had no legal claim to the property and the titular dignity of Tanjore. 71 Presumably in view of this comment, the British Government made partial amends for their highhanded acts of injustice by returning that portion of the property which they admitted to be private.

The annexation of Tanjore leaves no doubt that the British Government under Dalhousie pursued "the steady policy of seizing every chance of aggrandisement'', 72 on any pretext, fair or foul.

4. Berar

Reference has been made above to the Treaty with the Nizam of Hyderabad on October 12, 1800, by which the Nizam undertook to maintain a body of troops, officered by the British, at his own expense. 73 By the article 12 of this Treaty the Nizam was also required to supply the British, in case of war, an additional force of 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse of his own troops. This force proved very inefficient during the Maratha campaigns of 1803, and the British urged upon the Nizam the necessity of improving their training and discipline. They pointed out that as the Subsidiary Force was only meant for fighting outside enemies, a highly efficient body of troops was necessary for queuing internal disturbances. Thus came into existence, with the acquiescence of the Nizam, a new force known as the Russell Brigade, after the name of the Resident, Henry Russell. This subsequently developed into the "Hyderabad Contingent". It was officered by the British and employed, along with the Subsidiary troops, in the military campaigns of 1818 against the Pindaris and the Marathas. The Resident Russell himself wrote to the Commanderin-Chief: "In fact they belong to the Nizams army in name only; they consider themselves as Company's troops, and for all practical pui poses they are as much so as those on our own immediate Establishment''. 74

But though the troops belonged to the British, the cost of maintaining it proved a heavy burden to the Nizam, and he was consequently in arrears in respect of the expenditure of the "Contingent"

It was, however, quite patent, that the Nizam was not bound to maintain the Contingent, and Dalhousie himself knew it better than others. Writing to the Resident he observed: "If however the Nizam should turn upon us and deny the obligation existing bv Treaty, I am bound as a public man to say that I could not honestlv

agree that there was any other warrant than that of practice for

upholding the Contingent.but if he (Nizam) were to take his

stand upon the Treaty, I could not argue that either the letter or the spirit of it bound the Nizam to maintain 9,000 troops of a peculiar and costly nature in peace, because it bound him to give 15,000 of his troops on the occurrences of war." 76

Dalhousie therefore wanted to legalise the whole thing by a supplementary Treaty, and adopted the tactics of a bully to force the consent of the Nizam. On June 6, 1851, Dalhousie wrote to the Nizam demanding, among other things, the payment of the arrears of the Contingent troops, or, in the alternative, the cession of certain districts in his dominions, known as the Berars, to the Government of India for their maintenance. This demand was accompanied by the threat that otherwise the Nizam would incur the displeasure of the British Government whose power, he said, "can make you as the dust under foot and leave you neither a name nor a trace". 76 Fearing the dire consequence, the Nizam cleared a major portion of the debt by paying 45 lakhs as the first instalment and promising to pay the balance of 35 lakhs by the end of October, 1851. But by March, 1853, the arrears again amounted to 45 lakhs 76a and the Resident informed the Nizam on March 12, 1853, that the Government of India could no longer rely on promises, and peremptorily demanded the cession of Berar. For once the Nizam took courage in both hands and said to the Resident Colonel Low: "Colonel Sahib,

I want to ask yo.u a question about that Contingent." (After

referring to the war which necessitated the Contingent he continued): "The Company's army and my father's army conquered the

ruler of Poona..after that there was no longer any war, so why

was the Contingent kept any longer than the war"? The Resident, unaccustomed to such language, exclaimed in righteous indignation that he could not answer questions about events that occurred thirtysix years ago. He then bluntly told the Nizam that his predecessor did not object to the Contingent and so it was there. 77 The Resident then demanded the immediate payment of all the arrears including principal and interest, and refused to accept the guarantee of the principal nobles of the State for the regular payment of the Contingent. The Nizam asked him: "suppose I were to declare that I don't want the "Contingent"? " The Resident replied that in that case the Contingent would be disbanded, but only by gradual stages, and the Nizam must cede territories, temporarily, to ensure the regular paynient of troops till such time when the whole force would be disbanded. 78 Being pressed for a definite reply, the Nizam said: "If you are determined to take districts you can take them without my either making a new treaty or giving any answer at air '. 79 After the abrupt end of the interview the Resident told a noble of the Nizam's court: "I must now immediately report His Highness's obstinacy and folly to my own Government, and if His iiighness does not forthwith depart from His present foolish conduct, he will assuredly hereafter have much cause to regret that folly,-—but that this will be no fault of mine." 80 The Resident also told the Diwan that in case the Nizam fails to comply with the demand it might be necessary to employ force. 81

The rest ma y be briefly told. A new treaty was concluded with the Nizam On May 21, 1853. 82 By Article 3 of this Treaty the Government of India undertook to maintain "for His Highness" an auxiliary force to be styled the "Hyderabad Contingent", consisting of not less than five thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, commanded by British officers and controlled by the British Government. FOr providing the regular payment of the troops and Cancelling the Old debt* the Nizam assigned the fertile districts of Berar, the cotton garden of Hindustan, the Raichur doab, sixteen villages, and some other territories to the exclusive management of the British* 83 This was a concession to the sentiment of the Nizam. Instead of the legal cession of the territories, to which the Nizam was strongly opposed, the Berars were handed over to the management of the British who acknowledged, in theory, the sovereignty of the Nizam over them. But if this encouraged the Nizam to look upon the cession of the Berars as temporary or redeemable in future, he and his descendants were sadly disillusioned. In spite of repeated endeavours on their part, they could not get back the Berars, and ultimately Lord Curzon imposed a new treaty upon the Nizam on November 5, 1902, by which the districts were leased in perpetuity to the British. 84 As a compensation for this, the Nizam secured the privilege of being called "His Exalted Highness" instead of mere "Highness".

Some apologists of Dalhousie have praised him for his moderation in his dealings with the Nizam. This is not altogether unfounded, for whereas the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were in favour of stronger measures, and some officials even suggested the annexation of Hyderabad, 86 Dalhousie scouted these ideas and was satisfied only with the Berars. In this connection a letter of Dalhousie is quoted in which he refused to "put the treaty (with the Nizam) into the fire and walk over him", thus illustrating “the old story of the wolf and the lamb over again, a policy which has abundance of advocates both in this country and at home.” 86 The apologists forget that an act is to be judged on its own merits, and cannot be regarded as commendable or praiseworthy simply because

it is less criminal than what was advocated by others. It is gratifying to note that there was at least one Englishman who had the courage and honesty to depict the conduct of Dalhousie in its true colours. 87 He had ample opportunity of knowing the facts, as his father, General James Stuart Fraser, was the Resident at Hyderabad during the period of most of the transactions noted above. He has argued at great length, and with conspicuous ability, that the British Government had no right to maintain the Contingent for doing the same service which should have been performed by the Subsidiary Force for which the Hyderabad State paid by a large territorial cession. This Subsidiary Force, he points out, was reduced, without the Nizam’s consent and in disregard to treaty obligations, for a lengthened period, to a lower strength than that specified, at a great pecuniary saving to the British Government. Such reduction was made possible mainly in consequence of the services rendered by the “Contingent” and the expenditure thereby imposed upon the Hyderabad State. “The Contingent”, he said, “therefore did our prepaid work at Nizam’s expense” He quotes a despatch of the Government of India, dated 7th October, 1848, which contains the following:

“His Lordship in Council agrees with Colonel Low in thinking that we cause the Contingent to become a much heavier burden on the Nizam’s finances than it ought to be. The Staff, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, is preposterously large. The pay and allowances and charges of various kinds, are far higher than they ought to be”." 5

Lord Dalhousie also had said on other occasions that the “Contingent” was “unfairly large and too expensive”, and admitted its extravagant costliness. And yet, the Despatch continues, “His Lordship in Council does not think that we are called upon in justice to reduce a man of the force”. It is true that in the same Despatch the Governor-General professed to be “prepared” and very willing “to make every exertion” that “might safely diminish” those charges “as vacancies occurred and as opportunities offered”. 89

During the five years that followed, vacancies did occur and. opportunities did present themselves, but Dalhousie did nothing. The cost of the "Contingent" in 1849 was thirty-eight lakhs and a half, and continued to be the same till 1853 when the Nizam was forced to cede the Berar Districts for its upkeep. Yet in the very first year after the cession the cost was reduced to seventeen lakhs and a half of Rupees. If, therefore, the cost were reduced in 1849, the savings effected during 1849-53 would have been more than the debt for which the Nizam was forced to cede Berars. If to this be added the

savings effected by the unauthorised reduction of the Subsidiary Force by the British, the Nizam would have been a creditor instead of a debtor.

It is not a little curious that the biographers of Dalhousie, not even Lee-Warner who published his two big volumes in 1904, have dealt with this aspect of the question, although it was forcefully presented in a book, written as far back as 1885. Carefully considering the facts mentioned above, one would feel less enthusiastic over the letter of Dalhousie, quoted above, in which he denounced those who wanted to put the treaty with the Nizam into fire and thus play the wolf to the lamb. Dalhousie did not put the treaty into fire, but certainly kept it in cold storage, and his behaviour to the Nizam differed in degree, but not in kind, from that of the wolf to the lamb in the well-known story of Aesop.

One of the pleas advanced in their support by the Government of India is that the Nizam did not object to the "Contingent*'. The fact is that the British managed the affair of the "Contingent" with the help of Chundoolal, the chief minister of the Nizam, and this man was upheld by irresistible British power as the head of the Hyderabad administration for more than thirty years for the purpose of compelling the Hyderabad State to maintain out of its revenues the "Contingent" which no treaty recognised or justified. 90 How the British authorities took good care to keep Chundoolal in his post will be apparent from the following instructions of the Governor-General, Marquess of Hastings, to the Resident at Hyderabad in a letter dated October 25, 1822: If the Nizam were to indicate any wish to remove the Minister he should be given to understand "that the removal of Chundoolal would cause a material change in the connection between the two Governments. It would be fitting to throw out, as if loosely, that should a minister in whom the British Government could have no confidence be entrusted with His Highness's concerns, it might be incumbent on the British Government to look to its interests in another mode than what had hitherto sufficed, and to claim for itself, as standing in the Peshwa's position, all those rights over the Hyderabad dominions which that Prince had possessed. The Governor-General in Council holds the good faith of this Government to be staked for the maintenance of Chundoolal in his office, unless he shall be guilty of some distinct delinquency". 91

That the Nizam felt the galling yoke of Chundoolal. whom he was unable to remove, will be clear from the following account of the interview between the Nizam and the Resident on June 26. 1852:

"The Nizam entered upon, as he generally does at every interview I have with him, a long explanation of the difficulties and disordered condition of the State which he dated from the time of Maharaja Chandoolal." 92 This is a pathetic picture of His'Highness the Nizam fuming and fretting against the maladministration of a minister, maintained against his will simply in the interest of the British. It is through pliant tools like Chundoolal that the British kept under check the rulers of Native States, and then found faults with them for not doing what they had no power of doing.

5. Minor Annexations

A brief reference may be made to several other annexations of Dalhousie. The State of Sikkim lay to the north of Bengal at tho foot of the Himalayas. Friendly relations subsisted between this hilly State and the Government of India, and after the Nepal War, Sikkim received some territories out of the spoils of the war. In 1835 the Raja of Sikkim granted the territory round Darjeeling in perpetual lease to the British in return for an annual payment. The minister of Sikkim thereby lost heavily as it interfered with slavery and his monopolies of trade, and tried in vain to come to an agreement with Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeeling. In 1849 while Dr. Campbell and Sir Joseph Hooker, the famous Botanist, were touring in Sikkim, with the permission of the Raja, for some scientific investigations, they were seized by some royal officials and attempt was made to extort from them the privileges demanded by the minister. In spite of strong protests, the twa prisoners were not released until a small military force was despatched to the frontier. The Raja was called upon to present himself to the British authority together with the guilty persons. Though the first demand was withdrawn and the Raja was asked only to surrender the guilty officials, he did not do so. Troops were therefore sent to occupy certain districts of Sikkim, and the annual payment for Darjeeling was withheld.[92] While all this was taking place, Lord Dalhousie was absent from the capital, and though he thought that the Council had betrayed a lack of firmness, he approved of their action. But on May 4, 1850, the President of the Council recommended the annual payment to the Raja of Rs. 12,000 on the ground that he had suffered heavy losses on account of the occupation of his territory and withdrawal of the rent for Darjeeling. Lord Dalhousie strongly disapproved of this proposal and insisted on the course already decided upon. The Council once more urged upon the Governor-General the extension of the mercy and bounty of the Government. As Lord Dalhousie remained firm, the question was referred to the home authorities who administered a strong rebuke to the Council and fully supported the Governor-General. The Council thereupon raised the constitutional issue, claiming full authority during the absence of the Governor-General. But on this issue, also, the home authorities decided against them. Ultimately an outlying tract of Sikkim, about 1670 sq. miles in area, was added to British India.

Reference will be made later, in Chapter VIII, to the recovery of certain territories from Ali Murad of IChairpur on the charge of forging some documents.[94] While there is no reasonable doubt about the guilt of Ali Murad, the following comments of Arnold deserve serious consideration in forming a just estimate of Dalhousie’s responsibility in the matter. “It was doubtful if Mir (Ali Murad) was personally responsible for the forgery, but he was no doubt the person to be held justly responsible. . . .But the punishment was too severe. He was reduced from his principality with its annual revenue of about £175,000 per annum to the position of an ordinary jagirdar with an estate yielding no more than £35,000 or £40,000 a year.

“The fault of Lord Dalhousie’s proceedings lay in this that it made our Government judge, accuser, jury and feed barrister in one. Whatever may be thought too of the justice of the sentence, it has been fairly remarked that in trying the Amir Ali Murad— a sovereign prince—by a commission of its own servants, by delivering sentence against him and by making that sentence equivalent to a forfeiture of his rights and privileges as a sovereign, the Government of India declared itself the absolute master of every prince in India, all treaties to the contrary notwithstanding.’’ [95]

Reference has been made above [96] to the unjust annexation of the petty State of Cachar in Assam. Angul, another petty State in Orissa, was annexed, as its ruler was suspected of aiding the Mariah sacrifices (sacrifice of human beings by the Khonds) and had “the temerity to resist the authority of his seigneurs.” [97] The ruler of Sambalpur, Narayan Singh, died in 1849 without leaving an issue. He is said to have desired that his country should pass to the British, and it lapsed “without complaint or claim”. [98] Jaipur, another petty; State of 165 sq. miles, was annexed when its ruler died in 1849 without any male issue. [99]

It has been Claimed by Lord Dalhousie himself, or on his behalf, that he showed wonderful restraint and moderation in not annexing States even when favourable opportunities offered themselves. One such instance was furnished by the death of the Nawab of Bahawalpore, who loyally helped the British during the rebellion of Mulraj in Multan. [100] The inheritance was disputed and an appeal was made to the British Government, but Dalhousie refrained from all interference. “Nothing would have been easier”, wrote he on this occasion, “than to derive advantage, direct and prospective, by meddling with the quarrel for succession.” Arnold’s remark on this is worth quoting: “Is it really an English statesman who speaks, or the wolf in the fable, that paid the crane for taking the bone out of his throat, by not biting off his head”? [101]

Dalhousie also did not derive advantages from the fighting in Kashmir between Gulab Singh and his nephew Jawahir Singh, and it is claimed that “the Government of India was loyal both to the spirit and letter of its obligations”. Arnold’s comment on this is equally interesting: “Was there then no “spirit” that restrained or should have restrained—while the letter permitted confiscation— ■ in other cases as well as that of Jummo? These foils of virtuous self-denial render the instances of aggrandisement rather darker”. 102

It has also been suggested that, in making the annexations, Dalhousie was merely carrying out the orders of the Court of Directors or giving effect to the principles laid down by them. His own attitude is, however, quite clear from his own words. “The king of Oude”, he wrote in 1853, “seems disposed to be bumptious. I wish he would be. To swallow him before I go would give me satisfaction”. 103

6. Bengal

It would not be irrelevant in the present context to refer to an incident which throws a lurid light on the imperious temperament of Dalhousie and his habitual disregard of treaty rights of the Indian rulers. It was in connection with the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, to whose ancestors the British owed almost everything they possessed in India and whose relation with the British was regulated by a series of treaties. A petty theft having been committed in the camp, two persons were tortured to extort confession and died, probably as a result of the beating, though there was no positive evidence in support of the conjecture. Several servants of the Nawab were tried on a charge of complicity in this murder, but were acquitted by the Sadar Nizamat Adalat, which, however, convicted and condemned the guilty parties. Lord Dalhousie, in 1853, pronounced the Nawab guilty of allowing “a monstrous outrage upon humanity to be perpetrated under his very eyes”, evidently on the assumption that the Nawab must have been cognisant of whatever occurred in his hunting camp, even when he was absent. Further, Dalhousie held that the persons acquitted by the Sadar Nizamat Adalat, the highest court of justice in India, were guilty , and asked the Nawab to explain “why he* continued to show favour and countenance to those who were concerned in the murder ,, (in the opinion of his Lordship but not in that of the judges). The Nawab replied that “when they were acquitted by the Sudder Court, after being so strictly tried, I really thought them to be not guilty”. Dalhousie declared the reply to be “most unsatisfactory”, and peremptorily asked the Nawab “to dismiss them altogether from his service” and to “hold no further communication with any of them”.

General Colin Mackenzie, who was Agent at Murshidabad in 1858, and who carefully analyzed the case in a report to Government, observed:

“His Highness had an undoubted right to be of the same opinion as the Sudder Nizamat, but this Lord Dalhousie wpuld by no means permit, and being in the only position in the world in which a British sovereign or subject can punish those who have been legally acquitted, he decided that the eunuchs were guilty, and punished His Highness for believing them innocent, not only by depriving him of air and exercise, and of his right to have his travelling expenses paid from the Deposit Fund, but by recommending to the Court of Directors to diminish His Highness’s stipend, to take away

the salute of nineteen guns.He. .. even brought in a Bill

depriving his Highness, his family and relations, including the ladies, of all immunities and rights which had been secured to them by Treaties, by pledges from successive Governors-General, and by no less than four Acts of Council.”

The Nawab’s remonstrances were of no avail. The Court of Directors sanctioned all the proposals of Dalhousie except the reduction of stipends and the abolition of salute, which was, however, reduced from 19 to 13. As a reward for his loyal services during the Santal rebellion of 1855 and the Mutiny of 1857, Lord Canning tpstored to the Nawab most of the privileges taken away by Dalhousie. 104

1. Dalhousie’s Minute, dated August 30, 1848 (Warner, II. 116). THG (353) gives a slightly different version.

la. THG (353).

lb. Arnold, II. 5.

2. Warner, II. 115.

3. Political History of England, Vol. XII, p. 40-1.

4. Some complaints were made before, but they were evidently of too trivial a nature even in the estimate of the Government of India. In a letter addressed to the King of Ava on November 17, 1851, Dalhousie wrote: “From time to time complaints have been preferred to the Government of India.... but the Government of India was unwilling to believe them.” Cf. B-II. 49 ff.

4a. John Sullivan: Are We Bound by Our Treaties, pp. 17-18.

5. Jackson, 11.

6. Warner, II. 148.

7. Ibid, 165; Arnold, II. 118-9. For the cases of Dhar and Indore in 1834, cf. PIHRC, XXXIV, 134 ff.

8. Arnold, II. 118-9. K. M. Panikkar, Relation of Indian States with the Government of India (1927), p. 56.

8a. John Sullivan: Are We Bound by Our Treaties, dd. 17-18.

9. Warner, II. 165.

10. Bell-II. 145-6.

11. Warner, I. 134.

12. The account that follows is based on H. L. Gupta’s paper-in JIH, XXXVI, Part III (December 1958) pp. 397 ff. which gives full references.

13. Ibid, 400.

14. Ibid, 401-2.

15. Ibid, 406-7.

16. Ibid, 408.

17. Warner, II. 150.

18. Ibid, 155.

19. Colebrooke's Digest, III. 242, quoted in Bell-II, 145.

20. SBE, XIV. 75-6.

21. Bell-II, 156; cf. also pp. 140-53. "Sir John Malcolm, who understood 'adoption' and the Indian attitude towards it better than anyone else, twenty years before Dalhousie's time (November 14, 1829) expressed this opinion: 'Adoptions, which are universally recognised as legal among Hindoos, are not a strict right (any more than direct heirs) where grants of land are for service ...But while a few have been permitted to adopt, others are denied the privilege; and while we declare their direct heirs are entitled to succeed, we lie in wait (I can call it nothing else) to seize their fine estate on failure of heirs, throwing them and their adherents and the country into a state of doubt and distraction'.." TUG (354, fn. 1).

22. Warner, II. 152.

23. Jackson, 13; Bell-II, 147.

24. Bell-H, 145.

25. Dalhousie's Minute of February, 1856, para. 27 (Bell-II, p 19).

26. CHI, V. p. 582.

26a. Bell-II, 212-3. According to Dr. S. N. Sen the adoption by the queen of her sister's son was invalid, according to local custom, as he belonged to a different family. (S. N. Sen: Eighteen Fifty-seven, p. 267).

26b. Sainbalpur DG, 26-7; Calcutta Review, XXII (35), VT.TT (180).

27. Warner, II. 160.

28. Ibid, 158, 160.

29. Ibid, 162.

30. Ibid, 160-1.

31. Warner, II. 152.

32. See pp. 62, 64.

33. Arnold, II. 110-11.

33■«. Bell-II, 162-172.

34. THG, (357).

35. Warner, II. 178.

36. Jackson, 17.

37. Arnold, II. 155-C.

38. Jackson, 16-17. Lee-Wamer says that “there was not even the pretence of an adoption” (II. 179).

39. Bell-II, 177; Arnold, II. 157.

40. The Ranees stated this in their representation to the Government of India (Arnold. II. 162).

41. Bell-II, 178.

42. Arnold, II. 157, 162.

43. Jackson, p. 23 f.n.

43*. Bell-II, 193-7. Some passages are omitted or slightly altered 43b. Ibid, 174 ff.

44. Arnold, II. 12. The Italics in the quotation are mine.

44a. Ibid.

45. Jackson, 35-37.

46. Jackson, 31.

47. THG. 408 (363-4).

48. Bell-II. 14.

48a. Bell-III, 50.

49. Jackson, 21.

50. THG, 382 (340).

51. Warner, I. 171.

52. Ibid, 167.

53. Ibid, 168.

54. Jackson, 74.

55. Ibid, 75.

56. Kaye-I, Vol. I, pp. 83-4.

57. Bell-II, p. 240.

58. Kaye-I, I. 404-5.

59. Jackson, 53-7.

60. Ibid, 58-9; Kaye-I, I. 105.

61. Jackson, 61.

63. Cf. Vol. VIII. For the text of the treaty, cf. Aitchison, X. 72 ff.

64. Jackson, 98-9. For a detailed account of the controversy on the Carnatic, cf. Jackson, 82 ff. Arnold (II. 171-81) makes a scathing criticism of Dalhousie s views and action.

65. Jackson, 103-4. , — ,, -n * *

66. Warner, II. 142. The title ‘Prince of Arcot’ was given by a Letters Patent,

dated August 2, 1870 (Aitchison, X. 79).

67. Jackson, 110.

68. Ibid, 111.

69. Ibid, 112.

70. This occurred after the departure of Lord Dalhousie.

71. Jackson, 113. Arnold, II. 182.

72. Arnold, II. 182.

73. Vol. VIII. Aitchison, IX. 62. ^

74. A History of the Hyderabad Contingent by R. G. Burton, (Calcutta, 1905), p. 35. This and many other official documents referred to in this section are quoted in PIHC y XX. 252-9.

75. Fraser, 376.

76. Briggs, The Nizam, I. 212.

76a. The following observations of Major Moore, one of the Court of Directors, throw some light on the accumulation of arrears: “Overwhelmed with financial difficulties, the Nizam was at length unable to pay the Contingent, and we kindly lent him the money from ©ur own treasury, first at 12 per cent., and latterly at 6 per cent, interest; and thus our staunch Ally incurred a debt to us of about fifty lakhs of rupees" (Papers, Nizam's Debt, 1859, quoted by Bell, The Bengal Reversion , p. 54.).

77. Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 91 (Foreign Department), L. No. 70 of 1853.

78. Ibid, L. No. 74, para. 14.

79. Ibid, para. 20.

80. Ibid, L. No. 79.

81. Ibid, L. No. 81. Fraser, 376.

82. Aitchison, IX. 85.

83. Arnold, (II. 144) refers to them as "a few other Jewels picked out of the territory of the old Nizamate" and "some of the best soil in India."

84. Aitchison, IX. 165.

85. General Fraser, the Resident at Hyderabad, suggested that the Government of India should take over the temporary management of the Nizam's territories till the finances of the State improved (Fraser, 326).

86. Quoted by Lee-Warner (II. 126) in support of Dalhousie's policy of moderation.

87. Memoirs and Correspondence of General James Stuart Fraser by Col. Hastings Fraser (London, 1885), Chapter IX, pp. 351 ff. Arnold (II. 145) also strongly condemns Dalhousie's action and comments: "It is flatly impossible, unless one law of morality prevails in Europe, and another in Asia, to accept Lord Dalhousie's declaration that "the conduct of the Government of

India towards the Nizam-has been characterised by unvarying good faith

liberality and forbearance..."

88. Ibid, 353.

89. Ibid, 354.

90. Ibid, 358.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid, 374.

93. This is the official version (Warner, I. 378-80). In view of many instances where similar accounts of annexations, laying the whole blame at the door of the Indian rulers, have proved to be wholly or partially inaccurate, it may be doubted whether the affairs at Sikkim, reported above, represent the whole truth. This doubt is enhanced by the fact that Lee-Warner does not refer to brutal outrages and tortures inflicted upon Dr. Campbell, described in minute details by Arnold (II. 185). The lenient view taken by the Council about the ruler of Sikkim is hardly compatible with such barbarous conduct on his part. Evidently these wild ^reports were first spread to prejudice the case against Sikkim, but later found to be baseless. (After the above note was in print, the author has come across some documents which show that his doubt about the authenticity of the official account was fully justified. A critical and comprehensive account of the British relations with Sikkim, based on these documents, will be given in Chapter XXXII.)

94. For a detailed account, cf. Arnold, II. 188 ff.

95. Arnold, II. 196-8.

96. Chapter V.

97. Arnold, II. 183.

98. Arnold, II. 187; Lee Warner, II. 167.

99. Lee Warner, II. 163.

100. See Chapter X.

101. Arnold, II. 201.

102. Ibid.

103. Bairu, Private Letters of Lr>rd Dalhov.sie, p. 262.

104. Major Evans Bell, The Bengal Reversion, pp. iv-vii.

CHAPTER V

BURMA AND ASSAM

I. BURMA (up to 1825)

A. Events leading to the War

Reference has been made above to the destruction of the mighty kingdom of Pagan by the Mongols under Kublai Khan in the last quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. This was followed by a period of political disintegration for more than two centuries and a half. The Shans obtained a firm footing in the country but it was divided into a number of small principalities, the chief among them being (1) Upper Burma, with its capital, first at Pinya and then at Ava on the Irawadi, dominated by the Shans; (2) Mon or Talaing kingdom of Pegu in the Delta; (3) The Burmese kingdom of Tungoo, intermediate between the two; and (4) Arakan. The history of this period is merely a confused record of struggle between various kingdoms contesting for supremacy. At last the Burmese dynasty ruling at^ Tungoo, under its two kings Tabinshwehti (1531-50) and Bayinnaung (1551-81), united the whole of Burma, excepting Arakan, under its authority, and even subdued a large part of Siam including its capital Ayuthia. The Burmese ousted the Shan chiefs from Upper Burma and fixed their capital at Ava. But gradually the power of this dynasty declined under a series of weaklings ruling for about a century until A.D. 1740 when the kingdom was overrun by the Talaings. Then arose a Burmese leader, named Alaungpaya (Alompra), who not only conquered the whole country during his short reign of eight years (1752-60), but also defeated the Manipuris and completely subjugated the Talaings. He shifted his capital to Rangoon, but Ava was again made the capital by his son Hsinbyushin (1763-76), who raided Manipur, attacked Siam, and eventually captured Ayuthia. Bodawpaya, another son of the great Alaungpaya, who ruled for a long period from 1782 to 1819, annexed Arakan (1785). He is said to have carried off 20,000 Arakanese into captivity and constantly carried away large numbers to employ them in forced labours or military expeditions. He also conquered Manipur and established his political supremacy in Assam. Thus, at the beginning of the period under review the

Burmese Empire not only included the two border States of India, namely Arakan and Manipur, but also, for all practical purposes, the State of Assam. Bodawpaya built a new city, Amarapura, about six miles north-east of Ava, and transferred hi& court there in May, 1783.

The powerful Burmese king Bodawpaya and his successor, his grandson Bagyidaw (1819-37), seem to have been blissfully ignorant of the great changes that had taken place in India. Being hitherto accustomed to deal only with petty border States like Arakan, Manipur and Assam, they assumed the haughty and insolent attitude towards the kingdom of Bengal without having any clear perception of the mighty strength of the British who now ruled over this province. The easy conquest of Assam led Maha Bandula, the Burmese general, to believe that he could as easily defeat the English. He communicated this feeling to his king 1 and, according to official Burmese chronicles, “compared the Burmese with lions and the English with jackals”. 2 Maha Bandula is also reported to have said that “he maintained a secret correspondence with several native princes of Hindusthan who would rise against the British as soon as the Burmese would set them a good example”. 3 The common people also shared the feeling of the court that their high and mighty King could easily crush the British. As Crawford put it, “from the king to a beggar (the Burmese) were hot for a war”. 4

On the other hand, the British, having established unquestioned supremacy over India, were naturally eager to extend their power to the border lands. It was an inevitable stage in the progress of imperialistic policy which manifested itself both in the western and eastern frontiers of India after the Third Maratha War. The arrogance of the Burmese Government, fed by ignorance and medieval ideas of royalty, and the logic of British impel ialism were the two important factors which seem to have brought about the conflict between the two powers. As always happens in such a case, minor incidents assume serious proportions, and casus belli is not long in coming.

Troubles arose after the Burmese conquest of Arakan which bordered on the District of Chittagong in British India. The Arakanese were oppressed in various ways by the Burmese, and thousands of villagers w^ere forced to leave their agricultural pursuits and work on the construction of a pagoda near the capital. The Arakanese maintained a guerilla resistance for several years and many of them left their country and took refuge in Chittagong. Three Arakanese chiefs, who had led the insurrections against the Burmese, having fled across the border, a Burmese army of 5,000 soldiers led by Nandakyazo crossed over to the British territory in A.D. 1794 and demanded the surrender of the fugitives who were charged with rebellion, robbery and murder. After some negotiations the three

chiefs were delivered to the Burmese general.[6] The British historians have generally blamed the Government for making this weak concession, in spite of the flagrant violation of neutrality by the Burmese. It is possible to take a different view of their action, but in any case there is no doubt that it increased the arrogance and self-esteem of the Burmese king. To check the growing ill-feeling between the two States, a mission was sent to Ava under Colonel Symes in 1795, but no good followed from it, or from the successive missions sent in 1797, 1802, 1803, 1809 and 1811.

Soon a further cause of friction arose. In consequence of the oppression of the Burmese Government in Arakan, mentioned above, a number of Arakanese, estimated to be about 50,000, had taken refuge in Chittagong. From this secure base they occasionally raided the Burmese territories for purposes of plunder and revenge. In 1811 they organised a regular invasion of Burmese territory in large numbers under Khynberring, a Mug Chief, but though they overran the whole province, were ultimately defeated and forced to retire to the British territory. Two years later the Governor (also called Raja) of Ramri, in Arakan, wrote, to the Magistrate of Chittagong formally demanding of the British Government that they should hand over the persons connected with this expedition. The GovernorGeneral, Marquess of Hastings, refused to deliver up the persons who had sought their protection on the ground that this would violate the principles of justice, but he assured the Burmese Government that adequate steps have been taken to prevent the recurrence of any hostile expedition from the territories of the British to those of the Burmese.[6] The Burmese Government, however, were not satisfied with this reply. They became inordinately proud and boastful after having established their authority in Assam, and on June 8, 1818 the Governor of Ramri again wrote to the Magistrate of Chittagong demanding from the British Government, on behalf of the Burmese King, the cession of Ramoo, Chittagong, Murshidabad and Dacca on the ground that these were 4 'originally subject to the Government of Arakan" which was now a part of the Burmese dominions. 7 Hostilities were threatened in case the British Government refused this demand. In his reply dated 22nd June 1818, the Governor-General informed the Viceroy of Pegu that he was inclined to treat the demand as an insolent act of the Raja of Ramri without authority from the Burmese King. But, he added, "if I could suppose that letter to have been dictated by the King of Ava, the British Government would be justified in considering war as already declared." 8 No reply was vouchsafed to this letter.

The British had soon other causes of complaint. Some of their subjects, engaged in hunting elephants on the Chittagong frontier,

were seized by the Burmese on the ground that they had trespassed into Burmese territories. Such outrages occurred more than once the last one happening in April, 1822. It was also alleged that in January, 1823, a British boat, laden with rice, passing through the Koor Nullah, was asked by the Burmese to pay custom dues, and was even fired upon, causing the death of a British subject. To put a check to these outrages and also to provide against the not improbable contingency of a Burmese raid from the other side of the Naaf river which formed the boundary, the British increased their military guard at Tek Naaf and posted some of them in a char or island called Shahpuri just beyond the mouth of the river Naaf. 0 The Governor or Arakan wrote to the Magistrate of Chittagong in January 1823, and later to the Governor-General on August 8, 1823, that this guard should be withdrawn as the island belonged to Burma, and the presence of the British guard may lead to disputes among the people and eventually cause a rupture of the friendship •and harmony subsisting between the two States. 91 The GovernorGeneral in his letter to the Raja of Arakan dated 15th August, 1823, refused to remove the guard and claimed that the island of Shahpuri had always belonged to the British territory. Nevertheless the Governor-General offered to depute an agent, in the ensuing cold season, to adjust finally all questions relating to boundary disputes in concert with a duly authorised agent from Arakan. 9b Before this reply could have reached the Raja of Ramri, he sent a force one thousand strong, who landed on the island of Shahpuri during the night between September 23 and 24, 1823, and killed three of the British sepoys, wounded four, and drove away the rest. The Burmese Chief, who led this expedition, went back to Arakan, but intimated to the British Government that in case they again occupied the island, he would forcibly take possession of Dacca and Murshidabad, which, it was again claimed, originally belonged to Arakan. The British Government wrote to the Court of Ava to disavow the act of the Governor of Arakan in seizing Shahpuri. In the meantime the British reoccupied it on November 21, 1823, with a large force and put up stockades. 10 It may be added that the island of Shahpuri was very small in size and there was no satisfactory evidence of its proprietory right belonging to either of the contesting parties. 11

A more critical situation arose when the Burmese offered to reinstate Govinda Chandra, the ex-ruler of Cachar and now a fugitive in Bengal, on his throne. It may be recalled that when Govinda Chandra was driven away from his kingdom by three royal brothers of Manipur, he had proposed to the British that his kingdom might be amalgamated with the District of Sylhet, but the British authorities turned down his proposal in 1820. He then turned for help

to the Burmese who were in permanent occupation of Assam, which once exercised suzerainty over Cachar. The Burmese favourably entertained the request of Govinda Chandra and sent an army to reinstate him. 12

The establishment of Burmese authority in Cachar was viewed by Lord Amherst as a ^erious menace to the security of British territories in Bengal. In a letter written to the Court of Directors, dated January 9^ 1824, he stressed the strategical importance of the possession of Cachar. “One of the easiest passes”, said he, “from Ava into the Company’s possessions is through Manipur and Cachar, and the occupation of the latter is essential to the defence of that pass.”. On the other hand, the occupation of Cachar by the Burmese would place the District of Sylhet entirely at their mercy. Lord Amherst also fully realised the fact that the permanent occupation of Assam by Burma made it a source of great potential danger. The Burmese could bring down the largest army by means of the Brahmaputra and could reach Dacca from the frontier in five days without rousing any suspicion of their intentions. 13

Guided by these considerations, Amherst gave up the old policy of ‘neutrality’, and forestalled the Burmese Government by' recognising Goyinda Chandra as the protected ruler of Cachar 14 and sending a military force from Dacca to Sylhet. Govinda Chandra not only recognised the suzerainty of the British and agreed to pay a tribute of Rs. 10,000 per annum but he also gave the British the right to interfere in the internal administration of the country. The petty hill-state of Jaintia also followed the example of Cachar. 16

It was easy to foresee that this action of the British Government would be highly offensive to the Burmese who, as successors of the Ahom kings, claimed the status of a suzerain power in respect to Cachar and Jaintia, and had already entered into an agreement with Govinda Chandra, the ex-ruler of Cachar. This was fully realised even by high British officials. Scott, the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-East frontier, therefore proposed an arrangement by which Govinda Chandra should remain free from the control of both British and Burmese Governments. But Lord Amnerst, imbued with the new imperialist policy, did not agree to it. 16

The Burmese Government took no notice of the British action, and in December, 1823, a Burmese force, consisting of about four thousand Burmese and Assamese, marched from Assam, entered into Cachar, and fortified their position at Vikrampur by stockades. Another body entered from Manipur and defeated the troops of Gambhir Singh, the youngest of the three Manipur royal brothers.

It was also reported that a third Burmese force was approaching Jaintia by a different route. Thereupon Major Thomas Newton, the Officer-in-Command of the British force in Sylhet, marched against that section of the Burmese troops which had come frofri Assam, and defeated them on January 17, 1824, at Vikrampur (45 miles east of Sylhet). The Burmese troops from Assam and Manipur effected a junction at Jatrapur, eight miles from Badarpur, where all the British troops were concentrated. The British defeated the Burmese at Badarpur on February 13, 1824, and occupied Jatrapur. But the British troops suffered a reverse near Dudpatti. Other skirmishes followed, and the Burmese troops fell back and withdrew into Manipur.

In the meanwhile negotiation had commenced in regard to the dispute over the island of Shahpuri. After some parley the agents of the Burmese Government proposed that the island be regarded as neutral ground with a declaration from both the Governments that it should be occupied by neither. 17 This appears to be quite a reasonable proposal. But the British Government insisted on their absolute and unqualified right to the island of Shahpuri, and intimated that in case the Burmese Government sought to prevent the British authorities from maintaining a force on the island, they would punish those who disturbed their possession. 18 On January 20, 1&24, the Burmese seized Mr. Chew, the Commander of the British pilot schooner, Sophia, which was stationed off the northeast point of the island together with his men. They were threatened with detention until the chief Mug insurgents should be delivered in exchange, but were sent back on February 13. The Burmese also proceeded with armed men to the island of Shahpuri and planted the Burmese flag there. Then, after burning the solitary hut that stood on the island, they withdrew. 19

B. The First Burmese War

Immediately after the re-occupation of the island of Shahpuri by the British in November 1823, both sides seem to have begun military preparations for an eventual war. The incidents at Shahpuri and Cachar, in January 1824, which clearly show that the British Government was virtually at war with Burma, soon led to the open declaration of war between the two countries. The British Government issued a formal declaration of war on February 24, 1824, addressed to the Burmese Government, stating, at length, the reasons which forced them to take up arms. 19a This was followed by a public proclamation dated March 5. 19b On March 17, the Government of India received the reply from the Viceroy of Pegu to their communication of November, 1823. After reiterating the old claims and grievances the letter added that Burma was ready for war, that the governors on the Burman frontier had full authority to act, and that until everything was settled no further communica* tion need be made to the court of Ava. 19c The Governor-General accordingly made arrangements for military operations. An army was sent to the Indian frontier not only to defend the territory against the Burmese, but also to drive them away from the neighbouring territories of Assam, Cachar and Arakan. But another strong force was sent by way of sea to operate in Lower Burma with .Rangoon as its base. Although these two operations proceeded simultaneously, it will be convenient for our purpose to describe the two different campaigns separately, one after the other. 20

The force on the frontier of India made Assam its first objective. It started on March 13, 1824, along both banks of the river Brahmaputra, "through thick jungle and lofty grass," and practically met with no opposition till it arrived at Gauhati on the 28th. Here, for the first time, it was confronted with a mode of defence which proved to be a novel feature of the campaign, both in this area as well as in Burma, viz., the erection of strong stockades, 21 made of solid timber. The Burmese were very skilful in constructing them within a short time and defending them with great valour and heroism, but the stockades in Gauhati were abandoned without any fight. There was, therefore, little difficulty in advancing as far as Koliabar, a little beyond Nowgong, and establishing British authority over a considerable portion of Assam. The British force, however, met with a serious reverse at a place called Ramu in the district of Chittagong where a small British detachment was stationed. The Burmese General, Maha Bandula, proceeded from Arakan with a large army, but the British Commander decided not to withdraw. On May 17, 1824, Maha Bandula attacked this post. The expected British reinforcement did not arrive and there was some confusion in the British army due to the mutinous movement of a part of the sepoys who deserted in large numbers. The Burmese almost surrounded the British army with the result that the British detachment had to retreat; and the retreat turned out to be a veritable rout. Hastily throwing away their arms and accoutrements, the sepoys dispersed in every direction. Of the officers, thus deserted, only three escaped, two of whom were severely wounded, but the Captain and the rest were all killed. This disaster forced the British to withdraw their troops from Sylhet in order to protect Chittagong, and the Burmese again entered Cachar; but after the first alarm was over, the force from Sylhet was again ordered to proceed to Cachar which was then evacuated by the Burmese. Although the British force had to abandon the idea of proceeding to Manipur, Gambhir Singh, who had joined the British camp with his troops, was permitted to conauer it on his own account. He did so and occupied the capital.

In Assam the British force suffered terribly on account of disease, and at the beginning of the rainy season it was compelled to suspend all active operations, and retire to Gauhati. Resuming the operation at the end of October, the British force proceeded to clear Assam of the Burmese who had re-occupied some of the stations from which they had been previously driven. In January 1825, the British force occupied Jorhat and advanced towards Rangpur, the capital of Assam. After offering some resistance, the Burmese garrison of Rangpur asked for truce, and they were permitted to leave Assam on condition that they did not commit any ravages on the road or forcibly carry away any of the inhabitants. The capitulation of Rangpur practically led to the occupation of the whole of Assam. Though the Burmese made some border incursions and erected stockades in May and June, they were always driven away without much trouble. Then a large force proceeded through Cachar and Manipur and, in a short time, the Burmese completely evacuated these districts. Finally, the British force proceeded to Arakan with the object not only of occupying that province, but also, after this was accomplished, of proceeding further to join the British army marching from Lower Burma towards Ava, the capital of Burma. The British force advanced towards the capital city of Arakan and succeeded in capturing it without much difficulty, as the enemy left their strong positions on the hills after a very feeble resistance. The fall of the capital caused the Burmese to withdraw from all their positions in the province of Arakan. But though the primary object was thus achieved, it was not found practicable for the British force to advance into the interior, across the Arakan hills. To make matters worse, the rainy season set in and brought with it fever and dysentery which took a heavy toll of lives. Accordingly, the British troops were withdrawn from Arakan, leaving only certain detachments on the island of Cheduba and Rami, and on the opposite coast of Sandoway where the climate was more favourable.

We may now trace the movements of the British force which was sent to Lower Burma under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell. The force consisted of the contingents from Bengal and Madras, and the place of rendezvous was Port Cornwallis in the Great Andamans. Troops from Bengal and Madras, together with an auxiliary naval force, met early in May and arrived at the mouth of the Rangoon river on May 9. Most unexpectedly they received

no opposition at Rangoon, which was practically deserted when they occupied it on May 11. From Rangoon as its base the British force tried to advance into the interior, but the Burmese offered a strenuous resistance by erecting stockades all along the road. Although a good number of these stockades were captured by the British, sometimes after heavy fights, in some cases they met with serious reverses. The first notable failure met the British force while attempting to capture the stockades at Kemendine on June 3. But though the defeat was avenged a week later by the capture of the stockades, and other successes were gained, the British General had to give up the original idea of proceeding to Ava along the Brahmaputra. For the Burmese forces were not cleared from the Rangoon area and skirmishes took place constantly at the outposts. Sometimes the Burmese evacuated their strong stockades, without any fight, as they did at Thantabun on October 8, 1824. But, about the same time the British force met with a serious, though temporary, reverse at Keykole. Apart from such determined Burmese resistance with the help of stockades, the British expeditionary force suffered very severely both from want of supply as well as disease. The tropical sun, the torrential rains and the thick jungle and swamps, through which the soldiers had to march, caused a pestilence of fever and dysentery, and these took a much heavier toll of lives here than even in Assam. As regards supply, it was expected that as soon as the British captured Rangoon the Talaings would rise in the^r favour and supply would be readily available from them. In this fond hope the British were sorely disappointed. Further, it now became clear to the British that they had very little information about the* lay of the land and the means of communication, and it was found difficult to gather this knowledge on the spot and at a short notice. All these reasons hampered the progress of the British force and made the spirit of the troops very despondent.

Before leaving Port Cornwallis, Campbell had sent an expedi* tion to Cheduba, a small island on the Arakan coast, and it was occupied on May 14. After the advance to Ava was suspended an expedition was sent to the coast of Tenasserim, which occupied the forts of Tavoy and Mergui in September, 1824. Another detachment captured Martaban in Odtober, while Tenasserim and the small province of Yeah submitted in November without any fight.

The Burmese General, Maha Bandula, who had distinguished himself by his victory at Ramu, was recalled from Arakan and placed in command of the main army in Burma, which was opposing the progress of Sir Archibald Campbell. Maha Bandula organised a big army and attacked the British post at Kemendine on December 1. After, a number of skirmishes during the next three days there was a general engagement on December 5, but Bandula was defeated and fled in great confusion. The fight was renewed on December 7. The Burmese made a brave but unsuccessful stand and were totally put to rout and fled into the jungles. On December 9, the Burmese troops from Dallah were repulsed. But after a few days they re-assembled and, being strengthened by considerable reinforcements, returned to Kokeen and rendered it formidable by numerous entrenchments and stockades. One of their first acts after their return was to set fire to the town of Rangoon with the help of some Burmese, who were really emissaries of the Burmese General, but managed to enter the town as old residents who had deserted it on the approach of the British. Fire broke out in several places in the town on December 14, 1824, and destroyed nearly one-fourth (according to some, half) the city. The Burmese failed to take any advantage of the confusion which consequently followed in the British army. On the other hand, the British General attacked the Burmese army on December 15. The Burman force was estimated to be about 20 thousand strong whereas the British force numbered only thirteen hundred. In spite of this disparity of numbers, the Burmese fled from their strongly fortified stockade which was pronounced by the British General as “the most formidable entrenched and stockaded works” which he had ever seen. It should be noted, however, that Maha Bandula was not present with the army.

Two important results followed from the British success. The Talaings, who regarded themselves as unjustly deprived of Pegu or Lower Burma, which was their homeland, by the Burmans, were encouraged by a proclamation issued by Campbell and rendered effective assistance to the British force. Many Talaing soldiers deserted the Burmese army. Secondly, the Burmese gave up the offensive and made a general retreat after this signal defeat. Campbell, therefore, could advance upon Prome, the second city of the Burman empire. He commenced his march on February 13, 1825, but his progress was checked on March 11 by the intelligence of the reverses which the British naval column met with three days before at Donobew. where Maha Bandula was waiting with his whole force. The Burmese had put up two stockades there; the first was easily carried by the British naval column, but when they attacked the second, they were forced to fall back and re-embark. On receiving the news of this failure, Campbell returned with his troops for the reduction of Donobew. He was joined by the naval column and, on April 1, 1825, attacked the enemy's position. The Burmese General Maha Bandula was killed by a rocket and that was the signal for the general retreat of the Burmese. Immediately after the capture of the stronghold at Donobew, on April 2, Campbell resumed his march towards Prome. On April 19, he was met by a Burmese messenger with terms of peace, but nothing came out of it. Curiously enough, this Burmese, an old man, after he had been treated to a drink, whispered in the British General's ear: ‘‘they are frightened out of their senses, and you may do what you please with them”. On April 24, Campbell arrived within sight of Prome, and as the Burmese evacuated it during the following night, he took possession of it without any fight on the 26th. He found there more than hundred pieces of artillery and extensive supplies of grain, which were most welcome to the British force. The fort of Prome had been rendered scrformidable by nature and art that in the opinion of Campbell “ten thousand steady soldiers might have defended it against ten times that force”. Why the Burmese did not defend Prome which must have presented an almost impassable barrier to the progress of the British army, cannot be easily explained.

As the rains now set in, Campbell spent several months at Prome. Here, again, as at Rangoon, the British force suffered a great deal from sickness, though not to the same extent as in Rangoon.

After the cessation of rains, news was received of the approach of a large Burmese force; but at the same time a reply was received from the Burmese Government to the overtures for negotiation which the British General had made some time before. The deputation which brought the letter proposed that two British officers should pay a visit to the Burmese General. This was done, and on September 17, an armistice was concluded till the 18th of October. But although this date was later extended to the 2nd of November, the Burmese Government refused to accept the terms offered by <he British General, namely, the cession of Assam, abstention from interference with Cachar and Manipur, and the payment of an indemnity of two crores of Rupees.

When the hostilities were resumed, the British suffered a serious reverse at a place called Wattygaon, about twenty miles from Prome. The Burmese army, encouraged by this discomfiture of the British, continued to advance towards the British lines, throwing up entrenchments and stockades as it proceeded. A general engagement took place on December 1 and the following days at Simbike, when the British force attacked the enemy line, the operations on land being aided by the British flotilla. The Burmese, being defeated, fled in panic and confusion, and a large number of them were killed. The British army and flotilla now continued to advance and reached Meaday with hardly any opposition, as the enemy retreated before them without any fight, abandoning defences which could not have been captured by the British without severe loss. But though the British army was triumphant in the field, they suffered very much from heavy rains, which rendered the country almost impassable. “Sickness, in the awful form of spasmodic cholera, made its appearance and on one occasion the European troops were compelled to halt from the total failure of the supply of animal food”. 22 Fortunately for the British, the Burmese made proposal for peace towards the end of December, 1825, which the British, under the circumstances then prevailing, welcomed most heartily. After prolonged discussions, the two parties agreed upon a treaty, more or less on the terms formerly proposed by the British, except that the provinces of Ye, Tavoy and Mergui were added to the territorial cession, while the indemnity was reduced from two crores to one. The treaty was signed by the English and the Burmese respectively on January 2 and 3, and an armistice was concluded till January 18, 1826, to allow time for securing the ratification of the Burmese king. But as the Burmese king refused to ratify the treaty, hostilities were resumed. A general engagement was fought and the British forces captured the city of Pagham-Mew on February 9, 1826. The military operations were conducted jointly by British naval and land forces. The Burmese army “received the charge with tolerable firmness but were soon obliged to give way”. 23 The Burmese fled leaving to the British the city with all the stores of ordnance, arms and ammunition which it contained.

Before proceeding further, a brief reference may be made to military operations in Pegu, where a British force was stationed. A small detachment was sent against Sittang, a place on the bank of the river of the same name. The attempt failed and the commanding officer was killed. A larger force was then sent against the place, which succeeded in capturing it after a severe contest attended by heavy loss on both sides.

In the meanwhile, Sir Archibald Carftpbell was in full march towards Ava, the Burmese capital. When he had proceeded as far as Yandabo, within four days’ march of the capital (about sixty miles), the Burmese agents brought a copy of the ratified treaty as well as a sum of twenty-five lakhs of Rupees as the first instalment of the amount stipulated to be paid according to its terms. The treaty was signed at Yandabo on February 24, 1826. In addition to general professions of peace and friendship between the contracting parties, the treaty of Yandabo provided for the abrogation of all claims on the part of the Burmese king to Assam, Cachar, and Jaintia. As regards Manipur, it was agreed that should Gambhir Singh desire to return to that country, he should be recognised as

its ruler by the Burmese King. The British Government were to retain the whole of Arakan (i.e., provinces of Arakan, Ramri, Cheduba and Sandoway), the Arakan hills known as Yeoumatoung or Pokhingtoung forming the boundary between the Burmese and British territories. The

Burmese Government also ceded the provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui and Tennasserim, with the lands and dependencies appertaining thereto, having the Salween river for the line of demarcation of the frontier. The indemnity was fixed at one crore of Rupees, to be paid in instalments. It was also agreed that an accredited minister from each State would reside at the court of the other, with a suitable escort, and that a commercial treaty should be concluded on principles of reciprocal advantage.

The provisions of the treaty were no doubt very beneficial to the British, and it gave them a firm footing in Burma proper, which ultimately led to the conquest of the whole of that country. In spite, however, of the successful termination of the war, the grounds on which it was started and the manner in which it was conducted by the Government of India were justly censured by contemporary opinion, and although the modern British historians usually ignore this criticism, a few words may be said on both these points.

It would be clear from what has been stated above at the beginning, no impartial historian would perhaps agree with the Government of India, that there was a just cause for their declaration of war. In supporting it the British historians generally emphasise the insolent demands of the Burmese Government for the surrender of Dacca, Murshidabad etc., and the encroachment of the Burmese on British territory in pursuit of the Arakanese fugitives. It is to be noted, however, that the former was as much due to ignorance of etiquette and diplomatic usage as to insolence, and in any case, was a mere bravado which deserved ridicule rather than any serious notice; while the latter was practically condoned by the British as their subsequent conduct amply proves. Undue emphasis on these and minor border incidents merely serve to cloud the real issues which brought about the war. The most important of these was the capture of Shiahpuri island, first by the British, and then by the Burmese. As has been already stated, none of the parties could show any clear title of right to this small piece of land and, therefore, the attitude of the British in the face of the Burmese proposal to regard it as neutral can only be regarded as prompted by the desire to provoke war. The same thing may be said about the declaration by the British of Cachar being their protectorate. Here the weakness of the British cause is clear from the refusal of the British to interfere in Cachar on a previous occasion when they could do so on much more plausible grounds. Besides, nobody could deny that the Burmese had a just cause of grievance in the fact that British territories were admittedly used as a base of operations by the rebels

™ an . a 8 ainst Burma. It would be interesting to speculate what the British Government would have done if the case were just e reverse. In view of all this consideration it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the British action in declaring war against Burma was dictated more by the imperialistic design to obtain a firm footing in that country than the redress of any real or imaginary grievances against the Burmese. As a matter of fact, the Government of India themselves admitted this in a letter written to the Court of Directors on December 23, 1825.2* Their elaborate arguments in justification of the war more or less amount to this that a war with Burma was inevitable sooner or later, and it was better o forestall it at a time when their power and resources were most favourable for achieving success. They clearly admitted that the instances which led to the war were, really speaking, "trifling acts of insult and aggression", but they took advantage of them in order o avert the evil that inevitably threatened them sooner or later'. 23

There can be hardly any doubt that the real cause of the war as mentioned above, was the British alarm at the rapid expansion of Burmese power in Eastern India, and a desire to curb the strength of such a dangerous neighbour. The imperial character of the whole undertaking is clearly manifested by the plan of the military operations. If the object of the Government of India were merely to check the aggressions of Burma, they might have easily done it by massing their forces on the frontier of their own territories, and, if necessary, by invading the border states of Assam Cachar, Manipur and Arakan. But it is not easy to explain why' in that case, the main offensive was directed against Lower Burma.' The Government of India advanced the argument that this was only to divert the Burmese forces from their operations on Indian border, which seriously threatened its security, and in justification they pointed out that Maha Bandula and a considerable part of his force were withdrawn from Arakan to Burma proper to check thadvance of the main force under Sir Archibald Campbell. They even seem to pretend that otherwise they could not have saved India from the Burmese army on the border of India. This, however is an argument that does not merit even serious consideration. For no one outside the circle of the Government of India 2 ® would pro bably maintain the view that with all the military resources at the command of the British in 1824, the Burmese army, with its outmoded system of warfare, and fighting far away from the centra of their kingdom, with almost impassable hills and jungles inter

vemng between the two, could ever be regarded as a menace to the security of the British territories. As a matter of fact, excepting the single instance of the disaster at Ramu, which was mainly due to want of discretion on the part of the general, and cannot be regarded by any means as a fair test between the two, the British army in Assam and Arakan never met with any serious opposition and conquered the whole territory without any difficulty. It is difficult to admit that the things would have been very different even if Maha Bandula were not withdrawn from Arakan. The British themselves intended that after conquering Arakan, their forces should cross the Arakan hills and join the army of Campbell in Burma, but they had to give up the idea on account of the very bad terrain. Though the difficulties in this respect on the side of Burma were undoubtedly much less, still from the military point of view, the difficulty of the route was a very important factor which could not but considerably impair the striking power of Burma. On the whole it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the despatch of an expedition against Lower Burma was not in any way dictated by military necessity, nor can it be viewed as a part of the military strategy, unless the conquest of a part of Burma proper was the main object.

As regards the difficulty which almost overwhelmed the British army the following figures may be quoted.

“The original contingents of European troops were 3738 at Rangoon, 1004 in Arakan; at Rangoon their hospital deaths (scurvy and dysentery) were 3160, their battle deaths 166; in Arakan their hospital deaths (malaria) were 595, battle deaths nil—4 per cent, battle deaths, 96 per cent, hospital; 40,000 men passed through the cadres, 15,000 died, and the war cost £5,000,000.” 27

The Government of India argued in their defence that the land was quite unknown and they had no time to secure reliable information either about the ground or about the possibilities of getting adequate supply. As a matter of fact, they were hopeful that the people of Lower Burma would rise against the Burmese Government and join the British and provide them with adequate supply. In all this they were sadly disappointed. While it may be admitted that the ignorance was the main reason for the disaster that befell the British army and almost overwhelmed it, it is not easy to understand why the military expedition should have been sent before reliable knowledge of the land and its people was secured, and provision made for all contingencies. It was not a sudden emergency, for nascent hostilities with Burma had been continuing for years past, and if the Government of India ever thought thai war was

inevitable and that fighting in Burma proper would form a necessary part of the campaign, they should have employed the preceding ten years or more for securing information about the country and the people, so that they might provide adequately for the necessaries of the army, when the time came for despatching it. It is therefore obvious that either the idea of sending an army to Burma proper was a comparatively recent one, due to the new imperialistic policy which began to manifest itself after the Third Maratha War, or the Government failed to take the most elementary precaution, a failure which was justly deserving of censure.

II. BURMA (1826-1857)

A. The Prelude

The treaty of Yandabo (A.D. 1826) provided for the residence of British and Burman envoy at the Court of each other. This was positively distasteful to the Burmans. The general aversion of the Eastern nations to such a procedure and the causes of the same are very beautifully reflected in a letter from the Emperor of China to the King of Burma. In A.D. 1836, the ‘Big Brother’ wrote to the ‘Younger One’: “it is not proper to allow the English... .to remain in the city. They are accustomed to act like the pipal tree”. 1 Those who know how a small seed of this tree, carried by a bird on the roof of a temple, gradually grows up, slowly and unperceived, into a big plant whose roots deeply sink into the masonry and finally breaks down the whole structure, would at once realise the aptness of the simile and the native shrewdness of Chinese intellect. The pithy sentence sums up, with remarkable brevity, the whole history of European colonialism in Asia.

The Burmese had a similar instinct. So the first British Resident at Ava, John Crawford, left after ten weeks. The next one, Henry Burney, lived there for eight years, but was forced to present himself before the king without shoes on. He had to discuss many questions arising out of the treaty of Yandabo, and felt convinced that the Burmese had not reconciled themselves to the cession of territories made by that treaty and would seize the next favourable opportunity of recovering them by another war.

In A.D. 1837, King Bagyidaw lost his throne in a palace revolution and was succeeded by his brother Tharrawaddy.' He was of a disreputable character and a habitual drunkard. He was fickle and often fell victim to an ungovernable passion. According to Burney's report he was definitely hostile to the British, and was very anxious to get rid of the treaties with the British which, he declared, were not binding upon him. He was even believed to have been actively engaged in making military preparations for another trial of strength with the British.

Tharrawaddy shifted his capital from Ava, first to Kyaukmyaung on the river near Swebo, and then to Amarapura. When Benson succeeded Burney as Resident there, in October, 1838, he met with all sorts of difficulties, and felt humiliated in so many ways that he left Amarapura in March, 1839, handing over charge to McLeod. The latter fared no better. He left Amarapura and arrived at Rangoon on July 31, 1839, but the treatment meted out to him by the Governor of Rangoon was so disrespectful that he left Burma with all his followers on January 7, 1840.

But although most alarming reports about the hostile preparations of Tharrawaddy continued to pour in from the British Commissioner of Tenasserim, the merchants of Rangoon, and various other quarters, nothing actually happened; and this throws a genuine suspicion on the correctness of the British appraisal of the political situation in Burma from the very beginning of the post-war period. The same thing may be said of panicky rumours of assistance offered by Siam and China to help the Burmans against the English and even of French intrigues with the court of Ava to the same end.

It is against this background of panic, suspicion and mistrust which the British residents in Burma entertained without any reasonable grounds, that we have to judge their views and actions and make a proper assessment of the reasons that led to the Second Burmese War. The war itself was, however, the direct outcome of two fundamental traits which distinguished European colonialism in those days. The first is a belief in the immense superiority of everything western in culture and government, and a hardly disguised contempt for the manners, customs, laws and administrative system of the East. The second is a deep-rooted feeling that the Westerners have an inherent right to force themselves upon the Eastern people for serving their own interests, and if the reaction of the latter is unfavourable, they must go to the wall. The eternal tangle may be described somewhat as follows. The Western peoples settle in an Eastern country for trade or missionary activity; the behaviour of the local people or local Government is not to their liking; they would not, for that reason, leave the country to itself, but must mend it or end it at the point of the sword. It was the; logic of the strong towards the weak which was sometimes enforced by pious platitudes of the self-imposed noble mission of rescuing the people from the tyranny of their government and imposing the blessings of their own rule. Without denying for a moment that

the system of administration in many oriental countries in the nineteenth century was exceedingly bad, and the western standard was, generally speaking, much higher, the justice of the plea for interference and the assumptions on which it was based may be properly questioned, and its honesty is not always above suspicion. For, considering human nature as it is, the highest humanitarian considerations on which an action is base*d may really be a cloak for selfinterest and self-aggrandisement. Besides, in the above calculation, no account is made of the inherent evils of foreign domination which may, and often did, exceed the good that flowed from a higher standard of Government.

A concrete illustration of what has been said above is furnished by the actual events that followed in quick succession and led to the Second Burmese War.

King Tharrawaddy grew more and more insane and was put under restraint in A.D. 1845. He was succeeded by his eldest son Pagan Min, who did not assume royal title till Tharrawaddy died in 1846. In accordance with the Treaty of Yandabo, the British merchants were carrying on trade and business in Burma. For nearly a quarter of a century none of them had any complaint to make. But soon after 1850 stories of grievances poured in. It is neither possible, nor necessary, to go into these in details, but a brief summary of the important cases 2 may be given.

1. H. Potter was promised by the Governor of Rangoon every facility for building a ship. But after some time, a new Governor came and extorted money from him "by all manner oi petty annoyances, and under various false pretences." Finally he was compelled to pay Rs. 16,000 for permission to launch his ship. He claimed to have suffered a loss of more than Rs. 24,000.

2. Robert Sheppard, master and owner of the barque "Monarch", engaged the services of a pilot near the harbour of Rangoon. According to Sheppard this pilot, unable to extricate the ship from the shoal water, "through fear or shame jumped overboard", but the charge was brought against him that he had thrown the pilot overboard. The Burman police held an enquiry and sent a report to the Governor. Sheppard and several members of the crew were kept in confinement. Sheppard was, however, released at 8 P.M. on furnishing security, and ultimately the case was dismissed on payment of a sum of money, the total expenses of Sheppard being estimated about one thousand rupees.

3. Harold Lewis, master of the barque "Champion" was charged with murdering a crew who had died on board the vessel,

and was subjected to insults and indignities and the payment of a fine of Rs. 280/-.

4. The European residents of Rangoon stated in a memorial to the Governor-General in Council that they had “for a long time, suffered from the tyranny and gross injustice of the Burmese authorities”, and that the Borman Government exacted heavier harbour dues etc,, than the amount sanctioned by the Treaty of Yandabo. The memorial also narrated two cr three cases of petty harassment by the Burmese officials.

These are the only charges which need be seriously considered, and they present several interesting features. In the first place, all these cases occurred in 1851, twenty-five years after the Treaty of Yandabo. The European residents, “who had suffered for a long time”, said that they did not seek redress from the Burmese court “as from long experience foreigners have found that application for redress has resulted only in heavy court expenses”. Why the foreigners still continued to carry on their business in Burma and did not leave that ‘cursed’ country to its fate is not stated. Nor is it easy to explain their long forbearance in bringing the misdeeds of the Burmese Government to the notice of the Governor-General in India. It is a very strange coincidence indeed that all the serious complaints were brought forward in the year 1851, at a time when the well-known aggressive imperialism of the Government of India might hold out some hope of extending its operations to Burma.

Again, another strange feature is that neither the local officials who forwarded the complaints to the Government of India nor the latter ever instituted a proper inquiry on the subject. 3 In forwarding Sheppard s statement of his own case, Col. Gogle had the candour to observe: “On the merits of the case I know nothing more than is stated in Mr. Sheppards protests, but I am disposed to credit what he states, because he bears.such a high character at this place”. 4 Dalhousie also expressed similar views. c This was another permanent characteristic of British attitude in the East. As the British constitution lays down that the King can do no wrong, so the British colonialism adopts as an article of faith that no Britisher is capable of making a false statement in an oriental country. So the ex parte evidence of the British businessmen was considered quite sufficient. But those who remember what has been stated above regarding the mental attitude of these men towards the Burmese may be excused for not readily subscribing to this view. This does not, of course, mean that the complaints were necessarily false or exaggerated' They may be wholly or partially true for all we know, but the fact

remains that a historian has no means of ascertaining the truth or otherwise of these allegations, and the Government of India, who had the means, never cared to do so, at least in a manner which befitted its dignity and would be calculated to carry conviction to all reasonable minds.

When the Commissioner of Tenasserim brought the case of Potter (No. 1 above) to the notice of the Government of India, in February 1851, the latter declined to interfere into the matter. But the cases of Sheppard and Lewis produced a different reaction on them. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, held that as "British subjects and traders have, undoubtedly, adjust right to expect that they shall be protected by their own Government from injustice, oppression, and extortion," the Government of India should "demand reparation from the Government of Ava". But as there was no accredited agent of the Government of India at the court of Ava, Dalhousie decided to send Commodore Lambert of the Royal Navy, who was then present in Calcutta, "to proceed to Rangoon with the ships under his command and any other available vessels of war (three at Moulmein are specifically named) in order to endeavour to obtain from the Governor of Rangoon the reparation which is due to fhe British Government". If in spite of "the presence of British men-of-war in front of Rangoon" and "the obvious justice of the demand", the Governor of Rangoon, contrary to all reasonable expectations or anticipations, "refused to comply with this demand", an opportunity should be given to the King of Burma of making the reparation. If they fail to get redress at this quarter, the Government of India would doubtless" be "entitled" "to exact reparation by force of arms. The demand was at first confined to the claims of Sheppard and Lewis amounting to Rs. 9,948.

It is not for nothing that Lord Dalhousie has been regarded as one of the greatest Governors-General. After writing the above note he added, evidently as an after-thought, the following comment: "Although there seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of the deposition, or the veracity of the deponents, it would be right that Commodore Lambert should, in the first instance, be satisfied on the head". 5a To recommend an inquiry after the Head of the Government had expressed his views, pronounce^ the sentence, and laid down in detail the manner of executing it, can only be interpreted as an attempt to bamboozle the public, or a clumsy effort to satisfy a guilty conscience. The same thing may be said of his further instructions to Lambert “not to commence hostilities, save on specific instructions from the Government of India”. 6

An inquiry into the allegations could be nothing short of a mockery in the face of the pronounced views of the GovernorGeneral on. the subject. But in any case it could be easily anticipated that a Commodore of the Royal Navy was as little capable of conducting properly a delicate inquiry on civil claims, as he was of restraining himself from precipitating hostilities against a contemptible enemy who had not the least means of injuring the British vessels, and was thus completely at his mercy.

So, on November 18, 1851, Commodore Lambert started on his diplomatic mission with his own ships accompanied by the Company’s steamers, "Tenasserirr i" and "Proserpine”, properly armed and equipped, and manned by European crews. When the flotilla neared Rangoon the bewildered Governor of the place sent an English resident at Rangoon to learn the purpose of this visit. The Commodore, without divulging anything, fixed up a meeting with the Governor. In the meantime he received in writing, on November 28, complaints of the British subjects against the Governor concerning 38 cases of oppression and injustice. These were mostly new charges, not complained of before, and, as will be shown later, even Halliday, the Secretary tc the Government of India, had to admit the impropriety of taking them into consideration. But such trifles counted for little in the judgment of Lambert who decided on the basis of these charges that “the Governor of Rangoon was unfit to be entrusted with the lives and property of British subjects". So, contrary to his instructions he decided to withhold the demand of the Government of India from the Governor ‘‘in view of the many fresh instances of his misconduct ’, and made his removal from the post a preliminary to entering into any discussion with the Government of Burma. So, on November 27, he sent a letter to the Governor to the above effect, together with two other letters, one written by him to the Prime Minister, and the other from the Government of India to the King of Burma. The Commodore wrote to the Governor, holding him “responsible for an answer" to these two letters within five weeks. The very next day the Governor sent a reply denying that he ever did any injury to British subjects.

As soon as these facts were reported to the Government of India, Mr. Halliday, the Secretary, after ascertaining the views of the Governor-General who was away from Calcutta wrote a long letter to Lambert on December 27. He observed: “The statements contained in the memorial presented by the British subjects at Rangoon must be received with caution; not having been made the subject of complaint at the time, these additional cases cannot now be made the groundwork of an increased demand for compensation"-.' But nevertheless Lambert’s action was fully approved, because these new cases indicated a “systematic course of oppression” by the Governor of Rangoon. Detailed instructions were given to Lambert as to the steps to be taken in all possible contingencies that might arise. Even in case of an unfavourable reply from the king the utmost he was authorised to do was to establish blockade of the two rivers at Rangoon and Moulmein, but he was specifically instructed not to bombard Rangoon or occupy that city or Martaban with an armed force, as any of these courses would “precipitate us prematurely into a war which moderate counsels may still enable us with honour to avert.”

The replies to the letters addressed to the Court of Ava were very conciliatory in tone. The king took exception to the threat that “the British Government shall enforce the right it possesses,” and expressed the hope that the disputes or differences between the two great countries should be adjusted through the normal procedure. The reply of the minister was even more friendly, and almost humble in tone. It stated that the Governor of Rangoon had been recalled and “proper and strict inquiries shall be instituted” into the complaints of the British merchants.

On January 4, the new Governor arrived at Rangoon. One or two instances may be cited to indicate the attitude of the British even after this practical demonstration of the conciliatory attitude of the Government of Burma. They took exception to the fact that no formal intimation was officially given of the arrival of the new Governor. An English merchant was ordered by the Governor to take down a flagstaff he had erected, and to remove a gun he had placed for his defence. But he refused to do either without the orders of Lambert, to whose credit it must be said that he advised compliance with the order. In the light of these facts it is easy to explain, if not to excuse, the order of the new Governor that the British subjects on shore should not communicate with any vessels on the river.

On January 6, 1852, Edwards, the Assistant Interpreter, went to the Governor's house to intimate to him that a deputation from Commodore Lambert was coming to him. As he reached the foot of the steps, a member of the Governor's suite drew his dagger, but as soon as Edwards met the Governor and complained about it, the culprit was punished, in the presence of Edwards, "by having him taken by the hair of the head, swung round three times, his face dashed to the ground, himself dragged out by the hair, and pitched down stairs". 9

It is important to bear in mind this trifling incident in view of the complaint of deliberate insult, made by Commander Fishbourne

who, accompanied by Capt. Latter, Edwards and some naval officers, went to see the Governor in order to hand over to him a letter from Commodore Lambert, demanding the sum of Rs. 9,948 as compensation for Sheppard and Lewis, and proposing that a British Resident should be stationed at Rangoon.

The incident, as reported by the deputation, may be summed up as follows.

The members of the deputation arrived near the Governor's house at noon, and taking no heed of the request of two Burmese officers to communicate first with the under-Governor, went as far as the door of the Governor's house. There they were told that the Governor was asleep. On being requested to awaken the Governor, his English interpreter went in, and coming out after a short time, told Edwards that the Governor wished to see him. This was objected to on the ground that the others would be compelled to wait in the sun. The Burmese .pointed to an open shed where the English officers could wait in its shade, but they refused, as it was "a shelter thrown up for the reception of persons waiting to have their cases tried." Making one further vain attempt to induce two Burmese officers to inform the

Governor about their arrival, the deputation returned to the ships. 8a Why Edwards did not utilise his permission to visit the Governor and lay the complaints of the British deputation before him, it is not easy to explain, except on the supposition that they were determined to provoke a quarrel, or were in a drunken state, as alleged by the Governor. Immediately on receipt of this news Commodore Lambert suspended all further communications with the Governor, gave asylum in his ships to the British subjects in Rangoon, and blockaded the rivers of Rangoon, the Bassein, and Salween above Moulmein. So far, he technically followed his instructions, though the justice or necessity of such an extreme step may well be doubted.

Next day (January 7) the Governor of Burma sent three of his officers to the Commodore to say that he was really asleep and wrote a letter complaining that the Erfglish officers had gone to his house in a state of intoxication and, contrary to custom, entered the compound on horse-back. He also sent the Governor of Dalla ((opposite Rangoon) to negotiate with Lambert who agreed to open communication with the Governor if he would himself come on board his frigate and express his regret. But without waiting for further parley, Lambert, "in disobedience of his orders", took a measure, by way of reprisal, which deeply wounded the susceptibilities of the Burmese. There was in the harbour a vessel, known as the Yellow Ship, which belonged personally to the King of Burma.

The Rangoon Government had warned the English fleet that if the Yellow Ship was touched, its batteries would open,, as also if any English ship passed the Burmese ships without leave. In spite of this the Yellow Ship was seized on the 8th morning and taken in tow by the British vessel "Hermes" under orders of Lambert. The Governor of Della and the Deputy Governor of Rangoon hastened on board the Commodore's ship. They represented that the Yellow Ship was sacred, and its seizure was a public insult to the royal dignity, and requested the Commodore to release the ship —-but he refused. On 11 January, the Governor formally agreed to pay the compensation demanded and to appoint a Resident. No reply was given by Lambert, who simply forwarded the offer to the Government of India.

But the Commodore did not remain idle. He now tried to provoke the Burmese into hostility. On January 10, the British men of war moved down the river to carry out the blockade. Some of these not only steamed close past the Burmese stockades, as if to challenge them, but passed *and repassed them "with an unmistakable meaning",* as Arnold puts it. But the Burmese kept quiet. Next morning, therefore, the "Hermes" was directed to steam by with her prize, the "Yellow Ship", that is the King's ship held sacred by the Burmese. This time Lambert's anticipations proved to be correct. "As the "Hermes", with the "Yellow Ship", came abreast of the "Da Silva" battery, the English drum "beat to quarters", her Captain knowing very well what would follow. Eleven guns (from the Burmese battery) opened upon the "Hermes", and at once, as if also ready and eager, the Commodore hoisted the signal to engage the enemy". 8b What followed is thus described by Dalhousie in a private letter to Sir George Couper, dated 23rd January, 1852: "He (Lambert) anchored; sent the "Fox's" broadside into the stockade where were 3,000 men who disappeared to a man, and then destroyed their war boats and spiked and sank their guns". 8c Most British writers ignore or minimise the enormity of this crime of Lambert. 8d But Arnold contrasts this tragic act of cruelty, involving a heavy carnage, with the readiness of the Governor of Rangoon to concede practically all the demands of the British, and rightly comments: "It is hard to avoid the impression that war was all along intended by us". 8a

Similar incidents of a minor character were repeated. In order to prevent them, the Governor wrote to Lambert asking him to secure previous permission for his ships to proceed up or down the river. But this was not done and the incidents continued.

It is now known on good authority that Dalhousie disapproved the arrogant attitude and hasty actions of Lambert. On January 23, he wrote to Broughton that ‘‘these Commodores are too combustible for negotiations." Later on he was more explicit and wrote: "There is no doubt that Lambert was the immediate cause of the war by seizing the King's ship, in direct disobedience of his orders from me. I accepted the responsibility of his act, but disapproved and censured it." 9 It is a sad commentary on the British Government that all the despatches expressing Dalhousie's disapproval of Lambert's act were suppressed in the Blue-Book, as Dalhousie himself admits, and the Parliamentary Papers contain no indication of his attitude of regre.t. 10

But whatever might be the real feelings of Dalhousie, as Governor-General he conveyed his approval of all the acts of Lambert. The Government of India wrote on January 26, accepting the terms offered by the Governor of Rangoon on January 11, but insisted that he should express in writing his deep regret for the insult offered to the deputation on January 6. In his reply dated February 2, the Governor complained of Lambert's conduct and pointed out that the version received by the Government of India about the insult to the British deputation was one-sided and did not represent the whole truth. But nevertheless he was prepared to make a satisfactory arrangement about other matters.

This reply did not satisfy Dalhousie and he refused to send any envoy to discuss the terms of settlement, as to do so would be "to tamely submit to national insult/' After having discussed in a lengthy minute, on February 12, the question of national prestige involved in the Burmese affair he concluded that his Government had "no alternative but to exact reparation by force of arms." But if they are refused, "operations of war should commence."

Shortly afterwards Dalhousie received a direct communication from the King of Burma. To this he sent an official reply,on February 18, practically giving an ultimatum to the latter. He demanded the removal of the Governor of Rangoon and expression of regret by the King of Burma through his ministers for the incident of June 6, immediate payment of ten lakhs of Rupees, and acceptance of a British Agent at Rangoon. If these demands were accepted without further negotiations, and fulfilled on or before April 1 next, hostile operations would be stayed. But if these "just and lenient conditions are refused, the British Government will have no alternative but immediate war."

The Government of India had begun military preparations for the Burmese War as soon as the first reports from Lambert reached

them, that is, on or before January, 1852, when reinforcements were sent to Moulmein. As soon as Dalhousie returned to Calcutta (January 29^ the preparations were in full swing. Lieutenant General Godwin was appointed the Commander of the expedition, and Rear-Admiral Austen, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's naval forces in the Eastern seas, was placed in charge of naval operations. The expeditionary force was composed of detachments of Bengal and Madras armies, and in the light of experience gained in the First Burmese War satisfactory arrangements were made for the supply of food and transport, and the prevention and treatment of Malaria. For all these great credit is due to the personal exertions of the Governor-General. The difficulties of the First War were repeated when the 38th Native Infantry at Barrackpur refused to go to Burma by sea. But here, again, Dalhousie profited by the past experience. He justly concluded that it was not disloyalty, or mutiny, or insubordination, and held that *"the men had a right to decline, and they acted perfectly within their military rights in declining" to proceed by sea. He wanted to avoid the error of 1824 "when from some misunderstanding and want of judicious and temperate handling, the Native troops were at length massacred as mutineers." He therefore ordered the Regiment to proceed to Arakan by road, via Dacca. This action was severely condemned by a section of the British. According to some contemporary newspapers, Dalhousie was the first Governor-General to succumb to mutineers. The anonymous author of the Red pamphlet (probably Malleson), published immediately after the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, declared with reference to the decision of Dalhousie that "from that moment a revolt became a mere question of time and opportunity." 11

The Indo-Burmese relations in February and March, 1852, were confusing in the extreme. Negotiations were still going on, but minor hostilities continued in the land and water of Burma, and all the while brisk military preparations were being made on both sides for the coming war. Lord Dalhousie hoped to be able to avoid a major military operation by terrorising Burma into abject submission by strong measures of coercion at the very beginning. In case of the refusal of the King of Burma to accept his terms of February 18, General Godwin was requested "to strike promptly a powerful blow which might reduce the Burmese to reason." Hiis "blow" was suggested to be the occupation of Martaban and Rangoon. If the Burmese* made overtures for peace after that, the compensation was to be increased to 15 lakhs plus three lakhs for every month, after 1st May, until full payment was made. This ultimatum was to expire on October 1.

These overtures, actual or contingent, have been represented by the apologists of Dalhousie as indicating his sincere desire for peace. 12 It is, however* difficult to accept this interpretation. The compensation, first of nine thousand Rupees, then suddenly raised, first to ten lakhs, and then to fifteen lakhs or more, and the other demands like unqualified expression of regret and removal of the Governor 6f Rangoon, on the ex parte statement of British officials without any hearing of the other side, are of so exorbitant a character, and the manner of the demand is so unusually harsh and vindictive for one independent State to adopt against another, that they are incompatible with a genuine desire for peace, as one would normally understand the expression. All that can be urged in his favour is that if he could, by threat and coercion, gain all his arrogant demands and humiliate the King of Burma to an extent dictated by his own ideal of what British prestige required in oriental countries, he would have desisted from war.

Lord Dalhousie's position may be likened to that of a bandit chief who asked a householder, at the point of revolver, to surrender his valuables, and killed him when he refused to do so. He might well have exclaimed like Dalhousie: "God knows I lament the alternative, but I did not create it," or "God! He knows how fervently I desired to avert this necessity". 12 ® Dalhousie's pious platitudes, too frequently repeated, to the effect that he "sought no conquest or pretext for war", are not unlikely to provoke the comment: "Madam, you seem to protest too much". They are at the best selfdelusions of an extraordinary type, and at the worst, most hypocritical expressions deliberately designed to delude the public.

Taking into consideration not only the sentimental effusions of Dalhousie, but all the facts and circumstances of the case, it is difficult to agree with those who hold that he did not want war; it will be perhaps more correct to say that he did not apprehend war. But this is not a high compliment and does not place him in the category of a pacifist any more than Kaiser Wilhelm, Hitler and Mussolini who would certainly not have gone to war if they could have everything in their own way without it. It is also not unlikely that his so-called "peace-offers" were due to other reasons. In his diary he wrote that he was resolved not to "engage in a war with Ava with the hot season approaching; but would commence operation only with the opening of the cold season of 1852". One is certainly entitled to the belief that his ultimatums, expiring on 1st April and 1st October were really designed cleverly to gain this end.

It is difficult to withhold sympathy from the King of Burma, and to deny a great deal of force in his official statement to Dalhousie

that he wondered whether the Government of India had deputed Lambert "simply to dispose of the question relating to the merchants, or whether he has been sent to begin by an attack, which should hav^ the effect of bringing on hostilities between the two countries." 13 Indeed any one who looks at the whole situation in a long perspective, particularly the choice of Lambert, the gradually stiffening attitude of Dalhousie in spite of the arrogant acts of Lambert which he disapproved, and the unusual and unnecessary rudeness with which both Lambert and Dalhousie pressed their demands, may well be excused for the belief that the whole affair was pre-arranged and dictated by the policy of consolidating British authority in Burma in order to forestall the French measures in the same direction. Such a view, no doubt, lacks positive evidence, but cannot be rejected altogether as a possible hypothesis. For it may readily be admitted that while the tone of Dalhousie's communications to the king of Burma was such as one independent State should never use towards another, the Court of Ava and the Governor of Rangoon offered such an abject submission to the most unreasonable and harsh demands couched in the most dictatorial tone, as no independent State could be expected to do. John Lawrence hit the nail right on the head when he wrote to the Private Secretary of Lord Dalhousie: "Why did you send a Commodore to Burma if you wanted peace?" It is difficult to accept Lord Dalhousie's defence on the point. "It is easy," he said, "to be wise after the fact. If I had the gift of prophecy, I would not have employed Lambert to negotiate." 14 This is a sad confession, but one might well ask why he supported the acts of Lambert even though he disapproved of them.

But, as Dalhousie says in the same letter, he was not sure, that but for Lambert's act "the war would not have been just as it has been." The war was really due to Dalhousie's conception of British prestige in the East. As far back as April 24, 1852, he wrote: "This is not a question of insult merely, but of injury...The simple question is whether, before all Asia, England will submit to Ava.

In another letter he remarked, “we can’t afford to be shown to the door anywhere in the East; there are too many doors to our residence there to admit of our submitting to that movement safely at any one of them.” 15

So Dalhousie’s idea was that for the sake of prestige the British Government could not budge an inch from the position it had taken even if it were proved to be wrong, and the British would not leave any country, once being in, even if they were not wanted. He also entertained a very low opinion of the dignity and understanding of the oriental rulers. When even the President of . the Board of Con

trol objected to his letter to the Court of Ava, dated February 18 “as couched in too severe terms”, Lord Dalhousie defended himself by saying that the language of diplomacy employed in communications between civilised States is not applicable to the East and would exercise no influence on a potentate in India or Burma who only understands the language of a bully. 16

The keynote of Dalhousie’s policy was to maintain British interest and prestige everywhere m the East, if necessary, by war, if possible, by less violent means. His sense of British prestige has been embodied in the petty typical saying, my country right or wrong’j and he constantly brought it home to oriental rulers by deliberately assuming towards them a haughty and arrogant attitude backed by bayonet and musket rather than fairness and justice.

Fortunately for humanity it was one of his own most distinguished countrymen who was foremost in exposing the true nature of Dalhousie’s policy in Burma. In a pamphlet entitled How wars are got up in India; the origin of the Burmese War , Cobden has ruthlessly condemned the whole transaction from the beginning. Another British writer has exposed the real motive behind Lord Dalhousie’s action. “It was”, says Arnold, “because the Americans and French, but principally the former, were busy in the Eastern Seas, and notably looking towards the delta of the Irawaddy that the hiatus between Arakan and Moulmein disquieted Dalhousie’ . - a

Of course apologists and supporters of Dalhousie have never been wanting, at least in his own country. Many of them have offered specious reasonings and ignored hard and positive facts, while emphasizing the pious platitudes which fill the letters, minutes, and despatches of Dalhousie. But even if we take them at their face value, a public man like Dalhousie must be judged by his actions and not mere sentiments. As usual, these apologists have relied on the time-worn plea of differences between the east and the west and between the ideas of the nineteenth and the twentieth century, These specious arguments certainly would not cut much ico at the present moment when European colonialism, superiority of western culture, white men's burden etc., are all dying creeds. They may explain, but do not certainly excuse in the least, the high-handed acts of Lord Dalhousie.

B. The Second Burmese War 17

Reference has been made above to the elaborate preparations made by Dalhousie for the Burmese campaign. General Godwin started from Calcutta on March 25, and arrived at Rangoon on April 2. Admiral Austen had arrived on the previous day, and Madras

troops joined on April 7. The total strength of the expeditionary force was 19 ships, 159 guns and 8,489 men.

It is hardly necessary to describe at length the minor clashes or sporadic acts of hostilities that had been going on since Lambert began his blockade on January 6, 1852. On the very day that General Godwin arrived in Rangoon, the British steamer 'Proserpine', under a flag of truce, was sent to Rangoon, to find out whether the Burmese Government had sent any reply to Dalhousie's ultimatum, the date of which had expired on the previous day, i.e., April 1. The steamer was fired at from a Burmese stockade, but did not suffer any damage, and returned the fire. On April 5, Lambert destroyed two stockades below Rangoon, and Martaban was captured by the joint operation of the army and the navy.

The war which thus began in a formal way was short but decisive. The British forces now proceeded to Rangoon. The main attack commenced on April 12, and the city was captured on the 14th. Bassein was next attacked, and it fell on May 19. On the east the British repulsed several Burmese attacks on Martaban and then proceeded towards Pegu, the Talaing inhabitants of which, according to an official despatch of Godwin, had appealed to the British for help against the Burmese. 18 The city of Pegu was captured and restored to a member of the, old ruling family. On July 9, the British captured Prome and defeated a part of General Bandula's army, capturing 28 guns, but they retired as their number was not sufficient to occupy it permanently.

In spite of these serious reverses the Burmese Government made no overtures for peace. Nor were they intent upon opposing the further advance of the British. They evidently relied on the coming rains and difficult terrain, and hoped that General Monsoon, with all the attendant epidemics, would be more than a match for the British. They were not perhaps altogether wrong. Dalhousie also, after serious considerations, gave up the idea of a march into the interior beyond Prome, on account of the loss of men, money and time that it would involve. So, after a lull in the military operations, the British flotilla advanced towards Prome and landed forces on October 9 and 10, but found the city evacuated. Pegu, which had been seized by the Burmans from the Talaings was recaptured by the British on November 21, 1852. Small expeditions were sent both from Prome and Pegu into the interior.

The studied silence of the Court of Ava created a great problem. They would neither fight nor treat for peace. The home authorities, in the flush of military success, thought of advance towards Ava, but Dalhousie, as before, steadily opposed this project. He

formulated his policy in an elaborate minute on June 30, 1852. 19 After considering all possible alternatives he recommended the annexation of the entire province of Pegu extending somewhat above Prome v . He pointed out the great advantages of this course. In the first place, the new province would unite the British provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, and the whole would thus form a consolidated unit, giving the British command over the whole sea-coast and sea-trade. This, as well as the fact that Upper Burma was dependent upon the trade and produce of Pegu, would give them a 'coercive influence hardly-inferior to the influence of arms. Secondly, the province had an excellent climate, fertile soil, and rich resources, particularly valuable forests of teak.

Dalhousie supported his view that the annexation should not extend beyond Pegu, on the two following grounds. In the first place, H the British Government would not have to deal with hostile populations as the Talaings hated their old enemies, the Burmans, and would welcome their new master.

Secondly, the Province was protected by natural boundaries or British territories on all sides except the north, and so the expenses of defence of the newly acquired territory would be reduced to a minimum.

The Governor-General’s Council as well as the Home authorities were convinced by these arguments. The latter, however, insisted that the formal annexation of Pegu must be preceded by a treaty with the Court of Ava on that basis, or by the subjugation of the whole kingdom of Burma.

Accordingly, on November 16, 1852, Dalhousie wrote a letter to the King of Burma accompanied by a draft of the proposed treaty. But this was done merely to satisfy the authorities at home. Dalhousie never expected that the King of Burma would formally execute a treaty, ceding a part of his kingdom. Nor did he really desire such a treaty. For he held that such a treaty would be a source of constant friction; what really counted with the Burmans was the fear of British power and not the solemn obligations of a treaty. So long as the former existed, the latter was.unnecessary; and when the former would cease, the latter would be more than useless.

So, although no reply was received from Ava, Captain Phayre, the Commissioner-designate of Pegu, issued a proclamation on December 19, 1852, annexing Pegu. In the meantime a Palace revolution in Ava placed Mindon, half-brother of King Pagan Min, on the throne (February 1853). He was opposed to the war and on his accession adopted a friendly attitude towards the British. On March 31, 1853, three Burmese Officers arrived at Prome to negotiate a treaty. But difficulties arose over the boundary of the annexed province. The draft- treaty fixed the northern frontier of the British territory six English miles north from the fort of Meeaday (on the Irawadi about 30 miles north of Prome) which was fixed as the boundary by the proclamation. The Burmese envoys opposed it on the ground that it was not in accordance with the proclamation. General Godwin and Commodore Lambert agreed that they were right. Even Dalhousie authorised Phayre to accept Prome as boundary and wrote: "Public opinion is adverse to the war and would strongly, and I think justly, condemn this Government, if it lost a treaty merely for the difference between Meeaday and Prome ." 20 Nevertheless, Phayre stuck to the boundary proposed in the treaty, and negotiations broke down. But although a regular treaty was not concluded, the new King of Burma issued formal orders to his officers to desist from attacks on the British forces, and released English prisoners. In response to the King's request Irawadi was opened to tradeis from Upper Burma. General Godwin, with the major part of the expeditionary force, returned to India. Thus a state of peace vvas restored in Burma, in fact, if not in theory. Though cordial relations were established and friendly missions were exchanged between the two Courts in 1854 and 1855, the King of Burma refused to sign a formal treaty.

III. ASSAM A. The British Conquest

Reference has been made above 1 to the chaos and confusion, prevailing in the petty state of Assam on the north-eastern frontier of Bengal, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was mainly due to the peculiar form of government which conferred upon three hereditary Councillors, known as Gohains, and two hereditary ministers, called Bar Barua and Bar Phukan, a number of great powers and privileges restricting, to a considerable extent, even the authority of the king. After the death of king Gaurinath Singh in A.D. 1795, 2 the Bura Gohain, Purnananda, murdered his rival, the Bar Barua, and placed on the throne his own nominee Kamaleswar Singh, an illegitimate descendant of a former king of Assam. Throughout his reign Purnananda was the de jacto ruler of the country.

The queen of deceased Gaurinath was living in Bengal as a pensioner of the East India Company. In A.D. 1806, she represented to the British Governor-

General that Kamalcswar Singh had no title to the throne, and requested him to assist her own nominee Brajanath Singh, descendant of a king of Assam who ruled from

1751 to 1769, to secure the throne. Kamaleswar Singh also approached the Governor-General for military assistance against the Barkan dazes (mercenaries) of Bengal who had been carrying on depredations in various parts of Assam. The British Government, however, followed the principle of strict neutrality and non-interference in the affairs of other countries, and refused the request of both. But the British supplied arms to the Assam Government.

Kamaleswar Singh died in 1810 and was succeeded by his brother Chandrakanta Singh. Purnananda continued to be the de facto ruler of the State, but Chandrakanta, wanted to get rid of him. There was a conspiracy in 1814 to murder Purnananda, but it came to nothing. Whether the king himself was privy to this, cannot be definitely ascertained, 3 but it seems very likely; for in a letter to the British Governor-General, written in 1815, Chandrakanta made very serious allegations against Purnananda, including the murder of the two immediately preceding Kings, and asked for military assistance to put him down. But the wrath of Purnananda fell upon Badan Chandra, the Bar Phukan, who was administering the district of Gauhati. Badan Chandra was a powerful rival and was justly suspected of being one of the conspirators against Purnananda. Scenting danger, Badan fled to Bengal and sought for assistance from the British Government, but in vain.

Badan Chandra now took a step which was big with future consequences. Having failed to secure help from the western neighbour, he turned to the eastern. Burma was then a very powerful State and, after protracted negotiations at its capital city Amarapur, Badan succeeded in inducing Bodawpaya, the powerful king of Burma, to send an expedition to Assam(A.D. 1817). The Assamese troops were severely defeated by the Burmese army which occupied Jorhat, the capital of Assam. Purnananda had died in the meantime and his son Ruchinath fled to Gauhati. So Badan Chandra was placed in his position and Chandrakanta maintained his throne by conciliating the Burmese.

But as soon as the Burmese troops left the country there was a conspiracy in the palace. Badan was assassinated, and Ruchinath seized the kingdom. In February, 1818, he drove away/Chandrakanta and placed on the throne his own protege Purandar Singh, son of Brajanath, mentioned above, whose claims were once pressed

upon the British Government by the queen of Gaurinath Singh in 1806.

Once more Ruchinath applied in vain to the British for military assistance. But Badan Chandra’s friends were more successful with the court of Amarapura. A Burmese army successfully invaded

Assam in 1819, and reinstated Chandrakanta on the throne. Both Ruchinath and his protege fled to Bengal. The Governor-General refused the request of the Burmese Government to surrender them, but declined to help them in regaining their power in Assam.

The Burmese forces gradually withdrew from Assam, so that their total number in Assam at the beginning of 1821 did not exceed 100. Chandrakanta, shocked by the barbarous cruelties of the Burmese and irritated by their domineering influence, took this opportunity to make an attempt to throw off the yoke of the Burmese. He requested Ruchinath and other influential Assamese refugees in Bengal to return and form a general union against their common foe. While this appeal went unheeded, events were happening in Burma which sealed the fate of Assam. The old king Bodawpaya died in A.D. 1819 and was succeeded by his grandson Bagyidaw. A new party arose in the court, eager to make the Burmese authority more effective in Assam by annexing it to the Burmese Empire. The first indication of this new policy was given by the expulsion of the king of Manipur who had failed to attend the coronation ceremony of Bagyidaw. The Burmese now turned their attention to Assam and sent a small force. They witnessed the preparations made by Chandrakanta for defence against Burma, and tried to win him over by a friendly gesture. But Chandrakanta was suspicious of their real motive, and as the Burmese force advanced, he fled to Gauhati (March 14, 1821). After some fruitless attempts to induce Chandrakanta to return, the Burmese declared him to be deposed and installed Jogeswar Singh as the new king. He was, of course, a mere puppet in the hands of the Burmese who wielded the real authority. 4

While Chandrakanta was at Gauhati Purandar Singh advanced With a force from Bhutan. Though Chandrakanta succeeded in repelling this attack, a strong Burmese force advanced against him, and he had to flee, first to Assam Choky, and then, being pursued by the Burmese, to Goalpara in the British territory. The Burmese officially wrote to the British Government to surrender Chandrakanta and other refugees, but the Governor-General refused this request, on the usual ground, that it was against the British usage and convention to surrender political refugees. The Government of India, however, now took interest in the affairs of Assam, and in view of the establishment of a strong power in the neighbouring province they partially-gave up their old-policy of neutrality. Although they were not prepared yet to support the Assamese refugees against the.Burmese, they indirectly helped them by offering facilities to secure arms and ammunitions in the British territory. Towards the end of October, 1821, Chandrakanta returned to the Assam Choky, and availed himself of the facilities offered by the British to purchase 300 muskets and 90 maunds of gun-powder. He then advanced against the Burmese and, having defeated them in several skirmishes, occupied Gauhati. 4a

While Chandrakanta halted at Gauhati to consolidate his authority, the Burmese Government sent a large army, reputed to be of about 20,000 men, under their ablest general Maha Bandula 5 to drive him awav. A severe engagement took place at Kaliani Pathar on April 17, 1822, and though Chandrakantr fought with great valour he was defeated and fled, first to Gauhati and then to Assam Choky. Being defeated there in another engagement on June 21, 1822, he took refuge in the British territory.

The defeat of Chandrakanta on June 21, 1822, marks the end of the Ahom sovereignty in Assam. Chandrakanta’s forces were dispersed, and in February, 1823, he was lured to return to Assam on the Burmese invitation to restore him to the throne. He was kept in confinement and thus ended his eventful career.

The Burmese were notorious for the cruelties they perpetrated upon the vanquished even in Burma. In Assam they were guilty of horrible acts of barbarity. Many instances of inhuman torture and cruelty practised by the

Burmese have been recorded by eyewitnesses and contemporaries. It is on record that on one occasion men, women and children, about 200 in number, were forcibly thrust into a bamboo structure which was then put on fire. The Burmese robbed the people of almost everything they possessed, burnt down villages and temples, put innocent persons to death in large number and violated the chastity of women. It is even alleged that the Burmese cut off choice portions of living persons and actually ate the raw flesh before the living sufferers. 6

The state of things improved to some extent after the Burmese took over the administration of Assam. Maha Bandula left with the bulk of his army and a new Governor was appointed in Assam. He introduced a regular system of administration and put an end to murder, pillage, rapine and forcible extortion of money. But the memory of the wanton and barbaric cruelties made the Burmans odious to the Assamese, and no wonder that they welcomed the British when they declared w^r against the Burmese.

To the south of Assam and the east of Sylhet in Bengal lay the small principality of Cachar, bordering on two other petty principalities, namely, Jaintia on the north-west and Manipur in the east. In the heydays of their power, the Ahoms, the ruling people of

Assam, exercised suzerainty over Cachar. The king of Assam had obtained a victory over the king of Cachar early in the nineteenth century A.D., but the latter was allowed to rule on payment of the customary tribute of horses and elephants. In A.D. 1813, Govinda Chandra became king of Cachar. One of his servants, Tularam, rebelled against him and, with the help of Ram Singh, the ruler of Jaintia, made himself independent in the northern part of the kingdom. But the greatest danger of Cachar came from Manipur.

Manipur bordered on Burma and suffered a great deal from the aggressive raids of that kingdom. Early in the nineteenth century it was further weakened by a series of struggles for succession to the throne. In A.D. 1812, its ruler Chaurjit Singh was driven away by his brother Marjit Singh with the help of Burma. Chaurjit, having failed to secure the support, of Govinda Chandra and the British authorities in Calcutta, joined Tularam and Ram Singh with a view to establishing his authority over Cachar. Marjit Singh also attacked Cachar in 1817 and occupied the whole of it. But

Govinda Chandra, the ruler of Cachar, was joined by Gambhir Singh, a brother of Chaurjit and Marjit, and the ablest of the three royal brothers of Manipur. Govinda Chandra, who also secured the assistance of some British officers from Sylhet, succeeded in driving away Marjit. But taking advantage of these troubles, Chaurjit and Tularam attacked Cachar towards the end of A.D. 1818 and drove away Govinda Chandra who took shelter in Sylhet.

Shortly afterwards, Marjit, being defeated by the Burmese and expelled from Manipur, effected a reconciliation with his two other brothers and joined them in Cachar. But this fraternal cordiality did, not last long. Marjit Singh and Gambhir Singh divided Southern Cachar among themselves, and forced Chaurjit to seek shelter in Sylhet. 6:1 Both the fugitive rulers sought the help of the* British. In 1820, Govinda Chandra, the ex-ruler of Cachar, had offered his territory to be amalgamated with the British district of Sylhet. In 1823, Chaurjit requested the British Government to recognise him as the tributary ruler of Cachar. Gambhir Singh also, having failed in an attempt to reconquer Manipur from the hands of Burma, proposed to the British that he might be considered a protected prince. But the British authorities, true to the principles of neutrality, turned a deaf ear to these requests.

How the lamentable state of political condition in Assam, Jaintia, Cachar and Manipur led to the first Burmese War and how it affected the course of the military campaigns have been related above. We have also seen how, by the Treaty of Yandabo (1826), the Burmese Government was forced to renounce its supremacy or

any political pretension over all these States. So, after the conclusion of that treaty the British had to devise measures for the administration of these territories.

B. The Brahmaputra Valley

As soon as the British drove away the Burman troops from Assam, a civilian, Scott, and a military officer, Col. Richard, were appointed Commissioners for carrying on the provisional administration of the country. A great deal of difficulty was, however, felt in formulating a definite plan for its future government. In a way the British had committed themselves to the people of Assam to restore their independence after driving away the Burmans. As soon as hostilities had broken out in 1824 the British Government declared as follows: "Although by our expulsion of the Burmese from the territory of Assam the country would of right become ours by conquest, the Govefnor-General in Council does not contemplate the permanent annexation of any part of it to the British dominion." The British also made it clear that even though it might be necessary to retain possession of a part of the country for some time, it would be a merely temporary arrangement pending the final settlement to be made with the tributary Raj proposed to be established in Assam. 7

The declaration was no doubt prompted by a desire to enlist the sympathy and support of the people of Assam in the forthcoming war against the Burmans. But when that object was fully served, the British attitude underwent a considerable change. It must be said to the credit of the civilian officer, Scott, that when asked to state his views on the subject, he referred to the pledges given before the War and argued, in a lengthy memorandum, in favour of setting up a native ruling dynasty in Assam as a protected ruler, a system rendered familiar by the political arrangement made with numerous Rajput states by the Marquess of Hastings. He recommended that the native prince might be required to pay an annual subsidy of two lakhs of Rupees. But as the above arrangements involved some difficulties of a financial and military nature, he suggested, as an alternative measure, that Lower Assam as far as Biswanath should be retained by the Company; the Khamtis, Moamarias and Singphos should be recognised as autonomous tribes; and the rest of Upper Assam be made over to a native prince charged with the duty of military assistance in defending the country. 8 The Council of Calcutta, however, no longer gave any weight to their pre-war pledge to restore Assam to a native dynasty, ofwhich they were reminded by Scott in support of his plan. So the plan of Scott

was referred back to him and he again recommended the alternative plan. Even this did not satisfy the Council. They immediately accepted the recommendation concerning Lower Assam, and annexed it, including the Duars, permanently to the Company's dominions. They also accepted Scott's recommendations about the wild tribes of the Khamtis of Sadiya under Khawa Gohain, the Moamarias of Matak (Lakhimpur) under Bar Senapati, and the Singphos, who, under many chiefs, occupied the country from the border of Matak to the Dihing river in the east. These territories were formally annexed and the first two were handed over to their chiefs who acknowledged British suzerainty and agreed to supply military contingents by formal treaties executed in May, 1826. An agreement was also drawn up with sixteen Singphos on similar terms in May, 1826, but instead of military force they agreed to supply British troops with information as well as rice and other necessaries in case of any foreign power invading Assam. 9

But although Lower Assam, including the Duars, was annexed and the easternmost frontier districts were handed over to the tribal chiefs, the British Government could not make any final decision regarding the central part of Assam, and it continued to be administered by the British. This breach of pledge caused grave discontent among the nobility who also suffered heavily by some of the new measures introduced by the British, such as the abolition of the paik System. The discontent led to some minor outbreaks, such as the rebellion, in 1828, of Gadadhar, a prince of the royal blood. He had accompanied the Assamese princess who was presented by King Chandrakanta to the Burmese King in 1818, and lived there since that time. He came back, it was alleged, with the support of the Burmese Court, and placed himself at the head of the discontented nobles. He declared himself Raja, gathered a small force around him, and called upon the people to rise against the British rule. The rebellion was, however, easily suppressed within a short time. Gadadhar was sentenced to capital punishment by the "Patra Mantfi", the Grand Panchayat or Local Assembly, before whom he was first tried, but the sentence was commuted by the British Government to banishment for seven years. 10

The Singphos broke out into insurrection in 1830. Taking advantage of this the nobility also broke out in open revolt under Kumar Rupchand. They tx;ied to excite the various tribes and planned an organised rising against the British Raj. They attacked the military lines at Rangpur on March 25, 1830, but were easily repulsed. Two of the ring-leaders were executed and the rest were confined in jail in Dacca. 11

The Khasi rebellion of 1829 at first took a serious turn. The rebellion continued for nearly four years and was not brought to an, end till January, 1833, as will be related later. The Singphos' rebellion in 1830 also assumed at first a formidable aspect, as will be related later. ^

The rebellions of the nobility brought to the forefront the question of permanently settling the form of government in Upper Assam. Mr. Scott submitted various schemes on the basis of the restoration of a native prince, but these were not approved by the Calcutta Council. The main difficulty seems to have been caused by the problem of defence of the eastern frontier. The British Government did not like the idea of spending 'money to protect an unprofitable and isolated piece of land around Sadiya when the profitable and popular part (Jorhat Division) was to be given over to a native monarch'. While Scott reminded them of the promise made to the people of Assam before the war, the Governor-General, Lord Bentinck, held that as the British had conquered Assam from the Burmans without any help from the ruler or peoples of Assam none of them had any moral claim upon the British. The sudden death of Scott, in August 1831, caused further delay in settling the question. His successor, Robertson, recommended that if the Govern

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ment could spare a sufficient number of European officers, Upper Assam should be retained as an integral part of the British dominions. The Governor-General, however, ultimately approved of Scott's policy of setting up a native government and this was accepted by the Council.

Of the two pretenders or candidates for the throne, Chandrakanta and Purandar Singh, the choice ultimately fell upon the latter. Accordingly, a treaty was concluded on March 2, 1833, at Gaubati by which Purandar Singh became the ruler of Upper Assam extending from Burhat to Dhansiri river on payment of an annual tribute of fifty thousand Rupees, nearly half of the net revenue. He promised to introduce reforms, follow the advice of the British agents stationed at Sadiya and Gauhati, and refrain from holding any communication with any foreign power. On April 28, 1833, Purandar Singh was formally installed and later he was given the pompous title, "Sri Maharaja Purandar Singh Narendra."

But soon the attitude of the British Government underwent a sudden change and they regretted the alienation of an extensive district. So the treaty was recast on June 27, in the form of an agreement and the great ‘Maharaja’ became overnight more or less a Jacfirdar holding the Jorhat Division by a Sanad. It may be added that the Court of Directors were also in favour of retaining Upper

Assam as a part of the British dominions, and were highly indignant that the Bengal Government handed it over to a native prince without referring the question to them. They even thought of annulling the> treaty and were somewhat consoled at the substitution of an agreement for a treaty. 13

After all this it is not a matter of surprise that the Political Agent, Mr. Jenkins, reported that the administration of Purandar Singh was unsatisfactory 14 and that both the nobility and people in general would be better satisfied with the European management of the country. 15 Jenkins recommended that Purandar Singh, who was nothing better than the manager of an estate, should be called upon to relinquish his post on a suitable pension. In a demiofficial letter dated April 4, 1838, the Agent described Purandar Singh, who had earned reputation as a benevolent administrator in 1834, as “a rapacious miser, one of the worst characters we could have put over the unfortunate country.” 16 He adduced proofs of Raja’s rapacity from an anonymous petition. So Purandar Singh was formally dethroned or discharged from his Jagir in October 1838, and retired on a pension of Rs. 1,000 a month.

The charges against Purandar Singh and his administration need not be scrutinised in detail. There were no doubt arrears in the payment of tribute and maladministration to a certain degree, but, as Purandar Singh pointed out, all this was mostly due to the arrangement forced upon him by the British, and Mr. White agreed with this view to a large extent. But the fact remains that the case of Purandar Singh, embodied in his petitions, never received any fair hearing. He was a victim of expansionist or aggressive imperialistic policy whch inspired the British Government at this period. 17

The frontier districts of Assam as well as Cachar and Jaintia which were placed under Indian chiefs after the first Burmese War, were all, one by one, annexed to the British dominions so that the whole of Assam formed an integral part of British India. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the process by which all these were absorbed into the British dominions. But there were several common features. The natural resources or strategic importance of these places from military point of view increased their value in the eyes of the British. This, added to the aggressive imperialism or policy of annexation which gradually dominated British politics in India in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, sealed the fate of these tiny States. Politicians seldom lack excuses for acts decided upon on ground of policy. In the case of Assam and neighbouring States, the Political Agent recommended their annexation on ground of the personal character of the ruler or his mal-administration, and failure to pay tribute. There were, in some cases, some foundations for these charges, but they were almost always highly exaggerated, and in not a few cases, without any foundation oi* positive evidence. In almost all cases the supreme Government made ex pcCrte decisions on the basis of the reports of their local agents who were themselves the accusers. If any one scrutinises the issues raised in the different cases he would perhaps agree that none of these annexations can be justified strictly from legal or moral point of view. It is not, however, possible to undertake such scrutiny here and only the bare facts may be mentioned without any comment. It may be added that almost all the annexations were justified by the plea that the people concerned preferred the British to native rule. The specious nature of the plea was exposed in some cases by positive demonstrations of popular feeling in favour of the displaced rulers, and may be regarded as, at best, very doubtful in the other cases.

C. Cachar

As has been mentioned above, 18 the declaration of Cachar as a British protectorate precipitated the First Anglo-Burmese War. But . even while, after the conclusion of that war, Govinda Chandra was restored to the throne, the British Government instructed the Commissioner of Sylhet “to ascertain whether the Raja was still willing to cede the Cachar Raj to the Company.’' This attitude persisted till the State was actually annexed. The poor Raja’s territory, already devastated by the war, was attacked by

Tularam from one side and Gambhir Singh of Manipur from the other.[19] The British Government failed to give him protection but forced him to appoint Tularam, once his table-servant, as the Commander of his forces, and give him formal charges of the hill districts which he had already seized by force. An agreement to this effect was signed in July, 1829. Govinda Chandra complained to the British against the usurpation of his territory by Gambhir Singh. Although the claims of the latter were proved to be illegal to the satisfaction of the British Government, they again forced Govinda Chandra to assign a piece of territory to Gambhir Singh on lease for fifteen years. This enabled Gambhir Singh, with the connivance, if not actual support, of the British agent, to encroach further and further upon the kingdom of Cachar. These were no doubt clever ruses adopted by the British Government in order to bring pressure upon Govinda Chandra for the cession of Cachar, which had a very rich soil and contained abundant supply of valuable timber. Alarmed at the incessant demands of the British for the transfer of his kingdom, Govinda Chandra wanted to adopt a child to ensure future succession, but the Supreme Government discouraged the idea. At this critical juncture Govinda Chandra was assassinated on April 24, 1830, and it was definitely proved that "the murder had been planned and executed with the knowledge, and under the direction, of Raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur."[20] A personal servant of the latter was implicated, but though there were proofs against him he was not even arrested, as "that would have been tantamount to the public accusation of his own master Gambhir Singh."[21]

Govinda Chandra had no son, and was not permitted to. adopt; so, after his death, there were various claimants to the vacant throne. Tularam's claim was set aside on the ground that he did not belong to the royal family. The next claimant was Govindaram, the natural son of Krishna Chandra, brother of Govinda Chandra, by a slave girl. But as he could not satisfactorily establish'his paternity, his claim was rejected. Chandraprabha, widow of Govinda Chandra, asked for recognition either as a sovereign princess or as a zamindar. The British Government set her aside on two grounds. In the first place, no woman had ever ascended the throne of Cachar; and secondly, she had first married Krishna Chandra and, after his death, became the wife of his brother Govinda Chandra; it was a custom, not approved by the Hindus. There was a Council of forty men of royal descent, known as “Forty Sempongs” who claimed the right of selecting a king, but the British Government held that the right was not exercised for a long time and had therefore lapsed. Gambhir Singh, ruler of Manipur, who was held responsible for the murder of Govinda Chandra, was a candidate for the throne, and his claim was supported by the Commissioner of Manipur; but the people of Cachar hated this tyrannical ruler. Having thus disposed of all the claims the British Government annexed Cachar. Of course, the usual plea was not wantihg, namely, that the people of Cachar wanted to be placed under the British rule. In the case of Cachar, the plea was advanced even during the lifetime of Govinda Chandra. In 1829, Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of Sylhet, wrote to the GovernorGeneral in Council that “for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of the country now suffering under every change, something should definitely be settled; a successor to the Raja should be selected, or it should be declared that the British Government should assume the sovereignty of the country on the death of the present Raja as the paramount lord and the natural successor of the State having no heir to the Raj.” 21a The British Government neither appointed a successor, nor allowed the king to adopt one, and so the remaining alternative was adopted.

Tularam, the rebel chief, was confirmed in the possession of the hill portions which he already possessed by virtue of the treaty of 1829 with Govinda Chandra, noted above. As he was guilty of making depredations on the plains of Cachar, a fresh treaty was concluded with him in November, 1834, by which Central Cachar was annexed by the British Government and Tularam was allowed to retain only the hilly eastern part of Cachar, on payment of a small tribute. On the death of Tularam in 1851, Captain Butler, who was in charge of Cachar, recommended the annexation of his dominions on the ground that Tularam held it only on life-tenure. Dalhousie, however, held that the term of the treaty did not show that it was a life-tenure and even the alleged violation of the agreement did not justify annexation. Although he admitted that the possession of the tract would be highly beneficial, he held that “something more than that consideration is necessary to justify our resuming it.”

This ‘something’ turned up in 1853. Tularam's eldest son Nakiilram was engaged in a severe struggle with the Nagas who had attacked and burnt four or five of his villages, killed 86 persons and carried off about 115 persons as slaves. In return Nakulram invaded the country of the Nagas and attacked a village, the people of which were innocent of the outrage. # The act of Nakulram was a violation of article 7 of the treaty whereby he had agreed not to make war without the consent of the British. Accordingly, the country was formally annexed to the British dominions in 1854. 22

D. Jaintia

Ram Singh, the Raja of Jaintia, was confirmed in his possession after the first Burmese War. But towards the end of January, 1832, two British subjects were seized by men from Jaintia with a view to sacrificing them before the goddess Kali. Although the victims escaped, the Raja was severely taken to task. A few months later, three British subjects were reported to have been actually sacrificed. Raja Ram Singh promised to make a full inquiry, particularly about Sobha Singh, the Raja of Gobha, one of his dependent chiefs, who was implicated in the matter. But before he could complete the inquiry Raja Ram Singh died (September, 1832), and was succeeded by his grand-nephew, Rajendra Singh, aged 17 or 15. The Political Agent, Mr. Robertson, drew the attention of the Supreme Government to the fact that under the existing treaty the Raja of Jaintia had to pay no tribute and suggested that the death of the Raja was an excellent opportunity to rectify the mistake. 22 ® So the new Raja was called for an interview and was asked to agree to a new treaty providing for the payment of an annual tribute of Ra. 10,000. The Raja and his ministers pointed out that they had no right to accept the revised treaty without placing it before the Dolois, the heads of the petty republics of which the State of Jaintia was composed. The Raja was unceremoniously dismissed and the Supreme Government issued orders that “Rajendra Singh be not recognised as the v Raja until he binds himself to contribute towards the general defence of the frontier.”

The young Raja was now called upon to surrender Sobha Singh within twenty days, but he failed to do this. Robertson, the Political Agent, thereupon represented the Raja as “a habitual promoter of the horrible rites of human sacrifice”, looked upon his participation in the case under consideration as ‘proved beyond doubt’, and recommended his removal from the throne. 23 He also addressed the Raja as ‘the Manager of the Jaintia state’. Even his own masters were not prepared to go so far. and reminded Robertson that ‘the Chief of Jaintia is entitled to the dignity of a Raja.’ But they sent strong remonstrations to the Raja for hr? failure to arrest the offenders implicated in the atrocity of GobhS. He was at the same time asked to revise the treaty and agree to pay tribute.

In August 1834, Rajendra Singh apprehended four of the offenders and handed them over to the Political Agent who duly reported it to the Government. Nevertheless, suddenly in March 1835, Rajendra Singh was inforjned that the whole of his ancestral possessions in the plains had been confiscated. The grounds on which this extreme step was taken were the non-delivery of the offenders implicated in the atrocities of Gobha (who were surrendered six months ago) and the participation of the king himself in these ghastly crimes, though he was never before openly confronted with this charge, and on enquiry Mr. Jenkins found only ‘suspicion’ and no definite evidence against him.

On March 15, 1835, Jaintia Pargana was formally annexed to the British dominion by a formal proclamation, and Gobha was annexed a few weeks later. Rajendra Singh thereupon voluntarily gave up the hilly tracts of his dominion which were unproductive, and thus the whole of Jaintia passed into the hands of the British.

The dethroned Raja rightly pointed out in a memorial to Auckland: “The outrage at Gobha was merely the ostensible ground of charge and that the real offence of your memorialist was his silence as to the demand of the tribute.” After pointing out that such demand was neither legal nor equitable, the Raja argued that even “in case of refusal the British Government had a perfect right to renounce the treaty andi withdraw its protection , but it could scarcely be just ground for forfeiture.” 24 If we remember that the State of Jaintia was a very old one, not created by the British, and voluntarily accepted the British protectorate under certain conditions embodied in a treaty, if is impossible not to agree to the views so ably put forward by the Raja. It must be recorded in fairness to the Court of Directors, that as regards these transactions they took a just and sympathetic view of the siuation. As regards the imposition of tribute they held it improper to impose “a condition on a successor which it was not deemed expedient to impose on the original party.” As regards the refusal of the Raja to execute a new treaty they almost echoed the sentiment of the Raja. “If the treaty has expired”, said they, ‘the Rajah is in the same situation as if none had ever been concluded and our right extends no further than to discontinuing to afford him the benefit of our protection unless he will consent to give a pecuniary equivalent.” 25 The Court of Directors denounced, in no uncertain language, the annexation of Jaintia and all the acts of the Indian Government leading thereto. They felt deeply for “this unfortunate Chief,” but curiously enough, as in the case of Sindh, they never thought of cancelling the annexation and restoring the Raja to his rightful possession.

E. The Frontier States.

The political settlements in three frontier districts in the northeast in A.D. 1826 have been mentioned above. But ere long all of them, like the rest of Assam, were incorporated into the British dominions.

(i) The Singphos.

The wild peoples, known as Singphos, were ,not satisfied with the radical changes in their life and vocation which the settlement of 1826 implied. Their predatory habits were incompatible with pursuit of agriculture and commerce, and so they made a bold bid for throwing off the British yoke. The discontented and dispossessed nobility of Assam, including even the ex-king Chandrakinta, are said to have instigated them to rebellion, which actually broke out at the beginning of 1830, as mentioned above. About 2,000 Singphos started from the Hukawng valley, and were joined on the way by another thousand and a -body of 500 Khamtis, armed with spears, swords, and muskets under the leadership of Runua Gohain. On the other hand, many Singpho chiefs helped the British who easily suppressed what looked like a formidable rising. But the Singphos were not reconciled and broke out into rebellion several

times. The last rebellion, which took place in 1843, is said to have been instigated by the Burmese Governor of Hukawng. The suppression of these rebellions broke the solidarity- of the Singphos and they were dispersed over a wide area. 26

(ii) Sadiya

As mentioned above, the Sadiya Khawa Gohain was recognised as Chief of the Khamtis in A.D. 1826. On his death in 1835, his son, who succeeded to the Chiefship, was involved in a dispute with the Matak Chief, Bar Senapati, over a piece of land claimed by both. Captain White, the Political Agent at Sadiya, called upon the two chiefs to refer the matter to him, but the Sadiya Chief, disregarding this, forcibly took possession of the land. For this offence the Political Agent brought the whole of his territory directly under the British administration (A.D. 1835). There was no trouble at the time, but four years later the Khamtis broke out into rebellion. They suddenly attacked Sadiya, destroyed the British regiment stationed there, and burnt the barracks. Major White himself was killed in action, With the help of the Matak Chief, order was restored, and the Khamtis,—men, women and children,—retired in a body to the Mishmi hills. All the Khamti villages, so deserted, were burnt to the ground. The rising was not however put down till December 1843 when the last batch of the rebel Khamtis surrendered themselves. 27

(iii) Matak

Nemesis, however, overtook Bar Senapati at no distant date. According tc the treaty of 1826, Bar Senapati, the Chief of the Moamarias of Matak, was required to furnish a contingent of three hundred paiks in lieu of tribute. Since 1834, the Political Agents were eager to impose a tribute upon him but the Supreme Government turned down the proposals. Bar Senapati died in January, 1839, appointing his third son Maju Gohain as head of the State. The local British authorities were unwilling to approve of this arrangement, and Mr. White visited the capital Rongagora. He found that even the eldest brother, who was most adversely affected by the arrangement, accepted the decision of his father without demur. White thereupon agreed to sanction the appointment of Maju Gohain on condition that he should pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10,000. This was, however, strongly opposed by all the sons of Bar Senapati and the entire nobility.

Shortly afterwards the British authorities were informed that the rule of the family of Bar Senapati was distasteful to the Moama

rias on religious ground. So the British Government insisted that the part of Matak, known as Moran, which was exclusively inhabited by the Moarnarias, as well as all jungle tracts of the country along with waste lands, should be separated and placed at the disposal of the British. This was strenuously opposed not only by Maju Gohain but all the other brothers to whom the offer was made separately. So the British Government annexed Matak to the Lakhimpur district in November, 1839. 28

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

B-I = The Eastern Frontier of British India by A. C. Banerjee ^Calcutta, 1934).

B-II = Annexation of Burma by A. C. Banerjee (Calcutta, 1944).

Bh = Anglo-Assamese Relations (1771-1826) by S. K. Bhuyan (Gauhati, 1349).

Wilson = Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War, edited by H. H. Wilson, (Calcutta, 1827).

I. BURMA (up to 1825)

1. Wilson-D (Document No.) 174 B.

2. Konbaungset Yazawin (Vol. II, p. 371), quoted in B-I, p. 213, f.n. 2.

3. Wilson-D. 174 C.

4. Journal of an Embassy, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 71.

5. This account is based on Bh. 462, which slightly differs from that in B-l, pp. 63 ff.

6. B-I, pp. 152 ff.; Bh. 463.

7. Wilson-D. 6; B-I, p. 181; Bh. 471. This claim "was repeatedly advanced both in public and in private as far back as 1797 (Wilson, p. 5).

8. Wilson-D. 7; Bh. 473; B-I, 181. As Wilson (p. 5) observes, the tone of the Governor-General was moderate due to the exigencies of the Third Maratha War.

9. Wilson-D. 14, 15, 16; B-I, 216.

9a. Wilson-D. 17.

9b. Wilson-D. 18.

10. Wilson-D. 19, 20, 21, 22.

11. Dr. A. C. Banerjee regards the Burmese claim to the island of Shahpuri as "altogether unjustifiable" (B-l, p. 217). He evidently relies entirely on British evidence summed up by Wilson (p. 11) but, as he himself admits, it is not fair to come to any definite conclusion in the absence of Burmese counterevidence. No disputed claim should be admitted on ex parte evidence, where the version of the other side contesting such evidence or claim is not available to us.

It is interesting to note, however, that even Edward Thornton, the contemporary British historian, fully conversant with the official records, does not fully support the British claim to the island of Shahpuri. "With regard to the title to its possession," says he, "the pretensions of either party do not appear to. have been very clearly made out, but the weight of probability inclined to the claim of the English" (Vol. .V, p. 8). It is also not without significance that while the British themselves proposed that "commissioners should be appointed on the part of each Government to make an investigation," they re-occupied the island without waiting for such an inquiry (Ibid, p. 9).

12. For detailed account see pp. 130-31.

13. Wilson-D 12; B-I, 204, which gives reference to the relevant documents. The letter of Amherst clearly reveals the mentality which really led to the First Burmese War.

14. "The intelligence of Govinda Chandra's repeated negotiations with Burma

did not appear to us under all circumstances to demand any alteration of our previous resolution to re-instate him" (Secret Letter to the Court of Directors, February 23, 1824, para. 39. Cf. also Secret Consultations, January 17 1824, Nos. 4, 6. B-l, 205-6). y '

15. B-l, 207-8.

16. Secret Letter to the Court of Directors, February 23, 1824, para 34; B-I, 207.

17. Secret Letter to the Court of Directors, February 23, 1824, paras 2-6; Thornton, V. 14; B-I, 226.

18. Thornton,' V. 16.

19. Thornton, V. 16-7.

19a. Wilson-D. 29.

19b. Wilson-D. 30.

19c. Wilson-D. 31.

20. The account of the campaign is based on Thornton, V. 18 ff.; B-I, Chs. VIII, IX.

21. The following is a good description of a stockade. "The unvarying element was a continuous wall, sometimes as high as twenty feet, of solid timber—the stem of bamboos or trunks of saplings from the neighbouring forests. At the top ran horizontal beams which held all firmly together. At

intervals were loop-holes for musketry fire. Within the enclosure, which was square or oblong, were raised platforms of earth or -wood from which small guns could discharge over the paling. Inside and outside the stockade were trenches, and on the external face were often abattis formed of trunks of trees" (Ritchie and Evans, Lord Amherst, p. 93).

22. Thornton, V. 73.

23. Thornton, V. 78.

24. Quoted in Thornton, V. 85.

25. Thornton, V. 87.

26. Even the Commander-in-Chief could hardly believe that "if we place our frontier in even a tolerable state of defence, any very serious attempt will be made by the Burmese to pass it." (Wilson-D. 24).

27. CHI, V. 560.

II. BURMA (1826-1857)

1. B-II. 17.

2. For a detailed account, cf. B-II. 49 ff.

3. Dr. D. G. E. Hall observes: "Possibly.. .insufficient examination was made of the claims for compensation against the Burmese authorities so readily put forward by British merchants" (The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, Introduction, p. xx).

4. B-II. 55, f.n. 1.

5. B-II. 56, f.n. 1. The passage is quoted below.

5a. See f.n. 5.

6. For the passages quoted above, without any reference, cf. B II. Ch. III.

7. B-II. 63 f.n.

8. Ibid, 69.

8a. B-II. 69. Laurie gives a somewhat different account (Second Burmese War, by F. W. B. Laurie, London, 1853, p. 25). According to him Edwardes did not accompany Fishbourne, but “the wily Governor had telegraphed for Mr. Edwardes to come into the presence, which the deputation, of course, would not allow him to do.” The account of the interview given by E. Arnold is also somewhat different (Administration of Lord Dalhousie, Vol. II, 41-2).

8b. Arnold, II. 46.

8c. Baird, Private Letters of the Marquis of Dalhousie (London, 1910), p. 188.

8d. In his voluminous biography of Lord Dalhousie, Lee Warner (I. 418) devotes only one sentence to it: “He (Lambert) also rather precipitately seized a ship in the river belonging to the King.” Hunter’s biography of Dalhousie makes no reference to the incident. Arnold (op. cit.) gives a short but graphic description of the tragedy.

8e. Arnold, II. 43-4.

9. Ibid, 71-2.

10. Ibid, 72, f.n.

11. Red Pamphlet, p. 9.

12. The British writers, with very few exceptions, have supported Dalhousie’s action fully or partially. It would be tedious to refer to them in detail. Some references will be found in B-II. 83-5.

12a. B-II. 77, 84.

13. Ibid, 79.

14. Ibid, 84. Dalhousie's defence, though very poor, is more rational than that of his modern apologist, D. G. E. Hall. Replying to Cobden's criticism, similar to that of Lawrence, Hall remarks: "Cobden's criticisms have a twentieth century ring about them....but he obviously did not understand the real

situation as between Great Britain and Burma, either in its wider aspect* or from the purely diplomatic standpoint." (Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, Introduction, p. xxi). This observation has the true British imperialistic ring about it, and is likely to remind one of the trenchant criticism of British "principle" by Bernard Shaw in his "Man of Destiny".

15. Ibid, 77-8.

16. Letter dated April 6 (B-II. 81).

16a. Arnold, II. 14.

17. The account of the war is given in detail in B-II. 96 ff.

18. B-II. 114.

19. B-II. 141.

20. B-II. 152.

IH. ASSAM ABBREVIATIONS

B-I = The Eastern Frontier of British India by A. C. Banerjee (Calcutta, 1934).

Bhuyan = Anglo-Assamese Relations 1771-1826 by S. K. Bhuyan (Gauhati, 1949).

Lahiri = The Annexation of Assam by R. M. Lahiri (Calcutta. 1954).

1. Vol. VIII.

2. Bhuyan, P* 429; Banerjee gives the date as 1794 (3-1. 182).

3. According to Bhuyan (p. 449) Chandrakanta gave tacit consent to the plot.

4. Bhuyan, 481 if., 503.

4a. Bhuyan, 485 ff.; B-I. 191.

5. Bhuyan (p. 490) gives the name as Mingimaha Bandula.

6. Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam by Major J. Butler (London, 1855). E. Gait, A History of Assam (Calcutta, 1926), pp. 231-2. Bhuyan, 505-8. The outrages in Burma are described by Cordier in Toung Pao, 1891, pp. 31 ff.

6a. This account, somewhat different from that of Gait (History of Assam , 1926, p. 257), is based on B-I. 202-3, where evidence is given in support of this version. _

7. The official documents are quoted "By* Lahiri (pp. 29-30).

8. Lahiri, 30.

9. Ibid, 35-9.

10. * Ibid, 61-7.

11. Ibid, 68-71.

12. See Chapter XIV.

13. Lahiri, 105-22.

14. The Hollowness of the charges against Purandar Singh has been demonstrated by Lahiri (pp. 160 ff.).

15. As regards this usual British plea for annexing a country, it is sufficient to

point out that after the deposition of Purandar Singh several petitions were presented to Mr. White by the people of Upper Assam praying for his restoration. According to Mr. White these petitions correctly expressed the feelings of the upper and middle classes of the community, but Mr. Jenkins thought otherwise (Lahiri, 191).

16. Lahiri, 183.

17. This point has been fully discussed by Lahiri (105 ff.).

18. See p. 100.

19. See p. 131

20. Political Consultations, 1832, April 9, No. 44 (Lahiri, 136).

21. Political Consultations, 1832, April 9, No. 56 (Lahiri, 137).

21a. PIHRC, XIX. 124.

22. Lahiri, 212-15.

22a. A similar suggestion was made by Jenkins in April, 1832 (PIHRC, XXX. 25).

23. Lahiri, 149.

24. Ibid, 157-8.

25. Ibid, 158. '

26. Ibid, 100-4.

27. Ibid, 208-11.

28. Ibid, 199-207.

CHAPTER VI

SATaRA

It has been related above how the growing power of the Peshwas cast into shade that of the descendants of Shivaji. The latter bore the proud title of Chhatrapati and ruled in name over the whole empire from their capital city Satara. But after the death of Shahu I in 1749, they gradually sank into insignificance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they were "reduced to the position of a prisoner in the hands of the Peshwa, being securely guarded in the fort of Satara." 1 On the death of Shahu II in A.D. 1808 Pratap Singh succeeded him, but he and his family chafed at the irksome restraint put upon them by the Peshwa Baji Rao II. Things came to such a pass that Pratap Singh and his mother made secret overtures to the British Resident at Poona. Baji Rao came to know of this and removed Pratap Singh and his family to the fort of Wasota. 2

Even in the state of degradation to which he was reduced Chhatrapati Pratap Singh still bore a proud name and symbolised a past glory, which carried great weight in politics. That this was fully realised by both Baji Rao and the British seems to be evident from the actions of both, though full and authentic details of these are lacking. As soon as war broke out between them Baji Rao took good care to secure the person of Pratap Singh. After his defeat at the battle of Kirkee, Baji Rao fled to Mahuli, and immediately sent Naro Apte to fetch Pratap Singh and his family from the fort of Wasota. They joined him at Pandharpur on December 14, and since then were forced to follow the Peshwa from place to place during his flight. They were at Ashta, where Bapu Gokhale, the ablest and most faithful commander of Baji Rao, was defeated and killed after a severe engagement on February 19, 1818. There Pratap Singh and his family fell into the hands of the British.

The version of Pratap Singh about his relations with the British is contained in an interesting document, known as "Historical Sketch", written by Balia Sahib Chitnees, a faithful servant of Pratap Singh. This document was translated into English by Dr. John Milne, M.D., late President of the

Medical Board, Bombay, and forwarded by him to the Government of India on January 15, 1838. 3

B.P.I.R.—10

According to this document, its author, Balia Sahib Chitnees, carried on negotiations with the British Government on behalf of Raja Pratap Singh long before hostilities broke out with Baji Rao. It was represented by him that the Peshwa was only a servant of the Raja,, and was in wrongful possession of his ancestral dominions which rightly belonged to him. The Raja therefore requested the British authority to restore those dominions to him. The British authorities agreed to consider this favourably after the termination of their hostilities with the Peshwa.

The Raja was encouraged by this friendly assurance. Baji Rao, on the eve of his war with the British, requested the Raja to join him and promised that after the English were defeated, the Government would belong to His Highness. This was secretly conveyed to Poona through Chitnees, and Elphinstone, the British Resident, told him: "His Highness is the owner of the Government, which will of course revert to him; and you satisfy him on this point." 3 *

Henceforth the Raja continued his secret communications with the British. It was represented to Baji Rao II that the people believed that the 'Raja had gone to the side of the English, and it was therefore necessary that he should join us in the battlefield, so that the presence of the "sovereign of the kingdom" might inspire confidence in the people and army.' Accordingly Baji Rao brought the Raja and kept him in his company during his flight. After the reverses of Baji Rao, prominent Sirdars requested the Raja to take their leadership as Baji Rao was incompetent. Baji Rao also requested the Raja to equip an army and fight against the English. But the Raja, in view of his alliance with the English, evaded the request on various pretexts.

Mr. Elphinstone also visited Satara and asked the old councillors of the Raja to inform him that he must come and join the British army. Then Baji Rao will be unable to contend with us, but will fly as an insurgent, and afterwards the Maharaj will be restored to his empire.” 4

While the battle was being fought at Astwalkee (Ashti) near Pandharpur, Baji Rao sent some men to escort the Maharaja and his amily to the battlefield. While proceeding with them the party was attacked by the British cavalry, and a ball struck his Highness’s stirrup. Chitnees then jumped from his horse, ran towards the British anC \ ^ em Maharaja. General Smith, commanding

. B ^ tlSh . force ’ honoura bly received the Maharaja and told him:

J/r u 15 n ° W an insur S ent ; the whole of the empire will follow he Maharaj, now there is no apprehension or, doubt; the throne is with the Maharaj.” 3 Shortly after this Mr. Billamore also spoke

in the same strain, that “this vast empire is the possession of Maharaja and by this means the Maharaja began to receive Nuzrana from every village according to former rule.” General Smith, a few days later, came to Higingaum and held a ceremony in* the presence of his officers, to display the banner of the Maharaja. Guns were fired and Smith addressed the audience in English, and his speech was translated in vernacular. “His Highness”, he said, “is the owner of the empire. His Highness will go to Satara, sit on the throne and administer the government.” 6

A week later (26th January, 1818) Mr. Elphinstone arrived at Belser and paid a visit to His Highness. The latter referred to the stipulations executed through the hands of Chitnees and said: “He has a confidential promise from you which I hope you will abide by, according to the law. I have every confidence in you, and on this account I left everyone, and everything, and became confederated with you. Now, you should keep your promise.” In reply Elphinstone assured him and said that “a proclamation is prepared.” This was afterwards read and found satisfactory. 7

After narrating some incidents that happened on 9th and 14th of Falgun, reference is made to a visit of Captain Grant on 3rd Falgun. Grant told His Highness that it was in the mind of Mr. Elphinstone, after the conquest of the forts of Keljia and Kumal Gur (Kamalgarh), to place the following countries under his authority, that is, “from the Western Ghats (called Syadry) to this side of the river Nira, towards the bank of the river Bhima, and thence towards the junction of the rivers Krishna and Bhima.” He pointed out the risk of giving all the forts into the possession of His Highness as the dispute was not yet settled. “Therefore”, he said, “we will maintain the defence of all the forts and raise the neshan (flag) of His Highness.” To this His Highness replied: “You speak now beyond former agreement”, and requested him to refer the matter to the Governor-General.

The circumstantial narrative, in the shape of a “Historical Sketch ”, of which a brief summary is given above, undoubtedly charges the British Government with a flagrant breach of faith in respect to Raja Pratap Singh of Satara. But it does not stand alone. A statement drawn up by Mr. De Woolmar on behalf of the Raja, and printed among the Parliamentary papers, reiterates the same charges. It says that placing entire confidence in the solemn assurances of Elphinstone, the Raja threw in his lot with the British and dismissed Baji Rao, whereupon “I received new assurances, in the name of the Governor-General, that my kingdom should be preserved intact and undiminished to me.” “But not one of those enticing

promises was fulfilled_..a treaty of a most humiliating nature

forced upon me.... and I was obliged to content myself with a small portipn of my once powerful kingdom.” 8 Other official letters of the Raja also refer to different episodes contained in the Historical Sketch.

There is thus no doubt that Raja Pratap Singh, who ultimately received a small territory, roughly corresponding to the present district of Satara, felt himself duped and the victim of a foul conspiracy hatched by the British to serve their own interest. It is, however, a difficult matter to decide how far we can accept hjs version of his secret negotiation with the British, and his claims of contributing to their success against Baji Rao. For the Historical Sketch and the Raja’s letter refer only to promises or verbal assurances, which cannot be checked by any documentary evidence. Even without going so far as to attribute to the Raja a deliberate concoction of fact it is permissible to hold that there might have been a real misunderstanding oh his part and that he read more in the letters or promises than they actually contained.

The main contention of the Raja is, however, supported, at least partially, from certain official papers. There is, for example, a letter, written by Sir Thomas Munro to Elphinstone, dated 29th Marchi 1818, which says, with reference to the Raja: “The limits of his principality be left undefined for the present. He should be required to summon Baji Rao (the Peshwa) and his principal chiefs to his presence, and in case of their not obeying, to proclaim Baji Rao and all who adhered to him rebels.” 9 This was evidently the genesis of the proclamation issued by the Raja on April 14, 1818, in which he declares that “on account of the misconduct of Baji Rao..... his administration of the affairs of the Empire is put an end to” and commands all the people not to assist the Peshwa or keep any communication with him in any way.”^ 9

Still more important is a letter from Mr. Elphinstone to the Raja, dated 13th September, 1818. It shows that the Raja, being anxious “for the settlement of the kingdom”, had an interview with phinstone in which the latter assured the former that the matter had been submitted to the Governor-General. In the present letter, which is a reply to further inquiry on the subject by the Raja, Elphinstone informs him that he (Elphinstone) had “not yet been favoured with a reply from the Governor-General.” 1 ' This correspondence certainly indicates that the Raja had some previous understanding with Elphinstone. The proclamation of Elphinstone which, according to the Historical Sketch, was shown to the Raja

and satisfied him, is obviously the well-known one issued before the termination of the war. It contains the following:—

“In a short period nothing will remain connected with Baji Rao and measures will be adopted for the enlargement of the Raja of Satara, who will be established in a principality for the maintenance of his own rank and dignity and of those of his courts.”

There is therefore no doubt that there was a previous assurance to the Raja of Satara, as narrated in the Historical Sketch, though it is uncertain whether Elphinstone held out the hope of restoring to him the whole of Peshwa’s dominions. The proclamation of Elphinstone keeps the point vague, but a perusal of his letters and minutes shows that his intention was to treat the kingdoms of Peshwa and Appa Saheb (Nagpur) more or less on the same lines as was done at Mysore. The cases were on all fours, and the position of Baji Rao vis a vis Pratap Singh offers a close parallel to that of Haidar Ali and the Raja of Mysore. The latter was restored to Haidar's dominion after portions were taken away. Now, the following expression of Elphinstone, when studied in this background, acquires a new significance.

"We never before attempted the complete conquest of a country. Even Mysore was saved by the creation of a Raja. Now we are doing it .at Poona and Nagpur." 12

It is interesting to note that the policy recommended by Elphinstone was actually followed in the case of Nagpur. It is not, therefore, unlikely that guided by some such idea, and appreciating the value of services which the Raja could render by openly espousing the cause of the British, he might have held out to Pratap Singh the hope of a restoration of his kingdom. But, as is well known, the Governor-General decided upon the annexation of the Peshwa's dominions. It is not necessary to suppose that Elphinstone played a deliberate trick upon the Raja and deceived him; nor that the Raja fabricated the whole story to make a false case in his favour. The statement of the Raja that the whole of his ancestral territories were promised to him seems to be an exaggerated one. Perhaps there was a talk in general terms, and each put his own interpretation upon the extent of the territorial cession; but that it was certainly intended to cover a great deal more than what was included in the petty kingdom of Satara, afterwards granted to the Raja, hardly admits of any doubt.

Reference may be made to a few additional facts which are not without some bearing on the point at issue. That the Raja rendered distinct service to the British, and that the situation would have

been very difficult for them if the Baja had joined Baji Rao instead of the British, was freely admitted by many British officials, both civil and military. 13

Secondly, when the "Historical Sketch", containing the Raja's version of the case,'was translated and forwarded to the Government of India by Dr. Milne, Elphinstone was still alive, and it is difficult to believe that such serious allegations of breach of faith on his part was not brought to his notice. Yet we find no categorical refutation of it either by him or by Sir Robert Grant who summarised the "Historical Sketch" and wrote a minute upon it on May 31, 1838. Grant merely pays a high tribute to the honour of Elphinstone and adds that he does not conceive it necessary to offer any reply to the accusation contained in the "Historical Sketch" and repeated in "the important state document" prepared by the Raja. 14 Of course the absence of refutation is not tantamount to an admission. But the fact remains that very categorical and serious allegations against one of the highest British officials were made by a distinguished scion of a noble family and the ruler of a State in public documents, placed before the Government of India, and yet they were simply ignored.

It has been necessary to discuss this episode at some length, for historians have generally ignored it altogether. Grant Duff, who actually administered the State of Satara on behalf of the Raja since 1818, and was undoubtedly conversant with the whole affair, merely

hints at it in the following words in his classical "History of the Mahrattas"

"His (Raja's) whole family entertained the most extravagant ideas of their own consequence, and their expectations were proportionate, so that for a time the bounty which they experienced was not duly appreciated." 16

Grant Duff does not make the least reference to the advantages reaped by the British by the adherence of the Raja to their cause, but, perhaps inadvertently, blurts out the truth when, with reference to the battle at Ashti, he observes:, "but the most important result was the capture of the Raja of Satara with his mother and brothers, who on this occasion, to their great joy, were rescued rom the power of Baji Rao." 16 For it may well be asked that if the British did not derive any benefit from the Raja, wherein lay the importance of hi$ capture from their point of view.

Whatever may be the amount of truth contained in the Historical Sketch, there is no doubt that the Raja regarded himself to he duped when he had to be satisfied with the petty principality of Satara, which roughly corresponded to the present Satara District with a portion of Sholapur district as far as Pandharpur in the east, with some jagirs, yielding a total revenue of about 20 lakhs of Rupees. It can well be imagined that he cherished no friendly feelings towards the British who, he felt, had betrayed him. Nevertheless he was an intelligent man and resigned himself to his fate.

In the light of later views and events, it is necessary to note that the conduct and personality of the Raja were highly spoken of by the British officials. Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, described him as a good fellow in 1822. In 1826 he wrote: "He is the most civilised Mahratta I ever met with, has his country in excellent order, and everything, to his roads and aqueducts, in a style that would do credit to a European." 17 General Robertson, who was for many years Resident at Satara, and became later a Director of the East India Company, declared in a meeting of the Company that "he had never met with a man, Englishman or Native, of more scrupulous veracity and stricter integrity than the Raja." 18 His reputation brought him a recognition from the Court of Directors itself. In a letter, dated December 29, 1835, that august body paid high compliments to the Raja for the "exemplary fulfilment." of his duties, and in recognition thereof presented to him a jewelled sword, "as a token of their high esteem and regard." 19

The letter and the present were naturally sent through the Government of Bombay. But, curiously enough, the Bombay Government did not forward to the Raja either the letter or the present. This inexplicable conduct was the result of a deep-rooted animosity, which the new Governor of Bombay, Sir Robert Grant, entertained towards the Raja. As this proved to be the undoing of the latter it is necessary to trace the causes of the growing dissension between

the two.

The treaty of 1819, by which the principality of Satara was created, contained a schedule of six jagirs, the holders of which were claimed by the Raja to be under his sovereignty. The Bombay Government did not accept this view, but Lord Clare, the Governor, referred the matter to the Court of Directors who admitted the claim of the Raja. But this decision reached India after he was succeeded by Grant, and was not communicated to the Raja. In an interview with the new Governor, when he was at the Hills in

May, 1835, Raja Pratap Singh brought forward his claim to the six jacfirs based on the treaty of 1819. Grant promised to submit the question to the Court of Directors, but his displeasure was shown by his omission to pay a return visit to the Raja as every previous Governor had done. Next year, the Raja again interviewed the Governor and gathered that the promised report to the Court of Directors was not yet sent. The Raja invited the Governor to Satara, only 30 miles distant, but the invitation was declined.

Thereupon the Raja decided to bring the question of the jacfir as well as the treatment he had received to the notice of the Court of Directors through an agent of his own. This naturally alarmed Grant. He had deliberately withheld from the Raja not only the letter of the Court of Directors dated 29th December, 1835, and the sword presented to him, but also the decision of the Court of Directors regarding the jdgirs. What was worse, he prevaricated with the Raja in respect to his claim over the six jdgirs .

Such an extraordinary conduct on the part of a responsible official like the Governor of Bombay requires an explanation. In the absence of anything definite, the following circumstances might afford a satisfactory explanation for the displeasure of the Bombay Government.

In the first place, the new imperialistic and aggressive policy of the British officials in India could ill brook the existence of Satara as a separate State. This is best illustrated by a minute written by Sir Robert Grant on January 30, 1837. Citing arguments which would justify the annexation of Satara as a penalty for the conduct of the Raja, he wrote:

“Nor do I doubt that, in view of the many, if not of most politicians, reasons of policy will appear to justify a resort to that extreme measure. An opinion is now very commonly entertained that the erection of Satara into a separate principality was a mistaken proceeding. It is at least clear that this principality includes the finest part of the. Deccan, and by its position most awkwardly breaks the continuty of the British territory. There are those, therefore, who will hail the present crisis as affording an excellent opportunity of repairing the error alluded to, by pulling down the inconvenient pageant we have erected.” 20

Secondly, Raja Pratap Singh was a high-spirited noble soul who would not tamely submit to the British officials like the other rulers of native States. Even in his darkest days, he could not forget that he was a descendant of Shivaji. According to the "Historical Sketch ", mentioned above, he objected to that passage in Elphinstone's proclamation "which stated that His Highness has been liberated from his confinement imposed by the Peshwa, and has been crowned." He observed "that he had been crowned fQr a long time; it is not that he is to be re-instated upon the throne, but that he himself had joined the cause of the English authority.' 1 He acutely felt the indignity implied in Sir Robert Grant's not paying him the customary return visit. Instead of meekly submitting to the dictates

of the Bombay Government, as most native rulers would have done, he had the courage (audacity, in official parlance) to openly defy them in a constitutional manner, by bringing his case to the notice of the Court of Directors,

The British officials in India now followed the policy of Tarquinius Superbus. As an Under-Secretary of State for India candidly told the House of Commons, the Government of India had never encouraged men of ability, good character, and popularity as exercising any authority in a native State. They had always hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and had always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. 21 The same policy, which removed the vigorous and active Wazir Ali from the throne of Avadh (Oudh) in favour of the subservient Sadat Ali, was now operating against Pratap Singh in favour of his worthless brother Appa Sahib.

Thirdly, Raja Pratap Singh irritated the Brahmans by supporting the claims of Prabhu Kayasthas to perform those religious rites which were claimed by the former to be their exclusive privilege. He also regarded his own family, to which Shivaji belonged, as Kshatriyas, though most of the Brahmans of the Deccan regarded them as Sudras. All this highly offended the Brahmans who had wielded great authority and influence in Maharashtra since the days of the Brahman Peshwas, and many of whom held high positions, even during the British regime. Once they came to know of the disaffection of the Bombay Government towards Pratap Singh, they found in the former a good instrument for encompassing the ruin of the latter. One of the chief conspirators against the Raja was Balaji Pant Natoo. He was an unscrupulous intriguer who had encompassed the ruin of Baji R,ao and, as an agent of Elphinstone, knew all about the negotiations between him and the Raja. As a reward for his faithful services to the British, Natoo was granted a jdgtr 9 and he became the first Assistant of the Resident, Captain Grant Duff, who managed the administration of Satara. When the Raja was placed in power, Natoo expected to be the Dewan, but the Raja did not agree. Since then Natoo lived in Poona, and was held in high favour and esteem by all English officers under whom he had been employed. General John Briggs, who had been Resident at Satara for several years, wrote about him as follows:

"But when it became known that the Raja was in trouble with the Bombay Government, and had incurred the serious displeasure of our authorities in 1835, Balaji Pant Natoo, in concert with the Raja's brother, who was on bad terms with him* and who was put in his place after the deposition in 1839. saw his opportunity had come

and commenced the calumnies and intrigues which ultimately proved successful." 22

Whatever we might think of these causes as influencing the Bombay Government in adopting a definitely hostile attitude against the Raja, the fact remains that, by the middle of 1836, the Bombay Government found itself in a tight corner by the decision of the Raja to send his agent to the Court of Directors. For such a course of action on his part was sure to expose the iniquities of the Governor of Bombay in withholding from the Raja the letter, the present, and the decision in his favour about the jdgirs by the Court of Directors. It must be a strange coincidence indeed that it was just at this critical moment that the first accusation was made against the Raja. Colonel Lodwick, Resident at Satara, wrote to the Bombay Government on June 20, 1836, that the Raja intended to send a vakil to Calcutta or England for the settlement of certain disputed points and asked for instructions. What instructions he received is not known, but may be inferred from the fact that on July 22, he wrote another letter accusing two persons in the confidence of the Raja of having attempted to seduce some

Indian officers of the British Regiment stationed at Satara from their allegiance to the British Government. An urgent reply was sent on July 24, and other correspondence followed. On September 15, 1836, before the Raja was told anything about the grave accusation against him, the Government of Bombay wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors "of a conspiracy existing at Satara, and, as is alleged, at several other native courts in India, to seduce our native troops from their allegiance, with the ultimate design, by a combined effort, to subvert the British empire in India." They added that information obtained through two native officers "scarcely leaves a doubt that His Highness the Raja of Satara has proved faithless to his engagements with the British Government, and that he is at this moment in league with other powers to subvert our authority in this country." 23 After thus pronouncing a definite verdict against the Raja, the Bombay Government appointed a special and secret Commission to investigate into the truth of the charges against him. It consisted of the Resident at Satara, the Secretary of the Bombay Government, and Lieut-Colonel Ovans. The first two were virtually the accusers, and the unscrupulous character of the third will be shown later. The inquiry was a mere farce. It was based on the uncorroborated evidence of some native officers who, under orders of their officer Lieutenant Stock, pretended to join the conspiracy and, as such, regularly visited the other conspirators in order to elicit further information and convey them to the British officer.

The two alleged conspirators, on behalf of the Raja, were surrendered by him to the Resident within an hour of the fact being intimated to him. But neither they nor the Raja were allowed to confront the accusers, personally or even through an agent, and the Raja was not supplied either with the charge-sheet or a copy of the depositions against him. Yet the Commissioners reported that the Raja had "altogether failed to disprove the evidence that had been brought forward." 24 Colonel Lodwick confessed some years later "that the witnesses examined before the Commission bore false testimony" and "deeply regretted the part he played to the latest hour of his life." He also disclosed in a letter written to the Court of Directors in 1840, how he was egged on by the Governor of Bombay to decoy and entrap the Raja in a plot against the British Government, but due to a sense of "honour and honesty" he "spumed such shifts as these." 25 For this, or some other reason, Lodwick was removed and succeeded by Col. Ovans, the third member of the iniquitous Commission, as Resident at Satara on June 15, 1837. In a letter, dated 13th June, 1837, the attention of the New Resident was drawn to a letter, which “contains information of the most im* portant nature connected with the designs of His Highness the Raja against the British Government.” The writer of this letter was the mother of Govind Rao Dewan, a favourite of the Raja, who was alleged to have attempted to seduce the allegiance of the native officers and was for that offence kept in close confinement, but was. at that time a state pensioner at Poona. It is interesting to note how a British pension induced his family to turn against his king and master. An interesting point is that this letter, dated 13th December, 1836, was not received till 6th March, 1837, and then, instead of referring it to the then Resident, Lodwick, the Government of Bombay waited more than two months till Ovans took over charge. The latter entered into the task of collecting evidence against the Raja with great assiduity and liberally paid persons for that purpose. He succeeded in bringing two additional charges against the Raja namely, (1) that he had conspired with the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa for the overthrow of'the British Government of India, and (2) that he had also intrigued with the ex-Raja of Nagpur and tried to call in the aid of the Russians and the Turks for the expulsion of the English from India. He even got hold of a bundle of documents secreted in Portuguese territories in support of the first charge, but the Portuguese Governor of Goa declared that “the papers alleged to have been written by him were foul forgeries and that he never in life held any political correspondence with the Raja of Satara. Official report from the Court of Native States con

cerned disproved the charge that the Raja had been carrying on in trigues with them against the British.” 26

In a final effort to get justice the Raja sent agents to Bombay and England to plead his cause. 27 Col. Ovans had evidently overshot his mark. Some high-souled Englishmen in Bombay, being convinced of the Raja’s innocence and regarding him as the victim of a foul conspiracy, took up his cause. The Governor-General in Council wrote to the Government of Bombay on October 2, 1837, that they saw little or nothing in the evidence recorded to inculpate the Raja . 28 This was a severe indictment against the

Government of Bombay; so, in a minute recorded on October 30, 1837, Sir Robert Grant expressed his surprise and regret at the letter of the Government of India, and refused to give effect to it, as thereby "the credit of the British Government will be seriously impaired." 29 In the meanwhile the Secretary to the Government of India again addressed a letter to the Bombay Government on October 16, 1837, strongly condemning the proceedings adopted by the Governor-in-Council, and reiterated the view "that this perplexed and protracted scrutiny should be at once brought to a conclusion." 30 A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Resident at Satara with instructions to bring inquiries already commenced to an early conclusion, and to abstain from further inquiries of a collateral nature.

The Court of Directors, too, adopted a reasonable attitude. In a letter dated 7th February, 1838, long after proceedings had been instituted against the Raja, they again recognised the claim of the Raja over the disputed jdgirs and viewed with disapprobation "marks of negligence on the part of the Bombay Government" (presumably) in withholding the letter and the sword presented to the Raja and not giving effect to their earlier order about the jagfcrs. As late as January, 1839, they wrote: "We have no hesitation in giving it as our decided opinion that it would be not only a waste of time, but seriously detrimental to the character of our Government to carry on any further inquiry in the matter." 31

▪ Everything now looked auspicious for the Raja. Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay, was succeeded by Sir James Carnac, who, in his capacity as Chairman of the Court of Directors, wrote the letter of February 7, 1838, and obviously took a svmpathetic view of the Raja. The Court of Directors made no secret of their desire that Sir James would restore the goodwill and friendship between the Raja of Satara and the British Government. Mr. John Forbes, a Director of the East India Company, recorded in his minute of dissent on April 8, 1840, that the "universal impression at the India House was that the new Governor was empowered not only to suppress all further enquiry, but to consign the entire question to complete oblivion."

But this was not to be. Sir James visited Satara towards the end of August, 1839, and had three interviews with the Raja! He handed over a memorandum to the R^ja for his signature. It began with a preamble that the British Government was satisfied, after inquiry, that the Raja was guilty of treason, as he ’‘entered into communications hostile to the British Government,” and had therefore no claim on their “alliance and protection.” Nevertheless the British Government had decided to condone his faults on certain conditions. The conditions are then specified in the memorandum. These are based on the assumption of Raja’s guilt in the past, and a hope is expressed that he would duly appreciate the clemency of the British and would in future strictly observe the articles "of treaty and scrupulously maintain friendship with the British.

Those who knew the Raja could reasonably expect that, proud and sensitive as he was, he would refuse to sign away his honour by subscribing to the preamble and thereby admitting his own guilt which he had so long stoutly denied. It may be that the preamble was deliberately designed to achieve this very end. In any case the Raja refused to sign the memorandum. He was dethroned on September 5, 1839, and deported to Banaras, where he died in A.D. 1847.

The dignified attitude of the Raja towards the proposal of Sir James is best told in his own words.

“During the progress of my interviews with the Governor and the Resident.... I was distinctly informed that the consequence of my refusal to agree with the terms proposed would be the forfeiture of my throne. I could not, however, consent to retain my sovereignty at the expense of my honour. Convinced of my innocence, and of my ability to demonstrate that innocence before any equitable tribunal, I could not agree to terms based upon the assumption of my guilt, and by so doing make myself a party to my own degradation.”

This is an extract from a letter which the Raja wrote from Banaras to Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-GenerSil, on December 12, 1844. 32 In the same letter the Raja very rightly pointed out that if he were really guilty, he would have welcomed the opportunity to retain the throne by a tacit admission of his guilt. Finally he asked, “whether such a man as I am described to be in the papers now printed would have hesitated to obtain an oblivion of the past, and favour and friendship with the British Government for the future, on such terms as those which I inflexibly rejected?" Like a worthy descendant of Shivaji, Raja Pratap Singh exclaimed: "I have lost my

throne/ my name, my property, all, but the inward consciousness of my innocence and my rectitude .... because I would not, at the sacrifice of my conscience, declare myself to be what my enemies had represented me; because, instead of accepting mercy, I demanded justice."

It is difficult to account for the attitude of Sir James Carnac, in insisting upon the Raja's admission of his own guilt, when both the Government of India and the Court of Directors agreed to let bygones be bygones, as mentioned above. But those who are familiar with the inner working of the British bureaucracy will not feel surprised that even the best intentions of a Governor (or GovernorGeneral, to wit, Lord Ripon), backed by the Court of Directors, may be thwarted by the die-hard British bureaucrats to save, what they believe to be, their honour and prestige. This alone can satisfactorily explain what actually happened. For it is at least better and more reasonable than the other alternative supposition, that Sir James was bought over by the enemies of the Raja. 33

The authorities in England took the dethronement of the Raja as a fait accompli and trusted the man on the spot. 34 But there were many Englishmen, both official and non-official, who were convinced of the innocence of the Raja and did not hesitate to express their views. The activities of the Raja's agents in England, particularly Rango Bapuji, gave great publicity to the whole affair, and Mr. G. Thompson exposed the whole iniquity in his eloquent addresses to the Court of Proprietors in London. He even moved a formal resolution "that Lt. Colonel Ovans had been guilty of conduct unworthy of the character of a British Officer". He even forced the authorities in England to publish secret correspondence which was not included in the Satara Papers laid before the Parliament. In particular he brought to light a letter from Major Carpenter, who was in charge of the prisoner Raja of Satara at Banaras, which created great sensation. It appears that though Lord Hardinge did not forward to the Court of Directors the letter of the Raja, dated December 12, 1844, from which copious extracts have been quoted above, till December, 1847, after the Raja’s death, negotiations were opened with the Raja by Carpenter, who offered the Raja an increased allowance on condition that he would withdraw his agent in London, and discontinue the agitation of his case in England. The Raja refused, saying that he was a king, and not a makdjan, sankar, a Babu, or a Zamindar.

When this was revealed by Thompson for the first time, in a speech before the Court of Proprietors, Carpenter was asked for an explanation. He admitted the substantial correctness of the statement of Thompson and then added: “I carefully studied the whole of the voluminous documents connected with his (Raja’s) case, and the result was a belief in his innocence, and this belief has been confirmed beyond a doubt by subsequent disclosures.” For this frank admission Major Carpenter was severely reprimanded by the Governor-General whose Secretary wrote to him that his “conviction of the ex-Raj a’s innocence of the charges of which he was convicted, and of his (Raja’s) ability to prove his innocence, is as unbecoming as it is uncalled for.” 36

Carpenter’s offer was presumably inspired by higher quarters, though it cannot be definitely proved. In any case, the agitation in England proved highly damaging not only to the East India Company, but also to the character and reputation of the British nation. But nothing availed. To quote Birkenhead, ‘the dogs barked, but the caravan went on’. Today, no one would possibly deny that the Raja of Satara fell a victim to the bureaucratic vindictiveness, a familiar characteristic of British rule in India. 36 But though the details of the transaction, from beginning to end, present unusually sordid features, Raja Pratap Singh of Satara was neither the first nor the last to lose a kingdom because of the dislike of the British officials who could not tolerate a capable man on the throne in a native State. They were true to their tradition when they successfully manoeuvred to replace a high-souled and spirited ruler like Pratap Singh by a worthless creature like Appa Sahib, about whom Grant Duff wrote in his official report in 1819: “He is an obstinate ill-disposed lad, with very low vicious habits.” In May, 1833, we find the following in the Asiatic Journal: “The Bombay papers, English and native, contain long accounts of the intercourse between the Earl of Clare (Governor of Bombay) and the Rajah of Satara (Pratap Singh)". .. ."His people", it is added, "are happy and contented, and enjoy peace and security, they love their sovereign, and speak highly of him. Appa Sahib, his brother,... is not held in high estimation. He will probably be heir to the throne; so at least people fear, for he has few qualities to fit him for governing any people." 37 After all these, there is no wonder that the sun-dried bureaucrats would miss no opportunity of pushing Pratap Singh from the throne and putting Appa Sahib in his place. It is this bureaucratic mentality that proved to be the ruin of Pratap Singh, and evidence is not altogether wanting that Appa Sahib was used as an instrument in deposing his brother. The whole episode constitutes one of the blackest chapters in the history of British rule in India.

1. Sardesai, S. G. — New History of the Marathas, III. 503.

2. Ibid, 487, 506.

3. Major B. D. Basu,— Story of Satara (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 347 ff. The text of the document is given on pp. 352 ff.

3. Basil, op. cit. 358-9.

4. Ibid, 361.

5. Ibid, 365.

6. Ibid, 366-7.

7. Ibid, 368-9.

8. Ibid, 10.

9. Gleig, Life of Munro, III. 237.

10. Basil, 6p. cit. 25 f.n.

11. Ibid, 24fji.

12. Sardesai, op. cit. 506-7. Colebrooke, Life of Elphinstone, II. 40-44.

13. Basu, op. cit. 17 ff.

14. Ibid, 13. . m

15. James Grant Dull, A History of the Mahrattas (Caucutta, 1912), HI. 483.

16. Ibid. 445. A few lines later Duff observes.; "The affair of Ashtah, trifling as it was, had a very material effect in hastening the termination of the war". Here, again, the only possible reference is to the possession of the person of the Raja.

17. Basu, op. cit. 46-7.

18. Ibid, 48.

19. Ibid, 48-9.

20. Ibid, 109.

21. Sir Henry Cotton, Indian and Home Memories , 253-4.

22. Basu, op. cit. 61-2;. the long statement from which the extract is quoted is reproduced by Basu and is worth reading.

23. Ibid, 68-9.

24. Ibid, 79. The iniquitous manner in which the Commissioners conducted their proceedings, and a brief statement of the whole case against the Raja will be found on pp. 70 ff.

25. Ibid, 82.

26. Basu, op. cit. 95. Referring to the charges against Raja Pratap Singh, Arnold remarks: "Nothing could be weaker than the indictments against him. The witnesses against the Raja plainly and cumbrously perjured

themselves, the Viceroy of Goa disowned the plot and declared the letters exhibited to be

forgeries_Moodhajee Bhonslay of Nagpore was living upon alms at the

time in a small courtyard at Goudpore, and could hardly furnish, therefore, the 25,000 lacs said to have been arranged for as the price of treason" (Arnold, II. 111). Lodwick himself, as noted above, strongly condemned the perjured evidence against the Raja (Basu, op. cit. 94).

27. For a detailed account of the Raja's agents in London, cf. Basu, op. cit. 99 ff.

28. Ibid, 116.

29. Ibid, 117.

30. Ibid, 118.

31. Ibid, 124.

32. Ibid, 128-30, 151-2.

33. With reference to Camac, John Forbes observes as follows in his minute of dissent: "Hie new Governor, on his landing, fell under evil influence; poison was poured into his ear by some insidious adviser; the idea of conditional pardon took the place of perfect oblivion, and the Raja, under circumstances in which his personal dignity appears to have been little consulted, was required to return to the confidence of the British Government, on terms which the sequel will show to have been equally harsh, uncalled for, and unwise" (Bast, op. cit, p. 126, fm.).

34. Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Control, disbelieved the principal charge against the Raja, but declared that he would never allow the Raja to sit on the Guddee again; that he would support the Government of India right or wrong (Arnold, II. 112).

35. Basu, op. cit., 153-6.

36. To Major B. D. Basu belongs the credit of revealing it with full documentary evidence (Basu, op. cit.). As a specimen of the views of British historians reference may be made to the Oxford History of India (1919), p. 674. Thompson and Garratt refer to Basu's book as “cantankerous”, but admits that his version is “amply in accord with contemporary British testimony”. Nevertheless the authors hold that the Raja was possibly guilty, and might even have conspired with the Portuguese, as the Governor of Bombay, Sir Robert Grant, coveted the territories of both for inclusion within the British' dominions, —“statesmanlike plans” according to these authors. THG (354-356)

37. Basu, op. cit., 133-4. '*

CHAPTER VII

FIRST AFGHAN WAR

1. British attitude towards Russia.

At the beginning of the period under review, both Sindh and the Panjab were independent principalities. The river Sutlej, which formed the boundary between British India and the Panjab, offered no natural obstacle to the advance of an enemy. Beyond that line was the domain of Ranjit Singh, a powerful potentate, known for his political ambition and unscrupulous politics. He was thwarted by the British in his ambition to spread his power to the east of the Sutlej, and to the south in Sindh, and, though outwardly a loyal friend, bound by treaty obligations, could not be relied upon to sacrifice his real interest to his sense of loyalty or friendship for the British. The Talpur Baluchi Chiefs, who partitioned Sindh among themselves, were turbulent, ferocious, and warlike, and were not amenable to any permanent political understanding on which any reliance could be placed. These two powers, separate or even united, might not prove a serious menace to the security of British India, but they could easily play very handy tools in the hands of a powerful foreign enemy who might choose to use them deliberately m an aggressive design against India.

The British statesmen in the second quarter of the nineteenth century looked upon Russia as such an enemy, and the rapid advance of Russia towards Central Asia in the east, and Persia in the south, caused grave apprehension in their minds. Their fear was not altogether unfounded. During the period when the British were consolidating their authority in India, Russia had grown from a small principality into a vast empire. She had wrested large slices of territory from Sweden, Poland, Turkey (in Europe and Asia), Persia, and Central Asia, and it has been estimated that the territory she acquired between 1772 and 1836 was greater in extent and importance than the whole empire she had in Europe before that time. During the same period she “stretched herself forward about one thousand miles towards India and the same distance towards the capital of Persia.” It was calculated “that the battalions of the Russian imperial guard that invaded Persia found, at the termination of the war, that they were as near to Herat as to the banks of the Don, that they had already accomplished half the distance from their capital to Delhi". As a matter of fact the Persian Government was

now completely under the influence of Russia, and "The Moscow Gazette ", it was alleged, "threatens to dictate at Calcutta the next peace with England." 1

It was believed by a 'large section of the British public that Russia had definite designs against India. Dr. John McNeill, a medical officer attached to the British Mission in Persia, forcefully expressed this view with facts and arguments in his book "Progress and present position of Russia in the East , published in 1836. A number of pamphlets and articles in journals also fanned the flame of anti-Russian propaganda, with the result that "Russophobia became a leading element in British public opinion". Many public men, regarded as experts in the Far Eastern problem, contributed to this feeling by raising the cry of 'India in danger'.

It was generally believed that Russia would advance towards India through the valley of the Oxus, then occupied by the Khanates of Khiva and Bokhara, the latter of which had a common boundary with Afghanistan. Another alternative route by which Russia could possibly advance was through Persia and Herat. Thus both Afghanistan and Persia became objects of anxious and serious attention to the Government of India as well as the British Cabinet.

In 1835, the Whig ministry of Melbourne succeeded the ministry of Peel, and Palmerston became the Foreign Secretary. Palmerston was an ardent Russophobe and lost no time in giving public evidence of it. Lord Heytesbury was nominated by the Peel Ministry to succeed Bentinck as Governor-General of India. But Palmerston did not like the appointment, for Heytesbury, when an ambassador in Russia, was an admirer of the Tsar Nicholas. As noted above, 1 * Heytesbury's appointment was cancelled, and Lord Auckland, "a sound Whig henchman", was appointed in his place. Palmerston gave further evidence of the same policy by appointing

Dr.McNeill, mentioned above, as Minister Plenipotentiary at Teheran, the Persian capital. Thus the two key-posts, from which Russian advance could be observed and checked, if necessary, were filled by two officers chosen by Palmerston, and they could be relied upon to give effect to his anti-Russian policy. Before, however, tracing their activities, it is necessary to take a bird's-eye view of the position of Russia and Britain in Persia and Afghanistan.

2. Persia and Afghanistan

Reference has been made in the preceding volume to the dangers to the security of north-western frontier of India, apprehended by the British at the commencement of the nineteenth century, partly from the machinations of the French and partly from the growing power of Zaman Shah, ruler of Afghanistan. To counteract both of these, Captain John Malcolm was sent as an envoy to the court of Persia in A.D. 1799. A treaty was concluded with the ruler of Persia in A.D. 1801 by which the latter agreed that should a French army attempt to establish themselves on any of the islands or shores of Persia, the two contracting parties should act in co-operation to destroy and put an end to the foundation of their treason." 2 The treaty also provided that in case the Afghans attempt to invade India, the king of Persia should be bound to lay waste, with a great army, the country of the Afghans."

Persia soon changed her policy and courted alliance with the French. But the British succeeded in breaking it up and regaining the friendship of Persia. A new treaty was concluded in 1812 and revised, with a few modifications, in 1814, by which Persia definitely abrogated her alliance with the French, agreed not to enter into any alliance with any European power in a state of hostility with Britain, or permit any European force to pass through her territories towards India, and to use her good offices with rulers of Khorasan, Tataristan, Bokhara and Samarkhand to prevent any European power from passing through their dominions to invade India. In the event of Persia being invaded by any European power, Great Britain was to furnish a military force, or in lieu thereof a subsidy with warlike ammunitions. 3 But when Persia was engaged in a disastrous war with Russia, the British found themselves in a difficulty to carry out this provision, and annulled it in 1828 by paying Persia a sum of money which the latter badly needed in discharging the claim of Russia.

There were two articles in the treaty with Persia which related to Afghanistan. By the first Persia agreed to send an army against Afghanistan if the British were in a state of war with that country. By the second, the British undertook not to interfere in the case of war between Persia and Afghanistan, unless their mediation were solicited by both the parties.

The affairs of Afghanistan were in a distracted condition since Zaman Shah, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali (or Durrani) of the famous Sadozai clan, was deposed and blinded in A.D. 1800 by his brother Mahmud Mirza with the help of the Barakzai brothers. Mahmud, in his turn, was defeated three years later by his younger brother Shuja Mirza (or Shuja-ul-r^ulk). But Fath Khan, the chief of the Barakzais, joined Kamran Mirza, the son of Mahmud, and stirred up rebellion. Shuja had sent his best army to Kashmir but it was defeated, and about the same time Fath Khan and Mahmud seized Kandahar. Shah Shuja was finally defeated

by them in 1809 and after some adventures took refuge with Kan jit Singh at Lahore, Ranjit promised to help him in recovering the throne, and took from him the famous Koh-i-nur diamond, but actually did nothing. Shah Shuja resumed his life of intrigue and adventures till he settled down at Ludhiana in 1816, under British protection. By a strange coincidence the deposed and blinded Zaman Shah was also living there as a pensioner of the British.

Though Mahmud became nominally the king, the real power was in the hands of the Barakzai chief, Fath Khan, who was helped by his able brother, Dost Muhammad, and asserted Afghan supremacy over Sindh, Baluchistan, and Kashmir. Being deputed by his brother, Dost Muhammad, though very young, treacherously seized Herat, which was then being ruled by Firuz-ud-din, brother of king Mahmud. In course of this he is alleged to have behaved rudely to the ladies of the harem. To avenge this insult to the royal family, or perhaps to get rid of a virtual master, Kamran, the son of Mahmud, murdered Fath Khan.

The assassination of Fath Khan was a signal for the final collapse of the ruling Sadozai clan. The Barakzai brothers rose in revolt, and though the eldest, Azim Khan, counselled moderation, Dost Muhammad seized Kabul. He had to defend himself not only against Shah Mahmud and prince Kamran, who were in possession of Herat, but also against his own brother Azim Khan who asserted his claim as the representative of the Barakzai family. The two brothers now nominated two members of the royal family for the throne. Dost Muhammad set up Shahzada Sultan Ali, while the choice of Azim Khan fell upon Shah Shuja, the ex-ruler, now an exile at Ludhiana. Shah Shuja advanced towards Kabul, but his overbearing conduct gave so great an offence to Azim Khan, that the two quarrelled. A conflict ensued and Shah Shuja, being defeated, fled, first to Khyber hills and then to Sindh. Azim thereupon set up prince Ayub as his nominee and set out for Kabul with him.

In the meantime Shah Mahmud and Kamran, marching from Herat, reached within six miles of Kabul. Dost Muhammad, despairing of success, prepared for flight, but at the last moment Shah Mahmud’s courage failed him, and he fled back to Herat.

The Barakzai brothers now ruled over the whole of Afghanistan, except Herat, under the nominal sovereignty of Ayub, the puppet of Azim Khan, whose superior claim was recognised by his brothers. Sultan Ali, the nominee of Dost Muhammad, quietly passed out of the stage into insignificance. The whole country was parcelled out among the brothers, about twenty in number, with Azim Khan as the chief of Kabul and groups of his brothers ruling at Kandahar and Peshawar, nominally in subordination to him. Shah Shuja made one more attempt to regain his throne and organised an army at Shikarpur. Azim Khan moved down and easily dispersed it. He then planned an invasion of the Sikh territory. But Ranjit Singh very cleverly sowed seeds of dissension among the Barakzai brothers, and one of them, Sultan Mahmud, who was ruling in Peshawar, was won over by him. Dost Muhammad having also joined the plot, Azim Khan was forced to fall back. Ranjit Singh entered Peshawar in triumph, but, instead of annexing it, divided the territory between Sultan Muhammad and Dost Muhammad.

Shortly afterwards, in A.D. 1823, Azim Khan died of a broken heart. His death was a signal for struggle among the Barakzai brothers to succeed to the chief power. For three years they were all fighting for themselves, but in A.D. 1826 Dost Muhammad seized Kabul and henceforth remained the supreme chief in Afghanistan. The nominal king Ayub, of the Sadozai clan, had already been made a prisoner in 1823, and ultimately found refuge in Lahore and got a pension of 1,000 Rupees per month from Ranjit Singh.

Shah Shuja made one more effort to regain his throne. He turned to the British for helping him with money, but Lord Bentinck, though sympathetic to his cause, plainly told him that such help would be inconsistent with the policy of neutrality adopted by his Government. All that he could get was four months' allowance (Rs. 16,000) paid in advance.

Nevertheless Shuja left Ludhiana in January 1833, and proceeded to Shikarpur in Sindh. On his way he concluded a treaty with Ranjit Singh, by one of the articles of which Peshawar was ceded to the latter. The Amirs of Sindh having resisted Shuja's demands for money, he defeated them in a battle at Rori. The Amirs now acknowledged his supremacy and accepted the terms offered by him. 4 Shuja then marched to Kandahar and invested the place. But he was defeated by Dost Muhammad and fled.

Shortly afterwards Ranjit Singh entered into a conspiracy with the Barakzai brothers at Peshawar against Dost Muhammad. A Sikh army of 9,000 men advanced as friends, but; seized Peshawar, and Sultan Muhammad Khan ignominiously fled. Dost Muhammad declared a religious war against Ranjit, and reached Peshawar with a huge army. But Ranjit's diplomacy succeeded in dividing the brothers, and Dost Muhammad had to retire without striking a blow. Shortly afterwards he heard that his brother Sultan Muhammad was again intriguing with Ranjit Singh for an invasion of Kabul. He sent an army under his two sons who defeated the Sikh army at Jamrud (A.D. 1837), but did not follow up their victory.

BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

While the Barakzai revolution was convulsing Afghanistan, events were marching rapidly in Persia. By a series of successful fights, Russia had humbled the power of Persian rulers but not their pride. They still thought of the eastern empire of Nadir Shah and dreamt of re-establishing their authority in Khurasan and Afghanistan, if not even further east in India. The British influence in Persian Court was replaced by Russian, and the Persian ambition admirably fitted in with the expansionist policy of Russia in Central and Eastern Asia.

Persia’s claims over Afghanistan were based not only on the old conquests of Nadir Shah, but also on recent engagements between Persia and Afghanistan. These claims were encouraged by Russia which had now a complete grip over Persia. Persia accordingly planned to conquer Herat.

3. British negotiations with Persia and Afghanistan

The stage was thus set for the 1 ‘Central-Asian duel” between Russia and England. Lord Palmerston made emphatic protests to Russia against her activities in Persia. Though the Russian Court denied any complicity in the Persian design upon Herat, it is generally believed that Count Simonitch, the Russian ambassador to Teheran, either under secret instruction of the Russian Government, or without it, encouraged the Persian king Shah Mahmud, who left his -capital on July 23, 1837, with a big army towards Herat. McNeill’s objections were brushed aside, and the scant respect which Persia now felt for the British authority was also displayed in other ways. In October a courier, attached to the British mission, alleged that, while carrying a letter from Herat to McNeill, he was waylaid by Persian soldiers, assaulted, and placed in confinement. Strong protests were lodged against this breach of diplomatic privilege, but no heed was paid to them by the Persian Government. In the meantime the representations of Palmerston forced the Russian Emperor to admit the truth and issue orders for the recall of Simonitch. But the latter still continued in Persia.

In November, 1837, the Persian army reached HeiSt and made preparations to besiege the city. It was regarded by the British authorities as a serious crisis. Herat occupied a very strategic position. Situated in a fertile oasis it could serve as an admirable basis of mill iary operations against India, as it commanded the two military routes to India running respectively via Kabul and Kandahar. As the British Minister in Persia commented: “In the present state of the relations between Persia and Russia, it cannot be denied that the progress of the former in Afghanistan is tantamount to the advance of the latter". The British Government also took the same view, but they were unable to interfere in the war between Persia and Herat in view of that clause in the treaty of 1814 with Persia which stipulated that the British must not interfere in any war between Persia and Afghanistan unless called upon to do so by both parties.

The diplomatic discomfiture in Persia turned the attention of the British Government towards Afghanistan. The initiative for a strong and active policy in that quarter was taken by Palmerston. A despatch from London dated 25th June, 1836, drew a very grave picture of the political situation. It reported that both Kabul and Kandahar were carrying on intrigues with the Persian Court, and referred to a rumour that Russia had entered into a secret agreement with the Khan (ruler) of Khiva. The Governor-General was warned "of the dangerous character of Russian action in Persia", and urged "to raise a timely barrier against the encroachments of Russian influence". 5 As an immediate concrete step it was suggested that an agent might be sent to Kabul to watch events.

Lord Auckland was thinking in the same line and had already issued instructions in September, 1836, to Captain Alexander Burnes to proceed to Kabul. It was ostensibly on a commercial mission, but its real object was to conclude an agreement with the Barakzai rulers of Kabul and Kandahar with a view to making Afghanistan a barrier against Russian advance to India. Burnes arrived at Kabul in September, 1837, and found "Persian and Russian intrigue actively at work in Afghanistan". The precise nature and object of these intrigues are difficult to determine. It seems the Barakzai rulers of Kandahar welcomed the Persian invasion of Herat as a means of getting rid of the last remnant of the power of the Sadozais and adding it to their own dominions—an idea in which they were encouraged by the Russians and Persians. Dost Muhammad, on the other hand, was eager to secure the aid of Persia and Russia for recovering Peshawar from Ranjit Singh. Letters were exchanged, and Count Simonitch, the Russian ambassador in the court of Persia, not only wrote to Dost Muhammad, but also sent a verbal message, to the effect that if Persia does not come to his help, Russia will, their object being to secure a passage to India. How far this message, as reported, truly represented the views of the Russian Government we have no means to determine.

Shortly a Russian emissary, Captain Vitkevitch (or Witkiewicz), made his appearance in Kabul with credentials from Count Simonitch and a letter of recommendation from the Shah of Persia. It is said that he also brought a congratulatory, but unsigned, letter purporting

to be from the Tsar Nicholas . 6 According to the information which Burnes could gather at Kabul, Vitkevitch offered, on behalf of Russia, pecuniary aid to Dost Muhammad for expelling Ranjit Singh from Peshawar. About the same time a treaty was concluded between the rulers of Kandahar and Shah of Persia providing for the transfer of Herat to the former. This treaty was guaranteed by Count Simonitch.

But all the while Burnes also was not sitting idle. Very interesting light is thrown on the nature of Burnes's mission and the guiding principle of British foreign policy in respect of Afghanistan by the confidential correspondence'between him and McNeill, the British Minister at the Court of Teheran. The latter wrote to Burnes recommending that the British should help Dost Muhammad in getting possession of Kandahar and Herat on condition that his relations with foreign governments should be controlled by the British. Captain Claude Wade, Governor-General's agent on the NorthWestern Frontier, regarded this policy with misgivings, as it would deprive the British of the powerful means which they then possessed of controlling the present rulers of Afghanistan. "Our policy", con tinued Wade, "ought not to be to destroy, but to use our endeavours to preserve and strengthen the different governments in Afghanistan as they at present stand ." 7 The correspondence that passed between Burnes and the Government of India also shows the same sinister designs in respect of the kingdom of Afghanistan. The main objective was stated to be merely to weaken the influence of Russia and not to allow Dost Muhammad to play off Russia against the British. But the attention of Burnes was specifically drawn to the fact that a consolidated and powerful Muhammadan State on our frontier might be anything rather than safe and useful to us, and the existing division of strength (i.e., between Kabul, Kandahar and Herat) seems far preferable ." 9 This principle of "Divide and Rule" was accepted as the guiding policy by the British Government not only in respect of Afghanistan, but as regards the whole of Central Asia. Burnes accordingly intrigued simultaneously with the courts of Kandahar and Kabul. He threatened the rulers of the former with the evil consequences of their intrigues with the Russians and, when they grew more pliable, offered British help in case of attack by the Persians, who were then besieging Herat. To Dost Muhammad also he promised military help and sent an English military officer to him. But the Government of India thought that Burnes had gone too far and exceeded his instructions. He was accordingly asked to get out of the position created by him . 9

The definite proposal of the Government of India was to the effect that Dost Muhammad should agree not to enter into political

relation with any other State, and as the price of this complete political isolation, the British would restrain Ranjit Singh from attacking his dominions. 10 But this vague promise appeared to the Amir to be but a poor compensation for the amount of sacrifice, in political power and prestige, which he was asked to make. What he wanted was the British help in arriving at an amicable settlement with Ranjit Singh about the political status of Peshawar, which would remove all danger to his security from that quarter.

But Auckland looked upon an alliance with Ranjit Singh as the pivot of the whole frontier policy. He could not ignore the fact that “the extensive dominions of Ranjit and his superb army lay at the most vulnerable point of the frontier of British India,” nor did he ever forget “that the Sikhs are always our first friends and steadfast allies”. 11 Auckland felt, perhaps rightly, that if, in pursuance of the desire of Dost Muhammad, he put any pressure on Ranjit Singh in respect of Peshawar, the Anglo-Sikh alliance would be in danger. Thus Burnes’s mission was foredoomed to failure, even though he reached Kabul before the Russian envoy and established very cordial relation with the Amir.

There is a general misapprehension regarding the attitude of Dost Muhammad Khan. This is mainly due to the fact that in order to justify their later policy against that Afghan ruler, the Government of India published, in the form of a Blue Book, the correspondence of Burnes, after omitting important passages and extracts which represent Dost Muhammad in a favourable light. It is clear from Buriies's letters that while he was cordially welcomed by the Amir, the reception of the Russian agent- was very cold and discouraging. The Amir made it quite plain that he would be "willing to receive a little from England, rather than much" from Russia or Persia. He wanted "the friendly mediation of the British Government" between him and Ranjit Singh in respect of Peshawar, and discussed in a statesmanlike manner the various aspects of the problem and the complexities of the issues involved. Burnes was very favourably impressed with the moderation of the Amir's view. The latter did not seek possession of Peshawar, but only his security from that quarter. 12 But the Government of India sent specific instructions to Burnes not to encourage the hopes of the Amir in any way in this respect as they decided to maintain the status quo in respect of Peshawar. On January 20, 1838, Auckland wrote to Burnes that the Amir 'must give up all hope of obtaining Peshawar'. 13

It Is quite clear that until this was communicated to Dost Muhammad, about the end of February, 1838, he had always clung to the

hope of securing British friendship and showed definite preference for Burnes and discouragement to Vitkevitch, the Russian agent. 14 It is only after all hopes of British help were extinguished that "a change came over the conduct of Dost Muhammad, and the Russian Mission began to rise in importance." 16 Even then the Amir did not give up all hope. On March 21, "the Ameer wrote a friendly letter to Lord Auckland, imploring him in language, almost of humility, to "remedy the grievances of the Afghans," to "give them a little encouragement and power." But there was no favourable response. In the meanwhile one of the ruling Sardars of Kandahar came to Kabul in order to win over the Amir to the Persian alliance. As Burnes put it, the "do-nothing policy" of the Indian Government put the Russian agent on a high pedestal. "Vitkevitch was publicly sent for, and paraded through the streets of Kabul". 16 So Burnes left Kabul on April 26, 1838. The British diplomacy proved a complete failure in Afghanistan.

The British position in Persia was equally bad, to start with, and soon became worse. As noted above, Herat was besieged in November, 1837. McNeill, the British Minister at Teheran, visited the Persian Shah in his camp and protested that the war was a violation of the treaty between England and Persia, but it proved of no avail. The promises of help and support from Russia as well as Kandahar encouraged the Persians to press the siege. An Englishman, Eldred Pottinger, the nephew of the British Resident in Sindh, who was in Herat at the time, ably aided the defence of Herat which held on till June, 1838. In the meantime, as the position of Herat seemed desperate, McNeill wrote to Auckland in March, 1838, suggesting the despatch of a British expeditionary force to the Gulf of Persia in order to compel the Shah to desist from his attack on Herat. McNeill himself visited the Shah of Persia in his camp as well as the besieged ruler in Herat, and arranged the terms of a treaty between the two. But, at the instigation of Simonitch, the Shah refused to ratify it. On June 7 McNeill declared his relations with the Government of Persia suspended, and set out for Tabriz. The prospect of the English was gloomy in the extreme.

Two circumstances now turned the tide in favour of the British. In response to /the request of McNeill, Auckland had sent an expeditionary naval force to the Persian Gulf, and it occupied the island of Kharak, 30 miles north-west of Bushire, on June 19. Secondly, McNeill was authorised by Palmerston to tell the Persian Shah that the attack of Herat by the Persians was regarded as a hostile act by the British. Referring to the occupation of Kharak, McNeill added "that if the Shah desired the British Government to suspend the measures in progress for the vindication of its honour, he must at once retire from Herat." A formal message to this effect was handed over to the Persian Government by Col. Stoddart on August 12, 1838. The failure of the great assault on Herat on June 24, 1838, the British expeditionary force, whose strength was magnified by rumours, and the firm tone of the British—all taken together created a great alarm in the mind of the Shah. He thereupon raised the siege of Herat and retreated on September 9, 1838. It is interesting to note in this connection that by Article 9 of the treaty with Persia, England had bound herself not to interfere in any quarrels between the Afghans and the Persians.

The British diplomatic representation to the Russian Government against their aggressive policy in Persia also bore fruit. That Government had already denied completely any design against the British in India, and now, as a proof of their good faith, disowned and recalled count Simonitch and Vitkevitch; while the Russian Emperor refused to confirm the guarantee which had been given by the Count to the treaty between Persia and Kandahar. Vitkevitch in his disgrace blew out his brains.

4. Declaration of War against Afghanistan .

The retreat of the Persians from Herat and the strong and open disavowal by Russian Government of any design to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan must be regarded as a great triumph for the British, and it might well be hoped that the curtain would at last fall upon the cold diplomatic war going on between England, Russia, and Persia for years past. But that was not to be. In order to understand this it is necessary to consider the reaction produced upon the Government of India by the failure of the mission of Burnes. The Governor-General, Auckland, had bestowed much thought on the whole question and discussed it fully with his colleagues and advisers who had greater knowledge and experience on the subject. The momentous issue, in his opinion, was to decide, well in advance, the policy to be adopted in case Persia succeeded in capturing Herat and then advanced further feast into the heart of Afghanistan, for that would constitute a grave danger to the security of India. In an elaborate minute, dated 12 May, 1838, he held that three courses were open to the Government of India. The first was to defend the line of the Sindhu (Indus) without any concern with the affairs in Afghanistan; the second was to help the ruler of Kabul and Kandahar to repel Persian invasion; the third was "to permit or to encourage Ran jit Singh to invade Afghanistan and to organise a British expedition against that country under the nominal lead of

Shah Shuja, in order to restore him to the throne." The GovernorGeneral preferred the third alternative and recommended its adoption, whether Herat successfully resists the Persians or succumbs to their attack.

The third course having been finally decided upon, negotiations were set on foot with Ran jit Singh to devise measures to restore Shuja on the throne of Kabul. Macnaghten was chosen to carry on the delicate diplomatic conversations with Ran jit at Lahore. What exactly transpired between the two is not definitely known. It appears that the British were at first inclined to induce Ran jit Singh to take the leading part and advance against Kabul with his army through Khyber Pass, while Shah Shuja would proceed via Sindh and Kandahar, and the British would help him with money and officers to enable him to recover his throne.

Ranjit Singh, however, refused to take, independently, the leading part in invading Afghanistan, and clearly expressed the view that in this matter he wished to act only with the British Government. Ranjit Singh had his "misgivings regarding the success of an undertaking in which his own troops and the raw levies of Shah Shuja were to be the main actors," and coaxed Macnaghten into giving an assurance, if not a formal undertaking, that, if necessary, the British would send troops sufficient in number to ensure the success of the expedition. Thus Ranjit Singh had a complete diplomatic triumph over Macnaghten. Whereas the Governor-General seems to have ruled out the idea of taking the leading part in the invasion of Afghanistan, the terms of agreement with Ranjit Singh ultimately forced him to take that very course. The Lion of the Panjab seems to have outwitted his fellow Lion of Britain.

The treaty, which was in effect one between Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja, guaranteed by the British Government, confirmed Ranjit s right over the territories he then held, including Peshawar, and no one was to cross the Sindhu or Sutlej without his permission. But he renounced his claim on Sindh, which would belong to the Amirs on payment of a pecuniary compensation to the Maharaja. He would maintain not less than 5,000 Muhammadan troops at Peshawar for the support of the Shah, and would receive two lakhs of rupees a year from Shah Shuja for this purpose. The Shah gave up all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over Sindh on payment, by the Amirs of that country, of a sum of money as might be determined under the mediation of the British Government; fifteen lakhs of rupees of such payment being made over by him to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Shuja also bound himself and his successors not to enter into negotiation with any foreign State without

the consent of the British and the Sikh Governments. On a closer analysis of the treaty it would appear that while all the advantages were with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, his commitments seem to have been of a very vague character. He was to send his own troops to Kabul, but the number was not specified, and he might call upon Shuja to supply his own troops. This Tripartite treaty was signed by Ranjit Singh on June 26,1838, approved by the Governor-General, and received the signature of Shah Shuja on 17 July, 1838.

The Tripartite Treaty, as noted above, did not lay down any military obligations of the British, beyond furnishing a handful of European officers. In fact, the first idea of the Governor-General was that the main expedition should be undertaken by the Sikhs and the Afghan army, either together or each following its own way. In any case it was the idea, up to the very end of negotiations, that Shuja himself would take the leading part. But gradually the scheme underwent a radical change. It was ultimately decided that it was mainly the British army which would undertake to seat Shuja on his throne. Accordingly, arrangement was made for the equipment of a grand army consisting of two powerful detachments, one from Bengal and the other from Bombay Army.

Much ink has been spilt in apportioning the responsibility for the Afghan policy, particularly the idea of sending a powerful British army, between Auckland, the Governor-General, and his advisers, specially William Macnaghten, the Chief Secretary, his assistant, Henry Torrens, John Colvin, the Private Secrelary of the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and Captains Burnes and Wade. But while the question may be of great significance in a biography of Auckland, it has little importance in a general history of India. For, in the first place, such questions might be raised in regard to almost every grave issue decided by the Government of India, and secondly, it is almost impossible, from the very nature of the case, to come to any satisfactory conclusion regarding the point when we remember that influence might be exercised, to a very large extent, by private consultation and day to day discussion of which no faithful record is likely to be preserved. In any event, under the existing constitution, the Governor-General must be prepared to take full responsibility for any policy to which he gave his approval, even if he had not initiated it.

On October 1, 1838; the Government of India issued a manifesto from Simla tracing in detail the course of events which led to the war and offering a justification of the policy pursued by the Governor-General. 17 It is unnecessary to comment at length upon this manifesto. So far as negotiations with Dost Muhammad are concerned, it is a tissue of lies from beginning to end, and the entire document is a string of misrepresentations, deliberate distortion of facts and views, and misleading assumptions unsupported by any evidence. Even the Anglo-Indian public of those days, though the whole truth was not known to them, denounced the manifesto in the strongest terms. “The press seized upon it and tore it to pieces. If it were not pronounced to be a collection of absolute falsehoods, it was described as a most disingenuous distortion of th r t v uth.” 18

Kaye has truly remarked that “never, since the English in India began the work of King-making, had a more remarkable document issued from the council-chamber of an Anglo-Indian Viceroy”. 19 Instead of ‘remarkable’ he might have easily said ‘preposterous’.

One instance should suffice to indicate the nature of the manifesto. The original objects of the mission of Bumes, we are told, “were purely of a commercial nature”. But after his departure “the troops of Dost Muhammad Khan had made a sudden and unprovoked attack on those of our ancient ally Maharajah Runjeet Singh”. In order to avert a calamitous war Captain Burnes was authorised “to intimate to Dost Muhammad Khan, that if he should evince a disposition to come to just and reasonable terms with the Maharajah, his Lordship would exert his good offices with his Highness for the restoration of an amicable understanding between the two powers.” But “it appeared”, continues the manifesto, “that Dost Muhammad Khan, chiefly in consequence of his reliance upon Persian encouragement and assistance, persisted.... in urging the most unreasonable pretentions,.that he avowed schemes of aggrandisement and ambition injurious to the security and peace of the frontiers of India; and that he openly threatened, in furtherance of these schemes, to call every foreign aid which he could command.” The correspondence of Burnes, referred to above, would prove to the meanest intellect, that all these allegations are diametrically opposite of truth. All declarations of war not unnaturally contain suppression or distortion of facts to a certain extent, but it would be difficult to name any such document in the history of the world which can beat the Simla manifesto in respect of deliberate suppression of truth and mischievous and malicious distortion of facts.

"The Simla manifesto had placed the siege of Herat by the Persians in the foreground as the main cause of the contemplated expedition. 20 But unfortunately for Lord Auckland, this siege, which formed the casus belli , was withdrawn about three weeks before the manifesto was issued. It is true that he xvas unaware of it at the time, but when, shortly afterwards, this all-important fact came

to his knowledge, and the chief, if not the only justification for the military expedition ceased to exist, Auckland did not abandon the idea, though there was ample time for making a graceful retreat from the bellicose attitude which was both unjust and inexpedient. There was also no inherent difficulty in adopting such a course, for under the terms of the Tripartite Treaty, the British were under no obligation to provide any military help. But Auckland persisted in his aggressive policy. A proclamation was issued on November 8, 1838, 21 in which, after announcing that the Persians had raised the siege of Herat it was declared that the Governor-General "will continue to prosecute with vigour the measures which have been announced, with a view to the substitution of a friendly for a hostile power in the eastern provinces of Afghanistan, and to the establishment of a permanent barrier against schemes of aggression upon our North-West frontier." Perhaps the Governor-General was unwilling to forego the laudable desire, expressed in his earlier manifesto, "to assist in restoring the union and prosperity of the Afghan people" and "to put an end to the distractions by which, for so many years, the welfare and happiness of the Afghans have been impaired."

The aggressive policy which the British Government adopted towards Afghanistan has been supported by some and adversely criticised by others. It is unnecessary to discuss at length the question whether Shah Shuja had any legal or moral right to the throne of Kabul. In that country, actual possession was the only right recognised alike by the ruler and the people. Besides, it would be idle to pretend that such questions really had played any part in the decision of the British Government. It is a plain fact that they chose to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan in order to serve their own interest, and not in defence of any right such as Shah Shuja might have possessed. They tried to establish their influence through Dost Muhammad, but failed and now sought to achieve the same end by placing Shah Shuja on the throne in his place. They cared little who occupied the throne of Kabul so long as he was subservient to the British. In any case, it is obvious that Shah Shuja's claim to the throne of Kabul was very questionable. His elder brother, whom he had forcibly dispossessed, again took possession of it after he left, and the latter's son Kamran, who was still ruling in Herat, a part of the kingdom of Afghanistan, had therefore undoubtedly superior claims to the Afghan kingdom. The British Government and the historians who have supported them justify the action on the ground that Shah Shuja's claim was in any event better than that of the usurper Dost Muhammad. But it must not be forgotten that Shah Shuja himself was no better than a usurper when he seized the throne of Kabul by force from his elder brother. On the whole,

no unprejudiced m£n can possibly deny that there was no justification for attacking Dost Muhammad. Considering the difficult position in which he was placed, it is now generally admitted that he did not do or say anything which might justly be construed as a provocation by the British.

On the other hand, the correspondence of Burnes leaves no doubt that Dost Muhammad was sincerely anxious to come to an understanding with the British, and decidedly preferred an alliance with them to that with either Persia or Russia. His attitude was, however, deliberately misrepresented by the Governor-General, and what was far worse, the correspondence of Burnes, as mentioned above, was mutilated to lend support to his view.

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Even according to the Governor-General's manifesto, the sole offence of Dost Muhammad consisted in the preference shown by him to a Persian over a British alliance which really means his refusal to ally himself with the British against Persia and Russia, a course which offered no advantage to him, but might easily draw upon him the wrath of a mighty European power which was his next-door neighbour. If such a refusal may be regarded as a sufficient cause for a declaration of war against him by the British in alliance with his avowed enemy, the Sikhs, perhaps no aggressive and unprovoked war in the history of the world would lack in a justifiable cause of action. It should be remembered that up to the very end Dost Muhammad did not form any alliance with Russia, and maintained strict neutrality. Auckland’s diabolical scheme of ruining him finds the nearest parallel in the conspiracy of Warren Hastings with Shuja-ud-daulla for destroying the Rohillas, though with far less excuse.

Apart from the question of legal or moral justification, the course adopted by the Government of India has been adversely criticised on grounds of expediency, both at the time and ever since. The distance, climate and the nature of the land offered so many serious difficulties to an invading army, that an expedition to Kabul should not have been lightly undertaken save in an extreme emergency involving great risk to the safety and security of India. Such an emergency never existed, in fact, and whatever apprehensions might have been entertained were removed by the withdrawal of the Persians from Herat.

On the other hand, Auckland’s action has been justified, even by eminent authorities, mainly on two grounds. It has been urged in the first place that “he had no option in the matter. He had gone too far to recede.” The validity of this assumption may be doubted, as noted above. Secondly, it has been argued “that the isolation in which Dost Muhammad was now left by the RussoPersian withdrawal was, on military grounds, a special reason for pressing on against him.” [22] This is no doubt a weighty argument, and may be presumed to have largely influenced the decision of Auckland. But it is an admission of the British aggression in its most naked and brutal form, without the slightest pretence of any moral justification or political necessity.

There was, however, another aspect of the problem. A pertinent question, asked at the time, was that supposing Shah Shuja could be placed on the throne with the help of the British army, could he maintain it without the same? As the Duke of Wellington very tersely put it, “the consequence of the advance of the British army into Afghanistan would be a perennial march into that country.”

It should, however, be pointed out that the responsibility for the Governor-General's action must be shared by the Home authorities. For they fully approved of armed intervention, though they at the same time hinted at the possibility of avoiding it. They, no doubt, expressed some misgivings about the course of action proposed to be pursued, but were mainly guided by their apprehensions about Russia, and regarded the Afghan expedition as a part of the Central Asian Policy.

The public opinion, both in England and India (among the Anglo-Indians, or at least a large section of it), was also in favour of the expedition. It is now held that this was mainly due to the fact that a Blue Book, published in 1839, gave a garbled version of the despatches, conveying a false impression of the views of Burnes as well as of Dost Muhammad. Though this was denied by Palmerston in the House of Commons, the revised version of the despatches, published in 1859, fully supports the charge, and "no defence worth

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considering has ever been offered of such an extraordinary performance."[23] But it is difficult to exonerate the English public on this ground alone. For the broad fact remained unchallenged that the British nation, alarmed at the bogey of a Russian invasion, did not scruple in the least to destroy an innocent neighbourly power. As noted above, the nearest parallel to such a crime in the history of British India is afforded by Hastings' action against the Ronillas But while this was denounced by a strong section of the public in England, the Afghan war was generally applauded, and the perpetrators of the crime were rewarded with, the highest honours. The difference in the reaction against these two deplorable incidents may

be taken as a fair measure of the demoralisation brought upon Englishmen by the virus of imperialism in course of half a century.

The British army destined for the conquest of Afghanistan was Called “the army of the Indus” (d la Napoleon). As the shrewd Ranjit Singh did not like the idea that the British troops should march through his country, the Bengal army, like that of Bombay, had to march through Sindh. The Governor-General pompously announced in his manifesto: “His Majesty Shah Shoojah-ool-Moolk will enter Afghanistan surrounded by his own troops, and will be supported against foreign interference and factious opposition by a British army.” Thus the fiction was maintained that the powerful British army was only an auxiliary force aiding Shah Shuja, who was proceeding at the head of his own troops to recover his rightful throne. To keep up this pretence, a force was placed at the disposal of the Shah, which consisted of a troop of native horse-artillery, two regiments of cavalry, and five of infantry. Major-General Simpson was appointed the Commander of this force. In addition to this expeditionary force proceeding through Southern Afghanistan, the Sikh army of Ranjit Singh was to proceed directly towards Kabul via Peshawar and Khyber pass. This was to co-operate with what was called the Shahjada’s army, namely, a force composed of British sepoys and adventurers under the nominal command of Timur the son of Shah Shuja.[1]

Diplomatic fiction supplemented the military fiction. Macnaghten was appointed “Envoy and Minister on the part of the Government of India at the Court of Shooja-ool-Moolk”, and accompanied the expedition with his full staff.

The whole of the Bengal force under Sir Willoughby Cotton was encamped, by the end of November, 1838, at Ferozepore where amidst gay festivities and gorgeous display, a series of interviews took place between the Governor-General and Ranjit Singh. The raising of the siege of Herat produced two notable changes. The strength of the expeditionary force was somewhat reduced, and Sir Henry Fane, the Commandar-in-Chief, whose health was rapidly

™ as relieved ° f command, which was given to Sir John Keane, the Commander of the Bombay division.

frnm E 2, in December, the army of His Majesty Shah Shuja moved from Ferozepore, followed by the Bengal division of the British army, and both arrived on the banks of the Sindhu in the third

Z e t l Ja " Uary ; 1839 ‘ Here ’ a great difficult y arose with the Amim of Sindh. The relations of the British with these chiefs will be re

lated in detail elsewhere. 26 Here it will suffice to state, that in disregard of solemn assurances given by the Government of India to the Amirs that no military stores would be carried along the Sindhu, the army and its equipments were transported through Sindh, and the Amirs were coerced, under threats of dire consequences, to render all help to the British army, proceeding to invade a country with which they had friendly relations. Further, though Shuja gave pledges, written on copies of Qur’an, releasing the Amirs of Sindh from any obligation of payment to him, 26 they were now forced to pay twenty-five lakhs of Rupees to be shared by Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja in the proportion of 15 to 10.

The Bengal army crossed the Sindhu without any difficulty and reached Shikarpur on 20 February. Hitherto the army of Shah Shuja had always preceded the British force by a few days’ march. Henceforth the order of march was changed. The British troops moved in advance, “being better able to cope with an enemy” than the raw levy of His Majesty. The army marched through Bolan pass and reached Quetta on March, 26. Here the Bombay force joined the Bengal Army, and its Commander, Sir John Keane, the Commander-in-Chief of the whole army, established his headquarters at Quetta on April 6, 1839. Both the columns had suffered great hardships and privations during their march through Sindh, and bitterly complained of lack of friendship on the part of the people. They failed to realise that the British troops as well as Shuja were most unwelcome guests who Were tolerated merely at the point of the bayonet.

The progress of the army in Afghanistan would have been more like a joy-ride than any gruesome fight, but for the rigorous climate and shortness of provisions. The Afghans were overcome more by gold than by iron bullets.

Bribery on a large scale won over the tribes, one after another, and there was hardly any campaigning. Kandahar surrendered without any fight on 25 April, 1839, and there Shah Shuja was solemnly enthroned on an improvised platform serving as masnad. As soon as he ascended the throne, "a salvo was discharged from a hundred and one pieces of artillery." John Keane and others offered nazars, and the "army of the Indus" marched in review in front of the throne.

In his manifesto of October 1, 1838, Lord Auckland had declared that the popularity of Shah Shuja, throughout Afghanistan, was proved "by the strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities." Doubts had arisen on this point in the minds of many in.course of this march, but it was put to the test after Shuja's enthronement at Kandahar. "No alacrity was shown in joining his standard," and when, in accordance with custom, he sent ten thousand Rupees to the Ghilzai chiefs with a copy of the Qur'an, on which to swear allegiance to the Shah, they kept the money, but returned the book, refusing to "offer any pledge of adherence to the royal cause." And this was not the only instance of this kind.

After a few short skirmishes the army appeared before Ghazni on July 21. The fort proved to be much stronger than the British anticipated, but though the heavy guns had been left behind, bribery and treachery did their part and the fort was taken by assault with a loss of only 17 killed and 165 wounded.

Shortly afterwards Nawab Jabbar Khan, brother of Dost Muhammad, arrived at the British camp with overtures for peace. He offered to acknowledge Shah Shuja as sovereign on condition that Dost Muhammad should be his wazir. Not only was this refused, but it was insisted that Dost Muhammad should leave Afghanistan. The negotiations accordingly broke off, and on July 30, the British army began to march towards Kabul.

Dost Muhammad now made a final effort to resist the invaders. But he soon discovered that his troops were not loyal to his cause. He made a touching appeal to them in the name of their country, but when this proved unavailing, he fled towards the Hindu Kush. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that here, too, bribery and treachery played their part.

On August 7, 1839, Shah Shuja entered Kabul in triumph. As a contemporary historian has observed: "It was graced by all the marks of honour which the British authorities could offer, and was deficient in nothing but the congratulations of the people over whom the restored king was to reign." 27 "It was more like a funeral procession than the entry of a king into the capital of his restored dominions." 28 Prince Timur and the Sikh contingent, marching through the Khyber Pass, had to put up a strenuous fight for capturing the fort of Ali Masjid, but took Jalalabad without any difficulty. They reached Kabul on September 3, and the whole expedition had thus a triumphant end. Honours were now showered upon the heroes. from both sides. Shah Shuja instituted an Order of Knighthood on the model of the British Order of the Bath, to which the officers of the "army of the Indus" were liberally admitted, together with a few distinguished civil functionaries. The British Government did not lag behind. Auckland was made an Earl, Sir John Keane, a Baron, and both Pottinger and Macnaghten, Baronets. A pension of two thousand pounds a year was granted to Keane and his two next heirs male. Others were suitably rewarded with Knighthood, G.C.B., etc.

In his famous manifesto of October 1, 1838, to which reference has been made above, Auckland had assumed, on the "strong and unanimous testimony of the best authorities," that Shah Shuja was popular throughout Afghanistan, and therefore declared it to be his intention to withdraw the British army as soon as His Majesty was "replaced on the throne by his own subjects and adherents", "and the independence and integrity of Afghanistan established". The party hostile to Shah Shuja also liked nothing better. The brother of Dost Muhammad, who unsuccessfully negotiated with the British at Ghazni, as mentioned above, frankly put it as follows: "If Shah Shuja is really a king, and come to the kingdom of his ancestors, what is the use of your army and name? You have brought him by your money and arms into Afghanistan, leave him now with us Afghans, and let him rule us if he can." 29

The sinister meaning of these observations was soon proved by the hostile attitude of the people, almost throughout the country, towards the army of occupation, and many ugly incidents caused thereby. Lt. Col. Henry, marching in charge of a treasure convoy from Kandahar to Kabul, was waylaid by the Kojuks and killed. The Ghilzais had been openly demonstrating their hostility and Captain Outram had to march against them. The tribes who controlled the passes of the Khyber, discontented with the amount of money distributed among them to secure peace, rose up against the small detachments left at different posts between Peshawar and Jalalabad.

These and many other incidents of a similar nature made the British painfully aware of the fact that they were in a hostile territory rather than in a friendly kingdom. The popularity of Shah Shuja, on which Auckland had waxed eloquent, and which formed the basis of his Afghan policy, was nowhere to be seen. He had therefore to reconsider his original plan of withdrawing the British army. Ultimately it was decided to withdraw the major part of the British troops, according to original plan, and leave about five or six regiments at Kabul. Accordingly a part of the Bengal force, under General Nott and Col. Sale, was left in Afghanistan, while the rest of it, as well as the entire Bombay column, returned to India, the former by the Khyber pass, and the latter by the way by which they came.

In course of the return journey the Bombay column stormed the fortress of Kalat in Baluchistan, not far from Quetta. The ruler of this place had incurred the displeasure of the British when they were marching towards Kabul, because he did not help them sufficiently. The fact is that the Baluchis were hostile to the British,

whom they naturally detested as foreign invaders, and bitterly resented the damage to their crops, caused by the advancing British troops. As noted before, the British army suffered heavily for want of food, and the British felt ‘righteous’ indignation that they were not being liberally helped by the Baluchis out of their difficulties. For some reasons, the ruler of Kalat, Mehrab Khan, was specially selected for wreaking their vengeance. This is quite clear from a letter of Macnaghten written during the advance to Kabul, in which he suggested, by way of punishing the Khan of Kalat, that a part of his territories should be annexed to Shah Shuja's dominions. But the time was inopportune and the British could do nothing. Now, flushed with victory, the British gave vent to their pent-up feeling of fury. Although no provocation was given by the Khan, and no specific charges were made against him, Kalat was attacked by a British detachment sent from Quetta for this purpose. The Khan made a brave and protracted resistance, and fought "with desperate valour" which extorted admiration even from the British. But nothing availed; the fortress was stormed, though the British loss was heavy; Mehrab Khan died, sword in hand, and another chief was put up in his place as a protege of the British. As suggested by Macnaghten, three districts of the Khan were annexed to the dominions of Shah Shuja. A British historian has remarked: "It may be doubted whether these proceedings were wise, and it seems certain that they were unjust." [30]

The Bengal force, returning under the Commander-in-Chief, suffered a great deal from the attacks of the Afghan tribes living in the neighbourhood of the Khyber Pass, who made plundering raids and carried off provisions and camels. Ultimately Macnaghten made peace with them by pecuniary grants, and the army safely returned to India. By a general order, dated January 2, 1840, the "army of the Indus" was formally dissolved.

6. British Disaster in Afghanistan

It was not long before the British army, left in Afghanistan, realised that it was far easier to seat Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul than to keep him there. Widespread discontent gathered momentum throughout the dominions of Shuja; the people disliked him and seemed to be determined not to submit to his authority, ary in 1840, a British detachment was sent against a refractory

S. lef - D 0f . P / S ^° 0t ' 3 f ° rt situated about fifty miles from Jalalabad. The British forces stormed the first gate but were unable to break

down the inner one and had to retreat with heavy loss. Similar acts of defiance occurring in other places could be put down only after

heavy fighting in which the Afghan tribes always offered a stout resistance. A regular and sanguinary fight took place with the Ghilzais, a notorious tribe, on May 16, 1846. The Baluchis cut off, at Nufusk Pass, Lt. Clark who had gone out of the fort of Kahun with a small party to procure supplies. In order to supply the fort, Major Cliborn was dispatched on August 12 with a convoy from Sukkur. He met with a terrible disaster in the same place. He won a victory, but could not carry the pass and had to fall back, pursued by the enemy; his men died of thirst in hundreds and he lost all his arms and equipments. Kahun and Quetta were besieged and almost the whole country rose in revolt. A great disaster befell the British at Kalat. The new chief set up by them could not defend himself against a rising of the people who besieged the fort. He surrendered and abdicated in favour of Nasir Khan, son of Mehrab Khan, mentioned above. The British Lieutenant, who was left there to protect him with a sepoy force, was made prisoner and subsequently murdered.

It would be tedious to relate all the events in detail. But it was now apparent even to the meanest intellect, that Shah Shuja was maintained on the throne not by his own strength but only by the British bayonets. Series of outbreaks like those mentioned above, all over the country, kept the British forces almost continuously engaged in suppressing them. Though generally successful, they also met with occasional reverses.

Encouraged by the favourable turn of events in Afghanistan, its ex-ruler, Dost Muhammad Khan, who had fled towards the Hindu Kush, now made an effort to regain his throne. He made an alliance with the Uzbegs under Wall of Kulun and advanced upon Bamiyan. Their joint force was defeated on September 18 by a British detachment, and soon the Wali was won over, evidently by the British gold. Dost Muhammad now moved towards Kohistan and was joined by many chiefs. He was defeated near the entrance of the Ghorbund Pass, on September 29, but the British forces were repulsed at Julgah, another fort occupied by the rebel chiefs of Kohistan, on October 3. Throughout the month of October Dost Muhammad fled from place to place till, joined by some of Shah Shuja’s troops, he marched towards Kabul. A battle took place at Parwandurrah on November 2, 1840, in which the British cavalry suffered severe losses owing to the defection of the Afghan troops in the midst of the battle. Two days after this glorious triumph, Dost Muhammad, who had no illusion about the ultimate result of the contest, rode towards Kabul, and surrendered himself to the British envoy, Macnaghten.

Dost Muhammad received cordial treatment at the hands of thq British envoy, and was sent to India on November 12, 1840, under a strong escort. In recommending to the Governor-General that the ex-Amir should be treated with liberality, Macnaghten refuted the argument that Dost Muhammad should not be treated more handsomely than Shah Shuja. "The Shah," he said, "had no claim upon us. We had no hand in depriving him of his kingdom, whereas we ejected the Dost, who never offended us, in support of our policy, of which he was the victim". 31 At last even Macnaghten blurted out a great truth which may be looked upon as the strongest denunciation of the Afghan policy of which he is generally believed to have been the chief adviser and advocate.

On the very day when Dost Muhammad surrendered, the British army re-occupied Kalat after defeating the army of Nasir Khan. But though the year 1840 thus ended auspiciously for the British, the condition of Afghanistan was still a.source of great anxiety to them. The situation was admirably and accurately summed up by the Secret Committee in their letter to the Government of India, dated December 34, 1840. 32 They pointed out that "for many years to come, the restored monarchy will have need of a British force", and that this force must necessarily be a large one. The maintenance of such a force and the suppression of "repeated revolts and disorders" would entail too heavy a financial burden on the Indian Government. There were only two alternatives open to them,— either to face this intolerable burden, both military and financial, or "the entire abandonment of the country and a frank confession of failure." The Secret Committee made it clear that they preferred the second alternative; the Council of the Governor-General, however, decided in favour of the continued occupation of Afghanistan. But both the Government of India and Macnaghten fully realised the need of reducing the drain upon the resources of India, and Macnaghten was forced to reduce the stipends or subsidies to the Afghan tribal chiefs.

All the tribal chiefs regarded this measure of economy as a great blow upon their powers and privileges. They held secret meetings and entered into a conspiracy to recover by force what was withheld from them. The Eastern Ghilzais, who had other grievances, were the first to strike the blow. They left Kabul and occupied the passes on the road to Jalalabad, cutting off all communications with India.

After a protracted warfare with the Ghilzais, involving several bloody encounters, Humjee Khan, a man of high rank and Governor of the Ghilzais, was sent to treat with them. But it later transpired that he himself was the instigator of the hostile movement. A truce was arranged by Macgregor, after making valuable concessions. But it was of no avail. Sir Robert Sale, who was marching with his force to Jalalabad on his return journey to India, was attacked by the Afghans. He forced the pass of Khurd Kabul occupied by the rebel chiefs, but was wounded in the fight. A number of skirmishes followed in which the British gained victories, but the troops suffered heavily on account of attacks of isolated bodies of Afghans issuing from hills and dales. On October 29, 1841, while marching from Jagdalak towards Gandammak, Sale found the hills bristling with armed men who poured a heavy fire from all sides. The army pushed through the pass after defeating the enemy, but these reappeared and fell upon the rear-guard of the British army. Sale not only lost a number of men, but also a heavy quantity of baggage and camp equipage. Next day he wrote a letter giving a dismal account of the military position. Referring to his troops he says: “Since leaving Kabul, they have been kept constantly on the alert by attacks by night and day,.... each succeeding morning has brought its affair with a bold and active enemy.”

At Gandammak, Sale got the news that Jalalabad was threatened by the enemy. He forthwith marched upon it and arrived there on November 12, 1841, “having sustained considerable annoyance from plunderers” on the way. The whole of his camp equipage was destroyed and the sick and the wounded amounted to more than three hundred. He found Jalalabad invested on every side, but by a bold charge dispersed the enemy. The position at Jalalabad, however, gave cause for grave anxiety. Its defences were weak, the protecting army was much smaller than necessary, provisions were short, and there was no expectation of securing any help from any quarter in near future.

In the meantime things were getting from bad to worse in Kabul. There was still a considerable number of British troops in that city. Part of these was stationed at the Bala Hissar, the royal citadel, which overlooked the town, and the rest were in the cantonments lying at a distance of about three milefc. Some British officers resided in the town and part of the commissariat establishment was also within its walls.

Rumours and warnings of a secret conspiracy in Kabul to drive away the British had reached the authorities from various sources, but they paid no heed to it. It had assumed serious proportions on the evening of November 1, when, according to later reports, the hostile chiefs met to discuss the measures to be taken to incite the people. They decided to "announce on the one hand that the king

had given orders for the destruction of the infidels'', and to spread a report, on the other, that the British authorities were bent upon ''seizing the principal chiefs and sending them prisoners to London." Sadyat Khan, at whose house the meeting was held, was once rudely treated by Burnes, and he proposed that the "first overt act of violence on the morrow should be an attack on the house of the man who had so insulted him." 33 How far these reports of the conspiracy may be accepted as accurate it is difficult to say. But there is no doubt about what followed.

On the morning of November 2, 1841, a riot broke out in the city. The shops were looted and the houses of British officers attacked. Sir Alexander Burnes, his brother Lt. Burnes of the Bombay army, and Lt. Broadfoot of the Bengal European regiment lost their lives in the hands of the unruly mob. The Shah's treasury and the residence of Burnes were plundered and burnt, and.every man, woman and child found in either were killed. Shortly, the revolt spread all over the city, and was marked by a lust for the blood of the Europeans, some of whom were wounded, and others narrowly escaped.

The anti-British insurrection continued on the. following days and soon took an alarming character. Had the British authorities taken strong measures at the very outset, the whole trouble might have been nipped in the bud. But at first they did not regard the outbreak as a serious one, and when they realised the true situation, they seem to have been paralysed by the sudden outburst of popular frenzy on a wide scale. They made a few desultory efforts, but there was no sign of any well-conceived plan for either attack or defence. Important posts in the town, held by the British, fell in quick succession for want of ammunition which never reached them in spite of pressing applications to the authorities. In particular, the loss of the British Commissariat fort was a severe blow to the safety and security of the British army. It was the principal depot containing provisions of all kinds, and was bravely defended by Ensign Warren. He repeatedly asked for succour, and it was represented to the General by the commissariat officers that the capture of the depot would mean sure destruction of the British troops, as the cantonments did not possess more than two days' provisions and it was impossible to procure supplies in the prevailing circumstances. In spite of all this, Elphinstone, the aged Commander-in-Chief, failed to send an adequate force during the two days following the outbreak, and the depot fell into the hands of the insurgents. "This was a blow at the British cause in Kabul before which it reeled." It is unnecessary to give further details of the insurrection which grew in momentum every day, and of the unsuccessful efforts of the British to put it down. The most notable point in the whole affray was the cowardice and lack of discipline displayed by the British infantry, both native and European, in several engagements with the rebels. The troops lost heart and showed a craven spirit, so unusual to them, which not unoften led to grave disasters. They would not obey the orders to advance, and often deserted their line and posts in the face of hostile attack. In a word, a large section of the British troops seem to have been almost as much paralysed as their old Commander-in-Chief. The two expeditions, sent on November 22 and 23, to capture a village called Behmaura, ending in veritable disgrace and disasters, offer a striking illustration of the inefficiency of the commanding officers and the sunken spirit of the men. The British historians have deplored this strange shortcoming of the Indian soldiers, but have not cared to explore its causes. Some light is thrown on this by the long memorandum prepared by Shaikh Hidayat Ali, Subahdar and Sardar Bahadur, Bengal Sikh Police Battalion, immediately after the Mutiny of 1857, in order to explain its causes. He has clearly pointed out that the Afghan expedition was highly disliked by the sepoys who took part in it. The Hindu sepoys feared that they had lost their caste, and the Muslim sepoys were dissatisfied as they had to fight against men of their own faith.

Actually, a Muslim Subahdar and a Hindu Subahdar were, respectively, shot dead and dismissed for expressing these sentiments. But the feelings could not be checked by such punishment. The sepoys had no heart in the fight and we are even told that they sometimes even shot in the air rather than at their opponents. 34

But the insurrection did not long remain confined to the city of Kabul. The fort of Laghman was attacked and the British garrison removed to Charikar. This was invested by the Afghans, and desertion, followed by open mutiny among the British troops who killed their own officer, forced the remnant to evacuate the fort and march towards Kabul. All the fugitives were lost except two officers and a single soldier, who reached Kabul, more dead than alive. Two officers stationed at a fort in Kohistan, about 12 miles from Kabul, were deserted by their men and murdered, and large bodies of Kohistanis and Nijrowis were ready to join the rebels at Kabul. A detachment proceeding from Ghazni to Kabul was surprised and cut off. Of the force left by Sale at Gandammak, the major portion deserted to the enemy and the rest had to proceed to Jalalabad, leaving arms and equipage. Further east, at Pesh Bulak, between Jalalabad and Khyber Pass, Captain Ferris of the Shah's

service was surrounded by the enemy, and though he cut his way through, a rich treasure, left behind, fell into the hands of the enemy.

But the^most severe blow was dealt to the power and prestige of the British in Afghanistan by the fall of Ghazni. When the situation was getting worse every day, Col. Palmer, the officer commanding at Ghazni, suggested to the authorities at Kabul a plan for repairing and strengthening its defence, but the necessary sanctions never came. The Englishmen fondly believed that the people were devoted to their cause. But like many other assumptions this also proved untrue. By means of intrigue and treachery such a large number of Afghans were able to enter the city from outside, that the British garrison were forced to take shelter in the citadel (December, 1841). They maintained this position till March 6, 1842, when they evacuated it under terms of an agreement which secured their safe retreat under an escort for protection. But the day after they left the citadel, they were treacherously attacked and a large number of officers and men were killed. The sepoys escaped by digging through a hole in the outer wall of the town, but they lost their way owing to a heavy fall of snow, and were all cut to pieces or imprisoned. The officers surrendered themselves.

The real nature of the troubles in Afghanistan was now slowly dawning upon the British statesmen. It was no longer a mere dislike for, or aversion to, Shah Shuja, but a national revolt of the Afghans against the domination of the hated Feringhees. The Afghans could now clearly see that it was the British who were ruling over them in the name of their puppet ruler. This was a rude shock to the freedom-loving tribes of Afghanistan. To this were added the insults, indignities and sufferings, inherent in the occupation of a country by foreign troops. But there was one special form of these which touched to the quick the sensibilities of the Afghans. They were very jealous of the honour of their women, but the British officers could not resist the attractions of the women of Kabul. It is better to throw a veil over the details, but a general reference must be made to this indelicate affair, both for the sake of historical truth, as well as an important cause of the growing conflagration. The following statement by an eminent British historian who Has made a special study of the Afghan War, may be taken as a fairly accurate description of the general situation.

The inmate of the Mahomedan Zenana was not unwilling to visit the quarters of the Christian stranger. For two long years, now, had this shame been burning itself into the hearts of the Kabulis, and there were some men of note and influence among

them who knew themselves to be thus wronged. Complaints were made; but they were made in vain. The scandal was open, undisguised, notorious. Redress was not to be obtained. The evil was not in course of suppression. It went on till it became intolerable and the injured then began to see that the only remedy was in their own hands." 35

Various causes,—political, social and religious,—combined to lead to a general national rising of the Afghans against the British. The men on the spot, particularly Macnaghten, failed to realise its nature and gravity, and belittled its importance. But the GovernorGeneral took a saner view of things from a distance. On December 1, 1841, he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief: "It is, however, I fear, more likely that the national spirit has

[been] generally roused. .” 3e Three days later he wrote to Macnaghten, pointing out how futile it would be “to continue to wrestle against the universal opinion, national and religious, which has been so suddenly and so strongly brought in array against us.” Lord Auckland accordingly was anxious to devise a means by which “all that belongs to India may be most immediately and most honourably withdrawn from the country.” 37

Macnaghten was, however, an incurable optimist. He believed, even as late as September 1841, that “the noses of the Durani Khans had been brought to the grindstone,” and that the prospects of the British “were brightening in every direction.” 38

Towards the end of September he reported that “the whole country was quiet, and insisted that the Shah’s force, aided by one European regiment at Kabul and another at Kandahar, would be sufficient to keep the whole country in order.” To him the very idea of British withdrawal from Afghanistan was an “unparalleled atrocity.” 39

But even the obtuse mind of Macnaghten could not ignore the importance of the ominous news that Muhammad Akbar Khan, son of Dost Muhammad, had advanced as far as Bamiyan. The rebels had now got the only thing wanting to them, namely, a trusted leader. Mohanlal, a confidential agent of Macnaghten, advised him to win over Akbar Khan by money. But Macnaghten thought it to be a wiser policy to distribute the money among the rebel chiefs. The greed and cupidity of the Afghan chiefs was only too tfelLknown to the British, whose early successes in the war, up to the fall of Kabul, were almost entirely due to this lamentable weakness of Afghan character. Macnaghten, who was blissfully ignorant of the deeper causes which stirred the emotions of a whole people, naturally relied upon the means which had already proved so effective in the earlier stages of the expedition. So he deputed Mohanlal to scatter, among the tribes, Rs. 50,000 in cash, as well as promises for more in future.

So far there was nothing out of the way, nor anything particularly dishonourable, in the conduct of the British. But Mohanlal had further secret instructions which reflect the highest discredit on the British, as a civilized nation of the West. He was asked to bribe the Shia chiefs to rise against the Sunnis: “You can promise”, wrote Lt. Conolly to Mohanlal, “one lakh of Rupees to Khan Sherin on the condition of his killing and seizing the rebels.” The letter, dated November 5, concluded with the following postscript: “I promise 10,000 Rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs”. The amount was later increased to Rs. 15,000, and even the modus operandi of the assassination was freely discussed. 40

This desperate and disreputable plan may be taken as a measure of the depth to which the prestige of the British and the reputation of their military had now sunk in Kabul. England thus descended to the level of one of the worst forms of oriental medieval despotism and savage diplomacy, which the Europeans are never tired of denouncing in the strongest terms.

After the disastrous and disgraceful defeat of the British forces at Behmaru on November 22 and 23, referred to above, the morale of the troops was utterly destroyed. It was the end of military operation. The military authorities seemed to be convinced that nothing more was to be gained by fighting. When, on the day following the second defeat, the rebels began to destroy the bridge which the British General, a short time before, had thrown on the Kabul river, the military chiefs looked idly on” the operation carried on within the range of musket shot from the cantonments. Macnaghten recalled the troops under Sale from Gandammak, but learnt to his dismay that he had already left for Jalalabad. Macnaghten also tried to secure help from the Sikhs. But in the meantime the military authorities were clamouring for negotiations. Things came to such a strange pass that the civilian political agent, Sir William Macnaghten, was the only one to urge upon the military authorities to fight and make some demonstration worthy of their country, while the latter, in a body, were not less strenuous in urging him to commence negotiations with the rebels. Meanwhile the British troops suffered extreme privations. Temporary supplies were procured with great difficulty, and the prospect of starvation was ominously looming large. Complete demoralisation now pervaded the whole army and there was hardly any semblance of order and discipline. A plan was mooted for evacuating the cantonments which were exposed to

enemy attack on all sides, and removing to the citadel of Bala

Hissar, but this measure, which might have saved the British, was not adopted.

On November 24, 1841, Macnaghten wrote to Elphinstone, the Commander of the British troops in Afghanistan, calling for his opinion as to whether, from a military point of view, it was feasible to maintain nis position in the country. In reply the latter wrote to him on the same day that it was not feasible, and requested him to avail himself of the pacific overtures made by the enemy. Macnaghten thereupon had no other means left but to open negotiations. But the terms dictated by the Afghan deputation, which met him on November 25, amounting virtually to an unconditional surrender by the British as prisoners of war, were rejected by Macnaghten. He again urged Elphinstone to secure provisions by sending military expeditions to neighbouring villages. But the old general would not or could not do anything. At last, faced by immediate starvation, Macnaghten offered terms which were accepted by the Afghans on December 11. According to these 'the British troops should evacuate the whole of Afghanistan and the Sirdars engaged that they would be unmolested on their journey, and receive all possible assistance in carriage and provisions; Shah Shuja would formally abdicate, and either remain in Afghanistan with a suitable allowance, or return to India with the British troops. For

the due fulfilment of the conditions, four British officers will be left as hostages in Kabul. 1

The Bala Hissar was evacuated by the British troops on December 13. But there was mutual distrust and the terms were not fulfilled. The British authorities asked for provisions which the Afghan chiefs had undertaken to supply. The latter asked the British, as a proof of their sincerity, to give up the different forts which they occupied in the neighbourhood of cantonments. To this the British agreed, and the forts were handed over to the Afghans. Provisions, however, came in very slowly, and carriages were not sent at all by the Afghans. Even the supplies that were sent were intercepted by the mob who committed all kinds of outrages.

The British force wag now entirely at the mercy of tjie enemy who possessed the forts commanding the cantonments, in which all the troops had collected themselves. To add to the extreme difficulties caused by want of provisions and forage, a severe winter set m» causing a heavy fall of snow which covered the ground.

While the British were in such a hopeless situation and in a desperate mood, Macnaghten received a proposal from Akbar Khan the son of Dost Muhammad, who was one of the most important among the hostile chiefs. It was to the effect that Akbar Khan with the Ghilzai chiefs should join the British, that the British troops should continue in Afghanistan till the spring and then voluntarily withdraw, that Shah Shuja should retain his sovereignty with Akbar Khan as his wazir, and that the latter should receive a large pecuniary reward. Further, as a preparatory to all this, a joint attack should be made on Muhammad Khan’s fort, and Aminuilah Khan, a prominent chief, should be seized; it was even suggested that an assassin might be easily hired to kill him. The British envoy, Macnaghten, rejected the last part of the proposal, but otherwise accepted it, and even agreed to attend a conference held for the purpose of arranging the details. Accordingly, on December 23, 1841, Macnaghten, accompanied by three officers, proceeded to the place of conference near the British cantonment. But after the conference had begun, the envoy and his companions were suddenly seized from behind. He and one of the officers were immediately killed, and the two others were kept as prisoners.

A great deal of criticism has been made regarding the conduct ol Macnaghten. There is no doubt that he fully realised the great danger in which he placed himself, but the motive which induced him to accept the proposal may be gathered from his statement that he would rather “suffer a hundred deaths than live the six last weeks over again.” But while it may be conceded that he had to accept the proposal of the conference as there was no other means of escape from the hopeless situation, it may be justly argued that it was highly improper on his part to entrust himself to the enemies without any adequate protecting force. But it should be noted that the sixteen soldiers, who formed his guard, were at a little distance from the scene of the conference. They, however, ran away as soon as the danger arose, with the exception of one man, who was immediately cut down. Macnaghten’s conduct has also been impugned on the ground that while one negotiation was actually concluded with the party, he should not have entered into a secret pact with Akbar Khan. But, it may be pointed out, the Afghan chiefs had failed to fulfil their part of the pledge by not supplying adequate provision, transport and other facilities, "and exacted from the British conditions after conditions not named in the treaty." It is to be considered whether, in these circumstances, Macnaghten was under any moral obligation to regard that treaty as binding and thus standing in the way of forming another agreement. But Macnaghten himself admitted his conduct to be a breach of faith. 41 The provision with regard to Aminulla Khan was highly objectionable as he was one of the confederate chiefs with whom the earlier treaty was concluded.

The tragic death of Macnaghten, far from rousing the spirit of the British for taking vengeance, rather seems to have paralysed their activities. They must have sunk to the lowest depths of infamy and degradation when they accepted the terms of a new treaty offered by the murderers of their envoy. In addition to the articles of the previous treaty, it contained four new ones, namely, (1) that the British should leave behind all the guns, except six, and all muskets and ordnance stores in the magazine; (2) they should give up all the coins in the public treasury; (3) all the spare muskets should be left behind, and (4) that the hostages already held by the Afghans should be exchanged for married men with their wives and families. This was debated in the Council and, subject to the protest of a single member, it was resolved to accept all the demands. But as no married men agreed to offer themselves as hostages, the British General accepted the first three articles, and replied in a lofty tone that he "could not consent to an arrangement which would brand him with perpetual disgrace in his own country." He remitted the required amount, namely, 14 lakhs of rupees, by a bill on the Government of India, handed over the guns, wagons, small arms and ammunition, and also bound the Government to restore the deposed Amir. The Afghans agreed to receive as hostages men instead of women, and these were accordingly sent.

It was arranged that the sick and the wounded in the British force were to be left behind, and they were accordingly conveyed to the Bala Hissar. The rest began their march towards India on January 6, 1842. There were about 4,500 fighting men and not less than 12,000 followers, besides women and children. As soon as this huge body left the cantonment, all order was lost and troops and camp-followers were hopelessly intermingled in one disorderly mass. It was found at night that the provision for encampment was hopelessly inefficient and they could not get either any shelter, fire or food. To make matters worse, one of the Shah's regiments disappeared and probably returned to Kabul. Numerous small groups of Afghans, both horse and foot, were marching in a parallel line along the flanks of the British force, and it was believed that they formed the escort to be supplied by the chiefs in return for the amount of fourteen lakhs paid to them for .this purpose. But it soon proved to be a mistake, for these Afghans attacked the rear of the British army. Communications were now opened with Akbar Khan who happened to be near by, and he asked the British force to halt at But-Khak or Tezeem, until news was received of the evacuation of Jalalabad. But next morning, as the British force crossed the Khurd Kabul Pass, about five miles long and bounded on both sides by high hills, continuous Are was poured upon them by the Ghilzais from the adjacent heights, in spite of the efforts of Akbar Khan to restrain them. This murderous fire caused havoc among the British forces, a number of whom deserted, and a larger number succumbed to the bullets or to the rigours of the climate and want of food. Nearly three thousand thus perished in the defile. Next, another proposal came from Akbar Khan to the effect, that the "ladies who accompanied the British force, with their husbands and children, should be placed under his protection." It was obvious that Akbar Khan wanted in an indirect way to achieve the object of taking ladies as hostages, which was previously declined. But the position of the British was such that the General now agreed to this proposition, and all married officers and ladies were sent with a body of Afghan troops who had been despatched by Akbar Khan to conduct them.

On the following morning (January 10, 1842) the rest of the army resumed their march to Jalalabad, and the cruel scenes of the previous day were repeated. The promised supply of food and fuel never came, and in the narrow portion of the Jagdullack Pass, heavy casualties were inflicted by the fire of the enemy from the heights. The narrow pass became literally choked with the dead. Many died and a large number fled for life. The enemy thereupon rushed down, sword in hand, slaughtered the men like sheep, and captured the treasure and baggage. A large number of officers were killed, and only a small number of the advance party succeeded in escaping. It is unnecessary to give further details of the march of the British troops, exposed as ever to the destructive fire of the enemy. It has been aptly remarked that under the murderous fire of the Ghilzais "the progress of the retiring party was a moving massacre." The British army had ceased to exist. When the British force approached Gandammak they could muster only about twenty muskets. Only twelve officers and forty-five European soldiers rode on, but they were all massacred at Gandammak. A few had managed to push on in advance of the column, but one by one they fell on the way, and only six reached Fatehabad, sixteen miles from Jalalabad. These six were at first received with professions of friendship by the inhabitants, and while they were engaged in partaking of the refreshments offered to them, the people armed themselves and rushed upon them. Two were immediately cut down, and although the remaining four rode off, they were pursued, and three were slain before reaching Jalalabad. The single survivor was Dr. Brydon, who reached that fort on January 13, 1842, to tell the tragic tale.

The situation at Kandahar was much better than at Kabul, when a demand for assistance came from Kabul, a brigade under

Maclaren was ordered to march thither, but was compelled to return on account of severe winter. General Nott, the commander, refused to evacuate Kandahar, though ordered to do so. Akbar Khan, after finishing his business at Kabul, proceeded to Kandahar. The British now tried to win over the Afghan chiefs by grant of money, and a lakh of rupees was distributed among the chiefs, but though they took the money they joined Akbar Khan, and even a son of Shah Shuja joined this group. General Nott attacked the Afghans on January 12, 1842, and defeated them, and thus saved the situation for the time being.

On March 7, he moved out of the city and drove the enemy from the neighbourhood. A detachment was sent from Sindh under Brigadier England to his relief, but he was signally defeated near Hykulzie in the valley of the Pishin, and fell back upon Quetta.

Jalalabad was still held by the English under Sir Robert Sale. He had been asked, under the conditions of the treaty concluded at Kabul, to evacuate the fort and march back to India. Sale, however, refused to comply with this, though his position was very grave as he was short of men, money and provisions.

His difficulties were increased by a terrible earthquake on February 19, which destroyed the defensive works he had erected during the last three months. Akbar Khan seized this opportunity and advanced with his army within two miles of Jalalabad. After a number of skirmishes, Sale attacked the Afghan camp on April 7. Akbar Khan was decisively beaten and fled towards Laghman. This brilliant British victory saved Jalalabad. The Governor-General conferred on Sale's brigade the honourable title of the "Illustrious Garrison."

The news of the terrible disaster that befell the British on their way from Kabul to Jalalabad reached Auckland towards the end of Janiiary. His first reeling was one of astonishment, as he never could realise that the state of affairs in Afghanistan was really so bad. But soon he was seized with a feeling of panic or despair. He conceived the plan of abandoning Jalalabad'and falling back upon Peshawar, and even of retiring to Ferozepore. But the date of relinquishing his office was near at hand, and he did not like to take any decisive step which might embarrass his successor. Measures had been taken some time earlier to send a relief force to Jalalabad. Brigadier Wild proceeded with four regiments from Ferozepore, but when he reached Peshawar, he found the Sikhs very lukewarm in their support. They at first agreed to accompany him as far as Ali Masjid, a strategic fort commanding the Khyber Pass, threatened by the Afridis. But at the last moment the Sikhs refused and marched back upon Peshawar.

To make matters worse, a sepoy battalion mutinied on January 10, "demanding increased allowances and coats and gloves before advancing through the cold to Kabul." Wild was ready to fire upon the mutineers and this might have created a terrible situation, "for there is little doubt that all the sepoys were equally averse to the advance." But the crisis was averted by the calmness and prudence of Henry Lawrence who pacified the sepoys.

42 Wild advanced to the Pass, but was decisively defeated on January 19, at the entrance of the Pass, as his sepoys had no heart in the fight. He fell back on Jamrud, and Ali Masjid fell into the hands of the Afghans. A strong detachment was now sent under Pollock who reached Peshawar on February 5. But on account of the sickness of a large number of troops, Pollock could not immediately advance, and halted at Peshawar during the next two months. It was not till the beginning of April that he could commence his march through the Khyber Pass towards Jalalabad, and relieve that garrison on April 16.

In the midst of a gloomy situation Lord Auckland left India with a broken heart on March 12, 1842, and was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough who had reached Calcutta a few days earlier, on February 28. The new Governor-General did not take a long time to study the situation before he formulated his policy. He realised that the war in Afghanistan “has assumed a religious, as well as national, character”, and that “the possession of Afghanistan, could we recover it, would be a source of weakness, rather than of strength, in resisting the invasion of any army from the west.” He therefore concluded that “the ground upon which the policy of the advance of our troops to that country mainly rested, has altogether ceased to exist”. So far the views of His Lordship are quite precise and easily intelligible, and will probably command general approval. Equally clear is his general policy, resulting from this conclusion, namely, that the British army should evacuate that country, at the earliest possible date with due regard to the safety and security of the detached bodies of troops in different forts or in the field, but without any further concern about the fate of Shah Shuja ’ But what is not equally clear is whether the evacuation was to be preceded by any attempt to vindicate British honour and military prestige by inflicting a signal defeat upon the Afghans. In his despatch of March 15, he seems to attach much importance to this 43 But in his

p]o r u° thG Commailder -in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, dated April 19 1842, he expressed grave doubts whether it would be justifiable to undertake military operations “for no other object than that of

revenging our losses and of re-establishing in all its original brilliancy our military character”. 44 He therefore issued specific orders to Pollock to withdraw all the forces in Upper Afghanistan to the Khyber Pass, and to Nott, to retire through Quetta and Sukkur in Sindh, with all the forces in Lower Afghanistan. But the Commander-in-Chief, as well as Nott and Pollock, the commanding officers, respectively, of Kandahar and Jalalabad, all attached great importance to the point of regaining military prestige before leaving Afghanistan. For a long time the Governor-General stuck to his original plan, but at last yielded to the extent of giving Nott a discretionary powef* to "march through Ghazni and Kabul, over the scene of our late disasters". 46 While he appreciated fully the farreaching effects of the successful execution of this march on India and the world at large, he took good care to point out the great risk involved in this course, for "failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin". Even after this grudging concession, he spoke of the movement on Kabul as an "adventurous march" and the tone of his letter to Nott, dated July 10, was "uniformly discouraging and disappointing." 46

The letters which the Governor-General wrote to Nott and Pollock, on July 4, form a most curious episode in the whole affair. Reaffirming his fixed policy of withdrawing British troops from Afghanistan, "he suggested that perhaps General Nott might feel disposed to retire from Kandahar to the provinces of India by the route of Ghazni, Kabul and Jalalabad, and that perhaps General Pollock might feel disposed to assist the retreat of the Kandahar force by moving forward upon Kabul." 47 As has been pointed out, the wording was so chosen "as to cast upon them (the Generals) all the onus of failure, and to confer upon the Governor-General, or at least to divide with him, all the honour of success." 48

Both Pollock and Nott, who were permitted, at their discretion, to vindicate the honour of the British arms, entered upon their task with full confidence. Pollock moved from Jalalabad on August 20, and defeated an enemy force three days later near Gandammak. After fighting his way through, and defeating numerous bodies of hostile Afghans, he reached Kabul on September 15, and planted the British flag on the Bala Hiss§r.

General Nott sent a part of his force back to India by way of Quetta, and started with the rest, on August 9, towards Ghazni. He arrived on September 5. before that town, and during the night it was evacuated by the enemy. He destroyed the town, and in pursuance of the express instructions of the Governor-General* he took away the gates of the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni “which are the gates of the temple of Somnath.” 49 On September 17 Nott joined Pollock at Kabul.

Saleh Muhammad Khan, who was in charge of the British prisoners at Bamiyan, now delivered them over to the British general on condition of receiving Rs. 20,000 in ready cash, and Rs. 1,000 per month for life.

The Supreme Government desired that some mark of the retributory visifP of the British should be left upon the offending city. The great bazar of Kabul was therefore destroyed as a reminder to the residents of the ills they had done to the British. A British historian has characterised it as “an inexcusable act of vandalism.’’ 50 “Far worse was the deliberate sacking of Kabul, not in the heat of entry; but as a last minute policy.” 51 “Guilty and innocent alike fell under the heavy hand of the lawless retribution.Many unoffending Hindoos, who, lulled into a sense of delusive security by the outward re-establishment of a government, had returned to the city and re-opened their shops, were now disastrously ruined. In the mad excitement of the hour, friend and foe were stricken down by the same unsparing hand.” 52

Shah Shuja ruled nominally in K5bul for some time after the departure of the British, but was murdered on April 5, and Fath Jung, his second son, was raised to the throne. He had, however, no power and was merely a tool in the hands of Akbar Khan who wielded the real authority. As soon as Pollock began his march from Jalalabad, Fath Jung fled from Kabul and surrendered to Pollock on September 1. He formally abdicated, and prince Shapur, another son of Shah Shuja, was declared king. The armies of Pollock and Nott then returned through the Khyber Pass, having destroyed the defences of Jalalabad and Ali Masjid on their way. They had a magnificent reception from the Governor-General in person at Ferozepur in

December, 1842. They fully deserved it, for the credit of rehabilitating the honour and prestige of England really, and almost entirely, belongs to them.

On October 1, 1842, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation at Simla, 53 reviewing the whole course of the Afghan war and pointing out the faults committed in course of it. This annoyed Lord Auckland who openly said in a party of friends that "he had been convinced that Lord Ellenborough was mad from the moment of his landing." 54 A grandiloquent passage refers to the recovery of the gates of Somnath, by which "the insult of eight hundred years was avenged." Many people have expressed doubts whether these wooden gates, now preserved as a lumber in the Agra fort, really belonged to the temple of Somnath.

The most important part of the proclamation was the enunciation of the future Afghan policy. Ellenborough declared that his Government "would willingly recognise any government approved by the Afghans themselves, which should appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states." A practical demonstration of this policy was not long delayed. The Afghan prisoners in India, including Dost Muhammad, were permitted to return to Afghanistan, and when he- occupied the throne of Kabul in 1843 after Shapur had fled to Peshawar, the British Government recognised him as the rightful king.

The curtain thus fell on an ill-fated expedition which brought the greatest calamity and disgrace to Englishmen in the whole course of their history in India. On the inexpediency of the great undertaking there is a general agreement of views. On the wisdom of the policy which originated it, opinion is sharply divided. The imperialist school viewed it as. a well-conceived plan to safeguard the vital interests of India from Russian aggression, which was regarded at the time as almost inevitable and imminent. The lapse of a century has considerably modified this view, and doubts are now genuinely felt whether the Russian fear was not considerably exaggerated. It is now maintained by many that Afghanistan, left as it was, would have proved a far more formidable barrier to foreign aggression, as it has actually proved ever since, and more so at that time, as the territories of Ranjit Singh intervened between that kingdom and the British dominion. On the moral justice of the measures pursued, something has been said above. Any impartial observer would denounce the idea of ruining a neighbour, who has done no harm, merely to safeguard one's own interests, however necessary such a step might appear in the eyes of the aggressor.

The British historians are almost unanimous in attributing the disaster to the incompetence of men entrusted with the execution of the plan, in particular the old general Elphinstone and his coadjutors. That they were primarily responsible for the tragic end, admits of no doubt. But there were other factors, too, which should not be ignored. Sufficient account has not been taken of the fighting qualities of the Afghans, and the courage and tenacity with which they fought for the defence of their motherland against foreign aggressions. The rousing of a national spirit in Afghanistan,—of which we find a tardy recognition by British rulers after the tragedy—was an important factor in the discomfiture of the British arms. To the same end worked another important factor which has been completely ignored, so far, alike by statesmen and historians. This was the repugnance of the Indian soldiers to the military campaign in

Afghanistan. This point was briefly but very lucidly brought out in a memorandum prepared by Shaikh Hidayat Ali, a native military Officer, on the causes of the Sepoy Mutiny, and submitted to the Government of India on August 7, 1858. 65

It is not difficult to imagine the consequences of a contest in which the wild, fierce and warlike, sturdy Afghans, fired by a genuine national spirit, were opposed to a body of grumbling, downhearted, and discontented sepoys suffering from rigours of climate and insufficiency of food, and fighting under conditions which they disliked on moral and religious grounds. The repeated tales of cowardice, indiscipline, and treason displayed by the sepoys on various occasions during this campaign may be explained to a large extent by the observations of the Indian military officer mentioned above. In any case this is an important factor which, as he remarked, was big with future consequences, and must be taken into serious consideration in any review of the First Afghan War.

1. Thornton, VI. 117-22.

l a . S$e above, p. 3.

2. Kaye-II, Vol. I, p. 9.

3. Thornton, VI. 103-4.

4. One clause of the agreement between Shah Shuja and the Amirs, to which great significance was attached at a later date, ran as follows: “That the Shah should give up Shikarpur to the Amirs for an annual tribute of six lakhs of rupees on the condition that if he conquered Afghanistan they would continue to pay him a tribute of seven lakhs of rupees yearly, but should he fail in doing so, the first six lakhs should be considered as a donation from them, and that they would not give him a farthing after that.” As the Shah failed to conquer Afghanistan, he had no right or pretence to demand anything more from the Amirs, and this release of the Amirs from obligation to any further payment was written on the pages of a copy of the Qur’an. For the text of die clause, see Wade to Government, 1st April, 1834, Punjab Government Records, Book 140, L. 25, quoted in Khera, 45, f.n. 16.

5. CHBFP, II. 203.

6. Kaye-II, I. 197-8; the letter is quoted in CHBFP, II. 204.

7. Kaye-I, I. 305.

8. CHI, V. 491.

9. CHI, V. 492-3.

10. Kaye-II, I. 205.

11. CHBFP, II. 205.

12. For a correct version of the negotiations between Burnes and the Amir, cf. Kaye-II, I. 198 ff. Kaye has justly expressed “abhorrence of this system of garbling the official correspondence of public men—sending the letters of a statesman or diplomatist into the world mutilated, emasculated—the

very pith and substance of them cut out by the unsparing hand of the state-anatomist” (ibid, 203).

13. CHBFP, II. 205.

14. This is clearly proved by the correspondence of Vitkevitch himself (quoted in Kaye-II, I. 204).

15. Kaye, op. cit., .204.

16. Ibid, 208.

17. Thornton (VT. 157 ff.), has given a summary. For the full text, cf. Kaye

op. cit., 369 ff. » • >

18. Kaye, op. cit., 375.

19. Ibid, 369.

20. Ibid, 382.

21. Ibid, 383.

FIRST AFGHAN WAR

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CHBFP, II. 208.

CHI V 499

The account of the campaign, unless otherwise stated, is based on Kaye-II. See Ch. VIII.

See above, f.n., 4.

Thornton, VI. 197-8.

Kaye, op. cit., 479.

Ibid, 469, footnote.

CHI, V. 502. The action has been severely condemned by Kaye (op. cit. vol.

II, 29-31).

Kaye, op. cit., 98.

Ibid, 146.

Ibid, 166-8.

R. C. Majumdar, The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857, p. 246.

Kaye, op. cit., 143-4. For details of this and other causes of insurrection m Kabul, cf. Mohan Lai's statement, P1HC, III. pp. 1395 ff.

CHI , V. 507.

CHI, V. 508.

Kaye, op. cit., 144.

Ibid, 150.

Ibid, 202-3, 218 ff. , , , , , *

Ibid, 312-3. As Kaye justly points out, Macnaghten might have broken ott the engagement with the confederate chiefs on the ground that they had failed to fulfil their part, "but until such a declaration was made, he was not at liberty to enter secretly into any new negotiations practically annulling the old" (ibid, 313).

THG, 350 (312). (The figure within bracket refers to page number of reprint

in 1958).

CHI, V. 513.

Thornton, VI. 349.

Ibid, 367.

Ibid.

Kaye-H, III. 286.

Ibid, 288.

Ibid, 337. This belief is, however, entirely erroneous.

P. E. Roberts. History of British India (Oxford, 1938), p. 324.

THG, 351 (313).

Kaye, op. cit., 369.

Ibid, 376 ff.

“One rumour, apparently emanating from Lord Auckland’s sister, was that he (Ellenborough) was mad”. (Imlah, 209).

See above, p. 187 and f.n. 34,

CHAPTER VIII

SINDH

At the end of the eighteenth century Sindh, nominally a part of the Durani kingdom in Afghanistan, was ruled by a Baluchi tribe called Talpuris who had ousted the Kaloras in 1783. There were at first four, but later three, distinct ruling families, one in Upper Sindh with Khairpur as capital, another in Lower Sindh with Hyderabad as capital, and the third with its capital at Mirpur, to the north-east of the last named city. The rulers, known as Amirs, were practically independent, though a position of supremacy was claimed by, and conceded in theory to, the Hyderabad family. Each Amir, again, was, under a long-standing convention, bound to consult the members of his family on all important matters. The succession to "the turban", i.e., headship, also generally passed to the brother rather than the son of the ruling chief. The domains of the Amirs extended up to the border of Cutch, and thus reached the frontier of British territory in India. They also included Karachi, the well-known port, Shikarpur, an important centre of trade with the West, and the fortress of Gukkur, which stands on a rock in the middle of the bed of the Sindhu and thus completely commands the navigation of that river.

The importance of the Sindhu as a channel for commerce was realised by the British East India Company from the very beginning. They obtained a firman from the Mughul Emperor in 1630 for trade in Sindh, and established factories. But the relations, commercial or otherwise, between the two did not assume any importance till the end of the eighteenth century. Then the rumours of Napoleon's invasion of India gave Sindh a political importance leading to the treaty of 1809, by which the Amirs of Sindh agreed that they would "not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sindh." The treaty was renewed in 1820 by which the Amirs engaged "not to permit any European or American to settle in their dominions."

In the meantime the rapid conquests of Ranjit Singh brought his dominions to the frontier of Sindh, and he had aggressive designs against that country. Between A.D. 1823 and 1825 he made elaborate preparations, but could not successfully carry out his design for reasons stated elsewhere. 1 At that time the British Government did not take any special interest in Sindh. But the fear of Russian cum Persian advance to the Sindhu, which ultimately led to the

Afghan War of 1839, 2 had also invested Sindh with a great political importance, as the route from Kandahar via Quetta and the Bolan Pass to India passed through the territories of the Amirs.

The first concrete measure of political intercourse was taken in 1831 when Sir Alexander Burnes was sent to explore the possibilities of the navigation of the river Sindhu. The pretence was afforded by a desire to convey by water some horses which were presented by King William IV to Ranjit Singh. The Amirs of Sindh naturally looked upon the move with suspicion and refused the passage to Burnes. But they had to give way when Ranjit Singh remonstrated with them, for they were mightily afraid of a Sikh invasion of their territory. So Burnes was allowed to proceed to Lahore. But the natural instincts of the people of Sindh told them that this was the beginning of the end. A Baluchi soldier told Burnes: ‘‘The mischief is done, you have seen our country”. One Sindhi exclaimed: “Alas! Sindh is now gone, since the English have seen the river, which is the high road to its conquest.” 3 These words proved prophetic.

The report drawn up by Burnes emphasised the great facility afforded by the Sindhu river for the transport of the commerce coming by sea, as well as by land route, via Herat, Kandahar and Quetta to Shikarpur in Sindh which was then a great emporium of trade. So Lt. Col. Pottinger, the British Resident in Cutch, was directed to open negotiations with Sindh for the conclusion of a commercial treaty.

Pottinger went to Sindh in February, but the Amirs grew suspicious as to the ulterior designs of the British, and regarded the proposed commercial treaty as merely a cloak for gaining political supremacy. That the Amirs were not very wrong in their surmise is clearly proved by the following extract from a letter written to Pottinger by the Government of India.

“The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors have expressed great anxiety to obtain the free navigation of the Indus with a view to the advantages that must result from substituting our influence for that derived by Russia through her commercial intercourse with Bokhara and the countries lying between Hindustan and the Caspian Sea, as well as because of the great facilities afforded by this river for the disposal of the produce and manufacture of the British dominions both in Europe and in India.” 4

This clearly shows that the so-called commercial treaty had an ulterior political motive, and was mainly due to Russophobia which inspired the Indian foreign policy in regard to Western and Central Asia.

The Amirs of Sindh tried their very best to avoid the treaty. They even sought the help of Shah Shuja on the one hand and the Barakzai rulers of Kabul on the other “to avert the threatened invasion of the English.” 6 But nothing availed, and the Amirs of Hyderabad and Khairpur had to conclude a new treaty in 1832 by which they allowed the British subjects to use the roads and the river Sindhu on the following conditions. 6

(1) That no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads.

(2) That no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river.

(3) That no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sindh.

Ranjit Singh naturally looked upon this treaty as the first step taken by the British to thwart his designs upon Sindh. So he decided to precipitate matters before the British influence was deeply rooted in Sindh. He found a pretext in the predatory raid of the Mazaris who lived a few miles to the south-w r est of Mithankot and were nominally subjects of Sindh. In 1836 he moved troops towards Sindh and captured Rojhan, the seat of the Mazari Chief, but at the same time he was unwilling to carry matters to the extreme without ascertaining the attitude of the English towards this aggressive step. He had not to wait long. He had asked for permission to import firearms by way of the Sindhu. The Governor-General refused it on the ground that it would be a clear infringement of the treaty of 1832. Ranjit Singh was further informed that his designs on Sindh would endanger peace which was necessary for the promotion of trade and navigation on the Sindhu river.[7]

As mentioned above, the Amirs of Sindh Had invited Shah Shuja to save them from the British. It is probable that Ranjit Singh wanted to forestall any movement on the part of Shah Shuja to establish his authority in Sindh. But the British authorities looked with equal disfavour upon the designs of both. So Shah Shuja was informed that “should he leave Ludhiana without the express sanction of the Government, he would no longer be allowed an asylum within the British territories and the maintenance allowance to him and his family would be discontinued.”[8] This threat was enough to stop any movement on his part.

Unfortunately the Amirs of Sindh could not possibly realise, and certainly did not know, that the attitude of the British had res^ trained Ranjit Singh’s aggressive attitude towards them. But the British fully exploited the situation to their advantage. The Government of India wrote to the Secret Committee on 28th November, 1836: “We considered it our duty to endeavour to induce the Maharajah to lay aside his hostile intentions. It appeared to us, also, that this opportunity ought not to be neglecte.d, of establishing the British influence on a solid basis in Sindh, a country which is of great importance to us both from its commanding the entrance to the Indus and from its position in reference to the Punjab and Afghanistan.”[9] Lord Auckland therefore instructed Pottinger, Agent for the affairs of Sindh, to intimate to the Amirs that in the very dangerous position in which they then stood they could only be saved by the mediation of the British. The Amirs were therefore promised the protection of the Anglo-Indian Government against the Sikhs, in consideration of which, it was hoped, they would receive, and themselves pay, a British force to be stationed in their capital.”[10]

But even in spite of the imminent danger which seemed to threaten them, the Amirs were unwilling to accept these terms. Protracted negotiations followed and the terms were modified by omitting the provision for stationing troops at the capital city of Sindh. But even then the Amirs did not agree until significant hints were given “that Ranjit Singh would be let loose, if not aided, to work his pleasure in Sindh.”[11] By the treaty, concluded in April! 1838, the British Government engaged to use their good offices to adjust the present differences between the Amirs of Sindh and Ranjit Singh. It was further agreed that an accredited British minister would reside at the court of Hyderabad and be empowered to move all over Sindh, attended by such an escort as may be deemed suitable by the British Government. 12

A contemporary British historian has partially justified the British policy by an observation which, however unpalatable, undoubtedly represents the truth. "Disinterested friendship between nations, says he, "is not to be expected; and when it is professed, the profession is an emanation of pure hypocrisy." On this plea he supports the British demand for the presence of a British agent in Sindh. But he has the candour to admit that "the desire to reduce Sindh to the condition of a subsidiary state ought to have found no place in British counsels." 13

But the treaty deserves severe condemnation on moral grounds. It is worthy of note that the British Government knew full well that Ranjit Singh would not invade Sindh in opposition to their wishes, and Lord Auckland declared this to be his conviction arising from long experience. 14 Yet he did not scruple to hold out this bogey to the Amirs of Sindh to wring out concessions from them which would virtually mean their political extinction. Even the modified terms

embodied in the treaty openly encroached upon the independence of the Amirs.

The free movement of a British agent all over Sindh with an army of unspecified strength "placed a loaded shell in the palace of the Amirs to explode" at the pleasure of the Governor-General. It was clearly an unjust and oppressive action against the Amirs for whom the British professed great friendship and who had not done the least harm to them. The irony of the situation is that a short while ago the British had dissuaded Ranjit Singh from aggression against Sindh by an array of facts and reasoning all of which were trampled under foot when they themselves chose to follow the same aggressive policy. The quick change in the attitude of British Government towards Sindh is also worthy of note. In 1831 the Amirs themselves had asked for British protection against Ranjit, but it was refused by Bentinck. Five years later Auckland strained his utmost to bring Sindh into the orbit of British protection.

But the worst was yet to come. This followed from the Tripartite Treaty, between Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja and the British in 1838, to which reference has been made above. 15 As noted above, it was decided between the three parties that the Amirs of Sindh would be made to pay to Shah Shuja a sum of money as may be determined under the mediation of the British Government. It was at first fixed at twenty lakhs and then raised to twenty-five lakhs of Rupees. It was also agreed that the troops of the British and Shah Shuja were to pass through their territories. All this was done without the consent or even knowledge of the Amirs, though both were in clear violation of the pledges given to them.

As regards the payment, it was a legacy of old days when Sindh was part of the Durani kingdom. But the tribute was never paid except when the ruler of Kabul was strong enough to enforce payment. At the time of which we are speaking, the Amirs were in no mood to pay anything, and Shah Shuja could not compel them to pay without the aid of his British ally. It is also doubtful if Shah Shuja, himself a fugitive from Kabul, had any legitimate claim upon what was, even by fiction, the arrears of tribute due to Kabul. Besides, the Amirs pointed out that, when in 1834 Shah Shuja attempted to capture Kabul, he entered into an agreement with the Amirs by which, among other things, they were exempted from all further payment to Shah Shuja. In support of this the Amirs produced releases from obligations to further payment which were written in the Qur'an and signed by Shah Shuja. 16

The British Resident at Sindh candidly confessed, "how this (release) is to be got over, I do not myself see." 17 But his master

was less troubled by such inconvenient moral considerations. "The Governor-General is of opinion that it is not incumbent on the British Government to enter into any formal investigation of the plea adduced by the Amirs." 18 This must be regarded as one of the most extraordinary pronouncements even in the annals of the British relation with Sindh. A contemporary British historian has very rightly observed: "The position that the British Government was not bound to investigate the subject was certainly most extraordinary. A party claims from another a large sum—a third party, without consulting the reputed debtor, undertakes to compromise the matter, and to determine how much shall be paid—the alleged debtor denies that anything is due, and produces a release from the creditor the arbitrator, thereupon, declares that it is not incumbent on nim to inquire into the plea. Would such a course be considered just in any private transaction? And if not, can it be reconciled with any honest principles of public morality? The truth is, that money was wanted; the Amirs were looked to for a supply, and it was inconvenient to enter upon any inquiry as to whether they could justly be required to furnish it or not." 19

If the forced payment by the Amirs was opposed to both legal and moral principles, the free passage of troops through Sindh was a clear violation of the treaty of 1832, which expressly forbade the transport of arms by the river or roads in Sindh. As pointed out above, the British quoted this provision of the treaty when, as recently as 1836, they prevented Ranjit Singh from importing arms through the Sindhu river.

But Lord Auckland did not scruple in the least to violate either clear legal and moral principles or express provisions of a treaty. He bluntly told the Amirs that the provisions of the old treaties should be suspended in favour of the proposed expedition through Sindh, and they must be prepared to make such other concessions as may be necessary for the successful execution of the military operation against Afghanistan—a country against whose Government they had no complaint and with which they were on friendly relations. Lord Auckland made it quite clear that the British Government lacked neither resources nor the will to use them against the Amirs if they dared oppose the measures deemed necessary by

The Amirs had, of course, to yield to the logic of the strong towards the weak. A treaty was concluded with the Khairpur State on December 24, 1838, and ratified by the Governor-General on January 10, 1839, by which it became a protected State acting in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledging its supremacy. The Amir agreed to furnish troops according to his means at the requisition of the British Government, and render it all kinds of aid during the continuance of the war. A supplementary article was added by which in return for protecting the State and not coveting any portion of its possessions, the British were authorised to occupy the fortress of Bukkur. 20 'A right to territorial gain for non-covetousness* is perhaps a new conception even in the British diplomacy in India.

The Amir offered to cede some other fortress instead of Bukkur. But Burnes "asked a plain question and wanted a plain answer. Would Rustum sign the treaty or not? Yes or No? No higgling." 21 The poor Amir had to say "yes.**

The Amirs of Hyderabad in Lower Sindh were tougher customers, and would not agree to receive a subsidiary force. The result was a foregone conclusion. It was alleged that their men had plundered the stores collected at Hyderabad for the British army, and the British agent, therefore, wanted to teach them a lesson. He proclaimed that "nothing on the record of Indian History will be more justified than our bringing these men to reason.** So, Sir John Keane, the British Commander of the expedition, led in person a military expedition against Hyderabad, and other forces, sent from Bombay to his aid, captured Karachi. 22 This brought "reason" to the recalcitrant Amirs who signed a treaty on February 3, 1839, surrendering Karachi (fort and town), and another on March 11, 1839, agreeing to receive a subsidiary force, not exceeding 5,000 men, and pay three lakhs yearly for its maintenance. 23 To this Lord Auckland added another clause, namely, that Karachi was to continue in the occupation of the British troops. 24 It was added without the knowledge or consent of the Amirs who had merely to accept it. Even the annals of the British in India contain few parallels to this highhanded act of injustice.

By this treaty Lower Sindh, like Upper Sindh, was placed under British protection. By a clever ingenuity this treaty was separately made with the four chiefs of Lower Sindh, disputes between whom were to be referred to the Resident for mediation. A similar treaty was made with the Amir of Mirpur, which was ratified in July, 1841.

As a result of these treaties the confederacy of the Amirs was virtually dissolved, the navigation of the Sindhu was rendered free of all tolls, and, to guarantee all this, a British force was to be maintained to the west of the Sindhu. But the most important consequence may be described in the words of Auckland: "Sindh is placed formally under British protection and brought within the circle of

our Indian relations." This painful episode, so discreditable to the British authority, both in India and England, 26 may be fittingly concluded with the following ejaculation of Auckland:

"These are objects of high undoubted value, and especially so when acquired without bloodshed, as the first advance towards that consolidation of our influence, and extension of the general benefits of commerce, throughout Afghanistan, which form the great end of cur designs ." This was written on March 11, 1839, and the words, italicised by us, explain the real motive behind the nefarious transactions in Sindh.

We now come to the final act in the tragic drama, for which the stage was admirably set by Auckland in 1839. Nobody, familiar with the story of the expansion of British dominion in India, could doubt for a moment that the situation created by the treaties in 1839 would inevitably lead, sooner or later, to the annexation of Sindh by the British; only the process was hastened by the memorable events that took place in Afghanistan, as described above.

It has been justly observed that "the conquest of Sindh was not merely a sequence but a consequence of the Afghan War." 26 According to Napier, "it was the tail of the Afghan storm." 27 The British reverses in Afghanistan had undoubtedly a powerful effect on the affairs in Sindh. The Amirs, who received such unjust and humiliating treatment in the hands of the British, would naturally feel elated at their disgrace and discomfiture, and some chiefs of Sindh might even look upon the recent events as opening a faint prospect of recovering their lost power and prestige. They would be more or less than human beings if such thoughts did not surge in their minds. The Britisli also, in their guilty conscience, could not but believe in the existence of such feelings, and would be naturally prone to exaggerate them and ascribe hostile motives to the Baluchis of Sindh on the most slender evidence. In any case their natural tendency would be to exaggerate, beyond all proportions, the importance or gravity of any act of hostility, real or imaginary, on the part of the Amirs of Sindh.

About this time, Nasir Khan was ruling at Hyderabad, Rustum Khan at Khairpur, and Sher Muhammad Khan at Mirpur. Lord Ellenborough started with a deep-rooted suspicion against them. One of his first acts was to write letters to the Amirs, of which the following extracts give a fair idea. “I will confide in your fidelity, and in your friendship until I have proof of your faithlessness and of your hostility in my hands; but be assured, if I should obtain such proof .sovereignty will have passed from you.” [28]

These letters were sent to Major Outram, the Political Agent of Sindh and Baluchistan, to be handed over to those Amirs whom he “may have ground for suspecting of hostile designs”. In a covering note he added “that the threat contained is no idle threat intended only to alarm, but a declaration of the Governor-General’s fixed determination to punish, cost what it may, the first chief who shall prove faithless, by the confiscation of his dominions.” In conclusion he added that action would be taken only on the “clear proof of such faithlessness.” [29]

Major Outram, however, withheld the letters as he feared that the effects produced by them on the Amirs would be just the opposite of what was intended. Further, and this is more important, no overt act of hostility was as yet attributed to any of the Amirs.

Lord Ellenborough’s attitude of announcing punishment for crimes which were yet non-existent or unknown, can be best explained by the general policy towards Sindh on which the Government of India and the Home Government were in perfect accord. In spite of their open professions that the occupation of strategic posts in Sindh was a purely defensive and temporary measure dictated by the necessities of the Afghan expedition, we find Auckland writing on January 8, 1840, that the Directors “attach with the Governor-General the utmost importance to the complete maintenance of the British superiority in Sindh and the navigation of the Indus not only during the occupation of Afghanistan but permanently.”^ The experience of the Afghan expedition undoubtedly proved the great strategic importance of Sindh and consequently the necessity of maintaining a strong position in that country. So Ellenborough’s early despatches emphasise the need of the continued occupation of Karachi in order to communicate with Bombay, and of the occupation of Bukkur and Sukkur to ensure a passage over the Sindhu. Consequently he made the concrete proposal of inducing the Amirs to cede these territories in perpetuity in consideration of the remission of all tributes or pecuniary payments, including arrears. Outram recommended the addition of Shikarpur to the list of territories to be ceded and informed the Governor-General that he would be justified in forcing a new treaty, embodying these terms, on the Amirs, on the evidence of their guilt collected by him. This evidence, diligently collected by him, was formulated in a series of ten indictments.'? 1

Although Ellenborough did not agree to the inclusion of Shikarpur, he now desired to take two other districts and restore them to the faithful Nawab of Bahawalpur from whom they were wrested by the Amirs thirty years ago. But before any decisive step could

be taken, Major Outram was replaced by Sir Charles Napier, newly arrived from England, who was also to assume the chief military command. In September 1842, Ellenborough repeated to him the same instructions which he had sent to Outram four months ago, proving thereby that in spite of Outram’s formidable array of charges against the Amirs, the Governor-General was not yet convinced of their faithlessness or hostile designs. This is further proved by the following passage in his letter to Napier.

“The Governor-General relies entirely on your sense of justice, and is convinced that whatever reports you may make upon the

subject, after full investigation, will be such as he may safely act upon.” 32

Full responsibility being thus thrown upon Sir Charles Napier, he entered upon the task of collecting evidence and formulating his views upon the action to be taken in respect to Sindh. As he was more a soldier than a diplomat, he put forth his views very candidly in the elaborate reports he drew up on the subject. These may be summed up as follows: 33

1‘ The procedure by which the English occupied Sindh might be dishonest, but that was not his concern. Nor was he prepared to condone the Amirs on the ground that the treaties, which they were guilty of violating, were unjustly forced upon them by most oppressive means. Both parties must stand by the terms of the treaty, which must be considered as “free expressions of the will of the contracting parties”, particularly as “there does not appear any public protest registered against the treaties by the Amir.”

2. The Amirs of Sindh are barbarous and debauchees, and their rule must be considered as a great curse upon the people of Sindh, who would be more happy and prosperous if their authority be replaced by that of the British.

3. The occupation of Shikarpur is absolutely necessary for the security of Sukkur and the commercial prosperity of the country. Therefore this must be added to the list of territories to be ceded by the Amirs as proposed by the Governor-General.

4. Several Amirs are guilty of violating treaties (and several concrete instances are cited in the “Return of Complaint ” drawn up by him, to be referred to later).

The offences of the Amirs, so proved, may not be very serious or commensurate with the penalty proposed. “Their measures, hasty and violent, were adopted more in defence than offence, as thinking their dominions were to be wrested from them.” “The Amirs are nervous, and these ebullitions are the result.”

5. Nevertheless “‘the Amirs have broken treaties and have given a pretext” for justifying measures which are dictated alike by considerations of humanity and advantages of the British.

The more serious charges framed by Napier and accepted by the Governor-General may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. Amir Rustum of Khairpur carried on secret intercourse with foreign States (particularly Pan jab) with designs hostile to the British, and his minister helped in the escape of Muhammad Sherif, who was seized in the act of organising a tribal rising against the British.

2. Amir Nasir of Hyderabad excited, by letter, Beebruck, the chief of the Bughtee tribe, to take up arms against the British troops when retreating

from Afghanistan.

3. Rustum and Nasir contracted a secret alliance, offensive and defensive, against the British, and issued instructions to all their feudatory chiefs to be in readiness to take the field.

4. The Amirs levied tolls, which were in violation of article XI of the treaty.

The Amirs of Sindh admitted the last charge, but denied that it was a violation of the treaty. That their explanation might not fully justify, but certainly went a long way to excuse, their action, and attenuate their offence, was admitted by Napier himself.

The other charges, the truth of which was categorically denied by the Amirs, but in respect of which the British, acting both as accuser and judge, gave a verdict without any regular trial or inquiry, did not amount to anything more than a hostile intention without leading to any overt act of hostility against the British.

One British historian refers to the charges as vague, "based on evidence now generally recognised to have been unsatisfactory". Another observes that the only serious item of the charge was a letter which, some good scholars considered, was probably a forgery, but which Napier, who had the advantage of total ignorance of any Indian language, decided was genuine. 34

On the basis of the reports of Sir Charles Napier a new treaty was drawn up on 4 November, 1842, which took away from the Amirs the right of coinage, a privilege highly valued by them as the last emblem of their ruling powers, and forced them to cede in perpetuity, with necessary arrondissements, Karachi and Tatta in Lower Sindh, with right of free passage over the territories lying between them and Sukkur and Bukkur and Rohri in Upper Sindh.

1 the territories between Bahawalpur and Rohri, possessed by

the Amirs, were transferred to the Nawab of the former place for his faithfulness to the British. In return for all these concessions the Amirs were exempted from the payment of tribute. 36

The draft of the new treaty was sent to Hyderabad on December 2, 1842, and to Khairpur two days later. But on December 1. Napier issued a proclamation that he would immediately occupy the town of Rohri and the entire left bank of the Sindhu from that town to the frontier of Bahawalpur. Having sent an army for the purpose, Napier himself marched on Khairpur and manoeuvred by threat of invasion to make Ali Murad, the brother of Rustum Khan, the chief of Khairpur, even before the death of the latter, for Ali Murad had agreed to cast in his lot with the British.

Rustum was forced to conclude an agreement, resigning the "turban" or sovereign powers to his brother, and ceding to him certain villages including Mathela. 36 ' This was a great provocation to the members of the family who had chosen Mir Muhammad Husham, the son of Rustum, as his successor. There is no doubt that Ali Murad was chosen on account of his loyalty and devotion to the British. In any case, by this master-stroke of diplomacy the whole of Upper Sindh, as Napier wrote on December 23, was perfectly settled without any fight. As Rustum's family and many followers fled to Imamgarh, a desert fortress, half way between Khairpur and Hyderabad, Napier marched against it. Although Rustum proved submissive and no resistance was offered when Napier reached Imamgarh on January 12, the fortress was blown up. It is to be noted that Napier's proclamation was issued and subsequent hostile acts were done when negotiation with the Amirs was still going on. One need therefore hardly be surprised that though the Amirs had verbally agred to accept the new treaty, and a meeting was arranged at Khairpur on January 20 for settling details, only the vakils of Hyderabad were present.

Napier was convinced from some letters intercepted by him that the Amirs, bent upon war, were assembling troops for the purpose, and made preparations accordingly. Outram, who was now Commissioner in Sindh and conducting negotiations with the Amirs, held a different view. He arrived at Hyderabad on February 8, and got all the Amirs to sign the treaty excepting Nasir Khan of Khairpur, who was absent but promised his adherence. Outram wrote to Napier not to approach with his troops towards Hyderabad which had not a single armed man, and even suggested that he would come alone to that city. Napier, however, paid no heed to this, and continued his march. So the situation changed. On February 12, 36m Outram was insulted in the street, and next day was warned by the

Amirs that a number of Baluchis had come to the city and could not be controlled by them (the Amirs). He was accordingly advised to quit Hyderabad, but he stayed on, and his residence was attacked by several thousand armed Baluchis. After a gallant resistance he escaped, embarked a steamer which lay on the river, and joined Napier who was then encamped at Hala, thirty miles north of Hyderabad.

Definite information having been obtained that the hostile troops numbering more than twenty thousand were assembled at Miani, Napier threw away all further considerations of negotiating with the Amirs. He marched with his army of 2,800 and defeated the enemy after a severely contested battle on February 17, 1843.

“The ferocity on both sides was unbounded, the carnage, terrible.” “Thick as standing corn,” the Baluchis clustered on both banks and shook their sharp swords while the “Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons, the musket”. The British guns swept the river course diagonally, tearing the dense crowd with an appalling carnage.” The casualties were 275 British and 6,000 Baluchis. 37 Six of the Amirs now surrendered as prisoners of war and Hyderabad was occupied on the 20th. But Sher Muhammad of Mirpur, who still commanded a large force, defied the British. After some rest, and receiving reinforcements, Napier marched against him and defeated him at Dabo, six miles from Hyderabad, on March 24, 1843. It was “a repetition of the previous battle, the losses of both sides almost exactly as before.” Mirpur was taken on March 27, and Amarkot fell shortly after. This ended the hostilities, at least for the time being. Already, on March 5, the annexation of Sindh had been virtually proclaimed by a notification, and it was

now carried into effect by the formal appointment of Napier as Governor.

The whole of Sindh from Sukkur to the sea now formed part of British India, but Ali Murad was allowed to rule over Khairpur as a vassal chief on account of his faithful alliance with the British.

The Amirs were deported but were later allowed to return, and granted pensions.

The troubles in Sindh were not, however, altogether over. Sher Muhammad of Mirpur, Rustum’s son Husham, some other chiefs, and isolated groups of armed Baluchis made a last desperate struggle against the usurpers of their country, but as could be easily foreseen, they were all signally defeated. By the middle of June all open hostilities were at an end, and Sir Charles Napier, who was vested with almost absolute powers, devoted his attention to the

restoration of order and improvement in the administration of the newly conquered country.

Ali Murad, as mentioned above, had obtained certain villages by an agreement with his brother, Rustum. The terms were embodied in the Treaty of Naunahar which was written, as was the usual custom on the blank pages of a manuscript of the Holy Qur’an. Murad substituted new pages which “altered the grant from the cession of a single village Mathela to that of thr6e districts, namely, Mirpur, Mathela and Meharki.” The forgery was suspected in 1848 and proved by a Commission of inquiry. The Court of Directors ordered in 1851 that “Mir Ali should not only surrender the possessions fraudulently acquired, but that he should forfeit the turban and title of Rais of Upper Sindh, and that his authority should be confined to the possessions inherited by him from his father Mir Sohrab of Khairpur”. 38

It is not necessary to dwell at length upon t^ie British policy towards Sindh. It was characterised by coercion and injustice and there is a general consensus of opinion that the transactions of Auckland, Ellenborough, and Napier have left the blackest stain on the character of the British administration during the whole course of their history in India. Indeed it would be difficult to name any other major political operation of the British in India—save the Afghan expedition of which it forms a part—on which the hostile judgment has been so definite and universal. An attempt was made at the time by interested parties to throw all the blame on Auckland and to represent Ellenborough and Napier as having merely continued a bad job to its bitter end. But at this distance of time, when it is possible to look upon the whole episode in a more detached spirit, it is impossible to subscribe to this view. That Ellenborough, in violation of justice and moral principles, followed a policy of shameful aggrandisement, to which he was by no means irrevocably committed by his predecessor, is now generally admitted. Although he managed to throw the entire responsibility for the final action on the shoulders of Napier, he must take his due share of it, because he was the head of the Government, and initiated a frankly hostile and aggressive policy before ascertaining whether it was justified by the conduct of the Amirs. 38a

Sir Charles Napier must be principally held to blame for precipitating the war. He had begun military operations even while negotiations were proceeding, and did not cease them even when the Amirs, with a single exception, had signed the treaty. His only justification lay in the belief that the Amirs were not sincere in signing the treaty and really entertained hostile designs. This belief, it is generally held, was vindicated by the subsequent conduct of the Amirs. But a little scrutiny would show that this view is not so obviously correct as it is generally supposed to be.

The two incidents which are regarded as proving the hostile designs of the Amirs were the attack on Outram's residence, and the assemblage of army at Miani by the Amirs. As regards the first, it is generally ignored that Outram's own account completely exonerates the Amirs from any responsibility in the matter. On December 12, while returning from the Durbar, where the Amirs had "signed and sealed the new treaty with all formalities," Outram was surrounded by an excited and infuriated crowd who "execrated the Amirs for their dastardly submission to what they styled robbery." The Amirs restrained the crowd at the Darbar and streets of the fort, but failed to do so in the city. But they did their utmost to check the crowd. Outram says: "Had we not been guarded by a numerous body of horse, headed by some of the most influential Belooch Chiefs, I dare say the mob would have proceeded to violence; as it was, a stone was thrown, which struck Captain Wells." Outram gives full credit to the Amirs for the utmost exertion they displayed in protecting them, and his sincere belief in their innocence is proved by the fact that after narrating the incident, with full details, of the angry crowds, he requested Napier to “come down in the steamer and stop the troops.” 39

The.above account is based on a letter written by Outram on December 13. On that very day “he wrote a second letter, saying the Amirs had just told him that the Balochis were uncontrollable; they have taken an oath to have ‘yageo’ (supposed to be vengeance) unless.Rustum was righted: they would not obey the Amirs”. “Armed men”, he said, “were flocking into the city,” at the same time “expressing his confidence that the Amirs were doing all they could to disperse the Balochis and send them out of Hyderabad.” 40

At three o clock on the 13th two deputies from the Amirs informed Outram that as he could give no pledge to restore Rustum (of Khairpur) to the turban (i.e., Chiefship), all the Balochi Sirdars swore on the Quran to fight the British army, and not to sheathe the sword until they had restored him. They would march that night and the Amirs could no longer restrain them.”

At ten o’clock at night Outram was informed that the Baluchis were to march the next morning to fall on the British army and the Residency was to be attacked in the night. Outram, however, regarded it as ‘boast and vanity’ and did not even take the precaution of placing a night sentinel on the house. 41 On the 14th the Amirs sent messengers to Major Outram, urging upon him to leave the place.

This circumstantial narrative of events from day to day makes a strong prima facie case in favour of the Amirs. They had kept Outram fully informed of the development of the situation until it culminated in an attack on the Residency and the flight of Outram, after a brave defence, as mentioned above. Whether all this was a mere duplicity on their part is a matter of opinion. But one thing is certain. At the time, Outram, who was in the best position to judge, had not only felt no distrust in the Amirs, but was convinced of their honesty. Napier, who was at a distance, and had already formed his own opinion of the hostile design of the Amirs, regarded their action as a mere camouflage to hide their evil designs.

On general grounds, therefore, there is nothing to justify the attitude which summarily dismisses the view of Outram and places implicit faith in that of Napier. That such an attitude has been almost universal is mainly due to the subsequent hostilities of the Amirs. It is a common human failing to judge the previous conduct in the light of subsequent events, and vice-versa, without carefully considering whether there was any connection or causal relation between the two. As such the open hostility of the Amirs should also be carefully examined independently.

There is no doubt that Napier was determined upon war. He had begun hostilities by marching his troops in Upper Sindh while negotiations with the Amirs were still being conducted by Outram with every hope of success, at least according to the opinion of the latter. If Napier had no confidence in the judgement of the man whom he had himself appointed to conduct the negotiations, the more straightforward course would have been to break off all negotiations and declare war. But a very strange spectacle was witnessed in Sindh; the accredited agent was carrying on negotiations with the Amirs, while the General, who deputed him to negotiate, was in full march against them with his whole army. The absurdity of the situation was quite patent to all except Napier. The Amirs pointed it out and very cogently argued that unless the General should delay his march it would be impossible to restrain the Baluchi warriors. In vain did Outram send repeated requests to the General to stop his march towards Hyderabad, a step utterly inconsistent with an earnest desire to settle the matter by amicable means which prompted the negotiations still continuing. Even when the Amirs signed the treaty on the 12th, Napier did not halt the march of his troops. As his brother and great apologist observes: “He disregarded the signing of the treaty and looked upon it as a mockery,” 42

The fatal consequence of this policy, pursued by Napier in spite of strong remonstrances by Outram, has been described by the latter in a letter to his chief, dated December 12. Referring to the Amirs, Outram observes:

“These fodls (?) are in the utmost alarm in consequence of the continued progress of your troops towards Hyderabad, notwithstanding their acceptance of the treaty, which they hoped would have caused you to stop. If you come beyond Halla, if so far, I fear they will be impelled by their fears to assemble their rabble, with a view to defend themselves and their families, in the idea that we are determined to destroy them, notwithstanding their submission. I do hope, therefore, you may not consider it necessary to bring the troops any further in this direction; for I fear it may drive the Amirs to act contrary to your orders to disperse their troops, or rather not to assemble them, for they were all dispersed yesterday; and thus compel us to quarrel with them." 43

As the apologist biographer puts it: "Sir Charles Napier's judgment was disturbed neither by the deceit of the Amirs, nor by the credulity of his Commissioner." 44 So he wrote in reply, on the 13th, that the object of the Amirs was now evident and consequently "he would march the next day." 46

When the Baluchi chiefs of Sindh found that even the abject submission of the Amirs by formally accepting the treaty could not stop the military movements of the British, they naturally concluded that the British desired nothing less than their utter destruction. Is there anything to be wondered at that such a fear would seize them arid lead to all the consequences as were predicted by Outram in the passage quoted above? According to Outram, even at this crisis, relying mainly upon his assurance, the Amirs tried their best to restrain the excited Baluchis, but failed. But even if we disbelieve this, and credit the Amirs themselves with a deliberate and determined policy to fight the English invaders, who continued to march in disregard of the provisions of the treaty they had just concluded, can we justly blame them for their action? Napier and his apologists justify his measures by the assemblage of troops at Miani, within six miles of Hyderabad. But it would surely be unreasonable to expect that while the British army was in full march to destroy the Amirs, they would not take the ordinary precaution of getting an army ready in the vicinity of their threatened capital. Did Napier really expect that the Amirs would send their army away and then stand before his soldiers with bare breasts to receive the bayonet charge of the English troops?

No unprejudiced man who carefully reads the events of those fateful days at the beginning of 1843 can possibly fail to carry away the impression that Napier was bent upon war. Even Outram condemned the British demands as tyrannical and the action of Napier as provocative. In February, 1843, he wrote to Napier that he was unable entirely to concur in his views either as respects the policy or justice of, at least so suddenly, overturning the patriarchal government to which alone Sindh had been accustomed .... "It grieves me to say that my heart, and the judgment God has given me, unite in condemning the measures we are carrying out for his Lordship as most tyrannical—positive robbery." 46 Fortunately, Napier has left us in no doubt as to the 'high principles' which dictated his policy. He was convinced that the barbarous, despotic, and tyrannical rule of the Amirs would sooner or later be replaced by the civilised administration of the British. He was therefore persuaded to believe that sooner he brings about such a consummation, to be devoutly wished for, the better for the British and the people of Sindh. A treaty would merely prolong the darkness of misery and misrule, while a war would hasten the dawn of the new era. So, humane considerations urged him on to a final decision by arms. Sir Charles Napier showed indomitable courage and great military skill in inflicting crushing defeats upon the host of Baluchis nearly ten times the number of his troops. But while he justly takes his rank as a great general, his political philosophy does him little credit. For the principles, so boldly laid down by him, would give a charter or free license to any people to bring under their domination those who are, or are believed by them to be, living under an inferior type of civilisation. Such an idea, no doubt, has always existed, but it would be a bad day for humanity to elevate it into a high moral principle.

But one virtue must not be denied to Napier. He was brutally frank. He pithily noted in his journal: "We have no right to seize Scinde; yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it would be." 47 It is impossible to improve upon this judgment of his own action by himself. It was graphically represented by the Punch when he was made to summarise his great exploit in only one word instead of three— vini, vidi , vici —used by Julius Caesar. That one word was ' peccavi 9 (I have (Sind) sinned). 48 Since the days of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, no other action of a Governor-General was so severely condemned in England as the annexation of Sindh by Ellenborough. Ashley described it as a "criminal folly". The Times denounced it as "undisguised attempt at spoliation of the most daring kind", and asked, "can we be anything but ashamed?" The

Court of Directors regarded it as “unjust and impolitic, and inconsistent with the true interests and honour of the Indian Government.” They threatened to recall the Governor-General, and but for the influence and persuasion of the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, would have carried out the threat. But though Peel prevented them from going to this extremity for the time being, even the views of the British Cabinet reflected the prevailing temper of the English people. Their first reaction was one of irritation at being presented with so unreasonable a ‘fait accompli .’ As the press fulminated against the annexation, they seriously considered the question of rescinding it. By July they reached a calmer attitude through a compromise. They informed Ellenborough of their general disapproval, leaving discretion, for the moment, in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. The decision of the Council was, of course, a foregone conclusion. But as soon as the Governor-General in Council gave a decided opinion, in favour of the annexation, the Cabinet confirmed the act. In support of the Cabinet it has been urged that they did this only because the lapse of time made the evils of revocation too serious to ignore. [49] But it is difficult to support the contention, for the serious consequences of revocation are by no means apparent, unless it be a false sense of prestige. In fairness to the Cabinet it should be mentioned that while formal resolution was passed by the House of Commons thanking Napier and his troops for their brilliant military exploits, Ellenborough’s name was significantly omitted from the resolution. As to the English public a just appreciation of the situation is given by Trotter in the following words: “If Englishmen privately regretted the wrong done to the Amirs, they were none the less willing to stand upon the seeming advantage thereby won for themselves.” [60]

The best historical comment on the whole episode is to be found in the Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy: “Then came the annexation of Sind. The story of that much discussed event might be taken for a lost chapter from the Prince of Machiavelli. No amount of sophistry can disprove the charge that Ellenborough was determined from the very beginning to carry through the project by fair means or foul, that the treaty engagements with the Talpur Amirs were cynically violated, and that the ensuing War was forced upon them. Opinion at home was prompt in denunciation. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Nestor of Anglo-Indian politics at that time, gave the best of the many verdicts passed on the subject. ‘Coming after Afghanistan, it (i.e., the annexation of Sindh) put one in mind of a bully who had been kicked in the streets and went home to beat his wife in revenge/ The act was solemnly condemned by the Court of Directors, and disapproved by the Cabinet. Nevertheless, there was no modification, much less any reversal, of the Governor-General’s action.” 61

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1. See Ch. X.

2. See Ch. VII.

3. Napier, I. 38-9.

4. Khera, 15-6.

5. Ibid, 21.

6. Ibid, 69; Aitchison, VIII, 320.

7. Khera, 29.

8. Khera, 32.

9. Thornton, VI. 400.

10. Thornton, VI. 400; Napier, I. 44.

11. Napier, I. 48.

12. Khera, 71; Aitchison, VIII. 328.

13. Thornton, 402.

14. Napier, I. 49.

15. Ch. VII

16. Khera, 45, fn. 16. For the exact terms cf. Ch. VII, fn. 4.

17. Letter to the Secretary with Governor-General, October 25, 1838. Sind Papers p. 80 (quoted in Thornton, VI. 404)'.

18. Letter from the Secretary with Governor-General to Resident in Sind November 19, 1838. Sind Papers, p. 117 (quoted in Thornton, VI. 404).

19. Thornton, VI. 404.

20. Khera, 74-5; Aitchison VIII, 328-30.

21. Khera, 48.

22. Ibid.

23. Khera, 76-8; Aitchison, VIII. 332-6.

24. Khera, 49.

25. The Home authorities fully supported Auckland. The relevant letter will be quoted later in this Chapter.

26. Cambridge Modern History, XI. 736.

27. Napier, I. 111.

28. Ibid, 98.

29. Ibid.

30. CHI, V. 528. See fn. 25.

31. Napier, I. 103 ff.

32. Ibid, 113.

33. Ibid, 122 ff.

34. THG, 356 (317).

35. Aitchison, VIII. 339.

36. For the controversy over Ibis affair, cf. Thornton, VI. 420-22. Thornton denounces the conduct of Napier.

36a. CHI, V. 536. Napier II. 279-83.

37. Napier, II. 311-2; THG, 357 (318).

38. Warner, I. 289-90.

38a. For an elaborate defence of his policy by Ellenborough and its criticism cf Thornton, VI. 446-66.

39. Napier, II. 279 ff.

40. Ibid, 283.

41. Ibid, 288.

42. Ibid, 292.

43. Ibid, 277.

44. Ibid, 282.

45. Ibid, 283.

46. James Outram, 316; quoted in THG, 355-6.

47. Napier, II. 203.

48. Imlah, A. H., Lord Ellenborough (London, 1939), 218.

49. Imlah, 216. “Mr. Gladstone afterwards revealed that Sir Robert Peel’s Cabinet, of which he and the Duke of Wellington were both members, disapproved, he believed unanimously, of the conquest. But the ministry were powerless, inasmuch as the mischief of retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning it, and it remains an accomplished fact.” Contemporary Review, -November, 1876, quoted in THG, 358-9 (319-20).

50. Trotter, History, I. 41.

51. CHBFP, II. 211.

CHAPTER IX

ELLENBOROUGH AND SINDHIA

Reference has been made above to the treaty imposed upon Daulat Rao Sindhia by the British, in 1817, at the beginning of the Third Maratha War. 1 Although his prestige was humbled and his army reduced, the suppression of the Pindar is benefit ted him by the peace, order, and tranquillity that now prevailed in his dominions. The reduction in his military expenses the rise in revenue by about 25 p.c., and a reduction of about 15 p.c. in the expenses of its collection,—all combined to increase his material prosperity. 2

Daulat Rao Sindhia died in March, 1827. His widow, Baiza Bai, was a scheming and intriguing woman, and her ambition was to rule the State for life. But she was prevailed upon by the British to adopt a son, in accordance with the wishes of her late husband. Accordingly, a boy of eleven, Jankoji Rao, was adopted by Baiza Bai, but she continued to govern the State as Regent. She seems to have been engaged in various plots in order to keep the absolute power in her own hands during her life, and was encouraged in furthering her plans as the British authorities declined to interfere in the internal affairs of the State. Jankoji was virtually kept a prisoner in his palace. He, however, managed to escape to the Resident and reported that his life was in danger. When the GovernorGeneral, Bentinck, paid a visit to Gwalior, he was approached by both parties. A definite decision on his part would have settled the dispute, but instead of that he gave Baiza Bai to understand that she might continue as Regent so long as she guaranteed the future rights of Jankoji, and told the latter that the British Government would prevent the Regent from doing anything prejudicial to his interests. This has been characterised by an eminent British historian as "an equivocal advice, which being interpreted by Baiza Bai to mean that she was, if possible, to keep her power, and by Jankoji that he was, if possible, to wrest it from her, rather hastened than protracted the crisis". 3 A section of the military now esp* used the cause of Jankoji, and on 10 July, 1833, invested the palace. Baiza Bai took to flight and ultimately agreed to retire on a pension. Jankoji concluded a new engagement with the British in 1837 by which he “engaged to defray all the charge of a force, to be commanded by British officers, and constantly stationed within His Highness’ territories, for the protection thereof and the preservation of good order therein.” 3a

The advice given by Bentinck, bearing on its face marks of deliberate duplicity, may appear to be somewhat strange, but seems to have been part of a deep-laid conspiracy, if we can trust the accounts of Mr. John Hope, who once held the post of Superintending Surgeon of Sindhia’s Contingent, and Surgeon to the Court of Gwalior. According to him, the Council in Calcutta was anxious to profit by the troubles in Sindhia’s Court. Accordingly, “a demi-official letter was written to the Resident by the Chief Secretary of the Foreign Department, desiring him to learn at a private interview, by way of a feeler, if the Maharaja, encircled as he was by serious troubles,— troubles mainly caused by our Government—would like to resign, assigning over the country to the British Government and receiving a handsome pension, which would be paid out of his own revenues.” The Resident declined to make the suggestion and thus, as the Deputy-Secretary of the Foreign Department admonished him, “allowed a favourable chance to escape of connecting the Agra to the Bombay Presidency”. The Resident, Cavendish, was, of course, removed, and when his successor, Major Sutherland, waited on the Governor-General for instructions about the policy to be pursued in Gwalior, Bentinck “opened wide his mouth and placed his thumb and finger together like a boy about to swallow a sugar-plum. Then turning to the astonished Major, he said: “If the Gwalior State will fall down your throat, you are not to shut it, as Mr. Cavendish did, but swallow it; that is my policy.” 4

The desired opportunity of swallowing Gwalior was not long in coming. On 7 February, 1843, Jankoji Rao Sindhia died, without leaving any son and without making any adoption. His widow, about 11 years old; 5 adopted, with the full concurrence of the Chiefs and influential persons, a boy of eight, who assumed the name Jayaji Rao, and was placed on the throne without any difficulty or opposition from any quarter. As the Queen-mother was too young to act effectively as Regent, it was necessary to vest some person with real authority to carry on the administration.

This matter was very much complicated by the keen personal interest which the Governor-General evinced in the affairs of Gwalior. As soon as Lord Ellenborough heard of the death of Jankoji Sindhia, he cancelled his visit to Meerut and proceeded to Agra "in order to be near Gwalior." It is very curious that although he admits in a letter, written to Queen Victoria on 19 February, that "hitherto everything has been conducted at Gwalior peaceably and properly," he assumed that "for some time there must be a difficulty in carrying on any new administration" and therefore "the necessity

might possibly arise for instant intervention." Accordingly, he "made some change in the disposition of the regiments in order to have with him old corps upon which he can entirely depend." 6

All this lends some colour to the view, openly expressed by John Hopje, mentioned above, that Ellenborough decided to take advantage of Jankoji's death and the succession of a minor, under a minor Queen-mother, to deprive the State of Gwalior of its independence, and further resolved that "the preliminary step would necessarily be to set aside the Maharani on the ground of her infancy and put up in her place as Regent a person who would cheerfully do the bidding of the British Government." 7

There is no positive evidence to prove such diabolical design on the part of the Governor-General, but his action undoubtedly followed the line of policy indicated in the above passage. There were two candidates for the office of the Regent. According to John Hope, the Gwalior Darbdr, if left to itself, would have chosen Dada Khasjiwalla, but through the intervention of the Governor-General, Mama Saheb, a maternal uncle of Jankoji Sindhia, was appointed to the office, "being the one individual in that Council who would lend himself to carry out an anti-national policy" of supporting the designs of the British. 8 Hope's estimate of the policy and character of Mama Saheb is corroborated by the Resident himself who, in recommending him for the post of Regent, remarked that "he seems to be attached to our interests." 9 In any case, there is no doubt that the Mama Saheb owed his appointment to the influence and active interference of the British. In a letter to Queen Victoria, dated 21 March, 1843, Ellenborough writes that his movement to Agra "had the desired effect of establishing without contest a strong Government at Gwalior in the person of Mama Saheb, who feels that the support which has been given to him by the British representative has practically given to him the regency.” 10 It is to be noted that such an active interference in the internal affairs of Gwalior was not sanctioned by any treaty rights nor justified by any circumstance known to us. It proceeded from .the pretensions and prerogatives of a paramount power and was dictated by the well-known British policy not to tolerate able men, but to appoint stooges at the helm of affairs in a Native State.

The newly appointed Regent, Mama Saheb, being extremely unpopular, evidently attempted to strengthen his influence by effecting a marriage between his niece (a child of six years of age) and the Maharaja (who was nine), and the Tika ceremony actually took place on 19 May, 1843. On May 21, the young Queen-mother wrote to the British Resident “complaining of the conduct of the Regent,

and expressing a desire for his removal/' There is no doubt that she was prevailed upon to take this action by the chiefs of the Gwalior Darbdr J 1 Lord Ellenborough says, in a letter to Queen Victoria, dated 8 June, 1843, that all the chiefs joined the faction hostile to the Regent. 12 In plain words it means that there were really no factions, as suggested, but all the chiefs unanimously requested the Queen-mother to take the action. It has been urged by the British authorities that the Queen-mother at first gave her consent to the marriage or seemed to have done so, and was made to realise later, by the other chiefs, the grave danger “that the Regent, having managed this marriage would, in the name of the minor Maharajah, supersede her authority in the state/’ 13 It is, however, immaterial to discuss this question, for, being only about twelve years of age, she was not in a position to formulate any decision. The fact which admits of no doubt is that she represented the unanimous opinion of the Gwalior Darbdr when she wrote to the Resident for the removal of the Regent. The Resident, of courre, remonstrated, but to no effect, and “after discussions which lasted a fortnight, the Regent was dismissed.” 14 Dada Khasjiwalla, though not formally appointed as Regent, henceforth exercised dominant influence in the Gwalior Darbdr.

The attitude of the Governor-General at this juncture is not easy to explain. Soon after the appointment of Mama Saheb as Regent, Ellenborough expressed the view, in a letter to the Resident, that the authority of the new Regent should be supported, if need be, by ‘march of troops upon Gwalior’, and he had even taken measures “for the purpose of concentrating a preponderating force.” 16 But as the Governor-General was assured by the Resident that he did not anticipate any such need, he countermanded those measures. Yet when Mama Saheb was dismissed, and the Resident applied for permission to call on the officer commanding at Agra for troops to support the Regent, it was refused. The ex-Regent was plainly told that the British Government could not give him permanent protection within the Gwalior State, and so he proceeded to Seronge within the British territory. The GovernorGeneral also declared that he did “not wish to have any concern with the Mama Saheb’s proceedings.” 16

It is significant that/this changed attitude of the GovernorGeneral coincided with his change of opinion about the ability of Mama Saheb. In a letter to the Resident, dated June 5, 1843, the Secretary to the Governor-General observed that the Mama Saheb “manifested a want of decision and energy”, “proved himself quite unfit to manage either men or women”, failed to use any of

his advantages, and “gradually allowed to grow up an opinion of his weakness.” 17 Evidently, Ellenborough had reasons to feel that Mama Saheb did not, or would not, prove as pliant an instrument in his hands, for serving the cause of British interest, as he was led to, expect.

The Governor-General seems to have been dissatisfied with the Resident, Mr. Spiers. Immediately after the dismissal of the Regent, Spiers was asked to quit Gwalior and retire to Dholpur. He was also asked to discontinue official intercourse with the Gwalior Darbdr . In his letter to the Resident, dated June 20, the GovernorGeneral claims that these two measures “had the desired effect of impressing the Maharani and the Durbar with a sense of the serious displeasure with which their recent conduct had been viewed by the British Government.” But the Resident assured the Maharani that his proceeding to Dholpur was a matter of routine and had no political significance. 18 Further, as the Maharani had not appointed any minister in place of Mama Saheb and held the daily DarbSr, the Resident was instructed by the Governor-General to carry- on direct communication with her. 19 Such inconsistencies are difficult to explain.

The fact seems to be that the Governor-General was as yet undecided as to the line of action to be adopted towards Gwalior, and therefore did not push the matter to the extremes. But we can trace the gradual stiffening of his attitude. His first reaction can be seen in his letter to the Resident, dated 3 June, 1843. His Government, he said, could not acquiesce in the removal of the Regent “without the assignment of any reason for such a measure except the wish of the Maharanee.” At the same time he observed that as there was a long line of common boundary between the dominions of Sindhia and British India, the Governor-General regarded it as of paramount importance to ensure peace and tranquillity within Gwalior and prevent “a lax system of rule generating habits of plunder along its frontier.” 20 No serious objection could be taken to this attitude, particularly when we remember that, as noted above, he did not sanction the use of force in support of the Regent and directed the Resident to communicate directly with the Maharani.

But the mind of the Governor-General was fast moving, and he gradually assumed a more and more bellicose attitude. He now decided to teach Gwalior a lesson for its contumacy. In a letter to Queen Victoria on 13 August, 1843, he writes: “The example of a successful defiance of the British Government at Gwalior has led the weak Holkar to pay less attention to our expressed wishes. Disturbances are, expected on the borders of Berar, and it is hardly

possible that the vicinity of the ungoverned districts belonging to the Gwalior State should not lead to much disposition to plunder along our frontier and that of our allies.” 21 In a minute recorded on 10 August, he elaborates the same idea and argues that when such plunder takes place, the British Government will naturally ask for reparation, which the Gwalior Darbdr will be unable to afford and must therefore be forcibly exacted. 22 We learn from both the letter and the minute that in anticipation of this danger, which did not yet exist but which he expected (or hoped for?), he had decided to assemble a considerable force, commanded by Sir Hugh Gough at Agra.

The psychological or political ground, which was evidently the real one, is also explained in his letter to Queen Victoria, dated August 13, 1843, namely, “the continued existence of a hostile Gov* eminent at Gwalior would be inconsistent with the continuance of our permanent influence in India, by which alone its peace is preserved/'

There was one additional reason which, according to Ellenborough, required “immediate adoption of measures of coercion.” This was the existence of ‘70,000 Sikh soldiers within three marches of the Sutlej’, “desirous of war and of plunder, and under no discipline or control.” Though His Lordship hoped that there would be no war with the Sikhs, still he observed: “It would be unpardonable were we not to take every possible precaution against such an event, and no precaution appears to be more necessary, than that of rendering our rear, and our communications, secure by the re-establishment of a friendly government at Gwalior.” 23

The Governor-General expressed his conviction that all the purposes would be achieved by the expulsion of Dada Khasjiwalla from the Darbdr.

When the Maharani expressed a strong desire that the Resident should return to Gwalior, he refused to do so, except “on condition of Dada Khasjeewalla being not only deprived of authority but punished by fine and banishment, or what was regarded as a preferable course, surrendered to the British Government.” 24 Such a demand was preposterous as no such power was given to the British by any existing treaty. But the British Government soon found a pretext which was not only disingenuous, but frivolous—almost ridiculous in the extreme.

It was alleged that a paper, addressed to the Maharani by the Resident, which contained the demand for the punishment or surrender of the Dada, was intercepted by him. The Governor-General expressed “great indignation” at the conduct of the Dada in withholding the communication, which was declared to be “an offence of & most criminal character against the State of Gwalior amounting to a supersession of fee Maharani's authority, and the transference of all power in an unlawful manner tp himself." "The GovernorGeneral in Council," it was added, "will not permit any subject of the State of Gwalior thus to supersede the authority of his sovereign". Tht contemporary British historian, Thornton, has strongly denounced the language of the Governor-General and exposed the hollowness of the charge and the fallacious nature of the argument by which it was sustained. As he has pointed out, "the girl-Maharanj was not the sovereign" and her position even as Regent was never admitted by the British Government. According to the declared conviction of the Government, neither (the Dada nor the Maharani) had any right to the exercise of sovereign authority (the boy Sindhia being the real sovereign). The charge of supersession of the sovereign authority by the Dada therefore certainly does not lie in the mouth of the British Government. 26

All these arguments are justly advanced on the assumption that the Dada deliberately intercepted the letter with a view to hiding its contents from the Maharani. But the real fact, and the motive for misinterpreting it deliberately, are thus set forth by John Hope. 26

"The letter was written in the Persian language, and the Maharani, a child of thirteen, could neither read nor write any language at all. There was only one man in the capital who, by virtue of his hereditary office of 'Great Chamberlain and Keeper of the crown jewels,; could enter the most sacred of the female apartments, and thai man was the Dada Khasjeewalia...... Who then, except this

man, had the privilege to open and read the Governor-General's

letter-? To suppose that this man, the favourite of the palace,

cared to keep in ignorance a child, not out of the nursery, of the contents of a letter, albeit they conveyed censures upon himself, is in the last degree Quixotic. The only thing that can be said to explain the whole affair is delenda esit Carthago; and that being

so, this charge, contemptible as we regard it, would do as well as any other".

It is unnecessary to discuss at length the tortuous politics of the British and its reaction upon the Gwalior Darbdr. The insistent demand of the British had the desired effect. Dada Khasjiwalla was confined. According to the British view this was the result of internal dissension. Even if it were so, it is impossible not to detect m it the hands of the British Resident. On the other hand, Hope says that it was done by the Gwalior Darbdr to satisfy the British demands. But the British Government refused to be satisfied. The Resident insisted that the Dada should be handed over to him, and

declared that "the delivery of the Dada was the only measure which could arrest the advance of British troops." 27

There can be no doubt that by this time the Governor-General had decided to coerce Gwalior by violence. As a preliminary step he personally proceeded to Agra and appointed as Resident, in place of Spiers, Sleeman, who was an avowed enemy of the Gwalior

State. 28

The Governor-General arrived at Agra on December 11, and next day made a formal communication to the Maharani that he had "directed the advance of the British armies." 29 Thereupon Dada Khasjiwalla was surrendered to the British and conducted to Agra.

As noted above, this was so far the only demand of the British Government, and the Governor-General was so convinced that the expulsion of Dada Khasjiwalla would "re-establish visibly our minence at Gwalior without delay", that even so late as November 1, 1843, he considered it "to be most prudent to confine to that one point any requisition addressed to the darhdr of Gwalior." 30

But, as the contemporary British historian observes, the ready submission of the Gwalior Dctrhar "under the influence of the terror imposed by the march of the British force seems to have effected a change in the policy of the Governor-General, and he determined to employ that terror as an instrument for obtaining those ulterior objects which less than two months before he had been content to leave to the effect of "influence." 31

One of these objects, as Ellenborough informed Queen Victoria on 19 December, was "the disbandment and disarming of a disaffected portion of the Gwalior army", for "the existence of an army of such strength in that position must very seriously embarrass the disposition of troops we might be desirous of making to meet a com* ing danger from the Sutlej." 32

But it was difficult to tod a cams belli after the surrender of Dada Khasjiwalla. However, on December 19, Ellenborough took his stand upon the Treaty of Burhanpur, concluded in 1804, according to which the British Government undertook to assist Sindhia with a military force at his requisition. Unfortunately, there was no such requisition; but Ellenborough was not to be deterred by such inconvenient trifles. He boldly asserted that as the Maharaja and Maharani were "children incapable of acting for themselves", and the British Government "stood almost in the place of the guardian of the infant sovereign," it was for him to decide, requisition or no requisition, whether the safety and security of Gwalior required a British army. 33 But apart from this curious interpretation

of the Treaty of Burhanpur, there was the fact, ignored by the Governor-General, that the Treaty of Burhanpur had long ago ceased to be in force, being superseded by several other treaties, none of which referred to any part of it as still being operative, as would have been certainly the case if any such intention were there.

The contemporary British historian, Thornton, has lamented that the Governor-General should have taken resort to such an indefensible plea instead of boldly claiming, as the paramount authority in India, the right and duty of interfering in the affairs of Gwalior on the ground that its disordered state threatened the peace and tranquillity of India. Later historians have sought to justify Ellenborough's action on the same ground. But even this ground can hardly be justified. For such disturbances as occurred were more or less the result of British interference or British machinations, and they were certainly not of a serious character calling for British interference. As noted above, the Governor-General's military preparations were made not to put down any disturbances that actually occurred, but merely to avert any which was expected (or hoped?). In these circumstances little importance attaches to the disturbances that might have actually occurred, and there is less necessity of finding out their nature and causes. In view of the known desire of the British Government it would have been strange indeed if there had been no disturbances, and absolute quiet prevailed in Gwalior. It has been pointed out by Hope that at the very moment when Ellenborough was contemplating and justifying military interference in Gwalior for the sake of maintaining peace and tranquillity in the border areas, which its disordered state threatened, the two rich British provinces of Sagar and Narbada, bordering on Sindhia's dominions, were in open insurrection, and two detachments of Sindhia's army were saving the British towns of Khimlassa and Balabehut from destruction by the rebels. 34

When the stronger is determined to destroy the weaker party, pretexts are never wanting, and the former is hardly under any necessity to scrutinise them from either moral or legal point of view. This alone explains Ellenborough's reference to, and interpretation of, the Treaty of Burhanpur and his subsequent conduct.

At a conference held on 20 December between the GovernorGeneral and cetrain chiefs of Gwalior, he specified the conditions on which alone he would stop the march of the British army. He had already informed the Maharani "that the movement of the British armies cannot be arrested until the Governor-General has full security for the future maintenance of tranquillity upon the common frontier; nor until there shall be established at Gwalior

a Government willing and able to coerce its own subjects and to maintain permanently the relations of amity with the British Government and its allies." In addition to these he now demanded an increase in the British force maintained at Gwalior under British officers and the assignment of districts to be administered under the British Government for its support. The advance of the British army would be stopped only if "a treaty, making provision for these and various other points, should be ratified within three days." 35 It was accordingly decided that there should be a meeting between the Maharaja and the Governor-General. The Gwalior chiefs suggested that the "place of meeting should be the ground then occupied by the British army—that being the spot where former GovernorsGeneral had been met on occasions of visiting Gwalior.” They pointed out that if the British army passed the Gwalior frontier by crossing the Chambal river before the Maharaja met him, it would eternally disgrace the Maharaja and the Government. The Governor-General, however, expressed his determination to advance. In vain did the chiefs implore him, with joined hands, to reconsider his decision, and expressed their fear that if the British army crossed the frontier before the meeting of the Sindhia and the Governor-General, the troops of Gwalior would believe that the latter was coming not as a friend, but with a hostile intention, and serious consequences might follow. The newly appointed Resident, Sleeman, after meeting the Maharaja and the Maharani, also reported similar feelings on their part, and the “impossibility of averting collision” with the Gwalior force, if British troops crossed the Chambal. 36 The Governor-General, however, was deaf to all these and crossed the Chambal on 22 December. The Gwalior chiefs, who were friendly to the British, including the one who, according to British version, took the leading part in arresting Dada Khasjiwalla, left the British camp on the 25th, and proceeded to Gwalior.

The causes or sequence of events after this are not exactly known. 37 On 26 December, 1843, the Governor-General communicated to the Maharani that the treaty to be framed, embodying his demands, mentioned above, should be ratified on the 28th, and for each day’s delay beyond that the Gwalior Darbdr would have to pay a fine of fifteen thousand Rupees. But on 29 December, the British troops, under the Commander-in-Chief, Hugh Gough, came into clash with the Gwalior troops, and the Governoi>General himself witnessed the military operations. The Gwalior troops occupied a strong position at Chonda, and while the British force was marching towards it, they unexpectedly met with the enemy troops at Maharajpur, a strong position occupied by them during the night.

Here a sanguinary fight ensued, and though the Maratha troops fought with courage, they were dislodged and the British force proceeded to attack their main position at Chonda. The British army gained a complete victory but suffered heavy losses, and the gallantry of Gwalior troops extorted the admiration even of their opponents. On the same day, another wing of the British army defeated a large body of Gwalior troops near Punniar. The causes or circumstances leading to the military clash are not exactly known.

It seems to be certain, however, that the British army took the aggressive and attacked the Maratha force without any formal declaration of war on either side.

Next day, that is on 30 December, the Governor-General held a conference with the Maharaja and the Maharani, and the Maharaja agreed to issue an order to all his officers and servants to desist from hostilities against the British armies. On January 5, 1844, the Governor-General dictated the terms of a treaty at Gwalior, of which the following are the main provisions. 38 ’

1. The British contingent force was increased and revenues of certain additional districts were assigned for the additional expenses involved, the civil administration of these being conducted by the British government, like those already so assigned.

2. The Gwalior Darbdr was to pay in cash twenty-six lakhs of Rupees.

3. The military force of all arms to be maintained by the Maharaja was not to exceed nine thousand (and the surplus troops were forthwith disbanded).

\ the Mahara J a attained majority on 19 January, 1853

the administration was to be carried on by a Council of Regency

which would act upon the British Resident’s advice “in all matters wherein such advice shall be offered.”

« January 13, the very day on which th® treaty was ratified

the Governor-General, it was publicly announced that as a re

SlbShi? tT 1 ‘T* ViCt0ri6S thC Governor-General had securely /‘A su P remac y at Gwalior. In the despatch addressed

excitem^r^f C T mmee ’ E1!enbor °ugh observed that “neither the , . , * of ^ victory nor the consciousness of Irresistible power has

Later British ® rtamment of views of ambitious aggrandizement.”^ Later British historians and statesmen have given him credit for

the r w 10 "- tHat He d ' d n0t annex the dominions of Sindhia to the British territory. Of course, if a crime, however grave is to be anPhuded „„ lhe sround , stm graver ▪££*£

sible, was not perpetrated, Ellenborough is entitled to theVaise

showered upon him. For, compared with his action in Sindh, he showed moderation in the case of Gwalior. But in both cases he was undoubtedly guilty of high-handed acts of injustice, involving employment of brute force, without any redeeming feature or extenuating factor. He was a true representative of the most aggressive form of British Imperialism which slowly made its appearance after the Third Maratha War m 1818, and led to the frank assumption by the British of a position of paramountcy in India, as an established fact, with its rights and obligations widely different in character from those that had hitherto prevailed.

It is somewhat singular that in the Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 40 Ellenborough’s action has been described as “both just and salutary”, though in the immediately preceding paragraph his annexation of Sindh has been denounced in the strongest language. The course of events in Gwalior has been described above in some detail in order to enable any unprejudiced person to draw his own conclusion.

But the grounds on which Ellenborough’s policy has been commended is worth noticing: “A disputed regency and an overgrown local army had created a situation of danger which the Paramount/ Power very properly refused to tolerate.” 41 As noted above, the dispute about regency was solely the creation of the British. So the real ground was the strength of Sindhia’s army. This is further growing disorder in the Panjab. His coup d'etat at Gwalior secured borough showed strategical insight. He had carefully watched the growing disorder in the Panjab. His coup d'etat at Gwalior secured both the rear and the communications of the British army in the event of a Sikh War.” 42 That this was the real ground of Ellenborough’s action has been indirectly admitted by himself, as noted above. There is therefore hardly any doubt that the actions of Ellenborough in Sindh and Gwalior were inspired by the same “strategical insight” of a “Paramount Power”, and it is idle to pretend any moral or legal justification in either case.

1. See above, Vol. VIII. For the terms of the Treaty (of Gwalior, dated 5th November, 1817). cf. Aitchison, Vol. V, pp. 404-8.

2. Beveridge, III. 113.

3. Ibid, 221.

?a. Aitchison, V. 117 (Article 2).

4. John Hope, The House of Scindia (London, 1863), pp. 26 ff. Hie quotations arc given in Basu-I, 782.

5. The age is given as 13 by Thornton, but Ellenborough, in his letter to the Queen, dated 19 February, 1843, refers to her age as eleven (Basu-I, 842).

6. Basu-I, 842.

7. Hone, op. cit. 42.

8. Ibid.

9. Beveridge, m. 473.

10. Basu-I, 843.

11. “On the 21st the Maharanee summoned to her presence all the chiefs in camp excepting Mama Sahib, and subsequently despatched a message to the British Resident, complaining of the conduct of the Regent, and expressing a desire for his removal” (Thornton, VL 470-1).

12. Basu-I, 843.

13. Ellenborough’s letter to the Queen, dated 8 June, 1843 (Basu-I, 843).

14. Ibid.

15. 1710111100, VI. 530.

16. Ibid, 471-5.

17. Ibid, pp. 534 ff. (footnote).

18. Ibid, 540.

19. Ibid, 537, fn. para 10.

20. Ibid, 533, fn.

21. Basu-I, 846.

22. Thornton, VI, 479-80.

23. Ibid, 489.

24. Ibid, 481.

25. Ibid. 481-2.

26. Basu-I, 847. Hope, op. cit. 58-9.

27. Thornton, VI. 491.

28. In his Rambles and Recollections, Sleeman wrote: “As a citizen of the world I could not help thinking that it would have been a great blessing upon a large portion of our species if an earthquake were to swallow up this court of Gwalior and the army that surrounds it”. (Quoted in Basu-I, 848).

29. Thornton, VI. 494.

30. Ibid, fn.

31. Ibid, 495.

32. Basu-I, 848.

33. Thornton, VI. 501. For the provisions of the Treaty of Burhanpur, dated 27 February, 1804, cf. Aitchison, V. 394-9.

34. Basu-I, 844-5.

35. Thornton, VI. 495-7.

36. Thornton, VI. 502-4; Beveridge, HI. 480.

37. The account that follows is based upon Thornton, VI. 50$ ff.

38. For full details, cf. Thornton, VI. 518. Aitchison, V. 416-20.

39. Thornton, VI. 525.

40. CHBFP t II. 211.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid, 212.

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CHAPTER X

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE SIKH KINGDOM

I. RANJIT SINGH 1 1. Conquest of the Pan jab

At the time of Ranjit Singh’s birth on 13 November, 1780, the greater part of the Panjab plains was divided among twelve Sikh misls or associations of warriors. Ranjit’s father was the leader of one of these misls; but when he died in 1790, his enterprising son. was inspired by the ambition of bringing all the Sikh principalities under his personal sway. Ranjit achieved great success in this task, but was confronted with the power of the British who had extended their power to the Yamuna (Jumna) after the second Maratha War in 1803-4.

Ranjit also cast his longing eyes towards Kohistan or the Panjab Hill regions which were parcelled out among a number of petty hill chiefs. Here Ranjit had to face the rivalry of the newly founded Gurkha kingdom of Nepal which extended from Sikkim to the borders of Kashmir, and included Garhwal, Kumaon and the Simla hill States. In the west, his neighbour was the powerful Afghan kingdom which still exercised sway over Kashmir and terriv tories on both sides of the Sindhu (Indus); including Attock, Peshawar, Bannu, and the Deras with nominal supremacy over Multan and Sindh. The Sikhs had checked the aggressive designs of Ahmad Shah Durrani upon the Panjab and stood as a bulwark against Afghan conquest of India. Ranjit Singh occupied Lahore in A.D. 1799 and proved to be a capable leader.

The fear of an Afghan invasion (by Zaman Shah) about this time and of Napoleon’s invasion a few years later prompted the British to conciliate Ranjit Singh, and they sent to him an agent, Munshi Yusuf Ali Khan, with presents valued at ten thousand Rupees. Ranjit Singh, on his part, refused the appeal of help from Holkar when the latter, pursued by Lake, had reached Amritsar in 1805 during the Second Maratha War. This paved the way for a treaty of friendship in 1806 1a between the British on the one hand, and Ranjit Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh, the Sikh chtef of Kapurthala, on the other. This treaty provided that so long as the Sikh chieftains did not form any friendly relations with the enemies of the British, nor committed an act of hostility, the British armies

should never enter the territories of the said chieftains, nor would the British Government form any plans for the seizure or sequestration of their possessions or property.

The British, however, looked upon the Sutlej as a better frontier than the Yamuna (Jumna) for purposes of defence, and were therefore opposed to the advance of the power of Ranjit Singh beyond that river, to the south. When Ranjit Singh tried to extend his power in that direction, in order to bring all the Sikh States within his sphere of influence and thus consolidate a powerful and united Sikh State, the British stood in his way. The cis-Sutlej Sikh States had come under the sphere of influence of Sindhia by the treaty of 1785, but at the end of the Second Maratha War, in 1806, that influence nominally passed over to the British. In reality neither Sindhia nor the British had any claim over them. The chronic quarrels among these States, which had enabled Sindhia to establish his influence, also helped Ranjit Singh to do the same. An appeal for help by some of the chiefs gave him the pretext for leading military expeditions in 1806 and 1807, and occupying Ludhiana. But both could play at the same game, and a rival group, comprising the Sikh chiefs of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and a few other smaller States, was encouraged by the British to ask for their protection. The British Government sent Sir Charles Metcalfe to negotiate with Ranjit Singh a treaty of both offensive and defensive alliance against the French. Ranjit regarded Britain’s necessity as his opportunity and tried to seize as much of the cis-Sutlej territory as possible. He crossed the Sutlej, seized Faridkot and Ambala, levied tributes .in Maler Kotla and Thanesar, and “entered into a symbolical brotherhood or alliance with the Raja of Patiala.” He then demand* ed from the British an acknowledgment of his right over the cisSutlej States, as the price of the proposed alliance. Unfortunately for Ranjit, owing to the outbreak of the Peninsular War about this time, Napoleon’s designs upon India ceased to be any real danger. The British, having no longer any need for defensive alliance with Ranjit Singh against the French, decided to restrain him by force from extending his dominions to the south of the Sutlej. A body of British troops crossed the Yamuna and marched towards Ludhiana in 1809; a proclamation was issued declaring that the cis-Sutlej States were under British protection, and that any aggression on these territories would be resisted with arms. Ranjit Singh, though disappointed and sorely aggrieved, was fully alive to the realities of the situation. His power was established only over a part of the Panjab, and even that was not quite secure, and it would be sheer madness on his part to declare war against the British who were now practically master of the whole of India. He therefore made the best of

a bad job, and concluded a treaty with the British at Amritsar in 1809. ^ By this treaty the absolute authority of Banjit Singh was recognized over the territories of 45 Pargands, already held by him, to the south of the Sutlej. But with this exception, the Sutlej was fixed as the southern boundary of his sphere of influence, and the "British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the River Sutlej." There was a proviso that "the Raja will never' maintain in the territory, occupied by him and his dependants on the left bank of the River Sutlej, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of this territory." This treaty put an end to Ranjit Singh's ambition of knitting together all the Sikhs between the Sindhu (Indus) and the Yamuna (Jumna) into one compact and homogeneous people. But the treaty was not without its advantage. Having secured his eastern frontier, Ranjit Singh was now free to give his ambitious aggressive designs free and full play in the other directions.

Immediately after the treaty of 1809 Ranjit turned his attention to Kangra. The Gurkhas, under the able leadership of Amar Singh Thapa, had conquered all the petty hill States to the east of the Sutlej, and in May, 1806, crossed the river and threatened Kangra. The Katoch Chief, Sansar Chand, with his capital at Nadaun, was in possession of this region, and approached Ranjit Singh for help against the Gurkhas. Ranjit asked for the famous Kangra fort as the price of his help. Sansar Chand refused, but was unable to resist the Gurkhas, and the Kangra valley was a scene of anarchy and devastation for a period of three years. Sansar Chand now parleyed with both Ranjit and Amar Singh Thapa and promised the cession of Kangra fort to both. Enraged at this duplicity, Ranjit, as soon as his hands were free after the treaty of 1809, marched in person and secured the possession of Kangra without much difficulty, in August, 1809. Ranjit next made alliance with the hill-chiefs and cut off the communications of Amar Singh Thapa. The Gurkha chief purchased his retreat by paying one lakh of Rupees to Ranjit, and crossed the Sutlej, abandoning his conquests' on the right side of the river.

Ranjit also completed and consolidated his conquests in the Panjab. Elphinstone, writing in 1809, observed that Ranjit, who was but one of many chiefs in the Pan jab in 1805, had acquired the sovereignty of all the Sikhs in the Pan jab. This was not strictly true, for some of the scattered misls were not finally subdued till 1823. By that year all the Sikh misls to the west and north of the Sutlej were finally absorbed, and the large number of rival groups of misls, forming the Sikh Khalsa or Commonwealth, were replaced by a strong centralised monarchy under Ranjit Singh. Still, it must be remembered, the dream of Ranjit Singh of forming a united ft ikh kingdom was not realised, as the Sikh States to the east and south of the Sutlej lay outside his dominions, under the protection of a foreign power, the British.

The treaty of 1809 also enabled Ranjit to turn his attention to the west, and during the fifteen years that followed the treaty, i.e. between A.D. 1810 and 1824, he carried on a series of campaigns against the Afghans. Reference has been made above, in Chapter VII, to the decline and downfall of the Durrani kingdom, and the course of events which forced its rulers, Shah Zaman (1793-1800) and Shah Shuja (1803-1809), to take refuge in India, and made the Barakzai brothers virtual masters of the country. In consequence of this, the Governors of the distant Indian possessions of the kingdom of Kabul became de facto independent rulers; Ranjit also took full advantage of the situation to conquer gradually the Muslim principalities on the left bank of the Sindhu.

The ex-king Shah Shuja had an interview with Ranjit at Sahiwal, but nothing took place beyond formal exchange of compliments. Shuja secured

Peshawar but was driven away by the Barakzais. After some time he fell into the hands of Jahandad Khan, Afghan Governor of Attock, who sent him to his brother, Ata Muhammad Khan, Governor of Kashmir. Shuja was there kept a close prisoner, but his family, with that of Shah Zaman, found shelter in Lahore. The Begum of Shuja received an allowance of 4,000 Rupees a month from Ranjit, and is said to have promised to hand bim the famous diamond, Kohinoor, on the release of her husband.

Towards the close of 1812, Fateh Khan, the eldest of the Barakzai brothers, and the all-powerful Wazir of the nominal Durrani King, Shah Mahmud, came to India to punish the Governors of Attock and Kashmir who had ceased to pay allegiance to the king of Kabul. Fateh Khan made an alliance with Ranjit, who sent 12,000 Sikh trobps to his aid. Kashmir was occupied and its Governor, Ata Muhammad, driven away, but Fateh Khan did not give his ally the stipulated share of spoils. Nevertheless the Sikhs got hold of the person of Shuja, and gained a first-hand knowledge of the difficult terrain of Kashmir Valley which stood them in good stead in future. The Kashmir expedition also helped Ranjit in another way. Jahandad Khan, Governor of Attock, alarmed at the discomfiture of his brother Ata Muhammad in Kashmir, entered into an alliance with Ranjit who, on payment of a lakh of Rupees, got possession of Attock early in March, 1813. As soon as Fateh Khan came to know of this he advanced against Attock* which was also threatened by his brother

Dost Muhammad, who advanced from Kabul with 4,000 cavalry. After a number of skirmishes in which the Sikhs were almost uniformly successful, a pitched battle took place at the Chach plain, near Hazro, on 26 June, 1813. Han jit obtained a decisive victory, and the Afghans retreated towards Peshawar. In 1814, Ranjit sent an expedition against Kashmir, but it did not achieve any success. This failure emboldened some chiefs in the hill region, like those of Hajori and Punch, to rise against Han jit, but they were all sujbdued during 1815 and 1816. About this time war broke out between Nepal and the British, and Amar Singh, the Gurkha Chief who had tested the valour and strength of Hanjit in the Kangra valley, asked for his help. But Ranjit, true to his alliance with the British, refused it.

Shortly after this Hanjit renewed his efforts to conquer Multan. His expeditions against it in 1802, 1807, and 1810 had not proved successful. He sent two more expeditions in 1816 and 1817, but though they gained military successes and heavy ransom, Multan still remained unsubdued. In 1818 Hanjit made a final effort and conquered Multan.

About this time the Afghan kingdom was passing through a period of confusion and turmoil in consequence of the murder of the Wdzir, Fateh Khan, in 1818, as mentioned above. 2 Hanjit took advantage of it to advance, for the first time, to the right bank of the Sindhu. He conquered Khairabad, and even took possession of Peshawar. Hanjit left Peshawar after appointing as its governor Jahandad Khan, who had surrendered Attock to him. But as no

Sikh garrison was left there, the Barakzais reoccupied Peshawar after two months.

Ranjit was more successful in the north. The Afghan garrison m Kashmir was much reduced, as a large number of veteran troops were recalled to Kabul during the political turmoil of 1818. Hanjit made the third attempt to conquer Kashmir, and sent three armies against it, one of which was led by him in person. After a campaign of nearly two years, the Afghans, being completely defeated, fled to

Peshawar, and the whole of Kashmir came into the possession of Ranjit in A.D. 1819.

Hanjit next directed his attention to the conquest of the midIndus region. In course of 1820 and 1821 he conquered Dera Ghazi pian, Dera Ismail Khan 'to the west of the Sindhu, and Bhakkar, Leiah, and Mankera, between that river and the Jhelum-Chenab! Thus the Sindhu became the boundary of the kingdom of Ranjit while, beyond that river, Khairabad, opposite Attock, was in his direct possession, and Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan were held by his feudatories.

The murder of Fateh Khan raised his brother Muhammad Azim Khan to the headship of the Barakzais. Azim Khan's departure from Kashmir with Afghan troops had enabled Ranjit to conquer Kashmir. Now the discord between Azim Khan and his brother Yar Muhammad? who was in possession of Peshawar, induced Ranjit to advance towards the Sindhu. Yar Muhammad offered submission to Ranjit and agreed to pay him tribute. Azim Khan was furious and advanced to Peshawar, declaring holy war against Ranjit. A pitched battle was fought at Nowshera on 14 March, 1823. "The fanaticism of the Akalis (Sikhs) was pitted against the fanaticism of the Ghazis," 3 but after a severe engagement the Sikhs obtained a complete victory. Azim Khan fled from the battlefield, leaving his tents and guns, and Ranjit entered Peshawar in triumph. But, perhaps in view of the difficulty of holding the country on account of the turbulent hill tribes of the region, he left it in charge of Yar Muhammad as a feudatory. Ranjit also collected tribute from Tank and Bannu in 1824.

2. Relation with the British.

In spite of all these brilliant successes, Ranjit Singh remained true to his alliance with the British throughout his life. He refused to take advantage of the difficulties of the British, as for example, when they sustained reverses in the early stages of their war in Nepal (1816) and Burma (1824). He refused help to Nepal against the British, as mentioned above. The Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur, driven from his kingdom during the Third Maratha War, appealed to him for help in 1820; the Nepal Government proposed a defensive alliance in 1824, and the ruler of Bharatpur asked for his help in 1825. Ranjit rejected all these in his scrupulous regard for the treaty of friendship with the British.

But the British did not show the same regard for him. When the Wahabis declared jihdd or holy war against the Sikhs in 1826, they organised their campaigns from British territories, as mentioned in Chapter XIV. This was done, not only with the full knowledge of the British, but even, with their permission. The Wahabi leader informed the Lieutenant-Governor of N.W.P. that he "was preparing for a jehad against the Sikhs and hoped that the British Government had no objection to it. The LieutenantGovernor wrote to him in reply that as long as the peace of their territories was not disturbed, they had nothing to say, nor had they any objection to such preparations". 3 * The British, no doubt, hoped that the rising of the Pathans in the north-western frontier against the Sikhs would embroil Ranjit Singh and weaken his State, and this would be to their advantage. Actually the Wahabis proved a

formidable foe. They carried on the struggle for more than four years and even captured Peshawar, but the defeat and death of the Wahabi leader, Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly, at the battle of Balakot on May 8, 1831, ended the trouble.

After making himself master of the Panjab, Ranjit Singh tried to extend his power to Sindh in the south. But here, too, he was checkmated by the British, as has been related above in Chapter VIII. Outwardly, the British showed a great deal of regard and friendship for Ranjit Singh. The King of England sent a friendly letter with a present of five horses and an English coach. Burnes, who was charged with the mission of delivering them, proceeded by way of the Sindhu river, with the deliberate, but secret, object of securing information of political and geographical nature about Sindh. The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, met Ranjit Singh at Rupar on the Sutlej in October, 1831, and renewed the treaty of alliance with him. But on that very day, instructions had been issued to Pottinger to prepare for a mission to Sindh with a view to the negotiation of a treaty with its rulers; and this was kept a secret from Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Foiled in his designs against Sindh, Ranjit turned his attention to Shikarpur, a town in Sindh to the west of the Sindhu. He had already conquered territories to the west of the Sindhu, such as Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Kh&n, and other places, and the seizure of Shikarpur was not a violation of the treaty of 1809 in any way. 3b But the British bluntly told him that he could not extend his power to Shikarpur. This arbitrary act provoked the Sikhs, and Ranjit Singh was asked by his chiefs not to yield, but to fight the English in defence of his rights. But Ranjit was a far-sighted statesman, and knew that he was no match for the British. So he sullenly gave up the idea of conquering Shikarpur. Another grave offence was given to him by the British in 1835. The sovereignty of Ranjit Singh over

Firozpur was recognized by them, but on the death of its ruler without heir, the city was occupied by the British in 1835, and converted into a military cantonment in 1838. The reason for this is not far to seek. As Murray wrote: “The capital of Lahore is distant only 40 miles with a single river to cross, ford&ble for six months in the year. The fort of Ferozepur jfrom every point of view seems to be of highest importance to the British Government.” 4

3. Relation xmth the Afghans.

The last phase of Ranjit’s diplomatic relation with the British was connected with the expedition of Shah Shuja to Kabul.

As mentioned above, Shah Shuja was kept in close confinement in Kashmir, but was released by the general who led the first abortive Sikh expedition to Kashmir in alliance with Fateh Khan. Shuja accompanied the Sikh general to Lahore and joined his family who had already found refuge there. As stated above, the Begum of Shuja received from Ran jit an allowance of four thousand Rupees a month, and this generosity was not probably altogether unconnected with an offer reported to be made by her to hand over the famousdiamond, Kohinoor, as the price of her husband’s release from captivity. No authentic and impartial account of Shah Shuja’s life in Lahore is available. The story, as recounted by himself, may be summed up as follows: 6

On the second day after Shuja’s arrival in Lahore, an agent of Ranjit came to him and demanded the Kohinoor. Shuja replied that he would give it only when real friendship was established between him and Ranjit Singh. A detailed account is given by Shah Shuja of the troubles and indignities to which he was put, as he refused the almost daily demand for the diamond on the same plea. At last, so we are told, Ranjit himself came and swore, on the holy granth, eternal friendship for Shuja, granted him some districts, and promised assistance in the shape of troops and treasure to the Shah to recover his throne. Shah Shuja then gave the Kohinoor to Ranjit, but the latter did not fulfil his part of the contract. Shuja’s men were not given possession of the districts assigned to him; he was treated with indignity; and his valuables were plundered. With great difficulty the Shah, with his family, escaped to

Ludhiana, and placed himself under British protection in September, 1816.

This version seems to be not a little overdrawn, but there is little doubt that Ranjit put severe pressure on the unfortunate exruler of Kabul in order to get possession of the Kohinoor, which was valued by a judge of diamonds “at half of the daily expenses of the whole world. 6 Indeed the lure of this rich Treasure was such that when Shah Shuja was a prisoner in Kashmir, its Governor, Ata Muhammad Khan, frequently held a lancet over his eyes with a view to extorting the Kohinoor from him. The Begum of Shah Shuja really apprehended that her husband’s eyes would be taken out, and it is not unlikely that she actually promised the diamond as a condition of his release. In any case, “Ranjit later told Wade, the British Agent at Ludhiana, that Shuja was rescued because the Kohinoor had been promised as the price.” 7 Ranjit Singh had therefore probably both moral and legal right to demand the precious jewel, and Shuja’s obstinacy in refusing to part with it justified, to

a certain extent, the harsh measures adopted towards him. This cannot, however, condone Ranjit’s duplicity, alleged by Shuja, in granting some districts on paper and then refusing actual possession of them. There are, however, good grounds to reject at least this part of Shuja s story, for there are some documentary evidences to show that the districts promised must have been assigned to Shuja and his control established there.” 8 It is also necessary to remember that even after the alleged repeated plunders of his valuables, Shah Shuja, after his flight from Lahore, “had still in his possession jewels whose sale proceeds yielded him a very considerable amount at Ludhiana and enabled him later to embark on his ambitious ventures.” 9 On the whole, one might accept, in a general way, the opinion of Osborne on the transactions in regard to the Kohinoor, that the character of Ranjit Singh, more unscrupulous than cruel, was curiously displayed in the measures he adopted. No greater severity was employed than appeared absolutely necessary to overcome the obstinacy of the Shah, and none was omitted that promised the accomplishment of the end.” 10 It goes without saying that one who had risked being blinded rather than part with the Kohinoor, needed a far greater degree of coercion and coaxing than would be normally required.

In judging the whole episode, it is also worthy of note that m spite of the alleged cruel treatment by Ranjit Singh, Shuja sent complimentary presents to him in 1830, and received from him, in 1833-4, for his Kandahar expedition, a sum variously estimated as 14,500 to 1,25,000 Rupees. 11

In order to understand this expedition in its proper perspective, it is necessary to go back a little.

’When Muhammad Azim Khan, the Barakzai chief, was hurrying back from Kashmir to Kabul after the murder of Fateh Khan in 1818, he offered Shah Shuja, then at Ludhiana, the throne of KSbul. Shah Shuja accompained him. but his haughtiness irritated Azim Khan, who deserted him on the way and chose Shah Ayub as his nominee and tool. Shuja fled to Sindh, and collected an army at Shikarpur. But this army melted away at the approach of Azim Khan and Shuja returned to Lifcfhiana in 1821.

Ten years later, in 1831, Shah Shuja sought Ranjit’s alliance to make another effort to recover his throne. But Ranjit’s demands, including prohibition of cow-slaughter throughout Afghanistan, delivery of the gates of Somnath, and the attendance of the AfghSn heir apparent with an auxiliary force at the Lahore darbdr , were unacceptable to Shah Shuja. 12 Shuja was, however, more successful two years later, and a treaty was concluded with Ranjit Singh In 1833. The three objectionable conditions, mentioned above, were waived, and in return for pecuniary help Shuja recognised Ranjit Singh’s sway on the right bank of the Sindhu over the territories he had already conquered. Regarding Shikarpur and the territory of Sindh on the right bank of the Sindhu, the matter was left to the arbitration of the British. Shuja got an advance of 4 months’ pensions from the British, and a sum of money (14,500 or 1,25,000 Rupees) from Ranjit Singh. The British also “suffered

Shah Shuja to raise an army of invasion under the shadow of British flag". 13 How Shuja advanced upon Shikarpur, defeated the Chiefs of Sindh, and was finally routed by Dost Muhammad near Kandahar, has been stated above, in Chapter VII.

Ranjit Singh, however, took full advantage of the treaty. He decided to annex Peshawar which was then held by his tributary, Sultan Muhammad. The citadel of Peshawar was stormed in 1834, and Sultan Muhammad fled to Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul and the most powerful among the Barakzai Chiefs,

Dost Muhammad made elaborate preparations for a final trial of strength with the Sikhs. He declared a jihad or holy war against the Sikhs, and made an appeal to the Muslim tribes far and near who were impelled by political interest, religious sentiment, as well as the instinct of self-preservation, to make one grand effort to remove this thorn in the flesh of the Pathans. "From Kohistan, from the hills beyond, from the regions of the Hindukush, from the remote fastnesses of Turkistan, multitudes of various tribes and denominations came flocking to the Amir's standard. Ghilzyes and Kohistanis, sleek Kuzzilbashes and rugged Oozbegs, horsemen and footmen, came pouring amain. The brave heart of Ranjit Singh quailed before this immense assembly". 13 *

The troops assembled under the standard of Dost Muhammad numbered 40,000, besides a great multitude of the Ghazi volunteers who are ever ready to kill infidels or die a martyr's death in the cause of Islam. He had also 37 guns provided with 700 rounds of ammunition for each.

Ranjit was faced with a grave crisis. But he tried diplomacy with conspicuous success. He opened negotiations with Dost Muhammad, and utilised the time gained thereby to concentrate his forces and win over some of the brothers of Dost Muhammad. He was completely successful with Sultan Muhammad, the late feudatory of Peshawar. The latter knew that Peshawar, even if recovered, would be annexed by Dost Muhammad, and agreed to join Ranjit on condition that he and his brothers would be given Kohat, Tank and Bannu as jdgirs. So he withdrew from the Afghan camp with his soldiers and joined Ranjit. This had great demoralising effect on the whole Afghan army. To make matters worse, Ranjit, taking advantage of the negotiations, massed his troops and almost surrounded Dost Muhammad. So Dost Muhammad, regarding discretion as the better part of valour, retreated from the battlefield with all his equipment and stores. Thus Ranjit won a bloodless victory; and this success raised his prestige and established his authority on the western side of the Sindhu. To secure his position still further, Ranjit annexed Dera Ismail Khan, which was hitherto ruled by a feudatory, and built a fort at Jamrud at the very mouth of the Khyber Pass. Indeed the spirit of the Sikhs rose so high that they openly talked of a march on Kabul. It was even reported that Ranjit offered to Shuja to conquer Kabul and Kandahar for him if lie formally, in writing, relinquished his claims over Shikarpur and Peshawar.

Alarmed at all these news from the frontier, Dost Muhammad sent an army of 13,000 under his sons to Jamrud. There were then only 600 Sikhs at the place, who kept the Afghans at bay for three or four days till Hari Singh, the ablest Sikh general, came to their aid with 10,000 men. In the battle that followed the Afghan army retired in confusion. The Sikhs then began plundering the enemy’s camp, and fell into disorder, when, charged by a fresh body of Afghans, they retreated to the fort. The Sikhs, however, soon rallied and threw up entrenchment at night. The Afghans, after watching for five or six days, finally retired, without achieving any conspicuous success. But the Sikhs suffered a terrible loss in the death of Hari Singh in course of the first day’s disorderly retreat. On the other hand, though the Afghans felt elated at this event, the engagement at Jamrud marked the end of Dost Muhammad’s efforts against the Sikhs. He was now convinced that it was beyond his power to challenge the Sikh Lion.

While Dost Muhammad was engaged in fruitless endeavour to chastise the Sikhs, his destiny was being shaped by a chain of circumstances which, as stated in Chapter VII, ultimately induced the British to make a plan, in concert with Rani it Singh, to drive him from Kabul and re-establish Shah Shuja on the throne.

When the British proposed the Tripartite Treaty to effect this purpose, Ranjit Singh was in a great dilemma. He knew full well that Shah Shuja would be merely a tool in the hands of the British, and the establishment of British supremacy in Afghanistan would be a grave danger to the Panjab, which would then be hemmed in by the British on the west, south and east. But when he came to know that the British were "determined to carry out the project

even without him", he became a party to the alliance, for he would not allow the British to have the sole credit for making Shah Shuja the king of Afghanistan, and use him later in their aggressive design against the Panjab. So he signed the Tripartite Treaty on June 26, 1838. He refused to permit the passage of the main British army of invasion through the Panjab on their way to Afghanistan, but faithfully carried out his obligations under the treaty.

The-Tripartite Treaty, 13 * as noted in Chapter VTI, was a great diplomatic triumph for Ranjit, but he did not live to see the end of the venture. He died on June 27, 1839, while the British army was still triumphantly marching towards Kabul. It is not difficult to imagine that he must have received the news of the continued successes of his allies with mixed feelings. He was convinced of the irresistible might of the British, and is said to have made a prophecy that some day the whole of India would be occupied by them. The prospect of the British entrenching their power in Kabul behind its nominal ruler must have made him uneasy about the future of his own kingdom.

4. The Character of Ranjit

Th&i Ranjit Singh did not entertain any sincere feelings of friendship for the British hardly admits of doubt. He was thwarted by them in cis-Sutlej States as well as in Sindh, and in the latter case he had every reason to charge the British with bad faith and selfish aggrandisement at his cost. The question has often been asked, why he yielded to the British on every point. The usual answer, which is also probably the true one, is that he was a realist; he knew the strength and resources of the British and therefore fully realized the futility of opposing them. 130 But some historians have criticised this decision and attitude as unwise. They urge that Ranjit could not be ignorant of the possibility—which amounted almost to a certainty—

that ere long the Panjab would be conquered by the British. His famous saying ‘that the map of India will be all red* proves it beyond doubt. Would it not have been wiser, therefore, to forestall the designs of the British and try conclu

Jj®? 8 tKem before they had tijne t0 entrench themselves in tadia. Ranjit, in their opinion, should have accepted the proffered

alliance of Nepal and organised a confederacy of other Indian powers, like the Maratha chiefs, against the British Whatever might ve been the result, the chances of success for such a forward policy were undoubtedly far greater than merely waiting for the

£*”*?*{* d ,TS ’”!! 1 fOTgot that “ in P° ,itics - as ^ war, time ia not on the side of the defensive .” 134

Such criticism is in reality a great tribute to the genius of Ranjit Singh. In spite of many obvious differences he offers a striking analogy to Shivaji. Both moulded groups of scattered peoples* into a compact nationality, and built up a military kingdom strong enough to hold its own against powerful neighbours. Any one who dispassionately reads the accounts of the battles fought by the Sikhs against the British, which will be described in a later section, may be pardoned for the belief that under the direction of a master-mind like Ranjit Singh, and with civil and military leaders free from the taints of bribery, corruption and selfishness, the Sikhs might have proved a formidable obstacle to the British Empire in India. What Shivaji’s Marathas did in the eighteenth century to the Mughuls. Ranjit’s Sikhs might do unto the British in the nineteenth.

That this did not happen is partly to be explained by the personal character of Ranjit and his system of administration. Unlettered like Shivaji, Ranjit lacked his moral character. “He passed from war to wine and from learning to hunting with breathless rapidity 55 . 14 What was worse, his open sensuality sapped the vitality of the Court. The licentious character of his queen, Jindan, converted the royal harem almost into a brothel—at least such was the popular belief which found expression in the public demand in the open court for the removal of her paramours. 15 That this had a deleterious effect on the fortunes of the Sikhs is amply proved by facts of history.

Another vital defect was the centralisation of all powers in the person of the ruler, and the absence of any organized system of administration which alone could ensure stability to the newly founded kingdom. There was nothing in the Lahore dcirbar corresponding to the Asht-pradhans instituted by Shivaji.

The greatest achievement of Ranjit was the creation of the army. He took the help of foreign experts like Allard, Ventura and Court, and no less than twenty European and Anglo-Indian officers served under him. 16 But they merely carried out details under the master-mind of Ranjit, who himself initiated the idea of training a regular army. It is said that he once went incognito to look at a review of Lord Lake's army.

With the help of his fine army Ranjit achieved the two outstanding successes in his life, namely, the unification of the Panjab and the hill States to the north under one banner, and the successful check to Afghan aggressions. But in respect of military organisation, Ranjit was not free from the defect which has always proved the bane of Indian army, namely, the irregularity of payment and the .appointment of unworthy favourites to its command. Even during his lifetime this irregularity of payment attracted the notice of shrewd Englishmen like Burnes. Lawrence made some very pertinent observations which have a wider application to the entire system of administration. "The building completed", said Lawrence, "the Maharaja does not think the same care necessary for its preservation as its construction, and boys, simpletons and dotards are here, as in older services, creeping into commands ... The army is seldom less than twelve months in arrears. Once, indeed, I saw the Maharajah obliged to take refuge in Govind Garh, from the violence of his Gurkha Battalion roused to desperation by being kept out of their pay." 17 The first sentence sums up the whole situation. Discontent caused by irregularity of payment and appointment of unworthy officers developed the spirit of indiscipline to which reference will be made later. Ranjit Singh built up a mighty kingdom, but did not care to take sufficient steps to maintain it. He created one of the finest armies India has ever seen, but that contained within itself the seeds of destruction which brought down the mighty fabric in a crash.

No doubt accident, or what many would choose to call ‘destiny’, had its due share in bringing about the tragedy. All the able generals of the Sikh army —Mokhan Chand, Dewan Chand, Hari Singh Nalwa, Ram Dayal—died during the lifetime of*Ranjit, and “only

crafty designing men, either weaklings or traitors, survived to command his forces”. 17 *

Things were no better on the side of civil administration. The only legitimate son of Ranjit was an imbecile. There were reputed sons of Ranjit, but it is a sad commentary on the morality of the

royal family that in every case the parentage of these was doubtful and disputed.

Cunningham remarks about Ranjit that “like all despots and so *ary authorities he laid himself open to the charge of extravagant partiality and favouritism.” 18 This applies particularly to the elevation of the three brothers, Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and buchet Singh. They were raised to the rank of Raja—the only ones to receive this distinction during the lifetime of Ranjit. Jammu was conferred m fief or jagir upon the family. The crafty Gulab Singh remained in the hills, ever busy in extending his authority over the neighbouring regions by any means, fair or foul. Dhian Singh occupied the chief place in the darbar as the Chief Minister, and the

family was sufficiently powerful to transmit the position, after his murder, to his young son Hira Singh.

These brothers, who practically dominated the entire civil administration, were not Sikhs, but Dogra Rajputs. Similarly, Lai

Singh and Tej Singh, who became the leaders of the army after Ranjit's death, were not Sikhs, but were natives of Upper and East India. Cunningham was of opinidn that Ranjit had a dislike for the Sikhs who were less likely to be subservient to one whom they looked upon as an equal member of the Khdlsa or Sikh Commonwealth. He therefore "sought for strangers whose applause would be more ready if less sincere, and in whom he could repose some confidence as the creatures of his favour". 19 The correctness of this view has been challenged, and the following plea has been put forward in defence of Ranjit: "All that was cultured and refined had disappeared from the Panjab long before Ranjit came into power; therefore in his attempt to establish order out of chaos he had to look for administrators outside the Panjab because his own land was then all but bare of talent". 20 Whatever one may think of this explanation or justification, the fact remains that after the death of Ranjit, his kingdom was dominated by the non-Sikhs who could not be expected to develop or even sympathise with sentiments of Sikh nationality, which alone could be a secure foundation for the building up of a Sikh kingdom. It is difficult to deny that this factor, to a large extent, accounts for the difference in the history of the Marathas and Sikhs after the death, respectively, of Shivaji and Ranjit Singh. The powerful Aurangzeb, with the whole resources of the Mughul empire, devastated the dominions of Shivaji, but could not destroy the Marathas who rose, sphinx-like, out of the ruins, to be a great power. The dominions of Ranjit Singh were destroyed within ten years of his death, never to rise again; only a relic of his famous Sikh soldiery remained as the faithful minions of the British who encompassed their ruin.

II. POLITICAL CHAOS AFTER THE DEATH OF RANJIT SINGH.

Ranjit Singh died on June 27, 1839, and was succeeded by Kharak Singh, his eldest son. Sher Singh, his reputed son, made a bid for the throne and even sought the intervention of the British, who were now intimately connected with the Sikh affair on account of the joint venture against Afghanistan. x But troubles were averted by the prompt action of Dhian Singh. The new King continued the policy of friendship with the English and permitted the British troops, returning from Afghanistan, to pass through the Pan jab. Later, when they again proceeded to Kabul, under General Pollock, to avenge their defeat and disaster, the Sikh army offered valuable aid in carrying the Khyber Pass. This service was gratefully recognized by Lord Ellenborough in his notification of April 19, and his letter to Queen Victoria, dated April 21, 1842 . 20b

Kharak gingh was an imbecile, and the real power was exercised by his son Nao Nihal Singh ; The great rivals of the latter were the Rajas of Jammu Who jointly held in fief Ladakh and the hill principalities between the rivers Ravi and Jhelum, besides numerous estates in various parts of the Panjab-Before the death of Ranjit Singh the Rajas of Jammu, as stated above, had usurped the whole function of Government, and one of them, Dhian Singh, had become the Chief Minister of the State. Nao Nihal Singh desired to. destroy their power or to reduce it to insignificance. He was fairly successful in this project, when Kharak Singh died on 5 November, 1840. Nao Nihal Singh duly performed the funeral rites of his father, but on his way back, while passing under a covered gateway, a portion of the structure fell down and caused his death. Although positive evidence was lacking, it was generally believed that Nao Nihal's death was due to a deliberate conspiracy on the part of the Rajas of Jammu. 21 Dhian Singh and the British Agent 22 now supported the claim of Sher Singh, the second son of Ranjit Singh. But Sher Singh was a gay voluptuary, possessing few qualities befitting a king. Besides, his paternity was more than doubtful, 23 and his supporters, the Rajas of Jammu, were odious to the majority of the Sikh chiefs. So one faction, headed by the Sandhanwalia chiefs, supported the claim of Chand Kaur, the widow of Kharak Singh ajad the mother of Nao Nihal Singh. 24

It was reported that Nao Nihal Singh's widow was with child, and Chand Kaur claimed to rule as Regent on bealf of her expected grandchild. The two claimants, supported by opposing factions, sought to secure the help of the British by alluring offers. Sher Singh promised to cede to them all the Sikh possessions on the left bank of the Sutlej. Rani Chand Kaur, not to be outdone, sent Sardar Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia to the British Agent at Ludhiana, and was prepared to go to the extent of paying the British one-fourth of the revenues of the Panjab or ceding the province of Kashmir. 25 Once more the crisis was averted by Dhian Singh, who agreed to set up an interim government with Rani Chand Kaur as the Regent, assisted by a council of four, including both Sher Singh and Dhian Singh. But these two were not reconciled to this new arrangement, and secretly won over the army by holding out hopes of moneygifts and higher pay. Sher Singh marched on Lahore with the army, and as the Rani refused to surrender, besieged the fort on 16 January, 1841. The garrison bravely resisted for two days. On the third day Dhian Singh returned from Jammu and the troops surrendered. An agreement was reached by which Sher Singh ascended the throne and Dhian Singh became Chief Minister. Chand Kaur retired with

a i*ff'r for her maintenance, and her chief supporters, the Sandhanwalia Sardars, fled to the British territory, leaving their cash and property worth several lakhs at the mercy of Sher Singh. 26

Sher Singh’s coup d’etat with the help of the army‘proved disastrous to the Sikh State in more ways than one. His government could not meet the payments promised to the army on account of the depleted state of the treasury. The army, conscious of its own strength and the weakness of the King, began to act as if it was the real master of the country. In addition to plundering on a large scale, the soldiers fed fat their private grudge and took vengeance upon various officers wno had offended them. 27 “For six to eight weeks”, writes the Court historian, “the city of Lahore was turned into a veritable hell.” 28 Many houses were plundered and several individuals were seized and slain. The disorders soon spread from the capital to the other parts of the kingdom. General Court had to fly for his life and General Avitabile was so hard pressed that he was ready to abandon his post at Peshawar and seek safety in Jalalabad. “The Kashmir troops literally hacked to pieces Col. Mian Singh, the Governor of the Valley. From Mandi and Kulu came in the reports of the murder of Col. Foulkes, from Hazara of the murder of Major Ford, and from Amritsar of the assassination of the garrison commander Sobha Singh.” 29

This was not, however, the only evil. The state of affairs in the Panjab raised hopes in the minds of Englishmen that the province would soon be added to the growing British dominion. This hope was encouraged by the conduct of the King himself who was ready “to cross the Sutlej and to throw himself on the protection of the Governor-General of India.” In 1841

Sher Singh made “overtures to the British Government and was offered an armed interference in his favour. A British force of ten thousand men was ready to move into the Panjab under Major General Sir James Lumley. But Sher Singh’s vacillation and the lateness of the season led to the abandonment of the plan.” 294 It is, therefore, hardly any wonder that the English journals and newspapers in India “were freely discussing the question of launching an attack.” 29 * Although it was not known to the Sikhs at the time, concrete proposals to the same effect were made by responsible British officials, to which reference will be made in the next section.

These two evils led to the third and the greatest; the Lahore durbar, unable to restore order in the kingdom and apprehensive of danger from the British, took the fatal step of inviting two representatives from each army unit, and held parleys with them. This, leading to an increase in the pay of the soldiers, eased the

situation and, by the middle of 1841, the violence of the Sikh soldiery subsided to a large extent. But the representative bodies of the army, which came to be known as military panchayats, developed into a permanent institution and introduced a new element in the body politic which changed the entire outlook of the 0 Sikh army, and brought about a new conception of the Khalsa or Sikh

Commonwealth in their mind. The change, which was big with future consequences, is thus described by Cunningham:

“The relation of the army to the state had become wholly altered: it was no longer the willing instrument of an arbitrary and genial government, but it looked upon itself, and was regarded by others, as the representative body of the Sikh people, as tlie “Khalsa” itself assembled by tribes or centuries to take its part in public affairs. The efficiency of the army as a disciplined force was not much impaired, for a higher feeling possessed the men, and increased alacrity and resolution supplied the place of exact training. They were sensible of the advantage of systematic union, and they were proud of their armed array as the visible body of Govind’s commonwealth. As a general rule, the troops were obedient to their appointed officers, so far as concerned their ordinary military duties, but the position of a regiment, of a brigade, of a division, or of the whole army, relatively to the executive government of the country, was determined by a committee or assemblage of committees termed a “Punch” or “Punchayet” i.e. a jury or committee of five, composed of men selected from each battalion, or each company, in consideration of their general character as faithful Sikh soldiers, or from their particular influence in their native villages.” 30

It may appear somewhat strange that although the Sikh army took the very unusual step of setting up a democratic control within the rank, it never degenerated into a mere rabble without any discipline. It has been pointed out by some writers that this was due to the fact that the decision of the Sikh army was based on some fundamental and basic concepts of the Sikhs. “The Khalsa, as established by Guru Govind Singh, was a community of equals and the highest authority was vested in the Sarbat Khalsa or the assembly of the whole Sikh people.” The last Sarbat Khalsa met in 1805. and since then Ranjit Singh established his supremacy over the whole Sikh community and usurped its functions. His unworthy successors not only lacked his personality but brought about chaos and confusion, leading almost to a collapse of the government. Hence the Sikh soldiery arrogated to themselves the name and function of the Surbat-i-Khdlsa Ji. When the leading chiefs were merely looking after their own petty interests, or were engaged in endless intrigues. not only among themselves, but even with the national enemy, the British, “the Army, as the most organised and united body in the community, took upon itself the role of leaders and assumed the functions of the Sarbat Khaim.” 3 '

This no doubt explains, to a certain extent, the new role played by the army, and we cannot altogether withhold our sympathy from the motive underlying it. Nevertheless it is idle to deny the fact that the change that came over the army contained the seeds of its own destruction and that of the K ha Isa.

History has demonstrated again and again, that the “soldiers are very unfit guardians of a legal or even civil constitution,” and the deplorable consequences of the panchayat system on the Lahore darbdr were soon apparent. The army became dictatorial in tone, forced the Government to accept their demands, and thus rendered impossible any organized civil administration. As an inevitable consequence of this, dissensions between political factions became the order of the day and, as the army was the final arbiter in all disputes, to obtain its support at any price was the guiding principle of the leading chiefs. Disgusted by the imperious tone of the army and the haughty and insolent conduct of the soldiers, many leading men of the court were more eager to save their honour and property than safeguard the interests of the commonwealth. Some of them chose the more ignominious course of acting as British agents, and did not scruple even to barter away the independence of their country in order to save it from the rapacity of the army. The Sikh army took the law into their own hands to chastise traitors, and this alienated the other leaders all the more. There was a vicious circle. The Sikh army distrusted the leaders and suspected them as traitors; the leaders dreaded their vengeance, and not unoften, for that very reason, remained indifferent spectators or even tried to save themselves by treachery. It will be hardly an exaggeration to say that the Lahore darbdr was composed of individuals, few of whom could ever rise above their narrow selfish interests. Many of them were distinguished by ability of a very high order, but, with a few exceptions, they lacked any sense of nationality or patriotism.

The evil was, no doubt, considerably aggravated by the personal character of the King. Sher Singh was not an imbecile like Kharak Singh, and gave evidence of his ability as a prince during the lifetime of Ran jit. But as a king he proved an utter failure. He did not look to the business of the State, and “for weeks together would be indulging in drinks and dances”. 32 In June, 1842, the ex-queen Chand Kaur was beaten to death by her female attendants and

public opinion laid the blame at the door of the Maharaja. 33 The party opposed to Dhian Singh, the Prime Minister, created a serious rift between him and the King, and they got full support from the British who were the avowed enemy of the able Prime Minister. The British Agent, Mr. Clarke, had come to Lahore to supervise the arrangements in connection with the despatch of relief army to Jalalabad, via Panjab, after the great disaster of January, 1842. He took advantage of the pro-British attitude of Sher Singh, mentioned above, to ingratiate himself into his favour, and persuaded him to restore to favour the fugitive Sandhanwalia Sardars, Attar Singh and Ajit Singh, who, as stated above, were the sworn enemies of Dhian Singh. At the same time he encouraged the Sandhanwalia Sardars to overcome their fear and return to Lahore, which they did in November, 1842. On September 15, 1843. Maharaja Sher Singh, his son Pratap Singh, and his Prime Minister Dhian Singh were all shot dead in cold blood by the two Sandhanwalia Sardars, Lahna Singh and Ajit Singh. Mr. Clarke, in inviting the Sandhanwalias, was certainly urged by the motive of removing Dhian Singh from his office, as that minister was hostile to the designs of the British. This he sought to do by creating a serious rift in the Lahore darbdr by setting up the two rivsl groups, almost equally matched, against one another. 34 Whether he was responsible for what followed, it is difficult to say. As will be shown in the next section, the conspiracy against the life of the Maharaja, and even the approximate time when the tragedy would happen, were known to the British Governor-General of India.

The triumph of the conspirators lasted but a day. As could be expected, the issue was decided by the army. Hira Singh, son of Dhian Singh, gained its adherence by promising higher pay, 35 and stormed the fort of Lahore on 17 September. The defenders, numbering about one thousand, and including the two Sandhanwalia Sardars, were all liquidated. But Attar Singh Sandhanwalia fled with his^son to the British territory. The events of the three days, September 15 to 17 Q843), may be taken as an ominous forecast of the future of Lahore dcirbdT. It had lost all physical power and moral prestige, and its existence as an empty show could not continue for long. Another side of the picture was rib less ominous. The following lines have pithily drawn the lurid picture without any exaggeration: “Human life seems to have lost its sanctity and value, and a sword, dagger or bullet came to be used freely and without remorse to get rid of ones opponents. In less than seventy hours, as many as one thousand men were made to lose their lives—among them being the ruling sovereign, his son, the chief minister of the State, besides numbers of other top-ranking dignitaries.” 36

Dalip Singh, the son of Maharani Jind Kaur, better known as Rani Jindan, whom Maharaja Ranjit Singh married in 1833, was declared as Maharaja by Hira Singh. The Rani was notorious for her licentious character, 3 ' and hence there was suspicion even about the paternity of Dalip, who was probably born in September, 1838.^ 8 Nevertheless, the people accepted him as the Maharaja and Rani Jindan as the Regent. Hira Singh, of course, became the Prime Minister. Rani Jindan was a capable and courageous woman, but her amours and intrigues with unworthy persons stood in the way of her playing an effective part in the administration of the country by checking the selfish ancj ambitious designs of Hira Singh. The rivalry and conflict between the two led to a virtual collapse of the Government. Not long after his accession to power Hira Singh was faced with the opposition of his uncle, Raja Suchet. Singh, who grew jealous of his nephew. He lent support to Kashmira Singh and Peshawara Singh, two reputed sons of Ranjit Singh, who revolted against the darbdr. When their rebellion was crushed, Suchet Singh advanced towards Lahore. But he was surrounded and killed with his whole party on 27th March, 1844. 39

But Hira Singh’s troubles were not over. Kashmira Singh and Peshawara Singh, after their unsuccessful rebellion, joined Bhai Bir Singh, a Sikh saint who openly excited the people against Hira Singh. Uttar Singh Sandhanwalia also crossed the Sutlej about the end of April, 1844, and joined this group. A pitched battle was fought, in course of which Bir Singh, Kashmira Singh, and Uttar Singh Sandhanwalia lost their lives. 40

Gulab Singh also felt jealousy towards his nephew and encouraged Peshawara Singh in his claims to the office of the Prime Minister .or even to the throne. But the quarrel between Gulab Singh and Hira Singh was soon patched up. 41 Revolts also broke out in many places, but Hira Singh put them down. 41a Thus Hira Singn and his confidential counsellor, Jalla Pandit, the family priest of the Dogra Rajas, seemed to be all-powerful. Hira Singh removed or undermined the influences of ail his rivals, actual or prospective. “Secretly and unsparingly he uprooted the old families; lopped off the Sirdars of note, and office-bearers of long services; and then grafted in their places cieatures of his own”. Though Jalla Pandit kept the Sikh soldiery in good humour by increasing the pay and allowances of the Sikh soldiers, he secretly diminished their number and recruited an army from the hill provinces 42 Gulab Singh, though staying in Jammu, helped his nephew Hira Singh, and with his connivance carried away large treasures from Lahore. 43 But Hira Singh soon came into conflict with Rani Jindan. Pandit

Jalla, "in his arrogance, had ventured to use some expressions of impatience and disrespect towards the mother of the Maharaja, and he had habitually treated Jawahir Singh, her brother, with neglect and contempt". The Rani influenced the soldiery to such an extent that by the end of 1844 Hira Singh found his position unbearable. At last, afraid of the Sikh soldiery, he and Jalla fled from Lahore, carrying with them whatever they could lay hands on in the royal treasury. But they were intercepted within a few miles of Lahore and killed (December 21, 1844). 44

The Rani celebrated this triumph by a round of festivities, but little did she or her advisers perceive how completely the actual power was passing into the hands of the army. Hira Singh's murder was followed by a period of confusion, but the Rani succeeded in securing the office of Prime Minister for her brother Jawahir Singh, "a weak, vain, besotted debauchee". He was formally invested as Wazir on 14 May, 1845, and Lai Singh, the paramour of the Rani, became the most influential man in the administration. 45

The new Prime Minister, however, soon made himself odious to the army, and its panchayats now thought of setting up Peshawara Singh as king and Gulab Singh as Wazir. Jawahir Singh, being alarmed, got Peshawara Singh murdered by Chatar Singh Atariwala, whose daughter was betrothed to Dalip Singh and of whom more will be heard hereafter. The army was furious at the assassination of Peshawara Singh, their nominee to the throne. "The Panchayats of regiments met in Council, and they resolved that Jawahir Singh should die as a traitor to the Commonwealth". On 21 September, 1845, Jawahir Singh was publicly shot in the presence of his sister, the Rani, and Maharaja Dalip Singh. 46 Lai Singh and Tej Singh became, respectively, the Prime Minister and Coramander-in-Chief.

It was now obvious to everybody that the army was the real ruler, and it has been suggested by many that the Rani, in order to wreak vengeance on the all-powerful army, which she dared not oppose, goaded it to a war with the British in the hope that it will be defeated and destroyed, or at least considerably weakened. Whatever we might think of this, there is no doubt that many chiefs in the Panjab, including Lai Singh, Tej Singh and Gulab Singh, who occupied the highest positions in the State, were of the same view, and preferred a British Protectorate to independence. Many of them were, no doubt, impelled by the motive of protecting their personal interests, but some might have been influenced by the honest conviction that there was no other way of saving the country from Utter nun. The Lahore durbar, since the accession of Dalip Singh, presented a spectacle even more ignoble than that of the preceding

period of four years after the death of Ranjit Singh. A gruesome picture of its transactions from day to day has been revealed by the recent publication of the Panjab News-letters, covering the period from 30 December, 1843, to 31 October, 1844. These letters were written by the agencies set up by the British Government in the Panjab for the purpose of collecting news and intelligence of the Lahore darbar.

Among the more important features of the political condition in the Panjab during this brief but eventful period of its history, on which the News-letters throw abundant light, only a few may be noted here. The first is the growing ambition of the Dogra Rajas, Gulab Singh in Jammu and his nephew Hira Singh in Lahore, to usurp the entire power and authority of the State. Gulab Singh had extended his authority over a vast stretch of territory, including Kashmir, Chach, Rawalpindi and other estates, and kept himself in close touch with the military officers and leading Sikh chiefs of Lahore. He increased his own military strength to 50,000 infantry and cavalry, 200 guns and 6Q0 swivels. In addition, he tried to win over the Sikh army of Lahore and create disturbances throughout the Sikh Empire. At the same time he was secretly intriguing with the British against the Sikh Government at Lahore. It was generally believed that he was in league with his nephew, the Prime Minister Hira Singh, and the common object of both was to establish the independent Dogra rule in the Panjab or at least over a considerable part of it. 47

Far more important is the light that these News-letters throw on the degenerate condition of the Sikh army, particularly the extreme arrogance, utter lack of discipline, appalling insubordination and constant interference in the affairs of the State, both civil and military. The soldiers' committees frequently formulated their demands and presented them to the Prime Minister in the open darbdr in the form of ultimatums which he had to accept, though often without any intention to fulfil his promise. Hira Singh openly admitted that “the soldiers are the masters", and the officers meekly confessed that “their men were not under their control" and “whatever the Khalsa wishes it can and will do." 48 The state of things revealed by the News-letters has been thus summed up:

“The most striking though very unfortunate fact which the perusal of these letters brings to view is the loosening of the State’s hold upon its fighting forces. Day in and day out wrangling parleys were held between the yielding minister and arrogant Panchas of the army. The language employed by the latter on these occasions is not only devoid of all decorum, but it* is positively rude, dicta

torial and insolent. On more than one occasion, the minister Hira Singh, for fear of the troops, had had to shut himself up in his fortified residence for two days in succession, when the uncontrolled soldiery freely laid their hands upon the person and property of the rich and the poor citizens of Lahore. The civil government was, indeed, reduced to a state of utter helplessness.” 49

The News-letters refer to a number of concrete instances of the overbearing conduct and defiant attitude of the soldiers. They turned out Generals from the cantonment and looted their property, left station at their own sweet will, disobeyed the orders of the highest civil and military authorities, and often indulged in lawless activities, such as plundering shops and burning them, robbing passers-by as well as Government treasury, etc. In order to appease the unruly soldiery the Prime Minister gave them presents and donations in the shape of cash, golden bracelets, and golden medals. Special rewards were given to troops and officers who had defeated, and sometimes murdered, leading chiefs hostile to the Prime Minister, such as Jawahir Singh, brother of Rani Jindan, and Suchet Singh, one of the Dogra Rajas. 60

Thus towards the end of 1845, the Panjab showed the spectacle of a boy king under a licentious queen-regent and an equally licentious and treacherous Prime Minister; an unruly, arrogant and unscrupulous army posing as the all-powerful dictator in both civil and military affairs of the State; and a group of selfish chiefs who looked only after their own interest and cared little for the true welfare of the State. The mighty fabric, which Maharaja Ranjit Singh had reared up with so much toil, showed visible signs of crumbling within six years of his death. Left to themselves, the Sikhs, under an able leader, might have survived this crisis and rehabilitated the kingdom. But that was not to be. Just when they were passing through the worst phases of their history, the British seized the opportunity to round up their empire by adding to it the last remaining independent State of India.

m. THE BRITISH INTRIGUE

The British were not uninterested spectators of the chaos and confusion in the Pan jab following upon the death of Ranjit Singh. The disorganized state of the government and the army led them to entertain high hopes of the destruction of the Sikhs even at the moment when the latter were acting as faithful allies in the Afghan expedition. Macnaghten, the British Political Agent at Kabul *pronounced the treaties with Lahore to be at an end, and he wanted to annex Peshawar to the Afghan sway” 6 ^ which at that time meant

practically British sway. “The British Government in Calcutta r©» buked this hasty conclusion, but cheered itself with the prospect of eventually adding the Deraj at of the Indus, as well as Peshiw&r, to the unproductive Dooranee kingdom, without any breach of faith towards the Sikhs; for it was considered that their dominions might soon be rent in two by the Sindhanwala Sirdars and the Jummoo Rajas. The British Agent on the Sutlej did not think the Lahore empire so near its dissolution in that mode, and confident in his own dexterity, in the superiority of his troops, and in the greatness of the English name, he proposed to march to Sikh capital with 12,000 men, to beat and disperse a rebel army four times more numerous, to restore order, to strengthen the sovereignty of Sher Singh, and take the cis-Sutlej districts and forty lakhs of rupees in coin as the price of his aid. This promptitude made the Maharaja think himself in danger of his life at the hands of his subjects, and of his kingdom at the hands of his allies; nor was the GovernorGeneral prepared for a virtual invasion, although he was ready to use force if a large majority of the Sikhs as well as the Maharaja himself desired such intervention. After this, the disorders in the army near Lahore gradually subsided; but the opinion got abroad that overtures had been made to the eager English; and so far were the Sikh soldiery from desiring foreign assistance, that Lehna Singh Sindhanwala was imprisoned by his own men in the Mundee hills, on a charge of conspiracy with his refugee brother to introduce the supremacy of strangers." 62

The suspicions and hatred of the Sikhs were further roused by the strange conduct of Major Broadfoot, a British officer, of whom more will be heard hereafter. He was charged to convey the families of Shah Shuja and Shah Zaman to Kabul. He entered the Pan jab in April, 1841, when the mutinous spirit of the Sikh army was spreading from the capital to the provinces, and he marched through the Panjab with demonstrations of force, as if he was passing through a hostile territory, though his apprehensions had not even a plausible foundation. 63

There can be no question that the British had been seriously thinking of the conquest of the Panjab and making plans for the same, as soon as death had removed the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This is also quite clear from the letters written by Mrs. Henry Lawrence dated May 26, 1841: "There seems no doubt", wrote she, "that next cold weather will decide the long suspended question of occupying the Punjaub; Henry, both in his civil and military capacity, will probably be called to take part in whatever goes on." In another letter, dated June 5, she even discusses "the disposition of

the troops invading the Panjab, and the probable commanders of the three invading columns." 64 When, in October 1841, as mentioned above, the British Agent on the Sutlej had proposed "to march on Lahore with 12,000 men to restore order, the Calcutta papers teemed with plans for conquering the Panjab." 55

Thus while the British authorities were under the impression that they were secure in their virtual mastery over Afghanistan, they were deliberately hatching plans for the conquest of the Panjab. The plans were temporarily upset by the revolution in Afghanistan and the disastrous retreat of the British army from Kabul, but the idea was never given up.

Even while a Sikh army of 15,000 was fighting in the Khyber Pass to enable their allies, the British, to recover their prestige after the great disaster, and detachments of Sikh troops “were cheerfully covering the rearguard of the Second British Army in Afghanistan, occupying the difficult hill heights of their passage and dragging the guns for them”, the British Government was busy making preparations for the conquest of the Panjab, and plans were being made to stab the Maharaja in the back by corrupting his officers. It was deliberately urged by Sir Henry Lawrence, in January 1842, that “a consideration should be offered to the Rajahs Dhian Singh and Gulab Singh for their assistance, they alone in the Panjab being now able to give aid.” “We need such men as the Rajah and General Avitabile, and should bind them to us”, said Lawrence, “by the only tie they recognise—self-interest”. He explained more specifically the bribes to be offered to them—“the Rajahs (to be) secured in their territory, even with additions”, and General Avitabile, “guaranteed our aid in retiring with his property”. “Other Sirdars aiding us cordially”, added Lawrence, were to “be specially and separately treated for”.5e Thus was begun the active British intrigue with the important chiefs and leading persons in the Panjab. The British began with the non-Sikh personalities,—Rajas Gulab Singh and Dhian Singh, two Dogra (Rajput) Chiefs, and Lai Singh and Tej Singh, two chiefs of British India belonging to Rohtas and Meerut. There is clear evidence that Gulab Singh was offered the kingdoms of Jammu and Kashmir,—the nature of the bribes to others is not certain.

While attempt was being made to corrupt and win over leading personalities in the Lahore court, brisk preparations were going on to equip the army of invasion. It is significant to note that immediately after his nomination as the Governor-General of India, Lord Eilenborough was busy making plans for the invasion of the Panjab. On October 15 and 26, 1841, he wrote to the Duke of

Wellington asking for his “opinion as to the general principles upon which a campaign against that country should be conducted” and the “best mode of attacking the Panjab”. In reply the Duke desired Ellenborough, in his letter of April 2, 1842, to collect boats for the formation of a bridge on the Sutlej for transporting British troops across that river. 67

Lord Ellenborough lost no time in commencing active preparations. He informed the Duke on June 7, 1842, that he had, after consultation with the Commander-in-Chief, issued an order for the assembling of an army of reserve, totalling 15,000 men, at Karnal or Firozpur in November. Three other measures of Ellenborough, namely, the conquest of Sindh, the new treaty with Sindhia, and the annexation, in 1843, of the Sikh State of Kaithal (38 miles west of Karnal) on the death of the ruler without leaving a male heir, were all motivated by the impending contest with the Sikhs. The State of Kaithal was not granted to the chief by the British, but still it was treated as a laj;se. 57a

In the meanwhile the Lahore court was full of intrigues which culminated in the death of Maharaja Sher Singh, his son, and his Prime Minister on September 15, 1843. Sher Singh, as stated above, was between two fires. The fear of his own chiefs and subjects inclined him to turn for aid to the British, but he was fully aw r are of their designs upon his kingdom. It is difficult to deny that the British agents had a large share in fomenting the troubles and intrigues in the Lahore darbdr. While Lawrence was egging on Dhian Singh, the Prime Minister, and his brother Gulab Singh, the governor of Kashmir and Jammu, against their master on the promise of ceding these territories, Mr. Clarke, the Political Agent on the Panjab frontier,’ “repaired to Lahore to support Maharaja Sher Singh against his own Prime Minister”. 58 Ventura, an Italian, who was in the service of Bonaparte and then became a General under Ranjit Singh, had been recently to France and met King Louis Philippe before his return to Lahore. The Duke of Wellington warned Ellenborough, in a letter dated February 4, 1843, of a possible alliance between the French and the Sikhs. Ellenborough thereupon established a friendly contact with General Ventura who kept him regularly informed of the news of the Lahore court. 69

Ellenborough had thus an intimate knowledge of‘the intrigues at the Lahore darhdr. In a letter dated May 11, 1843, he wrote:

“General Ventura is with the Maharaja Sher Singh and it is clear to me that, relying on his support, the Maharajah will take the first occasion of cutting off his Minister Dhian Singh. This Dhian

Singh knows and is prepared for. The break up of the Punjab will probably begin with murder”. 60

In course of three months he changed his view and thought that the victim would be Sher Singh himself, rather than his Prime Minister. He wrote to the Duke on August 12, 1843, that “the affairs of the Punjab will probably receive their denouement from the death of Sher Singh”. 61 His prophecies all proved to be true, for, as stated above, on September 15, 1843, Sher Singh, his son Pratap Singh, as well as the Prime Minister Dhian Singh were all murdered by the Sandhanwalia Sardars, Attar Singh and his nephew Ajit Singh. These Sardars, partisans of Chand Kaur, had both fled to the British territory immediately after the accession of Sher Singh. But Mr. Clarke, the British Political Agent at Ludhiana, persuaded the Maharaja not only to permit them to return, but also to restore their confiscated ja&rs and property (May, 1843). Two other imprisoned members of the family were also set at liberty. They were all involved in the plot, and strong suspicion, therefore, rests upon the British, as being indirect accessories to the foul murders. Lord Eilenborough’s letters show that he had fairly definite knowledge of the conspiracy. On September 20, 1843, he wrote: “The Maharajah of Lahore is pulling his house down upon his head; the catastrophe was nearly taking place three weeks ago, but it is deferred.” 62 Such intimate knowledge of details can hardly be regarded as a guess work. That the British hffd full knowledge of the plot can hardly be doubted. But it is more difficult to say definitely if they had any direct share in it. The following comment on these murders in a London Paper, the British Friend of India , in December, 1843, sums up the utmost that can be said: “We have no proof that Company instigated all the king-killing which has been perpetrated

in the Punjab since Runjeet died. We must say we smell a rat \ 63 It should be pointed out that this was written by one who had no knowledge of the letters of Ellenborough and Lawrence which testify to the former's knowledge of the conspiracy and the latter's intrigues with the officers of the Lahore court.

Lord Ellenborough now anticipated a plain sailing, and was elated at the idea of establishing British authority in the Panjab without any fight. To the Duke of Wellington he wrote on October 20, 1843: "Heera Singh (the son and successor of Dhian Singh as

Prime Minister)^ has no real authority.Gulab Singh remains

in the Hills (Kashmir and Jammu), either in sickness, in grief or in policy. He is securing himself there. Heera Singh will probably soon fly to Jammu. Then a pure Sikh Government will be formed in the plains and a Rajput Government in the Hills, and Multan

may perhaps break loose all connection with the Sikhs. Ventura anticipates a long anarchy, from which the only ultimate refuge

will be in our protection. I agree with him.The time cannot

be very distant when the Panjab will fall into our management." To the Queen also Ellenborough conveyed, on the same date, the happy news ‘‘that the ultimate tendency of the late events at Lahore is, without any effort on our part, to bring the plains first, and at somewhat later period the hills, under our protection or control". The hills would come a little later because, for the time being at least, Kashmir and Jammu must be handed over to Gulab Singh as the promised 'consideration' for his assistance, as Henry Lawrence put it. Gulab Singh had already begun the work. Ellenborough wrote to the Queen on February 16, 1844: "In the Hills, Raja Gulab Singh is extending his power with usual unscrupulous disregard of the rights of others and of the supremacy of the State he pretends to serve. This conduct, however, makes him very odious to the Sikhs at Lahore". 64

Lord Ellenborough-s anticipations, however, did not prove true. There was no civil war in the Panjab and, as he himself wrote to the Duke on September 20, 1843, and to the Queen two months later, there was no anti-

British feeling in the Panjab. “There is no movement against us, nor is there any prospect of any, unless a complete break-up should send plunderers against us”. Even as late as July 14, 1844, he wrote that there was no chance of disturbance of peace in the Panjab. 66

Nevertheless, Ellenborough was busy equipping his army for the eventual fight, and even in February, 1844, he actually fixed the date, 15th November, 1845, on which he hoped the army would be ready for any operation in the Panjab. 66 It must be regarded as a very wonderful coincidence that the war actually broke out in December, 1845. But Ellenborough had left India in the meantime, being recalled by the Court of Directors. His successor, Hardinge, who joined his post in July, 1844, continued his policy and considerably added to the strength of the army on the Panjab frontier.

The total strength of the British army on the frontier stations was about eighteen thousand men and 66 guns when Ellenborough left. During the sixteen months that followed, Hardinge increased it by nearly twenty-three thousand men and 28 guns, bringing up the total, available at the outbreak of the war, to more than forty thousand men and 84 guns. 67

Ellenborough had infonned the Duke in a letter dated May 9, 1844, that by the end of December there would be on the Sutlej “seventy boats of about thirty-five tons each; all exactly similar and

each containing everything necessary for its equipment as a pontoon ... Besides these, fifty-six pontoons will be ready for use in Sindh. All these are in hand at Bombay”. These fifty-six pontoons were brought up to Firozpur by Hardinge’s order, and special instructions were issued that their real object was to be kept secret even at the risk of prevarication. 68

Shortly after Lord Hardinge assumed the office of GovernorGeneral (July, 1844), events moved fast in Lahore. Reference has been made above to the internal disorder which set in after Maharaja Dalip Singh, a boy of five, was proclaimed king, and the chain of tragic events by which Missar Lai Singh, a Poorbea Brahmin of Rohtas, widely believed to be a paramour of Rani Jindan, 69 became Prime Minister, and Sardar Tej Singh, another Poorbea Brahmin of Meerut, became Commander-in-Chief (September, 1845). Both of these had been carrying on intrigues with the British and assured them of their help, their desire being to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors. Lai Singh corresponded regularly with Major Broadfoot, the newly appointed Political Agent, and Peter Nicholson, his agent at Firozpur. Gulab Singh also wrote to Broadfoot, placing his own services and those of the other hill Chiefs at the disposal of the British. 70 The appointment of Major Broadfoot as the Political Agent by Hardinge, on the recommendation of ELlenborough, was a significant move. He was a sworn enemy of the Sikhs and, only thirty months before, had made a stormy passage through their country. He now actively engaged himself in intrigues of which he was a past master. In addition to Gulab Singh, Tej Singh and Lai Singh, he conspired also with the Governor of Multan. Broadfoot won him over and assured Sir Charles Napier that the Governor of Multan would defend Sindh with his provincials against the Sikhs. 71 He took steps to create dissensions in the Lahore darbdr. This is clearly proved by an entry in his confidential Persian Office Diary, on 26th March, 1845, to the following effect.

Genda Singh, the Mu’tamad of the Raja of Nabha, was sent for and Broadfoot told him: “You go to Lahore as the Mu’tamad of the i^ja, stay there and inform us in detail about the state of affairs there, spread hatred and discord in that State in whatever way it can be done and suggest the entry of the British Government (in the country). ... The Sarkar (The British Government) shall bestow favours upon you and consider it as an act of great loyalty of the Raja of Nabha”. The man, however, refused to do the ignoble task and so Broadfoot complained to the Raja of Nabha and desired that

Genda Singh should be punished and his son employed for the purpose. 72

Broadfoot also gave great provocations to the Sikhs by his manifold acts of arrogance. One of his first acts was to declare the cisSutlej territories, belonging to the King of Lahore, to be under British protection. 73 Acting on this principle he interfered authoritatively, and by a display of force, in the affairs of the Sikh territory to the east of the Sutlej. One incident may be quoted to show the nature of his overbearing and imperious attitude. Lai Singh, a Judge in Lahore Service, crossed the Sutlej and came to Talwandi, in the Lahore territory, on official duty. Broadfoot “roughly and very peremptorily ordered the Sikh party back over the river. Lai Singh, not willing to risk a collision, obeyed, returned to the river and embarked his men. But Broadfoot, not satisfied with this, followed them in person.. .insisted on capturing them. At least one shot was fired. The Sikh leaders were captured and detained”. Campbell, who narrates this incident, adds: “The shot then fired has been described as the first in the Sikh War”. 74 As a matter of fact, many British officials believed that but for Broadfoot there would have been no war with the Sikhs. This feeling was so deep-rooted that, looking at the dead body cf Broadfoot, his own subordinate, Robert N. Cust, remarked: “There lay he, the prime mover, by many considered the cause, of this war now commencing”. 76

The Sikh Government had all along been maintaining friendly relations with the British. Acute differences arose occasionally; for instance, over the grant of a village by the Chief of Kulu hills to the British Government; the connivance at the escape of the Sandhanwalia Chief Attar Singh, a known enemy of Lahore darbdr, from his asylum at Thanesar in British territory to join the rebel Bhai Singh, mentioned above; and also the refusal of the British Government to hand over the treasure left by the deceased Dogra Chief Suchet Singh at his house at Firozpur. But these led to no untoward consequences. Far more serious causes of estrangement between the Sikh and the British were the new military arrangements and movements of British troops towards the close of 1843, when extra British troops were stationed at Ambala, Ludhiana and Firozpur. As a counter-measure, Hira Singh sent troops to Kasur. The British Government strongly objected to the advance of Sikh troops towards the Sutlej. But the Sikh troops were not withdrawn until the British troops moved to Sindh. 76 But the British fortifications at Firozpur caused widespread panic and resentment which are revealed in the News-letters of the time.

“Another cause of annoyance to the Lahore Darbar was given by the news as early as 1 January 1844 that the British Government was erecting a fort at Ferozepur. Later reports stated that it was a magazine, and that military stores were continuously arriving there. On 31 January news was received to the effect that 19 heavy guns had been mounted in the new fort. A week later it was reported that more than 20 guns and immense quantities of ammunition were collected there. About the middle of May when the harvesting of the winter crop was not yet over, the English commenced buying grain in large quantities, and stored it mostly at Ferozepur. Towards the end of May they began collecting big supplies of fodder also. Hira Singh issued orders that nobody to the north of the Sutlej should sell anything to the English. A report received on 1 June stated that "the English commandant at Ferozepur had directed the z&mindars not to sow any land for an autumn crop as a very large army was to be assembled after the rains". Further, the Sikh news writer at Ferozepur wrote that "the English proposed to build a fort between the town and the cantonment of Ferozepore, and also another cantonment in the neighbourhood." 77 The Sikhs were fully aware of the fact that the British troops were kept in readiness at a large number of Cantonments near the frontier of the Panjab. The British, of course, gave out that their preparations were merely defensive in character, but as the Sikhs did not entertain any aggressive design against the British they did not put much faith or value on such declarations. They had witnessed the gradual extension of the British empire in India, culminating in the recent conquest of Sindh, and they could not be blamed if they regarded the British preparations as offensive rather than defensive in character. In particular, the bridge of boats across the Sutlej and establishment of supply depots at or near Firozpur could only be looked upon as preparations for the invasion of the Pan jab. ^

The Sikh alarm at the military preparations of the British was further increased by the utterances of some British leaders. The Sikhs had read translation of a speech by Sir Charles Napier, published in the Delhi Gazette, stating that the British were going to war with the Sikhs. 78 Napier's actions pointed to the same direction. On a nominal pretext, he sent the wing of a regiment to Kushtnor on the border between Sindh and the Panjab in the summer of 1845. It was known that he was anxious to station a considerable body of troops there. The Sikhs looked upon the prompt measures of the conqueror of Sindh as one more proof of the desire to bring about a war with the Panjab. 79 Broadfoot's activities justified their fears, for he behaved as if hostilities had already begun with the

Sikhs. 80 It is also likely that the Sikhs got an inkling of the secret plans of the British to invade their territory at a suitable opportunity. Cunningham thus sums up the whole position: “But it would be idle to suppose the Lahore government ignorant.of a scheme which was discussed in official correspondence, and doubtless in private society, or of the previous desire of Sir Alexander Bumes to bestow the same tract on Dost Mahommed Khan; and the Sikh autho* rities must at least have had a lively remembrance of the English offer of 1843 to march upon their capital, and to disperse their army. Again, in 1844 and 1845, the facts were whispered abroad and treasured up, that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej, that troops in Sindh were being equipped for a march on Mooltan, and that the various garrisons of the north-west provinces were being gradually reinforced, while some of them were being abundantly supplied with the munitions of war as well as with troops. None of these things were communicated to the Sikh government, but they were nevertheless believed by all parties, and they weie held to denote a campaign, not of defence, but of aggression”. 81

The observations of Cunningham are fully corroborated and supplemented by News-letters of the period. In spite of all these ominous signs of the aggressive designs of the British and the provocations given by Broadfoot and other British agents, the Sikhs—the army, the Government and the people—gave no provocation to the British. Indeed, their conduct was so unexpected that the British were at a loss to find out a casus belli. In his letter to Ellenborough. dated January 23, 1845, Hardinge wrote: “But on what plea could we attack the Punjab? ... Self-preservation may require the dispersion of this Sikh army ... but ... how are we to justify the seizure of our friend’s territory who in our adversity assisted us to retrieve our affairs”. 82

The long anticipated date of the completion of the British preparations for the invasion of the Panjab (September, 1845) was drawing near, and yet the Sikhs gave no excuse for hostile actions. Hardinge wrote to Ellenborough on October 23,* 1845 ? “The Punjab must however be Sikh or British ... The delay is merely a postponement of the settlement of the question; at the same time we must bear in mind that as yet no cause of war has been given.” 83

From this great dilemma Hardinge was saved by Broadfoot. He set in motion his secret machinery so that the Sikh army might begin the hostile movement.

The Sikh army was in a state of great suspension and uncertainty. The brisk military preparations of the British made one

section eager to take the offensive, as a superior military strategy, but the rest desired peace. Besides, the Queen-mother and the Sardars were against the policy of aggression. It was at this crisis that Broadfoot's hand was clearly seen. Hardinge wrote on 30 September, 1845, that the Sikh army desired peace, but the Chiefs, Lai Singh and Tej Singh, urged them on to war. 84 This, in a way, proved to be the deciding factor. Cunningham observes that "had the shrewd committees of the (Sikh) armies observed no military preparation on the part of the English, they would not have heeded the insidious exhortations of such mercenary men as Lai Singh and Tej Singh." 86 These goaded the army 86 to move to the Sutlej, evidently with the knowledge, if not under the instructions, of Major Broadfoot". 87

Not only Cunningham but even Captain Peter Nicholson, the British Political Assistant at Firozpur, held the same opinion. Writing to his chief, Major Broadfoot, on November 23, 1845, he says that when he learnt that the Sikh Prime Minister, Lai Singh, consented to a hostile march of the Sikh army against his allies, and Tej Singh and Gulab Singh, "supposed to be friendly to us, the most active in bringing that march about", the doubt did occur to him "whether the Durbar might not be consenting to the march of the army against us with your knowledge" The subsequent conduct of Tej Singh, who commanded the Sikh army, leaves no doubt that he was acting throughout in the interest of the British.

The Sikh army finally declared that they desired peace, but if the British troops marched from their stations to Ludhiana and Firozpur, they would march too; if not, that each power should keep its own territory in peace. This was communicated by Broadfoot himself to the Government of India on September 26. 89 It is a fact admitted by the Governor-General Hardinge in his letter dated 31 December, 1845, that he issued orders on December 7 and 8, "to move up on 11 December the British force from Ambala, Meerut and other stations in the rear, and that up to this time no infantry and artillery had been reported to have left Lahore, nor had a single §ikh soldier crossed the Sutlej.” 90 According to Cust, who had accompanied the British force at Ambala, it had left that station on December fc 91 *

It would hot perhaps be wrong to imagine, in the context of the letter of Broadfoot, just mentioned, that the movement of the British trobps was deliberately designed to incite the Sikh army to cross the Sutlej, and thus give the long looked for casus belli.

On 13th December the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and were encamped in the territory which belonged to the Sikh Government. Technically, therefore, they had not yet invaded British territory. But as soon as this news was received, the GovernorGeneral, Harding^, issued his historic proclamation declaring war on the Sikhs. It is unnecessary to discuss at length the statements and assertions made in this proclamation which, like most declarations of war issued by belligerents, are belied by actual facts. 92 But it is interesting to note that even Hardinge, at heart, was not convinced of the justice of his cause. Robert N. Cust writes in his Journal:

December 18th ... I rode behind the Governor-General and we sat under a tree to await the infantry. The Governor-General remarked: “Will the people of England consider this an actual invasion of our frontier and a justification of war?” Cust himself regarded it as “the first British invasion of the independent kingdom of the Panjab,” 93 and several other English writers have held that the British were the aggressors. Campbell writes in his Memoirs: 9 *

“It is recorded in the annals of history, or what is called history, which will go down to posterity, that the Sikh army invaded British territory in pursuance of a determination to attack us. And most people will be very much surprised to hear that they did nothing of the kind. They made no attack on our outlying cantonments, nor set foot in our territory. What they did was to cross the river and to entrench themselves in their own territory”.

No unprejudiced critic, conversant with all the relevant facts, can deny the truth of this statement. It is therefore difficult to accept the view, categorically expressed by a very high authority, that the “Government of India on this occasion was guiltless of provocation”. 944 It is high time that the false propaganda about Sikh aggression which has run on for a century should be exposed and finally put to an end.

IV. THE FIRST SIKH WAR

It appears from Hardinge’s despatch to the Secret Committee, dated 31 December, 1845, that the actual decision to cross the Sutlej was taken by the Sikh army all on a sudden. Up to December 12, no infantry and artillery had left Lahore, but on the very next day they crossed the Sutlej. Evidently, they wanted to take the British at disadvantage by a sudden attack on Firozpur. This was a sound military strategy, but was foiled by the treachery of Lai Singh. He wrote to Captain Peter Nicholson, the Assistant Agent at Firozpur: “I have crossed with the Sikh army, you know my friendship for the British. Tell me what to do”. Nicholson answered: “Do not attack Firozpur. Halt as many days as you can, and then march towards the Governor-General”. Lai Singh did so, and Firozpur was saved. “Had he attacked”, says Ludlow, “our garrison of 8000 men would have been destroyed and the victorious 60,000 would have fallen on Sir Henry Hardinge, who had then but 8,000”.° 6 More light is thrown on this episode by Col. Mouton, a French officer in the Sikh army.

“Raja Lai Singh rushed up and robbed the-ardour of Sickes a great deal by assuring them of the defection of 4 Indian battalions in the English army which would surely join them. Meanwhile he hastened to send an urgent message to Captain Nicholson, "Charge d’ affairs’ at Ferozepour, telling him that it was without the order of his government that the army had crossed the river, and that the generals had been dragged against their wishes, that sixty thousand men were going to march on Ferozepour ; which had not even six thousand to defend itself and ended by requesting the captain to advise him in the matter. Nicholson replied suggesting to Raja Lai Singh to detach from the army a corps of twenty-five thousand men which he should bring to meet the Commander-in-Chief, who was arriving by the route of Ambala, a* d that probably these twentyfive thousand men would be defeated—the rest of the army crossing the river in disorder. This treason saved the English from a sure defeat”. 96

This fits in with the actual course of events. 97 Lai Singh made an excuse that "he wanted to fight the Commander-in-Chief and considered anyone else below his notice’. So Lai Singh waited and then advanced to attack the main British army under the Commander-inChief, Sir Hugh Gough, at Mudki. After the battle had begun,. Lai Singh, according to plan, deserted the army, leaving his soldiers to fight as best they could. Thus, deserted by their Commander in the thick of the fight, the Sikh force was repulsed.

At the next battle at Firoz Shah (Firuzshuhr), the Commanderin-Chief of the British forces, evidently relying on the treachery of their friends Lai Singh and Tej Singh, who led the Sikh army, took things easily, and attacked it on December 21, 1845, about an hour before sunset. The Sikhe had evidently profited by experience, and gave a good account of themselves. The British advance was checked and the Sikhs maintained such a steady fire that the British ranks fell back with heavy loss. As darknes descended on the battlefield, there were chaos and confusion in the British army, and so great was the panic and despair, that suggestions were made for retreat and even unconditional surrender. .Even the Governor-General, Hardinge, who was present in the battlefield, took the worst view and "thought

it was all up’. He sent instructions to Mudki for destruction of all State Papers and ordered his son, who was his Private Secretary, to proceed to Firozpurv To him he gave his sword, which was a present from the Duke of Wellington and once belonged to Napoleon, remarking that “if the day were lost, he must fall”.

The British were nervous because they could not fully rely upon their friends Lai Singh and Tej Singh. But these traitors were true to their plighted words with the British. If they had advanced during the night, they could have easily routed the British army, heavily reduced in number and short of ammunitions. Instead of doing that, Lai Singh quietly left the battlefield with most of his guns and men during the night. The rest of the Sikh army was easily put to flight on the morning of the 22nd. There was a fresh reserve force under Tej Singh, and the Sikh soldiers urged him to fall upon the English at daybreak. But being fully apprised of the hopeless condition of his “friends”, he fled away with his troops to save the British army which was absolutely at the mercy of the Sikhs. Thus was the battle lost to the Sikhs at Firoz Shah, and the British were saved from sure destruction by the treachery of Lai Singh and Tej Singh.

Even then the British were in a perilous condition. The troops were exhausted, and the ammunitions nearly spent. Sir Hugh Gough had to wait for reinforcements of fresh troops, guns, and ammunitions. Tej Singh and Lai Singh, true to their friendship, did not take advantage of the situation to attack the British army, and quietly waited for a month. But at this time a loyal Sikh Sardar, Hanjodh Singh Majithia, crossed the Sutlej and burnt a portion of the cantonment at Ludhiana. Sir Harry Smith, while proceeding to relieve Ludhiana, was surprised at Baddowal (January 21, 1846). His losses in men were very heavy, and even his baggage and hospital stores were captured by the Sikhs. He was saved by the timely arrival of a British detachment. About a week later, he gained some success in a battle at Aliwal on January 28. Contradictory views have been held of this battle. Contemporary ’ official despatches describe it as a well-contested engagement with the Sikhs numbering about 20,000, in which Sir H. Smith gained a “decisive” or complete victory.[98] Others, also contemporaries, however, refer to it as a mere skirmish with some retreating Sikhs at Aliwal. This was magnified into a great victory in order to retrieve the position and reputation of Sir Harry Smith, a veteran of the Peninsular War who had fought at Waterloo and was an old companion of the Governor-General. As some eye-witnesses said: “Aliwal was the battle of the despatch, for none of us knew we had fought a battle until the particulars appeared in a document ... a few shots, and the charge of a squadron or two in pursuit of a host of retreating Sikhs were magnified into a great combat”.[99]

With the exception of the minor incidents at Baddowal and Aliwal (January 28, 1846), the British enjoyed a much needed respite, thanks to the treachery of Lai Singh and Tej Singh. During the interval the third arch-conspirator, Gulab Singh, appeared on the scene, ostensibly as an agent of the Lahore darbdr, but really to make plans, in concert with the other two, for handing over the Panjab to the British. The plot was laid with the

GovernorGeneral, then encamped at Firozpur, in the first week of February, 1846, that the Sikh army should be defeated in the battlefield and when beaten, it should be openly abandoned by its own government. The British would then cross the Sutlej unopposed, and enter Lahore as victors, on condition that they would not destroy the Sikh sovereignty at Lahore. 100

As the Sikh army was not amenable to the orders of the darbdr at Lahore, arrangements were made by the traitors to ensure its defeat. Lai Singh regularly supplied to the British information about the disposition of the army, and Gulab Singh stopped sending rations and supplies to the army. The British guns began to arrive on February 7, and the battle of Sobraon was fought on the 10th. The British took the offensive, but the Sikhs repulsed three successive attacks. At this juncture Tej Singh and Lai Singh fled from the battlefield. Some Sikh leaders fought heroically, but having no commander to direct, and being assailed on all sides, with no hope of reinforcement, the Sikhs were forced to fall back on the Sutlej. In the meantime, Lai Singh and Tej Singh had crossed the Sutlej and then broken the bridge of boats to ensure the annihilation of the army. Actually a large number of Sikhs were drowned in the rr r er in their attempts to cross it. History perhaps does not record another instance of such base treachery on the part of the commanders of an army.

During the same night (February 10-11, 1846) a reserve British force crossed the Sutlej near Firozpur, and without any opposition reached Lahore on February 20. On March 9 a treaty was concluded at Lahore. The terms of this treaty were as follows: 101

1. (a) The British annexed the Jullundur Doab to their

dominions.

< (b) In lieu of part payment of the expenses of war, they

took possession of the entire hill country between the Beas and the Indus, to be alienated to Gulab Singh in

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independent sovereignty, recognized by Maharaja Dalip Singh.

(c) 50 lakhs of Rupees were to be paid to the British on or before the ratification of the treaty.

2. The Sikh army was to be reduced to 25 battalions of infantry (800 each) and 12,000 cavalry.

3. All guns used in the war were to be surrendered to the British.

4. British troops were to be allowed free passage through the Panjab when necessary.

5. The British Government was not to interfere in the internal administration of the Lahore State.

Two days later, some Articles of Agreement were drawn up, 1 °2 ostensibly at the request of the darbar, but really to strengthen the British hold on the country. These provided that an adequate British force would be stationed at Lahore till the end of 1846. As the Maharaja Dalip Singh was a boy of seven years and a half, these two treaties were signed by seven chiefs. These included the traitors Lai Singh and Tej Singh, whom the British recognized as chief men of the State and invested with great authority. The third was an agent of the other traitor, Gulab Singh, and four other persons were associated with them merely to give the body a representative character. Gulab Singh got his promised reward of sovereignty over Kashmir and Jammu on payment of fifty lakhs in cash, which he had removed from the Lahore treasury with the help of his nephew, Hira Singh, while the latter was Prime Minister, as noted before.

A treaty was concluded on March 16, 1846, recognizing Maharaja Gulab Singh independent sovereign of Kashmir. Many have questioned the justice and propriety of this act. Thus Cunningham remarks: “The arrangement was a dexterous one, if reference be only had to the policy of reducing the power of the Sikhs; but the transaction scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness, and the objections become, stronger when it is considered that Gulab Singh agreed to pay sixty-eight lakhs of rupees (680,000 lbsO, as a fine to his paramount, before the war broke out, and that the custom of the Bast as well as of the West requires,, the feudatory to aid his lord in foreign war and domestic strife. Gdab Singh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject,

instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent Prince". 103

Even Ellenborough questioned the policy of rewarding what he termed Gulab Singh's treachery. But Hardinge gave the crushing

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reply that he could not go back upon what had previously been promised to him. 104 It must be said to the credit (or discredit?) of the victorious Governor-General that he amply rewarded the traitors who served him so well. One of them, however, could not long enjoy the ill-gotten gains of base treachery. Lai Singh, who was installed as Prime Minister, grew jealous of Gulab Singh whose reward was much larger than his own. So he instigated the Governor of Kashmir, Shaikh Imamuddin, not to hand over the valley to Gulab Singh. Sir Henry Lawrence marched to Kashmir with troops when Imamuddin produced evidence to show that he acted under instructions of Lai Singh. Lai Singh was tried in open Court at Lahore and found guilty unanimously. He was exiled and his jdgvrs were forfeited (December, 1846). 105

Hardinge had no intention of losing his grip on the Panjab. He had postponed an outright annexation in order to make it easier by gradually reducing the strength of the Sikhs. The loss of territory and the reduction of troops were the first steps in weakening the strength of the Lahore darbar. The Sardars and the Maharani had agreed to the retention of British troops only for a year on condition that the British Government would not interfere in any way in the internal adnainistration of the State. But, in violation of the treaty, the Resident, in practice, exercised unlimited authority in all matters of internal administration and external relations. The Maharani and the Sardars were, therefore, unwilling to continue the existing arrangement which was to lapse after the expiry of one year, according to the terms of the treaty. Lawrence reported on December 17, 1846, 'of Rani's endeavour to win over the Sardars to a scheme of independent government of which she herself was to be the head’. Hardinge then proposed new arrangements for perpetuating the British control over the Panjab, but directed his Secretary, Frederick Currie, to manage things in such a way that the* proposal to retain British troops and other modifications of the treaty to ensure the unlimited control of the British in the administration of the Panjab should originate from the darbdr. 106 The right of the Maharani to be Regent was questioned and she was deliberately ignored, while the Sardars were coaxed with allurements or coerced by threats to consent to the new arrangements proposed by the Governor-General. There was a division among the Sardars, one group supporting, and the other opposing the British control. At last a compromise was reached and the Sardars agreed to ask the GovernorGeneral to permit the Agent with two battalions to continue for some months. A written proposal to that effect was handed over to Currie on December 14, 1846. Hardinge, however, summarily re

jected it. “It is my positive determination not to employ a British garrison in carrying on a native administration in the Panjab”. Thus admonished, Currie held a conference of the Chiefs and Sardars on December 15, 1846, and read out to them a paper which contained the minimum conditions which the Governor-General proposed to impose upon the Lahore Government. With the British army at Lahore, and dissensions and treachery among themselves, the acceptance of the ultimatum by the Sardars was a foregone conclusion. Curiously enough, the Rani, the mother of the boy-King, was studiously ignored in making the future arrangements of her son’s kingdom. A loyal Sikh Sardar, Diwan Dina Nath, proposed adjournment of the conference in order that they might take the opinion of the Maharani, but he was curtly told by Currie that “the GovernorGeneral was not asking the opinion of the Queen-mother but of the Sardars and Pillars of the State”. 107 This stern rebuke was enough to silence dissent and so the Treaty of Bhyrowal was signed on the following day. December 16, 1846. 108

This treaty provided that “a British officer, with an efficient establishment of assistants, shall be appointed' by the GovernorGeneral to remain at Lahore, which officer shall have full authority to direct and control all matters in every department of the State.” 1 09 During the minority of Maharaja Dalip Singh the administration was to be conducted by a Council of Regency consisting of eight persons named in the treaty. It was, however, provided that no change shall be made in the Council of Regency without the consent - of the British Resident. The Queen-mother, Rani Jindan, was not a member of the Council of Regency, and was to receive an annual pension of one lakh and fifty thousand Rupees. Any fort or military post in the Lahore territory could be occupied by British soldiers. The Lahore State was to pay annually twenty-two lakhs of Rupees for the maintenance of this force and to meet the expenses incurred by the British Government.

Thus the effective power of administration, both civil and military, passed into the hands of the British Government, acting through its Resident at Lahore, whose power, as the Governor-General put it, was 'as unlimited in military affairs as in civil administration'. 110 Henry Lawrence was appointed the first Residerit.

V. THE PANJAB UNDER BRITISH CONTROL

Thus at the beginning of 1847 the British took upon themselves the entire responsibility of governing the Panjab, and the Resident, Henry Lawrence, became the de facto ruler of the Province. Tej Singh became his chief adviser and the title of Raja was conferred

upon him in recognition of the signal services he had rendered to the British. But during the ceremony of his investiture, the boyKing refused to put the saffron mark or tika on the forehead of the traitor. When requested to do so by a Sardar, he folded his arms and shrank back into his chair. Lawrence took this as an affront to the British Government and, holding the Queen-mother responsible for her son's action, at once confined her in the Samman tower of the Lahore Fort. She wrote a strong letter of protest to Lawrence, complaining of* the humiliation and ill treatment to which she had been constantly subjected. She asked, "Why da you take possession o'" the kingdom by underhand means? Why don't you do it openly"? and concluded by saying, "Preserve three or four traitors, and put the whole of the Panjab to the sword at their bidding. 111

Henry Lawrence knew only too well of the intelligence and intrepid spirit of the Queen-mother, her political acumen and general ability, and the great influence she exercised upon the Panjab. So he wanted to get rid of her and accused her of cognizance of a conspiracy to murder Tej Singh. As there was no evidence, the Governor-General did not take any action on that charge, but authorised the Resident to remove the Maharani on political grounds. So she was confined in the fort of Sheikhupura on August 20, 1847, under most humiliating conditions. She demanded an open inquiry into the allegations against her, and sent an agent to represent her case before the Governor-General. But all was in vain. For the real ground of her incarceration was, as the Resident put it, that "the Maharanee is the only effective enemy to our policy that I know of in the country". [112]

The unjustified incarceration of the queen of Ranjit Singh, a staunch and life-long ally of the British, was the last act of Hardinge in regard to the Panjab. He was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie in January, 1848. As Henry Lawrence went home on sick-leave, Frederick Currie, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India from 1842 to 1847, was appointed British Resident at Lahore. He had long ago expressed his view against bolstering up the puppet Dalip Singh or "setting up a native Government" in the Panjab instead of making it a part of British India. [113] He was thus a fit agent of the new Governor-General who was inspired by the noble ambition of making the whole map of India red, to use the alleged saying of dying Ranjit Singh. When there is a strong desire to do a thing, excuses and opportunities are easily found or created. So Currie made Diwan Mulraj of Multan the scapegoat of his favourite project.

On the death of Sawan Mall, the Governor of Multan, his son, Mulraj, was asked to pay a succession fee of thirty lakhs of Rupees. On the arrival of the British in the Panjab in 1846, troops were sent to enforce the payment, but they were defeated. It was ultimately settled that the district of Jhang was to be taken away from him, and the annual revenue payable by him to be increased, from 19 to 25 lakhs at the first renewal and to Rs. 30 lakhs at the second. Diwan Mulraj thereupon tendered resignation, but changed his mind at the request of John Lawrence who was acting as Resident in place of his brother Henry. It was agreed between them that Mulraj would retain his office for another year, and in the meantime his resignation should be kept a profound secret from the Lahore darbar. But as soon as Currie took over charge as Resident, he decided to introduce the British system of administration in Multan under British officers. So the resignation of Mulraj was accepted, and a new Governor, Sardar Khan Singh Man, was sent to take his place, accompanied by two British officers, P. A. Vans Agnew and Lt. W. A. Anderson. As Curry wrote in his letter of April 6, 1848, Khan Singh was to be the nominal Governor and the administration would be really conducted by the British agent Mr Agnew. 114

The new Governor, Khan Singh, and the British officers arrived at Multan on April 18, 1848. Next morning the fort was quietly handed over by Mulraj, and his men were replaced by Gurkha soldiers of the Lahore Regiment. When the new Governor and the British officers, together with Mulraj, were coming out of the fort on horseback, a small spear was thrust at Mr. Agnew near the bridge over the fort ditch. The cause of this outrage is difficult to determine. According to most of the witnesses, the assailant threw his spear under provocation, but the nature of the provocation is variously described. He was either knoct ed by the horse of Agnew, or struck by his whip, deliberately or accidentally, or pushed by his peon for not saluting him. Khan Singh, who was with Agnew, took him on an elephant to the camp at the Idgah; Lieut. Anderson galloped off, but was pursued by some horsemen ahd wounded severely. Mulraj, who was riding far ahead when Agnew was struck, wanted to go to the Idgah to see the wounded British officers, but was prevented by his ov/n soldiers who had decided to revolt under his leadership. For this purpose they fastened on his wrist a kangna, or bracelet of w T ar, and it is said that he was ultimately persuaded by his mother’s taunts and curses to accept the leadership of the insurgents. All this took place on the 19th. Next day there was firing on Idgah from the fort, and the messengers, sent by Agnew to stop it, were repelled by the insurgents. The Lahore Regiment also fired, as a result of which the son of a Mazhabi Sikh was killed.

Towards the evening a deputation from Agnew arranged for the peaceful departure of the Lahore army. About this time a number of Lahore troops joined the rebels, and an angry crowd, in order to avenge the death of the

Mazhabi boy, rushed the Idgah camp and murdered Agnew and Anderson. Thus began the rebellion in Multan under Mulraj, which was more due to a sudden provocation than any premeditated plan. 115

The truth of the above account, which is generally accepted, cannot be vouched for in all its details. But whatever we might think of the rebellion of Multan and Mulraj 's share in it, there was no doubt that it was a local affair, and not the result of a general plan. As the British Resident was responsible for the preservation of the peace of the country, it was the clear duty of Currie to take prompt steps to suppress it. But, strange to say, nothing was done, and first the Resident, and then the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, offered the excuse of hot weather for not sending any British troops. Lieutenant Edwardes, Assistant Political Agent at Bannu, enrolled 3,000 Pathans, and, together with a Muslim battalion under Cortlandt, advanced and besieged Multan as soon as he heard the news; but he had to fall back on the approach of an army under the brother of Mulraj. He urged the Resident to take quick action, but it was not till the end of June when he was joined by the Lahore troops, about 4,000 strong, under the command of Shaikh Imamuddin, Jawahar Mall, and Raja Sher Singh. No British troops accompanied them until, at the earnest request of Edwardes, General Whish was sent, and he arrived at Multan on September 3, 1848.

By this time the revolt had spread to Bannu, Peshawar, and also to the north-western part of the Panjab. Several acts of the British in the Panjab also inflamed the already excited people. The chief among these was the removal of the Maharani far away from the Panjab. On May 16, the Resident wrote: "There is no proof, though there is some ground for suspicion, that the Maharani was . the instigator of the late violence in Multan." 115 This must be regarded as a very strange suspicion, indeed, if we remember that the Maharani was a closely guarded prisoner long before the resignation of Mulraj. Currie argues, in the same letter, that the removal of the Rani from the Panjab "is called for by justice and policy and there is no time for us to hesitate about doing what may appear necessary to punish state offenders whatever may be their rank and station and to vindicate the honour and position of the British Government." To speak of "justice" and "state offenders" when it is admitted that there is no proof of the offence, is nothing short of ridiculous. The real cause of the exile of the Maharani is thus explained by Currie in the same letter: "It is certain that at this moment, the eyes of Diwan Mulraj, of the whole Sikh army and military population, are directed to the Maharani as the rallying point of their rebellion or disaffection". There might have been some truth in this assertion, for the local revolt at Multan was undoubtedly growing into a popular rebellion. But there is no doubt that some such apprehension, entertained by the highest British authority, was at the root of her incarceration. When Brigadier Mountain informed Dalhousie of.the anxiety of the Sikhs for the release of the Rani, Dalhousie regarded it as preposterous and wrote to him: "The more sincere they (Sikhs) are (for the release of the Maharani) the stronger are the grounds for not acceding to them. She has the only manly understanding in the Punjab; and her restoration would furnish the only thing which is wanting, to render the present movement truly formidable, namely an object and a head," 116a

The exile of the Maharani had provoked popular discontent, and stories of her ill-treatment enhanced the passions of the Sikhs. Indeed, the Maharani was subjected to a most humiliating treatment during her exile. It created such a painful impression that even the Afghan ruler Dost Muhammad Khan protested against it. 117

Next to the disgraceful treatment of Rani Jindan, the treatment of Sardar Chatar Singh may be regarded as the most important cause of the spread of revolt among the Sikhs.

Both Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala and his son Raja Sher Singh were loyal and devoted servants of the newly constituted government at Lahore under the supervision of the British Resident. Sher Singh led the Sikh army, on behalf of the darbar , against Mulraj, when he revolted at Multan. How and why he deserted the British cause and led the Sikh troops against them, may be briefly told.

Chatar Singh, a very popular and respected Sikh leader, was the Governor of Hazara. His daughter was engaged to Maharaja Dalip Singh. The British did not like this idea, for they feared that a matrimonial alliance with the King would make Chatar Singh too powerful. The Resident, therefore, put off, on one pretext or another, the date of celebrating the marriage. Both Chatar Singh and his son Sher Singh made repeated requests, but to no effect. Lieut. Edwardes, a friend of Sher Singh, conveyed the wishes of the father and son to the Resident. He referred to the widespread, though unjustified, feeling among the people of the Punjab that the

British meditated annexation of the country, and suggested that the British should assure the people of their "good faith and intention to adhere to the treaty" by celebrating the royal marriage. Lord Dalhousie rebuked Edwardes for the impertinence shown by an assistant to the Resident in transmitting "to his Government a volunteer opinion that they would be guilty of breach of faith if they adopt a particular policy, which the Government of Indi?, Her Majesty's Ministers and the Secret Committee all contemplate as probable/' 1 18 The Resident also gave a stiff and evasive reply to Edwardes.

The British attitude disheartened the two loyal servants Chatar Singh and Sher Singh. What was worse, it confirmed the worst suspicions of the people to which Edwardes referred, and Sikh soldiers under Sher Singh began to desert in large numbers and join Mulraj.

In the meanwhile the position of Chatar Singh as the Governor of Hazara became almost unbearable. Captain James Abbott, his adviser on behalf of the Resident, behaved with him in a manner as if he was the superior authority. Abbott brought a charge against Chatar Singh that he was the head of a conspiracy for the expulsion of the English from the Panjab. Even the Resident thought it incredible and remarked in his letter to the Governor-General that "the constant suspicion with which Captain Abbott regarded Sirdar Chuttar Singh, seems to have, not unnaturally, estranged that chief from him." 119 Abbott also devised means to put Chatar Singh in difficulty and danger. He instigated the Muslims of Hazara against the Governor Chatar Singh and himself wrote to the Resident on August 19:

"I, on my part, assembled the chiefs of Hazara; explained what had happened, and called upon them, by the memory of their murdered parents, friends and relatives, to rise, and aid me to destroying the Sikh forces in detail. I issued purwannas to this effect throughout the land and marched to a strong position.” 120

According to a Muslim correspondent of Sir Charles Napier, “Captain Abbott wrote to the Hazarees, that if they will drive Chuttur Singh out, three years’ revenue should be remitted.” 121

On August 6, 1848, a large body of Muslims of Hazara surrounded the town of Haripur where Chatar Singh lived. Chatar Singh, as Governor, issued instructions to the troops to bring their guns and encamp under the fort-walls, but Commandant Canora, the artillery officer, “refused to obey the Governor’s orders unless backed by Captain Abbott.” The Governor repeated the orders, but far from complying with them, Canora placed himself between his two loaded guns and threatened to fire on any one that approached him. Chatar Singh asked the Colonel of the infantry to enforce his orders. Canora then ordered one of his hayildars to fire upon the infantry, and on his refusal to do so, cut him down on the spot. He then applied the match himself, but the gun missed fire. Canora then whipped out his pistol, and shot down two Sikh officers. Canora was then shot with musketry. 122

Captain Abbott represented Chatar Singh’s action as a premeditated, cold-blooded murder, forming a part of his conspiracy. The Resident took up the proper view when he pointed out in his reply to Abbott, dated August 19, 1848, that “Sirdar Chuttur Singh was the Governor of the province, military and civil, and the officers of the Sikh army were bound to obey him, the responsibility for his orders resting with him. Taking the worst view of the case, I know not how you can characterize it as a cold-blooded murder”. 123 He also rebuked Abbott for misrepresenting the general state of affairs and throwing doubts on the fidelity of Chatar Singh, and making unauthorised military preparations to suppress his conspiracy which did not exist in fact. But, curiously enough, although Abbott was rebuked for his attitude and conduct, he was not removed from his post, and he continued his nefarious activities against the Governor, Chatar Singh, with impunity. The Hazara affair had convinced Chatar Singh that Abbott might go to any extent to ruin him, and as Abbott was allowed to continue in his post, Chatar Singh decided to resign. Before doing so, he made a last effort to get the permission of the Resident to celebrate his daughter's marriage with Dalip Singh. The Resident, Sir Frederick Currie, evaded the question, and his attitude towards Chatar Singh gradually (or suddenly) changed. He now approved of the measures of Abbott and accepted Captain Nicholson's suggestion of punishing Chatar Singh "with forfeiture of his government and jagtrs." "Surrounded by blood-thirsty Hazaras and persecuted by Abbott himself, and having no hope of justice and succour from the Resident, who would not give him the permission even to resign his post and proceed on pilgrimage, Sardar Chatar Singh wrote to his son Raja Sher Singh, about the 23rd of August, 'complaining bitterly of Abbott, whose suspicions and treachery (Munsoobah) had driven him to adopt military measures td guard his life and honour.' This was followed by further similar communications calling upon the Raja to join him in defending the honour of his family and the independence of his country. At last, on September 13, 1848, Raja Sher Singh decided to throw in his lot with his injured father and went over to Mulraj on the following day, September 14." 124

The imprisonment and humiliating treatment of Rani Jindan and the defection of Chatar Singh and Sher Singh stirred up the flame of rebellion all over the Panjab. There was also a resurgence of the national spirit of the Sikhs, who had been defeated by treachery' and felt themselves unjustly deprived of their freedom by the British. But all these causes could operate only because the local rebellion was not promptly put down and allowed to spread its baneful influence. The inevitable consequence of this conduct of the British was so obvious, that even many English writers have openly accused the British of deliberately postponing action in order that the local revolt might assume serious proportions and develop into a general rebellion which will justify the annexation of the Panjab by way of proper punishment.

Lieut.-General J. J. McLeod Innes tells us in his Sir Henry Lawrence : 126

"Such steps were thus deliberately avoided as might have crushed the outbreak at its start, as Henry Lawrence had done with the Kashmir attempt. Obviously the outbreak was assumed to be a premeditated Sikh movement, putting aside all idea of the continuance of a friendly Panjab. And the Government practically elected to run the risk—many held it to be the certainty—of the flame of insurrection spreading over the Province; of rousing afresh that spirit in the Khalsa...

"Many held it to be so obvious that there could be no other result, that they refused to believe that the coming struggle was not deliberately desired and determined by the Commander-in-Chief and the Government." It is difficult to reject this view as absolutely unwarranted.

As a matter of fact, it was a widely prevalent belief in the Panjab that the British looked upon the rebellion of Mulraj as a good opportunity to annex the Panjab, and was merely biding time for the maturity of the plans. This belief led first Chatar Singh and then his son Sher Singh to leave the side of the British and raise the standard of revolt.

There is abundant evidence to show that even after the rebellion of Mulraj there was no conspiracy against the British, and the Lahore darbdr remained faithful to the constitution. Even so late as August 15, 1848, the Resident wrote to the Commander-inChief: "There is no sign, hitherto, anywhere, of the conspiracy or combination among the chiefs, or any parties, at Lahore, as believed by Captain Abbott, or of any complicity on the part of any one connected with the Durbar in the present outbreak." 126 This was written less than a month before Sher Singh was forced to

join the rebellion. There is, therefore, no question of an unprovoked challenge to the British by the Sikhs, and the following oft-quoted passage in the speech of Lord Dalhousie can only be regarded as an example of the megalomania of which the noble lord was a frequent victim: "Unwarned by precedent, uninfluenced by example, the Sikh nation has called for war, and on my word, Sirs, they shall have it with a vengeance''. This speech was .delivered on October 10, 1848, nearly six months after the outbreak at Multan* yet the Sikh Government at Lahore was still functioning as the constitutional authority representing the Sikh nation; and one can well sympathise with the bewilderment of Lord Gough, the British Commander-in-Chief, who did not know whether he was called upon to fight against, or on behalf of, the Sikh darbdr at Lahore. "I do not know", he wrote on November 15, "whether we are at peace or war, or who it is we are fighting for". It was not till after he had reached Lahore that he "knew the definite decision of the Governor-General that the war was to be against, and not in support of, the Durbar". 127 It is obvious that except Lord Dalhousie and perhaps a few of his trusted advisers, even the highest official circle took the view that the British army was called upon to suppress a revolt in the Panjab against the Sikh Government, set up by the British, and it was not going to fight "the Sikh nation calling for war." Few would deny that this was the correct view. Lord Dalhousie later treated Maharaja Dalip Singh and his government as belonging to the hostile party, though they certainly did not, and possibly could not, do anything inimical to the British, as they were under the complete control of the British Resident, backed by a powerful army. This was obviously a deliberate step taken to justify the annexation of the Panjab.

VI. THE SECOND SIKH WAR

Immediately after leaving the British camp, Sher Singh issued an appeal to the Sikhs, inviting them to join the standard of revolt raised by Mulraj in order to expel the tyrannous and crafty feringhees (British) who had shown such cruelty to Maharani Jindan and the race of the Sikhs. He intended to join Mulraj and other rebel Sikh Chiefs in order to make a common cause against the British. But his sincere devotion and loyalty to the British made him a suspect in their eyes, and the suspicion was strengthened by a letter which was addressed to him by Herbert Edwardes, the British military officer mentioned above, but was really intended to fall into the hands of Mulraj through a spy.

Nevertheless, during his journey northwards from Multan, he was joined by large numbers of old Sikh soldiers, and he took his

position on the right bank of the Chenab, expecting to be joined there by his father and the troops from Bannu.

In the meantime his father Chatar Singh had left Hazara, and having seized Peshawar on October 31, captured Attock on January 3, 1849. But before he could join his son, the latter was already in the thick of the fight and fought the famous battle of Chilianwala. Dost Muhammad, the ruler of

Afghanistan, also joined the Sikhs against the British on condition of deceiving Peshawar.

Lord Dalhousie treated the defection of Sher Singh and Chatar Singh as the casus belli, but did not make any open declaration of war. In his official letter, dated October 3, 1848, it was said that "the Governor-General in Council considers the State of Lahore to be, to all intents and purposes, directly at war with the British Government." The British Resident at Lahore, Frederic Currie, pointed out, on October 12, that "if that be the case, I with my assistants, am in an anomalous position, as superintending and aiding the administration of the Lahore State." He did not choose the only alternative course open to him as an honourable man, for the reason, as he said, that "if I were to withdraw from the Government and to declare the Treaty violated and all amicable relations between the two States at end, we should have the whole country up at once as one man to destroy us, if possible." Lord Dalhousie therefore accepted the suggestion of Currie that instead of a declaration of war against the Lahore State, ,there should be a declaration "setting forth that the British Government will now occupy the

Panjab Province.that all consideration wiUrlse paid to the

interests of the Maharaja Duleep Singh who, from his tender years, cannot be held personally responsible for the misconduct of the Lahore State." It was further agreed, at the same time, "to quietly annex the Panjab" but to give no inkling of it till the Sikh army was defeated and crushed. Thus the pretence of Dalip Singh's Government would be maintained to lull the suspicion and disarm the opposition of the Sikhs, although it was already decided to annex the Panjab after the war was over. This disingenuous policy is fully in keeping with the apprehensions expressed by Dalhousie on June 27, lest the rebellion in Multan be suppressed by the troops of the Lahore darbGr, for in that case the policy of the annexation of the Panjab will be more dubious in character, whereas if the British army were required to suppress the rebellion, "our right to do wha*t we please with the Panjab Will be beyond cavil or dispute. 128

The opportunity that Dalhousie had been looking for had at last presented itself, and he made elaborate preparations for the campaign. The grand army for the conquest of the Panjab with

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Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief, assembled at Firozpur, crossed the Sutlej on November 9, 1848, arrived at Lahore on the 13th, and reached the banks of the Chenab on November 16. The main army of Sher Singh was on the right bank of that river, but a few small scattered groups were on the left bank, at Nawala near Ramnagar. Lord Gough sent troops to drive these Sikhs, but the British suffered defeat with a heavy loss of life (November 22). A division of the British army then crossed the Chenab and a minor indecisive action was fought at Sadullapur on December 3. The Sikh army retired in good order and took up a strong position at Chilianw&la on the Jhelum. After this, “enjoined by the exasperated GovernorGeneral”, Gough remained inactive for six weeks.

Lord Gough proposed to wait till the fall of Multan which would release a large body of troops engaged there. But the advance of Chatar Singh as far as Attock changed the plan. The news of the fall of Attock reached the British camp on January 10, 1849, and it was decided to attack Sher Singh before, he was reinforced by his father. On January 13, Gough attacked the Sikhs at 2 P.M. an<3 a pitched battle was fought near the village of Chilianwala.

The battle of Chilianwala was one of the most hard-fought battles in the Sikh Wars. ‘After a little over an hour’s shelling, the effective half of which was the Sikh’s, Lord Gough flung two infantry brigades’ at the enemy at 3 P.M. The Sikh Commander “turned a shower of grape on them, beginning a discomfiture which masked musketry fire completed: the 4th Foot lost 482 men and their colours.” The British cavalry “were routed by the Sikh cavalry, and made their celebrated backward charge over their own infantry and through their own artillery and wagon lines. The Sikhs accompanied them and took four guns. When night fell the British had lost 2,446 men and the colours of three regiments. Sikh soldiers traversed the tangled battlefield, butchering the wounded". 129 Lord Gough regarded it as a victory because the Sikhs retreated and the British army gained ground and spiked 30 or 40 Sikh guns. But even his colleagues regarded it as a discomfiture and pointed out that the British could not occupy the ground they had gained, the Sikhs retook the guns they had lost, and took up a position stronger than before. 130

The result of the battle of Chilianwala has been estimated in various ways. Some regard it as a victory of the British; others, including many Englishmen, look upon it as a defeat; while many describe it as a drawn battle. There is, however, no doubt about its immediate effect upon Englishmen.

Lord Gough proposed to fall back six miles, but was dissuaded from this course, as it was sure to be interpreted as admission of defeat. Dalhousie could hardly conceal his despair, disgust, and vexation at the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, and in a state of exasperation wrote to him in terms which, he was aware, "will be very distasteful to him"

When, the news reached England there was dismay and consternation on all sides, and the 'nation was stricken with profound emotion.' Sir John Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, observed oxy March 7, 1849, that "the impression upon the public mind was stronger than that caused by the Kabul Massacre." "The result has been , he continued, "that in eight-and-forty hours after the arrival of the mail, it was determined to send Sir Charles Napier to command the Indian army". 13 i

In the meanwhile events had taken a more favourable turn at Multan. General Whish had been sent to Multan at the beginning of September, 1848, but he raised the siege on September 16, at the defection of Sher Singh. It was not resumed till a column arrived from Bombay; the city was carried by assault on January 2, 1849, and Mulraj unconditionally surrendered on January 22.

On January 16, Sardar Chatar Singh joined Sher Singh at Chilianwala. They tried to provoke the British Commander-in-Chief to offer fight, but the latter held out until he was joined by the British troops released from Multan. The

Sikh army marched to Gujarat, on the right bank of the Chenab, where a pitched battle was fought on February 21, 1849. The Sikh army was defeated and completely routed, and the British cavalry pursued them for fifteen miles. On March 12, 1849, there was a general surrender of the Sikhs when Sardars and soldiers laid down their arms. The Sikh army ceased to exist. An old Sikh soldier saluted the pile of arms with joined palms and exclaimed: “To-day Ranjit Singh is dead”.

VII. THE ANNEXATION OF THE PANJAB

Lord Dalhousie had made up his mind from the very beginning to annex the Panjab. As Sir Henry Lawrence, who had resumed his duty as Resident, was strongly opposed to this course, Dalhousie sent his Foreign Secretary, H. M. Elliot, to complete the transaction He put the Ayhole thing very bluntly to the members of the Council of Regency. He said in effect that the British were determined to annex the Panjab; if the Sardars with the Maharaja at their head willingly gave assent to this proposal, they would be favourably treated; otherwise they would lose everything.*^ No wonder that after this they agreed to the treaty which was signed at Lahore on March 29, 1849, and ratified by the Governor-General on April 5. By this treaty Dalip Singh resigned the sovereignty of the Panjab and the British agreed to give him a pension between four and five lakhs of Rupees a year.
133

Thus was enacted the final scene in the tragic drama of the Panjab. It was the culmination of a series of base intrigues and violation of solemn engagements on the part of the British Government of India. Yet Lord Dalhousie had the hardihood to issue a Proclamation, 134 justifying his action, which was read aloud immediately after the treaty was signed on March 29. It is a document which hardly deserves serious consideration, except as an illustration of unscrupulous concealment of truth, almost to an unparalleled degree. It begins by saying that ‘‘the British have faithfully kept their word and have scrupulously observed every obligation which the treaties imposed upon them”. It has been shown above, how they honoured article 15 of the Treaty of March 9, 1846, to the effect that “the British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State”. It has also been shown how, by force and fraud, the

British not only manipulated to evade Article 1 of the Treaty of March 11, 1846, by which they undertook to withdraw their force from Lahore before the end of the year 1846, but imposed most rigorous and humiliating conditions on the Lahore darbar.

How the British faithfully kept their word may be illustrated by the final act of treachery against Maharaja Dalip Singh, a minor under their protection. As noted above, Dalhousie and Currie, while resolved.to annex the Panjab, deliberately kept up the pretence that the British army fought in the Panjab to preserve the constituted Government. Even so late as November 18, 1848, after the British Commander-in-Chief had marched from Lahore against the army of Sher Singh, Currie proclamied to the people of the Pan jab, that the British army "has entered the Lahore territories, not as an enemy to the constituted Government, but to restore order and obedience." 136 Yet, as soon as the "rebellious" Sikh army was crushed at Gujarat, the constituted Government was thrown away, as a man kicks off the ladder after he has reached the desired height.

This simile is fully applicable to the British policy. They deliberately used the name of Maharaja Dalip Singh to prevent a considerable portion of the army and people of the Pan jab from joining the rebellion, and as soon as they achieved this purpose they overthrew both the Maharaja and his government.

This also gives lie direct to the statement in <the Proclamation that the "army of the State, and the whole Sikh people, joined by

many of the Sirdars in the Panjab, who signed the treaties, and led by a member of. the Regency itself, have risen in arms against us". The fact is that for many months the rebellion was confined to Mulraj, and the troops sent against him were commanded by the Sikh officers who remained faithful to the dcCrbdr. Even Sher Singh, the hero of Chilian wala, who was sent at the head of an army against Mulraj, remained faithful to the British and Lahore darbar, —so much so that when he actually rebelled against them, Mulraj and other Sikh leaders could not trust his sincerity and refused to co-operate with him. But even at the final stage, "there was no rising either of the army or of the people in the central Sikh districts of the state; not a single British Officer was attacked or molested. The British Resident continued to stay at the capital of the kingdom, issuing orders to the Council of Regency, the darbar, and receiving their fullest co-operation." The Lahore darbar sent two of its chief officers to accompany and guide the British Commanderin-Chief in his expedition from Lahore against Sher Singh. 136

As regards defection, "only one member of the Regency, out of eight", had joined the rebels, and another was only suspected . The remaining six were perfectly faithful and obedient. In addition to the great majority of*the army who took no part in the revolt, "at least 20,000 subjects of the Lahore State" enrolled in its service, fought on the side of the Government, and assisted in suppressing the rebellion. 137

It is unnecessary to say anything further by way of exposing the true character of Lord Dalhousie's Proclamation which was intended to bolster up a gross act of injustice. Both contemporaries, including many Englishmen, and later writers, have pointed out that whatever might have been the guilt of the Sikhs, individually or collectively, there was absolutely no justification for setting aside Dalip Singh and his government. "The British Government", says John Sullivan, "was the self-constituted guardian of the Rajah, and the regent of his kingdom; a rebellion was provoked by the agents of the guardian, it was acknowledged by the guardian to be a rebellion against the government of his ward, and the guardian punished that ward by confiscating his dominions and his diamonds to his own use". 138 Ludlow truly observed: "We protected our ward by taking his whole territory from him..... But having once recognised and undertaken to protect Dhuleep Singh, it was a mockery to punish him for the faults of his subjects," 139 over whom, one might add, not he, but the British Resident, had the fullest authority.

Indeed no plea for the annexation of the Panjab would bear a moment's scrutiny. Yet the sole responsibility for this despotic and

immoral deed belongs to Dalhousie. He annexed the Panjab without the formal sanction of the home authorities, whose hand was "thus forced by the action of their Indian pro-consul." 140

After the annexation, the administration of the Panjab was entrusted to a Board of three, Sir Henry Lawrence being the Chief. The other two were his brother, John Lawrence, and Robert Montgomery. There was no love lost between the two brothers, for while Henry tried to conciliate the old jagirddrs and ruling class, he was opposed by John, and was 'sorely' and 'daily' vexed by his conduct. John evidently followed the principles of governing the Pan jab which Robert Napier suggested long ago, in a letter to Currie, dated October 3, 1848. "I think", wrote he, "we ought, if we take the Panjab, to reduce entirely the aristocracy. The people without heads are nothing." 141 Dalhousie evidently was of the same opinion, and thought John to be "a better man, fitted in every way for that place". So, when both the brothers offered their resignations in December, 1852, Dalhousie had no difficulty in making up his mind which brother to keep. John was, of course, retained. Henry, before he left, wrote a farewell letter to his brother which contains the following: "It seems to me that you look on almost all questions affecting Jagheerdars and Maffeerdars in a perfectly different light from all others; in fact that you consider them as nuisances and as enemies". John Lawrence has obtained immortal fame for his efficient administration of the Panjab, particularly during the Mutiny. But the people of the Panjab mourned the departure of Henry Lawrence. John ruled the Panjab with an iron hand, at the best as a benevolent despot, and openly offered the challenge to her people: "Will you be governed by the pen or by the sword? Choose". This line, which characterised the British rule in the Pan jab after its annexation, was inscribed on the statue of John Lawrence, and was a rude reminder, for three quarters of a century, of the transfer of the last independent kingdom in India to the British dominions. 142

VIII. LAST DAYS OF RANI JINDAN AND MAHARAJA DALIP SINGH

Reference may be made in conclusion to the fate of Maharani Jindan and her minor son, Dalip Singh. As mentioned above, Maharani Jindan, although a closely guarded prisoner, was suspected of instigating the rebellion in Multan, and was exiled from the Panjab. She was kept a prisoner at Banaras but was suspected of making a plot to escape. She was accordingly transferred to the Chunar Fort on 6 April, 1849. On the same evening she got away from the fort in the guise of one of her attendants, and proceeded towards Nepal. Her flight was not known till the 19th, and so the

Maharani safely crossed the borders and reached Nepal territory on 27 April. She prayed to the King of Nepal to give her shelter, but the latter hesitated to incur the wrath of the British by granting her an asylum. He was, however, saved from the dilemma by the British. The Government of India seized all the property of the Maharani at Banaras and allowed her to stay in Nepal on a monthly pension of one thousand Rupees. 143

The ex-Maharaja Dalip Singh was removed from the Panjab to Fatehgarh in U.P. He was brought up under Christian influence and embraced that religion on 8 March, 1853, i.e. before he had even completed the age of sixteen years.

On 19 April, 1854, he left for England and stayed there till 1860, when he returned to India and was permitted to see his mother. The Maharani’s health was shattered and she became almost blind. Dalip Singh wanted to stay with his mother, but the Government of India would allow neither of them to reside in India. So Dalip returned to England with his mother where she died on August 1, 1863. According to her last wishes Dalip brought her body to India' but was not allowed to proceed to the Panjab. He therefore cremated her body at Nasik and returned to England.

Evidently Dalip had learnt from his mother the full story of the annexation of the Panjab and the treatment meted to them, and so became sadly disillusioned. The Government of England sensed this and had prevailed upon Dalip to arrange a separate house for Maharani Jindan. After her death Dalip made a formal representation for the restoration of his private estates and property which were unlawfully seized by the Government of India and amalgamated with the territories. of the State. Prolonged negotiations followed, but Dalip Singh did not succeed in recovering anything. At last in 1885 he decided to sell his estates in Suffolk and ake up his residence in Delhi. But the Government of India refused him permission to settle in Delhi, and required him to reside at Ootacamund. Much against his will he consented to do so, and left for India in 1886. He was, however, arrested and detained at Aden and was ordered t6 go back.

^ ^ eat change had aIrea <*y come over Dalip Singh, and before he left England he addressed a letter to his “beloved countrymen”

m wl \ lc h he ventilated his grievances against the British. 144 It was regarded, as seditious by the Government and probably accounts or his arrest at Aden. During his stay at Aden he renounced Christianity and re-embraced the Sikh faith. He also repudiated the treaty

In a ififtfih tl0n 'T h ! C n he Was made t0 sign at the a S e of eleven years. In 1888 he visited Russia, and on 25 July, 1889, issued an appeal to

the people of India to offer up prayers for the success of his endeavour to free India with the material support he was shortly expecting from Russia. It is alleged that he intrigued with the Native States of India for the same purpose. But all these came to nothing, and Dalip asked Queen Victoria to pardon him. The pardon was granted and Dalip Singh remained quiet until his death which took place at Paris on 23 October, 1893. 146

Ibid, 199.

Ibid, 93.

Ibid, 94.

Ibid, 97. Aitchison, I. 41.

1. The facts, stated in this section are, unless otherwise stated, based on Ranjit Singh by N. K. Sinha (Third Edition, Calcutta, 1951).

la. Aitchison, I. 33.

lb. Ibid, 34.

2. Cf. Chapter VII.

3. Sinha, 62.

3a. Singh, 18.

3b. Aitchison, I. 35.

4. Quoted by Singh, 24. Cf. also Dr. McGregor, History of the Sikhs , I. 263.

5. Sinha, 193.

6. Ibid, 198. 11.

7. Ibid, 197. 12.

8. Ibid, 196. 13.

9. Ibid, 198. 13a.

10. Ibid, 197. 13b.

13c. Ranjit even refused to join hands with the Russians against the British. The Russian envoy Vitkevitch, while intriguing with Kabul (see p. 167), wrote to Ranjit Singh asking permission to visit him. Auckland had no difficulty in persuading Ranjit Singh to decline the proposal (CHBFP , II. 206, Kaye-II, I. 208-10).

Sinha, 192.

Ibid, 188.

Gupta, p. xxix-xxx.

Sinha, 160-61.

Gupta, p. lxxxviii.

Sinha, 191.

Cunningham, 253.

Ibid.

Sinha, 185.

Singh, 30.

Cunningham, 324 r 5. Some, however, regard it as a pure accident (CR, May, 1944, p. 74).

Cunningham, 325.

Ranjit Singh himself gave credence to the report that Sher Singh was the son of a carpenter, but in 1820 virtually adopted him. (For fuller details, cf. CR, May, 1944, p. 74).

"Hie most curious part of the affair is that Gulab Singh and Hira Singh espoused the cause of Chand Kaur in apparent opposition to Dhian Singh. Carmichael Smyth says: "It is a well-known fact that in all important intrigues, it was the policy of the two brothers, by appearing to divide, to side with and lead the two opposing parties." Lawrence -says: "Whatever were the motives of the wily brothers, they evidently worked in concert, and never better understood each other, than when nominally heading the partizans of rival claimants to the .throne." (Ibid, 75).

25. Gupta, pp. viii-ix.

26. Ibid, ix. For a full and critical account of Mai Chand Kaur cf. R/HRC, XXXI, 65.

27. Cunningham, 330-31.

28. Gupta, p. x.

29. Ibid.

29a. CR, May, 1944, pp. 77-8.

29b. Gupta, p. xi.

30* Cunningham, 336.

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CR, 1944, pp. 84-5.

Gupta, xii.

Cunningham, 336 fn.

Gupta, pp. xii-xiii. . „ . . 0 .. „„

Henry Lawrence wrote in the Calcutta Review in November, 1844: He

(Hira Singh) touched the soldiery on a sensitive point; he offered the payment of all arrears; a douceur of a month's pay; and. an increase to all branches of the army... .at a word offering fifty per cent, increased allowances to all who would follow him and avenge the murder of their sovereign and his minister." On this Dr. I. B. Banerjee commends: "But that was not the only sensitive point where the soldiery could be touched and it is not difficult to surmise that the intrigues of the Sindhanwalias with the British and the pronounced anti-British views of Dhyan Singh must have come very handy to Hira Singh" (CR, May, 1944). There can be hardly any doubt that the pecuniary gain must have been the stronger incentive to the Sikh soldiery, even if the other motive were present, of which, however, we have no positive evidence.

Gupta, p. xiii.

Gupta, pp. xxix-xxx, and the news-letters referred to therein.

There are different views about the date of Dalip Singh’s birth. Dr. H. K. Gupta, after discussing these, concludes that “September 1837 seems to be the correct date of Dalip Singh’s birth” (Gupta, p. xxix, fn. 3). According to Ganda Singh, Dalip Singh was bom on October 6-7, 1838 (Singh, 43). The Article 11 of the treaty between the British Government and the. Lahore darbar, dated 16th December, 1846, clearly lays down that the Maharaja Dalip Singh will attain the full age of sixteen years on 4 September, 1854. This seems to be decisive in favour of fixing the date of Dalip Singh’s birth on September 4, 1838.

CR. 1944, p. 80.

Ibid. Gupta, pp. lx ff.

CR. 1944, p. 82. It has been doubted whether the quarrel “was genuine or was merely a sham engineered by the Dogra family to dupe the world” (Gupta, pp. Ixxxiii-iv).

Gupta, pp. li-lxix.

CR. 1944, p. 81.

Singh, 43-4. It is further said that Gulab Singh “had already helped himself to all the money and valuables belonging to Maharani Chand Kaur, and the accumulated treasure of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in January 1841, when Sher Singh had come to the throne.” (Singh, 44).

CR. 1944, p. 82.

Ibid.

Ibid, 83.

Gupta, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

Ibid, xciv.

Ibid, xiv.

Ibid, xciv-xcviii.

Cunningham, 332.

Ibid, 333-4. The statements are all supported by documentary evidence referred to in footnotes.

Ibid, 334-5.

Singh, 31.

Ibid, 32.

Ibid.

Ibid, 35.

Ibid, 38.

Ibid, 33.

Ibid, 39.

Ibid, 40.

Ibid, 41.

Ibid. The news of the murders mu«t have been on its way when this letter was written.

Ibid.

All the three letters are quoted in Singh, 41-3.

Singh, 45.

66. Singh, 45-6.

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Singh, 51.

Singh, 52-3.

“The Sikh army consistently demanded punishment of Missar Lai Singh tor keeping illicit connection with Rani Jindan, but he was created a Raja instead (Gupta, p. xl).

Singh, 57-8.

Cunningham, 390, 394.

Singh, 66-7.

Cunningham, 390.

Campbell, Memoirs, 76-7.

Singh, 77.

For details of these and other causes of estrangement, cf. Gupta, pp. lxx ff. Ibid, lxxii.

Singh, 66.

Cunningham, 394.

Cunningham, 393.

Ibid, 388-9.

Singh, 60. The reference in the last sentence, is, of course, to the Sikh help in the last phase of the Afghan War.

Ibid.

Ibid, 68.

Cunningham, 396-7.

"When the men were tauntingly asked whether they would quietly look on while the limits of the Khalsa dominion were being reduced, and the plains of Lahore occupied by the remote strangers of Europe, they answered that they would defend with their lives all belonging to the Commonwealth of Govind, and that they would march and give battle to the invaders on their own ground." Cunningham, 397. In the footnote Cunningham remarks that the ordinary private correspondence of the period contained many statements of this kind. /

Singh, 70, quoting BRC, 872.

Singh, 70.

Singh, 69.

Ibid, 71.

Ibid. .

For a summary of the Proclamation and comments on the same, cf. Singh 73 ff. The text is given in Aitchison, XII. 48.

Ibid, 77.

P. 78. Quoted in Singh, 78.

CHBFP, II. 212.

Singh, 78; Ludlow, British India, II. 142. Lord Hardinge, writing to Currie on 10 December, 1846, after Lai Singh was banished from the Pan jab as will be related later, refers to "the paper which Lai Singh has received from Lawrence recognizing his services during the last campaign". (Private Correspondence, p. 12).

Quoted in Singh, 79, from the English translation of Rapport sur le Derniers Evenements du Panjab, Paris, 1846.

For the accounts of the campaigns that follow, cf. Singh, pp. 79 ff.

Private Correspondence, 6-8.

Dr. Andrew Adams, Wanderings of a Naturalist in India, pp. 60-61, quoted in Singh, 85.

Singh, 85-6.

Singh, 89-90. For the text of the treaty, cf. Aitchison, XII. 50.

Aitchison, XII. 54.

Cunningham, 438-9.

Singh, 91.

For a detailed account cf. "The Kashmir Rebellion and the Trial of Raja Lai Singh", by Dr. I. Banerji in PIHC, III, 1308 ff.

Hardinge wrote to Currie on 12 December, 1846: "Persevere in your line of making the Sikh Durbar propose the condition or rather their readiness to assent to any conditions imposed as the price of the continuance of our support." (Private Correspondence, 15).

Hardinge had'written to Currie on December 7, 1846, that "in any agreement made for continuing the occupation of Lahore, her deprivation of power is an indispensable condition" (Singh, 95).

108. For the whole transaction, cf. Singh, pp. 94 ff; also PIHRC, XVII. 91. This treaty, like that of March 11, was called Articles of Agreement. For the text, cf. Aitchison, XII. 56; also Private Correspondence, p. 482. Appendix B of this book (pp. 470 ff.) gives the text of all treaties, proclamations etc.

109. Italics mine.

110. Singh, 99.

111. Singh, 101.

112. Singh, 104.

113. Currie's letter to Broadfoot, dated January 19, 1845; quoted in Singh, 106.

114. Singh, 107-9.

115. Singh, 109-11.

116. Singh, 105.

116a. PIHRC, XXV, Part II, 90.

117. Singh, 117.

118. Singh, 120.

119. Ibid, 123.

120. Panjab Papers, 311, quoted in Singh, 123.

121. Charles Napier, IV, 129, quoted in Singh, 123.

122. This account is based on the Resident's report to the Governor-General dated August 12, 1848, quoted in Singh, 124.

123. Panjab Papers, 313, quoted in Singh, 124-5.

124. Singh, 127.

125* P- 98, quoted in Singh, 113. Hie Government plea that it was difficult to begin the campaign in summer has been strongly criticised by many writers, who regarded it as a serious argument rather than a pretence (Cf. Singh, p. 113).

126. Panjab Papers, 286-7, quoted by Singh, 125.

127. Lord Gough also wrote to Currie on October 31, 1848: “Up to this time he (the Governor-General) has never distinctly stated to me that we are at war with the Panjab”. Singh, 132.

128. Singh, pp. 129-30, 136.

129. THG, (341-2). For a detailed account of the war see the books mentioned in the Bibliography.

130. “Only the Commander-in-Chief was delighted with his feat. He was astounded when George Lawrence seemed dissatisfied”. The Duke of Wellington also condemned Lord Gough’s tactics. Cf. THG (342).

131. THG (342-3); Singh, 133.

132. Singh, 139. For correspondence between Henry Lawrence and Dalhousie cf. THG (344-45).

133. For die text of the “Terms granted to, and accepted by, Maharaja Dalip Smgh , as the treaty was officially designated, cf. Aitchison, XII. 59.

134. For the text of the Proclamation, cf. Singh, 140-1; Arnold, 202-4.

135. Singh, 140.

136. Singh, 147.

137. Ibid.

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SuHivan Are We Bound by our Treaties, p. 52, quoted in Singh, 140. Under Article 3 of the Treaty of 1849, Dalip Singh had to surrender “the gem called the Koh-i-neor, which was taken from Shuja-ul-Mulk by Maharaja Ranjit Smgh” (See p. 242). ^

Singh, 149.

CHBFP, H. 214.

Singh, 151.

For the administration of the Panjib under the Board of three, and iU

feeling between the two brothers, John and Henry, cf. THG (345-49).

The account is based on Trotter, I. 222. It is worthy of note that an eminent

British historian like Trotter, while describing the flight of the Maharani,

refers to her as the beautiful vixen”. Sardar Ganda Singh puts the date of

her removal from the fort of Sheikhupura to the fort of Chunar in May 1848

The above account of Dalip Singh is based on “Some Correspondence of

Mah <£T*5L a x Dulee P Smgh” by Sardar Ganda Singh (PIHRC, XXV, Part II pp. 89 ff.) ’ * •

The above account of Dalip Singh after his arrest at Aden is based on some letters published in the London Times in 1887 and 1888, records in CRO, and the Correspondence of Lord Dufisrin”, Vol. HI.

CHAPTER XI

THE ANNEXATION OF AVADH

It would appear from the history of Avadh, narrated in the preceding volume, that its political and military government was virtually in the hands of the British, though they recognized it theoretically as an independent and sovereign State. Although the internal administration was nominally left in the hands of the Nawab, he was subjected to constant control and interference even in this sphere. The British official records have drawn a very lurid picture of the internal condition of Avadh under this dual system of Government. How far this picture represents the actual state of things is not easy to determine, and will be discussed later in this chapter. The state of things as described by the British Government, and generally accepted as true by the British writers, with a few exceptions, may be summed up as follows and provisionally accepted as the basis of the subsequent history of the State until it was annexed by the British in 1856.

A series of unworthy rulers, profligate and extravagant in the extreme, drained the resources of the country. They scarcely concerned themselves with the affairs of the kingdom which were managed by corrupt officials. Surrounded by panders and parasites, and free from fears of foreign invasion and internal rebellions by the British guarantee, they indulged in sensual pleasures without any care for the happiness of the people, who groaned under heavy taxation and exactions of both royal officials and tyrannical landlords. Offices were openly bought and sold; much of the land was farmed out to large contractors who exacted as much as they could from the cultivator, not unoften at the point of British bayonet. The big landlords, called Talukdars , were petty tyrants who terribly oppressed the people, and were themselves coerced by the Nawab with the help of British troops. - It was indeed a vicious system which cannot be too strongly condemned, and there is hardly any doubt that it was mainly brought about by the unusual relations subsisting between the British Government and the rulers of Avadh. The evils of the Subsidiary Alliance manifested themselves in full measure, though Avadh was theoretically an independent State. It did not enjoy the blessing of either the British rule or of the oriental despotism, but suffered in full measure from the glaring evils of both.

The depraved character of the Nawab, as pictured by the British, was an inevitable consequence of the system of British Protectorate, as has been noticed above, in connection with the system of Subsidiary Alliance. But howsoever bad the Nawabs might have been, they alone cannot be held responsible for the miserable state of affairs. The fault lay, to a large extent, in the heavy exactions of the British by way of growing charges for the maintenance of British subsidiary troops, and the impact it produced on the whole system of administration. Some liberal-minded Englishmen openly expressed their doubts whether the British or the Government of Avadh were more responsible for the chronic misrule of the country. 1 Yet, periodically, Resident and Governor-General, one after another, conveyed warnings to the Nawabs, admonished, and even threatened them with dire consequences, if they did not mend their ways. It never occurred to them that the fault was primarily in the system and not in the men. But though the British Lion roared, it gave its victim an unconscionably long time to die. For the Nawabs possessed one great merit in their eyes. As one British historian put it, although they "were, doubtless, bad rulers and bad men, it must be admitted they were good allies. False to their people—false to their own manhood—they were true to the British Government." 2 This redeeming virtue, which no doubt saved the Nawabs from early extinction, was displayed on many occasions and in manifold ways. They never cherished evil designs, or even ill feeling, against the British, and helped them with grain, carriage, cattle and cash. Lord Hastings, engaged in a costly warfare, badly needed money, and a sum of two crores of Rupees was supplied by the Nawab of Avadh. As a reward, he was given the title and status of a King in 1819. This was probably not a mere display of good will, or dictated by a desire to humour the Nawab. By one stroke of pen "His Majesty of Oudh" was made a rival of the titular Emperor of Delhi, and this, it was fondly hoped, would break the solidarity of the Muslims in India, who did not yet reconcile themselves fully to the loss of power and liberty at the hands of the British. A further amount of a crore of Rupees and a half was exacted by Lord Amherst, and another amount of 82 lakhs of Rupees by Bentinck. 3

Lord William Bentinck, following in the footsteps of his predecessors, made an attempt to reform the ways of the Nawab. He personally visited Lakhnau in April, 1831, and uttered a threat in very plain language. He told the King that unless his territories were governed upon better principles, Avadh would share the fate of Tanjore and Carnatic, i.e., the British would take upon themselves “the entire management of the country and the King would be transmuted into a State pensioner”.[4] The warning was afterwards communicated to the King in writing.

The threat of the extinction of Avadh as an independent kingdom had the desired effect. The minister, Hakim Mehdi, who had already effected some improvement in the administration, promised to exert himself more energetically, and even the King assured him of full support. But the same influences that had hitherto thwarted the efforts of the minister, were again exerted in opposing him. In vain did he turn to the Governor-General to help him in his laudable efforts. Commenting on this state of things Beveridge observes:

> “Under these circumstances what was the duty of the British Government? Unquestionably to strengthen the hands of the minister, and more especially, when both he and his sovereign declared their inability to carry out the required reforms without extraneous aid, to furnish that aid liberally to any extent that might be necessary. Strange to say, the governor-general, after interfering so far with the internal management of Oude as to threaten its existence as an independent kingdom unless certain changes were introduced, refused, when applied to, to give the least assistance in carrying them into effect, and with singular inconsistency attempted to justify the refusal on the ground that the policy which he had adopted would not allow him to interfere. In vain did Hakim Mehdi argue that by the treaty made with the Marquis of Wellesley, the right of interference, at least so far as to give advice, was distinctly recognised; that the interference now asked was certainly not greater than that which the governor-general had just been exercising, and that the British government by standing aloof was making itself responsible for the future maladministration of Oude, since ‘he who sees a blind man on the edge of a precipice, and will not put forth a hand to hold him back, is not innocent of his destruction’. Lord William Bentinck remained immoveable, and while complaining loudly of the domestic policy of Oude, obstinately refused to assist in improving it .. . From his

refusal to strengthen the hands of Hakim Mehdi, that minister found it impossible to maintain his position, and retired into private life."

The retired minister published a defence of his conduct in a local newspaper, and the misgovernment in Avadh "advanced with accelerated pace". As Beveridge remarks, "the courtiers of Oude did not reason very illogically when they inferred, from the inconsistency and caprice which marked" the conduct of the GovernorGeneral, "that the object at which he was aiming was not so much to improve the government" of Avadh, "as to find in prevailing abuses a plausible pretext for usurping it". 6 It is now known that.

unknowingly, they had divined the truth. For while Bentinck refused to interfere in the administration of Avadh, he was seriously discussing various plans to bring that country under the direct control of the British Government. He considered various alternative proposals, from the appointment of a minister selected by the British and entrusted with full powers under the supervision of the Resident, to the outright annexation of the whole province. The scheme finally adopted by him was tantamount to the administration by the British for the interest of the people. The British Government would "become the guardian and trustee of the King of Oude, administer his affairs through native agency and in accordance with native institutions, and pay every single rupee into the royal treasury." 6

This scheme was approved by the Court of Directors after a delay of two years, and the Governor-General was authorized to carry it into effect at such time and in such manner as might appear suitable to him. The Government of India were, however, instructed to announce, before they assumed the administration of Avadh, that as soon as the necessary reforms were effected, the administration of the State would be restored to the King, as was done in the case of Nagpur. 7

The British Resident at Lakhnau was, however, averse to the adoption of this scheme, and suggested, instead, the removal of the reigning King Nasir-ud-din, and installation of a new ruler without demanding anything as the price of his elevation to the throne. But before the Government of India took any final decision in this matter the King suddenly died on the night of the 7th of July, 1837. Poisoning was suspected, but there was no satisfactory evidence. As usual, the succession was disputed.

Sadat Ali, the grandfather of the deceased king, Nasir-ud-din, had ten sons, and was succeeded by his eldest son Ghazi-ud-din, the father of Nasir-ud-din. Nasir-ud-din had at one time acknowledged two sons, but later disavowed them, and the British Government, believing their pretensions to be unfounded, regarded Nasirud-daullah, the third and the eldest surviving son of Sadat Ali, “an old man and a cripple”, as the legitimate successor according to Muslim law, and proposed to elevate him to the throne. But the Padshah Begum or the Dowager Queen supported one of the ^pretended sons, and advanced with him to take possession of the palace by force. The Resident and his assistant were busy arranging ceremonies for installing Nasir-ud-daullah, when they were overpowered by the Begum’s followers, and the pretender was formally seated on the throne. But the British troops now arrived and attacked the palace. A short skirmish followed, in course of which thirty or forty of the

Begum’s followers were killed or wounded, and a few of the British sepoys also suffered. The Begum and her protege were made prisoners, and Nasir-ud-daullah was solemnly seated on the throne from which the pretender was just ejected by force. The Begum and the pretender were not allowed to reside within the dominion of Avadh, and removed to the Company’s territories. 8

A lurid light is thrown on the whole transaction by the deed of engagement executed by Nasir-ud-daullah on the night of 7 July, 1837, i.e. immediately after the death of Nasir-ud-din. It runs as follows:

“Lieutenant-Colonel John Low, the Resident, has apprised me, through Lieutenant Shakespear, his second assistant, of the death of Nasir-ud-din Hyder, king of Oude. The Resident has also communicated to me the substance of the orders of the Government of India respecting the necessity of new engagements on the (part of the ?) Company’s Government with the Oude State; and I hereby declare, that in the case of my being placed on the throne, I will agree to sign any new treaty that the Governor-General may dictate”.

At the foot of the Persian paper Nasir-ud-daullah wrote in Persian, “It is accepted and Agreed upon,” and affixed the impression of his seal.

Even Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, could not give his support to this act of duress. In his minute, dated 11th July, 1837, after approving of the general policy followed by Low and sanctioning the elevation of Nasir-ud-daullah to the throne, he observed: “I should undoubtedly have been better pleased if he had not in this moment of exigency accepted the unconditional engagement of submissiveness which the new King has signed. This document may be liable to misconstruction, and it was not warranted by anything contained in the instructions issued to Colonel Low”. 8a

But whatever may be the moral scruples of the Governor-General at the unauthorized act of Colonel Low, which was both immoral and indecent, to say the least of it, the blank cheque which the claimant to the throne was forced to sign under duress, was cashed at a high price by the Government of India. Nasir-ud-daullah had to accept a new treaty, by which the old native levies of the kingdom were to be replaced by a new force, organized and commanded by British officers, at the cost of the Government of Avadh. It was further stipulated that the Nawab, in concert with the British Resident, should forthwith proceed to improve the administration, and if “oppression, anarchy and misrule should hereafter, at any time, prevail within Oude dominions, the British Government would be entitled to appoint its own officer to the management of any part or whole of the Province, for so long a period as it may deem necessary, the surplus receipts, in such a case, after defraying all charges, to be paid into the King’s Treasury. 9

The British authorities in London, however, categorically disallowed this treaty of 1837. The arguments advanced by them were very sound. They rightly pointed out that the treaty of 1801 made it obligatory on the British Government to defend the territory of Avadh, and a large part of this kingdom had been ceded to defray the expenses of the troops to be maintained for the purpose. If, therefore, any further contingent was regarded as necessary for the protection of Avadh, it ought to be maintained at the‘expense of the Company and not of the King of Avadh. Further, as the new King, backed up by the British, was reported to be of good character, he must be given a fair trial under the provisions of the existing treaty, and no new conditions, providing for assumption of government by the British, should be imposed upon him.

Every unprejudiced person would admit the force and logic of the arguments, but, unhappily, the Court of Directors, in order to save the face of the Government of India, left it to the GovernorGeneral to decide upon the time and mode of communicating the abrogation of the treaty to the King of Avadh. In consequence of it, this communication was never made. The King of Avadh was simply informed that in order to relieve him of his heavy burden, the Company would pay for the expenses of the new auxiliary force which was formed under the provisions of the new treaty, but he was kept completely ignorant of the all-important fact that the entire treaty was abrogated. The Government of India probably entertained the hope that the Government at Home might still revise its opinion, and in any case held that the disclosure of truth would weaken its prestige in the eyes of the Indians. But whatever might be their excuse or defence, the course pursued by them was not only inexpedient, but positively dishonest. 10

For the next ten.years the Government of India did not take any active interest in the affairs of Avadh, probably because their hands were too full with the momentous events in Afghanistan, Sindh and the Paniab, to which reference has been made above. But in 1847 Lord Hardinge turned his attention again to the dreadful misrule in Avadh under its young, gay and profligate ruler. Waiid Ali Shah, who had just succeeded to the throne. The Governor-General visited Lakhnau. and. like Bentinck. strongly admonished the ruler. He plainly told Waiid Ali that the British Government would give him two years' time for making a final attempt to set his house in order. But if he failed to remove the abuses and restore normal conditions during this period, he must be prepared for the consequences provided in the treaty of 1837. He thus regarded the treaty, which was disallowed by the Court of Directors, to be still valid in 1847. Two years passed away and no sign of improvement was visible. But the outbreak of the Second Sikh War stayed the hands of the Government of India, and once more Avadh was saved by external circumstances.

But the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, was not altogether oblivious of Avadh. He knew that the final act of the drama was near at hand, and thought it prudent to have a written record of the condition of Avadh as a possible justification for its impending annexation. Accordingly, he asked Sir W. H. Sleeman, the Resident in Avadh; to "make a tour throughout the country and ascertain its actual state by personal inspection". Sleeman made' a tour during 1849 and 1850. His report gives a gruesome picture of the King and his court, and vividly describes in detail the anarchical condition of the country, in which the strong devoured the weak with impunity, and a powerful class, with the connivance of the court officials, whom they liberally bribed with their spoils, perpetrated all kinds of putrages and rapine upon the hapless populace. The Talukdars of Avadh were a regular terror to the masses. They kept the country in a perpetual state of disturbance and rendered life, property and industry everywhere insecure. "Robbery and murder become their diversion, their sport, and they think no more of taking the lives of men, women and children, who never offended them, than those of deer and wild hogs." 11

How far this picture may be regarded as an accurate representation of facts, it is difficult to say. Sleeman's attitude towards the Gwalior State—how he wished it to be swallowed by an earthquake —has been mentioned above. Secondly, it was a matter of public knowledge that the annexation of Avadh, on grounds of misrule was urged by many, for there was, unfortunately, no lack of heir calling for the Doctrine of Lapse, nor could any charge of contumacy or intrigue be possibly thought of in the case of the ever-obliging king of Avadh. In such circumstances, the exaggeration of misrule in Avadh, on the part of a British official, was hot unnatural. Such a suspicion becomes very strong when one reads ih the report frequent references to the desire of all classes of people in Avadh that the existing administration should be replaced by that of the British. That Sleeman was absolutely wrong in this respect is proved both by the testimony of Bishop Heber, quoted later, as well as the events of 1857. 12 Similar error in forming a judgment of the nature and extent of misrule cannot, therefore, be ruled out altogether. Besides, there are circumstances which make it difficult to regard the report of Sleeman as the result of an impartial and judicial enquiry, and its author as a disinterested person, so far as Avadh was concerned. In a letter, dated September 16, 1848, Dalhousie offered Sleeman the lucrative post of the Administrator of Avadh. After mentioning that in 1847 the King of Avadh was given to understand that if the administration of the country did not materially improve within two years, the management of the country would be taken by the British Government, Dalhousie adds that "there seems little reason to expect or to hope that in October, 1849, any amendment whatever .will have been effected", and informs Sleeman that the Government have chosen him for the reconstruction of the administration of Avadh. Dalhousie, therefore, asked Sleeman to accept the office of the Resident at Lakhnau "with special reference to the great changes which, in all probability will take place". It is difficult not to agree with the following comments on this made by two Englishmen, probably officers of the East India Company: "Colonel Sleeman was appointed Resident in 1849, and his appointment sealed the doom of Oude and of its dynasty. Colonel Sleeman was the emissary of a foregone conclusion. He affected to inspect and make a report, but the character of the report was determined for him before he entered Oude. He professed to examine, but he was under orders to sentence; he pretended to try, but he was instructed simply to condemn." 12 * In a petition dated May, 1857, the 'ex-King of Oude' made various allegations about the interference in the internal administration of his kingdom by Sleeman, which produced chaos and confusion, and the way in which he collected evidence by asking the people to submit to him complaints against the Government. The two British officers, mentioned above, have given a number of concrete instances which fully substantiate the charges brought by the ex-King against Sleeman. They further observe: "Colonel Sleeman made a tour through the kingdom, receiving petitions and complaints on the most liberal scale, and illustrating at every stage the words of Hooker that "he who goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers". 121 * The same two officers continue: "In upwards o l a hundred and fifty instances, Colonel Sleeman directly and unwarrantably interfered with the action of the Oude Government, and at the same time clandestinely as well as openly, collected every fact, and every rumour, false or true, which could tell on English opinion to its disparagement. To such a length did he carry out his instructions, that he encouraged the disaffected subjects of the King, wherever such could

be fofind, to enter their names upon a list, complaining of the rule o 1 the Oude Government, and expressing a desire for the assumption of the country by the East India Company." 120

In 1854 Sleeman was obliged to retire on grounds of health and was succeeded by General Outram. Much has been made of the fact that the report of Outram on the condition of Avadh supports that of Sleeman. But, fortunately, Outram himself offers the true explanation. He admits at the very outset: "In the absence of any personal experience in this country, I am, of course, entirely dependent for my information on what I find in the Residency Records, and can ascertain through the channels which supplied my predecessor". 12d

There is a volume of official literature on the maladministration of Avadh, and both contemporary and later British writers have justified the annexation of the country on this ground. It is therefore necessary to refer to statements made by responsible men which give an altogether different view. In a letter written by the Marquess of Hastings to the Nawab of Avadh in 1818, he assured "the Nawab of his unqualified approbation and satisfaction at witnessing the high state of cultivation in which he found the country, as well as its increased populousness, and at the happiness and comfort of all His Excellency's subjects" 120 A more detailed contradiction to the prevailing reports about the misgovernment of Avadh is given by Bishop Heber who toured through the country in 1824-5. "I was pleased, however, and surprised," says he, "after all which I had heard of Oude, to find the country so completely under the plough; since, were the oppression so great, as is sometimes stated, I cannot think that we should witness so considerable a population or so much industry." Heber attributes the difficulties of the administration to the interference of the British. "The truth, perhaps, is", says he, "that for more than a year back, since the aid of British troops has been withheld, affairs have been jin some respects growing better." Heber also inquired "if the people thus oppressed desired, as I had been assured they did, to be placed under English Government". He also refers to Captain Lockitt, whose knowledge of the local language enabled him to converse freely with the people, as having asked the same question. But the people fervently desired to be saved from ‘that misery’. Heber also pays high tribute to the Nawab in the following words: “He was fond, as I have observed, of study, and in all points of oriental philology and philosophy, is really reckoned a learned man, besides having a strong taste for mechanics and chemistry.No single act of violence or oppres

sion has ever been ascribed to him, or supposed to have been per

petrated with his knowledge .” 121 Successive Residents,—Captain Shakespear, Mr. Davidson, and Colonel Richmond—found on the whole the administration of Avadh not worse than the neighbouring dominions of the East India Company. 120

Much has been made of the repeated admonitions given to the Nawabs without any effect. “From 1839 to 1847”, wrote Lord Dalhousie, “three kings successively sat upon the throne of Oude, but the state of the proyince in the last-mentioned year was in no respect better than it had been at any previous period, in spite of the earnest advice and solemn warnings repeatedly offered to the King, and urged by the authority of the Supreme Government.” 1211 This is not, however, either an accurate statement of fact, or a simple unvarnished truth. Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, wrote to His Majesty the King of Avadh, Nasir-ud-daullah, on July 8, 1839, to the following effect: “From the period you ascended the throne, your majesty has, in comparison with times past, greatly improved the kingdom.” 121 As a matter of fact, according to contemporary British writers Nasir-ud-daullah fully deserved the praise. “Notwithstanding his advanced age and many infirmities, he greatly improved the state of his kingdom, ameliorated the condition of the agriculturist, introduced reforms in the police, revenue, judicial, and finance departments, encouraged commerce, erected several public works of great utility, such as schools, colleges, serais or resting places for travellers, dug tanks, wells. &c., and filled the coffers of his treasury.” 12 ! The evidence, mentioned above, of the two Residents, Captain Shakespear and Mr. Davidson, whose terms of office fell between 1839 and 1847’ certainly does not “warrant the uniform lurid colouring bestowed on Avadh Government by Dalhousie.” 12k

In the next place, Dalhousie refers to the earnest advice and solemn warnings, and cleverly insinuates as if no heed was paid to them by the Nawabs of Avadh. But this is far from being the case. Reference has been made above how an earnest effort was made by Hakim Mehdi, the minister of the Nawab, to improve administration, but Bentinck, who gave the warnings, did not raise even his little finger to help the Government of Avadh. History repeated itself when Lord Hardinge again gave warning to the Nawab in his letter dated 23 November, 1847. What followed is thus described by the two contemporary British officers referred to above:

"The King of Oude, as early as was practicable, that is to say, in the spring of 1848, applied through his minister, the Nawab Ali Nukur Khan, to the British Resident for a plan for the introduction of the British system of administration into his dominions, to be tried in the first instance in such portions of them as adjoined the British territories. In consequence of this application, the Resident, Col. Richmond, assisted the King with his suggestions, and despatched his assistant, Major (then Captain) Bird, to Agra, with the sanction of His Majesty, for the purpose of communicating personally with Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and of framing under his advice such a scheme of administration as was desired by His Majesty through the minister above named. In accordance with His Majesty's wishes Captain Bird framed proposals, which he submitted to Mr. Thomason, who took them into consideration, and remarked upon them liberally, with a view to bring them into shape and system. Captain Bird returned to Lucknow, bringing with him the scheme so framed or modified by Mr. Thomason, and submitted it to the King's minister, who entirely approved it; but Colonel Richmond, the Resident, decided, before it was submitted to the King officially, it should be sent for approval to the Governor General.It was forwarded to the Secretary to the Government in the Foreign Department at Calcutta, and he rejected it on the ground that "if His Majesty the King of Oude would give up the whole of his dominions, the East India Government would think of it, but that it was not worth while to take so much trouble about a portion.” 121

This circumstantial narrative exposes the hollowness of the British solicitude for the improvement of the administration of Avadh. Nor can one easily dismiss the following serious allegations based on the facts noted above:

“It is doubtful whether the Indian Government had at any time lost sight of the intention avowed by Lord Wellesley to appropriate Oude entirely. And it may be for that very reason that, from the date of its avowal, representations were spread abroad from time to time that Oude was misgoverned, that its people were oppressed, that its revenues and institutions were falling into decay”. 12m

The systematic misrepresentation of facts and withholding of the relevant facts and considerations on the other side, had, however, done their work. When, in 1854, Dalhousie found time to take up the question of Avadh for a final decision, the official circles, both in India and England, were more or less convinced that it was imperative for the British Government to take upon itself the administration of Avadh. But there were very real and sharp differences of opinion regarding the manner in which it was to be accomplished. One school of opinion was in favour of Avadh being ruled by the British in the interest of her people, without seeking to derive any benefit for themselves. It may be recalled that Bentinck actually outlined such a policy. The Resident. Sleeman, whose views

of the internal condition of Avadh have been quoted above, was strongly impressed by the necessity of taking over the direct administration of Avadh. But his definite advice was: ‘‘Assume the administration, but do not grasp the revenues of the country”. He recommended that “the whole revenues of Oude should be expended for the benefit of the Royal family and people of Oude, and the British Government should disclaim any wish to derive any pecuniary advantage from assuming to itself the administration." "If we do this," said he, "all India will think us right." The same' view was expressed by Sir Henry Lawrence. He supported the scheme recommended by Bentinck: "Let Oude be at last governed," said he, "not for one man, the king, but for him and his people. Let the administration of the country, as far as possible, be native. Let not a rupee come into the Company's coffers."

As against this school of moderate and enlightened views there was another, imbued with imperial ideas of confiscation and annexation of Indian States with appropriation of their revenues. Sleeman pointed out that this course would "be most profitable in a pecuniary view, but most injurious in a political one." Apart from the special case of Avadh, Sleeman was opposed, as a general principle, to the annexation of Native States, which he considered to be "dangerous to our rule in India, and prejudicial to the best interests of the country." "The system of annexing and absorbing Native States," said he, "so popular with our Indian services, and so much advocated by a certain class of writers in public journals —might some day render us too visibly dependent upon our Native Army." On another occasion he uttered words which proved to be prophetic. "The Native States I consider to be breakwaters, and when they are all swept away we shall be left to the mercy of our Native Army, which may not always be sufficiently under our control." 13

The final decision rested with Lord Dalhousie. He read the reports of Sleeman as well as those of Colonel James Outram, who succeeded him as Resident of Avadh, and General Low, a former Resident, mentioned above. Sleeman and Low, well-known as averse to the annexation of Native States, both recommended assumption of the administration of Avadh on the ground of chronic misrule, which continued unchecked and could not be remedied in any other way. But they were opposed to the revenues being taken by the British Government for its own benefit. The names of these persons carried so great a weight that possibly even the annexation of Avadh, in the manner suggested by them, would not have provoked any strong protest. But Dalhousie was an imperialist to the core. He proposed to put a very thin veil upon the annexation of Avadh, but at the same time appropriate all its revenues. He proposed that the King of Avadh should theoretically retain the status and position of a sovereign, but "vest all power, jurisdiction, rights and claims in the hands of the East India Company," which would carry on the administration, and keep the surplus revenues to itself. Strictly speaking, it was not annexation of Avadh, as the kingdom was not to be incorporated with the British dominions, but it is not easy to understand the meaning of territorial sovereignty, without territorial rights or territorial revenues, which was left to the King. 14

Still more ingenious was the method suggested by Dalhousie for getting the consent of the Nawab to his self-annihilation, for he thought, "it would not be expedient or right, to extract this consent by means of menace or compulsion." He seriously suggested that the Nawab should be informed by a letter that the British had decided "to declare the treaty of 1801 at an end, to quit the territory of Oude, and to withdraw the entire subsidiary force within the British frontier" (but to retain possession of the lands ceded by the Nawab for the maintenance of this force). The Nawab should then be reminded of the serious consequences, like insurrection, which are sure to follow the withdrawal of the British force, and hopes held out to him that the only way of averting it would be to sign a treaty surrendering the entire administration of the territory.

Lord Dalhousie thought "that the King's fear of the vengeance which his own subjects would exact if he were left alone, would induce him to sign the treaty; and if not, the withdrawal of the British troops would be the signal for such an insurrection, as would induce the- King, within a month, to agree to whatever stipulations might be offered to him by the British Government." It may be added that this view was shared by other experienced officials who held that "our departure would be followed by insurrections which would compel our return." 16

But this ingenious device of obtaining the free consent of the King evidently involved some risk of the King not recalling the British troops at all. Hence it did not find favour with the Council of the Governor-General. The Court of Directors very frankly observed that unless the Governor-

General was virtually certain that the threat would work in the desired way, it should not be tried.

Lord Dalhousie's suggestions in a sense do him credit. He was evidently embarrassed by the way in which the abrogation of the treaty of 1837 was not only withheld from the King of Avadh, but he was led to believe that it was still in force. For, apart from Lord Hardinge's specific reference to it, noted above, the treaty was in

eluded in a collection of treaties, still in force, compiled in 1845. It was obvious to him that the King might very well demand that even taking the worst view, nothing more severe than the penal clause of that treaty should be put in force. Even if it were explained to the Nawab that the treaty was not ratified by the Court of Directors and therefore did not exist, the King, apart from his indignation at the duplicity practised upon him, might demand that the least compensation that he might reasonably expect was a new treaty drawn up on similar terms to remove the technical defect. In anticipation of all these,[16a] Dalhousie had instructed the Resident to say, in the event of this suggestion being made by the King, that the supreme authorities in England rejected the proposal, and experience had shown that the remedy proposed by the treaty of 1837 would be wholly inadequate. These were lame excuses, and the absurdity of the second is apparent from the fact that the scheme suggested by Dalhousie differed little in substance. The GovernorGeneral's Council and the authorities in England, however, did not appreciate the transparent disguise under which Dalhousie proposed to grab the kingdom of Avadh, and preferred a straightforward annexation of the country. The Governor-General was due to retire, but expressed a keen desire to continue at his post[16] in order to accomplish the delicate task of extinguishing a friendly State which, with all its faults, had stood faithfully by the British in weal and woe for nearly a century. At the beginning of January, 1856, Dalhousie received, by the same mail, two despatches from the Court of Directors, one sanctioning the extension of his service, and the other approving of the annexation of Avadh. Dalhousie immediately sent detailed instructions to Outram, the Resident at Lakhnau. "He was to endeavour to persuade the king of Oude formally to abdicate his sovereign functions, and to make over, by a solemn treaty, the government of his territories to the East India Company. In the event of his refusal, a proclamation was to be issued, declaring the whole of Oude to be British territory." 17

The rest of this painful episode may be briefly told. On 4 February, 1856, the Resident had an interview with "His Majesty" Wajid Ali, and presented him a draft of the proposed treaty together with a letter from the Governor-General urging him to accept it. But at this momentous crisis Wazid Ali showed a kingly dignity and sense of honour, hardly to be expected from a man of such character as has been depicted by the British. He "declared that treaties were only between equals; that there was no need for him to sign it. The British "had taken his honour and his country and he would not ask them for the means of maintaining his life." So saying, he

took off the turban from his head and placed it in the hands of the Resident. Outram could not, by any means, persuade him to sign the treaty or accept the proposed stipend of twelve lakhs. Thereupon a proclamation, copy of which was sent from Calcutta, was issued, "declaring the province of Oude to be thenceforth, for ever, a compel nent part of the British Indian Empire." 17 ®

The curtain thus fell upon the tragic drama of Avadh, but not upon the long-drawn agony of her people. To explain this it is necessary to say a few words about the immediate consequence of the annexation, which the British declared from the house-tops to be a painful measure dictated alone by humanitarian considerations for the good of the people.

As in the case of Nagpur, the annexation of Avadh was accompanied by needless acts of spoliation of a cruel and barbarous character. Various charges were brought which were thus summed up by Kaye:

"It was charged against us that our Officers had turned the stately palaces of Lucknow into stalls and kennels, that delicate women, the daughters or the companions of Kings, had been sent adrift, homeless and helpless, that treasure-houses had been violently broken open and despoiled, that the private property of the royal family had been sent to the hammer, and that other vile things had been done, very humiliating to the King's people, but far more disgraceful to our own." 18

Canning, the Governor-General, referred these charges to the newly appointed Chief Commissioner of Avadh, but repeated reminders, and even admenitions, could not elicit any satisfactory explanation. It is, therefore, permissible to hold that the charges were substantially true, though this is denied by many British historians. 18 ®

The deposition of the King of Avadh and the introduction of the British system of administration very adversely affected all classes of people, and caused serious grievances and injuries to them, such as normally followed almost every annexation of a new kingdom by the British. But whereas common convention condones many sufferings caused by a military conquest, as they are considered inevitable, there are less excuses, and therefore greater discontent and keener sense of resentment, where transfer of sovereignty is effected more peaceably and on grounds that are considered to be extremely unjust and iniquitous. In Avadh, as in most Native States in India, quite a large number of people lived on the bounty of the court. These ranged from the highest aristocracy, related by ties

of blood to the royal family, to the vulgar parasites who earned their livelihood by the extravagance, profligacy and licentiousness of the court. Between these two extremes were the numerous functionaries and tradesmen of the court, titled pensioners, and so forth. All these were ruined when the King vacated his throne. “Men and women of high birth, tenderly reared and luxuriously surrounded, were suddenly cast adrift on the world without the means of subsistence. Some warded off starvation by selling their shawls and trinkets.” 19 “Families, wnich had never before been outside the Zenana, used to go out at night and beg their bread.” 20 The Government order provided for such a contingency, but the local officials made such inordinate delay in preparing the pension list, that untold hardships were caused to many before any steps were taken by Sir Henry Lawrence. ‘Charity delayed is charity denied’,—proved unfortunately too true in many cases. The great landholders of Avadh, generally known as Talukdars, suffered equally from the new policy of land-settlement, in which their rights were mostly ignored, and direct engagements were made with village proprietors who had hitherto been content to occupy and to cultivate their lands under the old Talukdars. But the cultivators were also in great misery, as the assessment was very high. The Chief Commissioner, in answer to the complaint made to the Governor-General, wrote in April, 1857, i.e. about a year after the annexation: “The revenue measures have been unsatisfactory. Reductions have been made to the amount of fifteen, twenty, thirty and even thirty-five per cent., showing how heavy was last year’s assessment. The Taluk ddrs have also, I fear, been hardly dealt with. At least in the Fyzabad Division they have lost half their villages—some have lost all.”[21] To add insult to injury, many of the forts possessed by the Talukdars were dismantled and their armed retainers were disarmed and disbanded. Of the sixty thousand sepoys of Avadh, less than a quarter was retained in service, but the rest, about fifty thousand in number, were ‘cast adrift upon the province with small pensions or gratuities.’ The new system of taxation also proved irksome to all. A heavy tax was laid upon opium, and “the prices of other necessaries were raised, if not by direct imposts, by contract systems, which had equally injurious effects”. The new judicial regulations, with their increased formalities, delays, and expenses, were causing scarcely less uneasiness and less popular dislike of the new Government.

This chapter, dealing with the extinction of the kingdom of Avadh, may be fittingly concluded with an extract from the letter written by Lord Amherst to Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, King of Avadh, in grateful recognition of the loan of one crore of Rupees during the First Burmese War, advanced by the latter.

“The benefits and fruits of our amity, which have existed from days of yore, are impressed upon the heart of every Englishman, both here and in Europe, as indelibly as if they had been engraven upon adamant; nor will lapse of time or change of circumstances efface from the memory of the British nation so irrefragable a proof, so irresistible an argument, of the fraternal sentiments of your Majesty”.[22]

This letter was written on 14 October, 1825. It might well serve as an epitaph of the extinct kingdom of Avadh, “engraven upon adamant” on 4 February, 1856.

1. The following comments are made in CHBFP, II. 409:

"The pressure for payment, combined with the Resident's interference in the internal affairs of Oudh, rendered administration extremely difficult, and matters drifted from bad to worse."

Bell observes; "The misgovernment of Oudh continued . in

consequence of the incessant meddling and interference, and greedy exaction of loans, by which nearly four crores were taken from the Oudh treasury in twenty years." (Bell-II. 20). Kaye observes: "In truth it was a vicious system, one that can hardly be too severely condemned. By it we established a Double Government of the worst kind. The political and military government was in the hands of the Company; the internal administration of Oude territories still rested with the Nawab-Wuzeer. In other words, hedged in and protected by the British battallions, a bad race of Eastern princes were suffered to do, or not to do, what they liked. Under such influences it is not strange that disorder of every kind ran riot over the whole length and breadth of the land." But Kaye had the candour to admit that the Nawab alone could not be blamed for the misrule in Avadh. "Whether", he says, "the British or the Oude Government were more responsible for it was somewhat doubtful to every clear understanding and every unprejudiced mind". (Kaye-I, I. 113-4,126). Bishop Heber's opinion to the same effect is quoted later.

2. Ibid, 118.

3. The Nawab was first "induced to lend the British Government a crore (£1.000,000) of Rupees, for the prosecution of the war against Nepal. When this was exper .led by the governor-general's council on other objects a second crore was lent, but only under great pressure" (CHI, V. 575). Beveridge speaks of three successive loans of £1,000,000 each, of which only one had been repaid by the cession of some territories conquered from Nepal (III. 543). This land had hardly any material value. The king of Avadh also advanced a crore of Rupees to the British during the Burmese campaign of 1824-5, and Lord Amherst wrote an effusive letter expressing his gratitude for this generous help "in case of extreme emergency and need". In 1829 the British Government consented—so runs the word in

official records—to receive as a special loan the sum of 62,40,000 Rupees, the interest of which was to form a provision for certain members of the royal family of Avadh, and in case of their death without heirs, to revert to the king of Avadh. But nothing was paid out of this to anybody. For details of these exactions from Avadh, cf. Dacoitee, pp. 63, 64, 68, 94.

4. Kaye-I, I. 121. The actual word used is 'prisoner' (in the printed text) which seems to be a misprint for 'pensioner'. Cf. Beveridge, III. 214.

5. This whole disgraceful episode, and the passages quoted are taken from Beveridge, III. 214-5. Cf. also Mill, IX. 373.

6. Kaye-I, I. 122-3.

7. Ibid, 124.

8. Thornton, VI. 74-80.

8a. Dacoitee , pp. 85-6.

9. Jackson, 123.

10. Kaye-I, I. 126-9.

11. Beveridge, III. 546; Kaye-I, I. 134-5.

12. It is generally admitted that during the outbreak of 1857, popular discontent against the British rule was at its highest in Avadh, and the forcible dethronement of the King of Avadh and the annexation of the country by the British was regarded by many as one of the major causes of the outbreak, cf. ch. XVIL

12a. Dacoitee, pp. 109 ff.

12b. Ibid, 130.

12c. Ibid, 131.

12d. Ibid, 134.

12e. Ibid, 72-3.

12f. Ibid, 73-6.

12g. Ibid, 97.

12h. Ibid, 98.

12i. Ibid, 92.

12j. Ibid, 93.

12k. Ibid, 99.

121. Ibid, 101-2.

12m. Ibid, 72 (Slight changes have been made in the quotation).

13. Kaye-I, I. 135-8.

14. Ibid, 144.

15. Jackson, 138, 141.

15a. The King of Avadh seems to have actually referred to the provisions of this treaty. Regarding the legality of the provisions of the treaty of 1837, Bell observes: “A treaty concluded with every formality between the GovernorGeneral of India and the Sovereign of Oude—signed, and sealed, and ratified, and copies exchanged,—could not be cancelled by the Home authorities without the full knowledge and consent of the sovereign of Oude; without, in fact, a fresh negotiation with that express object. The GovernorGeneral had full power to conclude treaties, and the final exchange of ratified copies made the treaty binding upon both parties.” ‘In 1847 Lord Hardinge threatened to enforce the stipulations of the treaty of 1837. Lord Dalhousie pretended it to be cancelled.*

16 ' ? n 0c f°ber, 1853, Dalhousie wrote to Wood: “I would ask you to tell me frankly whether you wish to make a change in the summer of 1854, or whether it would fall in with your plans and wishes to keep me here as long

as I can sta y... .Ii I were to take Oude in hand, and if the period fixed for my relief were to come before I had completed my business, my care for my own repute* 011 would be stronger than even my desire to get home, and I would naturally wish to ask to stay and finish my handy work and not to give mv successor die honour of which I should have had the real merit'*. (Quoted in jriiiC, aa. 272).

17. Kaye, op. cit. 148.

L7a. Ibid, 150-1.

18. Ibid, 404-5.

i*®- vc \ r y Pertinent observations of Kaye on this point (Ibid, 495-6).

19. Ibid, 419. '

20. Ibid, 420 fn.

21. Kaye-I, III. 429.

22. Dacoitee , p. 68.

CHAPTER XII

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

I. THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE BRITISH CROWN

The problem of Indian administration did not constitute a vital issue in English politics at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Act of 1784 had laid down the general framework, and English politicians paid but scant attention to the matter until the periodical revision of the Charter of the East India Company after every twenty years brought the issue before the Parliament. Reference has been made above to the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company by the British Parliament in 1813, when a great deal of theoretical discussions took place about the line on which a definite policy of Indian administration should develop. These discussions, in particular a speech delivered by Lord Grenville, indicated certain general principles held by the advanced section of political thinkers. The Charter Act of 1813 actually made but little changes in the system, save and except the abolition of the Company's monopoly of Indian trade and a clear assertion of the sovereignty of the British crown in India. Still the provisions of the Act and the discussions preceding it showed the influence of the prevailing tendencies of the time, which may be summed up under the following heads.

1. Gradual strengthening of the sovereignty of the British crown over E.I. Company's possessions in India.

2. Elimination of the mercantile interests of the Company.

3. Abolition of patronage in making appointments, by substituting competitive examination for nomination.

The last- two were regarded as necessary steps for the ultimate assumption of Indian Government by the Crown. These ideas were not yet clearly conceived, nor were they backed by popular demands. But they consciously or unconsciously influenced the British policy towards India when it came to be formulated at the time of next periodical revisions of the Charter. This is amply illustrated by the Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853, and the discussion in Parliament in connection therewith.

Before the next periodical renewal of the Charter of the Company a wave of liberalism had been passing over the British people. It resulted in the Reform Bill (1832), Law Reform, the Factory Act (1833), the Abolition of Slavery (1833), Poor Law (1834) and various other liberal measures. The Directors of the East India Company took note of the changing mood of the people and, to remove any difficulty at the time of the renewal of the Charter, followed a liberal policy of reform in India. The appointment of Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck as Governor-General in 1828 was probably due to this policy, and the liberal measures associated with him as well as with Munro and Elphinstone are largely due to the new liberal spirit in Britain.

This spirit largely influenced the Charter Act of 1833 which sought to give effect to the three principles mentioned above. The Act has been rightly described by Lord Morley as “certainly the most extensive measure of Indian Government between Mr. Pitt’s famous Act of 1784 and Queen Victoria’s assumption of the Government of India”, and he even proceeded so far as to say that “there is nothing so important as that Act”.[1] The Act effected important changes in various directions and it will be convenient to refer to them in connection with the discussion of appropriate topics in the subsequent sections.

The most notable change was that effected in the position and status of the Company. By the Act of 1813 the Company lost the monopoly of Indian trade, which was thrown open to all British subjects, but it retained the monopoly of the China trade and of trading in tea. The Act of 1833 not only abolished this monopoly with effect from 22 April, 1834, but enacted “that the said Company shall, with all convenient speed after the said twenty-second day of April, 1834, close their commercial business, and make sale of all their merchandize.... and abstain from all commercial business”.[2] Thus “the Union of the trader and the sovereign” was finally dissolved. Provision was, however, made for the payment of 10i per cent, dividend to the share-holders from Indian revenues, and for the accumulation of 12 million pounds for the purchase of the Company’s stock. In 1813, the

Company had vehemently, and successfully, opposed European Colonisation in India, but the Act of 1833 removed all restrictions on the free admission of Europeans into India.

The Company was, however, successful in the most essential matters affecting their material interest. There was a strong section in the House of Commons who advocated the transfer of the Government of India to the British Crown. Mr. Buckingham regarded it as preposterous that the political government of an immense empire should be left in the hands of a Joint Stock Company. Far more interesting was his suggestion that the supreme council in India should include representatives of both British and Indian population

"in order to make a beginning, at least, of that system of selfgovernment to which they ought to advance with all our Colonies as fast as possible". 3 Eighty-five years were to pass before the British Parliament accepted the idea. The Parliament of 1833 was swayed by a vigorous speech «of Macaulay in the House of Commons on 10 July, 1833, in which he argued, in his inimitable language and with a wealth of details, that the Company must be retained as the organ of government for India. His main contention was that no minister should venture to propose "that a revenue of twenty millions a year—an army of two hundred thousand men— a civil service abounding with lucrative situations—should be left to the disposal of the crown without any check whatever". He admitted that the House of Commons was the check provided by the constitution on the abuse of the royal prerogative. "But", he hastened to add, "that this House is, or is likely ever to be, an efficient check on abuses practised in India, I altogether deny". He was strongly of opinion that the House of Commons had enough business already and would not have the necessary time to 'look into Indian affairs as we look into British affairs*. Besides, he pointed out that the House has not "the necessary knowledge, nor has it motives to acquire that knowledge". The British public were supremely indifferent to Indian affairs. "A broken head in Cold Bath Fields'*, said Macaulay, "produces a greater sensation among us than three pitched battles in India". Even the members of the House of Com* mons were no better. As an instance Macaulay pointed out that when the President of the Board of Control made his most able and interesting statement of the measures which he intended to propose for the government of a hundred millions of human beings, the attendance was not so large as he had seen it on a turnpike-bill or a rail-road bill. 4

The history of the administration of India under the Crown since 1858 has fully justified the apprehensions expressed by Macaulay. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the utter inefficiency of the House of Commons as a check upon the abuses in the administration of India, which Macaulay foreshadowed in 1833, was equally true down to the end of the nineteenth century.

Macaulay's view prevailed, and the East India Company got a further lease of life for twenty years. But significant changes were made in the new Act. The Act of 1813 had merely asserted the undoubted sovereignty of the British Crown over the Company's possessions in India. The Act of 1833 proceeded one step further. The Company was allowed to retain its territorial possessions and its administrative and political powers for another term of twenty

years, but these were to be held by the Company "in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors*'.

Attention may be drawn to the provision made in the Act of 1833 for the repayment of the capital of the East India Company in forty years or earlier should the Company he deprived of its rule over India . *This provision, inoccuous in itself, is very significant as an indication of a probable contingency that may arise, at a not very remote period, when the Government of India might be assumed by the British Crown.

As the time for the next renewal of the Company's Charter drew near, opposition to its continuance was again voiced, not only in England but also in India. It was a strange phenomenon. Hitherto the opposition was confined to the Englishmen—merchants, politicians, radicals or humanitarians—but in 1853 the strongest opposition came from the Indians. The inhabitants of the three Presidencies sent signed petitions to the Parliament against the granting of any further renewal of the Charter of the Company. The main grounds of their opposition to any further extension of the Company's rule were the defects in the system of administration from Indian point of view.

The chief grievances of the Indians were that the promises held out in the Charter of 1833 for appointing Indians to higher posts were not fulfilled, and that the Indians, though well qualified for the-purpose, had no t voice in their own administration. This demand could not be altogether ignored. On 2 April, 1852, Lord. Derby, while moving for a Select Committee to enquire into Indian affairs, told the House “that this is your bounden duty in the interests of humanity, of benevolence, and of morality and religion, that as far and as fast as you can do it safely, wisely and prudently, the inhabitants of India should be gradually entrusted with more and more of the superintendence of their own internal affairs”. “Both the Houses of Parliament appointed Select Committees of Enquiry in 1852 who examined a large number of witnesses and collected a vast amount of evidence on the state of India at the time. On the basis of these enquiries the Charter Act of 1853 was framed”. 6

In reality, the Charter Act of 1853 did very little to satisfy Indian aspirations. The temporary character of the lease of life extended to the Company was further emphasized, as the Act provided that the “Indian territories should remain under the government of the Company in trust for the Crown, until Parliament should otherwise direct”. Thus, for the first time, no definite period was fixed for the continuation of the rule of the Company over India, and it was left entirely to the discretion of the Parliament. Taken along with the provision for the repayment of the Company's capital, noted above, it ffiay be reasonably concluded that its rule in India would have been normally terminated in 1873, the time of the renewal of the Charter, even if the great Mutiny had not abruptly ended it fifteen years earlier.

In order to facilitate the eventual and inevitable transfer of authority from the Company to the Crown, the stranglehold of the latter was gradually tightened more and more. The Charter Act of 1833 empowered His Britannic Majesty to appoint any person as Commissioner for the affairs of India in addition to the official members mentioned in the Act, and more clearly defined their powers, and any two or more of these Commissioners formed a Board for executing the powers vested in the body, popularly known as the Board of Control. It was enacted that no official communications should be sent to India by the Directors until they had first been approved by the Board of Control. The salary of the President of this Board was increased by the Act of 1853 to the level of that of a Secretary of State. The same Act further laid down that “every appointment by the Court of Directors of any ordinary Member of the Council of India, or of any Member of the Council of any Presidency in India, shall be subject to the approbation of Her Majesty".6 The Act of 1853 also reduced the number of Directors from 24 to 18, out of whom six were to be appointed by the Crown. Finally, the Act of 1853 took away from the Directors the right of patronage to Indian appointment to which a detailed reference will be made later. This removed one great obstacle to the transfer of the ruling power in India from the Company to the Crown.

It is not an easy matter to decide how the exact position and status of the Company vis a vis the Crown were affected by the changes mentioned above. Even before the Act of 1853 was passed, there was a sharp difference of opinion on this point. While some declared that India was being governed by the Board of Control, others maintained that it was still governed by the Company. The truth, as almost always happens, probably lies between the two. There is no doubt that in practice the Board exercised greater authority in the appointments of Governor-General, Governor and the fourth member of the Council which, in theory, were to be made by the Company subject to the approval of the Crown. This is illustrated by the tussle between the two bodies over the appointment of the successor of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, to which reference has been made above. 7 At the same time the Company was not absolutely helpless in the matter of these appointments. They possessed the power of recalling any office-holder in India. They

threatened to recall Lord Amherst in 1825, and actually recalled Ellenborough in 1844,—in both cases against the declared wishes of

the Board of Control.

Thus none of the two bodies could altogether ignore the views or wishes of the other in regard to the selection of high officials. The same was also true, more or less, in formulating a general administrative policy. The Directors of the Company possessed the initiative, while the Board of Control had a "general and absolute restraining power". While the Board had the final power, the Directors had "the -liberty to protest, and to expose to public view instances of maladministration". This is by no means a negligible factor in a democratic country like Britain with Parliamentary Government. On the whole, it may be said that the two bodies the Company acting through the Directors, and the Crown acting through the Board of Control —shared the authority of the Home Government and served as Checks and balances against each other. It is, therefore, not easy to answer the question which of these two governed India. But the question itself is, more or less, of merely academic importance. For in practice, it was neither the Board nor the Directors that governed India. India was really ruled by the British Bureaucracy in India that had slowly but steadily grown up since the days of Cornwallis. That this was inevitable, at least to a certain extent, was foreseen by wise and farsighted statesmen. Macaulay, with his usual shrewdness, put the whole thing in his own characteristic way. "India", he said, "is and must be governed in India. This is a fundamental law which we did not make, which we cannot alter, and to which we shall do our best to conform our legislation". 8 Confirmation and illustration of this meet us almost at every step as we go through the history of India in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nothing, however, demonsrates the truth of Macaulay's dictum in a more remarkable manner than the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India. In spite of a sincere and earnest desire not to extend British dominions in India, the home authorities were unable to restrain the Governors-General whose aggressive designs were formed mostly after their arrival in India and originated at the suggestion or clever manipulation of their official advisers. The Directors had little effective voice in this particular matter, but even the Board, which possessed full authority, could not exercise it on account of distance and consequent delays involved in communication between India and England, before they were connected by telegraphic wire. The Board and the Ministry were often presented with accomplished facts, which they did not think it politic to reverse. Even in instances—and these

were by no means rare—where the Directors as well as the Ministry were convinced of the injustice done to Indian States, or even of crimes perpetrated against individual rulers, they regarded themselves as helpless. Nothing can be a greater indictment against the Government of India than the remarks passed by the Home authorities against the annexation of Cachar and Sindh, but the latter would not, or could not, reverse the acts of crime of w’hich they reaped the full benefit. Neither the righteous indignation of the Directors in the first case, nor the unanimous condemnation by the British Cabinet in the second, disturbed the placid equanimity of those who knew that India was and must be governed by them. The dogs barked but did not bite, and the caravan passed on.

The same thing holds good even in matters of internal administration. The members of British Parliament, inspired by the liberalism of the nineteenth century, gave expression to noble principles as the basis for ruling India. It was openly proclaimed, and accepted in principle, that the first object of the Government of India should be to provide for the welfare of the Indian population, and next, but ranking far below the first, to promote the interests of Great Britain. It was urged, and seemed to be taken for granted, that there was no conflict between the two.^ But this was a mere snare and delusion. The Government of India, engaged in the task of day to day administration, knew full well that in many vital points the real interests of India and England were not compatible with each other. So, in giving effect to the policy of Home authorities, they chose to provide for the welfare of India only when, and in so far as, it could be done without any detriment to the real interests of England. Macaulay said in 1833: “We are trying to give a good government to a peqple to whom we cannot give a free government. How far this idea actuated the authorities at Home it is difficult to say. But even giving them credit for sincerely entertaining such high principles, it is necessary to remember that they had not the requisite power to translate them into action. For it was well-nigh impossible in those days to guide, supervise and control the administration of India from England, save in a very general way. India was thus governed, not in England, but in India, "though not for India nor by India. Real importance therefore attaches not so much to the relation between the Company and the Crown, but

to the machinery of Government set up in India by the Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853.

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The framework of the Government of India, fixed by Pitt/s Act of 1784, continued without any substantial modification till 1833.

The act of 1784 maintained the separate autonomous governments for the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, but extended the control of the Governor-General of Bengal in Council over the other two Presidencies. A further step was taken in the same direction by the Charter Act of 1833.

This Act at first sought to centralise the Government of India. The original Bill provided that the civil and military government of the whole of India would be vested in a Governor-General and Counsellors, and the subordinate Presidencies should be normally administered by Governors only, without a Council, the idea being to appoint a representative of each Presidency to the Governor-General's Council. It was, however, agreed that such an ambitious idea could not be realized in practice, presumably on account of distance and difficulties of communication between the different parts of British dominions in India. But it was not altogether given up and was introduced in a modified form.

By the Charter Act of 1833, the superintendence, direction, and control of the whole civil and military government of the Company's territories in India were vested in a Governor-General and Counsellors to be styled ‘the Governor-General of India in Council'. To this Council was added a fourth ordinary member who was not to be a servant of the Company and who was “not to be entitled to sit or vote in the said Council except at meetings thereof for making laws and Regulations". The new member was known as the Law Member.

The Governor-General, together with these four members and the Commander-in-Chief, who continued to be an extraordinary member, formed the Supreme Council for the Government of India whose orders and instructions were binding on the Governors of the other Presidencies. These Presidencies also lost their legislative power which was vested in the Governor-General of India in Council, with additions of certain members, as will be related later.

A further step in developing the unitary character of the Government of India was taken in the Charter of 1833 by establishing a general control of the Governor-General over the finances of India. Hitherto the financial affairs of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay remained separate. But the Act of 1833 established a general control of the Governor-General over Madras and Bombay. It provided that "no Governor shall have the power of creating any new office, or granting any new salary, gratuity or allowance, without the previous sanction of the Governor-General".

As a result of the Act of 1853, finance became centralised in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. "The whole of the revenues from all the Provinces of British India were treated as belonging to a single fund, expenditure from which could be authorised by the Governor-General in Council alone". The Provincial Governments did not possess powers of taxation or borrowing, except "in respect of local cesses". [9a]

In a vast country like India, such concentration of financial authority produced various evils. The Government of India could not have full and fair knowledge of the varied financial needs and resources of the different provinces. There was competition among the Provinces in making financial demands and local economy was not always thought of. Under such a system, as Richard Strachey says, "the distribution of the public income degenerates into something like a scramble, in which the most violent has the advantage with very little attention to reason. As local economy leads to no local advantage, the stimulus to avoid waste is reduced to a minimum. So, as no local growth of the income leads to an increase of the local means of improvement, the interest in developing the public revenues is also brought down to the lowest level". [10]

By the Act of 1853, the Law Member became a full-fledged member of the Governor-General's Council. None of the other members of the Council were, however, assigned to any special duty or department. "They were supposed to work together as a council at the business of government, and the Company was strongly averse to anything that tended to attack the custom of collective deliberation. The primitive routine of affairs was as follows: The Secretaries sent in circulation, in those mahogany boxes which in India correspond with the red boxes of the English Cabinet, all the papers as they were received. These were supposed to be read by each member in turn. A paper of any moment would probably occasion minutes from several if not from all the members, and unless they all agreed, which was unlikely, back the papers would go in circulation once more, so that each member should see what the others had written about his opinion. This process obviously might go on almost indefinitely, and was indeed a singularly ill-chosen mode of conducting business. Ill-humoured phrases come more readily from the pen than from the lips; and caustic replies are produced more easily at one's own writing-table than impromptu in the course of discussion. All this minuting not only wasted time and paper, but also provoked a frequent tone of bilious acrimony. Twice a week from 10 in the morning to 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon the members met in Council. The secretaries attended in turn, each with his mountain of papers, reading them at length, or else giving the abstract endorsed upon them, and hurriedly noting the decisions which the Council took on each.

"Under this system the business of the Council was unending. Three whole days a week, Metcalfe reckoned, did not suffice for reading the papers that came to him in circulation) two whole days were passed in Council; and the remaining week day was not enough for writing minutes and revising despatches. What was worse, when business was brought before the Council in this undigested mass, when an estimate for repairing a barrack-roof might be succeeded by a declaration of war, it is unlikely that the Council s attention would be divided among the cases in due proportion to their real consequence.

"Dalhousie did something to check this flow of ink and waste of time by directing that, where members differed on a case, it should always be brought into Council and discussed before being sent out again in circulation. The natural consequence was that in the great majority of questions members came to an agreement instead of exasperating each other by pen-and-ink misunderstandings." 11

As a rule the Governor-General's Council had a right to discuss everything concerning the Government, and decide every question by a majority of votes. But they had two limitations to their power since the days of Lord Cornwallis. In the first place, the Act of 1786 empowered the Governor-General in special cases to override the majority of his Council. Secondly, the Charter Act of 1793 authorized him, when absent from his Council, to issue orders which would have the same force "as if made by the Governor-General in Council". This right, originally concerned to meet an emergency, enabled the Governors-General, during their routine tours or pleasure trips to Simla during the hot weather, to take action alone without the advice or even the knowledge of his Council. The prolonged visits of Amherst and Auckland to Simla, while the members of the Council were all in Calcutta, provoked Kaye to declare Simla as "the cradle of more political insanity than any place within the limits of Hindustan". 12

The Executive Government of each of the Presidencies was vested in the hands of a Governor and three Councillors , the GovernorGeneral in Council being also Governor in Council for Bengal. Curiously enough, it was laid down that the powers and functions of the Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal in Council, and the Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal alone should be vested respectively in the Governor-General of India in Council and to the Governor-General of India alone. 13 This created an extremely anomalous position. The same person in his capacity as Governor

of Bengal, would be subject to the control of himself as GovernorGeneral and his Council. On the other hand, the Governor of Bengal, in his capacity as Governor-General of India* could overrule the Council supposed to rule India. This evil was sought to be remedied by a provision in the Act of 1833 14 by which the GovernorGeneral could appoint an ordinary member of his Council DeputyGovernor of Bengal. In either case the administration of Bengal was likely to suffer, as this big province required the undivided attention of one head. It was therefore provided that the territories included within the Presidency of Fort William were to be divided into two. A new Presidency was created, with its seat at Agra. But this clause was suspended by an Act in 1836 which authorized the appointment of a Lieutenant-

Governor of the North-Western Provinces which comprised most of the territories now included in Uttar Pradesh with the exclusion of Awadh.

By the Charter Act of 1853, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam became the charge of a Lieutenant-Governor, without a Council, and the Governor-General of India ceased to bear the title, and perform the function, of the Governor of Bengal.

An Act passed in 1854 further empowered the Governor-General of India in Council, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, to take, by proclamation, under its immediate authority and management, any part of territories for the time being in possession or under the Government of the East India Company, and thereupon to give all necessary orders or directions respecting the administration of that part, or otherwise provide for its administration. On the basis of this provision, the Chief Commissionerships of Assam, the Central Provinces, and Burma were created. This Act also gave authority to the Government of India, with the sanction of the Home Government, to define the limits of the several provinces of India.

HI. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION A. BENGAL 1. Jurisdiction

At the beginning of the period under review, the jurisdiction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal extended over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Varanasi and “the Ceded and Conquered provinces”. The last two, as mentioned above, formed a separate province in 1834. It was at first called the Province of Agra and, in 1836, the North-Western Provinces. In February, 1836, the North-Western Provinces, styled the Upper Provinces of Bengal, though still in

eluded within the Presidency of the Fort William in Bengal, was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. After the first Burmese War both Arakan and Tenasserim were administered by the Government of Bengal. The Presidency of Bengal, as mentioned above, was administered by the Governor-General as Governor, his office, in his absence, beffig held, after 1833, by a Deputy-Governor appointed from among the members of his Council. On 12 October, 1853, the Court of Directors sanctioned the appointment of a LieutenantGovernor for Bengal, Bihar, Orissa' and Assam, styled the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and on 28 April, 1854, Mr. F. G. Halliday took charge of this new office.

2. District Executive authority

The District formed the chief unit of administration in Bengal, as in the rest of British India, during the period under review and also later on In 1909 British India contained more than 250 Districts. Though the Districts varied greatly in size and density of population, the average area of a District was then 4,430 sq. miles, and the average population, 931,000.

The District administration in Bengal began to take some shape from the time of Lord Cornwallis. The number of Districts in this province was then sixteen, though it increased later, till Bengal alone contained twenty-eight districts. The Cornwallis Code of 1793 left the Collectors only as executive officers for the collection of revenue, acting in direct subordination to the Board of Revenue at the Presidency, and they were divested of all judicial and magisterial functions. In each District a new Court of Civil judicature was constituted under a European Judge who was also vested with the powers of Magistrate and controlled the police within the limits of his jurisdiction. Thus in each District there was one officer as Judge-Magistrate, and another as Collector. By a permissive Regulation of 1810, the Government was authorized to make a distinct appointment of a Magistrate. Police administration was placed under a Superintendent of Police for the Divisions of Calcutta, Dacca, and Murshidabad, by a Regulation of 1808, and for the Divisions of Patna,-Varanasi and Bareilly by a Regulation of 1810. These offices were abolished in 1829, and their duties were transferred to the officers appointed as “Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit”, each of whom was placed in charge of a Division embracing several Districts. The Provincial Courts of Appeal were abolished by Lord William Bentinck and their duties also were made over to the Commissioners, who were to go on Circuit as Sessions Judges. On abolition of the Revenue Boards in the Provinces their power3 were

transferred to the Commissioners under the control of the Board of Revenue in Calcutta.

Further changes were introduced in 1831. The sessions work of Divisional Commissioners was transferred to the District Civil Judges. The Judges were divested of their magisterial duties which were transferred to the Collectors. Thus the Magistrate and Collector became the executive head of each District. This union of the two offices was, however, temporary. In 1837, during the administration of Lord Auckland, the offices of Magistrate and Collector were again separated. By 1845. the joint offices survived only in three Districts of Orissa and in the independent Joint-Magistracies cf Patna, Maldah, Bogra, Noakhali, Faridpur, Bankura, Barasat, and Chsmparan.

But within a few years prominent British officers considered the reunion of the offices of Magistrate and Collector necessary for efficiency of District administration. It was advocated strongly by Sir F.J. Haliiday, Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning. Lord Cam ning recorded in a Minute, dated 18 February, 1357, that "the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive, and to stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost, whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good government which are apt to spring up where two coordinate officers divide the authority". Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for India, approved of the Governor-General's suggestion in a Despatch, dated 14th April, 1859, and the offices of Magistrate and Collector were combined in the same person. The arguments of J.P, Grant against the union of the two offices were recorded by him to be "fallacious". At the same time seven cf the eight "independent" Joint Magistracies were made full Magistracies and Collectorates. There was. however, a strong volume -of public opinion against the union of the offices of Magistrate and Collector. 15

The post of uncovenanted Deputy-Collector was created by Regulation IX of 1833, and that of Deputy-Magistrate, "with or without police powers", in 1843. Persons of any "religion, place of birth, descent or colour" might be appointed to these posts. The way was thus opened for the appointment of Indians to higher and more responsible administrative posts which were hitherto practically closed to them. To provide more efficient assistance to the Magistrate-Collectors than could be afforded to them by mere assistants, covenanted or uncovenanted, Lord William Bentinck created a class of officers, called Joint Magistrate, usually recruited from senior covenanted officers. Subsequently, as the Sub-division system

grew up under the pressure of circumstances, Joint Magistrates were posted to Sub-divisions with the title of Sub-divisional Officers.

3. The Judiciary

Reference has been made in the preceding volume to the system of judicial administration established by Lord Cornwallis in the year 1793. Certain changes were introduced during the following years. Two Provincial Courts of Appeal were added to the existing four, one for the province of Varanasi and the other for the Ceded Provinces. The constitution of the Sadar Diwani Adalat was radically changed. Instead of Governor-General and members of the Supreme Council, it comprised, in 1801, of three Judges to be selected from the covenanted servants of the Company, and in 1811, of a Chief Judge and as many Puisne Judges as the Governor-General in Council should think necessary. In 1831 a Sadar Diwani Adalat was constituted for the North-Western Provinces with similar powers. Regulations passed in 1814 and 1821 modified and extended the powers and functions of the judges of lower grade known as Sadar Amins and Munsiffs.

As measures of relief for the lower courts special commissions were established for administering justice in the new portions of the province, and the number of Zilla (District) Judges was raised. Some judicial functions were re-entrusted to the revenue officers by Regulation XIV of 1824.

A reorganisation of the judicial system was effected by Regulation V of 1831 during the Governor-Generalship of Lord William Bentinck with a view to the “gradual introduction of respectable Natives into the more important Trusts connected with the administration of the country.” 16

By this and subsequent Regulations the District Judges were invested with the duties of the Sessions Judges, but were relieved of their magisterial functions which were transferred to the Collectors and some newly created officers. Regulation VIII of 1833 permitted the appointment of additional Judges, who might discharge the duties of the Judges of the Districts to which they were attached. The Sadar Amins and Munsiffs were invested with power to try suits of the valtie, respectively, of Rs. 1,000 and 300, and Registrar's Courts were abolished. Bentinck also created a new grade of Indian Judgeship filled by officers called Principal Sadar Amins with power to try original suits up to a value of Rs. 5,000. Their jurisdiction was afterwards extended over cases involving property of any value, and from their decisions appeals lay to the European Judges and sometimes directly to the Sadar Diwani Adalat of Calcutta. In 1869 they

were transformed into Subordinate Judges under District and Sessions Judges. From the decisions of the Civil Judge in original suits appeals lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat, which ceased to enjoy any original jurisdiction and became the court of final appeal in the Bengal Presidency. From the decision of the Sadar Diwani Adalat an appeal lay to the Privy Council in England in all suits of which the value was £1000 and upwards. To facilitate Government revenue collection, rent and revenue cases were again transferred to the Collectors in 1831, and the offices of Collector and Magistrate were united, as mentioned above.

B. MADRAS

By 1803 Madras Presidency had a territory of a hundred and forty thousand square miles. 17 There have been few subsequent changes in the territorial jurisdiction of the Presidency. A bit from Coorg was added to Canara in 1834, but a portion of Canara was transferred to Bombay in 1862. The Company had obtained suzerainty over the Sundur State in 1818, and the tributary State of Kurnool was annexed in 1839.

The Government of the Presidency consisted of the Governor and a Council of three. Later, after 1833, the number of civilian councillors was reduced to two, but the local Commander-in-Chief was added to the Council. In 1786 a Board of Trade and a Board of Revenue were established, each consisting of three members, a member of the Council being the President. The Board of Trade was in charge of the commercial affairs of the East India Company, but it was abolished in 1825. The Board of Revenue exercised general supervision over revenue matters. By Regulation IV of 1804 it became a Court of Wards for the Presidency and controlled religious and other endowments for many years.

The Presidency wag divided into Districts, the number of which varied from twenty to twenty-six, each District being again subdivided into a number of Taluks. The Magistrate and Collector was the chief executive head of the District from 1787. As in Bengal, he possessed enormous powers and had multifarious duties relating to revenue and taxes, police, jails, and, later, of Municipalities and District Boards. He had a "large summary jurisdiction in everything connected with the rent and with the possession of landed property". "The magistrate and collector is then", wrote Campbell in 1853, "a sort of local Governor, and has a great advantage in his management from the combination of powers. He exercises an extended superintendence over his district, a good deal beyond the mere duties which his simple name implies, and the people look to

him as their immediate ruler". 18 In his capacity as revenue-collector he was subordinate to the Board* which could receive appeals against some of his orders, executive and judicial. The Collectors were given covenanted Assistants from 1792, and later on one or more deputies or assistants were generally stationed at different centres in subordinate charge of portions of the District, consisting of a number of Taluks, in which they exercised most of the powers possessed by the Collectors. All these executive officers were English. Each Taluk was under ah Indian Tahsildar, assisted by a deputy or a naib-Tahsildair. No steps were taken to appoint Indians to the higher executive posts until Act 1 of 1857 authorized the appointment of Deputy-Collectors, who occupied a position similar to that of covenanted divisional officers. 19

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, established in 1801, was confined to the town of Madras. The administration of justice for the rest of the Province was conducted under the system introduced in 1802-6 and modified by the Regulation of 1816. There was a Sadar Court consisting originally of the Governor in Council, and later of a body of judges presided over by a member of Council. For civil justice this court was called 'Sadar Adalat' and for criminal justice it was known as 'Sadar Fauzdari Adalat'. From the Sadar Court an appeal in suits of the value of rupees 45,000 or more lay to the GovernorGeneral in Council. The constitution of the Sadar Court was changed in 1806 and new judges were appointed. In 1807 the Governor was "declared to be no longer a judge"*

Below the Sadar Court, there were four Provincial Courts which dealt with most of the civil appeals and with suits involving an amount above Rs. 5000. These tribunals, as Courts of Circuit, tried also more important criminal cases. In. the District, District Judge was the principal judge in civil and criminal cases and was assisted by Registrars or Assistant Judges. The presiding officers in the above courts were European covenanted servants of the Company. Below these came three classes of Indian judges, namely, Sadar Amins with the jurisdiction over suits up to Rs. 300, district munsiffs with competence to try cases up to Rs. 200, and village headmen or munsiffs who could try and decide suits not exceeding in value Rs. 10, or with the consent of the parties, Rs. 100. Both the district and village munsiffs were authorized to summon, on demand, village panchayats (bodies of arbitrators) which had unlimited jurisdiction in cases which might be referred to them. Native agencies were still further increased by the appointment of native civil and criminal courts in certain areas having concurrent jurisdiction with the District Judge. These native judges were known as Principal Sadar Amins after 1836. A modified

form of the English jury system was introduced in 1827 into the Courts of Circuit. The offices of the Judge and Magistrate were separated by the legislation of 1816. 20

The judicial organization was modified in 1843. The Provincial Courts of Appeal were abolished. New District Courts were established and the jurisdiction of the Subordinate Judges and Principal Sadar Amins was extended so as to include all suits of less value than 10,000 Rupees. Such courts were given* jurisdiction over Europeans, Americans and Indians, and an appeal from them lay to the District Courts. The Madras Courts of Circuit for criminal justice were abolished in 1845 and the judges of the District Courts were authorized to ‘‘hold permanent sessions for trial of persons accused of crimes formerly triable by Courts of Circuit”.

C. BOMBAY

The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed quick territorial expansion of the Bombay Presidency, and it took its future shape between 1805 and 1827. In addition to the territories ceded by the Peshwa, the Sindhia, and the Gaekwar before 1818, the Company obtained, on the extinction of the Peshwaship in that year, an extensive territory including certain parts of Gujarat, the whole of the Western Deccan (except the portion left with the Raja of Satara and the two parganas given to the ruler of Kolhapur), the whole of Khandesh, and the District of Dharwar including Belgaum, Ratnagiri and Kolaba. There was further expansion of the Presidency between 1818 and 1858 by the lapse of two Native States, namely, Mandvi (in Surat) and* Satara, and the conquest of Sindh (1843). In 1848 the Bijapur District, included in the territory of the Raja of Satara, lapsed to the Company, and in 1861 the Sindhia finally transferred to it the Panch Mahals. Aden was added in 1838.

The territorial expansion of the Bombay Presidency necessitated the extension of the administrative system. The newly acquired territories were divided into Districts, whose administration followed generally the lines adopted in Bengal. The Bombay system, however, differed from the Bengal system in two respects: there was no Board of Revenue in the former, and the size of the Districts was made smaller than that of the Bengal District. The country which under the Maratha administration had been in charge of many Mamlatdars and Kamavisdars with very unequal extent of territory and power was placed under five principal officers, such as the Collectors of Khandesh, Poona, Ahmadnagar and the Carnatic, and the Political Agent at Satara, The straggling revenue divisions of the Maratha days were formed into compact Districts, each yielding

from 50,000 to 70,000 Rupees a year and placed under a Mamlatdar. A Mamlatdar's duties were to superintend the collection of revenue, to manage the police and to receive civil and criminal complaints. He was to refer the civil cases to the Panchayats and the criminal cases to the Collectors. He was assisted by a Sherista dor or record-keeper, an accountant, and some clerks. The pay of a Mamlatdar was from Rs. 70 to 150 a month, and that of a Sheristadar from Rs. 30 to 50. Below the Mamlatddr was the Patel, who, along with the Kulkarni, was required to look after revenue and police administration of a village.

As regards civil administration in other parts, it may be noted that in 1812-13, the territories of the Bombay Government in Gujarat included the towns of Broach, Kaira and Surat. In each of these towns was stationed an officer, who cofribined the functions of Criminal Judge ^nd Magistrate, having an assistant for magisterial functions. By 1828-29 the system of combining magisterial and judicial functions in one office was abolished, and the Collector of the District was entrusted with magisterial functions including control of the police. At that time Gujarat was divided into four Collectorates, viz., one comprehending Ahmadabad and Kaira and the other comprehending Surat and Broach. The magisterial power of the Collector extended to sentences of fine, simple imprisonment for a period not exceeding two months, flogging not exceeding 30 stripes, and personal restraint. The Indian District police officers and the village police officers had limited powers of punishment in trivial cases.

The Districts in the Deccan in 1828-29 were divided into three Collectorates, viz. Poona, including Sholapur, Ahmadnagar and Khandesh, and into two Judgeships, one comprehending Poona with Sholapur, and the other comprehending Ahmadnagar and Khandesh. The Collectors were the Magistrates with control of the Police of their respective Districts and of the Police of the Sadar Stations. The penal jurisdiction of the Magistrates was similar to that in the province of Gujarat, and the Indian Police officers in the Districts and the villages had also powers similar to those possessed by such officers in Gujarat.

As regards the fiscal duties of the Collectors of land revenue, it has to be noted that “independently of the responsible and minute nature of the revenue settlements”, they were “invested with the civil cognizance, in the first instance, of all claims for the possession of lands, of all disputes in regard to the tenure of lands, of all disputes regarding rent, of the current or former years, which the ryots on the one hand, or the farmer or superior landlord on the other, may desire to submit to adjudication; of all questions regarding the use of wells, tanks and water-courses, and roads and fields; and of disputes regarding boundaries”. 21 In each case one could make an appeal to the District Judge against the Collector’s decree.

Besides the Police, the other specialised administrative Departments were those of the sea-customs, education, jails in charge of an Inspector-General of Prisons from 1855, the Public Works and the Ecclesiastical and Medical Departments.

The administration of Dharwar and Belgaum Districts was conducted by the officers of the Madras Presidency on different lines till 1830. The Collector, with the help of some assistants and a Registrar, performed all the civil and criminal duties, which in other areas were discharged by the separate departments of District Judge, Criminal Judge and Magistrate. After the permanent assignment of the District of Dharwar, including Belgaum, to Bombay in 1830, the Bombay Regulations were formally applied there. Even then "the offices of the political agent, collector, judge and sessions judge were still united in one individual, while the assistant judge at Dharwar was vested with the powers of an assistant at detached stations (e.g. Dhulia) in other parts of the presidency". 22

The main features of the District administration in Bombay followed the general pattern. Ordinarily each Collectorate of District contained eight to twelve Taluks or sub-divisions, each of which consisted of 100 to 200 government villages, that is, the villages the whole revenues of which belonged to the State. The village officers were the Patel , the Kulkarni or Talati, the Mahr and the watchman.

Each Taluk or sub-division of a District was placed in charge of a Mamlatdar, whose duties in respect of revenue affairs and other matters of local administration in his area were varied and heavy. Above the Mamlatdar was the Assistant or Deputy-Collector, usually in charge of three or four Taluks for revenue and other administrative purposes. He was to travel in his Taluks for seven months in the year. Above the Deputy-Collector, and in charge of the entire District, was the District Collector and Magistrate. He had to tour in his jurisdiction for at least four months of the year. Besides looking after revenue matters and magisterial works of his District, he was required to supervise the stamp revenue and administer the excise and other special taxes. He was the Visitor of the District Jail, ex-officio District Registrar, and had to perform various other important duties as in Bengal and Madras.

Arrangements made for the administration of Sindh in 1847 were different in certain respects from those in the rest of the Bombay Presidency. The

Commissioner in Sindh was the chief execu

tive head of the local administration in all its branches. Three Collectorates were established at Karachi, Hyderabad and Shikarpur, and two small independent revenue charges, called the NorthWestern Frontier and the Nagar Farkar District, were created. The Collectors'in Sindh were invested with magisterial powers like the Collectors in other parts, but, unlike the latter, they presided also over the administration of justice in the civil and criminal courts. To assist the Collectors, Deputy-Collectors were appointed in the different sub-divisions of a Collectorate. The North-Western Frontier Districts were placed under a Political Superintendent, who was also military commandant, helped by an Assistant Superintendent, having powers and duties similar to those of a Deputy-Collector in other districts. The Thar and Parkar District was administered until 1856 by the Assistant Political Agent in Cutch and, later on, by an officer corresponding to the Collector 23

A system of judicial administration, based on that of Bengal, had been introduced in Bombay by Regulations of 1799, But modifications were made in 1827 under Mountstuart Elphinstone. The modified scheme set up District Courts for civil and criminal justice, from whose decisions appeals lay to the Sadar Diwani Adalat and the Sadar Faujdari Adalat in civil and criminal cases, respectively. The former consisted of four Judges, a Registrar, and an Assistant Registrar, v/hile the latter was composed of the Junior member of Council as Chief Judge and three Puisne Judges. The Court of Circuit, held by one of the Faujdari Adalat Judges, retained cognizance of the most heinous crimes. A special court was established for trying political offences. It consisted of three Judges selected from those of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and the District Courts. But in 1841 an Act was passed providing that crimes against the State should be tried in ordinary courts. The Provincial Court of Appeal was abolished in 1830, and the Judges of Criminal Courts were given the powers of Sessions Judges and Courts of Circuit. Joint Sessions Judges were appointed in 1845.

D. NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

It has been already noted that the North-Western Provinces, comprising the districts ceded to the Company in 1775 and 1801 by the Nawabs of Avadh, the “Conquered Territories” surrendered to the Company by the vanquished Maratha chief, the Sindhia, in 1803, the northern hill districts gained by the Company as a result of their victory in the Nepal War (1814-1816), and the Sagar and Narbada districts, 24 surrendered to the Company by the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur in 1818 after the Third Anglo-Maratha War, was, in 1836,

made an administrative unit, separate from that of Bengal under a Lieutenant-Governor. Nagpur and Jhansi, annexed by Dalhousie, were also attached to the North-Western Provinces.

The system of administration established by Cornwallis, and what was known as the Bengal Regulations, were extended to the “Ceded Territories” in 1803 and to the “Conquered Territories” and the Bundelkhand Districts of Banda and Hamirpur in 1805. These areas, known as the Upper Provinces, remained under the direct control of the Governor-General and subject to the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Courts. No major alterations were ma'de until the period from 1829-1835, when changes, similar to those effected in Bengal administration by Lord William Bentinck, were introduced. The police system, established by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal in 1793, was also extended to the Upper Provinces where, however, the landholders continued to have local responsibility for maintenance of law and order. In the Non-Regulation Districts of this region, as in the Non-Regulation Districts elsewhere, the District Officer, called the Deputy-Commissioner, combined in his hands all powers—executive, magisterial and judicial. The Commissioner of the Division was, however, the appellate authority in all branches of administration.

E. THE PANJAB

The Panjab offers a good example of the change-over from the native to the British administrative system, clearly illustrating the merits and defects of both.

Ranjit Singh had established a strong and benevolent autocracy over the extensive dominions which were conquered by his arms and welded into a compact kingdom. There were no written laws, but “private property in land, the relative rights of land-holders and cultivators, the corporate capacities of village communities, were all recognised”. Private arbitration under the direction of the local authorities was the general rule, though appeals were heard by the King, either in his capital or during his constant tours throughout his dominions. The land tax varied from two-fifths to one-third of the gross produce and was paid in kind. Remoter districts, particularly the areas inhabited by fierce mountaineers in N.W. F.P., were placed under military governors for the collection of revenues and maintenance of peace. Peshawar and Hazara Districts, for example, were ruled with iron hands, respectively, by Generals Avitable and Hari Singh. In the Districts nearer Lahore Kardars or agents collected revenue under the final supervision of the ministry. 25

After the British annexation of the Panjab its administration was entrusted to a Board of three, including the two Lawrence brothers, John and Henry. The two brothers differed fundamentally in their policy and outlook, as mentioned above. 26 Henry Lawrence, had imbibed a respect for the Sikh laws and customs and had a tender sentiment for the fallen Sardars (nobles). John was far different, and wanted to remove all intermediaries between the cultivators and the Government. Thus while Henry wanted to recognize the Sikh Sardars as the aristrocracy of the country, John considered them as "nuisances and enemies". Henry belonged to that school of British politicians which was fast passing away under the new imperialism of Auckland and Dalhousie—a school which, in the words of Innes, "gave special consideration to the feelings, traditions and modes of thought of the Native community, demanded a fair recognition of the claims of Native States, and urged the need for wise and generous treatment of the natural leaders of people". 27 As mentioned above, both the brothers resigned, and Dalhousie accepted the resignation of Henry "in a letter insultingly disingenuous". 23

John Lawrence, an imperialist to the core, carried out to the letter the new spirit that swayed the Dalhousie school, namely that India should be directly administered by her alien rulers, as all intervening chiefs and leaders were an obstruction to good administration and a hindrance to reforms. So the Panjab rapidly fell in line with the other British provinces, and the old traditions of the system, set up by Ranjit Singh, vanished like a dream in less than ten years' time.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to treat in detail the administrative system of the Panjab beyond observing that the Board of three wa£ abolished in 1853 and its power was vested in a Chief Commissioner, with a Judicial Commissioner and a Financial Commissioner under him. John Lawrence became the Chief Commissioner of the Province.

IV. RECRUITMENT OF SERVICES

As has been noted above, India was ruled, not so much by the Directors of the East India Company or the British Crown, as by the Governor-General acting with the help and advice of the high officials in the cbvenanted Civil Service. The method of appointing the Governor-General has been mentioned above. In order to understand the real nature of the Government of India it is necessary to give a comprehensive account of the system of recruiting the covenanted Civil Service of the Company. For it is the high executive officials that largely determined the nature and character of the Government. As Macaulay observed, in his own characteristic manner, “even the character of the Governor-General was less important than the character and spirit of the servants by whom the administration of India was carried on”. 29

In the early days of the East India Company, the senior and junior merchants, factors and “writers”, performed commercial as well as administrative duties. The Court of Directors selected the candidates on their own request or petition. It was ordered in 1731 that “in future all petitions for employments in the Company’s service, either at home or abroad, be presented by some gentlemen in the Direction”. Thus began the system of patronage which the Court of Directors claimed to be one of their important privileges. Patronage inevitably led to favouritism, for the Directors naturally preferred their own friends and relations to suitable candidates. “The Service became practically the monopoly of certain families”.

The system had serious defects, and corruptions of various kinds prevailed among the Company’s servants. The efforts of Clive to check these proved unsuccessful. Warren Hastings created highly paid posts, which enhanced the cost of administration, but did in no way help to remove corruption or increase efficiency. It was Lord Cornwallis who for the first time took steps in this direction. The Charter Act of 1793 provided that "all vacancies happening in any of the offices, places or employments in the civil line of the Company's service in Indiashould, subject to certain specified restrictions, be filled from among the Company's civil servants". The civil servants were required to sign a covenant not to receive presents or to carry on private trade. Provision was made to reserve for them superior grades and offices and for payment of liberal salaries.

But there were two defects in the system of Lord Cornwallis. In the first place, his distrust of the Indians and almost complete Europeanisation of the services enhanced the cost of administration and also caused much disappointment among the Indians. Secondly, by merely seeking to remove corruptions he could not secure efficiency, for which proper staff with due training was required. It was felt necessary in 1790 to give to the Company's servants training in Indian languages and the "writers" were informed that the Governor-General would not be inattentive to the progress which they made in acquiring the native languages.

The Governor-Generalship of Lord Wellesley was an important landmark in the history of the British Civil Service in India. An imperialist to the tip of his fingers, Lord Wellesley was of the view that the Indians could not be allowed to share legislative and executive authority of the Governor-General. But he wanted that steps should be taken for providing duly qualified persons for conducting

administration in India, and believed that "the same general qualifications necessary for the first political, judicial, financial and commercial stations in Europe, are equally requisite for the due discharge of the duties of similar situations in India". 30 Wellesley felt that the education of the civil servants "must be of a mixed nature, its foundations must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India". So he founded the Fort William College in Calcutta on 24 November, 1800, where the civil servants of the Company were to receive training in the literature, science and languages of India. This institution continued as a language school for Bengal Civil Servants till 1854. In 1806 the Company established the “East India College” at Haileybury for two years’ training of the young officers nominated for service in the East.

In spite of considerable improvement, the system of nomination, as it was in vogue in 1818, suffered from two inherent defects. In the first place, the nominated young men were not always wellqualified, and certainly not always the most suitable candidates available. Secondly, it gave a great patronage to the Directors of the Company which was a source of corruption of public jnorals. Besides, it was well-known that this vast patronage enjoyed by the Directors would lead them to oppose any scheme of improving Indian administration, such as the transfer of authority to the Crown, to which many looked forward as the ultimate solution. During the Parliamentary debate on the Charter of 1833, the question was discussed by Macaulay and others, and the principle of competition in appointing the “Writers” was adopted. The actual procedure of selecting candidates was laid down in Sections 103 and 105. Every year the Board of Control, in consultation with the Court of Directors, would decide upon the number of admissions into the Haileybury College, which should not exceed the number of probable vacancies during the year. The Directors would then be called upon to nominate candidates for admission, whose number should not be less than four times the number of actual admissions as already decided upon. These nominated candidates, who should not be less than 17 or more than 20 years of age, would then be subjected to an examination prescribed by the Board of Control and the requisite number would be selected, strictly in order of merit, for admission into the College. The selected candidates, after three years’ studies in the Haileybury College, were to be re-examined and then appointed as Government servants of the Company.

After the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, a Committee was appointed in 1834 under the Chairmanship of Macaulay to consider

administrative system

the arrangements for introduction of the competitive system. The Committee drew up a list of subjects for examination, and recommended twenty-three as the maximum and eighteen as the minimum age for admission to the competitive examination. Macaulay's Committee also recommended the discontinuance of the College at Haileybury, "which was not considered to provide arrangements suitable to the age and standing of those likely to be selected as candidates at the open competition".

As could be expected, the Directors were strongly opposed to the whole scheme and it was adopted in the House of Commons mainly through the persuasive eloquence of Macaulay. Unfortunately, Macaulay left for India soon after to take up his new office of Law Member, and Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded Charles Grant as the President of the Board of Control, "regarded the new scheme as clumsy, and the method of selection by examination as suspect". The Directors had therefore no difficulty in getting through the Parliament an Amending Bill postponing the execution of the scheme. This was a doubtful victory for the Directors. For, twenty years later their patronage altogether ceased.

When, in 1853, the question of the renewal of the Company's Charter was under consideration, Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, proposed the introduction of open competition for recruitment to services as "a great experiment which would justify itself by securing intellectual superiority while affording as good a chance as then existed of obtaining in successful candidates those qualities which no examination can test". 31 This proposal was strongly supported by Macaulay and it received the sanction of the Parliament. Thus it was provided that "admission to Haileybury and to the covenanted civil service should be open to all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, whether European, Indian, or men of mixed race, who could establish their claim by success in competitive examinations held in England under regulations framed by the Board of Control". An Act of 1855 prohibited the admission of further students to Haileybury College after January 25, 1856, and directed the College to be closed on January 91, 1858.

It would appear from wdiat has been said above, that the Charter Act of 1833 also sought to remove colour bar in the matter of appointments. Clause 87 laid down that "no Native of the said territories, nor natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Company". In his speech on the Charter Act

of 1833 (10th July, 1833) Macaulay referred to this provision as "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause''.

There was strong opposition to which Macaulay made a spirited reply. "We are told that the time can never come when the natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold power. We are told that we are bound to confer on our subjects—every benefit which they are capable of enjoying;—no—which it is in our power to confer on them;—no—but which we can confer on them without hazard to our own domination. Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality... " Macaulay added: "To the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause". 32

Such speeches, echoing across the seas the voice of British liberalism, had a profound effect on India. Perhaps no other clause of the Charter Act of 1833 so deeply stirred the imagination of the Indians and stimulated their faith in the sense of justice of the British people. It roused high hopes in the minds of the young Englisheducated Indians, and several of them prpeeeded to England to qualify themselves for holding high offices in India. But on their return they were doomed to disappointment. As pointed out by Mr. Cameron, a member of the Council of the Governor-General and Chairman of the Indian Law Commission, "during the twenty years that have since elapsed (the passing of the Act of 1833) not one of the natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible before the Statute". 33 As noted above, this provoked the Indians to offer a strenuous opposition to any further renewal of the Charter of the East India Company.

But hopes did not die. For three quarters of a century the politically minded Indians looked upon the clause 87 of the Charter Act of 183$ as the Magna Carta which would secure for them a due share in the administration of their own country. Unfortunately, neither this clause, nor the assurance, to the same effect, held but in the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, did materially change the policy of keeping the civil service of the

Company as a close preserve of the British. What was worse still, attempts were made, from time to time, to explain away the significance of the clauses. Immediately after the Act of 1833 was passed, the Court of Directors limited the application of the clause to the appointments made in British India and held that “it does not break down or derange the scheme of our government as conducted principally through the instrumentality of our regular servants”. 34 There is,

however, no warrant for such a restricted interpretation of the clause. An eminent British historian of modern times has thought fit to support the view of the Directors. Referring to the particular clause, quoted above, he says: “Clearly this did not mean, and was not designed to mean, that all offices were in future to be thrown open indiscriminately to Indians. The Clause of the Act of 1739 declaring that none but covenanted servants of the Company could hold any civil office carrying over £ 800 a year salary still remained law” 35 This objection can hardly be taken seriously, for it would appear to any unprejudiced critic that the plain words of the clause could not mean anything else than the admission of the Indians into this rank of covenanted servants. The Queen’s Proclamation, as we shall see, was similarly sought to be explained away by Lord Curzon.

The plain fact seems to be that such liberal concessions were never intended to be carried into practice, and the Indians looked upon the attempts to explain them away as merely adding insult to injury. The semblance of an effort to give effect to the clause 87 of the Act of 1833 was made by the creation of the post of DeputyCollector in 1833 and that of Deputy-Magistrate in 1843. Persons of any religion, colour, descent, or place of birth could be appointed to those posts—the highest to which an Indian could aspire.

V. LEGISLATION AND JUSTICE 1. The Legislative Authority

The dim beginnings of the establishment of a Central Legislature, separate from the Executive, may be traced to the Act of 1833 which, as noted above, added to the Governor-General’s Council a fourth ordinary member, the Law Member, for legislative purposes only. He was not to be recruited from the Company’s civil or military service, and,had the right of speech and vote only at meetings of the Council for the consideration of legislative business. The Company, however, felt and advised that the Law Member should be present also at the executive meetings of the Council. “An intimate knowledge”, it wrote, “of what passes in Council will be of essential service to him in the discharge of his legislative functions. Unless he is in the habit of constant communication and entire confidence with his colleagues; unless he is familiar with the details of internal administration, with the grounds on which the Government acts and with the information by which it is guided, he cannot possibly sustain his part on the legislative conferences or measures, with the knowledge, readiness and independence essential to a due perfortnanance of his duty”. 36 The advice of the Company was acted upon.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, who was appointed the first Law Mem her, and his successors attended all the meetings Of the Council.

The'Charter Act of 1833 did something more than merely appoint a Law Member. By this Act the Governments of Madras and Bombay were deprived of their power of legislation. Henceforth these Governments were merely ^authorized to ‘propose drafts of new laws, with the reason for proposing them, to the Governor-General in Council, and this body was required to take the same into consideration and to communicate its resolutions thereon to the Government which had proposed them’. 37 The Governor-General in Council was empowered to make laws, to repeal, amend, or alter “any laws or regulations whatever now in force or hereafter to be in force” in the territories of the East India Company or any part thereof, and “to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or Native, foreigners or others, and for all Courts of Justice, whether established by His Majesty’s Charters or otherwise, and the jurisdictions thereof, and for all places and things whatsoever within and throughout the whole and every part of the said territories, and for all servants of the said Company within the dominions of Princes and States in alliance with the said Company”. But the Governor-General in Council was not authorized to make laws and ^regulations (1) “which shall in any way repeal, vary, suspend, or affect any of the provisions” of the Act of 1833 or “any of the provisions of the Acts for punishing mutiny and desertion of officers and soldiers” in the service of the Crown or of the Company; (2) which shall in any way affect the constitution or rights of the Company, the Prerogative of the Crown or the authority of Parliament, or any part of the unwritten laws or constitutions of the United Kingdom, whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown of the United Kingdom or the sovereignty or dominion of the Crown over the Indian territories; (3) without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors. . .whereby power shall be given to any Courts of Justice other than the Courts of Justice established by His Majesty's Charters, to sentence to the punishment of death any of His Majesty's natural-born subjects born in Europe, or the children of such subjects; (4) which shall abolish any of the Courts of Justice established by His Majesty's Charters. 38

The rights of Parliament were not, however, curtailed in any way. The Act "expressly declared that a full,-complete, and constantly existing right and power is intended to be reserved to Parliament to control, supersede, or prevent all proceedings and acts whatsoever of the said Governor-General in Council, and to repeal and alter at any time any law or regulation whatsoever made

by the said Governor-General in Council, and in all respects to legislate for the said territories and all the inhabitants thereof in as full and ample a manner as if this Act had not been passed;*and the better to enable Parliament to exercise at all times such right and power, all laws and regulations made by the said Governor-General in Council shall be transmitted to England and laid before both Houses of Parliament, in the same manner as is now by law provided concerning the rules and regulations made by the several governments in India". 39 The Court of Directors had the right to veto any laws or regulations passed by the Governor-General in Council. 40 But subject to these limitations, all the Acts passed by the Governor-General in Council were to possess the same force and effect as any Act of British Parliament and shall be taken notice of by all Courts of Justice whatsoever within the said territories... and it shall not be necessary to register or publish them in any Court of Justice. 41

This was further emphasized by the fact that laws made under the powers given by this Act were known as Acts, and took the place of the Regulations made by the Governments in India under previous Acts of Parliament. The most important effect of these provisions of the Act of

1833 was to bring the Supreme Courts under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General in Council. Before this Act, no Regulation was binding on these Courts until and unless it was 'registered' by them, and such registration was wholly at the discretion of these Courts themselves. The result was that the legislation of the Governor-General of Bengal in Council or the Governors of Madras and Bombay in Council was not normally binding on the Indian residents of the Presidency towns and the European residents in or outside them. Now the legislation of the GovernorGeneral of India in Council became binding on all persons and all courts of lav/. Further, the Council was authorized to modify or define the jurisdiction of any of the Courts established by His Majesty’s Charter, although these could not be abolished without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors.

Some alterations were made in the machinery for legislation by the Act of 1853. The Law Member of the Governor-General's Council was made a full-fledged member, and this Council was enlarged for legislative purposes by the addition of six members, called the legislative members. Thus for legislative purposes this Council was to consist of twelve members,—the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the four ordinary members of the Governor-General’s Council, the Chief Justice of Bengal, a Puisne Judge, and four officials (paid) of the local Governments of Bengal, Madras, Bombay

and Agra (North-Western Provinces). The Governor-General, as President, possessed the power of veto. The sittings of the Legislative Council became public and its proceedings were officially published. Discussions became oral instead of being conducted in writing, and the Bills were placed for examination before a Select Committee instead of a single member. For the first time the principle of local representation in the Indian Legislature was recognized, and legislation treated as a special function of Government requiring special machinery and special processess. 42

But the local representation was more nominal than real. In the first place, one member each from Bombay and Madras was regarded as insufficient, and these Presidencies complained of the preponderance of authority which Bengal exercised. Secondly, representatives were all officials. No Indian was included in the first Indian Legislative Council, though Lord Dalhousie pleaded for it. Already he had written a masterly essay entitled “The Government of India,” dated 12th October, 1852. On 21 March, 1853, he wrote a letter to Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, suggesting in it the inclusion in the Legislative Council of some ‘Native Gentlemen’ from unofficial as well as official ranks. He significantly observed: “Indeed amidst the general unfitness there are already some native gentlemen whose intellectual qualities, whose experience of our Government, and whose extensive and minute knowledge of Indian details, would render any one of them a very valuable member of the Legislative Council. For my part, I should be personally glad to see such a gentleman appointed at once under the new Act”. An attempt was made in the Committee stage of the Bill in the House of Commons to introduce non-official elements— both Indian and European—in the Council. But it was defeated by the opposition of Sir Charles Wood, who maintained that no two Indians could be found to represent adequately the diversity of Hindu and Muslim society.

Along with the expansion of the Legislative Council the Act of 1853 considerably enlarged the legislative authority of the Governor-General. Under the Act of 1833 the Governor-General could overrule the decisions of the Majority of his Council, only when it met as an Executive Body. But when the Council met for legislative purposes, he had only a casting vote. Under the Act of 1853 he could veto any law passed by the Council, a power which hitherto belonged to the home authorities alone. But in spite of this power of veto the Governor-General did not find it an easy matter to control the legislature, though composed entirely of officials, and keep it confined to its proper functions. In the first place, it was invested

with forms and modes of procedure closely imitating those of the House of Commons. There were, for example, 136 standing orders to regulate the proceedings of an assembly of twelve persons Secondly, contrary to the intentions of the Parliament, -the Legislative Council began to assume the character of a miniature representative assembly, assembled for the purpose of inquiry into, and redress of, grievances. It “evinced an inconvenient tendency to interfere with the Executive” 43 and even went so far as to present “an address asking that certain correspondence between the

Secretary of State and the Government of India should be communicated to it." The situation had become strained, and justified Sir Charles Wood's complaint in the House of Commons that, contrary to the intention of its founders, the Council had become a sort of debating society or petty Parliament. He quoted the Chief Justice of Calcutta as saying that the Council "has no jurisdiction in the nature of that of a grand inquest of the nation. Its functions are purely legislative, and are limited even in that respect. It is not an AngloIndian House of Commons for the redress of grievances, to refuse supplies, and so forth." 44 It was, however, pointed out by the Governor-General that the Council always kept itself within strict letters of the law. Wood was neither the first nor the last io discover that the letters of an Act do not always conform to its intentions.

2. Laws and Law-courts

The division of jurisdiction between the King's courts and the Company's courts was gradually felt to be an anomaly in the British administrative system in India. There was also a growing feeling in favour of systematic codification in place of varying laws and usages. Cowbell writes that at "that date there were five different bodies of Statute law in force in the (Indian) empire. First, there was the whole body of English Statute law existing in 1726 so far as it was applicable, which was introduced by the Charter of George I and which applied, at least, in the Presidency towns. Secondly, all English Acts subsequent to that date, which were expressly extended to any part of India. Thirdly, the Regulations of the Governor-General's Council, which commenced with the Revised Code of 1793, containing forty-eight Regulations, all passed on the same day ("which embraced the results of twelve years' antecedent legislation), and were continued down to the year 1834. They only had force in the territories of Bengal. Fourthly, the Regulations of the Madras Council, which spread over the period of thirty-two years, viz. from 1802 to 1834, and were in force in the Presidency of Fort St. George. Fifthly, the Regulations of the Bombay Code, which began with the Revised Code of Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827, comprising the results of twenty-eight years' previous legislation, and were also continued till 1834, having force and validity in the Presidency of Fort St. David". 46

The Charter Act of 1833, which gave extensive powers of legislation to the Governor-General of India in Council, as noted above, also emphasized the necessity of a comprehensive consolidation and codification of the varieties of laws. Section 53 of the Act declared that it was "expedient that subject to such special arrangements as local circumstances may require, a general system of judicial establishments and police, to which all persons whatsoever, as well as Europeans as natives, may be subject, should be established in the territories subject to the Company at an early period; and that such laws as might be applicable in common to all classes of the inhabitants of the said territories, due regard being had to the rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people, should be enacted, and that all laws and customs having the force of law within the same territories should be ascertained and consolidated, and, as occasion may require, amended". In order to carry this into effect the Act directed the Governor-General in Council to appoint a commission, to be known as the 'Indian Law Commission', which was to "fully inquire into the jurisdiction, powers, and rules of the existing Courts of Justice and police establishments in the Indian territories, and all existing forms of judicial procedure, and into the nature and operation of all law, whether civil or criminal, written or customary, prevailing and in force in any part of the Indian territories, to which any inhabitants of those territories whether Europeans or others were then subject". This was the first Indian Law Commission with Macaulay as its most prominent member. As a result of the labours of this Commission, a draft of a Penal Code was prepared before Macaulay's departure from India in 1837.

In spite of all the changes mentioned -above, racial distinction regarding criminal charges against "European British subjects" 46 was maintained. Until 1836 they were under the control of the Supreme Courts alone both for civil and criminal matters. This prevented proper administration of justice, for "the procedure in the Supreme Court was very slow, and the expenses very great". Justice rendered according to English law was costly enough in England, but it was ten times more so in India. In Calcutta the ministerial officers attached to the Supreme Court made scandalous fortunes.Natives in the mofussil were deterred by the expense of litigation before these tribunals with the result that Englishmen might, without danger, refuse to pay their debts. 47 The state of things was thus described by Macaulay: "Till the passing of Act XI

of 1836 an Englishman at Agra or Benaras who owed a small debt to a native, who had beaten a native, who had come with a body of bludgeon-man and ploughed up a native's land, if sued by the injured party for damages, was able to drag that party before the Supreme Court of Calcutta (a distance perhaps of 1000 miles), a court which in one most important point—the character of the judges—stands as high as any court can stand, but which in every other respect I believe to be the worst in India, the most dilatory and the most ruinously expensive. The expenses of litigation in England are so heavy that people sit down quietly under wrongs and submit to losses rather than go to law, and yet the English are the richest people in the world. The people of India are poor, and the expenses of litigation in the Supreme Court are five times as great as the expenses of litigation at Westminster. An undefended cause which might be prosecuted successfully in the Court of King's Bench for about £8 cannot be prosecuted in the Supreme Court under £40. Officers of the Court are enabled to accumulate in a few years, out of the substance of ruined suitors, fortunes larger than the oldest and most distinguished servant of the Company can expect to carry home after thirty or forty years of eminent service. I speak of Bengal, where the system is now in full operation. At Madras, the Supreme Court has, I believe, fulfilled its mission. It has done its work. It has beggared every rich native within its jurisdiction, and is inactive for want of somebody to ruin". 48

Macaulay's effort to bring the "European British subject" under the full jurisdiction of the courts of the Company in civil and criminal matters was foiled by violent opposition of the Europeans in Calcutta. But he succeeded in doing something by Act XI of 1836, commonly known as Macaulay's Black Act. It placed Englishmen under the jurisdiction of the Company's courts in civil matters, and distinctions of race were abolished in civil courts throughout India. 49 As could be expected, the European community denounced this Act. What is less easy to explain is that Dwarakanath Tagore joined them. 60

But the British settlers in India continued to enjoy the right to be tried in the Supreme Courts in criminal cases for another generation. "Innumerable instances are on record which show", observed a writer in the Calcutta Review of 1846, "how lamentably this indulgence has been abused, and how frequently British Europeans, after the commission of outrages, which at Calcutta or at home would have been visited with the most condign punishment, have baffled the most strenuous efforts of justice. The only remedy at present is a prosecution in the Supreme Court, to which as it is not

in the power of poor people living at the distance of several leagues to resort, there is no real redress for wrongs; consequently, that salutary influence which the presence of neighbouring and competent authority cannot fail to exert over a community is unfelt by British European subjects. Unrestrained in their actions,—with large sums at their command,—contaminated by daily intercourse with depraved natives, and forgetful of their God, they had been known to equal the worst Zemindars in cruelty and oppression. False charges, connivance at perjury, even subornation of perjury,—affrays—unnecessary disputes—have been as things of everyday occurrence with them". 61

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An attempt was made in 1849 to stop this glaring iniquity. A Bill was drafted by Mr. Bethune, the Law Member of the Government of India, in order to abolish exemption of the British-born subjects from the jurisdiction of the Magistrates and the criminal courts established by the East India Company. This and three other Bills, proposed at the same time, were intended to bring British-born subjects under the jurisdiction of the Company's criminal courts, and thereby protect the people, living outside the Presidency towns, against molestation by non-official Europeans, who were, till then, subject only to the Supreme Court in Calcutta. As expected, the European community started a violent agitation against these Bills, which they denounced as Black Acts, and made representations to the British Parliament against them. The Indians made a counter-agitation and Ramgopal Ghosh published a pamphlet 51 * embodying Indian views. But the Indian counter-protest was of no avail, and the Bills were withdrawn from the Legislative Council. This gave a rude shock to the educated Indian public and alienated the Indians from the British to a degree unknown before. 511 ’

The Indians, however, continued the agitation, and on 6 April, 1857, “a monster meeting was held in the Town Hall on the Black Acts”. In addition to eminent Indian leaders of Calcutta, the meeting was addressed by George Thompson, a liberal-minded Englishman who heartily sympathized with the political aspirations of the Indians. They all pleaded strongly for the abolition of special privileges enjoyed by the British-born subjects of Her Majejsty in India which were a great source of misery to the Indians. But i all the agitations were unheeded by the authorities, until, in September, 1861, “the Legislature made a sort of compromise. The special privileges of the British-born subjects were abolished, but they could not be tried by any officer of Indian birth. Under this law even an Indian Magistrate or Judge, holding a covenanted post, could not try the humblest individual claiming a British birth. This anomaly,

which became more and more glaring as Indian members of the Civil Service grew in number and came to occupy senior executive and judicial posts, had far-reaching consequences, as will be seen later.

3. Administration of Criminal Justice.

An anonymous writer, presumably an Englishman, published a long article in the Calcutta Review in 1846, reviewing the administration of criminal justice in Bengal. 52 A contemporary view of British administration, not by disaffected Indians, but by a wellwisher of the empire, naturally carries some weight when it is directed against his own countrymen. It is therefore of some interest to note the defects to which he drew pointed attention.

1. The general insecurity resulting from the new system of police and administration of criminal justice introduced by Lord Cornwallis is described in all its horrid details. But it showed no signs of decrease. “The exertions of the Magistrates had been either opposed, or but feebly backed by their ill-paid and necessarily corrupt native subordinates.. .The report of the Superintendent of Police, indeed, mentions that for the last two or three years dacoity has been on the increase and the conviction of the dacoits on

the decrease. This is not as it should be. Of what use would it be to put down other crimes, when that which is most common, most dreaded and most systematic, goes on increasing year after year?” Among the various probable causes to which it may be attributed the writer mentions (a) uniting the offices of Collector and Magistrate, and (b) appointment of young Civilians, fresh from college, to posts once filled by able and experienced officers. 63

2. Evils of the legal system:

(a) Want of a complete set of laws; (b) The frequent change of Regulations; (c) The number of appeals to which a Magistrate’s orders are subject and the faulty manner of appellate decisions; (d) Nice distinctions of power between various officials “such as are not recognized in any civilized country and which are alike wrong in principle and injurious in practice”. This is illustrated by the powers vested in a Magistrate, a Deputy-Magistrate and an Assistant Magistrate.

3. No provision is made for the punishment of British European felons in the mofussil, enabling them to oppress the natives with very little risk of punishment and to set the police at defiance. 54

4. “The next grand evil in our system of administering criminal justice is the union of the offices of Ministerial and Judicial

Magistrate, of thief-catcher and thief-trier. There is scarcely any principle in jurisprudence more important than the separation of these two offices. Their union is injurious to offenders, to the community, and to the Magistrates,—injurious to the offenders, because they are not tried by an unbiassed judge,—but by one whose interest it is to convict them,—who will gain credit if they are convicted; —whose opinion has been formed before the trial by a previous knowledge of the circumstances of the case, whose judgment has been influenced by collateral circumstances,—who has himself been advising the police officers how to conduct the case,—who unites in himself the offices of accuser, judge and jury”. 66

The ‘following extract from a minute written by Mr. Halliday about eight years ago’ is quoted in support of the above accusation.

“The union of Magistrate with Collector has been stigmatized as incompatible, but the junction of thief-catcher with judge is surely more anomalous in theory and more mischievous in practice. So long as it lasts, the public confidence in our criminal trials must always be liable to injury and the authority of justice itself must often be abused and misapplied. For this evil which arises from a constant and unavoidable bias against all supposed offenders, the power of appeal is not a sufficient remedy; ... It is well known on the other hand that the judicial labours of the Magistrate occupy nearly all his time; that which is devoted to matters srictly executive, belonging to the shcrt space daily employed in hearing Thannah reports. But the effectual management of even a small police force and the duties of a public prosecutor ought to occupy the whole of one man’s time, and the management of the police of a large district must necessarily be inefficient which from press of other duties is slurred over in two hasty hours of each day!’. 66

5. Low scale of remuneration paid to the officers, particularly Darogas and Deputy-Magistrates. . .Deputy-Magistrates, who were authorized by the local authorities to dr&w 400 Rupees and to look up to five and six hundred a month as a stimulant to their zeal, will in future be allowed only 200, with the prospect of getting 350 Rupees, when they show themselves qualified for independent jurisdictions. The pay formally allowable to a Daroga has been reduced to 50 Rupees”. 67

6. The large extent of the country under the jurisdiction of a Magistrate, and the extreme inequalities and irregularities in the division of the whole province into Districts and Thannahs. A Magistrate cannot keep in touch with the rural population and exercise effective supervision over his subordinates. The long distances which a plaintiff or a witness, living at the borders, has to travel

make them unwilling to attend the Magistrate’s court, and it was not unusual to seize and send them to the Magistrate’s kutchery” under charge of Burkandazes, and while there to keep them under restraint and sometimes in confinement. 68 “There can be no doubt that these hardships have facilitated the escape of many offenders. The reluctance of prosecutors is generally so very great that an experienced officer remarked, that there are very few persons, who, having once gone through a criminal proceeding, would ever feel inclined to complain again". 59

7. The defective method of taking down depositions. "A Mohurrir, receiving a salary of ten or twelve Rupees per month, generally takes down the depositions of all witnesses, and examines all prosecutors and defendants. His movements are not subjected to very strict supervision. He proceeds with his work, while the Magistrate is attending to other duties. He is without control. He writes down "no", when the witness says "yes", and "yes", when the witness says "no", as often as it suits his purpose. He is invariably leagued with one party or other. If he is against the prosecutor, he does not arrange the plaint in a proper way, but makes out a confused account, with as many contradictions as he can conveniently introduce;—if he is for the plaintiff, he makes the plaint a masterpiece of eloquence, squeezes in every possible argument, words it classically, and places, in strong lights, all those points, which he fr<?m experience knows, will tell with his superior. He arranges the defence and the evidence on the same principle. ..He sometimes abandons his desk with a plausible pretence, goes out, settles terms, comes to an understanding, and consults his favourite muktear as to the best means of carrying into effect his evil designs. He directs witnesses for the party with whom he is leagued what to answer, when cross-examined by the Magistrate, and endeavours to mislead the other party's people. He is frequently successful, and seldom exposed. . .We may safely assert, that in eight cases out of ten, decided in every Magistrate's court, douceur is paid to the Mohurrir that takes down depositions.

An appeal to the Sessions Judge, by the party who has paid the bribe, will compel the Magistrate to send up the papers of the case to that officer,—and as the latter has no means of judging of its merits, but by the documents submitted, and as those documents are expressly prepared to favour the party appealing, the decision is generally for him. (0

8. The practice of judging the efficiency of Magistrates, and the state of Districts, from the proportion between acquittals and convictions.

9. "The most unlimited powers were placed in the hands of the Darogah by the Magistrate to put the bad characters in confinement on mere Suspicion.

Thus the Darogah might confine whomsoever he liked without any check or control." Its abuses are thus described: "It breaks down all distinctions between honest men and thieves. It puts them on a level. The honest man has as many chances of going into jail, if he quarrels with the Darogah, as the thief. The Darogah has but to report to the Magistrate, that his enemy is a bad character, and to send a few perjurers to prove that he does not stay at home at night, effectually to crush his spirit, to put him to jail as a felon, to blast his character, to make him a marked man for life, and to triumph as the victor... It drives also the discharged thief to despair. He may resolve to become virtuous, honest, and industrious and yet be put to jail at the whim of the Darogah.. .This summary power of confining native Budmashes appears doubly odious, when contrasted with the license allowed to European bad characters. An English Indigo Planter may have caused a dozen affrays, each attended with homicide, have escaped by some petty technicality of the law, and yet live in much more security and freedom, than the most honest native subject". 61

10. The practice of convicting prisoners on their own confessions. "If statistical returns were to be examined, we would find, that in England or France, scarcely four prisoners in a hundred, and in India more than seventy in the same number, are convicted on their own evidence". This is not because, as one might suppose, "the Asiatics are superior to Europeans in the most Christian virtue of repentance". But the confessions are the result, in most cases, of ill treatment or promise of pardon. The writer of the article, who claims "to be somewhat more behind the curtain than a mere stranger", illustrates as follows the modus operandi of extorting confessions.

"When a Darogah goes into the interior to apprehend felons, he sometimes takes with' him. two or three noted bad characters of the neighbourhood. By the offer of large rewards to these wretches, he induces them to endeavour to scent out the perpetrators of the crime, which is the immediate object of his inquiries. If his spies are successful, he singles out those who are suspected of the offence, takes them one by one into a room, and there either commences a series of violent assaults, or offers them pardon, in order to induce confession. He promises also rewards of money, and says to every fellow in his turn, that if he confesses and criminates the others, he will not only be excused, but lauded to the skies, and blessed with a competence. He draws out two different pictures, and places them both at their disposal to select from. First, he speaks of confession, pardon, rewards, praise, happiness,—-then, of obstinacy, silence, the jail, the lash, family disgraced—wife forced into the gaze of the public and maltreated—children in destitution, starving for food. No wonder if the deluded victim prefers the former to the latter!

“If, however, his emissaries fail, he carves out a different line of conduct. Not being able to suspect any one, he selects some innocent person from the adjoining village, takes him into a solitary room, and there continues beating him till he roars for mercy, and when he is thus in a fair way to accede to any conditions, he is told that the only way of avoiding flagellation, disgrace, and infamy, is to say before the Magistrate, that he and several others did commit the crime with which they stood charged. ‘If he refuses, the flagellation is renewed with redoubled vigour, and kept up till his consent is obtained. Hut few, simple, untutored hearts can resist the temptation of choosing rewards and freedom, in preference to disgrace and punishment, although at the sacrifice of truth and honesty. Many, accordinglyat the very first offer, accede to the Darogah’s terms. The result is, that one guiltless person accuses others equally innocent as himself, and, with the active co-operation of the Darogah, who weaves around all a dense tissue of circumstantial falsehood, gets himself, as well as his victims, sent to jail”. The following footnote is added to the above, presumably by the Editor. “Although the Darogah appears the chief villain in this drama, he may plead some palliations to his guilt. It must be remembered, that his perwannah usually directs him to apprehend the delinquents in a week, on penalty of dismissal and imprisonment. What is done, may, therefore, be alleged to be done only in self-defence. To protect himself, he is, it may be said, instigated to ruin others”.62 a concrete instance is cited in which “... in the hope of obtaining rewards offered by a Darogah, two poor and innocent persons came foward before the Magistrate, and confessed being guilty of murder, and they were saved from the jaws of death at the very moment their fate seemed inevitable, by the opportune arrival of an order from the Nizamat Adalat which proved that they were imprisoned in the civil jail when the murder was committed ! We could now, if it were necessary, adduce three or four instances of a similar nature—several, in which confessions have been extortr ed by maltreatment,—and very many of those elicited by promises never mulfilled”[63]

11. Want of honest informers regularly paid by Government.

The unpaid minions of the Darogah, who act at present as informers, are the dregs of jails. They form the most degraded and unprincipled portion of society. They are worse than the village Chowkidars. They receive no regular pay from Government, but earn a wretched subsistence by levying hush money from offenders, or compounding cases against honest people. Their object is not to further the ends of justice but to fill their own pockets. They seldom direct their attention to cases which are not likely to yield them pecuniary profit, but bring into action all their energies to investigate those which are likely to enrich them. While they “profess to enforce, they frustrate the law”. Most of the felons who escape, escape through their agency. Most of the innocent who are punished are their victims. They are the medium of corruption between the Darogah and the village communities. Through them principally bribes are given, and taken. But although they are such reprobate and incorrigible rogues, they are indispensable. Without them no Police officer can ferret out offenders. A new DeputyMagistrate or Darogah who sees through their villainies, and scruples to avail himself of their assistance, may get into discredit with his superiors. He is branded as an inefficient officer”.[64]

In conclusion the writer points out that the British Government is immeasurably superior to all its predecessors (i.e. Hindu and Muslim Governments), and then adds: “But the same sense of justice, which compels us to admit, unhesitatingly, the superiority of the English Government over those that preceded it, necessitates us in the spirit of candour and impartiality, to point out defects, and to confess that all its measures have neither been judicious nor effectual. It has achieved much, when compared with other foreign rulers, but little, when compared with what perhaps it might have done, and at all events ought unceasingly to aspire to do. It is not an isolated regulation, or a solitary enactment that can benefit the millions who inhabit this country. To abolish one inhuman practice,—to disseminate the seeds of enlightenment among a few, is, as the Hindu poets say, to cast a drop of milk on the mighty ocean in order to turn it sweet. The mass of the people must be educated. The whole system must be altered. The crumbling edifice must be demolished from turret to foundation stone, and a new and more compact one raised in its stead. This of course must be the work of time. What we plead for is an acceleration of the progress towards its realization. In all its amplitude, such a consummation cannot possibly be ensured without the co-operation of the people". 65

Long extracts have been quoted from a contemporary review because the criticism accurately reflects the general opinion of the Indians. That there is a great deal of truth behind it is confirmed by such evidence as we possess. As will be seen later, some of the defects pointed out were wholly or partially remedied during the latter half of the nineteenth century, but some of the evils continued down to the end of the British period. The picture of administration that emerges out of the review is a rude reminder that the security of life and property and an efficient system of administration based on the rule of law, which are regarded as the chief blessings of British rule in India, had not been established, or at least been largely absent, at the end of the first century of British rule in India.

VI. REVENUE AND FINANCE A. REVENUE 1. Land-tax.

The land-tax formed the principal item of revenue of the Government of India. It amounted to more than half the gross revenue and showed a steady regular increase as the following figures would show 66

1817-18	£ 12, 363, 634
1827-28	£ 13, 754, 703
1837-33	£ 11, 853, 975.

1847-48 £ 14, 437, 254.

1857-58 £ 15, 317, 911.

ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM 2. Other sources

The sources of revenue other than land-tax may be classified as follows.

Gu Opium

“Opium was grown in British territory,—Benares and Patna, —and in the Native State of Malwa. The Benares and Patna opium was the monopoly of the Company, and the Government of Bengal got a large revenue from this monopoly, selling the opium at a profit of more than 200 per cent. Malwa opium paid a heavy transit duty of £ 12. 10 s. the chest on passing into British territory for exportation, and the Government of Bombay derived a substantial revenue from this transit duty. The two kinds of opium met in the market of Canton for sale in China , \ 67

Revenue was also derived from opium consumed in India. This was credited under the head ‘excise/ Between 1794 and 1838 opium revenue increased to more than two million sterling. The Government monopoly of opium was objected to by the people as it excluded the Indians from a profitable industry. Forcible introduction of opium into China against the wishes of that country was also objected to on moral grounds.

b. Salt

“The Government realised a large revenue from salt manufactured in the Company’s territory, and a heavy duty on salt manufactured in Native States and coming into British territory. The Company had the monopoly in salt as in opium”. 68

“Salt was prepared in Bengal by the Company’s agents, and a duty of 5s. per Maund (82 lbs.) was adaed to the cost of production before the article was placed in the market. A duty of 4s. per Maund was raised on salt obtained from mines in the Punjab; while salt prepared in Native States had to pay a duty of 4s. or 5s. before it passed into British territory.

“Madras salt was formed by solar evaporation on the margin of the sea, and was cheaper than Bengal salt; and the Company derived a considerable revenue by selling it at 2s. the Maund. In Bombay the Government permitted manufacturers to remove the salt from the pans on payment of a duty of Is. 6d. the Maund. , Sait imported into India from England or other countries paid a duty of 5s. or 6s. the Maund, so that the importers might not undersell the dutypaying Indian salt.

“The net revenue of the Company derived from salt manufacture rose from £ 800,000 in 1793 to nearly £ 1,300,000 in 1844.

The total quantity of salt manufactured by the East India Company in these fifty-two years is estimated at a little over two hundred million Maunds; and the total revenue derived from the manufacture at sixty millions sterling J, . to 9

Salt was regularly imported from England, and though theoretically a countervailing import duty was imposed on British salt, in practice the duty was lower than what it should have been, with the result that the import of the British salt went up by leaps and bounds from 352,835 maunds in 1846-7 to 1,850,762 maunds in 1851-2 in Calcutta. The price of salt, arbitrarily fixed by the Government, was very high and hit very hard the poorer classes. Petitions poured in from every province, the most pathetic being from the cultivators of Bombay in 1852. “The petitioners urged that the produce of their fields supplied them with food enough for eight months in the year; that during the remaining four months they subsisted on vegetables, which they seasoned with chillies, and salt when the latter was free from duty; but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort” 70 To the evils of the high price were added those of corruption and extortions. Frederick Halliday, then Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, observed:

“The present price of the Government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagances, connected with the Government system of manufacture, and by those many peculations, and extortions, and corruptions, which are inevitable in such a system, and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under those circumstances to persons informed upon the subject, that if the Government were to withdraw, and if there were no duty imposed, and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturers in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt, and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal".? 1

The petitions, memorials and agitation against the Salt Tax bore no fruit. The salt revenue was not given up.

c. The direct taxes levied for purpose of revenue.

(i) The stamp-revenue, realized from stamps affixed on judicial and commercial paper.

(ii) The excise-revenue derived from duties on spirits and intoxicating liquors, drugs, hemp, and opium consumed in India.

d. Duties levied on articles imported into India,

Various Acts were passed from time to time between 1833 and 1853 by the Indian Legislature to regulate Trade and Navigation and to fix the Tariff. The duties which were levied in 1852 on some

of the principal articles imported into India are shown in the following table. 72

Articles.

Books, British.

Books, Foreign.

Coffee .

Cotton and silk piece goods, British.... Cotton and silk piece goods, Foreign.. Cotton thread, twist, and yarn, British Cotton thread, twist, and yarn, Foreign

Horses and other animals .

Marine stores, British..

Marine stores, Foreign.

Metals, British..

Metals, Foreign.

Beer, ale, and similar fermented liquors, Salt ...

Spirits

Tea .

Wines and liquors....

Woollens, British.

Woollens, Foreign.... Manufactured articles Articles not named...

Import Duty Free.

3 per cent.

7i per cent.

5 per cent.

10 per cent.

3£ per cent.

7 per cent.

Free.

5 per cent.

10 per cent.

5 per cent.

10 per cent.

5 per cent.

5s. per maund (82 lbs.) in Bengal, 6s. per maund in Madras.

3s. per Imperial Gallon, London proof.

10 per cent.

2s. per Imperial Gallon.

5 per cent.

10 per cent.

5 per cent 3J per cent.

e. Other taxes of a miscellaneous character.

One of the most oppressive and harassing taxes was the one known as Mutarfa, “a tax upon trades and occupations, embracing weavers, carpenters, all workers in metals, all salesmen, whether possessing shops which are also taxed separately, or vehding by the road side, etc., some paying impost on their tools, others for permission to sell extending to the most trifling articles of trade and the cheapest tools the mechanic can employ, the cost of which is frequently exceeded six times by the Mutarfa, under which the use of them is permitted.” 73

If the tax was bad in principle, the methods adopted for its realization were still worse. The Madras Native Association stated in their petition to the

House of Commons (1853): “The discretionary power under which it is collected affords a wide field for the perpetual practice of liquisitorial visits, extortion and oppression, as suits the pleasure or the cupidity of the irresponsible collectors, with whom it is no unusual thing to resort to imprisonment and fetters in order to compel their exactions’*. 74

Mr. J. W. B. Dykes, who was a Magistrate and himself collected the tax, describes its incidence as follows in his evidence before the House of Commons: “It is levied upon every one almost who does not cultivate land.If an old woman takes vegetables to market and sells them at the corner of the street, she is assessed for selling vegetables. If a man is a cloth merchant, he is assessed. But no tax is levied upon European traders. Perhaps, next door to this man who is making a few rupees a year, there is a European trader making hundreds, but he pays nothing.” 76

The tax was gradually abolished and in 1853 it was in force only in Madras. As a result of the Parliamentary enquiry in that year the tax was abolished in Madras also.

B. FINANCE

The characteristic feature of the financial administration of the Government of India was the almost chronic deficit. The situation was considerably improved by reform and retrenchments effected by Lord William Bentinck 76 for which he had to incur great unpopularity among the British officers in India. Sir Charles Metcalfe kept up the tradition and maintained the surplus. But the imperialist policy of Auckland leading to the Afghan War entirely changed the situation. He arrived in India in 1838 and for the next ten years (1838-9 to 1848-9) India lost her surplus and showed a deficit. The annexation of the rich province of the Pan jab and the war indemnities paid by the Sikhs created a surplus in 1849-50. But the state of things lasted for only three years. Dalhousie’s imperial policy was mainly responsible for the deficit which set in in 1852-3 and continued throughout his administration, in spite of his extensive annexations. The treasures of Avadh, acquired in 1856, helped to wipe away the deficit in 1856-7, but the Mutiny of 1857 raised the deficit to ten millions in 1857-8.

The following table shows the steady increase of both expenditure and revenue. 77

	Gross expenditure	Gross revenue
1817-8	£18,046,194	£18,375,820
1827-8	£24,053,837	£22,863,263
1837-8	£19,857,970	£20,858,820
1847-8	£26,746,474	£24,908,302
1856-7	£31,608,875	£31,691,015
1857-58	£41,240,571	£31,706,776

Leaving aside the abnormally heavy expenditure caused by the Mutiny in 1857-8, there was a steady increase of expenditure, at higher rate than the corresponding increase in revenue.

There can be hardly any doubt that the heavy expenditure was mainly due, first to the top-heavy administration run almost exclusively by highly paid British officials, and secondly, to the wars fought for the imperial interest of Britain at the expense of India. As has been shown above, 78 Indian interests, apart from those of her British masters, were not in the least involved in the two costly wars in Burma and one in Afghanistan, whose entire expenses were thrown on the finance of India. 79

The growth of Indian debt was also partly due to the British imperial policy of expansion in India. In other words, India had to pay the expenses of her conquest by Britain.

“The total Indian Debt, bearing interest, was little over 7 millions in 1792, and had risen to 10 millions in 1799. Then followed Lord Wellesley’s wars, and the Indian Debt rose to 21 millions in 1805, and stood at 27 millions in 1807. It remained almost stationary at this figure for many years, but had risen to 30 millions in 1829, the year after Lord William Bentinck’s arrival in India. That able and careful administrator was the only Governor-General under the East India Company who made a substantial reduction in the Public Debt of India, and on the 30th April, 1838, the Indian Debt was £26,947,434.

“This was the “Registered Debt”. Besides this, there were Treasury Notes and Deposits, making the total “Indian Debt”, £29,832,299. Add to this the “Home Bond Debt”, and the total Debt of India on April 30, 1836, was £33,355,536”. 80 The subsequent increase in public debt is shown in the following table: 81

1837-3 £33,772,718

1847-8 £48,757,213

1857-8 £69,473,484

The iniquity of making Indian exchequer pay the cost of the foreign wars was exposed in the British House of Commons by liberal-minded British politicians like John Bright, who said: “Last year I referred to the enormous expense of the Afghan War—about 15 millions sterling—the whole of which ought to have been thrown on the taxation of the people of England, because it was a war commanded by the English Cabinet, for objects supposed to be English”, 82 Even the East India Company entered an emphatic protest against paying the expenses of the Afghan War* It is interesting to note that while the East India Company received no payments for the service of Indian troops outside India (China, Afghanistan), they had to bear the expenses of British troops sent out from England to suppress the Mutiny.

One aspect of the normal expenditure of India requires special notice. It is the heavy amount annually remitted to England in payment of the expenditure incurred in that country on behalf of India. Such expenditure included (1) the interest payable on Indian debt; (2) interest on railways; and (3) civil and military charges i.e. “all the expenses incurred in England down to the maintenance of the India office and the wages of the charwoman employed to clean the rooms at Whitehall”.

The origin of Indian debt has been discussed above, and the interest on railway did not really amount to much during the period under review. It would be discussed later when it grew to enormous proportions during the next half a century.

As regards the third item, India was treated on an entirely different footing from the British Colonies. This was forcibly pointed out by Major Wingate in the following words:

“Hie entire cost of the Colonial Office, or, in other words, of the Home Government of all British colonies and dependencies except India, as well as of their military and naval expense, is defrayed from the revenues of the United Kingdom; and it seems to be a natural inference that similar charges should be borne by this country in the case of India. But what is the fact? Not a shilling from the revenues of Britain has ever been expended on the military defence of our Indian Empire.

“The worst, however, is not yet told; for it would appear that when extra regiments are despatched to India, as happened during the late disturbances there, the pay of such troops for six months previous to sailing is charged against the Indian Revenues, and recovered as a debt due by the Government of India to the British army pay-office’\83

John Bright also publicly expressed his view that “the 40 millions which the revolt will cost” should be paid out of the taxes levied upon the people of this country.

Taking the figures for the last 20 normal years before the East India Company lost its dominions in India (i.e. from 1837-8 to 1856-7), it would appear that the total of the Gross Revenue, the Gross Expenditure, and the amount remitted to England were, in round numbers, respectively, 507, 519, and 57 millions. In other words, but for the Home Charges, as the third item is popularly known, there would be a surplus instead of deficit in Indian finances. It may also be seen that nearly one-tenth of the total expenditure for the Government of India was incurred in England, and annually paid out of Indian revenues to a foreign country. "The money flowed out of the country never to return again; it went from a poor country to fructify the trades and industries of a rich country". 84

"The question of the 'drain' of Indian wealth was discussed for the first time (in India) in the periodical Press by the Serampore Missionaries, who from a perusal of Tucker's 'Review of India? and other books and papers, came to the conclusion that 4< the sum annually derived (by Britain) from India through dividends of Indian stock, the industry of such of her sons as are enabled from year to year to return with a competence and through various other ways amounts to full three millions sterling." To those three millions they added another three millions derived as profits of commerce. Rammohan (Raja Rammohan Roy) corroborated the statement of the missionaries by referring to the evidence of Messrs. Lloyd and Melville before the Select Committee of the House of Lords (1830) and to a work entitled. On Colonial Policy as applicable to the Government of India by a 'Servant of the Company*. He quoted from the latter work the observation that rt the aggregate of tribute, public and private, so withdrawn from India from 1705 to 1820 (is calculated) at 110,000,000".

"With a view to checking such a huge drain of Indian wealth he (Rammohan) suggested that the Europeans accumulating capital in India should be encouraged to settle in India so that the wealth might not go out of the country".84»

The effect of this annual economic drain has been thus described by Major Wingate, a distinguished British Officer in India, to whom reference has been made above:

“Hie tribute paid to Great Britain is by far the most objectionable feature in our existing policy. Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effects from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. In the former case, the taxes collected from the population at large are paid away to the portion of the population engaged in the service of Government, through whose expenditure they are again returned to the industrial classes. They occasion different distribution, but no loss of national income... .But the case is wholly different when the taxes are not spent in the country from which they are raised. In this case they constitute no mere transfer of a portion of the national income from one set of citizens to another, but an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country. As regards its effects on national production, the whole amount might as well be thrown into the sea." 05

Another Englishman, Montgomery Martin, wrote in 1838:

“Hie annual drain of £ 3.000,000 on British India amounted in thirty years, at 12 per cent, (the usual Indian rate) compound interest to the enormous sum of £ 723.907,917 sterling; or, at a low ra*e, as £ 2,000,000 for fifty years, to £ 8,400,000,000 sterling! So constant and accumulating a drain even on England would soon impoverish her; how severe then must be its effects on India, where the wages of a labourer is from twopence to threepence a day? For half a century we have gone on draining from two to three and sometimes four million pounds sterling a year from India, which has been remitted to Great Britain.. J do not think it possible for human ingenuity to avert entirely the evil effects of a continued drain of three or four million pounds a year from a distaint country like India, and which is never returned to it in any shape”. 0 6

Different, and sometimes directly contradictory, views have been held by eminent writers on the justice, wisdom, and expediency of the Home Charges. These will be discussed later. But there cannot be much doubt about its general effect described above.

VII. LAND SETTLEMENT A. NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

Reference has been made above 87 to the various experiments made by the British rulers about the assessment and collection of land-revenue leading to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal. It has also been shown how the early enthusiasm, which looked upon this measure as the panacea for all evils, rapidly cooled down and the authorities were loth to extend its operation to new areas. A striking instance of the change of policy is furnished by the “Ceded” and “Conquered Territories” which later constituted the N.W. Provinces. The Government of Bengal, of which it formed a part, promised in 1803 and 1805 to introduce Permanent Settlement in these territories, subject to the sanction of the home authorities. The Court of Directors refused to give the necessary sanction, as a Board of Commissioners, appointed in 1807, opposed the immediate conclusion of a Permanent Settlement.

The system of periodical settlements for short terms continued, with deplorable consequences. The State-revenue amounted to the entire net assets of land after deducting a small allowance for the cost of collection. There was no proper enquiry, and the assessment was generally fixed at the highest bid of a revenue farmer without considering the rights of actual cultivators. In the first ten years of the British rule over these territories the revenue had gone up by as much as 19 per cent, over the highest amount ever collected by the Nawab of Avadh. Such a heavy assessment, the severity of the method of collection, and the immediate sale of the land in default of payment of rent filled the cup of misery of the poor cultivators.

The Board of Commissioners, appointed in 1807, did not finish its labours till 1819 when the Secretary, Holt Mackenzie, formulated its recommendations in his famous minute, dated 1 July, 1819. Jt formed the basis of the Regulation VII of 1822, according to which the settlement was to be made largely with the village Zamindxtrz (peasant proprietors) who were organized in village communities and generally cultivated their own lands. In lieu of their rights, the other classes like the landlords or Talukdars , who had rights in the land, were generally granted compensation from the Government treasury which was collected from the village Zemindars. The basis for the settlement was the ‘net produce*, which meant that portion of the gross produce of land which remained after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the profits of stock and wages of labour i.e. expenditure on labour and capital by the cultivators. The

Regulation recommended a cadastral survey of the land, and the settlement officers were required to compute very carefully the actual produce of each bigha of land and the cost of its cultivation. The gross income of the cultivator was fixed on the basis of the -average price for several preceding years, and the revenue was assessed after deducting the expenses of cultivation The result was delay and over-assessment, for the demand of the State amounted to 83 per cent, of the gross rental of estates. The revenue officials looked upon the detailed process of settlement as too irksome. The British manufacturers were also opposed to it, for as the assessment of revenue was made according to crops, there was no inducement to the production of cotton, sugar, indigo and such other raw materials required by the British industry.

These considerations as well as the excessive assessments induced Lord Bentinck to introduce a new mode of settlement by the Regulation IX of 1833. The great task of carrying out the settlement operation on the line of this Regulation was entrusted to Robert Merttins Bird. Its main features may be summed up as follows:—

1. The basis of assessment was changed from ‘net produce* to ‘rental assets*. Instead of calculating the actual produce and its value, the settlement officers had to ascertain the rents payable on lands of particular qualities and thus fix the land-tax for a fiscal area. Two-thirds of the total rental thus determined was fixed as the land-revenue and one-third to be left to the proprietors, whether Zamindars or putteedars. The land-tax for the whole area was then apportioned among the villages contained within the area.

2. The assessment was fixed unalterably for 30 years.

3. The rights of all persons who held a heritable land transferable property in the soil were recognized and recorded. Thus all the village Zamindars who had survived the vagaries and irregularities of the different types of assessment in the past were recognized as cultivating proprietors of their lands, and the rights of each of them were defined and kept in permanent records.

4. Settlements were made with the village Zamindars , including those who had hitherto been paying revenue through the Talukdars. These Talvlcdars were granted an allowance equal to 18 per cent, of the total revenue collected by the Government, and this amount was to be paid from the treasury. It was, however, laid down in 1844, that the 18 per cent, was to be paid only to the original grantee during his life, his successors being paid only 10 per cent, which was fixed as the regular allowance.

5. A detailed land survey was undertaken and a complete record of each cultivated field was made. So, assessment was made even of the lands which village communities had hitherto managed to conceal. Its effect was that the village communities had no reserves left to fall back upon in time of emergency, and all their resources were thus exhausted.

6. A large scale resumption of rent-free tenures was made. The total revenue yielded by such lands in the N.W.P. (excluding Delhi and Saugor Division) for the period 1835 to 1848 amounted to Rs. 1,22,56,221. The harsh measures adopted by over-zealous subordinate officers to resume rent-free tenures were adversely commented upon by T. C. Robertson, the Lieutenant-Governor, as

follows:-—

“The Settlement Officer swept up without inquiring every patch of unregistered rent-free land, even those under ten Bighas (three acres) exempted by a subsequent order, which did not come out before five-sixths of the tenures had been resumed. In one district, that of Farakkabad, the obligations of a treaty and the direct orders of Government were but lightly dealt with; and in all, a total disregard was evinced for the acts even of such men as Warren Hastings

and Lord Lake”.

Still more .emphatic was the Lieutenant-Governor s condemnation of the manner in which the rights of hereditary landlords had been interfered with. The following is one of the instances cited.

“The Raja of Mynpuri, whose predecessor had received the highest acknowledgments from the British Government for his unshaken loyalty, when the district was overrun by Holkar’s army in the year 1804, was, without a reference to Government, under the construction put on the right of a Talukdar, deprived entirely, he and his successors in perpetuity, of all power of interference in 116 of the 158 villages included in his Taluka, which had descended to him in regular succession before the introduction of the British rule”.

Another observation of the Lieutenant-Governor is worth quoting. He characterized the mode of assessment to be “of a decidedly levelling character, and calculated so to flatten the whole surface of society as eventually to leave little of distinguishable eminence between the ruling power and the cultivators of the soil. It is a fearful experiment, that of trying to govern without the aid of any intermediate agency of indigenous growth; yet it is, \yhat it appears to me, that our measures, now in progress, have a direct tendency to bring about”. [88] “At the same time it should be remembered that Bird’s declared intention to make the assessment perpetual, where the lands were fully cultivated and assessed, has been disregarded by later administrators; and his desire to eventually follow the same practice in other districts, as they came more fully under cultivation, has not been fulfilled. On the contrary, the levelling character of the measures, deplored by T. C. Robertson in 1842, are more noticeable after the lapse of sixty years. The village Patwari, paid by the Government, is the master of the situation in North India to day”. [89]

James Thomason, who succeeded Robertson as Lieutenant-Governor in 1843, removed some of the evils pointed out by his predecessor. In 1849 he completed the work of Merttins Bird and closed the great settlement. Special importance attaches to the “Directions for Settlement officers” which he issued in 1844. It is justly looked upon as “the first complete Land Settlement Code” compiled in India, and some of the principles enunciated by Thomason were later embodied in the Tenancy Acts of the different provinces of India. Merttins Bird’s assessments were revised after he had left India and reduced by the exemption of many tent-free tenures. In this modified form the Settlement was approved by the Court of Directors in 1851.

The two most serious defects of this settlement were, first, that the fixing of the land-tax for an entire fiscal area like a pargana was more or less guess work; secondly, the land-tax amounting to two-thirds of the net produce was excessive and proved to be a crushing burden to the landlords and cultivators. This painful truth soon became evident to the Government itself, and new rules were issued in 1855, reducing the land-tax to 50 per cent, instead of 66 per cent. They formed part of the new rules which were issued in connection with the re-settlement of the Shaharanpur District and are therefore generally known as the "Shaharanpur Rules". The 50 per cent, basis was gradually adopted in land-settlements in other parts of India.

Th » settlement in N.W.P. came to be known as Mahalwari Settlement, as the basis of assessment was the produce of a Mahal or estate. All the proprietors of a Mahal were, severally and jointly, responsible in their persons and property for the sum assessed by the Government on the Mahal. If the number of proprietors were numerous, a few were selected as representatives of the whole and made responsible for the management of the Mahal and payment of the revenue.

E. BOMBAY

The British came into the possession of the major part of the Bombay Presidency after the Third Maratha War in 1818, as a result of the annexation of the Peshwa's dominions. The most characteristic feature of the administration of the Maratha country at the time was the system of village communities, which formed so many miniature States, "almost sufficient to protect their members if all other Governments are withdrawn". 90 The other important feature of the Maratha rule was "the cultivation of the land by peasant proprietors, called Mirasdars or hereditary owners of their fields". "A large portion of the Ryots were the proprietors of their estates, subject to the payment of a fixed land tax to Government; their property was hereditary and saleable; and they were never dispossessed while they paid their tax". 91

The new British administrators swept away both these institutions. They adopted the Ryotwari Settlement, already introduced in Madras with disastrous consequences. The main features of this settlement were: (1) assessment upon every separate cultivator; (2) the measurement of fields and an estimate of the yield; and (3) the fixing of Government demand at 55 per cent, of the produce. As could be expected on the analogy of what happened in other provinces, the measurement was faulty, the estimates of produce were wrong, and the revenue was excessive. The Bombay Administration Report of 1872-3 describes the result as follows -"Every effort, lawful and unlawful, was made to get the utmost out of the wretched peasantry, who were subjected to torture, in some instances cruel and revolting beyond all description, if they would not or could not yield what was demanded. Numbers abandoned their homes and fled into the neighbouring Native States. Large tracts of land were thrown out of cultivation, and in some districts no more than a third of the cultivable area remained in occupation". 92

A new system was introduced in 1835, associated with the names of Goldsmid and Wingate, and based on a complete survey of lands. "The plan adopted by Goldsmid and Wingate was very simple. They classed all soils into nine different classes according to their quality; they fixed the assessment of a district after inquiries into its circumstances and previous history; and they distributed the district demand among the villages and fields contained in the district. Hie owner of each field was then called upon to cultivate his holding on payment of the Land Tax fixed for his field". "The assessment was fixed by the Superintendent of Survey without any reference to the cultivator; and when those rates were introduced, the holder of each field was summoned to the Collector and informed of

the rate at which his land would be assessed in future; and if* he chose to retain it on those terms, he did; if he did not choose, he threw it up". 93 So the Ryotwari Settlement was continued in Bombay. "The rules of the Settlement were finally gathered up in 1847 in what is known as the Joint Report, signed by H. E. Goldsmid, Captain Wingate, and Captain Davidson. This Joint Report of 1847 was the basis of the Bombay Settlement, as Thomason's Directions to Settlement Officers, published in 1844, was the basis of the Settle* jrnent in Northern India". 94

This Settlement was undoubtedly a great improvement upon the existing one, and future settlements were made on this basis for recurring periods of thirty years. But its defects were similar in character to those of N. W. P. The assessment was a guess-work, and likely to vary with each settlement according to the mood of the new settlement officers. The cultivators lost their right to hereditary tenure of lands at fixed rates and had no inducements to effect any permanent improvement as there was no security against arbitrary enhancement of the State demand. By making arrangement with individual cultivator and ignoring the village communities the British Government gave a death-blow to these indigenous selfgoverning institutions.

Even the Sadar Board of Revenue and the Government of India, painfully aware of the ruin brought upon Madras by the Ryotwari Settlement, doubted the propriety of the new system. The Bombay Government defended their action by citing the example of N.W.P. It was, however, ignored that there was an essential difference between the two. "In Northern India the assessment was made for an entire estate or village, and the owners of the estate or the village collectively could protest with some effect if the guess-work assessment was wrong. In Bombay, every field was separately assessed, and the humble cultivator of a field had little chance of redress if the Settlement Officer made a wrong guess". 96 Nevertheless, the protest of the Sadar Board of Revenue in 1838 was no more successful than that of the Madras Board of Revenue in 1818. It is interesting to note that some highly placed British officials fully recognized the baneful effects of the Ryotwari system in Bombay and had the courage to state in public that by sweeping aside Village Communities and intermediate landlords the cultivators were reduced to a race of paupers.

C. MADRAS

The early history of the land-revenue system in Madras ha 9 been described in the preceding volume. Even so late as 1818 the Madras

Board of Revenue pleaded in favour of recognizing the Village Communities and making land revenue settlements with them. But the existence of self-governing bodies was incompatible with the absolute form of British Government. Sir Thomas Munro was the Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827, and during his regime the Ryotwari Settlement was introduced everywhere in Madras save in those areas where Permanent Settlement had already been introduced. The special feature of this settlement was that the Government demand on each plot of land was permanently fixed and each cultivator could take or reject the field offered, if he thought the rent excessive. Munro reduced the assessment from one-half of the estimated produce of the fields to one-third and remedied many other evils of the system. But one-third of the produce represented in many cases the entire economic rent and as such even the new system proved to be highly oppressive. Two other factors aggravated the evils of the system. In the first place, the cultivators had to pay a fixed sum of money irrespective of the actual yield or current prices Secondly, the land-revenue was not collected through local bodies of villagers as in the North-West Provinces, but low-paid agents were employed for the purpose who made good for the deficiency in their salary by unjust extortions from the helpless tenants enforced by cruel and oppressive methods.

So long as Sir Thomas Munro was at the helm of affairs, his benevolence and constant supervision kept the evils within limit. His death in 1827 removed this healthy check and “for thirty years the Province of Madras became a scene of oppression and agricultural distress unparalleled even in India in that age”. 96 The following extracts from the reports of Collectors of various Districts would convey some idea of the actual situation.

“Bellary District—The Collector reported in 1845 : “The universal complaint and request of the Ryots is to be allowed to reduce their farms, a convincing proof that cultivation is not profitable. Ryots, formerly substantial, and capable of laying out their capital on the lands, and liquidating their Sircar (State) demand, reserving their produce until they could get a favourable price, are now sunk in debt bearing heavy interest, entirely subject to their creditors; and were it not for the aid of the Collector through his revenue subordinates, one-half, or at least onethird, of the highly assessed lands would ere this have been thrown up....With regard to food and raiment, the majority of them are poorly clad and ill-fed, and it is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that poverty is the cause”.3 7

“Rajamundry, afterwards called Godavari District, appeared, from the report of Sir Henry Montgomery in 1844, to have been on the verge of ruin. There were famines in 1830 and 1831; the seasons were unfavourable in 1835, 1836 and 1837, and calamitous in 1838. 1839 and 1840. The population, which was 695,016 in 1830 had decreased to 533,836 in 1840.” 9 8

“Gantur and Masalipatam.—The famine of 1833. known as the Gantur famine, was the severest on record in these parts. Captain Walter Campbell, who was an

eye-witness, stated : The description in The Siege oj Corinth of dogs gnawing human, skulls is mild as compared with the scene of horror we are daily forced to witness in our morning and evening rides... .It is dreadful to see what revolting, food human beings may be driven to partake of. Dead dogs and horses are greedily devoured by these starving wretches; and the other day, an unfortunate donkey having strayed from the fort, they fell upon him like a pack of wolves, tore him limb from limb, and devoured him on the spot”. In the Gantur portion of the Krishna district from one-third to half of the whole population perished. An epidemic

broke out in the following year, and “a man in perfect health was hardly to be seen anywhere”.99

All this is corroborated by the report on the general condition of the Madras ryot, drawn up in 1853 by Bourdillon, one of the bestknown Madras officials of his day.

A very small proportion of the cultivators who were favourably assessed or held revenue-free lands, or possessed other exceptional advantages, were well to do, and, with an income of 30 to 40 shillings a month, were accounted to be very well oft. An income of £ 3 to £ 5 a month was very rare even among these classes.”

The large majority of the cultivators, however, were always in poverty an generally m debt. “A Ryot of this class of course lives from hand to mouth; he rarely sees money except that obtained from the Chetty (money-lender) to pay his kist (instalment of Government revenue); the exchanges in the out-villages are very few, and they are usually conducted by barter. His ploughing cattle are wretched animals not worth more than 3£ to 6 rupees each (7 to 12 shillings) and those perhaps not his own, because not paid for. His rude and feeble plough costs, when new, no more than 2 or 3 shillings; and all the rest of his few agricultural implements are equally primitive and inefficient. His dwelling is f hut of mud walls and thatched roofs, far ruder, smaller, and more dilapidated than those of the better classes of Ryots above spoken; and still more destitute if possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food and that of hii family is partly their porridge made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice with a little condiment; and generally the only vessels for cooking and eating from are of the coarsest earthware, much inferior in grain to a good tile or brick in England, and unglazed. Brass vessels, though not wholly unknown among this class, are rare".TOO

The evils were not accidental, but inherent in the Ryotwari system itself. This was exposed by George Campbell who later became Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and then member of Parliament. He wrote the following account of the Madras system in

"Only imagine one Collector dealing with 150,000 tenants, not one of whom has a tease; but each pays according as he cultivates and gets a crop, and with

a reduTc f n* nuraber of kls cattIe - * h *«P. and chUdren; and each of whom gets a reduction if he can make out a sufficiently good case. What a cry of agricultural

distress and large fanulies there would be in England or any other country under

such a system. Would any farmer ever admit that his farm had yielded anything

that his cattle had produced, or that his wife had not produced? If the CoUector he'would not hl mT ,1 f remai " ed ™ the d *‘™ ‘ ‘° ‘he age of Methuselah, he would not be fit for the duty; and as he is but an ordinary man and foreigner

/do J as C °th Tkid cha ^ ged ’ “ W0Uld be strange if ^ na ‘»ve subordinates could not o as they liked, and, having power, did not abuse it. Accordingly, it is generally

agreed that the abuses of the whole system, and specially that of remissions, to something frightful; chicanery and intrigue of all kinds are unbounded; while the reliance of the Madras Collector on informers by no means mends the matter' . 0

The evils of the system were rendered far worse by the use of torture, “almost universal in the Province for the prompt realisation of the assessed revenue from the miserable cultivators . 102 The question being raised in course of a discussion in the British House of Commons, the Government of India was forced to appoint a Commission of Enquiry consisting of three Englishmen.

"They found, that the practice of torture for the realisation of the Government revenue existed in the Province; and they also found that injured parties could not obtain any redress’'.TO3 “The kinds of torture which were most common were: keeping a man in the sun; preventing his going to meals or other calls of nature; confinement; preventing his cattle from going to pasture; quartering a peon on him; the use of Kittee Anundal, i.e. tying a man down m a bent position; squeezmg the crossed fingers; pinches, slaps, blows with fist or whip, running up and down; twisting the ears, making a man sit with brickbats behind his knees, putting a low caste man on his back; striking two defaulters' heads, or tying them by the back hair; placing in the stocks; tying by die hair to a donkey’s or a buffalo's tail; placing a necklace of bones or other degrading or disgusting materials round the necks; and occasionally, though rarely, fnore severe discipline”. 104

“One thing which came out very clearly during this inquiry was that where the land was severely assessed, the cases of torture were frequent. And Bourdillon, the Collector of North Arcot, recorded his opinion that torture for die purposes of revenue "might have ceased entirely by this time, but for the exorbitant demand on the land, and some particular incidents of the revenue system in these Provinces". 106

‘The Sadar Board of Revenue made a strong protest to the Government of India against the over-assessment and attendant evils of the Madras Ryotwari System. In a letter dated 20 March, 1838, they pointed out the fraud and oppression practised by every low-paid officer of the State, and deprecated the harassing and inquisitorial searches made into the means of every cultivator. But neither the censure of the Sadar Board nor the melancholy reports continually received from District Collectors induced the Madras Government to reform its wretched land administration. 06 While the Madras Government continued it, without any attempt at effecting reforms such as were made in Bombay and N.W.P., the Madras officials took every opportunity to extend the system. Such opportunities came when permanently settled estates were sold for nonpayment of revenue. It has even been alleged by a British official that such sales were not unoften deliberately brought about by the Collector. He writes : “Meet a Ryotwari Collector in his own house, at his hospitable board, he will admit that the sale of a great Zemindari which he had just achieved was brought about by dexterous management; that the owner had been purposely permitted to

get into the meshes of the Collector’s net beyond his power of extrication, that the sale could easily have been obviated, nay, perhaps

was uncalled for”. Some specific instances cited by this writer may be mentioned here.

In Tinnevelly District, the proprietor of the ancient Chocumpati estate came to the Collector to arrange a settlement of the arrear due from his estate; but he was seized as a disaffected and dangerous character; was kept in confinement as a political offender without any specific charges being preferred against him; and his estate was confiscated. In Nellore District the Mahomedan Jaigirdar of Udaigiri was similarly confined for life for alleged treason without a trial; and his estate was also confiscated. In Gantur District the great Vassy-Reddy possessions, yielding a revenue of £ 60,000 a year, were sold for £ 500 for arrears which had accrued during the management of the estate by Government Officers as trustees. In Masalipatam District the Nedadavole estates, worth £3000 a year, were sold for £1200. In Vizagapatam District the ancient Zemindari of Golgonda, worth £1000 a year, was sold for £ 10. And as these and other estates were sold one by one, the Ryotwari system was introduced in the lands". i°7

In course of the Parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of India in 1852 and 1853, preceding the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853, the evils of the Madras system were fully exposed by several witnesses. This forced the Madras Government to take steps to remedy the evils. Their plan was based upon "an accurate survey and careful settlement of the land revenue". The elaborate order which they issued on this subject in 1855 makes very interesting reading. It was admitted that "at present, cultivation is undoubtedly repressed by the heavy burdens on the land direct and indirect", with the result that there was "a vast extent of unoccupied land, with a peaceful and industrious population scantily fed and scantily employed to the extent of being led to cross the sea in search of employment, though peculiarly averse to leaving home...". 108 Nothing can be a greater indictment upon the system to which the Government of Madras clung with tenacity for more than half a century, and then awoke, like Hip Van Winkle, to discern its evils causing wide-spread misery,—a fact which was patent to everybody all the while.

D. THE FANJAB

Reference has been made above to the policy of John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab. In pursuance of it he issued direction that while the assessment should be low, the middlemen should be eschewed, for "they are the curse of the country everywhere".

Though the latter part of this instruction was carried to the letter, the first part was not. The assessment was by no means low. Henry Lawrence, while ruling the Panjab as Resident, had substi

luted the British system of collecting land revenue in money for the old system of payment in kind. This aggravated the evils of the over-assessment during the British rule.

“In 1847-48 the Land Revenue of the Punjab was £ 820,000. Within three years after British annexation it went up to £ 1,060,000. The fall in prices added to the distress of the cultivators, now required to pay their revenue in money. The complaint during the year 1851 on the part of the agriculturists was loud and general.” “There has been a very general demand among the agriculturists for a return to grain payments, to a division or appraisement of the crops every season. The Board have resisted this call, but have directed the suspension of revenue wherever it appeared desirable”. 1 os

As the demand of one-third the gross produce payable in money proved oppressive to the cultivators, it was reduced to one-fourth and then to one-sixth of the gross produce. The wisdom of this policy was proved by the fact that though the demand of land revenue diminished, the actual collections did not show any decrease.

E. IRRIGATION

The system of irrigation is closely connected with land revenue. Early in the nineteenth century, when the British had got possession of considerable parts of Upper India, they turned their attention to the repair of the canals which had been constructed by the Muslim rulers but neglected during the political chaos and confusion of the eighteenth century. But not much was done till 1823. when Col. John Colvin was appointed General Superintendent of Irrigation at Delhi and completed the restoration of the West Jamuna Canal which had been begun by Lt. Blaine. The canal was about 445 miles long, and during the famine of 1837 its water saved crops of the estimated value of a million and a half sterling.

The East Jamuna canal was then taken up and completed with some additions, the total length being 155 miles. The restoration of the Ganges canal, about nine hundred miles long, though begun before 1858, was not completed till some time after it. The Company’s Government also excavated the Bari Doab Canal, about 450 miles long, in the Panjab.

Not much was done to restore and preserve the numerous reservoir tanks, constructed for irrigation by the old Hindu rulers and chiefs of South India, whose remains lie scattered over the whole region. But big irrigation projects were undertaken in 1836 to utilize the water of the Coleroon (branch of the Kaveri) by improving the ancient anicuts built by the Hindu rulers about two thousand years ago. In addition to the Upper and Lower CoLroon anicuts, subsidiary works were undertaken for conveying irrigation over the district of Tanjore and portions of Trichinopoly and South Arcot. The following figures give an idea of the immensity of the undertaking and its result.

Total area irrigated . 716,000 acres.

Total expenditure .£ 180,000.

Increase of land revenue.£ 44,000 per annum.

The credit for this great work must go to Sir Arthur Cotton, who first conceived the idea and carried it against much opposition. He next took up the Godavari Works which has made him famous. Unfortunately, the Company's Government and the Crown Administration that succeeded it gave him only a grudging support. Referring to this his biographer observes:

“It has taken thirty-two years to obtain £ 700,000 for them— £ 20,000 a year for works which from the very first had been almost prodigious success... The only dispute is whether they yield 27, 28, or 40 per cent; and now after thirty-two years only 700,000 acres out of one million are irrigated... During this time there was not the least question about £ 500,000 for sixty miles of railway to Nagpur, which it was acknowledged would not pay 4 per cent”. 110

The next great work wa: 5 the anicut across the Krishna river commenced in 1853. These irrigation works considerably extended the area and improved the prospect of cultivation, but unfortunately, the people did not derive much benefit out of it. For the land revenue was raised as much as possible, “leaving the unfortunate cultivators as permanently poor as they were before”. As noted above, the Coleroon Works yielded a return of 24 per cent., and while constructing the Godavari and the Krishna Works the Company estimated an increase of land revenue, respectively, by 100 and 30 per cent, on the outlay. These figures show that the British policy was ungenerous in the extreme and inspired by the idea of profit rather than the material interests of the cultivators.

F. INAM

An important question connected with the settlement of lands was the British policy of the resumption of Inams, These were rentfree tenures of land, sometimes even of entire villages, granted in perpetuity by the Hindu and Muslim rulers in the past, either to an individual as a reward for public service or distinguished talents, or for the maintenance of religious or charitable institutions and pious learned Brahmins or Muslim saints. The grant usually took the

form of an assignment of the land revenue due to the State, and was liable to abuses by manipulation of records, particularly when the Government supervision was lax, as, for example, during the political chaos and confusion of the eighteenth century. From the very beginning of their rule the British were very keen on resuming the unauthorized assignments. This caused considerable difficulty even to the genuine holders of Inams, for the family held the grants for centuries but could not produce the original deeds of grant. The rule for resumption of grants was gradually tightened against the holders.

By the rules of 1793, the Collectors had to proceed by instituting regular suits in court as plaintiffs, against any person holding rentfree land without a valid tenure. The Regulation VIII of 1811 authorized Collectors in Ceded and Conquered Provinces, with the sanction of the Revenue Board, to resume and assess such lands, leaving parties aggrieved to contest the resumption by a suit in a court. Whatever might be the legal justification of the resumptions carried out on a large scale, the denial of prescriptive rights not only caused grave resentment to the parties directly concerned but also upset a social and economic order of long standing. This was fully realized by the Government. A resolution of the Government of India, dated August, 1822, referred to the wide-spread disturbance of tranquillity and good order of the country, and then “frankly admitted that the evil consisted not so much in the change itself as in the rapidity with which it was introduced; the sudden demand of a full revenue in place of a light assessment was calculated to drive the uprooted elements to acts of violence, who, under a more gradual course of measure, would be converted into industrious and peaceful cultivators". 111

But the Government continued vigorously "the policy of resumption, which was still more detailed by Regulation II of 1819 and Regulation III of 1828. The latter provided for the establishment of special commissioners with a view to prosecuting the investigation of the titles of persons claiming rent-free lands. Again, Regulation V of 1831 sought to check the practice of granting Inams in the form of an assignment of the land-revenue of large areas which were retained in perpetuity by 'devolution and adoption', and in 1845, an order was passed restricting the tenure of these grants to existing lives". 112

An Inam Commission was appointed in Bombay in 1852. Further references to this practice which caused grave discontent, leading to violence and armed resistance on the part of the people, will be made later.

G. GENERAL REVIEW

The different systems of assessment of land revenue described above betray certain general tendencies on the part of the British administrators. The most important of them was to eliminate, as far as possible, intermediate agencies, and to establish direct relation with the cultivators. It had two great advantages from imperialist point of view. In the first place, influential middlemen are potential enemies of a totalitarian State and not so amenable to control as an isolated helpless ryot, who has no means to resist. Secondly, village communities or similar indigenous organizations of local self-government are likely to come into conflict with, and create aversion against, the absolute authority of the local British officials. By discarding all these agencies or at least reducing them to impotence, British imperialism and autocracy could ride roughshod over the people.

Another important characteristic was to raise the assessment as high as practicable, irrespective of its consequences to the people. This need not be attributed to any inherent malevolence on the part of the Government or officials, but was probably due mainly to ignorance and greed, whetted by need for more and more money. But it betrays a supreme indifference and lack of sympathy to the governed, produced by a spirit of racial arrogance and superiority complex.

If, as a British historian has put it, "the measure of Indian prosperity was the condition of the peasantry", no historian can probably describe British India as even moderately prosperous, in any sense of the term. The Ryotwari system reduced the cultivators to a state of wretched misery which differed in degree, but not in kind, in different parts of India. The slightly modified forms of the system in North India also proved highly oppressive till at least the middle of the nineteenth century. The tenants in the permanently settled estates were, no doubt, in a better condition, but it would be nothing short of euphemism to describe their condition as prosperous, in any degree.

The first fifty years of British rule in India witnessed the ruin of her trade and industry, driving an increasingly large proportion of her people to the lands. The next fifty years of British rule brought the cultivators as a class, forming nearly four-fifths of the population, to the brink of ruin and destruction. Ninety per cent, of them never had two square meals a day or decent cloth and house fit for human beings. Thus was laid the foundation of that abject and universal poverty of India, which forms the chief characteristic feature of the first century of British rule in India. It was not yet redeemed, to any appreciable extent, by those of its blessings which affect the lives of the people in general, namely, peace and security of life and property.

The views of educated and liberal-minded Indians in respect of land-settlement may be gathered from the opinions expressed by Raja Rammohan Roy.

"The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which was appointed in February, 1831, and reappointed in June to consider the renewal of the Company s Charter, invited him to appear before it. Rammohun declined this request but tendered his evidence in the form of successive "Communications to the Board of Control." The first of these dealt with

Revenue. The Raja appears here as the champion of the rack-rented ryot (peasant). While the Zamindars or land-holders hfld been greatly benefited by the Permanent Settlement of 1793, while their wealth and the wealth of the community had generally increased, the poor cultivator was no better off. The remedy he asked for was, in the" first place, the prohibition of any further rise in rent, and secondly—rents being now so exorbitantly high as to leave the ryot in a state of extreme misery,—a reduction in the revenue demanded fro m ▪die Zamindar so as to ensure a reduction in the ryot's rent. The decrease in revenue he would meet by increasing taxes upon luxuries or by employing as Collectors low-salaried Indians instead of high-salaried Europeans". 112a

The Raja was a strong advocate of the Permanent Settlement and discounted the view that the system had resulted in the loss of revenue to the State, as the following extract will show.

"The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of those provinces at the time of the Permanent Settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed, and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohamedan or British. Therefore, the Government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landlords (Zamin dors) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands; while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better than it is now. However, if the Government had taken the whole estates of the country into its own hands, as in the ceded and conquered provinces and the Madras Presidency, then by allowing the landholders only ten per cent, on the rents (fflalikandh), and securing all the rest to the Government, it might no doubt have increased the revenue for a short time. But the whole of the landholders in the country would then have been reduced to the same condition as they are at present in the ceded and conquered Provinces of the Bengal Presidency or rather annihilated, as in many parts of the Madras territory; and the whole population reduced to the same level of poverty. At the same time, the temporary increase of revenue to Government under its own immediate management would also have soon fallen off, through the misconduct and negligence of the revenue officers, as shown by innumerable instances in which the estates were kept ‘khas/ i.e., under the immediate management of Government”.

“Besides, Government appropriates to itself an enormous duty on the transit and exportation of the produce of the soil, which has, since the period of the Perpetual Settlement, increased to a great amount from the exertions of the proprietors in extending and

improving cultivation, under the assurance that no demand of an increase of revenue would be made upon them on account of the progressive productiveness of their estates”.

The Raja contrasts the effects of the permanent and periodical systems of assessment in two statements:

“By a comparative view of the revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the period of the Perpetual Settlement, it appears that, in the thirty-five years, from 1792-93 to 1827-28, there was a total increase on the whole amount of the revenue of above 100 per cent (101.71), and that this increase has been steady and progressive up to the present time;.”

“By a comparative view of the revenue of the old British territory in Madras, it appears that during the same period of thirtyfive years (i.e., from 1793 to 1828) there was an increase of only about 40 per cent. (40.15) on the total amount of the whole revenue. That the increase during the first 17 years was 43 ^ per cent.; that in the next 8 years the increase was only about 3J per cent.; and that in the last 18 years there has been a decrease of 2.15 per cent”.

In an appendix he very strongly urged the policy of fixing a maximum rent to be paid by each cultivator, so “that their rents, already raised to a ruinous extent, might not be subject to further increase.” 112b

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VIII. POLICE AND PRISON ADMINISTRATION

1. The Police

At the time .when the British began to rule in India, the duty of maintaining law and order was vested in the local landlords who were required to maintain a quota of troops to suppress internal disorders and to deal with theft and robbery. Lord Cornwallis relieved the landlords of their police duties and transferred them to the District Magistrates. Each District was divided into a number Of thanas, each under a daroga with a number of armed men iiy*d** him to maintain peace and order in the locality. This system, however, proved to be an “expensive failure”. Crimes increased everywhere; robberies and murders, accompanied by atrocious cruelties, were of frequent occurrence, and “the people did not sleep in trails quillity.” The darogas could not effectively check thb forces of disorder, and they themselves were often notoriously corrupt. The Fifth Report noted that the darogas of the new system were “not less corrupt than the Tannahdars, their predecessors, and they themselves and the inferior officers acting under them, with as much inclination to do evil, have less ability to do good than the zamindary servants employed before them.”

In 1813 the Court of Directors appointed a Special Committee to enquire into the state of police administration in the Company’s territories in India, and in 1814 the Court issued orders condemning the establishments of darogas and their subordinates and for reestablishing the village police. Sir Thomas Munro and Mr. Straton were appointed Commissioners to give effect to these orders, and on their recommendation was passed the Madras Regulation XI of 1816 for the establishment of a general police system throughout that Presidency. The system was thus described by Munro: 4 ‘We have now in most places reverted to the old police of the country, executed by village watchmen, mostly hereditary, under the direction of the heads of the villages, tahsildars of districts and the Collector and Magistrate of the province. The establishments of the tahsildars are employed without distinction either in police or revenue duties, as the occasion requires”. In Bombay, also, Regulation XI of 1827 established a police system “founded chiefly on the ancient usages of the country”, and similar in essential features to that established in Madras in 1816.

In 1808 the Government of Lord Minto took a step to introduce “especial and expert control” by appointing a Superintendent of Police for a Division. The Superintendent had to work largely with the help of goyendas or spies, who were to trace the criminals, and the girdawars or overseers who were to apprehend them. But the goyendas, in collusion with the girdawars, actually committed “depredations on the peaceable inhabitants, of the same nature as those practised by the dacoits whom they were employed to suppress”.

In the general changes, introduced by the Government of Lord William Bentinck in the Company’s administration in India, the Divisional Commissioners or Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit were first appointed and the office of the Superintendent of Police was abolished, mainly on the ground of economy and partly also to prevent dual control over the Magistrate. Soon the office of the Magistrate was transferred from the Judge to the Collector, and the Collector-Magistrate became the head of the police in his jurisdiction, and the Commissoner for each Division performed the function of the Superintendent of Police. In 1835 and 1837 the Commissioner was relieved of his judicial functions so that he might have more time to pay adequate attention to the affairs of the police and general administration.

But despite these changes, corruption and inefficiency in police administration increased. The Select Committee, appointed in 1832

to report on the affairs of the East India Company, pointed out the dark aspects of police administration.

The inefficiency and corruption of the Police are vividly described in the following passage in a contemporary periodical, quoted in the Calcutta Gazette of 30 April, 1827.

“It is common in the country when any case of burglary occurs in the house of any person, to prevent, if possible, its coming to the knowledge of the Magistrate, and the person robbed generally contrives to fill up the hole privately, in the course of the night and gives some bribe to the Chowkidars who may discover it: the reason of this is, that were he to give publicity to his loss, and make complaint before any public authority, he would seldom recover his property, but only have to pay the Amla something from the remainder. When a case of theft occurs, the Amla consider it an occasion of profit, and give full vent to their disposition for pillage and plunder.” 1 ^

The Calcutta Gazette of 10 June, 1830, quotes a long letter published in the well-known vernacular paper Chandrika, adding that “we entirely concur in the opinion expressed by the correspondent of the Chandrika”. A few passages from this letter are quoted below:

“...To detect theft, and to prevent the violence of rogues and robbers, the Magistrates have appointed in the various zillas, Police Darogas, Buksees, Muhuris, and Peons; but these men inflicted far greater distress on the poor inhabitants than either thieves or robbers can do, for when they come with great power and pomp, they seldom refrain from theft. Thieves use some caution in their villainy, but the Darogas and more particularly those belonging to the Police, plunder wifh violence”. ...“Whenever a new Daroga arrives, he takes written engagement from all the Talookdars, their Gomasthas, Munduls and Peons, as is the custom; but forgets not to take a rupee for each engagement. From each Peon he exacts either four or eight annas. All these people pay the sum thus extorted, at first indeed, from their own purse, but afterwards levy it upon the householders as the legitimate deuceur of the Daroga. Thus he raises contributions on various pretexts from rogues, whose term of confinement has expired, from notorious characters, as well as from industrious. When therefore the people hear that a new Daroga has arrived, they tremble”. 114

“Whenever a theft has been committed in the dwelling of a householder, he labours in every possible mode to conceal it from the public office; for if it should get wind, that which the thieves have left, the officers will seize.. . M11 5

“Whenever a robbery has been committed in any house, the village watchman, if near, on that night, otherwise the next morning, gives information of it, and the Daroga, with all his establishment,'proceeds to the house and opens the enquiry as commanded in the Regulations, and then makes a report to the Magistrate, who sends his Nazir; if the affair be one of murder or of very serious character, the Shristadhar, and several other officers. With them proceed constables, bearers, servants, and a large body of men, who are not provided with food by those officers; neither do I think it is found them by Government, for we find that the expease falls on the householders, or if he be poor, is raised by a general contribution. When they arrive at the village, they find out the men of property, seize and bind them and seeking only their own profit and advantage, remain there for a month till they have squeezed out as much money as they desire, as described in the case of theft. They then, seize two or three innocent individuals, make out a report as abovementioned and extol their own exertions to the Magistrate. When the Commissioner of Circuit arrives, the accused bring their own witnesses, establish their innocence, and are dismissed. Very large sums are expended monthly in support of the police establishment, and the officers of the Thannah are appointed solely to prevent theft and robbery; yet when thefts and robberies do occur, instead of their being reproved, those very crimes become to them a source^ofiprofit. Not one of them dreams of seizing the offenders; they look only to their own profits. This is not pleasing to any Rulers, but it falls to the lot of the natives of Bengal through their own evil destiny". 11 6

A writer in the Calcutta Review (1846), while recommending bette^ payment to the Daroga and recruitment from better classes, observes as follows:—

"No person requires to be told of the evils resulting from the employment of uneducated persons—evils, the nature of which has been but too well ascertained by sad experience—and of the impossibility of living decently in this country under 100 Rupees. Our two latter propositions however require a little explanation.

"It is incumbent upon Government to change the name of Darogah, because it is one with which the most odious associations are connected,—one, which is almost synonymous with dakoit—which carries terror in* its very sound—which reminds the poor cultivator of him over whom there is no control, of him who lives upon cruelty and extortion, and whose very vocation is corruption. No real native gentleman, however distressed his circumstances, will condescend to take a Darogaship as long as it bears its present designation... .The present Darogahs are often the dregs of native society. When out of office they are held in the same estimation by their countrymen as porters and grooms. Imagine a durwan, with a salary of Rs. 50, placed in charge of an immense tract of land situated leagues away from the Sudar Kacheri, and holding command over some fifteen or twenty armed men,—his brethren as regards ability and dishonesty.—and you have no inadequate conception of the head native Police officer of the present day. If it be desirable to employ efficient and respectable persons as Laroghs,— the name must be changed—there is no alternative", i 17

In a charge to the Grand Jury in the Supreme Court on 7th January, 1825, the presiding Judge referred "to the many robberies which were committed of late in Calcutta", but observed that "he could not order a man for execution unless there was every precaution used by the Police to prevent the commission of the crime". 118

A correspondent writes to the Government Gazette on March 1, 1830, that the Dhurrumtollah Road in Calcutta has been lately much infested with robbers and that great suspicion has fallen on the Chowkidars as being concerned in the several robberies lately committed. 119 Sir W. H. Sleeman, who served the Company in India in various capacities between 1809 and 1856, writes in his Rambles and Recollections (based on the Journal of his march from Jabalpur to Meerut, 1835-36):—

"Still, however, the inconvenience and delay of prosecution in our courts are so great and the chance of the ultimate conviction of the great offenders is so

small that strong temptations are held out to police to conceal or misrepresent the character of crimes, and they must have a great feeling of security in their tenure of office, and more adequate salaries, better chances of rising, .and better supervision over them before they will resist such temptation. The Magistrate of a district gets a salary of from two thousand to two thousand five hundred rupees a month. 121 The native officer under him is the Thanadar or Head native police officer of a sub-division of his district, containing many towns and villages, with a population of a hundred thousand souls. This officer gets a salary of twentyfive rupees a month". 12 0 In Bengal a Committee was appointed in 1837 to draw up a plan for more efficient organisation of the mofussil police. The Committe submitted its report next year, but nothing was done immediately to reform the police in

Bengal, and its abuses went on increasing. Sir George Campbell wrote in his Modem India in 1852 that the Bengal Police "has attained an unfortunate notoriety as being more active for evil than good. The misdeeds of the Bengal police may be a good deal exaggerated, but they are doubtless inefficient and apt to be corrupt. The chance of efficiency seems to be much lessened by the precautions which it is necessary to take against extortion and malversation on their part...It is certain that, at this moment, in many districts of Bengal, the inhabitants are not only in danger of secret thieves but of open robbers; that gangrobberies are frequent, and any man's house may be invaded in the night by armed force". 122

Sir Frederick Halliday, who assumed the office of the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in May, 1854, made some definite suggestions in April, 1855, to the Supreme Government for the improvement of the police. He suggested that the salary of the lower grades of police should be increased, and thereby proposed to remove what had hitherto been a standing reproach of Indian administration in Bengal. 123 No immediate orders were passed by the Government of India on this issue. But again in an elaborate Minute, dated 30 April, 1836, Sir Frederick Halliday pressed the question of improvement of the police and criminal administration in Bengal. He admitted the badness of the mufassal police and the corruptions of the village chaukidars and the inefficiency of the measures previously taken to improve them. He considered the thirty-nine subdivisional magistrates, then existing, as inadequate to exercise effective control, and urged thorough reforms of the general administration of criminal justice in Bengal, as "the badness of the police and the inefficiency of the tribunals act and react upon each other". He added: "Whether right or wrong, the general native opinion is that ihe administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery, in which the best chances are with the criminals; and I think this also is very much the opinion of the European mufassal community ... the corruption and extortion of the police which causes it to be popularly said that dacoity is bad enough, but the subsequent police enquiry very much worse". 124

Sir Frederick Halliday considered the following five measures to be indispensably necessary: (1) "the improvement of the charac ter and position of the village chaukidars or watchmen, (2) adequate salaries and fair prospects of advancement to the stipendiary police, (3) the appointment of more experienced officers as covenanted Zilla Magistrates, (4) the appointment of one hundred more DeputyMagistrates and the junction of judicial and executive power in all Magistrates, and (5) improvement in the Criminal Courts of justice". He also dwelt upon the importance of good roads and of a popular system of vernacular education". 125

The proposals of the Lieutenant-Governor bore no fruit until after 1858. But in 1856 he succeeded in getting passed a Chaukidari or local Police Act, which came into operation chiefly in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces, its main object being "to provide for the watch and ward of the places to which it was extended". In such places chaukidars were appointed by the District Magistrate on such pay as they thought fit. The expenses were met by the rates paid by the inhabitants, in proportions determined by pancha yats or Committees of at least five men nominated by the Magistrate. After the Santal insurrection a body of military police was raised for the internal defence of Bengal.

Meanwhile some reforms in police administration had been introduced in Sindh, Bombay, Madras and the Panjab. After the annexation of Sindh in 1843, Sir Charles Napier organized there a regular police force, the chief features of which were "separate organisation, severance of police and judicial functions and a reasonable degree of discipline". In 1853 the Bombay Police was remodelled, the main features of reform being the "appointment to every District of a Superintendent who, while generally subordinate to the Magistrate, had exclusive control over the police; the appointment to every tahsil of a native Police officer, holding to the mamlatdar (tahsildar) the same relations as between the Superintendent and the Magistrate, and the transfer of the supreme control over the police from the court of Fauzdari Adalat to the Government". The last feature was abandoned in a few years, when the administration of the police was transferred to the Commissioner of Police, who was also Inspector of Prisons.

The Torture Commission of T855 126 revealed glaring abuses in the working of the police in the Madras Presidency. It recommended separation of revenue and police functions and the placing of police administration under independent European officers. These were given effect to by Act XXIV of 1859 and the police was reorganized on English and Irish lines. The police administration of the Presidency was entrusted to a Commissioner of Police (subsequently called Inspector-General), who was assisted by deputies.

Each District was placed under a Superintendent and his assistants. The village watcher was not removed.

After the annexation of the Panjab in 1849, police was organized there somewhat on the lines of the Sindh police. It had two branches —Civil Detective police and a Military preventive police.

2. Thugs and Dacoits

It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the enormity of the crimes perpetrated by a particular class of the dacoits (robbers) known as thugs. These were organized bands of murderers who followed murder and robbery as hereditary professions. The thugi had been an institution for ages and its victims were to be counted not by hundreds, but by tens of thousands. Every year added to the victims of thugs. 126a Disguised as travellers, following ordinary avocations of life, the thugs made friends with other unsuspecting fellow-travellers, and while accompanying them, strangled them from behind by means of a piece of cloth, with a small weight attached to one end, by suddenly swinging it, with great dexterity, round the neck of the intended victim. After murdering the travellers, they took away their money and other valuables and then buried them by the roadside. The disguises and crafty methods of these robbers probably earned for them the designation thug which ordinarily means a cheat. Before starting on expeditions to rob and\ murder, the thugs worshipped the goddess, known by various names such as Kali, Durga, Bhabanl etc. The two simple objects required for committing their foul crimes, namely, the strip of cloth for strangling the victims and the pickaxe for digging their graves, were consecrated in the temple of the goddess with due rite. The thugs regarded their victims in the same light as the animals sacrificed to these goddesses by pious Hindus in the normal courses of their worship. 127

It is difficult to fix any particular date when this kind of crime originated or first attained general notoriety. Isolated instances of this may be traced to the thirteenth century A.D. But the thugs were a great terror almost all over India early in the nineteenth century. It was well-known both to the people and to the Government that hundreds, if not thousands, among those who left for journey abroad never returned to their homes and left no trace of their fate. The nature of thugs' activities was also no longer a secret or mystery. But it was not till the thirties that the British Government took any serious steps to suppress this foul crime. A Thagi and Dacoity department was created by Lord Bentinck, and in 1835 W. H. Sleeman was appointed General Superintendent of

the operations, and later Commissioner for the suppression of Thagi and Dacoity. The great problem of Sleeman was the difficulty of securing conviction. "So in 1836 a special act was passed by which any person convicted of belonging or having belonged to a gang of thugs became liable to imprisonment for life. Thus all that was necessary to secure conviction was to prove association of an individual with these pests of society. Encouraging approvers, Sleeman and his officers by indefatigable and comprehensive operations gradually put an end to thagi, rooting out what he justly calls "an enormous evil which had for centuries oppressed the people and from which it was long supposed that no human efforts could relieve them". "By 1852 the guild had been scattered, never again to reassemble". 128 The name of Sleeman occupies an honoured place in Indian history for the successful exertions he made for the extirpation of the thugs, and the well-known work, Confessions of a Thug, by Meadows Taylor, gives a lurid picture of these criminal bands.

A kind of river thugs also carried on their nefarious activities in Bengal. Their modus operandi is thus described by a writer in the Government Gazette of 1st January, 1829.

"These pirates, generally, have Punsoys, or boats at their disposal. They often come in two or three boats, each containing three or four men, and some six to eight-—and get employment in the Ghats. The Ghat Mangee, who knows little or nothing of their character, or perhaps one of their club, recommends them to such as are desirous of their services, for which he receives a fee of one anna per rupee, and sometimes more. When these pirates succeed in obtaining a passenger, rich or poor, they, in some lonely spot, seize the opportunity to plunder and perhaps murder him, and, in a very few cases, a man escapes from their hands. Hence the numerous casualties in the families of those who are obliged to travel by water. Some of the pirates who have no boats, generally hire one, and station themselves in some parts of the river, and assuming the character of men of authority, exact exorbitant sums from laden boats, as well as from those that contain travellers; if these resist their demands, then the most woeful cruelties are practised on them by these men. In many cases they are apprehended; but very often they escape detection''. 129

It was estimated in 1854 that about 250 boats were employed in carrying on piracies on the Ganga between Calcutta and Banaras.

Dacoities of ordinary character were also rampant and continued long after the thugs were suppressed. The Thagi police force checked the crime by breaking some gangs of dacoits, but there was again the difficulty of securing conviction. "So in 1843 an act was passed similar to that previously directed against thagi. To secure conviction it sufficed merely to prove association with a gang of dacoits either within or outside the Company's territories before or after the passing of the new measure." Doubt, however, arose as to the applicability of this enactment to dacoits who did not belong to

certain tribes therein specified. In 1851 this doubt was removed by further legislation. Kaye tells us that even then by terrorism, by producing numerous false witnesses, and by availing thepiselves of the barriers which the complicated machinery of the law placed between "the eyes of the British functionary and the crimes which were committed around him", the dacoits were still glorying in their exploits "as sportsmen do."

"In 1852 Wauchope, the magistrate of Hughli, forwarded to the superintendent of police a list of 287 dacoits belonging to three gangs which were concerned in eighty-three dacoities, adding that at least thirty-five gangs were then committing depredations near Calcutta. He was himself appointed special Dacoity Commissioner and, assisted by the new enactments, rapidly improved the situation. But the central difficulty of the situation was the fact that the sufferers were too apathetic to defend themselves individually, and even in 1859 the Dacoity Commissioner was still indispensable". 130

Table captionOn the whole the crime seems to have been steadily on the increase as the following table shows: 131

	Cases	Arrested	Acquitted	Convicted
1838	36,893	43,787	12,191	26,669.
1844	43,487	82,987	30,809	45,025.
1845	117,001	86,623	32,831	50,235.

3. Prison

"The early Indian Jail system was, like its English prototype, insanitary, demoralizing, and non-deterrent". 132 Heavy punishments were inflicted on the prisoners; they were often employed in ganglabour on the roads; health rules were not observed; and death rate "exceeded 100 per mille". 133 The earliest attempt for prison reform was made by the Regulation of 1834 at the initiative of Lord Macaulay. At his suggestion a Committee was appointed on 2nd January, 1836, to collect information regarding the actual state of the jails in India and to prepare a plan for their improvement.

The report of the First Prisons Committee, dated 8 January, 1838, contained, among others, two recommendations involving organic changes —namely the abolition of outdoor labour, and a partial recognition of the solitary confinement within doors. Among the other recommendations may be mentioned (1) the building of great central penitentiaries; (2) a bettW classification of prisoners; (3) supply of rations instead of money allowance; (4) the abolition of the practice of permitting each convict to cook his own meals and (5) appointment of an Inspector of Prisons. 134 No change for the better was introduced until the passing of an Act in 1855, which

provided for the appointment of Inspector General of Prisons in each Presidency, and the passing of Act VII of 1856 by which the Judges of the Sadar Faujdari Adalat were relieved of the charge of jails.

IX. COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORT

1. Railways

India had a brilliant tradition of State activities for the promotion of public works, before the English East India Company established their political supremacy here. Different parts of the country were interconnected by roads and water-transport for commercial and other purposes. Records of the early surveys of the East India Company, such as those of Martin in 1750, of Major James Rennell (1763-66), and of Hamilton Buchanan during the early years of the nineteenth century give us an idea of what had existed in the past in the shape of communications and facilities for travel and transport, especially in Northern India with its vast plains.

With the new political and economic changes in the West as well as in India, there was naturally a demand for improved and extended means of communications about the middle of the nineteenth century. It was in 1843-44 that the earliest proposals were made for construction of railways in India. These envisaged construction of railways by companies incorporated in England, a minimum profit being guaranteed by the East India Company for a definite period. So contracts were made with the East Indian Railway Company and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company, formed in 1845, for construction of two small railway lines near Calcutta and Bombay, respectively. In 1855, the total length opened was 121 miles from Calcutta to Ranigunge by the former and 37 miles from Bombay to Kalyan by the latter. The Madras Railways completed 65 miles from Madras to Arcot in 1856. Five other Railway companies were formed, but their lines were not open before 1858.

It was Lord Dalhousie, who, during his term of Governor-Generalship of India (1848-56), launched important schemes of railway construction. In his famous Minute of 1853, Lord Dalhousie advocated the construction of a system of trunk lines connecting the interior parts of each Presidency with its chief port and the several Presidencies with one another. His objects for the introduction of railways in India, as he stated, were “to immensely increase the striking power of his military forces at every point of the Indian Empire”, to “bring British capital and enterprise to India”, to

‘secure commercial and social advantages to India”, and to “bring into the ports produce from the interior”.

During the first period of railway construction in India, that is up to 1869, railway lines were constructed under a guarantee system by Joint-stock Companies. The Government of India guaranteed free lands for a term of 99 years, and an annual interest of five per cent, on all capital raised by them. The Companies were required to pay to the Government, when they earned more than five per cent., half the surplus in every half year. The Companies were to be under the general supervision and control of the Government, and after the first term of twenty-five years, or the second term of fifty years, the Government had the right of purchasing these railways on payment of all shares or capital stock in the Company concerned.

2. Roads

During the period of anarchy and confusion in the eighteenth century, constructions and repairs of roads were neglected. The following description, though specially applicable to Madras, may be taken as a fair picture of the general state of things in India: “When British rule was established, there was not a single road of any length fit for wheeled traffic; even the main streets of many of the largest towns were unusable by vehicles. Wheeled traffic was limited to rough farm carts on solid wheels. At first there was a good deal of military road-making, but the money spent on it was mostly wasted. Commercial roads were first considered in 1813; and then there was not a road which was not either ill-made or decayed. Bridges were almost unknown.. .In 1852 there was ‘probably not a single mile throughout the presidency equal to an ordinary English turnpike road’, and there were certainly not a thousand miles on which one could comfortably drive at six miles an hour”. 136 There were almost no roads or bridges in Bengal. “Some idea of the backward state of communications may be formed from the facts that even in 1855-6 four streams on the Grand Trunk Road (from Calcutta to North-Western India) remained to be bridged, and that only then was a project for bridging the Hughli at or near Calcutta considered.” 136

Till about the middle of the nineteenth century, the East India Company’s attention was mainly directed towards the construction and repair of only some military roads, and it evinced no interest in improving the state of transport for civil population. Shore wrote in May, 1833: “As to the roads, excepting those between the limits of the civil stations, 10 miles between Calcutta and Barrackpore is all that we can boast of. In addition to this the foundations of a road between Benaras and Allahabad and of one between Jubbalpore and Mirzapur have been commenced, and an attempt is now making for another between Allahabad and Delhi; but unless the construction of these roads be on a better plan, and the provision for keeping them in repair on a better footing, than has been the case with the attempts hitherto made by the English in road-making, Government might just as well spare their money”. 137

Lord William Bentinck conceived the idea of a new trunk road connecting Calcutta with the Upper Provinces, and this project was pushed forward by Mr. Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of NorthWestern Provinces from 1843 to 1853. The conquests of Lord Dalhousie created greater needs for control over roads, and roadconstruction in India received much impetus during his administration. Hitherto the main roads were under the control of a Military Board in each Presidency. An attempt was made to entrust general control over local road operations in Bengal and Northern India to the Military Board in Calcutta. But- still the conditions continued to be chaotic. An important reform was made in 1854, by which the inefficient Military Boards were abolished and the charges of roads and other public works were made over to Public Works Departments, which were constituted in the Provinces under the general control of the Central Government, exercised through its newly established Public Works Secretariat.

This reform of Lord Dalhousie marks a new era in the improvement of communications in India. "His engineers metalled a longer mileage of roads than had been constructed by the four preceding govemors-general. Before he resigned office a system of trunk lines had been sketched, and the first section of the East India Railway had been opened; the modern postal system had been inaugurated;

a telegraph line ran from Calcutta to Agra. Modern India had begun to take shape." 130

3. Steam~vessels.

In 1826, the first steam-vessel arrived at Indian shore direct from England. 139 Two years later a newspaper reports: "A large concourse of the inhabitants of (falcutta assembled at Kidderpore, on Saturday last (19 January, 1828) to witness the launch of the new Government Steam Vessel, from the Dockyard of Messrs. Kyd & Co. She was named the Berhampooter (Brahmaputra) by Commodore Hayes, and is intended solely for the River navigation. Her length is one hundred feet, her breadth eighteen; and burthen about one hundred and fifty-three tons, drawing not more than two feet and

seven inches of water. She has two Engines, of twenty-five horse power each, and promises to fulfil the object of her construction in all respects. Nautical men say, that She is a beautifully built vessel". 140 Another steamer, the Hooghly, for Government, of the same dimensions as the Brahmaputra, was launched on 29 March, 1828, for river navigation. 141

A project was set on foot to open a regular communication between England and India by way of the Mediterranean. The following paragraph appeared in the Observer of 8 February, 1830. "The Meteor Steam-vessel, Lieutenant Symons, is to leave this port tomorrow, for Falmouth, from whence it is fully expected she will take out the Malta and India mails. The letters for India will be conveyed across the Isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea, by well-guarded couriers, for which, we understand, the Phasha (Sic) of

Egypt has offered every facility; and it is expected that on their arrival on the borders of the Arabian Gulf, the Enterprise steamer, which was appointed to leave Bombay with letters for England, will be ready to receive the bags, and return with them to India. It is calculated that, should no unexpected obstacle intervene, the communication with India, by this route, may be effected in half the present time, which would be an important advantage to both countries". 142 Attempts were also made in 1830 to promote steam communication between India and England by the way of Cape of Good Hope. A Committee, set up in Calcutta for the purpose, offered thanks to Mr. Waghom for the efforts he made to carry out this project. Thanks were also offered to Commodore Sir John Hayes for the zeal and ability displayed by him in forwarding the cause of steam communication between India and England. 143 Mr. Waghom's attempts did not immediately succeed, but in course of twenty years regular communication was established between England and India by steam vessels in two stages—from England to the Mediterranean Coast of Egypt, and then after a short land-journey, from the head of the Red Sea to India.

X. GENERAL REVIEW

The detailed account of the different branches of administration may be fittingly concluded with a general review based on the publicly expressed opinions of contemporary Indians whose position and status lend great weight to their views. For whatever may be the degree of excellence claimed for it, on abstract principles, the real merit of an administrative system depends to a very large extent upon the views and sentiments of the people affected by it.

We have the benefit of the views expressed by Raja Rammohan Roy, both in his writings as well as in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1831, to which reference has been made above 144 in connection with the land-settlement. Raja Rammohan Roy was one of the most towering personalities of India in the nineteenth century, whose social, religious, and political views and activities have deeply influenced the course of Indian history during the last century and a half. He was a great admirer of the British Government in India and concluded one of his .'Appeals* by thanking "the Supreme Disposer of the Universe for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long continued tyranny of its former rulers". 146 But while the Raja fully appreciated the "more secure enjoyment of civil and religious rights" than was possible under the Muslim rule, and other blessings of the British rule, he was equally alive to the defects and deficiencies of the British system of administration and made constructive suggestions with a view to removing them. Reference has already been made above to his scathing criticism of the oppressive land revenue and the consequent poverty of the cultivators, as well as to his observations on the annual drain of Indian wealth to Britain. 146 He proposed taxation on luxury goods to compensate the loss incurred by the reduction of land revenue suggested by him. He recommended three methods for ensuring good legislation for India. The first was the grant of freedom of the press in India, so that the Indian public may place before the Government their opinion on matters vitally affecting their interest, and bring to the notice both of the Government of India and the Court of Directors the grievances arising from tyrannical acts either of the officials or of the Government. The second was the appointment of periodical commissions composed of persons unconnected with Indian Government, to investigate on the spot the condition of the Indians under the existing system of law and administration. The third was to ascertain the opinion of the aristocracy of wealth and intellect regarding any proposed law, which should be enacted finally by the Parliament.after considering all the official and non-official views on the subject. 147 Rammohan also suggested Various measures to remove the evils in the administration of justice. One of his suggestions was the 'superintendence of public opinion*. He proposed that the people should watch the judicial proceedings in order to be satisfied that justice was being done. He also recommended the revival of the old panchayat system in the shape of modern jury. He proposed that the judges of the Sadar Diwani Adalat should have the power of issuing habeas corpus according to the practice of the English courts and that the Magistrates should be liable to judicial prosecution, even for official acts, if they amount to abuse of power.

He recommended that the Sadar Amins should be stationed at such distances that the suitors might not have to travel far .from their homes in order to seek justice. He was against reducing the salary of European Judges but demanded a substantial increase in the salary of Indian Judges.

148 Among other reforms suggested by him may be mentioned the substitution of English for Persian as the official language of the Courts of law, separation of the offices of Judge and Revenue Commissioners, and those of Judge and Magistrate, and the codification of laws. 149

The views of Rammohan Roy clearly show that while the British system of administration was highly appreciated as marking a great improvement upon the existing system, the enlightened public opinion in India, already in the third decade of the nineteenth century, regarded it as outmoded, and demanded a higher and nobler one on the model of the British. The views of the Raja were taken up by his followers who suitably modified and enlarged them in the light of experience, and the persistent demand of the enlightened section of the Indians for various reforms may be taken as a fair measure of their condemnation of the system then in force. The state of Indian feelings in this respect about the middle of the nineteenth century may be gathered from the petitions submitted by the various political organizations of Indians to the British Parliament on the eve of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company in 1853. As a specimen, reference may be made to the petition from Madras, the least politically advanced of the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras.

The Madras Native Association sent a petition signed by eleven members to the House of Commons on 21 May, 1853. In this petition they first enumerated the immediate grievances of the Madras Presidency which they considered to be the most important. These were four in number:—

(i) The agricultural rent is most oppressive and has reduced the cultivators to the extremity of wretchedness and poverty.

(ii) The Salt monopoly is a burden of the most painful and intolerable pressure on the poor.

(iii) The defects and evils attending general administration of justice. Reference is made to the delay and expenses of the Company's court of law. It is also pointed out that the system does not ensure that fair and open trial by their peers which obtains in the Queen's court and which should also be available to her Indian subjects.

(iv) The almost total negligence of national education, there being no provincial school established by Government throughout the entire Presidency, and only one at the capital.

In addition to the above major grievances, reference is also made to the insufficiency of roads, bridges and irrigation works, necessity for the reduction of public expenditure and need of a form of Local Government more generally conducive to the happiness of the subjects and prosperity of the country.

In an explanatory note it is said that the judicial service of the Company is a "refuge of the destitute", those persons, "who are too incompetent for the revenue Department, being transformed into Judges and dispensers of the Criminal and Civil Law of the Moffusil".

Many other grievances are also mentioned:—

(i) The enormous powers granted to the Governor-General.

(ii) Interference with the law of inheritance.

(iii) Undue favours shown to the converts to Christianity. It is also complained in this connection "that the judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Madras exercise their powers and authority in high-handed manner to the detriment of the Hindus". Reference is also made to "judges affected by religious bias which induces them to carry their peculiar creed to the bench of justice".

The petitioners also protest "against the injustice and injury they suffer from the system which places the resources of the Province at the disposal of the Supreme Government by which the importance of this portion of India is retarded and the poverty of the population augmented". As a remedy against this it is suggested that the Governor in Council of Madras should be allowed greater powers for providing for the welfare and prosperity of the people and that the Governor's Council should be composed of officials and non-officials in equal numbers, six or seven of each. The former are to be nominated by the Government and the latter to be selected by the Governor, out of a list of 18 or 21 persons chosen by the rate-payers of Madras.

The petitioners also suggest the reduction in the salaries of the Governor and other officials and the establishment of a Legislative Council as distinct from Executive Council in every province. The petitioners also advocate the introduction of popular element in the Supreme Legislative Council and recommend that besides Presidential representatives there should be three persons appointed from England. These three from England should constitute the Executive Council, the Governor-General being President of both.

The fusion of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, or in the alternative, another body presided over by the Secretary of State for India is suggested.

The petitioners demand further the abandonment of the system of governing the country exclusively by the covenanted Civil Service. The recruitment to this service of young men fresh from schools in England, without knowledge of the world and ignorant of the language and customs of the Indians, is strongly deprecated. To remedy the evils inherent in the system the employment of the educated and trained natives is advocated.

On may 21, 1853, another petition was sent to Parliament by "the Madras Native Association and other Native inhabitants of the Presidency of Madras". This was by way of protest against the decision of Her Majesty's Ministry to refer the grievances, enumerated in the former petition, to the local Government. The petitioners point out that the revenue system against wnich they "stated their strongest objections" was commended by some servants of the Company. But, they continue, "this favourable opinion respecting the ryctwari settlement was given at an early period of its trial on a small scale, and was derived from the opinion of three or four Collectors, who had been instrumental to the introduction of the experiment. The petitioners know that, under its operation, the ryots have been reduced to poverty and wretchedness; and your petitioners pray that, as the Parliament has been the author of it, or that, at least, it has been established by its sanction although in opposition to the opinion and wishes of the local authorities, who declared it to be contrary to the ancient national institutions, and unsuited to the condition and genius of the people, the same authority may now be the instrument of its abolition; not by acting upon the evidence of the Company's servants, taken in England, but by instituting a full and impartial enquiry into its merits and demerits, on the spot where it is in operation, and among and from the people who are suffering under its withering oppression.

"They, your Petitioners, are convinced that by no other mode will your Right Honourable House be able to form a just and clear judgment on the question sp momentous to the native subjects of the Crown in the Presidency of Madras; for, without reference in this place to the bias from which the servants of the Company cannot be supposed to free themselves, when speaking as to the effects of the favourite system of their employers, and which they have contributed to enforce and maintain, your Petitioners will advert to a particular instance of misinformation given by a gentleman, who, without being suspected of bias, has given positive evidence, the contrary of fact, before the Committee of your Right Honourable House."

After proving this charge against Mr. Charles Hay Cameron, formerly the fourth or Law Member of the Council of India, the petition continues:

"That your Petitioners allude to this circumstance chiefly to show the manifest uncertainty of the evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committees; and as the witnesses examined, without a single exception are persons who have received, or are still in the receipt of, benefits from the East India Company, your Petitioners are compelled to believe that the actual state of things cannot be correctly ascertained, without sufficient evidence being admitted on both sides of the several questions which have to be determined; and your Petitioners therefore humbly represent, that nothing except a full and impartial investigation, in this country, accessible to the complainants, as well as to the defendants, can place before your Right Honourable House the real state of India, and the existence of the many and heavy grievances of which they have complained as regards the Presidency of Madras; they therefore respectfully request that a Royal Commission may be appointed, before which they may have the opportunity of substantiating the facts advanced in their former petition.

“That your Petitioners beg to represent that an Indian Commission is not altogether a novelty, there being a precedent in the one appointed in the year 1814,. of which Sir Thomas Munro was the head, for the purpose of inquiring into and amending the judicial system then obtaining at this Presidency; but as not only the judicial system, but likewise that of the revenue, as also the various other complaints preferred by your Petitioners, imperatively demand investigation at this critical period, your Petitioners pray that the Commission they now seek may be constituted upon the widest practicable basis, to the end that the inquiry may be searching, impartial and complete; and that no permanent legislation for India may be undertaken until the fullest information possible shall have been laid before, and fully discussed by, the Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom.

“That your Petitioners have already requested the continuance of the Council at the minor Presidencies; and they now respectfully reiterate their prayers to have them constituted on the precedent of the Council of the island of Ceylon, in which your Petitioners ^ countrymen have enjoyed seats for a series of years; and, as your Petitioners understand that constitutions have been, or are on the eve of being, granted to the settlements of the Cape of Good Hope and New Zealand, admitting European Colonists, they humbly and anxiously trust, that your Right Honourable House will not deem the barbarians of the former, and the cannibals of the latter colony more deserving or more fitting to be entrusted with a share in the management of their own affairs, than the inhabitants of a country which, for scores of centuries, has been renowned throughout the world for its civilization, literature and commerce, and which had its own sovereigns, governments and codes of law long before the English nation had a name in history.

“That while your Petitioners acknowledge, and have asked for, the advantage of a reconstruction and improvement of the home and local administration of India, yet that alone will be of no avail to redress the grievances and reform the : abuses of the local governments, so long as they are composed of two or three Company’s officials legislating in the utmost secrecy, and concealing with the most assiduous carefulness the whole of their transactions; secure not only from all check, but from the least shadow of knowledge on the part of the people, whose interests are unfortunately considered of not the slightest consequence to the Government, whose duty it is to legislate for their sole benefits.

"That your Petitioners will consider themselves and their community deeply humiliated and deeply aggrieved if, after the open acknowledgement of persons high in office in this country and in England, that they are as capable to hold responsible employments as the members of now exclusive civil service; that they are their equals on the bench, and successful competitors in the study of European arts, science and literature; they are shut out from the offices for which they are confessedly qualified, while the savage Hottentot and New Zealander are preferred before them.

"That your Petitioners finally conclude with the expression of their earnest hope and prayer, that sufficient time may be granted for a thorough inquiry into all points affecting the welfare of this country, as distributed under the eight heads laid down by the Committee of your Right Honourable House; that the local Councils may be retained, and modelled upon the constitutional principle before adverted to; and that a Royal Commission, composed of Europeans and Natives conjointly, chosen partly in Europe and partly in India, may be issued to enter uoon and complete the necessary investigation in this country."

Apart from a very lucid statement of the grievances felt by the people in respect of British administration, the petitions of Madras Native Association throw a great deal of light on the progress of political ideas in Madras. They are specially valuable as we have very little information on this subject from any other source.

A similar petition was sent by the members of the British Indian Association and other native inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency in 1852. The following extracts from this petition would give some idea of the grievances felt by the people and remedies suggested by them:

10. 149a That the union of political or executive power with the legislative is not only anomalous in itself, but pregnant with injury

to the interest of the people..Your petitioners therefore

submit that the Legislature of India should be a body not only distinct from the persons in whom the political and executive powers are vested, but also possessing a popular character so as in some respects to represent the sentiments of the people and to be so looked upon by them.

11. That it is a most unprecedented circumstance that though the natives of India have, for the best part of a century, been subject^ of the Crown of Great Britain, they have not, to this- day, been admitted to the smallest share in the administration of the affairs of their country, but have continued under a Government that unites in itself the legislative and executive functions, and avails itself of those powers to make such laws as may subserve its own financial

purposes, often without reference to the interests and wishes of the people.

12. That not only are laws enacted without reference to the people, but they are enforced against the strongest complaints and remonstrances (reference is made to the Regulation III of 1828 which made a Collector also the Judge in cases of resumption of lands).

13. Your petitioners refer to the Act XXI of 1850, which, under the guise of extending the principle of section 9, Regulation VII of 1832 of the Bengal Code, to the other presidencies, the provisions of which had never come into operation, alters the rules of inheritance of the people of this country, which are well known to be based upon their religious tenets, by allowing persons excluded from caste, whether on account of immoral or infamous conduct, or of change of religion, to inherit, contrary to the express rules of the Hindoo law. On learning the intentions of the Government, many of the people of Bengal and Madras united to remonstrate against it, on the ground of the guarantee given them that their laws and customs should be respected, and of its being the tendency if not the design of the intended law to facilitate proselytism to other religions. But these remonstrances were not even noticed by the Government.

14. That for these and other reasons too numerous to be detailed, your petitioners consider the power of making laws and raising taxes conferred

exclusively on the Governor-General in Council as impolitic as well as unjust to the native subjects of the

British Crown.Hence they are desirous that the legislature

of British India be placed on the footing of those enjoyed by most

of the Colonies of Her Majesty,. They accordingly submit

for the consideration of your Right Honourable House the propriety of constituting a Legislative Council at Calcutta, composed of 17 members, three selected from amongst the most respectable and qualified native inhabitants of each presidency, to represent the

natives thereof (details of the composition and powers of the Counci' follow).

20. That there should be a reduction of the salaries of the higher offices, and that the saving thereby effected should, in part, be applied to the increase of the allowances of the lower, which are confessedly

inadequate to their duties and responsibilities.The salaries of

the Governor-General, the Members of Council, the local Governors, and the principal covenanted officers, are on an exorbitant scale, and susceptible of great reduction without impairing the efficiency of the

service. Much public treasure is also expended, without any

corresponding advantage, in paying extravagant salaries to the Resi

dents in the courts of the Princes of India and other political officers, and to a large staff of assistants....

26. The Magistrates act in the double capacity of superintendents of police and judges of cases not liable to a sentence exceeding three years' imprisonment. In the former capacity they have been acknowledged by their superiors to have a strong leaning towards the conviction of those who are brought before them for trial. In the latter capacity they are authorised, in

certain cases, even to adjudge imprisonment and fine without appeal, and in general they exercise, according to the admissions of high authorities, powers which are not committed to magistrates in any civilized country, and for which they are disqualified by their youth and inexperience.

31. That the monopoly of the salt trade by the Company injuriously affects the poor,..... .The selling price of salt is arbitrarily fixed by the Government, and is at all times so high that, though the country has abundant resources for the manufacture of the article, English merchants can afford to import it.But as salt is a necessary of life, the duty on salt should be entirely taken off as soon as possible.The monopoly of opium trade is a source of vexation to the cultivators, who are compelled to cultivate the poppy, and supply the produce to the Government, at the valuation fixed by their own officers. Nor can it be otherwise than that the cultivators should be at a disadvantage, and be liable to oppression, when the other contracting party is armed with all the power and resources of the state. Justice, therefore, requires that the interference of the Government with the cultivation should cease,.By the adoption of this principle, the cultivators will possess that freedom of action which all men possess under governments that are not constituted on arbitrary and despotic principles;.

32. That the abkaree duties, or revenue raised from the sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs, and the stamp duties, levied by obliging litigants and complainants to write their petitions on stamped papers, are highly objectionable in principle.

36. That the provisions for an ecclesiastical establishment expressly for the advantage of British subjects are out of place among the arrangements for the government of British India. That government is for a mixed

community the members of which are of various and opposite sects, and the majority is composed of Hindus and Mahomedans.Your petitioners do not object to the appointment of chaplains to the European regiments that are sent out to this country,...... but to support of bishops and other highly paid functionaries, out of the general revenues of the country, for the benefit of a small body of British subjects”. 150

Liberal-minded Englishmen also joined with the Indians in condemning various aspects of the administrative system of British India. This may be best shown by quoting extracts from the writings of three highly placed Englishmen, who had intimate and personal knowledge of Indian affairs, and cannot be suspected of having any grudge or bias against the British administration. The first discusses the general principle and practice of British-Indian administration, while the other two make a comparative estimate of the British administration and the one superseded by it.

Frederick John Shore, one of the best British administrators in the thirties, observes as follows:

“More than seventeen years have elapsed since I first landed in this country; but on my arrival, and during my residence of about a year in Calcutta, I well recollect the quiet, comfortable, and settled conviction, which in those days existed in the minds of die English population, of the blessings conferred on the natives of India by the establishment of file English rule. Our superiority to the Native Governments which we have supplanted; the excellent system for the administration of justice which we had introduced; our moderation; our anxiety to benefit the people—in short, our virtues of every description were descanted on as so many established truths which it was heresy to controvert. Occasionally I remember to have heard some hints and assertions of a contrary nature from some one who had spent many years in the interior of the country, but the storm which was immediately raised and thundered on the head of the unfortunate individual who should presume to question the established creed was almost sufficient to appal the boldest.

“I was thus gradually led to an inquiry into the principles and practices of British-Indian administration. Proceeding in this, I soon found myself at no loss to understand the feelings of the people both towards the Government and to ourselves. It would have been astonishing indeed had it been otherwise. The fundamental principle of the English had been to make the whole Indian nation subservient, in every possible way, to the interests and benefits of themselves. They have been taxed to the utmost limits; every successive Province, as it has fallen into Our possession, has been made a field for higher exaction; and it has always been our boast how greatly we have raised the revenue above that which the native rulers were able to extort. The Indians have been excluded from every honour, dignity, or office which the lowest Englishman could be prevailed upon to accept.”

Emphasizing the drain of wealth from India, Shore remarks: “The halcyon days .of India are over; she has been drained of a large proportion of the wealth she once possessed; and her energies have been cramped by a sordid system of misrule to which the interests of millions have been sacrificed for the benefit of the few”. 151

The other two are Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Malcolm, two of the most distinguished British officials in India who rank with Elphinstone as builders of the British Empire. Here is an extract from Munro’s Minute recorded on 31 December, 1824.

“If we make a summary comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which have occurred to the natives from our Government, the result, I fear, will hardly be so much in its favour as it ought to have been. They are more Secure from the calamities both of foreign war and internal commotions; their persons and property are more secure from violence; they cannot be wantonly punished or their property seized by persons in power; and their taxation is, on the whole, lighter. But, on the other hand, they have no share in making laws for themselves, little in administering them, except in very subordinate offices; they can rise to no high station, civil or military; they are everywhere regarded as an inferior race, and often rather as vassals or servants than as the ancient owners and masters of the country.

“It is not enough that we confer on the natives the benefits of just laws and of moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but under a foreign government there are so many causes which tend to depress it that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old observation that he who loses his liberty loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in the one case than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation as the slave does those of a free man; it loses the privileges of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration, or in the general government of the country. British India has none of these privileges....

“One of the greatest disadvantages of our Government in India is its tendency to lower or destroy the higher ranks of society, to bring them all too much to one level, and by depriving them of their former weight and influence to render them less useful instruments in the internal administration of the country. The native governments had a class of richer gentry composed of Jageerdars and Enamdars and of all the higher civil and military officers. These, with the principal merchants and Ryots, formed a large body, wealthy or at least easy in their circumstances. The Jagheers and Enams of one prince were often resumed by another, and the civil and military officers were liable to frequent removal, but as they were replaced by others, and as new Jagheers and Enams were granted to new claimants, these changes had the effect of continually throwing into the country a supply of men whose wealth enabled them to encourage its cultivation and manufactories. These advantages have almost entirely ceased under our Government. All the civil and military offices of any importance are now held by Europeans, whose savings go to their own country”. 152

The following is an extract from the evidence given by Sir John Malcolm before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1832.

Question. “In your opinion, was the substitution of our government for the misrule of the native princes the cause of greater prosperity to the agricultural and commercial part of the population?”

Answer. “I cannot answer this in every Province of India, but I shall as far as my experience enables me. I do not think the change has* benefited, or could benefit, either the commercial, the monied, or the agricultural classes of many of the native States, though it may be of others. It has not happened to me ever to see countries better cultivated, and so abounding in all produce of the soil, as well as commercial wealth, than the Southern Mahratta Districts, when I accompanied the present Duke of Wellington to that country in the year 1803; I particularly here allude to those large tracts near the borders of the Krishna.

Poona, the capital of Peshwa, was a very wealthy and thriving commercial town-, and there was as much cultivation in the Deccan as it was possible so arid and unfruitful a country could admit....

“With respect to Malwa.... I had ample means afforded me, as the person appointed to occupy that territory and to conduct its civil, military, and political administration, to learn all that the records of the Government could teach, and to obtain from other sources full information of this country; and I certainly entered upon my duties with the complete conviction that commerce would be unknown, and that credit could not exist_I found, to my surprise, that in correspondence with the first commercial and monied men of Rajputana, Bundelkhand, and Hindustan (Northen India), as well as with those of Gujrat, dealings in money to a large amount had continuously taken place at Ujjain and other cities, where Soucars or bankers of character and credit were in a flourishing state, and that goods to a great amount had not only continuously passed through the Province, but that the insurance offices which exist throughout all that part of India, and include the principal monied men, had never stopped their operations, though premiums rose at a period of danger to a high amount... .And I do not believe that in that country the introduction of our direct rule could have contributed more, nor indeed so much, to the prosperity of the commercial and agricultural interest# as the establishment of the efficient rule of its former princes and chiefs....

“With respect to the Southern Mahratta Districts, of whose prosperity I have before spoken.... I must unhesitatingly state that the provinces belonging to the family of Putwarden and some other chiefs on the banks of the Krishna present a greater agricultural and commercial prosperity than almost any I know in India. I refer this to the system of administration, which, though there may be at periods exactions, is on the whole mild and paternal; to few changes; to the complete knowledge and almost devotion of Hindus to all agricultural pursuits; to their better understanding, or at least better practice than us in many parts of the administration, particularly in raising towns and villages to prosperity; from the encouragement given to monied men and to the introduction of capital; and above all to the Jaegirdars residing on their estates, and those Provinces being administered by men of rank who live and die on the soil, and are usually succeeded in office by their sons or near relatives. If these men exact money at times in an arbitrary manner, all their expenditure as well as all they receive is limited to their own provinces, but above all causes which promote prosperity is the invariable support given to the village and other native institutions, and to the employment, far beyond what our system admits, of all classes of the population”. ^3

To these observations we may add those of George Thompson, an Englishman who visited India in 1843. The following extracts are taken from his speeches, which were published together in the

form of a book, entitled ii George Thompson's Lectures on British

India”.'* 3*

I. It is notorious, however, that the Parliament, like the East India proprietory, have failed in their duty to their possessions in the East. So far from being impressed with a sense of their value and importance, our legislators have appeared to regard them as almost below their serious notice. The experience of more than fifty years has shown, that the most insignificant topic of a local, temporary, or personal character, has a better chance of securing the attention and consideration of the legislature, than the condition and claims of a dominion as extensive as Europe, with a population comprising a sixth part of the inhabitants

of the globe. The very best informed on Parliamentary matters are perfectly aware that this is the painful fact.

If, then, we find this mighty empire at present neglected alike by the East India Company and the Parliament, what shall be done? Shall we abandon to their fate scores of millions of our fellow subjects? Shall we leave a people ignorant of their political rights, and helpless because ignorant, the prey of insatiate tax gatherers, the victims of every experiment which their rulers may choose to make, to ascertain how far and how long they may extract wealth from a beggared people, in defiance of every principle of good government, and every law of the living God? Are we at liberty to turn a deaf ear to the piercing cry of distress wafted to us from the plains of Hindostan? (p. 25).

II. The condition of India!—Look at the circumstances of the people, impoverished almost to the lowest possible degree. The ranks of society, as nearly as can be, levelled. Princes deposed—nobles degraded—landed proprietors annihilated—the middle classes absorbed—the cultivators ruined—great cities turned into farm villages—villages deserted and in ruins—mendicancy, gang robbery, and rebellion increasing in every direction. This is no exaggerated picture. This is the state and the present state of India. Some of the finest tracts of land have been forsaken, and given up to the untamed beasts of the jungle. The motives to industry have been destroyed. The soil seems to lie under a curse. Instead of yielding abundance for the wants of its own population, and the inhabitants of other regions, it does not keep in existence its own children. It becomes the burying place of millions, who die upon its bosom, crying for bread. In proof of this, turn your eyes backward upon the scenes of the past year. Go with me into the north-western provinces of the Bengal presidency, and I will show you the bleaching skeletons of five hundred thousand human beings, who perished of hunger in the space of a few short months: yes, died of hunger in what has been justly called the granary of the world! Bear with me, if I speak of the scenes which were exhibited during the prevalence of this famine. The air for miles was poisoned by the effluvia emitted from the putrefying bodies of the dead. The rivers were choked with the corpses thrown into their channels. Mothers cast their little ones beneath the rolling waves, because they would not see them draw their last gasp, and feel them stiffen in their arms. The English in the city were prevented from taking their customary evening drives. Jackals and vultures, approached, and fastened upon the bodies of men, women, and children, before life was extinct. Madness, disease, despair, stalked abroad, and no human power present to arrest their progress. U was the carnival of death !

And this occurred in British India— in the reign of Victoria the First! Nor was the event extraordinary and unforeseen. Far from it: 1835-36 witnessed a famine in the northern provinces: 1833 beheld one to the eastward. 1822-23 saw one in the Deccan. They have continued to increase in frequency and extent under our sway for more than half a century. Under the administration of Lord Clive, a famine in Bengal provinces swept off three millions; and at that time the British speculators in India had their granaries filled to repletion witn com. Horried monopoly of the necessaries of life! Thus three millions died while there was food enough. and tc spare, locked up in the storehouses of the rich! (p. 27).

Ill To add to the horror with which we are called to regard the last dreadful carnage, we are made acquainted by the returns of the custom-houses with the fact, that as much grain was exported from the lower parts of Bengal as would have fed the number who perished—(half a million)—for a whole year! (p. 28)

IV. Do you ask, why this wholesale destruction of human life? I reply, and while I do so, I am fully aware of the nature of .the accusation 1 bring against

the government of India, at home and abroad, and am ready to sustain it—because the people have been virtually robbed of their soil-deprived of the fruits of their industry—prevented from accumulating the means of meeting a period of drought, and are thus doomed to death, should the earth refuse, for a single season, to yield its increase. Our government (says one of the highest authorities) has been practically one of the most extortionate and oppressive that ever existed; and a committee of the House of Commons has declared that our revenue system in India is one of habitual extortion and injustice, leaving nothing to the cultivator but what he is able to secure by evasion and fraud. Can any evidence be required more conclusive, in proof of the ruinous nature of our administration, than is furnished by the fact, that famines are becoming almost general, and that they are sweeping off their victims by hundreds of thousands—and that these famines occur in the most fertile districts of the globe, and during a period of profound internal peace? The master evil of the present system in India is the land-tax. The government has made itself de facto the universal landlord —has assumed the right to tax the soil to any extent—has fixed an assumed capability on every field of produce—then, an assumed price on the produce of the fi^ld—and then fixed that from thirty-five to forty-five per cent, of the money value of the crop, shall be the tax to the state for ever—and, if the cultivator should lay out his money in the improvement, in any way, of the land under his management, the government claims the right of making a new assessment, in proportion to the assumed increased value of the crop.

The results of this system have appeared in a thousand afflicting forms. Rural industry has been crushed—enterprise has been rendered profitless—cultivated lands, over-burthened by taxation, have been abandoned—the revenue has declined —the prosperity of the country has been undermined at its foundation—property has gone on deteriorating, until estates have been sold for less than the amount of one year's taxes. Mr. Rickards informs us that the land-owners of Malabar offered their estates to the government, on condition of their receiving a bare subsistence of rice and curry in return. If the principle of taxation has been bad, the mode adopted in collecting it has been no better. Mr. Fullerton, when a member of the council at Madras, thus described it:—

"Imagine (says he) the revenue leviable through the agency of one hundred thousand revenue officers; collected or remitted at their discretion, according to the occupant's means of paying, whether from the produce of his land, or his separate property: and, in order to encourage every man to act as a spy on his neighbour, and report his means of paying, that he may eventually save himself from extra demand imagine all the cultivators of a village liable at all times to a separate demand, in order to make up for the failure of one or more individuals of the parish. Imagine collectors to every county, acting under the orders of a board, on the avowed principle of destroying all competition for labour by a general equalization of assessment; seizing and sending back runaways to each other. And lastly, imagine the collector the sole magistrate or justice of the peace of the county, through the medium and instrumentality of whom alone any rriminal complaint of personal grievance suffered by the subject can reach the superior courts. Imagine, at the same time, every subordinate officer employed in the collection of the land revenue, to be a police officer, vested with the power to FINE, CONFINE, PUT IN THE STOCKS, AND FLOG any inhabitant within his range, on any charge, without oath of the accuser, or sworn recorded evidence in the case.” (pp. 29-30).

No impartial historian will possibly deny the truth of these observations. If the four Englishmen have erred, they have done so on the side of moderation. On a broad review of the first century of British rule in India, the first thing that compels attention is the wretched poverty and distress to which the people were reduced by the ruin of industry and oppressive land-tax, for both of which the British Government must be held directly responsible. The two great blessings of the British rule, namely, the improvement of knowledge on western lines, and the establishment of a good system of administration guaranteeing security of life and property, were not yet fully in evidence. The new system of higher education was as yet confined to a handful of persons, while the indigenous system was visibly declining. So far as the administrative system was concerned, it was a period of experiment, useful in itself, but as yet producing no very satisfactory results. There was security against foreign aggression, but not against theft, robbery, and crimes and oppressions of other kind. The law-courts had not yet become efficient instruments of impartial justice, while the Police served as agencies of oppression rather than protection. The prison house was as wretched as it could be “and the District Magistrate was determined that the prison should be a distinctly uncomfortable place”, while the Medical officer made an equally determined but unsuccessful effort to keep down the terrible death rate in jails. 164 So far as the amenities of life were concerned, they are summed up in two sentences by Sir John Strachey while describing the condition in Bengal in 1854, i.e. after a continuous British rule for nearly a century: “There were almost no roads, or bridges or schools, and there was no protection to life or property. The police was worthless, and robberies and violent crimes by gangs of armed men, which were unheard of in other provinces, were common not far from Calcutta. 16 * 6

All the while the Indians were mere passive onlookers,—they had no place or power in the administration of their own country. The curse of slavery with all the attendant evils, so pithily described by Munro, was exercising a ruinous and degenerating influence upon the character of the people at large. The early dreams and enthusiastic hopes of the small band of English-educated Indians were giving place to disillusion and despair, while the common people, full of discontent and disaffection, bided their time in sullen resentment, marked by occasional outburst of violence. By the time the British completed the first hundred years of their rule, they gained the whole of India, but lost their hold upon the hearts of the Indians. The Government were fully aware of this and made 'full allowance for this important factor in devising plans for the safety of their Indian Empire. 166

1. Speech of Morley on 23 February, 1909 (Keith, II. 95).

2. Clause IV.

3 ICND 86-7.

4. For the text of Macaulay’s speech, Cf. Keith, I, 226 ff.

5. ICND , 96-7.

6. Clause 20.

7. See p. 3.

8. CHI , VI. 14.

9. Ibid, 2.

9a. Strachey, India , its Administration and Progress , (2nd Ed.), p. 112.

10. Ibid, 121.

11. Dodwell, H., A Sketch of the History of India , 45-6.

12. Ibid, 49.

13. Clause 52 of the Charter Act of 1833.

14. Clause 69.

15. The combination of the two offices was strongly criticized in CR , VI, (1846). p. 149.

16. Preamble to the Regulation (Cowell, 163).

17. CHI , VI. 41.

18. Campbell, G., Modem India, pp. 238-42.

19. CHI, VI. 42.

20. CHI, VI. 43.

21. Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, 1832, pp. 122-4.

22. CHI, VI. 66.

23. CHI, VI. 73.

24. "When the territories of Sagor and Narbada came under British rule in 1818, they were first placed directly under the rule of the Indian Government, and were subsequently placed under the Lieutenants-Governor of the NorthWest Provinces. In 1842 they were under an Agent directly under the Government of India, and on a later date they were once more transferred to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces." And this state of things continued till 1861 when they were included in the Central Provinces (Dutt-II, 291-2).

Lahore Administration Report, 1852, quoted in Dutt-II, 82-3.

See p. 289.

M. Innes, Henry Lawrence, the Pacificator, Introduction Quoted in Dutt-II, 88).

THG, 347.

Macaulay’s speech in the House of Commons, June, 1853 (quoted in CHI, VI. 358). *

From the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, 9 July 1800. Speech in the House of Commons, June, 1853 (quoted in CHI, VI. 358).

s speech in the House of Commons on 10 July, 1833 (Keith I, 264*5).

ICND , 96.

Dispatch, 10 December, 1834 (quoted in CHI, VL 10).

CHI, VI. 10.

Dispatch, 10 December, 1834 (quoted in CHI, VT. 7).

Clause 66.

Clauses 43 and 46.

Clause 51.

Clause 44.

Clause 45.

Montford Report, para 58.

Ramsay Macdonald, The Government of India, p. 69; for example the Leris.

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Montford Report, para 62.

Cowell (5th Ed.), 67.

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ChaiUey, op. cit., 458; Strachey, op. cit., 116-7.

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A Few Remarks on certain Draft Acts, commonly called Black Acts .

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51. 51a.

51b. See Chapter L.

52. CR, VI. pp. 135-89.

53 ibid 137-8

54. Ibid,’ 145. The relevant passage has been quoted on pp. 345-6

55. Ibid, 149.

57! Ibid! 150. The Editor observes in a footnote that in f 00 Ca ^fp^ e darogah may be elevated to the higher grade of 75 or even 100 Rupees.

58. Ibid, 157-8.

59. Ibid, 186.

60. Ibid, 171-3.

61. Ibid, 175-77.

02. Ibid, 179-82.

63. Ibid, 183.

64. Ibid, 183-4.

66. Dutt-I 87 402-5; II. 212. The amount of gross revenue is given later in this section.

67. Dutt-II. 100.

63 Ibid

69! Commons' Fourth Report, 1853 (quoted in Dutt-II. 144-5).

70. Dutt-II. 152 . tt i ko

71. Commons' Fourth Report, 1853, quoted in Dutt-II. 153.

731 Extract from the petition of The Madras Native Association to the House of Commons (Commons' First Report, 1853, Appendix 7). (Dutt-II. 164-5).

74. Ibid.

76 In 1 addition to the reduction of military expenses, by reducing Batta to half which saved £ 20,000 a year, further economies were effected by reduction in the expenses of the land revenue administration, Provincial Courts and costly settlements in the Straits of Malacca (Bentinck , R. I., 60).

77. Dutt-II. 212.

78 Cf Chapters V and VI.

79. Even expenses incurred in connection with the visit of the Sultan of Turkey to London were paid out of the funds of the -Government of India.

80. Dutt-II. 216.

81. Ibid, 217.

83. Major Wingate, Our Financial Relations with India (quoted in Dutt-II, 218-9).

84! Dutt-n. 213.

84a. B. Majumdar, 71-2.

85. Wingate, op. cit. (Dutt-II. 213-4).

86 Montgomery Martin. Eastern India. Introduction (Dutt-I, 409-10).

87. See Vol. VIH.

88. Quoted in Dutt-II. 42-3.

89. Dutt-II. 43. , . ^ tt m **

90. Elphinstone's Report, dated 25 October, 1819 (quoted in Dutt-II. 50-1).

91. Ibid.

92. Quoted in Dutt-II. 52.- .

93. Evidence of Goldfinch. Fourth Report of the Commons Select Committee,

1853. p. 141 (Dutt-II. 53).

94. Dutt-II. 61.

95. Ibid, 57.

96. Ibid, 68.

97. Ibid, 69.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid, 69-70.

100. Ibid, 71-2. , _ ,

101. G. Campbell, Modern India (London, 1852) (Dutt-II. 73).

102. Dutt-II. 74. Italics mine.

103. Report of the Commission, dated 16 April, 1855 (Duit-II. 74).

104. * Ibid.

105. Dutt-II. 75

106. Ibid. 76.

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B. Smollett, Madras, its Civil Administration (London, 1858) (Dutt-H. 77). Quoted in Dutt-H. 79-80.

Punjab Administration Report, 1852, quoted in Dutt-H. 90-L Lady Hope, General Sir Arthur Cotton, His Life and Work, p. 276.

SB-1, 28-9.

Ibid, 29.

Rammohun Roy, p. 84.

Ibid, 85-6.

SeL CmL Gaz^ 2U. See above, pp. 350-51.

Ibid. 529.

Ibid, 530.

Ibid, 531-2.

CR, V I (1846). 154.

Sel. Cal. Gaz ., 57.

Ibid, 448.

V <* 5^?* U®. man uo cr ^P t of this book was completed in 1839, and it

was published in 1844.

The rates were lower in some Provinces.

Ibid, &5 ® uc ^ an< ^* Bengal Under the Lieutenant-Governors, I. 23.

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See p. 368.

CB, VoL XXXV (I860), p. 874.

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ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

130. CHI, VI. 34-5.

131. CR, VI (1846), 475. , ,

132. Imp. Gaz ., IV. 398. But F. J. Shore takes a different view (Notes on Indian Affairs, I. p. 371). He thinks that the prisoners were better off than the masses outside jail.

133. CHI, VI. 56.

134. Imp. Gaz., IV. 398 ff.

135. CHI, VI. 274.

136. Ibid, 32.

137. Shore, op. cit. 177.

138. CHI, VI. 32.

139. Sel. Cal. Gaz., 155.

140. Ibid, 278-9.

141. Ibid. 305.

142. Ibid, 521.

143. Ibid, 537.

144. See pp. 374-5.

145. Works, p. 874. Quoted in B. Majumdar, 47.

146. See pp. 359, 374.

147. B. Majumdar. 37-41.

148. Ibid, 49-54.

149. Raramohun Roy, 87.

149a. These figures refer to the number of paragraphs.

150. The petitions are printed in the Reports of the Select Committee of the British Parliament, session, 1852-3. The petition of the British Indian Association, printed as a pamphlet, is available in the National Library (Catalogue No. 169 A 73). Extracts from it are given in B. Majumdar, 474-89.

151. F. J. Shore, on. cit, 11. 28, 516.

152. Dutt-I. 165-6.

153. Ibid, 415-7.

153a. Further particulars about George Thompson will be given in Book III, Chapter L.

154. Mayo (R.I.), 187.

155. CHI, VI. 32.

156. Minutes of Bentinck, dated 13 March, 1835. Among the internal evils, of which the Government should take due note in making preparations for defence, Bentinck not only included disaffection of the public but also their higher elevation of character, knowledge, improved morality, courage and other noble qualities. In his opinion the spread of knowledge and the operation of the press in India weaken the respect of the Indians for European character and prestige for British supremacy (Bentinck , HI, p. 179).

CHAPTER XIH.

DISCONTENT AND DISAFFECTION

The readers of the British period of Indian history are familiar with the phrase Pax Britannica —a new era of peace, prosperity and contentment, introduced by the British rule, such as India had never known before. This claim is, however, only partially true, so far at least as the first half of the nineteenth century is concerned. There was, no doubt, an end of the state of anarchy, chaos, and confusion which set in after the decline of the Mughul Empire, but a long time was to elapse before peace reigned supreme in India. There were frequent sporadic outbursts, often leading to serious armed resistance against the British authority, throughout India, and these culminated in the great upsurge of 1857 which shook the British empire in India to its very foundation. This was partly a legacy of the period that had just been ended, but was also largely due to grave discontent which was a direct consequence of the establishment of British rule in India. This fact has not, so far, been adequately recognized by historians of British India, and therefore requires a somewhat detailed treatment.

For the sake of convenience we may classify the discontent under separate heads, according to the sources giving rise to it, though, very often, several causes operated together in creating it.

I. POLITICAL

It was almost inevitable that the expansion of British dominions would leave behind a blazing trail of discontent and disaffection throughout India. This was by no means confined to the ruling chiefs and royal families of the countries conquered by the Britisn, or annexed by them on other grounds, and not even to the immediate entourage and dependants of those royal courts. British rule, during the period under review, was not favourably looked upon even by the people at large in any region where it was newly introduced, far less joyously welcome, as many of the British administrators and writers would have us believe. Discontent and disaffection were particularly strong in those regions like Burma, Assam, Coorg, Sindh, the Panjab, and Avadh which were unjustly annexed, at least according to the views of their people. The arbitrary deposition of the ruler of Satara, 1 the despotic coercion of the Sindhia, 2 and similar other tyrannical acts generated a feeling of hatred and hostility

against the British which was generally, but not always, confined to the upper strata of society. The Doctrine of Lapse, particularly its practical application by Lord Dalhousie, produced grave discontent in the States directly affected, and created a sense of alarm among the other Indian States. It is against this background that one has to assess the value of those rumours about conspiracies against the British which were widely circulated during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Some idea of this may be obtained from the long statement made by Sitaram Bawa before H. B. Devereuse, Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, on January 18, 1858, and the following days. 3 According to him a conspiracy against the British was begun by Baiza Bai, widow of Daulat Rao Sindhia, soon after she was expelled from Gwalior about twenty years before (to be more precise in A.D. 1833). 4 Another conspiracy, according to Sitaram Bawa, was set on foot by the ruler of Mysore, along with the rulers of Shorapur, Satara, Kolhapur, and some other principalities in order that these (and other) ruling dynasties might recover their kingdoms. The Raja of Mysore, we are told, used to write to his confederates:—"The Mysore Rajah used to tell these people that with the help of God, all would be well (i. e. they would be restored to their rule and kingdoms). Such correspondence has been going on

for about eight months.The Rajah used to write thus: 'a great

army is soon coming this way.Bajee Row's son and Holkar and

other great princes had all joined together, and that as soon as they advanced all would join, the old dynasties would be restored, and all would be placed on their thrones."

Some time about 1852, Baiza Bai joined with Nana Sahib ana hatched a more comprehensive plot along with the second group, led by the Raja of Mysore. According to Sitaram Bawa, this conspiracy embraced, besides Nana Sahib and Baiza Bai, almost all the native States, and he mentions specifically Holkar, Sindhia, Assam (or Burma), Jaipur, Jodhpur, Kolah Boonder, Jhalawar, Rewah, Baroda; Kutch, Bhooj, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Shorapur, Kolhapur, Satara and Indore. Nana, we are told, wrote to all the native rulers, and all agreed to join the plot except the Raja of Travancore. Nana even approached Ghulab Singh of Jammu and through him also Russia. The former joined and Russia promised that if Nana could take and hold Delhi then assistance would be given to him to drive the English from Calcutta.

According to Sitaram Bawa all this was common knowledge and “every Baboo in Calcutta knew of it”. This may be so, but there is no evidence, and no sane man would believe, that there was really any serious conspiracy of this character. But Sitaram’s evidence proves that there were wild, vague and floating rumours about it all over India. The echo of these rumours must have reached the British Government. That is why they held Pratap Singh of Satire guilty of conspiracy with other native rulers and the Portuguese of Goa,[6] though there was no evidence in support of it.

Such rumours possibly originated in vague talks and dark hints about conspiracies indulged in by irresponsible men posing as confidential agents. But they would never have been invented, or gained credence, unless the people believed that such a grave discontent prevailed among the native rulers as would have rendered the conspiracies at least probable, though not possible or practicable.

Thus though these rumours were without any real basis in fact, they undoubtedly indicate a wide-spread feeling of dismay and discontent mmmg the native rulers, which was well-known to the people at large.

Bt*fc the policy of wholesale annexations, which found its most successful exponent in Lord Dalhousie, and culminated in the map of India being all red, if not in theory, at least in practice, did not unnerve the native rulers alone but affected the people as well. The fell of the old and renowned royal houses like those of Peshwa, Bhonsle, Avadh, Jhansi, Panjab and Satlra, and the precarious earistesiee of the rest, on mere sufferance of the British, not only gave a rude shock to the sentiments of the people, but cast adrift in the world, hopeless and helpless, a large body of people, both high and low, who had hitherto earned their livelihood by service, both civil and military, in those defunct States. Proud aristocracies were reduced to beggary and servitude, artisans and craftsmen, flourishing upon the luxury of the court and the wealthy, were faced with utter ruin, and old ideas, traditions, and pageants of pomp and glory, so dear to the common people, were rapidly passing away, never to return. There were fear and bewilderment on all sides and a state of uneasy suspense about the future, which was aggravated, rather than allayed, by the new system of administration which replaced the old.

n. ADMINISTRATIVE

Apart from the inherent dislike of a foreign rule, the ill feeling generated by the British administration was due to several factors. In .the first place, the people found it very difficult to adjust themselves to the new system which was so radically different from the one to which they were accustomed for centuries. Secondly, it affected the vested interests of classes and individuals who had profited both by the merits as wall as the defects of the system of government replaced by the British. One or two concrete instances will illustrate the point. A large number of pious and learned men } as well as religious and educational institutions, flourished under the patronage of the Indian courts, mainly by the grant of rent-free lands. The Company's system of administration, which was incompatible with the patronage of oriental royal courts, and deliberate resumption of rent-free lands on a massive scale through the Inam Commission ruined a large number of these individuals and institutions,[6] and thereby created a vacuum in the social order which disturbed a much wider circle than that which was directly or immediately affected. Thirdly, the changes and experiments in the land-revenue system brought misery and ruin both upon the landlords and the tenants, who formed the backbone of the country.[7] The cultivators groaned under the inordinately excessive land-rent, and the landlords, where they were allowed to function, were displeased as they were deprived of the effective authority which they were accustomed to exercise for the maintenance of law and order. They were reduced in practice, if not in theory, to the position of mere farmers of revenue, liable to ejectment for default in payment of revenue, and subject to new rules and regulations like sun-set laws with which they were quite unfamiliar. Fourthly, even such salutary practices as the introduction of rule by law, in place of personal rule dictated by whims and caprices, gave rise to discontent. For it involved the principle of equality in the eyes of law and its rigorous enforcement upon all alike—the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong, or the high and the low in social cadre—and was resented by persons claiming a privileged position or preferential .treatment which they had hitherto enjoyed. On the other hand, the poorer and the weakei* section, to whom the newly established lawcourts should have proved a blessing, did not derive much material benefit from them. This was due to the complicated procedure followed by them which was unfamiliar and often unintelligible to the masses, and involved long delay and heavy expenses. The rough and ready method of justice prevalent in the old days was no doubt very unsatisfactory, but it was replaced by a system, which practically denied justice to those very classes who needed it most. Fifthly, the new system of police was highly inefficient and there was a general sense of insecurity of life and property. 8 The old system had vanished but the new system had not yet proved effective.

There were, besides, several characteristic features of British administration which made it highly unpopular. In the first place, the English officials were not accessible to the people, who could not,

therefore, lay their grievances personally before them, as they were accustomed to do before. Secondly, the English system of administration operated like a machine, and the lack of personal element in it was disliked by the people, who attributed to it many evils such as slowness of proceedings, delay in taking action, frequent change of policy etc. Thirdly, the English laws were quite strange and unintelligible to the people. The substitution of English as the courtlanguage in place of Persian was highly disliked, specially by the Muslims.

More important than all these was the exclusion of Indians from all high offices, both in the civil administration and in the army. It was not merely a sore grievance from the point of view of material interest of individuals, but went much deeper than that. Many regarded it as a serious defect in the system of administration by a body of foreign rulers. It was pointed cut by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan that the permanence and prosperity of the Government depended on an accurate knowledge of the manners, customs, usages, habits, hopes and aspirations, and temper and ability of the people, but the foreign Government could hardly possess such knowledge as long as the people were not allowed tc participate in the administration of the country. The exclusion of Indians from high offices was particularly irritating to the Muslims who had, within living memory, occupied -almost all the high posts in the Government and the army, 9

The repugnance of the British Government to the appointment of Indians to higher offices in India is well illustrated by the case of Rajaram Roy, the adopted son of Raja Rammohan Roy. Rajaram remained in London after his father's death at Bristol in 1833,' and was appointed an extra clerk in the offices of the Board of Control. Hobhouse, the President of the Board, hoped that this would have a "beneficial effect on the natives of India generally" by showing them that there was "every disposition on the part of the supreme authority to furnish them with the means and motives of rendering themselves capable of assisting, to a much greater extent than at present, in the administration of India"-. Urged by the same jnotive, and impressed by the ability of Rajaram, Hobhouse proposed to nominate Rajaram a writer (corresponding to I. C. S. of later days) in the service of the East India Company. Nothing could be more natural than this, as it was a practical application—the first of its kind—of the principle laid down in the 87th section of the Charter Act of 1833,

reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the East India Company". Nevertheless,

as soon as the news of the proposed appointment began to appear in the Press, there was a flutter in the dovecot at the very idea that the covenanted civil service, hitherto reserved for Europeans, was to be opened to an Indian. The British Bureaucracy was astonished, and Carnac, who originally approved of the idea of Hobhouse, began to waver, and told him that "it will never pass the court". So far one can at least explain, possibly even excuse, though not approve of, the action. What is less intelligible and far less excusable is the disingenuous plea put forward by Lord Auckland, the GovernorGeneral, and accepted by Carnac, that the appointment of Rajaram to this high post would be looked upon with envy by the Indians and that the "feeling amongst the older Indians of Calcutta is far from favourable to such an experiment." 10 Such a reactionary spirit and arrogant racial prejudice, hidden under the cloak of a pretended anxiety for the interests and feelings of the Indians, have been the characteristic features of the British rulers of India throughout the period under review. So far as this aspect of administration was concerned, one might say that the British bureaucracy, like Charles

II, never said an unwise word, but never did a wise act, until Lord Curzon pricked the bubble by a frank and open avowal that the Indian Civil Service must remain a British preserve. According to all accounts the deliberate policy of excluding Indians from high offices was keenly resented by all classes of Indians.

This grievance was aggravated by the undisguised contempt with which, as a general rule, the British officials treated the Indians. Sir Syed Ahmad, himself an official and pro-British to a remarkable degree, observes about the British officials that "their pride and arrogance led them to consider the natives of India as undeserving the name of human beings". 11 Such ill treatment, he observes, was "more .offensive to Muslims who for centuries past have received special honour and enjoyed special immunities in Hindusthan". 12 Concrete instances of arrogant official attitude will be given in Book

III, Chapter XLVII.

Another potent cause of discontent which mainly affected the upper and educated classes was the denial of any political right to the Indians. The first generations of English-educated Indians were enthusiastic about the British rule in the hope that with the progress of education the political status of the Indians would be raised and they would gain their rightful position in the administration of their country. In this they were sadly disappointed. The Indians could not secure a single seat in the Legislative Council or a single appointment in the covenanted service. They also keenly resented the rejection of all their demands for reform in the system of administration by removing abuses which were abhorrent or even shocking to their enlightened views. Failure of individual or isolated efforts in this direction led to the growth of political organizations; these reiterated the demands but the British Government held out no hopes of conceding any political reforms to Indians in a liberal spirit. This gradually alienated the sympathy of the intellectual classes, and discontent prevailed among certain sections who refused to hope against hope in the ultimate triumph of the sense of justice and political liberalism of the great English people.

III. ECONOMIC

An indirect consequence of the British rule in India was the economic exploitation of the country. The huge drain of wealth from Bengal, the destruction of its industry, and the gradually increasing land-revenue during the latter half of the eighteenth century have been mentioned above. 13 Bengal could not recover from the effect of these factors. The population was reduced by onethird, and one-third of the province was reduced to “a jungle in* habited only by wild beasts”. But it was not the cultivators and artisans of Bengal alone that suffered. The rule of a mercantile company strangled the trade and industry of other parts of India as well, and their cultivators fared as badly or even worse. Armed with the political authority, the British rulers of the early period deliberately fostered the growth of British trade and commerce at the cost of the Indian. This, combined with the impoverishment of the cultivators, brought down one of the richest countries in the whole world to the level of the poorest. It is unnecessary to discuss in the present context how far other external causes were responsible for this sad state of things. For the transformation took place immediately after the establishment of British rule, and the hands of British agency were clearly visible in ruining trade and industry as well as the peasants of India. The people, therefore, naturally held the British administration in India alone responsible for the wretched poverty in India, and they had every justification in doing so.

Some of the broad facts, though well known, may be repeated in this connection, for it was a growing knowledge of them that gradually embittered the feelings against the British rule more and more.

It is almost universally admitted, even by the Englishmen, that when “merchant adventurers from the West made their first appearance in India, the industrial development of this country was at any rate not inferior to that of the more advanced European nations”. 14 It is no less universally admitted that India is very rich in natural resources, both mineral and agricultural. It is also an admitted fact that the British deliberately crippled Indian trade and manufacture by erecting a high tariff wall in Britain against Indian goods, and encouraging by all means the import of British goods to India. 16

This was a deliberate policy adopted by the Board of Directors as far back as 1769. 16 In the early nineteenth century the duty on Muslin and Calico was, respectively, more than 27 and 71 P. C. ad valorem. Even then, unable to compete with Indian manufactures, Britain prohibited the import of Calico cloths. Heavy protective duties in England—70 and 80 per cent, respectively—on Indian silk and cotton goods ruined those industries, while British goods were imported into India at a nominal duty. The British historian of India, Wilson, observes: “It was stated in evidence (in 1813) that the cotton and silk goods of India up to the period could be sold for a profit in the British markets at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 and 80 per cent, on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the power of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture.” 17 This process continued throughout the period under review. “In the Parliamentary enquiry of 1840 it was reported that while British cotton and silk goods imported into India paid a duty of 3J per cent, and woollen goods 2 per cent, Indian cotton goods imported into Britain paid 10 per cent, silk goods 20 per cent and woollen goods 30 per cent”. 18 The result was that by the middle of the nineteenth century Indian exports of cotton and silk goods practically ceased.

In 1832 R. M. Martin observed: “By increase of export of cotton goods to India from Britain many millions of Indo-British subjects have been totally ruined”. 19 When British goods flooded Indian market, and threatened wholesale destruction of Indian manufactures, the trading company which ruled India did not take any step to prevent the catastrophe. As several Englishmen have pointed out, “free trade and refusal to levy protective duties against machine-made goods of Britain ruined Indian manufacturers.” 20 A few concrete instances will explain the seriousness of the resulting situation.

“From 1818 to 1836 the export of twist from Great Britain to India rose in the proportion of 1 to 5,200. In 1824 the export of British muslins to India hardly amounted tc 6,000,000 yards, while in

1837 it surpassed 64,000,000 yards. But at the same time population of Dacca decreased from 150,000 inhabitants to 20,000. This decline of Indian towns celebrated for their fabrics was by no means the worst consequence. British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agricultural and manufacturing industry”. 21

The English cotton machinery produced an acute effect in India. The Governor-General reported in 1834-5: “The misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of the cottonweavers are bleaching the plains of India.” 22 A few statistical figures may be quoted:

“Between 1814 and 1835 British cotton manufactures exported to India rose from less than 1 million yards to over 51 million yards. In the same period Indian cotton piecegoods imported into Britain fell from one and a quarter million pieces to 306,000 pieces, and by 1844 to 63,000 pieces.

“The contrast in values is no less striking. Between 1815 and 1832 the value of Indian cotton goods exported fell from £ 1.3 million to below £ 100,000 or a loss of twelve-thirteenths of the trade in seventeen years. In the same period the value of English cotton goods imported into India rose from £ 26,000 to £ 400,000, or an increase of sixteen times. By 1850 India, which had for centuries exported cotton goods to the whole world, was importing one-fourth of all British cotton exports.

"The effects of this wholesale destruction of the Indian manufacturing industries on the economy of the country can be imagined. In England the ruin of the old hand-loom weavers was accompanied by the growth of the mahcine industry. But in India the ruin of the millions of artisans and craftsmen was not accompanied by any alternative growth of new forms of industry. The old populous manufacturing towns, Dacca, Murshidabad (which Clive had described in 1757 to be "as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London"), Surat and the like, were in a few years rendered desolate under the "pax britannica" with a completeness which no ravages of the most destructive war or foreign conquest could have accomplished. "The population of the town of Dacca has fallen from 150,000 to 30,000 or 40,000," declared Sir Charles Trevelyan to the parliamentary enquiry in 1840, "and the jungle and malaria are fast encroaching upon the town.. .Dacca, which was the Manchester of India, has fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one; the distress there has been very great indeed." "The decay and destruction," reported Montgomery Martin, the early historian of the British Empire, to the same enquiry, "of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures have been carried on, is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade; I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker." "Less than a hundred years ago," wrote Sir Henry Cotton in 1890, "the whole commerce of Dacca was estimated at one crore (ten millions) of rupees, and its population at 200,000 souls. In 1787 the exports of Dacca muslin to England amounted to 30 lakhs (three millions) of rupees; in 1817 they had ceased altogether. The arts of spinning and weaving, which for ages afforded employment to a numerous and industrial population, have now become extinct. Families which were formerly in a state of affluence have been driven to desert the towns and betake themselves to the villages for a livelihood.This decadence has

occurred not in Dacca only, but in all districts. Not a year passes in which the Commissioners and District Officers do not bring to the notice of

Government that the manufacturing classes in all parts of the country are becoming impoverished ”23

Similar effect, though to a much less extent, was produced on other industries. The Indian iron-smelting industry was practically stamped out by cheap imported iron and steel within range of the railways, though it carried on a precarious existence in the more remote and inaccessible parts. 24

The ruin of Indian industry and commerce was followed by another disastrous result: “It was not only the manufacturing towns and centres that were laid waste, and their population driven to crowd and overcrowd the villages; it was above all the basis of the old village economy, the union of agriculture and domestic industry, that received its mortal blow. The millions of ruined artisans and craftsmen, spinners, weavers, potters, tanners, smelters, smiths, alike from the towns and from the villages, had no alternative save to crowd into agriculture. In this way India was forcibly transformed, from being a country of combined agriculture and manufactures, into an agricultural colony of British manufacturing capitalism”. 26 ’

The British policy, henceforth steadily pursued, was to make India the agricultural colony of British capitalism, supplying raw materials and buying manufactured goods. This policy was condemned by a few liberal-minded Britishers. Montgomery Martin v said, in the Parliamentary enquiry of 1840: “India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural. She is a manufacturing country, her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages, and have never been able to be competed with by any nation wherever fair play has been given to them.. .To reduce her now to an agricultural country would be an injustice to India”. 26 But the real voice of Britain was heard in the evidence of a manufacturer, Mr. Cope, in the same enquiry: “I certainly pity the East Indian labourer”, declared Mr. Cope, a Macclesfield manufacturer, to the 1840 Parliamentary enquiry, “but at the same time I have a greater feeling for my own family than for the East Indian labourer’s family; I think it is wrong to sacrifice the comforts of my family for the sake of the East Indian labourer because his condition happens to be worse than mine.” This has been the real voice and real spirit of John Bull throughout his rule over India in spite of sweet and honeyed phrases of a few honest souls or clever diplomats.

The effect of the new policy can best be judged by the following figures:

“Haw cotton exports rose from 9 million pounds weight in 1813 to 32 million in 1833 and 88 million in 1844; sheeps’ wool from 3.7

thousand pounds weight in 1833 to 2.7 million in 1844; linseed from 2,100 bushels in 1833 to 237,000 in 1844”. 27

One aspect of this new policy brought incalculable misery upon Indian peasants. This was the result of permitting Englishmen to acquire land and set up as planters in India. By an irony of fate this decision was taken in the very year, 1833, when slavery was abolished in the West Indies. The slave-drivers of that region now settled as planters in India, and the new plantation system was nothing but a thinly veiled slavery. This was particularly noticeable in the Indigo plantation in Bengal and Bihar. The inhuman treatment and persecution of the indigo-cultivators by these planters constitutes one of the blackest and most tragic episodes in the history of British rule in India during the period under review. A wave of horror and indignation passed over Eastern India of which a faint echo may be perceived in the Report of the Indigo Commission of I860. 27 *

The indigo cultivators’ lot was abnormal, but even the general condition of the peasants was positively bad. As has been shown above, the new and changing agrarian systems and exorbitant land revenue impoverished the peasantry to such an extent that they never had the minimum requirements even of food and clothing. The upper classes connected with land also suffered much. The resumption of Inam or rent-free lands on a large scale did equal havoc upon a large section of middle class people. These lands were held as rent-free tenures, for generations, when the present owner was asked to produce his title-deeds which were lacking or missing in most cases. It had begun earlier 2 ™ but was pursued with relentless severity during the regime of Lord Dalhousie, and reduced to penury a large number of landholders who had believed that long years of possession were more valid than title-deeds. Many of them belonged to “high family, proud of their lineage, proud of their ancestral privileges, who had won what they held by the sword, and had no thought by any other means of maintaining possession". 28 An Act was passed in 1852 setting up the Inam Commission to enquire into the titles of land-owners, and during the five years preceding the Mutiny it confiscated more than twenty thousand estates in the Deccan. The landed gentry and nobility were also seriously hit by the new system of land settlement eliminating all intermediate interests between the Government and the cultivators. The most striking illustration of this is afforded by the Talukdars of Avadh, most of whom lost their property. Even where the Zamindars were suffered to exist, their lot was not always an enviable one, as has been shown above.

It would thus appear that the Zamindars or landed nobility, the

middle class, the peasants, artisans, traders and industrialists—in

short all classes of people—were hard hit by the new economic policy

introduced by the British, and a large number was reduced to abject poverty.

It is hardly any wonder, therefore, that grave discontent and disaffection prevailed all over India, and this was kept alive, rather underlined, by the most visible sign of the wretched condition of the people, namely periodical recurrence of famine. There were no less than seven famines in the first half of the nineteenth century with an estimated total of one and a half million deaths.

IV. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS

Not only political and economic, but social and religious causes were at work in creating profound discontent among the people. The social exclusiveness of the Englishmen and their haughty and arrogant attitude towards the Indians, both high and low will be described in detail in Chapter XLVII. One concrete instance will suffice to indicate the general attitude of a section of the Europeans towards the Indians. A magistrate at Agra published a police regulation to the following effect: "Every native, whatever his pretended rank may be, ought to be compelled, under heavy penalties, to salaam all English gentlemen in the streets, and if the native is on horse back or in a carriage, to dismount and stand in a respectful attitude until the European has passed him". This was the unwritten law all over British India, and even Raja Rammohan Roy of Bengal was insulted for failure to observe this regulation, as will be related later.

But there were yet worse things. The indiscriminate assault on Indians by Englishmen was by no means an uncommon incident, there were serious cases of bodily injury, sometimes culminating in death. In all these cases the offenders escaped with light or no punishment, as they were tried by English jurors and backed up by practically the entire British community, with rare exceptions. The immunity with which the members of the royal race could insult, humiliate, injure and even kill the Indian subjects, was far more galling to the people than their political subjection or even the more material losses they suffered at the hands of the British.

The Englishmen in India formed an exclusive society whose door was barred even against the Indians of the highest class. The Indian intellectual classes, accustomed to free intercourse with Englishmen in their own country, felt this humiliating restriction all the more keenly. Thus the English-educated Indians were gradually alienated from the Englishmen in India.

But a far more serious cause of discontent was the vague dread, which seized the minds of all classes of people, that the British Government was determined to convert the Indians into Christianity. There was no cause of such fear before 1313, as the Christian missionaries were not allowed to enter into the territories of the East India Company. But the Charter Act of 1813 compelled the Company to permit the Christian missionaries to come 4 out to India under license. Since that date their proselytising activities created a sense of alarm among both the Hindus and Muslims who were specially sensitive in religious matters.

The first alarm was caused by the educational institutions set up by the Christian missionaries. They made no secret of their intention not only to promote the knowledge and understanding of their pupils, but, what was deemed to be still more important, also to save their souls, by making them converts to Christianity which they honestly believed to be the only means of salvation. As far back as 1792 Sir Charles Grant maintained that the most important object of English education was to impart the knowledge of Christian religion; for “thence they would be instructed in the nature and perfection of the one true God”. 2s3a The open defiance of their old religious faiths, beliefs and practices, sometimes in a sacrilegious manner, by some youths trained in the missionary institutions lent colour to the belief that the missionary colleges were nurseries of conversion to Christianity. Many Englishmen—not missionaries—openly expressed the view that the conversion to Christianity was the inevitable corollary of western education. Far more dreadful in the eyes of the Hindus was the opening of western education for girls, which was regarded as an instrument by which the missionaries could invade their zenana, the natural citadel of their orthodoxy. The teaching of Christian doctrines was made compulsory in the girls’ schools specially founded by them. That the main object of these missionaries was to use these schools as means of preaching Christianity will be clear from the following passage in the proceedings of one of these schools:—“Some others, now engaged in the degrading and polluting worship of idols, shall be brought to the knowledge of the true God nd Jesus Christ”.

Referring to the names of girls such as Vishnupriya, Annapurna, Digambari, Golakmani etc. the following observations were made: “What kind of conduct ought we to expect from these poor children, named by their parents after imaginary goddesses, whose adultery,

cruelty and gratification of their passions, as detailed by their own sacred writings, are so abominable?” 29

The Bible was introduced not only in missionary institutions but also in Government schools and colleges. Some schools, mainly supported by the Government, were actually run by clergymen on a strictly Christian basis. About the modus operandi of conversion through these schools, it is sufficient to note that the pupils were asked such questions as “Who is your God? Who is your redeemer?” and the inevitable reply, as a result of regular coaching, was, of course, “Jesus Christ”. All the evils and abuses of Hinduism, real and fancied, were painted in the most lurid colour, while the blessings of Christianity were described in glowing phrases, and the salvation offered by it was held out in the most attractive form before the youthful pupils in their most impressionable age. No wonder that the Deputy Inspectors of schools were popularly known as native clergymen. Not only educational institutions, but even public prison houses were used as instruments for conversions to Christianity. Gopi Nath Nandi, a Bengali convert and clergyman, has thus recorded his experience: "The prisoners in the jail were also daily instructed in Christianity and general knowledge by a Christian teacher, and every Sabbath morning the Gospel was preached by me.

This privilege was granted by our pious magistrate.The judge

and the magistrate, as well as other gentlemen, took a deep interest in the mission, and helped us with their prayers, good advice, and pecuniary aid. When the number of native converts began to increase, six of them, at the suggestion of the late Honourable Mr. Colvin, became small farmers". 30

Such activities on the part of the officials of the Government, including Magistrates and Judges, in promoting proselytisation, were highlighted by a new regulation, adopted in 1845. Hitherto each prisoner was permitted to cook his own food. The new regulation laid down that the food for all Hindu prisoners -would henceforth be cooked in one place by a Brahman. 31 As different sections, even among the Brahmans, are not permitted by caste-rules to interdine, the new rules meant loss of caste. A contemporary writer has recorded that a Hindu released from prison was tabooed by his family and looked upon as having lost his caste. 32

Filthy abuses of Hindu gods and goddesses formed the main, plank of the public preaching and propaganda of the Christian missionaries. The missionary preaching was rendered more odious to the people by the official assistance rendered to them. Syed Ahmad says that the civil and military officers helped the missionaries. The latter openly preached in mosques and temples and abused other

religions, and because a chaprasi or policeman accompanied them, no one dared object for fear of authorities. 33

But the missionaries did not rely for their success solely on these abuses or sweet reasonableness of their arguments. It was alleged that not unoften they converted unwary persons by holding out false hopes to them, and did not even refrain from using force in

keeping their hold on their victims. A few instances in contem

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porary records support these allegations. Even the educated and aristocratic sections in Calcutta strongly resented these aggressive methods of proselytisation followed by Christian missionaries in Calcutta. They not only made public complaints against this evil but also took active steps to prevent it. Even early in the nineteenth century there was a strong feeling and also a considerable amount of agitation against what the Hindus regarded as conversion to Christianity by force or fraud, and a memorial was sent by the Hindu community against Christian missionaries as well as highly placed English officials, including a Governor. That such apprehensions were not altogether unfounded are proved by a minute recorded by the Governor of Madras in which he draws attention to the importance of converting the Hindus and Muslims into Christianity. 33 *

It is also proved by a series of letters written and widely distributed by Mr. Edmond. “These letters were addressed generally to the public, but particularly to those holding respectable appointments in the service of the State. The purport of these letters was that as all India obeyed one Government—as all parts of the country kept up constant communication one with the other by means of the electric telegraph,—and as the Railway systems united the different extremes of this great Peninsula, it was necessary that there should be but one religion also, and proper, therefore, that everyone should embrace Christianity”. 34

Its effect is thus described by Syed Ahmad: “These letters so terrified the natives that they were as people struck blind, or from under whose feet the ground had suddenly slipped away. All felt convinced that the hour so long anticipated had at last arrived, and that the servants of the Government first, and then the whole population would have to embrace Christianity. No doubt whatever was entertained as to these letters having been forwarded by the orders of the Government”.[36] This suspicion continued, even though the Lieutenant-Governor disavowed any intention to convert the people to Christianity.

An indirect effect of the letter was no less disastrous. It is a matter of general knowledge that when the railways and telegraphs were first introduced in India, people looked askance at them as ingenious devices for breaking the social order and caste-rules, and thus prepare the way for mass conversion to Christianity. In the case of railways, where people of all classes and castes—high-caste Brahmans as well as untouchables—had to sit together, and it was not possible to observe proper rules about bath and food, the intention of the Mlechchha rulers was quite obvious to the credulous Hindus! The connection of telegraphs with loss of caste was more difficult to divine. Mr. Edmond’s philosophic interpretation of the ultimate end of Railway and Telegraph came in very handy, as a confirmation of the worst suspicions of the people.

It is only by taking note of this cloud of suspicion that one can easily understand how even certain beneficial measures adopted by the Government gave a sharp edge to the popular dread of their deliberate plan to convert the people en masse to Christianity. But some acts of the Government were certainly calculated to increase the public apprehensions. A few instances are quoted below.

Gopinath Nandi, mentioned above, “tells us that when all Patwaris or village accountants were required to learn Hindi in the Nagari script, they were sent to the Missionary school despite the objection of the Muslim Deputy Collector, Hikmatullah Khan. Their instruction was not limited to the language or the script”. For Gopinath adds, “I am happy to say, upwards of three hundred grown-up men not only read the Gospel and attended prayers, but each of them was furnished with a copy of the New Testament to carry home”.

The regulations about hospitals established by the Government made no distinction of caste in respect of accommodation, and sufficient attention was not given to the strict observance of the Purdah system. One of the worst instances is thus described by Hedayet Ali: “In 1849 or 1850 the authorities at Shaharunpore caused a large hospital to be built for the sick of all creeds and persuasions. The principal authorities (I purposely abstain from giving names, although I could do so) issued a proclamation, saying that all sick men or women, high or low, ‘purdah nisheen* (those who never go out In public), or others, must resort to this hospital for treatment, and all native practitioners were forbidden to prescribe or attend sick people.people imagined in their ignorance that it was the in

tention of the British to take away the dignity and honour of all”. 36

Sir Syed Ahmad has pointed out that during the general famine of 1837, numbers of orphans were converted to Christianity, and this fact was considered throughout the North-Western Provinces as convincing proof of the intention of Government to reduce the country to poverty, and thus make its peoples Christians. 37

Even when, in course of building roads or other public works, a temple was destroyed, it was felt by many that the work of public utility was merely a pretext to destroy the sanctuary.

It is against this background that we have to study the popular reaction to some of the legislation which sought to remove longstanding socio-religious abuses. The legislation, in 1829, abolishing the horrid practice of burning widows along with their husbands— commonly known as Sati — was undoubtedly a humane act for which its author, Lord Bentinck, will ever be blessed by the Indians. A section of enlightened Hindu public fully lent their active support to it. Nevertheless, there is no denying the fact, that they formed almost a microscopic minority, and the Hindus in general regarded it as an undue interference with their religion. The two laws of 1832 and 1850, removing disabilities due to change of religion, particularly conferring the right of inheritance to Christian converts (Act XXI of 1850), 38 were still more unpopular, and had less support behind them even from the educated classes. The Act of 1850 was offensive to both Hindus and Muslims who regarded it as an incentive to apostasy. To the Hindus it was specially galling that a converted son would inherit the property of his father without performing those religious rites and ceremonies after his death which is a necessary condition of inheritance in Hindu Law. Judicial decisions favouring conversion were strongly resented. The highest courts in all the Presidencies decreed that young inexperienced Hindu converts, instead of being placed under the guardianship of their parents, were to be forcibly made over with their wives to the missionaries against their will. On one occasion the Judge, who delivered such a judgment, was stoned by the people who surrounded the court, and the military had to be called in to save the situation. Commenting on this incident, an Indian wrote a letter to the Hindoo Patriot on April 30,1857, that "one such instance, and not ten thousand false rumours circulated by the native press, is sufficient to disaffect whole nation towards their rulers". 39

The Widow Remarriage Act, drafted by Lord Dalhousie but actually passed by Canning in 1856, was permissive in character. It did not, and was not likely to affect more than a few Hindu widows, but still the people raised the cry that Hinduism was in danger.

The cumulative effect of all this was to create a vague sense of dread in the minds of the people at large that their religion was in danger. Syed Ahmad laid great stress on the genuine apprehension of the people regarding mass conversion to Christianity. There is no doubt, says he, "that all persons, whether intelligent or ignorant, respectable or otherwise, believed that the Government was really and

sincerely desirous of interfering with the religion and customs of the people, converting them all, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, to Christianity, and forcing them to adopt European manners and habits''. 40 The statement of Syed Ahmad is fully supported by other contemporary records. It is true that the fear was absolutely unfounded, and the British Government had no intention of encouraging, far less making, conversions to Christianity. But the Indians of the first half of the ninteenth century did not know what is fully known today, and it is difficult, therefore, to regard the fear and anxiety which the people felt as totally unjustified. In any case, there cannot be any doubt that such feelings not only did exist, but were deep-rooted, and provoked discontent, even hatred, of the people against the English.

V. GENERAL SPIRi T OF DISCONTENT

How far the above causes affected the people at large, and the extent to which it stirred their minds to active disaffection, may be estimated from the feelings freely expressed by different classes of people during the great outbreak of 1857. These feelings were clearly reflected in the various proclamations issued in different localities during the revolt of 1857. A good specimen is supplied by the proclamation issued in Azamgarh. It called upon Indians of all classes to rise against the faithless British whose sole object was to ruin them all. The zemindars were told, “It i£ very well known that the British assess lands very highly and this has been the cause of your ruin. Besides, when sued by a mean laborer, or a male or female servant, you are summoned without investigation to attend to their Court and are thus dishonored and degraded, and when you have to prosecute a case in their Court you are put to the expense of doing so on stamp paper and have to pay Court fees which are ruinous. Besides which you have to pay a percentage for roads and schools”. The merchants were reminded: “You are also well aware that the faithless British have appropriated to themselves the monopoly of all lucrative trade such as indigo, opium, cloth etc., and left the less remunerative merchandise to you, and when you have to resort to their Courts you have to pay large sums for stamp papers and Court fees. Moreover, they realize money from the public in the shape of postage and school funds, and you, like the zemindars, are degraded by being summoned to their Courts and imprisoned or fined on the assertion of mean and low people”. The officials could not but be aware “that in the Civil and Military Department all the less lucrative and dignified situations are given to the natives, and the well-paid and honorable ones to Europeans. For instance 1 , in the

Military Line the highest post that a native attains is that of a Subadar on a salary of Rs. 60 or 70 a month, and in the Civil that of a Sudder Ameen on a salary of 500 Rupees, and Jagheers, rewards, maafees etc. are not known to be in existence”. The artisans doubtless knew “that the Europeans import every sort of article from Europe leaving but a small trade in your hands”. And lastly the “Scholars of both creeds of Hindus and Mosulmans (Moulvees and Pundits)” should not forget “that the British are opposed to your religion”, “you should join us and gain the goodwill of your Creator, otherwise you will be considered sinners”. 41

The general discontent is also faithfully reflected in the petitions sent by various political organizations to the British Parliament on the eve of the renewal of East India Company’s charter in 1853, to which reference has been made above. 414

VI. DISCONTENT AND DISAFFECTION OF THE SEPOYS

The discontent and disaffection against the British Raj were by no means confined to the civil population, but also extended to the Indian section of the army of the East India Company. In order to explain this, it is necessary to begin with a short account of the Company’s army.

The East India Company’s army in India consisted of two sections, one in which both officers and rank and file were Englishmen, and the other in which the commissioned officers were all British, but the rank and file, known as sepoys (anglicised from Sipahi, meaning soldier), and junior officers, subordinate to the lowest class of English officers, were recruited from various parts of India.

The armies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal were at first independent of one another, each under its own Commander-in-Chief. But towards the close of the eighteenth century the Bengal army became the army of the Central Government, and its Commander-inChief became the head of the Company’s military establishment in India.

The first general reorganization of the Indian armies of the East India Company took place in 1796. The Company had then about 13,00d European soldiers, and 57,000 Indian, of whom Bengal and Madras had 24,000 each and Bombay 9,000. The reorganized Bengal army comprised (1) 3 battalions of European artillery; (2) 3 regiments of European infantry; (3) 4 regiments of regular native cavalry; and (4) 12 regiments of native infantry. The reorganized Madras army had (1) 2 battalions of European infantry; (2) 4 regi

merits of cavalry; (3) 2 battalions of artillery; and (4) 11 regiments of native infantry. The reorganized Bombay army consisted of 6 companies of European artillery and four regiments of native infantry which were shortly increased to six. Each regiment of native infantry comprised two battalions.

Another reorganization took place in 1824, replacing double battalion regiments by single battalion regiments. As a result of this reorganization, the armies of the three Presidencies stood as follows:

Bengal—Three brigades of horse artillery (9 European and 3 native troops); 5 battalions of foot artillery; 2 regiments of European infantry; 8 regiments of regular native cavalry; 5 regiments of irregular cavalry; and 68 battalions of native infantry. It also included local and provincial Corps.

Madras—Two brigades of horse artillery (one European and one native); 3 battalions of foot artillery; 8 regiments of native cavalry; 2 regiments of European infantry; 52 battalions of native infantry; and 3 extra and local battalions.

Bombay—Four troops of horse artillery and 8 companies of foot artillery; 3 regiments of regular cavalry and two regiments of irregular cavalry; 2 regiments of European infantry; and 24 battalions of native infantry.

The irregular cavalry, referred to above, consisted of horsemen who were not clothed or armed by the State but furnished their own horse and equipment. Not more than two or three European officers were attached to each of these corps. It followed the old silladari system still prevalent in Indian States.

As the British dominions extended in all directions, need was felt of additional troops outside the regular cadre. These irregular battalions and regiments consisted of local corps, “more rough and ready than the regular army”, raised for the defence of new territories and protection of Indian ruling chiefs. But their number was augmented by recruitment of troops who had proved their high military qualities while fighting against the British. Thus irregular battalions of Gurkhas and Sikhs were raised, respectively, after the Nepal and Sikh Wars. 42

In addition to regular and irregular troops maintained by the Company, there were troops maintained by the Indian rulers under the terms of the Subsidiary Alliance, mentioned above, or separate treaties. These were maintained at the expense of the Indian rulers who paid in cash or by cession of territories, but were officered by the British and for all practical purposes formed part of the Company’s army. For, although theoretically the Subsidiary forces or

special contingents were intended for the service of the States concerned, they were freely used in all the wars of the Company. 43

The sepoys or Indian soldiers for the Bombay and Madras armies were generally recruited from the Moplahs and other Muslims, Hindus from Mangalore and Tellicherri, Tamils, and Telugus, more popularly known as the Tilingas. The name ‘Bengal Army is somewhat a misnomer, for Bengal had little or nothing to do with the personnel of the army, and the sepoys of the Bengal Army were chiefly high-caste Hindus (mainly Brahmans), Rajputs, and Jats of Upper India, and sturdy Pathans, also of the same part of the country. The dominant elements, forming a majority, belonged to the State, now known as Uttar Pradesh, specially Avadh, which, until 1856, was an independent kingdom, at least in name and form*

The first battalion of sepoys was formed by Clive shortly before the Battle of Palasi and took part in it. They had a brilliant record of service under the Company for a century. They were held in high esteem, and many regarded them as “the finest soldier, tallest, best-formed, and of the noblest presence”. There ’were native officers in command of the sepoys, but they were subordinate to European officers of whom there were three in each battalion comprising about one thousand men. In course of time, however, the native officers lost their real power by the inclusion of more Englishmen. “An English subaltern was appointed to every company, and the native officer then began to collapse into something little better than a name”. 44 The army thus offered no career to the gentry and aristocracy. “The native service of the Company came down to a dead level of common soldiering, and rising from the ranks by painfully slow process to merely nominal command”. 45 Thenceforth the soldiers were recruited from the lower strata of society, though in the Bengal Army the sepoys were chiefly of high caste. The sepoys naturally smarted under a sense of unjustified inferiority. “Though be might give signs of the military genius of a Hvder, he knew that he could never attain the pay of an English subaltern, and that the rank to which he might attain, after some thirty years of faithful service, would not protect him from the insolent dictation of an ensign fresh from England". 46

So, the sepoys always nursed a sense of strong resentment at their low scale of salary and poor prospects of promotion, neither of which, in their opinion, had any real correspondence to their worth, particularly" when contrasted with those of their British colleagues. The difference was scandalous to a degree. A retired officer noted: "The entire army of India amounts to 315 520 men costing £ 9,802,235. Out of this sum no less than £ 5,668,110 are expended on

51,316 European officers and soldiers". Moreover, "the European corps take no share in the rough ordinary duties of the service... .They are lodged, fed, and paid in a manner unknown to other soldiers". This contrast could not but adversely affect the sepoys' morale.

"It has been contended that though his pay was small the sepoy was financially well off because his needs were few and his standard Of living was low. But the first few months' pay had to be spent in illggnl gratifications. Sitaram says that the drill Havildar and the European Sergeant of his company took a dislike to him because he had not paid the usual fee. 'This fee was Rs. 16/-, some five or six of which went to the European sergeant of the company the recruit was posted to'. He adds that 'seven rupees a month will not support either Punjabee, Sikh or Mussulman'. But this remark applied to the post-mutiny period when prices had gone up. In the easier days before the Mutiny the sepoy did not fare better. We learn from a Bengalee clerk* attached to the cavalry regiment at Bareilly in 1857 that the sepoys had to pay for his uniform and he bought his daily ration on credit from the bania in the regimental bazar. On the pay day his account was settled and after the deduction for his ration etc., the balance was paid to him. Some sepoys got at the end of the month no more than a rupee or a rupee and a half, in other cases the monthly saving did not exceed a few annas. His daily meal consisted of dal and roti, and with his limited credit he could not indulge in any luxuries except an occasional dish of Taro. His life was hard indeed, for the maximum pay that he could expect did not exceed nine rupees unless he was promoted, and promotion went by seniority and not by merit. The sowar was not much better off than the sepoy, for the former's pay varied from twenty-one to thirty rupees and many more deductions were made therefrom". 47 The feeling of the sepoys is reflected in many of the proclamations issued during the Mutiny. Reference has already been made to one of these issued in Azamgarh. 48 A few lines may be quoted from another proclamation. "We have ungrudgingly shed our blood in the service of our foreign masters, we have conquered for them kingdom after kingdom until nothing remained to be annexed within the four corners of the country, but what has been the return? —spoliation of our people, degradation of our princes, and worst of all,— inconceivable insults to our religion" 48 It would appear from these proclamations that the sepoys were influenced by all the causes which provoked discontent and disaffection among the civil population of all classes, as described in the previous sections. This is only quite natural, because they and the members of their families formed part and parcel of the civil population. In particular, they felt

keenly the inferiority of the Indians in public service and the insult to their religion.

In spite of their material grievances in respect of pay and allowance, and the prevailing spirit of discontent and disaffection which they shared with the civil population, the sepoys, generally speaking, remained faithful to their masters. But extreme measures on the part of the authorities had occasionally provoked them to mutiny. Reference has been made in Volume VIII to several such instances. One of the most serious, which bears a very close resemblance to the mutiny of 1857, so far as the genesis is concerned, was the mutiny at Vellore in 1806. It was caused by what the sepoys regarded as an affront to their religion. When new regulations were introduced in the Madras Army, forbidding the men to wear the marks of caste upon their fore-heads, ordering them to shave off their beards, and compelling them to exchange their old turbans for new ones with leather cockades, the Indian soldiers broke into mutiny at Vellore which, with the backing of the members of the exiled family of Tipu Sultan who lived there, threatened to assume serious proportions. This was in 1806, almost exactly half a century before the great Mutiny of 1857. Midway between the two, there was a mutiny of sepoys at Barrackpur in 1824 during the First

Burmese War. In view of its great importance it requires a somewhat detailed description.

About the middle of the year 1824, the 47th Native Infantry had arrived at Barrackpur in order to proceed to take part in some of the operations of the Burmese War. Disputes at once arose regarding the provision of carriages for taking the personal belongings of the sepoys. It was customary for the sepoys to defray the expenses themselves, but on the present occasion bullocks could not be hired and they could only be purchased at extravagant prices. The sepoys, therefore, applied for assistance, but this was refused. This highly irritated the sepoys and they began to manifest their grievances in many ways. In the parade held on October 30, 1824, they appeared without their knapsacks and refused to bring them even when asked to do so, on the ground that they were unfit for use. A part of the regiment then declared that they would not proceed to Rangoon or elsewhere by sea and they would not move at all unless they were to have double batta. The Commanding Officer, unable to subdue the discontent, dismissed the regiment and proceeded to Calcutta to cons ult the Commander-in-Chief. After his return he held a parade on November 1. At this parade the sepoys burst into acts of open violence. The same mutinous spirit also affected the other regiments which were stationed at Barrackpur, preparatory to their proceeding on service. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, brought in European troops from Calcutta, and in the next parade, when the sepoys refused to comply with the order "to ground arms," the European soldiers fired against them from a battery in their rear. A Calcutta letter, dated 3 November, 1825, published in the Glasgow Herald, gives a graphic description of what followed:

"About 410 held out..Sir Edward Paget gave orders to fire.

In a moment after, grape shot and cannon bullets played upon the poor fellows from all quarters; they then threw down their arms and ran; some escaped by running into Hooghly—some were taken prisoners—upwards of 60 lay dead upon the field, and this afternoon about a dozen or two are either to be hanged or shot". 60 As stated in the letter, the rebel troops speedily broke and fled in every direction,, but many were taken prisoners. They were tried by a Court Martial and a large number were sentenced to death. A large number of death sentences were, however, commuted into imprisonment with hard labour. The native officers, although not active participators in the rebellion, were dismissed from the service and the number of the regiment was erased from the list of the army. It may be mentioned here that many persons at that time believed that the want of bullocks and carriages was not the real cause of the mutiny and that actually it was the result of many other grievances among which two were the most important, namely, (1) their having been required to embark on board a ship, and (2) the unjust influence of the Havildar Major with regard to the promotion of the non-commissioned officers in the battalion. The petition, which the sepoys made to the Commander-in-Chief, shows that their main, if not the only, grievance was that they were asked to embark on board ship, and that all the sepoys, swore by the Ganges-water and tulsiplant that they would never put their foot in a ship. It has been held by experienced military officers that the destruction of the British detachment at Ramu spread "alarm throughout the native army, and its effect was to damp the spirit, if not to shake the fidelity, of the native troops." The Burmese War was very unpopular and the prospect of fighting in a country of marsh and jungle was undoubtedly dreaded by the sepoys. The Calcutta letter, referred to above, adds: "By the accounts received yesterday from Rangoon we have received a check; the sepoys did not fight with the same spirit as formerly; they lay down before the enemy, and would neither fight nor run away". It is also a fact that all classes of campfollowers had taken advantage of this circumstance and forced the Government to pay remuneration on much higher scale than usual. The sepoys, therefore, regarded themselves as entitled to partake of

advantages "so lavishly and indiscriminately bestowed on men" whom they regarded as inferiors. These were the real causes to which they added bad knapsacks, want of carriages and irregular promotion etc., which were merely contributory causes.

But whatever might have been the causes, the mutiny at Barrackpur in November, 1824, made a deep impression upon the sepoys, and the memory of the martyrs for the cause of religion was long cherished by them with reverence. This was brought to light in the issue of the Englishman of Calcutta, dated May 30, 1857. 60 * In view of the very interesting light it throws on the revolutionary mentality of the sepoys the extract may be quoted in full:

**A circumstance has come to our knowledge which, unless it had been fully authenticated, we could scarcely have believed to be possible, much less true.

"When the Mutiny at Barrackpore broke out in 1825, the ringleader, a Brahmin of the 27th Regiment Native Infantry, was hanged on the edge of the tank where a large tree now stands, and which was planted on the spot to commemorate the fact. This tree, sacred Banian, is pointed to by the Brahmins and others to this day, as the spot where an unholy deed was performed, a Brahmin hanged.

"This man was at the time considered in the light of a martyr and his brass poojeth or worshipping utensils, consisting of small trays, incense-holders, and other brass articles used by Brahmins during their prayers, were carefully preserved and lodged in the quarter-guard of the Regiment, where they remain to this day; they being at this moment in the quarter-guard of the 43rd Light Infantry at Barrackpore.

"These relics, worshipped by the sepoys, have been for thirty-two years in the safe-keeping of Regiments, having by the operation of the daily relief of the quarterguard, passed through the hands of 233,600 men, and have served to keep alive, in the breasts of many, the recollection of a period of trouble, scene of Mutiny and its accompanying swift and terrible punishment which, had these utensils not been present to their sight as confirmation, would probably have been looked upon as fables, or at the most as very doubtful stories."

Such memories and memorials were undoubtedly important factors in the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857.

About* a year later disturbances broke out in Assam. On the morning of 14 October, 1825, the Grenadier Company refused to march on the pretext of bad climate. When the ringleaders were seized and put in confinement, all the other sepoys demanded that they, too, should be confined with them.

The Court Martial sentenced all the ringleaders to death; the other sepoys were paid and discharged.

On 24 November, 1838, occurred the first of a series of incipient mutinies owing to non-payment of full batta (additional or special allowance). The native regiment at Sholapur at first did not join the parade, but later turned out when the Infantry and Horse Artillery marched towards them. One man in each ten was punished

—they were discharged after suffering imprisonment for two years. The non-payment of batta led to the mutiny of sepoys in Secunderabad, Hyderabad, Malligaum and Kotah in the Sagar Division in 1842. Some of the regiments were disbanded and the rest were pardoned.

In 1839 symptoms of disaffection could be clearly seen among the sepoys who were taken to Afghanistan during the First Afghan War. The Hindu sepoys fancied that they had lost their caste, for they had to cross the Sindhu and go outside India, which was forbidden by their religion, they had to forego their daily bath, take their bread from Muslims, and to wear jackets made of sheep-skin. They, therefore, became disgusted and highly dissastisfied, but kept quiet, determined to ventilate their grievances and discontent when suitable opportunity occurred. The Muslim sepoys were dissatisfied as they had to fight against men of their own faith. Actually a Muslim Subadar and a Hindu Subadar were, respectively, shot dead and dismissed for expressing these sentiments. These punishments further excited the sepoys/’ 1

The same mutinous spirit was also displayed on many occasions due to discontent caused by breach of faith on the part of the Government in respect of their allowances.

“During the first Afghan War General Pollock had paid his troops a special batta when they crossed the Indus. This was treated as a precedent and the sepoy expected similar inducements when he was called upon to undergo the hardship of trans-Indus employment. But in 1843 Sind had been annexed and become an integral part of the British Indian empire. The sepoy could not, therefore, legally claim any special compensation for serving in an Indian province, however distant it might be from his usual station. This was a piece of legal casuistry he could not understand. The Indus was still there life in Sind was as hard as it had been in 1842, and if his cla/im was legitimate in 1842, how could it lose its validity in 1844 >" 62

The 64th Regiment accordingly marched towards Sindh, the sepoys being under the impression that they would receive all the benefits which their predecessors had enjoyed. On the pay day they were disillusioned and broke into violence. They threw stones and brickbats at their officers and even belaboured them. Thirty-nine ringleaders were arrested of whom six were executed, seven imprisoned for life, and the rest, save one, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The 34th N. I. and three other regiments also refused to proceed to Sindh unless the old pecuniary benefits were restored. The 34th

regiment was taken to Meerut, and in the presence of other troops, its arms and accoutrements were taken away and it was disbanded. After this example the other sepoys agreed to march to Sindh unconditionally.

One important point in all these grievances was the unanimous complaint of the sepoys of the 64th Regiment that they had been deceived by the Commanding Officer, and it was proved that they were persuaded to go to Sindh on the temptation held out to them of receiving full batta. It is significant also that the Commanding Officer was removed, thereby proving the truth of the allegation. "But the damage done was irreparable. The sepoy found that he could trust his officers no more. No wonder that when the crisis came in 1857 the assurances of Commanding Officers had little or no weight with him". 63

Similarly, the 6th Madras cavalry, when sent to Jubbulpore in 1843, was given to understand that their stay there would be short, but actually they were permanently stationed there on a lower allowance.

After the refusal of the Bengal Army to go to Sindh without special allowance, some infantry regiments were induqed to go there on the guarantee of the Governor of Madras, who was also their Com*? mander-in-Chief, that they would be entitled to the same allowances as granted for service in Burma. But when the troops had proceeded far they learnt that the additional allowance promised by the Governor could not be sanctioned as it was contrary to Bengal Regulations. The sepoys strongly resented these cruel breaches of faith and made violent demonstrations. Court Martial was held and a large number of sepoys were punished. What was still more important, the sepoys took to heart the lesson they learnt, namely that no reliance can he placed upon promises made by the Government. [64]

Mutinous spirit was also displayed in 1849 by the sepoys belonging to the army of occupation in the Panjpb. Towards the end of that year Sir Charles Napier collected "evidence which, in his judgment, proved that twenty-four regiments were only waiting for on opportunity to rise". [65] An incipient mutiny at Wazeerabad was suppressed in time, but a mutiny broke out at Govindgarh. On the first day of February, 1850, the native infantry there refused to take off their accoutrements and demanded to be discharged at once. Though they were pacified after some time, they armed themselves without any order the very next morning, and as it was feared that they wanted to occupy the fort, the European troops suddenly attacked them and order was restored. Ninety-five sepoys were sentenced

to various terms of imprisonment and the whole regiment was disbanded. Though Napier suppressed the mutiny, he sympathized with the mutineers and restored a regulation by which the sepoys were granted compensation for dearness of provisions at a higher rate. For this he was reprimanded by Dalhousie, the GovernorGeneral, and resigned his post in disgust. [66]

1. Cf. Ch. vi.

2. Cf. Ch. IX.

3. For fuller account see Ch. XX.

4. See p. 222.

5. See p. 155.

6. For details, see pp. 371-72.

7. Ch. XII, section VII.

8. Ch XII, section VIII.

9. SAK. 10, 43.

10. For the details of the episode and the passages quoted, cf. BSOAS. XX. 69.

11. SAK, 42.

12. Ibid, 43.

13. Cf. Vol. VIII of this series; RPD, 85 ff. .According to Sir Reginald Coupland, an apologist of British rule, "this period of exploitation in its sinister sense was inevitable" (India —A Re-statement, p. 42).

14. Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-18), p. 6.

15. RPD, 99 ff.

16. Griffiths, 391.

17. Wilson, 1. 335.

18. RPD . 101.

19. Griffiths, 398.

20. Ibid.

21. Karl Marx, in New York Daily Tribune, June 10, 1853 (quoted in RPD, 77-8).

22. Karl Marx, Capital. Vol. I, Chapter XV, section 5 (quoted in RPD, 78).

23. RPD, 101-2.

24. Ibid, 103; Imp. Gaz., HI. 145.

25. RPD, 103.

26. Ibid, 104.

27. Porter, Progress of the Nation (1847), p. 750 (quoted in RPD, 105).

27a. This topic will be discussed in detail in Chapter XXIX.

27b. See pp. 371-2.

28. Kaye-I, Vol. I, 176.

28a. Macdonald, 160.

29. Calcutta Jourrial, March 11. 1822.

30. Sherring, The Indian Church during the Great Rebellion, pp. 184-5 (quoted in Sen, 10-11).

31. See p. 383.

32. Sen, p. 11, f.n., 15, where other instances are referred to.

33. SAK. 17.

33a. Unpublished records, Madras Archives.

34. SAK, 20.

35. Ibid.

36. Sen, p. 11 and p. 13. f.n., 17.

37. SAK, 16.

38. These will be discussed in Chapter XLV.

39. SB-II. 4, f.n., 5.

40. SAK, 15.

41. Foreign Political Consultations, No. 197, 8 October, 1858 (quoted in Sen. 38) 41a. See pp. 389-95.

42. The description of the army is based on Imp. Gaz., IV. 333 ff.

43. Cf. the history of the Hyderabad Contingent on pp. 87-8 above

44. Kaye-I. Vol. I, 211.

45. Ibid, 211-12.

46. Holmes, 49.

47. Sen, 21-22.

B.P.I.R.—28

48. See above, pp. 423-24.

49. Sen, p. 1.

50. SB-n, p. 2.

50a. I am indebted to Dr. S. B. Chaudbim for this reference.

51. Majumdar, 246.

52. Sen, IS.

53. Sen, 19.

54. Ibid.

55. Holmes, 57.

56. Ibid.

CHAPTER XIV

DISTURBANCES AND ARMED RESISTANCE

1 . Introductory

It will appear from what has been said in the preceding chapter that there was a great deal of discontent against the British rule among all classes of Indians. The disaffected people were not altogether oblivibus of the various benefits they enjoyed under the British, to which reference will be made later. But as always happens, appreciation of the blessings received seldom outweighs the resentment for injuries suffered, even though the former excel the latter in degree or content. Besides, whatever may be the case in private relations of life, gratitude is a rare virtue in politics, and people have pretty short memory of political vicissitudes. It did not take the Indians long to forget the anarchy and confusion, as well as misery and distress; caused by the political turmoils of the eighteenth century. They did not stop to think what the British did, but rather laid stress on what they failed to do. Therefore popular discontent and disaffection continued to be the main characteristics of the British rule almost throughout the nineteenth century. These grew more and more intense as the years rolled by, mainly because the people became morel and more politically conscious and looked upon the defects and shortcomings of the British rule as far more serious than they appeared to their predecessors. Nevertheless, it must be said that the Indians, in general, bore their grievances with patience and indifference characteristic of the oriental peoples. They murmurred and grumbled; sometimes their complaints became more vociferous; occasionally they grew restive; but very rarely they thought of taking to violent means to remedy their grievances. So far as the masses were concerned, the expression of the public sentiment was restricted to partial and desultory manifestations and to petty acts of violence. The discontent among the intellectuals grew in volume, but they knew very well the might of the British and the weakness of their own people, rendering hopeless any attempt to gain reforms by force. Their opposition, though growing more and more intense, never found any expression except through writings and speeches, and the only means of remedy they could think of were prayers and petitions. Their faith in British justice, though shaken by repeated disappointments, never vanished, and they looked upon the British rule in India

as a divine dispensation which must be accepted with all its virtues and failings.

But between these two extreme classes of passive sufferers, there were groups of people led by brave individuals, who cast aside all prudence and moderation and responded to the primitive human instinct of violent reaction against injuries and insults without any thought of its consequences. Weak and isolated though they were, they never feared to rise in armed revolt against the all-powerful British authority in order to defend their rights and religion, or take vengeance for insults and injuries, true or imaginary. They had no vision of the country as a whole and were not urged by any such noble motive as freeing their motherland from foreign yoke. Their outlook was limited by their own interests, narrow and parochial, and the degree of resistance offered by them varied according to the means at the disposal of each, for they never thought of any organized attempt on a general plan by the combination of different groups based on common ends.

Nevertheless, these occasional outbursts form a significant feature of British rule during the period under review. They serve as unmistakable evidence of the discontent and disaffection noted in the preceding chapter and, as Wilson puts it, deserve notice "as indications of the feelings entertained by considerable portions of the people in different parts of India towards their rulers". 1 They also shew the long, difficult and tedious process through which the British evolved the Pax Britannica which was one of their greatest gifts to India. History records the five major wars which the British had to fight during this period, namely, two against Burma, two against the Pan jab, and one against Sindh, and a few minor campaigns such as those against Gwalior and Bharatpur. But the numerous smaller campaigns against local risings are often ignored, though, as will be seen, they not unoften proved to be serious outbreaks backed by strenuous efforts and heroic endeavours. Some of these are recorded below, and for the sake of convenience they are arranged and classified according to the primary causes from which they sprang, or the special circumstances that called them forth.

2. Disturbances in 1818-20

Some of the disturbances in West India may be directly traced to the intrigues of the Peshwa Baji Rao II and his favourite lieutenant Trimbakji Danglia, when they turned hostile to the British.[2] Naturally they worked upon the minds of the Chiefs and tribes who entertained no friendly feelings towards the British. Two of the rebellions stirred up in this way deserve special mention, namely of the Bhils and the ruler of Cutch.

The Bhils were primitive and predatory peoples whose settlements were scattered in the Western Ghats and the country at its base, their chief strongholds being in Khandesh. The Bhils in the plains were generally good cultivators, but those in the hilly regions were mostly freebooters. There was a rising of the Bhils in 1817-8 and the British Government asserted that it was stirred up by Trimbakji after his escape from the fort of Thana. The insurgents numbered about 8,000, but the troubles subsided, due partly to military action and partly to conciliatory policy adopted by Elphinstone. But there was a more general insurrection in 1819 when the Bhils entrenched themselves in several outposts and ravaged the neighbouring plains. Several British detachments, sent against them, destroyed the Bhil settlements, killed many of them, and subjected others to severe punishment.

The insurrection of the Bhils, however, continued with occasional lull. The situation was worsened in 1825 by the reported reverses of the British in the Burmese War. Sewram, a blacksmith, induced the Bhils of Baglana to rise, on production of forged letters purporting to be written by the Raja of Satara. In spite of vigorous military measures the predatory activities of the Bhils continued, and even the village patels were discovered to be in league with them. In 1831 the Bhils of Dhar were excited to rebellion by a political leader, IJchet Singh, who successfully fought with his Bhil levies against the ruler of the State, and the British had to intervene. Gradually the dual measures of coercion and conciliation succeeded in converting the Bhils into peaceful cultivators. There was a recrudescence of troubles in Malwa in 1846, but it was quickly put down. 3

The Peshwa Baji Rao II also succeeded, by his intrigues, in spreading anti-British sentiments in Cutch and Kathiawar. 4 When the Subsidiary Forces of Gaekwar were sent against the rebel chiefs of Kathiawar, Rao Bharmal, ruler of Cutch, despatched a body of Arabs to the aid of a refractory chief in Navanagar. Marauding bands from Wagar, a district in eastern part of Cutch, also carried on depredations in British territories. A British force, 4000 strong, was sent to Cutch, and Rao Bharmal concluded a treaty in 1816 by ceding some territories and paying the sum of twenty lakhs of rupees as indemnity. The peace, was, however, of short duration. The Jhareja Chiefs were alienated from Bharmal, and Ladhuba, a cousin of the Rao, and the daughter's son of a Jhareja Chief, was murdered by a body of Arab mercenaries. It was believed that this was done at the instigation of the Rao, and he also intended to kill the widow of

Ladhuba. Presumably, the pro-British attitude of the Jhareja Chiefs was at the root of the dissensions between them and their ruler. In any case the British Government warned the Rao 4 ‘that any practices against her safety or that of her infant, would incur the severest displeasure of the British Government”. Irritated by this “interference in his family affairs, which he, with truth, averred, was unauthorised by the treaty, the Rao began to collect mercenary troops, and to call for the contingents of his chiefs with the unavowed intention of expelling the British from his country”. 6

Bharmal Rao sent five thousand troops against Arisir, a fortified town belonging to the father of Ladhuba’s widow, one of the Jhareja chieftains who were under British protection. A British Division marched upon Bhuj on 24 March, 1819, and captured it without difficulty. Rao Bharmal submitted and was deposed in favour of his infant son. The administration was carried on by a Regency composed of Jhareja Chiefs, under the superintendence of the British Resident, and a British force replaced the troops of Bharmal. The integrity of Cutch was guaranteed for an annual subsidy of two lakhs of rupees. The establishment of British influence in

Cutch was regarded with alarm by the Amirs of Sindh, and this feeling caused troubles in future.

The Regency had soon to face troubles from bands of Waghar and Khosa bandittis. After the settlement of Waghar district in 1816, many of its people, half-banditti and half-landholders, had lost their lands and fled to Parkar. They were joined by the Khosas, scattered remains of a tribe driven from Sindh in 1786 and forced tn live in wild desert along the edge of Rann of Cutch, 'plundering and levying blackmail on the neighbouring districts'. The Waghar Chiefs and Khosas ravaged the villages in Cutch. The British invited the Amirs of Sindh to help them in putting down the ravages, and a detachment of troops from Sindh joined the British. But the Sindh troops were suspected of helping the Khosas, and it so happened that one night they (troops of Sindh) were exposed to British fusillade supposed to be directed against the Khosas who were encamped near by. The British explained it as due to confusion, but the Sindhjs "represented the attack as the result of design". 6 When the British pursued the Khosas across the boundary, the Sindh Government complained of it as a violation of its territory. A body of Sindhi troops entered Cutch, took Loona, a town fifty miles from Bhuj, the capital of Cutch, and laid waste the adjacent district. A British detachment drove away the Sindhis, and the Bombay Government immediately demanded to invade the country. The Governor-General in Council, however, was averse to war as

they thought that "the country (Sindh) was not worth possessing and

its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars.". 7

This is an interesting commentary on the subsequent British policy towards Sindh narrated above in Chapter VIIL For the time being Sindh was saved. Its Government disowned the outrage of its troops and promised to restrain the Khosas and other marauders from any inroads into the British dominion. Accordingly a treaty was concluded on 9 November, 1820. The Waghar Chiefs were also conciliated by the restoration of their lands on condition that they would not commit any act against law and order.

The reported discomfiture of the British in the Burmese war once more kindled the dying embers of discontent in Cutch into a blazing flame.

Shortly after the establishment of Regency the Jharejas were generally "dissatisfied with the control to which they were subjected". 8 Some of the Jhareja Chiefs, disaffected to the Regency, were banished and their territories were forfeited on charges of insubordination and rapine. They had sought refuge in Sindh, whose Amirs, "like the rest of the native princes, catching eagerly at the rumours of disaster suffered by the British Government", 9 secretly supported them. The reduction in the British force at Cutch appeared to the fugitive chiefs to offer a golden opportunity for the recovery of their forfeited lands and even the restoration of Rao Bharmal to his throne. With the connivance of the Amirs they assembled a body of about two thousand Minnis and Sindhis. At the beginning of 1825 they wrote a letter to the Resident calling upon him to "restore Rao Bharmal to the throne", and crossed the borders. They ravaged the country and occupied the fort of Balari, near An jar, thereby cutting off the communication between Bhuj and the rest of the province. They defeated the troops sent to recover Balari and even attacked Anjar. They were ultimately repulsed, and disappeared in the Rann, but "the large bodies of troops continued to be assembled on the frontier, menacing the province under British protection". Large reinforcements from Kairon and Bombay enabled Col. M. Napier to restore order in the country. 10

The causes of discontent in Cutch, however, lay deeper. The people disliked the British rule for its innovations, and suffered very much from the oppressive exactions of the British revenue system. Troubles broke out again in 1831. In order to allay the suspicions of the people and pacify the country, the British v Government issued in 1832 a proclamation promising "to revert to the ancient usages and customs of the country in all respects and most strictly to uphold the same for the preservation of the public peace and tranquillity". 11 Cutch gradually settled' down to normal life.

The insurrection in Merwara, in 1820, was also an offshoot of the fall of the Maratha power. The British had acquired Ajmer, a part of Merwara, from Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1818, but the Mers defied the attempts of the British to establish their control over them. A force was despatched in March, 1819, against the recalcitrant peoples in some villages, who were carrying on depredations in the plains. This led to a general revolt in November, 1820. The rebels attacked the police in different posts and killed a number of them, A strong British force, helped by the troops of Mewar and Marwar, to whose rulers belonged the remaining parts of Merwara, crushed the rebellion at the beginning of 1821. The Mers were enrolled in a battalion of 8 companies of 70 men each. [12]

3. Disturbances in 1824-26

A crop of violent acts may be directly traced to the early discomfitures of the British in the First Burmese War, the exaggerated reports of which were circulated all over India. As Metcalfe wrote, “these produced an extraordinary sensation all over India, amounting to an expectation of our immediate downfall”. [13] The effect was aggravated by the march of troops from various military stations in the interior to the war front, for it created a belief in the popular mind that the resources of the British Government were wholly absorbed by the War. Besides, the knowledge that the task of maintaining order was consequently entrusted to weak, irregular forces acted as an incentive to local risings.

It has been mentioned above, that the recurrence of Bhil insurrection and troubles in Cutch in 1824 were both due to this cause. The spirit of revolt was, however, specially manifest in Upper India. As Shore observes, “in the course of 1824, there was scarcely a district, in the upper Provinces in particular, in which a spirit of disaffection was not more or less manifested”. [14] The most serious was the Gujar rising in 1824 near Shaharanpur. This territory formed a part of the Doab which was ceded by the Sindhia to the British after his defeat in the Second Maratha War (1803). The resumption of the enormous estate of Ramdayal, after his death, in 1813, by the British, had caused a revolt of the Gujars. Although this was suppressed, the discontent and disaffection remained, and once more found expression in 1824, when the situation was regarded as favourable for reasons stated above. Bijoy Singh, the Talukdar of Kunja, near Rurki, and a relative of Ramdayal, broke into revolt, and was joined by a notorious chief of bandits, named Kalwa, and adventurers from all parts of the country. With their help Bijay Singh rapidly organized a formidable insurrection. He established his headquarters in the mud fort of Kunja, assumed the title of Raja and levied contributions from the surrounding districts. He also sacked the town of Bhagwanpur and plundered a strong treasure escort. A detachment of the Gurkha battalion and a small body of horse were sent against him. They attacked the fort of Kunja and took it after a fierce combat in which nearly two hundred insurgents were killed. It was revealed later that large reinforcements from many districts were coming to augment the force of Bijay Singh, but they were too late and could not join him before his rebellion collapsed after the fall of Kunja. 16

At a somewhat earlier date a religious mendicant at Badawar (in Patiala) organized a rebellion. He declared himself to be the Kali, the last avatar (incarnation) of the Hindus, and announced his intention to drive away the foreigners (the British) from India. He was arrested, but a large crowd, headed by a body of Akalis, came to effect his rescue. A body of horse was sent against them and they were easily dispersed. 16

The turbulent Jats, living in the district of Rohtak, to the west of Delhi, rose into rebellion shortly after the area passed into the hands of the British after the Second Maratha War. The events of 1824 once more made them active rebels, and they were joined by the Mewatis and Bhattis. Arms and ammunition were collected, communication with Delhi was cut off, Government property was looted, and there was public proclamation that the authority of the British Government was at an end. In Hissar an exiled chief, named Surajmal, at the head of four hundred matchlocks and a party of horse, took the fort of Behut. Similar proceedings also took place in the district of Rewari. The Government raised two additional regiments of Irregular Horse and increased the Gurkha Local Battalions. 17

The disorders spread to Bundelkhand where Nana Pandit, a Jagirdar of the Raja of Jalan, plundered the town of Kalpi and partially burnt it. 18 In the Tapti valley considerable ravages were made by Shaikh Dalla (or Dulla), a notorious Pindari chief. He was joined by an impostor pretending to be Chimnaji Appa, the brother of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao, and also by a body of Bhils. It is not unlikely that he was in league with the fugitive Appa Sahib, the exruler of Nagpur. Troops had to be despatched against Shaikh Dalla in different directions before the depredations caused by him came to an end. He, however, became a local hero as is proved by the following popular folk-song:

Below is the Earth, up above is Allah;

In between moves Shaikh Dallah.[19]

4 41

Reference has already been made above to the rebellion of the Bhils in the neighbouring region of Baglana. In Gujarat there was an outbreak of the Kolis, a rude and turbulent people scattered over the province, from the borders of Cutch to the Western ghats. They committed depredations of all kinds and burnt and plundered villages even in the neighbourhood of Baroda. They entrenched themselves in the village of Dudama, near Kaira, which was enclosed by thick hedges of the milk plant, and defended by mud fort. A party of Bombay Native Infantry, in trying to storm the place, was exposed to a destructive fire and compelled to fall back. The Kolis, attacked by a stronger force, left their post and retreated to the Rann of Cutch, but after a short interval returned and renewed their ravages. In 1825 they were dispersed by a body of Dragoons and Native Infantry, and for the time being their depredations ceased. The Kolis revolted again in 1828, as there was acute discontent among them, most of them being thrown out of employment by the dismantling of the forts. A large body of troops had to be sent against them before the rising was suppressed.

There was a far more serious outbreak in 1839. Though the Kolis, joined by other turbulent elements, mostly took to plundering villages and committing other excesses, there was a political motive behind the outbreak. Three Brahmans led the movement, and felt bold enough to work for the restoration of the Peshwa, as the strength of the Poona garrison had lately been reduced. The rebels assumed the charge of the Government in the name of the Peshwa.

The Kolis broke into revolt again in 1844. Proceeding from their headquarters in the hilly country to the north-west of Poona, they carried on depredations in the districts of Nasik and Ahmadnagar, and next year proceeded as far as Satara. A strong military force brought the situation under control in 1846, but the embers of the revolt were not finally extinguished till the capture of all the leaders in J850.[20]

Disturbances in 1824 were not confined to North India but also spread to the South. In December, 1824, a Brahman, named Divakar Dikshit, with a few associates, plundered Sindgi, about four miles to the east of Bijapur. He set up a regular Government of his own and made arrangement for the collection of revenues. 21 There was a rising at Omraiz, a locality in the neighbourhood. The headman, refusing to pay the revenue, sheltered himself in a stronghold, and from this base committed depredations on surrounding villages. A military force, sent from Sholapur in February, 1825, failed, and several officers were killed. After this the garrison evacuated the fort and dispersed into the jungles. 22

There was a far more serious rising in Kittur, a small district near Dharwar. The chief of Kittur was one of the desais, who were originally independent chiefs in Bombay, but whose territories were gradually swallowed up by the Marathas. The desai of Kittur, however, was one of the few who retained his possessions. In recognition of his services to the British during the Third Maratha War, the desai of Kittur, who held Sampgaon and the greater part of Bidi in the Belgaum District, was raised to the position of a Ruling Chief by a grant from the British Government which declared the fief to be hereditary in his family. 23 Shivalinga Rudra, the desai of Kittur, died on 11 September, 1824. He had no male issue, but it was alleged that prior to his death he left injunctions for the adoption of a son, which was accordingly done. The Collector of Dharwar, Thackeray, grew suspicious of the whole thing and, as a result of inquiries made, refused to recognise the adoption as a valid one. Pending the final orders of the Government of Bombay, he assumed charge of the effects of the late desai and the management of Kittur. This was highly resented by the members of the desaVs family who naturally desired to keep the estate in their own hands. Thackeray, as a precautionary measure, sealed the treasury and placed a small guard at the inner gate of the fort. Thackeray himself, with two of his assistants and a small escort, a company of Native Horse Artillery, and one of Native Infantries, were encamped without the walls of the fort. Things appeared quiet till October 21 when Thackeray demanded of the treasury guards a bond rendering themselves responsible for the treasury. They refused to execute the bond, and two days later, insurgents, about 5,000 in number, closed the gates of the fort. When Thackeray proceeded to force the gates open, “the garrison rushed forth in such over-powering numbers as to overwhelm the party. Thackeray himself and three military officers were killed, and two European Assistants to the Collector and some Indian officers were taken and carried into a fort."

"The excitement occasioned by this transaction rapidly Spread, and the people of the country between the Malprabha and Kittur manifested a disposition to join the insurgents. In order to prevent the spread of the rebellious spirit, a strong force, consisting of troops sent from Madras and Bombay, besieged the fort. The insurgent leaders, twelve in number, surrendered themselves on condition that their lives should be spared, the rebellion subsided, the ladies of the desai's family were imprisoned in the Bail-Hongal fort, and Kittur lapsed to the British Government."

Five years later, in 1829, another rebellion broke out at Kittur under the leadership of Rayappa, a village watchman of Singoli who

had taken part in the outbreak of 1824. He took up the cause of the adopted boy whose claim was set aside by Thaokeray, and declared for the restoration of independence of Kittur. Soon Rayappa had a large following, who carried on systematic depredations in the neighbouring regions. As the disorder spread, even the Kittur militia refused to serve and regular troops had to be employed. But though isolated bands of insurgents were occasionally defeated, Rayappa evaded the British force till he was betrayed by one of his rivals who had joined him as a friend. He was condemned to death and was publicly hanged. An unfortunate episode occurred during the outbreak. The Government removed the widow of the late desai to Dharwar, although an excited mob resisted her removal. She died there in July 1829, presumably from the effect of poison. 21

The reactions of the Burmese War also affected the Indian States and reference has already been made above, in Chapter HI, to the cases of Alwar and Bharatpur.

4. Revolts due to annexation or deposition of rulers

Some of the outbreaks directly followed as a consequence of the policy of annexation. This is illustrated by the constant revolt of the nobility and the primitive hill tribes of Assam after its annexation by the British, to which detailed reference has been made elsewhere. 26

The serious rebellious outbreak at Sambalpur falls under this head. After the conclusion of the Third Maratha War, Sambalpur came under the suzerainty of the British by the Treaty of 1826. Jait Singh,, the old ruler, imprisoned by the Marathas, was restored to the throne by the British in 1818, but he died shortly after, and after a short rule by British officers Maharaj Sai was appointed his successor in 1820. On his death in 1827, his widow Mohan Kumari was permitted to succeed him. But there were other claimants to the throne, the chief among them being Surendra Sai. The pretenders to the throne caused serious disturbances, so much so that a regular force had to be sent against them. The Rani was deposed and removed to Cuttack, and Narayan Singh was set up as the ruler in 1833. But the old disturbances continued, and the situation was rendered worse by the rising of the Gonds under Balabhadra Deo (or Sai), Zamindar of Lakhanpur. It was long before normal condition could be restored. But in 1839-40 Surendra Sai, the old pretender to the throne, again created serious disturbances. At last he was arrested with his brother Udwant Sai and uncle Balaram Singh for murdering the Zamindar of Rampur, and all the three were sentenced to life imprisonment. 26 *

Further illustration is afforded by the constant popular outbreaks in Burma after the Second Burmese War. This is particularly significant as it falsifies the British pretension that the British rule was welcomed by the people of Burma. There was an outbreak at Salween, led by a Karen, which “plunged the country into a state of anarchy”, and in Syriam “there were numerous outbreaks of guerilla warfare and even more seriously sustained rebellions”. Bassein was captured by rebels on April 18, 1852. So strong was the anti-British feeling that villages were destroyed for the offence of supplying fuel to the British steamers, and “none dared accept office under the new government”. There was a general rebellion in 1854, and the leaders proclaimed that they had been commissioned (by the Burmese Government of Ava) to drive out the English. The upper part of the district was in possession of the rebels and the British forces had to fight hard against them before the revolt was suppressed. In 1857 the Karens took up arms against the British authority in Martaban. In 1858 a body of men, led by a fisherman of Twante (Hanthawaddy District), broke into rebellion. 26

The most serious outbreak in Burma was the one led by Gaung Gyi at Tharrawaddy. He collected an army of 1500 men, consisting mostly of the disbanded Burmese troops, and attacked the town of Monyo in March, 1853. The town was destroyed and Gaung Gyi set up a parallel government of his own with headquarters at Tapun. He then crossed the Irrawaddy river and carried on depredations in the Henzada District. This led to a general disorder and the British official report admitted that a large tract of the country was in successful rebellion against the Government. The whole of Tharrawaddy was dominated by Gaung Gyi and the British administration there was completely paralyzed. “Gaung carried out a wholesale destruction of every village round Tapun in the very presence of British pickets and established a reign of terror throughout the whole area”. The British army was mobilised and after strenuous efforts drove Gaung Gyi to the hills. Gyi ultimately crossed the frontier of British territory to Burma. On the news of the outbreak of 1857 in India, preparations were again made for an outbreak when Gaung Gyi was shot dead, in course of a skirmish, by the Burmese authorities. 27

A revolt broke out in the district of Henzada in 1852, shortly after its occupation by the British. Nga My at Htun, the leader of the revolt, collected an army and carried on plundering raids over the whole country including the district of Maubin. Early in 1853 he defeated the British troops led by Captain Loch, but was soon routed by stronger British forces. 28

Some of the disturbances or violent outbreaks may be regarded as the result of arbitrary deposition of popular rulers. The deposition and banishment of Pratap Singh, Raja of Satara, to which reference has been made above, 29 was followed by a wave of discontent all over the country, and a chain of disturbances in 1840-41, particularly in the region round Satara. These are popularly known as Dhar Rao’s ‘Bunds’ (rebellions) because they were first inspired and organized by Dhar Rao Powar of Karad. He and his associates were responsible for a series of petty skirmishes which were easily suppressed (1840). Greater importance attaches to the rebellion of Narsing

Dattatraya Petkar, who is said to have met Pratap Singh when he was being taken to Banaras. Narsing, though blind of one eye, travelled widely and collected a band of Arabs and Rohillas. With a force of about 1,000 men he seized the fort of Badami in 1841 by a surprise attack, and announced by beating of tom tom that the place belonged to the Maharaja of Satara. He hoisted the flag of the Raja of Satara and took up the administration of the locality. After about four days the British troops arrived on the scene. Narsing and his men fought till all the bullets and ammunition were spent. Narsing was sentenced to death, but in consideration of his blindness the sentence was changed to transportation for life. 30

The evils of the annexation were seen in the large number of unemployed soldiers. Captain Duff summed up the situation as follows in 1832: "In the Peishwa's territories in the Deccan, the risk of internal disturbances became considerable. A vast body of unemployed soldiery were thrown upon the country, not only of those who had composed the Peishwa's army, both Mahrattas and foreigners, but those of the disbanded armies of Holkar, Scindia and the

Rajah of Berrar.They were ready to join, not merely in any

feasible attempt to overthrow our power, but in any scheme which promised present plunder and anarchy". 31

This is well illustrated by the revolt of the Ramosis. These once served in the inferior ranks of police in the Maratha administration. Chittur Singh, who revolted in Satara in 1822 as a protest against heavy assessment, gathered these Ramosis under his banner, and they played a prominent part in plundering the country and destroying its forts. In 1825 scarcity in Poona and reduction in the local garrison severely distressed them, and they broke into revolt in 1826 under the leadership of Umaji. For three years they scoured the country. Ultimately the Government pacified them by not only condoning their crimes but by land-grants and recruiting them as hill police. 32

5. Revolts against new administrative system

Some of the outbreaks were the direct result, not so much of British annexation as of the introduction of British system of administration. This ; s illustrated by the risings in Kolhapur and Savantvadi, two Maratha States in Bombay. These two States, along with others, passed under the supremacy of the British as a result of the Third Maratha War. The British relations with these two States had been greatly strained for a long time owing to piratical practices of the people which caused injury to British trade. The British entered into several agreements claiming compensation for injuries, surrender of ports and territory, reduction of arms, and various commercial privileges. As repeated armed interference did not produce the desired effect, the British took over the direct administration ©f these States. Though the ruler was nominally retained, he had no power.

Early in 1844, Dajee Krishna Pandit, a member of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed minister of Kolhapur, but he was made accountable to the British Political Agent alone. He introduced reforms in accordance with the British system, which were resented by the privileged classes of the old regime. The commercial privileges enjoyed by the British aroused the hostility of the trading classes. These elements spread discontent against the British among the soldiery and the common people, and excited them to rise in armed revolt. Some of the measures introduced by D. K. Pandit specially irritated the Gadkaris of Kolhapur. These were military classes who garrisoned Maratha forts and enjoyed lands for their service. After the Third Maratha War their services were dispensed with, and they had to pay revenues for the lands they held. This was a cause of great irritation as the Gadkaris were very jealous of their proprietary rights on lands. D. K. Pandit took away some other privileges of the Gadkaris, such as allowances for goats at Dussera and money presents at Diwali, and also began the counting of jack-trees and houses for taxation. All these highly irritated the Gadkaris and matters were brought to a head when D. K. Pandit reduced the number of Mamlatdars from 23 to 6. This reform was disliked by the Gadkaris as they were attached to their hereditary Mamlatdars, and they now feared that all their privileges and rights would be gradually taken away. Being encouraged by the sympathy of the people and promises of help by the nobility, and further encouraged by the report of paucity of British troops, the Gadkaris broke into open revolt in September, 1844, and closed the gates of the forts of Bhudargadh and Samangadh against the newly appointed Mamlatdars. The repulse of the British force who attacked the fort

of Samangadh and the delay in recapturing the two forts provoked a rebellion in the city of Kolhapur. On October 4, 1844, the Patucks and Sibandis —a kind of local militia—joined the rebellion, and with the help of the palace guards seized D. K. Pandit and other officers who were favourable to British interests. The Diwan Sahib, the late Regent, and the nobles now openly espoused the cause of the rebels. Some old ministers who had been turned out by the British were recalled and took charge of the administration. These events turned the rising of the Gadkaris into a general popular revolt against the British. All the forts in the Kolhapur State were in a state of revolt, and insurgents began to raid adjoining British districts. Extensive military measures had to be taken before the situation was brought under control. The principal forts were retaken by the end of 1844 and complete tranquillity was restored by February, 1845. 33

The seriousness of the outbreak ipay be judged by the following summary of the Satara Residency Records:

“In October 1844 the insurgents imprisoned Daji Pandit, the Karbhari of Kolhapur and took possession of the city. Postal communications from Belgaum were cut off by them. Subhana Nikam reached Samangad with 500 insurgents and cut off all communications south of the Panchganga. The rebels captured the forts of Pannala and Pavangad. Raoji Waknis and Dinkarrao Gaikwad raised a standard of rebellion and placed guards round the town of Kolhapur and controlled all the communications. The rebellion gathered force and many people started co-operating with them.

“Vishalgadkar also joined the rebellion. The treasury of Chiodi was plundered by the rebels, who killed Government's guards, liberated the prisoners and burnt all Government records. The Government officers fled from the place.

“The fort of Samangad was captured by the rebels on the morning of 13th October. Colonel T. Ovans left charge of Satara in favour of Captain Hart on 12th November, 1844 and went to the Kolhapur war area. But he was taken prisoner on his way to Kolhapur and kept a captive for some weeks at the fort of Pannala. He was released by British forces and resumed charge of Satara Residency on 20th January, 1845." 33 »

The events in Kolhapur had their repercussions on Savantvadi whose people had already revolted against the British in 1830, 1832, and 1836. In 1838 the British Government deposed the Raja, Khen Savant* for his inability to maintain order, and appointed a European Political Superintendent to administer the State. He was supported

by a local corps under British officers. The discontented nobles fled to Goa, across the frontier, and planned revolt against the British. In 1839 they very nearly succeeded in seizing the fort of Vadi. The popular discontent was very acute and the initial success of the revolt in Kolhapur led to a similar revolt in Savantvadi by the garrisons of Vadi and Manohar forts. By the middle of December. 1844, the whole State was in full revolt and the British authority was confined to the town and the few military posts in the State. The rebels received support from Goa, and were helped in every way by the people. "A detachment under Major Benbow was paralysed. But Lieut. Col. Outram with four companies of the 11th regiment Native Infantry defeated the insurgents in the Akeri pass. The position of the rebels was immensely strengthened when Phond Savant, a leading noble of great power, and his eight sons joined the disaffected elements. Even Anna Sahib, the heir-apparent, made a common cause with the rebels by assuming a pompous royal style, and collecting revenues from villages. The insurgents consequently became so bold that they also opened negotiations with the officers of the tenth regiment. By 1845, the whole country was in utter disorder; there was no security even in places near British outposts". 34 Martial law was proclaimed on 14 January, 1845. By the end of the month the backbone of the revolt was broken by the reduction of the forts of Manohar and Mimtoshghar and tranquillity was restored by the middle of the year

There were similar revolts in the District of Vizagapatam. The British Government Lad taken charge of the estate of the Rauze family in 1827 and settled a pension of one hundred rupees per month on the person qf Birabhadra Rauze. In order to compel the Government to increase the pension to three hundred rupees, Birabhadra gathered round him a body of adventurers who laid waste the neighbouring region. A price of Rs. 1,000 was put on his head in August, 1830, and it was later increased to Rs. 5,000; but to no effect. Martial law was proclaimed in 1832, but the disturbances did not die down till the capture of Birabhadra in January, 1833. 36 Similar troubles were created by Jagannath Rauze in Suttivarain and Ankapilly estates in 1832 which continued for nearly two years.

There was also an outbreak in the Palkonda estate in 1831, a legacy of a similar rising in 1827, both being due to the attachment of the property of'the Zamindar for non-payment of revenue. Predatory bands from the hills plundered and burnt villages even in the neighbourhood of Palkonda, and bodies of armed men attacked military pickets. Martial law was declared in 1832, and when the rebellion was suppressed in 1832, Palkonda estate was declared forfeited to the Government. 36

Far more serious was the rebellion of Dhananjaya Bhanja, Zamindar of Gumsur in Gan jam District. Unable to clear up the arrears of revenue, he openly revolted and took refuge in his Kolaida fortress. The Government resumed the Zamindary and sent a force against the refractory Zamindar. Gumsur was occupied on 3rd November, 1835, and Kolaida on the 9th. Martial law was proclaimed on November 12. The British troops were strongly opposed and harassed throughout their march, and the situation was thus described by the Collector: “The authority of Government is only acknowledged in this District where the influence of the troops extends,—the neighbouring zamindars, the Hill Chiefs, the Sirdars, the inhabitants of the country as far as I can judge, and, in many instances I suspect, our own public servants are adverse to the downfall of Gumsur family and the establishment of the power of Government.We have been, and are still obliged to draw every article

of supply from a very great distance.The enemy in small

parties.commit outrages upon such villages or individuals as

are suspected of being friendly to our cause.The object of all parties here is to have a Raja and unless Government is prepared to establish and maintain its power by force, I at present see little hope of a return to tranquillity but by establishing a Rajah". 37

This description would be justly applicable to most of the recalcitrant estates. But the British Government, in most cases, chose the path of ruthless suppression instead of conciliation. When the rebellion assumed serious proportions, Mr. Russell was appointed Commissioner with full discretionary power to deal with the situation. He arrived at Gumsur on 11th January, 1836, and conducted a military campaign on a vast scale in which two Colonels, one Lieut. Colonel, three Majors, eleven Captains, and eleven Lieutenants took part. The Khonds joined the rebellion. They attacked the British force, cut off small British escorts, and blocked the passage of British troops by felling trees. Thus the war lasted till February, 1837. 3Q

The Zamindari of Parlakimedi was attached for arrears in 1829 and placed under the Court of Wards. The Zamindar, Jagannath Gajapati Narayan Deo, mobilized his peons (household troops) and tributary hill-chiefs, and broke into revolt. Soon there was a general rising of the people who committed wide-spread depredations. The insurgents, hiding in jungles and protected by a number of forts, stubbornly held for a long time against the British detachments, but were ultimately overpowered in 1835 after their forts were reduced <fne after another. 39

The rising of the Bundela landowners, Madhukar Sha and Jawahir Singh, in Sagar in 1842 was also due to the assessment of land. They broke into rebellion, killed police officers and plundered several towns. This emboldened others to rise against the British. Dalen Sha, a Gond Chief of Narsinghpur, plundered Deori and neighbouring regions, and depredations continued for a year before the country was pacified. 40

In 1846-7 Narasimha Reddi, the descendant of dispossessed poligar of Kurnool, broke into rebellion as the Government refused to pay him the lapsed pension. He gathered a band of adventurers, estimated between 4000 and 5,000, and ravaged the country-side of Bellary and Kurnool for three months. He defied law and order and offered battle to Lieut. Watson. He was however caught and hanged in 1847/ 1

The evils of the British revenue system also led to outbreaks in the District of Sandoway, newly acquired from the king of Burma. The people and the headmen of revenue-circles, called Thugyis, were exasperated by the excessive demands and, in 1829, Maung Tha U, the Thugyi of Alegyaw circle, broke into open rebellion. At the head of a large body of discontented men he marched on Sandoway. Captain Gordon, who tried to repulse them, was killed. The rebels burned the police post and committed depredations on a large scale. Military operations were necessary and the insurrection did not end till the end of the year 1830. Similar outbreaks, though less serious in character, took place at Tavoy and Mergui in Tenasserim 42

6. Revolts of the primitive tribes

A number of outbreaks, sometimes of a serious character, were due to the natural reluctance of primitive tribes, mostly living in hilly regions, to be brought under a regular system of British administration. This was illustrated by the risings of the various tribes in the north-east corner of Assam to some of which reference has been made above. 43

Some of the hill-tribes, however, dreaded the idea of slow penetration of the British into their country. They hated the feringhees and their rule and were bitterly opposed to the extension of their political and cultural. influence in their immediate neighbourhood. A typical example of this is furnished by the conduct of the Khasis, a primitive tribe who occupied the hilly region between Jaintia on the east and the Garo Hills on the west. These three regions operated as a mountain barrier between the Brahmaputra valley or Lower Assam on the north, and the Surma valley or plains of Sylhet on the south.

Sylhet had come into the possession of the British by the Diwani grant of 1765, and during the eighties and nineties o i the eighteenth century, there were many depredations committed by the Khasis in British territory. The Khasis remained quiet for a quarter of a century, but the reported discomfitures of the British during the First Burmese War emboldened them to resume their depredations which were put down without much difficulty. 44

As the result of the Burmese War the British got possession of the Brahmaputra valley, as mentioned above. 46 Mr. Scott, the Political Agent of Assam, conceived the idea of linking up this territory with Sylhet by a road passing through the entire length of the Khasi domains. It would considerably reduce the length of the military route between the two regions and give the British a strong grip over the Khasis who frequently created troubles. For this purpose treaties were concluded in 1827 with various Khasi chiefs among whom the territory was divided, the most renowmed among them being Tirut Singh, the Chief of Nunklow. The construction of the road was, however, a matter of dispute. The British included it in the treaty, but the Khasi Chiefs strongly disliked the idea. A Bungalow was erected at Nunklow to serve as a sanatorium, and arrangements were made for the construction of the road, and these resulted in the presence of a number of Englishmen and Bengalis in the hills. Their arrogant attitude towards the Khasis was highly resented by the latter. The conscription of labourers for making the road was the occasion for much irritation on both sides. While the presence of these foreigners with radical^ different ideas and customs caused discontent, and some amount of nervousness, to the simple hill-folk, Tirut Singh, the Chief, was displeased at the refusal of the British to offer him help to which, he believed, he was entitled under the terms of the treaty. Further, Tirut Singh felt that the pomp and grandeur of the British officers and the big buildings con* structed by them in his territory offered such a strong contrast to the simple life of the people that he was sure to be lowered in their estimation. There were also specific cases of complaint on both sides, the truth of whteh it is not easy to determine.

The cumulative effect of all these was a grim determination on the part of the Khasi Chiefs to drive away the “lowland strangers*' from their country. There were about 30 States in Khasi hills each of which was a republic in miniature, under a Chief and an Assembly comprising all adult male members. The Chiefs of various States invited Tirut Singh to make a general inroad into Assam and expel the British from the plains as well as the hills. The leader of this movement was Ear Manik, the Chief of Molim, one of these petty

Khasi States. Mr. Scott got an inkling of all this and made preparations to seize Bar Manik with the help of the Sylhet local corps. But in the meantime the insurrection had already begun on a large scale. On 5 May, 1829, a strong party of Khasis, aided by the Garos, raided Nunklow and massacred the European and Bengali inmates of the sanatorium. Lt. Bedingfield was killed on the spot, and though the other European escaped, he was seized on the way and cut off. No harm was done to the Assamese inmates.

The Khasis then burnt the Bungalow, released the convicts employed in the construction of the road, and proceeded towards Cherrapunji in search of Mr. Scott. It was "the signal of an almost universal rising among the Khasi chiefs," and the hill people in thousands joined the standard of revolt. The rebellion also spread to the Garo hills whose people joined the Khasis. Tirut Singh sent messages to the Bhots, Singphos and other hill-tribes, exciting them to throw off the yoke of the English. He even exhorted Chandrakanta, 46 the ex-king of Assam, to rise against the British.

The British forces burnt Khasi villages, one after another, and established a sort of "economic blockade" prohibiting all trade and intercourse with the Khasis. Tirut Singh am; his associates, with a military force estimated to be 10,000 strong, evaded the British, but occasionally swooped down upon the plains, causing alarm all over Assam. Once the panic was so great even in Gauhati, the headquarters of the British, that large number of people, including high officials, kept boats ready to evacuate at a moment's notice.

The long and harassing warfare with the Khasis continued for four years. There is no doubt that whatever may be its origin it gradually developed into a general insurrection, and it was the last fight of the confederacy of Khasi Chiefs to keep the British out of their country. But in the end they failed. Tirut Singh surrendered in January, 1833, on condition that his life should be spared, and his territory was restored to his nephew under certain conditions. Most of the other Chiefs had submitted to the British authority by the end of 1832. 47

The Khasi rebellion had far-reaching consequences. While the British were engaged in a harassing warfare with them, the Singphos 43 broke into open rebellion in 1830 under a Khamti Chief. The simultaneous rebellions of the Khasis and Singphos gave the discontented nobility of Assam another opportunity to strike a blow for their independence. The embers of the rebellion under Gadadhar in 1828, to which reference has been made above, 49 had not yet died down. Haranath, the son of the ex-Bar Gohain who took part in the first rebellion, organized the second rebellion of the nobility and planned to act in concert with the rebellious Khasis and Singphos. The nobility set up one Kumar Rupchand as their Raja, and sent envoys to the Chiefs of the Khamtis, Moamaris, Nagas and Garos, calling upon them all to rise against the British. On 25 March, 1830, they attacked the military lines at Rangpur (in Assam), but failed and were put to flight. The leaders were apprehended and some of them hanged. 160

The Singpho rebellion, however, proved to be more serious. More than three thousand rebels, armed with muskets, spears and swords, marched against Sadiya and erected stockades; but they were defeated by Capt. Neufville on 27 February, and again on March 11, 1830. Though defeated, the Singphos remained in a mood of sullen discontent, and again rose into rebellion in 1839, in course of which CoL White, the British Political Agent, lost his life and eight others were killed or wounded. 61

In 1835, Tagi Raja, the Chief of the Kapaschor Akas, stirred up the hill people to rise against the British. He killed a number of British subjects and attacked the police outpost at Balipara. He was not subdued till 1842 6 2

The Nagas broke out into insurrection in 1849 and killed the Indian officer in charge of a police outpost at a village near Dimapur. A strong British force brought the situation under control in 1850-51.

The Kukis, a wild tribe, had the strange custom of burying their deceased rulers along with human heads. They lived in the Lushai hiEg and the hill regions of Manipur and Tippera, and raided both Sylhet and Cachar for taking human heads. In 1826, and again in 1844 and 1849, the Kukis raided British territory, killed a number of men, and took their heads, with the result that South Cachar was almost deserted and the people moved to the north. Military raids against them in sufficient strength were not regarded by the British officers as feasible, as the Kuki Chiefs could raise 7000 men to defend the narrow mountain passes. A Kuki levy was accordingly raised to protect the British territory, and in 1850 many Lushai Chiefs submitted to the British authority of their own accord.

The Kolarian tribes of Chota Nagpur, accustomed to lead their free lives without any control, could ill brook the gradual extension of British authority in their territory. These tribes were ruled by petty chieftains, called Raja, who proudly claimed to have exercised independent authority for more than fifty generations. The British occupation of Singhbhum was highly resented by the Raja, who was known as the Raja of Porahat. His subjects, the Hos, zealously

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guarded the frontiers and would not allow any strangers to enter into their territory. Though the Raja agreed to pay annual tribute to the British, the Hos remained recalcitrant. The Political Agent, Major Roughsedge, entered Kolhan and Chaibasa in 1820, but met with a fierce resistance. Lieut. Maitland also had a similar expert ence, and we are told that "these savages, with a degree of rashness and hardihood scarcely credible, met the charge of the troops half way in open plain, battle-axe in hand". It was not till 1827, after many villages were burnt and a large number of Hos were killed, that they submitted. But they merely bided their time to rise again, and when the Mundas of Chota Nagpur broke out into revolt in 1831, the Hos joined them. This insurrection was caused by the new policy of farming revenue to outsiders, and the introduction of judicial and revenue regulations of the Bengal Government into the country. The rebellion soon spread over a considerable area, including Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Manbhum. "Violence and

pillage were universal and indiscriminate.The villages are

fired, the roads are blocked up, and all passers are plundered." 63 The wrath of the rebels was specially vented upon the foreign settlers, about a thousand of whom were killed or burnt in their homes. The military forces found it difficult to control the situation. "On one occasion a squadron of cavalry encountering a body of six or seven thousand of the rioters was compelled to retire with some small loss". 64 After extensive military operations the insurrection was suppressed in March, 1832. A few cases of unexampled bravery are on record. Some of the ringleaders fought to the last, and one, Buddho Bhagat, rather than surrender, perished with his whole family and 150 followers in defending his village. The insurrection was marked by ruthless severities on both sides, and Shore estimated that nearly five thousand square miles of territory had been almost laid waste in crushing the resistance of the Kols. The Hos continued to be refractory, and military operations had to be undertaken in 1838 and 1837 before they submitted to the British authority .** 5

Immediately following the Kol rising, there broke out the rebellion of the Bhumij in Manbhum, in 1832, under Ganganarayan, a disappointed claimant to the Barabhum estate. There was a long family feud between Ganganarayan and Madhab Singh, the Diwan of the estate. “Ganganarayan gathered a large force of ghatwals (keepers of the hill passes) and strengthened his position by attaching himself to the peasantry, who were also alienated by the exactions and excessive demands of the diwan. On 2 April, 1832, Madhab was attacked and murdered: the murderous gang then proceeded to plunder the whole country: Barabazar, a town of importance, was sacked, and all Government offices such as the Munsiffs cutcheri, police thana and the salt Darogha’s cutcheris were burnt down. With his, levies, which included the Chuars and numbered between two and three thousand men, be attacked Government troops. The situation became so threatening that in the first week of June, 1832, government force had to retire to Bankura leaving Barabhum to the possession of the rebel chief. Ganganarayan assumed the title of raja, and levied contributions from the surrounding country”. Soon Ganganarayan began to plunder all the estates to the east of Barabhum. The Bhumij Kols of the district joined him and the situation became fraught with danger. Different bands of British troops scoured the country towards the end of 1832, and the death of Ganganarayan, shortly after, put an end to the insurrection. 66

The Khonds, a wild tribe occupying a large tract of territory called Khondmals, in the southern part of Baud, and neighbouring regions in Orissa, were notorious for infanticide and human sacrifices called Meriah sacrifice. 67 The British attempt to suppress these inhuman practices, 68 added to a belief that the British would appropriate their lands, exact forced labour, and impose taxes, etc., made the Khonds to break into an open rebellion in 1846. They surprised the camp of Capt. Macpherson and compelled him to surrender 170 Meriahs (intended victims for sacrifice) kept in his charge. Though beaten in a fight with Madras sepoys in April, 1846, one Chakra Bisayi, the nephew of an exiled Chief, organized a rebellion at the end of the year. The Khonds of Gumsur and the neighbouring regions joined the revolt which soon became a general insurrection of the Khonds and lasted for three years. "Villages were burnt, strong places occupied, jungles scoured by troops; but the Khonds, undaunted by defeat, held out in the depths of their highland lairs". 6 * When, in 1848, the rebellion was suppressed, the exiled Khond Chief was recalled and placed at the head of Khonds. This wise step pacified the Khonds, but Chakra Bisayi and his followers kept up the fight and organized another rebellion in Gumsur in 1855. They, however, made it clear that they fought, not for maintaining the Meriah sacrifice which they decided to give up, but for the preservation of their rights and privileges which, they believed, were in danger. The Raja of Baud, unable to subdue his refractory subjects, the Khonds, made over the territory to the British administration (1855). 60

The Santals, who have given their name to an area in Bihar adjoining to Murshidabad (in Bengal) on the west, were a primitive but very industrious people. They were forced to migrate from their ancestral lands on account of the excessive demands of the Zamindars after the Permanent Settlement, and occupied the plains skirting the Rajir'hal Hills, after clearing the forests with great industry and labour. But the oppressions of the mahajans and traders from Bengal and Upper India, who lent them money at excessive interest and illegally recovered ten times their unjust dues, exactiQns of the police and revenue officials, dispossession of lands by the Zamindars. and the insults and indignities they suffered from the Englishmen goaded them into rebellion. 61 The dishonour to their women by the 'Sahiblok* specially irritated them.

The Santal rebellion of 1855-6 was marked by some of the worst features of elemental tribal passions and open denunciation of British rule. But it was primarily, perhaps mainly, due to economic causes, and there was no anti-

British feeling at the beginning of the outbreak. The main grievances of the Santals were against the “civilised people” from Bengal and Upper India who swarmed their country and took advantage of their simplicity and ignorance to exploit them in a ruthless manner. They turned against the Government when they found that instead of remedying their grievances, the officers were more anxious to protect their oppressors from their wrathful vengeance. The Santals were exasperated “when those among them who had made night-attacks on the houses of some of the mahajans were tried and punished, while their oppressors were not even rebuked”. 62 Under the leadership of two brothers, Sidhu and Kanhu, who are said to have divine revelation, ten thousand Santals met in June 1855, and declared their intention ‘to take possession of the country and set up a Government of their own*. Sporadic depredations commenced immediately, but the movement assumed a formidable aspect by the middle of July, 1855. They assembled in different parts in parties of 10,000 each, cut off the postal and railway communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, and were in complete control of this area. The Santals proclaimed the end of the Company’s rule and the commencement of the regime of their Subah. “Armed chiefly with axes and poisoned arrows, large bodies of these half-reclaimed savages carried fire and sword into scores of happy villages, attacked every outlying European Bungalow, murdered with equal readiness English planters and railway-servants, native police-officers, tradesmen, peasants, their wives and children, and even swarmed up to the larger European stations in the districts of Birbhum, Rajmahal and Bhagalpur”. 63 They are even accused of “roasting Bengalis and ripping up their women”, 04

The authorities were taken utterly by surprise, and the panicstricken natives fled by thousands. Even when troops were rushed

they could do little more than hold a few isolated posts. The Santals fled before the musketry, but found safe shelter in the thick jungles from which they could carry depredation. Some sepoy battalions fell back before them out of fear. A British force under Major Burrough was defeated, and the situation assumed “a very alarming aspect”. The disturbed districts were handed over to the military and a regular campaign had to be conducted to suppress the rebellion. Even in August, the number of insurgents exceeded

30,000 men in arms. They showed no signs of submission and were openly at war with the British till February, 1856, when their leaders were arrested. Most inhuman barbarities were practised on the Santals after they were defeated.

7. The religious cum political outbreaks.

The most serious outbreak under this head was that of the Wahabis which will be dealt with in detail in Chapter XXIX. A minor instance is furnished by the Pagal Pan this, a semi-religious sect, whose members consisted mostly of the primitive tribes, Hajongs and Garos, living in the northern part of Mymensingh District, Bengal (now in E. Pakistan). Its founder was a darvesh or mendicant, called Karam Shah, but his son and successor, Tipu, was inspired by both religious and political motives. He consolidated his hold over the Garos and Hajongs by openly taking up their cause against the oppressions of the Zamindars who realized illegal cesses from them. He gathered round him a band of armed followers, and collected money by plunder. He then asked his followers not to pay rent above a specified minimum. In January, 1825, he led a mob of 700 and attacked and looted the houses of the Zamindars of Sherpur. The Zamindars fled to the headquarters of the Deputy-Collector, while Tipu stationed himself in an old fortified place and assumed royal powers. Tipu was soon captured, but the Government not only released him but conceded the justice of his demands, and made a more equitable arrangement to protect the cultivators. Though Tipu was again arrested in 1827, his followers, not satisfied with the new arrangements, took to arms in 1833, and collected a body of three thousand men armed with spears, swords, bows and a few matchlocks. They sacked the town of Sherpur, plundered the houses and set fire to the Police Station. The Magistrate applied for military force as the insurgents had taken complete possession of the whole region between Sherpur and Garo Hills, and begun to levy taxes from the cultivators. Military operations on a large scale were necessary before they could be put down. 66

8. Disturbances due to general discontent

Sometimes serious disturbances broke out on such minor issues that the real causes must be sought for elsewhere, and will probably be found in the prevailing spirit of deep-rooted discontent due to a combination of political, economic and other causes. An apt illustration is furnished by the rising of the cultivators of Savda and Chopda in Khandesh in 1852. An order was issued in 1844 asking the landholders to provide stone boundary marks of their lands. When a revenue survey party under Davidson went to this region, there was a big demonstration against the order on the ground that neither stone nor labourers were available for the work. Although some civil and military officers came to help Davidson, he grew nervous at the numerical strength of the demonstrators, stopped the survey operation, and removed his camp five miles away. This was a signal for a popular rising. A mob of several hundreds surrounded the tents, and the European officers saved their lives by flight. A military force was called, but could not crush the popular spirit. The people of Erandol refused to lend their carts to the Government officers, intercepted their messengers, and even seized a SubadarMajor. The gates of the town were broken through by the military force and there was a mass arrest of leading men. But at Savda and Faizpur the people continued to be refractory. They set up a parallel Government and the panchayet collected revenue, punished criminals, and carried on the normal administrative business. The leaders and the people were overpowered by the military and the trouble ceased. 66

Similar popular discontent was probably the root of risings which were ostensibly of political character. An impostor,, pretending to be Appa Sahib, the exiled Baja of Nagpur, succeeded in gathering round him a band of Rohillas and others numbering about 4,000 men, and declared war against the British in 1848. He was actively supported by a number of Hindu officials, but was soon defeated and killed. 67

There was a similar outbreak at Rawalpindi in 1853, four years after the annexation of the Panjab in 1849. One Nadir Khan declared a person to be Peshawara Singh, a reputed son of Ran jit Singh, mentioned above. 68 This prince really died several years ago, but it was alleged that he had escaped from the prison. A Hindu mendicant personified him and Nadir Khan organized a revolt in his favour, but it was shortly put down. 69

9. Violent mass agitation

Unpopular official measures occasionally provoked violent toasa demonstrations against the Government, though they did not lead to actual insurrection. The agitation in Surat against the raising of salt duty from eight annas to one Rupee is a striking illustration. According to the official report, as soon as the new Salt Act came to be known on August 27, 1844, there was a considerable degree of excitement among the poorer classes. “This gradually increased throughout the 28th and by the 29th had attained to such a height

that the whole of the Hindu population.assembled in front

of the houses of the most influential sowcars and other inhabitants of the town, and by breaking their windows and demonstrations of violence obliged some of them to accompany the mob to Adalut (court) intending to petition the Sessions Judge who is Magistrate of the town. At the same time the whole of the shops were closed”.

As the police on duty in the court premises closed the gates, “the people became exasperated and commenced an attack on them, pelting the police with tiles”, and a regular fight took place, but the people ceased offering violence even before the arrival of the military force. Thereafter the mob was persuaded by some sowcars to return home peacefully. But then a report was spread that the Government had imposed new cesses on various necessaries of life. The Government issued a proclamation denying this, and explaining the reason for enhancing salt duty. But even then, the next day, i.e. on 30 August, the people were in great excitement and almost all the shops were closed, mainly because, it was believed, of the excesses committed by the police. The authorities promised to hold an enquiry and hoped the disturbances would cease. But this did not happen. The official report proceeds:—“Till this time the real character of the disturbances was not understood. They were generally supposed to be occasioned by the lowest classes of the Hindus.......

Circumstances however soon transpired which gave rise to the belief that the disturbances were of a more serious nature, not only confined to one class of persons but that the feeling of discontent was universal, from the highest to the lowest, and that instead of a common riot we were on the verge of an insurrection”

Crowds again assembled before the court, and had to be dispersed by force. But they “fell back towards the castle and joined the multitudes assembled there, which had by this time become exceedingly tumultuous, covering the whole esplanade to the edge of the ditch of the fort”. One characteristic of the crowd was its strong anti-European spirit. European officers on the ramparts as well as European passers-by were pelted with bricks and tiles. The military drove away the crowd who kept up shouting “w r e will kill and be killed”. The authorities became afraid of “a general rising of the whole population” and brought a gun into the castle. Being faced with the alternatives of either reducing salt duty to the former rate or preparing to meet a regular insurrection, the authorities chose the former. The decision was met with “loud shout of approbation’’. In less than an hour shops opened and normal life was resumed. 70

Surat was the scene of another agitation in £848 when the Government decided to introduce Bengal Standard Weights and Measures. The people took resort to a sort of boycott and passive resistance in order to get the measure cancelled. It was announced by placards that the people of each caste had agreed to expel any one of their members who adopted the new weights. The shop-keepers closed their shops and leading members of every caste issued notices appealing to the people not to sell or give anything to the Government servants or to work for them until the matter was settled. Every day large crowds assembled and proclamations were issued on behalf of the people that they had subscribed Bs. 50,000 to contest the obnoxious measure up to the highest court in England; petitions signed by 5,000 persons were sent for cancelling the new measure. The resistance continued for a week, but in this case also the authorities had to yield to the popular demand. 71

These two instances are significant in more ways than one. In the first place, they anticipate the type of popular resistance to Government which became a common feature in India’s straggle for freedom more than half a century later. Secondly, they show an attitude of the Government towards popular feeling which gradually underwent a change for the worse. This will be evident from the way in which similar agitation in Surat in 1860 over the Income Tax Act was ruthlessly suppressed by brute force. The Bombay

Times remarked that “even in the trying year 1857, there was no act of firmness and wisdom more worthy to be recorded than this suppression of popular disaffection at Surat”. 72 Evidently, the Sepoy Mutiny had turned the balance.

1. Mill, VIII, 165.

2. For the hostilities of the Peshwa against die British, see Vol. VIII.

3. SB —I, 156-60.

4. For the account that follows, cf. Mill, VIH. 31 i ff., SB—I, 162 ff.

5. Mill, Vin. 313.

6. Ibid, 315-6.

7. Ibid, 316, f. n.

8. Ibid, 315.

9. Mill, IX. 177.

10. Ibid, 179.

11. SB—I, 164.

12. SB—I, 175.

13. MU!, IX. 181 f. n.

14. Mill, EX. 165.

15. Mill, IX. 166; SB—I, 94-5.

16. Mill, IX. 166; SB—I, 177 f. n,, 2.

17. Mill, IX. 167; SB—I, 175-6.

18. Mill, IX. 168.

19. Mill, IX. 168-9; SR—I. 176-7.

20. Mill, IX. 170; SB—I, 167.

21. Bijapur DG. 452; SB—I, 174.

22. Mill, IX. 174.

23. According to SB—I, 15, “the desai was raised to the position of an independent ruler.”

24. Mill, IX. 171-3; SB—I, 153-55.

25. Cf. Chapter V and also section 6 of this chapter.

25a. Sambalpur DG, pp. 25 ft.

26. SB—I, 191.

27. SB—I, 192-3.

28. SB—I, 194.

29. Cf. Chapter VI.

30. Freedom Movement , Bombay, I, 55-62, which contains interesting original records on the subject. For short accounts of Nursing's rebellion, cf. SB—I, 174; Bijapur DG, 452; these differ materially from the account given above on the authority of the original records.

31. SB—I, 136.

32. Ibid, 155.

33. The account is based on PIHRC, XIX. 68. A few new documents are published in Freedom Movement, Bombay, I. 63 ft. According to one of these, a statement of Bhide-Karkun before the Ratnagiri Magistrate, the general revolt was precipitated by an order from the British Government to keep the Raja and his brother in confinement. He further says that the garrison at Samangadh refused to pay revenues to the Mamlatdar appointed by D. K. Pandit, as they considered it derogatory, but they were willing to pay it to him. Pandit thereupon asked for military force from Belgaum and thus the revolt began.

33a. Freedom Movement, Bombay. I, 72.

34. SB—I, 170; PIHRC, XIX. 70.

35. SB—I, 146.

36. SB—I, 148.

37. Russell, Reports on the disturbances in th?. Zamindari of Goomsoor, 15-16.

38. SB—I, 148-52.

39. SB—I, 145.

40. SB—I, 178; Sagar DG, 24.

41. SB—I, 152; Kumool DG, 41-2; Cuddapah DG, 51.

42. SB—I. 190-1.

-13. Cf. Chapter V (Assam) and Chapter XXXII.

44. Lahiri, 72 ft.

45. See p. 107.

46. See pp 128, 140.

47. Lahiri, 72-99; SB—I, 102-5.

48. See p. 140.

49. See p. 133.

50. Lahiri, 68 ft.

51. Lahiri, 102; SB—I, 110.

52. SB—I, 110.

53. Thornton, V. 202.

54. Ibid, 203.

55. SB—I, 98; Shore, Notes , II, 97-8; Thornton, 202 ft

56. SB—I, 101-2.

57. For an authentic ant. well-documented account of the Meriah sacrifice, which was performed with most revolting cruelties, cf. BPP, Vol. 42 (1931), pp. 30 ft.

58. These attempts were highly creditable and partially successful. It has been estimated that over 1500 victims destined for the Meriah sacrifice were saved between 1837 and 1854. T o last Meriah sacrifice is said to have taken place in 1855(CHf, VI. 40; Trotter, I. 236-41).

59. Trotter, I. 77-9, 102-5.

60. There is a considerable literature on the Khond Rebellion. Cf. SB—I, 112; Trotter, I. 77 ft, 102 ft, 376; Angul DG, 28-31.

61. For the Santal rebellion, cf. K. K. Dutt, The Santal Insurrection of 185 5-7 (Calcutta, 1940); Trotter, I. 368-74; SB— I, 114-5. For a general account of

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? e f nd * L the i r rebellion, cf. Hunter, The Annals of Rural Bengal

pp. 210-258; for the heroic courage with which they fought, cf. 247-8.

Dutt, op. cit., 10. “You forced us to fight against you w , said one of their leaders in the Birbhum jail. “We asked only what was fair, and you gave us no answer When we tried to get redress by arms, you shot us like leopards in jungle” (Hunter, op. cit. 254).

Trotter, I. 369.

SB—I, 115.

SB—I, 105.

SB—I, 171-2.

SB—I, 178-9; Yeotmal DG, 37-8; Trotter, I. 223-4.

See p. 255.

SB—I, 180.

For a detailed account of the Surat agitation, cf. Freedom Movement, Bombay, I.

(In P U??n? eS iS. UO » < v 816 from . •“ °®cial letter reproduced in this volume (pp. 4-10). The italics are mine.

Ibid, 17-3.

Ibid, 21.

BOOK L

POLITICAL HISTORY PART II.

THE MUTINY AND THE REVOLT OF 1857-8

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CHAPTER XV

THE OUTBREAK OF THE MUTINY, 1857

1. Beginning of the Mutinous Spirit

Early in January, 1857, a Brahman sepoy, belonging to one of the British regiments stationed at Dumdum, about five miles to the north of Calcutta, was walking leisurely to his *chowka n to prepare his food, with his lota (water-pot, usually made of brass or bellmetal), full of water, in his hand. He was met on the way by a low-caste khalasi , 2 attached to the magazine at Dumdum, who asked him to let him drink from his lota. The sepoy, a high-caste Brahman, refused, saying: "I have scoured my lota; you will defile it by your touch". The khalasi rejoined, probably with some amount of pungency and not without some inner delight: "You think much of your caste, but wait a little, the Sahib-log (Englishmen) will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?". 3 The explanation was not long in coming. Towards the end of the year 1856, the military authorities in India proposed to replace the old-fashioned musket by the Enfield Rifle which required a particular species of cartridge, greased with lard made from the fat either of the hog or of the ox. 4 These cartridges were being manufactured at Dumdum and therefore the khalasi was expected to know the details. To the consternation of the Brahman sepoy it was explained by the khalasi that the end of these cartridges had to be bitten off with teeth. Subsequent investigations have proved beyond doubt that the statement of the khalasi was true in every detail. 5

The Brahman sepoy, terribly upset, lost no time in carrying the news to his comrades. The effect of the rumour can be easily understood by any one who knows anything about the religious ideas of the classes of people from whom the sepoys were recruited. To touch by the teeth the fat of the cow and the pig would violate the religious injunctions of both the Hindus and the Muslims. Further, the Hindu sepoys very rightly apprehended that by so doing they would not only pollute themselves beyond redemption, but would also be ostracised by their caste people. Those who know anything of the Hindu society in those days would readily agree that this fear was not only not unfounded, but would weigh even more heavily with many of them.

The rumour about the greased cartridges produced consternation among the sepoys at the cantonment at Barrackpur, 15 miles from Calcutta, and they, along with their native commissioned officers, placed the matter before the authorities. Hearsey, the General commanding at Barrackpur, was so much impressed with the gravity of the situation, that he recommended that the sepoys might be allowed at the depot to grease their own cartridges. The Government accepted this suggestion on 27th January, and "transmitted orders by telegraph to the Adjutant-General to issue only cartridges free from grease, and to permit the sipahis to do the greasing themselves". The Adjutant-General "wired back that the concessions of the Government would rouse the very suspicion they were intended to allay; that for years past the sipahis had been using greased cartridges, the grease being mutton fat or wax; and that he begged that the system might be continued". The Government ''replied that the greased cartridges might be issued, provided the materials were only those mentioned by the Adjutant-General". 6

It was also suggested by responsible Englishmen, outside the army, that a representative body of the sepoys might be taken to the manufacturing depots so that they might see with their own eyes the whole process of preparing the cartridges. 7 But this eminently reasonable suggestion was not acted upon. The Government did not evidently realize the depth of the feeling that excited the sepoys; in any case, they did nothing that might allay the suspicion of the sepoys, who not only firmly believed that the fat of the cow and the pig was still being used, but, what was still worse, that this was being deliberately done to convert them into Christianity. Such suspicions, once roused, are very hard to remove and have a tendency to grow from more to more. It was not long before the effect of the rumour about the greased cartridges upon the" minds of the sepoys could be clearly seen. Acts of incendiarism were reported from Barrackpur, as well as from Ranigunge where a wing of the Barrackpur regiment was stationed. 8 It was believed at the time, and since proved on reasonable evidence, that these were committed by the sepoys who "vented their rage by setting fire to public buildings and their officers' Bungalow's". The feeling ran very high among the sepoys of the 34th N.I. stationed at Barrackpur. 9 On February 18 and 25, two detachments of the 34th N.I. arrived in course of their routine duty at Berhampur, about 120 miles from Calcutta, where the 19th N.I. was located. There can be hardly any doubt that the men of the 34th communicated their feelings about the cartridge to those of the 19th. In any case, on the 26th evening the latter refused to receive their percussion

caps for the parade on the following morning on the ground that they were suspicious of the cartridges. As soon as the news reached Mitchell, the Commanding Officer, he 'hastened in hot passion to the sepoy lines' and rebuked them severely. This confirmed the suspicions of the sepoys, and at about midnight the regiment rose as one man, the sepoys loading their muskets and shouting violently. Mitchell wanted to use force against the sepoys, but yielded to the saner advice of the native officers. Next morning the excitement among the sepoys subsided. They fell in for parade and obeyed the orders as before. 10 The Government instituted a Court of Inquiry and, on their findings, "determined to treat it as a local incident, which had attained undue proportions owing to violent measures taken by Col. Mitchell. The Governor-General in Council, therefore, resolved to disband the 19th". 11

The open defiance of authority by the 19th N.I. for the sake of their religion, even at the risk of sacrificing their all, put the other sepoys to a sense of shame and self-reproach, and served as an inspiration. Besides, the sepoys of the 34th N.I. very rightly felt that they were mainly responsible for the terrible disgrace which awaited the 19th N.I. Matters came to a head when Mangal Pandey, a sepoy of the 34th N.I., openly mutinied, single-handed.

On Sunday, 29 March, it was reported to Lieutenant Baugh, Adjutant of the 34th N.I., that a sepoy, named Mangal Pandey, had turned out in front of the quarter-guard of the regiment and fired at the sergeant-major. Baugh immediately galloped down to the lines. As soon as he arrived at the quarter-guard, a shot was fired and his horse fell under him. Seeing that Mangal Pandey was reloading, he fired, but missed. Then Baugh drew his sword and rushed in to secure Mangal Pandey, while the sergeant-major came to his aid. But Mangal Pandey severely wounded them with his sword, and both of them were knocked down by the treacherous blow of another sepoy. But a third sepoy, Shaikh Pultoo, came to their rescue. He held Mangal Pandey, and the two wounded English officers escaped. During all this time no other sepoy came to assist the officers or arrest Mangal Pandey. Meanwhile, General Hearsey, having heard the news, galloped to the place and saw, from a distance, Mangal Pandey striding up and down, vehemently calling upon his comrades "to join him to defend and die for their religion and caste." The General, accompanied by his two sons, reached the guard and ordered them to follow him. The men of the guard, after some hesitation, followed. As they approached, Mangal Pandey fired, but missed; then, having turned the muzzle of his gun towards his own breast he discharged it by the pressure of his foot. His self inflicted wound, though severe, was superficial, and he was conveyed to hospital. General Hearsay then reproached the men of the 34th Native Infantry for their passive demeanour. They answered in one voice, "He is mad; he has taken bhang (intoxicating drug) to excess/' The General replied: "Could you not have seized him, and if he resisted, have shot him or maimed him?" They said he had loaded his musket "What!" the General replied, "are you afraid of a loaded musket?" They remained silent, and when ordered by the General to go quietly to their lines, did so.[12] Thus closed the first important episode of the Mutiny, showing that, though a spirit of sullen resentment overpowered the minds of the sepoys, and they were prepared to disobey, even defy, orders, they were not yet ready for the extreme step of breaking into mutiny, and there was not as yet any concerted plan of action regarding it.

Mangal Pandey and the jamadar were tried and executed, and the 34th N.I., like the 19th, were disbanded. The dishonoured sepoys of these two regiments returned in a sullen mood to their distant homes in Avadh, there to spread the story of the cartridges greased with the fat of the cow and the pig, which was sure to excite the masses who would, not unnaturally, look upon these sepoys as martyrs in the cause of their religion.

It was apparent ere long that the contagion was far more widely spread than was at first imagined. Unerring evidence was daily accumulating to show that the discontent and mutinous spirit had affected the sepoys of the whole

Bengal Army located in remote parts of India. The incidents of Barrackpur were repeated at Ambala, at the other end of the country, towards the end of March. Here, again, We find the same piteous appeal of the sepoys to save their caste and religion by withdrawing the greased cartridges, the sympathy of the local officers but opposition of the Central Government, followed by acts of incendiarism. Towards the end of April, a Sikh gave evidence “that the men had sworn to burn down every bungalow in the station in revenge of the order to use the cartridges”. 13

The same scene was enacted at Lakhnau shortly after. But here the situation grew more serious than mere incendiarism. On May 2, the 7th Oudh Regiment refused to bite the greased cartridges, saying that they must do as the rest of the army did. On May 3, it was reported that the sepoys had threatened to murder the officers. Henry Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of Avadh, acted promptly and other Indian regiments co-operated with him. Most of the mutineers fled at his approach, and the rest laid down their arms when ordered to do so. The regiment was later disbanded.

Less than three months after the khalasi had told the Brahman sepoy the story of the greased cartridges, “it had become an article of faith with nine-tenths of the sepoys of Northern India”. 14 In the meantime another rumour was spread to the effect “that the officers were mixing dust ground from the bones of cows with the flour for their men’s use, and throwing it into the wells”. It had such a firm hold on the men at Kanpur, where the price of flour soared very high, that they refused to touch a cheap supply sent specially from Mirat because they feared that it had been adulterated. 16 About the same time appeared the mysterious chapati (unleavened bread made of flour which formed the staple diet for men of Upper India). It was widely spread over a large area, and its meaning and significance will be discussed later.

2. Mirat (Meerut)

Mirat was a military cantonment situated about 40 miles to the north of Delhi. At this important military station there were, two regiments of Native Infantry and one of Native Cavalry. As against these, the British troops consisted of a dragoon regiment, a battalion of Rifles, and bodies of horse and foot artillery, “forming altogether the strongest European force at any post in the North-Western Provinces". 16 Here, as elsewhere, the sepoys were excited by the rumours of greased cartridges and of bone-dust mixed with flour, and the usual acts of incendiarism followed. The matter came' to a head when, on 24 April, 1857, 17 eighty-five troopers out of ninety, of the Third Cavalry, refused to touch the cartridges on the parade ground. They were tried by a Court martial and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment with hard labour, but the Commander of the Division reduced the sentence to half in the case of eleven of the younger offenders.

The sepoys were guilty of an offence which was solely due to their religious scruples. As will be related later, even the British Commander-in-Chief expressed the opinion that there was nothing to be surprised at the objection of the sepoys to use the greased cartridges. 18 Yet, for this offence, the sepoys were sentenced to penal servitude and treated as felons. But if the sentence was a heavy one, it was executed in a way that outraged every sense of decency. On May 9, the condemned men were led to the parade ground which was open to the public and attended by all the troops of the station, both native and European. The reader may get a fair idea of the scene from the following graphic account given by Kaye, the great historian of the Mutiny.

"Under a guard of Rifles and Carabineers, the Eighty-five were then brought forward, clad in their regimental uniforms—soldiers still; and then the sentence was read aloud, which was to convert soldiers into felons. Their accoutrements were taken from them, and their uniforms were stripped from then* backs. Then the armourers and the smiths came forward with their shackles and their tools, and soon, in the presence of that great concourse of their old comrades, the Eightyfive stood, with the outward symbols of their dire disgrace fastened upon them. It was a piteous spectacle, and many there were moved with a great compassion, when they saw the despairing gestures of those wretched men, among whom were some of the very flower of the regiment soldiers who had served the British Government in trying circumstances and in strange places, and who had never before wavered in their allegiance. Lifting up their hands and lifting up their voices, the prisoners implored the General to have mercy upon them, and not to consign them to so ignominious a doom. Then, seeing that there was no othei hope, they turned to their comrades and reproached them for quietly suffering thi« disgrace to descend upon them. There was not a Sepoy present who did not feel the rising indignation in his throat. But in the presence of those loaded field-guns and those grooved rifles, and the glittering sabres of the Dragoons, there could not be a thought of striking. The prisoners were marched off to their cells, to be placed under the custody of a guard of their own countrymen/’ 9

The effect of this scene upon the other sepoys and the people at large has been described by many writers on the authority of contemporary accounts. The comrades of the condemned sepoys fully shared the views for which the latter were imprisoned. As Malleson puts it, “they had not been insensible to the reproaches which their ironed and shackled comrades had cast upon them as they marched off, prisoners, to the gaol”. 20 Their passive acquiescence, they felt, would bring eternal infamy and disgrace upon them. That this was no mere idle fear is borne out by the fact that the people at large, and even some courtesans, taunted the sepoys for their pusillanimity. No wonder, therefore, that the excitement of the sepoys at Mirat was not merely of a passive character, as was the case in Barrackpur. As Forrest puts it, the troopers, “maddened by the spectacle, at once prepared for a revolt from the English rule, and in order to rescue their comrades resolved to dare the worst extremity”. 21 The details of the plot are not exactly known, but it is generally held that the sepoys, belonging to all the regiments, held counsels together, and decided to rise in a body the very next day which, being a Sunday when the Europeans would be absent at the church, appeared to be very suitable for their purpose. On the other hand, there are grounds to believe that the outbreak was not definitely prearranged, but was precipitated on Sunday evening by the assemblage of the Rifles for church parade, when suddenly a cry was raised, “the Rifles and Artillery are coming to disarm all the native regiments”, and the sepoys, followed by a mob, rushed wildly to their lines. 22

Whatever may be the circumstances leading to the actual outbreak, there is no r^oubt that the lead was taken by the Third Cavalry, to which regiment the condemned sepoys belonged. On May 10, Sunday, at about sunset, when the British Rifles assembled for church parade, the Third Cavalry looked upon it as the signal for their own imprisonment. Immediately, several hundreds of them galloped to the jail and released not only their comrades but also its other inmates. Meanwhile the infantry regiments had grown restive, and their officers hastened to the lines to pacify them. They showed signs of submission, “when suddenly a trooper galloped past, and shouted out that the European troops were coming to disarm them’*. 23 One of the regiments, the 20th, immediately seized their muskets, but the other, the 11th, still hesitated. But at this juncture the Commanding Officer of the latter, Col. Finnis, who was remonstrating with his men, was fired upon by the men of the other regiment and was immediately killed. The 11th regiment at once joined the other mutineers.

Then followed a scene of indescribable horror and confusion. The sepoys were joined by the convicts released from jail and ether goonda elements, and they all set out to slay the Europeans and burn and plunder their houses. They killed indiscriminately, not sparing even women or children, and blazing houses all around threw their lurid light upon the scenes of plunder and desecration. It is probable, however, that this nefarious work, continued throughout the night, was done mostly by the criminals and the goonda elements who are never found wanting to take advantage of such a situation to serve their personal ends and satisfy their criminal propensities. Howsoever one might apportion the guilt, Mirat set an example which was only too closely imitated, ere long, in numerous localities over a wide area. But, as will be shown later, the British troops were more than a match for their Indian colleagues, not only in military skill, but also in perpetrating such cruel deeds. The sepoys had sown the wind and the Indians reaped the whirlwind.

The sepoys at Mirat knew full well that they could be easily crushed by European troops of the station. So, immediately after the first orgies of murder and plunder were over, they sat together to deliberate over their future line of action. There was no question that they must immediately leave Mirat, but the place of retreat was debated upon for a long time. It is generally held by the historians of the Mutiny, that under a pre-arranged plan they marched towards Delhi almost immediately after the outbreak had begun. But accord* ing to the testimony of Munshi Mohanlal, the mutineers at Mirat had not at first any idea of coming to Delhi, and it was only decided after a long deliberation and discussion which fully convinced them that the advantages of such a course were greater than those offered by any other. As Mohanlal says that he got this information from two sepoys of Mirat, it is reasonable to accept it in preference to the other view. 24

The sepoys must have left Mirat during the early hours of the night, for when a few hours after the outbreak, the British army, after inordinate delay, had advanced to quell the disturbances, the sepoys were nowhere to be seen, either in the town or in the lines, and the soldiers could only wreak their vengeance on the unarmed plunderers alone. By an incredible folly, the British commander did not take any measure to pursue the fleeing sepoys who, throughout their march to Delhi during that critical night, was apprehending at every moment that they would be overtaken and overwhelmed by the British troops.

The sepoys of Mirat reached Delhi soon after day-break on the 11th of May. Those who arrived first went straight to the Red Fort, and requested Bahadur Shah to take the lead in the campaign which they had already begun. After a great deal of hesitation, Bahadur Shah at last agreed, and was proclaimed Emperor. 26 In the meantime, as more and more sepoys from Mirat arrived, the massacre of Europeans—men, women and children—began in full fury. There was no means of resistance, as both the civil and military authorities were taken completely unawares. Then the mutineers proceeded to the cantonment where the local sepoys joined them and cut off their own officers. Deserted by the sepoys, the remaining Europeans, both civil and military, fled from Delhi as best as they could, and in less than a week not one of them was left in that city. The great magazine, with its vast stores of ammunition, was blown up by the British officers themselves to prevent it from falling into the hands of the mutineers. The success of the mutineers was complete, and they became undisputed masters of the city of Delhi under the nominal authority of the titular Emperor, Bahadur Shah. The strongly fortified walls of the city offered a protection and security which they badly needed at the initial stage before the country as a whole caught the mutinous spirit, and the prestige of the Imperial House of the

Timurids served as a symbol for rallying heterogeneous elements round a common banner.

So well was all this understood by the British, that they regarded the recapture of Delhi as the most immediate and important objective of their military campaigns. Thus the eyes of friends and foes alike were turned towards the Imperial city, and every reasonable man, not blinded by prejudices and passion engendered by ambition or self-interest, could easily perceive that the future of the entire movement depended upon the fate of Delhi.

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Private cooking place of a sepoy.

A menial.

General Hearsey's letter, dated February 11, 1857, quoted in AS, 117.

The Mutiny of the Bengal Army (known as Red Pamphlet) (London, 1857). Evidence for this has been given in Ch. XXI.

Malleson—II, 44.

The suggestion was made in the Englishman, a Calcutta Daily, on February 3, 1857. I am indebted to Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri for this information.

These and other incidents, to which reference is made in this Chapter, are well-known episodes, mentioned in all standard books on the Mutiny. Hence they are not described in detail, and no reference to authorities is given.

N. I. stands for ‘Native Infantry’. The figure is that of the Regiment.

The account is based on Kaye—I, Vol. I, 501 ff. and Holmes, 83-4. Malleson takes a somewhat different view of Mitchell's conduct (Malleson —II. 40 ff.). Malleson—II. 42.

Forrest—I, I. 18-22. This account, based on the statement of Hearsay and evidence of eye-witnesses, slightly differs from that of Holmes (86-7). Holmes, 89.

Ibid.

Ibid, 90.

Ibid, 96.

Malleson gives the date as 6th May (Malleson—II. 62), but this is evidently wrong.

Roberts—II. 49, f. n.; Kaye—I, Vol. I. 558 f. n. For this and other views supporting the objection of the sepoys to use greased cartridges, cf. Ch. XXI. Kaye—I, Vol, II. 51-2.

Malleson—H. 64.

Forrest—I. 34.

Holmes says he was "convinced of this by the argument of Colonel G; W. Williams, who collected a vast amount of evidence on the subject". He also quotes the statement of a witness that "the said regiments did not plot anything beforehand. Had they done so, they would not have kept their wives and children with them as they did". "Other witnesses gave similar replies" (Holmes, p. 99). On the other hand, as will be related in Chapter XX, the probability of a mutiny at Mirat was known in Delhi before May 10. It appears that while a Mutiny was talked about at Mirat for some days, no definite arrangement was made, and no particular date was fixed, and the actual outbreak was due to a sudden impulse on May 10.

Holmes, 100.

This point will be further discussed in Chapter XX with reference to authorities.

For details see Chapter XVH, Section 2.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SPREAD OF THE MUTINY

1. A General Outline

The news of the mutiny of sepoys at Mirat, followed immediately by the capture of Delhi and the declaration of Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of Hindusthan, created a great sensation all over India. Its immediate reactions could be found in an abortive rising of the sepoys at Firozpur on May 13, and the outbreak of violent disturbances at Muzaffarnagar, followed by the mutiny of sepoys, on the 14th. These two minor incidents apart, the sepoys, the civil population, as well as the goonda elements, although highly excited by "the most exaggerated reports of the total collapse of British rule", remained in animated suspense for a week. Evidently, they regarded it as a mere accident or a passing phase, and expected at any moment to hear of the restoration of British authority. But as days passed, and every one of them brought evidence of lethargy and inactivity on the part of the British and stories of their disgrace and discomfiture in Delhi, the signs of reaction began to show themselves. A series of mutinies of sepoys, followed in many cases by the revolt of civil population, convulsed nearly the whole of Northern India. The first to rise was a detachment of sepoys at Aligarh on May 20, 1857. At first they remained not only unmoved, but quite loyal, and even delivered to the authorities a Brahman who had plotted to murder British officers. But when the conspirator was hanged in their presence, a sepoy pointed to the quivering body, and exclaimed to his comrades, "Behold! a martyr to our religion". The effect was almost instantaneous. The sepoys rose in a body, drove away their officers, and left for Delhi. This was followed by mutinies in the Panjab, at Naushera, on May 21, and Hoti Mardan during the next two or three days; but these were easily put down. Far more serious, however, were the series of mutinies in Avadh and NorthWestern Provinces,—at Etawa and Mainpuri (May 23), Rurki (May 25), Etah (May 27), Modal, Mathura, and Lakhnau (May 30), Bareilly and Shahjahanpur (May 31), Moradabad and Budaon (June 1), Azamgarh and Sitapur (June 3), Malaon, Mohamdi, Varanasi (Banaras) and Kanpur (Cawnpore) (June 4), Jhansi and Allahabad (June 6), Fyzabad (June 7), Dariabad and Fatepur (June'9), Fategarh (June 18), Hathras (July 1), and several other localities.

In general these mutinies followed the pattern set by Mirat. The sepoys killed the officers and other Europeans on whom they

could lay their hands, in many cases sparing neither women nor children. They also released the prisoners from jail, plundered the treasury, burnt Government offices, and then either set out for Delhi, or joined some local chiefs, or roamed at large, seeking to enrich themselves by indiscriminate plunder of both Indians and Europeans. There were, of course, exceptions to their general cruelty towards their late masters. In some cases the British officers were allowed to depart without any harm befalling them, and there are even instances where the sepoys watched over their safety during their flight. Thus, though many British officers and the members of their family were killed, many also succeeded in escaping to places of safety. Except in rare instances, as at Lakhnau (Lucknow) and Kanpur, the Europeans, or rather those among them that escaped or survived the massacre, quitted their stations.

The mutinies in Delhi and some other regions, notably Avadh, Rohilkhand and West Bihar, soon merged themselves into revolts of civil population against the British authority under local leaders. These will be described in the next chapter. A brief account of the principal centres of mutiny in other parts of India is given below.

2. Kanpur (Cawnpore)

The mutiny at Kanpur has achieved a notoriety beyond all proportions because of the part played by, or supposed to be played by, Dhondu Pant, alias Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, the last Peshwa. Reference has been made above 1 to his unsuccessful attempt to inherit the pension enjoyed by his father, the ex-Peshwa. It is not unnatural that he would harbour resentment against the English. But Nana certainly gave no outward sign of his disaffection, or even of want of affection, towards the British, until destiny threw him into the vortex of the mighty upheaval in 1857. In spite of the rejection of his appeal by the Court of Directors, which set at rest his hope of securing the pension granted to his father, Nana continued his cordial relations with the British officials throughout the six years that followed, and ingratiated himself with the local British community by many acts of kindness and hospitality. 2

Nana had inspired so much confidence in the British officials, both civil and military, that when the mutiny broke out at Mirat, and apprehensions were felt about the fidelity of the local sepoys, the Magistrate, Mr. Hillersdon, expected to suppress the mutiny, if it occurred, with the help of Nana. After consultation with Sir Hugh Wheeler, the Commander of the local forces, Hillersdon asked for the aid oi Nana to guard the treasury, which was situated five miles away and contained more than a hundred thousand Pounds in cash. Nana

complied with the request and sent a body of his retainers with two guns. According to Shepherd, a contemporary writer, 'Nana Saheb offered his services; his offer was accepted and he came with 500 armed men and two guns'. 3 Mowbray Thomson, one of the four survivors of the Kanpur tragedy, however, categorically states that 'Nana did not volunteer his services, but Mr. Hillersdon, after consultation with Sir Qugh Wheeler, sent over to Bithoor requesting the presence and aid of Nana Saheb; he came instantly attended by his body-guard and engaged to send a force of two hundred cavalry, four hundred infantry, and two guns to protect the revenue.* 4 The retainers, whose number is variously estimated from two hundred to six hundred, posted themselves at Nawabganj which commanded both the treasury and the magazine. According to Tantia Topi's statement, he "went with Nana and about one hundred sepoys and three hundred matchlockmen and two guns to the Collector's house at Kanpur. The Collector... said it was fortunate we had come to his aid, as the sepoys had become disobedient, and that he would apply to the General in our behalf. He did so, and the General wrote to Agra, whence a reply came that arrangements would be made for the pay of our men**. 6 This took place on May 22, i.e. twelve days after the mutiny at Mirat, and on the 23rd the British women and children and non-combatants took shslter within an improvised entrenchment. On the whole the view that Nana's aid was sought for by the British seems to be more probable.

All this definitely proves that the British residents at Kanpur did not entertain the least suspicion about Nana’s fidelity to the British cause. This has been clearly expressed, in connection with this incident, by Mowbray Thomson as follows: “The relations we had always sustained with this man had been of so friendly a nature that not a suspicion of his fidelity entered the minds of any of our leaders; his reinforcements considerably allayed the feverish excitement caused by our critical condition, and it was even proposed that the ladies should be removed to his residence at Bithoor, that they might be in a place of safety.” 3

Late at night on June 4, 7 the 2nd Cavalry, and an hour or two later, the 1st Native Infantry mutinied, but did not attack their officers. The 56th N. I. joined the mutiny on the morning of the 5th, but the 53rd N.I. remained loyal. They resisted the pressure of the other sepoys to join them, and were peacefully engaged in their daily avocations, when “Ashe’s battery opened upon them by Sir Hugh Wheeler’s command and they were literally driven from us by ninepounders”. 3 A detachment of this regiment, posted at the treasury, fought for four hours against the rebel sepoys. The loyal remnant of this regiment, ‘though prepared to stand by their officers till the last, were not admitted into the entrenchment and were ultimately dismissed with a few rupees each and a certificate of fidelity’. 8 This is not the only instance where the panic of the British, not altogether unjustified, led to suspicion, and suspicion led to mutiny or desertion of troops who would probably have otherwise remained faithful.

The mutinous sepoys, as could be easily anticipated, made straight for the treasury at Nawabganj, and Nana’s retainers probably fraternised with them. As noted above, the faithful sepoys of the 53rd N.I. held their ground for four hours, but as no relief came, were overpowered and fled. The mutineers rifled the treasury, released the prisoners in jail, and took possession of the magazine. Then they marched towards Delhi and reached Kalyanpur, the first stage of the road.

So far the general course of the mutiny at Kanpur is known with certainty. But the dramatic events that took place on the 5th June at Kalyanpur are shrouded in mystery. Nana is the chief actor in the whole drama, and its different versions reflect the different attitudes entertained towards that hero. There is no dispute about the last act of the drama, namely, that the mutinous sepoys, instead of proceeding to Delhi, returned to Kanpur, on June 6, under the leadership of Nana. But there are differences of opinion on the two vital questions: (1) When and why did Nana join the mutinous troops? and (2) What induced them to return to Kanpur after they had proceeded one march on the road to Delhi?

First, there is the view that Nana had been in secret league with the sepoys long before the Mutiny and offered his help to the British only to betray them later and destroy them all the more easily. As noted above, the highest. British officials at Kanpur had no such suspicion at the time, and as will be shown later, the idea was discredited by some British officials even after the Mutiny was over. This view is not supported by any authentic and positive testimony, and rests mainly upon the diary of Nanak Chand and evidence of witnesses who were not improbably in league with him and simply corroborated whatever he recorded. It should be remembered that the evidences were rcorded shortly after the recapture of Kanpur by the British when everybody would come forward to save his skin or earn a reward by denouncing the conduct of Nana.

G. W. Forrest, who had to deal with these depositions in his famous collection of official records on the Mutiny, rightly observes: Thfere are, it is true, the depositions of sixtythree witnesses, natives and half-castes, taken under the directions of Colonel Williams, Commissioner of Police in the North-Western Provinces, but they are the depositions of men who had, or thought they had, the rope round their neck. Their evidence is full of discrepancies, and must be treated with extreme caution*” [10]

As to Nanak Chand, he was himself a base informer and a sworn enemy of Nana for a long time before the outbreak of the Mutiny. It has been proved beyond doubt that his so-called “diary”, on which some modern historians have relied, was not a day-to-day record of events, but really an account, put in the present shape, long after the events entered under different dates had occurred. [11]

As regards the character of the man it would be sufficient to state that when his application for a reward was referred to G. E. Lance, Collector of Kanpur, the latter wrote as follows on May 15, 1862: "Nanak Chand was a common informer and had disgusted everyone that has had anything to do with him.. .1 know that the officer (G. W. Sherer, Collector of Kanpur) latterly never admitted him inside his compound. His so-called diary is generally supposed to have brought him in a handsome sum of money as it depended upon what fie received whether a person's name was entered as a rebel or well-wisher." 12 Such is the man, on whom Sir George Trevelyan and T. Rice Holmes implicitly relied in giving an account of Nana and the mutiny of sepoys at Kanpur. Sober history cannot, however, place much reliance on what Nanak Chand says, and must dismiss, as quite improved, the allegation that Nana was in league with the sepoys at Kanpur long before they broke out into mutiny.

Both Shepherd, writing in 1857, and Mowbray Thomson writing in 1859, seem to imply that Nana first joined the mutineers when they* reached Nawabganj, where the treasury was situated, and to which place they proceeded directly from the cantonment. It is not a little curious that though both of them wrote from memory their own personal impressions, the incident is described by them in almost identical words. Thomson writes: "When they reached Nawabgunge the Nana came out to meet them and at their head proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the government elephants laden with public money". 13 Shepherd says: "It is reported that when the mutineers reached Nawabgunge, the Nana came out to receive them, and taking them with him proceeded to the treasury, where he had all the Government elephants well laden with the public money". 1 -* None of them could have any personal knowledge of the incident, and both relied on hearsay reports, as Shepherd plainly admits. But it seems from the very close agreement, noted above, that both of them probably drew upon an identical written report. There is, however, one significant difference between the two. Both say that Nana distributed a portion of the

loot among the mutinous sepoys, but whereas Thomson adds that Nana forthwith assumed their command', Shepherd is silent about it, and adds a different account in his book, published long after, as will be shown later.

Not much reliance can therefore be placed on the hearsay evidence of Mowbray Thomson and Shepherd. At the same time it has to be admitted that the reasons which induced Nana to join the mutineers cannot be determined with absolute certainty. We have no evidence of any person, who may be reasonably credited with a knowledge of the truth, save and except Tantia Topi, whose statement on this point runs as follows: “The three regiments of infantry and the Second Light Cavalry surrounded us, and imprisoned the Nana and myself in the Treasury and plundered the Magazine and the Treasury of everything they contained, leaving nothing in either. Of the treasure, the sepoys made over two lacs and eleven thousand rupees to the Nana, keeping their own sentries over it. The Nana was also under charge of these sentries, and the sepoys who were with us joined the rebels. After this the whole army marched from that place, and the rebels took the Nana Sahib and myself and all our attendants along with them, and said, ‘Come along to Delhi'. Having gone three coss from Cawnpore, the Nana said that as the day was far spent, it was far better to halt there then, and to march on the following day. They agreed to this, and halted. In the morning the whole army told him (Nana) to go with them towards Delhi. The Nana refused, and the army then said, ‘Come with us to Cawnpore and fight there’. The Nan* objected to this, but they would not attend to him. And so, taking him with them as a prisoner, they went towards Cawnpore, and fighting commenced there.” 1 6 The subsequent portion of this account suggests that the position of Nana v«s d vis the sepoys was not unlike that of Bahadur Shah, and though he was the nominal leader of the sepoys, they did not obey his orders.

As Tantia was a devoted follower of Nana, and himself a rebel against the British, his statement cannot, of course, be taken as unvarnished truth. At the same time it is to be remembered that the statement was a sort of dying declaration, made by Tantia at a time when he had nothing to hope or fear from the British. He and Nana had committed acts which could never be forgiven or forgotten, and he was in the hands of those whose recent conduct proved beyond doubt that they never forgave nor forgot. So he could not possibly have any motive for hiding his own or Nana’s guilt; on the other hand, there was every temptation to create the impression that they fought a patriotic or national war against the hated English which would enshrine their memory in the hearts of their countrymen. So, if Nana had taken the lead in the mutiny of sepoys, one would normally expect Tantia to have emphasized, rather than denied, the

fact.

It is interesting to note that Tantia's version is supported by Nana's own statement in a petition, dated 20 April, 1859, addressed to Her Majesty the Queen etc. He says that he "joined the rebels from helplessness" and elucidates it as follows:—

"My soldiers were not of my own country, and I previously urged that so insignificant (gureeb) a person as myself could render no material aid to the British. But General Wheeler would not listen to me and invited me into the entrenchments. When your army mutinied and proceeded to take possession of the Treasury my soldiers joined them. Upon this I reflected that if I went into the Entrenchments my soldiers would kill my family, and that the British would punish me for the rebellion of my soldiers. It was therefore better for me to die. My ryots were urgent and I was obliged to join the soldiers". 16

Here, again, one should not ordinarily put much faith in the statement of Nana made in a petition for mercy. There are, however, two considerations which might possibly lead one to think otherwise. In the first place, it agrees with the statement of Tantia Topi, quoted above, made only a few days earlier at a very distant place, after the two had been separated for a pretty long time. Secondly, in course of the correspondence that followed the petition referred to above, Nana repeatedly declared that he would fight till the last and did not ferr to die as "life must be given up some day". This makes it highly improbable that he would deny his active participation in the mutiny, if it were true, merely out of fear. Besides, he must have known very well that the British were sure of unearthing evidence in favour of it, if it were a fact, after his surrender.

A somewhat dramatic account of the conversion of Nana is given by Holmes in his narration of the events that took place just before the mutiny broke out. "The mutineers had sent a deputation of their officers to sound the intentions of Nana. Introduced into his presence, the spokesman addressed him in these words: “Maharajah, a kingdom awaits you if you join our enterprise, but death if you side with our enemies”. “What have I to do with the British?” replied the Nana, “I am altogether yours”. The officers went on to ask him whether he would lead them to Delhi. He assented, and then, laying his hands upon the head of each, swore that he would observe his promise. The delegates returned to their comrades; and next morning the four regiments marched as far as Kullianpore, on the road to Delhi”. 1 *

Holmes presumably based this account on Shepherd’s later narrative. Dr. Sen, who refers to this incident more briefly, also cites Shepherd as his authority. 18 As Shepherd was in Kanpur at the time, his narrative has carried weight with many. But there are certain circumstances which detract its value. In the first place, as noted above, the incident is not mentioned in Shepherd’s account, dated August 29, 1857, 19 i.e. almost immediately after the suppression of the mutiny at Kanpur, It is to be found only in his book published (first in 1862 and again) in 1878 and 1888. 20 Secondly, the whole paragraph containing the incident is put within inverted commas, showing that Shepherd quoted it from some other source whose identity he does not disclose. Thirdly, it is full of contradictions. 21 It begins by saying that Nana, immediately after his arrival at Kanpur from Bithur, “began to tamper with the troops and succeeded in effectually corrupting the fidelity of the 2nd Cavalry and the 1st N. I.”. As this is hardly consistent with the story of the deputation of the sepoys, it has been added that the Deputation was ‘prompted’, in other words 'stage managed’, by Nana’s brother and others, though the necessity of any such mock show in that critical moment is not quite evident. Nevertheless, after narrating the incident of the deputation, the writer of the para adds: “Thus it is evident that up to this time there was no understanding come to in regard to attacking General Wheeler, or where would have been the necessity for marching away from the station”. The quotation ends here and Shepherd adds that “it was the golundazes of the Oudh battery who represented to Nana” the advantages likely to be derived from attacking the English in their entrenchments at Kanpur. Shepherd then resumes the quotation as follows: “A consultation was then held between the Nana and his advisers, in which Bala Rao and

Azimulla took the lead. The folly of going to Delhi, where everyone of them was likely to lose his individual influence and power was discussed, and it was unanimously agreed that Nana was the proper person to assume the sovereignty in these provinces... ". Shepherd then adds: "Accordingly the Nana proceeded to Kullianpore and told the mutineers he would double the amount of pay they received from the British Government if they would agree to stay

and fight-". 22 This also hardly fits in with the story of the

Deputation which had already promised a kingdom to Nana.

Now, neither the story of Nana's tampering with the troops before the Mutiny nor that of the Deputation was known to Mowbray Thomson in 1859. As they do not occur in the first account of Shepherd, it is obvious that he himself neither knew nor heard of these incidents up to the end of August, 1857, but later got them

from a secondary source, a written account, from which he quoted some passages. There is little doubt that the episode of the Deputation originated from the deposition of Kunhye Pershad (Kanai Prasad), a mahajan (trader) of Kanpur, recorded by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams before the end of March, 1859.

After referring to a secret meeting of Nana with some sepoys Kanai Prasad said: "Two or three days after this the sepoys mutinied. I also heard that some of the Native officers and troopers waited on the Nana with intimation that a kingdom was prepared for him, if he joined them with all his wealth, or death if he sided with the Europeans. The Nana replied that he was with them and had nothing to do with Europeans; he was then requested to lead the troops to Delhi, to which he assented... Then the witness narrated how Nana assumed the leadership after taking an oath to that effect, was persuaded by Azimulla to give up the idea of going to Delhi, and "with Bala and Azimulla went to Kallianpur and got the troops to return to Kanpur". When asked about his source of information, the witness said he got all this information from Ramdeen, an attendant of Nana Saheb, by paying him Rs. 20, Rs. 10 each time for the information, which he collected because he feared for his life. But when asked what he had to fear from Nana', he merely said that he was afraid of a Risaldar of Nana, named Jwala Prasad, who bore a grudge against him and confiscated his property after the Mutiny. 23

The nature of the information supplied by this witness about Nana's intrigue with the sepoys before their mutiny may be judged from the fact that Sheo Charan, who also deposed to it, does not refer to any of the sepoys who, according to Kanai Prasad, met Nana at a ghat on the Ganges. According to Sheo Charan, Tika Singh met Nana three or four days before the mutiny and told him: "We all, Hindus and Mahomedans, have united for our religions, and the whole Bengal army have become one in purpose—What do you say to it? The Nana replied, "I also am at the disposal of the army". 24

The story recorded by Shepherd has been accepted, sometimes with unimportant variations, by many writers. But it cannot be regarded as an authentic story, as it was evidently based on gossips and hearsays, a good many of which, differing radically from one another were given in deposition before Lt. Colonel Williams. Shepherd's

version cannot therefore be given preference to the narrative of Tantia Topi.

Even many contemporary authorities refused to accept Shepherd's story as authentic and pointed out its inconsistency. Thus Sherer, the Magistrate of Kanpur, observes: "Nana was not clearly In league, previously, with the native soldiery, or it would not have

been necessary for him to pursue them down the road, and entreat them, with lavish promises, to return". Thornhill, Officiating Commissioner, Allahabad Division, also endorsed the views of Sherer. He remarks: "Had any understanding existed between the Nana and the troops, there would have been no object in the march they made on the Delhi road. It was not until they had gone that the Nana seems to have finally determined on embarking on an enterprise in which he staked his life on the chance of gaining a throne as the founder of a new Maharatta dynasty". Sherer and Thornhill recorded their views, respectively, in January and April, 18§@. 26

It may be observed that barring the brief statement of Nana and Tantia Topi's more elaborate one, there is no other account which may reasonably be regarded as emanating from a person who was in a position to know the truth regarding Nana's relations with the mutinous troops at Kanpur until he assumed their leadership* on 6 June, 1857. Whether Nana or Tantia Topi told the whole truth may justly be doubted, but no one else, whose account has reached us, had any opportunity to know the truth. The historian is therefore forced to the conclusion that nothing can be definitely said beyond the fact that on June 5 Nana joined the mutinous troops who returned from Kalyanpur. Whether he yielded to threat or temptation, or was induced by both to place himself at the head of the mutinous troops, will, perhaps, never be known. It is not even certain whether he accompanied the troops to Kalyanpur and, if not, whether he went there in person to induce them to return, or left that task to his agents.

Sir Hugh Wheeler must have heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that the mutineers had proceeded towards Delhi, as he fully expected. But early imthe morning of the sixth he received a letter from Nana himself warning him to expect an attack. 26 Signs of the returning sepoys were visible from afar. For the sepoys were, as usual, busy plundering the citizens, burning their houses, and killing stray Europeans. After all this was finished, the sepoys turned their attention to the entrenchment where the British soldiers and civil population had taken shelter.

Even before the sepoys actually broke out into mutiny, General Hugh Wheeler had hastily constructed a place of refuge for the British community. It consisted of two one-storied barracks, made of brick, but one of them had only a thatched roof. These were surrounded by a shallow trench and a mud wall about four feet in height. This entrenchment constituted a defence of a very frail character, but nevertheless its construction and the removal of women and children into it on 21 May were irritating to the sepoys who could see in it a

clear evidence that their officers had no confidence in their loyalty. Into this miserable defence were now huddled up 900 souls, comprising about four hundred English fighting men, of whom more than seventy were invalids, and about 376 women and children; the rest were Indians including 20 sepoys, 44 regimental musicians and 50 servants. They had to defend themselves against three thousand armed sepoys well armed and supplied with all munitions of war. 27

But in spite of the disparity of numbers and the weakness of the defence, the defenders held out till June 25. Nothing is stranger in the whole history of the outbreak of 1857 than the ignominious failure of Kunwar Singh to take Boyle's house at Arrah and of Nana to overcome the flimsy defence at Kanpur, and these must ever redound to the eternal discredit of these two redoubtable heroes of the Mutiny.

The military operations at Kanpur may be briefly told. At first the sepoys merely bombarded the entrenchment, and day and night hurled a continuous shower of shot and shell, and bullets. Once, on June 12, they made an assault, but turned back.after a few sepoys had been killed by the fire of the enemy. On June 23, they made another assault, but were "hurled back as before, in ignominious rout". On June 25, "a woman came into the entrenchment, with a letter from the Nana, offering a safe passage to Allahabad to every memoer of the garrison who had not been 'connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie'. The offer was accepted and a regular treaty was signed on the 26th". It was provided that the entrenchment should be evacuated and boats with food supply would be provided by Nana for taking the besieged to Allahabad. 28 In pursuance of this agreement, on the morning of June 27, the besieged Englishmen got into forty boats kept ready for them at the Sati Chaura ghat. As soon as the last man had stepped into the boat, a bugle was heard and all the native boatmen jumped over and waded to the shore. Some Englishmen immediately fired upon them. Then the very sepoys who escorted the last batch of Englishmen to the ghat opened fire with their carbines. The fire was returned by the Englishmen and the sepoys retired. Shortly the troops and guns posted by the riverside came into action. One boat caught fire and the conflagration spread to the neighbouring boats, all of which had thatched roofs. Many, particularly the sick and the wounded, were burnt to death, while the rest, including some women with children in their arms, took to the river. Many of these were killed, and a number of them were made captives. A single boat escaped, but it was later seized, and only four of its occupants fled with their lives to tell the tale of this ghastlyaffair. 29 It was a terrible tragedy, and it has been suggested that

the whole thing was the result of a pre-arranged conspiracy. There is no satisfactory evidence in support of this charge save the fact that the soldiery had gone out to the riverside in force,—horse, foot and artillery. But this, by itself, cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence of a pre-concerted conspiracy. On the other hand, it would appear from the testimony of one of the survivors, Mowbray Thomson, that it was the English who fired the first shot as the boatmen left the boats. Whether this provoked the sepoys to commit this cruel and inhuman massacre, which they undoubtedly did, cannot be determined now. But they had enough provocations already to urge them to the nefarious deed. News must have reached Kanpur of the equally inhuman cruelties, on a much larger scale, perpetrated by Neill in those very localities in U.P. to which the sepoys belonged. In Kanpur itself, the hands of the mutineers were guiltless of their officers' blood, whereas "every prisoner taken by the English was despatched without any formality". It is not unlikely, therefore, that the tragedy at Sati Chaura ghat was deliberately planned; but if so, no one knows by whom. It was said by some eye-witnesses that the murder was commenced at a signal given by Tantia Topi. Tantia, in his own statement, says: "I w^ent and got ready forty boats, and having caused all the gentlemen, ladies, and children to get into the boats, I started them off to Allahabad.... The sepoys jumped into the water and commenced a massacre of all the men, women, and children, and set the boats on fire." 30 The signal, which Tantia Topi was seen to give, may be construed, according to his statement, as a signal to start the boats. On the other hand, several witnesses definitely stated that they heard Tantia to give orders for the massacre. 31 But not much reliance should be placed upon these witnesses who were out to save their own necks or earn a reward. Such evidence would hardly be accepted by a criminal court as sufficient for conviction, but the Englishmen in those days were credulous enough to regard every sensational story as true, irrespective of the status of the informer, and howsoever incredible it might appear in normal times.

Nana was not present on the riverside. Though, as the leader of the sepoys, he must bear full responsibility for their action, there is nothing to indicate that he had deliberately plotted to murder the Englishmen. The whole tenor of his conduct goes against such an assumption. But whatever we might think of IsTana’s active participation in the massacre, and the measure of guilt justly attaching to him, his subsequent conduct cannot but be regarded as highly reprehensible. On the very day of the massacre a salute in honour of this event was fired, and Nana issued instructions to celebrate the victory over the “white faces” with rejoicings and peals of artillery.

Henceforth Nana assumed the role of a conquering hero. On June 30, he was proclaimed Peshwa amid the usual pomp and ceremonies of olden times. He spent his time in his palace at Bithur with feasts and revels, and issued grandiloquent proclamations “from Painted Garden of the Peshwa”. These contained despicable lies and vainglorious boasts which are no less amusing than contemptible. He also issued royal orders to sundry chiefs and officers and regaled them with tales of victory. They were ordered to proclaim by beat of d^ums in all cities and villages the glad tiaings that “all the English at Poona and in Punna have been slain and sent to hell, and five thousand English who were at Delhi have been put to the sword by the royal troops”. 32

3. Jhansi

The mutiny rapidly spread to the south of the Yamuna river. The first to be affected were the sepoys at Jhansi. There were two forts at Jhansi, a small one in the Cantonment, and another outside it On June 5, 1857, some sepoys peacefully took possession of the small fort under some pretext. On June 6, there was a mutiny of the whole force according to a pre-concerted plan, in which some persons, outside the army, also seem to have taken part. Some officers were killed or injured, and the rest of the Europeans took shelter in the other fort, also outside the town. On June 8, the mutineers promised personal security to all the Europeans provided they left the fort without taking any arms. But as soon as they came out of the fort, all of them—men, women, and children—were taken to a garden and massacred in cold blood. According to one account, 57 men, 12 women, and 23 children perished in this way, but another account sets the total number as 72. The mutineers proceeded to Delhi three days after this nefarious deed.

There is nothing to indicate that any leading part in this mutiny was taken by Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi, the widowed queen of angadhar Rao, the last ruler of Jhansi, who has been mentioned above as a victim of Dalhousie’s Doctrine of Lapse. 33 The Rani would have been more or less than a human being if she had not cherished strong sentiment against the British Government for setting aside the adoption made by her husband and annexing Jhansi. ^ns very natural presumption of Rani’s feeling of antipathy towards tne British has induced many persons to believe that the Rani had instigated the sepoys to mutiny, or at least actively helped the mutineers, by way of taking revenge against the British. There is

nothing to support this view. On the other hand, the Rani was no friend of the sepoys. She was forced by the mutineers to help them with money, guns and elephants. The Rani herself says that she was threatened by the sepoys that if she at all hesitated to comply with their requests, they would blow up her palace with guns; and she was, therefore, °‘obliged to consent to all their demands to pay large sums to save life and honour.”

The Rani’s statement that she acted under duress is also proved by independent evidence, including early official reports about the mutiny at Jhansi. It is further supported by Rani’s conduct and attitude after that mutiny. Immediately after the mutinous sepoys had left Jhansi for Delhi, she put herself in communication with the British authorities, sending a full report of the mutiny and condemning the conduct of the sepoys, particularly the massacre of the Europeans. The Commissioner of the Saugor Division, to whom she wrote as Jhansi lay in his jurisdiction, believed in her innocence and pro-British attitude. As all the British officials at Jhansi were killed, and the whole region became a scene of rapine and plunder, he appointed the Rani to rule the territory on behalf of the British till such time as they could re-establish a regular system of administration, and he issued a formal proclamation to that effect. The Rani accepted the position and carried on the administration of Jhansi in the name, or on behalf, of the British Government.

The Government of India, however, suspected her from the very beginning as an accomplice of the mutinous sepoys, both in respect of the mutiny and the massacre that followed. They accordingly issued instructions to collect evidence of her guilt. The Rani made repeated attempts to disabuse their minds, but failed. No heed was paid either to her protestations of innocence or to her unequivocal declaration of loyalty to the British. When she was at last convinced that the British were determined to bring her to trial for the massacre of the Europeans—but not till then—she decided to defend her honour by armed resistance to the British. She was faced by two alternatives, namely death by a hangman's rope or a heroic death in the battlefield. She chose the more honourable course, with what consequence, it will be related later. 34

4. The Panjab

There were no serious troubles in the Panjab, for as soon as the news of Mirat and Delhi reached Lahore, the authorities decided to disarm the sepoys. In most places the disarming took place smoothly. In Lahore 2500 sepoys, confronted by 600 European troops, laid down their arms without any protest. At Firozpur, one of the sepoy regiments quietly gave up arms, but two hundred sepoys of the other mutinied. The rest left the station but were pursued. Somte went to Patiala and were imprisoned there by its Sikh ruler; others were arrested by the villagers and taken to the authorities; and the remnant reached Delhi.

Preparations were made to disarm the regiments of sepoys at Jullundur, but in spite of the help rendered by the Raja of Kapurthala, the authorities had to change the date of arrangement twice for want of adequate European troops. The sepoys having got an inkling of this rose in arms and marched to Ludhiana. The Deputy Commissioner, helped by the Raja of Nabha and with a small number of troops, failed to arrest their progress On reaching Ludhiana the mutineers, "aided by the native garrison and the populace, attacked the houses of Government officials, released the prisoners, plundered the native traders, and finally marched to Delhi.^ Ludhiana was an important strategic point commanding the Grand Trunk Road. But the sepoys made no attempt to occupy it. It is said that in their hurry to leave Jullundur they had taken blank instead of balled ammunition. But even the very brief presence of the sepoys at Ludhiana had the usual consequence. "Arson, murder, highway robbery, cattle-lifting and dacoity suddenly revived; and some of the offenders, when apprehended, naively accounted for their misconduct by confessing that they had believed the rule of the British to be over". A punitive fine was imposed on the city and its population were disarmed. 36

The sepoys at Kangra laid down their arms without any protest. The more difficult task of disarming two thousand sepoys at Multan with the help of 60 Europeans and loyal Indian troops was also smoothly accomplished. At Peshawar three thousand sepoys and five hundred sowars were disarmed without any difficulty, but a Company ran away under cover of night. They were hunted by the tribesmen, for prices were set on their heads, and many of them were blown away from the guns. An interesting episode occurred at Hoti Mardan. The British officers of the 55th N.I., stationed there, regarded the sepoys as thoroughly reliable, and were opposed to the idea of disarming them. When troops were sent from Peshawar for that purpose, the Commanding Officer, by way of protest, committed suicide. The 55th fled, but were remorselessly pursued. More than a hundred were killed, three to four hundred wounded, and about 120 were captured. The rest entered Swat. "Proclaiming themselves religious martyrs, they persuaded the king to take them into his service; and for a moment there seemed a danger that they might return with renewed strength to menace the Punjab. The virtual

ruler of Swat was an aged priest, known as the Akhund. Had he espoused their cause, and, taking them with him, swept down upon the Peshawar valley, and preached a holy war against the infidels, he might have kindled the smouldering religious zeal of the population into such a flame as would have, perhaps, consumed the fabric of British power. Fbrtunately, instead of doing this, he expelled them from the country, only granting them guides to conduct them across the Indus. Then, in their misery, they resolved to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Maharaja of Kashmir". But at the instigation of the Deputy Commissioner, the Zamindars and clansmen occupied all the passes and the mutineers were forced to enter KOhistan where, in course of traversing the almost trackless rugged hills, many were drowned, and many stoned or slain in battle by the mountaineers whom the Deputy Commissioner hounded on against them. The remnants surrendered, and most of them were either hanged or blown away from guns. 36

Movable columns disarmed the sepoys at several cantonments, and there was no resistance except in a few places. At Jhelum the sepoys resisted, but were either killed or captured. The Raja of Kashmir arrested those who fled to Kashmir and handed them over to the British. Stray fugitives were captured by the villagers. The sepoys at Sialkot also mutinied, killed a few, and then left for Hoshiarpur. They were, however, pursued and destroyed. With a few minor exceptions, noted above, the sepoys surrendered their arms without any protest; some were even obliging enough to carry their arms to the bungalow of the commander.

Thus the mutiny in the Panjab had some distinctive features. In the few cases where it occurred, it was, without exception, the result of attempt to disarm the sepoys. Secondly, the sepoys in the Panjab nowhere succeeded in establishing their authority like their confreres in Avadh and Rohilkhand. Thirdly, very severe measures were taken against sepoys who were not disloyal or hostile, but whose only offence was to make an attempt to save themselves from the disgrace of being disarmed by flight.

But even some of the disarmed sepoys met with a tragic end. The disarmed 26th N.I. at Mian-Mir fled from the camp in a body on July 30, and being intercepted by two officers, killed them. How they were ultimately overtaken by Mr. Cooper, and he took a terrible, almost barbarous, vengeance on them, will be related in Chapter XIX.

With the exception of a small garrison in Khelat-i-Ghilzai, the sepoys throughout the Panjab were disarmed, in spite of their past record, merely on suspicion. But the authorities in the Panjab had something more to their credit. They raised levies of turbulent frontier Pathans. “It was a master stroke of policy to enlist these turbulent people and remove them from their native districts where they might prove a constant source of worry and anxiety, and to take them far beyond the five rivers where their military instinqts and greed for plunder would have the fullest play. The sepoys had gone to Lahore, Multan, Peshawar and Bannu as the instrument of the British imperial policy. The table was now turned on them, and the Panjabi Muslim and the Sikh, the tribesmen of Kohat and the Yusufzai country were united against the Hindustanis, Muslims and non-Muslims, by the common hatred they bore against them”. [37]

5. Other Parts of India

The news of the mutiny at Jhansi led to that of the sepoys at Nowgong, who formed detachments of the Jhansi regiment, on June 10. On June 14, the sepoys in the Gwalior Contingent, recruited from Avadh, mutinied, and killed as many Europeans as they could, but allowed the women to go unharmed. For a long time this formidable body of well-equipped sepoys, though mutinous, had remained idle at Gwalior in the vain hope of being led by Sindhia against the British, though they might have played a dominant, if not decisive, part in the mutiny of Central India, Delhi, Agra or Kanpur. When they at last actually mutinied, it was too late for them to play any effective part.

At Indore the troops belonging to Holkar mutinied on July 1, and three hundred Bhils and two Companies of the Bhopal Cavalry, which formed part of the British garrison, were brought to oppose them. But ere long they cast in their lot with the mutineers. In the words of Ball, “by one impulse the whole of the troops that had assisted in the defence.deserted to the mutineers, threatening at the same time to shoot the officers if they ventured to interfere with them.” Some Europeans were murdered, treasury was looted, and public property destroyed. The mutiny at Indore was followed by that at Mhow. Mutiny also broke out in several places in the Sagar and Narmada territories towards the end of June.

At Dhar, the Arab and Afghan mercenaries in the service of the Raja rose against the British. A number of Sindhia’s troops had seized Mandasor and were shortly joined by a part of the mutinous cavalry of the Gwalior Contingent and other insurgent hordes, including Afghan and Mekrani Muslims. The leader of this motley body was Shahzada Firuz Shah, a direct descendant of the Mughul Emperors of Delhi, who had already declared a jihad against the British. He seized the town of Mandasor and formally installed himself as king. He “addressed circular letters to the neighbouring princes of Pratabgarh, Jawra, Sitamau, Ratlam, and the Chief of Salumbar, calling upon them to acknowledge the new power, but none responded except Abdul Sattar Khan, a scion of the ruling house of Jawra." By September the number of his followers increased to about eighteen thousand, and he sent troops against Nimach in November. They defeated a contingent force at Jiran and laid siege to the fort, but had soon to face the British troops under Henry Marion Durand, the Agent of the Governor-General in Central India, who had already suppressed the mutiny at Dhar. Firuz Shah's troops were defeated at Garoria and he himself fled from Mandasor which was retaken by the British. 38 But his career did not end here and he occasionally emerged as a leader of the mutiny at far distant places, as will be described later.

Rajasthan, though generally unaffected, had its share, and the troops at the two important military stations, namely, Nasirabad and Nimach, mutinied respectively on May 28 and June 3. They followed the usual pattern and, after having plundered the cantonment and burnt many bungalows, proceeded towards Delhi. The people remained quiet, and the Rajput chiefs, particularly the Raja of Jodhpur, helped the British. The only exception was Thakur Kusal Singh, the Chief of Ahua or Awah, who had some specific grievances against the British. He joined the mutineers and defeated not only the troops of Jodhpur but also a British force under Captain Mason. But in spite of heroic resistance he ultimately surrendered. 39 There was also a mutiny at Kotah where the rebel troops took possession of the city and kept the Maharaja a prisoner. But after six months they were defeated by the British forces.

Bengal was practically unaffected by the Mutiny with the exception of two sporadic outbursts at Dacca and Chittagong. On November 18, the 34th N.I. at Chittagong mutinied and followed the usual procedure. They found no sympathy among the people and, being defeated by the loyal native regiment, marched northwards through Sylhet and Cachar. Being defeated, they turned towards the east and were joined by some discontented chiefs of Manipur living in Cachar. But they could not enter Manipur, whose ruler, at the request of the British, sent his troops and captured a number of them. These were handed over to the British and the rest betook themselves to the neighbouring hills and jungles. On November 22, the troops at Dacca refused to be disarmed and mutinied, but being defeated, Tied towards

Jalpaiguri. There were some desultory outbreaks in the Bhagalpur Division, and two cavalry detachments at Madariganj

and Jalpaiguri mutinied. But these as well as the mutineers from Dacca were easily dispersed and forced to seek refuge in Nepal.

In Bihar, the most important military station was Danapur (Dinapore), near Patna, which was an important strategic position commanding the land and river-routes from Calcutta to Upper India. The sepoys were loyal during the month of June and the better part of July. Nevertheless, suspicion grew and William Tayler, the Magistrate of Patna/urged upon the Government that the sepoys should be disarmed at once. The Government left the final decision to the Commanding Officer at Danapur who, after some hesitation, followed a via media. Without inflicting upon the sepoys the dishonour of laying down their arms, he decided merely to take away their percussion caps, and thereby render their fire-arms harmless. In the morning the European troops were drawn up and the caps were carted away from the magazine past the indignant sepoys. In the afternoon, when the European troops were busy eating their dinners, another parade was held and the sepoys were asked to surrender the contents of the cap cases which they carried on their persons. “They answered the demand by firing on the officers”. The Commanding Officer was away on a steamer in the river to prevent the sepoys from crossing the river, and the other officers hesitated to take any decisive action. So the mutineers repossessed themselves of the caps that had been taken from the magazine and marched towards the Son river. As the Son was swollen and difficult to cross, they could have been easily overtaken. But the folly of Mirat was repeated, and the sepoys were not pursued. They safely reached Arrah where Kunwar Singh, a Rajput Zamindar, joined them and converted the mutiny into a general revolt which will be described in the next chapter.

Mutiny also broke out in several other places in Bihar. In August some sepoys mutinied, came to Noada, destroyed the public buildings (September 8), and then marched towards Gaya. Rattray, with a small force of Sikhs and Europeans, advanced from Gaya to meet them, but the sepoys inflicted heavy loss upon this force and entered Gaya. There they liberated the prisoners and attacked the fortified house where the European residents had taken refuge, but failed to take it. The sepoys also mutinied at Deogarh, but were dispersed after a severe contest. The Ramgarh battalions mutinied at Hazaribagh, and their comrades at Sambalpur followed their example.

The mutinous spirit was not altogether lacking in the Deccan, but there was no actual outbreak of mutiny except at Kolhapur. There the sepoys mutinied on July 31, 1857, and after plundering the treasury marched towards the town. As the gates were closed, most of them returned to their lines, while a few, about forty in number, entrenched themselves into a small outwork adjoining the town. Reinforcement of European troops having arrived from Bombay, the sepoys in the outwork were overpowered. On the arrival of further reinforcements, the native regiment was disarmed.

Attempts at mutiny failed at Ahmadabad in Gujarat and Hyderabad in Sindh. A mutiny actually broke out at Karachi, but was easily put down.

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See. p. 79.

Sen, 128, where other details of Nana’s life are given.

Shepherd, 7.

Thomson, 32-3. .

The full text of Tantia’s statement is given in Malleson, III, 514 ft., in English translation. The statement was recorded in Mushairi on April 10, 1859, in the presence of Major Meade, Commanding Field Force. Asked by Meade Tantia said: “I have, of my own free will, caused this statement to be written; and no one has forced me to do so, or held out hope or compromise of any sort to induce me to do so.”. Recently, the authenticity of the statement has been challenged on grounds which are merely a string of queries containing vague insinuations to which little value attaches so long as clear charges with evidence to support them are not forthcoming (Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh, I. xvii).

For a short summary of Tantia’s statement, cf. Majumdar, pp. 158-63, 89-90. Tantia’s statement about the help rendered by Nana to Hillersdon, as quoted in the text, is fully supported by Nana himself in his petition which will be referred to later.

Thomson, 32-3.

This is the correct date. Mowbray Thomson says: On the night of the

6th of June the 2nd cavalry broke out” (p. 38). This must be due to oversight or loss of memory.

Thomson, 39. For a discussion of the propriety of Wheelers conduct, Cf. Sen, 137.

Sen, 136-7.

Forrest—I, Vol. I, 478-9.

For a detailed discussion of the question, cf. Sen, 162 ff.

Quoted in Sen, 163. Mowbray Thomson (pp. 247-8) relates how even highly placed Indian officials blackmailed wealthy persons by forging letters in order to implicate them in the mutiny.

Thomson, 41.

Forrest—II, Vol. II, 123.

Kaye—I, Vol. II, 310 f. n.; Malleson, HI. 515.

Majumdar, p. xiii.

Holmes, 227-8.

Sen, 137-8.

Forrest—H, Vol. H, 120.

Shepherd (2nd edition, 1878), p. 29.

See p. 480.

Shepherd, 30.

The deposition of Kanai Prasad is quoted in Forrest—n, Vol. IH, pp. cxxiii-iv. Ibid, cxxvi.

Forrest—II, Vol. HI, xxv, xix.

Holmes, 228. Kaye gives the date as 7 June (VoL II, 313). The object of writing this letter is not apparent (cf. Sen, 138-9). To those who are not obsessed with the idea of Nana's treachery from the very beginning, the letter may justly appear to be the last friendly act of Nana towards the British, by way of previous warning of the changed role he would be henceforth forced to play, so far as his relation with the British was concerned. Thomson, 30.

Holmes, 229-236.

29. This is bued on the account of Mowbray Thomson, one of these four iqr* vivors.

SO. Malleaon, HL 515-0.

31. Kaye—I, VoL H, 340-1, f. n.

32. S3, 070.

33. See pp. 05 ff.

34. The evidences on which this account is based are discussed fully in Maiumdar, 137-55. For the documents referred to, cf. BPP, LXXVI, Part I, 40, 49 ff.

account, including quotations, is based on Holmes, 330-32.

30. Ibid, 327-8.

37. Sen, 334.

38. Sen, 311, 318.

39. For a detailed account, cf. Sen, 319-20.

CHAPTER XVII

THE REVOLT OF THE PEOPLE

I. THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE AND GENERAL NATURE OF THE REVOLT

The success of the mutineers at various places, and the massacre or flight of the local British officials, in particular their abandonment of the city of Delhi into the hands of the mutineers, led the people all over Rohilkhand and Awadh to believe that the British raj had ceased to exist. No visible symbol was left of its authority in many localities, and there was almost a complete political vacuum and lack of any kind of authority. In all ages and countries such a situation affords the best opportunity for popular outbreaks, varying in nature, according to the circumstances and temperament of the different types of people.

As already mentioned above, 1 all classes of people in India were thoroughly discontented and disaffected against the British. It is, therefore, quite natural, and no extraordinary phenomenon, that there should be a general rising of the people against the hated feringhees wherever the success of the mutiny had destroyed their power and authority. Hopes of personal gain also undoubtedly operated to a large extent among all classes, and were the sole motive of many, notably the goonda elements and those professional classes who were accustomed to live by plunder, such as the Gujars Ranghars, Jats^etc.

Another class, which was powerfully influenced by motives of self-interest and contributed largely to the origin and prolongation of the popular revolt, was the one connected with the land. The following analysis of the causes of the popular outbreak in the District of Allahabad by the then local Magistrate has a much wider application.

“In the Doab Pergunnahs the character of the outbreak was worse, and the extent greater than anywhere else. The Zemindars there were chiefly Mussulmen, and with scarcely an exception, they joined their brethren, with the object of exterminating the English, and upsetting the Government. Pergunnah Chail was the worst of all; the Moulvie was a resident of Mahagaon, one of its villages, and every Mussulman there joined his standard. The Pragwal Brahmins of Allahabad, who were also foremost in the outbreak, carried with them the Hindu population. The District Police went almost in a body, and for a short time the greatest anarchy prevailed.

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“In the trans-Gangetic pergunnahs, the causes which acted to excite the disturbances were different. Religion had little or nothing to do with it. The villages in these pergunnahs were owned at the cession by large thakoor families in large talookahs. The old zemindars, habitually extravagant, because, by habit, livers on plunder, became ruined by their extravagance, and were sold up by our rule and by our laws. The cultivators and poorer classes still continued to look upon them with greater regard than the purchaser to auction, however long the latter may have been in possession of the property. The ex-zemindar and his family were still the most influential residents of the village. In most instances, they received a kind of tribute from the poorer inhabitants, and helped them in return.,..

“The auction purchaser, on the other hand, was generally a resident of the city, and never visited his village, except for the hateful purpose of collecting his rents, or enforcing his decrees. The people, therefore, naturally sided with the zemindars to whom the outbreaks seemed a grand opportunity of recovering their position. They first set to work to destroy and plunder everything European, and took forcible possession of their old estates. Of course, the auction purchasers were our friends, and rendered every assistance in their power for the restoration of order,” “In the pergunnahs south of the Jumna bad characters burnt and plundered villages but disturbances never took fair root owing principally to the great influence of the Rajas of Manda, Dihya and Barra... .Such was the state of the district during the interval immediately succeeding the mutiny at Allahabad. The Doab population, led on by their Mohamedan zemindars, had risen with enthusiasm to take part in a religious war, and had marked their rising with the usual accompaniments of Mahomedan fanaticism. The rising had been quickly checked and a large proportion of the population had fled, leaving the district partially deserted. The trans-Gangetic population, led on by the old talookdar families, had risen to restore the old order of things, and remained in arms against us. The trans-Gangetic population has, as before mentioned, been restrained by local influences, and never openly threw off our Government.”[2]

Personal gain or satisfaction of personal ambition which impelled the people to rebel took many forms. The leaders and grandees thought of recovering the territories, honours and privileges they had lost, gaining new lands and wealth within easy reach, or paying off old scores against an enemy,—a natural instinct from which they were hitherto restrained by the rule of law established by the British. Some were eager to seize this golden opportunity of making amends for the grievous injuries they had suffered in the hands of the British. Less important persons sought to remove the sources of their misery and humiliation by (i) destroying the bonds for loans or title-deeds of land deposited with the baniyas at the time of borrowing money at high rate of interest which threatened to ruin them; and (2) killing the oppressive landlords or indigo-planters who had hitherto treated them as serfs. They welcomed, if not initiated, the revolt, because it did away with the inconvenient necessity of paying taxes to the Government and rent to the landowners, ushered in freedom from all vexatious restraints imposed by authority, and above all, meant the end of the various sources of discontent which the British rule had introduced in the country.

In many cases the outbreak was merely a continuation or revival of the acts of resistance discussed in Chapter XIV, and many revolts were inspired by the same or similar causes.

It is possible that less selfish motives were also at work. The general discontent and disaffection against the British made some persons anxious to put an end to their rule, and they seized the god-sent opportunity to drive away the hated feringhees, now that they had lost the only prop of their rule in India, namely, the allegiance of the sepoys.

Some Muslim leaders and Maulavis were fired by the ambition of restoring Muslim rule in India. A few leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, might have been urged by the noble instinct of achieving freedom from foreign yoke, although their vision did not extend to the whole of India, and was limited to the narrow horizon of their own locality.

While these and other causes produced local revolts over an extensive area, it is significant to note that there was no common end, common plan, or common organization. In most cases the outbreaks were purely local affairs, and attempts to put in a joint resistance to the British were few and far between.

Another significant feature was that though the beginnings of the revolt were marked by timidity and hesitation, after the people had made their choice they often resisted the mighty British force with valour and heroism, sometimes to a remarkable degree. Once they had crossed the Rubicon, many rebels never looked back.

There are reasons to believe that an attempt was made to prepare the ground for popular revolt against the British by a number of persons, notably some Muslim Maulavis. The best known among them is Maulavi Ahmadulla of Fyzabad, originally a native of Arcot in Madras. Early in January, 1857, an incendiary address, written in Hindusthani, was placarded at Madras, calling upon all true believers to rise against the English infidels, and drive them from India. It declared that the English "had now abandoned all principles of justice and were bent on appropriating the possessions of the Mahomedans, and that there was but one way of resisting their encroachments—a holy war". 3 It is highly probable that this was a handiwork of the Maulavi or his party.

But evidently Madras did not prove a fruitful soil for his propaganda. So he turned his attention to North India. He made a wide tour, everywhere preaching a jihad or religious war against the British, and established his disciples in various localities. No doubt, they carried on the propaganda in their areas while the Maulavi

personally visited big and important cities like Fyzabad and Lakhnau.

While we shall not minimise the importance of this factor, it is difficult, in the present state of our knowledge, to find out, or even to make a general estimate of, the extent to which it influenced the outbreak of 1^57. Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, who regards the outbreak as a war of national independence, has given a long and detailed account of a patriots’ meeting held on May 1, 1857, at Shahjahanpur, at the house of Mazhar Karim. 4 He gives the names of the persons, both Hindus and Muslims, who attended the meeting, and long extracts from the speech of Sarfarazali, the Gorakhpur Maulavi. The speech would do credit to the most seditious extremist in the first two decades of the twentieth century, if we^only substitute religious frenzy in place of political aspirations for freedom as the impelling motive.

The Maulavi concluded his speech by reminding his audience that the centenary of the Battle of Plassey ‘approaches’, and asking them, “have I your unanimous vote to declare that the Kafir brood shall be stamped out on that date? The whole assembly with one voice ciied out: No, sooner than that.” The scene of frenzied enthusiasm that followed need not be described. “Nothing”, says Dr. Chaudhuri, illustrates more strikingly the spirit of contumacy and revolt which seized the people” than this speech. He admits that “the authenticity of this seditious speech cannot indeed be vouched for”. But what he omits to say is that the whole scene, including the speech, is taken from a novel written in 1896 on the basis of the tale of Mariam, a victim of the outbreak of 1857. The author heard the story of Mariam from her own lips but added the necessary setting from his own imagination, for he candidly confesses that he was writing a novel and not history. The speech of Maulavi Sarfarazali has, therefore, no more historical value than the speeches put by poet Nabinchandra Sen in the mouths of Rani Bhabani, Raja Rajballabh, and other alleged conspirators against Siraj-ud-daulla, at the beginning of his famous Kdvya (epic poem) Palasir Yuddha. It would be against all canons of historical criticism to accept as Dr. Chaudhuri has done, the alleged speech of Sarfarazali; as ypical of the attitude of the general body of the rebels”. If no better evidence can be furnished, the least that one can do is to

P r + i! SS ^£ n ° ranCe ° f What that attitude was > and merely take note of the different motives, noted above, that impelled different classes and types of persons. For, this rests upon the unimpeachable testimony of actual facts.

There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the various factors mentioned above were mainly responsible for the general “upsurge of the people”, and it was thus that without any preconcerted plan and organization, the mutiny merged itself into a general rising of the civil population of all types and classes. The civil population was undoubtedly spurred on to revolt because of the grave discontent and resentment which different classes of people nursed in their heart for different reasons, but if the mutiny had not extinguished the local authority, the civil population would not have dared to revolt. The people’s revolt was the effect, and not the cause, of the mutiny.

The outbreak at Muzaffarnagar, 5 on May 14, the earliest instance of civil revolt, may appear to be an exception, for there was no mutiny of local troops preceding it. But when carefully analyzed, it also illustrates the general rule. The revolt was precipitated by the action of Mr. Berford, the Magistrate and Collector. He was unnerved by the news of the mutiny at Mirat, followed by the exaggerated and false account of the imminent approach of mutinous troops towards Muzaffarnagar. He at once ordered the Public Offices to be closed for three days. On the 12th evening he heard that the convicts in jail would rise that night, and he immediately fled through the jungle to a village where he spent the night, during which nothing occurred in Muzaffarnagar. On the 13th some officers’ bungalows were burnt by the villagers, at the instigation, it is said, of the local ‘Syud zamindars It was then decided by Berford to remove the treasure to the Tehseel on the 14th. The Treasury-guard refused to do it and broke open the treasure chests. They took away as much as they could carry and left. A number of people who were near by plundered the rest. As there were no regular sepoys, the Magistrate drew off the jail-guard for his own defence, and released the prisoners. As Mr. Grant, at that time the Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector, says in his report, the people were convinced by this act that the Government rule had ceased to exist. They saw that they could with impunity commit any excesses, that nobody interfered or meddled with them, and that even the incendiaries captured on the previous day were set free with others. The Civil, Criminal, and Collectorate dufturs were burnt by the people that night (May 14), and Mr. Grant was decidedly of opinion that the destruction of the records was brought about by the Syuds and that those individuals had spread the false tales of approaching mutineers and dacoits, and had induced them to take shelter in Aboopoorah with the sole object of getting them out of the way and burning the office papers in their absence. Mr. Grant also suspected the Tahsildars and Kotwal

of conniving at such destruction. Violent crimes of all kinds were daily, almost hourly, committed throughout the district, not secretly or by night, but openly and at noon day. It is needless naming the chief crimes; it is sufficient to remark that here, as in other parts of the country the baniyas and mahajans were in the majority of cases the victims and "fearfully have many of them been made to suffer for their previous rapacity and avarice". 6

The same scene was enacted at Saharanpur. "The news of the

outbreak at Meerut reached Saharanpur on the 12th of May.

The Goojurs and Kanghurs at once commenced plundering; and when the disturbances began in the Moozuffurnagar district, disquiet spread through that of Saharanpur. At first bankers were robbed, or had to pay for exemption from plunder; money-lenders and traders were forced to give up their books of accounts, and vouchers for debts; old feuds were renewed; the first outbreaks were to pay off

old feuds, or to clear off accounts, or for the sake of plunder.

... .In examining the extent of the damage inflicted by the 'dacoits* at Naukoor, it appeared that all the mohullas .had been attacked and gutted.All the government records with the mcihajun's ac

counts, bonds, etc., were tom up and scattered over the neighbouring gardens......."

As in Muzaffarnagar, so in Saharanpur, the notorious lawless elements broke out into an orgy of riots at the news of Mirat, even before the local sepoys had actually mutinied.

According to the official narrative, on which the above account is based, the disturbances in the commencement were less directed against the Government than against particular castes. Ancient tribe or caste feuds were renewed, and the zamindars and villagers took advantage of the general anarchy to obtain from the mahajans and the baniyas their books of business and bond-debts, etc. When the fall of Delhi ceased to be looked upon as imminent, the agricul-i tural communities began to turn their eyes towards the local treasuries and did not scruple to oppose themselves to Government officers and troops. 7

But the character of the risings continued to be the same after the sepoys had mutinied, killed their officers and released the prisoners in jail. In two respects alone a difference was noticeable. In the first place, the risings became widespread, particularly in Awadh and Rohiikhand, and secondly, local leaders, big or small, established their own raj, now that the British officers had vanished and the British raj was believed to have come to an end. This has been regarded by many writers as “a vast upsurge of the people”, and by not a few as ‘war of Indian independence*. One of these writers has described as follows the situation at Saharanpur, with a population of about forty thousand, after the sepoys had joined the Gujars and Ranghars, who had commenced their depredations even before the sepoys mutinied. “All throughout this period the turbulent elements robbed the bankers and money-lenders, extorted blackmail from them and sacked the police stations and tahsils. Umrao Singh, the headman of the village of Manakpur in Mangalaur tahsil declared himself a raja, levied money, though he failed in the long run. The tahsil and the thana of Nakur was completely gutted. The magistrate, Robertson, proceeded to punish the refractory villages on 20 June, but the country around rose up to effect the release of the prisoners. It was a war of the villagers—parties with the beat of dhols assembled on 22 June, and showed a grit and determination in the fight. Buddhakheri was a strong centre of Gujar disaffection where one Fatua proclaimed himself king of the Gujars." 8 This being the usual pattern of the 'popular upsurge' and 'war of independence', obviously these expressions have to be understood in a special sense.

The same story was repeated>in other places. In Bulandshahr "mixed crowds of rebel forces, Gujars, villagers and townsmen took part in wanton destruction of civil and military establishments. Offices were gutted, records destroyed, and former proprietors ousted. Many other excesses were committed culminating in the temporary disappearance of the British rule by 29 May". 9

A scrutiny of these accounts reveals several prominent elements in these early risings. The first was the notorious goonda elements of the locality who never miss any opportunity of troubles or disturbances to carry on their nefarious activities. In a way the sepoys encouraged these by opening the jails which became a regular feature of the mutiny. The ex-convicts and goondas were naturally joined by other elements of similar nature, and there are some grounds to suppose that most, if not the whole, of plunder and massacre was the work of these people who formed the scum of the population.

Next to the local goonda elements, we notice the activities of various marauding tribes, notorious for rapine, plunder and massacre, which formed their principal occupation and the only means of livelihood. The above account of the Gujars and Ranghars at Saharanpur gives us a fair idea of the quick reaction of the mutiny upon these classes of peoples.

It was not long before other classes seized the opportunity to exploit the situation to their advantage. The village Zamindars and villagers took advantage of the general anarchy to obtain from Mahajans and Baniyas their books of business and bond-debts etc.

The prominent chiefs of various localities could not be expected to sit idle. They took: advantage of the general turmoil to regain what they had lost, or to gain new territories and privileges, and, not unoften, also to settle old scores with enemies. It would also appear that, at least at the beginning, the disturbances were less directed against Government than against particular people and classes. A contemporary writer has given a very vivid description of the state of anarchy and confusion that prevailed “in the open country.. . from Delhi over the whole of the cis-Sutlej States”. After referring to the plundering raids and other atrocities perpetrated by the Gujars and other predatory tribes impartially on all classes of people—Europeans and Indians, civil or military—he refers to the activities of the normally peaceful folk as follows:—“Villagers fought with one another about boundary questions decided half a century ago. Hundreds of heads of cattle changed hands; murders and robberies were committed unpunished in the open day”.[10]

II. DELHI

When the mutiny broke out at Mirat, the throne of Delhi was occupied by Bahadur Shah II. As mentioned above, the rights, privileges and honour attached to the throne of Delhi had been gradually reduced by the Governor-General. Bahadur Shah assumed the titles of Badshah (Emperor) and Ghazi (holy warrior). His empire hardly extended beyond the Red Palace in Delhi, and his revenue consisted of the annual pension of twelve lacs of Rupees paid by the British, the proceeds of some crown-lands near Delhi amounting to about a lac and a half, and rents of some houses in the city of Delhi. He felt the same grievances as his father and, following his example, engaged k generous-hearted Englishman to plead his cause with the authorities in England. But George Thompson was no more successful than Rammohan Roy before him.[11]

But Bahadur Shah was more seriously worried about the future prospects of his family. The secret but abortive agreement of the British with Fakir-ud-din was not unknown to him, and he was worried by the refusal of the Governor-General to recognize his nomination of Jawan Bakht as his successor. It could hardly be a secret to Bahadur Shah that even the titular dignity and the Red Palace—the only visible symbols of the House of Babur that still remained—would cease to belong to his family after his death. This caused him the greatest mortification, and ^probably produced the keenest sense of resentment against the British. But whatever feelings he might have nourished in his heart, Bahadur Shah could not ventilate his grievances publicly, and hence silently resigned himself to his fate. For the Badshah Ghazi was no more a Badshah than he was a Ghazi or warrior. He had no military training or experience, but was rather a poet by inclinations. He wrote verses, sighed for the lost glory of his family, and, surrounded by a band of unscrupulous adventurers, indulged in all kinds of possible and impossible ideas. He seriously believed that he could transform himself into a fly or gnat. He dreamed of recovering the lost empire of his ancestors with the help of Persia, and sent two messengers for the purpose of exploring the situation. But he relied more on charmed amulets than on diplomatic alliance or a well-equipped army for gaining victory and recovering his ancestral throne and dignity. Afflicted with advancing age—he was about ninety—-and worn down by worries and mortifications, Bahadur Shah might have peacefully gone to his grave, leaving nothing but a few Urdu verses as his memorial; but fate willed it otherwise.

The first news of the mutiny of the sepoys at Mirat was conveyed to Bahadur Shah by the mutineers themselves. On reaching Delhi on the morning of May 11, they went straight to the Red Fort and called upon His Majesty for help, declaring that they had killed the English at Mirat and had come to fight for the faith. Bahadur Shah was extremely unwilling to have anything to do with this motley crowd that continued pouring into the Red Fort and took position in the courtyard of Diwan-i-Khas. His chief adviser, Hakim Ahsanulla Khan, was of the same mind, and argued with the representatives of the sepoys for a long time. But more and more troops arrived and the Red Fort became a scene of the wildest confusion, quarrels, and dissensions. On the morning of May 12, the whole body of sepoy officers presented nazar to Bahadur Shah and described themselves as his faithful soldiers. At last, after a great deal of delay and wavering, and in spite of the warning of Ahsanulla Khan, Bahadur Shah placed himself at the head of the sepoys and assumed the title of the Emperor of Hindusthan. 12

Bahadur Shah was quite unfit to discharge the responsibility thus thrust upon him, and would Have proved a failure in any case. But his task was rendered hopeless from the very beginning by two circumstances. In the first place, the Emperor had no faith in the cause he was reluctantly forced to serve. His loyalty to the British remained unimpaired. One of his first acts was the despatch of a secret express message to the British authorities at Agra warning them of the mutinous outbreak at Mirat and Delhi. 13 He also protected English fugitives from the wrath of the sepoys and even helped some of them to escape. Even when he was adopting measure to restore order in Delhi and set up a machinery to carry on regular civil

administration of the city, his heart was not in that task. While the sepoys were fighting in his name against the British and dying in hundreds to retain possession of the city, Bahadur Shah was secretly carrying on treasonable intrigue through an agent of Ahsanulla with the British General, offering to admit British troops secretly into the fort if they only agreed to restore him to his old position. Not only Bahadur Shah himself but his favourite queen Zinnat Mahal and the Shahzadas or princes also carried on similar intrigues both with the military authorities and with Greathed, the Political Agent of the Lieutenant-Governor of N.W.P. attached to the Field-force. The Shahzadas sent several messages to Greathed, and having no satisfactory response from him, approached the British General with "a distinct offer to destroy the Bridge and to enlist the services of the Cavalry, and with their aid to put an end to the Infantry, on condition of favour being shown to the Royal Family." But though the offers of the Shahzadas were not accepted, it appears that there was some secret understanding with Zinnat Mahal. 14

The second circumstance that proved fatal to the success of the mutiny was the conduct and attitude of the sepoys themselves. The citizens of Delhi looked upon them as an invading army rather than a force fighting for the freedom of the country.

A vivid account of the state of Delhi has been preserved in the diary of Jiwanlal Munshi 16 who was in Delhi at the time. Writing under date May 12, i.e. the day after the arrival of the mutineers at Delhi, he records: "All trade in the city ceased entirely, for every shop that was opened was cleared of its contents." 16 Ordinary business .was suspended and shops were closed. There was difficulty in getting supply of rations and though Bahadur Shah, urged on by the turbulent mobs of sepoys, twice passed through the city, asking the people to resume their normal occupation, it had no effect, as the citizens' fear was not allayed. They had good reasons for their apprehensions. The spirit of cruelty and indiscipline which characterized the mutinous sepoys at Mirat and other places was not confined to their dealings with the British, but was displayed.throughout, even in their treatment of the Indians. The sepoys hunted out the fugitive Europeans and Indian Christians and massacred most of them,—men, women and children—and plundered the houses of, and otherwise cruelly treated, those who had given them shelter. Even respectable Indians were plundered, insulted, and humiliated on mere report of harbouring fugitives or on suspicion that they were in league with the English. Even the Emperor was powerless to stop the infuriated sepoys. The general condition of the city on May 12 is thus described by Jiwanlal: “From house to house the unwilling King was distracted by cries and petitions—now from the servants of Europeans who had been murdered, now from the shopkeepers whose shops had been plundered, now from the higher classes whose houses had been broken into—all looked to the King for immediate redress. Appeals were made to him to repress the plunder and rapine now common throughout the city.” 17

On May 15 he writes: “Several respectable men were seized and made to carry burdens to intimidate them and extort money. Such were their sufferings that the better class of city people offered prayers this day for the defeat of the rebels. All valuable property had by this time been buried, and a private police force had been raised by the better class of citizens to protect themselves and their property from plunder and violence.” 18

We find the following entry in Jiwanlal’s diary under the date, May 23: “Seeing the atrocities the mutineers were committing in the city, Hakim Ahsanulla Khan induced the King to issue an order commanding the troops to leave the city, on the ground that they would only plunder and cause blood to be shed.... The soldiers plundered the house of Kanheyal Lai, of Hyderabad, a severe fight having first taken place between the retainers of Kanheyal and the mutineers.... Nawab Mir Ahmed Ali Khan, under instructions from the King, issued orders to seize all the bankers and wealthy men of the city—particularly those favourable to the English—and to extort money from them for the pay of the mutineers. Mirza Mohammed Ali Bey was appointed tehsildar of the Mehrowli. Jiwan Lai’s garden and house were this day plundered by the soldiers, of property to the value of

2,000 rupees, on suspicion of his being in communication with the English." 19

Jiwanlal's diary shows that incidents like these continued almost throughout the period of the siege of Delhi. The following is reported under the date, June 14: "Buldeo Sing, the brother of Lachman Sing, Thanadar of Alipur, was seized and brought to the Kotwali. He was accused of sympathising with the English. He was shot, and his body suspended from a tree. Thirteen bakers residing at the Kabul Gate were dragged from their houses and killed, on being suspected of supplying bread to the English. The shop of Jamna Dass was plundered because he sold attah at a high price. The mutineers committed many other oppressive acts this day." 20 On July 25, 400 sepoys plundered the houses of Alap Pershad and others, and carried off property to the value of 50,000 rupees. "As soon as General Mahommed Bakht Khan heard of this he sent off several hundred men to stop the outrage, but these soldiers would not interfere with the plunderers." 21 Gordohan Das was forced on the

same day to pay 2,000 rupees. 22 Rich bankers were placed in confinement on August 19, and were not released till they paid a heavy amount. 23 Even on September 12, when the fate of Delhi was sealed, shop-keepers sent a petition that they were being molested and all the shops were closed. 24

Jiwanlal's account cannot be regarded as unvarnished truth, for he was no friend of the sepoys who had maltreated him, and his sympathies obviously lay with the English. Nevertheless, it is impossible to dismiss his diary as a deliberate forgery or fabrication and therefore of no value as historical evidence. For it would require great ingenuity to draw up such a consistent account, interspersed with incidents, sometimes of a very secret nature, which ave been corroborated by independent evidence. It is very likely that Jiwanlal magnified the crimes and cruelties of the sepoys to some extent, and depicted only the black side of the sepoys. But m spite ot possible exaggerations, the general state of things described by Jiwanlal cannot be very far from truth, for it is corroborated by independent testimony. There is on record a petition from Chand Khan and Gulab Khan of the Paharganj area that "the sepoys orcibly took away goods from shops without payment and entered houses of the poor people and took away beds, woods vessels etc. Bahadur Shah, in course of his evidence during his trial has given a similar picture of the sepoys. It has been suggested that no reliance can be placed on Bahadur Shah’s statement, for he naturaHy tried to save his own skin by throwing all blame on

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from the tovvns-people have not been submitted, representing the ex

cesses committed by numerous Infantry Sepoys.” 23 This fully vindicates the statements of Jiwanlal, which are also corroborated by

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ment which Ahsanulla made immediately after the fall of Delhi It

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, be Saved from dishonour”, and, what is worse still, adds that

investigation proved the correctness of this report. He further says

“that information reached the King that the quarter inhabited by the Dasas (a caste of Baniya) was being plundered and that many of them had been shot down by the sepoys.” 27

But the domineering attitude of the sepoys was not confined to the people and chiefs of Delhi. They showed but scant respect to the Emperor himself, even from the very beginning. On May 12, after the King had returned from his first visit round the city, asking in vain the people to open their shops, "he found the courtyard of the Dewani-khas crowded with troopers and their horses. They assailed him with loud cries, complaining that the men of the regiment which had mutinied at Delhi had possessed themselves of the treasure from the Delhi Collectorate, intending to keep it, and had refused to share it with the Meerut mutineers. The King, utterly distracted and bewildered in the conflicting counsels, ordered the Princes, who had been appointed to the command of the troops, to send every mutineer out of the city.... " 28

"Towards evening a number of native regimental officers came and again represented the difficulty they experienced in getting rations. Forgetful of the lofty tone of the morning's order, and of the high-toned phraseology expressive of the King's dignity, they addressed him with such disrespectful terms as, "I say, you King! I say, you old fellow!" ("Ari, Badshah'! Ari, Buddha!"). "Listen," cried one, catching him by the hand. "Listen to me", said another, touching the old kng's beard". 29

Bahadur Shah alleged in his written statement during his trial, that the sepoys paid no respect to him nor acknowledged his authority; they threatened to depose him, kill his queen and other officials, and one day even went to the house of the queen, Zinnat Mahal, intending to plunder it, but did not succeed in breaking open the door. Bahadur Shah said he was virtually the prisoner of the sepoys, who had set up a council of their own in which all matters were discussed and line of action decided upon. But there was no order or discipline among them. "Thus", continues Bahadur Shah, "without my knowledge or orders, they plundered, not only many individuals, but several entire streets, plundering, robbing, killing and imprisoning all they chose; and forcibly extorting whatever sums of money they thought fit from the merchants and other respectable residents of the city, and appropriating such exactions to their own private purposes... I did whatever they required, otherwise they would immediately have killed me. This is universally known". 20 Indeed things came to such a pass that

Bahadur Shah, disgusted of his life, resolved to adopt the garb of a religious mendicant and go to Mecca. But the sepoys would not allow him to go.

If contemporary evidence is to be believed, the sepoys, perhaps with honourable exceptions, cared more for money than for their country or countrymen. Mam-ud-din, an eye-witness of the events at Delhi, 31 writes: “The rebels were becoming clamorous for pay. They were really laden with money, but they wished to extort as much more as they could. They threatened to leave the King’s service unless paid....’* 32 Jiwanlal records in his diary on May 15, i.e. only four days after the Mutiny had broken out in Delhi: “News was received that the mutineers were intimidating the city people, and that 200 troopers, having plundered a quantity of money, had deserted and gone off to their homes, and had in turn been attacked by the Gujars and plundered’. 33 The entry in his diary on May .21, is as follows: “The house of Sobha Chand Kaest was this day plundered on the charge that he was in league with the English and supplying them with news. It was reported to the King that the mutineers had possessed themselves of much money and were buying gold mohurs at 32 rupees apiece, and that many mutineers who had left the city with money had been plundered of everything and had returned to the city only with their lives”. 3 ' 1 We are further told that dishonest men took advantage of this craze for gold to defraud the sepoys and then “the soldiers revenged themselves upon the innocent people of the Mohalla.” 36

As mentioned above, the sepoys of Mirat quarrelled with those of Delhi over the loot of the latter place. Similarly, outbreaks took place over the rate of pay, on May 28. Jiwanlal writes: “Order was issued to-day to pay the mutineers: this was done at the request of Mahbub Ali Khan: deductions were ordered to be made on account of the sums already paid to them; nine for sowars and seven for infantry was fixed. A great uproar ensued. The cavalry demanded Rs. 30 for their pay, and no deduction for charges paid. The Subahdars of the Delhi Regiment accepted Rs. 7 as their pay. A violent abusive altercation followed between the Meerut cavalry and the mutineers of Delhi regiments. The Meerut sowars accused the Delhi regiments of having enriched themselves by plunder, whereas e Meerut men had by their good behaviour reaped nothing by plunder and robbery. They refused to receive Rs. 9. The foot Sepoys replied that the Meerut men were rebellious and utterly bad. Not only had they been the first to mutiny and kill their officers whose salt they had eaten—and led others to do likewise—but they were desirous to quarrel and fight with their own countrymen. The elhi Sepoys said they repented of their great fault—that they had not done their duty and blown them from their guns when they first i eached Delhi. Fierce passions were so raised, that at one time there was every probability of a serious encounter. The King s servants rushed in between the parties, and with great efforts quieted both sides, Mahbub Ali Khan promising the cavalry Rs. 20 pay per mensem". 36

All these indicate a complete break-down of the administrative machinery set up by Bahadur Shah. Another serious handicap was the lack of mutual confidence. If the Emperor, the chiefs, the aristocracy and the common people had causes of legitimate grievances against the sepoys, the sepoys had strong suspicions about their loyalty to the cause. They suspected them all as being attached to the English, intriguing with them, harbouring the fugitives and supplying regular news to the British force besieging Delhi. They brought open charge against the King, his favourite queen, Zinnat Mahal, and his chief adviser, Ahsanullah Khan. Jiwanlal records the following incident in his diary under the date, May 16.

"The sepoys assembled early this morning before the Palace, threatening the King and his officers, accusing them of saving the lives of European ladies and gentlemen and concealing them in the Fort, and through them communicating with the Europeans at Meerut_I learned today that nearly forty Europeans were concealed in the King's Palace. The sepoys went to the Palace in great anger, as they said they had seized a messenger with a letter cursing the mutineers. The sepoys threatened to kill Ahsanullah Khan and N&wab Mahbub Ali Khan, and also threatened to take away Zinnat Mahal Begum Sahiba and keep her as a hostage for the King's loyalty. There was a great uproar in the Palace, the sepoys on the one hand, and the King's household on the other, contending with violent language and harsh vociferations." 37

Fuller details of the incident are given by Chunilal, the newswriter, in his statement submitted during the trial of Bahadur Shah. This is also written in the form of a diary narrating the events from day to day. Under the date. May 16, he writes: “The troopers and infantry soldiers, accompanied by their officers, attended and presented a letter bearing the seals of the physician Ahsan Ulla Khan and Nawab Mahbub Ali Khan, which they said they had intercepted at the Delhi gate of the city, and complained that the physician and the Nawab had sent this letter to the English, inviting them to come into the city immediately, and proposing that provided the English should agree to acknowledge Mirza Jawan Bakht, the son of the King by the queen Zinnat Mahal, as heir-apparent, they would on their part engage to seize and make over all the soldiery now in Delhi”. The letter was shown to Ahsan Ulla and Mahbub Ali who declared it to be a forgery. The sepoys however did not believe them and “drew their

swords and surrounded Ahsan Ulla declaring their firm belief that he maintained an understanding with the English”. “The King assured the soldiers that he was associated with them in a common cause, desiring them to/place every confidence in Ahsan Ulla, Mahbub Ali and Queen Zinnat Mahal. The sepoys pointed out that Ahsan Ulla had in his custody European prisoners and obviously kept them for maintaining friendly relations with the British. They therefore took away from his dustody all the 52 European prisoners, men, women, and children, and killed them with swords”. “The occurrence”, pyrites Chumlal, “*eused a great excitement amongst the Hindus throughout the city; who said that these Purbeahs who had committed this heinous and atrocious cruelty could never be victorious against the English”. 38

That the suspicion of the sepoys was quite justified is proved by the secret intrigues disclosed by British records, as mentioned above. 39 The proverb, ‘like master, like servant’, was perhaps nowhere better illustrated than by the conduct of the chiefs who joined the revolt of Delhi. Many of them were playing a double game like Bahadur Shah. Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh sent supplies and men to Delhi to support the revolt, but assured the British of his staunch friendship. The Nawab of Jhujhur did the same. 40 Some of the chiefs joined or utilized the revolt to serve personal ends. Munshi Jiwanlal records (July 31) that Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan, chief of Farukhnagar, complained to the Emperor that Rao Tulla Ram of Rewari was going to at 4 ack him. At the same time a letter was read sent by Tulla Ram to Ghulam Muhammed Khan, with the words: “Are you intoxicated that you think the English are going away from Hindustan? They will most assuredly return and will destroy you”. Yet this Tullaram paid 4 Nazar 1 and lip-allegiance to the King. But Tullaram was paid back in his own coin. He had sent some money to Rewari, which some landholders seized.

According to the testimony of Ahsanulla who, as the confidential adviser of the Emperor, was in a position to know the truth, letters were written to a number of chiefs. He then adds: “Replies were received from the chiefs of Jhujhur, Ballabhgarh, Farrukhnagar and Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, but none were received from Jaipur, Alwar, Jodhpur, Bikanir, Gwalior, Jaisalmir, Patiala or Jummoo. These latter chiefs sent no reply, because they had no inclination to side with the King. The four chiefs who sent replies professed allegiance to the King and the first two of them sent some troops. But they excused their personal attendance on the ground that their absence would unsettle their countries”. Thus while only a few showed any inclination to support the revolt, even the chiefs who went furthest, namely those of Jhujhur and Ballabhgarh, are definitely known to have been playing a double game as mentioned above.

Bahadur Shah is also said to have written two letters to Baiza Bai to whom reference has been made above, but she sent no reply* It is, however, curious that Bahadur Shah made no approach to either Kunwar Singh or Bani of Jhansi, and got no favourable response from Nana with whom he communicated through a confidential agent about two months after the outbreak of the Mutiny. 41

The facts, mentioned above, do not support the view that Delhi was a centre of peoples’ revolt, or national struggle, or that there was an organized Conspiracy to overthrow the British rule. It is not unlikely that we have an exaggerated or partial account and that there were other facts which would induce one to moderate this view. But such facts have not yet come to light. On the other hand, even as a centre of the mutiny of sepoys, the situation in

Delhi hardly offers a pleasant picture. Reference _ias been made above to the greed of the sepoys which led them to plunder Europeans and Indians alike and caused bitter wranglings among themselves over the share of the loot. Instances are on record where the sepoys, after amassing wealth, returned to their hom!es to enjoy it without any further thought about the cause for which they fought. 42

There is indirect evidence that a section of the military had a wider vision and rose above mere considerations of personal gains. Their views are reflected in the proclamations issued at Delhi One of them, issued on behalf of the officers of the sepoys, inviting the co-operation of the people, runs as follows:

“To all Hindoos and Mussulmans, citizens and servants of Hindustan, the Officers of the Army now at Delhi and Meerut send greeting: It is well known that in these days all the English have entertained these evil designs —first, to destroy the religion of the whole Hindustani Army, and then to make the people by Christians. Therefore we, solely on account oj our religion, a have combined with the people, and have not spared alive one infidel, and have re-established the Delhi dynasty on these terms. Hundreds of guns and a large amount of treasure have fallen into our hands; therefore, it is fitting that whoever of the soldiers a nd people dislike turning Christians should unite with one heart, and, acting couregeeoriy* not leave the seed of these infidels remaining. It is further necessary, that all and Mussulmans unite in this struggle, and, following the instructions of some respectable people, keep themselves secure, so that good order may be maintained, the poorer classes kept contented, and they themselves be exalted to rank and dignity ”. 44

This proclamation is interesting in more ways than one. In the first place, it shows that the cause for which the sepoys fought was the removal, for ever, of the danger of mass conversion to Christianity by destroying the English. There is no reference to the abstract ideal of freedom or the struggle for achieving independence which is now gratuitously assumed to be their impelling motive. Secondly, it calls upon the Hindus and Mussulmans to unite in the struggle against the English. Thirdly, as the sepoys assembled in Delhi from different parts of North India, the above views may be taken to represent the general feelings which actuated the sepoys in different parts of the country.

The idea behind the proclamation was quite good, but the real question is how far did it influence the activities oi the people. The proclamation rightly laid stress on the unity between the Hindus and Muslims, but one finds a lack of mutual trust between them in Delhi. There was a clear manifestation of it even while the British attack upon Delhi was imminent, and the fate of the whole struggle depended upon its successful defence by the combined efforts of all communities. Thus we read in Jiwanlal's diary, under the date, May 19: "This day the standard of the Holy W&r was raised by the Mahommedans in the Jumma Masjid. The people of Dharampur and the low characters of the city were concerned in this act. The King was angry and remonstrated, because such a display of fanaticism would only tend to exasperate the Hindus". 46 On May 20, he writes: "Moulvie Mahommed Said demanded an audience, and represented to the King that the standard of Holy War had been erected for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the Mahommedans against the Hindus. The King answered that such a jehad was quite impossible, and such ah idea an act of extreme folly, for the majority of the Purbeah soldiers were Hindus. Moreover, such an act would create internecine war, and the result would be deplorable. It was fitting that sympathy should exist among all classes. It was pointed out that the Hindus were leaning towards an alliance with the English, and had no sympathy with the Mahommedans, and were already holding themselves apart. A deputation of Hindu officers arrived to complain of the war against Hindus being preached. The King replied: 'The Holy War is against the English; I have forbidden it against the Hindus'.... At three o'clock Hakim Ahsanullah Khap represented that the soldiers were looting in the city, and requested that they should be expelled. To get rid of them, orders were this day issued to Mirza Mogul to proceed with a strong force towards Meerut to attack any English force assembled there". 46

The account of Jiwanlal is confirmed by the following extract of a letter written by Major General T. Reed from his camp at Delhi to Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab. “They

are displaying the green flag in the city and bullying the Hindus who are praying for our Government—so says our secret intelligence”. 47 This letter is dated June 14, 1857. Chunilal algo refers to the incident in his written statement during the trial of Bahadur Shah.

To judge, therefore, from the data so far available, one must admit that there was hardly any combined effort or even unity of purpose between the sepoys and the Hindu and Muslim citizens of Delhi, though it was regarded as the centre of the general revolt against the English. Delhi presented a scene of chaos and confusion, of rapine and plunder, and intrigues and dissensions. The sepoys had definitely broken off from the British and burnt their boats. But not so the others. It was but natural that the sepoys would suspect them of loyalty to the British, and it is now known that their suspicions were not unjust or unfounded. Therefore the sepoys harshly treated all—both high and low—in Delhi, and this alienated them and made them wish for the return of the British. The sepoys were rude and insolent to the Emperor and the members of high family because they rightly suspected their loyalty, and this very fact probably increased the royal family's dislike to the mutineers and turned them more and more towards the English for support. There was thus a vicious circle, daily widening the gulf between the sepoys and the civil population. No one seems to have trusted another, and everyone’s hand was against his neighbour.

The situation might have been considerably improved if the sepoys could distinguish themselves by some great military achievements. But their performance was hopelessly disappointing, as will be related later. This was due to several factors other than military skill and courage in which the sepoys were not deficient.

There was organizational difficulty. At first the King appointed Prince Mirza Moghul Commander-in-Chief, and conferred high military ranks on other princes. But they proved utterly incompetent and could not keep the sepoys under proper control. Bahadur Shah— it must be said to his credit—honestly tried to do his duty towards the people, though without success. He reprimanded in strong terms, on June 27, both Mirza Moghul, the Commander-in-Chief of the rebel army, and Mirza Khair Sultan, who held the rank of a Colonel, for failure to keep the sepoys in check. “But the princes on whom the King had to depend for maintenance of law and order could not always resist the temptation of helping themselves to other people’s property. From an undated petition submitted by two merchants, Jugal Kishore and Sheo Prasad, we learn that vexation and annoyance were caused by the functionaries of the State and the princes, and royal troops still came to plunder their house and threatened to arrest them”.[48] On July 1 and 2 the troops of Bareilly, with their Commander, Bfakht Khan, arrived at Delhi. As he had a long military experience and belonged to a noble family, the King appointed him Commander-in-Chief in place of Mirza Moghul who was appointed Adjutant General. The other princes holding military ranks were much worse. “On the 4th July, two days after Subadar Bakht Khan had been invested with the office of the Commander-in-Chief, one Ahsan-ul-Huq complained about the dissolute and lawless conduct of Mirza Abu Bakr, the King’s grandson; and Mirza Moghul was ordered to recover the looted property. The very next day a more serious complaint was lodged against this prince by no less a person than Imani Begam, a daughter-in-law of the first Bahadur Shah. She represented, “that the night before Abu Bakr, in a state of intoxication, came to her house with several sowars to seize her, and fired several shots with rifles and pistols, and beat a number of people of the Mohalla. The police arrived, but Abu Bakr attacked the Kotwal with a sword, had him seized and taken away in custody, insulted him, and finally plundered her house”. The King was very indignant. He deprived the offender of his military rank and ordered him to be arrested. But the prince did not find it difficult to evade punishment. The King disgraced the princes and directed them to keep away from his levies. The headmen of the Mohallas were notified that the princes were to be treated like common men if they were found guilty of any lawless action. But it does not appear that royal displeasure had any sobering effect on these wayward youths”.[49]

But a mere change of command could not do much good when the sepoys did not possess even a modicum of military discipline. From the very beginning they showed a spirit of indiscipline to an amazing degree. This is best illustrated by their conduct towards Bahadur Shah and the shopkeepers and other citizens of Delhi as mentioned above. The military officers reported on May 14 that unless food were supplied, the sepoys could not be prevented from plundering. 50 The turbulence and insolence of the sepoys knew no bounds. Within a week they grew tired of Bahadur Shah. Jiwanlal tells us that on May 17 they deposed Bahadur Shah, as he was too old and infirm, and elected prince Abu Bakr in his place. 61 Evidently the issue was not pressed, and Bahadur Shah continued to be the nominal king, daily suffering insults and humiliations from the sepoys.

But the climax of indiscipline and insubordination was reached when they refused to serve under Bakht Khan as Commander-in

Chief, and actually sent a petition to the King to that effect. 62 When an army assumes the power and responsibility of making and unmaking the King, and exercises a veto upon the appointment of their Commander-in-Chief; and when the officers openly plead inability to control their soldiers and save the civil population from their plunder; its chance of gaining success in a prolonged and sustained struggle may be regarded as negligible. Military history has shown again and again, that valour, courage, heroism and self-sacrifice of individual soldiers cannot make lip for the lack of discipline of the army as a whole.

The character of Bahadur Shah, whom the sepoys themselves chose as their leader, was another handicap to their success. The sepoys had come from different and distant regions and had no cohesive force to bind them together. It was necessary to weld them into a compact and organized body and keep up their fighting spirit. All these needed a strong and efficient leader. Bahadur Shah was absolutely unfit for this task. He was advanced in age—almost a dotard—, and lacked military knowledge and personal bravery. The following incident recorded by Main-ud-din is an interesting commentary on his leadership of the great revolt: “The mutineers represented to the King that the sepoys were reluctant to attack the English, and demanded his presence in the field. This he promised to give. A large force was ordered to assemble in the evening. The King headed the force and passed by the Delhi Gate, and showed himself to the assembled troops. Passing by the Lai Dighi Tank he went on towards the Lahore Gate. One of the Palace dependants was substituted for the King, who secretly retired to the city by a back way. This show of force ended in nothing. The troops gradually moved back to 'their own quarters, and the threatened attack ended in smoke". 63

The deficiency on the part of the King was hardly supplied by the Commander-in-Chief, Bakht Khan, who "was a braggart and hardly possessed the qualities expected of a commanding officer". 64 Indeed, the most significant trait in the war between the sepoys and the English was the perfect contrast shown by the two in respect of leadership, strategy and unity of plan and action. This was well illustrated in the grim fight round the city of Delhi which will be described in a later section.

m. N. W. PROVINCES

The state of things in Delhi has been described at some length, partly because it was the nerve-centre of the movement, and partly because it is a prototype of what happened in other localities where

the mutiny of sepoys merged in or led to the revolt of the people under a local leader. This is illustrated by the outbreaks in Rohilkhand which also, like Delhi, was entirely rid of British authority, civil or military, as all the British officers were either killed or left their station.

The chief centre of revolt was Bareilly where the sepoys suddenly and unexpectedly rose on 31 May, and the British officers fled for their lives. According to the account of a Bengali gentleman, 65 the cavalry regiment was loyal, and gallopped to the help of the British officers, but the latter mistook them as pursuers, and rode forward as best they could without looking back to see the friendly signal. The cavalry regiment thereupon joined the mutineers.

Khan Bahadur Khan was the natural leader of the Rohillas. His grandfather, Hafiz Rahmat Khan,, the ruler of Rohilkhand, was defeated and killed by the Nawab of Awadh with the help of British troops lent by Warren

Hastings. But though the Nawab annexed Rohilkhand, he had to cede it to the British. . As the head of the ruling family, Khan Bahadur Khan got a monthly stipend of one hundred rupees from the British Government, and he also enjoyed pension as a judicial officer in the British service.

Khan Bahadur Khan presents an analogy with Bahadur Shah in many respects. His family was ruined by the British and he had sore grievances against them, but being old and infirm, and a man of pacific disposition, he nursed his grievances at heart but never harboured any design of active resistance against the British. He was friendly to the British, and on May 30, warned the Commissioner of the impending mutiny. The latter writes in his report: “He shook hands with me and his last words were significant, apne jan buchao or look out for your life”. 66 Yet when the successful mutiny of the troops heralded the end of the British rule, Khan Bahadur Khan assumed the administration as viceroy on behalf of the Emperor of Delhi. He was either carried away by the tide of rebellion or was unwilling to see another elevated to the position which, he thought, was his due as the legitimate heir of the last independent ruler of Rohilkhand.

He began his reign by ordering the execution of all the English, and issuing a long proclamation enunciating the causes and general principles of the revolution, to which reference will be made later. He appointed district officers of different grades, began to collect revenue, and set up a regular system of administration broadbased on the sympathy and support of the Hindus and Muslims. He sent nazar and presents to the Emperor at Delhi and received

the firman of investiture as Viceroy. He appointed Hindus to important posts, and many chiefs, both Hindu and Muslim, acknowledged him as Lord. But the communal jealousy was too deep to be uprooted, and ruined the chances of a good administration. Sobha Ram, the head of the Revenue Department, was not liked by the Muslims, and one day, during his absence, a Muslim crowd forcibly entered into his house on the plea of searching for hidden Englishmen and plundered it. Mir Alam Khan, a relative of Khan Bahadur Khan, attacked the house of a respectable Hindu, named Baldeo Gir Gosain, and threatened him and his wife with violence. Gosain killed him in self-defence. But though Gosain was tried for this murder and acquitted, he was killed by Mir Alam's brother who got off scotfree. Hindu officers were despoiled. Businessmen were heavily taxed and payment was enforced by severe measures. Not only some of them but even high officials of the newly established Government were secretly helping the British. 67 In Budaon Thakur Harlal of Bakshiena collected his clan and declared himself independent of Delhi and his Nazim, Khan Bahadur. 67 *

We possess a long narrative of the mutiny at Bareilly written by Durgadas Bandopadhyaya, a Bengali gentleman in the employ of the British army. He was present there and had ample opportunities of seeing things for himself and securing information from reliable sources. Here we find almost an exact replica of the tales of woe and misery suffered by the people at the hands of the sepoys as witnessed at Delhi by Munshi Jiwanlal and Main-ud-din. Khan Bahadur Khan, the nominal ruler of Bareilly, was in a helpless condition like Bahadur Shah, and Bakht Khan wielded the real power. There was no discipline among the sepoys, who were engaged in indiscriminately looting the shops and plundering the rich and poor alike. As in Delhi, many sepoys amassed a rich booty and returned home. Most cruel tortures were applied to extort money from the people. The Hindus and Muslims were forced to reveal their hidden treasure by the threat of being forced to take respectively the flesh of cows and pigs. Men were made to sit on boiling cauldrons with the same object. Plunder, theft, robbery and rape were the order of the day. A circumstantial narrative of the indignities suffered by a rich woman of the town, named Panna, in the hands of the sepoys, makes most painful reading. The demon of communalism also raised its head. The Muslims spat over the Hindus and openly defiled their houses by sprinkling them with cow's blood and placing cow's bones within the compounds. Concrete instances are given where Hindu sepoys came into clash with the Muslim hooligans engaged in defiling Hindu houses, and a communal riot

ensued. The Hindus, oppressed by the Muslims, were depressed at the success of the mutiny, and daily offered prayers to God for the return of the English. Even many Muslims wanted the English to return. Large number of persons were recruited as mercenaries and joined the mutineers on payment of Rs. 5, 6, or 7 per month. The mutineers were very hard on the Bengali residents of Bareilly. Many of them were whipped, and seven were condemned to death, merely on suspicion and without any regular charge being framed against them. 68

Another important centre of revolt was Farrukhabad. The cantonment at Fategarh was about six miles from this place. The sepoys of the 10th N.I. mutinied on June 18 and formally placed the Nawab of Furrukhabad on the vnusnud (throne) under a royal salute, and tendered their allegiance to him! They had seized the treasure, but when the new Government demanded it, they resolutely refused to surrender a rupee. Even when the mutinous sepoys of 41st N.I. from the neighbouring district of Sitapur asked for a share of it, they refused to divide the spoil. Many sepoys of the 10th N.I. went home with their share of the loot and then there ensued a fteht between the two groups—the remnant of the 10th and 41st N.I.—in which several sepoys on both sides were killed. At last, the survivors joined together in attacking the fort which fell, and many British were killed, or drowned in course of their flight. The Nawab, Tuffuzzal Husain Khan, then set up an administration with the help of the old native officials. He made an attempt to conciliate the Hindus who formed the majority of the Sitapur regiment, but communal riots broke out here ,and there. 69

It is interesting to note that not only local chiefs but even Government officials sometimes made themselves masters of the territory evacuated by the British. The most notable instance is that of Fatehpur. It was not a military station, but had about sixty or seventy sepoys as treasury-guards. The civil population, assisted by escaped jail birds and roving bands of sepoys, rose in rebellion released the local prisoners, plundered the treasury, and burnt a number of Government offices. All the European officers left except Mr. Tucker, the Judge, who held out till he was killed. After the British were thus liquidated, Hikmatulla, a Deputy-Magistrate began to rule the district in the name of Nana. 60

The outbreak at Bijnor possesses some features of special interest. It was not a military station and offers an undiluted picture of the revolt of the civil population. On May 19, the news of Mirat let loose not only all the lawless elements but even more respectable

classes. The plunder of tahsils, burning, and other usual excesses were committed by the Gujars, Banjars, Mewatis, Jats, Chauhans, and escaped prisoners over ah extensive area. Even more respectable classes joined in the fray, the lead being taken by Mahmud Khan, Nawab of Nazibabad, who arrived at the place with a band of sturdy Pathans to take possession of the rich treasures which were kept at the station. The Magistrate, however, unable to save the money in any other way, threw it into a well, the mouth of which could be defended from the roof of the treasury building. The Nawab had brought a number of empty carts to carry away the money, but was thwarted by the Hindu Zamindars and sepoys, on leave, who came to the aid of the Magistrate. But the revolt at Bareilly cut off Bijnor from all communications with the outside British authorities, and naturally encouraged the Nawab. The Magistrate, therefore, through the good offices of a loyal Government servant, who afterwards became famous as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, entered into an agreement with the Nawab by which the latter was placed in charge of the district for a period of ten days, during which, it was expected, Delhi would fall and the Magistrate would be able to return in full force. But as Delhi did not fall, and the Magistrate did not return, the Nawab proclaimed himself ruler of the district under the King of Delhi. He had already received the money in the treasury under the agreement and now fished up the remainder of the money from the well. After setting himself firmly in his authority, the Nawab began to oppress the Hindu chiefs. These, however, combined and drove him from Bijnor. Then followed a bitter and prolonged fight between the Hindus and the Muslims in which the ultimate victory rested with the latter. This was celebrated by a wanton massacre of unoffending Hindus. But soon a dispute arose between the Muslim leaders themselves, and the power was shared by three of them. They held it till April, 1858. During this period freebooters from neighbouring districts joined the party, and burned and plundered the neighbouring localities, including the two sacred sites of the Hindus, viz., Haridvar and Kanakhal. 61

Bareilly, Farrukhabad, and Bijnor furnish typical pictures of the numerous tiny kingdoms that were established all over Rohilkhand as a result of the withdrawal of the British. Though some of them nominally acknowledged the authority of Delhi, they were all independent for all practical purposes. They rose and fell like meteor, and before a year was over, vanished, all of them, leaving behind nothing but sad memories of rapine and plunder, occasionally enlivened by the stories of heroic courage shown by some of the leaders in their life-and-death struggle against the British force.

In some places, as in Moradabad, these tiny kingdoms, left by the British as parting gifts r proved a veritable apple of discord. Gulzarali, a Sayyid of ruined fortune, proclaimed himself Viceroy of the King of Delhi at Amroha, 21 miles from the city of Moradabad where the sepoys mutinied on 3 June. The 29th Regiment proclaimed Mujoo Khan governor of Moradabad, while the artillery chose Asadali Khan. Another candidate was Abdul Ali Khan, the uncle of Nawab Yusuf Ali Khan of Rampur who came down to Moradabad early in June and received salute and held darbars. As soon as he returned to Rampur, a proclamation was issued on 17 June in favour of Mujoo Khan. Some of the Muslim nobles joined his government, and a jihad was proclaimed against the English. But the Nawab of Rampur was loyal to the British and really held the district for them in spite of the revolt of a number of Muslim leaders. The communal bitterness, as usual, marked the outbreak. 62

Shahjahanpur, another centre of popular rising, tells the same tale. On 31 May, the mutinous sepoys, excited by Surfuraz Ali, a Maulavi of Gorakhpur, killed a number of Europeans, two of them at the church. The survivors found a temporary refuge with the Zamindar of Pawain, but while proceeding towards Aurangabad were cruelly massacred. While the Maulavis and Ghazis were dominating the city, “the villagers broke out into rebellion; tahsils were plundered, records were destroyed and police stations sacked. Valuable materials connected with the sugar refinery and rum factory of Messrs. Carew and Co. were gutted by the people of the neighbouring villages nearly twenty in number. On June 1, a procession proclaiming the overthrow of the British rule was led by Hamid Hasan Khan And Nizamali Khan. The rule of the Rohillas under Khan Bahadur Khan was announced with Qadirali Khan and Ghulam Hussain Khan as local chiefs. But the mutual jealousies of the Mahomedan rulers and the resistance to their exactions by the Rajput chiefs who were killed in large numbers by Mardanali Khan in a fierce encounter, led to an indifferent situation. No less depressing was the hostile attitude of Ghulam Kadir Khan who replaced Qadirali Khan as nazim and appointed his own men as officers”. Ahmad Yar Khan, a tahsildar, called in the aid of Ismail Khan of Bareilly to crush the Rajputs. 63

The revolutionary outbreaks of civil population took place over such an extensive area in the region now known as Uttar Pradesh, that it is not possible to refer, even briefly, to all the affected localities. Nevertheless, as the ‘popular upsurge’ has been constructed as a struggle for national independence, it is necessary to form an accurate view of its nature. This can best be done by referring to the inci

dents that took place in a few selected localities. The following summary is based upon an official publication entitled “Narratives of Events Attending the Outbreak of Disturbances'’ 64 It was compiled by the various District Officers and the Divisional Commissioners in the North-Western Provinces in obedience to the instructions contained in the General Order No. 212 of 30 April, 1858, and contains almost a day to day account of the incidents that happened under the very eyes of the officials concerned, or of which they got information from men who witnessed them. Whatever we might think of the views and comments of these officers, the events recorded by them may be regarded as fairly authentic. The resemblance between the incidents recorded by different officials in different localities is a strong evidence in support of their general accuracy. Besides, the general picture that emerges out of these accounts is fully corroborated by the accounts of contemporary Indians to which reference .has been made above. In any case, it is not possible to get a more authentic detailed account of the various local outbreaks. It is interesting to note that even those writers, who represent the outbreak of 1857 as a national war of independence, have freely drawn upon these accounts, at least whenever they suited their purpose. Most of the passages in the following summary are verbatim quotations of these reports, though, here and there, they have been condensed without making any substantial or material change. Many details have necessarily been omitted.

A. Budaun 66

The popular upsurge at Budaun is instructive in so far as it shows very clearly how different classes used the movement to their own advantage. Inhabitants of some villages commenced plundering travellers, while those of others plundered the boats laden with grain belonging to 'Beoparees' (corn-dealers), which were moored on the ghats of the Ganga.

The Aheers of Nundpoor, Lawur and others banded together and murdered Heera Singh and Kulloo Singh, Zamindars of Putheria; they wounded Gopal Singh, the brother of the above, and plundered their property. The Narrative contains many gruesome details on the basis of which Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri describes the progress of popular agitation at Budaun in the following words:

"Though internal dissensions between the different communities weakened the basis of the movement, the popular fury was there to feed sedition. Blackmail was freely levied from all the baniyas and mahajans, and valuable indigo factories were gutted and even the iron boilers were melted down for shot and records were burnt extensively. While the masses had done everything to efface all traces of British rule, the talukdars took the opportunity of expelling the auction purchasers, and resumed possession of their hereditary states". 66 Many Government servants, mostly Hindus, took service under the rebels and more than fifty chiefs carried on rapine and violence all over the district.

B. Aligarh 67

"Before the middle of June, the Chohans of the Pergunnah, intent on revenge, called in the Jats to their help, attacked Khyr, plundered and destroyed nearly all the government buildings, as well as the houses of bunyahs and vuthajans. In July a regular government was set up by the rebels under Nusseemoollah.

•. .Feuds: The old Rajpoot and Jat feuds raged strongly in the western parts of this district, and towards Saidabad, in the Muttra district, and was only stopped by the fall of Delhi. The feeling of animosity between Hindoos and Mahomedans was also generally bitter in the towns of this district, especially after the excesses of Nusseemoollah and the elevation by us of Thakoor Gobind Singh. As to the behaviour of the people to the Christians, only one Christian was murdered. The refugees were given shelter by the people.

Of the European-owned indigo factories, a very large one was plundered and burnt by the villagers, i.e., Mr. Nichterlein's, and three others were plundered by mutineer troops; the other considerable ones were saved by the zemindars , who had the sense to perceive that their destruction would benefit no one. The records of the Sudder cutcherry, and those of four of eight tehseels, were destroyed; of these one act of destruction only was purely the work of villagers, i.e. the case of Khyr. In the other cases, the populace took a share after order had been first upset, or plunder commenced by mutineer troops. As elsewhere, the people plundered one another freely. Two towns of importance were plundered; Khyr to the amount of one lac of rupees, and Hurdooah Gunge, four lacs; these estimates are moderate. Coel was also a great deal plundered by Mewatees, etc. of the town, by passing rebel troops, by Nuseemoollah during his 11 days' reign, and by our own troops (British troops). There was an attack on Mr. Watson at Mudroc by the Coel Mahomedans on June 30, and on Major Burlton at Iglas by the Jats. The rise of the Mahomedan zemindars and other inhabitants of Atrowlee (September 25) leading to the murder of Mahomed Allee Tehseeld^r, was a case of worst description. The influential inhabitants, chiefly converted Mahomedans of old, bore turbulent character! Daring the disturbed months, they took the management of the town into their own hands. Early in September, Mahomed Allee was deputed by Mr. Cocks as Joint Magistrate, with Daood Khan as Nazim; but the zemindars refused to acknowledge him and on September 25, when the Mahomedans (at the time unaware of the fall of Delhi) broke out into open rebellion, he unfortunately left the tehseel building and was murdered. I never saw him but I have little doubt that government has seldom had a better servant. The behaviour of Ghaus Khan of Secundra Rao and of the Mahomedans of Coel, has been mentioned above. The only other case of marked rebellion among men of consideration is that of Mungal Singh and Mahtab Singh, Rajpoot zemindars of Akrabad, who after the plunder of Akrabad tehseel treasury by sepoys, permitted the destruction* of the records by their own people, refused all aid to the tehseeldar, and generally lived a life of open rebellion. Though aid in the struggle has been in many instances rendered us by the natives, especially by the Hindoos, after they had received a foretaste of a Mahomedan government, still their general attitude must be characterised as apathetic. The large number of persons who had so much to gain from the overthrow of our government were content to annex their lost estates and await the result of the struggle... ”

C. Mathura GQ

“The news of the insurrection and the proclamation of the king of Delhi had now become known among the native population, and the country immediately became disturbed. The disturbances were chiefly attacks on buniahs and ejectment of new zemindars by the old...A large number of new police had been raised and I endeavoured to raise new sowars, but with very little success. The great protection of the city consisted in the seths Radha Kishen and Gobind Das, who raised a large body of men at their own expenses and by their influence kept the other inhabitants quiet. They also lent Captain Nixon two brass guns. .. The disturbances in the district had been increasing both in number and enormity. Kuer Dildar Ally Khan, a large zemindar in Pergunnah Maot, was murdered by his villagers. On the 23rd May, Omrow Bahadoor, a relative of his who had estates in Pergunnah Nohjheel had been besieged in his house, but on the approach of our force, the villagers had retired and he made his escape. Several other murders were committed and other outrages, the particulars of which I do not remember . .. The news of the mutiny had spread with a great rapidity and the whole country had risen almost instantaneously. We were fired from several villages and had several narrow escapes. On reaching Muttra Mr. Burlton put the treasures on carts and gave the word to march. The Subahdar said “where”? “To Agra, of course,” Mr. Burlton replied, on which a shout arose “no, to Delhi, to Delhi”. Mr. Burlton exclaimed “you traitors”, and he was shot dead by a sepoy. The sepoys then set fire to the office; the flames were the first notice the Europeans in the station had of the Mutiny; they instantly left and all succeeded in making their escape to Agra; the office being well on fire, the sepoys marched off with the treasure; they sent a detachment to release the prisoners in jail. The jail guard at once joined them; they then marched on towards Delhi. They burnt two bungalows besides the office, but did no other damage; they, however, burnt all the government buildings on the road, customs chowkies and bungalows, police chowkies, etc. The zemindars of all the villages along the road joined and assisted them.

“As the news spread, the country arose; by the time I returned, the whole district was in anarchy. The police and revenue establishments were everywhere ejected, or if permitted to remain, allowed to remain on mere sufferance; the buniahs were plundered, new proprietors ejected and murdered, and the king of Delhi proclaimed. . .From the Seth’s house, I used to see the villagers fighting across the river, and as soon as my return was known, the villagers sent to threaten the Seths if they did not eject me; the villagers on both sides of the river were disposed to plunder Muttra and commenced collecting men from Bhurtpore and elsewhere for the purpose... In all these measures (for defending Muttra) I was ably assisted by the Seths; in fact, but for their assistance and that of some other of the wealthier inhabitants, I could not have remained. .. The outrage committed by the insurgents had been very great; the town of Rayah had been completely plundered; the very houses dug to pieces in search of treasure. The atrocities committed on some of the buniahs > wives will not bear repetition. The confusion and anarchy of the country exceeded belief; in a circle of a few mile^, above five or six zemindars had declared themselves independent, assumed the title of rajah and proclaimed the king of Delhi. In one instance a single village split into two factions, one-half proclaimed a rajah, the other half the zemindars; the impression that the English rule had ceased was universal”.

D. Agra 69

The retreat of the British force to the Fort was signalised by the burning of buildings. The rebel troops followed it beyond Shahgunj. The march of the insurgent rebel army had been accompanied by hordes of villagers, ready to take advantage of a reverse on

either side, and to plunder the vanquished; they were seen before the battle, by many, to the amount of some thousands, near the European lines. The entry of the British force into the fort was a signal for a general onslaught and plunder. All that night the fires of the blazing bungalows lit the sky.

“On the morning after the battle the town crier, at the order of Morad Alee Kotwal, proclaimed the reign of the King of Delhi, through the city. The armed procession that accompanied the crier was composed of most of the leading Mahomedan Police officers, attached to the Kotwalee, headed by the Kotwal himself, and followed by a crowd of inferior grades and rabble; there is no reason to suppose that a single Mahomedan of any respectability was in

any way engaged or accessory to this proceeding.from the

time of the proclamation the property of Christians, wherever they could be found in the city was plundered, and themselves, both man, woman and child, ruthlessly murdered. In these murders the leaders were the Police, who had been, in great numbers, armed with muskets, ammunition and side-arms; these were joined by the Butchers and Mewatees of Wazeerpoorah and other places, and by the low Mahomedan rabble.The state of the District out

side the city was, in one word, anarchy. The repulse of the British troops and the entry into the fort joined to the inaction of the three days, wherever reported, everywhere gave the signal for attacks on

the tehseels and thanas ...The first attacks were made

by the Goojurs of the neighbouring villages,.Goojurs had

been joined by some of the followers of Deohunse Goojur, soobah

of the neighbouring state of Dholepoor.Deohunse then gave

up the town of Iradutnugur to plunder. For five weeks carriages laden with the spoils of the plundered villages continually passed along the road to Dholepoor. Proprietors of estates bought at auction were ejected by the former owners. Anarchy prevailed and plunder on all sides... ”

The insurrection commenced in June before which no actual outbreak or even a dacoitee had taken place in the Banda district. The released convicts from Allahabad and Kanpur, however, soon spread over the country and found the Banda people only too ready to join them. ‘The Tehseelee of Mow was first attacked and plundered by the zemindars of Mow and the neighbouring villages, and the records torn up and distributed to the winds, in order, as they said, that no record of their liabilities might remain to the government. The Tehseelee and Thannah establishments did their best; but were overwhelmed by thousands, and compelled to seek safety in flight. The loss of other Tehseelees soon followed in a like manner. I saw Tehseelee after Tehseelee going, and the waves of the rebellion rapidly approaching Banda itself, and was totally helpless to prevent it. The whole district went to the bad in less than a week. The town and bazar of Rajapoor was saved from plunder by the merchants themselves who assembled a large force and repelled the repeated attacks of the surrounding villages.... As for the people, ruined, as they were by over-assessment and bad seasons, and half starving, still they would, I think, not have risen in rebellion if they had been left to themselves. It was only when excited by the reports from other districts, and hearing of the excesses committed elsewhere, and of what was then supposed the total massacre of all Europeans at Allahabad, that they too came to the conclusion that the British rule was at an end, and every man had best take care of himself....

‘On the same night that the British officers left Banda, all the bungalows in Cantonments were plundered and burnt to the ground and Nawab Ali Bahadoor proclaimed his own rule; and through the government police made arrangements, which saved the town from being plundered. He gave out that the Collector and Magistrate had entrusted the district to his care and desired all Government servants to remain at their posts.The Adjygurh chiefs, who had been sent by their ranee to our assistance, and who had at my request undertaken to protect the jail, joined in releasing the prisoners. Many of the leading bunyas of the town were also present on this occasion and sweetmeats were distributed by them to the mutineers. The sepoys then proclaimed their own Raj in opposition to that of Nawab Ali Bahadur issued on the previous night at which they were much incensed. The Nawab, however, managed to appease their wrath by giving them a great dinner of sweetmeats and by acknowledging their authority. They then called the Amlahs and told them they would be maintained in their several appointinents; and Mahomed Sidar Khan, the Deputy Collector, was appointed by the sepoys 'Nazim of Banda' with full powers of life and death. The slaughter of cows and bullocks was then forbidden throughout the town. Mr. Cockerell, the Joint Magistrate and a number of East Indians were murdered.'

"In the pergunnahs the news spread like wildfire, and the villagers rose in every direction and plundered and murdered each other promiscuously. Old enmities and the long smothered wish for revenge were forthwith satisfied. Auction purchasers and decreeholders were ousted, travellers and merchandize plundered, and the servants of Government compelled to fly for their lives; and, in all

instances government buildings and property of every description were plundered and destroyed. Everyman's hand was against his neighbour, and the natives revelled in all the license and. madness of unchecked anarchy and rebellion in a manner such as only Asiatics can revel in those pleasures. Tulwars and matchlocks were scarce in Bundelcund; but armed with spears and scythes, and ironbound lathies and temporary axes formed by chopping knives fastened on sticks, they imagined themselves to be warriors, chose their own Kings, and defied all comers. Never was revolution more rapid,

never more complete".The sepoys left on the 19 th June with

their plundered treasures (2 lakhs), guns and ammunition. Pending a reference to Nana about the claims of two rivals—the Nawab and the chieftain of Adjygurh—for the throne of Banda, the former was allowed to take charge of the country. The dispute led to a fight between the two about the middle of August, and again in October. But Nawab Ali Bahadur was not the only ruler of the district. At Kirwi, in the western part, Narayan Rao and Madho Rao declared themselves as Peshwas, both being second to bear these names in that illustrious line. Thus, in the words of a modern historian, who fully relied on the account given above, in Banda, "the revolutionary flame was in full blaze", and "the popular character of the rebellion” was manifested in the “destruction of the church and the desecration of the Christian burial ground.” 71

F. Hamirpur 72

“After the murder of the Europeans, including the Magistrate, anarchy was the order of the day; the mob and sepoys rushed up to the town, plundered everyone they could lay their hands on; old scores were wiped out in blood, and the Christian preacher, Jeremiah, with his whole family were slaughtered unresisting.

“The Bengalee Baboos as writing English were next attacked, and though they begged their lives, lost everything they possessed.. .... There were three boats of unarmed sepoys of the 44th and 97th Regiments, those I believe who were disarmed at Agra, passing by on the 18th June; the guns were turned on them and opened, many were killed, the boats taken and the goods found in them made over to men of the auxiliary chiefs, the sepoys being left to get on their way as best they could. The sepoys and the auxiliaries now fell out about the money in the treasury amounting to a lakh and a half; on July 1, the Peshwa’s rule was proclaimed. Once more anarchy prevailed in Hamirpur, the Romeree Zemindars levying blackmail on whom they pleased, and committing all kinds of violence; these men with the exception of Thoke Teroze were the leadeis in everything bad, and were well backed up by those of Serowlee Buzoprg and Khoord. The Humeerpore zemindars seem to have behaved decidedly well, but are so weak and poor as to have been able to do little.

“I need scarcely say that the great feature in the rebellion here has been the universal ousting of all bankers, baniyas, Marwarees, etc., from landed property in the district, by whatever means they acquired it, whether at auction, by private sale or otherwise, and also that the larger communities have profited immensely by the time of anarchy, while many of the smaller ones have been ruined and dispersed; those who were strong enough to plunder with impunity did so, the others were the victims. This, however, must have been equally the case all over the country; but it is strange that in no instance do the classes so favoured by our rule, the bankers and other traders, appear to have been able to keep their own in the struggle...”

G. Jhansi

Jhansi presented a similar scene of anarchy and confusion. The Rani, who is supposed to have led the war of independence, thus describes the condition of the District in a letter to the Commissioner of the Saugor Division:

“The Urzee of the Tahsildars and thanadars of Puchare dated 11th June 1857 states that the Jagirdar of Khuneeadhana of Elaka Jhansee has attacked the district with a hundred matchlockmen arid taken possession of the fort of Ahar and the Thakoors of Kuphar etc. have taken forcible possession of the fort Mehraunee and turned away the police sephaees from there, and the same things are going on in other places. No policeman can be got to take service. If all the Gurhees are in this manner taken possession of by these people, the district will be ruined; if assistance be rendered some arrangements can be made, otherwise everything must go to ruin.

“The Urzee of the Thanadar of Rahpoor Dhala dated 11th June states that it appears that Thakooors of Kyrwa have dismissed the police from the chaukee at the post and the PaWars are marching about in bands. The Thakoors of Kyrwa have got together some 200 or 150 men with evil designs towards the inhabitants.

“It has been rumoured that the Thakoor of Chargaon has taken possession of the place and is collecting the revenue of the Parganah and ruining the inhabitants.”

The Rani sums up the position by saying that “in all the elaqas fi.e. subdivisions) subordinate to Jhansi the chiefs have taken possession of the Gurhees, while others are plundering the country”, and that “it is quite beyond her power to make any arrangement for the safety of the district”. 73

H. Other Areas

There were outbreaks in Jubbulpore District where 179 rebel leaders appeared in arms'. 74 It is unnecessary to describe at length the activities ot such local chiefs who established their ephemeral authority over small areas. Some of them assumed royal titles. For example, the fort of Rahatgarh, 24 miles from Sagar, was seized by Fazil Muhammad who assumed the title of Prince of Mandasor. 7 * Faizuddin Muktear proclaimed Soal Singh as the Raja of Ajaigarh. 70 Many of them are definitely known to have old scores to pay against the British. The Raja of Banpur, the most prominent of them, who later fought hard against the British, "had many grievances to complain of", and cherished the hope of gaining the entire kingdom of Chanderi, the ancient possession of his ancestors, on the expected fall of the British rule". 77 He at first played a double game, negotiating for terms and territories, but eventually rebelled and seized Chanderi. Many other chiefs rose in revolt because they "had lost their obari rights in several of their villages", or their estates "had been in whole or in part resumed by the Government". 78 The Rani of Jaitpur, a state annexed by Dalhousie on the Doctrine 6f Lapse, set herself up as a ruler at Jaitpur, but was driven away by the Chirkaree troops. 79 The Rani of Ramgarh took up arms to get rid of the Court of Wards which managed the State. 80

I. General Review

Although many chiefs in Bundelkhand, Sagar and Narmada territories sooner or later threw^ in their lot with the rebels, one can hardly accept the statement of Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri that "by the' end of August, all places to the north of the Narmada with the exception of the Sadar stations were in flames". 81 Jalaun and Charkhari were unaffected, and the Raja of Panna continued to be the most faithful ally of the British. The same was the case with the ruler of Orchha and Datia, who attacked the Rani of Jhansi and won the support of the British by representing her as a rebel. The Raja of Rewa helped the British with troops, and the whole Baghelkhand remained quiet.

It is equally untrue to say that the "rebellion culminated in the complete subversion of the British power". 82 It would be more appropriate to say that the subversion of the British power by the mutiny of the sepoys culminated in the rebellion of the people as

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they thought that “the British raj was over,” This, again, is true only in a general way of Rohilkhand and the adjoining area immediately lying to the south of the Yamuna,

So far as Rohilkhand is concerned, the British authority almost disappeared for nearly a year. The whole country presented a scene of plunder and devastation, in which almost everybody’s hand was against his neighbour. Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly and many other chiefs exercised independent royal authority, fondly believing that the British rule had gone for ever and the Muslim power was going to be revived in all its glory. Nevertheless, wherever there was a vestige of British authority left, large sections of people submitted to it. Referring to Muzaffarnagar where the civil population broke into revolt on May 14, before there was a similar revolt elsewhere, the Magistrate reports: “By the end of August, I collected Rs. 2,95,000 (as revenue) without the sacrifice of a single life (employed ill collecting revenue). Later, disturbances occurred in various parts of the district, but the authority was maintained”. 83

Dr. Chaudhuri seems to convey the impression that the region north of the Narmada was in flames kindled by the torch of freedom. But what are the actual facts? We have got a fairly good picture of the state of this region in those days, based on Authentic testimony. It portrays Indian chiefs fighting against one another, some of them befriending the English for securing the help against rival chiefs, others helping the British at first, then changing, or forced to change, their attitude by the unjust suspicion of the latter, brought out in no small measure by the machinations of their Indian enemies; the petty local chiefs only busy with establishing their own authority and enriching themselves by all unscrupulous means; plunder and murder going on on all sides. This hardly fits in with the romantic picture of Jhansi as the centre of a national war of independence. But such was, in brief, the condition of the whole of North-Western Provinces.

It is a fitting occasion to pause and reflect on the nature of this short spell of independence for which no war had to be waged against the English, and no blood was shed, except that of European and Indian victims of the mutinous sepoys and infuriated populace. In order to understand the nature of the revolt in N. W. P. we must take note of the fact that the class that perhaps contributed most to the wide-spread character of the rebellion was that connected with land. The agrarian system adopted by the British in the Ceded Provinces, as mentioned above, had entirely changed the character of land tenure. In particular, the heavy assessments of revenue, combined with two innovations introduced in 1833, namely, a complete cadastral survey and large-scale resumption of rent-free grants of lands, proved disastrous to the people.

The result was that the cultivators, already in debt on account of over-assessment prior to 1833, were forced to borrow more money, at heavy rate of interest, from traders, merchants and money-lending classes, who sought to invest their spare cash in land which came to be regarded as a secure and stable form of property. By the new legislation of 1848 it became quite easy for the moneylenders to get decrees in courts and auction the property for nonpayment of loans. As a consequence, these wealthy classes got the proprietory rights, while the old cultivators became mere tenantsat-will, and such a change affected nearly one-third of the cultivators. The cultivating classes naturally resented the intrusion of these monied classes, mostly absentees, and looked upon the overthrow of British rule in 1857 as a God-sent opportunity to redress their grievances. They not only took advantage of it to reassert their old rights, but wreaked vengeance upon those traders and moneylenders who were at the root of all their sorrows and miseries. This explains not only the wide and rapid spread of the revolt 4 of civil population, but also some of the characteristic features of the rowdyism displayed by the people, namely, destruction of courts and records and the cruelty to the Mahajans and Bunyas, which were reported from almost every place affected, by the outbreak.

In the opinion of a class of historians the rising of civil population invests the outbreak of 1857-8 with the character of a national war of independence. Few of them, however, have made a detailed study of these risings in order to assess their real nature. Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri is perhaps the only exception, and his careful compilation of facts is therefore of special importance. His comments, however, betray a lack of proper understanding of what a popular rising for independence really means. His account of Bijnor serves as a typical example. He stresses the “spontaneous rising of the people”, though he admits that it really meant the plunders and other excesses committed by the Gujars, Banjars, etc. as mentioned above. He recognizes that “the independent government of Muhammad Khan, the Nawab of Nazibabad, could not restore law and order; far less stop the bloody wars between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in which the former were eventually defeated with great slaughter at the battle of Haldaur on 18 September”. He admits that “the Bijnor rising clearly brought out into prominence the lines of cleavage working to antagonise the two communities”. “But,”

he adds, “the rebel cause was strengthened by the participation m it of the noted Gujar Chiefs, ..an outlaw, the Delhi princes and

Sirdar Khan.” 84

Dr. Chaudhuri’s comment on the general character of the revolt is still more explicit: ‘‘The revolt in Rohilkhand was mostly confined to the muslim community who were inflamed by fanaticism to an intense hatred of the English. They raised the green flag, shouted for the revival of the Islamic State and despoiled the hindu bankers and merchants. But these features did not warp the popular character of the rising”, 86

It seems to be the view of Dr. Chaudhuri that the hatred of the English is the only factor that counts in a popular national movement, even though the resulting activity was wanton plunder and destruction by the rowdy elements who were hitherto kept in restraint by the English authority and therefore \Try naturally hated it. The popular character, it seems, is not lost even though the Hindus fight against Muslims, one faction fights against another, and every body’s hand is against his neighbours. Even Dr. Chaudhuri’s detailed account does not show that the people, while thus engaged, bestowed a moment’s thought upon devising measures to maintain the independence they had so miraculously won without any effort on their part, or that any class or grou£ of persons looked upon this independence in any other light than as a means to gain their personal ends. It is therefore difficult to hold that the revolts in N.W. P. deserve the name of popular rising or popular upsurge, as part of a national movement for independence. The spontaneity of the popular risings, on which Dr. Chaudhuri lays stress, does not necessarily indicate prolonged and eager expectancy to free the motherland or drive away the English, but may be easily accounted for by the long-standing grievances, mentioned above, of the cultivating class which constituted 90 per cent, of the people, and the godsent opportunity to loot, kill, and burn with impunity, which no Gujar, Ban jar, escaped convicts or people of that sort are ever known to have missed. Nor does history record any instance where these classes of people hesitated or waited for a moment when such an opportunity presented itself. Dr. Chaudhuri claims that even apart from these marauding elements there was ‘tension among the landed chiefs as well as the people’, and the mutiny of sepoys acted like a spark on an ignited substance. This tension was due to various types of discontent, mentioned above, causing disaffection and hatred against the British, but the ignition did not kindle the torch of patriotism and a burning desire for freedom. The so-called popular upsurge, to start with, was really a scramble for power and plunder, and even the popular cry of ‘drive away the English’ lost its force and fervour after the first orgy of riots was over. This alone can explain how Syeid Ahmad, a Government official, could hold Bijnor for some time on behalf of the British, without any military force, and the District of Moradabad was similarly held by the loyal Nawab of Rampur. Moradabad, in any case, had tasted the bitter cup of freedom. The Hindus, disaffected by the communal policy of the Government, welcomed the return of the British forces. On April 21, Firuz Shah, a prince of the royal House of Delhi, who had cast in his lot with the Rohilkhand rebels, marched upon Moradabad and demanded money and supplies. But the townspeople refused, and Firuz Shah, after making a vain attempt to subdue them, was forced to beat an inglorious retreat.[86]

Another point of interest in the so-called popular upsurge in Rohilkhand is the equal readiness of the people to fight for or against either Khan Bahadur Khan or the British, so long as they were paid for the work. Much is made of the fact that Khan Bahadur Khan had raised an army of forty thousand troops. But as Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya, who was present in Bareilly at the time, observes, these recruits, mostly poor men, were attracted by payment alone; the common folk had no enthusiasm for any party or cause, and thousands joined the British army for exactly the same reason. 86 ®

It is true that many landlords joined the revolt, but many also remained loyal and faithful to the British till the last. As regards the common people the contemporary British writers themselves admit that a large section of them in N.W.P. showed friendly feelings to the British. As an evidence thereof it is pointed out that otherwise supplies could not be obtained, and small groups of Englishmen could not move through Rohilkhand without any escort and hold important posts “amidst the swarms of mutineers passing up the Grand Trunk Road to Delhi”. 87 If there are instances where the Englishmen were cruelly butchered, there are perhaps more numerous examples where English fugitives—men, women, and children— owed their lives to the kindness and sympathy of the Indians, both chiefs and common people. All this does not necessarily mean that these were loyal to the British; they might have* been passive or indifferent, even though disaffected towards the British. But the existence of a large element of such people certainly takes away from the universal character of the ‘popular rising’ which has been claimed by some writers.

IV. AWADH (AVADH)

Mention has been made above of the grave discontent caused by the annexation of Awadh among all classes of people. Apart from the general discontent that inevitably followed all such annexations, the popular discontent was aggravated by the subsequent incidents, such as the spoliation of the Nawab’s palace; the lack of timely help which reduced the members of the royal family to utter penury, even to the miserable condition of begging for food; the new policy of land-settlement which deprived the Talukdars of their property; the imposition of new and obnoxious duties such as those on stamps, petitions, food, houses, eatables, ferries and opium which laid a heavy burden on the common people,—mostly peasants who were already suffering from heavy assessment of land-revenue. 88 These were quite recent happenings, hardly a year old, and the people still remembered how the outlying portions of Awadh, then constituting the

North-Western Provinces of the British, were forcibly taken away by them. No wonder that the people of Awadh— meaning the original kingdom— who fully shaded the general discontent and grave apprehension of loss of religion would grow specially restive. In Awadh, again, the sepoys were mostly recruited from the people and there was no hard and fast line of demarcation between the two as in other parts of India. It is no wonder, therefore, that the sepoys, as well as other classes of people, would grow more excited than elsewhere, and the civil population would show more sympathy to the mutinous sepoys who were mostly their own kith and kin. Events proved this to be the case. Nowhere else, outside the old Suba or kingdom of Awadh, were the mutinies of sepoys so successful and widespread, and, what is more important, led to outbreaks of civil population on such a large scale. It is only against this background that the civil rebellion in Awadh can be understood in its true perspective.

Reference has been made above to the mutiny of the sepoys at Lakhnau on May 3, which was easily suppressed. The news of Mirat and Delhi reached there on May 14 and 15. On the night of May 30, there was another rising in course of which the Brigadier was shot and the officers* bungalows were burnt. But nearly five to six hundred men of the three native regiments remained loyal, and next morning Sir Henry Lawrence, who had been given plenary power in Awadh, had no difficulty in dispersing the mutineers who all fled after a few discharges from his guns and marched to Delhi. The same afternoon (May 31) about five or six thousand Muslims raised the standard of the Prophet and attempted a rising of the civil population, but the police put them down*

During the month of May the province of Awadh had remained comparatively quiet and, unlike Rohilkhand, British administration was regularly carried on throughout the province. But after the mutiny at Lakhnau on May 30/31 mutiny became general throughout the province. This was evidently due, partly to the example of Lakhnau, and partly to the constant stream of mutineers pouring into Awadh from outside. But whatever may be the cause, “every detachment without exception threw off control”. “In every instance the mutiny of a regiment was followed by the loss of the district to which it belonged”. In the course of ten or eleven days, English administration in Awadh had vanished like a dream, and not a single representative of the British Government was to be found at any of the stations in Awadh. It is, however, a singular fact that the common people as well as the Talukdars, with a few exceptions, treated the fugitive Europeans with genuine sympathy and kindness. 89

The political vacuum thus created led to a situation not much dissimilar to what took place in Rohilkhand. But there were some special features. The Talukdars of Awadh, who had lost their lands by the new system of land tenure, immediately rose as a class and resumed the lands, which had been taken away from them, by forcibly ejecting their new masters who had purchased them at auction sale. The Talukdars had not only powerful motive but also a strong incentive to revolt by the strength and security of their position. Their numbers were great and they had a common cause to fight for. They were well armed and almost every Talukdar had a fort surrounded by dense jungles. It has been estimated that in course of the suppression of the outbreak, "1572 forts had been destroyed and 714 cannon, exclusive of those taken in action, surrendered". 90

Although the common people had not the same grievances as the Talukdars, all classes of people joined in the fray for reasons mentioned above. Even the cultivators, who were protected by the British against the rapacity of the Talukdars, joined their old masters who were their natural chiefs, and with whom they had a special tie.

The rebellion in Awadh had another advantage over that in Rohilkhand. It had a rallying point in the Nawab family which was dispossessed of its domains only a year back. The last Nawab was practically ar prisoner in Calcutta, but his cause was upheld by his queen, Begam Hazrat Mahal. Her minor son, Birjis Quadr, was selected as Nawab on 7 July and his coronation in Lakhnau was accompanied by booming of guns. A regular administration was set

up with Sharf-ud-Daulah as Prime Minister and the important offices were judiciously distributed among the Hindus and Muslims. The chief authority was however wielded by Begam Hazrat Mahal.

It should not be supposed, however, that the whole of Awadh rallied round the authority of the Begam. As in Rohilkhand, so in Awadh, a number of local chiefs set up tiny independent kingdoms, some of which were contested by more than one rival claimant. Almost the whole of Awadh and bordering regions were parcelled out among the Talukdars and other chiefs, many of whom possessed one or more well-fortified strongholds and a large number of troops. Among these may be mentioned Muhammad Hasan of Gorakhpur, Mehndi Hasan of Sultanpur, Beni Madho Baksh of Sankarpur, Narpat Singh of Ruya, Udit Narayan and Madhu Pershad of Birhur, Devi Bux Singh and the three Singh Zamindars of Dhurua. 90 *

As the first-mentioned has recently obtained celebrity as a great patriot and national hero, his. career may be traced in some detail. Mir Muhammad Hasan served as a Nazim of Gonda under the Nawab of Awadh. Like many other Zamindars of Awadh, he did not at first join the revolt and gave shelter to Colonel Lennox and his family. When disturbances broke out in Gorakhpur, the local authority's tried to set up a committee of local Zamindars to administer the district, but the Scheme failed as there were dissensions among the local chiefs. The Government practically ceased to function and there were chaos and confusion everywhere.

“The northern and western pergunnahs were at this time (end of June) utterly disorganised. The Gyoutum Rajpoots, under the instigation, and sometimes under the personal command, of the Raja of Nuggur, everywhere rose and dispossessed the present proprietors of all the lands tradition assigned to their race. Most of the Amorha zeminddrs. openly defied the Government officials, and proclaimed that our rule had given place to the ‘Nawabee’, while the Rajpoots of Pynah and the neighbouring villages, by their piracies, closed the navigation of the Gogra. At the same time it was known that frequent meetings were being held by the Rajahs of Nurhurpore, Nuggur, Sutassee and the Baboos of Panderpar and others, in which it had been decided to obtain assistance from Oudh.”

In the meantime Hasan had joined the rebels and. first appeared at the head of a rebel party on 12 July. He was however defeated by the British forces on the 18th. On 20 July he arrived at the bank of the Rapti, opposite to the city of Gorakhpur. He was welcomed by the leading Muslim inhabitants of Gorakhpur and easily made himself master of it, “His first act after the assumption of power was to order all Government employees to enter his services on

pain of punishment. None of the Deputy Collectors and only one Tehseeldar obeyed, but several thanadalrs accepted him as their master. He maintained the existing fiscal and criminal jurisdictions to the great disgust of many of his partisans among the lahdholders, who objected that thanadars were unknown under the Nawabee as

the district had become.The records were preserved. From

these documents, and the cannongoes who mostly joined him, he obtained full information of the demand due from each landholder..

.The great proprietors who early made their submission to him

in person received dresses of honour, salutes of guns and were permitted to exercise full civil and criminal authority within the limits of their respective estates, or what they claimed as such, for obsolete titles were revived. In return they furnished contingents to his army. The chief among these were the rajahs of Suttasee, Nuggur, Nurhurpore, Burhyapore, Nichloul, Shahpore, the baboos of Tegra Pandepar, Khudowlee. The wealthy Mahomedar families of the town naturally were among the first to welcome him and from them his officials were mostly selected. There was a judge, a collector, and naib ncizim, Mopshurruf Khan, who perhaps enjoyed more real

powers than Mahomed Hussun himself.Large sums of money

were extorted by violence or threats of it from the merchants and bankers of the city, and the female members of many families were dishonoured by his lawless and licentious soldiery. In the district, those who had lost their estates through the agency of the civil courts, now ousted the purchasers and reentered in possession; great search was also made for deeds and decrees. The strong preyed everywhere on the weak". 91

It is unnecessary to describe in detail the risings in different parts of Awadh which followed the pattern of Rohilkhand. For henceforth the chief interest of the rebellion in Awadh is centred round Lakhnau, the capital city of the late Nawabs, the British, and the rebel government of Birjis Quadr; as it was only in that city that the remnants of the representatives of the British Government were concentrated in the Residency building besieged by the mutineers. It is therefore necessary to trace the origin and history of the memorable siege of Lakhnau which, along with Delhi and Kanpur, formed the chief strongholds of the rebellion of 1857-8.

As mentioned above, the mutiny of the sepoys at Lakhnau on May 30 and 31 set ablaze the whole of Awadh; yet, strangely enough, the British authority in Lakhnau remained undisturbed and intact for some time. But Sir Henry Lawrence was fully alive to the impending danger. The first step he took was to set up two strongly fortified centres in the city, where all the forces would be concentrated. These were the Machchhi Bhavan, £ large fortified palace situated on a natural eminence, and his own residence, known as the Residency. Later, he selected the Residency, on the bank of the Gumti river, as the place of refuge for all Europeans. It consisted of a number of detached dwelling houses and other buildings, of which the Residency itself was the most conspicuous, the whole area being defended only by rude mud walls and trenches. He took measures to improve the defences and erected batteries along the line of entrenchment.

He was soon to face a delicate problem. As noted above, several Indian regiments helped the authorities to suppress the mutiny of May 30-31. One party, headed by Mr. Gubbins, the Financial Commissioner, regarded even the loyal sepoys as a potential danger and wanted to disarm them, but Lawrence disagreed. Taking advantage of the latter's illness Gubbins managed to carry his point, and all the sepoys except about 350 were ordered to go home; but as soon as Lawrence heard this he sent messengers to recall the sepoys, about 150 of whom returned. Lawrence also invited the pensioned sepoys to rally round their old flag. All these sepoys remained faithful till the last and played an important part in saving the Residency. Lawrence had asked for, and obtained the command of the army. Meanwhile there were disquieting reports from all parts of the province, and even Lakhnau did not remain unscathed. The military police revolted on June 11-12, and joined the mutineers in the districts. Nevertheless, Lawrence, though in shattered health, worked unceasingly for strengthening the defence of the Residency and Machchhi Bhaban and collecting stores. His defensive policy was not liked by many who wanted to march out and attack the rebels. Hers, again, it was Gubbins who led the dissentient section, and at last lawTence yielded.

On June 29, 1857, a large body of rebel army was reported to be advancing towards Lakhnau. Lawrence started the next morning and met them at Chinhat, about ten miles to the north-east of the city. After an artillery duel, the mutineers, advancing with a steadiness that extorted the admiration of the British officers, were already threatening to outflank their handful of opponents, when the desertion of some of Lawrence's native gunners, and the flight of his native cavalry decided the fortune of the day. Lawrence gave order to retreat and "the retreat soon became a rout." The mutineers blocked the way to Lakhnau by occupying a bridge over a small rivulet. But a small squadron of British volunteers, with sabres flashing, hurled themselves upon the dense masses, and the sepoys broke and fled. 92

The remnants of the British army reached the Residency, but

the rebel force followed in their wake and invested it the same

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afternoon (June 30). Thus began that memorable siege which is perhaps the most amazing episode in the whole military history of the Mutiny. It is difficult to conceive of a more unequal contest. A small force of British soldiers and civilians and loyal sepoys, altogether numbering less than 1,700, burdened with a number of women and children, had to defend themselves in ordinary buildings with mud walls, protected by hastily improvised defences, against six thousand trained soldiers, who were soon reinforced by a constantly increasing number of Talukdars and their retainers, till their number reached one hundred thousand or perhaps even more. Lakhnau and Kanpur were the only two theatres of war where the mutineers or the revolutionaries took the offensive and the British had to defend themselves against enormous odds. As such both require careful consideration.

The besieging sepoys at Lakhnau were inspired by the presence of the Begam of Awadh and Maulavi Ahmadulla who were the leading spirits in the resistance against the British; yet, to the astonishment alike of friends and foes, the tiny garrison held out for nearly three months till relief came on September 25. At first the sepoys confined themselves to cannonading from a distance and a galling musketry fire from the neighbouring buildings, causing nearly fifteen to twenty deaths every day during the first week. One of the victims was Henry Lawrence himself, who was wounded by the bursting of a shell on July 2 and died two days later. Unable to create much effect upon the defenders by mere cannonading and musketry fires, the besiegers made a general assault on July 20; but although they reached the walls and some of them displayed great feats of courage, the attack was repulsed with heavy loss after four hours' desperate fighting. The general assault was repeated on August 10, August 18, and September 5, but always with the same result. The siege continued, and its further course will be related later. 93 It will suffice here to state that while the rebels could not capture the Residency at Lakhnau, several British expeditions also failed to dislodge them, and Lakhnau was not re-occupied by the British till the beginning of March, 1858.

During the prolonged siege of Lakhnau the mutinous sepoys and the rebel leaders had a splendid opportunity to combine their resources and put up an organized fight against the British, if any such were intended. But there was no regular plan of campaign, not even any serious attempt to prevent the relieving army from Calcutta to reach Lakhnau, Kanpur, and adjoining regions. More

than a hundred thousand men, many of them well-trained and wellequipped soldiers, were engaged for eight months in a single military operation against less than two thousand men behind a hastily improvised defence, and failed miserably to dislodge them. These were the eight crucial months in course of which the fate of the Mutiny and Civil rebellion was decided. Taking a long view of things, it must be said that the futile siege of Lakhnau, in spite of the terrible misery and hardships it inflicted upon the besieged, was a godsend to save the British empire, inasmuch as it kept back a hundred thousand of the rebel fighters from participating in actions which decided the fate of the rebellion.

The siege of Lakhnau is also a crucial test of the nature of the revolt in Awadh. The banner of the defunct kingdom of Awadh was unfurled again after a year, and if there were a genuine spirit or a real mass movement to fight for the King and the Country (even taking it in the narrow sense of Awadh rather than India), one would expect a ready response from the hundred^ of chiefs who set up baronial principalities all over the province. Lakhnau was the focal point of the fight for freedom and Begam Hazrat Mahal was a brave and resourceful leader, not unworthy of the cause. Nothing is more natural than that the chiefs of Awadh should rally round her flag and place their entire energy and resources at her disposal without a moment's hesitation. The general truth of this is admitted by all classes of writers, even though they hold different views about the nature of the outbreak. Thus Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, to whom reference, has been made above, writes: "The rising at Lucknow was the central event of the rebellion in the mutinies. Both in dimension and character it embodied the revolutionary urges of the time". Proceeding further he says: "The operations at Lucknow took the form of a great war of liberation. It marked the climax of India's struggle against Britain a guerre a la mort ". 94

But what were the actual facts? The most crucial point in deciding this question is the behaviour of the chiefs and Talukdars. As there are sharp differences of opinion on this issue, specimens of different types of views may be quoted: Innes is definitely of opinion that only a very few Talukdars joined in the attack of the Residency before Havelock's withdrawal in the early part of August, and that even on the 10th of the month, the mass of the Talukdars was holding aloof. Later on, their retainers joined in the attack on the Residency on September 5, but as a body, they had not even then taken any active part in the siege or shown hostility to the British. Holmes, agreeing with Innes, comments as follows on the

second unsuccessful attempt of Havelock to relieve Lakhnau, on August 12.

"The retreat had a serious political effect. The talukdars of Oudh, with few exceptions, had hitherto remained passive, watching events. One of their number, Man Singh, who played a double game with great craft throughout the struggle, had advised them to have nothing to do with the mutineers.

But when Havelock withdrew from the province, they felt that the British Government was doomed; and some of them wrote to inform the authorities at Benaras that they had no choice but to send their retainers to join in the siege of the Residency". 96 Elsewhere, Holmes mentions that even at the beginning of the siege there were "a large number of talukdars' retainers". 96

The views of Innes, supported by Holmes, have been bitterly criticised by Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri. But it seems he has not succeeded in rebutting the arguments advanced by Holmes in support of Innes and demolishing the conclusion of Holmes that there is no positive evidence that before the issue of Canning's Proclamation (March, 1858) any Talukdar took the field in person, except Man Singh, the three Talukdars who fought against the British at Chinhat (30 June) and four others, mentioned by Gubbins. 97

Dr. Chaudhuri says: "That the talukdars, with a few exceptions, actively aided and abetted the mutineers during nearly the whole of the struggle stands confirmed by authentic evidence". 98 The nature of this evidence may be examined a little more closely. The first is a report, dated June 12, by Henry Lawrence that the Talukdars had been arming themselves. This is a vague statement and may be easily explained by their forcible seizure of lands belonging to others and a natural desire to retain them. The second is a statement of Lieutenant Crump who served under Havelock in his Awadh campaign, that before August 5, the English had to contend against a few Talukdars who were on the side of the mutineers. The actual words used by Crump are: "Before (August 5) we had only a few wrong-headed zemindars to contend with, on the side of the mutineers—now, the whole population is against us". By "the whole population" he evidently meant the population along the line of march. Dr. Chaudhuri misses the real import of this statement, namely, that the Talukdars (if 'Zamindars' referred to them) and general people were indifferent to the fate of Lakhnau until the month of August. This is rendered more explicit by another statement of Crump, namely that "the great landed proprietors.have, up to the present time,"—the first week in August

—"been perfectly still, standing at gaze". Dr. Chaudhuri does not quote this, nor the relevant statement of Outram on September 17, 1857, that his information shows that “there is a large and influential

class in Oude.among the more powerful, and most of the

middle classes of chiefs and zemindars, who really desire the reestablishment of our rule; while others, well disposed towards us, have only been induced to turn against us because they believe that our Raj is gone”. On the other hand, Dr. Chaudhuri makes much of the statements of Outram on March 8 and 30, 1858, to the effect that there “are not a dozen land holders who have not themselves borne arms”, and that ‘there are few Talukdars who have not taken an active part in the rebellion.* Outram did not make it clear at what stage the Talukdars actively fought against the British. In any case Outram’s statement as well as the one made by his successor Montgomery, to the effect, that between June and November, 1857, with “a few honourable exceptions the whole province of Oude was in arms against the British Government” does not support Dr. Chaudhuri’s contention “that the talukdars with a few exceptions actively aided the mutineers during nearly the whole of the struggle . Nor is this contention supported by the few specific facts mentioned by Dr. Chaudhuri, as they all refer to the resistance to Havelock, in August and September, and a confidential official report from Lakhnau in October, that Man Singh and four others were fighting against the English at Lakhnau."

If, even the most minute investigations of Dr. Chaudhuri have failed to elicit more positive evidence than what he has collected in a special appendix and has been discussed above, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Talukdars, with a few exceptions, did not join the revolt and rally round the flag of Begam Hazrat Mahal at the beginning of the struggle. The majority included those who, at a later date, joined the rebellion, a few of whom swore to fight for their country till the last.

Dr. Chaudhuri has referred to Man Singh as one of the Talukdars taking a prominent part in the rebellion, and his being elected leader by the sepoys of Fyzabad on June 10 in preference to the Fyzabad Maulvi who was deposed from the leadership after two days. 100 Fortunately, a few positive facts £re known about him on unimpeachable authority. Henry Lawrence had appealed to the Talukdars for support before the outbreak, and Raja

Man Singh of Shahgunj, one of the most powerful and influential among them, had promised his loyal support to the British 101 and gave shelter to fugitive British women and children in his fort. 102 In July he addressed a circular letter to the other Talukdars urging them to support the British. 103 According to Gubbins, he sent his brother

on a mission to Nana and at the same time carried on correspondence with the British. 104 Early in September he encamped with a large army near Lakhnau, but did not take any part in the siege; He was still negotiating with the British, and the besieged at Lakhnau did not know whether he was a friend or foe. Dr. Sen observes: "His presence, therefore, was a source of anxiety as well as hope. If he chose to join the rebels the handful of Englishmen and Indians in the Residency would be simply crushed by overwhelming numbers. On the other hand, if he decided to help them the garrison could reasonably expect to hold their own and beat back the enemy". 106 But Man Singh did not definitely commit himself to either party though he professed allegiance to the English; he evidently desired to be on good terms with both the belligerents until, at least, he could be more sure about the possible result. After the failure of Havelock to relieve Lakhnau, Man Singh joined the mutineers, probably because he though that theirs was the winning cause. In September and October, 1857, he was fighting against the English; in February, 1858, he remained entirely neutral; and in July he actively joined the British. Lieut. Majendie justly observes that "it is very difficult to specify the number of occasions when Man Singh changed sides". 106

Man Singh and his brother Ramdin Singh, who followed his example, may be regarded as typical of the Talukdar class as a whole, so far as their mentality, if not activity, is concerned. Most of them had been stirred up to action by the withdrawal of the British officers, and made haste to recover the lands they had lost. Then they played a waiting game, looking for the winning horse. A few of them backed the right horse, but most backed the wrong one. 107 The second retreat of Havelock in August seemed to them to be decisive, and many of them, now for the first time } sent their levies to Lakhnau. Whether they were at first really as friendly and loyal to the British, as Innes supposed, may be doubted, but they certainly were not actuated by any special love for, or allegiance to their country or its defunct royal house. There were a few exceptions, here and there, but there is no evidence that their number was large. Reference may be made to some of them in order to give the other side of the picture. Hanumant Singh of Dharupur gave shelter to the British fugitives from Salone in his fort. When Captain Barrow, Deputy Commissioner of Salone, on the eve of bis departure a fortnight later, expressed a hope that the Raja would help the British in suppressing rebellion, he replied: "Sahib, your countrymen came into this country and drove out our king. You sent your officers round the districts to examine the

titles to the estates. At one blow you took from me lands which from time immemorial had been in my family. I submitted. Suddenly misfortune fell upon you. The people of the land rose against you. You came to me whom you had despoiled. I have saved you. But now,—now I march at the head of my retainers to Lakhnau to try and drive you from the country". 108 "The true-hearted Rajput, however, did not fight his new masters". 109

Hanumant Singh was dispossessed of the greater part of his property and he had a sore grievance against the British. Rana Beni Madho of Sankarpore, who lost 119 out of 223 villages, also said that he fought against the English for his country, but it is not difficult to imagine where his real grievance lay. Muhammad Hasan was the Nazim of Gonda under the Nawab of Awadh. But, as mentioned above, 110 he established himself as Nazim of Gorakhpur. He also established his influence at Basti, the neighbouring district, though his authority was challenged both by the Raja of Bansi and the Rani of Basti. 111 He did not come into prominence in the early phases of the revolt, but held out against the British till the end. What invests his revolt with importance is the* sentiment he expressed in November, 1858, when asked by a friend to submit and take advantage of the Queen's Proclamation. His reply is an interesting one. On the one hand he points out that the "phraseology of the proclamation where it promises pardon of offences is somewhat obscure and indefinite", implying that he would have submitted if he were sure of pardon. On the other hand, he says that he regards himself as a servant of the King of Awadh and would rather die "fighting for my religion and earthly sovereign." 112

Hanumant Singh, Beni Madho and Muhammad Hasan represent a new class who, in addition to recovery of their landed properties and preservation of religion, also include allegiance to the king of Awadh among the motives which impelled them to fight. But it is interesting to note that none of these three, though powerful and valorous, did rally round the Begam Hazrat Mahal, and unreservedly placed his resources at her disposal. None of them played any important part in the life-and-death struggle before Lakhnau which was to determine the fate of the revolt. 113 The position of this centre of rebellion, even so late as the end of December, was very frankly put by the Begam.

".. .In a meeting of all the chiefs, held on 22 December, she severely harangued the leaders and denounced them for their indifference. She is reported to have said: Great things were promised from the all-powerful Delhi, and my heart used to be gladdened by the communications I used to receive from that city, but soon the king has been dispossessed and his army scattered. The English have bought over the Sikhs and Rajas,.and communications are cut off. The Nana has been vanquished, Lucknow is endangered —what is to be done? The whole army is in Lucknow, but it is without courage. Why does it not attack Alumbaugh? Is it waiting for the English to be reinforced and Lucknow to be surrounded? How much longer am I to pay the sepoys for doing nothing? Answer me now, and if fight you won't, I shall negotiate with the English to spare my life.

The chiefs answered: Fear not, we shall fight, for if we do not, we shall be hanged one by one, we have that fear before our eyes. The party swore to stick by one another and then dispersed". 114

If this contemporary account may be taken to be substantially correct, it must be regarded as of great importance. The laconic reply of the chiefs throws welcome light on the psychology of the rebel chiefs. They were at first content with the limited objectives of recovering their lost lands, establishing local authority, and achieving similar other selfish ends. It was only in the last phase, when faced with the imminent danger of gallows, that they awoke to a sense of responsibility to fight the English with their might. The reference to the payment of sepoys is also an interesting revelation.

Throughout his work Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri has waxed eloquent over the great war of liberation in Awadh, calling forth fervent activities of the chiefs and people. It is significant, however, that the most important of these activities referred to by him were, ejecting the auction-purchasers, resuming the lost lands, and establishing the personal rule within a prescribed limit. Dr. Chaudhuri often refers to their throwing off the British yoke. But this was already achieved by the mutiny of the sepoys, and required no efforts on their part. So the detailed account of the activities of the numerous chiefs in Awadh and neighbouring regions which fills the pages of Dr. Chaudhuri's book does not really give an impression of a great war of liberation from the British yoke.

It is true that many influential landlords joined the revolt arid when, after reaping a rich harvest, they were brought to bay by the returning—and avenging—English force, gave a good account of themselves. The fight they fought, be it remembered, was for retaining the wealth and privileges wl>ich they had unlawfully secured, and not for gaining freedom for the whole or part of India. When the day of reckoning came many of them fought till the las A . ditch and showed skill, heroism and courage, which extort our unstinted admiration. In that hour of trial, they gave a dignity to their action by invoking high principles in support of their conduct. A few of them, but very few, even openly professed to fight for their king and country, but there is no evidence that even a year back 115 they cared much for either the one or the other.

V. OTHER PARTS OF INDIA

The mutiny of the sepoys outside the areas discussed above did not lead to the revolt of the civil people on a large scale, except in a small part of Bihar, particularly the Shahabad district and the Santal Parganas, Bundelkhand and the Sagar and Narmada Districts, and the eastern fringe of the Panjab. These formed an outer circle to Awadh and Rohilkhand which constituted the central zone of the civil rebellion.

A. Bihar

The Rajput Kunwar Singh, an old man of seventy or more, 116 played A leading part in the outbreak of 1857, and as such a correct knowledge of his antecedents and motives is. of great importance. He had extensive landed estates, but they were heavily encumbered. He was a friend of the British officials, and with their help petitioned to the Board of Revenue to take up the management of his estates. This proposal, strongly recommended by two successive Commissioners of Patna, was at the last moment turned down in 1857 and Kunwar Singh found himself on the brink of bankruptcy.

According to the testimony of Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, Kunwar Singh was all along a friend of the British, but “was afterwards driven into rebellion by the short-sightedness of the Bengal Government.” Kaye, Holmes, and Dr. Sen, the eminent historians of the Mutiny, also agree with this view. 117 But recently an attempt has been made to prove that Kunwar Singh had “been meditating on a plan to assail British authority at least for some time on the eve of the outbreak of this movement (Mutiny of 1857) if not all along from 1845”. 118 The only evidence that Kunwar Singh meditated rebellion as far back as 1845, is a statement by J. J. Hall that the former was suspected of being involved in the anti-British plot of 1846 at Patna. William Tayler, Commissioner of the Patna Division till August, 1857, knew all the details about it and regarded this plot as a part of a general conspiracy to destroy the English authority. He was accused, very justly, of indiscriminate arrest of Indians on mere suspicion of rebellious activities. Yet, as mentioned above, Tayler had full confidence in the loyalty and friendship of Kunwar Singh till the last. The mere suspicion of Hal cannot weigh against this evidence.

Similarly, the view that Kim war Singh was preparing for the revolt for a long time, and even organized the mutiny of sepoys at Danapur, rests upon suspicions only and no positive evidence. Reference has been made to the reports published in the Englishman, a Calcutta daily. 119 No more importance attaches to these than the reports made by “trustworthy agents” to various British officials to the effect that Kunwar Singh “had enjoined upon his ryots to be ready when called", "had written to two of the largest Zamindars of the Gaya district", "was collecting arms and men", "had been selected by the Danapur sepoys as their Raja", and "supplied boats to them to cross the river Son", and so on. 120 It is interesting to note that such reports, not only against Kunwar Singh but against many other Zamindars of Bihar, reached Tayler, but he attached no credit to them. 121 The fact that Kunwar Singh did actually revolt, is held out as convincing evidence of the truth of these reports. But it is conveniently forgotten that reports against the rest proved to be untrue. Much has been made of the report of Mr. Wake which runs as follows:

"I know that there is an idea prevalent that Kooer Singh's treason was not premeditated, but I am certain that for three months at least he was only biding his time. There is or ought to be in the commissioner's office an anonymous petition, from a man who would not come forward by me to Mr. Tayler, the late Commissioner, detailing the whole of the Baboo's plans and preparations and even the date (the 25th July) on which the Dinapur Regiments would mutiny. This w ? as forw*arded bv me I think a week before the meetings and every word in it proved true." 122 This report was written on 29 January, 1858, when Kmrwar Singh had proved to be a formidable leader of the revolt. But the same Mr. Wake wrote a letter to the Government on July 19, 1857. in wdiich he makes the following observation on Kunwar Singh:

"He is nominally the owner of vast estates, whilst in reality he is a ruined man, and can hardly find money to pay the interest of his debts. As long, therefore, as law and order exist, his position cannot improve: take them away, and he well knows that he would become supreme in his district. I do not think he will ever openly oppose the Government as long as he thinks that Government will stand, but I do think that, should these districts be ever the scene of a serious outbreak, he may take it into his head that it is time to strike a blow for his own interests, and his feudal influence is. such as to render him exceedingly dangerous in such an event". 123

It is to be noted that on the day he wrote this letter, Wake was in possession of the "anonymous petition" on which he later laid so much stress. Evidently he did not put much faith on it then. It is on record that on the basis of this petition the Government searched the house of Kunwar's Arrah agent, Kaliprasad, but no incriminatory evidence was found. 124 Mr. Wake conveniently forgot this when he wrote the report on 29 January.

An important evidence which ought to weigh most in arriving at a right conclusion about Kunwar Singh is generally ignored 125 and therefore deserves mention in some detail. On receiving various adverse reports against Kunwar Singh, Tayler asked him to come to Patna, but he excused himself on the ground of illness. This is regarded as an evidence that he had already been meditating rebellion and therefore "tactfully avoided it". But what is generally ignored is that Tayler, at the same time, instituted confidential enquiry about Kunwar Singh.

"On 19 July Syed Azimuddin Hussain, the deputy-collector of Arrah, was at the same time directed to scrutinise everything connected with and about Kunwar Singh and to submit a confidential report regarding it to the commissioner. Azimuddin visited him, and found him lying on bed. He pleaded extreme sickness, and added that being old and infirm he was unable to take the journey to Patna at fhat stage". Azimuddin's report was favourable to Kunwar Singh. "I could elicit nothing", he says, "by secret enquiry which might warrant the conclusion that Kunwar was making secret preparations for a revolt. Nor was there any reason to suppose that his people were particularly disaffected". All that he could find was that "should he raise the standard of revolt his people would follow him". He exculpated Kunwar Singh on the ground that he made payments to his creditors in the months of May and June and did not lay by supplies of war. Azimuddin could not believe that a man who was penniless could afford to make preparations to go to war. Some persons questioned the bonafides of Azimuddin, but it should be remembered that he "gave proofs of rare fidelity to the British and was one of the besieged in the fort". 126

On the whole, it is impossible to hold, on the basis of available evidence, that Kunwar Singh's action was a premeditated one, far less that he organized the rebellion as a war of independence, or joined the mutinous sepoys in order to liberate the motherland. The most reasonable view of his conduct is that contained in Mr. Wake’s letter of July 19, quoted above. This is further supported by the statement of Nishan Singh, an able lieutenant of Kunwar Singh, who attended his leader throughout his campaign. He was at Arrah when the mutinous sepoys from Danapur reached that town. What followed is thus described by him:

“Meanwhile the rebellious sepoys of Dinapore reached Arrah and looted the town. And they threatened the servants of Kunwar Singh to bring him there or they would loot Jagdishpore (i.e. the native place of Kunwar Singh). This threat was not made in my presence and I state it according to what I have heard. Accordingly Kunwar Singh came from Jagdishpore to Arrah on the very day the sepoys had arrived at Arrah i.e. 18th Savan”. 127

Arrah was situated twenty-five miles west of Danapur. Tayler had warned the European residents and sent fifty of Rattray’s Sikhs to help them. They had put the house of Boyle in a state of defence. As soon as the news reached Arrah that the mutinous sepoys had crossed the Son river, the fifteen European and Eurasians, the Deputy-Collector Azimuddin, mentioned above, and the fifty Sikhs took shelter in Boyle’s house. 128

On July 27 the Danapur mutineers reached Arrah and, as usual, looted the treasury and almost every bungalow, released the prisoners and burnt the civil court and many other houses. Then they attacked Boyle’s house, under the leadership of Kunwar Singh who joined them on the same day, as mentioned above. But the small besieged garrison kept up a sharp fire and forced the mutineers to retreat. The brave Sikhs stood solidly behind the European besieged, and were not moved either by an appeal to their religious and racial sentiments or by the tempting offer of Rs. 500 each as a price of desertion.

On the 29th a detachment under Captain Dunbar, sent from Patna for the relief of the garrison at Arrah, was attacked at night when it was entering the suburbs of Arrah, and forced to retreat with heavy loss. Kunwar Singh now proclaimed himself the ruler of the country and set up his own machinery of administration. But it was shortlived. Arrah was relieved, on August 3, by Vincent Eyre, 129 an artillery officer who was proceeding by river from Calcutta to Allahabad. With the help of some troops from Buxar he advanced towards Arrah, and was opposed by Kunwar Singh. But Eyre defeated his force at Gujrajgunj, close to Arrah, and not only relieved the garrison at Arrah, but also sacked Jagdishpur, the residential village of Kunwar Singh, after again defeating him on August 12. After this disaster Kunwar Singh proceeded with the sepoys and his own retainers towards Sasaram in the south.

In the meantime the rebellious spirit affected the civil population in Shahabad as in Rohilkhand and Awadh. The administrative machinery set up by Kunwar Singh must have collapsed after his defeat and flight. But sporadic acts of rebellion continued on a wide scale. It was estimated that seven to ten thousand men were involved—mostly “the war-like population of the Rajput villages headed by brave chieftains”.

“The basic feature of the rebellion in Shahabad”, says Dr. Chau dhuri, “is reflected in the wholesale destruction of European property effected by the rebels”. In particular, quite a large number of indigo factories were destroyed. This shows that the “nature of the upsurge in Shahabad” did not materially differ from that in Rohilkhand, described above. The rebellion was stiffened by the threat of “wholesale burning and destruction of all villages” by the Magistrate. [130]

There was a similar upsurge in the Gaya district, in which several local leaders followed in the footsteps of those of Rohilkhand. Hyder Ali Khan of Rajgir Pargana “collected a large body of men, proclaimed himself Raja and drove away all Government servants”. Judhar Singh of Arwal also played a similar part. “He set up his own rule making grants of land and even whole villages to his followers”. Fourteen villages in Wazirgunj, 14 miles to the east of Gaya, raised the flag of independence under Kusal Singh, a ticadar of many villages. Other local leaders also proclaimed the fall of the “English raj” and prevailed upon the shop-keepers and traders not to pay their dues to the British Government. [131]

There was also a wave of insurrections in Chota-Nagpur among the aboriginal tribes. [132] “...The military at Hazaribagh revolted on 30 July, 1857, the Ramgarh battalion on 1 August, the infantry and artillery at Lohardaga on 2 August, and the detachment of the Ramgarh troops of Purulia on 5 August • • • 33

Both Ranchi and Doranda soon fell under the control of the mutinous sepoys who, as usual, plundered the treasury and released the prisoners. Some of the Zamindars helped the mutineers, while others helped the British officials. The rebels were defeated in a severe engagement at Chatra on 4 October, 1857, in which 46 British soldiers were killed or wounded. Though, as a result of this victory, Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Purulia were re-occupied by the British, the mutiny was merged into a general rising of the civil population in Singhbhum and Palamau. There was a widespread insurrection among the Kols of Singhbhum organized by Raja Arjun Singh of Porahat and his brother. To quell this insurrection proved to be a difficult task. On one occasion a small military force led by Mr. Lushington was suddenly surrounded by about four thousand infuriated Kols and met with a serious reverse, about the middle of January, 1858. "Not an officer escaped unhurt", says the official report. An attack made by the British troops on Chakradharpur, the residence of the Porahat Raja, was also repulsed, but it was soon captured after the arrival of reinforcements. Though repeatedly defeated, the Kols bravely resisted till the capture of the Raja of Porahat in 1859.

The Cheros and Khairwars of Palamau rose under the leadership of two brothers, Pitambar Sahi and Nilambar (or Lilambar) Sahi. They attacked Chainpur, 2 miles distant from Daltonganj, on 21 October, 1857, but were repulsed by its owner Raghubir Dayal Singh, who gave protection to Lieutenant Graham and his small force when, by the end of November, "the whole country appeared to be up in arms", according to an official report. It was a difficult job to put down the revolt in an are§ of 40 miles square of intractable hills and dense jungles,—so dense that an enemy might be within a few hundred yards of troops without being discovered. It also appears that the rebels were promised help from Kunwar Singh and his brother, though it is not clear whether any such help was actually received. After several skirmishes, the British force attacked the fort of Palamau and captured it on 21 January, 1858. Though several leaders were captured, Pitambar and Nilambar evaded arrest. As measures of retaliation "their villages were destroyed, their goods and cattle seized, and their estates confiscated to the State". But the insurrection continued throughout 1858 with unabated vigour, marked by plunder of villages and guerilla fights with British forces! Nilambar Sahi and Pitambar Sahi were ultimately captured and hanged, and the revolt was completely subdued in 1859.

Sambalpur was the scene of a prolonged and protracted rebellion under the leadership of Surendra Sai.^a Reference has been made above to the disturbances created by him as his right to the throne was not recognized by the British Government, and his imprisonment for life for committing a murder in 1839. While he was serving the sentence, Sambalpur was annexed to the British Dominions by Lord Dalhousie in accordance with the Doctrine of Lapse. As in other localities, newly annexed, British administration was signalised by an enormous increase in the amount of land revenue and the resumption of Itlclth lands. According to official figures the revenue, amounting to Rs. 8,800 before the annexation, was raised to Rs. 74,000 after the introduction of British administration. It caused profound distress and discontent, and when the mutineers released Surendra Sai along with other prisoners in the Ranchi jail, he raised the banner of revolt which was joined by all and sundry! "From the close of 1857 to the commencement of 1862 he remained in a state of war, ran a parallel government of his own and kept the whole country in a dangerous state of excitement". 133b He sur

rendered in 1862 and the disturbances ceased for the time being. But they were renewed within a few years as will be related later.

The rebellion in these hilly regions was no doubt of a 'popular character', but there was nothing new in it. They had similarly rebelled many times before, 134 and in several cases, as in Sambalpur, the outbreaks in 1857 were mere legacies of the past. To describe it as "a people's war fought with the passions roused up by deeply stirred political sentiment", 135 can only be regarded as hyperbole. They differed in degree, but not in kind, from the previous disturbances noted above

B. The Pan jab

In the Panjab the Government successfully worked upon the traditional hostility between the Muslims and the Sikhs, and the Panjabis and Hindusthanis. The important chiefs, like those of Patiala^ Nabha, and Jhind, stood firmly by the British. The Panjab therefore remained mostly unaffected by outbreaks of civil population, save in the eastern fringe, contiguous to Delhi and Rohilkhand.

In the Western Panjab the civil population remained unaffected, a notable exception being the rising of the Kharrals under Ahmad Khan in Multan on September 17. Joined by several other tribes on the Ravi, he fought several engagements in one of which he was killed. At one time the insurrection took a serious turn, but was thoroughly crushed in November. 136

In the Eastern Panjab the mutineers were joined by the civil population in several places and the mutinies almost partook the character of those of Rohilkhand. At Hissar and Hansi a large number of Europeans and Christians were killed, and a petty official put himself at the head of the administration under the style Shahzada. At Sirsa the rising took a communal turn. The Hindus fled, and the Muslims plundered not only the treasury but also the town and the neighbouring villages. The predatory tribes of the locality took full advantage of the situation, and the Gujars, Ranghars, Pachhadas, Bhattias etc. looted all alike. Some Jath villages in Kamal district refused to pay revenue. They drove out the Government officials, burnt Government buildings, and committed robberies and murders. They had little respect for the mutineers and freely robbed the sepoys who were proceeding to Delhi. In some cases even the ordinary villagers helped the Government against the sepoys. There were also outbreaks at Rohtak and Rewari, but these were easily suppressed. 137

1. See Ch. XIH.

2. Narrative , pp. 8-9. The Report is dated November 9, 1858.

3. Ball, I. 39.

4. SB-II. 25-6.

5. Ibid, 75.

6. Narrative, I. 349 ff.

7. Ibid, 467 ff.

8. SB-II, 76-7.

9. Ibid, 77-8.

10. Siege, pp. 62-3.

11. See above, pp. 18-19.

12. Metcalfe, 83 ff. Majumdar, 117.

13. Metcalfe, 83. The fact is admitted by Ahsanulla himself (TB, 252). As such things must have been treated as confidential, Jiwanlal's knowledge of it shows that he had very reliable and important source of information.

14. For all these disgraceful intrigues, cf. Majumdar, 120-24; PIHRC, XXXH2, Part II, p. 115; Sen, 94-7.

25. Jiwanlal Munshi and Mainuddin were in Delhi during the siege of 1857, and wrote accounts of what they saw and heard during these eventful months. Their accounts, originally written in Persian, were translated into English by C. T. Metcalfe, and published under the title "Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi".

Jiwanlal Munshi was an officer attached to the household of Bahadur Shah. A writer by caste and profession, he recorded, in the form of a diary, each day's events as they happened. He employed some men to secure information from all quarters. He was undoubtedly pro-British, and may have acted as their spy or secret agent. But that does not take away from the authentic character of the news recorded (and probably supplied to the British) by him. His profession required the supply of accurate information, and Jiwanlal had ample means to secure it (see fn. 13 above). Many of his important statements have been corroborated by independent evidence. Mr. S. A. A. Rizvi has argued that no value should be attached to the account of Jiwanlal as he was a British spy (Freedom, UP, p. xix). The profession of a spy is no doubt an ignoble one, but that does not take away the value of information supplied by him, so far at least as the facts, not views, are concerned.

Mainuddin Hasan Khan was a Police Officer in Delhi before the Mutiny, and, though not disloyal to the English, transferred his service to Bahadur Shah when he was declared King. In view of his official position he must have possessed an intimate knowledge of the state of affairs in Delhi.

16. Metcalfe, 85.

17. Ibid, 86.

18. Ibid, 92-3.

19. Ibid, 101-2.

20. Ibid, 121.

21. Ibid, 166.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid, 200.

24. Ibid, 228.

25. TB, pC 8.

26. Ibid, 9.

27. India Office Manuscripts, London, Vol. 725, pp. 25-147; for the quotations, cf. 66, 85.

28. Metcalfe, 86.

29. Ibid, 87.

30. TB, 26 ff.

31. See fn., 15 above.

32. Metcalfe, 65.

33. Ibid, 92.

34. Ibid, 100.

35. Ibid, 100-1.

36. Ibid, 104-5.

37. Ibid, 93.

38. TB, 165-6.

39. See p. 506.

40. Sen, 91.

41. For a detailed acoount of negotiations of Bahadur Shah with the Indian chiefs,

which came to nothing, cf. Ahsanulla's evidence (TB, 263) and Majumdar, 124-27.

42. Jiwanlal writes: "News was received that the mutineers were intimidating the city people, and that 200 troopers, having plundered a quantity of money, had deserted and gone off to their homes, and had in turn been attacked by the Gujars and plundered" (Metcalfe, 92). A few other instances of this character will be referred to later, in course of the narrative of the mutiny in other localities.

43. Italics mine.

44. India Office Mss.

45. Metcalfe, 98.

46. Ibid, 98-9.

47. India Office Mss.

48. Sen, 85.

49. Sen, 85-6.

50. Metcalfe, 91.

51. Ibid, 95.

52. TB, 270.

53. Metcalfe, 68.

54. Sen, 84.

55. Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya, a Bengali, employed as a clerk in the Cavalry Department at Bareilly at the time. He has written a book, in Bengali, narrating in detail the incidents of the mutiny at Bareilly. For his account of the beginning of the mutiny at Bareilly see Sen, 346-7.

56. Sen, 347-8.

57. Sen, 349.

57a. Narrative, 372.

58. Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya, Bidrohe Bangali (in Bengali), pp. 146, 206, 211, 215-6, 343, 459. The official Narrative (p. 374) also refers to the anti-Bengali feelings of Khan Bahadur's Government. As regards the communal tension mentioned by Bandyopadhyaya, the following statement in the official Narrative (p. 378) corroborates it: "Nana arrived at Bareilly on 25 March and remained there till the end of April (1858). He found that the rebellion had assumed an entirely Muhammadan character; he made some attempts to put a stop to cow-killing in the city and also to induce the Hindus to join the Mahomedans in opposing the English, but without success." Another statement in the same official Narrative may also be

quoted in this connection: “After the fall of Lucknow Firoz Shah returned to Bareilly with about 1,000 men, and then by a sudden attack got possession of Moradabad for one day; he at once issued orders for a tax on all Hindus. Next day, being attacked by the troops of the Nawab of Rampur he fled to Bareilly (Narrative, I 378)

59. Holmes, 138-40; Kaye-I, Vol. Ill, 296 ff.

60. Kaye-I, IL 363.

61. Malleson, III. 401.

62. SB-II, 110; Malleson, II. 520.

63. Narrative, 443 ff; summarised in SB-II, 116-7.

64. Referred to in this chapter as Narrative.

65. Narrative , pp. 459 ff.

66. SB- n, 115.

67. Narrative, 213 ff.

68. Ibid, 92 ff.

69. Ibid, 64 ff.

70. Ibid, 521 ff.; SB-II. 209.

71. SB-II. 209-10.

72. Narrative, I. 546 ff.

73. Majumdar 240. For the documents cf BPP, LXXVI, Part I, p. 52. III-B and pp. 53-4, III-D,

74. Holmes, 496.

75. SB-II. 223.

76. Ibid. 207.

77. Ibid, 215.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid, 207.

80. Ibid, 226.

81. Ibid, 223.

82. Ibid, 210.

83. Narrative, p. 357.

84. SB-II, 109.

85. Ibid, 108; Italics mine.

86. Malleson, H. 520.

86a. Sen, 409.

87. Cf. Raikes, 156 ff., quoted in Majuftidar, 219; also Sen, 410-11, where other views are quoted.

88. See above, pp. 309-10. ,

89. Holmes, 259-60; Forrest-I, I. 217.

90. Holmes, 523, f.n., 1.

90a. For a list of the rebel Talukdars, cf. SB-H. 121 ff., 129 ff., 305 ff.

91. Narrative, 53 ff. Muhammad Hasan is usually referred to as ex-Nazim of Gorakhpur. In the earlier stages of the mutiny he should, more properly,

be called ex-Nazim of Gonda, the post he held under the Nawab of Awadh. (Cf. Forbes's letter quoted in SB-II, 306).

92. Holmes, 265.

93. The account is based on Holmes, 273 ff. The date of the first general assault is given as 21 July by Malleson (I. 449).

94. SB-II, 127, 135.

95. Holmes, 297.

96. Ibid, 271; For a list of the Talukdars who joined the besieging force at Lakhnau, cf. SB-n. 130-31.

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Holmes has elaborately discussed the question in Appendix S, pp. 624 ff.

S/on' T?‘nS 1 ^ ldhliri has dossed the question at length in Appendix C(SB-H, 309 ff.).

For the statements referred to above, cf. the two Appendices of Holmes and Chaudhuri referred to in the two preceding footnotes.

SB-II, 119.

Sen, 197.

Ibid, 187.

Ibid, 224.

Gubbins, 156.

Sen, 215.

Holmes, 587; SB-II, 119-20, 130.

For the names of a few Talukdars who were at first loyal to the British, but later turned against them, cf. SB-H, 120, 121, f.n., 2. Dr. Chaudhuri is consteamed to admit that “the widespread idea that the British rule was fast disappearing induced many chiefs like the rajas of Nagar and Satsi and the zamindars of Amorah to take up arms” (p. 145).

Gubbins, 158.

So comments Dr. Sen (p. 188). Whether Hanumant Singh deserves the epitiiet true-hearted will perhaps be questioned by many. But according to some official record*; (Secret Letters from India, India Office, London, VoL 163

^Cf 4 ^B-II^W9 U 141 lt l43 1 ^io^) >USht agSdnSt ^ British at Lakhnau in October See above, p. 538.

-^5,147. The Rani of Basti was the niece of Kunwar Singh, the great deader of the rebellion in Bihar. The fact that she challenged the authority of Muhammad Hasan shows that there was hardly any conception of common cause even among the leading figures.

Ihe whole correspondence between Muhammad Hasan and Khair-ud-din has been given by Sen (App. H, pp. 385-91). Hasan's letter contains noble sentiments and presents a refreshing contrast to the cringing appeal of Nana, for mercy, to the British Government, in similar circumstances. But it would be a mistake to elevate him to the status of a national hero. The following passage in his letter is significant: "This rebellion arose solely out of the of Oude. Had that not taken place there would have been no bloodshed because no defection of the chiefs; who would have on the contrary inflicted chastisement on the mutinous sepoys." (p. 388). But one may legitimately doubt whether the allegiance or loyalty to the king of Awadh was the sole cause or even the main spring of his action. He did not join the mutineers of Awadh at the beginning. Nor does it appear that he flocked to the standard of Be gam Hazrat Mahal and placed his resources at her service.

113. The name of none of these is included in the list, given by Gubbins, of the rebel leaders who distinguished themselves by the most active and unprovoked hostility in the early phase of the war. Dr. Chaudhuri also does not refer to their activities in connection with the siege of Lakhnau (Gubbins, 487; SB-II. 131-2).

114. Secret Letters from India, 1858, Vol. 163, pp. 443-445; quoted in SB-II. 134-5.

115. That is, when the King of Awadh was dethroned

116. The age of Kunwar Singh is given as about 70 by Dr. Sen (p. 255) and 75 in the Freedom , Bihar, I. 27.

117. For detailed discussion, cf. Majumdar; 166 ff.; Sen 255 ff.

118. Freedom , Bihar, I. 26.

119. SB-II. 167.

120. Freedom, Bihar, I. 26.

121. Sen, 257.

122. SB-H. 170.

123. Kaye-I. III. 100, f.n.

124. SB-II, 170, f.n., 1.

125. Neither this, nor the evidence of Nishan Singh is mentioned in the big threevolume official publication, Freedom, Bihar.

126. SB-II, 168-9.

127. Patna University Journal, VIII (1954). Dr. Sen has satisfactorily explained how Kunwar Singh could join the mutinous sepoys at Arrah with his retainers at a very short notice.

128. Sen, 255; Holmes puts the total number as 68 (p. 191).

129. The resistance of the small garrison to the force led by Kunwar Singh is one of the most thrilling episodes in the history of the Mutiny, perhaps not ranking below the heroic defence of Lakhnau. The failure to reduce the garrison reflects the greatest discredit on the valour and resourcefulness of the sepoys, and shows, in striking contrast, those very qualities so remarkably displayed by the handful of Englishmen.

130. SB-II, 173.

131. Ibid, 182-3.

132. For a detailed account of the rebellions, cf. SB-II, 183 ff.; Freedom, Bihar. 50 ff.; Journal of the University of Bihar, II. 78.

133. SB-H, 183.

133a. Sambalpur DG, 26-7; SB-II. 196 ff.

133b. SB-II. 196.

134. See above, pp. 444, 454 ff.

135. SB-H. 191.

136. Sen. 343-4.

137. SB-n. 235 ff.

CHAPTER XVIII

RESTORATION OF ORDER

At the time of the outbreak of the Mutiny, the native troops in the whole of India amounted to two hundred and thirty-two thousand, two hundred and twenty-four men, while there were only forty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-two European soldiers of all arms including 6,170 officers. 1 The distribution of these soldiers was still more favourable to the sepoys. Large masses of sepoys were concentrated at a number of stations between Calcutta and Delhi, but there was only a single British regiment at Agra, and another at Danapur.

The sepoys, however, failed to take advantage of this favourable situation. It appears that they had no general plan of a regular campaign. Had they any, then, after they had established complete control over Awadh and Rohilkhand, they must have concentrated upon at least two points: (1) the security of Delhi as their base of operations by preventing the British coming from the Panjab; and (2) a swift march in large numbers towards the east with the twofold object of preventing attack from that direction and seizing the citadel of British power, namely, Calcutta. According to all reasonable calculations the sepoys at Delhi and the rebel chiefs of Rohilkhand, pooling their resources, could have defended the narrow highway in the Karnal district through which alone the troops from the Panjab could approach Delhi. Further, "they might have swept down the valley of the Ganges, seized Allahabad, Benares, and Patna, and, gathering strength on their way till their numbers had become irresistible, destroyed every trace of European civilisation, and massacred every European till they had reached the frontiers of Eastern Bengal". 2 But the sepoys neither made any aggressive campaign towards the east, nor took sufficient measures to prevent the siege of Delhi.

The inactivity of the sepoys enabled the British Government to take immediate steps to prevent these two dangerous moves. They despatched expeditionary forces from Calcutta towards the west, and arranged to concentrate their forces, already in the west, for the supreme task of retaking Delhi, which they rightly judged to be the real centre of the whole revolution. Instead of giving a chronological account of the various military incidents, it would be more

convenient to describe in broad outline the general features of these two campaigns.

As soon as the news of the Mutiny reached Lord Canning, the Governor-General, he took all possible steps to concentrate all the available forces from Bombay, Madras, and Pegu in Calcutta; he even requested the Governor of Ceylon to send him as many men as possible, and, on his own responsibility, asked the British Expeditionary force, proceeding to China, to divert its course to Calcutta. At the same time he ordered Johh Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, to send down every available Sikh and European soldier from the Panjab to Delhi. In answer to Canning's appeal Colonel James Neill of the 1st Madras Fusiliers arrived in Calcutta towards the end of May, and was entrusted with the work of securing Banaras and Allahabad, and relieving Kanpur.

Neill arrived at Banaras on June 3, and next day came the news of the mutiny of sepoys at Azamgarh (June 3). It was decided, as a measure of safety, to disarm the 37th N. I. at Banaras, though they had as yet showed no signs of disaffection. The hour of disarming was discussed for a long time and Neill threw his weight in favour of immediate action. "He was one of those who wisely thought from the first, that to strike promptly and to strike vigorously would be to strike mercifully". 3 So a parade was held on the 4th June at 5 P.M. in order to disarm the 37th N.I. with the help of the European troops aided by the loyal Sikhs and Irregular Cavalry. The sepoys submitted without resistance, though not without protest. Then, suddenly, the European troops were seen coming with cartridges and grape-shots, and all along the sepoy line ran the cry that they had come to kill the sepoys. Some of the sepoys took up the arms they had laid down and fired upon the European troops. The latter returned the fire and the artillery poured in a shower of grape upon the mutineers who fled. What followed is not exactly known, as the accounts differ. The Sikhs and the Irregular Cavalry had just reached the parade ground. According to one version, the artillery opened fire on them without provocation, while according to the other, one of the .Irregulars had fired at his commanding officer, and the Sikhs, apprehensive of treachery, rushed wildly against the artillery men. In any case, there was fearful discharge of grape from the artillery against the Sikhs, who broke and fled. Neill, who had taken command in the meantime, pursued the Sikhs and gained a complete victory. Even Tucker, the Commissioner, held that the business of disarming was managed very badly, and the Governor-General agreed with him. As Kaye says, it was

done badly because it was done hastily, for which Neill was mainly responsible. 4

Fortunately for the British, the Raja of Banaras and some leading Sikh and Hindu Chiefs loyally stood by them. Surat Singh, a Sikh Chief interned by the British at Banaras after the Second Sikh War, now came to their rescue, and pacified the Sikh soldiers guarding the cutchery “who might have been excused if they were burning to avenge the blood of their slaughtered comrades''. The cutchery was full of the English Civilians with their families, and contained the Government treasury, including the crown-jewels of Rani Jindan, the exiled Sikh Queen-mother. The temptation of massacring the Englishmen and plundering the treasury was too great and might be well justified by the treatment meted out to the Sikh soldiers on the parade ground. But at Surat Singh’s persuasion they desisted from both. The refugee Englishmen suffered no injury and the treasure was conveyed to a place of safety.

Far different was the attitude of Neill. He was not content merely with the suppression of the mutiny. He proclaimed the majesty of the British power by instituting a veritable reign of terror in which the guilty arid the innocent were alike treated with the most barbarous cruelty to which reference will be made later.

The events of Banaras had wide repercussions, as the sepoys now came to believe that even loyalty and faithfulness was no guarantee against ill-treatment by the authorities. Further, the news spread that the men of the 37th N. I. had been disarmed first and then killed, and this easily led to a wide-spread belief that the British officers had matured a plan of exterminating the entire Bengal Army.

There is little doubt that the mutiny at Allahabad was the direct result of such feelings. The 6th N. I. posted there had offered to march against the mutineers at Delhi, but on 6 June they rose in arms. The usual things happened. The convicts were released; the city mob joined the sepoys; Europeans were hunted out and killed; houses were plundered and burnt, and even Hindu pilgrims suffered at the hands of the rowdies. Indeed no element was lacking in making it a “tremendous upsurge of the city populace” which is thus described by Dr. Chaudhuri: The populace “first inaugurated a religious war by hoisting the flag of the Prophet in the chouk. They then joined the sepoys in pillage; railway works and telegraphic wires were destroyed, the treasury plundered, and records burnt. After a short period the universal rapine with all its confusions began to take the shape of an organised rebellion and culminated in the assumption of power by Maulavi Liakatali,

a common school master, a weaver by caste, who proclaimed the rule of the King of Delhi and passed himself as his governor. His reign was of short duration, but he was actively .supported by a wide circle of eminent Mahomedans.”[6] An eminent Indian historian has recorded it to the credit of the Maulavi that ‘ many Indian Christians were permitted to purchase their lives at the price of their religion”[6] Many would perhaps regard it as a doubtful compliment.

But though the city was lost the British still held the fort, mainly with he help of 400 loyal Sikhs. Neill hastened from Banaras to relieve Allahabad. As horses were not available, he made the peasants draw his coach and reached Allahabad on 11 June. Within a week he cleared the city of all insurgents, and then let loose his myrmidons who perpetrated all sorts of cruelties and barbarities which human ingenuity could conceive. Indiscriminate hanging and shooting without regard to age or sex, and general burning and plundering of houses and entire villages were the order of the day, regular punitive expeditions being sent for this purpose both by land and the river.

But evil sometimes recoils on its own doers. Kanpur was piteously crying for help, but Neill's march was delayed. Neill thought it his first duty to terrorise the natives and teach them a lesson, and then, when he was ready to start, he found that his penal measures had scared away the people to such an extent that neither food nor labourers were to be had in the region through which his forces had to pass. Even if he had left Allahabad on the 20th, as he could easily have done, .Kanpur would have been saved. "It was Neill's hand that signed in letters of blood the doom of Kanpur and decreed the ordeal of Lucknow". 7 On the credit side of Neill must be put the not unjustified claim that "within a few days he had paralyzed the insurgent population of a crowded city and a wide district, and had rebuilt the shattered fabric of British authority." 8 A movable column was now formed at Allahabad "for the relief of Lucknow and Cawnpore and the destruction of all mutineers and insurgents in North-Western India". 9 Henry Havelock, who was placed in command of this columnf, left Allahabad on July 7.

As mentioned above, 10 Nana Sahib proclaimed himself as Peshwa on 26 June. While he was enjoying himself in his palace at Bithur with feasts and revels, and issuing grandiloquent proclamations 11 announcing the extermination of the English, Havelock was advancing with an army for the relief of Kanpur. The military inefficiency of Nana and his sepoys was as manifest in their opposition to the advancing British troops as during their siege of

Kanpur. His army chose an excellent position on the banks of the river Pandu-nadi, 23 miles from Kanpur. But by an incredible folly they did not destroy the bridge which spanned the river. The British army, on the other hand, after defeating the enemy at the village of Aong on the morning of July 15, and five hours' march under the sun, had reached within six miles of this unfordable river. But as soon as Havelock heard that the enemy troops had gathered in great strength on the banks of this river, he immediately resumed his march. On reaching the river the British troops charged over the bridge, captured the enemy's guns and forced them to retreat towards Kanpur.

Alarmed by this news, Nana perpetrated the hornole massacre of the British prisoners—men, women, and children,—which will be described later.

After this nefarious deed Nana marched out with five thousand men and chose a very strong and strategic position on the Grand Trunk Road, about seven miles from Kanpur. But Havelock, after a brilliant display of strategy and courage, completely defeated Nana's troops. Nana rallied his troops and made a heroic stand, planting a gun in the middle of the road which created great havoc upon the advancing British troops. But again the superior dash and courage of the British men and officers carried everything before them, and the sepoys rushed in head-long flight from the battlefield (July 16). It culminated in a veritable rout, and Nana's troops melted away in no time. Nana himself rode straight to Bithur and fled with his family to the other side of the Ganga. It is reported that he covered his flight by declaring to his followers that he was going to commit suicide by drowning himself in that sacred river. The truth of this report, however, cannot be verified. 12

We may now pass on to the Western theatre of operations. General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India, was at Simla when he heard, on May 12, the news of the outbreak at Mirat. Although he made preliminary arrangements foran aggressive campaign, he thought it imprudent to risk an advance against Delhi with the small force then at his command. His plan was "to concentrate his whole force between the Sutlej and the Jumna, and, permitting the-fire of rebellion to burn itself out within these limits, to wait until the arrival of reinforcements should enable him to quench it once for all". 13 But both the Governor-General, Lord Canning, and Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, held very different views. They regarded the recovery of Delhi as of supreme importance in restoring the shattered prestige and dignity of the British rule in India, and "were prepared to* sacrifice everything to this grand object". 14

Anson had to obey the orders of his superior authority, and made his plan accordingly. But before he could carry it out, he died of cholera on May 27. General Sir Henry Barnard, who succeeded him, advanced at once to join the forces from Mirat which had been ordered to proceed towards Delhi, with a view to concentrating his whole force under the walls of that city.

The British troops left Mirat on 27 May under the command of Brigadier Wilson. Three days later they were opposed by the sepoys from Delhi who had occupied a strong position on the banks of the Hindun river, a few miles from Delhi. The sepoys were defeated and fled to Delhi, but returned next day with reinforcements. They were again defeated and retreated to Delhi. Wilson then marched unopposed and joined Barnard at Baghpat, twelve miles from Delhi, on 7 June. The sepoys had, in the meantime, occupied a strong position at a place called Badli-ka-Sarai, about five miles to the northwest of Delhi. The British made a frontal attack and carried the position by assault, though the sepoys fought bravely and had the advantages of both terrain and number. They fell back and took their position on the Ridge, an elevated and continuous line of rocky ground, which extended from the banks of the Yamuna for about a distance of two miles skirting along the north and west of the walled city of Delhi, and at one point at a distance of less than a mile from its Kashmiri Gate. It was a very strategic position, as it commanded the whole of the walled city of Delhi. The sepoys, helped by the guns of the city, held out resolutely for some time, but were ultimately driven back within the city walls. The British force was much smaller than the sepoys, and suffered from the galling fires directed against it not only from the heavy battery which the sepoys had established at the Flagstaff Tower on the Ridge, but also from the cover of walls and gardens. The casualties of the British were naturally very heavy, but they secured a commanding position of inestimable value. Henceforth the Ridge formed the base of their operations.

Both Canning and Lawrence, and with them many others who had no personal knowledge of the strength of Delhi, fondly hoped that the capture of Delhi would be a comparatively easy task, and the period of siege would not extend beyond a few days. But they were sadly mistaken. The city'"was surrounded by a wall, about seven miles in extent and some twenty-four feet in height, strengthened by a number of bastions, and possessing ten massive gates. Around the wall ran a dry ditch, about twenty-five feet wide and rather less than twenty feet deep". The fortifications of the city were recently repaired and the British General soon discovered that they were too strong to be battered down by the artillery he had at his disposal. The force under him was, of course, too small for the purpose of blockading the city, and a part of it had to be employed for preventing the enemy from cutting off his communications with the Panjab to which alone he could look for supply and reinforcements. In spite, therefore, of the strongly expressed desire of the Government that he should capture Delhi without delay, and the irrepressible ardour of some younger officers to the same effect, he did not try to take the city by assault. He occupied the Ridge and placed his troops behind it, in regular cantonments, thus preparing himself for a long operation. All the while, Delhi's communications with the other parts of India remained absolutely safe and unhampered, and the ranks of the sepoys were swelled by fresh arrivals.

The state of things inside the walls of Delhi has been described above. The mutinous sepoys from various localities had gathered at Delhi and they lacked neither courage nor military qualities. But there were no officers to guide their operations as a combined unit, and no general to formulate a strategic plan of the whole campaign. Thy abandoned the Ridge without making an effort corresponding to its vital importance; they allowed the house of Metcalfe to fall into the hands of the enemy whose left wing thereby stretched to the river. Once the sepoys attacked the British from the rear of the Ridge and held their ground, when the evening came and the British retired with heavy loss. It was a serious danger for the British, for if the sepoys held on to the position they occupied, British communication with the Punjab would have been completely cut off and they would have found themselves besieged on the ridge , 16 But the sepoys did not realize the advantages and quietly retired during the night. "Many devout Englishmen on the ridge sincerely believed that God was with them and had confounded their enemies". 16 The sepoys also believed in their stars and trusted in the prophecy that the British rule would last for only 100 years. So on June 23, the centenary of the Battle of Plassey (Palasi), they furiously attacked the British. They fought desperately with stubborn courage, and for a long time victory inclined to their side. "But science ultimately triumphed over number and brawn yielded to brain". 17

Mention has been made above how, while this life-and-death struggle was going on, the internal situation in Delhi was getting worse every day. Although more and more mutinous sepoys were pouring into that ill-fated city, it did not really enhance their effective military strength or efficiency, due to the lack of discipline and organization, and the hostile attitude of the civil population for which

the sepoys had to thank themselves. On the other hand, ments from the Panjab steadily poured in, and the strength of British besieging force had gone up to 6,600.

It is a very strange feature of the strategy of the sepoys that no determined and sustained effort was made to intercept the troops coming from the Panjab in the long and narrow region between Karnal and Delhi through which they had to pass, 18 The site was admirably suited to such purpose, and history shows that whenever India was threatened by foreign invaders from the north-west, her fate was decided in a final contest over the possession of this bottleneck. But though history and geography alike pointed out the great strategic position of this area, the sepoys never fully grasped the advantage offered by it. They concentrated their whole attention upon the British force on the Ridge. Sepoys from every part of India poured into Delhi, and it almost became a custom for every fresh band of mutineers to attack the British on the Ridge. Thus the fighting on the Ridge continued, almost without a pause, and more than twenty battles were fought between June 8 and July 18,

It was suspected by the sepoys, and is now known with certainty, that while all this grim fight was going on, Bahadur Shah, the leader of the sepoys, his chief queen, sons, and the most trusted adviser, Hakim Ahsanulla, were all conspiring with the English. The intrigues failed probably because the British had realized that these people had really no power to do any good or ill to them, all effective authority being concentrated in the hands of the sepoys, But the treacherous intrigues and the conduct of. the sepoys give us an inside view of the moral bankruptcy of the spirit lying behind the struggle against the British. While the British were of one mind and pursuing, under able leadership and with a dogged determination, the common and glorious objective of capturing Delhi as the first step towards recovering their lost empire, the sepoys were fighting under the leadership of a traitor, without any clear goal or high moral idea, inspired only by the hatred of the English and a desire to drive them away and save themselves. 19 The result of such a fight could not be long in doubt, even if the two forces were equally matched. But, as the events had repeatedly proved, the sepoys were no match for their opponents in point of strategy or generalship.

On August 7, Nicholson arrived with reinforcements from the Panjab, and the siege-train was on its way. The sepoys made an attempt to intercept it, and sent a large force to Nujufgarh. But it was defeated by Nicholson with only two thousand men on August 25, and the siege-train arrived safely on the 4th September. After

making all necessary preparation, the British force made a full-scale attack on Delhi on September 14. The Kashmir Gate was forced, and a few columns of the British troops advanced as far as the Chandni Chawk; but as the other columns could not make equally satisfactory progress, they had to fall back. The casualty was very heavy on both sides, and brave Nicholson was mortally wounded near the Kashmir Gate. The net result of the day's fighting was that the British troops had effected an entrance into the city; but their position was still very insecure, as the defenders held their own in many sectors. During the next three days the British force slowly advanced into the heart of the city, being resisted by the sepoys at every stage. The formidable Lahore bastion was won by sapping the houses leading to it during the 18th and 19th. On September 20, the^ British troops took the Lahore Gate and the Jumma Masjid, and finally the gates of the Red Fort were blown in, and the British flag flew from its rampart.

When the fall of Delhi became imminent, Bakht Khan, the Commander of the sepoys, left the city with his troops, and requested Bahadur Shah to accompany him. But the latter refused, and took shelter with his family in the tomb of Humayun, about six miles to the south of the Red Fort. Hodson, who was in charge of the Intelligence Department, came to know of this, and pointed out to the Commanding Officer the supreme importance of seizing the person of the King. In order to facilitate the capture, it was decided to offer the King the guarantee for his life. Whether the suggestion originally came from Hodson or Wilson, the Commander-in-Chief, it is difficult to sav. 20

Bahadur Shah surrendered to Hodson on the sole condition that his life should be spared. Thereupon he, along with his favourite Begam Zinnat

Mahal and her son, was taken to the Palace within the Red Fort, on 21 September. Next day Hodson again rode to Humayun's tomb and arrested two sons of the King and one of his grandsons. Sending them in a bullock-cart to the city, Hodson remained behind to deal with the crowd of about 6,000 men who had gathered round the princes. He sternly ordered them to surrender their arms, and they obeyed. Hodson then rode towards the city and found that the cart carrying the princes was surrounded by a huge crowd. According to his own version, the crowd menaced the escort and he felt that unless he killed the princes the mob would rescue them. So, he ordered the three princes to strip off their upper garments, and, seizing a carbine fron one of his men, shot them all dead. No reasonable man has ever attached the least value to the excuse offered by Hodson for this brutal conduct, which even English historians, not particularly critical of the terrorism let loose upon the hapless citizens of Delhi, have described as an outrage against humanity, 21

Bahadur Shah, having spent some months in a miserable room in the palace, was tried by a court martial for rebellion and complicity in the murder of Europeans. He was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was exiled to Rangoon with his favourite queen, and died after four years, on November 7, 1862.

It is now necessary to go back a little and trace the military campaigns in the eastern zone. As mentioned above, 22 Havelock finally defeated Nana on July 16, and next day he entered Kanpur. On July® 20, Neill joined him with a small force, and remained in charge of defending Kanpur, while Havelock proceeded towards Lakhnau to relieve the garrison there.

In the meantime clouds were gathering round Kanpur. After the defeat and flight of Nana, the real authority and initiative had passed into the hands of his able and devoted lieutenant Tantia Topi, to whom reference has been made above. Shortly after Havelock left Kanpur, Tantia gathered round him, or joined, a force of four thousand men at Bithur and threatened Kanpur. On hearing this news Havelock returned and inflicted a severe defeat upon Tantia Topi on 16 August. Then Tantia received orders from Nana to proceed to Gwalior* to win over the sepoys of the Gwalior contingent. He succeeded in his task and, returning with the mutinous troops, seized Kalpi.

Henceforth Tantia took his orders from Rao Sahib, the nephew of Nana, whom he had sent to Kalpi. Rao Sahib asked Tantia to seize Kanpur. Leaving a small detachment for defence, Tantia advanced upon Kanpur which was left in charge of General Windham with a small force. Though Tantia was defeated on the Fandu-nadi on 26 November, he attacked Kanpur the next day, and after a strenuous fight for two days repulsed the British troops. The whole city as well as the baggage and stores fell into his hand. But the entrenchments and the bridge of boats over the Ganga were still in the possession of the British. At this critical moment Sir Collin Campbell, the British Commander-in-Chief, who had gone to relieve Lakhnau, hastened back to Kanpur and won a complete victory over Tantia's troops on 6 December. That was the last battle fought for Kanpur. Tantia fell back upon Kalpi, and his future activities were confined to the region further south to which reference will be made later.

It is now time to turn to Lakhnau where the tiny besieged garrison at the Residency were heroically defending themselves against enormous odds since June 30. As mentioned above, Havelock, immediately after the capture of Kanpur, proceeded towards Lakhnau on 25 July. The whole countryside was full of mutinous sepoys and many chiefs and landlords had joined them, as noted above. He won two successive victories at TJnao and Basiratgunj on July 29, but "cholera, fatigue, exposure and the fire of the enemy had made such sad inroads on his little army" [23] that he thought it beyond his power to relieve Lakhnau without reinforcements, and retreated to Managalwar. But as his hope of receiving reinforcements did not materialize, he again advanced towards Lakhnau on August 4. He again won a victory at Basiratgunj on August 5, but was forced to fall back for the same reasons as before. On the 11th he received an urgent summons to come to the aid Of Neill at Kanpur. In order to counteract the idea that he was fleeing from Awadh for fear, he advanced, inflicted another defeat on the enemy at Basiratgunj on August 12, fell back on Kanpur, and defeated Tantia Topi at Bithur on the 16th as stated above.

The retreat of Havelock had a very serious effect. The Talukdars or Chiefs of Awadh, who were hitherto sitting on the fence, now felt that the British Government was doomed, and cast in their lot with the rebels. [24]

For his failure to relieve Lakhnau Havelock was superseded in favour of Sir James Outram. Outram reached Kanpur on September 15, and immediately organized an expedition for the relief of Lakhnau. With characteristic magnanimity, unparalleled in military history, he put Havelock in charge of it, so that the honour of relieving Lakhnau might accrue to him. He himself accompanied the force in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Awadh, waiving his rank for the occasion and tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer. The augmented army under Havelock crossed the Ganga on September 19 and 20, and having fought two battles on the way, joined the garrison at Lakhnau on the evening of the 25th. But the main object of the expedition, viz., to remove the besieged people to a place of safety, such as Kanpur, was not fulfilled. For the army was not strong enough for the purpose, and sufficient means of transport were not available for conveying the women and children, the sick and the wounded. Outram, therefore, decided to wait until the arrival of a strong relieving force.

After the fall of Delhi, Sir Colin Campbell, the new Commanderin-Chief of the British forces in India, made the relief of Lakhnau his first objective. He started from Calcutta on October 27, and reached the city about the middle of November. After defeating the opposing forces he joined the besieged in the Residency on November 17, but in view of the large number of mutinous sepoys still surrounding that city, and the immediate need of relieving Kanpur, he did not continue his operations against the mutineers. Instead, he decided to start for Kanpur with the women, children, the sick, and the wounded, leaving Outram to hold the rebels in check until his return. The Residency was vacated, and Outram took his position at Alambagh outside the city. Havelock had died of dysentery at Lakhnau on 24 November.

It has been noted above how Sir Colin Campbell reached Kanpur at a critical moment, on 29 November, the day after the city had fallen into the hands of Tantia Topi. After sending to Allahabad the convoy of the women and children, the sick and the wounded, whom he had brought from

Lakhnau, Campbell inflicted a crushing defeat upon Tantia Topi on 6 December.

Sir Colin next occupied Fategarh, and sent flying columns to restore order in the Doab which was still full of mutinous sepoys and other rebel elements. Meanwhile, grand preparations were set on foot to reconquer Awadh. This task was facilitated by the generous assistance offered by the Government of Nepal. A Gurkha army had already arrived in July, 1857, and taken possession of the districts of Azamgarh and Jaunpur after inflicting four successive defeats upon the rebels. But still the depredations continued. Canning thereupon requested Jang Bahadur to lead a Gurkha army through the northern parts of Varanasi Division and, after expelling the rebels, to proceed to Lakhnau to join the Commander-in-Chief. Jang Bahadur accordingly entered the British territory in December, 1857, at the head of an army of nine thousand.men, and won some victories In the meantime Sir Colin had equipped a most powerful army consisting of seventeen battalions of infantry, twenty-eight squadrons of cavalry, and a hundred and thirty-four guns and mortars, and left Kanpur on 28 February for Lakhnau.

Outram was defending his post at Alambagh, outside the city of Lakhnau, with a force which originally amounted to 4,442 men, of whom three-fourths were Europeans, and twenty-five pieces of artillery. But allowing for the force required for garrisoning and convoy duties, little more than two thousand men were available for action in the field. As against this, the besieging force consisted of thirty-seven regiments of sepoys, fourteen of new levies, one hundred and six of irregulars, twenty-six of cavalry, four or five which fled to Lakhnau from Fategarh, a camel corps and artillery-men, besides the Talukdars with their retainers, and other elements,—in all at least over a hundred thousand men. 26

During the three months that had passed since Sir Colin’s last military expedition to Lakhnau, the rebel forces, who were now in complete possession of the whole of the city, had considerably improved its defences by means of ramparts, bastions, and barricades. But in spite of their vast superiority in numbers they could not dislodge Outram from his fortified post at Alambagh. Maulavi Ahmadulla, who was a leading figure among the besiegers, knew full well that the British post must be taken now or never, and infused new strength and courage among them. On December 22, they tried to cut off the communication of Outram with Kanpur, but the latter, who forestalled their design, inflicted a severe defeat upon them, and they remained inactive for the next three weeks. On January 12 and 16, they again attacked Outram but were again defeated. On hearing the news of the huge preparations being made by Campbell, Ahmadulla made repeated efforts on February 15, 16, 21 and 25, but failed on each occasion. These failures sealed the fate of Lakhnau. On March 3 and 4, the advanced section of the British army reached the outskirts of the city, and though the sepoys fought with stubborn courage, and offered resistance till the last, contesting every inch cf ground even within the city itself, the British gained possession of the whole city by 21 March. The Gurkha troops under Jang Bahadur had joined the British army on 11 March, and took part in the assault on Lakhnau.

But the fall of Lakhnau did not materially contribute to the weakening of the rebellion in Awadh. By an incredible folly Sir Colin Campbell did not follow up the capture of Lakhnau by any serious attempt to pursue and cut off the forces besieging that city. About sixty or seventy thousand armed men, with forty or fifty guns, who were thus allowed to retreat, scattered themselves all over Awadh, and their number was swelled by numerous other rebels roaming at large in that province. Fortunately for the British, these had no cohesion among themselves and were divided into a large number of groups. Each of these groups mostly acted for itself, and it is only on rare occasions that two or more of them joined to fight the common foe.

The most important of these groups was led by the Begam Hazrat Mahal, acting in close concert with that under Mammu Khan, her close confidant. Then there was Maulavi Ahmadulla, who had played the most distinguished part in the siege of the Residency at Lakhnau. The other leaders such as Rambaksh, Behunath Singh, Chandabakhsh, Ghulab Sing, .Narpat. Singh, Bhopal Singh, and Firoz Shah, were scattered over the province, never staying long at the same place, though they held some strong fortified places as their citadels. On the other hand, the British rule had almost completely disappeared from Rohilkhand for nearly a year. The main question for the British authorities now to decide was whether the subjugation of Rohilkhand or Awadh should take the priority in the programme of the next military campaign. Sir Colin himself desired to take up Awadh first. But Canning decided otherwise. So Sir Colin contented himself with merely sending a detachment against the two rebel groups assembled under the leadership of the Begam of Awadh and Maulavi Ahmadulla.

After the fall of Lakhnau, the Maulavi had taken up his position at Bari, 29 miles from that city, while the Begam with six thousand followers went to Bithauli. The Maulavi formed a very skilful plan to defeat the British force sent against him by Sir Colin, but it was foiled by the indiscretion of his cavalry, and he was forced to retreat. The Begam left her post without any fight as soon as the British force advanced.

Sir Colin made an elaborate plan for the reconquest of Rohilkhand. Three columns advanced upon the country from the northwest, south-west, and south-east, and Sir Colin himself left Lakhnau on 7 April. All these columns were to converge on Bareilly.

The first notable incident in the campaign was the heroic resistance offered by Narpat Singh of Ruya, fifty-one miles north-west of Lakhnau, with disastrous consequences to the British. Walpole, marching from Lakhnau', met with no opposition for eight days, till he arrived near this fort. The wall of this fort was very high on the side nearest to him, but it was so low on the other side that one could have easily jumped over it. Without making any proper reconaissance Walpole attacked the near side of the fort. His infantry, decimated by a heavy fire, had to retreat, and more than a hundred men were killed, including Col. Adrian Hope. But though Narpat Singh achieved the reputation of “beating back the best-equipped movable column in India”, he knew his own weakness and fled during the night.

The most distinguished leader of the rebels in Rohilkhand was Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, mentioned above. Bareilly occupied an important position, and Sir Colin reached the city on May 4. Though surrounded by the enemy in all directions, Khan Bahadur Khan made a brave stand. A fierce battle took place the next day, but though he was defeated, his men gave a good account of themselves. Particularly notable were the two heroic charges, one by a body of “grizzly-bearded Ghazees” armed with sabres, one of whom nearly succeeded in killing Campbell, and the other by a band of white-clad sowars. The latter had attacked the baggage train of the British in the rear, and threw into confusion the whole body of the camp followers, who fled pell mell in all directions. After six hours’ severe fighting the British gained a complete victory and occupied Bareilly the next day (May 6). Khan Bahadur Khan effected his escape with the greater part of his army, and continued his resistance against the English.

While Colin was proceeding against Bareilly, Maulavi Ahmadulla marched with a strong force against Shahjahanpur, which was left in charge of a small detachment. The Maulavi was joined on the way by the Raja of Mohamdi and Mian Sahib, one of the Chiefs of Lakhnau, “each at the head of a considerable body of armed men, most of them mounted”. He reached Shahjahanpur on May 3, 1858, with nearly eight thousand cavalry, and found the small English force entrenched within the jail enclosure. For more than a week the Maulavi bombarded the position with his eight guns, but could not capture it. Colin, on hearing the news, sent a force to its relief. The Maulavi disputed its passage across a river, but failed. He was forced to raise the blockade of the British entrenchment, but still remained at large with his force intact, and joined by a large body of rebels from the neighbouring areas, including the Begam, Firoz Shah, and some followers of Nana Sahib. Sir Colin himself marched to Shahjahanpur and defeated the Maulavi, who, however, eluded his grasp, and, nothing daunted, raided another station named Pallee. He had assumed the title of the King of Hindusthan and inspired so much terror by his activities, that the GovernorGeneral offered a reward of fifty thousand Rupees to any one who could arrest him. On June 5, the Maulavi went to Powain on the Awadh-Rohilkhand border, a few miles from Shahjahanpur, but the Raja of this place shut his gate against him. He had a parley with the Raja who stood on the rampart, but unable to win him over, decided to break open the gate. The door was already tottering and creaking, when the Raja’s followers fired a volley and shot the Maulavi dead. The Raja immediately cut off his head and himself carried it on an elephant to the Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, who stuck it up on the Kotwali. Thus ended the career of one of the greatest patriots and leaders of the revolution of 1857, though he was not really regarded as such, either by the contemporary Indians or their successors.

After finishing the campaign in Rohilkhand, Sir Colin Campbell proceeded to the more arduous task of subduing Awadh. There were three distinct categories of rebels, viz., (1) the mutinous sepoys; (2) the troops under the Begam; and (3) the Tahikdars and Chiefs, and their retainers. The sepoys, however, gradually receded into the

background, and the struggle was chiefly maintained by the Talukdars. Their spirit of resistance received a stimulus by the Proclamation of Canning, dated March 20, 1858, but actually issued after the fall of Lakhnau, in which they had read their own doom. "That proclamation professed to confiscate the whole proprietary right in the soil of Oudh, save in the case of six comparatively inferior chiefs. To rebel landowners who should at once surrender to the Government, immunity from death and imprisonment was promised, provided only they could show they were guiltless of unprovoked bloodshed". 26

The effect of this proclamation could be easily foreseen. Even Sir James Outram, the Chief Commissioner of Awadh, protested against it. "He expressed his conviction that as soon as the proclamation should be made public nearly all the chiefs and Talukdars would retire to their domains and prepare for a desperate resistance,

.. .They would be converted into relentless enemies if their lands were confiscated, maintaining a guerilla war.. .but that if their lands were insured to them they would at once aid in restoring order". 27 Canning stuck to his policy, but the prediction of Outram proved to be true. The Talukdars, faced with ruin, adopted an attitude of stiff resistance, and some of them fought with heroic courage.

By the end of September, 1858, the relative position of the British and the rebels in Awadh was somewhat as follows. The British "held a belt of country right across the centre of the province, from east to west; while districts north and south of that belt were either held by the rebels or were greatly troubled by them. North of the belt were the Begam (of Awadh), Mammu Khan, Firoz Shah, Hardat Singh, and leaders less notorious, with their followers; south of it were Beni Madho, Hanumant Singh, Harichand, and others. Besides these, in the north-eastern corner of the province, near the Nepal frontier, Nana Sahib and his adherents were believed to rest" 28 It is not possible to describe in detail the prolonged and obstinate* resistance offered by them, singly or in groups, and a few examples must suffice. Devi Buksh, the Raja of Gonda, organized the Rajput clans on the left of the Gogra and put up a stiff resistance. A number of clansmen gathered under the able chief, Beni Madho, mentioned above, who, like Tantia Topi, avoided any serious engagement, and adopted the tactics of a guerilla warfare. His followers, numbering about 80,000, chiefly matchlock-men, were scattered over a wide area of which they knew every inch of ground. They made surprise attacks on small units of British troops, wherever they found any opportunity, and retreated before strong enemy forces without offering any battle. By means of these skirmishes

they ceaselessly harassed the British troops, but always eluded them. Ghulam Hussain, who commanded a rebel force of three thousand men, one-third of whom were trained sepoys, with two guns, threatened Jaunpur. Muhammad Husain fought several times with the British at Amroha and Hariah. Lai Madho Singh hurled defiance at the British from his fort at Amethi, "seven miles in circumference, composed of mud walls and surrounded by a jungle". Another leader named Nizam Ali Khan, with a considerable following, in concert with Ali Khan Mewati, threatened Pilbhit. Then there were Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly with about four thousand followers, the Nawab of Farrukhabad with five thousand, and Wilayat Shah with three thousand, still at large.

The rebel Talukdars and Chiefs not only fought with the British, but had to fight against members of their own class. Many of them strongly resented the conduct of the. Raja of Powain towards Ahmadulla, related above, and took arms to punish him. But the Raja was saved by their disunion and the timely arrival of the British help. Babu Ramprasad Singh, a Talukdar of Saraon, who showed sympathy towards the British, was attacked by a confederate group of rebels, who burned his house, sacked the town, and took him and his family prisoners. Raja Mansingh of Shahgunj in Fyzabad Division, who was at one time believed to be an arch-rebel and put under arrest, had thrown in his lot with the British. For this a large rebel force, 20,000 strong with twenty guns,attacked his fort but dispersed on the arrival of the British. 29

In spite of determined and heroic resistance, the people or Talukdars of Awadh could never hope to succeed against the British, after the latter had practically suppressed the armed rebellion everywhere else. But although many rebel bands were defeated and many Talukdars offered their submission, the spirit of the rebellion was as strong as ever, thanks mainly to Canning's Proclamation.

As soon as the cessation of rain, early in October, made military operations practicable, the Awadh Chiefs took the offensive. On October 3, Harichand with six thousand men and eight guns crossed the Gumti and, being joined by several Zamindars with an additional force of six thousand men and four guns, arrived within three miles of Sandela. The rebels were, however, defeated in several engagements and both sides suffered heavy casualties. Several other isolated rebel forces were also defeated. These were merely preliminary contests before Sir Colin Campbell, now Lord Clyde, began his regular Awadh campaign. His plan was to encircle the rebel troops by sending columns from the west, south and east, and thus push them towards the Nepal frontier. He wanted to seize the strong

holds of the powerful Chiefs, mostly Rajputs, one by one. Having reduced Rampur Kasia, the headquarters of the Khanpuria clan under Ram Ghulam Singh (November 3, 1858), he attacked Lai Madho Singh, Raja of Amethi. He had protected British fugitives at the beginning of the Mutiny and even personally escorted them to Allahabad. Later, he joined the rebel force. Lord Clyde asked him to submit, but he had no control over the rebel force within his fort. So he stealthily left the fort and presented himself before Lord Clyde (November 10). Some other rebels also followed his example. Far different was, however, the attitude of Beni Madho, the Baiswara Rajput Chief of Shankarpur, who was next attacked by Lord Clyde. Shankarpur, the stronghold of Beni Madho, eight miles in circumference, was besieged by British troops.. When asked to surrender, Beni Madho refused to do so, saying that he would evacuate the fort but not surrender his person, as he was a subject of the Nawab of Awadh, and not of the British Government. He actually left the fort with 15,000 followers and several guns. Though pursued by three armies, and defeated in several engagements, he always succeeded in effecting his escape. 30

But although some of the rebel Chiefs eluded his grasp, the campaign of Sir Colin Campbell was a complete success. By winning battle after battle and demolishing fort after fort, he recovered the whole province. An idea of the severity and difficult nature of the campaign would appear from the fact that "1572 forts had to be destroyed, and 714 cannon, excluding those taken in action, were recovered". 31

"Beni Madho, Devi Baksh, Muhammad Hasan, Mehndi Hasan, Amar Singh, Khan Bahadur Khan, Begam Hazrat Mahal, Mammu Khan, Nana Saheb, Bala Saheb, Jawala Prasad, with other prominent rebel leaders were driven out of their home districts and hemmed in a narrow region on the border of Nepal. It now remained to push them north into the inhospitable land of Jang Bahadur". 32 Lord Clyde pursued Nana Sahib and Begam of Awadh to Bahraich and other places till they crossed the border and entered Nepal. Many other rebel leaders, before following their example, offered the last fight at Banki, on the banks of the Rapti, on December 30, 1858. After their defeat at Banki, Nawab Tafazzal Husain of Farrukhabad, Mehndi Hasan, and a number of other leading rebel Chiefs with their followers surrendered to the British. Others entered Nepal. Some of them perished in the swamps and hills of the Terai, and some threw away their arms and stole back to their homes. Some, in desperate mood, rushed back into Awadh and were again defeated and forced back into the pestilential hills and jungles of Nepal. Among

these were Nana Sahib and his brother Bala Rao. Lord Clyde, with his task accomplished, returned to Lakhnau on January 18, 1859.

It now remains to describe two other principal military operations, not altogether unconnected with those described above. The first is a sort of roving campaign by Kunwar Singh extending over wide areas, while the second is confined to the south of the Ganga and the Yamuna, and concerns chiefly Bundelkhand and neighbouring regions of Central India.

Mention has been made above 33 how Kunwar Singh had to leave his homeland and retire towards Sasaram. After some desultory movements he marched towards the west and passed through Rohtas, Mirzapur, Rewa and Banda. The details of his activities during this long journey are not known with certainty, but it appears that his presence at different localities on the way gave a definite momentum to the revolutionary feelings of the civil population and led to some depredations on their part. The line of his advance shows that he planned to join the revolutionary forces in Central India. From Banda Kunwar proceeded to Kalpi and, according to a previous arrangement, was joined there by the mutinous sepoys from Gwalior. According to the statement of Nishan Singh, 34 an important lieutenant of Kunwar, even 'Nana Rao', meaning probably either Nana Sahib or his brother Bala Rao, joined this group. The combined troops offered battle at Kandhapur, 35 but were defeated by the superior British force. The subsequent movements Of Kunwar Singh are thus described by Nishan Singh: "Then Kunwar Singh fled to Lucknow and he was presented a robe of honour by the Shah of Oudh. The Shah of Oudh also gave a Firman for the district of Azamgarh, as well as twelve thousand Rupees in cash for expenses. A cheque (hundi) of Rupees sixteen thousand was also given to be realised from Raja Man Singh". These statements are not corroborated from any other source, but they gain some support from the fact that Kunwar Singh certainly proceeded towards Azamgarh. 36

About this time the large concentration of British troops at or near Lakhnau had left Eastern Awadh comparatively unguarded, and a strong rebel force, 14,000 strong, including 2500 sepoys, entrenched themselves at Belwas, a fortified camp near the town of Amorha, 9 miles to the east of Fyzabad. The rebel forces consisted of several groups. The most important of these was the one led by Mehndi Hasan, who called himself Nazim of Sultanpur and had under him about fifteen thousand men. His headquarters were at Chanda v 36 miles from Jaunpur on the direct road from that place to Sultanpur. His forces had already fought with the British and suffered reverses at Saraon, 14 miles north of Allahabad, and also at Chanda, which fell into their hands. The Nazim was himself defeated at Sultanpur (February 23, 1858), but escaped with his forces. He was now joined by the Rajas of Gonda and Chardah, several other Chiefs, and about 2500 sepoys of various British regiments. When a British detachment was sent against them, they took the offensive and attacked the British camp on March 5, 1858. After a severe engagement, in which the sepoys fought with great courage and determination, they were defeated and were forced to fall back on their entrenched camp. The British force was unable to storm this position, and a considerable part of this rebel force marched to the south-east. It was joined by many other rebel groups on the way, till it reached Atraulia, and effected a junction with the troops of Kunwar Singh (March 17 or 18). 37

Col. Milman, who was encamped near Azamgarh, proceeded against this rebel force, but being defeated by Kunwar Singh, retreated to his camp. But not being able to hold out there, he continued his retreat to Azamgarh, and sent off expresses to Varanasi (Banaras), Allahabad and Lakhnau (Lucknow) for assistance (March 22). On March 26, Kunwar Singh occupied Azamgarh and blockaded the entrenchment of the British troops. These, reinforced from Varanasi and Ghazipur, attempted a sortie on the 27th, but being repulsed, retreated within the entrenchment and remained on the defensive. Lord Canning, who was then at Allahabad, realizing the gravity of the situation, sent a strong force under Lord Mark Keer. On April 6, after a severe engagement, he effected a junction with the British force &t Azamgarh. But Kunwar Singh maintained his position till April 15, when further reinforcement of British troops from Lakhnau, consisting of three regiments of European Infantry, seven hundred Sikh Cavalry, and eighteen guns, appeared on the other side of the river Tons which flows by Azamgarh. There was nothing left for Kunwar but to escape, and this he did by a brilliant manoeuvre. Leaving part of his troops to oppose the crossing of the river by the relieving force, he marched with the rest of his troops towards the south. Flying before one column closely pursuing him, and eluding another which was sent to the borders of Bihar to cut off his retreat, he crossed the Ganga at Sheopur with the British troops at his heels. The troops of Kunwar Singh crossed the river two to four miles west of Sheopur, and he arrived with them to his native village Jagdishpur on April 22. Here he was joined by his brother, Amar Singh, who had been hitherto carrying on a guerilla warfare, 38 with several thousands of armed villagers. Next day Kunwar was attacked by a detachment of British troops from Arrah led by Le Grand. Kunwar Singh's troops were posted in a jungle near Jagdishpur, and Le Grand, after some cannonading, ordered a charge by the infantry. But the British were forced to retreat and the retreat was soon converted to a rout. It was a veritable disaster. Two-thirds of the British force, including the commander, were killed, and the rest fled back to Arrah. But this was the last great victory of the old veteran. Three days later Kunwar Singh died at his own house at Jagdishpur. He had been hit by a cannon ball and his right wrist was amputated immediately after his arrival at Jagdishpur. Evidently this brought about the end on 9 May, 1858.

After the death of Kunwar Singh his brother Amar Singh made an attack upon Arrah, but being repulsed, continued the guerilla warfare till the end of November, 1858. 39 An important document, recenly discovered, supplies very interesting information about the* early activities of Amar Singh. It is a statement of a sepoy who had mutinied and was in the service of Amar Singh for six months till his (the sepoy's) arrest on October 25, 1858. "According to his statement Amar Singh had retreated to the hills along with 400 cavalrymen and six guns. These guns were manufactured by a mechanic brought from Calcutta, who stayed with Amar Singh till his arrest. Cannon balls were also manufactured at Jagdishpur out of a huge quantity of lead seized from the English boats on the Ganges. A regular training was also given to the new recruits at Jagdishpur. As to the future intentions of Amar Singh the statement says that he planned to join Nana Rao at Kalpi." 40

In Bundelkhand, as in Awadh and Rohilkhand, the mutiny of the sepoys was followed by rebellion of Chiefs and people, as mentioned above. The popular outbreaks, however, were not so serious or sustained as in the northern provinces. Among the rebellious Chiefs also, only one, the Rani of Jhansi, played any really important part. But still the situation in Central India was rendered serious to the British by the fact that it was the scene of operations of the three great military leaders of the Revolt, viz., Tantia Topi, Rani Lakhsmibai of Jhansi, and, though partly, of Kunwar Singh.

There is no evidence to show that the Rani of Jhansi had any hand in the mutiny of sepoys at Jhansi, earfy in June, 1857. Nevertheless, for reasons discussed above, 41 she was forced to take up a definitely hostile attitude towards the British at a later stage. Another chief, the Nawab of Banda, had a similar history. 4 ** Besides, there were several localities where the mutinous or rebellious spirit continued unchecked for a long time, as the hands of the British Government were too full with more serious outbreaks in the north.

BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

It was not till towards the end of the year 1857 that a regular plan was drawn up for the campaign in Central India. According to this plan, a Bombay column under Sir Hugh Rose, consisting of two brigades, would start from Sehore and Mhow, and proceed by way of Jhansi to Kalpi on the Yamuna; while another column from Madras, under Whitlock, starting from Jubbulpur, would march across Bundelkhand to Banda. It was intended that these two columns should form part of a general combination, and support each other.

Rose left Mhow on January 6, 1858. He opened the campaign by reducing the fort of Rathgarh and defeating the troops of the rebellious Raja of Banpur who had come to its aid. He then advanced unopposed to Saugor, where “the villagers, who had been mercilessly robbed by the rebels, assembled in thousands to welcome him”. After reducing Gurrakotta and a few other forts, which were in possession of mutineers and rebels, he arrived with one brigade before Jhansi on March 21, 1858. The same night, the other brigade under Brigadier Stuart, after capturing Chanderi, joined him.

As soon as the Rani of Jhansi had decided to fight the British, she began to recruit troops, and applied for help to Tantia Topi. The latter, as noted above, 43 had been defeated at Kanpur on December 6, 1857. He then got orders from the Rao Sahib to proceed to Kalpi and take charge of the small force and magazine left there. On arriving at Kalpi he received orders from the Nana to go and attack Chirkari. After a fight of eleven days he captured Chirkari and took twenty-four guns and three lakhs of Rupees from the Raja. The Rajas of Banpur and Shahgarh, Dewan Despat and Daolat Singh, the Kuchwaya Kharwala, and a great gathering of people joined him there and Tantia organized “the army of the Peshwa”, estimated at 20,000 or 25,000 men with 20 or 30 guns. 44 At this time he received an appeal from the Rani of Jhansi to come to her aid. He referred the matter to the Rao Sahib and, with his permission, proceeded to Jhansi.

The garrison of Jhansi comprised about ten thousand Bundelas and Velaities, and fifteen hundred sepoys, while the force under the command of Rose consisted of only two brigades of about two thousand men. Notwithstanding the smallness of his force Rose invested the city and the fort with his cavalry on 22 March and commenced bombarding them with his batteries on the 25th. But, in spite of the heavy bombardment and the incessant galling fire from the British infantry, the besieged, under inspiring guidance of the Rani, offered a gallant resistance. “Their guns never ceased firing except at night. Even women were seen working in the batteries, and distributing ammunition , 45 But in spite of their heroic courage the heavy bombardment battered down the parapets of the mound bastion and

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The situation was one of great peril for Rose, but he decided to com

Pv if u h rl Sie f e ’ and fight Wlth Tantia with a portion of his army. By a bnUiant manoeuvre, with only fifteen hundred men, he com

?l e J?} y ^ feated the host of Tantia who fled towards Kalpi (April 1

? g58) - , Two dfl y s later Ros e took the city of Jhansi by assault! though it was defended with grim determination till the last. The

Rani left the fort with a few attendants on the night of the 4th April and on the 6th. the battle was over.

The Rani joined Tantia at Kalpi, and Rose, leaving a small garrison at Jhansi, marched towards that city. On the way, he was met by the Rani and Tantia at a town called Koonch. Though they were helped b}? - several disaffected chiefs and occupied a very strong position, they were severely defeated by Rose. Tantia went home and the rest, falling back upon Kalpi, quarrelled among themselves, each section of the army accusing the other for the defeat. The consequent demoralization was so great that as soon as the news reached Kalpi that Rose was marching upon that city, all the rebels dispersed in different directions. At this juncture the Nawab of Banda, who had been defeated by Whitlock, arrived at Kalpi with two thousand horse, some guns, and many followers. With utmost exertions the Rani of Jhansi and the Nawab of Banda succeeded in inducing the sepoys and other rebel groups to return to Kalpi and make a supreme effort to redeem their position. A considerable section of the people in the neighbourhood aided their efforts. Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana, also was at Kalpi.

The fort of Kalpi was situated on a steep and lofty rock on the southern bank of the Yamuna, protected by chains of ravines on all the three sides other than the river. A line of entrenchments was added to strengthen the fortifications, and, by way of further precautions, the Kalpi Road, by which the British were to advance, was fortified. The Commander-in-Chief, who fully realized the gravity of the situation and the great importance of restoring British authority in Central India which was seriously threatened by the Rani and Tantia, sent a detachment under Maxwell to the aid of Rose. It took up a position on the northern bank of the Yamuna, opposite a village called Golauli. As soon as Rose heard of this, he marched direct to that village, thereby turning the fortifications on the road. On May 22, Rose was attacked by the rebels, but they were completely defeated. Next day when the British advanced through the ravines to Kalpi, they found that the enemy had fled and the -city was almost completely deserted.

Eao Sahib and the Rani of Jhansi fled to Gopalpur, about 46 miles south-west of Gwalior. There they were joined by Tantia Topi. Their position was now desperate in the extreme, but it is only at such a crisis that latent genius sometimes asserts itself. They now conceived the very daring plan of seizing Gwalior by winning over the troops of Sindhia. Which of the three Maratha leaders originally suggested the plan, it is difficult to say. We may leave out of account Rao Sahib, who never distinguished himself in any way, and whose leadership and political importance rested solely on his relationship with Nana. Of the other two, Tantia Topi never claimed the credit, even when he had an opportunity of doing so in the circumstantial account he himself gave of his own military activities. In all probability, therefore, the grand plan was conceived by the Rani of Jhansi. 47 But whoever may be the author of the plan, it was a masterstroke of high strategy. With Gwalior in their hands the rebels would be able to cut off the direct communi-cations of the British in North India with Bombay, while they would have a brilliant opportunity of rallying the whole Maratha country in the south against the British. A British historian has described the idea to be “as original and as daring as that which prompted the memorable seizure of Arcot”. 48

Daring the plan undoubtedly was. The rebels had no resources to carry out the task in the ordinary way. But they counted on the mutinous instincts of the Gwalior army and took the risk. With the shattered remnants of their force the three leaders arrived before Gwalior on May 30, 1858. On June 1, Sindhia marched out with his army to oppose them. What followed is thus described in official history: “As they (rebels) approached, Sindhia’s eight guns opened on them. But the smoke of the discharge had scarcely disappeared when the rebel skirmishers closed to their flanks, and two thousand horse* men, charging at a gallop, carried the guns. Simultaneously with their charge, Sindhia’s infantry and cavalry, his bodyguards alone excepted, either joined the rebels or took up a position indicative of their intention not to fight... Sindhia turned and fled, accompanied by a very few of the survivors (of the bodyguards). He did not draw rein till he reached Agra”. 49 There can be hardly any doubt that the army of Sindhia was won over by secret negotiations, 50 though we shall probably never know the exact details. The three leaders—Rao Sahib, Rani of Jhansi and Tantia—entered the fort of

Gwalior, seized the treasury and the arsenal, and proclaimed Nana Sahib as Peshwa.

The seizure of Gwalior “created a sensation throughout India only equalled by that ▪which was caused by the first mutinies”. 61 Sir Hugh Rose regarded his Central Indian campaign as over after the battle of Golauli, and had already issued his farewell order to the troops. But he fully realized the gravity of the situation caused by the fall of Gwalior, and immediately drew up a comprehensive plan to retake that fort and totally exterminate the rebels in that area. He left Kalpi on June 6. and, advancing by forced marches, arrived on the 16th within five miles of the Morar cantonments, near Gwalior, which were guarded by the rebel troops. He immediately attacked them and carried the cantonments by assault. Thus he regained the mastery of the road to Agra, and this enabled the brigade under Smith to reach Kotah-ke-serai, about four miles to the southeast of Gwalior.

We do not possess any reliable account of the activities of the rebel leaders during the fortnight following their capture of Gwalior. The proclamation of Nana as Peshwa was followed by an installation ceremony in which Rao Sahib, richly dressed and wearing the palace jewels, deputised for him as his viceroy. There were great jubilations, and the feeding of Brahmans and other ceremonies were held with great eclat. 62 It appears, however, that neither Rao Sahib, nor Tantia Topi who took his orders from him as the deputy of Nana, did show much regard for the Rani of Jhansi who, according to some accounts, was deliberately ignored. It is also reported that the newly won Gwalior troops were also similarly ignored, and consequently lost heart in the cause and the leadership of Tantia. Probably, though we do not know it for certain, the Rani alone protested against these ceremonies and wasting time and money which should have been devoted to consolidating their resources against the British attack. But in any case it appears that there was no military preparation to oppose the British forces till they arrived within a few miles of Gwalior, from different directions, and occupied the two strategic positions of Morar and Kotah-keserai. According to the acoount, referred to above, it was not till the very end, when the British troops were almost at their door, that Tantia, finding the soldiers unwilling to follow his lead, made an appeal to the Rani to save the situation. 63 It was, however, too late, but still the Rani again took up the lead and made preparations for the war. She herself led the troops and took up her position on the range of hills between Gwalior and Kotah-ke-serai, which had been occupied by Smith. Smith immediately attacked this force

which barred his approach to Gwalior, but met with a stiff resistance. The different versions of this battle slightly vary in matters of detail, but the following account in the British official history may be regarded as fairly correct: “Clad in the attire of a man and mounted on horseback, the Rani of Jhansi might have been seen animating her troops throughout the day. When inch by inch the British troops pressed through the pass, and when reaching its summit Smith ordered the hussars to charge, the Rani of Jhansi boldly fronted the British horsemen. When her comrades failed her, her horse, in spite of her efforts, carried her along with the others. With them she might have escaped but that her horse, crossing the canal near the (Phulbagh) cantonment, stumbled and fell. A hussar, close upon her track, ignorant of her sex and rank, cut her down. She fell to rise no more”. 64 According to another account the Rani w r as struck by a bullet. 65 Thus died the Rani of Jhansi, and Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander of the British army against which she fought from the beginning to end, paid her a well-deserved tribute when he re* ferred to her as “the best and bravest military leader of the rebels”. 56

Next day, June 18, Rose joined Smith, but it was not till the 19th morning that the main body of troops came out of the Gwalior fort to attack him. Rose immediately attacked them, and after a short but sharp engagement, drove away the rebels and occupied the city.

Next morning, June 20, after making arrangements for the pursuit of the flying rebels, with Tantia among them, Rose attacked the strong fortress and carried it by assault. On that very day Sindhia re-entered his capital, and according to official accounts, “the streets through which he passed were thronged by thousands of citizens, who greeted him with enthusiastic acclamations”. According to the same accounts, only twenty-one were killed and sixty-six wounded on the British side during the five days’ operations before Gwalior.[57]

The pursuing column overtook the flying rebel army at Jowra Alipur on June 22. There was hardly any resistance. “In a few minutes all was over. Between three and four hundred of the rebels were slain; and Tantia Topi and Rao Sahib, leaving all their guns on the field of battle, fled across the Chambal into Rajputana”.[68] Passing through the Tonk and Boondi Hills Tantia was overtaken on the Banas river near Kankrauli. But after a short skirmish Tantia fled. Although pursued by several detachments, he crossed the Chambal and marched direct to Jhalrapatan, the capital of a native State. There he levied a “contribution of sixty thousand pounds on the inhabitants, collected forty thousand more from the Government property, seized thirty guns and enlisted a large number of fresh troops”.[59] In the beginning of September Tantia left the place at the head of nine thousand men for Indore. He was caught by one of the pursuing columns, consisting of only 1300 men, hut he fled with his eight thousand, leaving thirty guns behind. After being overtaken and managing to escape several times during the next month, Tantia crossed the Narmada about forty miles north-east of Hoshangabad and probably wanted to move south across the Tapti. But being foiled in this attempt, he proceeded westward and re-crossed the Narmada beyond Rajur. Being defeated at Choto Udaipur, he took shelter in the dense forests of Banswara. About this time he heard that Prince Firoz Shah[60] had marched from Awadh to join him. Though Tantia was surrounded on all sides, he rushed out of the jungle through a pass at Partabgarh, in the face of a small British detachment, and joined Firoz Shah at Indargarh. But throughout the pursuit, his followers deserted him in such nuftibers that the combined army now amounted to only two thousand men, almost in a destitute condition. Even in this condition he evaded the several pursuing detachments by rapidlly moving about from the centre of Malwa to the northern extremity of Raj putana. At last, worn out with fatigue and thoroughly disheartened, he crossed the Chambal and hid himself in the jungles near Seronge which belonged to Man Singh, a feudatory of Sindhia. Being deprived of his estate by the latter, Man Singh had rebelled, but was defeated by a British detachment. He was wandering in the forest when he chanced to meet Tantia, and the two became very friendly. As soon as the British Commander came to know of this, he won over Man Singh by holding out the hope of restoring his wealth and position. Man Singh not only surrendered, but led a few sepoys of the British detachment to the hiding place of Tantia Topi. The sepoys found Tantia asleep, seized him, and carried him to the British camp at Sipri. He was tried by a court martial on April 15, 1859, and was hanged on the 18th in the presence of a large crowd.

The capture of Tantia was the last important act in the suppression of the revolt in Central India. The wonderful guerilla warfare which he had carried on for ten months against enormous odds elicited admiration even from his opponents, 61 and may be looked upon as a fitting end to a struggle which was hopeless almost from the very beginning.

Before concluding this chapter it is but proper to make a reference to the fate of the principal leaders. Among those who sui> rendered, persons originally belonging to Awadh received a specially favourable treatment. A typical instance may be noted. Mehndi Hasan and the Nawab of Farrukhabad, as mentioned above, surrendered together on the 7th January, 1859. The latter was condemned to death, but his life was spared according to the promise made at the time of his surrender. Mehndi Hasan, who was an official of Awadh before its annexation, was granted a pension of Rs. 200 per mensem, but was not permitted to return home.

Syed Muhammad Hasan, the rebel Nazim of Gorakhpur, refused to submit and take advantage of the Queen's Proclamation, when asked to do so; on the other hand he justified his own conduct on the ground that he fought for religion and his sovereign. Nevertheless, when he was ultimately persuaded to submit, he was granted an allowance of Rs. 200 and directed to live in the District of Sitapur.

The underlying principle seems to be that as Awadh was a very recent annexation, not by conquest, but on grounds whose propriety was doubted by many, an old subject of the king of Awadh who fought against the British was treated as an enemy engaged in legitimate war, rather than as a rebel against his government.

The Begam of Awadh endeavoured to come to an agreement with the British, but failed. On October 22, she sent vakeels to find out the terms she might expect, but the negotiations fell through. To the Queen's Proclamation of November to which reference will be made later, the Begam issued a reply in the name of her son, 62 in which she referred to many acts of injustice and bad faith on the part of the British Government. In reply to the Queen’s assurance that she did not want increase of territory, the Begam asked a very pertinent question: “Why does Her Majesty not restore our country to us when our people wish it?” Warning the people against the offer of amnesty by the Queen, the Awadh Proclamation observed: “No one has ever seen in a dream that the English forgave an offence”. After this there was hardly any chance of reconciliation between the Begam and the British.

Nana Sahib also made an attempt to come to terms with the British. In his letter 63 to the British authorities, dated 20 April, 1859, Nana denied his complicity in the mutiny and disclaimed all responsibility for the murder of the British women and children, saying that “they were killed by your sepoys and Budmashes (scoundrels) at the time that my soldiers fled from Kanpur and my brother was wounded”.

After referring to the Proclamation issued by the British Government, Nana says: “I have been fighting with you, and, while I live, will fight.». .You have forgiven the crimes of all.. .and I alone am left.. .We will meet. And then I will shed your blood and it will flow knee-deep. I am prepared to die. Death will come to me one day, what then have I to fear?"

A reply to this letter was sent by Major J. F. Richardson on April 23, 1859. He reminded Nana that the Proclamation was intended for all, and that it was open to him to surrender on the identical terms under which the chiefs of Awadh laid down their arms and surrendered themselves, and if, as he said, he did not murder women and children, he could come in without fear.

Nana sent a reply to this letter from Deogarh on April 25, 1859. He said he was prepared to surrender "if a letter written by Her Majesty the Queen and sealed with her seal, and brought by the Commanding Officer of the French or the 2nd in command" reach him. Otherwise, said be "why should I join you, knowing all the dagabazi perpetrated by you in Hindoostan?".

The same day Richardson sent a reply. He cannot, he said, add anything to his letter, dated April 23. He advised Nana to study the Proclamation, and concluded as follows: "Send any responsible party to me, and I guaramoe him safe conduct to and fro, and I will explain any part you may be in doubt on. Your messenger shall be treated with consideration. More I cannot do.".

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Evidently the correspondence led to no settlement. Bala Sahib, who joined his elder brother Nana in his flight to Nepal, also sent a petition to the British authorities. He was less defiant than Nana, and in a way made Nana responsible for his own part in the rebellion. "The sepoys", he said, "would not allow me to leave them, my brother would not permit me to separate from him. I was therefore necessitated to act according to my brother's orders." Bala also mentioned how he saved the life of the daughter of the Judge of Fatehpur. 63a But Bala's cringing attitude was no more helpful than the defiant challenge of Nana, whose last words to the English were: "Life must be given up some day. Why then should I die dishonoured? There will be war between me and you as long as I have life, whether I be killed or imprisoned or hanged, and whatever I do will be done with the sword only”. This spirited challenge to the British is perhaps the only act in Nana’s life that would raise his character in the estimation of posterity.

Strangely enough, both Nana and the Begam of Awadh put their faith on the rulers of Nepal even after the latter had actively helped the British in suppressing the revolt, as noted above. 6311 But even the piteous appeals (May, 1858) of the ex-king of Awadh to Jang Baha dur bore no fruit, and the latter curtly replied: “As the Hindus and Muhammadans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither

the Nepal Government nor I can side with them”. 64 Nevertheless, being pressed by Lord Clyde on all sides, both Nana and the Begam as well as some rebel leaders were forced to enter Nepal with their parties. Jang Bahadur declared as early as January, 1859, that he would not afford protection or shelter to the refugees from India.

“The Nepal Government employed their troops for the capture and expulsion of their uninvited guests. It was in such an encounter that Beni Madho, Dabir Jang Bahadur, the popular hero of Shankarpur, met with his death. Unwilling to surrender, he fought the Gurkha troops in the Dang valley and died with many of his troops. His brother Jograj Singh was also killed on this occasion. His surviving brother, widow and son were in Nepal till December, 1859. The boy was thirteen or fourteen years of age at the time of his father’s death. He was granted an estate with an income of 6,000 rupees per year and was sent to Sitapur for his education. Nawab Mammu Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan and Brigadier Jawala Prasad with others of less note were delivered to the British authorities. Raja Devi Baksh of Gonda, Harprasad, Chakladar of Khairabad, Goiab Singh of Biswa died in Nepal under what circumstances we do not know. Hardat Singh of Bundi was killed. Azimullah, Nana’s friend, died at Bhutwal some time in October”. 66

But evidently Jang Bahadur of Nepal showed a sympathetic attitude towards the fugitives of the two princely families of Awadh and Bithur. Birjis Qadr was given shelter at Chitwan. 66 Nana Sahib and his family spent their last days in Nepal. In reply to the request of the British to capture and surrender Nana, Jang Bahadur flatly denied any knowledge of Nana being in Nepal and even sportingly made an offer to the British to send their own men to Nepal to find out the whereabouts of Nana. There is, however, no doubt that both Nana Sahib and Bala Sahib lived and died in Nepal, and it is difficult to believe that Nana could roam at large in Nepal for years, save at the connivance, if not the active help, of the authorities in Nepal. Certain it is that the widows of Baji Rao, Nana, and Bala spent their last days in Nepal. Even the worst tragedy has sometimes a comic phase. It was afforded in the present case by rumours and even official reports, recurring at intervals, throughout the nineteenth and the first quarter of the twentieth century, of Nana being found in India. Several persons were even arrested as Nana and then released. But these created such an excitement that at last the-Government of India came to the wise decision that even if the real Nana were found in India, he should be ignored rather than arrested.

1. Holmes, 63, f. n. But Lord Roberts gives the number, respectively, as 257,000 and 36,000 (Roberts—II, 434.)

2. Holmes, 208.

3. Kaye—I, II. 216-7.

4. Kaye—I, II. 226, Holmes, 212-3.

5. SB— n. 90.

6. Sen. 155.

7. Sen, 154.

8. Holmes, 221.

9. Ibid, 281.

10. See p. 488.

11. Kaye—I, H. 670; Majumdar. 133-4, 269, f. n., 20.

12. Kaye—I, II. 390.

13. Holmes, 117.

14. Ibid.

15. Sen, 82.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid. .

18. The sepoys, as noted below, made an attempt to intercept the siege train sent from the Panjab under the escort of a weak native detachment, but not till it had reached the neighbourhood of Delhi, where it could be protected by the British forces besieging that city.

19. Although the dread of mass conversion to Christianity was an important cause of the Mutiny, the religious question seems to have gradually receded into the background (cf. Ahsanulla's evidence at the trial of Bahadur Shah).

20. For different views on the subject, cf. Kaye—I. III. 645; Malleson, II. 75; Holmes, 384-5.

21. Holmes, 387.

22. See p. 563.

23. Holmes, 294.

sbovG p 543

25. According to Forhes-Mitchell, there were 70,000 irregular and 60,000 regular mutineers (Reminiscences , 195). According to Maude* the number gradually swelled to over 100,000 (Memories , II. 449).

26. Malleson, II. 409.

27. Malleson, HI. 251. The Proclamation was also disapproved by Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control. For the controversy over the Proclamation, cf. H.S. Cunningham, Earl Canning, pp. 156 ff.

28. Malleson, III. 285.

29. For a detailed account of these Talukdars, cf. Malleson, II. 469; HI. 273-88.

30. For details, cf. Sen, 360-1.

31. Holmes, 523, f.n. 1. Holmes adds that “the number of armed men, who succumbed in Oudh, was about 150,000 of whom at least 35,000 were sepoys”.

32. Sen, 361.

33. See p. 551.

34. This was published in the Patna University Journal, No. VIH(1954), and has been summarised in Freedom — Bihar, 44 ff.

35. This evidently refers to the battle at Kanpur mentioned above (p. 568).

36. According to Freedomr— Bihar, pp.46-7, Kunwar Singh proceeded to Awadh before the battle of Kanpur in November-December, 1857. But this does not appear to be very likely.

37. Malleson, H. 326 ff.; 452 ff.

38. For a detailed account, cf. Freedom — Bihar, pp. 37 ff.

39. For details, cf. Freedom — Bihar, pp. 51 ff. It appears that Amar Singh still maintained the semblance of a parallel government.

40. “Amar Singh was moving from place to place with unflagging energy to keep up the struggle. After the retreat of Nana Saheb into Nepal, he went to the Tarai region to assume the leadership of Nana’s troops. But he was ultimately captured about the middle of December, 1859, by a force under Jang Bahadur”. He died of dysentery in the Gorakhpur jail on 5 February, 1860. Freedom — Bihar, 58-9.

41. See p. 489.

42. For the outbreak at Banda, see above, p. 527. According to J.W. Sherer, a contemporary, the Nawab of Banda was practically forced to rebel (Memories of the Mutiny, I. 164), quoted in Holmes, 496 f.n.

43. See above, p. 568.

44. Forrest—II, IV. xcv.

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Tantia^says* in his statement: “I fled to Chirki which is four miles from

Jalaur, and where my parentswere. n^^^s^'efnot rule out Tantia, “Malleson attributes it entirely-to the holmes M acpherson was right,

who did not lack either daring or origins.hty. But if Macpnerson and he was supported by Sir Robert Hamdton, Tantm

tion of Kalpi by a visit to Gwalior. Saheb that Gwalior would fall an

troops and their officers and convinced Rao Saheb that uwauo

easy prey to them" (Sen, 293). Cf. Holmes, 535, f.n. 1.

Holmes, 535.

A<f noted tat^'47, Tantia had contacted the troops of Sindhia at GwaUor.

a^t^'-eAttacharya-Jhansir ««nf 2»). But according to Forrest, "the Rao refused to assume any state and "behaved with considerable tact" (Forrest —I, III. 2b5-bb .

Mahasveta Bhattacharya, op. cit, p.286. She gives the P ^ U .^^5 S * a the Rani of Jhansi's life at GwaUor (277 ff.) mentioned in this para, but

cites no authority.

This^ff'the^ account by Sir Robert Hamilton. For detaUs cf. Sen, 295. According to the account given by the Rani's servant, ^e wasdr^c^jiherb^ near the Phoolbagh batteries, when the alarm was given that Hussars were aooDroaching "Forty of fifty of them came up, and the rebels fled, save

about fifteen®' The Ranee's horse refused to le ^P * e "PAg he l h f a shot in the side, and then a cut on the head, but rode ° ff ' m S "l 1 S 2s fell dead, and was burnt in a garden close by (Forrest—I, III. 281-2)• Tim reconciles the discrepancy between the two accounts of Rams death given above, and is most probably the correct version.

(Calcutta Gazette, January—June, 1859, Supplement, pp. 1-20 (quoted by

Holmes, 540-1). Cf. Forrest—H, IV. 151. . .. . . *

Holmes, 541. The subsequent movement of Tantia, as given m the text, is based on the same authority. For Tantia's own statement, cf. Malleson, IB 518-24, a summary of which is given in Majumdar, 159 it.

Holmes, 544.

See pp. 492-3.

Malleson, G.B., The Indian Mutiny of 1857, p. 397.

Sen, 382-4. . , ...

For this letter and the subsequent correspondence, cf. Majumdar, xm-xiv

Sen, 392 ff. _

63a. For the full text of the letter from Rao Sahib, cf. Sen, 396-7.

63b. See p. 570.

64. Sen, 359.

65. Sen, 36&

66. Ibid.

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60. 61. 62. 63.

CHAPTER XIX.

ATROCITIES

An important feature of the great outbreak of 1857 is the perpetration of horrible deeds of cruelty on both sides. Indeed some of the acts were of so brutal a nature, that a writer has described it as a contest between two savage races, capable of no thought but that, regardless of all justice or mercy, their enemies should be exterminated.

Some English writers, who have the candour to admit that atrocities were committed on both sides, have expressed a wish that a veil should be drawn over them. But with a few honourable exceptions, the English writers and, following them, others have drawn the veil over the excesses of the British troops, but not over those of the Indian sepoys. As a result, while every schoolboy, both in India and England, reads of the cruel massacre of English men, women, and children at Kanpur, very few, outside the circle of historians of modem India, have any knowledge of the massacre, in cold blood, of Indian men, women, and children, hundred times the number of those that perished at Kanpur. Historical truth and political fair play both demand that the veil should be drawn aside, and an objective study made of the atrocities on both sides.

The first act of cruelty, animated by racial hatred, was the indiscriminate massacre of Englishmen at Mirat, where the people were stirred by one common impulse to slaughter all the Feringhees, sparing neither women nor children. It is alleged that helpless women were butchered without mercy, and children were slaughtered under the very eyes of their mothers. All this was done, not merely by the excited sepoys, but also by the prisoners released by them and the riff-raff of the population,—the gangs of plunderers and incendiaries who are to be found in every city. The excitement and confusion caused by the mutiny of soldiers were taken advantage of by the unruly elements who are always eager to seize such an opportunity.

When the sepoys of Mirat reached Delhi, the bloody scenes were repeated there, and a number of English men, women and children were done to death by the sepoys and others in cold blood. Here, too, the scum of the population vied with the sepoys in their savage fury, and a large number of European residents who were engaged in mercantile or other peaceful pursuits, were murdered. “Every house, occupied by European or Eurasian, was attacked, and every

Christian upon whom hands could be laid was killed. There was no mercy and there was no quarter ”. 1 Even when the first fury and excitement had subsided, fifty-two European prisoners,—men women and children—Who were kept in the custody of Ahsanulla, were

killed with swords by the sepoys.

Mirat and Delhi set the tempo of the revolt, and indiscriminate massacre of English men, women and children marked the rising not only of sepoys, but even of the civil population, in many places. The massacre at Jhansi was of particularly heinous type, as noted above.

In some cases the tragedies enacted were of a ghastly character.

A letter from Varanasi, dated June 16, 1857, describes the following scene witnessed by the writer at Allahabad. “A gang of upwards of two dozen sepoys.. .cut into two an infant boy of two or three years of age, while playing about his mother; next they hacked into pieces the lady; and while she was crying out of agonising pains for safety.. .felled, most shockingly and horridly, the husband.” 2 Similar incidents happened at Bareilly as reported by a Bengali officer there. 3

So far about the cruelty of the Indians towards the English, mostly narrated, by the English themselves. We may now turn to the other picture. Unfortunately, the Indians have left no record of the atrocities to which they were subjected, and we might never have known the terrible ordeal through which they passed during those two eventful years. Fortunately for history, however, some Englishmen had sunk so low in the scale of humanity during that awful orgy of murder and rapine, that they not only felt no scruple in proclaiming their own misdeeds, but even took pride in them, as if they had done some heroic and chivalrous acts. Thus we find not only in official records and correspondence, but also in private letters and memoirs, a free and frank recital of the terrible and inhuman acts of violence perpetrated by men and officers of the British army.

General Neill, who proceeded from Calcutta in May, 1857, with a regiment, towards Varanasi (Banaras) and Allahabad, has earned undying notoriety for the inhuman cruelties which marked the progress of his army all along the way. It would be too hideous to describe the details, and a general account must suffice. This is given on the authority of Kaye, who had access to all his correspondence and official reports.

Neill gave written instructions to Major Renaud "to attack and destroy all places en route close to the road occupied by the enemy.'

"Certain guilty villages were marked out for destruction, and all the men inhabiting them were to be slaughtered. All sepoys of mutinous regiments not

giving a good account of themselves were to be hanged. The town of Fatepur, which had revolted, was to be attacked, and the Pathan quarters destroyed, with all their' inhabitants." Renaud "pressed on, proud of his commission, and eager to do the bidding of his chief_On they marched for three days, leaving every

where behind them, as they went, traces of retributory power of the English in desolated villages and corpses dangling from the branches of trees". 4

Kaye's description is corroborated by others. Russell says that the executions of natives were indiscriminate to the last degree. All the villages in front of Renaud's column were burnt when he halted. 6

Sherer has described a similar scene along the line of Havelock's march.

"Many of the villages had been burnt by the way-side, and human beings there were none to be seen....the occasional taint in the air from suspended bodies upon which, before our very eyes, the loathsome pig of the country was engaged in feasting".© Even before the Martial Law was passed, "the military officers were hunting down the criminals of all kinds, and hanging them up with as little compunction as though they had been pariah-dogs or jackals or vermin of a lesser kind... .Military courts and commissions were sitting daily, and sentencing old and young to be hanged with indiscriminate ferocity. Volunteer hanging parties went out into the districts and amateur executioners were not wanting to the occasion. One gentleman boasted of the numbers he had finished off quite "in an artistic manner", with mango-trees for gibbets and elephants for drops, the victims of this wild justice being strung up, as though for pastime, in 'the form of a figure of eight'. 7

On June 9, 1857, the Government of India caused Martial Law to be proclaimed in the Divisions of Varanasi (Banaras) and Allahabad. What followed is thus described by Kaye:

"Martial law had been proclaimed; those terrible acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation; and soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assize, or slaying natives without any Assize at all, regardless of the sex or age. Afterwards, the thirst for blood grew stronger still. It is on the records of our British Parliament, in papers sent home by the GovernorGeneral of India in Council, that "the aged, women and children, are sacrificed, as well as those guilty of rebellion." They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages—perhaps now and then accidentally shot. English men did not hesitate to boast, or to record their boasting in writing, that they had 'spared no one' and that "peppering away at niggers" was very pleasant pastime, "enjoyed amazingly." It has been stated in a book (Travels of a Hindoo by Bholanath Chandra) patronised by high class authorities, that "for three months eight dead-carts daily went their rounds from sunrise to sunset to take down the corpses which hung at the cross-roads and market places", and that "six thousand beings" had been thus summarily disposed of and launched into etemity".8

One of the volunteers in the fort of Allahabad writes thus of the events subsequent to the arrival of Neill with his re-inforcements:

"When we could once get out of the fort, we were all over the places, cutting down all natives who showed any signs of opposition; we enjoyed these trips very much. One trip I enjoyec amazingly; we got on board a steamer with a gun,

•while the Sikhs and fusiliers marched up to the city We *wl Shots right and left, till we got up to the bad place^

r-ihT-irs^rp*d awav with our guns, my old double barrel mat i Drougm ous

IJL several niggers, so thirsty for vengeance was L We fire ^ th * and left and the flames shot up to the heavens as they spread, fanned by the breeze Showing that the day of vengeance had fallen on the treacherous villams. Every ’day we led expeditions to bum and destroy ^affected villages, and we had Uken our revenge. I have been appointed the chief of a —ission the tobfl of aU natives charged with offences against GoverMient and . Da *

™ have strung up eight or ten men. We have the power of life in our hands, and assure you we spare not A very summary trial is all that takes place. Thecondemned culprit is placed under a tree, with a rope around his neck, on tiie top of a carriage and when it is pulled away, off he swings” .9 “The system of burning villages”, writes Holmes, ‘Was in many instances fearfully abused. Old men who ha done us no harm and helpless women, with sucking infants at their breasts, felt the weight of our vengeance, no less than the vilest malefactors; mid as they wandered forth from their blazing huts, they must have cursed us as bitterly as we cursed

the murderers of Cawnpore.” 10

The same scene was witnessed in the western part of India. As General Barnard was marching to Delhi towards the end of May 1857, many cruel deeds were wrought on villagers suspected of complicity in the ill-usage of the fugitives from Delhi.

A contemporary military officer observes:

“Officers now went to courts-martial declaring they would hang the prisoners whether guilty or innocent, and the provost-marshall had his cart waiting for them at the tent-door. Some brought the names of offending villages, and applied to get them destroyed, and plundered on the strength of vague report. The fierceness of the men increased every day, often venting itself upon the camp servants, many of whom ran away. These prisoners, during the few hours between their trial and execution, were unceasingly tormented by the soldiers. They pulled their hair, pricked them with their bayonets, and forced them to eat cow’s flesh, while officers stood by approving”. The same writer refers to “fierce desire for blood” which “manifested itself on every possible occasion”, and remarks that the “slightest whisper of anything short of indiscriminate vengeance was instantly silenced by twenty voices.”"

The following may be cited as an example of the manner in which punishment was meted out to the mutineers at Peshawar. The fifty-fifth Regiment at Hoti Mardan in the Panjab was suspected of treason, but had committed no overt act of mutiny. At the advance of an English force they fled towards the hills. Being pursued by Nicholson they turned back and fought bravely. But about 120 were killed and 150 captured. On June 10, 1857, forty of these were brought out, manacled and miserable, to the parade-ground. There, in the presence of the whole garrison of Peshawar and thousands of outsiders, the forty selected malefactors were blown up from the mouth of the guns. 12

The atrocities at Kanpur, perpetrated by Nana Sahib, are the best known episodes of the Mutiny. One of these, the murder at

Sati Chaura ghat, has been described above. 12 * But there were many other crimes attributed to Nana, culminating in the brutal massacre of the prisoners at Bibighar. The following account of these is given on the authority of Kaye. On the 12th June a number of European fugitives from Fategarh, mostly women and children, numbering 126, were coming down in boats to seek refuge in the British cantonment at Kanpur. They were seized and carried to Nana. All the men, with the exception of three, were killed in his presence, and the women and children, along with the other English prisoners, who were taken from the riverside, were kept in a small house known as Bibighar. All these prisoners, huddled together, were given very coarse food, and their sufferings were intolerable. The women were taken out to grind for the Nana’s household. Cholera and diarrhoea broke out among them, and some of them fell victims to these diseases. 13

On the afternoon of the 15th of July, Nana Sahib learned that Havelock’s army had crossed the Pandu river and was in full march upon his capital. On receiving this information Nana issued orders for the massacre of the women and children in the ‘Bibighar’. There were four or five men among the captives. These were brought forth and killed in the presence of Nana. Then a party of sepoys was sent to shoot the women and children through the doors and windows of their prison-house. But they fired at the ceilings of the chambers. So some butchers were called. They went in, with swords or long knives, among the women and children * and slashed them to death. And there the bodies lay, some only half-dead, all through the night. Next morning the dead and the dying were brought out and thrown into an adjacent well. Some of the children were alive, almost unhurt, but they were also thrown into the well.” 14

We may now turn to the other side. It is unnecessary to describe in detail the terrible retributions that the British soldiery took when they captured important cities, but a few words may be said about Kanpur, Delhi, and Jhansi.

In view of what Neill had done before the provocation offered by the massacre at Kanpur, it is easier to imagine than to describe in detail the terrible atrocities perpetrated upon the people of Kanpur. But one particular mode of punishment deserves to be on record as a proof of his fiendish nature. This is described by Neill himself as follows:

“Whenever a rebel is caught he is immediately tried: and, unless he can prove a defence, he is sentenced to be hanged at once; but the chief rebels or ringleaders, I make first clean up a certain portion of the pool of blood, still two inches deep, in the shed where the fearful ii.’irder and mutilation of women and children took place. To touch blood is mos r abhorrent to the high-caste natives; they think

by dcing so, they doom their souls to perdition- Lei them think so. My object is to inflict a fearful punishment for a revolting, cowardly, barbarous deed, and to strike terror into these rebels. The first I caught was a subahdar, or native

officer_a high caste Brahmin, who tried to resist my order to clean up the very

blood he had helped to shed; but I made the provost-marshall to do his duty; and a few lashes soon made the miscreant accomplish his task. When done, he was taken out and immediately hanged, and after death, buried in a ditch at the roadside.". 16

The atrocities that followed the capture of Delhi by the British have been described by many eye-witnesses.

"Delhi was practically deserted by the inhabitants within a few days of its fall* Large numbers had perished in the hands of the infuriated British soldiers, and most of those who survived left the city, but hundreds of them died of exposure and starvation. Enormous treasures were looted, and each individual soldier amassed a rich booty. Almost every house and shop had been ransacked and plundered after its inmates were killed, irrespective of the fact whether they were actual rebels, or even friends of the British. The General had issued an order to spare women and children, but it was honoured more in breach than in observance. We need hardly wonder at this if we remember the general attitude of even educated Englishmen. 'A gentleman, whose letters, published in the Bombay Telegraph, afterwards went the round of the Indian and English papers, remarked "that the general's hookum regarding the women and children was a mistake", as they were "not human beings, but fiends, or at best wild beasts deserving the death of dogs". He then describes the state of affairs on the 21st of September, i.e. the day after the city was finally and completely occupied by the British troops. "All the city people found within the walls when our troops entered were bayoneted on the spot; and the number was considerable, as you may suppose, when I tell you that in some houses forty or fifty persons were hiding. These were not mutineers but residents of the city, who trusted to our well-known mild rule for pardon. I am glad to say they were disappointed". "I have given up walking about the back streets of Delhi, as yesterday an officer and myself had taken a party of twenty men out patrolling, and we found fourteen women with their throats cut from ear to ear by their own husbands, and laid out in their shawls. We caught a man there who said he saw them killed, for fear they should fall into our hands; and showed us their husbands, who had done the best thing they could afterwards and killed themselves”. 1 ©

The Bombay correspondent of the Times wrote: “No such scene has been witnessed in the city of Shah Jehan since the day that Nadir Shah, seated in the little mosque in Chandee Chouk, directed and superintended the massacre of its inhabitants , \ 17 Kaye observes: “Many who had never struck a blow against us—who had tried to follow their peaceful pursuits—and who had been plundered and buffeted by their own armed countrymen, were pierced by our bayonets, or cloven by our sabres, or brained by our muskets or rifles”. 18 There was slaughter on a large scale by one Mr. Brind in revenge of an attack upon a party of Sikhs. Kaye says: “Many of the enemy were slain on the spot, and others, “against whom bloodproofs, as also relics of our murdered countrywomen, children and other Christian residents” were to be found on their persons or in

their houses, were reserved for more humiliating punishments. Following the example set by Neill at Cawnpore, he (Brind) kept these men to labour in cleansing our polluted lines before their final punishment”. 19 Holmes writes:

“A Military Governor had been appointed; but he could do little to restrain file passions of those who surrounded him. Natives were brought forward in batches to be tried by a Military Commission or by Special Commissioners, each one of whom had been invested by the Supreme Government with full powers of life and death. These judges were in no mood to show mercy. Almost all who were tried were condemned; and almost all who were condemned were sentenced to death. A four-square gallows was erected in a conspicuous place in the city: and five or six culprits were hanged every day. English officers used to sit by, puffing at their cigars, and look on at the convulsive struggles of the victims.” 20

Nana’s cruelties have attained world-wide notoriety. But black though his deeds were, there are no means to determine the motives which impelled him and his personal share in them. But no such doubt can possibly remain in the case of Nana’s white counterpart in the Panjab, Frederick Cooper, whose description of his own exploits 21 reveals a fiendish mentality which is rare, perhaps unique, even among the brutalised military officers of those days. He has given a detailed account of how he dealt with the 26th N. I. against which no charge could be levelled excepting the murder of an officer by a lonely fanatic. In course of their flight the main body of sepoys "took refuge in an island and boats with sowars (soldiers) were sent against them." What followed is thus described by Cooper. 22

"The doomed men, with joined palms, crowded down to the shore on the approach of the boats, one side of which bristled with about sixty muskets, Ink sides sundry revolvers and pistols. In utter despair, forty or fifty dashed into tine stream and disappeared... .and some sowars being on the point of taking pot-shots at the heads of the swimmers, orders were given not to fire".

"They (i.e. the sepoys) evidently were possessed of a sudden and insane idea, that they were going to be tried by court-martial, after some luxurious refreshment. In consequence of which, sixty-six stalwart sepoys submitted to be bound by a single man....and stacked like slaves in a hold into one of the two boats emptied for the purpose". On reaching the shore they were all tightly bound, and fresh batches were brought from the island and treated in the same way. They had then to march six miles to the Police Station at Ujnalla, almost all the road being knee-deep in water. By midnight 282 prisoners were taken to the Police Station. Next morning, August 1, 1857, the prisoners were pinioned, tied together, and brought out thus, in batches of ten, to be shot. They were filled with astonishment and rage when they learned their fate.

But Cooper went on with his task. He proceeds: "About 150 having been thus executed, one of the executioners swooned away (he was the oldest of the firing party), and a little respite was allowed. Then proceeding, the number had arrived at two hundred and thirty-seven, when the district officer was informed that the remainder refused to come out of the bastion, where they had been imprisoned temporarily, a few hours before...The doors were opened, and behold*

they were nearly all dead! Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted... .Forty-five bodies dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat and partial suffocation, were dragged into light, and consigned, in common with all the other bodies, into one common pit, by the hands of the village sweepers".

Cooper was congratulated for his action both by John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner, and Robert Montgomery, Judicial Commissioner for the Panjab. 23 Cooper congratulated himself that "within forty-eight hours of the date of the crime, there fell by the lay nearly 500 men". "What crime? What law?" asked Montgomery Martify "demanded the extermination of a helpless multitude?" Referring to such criticism a modern British historian, Holmes, has lamented that for his "splendid" work Cooper was "assailed by the hysterical cries of ignorant humanitarians." 24 Greathed remarks; "The sacrifice of five hundred villainous lives for the murder of two English is a retribution that will be remembered". At this Thompson justly observes: "Yes, it is one of the memories of India, as Cawnpore is of England". 26 Cooper's narration reaches its climax in these words: "There is a well at Cawnpore, but there is also one at Ujnalla". 26 Here Cooper has blurted out a great truth which no one, particularly no Englishman, should forget. Once again Thompson rightly says: "I see no reason why he should be denied the immortality he craved so earnestly. Let his name be remembered with Nana Sahib's". 27

But Cooper was by no means an exceptional specimen. A contemporary military officer, writing of the English community in the Panjab at the time remarks that from the highest to the lowest "everyone talked in the same strain—to 'pott', 'polish off', Saf kama i.e. make clean or exterminate, a large bag of pandies, was the desire of every heart. Orders for the execution of deserters or mutineers were written in round terms and signed with initials". 28

Abundant evidence is furnished by the Englishmen themselves that everywhere the English officers made an indiscriminate massacre of guilty and innocent alike. Cooper tells us: "Short shrift awaited all captures. The motto of General Nicholson for mutineers was a la lanteme ." 29

Mrs. Coopland, a clergyman's widow, refers triumphantly to the achievements of Col. Cotton and his party at Fatehpur Sikri:

“They took a great many prisoners, and made them clean out the church; but as it was contrary to their ‘caste*, they were obliged to do it at the point of the bayonet: some did it with alacrity, thinking they would be spared hanging; but they were mistaken, for they were all hung”.[30]

Lieutenant Majendie remarked:

“Crime, of course, is a facon de parler. It was taken for granted that every sepoy had murdered women and children”.[31] In a reminiscent mood he states:

■“I spent that night on picket at the Musjid above mentioned, much of our time being passed in shooting or hanging prisoners taken during the day. ...Many a poor wretch breathed his last at this spot, dying, for the most part, with a calmness and courage worthy of a better cause''.[32]

Regarding Jhansi, R. M. Martin writes:

"On the 4th of April, the fort and remainder of the City were taken possession of by the troops, who, maddened by the recollection of massacre committed there, and by the determined resistance of the people, committed fearful slaughter. No less than 5,000 persons are stated to have perished at Jhansi, or to have been cut down by the "flying camps”... .Some flung themselves down wells, or otherwise committed suicide; having first slain their women, sooner than trust them to the mercy of the conquerors. The plunder obtained in the fort and town is said to have been very great. A large number of executions took place daily ”.[33]

Regarding Lakhnau (Lucknow) Majendie observes:

"At the time of the capture of Lucknow—a season of indiscriminate massacre —such distinction was not made, and the unfortunate who fell into the hands of our troops was made short work of—sepoy or Oude villager, it mattered not,— no questions were asked; his skin was black, and did not that suffice? A piece of rope and the branch of a tree, or a rifle bullet through his brain, soon terminated the poor devil’s existence.”[34]

We find the following minute in the proceedings of the GovernorGeneral in Council, dated 24th December, 1857, regarding the state of affairs throughout the North-West Provinces and the Panjab in the previous July.

“The indiscriminate hanging, not only of persons of all shades of guilt, but of those whose guilt was at the least very doubtful, and the general burning and plunder of villages, whereby the innocent as well as the guilty, without regard to age or sex, were indiscriminately punished and in some cases, sacrificed, had deeply exasperated large communities not otherwise hostile to the Government”.35

But the cruelty of the English was not inflicted only upon those against whom there might be any reasonable suspicion. They did not spare even their own servants. Here is the account of an eyewitness:

"The spirit of exasperation which existed against Natives at this time will scarcely be believed in Europe. Servants, a class of men who behaved, on the whole, throughout the mutiny with astonishing fidelity, were treated even by many of the officers with outrageous harshness. The men beat and ill-used them. In the batteries they would make the bheesties (water-carriers) to whom they showed more kindness than to the rest, sit out of the works to give them water. Many of the Unfortunates were killed. The sick syces, grass-cutters, and dooly-bearers, many 6f whom were wounded in our service, lay for months on the ground

exposed to the sun by day and the cold at night_A general massacre of the

inhabitants of Delhi, a large number of whom were known to wish us success, was openly proclaimed. Blood-thirsty boys might be heard recommending that all the Native orderlies, irregulars, and other ‘poorbeahs’ in our camp should be shot.”36

Kaye, who quotes this passage, adds that such treatment was only the old normal state of things—unaltered, unrepressed; and further states:

“It is related that, in the absence of tangible enemies, some of our soldiery, who turned out on this occasion, butchered a number of unoffending camp-followers, servants, and others who were huddling together in vague alarm, near the Christian church-yard. No loyalty, no fidelity, no patient good service on the part of these good people could extinguish, for a moment, the fierce hatred which possessed our white soldiers against all who wore the dusky livery of the East". 37

We may now refer to the views of the great military officers regarding the method of punishing the mutineers. Nicholson, the hero of the Mutiny, "the prototype of the strong, silent, God's Englishman", wrote to Edwardes:

"Let us propose a Bill for the flaying alive, impalement, or burning of the murderers of the women and children at Delhi. The idea of simply hanging the perpetrators of such atrocities is maddening. I wish that I were in that part of the world, that if necessary I might take the law into my own hands".

Nicholson conveniently forgets that his own men murdered more than ten times the number of women and children killed by the Indians. But he proceeds:

"As regards torturing the murderers of the women and children: If it be right otherwise, I do not think we should refrain from it, because it is a Native custom. We are told in the Bible that stripes shall be meted out according to faults, and if hanging is sufficient punishment for such wretches, it is also severe for ordinary mutineers. If I had them in my power to-day, and knew that I were to die tomorrow, I would inflict the most excruciating tortures I could think of on them with a perfectly easy conscience". 38

Nicholson quotes the Bible. How one wishes that while commending the torture of the murderers of women and children, somebody would have repeated to him the famous admonition of Jesus Christ: "He who is without sin among you, let him cast the first stone at her". But though his proposed Bill for torture was not passed, Nicholson's ideal was translated into practice. Lieut. Majendie, an eye-witness, tells us how the Sikhs and Europeans together, after repeatedly bayoneting a wounded prisoner in the face, burnt him alive over a slow fire:

"The horrible smell of his burning flesh as it cracked and blackened in the flames, rising up and poisoning the air—so in this nineteenth century, with its boasted civilisation and humanity, a human being should lie roasting and consuming to death, while Englishmen and Sikhs, gathered in little knots around, looked calmly on. No one will deny, I think, that this man, at least, adequately expiated, by his frightful and cruel death, any crimes of which he may have been guilty”.[39]

Sir Henry Cotton was told by a military officer that one day his Sikh soldiers requested him to come and see the mutineers who were captured by them. He went and found “these wretched Muhammadans at their last gasp, tied to the ground, stripped of their clothing, and deeply branded over every part of their bodies from head to foot with red-hot coppers”.[40]

Russell observes: “All these kinds of vindictive, unchristian, Indian torture, such as sewing Mahomedans in pig-skins, smearing them with pork-fat before execution and burning their bodies, and forcing Hindus to defile themselves, are disgraceful”[41] To the same category belongs the policy, systematically followed by Neill, of burning all the dead bodies of Muslims and burying those of the Hindus, so that both might suffer eternal perdition.[42]

The cruelties perpetrated during the revolt of 1857 and the psychology behind them make painful reading. But they form an essential part of the story and cannot be ignored. It will serve no useful purpose to draw a veil over them. Nor is there any adequate reason why we would refuse to face realities. They have a great lesson for humanity. They prove, if proof were needed, that the much-vaunted culture of the progressive world is only skin-deep,_ whether that skin is black or white, belongs to the spiritual east or materialistic west, to the civilised Europe or backward Asia. The century that has elapsed since the memorable event has added fresh evidence to support this view. Mankind would do well to ponder over this—that only a very thin line demarcates human being from an animal. The atrocities of 1857 should be remembered lest we forget this unpleasant but unescapable truth. Nothing is to be gained by ignoring or suppressing it. There may be some hope for the future if the naked realities of the grim tragedy touch our conscience to the quick and make us strive for a radical change in our outlook.

The tale of atrocities also demonstrates how little one can rely even upon the great English historians of the Mutiny. Thus G. B. Malleson, who superseded Kaye and completed the Official History of the Mutiny, observes:

I am anxious to say a word or two to disabuse the minds of those who may have been influenced by rumours current at the period as to the.nature of the retaliation dealt out to the rebels by the British soldiers in the hour of their triumph. I have examined all those rumours—I have searched out the details attending the storming of Delhi, of Lakhnao, and of Jhansi—and I can emphatically declare that, not only was the retaliation not excessive, it did not exceed the bounds necessary to ensure the safety of the conquerors. But beyond the deaths he inflicted in fair fight, the British soldier perpetrated no unnecessary slaughter.” 43

Malleson wrote this in 1892 when all the facts mentioned in this chapter were published. We must therefore suppose that Malleson

either did not care to acquaint himself with all the published facts, or deliberately perverted the truth,—both being very seno s mishes on the part of a historian. _ 1

I. Malleson, The Indian Mutiny of 1857, p. 78.

3] Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya, Bidrohe Bangali, 144.

5 ! Russel^ 1 Sir W^H., My Diary in India in the year 1858-9, pp. ^21-2.

6. Kaye—I, II. 368.

7. Kaye—1» II. 235-6.

8. Kaye—I, II. 269.

9. Ball, I. 257.

10. Holmes, 220-1.

II. Siege, 59-60.

12. Kaye—I, H. 491.

12a. See pp. 486-7.

J dhtct‘fak^o<&™ No^reliance can be placed on Nanakchand for stated above (o 480). While there is no doubt about the massacre, the SSX2*attributed to Nana, rest upon venr Sufficient evidence Dr. S. N. Sen has also come to the same conclusion,

after an elaborate discussion (Sen, 158-60). , - ctill two

1 e gall I 390. As regards Neill s statement about pool of blood still tw

‘ inches deep” and “the mutilation of women”, reference may be the

following statement of Sherer who was one of the first ™ ;th

after the massacre: “The whole of the pavement was thickly caked with blood. Surely this is enough, without saying ‘the clottyd gore lay anlde deep/ which, besides being most distressing, is absolutely incorrect . Of mutilation, in that house at least, there were no signs, nor at that time was there any writing on the walls” (Sen, 160).

16. Martin, R. Montgomery, The Indian Empire, II. 449.

17. Ibid, 450.

18. Kaye—I, III. 636.

19. Kaye—I, HI. 637.

20. Holmes, 398. . _

21 Frederick Cooper, The Crisis in the Punjab ,

22. Ibid, 157-64.

23. Ibid, 107-8.

24. Holmes, 363. ______

25. Thompson, E., The other side of the Medal , 66.

26. Cooper, op. cit, 167.

27. Thompson, op. cit. 66.

28. Siege, 201.

29. Cooper, op. cit., 149.

30. Coopland, 243.

31. Majendie, Major VJ>., Up among the Pandies, p. ±87.

32. Ibid, 205.

33. Martin, op. cit., II. 485.

34. Majendie, op. cit., pp. 195-6.

35. Thompson, op. cit., 73-4. ■ „,. A , . __ _ TT __

36. Chaplain's Narrative of the Siege of Delhi , quoted m Kaye—I, II. 581.

37. Kaye—I, II. 581.

38. Thompson, op. cit., 43.

39. Majendie, op. cit., 187.

40. Cotton, H. Indian and Home Memories, 143.

41. Russell, op. cit., II. 42-3.

42. MS. L., Vol. 176, p. 635.

43. G. B. Malleson, The Indian Mutiny of 1857, 4th Edition, London, 1892. pp. 405-6. The book was first published in 1890.

CHAPTER XX

THE NATURE OF THE OUTBREAK OF 1857

1. The alleged conspiracy

Divergent opinions have been expressed regarding the nature of the great outbreak of 1857. Volumes have been written on this subject, both by contemporary and later writers, and it is almost an impossible task to deal in detail with the different views and arguments advanced to support them.

These views may be broadly divided into two classes. Some think that the outbreak was really a rebellion of the people rather than merely a mutiny of the soldiers. Others hold that it was primarily and essentially a mutiny of sepoys, though in certain areas it drifted into a revolt of the people. Among contemporary writers, the first has been discussed at length by John Bruce Norton in a book entitled Topics /or Indian Statesmen, and the second by Charles Raikes in his Notes on the 'revolt in North-Western Province of India, both published in 1858.

That the second view had a large body of supporters among Englishmen, immediately after the suppression of the Mutiny, will be evident from the following extract from an article in the Edinburgh Review (April, 1859): “Throughout its whole progress it has faithfully retained the character of a military revolt...Except in the newly annexed state of Oude it has not been taken up by the population. Now it is this circumstance which has saved India to Englishmen”. The Times also expressed similar views. 1 On the other hand, a large number of English writers, such as Duff, Malleson, Kaye and Ball subscribed to the first view and represented the outbreak of 1857 as an organized campaign to drive away the British from India. It is, however, significant that all the contemporary Indian writers, some of whom occupied very high positions in public life, unanimously held the second view and looked upon the outbreak as essentially a military insurrection. Thus Kishorichand Mitra, an eminent Bengali, writing in 1858, says: “The insurrection is essentially a military insurrection. It is the revolt of a lac of sepoys.. .It has nothing of the popular element in it. The proportion of those who have joined the rebels sinks into nothingness when compared with those whose sympathies are enlisted with the Government. While the former may be counted by thousands, the latter may be counted by millions.” 2 The same view was expressed by Sambhu Chandra

Mukhopadhyaya, 3 and Harish Chandra Mukherji, 4 two eminent Bengali public men, and Sir Syed Ahmad, 6 who himself played an important role in the outbreak, as mentioned above, and rose to high distinction as the leader of the Indian Musalmans in the nineteenth century. Reference has already been made to the writings of three contemporary Indians 6 who were eye-witnesses of the events in Delhi and Bareilly. We have also the writings of one Bengali, 7 who was in Varanasi on pilgrimage, when the sepoys broke out into mutiny there, and also a few casual references in the autobiography of Rajnarain Basu, who is regarded as the father of nationalism in Bengal and to whom reference will be made later. None of them felt any sympathy for the mutinous sepoys or the cause they represented, and all looked upon them as evil-doers rather than fighters for freedom. No reference is made by any of them to any popular support behind the mutiny. Godse Bhatji, a Marathi who travelled over North India during the outbreak, also expressed similar views. 7 ®

Both the British Indian Association and the Muhammadan Association of Calcutta passed resolutions on the outbreak of the Mutiny, denouncing it and trusting that it would meet with ‘no sympathy, countenance or support from the bulk of the civil population.’ 71 *

In contrast with the contemporary Indians, their descendants of the present day look upon the outbreak of 1857 as a general revolt of the people, and what is more curious, accuse the Englishmen of deliberately misrepresenting the great popular rebellion as a mutiny. It will be quite clear from what has been said above, that there is not the least truth in this accusation. The divergence of views did not follow any racial line, at least at the beginning, save that, so far as available evidence goes, it was the Indians, and not the Englishmen of the time, who unanimously represented or misrepresented the outbreak as essentially a mutiny. That this was the general view of even eminent Indian statesmen down to the end of the nineteenth century is proved by the statement recorded by Dadabhai Naoroji that "the people in India not only had no share in it (the Mutiny), but were actually ready at the call of the authorities to rise and support them." 7c

Today the Indians, generally speaking, subscribe to the views of Norton and his followers. Indeed, since the beginning of the present century, the pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme, and most Indians not only look upon the outbreak of 1857 as a great revolt of the people, but go even further and claim it to be the first 'Indian War of Independence.' This view has been made popular by the publication of a book with the above title by Sri V. D. Savarkar, an eminent Indian patriot, who played a very prominent part in India's struggle for freedom in the present century, and suffered much for his activities in the hands of the British authorities. A general revolt or a war of independence necessarily implies or presupposes a definite plan and organization. This is admitted in the latest edition of Savarkar's book where it is stated, about the outbreak of 1857, that the "national minded leaders and thinkers have regarded it as a planned and organised political and military rising aimed at destroying the British power in India". 8 Further, such an organization implies a pre-concerted conspiracy or plot to drive out the British. It is, therefore, necessary to discuss in detail how far the available evidence proves the existence of any organization in India, political or military, resulting from a secret plot or conspiracy, prior to 1857.

Among the British historians of the Mutiny, Malleson held the most definite view about the conspiracy, and conceived a very clear picture of it in his mind. He has dealt with it in his book The Indian Mutiny of 1857, Chapter

II, entitled “The Conspirators”. The conspirators, in his opinion, were Maulavi Ahmadulla of Faizabad, Nana Sahib, and the Rani of Jhansi, who had entered into negotiations before the explosion of 1857. It will appear from the preceding narrative that there is not the least justification for this view. The circumstances under which Bahadur Shah, Nana Sahib, Kunwar Singh, and the Rani of Jhansi cast in their lot with the mutinous sepoys, are sufficient to expose the hollowness of the whole theory.

The only evidence brought forward in support of a general conspiracy against the British is the statement of Sitaram Bawa before H. B. Devereux, Judicial Commissioner of Mysore, on January 18, 1858. According to Sitaram’s evidence there were four conspiracies in each of which a large number of ruling princes of India were involved. The first was begun by Baiza Bai, the grandmother of the Sindhia, about the year 1837. The second was planned by the Mysore Raja after or shortly before the outbreak of the* Mutiny, with the object of restoring a number of ex-ruling princes to their thrones. The Holkar, Nana Sahib and other grekt princes were members of this conspiracy. Then came the conspiracy of the Raja of Satara in 1857 of which the details are not given. The last was the conspiracy which resulted in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, and the general revolt which followed. Nana who planned this wrote letters 'about three years ago’ (i.e. in 1854) to Baiza Bai and to all the other States.

“All this was communicated by the Nana to Baiza Bai and to all the other States—to Holkar, Scindia, Assam (or Burma), Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Kolah Boonder—Jhalawar—Rewah—Baro<Ja—

Kutch—Bhooj, Nagpur, to the Ghonds of Chanda (and doubtless Sambalpur) to Hyderabad, Sorapoor, Kolapoor, Sattara, Indore, in fact he did not leave out any place where there was a native prince. He wrote to all... .He (Raja of Travancore) is the only one who did not at all agree. Until Oude was annexed, Nana Sahib did not get answers lrom any one; but when that occurred, many began to take courage and to answer him. The plot among the sepoys first took place the discontent about the greased cartridges. Then answers began to pour in. Golab Singh, of Jummoo, was the first to send an answer. He said that he was ready with men, money* and arms, and he sent money to Nana Sahib, through one of the Lucknow Soukars". 9

All this raises grave suspicion about the real value of the whole evidence. Though these conspiracies were going on for about twenty years and so many big rulers were involved, yet no other evidence has so far come to light about any of them. Nothing is known about the Raja of Mysore's great conspiracy from any other sources, and the British Government, in spite of the positive assertion of Sitaram Bawa about it, took no steps against him or even made any enquiry about it.

Fortunately, we have some means of testing the statement about Baiza Bai who is said to have begun the conspiracy twenty years back, and finally matured it with the help of Nana Sahib in 1857. When the Rao Sahib, Rani of Jhansi, and Tantia Topi captured Gwalior, as stated above, 10 the Ranis and the principal Sardars of Gwalior proceeded to the fort of Nurwa, 30 miles from Gwalior. Rao Sahib pressed Baiza Bai to come and take the charge of affairs. He wrote to her: "All is well here. Your going from hence, was not, to my thinking, right. I have already written to you, but have received no answer. This should not be. I send this letter by Ramjee Chowley Jemdar. Do come and take charge of your seat of Government. It is my intention to take Gwalior, only to have a meeting and go on. This is my purpose. Therefore it is necessary that you should come making no denial". "The Baija Bai sent the letter to Sir Robert Hamilton, who was with Brigadier Smith's force, which was advancing on Gwalior from Sipree by the Jhansi Road". 11 Bahadur Shah also wrote two letters to Baiza Bai asking her to join the revolt, but she replied to neither of them. 12 All this shows the stuff of which Baiza Bai was made, and discredits the whole story of her long-drawn intrigue for over twenty years.

As regards the part played by Nana, it would appear from what has been said above that it is extremely unlikely that he had even any understanding with the sepoys at Kanpur before they mutinied. According to Sitaram, Nana entered into a secret understanding with the King of Delhi that while the latter would be the Emperor of Hindusthan, the former would be his Dewan. According to the statement of Ahsanulla, the most trusted adviser of Bahadur Shah, he had no previous understanding with Nana Sahib, Kunwar Singh or Rani of Jhansi. 13 As a matter of fact, there cannot be the least doubt, from what has been said above, that Bahadur Shah had nothing to do with the mutiny of the sepoys and, though forced to assume their leadership, was always loyal to the British and carried on secret and treasonable negotiations with them for his personal benefit. 14

It is to be noted that Sitaram gives all the credit of organizing the conspiracy to Nana's guru Dassa Bawa, and none to Nana. As a matter of fact, he expressly states that Nana was a worthless fellow and was entirely a tool in the hands of Dassa Bawa. This man, aged 125 years, got enormbus riches from Nana by playing a trick upon him by his Hanuman horoscope, and yet he is said to have been the ablest leader in whole Hindusthan and had "the conduct of the whole affairs" in connection with the rising of the sepoys in his hands. He matured the plan of the rising with Baiza Bai as early as 1851 A.D. Sitaram not only knew the secret conspiracies of all the leading princes of India, but even the plans of the campaign, viz., the striking of the first blow at Banaras with the help of the Raja of Rewa, and then marching against Calcutta. 16

All this grandiloquent talk of Sitaram Bawa about his knowledge of everybody and everything shows the stuff he was made of. No reliance ought to be placed on any of his statements without corroboration from other sources.

We may now consider the question of Bahadur Shah's conspiracy with Persia, of which much has been made by Kaye, Duff, Norton, Malleson and others in support of their theory of a general conspiracy to drive out the English from India.

We may begin by quoting a passage from a book of Syed Ahmad, who had ample opportunities of knowing Bahadur Shah's character and personality, and, being himself a Muslim, was not likely to make any disparaging remark about the last of the Mughuls in Delhi, unless he were convinced of its truth. Referring to Bahadur Shah's correspondence with the Shah of Persia, he observes:

“I do not consider it a matter for surprise that the ex-King of Delhi should have despatched a firman to the King of Persia. Such was the credulity of the former, that had anybody told him that the King of Genii, in fairyland, owed him fealty, he would unhesitatingly have believed him, and have written ten firmans instead of one”. 16

It is not surprising therefore that Bahadur Shah was easily induced to write a letter to the Shah of Persia, detailing his grievances against the English. For Bahadur Shah was assured that the Prince Boyal of Persia had occupied Bushire and would soon advance by way of Kabul and Kandahar to Delhi and restore him tQ his ancestral throne. As Ahsanulla stated, many Chiefs, including Bahadur Shah, were of opinion that if the Emperor of Russia were to aid the Persians, the English would be defeated and the Persians would become master of India. There were also wild rumours to the effect that a hundred thousand Russians were coming to India.

Reference may be made in this connection to a proclamation in the name of the King of Persia, copies of which were put up on the walls of the Jama Masj id and at the entrances to the streets and lanes of Delhi. The substance of the proclamation is that it was a religious obligation on all true Muslims to assist the King of Persia and fight against the English. The proclamation also stated that the Persian King would very soon come to India and annex this country as a dependency. 17 It is to be noted that the proclamation does not mention the name of Bahadur Shah, nor refers in any way to an alliance between him and the King of Persia.

On a careful consideration of all the facts and statements it appears that there are no good grounds to believe that there was any conspiracy between Bahadur Shah and the King of Persia with a view to drive out the British from India. 18 The utmost that can be said is that Persian alliance was desired by the former, and there was a sort of vague feeling current in Delhi, at least in the higher circle, that Persian invasion of India, backed by Russian support, was imminent. The royal family hoped that such an invasion might ruin, the British. This very fact shows how little these people knew of the international situation, and what little value is to be attached to the so-called conspiracy of Bahadur Shah with Persia and Russia. If Bahadur Shah really entertained any such design we can only regard him as a man ignorant of the affairs of the world and having a very poor statesmanship. Sir Syed Ahmad goes even further as the following remarks would show: “Nor is there the slightest reason for thinking that the rebels in Hindusthan received any aid from Russia or from Persia. As between Roman Catholics and Protestants, so between the Mussulman of Persia and of Hindustan, cordial co-operation is impossible”. 19

THE NATURE OF THE OUTBREAK OF 1857 2. The Chapatis

The wide circulation of chapatis, just before the outbreak of 1857, is regarded by many as an important evidence in favour of an organized conspiracy and, as such, requires some detailed notice.

The chapati (small unleavened bread) is the staple food of a large section of people in India who do not take rice. It is proved on indisputable authority that about the beginning of the year 1857, chapatis were passed on from village to village over a very wide area. The method of circulation has been described by various persons. Here is a typical example: “One of the Choukidars of Cawnpore ran to another in Fategarh, the next village, and placing in his hand two chapatis .directed him to make ten more of the same kind, and give two of them to each of the five nearest Chowkidars, with instructions to perform the same service.” Though the distributing agencies varied, the process was very nearly the same in all cases. The circulation was often remarkably quick and, according to one authority, ten days more than sufficed for every village Chowkidar to have received and distributed it.

A searching examination of many witnesses revealed the very interesting fact that nobody knew anything definite about either the object of the circulation of the chapatis or the original source from which the idea originated. 20 Some believed that it was intended as a preventive against epidemic or a propitiatory observance to avert some impending calamity. Some thought that the chapatis were circulated by the Government in order to force Christianity on the people. Some held the exactly opposite view, viz., that the chapatis were circulated to preserve unpolluted the religion which the Government proposed to subvert. Others held that it was meant to sound a note of alarm and preparation—a forerunner of some universal popular outbreak. It was also believed that the chapati was a sort of charm.

Sitaram Bawa, whose evidence about a wide-spread conspiracy against the British has been referred to above, gave out that Dassa Bawa, the Gutu of Nana, prepared these magic cakes and told him (Nana) that as far as they should be carried, so far should the people be on his side.

In view of this wide diversity of opinions it is puerile to attach any importance to the chapatis in connection with the outbreak of 1857. For even if it be taken for granted that the chapatis were deliberately designed by some as a signal for the outbreak, we may safely assert that it was certainly not understood by the people as such. It seems, therefore, to be certain that the large circulation of chapatis cannot be regarded as a primary or even contributory cause of the great outbreak of 1857. The same thing may be said

of lotus like chapati.

3. Sepoy Organization

In view of the preceding discussion we may dismiss the idea that the sepoys were merely tools in the hands of a few conspirators. There mSt have been factors or agencies to excite or incite them,

the mutiny was the work of the sepoys themselves. It is therefore nectary, to investigate whether there was any organization among the sepoys of different localities, and if so, what was then

nature and extent.

As noted above, the mutinous sepoys at Mirat set the e^P 1 ® of killing Europeans, burning their houses, and then marc 1 g straight to Delhi; and this formed the general pattern ofmu my that took place in other cantonments at later dates. Pnma facie, it seems to be the result of a previous understanding. This is s ppo"ed by the following statement of Ahsanulla: “The Volunteer Regiment (38th N.I.) of Delhi said, that before ^ breaking out of the Mutiny, they had leagued with the troops at Mirat, and tha the latter had correspondence with the troops m all other places, so that from every cantonment troops would arrive at Delhi.

“After the defection of the native army, I understood that letters were received at Delhi, from which it was evident that they had beforehand made common cause among themselves. The muti neers at Delhi also wrote to other regiments requesting them to

come over.The usual draft of letters addressed by the

Delhi mutineers was this: ‘So many of us have come in here, do you also, according to your promise, come over here quickly’. Before their defection the native troops had settled it among themselves to kill all Europeans, including women and children, in every

cantonment”. 21

Some other witnesses in the trial of Bahadur Shah also heard reports or rumour about a previous agreement between the sepoys of Delhi and Mirat. On the other hand, Munshi Mohanlal makes the following Statement: “I heard from two sepoys that the mutineers at Meerut had not at first any idea of coming to Delhi. This was settled after a long discussion, when the advantages of this course, (which are explained in details) appeared to be very great” 22 Sir John Lawrence says that Mohanlal’s statement was corroborated by extensive and minute inquiries. He also adds that “the general voice (of the Meerut mutineers) at first was for seeking refuge in

Rohilkhand”, and “that a large party of these troopers actually fled through Delhi into the Gurgaon district the very next day”. 20

In view of this conflicting evidence, it is necessary to lay stress on a few points which are definitely known and are likely to throw light on the point at issue. In the first place, there was correspondence between sepoys of different parts of India regarding the greased cartridges. In particular, the disbanded regiments of Barrackpur took good care to intimate their views to the sepoys of distant cantonments, and even threatened them, saying: “If you receive these cartridges, intermarriage and eating and drinking in common shall cease between yourselves and us”. 24

Secondly, the fact that sepoys all over an extensive area broke into mutiny within a month or two indicates some sort of previous negotiations and understanding. At the same time it is necessary to remember, that there was no simultaneous rising of the sepoys on a particular date, that the sepoys in many places were either steady in their loyalty or hesitant for a long time, and ultimately yielded only to persuasion, pressure or the sudden impulse of the moment. A concrete example is furnished by the statement of Ameen Khan, son of Kareem Khan, a sepoy of the 12th N.I. posted at Jhansi at the time of the Mutiny: "One man whose name is not known to me, a servant or a relation of some one in my regiment, brought a chit from Delhi stating that the whole army of the Bengal Presidency had mutinied, and as the Regiment stationed at Jhansi had not done so, men composing it were outcastes or had lost their faith. On the receipt of this letter the four ringleaders, above alluded to, prevailed upon their countrymen to revolt and to carry out their resolution". 25

These considerations support the statement of Ahsanulla that the plan of the mutineers had not been matured and, in particular, no date had been fixed when the sepoys broke out at Mirat. He is probably also not far from truth, when he attributes the premature rising at Mirat to one of the two causes, namely, "either the Mirat troops were too precipitate, or the Government behaved severely towards them". Ahsanulla also held the view that the native army mutinied of their own accord, and not at the instigation of any chief, because in the latter case the mutineers would have either themselves proceeded to join their instigator or caused him to join them. 26

On the whole, it appears very probable that there was secret discussion among leading sepoys in various cantonments, and the suggestion of a concerted rising in case the greased cartridges were forced upon them found favour with many. No definite plan or organization was adopted, and the rank and file were not- yet taken into confidence, at least in many cantonments. Whether, in course of time, a full-fledged conspiracy would have been evolved out of these loose talks and vague suggestions, nobody can say, but certainly that state was not reached when the sepoys at Mirat mutinied on May 10. This view is fully supported by the following observations of Sir John Lawrence in a minute dated 19 April, 1858:

"If there was, indeed, a conspiracy in the country, and that conspiracy extended to the army, how can it be reasonably explained why none of those who adhered to our cause were acquainted with the circumstance? However small may be the number of our adherents when compared with those that took part against us, the actual number of the former is considerable. Many of these men remained true under all trials, others again died fighting on our side. None of these people c«an speak of conspiracy in the first instance; none again of the conspirators, who expiated their guilt by the forfeit of their lives, ever made any such confession that I am aware of, though such confession would doubtless have saved their lives. None of the documents or papers which I have seen lead to such an impression".27

Many Europeans thought at the time that the mutiny at Mirat was a blessing in disguise, for if that sudden ebullition had not disturbed the plan of the conspirators, there would have been an organized general outbreak on a fixed date at a fixed hour, and that would have been a far greater peril to the British Empire in India. On the ether hand, one might argue with equal plausibility, that the whole thing would have ended in smoke if the sepoys at Mirat had not forced the pace of the mutiny by their sudden and impulsive action. For, confidential talks, or even mutual understanding among leading sepoys in different cantonments, on current problems affecting them all, should not be regarded as an unusual thing, and there is a wide gap between such loose talks and a definite conspiracy which would demand the supreme sacrifice, on the part of the sepoys, of their lives and every thing else they held dear and near. The question of details, such as the election of a leader or leaders, which had evidently not yet been settled, might have caused a serious rift in the ranks. It is not difficult to imagine, as a possibility if not a strong probability, that while such talks were going on, the initial excitement of the sepoys would have considerably cooled down, particularly as the cartridge question was not difficult of solution, and the incipient conspiracy would die a natural death. An example is more catching than calculated deliberations, and if the events at Mirat had not set it ablaze, the smouldering flame of discontent might have run its course at no distant date. As regards the revolt of civil population, it is possible to take a dispassionate view of its true nature only if one dismisses the idea of a general conspiracy, or even of a concerted action on the part of its so-called leaders like Bahadur Shah, Nana Sahib, Rani of Jhansi, Kunwar Singh and others. Enough has been said above, in Chapter XVII, to indicate its general characteristics, which may be summed up as follows: First, the civil population in each locality revolted only when the British authority had left it and the administrative machinery had completely broken down. The people came to believe that the British Raj was at an end, and merely took advantage of the political vacuum, thus created, to serve their own material interests. Secondly, there was no co-ordination between the different groups of rebels or their leaders except in the very last phase when they were pushed to the corner by the advancing British army. Thirdly, each group or individual leader fought for self-interest and had no allegiance to a common cause. This is strikingly illustrated by the assumption of supreme authority; by Bahadur Shah, as Emperor of Hindusthan, and Nana Sahib as the Peshwa. Sundry other Chiefs declared themselves rulers in their own localities, and though some of them paid nominal allegiance either to Bahadur Shah or to Nana, they all exercised their authority as independent sovereigns. Fourthly, from the very beginning the goonda elements of the population, and particularly the marauding tribes like Gujars, Ranghars etc. took a prominent part in the local risings. Even the ordinary people were animated more by subversive than constructive activities. The result was that plunder, rapine, massacre and incendiarism, on a large scale, directed against the Europeans as well as Indians, mostly characterized these outbreaks. In addition to these, personal vendetta, a desire to gain by force what was lost by legal process, settling old scores, and satisfying personal grudge played a large part in the popular upsurge almost wherever it occurred.

It would be a travesty of truth to describe the revolt of the civil population as a national war of independence. National it certainly was not, for the ‘upsurge of the people’ was limited to a comparatively narrow region of India, comprising at best the greater part of U.P. and a narrow zone to its east, west and south. The whole of Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Rajasthan, and greater parts of the Panjab, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, as well as the whole of India south of the Narmada hardly witnessed any overt act of rebellion on the part of the people.

But even within the narrow zone where the civil population revolted, there were considerable sections who were friendly to the English. The ruling Chiefs in the East Panjab,—Maharajas of Patiala, Nabha and Jhind—,Nawab of Karnal, the Sindhia of Gwalior. Holkar of Indore, the Nawabs of Bhopal and Jawra, the Rajas of Jhabua and Dhar, and the entire landed aristocracy of Bihar, with very few exceptions, firmly and consistently stood by the British Government. Even in Awadh and Rohilkhand, several Chiefs, including the Nawab of Rampur, did the same. One of them, Derigbijah (Digbijay?) Singh, gave shelter to Mowbray Thomson, one of the survivors of the Kanpur massacre, at considerable risk to himself.

Even among the sepoys of the affected areas a certain number remained loyal till the last. Outside the Bengal army, native soldiers as a rule remained loyal or at least did not break out into open mutiny. Their number would be considerable, probably not less than the mutinous sepoys. The Sikhs and the Gurkhas not only remained loyal to the British, but actively helped in recapturing, respectively, Delhi and Lakhnau.

The general attitude of the people towards the English, even in the worst affected areas, was not uniformly hostile. Charles Raikes, who was a Judge at Agra during the Mutiny, bears witness to this,[27a] Apart from his own personal knowledge of the good feelings of the people in May, 1857, he refers to Messrs. Phillipps and Bramly, civil officers of considerable position and experience at Agra, who traversed the country in June, 1857, from Furrukhabad and Etah in the Doab, and from Budaon in Rohilkhand, with a very small escort of three or four horsemen. They had been travelling for nearly a month amongst the villages, and on their arrival at Agra declared, that “the villagers are all on our side, except some of the Mahomedans”. Then Raikes continues:

“During this same entire month of June, Mr. Arthur Cocks, the Judge of Mynpoorie; Mr. Watson, the Magistrate of Allygurh; Dr. Clark, young Mr. Outram of the Civil Service, Mr. Herbert Harington, and a few others heroically maintained their position, at or near Allygurh, after the mutiny and destruction of the station. It was because the people of the country were with and not against us, that this handful of volunteer horsemen were enabled to hold the post amidst the swarms of mutineers passing up the Grand Trunk Road to Delhi. The same thing went on in August and September; generally wherever the sepoys or low Mahomedan rabble were not, the English were safe; some villagers, robbers by prescription, tradition, birth, and education, turned against us; but after the fall of Delhi, and a short taste of anarchy, the bulk of the people were glad to see white face, even in the person of a revenue collector.”

The English-educated classes as a rule not only did not join the movement, but were treated as enemies by the sepoys. This is known from the statements made by two contemporary Bengalis. 28 This view is also supported by Mr. Raikes, who says:

“During the course of the mutiny numerous English scholars who held offices under our Government came in to us at Agra, from Oudh, Rohilkhand, and the Doab. All evinced a spirit of determined loyalty to their British employers, and many suffered death, merely as English scholars, at the hand of the mutineers. A Bengalee Boboo at Furruckabad or Cawnpore was almost in as great peril as a Christian, so long as those cities were in the hands of the rebels. Not that the Baboo had personally any taste for the honours of martyrdom; for to tell the truth, he was

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the veriest coward under the sun, but simply because the sepoy instinctively hated the Englisn scholars, as part and parcel of the English community. But the students of Agra, Furruckabad, Banaras, Delhi or Bareilly, who had been instructed either at the Government or Mission colleges, behaved in a much bolder manner, and often at the risk of their own lives openly declared their adherence to the British cause”. 2 9

There are no good grounds to suppose that the experience recorded by Raikes was exceptional and not' generally applicable to the country as a whole. Reference may be made in this connection to the many stories left on record by the British fugitives themselves, of the sympathy, kindness and active help rendered to them by the Indians, not unoften at grave peril to themselves.

In a book called “Native Fidelity during the Mutiny”, anonymously published in 1858, numerous instances are given of the help which the Indians offered, even at the risk of their own lives, to the helpless English men, women, and children, and this in many cases saved their lives. It is pleasant to recall that even in those days of fierce hatred and animosity against the Indians in general, liberalminded Englishmen fully and freely acknowledged this sympathy and friendly attitude of the Indians towards the British.

The London Times wrote in July, 1857: “The general population has exhibited rather good-will than hostility towards us and in many cases effectual protection has been afforded to fugitives.” Again it wrote: “Out of the whole population of thirty-four millions and a quarter, we do not think more than fifty thousand joined the ranks of the insurgents, and these were headed by chiefs of small note”. 00

Kaye has paid his generous tribute in the following words:—

“But the truth would not be satisfied if it were not narrated here that many compassionate and kindly acts on the part of the natives of the country relieved the darkness of the great picture of national crime. Many of the fugitives were succoured by the people in the rural districts through which they passed, and sent on their way in saftey. In this good work men of all classes, from great landholders to humble sweepers took part, and endangered their own lives by saving those of the helpless Christians”.

Another most significant fact, vouched for by several contemporary Indian writers, was the positive antipathy felt by a large section of Indians to the rebels; they had suffered so much in their hands that many sincerely prayed to God for the early restoration of British rule.i Not only the goonda elements, but even the mutinous sepoys and other rebels, including Chiefs, were guilty of indiscriminate plunder and bloodshed. Many such incidents have been mentioned above. Tantia Topi himeslf has referred to such activities of the sepoys even while they were flying before the English troops. 31

The following incident is reported in the Parliamentary Papers: "In the district of which Gaya was the capital, a zemindar proclaimed that the British Government was at an end, murdered every villager who opposed him, and parcelled out among his followers estates which did not belong to him. Bands of mutineers roamed at will over the country, plundered, destroyed public buildings, levied tribute, and ravished the wives of respectable Hindoos". 32 There are no good grounds to believe that this was an exceptional case.

To complete the picture, reference must be made to the tension between the Hindus and Muslims. Many have cited the outbreak of 1857 as a shining example of the perfect accord and harmony between the two communities. 33 But though the sepoys and the common people of both the communities fought together against the English, we miss that real communal amity which characterizes a national effort. It is a significant fact that the contemporary Englishmen generally regarded the outbreak mainly as a handiwork of the Muslims. Reference may be made to a few opinions out of many. Thus Raikes says: "They (the Muslims) have behaved in the part of India where I had jurisdiction, very ill; so ill indeed that if the rest of the population had sympathized with them, instead of antagonised, I should despair of governing India for the future". He then adds the following in support of his view:

I cannot give a fairer instance of the difference between the conduct of'• the Hindoo and Mahomedan people at the time of the mutiny than was afforded in our own court at Agra. We had numerous Mahomedans and Hindoos, with a sprinkling of Christians, at the bar. With one exception, all the Mahomedan pleaders left the court. One of them, Sufdar Ali by name, was hanged by order of Mr. Harington, for plundering the property of an English officer. The rest gave no assistance whatever to us. The Hindoos, on the contrary, exerted themselves to protect and secure the property of their English judges, preserved our horses and moveable property, and did whatever else they could to show their loyalty and affection. The Mahomedans either deserted us or joined the rebels.

And so it was all over the North-Western Provinces, a Mahomedan was another word for a rebel".34

Raikes is supported by other contemporary Englishmen. Roberts (later Field-Marshal) wrote that he would "show these rascally Musalmans that, with God's help, Englishmen will be masters of India". 36 Mrs. Coopland writes: "As this is completely a Mahomedan rising, there is not much to be feared from the Hindoos of Benaras". 36 Captain P. G. Scot remarks in his Report on the mutiny at Jhansi: "At Nowgong and Jhansi they let the infantry begin the mutiny. I believe the reason was solely that they wished to conceal the character of the movement, viz., its being a Mahomedan one. They were the most blood-thirsty, when the mutiny did break out". 37

A military officer, who took part in the siege of Delhi, writes: "The Mahomedans were generally hostile to us, the Hindoos much less so". This feeling persisted in the official circle even long after the fall of Delhi. Referring to the city of Delhi, the same writer observes: "It was not till the end of November, that the Hindu portion of the population was allowed to return. No Mahomedans could get in at the gates without a special order, and a mark was set upon their houses and they were required to prove their loyalty before getting back again". 33 Sir Alfred Lyall, at that time a young civilian in the Agra Province, "put the whole rebellion down to the Muhammadans". 39 The whole of the English Press in Calcutta regarded it as a Muhammadan rebellion. 40

Even Sir Syed Ahmad indirectly admitted the fact when he said: "The Muslims were in every respect more dissatisfied than the Hindus, and hence in most districts they were comparatively more rebellious, though the latter were not wanting in this respect". 41

Not only the Europeans, but even the Muslims themselves, at least a section of them, believed that they were the senior partner in the great undertaking. This is quite clear from the many Proclamations issued by the Muslim Chiefs who had assumed independent authority in various localities. Reference may be made to the two Proclamations issued by Khan Bahadur

Khan of Barelily, whose activities have been described above. Throughout his Proclamations runs the assumption that while the Muslims were exerting themselves to the utmost, the Hindus were lukewarm in their efforts. Accordingly a bait was offered to the Hindus. “If the Hindoos”, so runs the Proclamation, “shall exert themselves in the murder of these infidels and expel them from the country, they shall be rewarded for their patriotism by the extinction of the practice of the slaughter of the kine”. But it was made abundantly clear that “the entire prohibition of this practice is made conditional upon the complete extermination of the infidels from India. If any Hindoo shall shrink from joining in this cause, the evils of revival of this practice shall recoil upon them”. 42

Thus the great difference between the Hindus and the Muslims loomed large even in the territories where the revolt of the civil population was most widely spread. An attempt was made to minimize the evil by emphasizing the paramount need of unity between the two communities. A Proclamation was issued at Delhi with the royal permission, urging the two communities to unite in the struggle. But the communal spirit was too deeply rooted to be wiped out by mere pious wishes embodied in proclamations. As noted above, 43 there was communal tension even in Delhi, the centre

of the great movement. But it was not confined to that city. We learn from an official report on the night of the mutiny (June, 4) at Varanasi that “news was received that some Mussulmans had determined to raise the Green Flag in the temple of Bishessur... Mr. Lind called on the Rajputs in the city to prevent the insult to their faith. So the Mussulmans retired peacefully.” 44

The communal hatred led to ugly communal riots in many parts of U. P. Green Flag was hoisted and bloody wars were fought between the Hindus and Muslims in Bareilly, Bijnor, Moradabad and other places where the Muslims shouted for the revival of the Muslim

kingdom. 45

The communal discord was supplemented by racial animosity of long standing produced by historical causes. The Muslims in Hyderabad were excited by the events of North India and developed strong anti-British feeling, but they were more hostile to the Marathas and would have gladly fought under the British against Holkar and Sindhia. 46 The Sikhs hated the Mughuls, and joined the British in order to prevent the restoration of Mughul rule under Bahadur Shah. It is on record that high British officials in the Panjab were able to persuade the Sikhs to cast in their lot with them by describing in vivid language the injuries and insults they had suffered in the past in the hands of the Mughul Emperors. Having impressed this point on their mind, they held out before them the grand opportunity they now had of taking full vengeance. There can be hardly any doubt that the Sikhs were largely influenced by such considerations in wholeheartedly offering their services to the British Government. There are good grounds to believe that the same spirit alienated the Rajputs and the Marathas, as they, too, for historical reasons, did not favour the restoration of the Muslim rule. It is to be noted that none of the Rajputs and Maratha Chiefs responded to the invitation of Bahadur Shah, and all the propaganda in Maharashtra was carried on in the name of Nana.

These considerations, as well as the fact that by far the greater part of India was free from any overt act of hostility against the British Government, divest the outbreak of 1857 of a ‘national’ character. We may now proceed to discuss whether it can be regarded as a war of independence, even though restricted to a limited area. In order to reply to this question, it is necessary to have a clear and definite understanding as to the precise meaning of the phrase ‘war of independence.’ There are not a few who seem to think that any fight by any group of Indians against the British must be regarded as a struggle for independence. The validity of this contention may be easily tested by the two specific instances of the grim and prolonged struggle carried on against the British by the Pindaris and the Wahabis, to which reference has been made elsewhere. There is no doubt about the severity of the struggle against the English in each case, backed by an organization to which the outbreak of 1857 could lay no claim. Yet, it would be absurd to maintain that the Pindaris fought for independence of India. As to the Wahabis, they fought heroically against the English with a grim determination to drive them out of India in order to establish a Dar-ul-Islam, or ‘Kingdom of the Muslims’. They began to fight against the Sikhs with the same object, and when the British conquered the Panjab from the

Sikhs, they simply transferred their hostility against the new power. Now, if we regard their fight against the English as a war of independence, by no logic can we withhold this nomenclature from the fight of the Wahabis against the Sikhs. In other words, we are reduced to the absurd position of regarding a war to drive out the Sikhs from the Panjab as an Indian war of independence.

These two examples serve to show that merely a fight against the English, even with the distinct object of driving them away, cannot be regarded as an Indian war of independence. The crucial point is the ultimate object with which such a fight is carried on, or rather the light in which the British are looked upon. It is clear that in the first case the British merely constituted a ruling authority, and the Pindaris would have fought in the same way against any Indian ruling power, if it stood in the way of their loot and plunder, as they did with the English. In the second case, the British were simply nonMuslims who had usurped the Muslim kingdom, and the Wahabis would, as they actually did, fight against any non-Muslim power in India with the same zeal as they showed against the English, if the security of religion demanded it. Thus the fight of the Pindaris and the Wahabis against the English cannot be regarded as struggle for independence, because to them the English stood as a symbol, either of ruling authority or of heretic religion, and not merely of an alien rule. In other words, they did not take up arms with the conscious and definite object of freeing India from foreign rule.

An analysis of historical examples would prove that a struggle for independence must have as its primary object the expulsion of foreign rulers, simply because they are foreigners, though there are usually many grievances against them which rouse the spirit of the people and impel them to such a struggle.

In the detailed picture that has been given above of the popular upsurge, even in Rohilkhand and Awadh, two things emerge quite clearly. In the first place, it had nothing to do with the achievement of independence or freedom from British control, for that task

was already done for the people by the mutinous sepoys. If there was any war, it was for maintaining and not gaining independence

Secondly, during the period of independence, thus gained, there is unimpeachable evidence to show that the people were engaged in all kinds of subversive activities, and individuals, classes, and States were fighting with one another for their own interests. On the other hand, one looks in vain for any evidence to show that the civil population realized the value and importance of the recovery of lost independence, and made an organized and determined effort to maintain it by evolving a suitable plan for defence. Anyone with a modicum of knowledge and common sense must have felt, that the avenging British forces were sure to come, sooner or later, to recover the lost dominions. But contemporary evidence leaves no doubt that many eminent leaders and local Chiefs, who had established their authority, discounted even the very possibility of such a contingency.

It is also a very significant fact that all the Proclamations of the Muslim Chiefs in Awadh and Rohilkhand contain an appeal to the Muslims in the name of their religion, and remind them, on their faith in the Quran, that by fighting against the infidels or paying money to others to fight, they would secure to themselves eternal beatitude. To the Hindus also the appeal was made in the name of their religion, by pointing out how the British Government defiled it by introducing the remarriage of widows, the abolition of Sati, etc. To themative rulers, too, after referring to the annexation of States, appeal was made in the name of religion. “Their designs for destroying your religion, O Rajas, is manifest.. .Be it known to all of you. that if these English are permitted to remain in India, they will butcher you all and put an end to your religion.” 47

It is quite obvious that the idea of a common national endeavour to free the country from the yoke of the British is conspicuous by its absence in these proclamations. Indeed one could hardly expert such an idea in those days from people of this class.

The Proclamation issued at Delhi by the mutineers With the Royal permission 48 also stressed religion as the guiding force of the movement. Reference may be made in this connection to a Proclamation issued by Nana Sahib which has been regarded as ‘unique’. 49 It begins by saying that “the English who are ‘Kaffurs’ haVe been endeavouring to delude and convert the population of this country by inducing them to abandon their own religion and caste, but, having failed by mild means to do this, they were about to use/ force”. Then he goes on to say that “tyranny, wickedness and injustice having been much practised by the ‘Kaffurs’ English on the faithful and sin

fearing, I have been commissioned by God to punish the Kaffurs' by annihilating them and to re-establish the Hindu and Mahomedan kingdoms, as formerly, and to protect our country, and I have conquered the country north of the Nerbuda river”. The Proclamation then refers to the very sad plight of the English. Not only did they lose India north of the Narmada, which was conquered by Nana,, but they were “quarrelling and fighting and killing each other?'; the French and the Russians “have been sending armies by sea these three months past” “to turn them(the English) out of Hindustan”; “the Chinese also have declared war against these ‘Kaffurs’ and the latter having no army to send against the Chinese are much alarmed. The Persians, Afghans and Baluchis moreover are ready with their armies collected to aid us”. This Proclamation only provokes ridicule and contempt by the absurd claims made by Nana, but even taking the best view, Nana here assumes the role of the defender of Hindu religion. As the Proclamation ends with a threat to punish all those who would not join Nana on this occasion to drive away the English, it loses the character of a declaration of war of independence by the people, even if anybody seeks to put this complexion upon it.

There is thus no positive evidence in support of the view that people were inspired by a sense of patriotism to fight for retaining the freedom of the country which they had obtained so cheaply and unexpectedly without having to wage any war. It has been urged that the very fact that the people and the Chiefs fought heroically against the British when the days of retribution came, proves that they fought for independence. But, as has already been pointed out above, mere fight against the British does not constitute a war of independence. One must look to the object of the fight. In the paricular case before us the most obvious inference is that the people fought for retaining what they had wrongfully secured, and avoiding chastisement, unless there is clear evidence to show that they were inspired by patriotism or any such noble and disinterested motive. The protracted or heroic character of the resistance against the avenging British forces cannot, by itself, be regarded as such evidence. For the people had burnt their boats and had only two alternatives before them, either to fight or lose everything, including their lives in many cases. Besides, the incredible and indiscriminate cruelty with which the masses were treated by the British must have told the. people what to expect from them, and stiffened their backs.

Until 1957, the view that the outbreak of 1857 was the first national war of independence in India rested generally on sentimental effusion, and was not critically considered with reference to his

torical facts. In that year an eminent historian, Dr. S. N. Sen, has lent his qualified support to it. As such it deserves a more detailed consideration, even in a general work on Indian history, than would otherwise have been necessary.

Dr S N. Sen has observed: “What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the King of Delhi was the rightful representative”. 60 It is not quite clear whether this remark applies to the Mutiny or the revolt of the civil population, or both. In any case, it is difficult to accept this view unless we believe that any fight against the English is to be construed as a war of independence, a point t a has already been discussed above. Besides, it is to be remembered that when the civil population began to fight against the English, Bahadur Shah had long been a prisoner in the hands of the British, and had even ceased to be a symbol.

Immediately after the sentence quoted above, Dr. Sen observes that “in Oudh, however, the revolt assumed a national dimension”, though, as he himself points out, “the term must be used in a limited, sense, for the conception of Indian nationality was yet in embryo.

The basis for his view is his belief that “the patriots of Oudh fought for their king and country”, although, as he admits, “they were not champions of freedom” 52 Unfortunately, he did not develop this very important idea in the body of his book with full reference to facts and figures, but made this remark in the course of a brief review at the very end. In particular, he does not make it quite clear whether he regards the Chiefs and people of Awadh as patriots because they fought for their king and country, or whether he regarded as patriots only those who fought for their king and country. But, then, he does not give us any idea of their number. In any case, the main argument in support of this view seems to be the spirited reply Of Muhammad Hasan to the letter of Sheikh Khairuddin. 53 As mentioned above, Hasan maintained that the rebellion of the Chiefs and peoples of Hindustan "arose solely out of the annexation of Oude. Had that not taken place there would have been no bloodshed, because no defection of the Chiefs, who would have on the contrary inflicted chastisement on the sepoys". Later, Hasan maintains that the "servants and dependants of the King of Oude," among whom he includes himself, looked upon the fight against the English as "essential to our prosperity in both worlds". But it is not easy to understaiid why the princes and people of Hindusthan, living outside the dominion of Awadh, would find themselves in the same predicament. Such a general statement shows that Hasan assumed

the outbreak of 1857 to be a war for independence of Awadh and not of India, and his generalisation, even if restricted to the Chiefs and people of Awadh, may justly be regarded as suspect. We know of another chief, Beni Madho, who, when asked to surrender, agreed to evacuate the fort, presumably because he looked upon it as his property, but refused to surrender his person, as he was a subject of the Nawab of Aw r adh and not of the British Government. There is nothing to show how far any of them represented correctly the views of the rebels as a body or indeed of any one but himself. But besides these two personal statements there are no other facts or documents to prove that 'the patriots of Oudh' fought for their king and country. On the other hand, there are certain considerations which strongly militate against this view. Only a year before the Mutiny the King of Awadh was ignominiously driven from his country, but 'the patriots of Oudh' did not raise even their little finger on behalf of their king or country. Even if it be assumed that they had developed their love for their king and the country almost overnight, or that the Mutiny gave them an opportunity to display their loyalty and patriotism which they dared not show before, should not one expect to see them all flocking in a body to join the force of the Begam of Awadh and concert measures of defence without any other thought in their minds? But as shown above, this was far from being the case. By far the large majority of the people and chiefs, formed into isolated groups, were busy securing their own interests, and even Hasan himself remained loyal and friendly to the English until, as he says, he received the peremptory command of his Chief. Many, if not most, of the Chiefs threw in their lot with the rebels only when the retreat of Havelock convinced them that the British Raj was doomed.

If one concedes the claim that *the patriots of Oudh' fought for their king and country alone, they are automatically excluded from the general war of independence, if there were any outside this area. As Muhammad Hasan clearly says: "My business is with the King of Oude". As regards Rohilkhand, the only other prominent area affected by the revolt, Dr. Sen himself admits that the "masses in the district (of Bijnor) were not behind the revolt, and the movement there had degenerated into communal strife. Moradabad, for all practical purposes, was under the control of the loyal Nawab of Rampur. Even in the rest of the province the new regime was not popular." 54 He accepts the view that the recruits of the rebel chief, Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, "w r ere attracted by prospects of employment and had no enthusiasm for any particular cause. Thousands of poor people flocked to the British camp for the same reason. The common folk went wherever they could find employment". 56

The state of things in the North-West Provinces, as a whole, as described by him, was not much different, and Bihar was very slightly affected. This detailed analysis as well as that of other parts of India 66 hardly supports his general conclusion ajjout the war of independence. He contends "that only a determined minority takes an active part in a revolt or revolution", and argues, 'that if such minority is backed by the sympathy of a substantial majority the movement may claim a national status.' But he himself adds that such general sympathy was lacking outside Awadh and Shahabad. 67 The case of Awadh has already been discussed. Shahabad is too email an area to decide the question one way or the other.

It would thus appear that the outbreak of the civil population in 1857 may be regarded as a war of independence only if we take that term to mean any sort of fight against the British. But, then, the fight of the Pindaris against the English 68 and the fight of the Wahabis against the Sikhs in the Panjab should also be regarded as such. Those who demur to it should try to find out how much the rebels in 1857 were prompted by motives of material interest and religious considerations which animated, respectively, the Pindaris and the Wahabis, and how much by the disinterested and patriotic motive of freeing the country from the yoke of foreigners. Apart from individual cases, here and there, no evidence has yet been brought to light which would support the view that the patriotic motive of freeing the country formed the chief incentive to the general outbreak of the people. It is therefore difficult to regard the outbreak of 1857 as a war of independence, far less a national movement of this type, at least in the present state of our knowledge.

In conclusion, attention may be drawn to the rebellion of Surendra Sai at Sambalpur'in 1827 69 and that of the Santals in 1856. 60 If the later rebellion of the same Surendra Sai in 1857 for the same cause and carried on in the same manner may be regarded as a war of independence, there is no reason why the earlier rebellion should not be honoured by the same epithet. As regards the Santal rebellion, it would bear comparison with that of Shahabad 61 in 1857-8, as regards the intensity of anti-British spirit, organization, and geographical area. If, therefore, the isolated outbreaks in 1857 in different areas are to be regarded as war of independence, it is difficult to deny the same honour to the arduous struggle carried on by the Santals or Surendra Sai, and perhaps many others described in Chapter XIV. The outbreak of 1857 has, therefore, little claim to be hailed as the first war of independence.

On the whole, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the socalled First National Waf of Independence of 1857 is neither First, nor National, nor a War of Independence.

1. The relevant passages from these two British Journals are quoted in the Krishtadas Pal (p. 126) by N. Ghosh, as well as in the book (p. 1) referred to in the next footnote.

2. The Mutinies, the Government and the People by a Hindu (Calcutta, 1858). Though anonymous, it is now known to be the work of Kishorichand Mitra.

3. The Mutinies and the People or Statements of Native Fidelity exhibited during the outbreak of 1857-8, by a -Hindu (Calcutta, 1859). Though anonymous, it is now known to be the work of Sambhuchandra Mukhopadhyaya.

4. Bengal Celebrities, p. 75.

5. SAK, xvi.

6. Jiwanlal Munshi, Moinuddin, and Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya, mentioned above, pp. 506, 510, 519.

7. Jadunath Sarvadhikari, in his Bengali book, Tirtha-bhramana (Pilgrimage), gives a long account of the mutiny and describes the oppression of the people by the sepoys in Vanarasi and other neighbouring places.

7a. He recorded his impressions in a book entitled Majha Prabas (My Journey), which commenced in March, 1857, and took him to various theatres of military operations. I am indebted to Dr. A. D. Pusalker for having translated for me relevant portions of this Marathi book in English.

7b. Griffiths, p. 259.

7c. Ibid.

8. Publisher's Note in the Edition of 1947. p. vii.

9. Ms. L., p. 1117. Some extracts are quoted in Kaye-I, 579 and also Majumdar, 184-7.

10. See pp. 582-3.

11. Forrest-II, IV. 153.

12. TB. 263.

13. Majumdar, 126-7.

14. See pp. 505-6.

15. Cf. Extracts, D and E, Majumdar, 185-6.

16. SAK, 4.

17. TB, 121, .191 ff. Roberts-II, 426.

18< The whole question has been discussed in Majumdar, 192 ff. According to CHBFP (II 414 ff), the ‘curious theory of an alliance between Bahadur Shah and Persia has no historical basis to rest upon, and does not deserve serious consideration’.

19. SAK, 4.

20. For the different views about the origin and object of the chapatis, cf. Kaye-I, I. 632 ff. and the evidence given during the trial of Bahadur Shah (TB). Dr. P.C. Gupta has dealt with it in detail in J.N. Banerjea Volume, pp. 254 - 5 .

21. TB, 253-4.

22. Ms. L. Vol. 725, pp. 387 ff. Also cf. Lawrence’s Minute, dated 19 ApriL 1858. (AS. I, 111.).

23. AS, I. 111.

24. Kaye—I, I. 653.

25. BPP, LXXVI, Part I, p. 63.

26. TB, 255.

27. AS, I. 110-12.

27a. For his views quoted, cf. Raikes, 156 ff.

28. Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya and Jadunath Sarvadhikari (see f.n., 6 and £);

29. Raikes, 137.

30. See f. n., 1.

31. For concrete instances, cf. Majumdar, 178.

32. Quoted in Holmes, 451.

33. Cf. Maulan'a Azad’s view in Sen, xvii.

34. Raikes, 175.

35. Roberts—I, 119.

36. Coopland, 104.

37. Forrest—II, IV, Appendix A, p. 1.

38. Siege. 279-80.

39. Lovett, A History oj Indian Nationalist Movement , p. lb.

40. Canning (R.I.), 162.

41. SAK, 9.

42. Kaye— I, III. 288.

43. See pp. 513-14.

44. Narrative, L 34.

45. See pp. 519-22.

46. H. G. Briggs, The Nizam , II. 84-6. . , ,

47. Kaye—I, III. 290 ff. In addition to the two Proclamations of Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly, we possess copies of Proclamations issued by

Bargis Qaor of Awadh and Liaqat Ali of Allahabad, all urging the Muslims to rise against the English in the name of religion. The Proclamation issued under the seal of Bargis Qadr, Wall of Awadh, addressed to "all the Muslims residing in Oudh, Rampur, Moradabad, etc." begins with a quotation from the Quran from which it draws the conclusion that friendship with Christians is heresy and hence it is a duty of all the Muslims to make themselves inveterate foes of these Christians. Throughout, it contains the exhortation to the Muslims to rise against the English and extirpate them, by holding out the dire consequences that would follow to the Muslims if the English got victory. The Proclamation, issued uy Khan Bahadur Khan of Bareilly,- appeals to both Hindus and Muslims to protect their religion and property from the Europeans. The other Proclamations are also of a similar character.

48. See p. 513. , . ___ .

49. Freedom, Bombay, I. 253. The text of the Proclamation is given on pp. 253-4.

50. Sen, 411.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid, 412.

53. Ibid, 385, ff.

54. Ibid, 409.

55. Ibid, 409-10.

56. Ibid, 407-11.

57. Ibid, 411. ,

58. This does not, of course, mean that the generality of the people who fought against the English for personal or material interest belonged to the category of the Pindaris. The object is merely to draw attention to the underlying principle by an extreme analogy. But one class of the civil

population, who swelled the number of rebels, such as the Gujars, Banjars, Ranghars and other similar predatory tribes, offers a close analogy to the Pindaris.

59. See p. 444.

60 , See p. 457.

61. See p. 552.

CHAPTER XXI

THE CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK

1. Mutiny

The successful mutiny of the sepoys was the precursor of the outbreak of the civil population. If there were no mutiny, there would have been no revolt. It is, therefore, necessary to find out, first, the causes of the mutiny of the sepoys.

Mention has been made above of the grave discontent and disaffection towards the British rule among all classes of people. 1 There is no doubt that the sepoys were largely affected by them. But in addition there were special grievances felt by the sepoys, as described above. 2 It has also been shown how they gave public exhibition of their strong resentment and disaffection, and not infrequently local units broke out into mutiny.

The sensitiveness of the sepoys to their religious beliefs and practices and the dread of conversion to Christianity worked as a nightmare upon their minds. Several mutinies were caused by such apprehensions, however ill-founded they might be. There can be hardly any doubt that this was the most potent cause of distrust and discontent. In 1856, one year before the Mutiny, the annexation of Awadh served as another serious cause of discontent. The sepoys, who were mostly recruited from Awadh, were provoked, beyond measure, by the unjust and forcible seizure of the State in violation of treaty rights, and considerations of equity, long-standing alliance and never-failing loyalty.

Since the mutiny of 1857 there hav^ been long discussions and much speculation regarding its causes. Among the numerous statements that have appeared regarding the discontent and disaffection of the sepoys, special importance attaches to those of contemporary native officers of the British army. We possess a long memorandum 3 on this subject prepared by Shaikh Hidayat Ali, Subadar and Sirdar Bahadur, Bengal Sikh Police Battalion, which was commanded by Captain T. Rattaray. It is dated 7th August, 1858, and was submitted to the Government of India. Its purport is given below.

In addition to the effect of the Kabul expedition mentioned above,[4] Hidayat Ali laid stress on the following as causes of discontent among the sepoys:

1. Indignation of the sepoys at the annexation of Awadh to which province many of them belonged.

2. When recruiting sepoys after the annexation of the Panjab, the Government promised both the Sikhs and Muslims that they would not be asked to remove their beard or hair. But, later on, orders were passed for removing them, and those who refused to do so were dismissed.

3. The messing system ir jails, forcing the purdah ladies to go to the newly built hospital at Shaharanpur, and the general missionary propaganda created alarm and suspicion. The sepoys thought that the missionaries would not have dared to preach such things as giving up purdah, early marriage, circumcision, etc. without the consent of the Government.

4. This suspicion was confirmed by the issue of a general order in September, 1856, to the effect that all new recruits must take an oath that they would be prepared to go wherever they were required.

5. Lastly came the greased cartridge which convinced them that the Government was determined to make them lose caste and embrace Christianity.

According to Hidayat Ali, the grievances of the sepoys might be divided into three categories, viz. political or sentimental (No. 1), material (non-payment of extra-allowances), and religious (Nos. 2-5). Without minimising the importance of the first, he leaves no doubt that the main cause was the religious.

Incidents, almost immediately preceding the mutiny, seem to prove it beyond doubt. There was an incipient mutiny at Bolarum near Hyderabad in 1855. 6 Brigadier Mackenzie had issued a cantonment order, prohibiting processions on Sunday, September 23. But as the Muharram procession of the Muslims was due to be taken out on that day, the order was withdrawn. But the new order did not get sufficient publicity and processions were prohibited in many localities. The cavalry men as a protest took the procession along the road on which the Brigadier's house was situated, although this route was prohibited even by the revised order. The Brigadier personally met the processionists and asked them to disperse. The processionists made an insolent reply to the effect that the road was theirs, and the angry Colonel snatched away two of their flags. Shortly afterwards, when he was taking his evening drive along with some ladies and gentlemen, a murderous attack was made on them. It is significant to note that the cavalry men bluntly told a military officer that their religion w r as dearer to them than their lives, that it had been insulted, and that they would never lay down

their arms until they had brought the Brigadier and the Brigade Major to a court. The sepoys fully shared the general apprehension and suspicion that it was the deliberate object of the.Government to convert the Indians into Christianity by subtle means, fair or foul. The danger was specially brought home to them by missionary propaganda within the military cantonments. Col. Wheler, the Commanding Officer of a sepoy Regiment at Barrackpur, used to distribute religious tracts among the sepoys and openly addressed them with a view to proselytise. He is also known to have met the sepoys at his bungalow and tried to persuade them to accept Christianity. It is on record that for these kinds of activities he was once violently expelled by the sepoys from their lines, and on another occasion ordered off the parade of a Regiment at Delhi. He wrote to the Christian Tract Society in 1840 that 'he had several applications from different officers for native tracts in order to distribute to the villages through which they were about to march.' Referring to this the Englishman of Calcutta, in its issue of 2nd April, 1857, commented as follows: 'Unless we are very greatly misinformed, he continues the practice even with increased zeal to the present day. It was no wonder, therefore, that the men should be in an excited state specially when such efforts at conversion are openly avowed, and that they would discover what they considered a plot to betray them into a loss of caste'. 6 The name of another military missionary, Major Mackenzie, may be referred to in this connection. Sir Thomas Munro raised a strong voice of protest against this business of distributing religious tracts by the military, but the Government did not take the guilty officers to task. No wonder, therefore, that in spite of professions to the contrary, the sepoys would regard the Government as playing false with them and really aiming at their wholesale conversion to Christianity.

In a letter to Lord Canning, dated May 9, 1857, Sir Henry Lawrence gives an account of his conversation with a Brahman Native Officer of Oudh Artillery, who was most persistent in his belief that the Government was determined to make the people of India Christians. He alluded specially to the Order, recently promulgated, to the effect that, 'after the first September, 1856, no native recruit shall be accepted who does not, at the time of his enlistment, undertake to serve beyond the sea whether within the territories of the Company or beyond them'. Lawrence says that with all his arguments and persuasions he was unable to convince the Officer that the Government had no such intention. 7

This was mainly due to the repeated breaches of pledges by the Government mentioned above. 8 The facts and circumstances that created in the minds of the people a vague dn*ad of mass conversion to Christianity, strengthened by the letters of Edmond 9 and activities of Wheler, brought home to the iriind of the sepoy the grave and imminent peril which threatened their religion. 9 * And this feeling worked upon minds thoroughly disaffected against the British for many years past. A discerning eye could see that the mine was loaded and the train prepared, and the spark might be easily furnished by any inflammable passion. 9b The story of the greased cartridge supplied the spark and caused an explosion which shook the British Empire in India to its very foundations.

There is hardly any doubt that the story of the greased cartridge was not only the apparent, but also the real, cause of the Mutiny. 90 All available evidence indicates that it had a tremendous repercussion on the sepoys scattered over this vast country. The story spread like wildfire and produced excitement and consternation all over the sepoy world. There is no doubt that letters were exchanged between sepoys, widely separated in localities far distant from one another. Many of these letters, intercepted by the Government, indicated a strong belief on the part of the sepoys that it was a deliberate device adopted by the Government to destroy their religion, and a grim determination to resist it even at the cost of their lives.

In judging the effect of the story of greased cartridges on the minds of the sepoys, and the justice or reasonableness of their obstinate refusal to use them, we must remember the very essential fact, often ignored, that the story was undoubtedly a true one. The Government as well as the high military officials denied the allegation that the cartridges were prepared with any objectionable materials, but the sepoys refused to believe them. It is now definitely proved that the sepoys were right, and the military officers undoubtedly suppressed the truth,-—whether deliberately or through ignorance, it is difficult to say.

In a book entitled “Mutiny of the Bengal Army”, [10] written by a military official in India immediately after the Mutiny, we read: “The Enfield Rifle required a particular species of cartridge which was greased with lard made from the fat either of hog or ox”.

Field-Marshal Lord Roberts states:

“The recent researches of Mr. Forrest in the record of the Government of India prove that the lubricating mixture used in preparing the cartridges was actually composed of the objectionable ingredients, cow’s fat and lard, and that incredible disregard of the soldiers’ religious prejudices was displayed in the manufacture of these cartridges”. [11]

Reference may be made in this connection to a letter written on March 23, 1857, by Anson, the Commander-in-Chief at the time of the Mutiny, to Lord Canning. “I am”, says he, “not so much surprised at their (sepoys’) objections to the cartridges, having seen them. I had no idea they contained, or rather are smeared with such a quantity of grease, which looks exactly like fat". 12 When the sepoys were forced to taste this abhorrent mixture, it is hardly a wonder that they broke into mutiny. Lecky has very properly observed that "English writers must acknowledge with humiliation that if mutiny is ever justifiable, no stronger justification could be given than that of the Sepoy troops". 13 Though many eminent British officials have admitted that the cartridge question was the immediate cause of the Mutiny, others have sought to cloud the real issue by bringing forward other factors. Some have stressed the defects in the military organization such as the relaxed discipline, lack of intimate personal touch between the sepoys and their officers, the considerable curtailment of the power of the latter over the former due to recent change of regulations, removal of regimental officers to staff and civil employments, the paucity of European troops, the new system of the recruitment of sepoys by which each regiment was filled in with the members of a few families, and the inferior and humiliating position of the sepoys and their native officers. Some have regarded the sepoys as mere tools of reactionary Brahmans and designing politicians; others have laid emphasis on the annexation of Awadh. All these and other causes of discontent, mentioned above, were undoubtedly contributory causes that facilitated the outbreak, blit it may be reasonably doubted whether there would have been a general mutiny, if there were not the question of greased cartridges.

As a matter of fact, so far as public records are available, it is only this ground which the sepoys repeatedly urged before their superior officers as the cause of their discontent, and it was only in relation to those cartridges that they showed open defiance against their officers. The other causes might be regarded as, more or less, contributory, in a rather remote sense, but the direct and the most important cause must have been the religious scruples to which the Hindus and Muslims are peculiarly sensitive. There is no reason to think that the sepoys were animated, at least to begin with, either by any nationalist sentiments or by a sense of patriotism, or even by any strong desire to restore the Mughul rule in India. The last one might have been added at a later stage, but

at the beginning of the outbreak it did not play any part in exciting the sepoys. The utmost that can be said is that in their excitement over the greased cartridges they might have imbibed some sort of a blind fury against the British, and a determination to drive them and to destroy their rule and authority in India. But there was nothing new in such attitude, and the cry of ‘drive away the feringhees’ was raised in Awadh, the centre of the Mutiny of 1857, as far back as the days of Chait Singh (1781). But the conduct of the mutinous sepoys towards the Indians, to which detailed reference h&s been made above, 14 belies the theory that they were actuated by any patriotic motive and nationalist sentiment. It is significant that all the contemporary Indian writers, without any exception, have represented the sepoys as enemies of the people, and not as patriotic fighters for their country’s freedom. These writers leave no doubt that the sepoys were dreaded, not loved, by the general population. 16

Of all the Indian witnesses who deposed at the trial of Bahadur Shah, Ahsanulla seems to have been the most straightforward and best informed. Being a confidential physician of the King, he had ample opportunities of knowing the facts, and his long detailed statement has a ring of truth. His views therefore carry special weight. Among other things he said:

“The mutinous troops would not appear to have won over the people of the country, because if they had, they would have treated them with consideration, and would nbt have oppressed and plundered them as they did. The sepoys had not, before their breaking out into mutiny, united to themselves the Mussalman population of Delhi. If they had, they would not have oppressed and plundered the Mahomedans of Delhi in the manner they did. The abandoned classes of the city required no instigation to rise up. The confusion and disorder of the time in itself encouraged them to unite with the sepys”. 16

There might have been individual sepoys who were animated by high and noble motives, but as a class they cannot be regarded as a band of patriots or nationalists fighting for their country.

2. The Outbreak of the Civil Population

One might regard it as a somewhat strange phenomenon that although there was no general conspiracy or organization, the mutiny of sepoys should have been followed by a popular rising on a wide scale, at least in certain areas. A variety of reasons have therefore been assigned for the outbreak.

Some of these are puerile in the extreme, such as Russian intrigue, divine punishment for not spreading Christianity, and belief in a prophecy that the British empire would come to an end after 100 years. Others are merely guessworks such as the Muslim conspiracy to restore the Mughul Empire

and Brahman conspiracy to retain their power. The real cause is, however, not far to seek.

There is a French proverb that if you want to seize a murderer look for the woman behind the crime. Similarly if you want to go to the root of a revolt, look for the elements of discontent and disaffection among the people. These have been described in detail in Chapter XIII.

It is not necessary in the present context to discuss whether oi how far the discontent was reasonable and justified. But that it was genuine and profound is proved by a deep-seated hatred against the British among nearly all classes of people. Many Englishmen could discern this long before 1857. Bishop Heber wrote in 1824 that the "natives of India do not really like us.. .if a fair opportunity be offered, the Mussalmans, more particularly, would gladly avail themselves of it to rise against us". 17 The Government seems to have been fully aware of this fact, for Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, in a minute dated 13 March, 1835, refers to the peril of the British Government in India "when one hundred millions of people are under the control of a Government which has no hold whatever on their affections". 18 Many other Englishmen have testified to this state of feeling from their own experience and observation. Nothing perhaps illustrates this spirit of hatred better than the following story recorded by Mrs. Coopland. "An Officer, when trying the prisoners, asked a sepoy why they killed women and children. The man replied: 'When you kill a snake, you kill its young' ". 19

But neither discontent nor hatred, by itself, leads to an outbreak. A suitable opportunity is necessary for their manifestation in overt acts. Such an opportunity presented itself when the sepoys, the chief prop of the British power in India, openly broke out into mutiny and seemed tc hold their ground against their late masters. It was not till then that all the latent or pent-up feelings could be canalised into revolutionary activities by local leaders to serve their own interests.

That the course of events actually followed the line implied in this supposition has been made abundantly clear in Chapters XVH, XVIII, and XX. Thus the successful mutiny of the sepoys may be looked upon as the direct and proximate cause of the revolt of the people. The elements of discontent and various other so-called causes 20 were merely the conditions favourable to the origin of the revolt; in other words, they made the revolt not only a possibility but a very probable contingency. Some of these conditions were also conducive to the development and temporary success of the revolt.

They not only sustained the movement but supplied the dynamic force to its progress.

Among these contributing causes or favourable conditions emphasis has justly been laid by contemporary and later writers upon the dread of a mass conversion of both Hindus and Muslims to Christianity. It has already been pointed out, that the Indians had very reasonable grounds for such a fear, and that they were very seriously perturbed by the dreadful prospect. Almost all the proclamations which were issued by the rebellious chiefs laid special emphasis on this point, and the action of the sepoys shows the extent to which it must have affected the minds of all classes of Indians. Even if we admit that there were designing persons who acted upon this fear of the public to serve their own personal political ends, we indirectly acknowledge the truth of the view that the fear of losing caste and religion was one of the most potent factors in the general revolt of the civil population. It cannot be denied also that material grievances 21 under which the people smarted and the hope of material gain served as a great incentive. The noble and patriotic idea of securing freedom from alien rule might have inspired individuals, but there is no reason to suppose that it served as an incentive to the people at large. It should be remembered that the ideas of patriotism and nationalism in the sense in which they are used now were conspicuous by their absence among the Indian masses in 1857.

It is not difficult to trace the stages by which the passive discontent and disaffection of the people were transformed to active rebellion. A contemporary observer, Charles Raikes, to whom reference has been made above, has analyzed the situation in NorthWestern Provinces somewhat as follows: 21 ®

“Now of these sixteen millions (of people in N.W.P.) not one-twentieth part resided in districts which had any European soldiers stationed within their limits. The mass of the people knew and acknowledged the supreme power of their English masters, but they attributed that power entirely to the bayonets of the Bengal Native Infantry, which held the forts, arsenals, and treasuries throughout the country. Therefore, when the native soldiers rose, as one man, to bum and slay, to pull down the halls of justice, and to break open the jails, the people at large, who knew little and thought less of the distant resources of England, concluded naturally enough that our day had gone by.

“The catastrophe was viewed with very different feelings by the various bodies of our quondam subjects. ‘The predatory class, the Goojurs, the Mewatties, felt instinctively that their day had come. Their natural enemy, the Magistrate, had perished at the hands of the mutineers, or was flying before them, protected only by the people over whom he lately presided. Forthwith, they girded on the sword and buckler, seized the matchlock and sallied forth to pursue their hereditary vocation of plunder. In pursuit of this instinct they played no partizan’s part, but with the utmost impartiality robbed alike the straggling European running for his life, or the sepoy carrying off his booty. As a matter of course, there was an end of police, telegraph, postal communication, and every other symptoms of civilisation, wherever these harpies were found.

‘The green flag of Islam, too, had been unfurled. The mass of the Muslim community 22^ rejoicing to believe that under the auspices of the great Mogul at Delhi their lost ascendency was to be recovered, their deep hatred to the Christian got vent, and they rushed forth to kill and destroy.

‘But, making deduction for these classes, the great agricultural communities, the Jat, the Brahmin, the Rajpoot, looked on the English race, under whose auspices they had so long tasted peace and security, with unfeigned compassion. Like the robber tribes, they considered our case hopeless, but unlike them they at first lamented lost order. Such was their first impulse; they showed it in a hundred instances, by helping our straggling countrymen, and protecting them from Sepoys or rabble, often at the risk of their own lives. But as the course of events hurried on, as Magistrate, Cutcherry, revenue process, subsided alike, these men, who, as forming the bulk of the agricultural class, had been saddled with a very full share of the public imposts, began to think it no bad change if only they could avoid revenue payments for the future. In common with the rest of the mankind they were not fond of paying taxes, nor were they long disconsolate when the taxcollector disappeared from the scene. If there was no Government, there was no quarter-day. It requires no special knowledge of India to comprehend the rapid spread of passive disaffection (not active hostility), under such circumstances as these. When disaffection means more money, more power, and no taxes, its growth is a mere necessity of human nature".

There is one grave defect in this otherwise brilliant analysis, namely, that Raikes has not given sufficient importance to the already existing discontent and disaffection of the people, leading to the hatred of the British. The successful mutiny undoubtedly gave the needed opportunity, but it certainly would not have been availed of to the extent that it actually was, unless there were grave discontent and disaffection of the people. But Raikes seems to have accurately marked the gradual stages of development. Confirmation and illustration of his views meet us at almost every step as we read the detailed account of the civil rebellion in different localities. It is fully confirmed by the Rani of Jhansi herself, who was not only faced with the revolt of the local chiefs, but had to fight against a neighbouring ruler who took advantage of her difficulties to feed fat an old grudge and invaded Jhansi. Such was the state of things in what is regarded as one of the centres of India's first War of Independence.

As noted above, it was mainly in Awadh and Rohilkhand, which formed a part of Awadh until its Nawab was forced to cede it to the British, that the popular upsurge reached its maximum momentum. This is easily accounted for by the annexation of Awadh and the circumstances attending it to which reference has been made above. All this sorely wounded the sentiments of all classes of people and seriously affected the vested interests of the Chiefs, Talukdars and scions of the royal family. These were recent events, hardly a year

old, and the strong discontent and severe resentment felt by the people were therefore very keen and quite fresh.

If the outbreak of popular revolt in Awadh may be easily accounted for by these special circumstances, two others gave it a vitality and momentum which are found nowhere else. The first is the possession of forts and armed retainers by the Chiefs and Talukdars which emboldened them to break into revolt and enabled them to carry on a sustained struggle.

The second is the famous Proclamation of Canning which, though drafted earlier, was issued immediately after the British had recaptured Lakhnau. As noted above, 23 this Proclamation decreed the confiscation of the lands of all the Talukddrs and land-lords, with the exception of only six, specifically named. As General Innes observed: “Lord Canning raised the whole province gratuitously and needlessly into desperate hostility . The chiefs rose en masse in active rebellion.” 24 The view that the Proclamation caused the rebellion of the Talukdars is not true, but there is no doubt that the threat of confiscation embittered the feelings of the Chiefs and led them to offer a desperate resistance to which they would not have probably been otherwise goaded. Outram, the Chief Commissioner of Awadh, was of the same view. He declared “that if nothing more than their lives and freedom from imprisonment were offered, they would be driven to wage a guerilla war, whereas if the possession of their lands were guaranteed to them, they would assist in restoring order” 25 Dr. Sen also observes: “Outram did his best to conciliate the people threatened with confiscation but they had as yet no reason to place their faith in British justice; arid British mercy to them was a fiction. To lose their land was to live without honour and the talukdars determined to fight for their barony as their ancestors had done in the days of the Nawabs. Hostilities at once broke out afresh and over a much wider area than before”. 20 It would thus appear that the heroic resistance of the Chiefs and people of Awadh were not mainly, far less solely, due to the solicitude for their king and country, and the number of ‘patriots* who fought for them alone could not be very large. The true situation in Awadh seems to have been best realized in the most unexpected quarter. On April 19. 1858, Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, wrote a long and spirited letter to Canning, full of adverse—almost caustic—comment on his Proclamation. The following extracts quoted from it may be read with interest:

“We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinheritance of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace. We are under the impression that the war

in Oudh has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner m which, without regard to what the chief land-holders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had, in a large portion of the province, been carried out by your officers.

"The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupier of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their native sovereign, has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

We cannot but in justice consider that those who resist our authority in Oude arc under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our government. We dethroned the king of Oude and took possession of his kingdom. Suddenly the people saw their king taken from amongst them, and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native; and this sudden change of government was immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property; of what certainly had long given wealth, and distinction, and power to their families.

“We must admit that under these circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oude should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the subjects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.”^?

This letter of Ellenborough cost him his high office. It might have been injudicious and against convention, but it certainly blurted out the truth, a rare thing in British official correspondence.

We may sum up the views, stated above, in the shape of the following propositions.

1. If there had not been the sudden, and perhaps unpremeditated, rising of the sepoys at Mirat on May 10, 1857, there would not probably have been any Sepoy Mutiny, at least at the time and in the form in which it occurred.

2. If there had been no Sepoy Mutiny, there would have been no outbreak of the civil population.

3. This outbreak or popular revolt was the direct outcome of the initial success of the Mutiny, and was fed by the volume of discontent and resentment existing against the British, and facilitated by other circumstances.

4. Although these factors sustained the general revolt, it was originally inspired, in the main, by the considerations of personal advantages of individuals or material interests of groups who took the initiative.

5. The extent and character of the popular revolt was determined to a large extent by local conditions and the personality of leaders.

6. The movement of 1857-8 comprised several distinct elements, such as the mutiny of sepoys, sporadic outburst of civil commotion, organized outbreak by predatory tribes and goonda elements, and the popular revolt, in some cases partaking of the character of a legitimate warfare. But as there was no coherence among them, each being limited in extent and objectives, and there was no definite plan, method, or organization, it cannot be regarded as a national rising, far less a war of independence, which it never professed to be.

1. Cf. Chapter XIII.

2. See pp. 424-33.

3. MS. L. Vol. 727, pp. 759-68.

4. See p. 187.

5. Sen, 13.

6. Quoted in SB—II, 3.

7. Roberts—II, 436 f.n.

8. See p. 432.

9. See p. 420.

9a Whether the apprehensions of the sepoys were well-founded or not—evidence now available shows that they were not—they were real and very widely spread. The men of the 34th N.I., with whom the whole trouble began, were almost convinced that they would sooner or later be converted to Christianity. It was said that Lord Canning, the Governor-General, left England under a pledge to Lord Palmerston that he would do his best to convert the whole of the native population of India (The Times, 10 June, 1857). A correspondent from N.W.P. wrote to the Englishman of Calcutta (1 May, 1857): "All classes of natives imagine that they were to be converted by f orce.... Amongst the native soldiery this erroneous imagination dangerously exists . (Quoted by Dr. P.C. Gupta in J. N. Banerjea Volume pp. 262-3).

9b. Captain Martineau wrote to one of his colleagues on 5 May, 1857: “I am afraid to say I can detect the near approach of the storm...but can’t say how, when or where it will break forth...here are all the elements of combustion at hand, 100,000 men, sullen, distrustful, fierce with all their deepest and inmost sympathies as well as worst passions roused and we thinking to cajole them into good humour by patting them on the back and saying what a fool you are for making such a fuss about nothing. They no longer believe us, they have passed out of restraint and will be off at a gallop before long. (Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 725, pp. 1015-54), quoted by P. C. Gupta m J. N. Banerjea Volume, p. 264.

9c. This point has been fully discussed in Majumdar, pp. 247 ff Cf also P C from a i854’ ^ 26 °’ Whkh als ° gives ^ histor y of the Grease Question

It was published in London in 1857 and is generally known as the Red Pamphlet. The passage-quoted occurs in p. 8.

Roberts—II, 431.

10 .

11 .

12 .

Ibid, 49, f. n. Kaye I, I. 558 f.n. For other views on this subject, cf. SB—H,

vj X • 1.

13. Lecky, The Map of Life (1900), p. 98.

14. See pp. 506-10, 519-20, 615.

15. See pp. 608-4.

16. TB, 225.

17.

18.

19.

20 .

^ U 182^ ^ ^ usu ^ A Cultural History of India during the British Period,

Bentinck (R.I.), p. 179.

Coopland, 234.

Thes L C a SeS r, are enumerated by various writers. Cf. Holmes, Appendix U, pp. 630 ft. For the long list of Norton, cf. Majumdar, 260-1. Mr. Martin has given a list of the causes leading to the outbreak. These include, among others, oppressive and pauperising tenure of land, free press, inefficient administration of justice, exclusion of natives from all shares in the Government, aversion of Englishmen to the natives, recent annexations, western education, missionary operations, Muhammadan conspiracy, and Russian and Persian intrigues.

These have been discussed in detail in Chapter XIII.

21a. Raikes, 156 ff.

22 ‘ words used by Raikes are likely to wound the religious suscepti

bilities of the Muslims; hence I have changed them.

• See p. 574.

; °“ d 0ude in the Mutiny (1895) > p - 291 • 1116 IteUcs «** mine.

Sen, 244.

XEUl’ (265)^pp 4°5 d Ellenborou ffh, p. 255. Parliamentary Papers, 1857-58,

21 .

27.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CAUSES OF FAILURE

Whatever one may think of the nature of the outbreak in 1857, there is no doubt that it constituted a grave peril for the British dominion in India. The sepoys, trained and equipped by British officers, exceeded the European soldiers in numerical strength m proportion of seven to one. The sudden and unexpected rising of the sepoys forced the British officials, civil and military, to leave Awadh and Rohilkhand which passed almost entirely out of British control. The civil population of a wide-spread region also rose in revolt. Almost everything was in favour of the Indians. The British Government in India could not hope to muster, by all possible endeavours, and within a reasonable period, more than a combined force of Europeans and Indians, which in any case would be far inferior in number to the opposing sepoys. Even within this tiny force of the Government, the allegiance of a large element of Indians was at best doubtful. Further, while the Indian forces gained accession of strength by fresh mutinies and outbreaks following one another in rapid succession, the British authorities had their meagre resources crippled by the constant endeavour to keep in check the prospective mutineers, and their plans and schemes were foiled by fresh mutinies and outbreaks cropping up at unexpected places. It was a very difficult task for them to maintain communication with distant centres, as the people of the intervening regions, at least some sections of them, were often openly hostile. The triumph of the British in the face of all these handicaps is indeed a great marvel, and it is, therefore, necessary, to inquire into the causes of the failure of the revolution.

The most important cause was the lack of a general plan and a central organization guiding the whole movement. A number of isolated outbreaks without any link or common plan between them could hardly succeed against the British forces, directed with a strong will and determination by a central organization which could command the resources of India, and later, of Britain.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the great contrast between the unity of command on the side of the British, and the utter lack of it on the other side, than the successful relief of Lakhnau and recovery of Kanpur by the British, and the lack of any effort to relieve the siege of Delhi by Nana or any other leader. It is admitted on

all hands that Delhi could not have been captured by the British without the constant flow of men and equipment from the Pan jab; yet the only communication between the Panjab and Delhi was along a narrow track to the north-west of Delhi running along the border of U.P., the region most affected by the revolutionary spirit. If there were a well-knit organization in U.P., not to speak in India as a whole, or some able military leader in this region, serious efforts should have been made to intercept the flow of men and equipments from the Panjab to Delhi. But very little was done in this respect. 1 Similarly, no earnest effort was made to prevent the British troops coming from Calcutta to the west. Danapur and Mirat were the only two cantonments with British troops between the borders of Bengal and the Panjab. The overwhelming number of sepoys in the intervening region, backed by the sympathy and support of the general people, had a unique opportunity of keeping them separate, but they did not care to utilize it.

The inferiority in generalship, strategy, military skill, and discipline of the mutineers was another important cause of the failure of the outbreak. It is only necessary to contrast the siege of Delhi with that of Kanpur, Lakhnau, and Arrah to prove this point. Delhi was a walled city with good fortifications, and was defended by a large army, fully equipped, and with free communication with the outside territory. Yet it fell after a siege of four months. At Kanpur, the English took shelter in an improvised camp with a frail entrenchment hastily thrown up. The besieged garrison consisted of a few civilians, a small band of faithful sepoys, and about four hundred English fighting men, more than seventy of whom were invalids. The besieging army, on the other hand, numbered some three thousand trained soldiers, well fed, well lodged, well armed and supplied with all munitions of war, aided by the retainers of Nana Sahib and supported by the sympathies of a large portion of the civil population. In spite of all this, Nana, who is credited with great leadership and organizing ability, failed to reduce the place during twenty days, and at last accomplished by treachery what his valour and heroism failed to achieve. At Arrah the small garrison of 50 Sikhs and 15 Europeans and Eurasians 2 defended themselves in a small building, originally intended for a billiard room, and held out against the attack of Kunwar Singh at the head of ‘some two thousand sepoys and a multitude of armed insurgents, perhaps four times the number of the disciplined soldiery’.[3] The successful resistance of the garrison at the Residency in Lakhnau against enormous odds for a long period is only too well-known and has been described above.[4] Here, again, in a hastily improvised defence post, the British had less than seventeen hundred soldiers, a large proportion of which were sepoys, some of whom were regarded with suspicion, while others were infirm old men. They were besieged by at least six thousand trained soldiers, who were soon reinforced by a large and constantly increasing number of Talukdars and their retainers till the number exceeded one hundred thousand. At a later stage, Outram successfully defended Alambagh with four thousand four hundred and forty-two men, against this vast enemy force, nearly thirty times in number, and the besieged Residency also successfully held out from the beginning of July, 1857, to September 25, when Havelock joined the garrison, and again till the middle of March, 1858, when it was finally relieved. The heroic defence of Lakhnau Residency shows the British valour, heroism, resourcefulness and strategy at. c heir best, and those of the Indians at their worst. The prolonged siege of Lakhnau kept inactive many thousands of sepoys and armed soldiers who might have been more fruitfully employed elsewhere, e.g., preventing the advance of Neill and Havelock, thereby possibly turning the scale of the whole operation in their favour.

The long and heroic resistance of Lakhnau Residency offers a great contrast to that of the strong forts of Jhansi and Gwalior. The garrison at Jhansi numbered some ten thousand Bundelas and Velaitees and fifteen hundred sepoys. When Sir Hugh Rose invaded the city and fort on March 22, 1858, with his small force of about two thousand, the Rani and her followers must have been astounded at his daring. The Rani heroically defended it till March 31, when Tantia Topi arrived with twenty thousand men to relieve the town. In spite of the magnitude of the peril Sir Hugh did not lose heart.

He left a part of his small army to continue the siege and attacked Tantia Topi with the rest. Tantia was defeated on April 1, and fled across the Betwa, being hotly pursued by the British cavalry. On April 3, Sir Hugh entered the fort by direct assault, and next evening the Rani stole out of the fort with a few attendants. It was a signal for a general retreat, and on the 6th the British forces were masters of the city and the fort. It is very surprising indeed that while Tantia had attacked the besieging British army from the rear, and the major part of this small force was engaged in fighting with his twenty thousand men, the troops inside the fort, more than ten thousand in number, did not make a sortie and try to destroy the small British army, less than a thousand in number, left before the fort. One wonders what more favourable situation than this could the besieged expect for ultimate success against the British or as a means of immediate relief?

The defeat and flight of Tantia and the fall of the strong fort of Jhansi illustrate the hopeless inferiority of the Indians both in defensive war and pitched battles. To a large extent this inferiority in military skill rendered useless some strategic moves on the part of the sepoys. This was well illustrated in the early days of the Mutiny when the sepoys advanced from Delhi to check the progress of the troops from Mirat towards that city. The plan was well conceived and the sepoys occupied a strategic position, but they were successively defeated at the battles on the Hindun on May 30 and 31, and again at Badli-ka-Serai on June 8, although their number and artillery were superior to those of the enemy. The same story was repeated at Najufgarh when they tried to intercept the siege-train sent from the Pan jab.

The successive victories of Hayelock on his way from Allahabad to Kanpur also reveal in a striking manner the superior skill and morale of British troops. He had a thousand European infantry soldiers, one hundred and thirty Sikhs and a little troop of volunteer cavalry consisting of eighteen horsemen, and was on the way joined by Reinaud s small detachment. Though his troops were weary and footsore, he won four successive battles against fresh forces of the enemy. In the last battle near Kanpur Nana himself led his force, five thousand strong, and occupied a very strong strategic position prepared beforehand. Nevertheless the daring, valour and superior skill of the English won for them a brilliant victory. Nana's last battle ended in disaster and the loss of Kanpur.

The strength and weakness of the Indian leaders are best illustrated by the campaigns of the Rani of Jhansi and Tantia after the fall of Jhansi, which have been described in detail above. 5 In spite of successive defeats, the Rani and Tantia conceived the bold plan of seizing the fort of Gwalior. It was a master stroke of strategy, the best that the Indian leaders showed during the whole campaign. But though they easily seized Gwalior with the help of Sindhia's troops who deserted their master in the battlefield and joined them, the failure to take proper measures to arrest the progress of the British army showed a deplorable lack of military strategy and foresight. The surrender of such a strong fort, at the very first assault, practically without any resistance, can only be described as most ignominious.

The Indians, no doubt, scored some little successes now and then, mainly due to their superior numbers and tactical advantage. Illustrations are afforded by the reverses sustained by the small reconnoitring forces of Lawrence at Chinhut near Lakhnau, and the croops of Dunbar at Arrah, as well as the defeat of Windham at

Kanpur and Le Grand near Jagdishpur. 6 Both Kunwar Singh and Tantia Topi also displayed skill and energy, specially in guerilla warfare. But taking into consideration not only the episodes referred to above, but also the military campaigns as a whole, narrated in Chapters XVI, XVII and XVIII, it seems to be quite clear that the Indian sepoys, bereft of their European officers, were no match for the British troops, either European or Indian.

Finally, the failure of the great outbreak must be chiefly attributed to the absence of a great leader, who could fuse the scattered elements into a consolidated force of great momentum, with a definite policy and plan of action. History shows that genuine national movements have seldom failed to throw up such a leader in the course of their progress, not unoften even from most unexpected quarters. Unfortunately, no such leader arose in India during the great outbreak of 1857-8, perhaps because it was not a national movement, in the true sense of the term.

Nana Sahib, Bahadur Shah, Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and Kunwar Singh are popularly regarded as great leaders of the 1857 movement. Of these the first, though best known and most talked of, seems to be least deserving of the high honours usually bestowed upon him. As we have already seen, there is nothing to show that he organized a great political movement, and even if he attempted to do so, he achieved no conspicuous success. As a military commander he was an absolute failure, as is proved by his inability to reduce Kanpur and defeat in the hands of Havelock near the city. The part he played in dissuading the sepoys from proceeding to Delhi, and his subsequent activities indicate his narrow and selfish outlook and vainglorious attitude. On the whole, there is nothing in the life and death of Nana Sahib which entitles him to the rank of a hero, a martyr, or a great leader. Enough has already been said of Bahadur Shah to.indicate that he was even worse than Nana, and not only absolutely worthless, but also a traitor to the cause he professed to serve. There is, however, one common point to be considered about them. Greatness was forced upon them, and they had to accept it much against their will. This is certainly true in regard to Bahadur Shah, and probably true also of Nana. That might soften one's judgment about them, but does not take away from their lack of qualification as leaders.

The Rani of Jhansi undoubtedly stands on a far different footing. Once she decided to rise against the English, she showed unbounded energy and resolution, combined with heroism and daring which we miss in Nana. But we cannot regard Rani Lakshmibai as having organized the great revolt, or played the part of its leader

Her activities were confined to a narrow area and extended over a very brief period, towards the end of the movement. Even then she achie ved no conspicuous success against the British on the battlefield, and cannot be said to* have contributed, in any substantial measure, to the cause of the Indians. Her title to fame rests more upon her personal character than upon her outstanding position as a great political or military leader.

The position of both Kunwar Singh and Tantia Topi is analogous to that of the Rani of Jhansi. They obtained more successes against the English in the battlefield and carried on more vigorous and prolonged campaigns. But their activities also were confined within narrow limits, and none of them has any claim to be regarded as a leader of the movement of 1857 in any sense of the term. Nor had they contributed anything substantial to shaping the general course of the great movement.

The most glaring fact to be noted in this connection is that though the revolt was most widely spread in Awadh, there was not a single leader who exercised any control over the vast but scattered rebel forces, or had any voice in shaping the general course of the great movement. Neither Maulavi Ahmadulla nor the Begam of Awadh, nor any of the heroic Talukdars or Chiefs can really claim such a position.

To the lack of leadership must be attributed the serious, almost incredible errors committed by the sepoys which in many cases saved the British from great disasters. Devout Englishmen could only explain them as divine dispensation.[7] Sir Henry Lawrence observed:

“Many thoughtful and experienced men now in India believe that it has only been by a series of miracles that we have been saved from utter ruin. It is no exaggeration to affirm that in many instances the mutineers seemed to act as if a curse rested on their cause. Had a single leader of ability arisen among them, nay, had they followed any other course than that they did pursue in many instances, we must have been lost beyond redemption. But this was not to be”.[8]

The failure of the outbreak may also be attributed to the fact that neither the leaders, nor the sepoys and the masses were inspired by any high ideal. The lofty sentiments of patriotism and nationalism, with which they are credited, do not appear to have had any basis in fact. As a matter of fact, such ideas were not yet familiar to Indian minds. A strong disaffection and hatred towards the English, and hopes of material gain to be accrued by driving them out, were the principal motives which- inspired and sustained the movement. The spirit of defending religion, which kindled the fire soon receded into the background, and though it formed Ji

S«r.r watery for a long a truly religion. ■«*«•»■*•»•

never conspicuous as a guiding force of the movement On the other hand, the British were inspired by the patriotic zeal for re am g their empire and profoundly moved by the spirit of revenge against the Indians who had murdered their women and children.

But even though, for reasons aforesaid, the great outbreak of 1857 ended in failure, it would be a mistake to minimize its importance, or underrate the gravity of its danger to- the British, n spite of all their defects and drawbacks, the sepoys and Indian rebels, by their number and favourable situation, threatened to the whole fabric of the British empire. Its fate hung on a thread as it were, and it was almost a touch and go.

In Indian rulers like Sindhia and Nizam joined the Mutiny, the consequences might have been very serious to the British. Lor Canning is reported to have said that "if Sindhia joins the rebels I will pack off tomorrow". A contemporary Englishman referred to the general feeling that "if Hyderabad had risen we could not escape insurrection practically over the whole of Deccan and Southern India". The same writer continues: "Similarly the situation would have been very critical if there were no friendly ruler in Nepal. Lastly, we must also acknowledge with thankfulness the debt we owe

to the educated natives". 9

There is a great deal of truth in all this. In particular, the lack of interest shown by the intellectuals in the movement was a serious drawback, the full extent of which will perhaps never be known. History of modem times shows that all great political movements have an intellectual background and draw their nourishment largely from that source. The outbreak of 1857 not only lacked any such intellectual background but ran counter to the views of the intellectual classes who never looked upon it with sympathy. 10

The outbreak of 1857 would go down in history as the first great and direct threat to the British rule in India on an extensive scale. It must be admitted by all unprejudiced critics that the British Government and people bravely faced the situation and proved equal to the occasion. The resourcefulness, organization, and statesmanship of the Government, backed by devotion to duty, courage, and a spirit of fellow-feeling and sacrifice which never yielded to privations and sufferings, however great, enabled the British to survive the fiery ordeal. Tribute also must be paid to British diplomacy which could gather round their banner the solid phalanx of the Sikhs—a proud nation of heroes who believed in their heart of hearts that the British had defrauded them of their dominions and independence by most ignoble means. And this took place less than ten years back, within the living memory of those who shed their blood for the British cause. Similarly, the Fathan hill-tribes on the North-West frontier, against whom the British had been waging bitter fight for* years, were enlisted to support their cause, and these along with their mortal and hereditary enemies, the Sikhs, were fighting side by side to preserve the dominions of their common enemy, the British. A race which could successfully employ the sepoys against the Sikhs, and then the Sikhs against the sepoys, the sepoys against the Pathans and the Gurkhas, and then the Pathans and the Gurkhas against the sepoys, certainly deserves an empire. Similarly, credit is due to the British for having retained the allegiance of the Sindhia, who was so shabbily treated by Ellenborough in 1843-4, and of the Nizam who was compelled to cede Berar by force and fraud in 1853. Whether these examples redound to the credit of the British diplomacy, or merely betray the utter lack of national spirit among the Indians, may be questioned. But in either case, they point to one important factor, often ignored by historians, which contributed largely to the success of the British and the failure of the Indians.

1. See above, p. 566

2. See p. 551.

3. Kaye—I, HI. 124.

4. See po. 5^0 ff., 568 ff.

5. See po. 5 s T-ff.

6. See pp. 540, 551, 568, 578-9.

7. See p. 565.

8. AS. I, 114.

9. John Bruce Norton, Topics for Indian Statesmen (1850). p. 56 .

10. This is proved by the statements of all the contemporary Indians, whose writings are so far known. See above, pp. 603-4.

BOOK I.

POLITICAL HISTORY PART III.

INDIA UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN (1858 - 1905)

CHAPTER XXIII

INTRODUCTION

L SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL (1858-1905)

The ability with which Lord Canning steered the ship of State through the troubled waters of the Mutiny has secured him a very high place among the Governors-General of India. His memory has lived down the calumnies and criticism of his contemporaries, and his contributions to the maintenance and consolidation of British rule in India have obtained a juster appreciation than in his own times. Her Majesty Queen Victoria, who assumed the direct administration of India in her own hands after the Mutiny, showed her high appreciation of Canning's work by appointing him the first Viceroy and Governor-General of India under the Crown.

The suppression of the Mutiny and the revolt of 1857-58 and the pacification of the country thereafter were undoubtedly the two great tasks to which Canning devoted himself. But great as they were, they should not be allowed to overshadow his administrative reforms, some of which were of permanent value. Two of these were the direct outcome of the bitter experience of the Mutiny. Syed Ahmad and other Indian leaders pointed out that one of the principal reasons of the outbreak was that the Indians had no place in the Council of the Government of India and had therefore no means, short of rebellion, to bring their grievances to the notice of their rulers. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 partly remedied this by admitting non-officials and Indians to the Legislative Council. The other reform was the reduction in the disproportion between the numbers of Indian and British troops in the army, and its proper reorganization. The introduction of a new procedure by which each member of the Governor-General's Council was placed in charge of a separate department, was also an important innovation, practically introducing the principle of Cabinet System in Indian administration. Canning's financial measures included the imposition of direct taxes which was a bold step to meet the heavy deficit caused by the Mutiny. The establishment of the High Courts and the introduction of the Penal Code were two other great reforms.

Lord Canning, like his predecessor, was broken down in health by his heavy work and, curiously enough, the same domestic calamity, the death of wife, overwhelmed both of them while in Indian

Canning handed over charge of his office to Lord Elgin in March, 1862, and left for home a week later. He returned home only to die within three months.

The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, the first Viceroy of that name, was successively the Governor of Jamaica and GovernorGeneral of Canada, and played a distinguished part in China, during the imbroglio with that country from 1856 to 1862. Immediately after his return home he was appointed Viceroy and GovernorGeneral in India. His tenure of office was cut short by death at the hill station of Dharmsala on November 20, 1863. A short expedition against the Yusufzai tribe is the only important event during his administration.

During the interval between the death of Lord. Elgin and the assumption of the office of Viceroy by Sir John Lawrence in January, 1864, Sir Robert Napier and Sir William T. Denison carried on the duties of the office.

Sir John Lawrence, who succeeded Lord Elgin I, was the only one, besides Warren Hastings, to rise from the ranks of the Civil Service of the East India Company to the high office of GovernorGeneral. His appointment naturally recalls the strong opinion expressed against such appointment in connection with Sir Charles Metcalfe. John Lawrence had arrived in India in the year 1830, at the age of nineteen, and served in Calcutta and Delhi before he was appointed to administer the territory between the Beas and the Sutlej conquered from the Sikhs after the First Sikh War (1846). He gave evidence of his tact and ability when troubles naturally brewed among the Sikh chiefs under his charge on the eve of the Second Sikh War. As they showed signs of rebellious spirit, Lawrence personally visited the affected areas. At every halting place he placed a sword and a pen before the village headmen, who assembled in scores, and asked them to select by which instrument they wished to be ruled. They are said to have taken the pen without exception. This scene was later immortalized in the famous statue of Lawrence at Lahore.

After the annexation of the Panjab Lawrence was appointed one of the three administrators who were placed in charge of the Province, but later he was put in sole charge. 1 For the brilliant services he rendered in this capacity he was created a knight. The services he rendered as Chief Commissioner of the Pan jab during the dark days of the Mutiny have been referred to above. It was generally recognized that he saved India for England, and the

Viceroy's laconic reference, "Through him Delhi fell," hit the real issue. 2

Lawrence was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab in 1859, but he left for home almost immediately. He was appointed a member of the India Council and worked as such till he was appointed Viceroy of India. But the chief work of Lawrence lay behind and not before him. His Viceroyalty was more or less uneventful save for the Bhutan War and the terrible famine in Orissa in 1866. His interest was mainly focussed on the peasantry and its outcome was the 'Punjab Tenancy Act' and the 'Oudh Rent Bill. ,3 He also paved the way for the Bengal Tenancy Act which was actually passed after he left. Lawrence relinquished the office of Viceroy and handed over charge to Lord Mayo on January 12, 1869. As a reward for his eminent services Lawrence was created a Peer.

Lord Mayo, who succeeded Lord Lawrence, had a parliamentary career of twenty-one years in course of which he thrice held the office of the Chief Secretary of Ireland. His success in this office was mainly responsible for his choice as Viceroy when Lord Lawrence vacated his office. One of the first tasks which engaged his attention was to impart proper education and training to the younger members of the aristocracy of India, i.e., sons and relatives of the ruling chiefs and great landed proprietors, in order to fit them for their duties and responsibilities. The result was the Rajkot College in Kathiawar, and the Mayo College at Ajmer in Rajputana. His attempt to conciliate the Amir of Afghanistan took a practical shape in the magnificent Durbar held in Ambala in honour of that distinguished guest. This was the beginning of a new frontier policy based upon friendship with neighbouring States. 4 Lord Mayo took keen interest in internal administration and was in the habit of making extensive tours to make himself personally acquainted with the work of the district officer. On February 8, 1872, he visited the great convict settlement in the Andamans. In the evening he returned after an inspection of the proposed site for a sanatorium to his ship at Hopetown. He had reached the jetty and actually stepped forward to descend the stairs to the launch waiting to carry him to his man-of-war, when a convict sprang from behind some stones where he had been crouching, and plunged his knife into the back of the Viceroy. The assassin was immediately pulled off, but the wound he had inflicted proved fatal. In a few minutes Lord Mayo was dead. His body was carried first to Calcutta and then to his home in Ireland.

After the sudden death of Lord Mayo, Sir John Strachey and Lord Napier of Merchistoun successively carried on the duties of the office for three months till Earl Northbrook took over charge

in May, 1872. He had a successful parliamentary career, having held various appointments such as Lord of the Admiralty, Under* Secretary in three Departments, and Secretary to the Admiralty. His period of office in India was marked by the visit of the Prince of Wales (future king Edward VII) and the trial of the Gaekwar of Baroda on a charge of poisoning the Resident. But the most important problem confronting hitn was the political relation with Afghanistan in view of the rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia. As his views were not accepted by the Home authorities he tendered his resignation in 1875, but continued in his office till he was relieved by Lord Lytton in April, 1876.

Edward Robert Bulwer-Lytton, Earl of Lytton, held various diplomatic posts between 1850 and 1875. He served first as Second and then as First Secretary in English embassies at various European capitals. Early in 1875 he was offered the Governorship of Madras, but declined. When Disraeli nominated him GovernorGeneral, it came as a great surprise upon the English public, for this son of a great novelist was ‘hitherto known only as a graceful poet and courtly diplomatist’. 6 But Lytton displayed in his new office unexpected vigour and resolution. His tenure of office was marked by the assumption of the title “Empress of India” by Queen Victoria, and the magnificent Durbar held at Delhi on January 1, 1877, to proclaim it to the people and chiefs of India. But soon he was involved in the disastrous Afghan War to which his own aggressive imperialistic policy contributed in no small degree. 6 His internal administration was marked by reactionary measures like the Vernacular Press Act and the Arms Act. 7 His career in India was cut short by the fall of Disraeli's Ministry. The new administration under Gladstone reversed the Afghan policy of Lytton and Disraeli. Lytton thereupon tendered his resignation (April, 1880) and Marquess of Ripon took charge from him in June, 1880.

The Marquess of Ripon had a successful parliamentary career of nearly thirty years during which he held the offices of Secretary for War, Secretary of State for India and Lord President of the Council. On the return of Gladstone to power in 1880, he sent out Ripon as Viceroy of India "for the purpose of reversing Lord Lytton's policy in Afghanistan, and of introducing a more sympathetic system into the administration of India." Unexpected happenings in Afghanistan prevented Ripon from giving full effect to the policy of reversal for which he was sent out to India. But he adopted conciliatory measures for the settlement of Afghan affairs which kept up good relation between the two countries for nearly forty years. Ripon is, however, better known for reversing, more completely,

the policy of Lytton in internal administration. He introduced a more sympathetic tone into the administration of India which endeared him to her people more than any other British ruler who preceded or succeeded him. He repealed the obnoxious Vernacular Press Act of Lytton, laid the foundation of a system of local selfgovernment, and passed various beneficent measures for the improvement of the people. He restored Mysore to its old ruling family after fifty years of British administration,—a unique thing in the history of British India. He proposed to extend the jurisdiction of Indian magistrates over Europeans, accused of criminal offences. The Bill proposed for this purpose, known as the Ilbert Bill after the Law Member of his Council, who introduced it, raised a storm of indignation among the Englishmen in India who publicly insulted Ripon and even made a plot to remove him forcibly from India. 8 On the other hand, when he left India in December, 1884, he received unique ovations from the Indians all along his way to Bombay.

The Marquess of Dufferin who succeeded Lord Ripon in December, 1884, had begun his career in diplomatic service, but later held the offices of Under-Secretary for India and Under-Secretary for War. In 1872, he was appointed Governor-General of Canada. Later he was Ambassador to Russia and Turkey. Lord Dufferin's administration in India saw the Third Burmese War in 1885, ending in the annexation of Upper Burma and the final extinction of Burma as an independent power. Another event, big with important consequences in the future, was the inauguration of the Indian National Congress in the same year.[9] In the north-west, the Panjdeh incident on the border of Afghanistan brought Britain tq the verge of war with Russia. Fortunately, an amicable settlement was arranged and the war was averted. But as a result of the incident the total strength of the Indian army was raised by 10,000 British and 20,000 Indian troops, and Quetta was connected by railway. The chances of any future war with Russia were, however, -considerably reduced by the delimitation of the northern boundary of Afghanistan by a joint Anglo-Russian Commission.

The Marquess of Lansdowne, who succeeded Dufferin in December, 1888, held offices as Under-Secretary of War and Under-Secretary of India, and was the Governor of Canada from 1883 to 1888. During his rule in India there was the so-called rebellion in the petty State of Manipur on the north-eastern frontier in 1891, which has been discussed in detail in Chapter XXVII. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was an important event, marking a definite stage forward in the evolution of Indian constitution.[10] In 1893 the frontiers of Afghanistan and British India were clearly defined by a joint agreement between the two Governments.

Earl of Elgin and Kincardine II, son of the Viceroy of that name, who succeeded Lord Lansdowne as Viceroy in January, 1894, did not distinguish himself in any way. His administration in India during the next five years was troubled by the rising of the frontier tribes in the north-west.[11] This was due to the establishment of military posts into tribal territory which alarmed the hardy and independence-loving clans. The Waziris and Swatis successively rose in arms against the British in June and July, 1897, and the Mohmands shortly followed their example. They were joined by the Afridis who closed the Khyber Pass. The Tirah campaign, which put down these tribes, proved to be a very costly one in both men and money.

George Nathaniel, Baron Curzon of Kedleston, who succeeded Lord Elgin II in January, 1899, is generally regarded as one of the ablest Governors-General of India. He distinguished himself as a student in Oxford and served as Under-Secretary for India in 1891-92, and for Foreign Affairs in 1895-98. He showed great promise even in these subordinate posts and educated himself by extensive tours in Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, and the Pamirs on the one side, and Siam, Indo-China and Korea on the other. He was an eloquent speaker and good writer.

As the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, his untiring industry enabled him to undertake large measures of reform in almost every branch of administration. The risings of the frontier tribes in 1897-98 led him to formulate a new policy of conciliation and create a new province called the North-West Frontier Province, though he had to undertake a campaign against the Mahsud Waziris in 1901. 12 He sent a military expedition to Tibet which advanced as far as Lhasa. 13

He established the Imperial Cadet Corps and forced the Nizam to agree to.the permanent cession of Berar. He created a new Department to look after commerce and industry, reorganized the Archaeological Department, and took steps to preserve and protect the ancient monuments of India. He passed some beneficent measures like the reduction of Salt-tax and Income-tax. But his reform of the Calcutta Municipality and the Indian Universities was highly unpopular. His crowning act of folly was the partition of Bengal in the teeth of almost universal opposition. The agitation against this measure grew in volume after his departure, and led to the great national movement which ultimately secured freedom for India. On the expiration of the customary term of five years Curzon was re-appointed Viceroy and Governor-General, but he was soon in

volved in an acrimonious controversy with the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, regarding the position of the military member of the Viceroy's Council. As Lord Curzon's views were not upheld by the Home Government he resigned in 1905. 14

II. GENERAL REVIEW OF THE PERIOD (1858-1905)

A. Effect of the Mutiny

The great outbreak of 1857 brought about fundamental changes in the character of Indian administration and the future development of the country. Its immediate effects were the gradual alienation and growing distrust between the rulers and the ruled, and the re-orientation of the policy of the former.

The first fruit of this re-orientation was the extinction of the rule of a private trading company over India, and the assumption of the Government of India by the British Crown to which detailed reference will be made in Chapter XXVIII. But it ushered in other changes in its train.

The changed attitude of the Government was strikingly manifested in the reorganization of the army. The increase in the proportion of the British soldiers, the practical reservation of the artillery for them, and the mixing up of different classes of sepoys divided from each other by social and religious creed, in order to prevent united action by them, were undoubtedly the results of the Mutiny and will be described in detail in Chapter XXVIII, Section XI. It will suffice here to say that the policy of balance and counterpoise was deliberately pursued in the military administration. Various groups in the army were so arranged as to check the growth of any sentiment of national unity among them, and tribal and communal loyalties were deliberately encouraged. The army was, as far as possible, kept in isolation from the people and Indian newspapers were not allowed to reach them. It is hardly necessary to add that all the key positions were kept in the hands of Englishmen and even the oldest and most experienced non-commissioned Indian officer held a status inferior to that of a raw English subaltern. For additional protection the more effective weapons of warfare were not given to the Indian forces; they were reserved for the British troops in India. These British troops were always kept with the Indian regiments in all the vital centres of India to serve as ‘internal security troops’ for suppression of disorder and to overawe the people. While this internal army, with the predominance of British personnel, served as an army of occupation for the country, the greater portion of the Indian troops were part of the field army organized for service abroad. There was a general feeling of distrust also against the Indian civil population, and their right of using firearms was seriously restricted.

But the new policy was not confined to measures of defences. It had its repercussions on the attitude towards the Indian States. The outbreak of 1857 had emphasized the potential strength of the Indian States, both for good and evil. It w 7 as obvious to everyone that the Indian States might have easily turned the scale against the British during the great outbreak, and it was the British policy of annexation that supplied a strong motive power to the Mutiny and civil revolt that followed it. So the British rulers adopted a new policy towards them. On the one hand, they took all possible steps to render them militarily weak and harmless. On the other hand, they tried to conciliate the ruling families and guaranteed their future stability by recognizing adoption and repudiation of annexation in future. An offshoot of this new policy was the formal declaration of British suzerainty over the whole of India. The full significance of this measure and the change from British paramountcy to Imperialism will be described in Chapter XXX. As Lord Lytton said, the Royal Titles Act of 1876, by which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, marked the beginning of "a new policy by virtue of which the Crown of England should henceforth be identified with the hopes, the aspirations, the sympathies and interests of a powerful native aristocracy",—by implication, not of the people at large. A thin wedge was driven between the welfare of the masses and the vested interests of the ruling families, landlords and other aristocratic classes of India. This gave a fiillip to the autocracy and tyranny of the Indian rulers and their definite alignment with the British rulers as against their own people.

This was but one phase of the policy of Divide and Rule which has been followed by Imperialism in all ages and countries. Another phase of the same policy was the deliberate encouragement of the split between the Hindus and Muslims. It is true that the vital differences between the two communities were always there and not the creations of the British, but the latter fully exploited the situation to their advantage. 15

The relations between the Indians and the Britishers underwent a visible change. 15 The horrible atrocities committed by both sides, to which reference has been made above,[11] created a river of blood between the two communities. Each had a highly exaggerated notion of the crime and delinquencies of the other, and nursed bitter memories of a one-sided character. This mainly accounts for the growing isolation and arrogance of the British community in India, mentioned later in this section. So far as the Indians were concerned, the terrible ruthlessness with which the outbreak of 1857 was suppressed left them so' hopelessly weak and incapable of taking vengeance, that they could only brood upon their misery and nurse sullen resentment in their heart. As an indirect consequence of this, the tide of westernization brought about by English education ebbed to a considerable degree. The glamour of western culture and civilization was gradually dimmed and a new type of orthodoxy took its place. This was facilitated by the reluctance of the British Government to pass any liberal social legislation, or to interfere in the religious customs in any way, as many believed that such action on their part was one of the important causes of the outbreak of 1857. Thus the pledge of neutrality on the part of Government in regard to social and religious questions, given in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, probably helped the reactionary element and partly explains the revival of orthodox ideas during the period under review.

While reactionary Hindu orthodoxy once more raised its head, the British officials indirectly helped it by a positive dislike for the progress of the Indians on western lines. It was a fundamental departure from the policy of their predecessors. In order to achieve this purpose they tried to curtail the spread of English education, which they rightly regarded as the fountain-head from which flowed all liberal and progressive ideas. This would be clear from the following statement of Sir William Wedderburn, an eminent member of the I.C.S.: "Unfortunately, following the Mutiny, official opinion appears to have suffered a reaction on the question of popular education, and he (Hume) expressed his concern that many 'entirely disapprove of any efforts to cultivate the native mind; many condemn, as unconditionally, a merely secular education''.[18] The reactionary spirit showed itself shortly^ afterwards in a Government circular of 28th January, 1859, in which objection was taken to the employment of native agency for the promotion of education, and the Collector was warned not to attempt to persuade the people to send their children to the schools or to contribute to their maintenance. Mr. Hume, another senior member of the I.C.S., protested against it in a letter dated 30th March, 1859.[19]

Other changes in the official attitude will be described in detail in Chapter XLVIII. Generally speaking, the officials became less sympathetic and more aloof, and there was a new spirit in administration marked by a keener sense of racial discrimination and a nervous excitability ready to take quick and drastic action on the least indication of disaffection and disloyalty. As the transfer of authority to the Crown removed, to a large extent, all checks and restraints on the British officials in India in their routine work, there was a growth of hide-bound bureaucracy which practically usurped the functions of the Government of India. This bureaucracy was, generally speaking, highly efficient, and the machinery of administration devised by them must be regarded as one of the greatest achievements of British rule in India. It may also be conceded that the Indian bureaucracy meant to do good to the people as they understood it. But their efforts were doomed to failure because of their supreme hatred for the educated Indians, rank ignorance of the real wants and needs of the people, and the fixed policy of subordinating the interests of India to those of England.

The extinction of the East India Company’s rule brought in grave economic peril to India. For henceforth India became the field of economic exploitation, not of a single trading concern, but of the entire British people. The trading and other interests outside the Company had hitherto exercised a sort of scrutiny over its transactions, thus providing a safeguard, howsoever weak, for Indian interests. The British people, who were now masters of India, not only gave up this critical attitude, but used their political power to further their own interests, both political and economical. The impeachment of a Governor-General for his misdeeds, or a periodical review of the Indian affairs every twenty years—all these became things of the past, and a spirit of indifference and complacency about the nature of their rule in India, so long as their own interests remained unaffected, was the prevailing mood of the British people at large. But the Britishers were not at all indifferent to the economic potentialities of India. India now became a dumping ground of British manufacture, and an almost inexhaustible field for investment of capital, for it offered unlimited scope for commercial and industrial enterprises like railways, steamer, tea and coffee plantation, etc. The number of Englishmen seeking their fortunes in India, both private individuals and members of the civil and military services, also rapidly increased. Although their services as well as their enterprises and examples went* a great way towards modernizing India on the western model, the Indian masses were deprived of a substantial portion of its benefit, and had to purchase the remainder at an almost prohibited cost which they were unable to bear.

The great outbreak of 1857 had also other permanent results The success of the tiny British forces in quelling such a wide-spread revolt generated a sense of security and stability of the British dominion in India, not only in the minds of the British but also in those of the Indians. The futility of armed resistance against British rule was demonstrated in a convincing manner, and the assumption of Indian Government directly by the Crown, with all the resources

at its command, seemed to put such an attempt beyond the range of practical politics. At the same time the solemn promises in Her Gracious Majesty's proclamation of 1858 held out hopes of removing many of the grievances and causes of discontent which combined to produce the great conflagration. The idea of offering armed resistance against the might of the British gradually came to be generally discounted and Pax Britannica prevailed for nearly half a century, This was not seriously disturbed in spite of occasional uprisings. The Wahabis, from their remote outpost of inaccessible hills in the northwest frontier, waged a relentless struggle against the British, 20 and fears and rumours of impending revolution haunted the British mind almost throughout the period. 21 The spirit of resistance flared up among Indigo-cultivators of Bengal, and minor rebellions broke out here and there. 22 But in spite of all these it must be admitted that after the sixties the disturbances in India became exception rather than the rule, and there cannot be any doubt that the unsuccessful attempt in 1857-8 to oust" the British from India put them more firmly on the saddle. The last embers of the chaos and confusion bequeathed by the political disintegration of the eighteenth century were finally extinguished A new era began in Indian history.

An immediate effect of the Mutiny was the growing hatred of the Englishmen towards the Muslims. As Lyall has observed: “After the Mutiny the British turned on the Muhammadans as their real

enemies_They forfeited for the time the confidence of their

foreign rulers”. But it was not long before the growing nationalism of the Hindus alienated the British from them and the Muslims were taken back into confidence and favour.

A word may be said about the long-term effect of the Mutiny, It has been said that Julius Caesar, dead, was more powerful than when he was alive. The same thing may be said about the Mutiny of 1857. Whatever might have been its original character, it soon became a symbol of challenge to the mighty British power in India. It remained a shining example before nascent nationalism in India in its struggle for freedom from the British yoke, and was invested with the full glory of the first national war of independence against the British. Nana Sahib, the Rani of Jhansi, Bahadur Shah and Kunwar Singh became national heroes and champions of national freedom, and stories of their heroic struggle animated the fighters for freedom more than half a century later. Popular songs and ballads k$pt their memory alive.and made it a powerful force to reckon

with.

BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE B.
Unredeemed Pledges

Tu many Indians, one redeeming feature of *he Mutiny w&s that it brought about the end of the Company’s rule and the taking over of the administration by the Queen herself. Abundant goodwill was created by the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria (1 November, 1858) enunciating the liberal principles by which India was to be ruled in future. If these principles had been strictly adhered to, a new chapter might have opened in

Indian history. But these principles were followed more in breach than in observance.

The Queen declared: "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions". But this was violated by the annexation of Upper Burma and Berar, and other territorial acquisitions to w r hich reference will be made in Chapters XXIV, XXV and XXVII. The following comment of Herbert Spencer, the great English philosopher of the 19th Century, is as true of the first half as of the second half of the 19th Century.

"As remarked by an Indian Officer, Deputy Surgeon-General Paske, all our conquests and annexations are made from base and selfish motives alone. Major Raverty, of the Bombay army, condemns, 'the rage shown of late years for seizing what does not and did never belong to us', because the people happen to be weak and poorly armed, while we are strong and provided with the most excellent weapons. Resistance to an intruding sportsman or a bullying explorer, or disobedience to a resident, or even refusal to furnish transport coolies, serves as sufficient excuse for attack, conquest and annexation." 22 *

The scope of annexations was limited after 1858, for very little remained to be annexed after Dalhousie had completed his task with a thoroughness which was the envy and despair of his successors. But the spirit remained and the best use was made of the few opportunities that presented themselves.

The Queen guaranteed status quo to the Native Princes of India. But they were considerably reduced in rank and status, legally and theoretically, by the Royal Titles Act of 1876, and in practice by the constant unauthorized interference in their internal affairs by the Resident and the Government of India.

Another declaration of the Queen that raised high hopes in Indian minds was her pledge of equal treatment to all her subjects, Indian and European. "We hold ourselves", said she, "bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty, which bind us to all our other subjects". How actual facts belied this promise, in every respect, from beginning to end, will be described in detail in Chapters XLVII and XLVIII.

Apart from the general arrogant attitude of Englishmen towards the Indians which emboldened every Tom, Dick and Harry to insult the Indians of

every rank, and enabled them to do so with impunity, the Ilbert Bill agitation, the conduct of the indigo- and tea-planters in India, and the treatment meted to the Indians in the Crown Colonies and other possessions of the British Empire, highlight the manner in which the Queen's declaration was given effect to by her Government at home and Viceroy in India. The sham of equal treatment was further exposed by the economic strangulation of India for the sake of enriching England.

Then there was the specific promise of admitting all Indians "freely and impartially" to all offices. This was merely the repetition of a clause in the Charter Act of 1833. Never, perhaps, was an Act of Parliament or a royal pledge so openly violated as this. The subject has been fully dealt with in Section IV of Chapter XXVIII.

Whether these promises were intended to be kept, or deliberately made only to pacify the Indians by false hopes, it is difficult to say. But we have it on the authority of no less a person than a Viceroy that every Englishman knew that "these claims and expectations can never be fulfilled", and so the Government, both of England and India, took "every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise which they have uttered to the ear." These are the words of Lord Lytton who frankly admitted that they had "cheated" the Indians. 221 '

The period of administration by the Crown was thus a period of broken pledges. The disillusionment and frustration caused by breaches of pledges was the most potent factor in changing the goodwill of the Indians to a spirit of hatred and animosity against the British rule, and gave a fillip to the nascent spirit of nationalism, the growth of which was the characteristic feature of the period.

C. The Era of Nationalism

The failure of the outbreak of 1857 ushered in a new phase in Indian politics, for although the spirit of violence was not altogether dead, it was driven underground, and the intellectual movement of a non-violent nature now dominated Indian mind. The rapid spread of English education increased the number of that class of Indians who were inspired by the political principles and technique of political agitation prevalent in England. The political ideas and organizations, of which the beginnings may be traced before 1857, now developed apace and one can mark clearly the birth of a new political consciousness and of a new sense of nationalism in India.

This was mainly due to the grave and steadily growing discontent of the intelligentsia against the British rule. The economic

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ruin of the country, caused by the selfish policy of England, was emphasized by chronic poverty of the people and repeated occurrence of famines on a wide-spread scale. Men like Dadabhai Naoroji in India and William Digby in England exposed, by a brilliant array of facts and figures, how the British policy was really responsible for this state of things. The educated Indians were not in a mood to judge their views in a detached critical spirit, but were deeply moved by the picture drawn by them, which they believed to be a true representation of facts. The Indian opinion was rudely shocked when the import duty on cotton goods was removed for satisfying Manchester', though it imposed a heavy strain on Indian tax-payers and seriously hampered the infant cotton industry of Bombay. But as the saying goes, there is no cloud without silver lining. The selfish economic policy of Britain brought into the political field a new class of Indians slowly emerging into limelight. In spite of many handicaps Indian industry of the modern type was slowly forging ahead during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The cotton textile industry, financed and managed mainly by the Indians, showed a progress which must be held as remarkable when it is remembered that the State extended its hand not to help, but to retard its growth. “In 1853 the first successful cotton mill was started in Bombay. By 1880 there were 156 mills employing 44,000 workers. By 1900 there were 193 mills employing 161,000 workers.” 23 The new capitalist class joined the English-educated middle class— lawyers, teachers, doctors etc.—in their national demands as they felt that even their narrow class interests could not be properly served without merging them into the broader political interests of the country.

The growing poverty of the people cast a gloom over the whole country. “While in the first half of the nineteenth century there were seven famines with an estimated total of li million deaths, in the second half of the nineteenth century there were twenty-four famines with an estimated total of 28^ million deaths, and eighteen

of these twenty-four famines fall into the last quarter of the nineteenth century”, 24

A no less disconcerting feature (indirectly helping the growth of Indian nationalism) was the racial arrogance of the English which reached ts climax during the period under review. The outbreak of 1857, and particularly the stories of horrible massacres on both sides, strained the relations of, and produced hatred and ill-feeling between' the Indians and Englishmen. Time might have healed up the sores and restored the cordiality and goodwill between the two which bitter memories of Mutiny had disturbed. But unfortunately other forces

were at work and the situation, far from improving, was rendered still further worse. The opening of the Suez Canal and facilities of communication between England and India produced a great change in the attitude of Englishmen towards Indians. As the Englishmen now lived with their families in India, and could frequently visit England, they ceased to look upon India as their adopted home, and gradually developed an exclusive attitude. The free intercourse between Indians and Englishmen was considerably lessened and almost a caste-barrier was raised between the two.

What was worse still was the rudeness cum violence manifested by the Englishmen in India. They not only assumed an attitude of a patronizing and superior character, but also ysed to look upon the Indians as niggers to whom rules of decent conduct need not apply. Rude behaviour towards Indians, sometimes accompanied by brutal assault, striking servants and common men on the slightest provocation, turning even respectable Indians out of Railway compartments, became the order of the day. While the

Englishmen got away scot-free or with very light punishment even for murder and serious crimes, the Indians were most severely punished for the slightest offences or discourtesy to them. The Indians felt deeply wounded by the humiliation they were liable to suffer at any moment in the hands of the Englishmen, and there was an increasing bitterness of feelings between the two. It may be said without much exaggeration that the racial arrogance of the Englishmen made the English rule more unpopular and hated in India than probably any other single factor.

The political causes of discontent were also deep-seated. For nearly half a century the Indians had been agitating for representative government and for admission into higher services, but all in vain. The very inadequate measures adopted by the Government to remove these grievances will be described in Chapter XXVIII, Sections II and IV.

These and other causes of discontent, noted in Chapter XIII, which were only partially removed, in some cases, during the period under review, gave rise to a vigorous political agitation. It was based on a sincere faith in the democratic traditions and sense of justice of the English people. The Indian leaders fondly believed that the Englishmen at home need only be convinced of the justice and genuineness of Indian aspiration for advancement of political status, in order to freely grant all their demands. The disillusionment was not long in coming. It is not generally recognized how much the administration of British India was influenced by the tenor of the policy of the Home Government at the time. Sd long as the

Liberal party was ruling England we find some liberal measures adopted also in India. The educational and social reforms of Bentinck may be cited as examples. But the Conservative Governmen of Lord Beaconsfield introduced a new policy which is typified by Lord Lytton's administration in India, and the harsh and oppressive measures adopted by him, such as the Vernacular Press Act, the Arms Act, and by the Home authorities such as the abolition of duty on imported cotton goods and the lowering of age for Civil Service candidates. These stimulated the political activities of Indians which found new channels of expression, big with future consequences. 25 History records how the tyranny of foreign rulers often proves to be a blessing in disguise by promoting the cause of freedom. The administration of Lord Lytton from 1876 to 1880 and that of Lord Curzon, a quarter of a century later, may be cited as apt illustrations from Indian history.

The unpopular acts of Lord Lytton set, for the first time in British Indian history, the stage for political agitation on an allIndia basis. The agitation retained its old constitutional character, although Lord Lytton's administration gave a rude shock to the robust faith of the Indian leaders in the sense of justice of the English people. But the scope of political agitation and its tone underwent a great change. Insistent demands for the abolition of unjust and repressive measures were urged in forceful language, and vigorous protests were made against the autocratic attitude of the Viceroy. The tone of the Indian press was also in keeping with the newly awakened political consciousness of the people. They criticized in strong language the various administrative measures of the Government which adversely affected the interests of India, and made trenchant remarks even on such subjects as the Afghan War, military expedition to Egypt, and the favouritism shown to Manchester at the cost of the poor Indian rate-payers. The'Press and the Platform took the position of a permanent, though ineffective, Opposition to Indian Government. The agitation was also carried on in England where a small number of liberal Englishmen sympathized with the views and political aspirations of India. Indian question was also raised in the House of Commons by Fawcett and Gladstone.

The Indian Association of Calcutta had already ushered in a new era of political agitation on all-India basis, which paved the way for a clear recognition of India as one political unit. The practical realization of this ideal was facilitated by the agitation of the Anglo-Indians over the Ilbert Bill and the imprisonment of Surendra Nath Banerji. The latter strengthened the growing bonds of fellowship and good feeling between the different Indian provinces, while the former taught the Indians the great value of political agitation carried on the basis of a united front. The need was thus felt of a closely knit political organization for the whole of India. This led to the foundation, in 1883, of National Conference in Calcutta, the precursor of Indian National Congress founded in 1885, which will be described in details in Chapters LII and LIII.

One of the novel features of the new era of political agitation was the enthusiasm it evoked among the public. Half a century before, Indian leaders constantly complained that the public took little interest in political questions. While addressing an important, but thinly attended, political meeting, Dwarakanath Tagore had observed: “Let Hindu College turn out more educated men in future as it has done in the past, and in a few years these meetings will be attended by ten times the number”. His prophecy was more than fulfilled. Even the biggest halls proved too small for public meetings in the seventies, and they were held in open parks and squares. This was the beginning of what was usually styled monster meetings in later days. The technique of political agitation was also now fully developed. Political mass meetings all over the country, political associations at centres with branches in moffussil areas, memorials and petitions both to Indian and Home Governments, and organizations or'individual efforts to educate public opinion in England and interest it in Indian affairs—all these were fully developed and remained the standard form of political activity in India during the period under review.

The political ideals and organizations ending in the National Conference and‘Indian National Congress were sustained by the growing sense of nationalism and patriotism among the Indians. The basis of this nationalism has been discussed in Chapter LI. It found noble expression in vernacular literature. A number of distinguished writers in Bengal, who have permanently enriched her literature, were inspired by the highest patriotic feelings and noblest national sentiments, and preached them through the medium of novels, poems, essays, and songs. These are still prized as the most precious intellectual legacy of the last century and have proved for more than three quarters of a century the most valuable aid in the struggle for freedom that Bengal waged against the British. The same thing is more or less true of other parts of India. This has been discussed in Chapter XLIII. The Freedom Movement in India is really based on the nationalism which was born during the period under review. So far as a historian’s vision goes, this national and patriotic spirit, on an all-India basis, is probably unique in the annals of this coum try, as no clear trace of this is available in earlier periods. The growth of this nationalism has been described in Chapters LI and LIV, and in a sense it guided and modified the character of the struggle for freedom till it was finally won. Though born in peaceful environments, and mainly due to impact of Western ideas, it has proved to be the most dominant factor in India's Freedom Movement, and with each advancing year cast its lengthening shadow over the fortunes of the British rule in India. The birth and growth of this nationalism constitute the chief glory of India during the period under review. Thus the year 1857 may be looked upon as the great divide between the two great landmarks in Indian history— that of British paramountcy in the first half, and that of Indian nationalism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

One discordant note has to be struck in this glowing account of nationalism. It is the growing cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims who formed the two major communities in. this country. In spite of considerable amity and fellow-feeling, historic, social and religious causes have always operated as a barrier between the two and prevented their real fusion into a common nationality. 20 Political necessities and vicissitudes occasionally brought them to* gether, when they presented a common united front in various spheres of life. Nevertheless the line of cleavage remained. It slowly widened during the period under review, for reasons described in Chapter XLVI. It formed at first a tiny speck of cloud in the otherwise brilliant national firmament of India. Towards the close of the period under review the cloud had grown no bigger than a man's hand. But in less than half a century, it overcast the sky, and ere long there came out of it thunder, lightning and storm which drenched the country in blood, and rent in twain the great fabric of free India, which was the dream of Indian patriots and for which they lived and died. That tragedy was still in the womb of the future, but its roots lay deep in the soil even during the period under review, as will be discussed in Chapter XLVI.

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See p. 289.

Sketches, I. 94-5. . • ,rrr

For the different forms of Land-settlement, cf. Chapter XXVIII, section VII.

For Afghan policy cf. Ch. XXV.

The Political History of England , Vol. VIII, p. 302.

Cf. Ch. XXV.

Cf. Ch. LII.

Ibid.

Chapter LIII.

Cf. Ch. XXVHI, section H.

Cf. Ch. XXXI.

Ibid. _

cf. ch. xxxra.

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14. The real point of difference has been discussed in detail in Chapters XXVIII. section XI.

15. Cf. Ch. XLVI.

SW?® 8 . been discussed in detail in Chapters XLVII, XLVlII and XLIX.

17. Cf. Ch. XIX.

18. Hume, 17-8.

19. Ibid. For Sir George Campbell's attempts to curtail English education in Bengal, cf. Buckland, I. 532; Pal, I. 230-32.

20. Cf. Ch. XXIX.

21. Cf. Ch. LIII.

22. Cf. Ch. XXIX.

22a.

22b.

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Principles of Sociology, D. A. & Co., 1897, p. 584.

T^e whole passage has been quoted, with references, in Ch. XXVIII, section IV. tiPDy 255.

Ibid.

This is fully discussed in Ch. LII.

Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 615-636.

CHAPTER XXIV

POLITICAL HISTORY AND EXPANSION OF

DOMINIONS (1858-1905)

The Act for the Better Government of India, passed on August 2, 1858, transferred the Government of India from the hands of the East India Company to the Crown, and this was announced by Lord Canning at a darbar at Allahabad. A proclamation issued in the name of the Queen on November 1, 1858, was read at the darbar to convey to the chiefs and peoples of India the main features of the change in the system of administration and the new spirit in which the Government of India was to be carried on in future. 1 It was expressly said in this proclamation that the Queen desired 'no extensions of the present territorial domains in India.' There can be hardly any doubt that the "lessons of the Mutiny" were at the root of this change of policy. For, the great outbreak had demonstrated the folly of the annexation in two ways. In the first place, there was a strong body of opinion which regarded the annexations of Dalhousie as one of the main causes of the outbreak of 1857. Secondly, it was generally agreed that the loyalty of the rulers of Native States and the services rendered by them, were of inestimable value in suppressing the revolt. Thus there was a general appreciation of the views of those servants of the Company who regarded the Native States as a bulwark of British rule in India.

This change of policy left little scope for further expansion of British dominions in India. Nevertheless, there was one notable exception in the conquest of Upper Burma in 1885. The course of events leading to it will be fully dealt with in Chapter XXVI. It will suffice to state here that, as in 1852, there was a persistent cry for annexation on the pretext of ill treatment to British traders. To this was added a more substantial ground, namely, alarm at the rapid extension of the French influence and dominion in that region. At least on two occasions the Government of India were anxious to pick up a quarrel with Burma on one ground or another, but the Secretary of State firmly put his foot down. This was during the administration of the Liberal Party under Gladstone when the 'Forward Policy' had received a severe blow in the Second Afghan War. It may not be, therefore, a mere coincidence that it was during the short period of

Conservative rule under Salisbury, during the interval between the Second and the Third Gladstone Cabinet, that war was declared against Burma, on November 13, 1885. Fifteen days later king Thibaw surrendered, and Lord Dulferin annexed Upper Burma to the British dominions on January 1, 1886. There was no legitimate ground for the war, and it was an act of aggression, pure and simple. Its only justification lay in the moral ground that Burma was saved from the tyranny of a cruel despot. But how far it can be regarded as a justification for seizing other's territories is a moot question, and has been discussed above.[2]

Among minor conquests may be mentioned those acquired from the hill-State of Bhutan. Although British relation with Bhutan goes back to the days of Warren Hastings, politicaLeonnection between the two arose only after the annexation of Assam in 1826. It was then found that Bhutan was‘ in unlawful occupation of the Duars in the Darrang District which formed a part of Assam. The matter was settled amicably on Bhutan's agreeing to pay a small tribute. But these often fell in arrears and the Bhutanese committed depredations in British territory. Negotiations having borne no fruit, the Assam Duars were annexed in 1841, and the Government of India agreed to pay a sum of one thousand rupees to Bhutan per annum for maintaining peace.

As the Bhutanese raids in British territory continued unchecked, Sir Ashley Eden was sent as an envoy in 1863 to demand reparation. But the envoy was not only insulted but forced under duress to sign a treaty giving over the disputed territory to Bhutan. Eden, however, managed to escape, and the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, disavowed the treaty. As the Bhutanese refused to restore the British captives, a British force invaded Bhutan in 1865. Although the Bhutanese surprised an English garrison and caused some loss, they were soon compelled to sue for peace. By a treaty concluded in November, 1865, Bhutan ceded all the Duars of Bengal and Assam, with other territories, and released all kidnapped British subjects. It was also agreed that disputes between Bhutan on the one side and Sikkim or Cooch Behar on the other should be referred to the British Government. The

British Government undertook to pay an annual allowance so long as the Bhutanese refrained from unlawful action.

There were troubles in the petty State of Manipur, which came into existence as a result of the First Burmese War, as mentioned above.'" The British possessed no legal right of suzerainty over this small hilly State, and kept a Political Agent there. Troubles arose in this State in 1890 when the reigning king was forced to flee from the kingdom as the result of a palace revolution, and his younger brother was placed on the throne. The Government of India, after some time, recognized the new ruler, but insisted that his

brother Tikendrajit, the Commander-in-Chief, should be banished from the kingdom. The Chief Commissioner of Assam laid a trap for seizing Tikendrajit in the public ddrbar where the order of the Government Of India was to be announced. Tikendrajit, however, scented danger and did not attend the darbar. The Chief Commissioner demanded of the new Raja that Tikendrajit should be immediately deported outside the kingdom. The king asked for some time as Tikendrajit was ill. The Resident personally visited Tikendrajit and satisfied himself that he was really very ill. Nevertheless, the British force suddenly attacked the house of Tikendrajit in the early hours of the next morning, but was repulsed after a whole day’s fight. The Chief Commissioner, finding his position very risky, asked for cease-fire which was immediately granted by Tikendrajit, though he was then in a position of vantage. The Chief Commissioner then went with four companions to the palace to arrive at an amicable settlement. The negotiations, however, failed and the five Englishmen left the palace, accompanied by a brother of Tikendrajit. When the party had reached near the gateway, a crowd of Manipuris, infuriated beyond measure by the acts of violence perpetrated by the British forces during their attack of the palace, suddenly rushed towards the Englishmen and assaulted them. One of them was killed by a spear and the other four were rescued and' kept inside the durbar hall, closely guarded. Tikendrajit gave positive orders that the Englishmen should not be harmed in any way, but taking advantage of his absence, Tongol General, an old man who wielded great power in the palace, had all the Englishmen beheaded by the public executioner. In the meantime the British at the Residency, after waiting in vain for the return of the Chief Commissioner and his party, left Manipur without any molestation. To avenge the outrage an English force captured Manipur and arrested the king, Tikendrajit and many others. They were tried by a Special Court and the king, his brother Tikendrajit and Tongol General were ordered to be hanged. The current account of the rebellion of Manipur, generally accepted on the authority of the British historians, is inaccurate and misleading, and there are good grounds to believe that an absolutely unjust and unprovoked attack by the British forced Tikendrajit to take measures for legitimate self-defence, and that he was not guilty of the crime for which he was hanged. The whole episode has been discussed in detail in Chapter XXVII.

There were troubles in the north-western frontier. After the First Afghan War, with its disasters still fresh in memory, the first generation of British statesmen, both at home and in India, adopted a policy of strict non-interference. They severely let alone Dost

Muhammad, even though he helped the Sikhs in the Second Sikh War. But gradually, mainly at the instance of Herbert Edwardes, the Commissioner of Peshawar, a successful attempt was made to win over his friendship. Events soon showed its value; for throughout the outbreak of 1857-58 Dost Muhammad refrained from taking advantage of the perilous situation of the English to wreak vengeance against them for the wrongs he had suffered in their hands. Then, for a long time, the Government of India were well content with the friendship and refused to commit themselves any further with the internal affairs or external policy of Afghanistan. This policy of ‘masterly inactivity' was carried faithfully by Lord Lawrence when, though requested for help by various claimants for the throne of Kabul after the death of Dost Muhammad, he refused aid to one and all, and recognized as Amir anyone who for the time being succeeded in seizing the throne of Kabul.

This policy of neutrality was looked upon with disfavour by a small section of Englishmen who were alarmed at the rapid advance of Russia and advocated the old “Forward Policy” which led to the First Afghan War. The School came to the forefront, when Disraeli came into power in 1874. He inherited the anti-Russian policy of Palmerston, and found an able lieutenant in Lord Lytton, whom he appointed Viceroy to succeed Lord Northbrook when the latter chose to resign his office rather than carry out a policy towards the Amir which he did not approve. Lytton, who dreamt of planting British flag in Central Asia, pursued a deliberately aggressive policy like Auckland before him. He forced the hands of the British Government, and plunged headlong into a war with Afghanistan (November, 1878). Like Auckland, again, he had the supreme satisfaction of seeing his efforts crowned with success, which was ere long followed by a tragedy that differed in degree, but not in kind, from the earlier disaster. The British envoy at Kabul, Cavagnari, and all his attendants were murdered by an infuriated soldiery; once again the British army restored the lost honour and prestige, and then left the country to itself. The net outcome of the war was the possession of two small strips of territory, Pishin and Sibi, on the frontier, in return for an annual allowance to the Amir. A detailed account of this expedition has been given in Chapter XXV.

The subsequent relations between India and Afghanistan have, on the whole, been friendly during the period under review, and have little bearing upon the internal administration of India. They really form a part of the foreign relations which will be dealt with in Chapter XXXIII.

But there is one aspect of the Anglo-Afghan relations which claims a brief notice here. Since the Second Afghan War the Government of India took steps to bring under more active control the wild tribes inhabiting the borderland between the British dominions and Afghanistan. By religion and nationality they belonged to Afghanistan and the Amir exercised a vague kind of suzerainty over them. Really speaking, these freedom-loving peoples owed allegiance to none, except when compelled by force. The Government of India now turned their attention to this no-man s land, and tried to force the tribal peoples to submit to the British authority. It was the revival of the Forward Policy in another form. Unable to establish political authority in Afghanistan, the British adopted the next best course of creating a buffer-state in the shape of a wide belt of hilly tribes under their direct political authority.

The geopraphy of this area was but vaguely known, and as the Amir claimed a sort of suzerainty over the tribes, the military activity of the British on their frontier was a source of alarm and anxiety to him. As a matter of fact, during the nineties of the last century the relations between the Amir and the British were often so much strained, that on several occasions war seemed to be almost within sight. In order to remove all sources of friction between the two countries, the boundary between British India and Afghanistan was clearly demarcated after a very careful local survey on the basis of an agreement reached by a mission led by Sir Mortimer Durand to Kabul in 1893. Though the Amir positively disliked the very idea of delimitation of the boundary, he accepted the ‘Durand 1 line’, as the boundary ultimately fixed on the basis of the Durand agreement came to be called. It was agreed by both the Amir and the Government of India that neither of them would interfere in any way across the line.

But while the delimitation of the boundary irritated the Amir, it positively alarmed the hill tribes on the British side of the line. They had hitherto enjoyed autonomy, but now that they were definitely included within the British territory they naturally apprehended a far more rigid control by the new suzerain power than the Amir was ever in a position to exercise over them. This fear of the loss of independence, which they cherished above all things, seems to be the real reason for the widespread and violent risings of the wild tribes like the Afridis, the Waziris, the Mahsud, the Mohmands, and others, which continued throughout the last decade of the period under review and to which a detailed reference will be made in Chapter XXXI. There are good grounds to believe that the tribal risings were also instigated by the Amir himself or his followers.

The first serious trouble took place at Chitral. In the opinion of the Government of India it occupied a strategic position of military importance, and they wanted to maintain effective control over its northern passes.. An opportunity occurred in 1892 when the death of its ruler Aman-ul-mulk was followed by a struggle for succession. Sher Afzal, living at Kabul as* a pensioner of the Amir, succeeded in capturing the throne, but was driven away by Nizamul-mulk. He was not only recognized by the Government of India, but at his request a British force was sent to his aid under Dr. Robertson. Sher Afzal, who had taken refuge in the camp of Afghan Commander-in-Chief, reappeared on the scene after Nizam-ul-mulk was murdered in January, 1895. There was a general rising of the tribes mainly at the instigation of Umra Khan, chief of Jandol and a partisan of Sher Afzal, who had proclaimed a Jihad (holy war) in Dir, Swat and Bajaur. Robertson and his small garrison of British and Sikh troops were besieged in the fort for a month and a half till relief came (April, 1895). The fate of Chitral was hotly debated and became a question of party politics in England. Ultimately it was decided to keep British control over it.

Then came the conflagration of 1897 which, though consisting of local risings in detached regions, was usually regarded as a general revolt or common fight for independence against the British. It was met by sending to the disturbed areas numerous military (generally referred to as punitive) expeditions which were neither connected with each other nor controlled by a central base of operations within easy reach. Lord Curzon inaugurated an altogether new policy which has been briefly referred to above and will be described in detail in Chapter XXXI.

1. For the texts of the Act and Queen’s Proclamation of 1858, cf. Keith, I. 370-86.

2. See pp. 112-3.

3. See p. 107.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR 1

Dost Muhammad, who was restored to the throne of Kabul after the disastrous end of the First Afghan War, could not be expected to entertain any goodwill towards the British. But though he was in a mood of sullen resentment, he did not adopt any hostile attitude till he found his opportunity during the Second Sikh War. He sent a military contingent of 4,000 troops to aid the Sikhs against the British, but it shared the discomfiture of the latter in the battle of Gujarat (1848) and returned home, perhaps in a more chastened

mood.

Ere long incidents occurred which demonstrated the need of Dost Muhammad for British friendship. As noted above, the Persians were forced to raise the siege of Herat in 1838 under the threat of the British. But the Persians seized the city in 1852 and once more had to withdraw by the interference of the British Government. Two years later the Persians again attacked Herat. It was well known that the Persians were backed by the Russians. Their repeated attempts to take possession of Herat were, therefore, a matter of no less concern to Dost Muhammad than to the British. So Lord Dalhousie, through the instrumentality of Herbert Edwardes, Commissioner of Peshawar, seized this opportunity of winning over the goodwill and friendship of the erstwhile enemy, Dost Muhammad. The proposal was coldly received by Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, but under the instruction of Dalhousie, Edwardes tactfully induced Dost Muhammad to make overtures and a treaty was concluded at Jamrud in March, 1855, between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan. 1 a It was a general treaty of mutual alliance. The Government of India “undertook to respect the independence of the territories, then in the Amir’s possession”, and “never to interfere therein”. The Amir, on his part, gave a pledge that he would be “the friend of the friends and the enemy of the enemies of the British.” One point in the negotiation of this treaty demands our special notice in view of its importance in the subsequent course of history. The Amir desired very much to secure a guarantee that the Government of India would never send an envoy to Kabul, but had to be satisfied merely with the assurance that they had at present no intention or wish to do so.

The value of the treaty was soon put to the test. In 1856 Persia seized Herat and immediately the Government of India and the

Amir of Kabul jointly declared war against her, and concluded a treaty in January, 1857. The Government of India not only sent a force from Bombay, but also helped the Amir with eight thousand stand of arms and a subsidy of £10,000 a month for the duration of the war. The Persians soon came to terms and the hostilities were concluded by a treaty signed at Paris on 4 March, 1857. By the new treaty with the Amir, he agreed to maintain his own vakil at Peshawar and accept a British ehvoy, cf Indian birth, at his court. Henceforth the Government of India kept a Muslim agent, called vakil, at the court of Kabul. But the Amir withdrew his agent in 1858 and did not appoint any successor.

The friendship of the Amir, restored by the treaty of 1855, and further strengthened by the war with the Persians and the new treaty of 1857, stood the Government of India in good stead at the great crisis of 1857. During the great outbreak of that year, constant pressure was being brought upon the Amir by his own sardars , to seize this heaven-sent opportunity of recovering Peshawar, if not of exterminating the British power in India. But the Amir remained firm to his friendship with the British. If he had attacked Peshawar, the least he could do was to stop the flow of men and arms from the Panjab to the besieging army at Delhi. That must have prolonged the siege of Delhi, and this might have turned the scale against the British. As a matter of fact, Sir John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, actually proposed to relinquish all the territories to the west of the Sindhu, and it was the firm determination of Canning that alone saved the situation. 2 So, although it is highly speculative to discuss what might have happened in case Dost Muhammad invaded Peshawar in 1857, there can be hardly any doubt that his benevolent neutrality during that fateful year was highly beneficial to the Government of India.

In 1862, Dost Muhammad wanted to complete the consolidation of his kingdom and attacked Herat. His action was disapproved by Elgin, the

Governor-General of India, who consequently recalled his Muslim vakil at the court of Kabul. But Dost Muhammad ignored this protest and seized Herat in 1863.

It was the crowning achievement of a romantic career, but it was also the last. Dost Muhammad was aged eighty and died shortly after. Immediately the whole of Afghanistan w r as convulsed by a war of succession among his sons, sixteen in number. Although one of these, Sher Ali, was designated as heir by his father, the other brothers contested his claim. At one time Sher Ali was driven from both Kabul and Kandahar, but he recovered them in 1868.

During this long period of fratricidal wars the Government of India, though approached for help by several claimants to the throne of Kabul, held severely aloof from Afghan politics. This policy of non-interference, inaugurated by Canning in his minute of 1857, was actively pursued by the new Governor-General Sir John .Lord) Lawrence. The latter was held in such esteem on account of the part he played in the great outbreak of 1857, that his views carried great weight both with his Council and the Secretary of State for India. They whole-heartedly approved of Lawrence’s Afghan Policy, which is generally called—or miscalled—‘Masterly Inactivity. Its essence was aboslute non-interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He proceeded on the principle that no true friendship could subsist between the Government of India and the Amir of Kabul, and therefore, without trying to seek alliance with any claimant to'that office by offering help, he should recognize anyone who happened to actually occupy the throne of Kabul or establish himself in any part thereof at any moment. He, therefore, refused any help to Sher Ali, who thrice asked for it in 1866, and also to another brother Afzal Khan.

Lawrence’s policy was certainly one of ‘inactivity,’ but whether it was ‘masterly’ may be justly doubted. For unfortunately, there were other powers, like Russia and Persia, to which the disappointed applicants for British help might turn for support. As soon as Lawrence came to know that they did so, he immediately realized his error and enunciated in 1867 the policy of countering such help from Russia or Persia by offering British aid to the rival candidate. The Home Government having approved of it towards the end of that year, he immediately paid a subsidy to Sher Ali who was thereby able to defeat his rivals and establish his undisputed sway over the whole kingdom. 4 Thus towards the close of his Viceroyalty Lawrence's views underwent an important change. In partial modification of his policy of keeping severely aloof from the affairs of Afghanistan, he recommended a new one to the Secretary of State on January 4, 1869, to the effect that the Government of India "should be empowered to give to any de facto ruler of Kabul some arms and ammunition and substantial pecuniary assistance, as well as moral support, as occasion may require, but without any formal or defensive alliance". 4 *

The alliance with Sher Ali did not come a moment too soon. For the rapid advance of Russia towards the frontier of Afghanistan constituted a great danger to that country, and was consequently regarded by the Government of India as a menace to the security of India itself. 6

With her authority firmly established in Tashkent (1865), Samarkand (1868) and Bukhara (1869), Russia had now reached the frontiers of Afghanistan, bringing about a crisis which a section of the British statesmen and military strategists had apprehended years ago. They did not regard Afghanistan as a buffer State, but looked upon its western and northern boundary as constituting the real frontier of India against the aggression of their most formidable rival, Russia. This policy had brought about the First Afghan War but did not die with it. Along with the policy of strict non-interference in Afghan politics, a more active and daring policy was also advocated by a few. As early as 1854, Brigadier-General John Jacob offered a scheme to push forward the frontier of India through Bolan Pass to Quetta, foreshadowing its ultimate advance to Herat, a key position which commands the two main routes from the west to India through Kabul and Kandahar. With the progress of Russian advance, mentioned above, Sir Henry Rawlinson gave a definite shape to what may be called the 'Forward Policy' in a memorandum written in 1868. He started with the premise that the Russian advance to the Oxus was a challenge to the supremacy of the British in South Asia and constituted a grave danger to the security of Indian dominions. 6 As a safeguard against this it was necessary to have strong and friendly powers to the west and north-west of Indian frontier. This could only be achieved by giving up the policy of 'Masterly Inactivity-

and substituting in its place a positive policy in Persia and Afghanistan. As immediate practical measures towards this end, Rawlinson suggested that the Amir of Kabul should be grant* ed an annual subsidy and supplied with arms and British officers for training the army. Besides, Quetta should be occupied and a British envoy should be maintained at Kabul. 7

The first indication of a swing to this new policy may be seen in the change of Sir John Lawrence's policy towards Afghanistan, mentioned above, followed by an arrangement of a conference between the two powers to discuss the political situation. The policy of 'Masterly Inactivity', though thus seemingly given up after reigning supreme for more than a quarter of a century, had still a short lease of life. The change to the 'Forward Policy' was a very slow process and was not effected till six years later, under a new British Cabinet.

The conference proposed by Lawrence did not actually take place till after he had left, and the new Governor-General, Lord Mayo, who continued the Afghan policy of Lawrence, met the Amir, Sher Ali, at Ambala in March, 1869. The Amir was anxious to conclude a definite treaty binding the English to support him against any foreign aggression or internal rebellion. He also demanded from the British

the recognition of his younger son, Abdulla J<m, as his successor, and assistance in the shape of supply of arms and ammunitions, whenever asked for, in addition to a fixed annual subsidy. But the GovernorGeneral was not prepared either to grant any fixed subsidy or assistance in other ways, or to commit his government to any definite policy of unconditional guarantee to Sher Ali's family and kingdom. The Home Government having concurred in this view, he wrote a letter to the Amir saying that the British would make an endeavour to strengthen the government of Kabul, and "view with severe displeasure", any attempt by any rival to disturb the position of the Amir. 7a These were vague words which did not really mean much and could hardly satisfy the Amir. Although the Viceroy was authorized to promise money, arms and ammunition to the Amir at the full discretion of his advisers, Lord Mayo only told the Amir that his application for assistance would be received always "with consideration and respect." Mayo also evaded the question of recognizing Abdulla Jan as successor of

the Amir. Naturally the Amir was very much discontented. The only effect of the conference was to remove the iron curtain which had hitherto separated the two States and the growth of a friendly feeling between them.

Mayo thus fully endorsed the policy enunciated by Lawrence in 1867-68. Such a cold attitude on the part of the British towards an arrangement which, ere long, they were so anxious to conclude, may appear somewhat puzzling. The real explanation seems to be that the British statesmen thought that they could check Russian menace to India more effectively by direct diplomatic negotiations with Russia than by any alliance with Afghanistan which was sure to alienate that power. It was hoped that Russia might be induced to accept a definite limit to her expansion. It was accordingly proposed that the Gxus should be fixed as the boundary between the spheres of interest of the two countries. To this Russia did not agree, but in 1873, the Russian foreign office categorically stated, and Gorchakoff gave "positive assurance", that His Imperial Majesty looked upon Afghanistan as completely outside the sphere within which Russia might be called upon to exercise her influence. 71 * It meant security of Afghanistan from Russian attack, but gave a free hand to Russia to extend her dominions up to the border of Afghanistan. Russia took full advantage of the position and in 1873 added to his vast Asiatic dominions the Khanate of Khiva on the other side of the Gxus.

In spite of the guarantee given by Russia to Britain not to encroach upon any territory in Afghanistan, the Amir could hardly be expected to view with equanimity the advance of Russian outpost to

the very border of his kingdom. So he once more sought for a definite promise of British help in case of Russian attack. A conference was held at Simla in July, 1873. Lord Northbrook, the GovernorGeneral, being deeply impressed by the reasonableness of Amir's request, proposed to assure him "that if he unreservedly accepts and acts on our advice in all external relations, we will help him with money, arms, and troops, if necessary to expel unprovoked invasion. We to be the judge of the necessity." 8

The Home authorities, however, did not accept Northbrook's proposal. They reiterated the view that as Russia guaranteed the neutrality of Afghanistan, the Amir had no cause of alarm from that quarter. Northbrook was therefore asked to give the Amir merely a general assurance that “we shall maintain our settled policy in Afghanistan.” 9 The Amir could hardly be blamed if he interpreted it to mean that the British Government would do nothing to help Afghanistan so long as its own interest was not affected.

The Amir was naturally annoyed at the British for the complacency with which they viewed the advance of Russia towards his kingdom. Two other causes soon increased the bitterness of his feeling. In an evil moment the Government of India had undertaken the thankless task of arbitrating on the boundary disputes in Seistan between Afghanistan and Persia. Their decision “sorely displeased Sher Ali, who felt—as many Anglo-Indians felt with him— that in that transaction his interests had been sacrificed to the cause of Anglo-Persian amity.” 3a

The Amir was further offended by the refusal of the Government of India to support the claim of a younger son, Abdullah Jan, whom he had chosen his heir apparent in supersession of his eldest son Yakub, who had rebelled against his authority. The Amir also took exception to the proceedings of the British in Kalat, to be noted later, and the assistance which, he believed, his rebellious son Yakub Khan was receiving from the British. 9b

As a result of all this Sher Ali commenced friendly overtures with Russia. The nature of his correspondence and the motive behind it are alike involved in obscurity. It is impossible to determine whether he meant to establish a definite alliance with Russia, or merely intended to use his overtures as a means to alarm England and thereby force her to concede those demands which she had hitherto refused to grant; or whether he tried to gain security by balancing one great power against another. So far as can be judged from available records, the correspondence was of a complimentary nature such as could be normally expected between two neighbpuring States who seek to remain at peace with each other. There was nothing in such exchange of letters to which the Government of India could reasonably take exception. 10 But the views of that Government towards Afghanistan underwent a radical change by a change of Ministry in Britain.

In the general election of 1874 the Liberal Party under Gladstone suffered a crushing defeat and Disraeli was returned to power with a large majority.

While Gladstone’s Cabinet adhered to Lawrence’s policy in Afghanistan, Disraeli, like Palmerston, was a strong Russophobe, and an ardent advocate of the ‘Forward Policy’ mentioned above. Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India in the new Cabinet, also shared his views. The result was a violent swing in the Afghan policy of the Government of India.

Nothing illustrates more forcibly the effect of the telegraphic communication between India and England than the increasingly dominant part taken by the home authorities in shaping the policy of the Government of India. In those days when a correspondence between India and England was a question of months, the Government of India had, and was tacitly authorized, to take decision on urgent matters on their own responsibility, without any reference to, far less approval of, the authorities at home. Now the Government of India had to take every important decision after full consultation with, and the approval of, the home authorities.

The Afghan policy of the Government of India is a good illus tration of the above point. It is only a truism to say, as Morley said about thirty years later, that England .cannot have two foreign policies, one at home and another in India; so, with the facilities afforded by telegraphic communication, the home authorities dictated the foreign policy to the Government of India which was reduced to the position of merely carrying out the orders. The initiative had definitely passed from India to Britain.

The new British Cabinet of 1874 had adopted a new imperial policy in Central Asia as will be explained in Ch. XXXIII. It was also unnerved by still further advance of Russia. The Russian expedition against the Tekke Turcomans and the occupation of Kizil Arvat portended the conquest of Merv and possibly also of Herat. The Cabinet therefore decided upon a total reversal of the policy hitherto adopted towards Afghanistan and its ruler. Salisbury revived the old projects of occupying Quetta as a frontier post, and stationing a British agent permanently in Afghanistan.

Northbrook knew full well that nothing was more distasteful to the Amir than accepting a permanent British envoy. So when Salisbury directed him to take steps to establish a British agent at Herat, he pointed out that it was not only unnecessary, particularly at the present moment (when the Amir was sorely offended at the British as mentioned above), but it might even lead to very unpleasant consequences. He also referred to Lord Mayo's undertaking that "no European officers should be placed as residents in his cities." 11 But Salisbury insisted that his orders must be carried into effect. Thereupon Northbrook resigned and was succeeded by Lord Lytton (April, 1876), who was an ardent advocate of the 'Forward Policy', and soon became its most extreme exponent. He had learnt the lessons of imperialism only too well at the new school of politics headed by Disraeli as will be described in Ch. XXXIII.

The effect of the new appointment was immediately perceived in the affairs of the Khan of Kalat in Baluchistan. The treaty concluded by Major John Jacob with Nasir Khan, Chief of Kalat, on May 14, 1854, "admitted the ruler of that country" and his successors into the Indian protectorate on terms of subordinate co-operation. The Khan agreed to admit British garrison in his country and not to enter into communication with any other State. In return for an undertaking to provide for free commerce and the protection of British territory from plunder and outrage, a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 a year was guaranteed to him and his successors. 11a On the death of Nasir Khan in 1857 his half-brother Khudadad Khan succeeded him, though not without disputes and dissensions. The Government of India doubled the subsidy in order to strengthen his hands, and the grateful ruler was obliging enough to grant a lease of the Quetta District, and make other important concessions, such as the extension of telegraph lines through his territory to strengthen the frontier of India. He also agreed to a demarcation of the Sindh-Kalat frontier.

The internal disorder in Baluchistan, however, continued. It was mainly due to the rival claims of the Khan and his chiefs. The former claimed to be the supreme ruler of the State, while the latter maintained that he was, merely the head of a confederacy of chiefs. Lord Mayo, true to his frontier policy, tried to compose the differences between the two parties in order to establish a stable and permanent central authority. He authorized a high British officer to act as arbitrator between the Khan and his chiefs. 11b During the Viceroyalty of Northbrook there was a prolonged fight between the Khan and the chiefs, and the Government of India intervened in order to open the Bolan Pass for purposes of trade. Major Sandeman was sent on a goodwill mission, and he succeeded in reconciling the Khan to his rebellious chiefs. But as soon as Sandeman withdrew from the scene, quarrels broke out again and he returned with

a military escort of 1,000 men. It was a very good opportunity fta securing possession of Quetta, but Northbrook, true to the policy Cf Lawrence and Mayo, did not take any action in that direction. Sandeman confined his attention to the settlement of disputes and the restoration of peace, and succeeded in his efforts. But before he actually started on his return journey, Lord Lytton took charge of his office as Governor-General. He was against the withdrawal of the mission led by Sandeman, and sent his Private Secretary, Col. G. P. Colley, wth instructions to conclude a secret treaty with the Khan of Kalat. With a British force to back up the negotiations, the Khan was, of course, obliging enough to sign the Treaty of Jacobabad (December 8, 1876) which provided "for the permanent occupation" of his territory by a British military force, and the right to station troops at Quetta. Under instructions from the Viceroy, Colley occupied Quetta in 1877. 12 The British influence was also strengthened in Chitral and Gilgit at the same time.

Lord Lytton was definitely instructed to establish a permanent British envoy in Afghanistan, and in order to gain the consent of Sher Ali, he was to be offered the terms which he had asked for, but did not get in 1873. 13 So, within a month of his arrival in India, he communicated to Amir Sher Ali, on 10 May, 1878, his intention to depute Sir Lewis Pelly to Kabul. The letter was discussed for days in the Kabul durbar. In his reply, dated 22 May, the Amir pointed out that the political questions were sufficiently discussed at the Simla conference and there was, therefore, no urgency or necessity of sending a British agent to Kabul. If necessary, he would send a confidential agent to the Viceroy. The Amir then reiterated his old objections against receiving a British envoy wdiich w^ere fully discussed at the Kabul darbar. The Amir wrote to say that he was not in a position to guarantee the security of life to the envoy, a fear—it may be remarked in passing—that was fully justified by events which occurred both before and after it was written. Secondly, the Amir pointed out that if he allowed a British envoy at Kabul he could not very well refuse the same privilege to

Russia. Thirdly the Amir was also afraid that the British envoy might make demands upon him which he would be unable to accept, and thereby worsen the situation. In reply to Amir's letter Atta Muhammad, the Muslim vakil of the Government of India at Kabul, was instructed to point out that the first point was not worthy of credence, the third was groundless, and the second had no force as the Russian Government had given a pledge not to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan. It was ultimately suggested by the Amir that Atta Muhammad should visit the Viceroy, and the proposal was accepted.

Atta Muhammad visited Simla and fully explained the nature of Amir's objections to the proposal of receiving a. British envoy. Lord Lytton took the opportunity of formulating his views very definitely on October 10, 1876. He would agree to give the Amir an annual subsidy and military assistance in case of unprovoked aggression of his territory. He also agreed to recognize the heir nominated by the Amir. In return he would expect the Amir (1) to accept a British Resident at Kabul or special missions whenever required; (2) allow British agents to reside at Herat and elsewhere; (3) open Afghanistan freely to all Englishmen, officials or non-officials, providing for their safety as far as practicable; and, lastly, (4) not to hold any communication with a foreign power, specially Russia, without the knowledge of the British. 14

In course of his interviews with Atta Muhammad, Lytton adopted a haughty and dictatorial attitude and threatened the Amir with dire consequences if he failed to fall in with his views. He broadly hinted that Russia was willing to enter into an agreement with Britain about the partition of Afghanistan between them. He then told Atta Muhammad with brutal frankness that if the Amir did not immediately grasp the hand of alliance extended to him, England might come to an understanding with Russia "which might have the effect of wiping Afghanistan out of the map altogether." 14a

Apparently as a result of Atta Muhammad's representation on his return to the Kabul darhar, a conference was arranged at Peshawar in January, 1877, between the British plenipotentiary, Sir Lewis PeH> > and the Afghan envoy, Nur Muhammad. It dragged on for days together on the preliminary question of keeping a permanent British envoy in Afghanistan. The

Government of India regarded this as the basis of all further proposals, and the Afghan Government treated it as altogether unacceptable.

The point was ably debated on both sides when Nur Muhammad, who was ill throughout the negotiations, suddenly died on March 26, 1877. Lytton closed the conference four days later, though he knew that a fresh envoy, nominated by the Amir, was already on his way to join the conference at Peshawar, with authority, it was believed, "to accept eventually all the conditions of the British Government". Lytton's action is difficult to understand and can only be explained on the ground that he did not trust the 'savage' prince, as he used to call the Amir, who, in his opinion, had gone towards Russia beyond all redemption. 141 * There was, however, no basis for such an assumption, though it seems to have been an innate belief of Lytton from the very beginning. The parley at Simla and

the conference at Peshawar must, in that case, be regarded as pretext for precipitating hostilities.

Sir Lewis Pelly left Peshawar on April 12, 1877, and the British native agent at Kabul was withdrawn. There was thus a complete break in political relations between India and Afghanistan, which lasted for several months.

The break-down of the Peshawar conference was viewed with great indignation, real or pretended, by Lord Lytton. He penned an elaborate minute, in course of which he observed: "The British government now considers itself free to withdraw from the present Amir of Kabul, if further provoked by him, the support of its friendship and protection." 15 What the "friendship and protection" actually amounted to, it is not easy to determine. But the withdrawal of one or both probably meant, in the eyes of Lytton, a free hand given to him to try other means to serve his purpose, such as political disintegration of Afghanistan. For a time he applied himself to this task, and there is no doubt that he was making preparations for an actual war with Afghanistan. For the occupation of Quetta was followed by other measures which could have no other object than facilitating a military expedition against Afghanistan. Roads were constructed or repaired, new bridges were made and old ones expanded, and huge military stores were accumulated at Rawalpindi and Kohat. 16

Lytton’s bellicose attitude was favoured by circumstances in Europe where a war broke out between Russia and Turkey, and it seemed inevitable, almost imminent, that Great Britain would declare war against Russia. 17 It can hardly be wondered at, therefore, that as soon as troubles with England began in Europe, Russia sought to strike England in Asia. 18 So she tried to develop the friendly intercourse with Afghanistan which had already begun, and even made an ostensible display to rouse the fears of England. Kaufmann, the Russian Governor of Turkestan, ordered three columns of troops to advance from Tashkent towards Afghan border and intimated to the Amir in June, 1878, that he was pending a Russian officer, Stolietoff, to inform him of all that was hidden in his mind. The Amir immediately issued orders forbidding the Russian envoy to enter his country. The latter, however, ignored the order, and arrived at Kabul on 22 July. 19

In the meantime a European Congress had met at Berlin on June 13, and a political settlement was effected among the great powers in Europe by a treaty at Berlin, which was signed on July 13, 1878. As soon as this news reached Kaufmann, he recalled the troops and sent an intimation of the settlement to Stolietoff, asking him not to commit Russia to any positive engagement with the Amir.

But though, as in the case of the first Afghan War, the casus belli was removed, the outbreak of hostilities was not averted. For, in both cases, the British Government wanted to take advantage of the situation in securing a foothold in Afghanistan, and though ostensible causes of enmity were removed, they were unwilling to let slip the opportunity. Lord Lytton wrote to Lord Cranbrook, the Secretary of State, that the Treaty of Berlin created the most favourable opportunity of coercing the Amir, presumably because it had removed the danger of Russian intervention. The British position, he pointed out, was strengthened by the occupation of Quetta. “From our commanding position at Quetta,” wrote he, “we could now at any moment lay our hands swiftly upon Candahar, where our superior weapons and organization would sweep away, like flies, the badly armed, badly drilled and badly disciplined troops he (the Amir) could oppose to us.” 19a

*

The origin of the war that ensued thus bears a close resemblance to that of the Crimean War that England waged against Russia twentyfive years earlier. There, too, the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the trans-Danubian territories of Turkey left England (and France) apparently with no casus belli, but a 'defensive' (?) war was waged all the same against Russia, although there was no attack from • that side. For, as has been wittily, but very correctly, observed, "it is easier to let loose the dogs of war than to catch and kennel them again." 20 British history in India is replete with instances of this kind.

As soon as Lytton heard the news of Stolietoff's arrival at Kabul he insisted on Sher Ali's acceptance of an English mission, and selected Sir Neville Chamberlain to lead it. 21 An Indian emissary, Gholam Hussain, was sent in advance to notify the Amir of the mission. He arrived at Kabul on 17 August. Abdullah Jan, the favourite son of Sher Ali whom he nominated heir apparent, died on that very day, and this naturally caused a delay in the despatch of Amir's reply.

In the meantime Chamberlain, the British envoy-designate, was asked to start for Kabul on September 16, and was definitely instructed to force his way against all resistance short of armed opposition. In conformity with these instructions Waterfield, the Commissioner of Peshawar, wrote to the Governors of Ali Masj id, Dakka and Jalalabad—the three fortified posts on the way to Kabul—that "any refusal of a free passage to the mission or any interruption of its

progress would be regarded as an act of hostility. This direct communication to the Amir's officers, over his head, was justly regarded by the Amir as a slight to his authority. He was naturally angry and, though he did not altogether refuse permission, he plainly told Gholam Hussain that he did not like the manner of sending the mission which was highly objectionable. By way of contrast, he pointed out that the Russian mission had come with his permssion. The real position was clarified by his Wazir in a private conference with Gholam Hussain, the very next day. The Wazir represented that his master had been compelled by the exposed state of the country and the estrangement of England to allow the Russian envoy

Stolietoff to proceed. But “he chose to cover his weakness by a voluntary and dignified acceptance of the inevitable,” meaning that the Russian envoy was not welcome, but tolerated as a necessary evil in order to avoid the public scandal of appearing to yield to his forcible entry. Tfce Wazir went on to say that the Amir would do the same as regards Sir Neville Chamberlain and his companions, if the Government of India would but give him the chance. The Wazir also informed Gholam Hussain that as soon as some servants of the Russian mission, who were lying ill, had recovered, the remaining members of the mission would be suitably dismissed, and that the Amir would then send a confidential messenger to conduct the British mission to Kabul and make himself responsible for its safety and good treatment.

Gholam Hussain sent a gist of this conversation in a letter written on 13 September, in which he added his own opinion that the dismissal of the Russian and the reception of the English mission would take place soon after the Id ceremony. Two days later, on 15 September, he again wrote that Afghan ministers were still hopeful that matters would be satisfactorily arranged and that it was his own belief that there was still a chance left for further discussions if the entrance of the British mission into Afghan territory were delayed.

But this was not to be. Already on 12 September, Cavagnari had commenced negotiations with the headmen of the tribes occupying the route along the Khyber Pass for a free passage through their territories. As all these tribesmen were subjects of the Amir, such secret negotiations with them were a direct violation of good faith and all international etiquettes and conventions. Probably the British mission wanted to follow in the footsteps of the Russian. Unfortunately for them, Faiz Muhammad, the Afghan Commandant of the fort of Ali Masjid, which guarded the Khyber Pass, was a man of a sterner stuff. As soon as the negotiations of Cavagnari came to his knowledge, he sent peremptory orders to the tribal headmen to retire to their own territories. Cavagnari was in a great dilemma, as the tribal headmen would not dare disobey the orders of Faiz Muhammad unless the British immediately and unequivocally enlisted them on their side, of course, for a good consideration. So he referred the matter to the Viceroy. Lytton, in reply, ordered Cavagnari to inform Faiz Muhammad that the British mission would start immediately and ask him whether he would guarantee a free passage through the Khyber Pass. “If he say ‘yes’, the headmen might depart. If he say ‘no’, or send an evasive reply, then settle matters with the tribal headmen and advance”. So ran the Viceregal command. Faiz Muhammad met the British Officers and told them in a friendly spirit that like them, ‘he was merely a servant whose duty was to carry out orders of his master.’ If the Amir sent permission, he himself would safely lead the mission through the Pass and no other escort would be necessary; but so long as such permission was withheld, it would be his duty to oppose the missions’ entry into the Pass, and he would fire if the British tried to advance without such permission.

The letter of Gholam Hussain, dated 15 September, reached Chamberlain on the 19th September. Instead of accepting his advice to wait, Chamberlain wired to Lytton objecting to delay. He proposed, however, that instead of the mission as a whole making a forcible entry into the Pass, Cavagnari would proceed to Ali Masjid with only a few men. If they were refused permission to advance further, Cavagnari should consider the refusal as tantamount to having been fired on and return to Peshawar. Lytton having accepted this proposal to make a test case, Cavagnari advanced with a few followers, but they were stopped about a mile from Ali Masjid. Cavagnari and his party immediately returned to Jamrud. As soon as this news reached the Viceroy he dissolved the mission.

It is a debatable point how far, throughout these transactions, Lytton had ‘overrun the wishes’ of Beaconsfield and Salisbury, as has been claimed by some. 22 Both of them were advocates of the Forward Policy, though as noted in Ch. XXXIII, Salisbury was more moderate than Beaconsfield. \ In his letter dated 4 October, 1877, Salisbury asked Lytton not to put any hostile pressure on the Amir. 23 Beaconsfield, however, backed up Lytton. He wrote to the Foreign Secretary on April 1, 1877: “We must completely and unflinchingly support Lytton; we chose him for this very kind of business.” Further, Beaconsfield said in his annual speech in the Guildhall “that though the Government were by no means apprehensive of an invasion of India from its north-western frontier”, yet that frontier was a "haphazard and not a scientific one" and "stood in need of rectification." 24 Further, as noted in Ch. XXXIII, there are gooa grounds to believe that Lytton derived his inspiration from the Prime Minister, who fully shared his ambitious designs. On the other hand, according to Beaconsfield's own assertion, Lytton had exceeded his instructions. On September 26, Disraeli wrote to Cranbrook: "He (Lord Lytton) was told to wait until we.had received the answer from Russia to our remonstrance. I was very strong on this, having good reasons for my opinion. He disobeyed us. I was assured by Lord Salisbury that, under no circumstances, was the Khyber to be attempted. Nothing would have induced me to consent to such a step." 241 There is no doubt that Lytton adopted a high-handed and dictatorial attitude. He "had come to regard the Amir with an animosity almost personal," and "preferred to coerce him." 26 As regards the frontier, Lytton recommended in his despatches to the home authorities "that, though for political reasons the Indian Government should exercise influence up to the Oxus, it should regard the Hindu Kush as the real boundary, and strengthen itself by the bccupation of various points at the debouches of the passes." 26 In his minute to his Council, dated 4 September, Lytton put forth as his- dream and ideal the British dominance over the whole of Central Asia 27

Both Beaconsfield, the Prime Minister, and Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary, tried to secure the goodwill of Russia by peaceful means and avoid, or at least postpone for a year, any flare-up in Afghanistan. On receipt of Lytton's telegram dated June 7, 1878, about the despatch of a Russian envoy to Kabul, followed by other telegrams, the home authorities permitted him to demand of the Amir the reception of a British mission, but they "desired that the mission should proceed not by the Khyber Pass where it was expected and likely to be stopped, but by way of the Bolan and Kandahar where opposition would have been more difficult and unlikely." But Lytton, to whom the final choice of the route seems to have been left, chose the more provocative one, 28 and deliberately precipitated the crisis. Anyone who reads without prejudice the narrative of events given above, ending with the retreat of Cavagnari from Ali Masj id to Peshawar, cannot but regard Lytton's whole action as a deliberate provocation to war. This was also the general view in England shared even by a prominent section of the

British Cabinet. When the Ali Masjid incident was telegraphically communicated by Lytton, "Salisbury and the Lord Chancellor severely attacked Lytton's conduct and urged the expediency of curbing his future proceedings. Cranbrook, the Secretary of State for India, strongly defended the Governor-General." 29

Like the Cabinet, the public opinion in England was also divided on the question, "The affair (of Ali Masjid) was at first reported as an 'insolent rebuff,' though subsequent explanations showed that the behaviour of the Afghan officer had been correct. Military men declared that acquiescence in the incident would be fatal to British prestige, and that view obtained with the London Press. Lord Lawrence upheld the cause of peace." "Have not the Afghans a right," he wrote, "to resist our forcing a mission on them, bearing in mind to what such missions often lead, and what Burnes's mission in 1837 did actually bring upon them?" 30

The future course of action was hotly debated in the British Cabinet. The Prime Minister proposed, by way of compromise, the occupation of the Kurram Valley, not as an act of war, but as "a material guarantee for the granting of the English demands," but "Cranbrook refused to have anything to do with so half-hearted a measure." The Cabinet's hands were forced by the 'Jingo' politicians, both in India and England, "who were calling in chorus for the immediate chastisement of a half-savage ruler who had proved truculent as well as treacherous." 31 The Cabinet did not sanction an immediate declaration of war, but authorized the Viceroy to write to the Amir, demanding "an apology and an undertaking to receive a permanent British Mission within his territory, failing which his intentions were to be regarded as hostile and* he was to be treated as a declared enemy of Great Britain." The letter was delivered to the Afghan Commander at Ali Masjid on November 2 r and no reply having been received within the time limit fixed, November 20, three British forces were set in motion to invade Afghanistan. 31a

Though the war which thus broke out was not very popular in England, and ominous forebodings were uttered by veteran statesmen like Gladstone, both the Houses of Parliament not only approved of the war, but also gave their acquiescence in the ungracious step of throwing the expenses of the operations on the revenues of India. [32]

Before describing the details of the campaign it is necessary to discuss, at some length, the justification offered by some British historians to this aggressive campaign. The basis of this justification is the assumption that Sher Ali displayed manifest hostility by his acceptance of Russian alliance, and it was due to Russian instigation that he refused to accept the British mission, fully relying on: Russian help against the English. [33] It is to be remembered, however, that no authentic account is available of the proposals made by Russia to the Amir and his response thereto, and there is no evidence to show that Sher Ali sought alliance with Russia or entered into any positive engagement with her. [33a] It has also been urged that Sher Ali had actually concluded a “treaty of close alliance with Russia which would have given the Russians virtual control over the internal rule and external affairs of Afghanistan.” [34] The only evidence in support of it is a statement made after the war by two ministers, who wrote from memory the terms of the treaty which were corroborated by Yakub. [35] If we remember that Yakub was placed on the throne of Kabul after Sher Ali had fled to Russia, that even Cavagnari described him as fickle of purpose, ignorant of business, and weak of mind, [35a] and also that his^character and activities were such that he was thought unworthy of the throne and had later to be removed to India by the British themselves, it is difficult to put any faith on him or his ministers who could not produce any documentary evidence but merely quoted from memory the terms of a treaty which hardly fit in with the spirit of independence throughout displayed by Sher Ali. Besides, from its very nature, the treaty must have been of such a confidential nature that Sher Ali would be hardly likely to communicate it to his rebellious son and his adherents. It may be added that other assertions about Russian influence on the Amir, specially those referred to above, are also mostly based on Yakub’s information. It is hardly necessary to point out that as all this information was supplied by Yakub long after the commencement of the Afghan War, it cannot be cited as a justification for that campaign, even if it were true. But against all this story of Sher All’s intrigues with Russia, based upon very doubtful source of information, one may quote the testimony of Prince Lebanon, the Russian ambassador in London, who told Granville in 1881 that all correspondence in the archives of Russian government prove that "Sher Ali was neither Russian nor English, but an Afghan, desirous of preserving the independence of his country." 36 Every unprejudiced student of history is bound to admit the truth of this view, so far at least as it is possible to form a judgment from the records available to us. Even Disraeli admitted that the Russian mission to Kabul was not a very serious matter. 36a There is hardly any doubt that the war was forced upon Afghanistan by Lord Lytton in pursuance of his grandiose policy of extending British dominions to Central Asia, referred to above. What the Amir did or failed to do is of little consequence, as this cannot but be treated merely as excuses which have never been wanting even for the most wantonly aggressive campaign when once it was decided upon.

Reference may be made in this connection to an observation made by Lord Clarendon in 1869, in connection with the progress

of Russia in Central Asia. "Plausible reasons", said he, "were seldom wanted for the acquisition of territory which the home government never thought it expedient to reject, and could not therefore condemn the motives or the means by which it had been acquired." 37 How far this is applicable to Russia, it is beyond the scope of the present work to inquire. But the general principle, so clearly laid down, is strikingly illustrated by the activities of the Government of India in Burma, Sindh and Afghanistan described in this volume.

s noted^bov e, on 20 November, 1878, the very day on which the ultimatum to Sher Ali expired, three British forces advanced, one destined for Kandahar and the other two to march on Kabul, through the Khyber and Kurram Passes. There was hardly any opposition; Kandahar was occupied without any resistance and Ali Masjid and Jalalabad were occupied (December 20) by the Khyber force without much difficulty. The Kurram column m er Roberts had some hard fighting before it dislodged the Afghans from their strong position on the Peiwar Kotal. The enemy deserted the Shutargardan Pass without any fight, leaving the road to Kabul open to the British force. It seems that while the Government of India made all preparations for the war, the Amir was not at all ready for the contingency. On 22 December, he publicly announced his departure for Russia, and left his country, but suddenly died at Mazari-Sharif on 21 February, 1879. A treaty was concluded at Gandammak on 26 May, 1879, with Yakub, the son of Sher Ali, whom the British recognized as the new Amir. By this treaty Yakub agreed to hand over to the English the control over the Khyber and Mishni passes as well as the actual administration of the districts of Kurram, Pishin and Sibi, 38 regulate his foreign relations in accordance with the advice of the Governor-General, and to accept a permanent British envoy at Kabul. In return the British promised to support the Amir against foreign aggression and grant him an annual subsidy of six lakhs of Rupees.

Cavagnari, who had conducted the negotiation, was nominated Resident at Kabul. He arrived at that city on 24 July, 1879, with about 200 men, including servants and followers, and fixed his residence at Bala Hissar. 39 Things passed quietly for some days, but troubles began with the arrival of a body of troops from Herat. A swaggering and violently anti-British attitude marked their activities from the very beginning. At last on 3 September, they attacked the Residency which was defended by only four British officers and a handful of native soldiers. The Amir did not despatch any troops to protect the Residency but only sent Daud Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, to remonstrate with the rebel sodiery. Daud

was bayoneted, though the injury, either by design or by chance was very slight. Cavagnari made a brave resistance, but was killed with all his followers, and his head was paraded through t e streets.

The retribution was swift. Kandahar was re-occupied, the Shutargardan Pass was seized, and Roberts crossed over it into Kushi, when the Amir arrived at the British camp as a fugitive. Roberts met with little opposition until he reached within ten miles of Kabu where the Afghans were routed, after a sharp engagement, at Charasia. They evacuated Bala Hissar and the strongly fortified cantonments at Sherpur in its neighbourhood. Roberts occupied Kabul on 11 October, 40 and after issuing a formal proclamation took provisional possession of Afghanistan. The ring-leaders of the late insurrection, eighty-seven in number, were executed, and Yakub abdicated the throne. There was, however, a general rising of the Afghans, chiefly at the instigation of the Mullas. They found a leader in Muhammad Jan and repulsed the British troops at Chardeh valley, forcing them to take refuge within Sherpur cantonments. Muhammad Jan proclaimed Musa Jan, the son of Yakub, Amir of Afghanistan. It was a critical moment for the British forces, for they were forced to withdraw from the Shutargardan Pass, thus cutting off communication with India, and Kandahar was threatened by Ayub Khan, the brother of Yakub, who was in possession of Herat. The siege of Sherpur continued from December 11 to 23, but reinforcement having arrived from Jagdulak, Roberts took the offensive and re-occupied Kabul. Although a British force advancing from Kandahar captured Ghazni on 21 April, 1880, the city of Kandahar itself was in great danger. Ayub Khan left Herat at the end of June, 1880, for Kandahar, and General Burrows moved out to meet him. He joined Sher Ali, the newly appointed Governor of Kandahar, on July 11 at Girishk. But four days later Sher Ali's troops mutinied and Burrows had to fall back. On 27 July he marched to Maiwand to intercept Ayub's army, but suffered a crushing defeat, leaving nearly a thousand dead on the field. The remnants of the British force retreated to Kandahar amid great difficulties, but were forced to abandon the cantonments and shut themselves up in the fortress of Kandahar which was besieged by Ayub Khan.

As soon as the news of this terrible disaster reached Kabul, Roberts marched with 10,000 soldiers to relieve Kandahar. He left Sherpur cantonments, near Kabul, on 8 August, and reached Robat in the vicinity of Kandahar on the 28th, covering a distance of 303 miles in 20 days. He reached Kandahar on 31st August, 1880, and next day defeated Ayub Khan, forcing him to raise the siege and retire. There was no further armed opposition to the British in Afghanistan after this.

Two aspects of this campaign deserve a passing notice. The first is the "barbarities" committed by the British troops. The Afghans were treated as rebels and, in spite of General Roberts's denial, the policy of "indiscriminate hanging and burning of villages," was long continued. "A military Commission was set up in Kabul, which began operations in the spirit of the Government's order that 'punishment should be swift, stern, and impressive'. This was taken to justify the hasty execution of anyone whom an informer chose to accuse of complicity in the events of September 3, or of taking any part in the fighting at Charasia. An account left by Colonel MacGregor, a member of the Commission, shows that men were hanged on the most trivial evidence, sometimes of their avowed enemies. Troops were sent into the neighbourhood to collect prisoners, and also to forage. They burnt any village where there was the least show of opposition". 4021

The second was the complete breakdown of the military accounts department. "The original estimate for the war had been under six millions. A further actual outlay of five millions had been incurred without the knowledge of the financial department, and another seven millions were required for the second campaign" 40b The Indian exchequer had, of course, to foot the bill.

The settlement of Afghanistan now engaged the attention of the Government of India. As noted above, Yakub had abdicated the throne. According to the British authorities it was a voluntary act on his part, but Yakub himself declared that he was forced to abdicate by ungenerous and cruel pressure of the British, and wanted to get back the throne. 41 But whatever may be the truth, he was no longer regarded as eligible to the throne of Kabul. A committee of inquiry, set up shortly after the occupation of Kabul by Roberts, absolved him of any direct responsibility for the insurrection of the Herat troops, resulting in the murder of Cavagnari and his followers; but according to its finding he was "culpably indifferent to the fate of the envoy and his companions, and totally disregarded the solemn obligations he had undertaken to protect the British embassy". 42 Yakub was removed to India on December 1, followed, a week later, by all the important sardars (chiefs) save one, who had been arrested on October 12. Some have regarded this as the cause of the general rising of the Afghans, mentioned above. 43 But whatever that may be, there was a demand on the part of the Afghans for the restoration of Yakub or nomination of his son as Amir. Lytton

definitely set his face against one who was even indirectly responsible for the murder of Cavagnari, and threatened to resign if Yakub were restored.

Lytton's first idea immediately after the occupation of Kabul by Roberts was to disintegrate Afghanistan. Portions of it had already come into the possession of the British by the Treaty of Gandammak with Yakub Khan, It was now proposed to create Kandahar into a separate principality, hand over Herat and Seistan to Persia, while Kabul, reduced in importance, and controlled by a garrison at some point bevond the Shutargardan Pass, was to be handed over to a dependable Afghan sardar. The Cabinet having concurred in this view, Wali Sher Ali Khan of the Sadozai clan was recognized as the ruler of Kandahar and negotiations were begun with Persia about Herat. 46

There was some difficulty in finding out a suitable ruler for Afghanistan, But a very unexpected candidate appeared in the person of Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali and grandson of Dost Muhammad, who had left his country in 1868 after Sher Ali's accession to power, and had been living since mainly at Samarkand, under the protection of Russia. Early in 1880, with* the permission of Russian authorities, he set out with a small party to fish in the troubled waters of Afghanistan.

This adventurer "told the tribesmen on his arrival at the frontier, that he would take them all with him to fight against the British". 46 At the same time he entered into negotiations with Lepel Griffin, the English Political Agent at Kabul, for the throne of Afghanistan, and gave evidence of his friendship for the English by despatching letters to all Afghan chiefs to help Roberts to retrieve the disaster of Maiwand, thus facilitating his march from Kabul to Kandahar. 47 He gave evidence of the strength of his character by objecting, from the very start of his negotiations with Griffin, to the separation of Kandahar from Kabul. 48

Equally shrouded in mystery is the attitude of Lord Lytton to Abdur Rahman. There were two points against the latter which must have seriously weighed with the Viceroy. He was too intimately associated with Russia, and he had too strong a personality to accept the position of an obedient vassal to the Viceroy of India. It is therefore difficult to believe, as has been represented by some, 49 that Lytton looked kindly on his candidature for the throne as soon as he heard of his arrival. The probability rather is that Lytton had no confidence in Abdur Rahman, as is definitely asserted by some authorities. 60

There is, however, no doubt that negotiations were opened with Abdur Rahman. But before any final decision could be taken, Lytton had to quit the scene of his activities. As a result of the general election in Britain, Disraeli's ministry was replaced by that of Gladstone, and Ripon, who was appointed the Governor-General of India, took charge on June 8, 1880.

The new Ministry in Britain was at first disposed to reverse entirely the Afghan policy of its predecessor, and, relinquishing all the territories that had been gained, to fall back upon the old frontier. In accordance with this policy the evacuation of Sibi and Pishin was promised in the Queen's speech in the opening session of 1881. But as had often happened in the past, the new Viceroy, who had come out to India with a determination to carry out the new policy, changed his views as soon as he was amid new environment.

So, ultimately a compromise was effected. The scheme of disintegrating Afghanistan was abandoned, but Pishin and Sibi were retained by the British. Terms were offered to Abd-ur-rahman by which he would undertake not to hold any relations with any foreign powers save with the approval of the Government of India, which on its part assured the Amir that "if any foreign power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference should lead to unprovoked aggression on the dominions of your Highness, in that event the British Government would be prepared to aid you to such extent and in such manner as may appear to the British Government necessary in repelling it". 51

Abdur Rahman accepted these terms in a conference at Zimma (31 July-1 August, 1880). Three years later the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, renewed the assurance of protecting the Amir against unprovoked aggression and also bestowed on him an annual subsidy of twelve lakhs of Rupees.

1. In writing the names Herat, Kandahar,, Kabul, Afghan, and Afghanistan, diacritical marks have not been used to indicate long a (d).

la. The credit for this treaty is wrongly given by some to Lawrence (Repington, Policy and Arms, p. 228), and by others to Edwardes. The first supposition is definitely wrong as Lawrence was opposed to the idea and took no part in the treaty save signing it. Nor is the entire credit for initiating the policy due to Edwardes as is supposed by many (CHI, VI. 404). The initiative and instructions of Dalhousie in the matter should not be ignored (Warner, II. 82 ff).

2. Tytler, 130; Sketches, I, 37.

3. Tytler, 126.

4. CHI, VI. 407.

4a. Mayo, p. 124.

5. For fuller details cf. Ch. XXXIII.

6. This may be deduced from the instructions to the Russian ambassador in London, in 1884 (quoted in CHI, VI, 408).

7. For an exposition of the 'Forward Policy', cf. Tytler, 130 if.; Wyllie, Chs. I-HI;

Eastwick. It has been further discussed in Chapter XXXIII, which may be regarded as supplementary to this Chapter.

7a. CHBFP. HI. 74-5.

7b. PHE., XH. 304.

8. Telegram to the Secretary of State for India, dated 24 July, 1873 (Pari. Papers, 1878-79, LVI, 482).

9. Telegram to Northbrook dated 28 July, 1873 (ibid). According to CHBFP (III. 77), Northbrook was authorized to give such an assurance. But this is

evidently a mistake. Cf. CHI, VI, 410-11, which is a later publication, and quotes the telegrams referred to in fn. 8 and 9.

9a. CHBFP, IH. 76.

9b. D. K. Ghose, England and Afghanistan, p. 28.

10. Hannah, I. 190 ff; CHI, VI. 412-13.

11. PHE, XII. 305.

11a. Warner, n. 102.

lib. Mayo, 131-2.

12. Hannah, I, 113-15. CHBFP, III. 84.

13. Despatch to the Governor-General, dated 28 February, 1876 (Pari. Papers. 1878-79, LVI. 521).

14. Hannah, I. 81-93.

14a. Ghose, op. cit., 31, and fn. 19.

14b. Ibid, 35.

15. PHE, XII. 306. A British historian has justly observed: "Yet Sher Ali's reluctance to receive a British Mission was genuine, and when viewed by the light of subsequent events it must be pronounced reasonable. He felt that its presence would diminish his authority, while, in the event of an outbreak, he would be unable to protect it" (ibid).

16. Hannah, I. 118.

17. PHE, XII. 283-291; Encycl. Br. (14th Edition), HI. 250.

18. This point was emphasized in the instructions referred to in fn. 6 above.

19. CHI, VI. 417.

19a. Ghose, op. cit., 42.

20. Encycl. Br. (14th Ed.), VI. 706.

21. The account that follows is based on Hannah, Vol. I, pp. 200-226. The accounts given in CHI, VI(417-8), and CHBFP, HI (pp. 85-6), are very brief and inaccurate.

22. CHI, VI. 418, confines this observation to the despatch of the mission, cf. PHE, XH. 306.

23. Hannah, I. 196-7. Parliamentary Paper, Afghanistan, No. I (1878), pp. 222-4.

24. PHE, XII. 307.

24a. G. E. Buckle, Life of Disraeli, VI. 382. Disraeli even remarked that by disobeying the orders of the Government Lytton had mutinied (ibid).

25. PHE, XH. 306.

26. Ibid, 307. For a fuller exposition of this policy cf. Ch. XXXIII.

27. Hannah, I. 104. Ghose, op. cit., 38-42.

28. CHI, VI. 418.

29. Ibid, 418-9. “For the moment the new policy lent itself to the accusation that the Indian Government was picking a quarrel with the Amir in order to rob him of his territory” (PHE, XII. 307). For the discussion in the Cabinet, cf. Ghose, op. cit., 42.

30. PHE, XII. 306-7.

31. CHBFP, IH. 86; CHI, VI. 418-19.

31a. CHBFP, in. 87. Even before the ultimatum expired the British Prime Minister declared in his Guildhall speech that the decision for war had been taken (Buckle, Life of Disraeli, VI. 390).

32 -PHE, XII. 307. Trotter has very rightly observed: “India was saddled with the whole cost of an enterprise decreed by an English Government in furtherance of England’s fancied interests alone”. (History of India under Queen Victoria, I. 89).

33* Stolietoff urged the Amir to delay matters and if necessary prevent the English mission from reaching Kabul” (CHI, VI. 417). The only authority cited for this statement is Robert’s report based on Yakub’s information. The value of this evidence will be discussed later.

33a. Hannah, I. 190-91.

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

34. Tytler, 148; Balfour, 370; PHE, XII. (306) refers to such a treaty being concluded by Sher Ali on March 29, 1879, but as Sher Ali died before this date, 1879 is probably a printing mistake for 1878.

35. Balfour, 370.

35a. Ibid, 322. Lytton also referred to Yakub as ‘incompetent ruler’ and ‘slippery customer’. Ghose, op. cit., 47.

36. Quoted in Hannah, I. 191.

36a. Buckle, op. cit., 380.

37. Quoted in Tytler, 161.

38. For the terms of the treaty cf. Hannah, II. 349.

“The Scientific frontier” was instituted by the arrangement that the Kurum, Pishin and Shibi valleys would be assigned to the Indian Government though the surplus revenues were to go to the Amir, together with complete authority in the Khaibar and Mishni Passes, and over the independent tribesmen who occupied them. For the negotiations leading to the treaty, cf. Ghose, op. cit., 52-4. Lord Lytton was not favourably inclined to Yakub Khan, but was persuaded to accept him by Sindhia who argued that unless this was done public opinion in India would be greatly shocked (ibid, 52).

39. For a detailed account of the subsequent incidents and the renewed campaigns in Afghanistan, cf. Hannah, Vol. Ill and Hensman.

40. According to Hensman (pp. 50-51). The date is given as 10th October, in PHE, XII. 310, and 7th October in CHI. VI. 420.

40a. THG, 522-3; Life of Sir MacGregor, II. 140; Hensman, 134.

40b. THG, 522-3.

41. Balfour, 398. Ghose, op cit., 71.

42. Quoted in PHE, XII. 309. For a critical account of this episode, cf. Ghose, op. cit., 71-8.

43. "The departure of the Amir and his ministers was followed by a general rising of the tribes round Kabul" (Balfour, 388).

44. Balfour, 396-7.

45. Tytler, 149; CHI, VI. 420; PHE, XII. 310-11.

46. The Life of Abdur Rahman, II. 173; quoted in PHE, XII. 313.

47. CHI. VI. 121-22. THG quotes evidence of Abdur Rahman's successful intervention (p. 524 In. 2.).

48. PHE, XII. 313.

49. CHI, VI. 421.

50. PHE, XII. 312.

51. Davies, p. 157.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE THIRD BURMESE WAR AND THE ANNEXATION OF BURMA

Things remained quiet in Burma after the annexation of Pegu 1 and cordial relations were established between Burma and India. A commercial treaty was concluded by Col. Phayre in 1862, offering facilities to traders of both countries. It opened up British trade with China through Burma, by authorizing British steamers to proceed up the Irawadi and the British merchants to settle in any part of the Burmese territory. 2 Phayre rightly claimed, and the Government of India agreed, that the treaty was highly favourable to British interests. Further advantages were secured by another commercial treaty in 1867. By this treaty the King of Burma surrendered his right of monopoly in all articles except earth-oil, timber and precious stones. It also authorized the British Government to establish a Resident or Political Agent in Burmese territory invested with full and final jurisdiction over all civil suits between British subjects in the Burmese capital. Cases between British and Burmese subjects were to be decided by him in co-operation with a Burmese officer. There is hardly any doubt that this treaty, which the Burmese had to execute under pressure, was the thin end of the wedge by which the British octopus was extending its stranglehold over the hapless state of Burma. The King of Burma was gradually induced, or rather forced under pressure, to agree to the surrender of frontier dues and abolition of monopolies, the establishment of a new Political Military Agency at Bhamo far to the north, and conveyance by British steamers of traffic between Yunnan and Rangoon hitherto carried on by Chinese caravans. All these slowly but surely crippled his political power and financial resources, and may be regarded as the precursors of the further expansion and consolidation of British authority in Burma. It was foreshadowed by the plan to construct a railway from Rangoon to Prome and also to build such steamers as could rapidly convey large armies from Prome to Mandalay. Indeed the cry for annexation of Upper Burma was already raised by British merchants and officials. 3 A British expedition was sent in 1868 to explore the route from Bhamo to Western China. 4 Although it appears from official accounts that the King of Burma rendered all possible assistance to it,

the Rangoon Gazette accused him of ‘behaving in an underhand manner’ and threatened him with the annexation of his country. 5

While the general tendency of the British settlers and officials in Burma was to extend their authority, the Burmese Government also gave causes of friction. Even the experience of the last two wars had not taught them to forego their sense of dignity and etiquette which had become an anachronism in the civilized world, and prudence, foresight and forbearance were not certainly among the characteristic virtues of their Kings and officials. The result w T as a series of disputes regarding the authority over the Eastern and Western Karen States, the judicial powors vested in the Political Agent by the treaty of 1867, extradition and domicile of British subjects, the failure of the Burmese Government to punish their subjects who committed robberies in British territory, revival of the monopoly system by the King, etc. Lastly came the shoe-question. In pursuance of the Burmese etiquette the British officers, including the Chief Commissioners, had to take off shoes before they "were interviewed by the King. In 1876 the Governor-General of India decided not to yield to this humiliating procedure. Both sides were adamant, and a characteristic remark is attributed to the King of Burma that he would fight for ‘shoe’ though he had not fought for Pegu. 6 Thus the Political Agent was no longer received by the King.

In the meantime the King of Burma sought to establish contact with other European powers. A Burmese mission visited Paris and concluded a commercial treaty in 1873. 7 But the French agent who came to Mandalay to obtain ratification of the new treaty suggested some additional clauses which would oblige the French Government to use its good offices on behalf of Burma and send military officers to train the Burmese army. Due to the intercession of the British, and in order to avoid offending them, the French refused to ratify either the original or the supplementary treaty. 8 The King of Burma also concluded a trfeaty with Italy, but hire again the

British Government intervened, and the clause regarding the importation of arms and ammunition was considerably modified in order to make it innocuous for all practical purposes.[9] The King of Burma also sent an envoy to Persia, but a proposed mission to Russia had to be abandoned on account of her unwillingness to receive it.[10] The King of Burma wanted to carry on diplomatic relations directly with the Queen of England as he regarded it as beneath his dignity to treat on equal terms with the Governor-General of India, who was a mere official.[11] But in this he was not successful. Beyond these efforts to establish contact with foreign powers which bore little fruit, and an attempt to cast guns and construct vessels in his own country with the help of European adventurers,[12] Mindon did not do anything which might disturb his relations with the British.

In 1878 King Mindon died and was succeeded by Thibaw, a youth of twenty. It coincided with the period when, under Lord Lytton, the ‘Forward Policy’ was ascendant in British relations with neighbouring States, as has already been noticed in the case of Afghanistan.[13] So, advantage was taken of the accession of a new king to press the usual grievances and attempt to wring out new concessions. As usual, the maltreatment of British subjects formed the chief complaint. These were partly redressed, but the objection to taking off shoes was overruled.

About this time news reached the Government of India that the new King had executed on February 15-17, 1879, about eighty members of the royal family including “the late king’s sons, with mothers, wives and children”.[14] A vivid and detailed account of the horrible massacre, with all its attendant cruelties, is given in the diary of the British Resident at Mandalay, but while there is no doubt about the execution, the details must be accepted with caution, as we have no version of the other side, and independent corroborative evidence is lacking. Under instructions of Lord Lytton the Resident delivered “forcible remonstrance against these barbarities” and threatened to leave the capital. The remonstrance had little effect upon the ministers who took their stand upon the sovereign authority of Burma, and justified their action by reasons of State. 15 But it gave the imperialist jingos a good handle, and loud cry was raised for the annexation of Burma by its European residents. It was inevitable that in such a strained atmosphere, incident would happen disturbing the normal relations between the British and the Burmese, giving rise to charges and counter-charges.

The Government of India, however, did not respond to this cry, nor were they moved by the reported grievances of British subjects and later massacres by the King of Burma, to take any hostile step. For the Secretary of State had turned down the GovernorGeneral's suggestion, that advantage should be taken of the old grievances to wring concessions from the new King,-, and held the view that nothing he had done so far called for any change of policy. But on the death of R. B. Shaw, the British Resident in Upper Burma, on 15 June, 1879, the Chief Commissioner of Lower Burma recommended that "no successor to Mr. Shaw should be appointed unless and until we receive from the Burmese Government satisfactory assurances of a change of attitude on their part and of their consent to a revision of our general relations with them." Col. H. A. Browne, who temporarily took up the duties of the Residency, left Mandalay in August, 1679, and the staff of the Residency with all American and English residents of Mandalay left the city on October 6. 16

The Government of India were insistent on the cancellation of all treaties with Burma on the plea of acts of violence to which British subjects were victims. Two illustrative cases will suffice. On November 13, 1879, the crew of a British steamer were assaulted by some Burmese. The Burmese magistrate imposed a fine of Rs. 100/- and some punishments on two coolies. On May 27 and 28, the British Mail steamer ^ Y^man , was alleged to have been forcibly detained. On complaint being made, the Burmese Foreign Minister challenged the accuracy of the fact alleged, but dismissed the Governor in Whose jurisdiction the incident had occurred, and took steps to prevent any such incident. On both these occasions the Government of India, being dissatisfied with the action of the Burmese Government, requested the Secretary of State to authorize the cancellation of the existing treaties. The spirit of **Delenda est Carthago" was not dead even after two thousand years! But the Secretary of State did not think either of the two incidents mentioned above as of sufficient gravity to justify cancellation of treaties. It must be remembered that this was in 1881 when the Liberal Ministry of Gladstone had supplanted Disraeli's Government, and the 'Forward Policy* had suffered a serious reverse in Afghanistan and by the resignation of Lord Lytton as Viceroy.

All the while, the tension between the two Governments increased over the question of monopoly exercised by the king of Burma. It was injurious to British trade, but even the Chief Commissioner doubted very much whether it could be regarded as an infringement of the treaty of 1867. Nevertheless, strong pressure brought by the mercantile community of British Burma induced the Government of India to make a strong remonstrance, describing the exercise of the right of monopoly by the King of Burma as an unfriendly act. As a result of this the King abolished all monopolies on February 16, 1882, and sent an envoy who reached Simla on April 30, 1882, but no agreement could be reached. 17

In the meantime Thibaw pursued his father's policy of seeking allies in Europe. A mission was sent to Paris in 1883 to renew the commercial treaty of 1873 which had not been ratified. By this time France had established her influence in Cochin-China and Tonkin and was believed to have an eye on Upper Burma. So England was naturally jealous of any alliance between Burma and France. She represented to France that as she had special and predominant

interest in Burma, she entertained serious objections to any special alliance or political understanding between Burma and any other power. France however assured England that the proposed treaty would be of a purely commercial character.

A Franco-Burmese treaty was concluded on January 15, 1885. and ratified in November next. Though the British could not point out anything objectionable in the treaty, they felt that Burma sought alliance with France with the real and ultimate object of emancipating herself from the special influence and control of British India. Such a conviction was bad enough, but it was rendered worse by alarming reports such as the concession of ruby mines in Upper Burma to a French Company, reduction of import duty on French goods, construction of a railway line in Upper Burma, and founding a bank at Mandalay. Most of these were unfounded and none proceeded beyond the initial stage of planning, and the French Government denied them. Yet the very prospect of having to face French rivalry in the economic exploitation of Upper Burma, which had hitherto been a close preserve of Britain, created great indignation among the British commercial classes. The Rangoon Chamber of Commerce and the Irawady Flotilla Company passed resolution after resolution demanding annexation of Upper Burma. The British commercial circle was also perturbed and requested the Secretary of State to re-establish a British Resident and a mixed Court of Justice at Mandalay and to secure facility for freedom of commerce.

The rumours about concessions to France and the importunities of the British commercial circles gradually brought about a change in the attitude of the Home Government, and it came round to the view that political and commercial dominance of France in Burma must be prevented at any cost, even at the risk of hostilities with the Burmese King. The British Prime Minister reminded the French Government that Her Majesty's Government could not view with indifference "the establishment of any preponderating influence in Burmah other than that of the Indian Government". 18 The mercantile community in Britain now fell in line with the views expressed in India. The London Chamber of Commerce requested the Secretary of State "either to annex the whole of Native Burmah, or to assume a protectorate over that country by the appointment of a sovereign under British control".^ Those who knew the influence of commerce upon British politics could not doubt for a moment that the fate of Burma was sealed.

The political relations between Burma and the British in 1885 were thus very similar to those which led to the Second Burmese War in 1852, and, as on the previous occasion, incidents happened

at the opportune moment which could be made to serve as pretexts for an open rupture. But these were, in both cases, mere excuses, and not the real causes of the war that followed, and so need not be elaborated in detail.

There was a long-standing dispute between the Governments of India and Burma regarding the boundary line between Burma and Manipur. The Burmese Government did not accept the boundary line fixed by a British Commission in 1881 and requested the Government of India, in 1884, to remove the boundary pillars put up by them, failing which they would be destroyed by them. The Maharaja of Manipur was authorized by the Government of India to resist Burmese troops if they destroyed the pillars. But the Burmese did not push the matter further.

The incident which precipitated the war was the fine inflicted by the Government of Burma on the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation. This Company took the lease of Ningyan forests for cutting timbers, a fixed amount being paid per log. It was reported to the King of Burma that the Company had deprived him of his just revenue by having paid a bribe of Rs. 60,000 to the Governor of Ningyan. A regular trial was held and some foresters employed by the Company gave evidence against them and supported the charge. Ultimately on August 12, 1885, the Government of Burma decided that the Company had defrauded the King to the extent of ten lakhs of Rupees by taking away 56,702 logs without entering them in the books. They proposed at first to cancel the lease, but latef imposed a fine of Rs. 23,59,066 in four equal instalments. The London agent of the Company approached the Secretary of State; so high politics gathered round the simple matter of a civil dispute. The Chief Commissioner wrote to the Burmese Foreign Minister on August 28, 1885, asking him whether he was prepared to suspend the decree against the Corporation and refer the matter to an arbitrator to be appointed by the Viceroy. Three days later he sent a telegram to the Foreign Minister not to press the Corporation for payment, and held out the threat that otherwise *‘serious consequences might arise”, if the case was summarily dealt with. In reply to the letter dated 28 August, the Burmese Foreign Minister reiterated that the charges against the Corporation were true and refused to suspend the decree or accept an arbitrator. In reply the Chief Commissioner, in his letter dated 22 October, demanded that (1) an envoy from the Viceroy should be suitably received at Mandalay and the case of the Corporation should be settled in communication with him; (2) no action shall be taken against the Corporation till the arrival of the envoy; (3) in future an envoy from the Viceroy should reside at Mandalay; (4) the Burmese Government should regulate his relations with foreign powers in accordance with the advice of the Viceroy; and (5) complete facilities should be afforded for British trade with China. The first three demands were to be accepted before November 10, without any further discussion. 20

The Burmese reply was received on November 9. The Burmese Government defended the judgment passed in the case of the Corporation, but nevertheless, being desirous of assisting foreign merchants, agreed to review it if the Corporation presented a petition to the King. They also accepted demands Nos. 3 and 5. As regards the fourth demand they were prepared to refer to the arbitration of France, Germany and Italy, who were friends of both Governments, the propriety of such demand being made by one independent State of another. 21

The British Government had begun military preparations immediately after sending the ultimatum, and as soon as the reply was received, ordered General Prendergast to advance upon Mandalay (November 13). King Thibaw also did not wait for the reply to his letter and issued a proclamation asking his people to fight for national honour. There was, however, scarcely any fight. The British army advanced practically without opposition, and King Thibaw and his army surrendered at Mandalay on November 28. On January 1, 1886, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, issued a proclamation annexing Upper Burma to the British dominions.

The prevailing feeling among Englishmen was reflected in the following statement of Lord Randolph Churchill: “The arrogance and barbarity of a Native Court, the oppression of British subjects, the hindrance to British commerce, the intrigues of foreign nations, are for ever terminated in Upper Burma.” 22

Any one who carefully reads the above narrative would perhaps carry the impression that while the last two were the real grounds for annexation, the first two were more or less pretexts for the same and hardly justify it. The cruelty and barbarity of the Burmese Government must be denounced in the strongest possible language, but cannot under the accepted principles of international law, be regarded as a cause for annexation. The oppression of British subjects in Burma was undoubtedly much exaggerated, and the available evidence shows that the Government of Burma never refused to make such amends as an independent State could be expected to do. As regards the hindrance to British commerce, it is not justified by facts unless the British wanted monopoly of trade to the exclusion of others. As regards the intrigues of the French, it is difficult to determine their exact nature. The gravamen of the

British charge was the existence of a secret arrangement by which France permitted Burma to import arms through Tonkin. This was officially denied by the French Government and the truth of the allegation cannot be said to be above all doubts. But assuming every allegation to be true, France did not attempt to do anything more than what the British did, and the Burmese Government had not thereby infringed any treaty stipulation with the British or violated any principles of international law.

It would be an insult to the understanding of an average man to argue at length in order to demonstrate that the British attitude to Burma was opposed to all known conventions, principles, and procedure, which regulate the relation between civilized States in modern age. The real explanation of the conduct of the British has been furnished by one of their great legal luminaries. Sir James Stephen refused to put the smaller Asiatic States, including Afghanis stan and Native States of India, in the same class as civilized States of the West. His frank statement on the policy to be pursued towards the former furnishes the true basis of the imperial policy pursued by the British. Referring to these States he says: “They occupy a distinctly inferior position—their inferiority consisting mainly in this that they are not to be permitted to follow a course of policy which exposes us to danger. This is the footing on which every

State enclosed in the British Dominions is practically treated.

at bottom our relations with all of them (Sindhia, Kabul (amir), Holkar, Nizam) stand on the same basis. They are all determined by the fact that we are exceedingly powerful and highly civilized, and that they are comparatively weak and half barbarous”. 23

The words are brutally frank and truly reflect the inner principles dominating imperialist outlook of the West almost throughout the nineteenth century. They are writ large on the history of British relations with Indian States and neighbouring countries. The three wars by which the whole of Burma was added piecemeal to British dominions, and which mark the beginning and end of British annexations in India during the period covered by this volume, merely illustrate the active, though often unconscious, application of the principle enunciated by Sir James Stephen. A critical or philosophical discussion of the principle is, however, outside the scope of this work.

British statesmen and historians have emphasized the barbarous cruelties of the Burmese king, presumably in justification of their aggressive policy. The stories rest mainly upon the evidence of the British who were interested in painting the Burmese ruler in the blackest hue. But even admitting that the facts are substantially true, they can hardly justify the course of action pursued, even if the British were really inspired by humanitarian motive. The case of Burma proves, what has been illustrated again and again in the history of European colonialism in Asia, that humanity and trade interest form a powerful but very unholy combination in aid of aggressive imperialism.

1. See p. 126.

2. A. C. Banerjee, Annexation of Burma. 178-9.

3. Ibid, 198.

4. Ibid, 202.

5. Ibid, 208-9.

6. Ibid, 233.

7. Ibid, 235.

8. Ibid, 238.

9. Ibid, 239-40.

10. Ibid, 240.

11. Ibid, 241.

12. Ibid, 243.

13. Cf. Chapter XXV.

14. Banerjee, op. cit., 249, 252.

15. CHI, VI. 436.

16. Banerjee, op. cit., 255-6.

17. Ibid, 272, 277.

18. Ibid, 306-7.

19. Ibid, 309.

20. Ibid, 310.

21. Ibid, 311-12.

22. Ibid, 315.

23. W. J. Eastwick, Lord Lytton and the Afghan War (2nd edition, 1879), pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER XXVII*

WAR AGAINST MANIPUR

It has been mentioned above,[1] how, as a result of the First Burmese War, the State of Manipur was made independent of Burma, and Gambhir Singh, who played an important role in that war, became its first independent king. Gambhir Singh's son, Chandrakirtti ascended the throne in A.D. 1834, on his father's death, but as he was only two years old the real authority was exercised by Nar Singh as regent. Nar Singh subsequently usurped the throne and ruled for fourteen years, but, after his death in 1850, Chandrakirtti recovered the throne and ruled till his death in 1886. He had ten sons born of his six queens and distributed the different offices among them before his death. In accordance with his wishes his four sons, Sura-chandra, Kula-chandra (or Kuladhwaja-chandra), Tikendrajit and Jhala-kirtti, born of the first four queens in order of seniority, became, after his death, respectively Maharaja (King), Jubraj (Heir Apparent), Senanayak (Commander) and Senapati (Commander-in-Chief). Jhala-kirtti died within a few months and Tikendrajit succeeded to his office of Senapati. Of the three uterine brothers of the Maharaja, Bhairabjit held the offices of Pucca Sena (Lieutenant-General) and Shagol Hanjaba (Commander of the Horse), and the other two, Kesarjit and Padmalochan, alias Gopal Sena, were in charge, respectively, of elephants and doollies (vehicles carried by men on their shoulders). Prince Angao Sena, son of the fifth queen, was officer-in-charge of roads, and Zilla Singh or Zilla Gumba, son of the sixth queen, was very young and acted as an A.D.C. to the king.[2]

The new king Sura-chandra had to face a sea of troubles. There were no less than three rebellions in course of a little more than a year, and the Kukis also created troubles. The King himself was a peace-loving man, but Tikendrajit, who had already during his father's reign distinguished himself by his prowess and military skill, suppressed all the risings, occasionally with British help. All this made Tikendrajit the most powerful and prominent member of the court, and he offered a refreshing contrast to his elder brother, the King, who was weak and vacillating. On the other hand, while the King was mild and benevolent, Tikendrajit was somewhat proud,

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

haughty, and arrogant. Nevertheless, Tikendrajit and the King were both very popular.

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There was not much love- lost between the brothers and this was highlighted by the open rivalry, almost animosity, between Tikendrajit and Bhairabjit, generally referred to as Pucca Sena. Bhairab was an able and, comparatively speaking, educated man. But he was mean and jealous, according to all contemporary evidence, and was never liked by the people of Manipur. Even the Maharaja asked Tikendrajit to forgive his many misdeeds. 3 He was the sworn enemy of Tikendrajit since the day when the latter, as Senapati, became his. superior officer. There were frequent dissensions between the two on petty matters, but the ill feeling rose to its height when both asked for the hands of a girl, supposed to be the prettiest maid in Manipur. The King at first remained neutral and held the balance between the two, but was gradually won over by Pucca Sena. A glaring instance of this was furnished by the creation of a new judicial post to which Pucca Sena was appointed, though the whole department of administration of justice was hitherto in charge of Jubraj. Gradually the brothers were split into two factions. The King and his three uterine brothers formed one group, and the other step-brothers rallied round Tikendrajit. 4

The popularity and ability of Tikendrajit drew upon him the wrath of the British Political Agent at Manipur who, in 1888, prepared a list of his crimes, some of which were committed as far back as 1877 and 1881. The most serious among them was beating of several persons, including a woman, at different times, for what he considered, rightly or wrongly, as offences against his person and honour. On receiving the report of these crimes the Government of India advised the Maharaja to banish Tikendrajit. The Maharaja issued the order but later withdrew it, ostensibly on the ground that there was already a great commotion in the State over the slaughter of a cow. The Political Agent protested, but the Government of India acquiesced in the withdrawal. 5

Everything in this episode is curious and hardly complimentary to the British. Their interference in such petty personal matters ot a foreign State —whatever may be its power—is not sanctioned either by law or reason, but can only be explained by the logic of the strong towards the weak. But even such logic can hardly be invoked in support of the penalty of banishment for offences which were not infrequently committed by the British officers and civilians, particularly tea-planters, in India, almost always with impunity, and rarely at the cost of a few rupees by way of fine. Lastly, if the acquiescence in withdrawal was right, the original order was wrong,

and vice versa. The incident is, however, worth noting as an evidence of the strong prejudices of the British Government against Tikendrajit, although he seems to have been very much liked by the Political Agent, Mr. Grimwood. 6

The dissensions between the two rival factions of royal brothers culminated in a palace revolution. The immediate occasion seems to be the humiliation inflicted upon Angao Sena and Zilla Gumba by the King at the instance of Pucca Sena. The two first-named^lost some of their offices, rights and privileges and had good reason to fear that they would be either banished or otherwise punished. This goaded them to rebellion. 7 So, at midnight, on September 21, 1890, Angao Sena and Zilla Gumba, accompanied by a number of attendants, scaled the walls of the zenana mahal with the help of a ladder, and proceeded towards the bed-chamber of king Sura-chandra, who immediately fled to the Residency Building. Tikendrajit was not present at the time of this occurrence, 8 but joined his two step-brothers shortly afterwards and the whole palace was occupied without any bloodshed. For reasons, not definitely known, Jubraj Kula-chandra had left the palace that very night, but returned in the morning and was proclamied King.

In the meantime the ex-King had found shelter in the Residency along with his brothers, ministers, and a number of armed retainers. The conduct and attitude of the ex-King Sura-chandra as well as of the Political Agent, Mr. Grimwood, from this moment onward, has been the subject of dispute and a matter of keen controversy. It is not easy to disentangle the truth from their conflicting versions of what actually took place on that eventful day. 9 According to Sura-chandra, his brothers, ministers, and other officers met him at the Residency at the dawn of 22 September, "with about 2,000 men, of whom about four or six hundred were properly armed." He asked for the Political Agent's assistance and sanction to fight with the rebels at once. But the Political Agent told him that he should not be allowed to fight until the orders of the Chief Commissioner (of Assam) were received. On the other hand, he (Grimwood) ordered the British sepoys to seize the arms of the Manipuri troops, and as soon as this was done, "ordered the (Manipuri) troops to disband and return to their homes, which, disheartened and humiliated, thev

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did".

Grimwood's version is that the Manipuri troops, who came to the Residency on the dawn of 22 September, were not 2,000, but "may have been 400 at the outside, of whom 40 or 50, certainly not more, were armed." "The Maharaja never asked me for sanction to fight." The Maharaja had no wish to fight, and his troops had

the whole day to fight, if they wished to, as the disarming took place late in the afternoon. Grim wood justifies the disarming on the ground that it was considered necessary for the protection of the Residency during the night, and then adds: "If I recollect right, there were about 30 guns altogether. While the guns were being collected, the Maharaja objected, and I at once gave them all back on the condition that the armed men went into one of the villages near by, which they did." The following statement of Mr. Grimwood traces the course of events: "In the evening I received a telegram from the Chief Commissioner directing me to try and mediate between the parties, and also saying that 200 rifles from Kohima were ready to march here if I wanted. I then sent word to the palace that I would come and see the Senapati next morning and decided not to ask for the troops from Kohima till after the interview with the Senapati”. But nothing came out of all this, for^ Grimwood continues: “On the next morning (Tuesday) the Maharaja told me he had fully made up his mind to leave the country and go on a pilgrimage and settle at Brindaban”.

This statement is of special importance as it enables us to test the truth of Mrs. Grim wood’s account as well as of the official version of the Government of India. Mrs. Grimwood says: “My husband brought every argument to bear upon the Raja to induce him to brave the matters out, and allow some efforts to be made to regain his throne; but he would not listen to any reason, and after

some hours spent in fear and terror.signified his intention

to my husband of making a formal abdication of the throne”. 10 This is out-Heroding Herod, for even Grimwood makes no such claim. As a matter of fact, he himself wired to the Chief Commissioner on the 22nd morning that “Maharaja and brothers are preparing to attack Senapati if they can collect men”. 11 It is significant that even with this knowledge he did not ask the troops of Kohima to march, nor evidently informed the Maharaja that he could count upon their help. Neither of these would have adversely affected his proposed negotiations with the Senapati, which he offers as an excuse. On the other hand, the march of British troops from Kohima would have surely enhanced the chance of a successful negotiation with the rebels, and a knowledge of it would probably have induced the King not to abdicate.

The statement of Grimwood, quoted above, is hardly compatible with the following account of the Government of India:

“Shortly after daybreak the Langthobal detachment joined the Residency escort, ;and the Political Agent opened communications with Tikendrajit. The latter was asked to come to the Residency, but declined to do so while the Maharaja was there, saying he was afraid. Mr. Grimwood then wrote urging him to reinstate the Maha

raja and promising to enquire into his disputes with the Pucca Sena; but apparently no answer was received ”. 12

On a perusal of all the available evidence, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the ex-Maharaja Sura-chandra certainly wanted to fight out for his throne, but was positively discouraged by the attitude of the Political Agent, Mr. Grimwood, who, in this instance, followed a policy which was at variance with not only what was expected of him in his position, but also the view of the Chief Commissioner implied in his telegram about the Kohima troops. His conduct was justly censured by the Government of India.

There is no doubt that being disappointed at hot receiving any help from the Political Agent, the ex-Maharaja Sura-chandra told Grimwood that he had decided to retire to Brindaban. Grimwood himself says: "I told him I would arrange it to be so, if he had really made up his mind, blit he must understand he could never return to Manipur, Cachar, or Sylhet, and I also said that the Pucca Sena must go with him, but the others might stay or not as they liked".

Mrs. Grimwood says (in continuation of the passage quoted above): "My husband was anxious to get him to reconsider his hasty resolve to abandon his throne; but fear of the Senapati overcame all other sensations..... my husband finding every argument of no avail, began to make the necessary arrangements for his highness's departure". This is hardly borne out by Grimwood's own statement quoted above, or the version of the Government of India which merely states that he advised the ex-Maharaja to re-occupy the throne for a few days, if he were determined to leave. There are, however, two significant steps which Grimwood should have taken but omitted to take, by way of inducing the ex-Maharaja to reconsider his decision. He should have first assured the ex-Maharaja that the Chief Commissioner had placed the troops at Kohima at his disposal in order to help him, and then held the proposed interview with the Senapati on the 23rd morning. He did neither. It may be mentioned that he had told the Maharaja, when he asked for help, that with the men at his disposal he could not take the offensive. The hollowness of this excuse is exposed by his refusal to send for the Kohima troops. Then, knowing full well that the recognition of Maharaja Sura-chandra as the king of Manipur by the Government of India gave him full authority in speaking on his behalf, he did not intercede, on his behalf, in any way, nor even asked for an explanation of their conduct from the rebels. The Government of India expressed the following view, which appears to be quite just and reasonable:—

> “We consider that in his conduct of this affair the Political Agent showed some want of judgment. He should have exerted his influence more strongly to uphold the authority of the Maharaja; and he should not have accepted the Maharaja’s abdication, and allowed him' to leave the State, without reference to the Government of India, by whom Sura-chandra had been recognized as chief of Manipur. A Political officer has no power to accept the abdication of a Native Chief. Mr. Grimwood’s action greatly prejudiced the case, and was the cause of much subsequent trouble ”.* 3

On the whole, judging all the circumstances, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Grimwood, for some reason or other, was sympathetic to the new regime and unwilling to see Sura-chandra restored to the throne. The latter seems to insinuate that this was due to Grimwood’s friendship for Tikendrajit. 14 Captain Hearsey holds Mr. Grimwood principally responsible for the palace revolution of 21 September. He alleges that Grimwood used to take photographs of nude girls and women of Manipur and debauched many of them. Complaints of his conduct having reached Maharaja Surachandra, the latter took Grimwood to task, and unpleasant correspondence followed. This enraged Grimwood who sent unfavorable reports about the Maharaja during 1889 and 1890 to the Chief Commissioner and Viceroy, strongly reccomending his removal. There is no authentic evidence of all this, but the conduct of Grimwood and the reference to the Muslim photographer by the Maharaja lend strength to the allegations of Hearsey, a contemporary military officer. 16

The ex-king Sura-chandra had finally made up his mind to go to Brindaban, a holy place near Mathura in U.P., and actually wrote a letter to this effect to Tikendrajit. In this letter he informed the latter that he had no desire to contest the throne, and in accordance with this decision returned the royal dress and sword, etc., asking in exchange that arrangement should be made for his journey. 16 Tikendrajit’s reply shows that he, like Grimwood, construed it as an abdication, and made satisfactory arrangement for Sura-chandra’s journey to Brindaban. 17 It appears that Grimwood himself visited Tikendrajit in his palace, with Sura-chandra's letter or shortly after it was sent, and got his promise to arrange for Maharaja's journey. 18 Sura-chandra, however, asserted, as soon as he reached Silchar on 3 October, that he did not abdicate, that Grimwood must have misunderstood him, and that it was only after reaching Silchar that he discovered from the Political Agent's Pass that he was said to have abdicated. He wired to the Government of India to this effect on 6 October. In his Memorial to the Government of India, dated 14 November, he said that his so-called letter of abdication was merely a ruse to get out of Manipur, because the roads were blocked by rebels and the Political Agent advised him to go to Kohima. 19

It is true that, technically speaking, King Sura-chandra had not formally abdicated the throne. There is, however, no doubt that his letter bears this interpretation and, what is more important, he intended that it should be interpreted as such, as the word 'ruse' indicates. It is clear, therefore, that either he at first really intended to abdicate and later changed his mind, or played a very dirty trick for getting out of Manipur.

The departure of the ex-Maharaja Sura-chandra from Manipur made the palace revolution completely successful without any bloodshed. It was held later by the Government that Tikendrajit was the prime mover of this revolution. But there are certain facts which are usually ignored in this connection. In the first place, Tikendrajit did not accompany his two step-brothers when they attacked the palace, and the Political Agent, Mr. Grimwood, makes no reference to him in his first report of the revolt. Secondly, Tikendrajit did not occupy the throne as he easily could, particularly as Kula-chandra was not present in Manipur. Tikendrajit very rightly emphasized this point in his statement before the court: "It is the custom of the Manipur Raj family, more than perhaps of any of all the royal families of the world, that the victorious party occupies the throne and wears the crown, but neither the defendant (i.e. Tikendrajit himself) nor the other two princes attempted to overstep the eldest of them, and it was resolved to ask the Jubraj (i.e. Kula-chandra) to preside. But he was nowhere to be found during the night'\ 20 Kula-chandra was evidently aware of the coming revolution and decided to sit on the fence without compromising himself in any way, so that if the revolution failed, he could claim innocence of the whole affair. The two brothers who staged the revolution were attached to Tikendrajit, and he could easily declare himself king as the army was under his command, he was very popular, and there was nobody to oppose his claim. He showed a rare magnanimity in waiting for his absent elder brother to return and crown himself king.

In view of the subsequent events, and the constitutional position claimed by the ruler of Manipur as well as the Government of India, it is necessary to find out the exact circumstances attending the change of the Government at Manipur. The account of the Government of India runs as follows:—

"After the Maharaja's departure, the Ministers who had accompanied him to the Residency returned to the Palace, where they were well received by Kulachandra, the Jubraj, who had meanwhile come back to Manipur and proclaimed himself Maharaja. On the 29th September, Kulachandra despatched letters to the Government of India, announcing that he had ascended the Manipur gadi in consequence of his elder brother's abdication and asking for the Viceroy's favour".2t

It is not quite clear from the above whether Kula-chandra asked for formal sanction or approval of the new Government in Manipur by the Government of India. In his statement to the court Tikendrajit said that on 23 September he had sent telegram to the Chief Commissioner of Assam "soliciting permission to install the Jubraj Kulachandra on the Gaddi". 22 But as will be shown later, the English translation of his Bengali statement was very defective, and in some places substantially modified the ideas of the original; it is not, therefore, safe to rely on the words "soliciting permission". It is significant that Kula-chandra proclaimed himself 'Maharaja* even before he sent any intimation to the Government of India. But it is equally significant that the Chief Commissioner, in reply to the telegrams from Manipur, recognized Kula-chandra as Regent and not Maharaja, though he accepted the other changes in various offices, namely, Tikendrajit as Jubraj, Angao Sena as Senapati, and Zilla Gumba as Superintendent of the State elephants. The Government of India "declined to pass orders regarding the succession or to acknowledge the letters received from Kula-chandra whom the Chief Commissioner of Assam had recognized as Regent pending the orders of Government**. 23

For the time being everything went on well. The new administration of Manipur, free from internecine quarrel, brought peace and prosperity which the country had not known for some time past. Mrs. Grimwood testifies to the improvements effected by the new Government within a few months. 24 But some amount of disquiet was created by the ominous silence of the Government of India regarding its attitude to the new Government of Manipur.

It is interesting to note in this connection that Grimwood himself did not take the palace revolution seriously; he observed that “Manipur has witnessed many palace revolutions—that of 1890 is merely a repetition*’. 25

Though the people of Manipur accepted, without demur, the new regime set up by the revolution of 22 September, 1890, the exiled Maharaja Sura-chandra did not give up all hope for recovering his kingdom. As soon as he reached the British border, he telegraphed to the Viceroy asking for help. A few -days later he telegraphed again repudiating his so-called abdication which, he said, was the result of a misunderstanding. He arrived at Calcutta on 12 October, and on 14 November submitted a detailed statement to the Viceroy. As this differed substantially from the official version of Mr. Grimwood, the Political Agent at Manipur, and cast aspersions on his conduct, it was sent to that gentleman who made detailed comment on the observations made by the Maharaja. The

differences between the two versions were of a vital nature and have been referred to above. 26

The Political Agent, as might be expected, was definitely against the restoration of Sura-chandra. He held the view that the ex-Maharaja could not recover the throne and maintain it without the help of a sufficient number of British troops, and as the eight brothers could no longer live together in peace, it Would be necessary to remove Kula-chandra and Tikendrajit from Manipur. 27 The Chief Commisisoner also took the view that the Maharaja could be maintained on the gadi only with the help of British troops. 28 It was not till January, 1891, that the Government of India received these views, but they were not favourably impressed and were rather inclined to restore Sura-chandra and remove the rebels from Manipur.

In view of the difference of opinion between the Government of India on the one hand, and the Chief Commissioner and the Political Agent on the other, there was a prolonged correspondence 29 between these three, extending over more than a month. At last, after an interview between Lord Lansdowne, the Viceroy, and Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner, towards the end of February, the Government of India arrived at the following decision: Kula-chandra was to be recognized as the Maharaja of Manipur if he agreed to the following conditions, namely, (1) to administer the country according to the advice of the Political Agent; (2) to deport Tikendrajit from Manipur; and (3) to allow the Political Agent to keep 300 soldiers in the Residency. 30 This decision, to say the least of it, is very curious. It accepted the revolution as a fait accompli and condoned the person who got the greatest benefit out of it, but banished another who was not known to have taken any actual part in it, but whom they held, without any positive evidence, as its chief instigator.

If the decision was of a dubious character, the procedure followed in carrying it out deserves the strongest condemnation. As an illustration of the imperial arrogance at its worst, and offering an explanation of subsequent events, it deserves a detailed notice.

On 21 February, 1891, the Government of India asked for the opinion of Mr. Quinton as to the best way of arresting Tikendrajit without giving him opportunity to resist the measures by force and also about the condtions to be imposed on Kula-chandra. 31 " The Government of India also suggested that the decision about Manipur should be kept a close secret until it was announced by Mr. Quinton personally at Manipur. Quinton was advised to take sufficient force with him even though no resistance was apprehended. Quinton left Calcutta on 21 February, and on 7 March started for Manipur by the Kohima route, together with four hundred Gurkha soldiers commanded by Col. Skene, and a few civilians. An additional body of 200 Gurkhas were directed to proceed from Cachar to Manipur. It was not till 18 March that Quinton informed the Government of India his views about the conditions to be imposed upon Kulachandra for recognizing him as Maharaja and intimated that unless he heard anything to the contrary by

Saturday (i.e. 21 March) he would treat them as the final decision of the Government of India. He also informed the Government that on his arrival at Manipur he proposed to hold a durbar for announcing .the decisions of the Government of India and to arrest Tikendrajit in the Durbar Hall. 32 These and other proposals of Mr. Quinton were approved by the Government of India on 19 March. But the Government of India did not realize, as they later remarked, that the durbar meant a big open public assembly. They took it to mean a gathering of the Maharaja and his courtiers. 33

The news of the proposed visit of Quinton caused great consternation to the Manipur Government, as it was generally believed that he was bringing Sura-chandra with him in order to restore him to the throne. It seems the Manipur durbar made preparations to meet that eventuality. Mrs. Grimwood jvrites: “It seemed as though the whole state was on the qui vive, to discover any slight clue to the mystery which surrounded the visit of the Chief Commissioner... About ten days before Mr. Quinton arrived we heard for certain that the object of his visit was not the restoration of the ex-Mahara j ah”. 34

Even Mr. Grimwood, the Political Agent, was as ignorant as the rest, until about March 15 he received a verbal message of Mr. Quinton, conveyed through Mr. Gurdon. It merely informed him of the decision to recognize Kula-chandra as Maharaja and deport Tikendrajit from Manipur. Grimwood “expressed astonishment at these orders”, and deprecated the idea of deporting Tikendrajit; he also hinted that this could not be effected without creating trouble. It was not till 21 March when Mr. Quinton was within one day’s march from Manipur that he met Mr. Grimwood and disclosed his plan of arresting Tikendrajit at the durbar, if he declined to submit voluntarily to the Government Order. Mr. Grimwood, as before, opposed the proposal 35

Mr. Grimwood’s objection was brushed aside by Mr. Quinton who further ordered the former to personally arrest Tikendrajit at the close of the durbar. 25 * Accordingly all arrangements were made fqr the meeting of the durbar at 12 noon on March 22, and Maharaja Kula-chandra was asked to attend it with all his brothers.

Mr. Quinton was received with more than due honours. Tongol General and prince Angao Sena met him respectively at six and one day's journey from Manipur. On March 22 he was received by Tikendrajit and a guard of honour, four miles from Manipur. Here the Chief Commissioner dismounted and had some conversation with him at 10 a.m. On that day Mr. Quinton and his escort entered Manipur under the usual salute, the streets being lined by Manipur troops. Outside the main gate of the fort the Chief Commissioner was met by Maharaja Kula-chandra, and, after a little conversation, Mr. Quinton announced that a durbar would be held at the Residency on that day at noon and that the Jubraj (i.e. Tikendrajit) and his brothers were required to attend. 36

The official account, from which the above is quoted, then merely adds that "the necessary orders regarding the parades and guards for the proposed Durbar were issued to the Chief Commissioner's escort". 37 It is discreetly silent about the elaborate military pre* parations made in and around the durbar room of the Residency. A confidential agent of Tikendrajit reported to him that "armed sepoys were placed in front and rear of the Residency Bungalow and that the British Officers were fully equipped and on horse-back". 38 This is corroborated by Mrs. Grim wood who writes: "Precautions were taken to prevent his (Tikendrajit's) escaping. The doors of the durbar room were all locked with the exception of the one by which the princes would enter and guards were stationed in the adjoining rooms, as well as all round the house and in the veranda". 39

According to the official account "Tikendrajit and his brother Angao Sena went to the Residency to attend the durbar, but afterwards went away, and Kula-chandra accounted for their non-attendance on the ground of illness". 40 The statement of Tikendrajit gives the full story. When he reached the Residency he was made to wait in the sun as the Commissioner was not ready at the hour fixed for the durbar. Tikendrajit "being on horseback, exposed to the burning sun, became annoyed and disheartened" at this discourteous treatment. Then he noticed the unusual military preparations going on inside, and sent Dasu Sardar to enquire. On receiving his report, mentioned above, Tikendrajit was confirmed in his suspicion that the durbar was only a trap to arrest him. "Besides, having been fasting during the previous day and night on account of Ekadasi and having undergone the fatigue of going and coming back up to the river to receive the Chief Commissioner in the morning, he felt exhausted and unable to wait longer, and consequently returned to the palace”.[41]

As the absence of Tikendrajit at the durbar was the pivot round which the tragic happenings at Manipur moved, and the real cause of it has been suppressed in the official version and is not generally known to historians, it is necessary to quote Mrs. Grimwood’s account of the incident.

Mrs. Grimwood says that if the princes were not kept waiting at the gate things might have ended very differently. But that delay enabled some of the Manipuri sepoys to gain admission into the Residency grounds, and they “marked the distribution of our forces, saw the Gurkhas lining the entrance-steps and officers in uniform in attendance outside. Some of them even strolled round to the back of the house, and there they saw the same preparations—sepoys on the steps and guards about the grounds”. The Manipuris told the Jubraj of all they had seen and he returned to the house with his brother, the Senapati.[42]

According to Mrs. Grimwood the delay in holding the durbar was due to the fact that the translation of the order of the Government of India into Manipuri could not be completed in time.[42 *] But that does not condone the treatment accorded to the Maharaja and his brothers, who could surely be asked to wait in a room within the Residency.

The- following is the Manipur version of what happened after Tikendrajit’s departure. “The Maharaja accompanied by Zilla Gumba and the Ministers arrived at the Residency and had to remain standing in the sun below the steps for half an hour. Subsequently when he had remained standing in the verandah for an hour and a half, he wanted to sit, feeling tired. It was then that Mr. Grimwood allowed him to sit in another room”.[43]

Such was the reception of the independent ruler of Manipur State in his own capital city. But the worse was yet to come. As soon as the Chief Commissioner came to learn that Tikendrajit was not there, a special messenger was sent to him, but he replied that he was too ill to attend the durbar. Thereupon the Chief Commissioner cancelled the durbar, and did not even interview the poor King, waiting for three hours to know the orders of the Government of India. After suffering all these humiliations and indignities, the King Kula-chandra returned to his palace, a sadder but wiser man. For, being summoned to the durbar next day, 23rd March, at 9 a.m., he did not attend, and sent instead a message to the effect that he would not attend the durbar as Tikendrajit was too ill to leave his house. 44

Mr. Grimwood and Mr. Simpson tried to see Tikendrajit, once on the 22nd afternoon and again on the 23rd morning, but the latter said he was too ill to see them. Then, on the afternoon of the 23rd Grimwood and Simpson saw the Maharaja and communicated to him the decision of the Government of India. According to the Manipur official version the Maharaja thanked the British Government for confirming him as ruler of Manipur. As regards the deportation of Tikendrajit, the Maharaja pointed out that he was already ill, due to his exertions and exhaustions on the 22nd, and his old colic pain had recurred owing to exposure to the sun at the Residency gate. The Maharaja then added: “He was unable to go on account of illness; he would make preparations for leaving Manipur in two or three days”. 46

A contemporary account written by an Indian runs as follows: On hearing the decision of the British Government, the King expressed his inability to arrest Tikendrajit without consulting his ministers. He was given half an hour’s time for the purpose and held a council of ministers including Tikendrajit. Tikendrajit himself offered to surrender but the other ministers did not agree to this and wanted to make a further appeal to the Chief Commissioner. C^rimwood requested the King to issue a warrant to arrest Tikendrajit, but the King refused. Thereupon Grimwood had an interview with Tikendrajit but failed to persuade him to surrender. 46

According to Mrs. Grimwood her husband and Simpson saw the Jubraj at four in the afternoon. “He (Mr. Grimwood) said the Jubraj was certainly very unwell.. .had himself carried down to see them in a litter. The exertion caused him to faint; and my hus-* band said that there was no doubt as to his illness, and that he found him in high fever” 47 Tikendrajit himself states that he told Mr. Grimwood that he was ready to comply with the Government order and wanted a few days’ leave for his recovery and preparations. He corroborates the Manipur official version of the durbar mentioned above, but says it was held after his interview with Mr. Grimwood, and he repeated at the durbar the answer he had given Mr. Grimwood.[48]

The official version of the Government of India is radically different from all the three versions stated above. After referring to the fact that a fresh durbar was fixed for 9 a.m. on March 23, it proceeds:

"When the time came it was found that none of the Manipuris were present; and Mr. Grimwood was again sent to the palace, but was unable to obtain an interview with Kulachandra or his brothers. It was then evident that the Senapati was determined not to obey any orders to attend a Durbar, and Mr. Quinton decided to demand his surrender. At 2 p.m., accompanied by Lieutenant Simpson, Mr. Grimwood went once more to the palace, with a letter to Kulachandra from the Chief Commissioner, intimating that if Tikendrajit was not delivered up, Mr. Quinton would be compelled to have him arrested. Mr. Grimwood saw Kulachandra; but all attempts at persuasion proved useless, and the Political Agent was forced to return unsuccessful. On his way back to the Residency, Mr. Grimwood saw Tikendrajit, who was brought out of his house in a dooly, but he still refused to attend Durbar. When they arrived at the Residency Mr. Grimwood and Lieutenant Simpson reported that the palace enclosure was full of Manipuri troops, to the number of five to six thousand. Nevertheless, after consulting Colonel Skene and Mr. Grimwood, Mr. Quinton decided that an attempt should be made to arrest the Senapati in his house at day-break on the following day. Col. Skene then summoned the officers of the escort and made his arrangements".[49]

The statement ignores the fact that Tikendrajit was seriously ill on March 23, which is conclusively proved by the statement of Mrs. Grimwood and indirectly supported by the casual reference in the official version that

Tikendrajit was brought out in a dooly. It does not refer to the reply of either Maharaja Kula-chandra or Tikendrajit beyond using some vague expressions. In view of the real illness of Tikendrajit it is very probable that he must have asked for some time, in any case, before he could leave Manipur. It is significant that the official version does not say positively that either the Maharaja or Tikendrajit refused point-blank to carry out the order of deporting the latter. The Manipur official version, therefore, seems generally acceptable. They asked for time, whatever their ultimate motive might have been. But Mr. Quinton immediately made preparations to arrest, by force and stealth, a man who was seriously ill and might have possibly surrendered in a few days' time.

Mr. Quinton decided to arrest Tikendrajit in his house during the same night by suddenly invading the palace. In order to conceal this design and put Tikendrajit off his guard, requisition was made to the palace for porters to carry the luggage of the Chief Commissioner next morning to Imphal. But this trick did not deceive Tikendrajit who got scent of Quinton's plan and made adequate arrangement for defending his house.

In the early hours of the morning, at about 4-45 a.m., on March 24, the British forces suddenly attacked the house of Tikendrajit. But the Manipqri soldiers gave a good account of themselves, and though some of the British soldiers effected an entrance into the house, they could not seize Tikendrajit, and the British force had to fall back to the Residency. The events are thus described in a petition addressed to the Viceroy by the ladies of the Manipur royal family:

A body of British troops leaped over the wall in the north-west comer of the Pat and attacked Jubraj's house. The Jubraj, considering this a calamity, fled through a hidden path, and took refuge in the Pat. On the other side the sepoys put to death some of the guard people, women, boys, girls, and male and female servants, attacked the temple of the household god, called Brindabanchandra, stole the jewels dedicated to the idol, and having gone up the temple, fired the Pat. Another body of troops entered the village lying east of the Pat, and put to death Dasu Sardar and his whole family. They burned down 10 or 12 houses adjoining his own. In these houses, idols, cows and boys and girls were killed. They murdered wayfarers—

subjects who were frightened and fleeing. It was then that the Jubraj took up arms with a view to save the lives of the excited subjects and specially in self-defence. The fighting having continued the whole day on both sides, many persons were killed and wounded. After nightfall, when the British troops had expended all their ammunition, the fighting ceased on both sides just at the sounding of the British bugle to cease fighting". 51

This account is supported by the only other contemporary 'Indian evidence available to us which, however, mentions the stiff resistance offered by the soldiers in the Jubraj's house, although the Jubraj, i.e. Tikendrajit, himself was not present, and may be said technically to have taken no part in it. 62

The official version 63 makes a very brief reference to this ignoble episode, and agrees with the above account so far as military operations are concerned, 64 but refutes ''the allegations regarding cruelty and outrage and the killing of women and children". These are said to have "received the most carful investigation after the occupation of Manipur, and were proved to be false". 56 Little value attaches to such investigations by the party that is charged with the crimes, and at a time when no Manipuri would dare utter a syllable against the British. It is, however, significant that even in the brief account of the campaign the official version refers to "seizing the temple" and "inflicting considerable loss on the enemy". It also admits that the "village to the west of the Residency was promptly burned", and further that "in the heavy firing of the 24th within the fort, three Manipur women are believed to have been killed, though whether by the fire of British troops or by that of Manipuris is not certain". 66

In spite of the official denial of the charges, which was almost a routine normally followed by the British Government in India, it may be regarded as almost certain that, though the allegations possibly exaggerated actual facts, the sudden invasion of the palace at an unearthly hour must have inflicted considerable loss and damage, and this was the main cause of the popular fury and excitement which led to the tragedy of the 24th night.

The Manipuri troops not only fought with the British inside the fort, but, after the first effect of the surprise attack was over; opened fire on the Residency and cut the telegraph wire. The official version gives the following account: “At 5 p.m. a heavy fire of shell and musketry was opened on the Residency from the opposite

walls of the Fort, while musketry fire also opened from the villages to the north and the south. The Hospital soon became untenable and the wounded were removed and placed under cover. At about 8 p.m. it became clear that the Residency could not be held much longer, and Mr. Quinton decided to enter into negotiations with the

Regent”. 67

This account suppresses the very important fact that when the British position was almost a hopeless one, they sounded the bugle ‘to cease fire’, and though the Manipuris were in a position of vantage and under no obligation to cease fire, except on the unconditional surrender of the enemy, they did cease fire without any parley. This fact is admitted by Mrs. Grimwood 58 and clearly proves that the Manipur authorities had no vindictive desire to wreak vengeance upon the British for their treacherous attack in the morning.

As to the negotiations the official version runs as follows:

“A letter was accordingly written by Mr. Quinton to Kula Chan* dra Singh, proposing a cessation of hostilities, and a reply purporting to come from the Regent was received to the effect that he would cease firing if our troops would throw down their arms. There was some doubt as to the meaning of this letter, and it was suggested that a meeting should take place between Mr. Quinton and the Senapati. This having been arranged Mr. Quinton walked out towards the Fort gate accompanied by Mr. Grimwood, Mr. Cossin, Colonel Skene, Lieutenant Simpson, and a native bugler”. 69

This account is supplemented by the statements of Mrs. Grimwood and Tikendrajit. Mrs. Grimwood says that the letter signed by the Chief Commissioner ran as follows: “On what condition will you cease firing on us, and give time to communicate with the Viceroy and repair the telegraph”. 60 But before this letter was despatched there was ‘cease fire* on both sides. What followed is thus described by Mrs. Grimwood.

“At last their guns ceased, and all was quiet. Then my husband went out with the letter and called a Manipuri off the wall to take it to the Jubraj. The man went away with it and my husband returned to the Residency. Some minutes later a message tame to say that the Regent wished to see Mr. Quinton and talk over matters with him; and this message was followed by a letter written in Bengali, which contained an acknowledgment of the Chiefs letter, and a proposal to the effect that we should surrender our arms if the Manipuris agreed to cease firing. 4 We cannot lay down our arms’, they said, ‘for they belong to Government’. There was some discussion about the translation of part of this letter and Mr. Quinton proposed that the Jubraj should be called upon to explain the meaning of the passage in question, and asked whether it would be possible to see him.

“Meanwhile the Chief Commissioner’s party consisting of himself, Colonel Skene, Mr. Cossin, Lieutenant Simpson and my husband had gone down to the office at our entrance gate and waited there while the Regent’s letter was being translated”.® 1

According to the contemporary Indian account the Maharaja’s letter ran as follows: “Received your letter. I had never any intention to fight with you, but as your troops attacked the palace my men had to fight in self-defence. There is none in my palace who can read and understand English. But as I received your letter immediately after cease-fire, I take it that you want to conclude peace. If your soldiers give up arms, I shall conclude peace with you in a moment”. 62

There was some discussion about the true import of ‘giving up arms’ when Quinton suggested that the real meaning of it might be ascertained from the Jubraj. Grimwood then asked the Manipuri bearer of Maharaja’s letter —“Will Jubraj see any of us?”

Manipuri—Of course, he will.

Quinton. Do you think it safe for us now to go to Jubraj ?

Grimwood. No fear about that. (Turning to Manipuri) Can you swear that no danger will befall us if we go there?

Manipuri. We revere you as god. Why should we harm you?

Grimwood. He is one of the distinguished followers of Jubraj, belonging to his family. When he gives us assurance I don’t see any objection to go.

Colonel Skene supported Grimwood and then all the live got out of the Residency together with a bugler.

As the Durbar Hall was closed, Jubraj had a talk with them in the courtyard for half an hour. He said “your conduct has made us afraid. So unless you give up arms we cannot rely solely on your oral assurance”. The Chief Commissioner did not agree, and said there will be a durbar tomorrow. "Then the Englishmen rose and Jubraj went to top-garad. 63

The statement of Tikendrajit at his trial throws further light on the situation. It is reproduced below, substituting ‘I’ for the ‘defendant’:

“The British troops killed a number of subjects, women and children, burnt about a dozen houses with their goods and cattle in them, and the regular fighting commenced by the infuriated people without the distinct order of any particular leader. The fighting continued the whole day. In the evening the British bugle sounded “cease fire”, and the operations were instantly stopped on both sides. A letter was received from the Chief Commissioner, and being in English, it was sent to the Regent’s clerk for translation; but as the clerk was at a distance, it took a long time to find him out and get it translated; and in the meantime the British officer being anxious to get a reply, Mr. Grimwood shouted from the outside and

sent in a messenger, and it was arranged that they should hold a durbar in the Palace Durbar Hall. Mr. Quinton, Mr Grimwood, lieutenant Simpson and two ether gentlemen then came in and held the durbar with Angao Mingto and myself. After the usual salute and shaking of hands were over, I enquired about Mrs. Grimwood, and was informed of her safety. I then said that it was a matter very much to be regretted, that the Chief Commissioner has acted so unkindly, and thereby destroyed the friendship and amity which existed heretofore. The men were much infuriated by the hostile actions taken first by the British troops, and it Was beyond my power to control them; but it was highly advisable to come to terms and desist from further actions. The officers then expressed their regret and said that they now wanted to go to Kohima, and- there may be no more hostility on either side. It was then proposed by me that unless the arms of the British troops were made over, which I promised to have safely carried by my own coolies and delivered at Kohima, the mere words of the Chief Commissioner could hardly be relied on, as it appeared that he only pretended friendship in order to gain time for further attacks, since he used a lot of pretences about going to Tammu, then to Kohima, then to entertain a natch party, then to invite me to a durbar , while he arranged everything for my arrest. To this the officers disagreed, and I, desiring to consult the ministers of top-garad, left them with Angao Mingto". 04

All that is known of the events that followed one another in quick succession ending with the cruel murder of five helpless and unarmed Englishmen, is derived from the statement of Tikendrajit and the witnesses during his trial, and the three petitions for mercy sent by Maharaja Kulachandra, Tikendrajit, and the ladies of the royal family of Manipur. 65 The contemporary account written by an Indian closely agrees with them. These give minute details of all the incidents, which need not be repeated here as there is no means of testing their accuracy. The story is consistent and reasonable and appears to be not very far from the truth. According to this Manipur version, after the negotiations failed, Tikendrajit sent one of his brothers, Angao Sena, to escort the British and see them safely out, while he himself returned to the top-garad. As soon as the British party moved towards the gate they were attacked by the excited crowd. 66 Angao Sena stood against the mob to save them, but failed. Grimwood was killed, Simpson was wounded, and the rest were overpowered. Tikendrajit, on hearing the uproar, came to the scene, "sent away the attackers, placed the three English gentlemen in the Hall, and carried the wounded Mr. Simpson himself into the Hall. At his order Jatra Singh gave Simpson water to drink and tied the wounded part with his own head-dress." After this Tikendrajit fell asleep, out of sheer exhaustion. Then, without his knowledge, and against his express orders, Tongol General had the four Englishmen and the bugler murdered. Tongol General, it is said, had personal grievance against Grimwood and Simpson for seducing his daughter, and he killed the rest to supress all evidence of his guilt. As soon as Tikendrajit awoke and learnt the whole affair, he took Tongol General severely to task and the Maharaja also scolded him. Tikendrajit then set free the British troops and subjects who were captured and imprisoned, gave them food and raiment, and sent them to their destination after furnishing them with road expenses and escorts. The first part of the story is supported by British official account 67 and the general accuracy of the account was proved by Tikendrajit's witnesses during his trial.

The rest of the story may be briefly told. As Quinton and his party did not return to the Residency, and the firing from the palace began again, ihose who were in the British Residency, together with 200 Gurkha soldiers, stealthily left for Cachar, and were not molested on the way. They met the British force of 200 coming from Silchar, and safely reached the British territory on March 31.

The fate of Quinton and his party was first definitely known on 8 April from a letter of Maharaja Kula-chandra. Punitive military expeditions were immediately sent by the British Government to avenge the foul murder. Three columns of troops advanced simultaneously from Kohima on the north, Silchar on the west, and Tammu on the south-east. There was little resistance and the three columns met at Manipur on April 27 after two or three engagements in which the enemy suffered heavily. The palace was found deserted and Kula-chandra, Tikendrajit, their brothers, and Tongol General had all fled. A price was set upon their heads and by May 23 all of them, with many other persons accused of murdering the British Officers or taking part in the assault, were arrested, though some of them, including Tikendrajit, are said to have voluntarily surrendered. For the trial of all persons other than the members of the royal family two political officers were vested with full powers. For the trial of the members of the ruling family a Special Court (sometimes referred to as Special Commission) was constituted, consisting of two military officers and one political officer. No lawyer was allowed to appear before these courts.

The trial of Tongol General before the political officer lasted from,May 22 till June 1, and he was sentenced to death. The trial of Tikendrajit before the Special Court commenced on June 1 and ended on June 10. The charges framed against him were: (1) Waging war against the Empress of India; (2) Abetment of murder of four British officers; and (3) Murder. Fifteen witnesses were examined on behalf of the prosecution and six for the accused, who also filed a written statement. Tikendrajit was found guilty on the first and second charges, and not guilty on the third. He was sentenced to death. Maharaja Kula-chandra and Angao Sena were

found guilty of waging war against the Queen-Empress, and sentenced to death.

The nature of the trial and the arguments on behalf of the accused will be discussed in detail in the appendix to this chapter. It will suffice here to state that the defence was mainly based on the question of facts and the legal status of the accused vis a vis the British Government.

Tikendrajit pleaded not guilty to all the three charges. He maintained that to defend his house against a surprise and treacherous attack cannot be regarded as waging war against the Queen. As regards murder, he stated the circumstances, mentioned above, and maintained that he took all possible steps to safeguard the prisoners, and had no reason to suspect that Tongol General, who heard in silence, signifying approval, his definite orders not to kill the Englishmen, would execute them during his sleep. The defence witnesses supported the statement of Tikendrajit and were not shaken by the cross-examination. The British Court, however, did not believe that Tongol General would dare to order execution against the wish of Tikendrajit.

After the sentences were passed by the Special Court the cases against the royal brothers were considered by the Governor-General in Council. Here, also, the accused were not permitted to engage a lawyer to argue the case, but they submitted petitions for mercy 68 and their legal adviser, Manmohan Ghosh of the Calcutta Bar, submitted his arguments in writing. 66 Sir A. E. Miller, the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council, argued the case on behalf of the Government.

It was pointed out on behalf of the accused that Manipur was an independent State and the British had no right to attack the house of Tikendrajit in order to arrest him. Miller argued that even though the status of Manipur was never defined in clear terms, the British action was fully justified in view of the past precedents. The Viceroy upheld this view, which he expressed as follows in a telegram, dated 5 June, 1891, to the

Secretary of State: 76 “Manipur is a subordinate Native State. We rendered it independent of Burma. We have recognized succession in Manipur and have asserted suzerainty in many ways; and Manipur ruling family have repeatedly acknowledged their position of dependence”. He cited several concrete instances which hardly leave any doubt about his contention. 704 Miller’s argument is more questionable. “We have unquestionably the right”, said he, “to treat the murder of European British subjects as a crime wherever committed in India, even in States, as independent as Afghanistan or Nepal; and we have also ex

ercised, possibly originally by usurpation, but at any rate so long and so uniformly that the right has become firmly established, the prerogative of removing, by administrative order, from any Native State, any person from the sovereign downwards, whose presence there we deem objectionable on any grounds whatever. These two principles will, as I view this case, be sufficient to enable us to dispose of all the questions”. 71

The Governor-General confirmed the death sentences of Tikendrajit and Tongol General, and commuted the death sentences of Maharaja Kulachandra and his brother Angao Sena to transportation for life, with confiscation of property. Tikendrajit and Tongol were publicly hanged on 13th August amid the heart-rending cries of thousands of men and women. The sentences of death passed on nine other accused persons (guards, executioners etc.) were commuted to transportation for life. Thus the curtain fell on the tragic drama at Manipur. There is hardly any doubt that the sentence passed on Tikendrajit cannot be justified by available evidence even if we admit the jurisdiction of the tribunal, set up by the British Government, to try him. Two points emerge clearly from an unbiassed consideration of the whole affair. In the first place, Tikendrajit’s so-called rebellion was an act of self-defence against an unprovoked, one might say treacherous, attack. There is no clear evidence that Tikendrajit actually violated any order of the Maharaja banishing him, or would have done so. His banishment from Manipur was a condition imposed upon the Maharaja, who merely pleaded for a few days’ delay to execute it, but never declined to do so. If he did not fulfil this condition, the British might have withdrawn the whole offer including the recognition of him as king. Tikendrajit was not, in any case, liable for the remissness, if there were any, and the British had no right to attack his house. Nor can it be supported by any consideration of justice or equity. To resist an unwarranted aggression cannot certainly be treated as a rebellion or act of waging war against the British Queen.

Secondly, as regards murder or abetment to murder, the charge was certainly not proved against Tikendrajit, and the circumstantial narrative in the petition signed by the ladies of the Manipur royal family and put in as defence by Tikendrajit, has not been rebutted by any evidence worth the name. Even if one cannot fully accept all the particulars stated therein, the least that one can say is that Tikendrajit was certainly entitled to the benefit of doubt.

On the other hand, there is enough evidence to show that the British Government had a special grudge against Tikendrajit. This was first manifested in 1888 in the unsuccessful attempt to banish

him from Manipur, to whicn reference has been made above. In the official resolution about the palace revolution in September, 1890, Tikendrajit was singled out for punishment, while Kula-chandra, who derived the greatest benefit, was allowed to enjoy his ill-gotten gain. Tikendrajit was held as the chief conspirator, though according to all evidence, it was his younger brothers who made the coup. It may be that Tikendrajit was involved in the conspiracy, but that was at best a conjecture, and he was given no opportunity to rebut it.

Even in the official version of the rebellion there is a distinct attempt to fasten positive crimes upon Tikendrajit. Thus referring to the conference between Tikendrajit and the British officers on the fateful evening of the 24th March, the official version observes: “It had apparently been Tikendrajit’s intention to entrap all the British officers. The Chief Commissioner’s letter already mentioned was conveyed by a sepoy to Tikendrajit, who said to the messenger— ‘There are fourteen Sahibs in the Residency, send them all to meet me, and I swear I will not fire on them”. 72

This is not only not referred to by anybody else, but is incompatible with the account of that incident given above. It is contradicted by the Manipur version as well as Mrs. Grimwood's statement, at least by implication. It is palpably untrue and absurd, and was evidently prompted by a sinister motive to blacken the character of Tikendrajit.

A far more serious attempt in the same direction is the following statement in the official version: "On the 25th March at midday, they reached the rest-house at Myangkhang. At 5 P.M. the Manipur official in charge of the post received a letter from Tikendrajit. This letter is not forthcoming, but there is evidence to the effect that it contained instructions to the Manipur officials to arrest all British subjects, and kill those who might offer resistance". 73

By what means the exact purport of the missing letter came to be known to the British is not difficult to imagine. After the conquest of Manipur by the British, their anxiety to hold Tikendrajit mainly responsible for the rebellion was widely known, and people would not be wanting who would seek the favour of the British by making all sorts of allegations, true or false, against him. It is probably some such source that is responsible for the statement about the letter alleged to have been written by Tikendrajit.

A quasi-judicial trial, prompted by such ideas of vendetta against an individual, hardly deserves to be called a trial, and the punishment inflicted upon Tikendrajit is bound to be regarded by many as a judicial murder.

The real crime for which Tikendrajit paid the extreme penalty was not the charge brought against him in 1891, or in 1888 (for which he was sentenced to banishment at the instance of the British), but his capability and manliness which the British could not tolerate in the de jure or de -facto ruler of any Native State. This is amply illustrated by the British attitude to Wazir Ah of Awadh and several other Ruling Chiefs, such as those of Satara, Bharatpur and Coorg, dealt with in this volume. Here, in the case of Tikendrajit, the cat was let out of the bag by the Under-Secretary of State for India, in his speech in the British Parliament, defending the punishment inflicted upon Tikendrajit. After referring to his ability, good character and popularity, he went on to say that the Government of India had never encouraged men of that kind. "Governments", said he, "have always hated and discouraged independent and original talent, and they have always loved and promoted docile and unpretending mediocrity. This is not a new policy. It is as old as Tarquinius Superbus; and although in these modern times we do not lop or cut off the heads of the tall poppies, we take other and more merciful means of reducing any person of dangerous pre-eminence to a harmless condition." 74

For once a British statesman had publicly stated the real policy which guided the Government of India in their treatment of Indian rulers, but which they took good care to conceal under a verbiage of effusions of sympathy and professions of disinterested motive for the welfare of the people.

The removal of the royal family raised to the forefront the question of the future settlement of Manipur. Even before the British troops had captured Manipur, the British Government issued a proclamation on April 19, declaring the authority of Kula-chandra to be at an end, and assumption of the administration of the State by the General Officer commanding the British troops in Manipur territory. Another proclamation, issued on 21 August, 1891, stated that although the Manipur State was liable to the penalty of annexation it was decided to re-establish the native rule. 76 It was accordingly notified on 18 September, 1891, that Chura Chand was selected as Raja of Manipur. He was a boy of five and great-grandson of Raja Nar Singh of Manipur, who had usurped the throne of Manipur and whose sons, brother and brother's son had rebelled against both Maharaja Chandra-kirtti and Maharaja Sura-chandra immediately after their accession. 76 The sanad granted to the new king imposed an annual tribute and also the condition that the Raja and his successors shall carry out "all orders given by the British Government

with regard to the administration.. .and any other matters in which the British Government may be pleased to intervene". 77

As the new King of Manipur was a minor, the new Political Agent in Manipur was also appointed the Superintendent of the State with full powers of administration. It was also decided to impose a fine on the people of Manipur, as a community, for their misconduct.

APPENDIX.

Chapter Notes

1. • This Chapter was originally published in the Bengal Past and Present, Vol.
2. LXXVHI, Part I serial No. 145 (pp. 1-29 Jan.-June 1959,). For abbreviations
3. used in the footnotes of this Chapter, ef. Bibliography to this Chapter.

THE TRIAL OF TIKENDRAJIT

The trial of Tikendrajit before the Special Court (also referred to as Special Commission), mentioned above, commenced on June 1. Three charges were framed against him, namely, waging war against the British, murder and abetment of murder of the British officers. As mentioned above, the defence on the first charge was based on the status of Manipur and this had also a great bearing on the defence in regard to the two remaining charges. It is therefore necessary to examine this point at some length.

I. STATUS OF MANIPUR.

Mention has been made above of the creation of the State of Manipur with Gambhir Singh as ruler, by Article II of the Treaty of Yandabo (1826) which terminated the First Burmese War. It runs as follows: "With regard to Manipur, it is stipulated that should Gambhir Singh desire to return to that country, he shall be recognised by the King of Ava as Raja thereof" TS . It leaves vague and undefined the exact status of the Manipur State, and there is no subsequent treaty to indicate that it was a vassal State, either of Burma or of the British. No exception need therefore be taken to either Aitchison's remark that Gambhir Singh "was declared independent" by the Treaty of Yandabo 79 , or the statement by Hunter that "in 1826 peace was concluded with Burma and Manipur was declared independent of Burma". It is interesting to note that both these statements 80 proved highly inconvenient to the British, when Tikendrajit, during his trial, challenged the right of the British authorities or courts to try the general of an independent State. There was a flutter in the dovecot. G. Forrest, in a letter dated 18 June, 1891, drew the attention of Sir H. Mortimer Durand to these two statements, and undertook to correct Aitchison's remark in a fresh edition. The reply of Mortimer Durand is an important document and may be quoted in full. "Hunter never wrote an accurate sentence in his life. I think we have made the position of Manipur pretty clear now. The Maharaja presented a Nazar to Lord Northbrook in 1874, and we have at their own request acknowledged successions and done other acts of the same nature. They have repeatedly professed their readiness to obey our orders etc. We have upheld their Chiefs by force of arms and given away their territory, and asserted supremacy in a variety of ways.

“But I knew that the remark of Hunter, coupled with the fact that Manipur has no Adoption Sanad, would do harm” 81

As mentioned above 82 , the Viceroy also advanced similar arguments in order to support the contention that Manipur was a subordinate State. This is a tacit admission that while theoretically the British Government had no suzerainty over Manipur, this petty State, as was inevitable, acted as a subordinate ally, thereby giving rise to a prescriptive right of supremacy or suzerainty to the British. In other words, the authority, which the British undoubtedly exercised over Manipur, was not based on any legal right, but was merely derived from the natural right of the strong over the weak, fortified by the prerogatives of a Paramount Power, a role assumed by the British since 1818.

The status of Manipur from a legal point of view was ably discussed by Monmohan Ghosh in his Memorandum of Arguments submitted to the Governor-General in Council on behalf of Kulachandra Singh and Tikendrajit and the members of the royal family of Manipur who were sentenced by the Special Commission. 83 Ghosh maintained that Manipur was an independent State like Nepal. He pointed out that the British never acquired Manipur by conquest, but entered into certain treaties whereby a certain amount of protection was promised to Manipur on certain conditions. Manipur never i>aid any tribute to the British Government of India and the treaties governing the relation between the two never state explicitly, nor even suggest by implication, that Manipur was in any way subordinate to the British or owed allegiance to the sovereign of England.

In the absence of any express reservation or declaration of such allegiance, the mere fact that the weaker power has occasionally submitted to be dictated to in the management of its internal affairs by the higher power, does not create such an allegiance as would make the weaker power liable to be tried for treason which implies a breach of allegiance to the

Sovereign. In support of Mr. Ghosh's argument reference may be made to the Agreement between the two States dated 18 April, 1833. It is laid down in Clause 7 that "in the event of anything happening on the eastern frontier of the British territories, the Raja (of Manipur) will assist the British Government with a portion of his troops". 84 This and the other clauses of this Agreement, particularly clauses 5 and 6, do not seem to be compatible with the relation between a suzerain and a vassal State. Mr. Ghosh further pointed out that the absence of such a relationship was tacitly admitted when, on 23 March, Mr. Quinton sent Mr. Grimwood to Maharaja Kulachandra to demand the surrender of Tikendrajit or a written authority to arrest him. Mr. Ghosh also referred to some legal precedents, both from India and outside. In 1865 (and again in 1867) the High Court of Calcutta held that the Raja of Manipur was "an Asiatic Sovereign in alliance with the Queen", plearly implying that the Government of India had hitherto dealt with Manipur on the footing of its being a Sovereign Power in alliance with, and not as owing any allegiance to, the Queen. The High Court also held, in agreement with the Governor-General in Council, that the Tributary Mahals of Orissa did not form part of British India, and Mayurbhanj was an independent State in spite of "acts of interference by the British authorities". The status of Manipur was certainly higher than that of Mayurbhanj which was ceded to the British by the Bhonsle. Mr. Ghosh cited the case of Ionian Islands which not only became a British Protectorate in 1815 under the Treaty of Paris, but whose administration was in the hands of a High Commissioner appointed by the King of Great Britain. When, during the Crimean War, an Ionian vessel, engaged in trading with Russia, was seized by the British fleet, the Court of Admiralty released it on the ground that the people of the Ionian Islands were not British subjects in the proper sense of the term, and they did not owe any allegiance to the British Crown, because allegiance exists only between the Sovereign and his subjects properly so called, which they were not.

In view of all these Mr. Ghosh held that as the accused members of the Manipur royal family were not British subjects, the Special Court set up by the Government of India had no jurisdiction to try them. Further, the section of the Indian Penal Code under which they were charged with 'waging war against the Queen' was appli. cable only to British subjects or people under the authority of the British Government of India. 86

II. THE TRIAL

As noted above, Sura-chandra, Tikendrajit and others were tried by a Special Court. The accused were not permitted to engage any competent pleader on their behalf, though they were allowed to submit a written representation. As Mr. Ghosh pointed out this was against the British tradition "that every British subject has the right, no matter how atrocious the crime with which he is charged, to be defended by the Counsel at every stage of the proceedings

against him". For, "there is a vast difference between arguing a case viva voce and submitting a written defence; the former enables the Counsel to remove the doubts or misconceptions of the trialjudge, and every point may be thoroughly discussed and explained." A statement to the following effect was made by Braja Mohan Singh in a sworn affidavit:

I was the Private Secretary of Jubraj Tikendrajit. I wrote out a petition on his behalf to the Special Court praying that time might be given him to enable him to get pleaders from Cachar to defend him. at the trial. The Jubraj signed it and it was presented to the Special Court by Chandra Singh. The Court rejected the prayer and returned the petition and we were told to engage some one who might be available at Manipur. Then, at the suggestion of Partha Singh, who acted as interpreter at the trial, and of one Kuleridra Singh, the Police Officer who arrested the Jubraj, I advised him to engage the services of Janaki Nath Basak and Bamacharan Mukhopadhyay, who were the only persons available in Manipur for that purpose and understood English .* 6

Accordingly two days after the trial began, Major Maxwell, who conducted the case on behalf of the Government, sent for Janaki Nath Basak and asked him to defend Tikendrajit. He agreed to do so on receiving one thousand Rupees. But as he himself said, he was not a lawyer and never had any experience of how criminal trials were conducted.

Mr. Monmohan Ghosh argued in his Memorandum that the "Manipur princes were not, and could not have been tried under the Indian Penal Code, or any other British law." Referring to the Special Court Mr. Ghosh pointed out that "it was not constituted under any legal authority derivable from any Act of the British Parliament or Indian Legislature. The Government was the accuser, its own officers held the first trial, and it was the Government who heard the final appeal. None of the two military and one civil officials who constituted tne Special Court had any legal training or any knowledge of judicial procedure followed during criminal trials. The inquisitorial cross-examination of the accused by the members of the Court was a procedure repugnant to the humane traditions of British justice which, had it been adopted by any judge or magistrate in British India, would have called forth severe censure from the High Court."

The members of the court could not understand the witnesses who deposed in Manipuri language, and accordingly an interpreter was appointed. According to the sworn affidavit of Brajamohan Singh, Partha Singh, who was appointed interpreter, was an employee of Pucca Sena, the chief enemy of Tikendrajit. The procedure followed was that Partha Singh translated the statement of witnesses into Urdu, and Mr. Maxwell re-translated it into English.

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Janaki Nath Basak, in a sworn affidavit , 87 pointed out the discrepancies between the statements of witnesses and the version given by the interpreter or recorded by the Court. He says: "I informed the Court many times that Partha Singh's translation was not correct. One of the judges (Major Ridgway) corrected his mistakes many times". Basak cites an instance: "Jatra Singh in evidence said: 'As soon as Jubraj began to talk with Tongol General about the order said to have been given by the General to kill the Sahibs, I came away without waiting to learn what reply the Jubraj made to the Tongol General.' But the Special Court has recorded: 'Jubraj did not say anything'. This is not correct. Again I distinctly recollect that the witness Aru Singh, alias Utsaba (Usurba), said, among other things, 'Jubraj told Tongol General that the Sahibs must not be killed on any account', but this was not recorded by the Court".

Janaki Nath Basak who, as mentioned above, was permitted to defend Tikendrajit, wrote the latter's statement in English and submitted it to the Special Court. He states in his sworn affidavit:

"The President of the Special Court told me that the language of the statement was defective and required correction. Accordingly he made some alterations and returned the statement to me. I was then asked by him to revise it with the help of an Englishman named Du Moulin, the special correspondent of the Pioneer and certain other English papers. After the statement was thus revised I got it signed by the Jubraj (Tikendrajit). I now understand (presumably as a result of consultation with Mr. Ghosh) that the revised statement has attributed to him some words which he never meant or said (some concrete instances are cited). Immediately after my arrival in Calcutta I showed to Mr. Ghosh the original draft of my statement, with the corrections made therein by the President of the Special Court and Mr. Du Moulin with their own hands, and forward the same herewith. Neither Maharaj Kula-chandra nor Yuvaraj Tikendrajit knows a word of English. The draft I prepared of the statement of Maharaj Kula-chandra underwent revision".

Mr. Monmohan Ghosh also laid stresss on this point in his Memorandum.

These must be considered as serious defects in the trial. In addition, it should be remembered that in the absence of a competent defence pleader the witnesses were not properly cross-examined in order xo bring out facts that might be of the utmost importance in favour of the defence. The evidence against the accused was left almost where the prosecution chose to leave it. Mr. Monmohan Ghosh pointed out how the failure to cross-examine the witnesses on some vital points vitiated the whole judgment. On the whole it is'difficult not to agree with the contention of Mr. Monmohan Ghosh that "having regard to the nature of the tribunal, and the manner in which the trial was conducted, the accused belonging to the royal family of Manipur were practically undefended and

had not received any fair and impartial trial, which the humblest British subject could have claimed as a matter of right."

Arguing on the merits of the case, Mr. Ghosh pointed out that the accused did not invade British territory, nor committed any hostile act against the officers and men of the British Residency; they merely defended the palace which was attacked by the British without any declaration of war. The Maharaja did not wage war against the Queen and had no wish to do so. The moment the British forces invaded the palace it became the duty of the King, the soldiers and officers of Manipur to resist the troops of another Power. Maharaja Kula-chandra, while acquiescing in the acts of his officers in repelling the attack upon the palace, had no intention whatever to wage war against Her Majesty the Queen. There is no evidence that Tikendrajit had at any time any intention of waging war against the Queen until his palace was attacked. His order of ceasefire on hearing the English signal also proves that he never intended hostility against the British.

Tikendrajit was brother, officer and subject of Maharaja Kulachandra who alone had the right of punishing him. Mr. Quinton evidently held the same view and therefore sent Mr. Grimwood to the Maharaja as stated above. It was stated by the Government witness Rasik Lai Kundu that even Mr. Grimwood, during his interview with the Jubraj, did not say anything to the effect that the British might arrest him by force. As Tikendrajit expressed his willingness to leave Manipur in accordance with the order of the British Government, the whole trouble might have been avoided by granting him a short time for which he prayed.

As regards the second charge, namely, abetting the murder of the Englishmen, Mr. Ghosh made a lengthy analysis of the prosecution evidences and summed up the facts elicited from them as follows:

‘What then is the result of all this evidence? If believed, it proves that the idea of killing the Sahibs originated with the Tongol General, that the Jubraj expressed his surprise when the matter was first reported to him, so much so, that he himself came to enquire if the report he had received was true; that he then had some conversation with the General, regarding the nature of which the prosecution can throw no light; that after the lapse of more than half an hour, while the Jubraj was apparently sleeping, the General repeated his previous order; that the sentries had no direct order from any one except Tongol, and that the Sahibs were beheaded by the public executioner'. Mr. Ghosh then argued: "It cannot bo possibly suggested that the surprise at first expressed by the Jubraj

was simulated, or was not perfectly genuine, for at that time there was no reason why he should have acted a part to deceive his own adherents and people after having openly resisted the British troops. If then he honestly took the trouble of going to the Tongol General to remonstrate with him, would the Government be justified in inferring (in the absence of any evidence as to what passed between him and the General) that he must have eventually agreed with the General? Is that a necessary inference?". 88

But while the evidence for the prosecution was wholly negative in character, the evidence of the defence witnesses clearly maintained that the Jubraj positively forbade the Tongol General not to kill the Sahibs. And they were not shaken from this position by the cross-examination in the Court.

Mr. Ghosh concluded as follows:

"As regards the charge of abetment of murder, the evidence adduced by the prosecution entirely fails to establish the complicity of the Jubraj, and that, on the contrary, there is enough on the record to raise a strong presumption in his favour, that he was entirely opposed to the murder of the British officers, and that the orders of the Tongol General were carried out in spite of his protests and without his knowledge". 89

But neither facts nor arguments could move the Government of India from its determination to cut off the tall poppy, as the Roman king put it. Tikendrajit paid the supreme penalty of law, not for his crime but for his courage and ability.

It is now definitely known that the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne. sanctioned the judicial murder of Tikendraiit in spite of the remonstrances of Her Majesty, the Queen-Empress. Queen Victoria wrote to Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India, on 8 August, 1891:

I can only regret the decision as to the Senapati. ... I cannot consider that the Senapati was not aw T are of our intention to seize him and thus HAD CAUSE for resistance. The Queen. . .thinks we. ought not to hang the Senapati, though certainly Tongal." In leply Cross informed the Queen on 9 August that he "had written to the Viceroy so often and so strongly that no one of the Princes at Manipur or indeed anyone else should suffer unless absolutely

identified with the assassinations." Two days later the Queen

again wrote to Cross: "The reasons why she regrets the Jubraj's sentence of death being carried out are threefold. First, because, the seizure in Durbar was wrong and gave the Jubraj an excuse for resistanc.... Secondly, because he was not convicted of wilful murder, and thirdly, because she has a great and strong feeling

that the principle of governing India by fear and by crushing them, instead of by firmness and conciliation, is one which never will answer in the end and which the Queen-Empress would wish to see more and more altered. She intends neither writing nor say

ing anything to him (Viceroy) about it, as he is evidently very sore about it." Nevertheless, we find the Queen sending a cypher telegram to the Viceroy on 12 August, 1891: "—Baboo who defended Senapati appeals to me for commutation. Is it possible to do this?" The Viceroy replied on the same day: "I entertain no doubt commutation of sentence would be a grave public misfortune, and I regard it as now absolutely impossible". 90 Comment is superfluous on this very interesting correspondence which throws a flood of light on the whole episode and supports the point of view urged by the author of this chapter.

This episode may be fittingly concluded by quoting the comments of Captain Hearsey, an Anglo-Indian military official of the time. He says:

“The tone of the Government organs, such as the Englishman of Calcutta, the Pioneer and Morning Post of Allahabad, especially the latter, has been towards the accused Princes of Manipur spiteful and vindictive in the extreme, and this feeling has, in a very great measure, been shared by the Government officials themselves. A u; an axiom of law and justice not to comment on a case that is “sub-judice”, yet these organs have been incessant throughout the whole course of the trials of uttering constant and reiterated shrieks for blood; it has, to say, been a cry of hang first and try afterwards. This last-mentioned cry I have not only seen expressed by the rabid anti-Indian Press, but I regret to say echoed by many who deem themselves to be honest, just, well-educated Englishmen, But if this is the modem Englishman’s idea of fair play and justice, I shall feel proud that I can call myself an Anglo-Indian.”® 1

Later, Capt. Hearsey observes: “The trial of the accused Princes has been one of the most outrageous farces and parodies of justice that have ever yet been exhibited to the Indian nation”. 92

t. See pp. 107-8.

2. Considerable difficulty is experienced in writing the names of these royal brothers, as they are sometimes referred to by their official designations, which are also written in slightly varying forms. For full personal names and official designations, cf. MCR , 91.

3. B. 7. Mrs. Grimwood also entertained a very bad opinion about Pucca Scno. Cf. GRM, 145.

4. For more details about the relation between the brothers, cf., GRM, 130 IT.; MCR , 100 ff.; B. 10.

5. D. 6, D. 7.

6. That Tikendrajit was liked by both Mr. and Mrs. Grimwood will be clear from a perusal of GRM, 175-7.

7. B. 10; MCR, 100 ff.

8. Tikendrajit's name is not mentioned in the first report of Grimwood (B. 10).

9. The versions of both are given in D. 4. The extracts quoted are taken from this document.

10. GRM, 112.

11. B. 6.

12. D. 1, parn. 9.

13. D. 1, para. 11; also cf., B. 15.

14. Maharaja Sura-chandra alleged that Grimwood was influenced by a letter which was handed over to him by Tasu Sardar, a Muslim photographer, while they were talking. Grimwood, however, denied the change, and asserted that the letter which was in the file could have been seen by the Maharaja if he liked. Cf., D. 4.

15. Capt. A. W. Hearsey, Manipur (1891), pp. 1-3. For reference to Muslim phototographer, see fn. 14.

16. B. 7.

17. B. 8.

18. B. 10.

19. D. 4.

20.. D. 2.

21. D. 1, para. 10.

22. D. 2.

23. D. 1, para. 12.

24. GRM, 149 ff.

25. B. 10.

26. D. 4. See pp. 711-14.

27. B. 13.

28. B. 14.

29. B. 16, 17.

30. These and other details were not finally settled till 19 March. 1891. as will be stated later.

31. B. 18.

32. B. 20.

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B. 32; D. 1, para. 16.

GRM , 168,

D. 1, paras. 16, 18. As there was no secret code in use, the Chief Commissioner could not send any written communication to the Political Agent at Manipur and therefore sent a verbal message through Gurdon.

GRM. 181.

D. 1, para. 19.

Ibid, para. 20.

D. 2.

GRM, 182.

D. 1, para. 20.

D. 2, D. 3. Ekadasi is the eleventh lunar day of the fortnight. It may be mentioned that the Maharaja objected to the holding of the durbar on 22 March as it was ekadasi, a day of fast, and also a Sunday. Mr. Quinton, however, brushed aside these objections, and pretended to be in a hurry to go out for hunting.

GRM, 183-4.

GRM, 182.

D. 3; MCR, 138. All this is ignored in the official version.

D. 3. The time for the proposed durbar on 23 March is given as 9 A.M. in D. 1, para. 20, but Mrs. Grimwood puts it at 8 A.M. (GRM, 185).

MCR , 142-5.

GRM, 190-92.

D. 2.

D. 1, para. 21.

Pat refers to the palace.

D. 3.

MCR, 152.

D. 1, para. 22.

ft* ? fficial y e ^sion, the British forces entered the fort and, halting before the house of the Jubraj, asked for his whereabouts, when the

thJt y thl aS M at ° nCe fi * ed , on u at c I ose quartcrs - But -even this does not mean that the Mampuris took the offensive, for it is admitted that the British

HS n ad ei T ed i ? side 1 the fort, and the Manipur! troops hS every Hght to fire upon the nocturnal invaders. *

D. 1, para. 29.

D. 1, paras. 22, 29.

D. 1, para, 23.

58. GRM, 216.

59. D. 1, para. 23.

GO. GRM , 215.

61. GRM, 216; Cf., MCR (second edition), 151.

62. MCR, 150.

63. All this conversation is recorded in MCR, in Bengali (pp. 150-52), but the source of information is not stated by the author.

64. D. 2.

G5. D. 2, D. 3, B. 21,^B. 22. Also cf., Foreign Department Documents, Proceedings, September, 1891, No. 130.

66. According to MCR 2 (p. 153), as soon as the Englishmen neared the gate the excited Manipuris closed it, threw brickbats at them and struck them with the butt-ends of guns.

67. Of course, so far as the main incidents were concerned; but it is silent about the actual perpetrator of the murder (D. 1, para. 24).

68. B. 21, B. 22.

69. B. 35. Foreign Department Proceedings, September 1891, Nos. 120-29.

70. B. 32.

70a. The Viceroy cites instances such as the presentation of nazar by the Maharaja to the Viceroy in 1874 and the acceptance of a khilat, recognition of Surachandra by the Government of India as the heir and successor of his father, at the request of the latter, and similar recognition of Kula-chandra as successor of Sura-chandra. It was also pointed out by the Viceroy that the Government of India, on more than one occasion, punished those who rebelled against the Manipur Government.

71. Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret-E, June 1891, Nos. 1G1-56; July, 1891, Nos. 3-53; September 1891, Nos. 71-101.

72. D. 1, para. 25.

73. D. 1, para. 27.

74. Speech by Sir John Gorst, Under-Secretary of State for India, in the Manipur Debate in the House of Commons on June 16, 1891 (Hansard, Series 3; Vol. 354, p. 567).

75. B. 36.

76. See above p» 709.

77. Aitchison. Treaties and Engagements, etc. XII, 198.

78. Ibid, 230.

79. Ibid, 102.

80. Reference may be made to other statements to the same effect. For example, Mr. Brown writes in 1873 in the Statistical Account of Manipur that "on the conclusion of the Burmese War by the treaty of Yandabo in 1826, Manipur was declared independent." Quoted by Roy, 81.

81. D. 5. Durand was Foreign Secretary in India.

82. See p. 728.

83. See "Appear, pp. 9 ff.

84. Aitchison, XII, 196.

85. For the arguments of Mr. Monmohan Ghosh, cf., 'Appeal'.

86. B. 24.'Appeal'.

87. B. 23. 'Appeal'.

88. 'Appeal', 23.

89. 'Appeal', 35.

90. The Letters of Queen Victoria—Third Series, Edited by G. E. Buckle (1931)

pp. 55-7. I am indebted to Dr. D. K. Ghosh for drawing by attention to this correspondence.

91. Captain A W. Hearsev, Manipur, p. 1.

92. Ibid, p. 7.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

I. THE HOME GOVERNMENT 1 . Transfer of Power

The most momentous consequence of the Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857-8 was the final extinction of the East India Company and the assumption of the administration of India by the British Crown. As noted above, 1 things were rapidly moving in this direction, but the process was quickened by the great events of 1857. Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, correctly interpreted the will of the British people when he intimated, after the general election of 1857 in Britain, that the Government would bring in a Bill for placing the Government of India under the direct authority of the Crown. The East India Company made a last effort to avert the inevitable. The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Company wrote a letter expressing surprise that without inputing any blame to the Company in connection with the Mutiny, and without instituting any inquiry by Parliament, the Government should have proposed the immediate suppression of the Company. They also submitted a formal petition to the Parliament against the proposed Bill, This document, drafted by John Stuart Mill, gave very cogent reasons against the course of action proposed by the Government. It pointed out that if the administration of India had been a failure, the fault lay not with the Company, but with the British Government, represented by the President of the Board of Control, which was the principal branch of the ruling authority in the Double Government and had necessarily the decisive share in every error, real or supposed.

And lastly, against the reproach levelled against a Double Government, the petitioners urged:

“It is considered an excellence, not a defect, in the constitution of Parliament, to be not merely a double but a triple Government. An executive authority, your petitioners urge, may often, with advantage, be single, because promptitude is its first requisite. But the function of passing a deliberate opinion on past measures, and laying down principles of future policy, is a business which, in the estimation of your petitioners, admits of and requires the concurrence of more judgments than one. It is no defect in such a body to be double, and no excellence to be single". 2

The petition, however, produced no effect upon the Government of Palmerston, and a Bill for the abolition of Company's rule and the future Government of India was introduced in the Parliament. But before the Bill could be passed, Lord Palmerston's Government fell and was replaced by Lord Derby's Conservative Government. Benjamin Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the hew Government, introduced a new India Bill. It was "complicated, unworkable and grotesque", and provoked the comment of Palmerston that "whenever he saw a man laughing in the streets, he was sure that man had been discussing Mr. Disraeli's Bill." 3 As a matter of fact, when the Parliament met Disraeli's Bill found no supporters. In criticizing the common element in the two Bills, namely leaving the Government of India to the unchecked power of a minister, in a further report, drafted on behalf of the East India Company, John Stuart Mill observed:

"The Minister, it is true, is to have a Council. But the most despotic rulers have councils. The difference between the Council of a despot, and a Council which, prevents the ruler from being a despot is, that the one is dependent on him, the other independent; that the one has some power of its own, the other has not. By the first Bill (Lord Palmerston's Bill) the whole Council is nominated by the Minister; by the second (Disraeli's Bill) one-half of it is nominated by him. The functions to be entrusted to it are left, in both, with some slight exceptions, to the Minister's own discretion". 4

The comment of R. C. Dutt on this observation is worth quoting:

"The argument is unanswerable. And after the experience of half a century many thoughtful men will be inclined to hold that a strong and independent deliberative body might have tempered the action of the Crown Minister, and secured a better administration of Indian affairs. The Directors of the Company formed such a body, but they represented the interests of the Company's shareholders, not of the Indian people That was the defect of the old system; that was the evil which required a remedy. But in the task of reorganisation which Parliament undertook in 1858, this defect was not remedied. The power of the Court of Directors was destroyed, but no independent deliberative body, representing the people of India safeguarding their interests and their welfare, found place in the new scheme of administration.”"'

The new petition of the Company bore no fruit and Mr. Disraeli’s Bill was dead. In order to frame a new one, the principles of the new scheme were first discussed in the House, and then a Bill, the joint production of both parties, was introduced. The new Bill became law in August 1858, and is known as ‘An Act for the better Government of India.’

The Act for the better Government of India, which received the royal assent on the 2nd August, 1858, provided that India shall be governed directly by and in the name of Her Majesty, acting through a Secretary of State, to whom were to be transferred the powers formerly exercised either by »the Court of Directors or by the Board of Control, and that “all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India. . .shall be received for and in the name of Her Majesty, and shall be applied and disposed of for the purposes of the Government of India alone”. A month later the Court of Directors made over their trust of the dominion of India to the Crown in the following touching words: “Let Her Majesty appreciate the gift—let her take the vast country and the teeming millions of India under her direct control; but let Her not forget the great corporation from which she has received them nor the lessons to be learnt from its success”. The transfer of control over Indian territories from the Company to the Crown in 1858 was, more or less, a formal transaction. In fact, it was the culmination of a process that had begun from 1784, if not from 1773. Speaking on the India Bill on the 15th July, 1858, Lord Derby observed:

“in point of fact, the transfer of authority to the Crown is more nominal than real, because, although the Court of Directors have been in a position to exercise certain powers of obstruction and delay, I believe that, with the single exception of the power of recalling the Governor-General, there was no single act which they were enabled to perform without the assent of the President of the Board of Control”"

2. The Crown

By the Act of 1858 all territories in the possession of, and all powers hitherto exercised by the East India Company were vested in Her Majesty, the Queen, and India was to be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty, by one of her principal Secretaries of State. Provision was made for the appointment of a fifth Secretary of State for this purpose, who, with the aid of a Council, would perform all the duties and exercise all the powers so long vested in the East India Company and the President of the Board of Control.

The appointment of Governor-General of India and Governors of Presidencies in India was to be made by Her Majesty. All existing Acts and provisions of law and the treaties made by the Company, as well as all contracts, covenants, liabilities and engagements of the Company were to continue in force.

The assumption of the administration of India by the Crown was communicated to the people of India by a Proclamation issued in the name of Queen Victoria. The first draft of the Proclamation was not liked by Her Majesty, and she asked the Prime Minister, Lord Derby, to re-write it: "Bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern People, on assuming the direct government over them, and after a bloody war, giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the

British Crown, and the prosperity following in the train of civilisation". 7

The Proclamation, drafted according to the wishes of the Queen, was publicly read on 1 November, 1858 , in all the District towns in India. This Proclamation, far better known to the Indians than the Act of 1858, was for nearly half a century regarded as a Charter of their rights. After announcing the appointment of Viscount Canning as her first Viceroy and Governor-General and confirming all persons then employed in the civil and military services of the Company, the Proclamation held out the following assurances to the Chiefs aiid peoples of India.

“We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India, that treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

“We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and 'while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

“...We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none he in any wise favoured, .none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

“And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge”.

The Queen approved and confirmed the offer of pardon by Lord Canning to the rebels and mutineers of 1857-8 and made a further announcement as follows:—

“Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With Yegard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

"To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or Instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but, in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

“To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

“It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the first day of January next ”. 8

The exalted position of the British Crown in relation to the British Indian Empire was asserted by the exponents of New Imperialism in the post-1870 epoch. Thus the Government of Disraeli introduced in 1876 the Royal Titles Bill, which passed through Parliament with a large majority. Following it, Queen Victoria was proclaimed ‘Queen-Empress of India’ at a Durbar, held at Delhi on the 1st January, 1877. Her successor, Edward VII, was proclaimed ‘King-Emperor of India’ at a second Durbar , held at Delhi on the 1st January, 1903. At a third Delhi Durbar in 1911, George V succeeded to this title which had come to be regarded as “the symbol of unity of the British Empire”. More detailed reference will be made to these later.

3. The Secretary of State.

The Crown and the British Parliament exercised from 1858 their actual control over Indian affairs through the Secretary of State, whose salary was to be paid out of Indian revenues. He was to be one of the principal

Secretaries of State of the British Government, a minister of the Cabinet rank, and a member of one or other house of the Parliament. With the Secretary of State was associated a Council of India of fifteen members, eight of whom were to be appointed by the Crown and seven were to be elected by the Court of Directors from among themselves. Of these, more than a half in each case,—in all at least nine,—"shall be persons who shall have served or resided in India for ten years at the least, and. .. shall not have last left India more than ten years next preceding the date of their appointment". Vacancies in Crown appointments were to be filled by the Crown, and vacancies among the seven other members would be filled by co-option. The members of the Council were to hold office during their good behaviour, but they were removable "upon an address of both houses of Parliament". The Council had no initiative, but would only consider the questions referred to it by the Secretary of State, who could overrule the decisions of the majority, save and except in matters relating to expenditure and loans. Subject to these limitations, the Council was required to conduct, under the direction of the Secretary of State for India, the business transacted in the United Kingdom in relation to the Government of India and the correspondence with India".

The Council was thus expected to exercise only a sort of "moral, control". Gradually the Secretary of State came to occupy a supreme position in relation to the Council, by controlling its composition, curtailment of its powers, and modification in the method of transacting business. The Government of India Act, 1869, authorized the Secretary of State to fill up all vacancies in the Council of India, and fixed the tenure of members of the Council appointed in future to a term of ten years. The Act also transferred to the Crown, from the Secretary of State in Council, the right of appointing the ordinary members of the Governor-General's Council, and of the members of Council of the several Presidencies in India. This legislation strengthened the position of the Secretary of State as against his Council, whose power was palpably reduced. Sir Charles Dilke rightly observed in the House of Commons: "At the time the Council was appointed, the idea was to curb the power of the Secretary of State; that feeling had passed away, and it was now recognised on all hands that the Council should be a consultative and not a controlling body". 9 By the Council of India Reduction Act of 1889, the Secretary of State was given the power to "abstain from filling vacancies until the number of members could be reduced to ten".

Clause 41 of the Act of 1858 gave to the Council the power of 'financial veto'. It provided that "the expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, shall be subject to the control of the Secretary of State in Council, and no grant or appropriation of any part of such revenues, or of any other property coming into the possession of the Secretary of State in Council by virtue of this Act, shall be made without the concurrence of a majority of votes at a meeting of the Council". But this restraint became ineffective in actual practice, as, for matters of 'high policy', the Secretary of State was responsible to the Parliament and not to the Council, and he could issue secret orders concerning war or other matters involving heavy expenditure from Indian revenues, without the knowledge of his Council. Other conditions increased the subordination of the Council to the Secretary of State. He was not only given the powers of overruling the Council in case of difference of opinion, but also enjoyed some special privileges regarding matters of urgency and secrecy. He might not communicate to the Council the "secret" despatches from India, which were previously addressed to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. Further, it was for the Secretary of State "to divide the Council into Committees for the more convenient transaction of business, and from time to time to re-arrange such Committees, and to direct what departments of the business in relation to the Government of India under this Act (of 1858) shall be under such Committees respectively, and generally to direct the manner in which all such business shall be transacted".

In relation to the Government of India, also, the Secretary of State came to exercise unlimited authority in actual practice. It was thought in 1858 that the real executive power lay with the Government of India, and the Secretary of State was to 'direct and control' it. 9a Northcote, however, some years later, characterized the Government as established in 1858 as "an executive machinery in India subject to controlling machinery in England". Bartle Frere held in the early sixties that the Secretary of State should act only as the "representative and colleague of the Viceroy in the

Cabinet and Parliament, and as the exponent of the Viceroy's measures to the English Parliament and people". 10 In actual practice, however, the Secretary of State wielded much greater power.

Besides the special privileges of the Secretary of State, according to the legislative enactments, referred to above, certain other factors served to increase the influence of the Home Government and "to fortify the position of the Secretary of State vis-a-vis the Government of India". The completion of a direct telegraph line (by submarine cable by way of the Red Sea) between England and India in 1870 removed the difficulty and delay of communication. It made it easier for the Secretary of State to obtain quick information in relation to Indian affairs and he could no longer be "confronted with accomplished fact". He now sought to exercise greater control over the administration of India than had been the case before by keeping himself informed of all matters and by issuing detailed and positive orders.

The new development led to friction between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. In 1870 the Government of Lord Mayo protested "at being required to pass the Bills which became the Contract Act and the Evidence Act in the shape in which the Secretary of State, on the report of the Indian Law Commissioners, approved them, on the ground that such a course deprived the legislative councils of all liberty of action". 11 But the Home Government emphatically asserted their superior position in the following words:

"One great principle which from the beginning has underlaid the whole system (of the Government of India) is that the final control and direction of the affairs of India rest with the Home Government, and not with the authorities appointed and established by the Crown, under Parliamentary enactment, in India itself. The Government established in India is (from the nature of the case) subordinate to the Imperial Government at Home. And no Government can be subordinate, unless

it is within the power of the superior Government to order what is to be done or left undone, and to enforce on its officers, through the ordinary and constitutional means, obedience to its directions as to the use which they are to make of official position and power in furtherance of the policy which has been finally decided upon by the advisers of the Crown.

“Neither can I admit that it makes any real difference in the case if the directions issued by the Imperial Government relate to what may be termed legislative as distinguished from executive affairs. It may be quite as essential, in order to carry into effect the views of the Imperial Government, as to the well-being of Her Majesty’s Indian dominions, that a certain measure should be passed into a law, as that a certain Act described in common language as executive, should be performed. But if it were indeed the case, as your argument would represent it to be, that the power of the Imperial Government were limited to the mere interposition of a veto on Acts passed in India, then the Government of the Queen, although it could resist the passing of an injurious law, would be helpless to secure legislative sanction for any measures, however essential it might deem them to be, for the welfare or safety of Her Indian Empire. I think that, on reconsideration, you will see how inadequate such a power would be to regulate and control the affairs of that Empire, and how small a part it would represent of that supreme and final authority which has always been held and exercised by the Government of the Crown.” m

Tension became acute during the Secretaryship of Lord Salisbury in the second ministry of Disraeli and the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook. While recognizing “the subordinate position of the Viceroy”, Lord Northbrook “held that the Parliament had conferred certain rights, not only on the Viceroy, but on his Council, which differentiated the latter in a very notable degree from subordinate officials”. 12 When Lord Northbrook wanted to assert the independence of the Government of India in relation to fiscal matters, Disraeli’s Government strongly affirmed their constitutional rights in the following words:

“It is not open to question that Her Majesty’s Government are as much responsible to Parliament for the Government of India as they are for any of the Crown Colonies of the Empire. It may even be said that the responsibility is more definite, in that the powers conferred are, in the case of India, armed with a more emphatic sanction. It necessarily follows that the control exercised by Her Majesty’s Government over financial policy must be effective also.”

The principle lying behind the assertion of such absolute rights was admirably summed up on this occasion in the, words that followed:

“They cannot, of course, defend in debate measures of which they do not approve; nor can they disavow all concern in them, and throw the responsibility for them upon the distant Government of India. Full legal powers having been entrusted to Her Majesty’s Government, Parliament would expect that care should be taken that no policy should be pursued which Her Majesty’s Government were unable to defend. If the control they possess were to be in any respect less than complete, the power of Parliament over Indian questions would be necessarily annulled. If the Government were at liberty to assume the attitude of bystanders, and refer the House of Commons for explanations to the Governor-General in Council upon any policy that was assailed, there would practically be no one whom the House could call to account, or through whom effect could be given to its decisions. In scrutinizing the control exercised over the Government of India by Her Majesty’s Government, and the grounds for maintaining that control, it must be borne in mind that the superintending authority of Parliament is the reason and the measure of the authority exercised by the responsible Ministers of the Crown; and that, if the one power is limited the other must be limited at the same time”. 11

Lord Ripon, as the Viceroy of India, complained of the increasing interference of the India office. “I am not sure”, he said, “that if I had known exactly how matters stood I would have come out hei*e (India)”. 14 The supremacy of the British Parliament over the Government of India and the indivisible responsibility of the British Cabinet were strongly asserted in 1894 by Sir Henry Fowler, the Secretary of State, during the debate on the Cotton Duties Bill. It should be noted that the “relations between Simla and Whitehall” varied much with “the personal equation”. A strong man like Lord Curzon ascribed to the members of the Council of India “a desire to thwart and hinder his work”, and he resigned in consequence of difference with the Home Government and the Secretary of State.

4. The Parliament.

Though the supremacy of the British Parliament in the administration of India was theoretically asserted, as noted above, the actual powers of the Parliament were exercised by the Secretary of State for India. In accordance with the well-known principles of British constitution, the Secretary of State was fully responsible to the Parliament. But, as was pointed out by Macaulay in 1833, it was impossible, in the very nature of circumstances, that the actions of the Secretary of State for India should form a subject of scrutiny either by the Parliament or by the British people, to the same extent as those of the other Secretaries. The British Parliament has therefore been aptly described as “a sleepy guardian of Indian interests”.

The following extract from the Montagu-Chclmsford Report shows how the Parliament actually exercised control over Indian affairs:

The bulk of Indian legislation it leaves to the Indian legislatures which it has itself created, though it exercises through the Secretary of State complete control over the character of such law-making. But it insists that decisions on certain important matters, such as rules for the nomination or election of additional members of council, or for appointments to the Indian Civil Service, or defining the qualifications for persons to be appointed to listed posts, or notifications setting up executive councils for lieutenant-governors shall be laid before it. Nor are Indian revenue and expenditure controlled by Parliament. The revenues apart from loans are not raised, nor are the charges except for military expenditure beyond the frontiers incurred with its direct approval. The Home expenditure is met from Indian revenues and therefore the salaries of the Secretory of State and his office are not included in the estimates. A motion in favour of placing these amounts on the estimates was made in 1906, and defeated by a large majority, on the ground that the change would tend to bring the Indian administration into party politics. Accordingly all that at present happens is that a detailed account of receipts and charges is annually laid before Parliament together with a report, the quality of which has incurred some criticism, upon the moral and material progress of the country. A motion is made that Mr. Speaker do leave the chair for the House to go into Committee on the..East Indian revenue accounts; the actual motion made in Committee is declaratory and formal; a general debate on Indian affairs is in order, and the Secretary or Under Secretary of State usually takes this opportunity to inform the House about any important matters of administration. All sums expended in England on behalf of India are also examined by an auditor who lays his report before both Houses. Because Parliament does not vote the revenues of India, it has not the same opportunity of exercising the control over its administration as over the great departments of the public service in Great Britain. It is, of course, true that when any matter of Indian administration attracts public interest, Parliament has the ordinary and perfectly effective means of making its opinion felt, by questions, by amendments to the address, by motions to adjourn, by resolutions or by motions of no confidence. We have no hesitation in saying, however, that the interest shown by Parliament in Indian affairs has not been well-sustained or well-informed. It has tended to concern itself chiefly with a few subjects, such as the methods of dealing with political agitation, the opium trade, or the cotton excise duties. It may be well to record that in India such spasmodic interferences are apt to be attributed to political exigencies at Home. We note that Her Majesty's Ministers did not feel it necessary to give effect to resolutions of the House of Commons on the opium trade in 1889 and 1891, nor about simultaneous examinations in India and England for the Indian Civil Service in 1893, because they felt assured that the House would not on reflexion constrain them to carry out measures which on inquiry proved to be open to objection. No one questions the competence of Parliament to interfere as drastically or as often as it chooses. Our point, however, is that it does not make a custom of interfering".

The chief defect of this system is also pointed out in the same report.

"We have seen how in the days of the Company it was Parliament's habit before renewing the Charter to hold a regular inquest into Indian administration That practice has lapsed since 1858. Indeed we have the paradox that Parliament ceased to assert control at the very moment when it had acquired it. It cannot be said that Royal Commissions on particular subjects, for example, those over which Sir Charles Hobhouse and Lord Islington presided, are an adequate substitute for the old procedure’. 13

But although the British Parliament did not normally take any interest in Indian affiars, it often took too much interest if those affairs touched in any way the interests of Britain. In such circumstances the Secretary of State who, as a member of the Cabinet, had to accept the views of the Parliament, put undue pressure on his Council and the Government of India. The whole situation is very pithily put by Ramsay Macdonald, a former British Prime Minister, as follows:

“The intention of Parliament in 1858 wag apparently to give the power of initiative to the Government of India, that of examination and revision to the* Secretary

of State’s Council, that of veto to the Secretary himself. But that did not suit a Home Cabinet, which had views of its own on certain Indian affairs, especially economic ones, and in 1870 the Duke of Argyll, in correspondence with Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, issued an order that the Government of India was part of the Home Executive and subordinate to the Cabinet, and that official members and the Viceroy should take instructions from home. This point was t raised later on by Lord Salisbury when he insisted Upon being consulted on all legislative proposals of importance; and when, in 1875, the Government of India passed a Tariff Bill imposing duties upon cotton, angry correspondence followed, and Lord Salisbury issued his order that the duty would have to be rem/oved as quickly as possible. Upon this the Viceroy resigned. It has also been laid down by a Secretary of State that the Council (of Secretary of State) can be independent in its criticism only so long as the Cabinet allows it. 1 *

II. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA 1 . The Governor-General and his Council

The Act of 1858 did not introduce any formal change in the con* stitution and the general framework of the Government of India. The Governor-General had no doubt the added dignity of a personal representative of the Crown, but though this was always emphasized by the additional title of

Viceroy, it did not practically make any difference in his position. As before, the office, though practically reserved for the British aristocracy, was technically open to professional administrator, as demonstrated by the appointment of Sir John Lawrence. Of course, the replacement oLdual control at Home by the absolute control of the Secretary of State introduced the element of party politics in the appointment of the Governor-General in a much more striking manner than before. But although selected as a party man, the Governor-General, once appointed, ceased to be so, and did not resign with the fall of his party from power. As a rule, he was appointed for five years, and held his office for the whole of the period, irrespective of any change in Home politics. There are, however, instances, though very rare, of a Governor-General resigning his office for difference of opinion with the Home Government, as well as of the extension of the usual period of his office. He could not go home on leave during his tenure of office.

The constitution of the Executive Council of the GovernorGeneral was not changed in any way by the Act of 1858. It still consisted pf four ordinary members (of whom three were senior covenanted servants of the Company, and one, the Law Member, a barrister) with the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member. A proposal was made in 1860 to abolislv the Council, the idea being to vest the Government of India solely in the person of the Viceroy and reduce the members of the Council to the status of Secretaries. This proposal was not ultimately acted upon. Instead, the Act of 1861 added one more member to the Council, raising the total number to five, and authorized the Governor-General to make rules for the conduct of business.

Lord Canning had already introduced very important changes in the existing method of transacting business. Instead of the cob lective deliberation ^of all the members through the exchange of notes and minutes, Canning had already introduced the portfolio system in 1859, when a special Finance Member was appointed. Under this system the business of one or more departments was assigned to a particular member. The rules made by Canning under the Act of 1861 completed the system which, in its general framework continued till the end of the British period. This method has been described as follows:

“The member and the secretary of a department are empowered to settle all minor business on their own authority; and thus other members, and the Council as a whole, are relieved of all the petty cases which formerly choked the progress of public business. Once every week each member has a regular meeting with the Viceroy, at which the more important matters are discussed, and either settled or referred for discussion to a full Council. In order to make sure that important questions are not being settled in the department without reference to the Viceroy, each secretary also has a weekly interview, in which he Las the right of bringing forward any case which he considers demands the Viceroy’s attention. This has an ugly appearance of going behind the member’s back; the intention is, however, to give the Viceroy the opportunity of hearing the views of two experts, and not leaving him more ok 1 less at the mercy of a single one.”

“The great bulk of Government business is then settled either in the department concerned, or by the member in consultation with the Viceroy. There is, however, a residuum of cases that cannot thus be disposed of—either matters of general policy which the Viceroy wishes to be discussed in Council, or cases which he refers to the Council at the request of a member whom he has overruled. The Executive Council is usually stated to meet thus as a Cabinet once a week. At such meetings the decision of the majority prevails, unless the Viceroy decides to overrule his Council by the use of those powers whic he has inherited from Lord Cornwallis. But these powers have been used very seldom since the Mutiny”.”

The new method facilitated business, and enabled the Government of India to cope with the steadily growing volume of work. But there is no doubt that it considerably increased the power of the Governor-General, and reduced the importance of the Council, as such, as a ruling body in the scheme of the Government of India. Henceforth all the powers were gradually centred in the Viceroy and Governor-General, and his Council only played a subsidiary role.

Several other circumstances contributed to the same result. One of these was the reduction of the pay of a member of the GovernorGeneral’s Council to £8,000 and increase of that of the Lieutenant Governor to £10,000 a year. This had a twofold effect. The members of the Council naturally looked forward to the prize-post of a Lieutenant-Governorship and—not to put it more bluntly—became more amenable to the views of the Governor-General in whose hands the appointment lay. Secondly, by appointing his active supporters as heads of provinces, the Governor-General established his control over those who directly administered the provinces of India. As Minto put it, it is the Provincial rulers and not the Councillors of India who were the chief officers of the Viceroy.

Another circumstance which weakened the Governor-General's Council was the growing practice of private communications between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. The result was that many important questions of policy were settled behind the back of the Council. But this had also the effect of reducing, to a large degree, the independence of judgment and freedom of action which the Viceroy exercised before. This process set in in 1870 when the telegraphic communication was established between India and England. Formerly, on account of the long delay in communication, e Governor-General had to take action in emergencies without the sanction of the Home Government, which was often faced with a fan accompli. A great deal of initiative and freedom of action was thus necessarily left with the Government of India. But all this was changed when a consultation with the Home Government on every matter was feasible and therefore insisted upon. But as often happens, the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme. The tendency gradually grew for the British Cabinet to treat the Government of India as merely a subordinate branch of the British Government. Not unoften, it went one step further, when the Secretary State for India proceeded to decide upon important questions of policy by private discussion with the Viceroy alone, ignoring altogether the Council of India.

The development of this process can be clearly traced to the

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ciak the . Value of the views of the Anglo-Indian offi

cials. . This idea inevitably tended to bring the Viceroy into the

same relation with the Secretary of State for India as that in which

an Ambassador or Minister at a foreign court stands to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affiairs.. .” 18

Side by side with the decline of power, the members of the Governor-Generars Council lost their independence of action and could be required to cast their vote, not as they thought proper, but as directed by the Imperial Government at Home. This was clearly enunciated as follows in course of the rebuke which the Home Government administered to Lord Mayo, as stated above. 19

“The Im perial Government cannot indeed insist on all the members of the Governor General’s Council, when assembled for legislative purposes, voting for any measure which may be proposed, because on such occasions some members are prese n t who are not members of the Government and not official servants of the Crown. But the Act which added these members to the Council for a particular purpose made no change in the relations which subsist between the Imperial Government and its own executive officers. That Government must hold in its hands the ultimate power of requiring the Governor General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the members of his Government to vote for it".*

The debate on the cotton duties in 1894 was the last occasion on which the issue was raised. Sir Henry Fowler then laid down, as follows, the principle, that the united and indivisible responsibility of the Cabinet, which was recognised as the only basis on which the government of the United Kingdom could be carried on, applied to the Indian executive councils in spite of the different nature of the tie which held its members together:

"It should be understood that this principle, which guides the Imperial Cabinet, applies equally to administrative and to legislative action; if in either case a difference has arisen, members of the Government of India are bound, after recording their opinions, if they think fit to do so, for the information of the Secretary of State in the manner prescribed by the Act either to act with the Government or to place their resignations in the hands of the Viceroy. It is moreover immaterial for the present purpose what may be the nature of the considerations which have determined the Government of India to introduce a particular measure. In any case, the policy adopted is the policy of the Government'as a whole, and as such, must be accepted and promoted by all who decide to remain members of that Government".®

The same principle was also applied to the members of the Governor's Executive Council. "When in 1878 a member of the Madras executive council moved an amendment which had been rejected by the Government of India, to a Bill that was before the provincial legislative council, the Secretary of State declared that his action was constitutionally improper". 22

2. The Indian Councils Act, 1861.

The first important change in the structure of the Government of India was made by the Act of 1861. It was intended in the first place to remove what was regarded by the authorities as the defects in the Act of 1853. The first of these, already noted above, 23 was the undue interference by the Legislative Council, set up by that Act, with the executive branch of the administration, which was never intended to be the function of that body. In the second place, both Madras and Bombay chafed at the loss of their legislative power, and differences had already arisen between the Supreme Government and the Government of Madras about the Income-Tax Bill. There was, indeed, a strong reaction in both these provinces against the centralisation in Calcutta.

But there were other more deep-seated reasons which moved the British Government. The Mutiny and rebellion of 1857, the Santal rebellion of 1855-57, and the Indigo riots of 1860,—all seemed to indicate that there was something wrong in the administrative system. The growing ill feeling, bordering on antagonism, between the Indians and the Englishmen in India, was considered by Sir Charles Wood "as the most alarming symptom" tending "to increase the dangers of our position" to which "it would be folly to shut our eyes".

Sir Charles Wood also believed that

"many of the greatest mistakes into which we have been led have arisen from the circumstance that we have been, not unnaturally, perhaps, for arranging everything according to English ideas. In Bengal we converted the collectors of taxes into the permanent landowners of the country, and left the ryots to their mercy. In Madras, Sir Thomas Munro, from most benevolent motives, and to avoid the evils of the Bengal settlement, introduced the ryotwary system. It is now asserted that a more impoverished population than that of Madras does not exist".24

There was a general feeling that all these evils w r ere mainly due to the absence of Indians in the Legislative Councils of India. Sir Syed Ahmad wrote a book in Urdu, entitled Essay on the causes of the Indian Revolt, almost immediately after the Mutiny. He regarded the non-admission of the Indians into the Legislative Council of India as the primary cause of the rebellion. In support of this view, he observed:

"Most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed it is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its councils. It is from the voice of the people only that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. The voice of the people alone can check the error in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us....This voice can never be heard, and this security never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of the Government. The men who have ruled India should never have forgotten that they were here in the position of foreigners... .The evils which resulted in India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Council of India were various. Government could never know the inadvisability of any of the laws and regulations which it passed. It could never hear, as it ought to have heard the voice of the people on such a subject. The people had no means of protesting against what they might feel to be a foolish measure, or giving public expression of their own wishes. But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and intentions of Government". [26]

Some Englishmen also shared the views of Syed Ahmad and pointed out the dangers arising from the entire exclusion of Indians from association with the legislation of the country. Sir Bartle Frere observed in a Minute written in 1860:

"The addition of a native element has, I think, become necessary owing to our diminished opportunities of learning through indirect channels what the natives think of our measures, and how the native community will be affected by them.... No one will I think object to the only obvious means of regaining in part the advantages which we have lost, unless he is prepared for the perilous experiment of continuing to legislate for millions of people, with few means of knowing, except by a rebellion, 'whether the laws suit them or not". [26a]

That Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, was influenced by this view is clear from the remarks quoted above, which he made while introducing the Bill.

Thus the Indian Councils Act of 1861 was passed largely as a measure of caution against future danger. According to this Act the number of ordinary members of the Governor-General's Council was raised to five. For purposes of legislation, the Governor-General's Council was reinforced by additional members, not less than six nor more than twelve in number, nominated by the GovernorGeneral and holding office for two years. Not less than half of these members were to be non-officials. The Commander-in-Chief, and the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the Province where the Council assembled were extra-ordinary members of the Council

The Legislative Council established under the Act of 1853 had come to regard itself as something like a Parliament for India, and put the Executive Government to considerable inconvenience by asking questions about, and discussing, its measures. In order to put a stop to all this, “the functions of the new Legislative Council were limited strictly to legislation, and it was expressly forbidden to transact any business except the consideration and enactment of legislative measures, or to entertain any motion except a motion for leave to introduce a Bill, or having reference to a Bill actually introduced”. 26 Legislation on certain specified matters could not be introduced without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. No Act passed by the Legislative Council would be 'valid unless it had received the assent of the Governor-General, and any such Act might be disallowed by the Crown, acting through the Secretary of State.

The Governor-General in Council, constituted for legislative business, was to have power to make laws and regulations for amending or repealing any laws in force in the “Indian territories now

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under the dominion of Her Majasty”, and to make laws for “all persons, whether British or Native, foreigners or others, and for all courts of justice whatever, and for all places and things whatever within the said territories, and for all servants of the Government of India within the dominions of Princes and States in alliance with Her Majesty”. The Governor-General was to have the power, in cases of emergency, to pass, without his Council, Ordinances which would be valid for not more than six months. The Governments of Madras and Bombay got back the power of legislation which had been withdrawn by the Act of 1833. The Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras were expanded for legislative purposes by the addition of the Advocate-General and other persons not less than four, nor more than eight, to be nominated by the Governors. "The previous sanction of the Governor-General was made requisite for legislation by the local legislature in certain cases, and all Acts of the local legislature required the subsequent assent of the GovernorGeneral in addition to that of the Secretary of State, and were, of course, made subject to disallowance by the Crown. Further, the "power of local legislation bestowed by the Act of 1861 was not, as previously, exclusive: it was concurrent, so that, while a provincial Council might, with the Governor-General's approval, legislate for its own area, the legislative power of the Governor-General in Council was unimpaired and extended for all purposes over the whole of the Indian territories under the British Crown. The concentration of authority at the centre thus persisted". 27 The GovernorGeneral was also directed to establish a legislative council for Bengal and empowered to establish similar councils for the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab.

The Act of 1861, for the first time, made it possible for the Indians to take some share in the administration of their own country. This share was, however, strictly limited to giving advice on proposed legislation. The Legislative Councils established under that Act were merely "committees for the purpose of making laws", and these laws were in reality the orders of Government. There was however one important difference. The laws were made in a manner which ensured publicity and discussion and were enforced by the courts and not by the executive.

Gut in some respects the Act of 1861 was of a retrograde character. The Council set up by the Act of 1853 had introduced parliamentary procedure, and by asking questions and discussing executive measures including the budget, marked a definite stage in the progress of representative Government in India. All these powers were taken away by the Act of 1861, and from the Indian point of

view it was a , definite set-back in the constitutional progress of India for which the English-educated Indians were already making demands. The Home Government made it clear that they could not contemplate anything like a representative council or responsible government for India. Sir Charles Wood, while introducing the Bill of 1861, very frankly observed:

“You cannot possibly assemble at any one place in India persons who shall be the real representatives

of the various classes of the Native population of that empire.

To talk of Native representation is therefore to talk of that which is simply and utterly impossible”. 28

Thus began the formulation of the doctrine that the Parliamentary form of Government was unsuitable for India,—a doctrine which grew into an axiomatic truth and was repeated like parrots by all subsequent Secretaries of State for more than fifty years. Sir Charles Wood very clearly enunciated another maxim when' he stated: “All experience teaches us that where a dominant race rules another, the mildest form of Government is a despotism”. 29 His successors believed in this abstract doctrine, bereft of its context, as strongly as he, but most of them never admitted it so frankly, and tried to camouflage this unpalatable truth in various ways.

Another retrograde feature of the Act of 1861 was to empower the Governor-General to issue Ordinances which would have the force of law for six months. It marks the forging of a new repressive weapon which the British Government in India carefully preserved in its armoury till the very last moment.

3. Legislation between 1861 and 1891.

There was not much change in the structure of the Government of India or its powers between 1861 and 1891. But a few important points may be noted.

“The Government of India Act of 1865 extended the legislative powers of the Governor-General’s Council to all British subjects in Native States, whether servants of the Crown or not; the Indian Councils Act of 1869 still further extended these powers by enabling the Governor-General’s Council to make laws' for all native Indian subjects of the Crown in any part of the world, whether in India or not. Incidentally, it may be added that the Act of 1865 also enabled the Governor-General’s Council to define and alter, by proclamations, the territorial limits of the various Presidencies and LieutenantGovernorships.

“An Act of 1873 formally dissolved the East India Company as from January 1, 1874. In the following year another Indian Councils Act enabled a sixth member of the Governor-GeneraFs Council to be appointed for Public Works purposes. The Indian Councils Act of 1904. however, removed the necessity for appointing the sixth member specifically for Public Works purposes, though it continued the power to appoint a sixth member”. 30

The most important Act passed during the period which had a great significance in Indian history was the Royal Titles Act of 1876.

It authorised the Queen, by Royal Proclamation, to make such addition to the style and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom and its dependencies as to Her Majesty might seem meet. Accordingly, the Queen, by Proclamation dated April 28, 1876, added to her style and titles the words ‘INDIAE IMPERATRIX or ‘EMPRESS OF INDIA’. The translation of the new title in the vernacular was a matter for careful consideration with Lord Lytton’s Government who finally decided to adopt the term KAiSER-I-HIND. It was short, sonorous, expressive of the Imperial character which it was intended to convey, and a title, moreover, of classical antiquity”. 31

The credit for this measure must go to the two great imperialist politicians of Britain, namely Disraeli, the Prime Minister, and his worthy lieutenant, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India. The genesis of the whole conception is thus described by the latter’s daughter Lady Betty Balfour:

When the administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the sovereign, it seemed in the eyes of her Indian subjects and feudatories

*5. Ui f ersona} t P<>wer of an administrative abstraction had been replaced by the direct personal authority of a human being. This was a change thoroughly congenial to ad their traditional sentiments, but without some appropriate title the Queen of England was scarcely less of an abstraction than the Company itself

^ °* Eniprc ; ss t or Badsha h could alone adequately represent her relations ^ to® states and kingdoms of India, and was moreover a title familiar to the natives of the country, and an impressive and significant one in their eyes.

'‘Embarrassments inseparable from the want of some appropriate title had ong been experienced with increasing force by successive Indian administrators ^id were brought, as it were, to a crisis by various circumstances incidental to

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1876 ’ ^i wharea3 when ^ direct Government of the Indian Empire was assumed by the Queen no formal addition was made to the style and titles of the Sovereign, Her Majesty deemed that moment a fitting one for supplying the on, an o thereby a formal and emphatic expression of the favourable

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4. The Act of 1892

During the thirty years that followed the passing of the Act of 1861 momentous changes had taken place among the Indians by way of the growth of nationalism, awakening of political consciousness, and development of political organizations. As will be related in a subsequent chapter, all these received a great impetus during the seventies and eighties and culminated in the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

Ever since the beginning of political consciousness among the English-educated Indians, during the thirties and forties, they had been demanding a greater share in the administration of their country, and political organizations like the British Indian Association put forth concrete proposals for representative councils. They were sadly disappointed when the Act of 1861 was passed, for it did not give any real power or even voice to the Indians in the administration of their country.

The actual work of the Councils under the Act of 1861 showed their real character. The Indian members of the Councils were all nominated, and, with a few honourable exceptions, they were “magnificent nonentities”. Their constituency was the Government House and they were true to it. 32a A lurid picture of such a nominated member was drawn by Mr. MacNeill in the British House of Commons. “A Maharaj of the North-West Provinces,” he said, “was appointed a member of the Supreme Council, and he could not speak a word of English, and was not allowed to have an interpreter. After the meeting a relative asked him how he got on. The reply was, ‘At first I found it very difficult, but then there was the GovernorGeneral who elected me, and when he raised his hand I raised mine, and when he put his hand down I put down mine”. 33

Another liberal British statesman, Sir Henry Cotton, made the following comments in his book “New India

“Hie constitution of these Councils has lately attracted much attention in the native Press, and I sincerely trust that public opinion will not cease to express itself on the subject until some radical and thorough reform has been effected. It is not too much to say that the present constitution of the Legislative Council is the merest farce. Not only do officials predominate to an extent which absolutely precludes the possibility of any independent action, but these officials consist almost entirely -of individuals who, from the very position they hold, are unable to display any personal independence. The present members of the Council are little more than puppets. A native Deputy Magistrate is not inclined to offer advfbe unacceptable to a Lt. Governor to whom he owes the honour of his appointment, and on whom he depends for his prospects in the service. The excellent and faithful agents of the rich and Zamlndars, who now enjoy a seat in the Bengal Council, would as soon bite off their tongues as place themselves in opposition to Sir Rivers Thompson. No blame to them. They act in accordance

with the antecedent of their own order, and of their fellow countrymen of the old style. The very essence of their creed is subservience to authority. Is there one among their friends and associates who would justify their action if they were to place themselves in opposition?”

No wonder, then, that the Councils set up by the Act of 1861 did not at all satisfy the aspirations of the politically minded Indians whose number was steadily growing with the spread of English education. A member of the Congress described the Councils as gilded shams. 33a As will be related later, new political organizations of a more popular character like the c ‘Indian Association” in Calcutta, the Sarbajanik Sabha of Poona (Bombay), National Conference in Calcutta, and finally the Indian National Congress never ceased to press upon the Government the demand for representative councils.

From its very inception the Indian National Congress urged upon the Government, among other things, the extension and enlargement of legislatures, and the constitution of the same on elective principles. The circular that was issued inviting persons to attend the first session of the Indian National Congress expressed the hope that “indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a native Parliament”. The following resolution was passed at the very first session of the Congress at Bombay in 1885. 34

"That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration, and that a

Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities".

In the second session (1886) the Congress laid down certain definite principles for giving practical effect to the above.

"(a). The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half of the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats ex-officio in such Councils and not more than one-fourth to be members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.

(b). The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, prima facie capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay, the councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University or by electoral Colleges composed of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government, In the North West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, councillors may be elected by an electoral College composed of members, elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing members to the latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted, (and the details must be worked out separately for each province), care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.

(c) . The elected members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected members of the several Provincial Councils.

(d) . No elected or nominated member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(e) . All persons resident in India to be eligle for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(f) . All legislative measures and all financial questions including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration any member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the ex-officio Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question together with copies of- any paper requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such Resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the ex-officio Members or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(g) The Executive Government, shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which in its opinion the public interest would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; bul whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this been considered necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of Local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such .case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the over-ruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in .the third resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.**

As will be described later, Mr. A. O. Hume, who first formulated the scheme of Indian National Congress, was not satisfied by merely passing Resolutions and in 1888 started a mass movement on the lines of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation in England. The Government of India realized the importance of the Indian movement and could not remain altogether indifferent to the consistent demand. Lord Dufferin, who was at first sympathetic to the political aspirations of India and played an important role in the foundation of the Indian National Congress, wrote in 1886: "My own inclination would be to examine carefully and seriously the demands which are the outcome of these various movements; to give quickly and with good grace whatever it may be possible or desirable to accord; to announce that the concessions must be accepted as a final settlement of the Indian system for the next ten or fifteen years; and to forbid mass meetings and incendiary speechifying.. .Among the natives I have met there are a considerable number who are both able and sensible, and upon whose loyal co-operation one could undoubtedly rely. The fact of their supporting the Government would popularize many of its acts which now have the appearance of being driven through the legislature by force; and if they in their turn had a native party behind them, the Government of India would cease to stand up, as it does now, an isolated rock in the middle of a tempestuous sea, around whose base the breakers dash themselves simultaneously from all the four quarters of heaven". 35 Lord Dufferin appointed a committee for the purpose of suggesting concrete proposals of reform. The Committee's report contained proposals for changing the character of the councils and enlarging their power.

'“They recommended for example that the councils should see papers freely and originate advice or suggestions; that debates on such advice or suggestions should be permitted; and that the estimates connected with local finance should be referred to a standing committee and debated if necessary in council. They also were concerned to bring into public affairs the gentry and nobility of the country; and for this purpose they devised a council which should consist of two orders or divisions both containing some official members. They made the radical suggestion that election should be introduced as far as possible—in. the first division directly, on a high property qualification, and in the second division indirectly, by local bodies and the universities. They advised that care should be taken to secure the fair representation of all classes; that power should be reserved to Government to pass measures in certain cases against - T otes of a majority in council; and that councils should be of moderate size and not more than two-fifths elected.”* 5

After perusing this report Dufferin formulated a definite view and elaborated a concrete scheme to give effect to it. This was summed up by himself in the following words which also give a very brilliant exposition of the British standpoint in regard to the constitutional advance of India.

“It now appears to my colleagues and to myself that the time has come for us to take another step in the development of the same Iberal policy, sand to

give, to quote my own words, ‘a still wider share in the administration of public affairs to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements, and the confidence they inspire in their fellow-countrymen are marked out as fitted to assist with their counsels the responsible rulers of the country*. But it is necessary that there would be no mistake as to the nature of our aims or of the real direction in which we propose to move. Our scheme may be briefly described as a plan for the enlargement of our provincial councils, for the enhancement of their status, the multiplication of their functions, the partial introduction into them of the elective principle, and the liberalization of their general character as political institutions. From this it might be concluded that we were contemplating an approach, at all events as far as the provinces are concerned, to English parliamentary government, and an English constitutional system. Such a conclusion would be very wide of the mark, and it would be wrong to leave either the India Office or the Indian public under so erroneous an impression. India is an integral portion, and it may be said one of the most important portions of the mighty British Empire. Its destinies have been confided to the guidance of an allien race, whose function is to arbitrate between a multitude of conflicting or antagonistic interests, and its government is conducted in the name of a monarch whose throne is in England. The executive that represents her imperium in India is an executive directly responsible, not to any local authority, but to the Sovereign and to the British Parliament. Nor could its members divest themselves of this responsibility as long as Great Britain remains the paramount administrative power in India. But it is of the essence of constitutional government, as Englishmen understand the term, that no administration should remain at the head of affairs which does not possess the necessary powers to carry out whatever measures or policy it may consider to be 'for the public interest.' The moment these powers are withheld, either by the Sovereign or Parliament, a constitutional executive resigns its functions and gives way to those whose superior influence with the constituencies has enabled them to overrule its decisions, and who consequently become answerable for whatever line of procedure may be adopted in lieu at that recommended by their predecessors. In India this shifting of responsibility from one set of persons to another is, under existing circumstances, impossible; for if any measure introduced into a legislative council is vetoed by an adverse majority, the Governor cannot call upon the dissentients to take the place of his own official advisers, who are nominated by the Queen-Empress on the advice of the Secretary of State. Consequently the vote of the opposition in an Indian Council would not be given under the heavy sense of responsibility which attaches to the vote of a dissenting majority in a constitutional country; while no responsible executive could be required to carry on the government unless free to inaugurate whatever measures it considers necessary for the good and safety of the State. It is, therefore, obvious, for this and many other reasons, that; no matter to what degree the liberalization of the councils may now take place, it will be necessary to leave in the hands of each provincial Government the ultimate decision upon all important questions, and the paramount control of its own policy. It .is in this view that we have arranged that the nominated members in the Council should outnumber the elected members, at the same time that the Governor has been empowered to overrule his council whenever he feels himself called upon by circumstances to do so

“But, though it is out of the question either for the supreme or for the subordinate Governments of India to divest themselves of any essential portion of that Imperial authority which is necessary to their very existence as the ruling power, paramount over a variety of nationalities, most of whom are in a very backward state of civilization and enlightenment, there is no reason why they should not desire to associate with themselves in council in very considerable numbers such of the natives of India as may be enabled by their acquirements, experience, and ability to assist and enlighten them in the discharge of their difficult duties. Nor can it be doubted that these gentlemen, when endowed with ample and unrestricted powers of criticism, suggestion, remonstrance and inquiry will be in a position to exercise a very powerful and useful influence over the conduct of provincial and local public business which alone it is proposed to entrust to them. As inhabitants of the country, as intimately associated with its urban and rural interests, as being in continual contact with large masses of their fellow-countrymen, as the acknowledged representatives of legally constituted bodies, or chosen from amongst influential classes, they will always speak with great weight of authority; and as their utterances will take place in public, their opinions will be sure to receive at the hands of the press whatever amount of support their intrinsic weight or value may justify. By this means the field of public discussion will be considerably enlarged, and the various administrations concerned will be able to shape their course with the advantage of a far more distinct knowledge of the wishes and feelings of the communities with whose interests they may be required to deal than has hitherto been the case—for those wishes and feelings will be expressed, not as at present, through self-constituted, self-nominated, and therefore untrustworthy, channels, but by the- mouths of those who will be the legally constituted representatives of various interests and classes, and who will feel themselves, in whatever they do or say, responsible to enlightened and increasing sections of their own countrymen.”

“All that the Government hoped to do, he added, was by associating with them in the task of administration a considerable number of persons ‘selected and elected* from the educated classes to place themselves in contact with a larger surface of Indian opinion, and thus to multiply the channels by which they would ascertain the wants and feelings of the various communities for whose welfare they were responsible”. 37

Shortly after sending his recommendation on the above lines, Lord Dufferin left India. Lord Cross, the Secretary of State, took up the matter with Lord Lansdowne who succeeded Dufferin in December, 1888. “Lord Cross rejected the cardinal recommendation that for the popular element in councils recourse should be had as far as possible to the principle of election, and said that he thought ‘it would be unwise to introduce a fundamental change of this description without much more positive evidence in its favour than was forthcoming*. The system was unfamiliar to Oriental ideas, and had only been tried on a small scale in local bodies. But Lord Lansdowne*s Government stood to their guns. They urged that they would not be precluded from resort to some form of election where conditions justified belief in it; and they asked for power to make rules for the appointment of additional members by nomination or otherwise. They had their way”. 38

In the meantime the Congress took energetic measures to force the issue. The following Resolution was passed in the fifth session of the Congress at Poona, in 1889.

' That the following skeleton sche m e for the reform and re-constitution of t he Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of the Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., MP. with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons:

(a) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to si ex-officio, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

(b) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units ^for electoral purposes.

(c) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

(d) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(e) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts, included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five million of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bear to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(f) All elections to be by ballot."

In accordance with this Resolution-Mr. Bradlaugh introduced his Bill in the House of Commons in 1890. In order to forestall him the British Government introduced its own Bill in the House of Lords in 1890. After it was passed in that House, it came before the House of Commons in the same session, but did not get beyond the First Reading. It was introduced again in 1891 and postponed. In 1892 it was introduced in the House of Commons on 28 March by the Under-Secretary of State, George Nathaniel

Curzon, who was destined ere long to play an important role in the history of British India.

In course of his speech, while introducing the Bill, Curzon defined the object of the Bill to be

“to widen the basis and to expand the functions of government in India; to give further opportunities than at present exist to the non-official and native elements in Indian Society to take part in the work of government, and in this way to lend official recognition to that remarkable development both of political interest and political capacity which has been visible among the higher classes of Indian society since the government of India was taken over by the Crown in 1858.”

“The changes”, continued Curzon, “which it is proposed to introduce by this Bill are, broadly speaking, three in number. The first is the concession of the privileges of financial criticism both in the Supreme and Provincial Councils; the second, the privilege of interpellation or the right of asking questions; and the third, an addition to the number of members in both classes of Councils.”*

The most important question was the introduction of the method of election in appointing the members of the enlarged Councils. A section of the House, including Gladstone, attached special importance to it. That great liberal statesman remarked“that the great ques^ tion we have before us—the question of real and profound interest— is the question of the introduction of the elective element into the government of India. That question overshadows and absorbs everything else; it is a question of vital importance, and also, at the same time, a question of great difficulty”. 40 Mr. Schwann, (Member for Manchester) moved an amendment to the effect that “no reform on the Indian Councils which does not embody the elective principles will.prove satisfactory” 41 Although this was not directly conceded in the Bill, Curzon’s comments and explanations on clause 1 of the Bill, to which reference will be made later, satisfied Gladstone and the Opposition members. Next in point of importance was the number of members proposed to be added to the Councils. In justification of the smallness of this number Curzon observed: “The late Mr. Bradlaugh, who at different times introduced two Bills dealing with the reform of the India

Councils into this House, proposed in those measures to swell the numbers on these Councils to quite impracticable and unmanageable proportions. Under his first Bill their totals would have aipounted to more than two hundred and sixty, and under the second to more than two hundred and thirty. It is within the knowledge of every one who is acquainted with India that the number of persons who are competent and willing to take part in the functions of these Councils is nothing like adequate to supply the extravagant expectations of those Bills". 42 When it is remembered that the figure mentioned by Curzon refers to the total number of members of the Councils of the Governor-General and of the four Provinces,—five in all,—one feels amazed at the absurdity of the contention of Curzon that about 250 men, fit to be members of the Councils, could not be found in the whole of India in 1892. The most remarkable part of Curzorfs speech was that concerning the representative Government demanded by the Indian National Congress and the credentials of that body to make such a demand. Ac it enunciated a philosophy and formulated a doctrine which formed the key-note of the policy and utterances of many a British statesman in future, it deserves to be quoted in full:

"No system of representation that has ever been devised, no system of representation that the ingenuity of the hon. member can suggest, no system of representation that would stand the test of twenty-four hours' operation, would, in the most infinitesimal degree, represent the people of India. Who are the people of India? The people of India are the voiceless millions who can neither read nor write their own tongues, who have no knowledge whatever of English, who 'are not perhaps universally aware of the fact that the English are in their country as rulers. The people of India are the ryots and the peasants whose life is not one. of political aspiration, but of mute penury and toil. The plans and policy of the Congress Party in India would leave this vast amorphous residuum absolutely untouched. I do not desire to speak in any other than terms of respect of the Congress Party of India. That party contains a number of intelligent, liberalminded, and public-spirited men, who undoubtedly represent that portion of the Indian people which has profited by the educational advantages placed at their doors, and which is more or less imbued with European ideas; but as to their relationship to the people of India, the constituency which the Congress Party represent cannot be described as otherwise than a minute and almost microscopic minority of the total population of India. At the present time the population of British India is 221,000,000; and of that number it has been calculated that not more than from three to four per cent, can read or w rite any one of their native tongues; considerably less than one per cent.—about one-fourth or one-third—can read or write English. In the Province of Bengal alone, where the population exceeds 72,000,000, it has been calculated that the maximum constituency created by Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill would have only numbered a total of 870,000. It appears to me that you can as little judge of the feelings and aspirations of the people of India from the plans and proposals of the Congress Party as you can judge of the physical configuration of a country which is wrapped up in the mists of early morning, but a few of whose topmost plaits have been touched by the rising sun. To propose an elaborate system of representation for a people in this stage of development would appear to me to be, in the highest degree, premature and unwise. To describe such a system as representation of the people of India would be little better than a farce. The Government assume the responsibility of stating that, in their opinion, the time has not come when representative institutions, as we understand the term, can be extended to India. The idea of representation is alien to the Indian mind." 48

Lord Curzon's speech provokes some comments. One might well ask why he was so anxious to procure "an early demise of the Congress" 44 if it was really of so little importance? Further, he himself lived to see the day when the Government, of which he was himself a prominent member, not only supported representative, but responsible, government in India, and set up Councils whose total non-official membership was more than 800. This was just twenty-five years after his speech, i.e. within the same genera tion. Is the difference a measure of the phenomenal progress of India in developing literacy and the qualities of true citizenship, or of change in British statesmanship brought about by the great war and revolutionary activities in India?

The Conservative P-f^rty as a whole, both inside and outside the Parliament, echoed Lord Curzon's views. The Times held in those days that India had been won by the sword and should be kept by the sword... The Quarterly Review wrote that the Indians were not fit for self-government and called them a race of liars. Professor Goldwin Smith said that the concession of the smallest reform to India would lead to universal anarchy. Lord Salisbury (the Prime Minister) said: "I do not see what is the use of this political hypocrisy; it does not deceive the natives of India; they know perfectly well that they are governed by a superior race". 46

It is only fair to add, however, that there were Britishers who took a radically different view of the Indian problem and protested against the reactionaries. During the course of the debate on the 1892 Bill, Mr. MacNeill, a member of the Opposition, observed: "The four principles now embodied in the Bill are mainly due to the Indian National Congress, and yet those who at that Congress suggested these very reforms were for years subject to wicked mis-representation." Another British member of Parliament, referring to the opposition to democratic institutions in India, said:

* Our Indian officials detest this motion, because it would secure a representation under which these horrors would be exposed and by which the Draconian

Laws under which they exist would be repealed.Because the first thing that

elected representatives would do would be to reveal such an appalling picture of poverty and heartrending sufferings of scores of millions of helpless hu man beings that the British nation would rise as one man and overturn their entire system.

I repeat that it is only a selfish desire to retain lucrative posts which makes our European officials seek to persuade this House that the natives of India are unfit for representative institutions." 4 *

The speeches <tf the members of Opposition, during the discussion on 1892 Bill, were full of facts and figures as well as authoritative quotations in support of the Indian case for the inclusion of elective principle in the Bill. The activities and demands of the Indian National Congress were very ably placed before the House of Commons

and a good case was made out for the introduction of franchise in India. 47

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 provided that the number qf additional members in the Governor-General's Council shall not be less than ten nor more than sixteen, and that of the Councils of the Governors of Bombay and Madras, not less than eight nor more than twenty. The Governor-General was authorized to fix the number of Council

lors in Bengal and North-West Provinces and Oudh subject to a maximum of twenty for the former and fifteen for the latter. The new Councils were authorized to discuss the annual financial statement and ask questions about the same, subject to the rules made by the Governor-General or Governors and Lieutenant-Governors for their respective Councils. "But no member at any such meeting of any Council shall have power to submit or propose any resolution or to divide the Council in respect of any such financial discussion, or the answer to any question asked under the authority of this Act, or the rules made under this Act".

The method of nominating the additional members of the Councils was laid down in°subsection (4) of Clause I, which runs as follows: "(4). The Governor-General in Council may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made by the Governor-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors respectively, and prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect".

Lord Curzon pointed out, while introducing the Bill, that this clause authorized the election of members, without any express stipulation to that effect. He said that this clause was introduced as an amendment by Lord Northbrook in the House of Lords deliberately for this purpose. Lord

Curzon then proceeded further, and by way of explaining the full implications of

this clause, observed: "Let me call the attention of the hon. member

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to the fact that Lord Kimberley has thus expressed himself ^elsewhere on this clause:

*1 am bound to say that I can express my own satisfaction because I regard this as to a certain extent an admission of the elective principle'. On another occasion he said: T myself believe that under this clause it will be possible for the Governor-General to make arrangements by which certain persons may be presented to him, having been chosen by election if the Governor-General should find that such a system can properly be established'.

Mr. Maclean (Oldham): Does the Government accept this view of Lord Kimberley?

Mr. Curzon: Undoubtedly the opinions expressed by Lord Kimberley are those which are also shared by the Secretary of State. Under this Act it would be in the power of the Viceroy to invite representative bodies in India to elect or select or delegate representatives of themselves and of their opinions to be nominated to those Houses, and thus by slow degrees, by tentative measures, and in a matter like this measures cannot be otherwise than tentative, we may perhaps approximate in some way to the ideal which the hon. Member for North Manchester (Mr. Schwann) has in view." 4 *

This was regarded as satisfactory even by Gladstone, who suggested the withdrawal of the amendment by Mr. Schwann as the declaration of the Government substantially agreed with it. 49

The Government at Home acted in the spirit of Curzon's explanation. "Her Majesty's Government in transmitting the Act of 1892 explained that the intentions of Parliament were that—

Where corporations have been established with definite powers upon a recognized administrative basis, or where associations have been formed upon a substantial community of legitimate interests, professional, commercial, or territorial, the Governor-General and the local Governors might find convenience and advantage in consulting from time to time such bodies, and in entertaining at their discretion an expression of their views and recommendations with regard to the selection of members in whose qualifications' they might be disposed to confide.'

Technically, the function of the nominating bodies was to be that of recommendation only; but the political sense of the Government of India told them that it was impracticable either to insist on selection from a panel of names proferred or to reject individual nominations at discretion. They also declined, otherwise than by laying down certain general qualifications, to fetter the discretion of the recommending bodies. In consultation with local Governments they drew up regulations which lord Kimberley accepted. These provided for an official majority, but restricted it so far as was thought possible; and they also left the majority of the non-official seats to be filled by recommendation. The term "election" was sedulously eschewed; but inasmuch as the nominations by recommending bodies came to be accepted as a matter of course the fact of election to an appreciable proportion of the non-official seats was firmly established." 50

As a result of the Act of 1892, not more than ten out of sixteen additional members in the Governor-General's Council were nominated from among non-officials, in order to keep the official majority. Four, out of these ten, were selected on the recbmmendation of the non-official members of the four Provincial Councils, and one on that of the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. The five remaining nonofficial seats were directly nominated by the Governor-General. This was hardly in keeping with the elective principle so generpusly announced by Curzon. The elective element in the Provincial Councils consisted, at the utmost, of eight members recommended by a few large cities, by groups of municipalities and district boards, by large zamindars, by chambers of Commerce, and by Universities.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the changes effected by the Act of 1892 and the rules made thereunder fell far short of the demands formulated by the Indian National Congress on behalf of the moderate section of the politically conscious Indians. The Congress asked for representative institutions, not consultative councils What wds worse is that the Rules made under the Act made the Council still more ineffective. In 1894 the Congress passed a Resolution expressing regret that neither the Rules of the Government, of India nor the practice of most of the Local Governments gave effect to the spirit of the Act. It will be seen later, that in future amendments of the constitution also the Congress had to complain that the real spirit and intention of the Act were ignored by the Rules made thereunder by the Government of India, and that what was given by the right hand was taken away by the left.

It is to be noted that no Legislative Council was granted to the Panjab till 1897, and even then the right of interpellation was not given to the members, and these were nominated without any recommendation from popular and public bodies as was done in other provinces.

But although there was no real satisfaction on the part of the people, they were enthusiastic in taking advantage of the Act of 1892. Eminent Indians like G. K. Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerji, Rash Behari Ghosh, Ashutosh Mukherji, Pheroze Shah Mehta, P. Ananda Charlu, Madhu Sudan Das, R. M. Sayani, G. R. M. Chitnavis, B. K. Bose, S. H. Bilgrami and Bishambar Nath took their share in the legislation of the country, and left a deep impress of their knowledge, eloquence, wisdom, and sound statesmanship. In view of the solid block of official majority they could not effect any improvement in the administration, or change in the policy of the British rulers. But those who had eyes to see and ears to hear could not but envisage a new India slowly emerging from the obscurity of the past. It cannot but be regarded as unfortunate, from the points of view of both England and India, that a more substantial measure of reforms was not introduced in 1892 which would have made a better use of Indian talents and rallied the loyal moderate sections among the Indians to the side of the

Government, instead of making the Indian intelligentsia a set of discontented and hostile critics of the Government.

Even Sir Valentine Chirol, by no means a friend of India, was constrained to make the following remarks:

“It must be conceded that, had Government at that time taken the Congress by the hand instead of treating it with disdain and suspicion, it might have played loyally and lisefully a part analogous to that of Her Majesty’s Opposition at home —a part which Lord Dufferin had been shrewd enough in the beginning not to dismiss as altogether impossible or undesirable. Its claim to represent Indian opinion, as within certain limits it unquestionably, did, was ignored, and it was left to drift without any attempt at official guidance into waters none the less dangerous because they seemed shallow.” [61]

5. Finance

Reference has been made above [62] to the centralised financial administration of the Government of India. Its nature is thus described by Sir John Strachey: “The Supreme Government controlled the smallest details of every branch of the expenditure; its authority was required for the employment of every person paid with public money, however small his salary, and its sanction was necessary for the grant of funds even for purely local works of improvement, for every local road, for every building, however insignificant”. [63]

The effect of such a system upon the Provincial'Governments may be easily imagined. They had no motive to economize their expenditure, and were tempted to raise their demands as high as possible on the well-known principle that he who aims at the sky shoots much higher than he who aims at the tree. Experience also proved its wisdom, for they found that the Government of India not unoften judged of the urgencies of requirements by the importunity with which they were urged.

There were other evils, too, of a more serious nature.

“Constant differences of opinion about petty details of expenditure, and constant interference of the Government of India in matters of trivial importance, brought with them, as a necessary consequence, frequent conflicts with the Local Governments regarding questions of provincial administration of which they were the best judges, and of which the Government of India could know little. The relations between the Supreme Government and the Local Governments were altogether inharmonious, and every attempt to make financial control more stringent increased an antagonism the mischief of which was felt throughout the public service.” 8
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Attempts were made from time to time to remove the evils. “So far back as 1860 a reform of the system in the direction of provincialising finance was suggested by General Dickens, then Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Public Works. Mr. Laing, the Finance Minister, drew attention to the subject in his Budget statement for 1861-62, and again in 1862-63. In 1867, a definite scheme of Provincial Finance was drawn up by General Richard Strachey for Mr. Massey, then Finance Minister; but nothing was actually accomplished at that time”. 56

It was not till 1870 that a definite scheme was adopted for the separation of central and provincial finances. This was elaborated by Lord Mayo in a Resolution dated 14 December, 1870. 56 According to this scheme the Government of India would make over to the Provincial Governments certain departments of administration in which they were specially interested, and granted permanently from the Imperial revenue, for these services, a fixed amount, calculated on the basis of the assignments made for these services in 1870. These departments were Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services, Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous Public Improvements, and Civil Buildings. The Provincial Governments

would be at liberty to allot funds to the different departments as they liked. Henceforth the Provincial Service Estimates should be prepared upon the basis of these assignments and each Provincial Government will publish its annual budget in the Local Gazette, together with a financial statement, to be placed, if possible, before the Local Legislative Council. Any portion of the Assignments made to any province that may be unspent at the end of the year will not lapse to the Imperial revenue, but will remain at the disposal of the Provincial Government. The financial control of the Provincial Governments was however to be subjected to certain important restrictions, the most important of which was that they could not, without the previous sanction of the Government of India, (1) create any appointment with a salary of more than Rs. 250 a month, (2) create or abolish any class or grade of officers, and (3) raise the pay of any class or grade of officers. This was evidently intended to maintain uniformity in respect of official establishments all over India.

The three following paras of the Resolution of 1870 enunciated the underlying object of the new financial scheme:

"22. The Governor-General in Council is fully aware that this Resolution will effect a wide change in Indian Administration. It has been adopted, after long and careful consideration, in the hope that it will be received by the Governments in the spirit in which it is promulgated. The Governor-General in Council believes that it will import an element of certainty into the fiscal system which has, hitherto, been absent; and that it will lead to more harmony in action and feeling between the Supreme and Provincial Governments than has, heretofore, prevailed.

23. But beyond all this, there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to Education, Sanitation, Medical Charity, and Local Public Works. The operation of this Resolution, in its full meaning and integrity, will afford opportunities for the development of Self-Government, for strengthening Municipal Institutions, and for the association of Natives and Europeans, to a greater extent than heretofore, in the administration of affairs."

The impact of the scheme over general administration is described as follows:

"25. The additional powers of financial control which will now be assumed by the Governments, must be accompanied by a corresponding increase of administrative responsibility. It is the desire of the Governor-General in

Council to confine the interference of the Supreme Government in India in the administration of the "Provincial Services" to what is pecessary for the discharge of that responsibility which the Viceroy in Council owes to the Queen and her responsible advisers, and for the purpose of securing adherence to the financial conditions now prescribed, and to the general policy of the Government of India."

Lord Mayo made it quite clear in his speech before the Legislative Council on 18 March, 1871, that the assignments made to the Provincial Governments could not be increased in future at least for a number of years. Any further sum that may be needed must be provided by local taxation.

The new scheme came into operation from the official year 187172. It was soon apparent that although the scheme effected considerable improvement, it had also some drawbacks. Assignments were made from the Centre to the Provinces on the basis of their expenditure in 1870-71, without any consideration for the real needs of the different provinces. Further, as Sir John Strachey pointed out, the measures of Lord Mayo,

while they transferred to the Local Governments the responsibility for meeting charges which had an undoubted tendency to increase, the income of which the Local Governments had to dispose, although not quite a fixed amount, had little room for development. The difficulty has perhaps not, hitherto, been generally felt to a serious extent, because it has been met by economy and good management; it must, however, be felt hereafter; and, for this and for still more important reasons, I have always maintained that the system of Provincial Assignments established in 1871 ought to be applied not only to expenditure but also to income. What we have to do is, not to give the Local Governments fresh powers of taxation, but, on the contrary to do all that we can to render fresh taxation unnecessary and to give to those governments direct inducements to improve those

sources of existing revenue which depend for their productiveness on good administration." 67

With a view to removing these defects, Sir John Strachey, Finance Member in the Government of Lord Lytton, introduced a new scheme which transferred to Local Governments the financial responsibility for other services, such as Land Revenue, Excise, Stamps, General Administration, Stationery, Law and Justice, the cost of which had hitherto been met from the general revenues. The Government of India assigned to the Local Governments, "for the discharge of the services newly imposed on them, not an increase in their permanent grants, but a share in the revenue realised under certain heads in their respective provinces". 68

This may be illustrated by a concrete example; namely that of the North-Western Provinces. The Central Government assigned to it "the revenues derived from excise, stamps, law and justice, collections from certain estates, and some miscellaneous items, on condition that the Supreme Government should take half of any surplus that might be realised over the specified amount that these sources were estimated to yield, and should bear half of any deficit". This devolution of function was, however, hedged in by some important restrictions. "The Local Governments were not invested with any power of imposing fresh taxation, of undertaking any new general service, of abolishing or reducing the pay and allowances oi any appointment with a salary of more than Rs. 250 a month, or of making any change in the system of revenue management or m the form of procedure of the public accounts, without the sanction of the Government of India. The principle of it all was that

the Local Government should not enforce economy at the expense of the efficiency of the administration or increase expenditure which would affect the uniformity of the system in other parts of India". 69

There were further modifications in the scheme of Financial Devolution to the Provinces for a period of five years by the Act of 1882, during the administration of Lord Ripon, when Major Raring (afterwards Lord Cromer) was Finance Member. The system of giving permanent grants to the Provincial Governments was discontinued, "but, instead, they were granted the whole product of some sources of revenue, and a share in the product of others, including land revenue. The result was that a few, including Opium, Salt, Customs, Tributes, Post Office and Military Receipts, were reserved almost wholly as Imperial; a few others, such as receipts by Civil Departments and receipts from Provincial Public Works, were handed over almost entirely to the Provincial Governments; the majority, being those before transferred, with the addition of Forests and Registration, were divided, for the most part in equal proportions, between the Imperial and Provincial exchequers; and as the balance was against the Provinces, this was rectified not by the allotment of a lump sum as formerly, but by a fixed percentage on the Land Revenue, which was thus also in a measure made Provincial". 60 There were henceforth three sources of revenue,—Imperial, Provincial and Divided.

The Resolution of 1882 also provided for quinquennial settlements. Further, the relations between the Imperial and Provincial Governments were defined with regard to the two extraordinary charges of war and famine. For war, no charge was to be made on the Provinces except under abnormal circumstances threatening disasters, and for famine financial assistance would be given by the Imperial Government to the Provincial Governments at an earlier stage than before. These arrangements gave comparative security to the Provincial Governments regarding finance. In the words of Major Baring, "one result of the provincial arrangements concluded in 1882 was that of the four peculiar dangers to which the finances of India were expcsed, viz ., war, a diminution of the opium revenue, fall of exchange, and famine, the first three had to be met by the Government of India and only the fourth was felt by the Local Governments". 61 Further revisions were made at the end of each quinquennium, in 188*7, 1892 and 1897, but these involved no change of principles.

Towards the close of 1897 "the provincial finances were reviewed, an estimate was made of the expenditure thought necessary for each Province on all the services with which it was charged, and a

suitable proportion of the revenue collected in the Province was set apart to meet it. Under the contracts of 1897, the Provincial Governments, speaking generally, retained the whole of the provincia rates, and of the receipts of certain departments, such as law courts jails, police, education, medical services, local marine services, scientific departments, pension contribution, most of the minor irrigation works, buildings and roads, stationery and some miscellaneous heads; three-fourths of the stamp revenue; half of the revenue from assessed taxes, forests, and registration; a varying proportion (generally one-fourth) of the land revenue, and one-fourth of the excise revenue (one-half in Burma and Bengal). With some exceptions, they had to meet out of these revenues expenditure under most of the heads just enumerated, and a share of the cost of collection under the revenue heads corresponding to the proportion of the receipts which they received, though in the case of land revenue, they bore, except in Bengal, the whole cost of collection. They were also responsible for famine-relief expenditure up to their financial capacity, for certain political charges, and miscellaneous items. The total revenues thus assigned to them amounted in 1901-2 to £16,746,000, while the aggregate of the revenue heads in the collection of which they had a direct and substantial interest was £-36,811,000 or nearly 49 p.c. of the gross revenues of India.

"Any balance which they could accumulate by careful administration was placed to their credit in the accounts; but on occasions of extraordinary stress, the Central Government had sometimes called upon them to surrender a portion of their balances. This was done during the Afghan War, after which the sums so taken were refunded; and again in 1886-87, in 1890-91 and in 1894-95, the amounts being refunded in the last two instances". 62

An important departure was made in 1904 with the introduction of what came to be known as quasi-permanent settlements. According to it revenues assigned to the Provincial Governments were definitely fixed and were not subject to revision except in cases of extreme necessity on the part of the Government of India or when the assignment made was materially disproportionate to normal . provincial requirements.

The general position in regard to the financial adjustment between the Central and Local Governments by the end of the period under review was stated as follows by the Financial Secretary to the Government of India to the Royal Commission on Decentralisation:

"The general principles which underlie the financial settlements made by the Government of India with a Local Government are as follows:

(a) That the Government of India shall retain certain administrative services which it is inexpedient to hand over to Provincial Governments, and that they shall reserve the revenue from these services, and such a share of the other public revenues as shall be adequate to the expenditure falling upon them.

(b) That the remaining administrative services of the country being entrusted to Provincial Governments, each Local Government shall receive an assured income which will be independent of the needs of the Government of India and sufficient for its normal expenditure.

(c) That the income shall be given in the form of a defined share of the revenue which the Local Government collects, in order that the Local Government's resources may expand along with the needs of its administration.

((d) That, so far as possible, the same share of the chief sources of revenue shall be given to each Province, to ensure a reasonable equality of treatment.

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The object of making Provincial settlements quasi-permanent was to give the Local Governments a more independent position, and a more substantial and enduring interest in the management of their resources than had previously been possible. Under the previous system, when settlements were revised every five years, it was the practice for the Imperial Government to resume the surplus of the Local Government's revenue over its expenditure. This unfortunate necessity (which it is only just to say was largely the result of severe 1 financial pressure on the Government of India during the years of low exchange) went far to destroy any incentive in a Local Government to economise, as it knew that its reduced standard of expenditure would be the basis for a correspondingly unfavourable settlement at the next revision. All this disappears under the existing system. A Local Government need not fear, in any except very abnormal circumstances, the resumption of its surplus revenue by the Imperial Government; it can count upon a reasonable

continuity of financial policy; it will be able to enjoy fully the fruits of its econo

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mies, and it will not be hurried into ill-considered proposals in order to raise its apparent standard of expenditure. On the other hand, the Imperial Government improves its relations with Local Governments by avoiding five-yearly controversies over the settlement; it can calculate its own resources with more confidence, and can undertake reductions of taxation or fresh schemes of expenditure with a clearer knowledge of the consequences than was formerly possible."**

"Generally speaking, the effect of these settlements Was as follows: the Government of India received the whole of the revenue accruing from opium, salt, customs, mint, railways, post and telegraphs, and tributes from Native States, while the Provincial Governments got all receipts from registration and from the spending departments which they managed, such as police, education, law and justice, and medical. The receipts from land revenue, excise, stamps, income tax, and forests were divided between the Imperial and Provincial Governments, generally in equal proportions. The receipts from the larger irrigation works were also generally shared: those from minor irrigation works were (except in one Province) wholly Provincial, as were also civil works receipts other than those appertaining to Imperial buildings. The bulk of the Provincial revenues was derived from the divided heads.

"Expenditure in connection with sources of revenue which were wholly Imperial was Imperial also, while, subject to minor exceptions, Provincial revenues were responsible for the whole of the expenditure incurred within the Province in connexion with landrevenue (which included district administration), registration, law and justice, police, jails, education, medical, stationery and printing, and Provincial civil works. Charges relating to stamps, excise, income tax, and forests were equally divided, while the incidence of Irrigation expenditure followed that of the receipts. The Provincial Governments were also responsible for the charges of such scientific and minor departments as they administered, and for political charges in connexion with Native States under their control; but the bulk of the expenditure in connexion with the Political Departments fell on the Government of India, as did all ecclesiastical

charges". 64

III. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION 1. Reorganization of Provinces

The boundaries of the Presidency of Bengal were twice changed. In 1874 Assam war constituted a separate Province under a Chief Commissioner. In 1905 territories in Bengal and Assam were divided between two Provinces known as 'Bengal' and 'Eastern Bengal and Assam'. This administrative measure was big with future consequences and will be treated later in details.

Oudh (Awadh) was constituted a Province under a Chief Commissioner immediately after its annexation in 1856. In 1877 the same person was appointed to this office as well as to that of the Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces which now included Jhansi. In 1902 these two were united and named the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

The districts, west of the Jamuna, ceded in 1803 and known as the Delhi tract, were transferred from the North-Western Provinces to the Panjab in 1858, and next year the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab became a Lieutenant-Governor. In 1901 the frontier districts of the Pan jab were constituted a new province called the North-West Frontier Province.

In 1861 a new province, known as the Central Provinces, was created by uniting the Sagar and Narbada District (excluding Jhansi) with Nagpur and was placed under a Chief Commissioner. Sambalpur was included in the Province in 1862, and Berar was added to it in 1902 when it was permanently leased to the British by the Nizam of Hyderabad. Lower Burma was placed under a Chief-Commissioner in 1860. Upper Burma was added to it after its conquest in 1886. In 1897 the Province was placed in charge of a LieutenantGovernor.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION 2. Provincial Administration

The Provinces were now ruled by a Governor, Lieutenant-Go ve%ior, or a Chief Commissioner. Some of the Provinces had a Legislative Council whose nature and origin have been described above. 66 Bombay and Madras had, in addition, an Executive Council of three members, as before.

The pivot of administration was, as before, the District, divided into a number of Sub-divisions, Taluks, Tahsils etc. The general pattern of the District administration was fixed in 1859, when the offices of the Magistrate and Collector were once more united in the same person who henceforth became the sole head of the District.

The District Magistrate-Collector remained in fact as the chief executive head and administrator of his jurisdiction. Advocating concentration of powers in the hands of the District Magistrates, Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1871 to 1874, observed: ‘Departments are excellent servants, but, as he considers, very bad masters. He has therefore striven to make the Magistrate-Collector of a Bengal district, generally comprising of I 2 to 2\ millions of inhabitants, the real executive chief and administrator of the tract of country committed to him, and supreme over everyone and everything, except the proceedings of the courts of justice. As District Magistrate he is also head of the department of criminal justice which is charged with the summary trial of small cases and the inquiry into greater cases previous to trial at sessions, although he generally rather distributes and superintends this work than does a large share of it himself.’ The Lieutenant-Governor aimed at making quite clear the thorough subordination of the police to the magistrate for all and every purpose. 66 But this view was repugnant to some liberal-minded Englishmen. In a memorial sent in 1899 to Lord George Hamilton and signed by Lord Hobhouse and several other judges of Indian experience, the Collector’s powers are described as “the strange union of constable and magistrate, public prosecutor and criminal judge, revenue collector and appeal court in revenue cases”. 67

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there was a demand in certain quarters for separation of executive and judicial functions. The Indian National Congress strongly and persistently advocated it. Mr. R. C. Dutt submitted in 1893 a scheme in which he made the following suggestion:

“The District Magistrate, whom I will henceforth call the District Officer, should be employed purely on executive and revenue work, which is sufficiently varied, onerous and engrossing, and should be relieved of his judicial duties which should be transferred to the District Judge. The subordinates of the District Officer, who will continue to perform revenue and executive work only, will remain under him; while those of his present subordinates who will be employed on purely judicial work should be subordinate to the Judge and not to the District Officer”. 68 A Memorial on behalf of some members of British Parliament urging the “separation of judicial from executive functions in the Indian Administration” was submitted to the Secretary of State in July, 1899, as mentioned above. The official view-point was always strongly against it and was thus expressed by Sir John Strachey in 1894: “We often hear demands for the more complete separation of the executive and judicial functions of the District Officer, but they are demands based on the assumption that a principle necessary for England must be good for India also. There could be no greater error. The first necessity of good administration in such a country as India is that it should be strong, and it cannot be strong without the concentration of authority. In the everyday internal administration there is no office so important as that of the district officer. He is one of the mainstays of our dominion, and few steps could be taken in India which would be more mischievous and dangerous than to weaken those powers which enable him to maintain his position as the local representative of the Government”. 69

The Magistrate’s duty embraced almost the whole of administration. The ordinary district jails, while placed in immediate charge of an officer selected for the duty, were also under the general control of the Magistrate, instead of being, as heretofore, purely departmental establishments. In a large' number of districts a similar arrangement was also effected in regard to the Department of Public Works. The medical duties and also the collection and observation of vital statistics and the local meteorological observations were carried on by the Civil, Surgeon under the control and supervision of the Magistrate. IrvNon-Regulation areas the District Officers came to be called Deputy-Commissioners. A District Officer was assisted in his work by a Subordinate Magistrate, who exercised both revenue and magisterial powers, and who was usually Joint, Assistant or Deputy-Magistrate. The service of Sub-Deputy-Collectors was created in 1873.

The District Officer continued to discharge the multifarious functions noted above, and the efficiency of administration depended much on his personality. Hunter wrote in 1892: “The District Officer, whether known as Collector-Magistrate or as DeputyCommissioner, is the responsible head of his jurisdiction. Upon his energy and personal character depends ultimately the efficiency of our Indian Government. His own special duties are so numerous

and so various as to bewilder the outsider; and the work of his subordinates, European and Native, largely depends upon the stimulus of his personal example. His position has been compared to that of the French Prefect; but such a comparison is unjust in many ways to the Indian District Officer. He is not a mere subordinate of a central bureau, who takes his colour from his chief and represents the political parties or the permanent officialism of the capital. The Indian Collector is a strongly individualised worker in every department of rural well-being with a large measure of local independence and of personal initiative. As the name of Collector-Magistrate implies, his main functions are twofold. He is a fiscal officer, charged with the collection of the revenue from the land and other sources; he is also a revenue and criminal judge, both of first instance and in appeal. But his title by no means exhausts his multifarious duties. He does in his smaller local sphere all that the Home Secretary superintends in England, and a great deal more, for he is the representative of paternal and not of a constitutional Government. Police, jails, education, municipalities, roads, sanitation, dispensaries, the local taxation, and the Imperial revenues of his Distrct are to him matters of daily concern. He is expected to make himself acquainted with every phase of the social life of the natives, and with each natural aspect of the country. He should be a lawyer, an accountant, a surveyor, and a ready writer of state papers. He ought also to

possess no mean knowledge of agriculture, political economy and engineering”. 70

To enlist the support of the influential landlords and nonofficial Europeans for local administration, the Bengal Government introduced the practice of appointing Honorary Magistrates in some of the Districts of the Lower Provinces in 1857. In 1859 these offices were abolished by Sir F. Halliday. But on the suggestion of the Government of India, his successor, Sir John Peter Grant, appointed forty-five Honorary Magistrates in Calcutta and forty-five more in the Mofussil or outlying districts. They were vested with the judicial, and not with the police, powers of the Magistracy and were usually given the power to try minor cases only; nowhere did they have any control over the police. The system was extended by Sir Stuart Bayley in 1889. In Awadh and the Panjab also magisterial functions were entrusted to carefully selected landholders and others. 71

Calcutta, though a part of the charge of the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, was not included in a District. .The Board of Revenue had superintendence over its stamps and A special Police Commissioner was given control over its pnH<— establishment. Five stipendiary Magistrates administered criminal justice, and offences under the Municipal Acts were tried by a Municipal Magistrate.

Two important officers of a District were the Superintendent of Police and the Civil Surgeon. The former was responsible for police administration in the District. For maintenance of law and order he was under the control of the District Magistrate, but as regards the internal management of the police force he was under direct subordination to his departmental head. The Civil Surgeon, except in Bombay, became the head of the medical and sanitary administration of a District and of the headquarters town. He was also in charge of the District Jail. In Madras and Bengal, the District Engineer or the Local Fund Engineer, who was an employee of the District Board, looked after roads and engineering works of different kinds.

The ‘local organization’ of Education, Public Work, Forests and other specialized administrative departments, which evolved during the second half of the nineteenth century, varied in different parts of the country. The Collector had control over all these. The Royal Commission upon Decentralisation observed in its Report of 1909 that “the position of

Collector as administrative Head of the District should be recognized by officers of all special departments”.

The Panjab remained under a Non-Regulation type of administration. The Province was divided at first into seven, and later, in 1850, into eight Divisions, and into twenty-four Districts, each under a Deputy-Commissioner. In 1907-08 the Province consisted of twenty-nine Districts, grouped into five Divisions and forty-three Native States. A District was divided into sub-Collectorates called Tahsils, varying in number from three to seven. Each Tahsil was under a Tahsildar with a Deputy or Naib-TahsildcCr. The Tahsildar had under him from two to five Qanungos, each one of whom exercised supervision over twenty to thirty Patwaris or Revenue accountants, who were in charge of revenue accounts of a group of villages.

The office of the Judicial Commissioner was abolished in 1866, and a Chief Court consisting at least of two judges (number raised subsequently to five) was established with final appellate authority in civil and criminal cases. Shortly afterwards a Settlement Commissioner was appointed to supervise land revenue settlements. He was replaced by a second Financial Commissioner in 1884, but in 1897 the old arrangement was restored, a Settlement Officer replacing jel second Financial Commissioner.

The Central Provinces was created in 1861. Its administration was placed under a Chief Commissioner with a Judicial Commissioner as principal judicial authority. The Province was divided into eighteen Districts, each being in charge of a Deputy-Commissioner, who was the chief revenue authority and the District Magistrate, and exercised all the functions of a District officer. In his revenue and criminal work the Deputy-Commissioner was assisted by (1) one or more Assistant ^Commissioners (members of the Indian Civil Service); (2) one or more Extra-Assistant Commissioners (members of the Provincial Civil Service, usually Indians); and (3) Tahsildars and Naib-Taihsildars (all Indians). Subsequently the Sub-divisional system, like that of the other Provinces, was introduced into the Central Provinces. Thus an Assistant or Extra-Assistant Commissioner was placed in charge of one or two Tahsils with the powers of a Sub-divisional Magistrate. For administrative purposes a District was divided into two or more Tahsils, each being under a Tahsildar and a Naib-Tahsildar. The Tahsildar was the Deputy-Commissioner's "right hand in his revenue and executive work' r . Each District had a land record staff, controlled by an Indian Superintendent under the Deputy-Commissioner and consisting of several grades of officers, Revenue Inspectors and Patwaris.

IV. RECRUITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICE

Section 32 of the Government of India Act of 1858 imposed upon the Secretary of State, acting with the advice and assistance of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners in England, the duty of making Regulations regarding appointments to the Indian Civil Service. The Statute of 1858 reaffirmed the competitive system. In the Regulations for the year 1860 the maximum age for admission to the open competition was lowered from twenty-three to twenty-two, and selected candidates were to be on probation for a year in England. From 1866 this age was lowered to twenty-one, and the successful candidates were required to pass through a period of two years' probation at an approved University in England. By the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861, due largely to the initiative of Wood, then Secretary of. State for India, certain offices were exclusively reserved for covenanted civil servants.

The number of British competitors for the Indian Civil Service increased in a few years after 1860. Thus the "total number of competitors rose from 154 for eighty vacancies in 1860 to 284 for fiftytwo vacancies in 1865, and 325 for forty vacancies in 1870". 72 The Indian candidates were handicapped by various adverse circumstances. To compete with English students in an examination conducted

in English language and in accordance with the ideals of a British University, was not an easy task. Further, the journey to England was expensive, and, among the Hindus, meant a brave challenge to social rules. "A visit to England", writes Sir Surendranath Banerji, "in those days was a more serious affair than it is now. It not only meant absence frpm home and those near and dear to one for a number of years, but there was the grim prospect of social ostracism, which for all practical purposes has now happily passed away". 73 For these reasons, very few Indian candidates then competed. Three Indians, Surendranath Banerji, Biharilal Gupta and Romesh Chunder Dutt were successful in 1869. But in 1870 only one out of seven Indian candidates successfully competed for the service.

In spite of Section 87 of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queers Proclamation of 1858, to the effect that there will be no discrimination in appointments to public services between Englishmen and Indians (which was reiterated in the Act of 1861), Indian element in the superior services continued to be inadequate. This was felt even by some British statesmen. Lord Houghton, for example, observed "that the declaration, which stated that the Government of India would be conducted without reference to differences of race, was magnificent but had hitherto been futile". 74

That it was a deliberate policy of the British Government to ignore the provisions of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation in this respect was clearly admitted by Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, as will be evident from the following extract from his confidential minute of 1878 to the Secretary of State: "No sooner was the Act (of 1833) passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it under the terms of the Act, which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated Indians whose development the Government encourages without being able to satisfy the aspirations of its existing members. Every such Indian, once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the Covenanted Service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts .in that service. We all know that these claims and expectations never can or will be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them, and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to Indians of the competitive examination system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in .the age at which candidates can compete, are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act, and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially, I don't hesitate to say that both the Government of England and of India appear to me, up to the moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charges of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they have utttered to the ear.” 76

The only way by which the legitimate aspirations of the Indians could be satisfied without impairing the standard and efficiency of

the services was to hold simultaneous examinations both in India

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and England. This was realized ,by the liberal-minded Englishmen when the competitive examination for the recruitment of higher services was instituted in 1853. A proposal for simultaneous examination was then made, but it was not carried. Shortly after 1858 the Secretary of State appointed a Committee to inquire into the subject of the employment of the Indians. This Committee “had no hesitation in recommending simultaneous examinations. The Civil Service Commissioners concurred and “did not anticipate much difficulty in arranging for this”. But nothing was done, and this report of 1860 seems to have dropped out of the Records of the Government of India and has not been reproduced amongst the papers that have been published officially on the subject”. 76

The Indians made insistent demands for simultaneous examinations. In order to meet the demand half-way an Act was passed in 1870 providing for the appointment of a native of India to “offices, places and employment in the covenanted^ Civil Service.. al

though such a native should not have been admitted to the Civil Service in the manner already prescribed by law’!. The Act required the Governor-General to frame regulations by which Indians who had not passed an examination might be put into the covenanted service. But the Government of India would not move. Reminded again and again by the Secretary of State of the provision of the Act, it took four years to respond, and v^nen the regulations were sent to London for approval they were found “to place too narrow a construction upon the Statute”.

It is, however, only fair to mention that some senior members of the Indian Civil Service took a far more liberal and enlightened view of the subject. Indeed the case for the appointment of Indians to the offices reserved for the Civil Service could hardly be better put, even by an Indian, than is done by Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in a minute dated 5th June, 1876. 76a He begins by saying that while there is a general agreement of views on the "suitableness and propriety of appointing natives to the higher offices in the judicial branch", it is generally thought preferable to refrain from placing natives in the higher class of executive posts which demand "qualities other than intellectual, such as energy, decision, self-reliance, power of combination and organisation, of managing men, and so on",—qualities which are deemed to be as yet imperfectly developed in natives, tie then observes: "But, if this be the case, it is a cogent reason for beginning to appoint natives to the higher offices in the executive branch, for certainly these qualities, other than intellectual, are of the utmost consequence to the well-being and progress of a nation. If our rule, having been firmly consolidated, is to be made to guide the natives on and' on towards their highest good, these are the very qualities that should be specially cultivated. And one notable way of cultivating them is to employ meritorious natives in those higher executive capacities which will stimulate energy, enforce activity, strengthen the will, brace the sense of responsibility, and educe those moral forces which are summed up in the expression 'manhood'. Referring to the doubts expressed whether the natives will succeed, if appointed to higher posts, Sir Richard comments, that if no such trial is made then certainly the natives never will or can become fit; that it is but just to the natives to give them a chance; that their unfitness ought not to be assumed until they have been tried and found wanting.

In the meantime the situation was rendered worse by the lowering of the maximum age for admission to competition from twentyone to nineteen. This made it wellnigh impossible for an Indian candidate to successfully compete, and there can be hardly any doubt that this was the real object of the new rules. Henceforth the agitation for the admission of Indians to the

Civil Service by lowering the maximum age-limit and holding simultaneous examinations in England and India grew so strong that the hands of the Government were forced, under circumstances to be related later, and the necessary rules were framed in 1879.

In a Resolution, dated 24 December, 1879, the Government of India declared that appointments under the rules would generally be limited to “young men of good family and social position possessed of fair abilities and education, to whom the offices which were open to them in the uncovenanted service had not proved sufficient inducement to come forward for employment”. It was also provided “that a proportion not exceeding one-sixth of the total number of covenanted Civil Servants appointed in any year by the Secretary of State should be natives selected in India by the local Governments subject to the approval of the Governor-General in Council”. Such nominees came to be called “Statutory Civil Servants”. These appointments by nomination, generally speaking, were quite unsatisfactory, as the persons nominated did not possess sufficient educational qualifications and often proved quite incapable of performing their* high and responsible duties.

The system of “Statutory Civil Servants”, introduced in 1880,. did not at all satisfy Indian aspirations and the agitation for simultaneous examinations and lowering of age-limit for admission to the competitive examination grew more and more insistent. These two demands were pressed by the Indian National Congress from its very first session. To deal with this problem the Government of Lord Dufferin constituted, by a Resolution of 4 November, 1886, a Public Services Commission consisting of the President, Sir Charles Aitchison, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Pan jab, fifteen members and a secretary. These fifteen members included four Hindu and two Muhammadan gentlemen of high standing. Among the British members, five were from the covenanted civil service and one from the uncovenanted civil service, one had been Chief Justice of the Madras High Court of Judicature and two were British non-officials. The object of the appointment of the Commission was declared, broadly speaking, to be “to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the public service.” 77

In its recommendations the Public Services Commission com sidered it “inexpedient to hold an examination in India for the Covenanted Civil Service simultaneously with the examination in London”, and affirmed that “the minimum and maximum limits of age for Native candidates at the open competitive examination held in England should be nineteen and twenty-three years respectively”. The Commission recommended abolition of the system of filling appointment by means of the ‘statutory civil service’, which, in its opinion, had failed “to fulfil the expectations anticipated from it”, and was “condemned for sufficiently good reasons, not only by particular sections of the native community, but also by the very large majority of officials, both European and native, who have had practical experience of its workings.” The Commission also recommended that the term “Covenanted Civil service of India” should be replaced by “Imperial Civil Service of India”, and that “the members of the Imperial Civil Service of India should be bound to serve wheresoever and in whatever capacity the government may see fit and should be eligible for any appointment for which the government considered them qualified”. The Commission proposed to reduce the list of scheduled posts reserved by the Act of 1861 for members of the Covenanted Civil Service and to transfer some of these posts, called ‘Listed posts’, to a local service called the Provincial Civil Service for which “local recruitment should be made separately by the Local Governments of the several Provinces to meet their own special requirements, partly by promotion from the subordinate service and partly by new recruitment. Below the Provincial Civil Service there was to be a lower service called the “Subordinate Civil Service”

The Government of India and the Secretary of State approved generally of the recommendations of the Aitchison Commission and the Covenanted Civil Service came to be known henceforth as the “Civil Service of India” (I.C.S.), Rules were issued in 1892 to give effect to the recommendations. Men promoted to the ‘Listed posts’ would not enter the higher service, but would simply hold the posts, so long reserved for covenanted service, and receive salaries amounting to two-thirds of the I.C.S. men.

For managing the various specialized departments that had sprung up due to the growth of complexity in administration, some new services had been gradually created, viz. those of Education, Public Works, Agriculture, Survey of India, Posts and Telegraphs, Police, Salt, Forest, Public Health, Jails and Civil Hospitals. On the analogy of the Civil Service, these services, too, were classified as Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate.

The reforms recommended by the Aitchison Commission "resulted", as the Islington Commission remarked about thirty years later, "in a great improvement in the standard of every service". But these failed to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indians. The same Commission pointed out: "The inferiority Of status and social position which had always been attached to the provincial services, aggravated to some extent by subsequent changes, had been felt by the Indian public as a real grievance, particularly in the case of

the more important services such as the civil, educational and public works". 78

On 2 June, 1893, the House of Commons passed a non-official resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Service. This resolution was transmitted to the Government of India by the Secretary of State for India, on 22 June, for consideration and opinion. The Government of Lord Lansdowne, after consulting the Provincial Governments, expressed their view against the resolution. They replied to this effect on the 1st November following, and argued "that material reduction of the European staff then employed was incompatible with the safety of British rule". They further urged "that the system of unrestricted competition in examination would not only dangerously weaken the British element in the Civil Service, but would also practically exclude from the service Muhammadans, Sikhs, and other races accustomed to rule by tradition and possessed of exceptional strength of character, but deficient in literary education". 79

The resolution of the House of Commons, referred to above, was not given effect to. The Home Government agreed with the views of the Government of India, and the Secretary of State, Mr. H. H. Fowler, decided that the claims of the Indians could be met by admitting to such higher posts, as could be made available for them, “those who distinguish themselves by their capacity and trustworthiness in the performance of subordinate duties”. 80

This meant practically no concession to the Indians, and they continued to press their demand for appointment of a larger number among them to the higher services and for simultaneous examinations. Surendranath Banerji declared in his Presidential Address at the eleventh session of the Indian National Congress, held at Poona in 1895: “We claim to be admitted to all competitive examinations for the Indian Services, no matter to what particular Department of the Public Service they might refer. We claim to be admitted to the Competitive examination for the Police Service held in India as well as in England. We claim to be admitted to the examinations for recruitment to the higher offices in the Forest Department. We are excluded from these examinations, and we are excluded because we are natives of India. Our disqualification is our race. The crime of colour is alleged against us...But we are not ashamed of our nationality. We are proud that we are Indians”. The agitation of the Indians for larger share in the public services continued throughout the period under review. The Muslim community, however, did not like the idea of the senior services being recruited by open competitive examinations held simultaneously in India and England, as that would mean a Hindu monopoly of posts and power. Sir Syed Ahmad had made a vigorous protest against it and openly declared that if the right of ruling India be decided by a competitive test, the Muslims should be given sword rather than the pen, for the sword is “the pen of our ancestors which is in fact the true pen for writing the decrees of sovereignty”. The Muslim members of the Public Services Commission appointed in 1886 joined the European members in opposing the simultaneous examinations.

The position of the Indians in respect of the competitive examination for the I.C.S. may be judged from the following table:

Year	Vacancies	Candidates	Indian Candidates	Successful Indians

1870	40	332	7	1
1880	27	182	2	0
1890	47	205	10	5
1900	52	213	17	2

Reference has been made above to the appointment of a Law Commission under the Charter Act of 1833. When the Company’s Charter was again renewed in 1853, another Commission was appoint* ed in England to examine and report on the recommendations of the old Commission within three years. The principal work of this Commission was to prepare the Code of Civil Procedure. In 1859 a bill, based on a draft prepared by the first Indian Law Commission and with revision by the second, became law. In 1860 was passed the Penal Code, on the basis of the draft of the first Commission as revised by Mr. Bethune, the Law Member of the Governor-General’s Council, and Sir Barnes Peacock. This Penal Code was followed in 1861 by the Code of Criminal Procedure.

In 1861 a third Law Commission was appointed in England to prepare a “body of substantive law for India” and “also to consider and report on such other matters relating to the reform of the laws of India as might be referred to them by the Secretary of State”. 81 The first work of this Commission was the preparation of a draft law of succession, which Henry Maine, as Law Member, carried through the Council in 1865. But their proposals relating to the law of contracts, negotiable instruments, evidence, transfer of property and the Code of Criminal Procedure were not accepted, and they resigned in 1870. Until 1879 the Law Member carried on the work of codification and consolidation of law applicable to each Province. These codes have been recast and amended from time to time.

By the time the new law codes were passed, the system of the judicial organization of India had undergone important changes. Until 1861 the

Supreme Courts established by Royal Charters in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras had original criminal and civil jurisdiction over all classes within the jurisdiction of the Presidency towns. The chief Civil and Criminal Courts, established by the Company's Government, were called, respectively, Sadar Diwani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat in Calcutta, Sadar Adalat and Faujdari Adalat in Madras, and Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Faujdari Adalat in Bombay. By the Indian High Courts Act of 1861,[82] the Crown of England was empowered to establish, by Letters Patent, High Courts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. It was provided that on the establishment of these High Courts, all the three Courts in each Presidency, mentioned above, were to be abolished, their powers being transferred to the new High Courts which shall exercise all Civil and Criminal jurisdiction, both original and appellate. Each of these High Courts was "to consist of a Chief Justice and not more than 15 judges, of whom not less than one-third including the

Chief Justice were to be barristers, and not less than one-third were to be members of the Covenanted Civil Service. The remaining vacancies were to be filled up by persons who had been a pleader of a Sadar Court or High Court for not less than ten years. All the Judges were to be appointed by, and to hold office during the pleasure of, the Crown. The High Courts were expressly given superintendence over, and power to frame rules of practice for, all the courts subjected to their appellate jurisdiction". Power was given by the same Act to establish another High Court, and in 1866 a High Court was established at Allahabad for the North-Western Provinces. A Chief Court was established in Lahore by an Act of the Imperial Legislative Council instead of a Royal Charter, and its judges were appointed by the Governor-General in Council % and not by the Crown.

The Indian High Courts Act of 1865 "empowered the GovernorGeneral-in-Council to pass orders altering the limits of the jurisdiction of the several Chartered High Courts and enabling them to exercise their jurisdiction over native Christian subjects of Her Majesty resident in Native States".[83] Between 1865 and 1875 a generally uniform system was introduced in each of the ten Provinces by the Civil Courts Acts. The constitution of the

Criminal Courts was made uniform by the regulations of the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872, prepared by Sir James Stephen, then Law Member of the Government of India. The High Courts in several Provinces became the courts of appeal from the district courts, civil and criminal, and their judgment was final except in certain cases in which appeals lay to Her or His Majesty's Council in England and were heard by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The establishment of High Courts did not, however, take away the privileged position enjoyed by the European British subject in Indian law-courts, to which reference has been made above. This iniquity was a festering sore in the body-politic of India and a source of grave discontent against the British administration, but still no effective remedy could be applied on account of the strenuous agitation of the British residents in India. Thus the Britishers in India— even the dregs like Tom, Harry and Dick—could ill treat with impunity even the most highly placed Indians. Though in 1872 they were subjected to the jurisdiction of the mofussil courts, they were to be tried only by first class magistrates or judges of their own race, 'while the penalties these could inflict on them were considerably less than in the case of Indians'. 84 Thus a first class magistrate was competent only to inflict a sentence of three months' imprisonment on a European, whereas in regard to an Indian, he could inflict a sen

fence of imprisonment for two years. ‚A Sessions Court, which had full powers of sentence over Indians, had the power only to pass a sentence of one year's imprisonment on Europeans. For confirmation of death sentences cases had to be referred to High Courts.

Apart from the iniquity of the system itself, the anomaly of these practices became very glaring with the increase in the number of Indian judges and magistrates, who were debarred from taking cognizance of cases regarding Europeans. With experience of Indian cases, appealed to the Privy Council, the Lord Chancellor observed in the House of Lords in 1883 that "in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgments arrived at, the judgments of the native judges were quite as good as those of the English". Character and integrity of the Indian judges of the High Courts and the subordinate civil courts could not be questioned, and in disposing of cases, better knowledge of the language and habits of the people gave “to the Indian many advantages over the Englishman”. 86

By 1883 the Government thought that the law relating to jurisdiction over European British subjects should be changed. So in that year Mr. (afterwards Sir) Courtney Ilbert, Law Member of the Government of India, introduced a Bill which sought to remove racial distinction by giving the Indian magistrates the power to try European British subjects. The Bill, known after its sponsor as the Ilbert Bill, raised a storm of opposition from the members of the European community in India before which the Government had to bend and to patch up a compromise by Act III of 1884, which meant a “virtual though not avowed abandonment of the measure proposed by the Government. ” 86

According to the arrangements of 1884, European subjects might be tried by District Magistrates or Sessions Judges, whether European or Indian. But they could, in every case, however trivial the charge might be, claim to b$ tried by a jury of which not less than half the number must be Europeans or Americans. As’Indians could make no such claim, and it was always extremely difficult, and in most cases impossible, to constitute a proper and impartial British jury in a case against a British accused in most of the Tnofussil towns, the Act of 1884 did not diminish “the privileges of European British subjects charged with offences, and it left their position as exceptional as before”. 87 The agitation against the Ilbert Bill was a disgraceful exhibition of jingo mentality of the British in India. It “left a rankling sense of humiliation in the mind of educated India”, 88 the effect

of which upon the awakening of national consciousness of the Indians will be described in detail in a later chapter.

VI REVENUE AND FINANCE 1. General Fincmcial Situation.

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The gross revenues of India increased from £ 36 millions in 1858-9 to £ 51 millions in 1875-6. 89 The land revenue showed an increase of 3 millions, but there was a decrease in 1876-77 on account of the famine in Madras.

The gross expenditure increased from 51 to 53 millions. From 1876-77 the annual revenue from, and expenditure on, Productive Public Works and Railways, including guaranteed interests and profits to companies, were shown under gross Revenue and Gross Expenditure. The gross revenue and gross expenditure for the year 1876-77 were, respectively, 56 and 58 millions. But the amount of expenditure incurred in England, generally known as Home Charges, which was 7 millions in 1858-9 and rose to nearly 10 millions in 1875-6, suddenly jumped to more than 13 millions in 1876-7, i.e. nearly 22J per cent, of the total expenditure and 23 per cent, of the total revenue. The Public Debt in 1857 was 69 \ millions. It rose to 139 millions in 1876-77, which' included 40 millions of Mutiny debt, and 24 millions on Railways and Irrigation works undertaken by the Government. During the next twenty-five years (1877-78 to 1901-02) the trend of the financial policy continued in the same direction. The gross revenue and land revenue showed an increase, respectively, from 62 and 20 crores of Rupees to 114 and 27 crores. The gross expenditure increased from 66 to 107 crores, and the Home Charges from 16 to 26 crores Lb. nearly onefourth of the total expenditure. Two other matters, vitally connected with the financial situation, namely appreciation of Rupee in terms of sterling, and the Famine Relief and Insurance taxes, both of which adversely affected the interests of Indian people, will be discussed separately.

The Public Debt also rapidly increased from 1877-8 to 1901-2 as the following tables will show:

Year

Permanent and unfunded

Indian Debt Debt in England

1877-78 Rs. 83 crores

1889- 90 Rs. 113 crores

1890- 91 £ 78 millions 1901-02 £92

£ 60 millions

£98 £ 104 £ 134

Table captionThe rapid increase in taxation is shown by the following figures.

Heads of Revenue	1856-57	1870-71
	£	£
Land Revenue ..	.. 20,046,748	24,170,151
Assessed Taxes ..	. 108,833	2,072,025
Customs	. 1,161,985	2,610,789
Salt	• • 3,610,223	6,106,280
Opium	. 4,988,434	8,045,459
Other Heads of Revenue	1,974,687	6,371,521
Total ..	.£31,920,910	£49,376,225
Thus the result of	the first twelve years of Crown Government	

was an increase in the taxation by more than 50 per cent. “During the last twelve years”, wrote the Bombay Association in their petition to the House of Commons, dated March 29, 1871, “the salt tax has been raised 100 per cent, in Madras, 81 per cent, in Bombay, and 50 per cent, in other parts of India; the duty on sugar has been enhanced 100 per cent.; the Abkari or excise on spirits 100 per cent.; the stamp has been repeatedly revised and enhanced, and is now so complicated, vexatious, and excessive, as frequently to lead to a denial of justice; customs duties have been increased several times; heavy court fees and a succession tax of 2 per cent, have been recently imposed; a local land cess of 6i per cent., village service cess at the same high rate, rural town cess, taxes on trades and callings, housetax, tolls; and a considerable variety of municipal and local rates and taxes, amounting in the aggregate to an extremely large and oppressive sum, have been levied in different parts of the country. It is now proposed to impose fresh Local Taxes to supply the deficiency caused by the conduct of the Government of India in curtailing the grant of several Provincial Services. Your petitioners submit that over-taxation has, for many years of British Buie, been the bane of India; and that strenuous endeavours have not been made by the authorities to reduce the public expenditure, which has been increased from year to year, until the augmentation now amounts to the vast sum of 19 millions over and above the expenditure of 1856-57”. [90]

These additional taxes are generally known as cesses. The principle on which these cesses were imposed may be stated in the words of the Government of India: ‘The imperial resources of the empire are unable to provide the large sums necessary for such purposes as extending elementary education among the masses, and of constructing and maintaining roads and other works of public utility; if we are to make roads, to educate the people and keep them clean and healthy it can only be done by imposing on local resources such a burden as they can conveniently bear.’ As often happens, the general principle was formulated as a result of isolated actions. As far back as 1859, the Secretary of State had drawn the attention of the Government of India to the continued neglect of the education of the mass of the people in their own vernaculars. As the system of grants-in-aid failed to encourage such education, he directed the levy of cesses on the land for village schools. Such cesses had been first raised by Mr. Thomason in the N. W. Provinces when he was the Lieutenant-Governor there (1843-53). But gradually the cesses were levied in other Provinces. The ZwmiridcLTs of Bengal tried to avoid it on the ground that their dues were fixed on a permanent basis, but their objections were overruled on the principles mentioned above which were actually formulated by the Government of India with the specific case of Bengal in view.

After the decentralization of finances in 1870, to which reference has been made above, the cesses were resorted to to cover any deficit in the Provincial budget. Thus the limited objectives with which they were originally adopted receded into the background and the cesses became really additional taxation. How it proved to be an intolerable burden on the landowning classes, particularly cultivators, will be discussed in the next section. Nothing presses so severely on an agricultural nation as the numerous cesses which have been imposed on the land in addition to the Land Revenue, since 1871. “The question presents itself”, Lord Curzon himself declared, “whether it is not better, as opportunities occur, to mitigate those imposts which are made to press upon the cultivating classes more severely than the law intended”.

Dadabhai Naoroji made a comparative estimate of the expenditure of India and the United Kingdom as follows:

“I may put this great financial fact before the Committee. The United Kingdom out of its resources (I use Lord Mayo’s word) obtains 70 millions, from which about 27 millions being deducted for interest on Public Debt, there remain about 43 millions for the ordinary wants of the Government.. This amount is about 5J per cent, of the income of the country of 800 millions. The British (Indian) Government out of its resources obtains 50 millions, from which about 8 millions being deducted for interest on Public Debt, Railways &c., there remain 42 millions for its ordinary wants; this makes 14 per cent, of the income of the country of 300 millions. So that the Indian Government is two and a half times more expensive than the Government of the United Kingdom”. 91

These protests were made in vain and there was no reduction in expenditure or taxation. On the other hand, the Decentralisation Scheme of Mayo, mentioned above, 92 led to the imposition of new taxes in the Provinces.

2. Customs

Reference has been made above to the customs duties prevalent in 1852. It would appear from the table given on p. 355 that the duty on British cotton and silk piece goods as well as cotton thread, twist and yarn was a half of that on foreign goods of the same kind.

Tn 1859, on account of the heavy financial pressure after the Mutiny, all differential tariffs were abolished; duties on all articles of luxury were raised to 20 per cent, ad valorem; duties on other articles, including cotton piece goods, were raised to 10 per cent.; and those on cotton twist and yam to 5 per cent.

In 1860, Mr. James Wilson, the first Finance Minister of India, reduced the 20 per cent, duty on luxuries to 10 per cent., and raised the 5 per cent, duty on cotton twist and yam to 10 per cent.;, so that the import tariff consisted of a uniform rate of 10 per cent, ad valorem, with special rates upon beer, wine, spirit, and tobacco.

In 1861, the duty on cotton twist and yarn was reduced to 5 per cent.

In 1862, the duty on cotton twist and yam was further reduced to 3i per cent., and the duty on cotton and other manufactures was reduced to 5 per cent.

In 1863, the duty on imported iron was reduced to 1 per cent.

In 1864, the general rate of import duties was reduced from 10 to 7J per cent.

In 1867, a great number of articles were added to the free list, export duties were abolished from time to time, the only increase being that the duty on grain was raised.

In 1871, a new Tariff Act was passed and the valuations were revised. The import duty on cotton twist and yam remained 3£ per cent., and that on cotton goods 5 per cent. They were maintained, like other import duties, merely as a source of revenue, and did not operate as a protection to the infant cotton industry of India*. 93

The import duty on cotton goods which represented an income of about two-thirds of the total income from imports was resented by the manufacturers of cotton goods in England who looked with envy and jealousy, not unmixed with apprehension, on the growth of cotton mills in India. They represented the duty as a protective duty and sought to have it abolished by bringing pressure upon the Home authorities. So the Manchester Chamber of Commerce addressed a memorial to the Secretary of State for India on 31 January, 1874, and though the Government of India, to whom it was referred, agreed to appoint a committee of revision, the Manchester Chamber demanded total and immediate repeal of the import duties. The time was well chosen. The Gladstone Ministry had become unpopular and dissolved the Parliament in 1874, and in the ensuing General Election of British Parliament the Lancashire votes would count for much. Two extracts from the memorial and the subsequent correspondence on it may be quoted to show the mentality of the memorialists. In the first of these their demand for abolition of duties was put on a philanthropic basis and they shed crocodile tears over the lot of the poor Indians. It runs as follows:

“That the duties increased the cost to the Native population, or at least to the poorest of the people, of their articles of clothing, and thereby interfered with their health, comfort, and general well-being.”

The real motive behind the demands of the memorialists, however, peeps through the following:

“The statements as to the baneful operation of these duties on commerce, and on the best interests of Her Majesty’s subjects, both in India and in England, are abundantly confirmed by the latest advices from Bombay, which show that, under the protection extended by file levying of duties on imports, to the spinning and weaving of cotton yarns and goods in India, a large number of new mills are now being projected.” 01

The victory of the Conservatives in the General Election of 1874 spelt the doom of cotton mills in India by arresting their growth. As one of the earliest instances of the glaring evils of the Parliamentary control over India, this disgraceful episode of the sacrifice of Indian interest at the altar of British politics, dominated by British industry, may be treated at some length:

“Mr. Disraeli had formed a Conservative Government and Lord Salisbury had succeeded the Duke of Argyll as Secretary of State for India. Lord Salisbury was never a vehement free-trader, but he was vehement in his^ desire to conciliate Lancashire. In July 1875 he wrote to the Viceroy:

“If it were true that this duty is the means of excluding English competition, and thereby raising the price of a necessary of life to the vast mass of Indian consumers, it is unnecessary for me to remark that it would be open to economical objections of the gravest kind. I do not attribute to it any such effect; but I cannot be insensible to the political evils which arise from the prevalent belief upon the matter.

“These considerations will, I $oubt not, commend to your Excellency’s mind the policy of removing, at as early a period as the state of your finance permits, this subject of dangerous contention.”

On August 5, 1875, Lord Northbrook wired to Lord Salisbury that the new Tariff Act had been passed that day. We quote the first portion of the telegram, detailing the changes.

“Act for revision of customs duties passed this day.

“Export duties abolished, except those on indigo, paddy, rice, and lac, which are unchanged.

“General rate of import duty reduced from li to 5 per cent. Valuations revised.

“No alteration considered necessary in import duty on cotton ^goods, but their valuation reduced, which diminishes duty by £ 88 , 000 .

Five per cent, import duty imposed on long staple raw cotton.

Duty on spirits raised from 3 to 4 rupees a gallon, London proof.

“Duty on sparkling wines raised from li to 2J rupees, and on

other wines, except claret and Burgundy, from 1 to li rupees a gallon”.

“And it was pointed oqt towards the end of the telegram that the net loss to the Indian revenues by this Act was £ 308,000.

Lord Salisbury was not yet satisfied. He wired back: “Provisions of Act veiy important. Some objectionable”. And he desired to know why the Act was passed without a previous reference to the Secretary of State, according to Legislative Despatch No. 9 of 1874.

“An unpleasant correspondence then ensued. Lord Northbrook and his Council explained in August 1875 that the matter was urgent and could not be delayed; and that a reference to the Secretary of State would have had the effect of disclosing the intentions of the Indian Government, and caused inconvenience to trade.

“Lord Salisbury was still dissatisfied. He proposed, in November 1875, to send his Under Secretary, Sir Louis Mallet, to India, to confer with the Indian Government in regard to fiscal legislation

and he urged the gradual but complete removal of the import duty on cotton goods.

Lord Northbrook and his Council replied in February 1876 that it was undersirable to sacrifice a duty “which brings in a revenue of more than £800,000;” and that there was “no precedent of a measure so seriously affecting the future of Indian finance as the pros pec ive removal of a tax which brings in a revenue of £ 800 000 per annum, having been directed by the Home Government” “It is T' dut y«” “^eluded Lord Northbrook and his

Council, “to consider with regard to the interests of India; we do not consider the removal of the unport duties upon cotton manufactures is consistent with those interests; and we hope that the statement contained in this despatch of the whole circumstances of the case, and of the condition of the Indian finance, will show that the real effect of the duty is not what is supposed, and that it cannot be removed without danger to the Indian finances, and that the imposition of new taxes in its stead would create serious discontent.” 96

It may be added that Lord Salisbury had been in such haste to conciliate Lancashire that he forgot even to consult his own Council. The telegraph of Lord Salisbury to the Government of India on 30 September, 1875, pressing for the remission of Indian import duties and proposing to send his Under Secretary to India to carry out this scheme was strongly resented by several members of his Council as they had no opportunity of reading the papers on, far less discussing, the subject. But the members who dissented from Lord Salisbury were in a minority, and so the Secretary of State for India had the support of the majority of his Council in demanding the repeal of the import duties on cotton in India. 96 To make matters easier, Lord Northbrook resigned and was succeeded by Lord Lytton who belonged to the same school of imperialistic politics as Disraeli and Salisbury. So on May 31, 1876, Lord Salisbury sent a despatch to the Government of India communicating his conviction “that the true interests of India, as well as the legitimate claims of English industry, required a reconsideration of the matter; that the complete removal of the duties on cotton goods was essential as soon as the condition of the finances would allow, and that they could not be relied upon as a permanent source of revenue”.

But the Government of India, faced with the terrible famine of Madras, hesitated to take action on the line recommended by the Secretary of State. The new Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey, spoke on March 15, 1877:

“Financial embarrassments arising from the depreciation of silver prevented any practical steps being taken last year in this direction. It was thought unwise to give up any revenue at such a time, and the Secretary of State concurred in this decision. It is with great regret that I have to announce that, for reasons similar to those which prevailed a year ago, it has been decided that nothing can be done at the present moment towards the abolition of these duties; the financial difficulties caused by the famine are so serious that we cannot sacrifice any source of income”. 97

But the British politics put a premium on the votes of textile manufacturers of Lancashire. So, in spite of the terrible famine in India, the House of Commons passed the following Resolution:

“That, in the opinion of this House, the duties now levied upon cotton manufactures imported into India, being protective in their nature, are contrary to sound commercial policy, and ought to be repealed without delay, so soon as the financial condition of India will permit”. 98

The last clause was merely an eye-wash, for it was well known that the Government had to impose local cesses to meet their expenditure and no source of revenue had been repealed since 1858.

“Lord Salisbury forwarded the Resolution of the House of Commons to the Indian Government, and referred with something like alarm to the fact ‘that five more mills were about to begin work; and that it was estimated that by the end of March 1877 there would be 1,231,284 spindles employed in India*.

“Accordingly, in the following year, the Government of India made a further sacrifice of revenue by exempting from duty some imports with which Indian manufacturers were supposed to compete”. But Manchester was not satisfied and demanded that ‘all goods made from yarns not finer than 30 s., and all yarns upto 26 s. water and 42 s. mule’ be exempted from duty."

Lord Lytton was ready to accept all these demands. But it is gratifying to put on record, particularly as so much has been written against the members of the I.C.S. in this history, that a majority of the members of the Governor-General's Council protested strongly against the sacrifice of Indian revenues in a year of famine, war, and increasing taxation, and recorded dissenting minutes. The following passage from the minute of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot uncovers the mask:

"The people of India attribute the action which has been taken by Her Majesty's Government in this matter to the influences which have been brought to bear upon it by persons interested in the English cotton trade; in other words, by the manufacturers of Lancashire. It is notorious that this impression has prevailed throughout India from the time, just four years ago, when the Marquis of Salisbury informed a large body of Manchester manufacturers that the Government of India would be instructed to provide for the gradual abolition of the import duties on cotton goods.

"Nor is this feeling limited to the Native community. From communications which have been received from the Chambers of Commerce at Madras and Calcutta, it is evident that the feeling is shared by the leading representatives of the European mercantile community in those cities.

"It is equally shared by the great body of the official hierarchy throughout India. I am convinced I do not overstate the case when I affirm my belief that there are not at the present time a dozen officials in India who do not regard the policy which has been adopted in this matter as a policy which has been adopted, not in the interests of India, not even in the interests of England, but in the interests or the supposed interests of a political party, the leaders of which deem it necessafj^ at any cost to retain the political support of the cotton manufacturers of Lancashire.

"During the rule of the East India Company, the Court of Directors furnished what often proved an effective barrier between the interests of the people of India and the pressure of powerful classes in England. In this respect the Council of India, as the Council of the Secretary of State is called, has in no way taken the place of the Court of Directors... .Hie Council of the Governor-General, on the other' hand, has large power and heavy responsibilities imposed upon it by law;...It will be an evil day for

India vrhen the Members of this Council fail to discharge the duty thus appertaining to them.” 5 **

For once the majority of members of the Council of the Governor-General did discharge their duty. But their strong protests had no effect upon Lord Lytton, who took advantage of his constitutional power to override his Council and, in 1879, exempted from import duty all imported cotton goods containing no yarn finer than 30 s. i.e. the coarser goods which formed the main product of Indian mills. Only two members supported the Viceroy. The majority of members of the Council of the Secretary of State also disapproved of. the action of Lord Lytton. But the Secretary of State upheld the action of the Viceroy against the opinion of the majority. It is perhaps unique in the history of British India that political pressure forced the Government to adopt a measure, harmful to the interest of India, against the opinion of the majority of members of the Councils of both the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Ground was prepared for Lord Lytton’s action by an authoritative declaration of the Government’s Tariff policy regarding imports made in the financial statement for 1878-79 by its Finance Member, Sir John Strachey, who was one of the two members who supported the iniquitous action of Lord Lytton. The principles laid down by him were:

(i) “That no duty should exist which affords protection to native industry; and as a corollary, that no duty should be applied to any article which can be produced at home without an equivalent duty of excise on the home production; also, that no duty should be levied except for purely fiscal purposes.

(ii) That, as far as possible, the raw materials of industry and articles contributing to production should be exempt from customs taxation.

(iii) That duties should be applied only to articles which yield a revenue of sufficient importance to justify the interference with trade involved by the machinery of collection. 99b

Lord Lytton gave practical effect to this policy by the abolition of import duties on cotton goods in March, 1879. It was approved by the House of Commons in the following resolution, dated the 4th April, 1879: “That the import duty on cotton goods, being unjust alike to the Indian consumer and the English producer, ought to be abolished, and this House accepts the recent reduction in these duties as a step towards their total abolition, to which His Majesty's Government are pledged". This policy was fully adopted by the Government of Lord Ripon in 1882 by the abolition of the remaining import duties, with two exceptions, namely, those on wine and salt on which internal duties were levied.

But in the course of a few years, certain factors led the Government to modify this policy. Fall in the price of silver, which formed the standard currency in this country, the demands of the Famine Insurance Fund, the heavy expenses of the Burmese War, and military preparations in the north-west to avert the Russian menace caused much pressure on the financial resources of the Government of India. To meet the deficiency, the Government of India was compelled to revive the old import duties, with certain exceptions, in December, 1894, a five per cent, import duty being imposed on cotton goods and yarns. To protect the interests of the British cotton manufactures, a countervailing excise duty of five per cent, ad valorem was imposed on 'cotton yarns manufactured at power mills in India, which alone could compete with Lancashire yarns. But even this did not satisfy Manchester. Once more the Conservative Government which came into power in 1895 yielded. There was another revision of import duties in February, 1896. Duties on cotton yarn were removed. But a duty of 3J per cent, ad valorem was imposed on cotton goods imported from abroad, and an excise duty at equivalent rate was imposed on all cotton goods manufactured at mills in India, including the coarse goods which did not compete with any European goods.

The measures noted above seriously affected the true interests of the Indian people, and these evoked protests even from the Council of the Viceroy of India. But the Home Government over-ruled these, and soon Sir Henry Fowler, the Secretary of State, declared their policy to be as follows: “When once a certain line of policy has been adopted under the direction of the (British) Government, it becomes the clear duty of every member of the Government of India to consider not what that policy ought to be, but how effect may be best given to the policy that has been decided on".

Angry protests were made by all classes—official and non-official, Indian and European. Mr. Playfair, representing the European mercantile community of Calcutta, said:

“Nothing has been produced, therefore, to contradict the views held by honourable members, that competition on the part of Lancashire mills with the production of the coarser fabrics spun and woven in Indian mills does not exist. On the other hand, further examination in India proves that in reality no competition exists in goods made from yarn below 20 s.

“And after all, what is this Indian trade over which so much contention has unfortunately arisen? An examination of statistics shows that the powerloom spindles in India amount to th* and the powerlooms in India to ^ th of the world s supply. In relation to Great Britain’s equipment, which represents one-half in spindles and one-third in looms of the world’s supply, India possesses ^ th part of Great Britain’s spindles and f e th part of her looms. May India not have this little ewe lamb? My lord, I have every sympathy with the depressed condition of Lancashire trade, and for the welfare of England as well as India, everything that can legitimately be done to afford relief should be granted. But, because Lancashire masters may be alarmed and discontented on account of the state of their affairs, I see no reason why they should unjustly attack a separate industry in India. The proposals under these Bills mean a remission of taxation of 51 & lakhs (or 37 per cent.) on Manchester goods, and an increase of 11 lakhs (or 300 per cent.) of taxation on India-made goods.” 100

R. C. Dutt observes.

“As an instance of fiscal injustice, the Indian Act of 1896 is unexampled in any civilised country in modern times. Most civilised Governments protect their home industries by prohibitive duties on foreign goods. The most thorough of Free' Trade Governments do not excise home manufactures when imposing a moderate customs duty on imported goods for the purposes of revenue. In India, where an infant industry required protection, even according to the maxims of John Stuart Mill, no protection has ever been given. Moderate customs, levied for the purposes of revenue only, were sacrificed in 1879 and 1882. Home manufactured cotton goods, which were suposed to compete with imported goods, were excised in 1894. And home goods, which did not compete with foreign goods, were excised in 1896. Such is the manner in which the interests of an unrepresented nation are sacrificed." 101

3. Other sources of Revenue .

Reference has been made above to the revenue derived from opium. There were occasional fluctuations in the produce of opium and in the revenue derived from it. Such fluctuations became more frequent during the twelve years from 1852. To ensure the stability and steady progress of opium revenue, Sir Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, suggested a policy in 1867 for maintenance of a permanent reserve of the article. This policy was gradually adopted by March, 1879, with regard to Bengal opium, and it produced steadiness of opium supply and increase of opium revenue in the succeeding years. The annual average net (opium) revenue for the five years ending in 1902-3 was £2,860,000, and for the ten years ending in 1907-8, £3,275,000.

Of the revenues of different kinds derived from indirect taxation, duty on salt was the most remunerative. The system under which salt duties were levied varied in different Provinces, and their rates also differed until 1882-3. Thus from 1869 to 1877 the duty in

Lower Bengal was Rs. 3-4 per maund; in the Upper Provinces, Rs. 3; and in Madras and Bombay, Rs. 1-13. During the administration of Lord Lytton the inland customs line was abolished and in 1882 the duty on salt was made uniform at the rate of two rupees per maund. But in January, 1888, the rate of salt-tax was raised to two and a half rupees per maund, and it continued to be so for the next fifteen years. In 1903 it was reduced to two rupees, and in 1905 to one and a half rupees.

The Stamp Revenue and Excise continued as important sources of revenue. But on account of heavy expenditure caused by the outbreak of 1857-8, the Customs duties had to be revised and a new tax, known as Income-Tax, was imposed. It was first imposed in I860 as a temporary measure, under the advice of Mr. James Wilson, Finance Member of the Governor-General's

Council, at the rate of four per cent, on all incomes of Rs. 500 and upwards, and at half that rate on incomes between Rs. 200 and Rs. 500. It was abolished in 1865. But again in 1867 a licence tax, which was “in the nature of taxes on income”, was levied on trades and professions. But this did not suffice to meet the deficit, and so in 1869 the incometax was made a general tax. With comparative improvement in finances, it was dropped. But after deterioration in the financial resources it was re-introduced as a tax on the commercial and trading classes. Ultimately, in 1886 a tax was imposed throughout India on all incomes excepting those derived from agriculture.

VII. LAND SETTLEMENT.

1. New Settlements.

A. Awadh.

When Awadh was annexed to British India in 1856, the landlords known as Talukdars were the proprietors of estates_a larger or smaller group of villages—comprising a major portion of the Province. There were village communities also, but they were not very much developed. The British Government, however, deliberately ignored the claims of the Talukdars, and out of more than 23,000 villages, only 13,000 were settled with the Talukdars in 1856 and 9000 were settled with village proprietors. The Talukdars became bitter enemies of the Government and the tenants also were oppressed by heavy assessment. As related above , 1 02 this was the most important factor in causing a wide-spread revolt in Awadh in the wake of the Mutiny of 1857. Reference has also been made, in connexion with the above episode, to the forcible re-occupation of their lands by the Talukdars, their wholesale confiscation by Canning, and the strong rebuke administered to him by Lord Ellenborough. 103 This, as well as the opposition by senior members of the Government, induced Lord Canning to rectify his mistake. Sir James Outram induced Canning to add a clause to his proclamation that the Government would view liberally che claims of those Talukdars who would promptly surrender. Many submitted and their lands were restored. A regular settlement for thirty years was made between 1860 and 1878 with the Talukdars 9 and this came to be known as the Talukdari Settlement.

The outbreak of 1857 also taught another salutary lesson to the Government. Reference has been made above 104 to the resumption of Inam lands on a large scale, the resentment and violence caused thereby, and the role it played in the revolt of the civil population in 1857. After the suppression of the outbreak the Government adopted a different policy in the matter. 'A special commissioner was appointed in 1859 to deal with the whole question on liberal lines, and an enormous number of inams were enfranchised in the next ten years, the government surrendering its right to resume, claim service, or restrain alienation in return for a quit-rent. There were, however, many confiscated inams which were not so enfranchised.' 106

4

In the Talukdari Settlement, the Talukdars were declared the proprietors of their estates, but they had to "admit certain rights and protective conditions, to be secured by record at settlement, for the communities over which they were superior proprietors". 106 Thus sub-proprietory right of village community, or of 'even single members thereof', in relation to the landlord, was recognized. The latter was to receive a fixed annual sum, whereas the former retained control of the land. The first Tenancy Act in Awadh was the Rent Act XIX of 1868. Occupancy rights were granted only to a tenant who could show that he had lost proprietary right within thirty years before annexation. After practical experience of several years it was replaced by the Rent Act XXII of 1868 which came into force from first January, 1887. It laid down that "every non-occupancy tenant (with certain exceptions) admitted before the passing of the Act, has a statutory right to remain on the holding, and with the same rent as he was paying on the 1st January, 1887,

for seven years, from the date of the last change in his rent, or the

%

last change in the area of his holding; or, if neither has happened, from the date of admission to his holding". 107

B. Central Provinces.

As noted above, 108 this Province was created in 1861 by uniting a number of scattered territories which came into the possession of

the British at different times. The early administration of landsettlement in these territories need not be referred to in detail, but the tenants were over-assessed and impoverished to such an extent that the measures were condemned in the strongest terms by the authorities themselves. The following extract from the Settlement Report of Sagar by Col. Maclean will give a general idea of the state of ‘Sagar and Nerbudda* Territories during the early years of British rule:

'“The Government demands press so heavily upon the people that all enterprise has been crushed, and there is not the slightest attempt at improvement. I have personally satisfied myself that in many instances the Government demand exceeds the gross rental assets of some villages.

* The people have lost heart to that extent that in some instances the ri gh tful owners of hereditary descent refused any terms to accept the proprietary

rights of villages.

**The widespread misery and distress throughout this division of the district must be seen to be appreciated, especially at Dhamonee and the part of Benaika

Patna.

“The impression conveyed to me on inspecting these tracts was, that the Parganahs were dead, so vast was the desolation, and so scarce the signs of life or of

human beings.” 11 *

The Government of India and the Secretary of State strongly condemned this state of things. “Heavy reductions were granted, and the assessment was reduced. It is to be remarked that although the Government of the day pressed the necessity of reduction, its orders were carried out by the local authorities with a niggardly hand, and concessions made in driblets". 110

After the new Province was created in 1861, "a new Settlement of the Central Provinces was commenced in earnest. The principles of this Settlement had been laid down, as long ago as 1854, by a Proclamation issued by the Government of the North-Western Provinces for the Sagar and Narbada Territories which were then under that Government. No action had been then taken. It was after the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861 that the old Proclamation of 1854 was taken as the basis for settlement of the land revenue throughout those Provinces.

'The main principle laid down by this Proclamation, and afterwards accepted for the Central Provinces generally, was the recognition of proprietary rights in the Maiguzars or revenue-payers. This has often been described as the conferring of a new gift; but it was a new gift only in so far as it admitted, in theory, a right which was enjoyed by the Maiguzars in practice. 'I do not know,' said Mr. Chisholm, one of the ablest Settlement Officers of the time > 'any rights appertaining to landed property which the Malguzar indivi

dually or he and his sharers jointly, did not exercise, except the power of sale and mortgage.... *

"Nevertheless it was a great gain when this right, which had been exercised in practice, was expressly admitted; and when power was also given to the Malguzars to sell or mortgage their property". 111

The settlement of 1863 was made for thirty years, and the Shaharanpur Rules which limited the revenue to one-half of the rental were extended to Sagar and Narbada Territories.

"For Nagpur, the Government of India had sent directions to leave the Malguzars from 35 to 55 per cent, of the gross rental. And it was added that "the Governor-General in Council would be disposed to leave the Malguzars in all cases 40 per cent, for expenses of management and proprietary rights, and to extend the limit in special cases to 50 per cent". These instructions were liberally interpreted by Richard Temple, and in the

Settlement Code which he issued, with the sanction of the Governor-General, for application throughout the Central Provinces without any reservation, the only principle of assessment he laid down was the half-rental principle of the Saharanpur rules". 111

A

Unfortunately, this principle was not adhered to in practice. "The Settlement Officers did not accept the actual rental of estates. They estimated what the rental should be from their own calculation; they based the land revenue demand on these estimated rentals; and they communicated the demand to the landlords who were left to raise their rents to the estimated rentals. A more reprehensible system of encouraging landlords to screw up their rents from helpless and ignorant cultivators can scarcely be conceived. In Bengal, in Oudh, and in the Punjab, Lord Canning and Sir John Lawrence had striven to restrict the enhancement of rents by private landlords by special legislation. But Settlement Officers in the Central Provinces and elsewhere adopted a method which encouraged landlords to screw up their rents. The actual proportion of the rental, so calculated, which was demanded as land revenue, was also higher than 50 per cent, in most districts.

"It will thus be seen that the principles laid down for the assessment of the land revenue were violated in a two-fold manner. In the first place, the rental accepted as the basis of assessment was higher than the actual rents received by the landlords; and in the second place, the proportion demanded as revenue exceeded 50 per cent, of this rental in most districts, and was fixed at 78 per cent, in Nagpur itself. Once again the orders of the Government 'were carried out by the local authorities with a niggardly hand,* and the

people had no redress against the violation of rules by the very officers for whom the rules had been framed". 112 Colonel Keatinge, who became Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in 1871-2, was not in favour of recognizing the Malguzars as proprietors and advocated the Ryotwari system. Though he did not succeed in subverting the system introduced by Sir Richard Temple, he imposed the Ryotwari settlement on Sambalpur. Though Sir Richard Temple had issued orders for a Malguzari Settlement in the District, and proclaimed it in open durbar, Keatinge took advantage of the fact that the new settlement' had not already been introduced. So Keatinge introduced the Ryotwari Settlement.

“Proprietory rights were denied and withheld. The revenuepayers were to be considered lessees of their villages. They were to be remunerated by permission to hold their home-farms revenuefree. They would further be permitted to keep to themselves rents of waste lands brought under cultivation during the Settlement.- And in view of Sir Richard Temple’s pledge to regard them as ‘proprietors, they were made proprietors only with regard to their Bhogra lands. The Settlement was made for twelve years only,* 1876 to 1888”. 113 The Sambalpur Settlement shows how much of even the most important decisions affecting millions of Indians depends on the whims of an individual official.

A Tenancy Act was passed in 1883 in order to protect the rights and interests of the tenants, who were divided into three categories according to their right of occupancy. But whereas in Bengal and other Provinces where similar Acts were in operation, it was the landlords who dealt with the tenants, subject to the salutary checks imposed upon them by law, in the Central Provinces the Settlement Officer intervened and settled the rents which the tenants would pay to their landlords. It was the result of the prevailing tendency in official circles, noted above, namely unwillingness to admit the full proprietory ^rights of the Malguzars, recognized by law.

But a curious situation arose out of this spirit. As the rentals had been fixed by the officials themselves, they could not reasonably alter it at the time of the Settlement of 1893, and under the existing rule the land revenue could not be more than half the rental. Faced with this dilemma the Lieutenant-Governor openly admitted “that the Half-Rental rule had been evaded in 1863 by the Settlement Officer assuming a high rental; that the rule could not be evaded at the next Settlement because the rental was now legally defined and fixed; and that the rule therefore must be withdrawn”. 114 Mr. Mackenzie therefore asked for a latitude of 50 to 65 per cent, of the rental to be fixed as the land revenue, and this was sanctioned by the

Government of India. To make matters worse, Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India, decided in 1895 that the period of Settlement should be reduced from thirty to twenty years.

The history of the assessment in Central Provinces has been told in some detail as it shows the gradual changes for the worse in the spirit of administration.

"One by one the three cardinal principles of the Settlement of 1863 were whittled away within thirty-two years. The Proprietory Rights of Malguzars were restricted, and they were stopped from settling the rental of their estates. The Half-rental Rule was abandoned. The Thirty Years' Rule was also abandoned. All the safeguards which had been provided by the Governments of Lord Canning and Sir Richard Temple for the growth of a prosperous landed class and prosperous peasantry were removed one by one under the Governments of Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne". 116

As a result of the new settlement in 1893 the percentage of increase in land revenue, as compared with that in 1863, was nowhere less than 20 per cent., and rose as high as 105 per cent.; in about 60 per cent, of cases it was above 50 per cent. 116

2. Improvement in the old Systems.

The different systems of land settlement, described in Ch. XII, created a class of intermediaries between the State and the actual cultivators, save in Madras and Bombay, where direct settlements were made with them. The main defects of the other systems were the uncertain condition Of the tenants who were absolutely at the mercy of the superior landlords. A series of Acts were passed between 1858 and 1905 to remove these evils and improve the lot of the tenants in various provinces. The general principles involved will be discussed at length in Chapter XXXVII, and a few broad facts alone would be stated here.

A. Bengal.

The first and the most important was the Bengal Rent Act (Act X of 1859). The Act, which was applied to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, attempted to prevent exaction of excess rent and limited the power of distraint which was arbitrarily exercised by the landlords. Original jurisdiction in suits between landlords and tenants was transferred from the Civil to the Revenue Courts of the Collector and his assistants. The Act also provided for abolition of the landlord's power to compel attendance of ryots at their offices. But these

did not provide adequate security to terlant-right in Bengal. In the absence of any provision for field-to-field survey and preparation of record of rights, the tenants remained subject to serious disabilities in law courts. Further, to prevent the tenants from acquiring occupancy right in any holding, the landlords shifted them from one holding to another, which proved to be a source of great harassment to them and evoked resentment in certain areas. An Act was passed in 1869 with certain amendments in detail, while the principles of the previous Act remained intact. The only important change was the retransfer of the cases between the landlords and the tenants to the Civil Courts. A new Bengal Tenancy Act was passed in 1885 modifying the Act of 1869. According to it, occupancy right could be acquired in any holding by a tenant who had "held for twelve years continuously any land in the village, whether under a lease or not. It need not be the same plot of land (as under Act X of 1859), so that a landlord cannot evade occupancy by shifting the site of the cultivation within the same village". The Act further authorized

the Government to pass orders for survey and preparation of record of rights.

The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, which was the result of agitation and discussion extending over more than twelve years, may be regarded as the most important measure of land-settlement since the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The ancient agricultural law of Bengal aimed at a fixity of tenure at customary rents. But it was easy for a powerful Zamindar, created by the Act of 1793, to treat the raiyat merely as a tenant at will, and sometimes enabled a tenant to put obstacles in the way even of a legitimate increase in rent. The Act of 1859 rather added to the difficulty than removed it. In a British court of law, the party on whom lay the burden of proof was rarely sure of success. So this Act made it very difficult for the raiyat to establish his right of occupancy, and the Zamindar, who sued for the enhancement of his rent, could not easily satisfy the court that the value of the produce had increased in the same *oportion in which he asked that his rent should be increased. To both these evils the Act of 1885 afforded a remedy, firstly, by throwing upon the landlord the onus of disproving the raiyat's claim to a right of occupancy, and secondly, by making provisions for pricelists which relieved the Zamindars of the trouble of proving the rate at which the value of the produce had increased. The Act also laid down rules by which all disputed questions between Zamindar and

raiyat could be reduced to simple issues and decided upon equitable principles.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

B. North-Western Provinces.

An important change was introduced by the Land Revenue Act (Act XIX) of 1873. “It simplified the law by repealing or modifying over fifty preceding Regulations and Acts; and the revised settlement was concluded under the provisions of this new Act. The older methods of survey were replaced by a cadastral survey; the rental of each estate was revised and corrected by Settlement Officers after local inquiry; and between 45 and 55 per cent, of the rental thus fixed was demanded as the Government Land Revenue... “The earlier method of assessment, followed by Bird and Thomason, was to proceed from aggregate to detail; the revenue of a fiscal circle was fixed at first, and was then distributed to the villages situated within the circle. The later method, introduced by rules framed under Act XIX of 1873, was to proceed from detail to aggregate; the rental of each estate was corrected and fixed by inquiry; and the Government Revenue, assessed on the revised rentals of estates within a fiscal circle, was the revenue of that circle. In other words, the revenue demand in a fiscal circle was fixed by guess-work under the old system; it was fixed on the basis of the revised rentals under the new system.” 117

In spite of considerable improvement there were some defects inherent in the system itself. Any landlord who dealt leniently with his tenants, or was even wrongly supposed to do so, often had his rental increased at the next revision, and this was a direct incentive to him to screw up his rents. An attempt was made to cure this evil by the following rules issued by the Revenue Board. “The assessment of the revenue in each village is to be based, as far as possible, on the actual rentals recorded in village rent rolls, corrected where necessary. The Settlement Officer is not at liberty to add to these rent rolls any estimate on account of a prospective rise in rents or prospective increase in cultivation". 118

But as in many other cases in British India, there was a wide divergence between professions and pactice. The above rule of 1887 was not adhered to even in the Settlements completed after 1890. To make matters worse, the Revenue Board "issued a circular in 1901, directing that where the rents are inadequate, the Settlement Officer should reject the recorded rental, and base his assessment on an estimated rental. The effect of such a rule is obvious. Where the landlords are disposed to be lenient to cultivators, the rule is a reminder to them to screw up their rents". 119 The evils of such an attitude were clearly indicated in the settlement of 1892, when the actual cash rental was increased in the districts of Badaun, Saharanpur, and Mirat, respectively* by forty, eighty-four, and one hundred and seventy-eight thousands of Rupees.

C. The Panjab.

A peculiar difficulty arose in the Panjab at the time of the revision of Settlement. "Many landlords, who had failed to register themselves as such at the Settlement of 1853, put forward their claims. To recognize them as landlords would be to degrade those who held under them to the position of tenants-at-will. And it was estimated that in Amritsar District, out of 60,000 heads of families, no less than 46,000 would be so degraded by a recognition of the claims of the landlords" 120 A Tenancy Act (Act XXVII of 1868) was accordingly passed in order to safeguard the rights of the tenants while recognizing the claims of the landlords.

"The Act regulated and defined the position of tenants with rights of occupancy; it protected them against enhancement except under peculiar conditions; it recognised their power to alienate tenures; it limited the privilege of the pre-emption and gave the option to the landlord; and, with almost prophetic apprehension of the points at issue in Ireland, it defined the improvements which might be made by the tenant, and specified the compensation which he might look to receive.” 121

This Act was considerably modified by Act XVI of 1887. But the small proprietors tilling their own land showed a steady decrease from 54 per cent, of the cultivated area in 1891 to 45 per cent, in 1900. A Descent of Jaigir’s Act was pased to promote the principles of primogeniture. Another Act, the Punjab Alienation Act, was passed in 1901 to prevent undue and frequent alienation of land from the hands of the agriculturalists to those of the moneylenders and speculators.

D. Madras

Reference has been made above to the grave evils caused by the Ryotwari Settlement in Madras, and the plan of the Government in 1855 to remove the evils by “an accurate survey and careful settlement of the land-revenue”. The Court of Directors welcomed the proposal and gave their sanction to it in 1856. The letter, dated 17 December, 1856, enunciated the following general principles which were undoubtedly inspired by a genuine interest in the welfare of the cultivators.

*The urgent necessity of a survey, with a view to the reassessment of the Land Revenue in the greater portion of the districts under your Presidency is, we consider, established beyond the possibility of doubt.

“The officers engaged in the duty of fixing the assessment should always bear in mind that as you have expressed it—‘the right of the Government is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the costs of cultivation and the profits of the agricultural stocks, but a land revenue only, which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he, in fact, let the land to others or retain it in his own hands.

“We are therefore of opinion that the assessment should be proportioned to the net, and not to the gross produce.

“The grain assessment having been determined, and converted into money at a fair and moderate rate, we should prefer that the assessment so fixed should be declared unalterable for a term of thirty years (as in Bombay and the NorthWest Provinces), at the expiration of which period both the amount of the grain assessment, and the rate of its conversion into money, would be subject to readjustment according to existing circumstances ." 121

The Directors proposed that, as in North India, two-thirds of the net produce should be fixed as land revenue. But, as noted above, the land revenue in North India was reduced to fifty per cent, of the net produce in 1855, and in 1864 the Secretary of State for India endorsed it in the following words:

"I am accordingly prepared to give my full support to the proposition of Sir William Denison, that the nett, and not the gross produce, should be adopted as the unit of which the Government is to take a fraction. I have to communicate to your Excellency in Council my deliberate opinion that the share of the nett produce, which may be fairly taken as the due of Government, should be assumed at one-half, and not one-third, as proposed in Sir William Denison's Minute". 1 *

The half and half proportion was accordingly accepted in theory in Madras since 1864. But it was not carried into practice in Madras in the settlements between 1861 and 1875. The calculation of net produce involved minute calculation of the expenses of cultivation. The Settlement Department assumed erroneously that 1/3 of the total produce should cover the cost and generally made it proportionate to the value of the land. The ryot was not given the right of appeal to any independent tribunal. The price of produce was lower at the end of the period than at the beginning, which caused further hardship.

The new settlement which commenced in 1861 therefore did not much improve the lot of the tenants. On the other hand, in one respect, the policy dictated by the Court of Directors and adopted in the new settlement was retrogade in character. It has been mentioned above 124 that the Ryotwari Settlement in Madras was a permanent settlement so far as the rent for each field was concerned. That it was fixed in perpetuity was recognized from the very beginning and was acknowledged in unmistakable terms by the authorities. But this was completely ignored by the Directors when they prescribed a revision of the assessment after every thirty years. Even after the receipt of the Director's letter the Madras Board of Revenue declared that

"the principle of a permanent assessment was still the principle of the Ryotwari System." "A general opinion prevails in England", they wrote in 1857, "that the Bombay Settlement for thirty years secures a far greater permanency of tenure to the landholder than the present Ryotwari tenure of Madras. This is altogether an error, for a Madras Ryot is able to retain his land, perpetually without any increase of assessment, as long as he continues to fulfil his engagements'. 1 ®

But this principle was violated in practice when the settlements were made for thirty years with the provision that at the end of that term the land revenue of each cultivator was liable to enhancement.

The new settlement had other defects. The Government demand was based on inaccurate calculations, for the officials determined total produce by summary methods and the tenants had no say in the matter. Further, the new lands brought under cultivation were assessed at the prevailing rate, though they were poorer in fertility and produce than the lands already under cultivation. The result was that the land revenue proved to be a heavier taxation after 1860 than it was before. No wonder that remissions had to be made from the Government demand in 1875 to the same extent as in 1860. The following extract from the minute of Sir Louis Mallet, Under-Secretary of State for India, is a sad commentary on the settlement in Madras. "I can only suppose that the answer would be, that in truth the 50 per cent, of the nett produce has been a mere paper instruction, a fiction which has had very little to do with the actual facts of the administration, and that in practice the rates levied have often absorbed the whole rental, and not infrequently, I suspect, encroached on profits also". 126 But the terrible famine that broke out in Madras in 1877 was a still sadder commentary on the new settlement. Between 1876 and 1898, while the area under cutivation rose by 14%, gross demand rose by over 70% (largely due to consolidation of irrigation cess with land revenue since 1887). Marquess of Ripon tried in 1882 to lay down definite rules of enhancement, especially avoiding re-classification of soil and re-assessment of grain values at each recurring settlement, but as will be noted later, it came to nought.

E. Bombay.

The Bombay Government, as will be related later, opposed the idea of Permanent Settlement, but reiterated the view that they did not ‘‘advocate any variation in the just and moderate proportion of the gross produce on which the present assessments are based”. 127 But, as in other Provinces, there was a wide divergence between

theory and practice, and the evils of periodical settlements appeared in the worst form during the period under review. A few figures, supplied in respect of five taluks by an official committee, show the enormous increase in the land revenue in course of the revision of the Settlement which commenced in 1866. The revised* assessment at the expiry of thirty years showed an increase of more than 100 per cent, over the collection of the first period of initial Settlement, which itself was considerably in excess of the collection of the first year of the survey. The percentage of increase between the assessment in the last year of the old settlement and the first year of the new settlement—i.e. in a single year—was 53 per cent, in those five taluks , and in general above 30 per cent. The Poona Sarbajanik Sabha protested against the high assessment in the following words:

“The assessment should consist of a portion of the nett profits of land, after deducting the expenses of cultivation, including the wages of the cultivator and his family, and the charges for the purchase and renewal of agricultural stock. It has been shown before that the present assessment of the Government, and the charge of the Khote profits in Konkan Districts absorb from one-half to one-third of the gross produce, which by all accounts means that the Government assessment is a rack-rent in the worst, sense of the term. In the Desh districts also it has been shown that the Ryot is enabled to continue .the cultivation of land from year to year, not because he receives any fraction „of the proprietor’s rent, or true farmer’s profits, but chiefly, if not solely, because he earns the wages of himself and family in its cultivation. In fact there is no surplus produce left, after paying the cost of cultivation (including his wages and the charge for the renewal of agricultural stock) and the assessment of Government”. 1 *

There was a special circumstance which aggravated the evils. The restriction of cotton imports in England from America due to the Civil War stimulated cotton cultivation in Bombay, and this was seized as a good opportunity for enhancing the assessment in the Revision Settlement which commenced in 1866. This temporary sign of prosperity was taken by the officials as permanent. Dadabhai Naoroji, the eminent patriotic Indian leader, about whom more will be said hereafter made an emphatic protest against it. “He said that the signs of prosperity were hollow and ephemeral, and that the enormous increase in the land revenue was oppressive and unjustifiable. Complaints against the new assessment were also universal in the Deccan; but the warning was unheeded.

“The Nemesis came at last. After the conclusion of the Civil War, America once more began to export her cotton to England; cotton cultivation declined in India; prices and wages fell. Cultivators in the Deccan were unable to pay the new and enhanced revenue demanded; money-lenders refused to lend when the credit of cultivators was low, and the law in favour of creditors was restricted. Agrarian disturbances, such as have seldom been known under the British rule, followed in 1875. Rioting was committed; shops and houses were burnt down; stocks were destroyed.” 129

A commission was appointed by the Government of Bombay to inquire into the causes of the disturbance. It consisted of Auckland Colvin (who later became Lieutenant-Governor of North-Western Provinces and Finance Minister of India) and two members of the Indian Civil Service, Bombay. Colvin, who pointed out the “excessive enhancement of the revised settlements” as one of the causes of the riots, made the following observations:

“The assessment seems to me to be based too purely on arithmetical data, and to be applied with too little regard to the conditions of the agricultural body who are expected to pay it. Now that the tenures have been defined and recorded, the Survey Department naturally looks to enhanced revenues as its raison d’etre.

“The Bombay Government, by laying down a maxim of enhancement, has recently tried to meet this anomaly, but has cut rather than solved the difficulty. So large an increase as 100 per cent, on an individual holding, or of 66 per cent, on a village, is still allowed without special sanction of Government.” 1 * 0 •

But all these remonstrances from the public and the officials fell on deaf ears. “They led to no substantial change in the method and procedure of settlements. They led to no remedial measures affording security to cultivators against undue enhancements. They led to no rules for the strict enforcement of the principles of the Land Tax laid down by the Court of Directors and the Secretary of State. The Government declined to frame such rules for its own servants as had been framed to restrict the powers of private landlords in Bengal. The Government sought to relieve the cultivators of the Deccan only by restraining money-lenders. That was the object of the Deccan Agriculturist’s Relief Act of 1879”. 131

The Government of Bombay not only did not take any steps to improve the procedure of assessment, but they made the powers of the settlement officers more absolute than before. When in 1873 the High Court of Bombay decided an assessment suit against the Settlement Officer concerned, the Government retorted by passing in 1876 “The Bombay Revenue Jurisdiction Act” which excluded assessment of land revenue from the jurisdiction of all civil courts. A greater defiance of British law and tradition is difficult to imagine.

“Three years after the passing of this Act, the Bombay Land Revenue system was comprehensively treated and legalised in the Revenue Code of 1879. It was an excellent Code, and it clearly affirmed the cultivator’s rights of inheritance and transfer in respect of their holdings. But the Code gave no protection against undue enhancements, and no security against excessive assessments in violation of the principles laid down in 1856 and 1864”. 132

Sir William Hunter hit the nail right on the head wheji he declared openly and strongly from his place in the Governor-General’s Council in 1879: “The fundamental difficulty of bringing relief to the Deccan Peasantry is that the Government Assessment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout that year.” 133 Indian members of the Bombay Council repeatedly drew the attention of the Government to the wretched condition cf the peasantry in Gujarat.

"The Hon. Gokuldas Parekh, a Member of the Legislative Council of Bombay, has shown from the official figures, exhibiting the results of crop experiments made by Government Officials, that among the large class of cultivators in Gujarat, who own holdings of five acres and less and are unable to grow rich rice, the value of their out-turn is not sufficient even in ordinary years to enable them to meet the Government demand, the cost of tillage, and the maintenance expense of their families and cattle. And he also proves that, ‘even a large proportion of the cultivators, holding up to ten acres, are unable to get out-turns sufficient for the payment of the cost of cultivation and their maintenance”. 1 * 4

It was not till the famine of , 1900 that the Bombay Government, unable by any means to realize the enhanced rent, was forced to lower the assessment in Gujarat.

The Government revenue in Gujarat, according to the Report of the Famine Commission of 1900, represented one-fifth of the gross produce of the soil, nearly double that which private landlords in Bengal obtained as rent from their tenants. Mr. R. C. Dutt described as follows the state of things prevailing in Gujarat.

“I visited Gujarat in March 1803, and made inquiries in some villages in the districts of Kaira, Ahmedabad, Surat, and Broach. The condition of the Peasant Proprietors was wretched beyond description, and the worst of them lived in single rooms with all their family and with hardly any articles of furniture. The cattle they used was often hired; and any property they had wa 3 often mortgaged. Calculating the Land Revenue demand in proportion to the produce, in presence of villagers and of village officials, I found that the demand often came to 30 or 40 per cent of what the cultivators actually reaped in average years’. 3 *

The state of things in Gujarat played a vital part in Indian history, for about a quarter of a century later, the oppressed peasants of a small taluk in

Gujarat fought, with the weapons forged by Mahatma Gandhi, the first battle to secure their rights against the mighty British.

3. The Cess.

The local cesses imposed on the soil during the Company's rule were small and insignificant, and were generally based on ancient customs. But immediately after the assumption of the administration of India by the Crown, the Secretary of State for India decided upon imposing a special rate on lands to repay the expense of schools

for the rural population, to which was later added that for building roads. The Zamindars of Bengal protested against it as a violation of their rights, and their claims were upheld by the Government of Bengal, eminent jurists and highly placed administrators, who held that the imposition of cesses would be "a breach of faith and the violation of the positive statutory engagement made with these Zamindars at the Permanent Settlement". 136 As a result of this protest the Education Cess was not imposed on land in Bengal, but a Road Cess of 3 J per cent, on the rental was imposed in 1871.

In Provinces where lands were settled for a fixed period of years, the same argument was applicable during the period of the existing tenure. But the difficulty was got over by two methods. In Awadh, for example, the additional cess, it was said, was imposed with the consent of the landlords. But, as Sir Charles Wingfield explained before the Finance Committee, "such consent is never voluntarily given. It is obtained through administrative influence, and it is given because they feel themselves helpless, and from fear of provoking worse measures by resisting a request put to them in that way by the Chief Commissioner". 136 * 1 In some areas the cess was added at the time of the revision of the Settlement. In some Provinces, the Government gave notice that in fixing the assessment of land revenue for 20 or 30 years it retained the power of imposing some additional rates for local expenditure. 137 In some cases, however, no such scruple was felt and cess was added to land-revenue on the ground that it directly benefited the people.

A fillip was given to the imposition of cesses by Local Government under the decentralisation scheme of finance referred to above. Two concrete examples will illustrate it.

"By the arrangements made under the Decentralisation Scheme, a deficit of £48,030 was left to be made up by Local Taxation in the North-Western Provinces. The Lieutenant-Governor was not satisfied with making up this deficit, but exercised the powers conferred upon him to gradually obtain an increase of £102,000 by Local Taxation. And he did this by imposing a cess of 10 per cent, on the Land Revenue at the revision of the settlements, in lieu of the old cesses which came to 5 per cent. only.

"The same thing happened in Madras. The deficit which was left to be made up by Local Taxation by the Decentralisation Order of 1870 was £55,428. The Madras Government passed an Act in the same year by which they imposed a cess of 6J per cent, on the rental, estimated to bring them £342,800, instead of £197,106 produced by the old cesses". 138

These new cesses, to which others could be added at the sweet will of the Local Governments, practically put an end even to the theoretical restriction of State demand to 50 per cent, of the net profits from agriculture. For, other demands under other names were added to it.

Thus in spite of various legislations, mentioned above, to fix the demand upon cultivators, for at least a specified period, their effect was rendered partly nugatory when Local Cesses (for roads, schools, famine insurance, payment of some local officials etc.), varying from 10 to 16 per cent, of the land revenue, were imposed on estates in addition to the land revenue. Even where it was nominally paid by the superior landlords they realized it from the tenants, and for all. practical purposes it proved to be an addition to the burden of the already over-assessed cultivators. As the Provincial Governments had indefinite powers to impose such demands on the soil to any extent, the cultivators, under every system, suffered alike from the multiplication of such local cesses.

4. Futile Agitation for Permanent Settlement.

It would appear from what has been said above, that one of the main causes of the poverty of the tenants was the uncertainty of assessment, due to periodical revision, and failure, in practice, to restrict the land revenue to one-half of the net produce of land. The early years after the assumption of administration by the Crown were marked by liberal legislations to remedy these defects, though they were not carried out in practice. But as years rolled on, even the spirit of legislation changed for the worse. The object of the earlier legislation was to improve the status of cultivator and assure his rights and interests in order to make agriculture prosperous. Far different were the ideas which inspired the administration and legislation of later years. The main object of the Government during the last quarter of the nineteenth century seems to have been “to secure for the State a firmer grip on the produce of the soil, to whittle away both landlord right and tenant right, and to make an agricultural nation more dependent on the unfettered will of the Executive Officer.

“The power of the Revenue Officer and the Settlement Officer has been made more absolute by legislation. The period of Settlements has been cut down from thirty years to twenty years in the Punjab and the Central Provinces. Cultivators in the same Provinces have been restrained from alienating their own holdings. The Government has taken the power of withdrawing the right of transfer in Bombay. The Government settles rent between landlords and tenants in the Central Provinces. The rule of limiting the State-demand to half the nett rent, is, in practice, disregarded in Bombay and in Madras. The rule of limiting State enhancements to the specific and definite ground of a rise in prices has been withdrawn. And a compulsory water-rate, which was condemned by Argyll and Lawrence/has been imposed in Madras, and is consolidated with the land assessment”. 1 *

There was a general feeling all over India that the Permanent settlement in Bengal, with the improvements effected by the Act of 1859, offered the best solution of the problem. It imposed a limit on the State-demand from landlords as well as on the latter’s demand from tenants, and to both it assured security of tenure and fixity of rent. As a result, the peasants of Bengal were, comparatively speaking, more happy and prosperous than those of the rest of India.

Bitter experience of famines brought home the truth of this simple fact even to the authorities. After the terrible famine of 1860 in Northern India, Lord Canning appointed Colonel Baird Smith to inquire into its causes. In his report Smith “clearly showed that the famine was due, not to want of food in the country, but to the difficulty of the starving people in obtaining the food. And in the second place, he also pointed out that the staying power of the people depended greatly on the land system under which they lived”. “No misapprehension” he continued, “can be greater than to suppose that the settlement of the public demand on the land is only lightly, or, as some say^ not at all connected with the occurrence of famines. It lies, in reality, far nearer to the root of the matter, because of its intimate and vital relation to the every-day life of the people and to their growth towards prosperity or towards degradation, than any such accessories as canals, or roads, or the like, important though these unquestionably are”. The capacity of the people to resist the destructive influence (of drought) is in direct proportion —I would almost say geometrical proportion—to the perfection of the settlement system under which they are living and growing”. 140

“Relying on the facts and figures he had collected, and on his careful inquiries into the state of Northern India as it was then and as it had been before, Colonel Baird Smith recommended a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue as a protection against the worst effects of future famines, and as a means of increasing the general revenue of the country with the general prosperity of the people.” 140 *

The report of Baird Smith was circulated to all the Provinces for opinion. “The Government of the Punjab was the only Government in Northern India which demurred to the immediate introduction of a Permanent Settlement, because the Province had been brought under British rule only twelve years before, and cultivation was still backward in many of the districts”. 141 The Madras Government accepted the principle of fixing the land-tax in perpetuity, but opposed the idea of settling with the Zamindars instead of the ryots. They even maintained that the Ryotwari system was originally intended to be permanent. 142 The Bombay Government was totally opposed to the idea of Permanent Settlement, 143 while the Central Provinces whole-heartedly approved of the scheme but restricted its application to a district of which three-fourths of the arable area were under cultivation. 144 It was also approved by Mr. Samuel Lang, the Finance

Member of the Governor-General's Council. He did not agree with the views of those who argued that the prospective loss in land revenue caused by a Permanent Settlement would be made good by increased revenues from other sources. But in spite of this loss in money, he gave his full support to the proposed scheme of Permanent Settlement for reasons which he stated as follows:

"We do not exist as a Government merely to get the largest revenue we can out of the country, or even to keep the mass of the people in a state of uniform dead level, though it should be tolerably happy and contented one, as a peasant tenantry under a paternal Government.

"If we give a Permanent Settlement, as Mr. Beadon proposes, we lay. the foundation for a state of society, not perhaps so easily managed, but far more varied and richer in elements of civilisation and progress. We shall have gradations of society, from the Native noblemen of large territorial, possessions down, through the country gentleman of landed estate,* to the independent yeoman, the small peasant proprietor, the large tenant with skill and capital on a long lease, the small tenant on a lease, the tenant-at-will, and the day labourer.

"In some districts one class will preponderate, in* others a different one, and, on the whole, I do not doubt that, although there may be more hardships, inequalities, and collisions, there will be more life, activity, and progress, than there ever will be where the Government was all in all....

"Nor do I see any reason to fear the effect on revenue. It may be true that we shall not get so much revenue as if we had kept the increase of rent in our own hands, at any rate for the next twenty or thirty years, while it is almost certain to be rapidly increasing. But I have no fear of our being able to get revenue enough provided certain conditions are observed in regard to our land settlement; and I am by no means sure that it is desirable that a Government should appropriate a larger share of the income of a country, or get money more easily, than is really essential to meet the proper objects of a Government". 110

Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India, as well as Sir John Lawrence, who was then a member of his Council, wholeheartedly approved of the Permanent Settlement and wrote lengthy minutes enumerating the benefits that were likely to accrue from the measure. Incidentally, the former referred to the "general progress of Bengal in wealth and prosperity", due to the Permanent Settlement introduced in 1793. 146

When Sir John Lawrence came to India as Viceroy, he took up the question, and the two Secretaries of State who succeeded Sir Charles Wood, namely Earl de Grey and Ripon and Sir Stafford Northcote (1866-7), re-affirmed his decision. On March 23, 1867,

Northcote laid down two rules "to restrict Permanent Settlement in undeveloped tracts and estates:—

"First—No estate shall be permanently settled in which the actual cultivation amounts to less than 80 per cent, of the cultivable or Malgoozaree area; and

"Second—No Permanent Settlement shall be concluded for any estate to which canal irrigation is, in the opinion of the GovernorGeneral in Council, likely to be extended within the next twenty years, and the existing assets of which would thereby be increased in the proportion of 20 per cent". 147

"Inquiries went on with a view to ascertain what districts or parts of districts in Northern India could be permanently settled under the conditions laid down by Sir Stafford Northcote. In 1869 some cases were reported in which it was shown that a Permanent Settlement, even under the conditions laid down, would cause prospective loss to Government. This was not a new argument; for Sir Stafford Northcote had foreseen such loss, and had declared it to be the final and deliberate decision of Her Majesty's Government that 'this sacrifice they were prepared to make in consideration of the great importance of connecting the interests of the proprietors of the land with the stability of the British Government'. But every passing year of peace weakened the desire to make the sacrifice; and the objection which had been foreseen and disregarded in 1867 seemed to have a greater weight in 1869". 148

The plain fact seems to be that the cautious bureaucrat, who always thought in terms of finance and maximum revenue and constitutionally shrank from alienating any prospective increment, got the better of the generous paternalist. The issue was shelved and in 1869 a third condition was laid down which deferred permanent settlement as long as the land continued to improve in value, which was the same thing as postponing it till the Day of Judgment. Lord Mayo weakened it by countenancing increase of revenue with increase of prices. Northbrook was for a self-regulating system of assessment, also based on price variations, but would have the quality of soil or the quantity of produce determined once for all and not reassessed at each settlement. The claim of the State was kept indefinite in both cases, hanging like the sword of Damocles on the improving land. Moreover, a struggle had begun between the Bengal School and the Mill School over the issue of land revenue. 149

In connection with the imposition of a road cess, the Duke of Argyll criticized the Bengal opinion that permanent settlement meant “a permanent promise and guarantee against any and every form of

direct tax upon land or its produce”. 160 On the other hand, to avoid income-tax, the bureaucrats and European merchants, who had an able spokesman in the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir George Campbell, wanted to throw the whole burden of taxation on land revenue, “to the extent of absorbing ‘Bent’ altogether, and leaving nothing but ryots living on the profits of cultivation”. 161 Argyll called it the “anti-ownership school” who would have “no middle class, or aristocracy, or owners connected with land” but only the Government and the cultivators. 152 It had an able protagonist in England in Sir Henry Maine, “because he is rather of the Mill School on these questions”. 163 Argyll considered this theory of land revenue held by the Mill School as fallacious as the ‘Absolutist* theory of Permanent Settlement held by the Bengal School. He took a middle of the road stand and was inclined to a qualified permanent settlement, “provided we leave the door open for gaining legitimate access for taxing purposes to the wealth we should thus create”. 164 He wanted to combine the principle of ownership with the principle of* financial flexibility. “I hope you will keep up the cess policy”, he wrote to Northbrook. “It is the only one which will reconcile the principle of a permanent settlement and a real ownership in land, with the possibility of, nevertheless, exacting from the growing wealth of the land-owners a fair contribution tpwards the growing expenses of local administration. 155 In its own interest permanent settlement should agree to undertake some reasonable sacrifice. Northbrook, however, knew better. The cess or income-tax, if levied, would be raised by the Zamindars from the rack-renting of the tenantry. 160 The whole burden would be shifted to shoulders least able to bear it.

The controversy killed the proposal. Ripon, in his despatch of 17 October, 1882, tried to bring about a compromise between the Canning-Lawrence school of unconditional permanent settlement and the Mayo-Northbrook school of indefinite increase, by yet another plan of enhancement of revenue on "defined conditions". He would make the revenue permanent in terms of produce but not in terms of cash which would fluctuate with prices.

Ripon's proposal was thus a self-regulating system of assessment, ensuring a fixed share of the produce in perpetuity to the tenants. But nothing availed. The tide had turned and the Secretary of State for India, in his despatch No. 24. dated March 28, 1883, gave the coup de gr&ce to the recommendation made by Lord Canning twenty-one years before. The despatch said, "I concur with your Excellency's Government that the policy laid down in 1862 should now be formally abandoned". 167 Even the modified scheme of Lord Ripon was disapproved by the Secretary of State in 1885.

This episode has been dealt with at some length as an apt illustration of the growing changes in the official attitude towards the one thing which contributed to the happiness and welfare of the peasantry, who constituted nearly 90 per cent, of the Indian population.

But though the curtain was dropped on the agitation for Permanent Settlement, the relation between the tenants on the one hand, and the Zamindars or the Government, as the case may be, on the other, continued to be the vexed problem which urgently demanded solution in view of the wretched state of the peasantry.

Even a section of the so-called “sun-dried” bureaucrats could not remain unmoved when the famines of 1877, 1897 and 1900 revealed the miserable condition of the people of India, particularly in those areas where the land revenue was high. In 1900 some retired officers of the Government met in consultation in London and submitted a Memorial to the Secretary of State for India making five suggestions for improvement in land revenue administration in India:

“That no revision of the Land Tax of any Province, or part thereof, should be made within thirty years of the expiration of any former revision”.

“Where the Land Revenue is paid by landlords, the principle adopted in the Saharanpur Rule of 1855, whereby the Revenue demand is limited to one-half of the actual rent or assets of such landlords, should be universally applied”.

“Where the Land Revenue is paid directly by the cultivators, as in most parts of Madras and Bombay, the Government demand should be limited to 50 per cent, of the value of the nett produce, after a liberal deduction for cultivation expenses has been made, and should not ordinarily exceed one-fifth of the gross produce even in those parts of the country where, in theory, one-half of the nett is assumed to approximate to one-third of the gross produce”.

“That when revision is made in any of those parts of India where the Land Revenue is paid by the cultivators direct to the Government, there should be no increase in the assessment except in cases where the land has increased in value, (1) in consequence of improvements in irrigation works carried out at the expenses of file Government^ or (2) on account of a rise in the value of produce based on the average prices of the thirty years preceding such revision”.

“Lastly we recommend that a limit be fixed in each Province beyond which it may not be permissible to surcharge the land tax with local cesses. We are of opinion that the Bengal rate of 6£ per cent, is a fair one, and that in no case should the rate exceed 10 per cent”. 168

About the same time, Mr. R. C. Dutt addressed some open letters to the Viceroy regarding Land Revenue, making suggestions more or less on the above line. 169

The Memorial was referred by the Secretary of State to the Government of India, and the latter forwarded it to the Local Governments for opinion. True to the traditions of Curzon regime, it was

not thought necessary, at any stage, to consult public opinion on a matter which so vitally affected the welfare of millions of Indian people. The Local Governments defended the systems which they themselves had been working, and, on the basis of these replies, a reply to the Memorial was drawn up in the shape of a Resolution of the Government of India, dated 16 January, 1902, which was largely the handiwork of Lord Curzon.

Curiously enough, the Resolution went out of its way in condemning the Permanent Settlement, though there was no mention of it either in the Memorial or in the letters of Mr. R. C. Dutt. The object of killing this dead horse is not quite clear, but the language and reasoning used by Lord Curzon's Government certainly did not add to their credit.

"At an earlier period", says the Resolution, "the school of thought that Is represented by the present critics of the Government of India, advocated the extension of the Permanent Settlement throughout India". "They (the Government of India) cannot conscientiously endorse the proposition that in the interests of the cultivator that system of agrarian tenure should be held up as a public model which is not supported by the experience of any civilised country". 100

Mr. R.C. Dutt's comment upon it is worth being quoted in full:

"The school of thought" referred to represents the views of such men as Lord Conrwallis and Sir Thomas Munro, Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence, Lord Halifax and Lord Iddesleigh; and the. fame of these eminent administrators who have built up the Indian Empire by their sympathetic regard for the people no less than by their vigour and wisdom, will survive the sneers of modem Imperialism. And when Lord Curzon adds that a Permanent Settlement of the Land

Revenue ‘is not supported by the experience of any civilised country*, he forge*** the history of his own country where the great Pitt made the Land Tax perpetual and redeemable in 1798, five years after Cornwallis had fixed the Land Revenue in Bengal”. 1 * 1

No less interesting in this connection are the words of Sir Bartle Frere in defence of Permanent Settlement, even if it meant a loss of revenue*

“If the Crown in England had kept the fee-simple of all lands forfeited by successive civil wars or seized from the Church, there might have been a revenue which would have gone far to carry on the Government without taxes, but would England ever have been the country it is?

“If we have any business at all in the East, it is to try and found something better than the old approved patterns of Oriental despotisms, and to give India the chance at least, of becoming a great independent and intelligent community**. 10

None of the actual demands made in the Memorial were accepted by the Government. But the grounds stated in the Resolution for rejecting them contain a mass of half-truths, misstatements, and specious reasoning, and it is not necessary to refer to them in detail here beyond what has been stated above. Interested readers would

lind an able refutation of all the points in the Government Resolution by Mr. R. C. Dutt. 16 ^

The Indian National Congress voiced the opinion of India in demanding a reform of the land revenue system, and in its sixteenth session at Lahore in 1900 urged upon the Government the necessity, repeatedly pointed out by the Congress, of making the assessment permanent. It continued the agitation even after the Government Resolution of 16 January, 1902.

At the eighteenth session of the Indian National Congress held at Ahmedabad, in the same year (1902), its President, Surendra Nath Banerji, urged that “a moderate land tax, fixed for a reasonably long period, is absolutely essential to the prosperity of our agricultural population, and we must insist upon it, in season and out of season, alike in the interests of the Government and of the people".

In the same session (1902) the Congress adopted the following Resolution:

"That the permanent settlement be extended to such parts of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Secretary ° State for India in Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that reduction of and judicial restrictions on over-assessments be imposed in those parts of India

where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the permanent settlement".

It is hardly necessary to add that this protest had no effect on the policy of a Government which paid such scant respect to the suggestions of its own experienced officials, mostly Englishmen, whose views, when they went against the policy of the Government!

must be presumed to have been inspired by a high sense of duty and responsibility.

Vni. FAMINE

1. Famine Policy of the Government of India.

India has been frequently subjected to horrors and devastations of famine. Natural causes like failure of rains, droughts, floods, hail-storms, crop diseases and locusts have no doubt been largely responsible for these. But other factors such, as official indifference and lack of sympathy, heavy burden of taxation, iniquitous land revenue policy, and general poverty have also aggravated their stings. Men s cruelties have often combined with nature's freaks to accentuate the frightful sufferings of the people.

During about a century of the East India Company's rule, India suffered^ m one part of it or another, from several famines and scarcities. But, as the Indian Famine Commission reportd in 1901 no attempt was then made by the Government to grapple with 'the famine question, or to construct any system of famine relief. When a famine occurred, the efforts made to relieve distress were usually on a small scale, disconnected and spasmodic. "A little employment was offered to able-bodied, and a little gratuitous relief was distributed to the helpless, from scanty funds collected from the charitably disposed. But there was no systematized and sustained action, and but little expenditure of public money". In 1837, failure of rains caused a severe famine in the upper reaches of the Ganga and the Jamuna. No sufficient measures were adopted by the Government to afford relief to the afflicted, and mortality due to it was very heavy.

After the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown, till the end of the nineteenth century, more than twenty famines occurred in British India. One of these was caused by failure of monsoon in 1861 in the North-Western Provinces. An area of 25,000 square miles and a population of 13 millions were affected by it. The Government arranged relief work for the ablebodied and gratuitous relief was provided by the charitable people for those who could not work.

This calamity was followed by the appointment by the Government of a Famine Commission under Colonel Baird Smith. As mentioned above, 164 he regarded the iniquitous land-settlement as one of the chief causes of famines in India. Comparing the results of the famines of 1837 and 1860, he held the view that "the areas affected by the two famines were about the same; the population affected by the later famine was larger; and the other conditions were worse in 1860. Nevertheless, the sufferings and deaths in 1860 were far less than in 1837, because the land system introduced in Northern India, since 1833, was infinitely better than the previous system". 165 But the report of this Commission did not formulate any settled principle and method of famine-relief administration.

In 1866-67 broke out a famine, which is known as the Orissa Famine, as its effects were most dreadful in Orissa; but it affected different parts of the east coast from Calcutta to Madras. The Orissa Famine has been regarded "as the turning point in the history of Indian famines", for it led to the appointment of a Commission of inquiry presided over by Sir George Campbell, the investigation of which formed the foundations of definite famine relief policies. This Commission was asked to inquire into “(1) the causes of the famine; (2) whether timely measures had been taken to meet the evil, and it not, whether there were valid reasons to account for their absence; and (3) in what way such visitations may be prevented or mitigated in the future”. 166 Referring to the “extreme severity” of the Orissa

famine, Sir George Campbell remarks: “We were shocked by the human remains we saw all round. From an Indian point of view the area of very intense famine was rather small, being confined to a few millions of people; and the period of intensity was short, being no more than a single half year. But within these limits, it was, I think, by far the most acute famine experienced in any part of India in the present (19th) century”. ’37

The causes of the Orissa Famine were “the failure of the later rams of 1865, and consequently of the autumn crops cf that year together with the almost entire absence of imDortation of food from the outside”. 163 Proper steps were not taken by the Government to avert its devastating effects. The Commission presided over by Sir George Campbell felt bound to report that timely and adequate measures had not been taken to meet the evil, and that for their absence, blame must be distributed among a good many people, including the highest Bengal officers of the time. The Bengal Government had completely miscalculated the situation and had misled the Central Government. 163 “Some of the local officers”, writes Campbell, “raised alarms of famine early in the day, but they were overruled, and it was not till well on in the spring of 1866 that the extent of the danger was properly realised. When the extreme amine did come, it came very suddenly, showing how thin a line divides scarcity from the severest famine. In April, 1866, the Magistrate of Cuttack still reported that there was no ground for the most serious apprehension. A few days later, in May, he and his followers were almost starved. We compared it to the case of a ship where the stores were suddenly found to have run out”. 170

The Commission made certain recommendations regarding measures to be adopted for prevention of famine disasters in future

J h “ Cer !“ m re ^ e6ts anticipated those of the Commission of 1880. It dwelt much on the necessity of efficient means of communication as the best means of prevention—new railways through populous districts doubling the existing lines where the traffic was very heavy-feeder roads, and making the canals navigable- and for Orissa specially, improvement of the harbours". It also "pressed the advantage of purity of tenures for cultivators", and advocated irrigation within reasonable limits, but warned the Government against relying upon that as a panacea for all evils". The Commission further stressed that the Government must undertake responsi

be nLriT , famm * rehef ' and " that adequate financial provision must "* d ,f f< £ a . heay y expenditure in famine relief at recurring periods . Various modes of relief, specially employment in useful public work, import of food, etc. were also discussed. 171

When in 1868-69, failure of rains caused an intense famine in Rajputana and also affected parts of the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab, the Government took some steps to relieve distress of the sufferers.

In 1873 the monsoon failed prematurely from September in North Bihar, "quite the most populous part in India", and to a less extent in certain other parts, producing disastrous effect on the winter rice crop and making the prospects for spring crops bad Sir George Campbell, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, came to Patna for making enquiries and, on the 23rd October, officially reported "the gravest apprehensions of general scarcity throughout the country, and of worse evils in large parts of it". 172 He wanted to prohibit export of rice from Bengal overseas, the failure of crops being confined largely to the north-western districts of the Bengal Government. He "wished then to save all that was available in the south-east, and, as it were, to dam it up and drive it to the northward". 173 But Lord Northbrook, the then Viceroy, did not accept this proposal and the Central Government, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India, arranged to import 480,000 tons of rice, mostly from Burma, to be distributed in the famine area which was estimated to be 40,000 square miles with a population of 17 millions. 174 The Lieutenant-Governor and the Central Government, however, agreed on measures of relief. "Relief was administered mainly in the form of employment on works and of gratuitous assistance to the infirm. Cultivators were invited to take loans of money or rice repayable without interests". 176 Charitable relief was arranged for people unable to work, after inquiry into each individual case. Thus the principle of affording relief to famine-stricken areas was asserted.

But soon there was a reaction to this policy during the period of the next great famine in 1876-78. It affected part of the Native State of Hyderabad, Madras and almost the whole of Mysore and the Bombay Deccan, and later, the North-Western Provinces, Awadh, and the Panjab. In this famine "relief was to a large extent insufficient and to a large extent imperfectly organized". 176 The "system adopted in 1876-77", remarks Sir George Campbell, "was not successful in combating famine and preventing mortality; on the contrary, mortality was enormous while the expenditure was at the same time very great". 177 That the relief in some areas was not commensurate with the money spent was admitted by the Governor-General who wrote to Queen Victoria on 11 October, 1877: "Whilst the Madras Famine has cost the Government of India over ten millions, the Bombay famine, under General Kennedy's management, has cost

only four millions, although a much larger saving of human life ha$ been effected in Bombay than in Madras". 178

The Governor-General, Lord Lytton, rightly realized the need of deciding general principles of famine relief, and in 1878 appointed a Commission for this purpose under the chairmanship of General Sir Richard Strachey. Reporting in 1880, this Commission formulated some general principles of famine relief, and also suggested certain measures of a preventive or protective nature. It "recognised to the full the obligation imposed on the state to offer to the necessitous the means of relief in times of famine". But the cardinal principle of its policy was "that this relief should be so administered as not to check the growth of thrift or self-reliance among the people, or to impair the structure of society, which, resting as it does in India upon the moral obligation of material assistance, is admirably adapted for common effort against a common misfortune". 179 "The great object", the Commission said, "of saving life and giving protection from extreme suffering may not only be as well secured but in fact will be far better secured, if proper care be taken to prevent the abuse and demoralisation which all experience shows to be the consequence of ill-directed and excessive distribution of charitable relief".

According to the Commission’s recommendations relief was to be administered by providing work for the able-bodied men, and distributing money or food to the aged and infirm. These works “should be of permanent utility and capable of employing a considerable number of persons for a considerable period”. Works like excavation of tanks or raising of embankments in villages might be given to persons not fit to go out for larger works. Schemes of relief work should be kept ready from before so that these can be put ‘into operation immediately on the outbreak of a famine. Employment on works must be provided to persons before their physical efficiency was impaired through starvation. Government was to rely on private trade for supply and distribution of food and should give it all possible facilities. The Commission suggested relief for tenants in times of famine by suspensions and remissions of land revenue and rents and by grant of loan for purchases of seed-grain and bullocks. The Commission further held that the “cost of relief must be so localized as to bring home to its administrators a sense of personal responsibility for expenditure. The sense of responsibility would be most effectually quickened by throwing the burden of famine expenditure on to local taxation and administering relief through representative members of the tax-paying body, themselves responsible for providing all needful funds”.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

To meet large unforeseen expenditure on account of famines, Government decided to provide fifteen millions of rupees every year in the Budget under the head ‘Famine Relief and Insurance’,

In the spirit of the recommendations of the Strachey Commission a Provincial Famine Code was framed in 1883 and the lines on which famine relief would be administered were determined. The principles of the Famine Code were put to a ‘crucial test’ in the minor famines in different parts of India that occurred in subsequent years and the acute famines of 1896-97 and 1899-1900. The famine of 1896-97, caused by failure of rains, affected, in varying degrees, the North-Western Provinces and Awadh, Bihar, the Central Provinces, Madras and Bombay; the area in which sufferings of the people were extreme extending over 125,000 square miles with a population of thirty-four millions. After this famine another Commission was appointed in 1898, with Sir James Lyall, ex-LieutenantGovernor of the Panjab, as its President. It conducted an elaborate inquiry into the causes of the famines and endorsed the principles enunciated by the Commission of 1880, suggesting certain changes in their actual working. “It may be said of India as a whole”, this Commission remarked, “that of late.years, owing to high prices, there has been a considerable increase in the incomes of the landholding and cultivating classes, and their standard of comfort and expenditure has also risen. With the rise in transfer-value of their holdings, their credit has also expanded. During recent famines they have shown greater powers of resistance. The poorer professional classes suffer severely from rise of prices, but do not come on relief. The wages of day-labourers and skilled artisans have not risen. The rise in prices of food has not been accompanied by a rise in the wages of labour. On the contrary, as competition falls off, the rate of wages offered falls frequently below the customary rate”.

Before the recommendations of the Lyall Commission could be considered by the Government, the south-west monsoon failed completely and India was visited by a drought, which, as Sir John Elliot the Government Meteorologist, afterwards estimated, was “the greatest in extent and intensity” which India had “experienced during the last 200 years”.[180] It caused a terrible famine. The affected parts covered an area extending over 400,000 square miles with a population of 25 millions in British India and 35 millions in the Native States. The area included the greater part of the Bombay Presidency, the whole of the Central Provinces, Berar and much of the Panjab, Rajputana, the Nizam’s territories, Baroda, and the Central Indian principalities. Relief measures were undertaken on a wide and liberal scale. Addressing the Legislative Council on 19 October, 1900, the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, estimated that one-fourth of the entire population of India had come, to a greater or less degree, within the radius of relief operations. The relief operations were followed by Lord Curzon’s personal tours in some severely affected areas.

The agonies of the famine, accompanied by devastations, pestilence and deaths, led the Government to think of a settled famine policy. So another Famine Commission was appointed in 1900 with Sir Anthony (afterwards Lord) MacDonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Awadh, as Chairman. This Commission was directed to examine, in the light of new experience then gained, “the administration of relief in all its branches, the cost of the recent operations, and the extent of the mortality; to consider what new problems have arisen, and how far events confirm the wisdom, or suggest the amendment, of the recommendations made by the last Commission”. It was also required “to deal, in their broad aspects, with the questions of the collection of the land revenue and the grant of advances to the agriculturists; to investigate the existing practice with regard to loans to cultivators in the several provinces; and to advise as to the necessity for revised instructions on these important subjects.” 1806 Submitting its report in 1901, the Commission endorsed on the whole the principles enunciated in 1880, and put special emphasis on the great importance of moral strategy “for putting heart into the people”. “It is scarcely possible”, the Commission observed, “to overstate the tonic effect upon the people of early preparations, of an early enlistment of non-official agency, of liberal advances in the earliest stages, and of early action in regard to suspensions of revenue”. 18011 For “uniformity of procedure” and “promptitude in action” with regard to extensive relief measures, the Commission recommended the appointment of a Famine Commissioner where the head of the Local Administration could not be his own Famine Commissioner. The more important recommendations of the Commission were:

(a) Prudent administration of the system of advances by Government.

(b) Suspensions and remissions of revenue as a preventive measure of constant application in adverse years.

(c) Establishment of Agricultural banks for the benefit of th£ cultivators.

(d) Agricultural development and improvement through effective working of the Agricultural Departments.

(e) Extensive irrigation works.

(f) The greater use of non-official agency for distribution of relief.

(g) In certain circumstances preference to local works in rural areas over large public works which had been hitherto the main feature of relief operations.

The Government accepted these recommendations and many of these were embodied in provincial famine codes.

2. Root Causes of Famine ,

While famines were raging with ever increasing frequency and intensity, the Government contented itself with appointing Famine Commissions, and adopting, as best it could, the temporary measures of alleviation suggested by them. But the Government never tried to understand—-at least affected not to understand,—the root causes of the famine. The most important was the lack of industry and manufacture which forced a much larger number of people to take to agriculture than it could support. These people, practically 80 or 90 per cent, of the population, had no other industry to look to for support. This point was brought out in the Famine Commission Report of 1880, as the following passage will show:

“At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments”.

But, as has been shown above, far from encouraging industry and manufacture in India, the British Government used its political power to stifle even the infant industry and manufacture which the Indians tried to set up against heavy odds. It was Lord Lytton who appointed the Commission of 1880, from whose report the above extract is quoted. He adopted the temporary and tinkering relief measures recommended by the Commission, but had no hesitation in stabbing the infant Indian textile industry at the back at the dictation of Manchester, supported by the Home Government. There is no doubt that the promotion of trade, industry, and manufacture of the Indians would have been the most effective remedy against famine. But it clashed directly with the interests of Britain. The Government of India therefore not only took no step in this direction and thus failed to do the elementary duty of every civilized Government, but did not even hesitate to take measures adversely affecting the economic interests of India.

While the ruin of manufacture and industry forced the masses to take to agriculture as the only means of support, the heavy land revenue filled the cup of their misery. As a consequence of the very heavy assessment of land revenue noted above, 181 the cultivators in most parts of India could not get even two square meals a day, and could hardly lay by anything against bad days. So when natural causes led to failure of crops, as they do in every country, Indian cultivators had no resisting power to tide over the evil days, and simply died like fleas in thousands. The close connection between the assessment of land-revenue and the incidence of deaths from famine was pointed out by Government officials themselves; 182 but the Government clung to the oppressive land revenue policy against the unanimous protest of the Indians and even admonitior of retired senior British officials, as noted above. 83

Another significant feature of the Government policy remains to be noticed in this connection. It is the "rising export of food grains from starving India. The export of food grains, principally rice and wheat, rose from £.858,000 in 1849 to £3.8 million by 1858, £7.9 million by 1877, £9.3 million by 1901, and £19.3 million in 1914, or an increase twenty-two times over". 184

As noted above, the policy was so obstinately pursued by the Government of India that they turned down the proposal of Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to stop the export of rice from this province, a part of which was then in the grip of a terrible famine. Sir George remarks: "I have no doubt that in any other country than a British-governed country it would

have been done.Lord Northbrook, bred in the strictest sect of

English free-traders, looked on my proposal as a sort of abominable heresy —was as much shocked as a bishop might be with a clergyman who denied all the thirty-nine articles.” Ultimately the Government decided to meet the emergency by the purchase and import of food rather than by prohibition of export. Commenting on this curious procedure of importing rice with one hand and exporting it with the other, Sir George observes: “I have often thought over the matter, and to this day I am not convinced that the decision was right. I still incline to the belief that millions of money were sacrificed to an idea, and great efforts and labour were rendered necessary, when a very simple order prohibiting exports would have done almost all that was required by a, self-acting process.” 185

It is not perhaps a mere coincidence that the increase in the export of food-grains from India went on pari passu with the increase in the frequency and intensity of famines. “In the first half of the nineteenth century there were seven famines, with an estimated total of 1£ million deaths from famine. In the second half of the nineteenth century there were twenty-four famines (six between lr851 and 1875, and eighteen between 1876 and 1900), with an estimated total, according to official records, of over 20 million deaths.’’ “Stated roughly, famines and scarcities have been four times as numerous during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century as they were one hundred years earlier, and four times more widespread”. W. S. Lilley, in his India and its Problems , gives the following approximate figures on the basis of official estimates: 186

Years	Famine Deaths
1800-25	1,000,000
1825-50	400,000
1850-75	5,000,000
1875-1900	15,000,000

In the light of all this, the efforts of the Government of India to alleviate the sufferings of the famines lose all humane character and may, at best, be regarded as an humble and inadequate effort to expiate its own grave sins of omission and commission. A cynic might well be excused in describing the Government famine-policy as a sham and a mockery, as much as the ostentatious effort to fill a pitcher, with a big hole, by pouring occasionally glassfuls of water in it to minister to the needs of the thirsty.

IX. POLICE AND PRISON.

1. Police .

Reorganization of the police system, like that of other branches of the administration, received due attention of the Government after 1858. In August, 1860, the Government of India appointed a Commission to investigate into the whole subject of police administration in India and to make suitable recommendations for increasing its efficiency and reducing its high expenditure. The Commission recommended "the abolition of the Military police as a separate organization, and the constitution of a single homogeneous force of civil constabulary for the performance of all duties which could not properly be assigned to the Military arm. To secure unity of action and identity of system, the general management of the force in each Province was entrusted to an Inspector-General. The police in each district were to be under a District Superintendent, who, in the large districts, would have an Assistant District Superintendent, both these officers being Europeans. The subordinate force consisted of Inspectors, Head Constables, Sergeants and Constables, the Head Constable being in charge of a police-station, and the Inspector of a group of stations". The Commission further recommended that "the Commissioners of Divisions should cease to be Superintendents of Police", that no Magistrate of lower grade than the District Magistrate should exercise police functions, and that the village police should be retained on their existing footing, being brought, however, into direct relationship with the general constabulary.

The recommendations of this Commission were embodied in the Police Act of 1861. In reorganizing the Police system in the different Provinces of

India, the provisions of this Act have been mainly followed except in Bombay, where, by section 13 of the District Police Act, the District Superintendent and his staff were placed “under the command and control of the Magistrate of the district”, who in turn was “subject to the lawful orders of the Commissioner.” An InspectorGeneral of Police was appointed in Bombay in 1885. But the Revenue Commissioners there still possessed large powers of direction and control.

When the police was reorganized after 1861, its officers were largely recruited from the ranks of the Indian army. But for certain reasons recruitment from this source was gradually stopped and police officers were appointed by nomination pnly. This mode of appointment was condemned by the Police Service Commission of 1886-87, and from 1893 the system of appointment by open competition was introduced in England and India, and some officers already in Government service were promoted.

But, in spite of all this, the police administration continued to be inefficient and corrupt. The main reasons for this were pointed out by the Police Commission of 1902-03: “It has failed for these among other reasons: that the extent to which the village police must co-operate with the regular police has been lost sight of, and an attempt has almost everywhere been made to do all the police work through the officers of the department; that the importance of police work has been under-estimated and responsible duties have ordinarily been entrusted to untrained and ill-educated officers recruited in the lowest ranks from the lower strata of society; that supervision has been defective owing to the failure to appoint even the staff contemplated by the law, and to increase that staff with the growing necessities of administration; that the superior officers of the department have been insufficiently trained, and have been allowed from various causes to get out of acquaintance and sympathy with the people and out of touch even with their own subordinates; and that their sense of responsibility has been weakened by a degree of interference never contemplated by the authors of the system”

In corformity with the Resolutions of the Government of India, dated 9 July, 1902, and with the approval of the Secretary of State, Lord Curzon appointed a Commission with Sir Andrew Fraser as President and Mr. Stuart (afterwards Sir Harold) as Secretary, to inquire into the state of police administration in India. The Commission worked for seven and a half months and visited all Provinces of British India except Baluchistan. Its report was signed on 30 May, 1903.

The most important recommendations of the Commission were: (1) “That the police force should consist of (a) a European Service, to be recruited entirely in England; (b) a Provincial Service, to be recruited entirely in India; and (c) an Upper Subordinate Service, consisting of Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors; and (d) a Lower Subordinate service, consisting of Head Constables and Constables 5 ’. (2) “That the office of the Inspector-General should ordinarily be held by a selected District Magistrate, and that the Inspector-General of Bombay should be given the same powers as are exercised by Inspector-General in other provinces”. (3) “That all the large provinces should be divided into ranges and that a Deputy Inspector-General should be placed in full administrative charge of each range.” (4) “That no officer of lower grade than that of Superintendent should be placed in charge of the police of a district.” (5) “That on the analogy of the Prqvincial Civil Service a grade of Deputy-Superintendents of Police should be created, the status of these officers being the same as that of Assistant Superintendents.” Some other recommendations were; (1) formation of the Provincial Department of Criminal Investigation and amalgamation of special branch with it; (2) division of districts into circles ’each under the charge of an Inspector: (3) recruitment of a large number of Sub-Inspectors who were to be in charge of police stations, and appointment of junior Sub-Inspectors to assist them in investigation work; (4) Head Constables not to undertake investigation but to render general assistance to the Sub-Inspector, Such as escort, guards, patrols etc; (5) grant of increments of pay to Head Constables and Constables: (6) organization of Railway Police on the lines of the district police; (7) discontinuance of Municipal or cantonment Police but not of Presidency Police; (8) non-interference of the Divisional Commissioners in the details of police administration, but continuance of the general control and direction of the District Magistrate over the police of the District as before.

The major recommendations were implemented by the Government. This may have contributed to efficiency in certain respects. But corruptions were not removed and there was much to be done yet to reform the police system in order to make it conducive to the real interests of the people.

2. Jails .

No improvement was effected in the administration of jails till the position was reviewed by a (the second) Prison Committee appointed by Sir John Lawrence in 1864. Its report followed the same lines as that of the (first) Prison Committee of 1838, mentioned above. 187 It laid down the scheme which was given effect to and had been in force during the period under-review. Separate Acts were passed in different Provinces for regulation of prisons, and consequently the practices differed considerably in different parts of India. In 1876 Lord Lytton appointed a third Prison Committee, and a Bill was prepared on the basis of its recommendations, but the Bill never became law and the question was allowed to drop. In the time of Lord Dufferin experienced officers were appointed to visit the jails of the different Provinces, in order to inquire on the spot into matters relating to health, discipline and general administration. After an exhaustive inquiry they submitted a report in 1889, dealing therein with the various aspects of prison administration. This was followed by a conference of experts on prison reform in 1892. A General Prison Act was passed in 1894, and rules under it were issued by the Government of India and the local Governments. These continued to regulate jail administration iti India in the succeeding years.

The following extracts from the official Gazetteer give a general idea of the system of prisons in India.

“The forms of imprisonment authorized by the Indian Penal Code are transportation, penal servitude, rigorous imprisonment (i.e. with labour), and simple imprisonment. When rigorous imprisonment is inflicted, the court may also order solitary confinement during a portion of the sentence. Accommodation in the jails has also to be provided for civil and under-trial prisoners.

“There are several grades of Indian jails. In the first place, large Central jails for convicts sentenced to more than one year’s imprisonment; secondly, the jails at the head-quarters of Districts; and, thirdly, subsidiary jails in the interior of Districts for under-trial prisoners and convicts under short sentences of imprisonment. In 1903 British. India contained forty Central jails, 192 District jails, and 498 subsidiary jails and lock-ups.

“The Jail department in each Province is under the control of an InspectorGeneral, who is generally an officer of the Indian Medical Service with jail experience, and the Superintendents of Central jails are usually recruited from the same service. The District jail is under the charge of the Civil Surgeon and is frequently inspected by the District Magistrate. The staff under the Superintendent Includes, in large Central jails, a Deputy-Superintendent to supervise the jail manufactures, and in all Central and District Jails, one or more subordinate medical officers.

“The executive staff is divided into two classes. The higher class consists of jailors and deputy and assistant jailors, who form a single Provincial service with promotion from one grade to another. The lower class comprised the warders

for the supervision and guard of prisoners; they also form a graded local service. Convict petty-oflicers are employed in all Central and District Jails...

“The general characteristic of the Indian prison system is confinement in association by day and night. The desirability of separate confinement by night, and of cellular confinement during the first part of long, and the whole of short, sentences,

is recognized.Prisoners are kept separate under the following classes:

persons under trial, females, juveniles, civil prisoners, ordinary convicts, habitual offenders, and sick prisoners. Prisoners under sentence of labour rise at daybreak, take their early meal, work through the morning, are allowed a mid-day interval for rest and Jood, work again until evening, and , after a third meal, are locked up for the night. The hours of work amount to about nine a day.

“There arc three classes of labour—hard, medium and light: and a prisoner is employed on one or another class according to his physical capacity. Work is mostly carried on within the jail walls, but convicts are sometimes employed near the jail, and extra-mural employment on a more extensive scale is approved in the case of projects so large as to make it worth while to erect special accommodation. Within the walls prisoners are employed on jail service and repairs, and in workshops. The main principle laid down with regard to jail manufactures is that the work must be penal and industrial. The industries are on a large scale, "and multifarious employments are condemned, while care is taken that the jail shall not compete with local trade. As far as possible, industries are adapted to the requirements of the consuming public departments; and printing, tent-making, and the manufacture of clothing are among the commonest employments.

“Female prisoners are confined in separate wards of the ordinary jails, wider the charge of female warders. They are subjected to the same discipline as male convicts, the tasks being apportioned to their smaller strength. They are not transferred to Central jails so freely as males, as it is considered inadvisable, except in the case of long-term convicts, to send women to places at a distance from their homes. Lahore contains a special jail for female convicts.

“Boy convicts are confined in special wards, and are divided into children and adolescents. The latter class are kept separate, sleep in cubicles, and are provided with schooling and industrial education.

“Transportation is an old punishment of the British Indian criminal law. Bengal Regulation IV of 1797 authorized the Nizamat Adalat (or superior criminal court) to sentence criminals to transportation beyond the seas. Several places were appointed for the reception of Indian transported convicts, and in 1838 Singapore, Penang, Malacca, Tenasserim, and the Mauritius were used for this purpose. The treatment of the convicts was lenient, and the discipline lax. The Prisons Commission of 1838 approved of the transportation of life convicts, largely on the ground of the terror inspired by banishment, to a distant and unknown land. This terror has in a great measure disappeared, but on the other hand the rigour of the system has been much increased. Port Blair in the Andaman Islands is now the only penal settlement. It was first used in 1858 for Mutiny prisoners, and was opened to general convicts in 1863. In 1902-3 the daily average convict population amounted to 12,182 men and 740 women. Under existing rules male convicts sentenced to transportation for life, or for a term of years of which six have still to run, are transported to the Andamans provided that they are medically fit. Females are transported if sentenced to transportation for seven years or upwards. Ordinarily male convicts sentenced to transportation for life are released, if they have behaved well, after twenty years' imprisonment, and persons convicted of dacoity and other organized crime after twenty-five; but in both cases it is generally

that fifteen years of the period should be passed in the settlement. Thugs and professional prisoners are never released. Well-behaved female convicts are released after fifteen years, and in the case of local marriage husband and wife are liberated at the same time... The settlement is administered by a Superintendent aided by a staff of European assistants and native subordinates". 1 *

X. LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

1. Rural areas.

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As noted in the earlier volumes 189 of this series, India developed, even in remote antiquity, a highly efficient and useful system of local government which survived the repeated shocks of political convulsions till the early years of the 19th century. Sir Charles Metcalfe gave an eloquent testimony to its vitality in the following words: "The Village Communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindu, Pa than, Moghal, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are masters in turn, but the Village Communities remain the same „19 °

Perhaps under the stress of changing circumstances the British masters did not revitalize these indigenous institutions of the country, but built up gradually a new system of their own. For some time they worked through the surviving institutions or improvised others according to needs. In Bengal, Regulations were passed in 1816 and 1819, which authorized the Government to levy money for the construction and repair of roads, bridges and drains, and for maintenance of ferries. The Government worked in such matters with the assistance of local consultative committees, with the Magistrate as secretary, in the respective districts. Voluntary funds for local improvements were raised in Madras and Bombay. Between 1865 and 1869 legislation was passed in Madras and Bombay legalizing levy of cesses on land for such purposes. An Act of 1869 authorized the Bombay Government to make provision for expenditure on matters of local public utility and to form committees for administration of such funds, not only-in the district as a whole but also in the sub-divisions.

Lord Mayo's decentralization scheme of 1870 191 was a significant step in the direction of local self-government. In the next year Acts were passed in the different Provinces providing for the levy of rates and the constitution of local committees to administer the funds. These committees, with an official chairman for each, were constituted by official and non-official nominees of the Government and were under Government control. These acted mostly as Government agencies.

The liberal administration of Lord Ripon is memorable for its famous Resolution of 1882 on Local Self-Government. Lord Ripon’s Government expressed, as follows, their object in extending the principles of self-government:

“It is not, primarily, with a view to improvement in administration, that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular ’education. His Excellency in Council has himself no doubt that in course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely upon local administration, improved efficiency will in fact follow. But at starting, there will doubtless be many failures, calculated to discourage exaggerated hopes, and even in some cases to cast apparent discredit upon the practice of self-government itself. If, however, the officers of Government only set themselves, as the Governor-General in Council believes they will, to foster sedulously the small beginnings of the independent political life; if they accept loyally and as their own the policy of the Government, and if they come to realise that the system really opens to them a fairer field for the exercise of administrative tact and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it supersedes, then it may be hoped that the period of failures will be short and substantial progress will very soon become manifest ". 1 * 9

Making allowance for "local peculiarities," the Resolution first laid down certain fundamental principles to be universally followed for general advance. A network of Local Boards was to be maintained and extended throughout the country. These were to be "charged with definite duties and entrusted with definite funds". To "ensure among the members both local interest and local know^ ledge", it was considered very important that "the area of jurisdiction allotted to each Board should in no case be too large". The smallest administrative unit—"the sub-division, the taluk or the tahsil "—was ordinarily to "form the maximum area to be placed under a Local Board", though there might be smaller units of primary boards with jurisdiction over small areas. It was laid down in the Resolution that the Local Boards, "both urban and rural, must everywhere have a large preponderance of non-official members. In no case ought the official members to be more than one-third of the whole". The non-official members were to hold office for at least two years after election or appointment. Members of the Local Boards were to be "chosen by election wherever it may, in the opinion of the Local Governments, be practicable to adopt that system of choice". The Governor-General in Council did not "require the adoption of the system of election in all cases" and wished to establish it "as widely as local circumstances will permit". "The single vote, the cumulative vote, election by wards, election by the whole town or tract, suffrage of more or less extended qualification, election by castes or occupation—these and other methods might all be tried". Non-official persons were to act, "wherever practicable", as Chairman of the Local Boards.

Provision was, however, made for the control of the Provincial Government over the Local Bodies. In the first place, sanction of the executive authorities was required for the validity of certain acts “such as the raising of loans, the imposition of taxes in other

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than duly authorized forms, the alienation of Municipal property, interference with any matters involving religious questions or affecting the public peace, and the like”. In the second place, the Provincial Government was to have “power either to set aside altogether the proceedings of the Board in particular cases, or, in the event of gross and continued neglect of any important duty, to suspend the Board temporarily, by the appointment of persons to execute the office of the Board until the neglected duty had been satisfactorily performed”. Further, the appointment of Chairman was to be subject to the approval of the Government.

In pursuance of the policy underlying the above mentioned Resolution, Local Self-Government Acts were passed in the different Provinces in 1883-1884. But the high hope raised by Ripon’s liberalism was blasted owing to the unsympathetic and illiberal attitude of the bureaucracy. The Indian National Congress continued to press, from its early days, for a truly liberal and democratic local self-government.

2. Totons.

Lord Ripon’s Government took an important step also in regard to municipal administration of towns. Previously local administration of the towns varied in principle and procedure. The first attempt to introduce municipal government, outside Presidency towns, was made by an Act passed in 1842. This Act, applicable only to Bengal, was to enable “the inhabitants of any place of public resort or residence to make better provision for purposes connected with public health and convenience”. But being based upon the voluntary principle, this Act “could take effect in no place except on the application of two-thirds of the householders, and as the taxation enforceable under it was of a direct character, the law nowhere met with popular acceptance”. The Act of 1842 was repeated in 1850, and Act XXVI of this year for municipal^ administration of country towns was applicable to the whole of British India. This Act was permissive in nature. By it the “Government of any Province was empowered to bring it into operation in any town only when satisfied that the application to that effect is in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants.... The Government was then authorized to appoint the Magistrate and such number of inhabitants as may appear necessary to be Commissioners, on whom large powers (were) conferred for making rules and provision was made

for taxation by indirect methods. It is under this power that the levy of octroi-duties, now so common, first became legal in India'*. This Act was practically inoperative in Madras and Bengal, though it was considerably used in Bombay and the North-Western Provinces. 193

Gradually there was growing consciousness about the need for further municipal legislation, and Acts were passed for Madras in 1665, for Bengal in 1864 and 1868, for the Panjab in 1867, and for the Central Provinces, Awadh and the North-Western Provinces in 1868. These Acts provided for election in constituting municipalities and also the levy of local taxes. But nowhere was election introduced, except to some extent in the Panjab and the Central Provinces.

The Resolution of 1870 on Provincial Finance envisaged extension of local supervision and control of the funds meant for education, sanitation, medical help and local public works, and therewith increased opportunities for the development of self-government. 194 In order to achieve this object new Municipal Acts were passed in the different Provinces, namely for Madras in 1871, and for13ombay, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces, the Panjab and the Central Provinces in 1873. These Acts, besides widening the sphere of municipal administration, provided for extension of the elective principle. But this principle was not introduced successfully anywhere, except in the Central Provinces. 195 In Bengal the system of election was adopted only in three, and in Madras in four towns only. In NorthWestren Provinces election was tried in a large number of towns, but the result was not very encouraging. On the whole, nothing like a resporfsible municipal government had as yet come into being. In most cases the members of the Municipal Committees were dependent, for all practical purposes, on the District Magistrate, and the Municipalities were virtually under Government control. Municipal Government, as Lord Hobart, Governor of Madras ,observed in 1874, was "an oligarchy dependent upon a superior power which may control its action to almost any conceivable extent". 196

Matters stood thus when Lord Ripon's Government introduced its famous Resolution on Local Self-Government in May, 1882. 197 Referring to the results of the policy, enunciated in 1870, this Resolution said: "Considerable progress.. .had been made since 1870. A large income from local rates and cesses had been secured, and in some Provinces the management of this income had been freely entrusted to local bodies. Municipalities had also increased in number and usefulness. But there was still a greater inequality of progress in different parts of the country than varying local circumstances

seemed to warrant. In many places services admirably adapted for local management were reserved in the hands of the central administration, while everywhere heavy charges were levied on Municipalities in connection with the Police, over which they had necessarily no executive control".

Lord Ripon's Resolution of May, 1882, provided for the introduction of principles of self-government in the municipalities. According to it, the actual municipal administration was to be transferred to the elected representatives of the people working under a non-official Chairman, though the ultimate supervision, control and superintendence remained with the Government. It was further proposed that the charges for the maintenance of the town police, hitherto paid out of municipal revenues, should be met by Government, and Municipalities should spend equivalent sums on education, medical relief- and local works of public utility. Acts were passed in 1883-84, which modified the constitution, powers and functions of the muncipal bodies and provided for the compulsory election of a large proportion of municipal Commissioners varying from one-half to three-quarters. Provision was also made for the election of a Chairman in place of the Executive officer, who had hitherto held the post. But, for several years the District Officer continued to be elected the Chairman at many places. Gradually, however, most of the Municipalities came to elect a non-official as Chairman. 197 *

3. Presidency Towns.

In the Presidency towns, which were the earliest seats of British authority in India, municipal administration evolved on a pattern different from that of the District towns. From comparatively early times, the Presidency towns had some sort of municipal administration, first under Royal Charters and later under Statutes. A Statute of George III authorized the Governor-General to appoint Justices of the Peace in these towns. Besides their judicial duties, the Justices of the Peace were given the powers to provide for police and sanitation in these towns by appointing scavengers and watchmen, and to levy rates for these purposes on owners and occupiers of houses and lands.

But this arrangement did not work satisfactorily. "The Justices as a body did not take much interest in their work, and their power was gradually concentrated in the hands of the Chief Magistrate, who was helped in Calcutta by the Superintendent of Police to collect the taxes and to supervise the work of conservancy". 198

Acts were passed in 1856 to improve the state of municipal administration in the Presidency towns, and three Commissioners were

appointed for each of them. One of these Acts provided for the conservancy and improvement of the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and another for more regular assessment and collection of rates. The Act meant for Calcutta contained special provisions for gaslighting and for the construction of sewers.

But there were many defects in the new system. "Responsibility was divided among.the three commissioners: residents were not associated in any w T ay with the administration; there was no power to raise the necessary funds, while proper audit control was completely lacking''. 199 Henceforth, efforts were made in each Province on different lines for the improvement of municipal administration in the Presidency towns. In Calcutta the Act of 1863 vested the municipal government of the town in a corporation, consisting of the Justices of the Peace for the Town, with executive authority concentrated in the hands of a salaried Chairman appointed by the Government. The position of the Chairman was strengthened by his being appointed Commissioner of Police. Armed with such authority and provided with funds by the raising of house-rates and waterrates, Sir Stewart Hogg took steps for drainage and water supply. Only 25 out of about 129 Justices of the Peace, qualified to sit in the Corporation, took active part in municipal affairs. So, soon an amending Act provided that “the resident Justices for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should no longer be ex-officio members of the Municipal Corporation, but that only such of them as might be from time to time specially nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor should be members”.

But the remodelled municipal government did not work properly. There was lack of harmony and co-ordination between the Justices of the Peace and the executive. The constitution of the Corporation of Calcutta was modified hy a Consolidating Act of 1876. By it direct election by rate-payers was introduced and the number of Commissioners on the Corporation was fixed at 72, two-thirds of whom were to be elected and one-third appointed by Government. Some improvements followed it in respect of drainage, water supply, sewerage and conservancy. In 1882 the number of Commissioners, elected by the rate-payers, was raised to fifty and the area of the municipality was extended by the inclusion of some suburban areas.

The growth of self-government in the city of Calcutta was checked in Lord Curzon’s regime. By the Act of 1899 the number of Commissioners, elected by rate-payers, was reduced to one-half of the total strength, and the rest were to be appointed, fifteen by the Local Government, four each by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Calcutta Trades Association, and two by the Port Commissioners. The Chairman, appointed by the Government, was vested with enormous independent powers. The powers of the Corporation were confined to fixing rates of assessment and laying down some general policy. Between the Chairman and the Corporation was a General Committee of twelve, of whom four were selected by the ward Commissioners, four by the other Commissioners, and four were appointed by the Local Government. The plea for introducing this measure to curtail the powers of the people's representatives was that there was very little work and too much of talk in the Corporation, and effective action would be possible only through a strong executive, free from the control of the Corporation or its Committees.

This retrogade and undemocratic step naturally evoked strong popular protest. Describing it as an “unfortunate measure", Mr. R. C. Dutt remarked in his Presidential Address at the Indian National Congress (1899): “I have seen year after year the improvements effected, the sanitary reforms done, the wasteful expenditure cut down, and every department of the office brought to order by the elected Commissioners within the last twenty-five years, some of the best men whom our country produced, and who have given years of their life to their patriotic work. Their work has been consistently rcognised in past years by successive rulers of the land, but it is necessary to give a dog a bad name in order to hang it, and it was reserved for Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who was a friend of self-government under the administration of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon, to end his career in India by giving the Self-Government system in Calcutta a bad name, and then effectually strangling it". Surendra Nath Banerji vehemently denounced it in the Bengal Legislative Council. While opposing the bill for the last time on the last day of the debate, 27th September, he observed that the date “will be remembered by future generations of Bengalees as that which marks the extinction of local self-government in Calcutta”. Protesting against this Act, twenty-eight members of the Calcutta Corporation, including Surendra Nath, tendered their resignation.

In Bombay, the Municipal Act of 1865 constituted a corporate body of 500 Justices of the Peace for town administration. Executive powers were, however, vested in the hands of the Chairman, who was a highly paid Government official. An independent Controller of Accounts was appointed and his signature was required for every item of expenditure. But this arrangement did not work satisfactorily. The Controller of Accounts could hardly exercise any independent authority and remained subordinate to the Chairman. Further, a body 4>f five hundred proved to be too unwieldy for guidance or check.

Changes were introduced by the Bombay Municipal Act of 1872. The numerical strength of the Corporation was reduced to sixtyfour members, of whom thirty-two were to be elected by the ratepayers, sixteen elected by the resident Justices of the Peace, and sixteen nominated by the Government. The Chairman continued to exercise, as before, full executive authority. The post of the Controller of Accounts was abolished, but a Town Council, as a Standing Committee of the Corporation, was to audit the accounts weekly, and there was to be a monthly audit by paid auditors. This system worked with good results and continued till the end of the nineteenth century with slight modifications.

The system of municipal administration by three Commissioners continued at Madras till 1867. By legislation passed in that year in order to associate the people with municipal administration, the town was divided into eight wards, with four councillors appointed in each by Government. Executive power remained solely with the President. Some new sources of income were provided, but still there

was no adequate fund for improved municipal work.

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Act V of the Madras Council for the year 1878 provided for the election of sixteen out of the thirty-two members of the Corporation by the rate-payers, but the President and the two Vice-presidents were salaried Government officials. The elective system was further extended by Act I of 1884, when twenty-four out of the thirty-two members were elected by the rate-payers. But the difficulties due to lack of funds still continud.

In 1984 a new Municipal Act was passed on the lines of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899. This reduced the number of Commissioners elected by the rate-payers to twenty, out of thirty

six, and gave special representation to the commercial interests in the town.

Thus through various measures, municipal administration in the Presidency towns had developed a few important features, namely, a limited electorate, a strong executive in the hands of a Government official, certain safeguards for control over finance and auditing of accounts, and statutory provision for such works as sanitation, water supply, etc. The Government had the right to interfere in cases of mismanagement or negligence. There was no real self-government in the Municipalities and Government control was maintained over them in many respects There was, however, a growiiig consciousness in the country for making municipalities self-governing and efficient.

Mr. R C. Dutt significantly observed in 1899: “The aptitiide for selfgovernment in towns and villages is, in India, a heritage of 3000 years, and tp seek to ignore it is an administrative blunder and a confession of our own incompetency”,

XL MILITARY ADMINISTRATION.

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Reference has been made above 200 to the organization of the army up to the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. After the suppression of the Mutiny and the direct assumption of the Government of India by the British Crown, the re-organization of the army in India naturally became a question of first-rate importance/ The lessons of the Mutiny were not lost upon the British, and three fundamental principles formed the basis of the new policy, namely, (1) increment of British troops and reduction of the Indian element; (2) general mixtures of all castes! and classes in the native regiments in order to destroy the unity and therewith the predominance of any particular element (jthis policy of division and counterpoise was known as the balancing of communities in the Army); (3) removal of the sepoy element as far as possible from the artillery.

These ideas dominated the military policy for the fifty years that followed the great Mutiny of 1857. The first important question to be decided was the form-of the European army to be maintained for Indian Service. The Governor-General, Lord Canning, and some others were in favour of local European army formed for permanent service in India. *But it was finally decided that the European element should be composed of the British army, regiments and batteries being posted in India.

The Last India Company’s European troops, then numbering above 15,000, were transferred to the service of the Crown and they were made “liable to service wherever ordered”. The local European troops protested against this arrangement, which was called at that time the White Mutiny. “Much discontent, a good deal of open insubordinaion, and even more covert disaffection, were manifested, and 10,000 men took their discharge”. 201 The European infantry regiments, including those raised during the troubles of 1857-59, became regiments of the line and numbered from 101 to 109. The Bengal, Madras and Bombay artillery, and the corresponding corps of Indian Engineers were amalgamated with the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers. 202 The Act of 1860 put an end to the existence of European troops as a separate force for local service in India. The naval force of the East India Company came to an end in 1863, and the defence of India was undertaken bv the Royal Navy.

A Royal Commission, appointed to advise on matters relating to army reorganization, recommended that the British force should be 80,000 strong, and that the proportion of native troops to it should not be more than two to one in the. Bengal army and three to one in Madras and Bombay. Another recommendation of the Commission was that “native regiments should be formed by a general mixture of all classes and castes”. 203

The native armies stood as follows after reconstitution, announced in 1861: 204

Table captionCavalry Artillery Infantry regiments Batteries battalions

Bengal ainiv	19	• •	49
Madras army	4	• •	40
Bombay army	7	2	30

Punjab Frontier Force	G	5	12
Local Corps	9 • • Art		o
.Hyderabad contingent	4	4	G

There were also four regiments of Gurkhas, as a part of Bengal army, and a fifth as unit of the Punjab Frontier Force.

Though there was reduction in total strength of the native armies, the number of British element increased. Thus in 1864, in the aggregate strength of 205,000 men in these armies, 65,000 were British.

To make the appointments in the native armies, held by British officers, more attractive, they were to be regarded as holding staff appointments, carrying alowances in addition to pay of rank. In the military establishments in each of the three Presidencies, the officers were graded in a Staff Corps, recruited from the Queen’s and the Company’s service. There remained also, in each Presidency, two other small bodies of officers, one consisting of officers of the armies as existed before 1857, and the other of officers who had received commission since then. The Company’s military college at Addiscombe was closed and ail new appointments to the Staff Corps were to be made only from the British army. Promotions in the Staff Corps were fixed by length of service. Officers, after twelve years’ service f subsequently reduced to eleven and later to nine), were to become Captains, after twenty years’ Service (reduced afterwards to eighteen), Majors, after twenty-six, Lieutenant-Colonels, and after thirty-one, Colonels.

For many years following the reorganization, reviewed above, there was no change in the establishment of the three armies, but various changes took place in dress, equipment and armament. Soon, however, the menace of Russian advance and the troubles of Afghanistan brought the question of army reforms to the forefront during the administration of Lord Lytton. “The Afghan War of 1878-80, Involving the employment of a considerable army and a strain upon the military resources, was fruitful of lessons in every branch of the art of war and of army organisation”. 206 For advice about further reorganization of the army in view of the growing military needs, Lord Lytton assembled the Army Organisation Commission of 1879. After an extensive inquiry,»this Commission recommended some important reforms, many of which were eventually carried out. “The only immediate outcome was the reduction (in 1881) of four regiments of native cavalry and eighteen of native infantry, and an addition of one British officer to each of the remaining corps. The strength of each regiment was at the same time generally increased from 499 to 550 of all ranks in the cavalry, and from 712 to 832 in the infantry”. 206 The Panjdeh incident, the growing apprehension of war with Russia, and the Third Burmese War caused immense anxieties to the Government of India and led to the augmentation of British and native troops in India, bringing the strength of the former to 73,500 and of the latter to 154,000.

The pressure of dangers from outside also made the British Government more careful and vigilant about the organization and efficiency of their armies in India; so their composition was considerably changed. Since 1873 the more martial races like the Sikhs, the Pathans and the Gurkhas replaced to a large extent old Hindustanis and Southerners. After the Third Burmese War, eight Madras regiments, considered not to be quite efficient, were converted into Burma regiments, composed of the more warlike races of North-West India, and were quartered permanently in Burma. Recruitment of the Telingas was stopped in 1895. Between 1902 and 1904 “two of the Madras regiments were converted into battalions of Moplahs, one into a Gurkha corps, and nine into battalions of Panjabis; and the cavalry regiments, which in 1891 had been converted from four three-squadron into three four-squadron regiments, were stiffened by a large infusion of personnel from the Panjab”. 207

Certain changes were introduced to improve army organization. In 1891 the Staff Corps of the three Presidency armies were amalgamated into one “Indian Staff Corps”. In 1903 this was renamed the Indian Army. By the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of the year 1893, the offices of Commander-in-Chief in Madras and Bombay were abolished, and the control of the Local Governments over the two armies was withdrawn. This measure was put into effect in April, 1895. This year the three old Presidency armies were organized into four Army Commands, named after Bengal, Madras,

Bombay and the Panjab, each under a Lieutenant-General But in 1907 the four Army Commands were transformed into Army Corps Commands, each Corps having two or more divisions.

Besides the regular forces of the Crown, the Imperial Service Tropps were utilized by the Government for military purposes. During the jSecond Afghan War contingents of troops supplied to Government by some Panjab States rendered valuable service on the frontier, and when in 1885 war with Russia seemed imminent, the Princes of India placed their resources at the disposal of the Government. Out of this oifer was constituted in 1889 what came to be called the Imperial Service Troops In peace time they remained under the control of the States furnishing them and were commanded by Indian officers. But they were under the supervision of the British inspecting officers who were responsible to the Foreign Department of the Government of India. The cost of the Imperial Service Troops was borne by the Indian States, but the charges for the British inspecting staff were met from the revenues of British India. Lord Curzon also organized the Imperial Cadet Corps consisting of about twenty young men of high lineage who were trained in the Chiefs' College.

During the administration of Lord Curzon an intricate constitutional issue arose regarding army administration in India. Since 1861 the Government of India exercised supreme control over the army in India through the Military Member of the Governor-General's Council. The Military Member was an officer of the British or Indian Army, presided over the Military Department, and "was the constitutional adviser of the Viceroy on questions relating to the Army". But the Secretary of State for India appointed the Commander-In-Chief to be an extraordinary member of the GovernorGeneral's Council. As head of the army, the Commander-in-Chief was responsible for movements of troops and for their promotion and discipline. This created an anomalous situation, leading often to misunderstanding between the Military Secretariat and the Army

Headquarters. Further, when the Commander-in-Chief had to make any proposal, he was required to do so through the Military Member, an officer of lower rank than his.

This system was attacked by Lord Kitchener, who arrived in India as Commander-in-Chief in November, 1902. He proposed the creation of an Army Department under the Commander-in-Chief, with complete authority over the entire business of military administration. But Lord Curzon, supported by the ordinary members of his Council, refused to accept it on the ground that the "tendency of the scheme was to concentrate military authority in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and to subvert the supremacy of the civil power by depriving it of independent military advice". 208 In a despatch, dated 23 March, 1905, the Government of India expressed their emphatic conviction that the Military Member was an essential element in th$ Government of India. The following passage in this despatch sums up their argument: "His Majesty's Government may be invited to consider the position that would be produced in England if a Commander-in-Chief of the British Army possessed a seat in the Cabinet, if he were the sole representative of the Army there, if he enjoyed the power and rank of the Secretary of State for War in addition, and if His Majesty's Ministers were called upon to aocept or reject his proposals with no independent or qualified opinion to assist them. And yet this is precisely the situation which we are asked to accept by Lord Kitchener in India."

Mr. Brodrick, the Secretary of State, appointed a Committee to consider the question, from which a sub-committee was afterwards appointed. The sub-committee did not adopt Kitchener's proposals in their entirety. It recommended the transformation of the Military Department into a Department of Military Supply and the limitation of the Military Member to the control of Army contracts, the purchase of stores, ordnance, remounts, military works, clothing and the medical and marine services. The Military Member should be the adviser of the Governor-General in Council "on questions of general policy, as distinct from purely military questions". The last statement was somewhat vague, but for that very reason left the door open for a compromise. When, therefore, the sub-committee's recommendations were practically accepted by the Committee and endorsed .in the despatch of the Secretary of State, dated May 31, and Lord Curzon thereupon resigned on 27 June, certain modifications were proposed by the Government of India on 6 July, 1905, and they were accepted by the Secretary of State and Kitchener. The principal feature of the compromise was that the new Supply Member "should be available for official consultation by the Viceroy on all military questions without distinction, and not only upon questions of general policy, or when cases are marked for Council". But the Secretary of State and the Government of India interpreted this passage differently, and their views about the essential function of the Supply Member were consequently very different. This became apparent when Lord Curzon recommended the name of General Barrow for the post of Supply Member. The Secretary of State did not accept the advice but thought that the Supply Member should have some technical experience as he would be in charge of the manufacturing departments. As Lord Curzon pointed

out, the Secretary of State desired to choose a man for technical experience of military stores and supplies whereas he (Curzon) was thinking of a man who should also be qualified to give advice to the Government of India on general military questions. "Position is therefore," said Curzon in his telegram of August 5, "in principle, almost exactly where it was when I resigned in June, and the main conditions which caused me to resign on that occasion have again been called into being". Lord Curzon was naturally piqued when the Secretary of State asked him to recommend other names for the Supply Member after consulting Lord Kitchener. The views of the Secretary of State endorsed by the Cabinet, and the detailed scheme prepared by Kitchener, left no doubt in the minds of Curzon that his "second Military adviser was meant to be a lay figure and that the Supply Department was to be far more an empty shell than he had expected". So Lord Curzon tendered his resignation on 12 August, 1905, and left India in the month of November of that year. 208 ® Since 1907 the Commander-in-Chief became the sole authority, under the Government of India, responsible for military administration in India.

The maintenance of huge army establishments in India, to serve the interests of the British empire, entailed an enormous strain on the financial resources of this country. The cost of the British troops in India had been always met out of the Indian revenues. By an Act of the reign of George III, the Company had "to pay to the king, in the East Indies, two lakhs of current rupees per annum for each and every regiment consisting of 1,000 men". In 1788 this was changed to a charge for "raising, transporting, and maintaining such forces". Between 1834 and 1857 the average payment was about £195,000 a year. In view of the large increase of expenses, a capitation rate of £10 was fixed in 1860-61. But this plan was given up for one based on actual expenses. After some years* discussion, a capitation rate of £7J was introduced in 1890-91. "This 'capitation rate* is based on the charges for enlisting and training the recruit, the pay of young officers before they go to India, a share of the cost of educational establishments, and the expenses of men sent home time-expired or invalided. It does not include 'deferred pay* or gratuities, and transport and non-effective charges are paid separately". 209

From 1876 there was a tremendous increase in army expenditure in India, and in 1904-5 the expenditure represented 46 per cent, of the net revenue of the Government of India. To add to this, there was also expenditure for special defence works and military operations. In May 1895, a Royal Commission was appointed, with

Lord Welby as its President, "to enquire into the administration and management of the Military and Civil expenditure incurred in India" and "the apportionment of charge between the Governments of the United Kingdom and of India for purposes in which both are interested." The Commission reported finally in 1900 and recommended continuance of the Capitation Charge of £ 7.10s. on every British soldier sent out to India. They held that half the military charge for Aden, and half the cost of the transport of troops to and from India should be paid by the Imperial Government. Regarding the point that the Army in India was kept and used largely for imperial purposes of Great Britain, they wrote: "When the time of revising the present arrangement arrives, the exceptional position of India as to military charges should be borne in mind. If, on the one hand, she imposes a certain strain on the Imperial resources in the supply of services which she properly pays, on the other, she renders services to the Imperial Government which should not be disregarded." On the question of the payment of Indian troops sent out for military action, the Commission expressed the view that “ordinarily all charges in respect to troops lent must be borne by the country which had a special interest in the expedition, but that if the country supplying the troops had also a direct and substantial interest, it should bear a portion of the burden”. It was pointed out that India had no “direct and substantial interest” in the employment of troops in Europe, in Africa west of the Cape of Good Hope, or in Eastern Asia, but that “she had a direct and substantial interest in keeping open the Suez Canal and in matters affecting Siam, Persia, the Arabian coast, Afghanistan and Central Asia”. In spite of these recommendations, the problem of heavy military expenditure remained unsolved.

XII. COMMUNICATION, TRANSPORT, AND IRRIGATION.

1. Railways.

Reference has been made above 210 to the formation of British Companies to open Railway lines in India under the Guarantee System. By 1859 eight Companies 211 were formed for the construction of nearly 50,000 miles of line. But the Guarantee System produced various evils affecting the interests of the Government and the people of this country. It caused wastage and extravagance and entailed a heavy drain on the country’s resources. By 1869 the deficit on railway budget amounted to Rs. 1,66,50,000. The Companies with State guarantee of 5 per cent, or 4£ per cent, profits on the outlay did not have incentive for economy or convenience of the travellers.

The defects of this system were pointed out by several persons of high rank and authority as witnesses before the Parliamentary Cornhiittees of 1871, 1872, 1873 and 1874. One of them, William Thorn, ton, strongly referred to hastiness and carelessness in drawing up the contracts. “I think”, he observed, “that the contracts are perfect disgrace to whoever drew them up, for they. contradict themselves two or three times in the course of their several clauses, and they are seldom appealed to for the protection of Government interests without turning out to be practically worthless for that purpose", "This is the necessary result", he added, "of the way in which they are drawn up, that a railway having been commenced on the understanding that a certain guarantee would be given by the Government whatever the railway might cost, the Government is practically oound to continue the guarantee of interest upon the expenditure. Therefore, of course, the undertakers of the railway, the Company, are deprived of one of the great inducements to economy; they know that whatever blunders they make these blunders will not prevent their getting full current interest on their expenditure". Sir John Lawrence, as Viceroy of India, strongly condemned the extravagance of the Indian Railways in a Minute, dated the 9th January, 1869, and as a witness before the Parliamentary Committee of 1873 he observed: I think it is notorious in India among almost every class that has ever had talk on the subject, that the railways have been extravagantly made; that they have cost a great deal more than they are worth, or ought to have cost".

In March, 1869, the Government of India had addressed the Secretary of State for India, drawing his attention to the serious liabilities of the State under the system of 'Guaranteed' railways. In July of the same year, the Secretary of State replied to the Gov. ernment of India accepting their views. The time had come, he held, when "both in raising and in expending such additional capital as may be required for new lines in India, the Government should secure for itself the full benefit of the credit which it lends, and of the cheaper agencies which ought to be at its command". 212

So the Guaranteed System was abandoned and the plan of State Railways constructed by the State through its own agency was introduced. The lines directly constructed by the State agency between 1869 and 1880 were the Indus Valley, Punjab Northern, Rajputana, Malwa, and North Bengal. The total length of State Railway lines, opened by the 31st December, 1880, was 2932 miles.

But the outbreak of dreadful famines in India between 1874 and 1879, the strain of the Second Afghan War and fall in the gold value of silver caused financial difficulties, which "dealt the coup-de-grace to the policy of pure State construction and management. In England, also, a feeing of hostility towards State enterprise was again surging up". 213 Replying to a letter from Lord Lytton's Government, the Secretary of State, Lord Hartington, wrote: "In the case of railways, I do not doubt that Your Excellency will bear constantly in mind the importance, whenever possible, of ensuring their construction by private capital either local or European" Moreover, the Famine Commission Report of 1880 urged the construction of additional 5000 miles of railways for combating the evils of the famines.

In view of the new factors noted above, the Government took recourse to a new "guarantee system" with certain changes in the old terms. The modifications were as follows: (1) The lines constructed by the Companies were to be considered as the property of the Secretary of State for India, who was given the right to terminate the contracts approximately twenty-five years after their respective dates, or at subsequent intervals of ten years, on repayment of the capital supplied by the Companies; (2) the rate of interest for the capital provided by the Companies was lowered, the usual rate being 3| per cent.; (3) the Government could keep for themselves a larger share of surplus profits, usually three-fifths.

Through 'unaided private enterprise' four Companies were started: the Nilgiri, the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka, the Bengal Central, and the Bengal-North-Western. But this enterprise did not prove successful. The Indian States were also invited to construct railways in their respective territories independent of Government aid, and a beginning in this respect was made with the Nizam's State Railway covering a length of 330 miles.

Because of the fall in exchange w r ithin a few years, the Government considered it necessary to reduce their gold liabilities. So in 1893 one more attempt was made to manage railways through Companies. But as guarantee might affect sterling liabilities, a policy of granting subsidy, in the shape of rebates, to encourage construction of feeder or branch lines, was adopted.

The rebate system did not, however, prove quite attractive; so in 1896 "the branch line company was offered an absolute guarantee of three per cent, with a share of surplus profits, or a rebate to the full extent of the main line's earnings in supplement of their own, the total being limited to 3| per cent, on the capital levy”. 214 But the 1896 terms also proved to be as unsatisfactory as those of 1893. These were criticized in 1903 by Mr. Thomas Robertson, Special Commissioner for Indian Railways, and in 1907-8 by the Mackay Committee on Indian Railwav Finance and Administration. In view

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of these the Government introduced) some modifications in 1913, according to which capital for the branch line might be raised partly under the ‘guarantee system’ and partly under the ‘rebate system',

and there was an increase “in the rate of guarantee from 3 to 3J per cent., and of rebate from 3J to 5 per cent., with equal division of surplus profits between the Government and the Company’’

As regards Railway administration it may be noted that in 1854, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie, a special department of Public Works was formed in the Government of India with subordinate departments for Madras and Bombay. The first incumbent of the post of Secretary to the Government of India for the Department of Public Works was Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Baker of the Bengal Engineers. In 1879, a single Director of Railways was appointed with powers over both the State lines and lines of the Companies, but he remained included in the secretariat organization as Deputy Secretary for Railways. The growth of railways soon necessitated a change. Mr. Thomas Robertson recommended in his report the replacement of the existing system by a Railway Board.

In 1905 the Railway branch of the Secretariat was abolished and a Railway Board was constituted, consisting of a Chairman and two members. The Railway Board was placed directly under the new Department of Commerce and Industry. Administrative functions were in general delegated to this Board, while the Government of India reserved to itself “the final decision in regard to the preparation of the railway programme and the larger question of railway policy and finance”.

- By the end of the nineteenth century a considerable part of the present railway lines had been constructed. But these entailed enormous drain on the resources of India, and the Government had to incur an annual loss on this account. It was in 1899-1900 that a net profit accrued.

2. Roads.

Win* the growth of railways it became more necessary to construct feeder roads at right angles to them. But the trunk roads, running parallel to the railways, were neglected. 216 The extension of local self-government during the regimes of Lord Mayo and Lord Ripon, by investing the local authorities with the responsibility for maintenance of roads, afforded stimulus to the development of roads. By the beginning of the present century roads were classed as (i) metalled; (ii) unmetalled; (iii) banked and surfaced, but not drained; (iv) banked but not surfaced; partially bridged and drained; (v) cleared and partially bridged and drained; and (vi) cleared only. 216

3. Water Transport.

India had a large volume of river traffic and inland navigation in the past. As a matter of fact, most of the great cities flourished on the banks of the rivers. The Ganga, the Bhagirafhi, the Brahmaputra and tho Sindhu were “navigable by steamers all the year round, or for the greater part of the year, for hundreds of miles above their mouths, or above the heads of the navigable canals traversing their deltas”. 217 In Peninsular India, the large rivers like the Narmada and the Tapti were not of use for navigation except at their mouths. On the east coast the rivers like the Mahanadi, the Godavari and the Krishna were navigable for some distance above the heads of their deltas, but the traffic was not very considerable. Besides these limited facilities for inland navigation, there were, round the coast, large number of small rivers, creeks and nullahs affording facilities for water transport which were “fully utilised by small native craft”. But beyond these zones inland navigation was practically confined to the deltas and to the valleys of the great rivers which formed the natural waterways of the country. 218

In studying inland navigation, we have to take note also of canals of two categories—(a) canals which were constructed solely for purposes of navigation; and (b) irrigation canals, also used for navigation. In the former the most important in Madras is the Buckingham Canal which, being connected with one of the branches of the Krishna system, and then running almost due south, skirts the Coromandel coast for a distance of 262 miles and passes through Madras city. In Bengal, two such important works are Calcutta and Eastern canals, and the Nadia rivers. These comprise a length of 735 miles of navigable canals and river channels, and the former provides "a continuous interior line of communication between Calcutta and the Sundarbans, Eastern Bengal, and Assam, for the benefit of steamers, flats, and small crafts constructed for inland waters" 219 The Nadia rivers comprise the Bhagirathi, the Jalangi, and the Mathabhanga on which steamers could navigate from July to October.

As regards the irrigation works, utilized also for purposes of navigation, mention may be made of the Godavari and Krishna Canals in the Madras Presidency. The conditions for navigation in another irrigation work in Madras, the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal, were not satisfactory. In Bengal, Orissa and Bihar, the irrigation works adapted for navigation were the Orissa canals, the Midnapore canals, the Hijli canals, and the three main canals of the Son system. In the United Provinces the main lines of the Lower Ganges Canal and of the Agra Canal are navigable throughout. In the Panjab the only navigable canals were portions of the Western Jamuna and Sirhind systems.

Inland navigation was neglected with the commencement of the construction of railways. The Industrial Commission observed in

1918: "In the absence of a representative specially charged with their interests (that is, those of the existing waterways), the vested interests of the railways have prevented waterways in India from receiving the attention that has been given to them in other countries with, such satisfactory results". As a matter. of fact, the Government of India pursued a definite policy of preferring railways to irrigation works. While the total expenditure on railways came to 125 millions sterling down to March 1880, the total irrigation works cost only twelve millions sterling.

Realizing the importance of canals in India, both for irrigation and transit, Sir Arthur Cotton, the architect of the magnificent Kaveri and Godavari

Works, prepared a scheme of navigable canals, which he placed before a Parliamentary Committee in 1872. “My great point”, he remarked, “is this, that what India wants is water-carriage; that the railways have completely failed; they cannot carry at the price required; they cannot carry the quantities; and they cost the country three millions a year, and increasing, to support them. That steamboat canals would not have cost more than one-eighth that of the railways; would carry any quantities at nominal prices and at any speed; would require no support from the Treasury; and would be combined with irrigation”. 220 The scheme of Cotton to construct a number of navigable canals all over India at a cost of thirty millions sterling was supported by John Bright. But Lord George Hamilton, Under-Secretary of State for India, opposed it in a vigorous speech, and “spoke of Sir Arthur Cotton in terms which the latter resented.” In a reply which he sent to the Secretary of State, Sir Arthur wrote: “Whether it is quite becoming, or for the furtherance of the public service, for a young man who had never been in India, had never seen a tank, an irrigated area, or a mile of steamboat canal', or spoken to a Ryot in the irrigated districts, and was consequently, of necessity, very ignorant of the whole subject, to speak before the House and the world in such contemptuous terms of an officer old enough to be his grandfather.. .is a point which I beg respectfully to offer for the consideration of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State and his Council” 221

In his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commpns in 1878, Sir Arthur Cotton stoutly defended his scheme. First of all he instituted a comparison between railways and water-works In India in the following words: “The Railway account now stands thus:—

Cost of works.£112,000,000

Cost of land.£ 8,000,000

Debt now .£ 50,000,000

Total .. .. £ 170,000,000

for which we have about 7500 miles, or at the rate of £23,000 per mile. At the present cost to the Treasury in interest bn share capital 44 millions, and on land and debt at 4 per cent., 3 millions; total, 74 millions. From which, deducting nett receipts, 44 millions, leaves three millions a year as the Ibss on the money sunk .

“The capital spent on the water-works, including the Toombhadra, is £16,000,000. The accumulation of interest against the Bari Doab, the Ganges, and other canals, are much more than balanced by those to credit on the Kaveri, Krishna, and Godavari works, which have at least 10 millions to their credit, leaving a balance in their favour of 5 millions. So that the money sunk may be taken at £11,000,000, the interest of which at 4 per cent, is half a million, against which we have a nett profit over working expenses of about a million, leaving a nett gain to the Treasury of half a million a year on irrigation works .” 222

But, what was more important still, Sir Arthur Cotton showed that railways were no protection against famines. “I am afraid”, said he, “we must reckon that out of the 40 millions affected by the famine in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Bombay, 4 or 5 millions have perished, after spending 120 millions on railways besides incurring a debt of 50 millions sterling”. And he pointed out forcibly that railways did not provide food for man and beast; did not carry the whole traffic of the country; did not carry it cheaply enough; did not pay interest on cost and debt; did not drain the country, and did not provide drinking water for the people. All this was and could be done by irrigation works.

“Why then were irrigation and navigable canals neglected? If these canals provided cheaper means of transit, why did the Indian Government not construct them?”

“I want to know what is in your mind,” asked Sampson Lloyd, a banker of Brimingham and a member of thb committee, “why any man should dread cheap transit?”

“Because,” answered Sir Arthur Cotton, “it would stultify the railways, that is the sole point. Only think of a canal by the side of the Eastern Bengal Railway which carries some 200,000 tons, and a canal by the side of it carrying 2,000,000 tons, and swarming with passengers and goods. What a terrible affront to the railway that must be”. 223

Sri William Muir, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of NorthWestern Provinces and then Finance Minister of India, in supporting Cotton's scheme referred to another aspect of the question:

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I do not think I have expressed with sufficient emphasis the great value which I attach to the advantages derivable from the large canals such as the Ganges Canal and uumna Canals. The extent of prosperity which has been conferred upon the districts through which they pass is : very great in a general, point of view; and the degree in which the people are preserved from the distress and privations of famine is beyond all calculation a benefit to the country. The advantage also which I spoke of before in saving land revenues, which would otherwise be ih arrear and lost, is also great. And further, there is an' advantage in the country being protected and being preserved from deterioration, which is incidental to land which is affected by famine, that is to say, being protected from the secondary effects of famine which are liable to continue for considerable periods after faminb itself has passed away. Altogether the general improvement and advancement of the Doab, which is due specially to these canals, is a matter which, apart from their immediate financial returns, cannot be overlooked, and must be borne in mind in determining the general advantages derivable from canal irrigation" ***

But it was the immediate financial return on which Lord Georgs Hamilton's Committee laid the greatest emphasis. They pointed out that few of the irrigation works had proved remunerative and they emphatically rejected' the scheme. They attached no importance fo the fact that the Ganga and Jamuna works had increased the prosperity of the people, prevented famines and saved the land revenues from loss in years of drought. They also completely ignored the fact that on the principle enunciated by them the Railway scheme was a far greater blunder as it entailed heavy loss, and its further extension should have been scrapped as soon as possible.

But the shallowness of the findings of the Lord George Hamilton's Committee was exposed by the Madras Finance Commission which commenced its work shortly afterwards. It "came to a conclusion diametrically opposite to that of Lord George Hamilton, both as regards the

immediate returns, and the broad results of irrigation works. The result has been”, so the Famine Commission wrote in respect of irrigation works, “a great advantage to the State, regarded merely from the direct financial return on the money invested; and apart from their value in increasing the wealth of the country in ordinary years, and in preventing or mitigating famine in years of drought”.
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Sir Arthur Cotton’s scheme was rejected partly .because of the ignorance of the English people who were unacquainted with the use of canals, but mainly due to the opposition of the vested interest of the Railways. The Railways benefited the English capitalists Irrigation benefited only the Indians. The choice therefore presented no difficulty to English statesmen of those days.

XIII. GENERAL REVIEW.

The gradual evolution of an efficient system of administration is one of the most remarkable phases of the history of British rule in India. History does not record a similar instance of a body of foreigners devoting so much energy and making such continuous and steady efforts to improve the machinery of government in a dependent or subject country. The details given in Chapters XII and XXVIII show in a conspicuous manner how, by methods of trial and failure, there emerged a framework of administration that Las stood the test of time and may well be regarded as one of the richest legacies bequeathed by the British to India.

The task was indeed a formidable one. A body of foreign merchants had to take up the administration of an empire, of whose people, laws and manners they knew almost next to nothing. They could hardly find any guidance from the administrative system—or lack of it—which presented itself to them, as the result of a century of misrule, anarchy and confusion. The work was rendered more difficult by the radical differences in ideas, interests and outlook between the rulers and the ruled, and to a less degree, among the heterogeneous elements which composed the latter.

Almost every branch of administration had to be built up anew. The most commendable feature of the method followed by the British rulers is the constant endeavour towards progressive reforms, undaunted by failures. This is conspicuously illustrated by the various methods of land-settlement, tried in different regions and different periods, from the first experimental measure adopted by Warren Hastings to the end of the nineteenth century—a period of nearly a century and a quarter. No less remarkable are the various experiments about the administrative functionaries of a district, which was the administrative unit. Reference has been made above to the various changes, made from time to time, in the functions of a Collector, Magistrate and Judge. The changes in the method of administration of law and justice, revenue and finance, recruitment of junior civil services, the gradual evolution of an efficient police force, and development of communication and transport, among other things, indicate the same spirit of progressive reforms throughout the period under review. It has been said of man that his true glory lies, not in never falling, but in rising every time that he falls. Very nearly the same credit goes to the British administrators, as a class.

The process of continuous development sustained by a conscious desire to improve the administration is almost a novel phenomenon in Indian history. That the attempts did not always prove successful and the results attained, not unoften, fell much below the hopes and expectation of the people, have been abundantly shown in the preceding pages. But such criticism of these measures must be tempered by several considerations.

In the first place, it must be remembered that there is no record in history of a body of foreigners ruling over a conquered country from purely philanthropic motives. The idea of exploiting a foreign conquered country, which the rulers do not intend to make their home, may be regarded as almost inherent in human nature, though there may be difference in degree, and in method, among the various conquering nations whose record has reached us. But in making comparative estimates one consideration heavily weighs in favour of the British. By the very nature of circumstances, the British* administrators had to put on record their most secret designs and inmost thoughts, desires, and motives, which ordinarily are never known to outsiders. They, as well as their system, are therefore ruthlessly exposed to criticism such as rarely falls upon other foreign rulers who have, comparatively speaking, left much fewer records of this nature. Much of the criticism directed against the British in this volume is based on such records, which were never intended for public eyes. Ellenborough, Dalhousie, or Lytton. to mention only a few, would probably have appeared in a different light, and their actions much less condemned, if their secret despatches were not revealed to the public gaze. Similarly, the general attitude of the British Government towards India would have been much less exposed to criticism if their correspondence with the Government of India were hidden from public view. A further untoward event of a similar nature was the otherwise praiseworthy activity of a few liberal-minded Britons who unsparingly criticized the conduct of their fellow-countrymen and scathingly condemned their activities in India. In all these respects the British rulers of India have been subjected to misfortunes which have rarely fallen upon other colonial powers like the French, the Dutch or the Spanish. To make matters worse, the people of the British dominions in India were much more advanced in culture and civilization than those of the colonies ruled by the other European nations named above, and hence more quick in their reaction to, and exposure of; injustice and misrule, and more vocal in agitation and public denunciation than has been the case with the other subject nations of European powers.

For all these reasons it is very difficult to form a proper estimate of British rule in India as compared with foreign rule in other countries in the nineteenth century. No less difficult is the task of the historian to form a just view of the general nature of British rule in India. The first question that confronts him is the standard of judgment. A modern historian naturally * looks upon the adminis

tration of nineteenth century India from the same standpoint as he adopts in respect of other countries, and is influenced by the thoughts and ideals with which the latest progress in human culture has made him familiar. The criticism of British rule in this volume also consciously or unconsciously follows the same process. It may be argued, however, that a more rational procedure would be to view the British rule in India in the background of its past history. In other words, the British administrative system is to be judged, not by the standard of Europe in the nineteenth century, but in the light of what prevailed in India, either immediately before the advent of the British, or, more properly, during the best epochs of her history. The first of these alternatives is obviously unfair, as a period of transition can never be regarded as the normal one, and the whole course of Indian history shows how such periods of anarchy and confusion, usually following the downfall of an empire, were always merely preludes to an efficient and stable form of government.

The second alternative, seemingly more rational, suffers from a subtle illusion. It is based on the presumption that India in the nineteenth century, even at its best, would have been more or less a replica.of India under the Mughuls or the Mauryas and the Guptas who had carried the administration to the highest pitch of efficiency. Such a presumption, however, ignores the world tendencies of progress, which undoubtedly influenced even "the Britisli administrators in India. It is,' of course, a moot point to decide how far these tendencies would have operated in India even if the British or any other European power would not have ruled there. It is useless to speculate on a subject like this, but it is not irrelevant to point out that even in contemporary Britain itself the standard of administration was not very high as compared with India, at the time when she passed under British rule. This is proved, among others, by the state of civil and criminal law, administration of justice, the existence of slavery and slave trade, the inactivity of the State regarding education, poor law, and factory labourers, religious intolerance which imposed various disabilities on a section of the population, social and economic inequality, and the absence of any real popular form of Government.

In spite of all these handicaps, the administration of Britain reached a high degree of efficiency by the end of the nineteenth century. The examples of Japan in the nineteenth and of Turkey in the twentieth century demonstrate the capacity of oriental peoples also to progress in the same lines on their own initiative unaided by any foreign interventions. The cases of China or Persia may, no doubt, be cited against such inference, but instances of less progressive nations are not wanting even in Europe, and Spain, Poland or Italy may serve as examples. In view of all these considerations it is difficult to decide, one way or the other, how far India could have evolved an efficient system of administration by her own unaided efforts. Without dogmatizing, therefore, on the benefits of British rule, in the sense generally used, it would be more relevant to our present purpose to refer to the most significant characteristics of the British system of administration in India.

The first thing that strikes the eye is the application of modern humanitarian ideas and scientific inventions of the west to the improvement of administration in India. The spread of modern education in higher branches of art and science, the reform of prisons, care of juvenile offenders, abolition of the barbarous cruelties and tortures of the Medieval Age, improvement of primitive tribes, abolition of slavery and social abuses, etc. may be cited as instances of the former, while improved schemes of famine relief, improvement in transport and communication by means of roads, railways, steamers, telegraphs and cheap postage, new methods of irrigation and scientific development of forests, etc. are the results of the latter.

As a result of the progressive character mentioned above, there is no doubt that the administration reached a high degree of efficiency in the second half of the nineteenth century. The glaring abuses in tn settlement of land-revenue were partially removed, though much still remained to be done to make a real improvement in the miserable condition of the peasants. Indeed the poverty of the masses remained the chief plague-spot in the annals of British Indian administration. Although conclusive evidence is lacking, all the available data indicate a positive worsening of the situation in this respect during the British regime. On the other hand, the executive and judicial branches of administration attained a degree of efficiency which India is not known to have reached at any previous period. And this efficiency was based upon certain fundamental principles which were quite novel in Indian history. The first was the impersonal character of the administration as against personal rule which dominated Indian administration in pre-British period. Personal character, no doubt, still counted for much, but it ceased to be an effective, far less the deciding, factor in an administration which was developed as a machine and worked as such. It was the handiwork of generations of British administrators who, being selected by the severe test of competitive examinations from among the flowers of youth attracted by a high salary, represented almost the very best that Great Britain could offer. It has rarely been the good fortune of a country to be ruled by successive bands of such high intellectuals for more than half a century. No wonder, there, fore, that in spite of the many drawbacks of the members of the Indian Civil Service, they made magnificent contribution to the development of the administrative machinery. The efficiency and freedom from corruption which they displayed as a class were hardly known before, and will probably remain the ideal and despair of many generations of Indians. Except in respect of the Europeans, whose number must always have been very few, as compared with the Indians, the Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors set up a very high standard of impartiality and integrity, and maintained it, to a large extent, among all ranks of subordinate officers. But it was as much due to the individuals occupying these high posts, as to the tradition which they as a body had gradually built up, that the administration worked so successfully and well. “Men may come and men may go, but I go for ever”—never was this line of Tennyson more true than of the administrative machinery set up by the British in India. Members of the I.C.S. came and went, but they formed a part of the machinery, and their individual character hardly influenced its static character. This machinery was so strong and stable that nothing could easily move it off its beaten track,—neither the Governor-General nor even the British Cabinet. It was the steel frame on which the structure of the British Indian empire rested. There might have been tinkerings and decoration on the surface of the building, but the inner frame remained intact down to the end of the British rule. The system, however, had its shortcomings which have been described by a member of the British I.C.S. as follows:

“This machine-like character of the administration was the source of both weakness and strength. Its defect was that it produced a lack of sensitiveness to the feelings of the people and to new currents of thoughts and desires, which sometimes led to trouble. Moreover, it bred a race of administrators who were accused of conscientious aloofness. Indian politicians have often complained that though British officials worked zealously for the country, they did not love or understand its people. This was often not true of individual District Officers and others whose main work was in the villages rather than in their offices, but as an indictment of the spirit of British rule it is not entirely untrue. British Governments in India were apt to consider the welfare rather than the feelings of Indians. This tendency became stronger in the twentieth century when political differences estranged the British officials from the Indian intelligentsia, though not from the rural population”.” 8

This statement very faithfully represents the attitude of the British members of the I.C.S., and there is a ring of truth in it, if we add after the word ‘welfare’ the words, “as they understood it, and subject to the demands of British interests, and their claim for prior

consideration”. The defects pointed out in the above statement will be considered in detail in Chapter XLVIII.

Another important characteristic of British administration was the rule of law rather than of traditions and conventions, and likes, dislikes, whims and desires of persons occupying positions of authority. It is, of course, impossible to eliminate these elements altogether from any system of " administration, but the British carried it to the furthest limits. It was definitely laid down, and worked in practice, that every person was subject to law and not to caprice of any person, however highly placed, and that even the highest executive or judicial functionary was amenable to law. An indirect consequence of all these was the evolution of an elaborate legal system leading to codification of laws, and the creation of a body of trained lawyers, jurists, and judges. All these were not certainly unknown to India in the past, but were probably never carried into practice to the same extent as during the British rule. A corollary of this idea of rule of law was the equality of all before the law, which was an altogether novel feature in India. Nobody occupied any higher legal status than his neighbours or enjoyed any preferential treatment in the law courts, during the British regime. This was certainly unknown to the caste-ridden Hindu society and the Islamic conception of State. Here, again, the European community formed an exception, in both these respects, but the scale was held even between one Indian and another.

Another corollary of the rule of law was the personal liberty enjoyed by the meanest subject in British India. The principle of Habeas Corpus was in force in British India and no one could be arrested or kept in prison, without a written order and except in conformity to legal procedure, even though the Governor-General willed it. It would have appeared incredible to Asoka, Samudragupta, Akbar and Aurangzib, not to speak of others, that their mere verbal order or wish was not sufficient to kill or imprison a person. The Native States of India followed the old rule and offered a striking contrast to British India in this respect.

Another very important and distinctive feature of British administration was its non-interference in social and religious matters. During both the Hindu and Muslim periods, the freedom of an individual was severely circumscribed in these all-important spheres of life. But the British went almost to the opposite extreme. While it indicated its liberal spirit by suppressing glaring cruelties, such as Sati, infanticide, hook-swinging, etc, it seldom interfered in the social and religious customs of the Indians. In this respect the British made a distinct departure from the Hindu and Muslim rule.

Another great feature of the British administration is the restoration of order and security after the anarchy and confusion of nearly a century and half. The suppression of dacoits, particularly of that special branch of it known as Thugs , must be regarded as a remarkable achievement.

Last, but not the least in importance, is the establishment of a uniform system of administration with English as the court language all over this great sub-continent. This, together with the development of transport and communication by means tof improving old roads and building new ones, opening up of railways and telegraphs, and introducing cheap postage, transformed the face of the country and ushered in the conception of one India to which reference will be made in Vol. X.

What has been said above, shows only one side of the picture. The other side is heavily dotted by defects and deficiencies and grave errors of commission and omission, most of which proceeded from the fundamental fact of one country being ruled and exploited for the interest of another. It would be idle to deny the fact that the British rule in India was, in its ultimate analysis, the rule of one people by another people and for another people, in direct violation of the principles of democracy laid down by Abraham Lincoln. The interests of the British people and the safety of British rule in India were the dominant considerations; the welfare of the people was also an important guiding principle, but strictly subordinate to the above two. This fact must be frankly recognized, and if we add to it the excusable ignorance of the British about India and the inexcusable racial arrogance of the British in India, we find an explanation of most of the charges that can be legitimately brought against the British administration.

It was in the interest of the British people that the trade and industry of India were deliberately crippled, and her currency and customs duties were manipulated to the disadvantage of her people. All this and the top-heavy civil and military administration, manned mostly by high-salaried European officers, account for the oppressive taxation and land-revenue and the grinding poverty of the people, punctuated by occasional famine, and normal denial of the barest minimum necessaries of life—even according to the standard of the east—to more than half,—according to some, three-fourths of th** people of India.

The racial arrogance, added to the idea of exploitation, accounts for the insolent conduct of the Englishmen in general towards the Indians, as well as occasional assaults, sometimes proving fatal, of natives by Europeans, and the atrocities perpetrated by the British planters of indigo and tea, with the connivance, if not encouragement, of their fellow-countrymen. The nature of these and their consequences have been discussed elsewhere, and need not be referred to in detail here. It will suffice to state that not only these crimes, but also, and perhaps still more, the fact that they could be committed practically with impunity, constitute a great blot on the British administration in India.

So far one is on sure grounds. But there are certain aspects of British administration, in respect of which it is not so easy either to pronounce a definite verdict, or to trace the causes. The exclusion of the Indians from senior services in all branches—judicial, police, medical, etc., is a case in point. Indians of all shades of opinion have strongly denounced this policy, but Englishmen have sought to defend this on different grounds. Three typical views of Englishmen on this subject may be quoted, which also illustrate some fundamental assumptions on which the British rule was based in India.

The first view, described by Mr. Seton-Karr, 227 Secretary, Bengal Government, was based on

“the cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest, by the planter’s assistant in his lonely bungalow and by the editor in the full light of the Presidency town—from these to the Chief Commissioner in charge of an important province and to the Viceroy on his throne— the conviction in every man that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue”

The second was expressed by Lord Roberts as follows:

“It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank which we can bestow upon him would cause him to be considered as an equal by the British officer”. 220

The third view was expressed by a retired I.C.S. official after the end of the British rule. Referring to the resentment of Indians against the British Government for “dilatoriness in the matter of Indianisation”, Sir Percival Griffiths observes:

“Many Indians today resent the assumption that in the nineteenth century these considerations (of people’s welfare) necessarily excluded their forefathers from high administrative posts. In view, however, of the deplorable state of Indian education at that time and of the almost universal corruption which had characterised the late Mughal Empire, the

Government of India were perhaps justified in their hesitation. Complete integrity in administration was a new thing, even in England, but by the middle of the nineteenth century it had there taken very firm root. Young Englishmen from the universities would inevitably bring to India a new tradition of incorruptibility and provided they were in an overwhelming majority, their spirit would permeate the services and give Indian admi

lustration a fresh start. It would be difficult to assert that for such a process three generations was too long a period. It is perhaps on account of the slow pace of Indianisation, that as Indians came into the I.C S. they, too, absorbed and became proud of its spirit and tradition and that when independence was achieved they were fully ready for the tasks ahead. That readiness may well be regarded as one of Britain's signal success in India'.
230

The third view is an attempt to justify the conduct of the British on rational grounds, as against the two previous views which Englishmen in modern days naturally feel reluctant to acknowledge as true. There is, however, little doubt that the mentality revealed in the first two quotations powerfully influenced sthe action of the British, even if it be admitted that it did not prove the decisive factor. Nevertheless, the argument of Sir Percival needs serious consideration. It means, in effect, that what is regarded as a defect in an otherwise good system is really an integral part of it; you cannot take one part and reject the other; either you take the whole or have none of it. The justification of the British administrators' aloofness from the public also rests on similar grounds, as the passage quoted above on p. 868 will show. Here, again, the seemingly defective element goes or falls with the otherwise excellent whole. There is perhaps more truth in this than in the other assertion. The British administration owed its excellence, to a large extent, to its character like a lifeless machine. Infusion of life would make it more acceptable but perhaps less effective. This view has much to commend itself. The British administrative system, as it emerged at the end of the period under review, must be judged as a whole—with all its good and evils as essential parts. It could not be substantially modified without changing its entire character.

This chapter may be fittingly concluded with some observations on British rule by two Indians eminent in two spheres of life, namely, Bankimchandra Chatterji, 231 the author of Vande Mataram song, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. They are by no means unfriendly critics, and represent the enlightened and liberal section of Indians, respectively, of the last half of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth century.

1. Bankimchandra Chatterji.

In his essay on "Independence and Dependence of India"* Bankimchandra makes a comparative estimate of the merits and defects of the British Government in India. He .says that ancient India was independent in the sense that the kings were Indians and lived in India. Now the monarch lives in England. The interest of distant dependencies is sometimes sacrificed to the interest of the country in which the monarch lives. But on the other hand the despotic and licentious character of the monarch in ancient India often entailed great hardship and misery on the people. Now India is ruled from England by the bureaucratic system, and so the persohal character of the monarch does not affect the fortune of Indian

people. Bankimchandra wrote a brilliant satire in 1875 in Bangadarshan to show how the bureaucratic system resembles a machine. In that satire he exposed the red-tapism of the system and showed how the machine works almost automatically, irrespective of the personal merits or defects of the Lieutenant-Governor. 2 * 2

He then shows that the distinction which now exists between an Englishman and an Indian is far less galling than the distinction which existed between the Brahmans and the Sudras. In British India there is one law for the English and the Indians; but in ancient,. India there were different laws for the Brahmans and Sudras. An Indian judge cannot decide the case in which an Englishman is involved; but could the Sudras ever decide the case of a Brahman? Dwarakanath Mitra is now a judge of the High Court, where would he have been in the "Rama-Rajya? 333

Bankim regarded the happiness of the masses as far more important than independence. As he characteristically put it: "To the oppressed, it is immaterial whether the oppressor was his own fellow-countryman or a foreigner. The oppression by the former was not sweeter or less bitter than that by a foreigner,” 3 ** Raja Rammohan Roy held that the loss of political power was compensated for by the recognition of the principles of civil liberty in British India. It is significant that Bankim, burning with indignation at the oppression of the ryots, does not lay stress on civil liberty. According to him, the loss of political power has been compensated for by the introduction of European science and literature. In conclusion he says, that in modem India the Brahmans and the ICshatriyas have been degraded in status while the status of the 6udras has been slightly improved.

Bankimchandra drew' the attention of the Government “to the wretched condition of the peasants of Bengal. The general trend of his argument is that despite their good intentions the British Indian administrators have made mistakes at every step in land legislation; as these mistakes are responsible for the misery of the peasants it is up to the Government to give all possible redress to them without actually overthrowing the Permanent Settlement. He shows how all the land legislation from the time of Lord Cornwallis 10 the time of Lord Dalhousie has been in favour of the landlord and against the ryots. The first and the greatest of all blunders committed by the English was to recognize the farmers of land revenue as the absolute owners of land by the Permanent Settlement. Bankimchandra maintained that the Permanent Settlement ought to have been made with the cultivators, who had been recognised as owners of land from time immemorial.

Bankimchandra Chatterji, being himself a Deputy Magistrate, had first-hand information regarding the administration of law and justice. He said, “courts and brothels are of the same type; unless one is ready to pay for it one can have no admittance to either of these”. The burden of Bankimchandra’s complaints against the judicial system is that the poor are not protected by law in British India against the oppression of the rich. The courts are open to those only who can afford to pay for the judicial stamp, for pleaders, for entertaining the witnesses and for the gratification of the peons and clerks of the court. Even if a man stakes his all for securing justice he cannot be sure that justice will be really administered in his case. Bankim is extremely grieved to see that every day the poor ryots are being most shamelessly and tyrannically oppressed by the Zamvtidars. He asks, “How is it that in spite of the existence of good laws and judicial courts the Zamindars, who are legally guilty, are not punished?. What kind of law

is that by which the weak alone are punished and which is not applicable to the powerful ?

He points out five cardinal defects which have conspired to defeat the ends of justice. First, the prohibitive expenses of judicial trials. The expensiveness debars the poor peasants from seeking judicial redress for their grievances. The rich Zamindars can harass the poor ryot by filing a suit against him. The judicial system has become a tool in the hands of the rich to oppress the poor. Secondly, the courts are located at a great distance from the villages. The peasants cannot afford and do not dare to leave their hearth and home in order to file a suit against the Gomasta of the Zamindar. The Gomasta has really become arbiter in cases between peasants and peasants, but there is no redress where he himself is the oppressor. Thirdly, the dilatoriness of the system makes the peasants unwilling to appeal to law. Like Rammohan, Bankimchandra, too, attributes this delay to the insufficiency of the number of judges and to the complexity of the legal system. Fourthly, the legal system has departed from equity and rationality. He attributes part of the defect to the lack of education of the Indian jury. Fifthly, the judges are not competent. The incompetence is due to the want of familiarity of the English judges with the condition of the country. Though most of the subordinate judges and a few of the superior-judges are Indians, yet the system as a whole is dominated by the English judges. The Indian judges have to listen to the dictates of the English judges and to decide cases in such a way that the decision might not be set aside in appeal by the latter.®*

2. Jawaharlal Nehru

Referring to the effect of the revolt of 3.857-8 upon the British administration of India Nehru makes the following observations: “The techniques of British rule, which had already been well established, were now clarified and confirmed and deliberately acted upon. Essentially these were: the creation and protection of vested interests bound up with British rule; and a policy of balancing and counterpoise of different elements, and the encouragement of fissiparous tendencies and division amongst them.

“The Princes and the big landlords were the basic vested interests thus created and encouraged. But now a new class, even more tied up with British rule, grew in importance. This consisted of the Indian members of the services, usually in subordiate positions. Previously the employment of Indians had been avoided except when this could not be helped, and Munro had pleaded for such employment. Experience had now demonstrated that Indians so employed were so dependent on the British administration and rule that they could be relied upon and treated as agents of that rule. In the pre-Mutiny days most of the Indian members of the subordinate services had been Bengalis. These had spread out over the upper provinces wherever the British administration needed clerks and the like in its civil or military establishments. Regular colonies of Bengalis had thus grown up at the administrative or military centres in the United Provinces, Delhi and even in the Punjab. These Bengalis accompanied the British armies and proved faithful employees to them. They became associated in the minds of the rebels with the British Power and were greatly disliked by them and given uncomplimentary titles.

“Thus began the process of the indianization of the administrative machine in its subordinate ranks, all real power and initiative being, however, concentrated in the hands of the English personnel. As English education spread, the Bengalis had no longer a virtual monopoly of service and other Indians came in, both on the judicial and executive sides of the administration. This indianization became the most effective method of strengthening British rule. It created a civil army and garrison everywhere, which was more important even than the military army of occupation. There were some members of this civil army who were able and patriotic and nationalistically inclined, but like the soldier, who also may be patriotic in his individual capacity, they were bound up by the army code and discipline, and the price of disobedience, desertion and revolt was heavy. Not only was this civil army created but the hope and prospect of employment in it affected and demoralized a vast and growing number of others. There was a measure of prestige and security in it and a pension at the end of the term of service, and if a sufficient subservience was shown to'one’s superior officers, other failings did not count. These civil employees were the intermediaries between the British authorities and the people, and if they had to be obsequious to their superiors, they

could be arrogant and exact obedience from their own inferiors and the people at large.

“The lack of other avenues of employment, other ways of making a living, added additional importance to government service. A few could become lawyers or doctors, but even so, success was by no means assured. Industry hardly existed. Trade was largely in the hands of certain hereditary classes who had a peculiar aptitude for it and who helped each other. The new education did not fit any one for trade or industry; its chief aim was government service. Education was so limited as to offer a few openings for a professional career; other social services were almost non-existent. So government service remained and, as the colleges poured out their graduates, even the growing government services could not absorb them all, and a fierce competition arose. The unemployed graduates and others formed a pool from which government could always draw; they were a potential threat to the security of even the employed. Thus the British Government in India became not only the biggest employer but, for all practical purposes, the sole big employer (including railways), and a vast bureaucratic machine was built up, strictly managed and controlled at the top. This enormous patronage was exercised to strengthen the British hold on the country, to crush discordant and disagreeable elements, and to promote rivalry and discord amongst various groups anxiously looking forward to employment in government service. It led to demoralisation and conflict, and the government could play one group against the other. 183

1. See pp. 313 ff.

2. Quoted in Dutt—II, 227. It may be noted that a vigorous plea on behalf of the East India Company’s rule in India was put forward by an Indian (probably Kishorichand Mitra) in an anonymous publication entitled, “The Mutinies, the Government, and the People” by a Hindu (1858).

3. Dutt—n, 227-8.

4. Ibid, 228.

5. Ibid, 228-9.

6. P. Mukherji— Indian Constitutional Documents, 123.

7. Ibid, 355, f.n.; Dutt—II, 231.

8. For the full text, cf. Mukherji, op. cit., 355 ff.; A.B. Keith, Speech&s and Documents on Indian Policy , I. 382 ff.

9. H. Dodwell, A Sketch of the History of India, p. 29.

9a. Strachey, India, its Administration and Progress (3rd edition, p. 112).

10. For the quotation, cf. Dodwell, op. cit., 34.

11. Montford Report , para. 34.

11a. Ibid.

12. Mallet, Life of Lord Northbrook , p. 91.

13. Montford Report , para. 34.

14. Dodwell, op. cit., p. 36.

15. Montford Report , para. 33.

16. Ramsay Macdonald, The Government of India , pp. 50-51

17. Dodwell, op. cit., 47-8.

18. Ibid, 35.

19. See pp. 751-2.

20. Montford Report, para. 34,

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. See pp. 342-3.

24. Sir Charles Wood's speech on 6 June, while moving the Act of 1861 (Mukherji, op. cit., 168-9).

25. Major Graham, Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, pp. 26-7.

25a. Montford Report, para 60.

26. Ilbert, Sir Courtenay, The Government of India, p. 100. See Clause 19 for other details.

27. Simon Commission's Report, para. 132.

28. Mukherji, op. cit., 174.

29. Ibid, 174-5.

30. Ibid, p. xxxv.

31. Ibid, xxxvi.

32. Lady Betty Balfour, Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, quoted in

Mukherji, op. cit., p. xxxvi. v

32a. "Their constituency was Government House and they were true to it. But it should not be thought that there were no exceptions to this inglorious rule. There were bound to be, for they included Visnwanath Narayan Mandlik, and in after years, before there was the semblance of election, there were some nominated members of the type of Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Telang, Tyabji and Mehta in Bombay; Kristo Das Pal and Raja Peary Mohan Mukherji in Bengal; Sir S. Subramania Iyer in Madras, and the late Pandit Ajodhia Nath in the United Provinces (then called the North-Western Provinces). When the import duty on Lancashire Textile goods was abolished in the name of free trade, one of the members was Mandlik. His protest having proved unavailing, he appeared the next day in Council in the homespun country cloth, now known as khaddar, and he frankly said that he did so as a political protest.” (C. Y. Chintamani, Indian Politics since the Mutiny, 14—5).

33. Parliamentary Debates, 1892—Fourth Series, Vol. Ill, p. 95.

33a. Chintamani, op. cit., 14.

34. For the Resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress, cf. the Proceedings of the different Sessions. A classified list of Resolutions according to topics is given in Congress in Evolution by D. Chakrabarty and C. Bhattacharya (hereafter referred to as ‘Congress’).

35. Lyall, Life of Dufferin, II. 151-2.

36. ’ Montford Report, para. 67.

37. Ibid, para. 68.

38. Ibid, para. 69.

39. Keith, op. cit., II. 47-8, 55.

40. Ibid, 71.

41. Ibid, 60.

42. Ibid, 59.

43. Ibid, 63-5.

.44. Curzon’s views about the Indian National Congress will be referred to later

45. Parliamentary Debates, Fourth Series, Vol. Ill, 1892, p 94

46. Ibid, 60-68.

47. Ibid, 51-131.

48. Keith, II. 61-2.

49. Ibid, 75.

50. Montford Report, para. 69.

51. ®V.'Chirol, India Old and New, p. 94.

52. See pp. 320-21.

53. Sir John Strachey, The Finances and Public Works of India p 131

54. Mukherji, op. cit., p. lii.

55/ Ibid, lii.

56 * ^or the text of the Resolution from which some passages are quoted below cf. Mukherji, op. cit., 399 ff.

57. Strachey, op. cit. (Quoted in Mukherji, op. cit., p lv)

58. Mukherji, op. cit., lvi.

59. Ibid, lvi-lvii.

60. Ibid, lviii.

61. Ibid, lix.

62. Ibid, lxi.

63. Ibid, Ixii.

64. Ibid, lxiii.

65. See p. 758.

66. C. E. Buckland, Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors X1901)» I. 537.

67. J. Ramsay Macdonald, The Government of India, p. 199,

68. Collection from the Records of Papers relating to the separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

69. Sir John Strachey, India, its Administration and Progress (3rd edn.), 364.

For the position of the Magistrate, cf. Ch XX of this work.

70. Strachey, op. cit., 360; Hunter^ Indian Empire (1892), p. 573. Also cf. Bengal Administration Report, 1911-2, pp. 54-5; Imp. Gaz., IV (1907), pp. 49 ff.

71. Buckland, op. cit., I. 227-8.

72. CHI, VI. 359.

73. A Nation in Making, p. 10.

74. Speech in Parliament, quoted in CHI, VI. 360.

75. W. J. Bryan, British Rule in India, p. 13. Only a part of it, which is generally known, is quoted by Andrews and Mookerjee, The Rise and Growth of the Congress in India, p. 76.

76. Ramsay Macdonald, op. cit., 102.

76a. Buckland, II. 666 ff.

77. CHI, VI. 366-7.

78. Ibid, 368.

79. Ibid, 369-70. The resolution was moved by Mr. Herbert Paul and supported by Dadabhai Naoroji, who was then a member of the House of Commons. “The passing of the resolution fell like a bombshell upon the official world” in India. The Secretary of State for India held that it was a snatch vote, and that the Government of India was not bound by it. It was

not surprising that the Government of India and the Local Governments would oppose it, and the reference to their views was only a decent way to get over the situation. The thing that was really surprising is that the Government of Madras should have supported it. For further interesting details, cf. Banerji, S. N., A Nation in Making, 132-4.

80. Ibid, 371.

81. Strachey, op. cit., 95.

82. For this Act, see Mukherji, op. cit., 344.

83. Ilbert, op. cit., 104; Mukherji, bp. cit, 351.

84. Chailley, J., Administrative Problems of British India, p. 458.

85. Strachey, op. cit., 118.

86. Ibid, 111.

87. Ibid.

88. Surendranath Banerjea, A Nation in Making, p. 86.

89. The figures are taken from Dutt—II, Chapters X, XIII.

90. Report of the Bombay Association, 1871, p. 512 (quoted in Dutt—II, 384-5').

91. Evidence before the Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1873 (quoted in Dutt—II, 385).

92. See p. 774.

93. Dutt—II, 401-2.

94. Ibid, 403-4. The italics are not in the original,

95. Ibid, 405-7.

96. Ibid, 408.

97. Ibid, 410.

98. Ibid, 410-11.

99. Ibid, 411-12.

99a. Ibid, 414.

99b. Strachey claimed that these were the principles o~ which customs legislation of the United Kingdom had been based and ‘are now admitted axioms by all who recognize the theoretic advantages of free trade” (Strachev op cit., 278).

100. Dutt—II, 541.

1Q1. Ibid, 543-4.

102. See pp. 628, 635-37.

103. See pp. 537, 636.

104. See p. 371.

105. CHf, VI. 50.

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Baden Powell, Land Revenue Administration in India (1882), p. 384.

Baden Powell, Land Revenue Systems of British India (1892), II. 246-50.
See p. 780.

Settlement Report of Sagar, by Col. Maclean, 1867, paras 93-4 (Dutt—II, 294). Letter No. 353, dated November 30, 1867, from the Government of India (Foreign Department) to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces (Dutt—II, 294).

Dutt—II. 304-5.

Ibid, 305-6.

Ibid, 306-7.

Ibid, 475.

Ibid, 478-9.

Ibid, 481-2.

Cf. the Table given in Dutt—II, 483.

Ibid, 268-9.

Ibid, 462-3.

Ibid, 463.

Ibid, 270.

Ibid,

Ibid, 308-9.

Ibid, 310.

See p. 366.

Dutt—II, 311.

Ibid, 322.

Minute of the Governor of Bombay, dated 3 March, 1862 (quoted in Dutt—II. 323).

Dutt—II, 332.

Ibid, 329.

Ibid, 332.

Ibid, 333.

Ibid, 334.

Ibid, 490.

Ibid, 492.

Ibid, 492-3, f.n., 2.

Sir Frederick Currie’s Note of Dissent (quoted in Dutt—II, 393). For the views of the Government of Bengal, Cf. Buckland, op. cit., I. 440, For the view-point of the Secretary of State, see the Despatch, dated 12 May, 1870,

™ Duke of Argyll to the Government of India, quoted in Buckland I, 441-455. *

Dutt—II, 398.

This was urged as a strong argument in favour of the Bengal Zamindars, but the Secretary of State denied that, by implication, it prevented the imposition of additional cess on permanently settled estates (cf para. 14 of his Despatch, Buckland, I. 418).

Dutt—II, 399-400.

Ibid, 502.

Dut^-ir275 S Rep ° rt ° f 14 AugUst ’ 1861 ’ para - 36 (^oted in Dutt-II, 273-4).

Letter from the Government of the Punjab to the Government of India April, 1862 (quoted in Dutt—II, 276). The Government of N.W.pl t0 + in t r oduce Permanent Settlement on certain conditions stated in ^Mimite of the Lieutenant-Governor, dated 27 May, 1862, and the minute of Sir W lliam Muir, 5 December, 1861.

jj 16 February, 6 1862*^ Government to ^ Government of India, No. 241, dated df£d ^Tprt e i86°2 mbay Government t0 ** Government of India, No. 1627,

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Mimite ofSaymelLang dated / April, 1862 (quoted in Dutt—II 281-2)

For Wood’s Despatch, cf. Dutt-II, 284-6. For Lawrence’s views, cL Duit-II,

Dutt—II, 288.

Ibid, 288-9.

The administrative organisation

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This and the two following paras originally formed parts of Chapter XXXVII written by Dr. A. Tripathi. He is also responsible for the references to the letters from the Governments of N.W.P., Madras, and Bombay, quoted in footnotes 141, 142, and 143.

Argyll to Northbrook, 3 September, 1872, Northbrook Papers (C.R.O), p. 20. But the opinion was also held by his own eminent Councillors like Erskine F G Halliday na ^^ en> ^ re< ^ er * c h Currie, H. T. Prinsep, Robert Montgomery and

Argyll to Northbrook, 25 April, 1873, ibid, p. 52.

flMay?187ribld, p e cS. 18H *“* P ' 118: alS ° Northbro ° k

Argyll to Northbrook, 23 May, 1873, ibid., p. 55.

Same to same, 28 May, ibid., p. 56.

Same to same, 13 February, 1874, ibid., p. 117.

Northbrook to Argyll, 3 October, 1872, ibid., p. LVII.

Dutt—II, 289.

Ibid, 506-7.

R.C. Dutt, Famines and Land Assessments in India (1910). Preface, pp. xv-xvi Paras 5-6, (quoted in Dutt—II, 508-9).

Dutt—n, 509.

Ibid. 281-2.

Ibid, 509 ff.

See p. 822.

Dutt. II, 274.

Campbell > Memoirs of my Indian Career. II. 149.

Ibid, 151.

Ibid, 152.

Ibid, 153-8.

Ibid, 152-3.

Ibid, 159-64.

Ibid, 321.

Ibid, 323.

Report of the Famine Commission, 1878-80.

Ibid.

Report of the Famine Commission, 1901, p. 2.

Campbell, op. cit., II. 336.

Quoted in CHI , VI. 301.

Strachey, op. cit., 246.

Lovat Fraser, India under Curzon and after p 283

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See pp. 808 ff.

See p. 826.

See p. 826.

RPD, 106.

Campbell, op. cit., 323.

RPD, 106; Digby, W. Prosperous British India.

See p. 383.

Imp. Gaz., IV. 399-405.

Vol. I, 487; II. 63; IV. 247-8.

See 1 p tG 774 ted ? November > 1830 (quoted in Dutt—II, 197).

Mukherji, op. cit., 411.

Imp. Gaz., IV. 286.

fmp^Gaz 2 ? IV. *287 Resolution ’ Rioted ab °ve, P• 775.

&°Lcffl C “ 0 ” L ° CaI <•» Madras, 1882. p. 9.

Muldierji, op. cit., 408.

Various changes in the constitution of Municipalities and Pi» ra ! a j made between the years 1888 and 1911 TS i ? oards "ere

state of things will be given in Vol XI g 1 eview of the resulting CHI, VI. 523-4. *

Ibid, 525.

See p. 424.

201. Imp. Gaz., IV. 342.

202. Ibid; CHI, VI. 395.

203. Imp. Gaz., IV. 342-3.

204. Ibid, 345.

205. Ibid, 347.

206. Ibid, 347.

207. CHI, VI. 399. . r .. T * . i

208. Sir Thomas Raleigh, Lord Curzon m India, Introduction, p. 1.

208a. For the documents and quoted passages cf. Fraser, Lovat, pp. 431-447

209. Imp. Gaz., IV. 343.

211. (1) The East Indian; (2) The Indian Peninsular; (3) The Madraa; (4) The Bombay Baroda Central Indian; (5)The Eastern Bengal; (8) The Indian Branch, subsequently the Oudh and Rohilkhand; (7) Sind Punjab ^ n d pelm, subsequently merged into the North-Western State Railway; and (8) The Great Southern India, subsequently the South Indian Railway.

212. C. P. Tiwari, The Indian Railways, p. 252.

213. N. B. Mehta, Indian Railways, p. 36.

214. Ibid, 43. „ . 1ft(M 0

215. Report of the Indian Road Development Committee, 1927-8, para. 17.

216. Imp. Gaz., III. 408.

217. Ibid, 360.

218. Ibid, 361.

219. Ibid, 359.

220. Report of 1872 (quoted in Dutt—II, 360-61).

221. Lady Hope, Life of Sir Arthur Cotton (quoted in Dutt—II, 363, f.n., 1).

222. Parliamentary Report of 1878 (quoted in Dutt-II, 365).

223. Dutt—II. 366.

224. Ibid, 367-8. . 0

225. Famine Commission's Report, 1880 (quoted in Dutt—II, 369).

226. Sir Percival Griffiths, The British Impact on India, 227-8.

227. For Mr. Seton-Karr, See Ch. XXIX, section IV.

228. Griffiths, op. cit., 202.

229. Ibid.

230. Ibid, pp. 195-6.

231. The greatest literary figure in the nineteenth century whose valuable contribution to the Indian renaissance will be referred to in Vol. X.

232. Bankimchandra, being a Deputy-Magistrate, was familiar with the Administrative System.

233. "Rama-Rajya" is a popular expression for the Golden Age in ancient India.

234. Translation from the original Bengali.

235. The whole extract is almost verbatim taken from B. Majumdar (464-6). The English translation of Bengali passages is mine.

236. Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India (2nd edition), 282-4.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DISCONTENT, DISTURBANCES AND ARMED RESISTANCE

I. INTRODUCTION.

There is no doubt that the volume of discontent against the British rule in India grew apace,in the post-Mutiny period; but though it had a louder vocal expression, the actual disturbances caused by it were far less in number than during the pre-Mutiny period. The reason is not far to seek. The ruthless suppression of the Mutiny caused terror, and generated a belief in the invincibility of the British power. The conviction that armed resistance against it was futile, and a general appreciation of the Pax Britannica that followed the Mutiny, explain the gradual subsidence of armed resistance against the authority. The only notable exception was the armed rising of the Wahabis, but it was, really speaking, no exception at all. For the Wahabi movement was a legacy of the past; its roots were deeply laid long before the outbreak of the Mutiny, though its active manifestation as an armed rebellion commenced only shortly after that event. Wahabism was finally crushed during the following decade, but it was undoubtedly one of the most important politico-religious movements in the nineteenth century, and its history as a whole has therefore been discussed in some detail.

The next important episode is the rebellion of Basudeo Balwant Phadke in Bombay in 1879. Although it was more or less a one man's show and was easily put down, it heralded a new type of armed resistance against the British which flourished on congenial soil and made itself a power to reckon with, during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Next in point of importance may be reckoned the serious risings of the cultivators in Bengal against the indigo-planters. Apart from the horrible picture it reveals of some of the worst features of slavery in India practised by the British planters, it also holds out before us the first historical instance of that organized non-cooperation and passive resistance which proved such a mighty power in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi half a century later. In addition to these there were a number of minor disturbances of a local character, and of the various types described in Chapter XIV above. These have been briefly referred to as indicating the spirit of the time.

But although serious disturbances, not to speak of armed rebellion, were few and far between, and mostly of a local character, there were rumours and apprehensions of serious political risings on a large scale. These rumours were persistent, and .even high British officials seriously apprehended such outbreaks. As will be noted later in Chapter LIII, it was some such apprehension that induced Mr. A.O. Hume to organize the Indian National Congress with a view to weaning away the Indian intelligentsia from this violent anti-British movement. 1 Mr. W. S. Blunt, who visited this country in 1883, was told by a young tea-planter that 'a new rebellion is brewing in India.' 1a At Allahabad, Blunt had a talk with Sir Alfred Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor: "We discussed the chances of revolution. He would not agree that it would come in five years, but perhaps in twenty. But the people of India were a weak race, and would never be able to stand alone. They would be prey to seafaring nations on their seaboard, and to the Russians and Chinese on their land frontier". 1b Blunt also discussed the probability of a revolution with A.M. Bose, a well-know T n public man of Calcutta, who said the danger was very great. 1c Sir William Wedderburn also "described the state of things at the end of Lytton's reign as bordering on revolution". 1d

All these apprehensions, however, proved to be wrong. On what evidence they were entertained by these responsible persons, we do not know, exept in the case of Wedderburn. 1e There is, however, no doubt, that such rumours were in the air, and were credited, because the general discontent of the people fully warranted such an assumption. In other words, the dicontent against the British rule was so bitter and wide-spread, that many persons seriously argued that such a state of things was bound to end in an open^rebellion. The tea-planter, for example, who feared a rebellion, told Blunt that "in his district within the last two years the villagers have taken to cursing the English when they pass, and even throwing stones". 1f Bose also told Blunt that 'people were losing their confidence in Lord Ripon after having lost it in the Government at home'. 1 ® Surendra Nath Banerji, Blunt tells us, “was very angry at the Ilbert Bill compromise, and let slip the gros mot of ‘revolution’ in regard to it”. ‘ h Even some high British officials were of the same opinion. General C. G. Gordon, who had accompanied Lord Ripon as his Private Secretary, but resigned his place owing to the opposition of the covenanted Civil Service to any real reform, assured Blunt emphatically that “no reform would ever be achieved in India without a Revolution”. 11 Blunt himself also observed later: “But the more I see and hear of the state of things in India, the more convinced I am that Gordon is right. Nothing will

be done without a revolution”. 1 * Blunt further elucidates his views in the two following extracts:

“The danger I foresee is that, with an immense agricultural population chronically starved, and a town population becoming every day more and more enlightened and more and more enraged at its servitude, time may not be given for the slow growth of opinion in England as to the need of change. I am convinced that if at the present moment any serious disaffection were to arise in the native army, such as occurred in 1857, it would not lead to a revolt only. It would be joined, as the other was not, by the whole people. I know that many of the most enlightened Indian thinkers dread this, and that their best hope is to make the reality of their

grievances, the just causes of their anger heard in time by the English people

Soon they may find it necessary to trust no one in the world but themselves. Today their motto is ‘Reform’; let us not drive them to make it ‘Revolution’ tomorrow.” 111

“The actual organization of Anglo-Indian government has become hateful to the natives of India, and however much their reason may be on the side of patience, there is a daily increasing danger of its being overpowered by a passionate sentiment evoked by some chance outbreak; nor do I believe that it will be again possible for England to master a military revolt, which would this time have the sympathy of the whole people. Moreover even if we would suppose this fear exaggerated and the evil day of revolt put off, there is yet the certainty of a Government by force becoming yearly more costly and more difficult to carry on. It is a mistake to suppose that India has ever yet been governed merely by English sword.” 11

It is generally held that Pax Britannica reigned supreme during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and some even hold that peace and contentment prevailed all over the country. These ideas should be modified not only by actual cases of violent outbreaks narrated in this chapter, but still more by the wide-spread discontent among all classes of people, so vividly described by Blunt. It is also certain that throughout the era of the so-called oeace, minds of many Englishmen and Indians were haunted by a vague dread of an impending calamity to the British rule.

II. RELIGIO-POLITICAL

A. WAHABI MOVEMENT.

1* History.

Wahabism made its appearance in India in the early 19th century as a religious reform movement and attacked the “religious corruptions” which had crept into Muslim society. In India it had a special appeal, as many of the converts from Hinduism had brought over into their new faith ideas and practices which were contrary to the spirit of Islam. 1m Wahabism fiercely advocated a return to the “simplicity of faith (and society) of the Prophet's Arabia”, 2 and rejected “all accretions to and declensions from the pur* Islam”. The movement, however, soon transformed itself into a religio-political creed and it was the ambition of its founder Saiyid Ahmad of

Rai Bareilly (1786-1831) to revive and restore Muslim power in India by bringing about the overthrow of the Sikhs in the Panjab and the British in Bengal. Saiyid Ahmad had come under the influence of Abdul Aziz, son of the famous saint of Delhi, Shah Waliullah 3 (1702-62), who had preached similar views, though less vehemently, about half a century earlier. But unlike Abdul Wahab of Nejd (1703-87), founder of the sect known after him as the Wahabis, Waliullah’s Islam was more comprehensive, richer and more flexible, and retained a marked Sufi colouring. In his Islam there was room hot only for the Sunnis but also for the Shiahs who, quite contrary to the practice of the Wahabis, follow various Imams. But there was hardly any difference as regards the ends: "pure Islam must be re-enacted and regenerated, society must again be mighty". By this time the Indo-Muslim Society had been reduced to the lowest level, particularly in the political field, where the power had passed on to the Sikhs in the Panjab and the British in Bengal. Hindu power had revived itself in Western India. The movement for Islamic regeneration expressed itself in two directions,—against internal decay and abuses in society, and resistance to, and even fight against, infidel rulers. Saiyid Ahmad belonged to the latter militant group which, in pursuance of their objectives, took up arms first against the Sikhs in the Panjab and then against the British.

The activities of the Wahabis cover the period, roughly speaking, from 1820 to 1870. But before dealing with it, it is necessary to refer to a similar movement by a sect called Farazis founded by Haji Shariatullah 4 of Faridpur. Although confined to East Bengal and comparatively of minor importance, this movement requires a brief notice for several reasons. In the first place it was earlier, as Shariatullah began to preach his doctrine as early as 1804. Secondly, he anticipated some of the important views of the later Wahabi movement. Thirdly, there are reasons to believe that Farazis were ultimately amalgamated with the Wahabis.

Shariatullah, who died about 1837, 6 also began with religious reforms denouncing the superstitions and corruptions which had developed in the Islamic society, but he proceeded further and declared the country under British occupation to be dar-ul-harb (enemy territory), where Friday and festive prayers need not be held. 6 This gave it a political character. Shariatullah was highly venerated for his piety and exemplary life, and in a short time gathered round him a band of devoted followers—disgruntled peasants who had grievances against their landlords and idle craftsmen who were thrown out of their industries. Shariatullah's greatest achievement was that "the apathetic and careless Bengali peasant was roused into enthusiasm". 7

His son, Muhammad Mushin, better known as Dudhu Mian (1819-60), 8 was more politically minded. He devoted his time and talents to the spread of his father's doctrines and adding some new ones of his own. He had a genius for organization, and setting up his headquarters at Bahadurpur, he divided East Bengal into circles called halqahs, appointing a' deputy or khalifa to each, whose “duty was to keep the sect together, make proselytes and collect contributions” for furthering the objects of the Association. 9 His main purpose was to unite the cultivators against the tyranny and illegal exactions of landlords. At that time there was also a general feeling that the real object of the Farazis was the expulsion of the British and the restoration of Muhammadan Power. 10 He forced Muhammadan ryots to join his sect on pain of excommunication from the society of the faithful; settled their disputes; administered summary justice and punished any Muhammadan, Hindu, or Christian, who, without first referring matters to him, dared bring suits for recovery of debts, etc., in the Munsifs court. 11 He made an attack on the levying of illegal taxes by the Zamindars, and declared that all the lands belonged to God and no one had the right to demand any taxes. As a result of these teachings the; people were being gradually prepared to accept the tenets of Saiyid Ahmad. 12 During the lifetime of Shariatullah, the sect did not come into conflict with the authorities, though he had declared the country to be dar-ui-harb or enemy territory. 13 The activities of Dudhu Mian, 14 however, united the Zamindars and indigo-planters against him. He was charged with plunder in 1838, committed to sessions for murder in 1841, tried for trespass and for unlawful assembly in 1844, and for abduction and plunder in 1846. But it was found impossible to induce witnesses to give evidence, and on each occasion he was acquitted. 16 He was, however, arrested in July 1857, after repeated complaints from the Zamindars , and confined in Alipore Jail as a state prisoner. He died at Bahadurpur on September 24, I860. 16

While Dudhu Mian was leading a movement in Faridpur and adjoining districts, Mir Nassir Ali, better known as Titu Mir or Titu Mian, of Chandpur, 17 a disciple of Saiyid Ahmad whom he had met at Mecca (1822), was preaching Wahabi doctrines at Barasat (1827). He enlisted a considerable folowing among the weavers and other lower classes in Jessore and Nadia. His reformatory zeal, however, alienated the Hanaji peasantry and the Zamindars who tried to suppress the movement. A crisis occurred in June, 1831, when Krishna Ray, a Zamindar, imposed a tax of Rs. 2/8 upon each of his tenants professing to be a Wahabi, and collected it in one of his villages, Puma. A riot occurred in the adjoining village of Sarfarazpur, and the followers of Titu Mian and the Zamindar were involved in an open affray. Titu got erected a strong bamboo stockade around his stronghold of Narkulbaria in the Twenty-four Parganas, and collected some 500 of his followers who began jihad. The Wahabis marched on to Puma, murdered a Brahman priest, slaughtered two cows and sprinkled the blood on the Hindu temples, plundered the shops, insulted the Muslims who did not join their sect, and committed violent outrages on Hindu life, property and faith. They declared that the British Raj was over and proclaimed their "sovereign power as the hereditary right of the Muhammadans which had unjustly been usurped by the Europeans". 18 Similar activities were carried on by the Maulavis, as the followers of this sect were called, in several villages without meeting any resistance. Nadia, 24 Parganas, and Faridpur practically lay at their mercy. A contingent of Calcutta Militia, sent under Alexander to suppress the rebellion, was routed, the rebels under Ghulam Masum inflicting heavy casualties. The manager of the Hooghly Factory was taken prisoner with his family and was released only on the condition that "he would become a Zimmi and sow indigo for them as rulers of India". 19 Proclamations were issued by the rebels calling on the authorities and the Zamindar s to acknowledge their supremacy and supply them with provisions on their intended march. 20 Well-equipped troops with artillery were deputed to chastise the rebels who were found drawn out on the plain of Narkulbaria. The rebels fought bravely, but could not stand against the trained British, soldiers. Titu was killed in action, and his lieutenant, Ghulam Rasul, with 350 followers, was taken prisoner. Ghulam Rasul was later on sentenced to death and 140 of his comrades were condemned to various terms of imprisonment. 21

Far more important, however, than the movement begun by Shariatullah and Titu Mian was that initiated by Saiyid Ahmad of Rai Bareilly. Saiyid Ahmad (1786-1831), the founder of the so-called 'Wahabi Movement' 22 in India, was a man of humble origin and is said to have been at one time a soldier in the service of Amir Khan, the Pindari leader who later on became ruler of Tonk. Saiyid Ahmad, as stated earlier, had come under the influence of Abdul Aziz, son and successor of the saint Waliullah 23 of Delhi, and imbibed many of his ideas. Some time about 1820 or 1821, he began to preach doctrines of religious reforms similar to those held by the sect of Wahabis in Arabia. The general belief is that he was inspired by

this Wahabi movement in Arabia where he had gone on a haj, but it is now held by many scholars that he evolved his doctrines independently and his movement had no connection with the Wahabis in Arabia. 24

Saiyid Ahmad first preached his doctrines in Rohilkhand where he enlisted a considerable following. In 1820, he organized a party to perform haj, and on his way to Calcutta visited Patna, where he was received with great honour and respect by one of the leading Muslims of the town, Vilayet Ali, and his family. In Calcutta his reception exceeded all expectations. The masses Hocked to him in such large numbers that the general procedure of initiation by personal touch had to be given up and there was a mass conversion by means of unrolling his turban, which could be touched by large numbers at a time. After his return from haj (1822), Saiyid Ahmad stayed at Patna, where he got so many new disciples that he thought it necessary to have a regular system of organization. So he appointed four khalifas or spiritual vice-regents, namely, Vilayet Ali, his brother, Inayet Ali, Shah Muhammad Husain, and Farhat Husain. Patna khalifas have been praised by Hunter for their high character, missionary zeal and supreme devotion to their cause. “Much of their teaching was faultless”, writes Hunter, “and it has been given to them to stir up thousands of their countrymen to a purer and a truer conception of the Allnighty”. 26

Saiyid Ahmad undertook tours to different districts and enrolled a large number of disciples. Gradually the movement took a political turn and Sayyid Ahmad, like his teacher Abdul Aziz, declared the country to be dar-ul-harb (enemy territory), thus making it incumbent on Muslims (or his followers) either to wage a jihad against the non Muslim rulers, or to migrate to some other Muslim country. If for some unavoidable reasons they had to live under the British rule, they should make all possible endeavours to overthrow it.* Saiyid Ahmad seemed to have fully realized that the British ‘traders’ constituted the main threat to India’s independence, and an all-out effort is needed to drive them out. In his letter to Raja Hindu Rai (a Maratha chief), Saiyid Ahmad sought the help of the Native States in his endeavour, as he said, “to clear the unfriendly foreigners of a distant land who have become masters of the country” out of India. 26 A number of pamphlets were written urging upon the members of the sect to unite as one body and carry on a crusade against the ‘infidels’ for the conquest of India. For this purpose, Saiyid Ahmad made efforts to train his followers in the use of arms, and himself, in a soldier’s kit, held military parades. In pursuance of his doctrine cf hijrat, and far more due to political

exigencies, he proceeded to the North-West Frontier Province and Afghanistan, accompanied by the Patna Maulavis, to enlist the support of the tribes in his holy war against the Sikhs (21 December, 1826). In his pamphlet Targhib-ul-Jihad 27 (Incitement to Religious War), he called the Sikh rulers ‘oppressors’ who had killed thousands of Muslims and “do not allow the call to prayer from mosques and the killing of cows”.

Saiyid Ahmad did not meet with much success against the Sikhs, though he was able to capture Peshawar for a while (1830) and struck coins in his own name,—“Ahmad, the Just, Defender of the Faith”. Soon dissensions broke out between his Hindustani and Pathan followers who rose against the former and killed them in large numbers. Peshawar was recaptured by the Sikhs, and Saiyid Ahmad himself was killed in a battle at Balakot in 1831.

In the meantime the views of the sect spread very rapidly. While Vilayet Ali and Inayet Ali preached in Kabul and Frontier provinces, Shah Muhammad put the organization on a sound footing in Bengal and Bihar, where he opened a number of branches ait Raj Mahal, Rajshahi, Malda, Nadia, Barasat, Dacca/ and other important places. Vilayet Ali was later on deputed to Hyderabad (Deccan), Central Provinces, and Bombay. He could not make much headway among the mixed population of Bombay which was influenced by European civilization and ideas, but in Hyderabad he was able to recruit a number of followers including a brother of the ruler of Hyderabad, Nawab Mubariz-ud-Daulah. The Nawab was later on apprehended for anthState activities. He was tried by a Commission which sat from June, 1839, to March, 1840. The Commission held that Mubariz-ud-Daulah had collected a large number of armed Wahabis, tried to correspond with the Nawabs of Tonk and Rampur and other chiefs, and actually carried on a “treasonable correspondence with the Nawab of

Kurnool", for taking possession of the kingdom of Hyderabad and waging a war against the British. He was confined in Golconda fort where he died in 1854. 28 Ten of his principal associates were also confined in prison for more than ten years.

The death of Saiyid Ahmad was a great blow to the movement, but it must be said to the credit of the Patna khalifas that they not only kept it alive but made it even more vigorous in a few years* time. This was mainly due to the wonderful organization evolved by the Wahabis in India which will be described later on. To remove the immediate danger of despondency among the followers, Vilayet Ali gave out that Saiyid Ahmad was not killed, but had only disappeared, and would appear again at the proper time to lead the army of the 'faithful' to victory.

Maulvi Qasim, one of the Wahabi khalifas, was away on an expedition to Muzaffarabad (in Kashmir) at the time of the battle of Balakot. On hearing of Saiyid Ahmad's defeat and death, he took refuge with the remnants of Saiyid Ahmad's family at Sittana, a mountain tract belonging to an intimate friend of the Wahabi apostle, Saiyid Akbar. Later on they shifted to a safer place, Takhtaband in Bonair. 29 The Wahabi khalifas in India now selected Maulavi Nasir-ud-din 30 as Commainder-in-Chief, who was to march through-Tonk and Sindh and join the Wahabis at Bonair. Nasir-uddin, however, remained at Shikarpur (in Sindh) where many recruits from Hindusthan, especially from Bengal, joined him. Nasir-ud-din, along with Qasim Khan who had joined him, pushed forward and assisted the ruler of Kabul, Dost Muhammad, in his fight against the British. Qasim returned to the hills after the failure of the movement and preached as a khalifa of Saiyid Ahmad, declaring that the Imam had re-appeared. He took up his abode at Kawai in Kagan, the chiefs of which place, Zamin Shah and Naubat Shah, had become his disciples. 31 His appeals for help met with ready response from the Patna Maulavis, and men and money poured into the hills. Zain-ul-Abadin 32 of Hyderabad, a disciple of Vilayet Ali, who had brought in many recruits from 'Tippera and Sylhet, led another expedition against the Sikhs, but was defeated. The internecine troubles which arose among the Sikhs after the death of Ranjit Singh gave an opportunity to the Wahabis, who were able to gain control over a large extent of territory along the left bank of the Sindhu, stretching from Haripur to Kagan, and from Sittana to Kashmir. 33 These conquests were, however, shortlived. After the establishment of the British authority in the Panjab in 1847. the Wahabi leaders and their troops surrendered to the British at Haripur. Aulad Ali escaped to Sittana, while Vilayet Ali and Inayet Ali were sent to Patna under escort where they were bound down not to move out of the town for four years. 34 Vilayet Ali did not take it seriously and entered into 'treasonable' correspondence with Aulad Ali at Sittana. Inayet Ali renewed his activities (1850) and enrolled a large number of volunteers at Rajshahi. He was again bound down by the Magistrate of Patna, but fled away to Sittana where he took over the command of the Wahabis. In September, 1849, Vilayet Ali marched towards Sittana, preaching jihad in every large town he visited. He stayed in Delhi for about two months 36 and is said to have preached the Wahabi doctrines before the Mughul Emperor, Bahadur Shah, who approved of it. 36 By stages he reached Khanna,

from where he was escorted by Inayet Ali to Sittana. 37 With the arrival of Vilayet Ali, a conflict arose between the two brothers over the mode of war for the attainment of their objective. While Inayet Ali stood for total war with the British, Vilayet Ali, who possessed better political wisdom, thought their present resources to be insufficient and desired to properly organize the movement and their resources before undertaking such a venture. 3 ? Vilayet All's view prevailed and he took over the command from his brother who retired to Mangal Thana. 39 Vilayet Ali, however, died soon after (1852), and Inayet Ali became the undisputed leader. He made vigorous preparations to carry out his long-cherished design of waging war against the British. Circular letters were addressed to the Wahabi khalifas to incite people to proceed to Mulka Sittana for jihad. Hijrat was declared to be incumbent on eyery Muslim in an infidel country like India. 40 Those persons who were not in a position to join in the holy war "were recommended to resist passively and refrain from all intercourse with their kafir rulers, to form as it«were a power within the Government and totally opposed to it". 41

The preachers became active, particularly in Meerut, Bareilly, Delhi and in many districts of Bengal and Bihar. 42 Rebellion was openly preached in Patna, where one of the leaders, Ahmadullah, had assembled 700 armed persons and was prepared to resist any investigations by the Magistrate. The police was also said to be in league with the rebels. 43 Sedition was preached among the native troops also. An attempt to tamper with the Frontier Infantry stationed at Rawalpindi was brought to the notice of the authorities. On May 12, 1853, Muhammad Wali, Regimental Munshi, and others were tried at Rawalpindi for offences against the State and convicted 44 The seizure of certain papers made it clear that a well-thought-out plan for transporting men from Bengal to Sittana for purposes of jihad was in operation. Lord Dalhousie recorded two minutes on the subject, and orders were issued for close watch on the activities of the Wahabis.

Inayet Ali, meanwhile, had been able to enlist the sympathy of Akhund of Swat and Saivids of Sittana to his cause and made a spirited attack on the pro-British ruler of Amb, Jahandad Khan, who feigned submission but secretly applied for British help. In the encounter with the British (1853), 46 the Wahabis suffered heavy casualties, their rear guard and its leader Karam Ali being cut to pieces. Inayet Ali escaped with great difficulty and henceforward adopted the policy of his brother to make suitable preparations before risking a fight with the trained British soldiers 46 Regular military training was imparted to the recruits, and songs were re

cited extolling the glories of jihad. An expedition under Mirza Muhammad was successful in capturing the Yusufzai villages of Nawakela and Sheikhj ana, but it was soon repulsed by the British jforces. Inayet Ali next occupied Naringi, a border village within the British territory, but had to retreat under pressure to Chinghai and Bagh. 47 Inayet Ali, with the help of frontier tribesmen, next made a night attack (October, 1857) on lit. Home, the Assistant Commissioner at Sheikhjana. 48 The British camp was routed, and the party returned triumphantly with a large amount of booty which was distributed among the soldiers. While Inayet Ali was preparing for another campaign, the rising of 1857 broke out in full fury, and his communication with, and the source of supply from, Patna were cut off. He moved from Chinghai to Swat where he fell ill and died in March 1858. 49 He was succeeded by Maqsud Ali, a Bihari, who took charge of the Sittana camp.

The Wahabis did not play a conspicuous role in the rising of 1857 due to a variety of reasons. Their leaders such as Muhammad Husain and Ahmadullah had been put behind bars, communications with Sittana were cut off due to disturbed state of affairs, and forts across the Sindhu were zealously guarded, making it impossible to have any communication with their rchtre at Patna. The Wahabis had also a feeling that these disturbances were “a matter concerning the sepoys” only. But this does not mean that they had reconciled themselves to the British; in fact they were “the first to spread, if not to originate, the idea of greased cartridges amongst the sepoys at Barrackpore”, and according to Reily, District Superintendent of Police on Special Duty, 60 “the story had its origin in the Misre Ganj Masjid at Calcutta”. 61 Some sporadic risings at Patna, Hyderabad and Agra are also atributed to the Wahabis 62 Tayler, the Commissioner of Patna, invited the Wahabi leaders, Ahmadullah and Muhammad Husain, with some other local citizens, for consultation and then treacherously put the Wahabi leaders under arrest. 60 The local Wahabis organized an armed rebellion but it was suppressed with the aid of the military. 54 At Hyderabad, the Wahabi leaders, Turrabaz Khan and Alauddin, led an attack against the British Residency but were defeated. Turrabaz Khan was shot dead while Alauddin was deported to the Andamans. Dr. Vazir Khan, supposed to be a Wahabi, was at the head of rebels who besieged the British garrison at Agra Fort. At the trial of Bahadur Shah, General Bakht Khan, the leader of the mutineers at Delhi, was also described as a Wahabi, and it was stated that the Wahabis came to the capital in large numbers from Jaipur, Bhopal, Hansi, and Hi$sar to join the mutineers. 65

Sittana camp was a source of chronic anxiety to the British. From 1850 to 1857. the British Government sent no less than 16 expeditions to destroy the rebels and their allies, but with no great success. 66 An expedition had to be sent under Sir Sydney Cotton with 5,000 men in 1858 to chastise the rebels, and the Sittana lands were made over to the mountain tribes on condition that they would not allow the ‘fanatics’ to pass through their territory to commit depredations within the British frontier. Maqsud Ali died in 1861, and Abdullah, son of Vilayet Ali, succeeded him as leader of the Wahabis at Sittana. Abdullah vigorously pursued the anti-British campaign, urging the Muhammadans to leave the country and join the forces of Islam for the conquest of India. 67 Ahmadullah, who managed the affairs in India, sent up a large number of recruits and money through the various agencies, which will be narrated in the section on Organization. Several tribes as well as the Akhund of Swat, who governed a population of one lakh, made a common cause with the Wahabis, who recovered their old settlement of Sittana in July, 1863. 68 The Panjab Government in a note recorded its views that "these fanatics were no harmless or powerless religionists; that they are a permanent source of danger to our rule in India". 69 The British Government sent several expeditions to crush the rebels, the most important of which was under the command of Sir Neville Chamberlain (October, 1863). The British army advanced into the Ambeyla Pass but could not make headway to the Chumla Valley, due to the stubborn resistance offered by the Wahabis and their allies. All British efforts to dislodge the rebels from their positions failed, and they were repulsed with heavy casualties. 60 The Wahabis even captured a picket and drove the British force back with a loss of 114 men, besides officers killed and wounded. 61 Subsequently, the Wahabis took another British picket which could only be retaken after a severe battle in which the British General was wounded. The situation became desperate for the British, and Chamberlain sent down a telegram asking for "as many troops as could be spared". At this stage General Garvock took over the command and pushed forward at the head of 9,000 troops; 62 he defeated the rebels near Laloo. and again at the foot of the Bonair hills. The confederacy of the tribes was broken through diplomatic tactics, and it facilitated British advance to the rebel village of Mulka, 35 miles from Sittana, which was burnt down. According to Muslim chronicles, only two houses were actually burnt. 63

The British Government now tried to strike at the root of the movement which was being continuously fed by men and money from Hindusthan. Certain correspondence came into the possession

of the authorities which revealed that regular agencies had been set up in India for the purpose. The names of certain persons and aliases also figured in these letters. The discovery of these facts led to the State trial at Ambala in which 11 persons were charged for attempting to wage war against the Queen and aiding and abetting that war. Plowden, a well-known lawyer, appeared on behalf of the accused, while Capt. Parson represented the prosecution. On 2 May, 1864, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sessions Judge, sentenced Muhammad Shaft, Muhammad Jafar and Yahya Ali to death, while the remaining eight, Abdul Ghafar, Abdul Karim, Husaini of Thaneshwar, Abdul Rahim, Illahi Bakhsh, Mian Jan, Husaini of Azimabad and Abdul Ghafur were to be transported for life with forfeiture of their property. 64 The premises of the Wahabis at Sadiqpura was to be levelled and handed over to the municipality for a market place, as also the forfeited property, but the orders could not be carried out due to the appearance of other claimants. 66

Roberts, the Judicial Commissioner, who heard the appeal, reduced the sentence of death passed on Yahya Ali, Jafar and Shaft to that of transportation for life, as it might “be less palatable (to the accused) than death on the scaffold”. 66 Illahi Bakhsh turned an

approver in the second trial at Patna in 1865, and was subsequently released.

The evidence recorded in the Ambala trial of 1864 rendered necessary the Patna trial of 1865. The Government now proceeded

against Yahya Ali’s brother, Ahmadullah, who was Deputy Collector at Patna.

Ahmadullah was the General Manager of the Jcafilah (headquarters of the movement at Sadiqpura) and a central figure of the movement at Patna. It was proved against him that he collected money for the ‘fanatics’, attended meetings where treason was preached and Bengali rebel recruits for Sittana were present, and corresponded with his relations at Sittana. Ainslie, the Sessions Judge, sentenced him to death but, on appeal, the High Court commuted it to transportation for life with forfeiture of property 6 ? The zamindarx estate of Ahmadullah, having an annual income of Rs. 20,000, as well as the villages granted in perpetual lease to his wife, were confiscated. In appreciation of the services rendered by Muhammad Shaft and Abdul Karim, accused in the Ambala case, their sentences for the rest of the period were remitted. 68

These trials did not put an end to the activities of the Wahabis, who seemed to have continued their exertions unabated. Maulavi Mubarak Ali, who succeeded Ahmadullah at Patna, introduced new code terms as the old ones were now intelligible to the British.

Firuz Shah, a prince of the Delhi royal family, was said to have Joined the rebels £t Sittana in 1868 and issued letters to the Deccan Rajas to help them with men and money. 69 A coalition of the hill tribes was again attempted in 1868, and a British outpost in the Agror Valley was attacked. A fruitless little campaign followed, in which large numbers of British troops were employed to keep the ‘rebels* away from the borders. In summing up the results of the campaign, the Panjab Government recorded with regret that it had “come to a close without our having been able either to drive out the Hindustani fanatics or to induce them to surrender and to return to their homes in Hindustan”. 70

The rebels remained a source of constant anxiety to the British as it was feared that “should a war between Great Britain and Russia or Afghanistan break out, the rebel colony on the border will be worth to the enemy many thousands of men”. 71 The British Government was now resolved to crush the movement once for all. The investigations of Reily, Deputy-Inspector-General of Police, Bengal, clearly established that (1) there existed a very serious and wide-spread conspiracy, with its headquarters at Patna, for the purpose of carrying on war with the English; (2) it had* its origin with the colony at Sittana; (3) this colony was mainly dependent on the supplies which were collected in India as a result of this agitation; and (4) these supplies could only be checked if the leaders in India were apprehended and put behind bars.

Vigorous measures were adopted by the Government of India to apprehend the seditious preachers, and every method was employed to gather some sort of evidence against these so-called traitors. The facts disclosed in the State trials of 1864 and 1865 led to the Malda trial of September, 1870 and Rajmahal trial of October, 1870. Maulavi Amiruddin, son of the great Wahabi leader of Malda, Rafiq Mandal, whose devotion and zeal for the movement had become proverbial, was arrested and tried at Malda for his anti-State activities and sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. 7 * 2 With the old spirit still warm within him, Rafiq embraced his son when the judgement was pronounced, and cried out: “My son, never forsake Ameen ruffa l dair, keep firm to the faith”. He was prepared to lose his son if he remained firm in the new doctrines. 73

Ibrahim Mandal of Islampore was involved in the Rajmahal trial and sentenced to transportation for life. He was the leader of the movement in the districts of Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra, Rangpore, Dinajpore, etc., and collected large sums for the jihad. He was so much respected in those parts for his piety and upright character

that the Government prosecutor, Kinealy, found it very difficult to procure witnesses to testify to his so-called “seditious acts”.™ He is said to have been relased in 1878 on the order of Lord Lytton, and died in the first decade of the present century. 76

Further investigations led to the arrest and detention of Amir Khan and Hashmat Dad Khan (July, 1869), hide-merchants of Colootollah, Calcutta, who were said to have been engaged in collecting money and forwarding remittances to Sittana through their agent Pir Muhammad. The other accused in the case were Mubarak Ali, Din Muhammad, Amir-ud-din, and Tobaruk Ali. 76

An application for the transfer of the case from Patna to Calcutta was turned down by the High Court, due to the strong opposition of the Advocate-General. As the Englishman wrote: “The case had almost become a personal one and the official opinion was that the Government, to save itself from a very great difficulty, must get a conviction and this might have become impossible in Calcutta”, The trial lasted 6 months (March 1871—August 1871) and about 136 witnesses were examined. 77 The large mass of evidence referred to letters and telegrams and to money paid and received for seditious purposes. Amir Khan seemed to have been quite liberal in granting sums for the movement, though it was found difficult to connect him directly with the jihad, 78

Hashmat Dad Khan and Pir Muhammad were acquitted by the Sessions Judge as the evidence was not sufficient to warrant conviction, and the remaining five were sentenced to life imprisonment. Their appeal for release, as previously for bail, was rejected by Justice Norman, Officiating

Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court. The seventy-five year old Amir Khan was, however, not transported, but kept in prison 79 in India and died a few months after he was set free in 1879. Routledge, who travelled in India from 1870 to 1874, censured Lord Mayo for his conduct in this case and observed: “The long imprisonment without trial, the re-arrest at Alipore, and the removal from the jurisdiction of the highest Court of law to the Court of a civilian Judge, able and respected though he was as an officer, did not give an idea of the impartial dignity of the

law which is one of the best claims of England to be supreme in India”. 80

Justice Norman, mentioned above, who had also heard the appeal in the Patna trial, was mortally wounded by a Muhammadan, Abdullah (20th September, 1871), in the court-premises in Calcutta. Abdullah was supposed by some to have been connected with the Wahabis, but a careful inquiry failed to show any grounds for such suspicion, and he died on the scaffold, without giving

any clue to his motives. 81 Four months later, in February, 1872, the Viceroy, Lord Mayo, was fatally stabbed at Port Blair, the capital of the Penal Settlement at the Andamans, by an Afghan, Sher Ali, who was under sentence of transportation for life for committing murder. As in the case of Chief Justice Norman, the motive of the murder remained, a mystery, and it was, as before, found impossible to trace any connection between Sher Ali and the Wahabi leaders in India. 82 Sher Ali, however, claimed to have been a martyr to the cause of Indian Muslims. 83

As a result of these trials and other vigorous measures, the Wahabi conspiracy was gradually stamped out from India. As a consequence thereof, the militant Wahabi movement in the northwestern hills almost came to an end, as it was deprived of those resources which had maintained it. The Akhund of Swat, in accordance with his understanding with the British, drove out the ‘Hindustani fanatics’ from their settlement at Bonair, and they had to found new colonies at Palaoi and Maidan. 84 Their role in the later expeditions of 1865, 1888 and 1898 was not a very important one; but they readily supported the hill tribes in their encounters with the British, and many of them died on the battlefield. 85 Later on, the frontier tribes probably drove them out of these colonies also, for there is a reference to their having settled at Tilwai, a village granted to them by the tribe of the Mubarak Khils. 86

2. Organization

The Wahabi movement was much better planned, organized and knitted than the rising of 1857. The absolute secrecy with which its activities were carried out and the fidelity of its members to one another were remarkable. Saiyid Ahmad, the founder, had appointed four khalifas or spiritual vice-regents, namely, Vilayet Ali, Inayet Ali, Muhammad Husain, and Farhat Husain, 87 to enrol followers in his name and to gather supplies for the proposed jihad. With a missionary zeal, the khalifas toured the length and breadth of the country to stir up the people against the English ‘infidels’, appointing provincial and district agents in the far-flung corners of the country. After the abrupt end of Saiyid Ahmad in 1831, Patna became the centre of the movement. Yahya Ali was the chief priest at Patna (nominated at his death-bed by Shah Muhammad Husain who was appointed by Saiyid Ahmad). A Central Committee with Ahmadullah as President and General Manager was in charge of the over-all operations. Its members were Yahya Ali, Abdul Rahim, Abdul Ghafur, and Illahi Bakhsh. It used to meet every Friday night after prayers, and discussed all matters concerning the jihad

and the maintenance of Sittana camp. 88 Letters were read out and instructions issued. Everyone of the “friendly” districts had similar committees and permanent preachers. Their zeal was intensified from time to time by the visits of itinerant missionaries whose influence was consolidated by the central propaganda at Patna. Among district preachers the names of Mian Jan, Muhammad Ibrahim (Lower Bengal), Yahya All, Abdul Bahim f Illahi Bakhsh (Patna), Muhammad Jafar, Husain, Muhammad Shall (Thaneshwar and Am* bala), Abdulla, Faiz Ali and Muhammad Ahsan (Sittana) deserve special mention. Substitutes, too, had been nominated to take up the work in case of their arrest, death or any other emergency. Sadiqpura (the headquarters of the Patna khalifas) was like a caravanserai where the district missionaries sent up young men for onward transmission to Sittana after giving them necessary training. The more promising ones were selected for a longer course of instructions and, after a thorough training, were sent back to work as missionaries in their own provinces. 89

The transmission of the recruits from Patna, called 'Chhota Godown', to 'Bara Godown' (Sittana) beyond the frontier, a distance of about 2,000 miles, presented a most difficult problem to the organizers, and here Yahya Ali's genius for administration showed itself at its best. He organized a series of rest-houses at regular intervals, where these recruits, on their way to Sittana, were received by friends who looked towards their safety and comfort. In charge of these way-side rest-houses were trustworthy men of various walks of life,—all devoted to the supreme cause of the overthrow of the British rule—, and the President of the local committee of 'conspirators'. A list had been prepared of these stages and the mosques where the recruits could safely put up, and also of the names of persons who were sympathetic towards the movement; the fresh recruits were required to learn this list by heart before leaving Patna. Regular agencies had been set up at Patna, Banaras, Kanpur, Delhi, Thaneshwar, Ambala, Amritsar, Jhelum, Rawalpindi, Attock and Peshawar.

At Sittana, these youngmen were kept under the immediate tuition of the leader, Abdullah, who instructed them personally. 90 A few of them were selected as most trustworthy and sent to the plains to work as agents at different stations within the British territory. These agents invariably followed some vocations, such as those of tailors, book-sellers, book-binders, mullahs , butchers, etc., to deceive the police. The rest of these young men were drilled daily, sometimes twice a day, reciting songs extolling the glories of the

war with the 'infidel' English. 91 They were formed into jamiata of 130 men each* commanded by a j amadar. 92

Besides the Central Office at Patna, the Wahabis had a permanent machinery throughout the rural districts of Bengal for spreading their faith. Hunter could not help admiring these missionaries who were "the most spiritual and least selfish of the sect". These preachers usually attached themselves to the mosques to be in a position to train and educate the rising generation, imbibing them with their ideas. The earlier khalifas favoured the efforts of their missionaries to make a permanent settlement wherever the multitude of these converts encouraged them to do so. So a number of these settlements grew up in rural Bengal, as for example, Islampur. 93 These district centres kept up a regular correspondence with the headquarters at Patna and each had its own machinery for raising money and recruits, complete within itself.

The local chief, usually a man of piety and some influence, preached rebellion with great force, accustomed the people to a regular system of contributions for the holy war, and forwarded yearly supplies of men and money to Patna for transmission to the Frontier Camp. Besides the usual Muhammadan levy of zakat, the Wahabis imposed on their followers other taxes, viz., Usftr, or a tax of one seer per maund on all produce; Mutthia, or a handful of rice put aside for each member of the family at every meal, and deposited every Friday with the Mullah or custodian of the village mosque who sold the rice thus collected, sale proceeds being given for the war fund; Fitra, or the voluntary alms given for deserving persons at the mosques; Qurhani ka Chamra, or sale proceed^ of hides of beasts killed during Bakr Id. Later, an extraordinary tax was devised, to be realized at intervals as a voluntary donation over and above the regular taxes. 94 Another source of income was the property of the Wahabis dying without heirs. 96

The conversion of a mandal (village headman) afforded a readymade establishment for the collection of taxes; otherwise villages were grouped together into fiscal clusters, and to each cluster a chief tax-collector was appointed. This officer on his part appointed a village collector to every hamlet, checked his collections and transmitted the proceeds to the District Centre. As a rule, each village had one tax-gatherer, but in populous villages a larger staff was employed consisting of the f Din ka Sardar or the Priest, who led the prayers and gathered the contributions, 'Duniya ka Sardar*, or the General Manager, who looked after the worldly affairs of the sect, and 'Dak ka Sccrdar or an officer who supplied messengers for secret letters and for transmitting the money collected. 96

Hafiq Mandal, in Bengal, was the first man to organize a system for collecting the above taxes. His jurisdiction extended over the whole of Malda with parts of the districts of Murshidabad and Rajshahi, and he received a fourth of the collections as salary. After devoting a part of his collections, which usually exceeded Rs. 20,000 a year, for the support of those gone to the Frontier, and the requirements of the new recruits, he would send the remainder to Patna. Money was sent to the Frontier twice or thrice a year, but not regularly; it depended on the requirements and partly on the Amount collected. 97

The mode of remittances was partly by hundies (arranged by Abdul Ghafur with lllahi Bakhsh who produced drafts on Delhi and Ambala) and partly in gold mohurs which were sent through private messengers. 98 The supplies of men and money wer$ thus forwarded through agents at each stage from Lower Bengal to Patna, and then by rail to Delhi and Ambala; thenceforward through Maula Baksh (Shaft's servant) in Lahore, Abdul Karim, Nabi Baksh and Shaft's agents at Rawalpindi, and Ahmad Ali at Peshawar, to Sittana, a distance of not less than 2,000 miles. 99 A well-worked system of aliases and secret language 100 was another factor contributing to the success and duration of this movement. Abdul Ghani's visit to Port Blair to meet the transported Wahabi leaders, Ahmadullah and Yahya Ali, and his safe return may well speak for the wonderful organization and planning of this movement. 101

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3. Character of the Movement

The Wahabi movement, in its early days, was a purely religious one, confined to a section of the Muslim community, particularly the lower middle class. 102 But as a religious creed it did not attract much following, especially after the death of its founder Saiyid Ahmad, and might not have long survived it but for the political character it assumed in the meanwhile. "It is in districts like Maldah and Backergunge", wrote Reily, District Superintendent of Police on Special Duty, "where the Muhammadan ryots are rich that they find time to indulge in fanaticism and here the movement also assumes a political aspect". 103 It was primarily due to its political role that the movement enlisted the sympathies and even the active support of the general Muhammadan populace. A perusal of the various State trials would be quite revealing in this respect. Among the convicted persons we find representatives of every rank of Muhammadan society,—priests of the highest class, wealthy merchants, soldiers, preachers, and persons belonging to the lower strata of society, viz.,butchers, scriveners, peasants, etc. It was mainly due

to this general sympathetic attitude of the entire community 104 towards the political aspirations of the Wahabis, that it became difficult for the British authorities to unearth the conspiracy and to find witnesses to depose against most of these workers who, to quote Reily again, were so popular and held in such great esteem that "men were unwilling to testify to any of the seditious acts". 105 The few who betrayed were silently, yet completely, boycotted by their community. Abdullah, an agent of Hashmat Dad Khan, for instance, could only be induced to give evidence if he were offered some job, as otherwise he was sure to "lose his present employment and would not be trusted by any other native and consequently he would come to grief and his family would be ruined for want of food". So was the case with the Patna Hakim, Ahmad Ali, whose help to the police in investigations cost him his lucrative practice and he had to beg the Government to employ him as a Sub-Inspector of Police to save himself from starvation. 106 Such was the popularity of the leaders of the movement that in spite of its best endeavpurs, persuasions and intimidations, the Government found it impossible to sell the property of the convicted persons. The Police Officer, Kinealy, lamented in his report that "with great difficulty Certain perishable articles of personal property... could only be disposed of at very inadequate prices". 107

The Hindus, in general, it is true, were suspicious about the motives and character of the movement which in its early stages was directed against the Sikh rulers and proclaimed religious jihads. The forceful Wahabi denunciation of accretions to Islam, which were practically all borrowings from Hinduism, was another cause of possible annoyance. And as Smith writes: "It did encourage communal attitudes, especially in religious thinking, and left a considerable section of the Muslim masses more susceptible to later communalist propaganda than they might otherwise have been". 108 But, in spite of it, after the extinction of the Sikh State, when the Wahabi movement became increasingly political and was turned against the British rulers, the Hindus felt some sympathy for it, and there are in the records references to the detention of some Hindus for their pro-Wahabi activities. 109 It may be said to the credit of the organizers of this movement, which aimed at the destruction of British power in India and the establishment of an Islamic State, that they never came into conflict with the Hindus.

The movement assumed the character of a class struggle in some places, especially in Bengal, where it was accompanied by furious risings of peasants against their landlords, irrespective of communal distinctions. 110 And as Hunter wrote, "the presence of Wa

habis in a district is a standing menace to all classes.. . possessed of property or vested interests". 111 The well-to-do Muslims, and every mullah or priest of a shrine, with a few acres of land attached to it, decried the Wahabi agitation and issued jatwa$ against it.

The Wahabi movement was not confined to Bengal, Bihar, Panjab, N.W.F.P. and Madras. In the Deccan, too, the people were stirred to such a pitch of enthusiasm that the women are said to have sold their jewels and devoted the proceeds to support the movement. 112

*In spite of its wide-spread character and the great enthusiasm it evoked, the Wahabi movement cannot be regarded as a national movement. It was a movement of the Muslims, by the Muslims, and for the Muslims. The Hindus, as a class, held severely aloof, though a few individuals, here and there, might have felt some sort of passive, or occasionally even active, sympathy for it. Their number was, however, very insignificant, and not a single Hindu figured prominently in this great movement extending over a considerable part of India for nearly half a century. The Wahabis were undoubtedly inspired by the motive of freeing India of the British rule, but their struggle was not for securing freedom for India but for the re-establishment of Muslim supremacy. The history of the Wahabi movement, as noted above, 113 clearly proves that even the most wide-spread and well-organized movement for driving away the British, need not always be taken as a national war of independence. 114

B. THE KUKA REVOLT IN THE PUNJAB 1143

The Kuka movement in the Punjab shows a striking resemblance with that of the Wahabis. Both began as an attempt to restore the pristine purity of religion,—Sikhism in the first case, and Islam in the second,—and both drifted to a political movement with the common object of driving away the English. The methods of organization were also very similar.

The Kuka movement was probably founded in the Western Punjab by Bhagat Jawhar Mai, generally known as Sian Sahib, in the forties of the nineteenth century, shortly before the British conquest of the Punjab. 114ab Its aim was to purify the Sikh religion by removing the abuses and superstitions that had crept into it, such as caste distinctions, rigours imposed upon widows like those among the Hindus, and the worship of idols, tombs, and ascetics. Sian Sahib and his disciple, Balak Singh, gathered round them a band of followers and fixed their headquarters at Hazro in NWFP. They "proclaimed Govind Singh as the only true Guru, who prohibited all worship

save the reading of his 'Granth* and all employment of Brahmans, and in many ways revived the original doctrines of the Sikh faith. Their tenets included the abolition of caste and of restrictions upon intermarriage, abstinence from meat, liquors and drugs, and comparatively free intercourse between the sexes. The sectaries carried staves about in their hand, tied their turbans in a peculiar fashion (sidhpag), wore a necklace of woollen cord tied in knots, and had a watchword known only to themselves."

After the conquest of the Punjab by the British, the revival of the Sikh sovereignty is said to have become the chief item in the programme of the Kukas. Their ideas of reform receded into the background, and, according to some accounts, they degenerated into moral laxity. Bam Singh, who became the leader of the sect after the death of Balak Singh in 1863, had served in the army of the Sikh ruler, Nao Nihal Singh. He rapidly recruited a large number of followers, chiefly from the Jats and many lower classes, and emphasized the political aspect of the sect. He "declared himself to be an incarnation of Guru Govind Singh, and preached the revival of the Khalsa and the overthrow of the English Government." He is said to have asked his followers not to accept service under the Government, not to send children to Government schools, not to use courts of law but settle disputes in panchayats, not to use foreign goods, and not to use Government postal service. Ram Singh is said to have openly declared that when one hundred and twenty-five thousand Sikhs joined him, the English would be defeated and fly from the country, and the Kukas would rule over the whole country from Ghazni to Calcutta. In these circumstances “it is not possible for a Kuka to be a loyal subject of the British Government, as the avowed object of Guru Govind Singh, whose incarnation Ram Singh professes to be, was a temporal kingdom; and the establishment of this under Ram Singh is the first element in the faith of the sect”. 114ac Ram Singh settled down at Bhaini Ala, 14 miles east of Ludhiana, and used to go about followed by a large retinue and in great state. He gave military training to his followers and appointed ‘Subas* and ‘Naib-Subas* to organize the sect in different districts of the Punjab. But immorality seems to have crept into the organization. Mr. Ibbetson refers to the nocturnal meetings of the Kukas marked by a great deal of sexual license, and observes: “The pure morality which they at first preached has been superseded by the most unbridled license under the name of religious enthusiasm, men and women dancing naked together and indulging in orgies which have alienated the sympathies of the more decent portion of the community”.

The Kuka movement, particularly its political implication, had been causing anxiety to the Government since 1803, and they looked upon it as a source of great danger. It was reported that Earn Singh had been carrying on secret intrigues with the Maharaja of Nepal, and that a Kuka regiment was organized in Jammu in 1870 with the help of the Maharaja. The Kukas were believed to have preached their doctrines among the native forces, and also to have enlisted themselves in the forces of native princes. But the truth of all these cannot be established with certainty. In any case the Government kept a sharp eye on the movement and special precautions were taken from time to time to prevent large gatherings of them.

The. two main outward activities of the Kukas before 1871 were the destruction of idols and shrines in various localities of the Punjab, and the murder of butchers and others whom they suspected of slaughtering kine. When the British first* conquered. the Punjab they promised to enforce Sikh Darbar’s prohibition of cow-slaughter. This was not, however, followed in practice, and ere long beef was openly sold in markets. To stop the work of the butchers became a principal tenet of the Kukas and organized plan to murder the butchers brought them into conflict with the authorities.

The establishment of a public slaughter-house near one of the gates of the golden temple of Amritsar and throwing bones into a Hindu well provoked the Kukas, who murdered four butchers and wounded three others. In course of a raid at Raikot in Ludhiana District, the Kukas killed three and wounded thirteen. It is generally believed that Ram Singh, the leader, had no hand in these crimes, and his followers murdered the butchers of kine simply because they believed they were earning spiritual merit thereby. So, although nine Kukas were executed and two transported for these crimes, no legal action was taken against Ram Singh.

These punishments provoked the Kukas to greater frenzy, “On the 13th January, 1872, there was a meeting of the Kukas at Bhaini, and a band of about 150 of these, after working themselves up into a state of religious frenzy, started off under the leadership of two Jats of Sakarundi in Patiala territory. Ram Singh (who disapproved of this action) informed the police of their intention to da some mischief, saying that he had no control over them. They were armed with axes, sticks etc., only and are said to have declared that the town of Maler Kotla would be the object of their attack. They went to Pael in Patiala territory without causing any disturbance, and re-appeared next day near to Malaudh, the seat of Sirdar Badan Singh, on which they made a sudden onset with the idea, probably, of getting arms and money. They are said to have wanted the Sirdar to lead them. In this attack two men were killed on each side and a few wounded, and the Kukas succeeded in securing three horses, one gun and one sword. No one joined them anywhere on their march, and they never numbered more than 150 men at the outside. They next proceeded to Kotla (the capital of the small Malar Kotla State) which is nine miles distant from Malaudh, and on the morning of the 15th made a sudden attack on the palace and the treasury of the Nawab; but they were driven off when the Kotla guards had recovered from their surprise, and pursued to Burr in the Patiala territory, where, to the number of 68, they surrendered to the Patiala authorities. At Malaudh and Kotla they had killed 10 men and wounded 17, while their own loss had been 9 killed and 38 wounded. On getting news of the attacks on Malaudh and Kotla, Mr. Cowan, the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, started for the latter place 41 and ordered the sixty-eight prisoners, of whom 29 were wounded, to be sent there. How, in defiance of the order of the Commissioner, and without even the semblance of a trial, Cowan executed 49 of the captured men by blowing them from guns has been narrated at some length in Chapter XLVII; others were tried by the Commissioner and executed on the following day.

Ram Singh was always kept under surveillance by the Government. Although no legal action was taken against him for the murder of butchers, he and some of his chief followers were interned within their villages, and a body of police was posted at Bhaini. His restrictions were partially removed in 1866, but Ram Singh was held responsible for the outrage of 1872, though he had disowned the band of his followers who attacked Malaudh and Kotla, and kept the police informed of their activities. He was deported to Rangoon and remained a State prisoner till his death in 1885.

Thus ended the Kuka movement. There is hardly any doubt that the rash action of a small group of fanatics among the Kukas, undertaken in direct defiance of their leader, was principally responsible for the unexpected and speedy end of the movement.

C. THE BIRSA MOVEMENT IN CHOTANAGPUR

Reference has been made above to the ferments of discontent riicng the Kols, Santals and other primitive tribes in the neighbourhood before the great outbreak of 1857, culminating in the great kantals in 1855-7.' ; Although these were rigorously suppressed, sometimes with undue severity, discontent and consequent unrest led to occasional outbursts even during the second ball of the nineteenth century. There were some agrarian disturbances between 1881 and 1895, but the most serious revolt was that under the leadership of Shri Birsa, of the Munda tribe. Like the Wahabi and Kuka movements, “the underlying object of the Birsa movement was internal purification, and along with it was associated the desire to remove the alien government and its supporters, the landlords, who were considered to be responsible for various socio-economic changes affecting the conditions of the people of this area. Educated (at Chaibasa) and with some knowledge of English, Birsa had become a convert of the German Mission. What he received there did not satisfy his soul. He reverted to the original Munda faith of his ancestors. He was also influenced by Hindu ideas of purity. By the beginning of the monsoon of the year 1895 an inner urge led this youth of about 21 to promulgate a new faith, the tenets of which, he declared, he had received from Sing Bonga himself, through which he held out a programme for the cultivation of higher ethical virtues for self-purification of those who joined his fold. He asked his followers to give up sacrificing before many bongos or deities and to worship only one God, Sing Bonga. They were required to lead chaste and pure life, to abstain from all intoxicants including hnaria, to observe clean habits, discard animal food and to wear sacred thread. His disciples grew in large numbers including even Christian converts. To them He appeared as a new prophet, an incarnation of God, 'Dharti Aba * or Father of the World, possessed of supernatural powers, and his village Chalkad soon became a centre of pilgrimage for thousands of Mundas.” 1 ' 40

The popularity of Birsa ‘Bhagwan’ among the Mundas alarmed the Government. They “considered his tenets to be ‘dangerous* and scented political designs in the movement aiming at the overthrow of the British raj and establishment of Munda self-government.’* 114 * 1 The authorities therefore decided to arrest Birsa, but were afraid of serious consequences that might follow any attempt to do so in broad daylight. The Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi wrote: “The temper of the crowd was such that it could have resisted with force which suggested to me to order the arrest of Birsa to be carried but by night It was humanly speaking certain that had an armed police force attempted the arrest of Birsa even under the command of the D.S.P. himself, in the open day, there would have been resistance and most probably with an opposing crowd of armed men (it) might have been most serious”. 114 ®

So “Mr. Meares, the District Superintendent of Police at Ranchi, went to Chalkad on the 24th August, 1895, and cleverly reached the place, where Birsa was sleeping in the night, without the knowledge of those who were around him, ‘gagged his mouth with his pocket handkerchief, took him on his elephant/ and came away secretly to Ranchi before anybody could offer resistance". 1144

Birsa and his fifteen followers, who were also arrested with him, were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for two years and payment of fine. The other accused were let off with a small fine only. In passing the sentence the Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi referred to "the serious character of the movement" and observed: "Quite apart however from all extraneous considerations as to the origin and object of Birsa's propaganda, that propaganda itself was of so violently disaffected a kind and so calculated to diffuse a widespread feeling of disloyalty in the country that I consider that it will be lightly dealt with even in awarding the utmost penalty the law provides". 114

Birsa was released from jail in January, 1898, and almost immediately renewed his old activities. "Moving from village to village, he and his followers revitalised the forces of opposition. By rendering help and service to the people of those areas, Sorely afflicted by the ravages of famine, scarcity and epidemics, they were able to evoke wide-spread sympathy and support. Birsa, whom the Government looked upon as 'dangerous agitator', was a friend of the masses, possessed of a strong determination to eradicate injustice. For a crusade of this sort, he realized the need of organising a fighting force through effective training of as many as could be recruited, in the use of bows, arrows and swords. Gaya Munda % one of his close associates and principal advisers, was placed in charge of this training, as Minister and Commander-in-Chief". 114h Arrangements were also made for making weapons,—bows and arrows, spears, etc. "Khunti became the headquarters of this revolutionary force, while training centres were started at Ranchi, Chakradharpur, Bundu, Tamar, Karra, Torpa, Basia, Sisai, and some other places". 1141 Secret meetings were held at numerous places during night in which Birsa "recounted before the gathering their grievances and exhorted them to fight against those who were perpetrating injustice and oppressions on them in various ways, with a view to establishing their own government. It was planned to take a strong offensive just on the eve of, and during the Christmas of 1899" 114 .1

Birsa's preaching in this strain led to wide-spread violence on the part of his followers. Mission houses were attacked, rowdyism took place in several localities, and Birsa's men got the better of the Police on more than one occasion. All these culminated in an organized attack on the Khunti Police Station, on 7 January, 1900, by a body of 300 Mundas armed with bows and arrows, battle-axes

and spears. They killed one of the .constables and set fire to some houses. The Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi, who at once proceeded with troops, "soon came up with a body of the Munda forces (about 2000) on the Dumari Hill, three miles south of Saiko, where they had erected stockades at intervals to defend their position and had also with them women and children and 'large stores of clothing, food, and cooking utensils*. It is mentioned in a Government report that the Deputy Commissioner at first used palliative words for about an hour urging them to lay down their arms and that they paid no heed to these n . 114k He then ordered the military to fire* The majority of the Mundas escaped into jungles but a large number, including women and children, and estimated at about 200, were killed. It was alleged that not only dead bodies were "thrown by the military into the deep gorges and ravines of the hills" and buried in two deep trenches dug by them, but "some wounded persons were also buried alive". 1141 Long before this incident the Government had begun a regular hunt for Birsa and his general Gaya Munda, neither of whom was on the Dumari Hill. Gaya Munda was surprised and shot dead. Birsa, who evaded arrest for some time f was betrayed by some Mundas and captured, while asleep, on 3 February, 1900. But he died of cholera in jail on 2nd June,

mo."**

By launching a strenuous campaign of terror, about 450 followers of Birsa were rounded up. Eighty-seven were committed to the Sessions. Capital sentences were passed on two, and the rest were sentenced to various terms of transportation or imprisonment. The movement initiated by Birsa Bhagwan was thus ruthlessly stamped out.

D THE naIKDAS

The Naikdas, a very wild forest tribe of Panch Mahals in Bombay, rose into insurrection in October, 1858, in the wake of the Mutiny. They put up a stiff fight and, though never actually defeated, were persuaded to submit, and in March 10, 1859, their leader Rupa Naik olios Rupsingh accepted amnesty.

In 1867, Joria, a Naikda of the village of Vadek, about li miles north-west of Jambughoda, began to act as an inspired man, giving out that he was Parameshwar (God), and preaching the purest morality. Soon he collected a arge following, and in January, 1868, was joined by Rupa Naik, mentioned above. It was decided to set up a kingdom with Joria as the spiritual, and Rupsingh, the temporal head. They established a court at Vadek, and began to collect revenue by way of religious gifts, fines and transit dues. Tbwards the end of January, Rupsingh revived an old claim to share in the revenue of Rajgad, a Police Station near Narukot^in the State of Bariya, but his claim was rejected. So, on 2 February, Rupsingh attacked Raj gad in the State of Bariya with about five hundred men. He failed in his chief object, the murder of the Bariya Superintendent, who had very shortly before left Raj gad. In other respects the attack was successful. Three of the defenders were killed and three wounded, and the sum of about Rs. 800 in cash, the arms and ammunitions of the post, two horses and much private property were carried away. After thd attack on Rajgad, Rupsingh retired into the Panch Mahals, and being joined by Naikdas and several Makranis, sacked Jambughoda and threatened Halol. Joria Bhagat also did not sit idle. Such panic did he inspire among the ignorant people of the district that he gained his first fights without suffering any loss. Flushed with success, he attacked on the 6th February the post of Jetpur in Chhota Udepur. But being met by the Chief, who with some followers was hunting close by, three of his men were killed. Though this loss to some extent shook the confidence of the Naikdas, their leader sent so defiant a message to the Udepur jCHief that, giving up the posts of Kadval and Jetpur, he concentrated his troops for the defence of Chhota Udepur. Before disorder spread further, the Bhagat's headquarters were attacked by a British force, one of the leading men was slain and two wounded, and open resistance was crushed.

Rupsingh, the Bhagat, and Rupsingh's son Galalia, followed up with untiring vigour, were caught, tried, and hanged. The rising was almost entirely confined to Panch Mahals Naikdas. Only a few of Rupsingh's followers and these men of no position, belonged to the Rewa Kantha States;. 114n

III. WASUDEO BALWANT PHADKE

What the Wahabis attempted with a vast organization, an individual and insignificant man in Bombay tried to accomplish in 1879 by his own unaided effort. This was Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, whose life and doings form a romantic cum tragic chapter in the history of the period under review,—all the more interesting as the details can be accurately known from his own diary and autobiography.

"Bom in 1845 in the district of Kolaba near Bombay, Wasudeo Balwant did not receive much education but acquired just enough knowledge of English to be able to secure Government Service which he did while in his 'teens'. In 1863 he joined the Commissariat (Military Accounts) department and Continued to serve there for over fifteen years. Extremely sensitive and impulsive by nature, Wasudeo had developed a feeling of profound dislike for the British Government and that feeling deepened into hatred when in 1869 there was delay on (he part of his superiors in granting him leave for which he had applied on account of his

mother's illness. It was sanctioned too late and when he rushed to his mother's bedside she was already dead ". 115

The feelings of Phadke were deeply stirred by the devastations caused in Western India by the terrible famine of 1876-77, and he was firmly convinced that the miseries of India were the consequences of foreign rule. Hence he took a vow to stir up an armed rebellion and destroy the British power in India. For this purpose ho? used to collect bands of young men, explained to them the virtues of patriotism, and gave them training in the use of arms. He found little sympathy among the educated people and therefore turned for support to lower or backward communities like the Ramosis, mentioned above, 116 and simple sturdy peasants of Maharashtra villages. He also conceived the idea of securing money by committing dacoities. In his autobiography he says that he gave lectures in Poona and other places. “First of all,” he writes, “having gone to Narooba’s Wada, I performed prayers: going and coming on the road I poisoned the minds of the people against the Europeans”. 117 After narrating his grievances against the English, he continues: “Thinking of thousands of things like this, my mind turned against the English and I wished to ruin them. From morning to night, bathing, eating, sleeping, I was brooding over this, and I could get no proper rest. At midnight I used to get up and think how this ruin might be done until I was as one mad.- I learnt to fire at targets, to ride, also sword and club exercise. I have great live (love?) of arms, and always kept 2 or 3 guns, 5 or 6 swords, pattas (long swords), spears, etc., by me”. This last statement is to some extent corroborated by the result of the search of Wasudeo’s house in Poona by the Police. “Two swords, two guns, two handles of foils, a piece of chain armour, some powder, four seers of lead and some holsters” were found in it. 118

His aims and methods are explained in his autobiography, in connection with the meeting which he organized at Loni Khand, a village twelve miles from Poona on the Nagar Road, on February 20-21, 1879. As this was his first enterprise, his words may be quoted in full.

“Having obtained Rs. 5,000 from a Sawkar 1 proposed to send to all sides three or four men a month in advance that small gangs might be raised by them from which great fear would come to the English. The mails would be stopped, and the railway and telegraph interrupted,- so that no information could go from one place to another. Then the jails would be opened and all the long-sentenced prisoners would join me because if the English

Government remained they would not get off. If I obtained 200 men, even should I not be able to loot the treasury I should carry out my intention of releasing criminals. How many and where the military were would not be known, and thus thousands of ignorant people would collect. This would be good and my intention carried out.

“But to us good (respectable) people it is difficult to obtain money and how can it be got for such a purpose, because they have no thought (for the future). In their hearts they wish the English Government to go, but you must not ask money.

“When a child is born it is as a drop of water; when he grows up he can carry out his desires, but when only one year or five can he do it? So with a ‘BAND’; even though it be small, if the foundation is good it shall grow big and conquer a government. There is much ill-feeling among the people and now if a few make a commencement those who are hungry will join. Many men are inclined to begin, and the result will be good.

“Therefore I have expended money and given a feast at which from 100 to 125 persons were present. From this I concluded that if so many collected this day I should obtain many more hereafter, and if they cost 119 much money, still it would be repaid. Having thus resolved I gave one man with them to prevent their separating. On the next night on inspecting them, some of the old men and some new, in all 40 persons only—were present, and on the third day we looted Dhamari”.” 0

So, two days after the feast Phadke put his theory into practice and committed a dacoity at the village of Dhamari. ‘.‘At night about 7 o’clock we, in all about 45 men, went to Dhamari: Forty-two men entered the village and all the inhabitants fled. We broke into nearly all the shops_” 121 They looted about Rs. 400.and had a short skirmish with the police. It appears that public sympathy towards them was not altogether lacking. A lady of a distinguished family prepared food for Phadke’s party during the two days they were in hiding in the ravines before committing dacoity at Dhamari. After the dacoity four men warned them that "on the morrow the cavalry were coming after them". Phadke, being hunted by the police, fled from place to place. But he could evade the police because he was sheltered and befriended by both high and low. In course of his wanderings Phadke tried to enlist the support of the villagers and spoke to them "a good deal that they might trust him.". "I said you must tell all your relations, and have no fear and. understand that the day of comfort for the ryots has come. They agreed to all this" and brought them milk and curds. 122

Several dacoities were committed for getting money, and Phadke was planning to loot Government Treasury, but he was rudely disillusioned by the conduct of the Ramosis who were not inspired by any patriotic ideas and merely looked to their own interests. Phadke thus expresses his feelings in his autobiography:

"Seeing what had occurred in the last 10 days I began to consider what all this would end in, and how I could accomplish anything with such people (Ramoshis) who on committing a dacoity first of all rob and make away with the booty and then bully for their share of the division, after which they are anxious to return to their homes at once. Under such circumstances how can 200 men be collected? What has God done? If I had assembled 200 men I would have looted the Khed treasury and got much money, as at this time the revenue was being

collected, and had I got more money I could have got the assistance of 500 horses. If I had got horsemen they would have been good men, not deceitful like the Ramoshis.They fear to go before guns, and have great avarice of money". 1 *

Phadke was, however, impressed by the loyalty of the Dhangars to his cause, and he tried to invoke the support and sympathy of the villagers to his cause by explaining his aims and objects. On 29 March he went to Nanagaum with his party, and they were supplied with provisions by the Patelfor two days. There he addressed the people, as the following entry in his Diary under 29th March shows:

“As I had spoken to all the people before, so I lectured the people here. We on being bom small children cannot lift a “Kuja” holding two maunds of water, but a man of 25 years can lift it. If you wish that a child of 25 years should be bom; can it be? So our state at present is just like this. We are small, and in the same way as parents take care of their children when cough, fever and come, if you will tike care of us, the English having been destroyed by our you will have comfort, but if you will not rear and take care of us as you are now suffering by die English so they will even dig up your children. Hnw>npij n g and giving them examples they became convinced and said to us, “come here whenever you will, you may remain in these forests without fear”. 1 * 1

On that very night (29 March, 1879) Phadke committed two dacoities and got some money, but there were quarrels about the distribution, and Phadke found that the Ramosis misappropriated part of the loot without even informing him. Disappointed and disgusted at the conduct of the Ramosis, the only class of men who had joined him in a considerable number, Phadke left them. “I determined”, wrote he on second April, “to go and pray at the shrine of Shri Shela Malik Arjun (Kumool district), and if my prayer was not heard, destroy myself.” 126 Having reached this shrine he began to write his autobiography on 19 April. 126 His thoughts of the moment are thus expressed by way of review of his past life:

“...Having prayed and having spent much money I made every endeavour to accomplish what was in my mind, but with no result. I have not applied the forehead mark for the last five years. Having hung the mendicant’s bag over m ' T shoulder and allowed my hair to grow long I went to Nasik, Nagar, Khandesh, Berar, Nagpur, Indore, Ooojein, Kolhapur, Tasgaon, Miraj, Sangli, Baroda, etc.and strove hard. Three times I took leave and once I went without leave, and now having left the service I have caused dacoities in order that having collected money I may entertain men. A child being bom does not at once become grown up, but grows little by little. Understanding this I commenced with dacoity Finding there is no success to be obtained in this world, I having gone to the world above should plead on behalf of the people of India...My life alone will not be given thus, but thousands of others will be killed for I was not alone in this affair. One person cannot manage a whole family then how is a State to be managed by one? Bearing this in mind I commenced this work but the result has not been good, therefore, having come here I have engaged in prayer". Next day, 20 April, he wrote: "I have only seven days to live, so I think; therefore I bow before the feet of all you my brethren, inhabitants of India, and give up my life for you and will remain pleading for you in the just Court of God...I pray

to God that he may take my life as a sacrifice for your welfare, and of you ali 1 take farewell". 127

But Phadke recovered and went back to Ghanur or Gangpur, not far from Sholapur. The Government had proclaimed a reward of Rs. 3,000 for the arrest of Phadke, but he found a good friend in Raghunath Moreshwar Bhat, and told him: "If you will give me 200 men I will not go back to Shri Shela but will go back towards Poona." He again fell ill, but after his recovery, Raghunath brought over Ismail Khan Rohilla to him. The Rohilla chief agreed to supply Phadke 500 Rohillas at Rs. 10 per mensem each, and their food, and was to receive Rs. 15 per mensem himself. A formal agreement was signed to this effect. Raghunath also asked a few others to supply men to Phadke, and they agreed to do so. Altogether there was arrangement for 900 armed men, including the 500 Rohillas. In the meantime Major Daniel, on the information supplied by the spies, arrived at Ghanur on 20 July and surrounded the village. Phadke escaped, but his papers fell into the hands of Daniel. Amongst the documents, partly thrown into the river by Raghunath's mother but recovered, were a Bombay army map, a diary, and several proclamations offering a reward of Rs. 10,000 or 5,000 for Governor's head, with a sliding scale of rewards for lesser Europeans. There was also a letter written by an astrologer recommending Phadke to Maulavi Mahmood Sahib who was the head of the Arabs, Rohillas and Sikhs in the Nizam's service. Phadke fled from place to place, but was pursued day. and night by Daniel and Abdul Huque, Police Commissioner to the Nizam, until they came across him asleep in a temple in the village of Dever Nadigi, in the Kaladgi District of Hyderabad, at 3 a.m. on 21 July, 1879. 128

The rest may be briefly told. Wasudeo Balwant Phadke was charged under sections 121A, 122 and 124A for collection of men, arms, and ammunition with the intention of waging war against the Queen and for exciting feeling of disaffection to the Government. All these charges were amply proved by his diary, autobiography, and his own confessions, as well as by various witnesses called for the prosecution. He was sentenced to transportation for life, the judge expressing his regret that the law did not permit him to pass a heavier sentence. The Government decided to send him to Aden in place of the Andamans. He was put in a steamer which left Bombay on 3 January, 1880. He was fettered and placed in solitary confinement in the Aden Jail in a cell close to the office where the night-guards were posted. Nevertheless, on October 13, 1880, at about 11-30 p.m., he effected his escape by pulling a door off the hinges and taking off his fetters with a hinge. He was, however,

recaptured on the next day. Since August, 1882, he reduced his food by half and developed phthisis. He gradually sank and died on 17 February, 1883.

The history of Phadke has been dealt with at some length because though it was a curious phenomenon—one man standing out against the mighty British empire—, it left its legacy, and the seeds he sowed grew into a mighty banyan tree, with its shoots spread all over India, in about a quarter of a century's time. His patriotism and daring spirit were taken up by the Chapekar brothers, to whom reference will be made later, and from them it was taken over by the revolutionary wing of the Indian nationalists early in the twentieth century. Even his method of secretly collecting arms, imparting military training to youths, and securing necessary funds by means of political dacoities were followed by the latter. He may, therefore, be justly called the father of militant nationalism in India.

The life and death of Phadke also throw interesting sidelight on the attitude of the Indians vis cl vis the British Government. The sympathy and support which he received from simple village folk in spite of his activities against the Government carried on with the help of money forcibly exacted from the people, give us a glimpse of the spirit of real India such as was more fully manifested thirty years later. But it was not the village folk alone who appreciated Phadke. There was great public enthusiasm during his trial, and the vast crowd which had assembled to witness his trial shouted out "success to Wasudeo". When Wasudeo was brought to the railway station at

Poona after his conviction, a European lady presented him with a bunch of flowers. There was also a big gathering in the railway station at Poona when he was being removed, so much so that the Government was taken aback at the respect shown to him by the people. Some Indian newspapers 129 like the Indu Prakash explained this public feeling as an expression of compassion for his fate, rather than approval of his actions. Others^ like the Shivaji, denounced his methods, but highly appreciated his intentions, disinterestedness and self-denial. On the other hand, the Deccan Star of the 23rd November, in its principal leader, obseved:

"In the eyes of his countrymen, Wasudev Balwant Phadke did not commit any

wrong.Wasudev, though a Brahman, showed a truly Christian spirit when

he tried to relieve the misery of his countrymen. Those who censure Wasudev for

pursuing the course which he did, are simply dissemblers.By sacrificing

himself he has averted the danger which sooner or later must follow intolerable oppression. We consider him as the harbinger of a bright future for India".

Some papers steered a middle course. The Bodha Sudhakar observed:

“Some journals in Bombay have heaped all kinds of opprobrious epithets on Wasudev; but the publication of his autobiography shows that he possessed some sterling qualities. He must be classed with some of the best benefactors of mankind, but having directed his attention solely to one object, he lost his balance and became demented. His intentions were good, but the means by which he hoped to carry out his ideas were utterly unsuited to the times. We are certain that those who esteem and applaud Washington will do the same in the case of Wasudev; but the natives of India have lost all ideas of patriotism, and hence there is no one among them to appreciate him”.

The last-named paper condemned the dacoities committed by Phadke, and this is indeed a crucial question in forming a proper judgment of Phadke, and of the followers of his cult in the next century. It is quite clear from Phadke's own diary and autobiography that he mercilessly beat and tortured innocent men and women for extorting money from them. Thus we read that 'the wife of a Baniya was so fat and strong that she was beaten much but would not move from the place where she was sitting and under which she had property buried'. 130 On another occasion, Phadke, irritated by the refusal of the inmates of the house to disclose the whereabouts of its owners, the Baniyas, ordered his men to cut the people's noses as they were telling lies. When the two Baniyas were found,

"they were seized and brought but refused to give anything although we beat them much, and at length one of my men, Pandya, cut one of their ears and injured his nose. Even then they agreed to nothing. At one time they said they would point out their money, but afterwards changed. These Banyas had oppressed the people so much that many came forward and said if you will revenge us we shall be much pleased. Attending to what the people asked I burnt all the papers, etc., of these Banyas"." 0 *

On the face of it, it is difficult not to condemn these crimes in the strongest language. How far these kinds of cruelties are justified by the object which Phadke had in view is a matter for serious consideration. It raises the eternal problem—how far the end justifies the means. The analogy of cruelties of war is put forward by many to justify such cruelties, but opinions are bound to differ widely on this issue.

IV. INDIGO RIOTS

The outrages perpetrated by the British indigo-planters in India constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of British rule in India. As they affected only a part of Bengal and Bihar it is not necessary to deal with them in a very detailed manner in a general history of India, but the enormity of the crimes and the consequences to which they led make it imperative to make a comprehensive survey of the subject. Fortunately for historians, there are abundant materials of an authentic character to enable them to draw an accurate picture of this memorable episode, which is extremely painful to an Indian and highly disgraceful to an Englishman.

It may be a pure accident, but is certainly a fact, that at the vely moment when Britain abolished, first the slave-trade (1807) and then the slavery itself in British dominions (1833), slavery was introduced by the British in India in another form, which might diffef in degree but not in kind. It seems, in other words, as if the British introduced slavery in India to make up for the losses suffered by them in other territories.

The cultivation of indigo plants by the British on an organized system goes back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Two methods of cultivating indigo were generally followed; namely the nijabad cultivation conducted by the indigo-planter at his own expense on his own land, and the ryoti cultivation, conducted by the ryot (cultivator) at his own expense on his own land, under an agreement with the planter. This agreement laid down the rate tft which the ryot would be paid for his produce, and was accompanied by an advance paid to him, to be deducted from his dues when account was made up for the year. Though on paper it looked quite simple and unobjectionable, in practice it was open to grave abuses. These may be summed up as follows: 131

1. Various charges were realized from a ryot , e.g., for supply of seeds, price of stamps for the agreement, carting charges etc. The price paid to him was much below the market rate, normally l$ss than half or one-third.

The Indigo Commission found that the produce was taken from the ryots at a fixed rate of Rs. 4 per maund, while the market rate varied from ten to thirty Rupees. The planter forced the ryot to sow indigo in the field selected by himself,—the very best which the ryot possessed and in which he could easily sow a much more remunerative crop. The planter measured the land according fv & standard which was one-fourth to one-half larger than the fiormal one, so that the ryot had to cultivate indigo on a larger scale than he had stipulated for. Similarly, he was cheated by wrong measurements of the bundle of indigo plants which he delivered to the factory. By these means the poor ryot was forced to sow indigo on his best lands, but hardly received anything by way of return. Out of the little amount, if any, that the ryot got from the planter, he had to pay gratuities to the gomastdh and other employees of the planted as they had ample means of injuring him in many ways by making

false representations to the planter. 132 In many cases the ryot had to pay the gratuity out of his own pocket (though, of course, he had no coat). It may appear incredible to many that most of the ryots got little or nothing for the cultivation. But here are well-authenticated facts. "Of 33,200 indigo raiyats who cultivated for the Bengal Indigo Company's concerns in 1858-59, only 2,448 were shown by Mr. Larmour to have received any payment for plant delivered, beyond the trifle of cash advanced". 133 It is necessary to add that the ryot had to pay gratuities to the planter's employees all the same,* and further that the above figures represent the state of things at a time when many of the old abuses were partially removed.

2. As the ryot received little or no amount, he was not in a position to repay the advance he had taken from the planter. There was a clause in his agreement that any balance shall be paid not in money, but in indigo, at the low rate fixed. "These are the lawful, or quosi-lawful, means of insisting on the raiyats (, or families of raiyats, who have once touched an advance, continuing to cultivate". 134 Sons, succeeding to their father's property and debts, were held liable for their father's engagements and continued to sow indigo for planters without practically any remuneration. As the Indigo Commission, aptly remarked: "Once a ryot took advance he is never afterwards a free man". 136 One might well add: 'nor were his sons and even grandsons'. Even when a ryot found means to pay off the debts accumulating for years, in order to get rid of indigo plantation, he was not allowed to do so. A planter honestly avowed that "to encourage any ryot to pay off his balances would be virtually to close the factory". 136 The dictum, "once a slave always a slave", was fully applicable to the indigo cultivators in Bengal.

3. It is true that this slavery was not recognized by law, but there were ample means to enforce it. The British indigo-planters took the law in their own hands. The Indigo Commission asked a respectable witness: "If the ryots have for the last twenty years been unwilling to sow indigo, how then have they gone on cultivating the plant up to the present time?" Straight came the answer, without any hesitation: "by numerous acts of oppression

and violence, by locking them up in godowns, burning their houses, beating them, etc." 137

The terrible repression of the British planters on the hapless and helpless cultivators of Bengal was known to the Government, and partially admitted by them, as far back as 1810, when they withdrew the licences granted to four planters "on account of the severe ill-usage of the natives proved against them." 138 The violence and oppression of the planters grew apace in course of time,

as the removal of restrictions on immigration of Englishmen into India increased their number. For a time the mutual quarrels and strifes between neighbouring planters added a new element of disorder. But this indirectly helped the cultivators as rival planters, out of sheer necessity, had to bid for better terms to attract cultivators. But the planters soon realized their folly. By mutual agreement they portioned out the country amongst themselves and specified the zone of individual operations—and oppression; the formation of the Indigo Planters' Association gave them added opportunity for oppression and increased their immunity from retribution. Referring to this Sir John Peter Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, made the following observations in a minute on the Report of the Indigo Commission of I860. 139

"Commencing from a time about 15 years ago, and especially since the establishment of the Indigo Planters* Association, the planters, having portioned out the country amongst them, now honourably abstain from interfering with the portions of their neighbours. The result has been advantageous to themselves, and it has removed one fertile source of affrays. But, though it has saved Magistrates much trouble, and has been good for the general peace of the country, the result has been anything but good for the raiyat as a grower of indigo plant. When he stood in the midst of rival manufacturers, many of them at feud with each other, he had some refuge from oppression or vexation under any one; and there was some check upon planters in their relation with raiyats, which has now ceased to exist. It is only this system of local indigo seigniories that made it possible for the planters to commit the fatal error of insisting upon indigo plant at the old price, in the last few years, when the prices of agricultural produce have doubled, or nearly doubled**. 14 *

To strengthen still further their position, vis d vis the cultivators, the planters secured the zamindari or putni rights by purchase, which was not unoften brought about by intimidation backed by the British officials. As Grant comments: "When the raiyat has a zamindar, who is not an indigo manufacturer, he has some protector in indigo matters. When the same man is indigo manufacturer and zamindar, or zamindar's representative, the raiyat has no such protection". 141 Now the planters got absolute authority over the poor illiterate cultivators lving in the interior of Bengal far away from law courts, police or educated public to whom they could turn for redress. With a band of hired lathials (stalwart upcountrymen armed with heavy clubs) and a host of minor officials and menials of the most despicable character, the British indigo-planters scoured the country, and did not shrink from any brutality to bring the recalcitrant cultivators to their senses and force them to cultivate indigo at a loss which they could ill afford to sustain. The plaintive cries of the oppressed cultivators rent the sky of Bengal for half a century, and found eloquent expression in pamphlets, folksongs 142 and a drama, Nil-darpan, by Dinabandhu Mitra, which so much moved

the spectators in theatres that one of them is alleged to have hurled shoes at the indigo-planters on the stage (i.e. those who acted as such), A faint echo of this may still be heard in the horrible revelations made at the time through the press, and also in the evidence tendered before the Indigo Commission, not only by the suffering cultivators but by other respectable witnesses, including many English missionaries. The findings of this Commission do not do full justice to the subject, as many charges could not be possibly substantiated by such positive evidences as would satisfy an official body of a quasi* judicial character, composed of four Englishmen and one Indian. 143 Without casting any aspersion or. the fairness of the English members, excluding the nominee of the Indigo Planters' Association, it may be pointed out that with the best intention in the world such a Commission can neither find out the whole truth nor give free and frank expression of their individual opinion. In judging of the value of the report of this Commission, one must take into consideration the difference between the two reports on the atrocities in the Punjab in 1919,—one by the official Committee and the other by a small committee appointed by the Indian National Congress, composed of some of the best Indians of the time. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Punjab, even the report of the official Commission on Indigo —the only one available in this case—fully substantiates the grave allegations made by the cultivators and the public.

4. These allegations may be summed up as follows:

That the cultivation of indigo was not voluntary on the part of the ryot; that he was compelled to plough, sow, and weed his land, and to cut and cart the plant at times when he would prefer being engaged in other agricultural work of superior profit; that the land devoted to indigo was selected by the servants of the planters, was the best land very often, and was sometimes forcibly ploughed up to be resown with indigo when it was already sown with other crops; that the cultivation was thus rendered irksome and harassing to the ryot; that he invariably became indebted to the factory and was obliged to bequeath his debts to his descendants, which almost deprived them of personal freedom; that he was oppressed by the servants of the factory, kidnapped, imprisoned and outraged; that the planters used unjustifiable means to obtain estates in patni from the zamindars; and that the system generally was vicious in theory, injurious in practice and radically unsound.

All these charges were proved to the satisfaction of the majority of the members of the Commission. The only point that required further elucidation was the nature and degree of the violence and oppression of the planters.

The offences for which the. licenses of four planters were cancelled in 1810, and which were “established beyond all doubt or dispute against individual indigo planters, may be reduced to the following heads:

1st, Acts of violence which have occasioned the death of natives.

2nd, Illegal detention of Indians in confinement, specially in stocks , with a view to the recovery of balances alleged to be due from them or for other causes.

3rd, Assembling, in a tumultuary manner, the people attached to their respective factories, and others, and engaging in violent affrays with other indigo planters.

4th, Illicit infliction of punishment, by means of a rattan or otherwise, on the cultivators or other natives."

After referring to these, Sir John Peter Grant, LieutenantGovernor of Bengal, made the following observations in a minute on the Report of the Indigo Commission of 1860.

"I have said that grave crimes connected with indigo have much decreased in frequency; but it cannot be said that the character of the abuses to which the system of Bengal indigo manufacture is subject is essentially altered now from examples that have occurred within the last 18 months of each one of the 4 heads under which the offences connected with the indigo, as prevalent in 1810, are classified in the above-cited Resolution. Of the first head, that fatal case of Seetul Tarafdar is a very melancholy example. Of the 2nd head, the case of the men whom Mr. Bainbridge, the Acting Joint Magistrate of Backergunge, released from the godowns of a planter, is but one of many instances. Of the third head, the fatal attack on the vilage of Mullickpur, wherein one man was killed and 3 men were wounded, reported by the Commissioner of Nadia, (except that the attack was not made upon a rival factory) is a strong instance; the more remarkable as occurring long after the rupture between a planter and raiyat had attracted public attention to the indigo question, and when all police authorities were on the alert to repress disorder. Of the fourth head, the case which was made matter of complaint against the Magistrate, for sentencing a factory servant to imprisonment for one month, for dragging a man to the factory and flogging him severely, because he would not plough for the planter, will serve as an example. How frequently the peace of the country is still broken by offences connected with indigo, committed by one party or the other, will be seen frqm the long list of 54 such cases that occurred within the last 5 years in the single district of Nadia, and from the latter part of the list of j^erious cases given in by the Honorable Mr. Eden, both of which will be found in the Appendix of the Report. The sole cause of all such offences is the system under which indigo plant is required by the manufacturer, without paying nearly the cost of its production to the raiyat. The evidence taken by the Indigo Commission fully proves that the “habit” denounced on the 22nd of July 1810 was still the habit of 1859. And it is perhaps still more remarkable and significant, that the very state of things which Lord Minto’s Government, as shown by the orders of May 1811 above quoted, was anxious to avoid, namely the universal establishment of local monopolies of manufacture, has actually come to pass, though not by the action of Government.” 144

Instances could be multiplied, almost to any extent, of the veritable reign of terror that prevailed in the Indigo area in Bengal. The cultivators were, one and all, reluctant to continue indigo cultivation which brought ruin upon them. The Commission observes “Ryots of different concerns, at miles distance from each other, expressed to us the same idea in languages, clear, emphatic, and pointed.. .that indigo and its attendant evils had been the bane of their lives”. 145 In order to coerce them, a body of organized Englishmen, ill-educated and ill bred,- 46 but possessed of full dictatorial authority and guided only by considerations of their own material interests, let loose upon millions of helpless cultivators, left to their tender mercy by a partisan Government, various types of horrors

which brought ruin and desolation upon hundreds and thousands of families.

The plain fact cannot be ignored that the self-interest of a group of organized Englishmen was at stake, 147 and the unwilling millions must therefore be coerced to sow indigo by any means which an ill-educated mind nursed by racial arrogance and sense of injured pride could devise, and absolute dictatorial power could bring into operation. So hundreds of their myrmidons issued from the indigo factories with lethal weapons in their hands*, and brought ruin and desolation upon thousands of families over a vast stretch of land. Fields with ripening crops were destroyed, houses forcibly pulled down and demolished or set on fire, gardens rooted up, fruit trees cut down, plough-shares forcibly taken for indigo-fields, and herds of cattle driven away. But these were not enough. The owners of houses, if they had not already fled, were mercilessly beaten, sometimes with fatal results, and the inmates, including the wounded, were dragged into the factory, confined in stocks, flogged, 147a and locked up in the godowns. There they lay for days together, untended and uncared for, and with a scanty supply of food scarcely fit for human consumption. For days, for months, .they were kept in close confinement and removed by stealth from one place to another to avoid detection, until they atoned for their heinous crime of not sowing indigo without any remuneration by agreeing to do so in future. Braver spirits who refused to yield vanished for ever from this world, and at least fifty such cases of 'permanent disappearance' can be traced in official records. The Commission observes. The cases brought to our notice are so numerous and so We } lm authenticated as to make us apprehend that the practice of imprisoning individuals in the factory or its outhouses is of common occurrence ".' 48

The voluminous evidence on the basis of which the Commission arrived at these conclusions is appended to its Report, and makes gruesome reading. Extracts from the statements of a few witnesses are given in the Appendix to this section. But the evidence of a responsible official may be quoted here just to show that the findings of the Commission probably erred on the side of moderation or leniency, and did not convey an adequate idea of the miseries suffered by the cultivators at the hands of the planters.

Mr. E.W.L. Tower, who once held the office of a District Magistrate, made the following statement before the Commission:

"I wish to state that considerable odium has been thrown on the Missionaries for saying that 'not a chest of indigo reached England without being stained with human blood'. That has been stated to be an anecdote. That expression is mine, and I adopt it in the fullest and broadest sense of its meaning as the result of my experience as Magistrate in the Faridpur District. I have seen several ryots sent in to me as a Magistrate who have been speared through the body. I have had ryots before me who have been shot down by Mr. Forde (a planter). I have put on record, how others have been first speared and then kidnapped; and such a system of carrying on indigo, I consider to be a system of blood-shed". 1 * 8 *

But it was not the cultivators alone that suffered. The wrath of the planters was visited also upon respectable persons whom they suspected to be helpful or sympathetic to the oppressed cultivators. 149

Concrete instances, illustrating the general condition described above, were published in contemporary periodicals. The Hindoo Patriot referred to the case of Mr. Cockbum, the planter of Chala factory in Sirajgunge Sub-division. This man visited the village of Gabgachi with a hundred lathials (men armed with lathis or heavy clubs), and as the people refused to sow indigo, left the place after ordering the lathials to charge the men. They mercilessly beat the people, as a result of which one died on the spot and two were seriously injured. The lathials then burned the houses and carried away 100 cattle. A case was instituted and three of the lathials were punished, but Cockburn was not included among the accused and got scot-free. Another case of a similar nature was also referred to, in which several persons were killed, and some lathials were punished, but no steps were taken against the chief culprit, the planter.

The Hindoo Patriot also published the names and addresses ot six persons who were flogged during their confinement ill an, indigo factory, six miles from Krishnanagar, the headquarters of the Nadia District. Five of them received thirty stripes each, and the sixth, as many as fifty-two stripes. An extract from the Hindoo Patriot describing the oppression of the indigo-planters has been quoted in Chapter XLIV.

The picture appears to be too black to be true, but every item is proved by unimpeachable testimony, and these incidents were known to be of common occurrence. One item has been omitted from the above list of planters' crimes, namely outrage on women. Respectable witnesses have testified to the fact that they have heard of women being seized and outraged by the planters and their servants. In view of the unlicensed brutality freely perpetrated by them without any let or hindrance, it would be nothing short of miracle if they were innocent of those animal instincts which lead to these crimes. Popular opinion in Bengal never felt any doubt that this heinous crime was of frequent occurrence, and the most heart-rending part in the drama, Nil-dnrpan, referred to above, depicts a scene of this character. The Indigo Commission has, however, denied the truth of this charge on the ground that no witness has testified to his personal knowledge of such a crime. The evidence of Missionary Lincke is of great interest in this connection. He said he heard of several cases of outrage on women but had no personal knowledge of any of them. When the Commission put it to him that such cases, if true, as he had intimate knowledge of the ryots , must have come to his notice, he replied in the negative, and remarked, by w*ay of explanation, that the people "are most careful net to speak of such subjects; for once known that anything had happened to their women, their caste would be gone". 15u • This is indeed the true explanation why nobody came forward to complain of, or admit, outrages on their own women, though these were matters of common knowledge. 161

One may well wonder how all these terrible oppressions could go on for days, months, and years, before the eyes of the Judges, Magistrates and Police. It must be remembered that the planters, being Europeans, could only be tried by the Supreme Court in Calcutta and by a British magistrate and judge. It was not for nothing that they raised the great hue and cry against the so-called Black Acts which sought to make them amenable to justice in the ordinary way. The privileges and immunities enjoyed by the British planters practically placed them above law and beyond all judicial control, for a Bengali cultivator had hardly the means to file a suit against him in Calcutta. Ram Gopal Ghose, by w r av of explaining the unbridled license of the indigo cultivators, very* justly observed:

"To a large extent the impunity arises from the European not being amenable in serious offences to the jurisdiction of the Moffusil courts. I feel warranted on my own experience to declare emphatically, that circumstance has given rise to a feeling in Bengal among the lower orders of the people, that there is no practical remedy against the depredations and cruelties of European planters". 161 *

This was admitted by Sir Alfred Lyall, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who said that the "Assam planters regarded it (Ilbert Bill) as an attempt to do away with their right of seating their own niggers." 161b It was common knowledge among the Indians that the British Magistrates, with-the Police under them, were on the side of their fellow-countrymen. This made the plan* ters all the more reckless in their atrocities, and the poor cultivators felt themselves to be helpless victims without any power of resistance. That the popular notion was not unfounded was admitted by the Indigo Commission, and a few extracts from the report will substantiate the point. 162

(a) “The Magistrates have not accorded them (ryots) a due share of protection and support.. . The bias of the English Magistrate has been unconsciously towards his countrymen, whom he has asked to his own table, or met in hunting field, or whose houses he has personally visited.” (b) “The practice followed by the executive authorities was favourable to the planters and hardly fair to the 'ryots” (c) “One Magistrate threatened a large Zemindar with penal consequences if he did not make arrangements for giving a lease to a planter. Mr. Larmour, with two exceptions, up to this year, has never received anything but ‘support and counsel’ from members of the Civil Service.” 1528

The most interesting feature to be noticed in this connection is the appointment of the planters as Honorary Magistrates. They did not scruple in the least to try cases in which their own personal interests were involved. The Indigo Commission refers to a case in which the petition of complaint against a planter was referred by the Magistrate to that very planter who was then an Honorary Magistrate. 15 ° As to the venality of the police the Commission remarked: “The frankest admissions have been made before us by planters as to the way in which money is given to officers of the police to ensure their doing their duty or to prevent them acting or reporting unfairly. When the assistance of the police can be purchased it is quite clear that the advantage will remain with the party who has the freest hand and the fullest purse.” 164

It is only fair to add that honest officers, willing to do their duty, were not altogether lacking. But they were discouraged or prevented from doing their duty by the attitude of the higher authorities. The Hindoo Patriot drew the attention of the Government to the fact that many loyal and dutiful officers were insulted and humiliated, even dismissed, for honest inquiry into the oppressions of the planters cr attempt to prevent their misdeeds.

The sympathy for fellow-countrymen does not, however, seem to have been confined to British officials, but also worked upon the Government as a whole. This would appear from a broad outline of the policy adopted by the Government from time to time. The first action of the Government was to issue a circular on 13 July, 1810. After referring to the "numerous abuses and oppressions" of the indigo-planters, the circular continued: "The facts, however, which have recently been established against some individuals of that class before the Magistrates and the Supreme Court of Judicature are of so flagrant a nature, 156 that the Governor-General-in-Council considers it an act of indispensable public duty to adopt such measures as appear to him, under existing circumstances, best calculated to prevent the repetition of offences equally injurious to the English character and to the peace and happiness of our native subjects". But the action proposed to be taken was hardly commensurate with the natuie of the crimes described. The circular merely directed the Magistrates "to cause stocks kept by planters to be destroyed; to report to Government cases of illegal corporal punishment, not sufficient to warrant a commitment to the Supreme Court; and to impress on all Europeans who wished to continue to reside in the country the necessity of abstaining from ill-treatment of the people."

"In a subsequent Circular, of the 22nd of July 1810, Magistrates were directed to report all proved instances of planters who were convicted of 'obliging the raiyats who reside in the vicinity of their respective factories to receive advances, and of adopting other illicit and*improper means to compel them to cultivate indigo'; the Governor-General-in-Council observing that he had reason to believe that this was a 'habit' of the planters". 156

The Government must have been completely ignorant of human nature, or unduly lenient in judging of English character, if they really hoped that their action would have any effect on the planters. The only redeeming feature of the Government was that it resisted the constant demand of the planters for enacting a special law in theii favour which would make the breach of contract, on the part of tenants (and of the planters) a criminal offence; in other words, instead of instituting civil suit the planters could get the cultivators prosecuted for criminal offence.

But this demand of fellow-countrymen could not be resisted for long. A law (Regulation V) was passed in 1830 which "made ryots who broke indigo contracts liable to prosecution and penal conse*quences, in the Magistrate's Court, as for a misdemeanour". The effect of this law upon the cultivators can be easily understood if one remembers, first, that the so-called contracts were written by

the planters themselves on blank papers which the cultivators were forced to sign by intimidation or physical coercion, and secondly, that the Magistrates, as already pointed out above, were friendly and obliging to the planters.

But the law was so flagrantly unjust and tyrannical, that even the British Cabinet, generally indifferent to the activities of the British in India, thought fit to interfere.

‘ The law treating one and one only of the two paties to a civil contract as a criminal if he failed to fulfil it was held by the Home Government to be manifestly unjust and oppressive and contrary to all sound principles of legislation, and it was ordered to be rescinded. After inquiries into the working of the law, and considerable discussion, it was repealed in 1835 by Act XVI of that year''. 167

The Act was nominally repealed, but continued to be still in force in actual practice. This is well illustrated by .the clamorous agitation on the part of the planters against an order of the Magistrate, and the difference of views between him and the Commissioner. “An application had been made to the Magistrate (A. Eden) by certain raiyats for protection against a planter who, they said, was going forcibly to plough up their lands, and to sow them with indigo. The Magistrate had ordered the police to proceed to the spot, instructing them, if tho land appeared to be really the property of the raiyats, not to allow any one to interfere with it. Mr. Grote (Commissioner of the Division) objected to this order, on the ground, chiefly, that it imposed upon the daroga undue responsibility. This diffeience of opinion was referred for the decision of Government, as a general question respecting the employment of the police. The Lieutenant-Governor gave it as his opinion that Sir A. Eden’s principle was a true exposition of the law as it stood, according to which the police were bound to protect persons and property from unlawful violence, and to abstain from entering into disputes respecting alleged contracts, which were only congnizable by the Civil Courts. In the case in question no claim was made for the ownership or possession of the land entered upon, which were confessedly the raiyats } \

The Magistrate, referred to above, rose to eminence in later life as Sir Ashley Eden, and the furore caused by his act of simple justice shows that it was an exception rather than the rule.

But if the law were in conflict with the material interests of the British planters, it must go to the wall, So agitation began and in 1854-5 the Government seriously considered the proposal of reenacting the Regulation V of 1830 which was condemned by the Home Government and repealed in 1835. The discussion was prolonged till the indigo situation reached almost a crisis. For, signs were not wanting that the cultivators of indigo had now resolved to throw off the fetters of slavery by their combined action of passive resistance. Fortunately for them, Bengal was then ruled by a LieutenantGovernor like Sir John Peter Grant, one of the few British officials who possessed genuine sympathy for the indigo-cultivators.

Though even this sympathetic Governor had to bend before the power of the planters, his actions went a great way in securing the ultimate victory of the cultivators.

The terrible oppressions of the indigo planters evoked general sympathy among all classes of Indians, but it is a sad commentary on the lack of political consciousness among the Indians, that there was no organized protest against the system which continued for half a century. Nevertheless, a few individuals boldly topk up the cause of the cultivators and gave wide publicity to the cruelties of the planters. Three names stand foremost in this connection. Harish Chandra Mukherji, the Editor of the Hindoo Patriot , pointed in glowing colours the evils of the system. Bam Gopal Ghose travelled widely over the areas of indigo plantation and described in a book 1678 what he himself had seen. The third was Sisir Kumar Ghosh, the founder-editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika , who, at the young age of eighteen, devoted himself, heart and soul, to the organization of the indigo cultivators with a view to improving their lot.

But in addition to these public men the indigo cultivators found their real leaders from humbler class of life. The names of Bishnu Charan Biswas and Digambar Biswas of the village of Chaugacha in the district of Nadia stand out prominently in this connection. These two began their lives as dewans of indigo factories, but, having witnessed the unspeakable miseries inflicted upon the cultivators, left the service and began to think of remedial measures. They hit upon the plan which was elaborated half a century later by Mahatma Gandhi under the title of passive resistance. They made the cultivators of their own village,Chaugacha, take the vow of never planting indigo again. At first only one other village took a similar vow. The planter raided this village with a thousand lathials. The villagers had engaged some lathials for their defence, but as they were fewer in number, were easily defeated, and one of them was killed. The lathials of the planter plundered the village and burnt it. The District Magistrate of Nadia, Mr. R. L. Tottenham, came to inquire in person. He found out the truth and tried to do justice, but for this offence he was transferred from Nadia. All this damped the enthusiasm of the villagers, but the two Biswases revived their spirit by appointing additional men for their protection and arranging to remove the women and children to a place of safety. The planters brought civil suits against the recusant cultivators for breach of contract and got decrees, but the entire decreed amount was paid on their behalf by the two Biswases. Their noble example and the sturdy spirit of the two villages worked wonders. One by one more villages joined them, and in course of-two years the vow of "non-cultivation of indigo" was taken by many cultivators in all districts. At the instance of Sisir Kumar Ghosh, the representatives of ninety-two villages in the district of Nadia gathered in a conference at Jayarampur, and took a pledge that they would refuse to cultivate indigo even at the risk of their lives. This paved the way for a closely knit organization. Their task was facilitated by an official reply to their petition by the Lieutenant-Governor, J. P. Grant, to the effect that "raiyats who had contracted to cultivate indigo must expect to be forced to fulfil their obligations; but no raiyat was forced to contract to cultivate who did not choose to do so". 168 Apart from the specific assurance contained in the last clause which was a great relief to them, it removed the impression, so long deeply imprinted in the minds of the cultivators, that resistance to a planter meant a defiance of the British Government. The work of organizing the indigo cultivators went on apace, and in course of two years (1858-60) the movement of ‘non-cultivation of indigo’ spread over the districts of Nadia, Jessore, Pabna, Maldah and Rajshahi. The planters tried their best to stop the movement by force, and were not denied the help of the Executive officers. Mr. Malony,* the Magistrate of Jessore, called a meeting of the cultivators. About two thousand attended; and forty-nine of them were suddenly ar^ rested and threatened with dire consequences if they refused to sow indigo. But the cultivators stood firm. Petitions and counter-petitions now poured in from both the planters and the cultivators about their respective grievances. The Planters’ Association sent a deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor, and submitted a formal petition.

“The Association represented the state of feeling manifested by the raiyats, attributing it in part to a mistaken belief as to the views of Government in regard to the cultivation of indigo. To protect their interest, thus endangered, the Association asked for two things: first, that Government would take steps to remove the mistaken impression stated to exist among the raiyats; second, that a special law should be enacted to make the breach of an agreement to cultivate indigo punishable summarily by a Magistrate. To the first prayer, Sir J. P. Grant at once acceded. A notification was issued, on the 14th March 1860, having for its object the correction of any erroneous ideas as to the wishes and policy of the Government, and impressing upon the raiyats the necessity of fulfilling existing engagements”.

As regard the second prayer, the Lieutenant-Governor hesitated at first, but being faced by the prospect of utter ruin of the irnUgo cultivation threatened by the combination of the cultivators, decided to introduce a temporary measure of the kind, “accompanied by a promise of full and thorough inquiry into the past practice, and thereafter of a well-considered law which should afford equal and complete protection to the raiyat and to the planter. In accordance with his views, a Bill was introduced in the Legislature on the 24th, and passed as Act XI of 1860 on the 31st of March. It was an Act to enforce the fulfilment of indigo contracts and to provide for the appointment of a Commission of inquiry.”

“The Act made temporary provision for enforcing, by summary process, the execution of agreements to cultivate indigo during the current season, for which an advance in cash had been received, except agreements obtained by fraud, force, or unlawful intimidation; and it provided for the punishment of certain unlawful acts connected with such cultivation, namely, intimidating or attempting to intimidate persons with the intention of inducing them to break their agreements, maliciously destroying or damaging, or commanding, compelling or persuading others to destroy or damage any growing crop of indigo.

“Hie Act also made provision for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into .and report on the system and practice of indigo planting and the relations between the indigo planters and the raiyats, and holders of land in Bengal .

This Act created great indignation among the cultivators and made them more determined than ever not to sow indigo, come what may. The state of things about this time has been described as follows by C. E. Buckland, a high English official:

“In the meantime, the excitement against the cultivation of indigo had become so strong as to lead to acts of violence in some of the indigo districts. The first disturbances occurred in the Aurangabad sub-division, where the Ancoora factory, belonging to Mr. Andrews, and the factory at Baniagaon, belonging to Mr. Lyon, were attacked by a mob of lathials and raiyats. In the district of Malda, the Bakrabad factory, also belonging to Mr. Andrews, was similarly attacked and plundered. It appeared upon inquiry that the raiyats in this part of the country had been goaded into rising by the long continued oppressions and extortions of the factory servants. While, therefore, the rioters, who were concerned in the disturbances, were promptly punished, stringent measures were ordered to be taken to bring to justice those whose oppressive acts lay at the root of all this evil. In the districts of Nadia and Jessore, although the excitement was as strong as anywhere else, no disturbances of a serious nature occurred. In the district of Pabna, a Deputy Magistrate, with a small party of military police was (partly in consequence of his own injudicious conduct) repulsed by a body of armed lathials, who had assembled to resist the cultivation of indigo. On receipt of intelligence of the first of these occurrences, Government at once acted with promptness and vigour. Troops were rapidly collected in the districts where the excitement prevailed, and by a judicious display of force in suitable places the raiyats were overawed, and all tendency to any violent outbreak was suppressed. The best available Magistrates were placed over the indigo districts and the staff of Magisterial officers in those districts was considerably strengthened. On the passing of the new indigo Act, Sir J. P. Grant issued certain instructions

to the local Magistrates, enjoining them carefully and patiently to sift the evidence and to decide in the truest spirit of equity all cases instituted under it.” 1 * 0

The evidence of the popular excitement is furnished by a minute of the Lieutenant-Governor, dated 17 September, 1860, which contains the following passage:

“I have myself just returned from an excursion to Sirajganj on the Jamuna river where I went by water for objects connected with the line of the Dacca Railway and wholly unconnected with indigo matters. I had intended to go up the Mathabhanga and down the Ganges; but finding, on arriving at the Kumar, that the shorter passage was open, I proceeded along the Kumar and Kaliganga, which rivers run in Nadia and Jessore, and through that part of the Pabna district which 1 lies south of the Ganges.

“Numerous crowds of raiyats appeared at various places, whose whole prayer was for an order of Government that they should not cultivate indigo. On my return a few days afterwards along the same two rivers, from dawn to dusk, as I steamed along these two rivers for some 60 or 70 miles, both banks were literally lined with crowds of villagers, claiming justice in this matter. Even the women of the villages on the banks were collected in groups by themselves; the males who stood at and between the river-side villages in little crowds must have collected from all the villages at a great distance on either side. I do not know that it ever fell to the lot of any Indian Officer to steam for 14 hours through a continued double street of suppliants for justice: all were most respectful and orderly, but also were plainly in earnest. It would be folly to suppose that such a display on the part of tens of thousands of people, men, women, and children has no deep meaning. The organization and capacity for combined and simultaneous action in the cause, which this remarkable demonstration over so large an extent of country proved, are subjects worthy of much consideration". 1 **

"Towards the end of September the Government of India authorised the issue of a notification, in the excited parts of the indigo districts, to disabuse the mind of the rural population of an erroneous impression said to have been conceived by them, that Government was opposed to the cultivation of indigo; to convey an assurance to the raiyats that their position in regard to past arrangements would not be made worse than it was, and that, in respect of all future arrangements, their rights to free action in regard to indigo, as in regard to all other crops, would be respected in practice; to warn all parties against having recourse to violent or unlawful proceedings, and to announce the intention of Government not to reenact the temporary law of 1860." 160b

The temporary Act of 1860 for the summary enforcement of contracts for the cultivation of indigo was denounced by the Secretary of State. As it was already in operation, he did not disallow it but declined to perpetuate it. So the Act ceased to be in operation on 4 October, 1860. But the appointment of a Commission and assurances of the Government to the cultivators somewhat eased the situation, and "most of the planters were able to complete to a great extent their spring sowings. Some difficulty was experienced by the planters in securing the cutting and delivery of the ripe indigo plant, but this was got over by the exertions of the Magisterial authorities, and in some instances by the judicious concessions made by some of the planters. In the autumn of 1860 things looked very critical. 'I assure you', wrote Lord Canning, 'that for about a week it caused me more anxiety than I have had since the days of Delhi', and, 'from that day I felt that a shot fired in anger or fear by one foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames". 161 Nevertheless, troubles continued and the situation was full of danger. "In the spring of 1861 the planters complained of the difficulty of realizing their rents, of being forcibly dispossessed of their nij-abad lands, and of danger to their own lives and those of their servants". On the other hand there are clear evidences of the outrages by the planters. "At the village of Sadhuhati in the Jhenidah sub-division of Jessore, six of the villagers were killed and wounded". 162 The real fact seems to be that the united front presented by the peasants, determined to have nothing to do with the cultivation of indigo, threatened the planters with uttter ruin, and the old methods of outrage failed to coerce the cultivators.

The whole episode of indigo plantation in Bengal is a disgraceful one—disgraceful for the Englishmen as well as for the Bengalis. The comment by an Englishman, who had once been a District Magistrate, that "every chest of indigo was stained with blood", 162 * represents the views of a microscopic minority of Englishmen who upheld the traditions of their country, but the community of Englishmen in Bengal, generally speaking, upheld their fellow-countrymen on the principle—"my country, right or wrong".

The Bengali peasants, who meekly submitted to these insults, injuries, and humiliation for half a century, were regarded by others as veritable cowards, and witnesses before the Indigo Commission commented that if similar things happened in Upper India, the lives of neither the planters nor the magistrates would have been worth a Rupee's purchase. The truth of this may be doubted, as the Bengal peasants believed, and not perhaps very wrongly, that they were pitted against the whole might of the British Government. In Banaras and adjacent parts, the indigo planters were mostly free from the abuses which prevailed in Bengal, and it is idle to speculate what would have happened if things were similar. But the peasants of Bihar, otherwise strong and sturdy, exhibited the same cowardice as those of Bengal.

But whatever we might think of the cowardice of the Bengali peasants, they more than made up for it by their heroic stand against the planters since 1858. They exhibited an altogether new spirit

which heralded a new era. The forces that were at work in transforming the weak cowardly Bengalis into brave resisters were expounded at length by Rev. J. Long in his evidence before the "Commission. As it has a great bearing on the general question Of the growth of nationalism in Bengal, copious extracts have been quoted from it in the Appendix to this section. But whatever we might think of Long's analysis, the outstanding fact remains that the Bengalis showed a determination and power of combination such as they had never displayed within living memory or living tradition. Harish Chandra Mukherji wrote in the Hindoo Patriot that *'20 lakhs of poor ryots combined and resolved, even at the sacrifice of their hearth and of home, nay of their lives, not to cultivate their lands with indigo, nor to enter into any fresh contract with the planters for the same".

The Indigo Commission submitted its Report on 27 August, 1860, The representative of the Planters' Association as well as Richard Temple, an official member, submitted minutes of dissent, and the majority who signed it consisted of the President, W. S. Seton-Karr, an official, Rev. J. Sale, a missionary, and Chandramohan Chatterjee who represented the British Indian Association. J. P. Grant, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, wrote a very able and lengthy minute on the Report on 17 December, 1860. Practically all that has been said above regarding this subject is based on this minute and the Report of the Majority. Grant made a number of recommendations which he believed would secure the reasonable rights and privileges of both cultivators and planters. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the scale was heavily weighted in favour of the latter. Grant recommended, for example, the award of penal damages in a suit for rent, attachment of all the property of the defendant at the outset at the discretion of the Judge, and joint village liability to fine for offences by masses. He relied for future peace on the good and effective execution of the law. Most of the recommendations of Grant were Accepted by the Government of India and embodied in Act VI of 1862. But the most important question that came in for consideration was the necessity for criminal proceedings for breach of contract, a question that, like a hydra, though often killed, again raised its head. The Government of India introduced iiito the Legislative Council a Bill providing for the punishment of breaches of contract for the cultivation, production, gathering, provision, manufacture, carriage and delivery of agricultural produce. But the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, turned it down in a strongly worded despatch, and asked the Government of India to withdraw it. Observing that all contracts must be based on mutual good will and mutual interest, the Secretary of State made a very pertinent comment as follows: “The necessity for their relations with the raiyats being regulated by such considerations would not be realized by the planters, relying, as they did, on Government assistance, and the strong arm of the law being exercised in their favour against the raiyat, “who”, Lord Canning thought, “had been left too long in ignorance of the protection which he might claim against the proceedings of any planter who had bound him by unreal obligations, and who had enforced them by illegal means”. 163

But in spite of all the efforts of the Government of India the plantation of indigo was doomed in Bengal. It was a great victory for popular will expressed through combined action and a grim determination not to sow indigo whatever may happen. The final blow was dealt by the discovery of aniline dyes made by the chemical process, as the synthetically prepared indigo was cheaper than that manufactured from natural plants.

But the indigo plantation did not die out altogether. It continued in Bihar for half a century more. The story of Bengal was repeated there and the same causes of discontent produced similar results. There was a strong demonstration against the cultivation of indigo in Champaran in 1867-8.

“The opposition of the raiyats showed itself by the exhibition of a general determination not to sow indigo, and in some cases by the forcible appropriation of the lands already prepared for the cultivation’of indigo to other crops. The first instance of such proceedings occurred in a village called Jokitiya, the raiyats of which, in defiance of the contract into which they had entered with the Lai Seraya factory, sowed their lands with cold weather crops; and this example was rapidly followed by other villagers. The aim of the officials under these circumstances was confined (1) to preserving the peace between the contending parties, in which they were so far successful that the factory people were not aggressors in a single instance; and (2) to inducing the planters to raise the rates of remuneration, which resulted in their agreeing to pay Rs. 12/per bigha where they had hitherto paid from Rs. 7-8 to Rs. 9. The planters were urged to put a stop to the practice of the factory servants deducting a percentage as dasturi from the advances given to the cultivators”. 164 A special Small Causes Court was set up at Motihari for the trial and speedy disposal of all cases of breach of contract between the planters and the ryots. All these measures reduced the tension for the time being, but the evils inherent in the system continued to exercise their baneful influence and brought about a crisis again in the twentieth century. It brought into the scene

M. K. Gandhi, destined to become, ere long, the greatest leader of India's struggle for freedom. He experimented in this connection the unique method devised by himself*—not very dissimilar to the one which proved so fruitful in Bengal for fighting against the oppression of the planters—, and the same method, which curbed the power of the British planters, was later applied with equal success against the British race as a whole.

The sad and disgraceful story of the indigo cultivation in Bengal cannot be concluded without reference to a tragic episode. Mention has been made above of the drama, ' Nil-darpan ' (Mirror of Indigo), written in Bengali by Dinabandhu Mitra, a high Government official. The popularity of the book roused the interest even of Europeans, several of whom expressed a desire for an English translation. This was made in 1861 by a Bengali gentleman under the superintendence of the Rev. J. Long. It was stated in the introduction to the Translation that the book "pleads the cause of those who are the feeble; it describes a respectable raiyat , a peasant proprietor, happy with his family in the enjoyment of his land till the indigo system compelled him to take advances, to neglect his own land, to cultivate crops which beggared him, reducing him to the condition of a serf and a vagabond; the effects of this on his home, children, and relatives are pointed out in language, plain but true; it shows how arbitrary power debases the lord as well as the peasant; reference is also made to the partiality of various Magistrates in favour of planters and to the Act of the last year penally enforcing indigo contracts.

"The translation, with a preface by the author, Rai Dinabandhu Mitra Bahadur, a man of some erudition and poetical ability, was circulated with the sanction of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr. The Landholders' and Commercial Association through their Secretary, Mr. W. F. Fergusson, addressed Government, asking whether the publication had been circulated with the sanction and authority of the Government of Bengal, and for the names of the parties who had circulated ‘a foul and malicious libel on indigo planters tending to excite sedition and breaches of the peace’, with a view to their prosecution. In the correspondence which ensued, Government pointed out that indigo planters were not the only class, native or European, criticised in the Bengali play: as faults had been imputed as unsparingly to European Magistrates, native officials, and native factory amla, as to indigo planters. The Association took action in the Courts. Mr. Manuel, the printer of the translation, was prosecuted in the Supreme Court for libel, and fined. The Reverend Mr. Long, who had superintended the translation of the play, was fined and imprisoned for a month by the same Court. The fine was at once paid by Babu Kali Prosanna Singha”. 165 But the matter did not end here. Both Mr. Seton-Karr and the Lieutenant-Governor Sir J. P. Grant, who discussed the subject among themselves, were in favour of the English translation of < Nil‘darvan > and the following passage from a minute of the latter lucidly express the views of both:

“I have always been of opinion, that considering our state of more than semiisolation from all classes of native society, public functionaries in India have been habitually too regardless of those depths of native feeling which do not show upon the surface and too habitually careless of all means of information which are available to us for ascertaining them. Popular songs everywhere, and, in Bengal, popular native plays, are amongst the most potent, and most neglected, of those means. I have always attributed our unforewamed condition, when the shock of 1857 occurred, to this popular defect. I did not on this occasion regard the matter as one of importance; but still the opportunity seemed a good one of knowing how natives spoke of the indigo question among themselves when they had no European to please or to displease by opening their minds.

‘'Mr. Seton-Karr s ideas on this point were the same as mine, and I had thought it was understood, when our conversation oh the subject was ended, that the translation and the printing of a few copies were to be a wholly private affair.” 1 ®*

A great uproar was caused in the European community, and Seton-Karr was taken to task for-circulating the book under official frank. He tendered his resignation and it was accepted by the Govvernment of India against the recommendation of Sir J. P. Grant. Grant also did not go unscathed. He. was severely censured by the Governor-General in Council for having taken too lenient-jview <?f the "very serious infractions of the Secretary's duty," which'had, among other things, "wounded, however unintentionally, the feeh ings of many of his fellow-countrymen". [167] Thus did the indigoplanters and their sympathetic fellow-countrymen succeed in venting their wrath upon the two officials and a popular missionary, distinguished for his knowledge of, and interest in, the language, literature and people of Bengal; for they had committed the grave crime of expressing genuine sympathy for the oppressed cultivators of indigo who were forced to work under a system tantamount to slavery. It is probable, that all the three were guilty of technical errors, due to oversight. But it may be safely presumed. <that such errors would not have caused even a ripple in the water, but for the pent-up feelings and excitement of the indigo-planters and their sympathetic fellow-countrymen in India. The Secretary of State evidently took this view, for though he upheld the Government of India's action in accepting the resignation of Seton-Karr as Secretary to Bengal Government, he recommended that the latter\ might be appointed to a suitable office. Seton-Karr subsequently became a Judge of the High Court and Secretary to the Government of India.

Before concluding this tragic chapter in the history of British rule in India it may be pointed out that the terrible horrors of the indigo plantation, which continued in a more or less aggravated form, either in Bengal or in Bihar, almost throughout the British rule in India, cannot be regarded as a passing episode or even a mere nightmare. It illustrates a characteristic phase of Anglo-Saxon Colonialism. As Rev. Long observed: "The testimony borne throughout in the Aborigines Protection Committee Report of the House of Commons has established the fact that throughout the world wherever the Anglo-Saxon Colonists came into contact with natives, the natives were either extirpated or reduced to serfdom , [167a] In Bengal the truth was further illustrated by the condition of the coolies or labourers in the tea plantations of Assam. They were no better than serfs and were subjected to the same kind of brutal treatment as the cultivators of indigo, so far as their persons were concerned. This topic will be discussed in Chapter LV.

Emphasis must also be laid upon another aspect of the Indigo riots, namely the importance of this agitation in India s future struggle for freedom. The following passage in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 22 May, 1874, clearly elucidates this view, as it struck a contemporary young Bengali patriot.

“It was the indigo disturbances which first taught the natives the value of combination and political agitation. Indeed it was the first revolution in Bengal after the advent of the English. If there be a second revolution it will be to free the nation from the death grips of the all-powerful police-and district Magistrate. Nothing like oppression! It was the oppression which brought about the glorious revolution in England and it was the oppression of half a century by indigo planters which at last roused the half dead Bengalee and infused spark in his cold frame”. 1 ® 8

APPENDIX TO SECTION IV.

I. Extracts from the evidence of Reverend James Long.

(Report of the Indigo Commission , Evidence, pp. 153-161)

Missionary preachers, even in Calcutta, are sometimes met with a remark, “Why do you not tell your countrymen, thfe indigo planters, to be less oppressive? Go preach to them first”. And I have frequently heard even boys in Missionary schools say: “Why are your Christian countrymen as bad as we are, and yet you say, your religion is better than ours”.

The lower orders of Bengalees have lately adopted more independent habits of thought...It has had much to do with the immediate causes of the opposition to indigo planting; it will not cease here, but will, I believe, have a very important social influence on the mass of the people freeing them from a slavish feeling, and showing them that they can, in various cases, declare terms to the Europeans. The mutiny has roused the native mind, and has made the people feel that they have some power. English education, happily spreading in the country among the natives, is giving them a sense of freedom, leavening their minds with a regard to a sense of justice and ^ impartirfg to them an English tone of revulsion against oppression. It is also welding the natives of the different Presidencies into one patriotic mass, with a community of feelings on Indian subjects.This in

fluence is radiating downwards. The substance of these newspapers and pamphlets in English is being communicated orally or by means of translation to the masses of the people.

The vernacular press is rising into great importance, as a genuine exponent of native opinions, and it is to be regretted that the European community pay so little regard to its admonitions and warnings. Books treating on native and political subjects are purchased with avidity. The progress of the vernacular press in Calcutta may be thus shown:

Works printed for sale were In 1826 8,000 copies.

In 1853 300,000 copies.

In 1857 600,000 copies.

Bengali newspapers, such as the Bhaskar and Prabhakar, are circulated widely even as far as the Punjab. These Bengali newspapers have mofussil correspondents. who give them the news of the district, and to each Bengali newspaper is attached a translator of English newspapers; hence the native mind is much more familiarized with political movements both in Europe and India, than the AngloIndian community imagines... The amlas of the courts, the state of the police, the character of magistrates are constant subjects of criticism in those papers.... Now to my certain knowledge, indigo planting has been for the last sixteen years the subject of incessant attacks in those native newspapers, and the opinion of those papers filters down to the mass.

Another source of ascertaining native opinion is popular songs. I beg to submit a pamphlet, published in Bengali and widely circulated, called “The oppression of the indigo planters”; it contains songs wdiich have been sung far and wide among natives and set to music. The drift of some of these songs is the following: that the interest on the planter’s advances accumulates for three generations, that though the people sell their pattahs (leases) they do not cross the Ganges (i.e. get free from the planter); that when the planter first applies to the ryot to sow indigo, he comes like a beggar, but at last he makes grass to grow on the ryot's bones; the indigo planters come in like needle, but go out like a ploughshare, and are desolating Bengal like flocks of locusts; the King looks on wh,l e the subjects are drowned; all is gone; to whom shall we apply but to Almighty God; should we shut our eyes at night, we see the white face before us, and through fear, our lives fly away like a bird; our souls are burning ir

I can assure the commissioners, that no language can depict the burning indignation with which mdigo planting is and has been regarded by the native popula ion 1* alarms me seriously for the future peace of India, unless an equitable

Of late natives have repeatedly said, how can we be worse under any foreign

government (French and Russian).they see the Magistrates and Deputy

Magistrates, when sent to adjudicate disputes between the ryots and the planters becoming m various cases the guests of the planter while the case is pending' Various educated natives are aware that the French press has brought forward

the indigo planting system as a blot on English administration.each news

paper is probably read by from five to ten natives, and the information in it is orally communicated to a far wider sphere. On the appointment of indigo planters as honorary magistrates, strong feelings of indignation were excited among the natives, but specially among the ryots. A common remark was ye rakshak se bhakshak —'the wolf is appointed the guardian of the flock;' those feelings found vent in songs.

II. Extracts from the evidence of Bijaya Chaudhuri, a Zamindar. (P. 149).

For refusing to give lease to a planter, a criminal case was brought against him for burning ^the houses of coolies and looting the offices. The Magistrate asked him "to make it up with the planter, otherwise it would not be good with him". Accordingly, he was obliged to negotiate with the planter (1859).

Q. If you were innocent why did you not allow the case to go in the Magistrate's Court?

Ans. When the Magistrate threatened my agent I thought it was best to compromise the case as I was afraid of unpleasant consequences.. .1 might be put into prison by the Magistrate. Though I could be released on bail that would take time and to remain in prison even for 4 to 5 days involves loss of respect.

Q. Then, however innocent you might be, you had no confidence that you would obtain justice in the Magistrate's court?

Ans. If I had confidence why should I have compromised the case?

The factory made an attack on my cutcherry and plundered it. The Magistrate came in person to investigate it. He did not pitch his tent but took up his quarters in the Bhowdanga factory where an European Assistant was living. The Magistrate held cutcherry in the house for three days, but my agents and witnesses were prevented from attending the case by the servants of the factory, till an orderly sent by the Magistrate escorted them. ...The Magistrate dismissed my case and punished the complainant as for a malicious complaint with six months' imprisonment and twenty rupees fine. The sentence was reversed in appeal.

III. Extracts from the evidence of Harish Chandra Mukherji, Editor, Hindoo Patriot (P. 46).

“No Muktear in the district of Krishnagar, except in Sadar Station, could be induced to take up a ryot*s case in consequence of a Muktear Jadu Chatterji having been imprisoned on an alleged charge of having instigated the ryots ”

I could only advise the ryots “how to resist the fearful amount of oppression committed under cover of the Act (Summary Enforcement of Indigo Cultivation) by officials as well as planters”.

Q. What kind of oppression do you refer to?

Ans. Imprisonment in large numbers in low, filthy, narrow godowns, breaking into houses, plunder of property, insult of women by officers of police of various grades, instigated by Planters.

Q. Do you believe that these things have been done under Act XI of I860?

Ans. I do, after having made inquiries of every kind in my power; as to the fact of imprisonment it has been judicially established that cases of the kind did occur.

V. AGRARIAN RIOTS

A. Riots in Poona and Ahmadnagar Districts, generally known as

the Deccan Riots, 1875P 69

Reference has been made above to the heavy assessment of land revenue in Bombay and the consequent poverty and indebtedness of the cultivators. As in many other parts of India, the Marwaris carried on a very lucrative business by lending them money at a high rate of interest, and not unoften the lands were mortgaged as security. It has been estimated by the Commission, appointed by the Government of India, that about one-third of the occupants of Government land were burdened with debts which averaged about eighteen times their annual assessment. Nearly two-thirds of the debt was secured by mortgage of land, with the consequence that about one-eighth of the occupancies had on an average been transferred to the sowkars or money-lenders, who were mostly Marwaris Some unscrupulous money-lenders even went to the extent of inducing or compelling the debtor-peasants—mostly Kunbis in caste —ta compromise the honour of their females to get relief from the crushing debts.

Such outrages, though patiently borne for a long time by the hapless peasants, could not be endured for ever, and at last the pent up feelings against the Marwari sowkars burst into flame. The spirit of hostility against this class was first shown openly by the inhabitants of the village of Kardeh in Sirur Taluk of the Poona Collectorate at the end of 1874. Being extremely provoked by the seizure of a respectable villager’s house on the strength of a mortgage decree, the villagers combined and declared a social and economic boycott of the Marwaris. Besides refusing service as water-carriers, barbers, household servants etc. they annoyed the Marwaris by throwing carcases of dogs and other filth into their premises. This kind of social outlawry and petty annoyances forced the Marwaris to quit the village, and the example was followed by several other villages.

It w'as inevitable that such passive resistance would sooner or later lead to violence. The first actual outbreak took place at Supa. a village in the Poona C^llsctorate, on 12 May, 1875. The mob looted the houses and shops of some Gujarati sowkars and burnt one house. The example rapidly spread to other villages in the Poona and Ahmadnagar Districts. More or less serious disturbances took place in 33 villages and quite a large number was averted by the Police. About 951 persons were arrested and more than five hundred were convicted.

The characteristic features of these riots were wholesale plunder of property and murderous assaults upon money-lenders, but, generally speaking, there were no serious crimes like murder. In almost every case the object of the rioters was to obtain and destroy the bonds, decrees etc. in the possession of their creditors, personal violence against them being used only when they refused to hand over these documents. The victims were almost exclusively the Marwari and Gujar sowkars, though in rare cases even Brahman sowkar o were molested. The last of the connected series of outbreaks occurred on 15 June, 1875, but sporadic cases of violence were reported even later. On 22 July, seven men of the village of Nimbut in the Poona Collectorate not only committed robbery and forcibly seized the mortage bonds and other documents, but also cut off the nose of a man who was enforcing a decree of the Civil Court. On 10 September, in the village of Kukrur in Satara, about 100 men attacked, plundered, and burnt the house of a leading Gujar sowkar and destroyed all the papers in the house.

The Government of India appointed a Commission to inquire into the nature and cause of these riots. The Commission unanimously held that the poverty and consequent indebtedness of the cultivators were the real causes of the riots. They observed that ‘the normal condition of the ryots in the disturbed areas is one of indebtedness;—this had grown to an extreme point during the twenty years preceding the riots. The evil consequences of indebtedness were averted for some time by the transient prosperity of the American war-period due to the cotton boom, but returned with multiplied force during the six years preceding the riots.’

In reviewing the whole position the Commission pointed out many similar instances of violent riots on a wide scale caused by similar agrarian grievances of the cultivators against money-lenders. In addition to the Sonthal rebellion of 1855, mentioned above, reference was made to the Bhil (^hief Raghu Bhangria who, in 1845, headed a large body of plundering Bhils whose practice it was to cut off the ears and noses of the Marwari sowkars. The Kolis also murdered and mutilated the money-lenders. In Kaira district, between April, 1871, and July, 1875t money-lenders were the victims of the following offences:—9 murders, 10 grievous hurt and wounding, 7 arson, 36 asaults. There were also three suicides of debtors. In Ahmadnagar, from 1871 to 1874, there were 2 murders, 5 dacoities, 7 housebreakings, 3 riots, and 1 arson. In Poona there were 1 murder, and 7 robberies in 1873-4. There were altogether 77 serious cases in five years.

It appears that the Commission did not fully realize the gravity of the situation caused by the riots, and even if they did, their Report does not convey an adequate idea of it. This is evident from the statement of Mr. W. Wedderburn, a senior member of the I.C.S. Referring to the warnings conveyed to A.O. Hume of a wide-spread revolt in India which will be discussed in details in Chapter LIII, Wedderburn observes:

“Tlie forecast of trouble throughout India was in exact accordance with what actually occurred, under my own observation in the Bombay Presidency, in connection with the agrarian rising known as the Deccan Riots. These began with sporadic gang robberies and attacks on the money-lenders, until the bands of dacoits, combining together, became too strong for the police; and the whole military force at Poona, horse, foot, and artillery, had to take the field against them. Roaming through the jungle tracts of the Western Ghauts, these bands dispersed in the presence of military force, only to reunite immediately at some convenient point; and from the hill stations of Mahableshwar and Matheran we could at night see the light of their campfires in all directions. A leader from the more instructed class was found, calling himself Sivaji the Second, who addressed challenges to the Government, offered a reward of Rs. 500 for the head of H. E. Sir Richard Temple (then Governor of Bombay), and claimed to lbad a national revolt upon the lines on-which the Mahratta power had originally been founded

R. Risings of Kolis , Kunbis and Ramosis

“In 1873, in the north-west of Poona, Honya, an influential Koli, at the head of a well-trained gang, began a series of attacks on the money-lenders who habitually cheat and oppress the hill-tribes and at intervals drive them into crime. Many of the money-lenders were robbed and some had their noses cut off. Honya was caught in 1876 by Major H. Daniell, then Superintendent of Police. In 1875 the spirit of disorder spread from the Kolis to the peace-loving Kunbis of the plain country, and between May and July, chiefly in Simur and Bhimthadi, eleven assaults were committed on money-lenders by the villagers. Troops were called to the aid of the police, and quiet was restored. In 1879 which witnessed the political dacoities of Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, mentioned above, the peace of the district was again broken by two gangs of robbers, one of Kolis under Krishna Sabla and his son, and another of Satara Ramosis under two brothers, Hari and Tatya Makaji, and one Rama Krishna. Within the limits of Poona no fewer than fifty-nine gang robberies were committeed. These two gangs and another in the Nizam's country were put down before the end of 1879." 170

C. Disturbances in Assam 1708

It has been mentioned above how the different principalities in Assam, both in the plains and the hills, were seized, one after another, by the British on various pretexts. The people, particularly

the hill tribes, who loved freedom above everything else, could never reconcile themselves to the British rule and often broke into open revolt. The disturbances continued iri the second half of the nineteenth century. Apart from the loss of freedom, the people smarted under the heavy assessment of land revenue and the imposition of new taxes such as income-tax, stamp-duties, and licensetax for the utilization of forest products, to which they were unaccustomed. The combination of political and economic causes led to a series of outbreaks, organized by the mels or popular assemblies under the leadership of local leaders such as the Gossains, Dolois, or influential landowners.

In 1861 the peasants of the Phulaguri area in the Nowgong District protested, through their mels, against the prohibition of poppy cultivation and Tumours of imposition of taxes on income, and on betel-nuts and betels. A police force sent to suppress these disturbances was chased away by the people who killed the English officer, Lt. Singer. A regular military force suppressed the outbreak and eight tribal leaders were sentenced to death or transportation.

Far more serious were the risings in Jaintia Hills. The first outbreak, as a protest against the imposition of a house-tax in 1860, was suppressed with the help of a large force which was then in the Hills. But, though put down by force, the people were not reconciled and soon the imposition of income-tax and the rumours of further taxes upon opium, tobacco, and fruit-trees highly excited them. There was also a wide-spread rumour to the effect that the British Government would take all their lands and force them to pay an annual land revenue as in Bengal. As if all these were not enough, an imprudent police official interfered in their religious ceremonies. The tribal peoples used to celebrate a festival in which a war-dance with swords and shields formed an essential part. When the ceremony was being performed, the Daroga (police officer) of Jowai went there and seized the arms. The Daroga was beaten and he called the military guard for his assistance. People in various parts held deliberations in their mels and decided to revolt. It soon became a rising of the whole people against the authority of the British. The rebels resisted for a long time the efforts of the Government to subdue them by follownig guerilla tactics. They rapidly jnoved from hill to hill and fired upon British troops whenever they found an opportunity. It was not till the close of 1863 that they were forced to surrender.

Hardly less serious were the series of riots in the plains of Assam during 1893-4, caused mainly by the high assessment of land

revenue. In 1893 the Chief Commissioner of Assam introduced new assessment rules which increased the assessment by 70 to 80 per cent. The people spontaneously rose in revolt, and mels or assemblies were held all over the country demanding withdrawal of the unjust rules which proved ruinous to them. The agitation was parti* cularly strong in Kamrup and Darrang where the people, through the mels, started an organized campaign for non-payment of revenue, and the recalcitrant members were forced to accept this decision by boycott and excommunication. The popular uprisings were suppressed by force, though the people made a brave resistance and

presented a united front.

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The first serious incident took place at Rangiya in the Kamrup District, where demonstrations were held by thousands of persons for several days in December, 1893, and January, 1894. The Assistant Superintendent of Police, helped by the military, failed to cope with the situation, and even the Deputy Commissioner, who came with additional force, fared no better. The Government then took Advantage of an Act of 1861 to enrol the principal leaders as Special Constables, charged with the duty of not only preserving the peace but also of realizing revenue from the unwilling people. But a large section of the people stood firm in their determination not to pay the land revenue at the enhanced rate. When their property was attached, the sale was obstructed by all means, and any traitor to the cause was suitably punished by the people. Several leaders were arrested and kept confined in the local thana building. On 10 January, 1894, several thousands of people gathered in the fields in the neighbourhood. When the Deputy Commissioner ordered them to disperse, they refused to do so, and shouted: "We won't pay the increased revenue". When, in the evening, the crowd drew closer to the thana, it was mowed down by the fire of the military and the armed civil police. There were heavy casualties and the crowd ultimately dispersed.

The Government took precautionary measures against further disturbances by requisitioning a vast military force from Shillong, the capital of the province. All the licensed guns were attached and a number of respectable citizens were enrolled as Special Constables. , In spite of all this the people of Lachima village assaulted the officer who came to collect the revenue. The Sub-divisional Officer of Barpeta, who was presept, arrested 75 persons. His camp was, however, surrounded by three thousand persons and he fled for his life, leaving the prisoners to be freed by the people. Next evening, on 21 January, the Deputy Commissioner arrived with a military contingent and arrested the principal leaders. They were

employed in building a lock-up for themselves in violation of the prison rules. It was also reported that the arrested men, including respectable leaders of society, were yoked to the plough like bullocks and compelled to draw it across the fields. If true, the Deputy Commissioner, McCabe, must take precedence over Brigadier-General Dyer, in point of time, in devising humiliating penalties for Indian prisoners. On the afternoon of 25 January, a petition signed by 6,000 ryots was presented by a crowd of about the same number, demanding the release of the prisoners. The Deputy Commissioner ordered the soldiers to charge the unarmed crowd with fixed bayonets. The crowd dispersed, but the people of Assam still remember the barbarity with which the authorities sought to cow down the people*

A similar scene was witnessed at Patharughat in Darrang District on 28 January, 1894. Alarmed at the report that huge mels attended by thousands of persons were held in that area, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang arrived at the scene with an armed police force. The people assembled near his camp to place their grievances before him, and when ordered to disperse, refused to do so unless their demands were conceded. Berington, who led the force, was then ordered to charge the crowd with fixed bayonets. "The crowd pressed forward in spite of volleys of fire aimed at them, and drew back only when scores of people lay dead or injured on the ground, but not before they had thrown clods of earth and the bamboo sticks some of them carried with them at their opponents". This was the last serious disturbance caused by the enhancement of revenue. The risings and the stern measures adopted by the authorities created a stir throughout Assam and even beyond it. Questions were asked in the Legislative Council and severe comments were made in the press. The Deputy Commissioner of Darrang was transferred to Chittagong and the land revenue was reduced.

In a long review of the whole situation the Deputy Commissioner McCabe observed: "The question has therefore simply developed into the point, 'which is the paramount authority, the mel or the Sarkar'?" His volleys of fire upon an unarmed crowd gave the answer, though in his report he claimed to have pacified the people without undue severity. The people of Assam, however, still refer to the Patharughat incident which closely resembles that at Lachima as the Doli-ran or battle fought with clods of earth by the people against the armed might of the British, and popular verses were composed by the village poets to commemorate it. 170b

BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE

VI. VIOLENT PROTESTS AGAINST ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES

A. Income-Tax Riots.

The imposition of the income-tax in 1860 gave rise to troubles in various parts of the Bombay Presidency. On 14th November, 1860, about 20 sowkars (money-lenders) visited the assessors in their office to obtain certain information about the tax. "The information, that the sowkars were with the assessors, became known to the public and a crowd of about four to five thousand persons collected outside the office.? Since the sowkars remained with the assessors for about three hours, the taxpaying members of the crowd suspected that these leading sowkars must have agreed to submit their returns, and they feared that they would be compelled to fill in their returns, “In order to protest against those influentials of the tax-paying class, the persons of lesser influence started demonstrating by openly tearing up the forms and throwing the pieces on the ground. The number of forms thus torn up must have been about four hundred.” 171

The matter, however, did not pass so smoothly in Surat. About nine in the morning of 29 November, 1860, the residents of Burhanpur Bhagal, one of the central quarters of the city, collected to the number of about three thousand, declaring that they would not fill in the income-tax forms, and that they would close their shops until the income-tax was repealed. The District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent arrived with a body of mounted police, and ordered the crowd to be dispersed.

As the people refused to move, they were charged by the mounted police and forcibly dispersed. It would be interesting to note the reaction of these petty disturbances on the minds of the Englishmen of those days who had been completely unnerved by the tragedies of 1857-8.

The Bombay Gazette (3 December, 1860) commented in its editorial:

"It is fortunate that, since there was to be a disturbance, it occurred in a city where the Government is represented by a Magistrate of Mr. Ravenscroft’s energy and decision. 'Bis dat qui cito datf 1 ™ appears to be the magistrate’s motto; and the whole presidency, we might say the whole of India, owes him a debt of gratitude for summarily checking disaffection, which, had it been allowed much longer to range at will through the country, would inevitably have resulted in a popular rebellion 1 ’.

The Bombay Times wrote:

"For our part we believe conciliation and fair words to be of no use with people who have got the notion in their heads that they can frighten the Government into doing whatever they wish. Had we had a Ravenscroft at

Poona when the amiable native inhabitants of that delightful city were deliberating, in riotous meeting

assembled, whether or no they should bum the Collector's Assistant, in addition to tearing up their income-tax papers, we should have heard no more of popular indignation, popular rights etc. But the weakness of our high civil servants has allowed affairs to go on from bad to worse, till they had very nearly come to such a pass that it would have required something more forcible than policemen’s whips to maintain public order. Luckily, there was a man at Surat fit for this work. Our Civil Servants are often placed in situations, demanding the exercise of great courage and generalship, and they are sometimes equal to the occasion; but even in the trying year 1857, there was no act of firmness and wisdom mom worthy to be recorded than this suppression of popular disaffection of Surat*. 11 *

The levy of the income-tax met with considerable opposition also in Thana, Kalyan, Bhiwandi, Panvel and Shahapur. The people gathered, and, going to the leading Government officiate threw the income-tax forms on the ground and refused to take them! In these towns the leading men of different communities were called together, the foolishness of the people’s conduct was explained to them, and they were persuaded to take their own forms and induce others to take theirs.

In Bassein the opposition was more general and better organized. On the 5th December about 4000 people gathered in front of the Mamlatdar’s office, and threw down their notices and forms. Mr. Hunter, the special income-tax officer, reached Bassein on the next day, and received from the Mamlatdar a list of the men who had taken a leading part in the disturbances. Mr. Hunter, who was staying at the traveller’s bungalow, asked the Mamlatdar to send him the men whose names were entered in the list They came accompanied by a great crowd. Mr. Hunter made the crowd sit down near the bungalow and spoke to them. They listened quietly and Mr. Hunter, hoping that he had brought them to a better mind, gave the leading men another opportunity of taking the income-tax forms. One of them, by name Govardhandas, refused and behaved with such insolence that Mr. Hunter ordered him into custody. On this the people grew unruly, forced their way into the house, and made such an uproar that Mr. Hunter, finding he had lost control of them, determined to retire to his boat. The house was three quarters of a mile from the pier, and on the way, egged on by Govardhandas, the mob attacked Mr. Hunter with sticks and stones, and forced him to run for his boat. He reached the boat without much injury, but when his servants tried to push it off, they were prevented by showers of stones and were kept in this position for three quarters of an hour, when Mr. Hunter's clerk persuaded the people to let him go. Govardhandas, the leader of the riot, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a fine of £40 (Rs. 400).

Govinda Babaji Joshi, a Marathi writer, gives the following account of the conversation between Govardhandas and Mr. Hunter:

"When asked to explain why the tax vfas thought to be unjust, Govardhandas said:

"A good deal of expenditure made by the Government is done improperly and excessively. That should be reduced. The salaries of European Officers are so fat that one-fourth of the salary of one single English officer is enough to cover the expenditure of the whole establishment of his office. In most of the other Departments, the same mismanagement is, found. That should be stopped and the money saved by this should be utilized for the purpose. We poor residents of this country should not be taxed.

On this the Saheb replied: "The Government is trying to make economy as much as possible. You need not tell about it".

On this Govardhandas Seth said: "You only talk it, and publish it in newspapers. But such are not at all the intentions of the Government. To put in short, they (the Government) desire that we should be reduced to utter poverty. Whatever ornaments or brass vessels we have in bur houses should go, and we should be finished as the Red Indians were annihilated in America. If you search the houses of the ryots you will not find grains sufficient even for a single meal. You have snatched away from us all our trade and industries. Death is confronting us due to starvation. With our hands tied down we have become helpless and have been reduced to utter poverty: hence we should not be burdened with such a tax, and we shall not pay it".

On this the Saheb saia: “This won’t do; you must accept the notice and must pay the tax as ordered in it”.

Govardhandas Seth replied: “We shall not accept it”. On this the Saheb tried to put the notice in the hand of Govardhandas Seth and said: “If you do not accept it you will be charged with breaking the order”.

To this Govardhandas Seth said: “You have power in your hands. You can charge me with anything. I will never accept the notice”. 173

Whatever one may think of the accuracy of the report, it gives some idea of the new spirit of the time.

Troubles broke out in Surat also in 1878 over the imposition of a new License Tax by the Government to meet the expenditure incurred to combat the famine. Apart from the tax itself, the fourteen ridiculous items to be filled up in the forms (stating the number of spinning wheels, cows, buffaloes, etc. possessed by the family) exasperated the people. A hartal (strike) was declared on 1 April, and most of the shops were closed. On 4 April, the Magistrate, while trying to pacify a crowd that came to his office, was hit by a stone, and the people were proceeding towards the European quarters when they were stopped by the policemen. On the morning of the fifth, the railway station was attacked in order to seize the stock of grain that was lying there. The Government later alleged that the rioters Intended to stop the train service, hinder general business, and perhaps also to prevent the arrival of the police or military force from

outside. The attack on the railway station failed, though slight damages were caused, but the rioters frightened the manager of a neighbouring cotton mill to close it in obedience to the general decree. The mob then moved to the town and there were violent outbreaks in the city. The Superintendent of Police and two other Englishmen were attacked, and as they were hard pressed they took refuge in a dispensary. The dispensary verandah .and the railing were broken down by the mob and the glass broken. In the meantime the police and half the military guard of the Treasury (about 15 men) came to their rescue. The mob continued to throw stones and wounded, besides the Englishmen, some policemen and soldiers. The military then fired on the crowd, killing two or three and wounding several persons. Although the shops were not opened for a few days more, the disturbances ceased. 174

Although the events were not of great significance, importance was added to the agitation by the allegations of the Government that events in Europe contributed to the "popular excitability and irritability". The Governor of Bombay, in supporting this allegation, stated in a minute: "There was much exciting news arriving at that time day by day from Europe and I have been assured that the townspeople repeatedly alluded to these circumstances in terms disparaging of, and derogatdry to, British power." 175

The second striking thing was the stern method adopted by the Government to suppress the riot. A sworn affidavit by some citizens of Surat made a number of serious allegations against the Government. They refer to indiscriminate arrests on a large scale on the most flimsy evidence, and also to "the fact notoriously known at Surat" that the Magistrate gave to the City Inspector of Police a number of blank warrants for arrest. One specific allegation is very serious. It is said that Gulabdas Bhaidas, a Vakil of the District Court, and the other five persons charged with him, were carried to and fro along the most frequented thoroughfares of the city of Surat on foot with handcuffs on their wrists and the arm of one person tied with that of another. In order to inflict special disgrace upon Gulabdas Bhaidas his arm was tied with that of a Dubla of low caste, a convict in another case unconnected with the Surat riots. 170 Even the Anglo-Indian paper, the Bombay Gazette , wrote on 21 May, 1878: "Correspondents have assured us that there is reign of terror in Surat. .. .There appears to have been an unworthy spirit of revenge dominating the conduct of the authorities in' trying the rioters and we would ask the Bombay Government to interpose its authority and refuse to permit an undignified course of judicial procedure to go further.. .Reign of terror does not pass off in India without political effect.. ." 177

C. Forest Laws and Rampa Rebellion.

"In 1879-80 some new forest laws caused considerable dissatisfaction among the forest tribes in the hills that bound the Godavari valley. The oppressive and injudicious action of the Tahsildar of Bhadrachalam and the forest ranger fanned the smouldering discontent, and a flame of insurrection ran along the hills. The forest tribes and villagers gathered in bands, amounting occasionally to several thousands, looted villages, killed one or two policemen, and captured a steamer of the Godavari service. A military field force was sent from Madras to quell the insurrection and the Company of troops stationed at Sironcha was called out”. Though the rising was put down, “there were several subsequent disturbances during the next two years, but by 1882 the people had returned to their usual avocations.” 178

D. Non-violent protest against House-Tax at Banaras.

Bishop Heber has referred to a novel mode of protest against an administrative measure disliked*by the people. At Banaras the Government imposed a house-tax which was very unpopular, both for its amount and its novelty. As the protest of the people, backed by strong representations from the magistrates, was of no avail with the authorities in Calcutta, “the whole population of Benares and its neighbourhood determined to sit dhurna till their grievances were redressed.” “To sit dhurna” is a well-known device adopted by an individual to get redress of grievances against/another individual. It is to remain seated at the door of the person from whom remedy is sought, without food, and exposed to the sun and rain, till the aggrieved person gets redress. Some of the leading Brahmans of Banaras organized a country-wide dhurna with the result th stt “above 300,000 persons, as it is said, deserted their houses, shut up their shops, suspended the labour of their farms, forbore to light fires, dress victuals, many of them even to eat, and sate down with folded arms and drooping heads, like so many sheep, on the plain which surrounds Benares”. The authorities did m>i interfere, but brought a strong body if European troops. At last, overcome by hunger and * thunder-shower, the dhurna was given up and it was decided that a deputation of 10,000 should be sent to address the Governor-General personally. As there was no common fund to feed them, each member of the deputation was to shift for himself. “From ten to twenty thousand, however, really assembled with such provisions as they could collect, and began their

march.” But it was difficult to procure supply in “the hilly and jungly road from Benares to Burdwan.” So, in a few days, “they melted away to so small a number, that the remainder was ashamed to proceed". But their persistence did not go in vain. The obnoxiohs tax was repealed by the Supreme Government. 179

VII. DISTURBANCES IN PROTECTED STATES.

A. Keonjhar.

There were serious troubles in Keonjhar, one of the Tributary Mahals in Orissa. On the death of the Raja in 1860, his son Dhanan jay Bhanja was recognized by the British Government, and as he came of age in 1867, it was decided to permit him to take over the management of the estate. The childless widow of the late Raja, however, supported the claim of Brindaban Chandra Bhanja, a scion of the Mayurbhanj Raj family, on the ground that he had been adopted by her husband, the late Raja. She had instituted a case in law courts and, though she lost it in Indian courts, filed an appeal to the Privy Council. The action taken by the British Government before the final decision of the Privy Council roused great indignation and led to a strong outbreak of opposition in December-January, 1867-8, on the part of the Rani and the hill-tribes subordinate to Keonjhar who were devotedly attached to her. The British authorities, however, succeeded after two months* negotiations in bringing about a settlement between the newly installed Raja and the widowed Rani. But three months had not elapsed when suddenly a fresh outbreak occurred on 28 April, 1868. The immediate causes of this outbreak are not known but it took a serious turn.

"Ratna Naik, the leader of the Bhuias of the hill tracts of Keonjhur, who had all along been one of the most refractory chiefs in the late insurrection, organised a combination among his own and the other hill tribes in opposition to the Raja's authority. Large assemblages took place and persons sent out to treat with them were arrested, detained, and plundered. They sacked the Keonjhur bazar, carried off the chief minister, intimidated the well-disposed raiyat a and burnt villages. The Raja became alarmed for his own safety and applied to Government for the aid of policfe, declaring his own vaiks to be untrustworthy. Dr. Hayes, Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum, who was acquainted with the people and possessed some influence over them, was ordered to the spot with a force of police, and reinforcements were held in readiness at Balasore.

“The insurgents, numbering about 20,000, had disarmed the police at the Garh and dismounted the guns. The entire country was disorganized, and plundering was rife. The wild clans, Juangas and

Kols, united with the Bhuias and were countenanced by the other races. Both Raja Dhununjoy and the Rani were at the Garh, but the Raja’s authority was at an end and the Rani’s authority alone prevailed. The combination appeared most serious, and a considerable force was deemed necessary to suppress it.

“Dr. Hayes, with a small guard of Singhbhum Kols, reached Keonjhur on the 7th May unopposed. He found the Raja regularly besieged by the wild tribes, armed , with bows and arrows, axes and swords, disarmed them and easily turned them out of the Garh, and the people were reassured by his arrival....” But the Bhuias offered a stiff resistance all over the country, and it was not till the end of August, and the arrival of fresh troops that the situation was brought under control. One hundred and eighty-three persons were convicted, of whom five were sentenced to death and twentyseven to transportation for life. 180

B. Sambalpur.

Reference has been made above to the renewed rebellion of Surendra Sal of Sambalpur after his release from imprisonment by the mutineers in 1857. The two brothers, Surendra Sai and Udwant Sai, gathered about 1600 followers round them and successfully evaded three British military expeditions sent against them. As noted above, they almost ran a parallel Government of their own, and the people were firm in their allegiance to the two heroic brothers. They were mercilessly hunted by the British troops all over the State, but thanks to the unflinching faith of the people they could always evade arrest. It was generally believed that any black sheep among the villagers who would betray the brothers would be murdered with his whole family. In 1861 the British Government offered “free pardon and restitution of confiscated property” to all rebels, and many of them surrendered. In May, 1862, Surendra Sai gave himself up to the British on condition that he would not be arrested. But two of his lieutenants, Kunjal Singh and Kamal Singh, refused to surrender and carried on the struggle on behalf of their chief. Surendra Sai tried to achieve his object by peaceful means and, on behalf of the leading citizens, landholders, and Brahmans of Sambalpur presented a petition to the Chief Commissioner, Sir Richard Temple, praying for the restoration of Sambalpur to the native ruling dynasty. The rejection of this demand led to the outbreak of disturbances in different parts of the State. Kamal Singh, who ravaged the country, declared that there would be no peace until the rights of Surendra Sai were recognized. According to the reports of the British spies Surendra

Sai was in constant touch with the rebels, and talapatra or leaves of fan-palm tree were passed from village to village as an indication of, and probably also as summons to, the impending rebellion. It was also reported that a force was being raised at Jeypore in order to surprise and murder the Europeans. The authorities were gradually convinced that 'Surendra Sai. together wih the members of his family and others, was carrying on intrigues and plots for the re-establishment of a native raj at Sambalpur in defiance of the British Government'. Surendra Sai and his relatives and followers were taken unawares and arrested on 23 January, 1864. Though the charge of waging war against the King was not proved, Surendra Sai with some of his relatives and followers was put in confinement as "dangerous political offenders". Some of them were released after thirteen years, in 1877, but Surendra Sai and his brother were not released till a few years afterwards on condition that they would stay at Raipur. Udwant Sai died shortly afterwards, but Surendra Sai, who had lost his eyesight, lingered on for a few years more. 181

C. Posina.

In 1867, a Rajput in the service of the Thakor of Posina, levying a body of Makranis, raised a disturbance and went into outlawry. At his instigation the great-grandmother of the Thakor (of Mahikanta) fled to Posina, taking the young chief with her. Additional militia, sibandi, had to be levied, and matters were, after a time, satisfactorily arranged without any great disturbance of the peace. Next year a detachment of British troops had to be sent to Posina to guard the frontier against the inroads of the outlawed Thakor of Battana in Sirohi, and the arrangements then made saved the district from trouble. 182

1. See Ch. Lin, Vol. X.

la. Blunt—I, 16.

lb. Ibid, 145.

lc. Ibid, 121-2.

l d. Ibid, 216.

le. See Ch. LIII, Vol. X.

l f. Blunt—I, 16.

lg. Ibid, 121-2.

l h. Ibid. 109.

li. Ibid, 83.

lj. Ibid. 95.

l k. Ibid, 27G-7.

ll. Ibid, 309.

lm. The Wahabis branded all other Muslims as idolatrous because of the practice of visiting the tombs of the saints and appealing to them in emergencies, which the Wahabis identified with the practice of Pre-Islamic pagans. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics , edited by James Hastings, Vol. XII

p. 62.

2. The teaching of Abdul Wahab, the founder, may be summarized as an "attempt to restore Muhammadanism to the exact form it possessed during

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the lifetime of the founder (Prophet) discarding as idolatrous all modern exultations of Muhammad or any other Prophet, Imam or Saint, and aU forms, ceremonies and observances originated since the time of Prophet, and finally insisting on the duty of spreading Islam by the sword, the chief dutv of the faithful and the most direct way to paradise . Issac » “Revival of Islam”, CR, LVIIL 1874, p. 46. Also see Palgraye, William Gifford, Narrative of A Year’s Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63) 2 Volumes (MacMillan & Co., 1866), pn. 28^-95. Ameer All

(The Spirit of Islam, p. 357) regarded Wahabis’ (of Nejd) views as intensely “morose and calvinistic and in absolute conflict with progress and development”

For a short biographical account of Waliullah, cf. JRASB., NS. VIII (1912), p, 161; Hayat-i-Wali by Maulavi Rahim Baksh (Afzal ul Matabi Delhi, 1319 A.H.); Shah Waliullah and his Political Movement by Maulana Obeidullah Sindhi (Sind Sagar Academy, Lahaore). Also see Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Shah Waliullah Dehlavi and “Indian Politics m the 18th Century , Islamic Culture, 1951, p. 133 and Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, pp. 62-3. Shah Waliullah “was responsible for inviting Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan ruler, to Delhi, obviously for the restoration of Muslim rule”. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, op. cit. pp. 143-3.

Shariatullah went for haj at the age of 18 years, and after an absence of 20 years returned home in 1802, a skilful disputant and a good Arabic scholar. Mehr, Ghulam Rasool, Sarguzasht Mujahidin (Urdu), pp. 214-15. Also see Proceedings, Home, Judicial, September, 1865, nos. 70-74.

Mehr gives the date as about 1830 (op. cit., p v 215). Shariatullah died in or after A.D. 1837. See f.n. 110. (Ed.).

White, James, “The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal”, JRASB., 1894, p. 48. Ibid; Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. ID, p. 58.

Mehr, op. cit., p. 215.

White, op. cit., p. 50.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 1865, Nos. 70-74.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. HI, p. '58.

Kinealy, J.O., “The Wahabis in India”, CR., No. 100, p. 79.

Wadud, Qazi Abdul, “The Mussalmans of Bengal” in Studies in Bengal Renaissance, edited by A. C. Gupta (Jadavpur), p. 467.

Such as formation of Jamiats or Maths to help the peasants against zamindars, assertion of the equality of mankind, persecution of those who did not believe in his doctrines, etc.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. D3, p. 58.

Mehr, op. cit., p. 216.

Ibid. For details see CR., No. 101, 1870, pp. 177-78. Chandpur is in East Pakistan, Barasfct is near Calcutta.

CR., No. 101, 1870, p. 179. cf. SB —I, 95-7.

Ibid, p. 183. Also Mehr, op. cit., pp. 214-15. The expression means that he would be a subject of the Muslim rulers (i.e. the Wahabis) with the status of zimmi. For zimmi, see Vol. VI, pp. 457-8, 618—20.

CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 183.

Ibid.

The Wahabis called themselves Unitarians, it is their adversaries who named them ‘Wahabis'.

For details of Waliullah’s teachings, cf. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, “Shah Waliullah Dehlavi” and “Indian Politics in the 18th Century” in Islamic

Culture, 1951, p. 133.

Cf. Proceedings, Indian Hist. Congress —III. 1460. In two important respects, as pointed out earlier, the movement in India differed from that of Arabia, viz., Saiyid Ahmad designated himself to be Imam Mehdi and also accommodated the Shiahs who follow various Imams, by creating a new order of 'fakirs' (Tariqat-i-Muhammadi) who did not lay stress on minute details of Ceremonies, beliefs, etc., and confined themselves to main doctrines only. Hunter, W. W., The Indian Mussalmans, p. 68.

Mehr, Ghulam Rasul, Jamiat-i-Mujahidin (Urdu), p. 13.

It was first published in Urdu and the text has been translated by Hunter. Vide p. 14.

Proc. Foreign Deptt. (Secret), July 10, 1839, No. 23; Hastings Fraser, Our

Faithful Ally—The Nizam, pp. 241-42. Also see Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad Vol. 1, pp. 128-83.

29. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 186.

30. Nasiruddin was the nephew of Abdul Aziz, saint of Delhi. Proc. Foreign Deott fSecret), July 10, 1839, No. 21.

31. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 189.

32. He was greatly disillusioned by his secret visit to a cave in the mountain, where Saiyid Ahmad and his two servants were said to reside, and saw instead three figures stuffed with straw to represent Saiyid Ahmad and his servants. For full details, see CR., Vol. 101, 1870, pp. 189-91.

33. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 381. Mehr, op. cit., p. 244.

34. Hazara Gazetteer (Urdu), 1908, p. 135.

35. Hehr, op. cit., p. 271.

36. Tazkira Sadiqa, pp. 126-27, vide Mehr, op. cit., pp. 271-2

37. Mehr, op. cit., p. 273.

38. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 383.

39. Mehr, op. cit-, p. 277.

40. Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee., 1872; Proc. Home-Judl., January 1, 1870, No. 21, For details see Proc. Home-Judl., July 30, 1870, Nos. 28-29.

41. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 393.

42. Proc. Home-Judl., August 1872, Nos. 359-60, p. 5; Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.Dee., 1872.

43. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 393.

44. Proc Home-Judl., June 17, 1871.

45. Mehr, op. cit., p. 286.

46. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 395.

47. Ibid, p. 392.

48. Mehr, op. cit., p. 305.

49. Ibid, p. 302.

50. J. H. Reily. He was later on promoted as Dy. Inspector-General of Police.

51. Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee., 1872, p. 3252.

52. For details about these revolts refer to Ashraf, K. M., “Muslim Revivalists and the Revolt of 1857,” in Rebellion of 1857: A Symposium, edited by P. C. Joshi.

53. Tayler was censured for this act of his by his successor and some English writers. Kaye observes: “To invite men to a friendly conference,

who actually were the guests of a British officer, to seize their persons, is not very likely treachery but is treachery itself". Kaye and Malleson, History of Sepoy War in India, Vol. Ill, pp. 83-4. Sen, p. 247.

54. CHI, VI. 180-1,

55. Proceedings of the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah (Calcutta, 1895), pp. 176-77.

56. Hunter, op. cit., p. 23.

57. CR, No. 101, 1870, p. 291.

58. Hunter, op. cit., pp. 30-32; Adye John, Sittana — A mountain campaign on the borders of Afghanistan in 1863 (London, 1867), p. 18.

59. Hunter, op. cit., p. 39.

60. Adye John, op. cit., p. 51.

61. Hunter, op. cit., p. 35.

62. According to Hunter, the rebel forces including those of the tribal chiefs amounted to 53,500, whiie a Muslim chronicle estimates them to be 64,250. Mehr, op. cit., p. 368.

63. Mehr. op. cit., p. 365.

64. Ibid, pp. 388-9.

65. Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 1865, Nos. 70-74, p. 43. Thus the British denied to them the glory of martyrdom. Except the three principal accused and Abdul Ghafar, who were sent \o Andamans, and Mian Jan who died in Ambala Jail, the other convicts had not to serve their full terms of imprisonment. They appeared as prosecution witnesses in the subsequent trials and were granted remission of sentences. Mehr, op. cit., pp. 401-2.

66. Pnoc. Home-Judl., Sept. 1865, Nos, 70-74, p. 43.

67. Mehr, op. cit., pp. 405-7.

68. Ibid, pp. 401-2.

69. The Rajas, however, did not respond. Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee., 1872,

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p. 3271. Also Mehr, op. cit., p. 464. For the early history of Firuz Shah, see above, pp. 535,585.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dec., 1872, pp. 3257-58.

Ibid, p. 3262.

Mehr, op. cit., p. 414.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sep.-Dee., 1872, p. 3322.

Ibid, p. 3261.

Mehr, op. cit., p. 415.

Ibid, p. 416.

Ibid.

Ibid, p. 418.

Ibid, p. 423. The total expenditure incurred in conducting the Wahabi prosecutions alone at Patna and other places amounted to about Rs. 1,38,977. Proc. Home-Judl., August 1872, Nos. 359-60.

James Routledge, English Rule and Native Opinion in India (London, 1878), pp. 73-4.

Ibid, 75-76. For details, cf. Buckland, I. 438.

Cotton, H. E., Calcutta, Old and New , pp. 230-1. Also see London Times, February 13, 1872. Buckland, I. 511-3.

Mehr, op. cit., p. 450.

Oliver, Edward E., From Across ths Borders oj Fathan and Bilock (London, 1890), p. 291.

Mehr, op. cit., pp. 483 and 490.

Ibid, p. 486. The comparatively recent movement of Deoband School started by Mahmud Husain, though not directly connected with the Wahabis, had j many things in common including their objective. Ibid, p. 552.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 27, 1865, Nos. 70-74.

Hunter, op. cit., pp, 69-70. Also see Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dec., 1872. Hunter, op. cit., p. 69-70.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee., 1872, p. 3283.

Hunter, op. cit., p. 65.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 27, 1865, Nos.. 70-74, p. 75.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee., 1872, p. 3259.

Ibid, p. 3254.

Ibid, p. 3282.

Hunter, op. cit., p. 81.

Proo. Home-Judl., Sept-Dec., 1872, p. 3282.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 27, 1865, Nos. 70-74, Pt. A. For the names of some of these Qasids refer to Proc. Home-Judl., Sept-Dec., 1872, p. 3255.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 27, 1865, Nos. 70-74, Pt. A.

Drafts or hundies were Called ‘white stones’ and amounts intimated by the number as “white beads on a rosary”. Remittances of money were spoken of as the price of books and merchandise, gold mohars were called red rubies, large Delhi gold embriodered shoes and large red birds, etc. Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 27, 1865, Pt. A. Nos. 70-74.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee. 1872, p. 3255.

Smith, W.C., Modem Islam in India, p. 189.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee. 1872. Dr. Rajendra Prasad rightly remarks that the earlier risings of the Santhals, the Mundas and the Wahabis were not “purely political movements for the freedom of the country. They were occasional and inspired by religious considerations also”. Foreword, History of Freedom Movement in Bihar, Vol. I, by Dr. K. K. Datta.

It will be interesting to note in this connection that Sir Syed Ahmad denounced the Wahabi agitation (Letter to ‘Pioneer*, April 14, 1871) as he wrote: “Muhammadans be they dwelled in dar-ul-harb or dar-ul-Islam are prohibited from rebellion against a Government w'hich interferes in no way with the free worship of, their religion”. Ram Gopal, Indian Muslims p. 25. Also see Syed Ahmad, Asar us Sanadid (1846), Chapter IV.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept.-Dee. 1872, p. 3261.

Ibid, pp. 3280 and 3292.

Proc. Home-Judl., Sept. 27, 1865, Nos. 70-74.

Smith, op. cit., pp. 189-80.

For the detention of five Hindus for their pro-Wahabi activities, refer to Proc. Home-Judl., January 13, 1872, Nos. 28-30.

The truth of this observation is not accepted by all. Thus Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri observes: “The moverhent, which undoubtedly owed its origin to zamindari exactions, was, in its last stages, strengthened by communal considerations. Hunter’s statement that in the peasant rising around Calcutta the Wahabis despoiled the Hindu and Muhammadan landholders alike (Indian Mussalmans, p. 39) is quite true, but the latter were not made the victims of communal outrages, whereas the former were, and this must have completed the discouragement of the Hindus" (SB—I, 97). This is supported by the nature of Wahabi outrages in Purna, described above, on p. 886. A letter published in the Samachar Darpan, a Bengali periodical, in its issue of 22 April, 1837, describes in detail the outrages perpetrated on the Hindus by Shariatullah and refers to breaking of images of Hindu gods, desecrating places of worship, killing of cows in Hindu houses, etc. as a regular feature. The writer apprehends that the Hindus will suffer grievously if Shariatullah's band of 12,000 Mussalmans are not controlled at an early date (B. N. Banerji, III. 312). [Ed.]

111. Hunter, op. cit., p. 106; Smith, op. cit., p: 189:

112. CR., No. 100, p. 104.

113. See pp. 618-9.

114. The Editor is responsible for this para.

114a. The following account is based upon the Punjab District Gazetteers, Vol. XV A, 1904; Ludhiana District and Maler Kotla State, pp. 29-30, 85-6. The quotations are also from the same source.

114.ab. According to Dr. H.L. Gupta, the activity of the Kukas can be traced as far back as 1794 when they "attacked Maler Kotla for cow-killing activities in that State and terrorized its Afghan ruler into stopping the practice objectionable to them".

(Essays presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, edited by Dr. H. R. Gupta, p. 109).

114ae. There is no adequate evidence to justify this official view (Punjab DG, XV A, p. 86). Dr. H. L. Gupta takes more rational view when he says that the incidents of 1872 "reflected a symptom of discontent against British rule... and dissatisfaction with the religious policy of the Government permitting kine-killing by Muhammadan butchers,... But to attribute to the Kukas a motive to subvert British rule appears to be unrealistic and fantastic afterthought. ..." op cit., p. 109.

114b. See above, pp. 454- 8.

114c. Freedom — Bihar, I. 96-7 (which gives references to original documents).

114d. Ibid, 97. There is, however, no adequate evidence in support of this view.

114e. Ibid, 98.

114f. Ibid, 97-8.

114g. Ibid, 99.

1141i. Ibid, 100.

114i. Ibid.

114j. Ibid, 101. Cf. also the Report of Mr. W.S. Couts, Joint Magistrate. It is said in this Report that in one of the meetings in which the plan of campaign was discussed by Birsa some of his followers expressed "doubt as to the possibility of being able to fight the hakims (Magistrates), who had guns. Birsa, however, reassured them by saying that the guns and bullets of their enemies would turn to water and that they (the Birsaites) would become invisible. There was little dissent and no objection."

114k. Freedom — Bihar, I. 101-2.

1141. Ibid, 102.

114m. Ibid, 104-5.

114n. Bombay Gazetter, III. 254-8; VI. 64.

115. Freedom — Bombay, I. 73.

116. See p. 446. Ramosi is also written ns Ramoshl.

117. Freedom — Bombay, 1. 82.

118. Ibid, 82-3.

119. The original has ‘lost’.

120. Freedom — Bombay, I. 85-6.

121. Ibid, 87.

122. Ibid, 88.

123. Ibid, 89.

124. Ibid, 93.

125. Ibid, 95.

126. The first eight pages of the autobiography were written on this date and the rest, m course of the next week (Ibid).

127. Ibid, 97. . , , T i

128. These details are taken from an excellent summary made by the Legal Remembrancer on 27 September, 1897 (Ibid, 81-102), For the datj of arrest, cf. ibid, 74-75. But Joshi, the biographer of Phadke, gives the date as 3 July.

129. For the extracts from newspapers that follow, cf. ibid, 126-8.

130. Ibid, 90.

130a. Ibid, 94.

131. The facts stated in this section, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the following authentic sources:

1. The Report of the Indigo Commission, 1860 (referred to as Report).

2. Buckland. „ ^ A , .

3. Minute by Sir J. P. Grant, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (quoted in

Buckland, I. 238-271). ,

Horrible tales of oppression by the planters are given in several other publications, mentioned in the bibliography. .

132. Hie gomastahs and menials, although paid only a nominal salary, were often in affluent circumstances, having brick-built houses of their own. Every cultivator knew that any false complaint against him by these scoundrels is enough for the planter to have him mercilessly beaten or otherwise oppressed. Kadir Biswas said in his evidence (p. 152): “I have to give five Rupees a year to the amiri and takidgir, two to the Dewan, and one to the Mohurir”.

133. Buckland, I. 252.

134. Ibid,

135. Report, para. 109.

136. Ibid.

137. Sir J. P. Grant, who quotes this, comments: “The whole of this gentleman s evidence is very instructive, as proceeding from a great zamindar and practical native indigo planter. This, diluted into becoming official language, I find to be the conclusion of the Commission; and it is certainly the inevitable deduction from the whole body of evidence.” (Minute, para. 40).

138. Grant’s Minute, para. 2.

139. See f.n., 131.

140. Para. 8.

141. Para. 9.

142. Some specimens of these are given by Rev. J. Long in his evidence before die Commission (See Appendix).

143. The Commission was composed of W.S. Seton-Karr, C.S., President, R, Temple, C.S., Rev. J. Sale (tc represent the interest of the raiyats and the

missionaries), W.F. Fergusson (nominated by the Indigo Planters' Association), and Babu Chandra Nath Chatterji (nominated by the British Indian Association to represent the landholders' interest). The only Indian member, being a representative of the zamindars, could not feel much sympathy with the tenants' rising against their landlords, the planters, in view of its possible reaction upon their own tenants.

144. Minute, paras. 2-7. Italics mine.

145. Report, j para. 131.

146. When Christian missionaries drew the attention of the planters to the oppressions committed upon Christian native cultivators, they were, not unoften, brusquely asked to mind their own business.

147. Rev. J. Long, in his evidence before the Commission (p. 160), said: "Planters themselves have told me that under the ryotti system of indigo cultivation it was almost impossible to secure both the prosperity of the factory and that of the ryots in Bengal". He was asked: "But have you never known any planter who, under the ryotti system, managed to keep the ryots content?". He answered: "Never. I should consider it an impossibility under the present system".

147a. "Not content with the usual instruments of torture and punishment, one of the planters invented a novel form of whip or cat-o'-nine-tails, christened Sham Chand or Ram Kant , for beating out of the raiyats any lurking disinclination against the cultivation of the plant. The authorship of this was ascribed to Mr. Larmour, the leading planter in Bengal" (H. C. Chakladar, "Fifty Years Ago" in the Dawn Society's Magazine , 1905).

148. Report, para. 9**. Italics mine.

148a. Quoted on p. 18 of 'Satyagraha in Champaran' by Rajendra Prasad; cf. also Report, Evidence, p. 163.

DISCONTENT, DISTURBANCES AND ARMED RESISTANCE

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Concrete instances are given in para. 98 of the Report.

Report, Evidence, p. 80.

Rev. J. Long said in his evidence on this point: ‘There is no question that the occasional occurrences of outrages (on women) is a general belief of the natives and tends to make indigo planting odious. I have been acquainted of late years with various facts relating to outrages. From the respectability and integrity of my informants I find it morally impossible to disbelieve it.’ (p. 161).

R. G. Ghose, Remarks on the Black Acts, p. 27.

Blunt—I, p. 145.

For a, b, c, cf. paras. 119, 118, 115 of the Report. As Rev. Long said in his evidence: “Many European officials might be tempted to carry out the maxim “My own countrymen, right or wrong” (p. 161). For further details see Long’s evidence in the Appendix.

See evidence of Zamindar Bijaya Govinda Chaudhuri in the Appendix. Report, para. 141. For the very highly excited popular feeling on this subject, cf. Long’s evidence, quoted in the Appendix.

Report, para. 112.

These have been referred to above.

Grant’s Minute, paras. 2-5.

Ibid, para. 15.

Remarks on the Black Acts, p. 26.

Buckland, L 186.

Ibid, 186-88.

Ibid, 188.

Ibid, 192.

Ibid.

Ibid, 191-2.

Ibid, 194.

See above, p. 921. Cf. also Report, Evidence, p. 163.

Buckland, I. 195-6.

Ibid, 430-1.

Ibid, 197.

Ibid, 198.

Ibid, 205.

Report, Evidence, p. 159.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22 May, 1874. Quoted by J. C. Bagal in the Pravartak, a Bengali Magazine, 1356 B.S., p. 288.

The account is based on the Report of the Commission on the Riots in Poona and Ahmednagar, Bombay, 1876.

Hume, p. 82.

Bombay Gazetteer, XVIII, 309.

The account is based on Freedom — Assam, pp. 25-34.

For an account of other agrarian revolts, cf. Peasant Uprisings in India (1850-1900). & y

| Freedom—Bombay, I. 22.

This Latin phrase means: He gives twice who gives in a trice.

Ibid, 19-21. Italics mine.

Ibid, 23-5.

Ibid, 28-32.

Ibid, 43. The ‘events in Europe* evidently refers to the success of Russia in her war against Turkey.

Ibid, 39-40.

Ibid, 49. Italics mine.

Chanda D.G., 589.

Heber, I. 432-6.

Buckland, I. 420-26.

The account is based on Sambalpur D.G. (pp. 25-35) and the Memo of Captain F. G. Stewart, dated 24th September, 1863. According to the latter the men were “in open rebellion against the State” and “have- in a letter addressed by the Chief, Kummul Singh, to the Dy. Commissioner declared their intention of mudering Gontyass (sic), burning villages, and remaining in open defiance of the Government, until either the Chauhan dynasty £ restored in the person of Soorender Saha, their late acknowledged chief, or the whole of the Chauhans lie buried in their graves.” ^

Bombay Gazetteer, V. 385.

CHAPTER XXX

INDIAN STATES

I. THE INDIAN STATES AND BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY

Reference has been made above to the series of treaties concluded by the Marquess of Hastings with the Rajput and Maratha States. These, together with similar treaties of earlier and later dates, defined the legal status of the Indian States, vis-a-vis the East India Company. But though, as noted above, the British GovernorGeneral in Council claimed paramountcy over all the Indian States, and in practice exercised it, whenever they chose, almost without any check or limit, it is not supported by the legal right accruing from the treaties themselves, and there was no other source from which any such right could accrue. According to explicit terms of the treaties, all the States surrendered the control of their relations with foreign powers; but in the case of the larger states, it was expressly stipulated that their rulers should be absolute within their own territories. Some of the States like Hyderabad and Awadh originally entered into treaty relations with the British on equal terms, and as fully independent States; and this status was never openly abrogated by any subsequent treaty. Even a State like Baroda, in whose internal affairs the British had rights of interference, was recognized by them in the treaty of 1817 as possessing ‘sovereignty’, and the Gaekwar was referred to in 1841 as the “sole sovereign” of his territories. 1 It may therefore be presumed or at least argued that, barring an Indian State conquered or created by the British and definitely relegated by a treaty to a feudatory status, the Indian States, in general, possessed sovereign powers. But whatever may be the theoretical position, in practice the Eritish treated them all as feudatory or subordinate States and did not accord to any Indian State, not excluding even Hyderabad, the same political status or rank which diplomatic usage guaranteed to the smallest State in Europe such as Belgium or Holland. The British were in a position to do this because through the instrumentality of the subsidiary force they were in possession of the most effective part of the army of every Indian Stale, which had no power to resist them even if it had any wish to do so. There is thus no doubt that the acceptance of a subsidiary force nullified in practice whatever sovereignty an Indian State might have possessed in theory . It is debatable, however, whether by agreeing to maintain a subsidiary force, a State merely limits its sovereignty or loses it altogether even in theory. The British rulers in the nineteenth century took the latter view, presumably on the ground that it is the practical status that determines the theoretical one, and not vice versa. From the position of a paramount power de facto, the British imperceptibly assumed the status of a paramount power de jure. In other words, while the British paramountcy before the outbreak of 1857 is an undeniable fact, its legal basis is not so clear, and it was not formally enunciated by British administrators as a general principle applicable to India as a whole.

The British standpoint has been generally upheld by the British historians. They argue that the general duty undertaken by the British to protect the Indian States, which was implicit in all their treaties, naturally involved the right to interfere in cases of financial disorder, actual or potential rebellion, or in similar contingencies. This is at least a plausible argument. It is, however, not so clear that similar defence may be put forward in favour of many claims and practices which gradually developed. To insist that no succession is valid in an Indian State without the previous sanction of the British; to coerce an Indian ruler to maintain a particular minister against his will and interest, or to send troops to a State on the actual outbreak or mere possibility of disorders such as frequently occurred even within the British dominions, and to use these opportunities to wring more concessions from the helpless rulers;—these are some of the instances which can only be explained, not by rights or obligations of a Protecting State, but the aggressive designs of an Imperial Power. Some cases of interference in Indian States may, no doubt, be justified by the former, but there are many which must be attributed to the latter.

The power and status of the Native States varied to a considerable extent. As Ramsay Macdonald has observed: “The degree to which the native sovereignty extends has been determined by no general principle, but by historical accident, the size and the /importance of the States themselves, the terms of the treaties made between the imperial Government and the Native rulers, other agreements and usages. The Nizam of Hyderabad exercised the maximum of power. He issued his own coinage, had a free hand as to taxation, and had absolute powers of life and death. Some of the rulers of smaller States had little more than minor judicial powers and immunity from British taxation”. 2

II. THE INDIAN STATES UNDER THE BRITISH CROWN.

The outbreak of 1857-58 forms the Great Divide in British Indian history, especially in the relation of British India to the States. The circumstances which led to it were closely and intimately connected with the policy which the East India Company had so far pursued in regard to the States. The strength of the rebellion came mainly from the policy of annexation of States, and the high-handed manner in which it was sometimes carried out, e.g. in cases of Awadh, Nagpur and Jhansi, provided, among other things, the popular appeal for what was originally a military revolt. It was the doubtful attitude of the forces of some Indian States that helped the spread of the rebellion and enabled Tantia Topi to make his rapid movements. Equally, it was the staunch attitude of Jayaji Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, Hyderabad under Salar Jang, and of the Phulkian States, that turned the tide. Post-Mutiny policy was, as a result, dominated by this fact. The British authorities learnt two essential lessons from the catastrophe that overtook them in 1857. The first was that it was hot wise to ride rough-shod over the popular sentiments behind the States of India, howsoever backward they might appear from a modem standpoint; and secondly, that, in view of their unsuspected strength, it was necessary to take political, military and other precautions, meant to prevent the States from uniting with each other and forming a formidable combination in future. It was essentially a dual policy of conciliation and friendship on the one hand, and a process of gradual weakening on the other.

The first step in the process of conciliation was the historic Proclamation of Queen Victoria, 2 ® which assured the Princes that the Crown had taken over their treaties, and had no desire to extend its territorial possessions, and that the dignities, privileges, and authorities of the princes and States would be maintained undiminished. It was, in effect, a repudiation of the policy of annexation which had added the Carnatic, Awadh, and other regions to British India. The detested principle of lapse, which was the dynastic counterpart of annexation, and which ran counter to the cherished Hindu ideas of succession, was also by implication given up by this proclamation. The princes were reassured of their dynastic and other privileges.

The other side of the dual policy was the enunciation by the Viceroy of the theory of “one charge”, that is, that India under direct rule and India under the Princes constituted in effect one political unit. Lord Canning declared in 1862 that “the Crown of England stood forward, the unquestioned Ruler and Paramount Power in all India”. By this theory of “one charge”, and of being paramount power in all India, the independent and foreign allies of the Company, over whom, in the express terms of Lord Dalhousie’s despatch, no paramountcy existed, became transformed into what was then called, feudatories. Lord Canning unhesitatingly described the powers, which had fought and negotiated on terms of equality w T ith the Company, as “feudatories”. The Crown of England, he declared, was for the first time brought face to face with the feudatories, and there was a reality in the suzerainty of the Sovereign of England, which never existed before, and which was eagerly acknowledged by the chiefs.[3]

The two terms “feudatory” and “suzerainty” constituted both a theory and a programme, which the Princes at the time did not understand, but the effect of which they were to feel almost immediately in the grant of the Sanads of Adoption. It is obvious, from the public claim made by the Viceroy and the terms of the Sanad given to each State, that the transfer of the relationship from the Company to the Crown meant very much more than it purported to. The Queen’s announcement to the Princes that “all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained”, stated, no doubt, the legal position. Obviously the Crown cannot take oyer more than what the Company possessed; and, in the political theory of the Company, the States of India were “foreign States”, against whom they declared wars, e.g., Coorg in 1834, and whose territories they annexed on the principle “of abandoning no just and honourable acquisition of territory”.[4] A silent constitutional revolution had been effected by the transfer of the power to the British Crown as suzerain authority, and a legal theory had to be found to justify it. This was provided by the Sanads of Adoption given to all the States which were recognized as such.

The right of adoption was conceded on the condition of loyalty to the Crown. Suzerainty was given a legal basis, and the Crown's paramountcy established irrevocably in exchange for the perpetuation of the dynasties. The right of Hindu rulers to adopt successors was never in doubt, even during the period when the doctrine of lapse held sway. No less than 26 adoptions had taken place during the period between 1826 and 1848.[6] But, since the right was to be publicly confirmed, the opportunity was too good to be lost for the introduction of the new legal theory of paramountcy on the one side and loyalty on the other.

It has been held by eminent jurists that the Proclamation of the Crown should be read subject to the superior rights possessed by the Crown in virtue of paramountcy.[6] Such an interpretation, while, no doubt, correct after the assumption of paramountcy through the Sanads of Adoption, could not clearly be read into the Proclamation itself, because, in the first place, the East India Company did not possess any right of paramountcy, and, in the second place, it is inconsistent with the Act of Parliament by which the Crown accepted the treaties and engagements of the Company. But, legal discussions apart, the plain historical fact is that the transfer effected a change in constitutional relationship, which was made contractually binding on the States through the instrument of the Sanads of Adoption. India that passed to the Crown had, in effect, become "one charge", as Lord Canning proudly claimed, and the States became members of a single polity over which the Central Government of India presided with a double face,-—a dual personality.

The geography of the States did not, except in relation to the frontier areas, undergo any material change since the assumption of government by the Crown. Mysore, Banaras and Sawantwadi were States nominally under their own sovereigns, though actually under British administration. So far as Mysore was concerned, there was never any doubt. In regard to Banaras and Sawantwadi, also, there was no reason for any doubt, and Sanads of Adoption were issued to them also. India remained geographically unaltered in the main.

In regard to the Frontier Areas, the position, however, underwent a gradual change. In 1860 Kashmir was an independent State. In the period between 1848 and 1860 Gulab Singh had been supported and encouraged in a policy of trans-Gilgit aggression which brought under his sway Chitral, Chilas, Hunza and Nagar. Kashmir was in fact an instrument of British policy of influence and expansion in the Pamir Area till the Russians came on the scene, and till on the report of Pandit Manphul, the road to Kashgar was opened for trade. In 1886, on the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Kashmir was brought into the Indian States system. Similar was also the case with Sikkim and partially with Bhutan.

On the other hand, Nepal, which in the period between 1814 and 1848 was gravitating towards the position of a protected State, contracted out of it, mainly through the personality and statesmanship of Jung Bahadur Rana who assumed a Shogunate in that country after eliminating his rivals. The value attached by the Army authorities to Gurkha recruitment, and the virtual isolation of Nepal from any international sphere of activity, helped that State to maintain and develop its independent status.

With the establishment of Abdur Rahman at Kabul, and his success in maintaining his freedom of action, the necessity of settling the boundary area became important, and new territorial States, which were originally tribal chief ships, came into existence. Of

these, the most important were Chitral, Swat and Dir. Baluchistan came late into the Indian system early in the twentieth century, and the Khan of Kalat, as the ruler of non-British Baluchistan was styled, was the latest, and probably the last addition, to the Indian political system.

There is one further fact which is significant in relation to political geography. The position of the Orissa States was doubtful at the beginning of the period. Till the decision in Keshab Mahajan’s case in 1878 these States were considered as being subject to British jurisdiction. The Privy

Council decided in that case that the Ruler of Mayurbhanj was not a Za/mindcir but a Ruling Prince, and this decision governed the status of the Rulers of Orissa.

The period immediately following the Mutiny was one of internal decay in Indian States. The process had started earlier and had been noticed and commented upon by such political observers as Sleeman. The Times described the condition of affairs in the period immediately preceding the Mutiny as follows: “Our hand of iron maintains them on the throne, despite their imbecility, their vices and their crimes. The result is, in most of the States, a chronic anarchy under which the revenues of the States are dissipated between the mercenaries of the camp and the minions of the Court”. The genius of individual administrators provided a few notable exceptions. Salar Jang laid the foundations of Hyderabad’s future greatness on the chaos left to him by Chandulal. Raja Sir T, Madhava Rao provided Travancore with a modern system of government which, under the inspiring genius of Ayilyara Maharaja, was to make it a model State. Others also there were, —Jayaji Rao Sindhia, Maharaja Narendra Singh of Patiala, Sir Dinkar Rao and Dewan Sankunni Menon,—to mention only a few. But it may w T ell be said that the period between the Mutiny and the trial of Malhar Rao Gaekwar in 1875 witnessed a process of decay in the States from which only their inherent strength enabled them to recover.

This period also saw the elaboration of the theory of “one charge”. The main centres of India were connected by railways, and their alignment took the shortest route, and gave no consideration to political boundaries. Though many States were allowed to maintain their own posts, in all but four (Gwalior, Patiala, Nabha and Jind) the Imperial Post Office functioned as in the rest of India. The Imperial Telegraph system extended to every State, and only one, Kashmir, (owing to its late incorporation in the polity of India) was allowed to run a parallel system. The British Indian rupee came at the same time to possess a pre-eminence even where local coinage continued to exist, as it did in many States, but the monetary policy of India became the sole concern of the Central Government.

Alongside with the material framework of a unified India, which was being created within this period, the moral forces were also working. The great

Universities of the Presidency towns became the centres of learning, to which educational institutions in the States began to be affiliated. The great codes, which were promulgated in India, and the High Courts which were established, became the model and type of legislation and judicial system for the States, providing a similarity of form, if not of standards, for judicial administration. By a slow process, mainly during minorities and regencies, the framework of British Indian revenue administration was introduced into even backward areas.

The doctrine of "one charge" also gave rise to a new sense of responsibility, so far as the Central Government was concerned. In a minute of 1360 Lord Canning stated that it was the right of the Government of India to set right abuses in a native government. In a speech at Ajmer Lord Mayo told the Princes of Rajputana: "We estimate you not by the splendour of your offerings to us, nor by the pomp of your retinue here, but by your conduct to your own people at home. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government". In the Alwar case, where an administration was set up after the depositon of the ruler, Lord Mayo enunciated the principles of his policy towards Princes and States as follows: "I believe, if in any feudatory State in India oppression, tyranny, corruption, wastefulness and vice are found to be the leading characteristics of its administration, it is the imperative duty of the paramount power to interfere, and that we evade the responsibility which our position in India imposes on us, and avoid the discharge of a manifest duty, if we allow the people of any race or class to be plundered and oppressed. On the other hand, I am equally of opinion that, should a well disposed Chief, while using his utmost endeavours to establish good government within his State, be opposed by any insubordinate petty baron, mutinous troops or seditious classes of his subjects, it is then our duty to support his authority and power. Further, I believe that under no circumstances can we permit in any State the existence of civil war".

These, he declared, were the three leading features of the policy he was prepared to recommend, and they remained the axioms of political practice till the end of the British rule.

The interest taken by Lord Mayo in the education and upbringing of Princes, which led to the establishment of the Mayo College, is another example of this feeling of responsibility. It will be seen that the foundations of the new policy towards the States, and the full elaboration of the dual system, were laid in the time of Lord Mayo. The theory of intervention was enunciated with clarity, and given effect to in Alwar and Tonk. The desire to introduce bureaucratic methods of administration in the States was emphasized, and Lord Mayo did not conceal his desire to use the opportunities afforded by regencies and minority administrations to introduce radical changes in the prevailing systems in the States. Definite claims of wardship over minor Rulers were put forward. A number of masterful Residents,—Daly, Lepel Griffin, and Aitchison among them,—created a tradition of Residential domination, which evoked from Edward VII during his visit to India, as Prince of Wales, a strong comment on the rude and rough manner of the Political Officers towards the Rulers. 7 Lord Mayo was responsible in a great measure for the policy of nominating to the States, Diwans, chosen by the Political Department, as instruments for carrying out in the States the policy of reforms followed in British India.

The gradual growth of this integral unity was reflected, and received formal expression, in the General Clauses Act (Act I of 1868) which introduced the term British India for the directly administered territories of the Crown and by implication reserved the word India for the whole. The association of prominent personalities from the States in the affairs of the Central Government emphasized this fact. The Maharaja of Patiala was nominated a Member of the Supreme Council. After him, Raja Sir Dinkar Rao and Rala Sir T. Madhava Rao were also honoured in the same manner. The Central Legislature was then considered to be the organ of Indian and not British Indian Government.

The growth of this feeling of Indian unity, and the development of an all-India machinery of administration in matters of common concern, could not be reconciled with the misgovernment and chaos which prevailed in most of the States. The result was the famous trial and deposition of Malhar Rao Gaekwar, the first great landmark in the history of Indian States after the Mutiny. Malhar Rao was an irresponsible despot. No excuse of any kind could be made on his behalf. Misgovernment and oppression in the State reached such proportions that in 1874 the first Baroda Commission was appointed to report on the state of affairs. It reported in February, 1874. On this Lord Northbrook gave the Gaekwar time to put his affairs in order, and enunciated in his letter a theory which is the classic text of British intervention in States. “My friend”, he said, “I cannot consent to employ British troops to protect anyone in course of wrong doing. Misrule on the part of a Government, which is upheld by British power, is misrule for which the British Government becomes in a measure involved. It becomes, therefore, not only the right but the positive duty of the British Government to see that the administration of the State in such a condition is reformed, and that gross abuses are removed”.

The sentiment was no doubt unexceptionable; but the extent to which the British Government went to enforce these principles shocked the moral opinion of the Princes and people of India alike. The Gaekwar the premier Hindu Prince and one of the oldest of Britain’s Allies, one who claimed suzerainty over many Princes and States, was arrested. Not only was his person violated on a flimsy charge for trying to poison the Resident, but he was tried by a special tribunal consisting of three Europeans and three Indians (the Rulers of Gwalior and Jaipur, and Raja Sir Dinkar Rao). The European officials of the Government found the Gaekwar guilty; the three Indian members held otherwise. Malhar Rao was deposed and his own direct descendants excluded from succession. It is worth while to note here that Lord Salisbury officially declared: “His Majesty’s Government have willingly accepted the opportunity of recognising in a conspicuous case the paramount obligation which lies upon them of protecting the people of India from oppression”. [8]

The decision on the Baroda case laid down the principles of Intervention. “If these obligations (of Rulership) be not fulfilled, if gross misgovemment be permitted, if substantial justice be not done to the subjects of the Baroda State, if life and property be not protected, or if the general welfare of the country and people be persistently neglected, the British Government will assuredly intervene .” This is the first authoritative statement of the policy of the paramount power in relation to misgovernment in States and its right of intervention in defined cases.

The Baroda case also demonstrated to the rest of India the change in the position of Indian States, that one of the biggest of them, which had helped in the making of the British Empire, had ceased to be an Ally except by courtesy, and that the British Government in India not only claimed, but, in effect, enforced, its authority over the entire countiy.

That the action against the Gaekwar was high-handed was probably recognized from the beginning, but that it would be an outrage on Indian sentiment was not foreseen. Few in India, whether Princes or others, shared the strange view of the Maharaja Holkar of the time, who, more or less, encouraged Lord Northbrook in his action, and wrote flattering letters supporting the policy, realizing but little that it was the House of Holkar that was destined to bear the full brunt of this theory during the half a century that was to follow.

The deposition of the Gaekwar and the feeling of uncertainty created in the* minds of the Princes as a result had one unexpected consequence. It was felt that something should be done to quieten the alarm of the Princes, and, under the inspiration of Disraeli, the first great Durbar was held in Delhi to announce the imperial titles assumed by the Queen. The Durbar was meant to be a visible representation of the new unity of India. The title of Empress itself gave no new rights or privileges to the British Crown in relation to the States, at least legally, though the mere fact that the great Princes were summoned to do homage from far and near gave a reality to the title which the Princes did not fail to recognize. The official statement that the Princes welcomed the Durbar was entirely wrong. The larger States certainly viewed the proposal as a humiliation, and feared that the imperial title might involve the revival of Mughul claims in regard to them.

The pomp and show of the Durbar was important in its own way, and Lord Lytton, with the imagination of a poet, had suggested many schemes including a Privy Council for India for the purpose of consolidating the unity of the country. But a more important result of the deposition of the Gaekwar was the rendition of Mysore in 1881. The decision had been hanging fire since 1868, when the original Ruler, whose maladministration was the ostensible cause of the introduction of British administration in the State, had passed away. The alarm caused in the minds of the Princes by the action against the Ruler of Baroda and the failure of the Imperial Durbar to quieten that alarm, led to a final decision by which Mysore was restored to its legitimate sovereign.

The period from the deposition of the Gaekwar—a landmark in the history of the States—to the departure of Lord Curzon in 1905 may be called the period of stabilization. The process of decay, which was so clearly marked in the first eighteen years after the Mutiny, had been arrested. The next quarter of a century witnessed a marked and notable revival in the authority, prestige and efficiency of State administrations. No doubt this was to some extent due to the policy of Lord Mayo bearing fruit. But to a larger extent it was the result of the inherent resilience of the States themselves. The feudal and military organization of the States gave place to the modern conception of centralized administration, to the civil government whose sphere of activity extended to the entire life of the people, to the State, as an organism with definite functions and obligations. The programme chalked out by Sir T. Madhava Rao in 1879 gives a good indication of what was being attempted by the more enlightened administrators during this period. This is what he laid down: "To maintain public order and tranquillity with firmness and moderation: to establish a proper and sufficient machinery for the dispensation of justice: to provide a police: to provide for useful public works: to promote public education: to provide suitable medical agencies: to reduce the burden of taxation: to enforce economy in expenditure: to greatly strengthen executive establishments, so that government may pervade and be coextensive with the country and population, and may make itself felt throughout these dominions". In short, to create a modern administration.

The birth pangs of this system were severe in some areas whet© the authority of Central Government had been traditionally weak, and the Thakurs and nobles exercised powers in their own Jagirs. Alwar and Bikaner provided examples of the resistance of the nobles to the change, but, even in Rajputana, where the strength of the semi-feudal baronage was rooted in history, the modern State, with its totalitarian claims, came definitely into being.

In less backward areas the process of stabilization was even more marked. Sir T. Madhava Rao, who was the head of the Regency set up after the deposition of Malhar Rao, laid the firm foundations of modern administration in Baroda, on which Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar was able to build with outstanding results. The earlier activity of Madhava Rao in the same direction bore fruit in the progressive and reforming administration of Ayilym Maharaja who may justly be called the founder of modern Travancore. After Travancore Madhava Rao turned his attention to Indore, where also the foundations he laid stood the test of the two successive eras of maladministration leading to the deposition of Rulers. The genius of Seshadri Iyer made Mysore the model State that it continued to be till the last. A band of lesser known personalities carried on the good work in other States.

One notable feature of this period was the emergence of outstanding personalities among the Rulers themselves. Sayaji Rao HI of Baroda may be said to have epitomized in his person the strength and limitations of the conception of the Patriot King as applied to the conditions of Indian States. A wise and far-seeing Ruler, a genuine liberal in the Benthamite tradition, an ardent social reformer, and one with a proper appreciation of the importance of science and industry in modern life, and, above all, with a clear understanding of the integral unity of the States with India, Maharaja Sayaji Rao was undoubtedly one of the greatest Indians of his day. In massiveness and range, his achievements over a period of half a century of active administration were truly remarkable. The weakness consisted in the personal character of the rule, and the dependence of the whole process of reform on the personality of the Ruler.

One other fact remains to be noticed, and that h the reorganization of the forces maintained by the States. The existence of the armies in Indian States was an eyesore to the Government of India. Lord Napier had reported in a despatch in 1870: “There are considerable forces under native chiefs, who may be individually friendly but whose troops can never be relied on not to join against us. Our military force at Gwalior is much infexior in strength to that which

Scindia could bring against it... We are aware that the

Deccan, Central India and the Border States of Rajputana, such as Kerowlee and Kotah, could furnish larger bodies of men than those which gave such ample occupation to General Stewart's, and, afterwards, Sir Hugh Rose’s and Sir John Mitchell’s forces”. The military authorities had never forgotten the fact that Tantia Topi had received his reinforcements by the wholesale desertion of troops in certain Indian States. But though suspicion was strong, no definite policy was attempted till the time of Lord Dufferin. It was Dufiferin who saw the possibility of developing the military resources of the States for Imperial purposes. He asked the States, which had “specially good fighting material in their armies, to raise a portion of those armies to such a pitch of general efficiency as will make them fit to go into action side by side with Imperial Troops” It was, however, only in 1889 that effective steps were taken to organize the Imperial Service Troops. The principles underlying the scheme were that the maintenance of these forces would on an entirely voluntary basis, that the troops would be recruited from the people of the States, and they would be officered by Indians.

The organization of the Imperial Service Troops was an event of notable importance. It was in the first place clear evidence of the fact that the Central Government had come to the conclusion that the existence of State armies did not any longer constitute a danger. Secondly, it was a further manifestation of the growing unity of India that a portion of the troops of the States should be earmarked for the defence of the motherland. It should perhaps be added that some of the leading States like Baroda, Travancore, Indore and Rewa considered this at the time as an attack on their independence, and kept out of the scheme altogether.

The theory of “one charge”, of India as a single conception, was thus making practical headway all the time. But the legal justifica tion of this theory did not keep pace with the practice. Certain unfortunate events in the far off State of Manipur provided the necessary opportunity for a further elaboration, of principles. The facts of the Manipur case have been stated above. 9 Two brothers of the Maharaja rose in rebellion and installed the Jubaraj on the Gadh. The Central Government recognized the new Ruler, but demanded that another brother, who was suspected by them to be the principal leader of the revolt, should be expelled. On failure to take immediate action, the British troops attacked the Manipur palace; some British officers were murdered; a British force entered the territory, deposed the Jubaraj, and sentenced him, his brother, and others to be hanged. But the importance of the case lies not in punishing an heir apparent who had been recognized as the Ruler, but in the claim put forward in the Proclamation that, in obeying the constituted authority of a State, the subjects of that State were committing rebellion. The subjects of the States were thereby held to have a direct allegiance to the Paramount Power.

The Manipur case differs from the Baroda case in one important respect. In the Baroda case it was the obligation of the Ruler towards his people that was emphasized, and the right of the Paramount Power to take political action against a Ruler who failed in that duty was sought to be established. In the Manipur case, it was carried a step further, and the overriding loyalty of the subjects of the State to the Paramount Power was insisted upon.

The apogee of the Imperial theory was reached in the time of Lord Curzon, whose Viceroyalty (1898-1905) may be regarded as the culmination of the claims of imperialism. Lord Curzon's general theory was that the Princes were merely the agents of the Crown in the administration of their territory, and that they had no inherent rights of their own. "The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative", 10 declared the Viceroy, at the installation of the Nawab of Bahawalpur. From allies the Princes had been reduced, at least according to the theory of Lord Curzon, to the position of hereditary officers. It was the theory of indirect government in its nakedness. Lord Curzon's attitude was reflected in many matters. The Princes were asked not to use red liveries. They were not to leave their States without permission—ticket of leave, as one Prince called it. The phraseology used in regard to them was scrutinized with a view to bringing home to them their subordinate position. The interference of the Residents and Political Officers reached such a pitch that one well-meaning and otherwise sympathetic Resident wrote to a Ruler that he (Resident) considered that he was not worth his salt if he did not interfere in whatever matter he considered fit.

The result of all this was a great unrest among the Princes themselves. Maharaja Sayaji Rao III of Baroda, whose administrative and political reforms in his own State had earned for him the admiration of the whole of India, became the spear-head of resistance to Lord Curzon’s policy. Other Rulers of outstanding ability were also making their mark at this time,—Maharaja Madhava Rao Sindhia of Gwalior, Maharaja Krishna Raya III of Mysore, and. Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner. Further, the growth of a strong nationalist movement in India also had its repercussion on the States in so far as the British Government was forced to turn to the Princes again for support.

This period also witnessed the introduction of popular institutions in the States. In Mysore, a representative assembly was established, and in Travancore, a legislative council—cautious steps in the beginning but indicative of a desire to associate the people with the Government. Municipal Boards and village panchayats also began to function practically at the same time. 10a

III. ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS IN INDIAN STATES:

1. The Indian States in the new set-up:

Their Diversity and Uniformity.

The British as the paramount power introduced a new political system by making settlement with individual States which enforced subordinate co-operation, allegiance and loyalty on all the Indian States, both large and small, and each of them was politically isolated. So far as material conditions were concerned, generally speaking, the States were now set on the path of peace, progress and prosperity. But the very nature of the new political settlement brought with it definite limitations on the scope and extent of the internal polity of each of the States. With the crystallization of the fluid contemporary political conditions prevalent at the time of the settlement, many new problems arose. The new political conditions brought about a major cultural crisis in the Indian States. The prevalent administrative systems of the States, left undisturbed, could not possibly meet the requirement of the changed times. They were queer mixture of more than one system, and these too were completely dislocated owing to the prolonged anarchy and political instability that preceded the settlement. The States, therefore, could not possibly expect to survive unless their administrations were reorganized on completely different lines. The Indian Princes and their subjects at first looked upon the institutions and ideas of the British with distrust and suspicion. But now that the British were supreme in India, their western ideals and culture successfully effected slow

but steady penetration into the obdurate crust of the oriental obstinacy and the proverbial conservatism of the East. The progress and development of the new administrative system and the popular political institutions based on the Western ideals could not possibly be either simultaneous or uniform in the different States. The geographical situation of the numerous far-flung States and the varying stages of the political, social and cultural development of their people were vital factors. The economic conditions, too, greatly affected the nature and the pace of these reforms. The States, with their finances seriously disorganized or heavily burdened with large cash contributions, and very small States, with scanty income and very limited resources, could not possibly think of administrative or political reforms for a long time to come. Finally, the political isolation of each State, coupled with the policy of non-intervention, contributed in no small degree to this lack of uniformity in administrative and political developmen of the different States.

There was, however, one factor which to a large extent counteracted against or neutralized these tendencies. Amid the diversity prevailing in the States, the British Government provided the only unifying factor. All the States looked up to it for advice and guidance in matters of administrative as well as political reforms. Thus measures introduced in British Indian provinces were more or less faithfully copied with necessary modifications and duly adopted by the Indian States. This was facilitated by the spread of the English education and the western ideas, which placed at the disposal of the

Indian States a new set of administrators who could introduce and carry out these reforms. Again, though the British Government professed the policy of strict non-intervention, they modified it in more ways than one. The authority and interference of the ResidentMinisters of the Company at the Indian Courts gradually increased, and thus there arose the ‘political practice’ which effectively modified the original treaties and engagements, and brought about the necessary uniformity in the pattern of the administrative reforms and political evolution in the Indian States. Later, as a result of ‘subordinate union’, the States became “an integral factor in the imperial organization in India”, which merely strengthened the forces bringing about uniformity in their administrations.

2. The years of Settlement and early Reforms (1818-1857).

The forty years immediately following the pacification effected by the Marquess of Hastings were years of settlement. There were still left many outstanding issues and tentative arrangements to be finalized. A series of new problems arose as each treaty was put into practice. The system of mediation and guarantees was another source of fresh troubles and more intricacies. The payment to the British Government for the maintenance of the subsidiary contingents was one of the most important questions. Lean finances of the impoverished States could not bear this heavy burddn and there was a complete breakdown of their financial administrative system. Time and again fresh arrangements had to be made for the clearing of past arrears along with the regular payment of sums annually due under the provisions of the original treaty. The Hyderabad State, as noted above, 11 had, therefore, to permanently cede the districts of Berar in 1853. The situation in Baroda was by no means better, and the Governor of Bombay had to temporarily sequester more than once some districts of the Gaekwad’s territories. Similarly, all the good work done by Col. James Tod in Mewar was undone on his departure, and the Court of Directors had to order in 1833 that sufficient security be required from the Maharana. Practically all the States, big and small, had to face similar financial troubles. There were also serious administrative difficulties in the States, as there was a real dearth of able administrators at this time. Internal disorders were a rule rather than an exception in the States. The subjugation of the feudal nobles presented a real problem in many of the Rajputana States.

Questions of successions and adoptions led to the formation of hostile groups and parties and the fomentation of endless intrigues in the States concerned. Regular administration virtually broke down in many of the States, while in many others some form of administration existed more or less only in name.

In cases of States, which had ‘by particular engagements rendered themselves professedly feudatory’, the British Government exercised its supremacy. Thus in Travancore the interference of the Political Agents stationed there extended even to matters of minute details of internal administration. In Mysore State, as noted above, 12 Lord Bentinck intervened in 1830-1, deprived the Maharaja of ruling powers, and entrusted the administration of the .State to the British Commissioners specially appointed by the British Government for this purpose. In Kolhapur, too, taking advantage of the relevant provision in the treaty, the British Government appointed first a minister, and later a British officer as its Political Superintendent. 13

The policy adopted in respect of the other States was to hold

them ‘as vassals in substance, though not in name;.possessed of

perfect internal sovereignty’. Hence the British Government refused to intervene in cases of disputed successions, Bharatpur being the only exception. 13 ® Matters of social reforms were enforced in the

States only by means of special agreements. The British Government felt no concern in the administration of all these States except in so far as it touched their own interests. But they felt no scruple even in coercing the rulers to appoint as ministers persons who agreed to be their subservient tools when it suited their interests

to do so. 14

This policy as well as the demoralization of the ruler and his court, which was an almost inevitable consequence of the system of Subsidiary Alliance, worked havoc in the Indian States. Many of the States, including those which were once most powerful, were reduced to the most abject condition, and anarchy and disaffection prevailed throughout their dominions. The history of the Nizam, Sindhia, Gaekwad, Holkar, and many others during this period bears testimony to this fact. The Subsidiary Force, the presence of the Resident, and the guarantee of the Ruler's possessions against external aggression, had combined to undermine the initiative and responsibility of Rulers and sap the foundations of social well-being in the States. There was, besides, the well-grounded fear that the display of ability, honesty and energy on the part of a ruler was sure to put him in the black list of the Government of India. 16 No wonder that the old edifice of administration, reared up through centuries to suit the peculiar conditions of the States, was visibly crumbling down to ruins.

The administration of the States was mainly military in character. The progressive anarchy of the 18th century had broken down the traditional respect for government and the automatic obedience to the law. The collection of the revenue was not possible in the States without a show of military force. 'The chronic warfare and perpetual fluctuations of State limits broke down the custom of paying taxes to one unvarying authority; and taxes themselves came to be a sort of black-mail paid to avoid plunder rather thad the regular levies paid as the price of order and protection'. Expenses incurred on the armed forces were heavy, and made civil administration impossible. No importance was attached to Police functions. The administration of justice was rough and iteady. There were neither regular laws nor any fixed gradation of courts. There were no proper jaiSs but mere lock-ups where no attention was paid either to their sanitary conditions or to the health and discipline of their inmates. The revenue administration was very primitive and had been completely disorganized. The land-rent was not fixed and was collected in kind. There was no fixity of tenure. Villages were generally farmed out. There were no regular departments of customs and excise; these revenues used to be farmed out. No attention was paid either to the education or public health of the subjects.

In the meanwhile the British Government had decided that in the event of revolt, misrule, failure of heirs, etc., in the States, their annexation was the only possible method for setting them right. Thus began in 1834 the policy of annexation which was further developed later, and finally completed by the time of Lord Dalhousie. 15 ‘ The future of the States, was, therefore, evidently dark and definitely gloomy. There was, however, slowly appearing a silver lining to these threatening clouds. Mysore State, already under British Administrators, was being re-organized as a British province. During the early forties, taking advantage of the minority administrations, a beginning of well-conducted regular administration under British supervision was made in many important States like Gwalior, Indore and Jaipur. Moreover, by now a new set of rulers and administrators was coming up. The recovery of the States ‘from the almost complete breakdown on their finance and administration was due in no less degree to the energy, ability and farsightedness of a new school of statesmen represented by Salar Jang of Hyderabad, Dinkar Rao of Gwalior and Madhav Rao of Indore, who laid, truly and well, the foundations of modem administration in Indian States’, In 1851 Dinkar Rao was appointed Diwan at Gwalior, while two years later Salar Jang was raised to that high office in Hyderabad. But their good work was suddenly interrupted due to the outbreak of

the Mutinv in 1857.

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During this period schools were opened in many States and regular study of English language was started. As elsewhere in India, the European missionaries were the pioneers of the English education in the States also, and opened schools in Mysore, Travancore and Hyderabad. Systematic State education did not, however, begin in many of the States till after the famous Wood despatch of 1854. In the States of Northern India everything depended on the State authorities. In Rajputana, schools were opened by the States of Alwar (1842), Jaipur (1845) and Bharatpur (1858). In Malwa, too, through individual efforts, the Sehore school was established in 1839, a school was opened in Indore in 1843, and some were established in the districts of the Gwalior State during the year 1854-5. The Kolhapur State, too, opened four schools in 1848, while in 1853 a beginning was made in Kathiawar with the opening of an English school at Rajkot. It was a modest beginning, but a move in the right direction.

3. Administrative reorganization of the States and the beginnings of Local Self-government (1858-80)

In 1858 the Crown assumed the direct government of India and, as noted above, the central control over the States was definitely growing. The work of administrative reorganization of the States, interrupted in 1857, was taken up once again after peace w r as restored, and much was done in that direction during the next twentytwo years.

In Hyderabad, Salar Jang, who had been appointed the Prime Minister in 1853, continued to hold the supreme power in the State till his untimely death in 1883, Wth remarkable assiduity and uncommon mastery of details he reorganized every part of administration A revenue-survey and settlement was taken in hand and partially completed, regular civil and criminal courts were established, a regular police force was organized for the first time, and the education and medical departments received their due share of attention. Famine-relief measures were first undertaken in 1876. Finally, particular attention was given to the improvement of the finances of the State, which had become greatly involved.

In Rajputana, too, the country was being opened up. Special efforts were made to check dacoities and to put down the unruly nobles. Regular courts of justice and well-managed jails were being established. The criminal and civil laws enacted for British India were being adopted with necessary modifications. Efforts were made to improve land revenue administration and to reduce petty and vexatious cesses. In 1878 the Udaipur State decided to carry out a regular settlement. Schools and hospitals received special attention. Under the able leadership of Maharaja Ram Singh the Jaipur State was progressing most rapidly. A second grade College and a School of Art were established, and a public library and a reading room were opened in

Jaipur. Water-works (1875) and gas works (1878) *vere also started in the Jaipur city.

In Central India, too, things were definitely moving. In Indore, Tukoji Holkar, himself a capable administrator, was ably assisted by his Prime Minister, Sir T. Madhav Rao (1373-75). With its administration reformed and reorganized, Indore became the leading State in Malvra. In Gwalior Dinkar Rao had begun well by introducing radical reforms in every department of the administration, but he could not continue there after 1859, and then not much was done by way of reforms. In other States also close supervision of their administration led to great reforms. A regular survey for settlement purposes was made. The judiciary was being organized and British Indian laws were being adopted with necessary modifications. Regular police force was being organized and education was fostered. A medical school in connection with the Indore Residency Charitable Hospital was started in 1878.

In Kathiawar the Princes and Chiefs were divided into seven classes and their individual powers and jurisdictions were finally defined in 1863. Outlawry was suppressed and courts of justice were reformed. Education was fostered and a few State dispensaries were opened. Famine-relief works were undertaken there for the first time in 1877.

Meanwhile the administration of Mysore was being brought into line with the Regulation Provinces by Bowring, the Commissioner for Mysore (1862-70). The State was re-divided into new divisions and districts. Revenue survey and settlement was carried out. A scheme for the education of the masses was put into practice, and the Central College was opened at Bangalore in 1875. Similarly, during fourteen years (1858-1872) of his diwanship , Sir T. Madhav Rao had done much to reform the already well-organized administration of Travancore State. Monopolies were abolished, British Indian laws were adopted, and the Courts were reorganized on British Indian model. Land tax was. reduced, past arrears were wiped out, and vexatious taxes were abolished. A department of vernacular education was established in 1865. The public debt of the State was completely paid off.

Of all the major States, Baroda was still lagging behind. Khande Rao Gaekwad (1856-70) began his reign with a real desire to better the administration of the State, and, in order to improve land revenue system, commenced a land survey. But his fondness for chase, jewels, display and buildings left him no money to spend on useful public works. In 1870, when he was succeeded by his brother, Malhar Rao, the situation worsened still further and the administration rapidly deteriorated. Malhar Rao was, however, deposed and deported from Baroda in 1875. 16 As Sayaji Rao III was then only thirteen years of age, the administration was conducted by Sir T. Madhav Rao as the Diwan-Regent during the minority of the ruler (1875-1882), and it marks the beginning of a new era in the history of that State. The entire administration was now being, reorganized on the model of British Indian Provinces. The finances were restored to a healthy condition, and efficient revenue system was introduced, vexatious taxes were swept away, and judiciary was reorganized with proper gradation of powers. Police administration was completely overhauled. Magisterial and police functions were Separated, and a clear line of demarcation was drawn between the army and the police. The department of public instruction was opened in 1875 and a year later the medical department was started.

There was also a beginning of local self-government in the Indian States. In 1862 a municipal committee was constituted at Bangalore as an experimental measure, and was litter followed by more municipalities at the district and Taluk iiead-quarters, their number finally rising to 83 in 1881. Jaipur and Indore States established municipalities in their capitals in 1868. A year later municipal administration was introduced in Hyderabad city and its suburbs also. Finally, in 1877 municipalities were established in all towns of the Baroda State containing a population of 10,000 peonle and over, excepting Dwarka. But all the members of all these municipalities were nominated, though non-officials too were included among them. Local self-government, in its strict sense, was nowhere introduced save in Mysore. The municipalities were no more than local committees dealing with lighting and sanitation, while in some cases, these were entirely managed by the State.

4. Administrative Reforms and Local Self-government (1881-1905).

The year 1881 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of the political development of the Indian States. More than one event of outstanding importance took place this year. The ruling powers were restored to the young Maharaja Chama Rajendra Wodeyar of Mysore, and Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III was formally installed and invested with ruling powers. But the importance of the year 1881 is mainly due to an event, the real importance and full significance of which were not duly realized then. Soon after assuming the ruling powers the Maharaja of Mysore formed in that State a Representative Assembly, the first popular institution of its kind in any Indian State, to bring the people into immediate association with the Government and thus ensure greater harmony between the actions of the Government and the wishes and interests of the people. This new development in Mysore was destined, in time to come, to materially alter and completely remodel the very conception of kingship in India as was then held in the States. Before proceeding to a detailed study of this new trend, the administrative reforms and further developments in the local self-government movement during the period may be summarily described.

a. Administrative Reforms

The unique and powerful personality of Sayaji Rao Gaekwad completely dominated this period. He carried on the good work begun by Sir T. Madhav Rao, and infused a new spirit and zeal in the administration of the State. A new survey and settlement was

carried out and a number of unremunerative taxes on the agriculturists were abolished. The judiciary was completely overhauled, and the separation of judiciary from the executive was effected by 1904. The finances of the State were improved. Every possible care was taken in selecting really capable administrators and officers for the State. Educationally, too, Baroda made great progress. The Baroda College and a training college for women teachers were established, and in 1890 the Kala^Bhavan was opened for imparting technical education. The Museum was established four years later. An experiment in compulsory free education was started in the Amreli taluk in 1893; and this system was extended to other taluks also in 1904.

Numerous exemptions were, however, allowed to meet the particular local conditions. Socially, too, a definite lead was taken in Baroda by passing the Widow's Remarriage Act and the Infant Marriage Prevention Act, in 1901 and 1904. respectively.

According to the instrument of transfer, the then existing laws, rules and system of administration were to continue in the Mysore State. Further progress was made even after the rendition. The revenue laws were codified after 1886 and agricultural banks were started in 1894. A civil service scheme was adopted in 1891. A scheme for technical education was brought into effect in 1902. The Mysore State now planned for its industrial development, and the Kaveri power schemes were vigorously pursued. In 1905 the Tata Institute (now Indian Institute of Science) was established in Bangalore. Reorganization of its police force in 1880-1 and establishment of a medical school in 1887, were the main achievements of the Travancore State.

In Malwa the period is noteworthy for the general all-round progress made by the Gwalior State during the regency administration (1886-1894) and the rule of Maharaja Madho Rao Sindhia, who took a deep and active interest in the administration. Thus judiciary was reorganized in 1888. Codes based on those of British India were issued in 1895. Fresh survey and settlement was made after 1890. Regular departments of irrigation, forest, customs, and excise were organized. Medical department was first organized in 1887. The police force was brought into line with that of British India in 1903.

In other States of Malwa, too, conditions were steadily improving. More schools were now being opened, and in 1891 the Holkar College was started at Indore. Judiciary was also being reorganized and more attention was being paid to the jails and police. A complete reorganization of the Indore State Police was taken up in 1903, with a view to reorganize it on the lines of that in British India.

Finally, relief measures were undertaken for the first time in Central India during" the famines of 1896-7 and 1899-1900.

In Rajputana the period is marked by general improvement in administrative systems of all the States. Regular survey was carried out and settlement was made in majority of these States on the lines of British India. Efforts were continued to foster the increase of education, and medical relief throughout Rajputana. Jails were improved and police was being organized into a regular independent force. Definite laws were introduced and judiciary was being improved. The most noteworthy thing of this period was the rapid reorganization and the rise into importance of the two major Rathore States of Jodhpur and Bikaner. After long periods of weak and inefficient rule in Jodhpur the administration of Maharaja Jaswant Singh (1873-1895) was distinguished by the vigour and success with which dacoities and crimes of violence were suppressed, by pushing on the construction of railways and irrigation works, improving the customs tariff, undertaking a regular revenue settlement including introduction of cash payments in the Khalsa areas, and finally by the establishment of Jaswant College at Jodhpur in 1894. Particular attention was paid to the opening of hospitals and affording medical relief to the people.

Bikaner, too, had been quite backward and unorganized till 1887 when the minor Maharaja Ganga Singh was installed on the gadi. The few reforms effected by his predecessor, Dungar Singh, had Been shortlived, and the affairs had gradually relapsed into confusion after 1883. The Council of Regency (1887-1898) thoroughly overhauled the entire administration and reorganized State finances on sound lines. Ghaggar canals were constructed. A regular land settlement was made for the first time. On getting his powers Maharaja Ganga Singh took an active part and personal interest in the famine-relief operations of 1899-1900, and in 1903 he set about to reorganize a properly co-ordinated and efficient secretariat to meet the demands of a new age. Then followed a series of important reforms to improve the condition of the ryots.

b. Local Self-government

The efforts to extend local self-government in the States were continued. Progress of the municipalities in Mysore was duly maim tained, and their number rapidly increased. In 1892 the system of electing some non-official members was introduced. The system of municipal taxation and finances was revised, and new sources of municipal income were allotted to these bodies.

The conditions in other States were not so advanced. In Hyderabad State more Municipal Committees or local boards were

established, but no real advance was made and the members were still being nominated. In Travancore State a start was made only in 1900, when an enactment, framed on the lines of the Municipal Acts of British India, was passed. In Malwa tne municipal selfgovernment was still not common. The Gwalior State made a beginning by establishing a municipal board in Gwalior in 1887, and by 1905 as many as 48 of its members were being elected out of a total of 80. More municipalities were opened by the Gwalior and Indore States in populous towns. Regular municipalities or town committees were constituted in Bhopal, Ratlam and a few other large towns also. In Rajputana municipal committees had been established at Jodhpur and Bikaner in 1884 and 1889, respectively. But Rajputana still did not contain any municipality in the true sense of the term, enjoying the corporate privileges of local self-government, and all the members were still being nominated.

The conditions in the Baroda State, had, however, rapidly progressed. The Maharaja was most anxious to preserve as much of the ancient self-government in the villages as was possible. He sanctioned in 1892 a municipal scheme embodying principles of election, but it was not until 1904 that the Local Self-government Act was passed, which set up boards in every district and sub-district in the State. There, too, the elective principle was introduced.

c. The Beginnings of Democracy in the Indian States

Gradual changes in the system, of government in British India in order to bring about increasing association of the Indians with the business of legislation were, as mentioned above, 17 made by the Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892, the last of which adopted the elective principle in the formation of Indian legislatures. Hie position was radically different in Indian States, where there was no foreign rule in the strict sense of the term. Hence any political development there, on similar lines, was to mean merely the beginning of the association of the people, first with the legislation and finally with the administration itself, with a view to its ultimate development into real responsible government in the State, the

Ruler becoming its constitutional head. But without a careful analysis of these differing political conditions, the Indian States merely went 'on to reproduce the pattern as laid out by the British Government from time to time for the Indian Legislative Council established at Calcutta. The Mysore Representative Assembly was the one rare exception of a different design, but it was more or less only an organized annual public durbar, and not a legislature of the same sort till 1923 when it was given a statutory basis. This Representative Assembly of Mysore met once a year at Mysore at the time of the Dashera festival. The Diwan made his annual statement on the condition of the finances and the measures of the State, after which suggestions by members were considered. The Assembly consisted mainly of “the representative landholders and merchants from all parts ol the State”. In 1891 the privilege of election was conceded to higher landed interests and the graduates of the Indian Universities residing in the taluks f and the number of representatives for each taluk was fixed. Time and again attempts were made by members that votes be taken, but this right was not conceded by the Government. The Assembly owed its origin to an executive order of the Government, and this continued till 1923, when major constitutional changes were introduced in this State.

In Hyderabad the move for the asociation of the people with legislative work was first made when the Council of State, composed of the principal nobles, with the Nizam as President, became a Legislative Council also. But this arrangement did not meet with much success, and hence in 1893 orders were promulgated for the establishment of a regular Legislative Council for making laws for the State. It was to consist of the Chief Justice, a puisne judge of the High Court, the Inspector-General of Revenue, the Director of Public Instruction, the Inspector-General of Police and Financial Secretary. But by an Act passed in the following year (1894), the Nizam recognized the right of the people to a share in the work of framing laws and to representation. In 1900 this regulation of 1894 was re-enacted with certain modifications, which remained in force for many decades. The Legislative Council, thus constituted, consisted of 19 members of whom, besides the

President and Vice-President, 11 were official and 6 non-official members. The Minister ’was the President, and the Assistant Minister, whose department was concerned with the bill before the Council, was the Vice-President for the time being. Of the 6 non-official members, 2 were elected by the Jagirdars and land-owners, 2 by the pleaders of the High Court, and the remaining 2 were nominated by the Minister from among the residents of the States, of whom one was to be nominated from the Paigaji ilaqa. The non-official members were appointed for two years, but retiring members were eligible for re-election. Bills, with the statements of objects and reasons, were published in the State Gazette in various vernaculars for eliciting public opinion.

The Travancore State, however, proved to be the most progressive; its plan for introducing popular institutions was very systematic, and real powers were given to these bodies. Its Legislative Council was brought into existence in 1888, the Ruler’s right of direct legislation independently of the Council remaining unimpaired. The

Council had a minimum of live members and a maximum of eight, of whom not less than two were to be non-officials^ nominated by the Government. The Diwan or, in his absehce, the senior official member present presided over its deliberations. The Council was a purely deliberative body for purposes of legislation and had no administrative functions. But it had plenary powers of legislation, subject to the ruler’s assent before any measure could pass into laws. Previous sanction of the Diwan was necessary before any measure, either affecting the public revenues of the State or imposing any charge on them, could be introduced in the Council. Provision was also made for inviting public opinion in respect of particular bills before the same were passed by the Council. The Council was enlarged in 1898, the minimum number of members being 8 and maximum 15, the proportion of non-officials being fixed at not less than two-fifths of the total number. The Diwan was given powers to arrange, with the previous sanction of the Ruler, for the introduction of elective principle in the selection of the non-official members of the Council. The jurisdiction of the Council was precisely defined, and it was not allowed to entertain any measures affecting the ruling family or its relations with the Paramount Power.

A further advance was made in 1904, when a representative assembly, known as the ‘Shri Mulam Popular Assembly’, was formed with the object of enabling the people of the State to express their wants and wishes, and represent their views on administrative measures directly to the Government. The members of the Assembly were at first nominated by the State from among the agricultural, trading, industrial and other classes, but from the second year the privilege of electing members to the Assembly was granted tQ the people themselves. Out of a total of 70 members, 42 member were elected from 35 taluks of the State. The Government nominated the remaining members out of which 14 were to be non-officials. The Diwan was the President of the Assembly. The next instalment of reforms followed only in 1919.

The reforms carried out in some of the States, as noted above;, should not be taken to mean a general state of improved system of administration in Indian States in the nineteenth century. The picture of wholesome progress indicated by the reforms, though justified, at least partially, in the case of a few of the more advanced, was unfortunately not quite true in regard to the vast majority of the Indian States. The old and outmoded Medieval system more or less still prevailed in them. The rulers of all the States, Mg or small, were full-fledged autocrats without any real restraint on their power of oppressing the people. The rule of law which gave protection and security of life and property to every individual subject in British

India, so far at least as the relation between one Indian and another was concerned, was in practice altogether absent in the Indian* States. The personal wish or caprice of these autocratic rulers was unchecked by any rule or convention, and serious allegations have often been publicly made against them of inflicting unmerited insults and injuries upon all classes of people and even of dishonouring women. Not a few of these autocratic rulers were licentious in the extreme and led a life of luxury and debauchery at the cost of their subjects. Some of them lavished their wealth on fast women and slow horses, while others indulged in crude extravagant habits of the most frivolous type. All this should not be ignored in making a proper assessment of the Indian States. 173

IV. SOME INDIVIDUAL STATES.

1. Hyderabad.

As has been mentioned in the preceding volume, the Nizam of Hyderabad accepted the Subsidiary Alliance in 1798, and his relations with the British were further regulated by the Treaty of 1800. Henceforth the chief interest of the history of Hyderabad lies in the nature of the British control exercised over this State. The question whether the British Government should interfere with the internal administration of the State came to the fore in 1808. Mir Alam, the Nizam's able Minister and a sincere friend of the British Government, died in 1808. The two principal competitors for the vacant post were Munir-ul-Mulk (son-in-law of Mir Alam) and Shamsul-Umara (chief of the military party in the State). The Nizam sought the advice of Lord Minto who recommended the appointment of Shams-ul-Umara. The Nizam selected Munir-ul-Mulk but, in order to avoid giving offence to the British Government, made Munir-ul-Mulk enter into an agreement that the affairs of the State should be conducted through the agency of one Chandu Lai (a staunch supporter of British interests). This was an arrangement satisfactory to both the parties—the Nizam and the British Government.

During the rule of Sikandar Jah (1803-1829) the British Government interfered a great deal in the internal administration of Hyderabad. There was maladministration. The revenues of the State were farmed to contractors, who were practically supreme in their several districts. In consequence, the grossest oppression prevailed, and the disciplined force under British officers was repeatedly called out to repress local rebellion. The country was infested with robber bands. In order to restore law and order British officers were employed in

different districts. They settled the amount of revenue to be levied, and under their administration the country soon improved.

When Nasir-ud-daula succeeded Sikandar Jah in 1829, he re-» quested the British Government that the direct interference of British officers in the administration should be discontinued. He was assured that provided revenue settlements made by the British officers were maintained for the full period of their currency, the British Government would withdraw from all interference, and the Nizam would be absolute both in the selection and removal of his minister, and in all other matters of internal administration. 18 The withdrawal of interference was carried out on these conditions.

A fresh cause of dispute arose regarding the payment of the Hyderabad Contingent. By the Treaty of 1800, the Nizam had agreed to supplement the Subsidiary Force by 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse of his own troops. He had further agreed to use every effort to bring the whole force of his dominions into the field as speedily as possible. The Nizam's force, however, was not very efficient and when in 1813 one of the corps mutinied, two regiments of reformed troops were raised and they were armed and equipped like the Company's troops. Due to financial difficulties the Nizam was obliged to borrow funds from the Company for payment of the Contingent. In 1853 the debt had risen to upwards of Rs. 45 lakhs. How Lord Dalhousie, taking advantage of this, coerced the Nizam to conclude a new treaty has been mentioned above. 19 By the treaty of 21 May, 1853, Lord Dalhousie made a final settlement of the liability of the Hyderabad State towards Imperial defence. The strength and duties of the Subsidiary Force were set forth, and as an auxiliary force, the "Hyderabad Contingent" was constituted. It was to consist of not less than 5,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and four field batter.es of artillery. It was to be commanded by British officers, fully equipped and disciplined and controlled by the British Government through its representative, the Resident at Hyderabad. The services of the Contingent in time of peace were detailed, and in the event of war the Subsidiary Force, joined by the Contingent, was to be employed as the British Government might think fit, provided that two battalions of Sepoys were left near the capital of Hyderabad. Then followed the special agreement that 'excepting the said Subsidiary and Contingent Forces, His Highness shall not, under any circumstances, be called upon to furnish any other troops whatsoever*. 20 Thus this treaty is of considerable importance, as it finally fixed the military liabilities of Hyderabad. The Contingent ceased to be part of Nizam's army and became an auxiliary force kept up by the British Government for the Nizam's use,

In order to provide for the payment of this force, and for certain pensions and interest on the debt, the Nizam assigned certain territories called the Assigned Districts in Berar which were estimated to yield a gross revenue of fifty lakhs of rupees. It was also agreed that accounts should be annually rendered to the Nizam, and that any surplus revenue which might accrue should be paid to him. Nothing contributed so much to the later strained relations between the Nizam and the British Government as this arrangement regarding the Assigned Districts in Berar. The provisions of the treaty of 1853 which required the submission of annual accounts of the Assigned Districts to the Nizam were productive of inconvenience and embarrassing discussions. As a reward for the loyalty of the Nizam during the Mutiny of 1857 a new treaty was made in December, 1860. By this the debt of Rs. 50 lakhs due by the Nizam was cancelled and certain territories were restored to him. The Nizam agreed that the Assigned Districts in Berar should be held in trust by the British Government for the purposes specified in the treaty of 1853, but that no demand for accounts of the receipts or expenditure of the districts should be made. 21

The relations of the British Government with the Nizam did not suffer any change after the assumption of the Government of India by the British Crown. It can be understood if we bear in mind the principles explained by Sir Henry Maine in his minute dated 22 March, 1864:—“The mode or degree in which sovereignty is distributed between the British Government and any given Native State is always a question of fact, which has to be separately decided in each case, and to which no general rules apply”. On account of its size, resources and historic position, the Hyderabad State enjoyed a fairly large amount of independence. Thus Sir George Yule, the Resident at Hyderabad, explained in his letter to the Viceroy:—“There is but one mode of securing an efficient administration here, and that by an able, honest, and powerful Minister, governing in the name of his master, but according to his own views modified, so far as may be, by the advice of the Resident. The Resident must be and must appear to be, an adviser, except in case of emergency such as this; if it is otherwise, if the Resident forces on the Minister his own views as to measures, or interferes in details, he takes away responsibility from the Minister, lowers his self-respect and his influence with the people, and the measures he enforces are never carried out practically”. 22 But in actual practice the Political Department was all-powerful. Its influence was all-pervasive. The Nizam enjoyed only ‘limited sovereignty*. A careful study of the official records of the Government of India shows that it was as true of Hyderabad as of other States that “the whisper of the Residency is the thunder of the State”. This may be illustrated by a few concrete examples.

1. The Nizam had not full powers of selecting and dismissing his ministers. In 1867, when the differences between the Nizam and his Minister, Sir Salar Jang, became acute, and the latter resigned from his office, the Viceroy wrote in his Khureeta to the Nizam, dated 4 April, 1867: 23 “The British Government regard with high satisfaction the many and great reforms which under Your High ness’s Government have been introduced into every department of the administration. But if Your Highness were to dispense with the aid of Salar Jang, and if (as I am assured Your Highness is yourself so persuaded) there were no one else at the present moment qualified efficiently to supply his place, then without doubt the country would relapse into the state of misrule and confusion, from which it has so recently, been rescued, and however reluctant, the British Government (whose surrounding districts would suffer from disorder in Hyderabad) might be forced to interpose its authority in a manner that could not but be highly distasteful to Your Highness. The British Government deprecate equally with Your Highness any such contingency. And therefore, my friend, I counsel you to give a full and hearty confidence to your wise and faithful Minister: and henceforth to avoid any action which would detract from his authority in the eyes of Your Higness’s subjects and tend to weaken his administration”. The result of this-veiled threat of interference was that Sir Salar Jang was reinstated in his former office.

2. In 1866 the Government of India invited the opinion of the Residents of the various States on the rules for enforcing the responsibility of Native States for mail robberies committed within their territories by the infliction of fines—the minimum penalty being Rs. 500 or Rs. 500 over and above the value of the property plundered. Mr. G. U. Yule, the Resident at Hyderabad, expressed his opinion that the infliction of a fine upon the Hyderabad State because of the occurrence of a mail robbery would be degrading to it, and felt deeply to be so, while as a preventive measure it would not have any effect. “We dare not inflict fines that would be felt. The world would cry out against extortion. We dare only levy petty fines, the very pettiness of which adds to the degradation”. Mr. Yule was definitely of the opinion that the

suggestion to levy fines would not lead to any improvement. “If we wish improvement in a State, we cannot get it by forcing on measures which neither the Ruler, nor his Minister nor his People understand to be improvement: we must carry

some one of the three with us, and we can do so only by convincing them that we advocate it because we believe it to be so and we must make ample allowances for differences in modes of administration. Native States may be excused for not thinking our systems and measures the best possible: and even if they did so think, there are many reasons why they could not carry them out as we are able to do: and, above all, it must not be forgotten that we are often to blame for the inefficiency of the Native Government. Our superiority crushes all life out of the Ruler and his nobles, whose ideas cannot change so fast as their circumstances. We have spurred Native Governments here and whipped them there: but neither whipping nor spurring ever put a horse in condition, and we have always been trying to get money, or land, or power of some kind from them. We must, therefore, in justice, make allowances if their administrative arrangements are not so good as ours, and we cannot stop mail robberies in our own territories”. 24 In spite of this weighty protest, the Government enforced the regulations in Hyderabad.

3. In 1867 the Government of India laid down general instructions for the guidance of British representatives in Native States:— “There is, I am to remark, no more important part of Political Officers’ functions than to keep a watchful eye on the military organization of the State to which he is accredited, with a view to quietly checking and promptly reporting to his Government, any instance of excessive armament. Frequent examples might be quoted of the proper fulfilment of this obligation in the States of Hyderabad, Gwalior, Bhopal, etc., but it will suffice for me to refer to the plain principle which underlies the rule. The same reasons of policy which have induced us to all but abolish Native Artillery in the British Army, and which make us hesitate to arm our sepoys with the Enfield Rifles, surely demand as an essential complement to these precautions, that we should not allow our Native allies unlimited access to the most efficient arms which our English soldiers can bring to the field”. 26 Thus the British Government followed the same policy in Hyderabad as in other Native States, namely,

that the armed force of Native States should not exceed the requirements of the State for maintaining internal order.

4. The Nizam was not permitted to enter into any direct relations with foreign powers. In 1874 when Hyderabad’s Minister, Sir Salar Jang, employed Mr. Keay for raising funds in England for the construction of the Nizam’s State Railway, the Government of India objected to the transaction and wrote to the Secretary of State for India:—“We beg to point out that any operation effected in the European money-market under the guidance of the Nizam constitutes a direct dealing between a Native State and European Capitalists. . .... The Nizam will be in direct relation with European Capitalists .... and that relation is likely to lead to embarrassing political consequences.Your Lordship is aware that it has from the beginning of our Indian Empire been a cardinal point of our policy to prohibit Native States from entering into any direct relations with foreign powers. But the establishment of direct relations with foreign money markets goes a long way towards the admission of direct relations with foreign Governments, and it is therefore part of our policy to prevent such relations with foreign money markets”. 26

5. With the death of Sir Salar Jang, the able minister of Hyderabad, in February 1883, Lord Bipon decided to have more influence in Hyderabad. Instead of increasing the formal powers of the Resident, he appointed Salar Jang’s son, Mir Laik Ali, as Minister, and established a Consultative Council of Regerfcy till 5 February, 1884, when the Nizam was vested with full powers of administration. Thereafter a majority in the Viceroy’s Council desired to appoint a senior man as Diwan, Laik Ali being only twenty-one. The Resident also pointed out that if the Nizam were placed in Laik Ali’s hands, ‘it would be in a short time fatal to both’. It would seem, therefore, that Laik Ali lacked ‘the necessary qualifications’ which Ripon had insisted in the case of Mysore, but in the case of Hyderabad he said that he preferred to carry out the Nizam’s wishes, and Laik Ali’s appointment as Diwan was sanctioned. The real reason, however, is revealed by Bayley, the Vice roy’s chief adviser on Hyderabad affairs, who urged that while the

Resident could check or undo the hasty actions of well-meaning but impulsive youth, he would be powerless if a senior Diwan were appointed. Laik Ali knew to whom he owed his appointment, and leant on the Resident for support. He met Ripon at Calcutta on the eve of the Viceroy's departure, promised not to raise the Berar question in the near future, and agreed to consult the Resident personally on all matters of importance, and to maintain constant direct communication with him. "In Hyderabad, no less than in Mysore and Baroda, while youth was at the helm, the steering was done from Simla". 27

The Assigned Districts in Berar constituted a cause of friction between the British Government and the Nizam for forty years, and remained an open sore until 1902, when Lord Curzon came to an agreement with the Nizam which satisfactorily solved the problem. It was not possible to hand back the province to the Nizam, for the people of these Assigned Districts, who had enjoyed the benefits of

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better administration, were opposed to- this policy. The alternative expedient was the arrangement by which the British Government took lease of Berar in perpetuity at an annual rent of £ 168,000. The Nizam's sovereignty over Berar was reaffirmed, and his flag was to be flown at Amraoti, the capital of the province, on his birthday. The Hyderabad Contingent was fully incorporated in the Imperial Army, and released from the necessity of remaining in the Hyderabad dominions. The Nizam at the same time agreed to effect large reductions in his excessive and unnecessary irregular army. The Hyderabad State was heavily in debt to the British Government, and part of the rent was to be devoted towards liquidating these liabilities. The Nizam was to receive, as before, an annual income from Berar—the Berar 'Surplus'. 28

2. Baroda

The Gaekwar of Baroda had concluded a Subsidiary Alliance with the British in 1802, and the relation between them was further regulated by the treaties of 1805 and 1817.

The chief provisions of the Treaty of 1817 were an increase of the Subsidiary Force; the cession to the British Government of all the rights which the Gaekwar had acquired by the farming of the Peshwa's territories in Gujarat; the consolidation of the territories of the British Government and the Gaekwar in Gujarat by exchange of certain districts; the co-operation of the Gaekwar's troops with those of the British Government in times of war; and the mutual surrender of criminals. It is important to emphasize that by this treaty additions were made to the Subsidiary Force, and the Gaekwar agreed "in case of war to bring forward the whole of his resources for the prosecution of the war", and to maintain an effective contingent of 3,000 horse at his own cost to act with the Subsidiary Force when needed.

When Anand Rao died on 2 October, 1810, and was succeeded by his brother, Sayaji Rao II, the British policy towards Baroda changed a good deal. The British Government had by that time emerged as the dominant power in India and therefore could afford to relax the close control over the affairs of the Gaekwar. Therefore on the accession of Sayaji Rao, the British Government decided to abstain from the minute interference which it had hitherto exercised in the internal affairs of the Baroda State, provided that the Gaekwar respected the British guarantee given to bankers, Ministers and other individuals in his State. This arrangement was the outcome of a visit by the Governor of Bombay, Mountstuart Elphin

stone, to Baroda in 1820. He. held several conferences with Sayaji and finally both parties agreed to the following conditions:—

(1) All foreign forces should remain, as before, under the exclusive management of the British Government.

(2) The Gaekwar should have the unrestrained management of his internal forces provided he fulfilled the arrangements, guaranteed by the British Government, with the bankers. The Resident, moreover, was to be made acquainted with the financial plan of the year, to have access to the accounts, and to be consulted regarding any new plan of large expenditure.

(3) The Gaekwar should observe scrupulously the guarantees of the British Government to Ministers and other individuals.

(4) The Gaekwar might choose his own Ministers on condition of consulting the Resident before nominating them.

(5) The British Government should retain the power of offering advice.

Circumstances, however, forced the British Government to intervene again in the affairs of the Baroda State as the Gaekwar

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failed to pay regularly the instalments due on his debts which, in 1820, had increased to upward of Rs. 107 lakhs. To remedy this state of affairs, Sir John Malcolm, successor of Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay, took effective measure by sequestrating territories of the State. The first sequestration took place in 1828 and the second in 1830, the latter being, however, disapproved by the Court of Directors. The breach between the two Governments became wide, with the result that the office of the Resident at Baroda was abolished as a separate appointment in 1830, and it was only after five years that it was re-established. Lord Clare, the successor of Sir John Malcolm, visited Baroda in 1832 and arrived at a settlement with Gaekwar. The British Government was released by the bankers from its guarantee on their coming to a satisfactory understanding with the Gaekwar for the adjustment of the debts. The sequestrated districts were restored to the Gaekwar on his depositing Rs. 10 lakhs with the British Government to provide for the pay of the cavalry in case his own payment should fail. This conciliatory policy, however, proved to be shortlived. There was a dispute concerning the efficiency of a body of 3,000 cavalry which the Gaekwar maintained to support the Subsidiary Force. The dispute was settled by an Agreement in 1841 which renewed the Treaty of 1817 and provided for a payment of Rs. 3,00,000 for the Gujarat Irregular Horse (a body of cavalry organized by the British); for the maintenance of the contingent of 3,000 horse by the Gaekwar and for its employment in the tributary districts, the Gaekwar being permitted at any time to reduce the number so employed to 1,500 men. 29

In December, 1847, Sayaji Rao died and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ganpat Rao. Ganpat Rao died in November, 1856, and was succeeded by his brother Khande Rao. In 1858, as a reward for the Gaekwar's service during the period of the Mutiny, the payment of Rs. 3 lakhs for the Gujarat Irregular Horse, provided by the Agreement of 1841, was remitted; but at the same time the permission given to the Gaekwar to reduce the contingent to 1,500 men was cancelled, and the contingent was put on the same footing as that described in the 8th Article of the Treaty of 1817, with the additional provision that it should do ordinary police duty in the tributary districts.

The Gaekwar tried to assert his power of selecting and dismissing Ministers without consulting the British Government. In 1854 he had been compelled to dismiss a favourite Minister on the advice of the British Government. In 1867 he decided to remove his Minister, Diwan Govind Rao, and appointed a favourite who had for years held the post of Commander-in-Chief. The Acting Resident at Baroda sought instructions from the Bombay Government regarding the right claimed by the Gaekwar to appoint a Minister without reference to the British Government. In referring the matter to the Supreme Government, the Bombay authorities explained that although there was no specific treaty obligation on the part of the Gaekwar to submit to Government for approval the name of anyone he wished to appoint as Diwan, yet in practice the right of the Government to require this of the Gaekwar had been maintained, and, when not pressed, had been waived as a special favour. The Bombay authorities, however, recommended that no useful purpose would be served by insisting on the maintenance of this practice as it was "certainly derogatory to the Gaekwar". The latter was responsible to the British Government for the good governance of his territories. Therefore they should do nothing "to thwart him in the selection of the agency employed". If the British Government approved and the selected officer turned out to be a failure, responsibility would be shared by them, and if the Gaekwar's nominee was rejected and another appointed and proved a failure, they would receive the whole odium. Hence the Gaekwar should be allowed "perfect freedom of choice". In recommending this concession, the Bombay authorities, however, wanted to obtain an equivalent concession from the Gaekwar, i.e., in matters referred to him by the British Government, the Gaekwar should "meet the Resident in the same conciliatory and liberal spirit, instead of displaying a de sire to obstruct improvement, or evade compliance with reasonable requests, as has not infrequently been observed of late years."

The Supreme Government accepted these recommendations. But Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State for India, was not prepared to go to the length of waiving the right of the Gpvernment to have a voice in the selection of a Minister, arguing that the question whether "the British Government should interpose its authority, in the event of the appointment of doubtful competency being persisted in", was one of policy "depending in a great measure on the degree of confidence to which the reigning Prince may be entitled", and should be dealt with according to the circumstances at that time.

The relations between the Gaekwar and the British Government were thus strained. Matters came to a crisis in 1870 when Khande Rao was succeeded by Malhar Rao. As the condition of the Baroda State had long been an object of great anxiety to theBombay Government, they decided to send to the Baroda court a Resident who should exercise more energetic influence. Col. Phayre was appointed Resident in March, 1873. He brought to the notice of the Bombay Government the maladministration in the State. The Government of India appointed a Commission of Inquiry to report on the facts. While Col. Phayre's representations had-been unrestrained, the report of the Commission was of a moderate type. Great stress was laid on the fact that no unnecessary interference with the details of the government of the State was contemplated and all individual grievances were to be referred to the Maharaja. Nevertheless, after acquitting the Durbar of any notable ill treatment of British subjects, the Commission found that Col. Phayre's charge of general misgovernment was proved. On receipt of their report, the Gaekwar was warned that if certain reforms were not carried out, he would be relieved of his authority. Later, as mentioned above, 30 the Gaekwar was charged with a serious offence—the attempt to poison the Resident, and was deposed. A boy was selected by the Government and adopted by the Maharani, and during his prolonged minority the Administration was conducted under the direct control of the Resident by a large staff of British officials.

After attaining majority, the young Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar III distinguished himself as an able and enlightened ruler and passed a number of liberal measures concerning education and social reform, which were far in advance even of British India. 31 During his long and prosperous rule, Baroda made remarkable progress, and the efficiency of administration was highly improved by the adoption of the British principles.

3. Gwalior

Reference has been made above 32 to the gradual stages by which Daulat Rao Sindhia of Gwalior was reduced to the position of a subordinate ally and coerced to accept, on the eve of the Third Maratha War, the treaty of the 5th November, 1817, by which he agreed to locate his troops in positions from which they were not to emerge without the orders of the British Government; to give up the fortress of Asirgarh and Hindia as security for the lines of communication; to give a guarantee for the performance of his engagements and to surrender for three years the tribute of the Rajput States. Shortly after this a new treaty was made on the 25th June, 1818, readjusting the boundaries of his dominions with those of the English. Sindhia received Ajmer and other districts in exchange for lands of equal value. In 1819 Sindhia ceded permanently the fortress of Asirgarh to the English.

Events following the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia, culminating in the British invasion and the conclusion of a treaty in 1844 have been described in detail in Chapter IX and need not be repeated here. By this treaty the sovereignty of the State was retained for Sindhia. The Government during the minority of Jayaji Rao, the adopted son of Jankoji, was to be conducted according to the advice of the British Resident; the British Government pledged itself to maintain the just territorial rights of Gwalior; a territory yielding 18 lakhs of rupees a year was to be ceded to the British Government for maintaining a Contingent Force; the debts due and the expense of war were to be paid; and the army was to be reduced to 6,000 cavalry, 3,000 infantry and 200 gunners with 32 guns. This arrangement ensured peace and an improved administrative system. From 1844 to 1857 Gwalior enjoyed peace and prosperity.

Jayaji Rao Sindhia remained loyal to the British Government during the Mutiny of 1857, and actively helped the British Government. 33 As a reward for his services a new treaty was made on 12 December, 1860, by which lands were restored to Sindhia yielding 3 lakhs of rupees a year, and the exchange of lands he desired for other lands of nearly equal value was arranged with the British Government. He received a sanad conferring upon him the right of adoption and permission to raise his infantry from 3,000 to 5,000 men, and his guns from 30 to 36. In place of the Contingent the British Government agreed to maintain a Subsidiary Force.

Although the British Government were considerate in theii dealings with the Sindhias, they maintained their control over the foreign policy and the armed forces of the State. On these two questions there could be no relaxation from the general policy to

be followed towards the Native States of India. One example may be cited of this policy. The request of Sindhia for police batallions ‘‘for the police and revenue matters of the interior” had been agreed to by the Government in May, 1858, on the understanding that “they were to constitute a police and not a military force”. Apprehensions of Major Meade, Governor-General’s Agent to Central Indian States, were roused in April, 1866, when, on inspecting one of the police batallions, he found it so well drilled as to be fit to take its place in line with the regular army. In reporting this Meade drew particular attention of the Government to the Maharaja’s character: “The Maharaja’s passion from his youth had been essentially military so far as the term can be applied to dressing, equipping, and drilling his troops and in fact ‘playing at soldiers’ ”. The Government ordered Meade to adopt measures for breaking up the Nijeebs (police) as a military force and dispersing a portion of the regular army of the State, which was concentrated at the capital. He also directed Sindhia not to maintain at Gwalior more than one-half to two-thirds of his regular army, and to canton the remainder in different parts of the country.

The British Government also did not allow much latitude to Sindhia in claiming exemptions from administrative measures which were considered necessary by the Government of India. Thus in 1866 certain rules were sanctioned by the Government of India for enforcing the responsibility of Indian States for mail robberies committed within their territories. Sindhia asked for special exemption from the operation of these rules on grounds of comparative excellence of his police arrangements; but the request was turned down and he was informed that it rested with him, by still further improving his police, to avoid the chance of being affected by the penalties laid down in the rules. 34

After the capture of Gwalior by the force under Sir Hugh Rose in 1858, British troops continued to occupy the fort of Gwalior. During the negotiations which ended in the treaty of 1860, Lord Canning promised that the fort would be restored to Sindhia when this could be done with safety; and this promise was repeated by Lord Elgin. Its fulfilment depended on the withdrawal of a British force from Morar to some more eligible station. It was, however, decided in 1864 that the cantonment of Morar should be maintained; and this necessitated the continued occupation of the Gwalior fort by British troops. The actual evacuation of Gwalior and Morar by the British troops took place on 10 March, 1886, and on the same day the town and fort of Jhansi were made over to the British by the Gwalior authorities.

4. Mysore

Reference has been made above 35 to the dethronement of the Maharaja of Mysore by Lord Bentinck in 1831. The British assumed the direct management of the State, subject to the claim of the Maharaja, reserved by the treaty, to a provision of one lakh of Star Pagodas a year and one-fourth of the net revenue realized from the treasury. The British Government was to administer the State until arrangements for the good government of the country should be so firmly established as to secure it from future disturbances. In 1834 Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, visited Mysore and an agreement was made by which the districts of Nagar, Chitaldrug, and Bangalore were ceded to the British Government to meet the financial claims of the Government of India on the Maharaja. The Government was carried on by “British Commissioners for the government of the territories of Mysore.” At first there was a Board of two Commissioners with a Resident attached, as before, to the Court of the

Maharaja. It was, hov/ever, almost immediately found necessary to substitute for the Board a single Commissioner; and in 1843, the post of Resident was abolished. The British policy towards the native States of India can be clearly understood by its attitude towards Mysore. The instructions of the Governor-General to the Madras Government on the first assumption of the administration were to the effect that "the agency under the Commissioners should be exclusively native; indeed, that the existing native institutions should be clearly maintained". These instructions were as far as possible adhered to in the early days of the Commission, but in course of time it was alleged that the Mysore Government was rotten to the core, that the powers of the various departments of courts were ill-defined and involved endless appeals, and that the evils inherent in this state of things lay too deep to be removed by one Commissioner aided by the existing native agency. It was therefore decided to substitute 4 European Superintendents for the native Faujdars. The "Huzur Adalat", composed of native judges, was at first allowed to remain the highest judicial authority in the State though its sentences were made subject to the confirmation by the Commissioner. But not long afterwards a Judicial Commissioner was substituted for it. This is one instance of the control exercised by the British officers in the judicial department. Other departments were also put under the control of the British officers.

At different times the Maharaja made applications for the restoration. of his State. As noted above, 30 Lord William Bentinck, who deposed the Maharaja in 1831, wrote to the Secret Committee of the

Court of Directors in 1834 that he was convinced by later inquiry that the deposition of the Maharaja was both illegal and unfair, and that the disposition of the Maharaja was "the reverse of tyrannical or cruel". Nevertheless, the appeal of the Maharaja was refused both by the Government of India and the Home authorities. The application made in February, 1861, was rejected by Lord Canning on March 18, 1862. The Maharaja appealed to the British Government again in 1862. The British Government informed the Maharaja that he could not as a right claim the restoration of the State and that the reinstatement of the Maharaja in the administration of the country was incompatible with the true interests of the people of Mysore. On this final decision being communicated in February, 1864, the Maharaja requested the Government to permit him to adopt a son. This request was refused on the ground that no authority to adopt a successor to the . State of Mysore had ever been given to him and that no such power could now be considered. In June, 1865, the Maharaja adopted a child, and in April 1867, the British Government at last agreed to recognize this adoption. The Government proceeded even further, and, on the death of the Maharaja in 1868, decided to restore the kingdom to the adopted son when he came of age, provided he was found qualified for the position.[37] The adopted son came of age in 1881 when the question of the rendition of Mysore State came up for the decision of the British Government.

Lord Ripon, the Viceroy of India, was a man of liberal views, and justly decided in favour of the rendition of the Mysore State.[38] In restoring the territories to the Maharaja, Lord Ripon could not forget that for about 50 years the Government of India had directly administered the State. This was a fairly long period of British rule. Its implications were threefold: (1) The long interregnum of' 50 years would imply that the restoration of territories would be virtually a fresh gift of territories and not merely the termination of a temporary period of British administration. (2) Previous treaties were no longer valid and a new treaty should embody fresh rights and obligations. (3) For 50 years the British officials had worked hard to improve the administration of the State. Justice had been improved, law and order had been established, and the administration on the whole had shown considerable improvement. It was necessary that this administrative progress must not be checked. Hence there was need of curtailing the Maharaja’s authority and of widening the scope of interference by the Government of India in the internal affairs of the State. The Instrument of Transfer, which was essentially the handiwork of Ripon, shows the impress of these ideas. It drastically curtailed the authority of the Maharaja and his successors, and emphasized that they would hold these territories as long as they fulfilled the conditions laid down in it. The first and essential condition was that of loyalty to the British Government. The Maharaja was required to remain at all times faithful in allegiance and subordination to the Queen. Some of the important clauses of the treaty referred to the military forces of the State. These forces were not to exceed the limit to be fixed from time to time by the Governor-General in Council. The permission of the Government was required for the construction of new fortresses and the repair of old ones. The Maharaja was not to object to the establishment of cantonments by the British Government. Restrictions on the import of arms, ammunition or military stores were to be laid down according to the policy of the Government of India. The Maharaja was to have no external relations except with the previous sanction and through the medium of the Government of India. The Maharaja was to afford all facilities for railways and telegraphs and also to adopt the coinage of British India. The permission of the Government was necessary for the employment of any person, not “a native of India”. The Maharaja was to comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of prohibiting or limiting the manufacture of salt and opium. The most important clauses of the Treaty were those for ensuring good government. The Maharaja was to maintain all laws (and rules having the force of law) already in force. No material change in the system of administration (as established at the time of his accession to power) was to be made without the consent of the Government of India. All title-deeds granted and all settlements of land revenue made during the British administration of the State were to be maintained. The Maharaja was to conform to such advice as the Governor-General in Council might offer to him with a view to the improvement of his administration. In case the Maharaja did not fulfil these conditions, it would lead to resumption or other arrangements for the administration of the State. In all these matters the decision of the Governor-General in Council was to be final.

1. CHI, VI. 491.

2. The Government of India, p. 114.

2a, See above, p. 667.

3. “Before the Mutiny the British had not assumed that they were the paramount power exercising suzerainty over the whole of India. Thus the President of the Board of Control wrote to Dalhousie on May 9, 1854, that

in cases of succession to an independent sovereignty where no question of lapse was raised, he preferred the selection of a competent ruler to an adoption.

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“Lord Dalhousie wrote on the 25th of „June, 1854: ‘I repeat that a Hindu principality, such as Tehri, not tributary nor subordinate, and not having the British Government as its paramount in the technical sense, has a perfect right to regulate its own succession; and the Government of India has no more right to interfere with it than it' has to meddle with the succession of France.’

“No one hears today of the ‘independence’ of Native States or compares the protected semi-sovereignties of India to the nation of France. The division between dependent and independent States> or between subordinate, tributary, and non-subordinate chief-ships has been swept away” (Warner, II. 154-5).

See above, p. 54.

See above, p. 58.

Prof. Holdsworth, Law Quarterly Review, 1930.

Letter to Queen Victoria in November, 1875.

Despatch No. 69 of 3 June, 1875.

See pp. 706-36.

Sir T. Raleigh, Lord Curzon in India, 226.

The author of this section has dealt with the topics covered by it more fully, and with full reference, in his books, specially the two following:

1. Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States.

2. Introduction to the study of the relations of Indian States with the Government of India.

See p. 86.

See pp. 37 ff.

See p. 447.

See pp. 27 ff.

Cf. the cases of Chandulal in Hyderabad (p. 88) and of Mama Sahib in Gwalior (p. 224).

See p. 728. t

Cf. Chapters III and IV.

See p. 966.

See pp. 757 ff; 770 ff.

The Editor is responsible for this paragraph.

Aitchison, IX. 7.

See pp. 84 ff.

Lee-Warner, Native States of India, p. 231.

Aitchison, IX. 8.

Letter from the Resident of Hyderabad to the Government of India, dated 28 March, 1867 (Pol. A Progs, April, 1867, No. 132).

Ibid, No. 30.

Resident of Hyderabad to the Government of India, 26 October, 1865 (Foreign-General Progs, July, 1866, No. 37).

Government of India to Bombay Government, 22 October, 1867 (Pol. A Progs., October, 1867, No. 148).

Foreign General Progs., No. 67, September, 1875.

Gopal, The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, 1880-84, pp. 211-2.

Lovat Fraser, India under Curzon and After, pp. 224-6.

For the texts of the treaties and engagements referred to above, cf. Aitchison. See p. 966.

See pp. 977-9. cf. Voi. vm.

See pp. 492, 582, 584.

See pp. 987-8.

See pp. 37-41.

See pp. 39-40.

The date of the Maharaja’s death and the decision of the Government, as stated on p. 41, lines 28-9, should be corrected in the light of this sentence. (Ed.)

As suggested above, on p. 967, the reactiotl to the deposition of the Gaekwar probably influenced this decision to some extent. (Ed.)

CHAPTER XXXI

NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER

The conquest of Sindh in 1843 and of the Punjab in 1849 brought the Government of India in direct contact with the hilly territories, stretching up to the border of Afghanistan, and inhabited by a large number of autonomous clans of Baluch tribes in the south and principally of Pathan tribes in the north. The Amir of Afghanistan, to whom they were attached by ties of religion and language, claimed a nominal suzerainty over some of them, but in reality they exercised independent authority within their secluded, and almost inaccessible, hills and dales. There were quite a large number of big tribes, each of whom was again sub-divided into a number of clans, and these had mostly a loose type of democratic political organization,—the jirga or the assembly of the adult males being the supreme controlling authority.

The nature of these people was largely formed by the geographical and economic condition of the country. Sturdy and fierce from the rigour of climate and nature of soil, they brooked no control over them and loved independence above everything else. Unfortunately, their economic condition made it almost impossible for them to respect the independence of others or even to cherish human instincts for the sanctity of the life and property of their neighbours. The hills were barren and almost waterless, and it is a common saying among these tribes that when God created the world He dumped the rubbish on the frontier. But the same God placed before the eyes of these hungry people rich and fertile plains and villages below with routes for caravans of trade. It would indeed be a miracle if the hardy tribesmen were not tempted to supply by their own effort what nature so niggardly denied to them. So, from time immemorial, these hillmen carried on plundering raids on the neighbouring districts, stealing the flock, robbing the caravans, and murdering and plundering dwellers on the plains. These became fat and indolent by the clemencies of nature and were no match for the hardy tribesmen whom their native hills had endowed with courage, endurance, and military skill, and who never felt any compunction for any cruelty inflicted upon others for gaining their own ends.

This constituted the Frontier Problem, and the Government of India was faced with the grave and difficult task of dealing with

ferocious and unscrupulous freebooters who frequently indulged in mass raids for plunder inside the British territories. In 1846, about 1500 of them marched across the British frontier of Sindh, stayed there for twenty-four hours, and returned to their hills, seventyfive miles away, with 15,000 heads of cattle. These wild tribes were also guilty of other crimes. Sir Richard Temple, who had intimate experience of the Pathan tribes, accuses them "of giving asylum to fugitives from justice, of violating British territory, of blackmail and intrigue, of minor robberies, and of isolated murders of British subjects". 1

The turbulence of these tribes did not begin with the rule of the British. Their predecessors, the Sikhs, had to adopt stern measures to control them, and it is even said that under Sikh rule some villages near Peshawar "were actually held by a yearly tribute of so many human heads taken from their neighbours across the border." 2

The British tried to grapple with the problem in two different ways. In Sindh, Sir Charles Napier built forts, posted detachments of troops at certain points, and occasionally led expeditions against the tribes. But these measures did not prove effective. Next, Major John Jacob adopted the method of vigilant patrolling. Sir Robert Sandeman adopted a more conciliatory policy. He kept himself in constant and intimate touch with the tribes by visiting their territories. He also introduced the system of granting allowances to tribesmen for maintaining peace, guarding trade-routes and passes, and meting out justice according to the decision of the tribal jirga (assembly). This has been criticized as paying blackmail, but it worked very successfully among the Baluch tribes who always recognized a tribal organization and obeyed their chiefs who were powerful enough to control them.

The tribes, who lived beyond the frontiers of the Punjab, mostly Pathans, were made of different stuff. They had democratic spirit and organization, in which each man claimed equality with another and, being prone to act for himself, could ill brook the control of the jirga or Council of headmen. They were more fanatic than the Baluchis and apt to be easily excited by the Mullahs or tribal priests. Fierce and blood-thirsty, they were extremely avaricious, capable of doing any crime for the sake of plunder. The measures successfully adopted in Sindh proved ineffective in the' Punjab, and Dalhousie was faced with the grave problem of dealing with the Pathan tribes immediately after the annexation of the Punjab. He adopted conciliatory measures and tried to win over the tribesmen by offering them peaceful pursuits. He also established a series of fortified

posts to check their raids. But these measures proved unsuccessful. In 1851 Mr. Carne, the head of the customs department, and his assistant, Mr. Tupp, were murdered by a party of Hassan Zais in the estate of the Khan of Amb. Dalhousie called upon him to punish the murderers whereupon the Khan seized some of the offenders and sent them as hostages to the British. This was a signal for a general rising of the tribesmen who seized two forts of the Khan and reduced him to considerable straits. A British force of 3800 men was sent in December, 1852, who .destroyed several villages. 3 The Mohmands proved equally troublesome. They committed frequent raids on British villages, seized sentries on outpost-duty, and even murdered British subjects in the cantonments at Peshawar. On October 25, 1851, Sir Colin Campbell undertook a long series of operations. A fort was erected at Michni and several Mohmand forts were destroyed. But these proved ineffective, as Lieutenant Boulnois was murdered while riding out peacefully beyond the works at Michni. Accordingly, a more severe penalty was inflicted by another expedition in April, 1/52. Even this proved insufficient, and a third expedition was sent i 1854. During the period 1851 to 1856 Dalhousie punished ten tri s in addition to those mentioned above.

These harsh punitive measures did not commend themselves even to the military. In 1852 Sir Colin Campbell was unwilling to furnish troops against the Swat tribesmen, and was rebuked by Dalhousie as the General said his refusal was “based not on military grounds but on his own doubt as to the justice of the political considerations on which punitive operations were proposed/* The Commander-in-Chief having supported Campbell, Dalhousie bluntly told them that neither of them “had any concern with the political aspect of the case.” To prevent such conflict in future, definite powers were conferred upon the Board of Administration in the Punjab “to make requisitions for military assistance on the Commander-in-Chief, which his Excellency was told he was not competent to disregard except on purely military grounds.”[4]

Dalhousie’s action was also severely condemned by a section of public opinion in England. The Times, in a leading article on February 3, 1852, attributed the action of Dalhousie to “an insatiable desire for conquest,” and openly charged him with inflicting heavy punishment on the various frontier tribes “upon pleas of provocation”. The article concluded with the following observation: “It seems impossible that anything can be gained by such measures. If we pushed our posts to the very centre of Tartary, our neighbours would be robbers still, and why should we not make the best of matters on our boundaries, instead of going to fight the same game 500 miles off”.[6] But the admonition of the Times had no effect. It is interesting to note how this humanitarian spirit in England rapidly passed away in course of half a century. “After the disappointment of half a century”, writes an eminent English writer, ^the school of thought represented by the critics of 1902 condemns the policy of the fifties not because it was too aggressive, but because it was too submissive”.[6]

The measures adopted by Dalhousie were ultimately crystallized in a definite policy, and the tribesmen on the border of the Punjab were kept down by three methods, namely, fines, blockades, and expeditions. Fines were imposed as a compensation for plunder and murder, but it was not always easy to realize them. In some cases hostages were seized and detained until fines were paid. Another effective means to control the tribes was to blockade all the approaches of their territory in such a manner that no ingress or egress was possible. But an effective blockade depended upon the geographical situation and the attitude of the surrounding tribes. The last method, adopted in case of continued depredations, was punitive expedition which, in practice, meant “an indiscriminate slaughter and destruction of crops and villages”.[7] It was regarded as both impolitic and immoral even by some of the highest British officials. Sir Bartle Frere condemned it, for it ‘meant that the whole tribe was punished for the offences of a few malcontents, and the real result was to make a desert and call it peace’.[8] Lord Lytton also severely condemned it, and the following lines from his minute, dated April 22, 1877, scathingly expose the immorality and inexpediency of the whole system: “I object to it because it perpetuates a system of semi-barbarous reprisal, and because we lower ourselves to the ideas of right and might common to our barbarous neighbours, rather than endeavour to raise them to our own ideas, because it seldom touches the guilty, and generally falls most heavily on the innocent; because its natural tendency is to perpetuate animosity rather than lead up to good relations; because, as a rule, it leaves

no permanent mark.and it appears from the records of these

expeditions, which are not always successes even in the most limited sense, that the losses suffered by ourselves often exceed the losses we inflict”. 9

The punitive expedition was supported on the ground of absolute necessity and the precedent of the Sikh Government. It was also claimed that the authorities never took resort to it unless other measures failed or were not practicable, and when the crimes committed by the tribes were of such an enormous character that a

punitive expedition was absolutely essential for the protection of British subject and the maintenance of British prestige. It is, however, difficult to believe that a weapon so handy was never used save in such an extreme emergency. Nor is it possible to disagree with a modern British historian that “this policy of butcher and bolt”, as punitive expeditions have been contemptuously termed, will never produce any lasting effect.

It is stated by some authorities that no less than forty-two expeditions were undertaken by the British against the turbulent tribesmen between 1849 and 1890, causing a total of 2173 British casualties. But this evidently includes the military campaigns against the Wahabis in A.D. 1863 and thereabout, when they were supported by the Pathan tribes, as has been mentioned above. 93 The severity of the struggle with the Wahabis is indicated by the fact that the British sustained 908 casualties in the year 1863 alone.

The conclusion of the. Second Afghan War brought in a new phase in the relation between the British and the border hill tribes. The resurrection of the “Forward Policy”, 9b w’hich led to that war, as mentioned above, had also its effect on the administrative policy towards the tribes. There was a deliberate attempt on the part of the Government of India to tighten the hold on the tribes. In Sindh, the British secured a firm footing in the heart of the tribal domains by the treaty with the Khan of Kalat, referred to above. 10 This led to the foundation of the Baluchistan Agency under an Agent to the Governor-General with his headquarters at Quetta. Reference has been made above to the policy of Major Sandeman who was first appointed to this post on February 21, 1877. Sandeman relied for the success of his policy upon the complete domination of the Baluchis by British troops, who occupied strategic positions commanding the routes from Sindh, the border between the different tribes, and the way of their retreat to the v/est to seek shelter in Afghanistan. The'gradual occupation of the Bori and Zhob valleys was a part of this plan of military domination. A military expedition in 1884 forced their chiefs to allow the location of British troops in these two valleys. Three years later, Bori and the adjoining tract were brought under the British administration in Baluchistan. In 1889 Sandeman announced in the Durbar of the representatives of the tribes "that in future Zhob was to be looked upon as a British Protectorate". To safeguard the Gomal Pass three posts were established and the local tribes were granted usual allowances for the protection of the route.

In the Punjab, as in Sindh, the British attitude was purely defensive until the arrival of Lord Lytton. Owing to the nature of the

hilly region, the British officers hold no intercourse with the tribes in their homes and kept aloof from these turbulent peoples so long as they did not disturb the peace of the British territories. In fact the frontier zone was a terra incognita which it was dangerous to traverse. But all this was slowly changed to a policy of active interference. Its first indication may be traced in making it compulsory for the British civil officers to learn the language of the border peoples. Gradually special officers, called Political Agents, were appointed to manage the tribes. The first Political Agent was appointed in Khyber during the Second Afghan War, and four more agencies were set up at Kurram, Malakand, Tochi, and Wana between 1892 and 1896. The efficiency of the border defence was also improved. On the recommendations of a Defence Committee which met at Peshawar in 1877,. a regular defensive system, based on newly created bodies of border Police and Militia, was sanctioned in 1878. At the same time large colonies of the Pathan tribes were settled within British territory. A chain of forts was constructed along the frontier with good military roads parallel to it.

Before the conclusion of the Second Afghan War, the tribal peoples were mere pawns in a big game, and occupied a minor place in the grandiose schemes of the "Forward School", which looked upon the Hindu Kush mountains as the natural line of defence and sought to control effectively the whole of Afghanistan. When this ambition was shattered by the result of that war, attention was concentrated upon the tribal peoples who now constituted the first line of defence beyond the borders of India. This accounts for a feverish attempt to plant the British authority firmly over the western defensive zone.

The task proved to be comparatively easy in Baluchistan, as the ground was already prepared, and, it must be admitted, mainly because the natural obstacles provided by the hills were not so formidable as in the north. As noted above, Pishin and Sibi were retained by the British after the Second Afghan War. These were added to the agency territories, either acquired by lease or otherwise brought under British control, and placed under a Chief Commissioner. This area, together with the subordinate native States of Kalat and Las -Bela, constituted British Baluchistan. During the eighties the whole of this region was developed by the construction of new roads and irrigation projects, and development of forest. Regular arrangements were made for the collection of land revenue and administration of justice, more or less on the old indigenous system. On the whole this southern zone was fast developing into a regularly constituted province as a part of British India.

The case was, however, different in the northern zone whose peoples proved less tractable because of the shelter of their inaccessible hills and dales. During the war with Afghanistan in 1878-79 many of the tribes had assu m ed truculent attitude and created disturbances. A series of outrages by these hill tribes, and punitive military expeditions against them, marked the period between 1886 and 1893. More important among these were three expeditions against the Black Mountain tribes to the east of the Sindhu and north of Hazara district in 1888 and 1891, two against the Orakzais in 1891 and 1892, and a series of campaigns in Western Kashmir leading to the subjugation of Hunza and the occupation of Chitral to which reference will be made later. On the other hand, the Kurram valley was peacefully occupied at the invitation of the Turis who were Shiahs and therefore hostile to the neighbouring Pathan tribes who were Sunnis. 11 It was feared by the British that these tribes might be good instruments in the hands of the Amir for harassing the British, not only in case of war between the two, but even in times of peace. It was therefore felt that these tribes should be brought under effective control. But considerable uncertainty existed regarding tHe political status of these tribes, particularly in relation to the Amir and the British, and "the tribesmen constantly took advantage of this uncertainty, playing off the one against the other."

For though these tribes were independent for all practical purposes, the Amir of Afghanistan claimed a sort of suzerainty over them. Any attempt to establish real control over them was therefore likely to create troubles with the Amir. In order to remove this difficulty a proposal was made to the Amir to delimit, and where possible to demarcate, the boundary of his kingdom on the east and south, as had already been done in the north. This boundary line would define the spheres of influence, respectively of the Amir and the British, and neither would interfere in any way with the tribes living on the other side of his boundary. This was agreed to by the Amir, though it must have caused a wrench in his heart, for after all these people were his kith and kin, speaking the same language and recognizing him as the head of their religion, and even the nominal acknowledgement of his suzerainty gave him a prestige in the eyes of his peoples. 12 There is no doubt that the shrewd and intelligent Abdur Rahman, chastened in spirit by the two wars of Afghanistan with the British and the memory of his life as an exile in Russia, yielded to considerations of prudence. But his amour propre was wounded, and he looked upon the arrangement with gloomy forebodings. This finds a beautiful expression in the following passage of his letter to the Viceroy:

If you should cut them out of my dominions they will neither be of ally use to you nor to me. You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your Government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time a foreign enemy appear on the borders of India, these frontier tribes

will be your worst enemies.In your cutting away from me

these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects, and will make me weak and my weakness is injurious to your Government". 13

The real attitude of the Amir towards the delimitation and demarcation of frontier was well known to the Government of India, and it has been alleged that he carried on intrigues with some border tribes in order to establish his authority over them before the process of delimitation began. There is no positive evidence of this, but the Amir refused an invitation of Lord Lansdowne to visit him in India in order to discuss the matter. He also demurred to a visit of Lord Roberts to Kabul as the head of a mission to discuss the question. Next, a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand left Peshawar for Kabul, in October, 1893, with the avowed object of concluding a "boundary agreement with the Amir which should for ever settle the responsibilities of the Kabul Government as regards the outlying independent tribes on our border". 1,4 ' The mission was cordially received at Kabul, but it was not till after much persuasion from the British and procrastination and delay on the part of the Amir, that he at last signed the agreement in November, 1893. The increase of his subsidy by six lakhs of Rupees and the recognition of his right to import munitions of war were no doubt powerful factors weighing with the Amir, but it is curious to note that though he signed the agreement he refused to sign the maps which illustrated the boundary line fixed by it. 15 This line was demarcated during 1894-96 after a detailed survey along the whole of the extensive boundary line with the exception of a small portion of the Khyber area, and was known as the Durand Line.

Far worse than that on the Amir was, however, the reaction of the delimitation on the tribes who, without their knowledge or consent, suddenly found themselves within the sphere of British power and influence, and beyond the pale of protection by the Amir of Kabul, whom they looked upon as their religious head and regarded as protector in times of need. They instinctively felt that the control of the British would be far more real and substantial than could ever be imposed by the Amir, even if he had chosen to do so. Besides, the artificial boundary line cut across ethnic ties, and peo

pies belonging to the same tribe or clan found themselves on different sides of the border. These and other reasons created trouble and turmoil which occasionally led to serious tribal risings in the frontier, specially during the last fifteen years covered by this volume.

Before proceeding further with the history of the hill tribes, it is necessary to give a short account of those who occupied the territory between the Durand Line and the regular administrative boundary of the Punjab and Sindh in British India, and thus came within the sphere of British influence.

The Durand line starts from the Tagdumbash at the north-east corner of the Hindu Kush where it touches the Muztagh Range. Following the line of the Hindu Kush, in west-west-south direction, it goes by the Manda Pass, separating Chitral from Kaffiristan. Then running almost due south, it crosses the Kunar, end passes through Bajaur and the territory of the Mohmands till it reaches the Kabul river about 12 miles to the north of Landi Kotal.

Chitral is inhabited by a group of non-Pathan peoples speaking a language, which is different from Pushtu, the lingua franca of the Pathans, but is very closely related to the Iranian Ghalchah languages spoken by the peoples of the Pamirs and the Oxus living to the north of the Hindu Kush. The peoples belong to the Sunni sect of the Muslims, but have retained some of the old Hindu customs and beliefs such as the caste and worship of images.

To the south of Chitral lay the independent tracts of Dir, Swat, Bajaur, and Buner, inhabited by the descendants of two large Pathan tribes, the Khakhai and the Ghoria Khel, who had migrated from Kabul, via Jalalabad, and expelled the original inhabitants. The Yusafzais and the Mohmands are the principal representatives of the two original tribes who were divided, in course of time, into a number of clans.

To the south of the Kabul river lies the tract of land known as Tirah. In the northern part of it, as well as round the Khyber, dwell the Afridis, who speak Pushtu and are Sunni Muslims, but contain a large racial element already settled in this region long before it was occupied by the Afghan invaders. In the southern valleys live a number of heterogeneous tribes who are known collectively as the Orakzais or ‘lost tribes’. To the west of Tirah, in the Kurram valley, live the Turis who speak Pushtu but are Shiah Muslims, and claim to have migrated from Persia. Between the Kurram and the Gomal rivers lies Waziristan, ‘an intricate maze of mountains and valleys,’ often referred to as frontier Switzerland. In the heart of this region live the Mahsuds, almost surrounded by

the Darvesh Khels. These two tribes, collectively known as WaziriSj claim to be Pathans, but are supposed by some to be of Rajput exte&e® tion. To the east of Waziristan, along the Sindhu from Banrna to the Peshawar district, live the Khatt&ks, “the most favourable sped-* mens of Pathans on the whole frontier/’ Dera Ismail Khan, to the south of Waziristan, is peopled by the Jats and Pathans, who form respectively about two-thirds and one-third of the total population. 19

The troubles with the frontier tribes, as noted above, became more acute by the ‘Forward Policy’ of Lord Lytton. In view of Russian activity in Central Asia he sought to bring under effective control the passes of the Hindu Kush from the eastern border of Afghanistan to the north-western boundary of Kashmir. So, on his advice, the Maharaja of Kashmir tried to extend his suzerainty over Chitral as well as Mastuj and Yasin, which lie between it and Gilgit. As the Chitralis were not Pathans and disliked the Amir of Afghanistan, the Mehtar (ruler) of Chitral, Aman-ul-mulk, acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir in return for a subsidy of Rs. 12,000. Lytton warned the Amir that “any interference in the affairs of Bajaur, Swat, Dir, or Chitral would be regarded as an unfriendly act towards the Government of India.” Lord Lytton also sent an Agent to Gilgit in order to establish British authority over the neighbouring tribes. As no fruitful result ensued, the Agent was recalled, but the agency was re-established by Lansdowne in 1889. 17

Soon troubles arose in Hunza and Nagar, two petty States divided by the Hunza river, over both of which China claimed a vague suzerainty. These are situated at the junction of the Hindu Kush and Muztagh Ranges, and surrounded on all sides by high hills, rising occasionally to 20,000 ft. above the sea-level. They acquired importance in the British defensive system because a very difficult caravan route connected them with the Pamirs and the Yarkand valley. They nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir, on payment of an allowance, and agreed, in 1889, to accept the control of the Political Agent of Gilgit in return for an additional annual subsidy. But when the British commenced to erect a fort in Chalt and decided to connect it by a good military road with Gilgit, the two chiefs, alarmed at these attempts at opening their country, resisted them by force. They were defeated after a sharp engagement and their country was occupied.

But troubles soon broke out in the Chitral valley. The death of the Mehtar , Aman-ul-mulk, ixL 1892 was followed by a struggle for succession. One of his sons, Afzal-ul-mulk, ascended the throne, while another, named Nizam-ul-mulk, a rival candidate, took refuge with the British Agent at Gilgit. After reigning for a little over two

months Afzal-ul-mulk was surprised and killed by his uncle Sher Afzal, who had been living for many years as an exile in Badakhshan on an allowance granted by the Amir of Kabul. But as soon as Nizam-ul-mulk advanced from Gilgit, Sher Afzal fled and took refuge with the Afghan Commander-in-Chief, then at Asmar. There is hardly any doubt that Nizam-ul-mulk owed his success to the British, and soon a British mission under Robertson arrived at Chitral. Robertson made a number of concrete proposals to establish firmly the British authority in Chitral and Yasin, but Lord Lansdowne did not encourage the idea, and issued instructions towards the end of 1893 for the withdrawal 6f the Political Officer from Chitral, if no further complications occurred.

But shortly after this Nizam-ul-mulk was killed by a follower of his half-brother, Amir-ul-mulk, who ascended the throne (January, 1895). At the same time a Pathan chief of Jandol proclaimed Jihad or holy war against the English throughout Dir, Swat and Bajaur, and was joined by Sher Afzal, the fugitive ex-ruler of Chitral. Even the new ruler Amir-ul-mulk was suspected of sympathy and intrigue with this group. So the British Agent, Robertson, recognized Shuja-ul-mulk as the Mehtar or ruler of Chitral. Thereupon a combined force of Chitralis and Pathans besieged Robertson in fort Chitral. After a memorable siege lasting from March 4 to April 19, 1895, in course of which the defenders displayed heroic courage, Robertson was relieved by a British force from Gilgit which covered the distance of 350 miles in 35 days. The invaders raised the siege and dispersed in all directions.

The future policy towards Chitral once more brought into prominence the difference between the Forward School and its opponents, and became a subject of party politics in Britain. The Government of In<iia decided, on May 8, 1895, to continue its hold on Chitral by retailing the garrison there, and construct a military road from Peshawar to Chitral via Swat.[18] The Liberal Ministry of Rosebery disapproved of the decision and sent telegraphic instructions to that effect on June 13, 1895. But the Conservative Ministry of Salisbury, which soon came into power, reversed the decision of its predecessor and upheld the plan of the Government of India. So a garrison was permanently stationed at Chitral, and British troops were posted to guard the Malakand Pass and the crossing of the Swat river. Allowances were granted to the tribes-people for guarding the road and telegraph line.[19]

Lord Elgin, the new Viceroy, steered a middle course between wholesale annexation of the tribal areas and abstention from any active interference save punitive measures for actual depredations.

He advocated the construction of well-fortified posts within the territories of the tribes to keep them in check.[20] An experiment was made with Wana which guarded the Gomal, protected Zhob, and kept in check the Abdurrahman Khels, a turbulent people in South Waziristan. On November 3, 1894, the camp of the British Boundary Commission at Wana was attacked by the Mahsuds, and a regular military expedition was sent against them under Sir William Lockhart. The tribes were pacified by grant of allowance and agreed to maintain peace and guard the route. As soon as this was arranged, a part of Northern Waziristan was brought under British administration.

The British next decided to construct another fortified post in the Tochi valley in order to control Northern Waziristan and to keep in check the Mahsuds and the Darwesh Khels. The task was facilitated by the hostility between the Dawaris of the Tochi valley, a non-Pathan unwarlike people, and the Waziris. The Dawaris were easily induced to accept the British protection against their hated neighbours, and the Tochi valley was occupied without any difficulty.

But troubles were not long in coming. The Madda Khels of Maizar, a group of villages in the Upper Tochi, were dissatisfied with the fine inflicted upon them, by way of blood money, for the murder of a British subject in 1896. Mr. Gee, the Political Officer, went to Maizar with the double object of settling this matter and selecting a suitable site for a levy-post between Sheranna and Maizar which would control the entrance to the Tochi valley from the Afghan side arid the direct route to Birmal and Ghazni from the British side of the Durand Line. On June 10, 1897, Mr. Gee and his party were treacherously attacked by the Madda Khels, and this was a signal for wide-spread tribal insurrection over an extensive frontier region both to the north and to the south of the Kabul river.

It is not necessary to give a detailed account of the tribal risings in 1897-98, and a reference to the principal centres must suffice. In the north the tribes in the Swat valley, led by one Sadullah, better known as the Mad Mullah, attacked Malakand and Chakdarra, and fiercely resisted the British troops before they were forced to retire. The Mohmands rose under one Najmuddin, known as the Adda Mullah, and attacked the village of Shankargarh and the neighbouring fort of Shabkadar in the Peshawar District.

The Afridis and the Orakzais, living to the south of the Safed Koh range, rose under Mullah Sayyid Akbar, an Aka Khel Afridi, captured the Khybcr forts and besieged the Samana posts. Numerous military expeditions had to be sent by the Government of India to Datta Khel in the Tochi, Swat, Bajaur, Chamla, the Utman Khel

country, and Buner. A force was sent from Peshawar against the Mohmands, and the campaign in Tirah by a well-equipped force battered down the strong opposition of the Afridis and the Orakz&is.

The British official point of view was simple enough. The tribal peoples were, as usual, guilty of unprovoked aggression causing serious damage to life and property, and so punitive expeditions had to be sent against them. But this was an over-simplification of the problem. The question that really mattered was, why did all the tribes—Wajirs, the Mohmands, and the peoples of Swat, Bajaur, Buner and other places—suddenly declare war against the British at the same time.

This sudden conflagration among the tribes along practically the whole border of the Punjab gave rise to a great deal of speculation about its cause and nature. The two main causes which lay on the surface were local grievances and the fanaticism of the Mullahs. The Afridis, for example, categorically stated that they were goaded to revolt by three main grievances, viz., the encroachment upon their territory by the British, increase in the salt-tax, and interference with their tribal customs. The first was an obvious truth. The second is also equally true, for the duty on salt produced in Kohat area, which had been eight annas per maund , was raised to two rupees, the usual rate on the salt produced to the east of the Sindhu. The main reason was to do away with the costly procedure of guarding against the importation of Kohat salt to the eastern side of the Sindhu. The third had probably a reference to the fact that the British Government refused to hand over to the frontier peoples their women who had fled for protection to the British territory.

There is evidence to show that the Mullahs played a large part in fomenting the troubles. As noted above, the Mullahs took a leading part in all the insurrections. Like all primitive people, the frontier tribes believed in the marvellous supernatural powers of the Mullahs, and were accustomed to pay implicit obedience to them. The following reply, given by one of the tribes to the appeal of the Commander of the British forces, may be said to represent very accurately the general sentiment of the tribes-people.

"'Friendship and enmity are not in our choice; whatever orders we may receive from the Fakir Sahib of Swat, the Mulla Sahib of Hadda or. the Aka Khel Mulla, and from all Islam, we cannot refuse to obey them; if we lose our lives, no matter". 21

The Mullahs not only exploited the religious fanaticism of the people, but spread wild rumours, highly prejudicial to the British, jsuch as the capture of Aden and Suez canal by the Sultan of Turkey, rupture between the Germans and the English, and fighting against the British in Egypt. But the Mullahs could ncH have moved the heterogeneous mass of wild tribesmen to fight for a common cause merely by this sort of false propaganda. There seems to be little doubt that the Mullahs worked upon the inborn instincts of the tribal peoples, particularly their love of independence, and it is the strong aversion against the establishment of the British political control over them, of which the signs were abundantly clear, that made them subservient tools in the hands of the Mullahs who stood as the symbol of resistance against the hated rule of the foreigner firinghis.

Indeed this was the crux of the whole tangled problem. The Forward Policy pursued since the days of Lord Lytton, and actively revived, after a short pause, by Lansdowne and Elgin, left no doubt in the minds of the tribes-people that the real intention of the British was to exercise effective control over them. The doubt, if there were any, was converted into certainty by the work of the Delimitation Commission. When the boundary pillars were erected and their fields were measured, the simple unsophisticated people naturally, and not unreasonably, concluded that their country was annexed and their independence gone. 22

It would be hardly any exaggeration to say that the widespread tribal risings were a direct reaction to the policy of delimitation and demarcation by the Durand Line. This can be established by reference to a few historical facts.

The Boundary Commission knew fully well that its activities were extremely distasteful to the people. So, as a safeguard, it was accompanied by a strong military force. When it began its work in Southern Waziristan, it was protected by 3000 men and six guns. But this demarcation with the help of a military force naturally confirmed the worst suspicions of the people. So, as mentioned above, on November 3, 1894, the tribesmen suddenly attacked the camp of the Commission at Wana. They were repulsed with heavy loss, and by way of punishment, their villages were destroyed and their herds driven off. Similarly, when the Boundary Commission set to work in the northern area, in 1895, there were troubles in Chitral, as noted above.

It was urged by the British officials and historians that the Amir of Afghanistan was partly responsible for the risings of 1897. The book Takwim-ud-din “inspired by the Amir himself, and written to his command,” which dealt with the Jihad (holy war), the assumption of the title of Zia-ul~Millat wa ud-Din , i.e. the Light of

Union and Faith, and reference to himself significantly in correspondence as the King of Islam, were cited as evidence for this. Ghulam Hyder Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of Amir, is also said'to have “corresponded with the leading Mullahs on the border...instigated risings against us and helped the tribesmen with arms, ammunition and even men. Some think he was in touch with his master”. Several other charges were also brought against the Amir, viz., that he had received deputations from the British tribal zone; his regular troops and subjects had joined the rebellious tribesmen, and he had held an assembly of Mullahs and impressed upon them the duty of all Muslims to destroy the infidels. The Amir denied these charges and allegations and it is difficult to form an impartial judgment on his conduct on the basis of British official evidence alone. 23

But even assuming the allegation against the Amir to be true, it has to be admitted that the real cause of his disaffection also was the demarcation of the definite boundary between Afghanistan and India. The Amir did not like the idea, being quite satisfied with the existing state of things. Certain tribes and sections—Mohmand country, Bajaur and Asmar—-, which at least nominally acknowledged the Amir as the suzerain, were placed definitely under the British influence. But there was a deeper cause of anxiety. The .existence of these wild tribes as independent buffer States was a safeguard to the dominions of Amir. It was certain that the British would build roads, gradually advance, absorb, dominate, destroy independence, and assume administration of the country, and, with the barriers of warlike tribes removed, would threaten his own independence.

Attempts have been made to sidetrack the main issue by suggesting various extraneous causes for the tribal risings. Reference has been made to the general spirit of resistance against European aggression in the Islamic world, typified by the victory of Turkey over the Greeks and British discomfiture in the hands of the Arabs of Sudan. It is possible that these news, in an exaggerated form, were deliberately spread to lower the British prestige. It has been held by some that the general political unrest in India had its repercussion on the frontier tribes. But the only concrete fact in support of it is that a young boy of about thirteen years of age was presented by a Mullah to the tribes as the only surviving heir to the throne of Delhi. But while all these might show a malicious political design on the part of the leaders, it is difficult to believe that they had any material influence over the tribal peoples of the frontier.

Whatever one might think of these subsidiary causes and the influence of these secondary factors on the origin and nature of the tribal risings of 1897-98, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that their real origin is to be found in the sturdy spirit of independence which characterized the Frontier tribesmen, and it was the imminent danger of losing freedom that induced them to make a common cause in a last desperate struggle to maintain it. It is refreshing to note that some liberal English writers have admitted this truth, however unpalatable it might be to the officials. The following lines by one of them admirably sum up this view:

“From the distant north, where the snows of Rakapushi keep watch over Hunza and Nagar, to the confines of Baluchistan, we had extended our authority in many directions over the debatable area, known as independent territory. To the border Pathan there appeared the vision of a great mailed fist, the fingers of which, in the ’nineties, seemed to be closing around him. Isolated forts garrisoned by British troops commanded the trade routes running through his territory, or frowned down upon his native hamlet or terraced fields. Dazzling white roads wound their way like serpents towards his fastnesses in the mountains. In the wake of demarcation commissions had sprung up long lines of white boundary pillars, enclosing his country and threatening that independence which was his proudest boast. It is therefore my considered opinion, after sifting all the available evidence, that the 1897 disturbances were mainly the result of the advances which had taken place in the ’nineties. Although many of these advances were justified from a military point of view, they nevertheless were looked upon as encroachments into tribal territory.” 24

The risings of the frontier tribes in 1897-98 were suppressed by a number of separate British detachments sent in different directions and working independently of one another. By the time Lord Curzon succeeded Elgin as Governor-General in January, 1899, there was no insurrectionary movement anywhere in the frontier territories, though there were bitter memories, particularly of the Tirah campaign, and it left a blazing trail of disontent among the Afridis whose allowances were withdrawn as a penal measure. But a number of important strategic posts in different centres were still occupied by British troops, about ten thousand in number. These isolated posts had no communication with one another, and being far away from the regularly administered British area, were in great danger of being overwhelmed by a sudden recrudescence of tribal risings. Elgin's Government decided to keep them there and build new forts in the tribal territory for their safety. But the Secretary of State, in his despatch dated January 28, 1898, sounded a note of warning against this policy which, in his opinion, would increase,

rather than diminish, the chances of collision with the tribes. He recommended a new Frontier Policy, based on the minimum of interference with the tribesmen in the neutral zone, and the maximum concentration of forces in secure areas. It was virtually a reversal of the Forward Policy and a swing back to the old 'Stationary Policy' in a modified form.

Lord Curzon, though an imperialist to the core, and supposed to be an ardent follower of the Forward School, had intimate personal knowledge of the Frontier, as he had travelled from the Pamirs to Chitral and thence to Kabul> Ghazni, Kandahar and Quetta less than five years before he became the Viceroy. He formulated a new Frontier Policy, more or less on the lines indicated by the Secretary of State, and defined it in his Budget speech on March 27, 1901. As he himself said, it was different from both the Forward Policy of the nineties and Lawrence's Policy of Masterly Inactivity or Back to the Indus. "Its main features," said he, "consist in the withdrawal of our regular troops from advanced positions in tribal territory, their concentration in posts upon or near to the Indian border, and their replacement in tribal tracts by bodies of tribal levies trained up by British officers to act as a militia in defence of their own native valleys and hills; in other words, the substitution of a policy of frontier garrisons drawn from the people themselves, for the costly experiment of large forts and isolated posts thrown forward into a turbulent and fanatical country." 25

This policy, enunciated so early in his career, took a definite shape during the next three years, and in his Budget speech on March 30, 1904, Lord Curzon gave a long review of the net result of the operation of his new policy from Gilgit to Baluchistan. He defended the maintenance of the British garrison at Chitral, as absolutely essential to the scheme of frontier defence." But the British troops had been reduced by one-third and concentrated at the extreme southern end of the country at Drosh. All the regular British troops were withdrawn from Gilgit, and the Kashmir Imperial Service troops took their place. In Dir and Swat, the movable column was withdrawn, and the British troops, reduced by one-half, were concentrated at Chakdarra, the headway of the bridge over the Swat, at Malakand and at Dargai, the outlying posts being held by local levies. Malakand was fortified, and Dargai was connected by a railway line with Nowshera, where a bridge was constructed over the Kabul river. The British garrison of 3,700 men at the Khyber Pass were withdrawn and it was left in charge of two battalions of Khyber Rifles, raised from the Afridis of the Pass and neighbouring tribes, officered by Englishmen. Kohat was connected with the Indian railway, and by road, through the Kohat Pass, with Peshawar. The British garrison at Sama were replaced by Samana Rifles. A railway line was opened from Kohat to Thai at the mouth of the Kurram valley, and the regular British force was replaced by the Kurram Militia commanded by British officers.

In Waziristan alone Curzon met with troubles from the Mahsuds, who carried their raids into British territory. In 1901 Curzon adopted a policy of strict blockade, "vigorously and unremittingly pursued, and followed by a series of sharp and unexpected punitive counter-raids into the Mahsud valleys." The Mahsuds submitted, but the total loss suffered by them in fines, forfeiture of allowances, rifles surrendered, and the value of property destroyed and livestock captured, was calculated by Curzon to be more than five lakhs. 2e

In spite of all this, Curzon decided to withdraw the total British garrison of 4,000 and leave the line of the Tochi and the Gomal to the charge, respectively, of North Waziristan and South Waziristan Militia. Summing up the whole position Lord Curzon said that there were in 1904, only 5,000 British troops in place of 10,200 beyond the administration border of British India, but the supporting garrisons within this border have been increased from 22,000 to 24,000 and strengthened by new railway connections. The tribal military 1 organization consisted of "Levies over 1,000 strong, Border Military Police over 3,000, and Border Militia, 5,800."

Lord Curzon tried to placate and conciliate the border-tribes by meeting their Chiefs and explaining the benevolent attitude of his Government to them. In a Durbar at Peshawar held on April 26, 1902, he addressed the Chiefs and representatives of the Frontier tribes. He assured them that the British Government had no wish to seize their territory or interfere with their independence. The tribesmen would be left in peace in their possessions so long as they did not raid or attack other's dominions, but if they did so, and if the tribes did not help the Government to mend matters, the British force would be sent to suppress all disorder. The second feature of the British policy was the payment of tribal allowances for keeping open the roads and passes, such as the Khyber and Kohat Passes and the Chitral Road, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and for the punishment of crime. The third feature was the extended military employment of the tribesmen in the local Levies and Militia which opened a manly and well-paid career to several thousands of their young men. By good services they might be enlisted in the regular army. The railway lines, the fourth feature, were no doubt primarily intended to ensure quick movement of troops in times of trouble, but they would provide security to the tribal militia by pushing troops quickly to their support. These railways would also have a good effect upon the trade so dear to the Pathans. As these railways were within the British territory, the tribesmen were told not to feel nervous about British encroachments on their freedom, but that they would do well to remember that the railway would not only help the British to come to their support in need, but also to strike and avenge any wrong they might be guilty of. 27

The Frontier policy of Curzon led him to introduce an important administrative change by creating a new North-West Frontier Province directly under the Government of India. He regarded it as an integral part of his new Frontier policy, "the Keystone of the Frontier Arch". Lord Lytton had proposed to create a new province consisting of the six frontier districts of the Punjab and of the trans-Indus districts of Sindh. But the Punjab Government was strongly opposed to it. Lord Lansdowne revived the scheme, and discussions went on till Curzon took up the question seriously. He regarded a separate Frontier Province directly under his supervision as an absolute necessity in the circumstances. The Viceroy was also the Minister for Foreign Affairs, but between the* frontier system and the Viceroy there was placed the Government of the Punjatk through whose hands all frontier questions had to pass before they reached the Government of India". This meant considerable delay, and weeks and even months passed before the Viceroy's decision was received. This was specially objectionable as "rapidity of action and swiftness of action were essential on an exposed frontier." Lord Curzon regarded as 'irrational in theory and bizarre in practice , the system which "interposes between its Foreign Minister and his most important sphere of activity, the barrier, not of a subordinate official, but of a subordinate Government," which neither originated nor was responsible for India's foreign policy. 2 ®

After discussing various schemes and suggestions Curzon created in 1901 a new administrative unit out of the frontier districts of the Punjab. This unit, the North-West Frontier Province, consisted of the settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan, as well as the frontier tracts between the administrative boundary and the Durand Line. Excepting the small tahsil of Isa Khel, whose inhabitants were not Pathans, all the transIndus territories were included in the new Province, the head of which was a Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, appointed by, and responsible to, the Governor-General.

Judged by the results, Lord Curzon's Frontier policy must be regarded as successful. In a speech at the United Service Club at Simla on September

30, 1905, he reminded his audience that "for seven years we have not had a single frontier expedition, the only seven years of which this can be said since the frontier passed into British hands; and that, whereas in the five years 1894-99 the Indian tax-payer had to find 4J million pounds sterling for frontier warfare, the total cost of military operations on the entire North-West Frontier, in the last seven years has only been £248,000, and that was for the semi-pacific operation of the Mahsud blockade." 29 This is a record, following the events of 1897-98, of which the Viceroy could legitimately feel proud.

1. C. C. Davies, The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908, p. 22.

2. Ibid, 27.

3. Warner, I. 393 fl.

4. Ibid, 396.

5. Ibid, 392.

6. Ibid, 396.

7. Davies, op. cit., 24-6.

8. Ibid, 26.

9. Ibid.

9a. See p. 892.

9b. See p. 676.

10. See p. 681.

11. Col. Sir T. H. Holdich, The Indian Borderland, 232-3.

12. Ibid, 230-1.

13. The Autobiography of Abd-ur-rahman, quoted in Davies, op. cit., p. 160.

14. Holdich, op. cit., 229.

15. Ibid, 230.

16. The account of the tribes is based on Davies, op. cit., pp. 58-68.

17. Ibid, 80-1.

18. Ibid, 84-88.

19. The arguments of the two opposing schools are summarized by Davies (op. cit., pp. 86-88.).

20. Ibid, 89.

21. Ibid, 97.

22. Col. H. D. Hutchinson, The Campaign in Tirch (1897-8) under General Sir William Lockhart (1898), p. 9.

23. Ibid, pp. 12 ff.

24. Davies, op. cit., 97-8.

25. Sir Thomas Raleigh, Lord Curzon in India, pp. 416-7.

26. Ibid, 419-32.

27. Ibid, 423.

28. Davies, op. cit., 108.

29. Ibid, 115.

CHAPTER XXXII

NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER

I. BHUTAN

The first attempt of the British Government of India to establish friendly relations with Bhutan was the result of strained rela* tions between Bhutan and Cooch Behar towards the close of the eighteenth century. In earlier times the relations between Cooch Behar and Bhutan were always very intimate, and Bhutan exercised considerable control over Cooch Behar affairs. “About 1695 the Bhutanese overran Cooch Behar and usurped the government till Santa Naravan Nazir Deo, with the assistance of the Mahomedan Viceroy, expelled them after a long struggle, and placed Rup Narayan on the throne. The Bhutanese, however, continued their control over political affairs in Cooch Behar”. 1 In 1772, the Bhutanese invaded Cooch Behar and carried off the Raja with the intention of placing on the throne a ruler of their own choice. The Cooch Behar ruling family solicited British aid. A small British force* drov* the Bhutanese out of Cooch Behar and captured the fort of Buxa. "The Bhutanese then sought the help of Tashi Lama, the Regent of Tibet, who wrote a friendly letter to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, in 1774. As a result of his intercession a treaty was made between the Government of India and Bhutan on 25th April, 1774. The tribute of five Tangan horses, which had been paid by Bhutan to the Cooch Behar Raja for the province of Falakata, was transferred to the East India Company. This ended all political relations between Bhutan and Cooch Behar. The Bhutanese merchants were allowed the same privileges of trade, free of duty, as formerly, with permision for their caravans to go to Rangpur annually. The Deb Raja, as the ruler of Bhutan was called, agreed to abstain from encouraging incursions into the Company's country and to submit all disputes between Bhutan and the Company’s subjects to the decision of the Company’s Magistrate. Taking advantage of the friendly attitude of Tashi Lama, Warren Hastings sent a Mission under Bogle to Tibet. The Mission started on 6th May, 1774, and Bogle was successful in gaining the consent of the Deb Raja to the passage of trade, free of duty, through his country. Articles of trade agreement between the two Governments were drawn up, and for a few years trade from Bengal was actually allowed to pass through Bhutan into Tibet.

Two small Missions under Hamilton almost immediately followed on this important Mission of Bogle. In 1775 Warren Hastings sent Hamilton to Bhutan to examine into the claims of the Deb Raja to Falakata and Julpaish (now in Jalpaiguri district). Hamilton came to a conclusion in favour of the Deb Raja's rights. In 1777 he was sent again to Bhutan to congratulate a new Deb Raja on his succession.

In 1/83 Warren Hastings sent Captain Turner as his envoy to the court of the infant Lama of Tibet. Turner was- also charged with letters to the Deb Raja requesting him to keep his engagements under the articles of trade concluded by Bogle. Thus Warren Hastings, by his policy of sending Missions to Tibet and Bhutan, succeeded in establishing friendly relations with these two countries, and in opening trade through the one country to the other. But in 1792, when the Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Tibet and a Chinese army drove them out, the Chinese suspected that the Indian Government had supported the Gurkhas and, in consequence, they closed all the passes of Tibet to natives of India. This was the end of the policy of establishing good relations with Tibet. Meanwhile the friendly relations of the Indian Government with Bhutan also began to wane, due to border disputes. In 1815, some disputes occurred regarding the Bhutan frontier boundaries, and Babu Kishan Kant Bose was deputed to the court of Bhutan. He has left an interesting report of the country as he found it.

It was particularly after the First Anglo-Burmese War of 182526 that the relations between the Government of India and Bhutan became strained. The British drove the Burmese out of Assam and cast covetous eyes on the narrow strip of territory (at the base of the lower ranges of the Bhutan hills), about twenty miles wide and extending from the Dhansiri river in Assam, on the east, to the river Tista, on the west. It covered an area of about one thousand square miles which was intersected by a number of passes or duars (door) leading from the hills to the plain. There are seven such Duars on the frontier of Assam, and eleven on the frontier of Bengal. 2 From this fact the whole of the narrow strip of territory, which is by nature singularly rich and fertile, was known as the Bhutan Duars. "These Duars contain some of the finest cotton and timber lands in Bengal". Ashley Eden, who was later sent as an envoy to Bhutan, thus wrote in his report about the advantages of the occupation of the Duars: “The Province is one of the finest in India and under our Government would in a few years become one of the wealthiest. It is the only place I have seen in India in which the theory of European settlement could, in my opinion, take a really practical

iorm”. 3 Thus economic factors as well as strategic considerations (to have a well-defined frontier marching along the foot of the hills) led to the British control over the Duars. It was after the AngloBurmese War of 1825-26 that disputes over the Duars began with the Bhutan Government. The Assam Duars were occupied by the Bhutanese on payment of annual tributes. The British Government of India renewed and confirmed the engagements made with the Bhutanese by the Assamese. These engagements were of a somewhat complicated nature and were well calculated to produce the misunderstanding which at a very early date arose between the two Governments. In the first place, though five Assam Duars were held exclusively by the Bhutanese, two Duars (Guma and Kallingt were held under a very peculiar tenure, for the British Government, like the Ahom rulers, occupied them from July to November each year, while the Bhutanese held them for the remainder of the year. Secondly, as the tribute was payable in kind, disputes arose as to the value of the articles paid by way of tribute. Thus the relations of the Government of India with Bhutan were not placed on a satisfactory basis. To improve these relations a Mission under Captain Pemberton was sent to Bhutan in 1837, but no amicable adjustment took place. Pemberton’s report, however, supplied valuable information about Bhutan. As, on account of internal troubles, Bhutan was remiss in payment of annual tributes, and outrages like plunder c*nd kidnapping continued, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, authorized the annexation of the Assam Duars in 1841 on payment of Rs. 10,000 per annum to the Bhutan Government as compensation.

The Government of India then turned its attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the Bengal Duars frontier. The Bhutias frequently committed outrages on this frontier also, in course of which property was plundered and destroyed, and men were killed and carried into captivity. Consequently, in 1855, when Tongsa Penlop (the most powerful chieftain in Bhutan who was king de facto) assumed a threatening attitude. Lord

Dalhousie, the GovernorGeneral of India, took up a strong attitude and the Bhutan Government offered a suitable apology. A British cantonment was established on this frontier at Jalpaiguri, in order to restrain the Bhutiyas, but their depredations continued. The long-continued aggressions of the Bhutiyas induced Lord Canning to consider seriously the question of despatching an expedition into Bhutan, but it was postponed on account of the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. After peace and order were restored, the attention of the Government of India was again drawn to the Bhutia outrages. As a punitive measure, the

Government withheld the annual payment of two thousand Rupees which they had hitherto been paying on account of the Ambari Falakata Taluk , a Bhutiya territory situated on the west bank of the Tista, within the district of Rangpur, but administered by the British. This annual payment, stopped in 1860, was frequently demanded by the Bhutiyas, who committed further depredations. At the beginning of 1862 the Bhutiyas were reported to have been making military preparations for forcibly occupying Ambari Falakata, and British forces were despatched from Danapur to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. This considerably eased the situation and the Government of India decided to send Sir Ashley Eden as an envoy to Bhutan for the amicable adjustment of all matters of dispute and to revise and improve the relations existing between the two Governments. He was specially instructed to demand the surrender of the captives taken and the restoration of the property plundered from British territory, and also that security should be given for the future peace of the frontier. Eden left for Bhutan towards the close of 1863 with an escort of 100 men under the command of Captain Lance. The Bhutanese Government, which was really in the hands of Tongsa Penlop, put all kinds of obstacles in Eden’s way and rejected all his demands. The British “envoy was insulted in open darbar and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the Mission, to sign under protest a document for the renunciation of the Bhutan Duars situated in Assam frontier”. Eden and his party, however, managed to escape at night and returned to Darjeeling in April, 1864. After making further futile attempts to induce Bhutan to accept their demands, the Government of India issued a proclamation on 12 November, 1864. After narrating the history of Bhutiya outrages culminating in the insult offered to the British envoy, Sir Ashley Eden, the proclamation continues: “For this insult the Governor-General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhutan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Duars and Ambari Falakata, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to the British territory."

The British Government also decided to annex the Bengal Duars of Bhutan and so much of the hill territory, including the forts of Dalingkote, Pasaka, and Dewangiri, as might be necessary to command the passes. Accordingly a military force was sent and all the above forts were occupied, without much resistance, by the middle of January, 18G5. The Bhutiyas. however, scored two notable successes; they recaptured Dewangiri and occupied Tazigong by

forcing the British to evacuate them. Both these places were after* wards re-taken, and the newly annexed Duars of Bhutan were occupied by a strong military force, cutting off Bhutan from all communication with the plains, both in Assam and Bengal. As the Bhutan Government still refused to treat except upon the basis of the surrender of the annexed terrtiory, the Government of India decided to send an expedition into the interior of Bhutan after the rainy season was over. Before this expedition actually began any operations, overtures were made on the part of the Bhutan Rajas that they were anxious to enter into negotiations for peace, and a treaty was made on 11th November, 1865. The Government of India agreed, in return for the Duars, to pay to the Bhutan Government an annual sum of Rs. 25,000 in the first year, Rs. 35,000 for the second, Rs. 45,000 for the third, and Rs. 50,000 on every succeeding year. The payment of this sum, liable as it was to stoppage in the event of misconduct on the part o f the Bhutan Government or its failure to check the aggression of its subjects, was an excellent and powerful guarantee for its good conduct. The Bhutan Government agreed to surrender all British subjects of Sikkim and Cooch Behar detained in Bhutan against their will; to the mutual extradition of criminals; to the maintenance of free trade; and to the arbitration of the Government of India in all disputes between the Bhutan Government and the Chiefs of Cooch Behar and Sikkim. The Bhutanese also agreed to deliver up the two guns which had fallen into the hands of Tongsa Penlop, after the re-capture of Dewangiri. 3u

This treaty is an important landmark in the relations between the Bhutan Government and the Government of India. The T8 Duars’ was ceded to the Government of India, and this narrow strip of territory, lying at the foot of the hills, was, as stated above, not only very fertile but also possessed strategic importance. The relations with Bhutan have been amicable since the signing of the treaty. Of course, there were minor causes of dispute. Payment of the allowance to the Bhutan Government was temporarily withheld in 1868, as the Bhutan Government stopped intercommunication between Bhutan and Buza and also sent an officer of inferior rank to receive the subsidy in disregard of Article 4 of the treaty. In 1880 the Bhutan Government was again warned that the subsidy would be withheld unless certain raiders in Chunabati, near Buxa, were handed over to the Government of India. Eventually, the demands were complied with, the raiders delivered up, and the captives (British subjects who had been carried off) released in July, 1881.

Apart from these two incidents, the relations with Bhutan have been friendly. In 1888, when war broke out between the Government of India and Tibet, the ruler of Bhutan refused assistance to the Tibetans. During the Tibet Mission of 1904, the Bhutanese were called upon for open support, and their Government sent a Mission with General Macdonald in his advance on Lhasa.

Up to 1904 the political relations between Bhutan and the Indian Government had been carried on through the medium of the Government of Bengal. On hostilities breaking out with Tibet in that year, these political relations were transferred from Bengal to Colonel Younghusband, who corresponded direct with the Government of India. On the termination of the Mission, these political relations were transferred to the Political Officer of Sikkim, who was also entrusted with the political relations with Tibet. This was a change of great importance, as it brought Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet in direct relationship with the Government of India, and thus avoided the unnecessary tedious delays formerly caused by the correspondence through the local government.

II. NEPAL

Reference has been made above 3b to the Anglo-Gurkha War which broke out in 1814 and was ended by the Treaty of SegoWli on 4 March, 1816. Since then the relation between the two States was, generally speaking, friendly, but there were occasional ill feelings, and things even went so far that war between the two countries seemed imminent and was only prevented with great difficulty. By

1839 the war party in Nepal, represented by the senior queen and the Panre family, got control over the administration and ousted the weak and incapable king from any participation in public affairs. In

1840 the senior queen ordered an invasion of the British territory. The Gurkhas occupied nearly a hundred villages in the district of Ramnagar. Hodgson, the British Resident at Katmandu, acted with energy. He demanded the immediate withdrawal of troops, compensation, and an apology. The queen incited the troops in Katmandu to mutiny, but the coup failed. The Government of India sent an ultimatum whereupon the Gurkhas withdrew from Ramnagar, and the Panre Government was replaced by a coalition Government favourable to the British alliance. The death of the queen in 1841 strengthened the peace party. The alliance between the Government of India and Nepal was restored, and the King of Nepal even offered the services of the Nepalese army for use in Burma or in Afghanistan. The British relations with Nepal were still further improved when Jang Bahadur became the Prime Minister in 1846. He was by far the most remarkable Prime Minister of Nepal. He was shrewd enough to understand the importance of maintaining friendly rela

tions with his powerful neighbour in the south. In May, 1843, he offered the services of six regiments of Nepalese troops in the event of war breaking out between the English and the Sikhs. The Indian Government declined the offer, but stated that they would accept it, should need arise on any future occasion.

Jang Bahadur tried to increase the influence of Nepal by declaring war on Tibet. The war was ended by the treaty signed at Katmandu on the 24th March, 1856. Nepal gained valuable concessions—the payment of an annual indemnity by the Tibetans of ten thousand Rupees, freedom of trade to Nepalese subjects in Tibet, the abolition of customs duties on all goods entering Tibet, and the appointment of a Nepalese representative at Lhasa to protect the interests of Nepalese subjects in that city.

During the Mutiny Jang Bahadur demonstrated his friendship to the British by despatching a large force to co-operate with the British force operating against Lakhnau, an important stronghold of the revolt. Three thousand Nepalese troops swept on through Awadh as far as Chanda and Sohanpur, thereby preventing any chance of a flank attack on the British troops marching towards Lakhnau. Later, Jang Bahadur took the field in person at the head of 9,000 men. He captured Gorakhpur in January, 1858. Two months later, the Gurkhas took a prominent part in the battle of Lakhnau. Later, when the defeated rebel chiefs fled to Nepal, Jang Bahadur took effective measures to disarm and disperse them. 3c Jang Bahadur not only helped the British Government of India in crushing the rebellion, but also authorized the raising of more Gurkha battalions for the Indian army. As a reward for his services the Government of India restored to Nepal a large part of the former Gurkha possessions in the Terai, which had been ceded to the British in 1816.

From this time onward the relations of Nepal with the Government of India continued to be friendly. Nepal was fortunate in having very able Prime Ministers who not only tried to improve the economic condition of Nepal but also maintained good relations with the Government of India.

III. MANIPUR 1. Political Control of Burma

Manipur, wedged in between Assam and Burma, guarded the north-east frontier of India, and no wonder that India and Burma were rivals for this territory of great strategic importance. Long before the advent of the British in India, Burma had asserted her supremacy over Manipur. It was about the middle of the sixteenth

century that Bayinnaung, the most powerful ruler of the Toungoo dynasty of Burma, reduced Manipur to a tributary State. But subsequently Manipur re-asserted her independence and even made occasional raids into Burma. Thus Gharib Niwaz, the most powerful ruler of Manipur, led several successful expeditions into Burma in 1725, 1735, 1738, 1739 and in 1749. Due to disunity among the successors of Gharib Niwaz, however, Manipur lost her independence and was again subjected to the political control of Burma. “From 1755 A.D. up to the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 A.D. the history of Manipur is replete with the story of successive Burmese invasions and of how she resisted them and eventually triumphed over them”. 4 The increasing power of Burma alarmed the British Government in India. In 1759 the ruler of Burma destroyed the English settlement in Negrais, an island at the mouth of the Irrawaddy. Shortly after this, Haridas Gossain met Mr. Verelst at Chittagong to secure British help for his master, Jai Singh, to regain the lost territories of Manipur from Burma. The terms of the alliance were settled on 14th September, 1762. This was the first formal agreement between the Government of Manipur and the British Government of India. A British contingent of troops was to be sent to help Jai Singh in recovering the territories wrested from Manipur by Burma. In return, the Government of Manipur agreed to grant for ever to the English rent-free land at a suitable place in Manipur for the establishment of a factory and a fort, and also provide every facility for the promotion of trade with China. The Government of Manipur agreed to pay the expenses of the British contingent of troops and also to compensate the English for the loss suffered by them at the island of Negrais. A clause of offensive and defensive alliance was included in the treaty. The British contingent, however, suffered from rain and disease and had to return without achieving any success. Manipur continued to be under the control of Burma. Jai Singh made many attempts to recover Manipur, but failed in his efforts. Ultimately he came to an understanding with the Burmese ruler and was allowed to rule over Manipur. In the war of succession amongst the sons of Jai Singh, the Burmese ruler espoused the cause of Marjit. In 1812 Mar jit occupied the throne of Manipur as a vassal of Burma. But in 1818-1819, when he showed signs of independence. a Burmese army occupied Manipur. Marjit fled from Manipur and, with the help of his brothers, secured Cachar. Govinda Chandra, the deposed ruler of Cachar, finding no hope of getting any help from the British, sought the help of the Burmese. In 1823 a Burmese force invaded Cachar through Manipur. Marjit fled to Sylhet.

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the internal dissensions in Assam, a Burmese force entered the country in 1817 and placed their nominee Chandra Kanta Singh on the throne. When Chandra Kanta Singh showed signs of. independence, large Burmese forces under the command of Bandula poured into Assam in 1821 and defeated him. How these incursions ultimately led to the Anglo-Burmese War, has been stated above. 0

2. Gambhir Singh

The First Anglo-Burmese war broke out in 1824. The British forces drove out the Burmese forces from Cachar. Then the British entered into an agreement with the Manipur princes. In return for help the British agreed to support Gambhir Singh, one of the Manipur princes, to regain the throne of Manipur. The Burmese forces were driven out of Manipur. The war came to a close by the Treaty of Yandabo (24th February, 1826) which recognized Gambhir Singh's title to the throne of Manipur. But there was some confusion about the nature of his sovereignty. It was stated in Article II. '*His Majesty the King of Ava renounced all claims upon and will abstain from all future interference with the principality of Assam and its dependencies and also with the continguous petty states of Cachar and Jynteea. With regard to Manipur, it is stipulated that should Gambhir Singh desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Raja thereof."

It was not clarified whether Gambhir Singh should be treated as the Sovereign ruler of Manipur or as a vassal king under Burma. The Biitish, however, were anxious not to allow Manipur to remain a dependency of Burma, for the Burmese political control over Manipur would expose the Sylhet frontier to the danger which had precipitated the war in 1824. Negotiations with the Burmese led to a happy settlement; the Burmese renounced their sovereignty over Manipur and their incursions extending over sixty years at last came to an end. There was nothing to indicate that Gambhir Singh, who thus became ruler of Manipur, acknowledged the suzerainty of the British, though the Government of India regarded Manipur as a protected state. This question has already been discussed above in Ch. XXVII. For the time being, however, close and intimate friendly relations were established between Manipur and British India, and it was but natural and inevitable that the petty rulers of Manipur would be subservient to their powerful neighbour.

During the military operations of the First'Burmese War, Gambhir Singh had occupied the Kubo valley inhabited bv the Shans. The Burmese claimed this territory, and Gambhir Singh referred it

to the decision of the British, who upheld the claims of Burma. Gambhir Singh reluctantly agreed, and the Kubo valley was transferred to Burma in 1834. The Government of India, conscious of the just claims of Gambhir Singh which had to be sacrificed for placating Burma, agreed to pay Rs. 500 per month to Manipur State as compensation.

Manipur had been devastated by the successive invasions of Burma for more than sixty years. At the time when Gambhir Singh became the independent ruler of Manipur, its adult male population did not exceed 2000. Reference has been made to Gambhir Singh's unsuccessful effort to get possession of Cachar after the death of its ruler Govinda Chandra. 6 But though weak in resources Manipur had a stable government. The economic and military alliance between Manipur and British Government was established, and its nature was clearly defined by a number of resolutions adopted by both in 1833.

3. Chandrakirti Singh.

Gambhir Singh died in 1834, leaving a son, Chandrakirti, only two years old. So Nar Singh, a great-grandson of Gharib Niwaz and a former Senapati (Commander-in-chief) of Gambhir Singh, became the Regent and carried on the administration with great ability. But Maharani Kumudini Devi, the mother of Chandrakirti, suspected Nar Singh as having designs upon the throne. In 1844' a plot was hatched to murder Nar Singh, but it failed. He suspected the complicity of the Maharani in the attempt on his life and usurped the throne. The Maharani, with Chandrakirti, fled to Cachar and threw themselves under the protection of the British. But the British Government did not like to interfere in the internal affairs of Manipur. On the death of Nar Singh in 1850, Chandrakirti sent a petition to the Government of India for his restoration to the throne, but without waiting for a reply advanced from Cachar and seized the throne, while Devendra Singh, brother and successor of Nar Singh, fled to Cachar.

But troubles continued in Manipur owing to the hostile activities of Debendra Singh's followers and the consequent chaos in internal administration. The Political Agent at Manipur recommended that the British Government should recognize Chandrakirti Singh as the ruler of Manipur. In 1852, the Government of India had authorized the Political Agent to make "a public avowal of the determination of the British Government to uphold the present Raja, and to resist and punish any parties attempting hereafter tQ dispossess him." Primarily interested in the maintenance of law

and order in this important State on the frontier of India, the Government of India was naturally anxious to maintain the Maharaja in power. The Secretary of State for India, however, took a wider view of the subject, for he felt that this British guarantee would, mean that the Maharaja would feel secure even if mere was maladministration. The Secretary of State was, therefore, of the view that this guarantee must be accompanied by interference in the internal affairs of the State to ensure good administration to the people. Therefore he issued the following instructions to the Government of India:

"Considering the very unfavourable reports of the Raja's administration hitherto given by Captain McCulloch, we feel considerable doubt of the propriety of having bound yourselves to his support. The position7 however, which you have thus assumed of pledged protectors of the Raja imposes on you as a necessary consequence the obligation not only of attempting to guide him by your advice, but, if needful, of protecting his subjects against oppression on his part; otherwise our guarantee of his rule may be the cause of inflicting on them a continuance of reckless tyranny. The obligation thus incurred may be found embarrassing, but it must nevertheless be fulfilled; and while needless interference is of course to be avoided, we shall expect that, as the price of the protection afforded to him, the Raja will submit to our maintaining a sufficient check over the general conduct of his administration, so as to prevent it from being oppressive to the people and discreditable to the Government which gives it support". 7

This was, no doubt, the thin end of the wedge by which the British sought to extend its authority over the State of Manipur which never acknowledged the suzerainty of the British nor theoretically regarded itself as a dependent State. No occasion, however, arose for British interference in the internal affairs of Manipur during the reign of Chandrakirtti Singh. He actively helped the British during the outbreak of 1857 and was rewarded by a dress of honour, sword, and belt; eight of his chief officers received Khilat. The Mutiny Medal was presented to one of the military officers who actually fought against the mutineers and captured a number of the mutineers of Chittagong who proceeded towards Manipur. On the other hand, the British alliance stood Chandrakirti in good stead in suppressing chronic rebellions and outbreaks in his kingdom.

4. The Naga Hills.

The Manipur State exercised authority over a considerable part of the Naga Hills. But during its period of decadence caused by the

Burmese aggressions (A.D. 1755-1826) Manipur lost whatever influence it had over the interior of Naga Hills. In 1832 Captain Jenkins and Pemberton, escorted by Gambhir Singh and his troops, forced a passage through the hills in order to find a suitable route to Assam. At that time Gambhir Singh re-asserted the authority of Manipur over that area and reduced to submission several villages, including Kohima, the largest of them. In 1833 when the Angami Nagas started giving trouble to the British, Gambhir Singh with his forces again subdued Kohima. 8

‘Geographically there is no lime of demarcation between Manipur and Naga Hills. A vague boundary between the two was laid down in 1842 by Lt. Biggs from the British side and Captain Gordon on the part of the Manipur Government. But the Nagas of that locality never cared for this boundary. At last in 1851 the Government of India, angered by Naga raids, allowed the Manipur Government to extend its authority over the Naga villages on the other side of the Biggs-Gordon line’. 9 The British also claimed a part of the Naga Hills and had a Political Agent to administer the area. But his actual authority v/as confined to Samaguting, his. headquarters, and its immediate neighbourhood. The Nagas living in unadministered areas often came into clash with those in administered areas, and in 1877 an expedition was sent to quell a rebellious outbreak in Mozzuma village. James Johnstone, the Political Agent of Manipur, accompanied by a minister of that State, proceeded with an armv to the help of the Political Agent of Naga Hills. The Nagas approached Chandrakirti, the ruler of Manipur, for help, but the latter refused and admonished them to surrender, and the rebellion at Mozzuma subsided. In 1878 the Political Agent of Naga Hills removed his headquarters to Kohima, but it was invaded by the Angami Nagas in October, 1879. The rebellion spread like wildfire, and a grave situation arose, calling for immediate succour. Once again Johnstone, the Political Agent of Manipur, advanced to the rescue of Kohima, with the troops of the Residency, accompanied by 2000 Maniour troops under Tikendrajit, the third son of Chandrakirti. The British camp was saved and gradually the rebellion was suppressed. Johnstone has put on record his appreciation of the services rendered by Manipur at this grave crisis. "It is difficult", said he, "to over-estimate our obligation to the Maharaja for his loyal conduct during the insurrection and subsequent troubles. According to his own belief, we had deprived him of territory belonging to him, and which he had been allowed to claim as his own. The Nagas asked him to help them, and promised to become his feudatories, if only he would not act against them. The

temptation must have been strong, to at least serve us as we deserved, by leaving us in the lurch to get out of the mess as best as we could. Instead of this, Chandra Kirti Singh loyally and cheerfully placed his resources at our disposal, and certainly by enabling me to march to its relief, prevented the fall of Kohima. and the disastrous result which would have inevitably followed". 10

5. Manipur as a British protectorate.

The death of Chandrakirti in 1886 was followed by internal dissensions, leading to the armed resistance of the Manipur royal family to the British Government in India. This episode and its tragic consequences have been dealt at some length in Chapter XXVII, partly to remove popular misconceptions about what is usually, but wrongly, called the "Manipur Rebellion", and partly to illustrate the practical application of the theory of paramountcy, in respect of independent Hill States on the north-eastern frontier.

As mentioned above, the armed resistance of Manipur was of short duration, and by the end of April, 1891, i.e. within a month, Manipur was occupied by a British force. Senapati Tikendrajit was executed and Maharaja Kulachandra was transported for life to the Andamans. The question of annexing the State or restoring it to some member of the Maharaja's family was thoroughly discussed in the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Chief Commissioner, in his note dated 16th July, 1891, had strongly recommended the annexation of the State. "In the first place I take it as an accepted axiom of our foreign policy in India, that if a Native State wages war against the Queen, that alone (leaving out of consideration for the present the question of expediency) is a sufficient and justifiable ground for annexing the State to British territory. We have had more than one practical instance in recent years of the application of this axiom, the most recent being the annexation to British territory in Burma of the Shan State of Wuntho". 11

The Chief Commissioner maintained that as Manipur was not an independent but protected State, and owed its very existence to the protection which the Government of India had afforded to it 'for years past', the Government of India had exercised the right of interfering in the internal affairs of the State to safeguard their interests. "We do not, it is true, ordinarily interfere with the internal affairs of the State, but, in consideration of the protection which we have always given to the Maharaja and our promise to maintain him on the gaddi against all who might seek to dispossess him, we have always insisted on our right to compel him to do, or to abstain from doing, certain things, e. g., he must not obstruct trade between

Manipur and British territory, or exact heavy duties, or create monopolies; he must not supply arms to hill tribes that are hostile to the British Government; he must not disturb the frontier by acts

aggression against hill tribes lying beyond the Manipur boundary; we compel him to maintain the road from the confines of the Cachar district to Manipur; we insist on his supplying labour to us whenever called upon to do so; we insist upon his punishing his officers of State, officers of the Manipur army, and others who are known to have committed acts of atrocity, even though such acts may have been committed within the limits of the State; we will not permit him to oppress his subjects,, or to allow his subjects to oppress British subjects; and lastly, he is bound to assist us with the troops if we ever have occasion in an emergency to call upon him for such assistance".

The policy of annexation was also supported by some members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but did not find favour with the Viceroy. The Viceroy agreed that the Government had a moral right to annex the State, for it had been guilty of rebellion, but he favoured the policy of inflicting sufficient punishment on the State without annexing it. "I am on principle strongly opposed to needless annexations, and I would have a scrupulous regard for the independence of the Native States in subordinate alliance with us, so long as they remain loyal, and do nothing to forfeit their right to our protection. The onus should, I think, always be upon those who advocate annexation, and it lies with them to show that no other course will satisfy the claims of justice and public policy. I would, therefore, in the contingency which we are supposing, pass sentence of extinction upon the Manipur State in the most solemn manner. I would revoke all existing sanads, and I would re-grant to a new Ruler, whom we shall select, a carefully limited amount of authority under conditions which could for all time render it impossible for any Manipuri to contend, as Mr. Ghose has contended, 12 that the State is one enjoying sovereign rights, and therefore not owing any allegiance to Her Majesty. The new sanad should, on the contrary, place Manipur in a position of distinct subordination, and any privileges conceded should be made to continue only during the good behaviour of the Ruler, and the pleasure of the Government of India." 13

In pursuance of this principle the Government of India appointed Chura Chand (a minor) as the ruler of Manipur. In the sanad given to him it was mentioned that "the chiefship of the Manipur State will be hereditary and will descend in the direct line," provided that in each case the succession was approved of by the Gov ernment of India. Chura Chand and his successors were to pay an annual tribute. Further, the “permanence of the grant conveyed by this sanad” was to depend upon the ready fulfilment “of all orders given by the British Government with regard to the administration of your territories, the control of the hill tribes dependent upon Manipur, the composition of the armed forces of the State, and any other matters in which the British Government may be pleased to intervene.” Thus the sanad provided for the complete subordination of the Manipur State. This aspect of the policy was emphasized by the Government of India in their letter (dated 21st September, 1891) addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Assam: “You will observe that it provides for the complete subordination of the Manipur State”. 14 For “the treacherous attack on British Officers”, a fine of Rs. 2.50,000 was imposed. The administration of the State during the minority of the Maharaja was entrusted to a Superintendent and a Political Agent, who was given full power to introduce any reforms that he considered beneficial, but with instructions to pay due regard to the customs and traditions of the Manipuris and to interfere as little as possible with the existing institutions. Thus, towards the close of the nineteenth century the Government of India tightened its grip over this important State, guarding the north-east frontier of India.

IV. LUSHAI HILLS.

The eastern frontier, bordering on the Sylhet and Cachar Districts, was frequently raided/by the savage Lushai and Kuki tribes inhabiting the hills and jungles to the south of the Hailakandi valley, lying mostly between the Dhaleswari and Sonai rivers. After remaining quiet for more than five years, the Lushais under Sukpoilal suddenly invaded Tippera and Sylhet in December, 1868. The Cachar tea gardens were also attacked by the Lushais under Vonpilal. Military expeditions were sent against the villages of these chiefs. But although, on Vonpilal’s death, his villages submitted, the expeditions failed to achieve their main objectives, namely to rescue the captives taken by the tribes and to punish them sufficiently for their outrages. The Government of Bengal proposed the despatch of a fresh expedition, but the Government of India turned down the proposal and, instead, sent Mr. J. W. Edgar, Deputy-Commissioner of Cachar, to the Lushai country to interview the principal chiefs and effect an amicable settlement. He saw the important chiefs, include ing Sukpoilal who was mainly responsible for the raids committed in December, 1868, and they agreed to maintain friendly relations with the British. But ‘in the cold weather of 1870-71 several raids were made by the Kukis, or Lushais, on a more extensively organized scale, and of a far more determined character, than any of their previous incursions. The audacity of the raiders in many cases was quite new to the experience of the British Government, showing that they possessed fighting qualities not altogether to be despised, and that they had other tactics to depend on than those of night surprises and rapid flights, which had been supposed to be their only mode of aggression.’ 15

“Several raids occurred in quick succession late in January in the Hylakandi subdivision of Cachar. A tea garden was destroyed, the resident planter, Mr. Winchester, was killed and his little girl carried off. Several other tea gardens and coolie lines were attacked and more or less injured, though gallantly defended by the planters. Even the troops and police sent to the relief of the tea gardens were attacked. On the Sylhet frontier and in Hill Tippera, villages were similarly fired on, and some of them burnt; skirmishes ensued between the police guards and the raiders, with uncertain results.” 16

These raids proved the failure of the policy of conciliation. “The policy unanimously recommended by the local officers was that raids should be met by condign punishment, in the shape of a military occupation of the raiders’ villages during as long a period as possible, the seizure of their crops and stored grain, and the forced submission of their chiefs; after that, by the steady endeavour of the frontier officers to influence them and promote trade; and finally, by a system of frontier posts, combined with a line of road running north and south from the Cachar frontier to that of Chittagong”. 17

Accordingly, a regular military expedition was sent in 1871-2. It was divided into two columns, one advancing southwards from Cachar, and the other marching northwards from Chittagong Hill Tracts. The various tribes, including the Howlongs and Syloos, submitted and agreed to surrender all captives, live amicably with British subjects and give free right of passage through their country.

The Government of India now again “adhered to the system of exercising political influence only without direct interference or control, coupled with the definition of a precise boundary line beyond which ordinary jurisdiction should on no account extend. The line was to be guarded by a chain of posts, and beyond it only political relations with the tribes were to be cultivated. Careful survey? were made of the frontier lines. A large portion of the Lushai country was brought within the familiar knowledge and political control of our officers, and most of the remainder was explored and mapped by parties who had friendly relations with the tribes. The LieuteRant

Governor favoured the policy of maintaining an advanced post to bring political influence to bear upon the Syloos, Howlongs, and other tribes, whose country was more accessible from the Chittagong Hill Tracts than on the Cachar side. The Shindus in the direction of Arracan were more difficult to approach. The Lushai raids ceased entirely. Government passed a Regulation under the Statute 33 and 34 Vic. c. 3, with a view to bringing under more stringent control the commercial relations of our own subjects with the frontier tribes living on the borders of our jurisdiction”. 13

As occasional raids continued, the Government adopted in 1891 the policy of controlling the tribes from within. “A portion of th<* Lushai country was annexed, and a new frontier district, with an area estimated at 24,000 sq. miles was constituted from the 1st April 1891 under the name of the South Lushai Hills, under a Superintendent. The Chittagong Hill Tracts were converted from the 1st November 1891 into a subdivision in charge of an Assistant Commissioner under the direct supervision of the Commissioner of Chittagong. The troops were withdrawn, but a detachment of 200 Gurkhas was left at Fort Tregear about 45 miles distant from Lungleh. The exercise of control over the subjugated hill tribes from within, and the presence of troops at Fort Tregear produced a most salutary effect, so that perfect tranquillity prevailed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts”. 19 The Chief. Jakopa, who had inflicted a serious reverse upon a British detachment, was defeated; he escaped but his village was destroyed, leading to the final subjugation of the Molienpui tribes. A durbar was held at Lungleh in January, 1892. It was attended by all the chiefs who swore friendship with one another. The boundary was settled between the north and south Lushai hills and the refractory Shindu Chief, Dokola, was captured and deported to Haz&ribagh. Serious disturbances occurred in Howlong country in March-April, 1892. There was a sudden flare-up and the whole country rose in arms. The British force was "compelled to entrench in Vansanga's village," but the troubles were put down with the help of a column from Burma. The tribes, though cowed down, were not, however, crushed, and rumours were rife of their attacking Lungleh. A punitive expedition was accordingly sent in December, 1892, and the authority of the Government was re-established throughout the whole tract of country where it had been resisted. The South Lushai Hills was included in Bengal in September, 1895, and later transferred to Assam from 1 April, 1898. [20]

It was necessary to send an expedition in 1895-6 against Kairuma and his dependent chiefs who had never been completely brought under control. These chiefs in the South Lushai Hills submitted and agreed to pay tribute and furnish labour. [21]

V. THE HILL TRIBES ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER

The numerous tribes living in the hills and jungles within and outside the boundary of Chittagong District had always been a source of anxiety to the Government. These tribes, like the Shindus, Kumias, Kukis, etc., were little better than savages and their social and economic conditions made regular raids into the settled country almost a necessity. They had a severe shortage of women and domestic servants, and they had to acquire by force what nature denied to them. So the sheer instinct of self-preservation forced them to raid the villages on the border and carry away men and women to supply their everlasting wants. The nature of the country facilitated their marauding raids. The labyrinth of hills, intersected by precipices and watercourses, and covered with dense jungle, made any immediate pursuit an extremely difficult and hazardous task. As a further measure of safety, these tribes stockaded their villages and strewed the path with caltrops and other devices to hinder the progress of invading troops. The British Government at first tried to control these tribes through a powerful family called the Poangs, whom they helped with money, arms and ammunition. But this neither stopped the occasional raids nor enabled the Government to punish the raiders. Hence the Government adopted a different policy. The hill tracts were separated from the regularly administered area and placed under a Superintendent with Magisterial powers, who, it was hoped, by constant intercourse with the tribes would be in a better position to control their activities.

But the natural jnpulses for ages, created by necessities of life, could not be easily checked and suppressed. In 1860 the Kukis, living between the Feni and the Karnafuli rivers, issued from the hills and having carried out devastation along the former river suddenly descended on the plains of Tippera. They killed nearly 300 persons and took two hundred captives. The raid caused a great panic and many villages in the neighbourhood were wholly deserted. As a punitive measure a force of 1,250 military police penetrated into the Kuki country and destroyed the village of the ringleader. The Kukis retaliated by another raid, but were repulsed with loss. As a further penal measure the recalcitrant tribes were excluded from the markets of the plains where they used to barter their hill cptton and coarse cloth for rice, salt, hardware, gun-powder and matchlocks. A chain of frontier posts was maintained by the Superintendent, and the Poang Raja and the ruler of Independent Tippera were asked to do the same. 22

The Garos, to whom reference has been made above, committed outrages in the Mymensingh district and were severely punished by two forces of military police in 1861.

Troubles were also caused by the Khasias in the Jaintia Hills. The Raja of this country had voluntarily handed over his domains to the British in 1835 in lieu of a pension of Rs. 500 a month. The Khasias resented the imposition of a house-tax in 1858, but after some resistance were forced to yield. The Khasias again rebelled in 1862, and two regiments of soldiers had to be sent to aid the local troops in suppressing the disorder. The causes of the rebellion are said to be the establishment of a Christian Mission and interference with some social practices.

A very serious riot took place at Phulguri in Nowgong (Assam) on 18 October, 1861, in which the Assistant Commissioner was killed by the mob. 23

1. J. C White, Sikkim and Bhutan , p. 292.

2. Lahiri, 216 ff.

3. Report of Ashley Eden.

3a. Buckland, I, 178-79, 303-12.

3b. Cf. Vol. VIII.

3c. See pp. 570-71, 587-88.

4. J. Roy, History of Manipur, p. 51.

5. Cf. Chapter V.

6. See pp. 136-7.

7. Political Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government of India, No. 14, dated 5th May, 1852 (guoted in a note by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the annexation of Manipur), Foreign Department Proceedings. Secret—E, October, 1891, Nos. 123-147.

8. Roy, op. cit., 80.

9. Ibid, 97.

10. Ibid, 99-100.

11. Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret-E, October, 1891, Nos. 123-147.

12. See p. 730.

13. Note by the Viceroy on the policy to be pursued with regard to the future

of Manipur, dated 10th August, 1891; Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret—E, October, 1891, Nos. 123-147. B

14 Ibid.

15. Buckland, I. 457-60.

16. Ibid, 460.

17. Ibid, 461-2.

18. Ibid, 504.

19. Ibid, II. 906.

20. Ibid, 907-08.

21. Ibid, 975.

22. Ibid, I. 179-82.

23. Ibid, 182-3.

CHAPTER >

SBMI

I

FOREIGN POLICY

I. GENERAL NATURE

The phrase ‘foreign policy’, applied to India, must be understood with two limitations. In the first place, being a subordinate branch of the Home Government, the Government of India, strictly speaking, could not have any foreign policy of their own, and they had to co-ordinate their foreign relations with those of the British Empire, which really meant that they had merely to carry out the policy formulated by the British Cabinet. But as the interests of India loomed large in the eyes of the Cabinet in shaping their policy with respect to certain European powers, notably Russia, the Government of India had naturally a great voice in those matters which affected them, and exercised no mean influence upon the decision of the authorities at home. Further, on account of the great distance and consequent delay in communication, before the seventies, the initiative had to be taken in an emergency by the Government of India, and in all cases the Home Government could only formulate the policy in broad outline, leaving the execution of it in detail to the almost unfettered discretion of the Government of India. Thus foreign policy or relations with external powers formed a distinct branch of Indian administration, and its importance is indicated by the fact that this Department was always in direct charge of the Governor-General himself.

The second limitation to the meaning of ‘foreign policy* arises out of the gradual evolution of British rule in India. Normally speaking, foreign policy would refer to the relations of the Government of India with any political authority, not owing allegiance to it, in or outside India. In this sense the foreign policy of the Government of India would include, at one time or another, its relationship with almost all the Indian powers which is usually regarded as a normal part of the internal history of India. The expression ‘foreign policy’ is therefore restricted to denote the attitude of India towards political authorities whose domains lay outside the geographical boundaries of India. Taken in this limited sense, the foreign policy of India, properly speaking, could possibly begin only after the consolidation of the British authority in India.

The two foregoing considerations make it clear why the foreign policy of Indian Government took a definite shape only in the nineteenth century, about the beginning of the period covered by this volume, and its principal objective from the beginning to end was the security of the natural frontiers of India, by territorial expansions or other means, on the north-west and the north-east. Other objects, particularly commercial advantages, which from time to time influenced the policy, may be regarded as only subordinate or subsidiary.

The keynote of the foreign policy in the north-west was supplied by the rapid advance of Russia towards the east and south. Her conquests in Central Asia brought her dangerously near the frontier of Afghanistan, and her strangle-hold on Persia supplied an alternative route to the heart of the same country. Although the two independent principalities of Sindh and the Punjab intervened between the British territory in India and Afghanistan, still the British regarded advancing Russian power as a serious menace to the security of India. This Russophobia dominated the foreign policy almost throughout the period under review. Direct negotiations with Russia to arrive at an understanding did not produce any immediate result. In order to counteract Russian designs, Great Britain tried to establish her influence in Persia and Afghanistan. She failed in both, and the result was the disastrous Afghan War of 1839, described in Chapter VII.

Britain was ultimately successful in her negotiations with both Persia and Russia, though the settlement arrived at was too late to prevent the Afghan War. In 1844 the visit of Tsar Nicholas to England gave the British Government an opportunity of concluding a definite agreement with Russia. Russia agreed to keep the Khanates of Bokhara, Khiva and Samarkhand as neutral zones, and join with Britain in maintaining the internal peace. This understanding was faithfully observed till the outbreak of Crimean War in 1854 again strained the relations between the two.

Persia proved less tractable. The Shah was forced to relinquish his design on Herat by the threat of the British, and raise the siege of that city in 1839. But as soon as he heard the news of British disaster in Afghanistan in 1840, he renewed his aggressive plans against Herat. Unfortunately for him, he did not get any encouragement, far less support, from Russia. McNeill threatened to resort to force and was backed by the Russian envoy, Count Medem. The Shah had no option but to yield. Finally, he composed all hi§ differences with the British and even went so far as to "put on record the statement that nothing but benefit could result to Persia from British friendship, and nothing but evil from its loss''. 1

But in 1852, 1854, and 1856 Persia renewed her attempts on Herat, and was each time foiled by the passive or active resistance of the British. There were other causes of conflict also, which are beyond the purview of the present work. "The long smouldering feud between Great Britain and Persia broke out into open warfare" in 1856, an "alleged diplomatic discourtesy to the British crown" serving as the casus belli. 2 The despatch of Outram's expedition had the desired effect and the hostilities were brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris, 1857.

This had important effect upon the Anglo-Afghan relations. Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul, who was defeated, dethroned, exiled in India, and again restored, was naturally in a sullen mood. He gave evidence of his anti-British feelings by sending troops to the aid of the Sikhs in their fight against the English (1848). But the repeated invasions of Herat by Persia brought about conciliation between him and the Government of India. The British authorities wisely left him alone, and did not show any disposition to renew the attempt to dominate over Afghanistan by force. The Government of India therefore tried to secure the safety of the NorthWest frontier, by the expansion of its frontier up to the natural barrier offered by the impenetrable hills, with only a few passes. The result was the annexation of Sindh and the Punjab. The first was an unprovoked act of aggression, universally condemned as immoral and unjust. The second, though dictated by the same frontier policy, was covered by thinly veiled excuses of self-defence which, however, deceived nobody. In both cases the Government of India took the initiative. The home authorities did not repudiate the action of the Government of India, even though they disapproved of the annexation of the Punjab and strongly condemned the annexation of Sindh. The history of these two annexations has been given in details in Chapters VIII and X.

The conquest of the Punjab and Sindh brought the British authorities face to face with the sturdy hill tribes that peopled the no man’s land between India and Afghanistan and owed allegiance to neither. This constituted a new problem of foreign policy throughout the period covered by this volume, and even beyond it, and has been discussed in Chapter XXXI.

II. RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN

The friendship with Afghanistan, definitely restored in A.D. 1855, and further strengthened in 1857, did not continue even for a quarter of a century. Once more Afghanistan fell a victim to the “Russophobia” of English statesmen. To make matters worse, the

relation with Afghanistan soon became a question of party politics, both in India and Britain. In view of the great part played by Russophobia in the foreign policy of the British Government in general and Afghan policy in particular, it is necessary to give a brief outline of Russian advance in this region.[3]

The same impulse of commercial and territorial gains which lay at the root of British* imperialism in India, strengthened by the fear of being forestalled by the British and not an unnatural desire “to keep England in check by the threat of intervention in India”,[4] induced the Russians to initiate a great forward movement. The Russian advance to the east and south was urged by the same consideration and favoured by similar circumstances by which the British established their political supremacy in India, and the Russian movement followed more or less the same stages till it reached the borders of Afghanistan. Establishment of trade posts, inevitably followed by expeditions against petty States which threatened their security, de- > sire to save the warring tribes by bringing them under Russian supremacy, and, above all, the great humanitarian motive of introducing the benefits of civilization among peoples steeped in ignorance and superstition,— all these served as pretexts for Russian advance, as they did for every other colonizing power in Europe.' The most interesting and curious feature in the whole history of Russian advance in Central Asia is the howl of rage and discontent raised by the English who stigmatized it both on moral and political grounds. This can only be appreciated if we concede to the British people the right to a monopoly of the motives which inspired Russia as much as England, and of the tactics adopted by both. It is unnecessary, therefore, to trace, in detail, the circumstances which led the Russians from one stage to another, and it will suffice if the date and general line of their advance are indicated in outline.

In 1842 the Russian dominions did not extend beyond the Aral Sea. By the end of 1847 the Russians advanced to the lower reaches of the Jaxartes or Sir Darya. Within six years they advanced along this river about 280 miles from its mouth. In 1854 they reached the valley of the Ili river which flows into Lake Balkash. The Crimean War (1854-6) for a time arrested the advance, but it was resumed after the war was over. In 1863 the frontier of Russian dominions ran along the Sir Darya, south-east to Chimkent, then running due east it passed below the lake of Issiq Kol to the formidable range of Tien Shan.

Then Russia made a sudden thrust into the territory between the Jaxartes and the Oxus—the Sir Darya and Amu Darya of modern times—famous in ancient and medieval history of the world. This

was regarded even by the Russians themselves as such a momentous step as to require a public explanation or justification. So Prince Gortchakoff issued his famous memorandum of 1864 holding out the Russian advance as the inevitable outcome of progress and civilization. The huge civilizing machine rolled forward at a high speed. With the establishment of the Russian supremacy in the three important States, namely, Tashkent in 1865, Samarkand in 1868, and Bokhara in 1869, the Russian bear firmly planted its feet on the banks of the Oxus (Amu Darya). Prince Gortchakoff had very rightly pointed out in his memorandum of 1864, that “Russia, in approaching Afghanistan, was influenced by the same imperious law that had led the armies of Great Britain across the plains of Hindustan and the Punjab till they reached the mountains.” 4 *

British statesmen, berth in England and in India, looked upon the Russian progress as a serious menace to the security of India. But there was a sharp difference of opinion between two schools of thought about the proper course of policy to be adopted. These two schools are generally described as “Forward” and ‘Stationary’. The British Russophobia, which may be traced as far back as the thirties, was accelerated by the further advance of Russia towards the Afghan frontier, and formed the common basis of the foreign policy advocated by both. But they differed as to the means best calculated to effect the common purpose of checking the Russian invasion of India, which both took for granted as inevitable. The former advocated the old Palmerstonian policy of anticipating and forestalling Russian designs by establishing control over Afghanistan by friendly measures, if possible, and coercion, if necessary. They even went so far as to suggest the establishment of British posts in Kabul and Herat, if not further beyond it. The other school preferred to let the Russians advance through the hills and dales of Afghanistan and to maintain the line of the Sindhu river or the foothills beyond it as the defensive frontier of India. Past experience had convinced them of the danger and risk involved in any attempt to establish political domination in Afghanistan, and they held that even from military point of view the defensive strategy suggested by them was a sound one. For the enemy was sure to be exhausted by the very process of passing through the hills, and not unlikely would have to face the opposition of hostile warlike tribes inhabiting them. In any event, an enemy, thus exhausted and with inhospitable hills between it and its base, would be more vulnerable to a defensive army on the frontier of India having easy communication with its base of operations.

The British policy, as mentioned above, 6 was partially modified by Lawrence in 1867-69, and Mayo gave a definite shape to it by trying to win over the friendship and goodwill of the Amir 0 f Afghanistan without committing any formal defensive alliance with him. The two met at Ambala where the Amir was overwhelmed with the lavish display of magnificence and hospitality by Mayo. Although there was no definite engagement, the Amir returned with better feelings towards the English. Mayo thereupon laid down the key of this new policy in the following words: “Surround India with strong, friendly and independent states, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than With any other power, and we are safe”. “If we can only persuade people,” said he, “that our policy really is non-intervention and peace, that England is at this moment the only non-aggressive power in Asia, we should stand on a pinnacle of power that we have never enjoyed before”. 6

As against the views of the Forward School, Mayo held that the best security for India consisted in maintaining the frontier States of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the newly created State of as ern Turkestan in a position of effective independence. He helped Baluchistan by demarcating the political boundary between Alghanis an and Persia, and by efforts to put an end to the internal dissensions and conflicts among the chiefs.? Mayo also maintained friendly relations, without any political entanglement, with Yakub Kushbegi who, in 1869, had made himself the ruler of the territory bet

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At Home, the Liberal Party generally sided with the ‘Stationary’ and the Conservatives, with the ‘Forward School’. The view of the fa^rparUaljy modified by Lawrence in 1867-69, therefore, domi

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head * h ® Llberal Ministry in Britain and the office of Viceroyaltv was filled by Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook, y y

_ But while Lawrence was disinclined, first to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, and later to form a definite alliance with

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limits within which the spheres of the two countries should extend

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volve ber in “war with England” in every part of the world’.* The

Home Government took up the idea and began negotiations with the Russian Government, which readily welcomed the proposal of maintaining between the two empires in Asia “a zone to preserve them from contact”. No formal agreement was concluded, but an assurance was given to England that the Tsar regarded Afghanistan as “completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence”. The next step was to fix a definite boundary of Afghanistan, and a final agreement was reached in January, 1873, by which the Oxus was accepted as the northern boundary line of Afghanistan. Russia further gave positive assurance to the effect that she had no designs on Khiva, and orders had been issued against any advance in that direction. This evidently satisfied the Liberal Government under Gladstone and explains its refusal to embroil itself with Russia by any definite alliance with Afghanistan against that power, as proposed by Northbrook.

It may be reasonably presumed that Gladstone and his party felt, like Lawrence, that Russia had as much right to extend her power in Central Asia, by pursuing a policy of annexations and protectorates, as the British had already done or tried to do to the south of the Hindu Kush mountains. It was, at least, not for the British, to find fault with either Russia's imperial policy or flagrantly aggressive attitude towards native powers, as they had themselves pursued the same policy, and followed the same tactics in India. Gladstone was, therefore, more tolerant towards Russia and less sensitive to her advance in Central Asia.

But soon after the agreement with Russia, the Liberal Party was defeated in the General Election of 1874. Gladstone resigned, gave up the leadership of the party, and practically retired from political life. Disraeli succeeded him as Prime Minister and Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury became, respectively, the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary for India. This combination gave a new orientation to England's attitude towards Russia and consequently upon the policy towards Afghanistan. It was not merely a revival of the 'Forward Policy' but something more than that. In order to view it in its true perspective, it is necessary to have some idea of the virus of new imperialism which Disraeli injected into British politics, particularly as it had wide repercussion on the administration in India. It is admirably summed up in the following lines:

"For twenty years Disraeli, both as statesman and writer, had been educating his party to the recognition of Great Britain's wider imperial destiny. Having now behind him a compliant House of Commons and a consistently sympathetic House of Lords, he lost no time in putting his ideas into practice. It was his ambition to revive

the spacious days of Elizabeth; Great Britain's influence should be felt to furthest Thule. Without her word nothing should be done in Europe, for he was determined to win for his country the place in Continental politics which Germany under Bismarck was usurping. Still more distinctly, he aspired to make his country, instead of Russia, the imperial mistress of the East”. 11

The change in the attitude of the Home Government towards the North-Western Frontier Policy in India was immediate and decisive. Sir Bartle Frere, Ex-Govemor of Bombay, and now a member of the India Council, drew the attention of Salisbury to the exposition of ‘Forward Policy* in Sir Henry Rawlinson’s memorandum of 1868, of which a detailed account has been given in Chapter XXV. 11ft Salisbury accepted, in toto, the policy adumbrated therein, and addressed a despatch to the Viceroy on January 22, 1875, formulating the new policy. This document has been justly described as fateful because it led to the abandonment of the old prudent policy, and the opening of a new era of rash experiment and daring adventure. 12

In this fateful despatch Salisbury observed that the information of the Government of India as to what happened in Afghanistan was neither adequate nor reliable, and directed the Viceroy to take steps to establish a political agency, first at Herat and then at Kandahar. Lord Northbrook immediately telegraphed the view of his Government that “the time and circumstances appeared unsuitable for taking the initiative in the matter”. He explained later, in a private letter, dated September 30, 1875: “My firm opinion is that to do anything to force him (the Amir) to receive an agent of ours in his country against his will is likely to subject us to the risk of another unnecessary and costly war in Afghanistan before many years are over.** These words proved prophetic. But in the meanwhile a regular duel was going on between the Government of India and Salisbury, the former steadily opposing the idea of stationing a British agent at Herat, and the latter as persistently urging the execution of the measure without delay.

But counsels of prudence had no effect upon the Government at Home, where the “forward” party was in full ‘hue and cry’ and a spirited foreign policy ‘was the parole of the day’. 13 It had been successfully tried in Europe, and was to be continued in Asia. Disraeli was, of course, in full sympathy with it and he had already given evidence of his imperialist outlook by arranging the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1875, and proposing, early hext year, the assumption of the title ‘Empress of India’ by Queen Victoria.

Northbrook felt unable to keep in tune with this new policy and resigned.

Disraeli nominated Lord Lytton to succeed Lord Northbrook as Viceroy. The appointment was as much a surprise to him as to the public. For his gifts were literary, and though he was the British ambassador at Lisbon, he was never interested in high politics. Besides, as he himself said, he was ignorant of Indian affairs. But all this w'as probably regarded as qualification rather than disqualification. For, as has been aptly observed, "Lord Lytton was not required to have an Indian Policy;-one had been prepared for him in advance, and he was merely selected as the likeliest instrument for executing it." 11 Even the first Foreign Secretary of the new Viceroy could not help remarking that he had come to India "more as a Government official than as an oriental ruler."

Lord Lytton seems to have learnt his lesson in imperialism with the zeal of a neophyte and, in some respects, seems to have far surpassed both Salisbury and Disraeli. He had certain definite views fixed in his mind even before he reached India. These may be formulated in the shape of the following propositions. 16

1. It was almost absolutely certain that all the intermediate States between Russia's Asiatic Empire and that of Britain, including Afghanistan, shall, before long, be absorbed by either Russia or Britain. The line of contact between the two conterminous powers must be a strong military line.

2. The range of the Hindu Kush and its spurs, with such outposts as may be necessary to secure the passes ought to be that boundary line.

3. Herat was the really crucial point and must not be in the hand of any other power, Russia or Persia.

4. To effect the purpose mentioned in 2 and 3 above there -were only three possible courses open:

(i) To bind Amir Sher Ali to a definite engagement to exclude Russian influence permanently and effectually;

(ii) If the Amir cannot be tempted or coerced to do this, to break up the Afghan kingdom and to put up a new ruler in his place more amenable to British control.

(iii) To occupy by force a portion of Afghan territory as would, in case of failure of the above two, be absolutely requisite for the maintenance of the north-west frontier, presumably as defined above.

Lord Lytton categorically stated that the above also represented the views of Disraeli, though he did not feel sure whether they were merely his private opinion or represented the considered policy of his Cabinet. There is no reason to doubt this, for Disraeli's letter to the Queen, dated 22nd July, 1877, quoted later, lends support to it.

But it may be safely presumed that Lord Salisbury did not endorse the views of Lord Lytton to the fullest extent. He did not accept Lytton's contention either that the Russian danger was imminent or that the Amir had definitely aligned himself with Russia against British interest. He definitely repudiated Lytton's proposal of disintegrating Afghanistan with a view to establishing a separate principality, with Herat as centre under British influence. He characterized as "crude excursions of an untutored fancy" Lytton's grandiloquent idea of making Hindu Kush the defence line of India, and for that purpose "to hold Kabul, Ghazni and Jelalabad as our principal bastion, with Quetta as a curtain, and advanced posts at Kandahar, Herat, Balkh etc.". This rebuff wounded the vanity of Lytton and he attributed it to the weakness and vacillation of the British Cabinet. He complained that if the Indian policy was thus dictated by the Secretary and no initiative or liberty of action was left to the Viceroy, Russia would continue to advance.

Salisbury found to his dismay, that in his great proconsul he had unchained a spirit which it was difficult to control. But he somehow managed the difficult task. Fortunately for Lytton, Salisbury became Foreign Secretary and Viscount Cranbrook came to the India Office. Lytton found in him a more pliable instrument for carrying out his designs. Political circumstances also favoured Lytton. The Russian expedition against the Tekke Turcomans and the occupation, though temporary, of Kizil Arvat portended to many that not only Merv but possibly also Herat would pass under Russian authority.

Lytton's bellicose attitude towards Afghanistan was favoured by another stroke of good fortune. Events were now marching at railway speed in Europe which made a war between Britain and Russia not only inevitable but almost imminent. The revolt of certain Turkish provinces in the Balkan Peninsula in 1875 gave Russia an opportunity, as the champion of oppressed Christian people, to coerce Turkey into granting to her political rights and concessions which she ardently desired. On the other hand, Disraeli (who had become Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876), following in the footsteps of Palmerston, was determined 'to prevent Russia from using the crisis to realize her ambitions of old standing.'^. Russia declared war against Turkey on 24 April, 1877. In spite of the heroic defence of Plevna for five months, Turkey was beaten on all fronts, and Russia came within the reach of Constantinople. In spite of the strong antipathy against Turkey displayed by a large section of the English public, headed by Gladstone, BeaconsfiekTs Government left no doubt of its intention to actively oppose the Russian advance towards Constantinople. "Disraeli, still hotly pressed by the Queen, who even spoke of abdication, began to concert measures of warlike preparations." 17 The Government announced that it would "move a supplementary estimate, fixed at six millions, for military and naval supplies, the reason being the rapid advance of Russia towards the Turkish capital." 18 "On February 8, 1878, the English fleet was sent up to Constantinople, and on March 27, the Cabinet decided to call up the reserves and to seize a military post such as Cyprus or Alexandretta." 19 When Russia forced Turkey to accept the humiliating Treaty of San Stefano on March 3, 1878, the British Foreign Secretary issued a circular to all the European States demanding that Russia should submit it to a Congress, and Disraeli summoned Indian troops to Malta. 20

These events had their repercussion on the Indo-Afghan relations. Russia, baulked of its prey, when it was almost within its grasp, by the open hostility of England, was unable to withhold a European concert and agreed to submit the whole question to a Congress at Berlin. But she was enraged beyond measure at the British machinations, and decided to strike England in Asia. There can be hardly any doubt that this was one of the objects which Russia had deliberately kept in view in her expansionist policy in Asia. England had always stood in the way of the realization of Russian imperial designs, but Russia had no means to strike England in Europe. She, therefore, looked upon a strong military position on the Oxus as a valuable weapon “to keep England in check by the threat of intervention in India”. 21

The practical result of this was seen in the despatch of a Russian

mission to Kabul for a political Tupprochetnent —real or apparent_

between Russia and Afghanistan. Though it is clear that this Russian attempt to establish an alliance with Afghanistan was rather a tactical move than a deeply laid scheme for invasion of India, it was sufficient to serve as the casus belli in the eyes of Lord Lytton and his masters. 22 In view of the importance which has been attached to the so-called Russian intrigue at Kabul, as a justification of British policy, it is necessary to point out that Disraeli thought of adopting the same strategy towards Russia. Describing in a letter to the Queen (July 22nd, 1877) the measures which were to be taken if war broke out with Russia because of her apprehended occupation of Constantinople, the Prime Minister wrote: “It is Lord BeaconsfiekTs present opinion that in such a case Russia must be attacked from Asia, that troops should be sent to the Persian Gulf,

and that the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites, and drive them into the Caspian. We have a good instrument for this purpose in Lord Lytton, and indeed he was placed there with that view.” 23

The nature of the diplomatic approach of Russia to Afghanistan and its repercussion on the British Government both in India and Britain have been described in Chapter XXV. But when Lord Lytton had precipitated the crisis, the attitude of the Home Government was entirely changed by the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) Beaconsfield claimed that he had brought peace with honour by an all-round settlement with Russia, both in Asia and Europe. He was therefore disposed to disapprove of Lytton's action which would spoil the good work he had done at Berlin.

His last minute efforts failed to check the ambitious designs he had himself planted in the heart of his great proconsul and sedulously encouraged. The latter, confining his attention to affairs nearer home, rather found that the Treaty of Berlin left the coast clear for the pursuit of his policy to disintegrate Afghanistan or coerce the Amir to abject submission. So he dragged the unwilling Cabinet along with him to his fatal policy as described in Chapter XXV, and the result was another unprovoked war in 1878.

The history of the first Afghan War was repeated. The initial success was followed by disaster, and the British had to .quit Afghanistan and accept the new Amir, Abdur Rahman, who forced his way to the throne of Kabul just at this juncture. Gladstone again came into power and decided to forego all the gains of the war and restore the status quo. Though ultimately Quetta, Pishin and Sibi were retained by the British, they maintained the policy of strict non-interference in the affairs of Afghanistan and won over its ruler, the Amir, by subsidies, supply of arms and other friendly measures.

Amir Abdur Rahman remained faithful to his pledges, and the Government of India renewed in 1883 the guarantee of helping Afghanistan in case of any unprovoked aggression. This was dictated by the fear, on both sides, of Russia, whose steady advance towards the frontier of Afghanistan caused alarm to them. In spite of the agreement of 1873, referred to above, Russia was steadily establishing her authority in Southern Turkestan. She suffered a defeat in 1877-78 at Gok Teppa, and her progress was temporarily checked. But the Tekke Turcomans were finally subjugated in 1880-81. 24 British diplomacy tried to instigate Persia against Russia by inducing her to claim sovereignty over Merv. But in 1881 Persia concluded a treaty with Russia, fixing boundaries between their respective dominions. Though all the while Russia repeatedly assured Britain that she had no intention of occupying Merv or any fresh territory, she occupied in 1884 not only that strategic city, but also Sarakhs, on the Perso-Afghan frontier. The Russian map showed the. boundaries of Merv extending southwards as far as the Rarirul river near Herat. It is generally believed that Russia was encouraged to renew the aggressive campaign, partly by the pacific disposition of Gladstone ministry and partly by Britain's pre-occupation with the serious situations in Sudan and Ireland. Gladstone began negotiations with Russia for precisely defining the northern boundary of Afghanistan. Russia agreed, but delayed matters considerably under one pretext or another, while a strong force was sent to forestall matters by occupying as much of the disputed area as possible. The position became acute in respect of the fertile tract round the town of Panjdeh which had been hitherto regarded as lying within Afghanistan. Even while the British representative on the Boundary Commission was near the boundary, waiting for his Russian colleague, the Russian force attacked Panjdeh on March 30, 1885, and occupied it, driving the Afghan forces with a loss of 500 lives. This created panic and alarm, and even Gladstone was forced to take a strong attitude. He called up the reserves and moved a vote of credit in the House of Commons for military preparations. Happily, better counsels prevailed on both sides and an agreement was reached by which Russia kept Panjdeh, but the Zulfikar Pass, which was claimed by her, was assigned to Afghanistan. The Boundary Commission now commenced its work in right earnest and the final protocol delimiting the frontier between Russia and Afghanistan was signed in 1887-8. But in 1892 Russia sought to establish her dominion over the whole of the Pamirs and, after protracted discussions, an agreement was signed on March 11, 1895, by which the Afghan boundary between Lake Victoria and the Tagdumbash was settled. Russia secured the territory north of the Panjah, while the part of Darwaz, to the south of the Oxus, belonging to Bokhara, was assigned to Afghanistan.

At the time of the Panjdeh incident, the Amir Abdur Rahman was in India, being invited to a conference with the new GovernorGeneral, Lord Duffierin, at Rawalpindi. As soon as the news of the Russian occupation of Panjdeh reached India, Dufferin promised assistance to the Amir in arms, ammunition, and possibly also money, in case of war between Russia and Afghanistan. On his part the Amir showed calm and moderation in the face of the grave crisis threatening his kingdom, and made public declaration of his good faith and attachment to the British. The Amir was feted and feasted, and received in a special durbar , not as a protege, but as

an ally, with all the honour due to an independent sovereign. The Amir was highly gratified and remained a faithful ally of the British.

The agreement between the Russian and British Governments on March 11, 1895, regarding the Afghan boundary in the Pamirs region, finally ended the bugbear or menace of Russian invasion of Afghanistan and India. Henceforth Russia turned her attention to expansion towards the Far East and was soon involved in a war with Japan. Whatever might have been its effect upon the British foreign policy, the Government of India remained unaffected.

The elimination of Russian menace and the establishment of friendly relation with the Amir of Afghanistan could be reasonably expected to have brought to an end the problem of the North-Western frontier. But that was not to be. British imperialism did not die with Disraeli, and the long spell of Conservative rule in Britain from 1886 to 1906, had its repercussion on Indian politics. The ‘Forward Policy* in India was not buried with Cavagnari, and now reappeared in a new shape. Attention was now turned to the wild military tribes living to the west of that part of the Pan jab and Sindh which was under the direct control and administration of the Government of India. It was now desired to extend the British authority over these tribes. These tribes had been always troublesome to the rulers of the Panjab whoever they might be, for, partly due to predatory habits, and partly by sheer necessity of a livelihood, these tribes often carried on raids into the more fertile and settled territories on the plains, and punitive expeditions had to be sent against them by the British Government from time to time. But now a definite plan was made to bring these peoples under British authority.

On the alleged ground of removing causes of friction with the Amir, the boundary line between the Afghan and British zones was precisely defined and demarcated by the Durand Commission. 25 This brought within the British sphere of influence a large number of wild and warlike tribes who loved independence above everything else. They were attached to the Amir by common ties of race, language, and religion; but the Amir's pretence of suzerainty over them was more nominal than real. But the removal of even this pretence caused, in Amir's opinion, a loss of his power and prestige among his own kith and kin, and he did not like the idea of delimitation of the boundary. The reasons which induced him to accept it, and his alleged complicity in the tribal risings of 1897-98, have been discussed above. 26 The Government of India were fully convinced of his guilt and they received ample proof of "the universal feeling amongst the tribesmen that they could rely not only

upon the approval and moral support, but also upon the active intervention in their favour of the Amir of Afghanistan." 27 The Government of India accordingly addressed a strong remonstrance to the Amir. Hie latter denied responsibility for the risings, repudiated all connection with the rebel tribesmen, forbade his own people to join tribal gatherings, and refused shelter to fleeing tribesmen. 28

The relations between the Amir and the Government of India, between 1890 and 1895, were often strained to the utmost, almost to the breaking point. The Amir was very anxious to open direct rela? tion with the British Government in London, but was refused. Fortunately both sides showed a great deal of restraint and moderation, and an open rupture was averted. At least outwardly, Amir Abdur Rahman maintained friendly attitude towards the British till his death in 1901.

Habibullah, the son and successor of Abdur Rahman, declared on his accession that he would continue the policy of his father in his re* lations to the Government of India. But his attitude was considered to be "the reverse of friendly". It is alleged that "he not only received tribal deputations from British territory, but also commenced intriguing with certain frontier fanatics and freebooters". 29 He also declined an invitation of the Viceroy to visit Calcutta. The Government of India felt somewhat perturbed at the haughty attitude of Amir Habibullah, and the influence exercised upon him by his brother Nasrullah, who was believed to entertain definitely antiBritish sentiments. The Amir was even suspected of seeking Russian help. 30 So a mission was sent to Kabul in 1904, under Mr. (afterwards Sir) Louis Dane. Although the reception accorded to the mission was not very cordial, a treaty was concluded in March, 1905, which renewed the agreement of 1893. 31

But whatever might have been the real attitude of Amir Habibullah, he maintained friendly relations with the Government of india. In 1906-7 he visited India, and in his farewell speech observed that "at no time will Afghanistan pass from the friendship of India". 32 He was true to these words even in the critical days of the First World War.

III. PERSIAN GULF

The East India Company opened a factory at Bushire in 1763. Early in the nineteenth century the British realized the importance of Persian Gulf and the territories adjacent to it, from both political and commercial point of view. Sir John Malcolm was sent as an envoy to Persia in 1808 and the political relations between Persia and Britain since then Iteve been described above. 33 The part play

ed by the British supremacy in the Persian Gulf in the bigger game of imperial rivalry between Russia and Britain has also been noted above. 34 The, history of this supremacy goes back to the year 1820 A.D. At the beginning of the nineteenth century peace in the Persian Gulf was.disturbed by piracy and interminable strife between the Chiefs who ruled over the petty States on its coast. The British Government stepped in, "in the interests of its own subjects and traders, and of its legitimate influence in the seas that wash the Indian coasts." After a severe, but short, struggle in 1820, the Chiefs were forced to submit and conclude agreement with the British. A maritime truce was concluded in 1839 and renewed from time to time till 1853, when a Treaty of Perpetual Peace was concluded. It provided that no Chief should fight against another by sea, but in case of aggressive attack by another, should refer the matter to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf. The British Government should maintain the peace of the Gulf and ensure the due observance of the treaty. In spite of occasional disturbance this treaty served its purpose fairly well. 36

The status, thus gained by the British, of the self-constituted guardian of inter-tribal peace in the Persian Gulf, shortly paved the way, by gradual stages of political ties, for the British suzerainty over all the Chiefs. The

Chiefs, one and all, acknowledged the Government of India as their overlords and protectors; they bound themselves "not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any other power, not to admit the agent of any other Government, and not to part with any portion of their territories." Thus was written "the most unselfish page in history," which, Lord Curzon declared, "we shall not wipe out**. He had the hardihood to address in this strain the Chiefs of the Arab coast, assembled at a Durbar on S. S. Argonaut at Shargah, in November, 1903. But the climax was reached when he told them: "We saved you from extinction at the hands of your neighbours. We have not seized or held your territory. We have not destroyed your independence, but have preserved it." Obviously the word 'independence* has one meaning to the west of Suez and another to the east of it. Curzon continued like a true imperialist:

"The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your independence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme." He wound up his address by reminding the Chiefs that the British Government would not. "approve of one independent Chief attacking another Chief by land, simply because he was not permitted to do it by sea, and thus evading the spirit of his Treaty obligations." 36

IV. NORTH-EAST FRONTIER

The frontier policy in the north-east was dictated less by the problem of security, as in the north-west, and more by a spirit of aggrandisement and desire for territorial expansion, with the commercial advantage which was sure to follow from it. The territory of Burma, fertile and rich in natural resources, was an object of cupidity to British merchants. The way for its conquest was facilitated by the haughty pretensions of its ruler, a medieval oriental despot, unacquainted with the world outside his dominions. Advantage was taken of some petty incidents in Bengal border which could be easily settled, if necessary by local military operations, and a full fledged military expedition was launched against the heart of Burma in A.D. 1824. The result was a foregone conclusion. Burma possessed only two great generals, Winter and Cholera, who inflicted heavy casualties upon the British. Otherwise, save with a few erratic feats of Maha Bandula, the commander of the Burmese force, it was almost a plain sailing. The first

Burmese War (1824-26) made the British supreme over the whole of the north-eastern frontier of India and gave them a footing on the Burma soil proper. But the cry of ‘Delenda est Carthago\ perpetually raised by the British imperia lis t and mercantile interests, led to two more wars in 1852 and 1885, and the whole of Burma formed a part of the growing British empire. The three Burmese Wars have been described in detail in Chapters V and XXVI, Whatever one might think of the immediate causes of these wars, and whatever justification might be pleaded on behalf of the British, the root cause of these wars is very frankly stated and admirably summed up by a British writer in the following lines:

“But it is within the realm of British policy that the causes of the War are to be found. It will be seen that the principle involved was identical with that in the China War of 1857—the unwillingness of oriental monarchs to recognise the Western claim of the right of protection over their natural subjects, and the like unwillingness of the merchants to submit to the laws of the country in which he was domiciled—for the political theory of sovereignty in the East is territorial. Further, there was his inability or unwillingness to accept the low status in native society in which his calling, as an alien mercnant, placed him.” 57

Confirmation and illustration of this meet us at every step as wc proceed with the detailed narrative of the Burmese wars. There was, however, an additional element involved in the Third Burmese War and the final extinction of Burma as an independent kingdom. This was the danger of peaceful penetration of France in IndoChina and the consequent alarm and nervousness to Britain, which differed in degree, but not in nature, from her reaction to the military aggrandisement of Russia in Central Asia. The position of

Burma offered a close parallel to that of Afghanistan, and the Forward Policy was equally operative in both cases. Fortunately for the British, the Burmese were of less stern stuff than the sturdy Afghans, the natural obstacles to military advance were less formidable, and the striking power of the French, far from their base in Europe, was much less to be dreaded than that of the Russians. This explains the difference in the fate of Afghanistan and Burma. Afghanistan was left as an independent power. But after a nominal war which lasted less than a week, and in which the Burmese troops “scarcely fired a shot,” a laconic proclamation of fifty words issued by Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, on January 1, 1886, informed the world that Burma had ceased to exist as an independent kingdom and formed a part of the British dominions in India. 38

It would be a tedious task to refer at length to the controversy over the French designs on Burma. According to the British version the French policy was dictated by a deliberate attempt to bring Burma under French protection, and the Burmese gladly responded to the proposal. Isolated incidents and casual utterances by individuals have been brought forward as evidence of this, but the detailed discussion in Chapter XXVI would indicate that there is no valid ground in support of the British contention. The utmost that can be said is that the French, animated by the same colonial and imperial instinct as guided the British policy in the same region, looked forward to the establishment of their authority in Indo-China, and Burma was not excluded from their purview. But this is very different from the actual pursuit of a definite and secret design of establishing a political control, far less protectorate, over Burma, to which she was a willing partner. There is, however, little doubt that it was the fear of political and commercial rivalry of the French that led Britain to annex Upper Burma, and this course was decided upon before ostensible pretexts were put forward to justify the declaration of war. In this connection, a communication from the Secretary of State for India to the Prime Minister, dated 28 August, 1885, throws interesting light on the British point of view. Lord Randolph Churchill begged Lord Salisbury to warn the French Government that the undue pushing of French commercial ambitions in Burma would “necessitate such prompt and decided measures as may most effectually satisfy the paramount rights of India in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula”. 39 These words indicate not only that the annexation of Upper Burma was already thought of, but also that the British now openly claimed a paramount right over the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. It was a worthy counterpart of the ambitious design of establishing British supremacy in Central Asia, far beyond the Hindu Kush mountains, which prompted the policy of Disraeli and Lord Lytton.

This conception of paramount right and interest was necessarily developed further after the conquest of Burma. Siam (now‘called Thailand) separated Burma from the French possessions in IndoChina, which included Cochin-China, Annam, Cambodia and Tonkin. So the preservation of Siam “as a strong independent State had become of paramount importance for the Indian Empire,” particularly, it may be added, as the trade of Siam, ‘was for the most part in British hands’. 40 The frontier between Siam and Burma was demarcated. When France made an unprovoked war of aggression on Siam, the British interference saved Siam from utter extinction, though she had to concede important rights to France and to give up all the territories lying on the left bank of the Mekong river. After this war the negotiations were directly, carried on between France and Britain about their respective spheres of influence in IndoCMna, without, of course, any reference to the States concerned. France proposed to make the Mekong river as demarcating the two spheres of influence, but the British did not like to make the BritishIndian and French-Indo-Chinese empires conterminous, arid preferred to keep a buffer zone between the two. But ultimately, in 1895, Britain conceded the French demand and the Declaration of January 15, 1896, “fixed the^Mekong as the boundary between the British and French possessions from the mouth of the Nam Huck northwards so far as the Chinese frontier”. 41

As could be easily anticipated, Siam was practically partitioned between France and Britain. The most valuable part of the country formed the respective spheres of influence of the two great European powers. Salisbury, of course, assured Siam that this arbitrary usurpation need *not be regarded as throwing doubt upon the title and rights of the Siamese rulers to the remainder of their kingdom,’ which, it may be mentioned by the way, was not of any value to either of the two powers. “The only justification advanced on behalf of Great Britain for this invasion of the rights of a small nation was contained in the plea that the territory in question affected ‘our interest as a commercial nation’, and that it might one day be the site of lines of communication which would be of great importance to neighbouring portions of the British Empire”. 42

V. TIBET

1. Strategic importance

The strategic importance of Tibet is very great, for it is an ideal buffer to India on the north. With the Lhasa Government controlling the extensive desolate area of the northern plains and governing central and southern Tibet, and the Himalayan border States subordinate to, or in close alliance with, the Government of India, Tibet "forms the best possible barrier to India on the north". [43] This strategic aspect of Tibet has been well emphasized by Lovat Fraser: "No one who has gazed upon the mighty peaks of the Himalayas beyond Darjeeling can fail to feel instinctively that they are the natural northern boundary of India. On moonlit nights their majesty is beyond expression. High in the sky above the blue haze, they seem like the tents of the gods. They set a barrier to man's dominion which no ruler of India has ever sought to disregard. Yet they have been no obstacle to human intercourse, for through the narrow passes pilgrims and traders have passed to and fro between Tibet and India from time immemorial". [44] In view of what has been said above, about the British imperial policy, it would have been strange indeed if the British did not try to exercise some sort of political control over Tibet, not only to ensure a scientific frontier in the north, but also to exploit the economic resources of Tibet. The wool of Tibet was in great demand in India, while Indian tea could be profitably exported to Tibet. "The saucer-like depressions amid the high places of Western Tibet, produced by glacial action in the days when the mountains towered for eight miles towards the skies, probably contain the richest deposits of placer gold in the world. A pannikin of soil washed anywhere in these cups reveals visible traces of flake gold. Riches beside which the wealth of Klondike would seem meagre lie in the heart of a vast inhospitable emptiness, rarely traversed by man". [46] These two factors— military and economic— influenced the policy of the Government of India towards Tibet.

2. Chinese supremacy

In its attempt to increase its trade with Tibet and to safeguard its northern frontier against aggression, the Government of India had to reckon with

China who claimed suzerainty over Tibet. There are three important landmarks in the progress of Chinese ascendancy over Tibet:—

(a) In 1718 the Chinese emperor sent an army which entered Lhasa to enthrone the Dalai Lama of his own choice. A garrison of 2,000 at Lhasa and military outposts on the road leading from Lhasa to China enabled China to assert her supremacy over Tibet.

(b) In 1750 the Ambans (Chinese Residents) murdered the Tibetan Regent, while the people of Tibet massacred the Chinese at Lhasa. The Chinese emperor sent a large army which restored Chinese supremacy and increased the power of the Ambans. Thus, in

the middle of the eighteenth century Tibet virtually passed under the control of China.

(c) Chinese ascendancy was still further strengthened in 1791-1792 when war broke out between Nepal and Tibet, leading to the intervention of China. A Chinese army supported the Tibetans in driving back the Gurkhas from Tibet and advancing within a few miles of the capital of Nepal. After rescuing Tibet from the Gurkhas the Chinese emperor tightened his control over Tibet. The Tibetan officials had to submit all important matters to the Ambans. Even the Dalai and Tashi Lamas had to prefer their requests to the Ambans; they could not communicate direct with the Chinese emperor. The Ambans aided in the selection of the Dalai, the Tashi and other high incarnate Lamas. 46 Thus, towards the end of the eighteenth century China exercised a considerable measure of control over Tibet. But China soon lost all effective authority over Tibet, which even dealt yrith foreigners independently as an autonomous State without any reference to China.

3. Early relations between India and Tibet

The East India Company was quite alive to the importance of improving trade relations with Tibet. In 1774 Warren Hastings, (Governor-General of India) sent George Bogle on a mission to Tibet to improve trade relations. Bogle established good relations with Tashi Lama, but failed to secure trade concessions due to obstructionism of Chinese officials. Bogle frankly confessed: “This is a stumbling-block which crosses me in all my paths”.

In 1783 Warren Hastings sent Captain Samuel Turner on a mission to Tibet. He spent a year in Tibet. He, too, failed to secure trade concessions. Nevertheless, as long as Warren Hastings remained in India, trade between India and Tibet flourished.

Shortly afterwards, however, an event happened which ended this happy era of good relations with Tibet. In the war which broke out between Tibet and Nepal in 1792, the Tibetans and Chinese got an impression that the British had encouraged the Gurkhas in their aggressive designs. Henceforth the Tibetans adopted the policy of exclusion—all communication between India and Tibet was stopped and “the approach of strangers, even of Bengal and Hindustan, was utterly prohibited”. [47] “The door, which Warren Hastings had succeeded in opening a little, was closed more firmly then ever”. [48]

But Tibet was not allowed to lead a secluded life. The Sikh power established by Ran jit Singh cast covetous eyes upon her. Immediately after the death of that ruler, the Sikhs conquered Iskdfdo from its ruler Ahmad Shah and made an attempt to conquer Lhasa. In 1841 Zorawar Singh, the Vazir of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu and conqueror of Iskardo, proceeded with an army towards Tibet which lay next to Iskardo. After conquering several forts he seized Garo, the head-quarters of the Chinese Governor, and after defeating a Tibetan army got possession of Tuklakote, thereby extending the territories of the Lahore Durbar as far as the Marghil Pas® up to the source of the river Sindhu. The British did not like this extension of the Sikh power and asked the Lahore Durbar to abandon the newly acquired possessions in Tibet and withdraw to Ladakh by 10 December, 1841. But before Zorawar Singh could retrace his steps he was surrounded by 10,000 Tibetan and 2,000 Chinese soldiers. Zorawar Singh had about 2,500 soldiers, but he died fighting on 12 December, 1841. The rulers of Iskardo and Ladakh now joined the Chinese against the Sikhs. By the end of May, 1842, the Sikh reinforcements reached Leh and imprisoned the ruler of Ladakh and wanted to attack Garo, but were prevented by the British who referred to an agreement with Maharaja Sher Singh of Lahore concluded in October, 1841, to the effect that the Sikhs should not extend their authority beyond

Ladakh. It seemed that there was nothing to check the Sikh forces from their onward march over to Lhasa, but in view of the attitude adopted by the British, the Lahore Durbar thought it advisable to conclude peace with the rulers of Lhasa. Accordingly a treaty was concluded on 17 October, 1842. It established alliance between the Chiefs of Jammu and Tibet, accepted the old boundary between Ladakh and Tibet, and stipulated that the contracting parties should confine themselves within their respective boundaries. It was further provided that in conformity with ancient usage, tea and pasham and shawl wool shall be transmitted to India through the Ladakh road. This provision hit hard the commercial interests of the British and was changed after the British had occupied the Pan jab in 1846. 48 *

In 1855 the Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Tibet and secured important concessions,—the right to establish an agency at Lhasa, an annual payment of ten thousand Rupees by way of indemnity, free trade and extra-territorial rights. The Gurkha Government, on the other hand, agreed to assist Tibet, if invaded by foreign foes.

In 1885 Colman Macaulay, a Secretary of the Government of Bengal, obtained Chinese assent to conduct a mission to Lhasa. But the Tibetan Government would have none of it, as they were opposed to closer intercourse with India. The persistence of foreigners in exploring their country, so long secluded, had made them suspicious. The secret explorations of Saratchandra Das, a Bengali, carried out under (he auspices of the Government of India, in particular his

clandestine entry and surreptitious inquries filled the Tibetans with distrust of the British power in India. 48 * Indeed, the Tibetans looked upon the proposal of a British Mission to Lhasa as “the climax of a series of provocations, including the sending of secret agents to explore their country, and the building of a road through Sikkim about 1877 up to the Jelap Pass which led eastwards to the Tibetan valley of Chumbi—a pass which could be referred to by an Englishman as a vital link in ‘the future highroad between India and China via Tibet”. 480

As the Tibetans were opposed to the proposal, it fell through. 48 * 1 This shows that though the Chinese advanced a vague claim of suzerainty over Tibet, and the Government of India found it convenient to maintain this fiction in view of the Tibetan policy of refusing to open any communication with them, Tibet was, in reality, no longer amenable to the control of China. It has also been urged that Tibetans' "desire to promote a policy of exclusion and to maintain their own monopoly of trade with India was connived at by the Chinese Resident". 49 In any event, the successful opposition to the Mission of Macaulay increased the arrogance of the Tibetans. In 1886 they sent a small body of militia to occupy Lingtu, which is about twelve or thirteen miles within Sikkim frontier. How the British drove them out will be narrated later. 50 No treaty was concluded with Tibet, but negotiations between Britain and China followed, and a convention between the two powers was signed by the Governor-General of India on 17 March, 1890. It recognized British Protectorate over Sikkim and laid down that the water parting of the Tista should be the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. But China and Britain counted without the host. The Tibetan officers refused to countenance the delimitation of the Sikkim-Tibet frontier, and when boundary pillars were erected, they were mutilated or destroyed. 61 In accordance with the convention of 1890 a trade treaty was concluded between China and Britain in 1893, by which a trade mart was established at Yatung, eight miles on the Tibetan side of the frontier. "This place was unsuitable for a mart, but, though every attempt was made by the Chinese Amban to induce the Tibetans to substitute Phari for Yatung, it was found impossible to overcome their reluctance". 62 But this was not all. The Tibetans nullified the object of opening the trade mart at Yatung by building a wall to prevent British traders and travellers from going any further into Tibetan territory. 63 Attempts to develop Yatung were thus frustrated by Tibetan obstructiveness.

Bell has drawn two very important, but obvious, conclusions from the events recorded above. In the first place, it was apparent

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to him that the Chinese control over Tibet was purely nominal, and the powerlessness of the Chinese suzerainty and the consequent futility to deal with the Amban in Tibetan matters were now recognized by all the British authorities. 64 Secondly, Bell found out that the Tibetan Government desired at all costs to keep the British at arm's length, for they feared and distrusted them. What Bell failed to realize was the wisdom and soundness of the Tibetan policy of keeping out the British from their country as the only means of avoiding the fate of so many States in India. 65

4 The Tibetan* Expedition of Lord Curzon

With the appointment of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India, the Indo-Tibetan relations entered into a new phase. Even the Himalayas could not operate as a barrier or limit to his imperial vision. The 'obdurate' (?) refusal of the Tibetans to accept a treaty, to which they were not a party , served as a good excuse for active intervention in Tibetan affairs.

But Lord Curzon took a realistic view of the political status of Tibet. It was evident to him that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was more nominal than real. "The Emperor's suzerainty over Tibet had almost ceased to exist. The Chinese Residents in Lhasa had long lost effective control". 66 Consequently Lord Curzon decided to communicate direct with the Tibetans. In 1899 the British Government agreed to Lord Curzon's proposal for direct communication with Tibet. The Viceroy sent a letter to Dalai Lama who returned it unopened. This rebuff, though it wounded the amour propre of the imperialist proconsul, did not appear to be a sufficient excuse. for war. So the old stories of Russian influence and intrigue in Tibet came in as a handy excuse, though it was even more flimsy than in the case of Afghanistan. One Dorjieff, a Mongolian Buriat by birth, but a Russian subject, was believed to have some influence upon the Dalai Lama, the High Priest and ruler of Tibet. Dorjieff visited Russia in 1898, 1900 and 1901 to collect money from the Buddhists in Russia, but as he was received in audience by the Emperor, it was supposed that Dorjieff had a political mission. The Russian Foreign Minister, however, categorically denied that Dorjieff had any political mission. Next, stories were spread that China had ceded to Russia her suzerain rights over Tibet, that a treaty was already drafted to this effect, and that Russian arms had been imported into Lhasa 67 But corroboration of none of these has yet been found. A great English statesman had once advised those who were alarmed for India at the rapid advance of Russia that they should use large-scale maps. In the case of Tibet, even a small-scale map would show the ridiculous nature of the fear, if any, of Russian advance to India through Tibet.

The fact seems to be that there was no genuine fear of Russia, and Russophobia was merely an excuse for intervention in Tibet. In 1902 Lord Curzon proposed to take active steps to coerce Tibet. But his ardour was checked by the Home authorities. For, the Government of Russia, which now controlled the Pamirs, had declared that a military expedition against Tibet would force it to take proper measures to safeguard its own interest in that region. But Lord Curzon urged upon the Home Government a vigorous policy to counteract Russian influence in Tibet. He told the Home Government that it was “the most extraordinary anachronism of the 20th century that there should exist within less than 300 miles of the borders of British India a state and a government with whom political relations do not so much as exist, and with whom it is impossible even to exchange a written communication”. 68 He declared that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was “a constitutional Action— a political affectation which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties”. 69

Lord Curzon ultimately persuaded the Home Government to send a mission under Colonel Younghusband, with a small military escort, to Khambajong, to the north of the Sikkim frontier, in order to “oblige the Tibetans to come to an agreement.” The mission waited at Khambajong from July to December, 1903, in the hope of meeting the accredited Tibetan envoys, but none came. The mission was thereupon authorized to proceed further, occupy the Chumbi valley, and advance as far as Gyantse. The Tibetans opposed the advance of the British, but they had no modem military arms or training, and in their first encounter at Guru on 31 March, 1904, suffered a casualty of 600, in killed and wounded. The mission, which had been joined by fresh troops and thus became a military expedition, reached Gyantse and occupied it on 12 April, 1904. But as the Tibetans were still hostile, and in no mood to negotiate, the British force advanced as far as Lhasa, which they occupied on 3 August, 1904, practically without any opposition. The Dalai Lama fled with his entourage to Mongolia, and the Tibetans were forced to sign a treaty on 7 September, 1904. Its main provisions were:

(i) Two new trade marts were opened—at Gyantse and Gartok.

(ii) The Tibetans abolished all dues on trade to and from India.

(iii) An indemnity of half a million pounds was to be paid by the Tibetan Government in 75 instalments.

(iv) The Chumbi valley was to remain in British occupation until the payment was completed.

(v) No Foreign Power was to be allowed to intervene in Tibetan affairs or to send Agents to Tibet. Without British consent, no Tibetan territory was to be ceded, leased, etc., to any Foreign Power. No concession for roads, mines, etc. were to be given to any Foreign Power. No Tibetan revenues were to be pledged to a Foreign Power or to any of its subjects.

(vi) The Tibetans agreed to respect the frontiers of Sikkim violated by them 60 .

The Russian Government held the view that the establishment of British supremacy at Lhasa would force it to change its Central Asian policy. The British Government was at that time very anxious to come to an understanding with Russia on Central Asian questions. The British Foreign Secretary, therefore, gave an assurance to the Russian Government on June 2, 1904, that so long as no other European power intervened, "Great Britain would neither annex Tibet, nor establish a protectorate over it, nor attempt to control its internal affairs."

According to the terms of the treaty with Tibet, the British would retain possession of the Chumbi valley until the indemnity of £500,000 were paid off in 75 instalments of one lakh of Rupees each. This proviso virtually meant a permanent control over Tibet. So the Home Government, to honour the pledge given to Russia, were opposed to a heavy indemnity and the occupation of Chumbi valley for a long period. Colonel Younghusband justified the convention because he held that the Chumbi valley "is the key to Tibet. It is a tongue of land thrust into India, on the Indian side of the divide". He declared it to be "the only strategical point of value on the northern frontier between Burma and Kashmir". 6 • The Home Government, however, reduced the indemnity to twenty-five lakhs of Rupees. The evacuation ef the Chumbi valley was rendered possible after three years, provided the Tibetans paid the indemnity and observed the convention. Not only did the British Government modify the treaty negotiated by Colonel Younghusband in these two important respects, but they also vetoed the Indian Government's proposal for an Agent at Lhasa. They also vetoed Colonel Younghusband's Agreement with the Tibetans by which the new British Agent at Gyantse might visit Lhasa to settle commercial matters which could not be settled at Gyantse. Thus, practically the British Government's policy of modifying the Lhasa convention and vetoing Government of India's proposal for an Agent at Lhasa undid Lord Curzon's work in Tibet.

In a speech in London, on July 20, 1904, Lord Curzon defended his military expedition against Tibet in the following words:

"We felt that we could, not afford any longer, with due regard to our interests and prestige on that section of the frontier, to acquiesce in a policy of unprovoked insults, endured with almost unexampled patience, at the hands of the Tibetan Government ever since they, and not we—please remember this, ever since they, and not we—assumed the aggressive, and first invaded British territory eighteen years ago. And still less could we acquiesce in this treatment at the very time when the young and perverse ruler of Tibet, who it seems to me has shown himself to be the evil genius of his people, while refusing to hold any communication with us, or even to receive letter from the representative of die British Sovereign, was conducting communications with another great Power, situated not at his doors, but at a great distance away, and was courting its protection .'*® 2

Thus the casus belli was Tibetan aggression against British India, which obviously refers to the Tibetan invasion of Sikkim in 1885-6. As the Tibetan aggression was admitted to have occurred eighteen years before, the invasion of Tibet by Lord Curzon on that score admirably illustrates the fable of the wolf and the lamb. The reference to Dalai Lama was a gratuitous insult—a string of allegations unsupported by any reliable testimony. The net result of this unnecessary and costly expedition was practically nil. Thus the foreign military expedition which was last in point of time produced the least result. The most unfortunate result of this policy was that it helped to revive Chinese suzerainty in Tibet. To quote Lovat Fraser:

"China is the one Power which has reaped solid advantages from the Tibet Mission. The Peking authorities were astute enough to perceive at once that the march on Lhasa would bring about the rehabilitation of their suzerainty, and they remained quiescent while British troops were in Tibet. They have now reaped their reward, for the Dalai Lama, after a brief return to his capital, is a fugitive in India, and Chinese suzerainty is being developed into practical sovereignty. Having agreed to recognise the validity of Chinese claims, we have no alternative but to leave the unfortunate Tibetans to their not too tender mercies. We have not extended our trade as we had hoped, and we have raised up for ourselves a new and disturbing situation on the north-eastern frontier of India'*. 63

VI. SIKKIM

The dynasty of the present Maharaja of Sikkim established its rule there in 1641, and the only important event after that seems to be a Nepalese invasion in 1791. Two years later, during the Sino-Napalese war, the Nepalese firmly established themselves in the Sikkim territory, lying to the south and west of the river Tistfi.

British relations with Sikkim began at the outbreak of the war

with Nepal in 1814, after the conclusion of which the Government of India, by a treaty concluded in 1817, restored to the Raja of Sikkim the territory that had been wrested from him by the Nepalese. Some time about 1825 a boundary dispute arose between Nepal and Sikkim, in connection with which two British officers were despatched to the Sikkim frontier. These officers recommended to their Government the acquisition of Darjeeling. This was effected about a decade later in February, 1835, when the Raja of Sikkim was induced to cede unconditionally the Darjeeling tract under a Deed of Grant.

In 1841, the Government of India granted an allowance of Rs. 3,000 to the Raja as compensation for the cession of Darjeeling, and in 1846 increased this sum to Rs. 6,000 a year.

Dr. Archibald Campbell was appointed the first Superintendent of Darjeeling, and was also designated as "in-charge of political relations with Sikkim." From the beginning trouble arose between the Raja of Sikkim and the Superintendent on the question of slaves. Dr. Campbell complained that the Raja was kidnapping people from Darjeeling and enslaving them, while the Raja's complaints were that his slaves were running away to Darjeeling and were not being restored to him. 64

In 1849 Dr. Hooker and Dr. Campbell went to Sikkim for a friendly tour. Dr< Hooker was an eminent Botanist and was sent to India by the British Government to investigate the vegetable products of certain portions of India, particularly the mountainous region of the Himalayas. Both of them were arrested and imprisoned by the Sikkim authorities. It appears from the available documents that the immediate cause of their arrest was their intrusion into Tibet, and the actual circumstances leading to it may be briefly described as follows:

Hooker and Campbell, after a day's march, passed a 14,0U0 ft. ridge and crossed into the Tibetan frontier. Hooker stopped for taking some observations, and Campbell proceeded. Some time later, when Hooker started to overtake his companion, he was surrounded by Sikkim soldiers, one of whom actually seized him. Hooker threw him off, and pointing to some Chinese soldiers said that he was in Chinese territory and not in Sikkim, when the soldiers desisted. Hooker then proceeded and found Campbell sitting near ninety Chinese soldiers under an officer; the officer told them that they could camp there but proceed no further; but as their camp equipments had still not arrived they had to retreat without further delay. When Hooker and Campbell began their retreat, the conduct of some Sikkim soldiers became unbearable and Campbell turned sharp

on them. He "said he was in Cheen, and under the Cheen officer, and ordered them off; they grew violent and Campbell was obliged to use his cane, one drawing a knife and another presenting the iron spike of his bow at our breasts. We had no arms. Campbell hereon called up the Cheen guard, who promptly interfered, and after a scuffle threw the whole Sikkim guard over the frontier most ignominiously and brought us on." At their first halt they were arrested.

Though both were arrested, Hooker was told soon after that he was not a prisoner, and no restriction was put upon his movement. Campbell, however, was kept in a dirty little hut, with all his servants and coolies. Hooker elected to share Campbell's misfortune voluntarily. Thus they marched under escort to Tumloong, the capital of Sikkim, where they arrived on November 10. Their Sikkim coolies were bound hand and foot and kept without food. Later Campbell was paraded in a village tied to the tail of a mule. 64 *

After imprisoning Campbell and Hooker, the Raja of Sikkim addressed a letter to the Governor-General on November 11, 1849. He states in this letter that though at the time of ceding Darjeeling he was given to understand that the Indian Government will give him no trouble, Dr. Campbell, soon after his arrival, began to settle Nepalese on the Sikkim side of frontier. To the Raja's protest he replied that he was acting on the Governor-General's order, and suppressed the Raja's letter to the Governor-General. Other charges included turning out the Raja's vaktl from Darjeeling, stopping the entry of some merchandise from Sikkim into Darjeeling, and withholding his annual subsidy for two years. Then the Raja states that he permitted Dr. Hooker to visit Sikkim on the express condition that he should not cross into Tibet or Bhutan, but Dr. Campbell not only ignored his orders but threatened him that any obstruction on his part would lead to a war with India, and actually thrashed some of the Raja's men. Therefore, the Raja wanted the Governor-General to punish Dr. Campbell severely, send a better man in his place, and restore his slaves who had run away to Darjeeling. Till this was done he was detaining Drs. Hooker and Campbell. e4b

These charges were never investigated. The Government of India informed the Raja of Sikkim, that if he had grounds for complaint against Campbell, he should have made representations, if necessary, through some other channel than Dr. Campbell, and the Government of India would possibly have afforded him proper satisfaction. But now that the Raja had committed the grievous offence of imprisoning not only Dr. Hooker but also Dr. Campbell, a British representative, no complaint could be entertained till they were freed. 640

There cannot be possibly any doubt that Hooker and Campbell did actually enter into Tibetan territory. There is equally little doubt that it was the main cause of the whole trouble. Dr. Campbell, of course, denied this, 64d but Captain Byng, who succeeded Campbell as Superintendent of Darjeeling, wrote in a letter that “the Tibetan trespass was the effectful cause of the evil (i.e. arrest).” 64 *

That Campbell was guilty of some high-handedness is indicated by the following extract from a letter he wrote from Sikkim to a friend on December 3, 1849: “The lever by which I worked was the CheBoo Lama , (whose) influence at the Durbar was, up to the time of my departure, sufficient for my purposes.but he lost his in

fluence before I came thus far, and all his opponents united in a cry of ‘traitor’ against him, and my penetration into the land further than anyone ever had been before gave an additional occasion for charges against him; he was overthrown.” 641

But although the charges against Campbell and Hooker were true, the Raja of Sikkim had to pay dearly for arresting them. Captain Byng, immediately on taking charge of his office as Superintendent of Darjeeling on 19 November, wrote to the Raja demanding the immediate release of the two prisoners, promising at the same time to forward the Raja's letters to the Governor-General. 64 * Soon afterwards, the rigours of their imprisonment were partially removed, and they were allowed to write letters.

As noted above, 64h Lord Dalhousie took very strong measures against the Raja and annexed the hill tracts of Darjeeling west of the Tista and the Murung (Terai) district. The Raja's allowance was also stopped.

In March, 1860, some relations of the Diwan of Sikkim kidnapped a few British subjects from British territory. As the Sikkim Government refused to deliver them, Campbell was authorized to occupy a part of Sikkim lying to the west of Ranjit river. On 1st November, 1860, Campbell, with a body of Sebundy Sappers under Captain Murray, established his outpost at Ringchingpong. They were attacked on November 27 by a mixed force of

Tibetan and Sikkim Bhutias under the direction of the Diwan and forced to retreat. “The Sebundy Sappers, who hardly knew how to use their guns, disappeared in all direction. Dr. Campbell, Captain Murray, and Lt. Bevan, 73rd N.I., made their way to Darjeeling with only two attendants.” 641 Others came later, but one Havildar and nine

teen sepoys were captured by the Sikkim army, and all the arms and ammunition of Campbell’s force fell into their hands. 64 !

This minor disaster was due to Campbell’s folly in exposing his untrained levy to an organized attack. Later oh he tried to make out that he was treacherously attacked, but the Viceroy rightly remarked, that though the attack was genuine, he failed to see any treachery in it. 64k As a matter of fact, Campbell knew of the impending attack by November 21, but seems to have taken no steps to protect his troops in his particularly ill chosen ground. 641

Campbell’s retreat was followed by insolent threatening and, in some instances, by transgressions of Indian frontier on the part of hostile bands of Sikkimites. To stop this, and to retrieve British prestige, a force was sent under Lt. Col. Gawler, who made their way through the unknown country, where the terrain alone made the task of their advance quite difficult. But the Sikkim people hardly put up any fight, though Gawler on his way found many arrangements for obstructing him. Thus, practically without any fighting, the force reached Tumloong, the capital of Sikkim, early in March, 1861. The Diwan fled and the Sikkim Government accepted all the terms dictated by the Governor-General On 28 March, 1861, a new treaty was concluded with the heir apparent, Sidkyong Nam Gyal, as his father, Maharaja Chug-Phui-Nam Gyal, who had taken refuge at Chumbi in Tibet, being afraid to come over, abdicated in favour of his son.

According to the terms of this treaty, 64 ™ all former treaties were abrogated, and provision was made for the future good conduct of Sikkim Government, which meant that Sikkim was practically reduced to vassalage. The Raja was fined Rs. 7,000, to be paid in three instalments; ex-Diwan Namgay and all his blood relations were ekpelled from Sikkim and were not to enter the country again. Regarding slavery it was stipulated that “inasmuch as many of the late misunderstandings have had their foundation in the custom which exists in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself, from this date, to punish severely any person trafficking in human beings, or seizing persons for the purpose of using them as slaves."

The treaty further stipulated that full compensation should be made to those British subjects "who had either been kidnapped or pillaged by the Raja's people; it provided for full indemnification for public losses sustained in Dr. Campbell's retreat; it guaranteed the opening out of the country to trade, and the removal of all restrictions on travellers and merchants; it fixed the maximum rate of transit duties to be levied on goods between India and Tibet; it

provided for the construction of roads, and the security of those who traversed them". For facilitating trade a good road was constructed by the Indian Government from Darjeeling to the Tista during their occupation of Sikkim.

Chug-Phui-Nam Gyal died in 1863 and was succeeded by his son Sidkyong Nam Gyal, to whom the annual allowance of Rs. 6,000, forfeited in 1860, was restored as an act of grace. In 1868 it was increased to Rs. 9,000, and in 1873 to Rs. 12,000. In 1867 the ruler of Sikkim was granted* a permanent salute of 15 guns.

The trade-route between India and Tibet lay through Sikkim, and the question of promoting commercial intercourse with Tibet involved the Indian Government into complications in its relations with Sikkim. The Tibetans invaded Sikkim in 1886, as mentioned above, 164n and not only occupied Lingtu on the top of a high peak crossed by the trade-route through Jeylap pass, but also built a stone fort there, about 12,600 ft. above the sea level, commanding the road between India and Tibet. This event placed the British in a great dilemma. The leaders and people of S ikkim were mostly pro-Tibetan, and as they did not ask for British help, nor desired it, there was no ostensible ground for interference by the British. At the same time they could not contemplate with equanimity the very probable contingency that Sikkim would become once* for all a province of Tibet. For this "would react most formidably on the security of life and property" in the great European settlement of Darjeeling. This hill-station, dotted with European tea-plantations covering the slopes which face Sikkim, and the summer residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was almost within a stonethrow of the stream which formed the boundary between British India and Sikkim. A large number of outlying tea-gardens were “absolutely at the mercy of possible raiders from Sikkim”, and many British subjects, including Tibetans settled in Darjeeling, Lepchas, and Nepalese had large transactions and interests in Sikkim. The strong hold maintained over Sikkim by the British during the preceding twenty-five years removed all difficulties as Sikkim was virtually treated as a protectorate; but all this would cease if Sikkim were allowed to become a part of Tibet. Urged by these considerations the British Government decided to send a military expedition to force Tibet to quit Sikkim. The justification of this measure has thus been put forth by a high British official.

“Enough has perhaps been said to show that the obligation of driving the Tibetans out of Sikkim was imposed on us by the essential conditions of our policy towards the east Himalayan States; that this policy is a just and reasonable one; and that it involves the assumption on our part of no more authority than is necessary if we are to keep the peace in this particular corner of the Indian Empire. To maintain this policy by the cheapest and most effective means was the sole object of the military operations commenced in March 1888, and terminated by the engagement of the 24th September of that year. For the better understanding of the principles on which this little war was conducted, a further glance at the conformation of the country will be needed. Lingtu is a peak about 12 miles to the Sikhim side of the frontier, over the top of which our road runs to the Jeylap pass. The sides of this peak are very precipitous, and the road could not have been taken along them except at great expense. A force holding Lingtu can therefore block the road, and can also command the steep downs below the Jeylap, where Tibetan herdsmen pasture their sheep and cattle during the summer months. Both points probably counted for something with the Tibetans.”[66]

Although the Tibetans had not fled at the approach of the British force, as many fondly hoped, but offered a stubborn resistance, their medieval system of warfare could hardly resist for long the advance of the British troops. But the British played a waiting game in order to exhaust the resources of the Tibetans in the difficult terrain. The Tibetans showed a great deal of daring and *1HU in occupying the Tukola ridge, 13,550 ft. above the seal-level, and building a stone wall, two miles long, all along the crest of the ridge. But “notwithstanding this marvellous piece of impromptu engineering the Tibetan army, about 11,000 strong, was driven away from this new position, losing nearly a tenth of their number in killed and wounded. It was a veritable rout and practically terminated the war which came to an end with the Anglo-Chinese agreement of 1890. It provided for “the boundary between Tibet and Sikkim being settled in accordance with our contentions; for the recognition of the British Protectorate over Sikhim, with exclusive control over its internal administration and its foreign relations; and in the future, for trade facilities, which have been systematically evaded. So far as Sikhim is concerned, the effect has been admirable; the country is progressing peaceably and rapidly, untroubled by Tibetan aggressiveness”. 6 © The net results of the war have been thus summed up by the same British official:

“Be the treaty never so meagre, we anyhow remain in possession of the disputed tract, while the roads and bridges made during the campaign ensure us the command of the passes against Tibetan inroads. Our influence is predominant in Sikhim; it has been vigorously asserted by the introduction of essential reforms

in the government of the State, and we need not fear that it will be permitted to decline”.® 7

“The reforms above mentioned were—the appointment of a Political Agent (Mr. J. C. White of the Public Works Department) at Guntok to assist the Maharaja in Council with his advice in the administration of affairs, the establishment of a Council for the conduct of ordinary civil, criminal and revenue work, the settlement of unoccupied waste land and land occupied by monasteries, and the

preservation of sal forests by bringing them under the direct control of the darbar” ea

1. CHBFP, H. 209

2. Ibid, 414.

3. This is based on W. K. Fraser Tytler, Afghanistan (1950), pp. 128 ff.

4 CHI VL 408

4a. The Cambridge Modern History (1934), VoL XII, p. 464.

5. Cf. pp. 675 ff.

6. Mayo (RI), pp. 127-8.

7. Ibid, 131.

8. Ibid, 133.

9. CHBFP, H. 72-74.

10. Ibid, 74.

11. Ibid, 77-8.

11a. See p. 676.

12. CHBFP ^ 78.

13. Ibid, 80.

14. Ibid, 81.

15. Letter from Lord Lytton to Cranbrook, dated 3 August, 1878. Quoted in D. K. Ghose. England and Afghanistan, pp. 38-40.

16. PHE, Xn. 283.

17. Encycl. Brit. (14th Ed.), HI. 250.

18. PHE, Xn. 287.

19. Encycl. Brit. (14th Ed.), HI. 250.

20. Ibid. PHE, XU. 283-91.

21. CHI, VI. 408. See above, p. 683.

22. See pp. 383-4.

23. Buckle, Life of Benjamin Disraeli, VI. 155 (quoted in CHBFP, IH. 82, f.n., 11

24. CHBFP, HI. 187-8.

25. See pp. 1006-7.

26. See p. 1013.

27. Davies, 164.

28. Hutchinson, 12 ff.

29. Davies, 166.

30. CHI , VI. 429.

31. Davies, 168.

32. Ibid.

33. See p. 163.

34. See p. 170.

35. Sir T. Raleigh, Lord Curzon m India, 501-3.

36. Ibid, 502-3.

37. CHBFP, H. 412.

38. CHI, VI. 439; CHBFP, m. 195.

39. CHBFP, m. 194.

40. Ibid, 196.

41. Ibid, 199.

42. Ibid, 200.

43. Sir Charles Bell, Tibet, Past and Present (1924), p. 9.

44. Is>vat Fraser, India under Curzon and after (1911), p. 135.

45. Ibid, 136.

46. Bell, op. cit., 44.

47. Sir Francis Younghusband, India and Tibet (1910). p. 31

48. Bell op. cit., 45.

48a. This para is based upon M. L. Ahluwalia's article in PIHRC, XXX Part n

pp. 1-8. '

48b. Bell, op. cit., 59.

48c. IHQ, XXXI. 32.

48d. Buckland (II. 842) assigns a different reason. He says: "While it (Mission^ was waiting to start, negotiations commenced with China concemine the north-eastern frontier of Upper Burma, then recently annexed, and in deference to Chinese susceptibilities the Government of India consented to

® Lh**tt". As the Mission

was arranged with the full consent of ChiniL it is not easy to understand why her susceptibilities would be wounded by it, save on the supposition that China did not like to do anything by force against the wish of Tibet. In any case, the views expressed by Bell and others that the Tibetan obduracy was the cause of cancelling the Mission seems to be the only valid conclusion.

49. Buckland, II. 843.

50. See p. 1071.

51. Bell, op. cit., 61. 'Towards the close of 1894-5, a Commission, consisting of British, Chinese and Tibetan representatives, was appointed for the delimitation of the boundkry between Sikhim and Tibet as defined in the Convenvention of 1890, but the Tibetans refused to supply transport for their party and the Chinese representative declared himself unable to move. Three pillars which were put up at 3 passes where there was no dispute about the boundary were knocked down. After waiting for some time in the expectation that orders from Peking might overcome Tibetan recusancy, the Commission was broken up in August 1895, and further proceedings abandoned for the time; but it was in contemplation tp renew the demarcation in the following year" (Buckland, II. 911).

52. Buckland, II. 910.

53. Bell, op. cit., 61-2; Buckland, n. 910.

54. Bell, op. cit., 61-2.

55. Cf. the exclamations of a Sindhi, quoted on p. 203.

56. Lovat Fraser, op. cit, 138.

57. Encycl. Brit. (s.v. Tibet); Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 138.

58. Tieh-Tseng Li. The Historical Status of Tibet (1956), p. 82. It was evidently a great crime in the eye of Lord Curzon that an Oriental State should not open its doors wide to western imperialism.

59. Ibid, 83.

GO. Bell, op. cit., 284 ff.

61. Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 143.

62. Raleigh, op. cit., 44.

63. Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 145-6.

64. Aitchison states: “The settlement of Darjeeling advanced rapidly, chiefly

by immigration from the neighbouring States of Nepal, Sikkim and ’Bhutan, in all of which slavery was prevalent. The increased importance of Darjeeling, under free institutions, was a source of early and constant jealousy and annoyance to the Diwan Namgay, who was himself the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim, and this feeling was shared by the Lamas and other principal people in the country, who lost their rights over slaves settling as British subjects in British territory_” Aitchison, XII. 52.

Aitchison does not give any reference for his statements. About the Diwan. it may be noted that he was the prime mover in the arrest of Campbell and Hooker, and, according to their accounts, was responsible for their plight. As will be shown later, one of the conditions of the treaty was that the Diwan should be expelled from Sikkim. It is possible, therefore, that the Diwan had a greater interest in Darjeeling than others.

64a. Extracts from Dr. Hooker’s letters to a friend at Darjeeling No. 230, 29th December, 1849, Poll, and Foreign Depts. Letter from Dr. Campbell’ to a friend at Darjeeling dated Tumloong, December 2nd. Foreign. Poll. Cons. 29th December, 1849, No. 287.

It is difficult to ascertain the effect of these letters on the policy of the Government of India, for the dates of their receipt are not given.

64b. Translation of a Kharita from the Raja of Sikkim to the most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated Bengalee 27 Kartick, 1256, November, 11th, 1849. O.C. No. 197, 29th December, 1849, Foreign & Political Dept.

It is interesting to find the Raja of Sikkim using the Bengali Calendar. In this connection the Vakeel of the Raja wrote to Captain Byng, officiating Superintendent of Darjeeling, on November 20, 1849: “Messrs’. Campbell and Hooker were allowed to see all my country. But I told them I could not let them cross the frontier. They would not mind what I said, but contrary to my orders went from a place called Phare_upon the Sahib’s cross

ing the frontiers the Chinese were very angry, and said I have entered into friendship with the English for the purpose of taking their country.” Extracts from the Raja’s Vakeel’s letter to Captain Byng, dated November 20, 1849 O.C. No. 267-9, 29th December, 1849, Foreign Political Department.

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64c. Letter to the Raja of Sikkim from the Government of India, dated 30th November, 1849. Foreign Dept. Poll. Cons., 29th December. 1849. No. 224.

64d. Letter from Dr. Campbell to a friend at Darjeeling, dated Tumloong, December 2nd, Foreign Poll. Cons., 29th December, 1849, No. 287.

64e. Letter from the Officiating Superintendent of Darjeelirtg to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept.; dated Darjeeling, 9th December, 1849, O.C. No. 267-9, 29th December, 1849. Foreign and Poll. Depts. No. 374 of 1849 para. 5. It should be noted that Byng was superseded on December 11 by C. H. Lushington. See Lushington’s letter to the Raja of Sikkim dated 11th December, 1849, Foreign Dept. Poll. Cons. 29th December, 1849, Nos. 270-73. ^

64f. Letter from Dr. Campbell to a friend at Darjeeling dated Tumloong, December 2nd-3rd, Foreign Dept. Poll. Cons. 29th December, 1849, No. 287. Italics mine.

64g. Foreign Pol. 29th December, 1849. No. 196A.

64h. See p. 89.

64i. Col. J. C. Gawler: Sikkim with Hints on Mountain and Jungle Warfare, London, 1837. p. 10.

64j. Ibid, p. 10. Among the arms captured by the Sikkimese was a 3 pounder gun. Why Campbell took this piece of artillery when he does not seem to have any man fit to use it is nowhere explained.

64k. Letter dated 28th December, 1860, to the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, For. Part A. February 1861, No. 147-149 para. 4. This letter is published in Gawler's Sikkim, Appendix, p. 89.

641. Gawler, op. cit.,

64m. For details of this treaty, cf. Aitchison, op. cit.

64n. See p. 1061.

65. Buckland, II. 847.

66. Ibid, 852-3.

67. Ibid, 852.

68. Ibid, 853.

1100K II

ECONOMIC HISTORY (1818 to 1905)

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CHAPTER XXXIV

TRADE AND COMMERCE

The Charter of 1813 is a landmark in the history of Indian economy. It abolished the East India Company's monopoly of India trade which had controlled the extent and moulded the character of Indo-British commerce for two hundred years. It opened India to the British free traders and exposed her to the full blasts of the Industrial Revolution. It precipitated the destruction of her age-old cotton industry, clinched her dependence^ on raw material production, and subjected her primary producers to the vagaries of international economic forces. As commercial capitalism, represented by the Company, succumbed to the inexorable force of industrial capitalism, represented by Lancashire and Sheffield, the agrarian economy of India was geared to the industrial economy of Great Britain.

The defeat of the Company was brought about by a concatenation of tendencies implicit in its evolution and forces which grew outside it and inimical to it. The East India Company was not merely a trading body but an imperial power, and had hopelessly run into debt in pursuing the will-o-the-wisp of augmenting its trading capital with the revenues of a growing empire. The empire grew apace, but more rapidly the debt. In order to secure capital for expansion which the Court seldom sent and never in time, the governments in India had incurred remittable debt, i.e. allowed their creditors to demand principal and interest in London. Since remittance through ordinary trading channels was difficult due to the Napoleonic Wars and general commercial stagnation, the creditors pressed for remittance by means of bills on debt account. From 1806 onwards the Court of Directors had been deluged under such bills and had to petition Parliament for loans every year to keep up its credit. In 1813 the Company possessed no bargaining power to counteract the pressure of the agency houses, which demanded free movement of capital between England and India, the manufacturers, who urged import of cheap raw materials and export of surplus produce, and the outports like Liverpool, which needed employment of shipping, rendered idle by the stoppage of the American and the continental trade.

The possibilities of unfettered India trade had already been seen during the operation of Wellesley’s liberal trade policy in 1798 and 1800-02.[1] In spite of continuous war and constant frictions with

monopoly in the first decade of the 19th century, the percentage of Bengal's private trade with London had surpassed that of her private trade with other quarters.[2]

The foreigners like the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Americans had been ousted from the field, following vicissitudes of war. Success, as yet limited, fed hopes, and hopes, though wild, proved more potent than the Company's Charter rights which had worn thin through half a century of financial and commercial bungling. Even considered as a trade of remittance, the Company’s trade had been facing great hardship for some time. The cotton manufacture of India, the foundation of its commercial prosperity for centuries, was tottering on its last legs. In 1812 No. 40 yarn cost 2s. 6d. per lb. in England and 3s. 7d. in India, while No. 60 yarn cost 3s. 6d. per lb. in England and 6s. in India.[3] Secondly, the productive capacity of the British mills had been greatly enhanced by frequent improvements and wider use of steam power. Thirdly, the home manufacture had been insulated by a prohibitive tariff against Indian piece-goods which ran up to £3 16s. 8d. */< on warehousing plus £ 78 5s. 8d. f /<. on home consumption. Fourthly, besides duties in England, Indian piece-goods had to pay a ruinous transit duty of 15'>r in India (5 r /< of which was drawn back on export).[4] Fifthly, the continental market had been closed to Indian goods by Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees, and the American market sealed by Jefferson's embargo of 1808 and the Anglo-American War of 1812. This deplorable situation was reflected in the decline of the Company’s indent for Bengal piece-goods from S.R. 4< * 66 lakhs in 1803 to S.R. 20 lakhs in 1813. The muslins were the hardest hit. In the former year 163,220 pieces had been ordered, in the latter only 11,385. The indent for calicoes was just halved and that for other qualities fell to one-third.[5] Silk was the only article which returned a profitable remittance, but its supply was not elastic. Cotton was out of the question after restoration of peace with the United States. Indian sugar paid a duty of £5/£ ad valorem on warehousing and £ 37 16s. 3d.% plus 3s. 2d. per cwt. on home consumption—all to the profit of the West Indies sugar interest, then influential in Parliament. On the eve of the Charter of 1813 the Company was sending bullion to England in default of commodities which India could not procure or Britain would not take on fair terms. These facts, however, neither damped the ardour nor deterred the efforts of the private traders. They even used these as final arguments against monopoly, as apt illustrations to the text of Adam Smith.

The majority of agency houses and country traders in India had eagerly supported the cause of free trade, but the top men had not overlooked the snag. The Palmers feared that a wild scramble would ensue in banking, insurance and indigo business. The Fairlies were not prepared to share the cream of country trade with a host of fortune-hunters likely to be let loose with free trade. They were principally interested in the untrammelled movement of capital between India and England, which would enable them to shape their investment policy with greater smoothness and to switch over from one field of enterprise to another with greater alacrity. More rivals withdut a substantial increase of trading capital or a speculative glut without any actual relation to demand were not their view of the blessings of free trade for which they had been fighting the Company since the last decade of the eighteenth century. Here, too, the well-grounded apprehensions of a few were submerged under the illusions of the many, who, besides nursing the mundane hope of windfall profits, liked to strike a blow for Christ and civilization by carrying the Manchester cotton goods into the remotest Indian village.

They ignored several fundamental factors in their impetuous rush for free trade. First, the Company still possessed the right to ply a remittance trade which, in view of its sovereign character and its access to Indian revenues, it might wield to the detriment of the freetraders. Secondly, the Company still possessed the China monopoly. The Indo-British trade was really a three-cornered trade. Indian remittances, not procurable at all or not profitable to procure in Indian goods, had always been sent through China. Similarly, British manufactures, unsaleable • in India, were pushed in the Indies or China through the channel of China trade. Again, the China trade could be easily financed by illicit opium sales at Canton. Without the China end the Indian end would not tie and the China end was in the hands of the Company. Thirdly, Indian resources, now chiefly consisting of raw materials, were insufficient to meet various demands of public and private remittance. For a harmonious working of Indo-British trade immediate development of Indian raw materials was called for, which involved large scale investment of British capital in their production, and, secondly, abolition of transit duties in India and import duties in London, i.e. free trade in the true sense of the term and not its pale shade, the mere abolition of the Company's India monopoly. These conditions might not be forthcoming without the annihilation of the Company and, perhaps, without the industrialization of India.

Industrialization of India was, however, unthinkable in the colonial context and, if at all proposed, would have been scotched by the manufacturing interest (not always for fear of rivalry—they should have learnt better from the American experience). Moreover, the financial structure of the agency houses on the one hand, and the administrative structure of the Company's Government on the other, would have brought any such experiment to nought. The debris of these obsolete systems had first to be removed to allow the beginnings of industrialization in India to be securely laid. For the present the common interest of the parties concerned, viz., the British manufacturers, the British capitalists, the agency houses, the shipowners, the Indian Government and the Indian Zamindars , was a commercial, not an industrial, revolution in India. The story of Indian commerce between 1814 and 1914 is the story of this commercial revolution, guided by the paramount needs and directed to the increasing profits of the Metropolis, but, in the process, inevitably leading to the economic transformation of India.

The immediate consequence of free trade was glut. There was a speculative boom following the break-up of the Continental System and Napoleon's unsuccessful Russian campaign. The freetraders hoped to effect their purchases more cheaply with Manchester piecegoods and carry them more profitably in their own ships to the less expensive outports. To pay for heavy surplus exports from India between 1814 and 1817 6 they imported more and more of metals, woollens and cottons. Compared to 1814, merchandise import from U.K. quadrupled in ,1818. 7 A reduction of Bengal customs (followed up in Bombay and Madras), which heavily discriminated in favour of British imports, helped this process. But in the field of exports the free-traders could not score a similar success. Unable to compete with the Company's remittance trade in silk 8 or to purchase indigo at prohibitive prices, they took to raw cotton, where, too, they found in the Company a rival. The latter's silk indent rose to 73 lakhs in 1820 and cotton indent to 9,000 bales. When the cotton market fn China collapsed in 1822 and in London a year later, the Company was forced to compete for indigo. The decline of Indian cotton manufacture had accentuated this rivalry over remittance. The limited resources of India, now mainly consisting of raw materials, could not resolve it. These had not only to provide for the excessive import of merchandise from U.K. and of treasure from America and Europe, 9 but also for remittance of various kinds on the public and private accounts. 10 As procurement of goods on such a large scale became more and more difficult, the terms of trade began to swing against India. The exchange value of rupee fell from 2s. 6d. to 2s. in 1822, and still lower afterwards. Since remittable capital could not be sent home on favourable terms, it sought speculative investment in indigo or opium. A trade depression in

England 11 put further pressure on import of British goods which worsened the crisis. A desperate attempt was made to send remittance via China which explains the Malwa opium boom and the increase of exports to China from S.R. 34,98,188 in 1819 to S.R. 1,09,61,651 in 1822. 12 Trade with Lisbon was considerable up to 1816-7, but it declined from the next year with partial attempts at recovery in 1818, 1820 and 1822. It depended on bullion, and as it became less profitable to send bullion, the trade shrank. The constant struggle between Portugal and her American possessions disturbed trade with Brazil. Trade with United States went on well up to 1818-9 and fell off for causes similar to those that operated in the case of Britain. Denmark and Holland had an insignificant share in the Bengal trade and trade with France did not fare well after 1818. Trade with Gibraltar and Malta flourished for a while after the passage of the Malta Trade Act, and trade with South America was more or less stable up to the last but one year in the series. Imports from China fell greatly after 1819 as Bengal opium came into competition with Malwa and Turkish opium, and as the cotton speculation of 1819 and 1820 came to grief. Trade with Penang and Sumatra showed a similar stress, though the former began to recover in 1820. Though Java had been in the Dutch hands since 1816, Bengal's trade with her prospered with one or two breaks. But, feeling oppressed by the illiberal regulations of the Dutch, the British private merchants sought a vantage point in the China Sea which would protect their trade route to the Eastern Islands as well as serve as a free emporium for British and Chinese articles. Manila's trade declined as direct connection of Great Britain with Spanish America (now independent) was established. The exigencies of the Maratha War increased private trade between Calcutta and Malabar from 1817 to 1819, but the end of war heralded a fall. There was some attempt to compensate for its decline through an increased trade with the Gulfs till their direct trade with Britain affected it in 1822. Though imports from Coroniandel were more or less constant, exports suffered. The speculative trade with Mauritius spent itself by 1817..

Between 1823 and 1833 the grievances of the free-traders piled up and converged on the destruction of the Company's remittance trade and China monopoly. As the same conditions prevailed, the exchange rate continued to fall and the agency houses, pestered with abundant capital, recklessly invested all in indigo. It caused an indigo boom which inevitably led to a demand by the European planters for ownership of land i.e. introduction of the plantation system.

The bottom of this speculation was knocked out by flight of capital caused, first, by the Burma War (1824), secondly, by Amherst's policy of debt conversion (1825), and thirdly, by better terms offered by the London money market. The agency houses, which worked on private deposits, acutely felt the shortage of capital. A continuous trade depression in England 13 and a fall of prices of Indian goods in the London market 14 increased their distress. Failure of some indigo planters at this awkward moment made their cup of misery full. During the boom years the six principal agency houses had invested as much as 160 lakhs in indigo concerns. They now faced total ruin.

Though the utilitarian Government of Lord William Bentinck helped them with huge loans, the boom brought its inevitable nemesis. The free-traders were not much to blame; the Company's remittance trade had left no alternative other than indigo 15 Piecegoods had no prospects. Indian sugar had no chance against the produce of West Indies in favour of which a discriminating duty had been devised in 1825. But who would supply the circulating capital to the extensive enterprise in indigo? The agency houses looked forward to import of capital from U.K., but it was not forthcoming without the guarantee of a plantation system. Bentinck espoused their cause with great ardour. 16 Six agency houses, he found, financed the greater part of indigo production, controlled the lac and rum trade, owned 59 out of 91 vessels at Calcutta, several steamers, all the docks, the only textile mill in India, and collieries at Burdwan. But they were not owners of the capital stock, only managers, and since the owners transferred their funds to London at the slightest turn in the money market, commerce or enterprise in India did not rest on real capital. Introduction of British capital was imperative for saving, let alone for developing, Indian economy, and should be allured with the guarantee of landownership.

The Court, however, turned down Bentinck's proposal as tantamount to colonization. Its refusal brought immediate disaster to the agency houses. The Palmer & Co. failed first. In spite of cash loans and enforcement of a semi-plantation system, the continued depression in England, increasing export of bullion to meet adverse trade balance, now unpayable in commodities, 17 and further drop of indigo prices led to the fall of other agency houses. Asian trade could not save them. Its decline had been patent for some time past and reflected in the decline of ship-building at Calcutta. 18

The Charter of 1833 rung down the curtain on the Company's trade. On the eve of the Charter; Britain sent 56-8/1of Bengal's total imports and received 52-8/16^ of her total exports (including

those on the Company's account which amounted to about 21%). Foreigners had been nearly ousted from the country trade. 19 Free trade had wrought far-reaching changes in the economy of Northern India. Imports by land into Calcutta, the principal port of IndoBritish commerce before 1833, had gone up by 440%, compared to that of 1795. As most of it was for export, we may say that free trade, though hampered by the Company, had led to increase of production by at least three times. Unfortunately, the increase had been mainly in indigo and raw materials, liable to fluctuate with slight shifts in world prices. Indian export economy, no longer dependent on manufacture, had become extremely vulnerable to the vagaries of the international market.

Till 1833 the greater portion of Indo-British commerce was confined to Calcutta. Trade at Bombay was mainly country trade in cotton, and Malwa opium with China, and in sundry articles with the Red Sea and the Gulf region.

Annual statistical report on trade at Madras port appears from 1813-14. Private trade of Madras with London was meagre in the early years of the nineteenth century. Merchandise worth Arcot Rupees 10,42,742 and treasure worth Arcot Rupees 5,92,789 were imported from London in 1807 while exports to London amounted to merchandise worth Arcot Rupees 84,126 only. China, America and the Eastern Islands had a larger share of her export trade. 19 * With free trade London's share increased. In 1817-18 merchandise worth Arcot Rupees 29,11,041 was imported from London and exports to that region rose to Arcot Rupees 10,35,677. 19b The foreign commerce of Madras suffered a depression for several years after 1818. In 1824 private imports from London had declined to Madras Rupees 20,35,130, though exports reached Madras Rupees 30,74,618. 19c This pattern continued to prevail till the indigo and piecegoods markets at London were seriously affected in the third decade. In 1832 the total private imports by sea were Madras Rupees 92,16,328 in merchandise, of which London sent Madras Rupees 28,39,693, while of total private exports of Madras Rupees 1,39,36,741 in merchandise London's share was Madras Rupees 49,40,999. 19d Britain was now sending cotton piecegoods to Madras in ever increasing quantities.

From 1833 these ports, especially Bombay, began to come into their own. Calcutta predominated, however, for a long period. Certain changes in trade policy were effected after 1833. Duties on internal trade of Bengal were abolished in 1836, and the two other provinces followed suit. Secondly, a new scale of duties was adopted for external trade in 1836, viz. 3% on British metals and 3i%on

British cotton, twist, yarn and silk piece-goods. Thirdly, a new currency was introduced in 1835, called the Company's Rupee, with an official exchange rate of 2s. 6d.

The abolition of China monopoly was at first a great incentive to the importers. Merchandise imports at Calcutta rose from S R. 1,95,81,986 in 1833 to Company's Rupees 6,39,49,283 in 1844, after recessions in 1837 and 1842. There was a set back, however, between 1845 and 1848 when the merchandise imports fell to Comp. Rs. 4,73,19,143. An increasing import of bullion compensated to some extent the fall in merchandise. But this failed to happen in 1847.

Imports from U.K. formed a high percentage of this—increasing from Sicca Rupees 1,38,92,944 in 1833 to Company's Rupees 3,73,40,108 in 1840. With recessions between 1841 and 1843 it rose once again to 4.84 crores in 1844, which was 75% of Bengal's total imports ! For years British manufacturers were flooding India with cotton yam and textiles. The import of the former rose from S.R. 22,59,185 in 1833 to Comp. Rs. 1,06,98,646 in 1846 and that of the latter, from S.R. 40,64,920 to Comp. Rs. 2,01,72,704! Together they formed 72^ of total British imports into Bengal.

The export of merchandise was steadily rising up to 1845 (except in 1841-42), from S.R. 4,04,62,516 in 1833 to Comp. Rs. 10, 08, 38, 207 in 1845, i.e. it had trebled in a decade. It was more and more impossible for Bengal to pay for the rising crescendo of piece-goods import frum U.K., though she sent as much as Comp. Rs. 5,60,46,414 to that country in 1843 and more than 4 crores in 1847, i.e. 48'/ of her total exports. The Company had been sending its remittances by means of financial rather than commercial transactions i.e. making advances to Calcutta merchants on the security of Indian produce at a favourable exchange rate. The British merchants had to pay higher rates than their Indian rivals and, in 1847, trying to compete with the Company's merchants in the granting of long credits over-reached themselves and failed. This caused the crisis of 1847-48 20 with adverse effect on the commercial and financial life of Calcutta. Many agency houses crashed in 1848, including the pioneer Indian enterprise of Carr, Tagore and Company. 21

The export of the Bengal piece-goods had fallen to 1.3 lakhs only in 1843, of cotton to about 2 lakhs in 1849, and, after a hectic rise (3.19 crores in 1843 out of which 2.32 crores went to U.K.), indigo declined continuously up to 1847. There were increased exports of grain, hides and sugar, but not enough to keep the trade in equilibrium. Opium was the lynch pin of South Asian trade and Far Eastern foreign policy of Britain. In 1837 China took 1.8 crores

trade and co:

ace

the China W ' ^ V ° f the t0tal export in that article. With

he China War impending, its export fell to 39 lakhs in 1840. Then

began its spectacular rise on the crest of the British victory—to

3.13 erores m 1846, of which China 'took' 2.6 crores.

} Vhen w ® anatyse Madras and Bombay figures we find the for

m 8 ?" 8 far bChlnd th0S * ° f the latter and, of course, of Bengal TJe Madras imports rose from £656,405 in 1834 to £1,108,817 in

£ fi L showed a rise fr °m £2,852,369 in 1834 to

~ 6,618,122 in 1843, the highest in the series. Even v/hen it fell it

Stood at £4,043,606 or about 3.2 crores of Company's R up 2s in • 1n „. ° , aras ex P° rts were concerned, Bombay sent £3,037,079 1 M 7 ;-,7u 1C „ t0 £6 ' 692 ' 393 in 1843 but fell to £4,379,947 in

£992 485 t o f°, aQ^fo 1 'l! XPOrtS - MadraS eXp0rts rose onl y ^m £992,485 to £1,491,558 between 1834 and 1847. Bengal exports

were more than six times those of Madras. P

The shock of 1847-48 did not last long. Imports once again began to increase from 1849 till they reached £31,093,065 for British India in 1857 —merchandise and bullion almost in equal share. Imports of Bengal and Bombay were about the same—the former in he region 0 f £15 millions, the latter in that of £13.6 m ill! »n s Madras imported only £2.6 millions. The U.K., as before, sent the main share and maintained the tempo up to 1869. The other remark

I l 1 * Cha T 7 - am th f 0 ^ 8lm ° f exports - Ind «n exports had risen ff°“ £14,738,435 in 1847 to £28,278,474 in 1857, i.e. doubled in

the decade preceding transfer of India to the Crown, and yet lagged

behind the prodigious imports since 1855. Bullion was pouring into

the country, especially from U.K., which trebled its exports to India

between 1854 and 1859 - was partly to pay for the exports

from India, but mainly to be invested in India in railways, tea gardens and jute manufacture. The railway age in India had begun.

, u'Plfu 1500111 contlnued U P t0 18fi 6. Imports of merchandise doubled between 1856 and 1865 .and that of bullion rose by 85%.

The growth of exports was more marked. Between 1855 and 1864

India’s exports were about trebled and most of it was in merchan

dise, Bombay alone sending £ 40i millions worth of goods in

1864.U.K. received the major share of exports—£46.8 millions in that yeah

The cause of this boom was the American Civil War which whipped up an abnormal demand for Indian raw cotton in U K. Indigo kept varying between £1.6 millions and £2 millions—there being great trouble over indigo riots in Bengal bordering on rebellion. Grain exports were in the region of £6 millions in 1564. Ana ther Opium War had increased exports of opium to £12.4 millions in 1862. But in the sixties cotton was king.

A series of experiments to improve the culture of cotton were ordered by the Court as early as 1829. These were started in the Bombay Deccan and Karnatak. To encourage cotton production the government of Bombay freed land sown with cotton from land tax for 5 years,[24] but the concession was withdrawn at the behest of the Court after 2 years. Besides a heavy land-tax, lack of adequate irrigation and good communication had always been obstacles to cotton production. In 1848 a Select Committee was appointed by Parliament under the chairmanship of John Bright to inquire into the possibilities of Indian raw cotton. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce was behind this move and its President, Thomas Bazley, was an important witness. In that year India exported only £1,775,309 worth of cotton. Due to mercantile incentive, which led to experiments in New Orleans cotton in Bombay, cotton export rose to £5.6 millions in 1859. Then the Civil War broke out in America, nearly stopping cotton trade of the Slave States with U. K. A phenomenal speculation in Indian cotton ensued which raised its exports to £37,573,637 or about seven times in five years.[25]

The end of the Civil War in 1864 took the bottom out of this abnormal boom. The ensuing depression affected Western India between 1866 and 1871, causing failures of many enterprises at Bombay, financed by the speculative profits of cotton trade.[26] But during these years a commercial revolution had been taking place, accompanied by the first phase of industrial evolution in India. It was in the sixties that the railways expanded rapidly and the beginnings of jute and cotton industries were laid. For the first time in India's history British capital had begun to flow into India on a grand scale.

As Jenks says, "from 1857 to 1865 the major movement of British capital was towards India, to transform the land with public works".[27] So long the wars in India had been fought with savings and spoils of the Company's servants and the savings of the Indians. Independent mercantile establishments like banking, insurance, shipping, etc., and indigo manufacture, as well as tea and coffee plantations were mainly financed in a similar way. They did not constitute an export of British capital to India. In the thirty years between 1845 and 1875, however, about £95 millions were invested by British companies in Indian guaranteed railways, 28 most of it between 1857 and 1865. 28

Besides railways, British capital was being increasingly invested in jute manufacture, tea gardens, banks, shipping and, of course,

as before, in India debt. About £20 millions had been invested in jute and tea. 30 All this explains the increase of bullion import between 1854 and 1869.

Indo-British trade returned to normalcy after 1870. Import of merchandise rose from £32,927, 520 to £41,166,003 between 1869 and 1879. Of treasure there was a decline, the peak period of railway investment having passed before 1870. After a fall during the depression years import from U.K. once more began to rise, though the increase between 1869 and 1879 was by £2 millions only. The trade in cotton goods kept stationary in the '70s round £ 16 millions —one of the reasons being the famine of 1876-78. The export position was better after the set-back between 1866 and 1875. Merchandise exported in 1879 amounted to £67,212,363, almost on the scale of 1864. Exports to U. K. still remained low—at an average of £27 millions. These were the first years of the "Great Depression" in Britain.

Cotton had not recovered. In 1879 only about £11 millions in raw cotton were exported i.e. less than one-third of the figures for 1865. But indigo was coming out of the doldrums of the last thirty years, and jute, jute manufactures, tea, coffee, grains and hides were showing distinct improvements.

We have seen how the greater part of private British capital was sunk in indigo during the second decade of the nineteenth century, and how its collapse in 1826 and 1828-30 brought down the principal agency houses in Calcutta. Between 1833 and 1861 indigo plantations went along the same evil system of advance and hereditary debt. But troubles with unwilling ryots multiplied 303 and there was keen competition with other forms of investment. Its exports had declined to £2 millions before the Indigo Rebellion in Bengal forced the planters to transfer their investments to

Bihar, Banaras and the Doab. In 1881-82 about £3.6 millions worth of indigo was exported, and in 1885-86, about £3 millions.

But tea bade fair to replace indigo in the last decades of the century. The Charter of 1833 had been a Charter for the planters, who were allowed to lease and own property in their own names. Discovery of the tea plant in the foothills of Assam was simultaneous. The combination of these two factors produced the Assam Company in 1839 with a capital of £200,000, to whom the government sold its experimsfatal garden next year. The Assam Company was the only one in the field up to 1850, fighting an uphill task. But with continued Government help the tide turned after 1852. The years between 1856 and 1871 saw remarkable growth of tea cultivation in Assam. Production went up from 216,000 lb. in 1850 to 6,251,1^3 lb. in 1871, and the area under cultivation, from 1876 acres to 31,303 acres. Another 70,000 acres were under tea in Darjeeling. 31 Due to speculation, most rife between 1859-65, 32 exports of tea rose from £35,525 (1848) to £1,050,515 (1869) in twenty years! It went on increasing by £1 million every five years till the average production reached 90 million lb. in 1890. The first coffee plantation had been established at Fort Gloster in 1823. Since Bengal produced poor crops, coffee cultivation migrated to the highlands of South India. 33 After a steady growth between 1830 and I860, there was a coffee boom in the sixties. While £188,532 worth of coffee was exported in 1859, £801,908 worth was exported in 1864 and £1,633,032 in 1879. The outbreak of the ‘borer* disease and competition of Brazilian coffee, acutest between 1877-87, caused a set-back to coffee production, .which fell from 34 million lb. in 1885 to about 30 million lb. in 1895. 34

It was in jute and jute manufacture, however, that the future of the Indo-British trade lay. The possibility of hand-woven jute goods, like gunnies, had been seen even before 1833. About 9 million pieces were exported in 1829. 35 Handloom jute industry prospered between 1833 and 1856—exports in this line rose from S.R. 2,15,340 in 1833 to Company’s Rs. 41,20,881 in 1856. Raw jute exports increased also from about a lakh or two to Company’s Rs. 27,49,754. Most of it went to Dundee to feed its spinning and weaving mills, established since 1832. Entrepreneurs wanted to set up jute mills in India to avoid cost of transport of raw material The Crimean War was a godsend to them. It cut off the supply of Russian hemp and made U.K. turn to India. A jute boom ensued in the seventies. In 1874 export in raw jute amounted to £3,246,882 and in jute manufacture to £238,640. Five years later, the former rose to £4,370,032 and the latter to £1,195,481. 36 Another boom occurred between 1882 and 1885, when five new mills started and the number of looms doubled that of 1875. In 1884 the Indian Jute Mills Association was founded to regulate output. After a few bad years before the nineties jute manufacture looked up again, 37 and its exports amounted to £4,747,797 in 1895,—a 400^' rise compared to the figure for 1879. Export in raw jute amounted to £9,992,861— a 230% rise. Jute and jute manufacture together had become the most valuable articles of export at the end of the nineteenth century. About 5.47 crores of rupees had been invested in jute manufacture by 1892. 3 8

Such an outburst of manufacturing and business enterprise led to further expansion of Indian trade. Export trade was specially helped by the fall of the international value of silver from 50 cents an oz. in 1850 to only* 31 cents in 1893. The rupee began to fluctuate in terms of sterling. It was worth about 1.6 shillings between 1878 and 1885, about 1.4 shillings between 1885 and 1890, and about 1.2 shillings between 1890 and 1897. The imports were affected adversely, however, since the falling value of silver led to constantly rising prices for the imported goods.

Since the trade statistics of this period were kept in tens of rupees and the rupee fluctuated in terms of sterling, the rise of merchandise imports from £41,166,003 in 1879 to 71,975,370 tens of rupees in 1890 and of treasure from £ 11.6 million to 21 million tens of rupees do not represent a poroportionate real increase. Imported cotton goods worth 27,241,987 tens of rupees really represented £17,069,386. Compared to the figure for 1879 it shows very little actual increase. Increases in other goods should be considered with similar caution. About two-thirds of imports came from U.K.

Exports in merchandise rose to 100,227,348 tens of rupees of which U.K. took about 33.6 millions, which is not very impressive. On the other hand, exports to China and Germany were rising fast. Several causes may be assigned to the growth of exports—(1) fall in the sterling value of rupee, (2) free trade, (3) rapid railway development in the eighties when as many miles were laid as in the previous twenty seven years, and (4) rise of world demand for jute goods resulting from exploitation of grain lands in America and Australia. This was reflected in the further rise of merchandise exports to 114,334,738 tens of rupees in 1895, while merchandise imports rose only by a million. Imports from U.K. fell by more than seven million tens of rupees, though exports to that country rose by three million tens of rupees. Since India had begun to produce her own yam, twist and cloth, imports in that branch suffered, almost accounting for the decline in total imports from UJC.

Though indigo exports were more or less steady, those in raw cotton—about 14 million tens of rupees—reached the low level of 1880. Grain exports were on a larger scale. Egypt, Mauritius, Brazil and Malay were now dependent on rice supplies from India. A brisk trade had developed in tanned hides with U.K. and in raw hides with U.SA. and Germany. Exports in oil seeds increased from 6 million tens of rupees in 1881 to 16 million in 1893, though these fell to 9.7 million in 1895. 39 But the most significant new feature in India's trade was the development of exports in cotton yam and cloth, manufactured in Indian mills with Indian capital.

The high price of raw cotton during 1861-65 retarded, but the spread of railways helped, the growth of Indian cotton manufacture. After a temporary slump in the early '70s, the second cotton boom

occurred between 1875 and 1877, by which time India had 51 cotton mills, A third boom between 1885 and 1890 took the number of mills to 137. In the beginning the Indian mills concentrated on production of yarn for export, mainly to China. The value of yarn exported rose from 1.4 million tens of rupees in 1881 to 6.8 million tens of rupees in 1895. Very little of cloth manufactured in India was consumed within the country, which explains the rise of its exports to 3.4 million tens of rupees. The staple exports of India were still jute, jute goods, tea, grains, oil seeds and indigo, most of which were run by the British managing agents with British capital.

Statistical Abstracts give the value of trade since 1899 in pound sterling as the value of rupee had, meanwhile, been fixed at Is. 4d. For the sake of comparison with the previous decade we have reduced the figures for 1905 into tens of rupees. Imports in merchandise went up to £ 68,722,713 (103 million tens of rupees) and in treasure to £ 13,947,526 (20 million tens of rupees). Merchandise alone registered an increase of more than 30 million tens of rupees in ten years. Of this U.K. supplied £ 45,825,871 (68 million tens of rupees) in merchandise—66% of India's total imports in goods—of which more than £ 24 million was in cotton manufactures. Metals showed a large increase and sugar had more than doubled.

The first years of this century saw a boom in the export trade. Merchandise exports rose from 114 million tens of rupees in 1895 to 161 million tens of rupees (£ 107,812,022), of which U.K. took about 39.9 million tens of rupees (£ 26,665,055). Though this was an improvement, the flow of India's export trade was more and more orient ited towards Western Europe. U.S.A. and the Far East. In 1905 Germany took about £ 9.7 millions worth of Indian goods, U.S.A.-—£ 8.6 millions, France—£ 6.3 millions, and Belgium £ 4.3 millions, while China took £ 14 millions and Japan £ 6.6 millions. The European countries were buying raw cotton and half of raw jute, besides rice, hides and seeds. Japan was the biggest consumer ofraw cotton, and China, of twist and yarn. Production and export of raw materials once again responded to demand. Thirty-five lakhs of bales of raw jute (double that of 1890),worth more than £ 11 millions, were now exported. The export of cotton twist and yarn amounted to £ 8 millions, double that of 1895. Indian cotton manufacturer, however, was badly hit by the unjust countervailing duty of 3J% levied in 1896. 41 Plague in Bombay, followed by famines, added to his difficulties. American speculation in raw cotton raised

its price sky high. Depression in the China market disturbed the spinning industry.

Among articles produced with European capital, jute manufacture easily held the first place. Its exports rose to 12 million tens of rupees (more than £ 8 millions), i.e. three times that of 1895. Tea was not doing well since 1898. Its exports remained near 8.8 mil

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lion tens of rupees, as in 1895. Over-production between 1890 and 1900 may be a cause of this stalemate. Not only had acreage under tea doubled in the last fifteen years of the 19th century, but production per acre had increased. India was exporting rice and wheat on a very large-scale, amounting to. £ 18,114,178 in 1905. Export of hides almost doubled. The largest fall was registered in indigo. One of the major channels of remittance in the nineteenth century, indigo had been dealt a, fatal blow by the synthetic dye, discovered in Germany in 1897. Its export had fallen to £ 390,918 in 1905. Opium had been stationary for a long time. The spacious days of the East India Company, when indigo and opium were kings, were irretrievably gone. But the day of manufacture had not yet arrived. Barring jute manufacture, India's export trade still chiefly consisted of raw materials —cotton, jute, tea, rice, wheat, seeds and hides.

i.

Year

Annual average of merch- Annual average of merchand

andise imports from U.K. ise exports to U. K.

S.R.=Sicca Rupee S.R.

2 .

1796-08 12,50.851 58,80,224

1799-1801 86,44,203 94,88,802

Bengal Commercial Reports, 1796-97 to 1801-02.

Percentage of imports from Percentage of exports to Year U.K. to total imports U.K. to total exports from

Bengal Bengal

28 A%

1812 23 T y>/o

Bengal Commercial Reports, 1812-18.

3. Kennedy's evidence before the House of Commons, 1831.

4. Charles Trevelyan, A Report upon the Inland Customs and Town Duties of the Bengal Presidency, Second edn. p. 6.

4a. S.R. stands for Sicca Rupee = 2s, 6d.

5. Court to G.G. in C. (Comml. Sep.), 2 June, 1812.

6. Year	Actual excess of exports (on the Company's as well as private
1814	accounts).
	S. R.

	2,99,66,777
1815	8.22,18,566
1816	1,15,61,745
1817	1,96,19,818

Sec tables, , A. Tripathi, Trade and Finance in 1708-1883, p. 151, fn. 1, p. 152 and p. 166.

7.

Year	Private import of merchandise from U.K.
	S. R.
1814	40,99,165
1818	1,59,44,495

Ibid. p. 167.

8

Year	The Company's exports to U.K. in remittance trade
	S. R.

1814	59,31,798
1817	55,49,604
1816	56,08,974
1817	93,28,488
1818	69,99,448

See tables, ibid., pp. 158,167,

Table caption0. Private import of treasure into Calcutta

Year	S. R.
1814	1,11,84,285
1816	3,25,82,140
1818	4,75,14,948

Table captionBengal Commercial Reports, 1814*15 to 1818-91.

10. Private remittable capital of Bengal, alone, amounted to 156 lakhs per year. See A. Tripathi, op. cit, fn. 3, p. 169.

11. A.D. Gayer, W. W. Rostow, & A. J. Schwartz, The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790-1850, vol. I, p. 149.

12. A. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 181, continuation of fn. 8 of p. 180.

Table caption13. Private trade with U.K. Company's trade with U.K.

Yr.	Import	Export	Import	Export		
	merch	treasure	merch	treasure	merch	merch
	S.R.	S.R.	S.R.	S.R.	S.R.	S.R.
1825-26	1,24,93,958	1,56,978	1,71,81,915	48	8,74,648	1,26,78,980
1820-27	1,20,26,147	20,180	99,61,591	• • •	2,82,201	1,47,88,540
1827-28	1,80,43,444	73,020	1,28,83,130	7,00,079	8,48,812	1,75,87,150 (4*84,58,702 in treasure)
1828-20	2,17,82,877	2,48,101	1,16,40,299	12,41,448	8,98,880	1,41,26,165

Table captionBengal Commercial Reports, 1825-20 to 1828-29.

Table caption14.

15.

Table captionA Tripathi, op. cit., fn. 1, p. 207.

Yr.

1827*28

1828-29

Total merchandise export S.R.

Indigo

export

S.R.

5,95,27,104 1,91,71,000

5,02,81,959 1,21,92,042

Bengal Commercial Reports, op. cit.

16. Minutes of 30 May, 1829 and 8 December, 1829.

17. Trade with U.K.

Private trade Company's trade

Imports Exports Imports Exports

merch treasure merch treasure mercn treasure merch treasure Yr. S.R. S.R. S.R. SJt S.R. S.R. SJL S.R.

1831- 32 1,72,27,917 X 1,18,40,413 30,42,784 ... — 97,20,971 78,89,815

1832- 33 1,41,37,376 X 1,27,55,288 51,68,684 88,210 — 08,88,155 19,48,972

Bengal Commercial Reports, 1831-32 and 1832-33

18. John Phipps, History of Ship-building in Calcutta (1840;, pp. 126-7.

19. Comparative share of Bengal Trade (1832-33).

	British	Foreign
	S.R.	S.R.
Imports ...	2,27,18,572	16,70,204
Exports ...	8,52,05,784	70,05,800

Bengal Commercial Reports, 1832-33

19b. Fort St. George Public Consult, 19 April, 1808, pp. 2919-20.

19b. Fort St. George Revalue Consult., 7 March, 1822, pp. 115 S.

19c. Fort St. George Revenue Consult (Sea Customs), 27 February, 1826.

19d. Ibid, 30 June, 1834, pp. 290 ff.

20. See Memorial to Lord John Russell, Proceedings, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 24 September, 1846; Ibid., 14 February and 28 September, 1848.

21. Declaration of Debendranath Tagore, etc. re: Messrs. Carr, Tagore St Co. Friend of India, 20 January and 6 April, 1848.

22 .

Yr.

1856-57

1865-66

Imports

merch treasure

£ £ Yr.

14,194,587 14,418,697 1855-50

29,599,228 20,557,801 1804-05

Statistical Abstracts

merch

£

Exports

treasure

£

28,088,259 601,176

68,027,016 1,444,775

23.

24.

25.

26.

27.

28.

Taking 1854-56 as the base, Bombay's import trade increased by 158 % and export trade by 198% during 1861-63. In the next three years the former rose by 218% and the latter by 308%. Evidence of W. Cassels, 20 November, 1868, before Bombay Bank Commission, 1868.

R.D. Choksey, Economic History of the Bombay, Deccan and Karnatak 1818-68, Year Exports , Raw Cotton Percentage to total export

£ " "

1860 5,637,624

1861 7,342,168

1862 10,203,470

1863 18,779,040

1864 35,864,795

1865 37,573,637 Statistical Abstracts.

Report and evidence, Bombay Bank Commission, 1868. D. E. Wacha, A Financial Chapter in the History of Bombay (1910). Also Report of the Deccan Riots Commission, 1875.

L. H. Jenks, The Migration of British Capital to 1875 (1927), p. 207.

See Moral and Material Progress (submitted before the House of Commons),

to

34

38

51

64

73

75

1872-73, p. 75. „ ,

29. Up to 30 April, 1865, the amount of capital raised actually for railways was £60,860,000 of which only £754,231 was Indian. See Cambridge thesis by W. J. Macpherson, entitled British Investment in Indian Guaranteed Railways, 1845-75 (not yet published).

30. Sterling and Rupee debt held in London in 1875 = £ 65£ millions; nominal capital invested in companies registered in U.K. between 1856-65 = £ 49 millions. Ibid.

30a. See pp. 928 ff.

31. See Memorandum by Mr. Campbell, Tea in Assam, East India Products, part I, and Reports on Tea and Tobacco Industries in India, 1874.

32. Edgar, "Note on the Tea Industry in Bengal", Papers Regarding the Tea Industry in Bengal (1873), pp. 7-1L

33. Parliamentary Papers, 1831, vol. V, p. 498.

34. Buchanan, Development of Capitalist Enterpjise in India.

35. Parliamentary Papers, 1831-32, vol. X, part II, pp. 866-88.

36. From Statistical Abstracts, published by the Government of India.

37. In 1892 the number of jute mills in Bengal, falling under the Factories Act, were 37, that of jute presses, 34. Compared to approximately 4000 looms in 1877, there were 10,048 looms in 1895.

38. See table IV, Second Report, Indian Central Jute Committee, p. 38.

39. Statistical Abstracts,

40. Statement X, Indian Jute Mills Association Report.

41. Elgin Papers, MSS. EUR. D509/2 in C.R.O. See above, p. 804.

CHAPTER XXXV.

INDUSTRY

1. Introduction.

Large scale industry, based on factory system, came to India as the by-product of the British rule. Attempts were made from time to time to introduce new manufactures and modem methods into a scene of traditional handicrafts and domestic production. Since, till 1860's, they had been made either by the East India Company or the private British merchants, both primarily traders, they had produced nothing but a commercial revolution in India. An Industrial Revolution might have been expected to follow in the next fifty or seventy years, but we find instead machines and machine-made goods being imported from Great Britain in ever increasing quantities, a handful of specialised industries being built, and indigenous manufactures being destroyed in that process.

The school of Indian historians like R. C. Dutt, influenced by Friedrich List (who badly wanted an Industrial Revolution in Germany), blamed the British government for stifling the possibilities of an Indian Industrial Revolution. It had favoured laissez faire when the going was good, turned to preference at the first breath of competition, and always sacrificed Indian industries at the altar of her own. The Marxist (like Baran) accounts for the slow and uneven tempo of growth by referring to the classic picture of a colonial economy under an alien capitalism. Others try to explain it by social and psychological drawbacks, which retard progress as much as adverse economic conditions, and lack of technological skill. Inertia of the village system, self-sufficient only in terms of the poorest standard of living, 1 specialised and static production for the dandy and the sophisticated, a rigid caste structure, which was reflected in an unadaptive mental process, preventing the merchant from turning to manufacture and the money-lender from becoming a capitalist, and the timid fatalism, which preferred short term speculation to long term enterprise, have been considered as responsible as fiscal discrimination against India or an unfair revenue policy which sapped the peasants' capacity to consume and ability to save but encouraged the idle rich to waste capital on unproductive ostentation.

Now the economic historian and the theoretical economist have raised their voices by those of the Protectionist, the Marxist and the Sociologist. A study of the Industrial Revolution in England, the pioneer country, and an analysis of the conditions of growth in the under-developed countries throw much light on the problem. D.C. Coleman points out that the Industrial Revolution involves other changes besides the merely technical: "population growth, large scale and extensive industrial investment and the remarkably pervasive effects of the application of science to industry". 2 S. Pollard finds a single family likeness among all industrial revolutions: .. they are marked by the emergence of an engineering industry, to create and maintain the new equipment and the motors or engines needed by the first industries to be mechanised; this in turn depends on an iron (or steel) industry, a second typical feature; and together, they demand new sources of power, coal, oil or hydro-electric installations." 3 A universal need for heavy investment in improved means of transport like roads, canals, ships, docks and railways; housing, town development and public utilities; technical training and social adjustment; irrigation, drainage and mechanization of agriculture are also included in the Revolution. In the parlance of recent literature on economic growth, it is a "primary growth sector" calling into being "derived growth sectors". 4 "No major advance in any of these sectors is possible without parallel advances in the others", which involves a great pressure "to accumulate in real terms, the large resources required for simultaneous investment in different sectors". 6

The lesser the previous accumulation of capital and the more backward and colonial the economic structure, the greater the need of capital over a wider front. A growing population creates a further difficulty by absorbing any increased investment. 5 * A broader gap of technology or unprotected competition with the products of advanced countries worsen the situation and call for more exertions. Expropriation of the rich was unthinkable in the nineteenth century, and even if Professor Lewis* minimum investment for Industrial Revolution—12% of savings 6 —was any solution, it would have been unavailing, if invested in industries other than the basic ones. The few Indian industries, which were fortunate in gaining foreign capital, were all export-orientated, and even railways were built with commercial profit as the ultimate desideratum. Let alone other causes, backward agriculture, absence of government help and retarded emergence of an elite, dedicated to modernisation, would have ruled out the 4 take off' stage of Professor Rostow. 7 As Indian enterprises were fitfully financed by British capital, which was busy developing Canada and U.S.A., and no technological discoveries could possibly be made to overcome its scarcity, they look so uneven and secondary. 8 The German solution of protection, or the French solution of mobilising the smallest savings through vast public

works, or the Russian solution of preferring capital to consumption goods was not available to a subject country which formed the largest market for her rulers. The only solution was import and balanced investment of British capital. Unfortunately, it was not forthcoming in quantities or on conditions desired, it was not amenable to control in the Indian interests, and when it came at all, it was invested in industries other than the basic ones.

2. Indigo

Manufacture of indigo comes first in the chronology of modern industries. The East India Company's search for a substitute for Indian calicoes, whose import was vehemently opposed, by British manufacturers since 1782, and application of private British capital (raised by the agency houses from savings of the Company's servants or profits of Asistic trade) combined soon to place this article on a firm footing. Minden Wilson states that a Frenchman, Louis Bonnard, started the first indigo factory in Bengal, and another, Francois Grand, the first in Bihar, between 1782 and 1785, 9 but the Company's records put one Prinsep as the pioneer. 10 Financed by the Calcutta agents like Fergusson, Fairlie, David Scott, and Joseph Barretto, and helped by European demand, which turned to India when revolution broke out in the West Indies, the export of Bengal indigo rose by 1795 to nearly 3 million lb., worth about 62 lakhs of Sicca Rupees. 11

Over-speculation and adulteration brought about a crisis and private exports fell to 38 lakhs in 1801-02. 12 The industry would have fared much worse if the private trade interest in the Court of Directors, led by David Scott, did not prevail upon Wellesley to lend a hand. But the decline of Indian piece-goods trade, consequent on Manchester competition and the Continental System, left no other alternative to the Company. 13 The indigo manufacturers heaved a sigh of relief. 14 Plantations spread quickly over Bengal and Bihar, 15 and the cry of the oppressed peasantry began to be heard. 16 In 1815, Henry Lee, an American trader, was once more warning against the danger of over-production. 17

Due to exigencies, of trade between 1814 and 1820, private capital got stuck up in Bengal. With a widespread depression following the Napoleonic Wars, remittance through trade became hazardous. To make matters worse, more bullion was now being imported from England and still more of Lancashire cloth. 18 This caused a blind rush for investment in opium in the time of the Marquess of Hastings, and when that failed, indigo remained the sole source of private remittance (as silk had been monopolised by the Company). The debt policy of the Government made capital still cheaper. The inevitable

result was a thoughtless spree of indigo cultivation in 1824 and 1825, 19 which brought its own nemesis in 1826.

About two crores of rupees were being now annually invested in indigo, principally by the agency houses. In all 899 factories had been established in the Bengal Presidency, covering 30 to 40 lakh bighas of land. 20 To secure this capital from continuing crisis and constant litigation with the ryots and their own rivals in trade (some of them were native Zamindars), the Europeans demanded rights to own plantations' and enforce contracts. Lord William Bentinck vigorously supported their claims, 21 and though the Court of Directors opposed them on humanitarian grounds and feared that colonization would result, 22 he allowed the planters to have their way. Rugulation V of 1830 protected them from wilful evasion of cultivation which indirectly sanctioned the use of force. 23 The Court had these clauses rescinded but the Charter Act of 1833 gave the Europeans ownership of land and full freedom of contract.

A few planters acquired, by a long lease or purchase, zamindari rights, but the old and pernicious ryoti system continued as before. 24 Under the latter indigo was cultivated by the ryots on their own lands against a renewable contract with a planter based on an advance of usually two rupees a bighai. For wilful or forced inability to deliver the stipulated quantity of plant, the undelivered quantity formed the nucleus of a debt. In north Bihar no debt was incurred if the ryot failed to supply on the ground of crop-failure, but he would also have to be content with a minimum return, however fine the crop mjLght be. In U.P. the plants were supplied at a fixed price and the planter furnished seeds in certain areas. But indigo consumed everywhere the best lands and was never a paying crop to the ryots. There being no economic inducement, the system could only be worked "by oppression and ill usage", 25 a view in which Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State, fully concurred. 26

So troubles with the unwilling ryots multiplied after 1833, which flared up into wide-spread resistance in 1859 and open rebellion in I860. 26 ® Lord Canning was won over to the planters' cause and passed a regulation which gave criminal jurisdiction to magistrates in civil cases of breach of contract. Wood opposed it on principle and allowed the measures only because they were temporary. 27 He opposed Canning's Contract Bill 28 and condemned the partisanship of judges like Peacock and Wells in the Nil-darpan case. 29 The planters knew that their days in Bengal were over 30 and began to transfer their investments^ Bihar, Banaras and the Doab. While production of Bengal indigo fell from 50,330 maunds in 1857 to 16,502 maunds in 1877, that of Bihar rose from 23,400 maunds to 34,857 maunds , and the Doab produced 44,285 maunds in place of a meagre 6,000. In another decade the Bihar production rose by another 24,000 maunds and the Doab by 20,000. 31

But by the end of the nineteenth century (1897) the invention of synthetic dye dealt a death blow to this industry. Its export, valued at £3.5 millions in 1895, fell to £390,918 in 1905. Between 1904-5 and 1914-5 the area under indigo shrank to one-tenth of the area in 1894-5. It was meeting the determined resistance of the Bihar peasants which rose to a climax in Gandhi's Champaran campaign. Indigo manufacture died out in Northern India and sought to prolong a precarious existence in Madras. There were only 65 plantations in Bihar and Orissa in 1921, 56 being owned by the Europeans, the last of the stragglers. 32 Their baroque buildings stand today in ruins all over the country, the vanishing memory of the first British enterprise in India. 323

3. Tea and Coffee

What indigo lost, tea gained. When the Company's China monopoly was abolished in 1833 it turned its attention seriously to the possibilities of growing tea in India. Though Sir Joseph Banks reported discovery of wild tea plants as early as 1788, the credit for the first knowledge of the existence of tea plants in Assam should go to Robert Bruce, who was there in 1823. He informed his brother, Alexander, who again reported to his senior officer, Captain Jenkins, verbally in 1826 and officially in 1833. 33 Meanwhile, Lt. Andrew Charlton had independently come across the tea plant in Assam and informed Dr. John Tytler of his discovery on 21 January, 1832, and Captain Jenkins on 17 May, 1834. He has been regarded as the pioneer in the official records, which honour really belongs to Robert Bruce.

Bentinck had the greatness to realize its importance at once, and proposed the formation of a Tea Committee in a minute of 24 January, 1834. 34 The Committee sent a scientific deputation under Dr. Wallich in 1835, of which Alexander Bruce became the guide. The first experiments were soon started with Chinese seeds, but the indigenous seeds did better.

The Company was willing to give up its project to a private organization for production on a commercial scale. For this the Assam Company was founded by London merchants on 12 February, 1839. Names of several East India agents were prominent in its Committee—William Crawford, G. G. de H. Larpent and Richard Twining. The original capital was £500,000, and Cockerill & Co. and Boyd & Co. were appointed joint agents of the Company in

Calcutta. It is interesting to note that Dwarkanath Tagore's Carr, Tagore & Co. formed the Bengal Tea Association for the same purpose. 36 The two companies amalgamated soon and the Assam Tea Company was incorporated as a rupee company in 1845 with a capital of 50 lakhs of Company's Rupees divided into 10,000 shares. In 1840 the Government transferred to it two-thirds of its establishments and lands, free of rent, for ten years with permission to settle on other lands.

The Asasam Company was the only one in the field till 1850, fighting an uphill task and proving true to its motto,—"Ingenio et Lahore "—by ingenuity and hard work. To pay a dividend of 24% it had to borrow in 1845, and it raised in that year a crop of 194,800 lb. 36 The tide turned in 1847—but slowly. The period between 1856-60 saw some profitable trading. The crop rose to 872,431 lb. and dividends to 12%. Though the acreage under tea was fast spreading, acute labour shortage, competitive cultivation of poppy and lack of communication stood in the way of progress. Two of its directors had defected and formed the rival Jorehat Tea Company in 1859, and many of its officers had been raising private gardens.

Hectic, speculation in tea was a feature of the years between 1859 and 1865 when twenty companies were registered in London and Calcutta, besides many more unregistered private gardens. Rules were relaxed by the Government under which grants of lands should have been made. 37 By 1866-67 more than 6 million lb. of tea were being manufactured in India. 38 This over-speculation was hit by the general depression of 1866-67 and stringency of the London and Calcutta money-markets. Inefficient and negligent administration added to the costs. Even the pioneer Assam Company incurred losses between 1865 and 1867 and could only declare a 6% dividend in 1869. 39

As the rate of exchange between India and Britain fell below its par value since the 1870's, tea became more profitable. The Assam Company's dividends once rose to 35% between 1871 and 1880, and retained an average of 12% in the next decade and 13% in the decade after.

Tea was once again being over-produced in the last few years of the nineteenth century. Not only had the acreage under tea doubled during

1885-1904 but production per acre had increased. 40 Though its market price dropped after 1900, the cost of production was so cut as still to yield on average a profit of 84% in the first decade of the present century. The completion of the Assam Bengal Railway and the opening of the Chittagong port were a boon to

the industry. In 1918 the export of tea reached the figure of 324 million lb. worth Rs. 17.7 crores, 21% above the pre-war average in quantum. In 1920 the acreage was 704,059 and output more than 345 million lb. 41 The dividends were rising. 42

Though there had been always a gteat variety in the size of plantations, tea tended to become a large scale industry. Under the increasing control of European companies consolidation of Smaller gardens was stimulated. Much more British capital was invested here than in indigo, especially during 1890-1910, 43 and the managing agency system had a near monopoly. There was a slight shift of control in Bengal from European to Indian hands. 44 A similar trend, though less pronounced, was seen in the Assam plantations.

The first coffee plantation had been established at Fort Gloster in Bengal in 1823 and ownerhip was granted to the Europeans under certain conditions to facilitate its growth. Since Bengal produced poor crops, coffee cultivation migrated to the highlands of South India. 46 A coffee boom ensued in the 1860's. While £ 188,532 worth of coffee was exported in 1859, £801,908 worth was exported in 1864 and £1,633,032 worth in 1879. 46 The outbreak of the 'borer' disease and competition with Brazilian coffee, acutest between 1877 and 1887, caused a set-back to production which fell from 34 million lb. in 1885 to an average of 20 million lb. during the last years of the century. The average acreage under coffee,—237,500 in 1885,— came down to 133,000 in 1895 and 88,000 in 1914. 47

4. Jute Industry

British capital, employed in indigo, was seldom imported. It was raised from the savings of the Company's servants and the fruits of Asiatic trade. Some capital was imported to finance tea and coffee plantations. It was jute manufacture, however, which mainly fed on imported capital and still remains a near British monopoly.

Development of jute manufacture in India has often been called a romance. The first sample of Bengal jute was sent to London in 1791. 48 Though the Company's experiment in this trade between 1793 and 1797 failed for weakness of fibre 49 hand-woven jute goods, like gunnies, found a ready market in U.S.A., Penang and Singapore. 50 The trade continued to prosper between 1833 and 1856 when jute goods worth Company's Rupees 41,20,881 were exported. 61 Demand for raw jute had also increased in this period.

Entrepreneurs naturally wanted to set up jute mills in India on the model of Dundee, where jute industry had been started in 1838, to avoid the cost of transport. The Crimean War, by stopping import of Russian hemp, encouraged their projects. The first jute

spinning mill was erected at Rishra (Bengal) in 1855 by one George Ackland, lately of the East India Marine Service, with the financial help of a Bengalee, Bisvambhar Sen. The first power-driven looms began to work at Baranagar in 1859. The former produced at first 8 tons per day and the latter produced only 152. 62 The Calcutta Agency House of George Henderson & Co. financed the Borneo Jute Co., which had set up the Baranagar Weaving Mill. Three more— the Gouripore (1862), the Serajgunge (1862) and the India (1866)— came in the sixties. 63 The Baranagar Mill doubled its capacity in five years and within thirteen cleared its capital twice over. 64 All except Ackland's mill "simply coined money". 56

A jute boom ensued in the seventies. Five new companies were floated between 1872-74 and eight more between 1874-78, swelling the total loomage to 3,500. The Bengal industry shut out Dundee to a great extent "from the Asiatic and Australian markets, and even from a part of the American market". 66 This feverish speculation, however, noted also in tea industry, brought about a depression, as a result of which control of most of the mills went to Bird & Co., Andrew Yule & Co., and Mackinon, Mackenzie & Co. Only one mill was added in 1876.

A second jute boom came along between 1882-85 when five new mills were started and the total number of looms doubled that of 1875. 67 To regulate output, the Indian Jute Mills Association was founded in 1884. After a few lean years, when the mills had to work a shorter time and sell at fixed rates, a marked advance in hessian manufacture took place. About 10,000 looms were working in 1895, one-third of which produced hessian goods, and the number of spindles passed two hundred thousand. 68 About 5.47 crores of Rupees had been invested (by 1895) by the Europeans in the jute industry; the export of jute products was valued at £ 4.7 millions, a 400% rise over that of 1870's. 69 Dividends were good. The Budge Budge Mill paid in that year 19%, the Fort Gloster 20%, and the Gouripore 16%. 60 This naturally provoked the wrath of Dundee 61 and the Secretary of State had to institute an inquiry on the jute manufacture of Bengal, especially, the charge of labour sweating.

The expansion of jute industry differed from the equally phenomenal growth of cotton textiles industry in one important point. It took the form of extension of the existing concerns rather than a corresponding increase in the number of mills. This tendency became less conspicuous between 1895 and 1913. After a temporary set-back, caused by famines in the late 90's, the industry prospered for several reasons—fall of the exchange value of the rupee, expansion of railways and rise of world demand resulting from exploitation of American and Australian grain lands. Even German and American import duties could not affect the pace of growth. Bengal's monopoly of raw jute was fully exploited and British capital, if not abundant, was always adequate for this predominantly British industry. On the eve of the World War I the number of mills was 64, of looms, about 36,000 (21,000 for hessian), and of spindles, about 7i lakhs. 62

5. Cotton Manufacture

Jute and cotton industries, organized on factory basis, were contemporary, but while the British have monopolised the former, the Indians have come to make the latter their own. From time immemorial India had developed cotton manufacture into a great art. It had once found ready vent in Egypt and Imperial Rome, and was no less avidly sought by the Arabs till the sixteenth and the Europeans till the eighteenth century. Spinning and weaving had become a national occupation, peculiarly suited to the tenor of Indian village life, and the products satisfied both the cottage and the court f and served local as well as foreign needs. Dacca was famous for its muslins, Murshidabad for its choppahs , Lakhnau for its chintzes, Ahmedabad for its dhoties and dopattas, C.P. for its silk-bordered cloth, and Madras for its palampore. The Indian industry offered a feast of colours and a variety of textures, unequalled till the present day.

It lent itself easily to the domestic system of production and was organized under craft guilds, 63 the individual craftsmen working at home on capital supplied by merchants. The relations between the dadni merchants (i.e. who advanced capital) and the weavers are not well known, but the former's increasing control may be assumed. The industry retained its domestic character when the East India Company took over, but the dadni merchants were replaced by the agency system (the process began in 1753) to the injury of the producers. The Resident, the factors and the native servants of the Company's aurungs now lorded it over the looms and defrauded the weavers of their deserts. 04

In spite of the sumptuary laws of the 18th century and the high tariffs protecting British woollens and linens from Indian printed and painted calicoes, the Company's Bengal piece-goods investment in 1793 w r as about 67 \ lakhs of current Rupees 65 and remained at that level for some years. But Lancashire was fast catching up. In 1787 it had surpassed Indian manufacture except in the finest muslins. 66 Technical progress soon enabled it to produce comparable yarns at a cheaper rate. The protective duties were further enhanced. 67 Two other factors went against the finer textiles—the

disappearance of native courts, which had kept up a steady demand for them, and the elimination of the French and the Dutch competition during the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars. 63 American traders offered some fillip to this dying craft till 1813. 69 By then machinery had beaten it completely. 70 Muslins were the chief victim, but other sorts were seriously affected. The Company's indent in 1812 was less than a third of that in 1803-4. 71 The ruin of the premier industry of India was announced in the speedy decline of exports from Dacca. 72 The East India Company's order on its Dacca factory amounted to 3 lakhs of Sicca Rupees in 1801. It fell to a little over one lakh in 1812 and the factory was finally closed in 1818. 73

The change in the taste of the urban middle class and extreme cheapness of coarse Manchester cottons, which suited the poorer classes, contributed soon to the loss of the domestic market. From a paltry beginning worth £156 in 1796, the export of British piece-goods to countries east of the Cape (mainly India) had risen to £3.2 millions in 1818. 74 Aided by a liberal tariff of only 2}%, they were now selling at a profit. 76 Bishop Heber found them preferred by Dacca people to their own local manufacture. 76 Elphinstone witnessed the same process in Bombay 77 and the story of the Madras region was not much different. In the earliest statistics of trade obtainable for Madras we find her plying a brisk trade in piece-goods with London and U.S.A. 78 In 1824-5 we find private export to U.K. still amounting to 25 lakhs of Madras Rupees. But competition with British manufacture had already become keen in Malacca and South-East Asian markets. 79 The situation deteriorated further till her exports fell to about 13 lakhs in 1832, while import of British cottons rose to 4J lakhs. 80

From 1824 machine-spun twist and yarn began to arrive. In four years the value of such imports into Calcutta rose from less than a lakh of Sicca Rupees to 33 lakhs. 81 The British yarn was being spun at less than half the cost of the Indian yarn 32 and the spinners fared inevitably the same fate as the weavers. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce was so eager to dump goods in India during the depression of 1830's that it broke down the Company's China monopoly and the Indian remittance trade in 1833. A sad note creeps into Bentinck's minute of 30 May, 1829, which may justly be called an elegy on Indian Cotton Industry: "Cotton piece-goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seem thus for ever lost...."

Much has been made of the destruction of the hand-loom cotton manufacture of India, and people of all classes have joined in the requiem. 82 ® But when we learn from the economic history of England

that a similar ruin was overtaking the British handloom industry, we realize the causes of its inevitable ruin. Handloom industry might have been, and actually was, preserved as a museum piece, but never as a competing enterprise. The tariff policy of Britain was unjust, and partly accounts for the ruin of cotton industry in India. More important factors involved were the technological and organizational superiority. Nothing short of mechanisation could have averted the disaster, which, indeed, was understood by the Indian capitalists who launched the modern cotton industry in the 1860's.

Bombay and Ahmedabad became its first homes. The Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mill was established by Cowasjee Nanabhoy in 1853. It started work in 1854 with 25,000 spindles.^ The Broach Spinning and Weaving Mill with 10,000 spindles began to produce in 1855. Proximity to the vast cotton tracts of the Deccan, availability of capital, the Parsee tradition of daring entrepreneurship, experience gined in the hereditary cotton trade with China and Africa, and duties that came to be levied on British manufacture after the Mutiny, combined to spell success for the industry. By 1861 we find that 13 mills had been erected (10 in Bombay and 3 in Ahmedabad), 7 of which were in actual operation. Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit was planning bigger things with 60,000 spindles. The paid up capital was still low, reaching 5,000 Rupees in two cases only. 83

Though the American Civil War retarded its growth to a certain extent by raising the price of raw cotton, the spread of railways and the Government's tariff policy helped it. An impecunious Finance Member doubled the duties on British cotton. 84 The relief was, however, temporary, as the duties on piece-goods were once again reduced to 5% and on yarn to 3£%. The abnormal cotton boom of 1860's led to the slump of 1870's and affected the mushroom growth of cotton industry. In 1872 we find only 18 mills working in the Bombay Presidency and two in Bengal. 86 But two booms occurred in the next fifteen years—one between 1875-77 and the other between 1885-90. In 1890 the number of mills had risen to 137, Bombay leading with 94. Many of these, however, were spinning mills. The industry was still concentrated on production of yarn for export to China. The little fine cloth it produced roused Manchester 86 and under the pressure of a General Election, the Secretary of State prevailed upon a willing Lord Lytton to lower duties on coarse British goods in spite of the adverse majority vote in the Governor-General's Council. 87

In 1895 the value of yarn exported reached 6.8 million tens of Rupees, and that of cloth, 3.4. millions tens of Rupees. As .Sir Henry James stated in the Commons, while in the six years ending in 1882 the U.K. held two-thirds of the trade with Hongkong, China and Japan, in the four years ending in 1895, four-fifths of this trade had passed to India. The cloth was not much consumed in India, and the years of famine and plague that followed (1895-1900) did not allow the home demand to increase. Three factors slackened the pace of growth—(1) price of raw cotton, which American speculation sent rocketing in 1902, (2) a countervailing 5% excise duty on Indian mill cloth levied in 1894 (reduced to 3J% in 1896), 88 and (3) a depression in the China market, aggravated by the silver basis of the Chinese currency. Though the rate of progress was maintained in looms, the number of spindles rose but slightly for some time after 1900.

6. Steel and Coal.

Heavy industries could not develop in India during the 19th century, not primarily because of capital shortage but because of (1) lack of high grade iron ore and (2) inadequate production of coal. In Bengal, Jessop and Co. tried to start iron works at Barakar in 1839, Mackay and Co. near Ranigunj in 1855, and Bengal Iron Co., near Asansol, in 1875, which it sold later to the Government. All met with failure. 89 Major W. C. Lennan brought to the notice of the Madras government the fine quality of Salem steel in T808; 90 but Andrew Duncan’s factory came to nought. 91 J. M. Heath, a civil servant of the Company, was granted monopoly of iron production in Madras in 1825. 92 He erected iron works at Porto Novo in 1830 with some capital borrowed from Alexander & Co. of Calcutta. We find him claiming discovery of chloromate of iron in December, 1832, but still in need of funds. 93 His iron works failed, too, after struggling for thirty years.

In 1889 the Bengal Governmant sold its Asansol pig iron works to a new Bengal Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. for which Martin & Co. became the managing agents in 1894. Hampered by poor grade ore, it was producing only 40,000 to 50,000 tons of pig iron in 1907 and had dropped its steel project, though the Government had backed it from the beginning. 04

Thus all the iron and steel needed for the Indian railways, textile mills, etc., almost every mechanical appliance used by the planter or the peasant, were imported from Britain in the nineteenth century. The pre-war average of such imports was 808,000 tons, worth about Rs. 12J crores. This factor heavily weighed against industrialization and differentiated its character from that in Britain. While the Industrial Revolution in Britain was ushered in by the growth of iron and steel industries, 95 it began in India with application of steam to jute

and cotton textiles. The latter lacked Britain's solid basis of domestic production of iron and steel, and even the ancillary engineering industries (like the Jessops' workshop) were dependent on foreign trade for development.

England's great advantage was her magnificent fuel resource. Pig iron production got off to a fine start when Abraham Darby substituted coke for charcoal to smelt iron ore. This drew furnaces and foundries to the coal fields and enabled producers to replace wrought by cast iron and make steel by a special process. India suffered long for lack of adequate production of high grade coal. Seams of coal had been discovered in Bengal early in the nineteenth century and Alexander & Co. had started mining since 1820's. 30 But there was only one mine at work till 1840, and only three operated in 1854. The commencement of the East Indian Railway gave an impetus to the industry, not only by easing ^the means of transport but by creating a regular demand for coal itself. By 1879-80 Raniganj and Jharia could show 56 mines producing about a million tons a year. In 1870 the Mohpani deposits in C.P. were opened, in 1874 the Warora fields. These were negligible, and Bengal, with an average production of 467,000 tons between 1869-75, could not supply even the needs of the railways. India was importing about 600,000 tons of coal a year in 1880. 97 Little mechanisation had been introduced in the existing mines.

The nineties, however, saw a spectacular rise in coal output. The annual average shot up to more than 4i million tons between 1896-1900. It came from deeper exploitation of Bengal deposits rather than discovery of new fields, and was called forth by increasing demand of jute and cotton industries and, of course, railways. 98 It was also helped by liberal conditions of mining leases and licences —60 licences being granted in 1899 but 400 in 1907. This explains the rise of average production to about 12 milion tons between 1906-10. 08

7. Paper.

Production of machine-made paper dates from 1870 when the Bally Mills were established in Bengal. The Titaghur Paper Mill followed in 1882, the Bengal Paper Mill Co., in 1891 and the Imperial Mill in 1892-94. No other concern was floated in Bengal till 1918, but the industry was taking root in Lakhnau (1879) and Poona (1887). It was working under difficulties like the high cost of chemicals, heavy transport charges of coal, and severe competition from Europe, U.S.A. and Japan.

8. The Tanning Industry.

The modern tanning industry started late, though there was no dearth of hides and skins in India. It owed its origin to one Charles De Susa of Madras who, about 1845, introduced certain improvements in tanning methods. 100 The small capitalist-cum-export trader ran the business which became very profitable around 1880's with increasing demand from Germany. Military authorities were responsible for introducing the,industry in Northern India as adjuncts to arsenals. A harness and saddlery factory was set up at Kanpur under Government auspices in 1860. It was followed by the Government-aided private enterprise of Messrs Allen and Cooper. Soon Bombay became the third major seat of this industry. 101 The Madras Government did valuable research work during 1904-11 to establish chrome-tanning when discovery of the chrome process in U.S.A. seriously affected the vegetable and bark-tanned Madras hides.

9. Conclusion.

This survey would be incomplete without a reference to the managing agency system responsible for the pioneering and promoting of industrial development in India. It grew on the ruins of the agency houses, which financed the earliest British capitalist enterprise, 102 and inherited many of their characteristics. The first managing agents, too, gathered- experience in general trade and were not technical experts. Each line of business opened the way for another, and the market for the products of one was found in the other. The range of their business ran from steam transport to tea, from jute manufacture to colliery.[103] They could supply capital directly or indirectly in a notoriously shy money-market as the old agency houses had once done (say, in indigo business), but they could, unlike their predecessors, also offer the requisite managerial efficiency. Like them they were connected with corresponding firms in Britain, and though sometimes technically separate, were run by the same partnership.

They started either as family concerns like the Tatas or Currimbhai Ebrahim & Sons., later converted into private limited partnerships, or, more often, directly as partnership, like Martin & Co. Partnership agency firms predominate in Bombay and Calcutta, while family concerns do so in Ahmedabad. A few, however, are public limited companies like Binny & Co. of Madras, but some, though outwardly joint stock concerns, are more akin to partnerships as the managing agents appoint their own friends to the Boards of Directors.[104]

The system came in later for a good deal of criticism and was charged with retarding an Industrial Revolution in India by confining itself to export-orientated manufacture,[105] but the evidence before the Indian Tariff Board proves that, in spite of many shortcomings, it has been on the whole inexpensive and efficient. As one leading authority asserts, “but for the managing agency system the pace of industrial development in India would have been slower, and the opportunities of British capital and British enterprise to function in India would have been limited.”[106] It was due to their efforts that between 1895-1918 the number of Joint Stock Companies at work in India rose from 1309, with an authorized capital of more than 416 million Rupees and a paid up capital of more than 291 million Rupees, to 2,789, with an authorized capital of more than 2\ billion Rupees and a paid up capital of more than 1 billion Rupees.[107] The amount of British capital engaged in India is very dfficult to estimate. Sir George Paish puts it (Ceylon included) at £ 365,399,000 in 1909-10, while H. F. Howard puts India’s share alone at £ 450,000,000. This would give some idea of the great role played by foreign capital in developing Indian industry.

1. Compare Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 279, and Report of Indian Industrial Commission, Parliamentary Paper—Command 51 of 1919, pp. 11,151.

2. D. C. Coleman, 'Industrial Growth and Industrial Revolutions', Economica, New Series, XXIII (1956), pp. 1-22.

3. S. Pollard, 'Investment, Consumption and the Industrial Revolution', The Economic History Review , second series, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1958), p. 217.

4. W. W. Rostow, 'Trends in Allocation of Resources in Secular Growth,' Economic Progress. R. Nurkse, Problems of Capital Formation. K. Mandelbaum, The Industrialization of Backward Areas. Papers of the first International Conference of Economic History, Stockholm, 1960.

5. S. Pollard, op. cit.

5a. Transitional stage in a traditional society required "a rise in the rate of investment to a level which regularly, substantially, and perceptibly outstrips population growth." W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Groxoth (Camridge, 1960) p. 21.

6. W. A. Lewis, Theory of Economic Growth.

7. A.K. Cairncross, Essays in Bibliography and Criticism XLV, The Economic History Review, 2nd Series, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1961.

8. Economists like Ranads and Kale were satisfied with this progress and wanted more, while some others considered patriotic fervour for industrialization to be miguided. See Ranade, Essays (3rd Edn.) pp. 97-98 and Kale, Indian Industrial end Economic Problems (2nd edn.) pp. 88 ff., for the former view, and J. M. Keynes, review of Theodore Morison's 'Economic Transition in India, Economic Journal , 1911, pp. 427 ff., for the latter. Keynes wrongly assumed that industrialization would be at the cost of agriculture and could not foresee the fall of raw material prices between 1913-22 and, once again, from 1928.

9. Minden Wilson, History of Bihar, pp. 69-72.

10. A Tripathi, Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833, pp. 41-42.

11. G.G. in C. to Court (Comml.), 27 July, 1796.

12. Bengal Commercial Reports, 1801-02.

13. Court to G.G. in C. (Comml.), 30 June, 1809.

14. John Palmer to H. Trail, 29 Sept. 1809. Palmer Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, Vol. 68, p. 97.

15. For Bengal see W. W. Hunter, Bengal MS Records, Vols. I-HI; for Bihar see Buchman Hamilton's Reports on Sahabad. Purnea and Bhagalpur.

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Europeans in India 1766-1824, (MSS. No. 25, Commonwealth Relation Office), Buc hanan Hamilton, Dinajpur, Eur. MSS. D71, Bk. V, p. 159 and Rapgpur, Eur. MSS. D75, Vol. 2, Bk. IV, p. 55. Also see above. pp. 916-7.

H. Lee to F. Lee, 8 May, 1815. K. W. Porter. The Jacksons and the Lees,

1766-1844, Vol. 2, p. 1135. ^ ^

Bengal Commercial Reports, 1821-2 and 1822-3. ,

John Palmer to H. Trail, 1 Dec., 1826. Palmer Papers, op. cit. Vol. 104, pp.

254-5

Return to the Judicial Dept., 1 June, 1830. App. V, Report of the Select Committee on Affairs of EJ. Co., House of Commons, 1832, Nos. 60 and 73. Minutes of 30 May, 1829 and 14 May, 1830. See Financial Letters and Enclosures Received, 1829-30. Vol. 23, pp. 590-610. Great Indians like Dwarka Nath Togore and Rammonan Roy supported him. See the former s letter in the Sambdd Kaumudi, 26 February, 1828, and the latter's in Samfichfir Darpan, 19 Dec., 1829.

General Appendix to Report of the Select Committee on Affairs of E.I. Co., House of Commons, 1832, pp. 288-306, 334-40.

A. Tripathi, op. cit., p. 233.

Indigo Commission's Report, pp. VIII, if.

Ibid, p. XXVm.

Wood to Canning, 3 May 1860. Wood Papers, C.R.O.

See above, pp. 926 ff.

Wood to Wilson, 10 May, 1860, and Wood to Canning, 10 May, 1860, ibid. Wood to Canning; 24 April, 1861, ibid.

Wood to Canning, 14 Sept., 1861 and 10 January, 1862, ibid. See above p. 933. Lt Governor Grant calculated a loss of Rs. 20/- per acre in Deltaic Bengal. Reid, Indigo , p. 85.

Census of India, 1921, Vol. 1, Part H, p. 277.

There is a good deal of similarity with the sugar plantations of the West Indies. See Richard Pares, Chichele Lectures, Supplement no. 4, Economic History Review and K.G. Davies, Essays in Bibliography and Criticism, XLTV, Ibid, 2nd Series, Vol. XHI, no. 1, 1960.

H. A. Antrobus, A History of the Assam Tea Company 1839-1953, p. 17.

The Tea Committee included two Indians—Radhakanta Deb and Ramcomal Sen.

It included five Indians—Dwarkanath Tagore, Prasonno Kumar Tagore, Rustomjee Cowasjee, Matilal Sii, and Hadjee Ispahan!.

Antrobus, op. cit, pp. 62-63.

Edgar, Note on the Tea Industry in Bengal; Papers regarding the Tea Industry in Bengal, 1873. pp. 7-11. Also Memorandum by Mr. Campbell, ibid, pp. 125-28.

Reports on Tea and Tobacco Industries in India, 1874 . Part I, Tea in Assam, East India Products.

History of Jorehat Tea Company, p. 67 and Abtrobus, op. cit.

Yr.	acreage.	production.
1885-90	310,595	201,389,000 lb.
1900-04	524,720	

Indian Tea Statistics, 1921, pp. 10-11.

Company.	Years.	Dividend.
Assam Tea Co.	1917-26	22%
Jorehat Tea Co.	-do-	30%

See Bu cfr a n a n , The Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India, p. 69. Ibid.

Satistical Abstracts.

Buchanan, op. cit., p. 71.

Statistical Abstracts.

Ibid.

Bengal Board of Trade to G.G. in C., 11 March, 1791.

Proceedings of Bengal Board of Trade, 7 March, 1797.

Pari Papers. 1831-32., Vol. X, part II, pp. 866-68.

Bengal Commercial Reports, 1856-57. Here Gadgil is wong. See Gadgil. The Industrial Evolution of India, p. 54.

D. R. Wallace, The Romance of Jute (Second edn.), p. 16.

Indian Central Jute Committee, Second Report.

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54. Wallace, op. cit., p. 17.

55. Ibid, p. 29.

56. J. E. O'connor's Memorandum, Account of the Trade and Navigation of British India , 1875-76, p. 31.

57. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 245.

58. Wallace, op. cit., p. 64.

59. Table IV, Second Report, Indian Central Jute Committee, p. 38.

60. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 252.

61. Gadgil, op. cit., p. 103.

62. Ibid.

63. Birdwood, Industrial Arts of India, Vol. I., p. 139.

64. N. K. Sinha, Economic History of Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 156. et. seq.

65. Proceedings of Bengal Board of Trade, 7 July, 1793.

66. Minute of Board of Trade, 26 February, 1787, B.T. V., Vol. IV, p. 198. Public

Yr.

1787

1802

1787

1802

Duty.

5s-3d

6s-8d

5s-3d

6s-8d

4- £ 18. + £ 27. + £ 18

10s. % ad valorem

Is. Id. %ad valorem % ad valorem

4- £ 30-15s-9d % ad valorem

Record Office, U.K.

67. Variety White Calicoes f

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Muslins f

68. Sinha, op. cit., Chapts. Ill and IV.

69. A Tripathi, op. cit., pp. 138-9.

70. Kennedy's evidence before House of Commons, 1831.

71. Court to G.G. in C. (Comml. Sep.), 2 June, 1812.

72. Home Miscellaneous 456 F, p. 113. See above, p. 414.

73. A Tripathi, op. cit., p. 134.

74. Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz, The Growth and Fluctuation of the British Economy, 1790-1850, p. 149./ See above, pp. 413-6.

75. Phipps, A Guide to the Commerce of Bengal, p. 263.

76. Bishop Heber, Narrative of a Journey , p. 185.

77. East India Papers, 1830, pp. 175-70. See also evidence of James Ritchcie, Minutes of Evidence on the Affairs of E.I. Co., 1831., pp. 68, 80-81 and R.D. Choksey, Economic History of Bombay Deccan and Kamatak, 1818-68.

78. Public Consultations (Madras), 13 August 1802, 12 April, 1803.

79. Revenue Consultations, Sea Customs (Madras), 27 Feb. 1826.

80. Ibid, 30 June, 1834. Bengal imported British piece-goods worth S.R. 72 lakhs in 1828-29. See Bengal Commercial Reports, 1828-29.

81. A. Tripathi, op. cit., f.ri. 1, p. 204 and p. 231.

82. Ibid, f.n. 1, p. 165.

82a. This is very natural, as, unlike England, the ruin of the old hand-loom weavers was not accompanied by the growth of the machine industry in India. (Ed.).

83. Information enclosed in MSS. letter of Bartle Frene to Lord Elgin, 1 July, 1862. Elgin Papers, C.R.O.

84. Proceedings of Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 19 March, 1860 and 22 May, 1860. (MSS.).

85. East India Reports. House of Commons, 27 February, 1871, p. 82.

86. Jacob Bright's speech in H. C., Hansard, 'Hurd Series, Vol. 235. See above, pp. 798 ff.

87. Cranbrook to Lytton, 4, 5 Sc 23 February, 1879. Lytton Papers, Vol. IV, C.R.O. See above, p. 802.

88. Annual Report, Manchester Chamber of Commerce, 1896, p. 1. See above,

p. 804.

89. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 280.

90. Public Consultations (Madras), 2 March, 1808, 14 April, 1809.

91. Pari. Papers, Affairs of EJ. Co., 1831, V, p. 129.

92. Munro's Minute of 30 December, 1824, and Madras Govt, to Court (Public), 21 January, 1825.

93. J. M. Heath's memorandum to Sir Frederic Adam. Public Consultations (Madras), 23 Januay, 1833.

94. Watson, Iron and Steel in Bengal, and Lovat Fraser, Iron and Steel in India, pp. 11 et seq.

95. Ash top, Industrial Revolution, and Economic History of England in the Eighteenth Century.

96. Pari. Papers, Affairs of the East India Co., 1831, V, p. 19. This coal mine

came to the hands of Dwarkanath Tagore and has been since 1843 owned by the Bengal Coal Company. __ ,

97. Up to 1895 foreign import of coal maintained the same level. Then it began

to fall.

96. Sir T. Holland, A Sketch of the Mineral Resources of India, 1908.

99. Indian Coal Statistics, 1927, p. 29.

100. A. Chatterton, Tanning and Working in Leather in the Madras Presidency (1904)

101. A. Guthrie, The Leather Industry in Bombay (1910).

102. Tripathi, op. cit., chap. V.

103. Andrew Yule & Co., managed 10 jute, 18 tea, 14 coal, 3 transport, 1 sugar and 8 other companies. See Lokanathan, Industrial Organization in India,

104. Ibid., pp. 16-28, 41-49. Indian Central Bonking Enquiry Committee, Majority Report (1931), p. 643.

105. This conformed to the traditional pattern of foreign investment in economically backward countries, viz. the American colonies in the 18th century. It does not reflect any sinister conspiracy but reflects the poverty of local consumers and expanding markets for primary products of the colonial countries in the great industrial centres of the world. See Nurkse, Some Aspects of Capital Accumulation in Under •developed Countries (1952), pp. 12-14.

106 Lokanathan, op. cit., p. 21. G. W. Tyson, Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry 1853•1953, A Centenary Survey , pp. 96-100.

107. P. PUlai, Economic Conditions in India, p. 304.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

BANKING, CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE

I. CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

Under the Mughul Government the gold mohur and the silver rupya, without any fixed ratio of exchange between them, were current as legal tenders. In 1542 Sher Shah had fixed the rupee's weight at 100 ratis or about 175 grains of fine silver, and the Mughuls accepted it as the standard weight for both gold and silver coinage. With the disruption of the Empire after 1707 the succession States claimed and exercised an undefined political sovereignity, and began to debase currency without altering the deominations, so that there soon ceased to be an Imperial legal tender current throughout India.

In Bengal, farming of mints, adopted by Ratan Chand, Diwan of Farrukh-siyar, led to the decline in value of the sicca rupee every year till, at the end of the third, it became a 'sonaut'. Under the Jagat Seths the undervaluation of all siccas of an earlier date than the current year became established, so that they could earn huge batta or discount bn them. The siccas, however, were not the only, rupees extent. The East India Company found a currency confusion in Calcutta which was worse confounded in the mofussil districts.

It was not till 1763 that the Company could wrest from a pliant Mir Jafar the undisputed right to coin their own siccas at Calcutta. 1 Meanwhile, scarcity of silver had become notorious. Not only no bullion had been imported since 1757, but a drainage of silver had started towards China, Madras and Bombay. 1 * Bi-metallism was introduced in 1766 to meet this problem and was further confirmed in 1769. But the ratio between the gold mohur and the sicca was inadvertently fixed, first at 1:14 and then at 1:16. Overvaluing of gold immediately resulted in 'batta' or discount on gold mohurs and made silver more scarce. 1b

To secure uniformity of sicca coinage and prevent clipping by the money-changers, the rupee was provided in 1778 with an inscription—‘19 san (i.e. the 19th year of Shah Alam) sikkah *—and given a fine silver content of 175.927 grains troy. But this arrangement of Hastings—one mint at Calcutta and use of one regnal year—added to confusion which was duly exploited by the mofussil shroffs. 1 ® He suspended gold coinage altogether in 1777 for reasons discussed

above, but financial circumstances once again forced him to revert to gold in 1780 with the same results. Cornwallis’ Committee on Curroncy diagnosed the disease—while the market ratio between gold and silver coins had been 1 :12 or 1 : 13, the mint ratio had been fixed at 1 :16. 1d The Third Mysore War did not allow him, however, to continue with mono-metallism and in 1793 the gold mohur reappeared, valued at 16 sicca rupees. 1 ® This experiment, almost a counsel of despair under the prevailing monetary stringency and the exigency of war-finance, was bound to fail like the two earlier ones and for the same cause—overvaluation of gold. 2

In Madras, too, bi-metallism was meeting with similar difficulties. The first attempt was made there in 1749 when 250 Arcot rupees (each containing 166.477 grains of fine silver) were legally rated at 100 star pagodas (each containing 42.048 grains of gold), which were the traditional currency in that region. Compared to the market ratio the star pagoda had been undervalued, 3 and, after a few years of close proximity in the 1770’s, the legal and the market ratios once again swung apart when the Third Mysore War began to cause heavy import of silver from Bengal. It had been a mistake to fix the ratio at 365 to 100 in 1790, but it was aggravated in 1797 by raising the ratio still further to 350 : 100. Bi-metallism on wrong lines ended in failure and caused disappearance of tne pagodas. 4 In Bombay the mohur was at first overvalued, 5 but the change in 1774 brought it down almost to the market ratio. The introduction of debased Surat rupees at par, however, frustrated the designs of the Government and drove out Bombay rupees as also the gold mohurs. It was resolved to alter the standard of the mohur to that of the Surat rupee so as to give a ratio of 1 to 14.9, but the market ratio, inclined towards 1 to 15.5, caused the failure of the experiment.

In the light of this sad experience of bi-metallism in all the three Presidencies, and under the influence of Lord Liverpool, the Court* of Directors decided for a silver standard in 1806, the rupee having a gross weight of 180 grains troy (pure silver content being 165 grains). 6 The principal object was fixity of value. The Court believed that they were restoring the old Mughul Unit, which could also become a unit of weights and measures and be easily assimilated to the English Unit. The proposed standard of fineness agreed so closely with Bombay, Madras and Furrukabad rupees that a uniformity could be obtained without much dislocation.

The Court's order was first carried out in Madras in 1818, when the Arcot rupee and the star pagoda were replaced by a silver rupee and a gold rupee of the weight and fineness decided by the Court. 7

Bombay followed in 1824. 8 Bengal eliminated the Banaras rupee in 1819 and brought the Furrukabad rupee (current in Lakhhau region) in line with Bombay and Madras rupees in 1833. 9 With the exception of the Bengal sicca and gold mohur, a uniformity of coinage had been accomplished. The Bengal Government clung to the bimetallic standard and Madras continued the system of double legal tender at a fixed ratio.

Rapid growth of internal and extena^ trade, however, brought from the European merchants and agency houses a persistent demand for a common currency based on a single unit in place of a uniform curency composed of like independent units. Secondly, the surplus of one Presidency was not available for the deficiency of another without passing through the mint. 10 By the Act XVII of 1835 a common silver currency was introduced in India as the sole legal tender, with a rupee weighing 1 tola or 180 grs. troy and containing 165 grs. of fine silver. It was not substitution of gold standard by silver standard but of bi-metallism by monometallism. That it was to be silver monometallism instead of gold was decided by prevalent theories (of Locke, Harris and Petty) as well as practice (though not of England), 11 and popular preference played its part. Gold, however, continued to be freely coined at the Mint and to increase the revenue from seignorage, the Government authorised in 1841 receipt of gold mohurs of the same weight and fineness at the treasuries at the gold-silver ratio of 1 to 15. Discovery/of gold fields in Australia and California, however, upset the ratio; gold became overvalued, and the privilege granted in 1841 was withdrawn in 1852. 12

The British system of revenue and finance and the enormous increase of trade called forth an increased demand for cash. But after 1850 the production of silver did not keep pace with the needs of the world, especially of countries like India, placed on an exclusive silver basis. To make matters worse, a large part of the coined silver was diverted from monetary to non-monetary purposes. As Cassels wrote in his minute on Gold Currency for India, "the mint has been pitted against the smelting pot, and the coin produced by so much patience and skill by the one has been rapidly reduced into bangles by the other." 13 The problem could not have been solved by augmenting the import of silver which had already reached the highest peak. 14 The lack of credit was woeful. Isspe of interest-bearing treasury notes failed, as it was insufficient, confined in time to twelve months and in place to the Presidency towns. 16 By 1856' only twelve banks were in operation, of which the Bank of Bengal alone had more than a million pounds worth of notes in circulation. 16

Under these circumstances the demand for a gold currency grew stronger. 17 But Sir Charles Wood (President of the India Board) was against a double standard and feared that a pure gold standard (where a sovereign worth ten rupees would be legal tender), when gold supply had become so abundant, would benefit the debtors only. 18 When he became the first Secretary of State for India, the situation had worsened* and in 1859 he was "thinking of trying a paper currency convertible at large treasuries and receivable as revenue". 19 He agreed with Wilson's (the first Finance Member of the India Government) paper currency plan except its provision for a fixed bullion reserve and its dependence in crisis on sale of securities. 20 Wilson's scheme of 1/3 silver reserve would end in issue of paper notes to three times the amount of bullion paid in. "The danger of an ill-regulated paper currency is that it is often issued beyond what would have been coined, and not diminished when coin would have been melted or exported.... The quantity to be fixed is not.... the quantity of bullion, but the quantity of notes to be issued without bullion or coin." 21 In his view the sum beyond which all notes must be on metal basis should be fixed at 4 crores.[22]

Laing, Wilson’s successor as Finance Member, introduced some important changes in the original bill. First, he raised the lowest denomination of notes from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20. Secondly, he proposed to accept gold bullion or coin and issue against that notes to an extent not exceeding one-fourth of the total amount of issues represented by coin and bullion. Thirdly, he proposed that only the Bank of Bengal (and other Presidency banks, if need oe) would get notes for coin and act as agent of issue, for which it will receive a commission of 3/4%. Laing explained in a minute that his object was “simply to leave the door open for cautious and tentative experiments with regard to the future use of gold” for which there was a popular demand.[23] Wood was furious and stormed at the innovations. First, people would bring gold, take notes against it, and then demand silver if the Government rate of exchange held out any hope of profit. Secondly, higher denomination notes were useless in a country of low wages. Thirdly, mixing up of Government note circulation with banking business was not only dangerous but sheer throwing of money on the banks.[24] Lord Elgin agreed.[25]

Wood considered himself an expert on paper currency. He dwelt on the danger of over-issue and he even suspected a* conspiracy between the promoters of the new plan, the British merchants, who were its supporters, and the Bank.[26] “I admit the infinite temptation to the Bank to go on as usual in dangerous times, and to trust to issuing beyond the mark when the pinch comes. The general body of the mercantile community are, I daresay, for this system. It comes in aid of them when they have got into difficulty.... ”[27]

The paper currency, established under Act XIX of 1861, did not prove the panacea it was avowed to be, and the value of total note circulation by the end of 1863 reached 6 crores of rupees, which, in Cassels’ view, was about 6% of the whole metallic currency. An unprecedented demand for Indian cotton, caused by the American Civil War, resulted in a heavy pressure for currency which proved inadequate. Once again the cry arose for a gold currency [28] and for restoration of the clauses in Laing's Paper Currency Act, ruled out as offensive by Wood. [29] Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had succeeded Laing, openly advocated a gold standard: sovereigns and half-sovereigns should be legal tender at the rate of one sovereign for Rs. 10, and currency notes should be convertible either for rupees or sovereigns, but net for bullion. The Government of India accepted the proposal [30] but the Secretary of State would not allow any deviation from the mono-metallic system, i.e. the transitional stage of double standard envisaged in Trevelyan's plan. He not only found flaw in the undervaluing of sovereign [31] but objected on principle to a double standard, in which the cheaper metal would prevail. "You cannot by law make it cheaper to use gold, for that would be a fraud if done intentionally, and if it is more convenient to use gold in spite of some small loss, the people would do so without a law". [32] He would only concede acceptance of gold coin at a rate to be fixed by the Government without making it a general legal tender. As the notification of November 1864 fixed the value of a sovereign at Rs. 10, below the real par, it remained inoperative.

The currency situation forced the Government to appoint the Mansfield Commission in 1866 which advised acceptance of gold as legal tender. [33] The Government dared not act on this recommendation and only raised the exchange rate for a sovereign to Rs. 10-4 annas (1868). As the cotton boom died down, the excessive pressure for currency abated and the home authority congratulated itself on its wisdom in sticking to the silver standard of 1835, now supplemented by paper. A little too soon, as events proved.

The author of this Chapter finds no evidence in the private correspondence of the time of any sinister design of the India Office to make a profit on remittances by retaining the silver standard. Introduction of a gold standard might have been easier at this stage and might have averted misfortunes occurring in future, but to criticize Wood with our knowledge of later events would be unhistorical. His personal experience was against it, he found support in the academic circles, [24] lie could never trust Laing or Trevelyan fully [36] , and

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the issue of note circulation was mixed up with the grant of a commission to, and keeping of large Government balances with, the Persidency Banks, much to his distaste. Wilson and his successors were well-known champions of British planters and capitalists and their hobnobbing with the Bengal Bank was suspect in the eyes of the Secretary of State. One of the reasons why the paper currency did not assume a large proportion was neglect of Wood's criticism of higher denomination notes. 36 On the controversy over the use of banks as commission agents, both parties were wrong. Owing to the prevalence of internal exchange, the profit on remittances on different centres Was so great that the commission of 3/4% proved to be little inducement to the banks and the agreement on this score had to be dropped in 1866. 37 No doubt the Independent Treasury System contributed to the difficulty of encashability of notes, and keeping of Government balances with the banks for this purpose and by way of compensation for the loss of their right of note issue may not be inherently bad, but the failure of the Bank of Bengal in 1863 and of the Bank of Bombay in 1874 to meet Government drafts showed that Wood's apprehensions were not unfounded. Moreover, there was little bank credit available in India to supplement Government currency and, credit. The mistake lay in a slavish imitation of the English system which would not work under Indian conditions. 38

The problem of the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not, however, the lack of elasticity but the violent fluctuations of the rupee-sterling exchange. The rate of exchange for a sicca rupee had been 2s. 6d. sterling before 1813. So long as the excess of exports over imports remained equal to the annual private remittable income and the annual home charges remittable by the Company (about two crores and a half in 1818), 33 the exchange would remain at par. If it rose above, there would be a favourable exchange, and if it fell below, the exchange would decline. Up to 1816 the actual excess of exports per annum was sufficient to convey the remittable capital. But with the increasing British imports since 1818-19 the amount of remittable capital shot up to cause a fall of exchange. As remittance through trade languished, the exchange fell further. 43 The normal rate ultimately steadied round 1 rupee for Is. l(Hd 4 ■

So steady was this rate up to 1872 42 that few people were conscious that India and Britain were on different currency standards. In 1873 gold-silver exchange lost its old moorings and this dislocation was reflected in the rupee-sterling exchange. The rupee was worth 22^ d. in 1873, and by 1878 fell to 19? d. There was a slight recovery in 1879 and 1880 and then a slight fall to 19 T c d. in 1884.

From 1885 began a period of rapid fall which reached 14.5d. in 1893. 43

The fall in the gold value of silver, which caused this, has been explained in either of two ways 44 —(1) a great increase in the production of silver as'compared to that of gold, and (2) demonetization of silver by the principal countries of the world. Rival schools of interpretation grew up round these alternative explanations. It has been shown that silver had been most of the time falling in proportion, and though the proportion began to rise since 1873, it did not reach half the magnitude it had reached in the beginning of the 18th centufy. Secondly, there was little correlation between the supply and value of silver. If over-supply was the cause of fall in the value of silver after 1873, why did it not operate in the same way in the case of gold in the 1850’s? 45 Goschen concluded that fall in the gold value of silver could be explained by (1) demonetization policy of Germany and Scandinavia, (2) financial distress of Austria and Italy which had forced them to inflate their paper currency beyond measure and so to drive out silver, (3) cessation of silver purchase by France, and (4) the much diminished demand from India (during depression following the cotton boom). 46 Lord Salisbury considered these factors temporary and optimistically prepared himself for a fall up to 18 d. in 1876. The real crux in his view was not Bismarck but India which had absorbed 70% of the total production during the last 24 years. With the prosperity of the Indian purchaser, the demand for silver would rise and, naturally, its value. 47 He would not listen to the cry for a gold standard raised by the European chambers of commerce. 48

The question could not be shelved two years later. The fall continued and the Government of India, with its expenditure account already swollen by the Afghan War, was faced with a rapidly rising sterling commitment. 49 Strachey proposed limitation on coinage of the rupee. 50 The Lords of the

Treasury, to whom the draft Bill was referred, were still undecided as to the cause of the fall in exchange, and considered that the proposals aimed at relieving the India Government from loss by exchange on the home remittances, the civil and military servants who desired to remit money to England, and the British capitalists who had invested money in India and wished to remit profits home. “But this relief will be given at the expense of the Indian tax payer,-and with the effect of increasing every debt or fixed payment in India, including debts due by ryots to money-lenders”, while, so far as the Government was concerned, its good effect would be qualified by enhancement of its obligations contracted on a silver basis. 61

As the rupee fell very slightly over the next six years, there was a lull in the currency debate. Early in 1886 the rupee began to show a steep downward trend and the Government had to find out more*and more rupees to meet its sterling payments. 52 Dufferin sent a frantic telegram for permission to establish a bi-metallic currency. Randolph Churchill, the Secretary of State, confessed that it was a question “of which.. .1 am as ignorant as a carp and of which I now have neither the time nor the industry to commence the practical and effective study.” 63 Others seemed to be equally confused and “I can only harp again on the old recommendation of economy”. The recommendation did not go well with the Burma War. The Liberal Kimberley could offer nothing better than his Conservative predecessor, 64 and his Conservative successor, Lord Cross, would not agree to bi-metallism. 65 He referred the question to the Finance Committee of the India Council, which urged on the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, as fall of rupee by every penny meant an additional charge of £1 million, and the only remedy, reimposition of customs or increase of salt tax, would be politically undesirable. The Treasury refused once again to countenance bi-metallism, and to the objections, put forward by Sir Stafford Northcote six years earlier, they added a positive argument, namely, the great stimulus which the fall in exchange had given to India’s export trade. 66

The rupee continued to fall. The International Conference of Brussels in 1892, like its two predecessors of Paris (1878, 1881), produced no change in the situation. It was, moreover, likely that the ‘U.S.A. would repeal the clauses of the Sherman Act, which provided for the annual purchase of 54 million ounces of silver. There was a fall in the gold value of rupee securities 67 and the British investors fought shy of the Indian market, which seriously affected the Government's "extraordinary public works". The municipalities and the local boards suffered] for reduction of central financial aid. Though the official rate of exchange, somewhat higher than the market rate, afforded some relief to the civil and military servants at the cost Qf the exchequer, they could not remit as profitably as they had done before 1873.

Quite different, it has been assumed, was the effect on India's trade. R. C. Dutt and others held that, favoured by the fall in exchange, the total trade of the country had more than doubled itself in twenty years. 58 Secondly, the progress in the direction of manufactures was marked, with a chain reaction on Indian agriculture. Taking 1868-69 as the base year (— 100) the exports of wheat had grown to 11,001.44 in 1891-92, and of tea to 1,075.75. The Indian manufactures were almost ousting the English products from the eastern

markets. It is debatable, however, whether a change in the real terms of trade between two countries can take place without a change in the comparative cost of their respective products. 59 Fall in exchange would act as a bounty to the Indian producer only if the fall of silver in England in terms of gold was greater than the fall of silver in terms of commodities in India. Such an assumption was groundless, and there was no extraordinary flow of silver to India, which must have resulted if it were correct. If there w r as a bounty to exporters, it was temporary, and it was at the cost of the wageearners and the primary producers, 60 whose lot escaped the notice of the Indian historians, the members of the India Council and the Lords of the Treasury. The repeated attempts of the India Government to secure permission for bi-metallism came to nothing, and it was treated as a villain in the International Conferences, manoeuvring to pounce upon the dwindling gold stock. In 1892 it was praying once again for the closing of the Indian mints to the unlimited coinage of silver. 61

The Herschell Committee (1892-93) was satisfied with these proposals and its recommendations were carried into effect on 26 June, 1893, by Act VIII and three executive notifications. (1) Free coinage of silver was stopped but Government could coin rupees in exchange for gold at Is- 4d. per rupee. This was equivalent to a bullion parity of 43.1 pence per ounce. (2) Gold sovereigns and half-sovereigns would be received in satisfaction of public dues at the rate of 15 rupees and Rs. 7/8 annas respectively. (3) Currency notes would be issued in exchange for gold coin at the above rate and gold bullion at one rupee for 7.53344 grs. troy of fine gold. (4) Gold coins and bullion would be received by the Mint Masters on certain conditions. The British Treasury almost sacrificed Indian interests for an agreement with France and the U.S.A. on a stable monetary par of exchange between gold and silver (which would have nullified the Act of 1893), but the Government of India's strong stand saved the situation. 62 Thus did India go off the silver standard to which she has never returned.

Once, however, the rupee-stock was exhausted, the new arrangements began to show strain. The discount in the Indian money market rose to 16%. In fact, the currency system was still inelastic, hardly able to provide for expansion. The India Government (Probyn plan) proposed additions to currency through the use of gold by making the sovereign general legal tender, 65 though the Government could alternatively coin rupees whenever in need (Lindsay's plan). 64 Under the pressure of the European Chambers of Commerce, Westland, the Finance Member, was asking for a gold standard with a gold currency, G4a while the advocates of the latter course proposed a gold standard without a gold currency. The Fowler committee of 1898 was called upon to choose between them. It rejected both Probyn's and Lindsay's plans. Instead, it recommeded a gold standard with gold coins in circulation, making the sovereign legal tender and a current coin. But stringency in the moneymarket was against limiting the legal tender quality of rupees. The Government should be ready to use gold to support exchange and should coin no more rupees until the proportion of gold in the currency exceeded the public requirements. The Act XXII of 1899 was passed accordingly, making the British sovereign and half sovereign legal tender and a current coin at the rate of Rs. 15 and Rs. 7J respectively (Is. 4d. the rupee) and authorizing issue of notes in exchange for them. 66

But the Government of India’s scheme failed to materialize and its rival plan (A. M. Lindsay’s) ultimately came to be adopted as the Gold Exchange Standard. 66 According to that plan the Government was to give rupees in every case in return for gold, and gold for rupees only in case of foreign remittances. It was to be worked through the sale of rupee drafts in London without limit (called Council Bills) and of sterling drafts in India (called Reverse Councils) as rupees or gold were wanted. The former was launched in 1904 when the Secretary of State promised to sell Council Bills at Is. 4£d. the rupee (which was the normal gold import point) without limit, and the latter came in 1908 when sterling drafts began to be sold at Is. 3JJ d. the rupee. The Gold Standard Reserve was instituted in 1900 out of profits on coinage, and its rupee branch was opened in 1907 as an emergency fund to avoid delay in shipping bullion from London and coining it in India. By 1913 it was already over £ 22 million, largely in liquid form, and able to meet any crisis. Besides this, the India Government built up two reserves, one of gold and the other of rupees, out of cash balances and the paper currency reserve. The gold part of the reserves was mainly located in London and the silver in India. The plain effects were, therefore, that (1) the gold sovereign become full legal tender, 67 (2) the silver rupee remained full legal tender, (3) the rupee, unlimited in issue, became inconvertible, till a fall in exchange, and, even then, without any guarantee of convertibility, and (4) that the Government alone had now the monopoly pf coining silver did not prevent an overissue.

II. BANKING

The house of Jagat Seths dominated the field of indigenous banking in Bengal (and outside Bengal) before its conquest by the East India Company. 68 Mir Kasim’s ruinous expropriation, loss of the privilege to receive Government revenues after 1765, and transfer of the treasury to Calcutta in 1772 brought about the fall of the house, and on its ruins sprang up numerous native shroffs like Hazari Mai, Dayal Chand and Monohar Das Dwarka Das. Meanwhile, the European agency houses of Calcutta had added banking to their multifarious business, and we hear of the Bank of Hindostan, run by A iexander & Co. (1770), the Bengal Bank (1784), and the General Bank of India (1786), the last-mentioned being the earliest joint-stock bank with limited liability.[69] The Bengal Bank had official proprietors and tried to secure Government patronage, but the General Dcnk was more fortunate. On lending twenty lakhs of current rupees to Cornwallis, it secured recognition, of its notes and became virtual bankers of the Government. There were runs on the Bengal Bank and the Bank of Hindostan when news of British reverses in the Third Anglo-Mysore War reached Calcutta, and they failed in 1791. The Government came to their assistance in view of the possible disastrous effects on public credit, public contractors and holders of Government securities.[70] The latter survived with this help.

In 1806 Barlow proposed the establishment of a chartered bank at Calcutta to be “of the greatest service to the commercial interests of this Presidency” and to “afford the most essential aid to all the financial operations of this government, by defeating the measures and combinations to which the numerous individuals at this Presidency .. . invariably resort, for the depreciation of public securities, whenever an opportunity is afforded to them for that purpose, by the pressure of public or private distress.[71] Pending the Court’s decision, a provisional bank[72] was set up with nine directors, three n™ linated by the Government and six nominated by the subscribers (each share was worth Rs. 10,000), till a formal election should take place on the Court’s approval. The notes of the Bank soon replaced the depreciated Treasury Bills. But the Court suspected the move to be in the interest of the agency houses,[73] and withheld its sanction to a permanent institution till 1808. The Bank of Bengal, the first Chartered Bank in India, was launched on its career on 2 January, 1809, with a capital of 50 lakhs. It was entrusted with the funds GO lakhs) of the Government, its notes alone were recognized, and *t monopolized all business, with the Bengal Bank defunct, the Central Bank dissolved, and the Bank of Hindostan moribund.

The tragic failure of the agency houses of Calcutta between 1826 and 1832 underlined the urgent necessity of expansion of commercial banking. Banking business had always been an adjunct to their multifarious trading and financial activities. Run on unscientific lines and drained of funds to bolster marginal indigo concerns or to satisfy claims of departing partners, they could not cope with the crisis. Cheaper and safer banking was a battle cry cf the free-traders of 1833, and their victory was clinched by the grant of a charter to the Union Bank in 1835. 74 The first Bank of Bombay was established under a charter, similar to that of the Bank of Bengal, in 1840, and the Bank of Madras followed in 1843. 7b Until 1862 the three Presidency Banks worked under severe restrictions (a price for th&ir privileges), the most important of which was limitation on purchase or sale of bills on London, China, etc. i.e. on exchange operations.

The Union Bank, however, crashed with many other private banking and agency concerns during the crisis of 1847-48. “In the absence of established and well-accredited means of conducting tKe exchanges, a system had arisen exactly similar in its nature to that known at home by the term ‘accommodation bills’.. .Houses in Calcutta drew upon their own Houses in London and the Houses in London to cover themselves drew new sets of Bills and, with the proceeds of such Bills, purchased other Bills upon other Houses. . .and (Calcutta Houses) transmitted them to the Houses in London to pay former Bills of their own drawing”. Thus an enormous amount of cross bills became current, representing no transactions, and, what was even worse, drawn without any regard to the state of exchange, under the dire necessity to meet engagements at all hazards. The crisis once again underlined the danger of a policy of exclusiveness pursued by the Company. Until a liberal policy was adopted to encourage commercial and exchange banking on legitimate lines, a fictitious and unsound system was bound to reappear. 76

The Court opposed such a policy as late as 1852. Authority had been given to the three Presidency Banks to issue notes to the aggregate amount of 5 crores of rupees, but notes to the/amount of only 2 crores were in circulation. The minimum cash balance had been fixed at one-feurth of the outstanding obligations, but the cashbalances actually kept were only a little below the obligations in two cases and, in one case, went above. The Presidency Banks could easily enlarge their liabilities to three times under the so-called restrictive system. Outside the Presidency towns the number of unchartered banks were 7 in Bengal and 2 in Bombay—the biggest in the former being the Agra and United Service Bank (est. 1833) with a paid up capital of 60 lakhs, the North-West Bank of India (est. 1844) with 23 lakhs and the Delhi Bank (est. 1844) with 16 lakhs, while the Oriental Bank (est. 1842) and the Commercial Bank of India (est. 1845) of Bombay had a proposed capital of 2 crores and 1 crore respectively. Only the Bombay banks issued notes to a small

extent. 77 The Court, moreover, considered combination of banking and remittance operations unwise and refused to grant the privilege of note issue to other than the Presidency Banks.

Whatever the Court might say, the rapid rise of the value of the banking shares and the amount of dividends paid by the best banks 7e showed a considerable scope of expansion for ordinary banking, and the phenomenal increase of India's trade with Britain and the Far East had been calling for introduction of exchange banking. The note circulation of unchartered banks was restricted because their notes were not accepted in the treasuries. The cry against monopoly had been raised in the forties, 79 and the Oriental Bank (est. 1842) had secured permission from the British Treasury (1851) to establish agencies in India "for the purposes of exchange, deposit and remittance" to facilitate its banking operations in Ceylon, Mauritius and Hongkong. The Court had opposed the charter but it had been established in law that the Crown could grant it for the limited purpose of exchange, deposit and remittance. The first round had been won and the second round opened in the fifties, w r hen memorials poured upon the India Board and the Treasury for permission to establish more exchange banks. 80 Wilson, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, advised Wood to initiate a liberal policy. A grant of limited liability (to double the amount of shares held) in exchange for checks and safeguards (viz. capital to be entirely paid up in two years, etc.) would be much safer than an insistence on unlimited liabilitv without checks. ei The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China received the Royal Charter on 29 December, 1853, as a result of this debate, but commenced business only from 1858.

The whole position was reviewed in 1861 in connection with the passing of the Act XIX. Till that year the Government had not issued any notes and the three Presidency Banks were the most important note-issuing banks. When the Government deprived them of the right of note-issue by the Act XIX, it relaxed the statutory limitations on their business and granted them certain benefits as its agents for transacting the paper currency. 82 The agency was taken away in 1866. The Bank of Bombay was dissolved in 1868, though a new bank of the same name was floated in the same year. The Presidency Banks Act of 1876, £2a amended in 1879, 1899 and 1907, governed them till the formation of the Imperial Bank of India G921). The Act of 1876 imposed severe restrictions on the charter and mode of their business. They could not deal in exchange, borrow or receive deposits payable out of India, or lend money for a period longer than three months (till 1907, then six months), or upon mortgage or on immovable property. In return, the Government relin

quished its share of capital and abandoned the policy of direct interference in management. But they also ceased to enjoy the use of Government balances by the development of the Reserve Treasury System, and in 1877 the Secretary of State refused to allow them to set up agencies in England. In spite of this, their total deposits rose from 6.4 crores in 1870 to 14.76 crores in 1890, to 32.34 crores in 1910. and to 76.18 crores in 1921. 83 They became bankers for the Government and, increasingly, banker's banks, i.e. the backbone of the internal banking system. Keynes' able advocacy for a Central Bank 833 before the Chamberlain Commission bore fruit in the amalgamation of these banks in 1921 in the Imperial Bank of India, though it differed in vital respects from his model.

As the Presidency Banks were precluded from dealing in foreign exchange, the Exchange Banks came to fill the gap. To the Oriental Bank and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China were added the National Bank of India (1863), the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (1864), and the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China, etc. With the sudden fall of cotton prices after the end of the American Civil War, Liverpool was hard hit, the Overend Gurney & Co. failed, and the depression spread to Bombay. It overwhelmed the Commercial Bank Corporation of the East, the Agra and Masterman's Bank and the Asiatic Banking Corporation. At the beginning of 1866 there had been 24 exchange banks in Bombay and 22 in Calcutta. The following year there were only seven left in India. The Oriental Bank (first Chartered Exchange Bank) 84 crashed in 1884, and the new Oriental Bank, which replaced it next year, went into liquidation in 1893. By the turn of the century the Agra Bank was liquidated. The Exchange Banks suffered from the constant fluctuation of exchange rate during these years and made a most important contribution to India's economic development by assuming responsibility for a large part of the exchange risks. Besides these, there were agencies of banking corporations doing business all over Asia (major portion outside India), like Yokohama Specie Bank or Comptoir National d' Escompte de Paris. In 1921 the total number of banks of both these varieties was 17. Their aggregate paid up capital had risen to £66,369,000, reserve and rest to £45,263,000, while their deposits outside India amounted to £526,473,000 and in India to Rs. 75,19,61,000. When we remember that their total Indian deposits in 1870 amounted to only 52 lakhs of rupees, the progress is indeed striking. Their only defect was dangerously low cash balances which invited Professor Keynes' warning in 1913. 86

The Indian Joint Stock Banks form a third category. Official banking statistics from 1913 have divided them into two classes— (1) those having a paid up capital and reserves of and over 5 lakhs of rupees, and (2) those having a paid up capital and reserves between 1 lakh and 5 lakhs. There were seven banks of the former type in 1870, mostly under European management. Only three of them—the Bank of Upper India (1863), the Allahabad Bank (1865) and the Bangalore Bank (1868) survived. Seven more were added between 1870 and 1894 of which the Alliance Bank of Simla (1874) and the Punjab National Bank (1894) were prominent. A fresh outburst occurred from 1904 and many important banks like the Bank of India (paid up capital—-50 lakhs, reserve, etc.—5J lakhs), the Indian Specie Bank and the Central Bank of India were founded. 86

1. Murshid Quli Khan had frustrated their earlier attempts, and the three Bengal revolutions between 1757-1763 did not give them an opportunity.

la. Sir James Steuart, The Principles of Money applied to the Present State of . the Coin in Bengal, 1772.

lb. J. C. Sinha, "Economic Theorist among the Servants of John Company," Economic Journal , March, 1925.

lc. N. K. Sinha, An Economic History of Bengal, VoL I, p. 123.

l d. A. Tripathi, Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833, p. 14.

le. See preamble of Regulation XXXV of 1793. .

2. Sir John Shore’s minute, Bengal Public Consultations, 29 Sept., 1796. F. C. Harrison, ‘The Past Action of the Indian Government with regard to Gold*, Economic Journal, Vol. HI. pp. 54 ff.

3. In 1768 100 star pagodas were worth 370 arcot rupees in the market.

4. See H. Dodwell, ‘Substitution of Silver for Gold in South India*, Indian Journal of Economics, January, 1921.

5. See report of Dr. Scott on the History of Coinage in the Bombay Presidency, with appendices; Bombay Public Consultations, 27 January, 1801.

6. Court to G. G. in C^ 25 April, 1806: “To adjust the relative values of gold and silver coin according to the fluctuations in the values of the metals would create continual difficulties, and the establishment of such a principle would of itself tend to perpetuate inconvenience and loss.*’

7. Madras Public Consult. No. 19, 7 January, 1818.

8. Bombay Financial Consult., 6 October, 1824.

9. Bengal Regulation XI of 1819 and VII of 1833.

10. Bombay Financial Consult., 25 February and 14th April, 1824.

11. That the issue had not been finally decided in England was clear from Peel’s famous proviso in the Bpnk Charter Act of 1844.

12. Dalhousie took fright at the unexpected depreciation of the value of gold. See Halifax to Northbrook, 7 Dec., 1872, Northbrook Papers (C.R.O.) VoL I, pp. LXXXV-LXXXVH.

13. Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1863-64, App. I, p. 189.

14. Ibid.

15. A.C.B. London, How to meet the Financial Difficulties of India (1859), p. 13.

16. R. M. Martin, The Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 565.

17 Papers relating to the Introduction of a Gold Currency in India , 186b, pp. 1-3.

18. Wood to Dalhousie, 24 April, 1854, Wood (Halifax) Papers (India Board),

Vol. V. p. 24. ■

19. Wood to Elphinstone, 31 August, 1859, ibid (India Office), Vol. I. p.-98.

20. Same to same, 2 November, ibid, p. 204.

21. Wood to H. Frere, 24 November, 1860, ibid, Vol. V, pp. 112-14.

22. Wood to Laing, 26 March 1861, ibid, Vol. VII, pp. 64-66.

23. Laing's minute on Currency and Banking, 7 May, 1862.

24. Wood to Laing, 31 March, 1861, Halifax Papers, op cit., pp. 92-102; same tc same, 26 March, 1862, ibid. Vol. X, p. 122.

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Elgin to 'Wood, 28 April, 1862, Elgin Papers, Vol. I. f. 88.

Wood to Elgin, 9 April, 1862, ibid, f. 160. He later wrote to Trevelv.^ that both Beadon and Grey were shareholders of the Bank.

Wood to Elgin, 15 September, 1862, Halifax Papers, op. cit., Vo!. XI, p. 136. Report of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1863-64. App. I, p. 206.

All the Chambers of Commerce petitioned the Government. Their great champion was Sir William Mansfield. See his minute on gold currency for India, House of Commons Return 79 of 1865.

Despatch No. 89, 14 July, 1864.

Wood to Bertie Frere, 16 January, 1864, Halifax Papers, op. cit., Vol. XV, p. 198; Wood to Trevelyan, 3 May. 1864, ibid, Vol. XVI, p. 226; same to same, 11 June, 1864, ibid, Vol. XVII, p. 84.

Same to same, 31 August, 1864, ibid, Vol. XVIII p. 64.

For Report see House of Commons Return 148 of 1868.

Professor J. E. Caimes, for example.

The past careers of both justified it to some extent.

B. R. Ambedkar, The Problem of the Rupee, p. 56. Five rupee notes were issued from 1871.

See House of Commons Return, East India (Paper Money), 215 of 1862.

See Professor Marshall's evidence before the Fowler Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Q. 11776.

See A. Tripathi, op cit., pp. 168-70.

Ibid.

It actually meant that gold-silver exchange became stable at the ratio of 1 to 15£, for, in absence of a common metal standard, exchange is governed by the relative value of metals.

There were fluctuations on a limited scale. The rupee fell to Is. 9d. in 1848-49(a year of trade depression) and rose to about 2s, between 1850-53, 1855-60, 1862-64, which came to be considered as the normal level. Private merchants complained of arbitrary changes in the rate of exchange by the Court of Directors to suit their own needs.

Report, Indian Currency Committee (1893), App. II, p. 270. See also correlation of exchange and silver prices in Dickson H. Leavens, Silver Money Indiana, 1939), p. 11, Chart 2.

See Leavens, op. cit., Chapt. V.

The value of silver, expressed in gold, changed only from 594d. in 1848 to 60£d. in 1870, i.e., by 2%.

Salisbury to Lytton, 30 June, 1876. Lytton Papers (C.R.O.), Vol. I. He might have added (1) suspension of free coinage of silver in the U.SA. from 1873 and (2) partial suspension in Russia from 1876.

Same to same, 22 August, 1876, ibid.

Same to same, 12 Sept., 1876, ibid.

^ ear * Total excess of rupees needed to provide for the net sterling

payments over those required in 1874-75.

1875 86,97,980

1876 3,15,06,820

1877 1,30,05,481

1878 1,85,23,170

See Report of the Indian Currency Committee, (1893), App. 2, p. 270. Financial Despatch, 9 November, 1878. The resident Englishman, officer or wL der ’ received his salary or profits in rupees, was in a quandary. « to India brought him a remittance of £ 10 before,

depreciation of gold value of the rupee now brought him only £ 7-10s. This is from Sir Stafford Northcote. Goschen was against restrictions on 811(1 Gdfen thought gold was appreciating. See Salisbury to Lytton, 3 January and 2 February, 1879. Lytton Papers, op. cit., Vol. IV.

Total excess of rupees needed over those needed in 1874 4,269,16,788 4,6343461 9,00,38466 7,75,96389 9,0641357 10,44,44,529

Year

1886

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Report of the Indian Currency Committee, op. cit.

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Randolph Churchill to Lord Dufferin, 14 January, 1886.

Dufferin Papers in microfilm, C.R.O.

Kimberley to Lord Dufferin, 21 May, 1886, ibid.

Lord Cross to Lord Dufferin, 13 August, 1886, ibid.

They considered a fixed ratio between gold and silver utterly impracticable. Treasury to India office, 31 May, 1886.

Report of the Indian Currency Committee, (1893), App. 2. p. ?72.

Year	Exports.	Imports.
	Rs.	Rs.
1870-71	57,556,951	39,913,942
*1873-74	56,548,842	36,43,210
1878-79	64,919,741	44,857,343
1883-84	89,186,397	68,157,311
1888-89	98,833,879	83,285,427
*1891-92	111,460,278	84,155,045

See evidence and memorandum of Professor Marshall before the Royal Commission on Gold, and Silver (1886). A favourable effect of depreciation has not been proved in the case of wheat exports. See Karl Ellstaetter, The Indian Silver Currency (Chicago), Chapter II.

John Maynard Keynes, Indian Currency and Finance, pp. 2-4.

Government of India, Fin. Despatch, No. 160, 21 June, 1892, and No. 205, 2 August, 1892. The Government was losing on remittances for Home Charges, and the British in India (except the planters) had a personal interest in higher exchange. See Memorials, Herschell Committee, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 155-59. But the exporters of cotton piece-goods to India opposed it. See lansdowne Papers (C.R.O.);, Lansdowne to Kimberley, 23 August, 13 September, and 5 October, 1892 (MSS. EUR. D 558, IX, Vol. IV), and same to same, 1 February and 3 May, 1893 (MSS. EUR. D558, IX, Vol. V). Government of India, Fin. Despatch, 16 September, 1897.

Government of India, Fin. Despatch, No. 49, 17 February, 1897.

For the earliest elaboration of A. M. Lindsay's scheme, See Calcutta Review, October, 1878, and for Mr. Lesley Probyn's scheme, Economic Journal, Vol. VII, pp. 574-75. The former may be called the Gold Exchange Standard, and the latter, Gold Bullion Standard. For criticism, see evidence of Lord Rothschild before Fowler Committee.

Government of India, Fin. Despatch, No. 70, 3 March, 1898. Also see Elgin to Lord George Hamilton, 3 March, 24 March, 5 May, and 12 May, 1898. EUR. MSS. F 84, Vol. 16.

The majority of witnesses took the Home Charges for granted and the rata of Is. 4<i. for a rupee just. Of the two Indian witnesses, Mr. Rustomji recommended the reduced rate of Is. 2d. and R.C. Dutt was against artificial filing of the sterling value of rupee. Minutes of Evidence, Fowler. Committee, Q. 10,707.

See J. M. Keynes, op. cit., Chapters, II, V and VI.

The attempt of minting gold in India (1900-1901) was frustrated by the British Treasury. See ibid, pp. 64-66 for Keynes's support of the Treasury view. The hoarding habit of the Indian public and unsuitability as currency of sovereign of high value would have made the experiment a failure.

N. K. Sinha, op. cit., pp. 137-145.

H. Sinha, Early European Banking in India, p. 9.

J. C. Sinha, op. cit.

G. G. in. C. to Court (Public), 13 March, 1806. Actually, Henry St. George Tucker, the Accountant General , was behind this.

It was called “Bank of Calcutta” or “Bank of Bengal’” indifferently, in the beginning.

Court to G. G. in C. (Public), 9 Sept., 1807.

It had been founded in 1829. Dwarkanath Tagore was a director of this Bank. As Brunyate says, “out of their, (agency, houses’) ruin rose the Union Bank, a joint stock Bank created by cooperation among all the leading Calcutta houses”. Bank of Hindostan had failed with Alexander & Co.

The former started with a capital of 56 lakhs and the latter with 30. See J. Wilson’s memorandum on 'Banks in India,’ 14 March, 1853, Hafifai t Papers (India Board), op. cit

76.

77.

78.

Ibid. See also Wilson. Capital Currency and Banking (1847), and Editorials in the Economist which he had founded in 1843.

Court to the India Board, 11 November, 1852.

(a) The £ 25 share of Oriental Bank rose to £ 55/£ 60. ,,

(b) Banks Dividends last paid.

Bank of Bengal %

„ Madras 10%

„ Bombay %

Oriental Bank 10%

Commercial Bank 7%

Agra and United Service Bank 8 %

See J. Wilson to Sir Charles Wood, 22 January, 1853, Halifax Papers (India Board), op. cii.

See Auckland to Court, 21 April, 1841, and H.T. Prinsep's minute favouring establishment of exchange banks, return to House of Commons, 8 March and 7 April, 1843. Jardine of Jardine, Mathiesson & Co. made the first move for it on 3 April, 1840. Halifax Papers (India Board), op. cit.

T.W. Henderson (Chairman of Bank of Asia) to Sir Charles Wood, 16 May, 1853; G. Arbuthnot (of Oriental Bank) to same, 2 March, 1853; Memorial of Bank of Asia to the Treasury, 25 April, 1853. Ibid.

Wilson's memorandum to Wood, 11 June, 1853. Ibid.

Compton Mackenzie, Realms of Silver (1954), pp. 16-27.

82a. Sir WillianvMuir on the Presidency Banks Bill; Government of India, Legislative Proceedings, April, 1876, No. 284, Vol. 1017.

On a paid up capital of 2 erodes the Bank of Bengal paid a dividend of 8$% in 1880 which rose to 195% in 1920; on a capital of 1 crore the Bank of Bombay paid 74% in 1880 and 22% in 1920, and on a capital, rising from 50 lakhs in 1880 to 75 lakhs in 1913, the Bank of Madras paid 8% in 1880 and 18% in 1920. See Chablani, Indian Currency, Banking and Exchange, p. 154. Also J. M. Keynes, op. cit, p. 204.

Lord George Hamilton was in favour of amalgamation of Presidency Banks and establishment of a Central Bank, and Rothschild was consulted in. 1899. See Dawkins to Curzon, 20 January, 1899, and 5 October, 1900, Letters and Telegrams England and Abroad (of Curzoif), British Museum, Vol. I, p. 10 b, p. 174 a. But Law, the Finance Member, did not dare. Same to same, 28 February, 1901, ibid, p. 21L

Though Keynes calls this Delhi and London Bank the first exchange bank in India, it had more the character of an Indian joint stock bank than that of an Exchange Bank proper. Moreower, the Oriental was established two

r irs earlier.

M. Keynes, op. cit. p. 216.

Ibid. p. 224.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

LAND REVENUE POLICY

By 1818 the Permanent Settlement had lost its first bloom, and grave doubts about its wisdom had caused a reorientation of the East India Company's land revenue policy outside the Bengal Presidency. The primary object of Pitt, Dundas and Cornwallis was to secure a maximum stable revenue. In the sad state of the Company's finances, produced by the first imperialist wars and the less spectacular, though more ruinous, 'shaking of the pagoda tree* by its own servants, Hastings' quinquennial and annual settlements appeared to be costly and amateurish bungling which had ended in instability, corruption and rural stagnation. The speculating revenue-farmer had broken the personal link between the original Zamindar and his ryots , and the newly appointed Collector had been either too ignorant or too collusive. Frequent defalcations left little surplus to be invested in trade and made it extremely difficult to cope with a growing civil and military establishment. The authorities in London and India decided in this context that a moderate jumma, permanently assessed, and a hereditary ownership for the Zamindar in return for a strictly punctual payment, could alone bring the impecunious Company out of the maze created by half-understood history, widely varying customs and faulty experiments.

Professor Percival Spear's comparison of the Bengal iQpdlords with the Tudor gentry 1 betrays his ignorance of the product of the Cornwallis system, but, perhaps, he has in mind R. C. Butt's vigorous defence. 2 The Company had hoped to create an improving landlord, but its over-weening object of maximisation of revenue helped to create, in most cases, a sucker. Even before the Permanent Settlement was extended to Northern Circars and Orissa (1802-5), the defects of the system had become too glaring to be glossed over, and a painful re-appraisal led to the adoption of different land revenue policies in Madras, Bombay and North-West Provinces. The Bengal civilians were opposed to permanent assessment on financial grounds. Sir Thomas Munro's experience as a Settlement Officer in Madras convinced him of the evils of a laissez faire policy. The Benthamite Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to a Commission of Inquiry in 1819, drew attention to the existence of village proprietory bodies in N.W.P., who could not very well be treated like the Bengal Zamindars. Ricardian theory of rent became popular from the fourth decade of the nineteenth century and the Utilitarians among the Indian administrators

began to regard rent as a surplus. 2 * The Bengal system, based on single landlords and unalterable assessment, was dropped. The different systems of land tenure adopted in consequence in different parts of India have been described above in Chapters XII (Section 7) and XXVIII (Section 7).

To sum up the position in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Company's land revenue policy differed from region to region. There were policies, no one policy, based on differences in geography, history and tradition, and differences in stages in the decline of the village community and peasant rights under the double impact of the breakdown of the Mughul empire and the introduction of Western ideas of freedom of contract, utilitarianism and laissez jaire. In Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Banaras and Northern Circars, Zamindari settlement and permanent assessment prevailed. Land was held by a landlord, who paid a fixed revenue, and relations between him and his tenants were left to mutual contract, the Government keeping neutral. In Northern India prevailed (besides talukdari in Awadh which resembled the Bengal Zamindari) several systems, which were more or less variants of one another, representing various stages of the village community in decline. They were Mahalwari (in many parts of N.W.P.), village-u?ari (Delhi and the Panjab) and Malguzari (C.P.). While Malguzars held land and paid revenue

directly, the proprietors of Mahalwari areas owned severally but

•*

paid through lambardars, and those of village-taari areas owned severally but paid jointly as a village. The settlement was usually for 30 years. In Madras and Bombay the settlement was ryotwcri i.e. directly with the ryots, who paid rents to the State in the same manner, which were revisable at each settlement. 3 A tabulation of the ratio between revenue and gross produce, region by region, is

given below along with the source from which the information is derived.

Region

Bengal

N.W.P.

Madras

Bombay

Panjab

Revenue as % Source of estimate

of gross produce

5.8%

a 0/

n ,o

12 to 31%

20 to 33% 10 %

In Hunter’s Statistical Account of Bengal rent has been shown to be 20% of gross produce. The Famine Commission Report of 1878 (App., Vol. III. p. 387) makes out revenue to be 28% of rent. Thus revenue is 28% of 20% of gross produce or about

Antony Macdonnell’s evidence before Indian Currency Commission, 1898. part I, pn. 211 - 12 .

The Famine Commission Report of 1873 App., Vol. III. p. 394.

>» »» ,,

»* *» p. 8Go.

It is clear from the above that the Government demand was excessive in the ryotwari areas. So far as the tenant was concerned, he paid l/5th of gross produce as rent in Bengal and N.W.P., but considerably more in other regions.

About 1860 the Government itself had become aware of this and was thinking of extending the benefits of permanent settlement to other provinces and checking exploitation of ryots in all areas, including those permanently ’ settled. It has been described a^ove,[4] how, after a protracted discussion extending over many years this idea was finally given up.

The second important problem before the Government was relations between the landlord and the tenant in Northern India. A qualified policy of laissez jaire had been followed in this respect since 1793. The matter of rent had been left to private contract between the landlord and the tenant. Yet Regulations of early years had rendered substantial help to the stronger contracting party. It was felt in the fifties of the nineteenth century that this dubious and one-sided policy should be discarded and the ha.ance redressed. John Stuart Mill, long in the service of the Company, postulated the new philosophy of control and regulation in the interests of the tenant who had so long been the Cinderella of the land revenue policy. “When the habits of the people are such that their increase is never checked but by the impossibility of obtaining a bare support, and when this support can only be obtained from land, all stipulations and agreements respecting amount of rent are merely nominal;. the competition for land makes the tenants undertake to pay more than it is possible that they should pay, and when they have paid all they can, more must always remain due’’.[6] His remedy was that “peasant rents ought never to be arbitrary, never at the discretion of the landlord; either by custom or by law it is imperatively necessary that they should be fixed: and where no mutually advantageous custom, such as the Metayer system of Tuscany, has established itself, reason and experience recommend that they should be fixed by authority, thus changing the rent into a quit-rent, and the farmer into a peasant proprietor”.[6]

The Rent Act (Act X) of 1859[7] heralded this new approach to agrarian relations in the permanently settled areas of Bengal. The desperate resistance of the indigo-cultivators underlined the general problem. It was not for nothing that the European planters had demanded landlord rights in 1833, and acquired Zammdaris or Putnis , whenever unable to control the indigo-cultivators by the usual methods. Native landlords had been disregarding long-standing rights of occupancy, treating all ryots as tenants-at-will and rack

renting or evicting them at pleasure. It was to protect the majority of Bengal tenants, sacrificed at the altar of contract, that the Act X of 1859 was passed.

The Act X of 1859 recognized three distinct classes of tenants— (1) those holding from the time of the Permanent Settlement at a fixed rent, <2) occupancy ryots , and (3) tenants-at-will. By clause IV, holding for twenty years at the same rent furnished prima facie evidence of the first class of tenancy. Rents of the second class could not be raised except on specific reasonable grounds laid down in the law and, with certain exceptions, occupancy for twelve years was proof of such rights (Clause VI). Ryots of Bengal fell mostly under this class. Clause VIII distinguished them from the tenants-at-will who held for a lesser number of years.

Unfortunately, Canning, anxious to conciliate the Anglo-Indians, inflamed against him for his Mutiny measures, passed immediately after the Rent Act the first Temporary Contract Bill (Act XI of I860). 8 To make matters worse, Justices Peacock and Jackson interpreted a series of appeals under the great Rent Act in such a way as to nullify its object and leave the Zamindars (and the planters with Zamindari rights) the old whiphand. Moreover, Act VI (B) of 1862 contained provisions for recovery of rent, favourable to the Zamindars and planters. Charles Wood was forthright in his condemnation of such a policy. He had opposed the first Contract Bill and allowed it only as a temporary measure. 9 When Ritchie proposed to perpetuate it, he laid down the grounds of opposition—(1) general fraudulent nature of the contracts 10 and (2) impropriety of converting a civil into a criminal proceeding. Two years later we still find him opposing Maine on this matter. 11 It had only enabled the Zamindars and planters to raise rents by six times, harass tenants by litigation, 12 and evict them wholesale. It was nothing but application of the Irish methods. 13

Peacock’s first appellate decision on the position of the occupancy ryots (Class II) he viewed with equal distrust. “They have been tenants with certain rights, not easily measured in money, but always acknowledged. His decision reduces them apparently to the condition of tenants-at-will”. 14 Peacock had ruled that when an alteration in the rent was made in consequence of an increase*in the value of produce, the occupancy ryot was not entitled to have it fixed at a lower rate than that which a tenant, who did not possess occupancy rights, would give for it. He would thus make the ryot of Class II- lose his customary right (which he possessed even before the Act of 1859) and be a prey to the theory of the survival of the fittest from which the Act was supposed to protect him.

The planters were naturally taking full advantage of his ruling and instituting thousands of eviction cases, which once again threatened the peace of the country-side. Enhancement of rent by a deliberate misinterpretation of the Act was being used “as a screw to compel the cultivation of indigo”. 16

The right to enhance rent on the ground of rise of prices or increase of productive powers, independently of any action of the tenants, existed before 1859. The Act X of that year only formulated it in clear terms (Cl. XVII). But in what proportion? And who would decide? In Peacock's view the Court would decide it each year. Wood rejected it as impracticable and unfair. Then, what should be the starting point with reference to which the doctrine of proportion would work? An admitted fair rent should be the starting point and any enhancement under law would be a proportion of this fair rent. 1 © No judge could or should go into the question of fairness of the original rent. Clause XVII assumed the existing rent to be proper unless shown otherwise on grounds stated therein. Nor should Peacock challenge the twelve year occupation as proof of rights claimed by Class II tenants. “It is pretty clear to my mind that, seeing what he conceived to be the injustice to the landlord of the 12 years occupancy giving the right, he has set himself to work to invent a mode of defeating the Act. He refuses to consider the 12 years occupancy in clause VI to be proof of some antecedent right.he considers clause VI as giving, for

the first time, a right which did not exist before". 17 Campbell and Currie did not agree with Peacock. Cl. XVII was not conferring on ryots , who acquired subsequent to the Permanent Settlement, any new rights as Peacock imagined. Ryots could always obtain by common consent occupancy rights. 18 The Act X of 1859 only acknowledged the rights they already possessed. The squatter for 12 years was treated differently and the Act conferred on them new rights. Peacock confused between the two and tried to reduce the former to the level of the latter and both to that of the tenant-at-will.

To avoid all this confusion Trevelyan proposed a permanent settlement of rents. Wood took a middle way—leaving twelve years' occupation as a presumptive proof of occupancy rights and requiring a longer term for giving an absolute right to the squatter. In the struggle over the Contract Bills and Rent Act Wood saw the inevitable tendency of the superior race to extinguish the customary rights of a native people through ruthless operation of law, the meaning or process of which they scarcely understood and which was so little adapted to their habits and notions. Everywhere, in the United States. South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, he saw

a world-wide struggle for land between the whites and the coloured. It was the duty of the Government to place the rights of ryots on a footing, able to defy encroachment by capitalists and settlers. "The individual settler never can have a permanent interest in the country for he can only live there for a limited number of years.

It is the duty of the government to see that a succession of a few transitory masters do not irritate the permanent millions". 19

Wingfield did not allow Sir John Lawrence to extend to Awadli the same protection. The* first Oudh Rent Act (Act XIX of 1868) was the result of a compromise in which the Todvkdars made a few concessions to the ryots in return for the final disposal of the subsettlement question. The Act XXVII of 1868 regulated and defined their position in the Panjab, protected them from wanton enhancement, and laid down the improvements they might make and the compensation they might claim for them, on eviction. 20

The climate of opinion changed very soon. In* the seventies Duke of Argyll was arguing differently. He was opposed to the current interpretation of clause VI of the Rent Act, which made mere continuance of a holding for 12 years constitute a right of occupancy. In 1859 it was a useful rough mode of defining indefinite rights. “But to make it prospective, as well as retrospective —to provide for all future time that 12 years* undisturbed possession is always to constitute a forfeiture of ownership in favour of the tenant —is a system sure to lead to just discontent on the part both of owners and occupiers**. 21 While discussing the Rent and Revenue Bills for the N.W. Provinces he gave his views on the growth of occupancy rights under Act X of 1859. A right of occupancy did not necessarily imply a right to sit at a low preference rent. The Court should always see whether the demand for increment of rent was reasonable, but the test of reasonableness should be the standard of the market, i.e. the rent which non-occupancy ryots were found willing and able to pay for similar land in the same or similar locality. “...If we pretend to acknowledge ownership in land at all, it is monstrous to deprive owners of that which belong to them on the ground that it is ‘unearned*. It is quite as much ‘unearned* by the tenant as by the owner”. 22 The departure from Mill’s philosophy was registered in a compromise formula, drafted by Inglis, Egerton and Crosthwaite, which granted protection to the occupancy ryots for 30 years against suits for increment and protection to the landlords a'gainst easy growth of occupancy rights in future. The formula also made it unnecessary for the landlords to shift the ryots from one land to another to prevent them from acquiring occupancy rights. 23 Argyll thought protection against increment should not be given beyond 10 years. He was opposed to “manufacturing occupancy ryots on a vast scale*', who, if protected against increment for a long period, would develop into a claag of middlemen —* 'a bastard and pauper class—half farmer, half proprietor—but without the privileges which car also make either position profitable or of public advantage". 24 They would just sell away, interests thus acquired. But he had to agree to Sir William Muir's proposal of a preference rent for the occupancy ryots at 10, 20 or 25% below the market rate for similar land in the same district. In Argyll we see a vehement protagonist 1 of the doctrine of laissez faire, a staunch believer in Social Darwinism, which would countenance with satisfaction the elimination of weaker tenures through natural selection. 26 The Government of India bowed down to the Secretary of State and altered the Rent and Revenue Bills to suit Herbert Spencer's philosophy. 26

The consequences were serious. Agrarian disturbances broke out in East Bengal (especially, Pabna) in 1873, where landlords evaded the provisions of the Rent Act by frequent shifting of tenants and ignored the customary rights of those in occupation for less than 12 years. Law had taken away the protection which customhad always given,—how prophetic Wood proved! The disturbances continued for three consecutive years. In 1879 a Rent Commission was appointed which proposed recognition of a new clas s of subordinate occupancy ryots who had held land for 3 years. Alternatively, Rivers Thompson proposed to give occupancy rights to ryots who had held land in the same village or estate (not necessarily the same plot) continuously for 12 years, notwithstanding any contract to the contrary. Ripon, on his arrival, found fresh legislation absolutely necessary. 27 He preferred abandoning the twelve year rule. All land that was not private should be declared raiyati land ajjd any ryot , holding or cultivating! such land, should have an occupancy right therein, except one living far away from the land in question. No contract could defeat it, it could be transferred subject to the landlord s pre-emption, and the ryot was pntitled to compensation for improvements. Sub-letting should be discouraged, 28 Here the occupancy right attached to land rather than to the indiv idual The Secretary of State, however, preferred Rivers Thompson’s proposal, discussed above, which attached the right to the individual rather than to land and adhered to the traditional distinction between resident and non resident ryots. 29 Ripon's obvious reply was that while it protected the resident ryots, it made the position of the non-resident ryots more insecure. 30 Kimberley instructed Ripon to prepare

a bill embodying Rivers Thompson’s plan with modifications, which was introduced in the Council by Ilbert in March, 1883.

Due to vehement opposition of the landlords, led by Maharaja Jattndra Mohan Tagore, no less than five bills were drafted and the Select Committee considerably modified the original bill in their interests. In spite of this, the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 (Act VIII) was no doubt a blessing to the settled ryots. Kimberley summarised its benefits in the following way: (1) The proof of the title to occupancy right was largely facilitated- (2) The settled ryot would not be able to contract himself out of his occupancy right: (3) The principle of 'judicial rent' was more firmly established, (4) The provisions of law restricting the enhancement of rent to the amount, which could be shown to be fair and equitable, were made more effective. (5) Protection was given against too frequent repetition of enhancements and of suits for arrears. (6) By substitution of the process of sale of occupancy right for that of ejectment in execution of decrees for arrears, the value of occupancy right, of improvements and of standing crops were secured to the ryot after arrears were liquidated. The power of distraint could no longer be used for purposes of oppression nor illicit demands, in excess of legal rent, made effective. (7) The non-occupancy ryots received valuable.protection. They would ordinarily have a fair rent fixed by Court for a term and would be protected from eviction if they paid that rent. 31 By abolishing freedom of contract the Liberal Government of Ripon turned away from Darwinism of Argyll to the doctrine of regulation propounded by the Lawrence-Wood school.

The new approach bore fruit in other Provinces. Only one class of tenants had been given a privileged position in the first settlement of C.P. They were called ‘absolute occupancy tenants’, paid a fixed rent during the term of settlement and were practically unejectable. The twelve year rule had been partially adopted in other cases. Now, Act IX of 1883 allowed a tenant-at-wiil of C.P. to purchase occupancy rights by paying a fixed sum equal to thirty months' rent, prohibited further enhancement for seven years where a tenant had agreed to one enhancemeht, and provided for compensation in case of eviction. The Rent Act of 1898 (C.P.) provided that the rent of ordinary tenants was to be fixed by the settlement officers for seven years and alienation of occupancy rights was to be restricted. The Act X of 1859, which applied to Agra as well as Bengal, was not formally amended in Agra, but a number of restrictions were imposed by an Act of 1901 so as to prevent the landlord from defeating its provisions. 32 The case of tenants of N. W. P., neglected In 1868, .was taken up. About 88% of this vast area were tenants at-will and competition for land enabled the Talukdars to use eviction as a lever for enhancement. Between 1876-82 hundreds of thousands of notices were served on them to indicate a wholesale expropriation of peasantry similar to the Tudor enclosures. Though Ripon and Lyall proposed to put a curb, Kimberley temporised and nothing was done. 3 A tenancy act was passed in the Panj&b in 1887. It defined occupancy tenants as those who, for two genera* tions. had paid neither rent nor services to the proprietor, but only their share of government assessment. In the Zamindari estates of Madras every ryot, who possessed raiyati. land at the time of the passing of the Estates Land Act of 1908 (modelled on the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885), and every ryot, admitted by the landlord to the possession of raiyati land, secured a permanent right of occupancy. An Act of 1880 protected the old residential tenants of Bom* bay in the manner of occupancy ryots of Bengal.

The era of Curzon saw paternalism interfering in another sphere of agrarian relations. The problem of rural indebtedness had been attracting the anxious notice of the Government ever since the Deccan riots. The Commission appointed to enquire into their causes (1875) estimated rural indebtedness in the area to be Rs. 371 per occupant. The ryot's credit had gone up with their new rights and the increase of produce, and knowing not what to do with it, they had run into easy debt. 24 The Famine Commission of 1880 found that “about one-third of the landholding classes were deeply and inextricably in debt, and at least an equal proportion were in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves... .” 36 The Famine Commission of 1901 reported that one-fourth in Bombay had lost their lands for debt. In 1895 Sir Frederick Nicholson calculated the amount of rural indebtedness in Madras to be 45 crores, 30 The Pan jab peasants fared no better and was being forced to alienate their lands to the money-lenders, i.e. to non-cultivating classes. 37 Thorburn found that 12% of this debt was borrowed to pay land revenue. The Deccan Agriculturists’ Relief Act (1879) was the first step towards relieving the peasants of this distress. Nevertheless, it had not stopped alienation, only controlled it. 38 Curzon's Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 followed suit. Under this Act the non* agricultural classes were not allowed to buy land from the agriculturists, nor to take it in mortgage for more than 20 years. But the measure soon led to contraction of rural credit and Creation of a new class of agriculturist money-lenders. 39 Similar Acts had similar consequences in U.P. and Bombay.

Curzon failed to understand the real causes of rural indebtedness. It was not so much due to the peasant’s improvidence or love of litigation, as to exorbitant rates of interest and fraud of moneylenders, to subsistence economy and to the heavy burden of assessment. living on fragmented farms (further fragmented as population rose)/ 0 devoid of cheap credit, surrounded by powerful organizations of buyers, forced to pay a high rent before harvest could be gathered and marketed, drawn into the whirlpool of world prices, he had no alternative to the local money-lender whom he perfectly knew to be a sucker. The Government’s takavi loans, regulated by the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883 and the Agriculturists’ Loans Act of 1884, had not gone far to meet his difficulties due to paucity of funds and rigidity of administration. Sir W. Wedderbum's and Sir Raymond West’s attempts to start agricultural banks were discouraged, and Sir Frederick Nicholson’s plan for land-banks in Madras came to nothing. Curzon’s own Co-operative Societies Act of 1904 was meant ‘to encourage thrift, self-help, and co-operation among agriculturists, artisans and persons of limited means’, and ‘to utilise their combined savings’ to remove the existing burden of debt as well as to prevent further indebtedness. But what could be their combined savings in proportion to their debts? The working capital of all the societies would not have wiped out the indebtedness of a Single taluk. The number of co-operative societies was 12,000 during 1901-05, with a working capital of Rs. 5,48,00,000. During 1916-20, the number rose to 28,000 and capital to Rs. 11,51,80,000. Eleven and a half crores were a flash in the pan of Indian rural indebtedness which rose to £400,000,000 by a conservative estimate of 1921. 41

The crux of the situation was the inter-agrarian relations, i.e. relations between landlords and tenants in the permanently settled areas and between the Government and ryots in the ryotwari areas, —once again, a reconsideration of the incidence of rent and assessment of revenue. Curzon was called upon to review them, when, in 1900, some retired civilians and judges, including Sir Richard Garth and Sir William Wedderbum, submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State, offering some suggestions to make the existing rules of land administration definite, clear and more helpful to the Indian peasantry. As mentioned above, they wanted five rules to be adopted, all of them long recognized to be wise 42 , and some of them, once introduced, to be unfortunately discontinued later:—(1) 30 years* rule for settlements, (2) half-rental rule for assessment in areas where revenue was paid by the landlords, (3) half-net produce rule where revenue was directly paid by the cultivators (which should never exceed 1/5 of gross produce, hence also known as 1/5 gross produce rule), (4) enhancement rule, prohibiting enhancement of rent except in cases where land had increased in value (a) in consequence of improvements in irrigation works carried on by the Government or (b) on account of a rise in the value of produce based on average prices of 30 years preceding revision, and (5) a local cess rule recommending 6J% of rent as the fair, and 10% of revenue as the maximum, limit of local cesses. 43 The resolution of the GovernorGeneral in Council, dated 18 January, 1902, largely the handiwork of Curzon himself, reveals the Government's views on these basic problems. The thirty years' rule, it was pointed out, was prevalent in Northern India, Madras and Bombay, but had been reduced to twenty.years in C.P. and the Panjab. The reasons of such differentiation were "much wasteland, low rents and a fluctuating cultivation" in C.P. and "rapid development of resources, owing to the construction of roads, railways or canals, to an increase of population or to a rise of prices" in the Panjab. The Government, it was clear, was determined to lap off the unearned increment in undeveloped and developing areas. The half-rental rule, Curzon's Government held out, would be respected, but the gross produce standard (i net or 1/5 gross produce), if systematically applied, would lead to an increase of assessments all round. It declined to abide by the enhancement rule: "To deny the right of the State to a share in any increase of value except those which could be inferred from the general table of price statistics—in itself a most fallacious and partial test—-would be to surrender to a number of individuals an increment which they had not themselves earned, but which had resulted partly from the outlay of Government money on great public works, such as canals and railways, partly from the general enhancement of values produced by expanding resources, and a higher standard of civilisation”. As regards the local cess rule, the Government was aware that the landlords shifted their burden to the tenants and it promised “to mitigate imposts which are made to press upon the cultivating classes more severely than the law intended”.

Curzon’s paternalism does not ring true. It does not vibrate With the Calvinistic fervour of John Lawrence nor asserts, with balanced dignity, the liberal humanism of Charles Wood. Years had watered both down. The weak and the underdog were now mentioned as of routine and possibly as a cloak to the Government's inability to discard opportunities of maximising revenue. He left the Bengal Tenancy Act as it was and did not care to provide for the non-occupancy ryot. Rent of this class in Bengal and N.W.P. could be enhanced every five years; in Awadh and C.P., every seven. The increase was limited to 6}% in Awadh but to 33% in C.P. The rent of subordinate tenants in Bengal could be raised to an excess of 25 or even 50% over the rent paid by the tenant. 44 The landlord, in spite of the fond wishes of a century of British administrators, had not

proved improving and, though Curzon viewed him critically, he did not think of liquidating him. He had become a pure rentier and his breed was increasing. The effect of the policy to which Lord Curzon. gave his blessings is best seen in the state of things revealed in the statistics of the next two Census operations. For every 100 rentreceivers, the number of cultivators in the following Provinces fell from 1911 to 1921, as shown below:—

Province	1011	1921
Bengal	2,713	2.107
Bombay	1,913	1.625
C. P. A Berat...	6,125	8,808

Madras	•••	2,8*0	779
N.W.F.	•••	1,3*7	nn
Panjab	•••	1,146	1,098

It was only in Assam, Bihar and Orissa, and United Provinces that the number of cultivators increased. The non-cultivating classes had been living more and more on the cultivating classes. The landless labourers should be taken into consideration. The number of field servants and field labourers was 18,673,206 in 1891, 33,522,682 in 1901, 41,246,335 in 1911 and 37,924,917 in 1921. A comparative statistics of field-servants and field-labourers per 100 cultivators between 1911 and 1921 is given below:

Province	1911	1021
Bengal	18	10
Bihar A Orissa	47	28
Bombay	67	41
C. P. A Berer	M	82
Madras	55	58

Panjab	15	12
U. P.	22	16
Assam	8	8

But the incidence of influenza of 1918 on this class accounted for some decline, and another head of the Census, viz. “labourers and workmen unspecified”, should also be taken into account, for some of them must have been connected with land. There was an increase in their number by 12.4% between 1911 and 1921. The paternalistic State had done nothing for them. When it considered its task completed with self-complacence, it was merely beginning to touch the fringe of the agrarian problem.

1. Vincent Smith, The Oxford History of India (3rd edn.), p. 637. For the character of the Tudor gentry see R. H. Tawney, “The Rise of the Gentry”, Econ. Hist. Rev., IX (1841) and Trevor Roper, ‘The Gentry, 1540-1640’, Econ. Hist. Rev., Supplement. The product of the Cornwallis System never dreamt of applying capitalist methods to agriculture. He resumed leases not to farm himself but to re-settle for a higher profit. No cash crop played here as important a role as sheep-farming in England. The Bengal peasant did not evolve from a villein. We should not confuse him with the English customary tenant or copy-holder and certainly not with the tenant-at-will. The pattah has only a superficial similarity with ‘Copy’, but it was not conferring any rights and privileges not possessed before; on the contrary, it curtailed them.

2. N.K. Sinha, The Economic History of Bengal, Vol. II, Chaps. VII-IX.

2a. Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India, 1959.

3. See John Stuart Mill’s famous Return to an order of the House of Commons, 9 June, 1857.

4. See pp. 821-8.

5. Mill, Principles of Political Economy, Bk. II, Chap. IX, sec. 2.

6. Ibid., Chap. X, Sec.l. Also, Lionel Robbins, The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy, 1953.

7. See p. 811.

8. See pp. 928-9.

9. Wood to Canning, 18 April, 1861, No. 2, Halifax Papers, op. cit., VII. 184.

10. Wood to Canning, 24 April, 1861, ibid, p. 188.

11. Wood to Maine, 26 January, 1863, ibid,. Vol. 12, p. 52; 3 December, 1863, ibid, Vol. 15, p. 16; 15 February, 1864, ibid, pp. 46-48.

12. Wood to Canning, 3 July, 1861, ibid, vol. 8, p. 86.

13. Wood to Elgin, 3 May, 1862, Elgin Papers, op. cit. Vol. 7, ff. 187-89; same to same, 9 June, 1862, ibid., f. 317.

14. Wood to Maine, 9 January, 1863, Halifax Papers, op. cit., XII. 14.

15. Wood to Trevelyan, 8 August, 1863, ibid, Vol. 13, p. 224. Wood to Maine, 25 December, 1863, ibid, Vol. 15, pp. 131-32.

16. Wood to Maine, 30 October, 1863, ibid, Vol. 14, pp. 138-40.

17. Wood to Maine, 16 August, 1864, ibid, Vol. 18, pp. 8-10.

18. Campbell’s minute, 1 June, 1864.

19. Wood to Maine, 19 February, 1866, Halifax Papers, op. cit., XXII. 191-93.

20. Seton Kerr, Life of Lord Lawrence, vol. II, p. 423. BPP, No. 149, 1961.

21. Argyll to Northbrook, 29 October, 1873, Northbrook Papers, C.R.O. p. 85.

22. Ibid,

23. Northbrook to Argyll, 21 September, 1873, ibid., p. CLXXI.

24. Argyll to Northbrook, 13 November, 1873, ibid, p. 114.

25. Same to same, 13 February, 1874, ibid, p. 118.

26. Northbrook to Argyll, 21 Novemeber, 1873, ibid, p. CXCIX.

27. Ripon to Kartington, 24 March, 1882, Add. MSS. 43612, No. 19.

28. Despatch No. 6 of 1882, 21 March. 1882, Selections from Papers relating to the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885 (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1929), pp. 1 et seq.

29. Maine to Ripon, 17 August, 1882, Eden to Ripon, 17 August, 1882, Add. MSS. 43552, Nos. 116A, 116B Revenue Despatch to India, 1882, No. 3.

30. Despatch No. 16 of 1882, 17 October, 1882, Selections, op. cit., pp. 36 et seq.

31. Kimberley to Dufferin, 23 June, 1885, Legislative No. 24, Dufferin Papers (in

micro film), C. R. O.

32. Report of the UP. Banking Enquiry Committee, paras 527-528.

33. Despatch of Kimberley, Revenue No. 103, 13 November, 1884 (C.R.O.), Selections, 27th Series, pp. 209, et seq.

34. Report of the Committee on the Riots in Poona and Ahmednagar 1875, p. 49.

35. Report of the Famine Commission, 1880, Part II, Section IV.

36. Report Regarding the Possibility of Introducing Land and Agricultural Banks into the Madras Presidency, Vol. I, pp. 18-20. On this basis Sir Edward Maclagan arrived at Rs. 300 crores as the rural debt of whole of India.

37. M. L. Darling, The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt.

38. Keatinge, Rural Economy, p. 88.

39. M. L. Darling, op. cit., pp. 183, 210.

40. For subdivision and fragmentation of holdings in Bombay between 1901-21 see A. D. Patel, Indian Agricultural Economics, pp. 124, 171. According to Dr. Harold Mann, the average holding in a typical Poona village was 40 acres in 1771, 14 acres in 1820-40 and 7 acres in 1914-15. Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, Vol. I, p. 46. For Bengal see the Floud Commission Report. 1940, Vol. I, p. 86, Vol. II, p. 30. Also V.K.R.V. Rao, The National Income of British India, 1941, p. 190.

41. Reports of Provincial & Central Banking Committees, 1931.

42. See Munro's minute, 31 December, 1824, Selections from the Minutes of Sir Thomas Munro, ed. A. J. Arbuthnot (1881), Vol. I, pp. 250-1.

43. For details of these recommendations, see p. 826.

44. Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, 1914.

CHAPTER XXXVIH

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

OF THE PEOPLE

I. THE INCOME OF THE PEOPLE

The actual increase in the population of India had been slow for centuries because of the operation of Malthusian “positive checks” like famines, floods and diseases. The death-rate had often been as high as the birth-rate. Though an appreciable change in favour of rapid growth seemed to begin in the 1870’s, the plagues and famines, which devastated many areas of India during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, malaria in Bengal and the epidemic influenza at the end of World War I once again restored the normal pattern.

The Census reports of the early years were not very reliable but they make the trend clear.

Census	Population (in millions)	Variation percentage since last Census
1872	206.16	
1881	253.89	4-28.2
1891	287.31	4-18.2
1901	294.36	-4 2.5
1911	315.15	4- 7.1
1921	318.94	4- 1.2

Making allowances for inclusion of new areas and inaccuracies in the early returns, the real increase was calculated to be 53.8 millions between 1872 and 1921, i.e. 7 to 8% in each decade. 1

While the Government explained the poverty of India in terms of her rising population and claimed an upward swing in the national income in spite of this drag, the nationalists challenged its statistics and denied its claim. The first rough attempt to compile the national income of British India was made in 1870 by Dadabhai Naoroji in a paper entitled The TVants and Means of India", which he read before the East India Association. He followed it up with a more elaborate study on "Poverty of India" in 1876. Since then others have tried. But the underlying assumptions have seldom been more scientific and objective. Naoroji s charge that the British rule was responsible for India s economic ruin and the Government's defence that the rai, on the contrary, was contriving successfully to attain a higher national

income, were both grist tp the political mill and conditioned many of the later efforts on either side. A summary view of various attempts made up to 1925 is given below:— 2

Table captionYear Year Estimates

Table captionAuthor when attempt for which of income

Table captionwas made estimates per capita

Table captionwere made

			(in Rs.)
Dadabhai Naoroji	1876	1868	20
Baring and Barbour	1882	1882	27

Lord Curzon	1901	1897-98	80
William Digby	1902	1899	18
F. J. Atkinson	1908	1875	27.8
F. J. Atkinson	1908	1895	85.2

Rejecting the official figures given in the Moral and Material Progress of India, Naoroji added the values of agricultural produce (260 crores), meat, milk etc. (15 crores), produce of industry (15 crores), and produce of mines and commerce (17 crores), to arrive at a total of Rs. 340 crores which, divided among a population of 170 million, gave an income of Rs. 20 per capita for a good season. 3 But his is definitely an underestimate. He should have taken the area under each crop separately and multiplied it by its yield per acre and price, rather than apply to all the cultivable area an average annual value per acre of the principal crop and then make an allowance (of 10%) for the non-principal crops. Nor did he consider the contribution of such items as transport, public administration, professions and domestic service. V.K.R.V. Rao finds the cause in Naoroji's physiocratic conception of income as something material and not something yielding utility. His figures for the produce of industry are very faulty. Making appropriate corrections Rao would arrive at a per capita income in the region of Rs. 23-24 for the year 1868, 4 which only reflects credit on Naoroji's estimates.

In 1882 Baring and Barbour estimated for that year a per capita income of Rs. 27, which was officially accepted. In answering to the charge of growing poverty under the British rule, Lord Curzon took their figures as his starting point and came to a conveniently comfortable conclusion. Agricultural income of British India had been estimated by the Famine Commission of 1898 at Rs. 450 crores. Assuming that non-agricultural income was half of the total agricultural income, the grand total would be Rs. 675 crores for 1897-98, which, divided among the population of India, gave a per capita income of Rs. 30. Compared to Baring’s and Barbour’s estimates for 1882, an increase of 11% had been effected in course of 15 years, an indisputable proof of economic progress under the British rule.

Digby’s “Prosperous British India” was a caustic reply to Curzonian self-complacence. The heading of chapter XII—“The Declining Income of the Indian People ,, —forms the theme of his book. With an elaborate array of facts and figures he computed for 1899—

agricultural income at £174.8 millions,

non-agricultural income at £84.8 millions,

and total income at £259.6 millions,

which, divided among 226.5 million people, yielded a per capita income of £1 15s. or Ks. 17.2 per year. As Curzon compared his estimates with Baring’s and Barbour’s, Digby compared his with Naoroji’s and showed that income per head, far from rising, had actually declined by 15% in 30 years. Digby’s was the inevitable nationalist response to the bureaucratic challenge.

Digby rejected the usual method of multiplying quantities of agricultural output by their prices and introduced a new one. “The government revenue is intended to bear a definite ratio to the assumed (or ascertained) produce of the soil reckoned over a number of years. That ratio differs in the respective presidencies and provinces. It is approximately ascertainable and I have ascertained it as nearly as may be. Possessing it, to arrive at the money value, I have multiplied the land revenue the necessary number of times and have thus reached the result I announce.’’ [5] His friend, R. C. Dutt, supplied him with data on proportion of land revenue to produce, which he had compiled for his open letters to Lord Curzon on the Government’s land revenue policy.

But the new method had a lesser validity than the older one. It was erroneous to assume uniformity and comparability of different provincial land revenue settlements. Secondly, the land revenue assessment ceased to be an indicator of the value of produce when prices moved up or down during the period of settlement (outside Bengal). Digby's method, therefore, could only correct or corroborate. He did not assume, like others, the value of industrial output as half of the agricultural, but he did not take the pains of calculating it item by item except in a few cases. He. too, ignored professions, Government and domestic services.

The official reply came pat in 1902 m F.G. Atkinson's "A Statistical Review of the Income and Wealth of British India". He not otily answered Digby's criticism of Curzon but himself made estimates for 1875 and 1895, which, in the very nature of things, could not but be exaggerated. He classified population into three sections— agricultural, non-agricultural poorer, and non-agricultural well-to

do. We will call them sections I, II, III respectively, when comparing Atkinson's estimates for the years mentioned above.

Table caption1875 1805

Table captionPopulation Income Population Income

Table caption(in millions) (in crores) (in millions) (in crores)

Section I	118.4	812.9	189.6	501,5
Section II	65.1	187.2	76.9	262.1
Section III	4.5	74	5.4	118.0
	188	574.1	221.9	876.6

per capita income	Rs. 80.5	Rs. 89.5

/ '

For section I he took the usual method of computation; for section II he worked on representative figures for wages of different occupational groups; and for section III he drew data from the civil lists and income-tax returns. But he assumed an increase of yield (by 29 lbs.) per acre between 1875 and 1895 on insufficient grounds and estimated rise of prices by 30% for food crops and 31% for other crops, while the unweighted index number of prices of exports showed a rise of 17%, and the weighted index number, a rise of 25% only. 6 He made no allowance for seeds or depreciation. In calculating the income of non-agricultural occupations, he wrongly assumed all adults above 15 as earners and included even beggars. Rao corrects his estimates and comes to a per capita income of Rs. 31.5 instead of Rs. 39.5.

P. A. Wadia and G. N. Joshi worked out an estimate of the national income for 1913-14. They arrived at Rs. 858 crores as the net value of agricultural production, Rs. 11.5 crores for mineral production, Rs. 154 crores for miscellaneous production and earnings of artisans and labourers, Rs. 145 crores for livestock and about Rs. 41 crores for manufactures. Deducting Rs. 123 crores on account of home charges, profits of foreign capital, etc., the net annual income was estimated to be Rs. 1^087,27,010 which yielded a per capita income of Rs. 44-5-6.

The next important study was Shah and Khambhata's "Wealth and Taxable Capaciting of India" (1924) which compared the pre-war period of 1900-14 with war and post-war period of 1914-22.

	1900-14	4014-22	1921-22
Items	(crores)	(crores)	(crores)

Net agricultural production	994.8	1651.5	2097,8
Manufacture	j80.0	150.0	186.0
Total income	1160.0	1862.0	2864.0

The per capita income comes to be Rs. 36 between 1900 end 1914, Rs. 58$ between 1914 and 1922 and Rs. 74 for 1921-22.

The obvious defect of this estimate was to place non-agricultural income at less than l/9th of agricultural income, though population subsisting on the former was more than 1/3 of that subsisting on the latter. Once again the authors leave out services from computation (thus following the tradition of Naoroji and Digby) and completely eliminate income from livestock by setting off the cost of upkeep. Rao arrives at Rs. 88 rather than Rs. 74 as per capita income for 1921-22. Findlay Shirras includes the services and estimates non-agricultural income to be 40% of agricultural income (while Shah and Khambhata put it at 10% and Wadia and Joshi at 30%) and calculates the per capita income for the same year to be Rs. 107.

Thus the results of the attempts since 1876 with Rao's corrections may be tabulated as follows:

Table captionYear Author Original estimate Rao's correction

Table captiono/Estimate (in Rs.) (in Rs.)

1868	Naoroji	20	28—24
1895	Atkinson	89.5	81.5
1921	Shah and Khambhata	74	88 *

1921 Findlay Shirras 107

Rao himself made an estimate for the years 1925-29 and arrived at an average per capita income of Rs. 77.9, the depression at the end of the third decade explaining the downward trend. Brought to the same price level (as obtained between 1925-29), the different views would compare in the following way:

Author	Per capita income (in Rs.)
Naoroji .	44.2
Atkinson .	55.0
Shah and Khambhata	78.0

Between 1868 and 1921 the per capita income has thus increased from a little above Rs. 44 to Rs. 78, or by about 77%. We should, however, never forget Bowley's and Robertson's caveat that the statistics, on which these computations were based, are meagre, unnecessarily diffused, gravely inexact, incomplete or misleading, while in many important fields information is almost entirely absent (as in the field of animal husbandry). 7

Yet the fact of Indian poverty is amply borne out. India may not be growing poorer in the absolute aense as writers like Naoroji,

Digby and Dutt had been asserting, but the pace of progress was very slow (e g., 77rise in per capita income in 53 years between Naoroji and Shah and Khambhata). Even more striking is the fact that Rs. 88 (Shah and Khambhata, corrected by Rao) comprised the incomes of millionaires and manual labourers alike. No reliable statistics of distribution of the national income is available. Rao breaks down the figures in the following way:

Total income (crores)

81

109 885 375

An upper class of 10 lakhs accounts for an income of Rs. 375 crores and it supports another 40 lakhs, at 4 persons each earner. Deducting these 50 lakhs from the population, Rao arrives at an average per capita income of Rs. 64.6 for the vast of the coun

try. This is a very rough estimate. The upper class may have supported more people The income-tax returns are little indication in a country where evasions are rampant. No distinction between different grades of ryots and tenants has been made. But even as it is, the picture is none too bright and may be very gloomy fo.' the non-occupancy ryot , land-less rural labourer and the urban worker. The Indian landlord, capitalist, trader and middleclass certainly lived better than before, which may be proved from the growing imports of European luxuries and conveniences, greater consumption of sugar and tobacco, use of costlier building materials and higher educational expenses. But the affluence of a fortunate minority should not cover the abject conditions of the many. It was among them that population began to grow rapidly after 1921, and upon them the post-war slump fell more heavily. An Indian Thorold Rogers would some day reveal their real situation in terms of prices and wages. Till then we should withhold our final judgement. But the meagre information we possess is not very assuring and surely does not indicate a continuous progress. An unskilled labourer got 5s to 6s a month m Calcutta in 1788; he was getting no more than 10s in Calcutta, Delhi and Ahmedabad in 1902. A skilled labourer earned 7s 6d to 12s 6d in 1813, and 20s to 30s in 1902. 8 But, meanwhile, the prices had gone up 9 and the real wages of both remained stationary or might have risen slightly. 10

Class

IAeoatt of Zatnindan in the permanently settled areas .

Income of landholders of all aorta naming over Rs. 8000 a year except the Zamindort of permanently settled areas .

Income of income-tax aaaeascea earning over Ra. 8000 a year

R. C. Dutt considered excessive military expenditure, burden of a heavy India Debt and drainage of wealth from India on account of the Home Charges responsible for this* poverty. The last he specially condemned: "The annual remittance of 17 millions for Home Charges, added to the remittance made by European Officers employed in India, represent nearly one-half of the nett revenues of India." 11

The Home Charges consisted mainly of disbursements in England on account of (1) interest on debt incurred for imperial expansion in and outside India, (2) railways, the British investors in which had been guaranteed an annuity payable in England, and (3) civil and military charges including payments to the Imperial Exchequer, the Secretary of State's establishment, pensions, etc. In Dutt's view the debt was not morally due from India; the railway promoters had undertaken extravagant expenditure, which could have been avoided, and undergone unnecessary losses, which did not touch them, but from both of which they gained and the Indians lost; and as regards the civil and military charges, "it is a mean policy to make India alone pay". 12 Yet for this the taxation per head of population had risen to 4s. 8d. (while, even taking Curzon's estimate, the per capita income was Rs. 30), no nation-building projects could be undertaken and revenue-settlements remained oppressive. India was being drained of wealth and progressively impoverished. Dutt's theory, known as the 'the drain theory', was not new. First propounded in Burke's famous Ninth Report (1783), it was taken up by Brooks Adams, and from R. C. Dutt, who gave it a quantitative definitness, William Digby carried it on to the 20th century.

II. HOME CHARGES

A brief reference has been made above to the economic drain, known later as Home Charges, during the period of East India Company's rule. 123 According to R. C. Dutt, the Home Charges in 1901-2, amounting to more than 17 milllions sterling, may be conveniently divided into the following heads:

Note 1

£

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

Note 9

Note 10

3,052,410

227,288

6.410,373

51,214

173,502

2,945,614

2,435,370

2,057,934

Note 11

There is no doubt that there are few topics connected with British administration which have evoked such a strong and nationwide feeling, and Indians of all shades of opinion, during the last sixty or seventy years of British rule, have denounced the "Home Charges" as one of the principal causes, if not the principal cause, of the misery and poverty of the Indian people. On the other hand, most English writers have defended or Justified the Home Charges on the ground that they are nothing more than remuneration for services rendered to India and interest of debts incurred by her Government. The question, therefore, requires a calm and dispassionate consideration.

'i

In the first place, there is not, or at least should not be, much difference of opinion about the statement of R. C. Dutt that the annual remittance of 17 millions for Home Charges, added to the remittances made by European officers employed in India, represented nearly one-half of her net revenues, and this amount was annually sent out of India without any visible return. The Indians have argued that such a huge drain is sure to ruin the prosperity of any country. For, in every country the taxes collected from the people are circulated among them; they are Hot lost, but merely redistributed among the people. But if a considerable portion of the taxes does not find its way back to the country, so much wealth is lost for ever, and the people are impoverished to that extent. Such a view is not confined to the Indians. Several British writers have taken the same view of the economic effect of the Home Charges. Opinions of two of these writers have been quoted above. [14]

The Home Charges were born in sin. “The genesis of the ‘drain’ (of Indian wealth to England) is to be found mainly in the application of the territorial revenues of the Company to the provision of their investment. In other words, surplus revenue was used for the purchase of goods for export to England. India thus obtained neither goods nor bullion nor services in return for them. This system was brought to an end in 1813, when the territorial and commercial revenues of the Company were separated.” [15] But the same effect was poduced by other means as^ noted above, and the annual drain grew by leaps and bounds, from three and a half millions in 1857 to seventeen millions in 1901-2.

If the grave evils of the system are admitted, the question next to be considered is whether these were just and necessary, or preventible, evils. In order to answer this, it is necessary to consider some important items which constituted the Home Charges.

The public debt incurred outside India may be considered first. The Indians argue that if public loans were chiefly or entirely subscribed by the Indians, interest might have remained in India to fructify commerce and industry. Against this it has been questioned whether so much native capital was available. Although no definite answer can be given, it i S likely to be in the negative. But it must be remembered that no serious effort was made to raise the loans in India, and it may be reasonably assumed that such an effort would have been at least partially successful.

But it is no less important to consider how far such foreign loans, admittedly injurious to India, were absolutely necessary or justified from the point of view of Indian interests. Apart from unduly excessive costliness of the Government, the main items, for which the debt was incurred, are internal wars in India, suppression of the Mutiny of 1857, and foreign wars and military expeditions salt out from India to foreign countries.

The first two of these items mean that India had herself to pay for her conquest by the British. No such charge was however levied on other countries conquered by England, for example, Canada. As England derived immense benefit and profit from her Indian dominions, equity demanded that she should pay at least a reasonable share of conquering them.

But there is a general consensus of opinion that the military expeditions sent by the Government of India outside the country throughout the nineteenth century were almost exclusively for the imperial interest of Britain, and there was absolutely no justification to charge their expenses upon Indian revenues. Wars against Afghanistan, Persia, and Tibet were caused by the rivalry between Russia and Great Britain over the extension of their imperial authority in Asia. The Burmese War was due to the expansion of imperial power and a desire to checkmate France. By no stretch of imagination can one connect in any way the interest of India with the war against China, conquest and upkeep of Malay Peninsula, the earlier military expeditions, during the Napoleonic wars, sent to Isle of France, Malacca, Java and Egypt, or the later expeditions sent against Abyssinia, Egypt (1882), Perak, and Sudan, and employment of the Indian troops at

Suakim as a garrison. Lord Northbrook told the Welby Commission that ‘India has been hardly treated”, and even Lord Curzon wrote to Cranborne on 16 November, 1901, that India (< has been so flagrantly fleeced in the past”. 16

As regards Railways, R. C. Dutt observed: “For half a century the Indian railways did not pay, but were nevertheless continuously extended. The working expenses, the interest on capital spent, and the profits guaranteed to private companies, exceeded the earnings by over 50 millions sterling—a clear loss to the Indian taxpayer.” 17 The scandalous waste of Indian money on the Railways has been described above, 18 and there is no doubt that it was a heavy drain on Indian finance throughout the nineteenth century. Against this it may be pointed out that the state of things improved in the twentieth century and the Railways became paying concerns. Although there may be justifiable criticism against the principles on which new Railway lines were opened at the early stages, there is a general consensus of opinion that the Railways, taken as a whole, have been productive of great good to India.

Another item belonging to the same category was created by the Charter Act of 1833. This Act had provided that the East India Company should “discontinue and abstain from all commercial business”, and at the same time had laid down that a yearly dividend of 10} per cent, should be paid out of the revenues of India to the Company’s stock-holders. These dividends on the £ 12,000,000, together with the existing Home Charges, were more than could be met from the revenues of India, and when the Company was brought to an end, the total debt had risen to £ 69,000,000. An Englishman observes:

“There has been much controversy as to whether Britain was justified in charging India with the payment of these dividends, and R. C. Dutt was expressing the general Indian view when he stated that the empire was thus transferred from the Company to the Crown, but the Indian people paid the purchase money”. 19

Next to the interest paid on foreign debt, the most important item of 'Home Charges' is constituted by Civil and Military Charges, caused by the excessive employment of high-salaried Englishmen. While the high salaries paid to them increased inordinately the cost of administration and directly or indirectly inflated the national debt, heavy pension and furlough charges, as well as the remittances by these officers to home out of the salaries, increased the bulk of the Home Charges. The political and moral effect of the practical exclusion of Indians from high administrative offices has been dealt with elsewhere. Here it is only necessary to emphasize its economic effect in the shape of drain of wealth outside. This can best be done by comparative statistics of the employment of Indians and Europeans in higher offices placed by G. K. Gokhale before the Welby Commission:

“In every department of Indian expenditure the question of agency is one of paramount importance. According to a Parliamentary return of May 1892, we have in India in the higher branches of the civil and military departments a total of 2388 officers drawing Rs. 10.000 a year and upwards, of whom only sixty are Natives of India, and even these, with the exception of such as are Judges, stop at a comparatively low level. And they are thus divided.

rs

Table captionIn Thousands of Rupees

Natives	Eurasi	Euro			Total	
		ans	pea ns	Total	Total	
			Salaries	Salaries	Salaries	
				of	of	of

				Natives	Eurasians	Europeans
Civil department	55	10	1211	947	151	25,274
Military .	1	1	854	12	11	18,268
Public Works .	3	4	239	33	45	8,415
Incorporated local funds	1	«••	9	10	•••	118
Total ...	GO	15	2313	1,002	207	42,070

‘Th addition to these the railway companies employ 105 officers, drawing Rs. 10,000 a year and more. They are all Europeans, and their total salaries to 16 Iftfrha 28 thousand rupees. If we come down to officers drawing between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 10,000 a year we find that we have 421 Natives in the civil department, as against 1207 Europeans and 96 Eurasians. In the military department there are 25 Natives, as against 1699 Europeans and 22 Eurasians. In the public works department there are 85 Natives, as against 549 Europeans and 39 I ftiynffinnq And in the incorporated local funds .there are 4 Natives, as against 22 Europeans and 3 Eurasians. The total salaries of officers of this class are thus divided:—Civil Department: Natives, Rs. 2,905,000; Eurasians, Rs 650,000; and Europeans Rs. 8,830,000. In the Military Department^: Natives, Rs. 164,000; Eurasians, Rs. 139,000; and Europeans, Rs. 13,698,000. In the Public Works Department Natives, Rs. 537,000; Eurasians, Rs. 278,000; and Europeans, Rs. 3,962,000. And in the Incorporated Local Funds: Natives, Rs. 25,000; Eurasians, Rs. 17,000; and Europeans, Rs. 146,000. In addition to these there are under the railway companies, 258 officers of this class, of whom only 2 are Natives, 8 being Eurasians and 248 Europeans. Their salaries are thus divided: Natives, Rs. 12,000; Eurasians, Rs. 50,000; and Europeans, Rs. 17,100,000. In England £ 125,360 is paid as salaries by the Indian

Government, and £ 54,522 by railway companies, all to Europeans. The financial loss entailed by this practical monopoly by Europeans of the higher branches of the services in India is not represented by salaries only. There are besides heavy pension and furlough charges, more than three and a half millions sterling being paid to Europeans in England for the purpose in 1890”.[20]

So far as civil officers are concerned, it is idle to maintain that equally qualified officers were not available in India or that the administration could not be carried on with equal efficiency, if at least half the number, gradually increasing in regular stages, of English officials were replaced by Indians.

The military charges belong to a somewhat different category. With the memory of the outbreak of 1857 fresh in their minds, the British could hardly be expected to enrol Indian officers or decrease the European element or the total strength of the army. But as years passed away, the situation changed, and recruitment of British officers and men in the Indian army in gradually diminishing proportions, and their replacement, if necessary, by Indians, was certainly a practicable proposition. The British policy of increasing the number of Indians in high civil and military services, adopted in the twentieth century, when the political situation in India was far more unfavourable, could certainly have been initiated, with more grace and better success, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, if the British were really concerned with the economic aspect of the question. The iniquity of charging Indian revenues with the entire expenses of the office establishment of the Secretary of State has already been referred to above.[21]

Another important item of the Home Charges was the purchase of stores. It is quite true that India was unable to supply the major part. But no attempt was made to develop Indian industry in such a way that at least a substantial part of the stores could be supplied by India.

But, apart from all the criticisms made above, a major question of principle is, how far Britain was justified in charging India with the entire cost of the civil and military administration of India. The observations of Sir George

Wingate, a very high official of the Bombay Presidency, may be quoted in this connection.

‘ The entire cost of the Colonial Office, or in other words, the Home Government of all British Colonies.and dependencies except India, as well as of their military and naval defence, is defrayed from the revenues of the United Kingdom; and it seems to be a natural inference that similar charges should be borpe by this country in the case of India. But what is the fact? Not a shilling from the revenues of Great Britain has ever been expended on the military defence of our Indian Empire".

Wingate then drove his point home by reference to the case of Ceylon, which, he said,

“is properly a part of India, and was acquired in exactly the same manner as our dominions on the continent of India. In Ceylon we have British troops and local corps, as in India, but the cost of both is defrayed by Great Britain, with the aid of a limited contribution from the revenues of the island. What,

then, are the reasons for this distinction?_Ah answer is only to be found in

the accident of the Home administration of Ceylon having been transferred to the Colonial Office, while that of India remained under the East India Company, which was always Created with jealousy and distrust by Parliament and the

nation”. 2 2

Wingate then pointed out that more than *16,000 men of the garrisons of the United Kingdom, available for any emergency that might occur in this country, are, on the trivial pretence of their belonging to depots of Indian regiments, transferred to the Indian establishment, and paid from the Indian revenues*. Moreover, India was compelled to pay for wars which were but remotely connected with her interests, and this is proved by a letter dated 6th April, 1842, in which the Chairman of the East India Company claimed that as regards the Afghan War, which had crippled the finances of India, in no view of the case can it be just or expedient that the whole charge of the operations, including that of the military re

inforcements about to be effected, should be thrown on the Government of India/ The claim was in due course rejected. 23

lit would thus appear that the major part of the Home Charges as well as the excessive cost of the top-heavy administration in India might h&ve been avoided if the British really felt a genuine interest in the material welfare of India.

As against this obvious conclusion, it is necessary to remember that history does not record that any nation, which conquered another country and established its supremacy over it, ever felt any genuine interest in its welfare. Most nations sought to derive as much profit from their conquered dominions as they safely could, and though there may be difference in degree, and even in kind, the exploitation of the conquered by the conqueror has been the general rule. England was no exception and does not deserve any special condemnation. “The Government of a people by itself” wrote John Stuart Mill, has a meaning and a reality, but such a thing as government of one people by another does not, and cannot exist. One people may keep another for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm for the profits of its own inhabitants.” 24 It may be a matter of profound regret that human history should have been written in tears and blood, but the facts of history cannot be ignored, and no attempt should be made to explain them away by specious arguments.

Thus a class of writers place England on a somewhat different category. They set the blessings of the English rule against the evils. The general question will be discussed in another chapter. It is only necessary here to refer to the defence of the Home Charges on economic ground. It has been urged, for example, that it is not true to say that the Home Charges were payments made without any equivalent return. Such equivalents are to be found in the benefits of British rule—-peace, order, law, justice, growth of new crops, trade, industry, communication, sanitation, health and education which cannot be measured in quantitative terms. The invisible exports of Britain, like banking, shipping, and insurance services, etc., should be considered before calculating a net surplus of exports from India. 26 As regards this view it may be pointed out that the benefits of the British rule should be weighed against its evils, before one can form a just idea of them. The balance that remains, together with the economic advantages, referred to above as invisible exports, will probably be found to have had very little countervailing effect, as against the heavy drain of wealth, if it be remembered that those blessings were not enjoyed by the majority—more than ninety per cent.—of the Indian people who never possessed the bare necessities of life, and

never had even two square meals a day throughout the year. Besides, from strictly economic point of view, the worth and value of the benefits and economic advantages may be best judged from the national income per capita in India, at the end of the nineteenth centuty, as compared with other nations, as shown in the following table: U.S.A.—240; Germany—225; U.K.—195; France—156; Australia—154; Canada—143; Italy—110; Russia—42; India—9.50.

The injustice and iniquity of the Home Charges become still more glaring when it is remembered that Britain, with a national income, which was more than twenty times that of India, made that country pay for her own imperial wars, thereby saddling her with a crushing national debt; realized from India every single penny spent on the establishment of the Secretary of State, though her far richer colonies were exempted from such charges which meant a perpetual drain of wealth from India to England. The very meagre national income of India could not afford to bear the huge expenses of a topheavy European bureaucracy whose savings added to the capital-stock of Britain and the slightest fall of whose incomes from unfavourable movement of the exchange rate was met from an over-burdened Indian exchequer. Finally, a commercial policy, which pampered British trade at the cost of India, an industrial policy, which failed to protect the nascent Indian industries, and a revenue policy, which discriminated against the majority of cultivators and under-tenants, should get their share of blame for the miserable poverty of the Indian people after more than a century and half of British rule (including the Company's) in India.

m. THE POVERTY OF THE MASSES 26

The area and population of India, according to the Census of 1901, are shown in the following tables.

British India

	Provinces	Area in sq. miles	Population
1.	Ajmir-Mervrara.	2,711	476,912
2.	Andamans and Xicobara	8.188	24,649
8.	Assam	56,248	6,126,848
4.	Beluchistan .	45,804	308,246
5.	••• •••	151,185	74,744,866
8.	Berar and Central Provinces ...	101,109	12,680,662
7.	Bombay (including Aden)	128,064	18,559,561
8.	Bu n! 13 ••• ••• ••• •••	286,788	10,490,624
0.	0 oo ••• ••• ••• •••	1,582	180,007
10.	Madras	141,726	88,209,436

11. X. \V. Frontier Province	16,466	2,125,480
12 Punjab	97,209	20,880,889
18. Agra and Oudh.	107,164	47,691,782
Total	1,087,249	281,899,507

Native States In India

States and Agencies Area in aq. miles Population

1. Bcluchistan Agency

2. Baroda State

n. Bengal States .

4. Bombay States ...

5. Central India Agency ...

6. Central Province States...

7. Hyderabad State

8. Kashmir State.

0. Madras States .

10. Mysore State .

11. Punjab States .

86,511	502,500
8,090	1,952,692
38,652	3,746,544
65,761	0,908,648
78,772	8,028,781
29,435	1,996,383
82,698	11,141,142
80,900	2,905,578
0,969	4,188,086
20,444	5,589,899
86,582	4,434,898
127,541	9,728,801
5,079	802,007

12. RajpuUna Agency

13. Agra and Oudh States ...

T6tal . 670,808 62,461,549

As the total population of British India was nearly 232 millions, the taxation per capita was very nearly 4s. 8d. The Income of the people of India per head was estimated by Lord Curzon at 30 rupees or 40 shillings per head, and as shown above, this is supported by modern researches which place it at about Rs. 31.5. “The economic condition of the country can be judged from the fact that the average income of the people of all classes, including the richest, is 40 shillings a year against £ 42 a year in the United Kingdom. A tax of 4s. 8d. on 40 shillings is a tax of 2s. 4d.jon the pound. This is a crushing burden on a nation which earns very little more than its food”.

In the United Kingdom “the incidence of the tax per head of a population of 42 millions is less than £. 3 10s. The proportion of this tax on the earnings of each individual inhabitant (£. 42) is only 1 s. 8d. in the pound. The Indian taxpayer, who earns little more than his food, is taxed 40 per cent, more than the taxpayer of Great Britain and Ireland.”

As to the wages, “the average monthly wages of able-bodied agricultural labourers in different parts of India during the last half of 1902 are shown below from official figures.”

Province	District	Monthly Wages
Bengal.	... Patna	• • • ... 6s. 8d. to 8s.
	Backergunj ...	• • • ... 10s. 8d.
Agra and Oudh	... Cawnpur	• • • ... 5s. to 6s. 8d.

	Fvxabnd	• • • ... 2s. 6d. to 5s. 4d.
Punjab.	... Delhi	«• • ... 10s. 8d.
Bom bo v .	... Ahmedabad	• • • ... 9s. 4d.
* • • • • • • •	... Bcllnry	• • • ... 6s. 4d.
	Salem	• • • ... 4s. 8d.
Central Provinces	... Jabalpur -...	• • • ... 5s. 4d.
	Raipur	... ... 5s. 4d.

The following observations of R.C. Dutt, based on the figures compiled from the Statistical Abstract, issued in 1903, convey e fair idea of the economic condition of the people at the end of the period under review:

“Leaving out exceptionally rich districts like Backergunj, Delhi, and Ahmedabad, and exceptionally poor districts like Fyzabad, the wages of the able-bodied agricultural labourer range from 4s. 8d to 6s. Cd a month. Except in very rich district, therefore, the agricultural labourer does not get even 3d. a day; his average earnings scarcely come to 2£d. per day. *Some deduction should be made from this, as he does not get employment all through the year; and 2d;, a day therefore is more than he hopes to get throughout the year. The appalling poverty and joylessness of his life under such conditions can not be easily pictured. His hut is seldom rethatched, and affords little shelter from cold and rain; hisi wife is clothed in rags; his little children go without clothing. Of furniture he has none; an old blanket is quite a luxury in the cold weather; and if his children can tend cattle, or his wife can do some work to eke out his income, he considers himself happy. It is literally a fact, and not a figure of speech, that agricultural labourers and their families in India generally suffer from insufficient food from year's end to year's end. They are brought up from childhood on less nourishment than is required even in the tropics, and grow up to be a nation weak in physique, stunted in growth, easy victims to disease, plague or famine.

"Agriculturists who have lands are better off. They are better housed, better clothed, and have more sufficient food. But a severe Land Tax or rent takes away much from their earnings and falls on the labouring classes also. For where the cultivator is lightly taxed, and has more to spare, he employs more labour, and labour is better paid. In Backergunj, where the land is lightly rented and the cultivator is prosperous, the labourer employed by him gets 10s. 8d. a month. In Salem, where the land is heavily taxed, and the cultivator is poor, the labourer he employs earns 4s. 8d, a month. It is the fact which appeals strongly to the Indian economist familiar with the circumstances of his fellow-villagers; it is this fact which is ignored by the Settlement Officer when he enhances the Land Tax. A moderate Land Tax relieves the landless village labourer as much as the cultivator; a heavy Land Tax presses ultimately on the landless labourer, deprives him of work, reduces his wages, and renders him an easy victim to the first onset of famines."

Thk wages of unskilled labour in towns like Calcutta and Delhi, as stated above, did not exceed about 10 shillings a month, whereas the price of rice' exported from Calcutta in January, 1903, was about 4s. 8d. the maund (82 lbs.). As the normal diet of an adult labourer, on an average, is not less than three-eighth.® of a maund , he could hardly secure even just enough food for himself, his wife and three children, as provision had to be made for scanty clothing and other necessaries of life even on the poorest scale. The addition of every child meant lack of even minimum nourishment. The same thing was true of wheat-eating area, where the labourers were forced to live on inferior food such as Bajra, Jowar and other coarse grains. A skilled labourer, like a common mason, carpenter or blacksmith earned about 20 to 30 shillings a month in towns. He could not decently maintain even a family of five.

“There was a pressing and influential demand in England for an inquiry into the economic condition of the people of /India after the recent famines (1897-1900); but the Secretary of State resisted the demand and refused the inquiry. The latest inquiry of the nature was made by Lord Dufferin’s Government in 1888, but the results were never published, and were regarded as confidential”.

Chapter Notes

1. Heads
2. 1. Interest on Debt and Management of.Debt ... .
3. 2. Cost of Mail Service, Telegraph lines, etc., charged to India ...
4. 3. Railways, State and Guaranteed (Interest and Annuities)
5. 4. Public Works (Absentee Allowances, etc.)
6. 5. Marine Charges (including H. M. Ships in Indian Seas)
7. 6. Military Charges (including Pensions)
8. 7. Civil Charges (including Secretary of State’s Establishment,
9. Cooper's Hill College, Pensions, etc.) .
10. 8. Stores (including those for Defence Works) .
11. Total ... 17,359,70s * 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 *

William Digby has already published large portions of the confidential reports of 1888 , which may be summed up as follows.

“In ihe Province of Bombay it is denied that the greater portion of the population live on insufficient food. But there are “depressed classes” all over the Province, and some of them live below the poor standard of the Indian workman’s life and earnings. In the Ratnagiri District, with its miserable soil and heavy payments for land, “there was hardly a season in which this population did not endure without a murmur the hardships of a Deccan famine”. Land is less fertile in the Deccan than in Gujrat, and “authorities are unanimous that many cultivators fail to get a year’s supply from their land”. In the Karnatic also, “the reporting authorities agree that there is a large number of cultivators who do not get a full year’s supply from their lands”. Even in the favoured division of Gujrat, the cultivator gets only a six or nine months’ supply from his field, and most of it goes to the money-lender as soon as the harvest is reaped. And “some of the numerous deaths assigned to fever are caused by bad or insufficient clothing, food, and housing”.

“In the Punjab the condition of the agriculturists and labourers is no better. In Delhi Division “the diet is of distinctly inferior class, even judged by the comparatively low standard of the country”. In Gurgaon District the standard of living is perilously low, herbs and berries are consumed for want of better food, and short food is the cause of migration. The extra Assistant Commissioner of Ferozepur reports that men in many villages do not get food for two meals in twenty-four hours. The Assistant Commissioner of Lahore reports that a considerable number of the people are underfed. Two Mahomedan officers of Rawalpindi Division tell us a still sadder story. One of them maintains that 10 per cent, of the Hindu and 20 per cent, of the Mahomedan population are weak and unhealthy from insufficient food; the other says that a great portion of the lower class of agriculturists belong to this category. “The people of Hill Tracts in Hazara,” says Colonel Waterfield, C.S.I., “whether agricultural or grazing, may, I think, generally be called a poor, ill-grown, and underfed-looking race”.

In the Central Provinces, we are told that, in Sagar, Damoh, Narasinghpur, Hoshangabad, Nimar and Nagpur Districts, “three-quarters of the tenants are reported to be in debt, , and from the details which are given, it is evident that the position of a large proportion of them is one of hopeless insolvency”.

Province of Agra and Oudh:—The reports of this Province are more ample and more explicit.

The Collector of Etawa writes: “The landless labourer’s condition must still be regarded as by no means all that could be desired. The united earning of a man, his wife, and two children, cannot be put at more than 3 rupees (4s) a month. When prices of food grains are low or moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one fairly good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their heads, and to buy cheap clothing and occasionally a thin blanket”.

The Collector of Banda writes: “A very large number of the lower classes of the population clearly demonstrate by the poorness of their physique that they are habitually half-starred, or have been in early years exposed to the severities and trials of a famine./ And it will be remembered that if any young creature be starved while growing, no amount of subsequent fattening will make up for the injury to growth”/.

The Collector of Ghazipur writes: “As a rule, a very large proportion of the agriculturists in a village are in debt”.

GENERAL ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE

The Commissioner of Fyzabad quotes Mr. Bennett’s statement that, “It is t ot till he has gone into these subjects in detail that a man can fully appreciate how terribly thin the line is which divides large masses of people from absolute nakedness and starvation”. And the Commissioner adds: “I believe this remark is true of every district of Oudh, -the difference between them consisting in the greater or smaller extent of the always large proportion which is permanently in this depressed and dangerous condition’\

The same Commissioner wrote in the Pioneer that, “It has been calculated that about 60 per cent, of the entire native population are sunk in such abject poverty that, unless the small earnings of child-labour are added to the small general stock by which the family is kept alive, some members of the family would starve”. As regards the impression that the greater portion of the people of India suffered from a daily insufficiency of food, he writes: “Hie impression is perfectly true as regards a varying, but always considerable part of the year, in the greater part of India”.

“Hunger”, writes the Deputy Commissioner of Rai Bareili, “as already remarked, is very much a matter of habit; and people who have felt the pinch of famine—as nearly all the poorer households must have felt it—get into the way of eating less than wealthier families.”

I believe , writes the Commissioner of Allahabad, ‘there is very little between the poorer classes of people and semi-starvation; but what is the remedy’?”

These reports by British officials may be taken as the verdict writ large—one might even say, the epitaph—on the British rule in India during the nineteenth century. It is hardly necessary to add, what is well known to everyone familiar with the official reports of the Government of India, that the actual state of things must have been considerably worse than what is indicated by the above reports drawn up by British officials.

'“ “ sa===acg ^ =g "^—————- — 1 —— ssssasa ... ,r-i» ass. aggsc --" itt — ■ ,

1. Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, p. 48.

2. Rao, V.K.R.V., The National Income of British India, p. 10.

3. Naoroji, 22.

4. Rao, op. cit., 22.

5. Digby, 531-2.

6. Rao, op. cit., 32.

7. Bowley .and Robertson, A Scheme for an Economic Census of India.

8. For comparison of prices between 1799, 1811 and 1832, see A. Tripathi, op. cit., p, 265. But these refer only to the Bengal Presidency. For statistics of prices in the second half of the 19th century the Statistical Abstracts offer an incomplete guide. For wages of an unskilled labourer in Bengal before 1813, see A. Tripathi, op, cit., pp. 129-30; in selected areas at the beginning of the 20th century, see Dutt-II, 605-6. None of these is comprehensive and shows nothing more than a trend.

Year	Source	Area	Monthly Wages
1788	... William Cowper	Chittagong	.. 3s
	do.	... Calcutta	... 5s to Os
1805	... John Strachev	... Mymensingh	... 3s 9d
		... Tirhoot	... as
		... Doab	... 7s 6d
		... Dacca	... 3s 6d

1812 i.. William Fairlie ... Bengal ... 5s to 7s 6d,

Table captionwhen employed by natives.

Table caption7s 6d or more,

Table captionwhen employed by Europeans. 10s to 15s,

Table captionwhen employed by planters.

Year

Source	Area	Monthly Wages
Government of India ... Bengal	• • •	
f 9	... Patna	6s 8d to 8s
ff	... Buckergunge	10s 8d.
9f	... Ahmedabad	9s 4d
9)	... Madras	

*99	... Bellary	... 6s 4d
9 J	Salem	... 4s 8d
ff	... Agra & Oudh	• • •
ff	... Cawnpur	... 5s to 6s 8d
ff	... Fyzabad	... 2s 6d to 5s 4d
ff	...Delhi	10s 8d
ff	... C.P.	
99	... Jabalpur	... 5s 4d
ff	... Raipur	... 5s 4d

9.

Year	General index number for 39 articles (except joivar, bajra, barley, ragi and gram till 1897)	Weighted index Number (100 articles)
1861	90	98
1865	107	109

1870	102	107
1875	94	96
1880	104	109
1885	87	106
1890	100	117
1895	104	120
1000	116	148
1905	110	185

The unweighted index number does not record faithfully the nature and significance of the changes in the price level. The relative importance of the commodities has changed. The base year 1873 is no longer suitable.. It was chosen because the depreciation of silver started from that year. Prices rose quickly after 1905 and the war forced the pace. In the case of hides and skins, food grains, building materials and oilseeds the price rise was 40% or more above the base year during 1890-1912. See Report of the Price Enquiry Committee (or Datta Committee).

10. According to Dutt the rise of real wages in the rural areas before war was 38%. Vera Anstey also asserts beneficial effects of price increase on the agriculturists and the debtor class in general. See The Economic Development of India, pp. 445 ff.

11. Dutt-H, 613.

12. Dutt-H, 605.

12a. See above, pp. 358-9.

13. Dutt-II, 604. The total given by Dutt is 17,368,655. But this does not tally with the figures given by him, and quoted above.

14. See pp. 358-9.

15. Griffiths, 400.

16. Dutt-II, 561-2. Letters (of Curzon), British Museum, p. 31.

17. Ibid, 604-5.

18. See p. 857.

19. Griffiths, 401.

20. Dutt-H, 572-4.

21. See p. 358.

22. But even after India was administered by the Crown the same system continued for 90 years till the end of the British rule.

23. The statement is quoted from Griffiths, 402. For the comments of Griffiths which add nothing new, cf. pp. 403-4.

24. Quoted in Dutt-II, p. xxvfi.

25. This is the view of Dr. A. Tripathi, the writer of Section I of this Chapter.

26. This section is based on Dutt—H, Chapter XXV, and all the passages within quotation marks are taken from pp. 602-11.

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B. Documents, of which Bengali translations are given in MCR, Appendix (Only select documents are given below, though the original number has been retained) (Indicated by B. followed by serial

number).

The following abbreviations are used:

GI Government of India.

CC Chief Commissioner of Assam (Mr. Quinton).

PA Political Agent of Manipur (Mr. Grim wood),

TK Tikendrajit (Senapati, later Jubraj).

6. Telegraph from CC to GI, 22 Sept. 1890.

7. Maharaja Sura-chandra’s letter to TK, Sept 23, 1890.

8. Reply to No. 7.

9. CC to GI, 24 Sept. 1890.

10. PA to CC, 25 Sept. 1890.

12. Sura-chandra to CC, 14 Nov. 1890.

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14. CC to GI, 31 Dec. 1890.

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Suppression of the Thagi.

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Rebellion of the Smgphos.

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The Governor-General meets Ranjit Singh at

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The Raja of Mysore deposed and the admimstra tion of Mysore taken over by the British. Rebellion of Titu Mir.

The rebellion of the Kols.

Renewal of the Company’s Charter.

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Macaulay appointed Law Member.

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The First Afghan War.

Lord Ellen borough Governor-GeneraL Conquest of Sindh.

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English education declared as essential qualification for public service.

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Lord Elgin Governor-General.

Amalgamation of the Supreme and Sadar Courts into High Courts.

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Death of Dost Muhammad and Afghan War of Succession.

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The Royal Titles Act.

Treaty with Kalat.

Famine in the Deccan.

Delhi Durbar. The Queen of England proclaimed Empress of India.

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Indian troops sent to Malta.

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1893	The Durand Mission to Kabul
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1895	The Chitral Expedition.
	Settlement of the Russo-Afghan Frontier.
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1897	Frontier Risings.
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	Famine Commission.
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1899-1900	Famine in Northern India.
1900	Famine Commission.
	North-West Frontier Province formed.
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	Habibullah becomes Amir of Afghanistan.
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J. Governors-Gkneral of Fort William in Bsnoal

{Regulating Act of 1778)

(Temporary and officiating in italics)

1774 (October)

1785 (February)

1786 (September) 1793 (October) 1798 (March) 1798 (May)

1805 (July 30) 1805 (October) 1807 (July)

1813 (October 4) 1823 (January) 1823 (August 1) 1828 (March)

1828 (July 4)

Warren Hastings.

Sir John Macpherson.

Earl (Marquess) Cornwallis.

Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth).

Sir A. Clarke.

Earl of Momington (Marquess Wellesley). Marquess Cornwallis (for the second time) Sir George Barlow .

Baron (Earl of) Minto I.

Earl of Moira (Marquess of Hastings).

John Adam.

Baron (Earl) Amherst.

William Butterworth Bay ley.

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck.

IT. Govrrnors-Genbral of- India

1833

1835 (March 20)

1836 (March)

(Charter Act 0/I888)

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck. Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe.

Baron (Earl of) Auckland.

BJUJEL—T*

1842 (February) 1844 (June)

1844 (July)

1848 (January) 1856 (February)

Baron (Earl of) Ellenborough. William Wilberforce Bird.

Sir Henry (Viscount) Hardinge. Earl (Marquess) of Dalhousie. Viscount (Earl) Canning.

III. Govebnobs-General and Viceboys

1858 (November 1)

1862 (March)

1863 (November)

1863 (December)

1864 (January) 1869 (January) 1872 (February) 1872 (February) 1872 (May)

1876 (April)

1880 (June)

1884 (December) 1888 (December) 1894 (January) 1899 (January 6) 1904 (April)

1904 (December)

1905 (November)

Viscount (Earl) Canning.

Earl of Elgin and Kincardine I.

Sir Robert Napier (Baron Napier of Magdala).

Sir William Thomas Denison.

Sir John (Lord) Lawrence.

Earl of Mayo.

Sir John Strachey.

Lord Napier of Merchistoun .

Baron (Earl of) Northbrook.

Baron (Earl of) Lytton I.

Marquess of Ripon.

Earl of Dufferin (Marquess of Duffer in and Ava) Marquess of Landsdowne.

Earl of Elgin and Kincardine II.

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Lord Ampthill.

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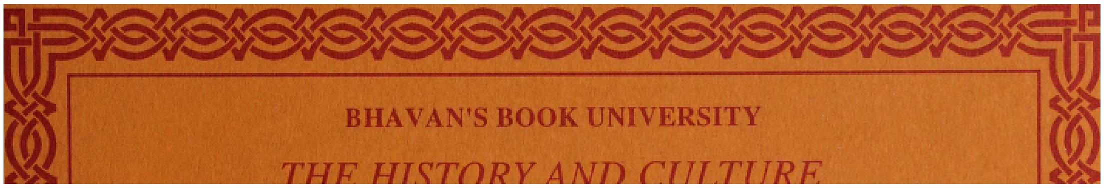

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ABBREVIATIONS

Cf. Vol. IX, pp. xxxv-xxxviii. The following additional abbreviations are used:—

B P P Bengal Past and Present.

s g History of Bengal , Vol. II, Edited by Sir Jadu

nath Sarkar, Dacca.

Hammohan Rammohun Roy , The Man and His Work.

Edited by Amal Home and Published by the Rammohun Centenary Committee. Calcutta, 1933 (also referred to as Centenary Volume).

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar General Editor

This volume really forms a part of Vol. IX, and was originally planned as such; but as the achievement of independence made it possible as well as necessary to give a more detailed and critical history of the period from 1818 to 1905, Vol. IX exceeded the normal size and was split up into two parts. For the convenience of reference the two parts have been treated as separate volumes, with separate numbering of pages and chapters; but, to indicate the continuity, the original number of chapters in the undivided volume has been indicated within brackets in this volume.

The relation between the two parts, i.e., Vols. IX and X, has been explained in the Preface to Vol. IX. While VoL IX deals with the political and economic history of India from 1818 to 1905, this volume treats of the other aspects of Indian life during the same period with the Renaissance as its central theme. It accordingly begins with a short account of the general condition of the Indian people at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ch. I) and then describes the introduction of English education and its general impact on Indian people (Chaps. II, III), leading to what is justly regarded as the Renaissance of India. A detailed account is then given of some of the prominent aspects of the Renaissance, such as the change in religious and social ideas, the growth of new types of literature, and the rise of the Press as an important factor in Indian life (Chs. IV-VII). The most important aspect of the Renaissance, namely, political organization and the development of nationalism which distinguished the period under review from all preceding epochs in Indian history, is dealt with in five chapters (XII-XVI), preceded by four chapters (VIII-XI) which supply the background of political evolution.

A few words are necessary to indicate the scope, object, and necessity of the concluding chapter which marks a departure from the current books on the modem history of India, written both by the Indians and Englishmen. It deals with the state of slavery and semi-slavery to which a large number of

Indians were reduced, both at home and abroad, by Englishmen who uprooted the plant of slavery elsewhere in their dominions only to grow and nurture it on Indian soil. The depth of degradation to which these Indians were condemned, and the brutalities to which they were often subjected, with the full knowledge, and sometimes tacit consent, of the British Government, is a sad commentary on the oft-expressed anxiety of the British rulers of India to guard the interests of her common people, who formed the bulk of the population, as against the microscopic minority of the educated middle class. There is, however, no cloud without a silver lining. The miserable lot of the Indian slaves overseas served as an incentive to India’s struggle for freedom. How deeply it stirred the emotions of the politically conscious Indians may be gathered from the resolutions on the subject .passed year after year at the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress. Apart from this aspect, the stolid, almost criminal, indifference of the British to the indescribable misery and utter humiliation of the Indian labourers and free citizens in the Colonies is mainly responsible for the barbarous and universally condemned policy (or impolicy) of ‘apartheid’ now adopted by the White People of South Africa and their general attitude to the coloured inhabitants of the country.

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The materials for the study of the aspects of history dealt with in this volume are not as varied and ample as is the case with the political and economic history which forms the subject-matter of Vol. IX. The official records, except in a few particular cases, do not directly throw much light on the various topics discussed in this volume. The British authors of Indian history, like the court chroniclers of the Medieval period, were mostly interested in the British conquests and administration, and seldom concerned themselves with the people except as adjuncts to the political and administrative history which constituted their main and central theme. The Cambridge History of India, for example, allots less than a dozen pages to the topics (except English education and Sati) dealt with in this volume, and does not refer, even once, to the Renaissance that changed the face of India, though an entire volume of 680 pages is devoted to the history of sixty years covering the period from 1858 to 1918. The sanie thing is more or less true of the volumes of Indian history written by earlier British authors, mentioned in the Preface to Vol. IX (p. xxiii) as important sources of political history.

Although there is no historical work dealing with the subject, as a whole, treated in this volume, the materials for writing it are not very scanty. Valuable data for studying the development of various aspects of Renaissance in India lie scattered in the periodicals and literary works—specially memoirs on particular topics and biographies or autobiographies of eminent persons. Unfortunately,

much of these materials could not be utilized in the present volume, mainly for two reasons. In the first place, old periodicals are not easily available. Secondly, many of these as well as other literary works are written in regional languages, and there is no English translation. No historian knows all the Indian languages, and co-operative effort such as has been adopted in the chapter on literature could not be extended to others for very obvious reasons. It is therefore. inevitable that the literary evidence in Bengali language, with which the author of these chapters is familiar, has been more extensively used than that in other languages. This was further facilitated by the fact that two Bengali scholars have performed the laborious task of collecting and classifying useful extracts from a few old Bengali periodicals. If similar studies be undertaken with reference to old periodicals in other regional languages, it would be possible to give fuller and better accounts of modern India. Fortunately, many good books—memoirs, bio graphics, essays and studies on special topics—have been written in English in different parts of India, throwing valuable light on the progress of Renaissance in these regions. These enable us to draw up the general outline of this development which must suffice for the present, leaving the details and illustrative examples for the future.

The delineation of the Hindu-Muslim and Indo-British relations (Chs. VIII-XI) presents a peculiar difficulty to which reference has been made in the Prefaces to Vol, VI (pp. xxix-xxxii) and Vol. IX (p. xxxiii) of this series, and the editor has nothing to add to what has been said there. The editor once more reminds the readers that though many unpleasant, sometime* even painful, remarks have been made for the sake of historical truth, the writer bears malice to none and goodwill to all. The history of mankind is largely a tale of woe and misery, brought about by the greed, cruelty and selfishness of men, and India has been no exception to the rule. Still that history has to be told, not merely for the sake of truth, but also for the edification of, and warning to, posterity. To ignore or belittle historical truth, with a view to promoting peace, harmony or goodwill, may be of immediate advantage, but certainly does great harm in the long run. Courage to face truth, however unpleasant, paves the way for better understanding in future. The editor has kept this in view while depicting the relations between the Hindus, Muslims and the British in India during the period under review.

Of the development of political ideas and organizations in general, and of nationalism in particular, there are abundant materials. It has been treated in detail as it forms the background of India's struggle for freedom which forms the central theme of the next volume in this series. Though some of the nationalist ideas reached their maturity and found full and formal expression only after 1905, their beginnings may be traced before that year, and hence they have been noticed in this volume, particularly as their impact upon political movement was felt even before that year was over.

It is as difficult to fix a definite date for the development of a new idea as to draw up a chronological chart for the different phases of the development of literature. , One merges into the other so naturally and in such slow and gradual stages that it is not easy to fix any chronological boundary between them. This difficulty has been conspicuously felt in chapter V dealing with regional literature, and it has been aggravated by the fact that the natural divisions in the growth of a literature may not always agree with the different epochs of political history according to which the different volumes of this series have been arranged. As a result, the end of some sections in literature may appear to be somewhat abrupt. Sometimes the literary activities of one and the same author extend fairly over many years both before and after 1905, with which this volume closes, and it is difficult to decide whether to include him in the present volume and anticipate his later career, or to reverse the process, leaving a gap in the present volume. The case of Rabindranath Tagore offers a good illustration. His literary career will be dealt with in the next volume though some of his good works were published long before 1905. Even such arbitrary choice appeared to be preferable to the division of his career into two halves to be treated in two separate volumes.

A still greater difficulty of the same kind faces us in the domain of art. It is very remarkable that the Renaissance in India was not marked by an efflorescence of art such as we notice in Europe. The nineteenth century in India, so rich in literature at least in Bengal, did not bring about any revival of art tradition even in that Province before the very end of the period under review. The Bengal School of painting founded by Abanindra-nath Tagore has justly been described by Dr. Coomaraswamy as *a phase of the national re-awakening'. But its real development by him and his pupils took place only in the present century. So far as the nineteenth century is concerned, we find either the last glowing embers of the Kangra School represented by Kapur Singh, or imitations of European oil-painting by Raja Ravi Varma, Alagiri Naidu, Ramaswamy Naidu and others. As it would be more appropriate to include the last phase of Kangra art in Vol. VIII, and the development of national as well as Europeanized School of art in Vol. XI, Art as a subject has been altogether omitted in this volume. It may be added that this decision was further influenced by the fact that there has been no significant development in the other two branches of art, viz., architecture and sculpture, in the nineteenth century. The fine stone or bronze images which we find in different parts of India were almost all imported from Europe, and the few buildings which may claim any architectural excellence are based on European model and mostly designed by European architects. Perhaps no epoch in Indian history has been so poor in artistic achievement as the period of British rule in India.

The editor begs to draw the attention of the readers to the policy and principles enunciated in pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, and the method of execution described in p. xxx of Vol. IX, which are equally applicable to this volume. Like Vol. IX, the editor himself is the author of all the chapters of this volume except a small section in the Chapter (IV) on religion, major part of the chapter (V) on literature, and a part of the chapter (II) on English Education. The reasons in both cases are the same and have been stated in p. xxx of Vol. IX. It is needless to add that the general observations in the Preface to Vol. IX, particularly those in pp. xxx ff., are more or less applicable to this volume also.

For reasons stated in the Preface to Vol. IX diacritical marks have generally been omitted except in Chapters IV and V.

The editor notes with deep regret the death of Dr. D. C. Ganguly who contributed several chapters to Vols. IV and V, and of Dr. K. M. Panikkar who wrote a section of Ch. XXX of Vol. IX. The editor also notes with deep sorrow that Prof. K. P. Kulkarni, M.A., who wrote the section on Marathi Language and Literature in chapter V of this volume passed away on 12 June, 1964, when it was in the press. The editor takes this opportunity of placing on record his appreciation of the great services rendered by all the three to the cause of Indian history and culture.

Both Dr. A. K. Majumdar and Dr. D. K. Ghose have rendered valuable service as Assistant Editors to this volume and the editor thanks them both. He also conveys his thanks to the contributors of chapters II, IV and V, and expresses his deep obligation to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., F.A.S., for his valuable help and suggestions regarding the chapter on Literature.

The next and the last volume of this series will cover the period from 1905 to 1947 and is expected to be out before the end of the next year.

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CHAPTER I (XXXIX)

THE INDIAN PEOPLE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The most powerful effect and enduring result of the British rule in India is the intellectual development of the people on an entirely new line, and the consequent changes in their political, social, religious, and economic outlook. It may be said without much exaggeration, that during the period of less than a century, covered by this volume, India passed from the medieval to modern age.

This great transformation took place first in Bengal where the British rule had been the longest, and then in other parts of India, as the British rule came to be established over their people more and more thoroughly. The process of development followed more or less the same line everywhere, but it is easier to trace it from beginning to end more minutely and definitely in Bengal than in any other province.

Besides, there is another good reason why this study should begin with Bengal. This is forcefully expressed by Sir Jadu-nath Sarkar in the following words:

“If Periclean Athens was the school of Hellas, the eye of Greece, mother of arts and eloquence, that was Bengal to the rest of India under British rule, but with a borrowed light which it had made its own with marvellous cunning. In this new Bengal originated every good and great thing of the modern world that passed on to the other provinces of India. From Bengal went forth the Englisheducated teachers and the Europe-inspired thought that helped to modernise Bihar and Orissa, Hindustan and Deccan. New literary types, reform of the language, social reconstruction, political aspirations, religious movements and even changes in manners that originated in Bengal, passed like ripples from a central eddy, accross provincial barriers, to the furthest corners of India”.[1]

In order to understand, therefore, the nature and magnitude of the great transformation it is better to concentrate attention mainly on that region. It will be convenient to begin with a general description of the people of Bengal at the beginning of the nineteenth century before they received any impact from the West, laying special emphasis on those aspects which were more vitally affected by the force of that impact.

Although the British became virtually rulers of Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757, it took some years for the people of Bengal to realize the change. For, to a large extent, the old framework of administration, centring round the titular Nawab of Murshidabad, continued for some years and the real transference of power from his hands to the British Governor in Calcutta was effected very slowly and by degrees. The establishment of the New Council and Supreme Court in Calcutta and the appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor-General in 1774 must have first brought home to the people that there was a real change in political authority. During the twenty-six years that followed, the establishment of British supremacy was not only*an accomplished fact, but was generally recognized to be so by the people of Bengal.

It would be interesting to know the first reaction of the people to this great change. The contemporary literature is, howeVer, too scanty to enable us to form a correct idea of the situation. But there is nothing to show that apart from families or individuals who were directly affected, the middle class or the masses took any serious view of this change from a political point of view. The economic consequences were, of course, disastrous to the people, and they suffered terribly; but there is no indication that there was any general outcry against the alien rulers as such, far less any idea of organized resistance against them.

One of the reasons for the comparative indifference of the Bengalis to the momentous events of 1757 seems to be the occurrence of similar political changes in recent times. Alivardi Khan, whose grandson and successor Siraj-ud-daulah was defeated by the British at Plassey (Palasi) in 1757,* had himself usurped the throne by a similar coup d'etat only 17 years before, and Mir Jafar, who owed his throne to the English, could claim as good a title to the allegiance of the people as the rulers he succeeded. To-day it is customary to look upon the victory of the British at Plassey as an epoch-making event in Indian history, and regard it as marking the foundation of British rule in India. The people of Bengal had neither reason nor justification to view it in this light. They looked upon the accession of Mir Jafar as one usurper and traitor succeeding another, and it was beyond their wildest dreams to see in this event the beginning of British rule in Bengal, far less in India.

There was another reason which operated against the normal feeling of aversion to, or repulsion against, foreign rule. To the Hindus, who formed the majority of the population of British dominions in Bengal, it ,.was the replacement of one foreign rule by another, and not the loss of independence for the first time. The most convincing evidence in this respect is furnished by the courtlife during the rule of the last Nawabs of Bengal.

In this respect we have the evidence of Colonel Scott who had probably more intimate knowledge of the court and people of Bengal than any other Englishman. The opinion he expressed some time about 1754 is thus summarised by C. F. Noble in a letter to the Select Committee, Fort Saint George, dated 22 September, 1756:

“By what Colonel Scott observed in Bengal the jentue rajahs (i.e. the Hindu chiefs) and inhabitants were very much disaffected to the Moor Government, and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their tyrannical yoke. And was of opinion that if an European force began successfully, that they would be inclined to join them if properly applied to and encouraged, but might be cautious how they acted at first until they had a probability of success in bringing about a Revolution to their advantage.^ 2

This opinion proved to be only too true. With the exception of a very few, all the Hindu politicians disliked Siraj-ud-daulah and joined in the conspiracy of 1757 against the Nawab. Mir Jafar was also not on good terms with the Hindu officers and similar was the case with Mir Qasim. Had Mir Qasim been ably supported by Shitab Rai and his party, the history of Bengal might perhaps have been different. The cause of the English was greatly furthered by the assistance of Shitab Rai, his son Kalyan Singh, and others. Shitab Rai spared no pains to poison the mind of the English against the Nawab and was greatly instrumental in bringing about his downfall. Kalyan Singh has himself related (Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh) in plain words his own activities and those of his father and others in favour of the English. They greatly popularised the English cause at the courts of the Delhi Emperor and of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and persuaded the Emperor to grant the Diwani to the East India Company on 12 August, 1765. The supporters and partisans of the English were almost all Hindus. The English refugees at Fulta in 1756 were helped greatly by Raja Nabakrishna and some of the merchants of Calcutta, though Nawab Siraj-ud-daulah had passed strict orders against helping them in any way. 3

Seven hundred years of foreign rule had sapped the political vitality of the Hindus and uprooted whatever national consciousness they ever possessed. This explains, though it does not excuse, their indifference to the new foreign conquest and attempt to turn it to their own advantage. Lord Clive, after his victory at Palasi (Plassey) made a triumphal entry into the capital city of Murshidabad at the head of 200 Europeans and 500 sepoys. He observed “that the inhabitants, who were spectators on that occasion, must have amounted to some hundreds of thousands; and if they had an inclination to have destroyed the Europeans they might have done it with sticks and stones”.[4] One, imbued with modem ideas, may feel surprised that the inhabitants of Murshidabad showed no such inclination. But it is hot difficult to offer an adequate explanation of their attitude. In modern age the people conceive the State to be their own with recognized rights and duties, and hence they are ready to defend it with the last drop of their blood. But we cannot expect the same thing in a State which the majority of the people did not look upon as their own, and in which they possessed no right whatsoever. As Seeley has observed, ‘where the Government ceases to rest upon right, the State loses its right to appeal to patriotism'. The following observation by the same writer seems to reflect correctly the state of things in India and offers a good explanation of the conduct of the Hindus of Bengal in those days.

“We regard it as the duty of a man to fight for his country against the foreigner. But what is a man’s country? When we analyse the notion, we find it presupposes the man to have been bred up in a community which may be regarded as a great family, so that it is natural for him to think of the land itself as a mother. But if the community has not been at all of the nature of a family, but has been composed of two or three races hating each other, (and one of which has denied the others elementary and most valuable rights of a citizen), if not the country, but at most the village has been regarded as a home, then it is not the fault of the natives of it that they have ho patriotism but village-patriotism. It is one thing to receive a foreign yoke for the first time, and quite a different thing to exchange one foreign yoke for another.”[6]

It is therefore easy to understand why the British could win over political authority in Bengal, practically without any opposition from the Hindus.

When the British rule was firmly established in Bengal, the antiMuslim and pro-British sentiments of the Hindus went on increasing. This is evident from the statement of Raja Rammohan Roy. He was a great scholar in Arabic, Persian and Muslim learning, and, as will be shown later, regarded the Muslims as superior to the Hindus in many respects. Nevertheless, he regarded the British rule in India as a benign act of Providence. 6 * In his famous “Appeal to the King in Council” against the Press Regulation he contrasts the advantages and disadvantages of the people under their former Muhammadan rulers with those under the British rule, and refers to the “despotic power of the Mogul Princes who formerly ruled over this country”. 6 Elsewhere the Raja says, with reference to the religious bigotry and proselytisation of the Muslims, that “we have been subjected to

such insults for about nine centuries”. 7 Some of his other utterances on the same line will be quoted later in this chapter. Even early vernacular periodicals contrasted the period of the Hindu Rajas with that of the Musalmans. The view of Muslims as alien rulers persisted throughout the nineteenth century among the Hindus, and is reflected in later periodicals and literary works. The great Bengali writer Bankim-chandra Chatterji, who died in A.D. 1894, gave forceful expression to it in many of his writings.

The attitude of the Muslims towards the British rule in Bengal is more difficult to judge. That there was a sullen resentment against the imposition of British rule in Bengal and Bihar appears clear from the later Wahabi movement and its offshoots which had a strong centre in this region. But there was no active resistance at the moment. This seems to be due to some of the general causes mentioned above, such as change of ruling dynasties in recent times and absence of a national feeling or consciousness of political rights. But the chief reason seems to be that the Muslims formed a minority in Bengal and were generally less advanced in all spheres of life. More important still, they did not possess an aristocratic class which supplied the natural leaders to the people in those days. On account of the prolonged resistance of the local chiefs, the Mughul Emperors could effectively establish their suzerainty in Bengal only after a great deal of difficulty extending over a long period. Hence, to secure their hold, they followed the policy of appointing Governors and high officials in this province from among men of Upper India who retired to their own home after the end of their term of service. It was Murshid Quli Khan (died A.D. 1727) who for the first time established a ruling family in Bengal, and appointed local men as high officials. But the usurper Alivardi Khan, who wrested the throne from his family in 1740, made it a policy to appoint Hindus to high offices by way of a check against the Muslim adherents of the late ruling family. Thus there was no Muslim aristocracy, either* of birth or of service, of long standing, which could organise an open resistance against the British.

It is thus quite intelligible why the establishment of British supremacy in Bengal did not evoke any general protest or resentment, far less any active revolt, among the Hindus. The Muslims, who formed a minority, cherished a feeling of bitter resentment, but it found no outward expression.

Whatever might have be4n the first reaction of the Hindus against the British rule, there is no doubt that they not only reconciled themselves to it, but grew friendly, or even devoted, to the new rulers. Here, again, we may quote the views of Raja Rammohan

Hoy. In his autobiographical sketch, written in the form of a letter to a friend, the Raja says that at the age of sixteen (c. A.D. 1790) he cherished “a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British power in India”. “But”, he continues, “when I had reached

the age of twenty.I first saw and began to associate with

Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants.” 0 It must be noted in. this connection that the change in Rammohan’s feeling cannot be attributed to English education. For he only began to learn English at the age of 22 (A.D. 1796) and as John Digby, under whom he served, tells, us, even in A.D. 1805 he (Rammohan) “could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most common topics of discourse, but could not write it with any degree of correctness.” 9

This friendly attitude of the Hindus towards the British rulers brings to the forefront the general cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims in Bengal. In a written memorandum on the * Judicial System of India' which Raja Rammohan Roy submitted before a Committee of the House of Commons, we find the following questions and answers:—

Q. What is your opinion of the judicial character and conduct of the Hindu and Muhammadan lawyers attached to the courts?

A- Among the Muhammadan lawyers, I have met with some honest men. The Hindu lawyers are in general not well spoken of and they do not enjoy much of the confidence of the public.

In other answers, also, he contrasts the Hindus with the Muslims, and elsewhere he writes:—"I have observed with respect to distant cousins, sprung from the same family and living in the same district, when one branch of the family had been converted to Mussalmanism, that those of the Muhammadan branch living in a freer manner, were distinguished by greater bodily activity and capacity for exertion, than those of the other branch which had adhered to the Hindoo simple mode of life". 10

Hie questions and answers show that the Hindus and the Muslims were regarded both by the British and the Indians as two separate communities with distinct cultures and different physical, mental, and moral characteristics:

In the vernacular newspapers of the first quarter of the nineteenth century we find the Muslims referred to as 'yavana-jati' and a clear distinction is made between them and the Hindus. In 1833 two students of the Hindu College were appointed teachers of the Murshidabad School. It is reported in a vernacular paper dated February 13, 1836, that one of these died shortly after his arrival and the other, though highly qualified, was not liked by the Muslims simply because he was a Hindu. So he resigned in May 1835. 11 In general, we find among the regulations of the new schools, that it was open to all communities, Christians, Hindus and Muslims, but the Hindu College was open to the Hindus alone. Indeed such distinction is tacitly accepted, and even as late as 12 August, 1869, a long article on the Muslims in the Amritabazar Patrika begins with the statement that the population is divided into two classes, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims, and traces the origin of the majority of the Muslims to the conversion of low class Hindus. 12 Throughout the nineteenth century this sharp distinction between the Hindu and Muslim communities is reflected in Bengali literature, and there was good reason for it. In order to explain this a brief reference must be made to the position of the Muslims vis-a-vis the Hindus at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The loss of political power and prestige made the Muslims less arrogant towards the Hindus, and considerably curtailed their antiHindu activities inspired by religious bigotry. The long residence as neighbours, for nearly six centuries, must have brought them closer together in ordinary affairs of daily life, and there must have been some assimilation in thoughts and ideas. Above all, the common subjection to an alien rule awakened a sort of fellow-feeling which adversity shared together seldom fails to develop. All these factors brought about a more harmonious and friendly relation, removed many of the angularities, and to a large degree blunted the edge of ill feeling or hostility between the two communities. But the fundamental and basic differences, to which reference has been made above, 13 still remained and operated as a barrier between them almost as strong as before. While the radical differences in religious and social ideas and practices had not been modified to any appreciable extent, the historical traditions, another potent factor which kept the two communities separate, gathered force with the expansion and stability of Muslim rule in India. It is interesting to note how, apart from social and religious institutions which created a permanent cleavage between the two, even the differences in less important matters continued without any visible sign of diminution.

The literary and intellectual traditions of the two communities ran on almost entirely different lines. They were educated in different institutions, To Is and Madrasas. The Muslims drew their inspiration from Arabic and Persian literature. A small number of Hindus knew Persian, and only a few learnt Arabic, but the Hindu mind was nurtured from the boyhood on Sanskrit, particularly religious, literature like the Epics and the Puranas, to which the Muslims were almost strangers. It is a strange phenomenon that although the Muslims and Hindus had lived together.in Bengal for nearly six hundred years, the average people of each community knew so little of the other's history, literature, ideas and traditions.

The Hindus believed that the majority of the Muslims in Bengal were converts from the lowest strata of Hindu society. How far this belief is historically correct has been discussed above. 14 But, right or wrong, the belief was there, 1 5 and there is no doubt that the upper class Hindus treated the Muslim masses in many respects like the low castes of their own society. Even in the closing years of the nineteenth century, in most villages, the Muslims, who visited a caste Hindu's house, had, with rare exceptions, to sit in the verandah on a mat or even on bare ground, and were not admitted inside a room, or given any seat which should be offered to a man of equal status. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that, generally speaking, there was no rancour, animosity, or ill-feeling on that account between the two communities, so severely kept asunder by religious and social barriers.

There was no social intercourse between the two communities as we understand the term to-day, for a Hindu would not take food or even a glass of water touched by a Muslim, and would lose his caste and religion if he did so. This did not, however, prevent a Hindu from being a guest at the house of a Muslim or vice versa . Each would scrupulously respect the feelings and sentiments of the other, and provide for the food agreeable to him. Many respectable Muslims maintained a permanent kitchen under Hindu management for their Hindu guests, and Hindus would either do the same or arrange with a Muslim neighbour for the food of their Muslim guests.

Many popular beliefs, even superstitions, reverence for holy saints and festivals of the other community, folk-songs and popular pastimes, and even some social etiquette and customs were shared in common by the two communities. But although these were signs of the growth of good feeling, they were after all minor features and did not touch the essentials of life. In all matters vitally affecting life and culture, the Hindus and Muslims lived in almost two watertight compartments. Unlike other foreign conquerers—Greeks, Sakas, Kushanas and Hunas in India, or Angles, Saxons, Danes and

Normans in England—the Muslims were never fused with the conquered people, and there was no prospect of it even in distant future. Reference may be made in this connection to the following extract from the Siyctr-ul-Mutakherin , whose author Sayyid Ghulam Husain Khan lived towards the close of the eighteenth century.

'‘And although the Gentoos seem to be a generation apart and distinct from the rest of mankind, and they are swayed by such differences in religion, tenets and rites, as will necessarily render all Musulmen aliens and profane, in their eyes; and although they keep up a strangeness of ideas and practices, which beget a wide difference in customs and actions; yet in process of time, they drew nearer and nearer; and as soon as fear and aversion had worn away, we see that this dissimilarity and alienation have terminated in friendship and union, and that the two nations have come to coalesce together into one whole, like milk and sugar that have received a simmering. In one word, we have seen them promote heartily each other’s welfare, have common ideas, like brothers from one and the same mother, and feel for each other, as children of the same family”. 16

Ghulam Husain’s analysis of the fundamental differences- between the Hindus and Muslims is in agreement with the view mentioned above. His reference to the amity between the two communities may be accepted as generally true, but he undoubtedly exaggerates its extent when he says that “the two nations coalesced together into one whole, like milk and sugar”. Indeed this is contradicted by the first part of his own observation, and also by unchallenged facts. The Hindus looked down upon the Muslims as unclean, and even for the slightest contact with them, in violation of orthodox rules, a Hindu was condemned to a perpetual exclusion from his society. If a Hindu took food from a Muslim house, even unknowingly, or a Hindu woman was touched by a Muslim, the entire family was driven out of the Hindu fold and forced to take up the Muslim faith. These rigours and restrictions, which hardly fit in with the theory of coalescence, gradually increased the number of the Muslims in Bengal, so much so that while they formed only one-third of the population of Bengal at the middle of the nineteenth century, 17 their number increased to more than half in course of a hundred years. Thus, though the Hindus and Muslims formed two watertight compartments to begin with, water soon began to leak from one into the other, but not vice v&rsa. The Hindu society had wide exits but no entrance. To use Ghulam Husain's metaphor, Hindu sugar was dissolved in the Miuslim milk and it was the absorption of the Hindus by Muslims, and not a coalescence or fusion of the two communities.

In spite of good neighbourly feeling the fundamental differences between the two were never ignored, far less forgotten, by either side. On occasions, though fortunately rare, there were tensions between the two, generated by religious and social differences and historical traditions. The spirit of ill will and hatred even led to ugly communal riots to which reference will be made later. But these quarrels were soon made up, and the even tenor of life was resumed by both. During the early period of British rule the differences were levelled down to a considerable degree by the common subjection to a foreign rule, but they, reappeared with the growth of political consciousness. The fundamental and basic difference was patent to all, and the English rulers took full advantage of it by playing one against the other. But though the English exploited the difference between the two communities, it was in no sense created by them. It was always there, and they merely used it to maintain or advance their own interests. The fundamental differences were briefly described as follows, by way of justifying the view that the Hindus and Muslims were two distinct nations, by one who first mooted the idea of Pakistan in 1930: “Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles. They extend to the minute details of our lives. We, Muslims and Hindus, do not interdine; we do not intermarry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress, are different.” 17ft It would be difficult to deny that this statement was as true in A.D. 1800 (or 1200) as in 1930.

Though in contrast with the Muslims the Hindus may be regarded as forming a single separate community, it lacked internal cohesion on account of the numerous castes which sub-divided it. It is true that except in matters of intermarriage and interdining, the so-called higher castes had not any basic difference among themselves, but there was an almost insuperable barrier between the caste-Hindus and the untouchables. The latter were treated as distinctly inferior in every respect by the rest, who not only refused all kinds of social intercourse with them but, in some parts of India, even regarded their very sight as unclean. Though they were all included in the same religious fold, these classes were refused entry into the temples and the service of the Brahman priests. These details are too well-known to be repeated, but the rigidity of the caste system among the Hindus must be borne in mind in forming an estimate of the national feeling among the people of India.

What has been stated above, in respect of Bengal, applies more or less equally to all other parts of India. There can be hardly any doubt that the cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims, and the caste-distinctions among the former, were great obstacles to the formation of a national consciousness, even among-the people of a single province like Bengal. It is hardly necessary to point out that there was no consciousness of unity among the peoples of India as a whole. The memory and tradition of the eighteenth century, when every man’s hand was against his neighbour, persisted still in creating a wide gulf between the different regions of India.

The liberal character of British rule, specially its judicial administration and “the literary and political improvements which are continually going on”,[18] made a very favourable impression upon the Hindus who contrasted it with the decadent system of Muslim rule in the eighteenth century, so strongly marked by inefficiency, corruption, and exactions to an almost incredible degree. This is specially true of the upper classes and intelligentsia among the Hindus. Anyone who even cursorily glances through the journals or public addresses of prominent Hindu leaders in Bengal during the first half of the nineteenth century will be surprised at the violent denunciation of the Muslim rule and the enthusiastic, almost rapturous, applause of the British administration which supplanted it.

The most important and interesting testimony in this respect is furnished by Raja Rammohan Roy whose deep erudition in Muslim learning and general bringing up preclude the idea of any bias against the Muslim community. He mentions both the merits and defects of Muslim rule in the following passage of his ‘Appeal to the King in Council’: “Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Muhammadan Rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in the state, entrusted with the command of armies and the government of provinces, and often chosen as advisers to their Prince, without disqualification or degrading distinction on account of their religion or the place of their birth. They used to receive free grants of land exempted from any payments of revenue, and besides the highest salaries allowed under the Government they enjoyed free of charge large tracts of country attached to certain offices of trust and dignity, while natives of learning and talent were rewarded with numerous situations of honour and emolument. Although under the British Rule, the natives of India have entirely lost this political consequence, your Majesty's faithful subjects were consoled by the more secure enjoyment of those civil and religious rights which had been so often violated by the rapacity and intolerance of the Mussulmans; and notwithstanding the loss of

political rank and power, they considered themselves much happier in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty than were their ancestors;. . ," 19

It may be mentioned in passing that the blessings of Muslim rule mentioned by the Raja may be said to be true of only a very short period of Muslim rule, roughly extending from the middle of the sixteenth to the close of the seventeenth century A.D., in other words for less than 150 years, out of more than 800 (according to the calculation of the Raja). Nevertheless the Raja leaves no doubt where his sympathies lay. In para 3 of the same Appeal he says:

"The greater part of Hindustan having been for several centuries subject to Muhammadan Rule, the civil and religious rights of its original inhabitants were constantly trampled upon, and from the habitual oppression of the conquerors, a great body of their subjects in the southern Peninsula (Dukhin), afterwards called Marhattahs, and another body in the western parts now styled Sikhs, were at last driven to revolt; and when the Mussulman power became feeble, they ultimately succeeded in establishing their independence; but the Natives of Bengal wanting vigor of body,* and adverse to active exertion, remained during the whole period of the Muhammadan conquest, faithful to the existing Government, although their property was often plundered, their religion insulted, and their blood wantonly shed. Divine Providence at last, in its abundant mercy, stirred up the English nation to break the yoke of those tyrants, and to receive the oppressed Natives of Bengal under its protection". 20

The Raja concludes his "Appeal to the Christian Public" with the following words: "I now conclude my Essay by offering up thanks to the Supreme Disposer of the events of this universe, for having unexpectedly delivered this country from the long-continued tyranny of its former Rulers, and placed it under the government of the English,—a nation who not only are blessed with the enjoyment of civil and political liberty, but also interest themselves in promoting liberty and social happiness, as well as free inquiry ihto literary and religious subjects, among those nations to which their influence extends". 21 But Rammohan Roy was not alone in bolding these views; younger contemporaries of Rammohan proceeded even further. Almost all the evils from which the country was suffering were attributed to the Muslim rule. Thus Dwarkanath Tagore, by no means an orthodox Hindus, wrote in a letter to the Englishman, dated 6 December, 1838: "The present characteristic failings of natives are—a want of truth, a want of integrity, a want of independence. These were not the characteristics of former days, before the religion was corrupted and education had disappeared. It is to the Mahomedan conquest that these evils are owing, and they are the invariable results of the loss of liberty and national degradation. The Mahomedans introduced in this country all the vices of an ignorant, intolerant and licentious soldiery. The utter destruction of learning and science was an invariable part of their system, and the conquered, no longer able to protect their lives by arms and independence, fell into opposite extremes of abject submission, deceit and fraud. Such has been the condition of the Natives of Hindustan for centuries." 22 Dwaraka-nath Tagore also expressed his conviction that the happiness of India was best secured by her connection with England. Prasanna-kumar Tagore openly declared that he would prefer English government to any other, even to a Hindu government. 23

The same sentiment is expressed in the Memorial to the Supreme Court against the Press Regulation, signed by Rammohan, Dwaraka-nath, Prasanna-kumar and three other prominent citizens of Calcutta. The following para may be quoted as a specimen.

“During the last wars which the British Government were obliged to undertake against neighbouring Powers it is well known that the great body of Natives of wealth and respectability, as well as the Landholders of consequence, offered up regular prayers to the objects of their* worship for the success of the British arms from a deep conviction that under the sway of that nation, their improvement, both mental and social, would be promoted, and their lives, religion, and property be secured. Actuated by such feelings, even in those critical times, which are the best test of the loyalty of the subject, they voluntarily came forward with a large portion of their property to enable the British Government to carry into effect the measures necessary for its own defence, considering the cause of the British as their own, and firmly believing that on its success, their own happiness and prosperity depended.” 23 *

It is interesting to note that this spirit was deliberately encouraged by the British to serve their own interests. Thus Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, wrote on 1 March, 1824: “It is desirable that the Hindoos should always be reminded that we did not conquer them, but found them conquered, that their previous rulers were as much strangers to their blood and to their religion as we are, and that they were notoriously far more oppressive masters than we have ever shown ourselves. „23b

But this anti-national and pro-British sentiment was by no means confined to the Bengali Hindus. The Marathas sought alliance with the English against the Nawab of Bengal in 1757. Shah Alam

negotiated with Clive against Mir Jafar and the Vizier of Oudh (Awadh), and sent a firman to Hoi well, offering a carte blanche to the British in Bengal provided they drew their forces off from Mir Jafar and bring them under his standard. 24 Even at the very end of the eighteenth century, when the danger of British domination over India should have been patent to all, the Marathas and the Nizam joined the British in exterminating the power of Tipu Sultan. There was no cohesion among the Maratha Chiefs, who fought with one another and could not take any concerted action against the British even in the war, waged by them at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which sealed their fate. It would be hardly any exaggeration to say that almost every Indian ruler bore grudge and intrigued against his neighbour and was ever ready to aggrandise himself at his cost, even with the help of the alien British, if need be. So far as the common people were concerned, their vision seldom extended beyond the narrow horizon of their own petty State. If they knew anything of other Indian peoples, they maintained supreme indifference, or even felt aversion, towards them. The Bengalis and the Rajputs remembered the horrors of the raid by the Marathas and cherished intense hatred against them. Similar feelings existed, for similar reasons, among other groups of Indian people. But even apart from such reasons, hardly any Indian ever regarded himself as a citizen of India owing allegiance to her, even as against any alien power. This is best evidenced by the fact that an Indian soldier was ready to fight against any Indian power, including his own province or State, on behalf of any other power, which was willing to pay him for his service. This enabled the British to conquer India with the help of the Indians themselves.

This statement holds good throughout the history of the British up to the end of the nineteenth century. It is on record that the Sepoys of Upper India, who under British leadership defeated the 'Sikhs, felt proud of their achievement and looked down upon them. The Sikhs reciprocated the sentiment and there was no love lost between the twoi This difference was fully exploited by the British during the outbreak of 1857. If, as some Britishers proudly claim, they conquered India by the sword, it is only fair to remember that three-fourths of these swords were wielded by Indian hands.

In addition to the Hindus and Muslims, the English formed a distinct community in Bengal, particularly in Calcutta and neighbouring towns. Their numerical weakness was more than made up by the prestige attaching to the ruling community. Three classes could be distinguished among them, viz., officials, non-officials, and missionaries. In general, there was more familiar social intercourse

between them and the Bengalis at the beginning than was the case after 1818, Sympathy with the political aspirations of the people was also more in evidence in the earlier period than in later years. This can be accounted for by two reasons. In the first place, the long journey to England before the opening of the Suez Canal made the Englishmen more reconciled to their abode in a foreign land. Being debarred from frequent intercourse and quick communication with home, and having no big society of their own in Calcutta, many of them turned to the society of Indians with a more friendly attitude than their successors. They imbibed many Bengali customs like smoking in a hookah , and took part in dances, music and religious festivals in Bengali homes.

Another cause which operated in the same direction was the fact that the English settlers had not yet,come to regard themselves as the ruling race. The political authority was vested in the East India Company, which was after all a private trading corporation and did not represent England as a whole. So there were many Englishmen who strongly criticised the Government and the officials, and some of them were deported by the Government out of India. As will be shown later, some Englishmen shared the political aspirations of the Indians and openly joined in their activities. On the whole, some of them seem to have taken a real and genuine interest in promoting the welfare of the people.

The official class was also generally sympathetic towards the Bengalis and mixed freely with them. Many officials were quite familiar with the languages and customs of the people and there was more friendly intercourse between the two than was the case later in the century.

The missionaries played a very large and important part in the life of Bengal. At first there were many restrictions to the immigration of English Christian Missionaries into India. But these were all removed by the Charter Act of 1813. Henceforth they came in large number and became an important feature of the society.

They were, generally speaking, more sympathetic towards the Indians than other classes of Europeans, and were noted for many beneficent activities to which reference; will be made in connection with relevant topics. They were not, however, very scrupulous in regard to their proselytizing methods, nor restrained in their denunciation of Hindu religion. They created an ill-feeling towards them which is referred to in dignified language by Raja Rammohan Roy in his Preface to the Brahmanical Magazine (1821) from which the following extract is quoted: “But during the last twenty years, a body of English gentlemen, who are called missionaries, have been

publicly endeavouring, in several ways, to convert Hindoos and Mussulmans of this country into Christianity. The first way is that of publishing and distributing among the natives various books, large and small, reviling both religions, and abusing and ridiculing the gods and saints of the former: the second way is that of standing in front of the doors of the natives or in the public roads to preach the excellency of their own religion and the debasedness of that of others: the third way is that if any natives of low origin become Christians from the desire of gain or from any other motives, these gentlemen employ and maintain them as a necessary encouragement to others to follow their example.

'It is true that the apostles of Jesus Christ used to preach the superiority of the Christian religion to the natives of different countries. But we must recollect that they were not of the rulers of those countries where they preached. Were the missionaries likewise to preach the Gospel and distribute books in countries not conquered by the English, such as Turkey* Persia, &c., which are much nearer England, they would be esteemed a body of men truly zealous in propagating religion and in following the example of the founders of Christianity. In Bengal, where the English are the sole rulers, and where the mere name of Englishman is sufficient to frighten people, an encroachment upon the rights of her poor timid and humble inhabitants and upon their religion, cannot be viewed in the eyes of God or the public as a justifiable act. For wise and good men always feel disinclined to hurt those that are of much less strength than themselves, and if such weak creatures be dependent on them and subject to their authority, they can never attempt, even in thought, to mortify their feelings”. 24 *

On the whole, the Bengalis looked with favour upon the English community and many even looked forward to the colonization of Englishmen in this country on a large scale. There was a public movement, led by men like Rammohan Roy and Dwaraka T nath Tagore, to facilitate the permanent settlement of Englishmen in Bengal. 23

Having given a general view of the different elements of the people of Bengal we may now try to form some idea of their intellectual and moral character as well as social and religious ideas. The memorandum of Raja Rammohan Roy, from which some questions and answers have been quoted above, also contains the following:

Q. What degree of intelligence exists among the native inhabitants?

A. The Mussulmans, as well as the more respectable classes of Hindus, chiefly cultivated Persian literature, a great number of the former and a few of the latter also extending their studies likewise to Arabic. This practice has partially continued to the present time, and among those i who enjoy this species of learning, as well as among those who cultivate Sanskrit literature, many well-informed and enlightened .persons may be found, though from their ignorance of European literature, they are not naturally much esteemed by such Europeans as are not well versed in Arabic or Sanskrit. 26

On the whole, it would be hardly any exaggeration to say that higher education in Bengal, both among thb Hindus and the Muslims, followed a stereotyped course during the half-millennium ending in A.D. 1800. Some Special branches of Sanskrit literature such as NcLvyc^Nydya f Smxiti , and grammar were more favourite subjects of study among the Hindus. But, in general, the trend and method of learning and its contents did not differ in any remarkable degree from that which prevailed at the time of Muslim conquest, save a growing interest in Persian, specially in North India. Similarly the Muslims confined their studies to Arabic and Persian. While many Hindus (probably more in number than Muslims) studied Persian, and a few even Arabic, the Muslims rarely cultivated Sanskrit. In' addition to the traditional higher learning imparted in numerous fols, chatushpafhis, maktabs and madrasas through Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, elementary education was provided in a number of Primary schools.

We may form a fairly accurate idea of the state of elementary education in Bengal at the beginning of the period under review from Mr. Adam’s report, 27 based on a very detailed investigation of different localities throughout the province. It is not necessary to deal with it elaborately; it will suffice only to emphasize the following points:

1. Bengali was the medium of instruction. It was the “language of Mussalman as well as of the Hindu population” and though the “Hindustani or Urdu” was the current spoken language of the educated Mussalmans of Bengal and Bihar, it was never employed in the schools as the medium or instrument of written instruction.

2. The schools were most often held in some rooms in private houses and not unoften in the open. There were very few school houses built exclusively for this purpose, and they were mostly thatched cottages each of which, in addition to the personal labour of the pupils, was constructed at a cost averaging Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 10.

3. As regards the teachers, only a very few gave their instruc

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tions gratuitously because they had independent means of support. But, in general, the salary of the teachers was very poor. The average monthly professional income of the vernacular teachers of Bengal and Bihar was about Bs. 3/-, less than half of what was usually given in Calcutta to the lowest menials or domestic servants. The teachers, as could be expected, were mostly ignorant and absolutely unsuited for their task.. They could hardly exercise any moral influence over their pupils.

4. The number of pupils was overwhelmingly Hindu. Whereas the Hindu population was to the Mussalman in the proportion of rather more than 2 to 1, the Hindu scholars enjoying the benefit of elementary indigenous education were to the Mussalman scholars in the proportion of about 19 to 1.

5. The subjects of instruction consisted mostly of reading, writing and some amount of arithmetic to enable the pupil to keep accounts. The students generally spent about six to seven years to learn these things. Some students continued beyond this for a period of two years. The accounts briefly and superficially taught in the preceding stage were now taught more thoroughly and at greater length, and these were accompanied by the composition of business letters, petitions, grants, leases, acceptances, notes

or bonds etc. together with the forms of addresses appropriate to the different grades of rank and station.

6. The use of printed books was almost wholly unknown. In many old thanas, even manuscript text books were unknown. All that the scholars learnt was acquired from the oral dictation of the master. The literary texts mostly consisted of hymns addressed to different gods and goddesses, and stories, based on the epics, like D&takarna.

7. The scheme of discipline may be truly characterized as a reign of terror. Kindness, patience, generosity, love,—all were alike unknown in the schools. Fear was the first and last and the only motive brought into play; punishment, the first and last and the only stimulant. Caning was the most normal, while open palm and clinched fist were also vigorously applied to the back, cheek and the head. Other ingenious modes of punMnnent were also followed. The school was regarded by the pupils as a sort of dungeon or grievous prison house to escape from which was the chiefest of all things and the desire to do so was the most powerful of all instincts.

8. The aggregate average number of the pupils for all the districts was less than eight per cent., and the aggregate average of

adult population who could read or write was no more than five and a hall per cent.

9. As regards female education, it was practically unknown and there was no public institution for this purpose. There was a superstitious idea that a girl taught to read and wlrite would soon after marriage become a widow. In the whole district of Murshidabad, Adam only found nine women who could read or write or who could merely decipher writing or sign their names. “In all the other localities of wheh a census was taken, no adult females were found to possess even the lowest grade of instruction,” a few probable exceptions being the daughters of zamindars or those belonging to some religious sects.

In addition to the elementary instruction given in regular schools, there was a kind of traditional knowledge of written language and accounts, preserved in families and passed on from father to son. Then, there were higher schools of Hindu and Muslim learning. In Hindu schools, studies were confined to general literature, law and logic. General literature consisted mainly of grammar, lexicology, poetry, drama and rhetoric. Grammar was the favourite study and, among other works, Pacini and Kaldpa received attention. In lexicology the Amarakosha; in verse the Bhaft iKavya, Magha-K&vya (on the war between &i£upala and Kj-ishaja), Naishadha^Kdvya (the love of Nala and DamayantI), the Sakuntala episode etc.; in law Manu, the Mittikshara, the Ddydbhdga and the Dattakamtmdmsd and the treatises of Raghunandana; in logic Mathuri commentary of Vy&pti-Panchaka and in mythology, Bhdgavata Pur&na or other works of the same class appear to have been in wide use and were frequently quoted.

William Adam thought that in his time probably the Alankara Sastras and Tantras were more generally studied. The Committee of Public Instruction noted that the chief study at Nadia was Nyaya (logic). The Brahmans showed skill in astronomy, constructed almanacs and calculated eclipses. To the philosophical theology of the Vedas, the ritual of modem Hinduism, and astrology, was. added medicine (of the Ayurveda system). An old woman in Pumeah had become well known for extracting stones from the bladder, an operation which she performed after the manner of the ancients. In certain districts were found several scholars of keen and versatile intellect, adepts in the subtleties of grammar and skilled in its practical uses. In the district of Burdwan was found a scholar, by name Raghunandana, who had written no less than 37 books, including treatises on prosody, a compilation from works on the treatment of diseases, commentaries on ancient law-givers, a life of Rama and a eulogy on the Raja of Burdwan. A scholar of Hindu learning was normally a grammarian, who was absorbed in the meaning of words and their forms, competent to interpret ancient authorities, able to appreciate the logicalities and fine distinctions of ancient learning, and who invariably indulged in disputations. Many of these scholars lived very simple lives and were perfect examples of plain living and high thinking. Students from remote parts of India gathered at Nadia (Bengal); they spoke Sanskrit, the language of the cultivated intellect all over India, with great fluency.

Muslim learning was of two types, Persian and Arabic. Studies pursued in Persian were forms of correspondence, legal processes and legendary tales. The didactic and poetical works of Saadi (Gulistan and Bostan), the letters of Abul Fazl, the Pandenamath, Sikandarnamah and other poetical works, like Yusuf and Zulekha, Bahar Danish 9 Laila and Majnun, were read. At Rajshahi, the Persian course commenced with 'ali/ be 9 and proceeded to the formal reading of the Qur'an. At Murshidabad poems of Urfi, Hafiz, etc., the law of inheritance, the fundamentals of Islam, the unity of God, and natural philosophy were studied. Works produced in Persian comprised treatises on theology and medicine. Arabic studies, which were preceded by a course of Persian reading, were confined to grammar, logic, law (especially of inheritance) and religion, and included Euclid's geometry, Ptolemy's astronomy and some mutilated extracts from the writings of Aristotle and Plato. Among other aspects, grammar covered Munshaib (Etymology), Mizan (Prosody), Zubda (Permutation), and Tasrif (Inflection).

The most notable development in the intellectual field during the Muslim rule was the rise of Bengali language and literature. From its doubtful beginnings in the tenth or eleventh century A.D., it had developed into a rich literature by A.D. 1800. The Muslims also cultivated it and we know the names of a few well-known texts composed by them. But the Bengali literature of A.D. 1800 was mainly religious in character. All the books were written in poetry and the prose style was hardly developed at all. Excepting a few letters, business documents and missionary texts of the nature of catechism, we have no specimens . of Bengali prose written before A.D. 1800 The first attempt to evolve a prose style was made at the beginning of the nineteenth century AiD. by the teachers of the Fort William College and Raja Rammohan Roy. 27 * But Bengali prose had not yet grown up as a suitable vehicle of literary expression on any matter, religious or secular. This point must be borne in mind when we think of the wonderful outburst of literary activity in Bengali prose during^ the nineteenth century. The progress which

Bengali prose made, alike in style and contents, in course of a single century, has probably had few parallels in the history of the world.

The influence of Arabic and Persian upon the development of Bengali literature during the six hundred years of Muslim rule has been much exaggerated. Although Bengali vocabulary has been much enriched by loan-words, the Bengali literature bears no definite imprint of the spirit of either Arabic or Persian literature. Nor have Muslim traditions or beliefs exercised much influence on it. It bears the distinct stamp of Hindu religion and mythology, and is profoundly moulded by Sanskrit literature, in spite of occasional or very casual references to Pirs, Paygambar or isolated Muslim creeds. On the whole, the Bengali literature was far more powerfully affected by western influence during the nineteenth century than by the Muslim influence during the six hundred years that preceded it.

The same thing may be said of the social and religious institutions. The general framework of the Hindu society and religion in A.D. 1200 did not undergo any radical change during the six hundred years that followed. The Hindus at the beginning of the nineteenth century exhibited the same fundamental characteristics as in the thirteenth. A deep-rooted belief in a number of gods and goddesses, universal practice of image worship, a rigid caste system with its attendant restrictions about touch, food, and marriage, child-marriage and the strict prohibition of the remarriage of widows, preference, among high-class Hindus, of vegetarian diet, and horror of beef-eating, indicate in no uncertain manner how Islam had failed to touch even the fringe of Hindu society. This was underlined especially by the untouchability and the old iniquitous attitude towards the lower castes which afforded a striking contrast to the social equality of the people in Muslim community.

So far as the Hindu masses were concerned, religion meant only an unending series of rituals and ceremonies, performed in strict accordance with scriptural rules. Many obnoxious rites were practised by the common people, and immoral customs, with belief in witchcraft and sorcery, were in vogue. These were, at least partly, legacies of Tantric beliefs and practices which had a strong hold in Bengal. Religion, as a source of moral purity and spiritual force, exercised little influence over a large section of the common people.

There was undoubtedly a general deterioration in Hindu society. Long subjection to alien rule, lack of contact wth the progressive forces of the world, and a stereotyped system of education leading to knowledge which was based upon blind faith impervious to reason,—

all these told upon the mental and moral outlook of men and society. Nothing so forcibly illustrates the degrading character of the age as its callousness to women. It was seriously debated in Bengali periodicals throughout the first half of the nineteenth century whether the Hindu scriptures were in favour of, or against, female education. The custom of Sati or burning of a widow along with the body of her dead husband is well known. In Calcutta and its neighbourhood alone there were 253, 289 and 441 cases of Sati , respectively, in 1815,1816 and 1817. 88 Not only was it tolerated .by all classes of people, but when the practice was forbidden by law, a largely signed petition was presented to the Government against it. The signatories numbered 1146 including 120 Pandits and many prominent leaders of Hindu society in Bengal. A number of letters also appeared in the newspapers in support of the abominable practice. It seems as if there was a paralysis of moral sensibilities and utter lack of humane feelings among the Hindus, or at least a large section of them.

Another social evil was the marriage of Kulin Brahmans. Owing to old conventions a few Brahman families in Bengal were regarded as superior in respect of social prestige and obtained high dowries in marriage market. The result was that these Brahmans married a large number of wives, sometimes as many as fifty or sixty, or even more. These wives lived in their fathers' houses and many of them scarcely saw their husbands after their marriage. The evil was heightened by the fact that many girls, according to social usage, could be married only to Kulins and therefore had to remain unmarried until death. Cases were not rare when a number of such, girls, varying in age from 20 to 50, were all married to a single old man, at one sitting, just to remove their maidenhood, which was considered a disgrace. It is hardly necessary to point out the great moral evils resulting from this practice, but it was tolerated in spite of protests and did not disappear till quite late in the century.

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Callousness to human sufferings, arising out of blind adherence to old practices, seems to have been the order of the day. The number of cruel practices associated with charaka-pujd (Hook-swinging) furnish another illustration. Men were tied to a rope attached to a wheel and rapidly whirled round, while in some cases, iron pikes or arrows were inserted into the back, legs or other parts of their bodies. Sometimes the rope snapped and the body was thrown to a distance of 25 to 30 yards, reduced to a shapeless mass. In all cases the men were all but dead when brought down from the wheel.

As* regards the Muslims, it will appear from the evidence of Raja Rammohan Roy, quoted above, that in some respects, their

middle class was superior to the Hindus. But the upper class or aristocracy was rotten to the core, and the masses were poor and ignorant Referring to the beginning of the British rule the eminent historian Jadu-nath Sarkar observes: “When Clive struck at the Nawab, Mughal civilization had become a spent bullet. Its potency for good, its very life was gone. The country's administration had become hopelessly dishoneslt and inefficient, and the mass of the people had been reduced to the deepest poverty; ignorance and moral degradation by a small, selfish, proud, and unworthy ruling class. Imbecile lechers filled the throne, the family of Alivardy did not produce a single son worthy to be called a man, and the women were even worse than the men. Sadists like Siraj and Miran made even their highest subjects live in constant terror. The army was rotten and honey-combed with treason. The purity of domestic life was threatened by the debauchery fashionable in the Court and the aristocracy and the sensual literature that grew up under such patrons. Religion had become the handmaid of vice and folly." 29

About the general character of the Bengali people, widely different views have been expressed by contemporary Englishmen. Warren Hastings wrote in 1764 that “a few years ago most of the Englishmen regarded the Indians almost as barbarians, and though the feeling has decreased it has not entirely disappeared." The truth of this statement is proved by a book written in 1792 by Charles Grant, an officer of the Company, in which the Bengalis are painted in the blackest colour, and are described as ‘inferior to the most backward classes in Europe. Dishonesty and corruption were rampant, specially in law courts, and the people were selfish and devoid of conscience. Patriotism was a thing unknown to them'.[30] About the same time Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, said: "Every native of Hindustan, I verily believe, is corrupt."[31] Macaulay's famous diatribe against the Bengali character, of which perjury and forgery are said to have formed as integral a part as the horn of the rhinoceros and the beauty of a Greek woman, has become classical.

Many others have written in the same strain. But more charitable views are also not wanting. Bishop Heber, who travelled over the whole of Northern India in 1624-5, has recorded his impression of Indian character ifi Various places in his diary and letters. He was more intimately acquainted with Bengal, as he was the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. His earliest reference to the Bengalis is in the following terms: "I have, indeed, understood from many quarters, that the Bengalees are regarded as the greatest cowards in India; and that partly owing to this reputation, and partly to their inferior size, the Sepoy regiments are always recruited from Bihar and other provinces."[32] Elsewhere he says: "The term Bengalee is used to express anything which is roguish and cowardly; such as they are, however, I am far from disliking them."[33] Heber, however, notes that the general view that the Hindus were gentle and timid "is doubtless, to a certain extent, true of the Bengalees," but the people of Upper India, "despising rice and rice-eaters, feeding on wheat and barley bread", were decidedly of martial character and "equal in stature and strength to the average of European nations."[34] Heber entertained a very favourable view of the Hindus in general. "I do not," says he, "by any means assent t<j pictures of depravity and general worthlessness which some have drawn of the Hindoos."[36] ..."On the whole they are a lively, intelligent, and interesting people: of the upper classes, a very considerable' proportion learn our language, read our books and our newspapers, and shew a desire to court our society; the peasants are anxious to learn English."[36] "They are men of high and gallant courage, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement with a remarkable aptitude for the abstract sciences, geometry, astronomy, &c. and for the imitative arts, painting and sculpture.. They are sober, industrious, dutiful to their parents, and affectionate to their

children, of tempers almost uniformly gentle and patient.” 37 At the same time Heber refers to many of their vices “arising from slavery, from an unsettled state of society, and immoral and erroneous systems of religion.” 36 But he pays a great tribute to the character and attainments of the Indians. A few lines may be quoted from a long passage: “But to say that the Hindoos or Mussulmans are deficient in any essential feature ofca civilized people, is an assertion which I can scarcely suppose to be made by any who have lived with them. Their manners are, at least, as pleasing and courteous as those in the corresponding stations of life among ourselves.. Nor is it true that in the mechanical arts they are inferior to the general run of European nations... Their goldsmiths and weavers produce as beautiful fabrics as our own...they shew an anxiety to imitate our models, and do imitate them very successfully. The ships built by native artists at Bombay are notoriously as good as any which sail from London or Liverpool. The carriages and gigs which they supply at Calcutta are as handsome, though not as durable, as those of Long Acre. In Monghyr I had pistols, double-barrelled guns,... which in outward form nobody but perhaps Mr....could detect to be of Hindoo origin.” 39

Reverend James Long makes the following observations in respect of Bishop Heber:

“He was far from adopting a notion then prevalent that the

whole of the Hindus were a kind of moral monsters. Ward’s account of the Hindus has contributed to foster this view. Many of Mr. Ward’s remarks respecting the cruelties and immoralities among the Hindus are no more applicable to the body of the people than a description of Billingsgate and the Old Bailey in London would be to the inhabitants of the west end of the town. Bishop Heber makes the following remarks on this subject:

‘They are a nation, with whom whatever their faults, I, for one, shall think it impossible to live long without loving them—a race of gentle and temperate habits, with a natural talent and acuteness beyond the ordinary level of mankind, and with a thirst of general knowledge which even the renowned and the inquisitive Athenians can hardly have surpassed or equalled.” 40

Subsequent history has fully vindicated the penetrating insight of Bishop Heber into the character of the Indians including the Bengali people. Perhaps a fairer estimate was formed by Raja Rammohan Roy. In his statement before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1831, he gave the following answer to the question—What is the moral condition of the people?

“From a careful survey and observation of the people and inhabitants of various parts of the country, and in every condition of life, I am of opinion that the peasants and villagers who reside at a distance from large towns and head stations and courts of law, are as innocent, temperate and moral in their conduct as the people of any country whatsoever; and the further I proceed towards the North and West, the greater the honesty, simplicity and independence of character I meet with.... 2ndly, The inhabitants of the cities, towns or stations who have much intercourse with persons employed about the courts of law, by Zamindars, etc., and with foreigners and others in a different state of civilization, generally imbibe their habits and opinion. Hence their religious opinions are shaken without any other principles being implanted to supply their place. Consequently a great proportion of these are far inferior in point of character to the former class, and are very often even made tools of in the nefarious work of perjury and forgery; 3rdly, A third class consists of persons who are in the employ of landholders (Zamindars) or dependent for subsistence on the courts of law, as attorney’s clerks, and who must rely for a livelihood on their shrewdness; not having generally sufficient means to enter into commerce and business. These are for the most part still worse than the second class ^ more especially when they have no prospect of bettering their condition by the savings of honest industry, and no hope is held out to them of rising to honour or affluence by Superior merit. But I must confess that I have met a great number of the second class engaged in a respectable line of trade, who were men of realmerit, worth and character. Even among the third class I have known many who had every disposition to act uprightly and some actually honest in their conduct. And if they saw by experience that their merits were appreciated, that they might hope to gain an independence by honest means, and that just and honourable conduct afforded the best prospect of their being ultimately rewarded by situations of trust and respectability, they would gradually begin to feel a high regard for character and rectitude of conduct; and from cherishing such feelings become more and more worthy of public confidence, while their example would powerfully operate on the second class above noticed, which is generally dependent on them and under their influence". 41

But whatever we might think of these views, the facts so far known seem to indicate that the moral character and cultural life of the Bengalis, at least in certain respects, had reached a very low ebb indeed. The life in the capital city may be taken as a fair index of the character of at least that section of the people which guides their destiny. So far as can be gleaned from contemporary literature and such other evidence as we possess, the moral life of Calcutta was very low according to our present standard. Wine, women, and duel were the chief diversions of the small European community. The rich Bengalis did not lag behind, and spent their time in a round of joyous festivities throughout the year. The dancing girls formed the chief attraction in many religious ceremonies and social functions, and Europeans and Indians alike,—both high and low, from the Governor-General and Raja Rammohan Roy to the men in the street—felt no scruple in enjoying in public the charms and arts of the youthful beauties. Sexual immorality was rampant among all classes, particularly the wealthy section. Wine and women formed the principal items of their merriment with occasional breaks caused by vulgar types of dramatic performances and poets' contests and such innocuous but costly frivolities as the marriage of dolls, bird-fighting, kite-flying and rain-gambling. Huge sums were spent on the occasion of the Durga Pujfi, the national festival in Bengal, and such socio-religious ceremonies like marriage and Sraddha.

The social relation between the Europeans and the Indians was already marked by those symptoms which made it worse and worse with the progress of the nineteenth century. Heber writes: "Neither the civil nor military officers have much intercourse with the natives, though between officers and magistrates of a certain rank, and the natives of distinction, there is generally an occasional interchange of visits and civilities". 42 Heber refers to the "distance and haughtiness with which a very large proportion of the civil and military servants of the Company treat the upper and middling class of natives." He observes that the French, under Perron and De Boigne, had a great advantage over the British in this respect, "and the easy and friendly intercourse in which they (French) lived with natives of rank, is still often regretted in Agra and the Dooab". "This is not all", continues Heber. "The foolish pride of the English absolutely leads them to set at nought the injunctions of their own Government." He points out that under the standing orders of the Council and of the Army the Tahsildars and Subahdars should have always chairs offered them in the presence of their European superiors. "Yet there are hardly six Collectors in India who observe the former etiquette; and the latter, which was fifteen years ago never omitted in the! army, is now completely in disuse". Heber remarks that the Tahsildars and Subahdars know the regulations and feel themselves aggrieved every time these civilities are neglected, and men of old families are kept out of their former situation by this and other similar slights." 43

The racial arrogance and exclusiveness had one good effect. Connection with native women was very common at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but when Heber wrote (1824), it ceased to be a fashionable vice among the younger servants, either civil or military, of the Company. 44 One of these had the hardihood to remark that he was repelled by the obnoxious odour of the native women's body. 46

It is, however, apparent that the Englishmen were affected by the ideas of oriental pomp and grandeur, almost as much as the Indians were attracted by British fashions. Heber observes: "The state in which the high officers of Government appear, and the sort of deference paid to them in society are great, and said to be necessary in conformity with native ideas and example set by the first conquerors, who took their tone from the Mussulmans whom they supplanted. All members of Council, and others, down to the rank of Puisne Judges inclusive, are preceded by two men with silversticks, and two others with heavy silver-maces." 46

Similarly Heber tells us that “at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition” on the part of the Indians “to imitate the English in everything”. 47 Referring to the wealthy natives? of Bengal, Heber says: “None of them adopt our dress.. .But their houses are adorned with verandahs and Corinthian pillars; they have very handsome carriages, often built in England; they speak tolerable English, and they shew a considerable liking for European society, where (which unfortunately is not always the case) they are encouraged or permitted to frequent it on terms of anything like equality”. 48 Referring to a country-house of the Tagore family, Heber comments: “This is more like an Italian villa, than what one should have expected as the residence of Hurree Mohun Thakoor. Nor are his carriages, the furniture of his house, or the style of his conversation, of a character less decidedly European.” 49 “Among the lower orders the same feeling shews itself more beneficially in a growing neglect of caste—in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety, to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English”. 60

The horizon of the Bengalis, like the peoples of the other parts of India, was limited by the frontiers of their own Province, and they felt no concern for the rest of the country. An armed robbery in the Dhurrumtollah street excited greater interest in Calcutta than the battles of Assye and Argaon in 1803. As noted above, every successive British victory over an Indian State served as an occasion of thanksgiving to the Divine Providence for the success of the British arms, from which the Bengalis derived a sort of vicarious glory. But the Bengalis were by no means more culpable in this respect than others. Writing in 1824, Heber says that the Bengalis were regarded by the Hindostanees as no less foreigners than the English. 61 This parochial spirit was due mainly to historical traditions and the difficulties of communication between different parts of India. The devastations caused by the Marathas all over Hindusthan, particularly in Bengal and Rajputana, within living memory, made them odious to the inhabitants of these regions, and the dread of the Bargis (Maratha soldiers) supplied theme to lullaby songs in Bengal.

The problem of communication was also no less important. To an Indian of the twentieth century it would require an effort to visualize the mode of journey from Bengal to Delhi, Madras or Bombay. Men had to negotiate these long distances through a difficult terrain full of dangers from wild animals and still more ferocious Pindaris, Thugs or other classes of robbers. Except where boats could ply, one had to walk or use a bullock-cart, horses and other carriages being too costly for an ordinary man. Except for pilgrimage or urgent business, journeys to distant lands were very uncommon. Then there was the difficulty of languages. Neither Hindi nor Urdu could serve as a lingua franca in a considerable part of India, and Persian was no longer as popular in the nineteenth as it was in the eighteenth century. The whole country was divided into a very large number of self-contained units, almost mutually exclusive in character, and the conception of India as a common motherland was still in the realm of fancy. There was no India as it is understood today. There were Bengalis, Hindustanis, Marathas, Sikhs, etc., but no Indians, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There was, however, a complete revolution of ideas at the end of that century. One who speaks of an Indian nation at the beginning of the nineteenth century does as much violence to historical facts as those who refuse to recognize it at the end of that century.

1. HBS, 498.

2. S.C. Hill, Bengal in 1756-7, HI. 328.

3. K. K. Dutt, Bengal Subah, I, 102-06.

4. Basu—I, 96.

5. Seeley, Expansion of England (1904), p. 236. The words within bracket are not in the original.

5a. Rammohan— Works, 476.

6. Ibid, 465.

7. Ibid, 146.

8. Ibid, 224.

9. Rammohan Centenary Volume , 33.

10. Rammohan— Works, pp. 245, 295.

11. Banerji, B.N., HI. 217.

12. Bagal—I, 174 ff.

13. Vol. VI, pp. 615 ff.

14. Ibid, fxi., la.

15. “The people of this country are divided into Hindus and Musalmans” (Translation of a Bengali passage in the Amritabazar Patrika dated 12 August, 1869. Quoted in Bagal—I, 174.)

16. ' English translation published by R. Cambray 8c Co., III. 188-9.

17. Bagal—I. 176.

17a. R. C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. m, p. 573.

18. Rammohan— Works, 439.

19. Ibid, 462.

20. Ibid, 445-6.

21. Ibid, 874.

22. Kishorichand Mitra, Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore, p. 60.

23. Majumdar, B., 187.

23a. Rammohan— Works, 439.

23b. Heber, I. 89.

24. These will be fully discussed in'Vol. VIII with full references. Cf. Vansittart, Narrative, I. 51; Scrafton, Reflections, 82-3,119,124; Malleson, Clive, 299; Verelst, A view of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal, p. 46, f.n.

24a. Rammohan— Works, 145-6.

25. The idea was not, however, favourably received by many. Majumdar, B., 72 if., 93 ff., 194-5.

26. Rammohan Centenary Volume, 81.

27. Adam, W., Reports on Vernacular Education etc.

27a. These will be discussed in detail in Vol. VIII.

28. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter XLV.

29. HBS, 497.

30. Bengal—II, 3.

31. Spear, 137.

32. Heber, I. 85.

33. Heber, m. 316.

34. Ibid, 348.

35. Ibid, 253-4.

Ibid, 261.

Ibid, 333, 389.

Ibid, 333.

Ibid, 351-2.

Long, J, Handbook of Bengal Mission*, p. 40 footnote. Rammoban—Works, 296-7.

Heber, HI. 335.

Ibid, 337-8.

Ibid, 373.

Chailley, J., Administrative Problems of British India , p. 195. Heber, HI. 228.

Ibid, 252.

Ibid, 232.

Ibid, 234,

Ibid, 252.

51. Heber, I. 440.

CHAPTER II (XL)

ENGLISH EDUCATION

I. BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN BENGAL

UP TO 1835.

If we have to choose one single factor which helped more than others in bringing about the great transformation in India in the nineteenth century, we can, without any hesitation, point to the introduction of English education. The English education, and the Western ideas which flowed along with it, formed the foundation of all the wonderful progress that we witness in Bengal during the British rule.

Exigencies of administration and commercial intercourse forced the Indians, particularly the residents of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras to cultivate the knowledge of English in the eighteenth century, or even earlier. But English was neither spoken nor understood by, the Indians to any larger extent till the close of the eighteenth century. Even in Bengal where the.British wielded the political power, there was no regular arrangement for teaching English to the Indians. There is evidence, however, that some Indian ruling chiefs at the close of the eighteenth century had fair knowledge of English. Heber says that Nawab Sadat All of Avadh spoke English like a native and Nawab, Shamsudaula of Dacca, whom he met, “speaks and writes English very tolerably, and even fancies himself a critic in Shakespeare”. 1 But with the opening of the nineteenth century there was a growing appreciation of the value of English as a medium of culture on the part of the educated Bengalis, specially the Hindus. The more they came into contact with the educated English people the more they understood the nature and importance of their distinctive culture and realized the necessity of imbibing its spirit through the knowledge of English. Schools for teaching English were accordingly founded in Calcutta and its neighbourhood. A school was established at Bhawanipore, a suburb of Calcutta, in A.D. 1800, and another in 1814 at Chinsura by its Magistrate, Mr. Forbes. It is not, however, till the year 1817 that we find a concerted attempt for the diffusion of English education in Bengal/particularly in

Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood. Two notable institutions which did yeoman's work in this direction were—1. Calcutta School Book Society, 12 and 2. Hindu College, both founded in 1817. The object of the former was to make available good text-books, both

in English and in Indian languages, suitable for schools. The Society undertook to prepare such text-books and to print and publish them. They were sold at a cheap price and sometimes distributed free.- The publication of religious books was beyond its purview.

Soon after the establishment of this Society, the members of the Committee felt the need of good schools for teaching English. As a result of their efforts, a meeting was held for this purpose in the Town Hall of Calcutta on 1st September, 1818. It was resolved in this meeting to establish a separate society named the Calcutta School Society. Its object was defined to pe to help and improve the schools already existing in Calcutta and to establish new schools according to need. It was also one of its objectives to establish higher educational institutions where the students passing from the existing schools could continue more advanced studies and thus make themselves suitable as teachers for its schools. David Hare was a member and European Secretary, and Raja Radha-kanta Dev was the Indian Secretary of the Society.

But by far the most important institution that helped the spread of English education in Bengal was the Hindu College, established in Calcutta on January 20, 1817. As there is a great deal of misconception regarding the foundation of this college, it is necessary to refer briefly to the circumstances which led to it as authenticated by contemporary documents. 3 It appears that about the beginning of May, 1816, a Brahmin of Calcutta saw Sir Hyde East, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, and informed him that many of the leading Hindus were desirous of forming an establishment, for the education of their children in a liberal manner as practised by Europeans, and desired him to hold a meeting for this purpose. Accordingly Sir Hyde East, with the permission of the GovernorGeneral and the Supreme Council, called a meeting at his house on 14th May, 1816, at which fifty and upwards of the most respectable Hindu inhabitants of rank or wealth attended, including also the principal Pandits, when a sum of nearly half-a-lakh of Rupees was subscribed and many more subscriptions were promised.

The above account is taken almost verbatim from a letter, dated 18th May, 1816, written by Sir Hyde East to his friend, Mr. J. Harrington) a brother-judge, then in England. Hie Brahmin who first suggested to him about the Institution is not named in the letter, but Sir Hyde East says that he knew him. It has been generally supposed that this person is no other than Raja Rammohan Roy, and consequently he has been regarded as the founder or promoter of the Hindu College^ This view is, however, certainly

wrong, for later in the same letter Sri Hyde East categorically says that he did not know Raja Rammohan Roy. The Brahmin who

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saw Sir Hyde East seems to be no other than Baidyanath Mukherjee, a well-known citizen of Calcutta at that time.

The meeting decided to establish a college, housed in its own building, with the object of teaching Bengali, Hindustani and English languages; and then Persian, if desired; arithmetic, history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-lettres, poetry, etc. Stress was also to be laid on teaching the English system of morals.

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Sir Hyde East observes: “One of the singularities of the meeting was that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.

“Another singularity was, that the most distinguished Pandits who attended declared their warm approbation of all the objects proposed; and when they were about to depart, the head Pandit, in the name of himself and the others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in their country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.”

Any one who goes through the newspapers of the period cannot fail to be struck with the genuine enthusiasm which the foundation of these schools evoked in the mind of the public, and a sincere desire to multiply their number in order to meet a keenly felt need for liberal education. There were no less than twenty-five such schools in Calcutta alone before 1835, when the Government ultimately decided to extend its patronage to English education. Large numbers of such institutions were also founded outside Calcutta. Macaulay, writing in 1836, stated that he had found in one town alone, in Bengal, 1400 boys learning English. 4

“The excitement,” Duff wrote at the time, “for Western education continued unabated. They pursued us along the streets; they threw open the doors of our palankeens; they poured in their supplications with a pitiful earnestness of countenance which might have softened a heart of stone”. 6

The institutions were all founded by private efforts, and both Englishmen and Indians co-operated in this work.

The Christian missionaries founded the Baptist Mission College at Serampore in 1818. They also founded several schools, one of which was named after Rev. Duff, and its expenses were met out of endowments for Scottish Churches, Some schools were founded

by private individuals, both Indian and European. David Hare, Raja Rammohan Roy and G. A. Turnbull each founded a school. The Lord Bishop of Calcutta established a college in 1820. The Oriental Seminary was founded in 1828 by Gaurmohan Auddy.’

The students of the Hindu College took a leading part in establishing new schools, and in 1831 there were six morning schools in different parts of Calcutta, founded and managed by them.

There are occasional references to various subjects taught in these schools. These included, besides a knowledge of English literature and grammar, mathematics, astronomy, geography, chemistry (both theoretical and practical), philosophy (both Indian and European), history (ancient and modern), painting, handwriting and various arts and crafts.

II. AIMS AND OBJECTS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

There is a general impression in India that the English education was introduced by the British rulers for their administrative convenience and the course was deliberately designed to make the Indians only fit for clerks. There appears to be little justification for this view.

As will be shown in the next section, the Government did not encourage English education, far less took any active part in pro~ moting it, till nearly twenty years after the foundation of the Hindu College. But before turning to that topic, it is necessary to get a clear idea of the aims and objects with which English education was promoted by non-Govemment agencies.

The most lucid exposition of the liberal ideas which lay at the root of the demand for English education is to be found in a letter which Raja Rammohan Roy wrote in December, 1823, and forwarded to Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, through R. Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 6 It contains a strong protest against the Government proposal to establish a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pandits. Rammohan exposes the uselessness of such an institution in the following words:

“This seminary (similar in character to those' which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to lead the minds of the youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India”. 7 He points out at length how the young students of this seminary would merely waste a dozen years of the most valuable period of their lives by acquiring the niceties of Sanskrit grammar, speculative philosophy of Vedanta, obsolete interpretations of Vedic passages in Mlmaihsa, and the subtleties of the Nyaya Sastra. He then continues:

“In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterized, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

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“If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had'been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences, which maybe accomplished with the sums proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talent and learning educated in Europe and providing a College furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus''.[6]

In this letter the Raja gave a very forceful expression to the view which was held by a large number of Indians and Europeans both before and after him. This is proved not only by the large number of schools, referred to above, which were designed to meet this need, but also by similar views expressed in contemporary periodicals. Reference may be made in this connection to an article, published in a Bengali journal named Sudh&kctr on 7 September, 1833. Its leading ideas may be summed up as follows: “The Government pays no heed to the newspaper articles on the spread of education. It no doubt spends a lakh of Rupees on education through Education Society, but we are at a loss to understand the benefits accruing from it. The amount spent on Sanskrit College or School is of no benefit to the people in general, for only Brahman students are admitted there. Besides, institutions for teaching Sanskrit were never wanting in this country, and Sanskrit education would not have suffered much even if Government had not extended its patronage to it. It is further to be remembered that Sanskrit learning only enables a man to prescribe Sastric rules, and serves no other useful purpose. Therefore the Government should sow the seeds, all over the country, of that type of learning which can remove the darkness of ignorance and makes a man fit for administration and other public activities. It is necessary to establish an English school for this purpose in every village. This would involve a huge cost and to meet this we suggest that the Government orders each villager to pay a subscription according to his ability ranging from one to four annas. The balance may be met out of the funds placed at the disposal of the Education Society’. 9 _

This article puts in a nutshell the view prevailing among the Indians regarding the nature and object of the English education they had in view. It was primarily intended to be a liberal education which would “remove the darkness of ignorance/’ but was also looked upon as a means to enable one to take part in the administration of the country and public activities for the benefit of the people.

Although there is no basis, therefore, for the contention that the English education was introduced by the British rulers with the sole object of turning out clerks, it must be noted that different sections desired it from different points of view. The twofold objects which the enlightened Hindus had in vietf were liberal education and participation in administration, as noted above. The Christian missionaries regarded the liberal education imparted through English schools as the most fruitful means for the conversion of Indians to Christianity by making them conscious of their superstitions. As one of them put it in the Calcutta Journal of March 11, 1822, Indians “now engaged in the degrading and polluting worship of idols shall be brought to the knowledge of the true God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent.” But this view was by no means confined to the missionaries. Macaulay himself wrote to his father: “It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without efforts to proselytize; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural Operation of knowledge and reflection.” David Hare also expressed similar views.

It is interesting to note that similar hopes were entertained even by a section of the Indians. In this connection attention may be drawn to a remarkable letter written on 8 October, 1831, by Madhab-chandra Mallik, a teacher of the Hindu Free School. He categorically states that the object of the institution Is to impart that kind of knowledge which is calculated to make man fit for public life and remove darkness of ignorance, particularly religious prejudices and superstitions. “If”, says he, “we intended to perpetuate the irrational religious ideas that have fettered our mind for such a long time, we would never have established the Hindu Free School”. 10

Another probable effect anticipated from the education imparted in these English schools was the growth of ideas of liberty and freedom from British yoke. Macaulay’s famous speech on this subject in the House of Commons is well-known to everybody. He thought that “having become instructed in European language, they (Indian) may, in some future age, demand European institutions”, and concluded by saying that “whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.” But similar sentiment was expressed by others, too. Reference may be made in this connection to the evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons by Major-General Lionel Smith, K. C. B., on October 6, 1831. He was emphatically of opinion that the Western education would make them “feel the value of governing themselves”, and therefore “the effect of imparting education will be to turn us out of the country.” But he would not regret it, for “America has been of more value to us separate than as a colony.” Mountstuart Elphinstone held the same view. “Lt. General Briggs, visiting his camp one day and observing in his tent a pile of printed Marathi books, asked what they were for. ‘To educate the native/ said Elphinstone, ‘but it is our highroad back to Europe”. 11

On the other hand, diametrically opposite views were entertained by others who believed that the English education was the only means of reconciling the Indians to the British rule. These were forcefully explained by Trevelyan, in the following statement before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1853.

“Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners.As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is the immediate and total expulsion of the English.It is only by the infiision of European ideas that a new direction can be given to national views. The young men brought up in our seminaries turn with contempt from the barbarous despotism under which their ancestors groaned to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model..They have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction.”

These views are quoted at some length in order to prove that there was a general belief in the liberalising effects of the English education, and although people differed widely about the objects and probable effects of this education, no one seriously advocated it merely for the purpose of turning out a set of clerks. Such an idea was repudiated by the Indians themselves. The following comments appeared in a Bengali Weekly, on January 26, 1828: “Formerly the English believed that the Indians pick up a smattering of English just enough for serving as clerks. But it now transpires that they are learning English like their own language”. 12 The same paper again wrote on March 7, 1829: “The efforts made during the last five or six years for spreading English language and learning in this country are really remarkable. Formerly we heard that the Indiana only learnt a little English for securing jobs as clerks. But we now find with surprise that Indian boys venture to study the most advanced texts and most abstruse subjects in English and have mastered even the most difficult branches of English learning” 13 .

Another Bengali periodical, the Sambad Kaumudi , writes in its issue of August 7, 1830: “It is true that formerly, i.e. both during Hindu and Muslim rule, there was cultivation of learning in this country, but the organization for the spread of useful knowledge among the people in general, such as we find during the British rule, was unknown before. There is as wide a difference between the old and present state of things in this respect as between heaven and the nether world. The number of students in Calcutta and its suburbs alone exceeds ten thousand and the provision of cheap text-books for their use is a sure means of spreading this education."

The unanimously expressed view about the liberal character and the high cultural value of English education is fully supported by what is known of the achievements of the students of those days. For this purpose, we may give a short account of the Hindu College, the premier institution of those days and the only one of which we possess some detailed knowledge.

The memory of the Hindu College is indissolubly bound up with its famous teacher, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a half-caste Portuguese. He joined the Hindu College as a Lecturer in 1826 at the age of seventeen and served there for a period of three years only. But even during this short period, this young gifted teacher moulded the entire lives of a number of brilliant students and made a deep impression on them. His views were, however, too radical for the age f and the authorities of the Hindu College dispensed with his services. He died at the age of twenty-three. The following tribute of respect was paid to, him in a periodical entitled Bengal Spectator , started by some of his students: "About this time the lamented Henry Derozio by his talents and enthusiasm, by his unwearied exertions in and out of the Hindu College, by his course of lectures at Mr. Hare's school, by his regular attendance and exhortations at the weekly meetings of Academic Institution, and above all by his animating, enlightening and cheerful conversation had wrought a change in the mind of the native youth, which is felt to this day, and which will ever be remembered by those who have benefited by it". 14

Peary-chand Mitra in his Life of David Hare says of Derozio: *'He used to impress upon them the sacred duty of thinking for themselves—to be in no way influenced by any of the idols mentioned by Bacon—to live and die for truth—to cultivate all the virtues, shunning vice in every shape. He often read examples from ancient history of the love of justice, patriotism, philanthropy and self-abnegation; and the way in which he set forth the points stirred up the minds of his pupils. Some were impressed with the excellence of justice, some with the paramount importance of truth, so ne with patriotism, some with philanthropy.” 16

The students of the Hindu College held most advanced and sometimes radical views on political, social and economic subjects, and some of them were deeply stirred by patriotic fervour. These will be referred to in detail in Chapter XII. It will suffice here to quote the following extract from the Englishman (May, 1836):

“In matters of politics, they are all radicals, and are followers of Benthamite principles. The very word Tory is a sort of ignominy among them;.. .They think that toleration ought to be practised by every government, and the best and surest way of making the people abandon their barbarous customs and rites is by diffusing education among them. With respect to the questions relating to Political Economy, they all belong to the school of Adam Smith. They are clearly of opinion that the system of monopoly, the restraints upon trade ,and the international laws of many countries do nothing but paralyse the efforts of industry, impede the progress of agriculture and manufacture, and prevent commerce from flowing in its natural course”. 16

Under the influence of Derozio, the Hindu College students drew their inspiration from Voltaire, Locke, Bacon, Hume, and Tom Paine, among others. A story published in a contemporary Bengali Weekly may be referred to in this connection. An Indian book-seller got 100 copies of Tom Paine’s Age of Reason, and advertised them for sale at Re. 1/- per copy, hut the demand for the book among the Hindu (College students was so great that it was sold at Rs. 5/-. per copy. Soon after a part of this book was translated into Bengali and published in a Bengali paper. 17

The advanced ideas on social and political reform held by the Hindu College students were discussed and propagated through their associations and periodical publications. The first of these associations was the “Academic Association or Institution/’ established in 1828 under the inspiration of Derozio. The subjects discussed in this Association included the following:

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“Free will, free ordination, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of the Deity as these have been set forth by Hume on the one side, and Reid, Dugald Stewart and Brown on the other, the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of the priesthood”.^

Another Association, started in 1838, was the “Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge”. Its main object was to acquire and disseminate useful knowledge about the condition of the country.

A third Association, namely, “The Hindu Theophilanthropic Society”, was started in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century under the inspiration of Dr. Duff.

The Hindu College students also published several magazines during the period from 1828 to 1843. These were: The Parthenon (1830), Gyananneshun (1831 to 1844), Hindu Pioneer (1838), and The Bengal Spectator (1842). Three other papers were run by the Derozians, namely, theTfespenis, Inquirer and The Quill.

These magazines dealt in a general way with the condition of the country, scienqe of politics, science of government and jurisprudence, European colonization in India, female education, etc. The Hindu Pioneer published articles on “Freedom”, “India under Foreigners” , and the like. An extract from the latter article quoted in Chapter XII shows the spirit of the students.

This brief sketch of the activities of the Hindu College may be fittingly concluded with an account of a meeting of the “Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge” held on the 8th February, 1843, in the Hindu College Hall under the chairmanship of Tarachand Chakravarti, a student of the Hindu College. In this meeting, Dakshina-ranjan Mukhopadhyay began to read a paper on. “The Present State of the East India Company’s

Criminal Judicature, and Police under the Bengal Presidency". When he had but read half of his essay, Captain D. L. Richardson, Principal of the College; Interrupted him by observing that "he could not permit it (the College Hall) to be converted into a den of treason, and milst close the doors against all such things".

Then Tarachand, as President of the Society, said: "Captain Richardson! with due respect, I beg to say that I cannot allow you to proceed any longer in this course of conduct towards our Society, and as President of the Society, and on behalf of my friend Babu Dukhin, I must say, that your remarks are anything but becoming. I am bound also to add that I consider your conduct as an insult to the Society, and that if you do not retract what you have said and make due apology, we shall represent the matter to the Committee of the Hindu College, and if necessary, to the Government itself. We have obtained the use of this public, hall by leave, applied for and received from the Committee, and not through your personal favour. You are only a visitor on this occasion, and possess no right to interrupt a member of this Society in the utterance of his opinions. I hope that Captain Richardson will see the propriety of offering an apology to my friend, the writer of the essay, and to the meeting". 10

This is a remarkable instance of the sturdy spirit of independence by which the students of Hindu College were inspired, and it may be doubted whether similar spirited words of protest have ever been uttered in any academic meeting of an Indian College against its Principal.

Even the brief record of the Hindu College students culled above is sufficient to indicate the nature and value of the Western system of education which was introduced in Bengal during the first half of the nineteenth century. Whatever our views may be about the ultimate effects of this education, there can be no gainsaying the fact that it was not originally conceived in any narrow spirit, only with a view to serve utilitarian purpose. It was planned on a broad basis, as a suitable vehicle for the distinctive traits ot Western culture, and was calculated to promote an all-round progress of the students' mind and to develop his character and personality. It is difficult to imagine what better type of education could be devised in those days by the greatest well-wishers of this country, or what more encouraging result could be expected even by the greatest enthusiasts for a modem type of education. The broad and fresh outlook of the students of the Hindu College, their high intellectual eminence and original creative faculties of mind, their familiarity with the most advanced views in every sphere of human activity conceived anywhere in the worlds their fervid patriotism—a sentiment almost unknown till then—>anll the sturdy independence of character shed a lustre on the brief career of this College. It is not possible here to give an account or even simply mention the names of the very large number of brilliant students of this College who played a dominant role in almost all the branches of public life in

Bengal. But it will be difficult to name any institution which turned out so many striking personalities within a period of less than two decades.

III. BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS EDUCATION UP TO 1835.

The antiquity of Indian civilization impressed the Western mind in the latter half of the 18th century. Warren Hastings established in 1781 Calcutta Madrasa (or Muhammadan College) at the request of several Muhammadans of distinction with the object of promoting the study of Arabic and Persian languages and of the Muslim Law. The Sanskrit College at Banaras was founded in 1791 by Jonathan Duncan, Resident in Banaras, for the preservation and cultivation of the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus. The policy of the East India Company was not to interfere in the religious beliefs of its subjects. And though local authorities in India gave pecuniary aid and encouraged Orientalists to compile dictionaries, to translate Hindu and Muslim laws, and to encourage a revival of Oriental learning, yet the development of educational policy towards India and the multiplication of educational institutions can be traced more to Evangelical and Utilitarian movements which formed pressure groups in the political life of England than to anything else.

John Shore (1751-1834) (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), formerly Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, Charles Grant (1746-1823), M. P. and for some time Chairman and Deputy Chairman and Director of East India Company, William Wilberforce (1759-1833), M. P., Henry Thornton (1760-1815), a leading banker and M. P., who had great influence over the East

India Company [20] and directed their beneficence to earthly needs, were dedicated to the cause of education in India.

At the time of the Charter Act of 1793 Charles Grant, with the aim of fostering Christian propaganda, influenced Wilberforce, who moved in the House of Commons that it was the duty of the British Government to send Chaplains and school masters throughout British India. But nothing came out of it, and Wilberforce renewed his efforts at the next renewal of the Charter in 1813. By that time Grant's Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain , [21] which reflected Evangelical zeal, chiefly written in 1792, laid before the Court of Directors in 1793, and printed by orders of Parliament in 1813, became a very effective treatise and influenced the formation of Indian policy. It was regarded as the best answer to the anti-missionary party headed by Major Scott Waring, and its thesis was that a Hindu mind was submerged in darkness which only the light of Christianity could dispel. [22] Wilberforce marvellously handled a formidable mass of material and produced effect by his convictions and idealism, no less than by his eloquence. In Parliament he declared that the remedy for the ills of Hindu society was neither philosophy nor civilization, but the propagation of Christianity in India.Warren Hastings, Malcolm and Munro had given their evidence against the propagation of Christianity, but the Evangelicals succeeded not only in securing an Episcopal establishment in India, but also the first grant of one lakh of rupees a year set apart, out of the Indian revenue, for 'the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction of a knowledge of European sciences among the people*. Lord Minto's timely reference to the lamentable decay of learning in India to the authorities in England provided a handle to the missionaries to press their claim. [24] And though the sum of one lakh allotted for education was meagre, this clause can be described as a landmark in the history of education in India.

Between 1813 and 1823 the East India Company did not develop any educational policy in India. The money sanctioned in 1813 remained unspent and it was not until 17th July, 1823, that the General Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta was formed and was put in charge of the existing government institutions and of the one lakh grant (with some arrears). The object of the Committee was to equip itself with facts about the state of education in the territories under Bengal Presidency and to suggest ways and means for the better instruction of the people. Between 1813 and 1823, besides the multiplication of missionary schools which offered honourable rivalry to native institutions and gained popularity among Indians, the foundation of Hindu College at Calcutta for the promotion of European learning and languages, as mentioned above, was symptomatic of the native disposition to learn English. But the general policy of the East India Company was to encourage traditional learning in India by giving pecuniary aid, and not to interfere with education or to suggest alternative methods, for fear that this might contravene the policy of religious neutrality. The foundation of the Sanskrit College at Calcutta by Lord Ariiherst in 1823 represents the continuation of the same traditional policy of the encouragement of Oriental learning. It is to England rather than to India that we should primarily look for the change-over in the educational policy of the East India Company. The persistent advocacy of useful knowledge by the Court of Directors in their Despatches from 1824 onwards was inspired, above all. by the influence of James Mill, Bentham's disciple, who, by virtue of his position at India House, embodied in his Despatches the recurrent theme of Utility as the only touch-stone of education, and pressed upon the Indian Government to follow the principle

of Utility in all matters relating to education. By the late twenties there was not any outstanding man among the Directors and it was naturally Mill to whom they looked for advice on vital matters. The Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated 18 February, 1824, 26 which embodied the general principles of the policy on education in India, marks a turning point in the whole educational development in India, because it is the first Directoral Despatch which shows contempt for traditional learning, stresses very clearly the superiority of Western education and insists on spending money on useful learning and not the useless fables of Hindu mythology or the tenets of the Quran. The Committee of Public Instruction in India put a feeble defence of its policy. 26 This Directoral encouragement of the diffusion of useful knowledge continued right up to Bentinck's Resolution of 1835 and it was expected that the initiative would be taken on the lines recommended. In this and other subsequent Despatches there was no decisive suggestion on making English the medium of instruction, because the Directors thought it impracticable for English to become the language of the people of India. It seems clear that they pushed forward the cause indirectly and prepared a definite way for subsequent policy on education, and in their Despatches they referred continuously to the progress of Hindu College and regarded it as a hope for changing the habits and dispositions of the people.

Independently of the official attitude there was growing up in Calcutta and its neighbourhood a disposition to learn English throughout the entire period, as noted above. Rammohan Roy's letter, mentioned above, was passed on to Amherst by Bishop Heber and remained unanswered, but the Committee of Public Instruction regard* ed it as representing one individual alon4 whose opinions were wellknown to be hostile to those entertained by all his countrymen. 27 Even a conservative like Radhakanta Dev, who received his elementary education at Mr. Cumming's Calcutta Academy, propagated the cause of English and was one of the more active Governors of Hindu College. 28 The study of Parliamentary Papers, Court Despatches and the accounts of travellers, indicates that long before the official Resolution of 1835, Indians were themselves sensible of the great advantages of learning English. 29 Adam notes that those institutions were gaining popularity which offered English teaching, and F. J. Shore found the English language becoming fashionable 30 among the rising generations. The account of the Hindu College, given above, shows how much the study of English classics had gained a hold on the minds of pupils.

The funds placed at the disposal of the General Committee of Public Instruction were limited, and the question turned on how

the money was to be spent: should Western knowledge be diffused through English or the classical languages? The question of making English a compulsory subject in the Arabic College at Calcutta "finally put the match to the train of major controversy of 1834". 31 The Act of 1813 was interpreted in ways favourable to the attitude of the members of the Committee who found themselves equally divided.

For a long time it has been generally held by the historians that it was Macaulay’s minute which proved decisive in the introduction of English as the medium of instruction. But the ground had already been prepared long before Macaulay arrived in India. The historical process of the entire movement had been in operation for a long time and nothing caused or moved this process more than the Evangelical and Utilitarian ideas. Furthermore, the public employment of Indians in places where the number of Europeans could be curtailed on grounds of economy gave stimulus to education. 32 The Chairman of the Court of Directors, William Astell, in his letter to Bentinck, reflected the anxiety of the Court to afford every reasonable facility for the education of the natives. 33 Bentinck anticipated collateral advantages by introducing English as the language of public business in all departments, 34 and the authorities in England, though preferring English to Persian, hinted at the adoption of vernacular languages, but still left the whole question to the better judgment and superior local knowledge of Bentinck. 35

When Bentinck reached India, British power was established more firmly than at any former time. In England he had met James Mill at Mrs. Grote’s house and assured him that in reality Bentham would be the Governor-General of India. 36 Bentham wrote to Bentinck on November 19; 1829: “It seems to me that I behold the golden age of India lying before me’* and very much desired Bentinck to encourage the diffusion of education and useful knowledge. 37 Bentinck was a simple, though confirmed, Westerner, 38 who had Both intellectual and moral clarity. He had a Utilitarian faith in education as a means for the elevation of human character. 39 He wrote of the British language as the key to all improvements. 40 In his letter of 1st June, 1834, to Mancy, he outlined his views on education: “General education is my panacea for the regeneration of India.” 41 It seems clear that before Macaulay reached India, Bentinck had already formulated his plans. Charles Trevelyan’s letters to Bentinck indicate that being a compound of a radical and a despot, Bentinck was only waiting for the ripe moment, 42 and there seems a clear and delightful conspiracy between him and the young, fervent Trevelyan, who* in his frenzied zeal, intended to secure the prefe rence of European over Oriental learning. Trevelyan dreamt of planting Western civilization not only in India but in the whole of Asia, and regarded “our language” as a proper means for doing so. 43 Bentinck watched carefully the indications of the time—the thoughts and disposition of Hindus to learn English—and he utilized his power firmly in actually moulding the process'then at work. As compared with Mill, Bentinck had an extra advantage in this that being on the spot, he was more able to assert in practice the doctrine of Utility. 44 He had a hand in the game that was being played and he hit the ball now more clearly than before and fulfilled what Grant had hoped, what Mill had pUshed forward, what Trevelyan had almost decided upon with Bentinck, what E. Ryan had long entertained 46 and what Macaulay put forth in a bold and highly coloured fashion in his Minute reflecting much of Bentinck’s mind, though the latter might not have appreciated the sentimental parts. 46

Macaulay was a mixture of the Benthamite theory of legislation and Evangelical vehemence in sentiment. His Minute cm Education was brilliant, though he tried to disguise the thinness of his legal reason by taking refuge in bold and emphatic rhetoric*. His main thesis was that all the learning of the East was nothing beside the metaphysics of Locke and physics of Newton, and that it was only the torch of Western learning that could illumine the Indian mind, submerged in superstition and ignorance. His view on Indian society reflected Utilitarian contempt for Oriental civilisation and his Minute reads like James Mill’s compositions 47 He advocated a root and branch policy to sweep away everything of the past and to write afresh. Macaulay pointed out that English books in India were much in demand whereas Sanskrit and Arabic books found practically no purchasers. His object was to ‘form a class of persons, Indian in blood and in colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in morals and in intellect*. The Orientalists, led by Prinsep, thought it impracticable to make English the language of the people, and were of the opinion that the introduction of English would upset the existing arrangements and kill vernaculars. They urged that the stuff might be in a greater degree European, but must in all cases be interwoven with home-spun material. Macaulay, on the other hand, pointed out the plight of those students from Sanskrit College who found no employment anywhere, and considered that the dialects nad no value. Macaulay passed his Minute on to Bentinck and made the whole problem clearer and more intelligible than ever before and created a peculiar situation when solution—one way or the other naturally influenced by his threat of resignation—

could no longer be postponed. Bentinck grasped the reality and the intensity of the situation, and gave his entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in Macaulay's Minute. Macaulay was not the herald of the dawn. His thesis merely confirmed Bentinck's opinions, who issued his Resolution of the 7th March, 1835, which stated: "The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone."

It is not possible here to deal at length with the various criticisms of the new educational policy. Reference may only be made to a few of them. It has been held that the effect of English education has been to create a group sharply separated from their fellow Indians, and almost setting up a new caste in this caste-ridden country. Nobody can deny the truth of this charge, so far at least as the best part of the nineteenth century is concerned. The main reason for this is the very small number of men who were educated in English as compared with the rest who had no such education. Besides, the English-educated classes at first occupied higher administrative posts and this created a cleavage between them and the masses. Far worse was, however, a dual mentality which the English-educated people had to maintain. Their liberal ideas found little favour with the orthodox members of the family, particularly the women folk who clung to the old traditional ideas, customs, and practices. The educated few might discuss the liberal principles among themselves, in clubs or other associations, but fell in the old groovte as soon as they returned home. This existence as a sort of Jekyll and Hyde was not conducive, either to the mental peace or to the intellectual development of the class as a whole. This is one of the main reasons why Western education did not produce all the benefits that could be reasonably expected.

There is, however, one criticism, often repeated even now, against the new educational policy which is due to misunderstanding. It has been regretted by many on the ground that it gave an undue favour to English against vernacular as the medium of instruction. As a matter of fact the decision merely meant that English, and not Sanskrit or Arabic, should be the medium of higher education. It had no reference to vernacular which would remain the medium of a system of national education embracing every village in the country. This was clearly laid down in the report of the Committee drawn up in the same year in which the above resolution about English education was passed. 47 * Even the Orientalists never fought for making vernaculars the medium of instruction. It was

not a practical proposition in those days where, as in Bengal, vernaculars were not sufficiently developed to be Used as the vehicle of instruction in higher branches of literature and sciences. It was, however, given a fair trial in Bombay and the North-Western Provinces, as will be shown later. But the vernacular literature in these two Provinces did not make progress in any way comparable to that in Bengal.

The Orientalists, however, did not accept the new policy, lying down. As a protest, two of them retired from the Committee of Public Instruction. A petition, signed by , 10,000 Hindu inhabitants of Calcutta and of Zillas, was sent to the Court of Directors protesting against the Resolution of 1835. The Asiatic Society sent a memorial to the local Government whereas the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were pressed hard by the strong remonstrances from the Royal Asiatic Society. For long the Home authorities were unwilling to send their orders on the subject of the changes in education in Bengal, 47b and Hobhouse, who replaced Charles Grant as President of the Board of Control, refrained from provoking another controversy 47 * and appreciated Auckland's Minute of 24th November, 1839. 4Td To Auckland both Macaulay and Prinsep represented extreme positions and here operated t{ie English sense of compromise which brought the issues comparatively nearer, and reconciled existing differences of opinion. 47 * Auckland did not reverse Bentinck's decision 4 ™ but modified it and restored to a certain extent the altogether neglected Oriental learning which met the approbation of the Court of Directors in their Despatch of 20th January, 1841, though they did not express any decided opinion on the medium of instruction.

IV. GENERAL POLICY AND PROGRESS OF ENGLISH

EDUCATION (1835-57).

The Resolution of Lord William Bentinck gave a great impetus to the progress of English Education in India. Its effects were felt immediately in Bengal and gradually in the other Presidencies. Between 1835 and 1838 the number of seminaries of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency rose to forty, and the number of students from about three thousand and four hundred to six thousand. 43 "The tide had set in", wrote Trevelyan in 1838, "in favour of English education and when the Committee declared itself on the same side, the public support they received rather went beyond than fell short of what was required". 49 A Resolution of another Governor-General gave additional support to the cause of English edu

cation in India by making a knowledge of it essential for prospects in Government services. It was Lord Hardinge's Educational Despatch of 10th October, 1844, which declared that "in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established and specially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment". It was thought that the test for public services was to be conducted under the superintendence of the Council of Education, which had replaced the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal (1842-43). '

In Bengal, the number of schools under the control of the Council of Education rose from 28 in 1843 to 151 in 1855, and the number of pupils from 4,632 in 1843 to 13,163 in 1855. Annual Government expenditure on education had only increased from Rs. 4,12,284, in 1843 to Rs. 5,94,428 in 1855. 60

In 1845 the Council of Education in Calcutta, under the Presidentship of Charles Hay Cameron, drew up a plan for a University in Calcutta, but it could not be implemented, probably because it was discountenanced by the authorities in England. There was some progress in the spread of English education in Bombay and Madras before 1854, due mainly to State efforts, though it did not compare favourably with what had been achieved in this respect in Bengal by that time.

The subject of education received serious consideration of the Company's Government on the eve of the renewal of the Charter of 1853. Lord Dalhousie himself took interest in mass education. He desired to "establish a complete class of vernacular schools, to extend throughout the whole of India, with a view to convey instruction to the masses of the people." He also proposed to place the higher education of the people, especially in Calcutta, on "a footing adequate to the wants of the community, and worthy of the Government of the Hon'ble Company". With the encouragement of the Governor-General, the local Governments in Bengal, Bombay and the Panjab extended encouragement to vernacular education. Further, a Parliamentary Committee, appointed to inquire into the state of education, examined a number of witnesses including experienced persons like Trevelyan and Duff.

A highly significant step regarding education in India was soon taken by the Company's Government. It was the famous Educational Despatch* No. 49, dated 19th July, 1854, which was drafted by Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, and forwarded to India through the Court of Directors, and which imposed upon the Government the duty of "creating a properly articulated system of education, from the primary school to the University".

The Educational Despatch of 1854, described as the "Magna Carta of English Education in India", formed a landmark in the history of education in modren India, because it outlined a comprehensive plan which supplied the basis for the subsequent development of educational system in this country. This Despatch, the principles of which were confirmed by the Secretary of State for India in the Despatch of the 7th April, 1859, commended to the special attention of the Government of India "the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular", and recommended the following measures for the attainment of these objects:—1. the constitution of a separate department of the administration for education; 2. the institution of universities at the Presidency towns; 3. the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools; 4. the maintenance of the existing Government

Colleges and High Schools and the increase of their number when necessary; 5. the establishment of new Middle Schools; 6. increased attention to vernacular schools, indigenous or others, for elementary education; and 7. the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid. The attention of the Government was "specially directed to the importance of placing the means of acquiring useful and practical knowledge within reach of the great mass of the people. The English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches, and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country. The system of grants-in-aid is to

be based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality.A

comprehensive system of scholarships is to be instituted so as to connect lower schools with higher, and higher schools with colleges. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government".

In accordance with the recommendation of Wood's Despatch steps were soon taken "to form an Education Department in each of the great territorial divisions of India as then constituted, and before the end of 1856, the new system was fairly at work. The formation of the separate Departments continued over a period of about 12 years, from 1854-55 in the larger provinces to 1866-67 in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts". 61

A Director of Public Instruction was appointed in each Province, with a staff of Inspectors and Deputy or Assistant Inspectors.

This organization of inspection and control continued 'substantially unchanged' in the subsequent periods with such additioirs or alterations as were required by the formation of new territorial divisions or by the amalgamation of old ones. The Education Department in each Province came directly under the Provincial Government. Under this arrangement the Education Departments became more or less officialised in character. It has been rightly pointed out by Prof. Dodwell that the men in charge of these Departments being 'primarily administrators', education "tended to become a matter of administration and routines". 52 The anomaly has continued more or less till now.

Within a few years after 1854 the political atmosphere in India was greatly ruffled by the outbreak of 1857. Yet, this year has a great significance in the history of Indian education, for it witnessed the establishment of three Indian universities on the lines of principles laid down in the Despatch of 1854. It was noted in that Despatch that “the time has now arrived for the establishment of universities in India, which may encourage a regular and liberal course of education, by conferring academical degrees, as evidence of attainments in the different branches of arts and science and by adding marks of honour for those who may desire to compete for honorary distinction”. The University of London was to serve as the model for the Indian universities, whose function was “to be to confer degrees upon such persons, as having been entered as candidates according to the rules which may be fixed in this respect, and having produced from any of the ‘affiliated institutions’ ... certificates of conduct, and of having pursued a regular course of study for a given time shall have also passed at the Universities such an examination as may be required of them”.

The University of Calcutta was incorporated by an Act, passed on the 24th January, 1857; the University of Bombay by an Act passed on the 18th July, 1857; and the University of Madras, by an Act passed on the 5th September, 1857. The affairs of each University were to be managed by a Chancellor and a Senate consisting of the Vice-Chancellor and Fellows who were mainly Government servants. To start with, the Calcutta University Senate had thirtyeight members of whom six were Indians, while in the Bombay University there were five Indians in a Senate of twenty-nine, and in the Madras University three Indians out of forty members. The Governor-General was the Chancellor of the Calcutta University, while the Governors of Bombay and Madras were the Chancellors, respectively, of the two Universities there. \ Regarding higher education the spheres of control of the Universities of Bombay and

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Madras were the territorial jurisdictions of the respective Presidencies and Native States of Western and Southern India, while that of the Calcutta University extended over the whole of Northern India, the Central Provinces and British Burma.

Each of these Universities had at first the four Faculties, namely those of Arts cum Science, Law, Medicine and Engineering, to which was added subsequently a separate Science Faculty. These Universities remained affiliating and examining bodies. The recommendation of the Despatch of 1854 for the institution of Professorships "for the purpose of delivery of lectures in the various branches of learning" was rejected by Lord Dalhousie on the ground that the Universities would not be qualified to supervise actual tuition. 63 The teaching was imparted in the colleges,—Government, missionary and private. Some High Schools had College classes, and several Colleges arranged classes in school-courses. Most of the colleges in this period provided education in Arts. As regards technical colleges, there were two Colleges of Engineering, one started at Roorkee in the North-Western Provinces in 1847 and the other was the Calcutta College of Engineering, opened at the Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, in November, 1856, amalgamated with the Presidency College in 1865. and shifted to Sibpur in 1880. The Overseer's school of Poona was raised to the status of the Poona College of Engineering and affiliated to the Bombay University in 1858. In the Madras Presidency the industrial school attached to the Gun Carriage Factory became Guindy College of Engineering and was affiliated to the Madras University in 1858. Medical training was being imparted in the Medical Colleges in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and in the Lahore Medical School. Law Departments were attached to Arts Colleges and separate Law Colleges came into existence later.

V, GENERAL POLICY AND PROGRESS OF ENGLISH EDUCATION (1858-1905).

During the period between 1857 and 1882 there was an increase in the number of Colleges and students in the three Universities. At the first Entrance Examinations of the three Universities, 219 students came out successful,—162 (out of 244 candidates) in Calcutta, 21 in Bombay, and 36 in Madras. In 1882, out of 7,429 candidates. who appeared at the Entrance Examination, 2,778 were successful. India had 27 Colleges in 1857 and the number rose to 72 in 1882. "During, the first 14 years 2,666 ca.ididates passed the First Arts (Intermediate) Examination, 850, the B.A.

Examination, and 151, the M.A. During the next 11 years the corresponding numbers were 5,969, 2.434, and 385".

The growth in the numerical strength of students and the consideration of the extensive areas of jurisdiction of the existing Universities led to the establishment of two other Universities during the nineteenth century. These were the University of Lahore and the University of Allahabad. In Lahore the movement for a University was started by some influential persons, backed by the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Donald Macleod. They demanded an Oriental University, which, besides promoting the study of Eastern classics and vernacular languages of the country, was also to encourage the study of English language and Western science. In August, 1867, the British Indian Association of the North-Western Provinces (modem United Provinces) submitted a petition to the GovernorGeneral indicating the defects of the prevailing educational system and recommending the establishment in the Province of a University in which "the Eastern classics and the vernacular would be duly encouraged side by side with English education". For certain reasons the Government of India did not agree to these demands, but sanctioned in December, 1869, the establishment of the Lahore University College. The specific objects of this College were "to promote the diffusion of European Science, as far as possible, through the medium of vernacular languages of the Punjab, and the improvement and extension of vernacular literature generally", and to "afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Eastern classical languages and literature". It was at the same time declared that "every encouragement would be afforded to the study of the English language and literature; and in all subjects which cannot be completely taught in the vernacular, the English language would be regarded as the medium of instruction and examination". 54 A large number of institutions were affiliated to the Lahore University College and its activities expanded for a decade before another demand for a University in the Punjab was put forth. The Government of Lord Ripon acceded to this demand and a notification of the Punjab Government, dated the 14th October, 1882, formally constituted the Punjab University with the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab as its Chancellor and with a constitution more or less similar to those of the other Indian Universities. The total number of Arts Colleges in

India (excluding Burma and Ajmer) in 1881-82 were 59 with 5399 students. 55

The Allahabad University was incorporated by an Act, dated the 23rd September, 1887, with a constitution closely resembling that of the University of Calcutta.

On the 3rd February, 1882, the Government of India appointed a Commission with Sir W. W. Hunter as its President, “to enquire

particularly into ^he manner in which effect had been given to the principles of the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such measures as might seem desirable in order to further carrying out of the policy therein laid down”. Though the chief object of inquiry of this Commission was to be the “present state of elementary education and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved”, it collected plenty of useful information about collegiate education, especially regarding attendance, fees, discipline and later career of the students. Some of its important recommendations were:—1. withdrawal of State from direct management and support of institutions for higher education should be by slow and cautious steps; 2. provision to be made for ordinary financial aid and special grants to Colleges; 3. “in order to encourage diversity of culture, both on the literary and on the physical side”, there should be provision in all the larger colleges, Government and aided, “for more than one of the alternative courses laid down by the Universities”; 4. “an attempt to be made to prepare a moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, such as may be taught in all Government and non-Government colleges”; 5. “the Principal or one of the Professors in each Government and aided college to deliver to each of the college classes in every session in all Government and non-Government colleges a series of lectures on the duties of a man and a citizen”. 6. observance of certain general principles for college fees and exemption from these and attendance; 7. framing new regulations for grant of scholarships.

With its conviction that “it is no less essential to the welfare of the community that provision should be made for the maintenance and development of colleges and schools of the higher class” 66 than the development of elementary education, the Hunter Commission made twenty-three recommendations on the subject of secondary education, the more important of which were as follows:—1. "In the upper classes of high schools there should be two divisions,—one leading to the entrance examination of the universities, the other of a more practical character intended to fit youths for commercial, or other non-literary pursuits; 2. provision should be made in respect of grant for the formation and maintenance of libraries in all high schools and for furniture and apparatus of instruction; 3. new rules should be framed for charging fees from students and for grants of scholarships to them; 4. "it be distinctly laid down that the relation of the state to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only

where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming, and that therefore, in all ordinary cases, secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aids"

The Government of India approved of nearly all the recommendations of the Hunter Commission. In a Resolution, dated the 23rd October, 1884, recorded in the Home Department, the GovernorGeneral in Council reviewed the Report of the" Hunter Commission, and laid down for the future guidance of Local Governments and Administrators the main lines of the educational policy which the Government of India intended to pursue. In expressing his approval of this Resolution, the Secretary of State for India communicated the following instructions to the Government of India: "In order to stimuate the efforts of the various authorities in the promotion of education on the lines now laid down, it would, I think, be well if your Excellency in Council would direct the preparation of General Annual Report, embracing the important features of the several provincial reports (including Madras and Bombay), transmit copies of the same to the Secretary of State, with a Resolution by the Government of India reviewing such General Report". According to these instructions the work of preparing the General Report was first entrusted to Sir Alfred Croft, Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, whose 'Review of Education in

India in 1886' is a valuable record containing detailed information on the subject.

With occasional fluctuations due to natural calamities like plague or famine, there was, by the close of the nineteenth century, increase in the number of institutions as well as students. At the end of the year 1901-2, about 4,000,000 students were receiving instruction in nearly 105,000 public institutions of various grades, and more than 600,000 pupils were under instruction in about 43,000 private institutions outside the scope of the Department of Public Instruction. More than 17,500 undergraduates were by that year getting education in 145 Arts Colleges, while there was a total enrolment of 5,400 students in 46 colleges meant for teaching of law, medicine, and other professional studies.* From 1881-82 the number of pupils in secondary schools had increased by 180 per cent, and that in primary schools by 49 per cent. On the whole there was quantitative expansion of education. But even then there was staggering illiteracy of the vast masses of the people of India. According to the census of 1901 "the proportion of persons able to read and write to the total population was 98 per 1,000 in the case of males, and 7 per 1,000 in the case of females." As regards Primary Education of the masses, the declarations of the despatch of 1854 and of the Education Commission of 1882, though reaffirmed by the Government several times, remained more or less barren of good results, both from qualitative and quantitative points of view. By the end of 1901-2 "only about one-sixth of the boys of school-going age (calculated at 15 per cent, of the total male population) were following the primary course in public institutions".

The period of Lord Curzon's administration was marked by some striking changes in the sphere of education as in the other branches. Insistently there beats through Curzon's utterances the urge to frame a sound educational policy. He realized that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark. For years education had been muddling along. In primary education four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school; three out of every four Indian boys grew up without education, and only one Indian girl in every 40 attended any kind of school. 57 Curzon thought that primary education was languishing nearly everywhere for want of funds. 68 Secondary schools really sapped the brain power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. 59 In higher education, the position seemed to him still worse. The standards of teaching and learning were equally low. 60 Curzon saw in his mind's eye the students driven like sheep from lecture room to lecture room and from examination to examination. Though the members of the Indian Universities Commission (1902) saw no reason to regret the decision of the Government in 1854, 61 Curzon drew a very depressing picture of the state of education in his time: the text-books prescribed were badly chosen; degrees were pursued for their commercial value; the Senates were over-swollen with members, whose aims were not academic; and the Syndicates were devoid of statutory powers. 62 Only 2$% of the female population of school-going age attended schools. 63 Everywhere words rather than ideas were studied. 64 There was too slavish an imitation of the European model, 65 and the members of the Indian Universities Commission admitted that teaching had been made subsidiary to examination. 66 Instead of thinking only of the mental and moral development, teachers were preoccupied with percentages, passes and tabulated results. 67 An Indian University was not even a collection of buildings. No wonder Curzon felt despondent as to the efficacy and standards of a system which showed by statistics that out of the thousands of young men, who sat for the matriculation examination of the various universities, only 1 in 17 ultimately took a degree 68 and Curzon wondered whether the preceding stages Vrere not too easy. To Curzon the whole system was at fault and reminded him of the days of Hebrew judges when there was no king in Israel. 69

The above facts about education fired him with a burning zeal to take up the subject of educational reform. In pursuance of his policy of thoroughness and efficiency, Lord Curzon sought to reorganize the educational system and to effectively control the educational institutions of the country. After a preliminary survey, the Viceroy summoned in September, 1901, a conference of chief education officers at Simla "to consider the system of education in India". On the 27th January, 1902, his Government appointed a Universities Commission "to inquire into the conditions and prospects of the Indian Universities, to report upon proposals which might improve their constitution and working, and to recommend such measures as might tend to elevate the standard of University teaching and to promote the advancement of learning”. 70 The Commission was presided over by Mr. (afterwards, Sir) Thomas Raleigh, Legal Member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council. The members included Mr. Syed Hus.ain Bilgrami, Director of Public Instruction in the Nizam’s Dominions, and when the Hindu community complained that it was unrepresented, Mr. Justice Gurudas Banerjee, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, was added to the Commission. 71

The Commission visited all the universities and a number of affiliated colleges during its three months tour and submitted its Report in June, 1902. Its principal recommendations were as follows:—

“1. The legal powers of the older universities should be enlarged so that all the universities may be recognised as Teaching Bodies, but the local limits of each university should be more accurately defined and steps taken to remove from the Calcutta University the affiliated colleges in the Central Provinces, United Provinces, etc.”

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2. The Senate, the Syndicate and the Faculties have to be reorganised and made more representative than before.

3. More stringent conditions were to be imposed for the recognition of affiliated institutions, and there should be insistence on the better equipment of affiliated colleges, and supervision of the discipline of students and their places of residence.

4. There should be a properly constituted Governing Body for each College.

5. Suggestions were made for important changes in the courses of study and methods of examination.

6. That a minimum rate of college fees should be fixOd.

7. That Second-grade colleges (teaching only up to the I.A. standard) should be gradually abolished.

8. That the system of teaching law by law classes attached to Arts colleges should be modified.

The Government expressed general approval of the Commission's recommendations except the last three, on which further inquiries were to be made before coming to a final decision. The Report of the Commission and the Government comments were published in October, 1902, and they were at once subjected to severe opposition by the Indians of all classes. The main point of attack was that if the recommendations were given effect to, Senates and Syndicates would be officialised and the Universities would be practically converted into Government Departments. A big public meeting was held in the Calcutta Town Hall to protest against the recommendations, and "old men, bent down with the weight of years", as Surendra-nath Banerji put it, "came tottering to place on record their protest against the recommendations of the Commission." 72 Pherozeshah Mehta took a leading part in opposing the recommendations, and the Indian National Congress, in its session at Ahmadabad in 1902, passed a comprehensive resolution on the subject, which is partly quoted below:—

"That this Congress views with the greatest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the acceptance of which will, in its opinion, reverse the policy steadily pursued during the last half-acentury by the British Government in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and restricting its scope, and by virtually destroying su6{i limited independence as the Universities at present enjoy."

In addition to the last three recommendations, specified above, the Congress strongly objected, in particular, to (a) the introduction of a rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country; (b) the virtual licensing of all secondary education; and (c) the officialisation of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the University into a Department of Government.

On 21 March, 1904, was passed the Indian Universities Act, based mainly on the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1902. The Act fixed the number of Ordinary Fellows at a minimum of fifty and a maximum of one hundred for the three older universities, and at a minimum of forty and maximum of seventy-five for the other two. These numbers were exclusive of the Chancellor, the ViceChancellor, the Rector of the Calcutta University, and the ex-officio

Fellows, who were also members of the Senate and whose maximum number was fixed at ten for each University. The tenure of office of the ordinary members was limited to a period of five years. The Act fixed the number of elected Fellows at twenty for the three older universities and fifteen for the other two. The Syndicate of a University was to consist of the Vice-Chancellor, the Director of Public Instruction and not less than seven or more than fifteen Fellows, "elected by the Senate or by the Faculties in such manner as may be provided by the regulations". Adequate representation of university teachers on the Syndicates was to be provided. The university was to have enhanced powers of supervision over the affiliated colleges and conditions for the affiliation of new ones were made more stringent (one of the immediate effects was reduction in the number of affiliated colleges). All affiliations and disaffiliations of colleges were to be finally settled by the Government; appointments of Professors, Readers and Lecturers were subject to the approval of the Government; and many details of university policy were subject to Government supervision. "Practically nothing was to be done without the approval of the Government". 73

An important feature of the Act was provision by the universities for the "instruction of students, with power to appoint university Professors and Lecturers, to hold and manage educational endowments, to erect, equip and maintain university laboratories and museums, to make regulations relating to the residence and conduct of students, and to do all acts which tend to the promotion of study and research". It was not, however, applied for many years in most of the Universities, though the Calcutta University under the guidance of its most distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, started post-graduate teaching in the University within a few years.

The Bill, which was ultimately passed into the Indian Universities Act of 1904, was strongly opposed by the Indian public. The Indian National Congress, in its Madras Session, 1903, entered its protest against the general principles of the Bill which, if passed into law, "will have the effect of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness...” The Congress also made a number of constructive suggestions for modifying the Bill. There was a protracted debate upon the Bill in the Council where a bitter attack was made upon it by G. K. Gokhale.

As could be expected, Lord Curzon did not pay much heed to the public criticism, and vigorously defended the Bill. He said he

did not regret the battle or the storm waged over the University legislation, for he was “firmly convinced that out of them had been born a new life for Higher Education in India”. 74 He defended the sincere aims of the Simla Conference which had been denounced as “some dark and sinister conspiracy”. 76 He regarded the University legislation and the form that sprang from it as a decree of emancipation, 76 and believed that it had put education on a sounder footing. One of his biographers, Lovat Fraser, has nothing but enthusiastic praise for the Act, and even went so far as to say, in

1911, that “many who were at first alarmed are ready to admit with

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alacrity that it has had admirable results”. 77 On the other hand, another biographer, Earl of Ronaldshay, mournfully admits that the high hopes entertained by Lord Curzon were far from being realized. He is perhaps nearer the truth. But it is only fair to point out that the public criticism of the measure was not duly tempered by a consideration of the actual state of things prevailing at the time. There is no doubt that the Senate, the supreme governing body, was unwieldy, and its composition was not dictated by academic interest. The Senate of the Calcutta, Madras and Bombay University had, respectively, 180, 197 and 310 members, called Fellows, some of whom could hardly sign their names. 78 The Fellowship in those days, like Justice of the Peace, was regarded as an honour, and academic distinctions were hardly considered as a requisite qualification for its selection. 79 It would be idle to deny also that some, if not many, of the educational institutions, in those days, were run more as profitable business concerns than as academic institutions for imparting education and developing character. It is undoubtedly true that the legislation of 1904 tightened the control of Government over higher education, but it may be pertinently asked, whether any other agency could remove the aforesaid abuses, and make the University, which was merely an examining body, an institution for higher study and research also. It is true that all the Universities had not been transformed as much as Lord Curzon hoped they would. But the example of the Calcutta University during the next twenty years showed what great improvements were possible within the framework of the Act of 1904, in spite of the handicaps imposed by it. There is some truth in the observations of Mr. Chailley, a Frenchman and an umprejudiced commentator, that the Universities Act of 1904 "constitutes the real charter of present day education in India". 80

VI. VERNACULAR AND PRIMARY EDUCATION. 81

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The state of indigenous education in Bengal about the beginning of the period under review has been described briefly in the

preceding chapter on the basis of Adam's Report. 81 * More or less the same' state of things prevailed in other parts of India, though the extent to which the elementary education spread among the masses, and the subjects or detailed syllabus of higher education must have varied in different parts of the country.

When Adam presented his first report on the intellectual condition of the people, he was greatly impressed by the large number of village schools scattered over Bengal and Bihar which convinced him of a deep-seated desire in the minds of parents, even of the humblest classes, to give education to their children. But his second and third reports on education brought out the defects in the system that had at first seemed so satisfactory, and he modified his earlier opinions and presented a melancholy picture of the depressed state of instruction as it existed amongst the masses of the Indian population.

Adam wrote that, considering only the population of teachable age, in Natore (Rajshahi district) the proportion of instructed to uninstructed was 132 to 1000, but that in the whole adult male population, the proportion of instructed to uninstructed was 114.6 to 1000. Adam's reports indicate that of children of school-going age in Bengal, there were only 7.75 per cent, who received instruction of any kind, even the most elementary. William Ward supposed that of the persons grown up to maturity among the male population in Bengal, not more than 200 in 1000 could read, and women were almost in every instance unable to do so. The Board of Revenue observed that only 1 in 67 was receiving education in the territories under the Madras Presidency, but Sir Thomas Munro estimated the portion of male population who received school education to be nearer to one-third rather than one-fourth of the whole. In his valuable report, A. D. Campbell points out that in Bellary district not more than 7 individuals in a 1000 of the entire population attended schools. In Delhi territory, Metcalfe's report shows a percentage of about 10. Inquiries conducted by the Government of North-Western Provinces indicated that the greatest ignorance prevailed amongst the people throughout those provinces, and that there were no adequate means for affording them instruction. W. D. Arnold was confronted with a population in the Panjab which was ignorant of the history and geography of its own province and knew little beyond elementary arithmetic. In Lande schools 82 in the Panjab, children wrote in a character which neither they themselves nor anybody else could decipher an hour after it had been written. Richard Jenkins, Resident at Nagpur, found that with the exception of the children of Brahmans and merchants, all the

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other classes were extremely illiterate. Dubois, who knew. Southern India very well, records that there was no public institution which was, properly speaking, devoted to the diffusion of knowledge. Lord Moira notes that the want of instruction in the territory' of Rajputana might be judged by the fact that "the first Minister of Jeypore, otherwise a man of ability, could not write and could scarcely read'. 83 With, individual exceptions, the female population of the teachable age was growing up without any knowledge of reading and writing, though W. D. Arnold mentions that female education was to be found in many parts in the Panjab.

Those who attacked traditional learning did so on the ground that teachers were not qualified and followed other professions to eke out their income. Many Pandits had never seen a printed book and even manuscripts were unknown to them. The majority of them were superficial even according to the standard of their countrymen. Agricultural and commercial accounts became the summum bonum which circumscribed rather than enlarged the minds of pupils, and there was no attempt whatsoever to acquire the orthography of the language of the country, or a knowledge of its geography ox history. In Muhammadan schools, the loose system of private tuition largely prevailed and though Muslim priests committed to memory substantial portions of the Quran, very few really understood its meaning or could explain Muslim law. Missionaries condemned the Indian teacher for imparting instruction from books which contained no ‘moral truths’. Works of Saadi were re* for enjoyment and Sir Thomas Munro 84 ridiculed the story of Maj nun. Persian was studied both by the Hindus and Muslims, and was considered an accomplishment in a gentleman and a passport for employment in revenue and judicial administration.

On the content of instruction imparted, the Evangelical Charles Grant, the sympathetic Thomas Munro, the candid Heber, the Baptist Ward, the fervent Lord Moira, the Orientalist Wilson, the calculating Rammohan Roy, the zealous C. E. Trevelyan, and the painstaking missionary Adam said trenchant things and their portrait of indigenous learning is by no means favourable. The learned Brahmans had told ‘Mr. Prinsep that the British system was most rational but that their own answered all their purposes’. 86 The worst feature of the indigenous system was that learning tended towards pedantry, mere automatism and an exercise of memory only. It turned out accomplished Pandits and Maulvis who possessed the logical finesse of the Medieval schoolmen. There were child prodigies who performed amazing feats in multiplication tables. But advanced learning was confined to a group, exclusive, scholastic and

unworldly at times, but somewhat rigid, which could not share its rewards with the ignorant mass of the people. And being steeped in the austerities of scholastic learning, these well-meaning men wrote commentaries on the accumulated wisdom of the past, knew but a small portion of the world, and lacked breadth and sweep of vision. Their scheme of knowledge ignored man and his role in society and nature; they sought things in words and quoted texts with unquestioning trust; their minds were used to receiving opinions from authority and they imitated models which set manners over matter.

The entire system of indigenous learning depended mainly on the support and voluntary contribution of opulent Hindu and Muslim families (Zamindars , Talukdars and shopkeepers), charity lands, or inducements given to scholars by gifts of money, or in the form of shelter, clothing and often food. The teacher depended on endowments and patronage, and students were given stipends for prosecuting their studies. Students seldom paid their teachers. Adam’s idea of basing all schemes of Indian education on the existing indigenous system, though considered impracticable by Lord Auckland and by the Committee of Public Instruction, was taken up by Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of. North-Western Provinces, whose plan was recommended as a model for general adoption by the Government.

The question of primary and indigenous system of education was taken up in the Despatch of 1854. Besides emphasizing on higher collegiate education, the Court of Directors expressed in this Despatch the view that “attention should

now be directed to a consideration-how useful and practical

knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people”. They wanted for this that “schools —whose object should be not to train highly a few youths, but to provide more opportunities than now exist for the acquisition of such an improved education as will make those who possess it more useful members of society in every condition of life—should exist in every district in India”. The attention of the Government during the period from 1854 to 1871 was directed not only to the Drovision of education through the vernacular languages of the country but also “to the increase of schools of secondary education”. There were three classes of secondary schools,—the High English Schools, the Middle English Schools and the Vernacular Schools. The Reports of the successive reviews of the progress of education in India undertaken by the Home authorities (the British Government) in 1859, 1863 and 1864 laid emphasis on the need of extending

elementary education among the masses in particular. So in the period from 1871 to 1882 in which the control of education was transferred to the local Governments, the extension of secondary education was ‘‘much less markisd than that of primary education, for the support and development of which local cesses had been raised in most Provinces”. 86 In Bengal, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Campbell, declared in a Resolution, dated 30th September, 1872, that he desired extension of education among the masses and granted for this four lakhs of rupees to make a beginning.

Between 1870-71 and 1881-82 the total number of primary schools in India (excluding Burma and Ajmer) increased from 16,473, to 82,916 or more than five-fold; while the total number of pupils increased from 607,320 to 2,061, 541 or more than threefold. Increase in schools, more than in pupils, was due chiefly to the fact that a latge number of indigenous schools in Bengal were brought under the grant-in-aid system. 87 The total number of secondary schools in India increased from 3,070 in 1871 to 3,916 in 1881-82, while in the number of pupils there was a much smaller proportionate increase, that is, from 202,294 to 214,077. 88

The extension of elementary education in England had for many years interested Ripon who took the Despatch of 1854 as his model for the expansion of education in India. The disproportionate expenditure of over 80% of the money on less than a sixth of the total number of students was obviously at variance with the policy of wide diffusion of education among all classes. 89 The Hunter Commission of 1882, referred to above, was appointed chiefly to review the working of the system and to propose ways of extending elementary education. The Commission submitted its report in October, 1883, and its thirty-six recommendations about primary education opened a new chapter in its history. “We therefore express our conviction” wrote this Commission, “that while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be the part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than herebefore". 90 The more important of these recommendations laid down that (i) "primary education be regarded as the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life, and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University"; (2) "an attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an extension of primary education by legis

lation suited to the circumstances of each Province"; (3) "Where indigenous schools exist, the principle of aiding and improving them be recognised as an important means' of extending elementary education"; (4) "primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education, and a large claim on provincial revenues"; (5) "both Municipal and Local SelfGovernment Boards keep a separate school-fund". There were also recommendations for inspection and supervision, encouragement of

night schools wherever possible, elasticity as regards the hours of

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the days and the seasons of the year during which attendance of scholars is required, religious teaching, Normal schools etc. 91 With the growth of Local Self-Government after 1882, the Local Boards and Municipalities were entrusted with powers for management of schools.

VII. FEMALE EDUCATION.

The uplift of women has been one of the most significant trends of New India, and it has been furthered by progress of education among them. During the first half of the nineteenth century, some members of the aristocratic Indian families, guided chiefly by considerations of management of estates, and the Christian missionaries, prompted by religious zeal for the propagation of their faith, took interest in female education. An enlightened public opinion in favour of it was also gathering momentum, though most of the members of the orthodox sections of the community were opposed to it. 92 In fact, very little was achieved in respect of female education till the mid-nineteenth century and the Government of the East India Company remained indifferent to it though it was responsible for some other important social reforms.

Since then female education received support from different quarters, though its progress was rather slow. It received considerable impetus from the modern movements for social reforms. The women had a great defender of their rights in Raja Rammohan Roy, and the Brahma Samaj has a record of conspicuous services for their advancement. Some prominent members of this Samaj started, from time to time, journals for promotion of education and culture among women, viz. (a) the Bdmabodhint# started in 1863 and edited by Umesh-chandra Datta; (b), the Abaldbandhava, started about 1869 by Dwaraka-nath Ganguli; (c) the Mahila, edited by Girish-chandra Sen; (d) the Antahpura, started by Sasipada Banerji; (e) the Bharatt started by Dwijendra-nath Tagore and long edited by his accomplished sister Swarna-kuiriari Ghosal and her talented daughters; (f) the Bh&ratamahiM, and (g) Suprabhdt, start

ed by two graduate sisters, Kumudini and Basanti Mitra. The Arya Samaj made arrangements for women's education through institutions like Mahakanya Vidyalaya at Jullundur in the Panjab, and some others started here and there. Gradually secondary and primary schools sprang up under the supervision of its. branches in different parts of India. The Prarthana Samaj arid the Deccan Education Society also made important contributions to the cause of female education. The Indian Social Conference, meeting every year with the annual session of the Indian National Congress, passed resolutions advocating extension of female education.

It took several years before the Government's apathy towards female education was removed. The formation of the Hindu Balika Vidyalaya in Calcutta in 1849, with eleven students, due to the efforts of Hon’ble J. E. Drinkwater Bethune, Legal Member of the Governor-General’s Council and President of the Council of Education, and of Pandit Isvar-chandra Vidyasagar, one of the greatest educationists and social reformers of modern India, marked a turning-point in the history of female education in our country. Though many in Calcutta vehemently opposed it, Mr. Bethune received considerable • support from some influential persons. The

GovernorGeneral, Lord Dalhousie, recorded in his Minute, dated the 1st April, 1850, that Mr. Bethune “has done a great work in the successful introduction of Native Female Education in India, on a sound and solid foundation; and has earned a right not only to the gratitude of the Government but to its frank and cordial support”.

Sir Charles Wood’s Despatch of 1854 thus remarked about female education in India in Para 83 of its Report:—“The importance of female education in India cannot be over-rated; and we have observed with pleasure the evidence which is now afforded of an increased desire on the part of many of the natives of India to give a good education to their daughters. By this means a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men. We have already observed that schools for females are included among those to which grants-in-aid may be given, and we cannot refrain from expressing our cordial sympathy with the efforts which are being made in this direction”. But the policy of the British Government in relation to female education in India was still one of caution. Lord Canning’s Government declared that Government could not take such initiative in the matter of girls* education as it has done in the case of education for boys, but that such girls* schools should be supported mainly by voluntary aid, and Government might encourage the existing schools by grants-in-aids. Nevertheless, some grants were made, and in 1873 there were only one thousand six hundred and forty girls’ schools of all kinds in British India. 93

Between 1871 and 1882 there was an aggregate increase in female education in India. Large proportion of efforts was devoted to the primary education of girls as compared with their secondary or higher education. Except in Bengal, and to some degree in Mad* ras, secondary education for girls was in the hands of Cnristian missionaries and 'native managers’.

After reviewing the situation about female education in India, the Education Commission of 1882 remarked that it was still in “an extremely backward condition, and that it needs to be fostered in every iegitmate way”. In its first out of twenty-seven recommendations touching various aspects of the problem, the Commis* sion observed that "female education be treated as a legitimate' charge alike on loc&L on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds and re^ ceive special encouragement”. Henceforth Government grants for girls’ schools began to be more liberally given and. Government management more freely used than before. This helped the growth in the number of such schools and their pupils. Women were receiving University education both in men’s colleges and in special female colleges. In 1901-02 there were 12 female colleges—three in Madras, three in Bengal and six in the United Provinces. The number of the female college students was by the end of that year 177 (Bengal 55, Madras 35, Bombay 30, United Provinces 49, and Burma 8). The number of secondary schools for girls was 461 and the total number of girl students both in schools for boys and girls was found to be 44,695. The great majority of them were in the primary ^tage, and the number in the secondary stage was about 9,800. The number of primary schools for girls was 5,628. The average number of students per school was 35 in 1901-02. "At the end of 190102 there were 390,000 girls in primary and secondary schools and of these all but 9,800 were in the primary stage of education.” 94 Still the percentage of girls in public institutions to girls of schoolgoing age.was 2.2 in 1901-02.

VHI. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES

Having reviewed the evolution of the general policy and actual schemes of education through different stages we may now proceed to describe briefly the progress of education in different provinces.

1. BENGAL.

The beginnings of English education in Bengal have been dis-' cussed above in Section 1. Medical and English classes were added

both to the Calcutta Madrasa (founded in 1781) and the Sanskrit College of Calcutta (founded in 1824) between 1826 and 1828. The Hindu College, to which reference has been made above, gained decided superiority^ over all other institutions in affording tuition in the English language and literature* and ancient and modern history. The sons of the most respectable classes of the native community of Calcutta attended this institution and paid for their education. In the report of 1827-28 the studies described were Natural and Experimental philosophy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Algebra, Tytler's Elements of General History, Russell's Modern Europe, Milton and Shakespeare. Other early colleges were Serampore College (1818), the General Assembly's Institution of the Church of Scotland founded by Dr. Duff in 1830, the Hooghli College established from the funds of the Mohsin endowment in 1838, the Institution of the Free Church of Scotland in *1843, and the Patna College in 1863. 94a In addition to the Government colleges at Dacca, Behrampore and Krishnagar, there were also the Doveton, La Martiniere, St. Paul's private foundation, and the Bhowanipore College of the London Missionary Society. f

There was a continuous feeling among the authorities after 1841 (and also indicated in the Despatch of 1854) that very little in Bengal had been done for the education of the mass of the people through the medium of their vernaculars. A few vernacular schools had been founded in Bengal in 1844, of which 33 only remained with 1400 students, whereas the comparable figures in Bombay were 216 vernacular schools with 12,t)00 pupils. The Council of Education, in their letter of 29 June, 1848, stressed the necessity of combining vernacular with English education, and cited North-Western Provinces as an example to be followed. 96 Men belonging mostly to the rising middle class asked why the government taught what people were not willing to learn. The Court of Directors did not feel discouraged as they had been encouraged by the success of vernacular schools in ^the North-

Western Provinces, and the local Government in Bengal continued extending vernacular education by confining its direct action .to the maintenance of model schools and by introducing the system of grant-in-aid to indigenous institutions.

The Court of Directors in their Despatch of May 12, 1847, declared that they did not regard a higher degree of scholastic knowledge as an essential qualification for the public service and valued a moderate and practical knowledge of English. 99 This Despatch shows that the process was not reversed but modified, and a critical knowledge of Bacon, Shakespeare or Milton was not necessary.

Henry Woodrow, the Inspector of the Eastern Education Division, tried to make use of the existing indigenous schools and proceeded by forming these schools into circles each comprising 3, 4 or 5 schools, and after that progress in vernacular education was sustained. 97 This method was followed and improved upon by other administrators, especially by Sir George Campbell in Bengal.

Thte medical classes of the Madrasa and Sanskrit College, Calcutta, were abolished from 1st February, 1835, and the Medical College was opened in June 1835. Dr. M. T. Bramley was appointed its first principal and Madhusudan Gupta made the first attempt to dissect a dead body. A secondary school in connection with the college for the instruction of native doctors for the military and civil branches of the service was established in 1839. The first hospital was opened in 1838 and a female hospital began to function in 1841. In March, 1844, four students went to England for braining in medical science., The sanction for the opening of art engineering college was received from the Court of Directors on 19th September, 1855. The college was opened in November, 1856, at the Writers' Building, Calcutta and lin 1880 it was replaced by Government Engineering College at Sibpur. In 1842 the appointment of a Professor of Law in Hindu College was sanctioned, and a course of lectures was delivered by the Advocate-General, J. E. Lyall. The law class was organized from the beginning of the session of 1855. On the establishment of the Calcutta University in 1857, University examinations for the Licentiate and the Degree of Bachelor of Law were instituted and the number of colleges teaching law was 16 in 1903-4.

In 1857, 10 Arts Colleges were affiliated to the Calcutta University. By 1902, the Calcutta University had 46 first-grade and 32 second-grade collegiate institutions affiliated to it. 98 The Degree of M. A. was conferred for the first time in 1862 and that of Bachelor of Science in 1901-2. In 1903-4 the number attending secondary schools was 4.4 per cent, of the boys of school-going age and 122 primary schools were maintained wholly by the Education Department. The number of children attending schools represented 16.5 per cent, of the total population of school-going age in 1903-4. 99 *

The promotion of female education was the work of individual and private Societies and was not recognised as a branch of the States' system of education until 1854. The Calcutta School Society had female education as one of its objects. But the first real attempt to instruct Bengali girls was made by the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society which came to be known subsequently as the Ladies Society for Native Female Education. Mrs. Wilson, whose services

were engaged by the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, had 30 sctools in 1826 which were formed into a Central school in 1829. Otier schools sprang up- due to the efforts of the London Church Misdonary Society. In May, 1849, Bethune opened a female school at Calcutta to which he donated a sum of £10,000 and this institution was recognised by the government. At first only 11 pupils joined this school but by April 11, 1850, the number had risen to 35. The example set by Bethune was Allowed by others in Bengal, and Talhousie regarded female education as the beginning of a great revolution in Indian habits. The number of Arts colleges and schools for grls rose from 831 in 1881 to 5005 in 1904. The percentage of girls under instruction to the number of schoolgoing age was 0.87 in 1880-81 and 2.8 in 1903-4. The Bethune College, La Martiniere, md Loretto House were prominent institutions.

2. BOMBAY

In Bombay the number of Europeans was small and their connections with local people were recent and less intimate thsn they were in Bengal. In 815 the Bombay Native Education Society was formed and openet three schools in Bombay, Thana and Broach. Mountstuart Elphinstcie extended the Society's operations to supplying vernacular anc school book literature. The Society recommended the adoption >f the Lancasterian method 100 of teaching and continued its work til 1840, when it became the Board of Education, which devoted xself to the improvement of teaching. In 1820 was formed a special ommittee for native education called the 'Native School and School Bok Committee', the object of which was to raise funds for the purpos< of education. The Poona Sanskrit College was opened by Mr. Wiliam Chaplin on 6th October, 1821, for the encouragement of the study of Sanskrit and of ancient Hindu literature and sciences. 10 The scope of this college was widened and it was later known a? the Deccan College. In 1823 the Court of Directors rebuked theBombay Government for having set lip the Poona College and thougl they allowed the Poona College to continue, they firmly rejectd the Bombay College plan. Hie Society's central school in Bonbay proved more successful and remained the principal Government high school. When Mr. Elphinstone left in 1827, the native gmtlemen subscribed, as a memorial to him, £21,600, from the Merest on which professorships were to be established, the incumbents to be recruited from Great Britain until "natives shall be competent to hold them". No such profesiors arrived till 1835. 101 Tke classes were held in the Town Hall and provided the nucleus for Elphinstone College. 103 The Wilson College,

originally called the General Assembly's Institution, was founded as a high school in 1834. By 1850 there were only eight schools subordinate to the Board of Education throughout the Bombay Presidency. The monthly fee of Elphinstone Institution was Re. 1/whereas in Hindu College, Calcutta, students paid as much as Rs. 8 /-.'°*

In Bombay the emphasis from the very beginning was on the diffusion of Western knowledge through the vernaculars. Mountstuart Elphinstone, a liberal, if not a radical, was deeply interested in the education of the masses in Benthamite terms 106 , and although there were conflicting claims between English and the vernaculars, Elphinstone's view in favour of the latter received the approbation of the Court of Directors. Malcolm followed Elphinstone and differed from Warden as to the mode of diffusing education. And though later, men like Edward Perry and Col. Jervis debated the same problem—'English vs. Vernaculars'—the Government of Bombay in their letter of 5th April, 1848, gave preference to 'native languages' in so far as general education of the people was concerned. 106 The immediate occasion for the controversy between Col. Jervis and Perry was a proposal to give instruction in civil engineering through the medium of vernaculars. 107 Jervis suggested that the instruction should be through the language of the people whereas E. Perry's view was that superior branches of education could be imparted only through the medium of English. 106 The Government of Bombay in their letter to the Board of Education, dated 5th April, 1848, gave a decided preference to the views of those who advocated the use of vernaculars for the diffusion of knowledge. That did not mean that there was no desire to acquire a knowledge of English language and literature, and while the vernacular education was languishing in Bengal, in Bombay it was making rapid progress. In contrast to Calcutta, there were 216 vernacular schools under the Board of Education with 12,000 students.

In October 1845, the Grant Medical College was formally opened, and the first regular session began on 16th June, 1846. The Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital began as 'the school of practice* of the Grant Medical College, which received recognition from the Royal College of Surgeons in England in 1854. An Engineering Institution was in existence in Bombay in 1824. To no branch of education did Malcolm look forward to with more sanguine expectations than the Engineers' Institution in Bombay Presidency. 109 A class for training engineers was opened in the Elphinstone Institution in 1844, but for want of suitable candidates for admission the class was broken up in 1847. The nucleus of a college of civil engineering existed in

the Poona-Engineering Class and Mechanical Class. The Poona College of Science grew out of an engineering school founded in 1854.

In 1847 Sir Edward Perry, President of the Board of Education, advocated the institution of a law class at the Elphinstone Institution. In 1855 a professorship was founded on endowment subscribed in honour of Sir

Edward Perry. Two other professorships were sanctioned later. The Government maintained model schools at the headquarters of each district. The Grant Medical College, the Elphinstone, Wilson, Deccan, St. Xaviers* and Fergusson were the principal colleges. By 1902 Bombay had 10 first-grade colleges and only one second-grade college. 1 ^ 0 Of the male population of school-going age, 19.8% attended public primary schools in 1903-4.

The American Missionary Society, which did the pioneering work in female education, established the first native girls* school in Bombay Presidency in 1824, and two years later they reported an increase^ of 9 girls* schools. One of these institutions was a Boarding School, maintained at Byculla in the island of Bombay. In 1831, two native schools in Ahmadnagar were established by the same mission. The first of many female schools of Mrs. Wilson was opened in December, 1829. During 1829-30 Dr. and Mrs. Wilson established six schools. The Church Missionary Society established its first school in 1826. Other female schools were established at Thana, Bassein and Nasik. And there was a substantial increase of Normal schools and Elementary schools by the seventies of the last century. 111 In 1903-4, 4.74% of the, female population of school-going age attended schools. In both male and female populations, the Parsis took the lead.

3. MADRAS.

\ The missionaries were the first to open schools in the Madras Presidency. Protestant Mission Schools were established at Madras, Cuddalore, Tanjore and Trichinopoly. In 1787, the Court of Directors authorised a permanent annual grant for the support of three schools. Mr. Hugh's Chaplin, a missionary in Palamkotta, opened two schools in 1817 with the support of the Madras Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society. Sir Thomas Munro was a strong believer in the good effect of education. He restored funds which had been diverted due to political instability. It was Munro's Minute of 25th June, 1822, which first suggested the idea of conducting a statistical inquiry into the state of education. According to Munro the means of dispelling ignorance in India was the endowment of schools throughout the country by Government with a moderate allowance secured to teachers which would place them above want. Munro wanted to give inducements both to teachers and to students for furthering education, and he wished to establish in each Collectorate two principal schools.

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The Madras Book Society played an important part and the Court of Directors desired that measures for giving instruction in English language and literature should be adopted.[112] The Board of Public Instruction was reconstituted in 1836 as the Committee of Native Education which in turn gave place in 1841 to a University Board. This was superseded by a Council of Education in 1845, which was finally dissolved at the instance of the Court of Directors in 1847. The Department of Public Instruction was formed in 1854. By 1852 there was only a single institution in the Presidency, founded by or under the immediate control of the Government. But Missionary enterprise had been particularly active. The Collectorate and Tehsildari schools, with elementary instruction through the vernacular along with a little English in a few of them, had continued, but as a result of Bentinck's Resolution, they were abolished in 1836.

There were differences of opinion between the Board and the members of the Governor’s Council on educational policy, and in more cases than one, the Court of Directors also negatived the schemes put forward by authorities in India. A balance of over Rs. 3 lakhs had been accumulated,[113] and it was not until June, 1853, that the first Government school outside Madras city was founded at Cuddalore and another at Rajahmundry. Lord Elphinstone in his Minute of 12th December, 1839, recommended the establishment of a collegiate institution at Madras. In February, 1853, the Government formally sanctioned the immediate establishment of a Collegiate Department, designated as the Madras University.[114] The first report of the Director of Public Instruction (1854-55) shows that with the exception of the sum spent on elementary schools in a few places, the operations of the Government were confined to the collegiate institution under the designation of the University of Madras, and to the two Provincial schools at Rajahmundry and Cuddalore. A few more Provincial schools at Bellary, Calicut etc. were later established. The Court of Directors in their Despatch of 1854 lamented that very little had been done by the Government of Madras for the masses, and it was only the activities of the Christian missionaries that had been successful among the Tamil population. The example of North-Western Provinces was cited for giving impetus to vernacular education. The Court, in their Despatch of 30th December, 1842, recorded that the University students at Madras were inferior both in number and proficiency to those pf Bombay and Bengal, and recommended the formation of a Normal School. In

their Despatch of 1859 they suggested that the High School of Madras should be remodelled and formed into an institution somewhat resembling the Presidency College, Calcutta. Furthermore, they lamented the less advanced state of education throughout the Madras Presidency, and recommended that Woodrow's plan should be followed for the improvement of the existing village schools.

In Madras the foundation of colleges began much later. The General Assembly's institution, known as the Christian College, was founded in 1837. In 1841 the Central school was converted into a high school; in 1853 a college department was added to it, and later it developed into the Presidency College. St. Joseph's College was established at Negapatam in 1846 by the Jesuits in charge of the Madura Mission. , Medical classes were started at the Madras Medical School, and in 1851 the institution was raised to the status of a college. The Presidency College, the Madras Christian College, Pachayyappa's College, the Jesuit and S.P.G. Colleges at Trichinopoly, and St. Peter's College at Tanjore were the principal colleges. In 1904 one boy in every five of school-going age attended primary classes, and one boy in every forty-five of school-going age, secondary classes. By 1902 Madras had 15 first-grade and 39 second-grade colleges. 116 The education of girls was begun by the missionaries. On 17th October, 1821, it was resolved to form native girls* schools in Madras, 116 but it was not until 1866 that Government started its own schools for them. In 1904 the percentage of girls under instruction to the population of school-going age was 4.8.

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The first attempt *to train teachers in India was made by Dr. Andrew Bell at the end of the eighteenth century and his system (sometimes called the Madras System) was adopted in Europe and America.

4. UTTAR PRADESH (UNITED PROVINCES)

The oldest college in U.P., the Sanskrit College at Banaras, was founded in 1791 <(to cultivate the laws, literature and religion of the Hindus", and "especially to supply qualified Hindu assistants to European judges". The college at Agra was established in 1823, and at Delhi an Oriental college was founded in 1825. English was introduced in Delhi college in 1828. The Allahabad School was opened in 1834. The college at Bareilly arose in 1850 out of a high school founded in 1836. Canning College was founded at I akhnau in 1864 by the talukdars of Avadh in grateful memory of the generous treatment they received from Lord Canning after the Mutiny.

BfQUBH EDUCATION

The control of the educational institutions in North-Western Provinces was transferred from the Government of Bengal to the Local Government together with the funds belonging to the colleges at Banaras, Agra and Delhi, by a Resolution of the Supreme Government, dated 29th April, 1840. At that time there were three colleges and nine Anglo-Vernacular schools maintained by Government. In this Province a completely new development took place. Mr. James Thomason, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, took up the idea of Adam's vernacular education in 1843, brought it closer to the reality of agricultural life, and made it the whole basis of general education in this Province. He displayed accurate knowledge of the conditions and the requirements of the people under his charge, and provided honourable inducements to his subjects for gaining elementary knowledge so that their own rights might be preserved. The necessity for registering land offered him an opportunity which he turned to good account. A peasant naturally had suffered much due to his ignorance and Mr. Thomason made people realize that elementary knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic and agricultural accounts was indispensable for the preservation of their legitimate rights. His conception of education was not confined .to the narrow wants of higher classes, but embraced the whole population, especially the peasantry. He had in him the sympathetic outlook and comprehensive vision Of Thomas Munro, and as compared with Bengal, there was less encouragement for the study of English. 117 The Local Government decided to introduce education through the medium of vernaculars and thus there began the multiplication and improvement of Village schools by supervision, advice and distribution of elementary books,—the kind of policy which Munro, and later on Adam, had suggested. But though the Court of Directors objected to incidental points like that of the grant of Jdpfr, both the Court and the Local Government sanctioned as an experimental measure the establishment of Tehsildari schools in eight districts.

A Model School was established by Mr. Thomason at the headquarter of each Tehsildar , and for meeting the requirements of the agricultural people the system of Halkabandi UQ was introduced. The system worked on the basis that the peasantry was the real backbone of the country, that their rights should be preserved, and that they should be encouraged to improve themselves. Adam's Reports had contemplated the endowment of a school in every village, and Thomason, in his revised scheme of 19th April, 1848, asked for authority to introduce his scheme of vernacular education in eight districts which might involve an expense not exceeding Rs. 13,000

per annum, while one Government school in each Tehsil was to serve as a model to the village schobl master. Eight districts were selected, and the experiment was an eminent success. Daihousie, in his Minute of 25th October, 1853, paid a great compliment to the scheme of vernacular schools 119 and was prepared to extend the system. Though Mr. Thomason died on the 29th September, 1853, Daihousie recommended to the Court of Directors that fullest sanction should be given to the extension of the scheme of vernacular education in all districts within the jurisdiction of North-Western Provinces. 120 The successful scheme was held up as an example to other Governments.

F. J. Mouat, in his report of June 4, 1853,[121] paid a great compliment to vernacular education in North-Western Provinces, which he thought was decidedly better than the instruction in any vernacular school that he had seen in Bengal. Students answered questions on geography, statistics and topographical features, and Dr. Mouat spoke highly of the extent of scientific instruction communicated at the Delhi College through treatises in Urdu.[122] Mr. H. R. Reid became in 1855 the first Director of Public Instruction. His first and second reports refer to his experiment of Halkabandi schools which flourished in the North-Western Provinces in thousands. This idea originated about 1851 in an experiment made by Mr. Alexander, Collector of Mathura, and taken up by other Collectors, so that by the close of 1854 there were about 17,000 pupils receiving education in them.

The early instruction in engineering is connected with the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee. In 1845, a small engineering class was held at Saharanpur. In 1847 the vigorous prosecution of the scheme of the Ganges Canal was determined upon, and the Thomason Engineering College at Roorkee was a product of this engineering scheme. In 1849 the institution was placed on a permanent footing, and in 1854 the name of Thomason was associated with it. The institution had 371 students in 1903 4, when certificates of proficiency were given by the college. University education commenced in 1860 with the affiliations of colleges to the Calcutta University, and in 1872 the Muir Central College was founded. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded a school at Aligarh in 1875 which was raised to the status of a college in 1878. The Allahabad University was constituted in 1887. The number of Arts Colleges was 16 in 1891 and 28 in 1901-4. In 1904 the number of secondary schools for boys was 508 and the number of scholars 17,827. The number of primary schools in 1904 was 8,070 and of pupils, 330,387. The proportion of the population of school-going age under instruction increased from 3.4% in 1881 to 7% in 1904. Between 1891 and 1901 the proportion in secondary schools increased from 1.4 to 1.8%, while in primary schools there was an increase from 4.1% to. 7.1%. By 1902 the Allahabad University had 17 first and 13 second grade colleges.[123]

At Agra, Gopal Singh, the Deputy Inspector of Schools, encouraged the cause of female education in 1855. In 1857 the number of schools rose to 288, and then the system was extended to Mathura and other places. In 1901 the number of female institutions was 637 and of pupils, 21,314.

5. THE PAN JAB

Before the Panjab was made a British Province in 1849, Government schools existed in Delhi territory, which then formed a part of the North-Western Provinces. After the annexation, the Christian Missions, especially the American Presbyterian missionaries and the Church of England Communion, established schools. The Administration Report of 1849-50 indicates that the Sikh prejudices were dying out and that the Panjab was ripe for the introduction of so*ne educational scheme. 124 Many noblemen and gentlemen were anxious to acquire the knowledge of English. The Government followed the example of the missionaries, and district officers, like Col. Abbot, Captain Blair Reid, Edward Paske, Major Brown, and Richard Temple founded schools in their districts. In January, 1856, W. D. Arnold was appointed Director of Public Instruction, and drew up a scheme on the basis of North-Western Provinces, cost being met out of 1% cess on the land reveiiue which was being levied at the time in most of the districts. The Halkabaiuii system of North-Western Provinces was adopted, though English was to be taught to those who were willing to pay for it. Due to insufficiency of income to meet the entire cost of the maintenance of the schools, the scheme met with only partial success in the beginning. It was accordingly resolved to reduce the number of schools to raise the efficiency of the remainder. The policy of Sir Charles Aitchison was followed. The aim was the improvement of indigenous schools without destroying their distinctive character by the offer of liberal grants-in-aid. Normal schools, Tehsildari schools and Zilla schools were established, mid the curriculum was improved. The first* female school was opened in Rawalpindi in December 1856, and by the close of the year 17 schools were established. In 1862, Sir Robert Montgomery enlisted public support for female education, but it was only in 1885-6 that a sound system of female education was laid, and there began the steady increase of private enterprise on behalf of female education. In 1864 Government col leges were established at Lahore and Delhi. In 1870 Sir Donald Mecleod inaugurated the new Punjab University College, which was established in part fulfilment of the demands by a large number of the chiefs, nobles and influential classes of the Panjab. By Act XIX of 1882, the Punjab (formerly Lahore) University College was incorporated as the University of the Punjab, the primary object of which was the revival of Eastern learning and the creation of good vernacular literature, though English was still to be considered as the natural complement of education. Prior to the foundation of the University, colleges were affiliated to the Calcutta University. Lahore Medical College, established in October 1860, was raised to collegiate status in 1870. The law school at Lahore was founded in 1870. The Lahore Central Training College, which provided trained teachers, was opened in 1881. In 1883-4 there were only three colleges; Government and Oriental colleges' at Lahore and St. Stephens' College at Delhi. The engineering class of the Punjab University was started before 1886. In 1888 the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School, established by the Ary a Samaj, was raised to the status of a college. The Islamia College at Lahore was opened in 1892, and the Khalsa College was founded at Amritsar in 1897. By 1889-90 the number of Arts colleges had risen to 7 and that of matriculation candidates to 1,016. In 1900-1 the number of Arts colleges was 12 with 2,948 Matriculation candidates and 1,214 passes. By 1902, the Punjab University had 8 colleges of the first and 7 of the second grade. 12 ® The percentage of males in British districts, able to read and write, was 6.8 according to the Census of 1901, and that of females, 0.37.

6. CHIEFS' COLLEGES

Chiefs' Colleges in India were the growth entirely of the second half of the 19th century. They were founded on English lines and were designed to provide education for the princely and aristocratic families of India. 126 The first of these colleges to be started was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot in 1870. In 1872 Mayo College was founded in Ajmere in memory of Lord Mayo. In 1872 Rajkumar College was opened at Nowgong, which was amalgamated With Daly College at Indore in 1898. In 1876 a special class was opened in the Indore Residency School for the sons of the native chiefs on the western side of Central India, and it received later the designation of Daly College in memory of the political officer, Sir Henry Daly. The Aitchison College at Lahore was founded in 1886. The Arts College at Jaipur dates from 1873, and the Arts College at Jodh- * pur was established in 1893. For the education of the sons of the gentry, the principal schools were Colvin School at Lakhnau (for the sons of the Avadh Talukdars), the Raipur College (for the sons of

the Chattisgarh chiefs), and the Girasia colleges at Gondal and Wadhwan in Kathiawar.

IX. MUSLIM EDUCATION.

As mentioned above, the attitude of the members of the Muhammadan community in India towards Western education was at first one of aversion and opposition. There was among them a general aptitude and inclination towards classical studies in Arabic and Persian, and many among them did not like an exotic system introduced by an alien ruling authority which had displaced the lingering vestige of Mughul supremacy. Soon after the introduction of English education in India, the Council of Education stated that the "endeavour to impart a high order of English education** to the Muhammadan community had failed completely. There was no improvement in the situation for many years in respect of higher education, though the numerical strength of ihe Muhammadan students in schools had gradually increased.

The backwardness of the Muhammadan population in respect of higher education, as compared with the members of the other community, attracted the attention of the Government of Lord Mayo, and by its Resolution of 7th August, 1871, it drew the attention of the different Local Governments and Administrations to the subject. The Reports 127 from the Local Governments and Administrations, in reply to this Resolution, were considered by the Government of Lord Northbrook in a Resolution, dated 13th June, 1873. 128 After reviewing the measures adopted by the respective Local Governments for encouragement of education among Muhammadans Lord Northbrook*s Resolution recorded the view that "the Earl of Mayo's Resolution had succeeded in its main purpose of drawing attention of all Administrations to needs and obligations which before had, perhaps, not everywhere been adequately realized,** and suggested certain measures for the spread of education among the Muhammadans.

The Education Commission of 1882 also reviewed the subject of Muhammadan education in India, and made important recommendations in this respect, some of which were as follows:—-(1). “That the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, on Municipal and on Provincial Funds; (2). “That Higher English Education for Muhammadans, being the kind of education in which that community needs special help, be liberally encouraged**; (3). “That where necessary, a graduated system of special scholarships for Muhammadans be established” for award in schools and colleges; (4).

‘‘That in all classes of schools maintained from public funds, a certain proportion of free studentships be expressly reserved for Muhammadan students''; and (5) “That Associations for the promotion of Muhammadan education be recognised and encouraged”.

With regard to the recommendations of the. Commission relating to this matter, the Government of India observed in a Resolution, dated the. 23rd October, 1884: “The Governor-General in Council has the subject of Muhammadan education at present under separate consideration, and will merely say here that, in view of the backward condition into which in some Provinces members of that community have fallen, he thinks it desirable to give them in some respects exceptional assistance”. Another declaration of policy on this subject was previously made by the Government of India in a Resolution, dated the 15th July, 1883, after consideration of the viewpoints placed in a Memorial addressed to Lord Ripon in February, 1882, by the National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta together with other relevant papers. The main points in July 1883 Resolution were as follows:—(1). “The Muhammadans cannot hope fairly to hold their own in respect of the better description of State appointments but by frankly placing themselves in line with the Hindus, and taking full advantage of the Government system of high and specially of English education”; (2). A special section should be devoted to Muhammadan education in the Annual Reports of Public Instructions; (3). “For the attraction of Muhammadans to higher education, a liberal provision of scholarships is essential and their wants must not be overlooked in the framing of any general scheme of scholarship for any Province"; (4). "Special Muhammadan Inspecting Officers to inspect and enquire into Muhammadan education generally, may be appointed in places where the Muhammadans are very backward". 129

In the meanwhile a momentous step had been taken by an eminent Muhammadan of liberal and progressive outlook. He was Sir Syed Ahmad, to whom the Muhammadan community of India owes a heavy debt for their advancement. He, with his foresighted vision, realized the need of modem education for the progress of his co-religionists: With the zeal of a reformer, and by defying all opposition, he established the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which later developed into a University as an important centre of higher education, particularly for the Muslims in India. 130

In 1881-8 the percentage of Muhammadan students of India receiving English education in colleges was 3.6 in proportion to the total number of students in such institutions, and that of Muhammadan students in High and English Schools was 9.2, 131 though the

percentage of Muhammadans to the population of the different Provinces was 22.8. There was no appreciable progress of Muhammadan education during the next fifteen years. During the period from 1858 to 1893 "only 546 Muhammadans succeeded in obtaining University Degrees in the various branches of learning, as against no less than 15,081 Hindus, yielding a proportion of only tKree-and-a-half per cent, in the total number of Hindu and Muhammadan graduates, and an yearly average of 15.1, as against 418.9 Hindus or a proportion of 1 to 28 of the average number of Hindu graduates per year" 132 The percentage of Muhammadans among pupils of all creeds under public instruction was 19.2 in 1891-92 and 19.3 in 1896-97, but went down to 18.8 in 1901-02. This loss was in the primary Schools, and there was a slight increase in the number of Muhammadan students in Arts Colleges and Secondary Schools. 133

APPENDIX 134

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE "ORIENTALISTS" AND "ANGLICISTS" AND MACAULAY'S MINUTE ON THE SAME.

The difference between the two opposing parties has been summed up thus:—

‘Half of the Committee, called the “Orientalists”, were for the continuation of the old system of stipends, tenable for twelve or fifteen years, to students of Arabic and Sanskrit, and for liberal expenditure on the publication of works in these languages. The other half, called the “Anglicists,” desired to reduce the expenditure on stipends held by “lazy and stupid schoolboys of 30 and 35 years of age” and to cut down the sums lavished on Sanskrit and Arabic printing. At this juncture, Government requested the Committee to prepare a scheme of instruction for a college at Agra. The Committee were utterly unable to agree on any plan. Five members were in favour of Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit learning, and five in favour of English and the vernacular, with just so much of the Oriental learned languages as would be necessary to satisfy local prejudices’.

Macaulay, on arriving in India, was appointed President of this Committee, but he refused to act as such until the Governor-General had decided upon the language of instruction. In his capacity of Legislative member of the Governor-General’s Council, however, he was neither diffident nor inactive, and when the question was brought before the Council by the rival parties, who addressed their arguments in the form of letters, dated 21st and 22nd January, 1835, respectively, he expressed his views on the matter in dispute in a masterly Minute, dated 2nd February of that year, and from which we quote the following paragraphs, as it is impossible to describe the points in dispute in clearer or more expressive language:—

“It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can by any art of construction be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied...

“The admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system, and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanskrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanatorium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatorium there if the result should not answer our expectations? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice now unhappily too common of attributing them to things to which they do not belong.

“All the parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are moreover so poor and rude that until they are enriched from some other quarter it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them. What then shall that language be? One half of the Committee maintain that it should be English. The other half strongly recommend Arabic and Sanskrit. The whole question seems to me to be which language is the best worth knowing? I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works.

I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves.

I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the Committee who support the Oriental plan of education. It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature hi which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalists who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sans

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krit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

“How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions which considered merely as narratives have seldom been surpassed, and which considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculation on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which 30(1 years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all. In India English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities

which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian Empire. Whether we look at the intrim sic value of our literature or at the particular situation of this country we shall see the strongest reason to think that of all foreign tongues the English tongue is that which would be the most useful

to our native subjects.

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“The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which by universal confession there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which by universal con* fession whenever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance at the public expense medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English Boarding-School, history abounding with kings thirty feet high and reigns 30,000 years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter... The languages of Western Europe civilised Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindu what they have done for the Tartar....

“It is said that Sanskrit and Arabic are the languages in which the sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are on that account entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British Government in India to be not only tolerant but neutral on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcilable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neuturality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly pursued. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. And while we act thus can we reasonably and decently bribe men out of the revenues of the state to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat? ....

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"To sum up what I have said. I think it is clear that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in

teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law nor as the languages of religion have Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed."

1. Heber, I. 188-9; II. 78.

2. For a detailed account of this Society, cf. BPP, LXXVTH, Part I (Jan.-June,

1959), pp. 30 ff. ' , _

3. For a full account, with references, cf. JAS, Letters, XXXL 39 ff.

4. Sketches, EH. 91.

5. Andrews and Mookerjee, 70-1.

6. Heber, m. 360.

7. Works, 472.

8. Ibid, 474.

9. B.N. Banerji, HI. 236-7.

10. Ibid, H. 44-5,

11. Griffiths, 245.

12. B.N. Banei^i, HI. 9-10.

13. Ibid, I. 42.

14. B. Majumdar, 81-2.

15. Ibid, 82.

16. Ibid, 79-80.

17. Ibid, 83.

18. Ibid, 86.

19. Ibid, 107-8.

20. Helevy, A History of the English People In 1815, p 448; Coupland, Wilberforce, pp. 32, 51.

21. This treatise is incorporated in the Parliamentary Papers (1831-2), Vol. Vm, App. 1, p. 3. See also, for Grant's influence, William Ward, A view of the Histor y, Life and Religion of the Hindus, Vol. HI, p. 398. The Calcutta Review (XIX, 1848, pp. 244-45) gives a fair though brief estimate of Charles Grant. See also Teignmouth, Memoir of the Life and Writing and Correspondence of Sir William Jones, p. 46.

22. See for Grant's observations, Parliamentary Papers, op. cit., p. 60.

23. Hansard, 1813, Vol. XXVI, p. 858. For Charles Grant's view see Ibid., pp. 44950, and for John Shore, see Lord Teignmouth, Considerations on the Practicability, Policy and Obligation of Communicating to the Natives of India the knowledge of Christianity (London, 1806), especially pp. 81, 101.

24. Parliamentary Papers (1831-32), IX, p. 484. See Minto's Minute dated 6 March, 1811, in Sharp Selections, pp. 19-21.

25. Parliamentary Papers (1831-32), IX, 436, Despatch to the Government of Bengal.

26. Ibid, 437.

27. Selections from Official Letters and Documents relating to the Life of Raja Rom Mohan Roy, Calcutta 1938, p. LXI.

28. Calcutta Review, XLV, 1867, p. 318.

29. Parliamentary Papers (1831-32), EX, p. 445. See also the earlier report of 1825, p. 436. Despatch to India and Bengal, 16 April, 1834, India and Bengal Despatches, I.O.R., pp. 898-914.

30. F.J. Shore, Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. I, London 1837, p. 395.

31. Spear, "Bentinck and Education", Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, No. 1, Cambridge 1938, p. 81.

32. See Bentinck MSS. (Nottingham University), Ellenborough, President, Board of Control, to Bentinck, 23 September. 1830.

33. Bentinck MSS., Astell to Bentinck, 4tn October, 1830.

34. Trevelyan, On the Education of the People of India, pp. 146-48, (Extract from a letter from the Secretary in the Persian Department, in the Committee of

Public Instruction, dated the 26th June, 1829). Parliamentary Papers, Letter in the Public Department to Bengal, 29th September, 1830, p. 497.

35. Ibid.

36. Bowring, John, The Works of Jeremy Bentham. Bentham to Col Young, 28 December, 1827, Works, Vol. X, pp. 576-8.

37. Bentham MSS., Folder No. 22, Box No. 10.

38. V.N. Datta, Evidence of Unpublished Documents on William Bentinck'i Administrative Ideas, in PJHC, XXXTV, 1958, pp. 153-57. esp. p. 155.

39. See in particular, Bentinck MSS. Dissent against letter to Supreme Govern, ment authorising British subjects to hold land in India on a lease of twentyone years.

40. Bentinck MSS. Bentinck to Metcalfe, 16 September, 1829. His bias in favruo of English is mentioned in the Calcutta Review, Vol. I, 1844, 'Lord William Bentinck-Administration'. See also Geoffrey Seed, William Bentinck and the Reform of Education, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1952, pp. 66-77.

41. Bentinck MSS., Bentinck to Mancy, 1 June, 1834.

42. V.N. Datta, Evidence of Unpublished Documents on C.E. Trevelyan's views on education. PIHRC, XXXV, Part H, 1959, pp. 77-78.

43. V.N. Datta, Evidence of Unpublished Documents of C.E Trevelyan, op. dt,

p. 80.

44. See Spear, J1H <1940), p. 104.

45. Bentinck Manuscripts, E. Ryan to Bentinck, 18th February, 1835.

46. For Macaulay's role see Percival Spear, Bentinck and Education, The Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. VI, No. 1, Cambridge 1938. See also

G.O. Trevelyan, Life of Macaulay , p. 56. Part of Macaulay's Minute is quoted hi the Appendix.

47. Duncan Forbes, The Cambridge Journal (October) 1951, p. 23. For Benthamite influence on Macaulay, see.Eric Stokes, The English: Utilitarians and India, Oxford 1959, pp. 191-2 and 320-21.

47a. Cf. O'Malley, p. 149.

47b. Orders from Home were not received until 1841.

47c. Revenue, Judicial and Legislative Committee, Miscellaneous Papers 9. (I.O. Records).

47d. In this Auckland may have been influenced by certain paragraphs of the Report of the Committee of Public Instruction for the year 1835 (See Richey, Selections, Part II, pp. 71-73), by the petition of Hindus and the memorial from the Asiatic Society.

47e. Auckland to Hobhouse, 20 June, 1836, ADD.Mss., 36473, pp. 70-8. Broughton Correspondence (British Museum).

47f. K.A. Ballahafchet, The Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol. X, No. 2,1951 (Notes and Communications), p. 224-29, In this article Mr. Ballah&tchet says that the immediate reaction of the Home Authorities to Bentinck's educational policy was decidedly hostile (p. 224), and, again on p. 225, he says that the Home Government's influence seems to have been relatively of little importance in the formation of the new educational policy. Mill's is

shown to be of little importance on the basis of the evidence that he gave before the Select Committee of the House of Commons In 1832. (See Parliamentary Papers (1831-32), IX., paras 401, 402 and 406). Mr. Ballahatchefs viewpoint is based on a draft Ttecent changes in Native Education' which was not sent to India. It is James Mill's Despatch of 1824 followed by subsequent instructions from England which for the first time swung the whole educational policy ija favour of Western knowledge against the appreciation of Oriental learning.

48. P.N. Bose, m. 157. Three important Missionary Colleges were founded during this period namely, ^ Xavier's College (1835), La Martiniere (1836) and Doveton College (1836).

49. Trevelyan, 81-3.

50. Report of the Education Commission, 1882, p. 17.

51. Ibid, 25.

52. Dodwell, 197.

53. Ritchey, Selections, 402.

54. Syed Mahmood, p. 92.

55. Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1823, p. 833.

56* Report of the Education Commission, 1882, p. 254.

57. Raleigh, H. 68.

58. Ibid, 69.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, p. 8.

62. Raleigh, H. 70.

63. Ibid, 53.

64. Ibid, 70.

65. Ibid, 31.

66. Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, p. 8.

67. Raleigh, II. 33.

68. Ibid, 41.

69. Ibid, 33.

70. Lovat-Fraser, 188-9.

71. Ibid, 189.

72. Ibid, 191.

73. Chirol, India, Old and New, 141.

74. Lovat-Fraser, 200.

75. Raleigh, H. 67.

76. Ibid, 75.

77. Lovat-Fraser, 196.

78. Ibid, 189-90.

79. Ibid, 190.

80. Ibid, 194.

81. The account that follows is largely based on W. Adam's three Reports on Vernacular Education, 1835, 1836 and 1838, Sir Thomas Munro's Minute of 10th March, 1826, M. Elphinstone's Minutes of 13th* December 1823 and 13th December 1825, Fisher's Memoir, February 7, 1827, W.D. Arnold's First Report (6th July 1857) and Second Report (25th June 1858), Captain Candy's Report on Deccan Schools, Report of A.D. Campbell, the Collector of Bellary and Sir C.T. Metcalfe (on Education in the Delhi city and territory). Adam's three reports on education contain valuable statistics and important information cm the intellectual condition of the people in

Bengal and Bihar. The investigation extended over three years. On the nature of Hindu learning see especially the following works; H.H. Wilson, "Two lectures on 'the Religious practices and Opinions of the Hindus', delivered before the University of Oxford, 1849 (especially pp. 36-37). H.H. Wilson in James Mill's * History of British India*, Vol. VHI, 1858, p. 409. William Ward, *A View of the History, Life and Religion of the Hindu. s', London (1817-29), Vol. IV, pp. 499 and 502. Dubois, * Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, (ed. H.K. Beauchamp), London, 1906, pp. 377-378. For Ram Mohan Roy's letter to Lord Amherst which throws light on Hindu learning, see Sharp, Selections from Educational Records, pp. 99-101.

81a. See pp. 17 ff.

82. The Lande Schools in the Pan jab were schools for the commercial and trading community conducted by 'Padhas' in which primarily methods of bookkeeping and systems of accounts were taught. The pupils were expected to show remarkable quickness in figures.

83. The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, II. 346.

84. Gleig, G.R., The Life of Thomas Munro, I. 61.

85. Heber 1. 391.

86. Report of the Education Commission of 1882, p. 182.

87. Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1882-3, Part I, p. 335.

88. Ibid, p. 333.

89. Gopal, S., The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon, 72.

90. Report, p. 112.

91. Ibid, 174-6.

92. Datta, K.K., Daunt of Renascent India, 72-91. Cf. also Chapter XLV, Sec. IX.

93. Monier-Williams, 325-6.

94. Progress of Eduattion in India, 1897-8 to 1901-2, pp. 298-302.

94a. The Government started a College at Patna in 1844, but it was abolished in 1847. Another effort to start a College in 1856-7 also proved a failure, in both cases due to the apathy of the people. Cf. A History of the Patna College by J.N. Sarkar and J.C. Jha (1963). *

96. Richey, Selections, II. 94.

96. Ibid, 91-2.

97. Woodrow's plan was based on the retention of the existing schools which were to be formed into circles (sometimes of 3, 4, or 5), to each of which a teacher of a higher class was appointed. Under this system of circle schools, one superior teacher visited a group of village schools in turn.

98. Report of the Indian Universities Commission , 1902, p. 5.

99. The figures are based on Census Reports and Imperial Gazetteers.

100. The Lancasterian method is the monitorial system of instruction followed by Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) of England in which advanced pupils in a school teach pupils below them.

101. K. Ballahachet, 'Social Policy and Social Change in Western India * (1817-30), pp. 248-255.

102. For educational activities in Western India, see George Smith, 'The Life of John Wilson*, London, 1878, especially pp. 47-51, 69, 74.

103. Dadabhai Naoroji was appointed Professor of JJlphinstone College and thus fulfilled the hope expressed that 'the happy period would arrive when natives of this country would be found qualified for holding them'.

104. Richey, Selections, op. cit. p. 29. This fee was estimated by Mr. J.E.D. Bethune in his Minute of 23 January, 1851.

105. See V.N. Datta, Grounds For Differences between Malcolm and Bentinck,

PIHC, 1958, p. 449. See also K. Ballahaehet, op.cit. pp. 248-52.

106. Richey, Selections, op. cit. p. 19.

107. Richey, Selections, Jervis's Minute, 24 February, 1847, p. 11.

106. Ibid, Perry's Minute, 14 April, 1847, pp. 14-16.

109. V.N. Datta, Grounds of Differences between Malcolm and Bentinck, PIHC, 1958, pp. 450-52.

110. Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, p. 5.

111. Mary Carpenter, Six Months in India, London, 1868, Vol. I, pp. 47-81.

112. Parliamentary Papers (Appendix 1), Extract of a letter, Court of Director to the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, 16 April, 1826, p. 510.

113. Richey, Selections , p. 181.

114. At first the High School and the University of Madras were synonymous, and later on, when the High School became a Collegiate Institution, it had still the designation of the University of Madras.

115. Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 19Q2, p. 5.

116. Richey, Selections, p. 49.

117. Ibid, 228.

118. A number of villages were linked together in a Halka or circle, and a central school under a trained' teacher was established within reach of every

village, the expense being met by a local cess of 1 per cent, of the land revenue, nominally voluntary. Selection of the village was guided by considerations of geographical situation.

119. Richey, Selections, 266-7.

120. Ibid, 267-8.

121. Ibid, 259.

122. Ibid, 265.

123. Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, p. 5.

124. Richey, Selections, p. 281.

125. Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902, p. 5.

126. There is an Interesting account of the aims and objects of the Chiefs Colleges in Curzon's speeches. See Raleigh, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 255-64 (speech delivered at Daly College at Indore), pp. 265-70 (speech delivered at Rajkumar College, Rajkot), and pp. 284-89 (speech delivered at Mayo College, Ajmer).

127. Report of the Education Commission of 1882, p. 484.

128. Syed Mahmood, 149.

129. Ibid, 175.

130. For further details of Syed Ahmad, Cf. Chapter XLVT.

131. Syed Mahmood, 168.

132. Ibid, 186.

133. Progress of Education in India, 1897-8 to 1901-2, p. 372.

134. Bentinck (RI), pp. 150-57.

CHAPTER III (XLI)

IMPACT OF WESTERN CULTURE

The introduction of English education broke the barrier which had hitherto effectively shut India from the Western world. The great Muslim scholar, Al-Blrunl, remarked about 1,000 A.D. that the Hindus kept themselves aloof from the, outer world and were ignorant of the arts and sciences of the West. 1 This glaring defect of the Hindus was equally evident eight hundred years later. But a great change came over them at the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D: English education opened the flood-gates of the Western ideas which almost overwhelmed them at the beginning. Fifty years of English education brought greater changes in the minds of the educated Hindus of Bengal than the previous thousand years.

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The principal reason for this is that India came into contact with Western ideas at a most opportune moment. It was the Age of the French Illumination when the spirit of rationalism and individualism dominated European thought. It proclaimed supremacy of reason over faith, of individual conscience over optside authority, and brought in its train new conceptions of social justice and political rights. A new ideology suddenly burst forth upon the static life, moulded for centuries by a fixed set of religious ideas and social conventions. It gave birth to a critical attitude towards religion and a spirit of inquiry into the origin of State and society with a view to determining their proper scope and functions.

To put it in a concrete form, the most important result of the impact of Western culture on India was the replacement of blind faith in current traditions, beliefs, and conventions—characteristic of the Medieval Age by a spirit of rationalism which seeks to inquire and argue before accepting anything. The revolt of the mind against the tyranny of dogma and traditional authorities, beliefs, and customs, is the first requisite for freedom of thought and conscience which lies at the root of progress in social, religious and political spheres of life. Indeed this is the reason why progress in all these different spheres is inter-dependent to a certain extent. In Bengal the rationalising effect of English education at first manifested itself more in religious and social ideas, but it was not long before it profoundly affected also the political consciousness of the people. The Brahma Samaj was the outcome of the first, and it has often been claimed that it has contributed largely to the ideals of political freedom. 2 It would perhaps be more correct to say that both are the results of the same rationalistic urge which was created by Western culture. In any case, it is impossible to deny that these movements were linked together to a certain extent, and it is therefore necessary to give some account of the transformation of social and religious ideas before we go into details of the evolution of political ideas.

It was almost inevitable that the first effect of free thinking on the immature minds, of the young men who drank deep into the English literature would be more destructive than constructive, particularly in social and religious matters. The challenge of rationality is almost sure to generate, first of all, a deliberate revolt against beliefs and practices which rest solely upon the sanction of ages, unsupported by reason or argument. That was undoubtedly the case with the English-educated youth of Bengal. The evils that followed were much exaggerated at the time, because they gave a rude shock to the orthodox people, and created a vague alarm in their minds about the total wreck of the general framework of Hindu society which they held so dear. We find pointed references to it in eight letters, 3 published in Bengali periodicals between November 6, 1830, and October 22, 1831. One gentleman laments “that his boy, educated in the Hindu College, has given up the old dress and customs. He dresses his hair, wears English type of shoes, does not put a garland round his neck, eats before taking bath, and neglects other rules of ceremonial purity”. More serious is the charge made by another, that when he took his son, also a student of the Hindu College, to the temple of goddess Kali at Kalighat, the boy, instead of prostrating himself before the deity, like others, simply accosted her by saying, “Good morning, madam”. 3 * Among other complaints may be mentioned the habit of talking and writing letters in English, signing names with English initials, neglecting useful information or knowledge of India while concentrating on Europe, and holding the views of atheists like Charvaka.

It is known from other sources also that a section of boys of the Hindu College gave up old religious ideas and social customs and deliberately adopted practices most offensive to Hindu sentiments, such as drinking wine, eating beef etc. There was a general outcry and, according to a Bengali Weekly of April 30, 1831, nearly 200 boys out of 450 or 460 left the college. 4 Derozio’s teaching was supposed to be at the root of all evils, and he was dismissed from service. Some correspondents suggested that the authorities of the Hindu College should issue definite orders to the teachers and students that unless they adhere strictly to the ancestral customs and beliefs they should be expelled from the college.' 6 Others suggested that the Government should authorize the Magistrates to. punish those who do not observe the orthodox rules and practices. 6

But the defenders of the Hindu College were, also not wanting. They pointed out that many young men used to violate social customs even before the establishment of the Hindu College and were guilty of other moral lapses from which the boys receiving English education were comparatively free. Thus one correspondent refers pointedly to the habits of drinking and keeping Muslim mistresses, freely indulged in by the rich Hindu young men, and their participation in various types of bad associations, long before the establishment of the Hindu college. He referred in particular to the lurid picture of society drawn in a book entitled Navab&bu-vilasa, which fortunately is still available. 7 Another writer points out that out of four or five hundred boys reading in Hindu College and Missionary schools, only about thirty or forty have given up religious beliefs or violated social customs. 8

Even long after 1831 A.D., when the above letters were written, some of the evils complained of continued in full force. Rajnarayan Basu, the Father of Nationalism in Bengal, throws interesting light on this in his autobiography. Along with his friends he used to take forbidden meat and wine in the park facing the present university buildings and was forced to leave the Hindu College in 1844 on account of illness caused by excessive drinking. He remarks that in those days the students of the Hindu College looked upon drinking as a mark of civilization and found nothing wrong in it. The young men of the preceding generation, said he, did not drink, but were addicted to other evils such as visiting prostitutes, taking intoxicants like ganja and char as, and indulged in bullml-fight and gambling over kite-flying. Hindu College students were free from these, and would not have taken to drinking wine if they had not regarded it as a badge of civilization. 9 It is interesting to note that Rajn§rayan*s father asked his son to join with him in taking food cooked by Muslims and drinking moderately in his presence, in order to cure the habit of excessive drinking. 10

There is no denying the fact that the English education brought about a great change in social and religious outlook. The extent to which it was healthy and good for national life, or was instrumental In demoralizing or denationalizing the people, is a matter of opinion and a subject of dispute, to which reference will be made in a subsequent chapter. For the present it is necessary to examine the positive

contributions of this education to the national welfare, which are often lost sight of.

As noted above, the first and foremost positive effect is that it instilled into the minds of Indians a spirit of rational inquiry into the basis of their religion and society. This spirit is typified by the personality of Raja Rammohan Roy and led to the foundation of Brahma Samaj. The Raja challeh&ed the current religious beliefs and social practices of the Hindus as not being In consonance with their own scriptures. 11 He tried to show that the belief in a multiplicity of divinities and worship of images, which formed the essence of the current and popular Hindu religion, was opposed to the teaching of the Vedas. How far his views are historically correct, or morally sound, is a matter of secondary importance. What really matters is his open and public protest against the blind acceptance of whatever passed current on the authority of priesthood or its interpretation of scriptures. The standard of revolt he thus raised against the medieval tyranny of dogmas unleashed forces which created what may be called Modern India and makes him worthy to rank by the side of Bacon and Luther. “The first assumption of Raja Rammohan Roy is that there is a universal reason at work in nature and in society, and that religions in their pure and pristine form are the expression of that reason in man. The task of reason today is to disentangle the elements of permanent and universal truth in each faith from the mass of accretions which has gathered round them and to return to them as the basis of our religious life”. 12

How much the Hindu society needed this element of reason to overcome the tyranny of gross superstition is illustrated by the practice of sati or burning of widows along with the dead bodies of their husbands. This inhuman practice, though widely prevalent, hardly shocked the sensibilities of any, and when Rammohan and others protested against this cruel custom, quite a large number of educated and respectable Hindus came forward to defend it till the very last.

Rammohan assailed the strongest part of the citadel of Hindu religion and society. He opposed the worship of images of gods and goddesses, denounced sati 9 polygamy, and abuses of the caste system, favoured re-marriage of Hindu widows, and set at naught the prohibition of crossing the sea by his voyage to England. By these successive shocks he galvanised the dormant Hindu society and set in motion that liberalism in thought and action which has enabled it to shake off the fetters of ages.

But “the Raja’s movement could hardly be called a movement of religious and social revolt . While claiming the right of private judgment in the interpretation of ancient scriptures, the Raja never repudiated their authority; nor did he, while seeking to assert the right of individual conscience to determine for itself what was right or wrong, ever repudiate the authority of that social conscience which spoke through ancient social laws and sanctified social traditions. He tried really to reconcile individual reason with ancient scriptures and individual conscience with social authority/' 13

Devendra-nath Tagore, who succeeded Rammohan as the head of the Brahma Samaj, “proclaimed the supremacy of human reason, which was in its original intuitions really the Eternal Light of God reflected through the mind of man, over all scriptures and hallowed injunctions.” Keshab-chandra Sen, who followed him, “carried this protest still further and proclaimed the absolute supremacy of the individual conscience over every form of outside authority in the determination of human conduct, either of scriptures or traditions or customs, however immemorial or sanctified these may be. Debendra Nath gave us a new faith that sought to make us free in spirit; Keshub Chunder gave us a new moral test that made us free from all social bondage. Raja Rammohan Roy proclaimed the Unity of the Godhead to a people who believed, against the teachings of their highest scriptures, in a multiplicity of gods. Debendra Nath proclaimed the freedom of our reason from the bondage of aftcient scriptural authority. Keshub Chunder proclaimed the absolute freedom of the individual conscience from the bondage of caste and customs. The Raja’s was not, strictly speaking, a movement of active revolt; Debendra Nath’s was really a movement of religious revolt; Keshub Chunder’s, representing the third stage in the evolution of the Brahma Samaj, was a movement of social revolt. In this way, step by step, the freedom movement in modern India grew and developed, becoming larger and larger under the inspiration of the Brahma Samaj.” 14

Although the Brahma Samaj was the visible embodiment of the new spirit, it never became a powerful movement. It began to dwindle in importance in less than half a century after its foundation, and the number of its members is not at present more than five thousand. Its history will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The impact of Western culture on Hinduism has been described as follows by one of its greatest philosophers:

“The spread of western education and ideals stimulated movements within Hinduism designed to preserve its essential principles and at the same time to remove excrescences which were opposed not only to the spirit of Hinduism but also to the ideals spread by

western culture. What is the spirit of Hinduism? What are its essential principles? The spirit of science is not dogmatic certainty but the disinterested pursuit of truth, and Hinduism is infused by the same spirit. Fixed intellectual beliefs mark off one religion from another, but Hinduism sets itself no such limits. It is comprehensive and synthetic, seeking unity not in a common creed but in a common quest for truth. Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought. It insists not on religious conformity but on a spiritual and ethical outlook in life. It is fellowship of all who accept the law of right and earnestly seek for the truth." 16

This is quite true. The Brahma Samaj has perhaps lost a great deal of its force and vitality by formulating a religious creed, with fixed intellectual beliefs, outside the pale of Hinduism, though its social separation as a community was perhaps less a choice than a necessity. 16 But be that as it may, the Brahma Samaj has effectively helped the progress of Hindu society; first, by stemming the tide of conversion to Christianity; secondly, by holding a living example of society based on progressive and liberal Views; and thirdly, by supplying eminent persons who advanced liberal ideas in other spheres of life such as politics. This last point requires some elaboration.

It is not a mere accident that Raja Rammohan Roy who introduced rationalistic principles in social and religious ideas, was also the pioneer of political reforms in modern India. Human mind is a composite whole, and it is quite natural that if it is actuated by liberal and rational ideas in one sphere of life, it would follow the same tendency in other spheres as well. The spirit which revolts at the tyranny of priesthood is more likely to raise its voice of protest also against the oppression of the State;—the mind which does not accept the religious and social abuses, simply because they are current and followed without question, is less likely to accept, without demur, the evils of subjection to an alien power on the ground of long-standing tradition of loyalty, rendered possible by lack of political consciousness. Further, even those who were not bold or strong enough to follow in actual life rational principles in social and religious spheres for fear of the extreme violence of the inevitable reaction, were inspired by these environments to hold advanced ideas in political life,—which were less likely, at that time, to involve him in immediate troubles. In any case there is hardly any doubt that the liberal movements for religious and social reform are closely connected with the movement for political emancipation. "It is impossible to understand I ndi an political aspirations and activities if one divorces them from that nation's great nett spiritual urge towards Truth and Justice—aye, and Love—of which the one

and the other alike are but outward manifestations". 17 The truth of this remark, apparent at almost every stage of national evolution in India, comes to the fore by the study of such notable personalities as Raja Rammchan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Swami Vivekananda, and Mahatma Gandhi. The Renascence of India like her great Banyan tree, threw numerous shoots, which might appear as separate, but had all a common root.

Life in India, more than in any other country, is dominated by religious and spiritual forces. To minimise the influence of these forces in political and national evolution is to lose the correct perspective. The impact of rational ideas on our-religion no doubt proc iced some evil consequences at the beginning. But they were transitory in character like a high tidal wave and soon passed away, leaving rich deposits of fertilising soil. A great philosopher of India has drawn a very lucid and correct picture in the following lines: "With the growth of the British power the old order weakened and the confidence of Indians in their own culture diminished. Many were dazzled by the civilization of the West, which seemed to be better adapted for the acquisition of temporal power. A few were so enchanted by it that they took to western culture with the enthusiasm of neophytes and endeavoured to westernize themselves completely; some became Christians. Proclaiming the futility and worthlessness of India's social and religious institutions, they wished to rebuild the structure of national life on new foundations. Not so the great majority. In the Mughal period those who wished to take service under the Mughals acquired a knowledge of Persian, but such an acquisition did not make them less Indian or more attached to the religion of their rulers. So now the classes educated in English did not, as a rule, give up their traditional ways of life and habits of mind, but used western learning for improving their own culture and adapting it to the new impulses created by contact with the west". 18

So far we have indicated, in a general way, the nature of the impact of the West on India and the consequent changes it wrought upon the social, religious, and political ideas. If we analyze the progress of Indian people during the nineteenth century, it will appear that there was hardly any aspect of life and society which was not deeply affected by the impact. Side by side with the rise of new religious sects, we find a profound change in the orthodox Hindu religion. There was a persistent demand for the removal of social abuses and the introduction of social reforms on modem lines. The ideals and method of education underwent a revolutionary change. Equally revolutionary was the change brought into the domain of literature, and modern Indian literatures in spoken languages in

different localities had their birth. The periodical literature was an innovation with far-reaching consequences. The printing press made an epoch-making change in the spread of education among the people. All these factors combined to generate among the Indians a strong sense of patriotism and nationalism which had hitherto been lacking. All these, which will be discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters* transformed India from the Medieval to the Modern Age. The nineteenth century was the great dividing line, and these hundred years changed the face of India far more than did the preceding thousand years. This gives a measure of the effect of Western impact on India.

1. See above, Vol. V, p. 127.

2. B.C. Pal—II, 14 ff., 66.

3. B.N. B&nerji, H. 165-76.

3a. Ibid, 171.

4. Ibid, II. 13, 27; m. 199.

5. Ibid, H. 172.

6. Ibid, H. 171.

7. Ibid, H. 167-8.

8. Ibid, H. 169.

9. Atmacharit (autobiography) of Rajnarayan BasU, p. 45.

10. Ibid, 47.

11. The Raja was influenced both by Western ideas and Muslim theology. But that his teachings were widely accepted was undoubtedly due to Western influence alone.

12. Buch—I, 65.

13. B.G. Pal—II, 17.

14. Ibid, 25-6.

15. O'Malley—I, 339.

16. Cf. the opinion of M.G. Ranade on this subject quoted in Chapter VII.

17. Zacharies, 15.

18. O'Malley—I, 338-9.

CHAPTER IV (XUI)

NEW RELIGIOUS IDEAS

i

I. THE BRAHMA SAMAJ.

1. Rammohan Roy

Reference has been made above to the rationalistic ideas of Raja Rammohan Roy which ultimately led to the establishment of Brahma Samaj as a separate religious and social community. Rammohan Roy never regarded himself as the founder of a separate sect or society, but lived and died as a reformed Hindu, wearing its most prominent symbol, the sacred cord (yajriopavita), till the last day of his life.

Of the early life of Rammohan Roy we know very little that is certain. He was born, probably, in 1774[1] in an orthodox and wealthy Brahman family, at the village of Radhanagar, Burdwan District, in West Bengal. He studied Persian and Arabic at Patna and this had enormous influence on his subsequent life. The Muslim culture and philosophy, particularly the Sufi ideas, got a strong hold upon him. His habits and tastes were those of a Muhammadan. He wore Muhammadan dress and took Muslim dishes even at home. Probably, as a result of the study of the original Q'uran in Arabic, he became convinced of the errors of worshipping images of gods. It is said that so deep was this conviction in his mind, that shortly after his return from Patna, while he was about sixteen or seventeen, he wrote a treatise calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindus in which he had been brought up. His father, after a hot discussion with him on this subject, drove him out of his house. Rammohan then led a wandering life for three or four years, in course of which he is believed to have visited Tibet. After his return he settled down at Varanasi (Banaras) and studied Sanskrit language and sacred literature of the Hindus.[2] On the death of his father in 1803, Rammohan moved to Murshidfibad and wrote a Persian treatise entitled TuhfaUuUMuwahhidin, or "A Gift to Monotheists", "a work protesting against the idolatries and superstitions of all creeds and trying to lay a common foundation of Universal Religion in the doctrine of the Unity of the Godhead". 3

From 1805 to 1814 R&mmohan was in close touch with Mr. John Digby, a covenanted servant of the East India Company. Twice

during this period Rfimmohan was employed in the Company's service for short terms under Mr. Digby. The second time he was officiating Dewan under Digby, who was then the Collector of Bangpur. After serving in this capacity from December 1809 to March 1811, he had to leave the service as he was not made permanent in spite of the strong recommendations of Mr. Digby. But Rfimmohan continued to stay in R&ngpur, being privately employed by Mr. Digby. 4

"The period of his residence at Bftngpur (1809-1814) was a fruitful one. On the one hand, during his residence there, he improved his own mind by acquiring varied knowledge, and, on the other, by holding discussion-meetings with representative men of various sects, such as Hindus, Mahomedahs and Jainas, he tried to disseminate his principles among all classes of people. In addition to a knowledge of the old Vedantic literature of the country, he is said to have made a careful study of modern Tantric works with the aid of Harihara nanda TtrthaswimI, a Bengali Tantric mendicant whose acquaintance he made there, and also to have mastered the contents of the Kalpa Sutra and other works of the Jaina religion. Something like an informal club used to meet every evening at his residence, which attracted all classes of people and gave rise to earnest discussions on various religious topics.

"In the midst of his arduous duties and his frequent discussionmeetings, Rammohan Roy found time to improve his knowledge of English by private study commenced in his twenty-second year. It is also stated by Mr. Digby that, with the progress of his knowledge of the English language, Rammohan Roy began to take, while at Bangpur, a keen interest in European politics, specially in the course of the French Revolution." 6

In 1814 Rfimmohan retired from service and after some time settled down in Calcutta. 6 Here he came into contact with a number of persons whose minds were influenced by the Western education and who therefore fully sympathized with his rationalistic views and principles. With their co-operation Rfimmohan founded, in 1815, the Atmiya Sabha, which held weekly meetings for propagating the monotheistic doctrines of the Hindu scriptures. In a famous debate on idol-worship in 1819 RSmmohan vanquished Subrahmanya &astri, an erudite Brahmin of Madras. In 1825 he established the Vedfinta College for teaching the monotheistic doctrines of the Vedfinta “as a means for leading his countrymen into pure and elevated theism”.

Rammohan also turned his attention to the publication of tracts. “During the course of his researches into the domain of Sanskrit literature, Rammohan Roy was struck by the purity of the monotheistic doctrines of the Upanishads, and at once decided to publish some of them with his preface and translations. This he considered to be most effective means of rousing his countrymen to a sense of the superiority of the monotheistic creed. Nor were his expectations disappoined. Their publication soon produced an intense and wide-spread agitation in Indian society, the like of which had seldom been witnessed in Bengal.” 7

Rammohan says in his autobiographical sketch: 8

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“After my father's death I opposed the advocates of idolatry with still greater boldness. Availing, myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages. This raised such a feeling against me, that I was at last deserted by every person except two or three Scotch friends, to whom, and the nation* to which they belong, I always feel grateful.” Deserted by his friends and relatives Rammohan carried the fight single-handed. In 1820 he published the book entitled The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness, embodying the moral and spiritual precepts of Jesus without the narratives of the miracles. It called forth hostile criticism from the Baptist missionaries of Serampore and “gave rise to a controversy which finally turned upon the doctrine of Trinity, and Rammohun Roy successively published three Appeals to the Christian public , the last appearing in 1823, in which, by a rare display of polemical skill, as well as of profound Biblical learning, he tried to uphold his favourite doctrine of the unity of the Godhead. It is evident that during the course of his researches into the Christian scriptures he had not confined himself to the English rendering of the Bible alone, but had acquired Hebrew and Greek in order to be able to refer to the originals”. 0 It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the keen and protracted controversy between Rammohan and the orthodox Christians. The conversion of a Baptist missionary, Mr. William Adam, to the Unitarian principles of RSmmohan embittered the controversy and led to the foundation of a Unitarian Mission in Calcutta by their joint endeavour.

Far more important was the foundation of the Brahma Saml&j.

“There are two accounts current about the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj. One is, that seeing the failure of his Unitarian Mission Mr. Adam himself suggested it as a substitute; the other is that one day while Rammohun Roy was returning home in his carriage from the service of Mr. Adam, his young disciples Tarachand Chakravarti and Chandra Sekhar Dev, who were with him, complained of the necessity of attending a Unitarian place of worship,

in the absence of one entirely suited to their views and principles. Rammohun Roy took this complaint to heart, and forthwith proceeded to call a meeting of his friends, at which it was decided to open a place for the unsectarian worship of the One True God. Many of Ibis rich friends came forward to meet the expenses, and a house was rented to accommodate the first theistic congregation. Here on the 6th of Bhadra, Sakabda Era 1750, corresponding to the 20th of August, 1828, the first Samaj was opened with Tarachand Chakravarti as its Secretary. Meetings of the Samaj were held every Saturday evening and the following order of service was observed:—Two Telugu Brahmins used to recite the Vedas in a sideroom, screened from the view of the congregation, where non-Brahmins would not be admitted.” 10 The Sanskrit texts of the Upanishads were read and translated into Bengali, and sermons were preached or read. This Samaj was also known as the Brahma Sabha or the “One God Society”. 104 The wrath of the orthodox community knew no bounds and their hostility was further increased by the abolition of the Satx rite in 1829 as Rammohan was closely associated with the agitation against this cruel rite.

The Brahma Samaj began to attract gradually increasing numbers from the educated middle class, though there were perhaps more sympathisers than formal members. But Rammohan and others raised sufficient funds for purchasing a house for the Brahma Sam&j before the end of the year 1829. All this provoked the orthodox Hindu community to organize a rival association called Dharma Sabha. Its secretary and guiding spirit was Radhakanta Dev, the recognized leader of the orthodox Hindu community in Calcutta. The two associations had two daily papers as their organs—the Sambada-kaumudi and the Samdchdra-chandrikd —which poured forth abuses on each other, and the whole of Calcutta was strongly agitated over the rise of the reformist party under Rfimmohan Roy., People of all classes, castes, and shades of opinion took part in the great controversy, and the number was certainly against K&mmohan, who had more than a fair share of abuses and ridicule, and even threats of personal violence. The agitation gradually spread into the interior and the entire Hindu society was convulsed in a manner to which there was no parallel within living memory.

In the midst of this country-wide agitation Rammohan opened his Church on the 11th Magh, the 23rd of January, 1830, before a gathering of 500, and placed it in the hands of a few trustees. In a manifesto, which formed part of the trust-deed, it was clearly laid down that the building could be used by anyone for “the worship and adoration of the otie Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Beings who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe, but not under or by any other name, designation or title”, and no image or picture should be admitted. The new church was, therefore, not intended by the Raja as special property of any particular sect but “a meeting ground of all sects for the worship of One True God”, 11 bis one and ultimate object being, to. ‘revive monotheism in India on the basis of the Vedanta*. As Siva-nath Sastri says, “the mission of Rammohan Roy was simple, namely to call his countrymen to discard idolatry and come to the worship of the One True God. His work was mainly negative and reformatory and not positive or constructive'*. 12

% Devendra-n&th Tagore

The newly formed Brahma Samaj, latterly known as the "Calcutta Brahmo Samaj") was reduced to a moribund condition after the death of Rammohan Roy in 1833. It was somehow kept up by the joint efforts of Dwaraka-nath Tagore who supplied the necessary fund, which was very small, and Pandit Ram-chandra Vidy&b&gish who conducted the weekly service and ministered to the spiritual needs of those few who cared to attend it.

New life was infused into the church by the eldest son of Dwaraka-nath Tagore, named Devendra-nath Tagore, who had come into contact with Rammohan. He was converted to the new faith in 1838, and next year established a Society, known later as Tattvabodhinl Sabha, which attracted a large number of rich and influential men. He was soon struck by the miserable condition of Brahma Samaj. The doctrine of Rama's incarnation was being preached from the pulpit. "Most of'those who attended the services were idolators at home. There was no organisation, no constitution, no membership, no covenant, no pledge." 13 Devendra-n&th framed a covenant for the church on the lines laid down by R&mmohan and each devotee, who accepted it, had to declare that he would conform to the rules of the religious life laid down by the Vedanta and worship God daily by the Q&yatrt-vrvoLntra. In 1843, Devendra-nfith, with twenty associates, took formal initiation at the hands of R&mchandra Vidy&bagSsh and signed the covenant. This was a memorable event, being the first step so far taken towards converting the Bn&hma Samaj into a distinct spiritual fraternity. It is to be noted, however, that the mode of initiation adopted by Devendra-n&th was strictly in accordance with the injunctions of the Mah&nirv&na Tantra.

The church now entered upon a career of useful activity, and the TattvabodhinI Sabha served as its missionary organization. Many

of the works of Rammohan Roy were republished and a monthly journal, called the Tattwbodhim Patrikd, was started under the editorsrip of Akshay-kum&r Datta. A number of preachers were employed for propaganda in mofussil, and many Scim&jas sprang up in provincial towns. A school was also established for the religious instruction of young men.

In course of a controversy with the Christians (in 1845) the Vedas were publicly proclaimed as the basis of the religion of the Brahma Sanaaj, which was held up as Vedfintism. Prominence was also given to the doctrine of ‘infallibility of the Vedas.’ This was not liked by a strong section, headed by Akshay-kumar Datta whose “rationalistic nature found it difficult to reconcile itself to that doctrine.” 14 In order to reconcile the differences, four Brahmaga youths were sent to Banaras in 1845 to study the Vedas and in 1847 Devendra-nSth himself went there to form a correct idea of the teachings of the Vedas. As a result of these studies and investigations the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas was given up, but Devendra-nath decided to keep the movement as much as possible on the old lines of reverence for the ancient Hindu scriptures. Accordingly he made a compilation of passages from Upanishads, inculcating the truth of Monotheism. He also laid down certain fundamental principles of Natural Theism and framed a new covenant consistent with the principles of Natural and Universal Theism, in the place of the old Vedantic covenant. All these took place between 1847 and 1850.

3. Keshab-chandra Sen

The period between 1850 and 1856 witnessed a tendency amongst the younger members “not only to broaden the basis of BrShmaism by advocating new social ideals but also to apply the dry light of reason even to the. fundamental articles of religious belief. They advocated female education, supported widow-remarriage, cried down intemperance,denounced polygamy, tried to rationalise Brfihma doctrines and sought to conduct the affairs of the church on strictly constitutional principles.” 14 *

To this class belonged Keshab-chandra Sen who joined the SamSj in 1857, became a wholetime missionary of the Sam&j in 1861, and was elevated to the position of the Acharya or the Chief Minister in 1862. He formed the Sangat Sabhft and infused new life into the Samfij. An active spirit of social reform was shown by celebrating inter-caste marriages and various other unorthodox practices. It was mainly due to the personality of Keshabchandra that the Brfihma SamSj gained in strength and number. There were only six Brfihmasin 1829 , 100 in 1839 , 500 in 1849 and 2,000 in 1864 . 15 .- But the advanced ideas of active social reforms, such as the inter^caste marriage, widow-remarriag^ removal of purdah for women, etc. were not liked by the older section. All this led to an open conflict between the older and younger sections which was brought to a head by the protest of the younger section against the custom of allowing Brahma$as with sacred thread to occupy the pulpit. 16 Although Devendra-nath at first agreed to their demand, he was ultimately induced by the older party ‘not to be drawn away from the old Hindu lines laid down by BIjfi Rammohan Roy’. This created a definite split between the two sections. Keshabchandra Sen had already organised a Brahma Pratinidhi Sabh£ (Representative Assembly). He and his followers now seceded from the old party led by Devendra-nfith and formed a new organization, called “The Brfihma Samfcj of India”, towards the end of 1888. Shortly after this schism Devendra-nSth retired from active participation in the Work of the Adi Brfihma Samaj (as thie older organization was called), and Rajn&rflyan Bose became its President.

In reply to the assertion of the Adi BrShma Samaj of Devendranath that BrShmaism is Hinduism, the young reformers under Keshab maintained that “Brahmoism is catholic and universal”, and declared that the renunciation of caste was, as essential to Brfihmaism as the renunciation of idolatry. These were the two main issues upon which the two sections parted, to the ultimate detriment of both.

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Keshab brought to the BrShma SamSj a dynamic force which it never possessed before. He had a striking personality; showed ceaseless activity, was marked by a high degree of piety and sincerity and, above all, possessed wonderful oratorical abilities. He made Brfihmaism a real force all over Bengal and was the first to inaugurate an all-India movement of religious and social reforms. He made a missionary tour to Bombay (1884), Madras (1884) and NorthWestern Provinces (1868). He and his followers carried the message of Brahma SamSj all over India, and Brflhma congregations were established in many intellectual centres in India, sometimes under different names as Pr§rthan& Samaj in Bombay, and Veda Samfej (later called Brihma Sam&j) in Madras. It is interesting to note that this was the first all-India movement, which was a precursor of a similar movement undertaken a few years later by another Bengali, Surendra-n$th Banerji. But while Siirendra-nRth worked for political reforms, Keshab's object was limited to religious reforms based on personal liberty and social equality and emancipation. As noted above, this might have indirectly influenced the ideas of political liberty. But Keshab deliberately eschewed politics; he and his followers "openly proclaimed loyalty to the British Government as an article of the. creed of his Church". 17 This no doubt endeared him to the British Government which was ready to encourage freedom of thought, ideas of social reforms on modem lines, and even social revolt, so long as these did not touch upon the dangerous ground of politics. So Keshab was lionised both in India and England and was openly hailed as a deliverer of his people by Lord Lawrence, the Viceroy. 18 Keshab's annual addresses at the Town Hall were attended by the highest officials. 19 At his request the Government of India passed a special legislation for legalising Brahma marriages which were not valid in the eyes of Hindu law as the idol of BSlagram was not present during the ceremony and caste-rules were not followed in selecting brides for bridegrooms.

The new legislation, called the Native Marriage Act, popularly known as the Civil Marriage Act, was passed in 1872. It was applicable to anyone who declared: "I am not a Hindu, not a Mussalman, not a Christian". The Bill was originally called 'Brahmo Marriage Bill*, but the Adi Brahma Samaj lodged a protest on the ground that, they still regarded themselves as Hindus. Though the Act authorized unorthodox marriages, not sanctioned by Hindu scriptures and performed in violation of the restrictions imposed by them, it imposed certain new restraints upon those who sought to take advantage of it. Monogamy was made obligatory and the minimum age for the bridegroom and bride was fixed, respectively, at 18 and 14. The Act facilitated the sweeping social reforms, particularly the abolition of caste distinctions, advocated by Keshab, and was justly regarded as a great personal triumph by his followers. But the passing of the Act was strongly resented by the Hindus and gave an impetus to the Hindu Revivalist Movement to which reference will be made later.

Under the inspiration and leadership of Keshab-chandra Sen the Br&hma Sam&j launched a comprehensive programme of social reforms which formed a vital aspect of Indian Renaissance. Some idea of these may be formed from the “Indian Reform Association” which was founded by Keshab on his return from England in 1870. The programme of the Association was carried through five sections, each with a Secretary of its own. These sections were:

1. Female improvement; 2. Education of the Working Classes. 3. Cheap Literature. 4. Temperance. 5. Charity.

The item of cheap literature included the publication of the Sulabh Samdchdr , a weekly paper priced at one pice each issue. It was a new venture and soon became very popular.

The education of women was put in the forefront of the programme of social reforms from beginning to end. In 1863 Keshab started an organization for educating female'members at home. Another association was started in the same year for publishing books and journals and holding essay competition for the same purpose. Several other associations were established by Keshab or other members of the Brahman Samaj for the uplift of women.

While the orthodox Hindu society did not look favourably upon the Brahma Samaj for discarding image worship, it imbibed, slowly but steadily^ the spirit of social reform inaugurated by it, and almost all its items were gradually adopted by the Hindus. Regarding education of women and the raising of their marriageable age the progress achieved by the Hindus far exceeded the wildest dreams of the social reformers of the Brahma Samaj. The remarriage of widows was accepted by the Hindu society as valid, though it was not much in vogue during the period under review. Polygamy also steadily declined. 19 *

Keshab-chandra Sen raised the Brahma Samaj to the height of its power by his personal magnetism and radical views. But it is a well-known fact in history that revolution, whether political or religious, gathers momentum as it proceeds, and what was radicalism at one stage becomes moderation itself at the next. So, in course of a few years, younger men with still more radical views challenged the authority of Keshab and deserted him as he had himself deserted Devendra-nath. The crisis was precipitated by the marriage of the eldest daughter of Keshab with the minor ruler of Cooch Behar. Neither the bridegroom nor the bride had attained the minimum marriageable age as laid down by the Brahma Samaj and incorporated in the Native Marriage Act of 1872. Further, the marriage ceremony was performed by the Brahmana priests according to the Hindu rites in the presence of the images of Hindu deities, and the BrShma form of prayer was not followed. There was a great outcry at this open violation of the fundamental principles of Brahmaism by the leader himsellf. After a painful controversy and ignoble squabbles, there was a second split or secession, and a younger section led by Biva-nath Sastrf, Ananda-mohan Bose and others founded the ‘Sadharan Brahma Samaj* on 15 May, 1878. The remnants of all the three bodies—Adi (original) Brahma Samaj, the Brahma Samaj of India, and the Sfidharan (common) Brahma Sam&j—still exist, but the first two are in a moribund condition. Even the third is in a decadent state and the Brahma SamSj movement is now a spent force. The total number of its members is probably less than five thousand. As a writer, himself once a Brfihma Missionary, has remarked: *Tt has become a kind of backwater of religious and

communal life, separated by its own sense of self-satisfied superiority from the main currents of national life, which flows past it with a power and rapidity, which it can neither appreciate nor evert understand”.? 0

Although the observation is substantially correct, it does not contain the whole truth. It ignores the rich legacy which the Brfihma Samfij has bequeathed to the Hindus. Not only the rationalistic spirit and freedom of individual conscience on which the Brahma Samfij was founded, but most of its social ideas and a great deal of its moral and religious precepts have been imbibed by the Hindus.

Brahmaism must ever remain an important episode in the history of India. Apart from specially emphasizing the social and personal freedom which was bound to evoke the sense and value of political freedom, Keshab-chandra Sen indirectly contributed to the growth of nationalism in several other ways. The great respect which he commanded among all sections in India, including "Europeans and Christian missionaries, and the honours heaped upon him during his visit to England, increased the self-confidence of the Indians and helped the growth of Indian nationalism as will be stated more fully in Chapter Xni. A larger number of individual ipembers of the Brfihma Samfij also made valuable contributions to India’s struggle for political freedom.

H. THE PRARTHANA SAMAJ

As mentioned above, the tour of Keshab-chandra Sen led to the foundation of the Prarthana Samfij (Prayer Society) in Bombay. Keshab first visited Bombay in 1864 and the Prarthanfi Samfij was inaugurated in 1867, its leader being Dr. Afmarfim Pandurang (1823-1898). In 1868 Keshab visited Bombay again and strengthened the organization. Two years later, R. G. Bhandarkar and M. G. Ranade joined the Samfij and infused new strength in it.

The two main planks of the Samfij were theistic worship and so^ cial reform. It did not produce any new philosophy and literature, nor had much missionary activity. As Ranade wrote, the Samfij seemed to have been “perfectly satisfied with a creed which consists of only one positive belief in the unity of God, accompanied with a special protest against the existing corruption of Hindu religion, viz. the article which denounces the prevalent idolatry to be a sin, and an abomination”. 21 Ranade himself tried to give the Samfij a more comprehensive meaning and philosophic basis, and his essay entitled “Theist's Confession of Faith” 22 was an attempt in that direction.

The greatest service of the Samfij, or rather of its individual members, was the organization of social reform movement. The Samaj laid special stress on the abandonment of caste, introduction of widow remarriage, encouragement of female education, and the abolition, of purdah and child marriage. The principles of social reform enunciated by Ranade himself will be discussed in chapter Vn (XLV).

Broadly speaking, the PrSrthanfi Samaj subscribes to the beliefs of the Sadharan Brthma Samaj. Although their theism is derived from Hinduism they do not regard the Veda as divine or infallible, nor believe in the doctrine of transmigration and incarnation of God. Nevertheless, the Prarthana Samaj had some characteristics which distinguished it from the Brahma Samfij. As Miss. S. D. Collet wrote in her Brahma Year Book in 1880, the Pr&rthana Samaj “never detached itself so far from the Hindu element of Brahmaism as many of the Bengali Samajes, and both in religious observances and social customs, it clings far more closely to the old models”. 23 Another writer put it more bluntly: “The Prarthana Samfij may be said to be composed of men paying allegiance to Hinduism and to Hindu society with a protest. The members observe the ceremonies of Hinduism, but only, as mere ceremonies of routine, destitute of all religious significance. This much sacrifice they make to existing prejudices. Their principle, however, is not to deceive anyone as to their religious opinions, even should an honest expression of views entail unpopularity”. 24 As a matter of fact, a rigid exclusion of idolatry and a definite break from the caste system were not regarded as essential conditions of membership as was the case with the Brahma Samaj of Bengal after its secession from the Adi Brahma Samaj of Devendranath Tagore. The Prarthanfi Samaj draws its nourishment very largely from the Hindu scriptures, and uses the hymns of the old Marat ha poet-saints in its service.

The Prarthana Samaj has not spread widely. Several societies originally associated with it changed their name to Brfihma SamSj. On the other hand, the moderate views of the Prarthanfi Samfij made it popular in the Telugu country and eighteen out of the twenty-nine Brfihma Samajas in the Madras Presidency bear the name Prfirthana Samfij. 26

in. THE ARYA SAMAJ 26 1. Day&nanda Sarativati

The Brahma Samaj inspired similar or parallel movements in other parts of India. The most important of these was the Arya Samfij founded by SvfimI Dayfinanda Sarasvati in 1875.

Dayananda, known in early life as Mula Sankara, was bora in 1824, in an orthodox Brahman family living in the small town of Tahkara in the old Morvi State in Gujarat. At the age of fourteen his father took him to a temple on the Sivaiatri night in order to observe the custom of worshipping and keeping vigil the whole night. Both Dayananda's father and the priest of the temple fell asleep after midnight, but the young boy kept himself awake. Suddenly he found that a mouse crept on the image of the deity and took the offerings placed before it. This scene set the boy furiously to thinking. If the deity, thought he, could not protect himself from the impertinence of a mouse, he coiild not be &iva, the almighty God, and the image was evidently a helpless inanimate object. He awoke his father who argued with his son, but to no purpose. DaySnanda went home, broke the fast, and fell asleep before the night was over, much to the chagrin of his father and other relatives.

This episode was a turning-point in the career of the boy. He lost his faith in traditional religion and began to think for himself. Five years later died an uncle of Dayananda who loved him very much. In the spirit of the Buddha, Dayananda asked his friends and many learned men how death could be overcome. He was told in reply that the practice of yoga was the only means to salvation. Dayananda now looked upon the world and its attractions as merely transient and of no value in comparison with the bliss of salvation. When, therefore, the parents of Dayananda made arrangements for his marriage, he stealthily left home and adopted the life of an ascetic (sddhu), in order to solve the mystery of life and death and attain salvation. He was at first a brahmachdri (novitiate) but was formally initiated into ascetic life within a few years. For fifteen years, from 1845 to 1860, he wandered all over India. He practised yoga all the while; for days he ate nothing but wild fruits and for months he lived on milk only. He received his education at the feet of Swam! Birajananda. When he completed it and took leave of his guru, the latter asked him, in lieu of the payment of the usual fee, to take a pledge to devote his life to the dissemination of truth, the waging of incessant warfare against the falsehoods of the prevailing Puranic faith or orthodox Hinduism, and establishing the right method of education as was in vogue in pre-Buddhist time. He willingly gave the pledge, and it has been justly remarked that "never was any human pledge kept more loyally and faithfully".

For two years after this Dayananda preached his views at numerous public meetings. They gradually excited some interest on account of their heterodox character, and Dayfinanda was challenged to defend his point of view in a public meeting at Kfisi (Banaras). It was presided over by the MahfirajS of Banaras, and Day&nanda with a few associates were pitted against three hundred leading Hindu scholars, of that great centre of orthodox Hinduism. As could be expected, and much to the disappointment of thousands who had assembled at the meeting, the result of the disputation was inconclusive, each side claiming victory. But this public discussion made Dayananda a renowned public figure and a recognized preacher of new religious views. From this date may be counted the effective beginning of Dayananda's mission. Among other places he visited Calcutta and there was some talk of his rapprochement with the Brahma Samaj.

Although there are many points of agreement between the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj, there are also differences. The latter insists upon veneration of cow and the offer of a daily sacrifice of butter in the hearth-fire. It condemns not only polytheism but also monotheism as preached by Christianity and Islam. The Brahma Samaj was based on rationalistic movement of the West; its appeal was to the English-educated classes, and its object was to form an elite. Dayananda did not know English and he appealed to the emotion of the masses. [27]

It has been held by some that Dayananda "at first tried to come to terms with Brahma Samaj, and there was a conference in Calcutta in 1869, but it came to nothing"; he also tried to capture the Prarthani Samaj of Ahmadabad, but failed. But the Arya SamSjists put the whole thing in a different way. According to Lala Laj pat Rai the leaders of Brahma Samaj wanted to win over Dayananda to their society. [28] But the Brahma Samaj did not accept the infallibility of the Vedas or the transmigration of souls, as it was pledged to the negation of both; on the other hand, Dayananda could not ignore either. There seems to be no doubt that whichever side might have made the first approach, there was some sort of negotiation, but it foundered on his doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedas to which reference will be made later. But Dayananda's association with the leaders of the Brahma Samaj produced one good result. Keshabchandra Sen suggested to him the supreme importance of carrying on propaganda in the language of the people; he gratefully accepted it and made Hindi the vehicle of his teaching. After spending another two years in preaching his doctrines from place to place he proceeded to Bombay where the first Arya Samaj was established on 10 April, 1875.

During the remaining eight years of his life Dayananda devoted himself to preaching his new gospel, writing iJobks embodying his teachings, and organizing Arya Samaj as throughout India. He toured extensively over all parts of India except Madras, translated the Vedas and wrote three books: (1) Satyartha Prahad, in Hindi; (2) Veda-Bh&shya Bhumika, an introduction to his Vedic commentary, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Hindi; and (3) Veda-Bh&shya r a Vedic commentary in Sanskrit on the Yajurveda and major part of the ftigveda. His mission proved very successful in the Panjab, and to a certain degree also in U. P., Rajputana and Gujarat. But at the tim e of his death in 1883, the total membership of the Arya Samaj did hot probably exceed twenty thousand. In the census of 1891 it was less than forty thousand.

2. The Arya Samaj .

The constitution which was drawn up for the Arya Samaj on the occasion of its foundation in Bombay in 1875 laid down some of the fundamental doctrines and rules of conduct. Three of these may be noted below:

1. The (Arya) Samaj shall regard the Vedas alone as indepen* dently and absolutely authoritative.

2. Every member shall cheerfully contribute a hundredth part of the money he has earned towards the fund of the Samaj, the Arya Vidyalaya and the AryaPrakad paper.

3. The Vedas and the ancient Arsha granthas shall be studied and taught in the Arya Vidyalaya, and true and right training, calculated to improve males and females, shall be imparted, on Vedic

lines.

Two years later (1877) this creed and constitution were replaced by the Ten Principles. Instead of No. 1 above it was simply laid down that the Vedas are the Books of True Knowledge which the members should study. The other nine principles merely inculcated virtue and morality to which no religion can possibly take any exception. Dayananda believed, like Raja Rammohan Roy, that the reform of Hindu society could only be effected by reviving Vedic rituals and institutions which had been hidden under the excrescences of the later Puranic age. So he adopted a programme of social reform. He rejected the hereditary system of caste and did not recognize the authority pr even superiority of the Brahmans merely on the ground of birth. He proclaimed the right of everybody to study the Vedas and other Hindu scriptures. He denounced the worship of gods and goddesses and preached that only the Supreme Being should be worshipped. Inter-caste marriage was encouraged and childmarriage was decried—the minimum marriageable age for boys and girls being fixed, respectively, at 25 and 16. Dayananda was, however, opposed to the remarriage of widows. He held that ordinarily neither widower nor widow should remarry, but this rule may be relaxed, in letter or spirit, in the case of both. So he would permit a childless husband to remarry and a widow to procreate sons by others according to the system of niyoga (levirate) prescribed in the Vedas! But this does not seem to have been carried out in practice.

The most characteristic feature of the Arya Samaj is the emphasis if laid upon the work oi Suddhi. This means the reconversions of those Hindus—millions in number—who had once been willingly or forcibly converted into other religions like Islam or Christianity, but were now willing to come back to the fold of Hinduism. Orthodox Hinduism had always barred its door against them; the Arya Samaj threw it wide open. As a matter of fact, this aspect of the Arya Samaj excited the greatest interest in it among the people outside its own ranks. It was strongly resented by the Muslims and was a source of almost chronic feud between the two. At the same time the Suddhi was looked upon by the Arya Samaj as a potent instrument for effecting that religious, social, and political unity of India which came to be cherished as its great ideal by the Arya Samaj.

Two distinctive features of the Arya Samaj are social services like famine-relief, and the spread of English education. The Dayfinanda Anglo-Vedic School at Lahore, soon developed into a college, has become the pattern of many educational institutions maintained by the Arya Samaj. The curriculum in these colleges was not exactly in the original spirit of Dayfinanda, and so the more orthodox section founded the Gurukul at Haridwar. It is a unique institution to perpetuate the educational ideals of ancient India. But the DA.V. (Dayananda Anglo-Vedic) College at Lahore has also great, achievements to its credit. Under Lfilfi Hansraj, who remained its Principal for 28 years, “it became the foremost agency for planting a sturdy and independent nationalism in the Punjab”.

3. The great split

There was a serious split in the Arya Samaj in 1892, ostensibly on the difference of views on the two following questions:

1. The righteousness of meat diet.

2. The lines on which the D.A.V. College, founded in 1886 in memory of Dayananda, was to be conducted.

These differences were, however, based on some fundamental principles. The unorthodox party pointed out that although Dayfinanda had expressed an opinion unfavourable to meat diet, the Ten Principles which formed the basic doctrine of the Arya Samaj were quite silent about it The members, it was argued, need believe in the Ten Principles only and in nothing else, and the Samaj had no right to question the individual's right of judgment in matters not strict./ covered by the Teh Principles. It was argued by one of the most trusted disciples of Dayananda that the great leader had wisely excluded from the Ten Principles the doctrinal principles and philosophical questions, so that the members may enjoy freedom of thought.

The orthodox party, on the other hand, held that the teachings of Dayananda, though not embodied in the Ten Principles, constituted the creed of the Arya Samaj, for all practical purposes. They maintained that so long as a greater authority on the Vedas was not born, the Arya Samaj was bound by the teachings of Dayananda and by his interpretation of the Vedas.

The true ring of liberalism in the voice of the unorthodox party is likely to draw public sympathy towards it. It is to be remembered, however, that if their views are to be carried to their logical conclusion, there would be hardly any raison d'itre for the Arya Samaj as a separate organization. The Ten Principles are worded in such a way that no Hindu can possibly take exception to them, and there is nothing in them which can serve as a bond of union to the extent of a cohesive organization. Dayananda himself refused to join hands with the Brahma Samaj,—though there were many points of agreement—because the latter did not accept the infallibility of the Vedas and the doctrine of transmigration of souls. Yet neither of these two finds place in the Ten Principles. To any impartial observer it would appear that it is the doctrine preached by Dayananda, rather than the Ten Principles, which gave the dynamic force to the Arya Samaj and made it what it is today. One might go even further and say that the seeming obscurantism or rigidity of Dayananda's teachings really imparted to the Arya Sam£j that character and drive which made it a powerful national force. In view of its great importance this point requires a little‘elucidation.

The absolutely authoritative character of the Vedas, and Vedas alone, formed the fundamental creed of Day&nanda. At first he included within the Vedas both Brahma^as and Upanishads, but when it was pointed out that the Upanishads themselves repudiated the authority of the Vedas as the highest or the only revelation, Dayananda modified his views. Ultimately the Samhita portion of the Vedas, and particularly the Rigveda Samhita, was alone held to be the real Vedic revelation, at least for all practical purposes.

In accepting the Vedas as the only authority Dayananda was practically on a line with Raja Rammohan Roy. But while the Raja ‘‘accepted the authority of the Vedas as interpreted by the exegetics and apologetics of ancient Hinduism”, 30 Dayananda altogether rejected the commentaries of Sayapa and Mahldhara and did not consider any other commentary as binding on anyone. 31 Dayananda therefore gave his own interpretation, and though theoretically every member of the Arya Samaj was free to form his own conclusions, in practice, the Samhitd of the Jjiigveda, as interpreted by Dayananda in his books mentioned above, formed the bed-rock on which stood the entire structure of the Arya Samaj. His interpretation, which is supposed to contain the whole truth, differs in many cases fundamentally not only from that of modern scholars but also from the old Indian commentaries. To take an extreme example, Rigveda 1, 2, 7, which is usually regarded as an invocation to Mitra and Varupa, is translated by Dayananda to mean that ‘water is generated by the combination of hydrogen and oxygen*. Such interpretations and Dayananda’s claim that the Vedas alone are authoritative, have a deep significance which has thus been explained:

“.... The nature of scriptural authority in Hindu culture differed from the scriptural authority recognised by the other great world religions in this, namely, that while Christianity or Islam claimed more or less exclusive divine authority for their own books, the Vedas never put up any such claim. Modern Hinduism suffered in some sense from a great disability, as compared to Christianity and Islam, owing to the universal character of their scriptures, particularly of the Vedas. Dayananda Saraswati recognised this disadvantage and was evidently moved by the militant spirit of evangelical Christianity and Islamic missionary propaganda to create and foster a similar militancy in Hinduism itself. He was, therefore, moved to advance for the Vedas exactly the same kind of supernatural authority and exclusive revelation, which was claimed by the Christians for their Bible, and by the Muslims for their Quran. In this Dayananda Saraswati practically made a new departure from the line of ancient Hindu Fathers, from Jaimini and Vyasa to Raja Ram Mohan; and at the same time practically denied the very fundamentals of modern world-thought. But even by thus deviating from the ancient line of Hindu evolution he rendered an immense service to the new nationalist movement in India. He saw that both Christianity and Islam were making fatal inroads upon Hinduism. He realised that unless this process of conversion to Christianity and Islam of increasing numbers of Hindus could be stopped, India would cease in course of time to be the land of the Hindus, the main body of the people being divided into Moslems and Christians, Moslems in Upper India and Christians in the South. Christianity and Islam must, therefore, be fought with their own weapons, and Hinduism must find this weapon in the Vedas, proclaimed as an exclusive revelation without which there is and can be no salvation for man, whatever may be his country. Christian and Islamic universalism is based upon the universality and infallibility of the Christian and the Islamic scriptures. Whoever accepts the authority of the Bible and the doctrine of salvation through Christ proclaimed by the Bible becomes entitled to enter the Kingdom of Heaven absolutely regardless of his birth or parentatge or his native country. It is so with Islam... .We had nothing like it in ancient or mediaevel Hinduism. Hinduism believes in the universality of man’s salvation. It believes in the universality of God’s love and grace... .And as Hinduism never conceived of a heaven to which Hindus alone would be entitled to enter or of a hell to which all non-Hindus would be condemned, it never set up the dogma of infallible scriptural authority familiar to credal systems like Christianity or Islam. Dayananda was, however, profoundly influenced by what might be called the credal universalism of Christianity and Islam to seek for the foundations of it in his own national religion. This was, it seems to me, the real psychology of the doctrine of Vedic infallibility set up by Dayananda Saraswati, upon which he wanted to build up the Hindu society and the Hindu nation inspired with a great mission among the peoples of the world.

_The Satyarth-Prdkash, which contains the teachings of Dayananda, clearly proves this interpretation of the psychology of the Arya Samaj. Whatever may be the philosophical value of these teachings, and however much these may be discordant with some of the bedrock doctrines and ideals of Hindu Universalism, it cannot be denied that the movement of Dayananda Saraswati, as organised in the Arya Samaj, has contributed more than the rational movement of the Raja’s Brahmo Samaj to the development of a new national consciousness in the modern Hindu, particularly in the Punjab.

It was no small thing for the Hindu suffering for centuries under what the psychologists now call the ‘inferiority complex’, to be able to challenge aggressive Christianity and Islam by setting up this dogma of Vedic infallibility against their dogma of supernatural revelation; while at the same time he was able to appeal to the social economy of the Vedic Hindu not only to remove the numerous social disabilities under which the present day Hindu laboured, but also to claim a social order based upon the teachings of the Vedas which was from some points of view even superior to the advanced social idealism inspired by the dogma of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity of the French Illumination. India did not stand in need of going to Europe either for a purer religion or for a purer social order. This could be found in the ancient scriptures of the people themselves. This was really the beginning of that religious and social revival among the Hindus of India to which we owe so largely the birth of our present national consciousness”.
32

This view has considerable force.

IV. NEO-HINDUISM

Brahmaism was the result of an effort to check Christianity and influence of Western ideas by emphasizing the essential principles of Hinduism. These were regarded as free from the evil accretions of a later date, which formed the chief target of attack by Christian missionaries and were held out to be opposed to the true spirit of Hinduism. This rationalistic attitude provoked a reaction in Bengal which gathered force in the second half of the nineteenth century, and gave rise to what may be called neo-Hinduism. Its common characteristic was the glorification of Hindu religion and society in their current forms, and a spirited defence of these against hostile criticism both by Indian reformers and European missionaries. It took various forms. An extreme point of view is represented by Pandit &a£adhar Tarka-chudamani who addressed many public meetings in defence of popular Hindu ceremonialism, image-worship and current Hindu social institutions. He sought “to reconcile ancient Hindu ritualism and mediaeval Hindu faith with modem science”. No one would be disposed today to put much value on his arguments. But, as Mr. B. C. Pal observes from his personal experience, “all the same it went down with large numbers of our countrymen”, who felt a new pride in their culture. 33

Kyishna-prasanna Sen represented a more popular, but less refined, aspect of this school. “One of his most popular presentations of the superiority of Hinduism was a pun on the words ‘God* in English representing the Supreme Being and ‘Nanda-Nandana’ in Sanskrit and Bengalee, representing the Vaishnavic Deity Shri Krishna. ‘If you reversed the alphabets composing the word God you would find it converted into dog; if you reversed the letters NandaNandana in this way, you would find no change in it”. 34 This was a typical presentation of Kjdshija-prasanna Sen. “He was sentimental, vulgar and abusive, but this very sentimentality, vulgarity and abuse went down with a generation of half-educated Bengalees who had been wounded in their tenderest spots by the vulgarities of the Anglo-Indian politicals of the type of Branson and ignorant and unimaginative Christian propagandists”. 36

The other extreme of this neo-Hinduism is represented by Bankim-chandra Chatterji, perhaps the greatest intellectual giant of this period. He “openly attempted a ‘re-examination, a re-interpretation and a re-adjustment’ of our old theology and ethics in the light of the most advanced modern thought and in accordance with the new rules of literary criticism and scriptural interpretation that had been so powerfully influencing current religious life and thought in Christendom itself”. 36 His classical work in this field was a biography of Lord Krishna, whose early life, particularly amours with the cowherd girls, formed a subject of cheap criticism, satire, and vehement denunciation, not only by Christian missionaries but also by a number of Indian rationalists. Bankim-chandra has tried to prove, by following historical method, that Krishna was the Ideal Man. Here, again, it is futile to argue about the correctness of Bankim-chandra’s method or conclusions. Krishna is regarded as the full incarnation of God by the Hindus. The resuscitation of his moral character and personality from the gross abuses of modern calumniators by one of the greatest intellects of the age had a tremendous effect on the orthodox Hindus, and increased their self-confidence beyond measure. It strengthened the Hindu revivalist movement • and helped the growth of the nascent national sentiment.

An intermediate position between the two extremes is occupied by two persons, the poet Nabln-chandra Sen and the essayist Bhudev Mukhopadhyay. Nabln-chandra sought to re-interpret the Puragas in the light of western science and humanism. Bhudev also upheld the Puranic religion but laid special stress on preserving the Hindu social institutions some of which were the principal targets of attack. Both of them were highly proficient in English literature and brought a high degree of western rationalism in supporting their standpoint.

V. RAMAKRISHNA MATH AND MISSION

1. Ramakrishna Paramahaihsa.[37]

Gadadhar Chattopadhyaya, who was known in later life as R&makpshpa Paramahamsa, was born in 1836 in a poor Brahman family in a small village called Kamarpukur in the District of Hooghly in West Bengal. For the sake of convenience he may be referred to as Kamakfish^a even before he formally came to be designated as such. His early boyhood was spent in the village and he got a very rudimentary training in the three R’s in the village school. His formal education did not proceed much further beyond this elementary stage as he had no liking for school and enjoyed far more the society of the s&dhus or ascetics who passed through the village. For he was of a religious and contemplative mood, and is said to have occasionally fallen into trances even from the early age of six. At the age of about seventeen he came to Calcutta, and three or four years

later (1856), he adopted the vocation of a priest in the temple of Goddess Kali, founded a short while ago by an aristocratic lady named Rasmani, at Dakshinesvar, on the bank of the Gahga about five miles to the north of Calcutta. This was the turning-point in the life of Ramakfishpa. While serving as priest he was gradually seized with the idea that the Goddess Kali, whose idol he worshipped, was not an image of clay, but the Goddess herself, personified. He looked upon K&ll as a visible deity who should talk with him and share his joys and sorrows. This idea became an obsession with him. He could not follow the normal procedure of worship, but became Godintoxicated and yearned with his whole soul for the realization of God or ultimate reality. In this, he is believed to have succeeded. For, later in life, when questioned by his famous disciple Narendran&th (Swami Vivekananda), he told him that he had seen God, as will be related later.

According to the account of his devotees based on what they heard from him, he reached this stage fairly early, not long after he became a priest or worshipper of Kali. Nevertheless, we find him making an earnest endeavour to realize God in various aspects. He led a God-centred life characterized by constant search for, and continuous approach to God, through various modes prescribed by tradition. All the while he lived as an ordinary man in Dakshinesvar; but though he was in the world, he was not of the world. From an early period he showed the characteristics of the state of mind, known in religious parlance as divyonm&da , God-centred frenzy, which puzzled everybody. He sometimes discarded clothes, and taking money in one hand and a clod of earth in the other, used to say, ‘money is earth, earth is money*. These and other eccentricities need not be described in detail, and in the light of later events can only be looked upon as spiritual powers latent in him. The crucial fact remains that his early life shows no preparations for reaching this stage of God-intoxication or attaining this spiritual urge. It seems as if he was born with that spirituality which others acauire by exertion. For, if the accounts be true, he secured in an incredibly short time, sometimes in a few days, success or salvation in each mode of sadhand (religious exercise) which others, including his gurus who initiated him, failed to attain even after many years of - intense exertion. One of his gurus, Tota-purl, exclaimed in surprise that he reached in one day that state of nirvikalpa sauuLdhi which he himself could attain only after forty years of rigorous asceticism. The same thing was true in respect of all the modes of sGdhanas which he followed in search of God.

It is difficult for a layman to trace in detail the various kinds or stages of the sddhana (search for God) which he performed during the first eleven or twelve years of his stay in the temple (1855-67); but we may state a few essential facts known on fairly good authority.

From the very beginning he used to retire at night to the jungle outside the temple, and sat there in deep meditation under the shade of a tree. At daytime he used to cry piteously to the Goddess in the temple to have a direct vision of her. “His whole soul, as it were, melted into one flood of tears, and he appealed to the Goddess to have mercy on him and reveal Herself to him.” In his extreme distress at this desire not being fulfilled, pne day he rushed and seized a dagger in the temple in order to kill himself, when he lost all sensation and saw the Goddess Kali in a vision. Henceforth he was almost always in a state of frenzy. He discarded the formal rites and ceremonies of worship which a priest was expected to perform and behaved like a child to his mother, often crying with anguish of heart to get again a vision of the Goddess. The visions were repeated and his trances became longer and longer in duration. At last things came to such a pass that he was regarded as mad and was relieved of his formal duty as a priest. He went back home and was married, at the age of 24, to a girl of five. But shortly after marriage he returned to Dakshinesvar temple. Then began that tapa&ya or ascetic exercises which lasted for nearly twelve years. Looking back to this period of his life he said later that a great religious tornado, as it were, raged within him during these years and made everything topsy-turvy. First he met a Bhairavl, a Brfihmapa lady who had practised yoga and was roaming at large in the red garb of an ascetic (sannyasim). She told the people that what they regarded as eccentricities or signs of madness in Ramakyislipa were really the physical manifestations which are noticed in an ardent lover of God, and she proved it by citing incidents from Chaitanya’s life as recorded in the Vaishnava scriptures. The Bhairavl herself initiated Ramakrishna into the TSntrik mode of s&dhana. He practised it for two years and passed successfuly through all the stages. He then followed the mode of s&dhana laid down by the Vaishnava cult and is said to have obtained a vision of Krishna. He was next formally initiated into ascetic life by Tota-puri, a great saint who had realized in his life the highest truths of Vedanta, and practised the Vedantic sadhand. Ramakrishna was then initiated into the Sufi doctrine of Islam and followed all the rites prescribed by that religion. He ate and dressed like a Muslim, offered regular prayers to Allah, ceased to visit Hindu temples, and in three days obtained the vision of God. Later, he practised similar sddhand according to Christian rite, and on the third day obtained the vision of Jesus Christ. Shortly before this, his wife SSradamani came to Dakshinesvar, walking on foot all the way from her village home—a distance of thirty to forty miles. Ramakrishna received her kindly, but said he could not look upon her as his wife and saw in her the Goddess Kali. So saying, he addressed her as mother and worshipped her with flowers and incense. But Sarada was the worthy wife of a worthy husband. She said, she wanted nothing from him as her husband; but he should teach her how to realize God and allow her to stay with him to cook his meals and look to his health and comfort. This arrangement cpntinued till the last day of Ramakrishna's life, a detached room outside the temple compound being set apart for her residence. However strange all these might appear to us, the different forms of the religious practices by Ramakrishna are vouched for by reliable evidence. He was occupied with them for about twelve years from 1856 to 1867. Then the storm-tossed soul found peace at last. After a short pilgrimage for a period of four months in course of which he visited Vaidyanath, Varanasi, Prayag (Allahabad), and Vrindaban he returned to Dakshinesvar. His name and fame as a great saint, who possessed wonderful spiritual powers and realized God, spread in all directions and attracted pious devotees to his small room within the precincts of the Dakshinesvar temple o,n the banks of the Ganga. Even the renowned Brahma leader Keshab-chandra Sen visited him and became his admirer. Keshab, or one of his followers at his instance, published a short sketch of the life and sayings of Ramakrishna. All this created great interest in wider and wider circles and highly educated men and women of all ranks of life began to visit Dakshinesvar temple in ever increasing number to get a vision of the wonderful yogin and hear his religious discourse. Ramakrishna also did not spare himself, and for hours—-sometimes literally from morning till evening, occasionally even at night—talked with the assembled people in his characteristic manner about the knowledge (jnana) of, and devotion (bhakti) to God and narrated his own experience of spiritual life. Many, who attained to fame in later life, visited him, the greatest of them being a young Bengali graduate, Narendra-nath Datta, better known as SvamI Vivekananda. Though Thakur Ramakfishna Paramahamsa—as he then began to be called—sometimes visited Calcutta and saw some distinguished persons of the time, his life was mostly spent in Dakshinesvar, surrounded by an ever increasing number of devotees who were charmed and ennobled by his religious discourses in the form of short pithy phrases punctuated by appropriate anecdotes and illustrations from daily life. He never gave what may be called religious lectures, and founded no sect or dSram. People who flocked to him were mere visitors leading household life and returning home after the visit was over. Some of them, being of ascetic temperament, were more intimate with the saint and came to him more frequently, but their number was very small; they were not regularly initiated by Ramakfishiia and did not formally renounce their life as householders.

It is not possible here to give a detailed account of this type of life which Ramakrish^a led for nearly twenty years till he was attacked by cancer. On 16 August, 1886, he left this mortal frame and entered the final samadhi (trance) from which there is no return to earthly life.

RSmalq-ishna is one of the few religious leaders and ascetic saints of the highest order of whom we possess so much authentic contemporary account. It is not therefore difficult to describe the essential characteristics of his life and teachings.

The first thing that strikes one is his spiritual life and Godconsciousness. He fell into ecstatic trances on merely hearing of God or thinking of Him. An eye-witness describes it as follows.

*‘During the state of samadhi he was totally unconscious of himself and of the outward world. At one time he fell down upon a piece of live coal during this stage. It burned deep into his flesh, but he did not know for hours, and the surgeon had to come in to extract the coal, when he came back to consciousness, and felt the wound.” 38 It has again and again been witnessed by many that his body was very sensitive and immediately reacted to the touch of anything impure. Once a woman touched her feet and be automatically shrank back, and it was later found out that she was a bad sort. Like many other saints, he had aversion to wealth and refused with

scorn the gift of money and costly things. But what was peculiar in him is that he could not bear the touch of gold or silver coins, and ‘a simple touch, even when he was asleep, would produce physical contortions\ 39 He was renunciation incarnate, and detachment from everything was the chief tenor of his life.

Strange fits of God-consciousness often came upon him. He would then speak of himself as being able to do and know everything and even declare himself to be the same soul that had been bom before as Rama, as Rrishuja, as Jesus, or as Buddha. He had told Mathur Babu long before that many disciples would come to him shortly and he knew all of them. 39 * At sight he could read the souls of those who approached him. The moment he saw Narendranfith (future Vivekananda) he instinctively felt that he was the man of destiny that would carry his spiritual message to all the world. According to a well-authenticated story, to be related later, R§makrishpa, shortly before his death, transmitted all his spiritual powers

to Vivekananda, who, when at the height of his power and glory.

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used to say that R&malqrislma could create hundreds of Vivekananda if he willed. Ramalq*ish$a seemed to possess the intuitive knowledge of good and evil. One day Rasmapi, his patroness Zamindar, while listening to his discourse in the temple, became absent-minded at the thought of a law-suit in which she was engaged, with a huge amount at stake. Ramakj*ishna slapped her on the face, saying: “What! thinking of material things even here?”

Though RamaJqrishpa had not studied the Vedanta philosophy, he lucidly expounded its abstruse teachings. What is more, he was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of that philosophy in his life and teachings.

As a practical application of Vedanta, Ramakyishna realized divinity in humanity and emphasized the service of mankind as a means to salvation. This will be described more fully in connection with Vivekananda.

The most characteristic trait of his teachings is that he expressed the highest wisdom or greatest truth in simple sentences and parables. The theme of all his discoursesLwas the realization of God as the highest human ideal, attainable only by development of high spiritual life. This was only possible by discarding desire for material prosperity (vishaya-vasanS) and lure for gold and women (hciminukanchana), and turning all thoughts -and actions towards God. But this did not require the renunciation of worldly life which is fully compatible with spiritual development if the aim of realizing God is steadily kept in view, and the Ultimate Reality—Soul or God—, as distinct from the evanescent world, is never lost sight of. When asked, how passion can be eliminated, his reply was, why should it be eliminated? Give it a new turn and direct it towards God. All this idea was illustrated by several parables, two of which may be quoted:

"As a wet-nurse in a rich family brings up the child of her master, loving the baby as if it were her own, but knows well that she has no claim upon it; so think ye also that you are but trustees and guardians of your children whose real father is the Lord God in Heaven".

"As an unchaste woman, busily engaged in household affairs, is all the while thinking of her-secret lover, even so, O! thou man of the world, do thy round of wordly duties, but fix thy heart always on the Lord". 40

Ramakfishna regarded the development of character as superior to knowledge. "It is useless to pore over holy scriptures and sacred S&stras without a discriminating and dispassionate mind. No spiritual progress can be made without discrimination (viveka,) and dispassion (vairdgya)."*' [Though preaching against carnal passion Ramakrishoa did not hate women nor tried to avoid them as source of evils. "One day, when the discussion turned to the need of celibacy, Hari said with an air of bravado, 'Oh, I hate women, I cannot even bear their presence'. Instead of encouraging him, the Master came out with the sharp rebuke, "How foolish! What do you mean by hating women? They are the representations of the Mother of the universe. You should look upon them as your mother and honour them". 42

Thus both by precept and example of his own life Ramalqrishiiia brought home to an incredulous world, then under the spell of natural science, the reality of spiritual life. He brought it from heaven to earth below. This seems to be his greatest contribution to the modern world. Spiritual life and the means to attain it were described in ancient Hindu scriptures, but they were either forgotten . or disbelieved, and nothing but an actual vision of it in Ramakjrishjia could have impressed upon the modern Hindu minds the real meaning, nature, and value of this great treasure of ancestral knowledge. RamakfishrLa was a visible embodiment of the spiritual attainments of India during three thousand years.

Next in importance is the revelation of the harmony of all religions. He demonstrated by precept and example that all the different religions are true in their essence, and may lead to salvation if properly pursued. He himself demonstrated, by experiment, the efficacy of the diverse modes of sadhand or spiritual discipline prescribed by different religions. His pithy saying that the different creeds are but different paths to reach the same God (Yata mat tata path) puts on a high pedestal the virtue of toleration and reverence for all religions. He made his own life a laboratory for the synthesis of different systems of religion;—a wonderful synthesis of higher forms of spiritual discipline with rituals and ceremonies; of Sahara (God with form) with nirakdra (God without form); of Vedanta with devotion; of rationalism with emotion and intuition; of asceticism with social and domestic life. He was a store-house of spiritual powers —like electricity—which might generate various types of energies or powers for various kinds of use leading ultimately to the spiritual uplift of the whole world.

He was asked: “If the God of every religion is the same, why Is it then that the God is painted differently by different religionists”? He answered: “God is one, but His aspects are different: as one master of the house is father to one, brother to another, and husband to a third, and is called by these different names by those different persons, so one God is descrbed and called in various ways according

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to the particular aspect in which He appears to His particular worshipper. In a potter’s shop there are vessels of different shapes and forms—pots, jars, dishes, plates, &c.—but all are made of one clay. So God is one, but is worshipped in different ages and countries under different names and aspects". 43 This catholicity of views may be regarded as another great contribution of Ramakjishjja to the modern world which religion has divided into so many watertight compartments. It had a special significance for the orthodox Hindus. The worship of images, even of Goddess Kali, which was the butt of ridicule by the Christian missionaries as well as Indian reformers, was demonstrated by Ramakpshna to be not only not incompatible with the highest spiritual development, but also as good a means of salvation as the worship of one God without any form. "Many are the names of God, and infinite the forms that lead us to know Him. In whatsoever name or form you desire to call Him, in that very form and name you will see Him". This teaching of Ramakrishoa, supported by parables, and tested by his own life, gave the Hindu Revivalism a moral sanction, a philosophical basis, and a new spiritual significance of immense value.

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2. SvdmX Vivekdnanda

The greatest disciple of Ramakj-ishna Paramahamsa was a young Bengali graduate named Narendra-nath Datta, who, as SvamI Vivekananda, was destined to carry the message of his Master (guru) all over India and in Europe and America. Born on January 12, 1863, in a Kayastha family in Calcutta, Narendra got English education in school and college. He was first attracted to the Brahma Samaj and then drank deeply into the philosophy of John Stuart Mill, Hume and Herbert Spencer; but he found no peace; his soul craved for something more. Towards the end of 1881, when he had appeared in the First Examination in Arts of the Calcutta University, he was persuaded by a relative to visit Ramakpishga at Dakshinesvar. The latter drew him aside and said with tears in his

eyes: "Ah, you come so late.you are the incarnation of Nfi

rayaija, born on earth to remove the miseries of mankind". Narendra-nath was taken aback, and doubted the sanity of the saint. But he put the question that had been agitating him for some time past. "Sir, have you seen

God?” “Yes”, was the instant reply, “I see Him just as I see you, only in a much intenser sense. God can be realized. One can see and talk with Him as I am doing with you”. After the interview Narendra summed up his estimation of the Master thus: “Even if insane, this man is the holiest of the holy, a true saint, and for that alone he deserves the reverent homage of mankind”.

“The second meeting was more interesting. Sri Ramalq-ishpa affectionately seated Narendra by his side and quickly placed his right foot on the latter’s body. Narendra described the subsequent experience thus: ‘With my eyes open, I saw the walls and everything in the room whirling rapidly away and vanishing into naught, and the whole universe, together with my individuality, was about to be engulfed in an all-embracing mysterious void*. Unable to bear this, he cried out, ‘What is it that you are doing to me! I have my parents at home.’ The Master laughed out aloud and said, 'All right, let it rest now*. And Narendra was himself again.” 44

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It is not possible to describe in detail how the mind of Narendra was gradually transformed by close contact with Ramakpishpa, and two instances must suffice.

“One day, some time in 1884, the talk drifted to the Vaishpava tenet. In the course of it the Master said: 'This religion enjoins upon its followers the practice of three things—delight in the name of God, compassion for all living creatures, and service to the devotees of Vishnu*. Hardly had he finished when be fell into a trance. Then in a semi-conscious mood he said to himself, ‘Compassion for creatures! Compassion for creatures! Thou fool! An insignificant worm crawling on the earth, thou to show compassion to others! Who art thou to show compassion? No, no, it is not compassion for others, but rather service to man, recognising him as the manifestation of God V All heard this, but Narendra understood its implication. Outside the room he said to others, 'What a strange light I have discovered in those wonderful words of the Master! How beautifully he has reconciled the ideal of Bhdkti (devotion) with the knowledge of Ved&nta (Monism)! I have understood from these words of wisdom that the ideal of Ved&nta, lived by the recluse outside the pale of society, can be practised at home and applied to all our daily concerns ..It is He who has become all the different creatures—objects of our love; and yet He is beyond all these. Such realisation of Divinity in humanity leaves no room for egotism.Service of man, knowing him to be the manifestation of God, purifies the heart, and such an aspirant quickly realises himself as part and parcel of God—Existence-Knowledge-Bliss. Well, if the Lord wills, the day will come when I shall proclaim this grand truth before the world at large. I shall make it the common property of all—the wise and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the brahmin and the pariah". 445 The other incident relates how the Master took Narendra from the Monism of Ved&nta to the worship of the images of God in spite of his Brthma prejudices against idolatry. Reduced to extreme penury by the death of his father and failing to secure any job, Narendra asked Ramakrishpa to intercede with the Divine Mother on his behalf. The latter said, "My boy, I can't make such requests. But why don't you go and ask the Mother yourself? All your sufferings are due to your disregard of Her". "So Narendra at last went to the Kali temple, prostrated himself before the image, and forgetting all about his mission, like genuine spiritual aspirant, prayed, 'Mother, give me discrimination! Give me renunciation! Grant unto me knowledge and devotion! Ordain that I may have an unimpeded vision of Thee!' On his return, the Master found out what had taken place, and sent him to the temple a second and a third time. But Narendra fared no better. His mind was too highly timed to ask for such paltry things from the Mother of the universe who was there to end all sense of want for ever.The whole of that night he sang of the Mother, only to fall asleep exhausted in the morning. The Master was so happy that Naren had accepted the Divine Mother." 46

While Narendra and a few other select young men were slowly acquiring a spiritual outlook on life by the precepts and example of R§makrishpa, the latter fell ill and had to be removed from Dakshinnesvar, first to Calcutta and then to Kasipur. In these two places, particularly at the Kasipur Garden House, the young disciples gathered round the Master to serve him, and thus there grew up a sort of brotherhood. Shortly before his passing away Ramakrishga told Narenda: “I leave these boys to your care. See that they practise spiritual exercises even after my passing away and that they do not return home".

“Three or four days before the final departure, the Master called Narendra to his presence, and fixing his gaze on him fell into a trance. Narendra felt as though something like an electric current was flowing into him, and lost outer consciousness. When he came to, he found the Master weeping. On being asked the reason for this, the Master said, ‘O Naren, today I have given you my all and have become a pauper! Through this power you will do great things, and only after that will you return to where you came from". 47

After the Master had passed away, his young disciples were urged by their guardians and advised by others to go back home and resume their studies or other duties. Most of them dispersed, but Narendra stuck to the idea of setting up a fraternity of monks. By v earnest efforts he induced three or four of his associates to leave home and live together in a dilapidated house at Baranagar near Kasipur. Though faced with the twofold problem of helping his own starving family and maintaining the monastery, without any regular source of income, Narendra somehow solved both. Gradually

the inmates of the monastery increased, and a few, including Narendra himself, stayed at home and came off and on. And so with less than a dozen all-renouncing enthusiasts, all English-educated Bengalis belonging to middle class families, with only one exception, the monastery started on its career.

Referring to these early days of the monastery, Vivekananda said in later days: “We were Sannyasins (hermits). We never thought of the morrow.We used to live on what chance

brought. There were days at the Baranagore Maph when we had

nothing to eat. If there was rice, salt was lacking.Leaves

of the Bimba creeper boiled, salt and rice—this was our menu for months.We were being carried along on a strong tide of meditation and other religious practices. Oh, what days! Demons would have run away at the sight of such austerities, to say nothing of men." 48 It was not till some time after the monastery was established at Baranagar in A.D. 1887, that about a dozen inmates— all close associates of, and receiving their spiritual inspiration from, Ramakpisha?a—ceremonially accepted the vows of monasticism in a group by performing Vedic rites and accepting monastic names. This may be regarded as the formal inauguration of Ramakpishaja Order. Henceforth the history of the Order centres round Narendranath who, after two changes, finally adopted the name Vivekananda, and was tacitly acknowledged to be the head of the small band of monks. He undertook a pilgrimage over North, West, and South India. This was a landmark in his career, for it brought him into intimate contact with the peoples of India and enabled him to realize the true condition of India as he had never done before. "And as a common feature of India as a whole, he found poverty, squalor, loss of mental vigour and hope for the future, disintegration of ageold institutions, conservatism trying to hold its own under the guise of spirituality and pseudo-reforms, lack of organised effort, and the waves of Western science and culture as well as Christianity beating furiously against her shores; in short, he found the glorious India of yore fallen and prostrate, the only hope being that she still held on to the one source of her life—her religion". 49 How to help India out of this morass, was the problem that deeply agitated him and henceforth this question was uppermost in his mind up to the end of his life. His mind was working on a somewhat vague plan of getting help for India from the West—not as a beggar, but in exchange for the spirituality which the West lacked and India alone could supply. The idea took shape when he heard of the Parliament of Religions where representatives of all religions from all over the world would assemble at Chicago (U.S.A.) on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Ame rica by Columbus. How this penniless, lonely monk succeeded in reaching the shores of the strange land and without being a delegate of any recognized body secured admission into the World Congregation of 1893 as a representative of Hinduism, reads more like a romance than historical fact. His success in the Parliament was immediate and absolute. His unusual form of greeting the audience as ‘sisters and brothers of America’ in his opening address was received with tremendous applause, and won him the love and respect of a section of the Americans which he never lost. The Svamj spoke before the Parliament proper no les^ than five times, and also a number of times before the scientific section of the Parliament. In the opening address he spoke of the catholicity of Hinduism in whose dictionary the word ‘intolerance’ never found a place. His most significant address was his paper on Hinduism which he read on 19 September, 1893. Before reading the paper he made a few remarks which created great sensation in the American press. As they are not to be found in the official proceedings of the Parliament or in his biographies, but throw light on the trend of his political thought they are quoted below, as reported in the Chicago Daily Tribune of 20 September, 1893.

“We who come from the East have sat here on the platform day after day and have been told in a patronizing way that we ought to accept Christianity because Christian nations are the most prosperous. We look about us and we see England, the most prosperous Christian nation in the world, with her foot on the neck of 250,000,000 Asiatics. We look back into history and see that the prosperity of Christian Europe began with Spain. Spain’s prosperity began with the invasion of Mexico. Christianity wins its prosperity by cutting the throats of its fellowmen. At such a price the Hindu will not have prosperity. I have sat here today and I have heard the height of intolerance. I have heard the creeds of the Moslems applauded, when today the Moslem sword is carrying destruction into India. Blood and sword are not for the Hindu, whose religion is based on the laws of love.”

The reputation won by Vivekananda through the Parliament of Religions made him a world figure and raised the prestige of India and Hinduism very high. He undertook a whirlwind lecture tour, at the rate of fourteen or more per week, and sowed the seeds of spirituality in American soil which germinated at no distant date and led to the establishment of several centres, on a permanent basis, for the study of Vedanta. From America the Svama visited London via Paris, and continued the work of lecturing. The great oriental scholar Max Muller was so deeply impressed by the account of RSmakyishoa given by his greatest disciple, that he first published

an article on Ramakjdshna, entitled A real Mahatman, and then a biography, called Ramafcfishna—His Life and Sayings . There are enough signs already that the sapling which Svaml Vivekananda planted in the West, would one day grow into a big banyan tree under whose cool shade the world may find refuge from its trials and tribulations.

Early in January, 1897, Svaml Vivekananda returned to India and was received with tremendous ovations everywhere he went, iiterally from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. His grateful countrymen offered him homage of respect and reverence for what he had done to raise, almost overnight, his country and its culture in the estimation of the Western world. But Svamlji knew that the real work lay before him. It was a tremendous work,—to uplift the masses by removing poverty and ignorance, infusing new vigour by invoking the spirit of equality, freedom, work and energy from the West, but without detriment to the religious culture and instincts, the spiritual heritage of the Hindus. Some of his ideas are best expressed in his own words: “Nations, like individuals, must help themselves”. “Every nation, every man and every woman must work out their own salvation. Give them ideas—that is the only help they require—and then the rest will follow as the effect”. 160 But India must not live in isolation from the rest of the world. “I am thoroughly convinced”, said he, “that no individual or nation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others, and whenever such an attempt has been made under false ideas of greatness, policy or holiness—the result has always been disastrous to the secluding one.” 'We are to give as well as take from others. We should give our ancient spirituality and culture and get in return Western science, technology, methods of raising the standard of life, business integrity and technique of collective effort.’ 604

But though he stressed unflinching faith in Hindu religion, he did not take it in a narrow spirit. He denounced 'Dont-touch-ism' and insisted on raising the status of women and the masses, for he attributed the degeneration of India to the suppression of such large sections of humanity. The masses must be elevated by means of education based on religion, and the caste must be restored to its original foundation, namely, quality of head and heart and not mere accident of birth. But all these must proceed cautiously stepby step. "Do not figure out high plans at first, but begin slowly. Feel your ground and proceed up and up".

But all these merely indicate one aspect of Vivekananda. We must take note of the other aspect also—the monk Vivekananda. By the time he returned to India, the monastery had been removed

from Baranagar to Alambazar, but its monastic members were scattered abroad in different parts of India. Vivekananda gave new life to the monastery and it was ultimately removed to Belur, at its present site, at the beginning of 1899. Definite rules were laid down for the guidance of the monks. Two papers—-the monthly Prabuddha Bhdrdta in English, and Udbodhana, a Bengali fortnightly—were started and Vivekananda's lectures were published in several volumes—My Master, Jndnayoga, Rdjayoga , Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, etc. He wrote, besides, numerous treatises. The result of all this was the rapid growth of monasteries all over India.

But Vivekananda did not rest content with the establishment of the old type of monastery, merely as a centre of spiritual culture, highly valuable though it was. He added to it a section for the social service, so dear to his heart, as an integral part of his life's work. The genesis of the idea is thus described by Swann Brahmananda, a close associate and apostolic successor of Vivekananda. "During his travel in the Western Ghats and the Mahratta province, Swamiji used to shed tears at the poverty of the common people and the oppression of the rich. He said to us, 'Mark it, my brothers, in the prevailing state of poverty in this country, the time is not opportune for preaching religion. I shall talk of religion if I ever succeeded in removing the poverty and misery of the country. That is why I am going to the land of Croesus, to try my luck to find some way out". 51 On his way to America he wrote from Yokohama on 10 July, 1893, to his Madras disciples: "How many men—unselfish, thorough-going men—is Madras ready now to supply, to struggle unto life and death to bring about a new state of things—sympathy for the poor, and bread to their hungry mouths, enlightenment to the people at large—and struggle unto death to make men of them who have been brought to the level of beasts by the tyranny of your forefathers?” In the same letter he says, “Kick out the priests”. On October 27, 1894, appeared these lines: “Where should one go to seek for God? Are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, God?” 62 When Svamlji was still in America a brother monk wrote to him of the miseries of the people which he had witnessed during his journey through Gujarat and Rajputana, and asked for his advice. “The prompt reply came. ‘The poor, the ignorant, the illiterate, the afflicted—let these be your God: know that service to these is the highest religion”. 63 So the first social work began. After his return to India Vivekananda himself took up the work in right earnest. In order to carry out the work in a systematic manner, a new organization, called Ramakrishna Mission, was instituted on 5 May, 1897. The organized social service began with the famine relief work in Murshidabad and other places in 1897, followed by plague relief in Calcutta in 1898.

In the summer of 1899 Vivekananda again visited America. The Vedanta Society of New York had been placed on a permanent footing. The Sv&ml visited California and sowed the seeds of future Vedanta centres in Los Angeles and San Francisco. A Santi Asram (Peaceful Retreat) was established at San Antone Valley in California on a 160-acre plot of land donated by a pious lady. In all these places there were monks of the Ramakrishpa Order, lecturing and taking classes. Vivekananda was invited to the Congress of the History of Religions at Paris, and spoke there in defence of Hinduism. After a long tour of Europe he returned to India in December, 1900. But he had no rest. He took another strenuous tour in East Bengal, and on return to Belur celebrated‘the Durga Puja in the Belur Math according to Hindu scriptures. This removed the doubt and fear caused by his association with the foreigners and scheme of social reforms, and the people were convinced that he was Hindu to the backbone. As his health broke down, he went to Banaras for a change and there founded what was later known as the Ramakjrishoa Mission Home of Service. On return from Banaras to Calcutta, Svamijl's health again broke down, and he passed away on 4 July, 1902.

Svami Vivekananda could only lay the foundation of the great organization which bears the proud name of his guru . Its later growth, which made Ramakrisbua Math and Mission the greatest spiritual force in modern India, will form a subject for discussion in the next volume. The Svami never ceased to proclaim that in all that he did he merely followed in the footsteps of his guru . This may be quite true within a limit. But it is a debatable point whether Ramakj-ishaja's teachings and their practical application in active life—both individual and social—would have made any material progress but for the dynamic energy and great personality of Vivekananda. To give a concrete shape to Ramakrishna's spiritual teachings, to spread his mission all over the world, and place it on a stable basis—these are the greatest achievements to the credit of Vivekananda.

The practical application of his guru's ideal of service, as interpreted by Svami Vivekananda, paved the way for the regeneration of India. His valued contribution to the growth of nationalism in India will be discussed later. The work, begun by Raja Rammohan Roy, of rejuvenating the Indian life was considerably advanced by Svamlji. To use Hegelian terminology, the reforms inaugurated by the Brahma Samaj may be taken as representing the Thesis, the Hindu Revivalism, the Antithesis,, and the Ramakyishoa-Viveka nanda Doctrine, the Synthesis. It combined the best elements of both and ensured all-round progress of Hindu religion and society without destroying its spiritual basis and essential spirit, and saving it from destruction by the reactionary elements. To the Hindus, Svamlji has been a saviour and a reformer. The Ramakyishoa Mission deserves great credit for placing Hinduism on a high pedestal and resisting the onslaughts of Christianity and Islam.

But Svami Vivekananda had also an international or rather humanitarian outlook. With his unerring foresight he predicted the great crisis which faces the world today. He realized that a very critical situation would arise in the West, threatening its total destruction, owing to the rapid growth of material power and scientific inventions, unaccompanied by a corresponding growth of spiritual insight. India suffered, as her spiritual attainment far outstripped the material power which alone could sustain it. Swami Vivekananda feared that the Western world would similarly suffer because her material power had far outstripped the spiritual attainments which alone could keep it within reasonable control. This lack of balance, he said, should be made good by mutual give and take between India and the West. But, he added, the West would not listen to the spiritual message of India so long as she continues in this abject condition of subjection and poverty. This is why he thought that the freedom of India and her material prosperity were needed for the salvation of the world.

Vivekananda also predicted the great change that was coming over the world. In a broad survey of the progress of mankind through the ages he pointed out how the society was dominated successively by the Priests, the Nobility and the Merchants, corresponding to the first three castes of India, namely the BrfihmajLa, Kshatriya, and the Vaisya. Then he observed that the next or fourth epoch will be 'under the domination of Sudra (the Proletariat)', the fourth caste. This upheaval, he asserted as far back as 1896, "will come from Russia or from China". "Perhaps", said he, "Russia will be the first Proletarian State in the world"—a prophecy that was fulfilled in twenty years' time. 63 * Vivekananda asked the Indians to elevate their masses so that they might use their domination in a judicious manner to secure the welfare of their country.

VI. THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

The Theosophical Society was founded in the United States of America in 1875 by Madame H. P. Blavatsky (1831-91) and Colonel H. S. Olcott along with others. The main objects of the Society were three, namely,

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1. To form a universal brotherhood of man.

2. To promote the study of ancient religions, philosophies and sciences.

3. To investigate the laws of nature and develop the divine powers latent in man.

The Brahmanical and Buddhist literature supplied the terminology of the doctrines which were greatly influenced by occultist, Indian, and modern spiritualistic ideas and formulas. 54

The theory of universal brotherhood was based upon the doctrine, familiar to students of Indian philosophy, of the ‘One life’ as the ultimate reality of which all creations are but different manifestations—the ultimate Oneness which underlies and sustains all phenomenal diversity.

The second object, the study of comparative philosophy and religion, soon crystallized itself into a dogmatic belief that all the different forms of religion were merely so many diverse expressions of one and the same fundamental truth called “Ancient Wisdom”. A knowledge of this truth has been held as a sacred possession and trust for ages by certain mysterious adepts in occultism, or Mahatmas, an Indian term denoting great saints or saintly persons. Madame Blavatsky proclaimed that she was in psychical as well as in direct physical communication with these Mahatmas. This was proved by manifestations of “occult phenomena”, witnessed by friends and associates of Madame Blavatsky, which, she declared, were the outcome of her connection with these Mahatmas : 5,5

The fundamental philosophical doctrines of the Theosophical Society, such as karma and nirvana, are common to both Buddhism and Brahmanism, and no wonder, therefore, that the Indians should be attracted to it. But when Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky came to Bombay and announced that the Mahatmas, referred to above, still lived in the inaccessible recesses of the Himalayas and guided the destinies of mankind by their psychic powers or soul force, the Indians welcomed the new message with great enthusiasm. There was, moreover, a special reason for the English-educated classes to welcome Theosophy. Most of them had no faith in the many current religious and social doctrines, customs, and traditions, but had not the courage to openly repudiate them for fear of social ostracism and other serious consequences that were sure to follow. These, “condemned to live in an agonising mental and moral conflict", found in Theosophy a "veritable gospel of peace and salvation". 56 For, by subtle philosophical theories of graded elevation

of man by stages, Theosophy defended the current practices of Hinduism. It reconciled the ideal of univers-al brotherhood with the caste-system, and the fundamental unity of the Supreme Being with the worship of numerous gods and goddesses including the most recent additions to the Hindu pantheon. Nay, more; it held that even such practices as image-worship developed psychic forces. By these means Theosophy helped very materially to remove the "inferiority complex" from the minds of educated Indians. But Theosophy also did some good to them. The great work of Theosophy was "in the moral reclamation of many of these educated Hindus who readily accepted the somewhat rigid disciplines of the new cult that demanded of its votaries complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks and absolute social purity for the attainment of that high level of psychic and spiritual power which it promised". 67

The Theosophical Society, however, did not enjoy its popularity for long. The alleged communication from the Mahatmas proved the most vulnerable point of attack. "Madame Blavatsky stoutly maintained that the Mahatmas exhibited their astral bodies" to her, and 'precipitated' messages which reached her from the confines of Tibet in an instant of time. In order to gain converts and confound the sceptics she made exhibition of her powers. These exhibitions of "psychical phenomena" were regarded by many as pure jugglery, and it is claimed by them that on three occasions her jugglery, though cleverly conceived, "was exposed in the most conclusive manner". 66 On the other hand, Mrs. Annie Besant, who guided the Theosophical Society for nearly half a century after Blavatsky's death and played a prominent role in Indian politics, made a convincing declaration in favour of the latter. Mrs. Besant was a highly educated and talented lady and her words deserve very careful consideration. She not only paid tributes of respect to the personality of Blavatsky but made the following statement in 1893 in regard to the much-vexed and disputed problem which had been agitating alike the friends and enemies of the Theosophical Society:

“I know, by personal experiment, that the Soul exists, and that my Soul, not my body, is myself; that it can leave the body at will; that it can, disembodied, reach and learn from living human teachers, and bring back and impress on the physical brain that which it has learned; that this process of transferring consciousness from one range of being, as it were, to another, is a very slow process, during which the body and brain are gradually correlated with the subtler form which is essentially that of the Soul, and that my own experience of it, still so imperfect, so fragmentary, when compared with the experience of the highly trained, is like the first struggles

of a child learning to speak compared with the perfect oratory of the practised speaker; that consciousness, so far from being dependent on the brain, is more active when freed from the gross forms of matter than when encased within them; that the great Sages spoken of by H. P. Blavatsky exist; that they wield powers and possess knowledge before which our control of Nature and knowledge of her ways is but as child's play. All this, and much more, have I learned, and I am but a pupil of low grade, as it were, in the infant class of the Occult School;_” 59

Though the controversy and the so-called exposures of Blavatsky's jugglery considerably lowered the prestige and reduced the popularity of the Theosophical Society, still it continued as a powerful organization. When Madame Blavatsky died on 8 May, 1891, “at the theosophical headquarters in the Avenue Hoad, London, she was the acknowledged head of a community numbering not far short of 100,000, with journalistic organs in London, Paris, New York and Madras". 60

In India the Theosophical Society fixed its headquarters at Adyar, a suburb of the city of Madras. Mrs. Annie Besant, who came to India in 1893, infused new life into the Society, and by the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century many distinguished Indians had become its members.

VII. MINOR RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

The religious movements in the 19th century followed three more or less well-defined courses, namely,

1. Reforms, which rejected some of the fundamental doctrines.

2. Defence of the old systems.

3. An intermediate course between the two.

The Brahma Samaj, Prartbana Sarnaj, and the Wahabi and Ahmadiya movements may be cited as examples of the first. To the same category perhaps belongs also the reform movement among the Parsi community. It was inaugurated by a number of Englisheducated Parsi young men who started, in 1851, the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha, or Religious Reform Association, which had for its object "the regeneration of the social condition of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity." One of the leading personalities of this group, Dadabhai Naoroji, also played a distinguished role in the political regeneration of India as will be described later. The organ of this association was the Rast Goftctr (Truth-teller) to which reference will be made later.

*'These early reformers were very cautious, discreet, sagacious and tactful in their movement. They rallied round them as many Parsi leading priests of the day as they could and submitted to them in a well-formulated form specific questions under specific heads, asking their opinion if such and such practice, dogma, creed, ceremony, etc., were in strict conformity with the teachings of the religion of Zoroaster, or contravened those teachings. Fortified by these opinions, the reformers carried on their propaganda in the way of lectures, public meetings, pamphlets and articles in the Rost Goftar " 61

A fillip was given to this movement by K. R. Cama who studied the Avesta in the original under some of the greatest scholars in Europe. On his return to Bombay in 1859 he began to teach the Parsi scriptures by the Western methods in order to create a new type of priests who would understand the real teaching of Zoroaster and free the Parsi community "from the thraldom of all those practices, rituals and creed for which there was no warrant within the four corners of the authentic Zoroastrian scriptures". 62

The religious reform was accompanied by social reforms. Education of women was encouraged and made good progress: the purdah system was removed and Parsi women moved freely in public; and the age Of marriage was gradually raised.

To the second of the above categories belongs the neo-Hinduism, seen at its best in the Ramalqdshna Mission, mentioned above. The Theosophist movement also belongs to the same category. Various existing religious sects also reacted in the same way to the new spirit of the age. The Madhvas of South India were bestirred to activity by Kanchi Sabba Raoji, a Deputy-Collector, and founded an association in 1877 with a view to stimulating the systematic study of Madhva literature and thereby strengthening the sect. 63

Another Vaishnava sect, the Srlvaishnavas, also felt the urge of the modem spirit. 6rl A. Govindacharya Svami of Mysore city wrote a large number of books, both in English and the vernacular, since 1898, to prove the great value of the teachings of Ramanuja, the founder of the sect. In 1902 the Srlvaishpavas of Mysore formed an association, evidently in imitation of the Madhvas. 64

Similar movements were noticed among the followers of Chaitanya cult in Bengal which had languished very much in course of time. It resulted in a literary movement to rehabilitate the position of Krishna as the full incarnation of God and the author pf the Bhagavadgita against modern critics and Christian missionaries. The most outstanding literary work associated with this movement was

the Kfishnacharitra of Bankim-chandra Chatterji. It is an effort, on modem critical line, to establish the historical character of Krishna, and to depict him as an ideal man. The great achievement of this new movement was to popularise the teachings of the Gita or Bhagavadgita, which is now recognized as a great religious treatise not only in India but throughout the world, and widely read in Europe and America. There is some truth in the comment of the Christian missionaries that the aim of the neo-Rrishnja movement in Bengal is “to persuade the Bengali to put Krishaja in the place of Christ and the Gita in the place of the Gospels”. A Bengali who took to ascetic life under the name of Premananda Bharati (usually called Baba Bharati) “went to New York in 1902 and lectured on Kj-ishiia with great success not only in New York, but in Boston, Los Angeles (where he built a Hindu temple), and elsewhere.” 65

The Saivas did not lag behind the Vaishujavas in attempts to popularise and strengthen their position. Saiva Sabhas were started in several localities. That of Palamcottah was founded in 1886, with th£ object of “the propagation of the principles of the Saiva Siddhanta among Saivas and others, the supervision of religious institutions, when funds are mismanaged, the cultivation of the Dravidian languages, and the betterment of social conditions in South India.” 66

The Lingayats also followed suit. The Lingayat Education Association was formed in 1884 for the promotion of modern education within the community. Since 1904 an All-India Lingayat Conference meets annually to “discuss problems, both religious and secular, which affect the life and standing of the sect”. 67

The followers of the Tantra cult tried to defend their system, generally regarded as obscene by all outsiders, by writing books to prove that there was a great esoteric meaning behind the seemingly obnoxious or abominable practices. The Introduction to the English translation of the Mah&nirvana Tantra , the principal work of the sect, by M, N. Dutt is an attempt of this kind. 68

Lastly, reference should be made to the militant orthodoxy of a section of the Smartas. The name Smarta is applied to the followers of Sankaracharya who are to be found in almost every province of India. They accept Sankara’s interpretation of the Vedanta, recognize all the gods of the Hindu pantheon, and strictly adhere to the rules and regulations prescribed in the Smritis or Dharma£astras. The Advaita Sabha of Kumbakonam was started in 1895 with a view to strengthen and defend the whole Smfirta position. It organizes an annual assembly of the Brahman Pandits of the school of Sahkaracharya which usually meets at Kumbakonam. One of its great

pillars, Professor Sundararaman, holds the view “that the whole of the ritualistic system of Hinduism comes from God, that every detail of it is right, that the punctilious observance of all its rules would bring health, strength and prosperity to the Indian people, and that the decline of India during the last two thousand years is the direct outcome of the neglect of these rules by large masses of the population.” The following is a paragraph from one of his letters to the press:

“The consequences of rebellion against ritualistic Hinduism are writ plainly on the face of the history of India for two thousand years and more. Buddha began the first revolt, and since then he has had many successors and imitators. The unity and might of the once glorious fabric of Hindu society and civilization have been shattered, but not beyond hope of recovery. That recovery must be effected not by further doses of “Protestant” revolt, but by the persistent and patient endeavour to observe the injunctions and precepts of the ancient Dharma in its entirety”. 69

So this Professor of History looked upon the whole course of Indian history from an altogether different angle, and would fain replace Hinduism on its old pedestal by wiping off the traces of all changes introduced since the days of Buddha; This may be called Hindu revivalism in excelsis.

We now come to those religious movements which occupy an intermediate position between reform and revivalism. The only organized movement belonging to this category is the Arya Sarnaj which has been discussed above. A few persons of less distinction than SvamI Dayananda also made an effort to reform Hinduism on similar lines without destroying its essential character.

6ivanarayan Paramahdihsa, bora about 1840 in Varanasi, led the life of a wandering ascetic since the age of 12, and spent most of his time in Bengal during the last years of his life. His views were compiled in Amfita S&gara (1902) and also expounded in English in a book entitled Indian Spirituality; or the Travel and Teaching$ of Sivanarayana, written by one of his friends or devotees. He believed in one God, condemned idolatry and advocated social reforms, declaring woman to be equal with man. Though agreeing in these respects with SvamI Dayananda, he differed from him in two respects. He did not believe in the infallibility of the Vedas and laid no emphasis on the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. Following in the footsteps of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa he laid great stress on service to mankind. “Looking on all individuals as God and your own soul”, so ran one of his teachings, Sl eberish them, so that want and suffering may come to none.” T ® One of his suggestions seems to be very extraordinary. It may be quoted in his own words:

“Let all mankind have a common speech. Compile from all the scriptures of the world, in that common human tongue, a scripture, containing all that is useful for man to know concerning his spiritual and temporal welfare. Preserve that one and burn all the rest, burying their ashes out of sight”. 71 6ivanaraya$ “expressly prohibited the formation of a sect. But there is a large number of men and women in Calcutta and other places, specially among the Mech tribe of Assam, who look upon him as a source of spiritual inspiration”. 72 A member of this tribe, Kalicharan by name, became the leader of a small sect following the doctrine of Sivanarayan.

The teachings of Ramakrishna that all religions are true—all ways lead to salvation—found a concrete illustration in a movement called Sadharan Dharma, started in Madras in 1886, the very year of Ramakfishoa’s death. It aimed “not to establish uniformity but unity in variety throughout the different cults and sects of India, and by and by of the whole world”. Those who profess other faiths need not disclaim them when they adopt Sadharan Dharma. Its fundamental principle was that God may be realized “by the development of one’s moral or physical powers and the use of them for the good of humanity.” 73

The Radha Soami Satsang, 74 an esoteric sect, was founded in 1861 by one Tulsi Ram, a Kshatriya, better known as Siva Dayal Sfiheb. He was a banker at Agra and had no Western education. The only means of salvation, according to him, was the practice of Surat Sabd Yoga (union of the human soul with the spirit-current or word) under the guidance of a Sant Satguru or sincere lover of the Supreme Being. Siva Dayal died in 1878 leaving his doctrine embodied in two books, each named Sdr Bachan i.e. “Essential Utterance”. The second guru, a retired Postmaster-General of U.P., was a Kayastha of Agra, known as Rai Saligram SSheb Bahadur. He was the head of the sect from 1878 to 1898 and organized the Satsang. It was his vigorous and orderly mind that systematized its teaching and gave it its modern character. The sect recognizes no god of the Hindu pantheon, nor any temples or sacred places except those sanctified by the presence of the guru or his relics. But most of the conceptions of the sect are Hindu arid of these the majority are Vaishpavite. God, the world, and the soul are recognized as realities; the spirit-current (Sabda), which streams from the Supreme and is the source of all things, corresponds to the Sakti of the Vaishpava and sSaiva systems. The method of religious exercise is unknown, for it is imparted by the guru to the disciple under a vow of secrecy.

The third guru was a Bengali Brahman named Brahma Sankar Mi£ra, an M. A. of the Calcutta University. He drew up for the Satsang a regular constitution and gave it a definite organization. He wrote two brief expositions of the faith and a book called Discourses on RadJiaso&mi Faith. When he died in 1907 he left Satsang a powerful organization, within narrow geographical limits, and it was destined to achieve fame and distinction as a religious community-organization with a good many special features of its own.

The Deva Samaj 76 was founded by Siva-narayap Agnihotri belonging to a Brahma^a family of U.P. He was educated in the Engineering College at Rurki and was initiated with his wife by a member of the college in Sankaracharya's Vedanta philosophy. He next became an active member of the Brahma Samaj at Lahore, and carried on a crusade against the Arya Samaj. His domineering personality and autocratic temper led to friction with other leaders. So he seceded from the Brahma Samaj, and on 16 February, 1887, founded the Deva Samaj. The doctrines of the Brahma Samaj were adopted with the predominance of the guru as an additional element. He was practically regarded and worshipped as a god by his disciples who called him Satyadeva, ‘real god\ The literature of the earlier period was withdrawn from circulation and the devotional meetings and the worship of the guru were held in private. The religious text of the Samaj was called Deva £astra, and the teaching, Deva Dhatma. The guru claimed supernatural powers of all kinds.

The history of the religious movements will not be complete without a reference to the bands of ascetic saints who were objects of veneration over large parts of India. Many of these gathered round them a number of devoted followers, and though they did not establish a regular sect with a definite organization or constitution, they, or some of their principal followers, are still venerated as guru by large circles of householders, belonging chiefly to the educated middle class families. Special mention may be made of Bholagiri, Trailanga Sv&mi, P&harl Baba, Bijoy-krish^a GosvamI, Ka^hiababa, and his disciple Santadas Babaji. Some of them were adherents of old sects.

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It should also be mentioned that apart from the well-known branches of orthodox Hindus, Sikhs,and Jains, many of the old religious sects still wielded considerable influence among sections of people. These included, among others, the Kabir-panthls, Dadupanthls, RfidhSballabhis, Dan<Jis and Da^anSmis, Yogis, Agnoris, Avadhutas, VamachSris, Sauras, Ganapatyas, etc. A new VfimSchari sect, known as Kartabhaja, was founded in 1830 by R&msaran Pal of GhoshpSra in Bengal. Its principal features were faith in the absolute divinity of the guru as being an incarnation of Krishna and the Tantrik ceremony of * Chakra' or the promiscuous gathering of male and female devotees indulging in licentious practices. There were numerous disciples belonging to all castes, most of whom were women. 76

VIII. MUSLIM RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The first half of the period from 1818 to 1905 was fraught with grave concern and anxiety for the Indian Muslims. The East India Company, stretching its tentacles wider and wider, swept away the last vestiges of the Muslim rule by annexing Sindh in 1843 and the kingdom of Awadh in 1856, and finally exiling the last of the Mughul emperors, Bahadur Shah II, from the Red Fort in Delhi to Rangoon. In the Panjab Ranjit Singh had established a powerful kingdom which included a considerable portion of the North-West Frontier Province. The Deccan kingdom, no doubt, still survived, but it was reduced in extent and its ruler, the Nizam, was practically a subordinate ally of the British authority. The Muslims all over the country, therefore, found themselves in a hopelessly precarious condition, shorn virtually of all political power and a prey to manifold inimical forces which threatened their very existence as a separate religious community in a land which they had ruled for the last six centuries.

This sad state of affairs was naturally bound to have important and extensive repercussions on religion and society. The rapid decline of the Mughul empire and the loss of one territory after another had left the majority of the Muslims dazed and perplexed, but some of the more serious-minded among them had been striving, vainly perhaps, to discover the cause of this decline and to find out appropriate remedies to check it. Their thoughts had naturally turned to religious reforms, for, according to their diagnosis, the chief cause of the malaise that had seized the Muslims in India was the fact that they had drifted away from the teachings of Islam and had adopted ways and manners alien to its puritanic spirit,—a development which the spread of Sufistic ideas had, they believed, helped to a great extent. It was, therefore, necessary to purge the Indian Muslims' religious beliefs and social customs of all extraneous growths and to lead them back to the pristine purity of Islam. The most notable attempt in this direction was made as early as the 17th century by the so-called Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani,[77] Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, in the days of Emperor Jahangir, when the Mughul empire was still at the zenith of its power, but the Muslim society had already become largely Hinduised, thanks mainly to the tolerant attitude of the Chishtiya Sufi saints and the conciliatory policy of Emperor Akbar.

A similar attempt was made during the period under review by one of the most remarkable persons that the decadent Muslim society of India was able to produce, namely, Saiyid Ahmad of RaiBareilly, who was actively helped by a band of zealous and staunch followers, notably Shah Muhammad Isma'il known as the Shahid (martyr)[78] and Maulana Abdul Hayy. Saiyid Ahmad, however, did not confine his activities to the field of social and religious reform but embarked on a military campaign to rid the Panjab Muslims of Sikh domination. Detailed account has been given above[79] of his initial success and subsequent defeat and death at the battle of Balakot on 6 May, 1831. But one must not suppose that he and his followers had sacrificed their lives in vain. The emphatic gesture made by them had focussed the Indian Muslims* attention on their own debased and degenerate religious and social condition and had successfully roused in their hearts an ardent desire to improve it. They had perished, but the seed sown by them was to sprout and to grow into a vigorous tree in the years to come. 80

It was not many years after the tragic end of Saiyid Ahmad's campaign, that the Indian Muslims had to face another catastrophe, greater, perhaps, than any other in their chequered history. The great outbreak of 1857, in which the Muslims had taken a very active part, resulted most disastrously for them; their forlorn hope of reviving the Mughul empire was cruelly shattered and they found themselves in a precariously weak economic condition which was sure to have a very demoralising effect on them. The victorious British made them the special target of their wantonly revengeful deeds of murder and rapine. Thousands of them were massacred in Delhi alone, while whole families had to quit their homes, leaving behind all their earthly possessions and seeking shelter in alien and not always very congenial surroundings. In Delhi, where before the outbreak practically all the house property had belonged to the Muslims, there now remained only a few of them who could still boast of having a roof of their own over their heads, and the conditions in most of the other important cities in Northern India were not much better. When it is remembered that the majority of the Muslim population of North-Western India in those days—as indeed it is even now—was concentrated in the cities, the extent of the disaster which this upheaval spelt for the Muslims can be easily imagined. The intense feeling of frustration and despondency that prevailed among them is reflected in the writings of most of the contemporary poets and thinkers such as Ghalib, Bahadur Shah Zafar and Sir Syed Ahmad. The last, as a matter of fact, thought at one time of leaving India and migrating to some other country, because he could not bear the sight of so much misery and distress around him.

The reform movement initiated by Saiyid Ahmad Barelvi and his pupils gained fresh strength after the Mutiny and manifested itself in different garbs. There was, in the first place, a group of religious thinkers who had been visibly affected by the Wahabi 81 ideology, first preached by the great Arab scholar, I bn Taimiya 82 , and they now started preaching the new ideas and gaining new supporters. The majority of the Indian Muslims were still staunch adherents of the Hanafi school, with strong leanings towards Sufiism, and consequently could not easily be won over to the soul-less, dry and rigidly puritanic Wahabi discipline. The net result, therefore, of the zealous preachings of this school of theology was to drive them more forcibly and in larger numbers into the Sufi fold. It is thus that we find both the Chishtiya and the Naqshbandiya, the two main Sufi silsilas in India, flourishng more than ever during this period and their teachings not infrequently degenerating into rank superstition and blind saint-worship in the hands of unscrupulous pirs, which, in its turn, produced a strong reaction in the minds of the more sensible and thoughtful Muslims. The foundation of the Dar-al-UKim at Deoband in A.D. 1866, which has continued to attract students not only from different parts of India but from the neighbouring Muslim countries also, was the greatest achievement of the Wahabi school of thought in India 83 , whereas the Madrisai-Qadlma of Farangi Mahal established during the reign of Aurangzeb 84 continued to represent the old Hanafi school, maintaining a via media between the extreme and diametrically opposed Wahabi and Sufi doctrines. A third important institution with a distinctly religious bias and with an ideology not very different from that which guided the scholars of the Farangi Mahal, was founded in 1898 by the famous scholar, Shibli Nu'mani, and others in Lakhnau. The Nadwat al-‘Ulama, as the new institution was called, has, however, shown a more realistic and progressive outlook since its very inception, and has produced a number of distinguished scholars whose writings have profoundly affected the more religious-minded Muslims of India. It has successfully discarded from its curriculum the time-worn skeleton of the Darsi-Nizami 815 , which, in the opinion of many enlightened educationists, has been responsible for stultifying the mental and intellectual outlook of the Indian Muslims and has been producing a type of scholars utterly unfit for the present-day requirements.

But while the religious and social reformers were busy all over the country, very little attention was paid to the fast-deteriorating economic condition of the Muslim masses. With the gradual decline and final extinction of the Mughul empire, they had been losing all the old privileges which they had so far enjoyed, while the anti

Muslim policy of the new rulers of India and their own foolish prejudice against modern education had deprived them of all new opportunities of material progress and prosperity. The doors of Government employment were virtually closed to them, and their only other source of livelihood—landed property—was rapidly slipping out of their hands due to their own improvident ways of life. Religious fervour, such as the reformist movement inspired, or emotional ecstasy which the protagonists of the Sufi cult promised, could not be a substitute for meat and bread, nor was poverty the surest means of attaining the higher spiritual ideals. Some idea of the low state of moral degeneration and economic depression to which they had sunk, can be had from Sir William Hunter's book, The Indian Mussulmans, written by him at the instance of Lord Mayo, then Viceroy of India, in the year 1871, which, though dealing primarily with the Muslims of Bengal, gives, nevertheless, a painfully realistic picture of the plight of the Muslims generally throughout India 86 . Something had, therefore, to be done immediately to stem this rot and to save them from the abysmal doom towards which they were heading. The crying need of the moment was to try to overcome the reluctance of the Indian Muslims to adapt themselves to their changed circumstances and at the same time to gain the confidence of the British rulers who had so far looked upon them with suspicion and distrust. This was by no means an easy task, but luckily for them, at this critical juncture, there appeared on the scene one of the greatest men—if not the greatest—that Muslim India has produced in recent times. The man was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who set upon this Herculean task with a wonderfully clear vision and an extraordinarily firm resolve, disdaining alike the open hostility of the conservative ulema and the veiled gibes of some of his own close friends and colleagues.

Born in Delhi in the year 1817, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had inherited the best traditions of a culture which was developed in that city through the long centuries of Muslim rule in India. His paternal grandfather, Syed HadI, and maternal grandfather, Khwaja Farid, had both held high and responsible posts under the Mughul emperors and the East India Company, and he had received his early education under their direct supervision from some of the ablest scholars of the day. His family members, especially his father, Mir MuttaqI, were spiritually attached to the Naqshbandiya school, the most prominent representative of which in Delhi in those days was Mir Ghulam

Ali for whom Sir Syed Ahmad always cherished a tender and affectionate regard. He was, however, born with a restless and sceptic mind and could not reconcile himself to a blind belief in religious dogmas, handed down from one generation to another. He

wanted to exercise, as some of the other daring individuals had done before his time, his own intelligence in understanding and interpreting those dogmas[87]. This is precisely why we find him appearing in the role of a religious reformer in his early social career after his retirement from service. His articles in the magazine, Tahzib al-AJchldq, which he started in 1870 shortly after his return from England, as well as some of his other writings[88], gave evidence of a marked rationalistic and non-conformist trend of thought, which brought upon him the wrath of the orthodox divines who all too readily dubbed him a naturalist and a kafir , an unbeliever or heretic, to be shunned by pious Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was not the man whom such condemnation could easily intimidate; but he was a wise man, too, and realized that he could make little headway in the field of religious reform against the bitter opposition of the commonly recognised custodians of the shariat, and so turned his attention mainly to social reform and specially to education, and it is now mostly as an educationist that his memory is revered by the Indian Muslims.

His first achievement in the educational field was the establishment of two madrasas of pre-eminently old type at Moradabad and Ghazipur, which were soon followed by the foundation of a school on modern lines at Aligarh, which made rapid progress under the able supervision of his friend, Maulavi Sami'ullah Khan. This school in the course of time developed into the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College[89] with the active help and encouragement cf the British authorities whose attitude towards the Muslims had undergone a radical change by now, thanks mainly to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan’s relentless efforts[90]. He was helped in his task by a band of devoted friends and followers, the most notable among whom were the two Nawabs, Muhsin’ul-Mulk and Vaqar’ul-Mulk, the well-known scholar, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, and the famous poet, Altaf Hussain Hali[91], with whose active co-operation he was also enabled to lay the foundation of the

Muhammadan Educational Conference 92 soon after the inception of the Indian National Congress. 93

The yeoman’s service which the M.A.O. College,—now a fullfledged University—rendered to the cause of the education and social advancement of the Indian Muslims cannot be over-estimated. It has produced some of the most eminent Muslim scholars of modem times and its alumni, distinguished by a peculiar intellectual outlook and cultural polish, have held responsible Government posts with marked success. It should not, however, be presumed that the foundation of this College was generally hailed by the Muslims. On the contrary, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had to fight hard to make his new venture a success and to convince his critics of its utility. The opposition came not only from the more religious-minded Muslims who looked askance at the modernisation of education and Europeanisation of the Muslim society, such as the College was calculated to bring about, but, strangely enough, from a number of enlightened individuals, like Shibli Nu‘mam and Akbar Allahabadi, who ought to have known better and to have behaved more sensibly. The main reasons for this opposition, however, were apparently not so much ideological as personal, and were, in any case, not weighty enough to appeal to the rank and file of the Muslim community which soon came to look upon the College as the most useful avenue of educational and economic progress open to them.

The progress of Muslim education in India was further helped by two other institutions of a quasi-modern type established by Government initiative, namely the Calcutta Madrasa and the AngloArabic School (later College) of Delhi, both of which acquired considerable reputation as centres of learning and had the distinction of having on their staff able scholars like Dr. Nazir Ahmad, Shamsul-Ulama Maulavi Zia-ud-din, and others.

In another part of India, the Panjab, in the meantime, the Wahabi influence, to which we have referred above, was responsible for the emergence of two “ghair-muqallid” (non-conformist) schools of theology. These became known as Ahl-i-Hadls (people of the apostolic tradition) and the Ahl-i-Qur’an (people of the Qur’an), because they regarded, respectively, the Hadis of the Prophet (plus, of course, the Qur’an) or the Qur’an alone to be the final authority for the correct interpretation of Muslim rituals and dogmas, thus practically cutting themselves off from the four recognised schools of jurisprudence which came into being in the second century of the Hijra. 94 Nawab Siddiq Hasan of Bhopal and Syed Nazir Husain were the most prominent representatives of the first school in the latter half of the 19th century, while Maulvi Abdullah Chakralavi, after whom the Ahl-i-Qur'an are often designated "Chakralvis**, founded the second. Their influence, however, was not deep or widespread, and it is really difficult for a layman to understand in what material respects they differed from the parent Hanafi school from which they had chosen to secede.

The same remark is more or less true of another sect, also founded in the Panjab, namely the Ahmadis or Qadianis, followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, bom at Qadian, a small town in the Gurdaspur District, in 1837. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, a good scholar of religious sciences as well as the Arabic and Persian languages, and gifted by nature with an eloquent tongue and a strong reasoning

faculty, was evidently influenced by the rationalist movement pioneered in India by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulavi Charagh Ali (d. 1895) and others. He, too, was moved by an ardent desire to reform Islam and to present its beliefs and tenets in a logical and reasonable form in order to be able to defend them better against the onslaughts of the Christian missionaries, particularly of the Scotish Church, who were fairly active in those days, and the aggressive and militant Arya-Samajists. As a champion of Islam against its critics and enemies, he acquired wide popularity among his co-religionists in his early career, and his work, the BardhiniAhnvadiya , published in 1880, was very well received by most of them. When, however, in 1891, he put forth the tall claim to be a prophet, the Mahdi and the promised Messiah, and even an incarnation of Krishna, they turned bitterly hostile to him, for according to the popular Muslim belief Muhammad is the last of the prophets and any one claiming prophet-hood after him is a fraud and a preposterous liar. He was, nevertheless, able to gain a number of . adherents and earned on his mission through his writings and articles in an English journal, the Review of Religions , started from Qadian in 1892. He died at Lahore in 1908 and was buried at Qadian^ 6 . The Qadianis, while conforming in general to the orthodox Hanafi school and differing from it only in certain matters of belief, such as that of the immaculate conception of Christ and his ascension to heaven alive, the bodily ascension of the Prophet of Islam (on the night of the Mi‘raj), etc., yet consider themselves to be a separate religious group and regard all those who do not believe in their leader’s prophet-hood to be unbelievers (kafirs). The more moderate among them, however, do not, at least openly, share in this view, but are none the less regarded with suspicion and distrust by the, orthodox Muslims. Whatever one may think of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad’s claim, there can be no doubt that his preachings infused a fresh and vigorous religious spirit among the Muslims and that his followers have shown commendable missionary zeal, both in India and abroad, constituting, as they do, the most closely knit and perhaps the best organised Muslim religious group in the country.

Our review so far has only dealt with the Sunni School of theology and its various offshoots and ramifications. A large number oi Muslims in India are Shi‘as, who have often played a conspicuous part in their political, social and cultural life. Their belief in the divine character of the Imams who consequently are the only accredited interpreters of the teachings of the Prophet, has exercised a restraining influence on their rank and file, and rebellious movements like the Babi and the Baha’i, originating in Iran, have not affected them materially. They, moreover, do not consider the door

of ijtihdd 96 to have been closed for all times, as do the majority of the Sunni Muslims, and their faith in their dd‘is 97 and mujtahids 98 who can look after their spiritual and material welfare under changing circumstances has deprived them of any serious urge for religious reform, or secession from the parent body. Their religious life has, therefore, pursued an even and smooth course, unruffled by the disturbances which have been agitating the majority Sunni group. They, however, have not been oblivious of their educational progress and social uplift, and during the period under survey they founded or reorganized a number of schools and colleges for the special benefit of their community, the most notable among which are the Shi‘a Arabic College, the Nazimiya College and the Sultan al-Madaris in Lakhnau (Lucknow), and the Madrasa-i-JawSdiya in Banaras. A missionary organization, called the Imamiya Mission, which is associated with the

Nlazimiya College, has also shown considerable activity in India and elsewhere during the last few decades.

Another remarkable development of the period, which though primarily of literary import is yet of a very considerable social significance, was the emergence of Urdu as a literary language. This language, born in military camps from the Hindi Kharl Boll during the later Mughul period and subsequently finding a fertile soil in Lakhnau, had already been used extensively by the Indian poets of Northern India and the Deccan, but it was really in this period that it developed into a medium of expression for religious, philosophic and scientific thoughts. An Urdu translation of the Qur’an was made as early as 1791 by Shah Abdu’l Qadir, but the credit for developing a simple, chaste and refined prose style goes to the writers of this period. The most distinguished of these were Ghalib", Sir Syed Ahmad Khan 100 , Hall 101 , Dr. Nazir Ahmad 102 ,, Maulavi Zaka’ullah 103 and Maulavi Mohammad Husain Azad of Delhi 104 . Urdu now also became the common vehicle of conversation and written communication, replacing Persian which had so far been the popular language of the educated classes. The two earliest Urdu works of fiction, namely, the Urdu version of the Bagh-o-Bahar, entitled the Qissa-uChahdr Dvhrwesh and the Fas&na<-Ajd’ib m were also written during this period by Mir Amman of Delhi and Rajab Ali Surur of Lakhnau, respectively, while a beginning in Urdu journalism on modem lines was likewise made towards the end of the 19th century. Among the earliest magazines deserving special mention was the Oudh Punch 106 of Lakhnau, a humorous weekly modelled on the pattern of the London Punch, and the Makhzin of Lahore, a literary monthly of very considerable merit. 107

A marked feature of this period was the rapid modernisation of the educated classes in which Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, played an important role. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who visited England in 1869, was greatly impressed by the regulated and disciplined life of the Europeans and did his best to popularise European dress and manners among his co-religionists generally, and the Aligarh students particularly. It was with this end in view that he founded the English House, a hostel meant for boys of well-to-do families run on European lines with a European lady superintendent in charge. The uniform prescribed for the college students was also a sort of compromise between the eastern and -western modes of dress—white trousers of the English pattern, a buttoned-up black coat, and the red Turkish cap or fez, the last being symbolic of the Indian Muslims* sympathy with the Turks which received a great fillip during the Crimean and GrecoTurkish wars. The use of tables and chairs now became a common practice in enlightened Muslim households and English food served in China dishes and plates was no longer a rare phenomenon.

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But while the male section of the Muslim urban society was fast taking to these modem ways, the women, generally speaking, remained more conservative and had very few opportunities of getting English education. It was only in a few of the more enlightened and emancipated families that they were permitted to receive lessons in English in their own homes from European missionary ladies. Strict purdah was still the general rule, and a respectable woman could never dare to go out without a veil and unescorted by a male chaperon. Fortunately for women, however, the practice of polygamy, a very common feature of the Muslim society in the preceding centuries, registered a marked decline, thanks mainly to the prevalence of modem ideas and the decline in material prosperity. Some of the more daring among them actually took up the cudgels against their menfolk in the matter, and gave vent openly to their natural resentment against the practice. They were, nevertheless, hampered in their task by the lack of an appropriate and convenient forum for the expression of their views, but succeeded towards the end of this period in starting magazines of their own, among which the weekly TdhjSbi-Nisw&n of Lahore was the earliest and the most conspicuous. 108 The Begum of Bhopal, Sultan Jaban Begum, was among the chief patrons of the new progressive movement. The women, however, still remained essentially eastern in their general outlook of life, their selfless devotion .to their, husbands and children and their strict observance of religious rites and ceremonies. It was, indeed, chiefly due to them that a preponderantly religious atmosphere continued to be a noticeable characteristic of a Muslim home, when many of their men-folk had already become alienated from religion. In the matter of dress also they remained very conservative, only a few of them adopting the European styles in the privacy of their homes. European, mostly English, governesses and companions were, however, not uncommon in the households of the wealthier people, especially those who had had an opportunity of going abroad. The age-old dictum of a woman's right place being her home still ruled supreme, and a Muslim woman could not yet dream of partaking in a mixed gathering of males and females or playing any active role in the social and cultural activities of the males. Marriages, betrothals, the bismillah ,[109] 'aqiqa[110] and circumcision ceremonies, accompanied by a lot of feasting and merry-making, which were quite frequent under the joint family system still prevalent on a large scale, provided them with enough amusement and excitement and helped considerably in relieving the monotony of their otherwise drab and confined lives. Although deprived of the benefits of modem education,[111] many of them, specially of the middle class, were good scholars in Arabic and Persian, and possessed a refined taste for Urdu poetry. Widow re-marriage, which had been strictly taboo among the respectable middle classes, due obviously to Hindu influence, now became quite common, thanks to the reformative efforts of Syed Ahmad Barelvi and his pupils, and the custom of denying to the daughters—against the clear mandate of Islam—a share in the property of their fathers, which was prevalent in some parts of the country, became gradually obsolete. On the whole, therefore, the 19th century may be said to have witnessed an improvement in the social status of the Muslim women in India, which has helped to pave the way for a complete emancipation, social and economic, which is yet in the offing.

To conclude this brief review, we may say that the period from 1818 to 1905 was a really critical one in the history of the Indian Muslims. It was, on the one hand, a period of frustration and despondency, of political decline and social demoralisation, and finally one of economic deterioration. But, on the other hand, it was also a period of religious revival, of educational progress, and of a growing awareness among them of the debased position to which they had been gradually reduced in this country as, indeed, in most of the other countries which they had once ruled. The great political upheavals of this period thus helped in bringing about a renaissance of Indian Islam and a re-orientation of the Muslim society in keeping with the changed circumstances in which it was now placed, so that in the words of the great poet, Iqbal:

AfuIJc hdthon se gaya , millat ki ankhen khul gain,

/ ' . t :

• Surma chashmi-dasht men gard-uram-i-dhu.

(Sovereignty passed out of its hands, but the eyes of the Muslim community were opened. The dust raised by the flight of the gazelle became antimony for the desert's eye.)

IX. CHRISTIANITY.

The Protestant Christian nations of Europe who came to India in the seventeenth century differed in one respect from the Catholic Portuguese who came a century earlier. Unlike the latter they had no proselytising mission, and the English East India Company were prohibited by a clause in their charter from sending out missionaries to India.

It was neither the powerful English nor the Dutch, but the Danes who sent the first Protestant mission to India,—to Tranquebar, an insignificant locality which they possessed in India. Zeigenbalg, the first missionary who reached India in 1706, candidly confessed that his mission had little success. He pointed out that the Christians in India were "so much debauched in their manners", and "so given to gluttony, drunkenness, lewdness, cursing, swearing, cheating and cozening" and "proud and insulting in their conduct", that many Indians, judging the religion by its effect upon its followers, "could not be induced to embrace Christianity". Only a few poor or destitute persons were converted, and they had to be fed and maintained by the mission. When Ziegenbalg wanted to convert the upper classes by argument, he failed miserably. "In a notable debate held under the auspices of the Dutch in Negapatam, Ziegenbalg disputed with a Brahmin for five hours, and far from converting the Brahmin, the missionary came away with an excessive admiration for the intellectual gifts of his adversary". [112]

Zeigenbalg’s missionary effort was typical of Christian missionary enterprise in India during the eighteenth century. No doubt the number of converts steadily increased and churches were founded in different parts of India. But it was the remittance from Europe that supplied the cost of building churches and feeding the congregation. Abbe Dubois (1,765-1848) published, at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century, his Letters on the State of Christianity in India . In these he “asserted his opinion that under existing circumstances there was no human possibility of so overcoming the invincible barrier of Brahminical prejudice as to convert the Hindus as a nation to any sect of Christianity. He acknowledged that low castes and outcastes might be converted in large numbers, but of the higher castes he wrote: ‘Should the intercourse between individuals of both nations, by becoming more intimate and more friendly, produce a change in the religion and usages of the country, it will not be to turn Christians that they will forsake their own religion, but rather.. .to become mere atheists.” 112 *

The history of the Christian mission in the 19th century in Bengal begins with William Carey, a cobbler in an insignificant village in Northamptonshire, who embarked upon an Evangelical mission and came to Calcutta in 1793. He earned some money by working as the manager of an Indigo factory in the Maldah District, and then set up his own factory at Kidderpore near Calcutta. At his invitation four missionaries came from England to join him, but as the authorities refused them permission to land they went to the Danish _ settlement of Serampore, about 15 miles from Calcutta. Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General, demanded the “surrender of the fugitives in order to deport them to England”, but the Danish Governor refused and the matter was not pursued any further. Carey also migrated to Serampore and joined the four; and with the help of William Ward and Joshua Marshman—the other two having shortly died—built up the famous Serampore Mission whose reputation was not confined to Bengal but spread to other parts of India. “Carey laboured in India for seven years without making a single convert”, but he did splendid work in promoting education and improving vernaculars in different parts of India. 113

Early in the nineteenth century there grew up an agitation in England in support of sending Evangelical mission to India. Many thought it preposterous that "when non-Christian rulers in Asia often gave the missionary permission to preach the gospel in their kingdoms, the Christian British should deny this elementary human right to the missionary". 114 But apart from the legal restriction, the Englishmen in India, whose easy voluptuous life was the main target of missionary attack, regarded as obnoxious not only preaching but even the very presence of the missionary in India". 115 One Mr. Twining, a tea-dealer, wrote to the Chairman of the East India Company:

"As long as we continue to govern India in the mild, tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease; but if ever the fatal day should arrive, when religious innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindustan to the other, and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind". 116 This letter stirred up a hornet's nest and there emerged two distinct schools of public opinion.

Their controversy raged with unabated fury and "the climax was reached in 1813 when the question of renewing the Charter of the East India Company came up before the Parliament. The missionaries valiantly fought for the deletion of the obnoxious clause and substitution of a new one giving full permission to Evangelists of all denominations to preach the Gospel wherever they pleased in the Company's dominions". 117 Mr. Marsh, an able lawyer, who spent several years in Madras, put the case on the other side in the following words:

"Indeed, when I turn my eyes either to the present condition or ancient grandeur of that country; when I contemplate the magnificence of her structures, her spacious reservoirs, constructed at an immense expense, pouring fertility and plenty over the land, the monuments of a benevolence expanding its cares over remote ages; when I survey the solid and embellished architecture of her temples, the elaborate and exquisite skill of her manufactures and fabrics, her literature sacred and profane, her gaudy and enamelled pottery 117 * on which a wild and prodigal fancy has lavished all its opulence; .when I turn to the philosophers, lawyers and moralists who have left the oracles of political and ethical wisdom to restrain the passions and to awe the vices which disturb the commonwealth; when I look at the peaceful and harmonious alliances of families, guarded and secured by the household virtues; when I see amongst a cheerful and well-ordered society, the benignant and softening influence of religion and morality, a system of manners founded on a mild and polished obeisance, and preserving the surface of social life smooth and unruffled—I cannot hear without surprise, mingled with horror, of sending out Baptists and Anabaptists to civilize or convert such a people at the hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions which appear to have hitherto been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy". 118

Montgomery, who had lived long in India, supported the same policy, though from another point of view. "He declared that Christianity had nothing to teach Hinduism, and no missionary ever made a really good Christian convert in India. He, too, like the tea-dealer, had a sound respect for the martial powers of the Indians, and concluded that he "was more anxious to save the 30,000 of his countrymen in India than to save the souls of all the Hindus by making them Christians at so dreadful a price". 119

A number of people, including Wilberforce, sought to refute these arguments by painting in black colours the horrible customs of the Hindus such as the Sati, infanticide, throwing of children into the Ganga, religious suicide, and above all, idolatry. Vivid descriptions were given of the massacre of the innocents resulting from the car procession of Lord Jagannath at Puri, and the Baptists put down the number of annual victims at not less than 120,000. "When challenged they had to admit that they did not actually count the dead bodies but arrived at the figure by an ingenious calculation." 120

In any event, the missionaries won the battle and the new Charter of 1813 not only granted them right to visit India but also gave them full liberty to preach their religion there. A Bishop, with headquarters at Calcutta, was appointed with jurisdiction over whole of the dominions of East India Company. The consequence was a heavy influx of missionaries into India both from England and America. They first directed their attention to the

East India Company and asked them to give up such practices as might be construed as indirect sympathy or support to heathen practices. In particular they took umbrage at the management of the temples by Company's Government, a task which they had taken over from their Hindu predecessors and was described by the missionaries as "the office of dry nurse to Vishnu". The other objections would be apparent from the memorial submitted to the Government of Bombay in 1839, pointing out the following anti-Christian practices, among others.

1. The employment of Brahmins and others for the purpose of making heathen invocations for rain and fair weather.

2. The inscription of 'Sri' on public documents, and the dedication of Government records to Ganesh and other gods.

3. The entertainment in courts of justice of questions of a purely idolatrous nature with no civil rights involved.

4. The degradation of certain castes by excluding them from particular offices and benefits not connected with religion.

5. The attendance of Government servants, civil and military, in their official capacity at Hindu and Muslim festivals with a view to participate in their rites and ceremonies or in the joining of troops and the use of regimental bands in the processions of Hindu and Muslim festivals or their attendance in any other capacity than that of police for the preservation of peace.

8. The firing of salutes by the troops or by vessels of the Indian Navy, in intimation and honour of Hindu festivals. 121

As a result of such petitions and continued agitation in England the Court of Directors ordered "complete severance of Government connection from the religious activities of their subjects". "The salute to the gods was stopped; pilgrim taxes were abolished; the

superintendence of religious festivals by the officials of the Company ceased and their function was confined to policing of the vast gatherings;

temple lands were made over to Trusts and the Trustees were either elected by the congregation or nominated by British authorities from among respectable Hindus". 122

The pendulum now swung to the opposite extreme. "The severance of the Company's connection from Hinduism appears to have been followed by an active campaign by the servants of the Company to Christianize India, and an interference with Hinduism was reported. For in a despatch of the Court of Directors we find that strict instructions were issued to the Governor-General to impress upon the servants of the Company the need for neutrality and non-interference." 123 But though the Government carried out the instructions and did not actively support the missionaries, the latter continued to derive strength and support in an indirect way. This was explained by Raja Rammohan Roy and Sir Syed Ahmed, as noted above. 124 Reference has also been made to overzealous officers who regarded proselytism as a part of their duty as pious Christians. 125

Apart from the prestige and power which the missionaries enjoyed as members of the ruling race, particularly among the ignorant masses, several causes combined to impart success to their efforts. The first and most important cause was the spread of the knowledge of English. Educated Indians who were impressed by the Bible and Christian literature and repulsed by the superstitious practices in their own society, embraced Christianity, and their example was followed by less discriminating men. This accounts for a number of converts in the second quarter of the nineteenth century from among high class Hindus, such as Madhusudan Datta and K. M. Banerji.

But the conversion of this class gradually dwindled with the rise of the reforming sects like Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and others mentioned above, and by the end of the 19th century new

converts of this class were almost negligible.

*

The English schools opened by the missionaries were mostly intended as instruments of conversion, but here, too, the success, very limited even at the beginning, gradually became less and less. Serious charges were made against the missionaries for making such conversions by force or fraud and it led to great commotions. A few such instances in Bengal were reported in a Calcutta paper on 6 July, 1833. 126 As a further illustration reference may be made to the conversion of a few well-to-do Parsi young men in Bombay. In Bombay “educational activities were taken in hand by the missionaries and where years of street preaching yielded nothing, the English schools began to show astounding results”. 127 “The earliest converts were some well-to-do Parsi young men and their baptism caused a sensation in the city, the whole community rising against the missionaries. The neophytes were persecuted, the case was taken to law courts, and the whole city had to be guarded against riots... ”™

The most disconcerting feature of the activities of Christian missionaries in India was the rabid tone of their criticism—rather abuse —of Hinduism. Even Reverend Alexander Duff, an eminent missionary who lived in India from 1830 to 1863 and had done so much for promoting education and social reforms, lost all balance while assailing Hinduism. The following extract from his book India and Indian Missions gives us a fair specimen of missionary mentality:

“Of all the systems of false religion ever fabricated by the perverse ingenuity of fallen man, Hinduism is surely the most stupendous ... Of all systems of false religion it is that which seems to embody the largest amount and variety of semblances and counterfeits of divinely revealed facts and doctrines”.

The Tattvabodhin I Patrika, the organ of the Briahma Samaj, criticised Duff’s book in the most scathing terms. The conversion of a student of the Duff School and his wife to Christianity created a great commotion in Calcutta, and the orthodox Hindus rallied round Devendra-nath Tagore who had launched a vigorous campaign against such forcible conversion. These efforts of the Indians were successful to a large extent and considerably reduced the number of conversions to Christianity. An indirect result of this anti-conversion campaign was the establishment of English schools by the

Indians in order to draw away students from the missionary schools. Thus, as a result of the campaign mentioned above, a school was established in 1845, providing free instruction to about one thousand Hindu students.

But this subject need not be pursued any further. For the converts to Christianity from educated classes were a miscroscopic minority, perhaps less than one per cent, of the total during the whole of the 19th century. The greatest success of the missionaries was among the primitive tribes and the lowest classes among the Hindus —the depressed classes and untouchables. Religion always sat lightly upon the former and the prospects of material and social advance counted for much among them all. It should not be taken as disrespect or disparagement to Christianity if truth has to be told, namely, that by far the greatest number of those who swelled the rank of converts to Christianity was attracted less by the teachings of Jesus Christ and more by the prospect of improving their social status and the lure of bettering material prospects.

These included, besides free food and clothing in many cases, the facilities of schools, hospitals, maternity homes and other amenities of life which the missionaries were in a position to hold out before them,—thanks to the constant flow of money and men from Europe and America, and the zeal and ability of a band of hard-working and selfless missionaries to run these institutions. In many cases they were models which Indians looked upon with envy and despair.

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g; HIM# (in Bengali), Vol XU, p. m.

17. B.C. fcal, Memoir# of My Life and Times, U, p. xv.

18. Ibid, xii.

19. Ibid. xiii.

19a. Widow remarriage has since become more popular and polygamy was prohibited by Act XXV of 1955.

20 . Zacharias, 22.

21. Earquhar, J. N., Modem Religious Movements in India, p. 78,

22. Kanade, Essays, p. 250.

23. Fraquhar, op. cit., 79.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid, 77.

26. The account that follows is chiefly based on La j pat Rai, Arya Satnaj.

27. B.C. Pal, op. cit., II. xxxiv.

28. Lajpat Rai, op. cit., 103.

29. B.C. Pal, op. cit., II. 77-8.

30. Ibid, xxxvi.

31. Lajpat Rai, op. cit., 74.

32. B.C. Pal, op. cit, xxxvi-xl.

33. Ibid, I, 437-8.

34. Ibid, 438-9.

35. Ibid, 439.

36. Ibid, 428.

37. This account is principally based on the Bengali biography of Ramakfishpa Paramahamsa by Swami S&radananda.

38. Max Muller, RQm&krishna, Hit Life and Sayings, 59.

39. Ibid, 58.

39a. Ibid.

40. Ibid, 179.

41. Ibid.

42. SwamI Gambhlrananda, History of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, p. 30.

43. Max Muller, op. cit. 100.

44. Gambhlrananda, op. cit, 22-3.

45. Ibid, 24-5.

46. Ibid, 27-8.

47. Ibid, 37-8.

48. Ibid, 56.

49. Ibid, 70.

50. Ibid, 102.

50a. Ibid.

51. Ibid, 109-10.

52. Ibid, 109.

53. Ibid, 110.

53a. Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, Swami Vivekananda Patriot-Prophet, pp. 13, 330.

54. Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th Edition), Vol. IV, p. 48, s.v. ‘Blavatsky, Helena Petrovna*.

55. Ibid, XXVI, 789-90, s. v. ‘Theosophy’.

56. B.C. Pal, op. cit, D. lii-liii

57. Ibid, liii.

58. Encyclopaedia Britannica, s. v. Blavatsky.

59. Annie Besant, An Autobiography, 345-6.

60. Encyclopaedia Britannica, s. v. Blavatsky.

61. Farquhar, op. cit., 84-5.

62. Ibid, 85.

63. Ibid, 292.

64. Ibid, 297.

65. Ibid, 296.

66 . Ibid, 299.

67. Ibid, 302.

68 . Ibid, 304.

69. Ibid, 307.

70. Ibid, 133.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid, 131.

73. Ibid, 135.

74. Ibid, 157 ff.

75. Ibid, 173 ff.

76. Wilson, Religious Sects of the Hindus.

77. It means the Reformer of the 2nd millennium of the Hijri era. Ha was the moat redoubtable champion of the Naqsbandi order founded in India by Khwaja Baqi Biilah.

78. He travelled all over the country, visiting one place after another, trying to mend the ways of his co-religionists and infuse in them the spirit-—which they lacked so sadly in those days—to face boldly the difficulties which surrounded them. Included in his itinerary was Calcutta which he visited in 1820.

79. See above, Vol. IX, p. 887.

80. His teachings are embodied in his work Sirat-i-Mu&tcLqim (the Straight Path) edited by his pupils after his death. For a detailed account cf. Vol. IX, pp. 883 ff.

81. Followers of Muhammad b. Abdul Wahab of Najd who himself was profoundly affected by Ibn Taimiya’s teaching.

82. Died 1328. He preached against saint worship and all unorthodox practices. Ironically enough, however, his own tomb became a place of pilgrimage in the course of time.

83. The Deobandis have never officially seceded from the Hanafi school, but there can be little doubt that they have strong leanings towards the Wahabis with whom they agree in most matters of ritual and ceremony.

84. By Mulla Qutbuddin Suhalawi (d. 1691).

85. Formulated by Mulla Nizamuddin, son of Mulla Qutbuddin, the course was based on the study of Arabic grammar, logic, philosophy, mathematics, rhetorics, jurisprudence, dogmatic theology (Kaldm), Quranic exegeses (tafsir) and Apostolic traditions (hadis). For a bitterly critical appraisal of the course, see Aslam Jairajpuri’s Maqaldt-i-Axlam. See also Rud-t-Kauthar pp. 405-410.

86 . A graphic account of their plight is also contained in the famous Musaddas of Hah (see below) and Mauj-i-Kauthar pp. 57 ff.

87. The earliest attempt to reconcile religion and philosophy and to interpret the Islamic dogmas rationally was made by the Mu‘tazila in the days of alMamun, the 6th Abbasid Caliph.

88 . These include the Khutbdt-i-Ahmadiya and an incomplete commentary of the Qur’an.

89. Inaugurated by Lord Lytton on the 8th of January, 1877. The School was inaugurated by Sir William Muir in 1875.

90. See Vol. X, Ch. XLVI.

91. Hali’s contribution to the social renaissance of the Indian Muslims about this time cannot be too highly praised. His famous poem, the Musaddas, particularly achieved a publicity scarcely ever vouchsafed to any other single Urdu poem.

92. In 1886. It was in the Second Annual Session of the Conference that Sir Syed Ahmad delivered a vehement speech opposing the Congress ideals.

93. For his attitude towards the Congress cf. Ch. XV.

94. The Hanafi, founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), the Shafi, founded by al-Shafi’ (d. 820), the M a likl . founded by Malik ibn Anas (d. 795), and! the HanbaH, founded by Ahmad bin Hanbal (d. 855).

95. On his death, he was succeeded by one of his close associates, Nuruddin, but a split occurred after the latter’s death in 1912, and his followers became divided into two groups, that of Qadian led by his son Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud, continuing to believe in his prophet-hood, and the other with its centre at Lahore, led by Khwaja Kamaluadin and Maulavi Mohammad Ali, recognising him only as a reformer.

9Q. Exercise of personal judgment in legal matters.

97. Agents (lit. Callers”) of the Imams, among the Lana'ili Shi'as.

98. Persons who have obtained an authority from the divines of Iraq to exercise personal judgment in legal matters.

99. In his letters, collections of which have been published by several scholars including the late Pandit Mahesh Prasad of the Banaras University.

100. In his Maz&min (essays), Asar al-Sanddid, etc.

101. In his Muqaddama-i-Shfr-o-Sh&'iri and Yadg&r~i~GhAlib.

102. In his lectures and a number of moral, reformative novels.

103. In his voluminous histroy of India and essays.

104. His two works, the Darbar-i-Akbari and the Ab-i-Kaydt, are real masterpieces of Urdu prose.

105. The first translation of the Bdgh-o-Bah&r, entitled Nau Tarz-Mura&a' was made actually by Muhammad Husain Tahsin in 1780, while Mir Amman's translation appeared in 1901. The Faedna-i-'Ajd’ib was written in 1824.

106. Curiously enough the Oudh Punch was in the forefront in waging war against Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his educational ventures, and it was through its columns that Akbar Allahabadi used to ridicule the M.A.O. College and the Muhammadan Educational Conference (See Mauj-i-Kauthar pp. 240-56).

107. We have already referred to the Tahzib’aX-Akhlaq started by Sir Syed Ahmad. According to Muhammad Husain Azad, the first Urdu newspaper was started by his father in Delhi in 1836. (Ab-i-Haydt, p. 37). For Urdu cf. pp. 214-5.

108. That even this step towards social emancipation was not approved ungrudgingly by the educated males is illustrated by Iqbal’s bitter tirade against the progressive women in his Zawab-i-Shikwa, in which he says:

Shauqi-tahrir-i-mazdmin men ghuli jdti hat Parde men baith ke be parda hui jdti hai.

“She (the Muslim woman) is consumed with the desire of contributing articles (to journals and magazines) thus discarding the purdah when still sitting behind it.”

109. Hie first lesson given to a child by a maulavi, consisting in the repetition by the child of a Qur’anic verse recited by him.

110. An Arabic word, meaning the natal hair of a child, used in India in the sense of the ceremonious removal of such hair.

111. The first school for girls on modern lines was founded by Shaikh ‘Abdullah of Aligarh in 1906, but a beginning had been made in that direction earlier by opening a special section for women in the Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1903.

112. Thomas, P., Christians and Christianity in India and Pakistan, p. 153-54.

112a. Encyclopaedia Britannica , 11th Edition, VIII. 624.

113. Thomas, op.cit, 165-6. Cf. pp. 167 ff., 184.

114. Ibid, 177.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid, 178.

117. Ibid.,

117a. The original has ‘poetry.*

118. Thomas, op.cit., 179-80.

119. Ibid, 179.

120. Ibid, 180.

121. Ibid, 182.

122. Ibid, 183.

123. Ibid, 185.

124. See above, pp. 15-16; VoL IX, pp. 419-20.

125. Cf. VoL IX, pp. 419-20, 629.

126. Banerji, B. N., C. 172-174.

127. Thomas, op. cit., 191.

128. Ibid.

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CHAPTER V (XLIII)

Chapter Notes

- 1. The date of Hammohan's birth is not definitely known. The date, given on his tomb, is 1774, and there seems to be no adequate reason to disbelieve it. Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, in her Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy, gives the date as 1772, on grounds which do not carry conviction. The biography of Rammohan, sponsored by the Committee which celebrated the Centenary of his death in 1933 and written by an eminent leader of the Brahma Samaj, has accepted the date 1772. Arguments in its favour are given in p. 28 of this book. For the other view cf. R&mmohan Ray (in Bengali) by B. N. Banerji, p. 12 f.n.
- 2. This account of Rlmmohan's early life is based on the Centenary Biography referred to in the preceding note, to be henceforth referred to as * t RammohunJ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 * * 13 14 But almost every single fact contained in it is doubtful. In particular there are no good grounds to believe (1) that Rammohan studied Persian and Arabic at Patna and Sanskrit at Banaras, at least for a long time—ten years according to Adam,* (2) that he wrote a book against idolatry at the age of 16 or 17 or even imbibed such ideas at that early age, and consequently (3) that he was driven away by his father from home. His visit to Tibet is very unlikely, for he never refers to it in his own biographical sketches, though he mentions that he travelled in distant lands,
- 3. Rammohun, p. 10.
- 4. There is no foundation for the general belief that Rammohan was in the employ of the East India Company for a long time, from 1805 to 1814. Cf. B. N. Banerji, op. cit. 29-31.
- 5. Rammohun, 11.
- 6. According to some Rammohan settled in Calcutta in 1815, and not in 1814, which is the generally -accepted view.
- 7. Rammohun, 13.
- 8. This biographical sketch was published in the Athenaeum of London, on 5 October, 1833 (pp. 666-68), i.e. about a week after the death of Rammohan, by Sandford Amot. He says that "the Rajah gave this brief sketch of his life shortly before he proceeded to France in the

autumn of last year (1832).” Dr. Carpenter, who was a very intimate friend of Rammohan in London, wrote an account of his life in 1833. But there are some discrepancies between the two accounts. Miss Collet (see f. n. 1) has referred to the autobiographical sketch as “spurious autobiographical letter published by Sandford Arnot”. j Mr. B. N. Banerji (op. cit. 42-4) has shown that the statement in the autobiographical sketch that Rammohan wrote a bode against idolatry at the age of sixteen cannot be reconciled with his own statement in other books. For the autobiographical sketch, cf. Rammohun, pp. 119-21. It is written in the form of a letter to a dear friend.

- 9. Rammohun, 15.
- 10. Ibid, 17-8.
- 10a. The Brihma Samaj was the original name though it was also known m the Bmhmu Sabhi, and not vice versa, as is generally supposed. Ct S. D. Collet The Life and Letters of Raja Rammohun Roy, Edited by D.K. Biswas and P.C. Ganguli, pp. 239 ff.
- 12* jkjJj 72 History of the Brahmo Samaj , 44.
- 13. * Ibid' 88-9.
- 14. Ibid, 99.
- 14®. Ibid.

LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTION 1. Languages

Referring to the popular notion about wide diversity of languages in India Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the eminent Indian philologist, has observed: “The meticulous and all-inclusive classification of the languages and dialects current in India and Burma (which, until 1937, was politically a part of India), as given in the Linguistic Survey of India, shows a total number of 179 languages and 544 dialects. These figures are staggering indeed for any single country or State claiming to be a nation, but they are to be taken with sope caution and reservation. For instance, of the above numbers, 116 are small tribal speeches which mostly belong to Burma. Then, again, the consideration of dialects is irrelevant when we mention the languages to which they belong, for it is the great literary languages that really matter”. Dr. Chatterji then points out “that India has only the following fifteen great literary languages: (I) Hindi and (2) Urdu, which are but two styles of the same Hindustani speech, employing two totally different scripts and borrowing words from two different sources, (3) Bengali, (4) Assamese, (5) Oriya, (6) Marathi, (7) Gujarati, (8) Sindhi, (9) Panjabi, (10) Kashmiri, (11) Nepali, (12) Telugu, (13) Kannada, (14) Tamil, and (15) Malay alam. The various aboriginal speeches current in the jungles and hills of the Himalayas, and of eastern, central, and southern India, like Newari, Khasi, Garo, Gond, Santali, Maler, Kota, Toda, etc., as well as those wide-spread and partially cultivated languages, in some cases spoken by millions, like Maithili, Chattisgarhi, Brajabhakha, Marwari, etc., all find in one or the other of the above fifteen their accepted literary form. Fifteen languages for a population of about 437 millions (1951) is not a proposition that should frighten anyone”: 1

These languages fall under two groups.—Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, spoken respectively by 73 and 20 per cent, of the total population of India (including Pakistan).

In addition to the above there were three other literary languages current in India, namely, Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. None

of these was a spoken language and inspired a great literature in the nineteenth century India. The last remark is also true of -the English language, though if was the one and only spoken language understood throughout India in the nineteenth century. Although the use of these four languages in literature, properly so called, in the nineteenth century India, was very limited, each of them possesses special importance.

‘The primary importance of Sanskrit lies in not only maintaining but also strengthening Indian cultural and political unity'.** Sanskrit has been, and still continues to be, the one great unifying factor for the people of India. India is a multi-racial and polyglot country, and in spite of a basic Indianism which embraces all, there is a bewildering diversity (though in non-essentials) in the spiritual approach of the Indian peoples. But the basic character of India, her great all India background, her Indianism, her Bharata-dharma, or Bh&rataydna, is linked up with Sanskrit". 2

"Apart from this very vital matter, Sanskrit is a great treasurehouse for all Indian literary languages to draw their words of higher culture from. Modem Indian literary languages, whether Aryan or Dravidian, are no longer 'building languages', Le. they do not create new words with their own native elements. With Sanskrit in the background and being nurtured in the bosom of Sanskrit, they have all become ‘borrowing languages’. Any word in a Sanskrit book or the .Sanskrit dictionary is a prospective Bengali or Telugu, Marathi or Malayalam word. The much-needed development of a scientific and technological vocabulary mil mean a greater and still greater place for Sanskrit in modem Indian intellectual and cultural life". 3

The interest and importance of Arabic and Persian to the Muslims in India resembled very much that of Sanskrit to the Hindus. The pan-Islamic view 4 , which occasionally inspired sections of Indian Musalmans in the nineteenth century, underlined the importance of a knowledge of Arabic and Persian.

The importance of the English language was of a different character. It was not only the common language of the educated people all over India, but also the language mostly favoured by the upper and middle classes of people in each region in ordinary business and transaction of life. It was the language practically used by them in all spheres of life, and in all branches of education and learning except literature proper. It must be noted, however, that there was some English literature developed in India both by Indians and Englishmen.

2. General Survey of the Character of the Literatures in the Modem Indian Languages .

Modem Indian literatures are mostly the products of Western impact. Contact with the European spirit through English literature brought in a real Indian renaissance, and gave a new course to the literatures in modern Indian languages. English literature itself and the literatures of ancient, medieval, and modem Europe, to which English-knowing Indians had access through translations in English, revolutionised the attitude to life and, literature, and inaugurated the current or modem phase in Indian literature. This contact with the European mind first began in Bengal and, by the middle of the 19th century, the emancipation or modernisation of the mind of Bengal and of Bengali literature had already begun. European methods of literary approach were eagerly adopted; an expressive prose style was established, and the drama, the novel, the short story and the essay were bom during the sixties of the nineteenth century. The European type of blank verse, and verse-forms like the Italian sonnet were introduced. We have an astonishing fioraison of literature in Bengali at first, and then gradually in other languages,—the development following, generally, a similar course as English education through schools and colleges began to shape the mind of the intelligentsia. India became linked up with the modem world in literature and the humanities.

It will thus be seen that next to English literature, the influence of modem Bengali literature has been one of the most potent forces in modem Indian literature. This is symbolized by the fact that Bankim-chandra Chatterji and Rabindra-nath Tagore have become pan-Indian in their effective power.

Their writings have been translated into various Indian languages and not only stimulated their growth but influenced their further development in various ways.

Three other facts, though of secondary importance, considerably helped the growth and development of modern Indian literatures. The first was the printing press meant to publish books for the people which was set up by the Christian missionaries at Serampore in Bengal in A.D. 1800, and earlier in Goa and in Malabar. These were followed by several others in Calcutta and other parts of India, during the next' twenty years, established both by the Indians and Europeans. The printing press created a much wider reading public and a greater degree of living interest in literature. This not only stimulated its further development, but also influenced, to a large extent, its future shape and course.

The second was the growing facilities of communication between different parts of India by improvements of road and transport,

specially the extension of railways, which led to the gradual realization of a common nationality. Besides, subjection to a common administration also indirectly contributed to the development of Indian literature by extending the spheres and possibilities of reciprocal influence through exchange of ideas, widening the horizon of outlook, and enriching the contents of literature.

The third factor was the literary activity of the Christian missionaries as part and parcel of their proselytizing propaganda. The necessity of diffusing the knowledge of the Christian scriptures among the Indian masses who were ignorant of English forced the missions to translate the Bible into various local languages, and the missionaries had thus to cultivate their study. To this study they brought in their material resources and the scientific knowledge of linguistics as it developed in the West. Grammars and dictionaries of various languages were written in order to help to evolve a standard prose style which was lacking in most Indian languages at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and printing presses were set up to publish these as well as religious tracts. This and the general interest in local literature displayed by many of the missionaries laid the foundation, or in any case marked the beginning, of a prose style which constitutes an important characteristic of modern Indian literature.

Finally, it should be noted that all the languages dealt with in this chapter had evolved before the nineteenth century, and the history of their growth, including that of their literature has been dealt with in the preceding volumes. This chapter deals only with these languages and literatures as they developed in the nineteenth century. Many writers and literary schools had their beginning in the nineteenth century but their full development took place during the twentieth. These will be more fully discussed in the next volume.

n. SANSKRIT. 5

The orthodox Pandits kept alive the study of Sanskrit during the nineteenth century, and their literary output was by no means insignificant. They were patronized by the Hindu rulers of Tanjore, Cochin, Travancore, and Mysore, in the south, and Kashmir and Rfijput States in the north. The old centres of Sanskrit learning like Varanasi, Mithila and Nadlyfi also continued to be centres of Sanskrit learning.

The Sanskrit works written during the 19th century embraced various branches of literature such as religion, philosophy, poetry, drama, grammar, medicine, lexicography, and encyclopaedia

Vi&vanatha Sirhha Vaghela (1813-54), ruler of Rewa, is the reputed author of no less than fifty works nn Rama cult (exposition of the details of Rama worship, poems, songs, and musical plays). At K&fichi (Conjeeveram in Madras) a SannyasI gave a systematic exposition of the 108 Upanishads and was hence named Upanishad Brahman. A Tamil scholar, Appayacharya (died, 1901 A.D.) wrote a large number of philosophical works with a view to effecting a synthesis of Samkhya, Yoga and Vedanta systems (Anubliavddvaita). The traditional learning in logic (navyanyaya) was kept up in Bengal as indicated by the Adhydtmachanffi of Sivachandra.

“In the beginning of the 19th century, Raghava Apa Khantfekar flourished at the well-known Maharashtra centre of learning, Puoyastamhha, and wrote the lexicon Kosdvatamsa, the astronomical works Khepticjiti, the Paddhatichandrika and the Panchdngdrka , and the literary work Kfishnavii&sa. More prolific was his Panchavati contemporary Achyutaraya Modak, who made varied contributions to poetry, poetics, religion and Advaita philosophy, nearly thirty works of his being known. The Tanjore Kannadiga authors Vanchchhe£vara and his great-grandson and namesake received patronage at Poona too; the latter received help at the hands of the Patwardhan Sardars and their ministers, and is well known for his Mlmaihsa work Bhdp pachintdmani; he wrote also on Dharma and &rauta. In Nagpur flourished the poet Gangadhara (1860-65) who produced eighteen works including two Gitagovinda imitations, Sangltardghava and Gang&shtapadi. Advaitendra Yati (1780), author of Dharmanauka, flourished near Ahmadnagar. Raghunatha Sastri Parvate wrote a commentary on the Gita called the Padabhushana and then the Advaitic polemic against Dvaita, the Adnkaraj^idabhushana, in 1848, under the patronage of Nana Saheb, Minister at Bhor".

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"RSmasvami Sastri of Ilattur in Travancore (1823) was a pro' lific writer; his Kirtivilasa Champu is on Ayilyam Tirunal, Sura par&ghava, a grammatical poem like Bhaftik&vya, KaivalyapalliparU nay a, an allegorical philosophical play like the Prabodhachandro . daya, and KshetratattvadipikA, a work on geometry. His pupil Sundararaja was as prolific and versatile, and one of his best-known works is the one-act play on the triumph of the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law, the Snush&vijaya . Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampuran (bom 1845) composed several hymns and poems, and when king Ayilyam Tirunal interned him, gave vent to his feelings of dislike against the king in many pieces, and after release wrote the Vtiakhavijaya on ViiSkham Tirunfil."

"Cochin did not lag behind. During the time of Rama Varma, ArOr Bhattatiri (1830) wrote the TJttara Naishadha; Virakerala Varma, king in 1809-28, was an author of hymns; Goda Varma Yuvaraja of Cranganore was master of &astra and K&vya, his monologue, Rasasadana Bhana, being his best known work; his Ramacharita was completed by Kochchunaji Tampuran (1855-1926) who wrote also Goda Varman's life in

Vidvad-Yuvaraja Charita; Kunnikkuftan Tampuran of Cranganore wrote also one-act plays and a life of Sankara. The Afahishamangala Bhana was produced in the time of Rajaraja Varma n by the Nambudiri of Mahishamangalam”.

In Kashmir, the reign of Ranavira Singh (ascended 1857) witnessed a great amount of enthusiasm for Sanskrit. “Siv&nahkara compiled at this time the Dharma£astra digest, Ranaviraratnakara; in Vedanta, Vasudeva wrote the Chittapra&pa; Ga^eSa of Jammu wrote the Vishaharctantra in medicine, and La la Pa^itSa, the Pra&naratndvali in Jyotisha. This King appears as the sponsor of no less than thirty-two works in all branches of Sanskrit literature. His chief Pandit Sahibram wrote, among others, a commentary on the Paneha say aka on erotics. Visvesvara of the same court produced an encyclopaedia called Ranavlravijaya and a treatise on prognostication derived from Muhammadan sources, called the Skandhasthiprasna; and the Bhiipdlavildsa of Sivarama is another interesting work of the same time dealing with different topics of royal interest and games and amusements”.

A Sanskrit ritualistic text of the Bengal Vaishnava sect, Kjishnarchana-Chandrikxi, was composed by RadMmohan Sarma who was probably also the author of KrUhv^bhaktUstidh&rnava. The renowned Ayurvedic physician, Gangadhara Kaviraja of Bengal (17981885), wrote the commentary Jalpakalpataru on the famous medical treatise Charaka Samhitd.

“Bengal produced two great encyclopaedic works, viz. Sabddkab padruma and Vdchaspatya, compiled, respectively, by Radh&kfinta. Dev and Taranath Tarkavachaspati, on modern lines. A third, SabdUrthasarvasva, compiled by Paravastu Venkata Rangaclmrya of Vizagapatam, is not yet published.”

Among historical works may be mentioned the Siddhdntavijaya dealing with Pratapasimha, Rajfi of Satara.

Reference may be made to some women writers in the field of Sanskrit literature. “Triveol (1817-83), a Vaishajava lady of §rlperumbudur and one who engaged herself also in some public work in the religious field, composed hymns, a couple of plays, two imitations of Kalidasa’s

Meghasandesa and two epic poems. Sundara valli, authoress of a Rarwyana Champu , hailed from Mysore. Jnfinasundari of Kumbhakonam (died 1910) was highly gifted in this line, and among three women of recent times who tread the more arduous path

of mastering Sastras, mention may be made of a Telugu Brahman lady of Mayavaram, Kamakshi (widowed 1871), who has left glosses on Tarka and Advaita Vedanta texts, Nilakanfhiya-vishayamald, Ad vaitadtpikd anu Smritiratnaprakd&ka. Lakshml, a princess of Kadattana^ (died 1900), wrote the poem Santdnagopala , indulging in difficult rhymes. Subhadrfi of the Cochin royal house (1844-1921) composed devotional hymns".

Sanskrit literature also felt the impact of Western influence, though it came late in the nineteenth century and was mainly exhibited in the composition of short stories in prose, translation of poems and plays from English, and publication of journals of modem type. These new movements and models of composition will be more fully dealt with in the next volume. Two examples may be cited here. Rajaraj a varm a, a Kerala graduate and author of the grammatical work Laghu P&tyiriiya, composed a drama named Avgalasamrdjya which was an adaptation of Shakespeare's Othello. Panchanan Tarkaratna, an erudite Sanskrit scholar of Bengal, voiced the national and patriotic sentiments in his poems and particularly in the drama Amaramahgala, based on a story of Mewar. 6

HI. BENGALI 1. Growth of Bengali Prose

AM noted above, there was no prose literature in the Bengali language before the nineteenth century. We have specimens of Bengali prose in the writings of a Portuguese Christian and a Bengali convert which may be dated in the closing years of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. To the same period, or perhaps even an earlier date, belong the official documents of Tripura (Hill Tippera) State which adopted Bengali as the State laiiguage since the 15th or 16th century. Specimens of Bengali prose towards the close of the eighteenth century are furnished by the translation of a Sanskrit work Bhasha-parichchheda and the official records of, and letters written to the authorities of the East India Company by the rulers of Tripura, Cooch Behar, Assam, Manipur and Gfich&r. The records represent a colloquial style, easily understood, which often shows foreign influence and hardly possesses any literary grace. The letters are so full of Arabic and Persian words, without any punctuation, that it is quite unintelligible even to a modern educated Bengali.

The history of Bengali prose literature really begins with the foundation of Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 A.1J. This college was established with a view to training the officials of the

East India Company in the different languages of this country. It had a Bengali section with William Carey, a missionary, as its head, and eight other teachers under him. Carey felt very keenly the lack of suitable text-books, and the authorities of the college encouraged the Bengali teachers in the department to compose new books by offering cash rewards. As a result of this, as well as of the personal example and encouragement of Carey, a large number of books were composed by the Bengali teachers during the first ten years. Even outsiders, encouraged by pecuniary help, followed their example. Among these authors special mention may be made of RSmram Basu, Mptyunjay Vidyalahkar, and Rajib-lochan MukhopSdhyay, whose first works were published, respectively, in 1801, 1802 and 1805 A.D. The most eminent among them was Mrityunjay Vidyalahkar, four of whose works were published before 1813. He developed for the first time an artistic literary style, and fully deserves the epithet, ‘father of Bengali prose*. The credit is usually given to RSja RSmmohan Roy. But the first Bengali book of the Raja was published in 1815 and his style is heavier and much inferior in literary merit to that of Mrityunjay. Though the numerous writings of the Raja in Bengali prose greatly helped its development, still, as in the case of English education, he cannot be regarded as a pioneer in the field of Bengali prose literature.

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The early Bengali books were mostly translations from Sanskrit, English and Persian, but there were three original compositions, all of historical character. R&mram Basu and RSjib-lochan Mukhopadhyay wrote, respectively, the lives of Pratfip&ditya and Kfishna-chandra Ray, while Mrityunjay Vidy&lankfer wrote a history of India from the earliest period to the times of Warren Hastings.

William Carey, to whom reference has been made above, looked to the technical side of the Bengali language and brought to bear upon it his knowledge of European languages. He composed a grammar of the Bengali language in 1801, and a Rengali-English dictionary in 1815. He wrote a book in colloquial Bengali in 1801 which anticipates the easy-flowing popular style for which credit is given to PyW-chfind Mitra. A part of it, if not the whole, was written by a Bengali, probably Mjityufijay Vidyalahk&r. Another book, written by Carey in 1812, named ItihdtamdlSL or a collection of stories, shows his command over easy literary style in Bengali On the whole the importance of Carey's contribution to the development of Bengali prose is very great indeed. The following passage from the Introduction to his Bengali Grammar shows his apjpedation of the Bengali language and gives us a fair idea of its

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status at the beginning of the nineteenth century: *'Bengalee is a language which is spoken, from the Bay of Bengal in the south to the mountains of Bootan in the north, and from the borders of Ramgur to Arakan. It has been supposed by some, that a knowledge of the Hindoosthanee language is sufficient for every purpose of business in any part of India. This idea is very far from correct, for though it be admitted, that persons may be found in every part of India who speak that language, yet Hindoosthanee is almost as much a foreign language, in all the countries of India, except those to the north-west of Bengal, which may be called Hindoosthan proper, as the French is in the other countries of Europe. In all the courts of justice in Bengal, and most probably in every other part of India, the poor usually give their evidence in the dialect of that particular country, and seldom understand any other...

"The Bengalee may be considered as more nearly allied to the Sungskrita (Sanskrit) than any of the other languages of India;... four-fifths of the words in the language are pure Sungskrita. Words may be compounded with such facility, and to so great an extent in Bengalee, as to convey ideas with the utmost precision, a circumstance which adds much to its copiousness. On these, and many other accounts, it may be esteemed one of the most expressive and elegant languages of the East".

Carey has rightly pointed out that Bengali was more nearly allied to Sanskrit than other Indian languages. One of its effects was the close imitation of Sanskrit prose style by the Bengali writers. Even Mfityuhjay Vidyalahkar, who could write easy graceful Bengali, adopted Sanskritized style in some of his books. Evidently, the father of Bengali prose was experimenting with different styles. Unfortunately, his heavy style was also adopted by many writers after him. Henceforth we find, in addition to purely colloquial Bengali, an easy, and graceful, as well as a heavily Sanskritized, literary style in Bengali prose. The last style, which soon found favour among the educated, was mainly inspired by the very common desire of the authors to show off their learning and a repugnance to the easy colloquial words which were regarded as somewhat vulgar. The books written in this style were intelligible only to a few, and are now generally forgotten. Nevertheless, their authors did a grtat service to Bengali language by saving it from the dominating influence of Arabic and Persian which overtook Hindi. It is a remarkable fact that while the languages of Upper India came to be more and more Persianized and Arabicized, Bengali language, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, deliberately cast off this foreign influence and locked for sustenance and development to the rich resources of Sanskrit and the spoken language of the people. While the language was thus being remodelled and simplified, the Bengali writers drank deeply at the fountain of English literature which was becoming gradually accessible to them as a result of the spread of English education. These two factors seem to be at the root of the wonderful development of Bengali language and literature in the nineteenth century.

The first manifestation of this new spirit is to be seen in the growth of Bengali periodicals. 7 Although English periodicals appeared in Bengal shortly after the foundation of the British rule, there was no Bengali periodical before 1818. Three papers were published in that year of which the B&hgal Gejepi (Weekly Bengal Gazette), published in May, was probably the first in the field, but did not continue for more than a year. The other two were brought out by the Baptist Missionaries of Serampore, about 15 miles from Calcutta. The first was a monthly journal named ‘Digdariana, which was soon followed by a weekly called Sam&charOr^Uirpa^a (Mirror of News). This was the most important Bengali periodical of the early days, and fortunately almost complete file of its issues has come to light. It is thus an invaluable source of information, and has been drawn upon for materials in several chapters of this volume. We have the additional advantage of learning from it the news and views quoted from other papers which are no longer available.

The first issue of Samdchdra-darpa^ia was published on 10th Jyaishtha, 1225 B.S., corresponding to May 23, 1818. It was to be published every Saturday morning and the price was fixed at Bs. 1/8/- per month. It was announced in the very first issue that the regular publication of the following items would form the chief features of the Weekly.

I. Appointment of Judges, Collectors and other officials.

2 < Acts and Ordinances issued by the Governor-General.

3. News of India and Europe.

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4. Commercial news.

5. Birth, marriage, and death news.

6. New discoveries in Europe and account of the new machines and industrial development contained in books imported from England every month.

7. Ancient tystory and culture of India and account of her

learned men and books.

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J. C. MaT flhman was the nominal editor of the paper, but it was actually conducted by Bengali Paints, among whom Jayagop&l Tar

and TSrhji-chara^i §iromagi deserve special mention.

At least seven other Bengali periodicals were started between 1820 and 1850. Raja Kammohan Roy was the virtual, if not also the nominal, editor of one of these, Sambada-Kaumudi, started in December, 1821. Here, again, we can hardly support the claim that Raja Rammohan Roy was the pioneer in establishing vernacular and English journals in Bengal. In 1829, he, along with others, started two papers, Bengal Herald in English and Bangaduta in Bengali. But there were English and Bengali journals long before that.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the great historical value of these old Bengali periodicals. An enterprising Bengali scholar has published extracts from these papers in three handy volumes. As we go through them a complete picture of Bengal in the twenties and thirties of the last century, with all its defects and shortcomings and urge for a new life, passes before our eyes, and we can discern in it the symptoms of a sudden awakening after lethargy of centuries; of new ideas and visions of hope and aspirations, of strange customs and beliefs, doubts and dissensions, conflict between the old and the new, and the faint beginning and gradual growth of those ideas and institutions which have gone to make up Modern India. The might of the political authority of the British rulers and the stories of their conquests and diplomacy, which have hitherto formed the staple food of Indian history, recede into the background; we stand face to face with a new generation of people casting off their slumbers of a thousand years and trace the travails of the birth of a new culture and new civilization out of the old.

But apart from this great value as source-materials of history, the Bengali periodicals are of great importance as landmarks for the development of Bengali language and literature. The variety of topics dealt with by them increased the elasticity of the language and made it a suitable vehicle of expression for all types of thoughts and ideas. It became gradually free from high-flown Sanskrit compounds and was already well on its way to that stage of development which rendered it possible for masters like Kvar-chandra VidySsftgar, Bankim-chandra Chatterji, Rabindra-n&th Tagore and a host of other great, but less renowned, authors to transform it into one of the most beautiful and highly developed languages of the modern world. The extracts from these old periodicals, even of 18401850, would occasionally appear crude, and somewhat unintelligible, to an educated

Bengali of the present day. But thfy were the foundations, well and truly laid by a generation of pioneers, on which the noble structure of modern Bengali language and literature was built up by the next two successive generations of Bengalis. The Bengali periodicals were the first milestone in the road of progress followed by Bengali language and literature, the end of which is marked by pillars now famous all over the world.

The periodicals were also great mediums for the spread of general knowledge and culture, and their value as such was gradually being appreciated by the people. The following extract from Samdchara-dcCrpana, dated January 30, 1830, is an interesting revelation:

"We find from our survey that the subscribers to periodicals have been doubled during the last year. The editors of those papers are also publishing information about more and more distant countries and this has widened the knowledge of the people. When twelve years ago we first brought out this paper, many subscribers blamed us for writing about countries whose names were never even heard of by them. But we are glad to find that the periodicals in Calcutta edited by Bengalis publish news of many countries of the world and the people are anxious to know of the events happening in foreign countries, specially in England. A striking proof of this has recently come to our notice. A Calcutta Periodical recently gave a list of countries the news of which would be specially published in it. A few days later we received a letter from a Mofussil subscriber that in case we do not publish the news of all those countries he would cease to subscribe to our paper".

It is an interesting revelation how Bengalis were put in touch with the current affairs of the world. Towards the closing centuries of the Hindu rule, India's contact with the outside world gradually became less and less. Al-Birum noted this as a great defect in the character of Indians as far back as A.D. 1030. It is now generally recognized that this complete ignorance of outside world was one of the important causes of the downfall of the Hindus. Nor was there any great improvement in this respect during the Muslim rule, so far at least as the Hindus were concerned. Now we find that at one stroke, thanks to these periodicals, the Bengalis were learning a great deal of the world outside, and what is more important, the value of such a knowledge was being more and more appreciated. The influence of this factor on the development of culture can hardly be over-estimated. It would be hardly any exaggeration to say that an average Bengali educated njan of 1830 knew more of the world outside in course of the preceding ten years than his forefathers did during the previous thousand years.

2. Poetry .

While the Bengali prose style was of recent growth, Bengali poetical literature had a long history before the nineteenth century,

and many high-class works were produced by famous poets like Chapdidas, Mukundaram, Bharat-chandra and many others mentioned in preceding volumes. These were based on religious themes, though occasionally and incidentally some secular topics were introduced. The last great master of the poetical styles which came into vogue, late in the 18th century, in poetical contests held in public, was Dasarathi Ray (1806-57), best known for his spontaneity of diction and similes.The first poet to break a new ground was Isvarchandra Gupta (1812-1859) who wrote poems on social and political themes and translated English verses. His style was artificial and he represented the transition from the old to the new school. The first great poet of the new school was Madhu-sudan Datta (1824-73), distinguished by the Christian epithet 'Michael', who brought about almost an epoch-making change both in form and spirit of Bengali poetry. He introduced blank verses, hitherto unknown, and his epic, Meghanada-vadha-lcavycL, numerous sonnets, and other longer poems breathe a new spirit. Madhu-sudan learnt a number of European languages—English, French, Italian, Greek, and Latin—,and studied Sanskrit and Telugu in addition. He used Indian themes but treated them in a distinctly modern i.e. European way. This is specially true of his magnum opus , the Meghanada-vadha-kavya (1861), a grand epic, based on an episode in the Rdm&yana, in which he successfully naturalised the European blank verse in Bengali. “In his Virangarva kdvya he essayed the style of the Heroides of tlje Latin poet Ovid, but with an epic grandeur all his own. In his Vraj&hgana-kavya, based on Radha-Krishna legend, he caught the depth of feeling of the old Vaishnava poets, but in his own inimitable apd modem way. He wrote a series of sonnets on the model of the Italian and a number of effective plays in various moods influenced by his European readings. He also tried to bring an echo of Homer’s rolling hexameters into Bengali prose in his unfinished fragment “Hektarvadha” or the “Slaying of Hector”. 8

Rangalal Bandyopiadhyay (1827-1887) wrote some poems on Rajput chivalry and other historical episodes. His famous ode on liberty, particularly its first line (Breathes there the man who would like to live, though bereft of freedom), has become a permanent treasure of Bengali literature.

Two of the greatest poets of Bengal after Madhu-sudan Datta were Hem-chandra Bandy op§dhyay (1838-1903) and Nabln-chandra Sen (1847-1909). The former wrote an epic poem Vritra-Saihh&ra (a weak imitation of Madhu-sudan’s Meghandda-vadha-k&vya) , but is better known for his patriotic poems inspired by fervent nationalism. Nabln-chandra Sen is the author of a triology of epic poems

(Kurukshetra. Raivataka, and Prabhdsa) 9 giving a new interpretation of the life and message of Sri-Kfishj^a, a theme more philosophically handled by Bankim-chandra in his Krishna-charitra. Nablnchandra wrote three short biographies of Buddha, Christ, and Chaitanya in fine verses. His best known work is, however, Pald&r Yuddha, based on the decisive battle of Palasi (Plassey). This great epic, and many shorter poems of Nabln-chandra breathe a fervid sense of patriotism. Hem-chandra and Nabln-chandra carried the Bengali poetry further on the line chalked by Madhu-sudan. These three may be regarded as the great classic poets in modem Bengali.

Mention may also be made of Dwijendra-nath Tagore 8 * (18401926), the eldest brother of Rabindra-riath, His Svapna-pray&na is a unique composition. It is an allegorical poem on a novel plan and shows a high flight of fancy and charming poetry.

The next phase of development was the romantic poems which began with Biharl-lal Chakravarti (1835-94) and culminated in Rabindra-nath. Many other poets like Surendra-nath Majumdsar (183878), Akshay-kumar Baral (1865-1918), Mrs. KaminI Ray (1864-1933) and Dwijendra-lal Ray (1863-1913) were of a fairly high order, but have been cast into shade by the great genius of Rahindra-nath.

3. NotieU

The Bengali novels reached, even if did not exceed, the height of excellence attained by Bengali poetry. This type of literature was directly inspired by English novels. The first work which may be properly regarded as a novel was written by Bhudev Mukhopadhyav (1827-1894), a student of the Hindu College. But the greatest writer in the field was Bankim-chandra Chatterji (183894), whose first novel DurgeSa-nandinl was published in 1865, and was followed by many others in quick succession. They heralded a new era in Bengali literature for two reasons. In the first place, he introduced a new style in Bengali prose which continued to be. the standard throughout the nineteenth century. Reference has been made above to the Sanskritized style of early prose writers which found favour among Bengali writers. Its long compounds and difficult Sanskrit words made it incomprehensible to most readers. A reaction set in and Pyari-chand Mitra (1814-1883) used the colloquial style, full of slangs, in his realistic story Al&ler Gharer Dul&l published in 1858. It was ISvar-chandra VidyfiSBgar (1820-1891) who rescued the Bengali style from the pedantry of the Pandits and the vulgarity of the realists. He may be called “the father of literary Bengali prose”. His style was graceful and dignified, but still a little too heavy, and not very suitable for novels. Bankim-chandra improved upon his style, and the form of Bengali prose introduced by him did not lose its mastery fill the later days of Rabindra-nath in the present century.

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Bankim-chandra’s novels showed an astonishing vigour of the Bengali language, combined with beauty and simplicity. They also revealed a new world of romance and idealism undreamt of before. From his pen flowed, year after year, novels of outstanding merit, of all types and descriptions,—religious, historical, romantic and social. He showed for the first time that the ordinary life of a middle-class Bengali can be a subject-matter of a high-class novel, and religious and social views can be preached through novels without detriment to their artistic merit. He also proved that a book written in Bengali can rank with a first-rate English novel. Some of his novels were translated into English, and one in German, and this raised the prestige of Bengali literature in the eyes of the educated classes. Before him Bengali literature did not occupy a high place in the estimation of the educated Bengalis. The Sanskrit Pandits as well as the Anglicised section regarded it as vulgar and beneath notice. Proficiency in English was then the only title to fame, and no Bengali writer could hope for any credit in their eyes. It is interesting to note that even Madhu-sudan Datta and Bankim-chandra, the two great pioneers and luminaries in the two main branches of Bengali literature, fell into the lure and both began their literary career in English. The first poetic work of the former was Captive Ladie (1849), and the first novel of the latter was Rajmohan's Wife (1864). It is a great good fortune of Bengali literature that both realized their mistake very early, and devoted their attention to Bengali literature.

Bankim-chandra was a versatile writer. Besides novels, he wrote religious treatises and a number of essays on a variety of subjects. He preached his religious views and patriotic sentiments through his writings, and made the Bengali language a fit vehicle for expressing the highest ideas on all conceivable subjects in the most beautiful form. For half a century he remained the uncrowned king in the domain of Bengali literature. One of his novels, Anandamath (Abbey of Bliss), which contains the famous song Vande Mdtarum, has attained an all-India fame on account of his patriotic fervour skilfully* depicted in the form of a quasi-historical romance. While there is no doubt that Bankim was profoundly influenced by European thoughts and literature, his great originality as a writer and thinker is beyond all question.

Bankim-chandra opened the floodgate of novels, and since his days they occupy the most prominent place in Bengali literature. Among his successors special mention may be made of his brother

Sanjib-chandra (1834*89), Tarak-nAth Gangopadhyay (1845*91) who portrayed a realistic picture of the domestic life of Bengal, Rameshchandra Datta (1848-1909) who wrote several historical and social novels, Svanjia-kum&ri (1855*1932), a sister of Rabindra-nath, and &ri£-chandra Majumdar (died 1908) who dealt with rural life.

4. Drama

The next important line of development was dramatic literature. Towards the close of the eighteenth century (in 1795 and 1796 A. D.) a Russian named Herasim Lebedeff staged two dramas in Calcutta with the help of Bengali actors and actresses. These were translations of two English works. But it was not till 1831 that the first Bengali stage was set up by Prasanna-kumar Tagore. The two dramas selected for the first performance were Shakespeare's Julius Caesar and the English translation of Uttara-Rama-charita . One or two years later, a Bengali gentleman named Nabin-chandra Basu set up a stage in his own house where Bengali dramas were acted. Similar stages were set up by other individuals, both in Calcutta and mofussil, but the first public stage dates only from December, 1872. It was named National Theatre according to the prevailing spirit of the time. Since then public stages have continued in an unbroken career.

These performances led to the development of Bengali drama. The earlier dramas were either translations of Sanskrit and English or based on Puranic stories. The first drama which broke a new ground was Kulina-kulasarvasva, a comedy based on the evils of Kulinism, written by R§mn&rayan Tarkaratna (1822-1886). But in this line also Madhu-sudan Datta was the first great genius who infused a new life into the Bengali dramatic literature. His first work, Sarmishtha , based on the story of Yayati, was not a great success. But his historical drama, Krishnakumari, based on the story of the princess of Udaipur, and several comedies, exposing social abuses, were works of high order. The next dramatist, Dinabandhu Mitra (1839-1873) also showed great dramatic powers. His famous drama Nila-darpaana (1860) which exposed the oppressions of indigo-planters, 9 created a great sensation at the time, and Mr. Long, a missionary, was imprisoned for publishing an English translation of the same. An interesting development was the patriotic or national drama to which reference will be made later. Rajakfishi^a Rfiy (1849-94) wrote a number of dramas, mostly on Puranic themes, and introduced the regular free verse—a remarkable innovation in Bengali dramas. Jyotirindra-nfith Tagore (1849-1925), an elder brother of Rablndra-nAth, wrote several historical plays, and translated a large number of Sanskrit dramas in Bengali. The most successful playwright was Gin6-chandra Ghosh (1844-1912). Himself a highly reputed professional actor, he was a voluminous writer of dramas of all types—

religious, Puranic, romantic, social and historical. Although many dramatic works were written before him, this class of literature was far below the standard reached in poems and novels. Girli-chandra’s genius raised Bengali dramas to a high level, and he was ably seconded by Kshirod-prasad Vidyabinod (1864-1927) and Dwijendra-lal Ray (1863-1913). Mention should also be made of Amrita-lal Basu (1853-1929), who excelled in farce and satire.

5. Miscellaneous

In addition to poems, novels and dramas, the Bengali literature was enriched by a variety of other branches. The most important of them was religious, philosophical and moral literature. The Tattvabodhini Patrikd, started in 1843, contained a fine series of articles written in lucid style by Devendra-nath Tagore, l&var-chandra Vidyasagar, Raj-narayan Basu (1826-99), Dwijendra-nath Tagore (18401926) and others, each of whom rose to great fame as writer and also in other spheres of life. Akshay-kumar Datta (1820-86), who edited the paper, was a versatile writer of great repute and was the master of a graceful prose style. Next came Kegab-chandra Sen 9a (1838-84), whose great fame as a religious leader has obscured his jngh qualities as a great Bengali writer. Finally, we have to mention the great SvamI Vivekananda (1863-1902), the great disciple of Sri Ramalqrishpa, and the author of several religious treatises. He was a powerful writer both in English and Bengali and evolved a Bengali prose style, which was akin to the spoken language, but also suitable to serious dissertations.

The Tattva-bodhirti Patrikd was the forerunner of many great periodicals. Reference may be made to Vividh&rtha Sangraha published by the Indian Vernacular Society and edited by R&jendralal Mitra (1822-91). It was a mine of useful information in all branches of human knowledge. The great Rabindra-nfitb has referred to it in flattering terms in his autobiography. He read it with great interest in his youth and lamented the absence of similar periodicals in his old age. There were a few other periodicals of this nature. But by far the best periodical in Bengali was the Bangadariana edited by Bankim-chandra from 1872 to 1876. The essays and criticisms published in it were of high literary merit and opened a new era in Bengali literature. In

1877 appeared the Bh&rati, edited for seven years by Dwij endra-nfith Tagore, then by his sister Svars^a-kumirf, and lastly by her two daughters.

Reference may also be made to the cheap daily newspapers. Ke&ab-chandra Sen first introduced it, and later the HitavddZ, edited by Kall-prasanna Ravyav&arad (1861-1907), and the Bctngab&si by Jogendra-chandra Bose (1854-1905) became very popular.

Several great writers have left their chief contributions in the form of essays or short tracts. The most notable among them were Bhudev Mukhopadhy&y, Raj-naraya# Basu, Ramtanu L&hi$l, Chandra-nath Basu, Akshay-chandra Sarkar, Kfili-prasanna Ghosh, and Hara-pras&d Sastri.

Some writers of satire, both in the form of novels and poems, have attained great fame as Hterary men. Among them may be mentioned Kall-prasanna Simha (1840-70), who also translated the MaMbharata in prose, Indra-n&th Bandyopadhyfiy (1849-1911), and Jogendra-chandra Basu (1854-1905).

There are several good autobiographies and biographies in Bengali literature. The former include lives of R&j-nfiraya? Basu, Devendra-n&th Tagore and Siva-rath S&strL Among the latter may be mentioned lives of Raja Rammohan Roy by Nagendra-n&ih Chattopadhyay, of Madhu-sudan Datta by Jogfndra-nath Bose, and of livar-chandra Vidyasagar by Bihari-lal Sarkfir and Chaarfi-charan Banerjee. The lives of great patriots like Garibaldi, Mazzini and others by Jogendra-nath Vidy&bhusha^i (1845-1904) contributed to the growth of national and patriotic sentiments in Bengal.

It would thus appear that when RabXndra-n&th Tagore (18611941) made his debut in various branches of Bengali literature in the eighties of the last century, Bengali literature had already attained a position of eminence. His life is almost equally divided between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is hardly any branch of Bengali literature which he has not touched, and almost everything which he touched he adorned and enriched by his contributions. Poems, songs, novels, short stories, dramas, satire, autobiography and essays of all kinds—religious, social, political, educational and literary—, in every field, he left Bengali literature much richer than he found it. But he was the real pioneer in lyric poems, in songs in the modem spirit, and in short stories. His voluminous contributions in all these fields mark the beginning of a new development of Bengali literature towards the dose of the nineteenth century, and will be dealt in the n^xt volume. We may, therefore, close the account of Bengali literature with Rabtadra-n&th in the full blaze of his glory and heralding a new and more glorious era in Bengali literature.

Before we leave this topic it is important to emphasize the debt which Bengali prose literature owes to English literature and Western ideas. One of the most serious charges against the introduction of English education in this country is that it has diverted our attention from the vernacular which has consequently suffered a great deal. But the fact remains that the vernacular language and literature attained the highest development in Bengal where English education was the most advanced. We may contrast the result with that in Bombay, Madras and other parts of British India where the main stress was laid on the vernaculars and not on English, as in Bengal.

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IV. ASSAMESE

As noted above, Assam was conquered by the British in 1826 and formed a part of Bengal. Assamese was looked upon as a dialect of Bengali, and only Bengali was taught in Assamese schools, to the exclusion of Assamese, up to the year 1873 when Assamese as the language of the people was restored to its rightful place in the schools and the law courts. The Assamese people were educationally backward and there was hardly any growth of Assamese literature during this period.

The Christian missionaries, Bronson and others, did pioneer work by writing a grammar and dictionary of Assamese, publishing religious (Christian) literature which helped to set up Assamese for modern requirements, starting a monthly magazine in Assamese, the Anmodaya Samv&d Patra (1846), and writing text-books for schools in history, elementary science, and grammar, besides general Readers. A new literary style, based on the spoken language of Central Assam, came into being in this way. Anandar&m Dhekial Phukan (1829-59) was the first great Assamese writer of the present age. His younger contemporaries, who served their mother-tongue during the period of its neglect, were Hem-chandra Barua (183596) and Gusjabhir&m Barua. (1837-95). Hem-chandra was a most versatile writer, who composed short novels as well as satirical dramas and a very good dictionary (Hema-kosha). Guqabhir&m brought out in 1885 a magazine, the Asam Bandhu. A number of Assamese young men, educated in Calcutta, inspired by the phenomenal progress in Bengali literature, brought out a literary magazine, the Jondki (moonlight) in 1889, which had great influence in the building up of modem Assamese literature.

The younger writers wrote short poems and lyrics in a modem spirit, and Bhola-n&th Das (1858-1929) sought to emulate the famous Bengali poet Michael Madhu-sudan Datta by writing an epic in Assamese in blank verse. But it was not favourably received on account of its "highly stiff style and Sanskritised language".

Lakshmi-nath Bezbarua (1868-1938) is regarded as the greatest figure in modern Assamese literature. He was a dramatist, a poet, an essayist, a short-story writer and humorist—all in one, and he distinguished himself in each line. His sketches of Assamese middle-class life and the Assamese villager still remain unsurpassed. He wrote serious plays as well as farces, and it is difficult to say in which branch of literature he excelled more than in others. He was one of the founders of the literary journal called Jonaki mentioned above.

Many other Assamese writers flourished towards the very end of the nineteenth century; their activities will be described in the next volume.

V. OKI YA

Moden Oriya literature was developed, as almost everywhere else in India, under the impact of Western influence. Its beginning is associated with three eminent writers, namely, Fhakir-mohan Senapati, Radha-nath Ray and Madhu-sudan Rao.

The oldest among these three contemporaries was Phakir-mohan (1843-1918). He was a remarkable man in many ways. "He was well-versed in at least five languages, with a working knowledge of English, and was pioneer printer, publisher and journalist in Orissa". 10 His literary output was prolific. 'He translated, singlehanded, both the Rdmdyctya and the Mahdbhdrata, from the original into modern Oriya and tried his hand at short stories (the first to be written in Oriya), ballads, hymns, narrative poems, rollicking satires and an epic on the Buddha'. 11 In spite of his versatility Phakirmohan distinguished himself chiefly as a novelist, a career which he began almost at the end of the period under review, with the publication of his first novel Chha-mana Apa-Gunfha (1901). It is a work of outstanding merit, depicting the life of poor villagers, exploited by money-lenders or landlords.^ Indeed, it was the striking feature of his novels that they dealt mainly with common men and simple village-folk—"uneducated weavers, barkers and peasants, the village chowkidar who himself was an accomplice of the dacoits, the unscrupulous and mischief-mongering maid-servants, etc." 12

Radha-nath Ray (1848-1908) ushered in a new age in Oriy& poetry. His magnum opus, the Mahay atm, broke entirely new grounds. It was the first attempt to introduce blank verse in Oriya poem in imitation of the Bengali poet Madhu-sudan Datta, and, contrasted with the early medieval Oriya poetry, shows "an advance or enlargement of ideas and thoughts, accompanied by new powers and forms of expression". 13 In particular he freed Oriya verse from the verbal gymnastics which had become an indispensable part of poetry be

fore his time. Another striking feature is the rapturous description of the natural beauties and past glories of Orissa. In his Mdh%yatrti, based on the story of the last journey of the PajKiavas, he made them come to Orissa, and this device enabled him to sing the beauty of the hills, rivers, the Chilka lake, and other landscapes of Orissa. The Western influence upon Radb§-nath is mainly shown in his new sense of patriotism. He makes the Fire-God at Puri tell the Bantfavas that all the evils including servitude, from which the Aryans (of India) had been suffering, can be traced to the loss of spiritual power caused by rituals and ceremonies. He emphasizes the unity of India, the provinces being "separate only in name, equal in blood they are all". Besides the Mahayatra, Radha-reath wrote a number of small romances in verse, many of them being in imitation of English poets. He was also the pioneer in modern Oriya Katha-S&hitya in prose. His It&liya Yuvql (Young Italian) was published in 1877.

Madhu-sudan Rao (1853-1912) wrote in a very forceful prose style a number of stories and essays, and his poetic genius was on the side of the lyric. His Vasanta-gdthd and Kusumanjali embody some of the highest flights of his imagination in the realms of Truth, and World, and Time. His sense of patriotism is portrayed in his Utkala-g&tha, a volume of lyrics.

The illustrious trio—Phakir-mohan, Radba-nath and Madhusudan—who inaugurated the modern Oriya literature were life-long friends. Their efforts were supplemented by others. Ram-£ahkar Ray introduced the modem type of drama and devoted himself to dramatic literature for 37 years (1880-1917). He wrote twelve dramas, beginning with the Kfinchfckaveri (1880), which were historical, religious, social, and farcical. Among other dramatists may be mentioned Jagamohan Lala, Kamapala Misra and Raja Padmanabha Narayajpa Deva of Parlakimedi (1872-1904) who wrote in collaboration with his teacher Syama-sundara R&ja-guru. The Satind^aka of Jagamohan is regarded as one of the best Oriya plays. Among the younger contemporaries of the venerable Trio may be mentioned also Nanda-kishor Bal, who “distinguished himself in historical and nature poetry”.

A brief reference may be made to the Oriyfc periodical literature. Two monthlies were started by the Christian missionaries in 1849 and 1861. The first indigenous newspaper, the Daily Utka]a djpifcfi, appeared in 1866. Five years later came out an AngloOriya fortnightly, the English portion of which was called the Orissa Patriot , and the vernacular part, Uthala-Hitaishmfi. The monthly Utkaja-Darpana and fortnightly Utka]a-Putra both appeared in 1873, followed 14 years later by the weekly 0$va. Several other papers followed. AH these papers had only a very small number of subscribers and hence most of them were shortlived.

Special reference may be made to the professed objects of two of these papers. The Utkala-prabhd , started in 1891, wrote in the Foreword to its first issue that “it will be no exaggeration to say that there is really speaking no literature in Oriya language”. Referring to the galaxy of Oriya poets ending in Upendra Bhanja, it comments: “But the Bhanja poet has churned the ocean in his books and raised to the surface the poison of erotic sentiment. Such works can but serve to spoil the society. That is true literature by studying which the ordinary people of society are roused to their respective sense of duty, and which helps everybody to proper conduct, character-building and social behaviour. The Oriyas have no such literature, and so the society of Utkal has no means of progress. To supply this want, the Utkala-prabhd has entered the field”. 14 This heralded a new age in Oriya literature. The Utkala-prabhd announced the rise of a new school of poetry and R&dha-n&th’s Mahdydtrd was serially published in this paper.

“The Utka\a-Sdhitya, which appeared for the first time in 1304 Ban, corresponding to 1897, laid down its policy in the Suchana or foreword, to keep to the golden mean of appreciating the new literature while realising the value of the old, as the following relevant excerpt will show:

“Such change as has appeared in all the departments of life in the country due to western education had occurred also in things relating to literature. This change is very desirable—human society cannot continue in the same state, in the same condition. That would be unbearable for a living society. i1t is not wise to block the way to progress for the sake of tradition. On the other hand, ignoring the past, or want of confidence in it for the sake of the present, is, highly blameable. Those are wise who can steer clear of rocks on both sides. The Utka\a-Sdhxtya has come forward in the hope of functioning in a representative capacity for both ancient and modern literature”. 15

VI. HINDI

The epoch of modem Hindi literature started at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but its progress was very small until the middle of that century. There was the beginning of a prose literature but its language—the Khafi-Boli —was roughly the standard speech of Delhi, identical in grammar (though not in script, higher vocabulary and sometimes syntax) with Urdu, the Muslim form of Hindi. The extent of this prose was very meagre, but side by side there was a vast literature in verse, almost entirely in other dialects and even languages (grammatically looked at)—in Brajbhakha, in AwadhI, in Rfijastham and in all mixed forms of speech. But there was hardly any poetry in the Khari-Bolx language which was employed in prose. This disparity gradually disappeared in the second half of the nineteenth century and one common form of Hindi came to be used in both prose and verse, though a few authors still wrote in Brajbhikha and AwadhI.

Like Bengali, Hindi prose owes its origin partly to the efforts of the Christian missionaries to translate religious texts and of the authorities of Tort William College in Calcutta to prepare suitable text-books for the use of their students. The first author of note is Lalluji L§1 of Agra (1763-1835), a teacher in the Fort William College, who wrote his Prem*9d.gar in 1803 on the story of Kpishpa's life as described in the Bhagavata Purana. This work was immensely popular and became the great model and exemplar for Hindi prose from the very beginning. It is one of the earliest Hindi (Kharl BoU) prose classics, although its language occasionally smacks of the Brajbhakha. Pandit Sadal Mi£ra, a Bhojpuri speaking scholar from Bihar, also a teacher of the Fort William College, wrote another model work in Khaft-Boli Hindi prose, the Ndsiketop&khydn, based on the well-known story of Nachiketas in the Kufha-upanishad. This work is also regarded as a landmark in the early modem Hindi prose.

The work commenced by the pioneers in the 18th century—-RSmprasad NirafijanI, Pandit Daulatrfim, and above all by Munshi SadfisukhM Niyaz,-—came to be stabilized; and the Midland speech in its latest phase of a Sanskritised Khari-Boli Hind! started on its career of conquering nearly the whole of Northern India.

From about 1850, the prose style inaugurated by Lalluji Lai, Sadal M&ra and others was becoming-gradually established, being greatly influenced by the simple prose style of Urdu and the rapidly developing prose style of modem Bengali. From 1850 to 1870 there was a period of hesitancy in Hindi—as if the people, trained in the Urdu language and tradition, were not yet sure of Hindi.

Then came Harii-chandra of Banaras (1846-1884) who had the sobriquet of Bh&ratendu (Moon of India). He is universally acknowledged as one of the makers of modem Hindi. He wrote dramas (original, as well as translations from Sanskrit and Bengali), poems and essays, and was a versatile writer of genius. He was followed in the process of developing modem Hindi by a number of able writers, including journalists; and, besides, a large number of translations form Bengali helped to model Hindi prose style on that of Bengali.

The next event of great importance was the foundation of the Arya Samfij by Dayananda Skrasvati who adopted Hindi as the language of his preaching and propaganda. The progress of the Arya SainSj, which has been discussed in the preceding chapter, had very great effect in reviving and spreading Hindi in the Panjab, Western U.P. (where Urdu was dominating) and RSjputana.

The progress of Hindi literature was not arrested after the death of Harii-chandra (1884). The novel, the short story, the drama, besides new styles in poetry, began to flourish. Lala 6rlnivasa-dfis of Mathurfi (1851-1887) was a pioneer dramatist, whose romantic dramas Ranodhtr-PrermiTriohini and Samyogitd-Svayamvar are wellknown and were very popular. His PcCrtkshd-guru is one of the first original social novels in Hindi written in a fresh colloquial style.

In drama the Hindi literature has not made much progress save in one branch, namely, one-act plays. The greatest novelist and short story writer of modern Hindi is Prem Chand (1880-1936). “Apart from his short stories, rivalling the best in any language and giving a most convincing and a sympathetic picture of the life of the people, he has some half a dozen bigger novels to his credit. His novels are social and analytic in their themes and their approach”. But his activity really falls in the twentieth century and will be discussed in the next volume.

“The new styles of poetry, with a very large amount of Bengali and some English influence, came in during the second half of the nineteenth century. Among the more well-known poets mention may be made of 6rldhar Pathak (1876-1928), Ayodhyfi Singh UpSdhyay ‘Hari Audh’ (1865-1946), and Maithili Saran Gupta. The last-named, bora in 1886, and happily still alive, is the author of a number of narrative poems which are recognized among the classics of Hindi poetry.

Hindi journalism came into the field when Pandit Jugal Kishore of Kanpur started from Calcutta the first Hindi weekly, the Udant M&rtantf (the Rising Sun). Though it had a very short life, it inspired others, and a number of Hindi journals began to be published from towns all over the Hindl-using area. A Bengali resident in Banaras brought out the Sudhdhar (1850) and Munshi Sad&sukhMl published Buddhi-prakcti from Agra (1856).

A number of renowned journalists flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century. B&lmukund Gupta of Rohtak (18651907) and his two associates, Amj-ita-lfil Chakra varti, a Bengali, and

Prabhu-dayal Pa^Je, from Mathura, edited from Calcutta a weekly paper, the Hindi Bangavdsi, which was the most influential Hindi newspaper during the two closing decades of the nineteenth century and considerably advanced the Hindi prose style. Mahablr Prasad DvivedI (1870-1938) was the editor of the well-known Allahabad journal, the Sarasvati, which raised the tone of Hindi journalism, in both form and content, and helped a great deal in establishing a fine expressive Hindi prose style.

Vn. MARATHI

The decline of the political power of the Mar&thas towards the close of the eighteenth century was followed by a period of decadence in the Mar&thl literature. The age of Tukaram and Ramdas was gone, and the writers of this period, though endowed with some poetical fervour, had to remain content with singing the war-like deeds of the past and amorous deeds of the present. The last remnants of them lingered even during the period under review in Anant Fandi and Prabhakar.

With the advent of the British rule the people were bewildered by the superiority of the British civilisation, and a spirit of defeatism overtook them. The link with the old traditional literature was broken. The writers of this period, though intellectually very high, appear to be struggling—-groping as it were—in the literary field. There was a complete blank and the whole thing had to be started afresh. Soon the influence of Christian missionaries and English education made itself felt in Marathi literature. As in the case of Bengali, Carey, with the help of a Marathi Pa^wjit, Vaidyanath Samoa, began to develop Marathi. During the period 1805 to 1818, ten books were written, including the Grammar of the Maratha language (1806), the Marathi-English Dictionary (1810), translations of stories from the Bible, and the Panchatantra (1815). Three others, namely, the History of Raja Pratdpdditya (translated from Bengali), BattM-singh&sana and Hitopadeto were really the works of Vaidyanath, though often attributed to Carey. 16 *

The grammar was written in English and the dictionary was also very inadequate. Besides, the efforts made by Carey at Serampore took time to exert influence in the distant Maharfishtra. His example, however, inspired Elphinstone to found, in 1820, “The Native School Book and School Society” and he put Captain George Jervis (1794-1851) in charge of it, with a number of SSstrls or Paaj4its to assist him. A Marathi grammar prepared by them was long in use and formed the basis of later grammatical treatises.

Jervis also set his Sastrls on the work of a dictionary (1829). Later, in 1831, came out the famous Marathi-English Dictionary by Molesworth. These pioneer efforts satisfied the initial needs for the study of Marathi.

This period that begins from 1810 or 1818 is pre-eminently a prose period. Not that poetry did not appear at all. It appeared, but did not thrive as the prose did. This prose again was altogether a new prose, because the writers themselves did not know that there was prose-writing in Marathi in days gone by. The simple prose of the Mahanubhavas, the dynamic prose of fiknath, the forceful prose of the political despatches of the Peshwas, the beautiful prose of the bakhars which continued to be written by M. R.

Chitnis (1815) and others—this whole tradition of elegant prose-writing was scarcely known to them. It is for this reason that the prose-writers of this period present in their writing a new form of Marathi language and a new style. There is, in it, much influence of Sanskrit, as some of the writers were Sastris, of Konkan dialects, as some came from Konkan, and of the English language as most of them were neo-literates in English.

The literature that appeared in this period was of a story-type, —stories translated from both Sanskrit and English. The most noteworthy writer in this early period was Sadashiv Kfishinfith alias Bapu Chhatre (1788-1830) who served as a 'writer' and later became an assistant to Jervis. Two of his books —Balmitra and Aesop*s Fables in MarSfhi (1828)—are well-known. Bapu Chhatrb may be said to be the father of modem Marathi prose, and as instructor in the school he trained a good many young pupils of his in the art of writing. He was succeeded as a secretary by an illustrious pupil of his —Bal Gangfidhar Jfimbhekar (1810-1846), who later became the first native professor in the Elphinstone Institute (1835). He was noted for his high intelligence, for a number of books that he wrote, and also as a pioneer journalist in Marathi. He wrote books on grammar, geography, history and calculus, but they were all of the schooltext-book level. Hari Keshavji (1804-1858) was another contemporary writer, who was a good translator and gave us the e *Y&trik Kraman", translation of Bunyan's Pilgrim*s Progress, in 1841.

But better known than any one else of this period was Dadoba Pa^urang Tarkhadkar (1814-1882), whose Marfithl grammar entered every Marfithl school and home, and who, on account of being the first recognized propounder of Marfithl grammar, was called the Pacini of MarfithI- Dfidoba was a disciple of Bapu-dfistr! and a costudent of Jfimbhekar. He served the Government in various capacities, and succeeded Jfimbhekar as Superintendent of Schools. He

wrote a number of books; his Marathi Grammar (1836) is the most distinct service to Marathi language, and ij still being used at several places. His autobiography, though incomplete, and his commentary of the Kik&val i of Moro Pant are two other books of recognized merit, one depicting the social history of his times and the other evaluating his place as a poetical critic.

The last, but not the least, of this illustrious batch of the four stalwarts of the early British period, was Parshuram Balwant alias Parashuram Pant Tatya Godbole (1799-1874). He was one of the four editors of the Marathi lexicon (1829) which formed the basis of the later one by Molesworth. His help was also sought later on when another English-Marathl lexicon was undertaken and finished in 1847 by Major Candy (1806-1877). But more than as a lexicographer, Parashuram Pant Tatya is known as the editor of the Navneet (1854), an anthology of Marathi poetry. This collection of poems displays the best qualities of the creative critic that was in him. The prologue of the book shows what an appreciative, straightforward and modest heart he had. He says that 'these flowers—the best that he could find—the sweetest like a ball of sugar, are put together in a garland and offered to the receptive Marathi reader'. The excellence of this anthology is proved by the several editions that it has already gone through.

Though this period was a preparatory and a school period, still it did not fail to educate the public in general. Advantage was taken of the newly introduced printing press, and periodicals were started. There were the Darpan (1831) and DigdarSan (1841) of Jfimbhekar, the Prabhdkar (1841) of Bhau MahSjan, and Jndnodaya (1842) of the missionaries. The JwanprdkA&a was started in Poona in 1849 and was followed by the Vicharalahan (1852), the Vartamdndipikfl (1854) and the InduprdhcUa (1862) in Bombay. All these efforts laid a firm foundation of the Marfithl journalism, which, with the classical touch of the Nibandhamdld (1874) of VishXLU^astri Chiplunkar, ripened into an all-sided development, the fruits of which we see in the Kisan (1881) of Lokamftnya Tilak, Sudh&rak (1888) of Principal Agarkar, the Kdl (1898) of S. M. Paranjpe, and many others.

There is one more characteristic of this period. The success of the individual writers inspired some others to collective and cooperative work and led to the establishment of some literary bodies and societies. The Book and Tract Society (1827), The Students' Literary and Scientific Society (1848), and The Jfi&npras&rak Sabha (1848), The Dakshina Prize Committee (1851), and many others are instances in point. Some of these societies brought out books, some gave prizes to writers, some conducted schools, while others had periodical meetings and discussions.

There was thus a general awakening all through. Since the establishment of the University of Bombay, in 1857, the progress both in the spread of education and the creation of literature became regular, orderly and on right lines. Though it was all Western, it did not fail to create among the people the spirit of nationalism and democracy; nay, it was because of it, that these new ideas were imbibed by the people.

We may now proceed to show how the different literary forms developed since the starting of the University.

The story literature, the first phase of which is seen in the v Balbddhmuktdvali (1806), Hit6padesa and Panchatantra (1815), later developed into school stories such as B&lamitra and Aesop's tales (1828) of Bapu Chhatre, B6dhkath& (1831) and Nitikathd (1838). Tales from other languages, like Sanskrit, Persian and English, were translated with the same view. Rpshna-£astri Chiplunkar (182478) translated the famous Arabian Nights (1861-65). Lamb’s Tales from Shakespeare was rendered into Marathi by Sakharam P. Pandit (1867). Ravji-SastrT God bole translated Robinson Crusoe (1871) and Kj:ishi^a-&astrf Chiplunkar and his son translated Rase las in Marathi (1873). From story to novel was not a long journey. The social condition of those times—especially the question of female education, remarriage of widows, foreign travel, and a host of other topics—gave rich material to the novelists. B&h& Padmanji (1831-1906) gave the first original novel in Marathi (1857)— Yamund Paryatan—the sojourns of Yamuna, a Hindu widow, describing in it all the miseries that she had to go through, incidentally eulogizing Christianity at the cost of Hindu religion. Lakshman Moreshwar Halbe wrote two original social novels,— Muktamdld and Ratnaprabha (1866). Another compeer of his, Naro Sadashiv Risbud, composed ManjughdshSL (1868) and Vishw&sr&o (1870). History, also, gave enough material for novel-writing, the result of which we find in the Mochangad (1871), depicting an incident in Shivfiji’s life, by Rama-chandra Bhikaji Gunjikar (1843-1901), and in Ghdshi • rdm Kotwal (1873), by Moroba Kanhoba Vijaykar.

This form of literature was pursued with great success by Hari N&rSyan Apte (1864-1919), who combined in him the characteristics of Walter Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray. He enriched the Mar£{hl literature by writing a number of novels: Apte was a social reformer and wielded his powerful pen in exposing and trying to mend the social evils His novels depicting the society of the time, such as Madhali Sthiti (1885), Ganpatrao (1887-88), and Pan Lakshat

Kon Gheto (1890-93), have become classics in Marathi. He had an equally great success in historical novels as is shown in Gad Aid pan Sinha Gild (1903), Ushahhdla and Suryddaya (1905-08). He created a tradition and influenced quite a number of both contemporary and later writers. Narayan Hari Apte, Vithal Sitar&m Gur~ jar and many others belong to this tradition. S. M. Paranjpe and C. V. Vaidya—great scholars themselves—successfully tried their hands in novel-writing.

The Marathi drama went in line with the novel in development. Though its origin is found in a crude form in Kamillas, Da£avat£ras, Gondhals and such other mystery plays, still, owing to the influence of both Sanskrit and English drama, it developed into a full-fledged one. Vishnu Amritu Bhave was the first originator of modern Mar&thi stage. He, with the help of princes of some States started this movement in 1843, by staging his improvised plays based on the incidents from the epic legends. The Prasannardghava was the first full-fledged play in Marathi (1851). Later on came the plays translated from Sanskrit by Parasuram Pant Godbole—the Venis&rhhfrra (1857), 171» tara-Rdma-charita (1859), £akuntaU (1861)—and by Kyish$a*j§§str! Raj wade~-Mudra-R&kshasa (1867), Sakuntald (1869)—, and from English by Mahadeo-4astrI Kolhatkar (Othello). Two historical playg were written by V. J. Kirtane (1840-1891), namely, Thorale Mddhav rdo (1861) and Jaypal (1865). Social plays also came to be written during the period viz. Mandramd (1871) by M. B. Chitale, and Stoairkesha (1871) by Raghunath*4astrl Abhyankar. Music was introduced in the play by S6kar Bapuji Trilokekar (1879) and Balwant P&pdurang alias Annisaheb Kirloskar (1880), thus changing the prose drama into an opera. Music came to be tried with great success later on by the illustrious trio of dramatists—Govind Balia! Deval, Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar, and Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar—who practically ruled the MarSthI stage for a long time; Deval by his Sharada (1905) and Samshyakalldl; Khadilkar by his Sawai Mddhaoraochi Mfityu (1893) and K&nchahgadchi Mdhand (1898); and Kolhatkar by his imaginative plays, Vxrtanay and Malivekdr .

Poetry, the third form of creative literature, was in a decadent stage at the beginning of this period. But later on, when it came into contact with the Western poetry, from 1857 onwards, it prospered. Hansar&ja (1798-1855) and Dr. KIrtikar B. D. Palande (18321874) wrote poetry in the old traditional way. Ga^e4-4fistr! Lele translated from Sanskrit, and Bajaba Pradhfin, from English. Some original poetry was given by Vithoba Am* Daftard&r (1813-1873) and Chintfimani Pltbkar (1851-1879). Quite & revolutionary

attempt is seen in the pseudo-epic poem, Raja Shivajl (1868), of M. M. Kunte.

But the real lyric poetry, quite similar to that in English literature, appears from 1885 onwards in the poetry of Keshavasuta— Kjish^iaji Keshav Daml6 (1866-1905). Keshavasuta was the foremost of that illustrious band of poets,—Rev. N. V. Tilak (1862-1919), Vinayaka Karandikar (1872-1909), MadhaVanuj (1872-1916) and D. K. Ghate (1875-1899). This was the new poetry—the poetry of love, of nature, of society and nationalism, and. of mysticism. There was thus a change both in the content and the Way of expression. This particular new form is still domineering in modern Marathi poetry.

The period (1818-1905), however, though not rising to a high level in point of creative literature, is very rich in the other form of literature, viz. the interpretative one. The high role of the intelligence and the might of the pen are seen in the various essays and articles, in the dissertations and expositions, in the theses and the commentaries that appeared during this period. The printing press and the periodicals gave an impetus to this type of writing. Jamhhekar and Mahajan had already prepared the ground, and Gopal Hari Deshmukh alias Lokhitawadi (1823-1892) contributed his ‘Shatpatre ’— the Century of Letters—to the Prabhakar of Bhau Mahajan on various subjects. In fact there was a very good batch of young writers formed by G. N. Madgaonkar, Baba Padmanji, Kj:ishna-£astrii Chiplunkar, V. N. Mandalik, Vishnubuwa Brahmachari, Jotiba Phule, and others, who wielded their mighty pen in reforming and reawakening the society and thus enriched the literature of the time. The topmost personality, of course, belonged to Vishnu Kfishoa-^astribuwa Chiplunkar (1850-1882), a worthier son of a worthy father. His Nibandhamdld (1874) roused the people from their stupor. His was a mightier pen nourished, as he says, on the milk of the tigress—the English literature. The forceful and elegant prose of Chiplunkar was a great source of inspiration to all subsequent writers, the most notable among whom were Lokamanya B.G. Tilak (1856-1920) and Principal Agarkar (1856-1895). These three masters and makers of modern Marathi prose were followed by writers like V. K. Raj wade (1863-1926), S. M Paranjpe (1864-1929), N. C. Kelkar (1872-1947), K. P. Khadilkar and others. Inspiration from them was also taken by novelists, dramatists, poets, and other creative writers, the prominent among them being H. N. Apte, Keshavasuta, Kirloskar; Deval and others.. These writers, though influenced by the Western literature, had much of the East in them. They can be rightfully said to be the makers of the classical period of modem Mar&thI language and literature.

VIII. GUJARATI

The history of GiQarati literature during the period under review may be conveniently divided into three sub-periods,—the first, from 1818 to 1852, the second, from 1852 to 1886, and the third, from 1886 to 1905.

1. 1818-1852.

This may be regarded as the period of transition from the old to the new. It is true that, in point of time, the most creative phase of the great poet Dayaram (1776-1852) falls within this sub-period, but his works, as well as those of the other great poets of the SvamiNaraya&a sect, belong to the earlier period, in inspiration, technique, form and idiom. These have, therefore, been dealt with in the preceding volume. What demarcates this sub-period (1818-1852) from earlier period is the effort made under the influence of Western contact to shape Gujarati as a vehicle of modern expression.

The progress of English education, the foundation of educational associations and newspapers, and the efforts of Christian missionaries gave a great impetus to Gujarati language. A few landmarks in the process of imparting vitality to the language may be noted. In 1814 Archdeacon Barnes founded “The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay”, usually styled ‘Bombay Education Society’. This Society began its active career in 1820 by starting six schools —four in Bombay city, one in Surat and one in Broach; in 1826 another school was started in Ahmadahad.

About 1825, a branch of the Society acquired the services of Ra^chho^bMi Girdharbhai (1803-1873), a young man who had learnt English from a retired soldier of Broach. He produced the first series of Gujarati text-books, undertook the training of teachers, and became the guide, philosopher and friend of almost all the aspiring young men who, under his inspiration, took to literature and social reform. A leading part was taken by the students of the Elphinstone College, founded in 1827, and the products of the Bombay University, founded in 1857, carried forward the work from about 1885.

In 1846, A. Kinloch Forbes, stationed at Ahmadabad as an Assistant Judge, began his study of the language and history of Gujarfit in right earnest, and soon secured the services of the poet Dalpatram Pahyabhfti, who collected for him old manuscripts and folksongs and folk-tales. In 1848, Forbes founded at Ahmadabad ‘The Gujarfit Vernacular Society* (now called the ‘Gujarat Vidyt Sabhfi’)

which, in 1850, started its first fortnightly organ, the BuddhiprahcLs. When transferred to Surat, Forbes founded a similar society there and promoted a literary journal, the Surdf Samachar.

Apart from the valuable help he rendered to Forbes, poet Dalpatram was an outstanding literary figure in his own right. His early inspiration came from the poets of the Svaml-Nar&yaa?a cult, but his close association with Forbes inspired in him a zeal for social reform which found expression in his poems. Some of these poems soon found a place in the early text-books of the language, and exercised a great influence on the younger generation for wellnigh forty years. He also wrote a poem, Hunnctrkhanni Cfuuffi (The Invasion by Industry), in 1850, on the evil effects of modem industries on Indian crafts, possibly the first exposition of Swadeshism.

2. 1852*1886

The outstanding literary figure of this sub-period was Narmadashankar Lalshank&r (1833-1886), popularly known as Narmad, who was a born rebel. He fought against caste, orthodoxy and social conventions. He was ex-communicated by his orthodox caste again and again. He married a widow, challenged orthodoxy whenever he could, and bore social persecution with pride. In spite of several trials, his faith in human dignity and individual freedom remained unshaken to the last.

Narmad had a romantic temperament characterised by free movements of the imagination, a deep-seated horror of convention and an inveterate tendency to exaggeration. His temperament was egotistic; his creative power, limited; he was denied the sense of delicacy. All these found expression in whatever he wrote, particularly in his poems. He also wrote a large number of essays. His principal works are the Pmgalprakdi , a work on Gujarati prosody (1857); Alank&rpraveA, a manual of figures of speech (1858); RasPravei and Nayihd-Vishaya-Prave£ t a favourite subject of Sanskrit and Vraja poets. He also prepared and published the Narmakosa (1873), the first Gujarati dictionary, and compiled the Narmakathakofa, a dictionary of mythology.

His Dharm-vicMr (1885) is an outstanding work, in which he tried to adjust the new, which he had worshipped so far, with the old which he had begun to appreciate. He also left an unfinished autobiography, the Mari HaJciJcai (1933). *

Narmad is justly regarded as the father of modern Gujarati prose. In his hands GujarfitS prose, used by Raajchho^bhai in his earlier text-books and developed by his disciples, underwent a complete change. In fact, he found it a feeble vehicle of modern expression and left it a rich language of great promise. He was the first author in modern Gujariti who drew upon the memory of past greatness in stirring words.

* % *

The only other important prose-writer of this sub-period was Navalram Lakshmiram (1836-1888), Narmad’s friend and associate. By his essays, he established a sober tradition of literary criticism for Gujarat. His prose style, balanced and restrained, was a definite advance on Narmad’s. He wrote the Bhat-nu Bhopdlu (1867) (The Bha{a’s Exposure), an adaptation of Moli&re's comedy, from Fielding’s version; Vxrmatx (1869), a historical play, and Kavi Jivan (1888) (The Life of the Poet), being a biography of Narmad.

Other important works of this period are Vanrdj Chavtfo (1881) and Sadhrd-Jesang, by Mahipatram Rupram (1829-1891), and Karan Ghelo (1866) by Nandshankar Tuljashankar (1835-1905), both being junior associates of Ra^chhcxjbhai. But the best attempt at writing fiction during this period was made by Jehangir Ardeshii Talyarkhan in his works Ratnalakshmx (1881) and Kulin ane Mudrd (1884).

Bhojanath Sarabhai (1822-1886), under the influence of the Brahma Samaj, burst into psalms, rich in prayerfulness. His lsvar Prarthand Mala (1872) is a landmark in the cultural history of Gujarat. Prayer, for the first time ih centuries, emancipated from the Puranic imagery, lifted its voice in true humility.

With the Muslim conquest (1305), Gujarat had lost its stage and drama. These were revived by the study of Shakespeare. Ranchhodbhai Udayr&m (1837-1923) wrote the first modern Gujarfiti play, Jaykiim&t% in 1862, and translated, in collaboration with others, Lamb’s Ten Plays of Shakespeare under the title Shekspi&r-Kathd Sam&j. Later, he wrote many plays on Puranic and social subjects which were staged; his best known play is LalitMukhdar£ak (1866).

3. 1886-1905

A year after Narmad’s death, i.e. 1887, Govardhanrfim Mfidhavrfim TripSth! (1855-1907) published the first volume of his gigantic Work Sarasvatichandr; its fourth and the last volume appeared in 1901. During this sub-period, right up to 1905, when his last works were published, he remained the pre-eminent author in Gujar&tl literature.

Govardhanram’s fame rests on Sarasvatichandr, a saga of tike new life of India beginning from the eighties of the last century with all its beauty and ugliness. Its hero is a product of the new university education, a visionary, studious of self-perfection, awakened to an exaggerated sense of independence, and too self-righteous to adjust himself to the realities of life. In this work Govardhanram, like some other great authors, laid the foundation of the new literature of modem Gujarat by displaying the courage to face emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual truths, making the inner life of the individual the central theme of literature.

In this novel, again, Gujarati prose, though at places rather heavy, became, for the first time, a fitting medium for conveying the inner experience of an educated Indian. For this purpose the author pressed into service the traditional style of, Sanskrit prose works, the vigour and expressiveness of the English language, the idiom of the old-Gujaratl masters, and. the homely phrases current in the ordinary life of the day.

The Sdrasvatichandr, as a work of fiction, is poor, but as a record of the impact of the West on the thought, outlook and life of India, it is the most outstanding work in Gujarati literature. It exerted profound influence on Gujarat during the last decade of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20 th.

GotfardhanrSm’s other works are S&ksharjivan (189&-1903), Navalfivan (1891), an essay on Navalr&m, the lAldvatijxvankalcL (1905), a short biography of his daughter, and Dayaram-no Ak&har deha (1908). He also wrote a poem, Snehamudrd, in 1889, and an English essay, The Classical Poets of Gujarat, in 1894.

Manila! Nabhubhai Dvivedi (1858-1898) was the second of the outstanding trio of this period. He was an erudite scholar, a Vedantic thinker, and brought into Gujarati language, more than any other author, an element of expressive vigour by fusing the resources of Sanskrit and English. His trenchant criticism of the school of social reform, which may conveniently be styled Buddht vardhak or Narmad school, served to a large extent as a restraining influence on the extravagant claims of the iconoclasts.

Most of ManiM's works consisted of essays, which were published in his magazine Sudar&an, and ultimately collected in what is called Sudar&an Gadydvali (1909). His poems were collected under the name of Atma-Nimajjana (1895), many of which are ghazals after the style of the Persian Sufi poets. His other works are Kdntd , a play (1882); Guldbsinh, a novel, being an adaptation of Bulwer Lytton's Zanoni (1897); Bdlavildsa (1893); Siddhants&ra (1895), a work dealing with ancient Hindu thought and modem problems.

The most outstanding poet of the sub-period was Narsinhrfio (1859-1937). His Kusummdld (1887), inspired by Palgrave's Golden

Treasury of Songs and Lyrics, was published in 1887, the same year in which Sarasvatichandr, Part I, was published, and laid the foundation of modem lyrical poetry in Gujarati. In this work, as well as in the Hyidayavrtia (1896) and the Nupurjhattik&r (1914), one comes across odes, sonnets and lyrics, reminiscent of English poetry of the age of Wordsworth and Shelley. In the elegy written on the death of his son, SmaransathhUa (1918), delicacy of pathos and elegance of language are combined to produce one of the finest works in modem Indian literature.

Though essentially a poet, Narsinhrao was equally great as an essayist, critic and philologist. His works are: Manomukur (1924), a collection of essays; AbhinayakaU (1930) and Vivartltkald (1933), —works on the histrionic art; Smaran Mukur (1926), containing his reminiscences of some friends and relatives. His diary was published posthumously (1956).

As a critic and a scholar, Narasinhrao still remains unrivalled. In the Premfaiand&nd-rtiipiko, he exploded the myth that the dramas attributed to the medieval poet Fremanand were genuine. In 1905, he wrote Jodayi, a treatise on spelling. In the Wilson Philological Lectures delivered in 1915 at the University of Bombay in English, and published later (1921,1932) under the heading Gujarati Language and Literature, he laid the foundation of a historical and philological study of the Gujarati language and literature.

As note£ above, Narshinhrfio’s literary activity was prolonged far beyond the period under review. But he essentially belongs to the period which preceded the age associated with N&n&l&l’s poetry and Munshi’s novels.

Among other leading poets was Manishankar Ratnaji Bhaft (1867-1923), also known as KSnt. Most of his poems are now collected in a volume entitled P&rvdMp (1923). He also wrote two plays Guru Govindsinh and Roman Svar&jya (1924), and translated an episode from Goethe’s Wilhelm Meister ,—the Eka Devinu Vpttdnt (1897). He was also an accomplished essayist. But his forte was lyrical poetry which during this period reached its high-water mark in his Vasantvtjay and the Chakravak-MUhun.

Sursinhji Gohel, Thakor of L&fhl (1874-1900), wrote under the pen-name, Kalfipl. He was a sensitive young man and poured out his bleeding heart spontaneously when he struggled in vain to love two women at the same time. His poems were collected after his death and published under the title Kaldpfno KekSrav (1903), giving him a prominent place in GujarStI poetry. Another author of great distinction was Balvantrfii Kalyftprai Thakor (1869-1952). He wrote

little, but whatever he wrote was perfect, and his works, published in the next period, laid the foundation of a new poetical technique.

Bamagbhai Mahipatram Nilkai^h (1868-1928) reacted against the conservatism of Govardhanram and Ma^ilal with characteristic humour, a new element introduced by him in Gujarati literature. He held up the orthodoxy to ridicule, particularly in his great satirical work Bhadrambhadra (1900). He also wrote BAino Par vat, a play (1914); H&syamandir (The Temple of Laughter), a collection of humorous skits (1915); and Kavitde Sdhitya (Poetry and Literature), a collection of essays on literary criticism in four volumes (1926-29). His work as a critic was a distinct advance on the earlier authors. He tried to formulate a theory of artistic and literary beauty, which was influenced by the theories of eminent English critics of his time.

A number of novels and historical romances were attempted, during the period under review, but none of them reached a high order of literary technique. In the last ten years of this period, the traditions of the Gujarati stage underwent a revolutionary change in the hands of the new theatrical companies which had come into existence. The plays followed the tradition of Raqchho^ldl Udaynam, but were poor in literary worth, till about the end of the period, when Ipahyabhai Dho]£aji brought the Gujarati stage to a more artistic level, and the plays which he wrote had a literary flavour. It was in the next period that these plays roused popular enthusiasm and exercised considerable influence on life. During this period, works in old Gujarati were rescued by a band of enthusiastic scholars, and edited and published mostly under the patronage of the Gaekwad of Baroda.

The phase of Gujarati literature described above came to an end in 1995 when a new age began with the publication of Vasantotsav by Nanalal.

DC TAMIL

The eighteenth century was a period of stagnation and decay in Tamil literature. ThayumSnavar was the inevitable exception to the general rule. But already the seeds of a new literary harvest had been sown and a cross fertilization of the soil had taken place. Islam and Christianity had come to stay in the Tamil country and a cosmopolitan culture was in the making. The beginning of the nineteenth century saw the progressive consolidation of British power, and the comparative peace and settled condition that it brought was auspicious for gifted men to pursue the exacting profession of letters. The court of the Mai&thft King, Serfoji, Raja

of Tanj ore, now became the meeting ground of men of letters, and many a writer received the royal patronage. Tamil classics were no longer quite as inaccessible as formerly, and works like ThayumSnavar’s lyrics and the Tiruvilayddal Purdnam were printed and widely read. The College of Tamil Pandits at Fort St. George did much useful spade work by collecting and publishing old classics. The impact of English, at first imperceptible, slowly influenced the texture, form and content of the language of the Tamils. Prose of a characteristic variety there always was in Tamil—as seen in the Silappadik&ram, or in the commentaries on grammatical or other works of former times. Intimacy with English led Tamil writers to essay prose for various practical as also artistic purposes. In 1826, Tantfavaraya Mudaliyar issued his prose Panchatantra. By and by, there was a flood of Tamil prose —as yet wavering uncertainly between unintelligible pedantry and

Anglicised jargon-—and works of fiction, drama, history, translations and collections of essays, popular manuals and biographies, came tumbling firom the new printing presses set up all over the Tamil country. The Modem Age in Tamil literature had indeed begun—confusedly and .uncertainly, distracted by false lights and half-lights, nevertheless puissant in its suggestion of possibilities and youthful in its wide-awake curiosity and scent for adventure.

The greatest, perhaps, of the Tamil poets of the nineteenth century was Kamalinga Swamigal (1823-74), whose Tiruaruppa is a marvellous collection of nearly one thousand devotional hymns. The lyrics addressed by him reverently to the &aiva Acharyas— Appar, Sundarar, Sambandar, and Manikkavachakar—are among the best of their kind. Simple and direct in diction, homely in their imagery, candid in their utterance, Bamalinga SwamigaPs songs appeal to us at once, and several of them achieve a melting grapelike quality before which criticism is perforce dumb. Ramalinga SwamigaPs almost exact contemporary, Arumuga Nflvalar (182276) of Jaffana, was a staunch Saiva, and he issued reliable editions of many standard Tamil works from his printing press at Madras. He was a forceful writer of prose and played a notable part in the renaissance in the Tamil country. Mlnakshisundaram Pillai was a profound scholar and voluminous writer of Tamil verse. He was doubtless a towering personality, to judge from the testimony of his pupil Dr. Swaminatha Iyer. The Christian poet, Krishna PiJJai, and the Muslim poet, Umaru Pulavar, were both accomplished versifiers. The former’s Rakshanya Ydtrikam and the latter’s Seer a Purdnam~ are important period pieces. Another writer of the old school, V. P. Subramania Mudaliyar, died in 1946 at the venerable age of ninety.

His works include a Tamil version of Paradise Lost ,, Book I, and the epyilion, Akalikai Venba.

The nineteenth century saw the publication of Dr. Caldwell's A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, Anderson’s Rudiments of Tamil Grammar, Winslow's Tamil Dictionary, and the first serious and popular Tamil periodicals. More and more classics were rescued from their obscure palm-leaf existence in maphs and given to the world. These early experiments in textual criticism culminated in the monumental labours and achievements of the late MahSmahopadhyfiya Dr. V. Swfiminfitha Iyer. He started his career at the Government College, Kumbakonam, succeeding the eminent Tamil Pandit, Tyfigarfija Chetti&r. Towards the close of his long life he acted for a time as Professor of Tamil at the Annamalai University. His active period of scholarship and critical exegesis was about sixty-five years, and he died in 1942 at the ripe old age of eighty-seven. His enormous bibliography includes definitive editions of £tlappadik&ram f Maniimikhalai, Chintdmani, Ptemn&n&ru and several other classics of the gangam age, a standard biography of his teacher MfoSkshisundaram PiJJai, a beautifully written candid autobiography, and innumerable essays and sketches. Teacher, editor, critic, biographer, master of a chaste but modem prose, humanist, Dr. Swfiminfitha Iyer was a hoary institution. He has rightly been described as “a scholar who was also a singer and a saint who found and diffused harmony throughout his life." 16 Among the numerous other scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the following deserve special and honourable mention: Professors Banganitha MudaliySr, Sundaram PiJJai, geshagiri gastrl, and Chilvakesavarfiya Mudaliyar; Pandits, M. and R. Raghava Iyengar, Messrs. Suryanfir&y&na g&sfri, Nallaswami FiJiai, and Kanakasabhai Pi$ai.

Under the treble impact of missionary activity, English education, and renascent Bengal, Tamil literature quickened into new life in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the opening decades of the present century. VSdanSyakam PQlai’s ProtSpa Mudaliydr Cha~ ritrom and B. R. Rfijam Iyer's Kamalamb&l ChOritram were the first full-length novels in Tamil, and they are popular favourites even today half a century after their first publication. Vfidanfiyrnkam PiJJai was a Tamil Christian, but his Schrva Samarasa Kfrtanai reveals his catholic spirit. The songs in the latter collection are sincere effusions, marked by simplicity and facility. Rfijam Iyer was a precocious yogi, who edited the Prabuddha Bhdrata when if was founded. His KamaVknbSl Charitram is good as a story and is distinguished by its descriptions, humour, characterization and loving humanity. Rfijam Iyer is one of the never-to-be-forgotten inborn ritors of unfulfilled renown in modem Tamil literature. Other pioneering efforts in fiction were SuryanAraya^a SAstri’s Mativ&nan Madhaviah’s Padmdmti and Saravana Pifiai’s Mohandngi .

In drama, Tamil writers of the last century first experimented with the epic and Puranic stories and turned them into dramas of a sort. Next came the phase of conscious imitation of Western models. Professor Sundaram PiJJai’s Mandnmamyam is a poetic drama in five acts, full of verbal felicities and packed with incidents. Romance, politics and intrigue go to make the interesting fabric of this drama and some of the characters at least —notably the heroine —are well delineated. Shakespeare's plays have been from time to time put into Tamil, but rarely have they been successful. SuryanaiAyapa Sastri’s Rupavati, Kaldvati and Mdnavijayam, Pranath&rtihara Siva’s Damayanti, and Sambanda MudaliyaVs Manohara, Amaldditya (based on Hamlet) and Golden Fetters are good stage pieces. There are also compositions like Nandan&r Charitram which are operatic in construction and appeal. It must be confessed, however, that no first rate dramatic artist has yet arrived in Tamil literature, although we have today any number of writers of successful or laughable one-act plays, melodramas or farces.

With the rising tempo of nationalism since the beginning of the twentieth century, there has been a great burst of Tamil poetry, and we have had a succession of inspired singers like Subramania BhArati, Desigavin&yakam PiJJai, Suddh&nanda Bharati, Bharati Dasan and Namakkal Ramalingam PiUai. Their literary career really belongs to the next period.

X. TELUGU

As narrated in the preceding Volume, the 18th century witnessed a considerable decline in Telugu literature. The major class of literature that flourished during the first half of the 19th century was poetry, particularly the &atakas. They were large in number and showed a greater amount of originality, moral instruction, social element, human touch and spirit of lyricism than the other poetic forms. Phakki Vea?kata Narasayya, Slt&rfimficharya, Subrahma^yakavi, Parvatiswara Sastrl, Bhagavatkavi, D&su Srlrfimulu, VasurAyalu and ChellapiUa were some of the eminent

&ataka writers of the time. There also flourished during this period a host of poetesses the most famous of whom was Vefigamma.

The founder of modern Telugu literature was Rao Bahadur K. Vlrttalingam. He was influenced by English literature and wrote his first novel, R&ja64khara^hantramu, whose theme was suggested by Goldsmith’s Vicar of Wakefield. It was translated into English and favourably reviewed in the London Times in 1887. Vlrfigalingam became a member of the Brahma Sam&j and wielded his vigorous pen in advocating social reforms and advanced ideas in all spheres of life. He was a versatile and prolific writer and broke many new grounds in Telugu literature. He wrote his autobiography, the first of its kind in Telugu literature, and was the author of a number of stones and fables for women and children. He conducted journals like Vivekavardhani and his Andhra Kavula-chnritra was the first fine attempt to write a history of the Telugu literature. He also paved the way for literary research and criticism and set up models for novel, drama, literary biography, journalism and essay on social and scientific subjects.

The drama of the modern type was evolved from older forms of play-writing like the Vidhinfitaka and the Yakshagfina. The age-long eminent Yakshagfina had almost developed into full-blown type of native drama by the time it made its debut in the 19th century. In the first half of this century the composition and the performance in many a different technique were in great vogue. The great TVfigarSja, Melattur Venkatarama Aastri and Sivaji, the last of the Maifithfi royal line of Tanjore, in the south, and Tarigoitfa Vengamma, Slrnfidu Venkatarayakavi and Potfuri Venkatarfiju in the North were some of the important Yakshagfina authors of the time. The great votaries of the famous Kuchipudi school were putting on board Yakshagfinas and winning the approbation of the man in the street and the prince in the palace alike. But in the latter part of the 19th century, the Dharwar Dramatic Company came into the scene. Telugu writers of the time were very much fascinated by their performances and took to writing plays on modern lines. Some made translations from Sanskrit and English and some tried their hand at new themes but adapted either the Sanskrit norms or the English in the technique of composition. Vtr&alingam did a pioneering work in this direction. His Sakuntalam, Ratndvali and some farces were staged, won appreciation, and gave an impetus to others who wrote good dramas. Among these may be mentioned Chilakamarti LakshmTnarasimham, another voluminous writer like VTrfiAalifigam, who wrote many dramas, novels, stories, essays and biographies. Two of his plays, Prasannayddavam and GaydpdkhySnam, and his two novels, H&nalati and Karp&ramaHjari became very popular. During the second half of the 19th century appeared a host of prose works dealing with moral fables, stories of pilgrimages, subjects like politics, law, and so on, which were useful to school children, housewives, the government institutions and so on. Chinnayasftri’s Ntti

chandrika won reputation as a classical specimen of modern Telugu prose in a very chaste and lucid style. Some have employed the colloquial style and satisfied the growing need of a vast majority of the reading public. As it gained momentum, the novel, the short story, the essay and the like, the essential form of which is prose, came into being. Vire&ilingam, the first novelist, is hailed as the father of modern prose literature in Telugu. Gurajfid* Apparfio may be hailed as the father of modern short story in Telugu.

The Bdlavy&karanam of Chinnayasuri, the PratujLha Vy&karaturn and the Sabda-Ratndkaram (dictionary) of Sitarfimach&rya, the lives of Telugu poets of Gurajdda Sriramamurtl, and Amudrita-grandha Chintdmani of P. Ramakpishajayya deserve special mention here as they are some of the rich products of this century.

Eminent services were rendered by the Europeans to the cause of Telugu literature during the first half of the nineteenth century. William Carey, A.D. Campbell, William Brown, C. P. Brown, Morris and Arden wrote Telugu grammars, mostly for the use of non-Telugu people. Campbell, Browns and Gelette published dictionaries. Bishop Caldwell paved the way for a systematic study of the Dravidian family of languages to which Telugu belongs, by the publication of his comparative grammar. Col. Mackenzie and C. P. Brown took pains in collecting manuscripts of old works. The

Andhras are particularly indebted to C. P. Brown for the many-sided service he did for the Telugu Muse.

XI. KANNADA

The creation of the new Hindu State of Mysore at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the vicissitudes of fortune through which it passed during that century, have been described above. 16 “ Mysore was naturally looked upon as the centre of Karpataka culture. Mummadi Krishparfija gathered round him Sanskrit and Kannada scholars and himself composed numerous works in both these languages. About fifty works in Kannada composed between 1815 and 1867, are ascribed to him. Of these seven are SthalamahStmyas and five are commentaries, mostly in Kannada prose. Three works are based on the RamAyana , six on the Mah&bh&rata and the Bh&gavata, and four on the Purfipas. His prose version of the Bharata, called Vai&vilasa Bh&rata, has attained some popularity. The stories of Sakuntalft, Nala, Har&chandra, Ratn&vall, DaSakurnAracharita, Uttara-R&ma-charita , MAlavik&gnimitra, Kddambati , and VlkramorvaSiya are based on the corresponding Sanskrit Kfivyas. Of the popular tales mention may be made of Suka-saptati, Vet&lapaftohavkh&ati and Battii-Putthdli-katha. His devotion to the Dfcvl is expressed in the translations of Lalitdp&khySna. Devim&hat

mya, Dtvti&yujya, Steamdlikd and D$vt BMgavata T&tparya .

He also wrote commentaries on Jdtaka Samr$jya and Bh4rata Sara Samgraha .

During the fifty years of his active literary work Kiishpar&ja patronised a number of scholars of all communities. Among the Jain authors were g&ntaz&ja Paaj^it®, Deva Chandra, and Chfirukirti Papdita. AJiya Linga Raja (1823-74) was an author in Kannada and Sanskrit. His literary activity extended from about 1852 to 1867, and in a short period he produced more than fifty works in Kannada. He employed many forms—Champti, Sangatya, Shatpadi, Yakshagana, Lavapi and songs. His Narapati-charita is an Alamkfira work in the Champu style. Prab h&vati-parinaya is in the Shatpadi metre. Virabhadra-Sataka is addressed to his favourite deity and the Mah&libga Sataka is didactic. Devatapurada Nanjupda composed, besides stotras and £a takas, many eulogies of his patron, Mummadi Kpishparaja. Kempu Narayapa’s prose version of the Mudra-Rakshasa, called Mudra-manjusha had become popular. Among other writers patronised by Mummadi Kpishparaja may be mentioned Venkata Hama Sastrl Subrahmapya, Rangadasa. Srinivasa Tammayya, and Maddagiri Nanjappa who composed many works in praise of the ruler.

Outside this coterie of literati in Mysore which followed in style and subject matter the conventions of Sanskrit literature, a new movement was gathering strength as early as 1830. K?ishpamach&rya of Sriranga Parana, Vakil of the Sadar Adalat Court of Madras, wrote grammar and lexicons for both old and new Kannada. His grammar of New Kannada, Hosaganna$a NudiganncujA , was printed in A.D. 1838 and is probably one of the earliest works in Kannada to be printed. The influence of the Brahma Samaj is found in the work of Rama Brahmananda Yogi (c. 1840) whose Bhakti sudh&rasa is written in the Bhamini Shatpadi metre.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the writers were inspired by the new movements in India and abroad. The missionaries of the Mangalore Basel Mission, the Wesley Mission, etc. were res* ponsible for the printing and publication of a number of works. Reeve compiled an English-Kannada dictionary and he and Sanderson issued a Kannada-English lexicon. Carey, Karel, Zeigler, Maben, Campbell and Kittel wrote grammars of the Kannada language. Kittel produced an excellent Kannada-English dictionary with the help of many Papdi tas and edited Sabdanut^iidarpana, and Chhandom budhi. Moegling nd Wiegle also printed Basava Pur&na, Chenna Basava Pur&na, Rdjendra Namd, Jaimini Bh&rata, the Songs of the D&sas, etc. Rice, the famous epigraphist, edited Kannada classics

in the Bibliotheca Carnatica and complied a Gazetteer . He edited the Amara-koia in Kannada, and his introductions to the cl assi c a l works formed the basis for a more comprehensive history of the Kannada language and literature.

Chama Raja Wodeyar (1881-1894) encouraged dramatic productions, but the theatre in Karpatka rested on popular support. The first Kannada drama to be staged was Basavappa g§strf s rendering of Abhijv&na^&kuntala/ which was *so excellent that the Dewan, Rangach&rlu, conferred on the author the title of “Abhinava Kalidasa *. A number of dramas with original plots as well as those derived from Sanskrit and English came to be staged, and among the authors may be mentioned Basavappa gastri, Mo$aganhajJi gazhkara gfistri, AyyA g&strt, N. Subba Sastrt, and S. G. NarasizfahSchfirya. The stage-technique was also developed during the eighties.

The novel in Kannada may be said to be due to B. VenkatfichSrya, whose knowledge of Bengali enabled him to translate the masterpieces of Bankimchandra Chatterji. He rendered the Arabian Nights Entertainments, Tales of Rdjasthdn, Rasselas, etc. into Kannada and produced some original works also. The old type 9 ! narrative was followed by S. VenkateSa gastri and others. B&lfich&rya Sakkari (ganti Kavi) wrote about seventy works, mostly in Shatpadi and S&ngatya. Nandajige NSraajtappa also composed several works in old style.

XIL MALAYALAM 1. The Age of Swathi Thirunal

The literary and cultural history of Kerala during the period under review (1818-1905) has to be viewed against the background of it $ political condition at the close of the previous century. Though divided into three distinct political units, viz. Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, Kerala remained a single cultural unit. The British supremacy had become another common binding factor, Tranvancore and Cochin having already come under the British power by treaty obligations, and Malabar having been merged in the Madras Presidency. All the three political units had begun to be influenced by the new system of administration established by the British in India.

An era favourable to the growth of literary and cultural activity dawned on the country under these changes, which were more or less similar in nature to those observed in other parts of India during the same period, with the difference that owing to the intense in* terest taken by the rulers of Travancore and Cochin in the spread of education on Western lines and in the adoption of British methods of administration, the new orientation of culture got a greater impetus in these States.

The period that followed may rightly be called the age of Swathi Thirunal (Maharaja of Tranvancore, 1829-1847), as regards literature and other arts. He was indeed the most remarkable person in Kerala at that time. A great scholar in several Indian languages, he tried his hand at poetic and musical compositions in not less than seven of them, viz., Malayalam, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Hindi Urdu and Marathi. He was an inspired devotional poet. His learning in English, a rare accomplishment in those days, received the warm eulogy of Europeans. Learned men from all parts of India flocked to his court to display their talents and earn their rewards. It was the age of Thyagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshithar and Syfima tSastrt in South Indian Music, and the Maharaja, being as splendid and talented a singer and composer as any of them, attracted to his court many of the prominent musicians of the time.

As regards literature, the leading figures were Irayimman Thampi and Vidwan Koithampuran, both court poets of Swathi Thirunal. They can truly be termed representatives of the trends of the times, since their works abound in a beautiful and happy blending of poetry and music. Irayimman Thampi is pre-eminently the most musical of the poets of Kerala, and his beautiful lullaby commencing with the line Omana Ttinlcajkitdvo has earned for him an everlasting name. His musical compositions, mainly of a devotional nature, with their sweet literary flavour, are still widely sung in Kerala. But his chief title to the high position he holds in Malayftlam is the singular contribution he has made to the Kathakali literature by his three works, the Dakshay&gam, Rtehakavadham, and TJttaiH-svayamvaram.

Vidwan Koithampuran, also, was a remarkable poet much liked by the Mahfir&ja. He died very young, but his Kathakali work, Ravana Vi jay am, has made him immortal in literature. Next to Unnai Varier and Irayimman Thampi, he is perhaps the best of the Kathakali writers who had in them a true dramatic sense and genius for characterisation.

2. Impact of English Education .

The spread of English education sponsored by the British administrative system had very soon its impact on Malayfilam literature. Here also special mention has to be made of the role of Swathi Thirunal and his successor, Uthram Thirunal (1847-61), Mah&iftj&s of Tranvancore, in the encouragement of English education in that State, as evidenced by the policy of starting schools in important centres, and the assistance given to the Church Mission and the London Mission Societies in their efforts to start educational institutions. Missionaries who showed interest in literary and linguistic studies were encouraged by the MahSrajas.

The progress of literature in the Cochin and Malabar areas during the period was also very much influenced by the advancement of English education in those regions. Maharajas of Cochin were great patrons of the new system of education, and Malabar, being directly under the British administration, took rapid steps in the new advancement. The educational activities of the Christian missionaries belonging to the Basel Mission deserve special mention. It was under their auspices that Dr. Gundert, a German missionary of exceptional linguistic talents, produced by his own personal effort the M&lay&lam-English Dictionary which even today remains an authoritative work.

3. Prose Literature

The establishment of the Madras University (1857), which embraced the Kerala region also, marks an important event in the cultural history of Kerala. It is from the products of this University that a generation of scholars, well versed in Western literature and with a capacity to enrich their own language by adopting Western literary trends, came into being. Prose was the first branch to receive an impetus by the contact with English. Though there was no paucity of prose in Malay£lam even in olden times, it had not developed on modern lines until the writers became familiar with the Western modes of prose-writing such as. the essay, the novel, the short story and literary criticism. The earliest experiments in modern prose composition were more or less in the form of conscious efforts necessitated by the requirement of textbooks in Malayalam. It was left to the far-sighted policy of Ayilliyam Thirunal, MahSrfijfi of Travancore (1881-1880), to start a scheme for the preparation of textbooks for use in schools in the State. Kerala Varma Valiakoithampuran, an erudite scholar in Sanskrit, Malayalam, and English and an eminent poet, was appointed the Chairman of the Committee formed to prepare the textbooks.

Kerala Varma's prose was modelled on that of some of the best English essayists and his experiments in prose-writing set a good example to be followed by contemporary writers in MalaySlam. He wrote several books suited for various standards in the newly established schools. The Mahar&j$ and the heir apparent, Visakham Tlrunal, also, were prose writers of no mean ability, and, besides

encouraging other writers, they themselves contributed to the advancement of modern Malayalam prose. It was at the instance of the latter th^t Kerala Varma translated Maunder’s Treasury of Biography and a novel named Akbar which was a translation of the English version of a Dutch novel of the same name.

The growth of journalism helped in no small measure the development of prose. Initiated by Christian missionaries for the purpose of religious propaganda, journalism was taken up later by local scholars who started newspapers and journals for literary and political activities. Some of the journals were solely devoted to literature, whilst the newspapers set apart special columns for literary articles, reviews and poems. These publications served to create literary interest among the common man and to encourage talented persons to cultivate their literary faculties.

4. The Novels.

Another aspect of the new era in literature was the rise of the novel. Appu Nedungadi, an early graduate of the newly started Madras University, published his Kundalatd in the year 1887. Though the work cannot be said to have satisfied the standards of a novel, it still marks the origin of prose fiction in Malayalam. Soon after this, two other talented writers appeared in the field and contributed some of the most outstanding novels in Malay&lam. Chandu Menon, the author of IndulekHa, a great social novel (1889), was the first of them, and C. V. Raman Piflai, who wrote his M&rttanda varma, a historical novel (1890), the second. Both the works became very popular and soon there was an influx of writers who wrote after the models set by these veterans. But excepting only a few, the works produced were unsuccessful imitations. Later on, Chandu Menon himself wrote another social novel, by name Sdrada, but could not finish it before his premature death. With these two outstanding works, Chandu Menon has won a permanent place in the history of Malayfilam fiction. Though C. V. Raman Pityai remained silent for some time after producing his M&rft&ndavarma, at a later period he distinguished himself by writing works like Dhar mar&ja and Rdmardja Bahadur, which hold their place as the most outstanding historical novels in MalaySlam.

5. Drama and Poetry.

As regards poetry there were two main trends—one represented by the Venmani Nampoodiris (the Senior and the Junior), and the other by Kerala Varma. Kerala Varma’s poetry was modelled on the old ManipfOvSla style abounding in Sanskrit words and terms,

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but it had a charm of its own when adapted to express new ideas in a masterly way characteristic of himself. His translation of K&lidasa’s gdkuntalam (1882) marks an important event in the history not only of Malayalam drama but of poetry as well. There was an overflow of translations and original dramas following the appearance of that work, the most notable of the translations being that of Bhavabbuti’s Uttara-Rajna-charitam by Chathukkutty Mannadiyar.

Kerala Varma’s Mayura-sandeiam was his second important contribution to Malayalam poetry. It is a SandesSakfivya (messenger poem) written after Kalidasa's Meghadutam. Though it cannot compare favourably with its model in Sanskrit in poetic excellence, and though written in the Mapipravdla style, it has to be admitted that Mayurcusandeiam is one of the most popularly acclaimed poems in Malayalam. This may be due to the bearing it has on the eventful life of its author and the sense of reality that pervades it, mingled with the music of its diction.

Venmani Nampoodiris, on the other hand, were upholders of the pure Malayalam style, which in the course of its chequered history had suffered serious set-backs at the hands of Sanskrit poets and scholars. The Junior

Venmani's Puraprabandham, a descriptive poem on the famous temple festival at Trichur, and other works, including a large number of individual stanzas, abound in wit and humour, though some of them are ultra-erotic. These were very much liked by readers, both common and scholarly, thanks to their directness of appeal, simplicity of manner and melody of diction. The Venmanis got a large number of followers as regards their style, especially from among the famous poets belonging* to the Kodungalloor royal family, like Kunju Kuttan Thampuran, Kochunni Thampuran and a good number of their disciples.

Closely following the above trend, came the dawn of a new romantic school of poetry in Malayalam sponsored by scholars who had come under the influence of similar trends in English poetry. A. R. Raja Raja Varma, the famous Professor of Malayalam in the Maharaja's College, Trivandrum, gave the lead to the new movement. A critic and a poet himself, he emphasized the greater importance of sentiments in poetry compared to mere form, and he initiated a controversy opposing the school of writers who advocated the pseudo-classical model. He attacked the tendency of the poets in general to give undue importance to what is called Dvi&yakshara Prdsa (uniformity in sound in the second syllable in all the four lines of a stanza). He also opposed the predominance of Sanskrit words in MalaySlam verse. He did not mind that he was thereby

attacking his guru and uncle, Kerala Varma, who happened to be the leading upholder of the old school; Baja Baja Varma f s example inspired younger poets like Kumax^an Asan and Vallathol, and helped the speedy development of the new romantic poetry.

But the classical tendency of the poets persisted for some time more, ns a result of which several poets took it as a fashion to write Mahakavyas after some of the famous classical works of that category in Sanskrit. Azhakathu Padmanabha Kurup paved the way by his. R&machandra-viltLsam and others followed suit. Some of the well-known Mahfikavyas that originated at this time were Chitra ydgam of Vallathol, Um&keraiam of Ulloor, Rugrnangadc^c haritam of Pandalam Kerala Varma and Kesaviyam of K. C. Kesava Filial. The last-mentioned work is of particular interest since its author, being a faithful follower of A. B. Baja Bfija, made some deviations in the manner of the work by abandoning the artificialities of sound and play on words indulged in by the authors of Mahakavyas in general, and attaching greater importance to suggestiveness of meaning and sincerity of sentiments, characteristic of the Bomantic school.

6. Literary Criticism.

Mention has to be made of the origin of literary criticism in M&layfilam which also was the outcome of the contact of M&layfilam scholars with the trends in English literary criticism. Some of the earliest essayists like C. P. Achutha Menon set the model by means of book-reviews in journals. But it was left to A. E. Bfija Bfija Varma to establish certain standards in the field through his S&hityaw&hyam, a treatise on rhetoric, and his famous introduction to Nalacharitam kathakali. Subsequent critics like P. K. Nfirfiyasja PiJJai, who can be said to have laid the foundation of scholarly criticism in Malayllam, owed much to the precepts of their veteran Professor A. R. Bfija Bfija. The personal essay was also developing in M&layfilam, though there were only a very few essayists in the strict sense of the word. The most important of them was Kunju Raman Nayanar, popularly know by his pseudonym, ‘Kesari*. Moorkothu Kumaran, K. Sukumaran and a few others also wrote lighter essays with a certain amount of success. Among writers of serious essays in that period, the names of Appan Thampuran, K. B. Krishna Pillai and M. Bfija Bfija Varma deserve special mention.

7. Translations.

One of the notable features of the early decades of the 20th century was the great interest taken by writers to translate works Sanskrit and English into Malayllam. Dewan Bahadur A.

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Govinda Pijjai translated several of Shakespeare’s dramas, using a sort of blank verse in Malayalam. But he had very few followers in the line. As regards purely poetic works, the translation of Kalidasa's MeghadHta and Kumdrasambhava by A. R. Raja Raja and of Raghuvainsa by Kundoor Narayana Menon have to be mentioned. Translations of prose works from English also had increased in number after Kerala Varma's Akbar and other translations/ One of the most successful of the later translators was C. S. Subramanian Potti who set a good model by his translation of Durgeianandinl

of Bankim-chandra from an English version of it.

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XIH. INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ARABIC LITERATURE.

Arabic, as the original language of the Qur'an and the Islamic sciences, continued to attract the attention of the Indian Muslims during the 19th century, and was widely studied throughout the country. The main purpose, however, of acquiring a respectable knowledge of this language was to get acquainted with the religious

texts, rather than to cultivate a real taste for its literature. The

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result was that several important branches of Arabic literature, especially belles-lettres and poetry, were neglected, and India failed to produce any eminent Arabic poet or litterateur during this period, as indeed in the previous centuries, with the solitary exception, perhaps, of Ghulam Ali Azad of Bilgram (d. 1785). 18 The wellknown D&rs^i-Nizami, to which we have referred elsewhere, for instance, contained very little of proper literature, while laying unnecessary emphasis on grammar and rhetoric, and whatever of such literature was included in the curricula of the various madrasas, was confined to a few standard works, such as the Mu'aXlaqq £, 10 the

Hamdsa and the Maqdmdt 20 of Badi'uz-Zam&n and al-HaiM. Under

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the circumstances one could hardly expect the Indian scholars of Arabic to have a true literary flair for Arabic or to be capable of writing any original work of outstanding merit. The attention, therefore, of these scholars was focussed on the Qur’anic exegeses (Tafsir), the Apostolic Traditions (Hadis), jurisprudence (Fiqh), the sources of the Islamic law (Usui fiqh), dogmatic theology (Kalam), and, to a lesser degree, on the allied or subsidiary sciences of Sufism (tasawwuf), grammar and logic. But eyen in these branches their main output was of secondary importance, consisting mostly of commentaries and glosses on works by Arab authors, or small, unpretentious tracts on particular topics of chiefly theological interest.

Among the scholars who distinguished themselves in their respective fields of study during the period, we may specially mention the two brothers, Sfafih ‘Abd'ul ‘Aziz (d. 1828) mad Shah Rafi’uddin (cL 1233 Ho ss- 1817-18 AJD.), sons of SMh Wali’ullah, the famous scholar and religious reformer of the preceding century. The former has left a work entitled Mvq&d&ama Tafnr Fath aL'Aziz on Qur’Snie exegesis, another on apocryphal traditions .(aUAhSdig al Mauzu'a) , and several others dealing with different topics such as philology, Sufism and dogmatic theology. His work, the Sinful ShaMdatain, on the martyrdom of the Prophet’s grandsons, the Imams Hasan and Husain, has won wide recognition, and so has a collection of his letters, oJt-Makatfb. Shah Bah'uddin has written a masterly exposition of a Qur’anic verse, Ayat al-Ntir, brides several works of a literary character, such as the collection of his letters (Kuqqa'&t) and clever interpolations (tazrmnM) of certain standard Arabic poems. The family tradition of Arabic scholarship was likewise maintained by the two grandsons of SMh Wali’ullfih, namely Qizi Muhammad Ism&’il (<L 1830) and Abu Sulaiman Muhammad Ishaq (d. 1844), both of whom wrote well-known works on Hadis, Kalim, etc.

Another notable scholar of the period was Abu ’Abd’ullah Hu* shin bin Dildir ‘Ali (d. 1854) of Naairmbad, whose father, Dildir *Ali (d- 1819) 21 , had the distinction of being the first Indian-born Shi‘a Mujtahid, and who has written a fairly large number of well-known works on Qur’&nic exegeses, jurisprudence, dogmatic theology and philosophy, while a contemporary of his, Mohammad Ghaus Sharful Mulk bin Nizamuddin Ahmad (d. 1822), is remembered for his two literary works of considerable merit, ie. a commentary of the famous ode Binat Su‘a& by Ka‘b bin Zuhair, a longish poem delineating the titles of the fourth Orthodox Caliph, ‘Ali (Urjuza ft Alq&b Eazrat *Ali), He, incidentally, belonged to the Nawai't (sing: Nauti) 22 community, a family of Arab emigrants settled in Southern India. We may also mention here a Hindu scholar of Delhi, Munshi Kundan Dal (d. 1822), who wrote Persian poetry with the pea-name (takhollu$) AshkL He was the son of Munshi Munwan Lai, known m alFalsafi (the Philosopher), and belonged to a Hindu family domiciled in Delhi which had maintained a tradition of Arabic and Persian learning from the days of Emperor Shihjahan. A copy of Mi work, al-Qigtas, on mathematics, is preserved in the Bankipur Library. 23 The only Arabic poet of this period, who is said to have left behind a diwin (collection) of his poems, was Faiz Ahmad bin Hafiz Ghulfim Ahmad of Badaun who died in 1857.

Khairabad, a town near Lakhnau and the home of several distinguished scholars and poets of the 18th and 19th centuries, produced during this period the well-known scholar Muhammad Fazl-i Haqq (d. 1861), son of Fazl-i-Imam, 24 who wrote several works, including one on tasatvtvuf, entitled AURauz al Majud fi Thaqiq al- Wujud (The well-watered Garden about the ascertainment of Existence), and a short Arabic history of the Mutiny of 1857, entitled Risala-i-Tar’ikh al-Ghadr. One of his Arabic poems, a panegyric on the Prophet, is also well-known. He was accused of treason after the Mutiny and was sent to the Andaman Islands, where he died. Farangi Mahal of Lakhnau, another important centre of learning, found an able representative in the person of Wali’ullah bin Habibullah (d. 1853), among Whose literary products is a work of history entitled alAjghsdn ad-Arba‘a (The Four Branches) comprising an account of the first four Orthodox Caliphs, the immediate successors of the Prophet. A colleague of his, Khadim Ahmad, son of Mulla Haider (d. 1854), wrote notes (ta‘liqat) on the well-known work on jurisprudence, Sharah aUWaqaya. Mention should also be made of Shaikh Muhammad bin Ahmad Ali al-Zabldi (d. 1841); though he lived for the greater part of his life at Zabid in Yemen, whence his place-name (nisba), he was born in Sind and was of Indian origin. He was sent to Egypt as his ambassador by the Imam of San‘a and passed the last days of his life in Medina where he held the onerous post of chief theologian. He is the author of numerous, works, chiefly concerned with apostolic traditions (hadis), of which the most notable, perhaps, are a collection of “solitary” hadis entitled Hasr al-Sharid and a concordance of the Musnad of Abu Hanifa.

Most of the authors to whom we have referred above belong to the pre-Mutiny period of the 19th century, but it must not be supposed that the tradition of Arabic scholarship suffered any serious set-back after that epoch. The fifty years that followed were, on the other hand, marked by literary activity on even a larger scale, and produced several great scholars. Their work, however, has not yet been properly appraised and in many cases remains unpublished. Yet a brief mention of some of them is necessary here. The most outstanding among these was undoubtedly Maulavi Abdul Hayy of Lakhnau (d. 1886) who wrote three important works, namely a tafsir of the Qur’an entitled al~Tuhfat al-Mukht&riya, a voluminous work based on practically all the standard commentaries compiled before his time; a collection of his lectures, Jami* Khutub Shuh&r aU Sana, delivered on Fridays during the course of a year, which are in a highly ornate style and have been compared to the Attvdq al Zahab of al-Zamakhshari, 35 and lastly a comprehensive biography (tazkira) of the great poets and scholars of modern times, entitled Nuzhat al~Khaw&tir. This last work, which is in several volumes and is being published at Lakhnau, is a most valuable supplement to

the Subhat aUMarjdn and Sartc-uAz&d of Ghulam ‘AH Azad Bilgrami. Nawab Kazk Hasan Khan, son of the Persian poet, Nawab Amin Hasan Khan of Kakori (d. 1846-7), was likewise a good scholar of Arabic who wrote poetry in that language, with great facility. He is said to have composed a long ode (316 verses) in a single night. This ode which he named Lamiyat al-Hind after the famous 14miyat al•Arab of al Shanfara, has been highly appreciated by literary critics, and has enjoyed wide celebrity. Another Arabic poet who is better known for his scholarly works in several other branches of literature, was Maulavi ‘Ali ‘Abbas of Chirayyakot (d. 1302 H. =18845 A.D.), who lived for a considerable time in

Hyderabad and Bhopal and was patronized by Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begum. He counted among his pupils several distinguished scholars, including Maulavi Faiz'ul Hasan of Saharanpur (d. 1304 H. = 1886-7), who has left behind a whole diwan of Arabic verses. But the most notable scholar-poet of the post-Mutiny period was certainly Mufti Syed Muhammad 'Abbas of Lakhnau (d. 1306 H. = 1888-9), who composed numerous poems in Arabic as well as in Persian. He had served in his earlier career under the kings of Avadh, Muhammad 'Ali and Amjad 'All, and visited Calcutta twice while Wajid 'Ali ShSh was there. Among his Arabic poems, there is a satire on Calcutta, a city which he never liked, while one of his Persian poems, a Matnawi, entitled Mann toa Salw& written in a didactic strain, found recognition even outside India, notably in Iraq where a prominent mujtahid was so struck by the Mufti's erudition that he composed an ode in his praise and sent it to him along with a very flattering letter.

XIV. INDIAN CONTRIBUTION TO PERSIAN IJTERATURE.

Unlike Arabic, Persian lost a good deal of its former popularity during this period. This was partly due to the fact that with the of the trans-border areas of Kabul and Kandahftr from the Mughul empire, fresh waves of immigrants, speaking Persian, had ceased to flow into the country, and partly to the development of Urdu as the common language of social intercourse and literary compositions. The result was that Persian had ceased to be the Rngua franca of the educated classes long before 1818, although it continued to be the official language till 1834. Unlike Arabic, again, Fenian had very little religious or sentimental appeal for the Indian Muslims, as the only interest it had aroused among them even in the preceding centuries was mainly literary and cultural. An elementary knowledge of Persian continued, no doubt, to be a necessary part of their early education almost throughout the 19th century, but the old tradition of a real mastery of the language and a deep acquaintance with its classical literature had been fading away very

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fast. It did not, moreover, find a place in the regular curricula of most of the educational institutions of quasi-religious character founded about this time, such as the Darul-'Ulum of Deoband or the Nad

wat al-‘Uiama of Lakhnau, so that with its gradual replacement

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by Urdu in the Muslim homes as the usual medium of conversation, opportunities for its study became fewer and fewer. All this explains why we do not find in this period any eminent poet or scholar of Persian who could be placed in the same rank with the stalwarts of the earlier periods like, for instance, Amir Khusrav, Syed Hasan and Faizi among the poets, or Barani, Firishta, Badauni and Abu’lFazl among the prose-writers.

The only Persian poet of real merit in the period under review was Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib of Delhi (d. 1869). Famous nowadays chiefly on account of his remarkably original Urdu poetry, he has left behind a fairly large collection of his Persian poems, mostly in the form of odes (Qasidas) and lyrics (Ghazals), of very considerable literary excellence, which certainly deserve much more attention than they have received so far. 26 Having studied Persian under the supervision of a competent Iranian scholar, he acquired wonderful proficiency in that language and a refined taste for its poetry. He was a great admirer of Bedil, ‘Urfi and Naziri and tried to imitate their style, but several of his odes are replicas of those composed by the earlier masters, like Anwari and Khaqani, and compare very favourably with them. Some of his prose works have also survived him and are very well-known. One of these, entitled Q&ti'-i-Burhan, is a thoughtful criticism of the Persian lexicon, BurMn-i-QO'ti , compiled by Muhammad Husain “Burhan”, which invited rejoinders from his opponents in the form of Sati'-i Burh&n etc., and excited a lot of controversy in contemporary literary circles. Another work, named Panj Ahang, written in an ornate style, illustrates five different styles of Persian composition; the Dastanbu contains an account of the Mutiny and the Mtkr-i NimriLz is an incomplete history of the Mughul empire, while his Urdu letters, which have been edited by several scholars in recent times, are fine specimens of a simple and straightforward literary style, apart from their biographical and historical value as records of several contemporary events connected with the poet himself or his friends and acquaintances. 27

Among other Persian poets of this period, mention may be made of Nawab Mustafa Khun Shifts, a pupil of Ghalib's and Qatil and Shifa'i, his rivals. Mirza Qatil, originally a Hindu (Khatri) of Faridabad, enjoyed considerable celebrity in his time and had many pupils, including Mirza KMn, the Kotwfil of Delhi. Ghalib himself had several other talented pupils, including Munshi Hargopal "Tufta", 28 who had collected a diwan of his odes and lyrics, Mir Mahdi "Majruh", and Nawab Ziya'uddin "Naiyar" of the Loharu family. Mufti Sadruddin of Delhi (d. 1285 H.=1868-9) was a learned scholar of Kashmiri origin who also distinguished himself in Persian poetry, while Mufti Syed Muhammad 'Abbas of Lakhnau (d. 1308 H.=1888-9 A.D.) has left behind numerous Persian poems, one of which entitled Mann-o-Salwd, has been referred to in the preceding section.

The younger generation of poets who died early in the 20th century, but achieved considerable fame by the end of the 19th, included Shibli Nu'm&ni, a scholar of versatile talents and the real founder of the Nadwat'ul 'Ulama, who wrote with equal facility in Persian and Urdu, and Girami of Jullandhar in the Panjab. The latter, of whose poetical talents Iqbal had a very high opinion, attached himself to the Nizam of Hyderabad, Deccan, Mir Osman 'Ali KhUn (who, incidentally, is himself a good poet), and became his Us tad (teacher in,the art x>f poetry). Mention may also be made of Nawab Amir Hasan Khan of Kakori (d. 1263 H.=1846-7 AJD.) who wrote elegant Persian poetry under the pen-name of "Bismil".

Another branch of Persian literature which attracted the attention of Indian writers was religious and Suflstie studies, and numerous works on this topic appeared during the period under review. Among the authors of such works was HIji Tmd&d 'Ali of Thana Bhawan, who migrated to Mecca in the Hijaz after the Mutiny and died there in 1899. Included among his pupils were wellknown scholars like Maulana Muhammad Qasim of Nanauta, Maulana Faizul Hasan of Saharanpur, and Maulavi Rashid Ahmad of Gangoh, and he is the author of three popular works entitled the Ghizd-t-Ruh, Ziy&'ul Qulub, and Tufaful 'U$hsh&q. ZQ Mention may also be made of a Jaunput* scholar and reformer, Maulavi Karamat 'All (d. 1873), who lived for the greater part of his life in Bengal and was the author of several works, including Persian translations of the Arabic works, Sham&’l-Tirmxzi and the Mishk&t aUMamblh .

Persian lexicography had continued to attract Indian scholars from the days of Sikandar Lodi onwards, and a number of lexicons, such as the Farhang-i-Rashidi and Farhang-i~Jah&ngiri, became well-known in India and Iran. The old tradition was fully maintained during the nineteenth century and several works of conspicuous merit were produced. Of these the best-known is the Ghayas al-Lugh&t by Muhammad Ghayasuddln of Raxnpur, compiled in 1242 H. (=1826-7 A.D.), but the Burhan-i-Qati f , to which we have referred above, the BahGr.i-‘Ajam by Munshi Tek Chand “Bahfir’,

the Siraj al-Lughat by Sirajuddln ‘Ali Khan “Arzu”, the Karim al Lughdt by Munshi Karimuddln, and the Lughat-i-Kishori, named after Munshi Newal Kishore and compiled by Maulavi Tasadduq Hussain, have also been quite popular.

XV. URDU

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The origin of the literary language, now known as Urdu, in the eighteenth century, from the local dialect of Delhi has been described in the Eighth Volume. “Urdu poetry, up to the fourth quarter of the 19th century, was just a reflex of Persian poetry. Nothing in. it but a few common woitts, inflexions, postpositions and verbs were Hindi. The Urdu poets thought and wrote in terms of Persian poetry; the references were to things and events and ideas of Persia and Arabia; they use names of all Persian flowers, all the little streams of Persia, and its towns and provinces and its hills and mountains, but they never mention an Indian flower or an Indian river or mountain or town, much less an Indian hero or heroine. It was an absolute and deliberate shutting of their eyes and ears and mind to all the great things of their own country, the soil of which, according to a great Urdu poet, was napak or impure.” 30

Muhammad Nazir of Agra (1740-1830) was a remarkable Urdu poet, who composed his poems not on the conventional Sufi or Persian themes; nor on love treated in the conventional way of Persian poetry, but on all sorts of subjects relating to Indian life in a racy colloquial language, not too much Persianized, which is also the language of the Hindus. He treated Hindu themes, like Krishna’s childhood, and his Banjara-nama, a poem on the transitoriness of things, and his Admi-mma on ‘Man’, essentially great in his dignity, are great.poems.

Among other 19th century Urdu poets may be mentioned Haidar ‘All Atish (d. 1846), Imam Baksh Nasikh (d. 1836), Salamat ‘All Dablr (1803-1875), and Babar ‘All Anis (1802-1874). Many of them were prolific waiters, the last-named producing nearly a hundredthousand lines.

Lakhnau and Rampur became great centres of Urdu literature in the nineteenth century. Among the great poets of the pre-modem period may be mentioned Muhammad Ibrahim Zauq (1789:1894), Asaduilah Khan Ghalib (1806-1869), Muhammad Mu’min Khan Mu’min (1800-1850), Amir Ahmad Minal (1828-1900), and Nawfib Mirzi Khan D&gh (1831-1905). Gh5lib, the most eminent among tbwe. was a Sufi and a mystic who wrote in both Persian and Urdu atid inaugurated literary history and criticism through his letters. Be is generally regarded as the greatest poet of Urdu before the modem age because of his human sympathies and his Sufi feel for the ultimate Reality. Zauq was famous for his Qasid&s, and he was only a little less eminent than Ghalib.

^The Aligarh Movement, inaugurated by Sir Syed Ahmad, which will be discussed in detail in Ch. VIII gave rise to the Modern Urdu literature at the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 10th century. Sir Syed’s great contribution to this literature was his letters and his historical work Asaru-s-Sanadia. The Aligarh Movement made the Indian Muslims more and more conscious of their Islamic rather than Indian heritage, and instilled in them the ideal of pan-Islamism. All this was reflected in the modern Urdu literature. A number of Muslim Urdu prose-writers of eminence—historians and essayists—came to the front. Among them may be mentioned Maulavi Zakaullah, Shibli Nu‘mam (historian and essayist) Muhammad Husain Azad, Maulavi Nazir Ahmad (novelist), and above all. Altaf Hosain Panipati, known as Hali or the Modern One (1837-1914), the great poet of this Muslim revival and the innovator of the modern spirit in Urdu poetry. These writers are all marked by a human spirit. Nazir Ahmad’s sketches of Delhi Muslim life in his novels are delightful and HSli wrote with a breadth of vision and sympathy which did not exclude the Hindus.

There were several eminent Hindu writers of Urdu. The most important among them is Ratannath Sarshar whose book,

Fis&na-e-Azdd, gives a wonderfully vivid and realistic sketch of the social life of Lakhnau.

Muslim Urdu writers wrote historical novels, in imitation of those of Sir Walter Scott. The best known are two novels of Maulavi ‘Abdul Halim Sharar v namely Azlz-o-Warjina (Virginia), which is a tale of the crusades, and Mansur-o-Mohand, which has, the conquests of Sultan Muhmud of Ghazni in Gujarat as its background.

An outstanding Hindu poet of Urdu was Brij Nar&in Chakbast (1882-1926), who was a Kashmiri Brahman. His poems are full of the spirit of nationalism, and his diction is remarkably simple and pure.

The present age of Urdu is dominated by the spirit of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) whose works will be discussed in the next volume.

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XVI. INDO-ANGUAN LITERATURE.

Indo-Anglian literature is a significant and fruitful by-product of the Western impact on Indian culture. The East inspired men like William Jones, Monier Williams, Max Miiller, Edwin Arnold,

and Anthony Hope, and the result was a very interesting and still growing body of Anglo-Indian literature. Likewise, the West and its literature exerted no mean influence on the educated Indiftos of the nineteenth century, and some of them successfully braved the dangers of rttempting creative literature in a foreign medium; and there resulted the singular phenomenon of ‘Indo-Anglian literature’, in other words, Indians’ writing in English.

Reference has been made above, in Chapter II, to the beginnings of English education. Having got the “blessings” of English education, the educated Indians were for a time flushed with excitement and habitually conversed and wrote in English. While “Babu” and “butler” English came for ridicule, there was, on the other hand, the amazing phenomenon of hundreds and thousands of Indians wielding this most difficult of alien languages with vigour, selfconfidence and uncanny efficiency. Indian lawyers, judges and administrators, journalists, professors and publicists, soon found themselves reasonably at home in English, and thereby created conditions favourable to the birth and growth of authentic Indo-Anglian literature.

Rammohan Roy was himself an effective writer of English prose, as may be seen from his pamphlets and philosophical essays, published over century ago. Kasi-prasad Ghose’s 31 The Shair and Other Poems was published in 1831. Henry Derozio 32 was a more genuine poet, and when he died at a young age in 1831, he left behind him a creditable body of verses in English, including the narrative poem, The Fakir of Jungheera. But, of course, Indo-Anglian poetry begins properly with Michael Madhu-sudan Dutt, Aru Dutt, Toru Dutt, and Romesh Chunder Dutt. Michael Madhu-sudan 33 belongs more to Bengali than to Indo-Anglian literature, though his Captive Ladie is a brisk narrative poem on Prithvlraj and Samyukta. Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt were a marvellous pair of sisters who died, in 1874, at the ages of twenty and twenty-one respectively. Both were poetesses of rare promise and no mean achievement, and both of them were among the winged fairies of song. Their English renderings of French lyrics of the Romantic school came out in 1876 with the title A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields. The pieces were so felicitous and moving that Edmund Gosse thought that “if modern French literature were entirely lost, it might not be found impossible to reconstruct a great number of poems from this Indian version.” Toru Dutt's Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan appeared posthumously in 1882, and more than ever proved Toru’s unique powers of poetic utterance in a foreign medium. More than eighty years have passed since Tom's poems were first given to the world—since the agitated girl made the amazing confession:

From my lips broke a cry.

Such as anguish may wring;

Sing—said God in reply,

Chant, poor little thing.

But the fragrance of Toru's poems is not lost yet, nor will it ever be. “This child of the green valley of the Granges" (in Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's words) is likely to retain her present place “in the great fellowship of English poets." Romesh Chunder Butt had a distinguished career as a member of the Indian Civil Service, and published valuable treatises on the economic history of India. But his novel, The Lake of Palms, and his R&mdyana and Mahdbhdrata in English Verse secure him a permanent place in Indo-Anglian literature. The latter work has been found rightly worthy of inclusion in the ‘Everyman's Library 4 of the World's Best Books.

The brothers, Manmohan and Aurobindo Ghose, started writing English poetry towards the close of the nineteenth century. Manmohan published, along with Laurence Binyon and others, a volume of poems entitled Primavera in 1890. After his return to India, he published Love Songs and Elegies and Songs of Love and Death. Manmohan was undoubtedly a bom poet with an utterance all his own. His mature poetry is full of intimate and memorable touches, and there is generally a colouring of pensive sadness that becomes more and more pronounced in his later poems. Manmohan's poems sound English to the core, and it is not surprising, therefore, that Mr. George Sampson describes him as “the most remarkable of the Indian poets who wrote in English." Manmohan’s younger brother, Aurobindo Ghose, whose career will be discussed in the next volume, is, without question, the greatest figure in IndoAnglian literature and one of the major literary figures of the century.

Among other early Indo-Anglian poets, Behramji Malabari and Ram Sarnia were good versifiers, while Nagesh Visva-nath Pai was an accomplished master of blank verse. Pai's Angel of Misfortune is one of the best narrative romances in Indo-Anglian literature.

In fiction and drama, too, some works of fiction appeared in the nineteenth century, and many of Bankim-chandra Chatterji’s novels were issued also in English. Raj am Iyer, author of Kama lamhal in Tamil, also wrote an English novel by name Vdsudeva gdstri . Madhaviah’s Thillai Govindan and Ramakrishija’s Dive for Death were other early works of fiction. Cornelia Sorabji’s stories and Jogendra Singh’s novels were also striking in their presentation.

XVII. SCRIPTS IN INDIA OF THE PRESENT DAY.

Three distinct types of script are in use to write the various Indian languages. We have in the first instance the national Indian system of writing which is of Indian origin and which goes back to the Brahma script of the third and fourth centuries B.C. and earlier. This Brahml script was a single pan-Indian script in the centuries before and immediately after Christ. Then, as the country split up into different States, this script began to change in the different areas. After about 10 centuries of such continued change in different parts of India, it gave rise to various present-day alphabets of Indian origin which are current in the country. These ranged themselves into five groups—three of which belonged to North India and two to South India. In North India we have—

(i) The North-Western group, to which belong the Sarada script, of Kashmir and a number of allied systems of writing Which were current in the various Western Himalayan States, besides Gurmukhi in which Panjabi is written and printed by the Sikhs, and the Landa or the cursive script in which the businessmen of Sindh keep their accounts and write letters.

(ii) The Nagarl script, which was originally the script of Western U. P. and Rajasthan-Gujarat, was adopted later by the Brahmanas of Maharashtra (who called it B&\abodha or ‘Script for the use of children’, as opposed to the native script called Modi , of south Indian affinites, in which Marathi used to be written). The modern NSgari or Devanagari script originated within this group. At one time the Nagarl was confined to Gujarat, Rajasthan and Western U.P., but now it has spread, with the spread of Hindi, throughout the greater part of Northern India. It is really the script from which Western Hindi as well as the Rajasth&ni and Gujarati speeches were bom.

(iii) The Eastern Group of North Indian scripts within which come the Newari of Nepal, Maithili, Bengali-Assamese and OriyS. This script was current in its oldest form in Eastern U.P., Bihar, Nepal, Orissa, Bengal and Assam.

In addition to the above three North-Indian groups of scripts, we have in South India—

(iv) The Telugu-Kannada group, and

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(v) The Grantha-Tamil-Malayalam group.

The Sinhalese of Ceylon is an evolved form of the Grantha from the Tamil country.

UTERATURK

The Mirada script was confined to Kashmir, and it has never been put in type. It is a script which is dying out; only a handful of Brfihmaijas in Kashmir cultivate it to write Sanskrit, as well as their own language, Kashmiri. The Nagari script is replacing it for Sanskrit, and the Perso-Arabic script is now used to write Kashmiri, as over 90% of the Kashmiri people are Muslim.

The Gurmukhi is confined to the Sikhs in the Panjab (who are now passionate supporters of this script, and would not think of writing Panjabi in the Nagari); and in its origin, Gurmukhi belongs to the same group as Kashmiri. The Landa script is current among a bandful of business people, and it has no importance, being only a written script.

The Nagari is now the most important of the Indian alphabets. It is the alphabet of Hindi, and it claims the homage of 140 to 150 millions of people using Hindi, and of over 25 millions using Max$thi; besides, most Gujarati speakers (over 12 millions) would be able to read it. If took its present form near about 1000 years ago, and it is just a sister-script to &&rad&, Bengali and the South Indian scripts. It has acquired, however, a fresh prestige during British tiroes when it gradually came to be accepted all over India as the pan-Indian script in printing Sanskrit. That was a direct result of the centralizing tendencies of the British rule in India. Sanskrit had no single script for the whole of India, and it was written in the different provincial scripts along with the local languages. But with the establishment of the Indian Universities, and through a common endeavour in Sanskrit studies in which the printing press became an important ally, the need for a common script for Sanskrit for use in the whole of India was supplied by Nagari, with the full support of a number of European Sanskritists also. The Nagari script also came to acquire a new sobriquet, the Deva-ndgar f or “the Divine Nlgari”, because Sanskrit as the language of the Gods came largely to be printed in it.

The Bengali-Assamese script is virtually one script—only Assamese differs from Bengali in one letter, and has an extra letter for the sound of to or w. This script is very much like Mait h ili in which the Maithili speech is written, and in which Maithili scholars (particularly of the older generation) still write Sanskrit Nftgatf is now replacing Maithili in the domain of Maithili printing, although a few Maithili books were printed with Maithili type. But there is no enthusiasm about the continuance of the Maithili script—the forces of Nfigari are too strong. The Newiri Script of Nepal in which the Tibeto-Burmap Newfiri language as well as Sanskrit used to be written in the country of Nepal is in a similar state. It was imnm put Ia type, and now Niger! is taking its fd&oe.

THE BRITISH PARAMOUNTC Y AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE—H

Oriya In its origin is related to Bengali-Assamese, Newari and Maithili, but it developed some peculiar shapes from the 15 th century onwards. It is used to write and print both Oriya and Sanskrit in Orissa,

With regard to the South Indian scripts, Kannada and Telugu are almost the same script with certain minor differences in the .shapes of the letters; and there has been some talk about having one common script for the two languages.

The Grantha script is derived from the old script of the Pallavas as it was current about 650 A.D., and Sanskrit is written and printed in the Tamil country in the Grantha script. The Malayalam is only a provincial form of the Grantha; and the Tamil script is only an abridged form of the same Grantha.

We have thus in India the following scripts of native Indian origin which are living ones:—Nfigarf, Gurmukhi, Bengali-Assamese, OriyS, Telugu, Kannada,* Tamil, Grantha and Malayalam, besides Gujarati, which is but a cursive or abbreviated form of N&garL

The Persian or rather the Perso-Arabic script came to India with the Persian language which was introduced by the Persianusing Muslim Turk! conquerors, and became established in the country from the 13th century. Some centuries later, the Hindi language in its Deccan! form began to be written in this script; and gradually in the 18th century when Urdu had evolved in Delhi city, a slightly modified and enlarged Persian script became established for Urdu. During the 4th quarter of the 19th century, Sindhi, in the hands of the Hindu administrative officers in the province also adopted an elaborate form of the Persian script. Kashmiri was the third Indian language to adopt this Perso-Arabic script.

There are some inherent difficulties in employing any form of the Perso-Arabic script for languages other than a Semitic speech like the Arabic, and it is not at all a suitable medium to write an Indian language. For instance, its vowel sounds are not properly indicated and they are frequently left out, and the reader will be able to guess the proper pronunciation of the written word only from his knowledge of the language and the context. A single letter for y, for instance, stands for the valdbs of the consonant y, and of the vowels long e and long i and the diphthong ai. Similarly, the letter for w stands for long o, long u and the diphthong au, besides the consonant w or v.

Now we have the Roman script, which was brought to India by the Europeans: first, by the Portuguese, then by the English, the Dutch and the

French. Some Indian languages are now written in the Roman script—for example, the Konkani speech of the coastal areas of Maharashtra with its centre at Goa, and a number of primitive languages like Santali, Khasi, the Naga dialects etc. The use of the Roman script for all-India languages is advocated by a number of linguistic and other scholars in India, and the problem of script has now to some extent taken the form of a selection between the Nagari and the Roman.

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1. The Cultural Heritage of India, Second Edition, (1958), Vol. I, pp. 53-4.

2. Ibid, 66.

3. Ibid, 66-7.

4. Cf. R. C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom Movement in India , Yol. I, pp. 4745; m. 52, 544-5.

5. This section is based on an article by Dr. Raghavan in the Madras University Journal, Centenary Number (1957), pp. 175-204. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are also from the same article.

6. ABOR1, XXXn, 322.

7. The account of the Bengali periodicals is based on B. N. Banerji's B&mgVt S&mayik Patra.

7a. For details, cf. Ch. VT, Section I.

8. Quoted from an unpublished article of Dr. S.K. Chatierji.

8a. 'Tagore* is the anglicised form of 'Thakur*.

*9. See above, Vol. IX, pp. 917, 922, 933.

9a. This is the correct form for the popular 'Keshab* used elsewhere.

10. Contemporary Indian Literature, published by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, Second Edition, (1959), p. 173.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. P. Sen, Modem Oriya Literature, p. 62.

14. Ibid, p. 51.

35. Ibid, pp. 57-8.

15a. Cf. J.AJS., Vol. 1,1959, No. 3 p. 236.

16. Diwan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, The Indian P.E.N., July, 1942.

16a. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 37-41, 996-8.

17. The Malayalam is spoken today by over 14 millions of people. The figure, ten millions, given in this series, VoL VI, p. 529, should be corrected accordingly.

18. For a brief sketch of his life, see Zubaid Ahmad, India*# Contribution to Arabic Literature , p. 161.

19. The seven “Suspended Poems** of pre-Islamic Arabia.

20. Stories of a dramatic type woven around a fictitious hero, very talented, but at the same time highly unscrupulous.

21. See Td f rikh al-Nawa’it by Aziz Jang of Hyderabad. They were originally sailors.

22. Died in 1827. He is the author of a work on Arabic Grammar (cd-Risala ft alNahw).

23. See Zubaid Ahmad, p. 383.

24. He was a contemporary of another great scholar, Maulani 'Abd*ul *Ali d Farangi Mahal who, on account of his encyclopaedic learning, was known as Bahr al THum (the ocean of sciences). He died hi 1818.

25. See Zubaid Ahmad, pp. 114, 186.

26. That Gh&lib was proud of his Persian poetry and considered it to be of much more value than nis Urdu poetry, is clear from one of his verses which runs as follows:—

Farsi bin ta ba-Mni naqshhd’i rang rang,

Buqzur az majm&ai-Urdu ki birang-i-man ast

(“See my Persian verses that thou mayst behold multi-coloured pictures, Pass by the collection of my Urdu poetry which is without my (true) colour").

27. The first collection was made by GhaUb's pupils in his lifetime under the title of Urdu-i~Mu‘dH&.

28. Ghalib addresses him as “Mirza** Tufta in his letters, a tide of which, according to Muhammad Husain Azid. he was very proud.

29. See Maui-i-Kauthar, pp. 220 ft.

30. An unpublished article of Dr. S. K. Chatter) i, on which this section is based.

31. Cf. Ch. XH (L).

32. See above, pp. 38-9.

S3. See above, p. 172.

CHAPTER VI(XLIV)

THE PRESS

I. GROWTH OF INDIAN PRESS UP TO 1857

At the time when the British rule was established in India the Press did not occupy any important place in the development of political ideas even in England Nor did journalism, associated with politics, attain a high standard. Even The Times, in 1795, supported the Government in return for a pension of £600. No wonder, then, that the less important journals were "worthless rags, venal, making the most of their nuisance value." Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century journalism was not regarded as a very respectable profession in Britain. 1

It is therefore easy to understand both the nature of early periodical Press in India and the Government's reaction to it. The journalism in India was started by European adventurers, who could not possibly be imbued with any high ideal or standard of honesty and efficiency. Their principal object seems to have been to amuse the readers, and more often than not, it was achieved by publication of scandals and scurrilous personal attacks against men of high position, and abuses of Government, which were likely to be appreciated by all save the handful of officials.

The East India Company looked upon the Indian territories as its personal and private property, and all Englishmen in India who were not its servants were regarded by it as 'interlopers and trespassers'. The latter fully requited this sentiment. Unofficial Englishmen in India felt no loyalty or allegiance to the Company, and were prone to find fault with the monopolist corporation. They therefore vigorously criticised the Government and the officials, and naturally enjoyed the abuses hurled at them in the periodical Press. There was thus almost a tug of war between the officials who not only disliked the newspaper men, but felt supreme contempt for them, and the latter who made it a point to annoy the Government and their servants, not only by fair criticism of their policy and action, but even occasionally descending to an attack on the domestic affairs and private morals of officials, both high and low. This is fully illustrated by the early history of periodicals in India which were all written in English and edited by Englishmen. In 1767 an attempt was made by Bolts to start a newspaper, but it was nipped in the bud as the Government deported the author of the enterprise. In 1780 James Augustus Hicky, with the previous approval of the Government, started a weekly paper called Bengal Gazette or Calcutta General Advertiser, which described itself as “A Weekly Political and Commercial Paper Open to all Parties, but influenced by None”.[2] It consisted of only two sheets, about twelve inches by eight, of which much space was occupied by advertisements. Its distinctive feature was the comments on the private affairs of individuals which caused considerable annoyance to many and great commotion and excitement in the small AngloIndian community. For he spared none and “missionaries, officials, the Chief Justice, the Governor-General and his wife were all in turn attacked”. The Government withdrew the right to circulate the paper through the channel of the General Post Office. Hicky denounced the Government action as the “strongest proof of arbitrary power and influence that can be given”, and bitterly attacked both Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, and Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice. It is true that Hicky’s paper published scurrilous attacks on individuals, mostly written by others, but he showed a rare courage in fighting the Government, almost single-handed, for defending the liberty of the Press, and in this connection wrote some words which deserve a place in the history of the Indian Press: “Mr. Hicky considers the Liberty of the Press to be essential to the very existence of an Englishman, and a free G—t. The subject should have full liberty to declare his principles, and opinions, and every act which tends to coerce that liberty is tyrannical and injurious to the COMMUNITY”.[3] More than forty years were to pass before India again heard a similar stentorian voice this time of an Indian—in defence of the liberty of the Press. In 1782 a missionary and the Governor-General himself brought libel cases against Hicky. Hicky was convicted and sent to prison and his paper was discontinued. Six more papers were .started in Calcutta between 1780 and 1793, and the editor of one of these was deported by Sir John Shore.

Among them India Gazette (1780), Calcutta Gazette (1784), and HuYkaru (or Bircarrah) t particularly the last-named one, attained some distinction.

In Madras, the weekly Madras Courier , started in 1785, enjoyed official favour. Two other papers followed in 1795. The editor of one of them, India Herald, was deported for having made libellous attacks on the Government and the Prince of Wales, while the edi, tor. of the other, the Weekly Madras Gazette, “was prohibited from publishing copies of the General Orders of the Government until they had been submitted for the inspection of the Military Secretary*'. Four years later, on 29 June; 1799, a general order was issued by the Madras Government requiring all the newspapers to be submitted to the inspection of the Government before their publication,

In Bombay, the first paper, the weekly Bombay Herald, appeared in 1780. Then came Bombay Courier in 1790 and the Bombay Gazette in 1791. The last-named incurred official wrath for a criticism of the police administration, and the editor was ordered to submit every issue for censorship before publication. He soon regained official favour, and in 1792 his paper was amalgamated with the Bombay Herald 4

Although these papers occasionally criticised the actions of the Government, they were primarily intended for Englishmen in India, and were, generally speaking, of non-political character. They published orders of the Government and Indian news, letters to the Editor, personal news, notes on fashion, extracts from papers published in U. K., Parliamentary reports, news-letters, and reports from various parts of Europe, etc. Editorials were written mostly on political topics and military affairs which would interest only an Englishman. .

Periodicals in vernacular did not appear before A.D. 1818. The first Bengali monthly, Digdariana (Indicator of Ways), started under the editorship of J. C. Marshtnan in April, 1818, had a brief existence. But the weekly, Sarmchdra-darpa^a (Mirror of News), under the same editorship, the first issue of which was published on May 23,1818, had a very long and useful, though somewhat chequered career. Although J. C. Marshman, a missionary of Serampore, was its nominal editor, it was really conducted by Bengali PanditsFrom the old files of the paper, which are still available, it appears

to have disseminated liberal views and useful information on a variety of topics of local interest. 4 * Both these papers were published from Serampore, About the same time a weekly paper, B&hg&l Gejefi (Weekly Bengal Gazette) was published in Calcutta. Neither the name of the editor, nor the date of its first publication is definitely known. Most probably it was edited by Hara-chandra Ray, a member of the AtmSya SabM founded by Rammohan Roy, and was first issued on 15 May, 1818. If so, it was the first vernacular newspaper in Bengal. 4 * No file of this paper is, however, available and it did not continue for more than a year. On 4 December, 1821, appeared the weekly Samb&da-Kawnud* (Moon of Intelligence), a "newspaper conducted exclusively by natives in the native language". Raja Rammohan Roy was the heart-and soul of the paper, though there was a nominal editor. As could be expected, the views of the paper were advanced and liberal. But Rammohan's religious and soda!

reforms, particularly his strong advocacy of the abolition of Sati, m weaned away a large number of supporters, and a rival paper, Samdch&ra-Chandrika (Moonlight of News), was started on 5 March, 1822, as the organ of the orthodox community. It was at first a weekly, but became a bi-weekly in 1829. The Sambdda-kaumudi had to be closed down in 1822 by Rammohan, though it was subsequently revived by others and became a bi-weekly in 1830. 6 Rammohan also started the first weekly journal in Persian, Mirat-ul-Akhb&r (Mirror of News), in Calcutta in April, 1822. The Jam-i-Jahan Numa was started by an English mercantile firm in Calcutta as an Urdu weekly on 28 March, 1822, but it soon became bilingual (Persian and Urdu). The Bahga-duta (Bengal Herald), a weekly in four languages (English, Bengali, Persian and Hindi), was started under the auspices of Rammohan Roy, Dwaraka-nath Tagore and some other distinguished citizens of Calcutta of liberal ideas, but it was edited by R. Montgomery Martin. The Gujarati Bombay Samdch&r was started in 1822 and is still in existence. Several Urdu papers were published in Delhi such as Syed-ul-Akhb&r in 1837, Delhi Akhbdr in 1838, and a few others, shortly afterwards. An important English journal, the Bombay Times , which later became the Times of India , was founded, or rather grew out of the Bombay Courier , in 1838.

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By 1839 Calcutta had 26 European newspapers, including 6 dailies, and 9 Indian newspapers; Bombay had 10 European and 4 Indian journals; Madras had 9 European journals, and Ludhiana, Delhi, Agra and Serampore, each had one newspaper. 6 The progress of Indian journalism was maintained during the forties and fifties, the most important addition being the Hindoo Patriot of Calcutta, edited, by Haris-chandra Mukherji. It was issued in 1853 under the editorship of three brothers of a Ghosh family in Calcutta, but after three or four months the entire task of editing the paper fell upon Haris-chandra Mukherji, one of the greatest Indian editors of the 19th century, of whom more will be said hereafter. 7 The objects with which this paper was founded are described as follows:

"A few disinterested—in as far as their pockets are concerned— individuals were some time past thinking of establishing a weekly newspaper in English, having for its object a fair and manly advocacy of the interests of their country and an impartial exposition of the social and political evils with which she is now afflicted...

"The discussions connected with the East India Company's Charter, which have already commenced, must command an allabsorbing interest in the hearts of all true friends of India. An organ of the people, conducted by natives, on catholic and enlightened principles, must then be greatly needed, and without presuming to

set up as the only organ of the hundred millions whose destinies are bound up with the welfare of this land, the Hindoo Patriot may be allowed to take its stand as a champion, however insignificant, of the neglected rights of the country and a zealous and unflinching advocate for constitutional reform." 8

A number of Vernacular papers was also added. Rast Goftar t a Gujarati fortnightly, was published in Bombay in 1851 under the editorship of Dadabhai Naoroji. Next year, Akhbar-o-Soudigar was founded as a Gujarati tri-weekly by Dadabhai Kavasji.

Among the English papers, current in 1851, may be mentioned, the Friend of India, Hurkaru, Englishman, Bombay Times, Madras United Services Gazette , Delhi Gazette, Citizen, Ac/ra Messenger , Moffussilite, Lahore Chronicle, Eastern Star, Madras Spectator and Weekly Journal.

From the very beginning the Vernacular Press distinguished itself by its high ideals of disseminating useful knowledge and information and discussing all problems of public interest with a view to instructing the people. The high sense of editorial duty and responsibility was expressed as follows, as far back as 1822, by Raja Rammohan Roy in the prospectus of the Mirdt-ul-Akhbfir: “My only object is that I may lay before the public such articles of intelligence as may increase their experience, and tend to their social improvement; and that to that extent of my abilities I may indicate to the rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their rulers: that the rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their rulers.” 9 This ideal could not be realized by everyone, but in any case the Vernacular Press offered a refreshing contrast to the English Press which catered only to a limited group—British residents in India—, was flippant in tone, and had amusement and entertainment rather than instruction as its primary object. The latter neither represented nor defended the interests of the Indians.

The English Press was soon divided into two categories. In addition to papers owned and edited by Englishmen, there were a few, written in English but owned and edited by Indians. As the latter had more in common with the Vernacular Press than the former, there gradually grew a sharp distinction between what may be called the Indian (both English and Vernacular) and AngloIndian (English) Press.

For obvious reasons it was the Anglo-Indian Press that exercised the real power. They already * exhibited the anti-Indian

spirit which was to be their hall-mark throughout the nineteenth century. When Bentinck employed Indians in responsible offices under the Company, *he was attacked by the Press of India as no Governor-General has since been attacked.’ 10 Yet this AngloIndian Press claimed to voice the public opinion of India. Macaulay truly described the state of things in the following words: “That public opinion means the opinion of five hundred persons who have no interest, feeling, or taste in common with the fifty millions among whom they live; that the love of liberty means the strong objection which the five hundred feel to every measure which can prevent them from acting as they choose towards the fifty millions.” 11 John Stuart Mill also obse* ;ed in his evidence before the Lords’ Committee in 1852: . .The English newspaper Press in India is the organ only of the English society, and chiefly that part of it unconnected with the Government. It has little to do with the Natives and with the great interests of India.” 12

It is difficult to estimate the influence of the Press, either for good or for evil, upon the Indians. According to one view it could not have been very great during the first half of the nineteenth century. For, the circulation of the papers was very small and only an infinitesimal proportion of Indians had ever any access to them. A fairly reliable estimate of the circulation of Indian newspapers about the middle of the nineteenth century shows “that eight Bengali newspapers of Calcutta between them had not 1,300 subscribers; that the interior of the country took less than 200 copies; that in January 1837 only 151 copies were sent by post out of Calcutta, and 195 in a month in 1843; that all the English papers of Calcutta, with an aggregate circulation of nearly 4,000, had between them only 125 Indian subscribers.” 13 The writer who worked out these figures expressed the view (in 1843) that “a newspaper was not reckoned among the wants of the people.” An Indian contemporary, however, disagreed and said that “educated Indians were beginning to want a newspaper.” He pointed out that there were fifty vernacular presses in*Bengal town and country, printing periodical journals and books. 14

The evidence of Reverend James Long, partly quoted above, 15 throws very interesting light on the importance of the Vernacular Press. He says that the number of printed Bengali books increased from 300,000 copies in 1853 to double that number in 1857, and that some Bengali newspapers were circulated widely as far as the Panjab. In view of Long’s intimate knowledge of the subject, his view should command great confidence.

But whatever we might think of this, the growth of Indian Press caused alarm in the minds of many Englishmen. Dundas, the President of the Board of Control, expressed the fear, as far back as 1811, that “the very government would be shaken to its foundations if unlicensed publications were allowed to circulate over the continent of Hindustan.” 16 Even British officials like Munro and Elphinstone, who were by no means lacking in sympathy for Indian aspirations, expressed grave apprehensions that the sovereignty of England over India would be jeopardized by a free and unrestricted Press in India. In an elaborate minute, dated 12 April, 1822, Munro discussed the question, and was particularly nervous that a free Press might provoke a spirit of independence in the army. 17 “A free press and the dominion of strangers,” said he, “are things, which are incompatible and which cannot long exist together; for what is the first duty of a free press? It is to deliver the country from a foreign yoke and to sacrifice to this one great object every measure and consideration.” 18 Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, also held that unrestricted freedom of the Press was incompatible with the form of the Government of India which must be despotic for a long time to come. 19 On the other hand, Leicester Stanhope published a small brochure in London in 1823 in which he entered a vigorous plea in favour of a free Press in India. 20 Captain Francis Homes, in a book published in London in 1824, argued that a free Press was the truest friend of good government, the best protection against sedition and revolution, and was particularly necessary to India as her people had no other way of bringing their grievances to the notice of the Government possessing vast discretionary powers. 21 Even among high British officers in India there were advocates of free Press, and the most prominent among them was Sir Charles Metcalfe to whom reference will be made later.

This tug of war between the two principles of freedom and control of the Press also made its influence felt in the Government of India’s attitude to the Press.

II. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS

Reference has been made above to the action taken, by the Government in Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras against newspapers and their editors. But it was not till the very end of the eighteenth century that any general policy was adopted towards the Indian Press. Some restrictive measures were thought necessary during the prolonged war between England and France, particularly as Napoleon was believed to have a plan of invading India. To prevent the publication of military intelligence which might help the enemy was the principal object, but the comments of seditious nature published in some English newspapers furnished an additional ground. As an extreme instance, reference may be made to the observation made in an issue of the Asiatic Mirror of 1798, to the effect that the handful of Englishmen in India could be easily killed if each Indian merely threw a brickbat at them. The writings of this character, though few and far between, gave a handle to Wellesley who, following the prevalent attitude of his time, was intolerant of press criticism and angry with the whole tribe of editors. So he was not content merely with the suppression of individual papers, and deportation of individual editors, which had so long been the only means adopted by the Government to control the Press. Wellesley forged a new weapon in 1799 in the shape of Regulations for the press which laid down that no newspaper was to be published at all until the manuscript or proof-sheets of the whole paper, including advertisements, were submitted to and approved by the Government. The penalty for violating the Regulations was the deportation of the editor to Europe. The restrictions were extended by Minto even to religious books.[22]

~ The penalty touched only the editors born in Europe, as they alone were in the field at the time. The Europeans born in India, as well as natives of India, who gradually took up journalism since 1818, were exempt from the operations of the Regulations. This anomaly induced the Marquess of Hastings to abolish the pre-censorship and draw up a new set of rules in 1818 for the guidance of newspapers, with a view to prevent the discussion of dangerous or objectionable topics. These rules did not possess the force of law as they were not passed into Regulation in a legal manner. There was, therefore, no longer any legal restriction on the Indian Press.

The action of the Marquess of Hastings was hailed with joy in India and the leading officials and merchants of Madras (where the system of censorship had been operated with considerable severity) decided, in a public meeting, to present an Address to Lord Hastings in the name of the European inhabitants of Madras. In reply to this Address, which was presented to him in Calcutta, Lord Hastings made a remarkable speech in favour of the freedom of the Press. He referred to his "habit of regarding the freedom of publication as a natural right of my fellow subjects.* 8 In support of it he observed that "it is salutary for Supreme Authority, even when its intentions are most pure, to look to the control of Public Scrutiny. While conscious of rectitude, that authority can lose none of its strength by its exposure to general comment. On the contrary, it acquires incalculable addition of force.** 23

Lord Hastings gave a practical demonstration of his views in dealing with the famous James Silk Buckingham, the turbulent editor of the Calcutta Journal, which made its first appearance as a bi-weekly .paper of eight quarto pages on 2 October, 1818. Buckingham was a Whig and propagated most liberal views of the West through his paper which was described as "well conducted/' "independent" and "clever." As an editor, he said, he conceived his duty to be "to admonish Governors of their duties, to warn them furiously of their faults, and to tell disagreeable truths." Of these he gave more than ample evidence, and consequently had frequent encounters with the authorities. He was warned and admonished, and expressed regret, more than once, but always took care to point out "that it was the general impression that the press was free." It became almost a regular policy, on the part of the Government, to reprimand but not to punish, and with the editor, to regret but not to comply. Matters, however, soon headed for a crisis. An article in the Calcutta Journal criticised the Bishop for allowing Chaplains to leave their local duties in order to perform matrimonial ceremonies elsewhere, even during Christmas. The Government demanded the name of the author of the article. Buckingham replied that he did not know, as the contributor was anonymous, but he thought that the "publication might be productive of good." Lord Hastings' Government immediately informed Buckingham that should he persevere in this policy his license to reside in India would be annulled and he must quit the country. Buckingham sent a spirited reply on 27 July, 1821. The Government decision, he said, "would give the friends of the Freedom of the Press considerable pain because it really reduced the freedom of opinion to a more perilous and uncertain state than it was under the existence of the censorship.” As a matter of fact, the Chief Secretary, W. B. Bayley, and Adam, a member of the Council, were both opposed to the policy of the Marquess of Hastings, and the Council made several attempts to deport Buckingham. Lord Hastings, however, overruled his Council, and order for Buckingham’s deportation was negatived. 24 Other events soon occurred,—which gave Buckingham many opportunities to criticise the Government, ‘for the public good/ and Adam to repeat his view of the necessity of deporting Buckingham, also ‘for the public good.’ Unfortunately for Buckingham, Adam became the officiating Governor-General on 13 January, 1823, after the departure of Lord Hastings. He took a speedy vengeance on Buckingham as will be related later.

Adam and the members of his Council were definitely in favour of muzzling the Press. The grounds for these restrictions were

recorded as follows by W. B. Bayley, a member of the GovernorGeneral’s Council, in a minute dated October 10, 1822:

“The stability of the British dominion in India mainly depends upon the cheerful obedience and subordination of the officers of the army, on the fidelity of the native troops, on the supposed character and power of the Government, and upon the opinion which may be entertained by a superstitious and unenlightened Native population of the motives and tendency of our actions as affecting their interests.

“The liberty of the press, however essential to the nature of a free state, is not, in my judgment, consistent with the character of our institutions in this country, or with the extraordinary nature of our dominion in India.” 25

On October 17, 1822, even before the Marquess of Hastings left India, the Government of India wrote to the Court of Directors asking for power to exercise a more efficient and decided control over the Press. The Court hardly required any such recommendation. They formulated their views in 1823 in the following words:

“A free Press is a fit associate and necessary appendage of a representative constitution. Wherever a Government emanates * from the people, and is responsible to them, the people must necessarily have the privilege of discussing the measures of the Government; and whenever the people choose representatives to make laws affecting their persons and property, the right of animadverting on the mode in which this trust is discharged belongs, of course, to the party delegating it. But in no sense of the term can the Government of India be called a free, a representative, or a popular Government; the people had no voice in its establishment, nor have they any control over its acts.

"The Governments in India exercise a delegated authority, derived from the Court of Directors and the Board of Control. The Government of India resides in this country (England), and is, of course, responsible to the English public, in common with the Government of England. It is in this country, therefore, and not in India, that its measures ought to be discussed." [26]

The Court of Directors had already refused to approve of the change introduced in 1818; but as the despatch in which they refused to sanction this change did not receive the approval of the Board of Control, they could not restrict the freedom of the Press granted by the Governments of Bengal and Bombay, and censorship continued only in Madras. The Court of Directors then approached the Ministry for passing a new Act of Parliament in order to enlarge the powers of the Indian Governments for checking the abuses of the Press. They suggested that the "Local Governments should be empowered to grant and withdraw licenses to printing presses and to put down any press printing without a license." But though the ministers refused this request, Adam, who was officiating as Governor-General after the Marquess of Hastings, practically enforced the old rigorous restrictions as far as it lay in his power. He deported James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the Calcutta Journal, for expressing disapproval of the acceptance by Dr. Bryce, the Head Minister of new Scotch Church, of the post of clerk of the Stationery under the East India Company. The Journal was suppressed and the Assistant Editor was arrested and put on board a ship bound for England. [27] But Adam did not stop here. On 14 March, 1823, a rigorous Press Ordinance was issued which prescribed that no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having previously obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council by submitting an affidavit. 28

This Press Ordinance will ever be memorable for the vigorous protest it drew forth from Baja Rammohan Roy and the constitutional agitation made against it by Indian leaders.

Under the laws, then in force, every new legislative measure had to be submitted to the Supreme Court for registration. The new Press Ordinance was submitted on 15 March, 1823, and two days later five distinguished citizens of Calcutta led by Raja Rammohan Roy submitted a merporial to the Supreme Court for hearing objections against it. It was a remarkable document discussing in a logical manner and well-chosen diction the general principles on which the claim for freedom of the Press was based in all modem countries. An English lady, Miss Collet, has referred to this memorial as the “Areopagitica of Indian history ." 29 Macnaghten, the sole acting Judge of the Supreme Court, who heard the memorial, dismissed it, but had the candour to admit that “before the Ordinance Was entered or its merits argued in Court, he had pledged himself to Government to give it his sanction.” 80 Having failed to get any redress, Raja Rammohan made an “Appeal to the King in Council,” 31 but this, too, shared the fate of the memorial. Miss Collet observed on this Appeal:

“In a language and style for ever associated with the glorious vindication of liberty, it invokes against the arbitrary exercise of British power the principles and traditions which are distinctive of British history.” 31 *

The activities of Rammohan and the five leading citizens of Calcutta in connection with the Press Ordinance of 1823 constitute a notable landmark in the history of India's struggle for freedom. An English writer has observed as follows on this episode:

“Ram Mohan himself, who, though not a lawyer, had brilliant powers of understanding and expounding legal matters, drafted the petition, which the other five also signed; Chandra Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Harchandra Ghose, Gauri Charan Banerji, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, all men remembered by Indians as brave patriots who dared to stand up to Company, government, and court, not on behalf of any peculiarly Indian rights, but on behalf of what they and their admirers regarded as a natural right of all men, the free access to knowledge and opinion without the intervention of any authority to say what was good for them, what not. The whole memorial shows how they had become imbued with English political principles and ways of thought. Declaring that they and their countrymen had been secured in the enjoyment of the same civil and religious privileges that every Briton was entitled to in England, they boldly asserted that the ordinance would be a sudden deprivation of one of the most precious Of their rights, a right, moreover, which they had not, and could not be charged with having, ever abused. It would preclude them from communicating to the Sovereign and his Council in England the real condition of his faithful subjects in India and the treatment they experienced from the local government. It would also endanger national education by putting a stop to the diffusion of knowledge either by translations from the learned languages of the East or by the circulation of literary intelligence drawn from foreign publications." 32

The same writer further remarks:

“Indian Calcutta, that had been little interested in the Press, and for many years afterwards found it no hardship to do without newspapers, was greatly excited by this act of daring, and thought of these men much as English people once thought of the seven Bishops. Would the bold six be put in prison for their impudence in challenging the wisdom of authorities who had in their hands, in addition to the ordinary instruments of administration, Regulation III of 1818, under which executive decision alone without cause assigned or argument heard, could put a man in Jail?” 33

As a matter of fact the daring act of Rammohan and his five associates marks the beginning of a new type of political activity which was destined to be the special characteristic of India for nearly a century. As R. C. Dutt has justly observed:

“It was the start of that system of constitutional agitation for political rights which their countrymen have learnt to value so much in the present day/’ 34

The far-reaching effects of this new type of political activity are justly estimated by the Englishman, referred to above, who, writing shortly after the Round Table Conference held in London in 1930-31, remarked as follows:

“A Round Table Conference in London to discuss India’s future, with Indians taking a full share in the discussions, would have been a preposterous and incredible suggestion to Englishmen of the Company’s days. It might never have come about had the great Ram Mohan Roy not taken the lead, and three Tagores, a Ghose, and a Ranerji, not joined with him in starting the process that led to it.” 36

By way of protest against the new Press Ordinance Rammohan stopped the publication of his paper Mirat-ul-Akhhar.

Lord Amherst was instructed by his masters at the time of his nomination to the Governor-Generalship of India to proceed against Indian Press, and he tried his best to curtail its liberty as much as possible. 36 On 11 May, 1826, he issued a circular prohibiting the servants of the E. I. Company from having any connection with the public Press in any way. 37 This was revoked in 1841, but restrictions were again imposed by Lord Lytton in 1875. 38 Lord Amherst also suppressed the Calcutta Chronicle in 1827. 39 The Press Ordinance was not removed even by the liberal Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, though the matter was pressed upon his attention. As a matter of fact, he was definitely opposed to the idea of freedom of the Press when he was the Governor of Madras, and in 1807, expressed the view “that the Press in India should be kept under the most rigid control.” 40 As a Governor-General, though he did not make any change in the law, he never took any action under it against any newspaper. It is difficult to determine whether this was due to the absence of any legitimate occasion for interference or to any change of his views in later life. In any case it was left to his successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, during his brief and temporary administration, to repeal the Ordinance and to remove all restraints upon the periodical Press in India.

The famous Press Law of Sir Charles Metcalfe was passed on 3 August, 1835. It received a wide, almost frenzied, applause of all Indians and a section, of liberal Englishmen, but was, and has since then been, condemned even by distinguished and liberal-minded Englishmen, both in India and England.

The expediency of passing a measure of such importance at the time may justly be questioned. According to the generally accepted convention an acting Governor-General, holding office for a temporary period and daily expecting to be superseded, should have waited for the arrival of the permanent incumbent before deciding upon such a controversial issue and giving effect to it. It is difficult to offer any plea of urgency. As Metcalfe himself said, the press regulations were practically obsolete. If so, there was no particular reason to interfere at that very moment, particularly as it must have been obvious that his action might put his successor in an embarras* sing position. So, however opinions might differ regarding the merit of the measure, the manner in which it was passed could find little favour and can hardly be justified. 41 At the same time it should be remembered that Adam was guilty of the same offence when he passed the Press Ordinance in 1823.

It is not possible to notice the various points of view that were urged in course of the controversy over the general issue of freedom of the Press. Raja Rammohan Roy, who advocated it as early as 1823, anticipated some of the arguments of John Stuart Mill in advocating a free Press. He referred to its intrinsic merit as a means of diffusion of knowledge and enlightenment of mind, and great practical value to the Indians as the only means of bringing to the notice of the Government the ills they suffered from and anything which might require its interference.

Sir Charles Metcalfe himself defended his action in a memorable speech in reply to a congratulatory address presented to him by the citizens of Calcutta. He held that “it is salutary for the government to have the check of a press on their conduct/* He also justified his action on general principles. “Freedom of public discussion”, said he, “which is nothing more than the freedom of speaking aloud, is a right belonging to the people which no government has a right to withhold/* ‘Those who oppose it have to show that it njust necessarily cause imminent peril to the public safety which would not otherwise have occurred and cannot be averted by salutary laws.* “It also rests with them to show that the communication of knowledge is a curse and not a benefit**, which it is “one of the most imperative duties of the Government to confer on the people.** 42

The essential arguments, advanced on the other side by contemporary critics, have been summed up by Thornton in an extensive review of Metcalfe's speech. 43 He points out that the diffusion of knowledge is very different from either political discussion or expression of opinion on political matter, and the restriction of the press laws applies to the latter and not to the former. He

expresses grave doubts about "the expediency of exposing the minds of the people to the influence of political agitators." This idea was more fully developed even by liberal-minded statesmen like Munro and Elphinstone, though, incidentally, they expose the fallacy of Thornton's distinction between knowledge and opinion. Elphinstone observed in 1832 that as an inevitable effect of a free press "we shall have to contend at once with the most refined theories of Europe, and with the prejudices and fanaticism of Asia," and then asks: "Is it possible that a foreign government, avowedly maintained by the sword, can long, keep its ground in such circumstances?" 44

As a matter of fact, the real grounds of opposition to a free Press in India had always been the fear that it would alienate against the British Government not only the people but, what mattered more, the Indian army on which rested the main strength of the British in India. The Court of Directors actually expressed the fear that free discussions of political questions in newspapers might "goad on the sepoys to revolt."

Sir Charles Metcalfe met this argument in a few words which deserve to be placed by the side of the more well-known speech , of Macaulay in the same tenor. "If their argument be", said he, f "that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point". He expressed his hope that the increase of knowledge in India would strengthen and not destroy the British Empire. But he maintained that, "whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge." Then he observed: "Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confided to our hands, . to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge—of which the liberty of the press is one of the most efficient instruments—is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be, that we are permitted by divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishment necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are doubtless here for higher purposes; one of which is to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely, is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the press." 45

Even the most ardent Indian supporters of British rule in India —a class which dominated Indian politics throughout the nineteenth century—could scarcely improve upon the remarkable utterance of

Sir Charles Metcalfe. Unfortunately he belonged to a microscopic minority in England, and did not represent in any way the real views of the Englishmen. The extremity to which even enlightened Englishmen could stoop down, when it concerned the safety of the British Empire in India, may be gathered from the remarks of Thornton on Metcalfe's address referred to above. In course of it Metcalfe had observed: *If India could only be preserved as a part of the British empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our domination would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease." Thornton challenges this statement and argues that "to make this apparent, it must be shown that, but for the domination of England, knowledge would be advanced and extended." In other words, since, in his opinion, those who ruled before the English, or were likely to succeed them, did not, or would not, encourage knowledge, the British could not be blamed for dong the same. "If we render the condition of its people no better than it would be under their Native rulers it cannot justly be said, (if we make it no worse) that our domination is a curse, and ought, therefore, to cease." 46 It is a significant admission, and deserves special notice, as the general idea embodied in it exercised a profound—almost decisive—influence upon the minds of average Englishmen and even of high statesmen. While many of them honestly felt that the advantages of British rule should be extended to India as far as possible—and Thornton was one of them—they consciously or unconsciously drew a limit to such benevolent end at the point beyond which the safety and security of the

British Empire in India had the remotest chance of being endangered, even to the smallest extent.

The Home authorities, as could be expected from their previous attitude, strongly condemned the measure and penalised its author by passing over his claims to the first vacant Governorship. When Metcalfe asked for an explanation, he received, “through their Secretary an answer so dry and laconic, that on the very day when he received it he intimated his desire to retire from the service of the Company”.

The dangers apprehended from the freedom of the Press proved illusive. The Government found no necessity during the next twenty years to pass any Press legislation, save during the great outbreak of 1857, and even then a temporary legislation was enacted only for a year.

m. THE PRESS DURING THE OUTBREAK OF 1857-8.

Reference has been made above to the serious outbreaks that convulsed the whole of Northern India during 1857-8. It was

inevitable that a great deal of the bitterness and race hatred engendered by the events of these two years would be reflected in the Press. But what actually took place far exceeded any reasonable anticipation. The fallowing description of Sir George Trevelyan ‘in no way exaggerated the deplorable tone of the Anglo-Indian press 7 . 47

“The tone of the press was horrible. Never did the cry for blood swell so loud as among these Christians and Englishmen in the middle of the nineteenth century. The pages of those brutal and grotesque journals published by Hebert and Marat during the agony of the French revolution, contained nothing that was not matched and surpassed in the files of some Calcutta papers. Because the pampered Bengal sepoys had behaved like double-dyed rascals, therefore every Hindoo and Mussulman was a rebel, a traitor, a murderer; therefore, we were to pray that all the population of India were to have one neck, and that all the hemp in India might be twisted into one rope. It would be wearisome to quote specimens of the style of that day. Every column teemed with invectives which at the time seemed coarse and tedious, but which we must now pronounce to be wicked and blasphemous. For what could be more audacious than to assert that Providence had granted us a right to destroy a nation in our wrath?—to slay, and bum, and plunder, not in the cause of order and civilization,* but in the name of our insatiable vengeance, and our imperial displeasure? The wise ruler, whose comprehensive and impartial judgment preserved him from the contagion of that fatal frenzy, was assailed with a storm of obloquy for which we should in vain seek a precedent in history. To read the newspapers of that day, you would believe that Lord Canning was at the bottom of the whole mutiny; that upon his head was the guilt of the horrors of Cawnpore and Allahabad; that it was he who had passed round the chapatties and lotahs 47a and spread the report that the Russ was marching down from the north to drive the English into the sea. After all, the crime charged against him was, not that he had hindered the butchery, but that his heart was not in the work. No one had the face to say, or, at any rate, no one had the weakness to believe, that Lord Canning had pardoned any considerable number of condemned rebels. His crying sin was that he took little or no pleasure in the extermination of the people whom he had been commissioned by his Sovereign to govern and protect." 48

The Indian Press must have been somewhat kept in restraint by the fear of inevitable punishment that would follow; nevertheless passions rose high and papers in manuscript, openly inciting to rebellion, were widely spread, and mischievous misrepresentation of the intention of Government and exaggerated reports of unfortunate incidents were deliberately circulated with a view to creating disaffection toward the Government. According to Lord Canning sedition was poured into the hearts of the native population under the guise of intelligence supplied to them by the native newspapers and this was done 'sedulously, cleverly and artfully*. "In addition to perversion of facts'*, said he, "there are cQnstant vilifications of the Government, false assertions of its purposes, and unceasing attempts to sow discontent and hatred between it and its subjects." 49

Lord Canning accordingly passed the Act XV of 1857 which required licenses for keeping printing presses and authorized the Government to prohibit the publication or circulation of printed books and papers. It was to be operative for one year only and was applicable to all papers, Indian or Anglo-Indian. 60 Under the Notification dated 18 June, 1857, licenses were to be granted to a press only on condition that no book, newspaper, pamphlet etc., printed at such press, “shall contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government or in any way tending to bring it into hatred and contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority, or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants”.' 51 Under the terms of this Act Bengal Hurlcdru, edited by S. L. Blanchard, was suspended for six days till the editor resigned. The Friend of India published on 25 June, 1857, the notorious article “The Centenary of Plassey” 62 which the Viceroy deemed “most dangerous at such a crisis”, 63 but the paper was let off with a warning. George Buist, the editor of the Bombay Times, acquired unenviable notoriety by vilifying the Indians and urging upon the Government to take more and more extreme measures. Unfortunately for Buist, the share-holders of the paper were mostly Indians, and he was asked forthwith to “entirely change the tone and tenor of his editorial writings”. As he declined to do so he was dismissed. 64 Several Indian papers of Bombay—-the Bombay SamdchSr , the Jam-e-Jamshed and the Rast Go/tar—vigorously defended the character of the Indians against the unmerited attack of British journalists.* 66 Three papers— -Durbin, Sultdn-ul-Akhhar and Samachdr Sudhdvarshan — were prosecuted for writing seditious articles. 66

One name stands very high among the journalists of the day, that of Harischandra Mukherji, the editor of the Hindoo Patriot. Unswayed by the passions of the day, he tried to paint the picture of the time in its true perspective, and wielded his powerful pen to expose the hollowness of the cry for danger raised by the Englishmen, and check their frenzied efforts to induce the Government to adopt extreme measures against the Bengalis. For, even though the

Bengalis took no active part in the rebellion of 1857-8, the Englishmen took alarm at their developed political consciousness and were eager to nip in the bud this potential danger to their authority. It is said that Lord Canning was considerably influenced by the judicious attitude and unbiassed tone of this Indian paper in forming his policy.

IV. THE PRESS AFTER 1858

Since the Mutiny, the papers owned and edited by the Indians rapidly grew in number. A few of them were written in English, and the large majority in vernaculars of different Provinces. They came to play an increasingly important role in the political education of the people and growth of patriotic and national sentiments among them. It would be a tedious task to prepare a list even of the prominent daily and weekly papers in different parts of India that regularly discussed political topics. Their number was large and many of them did their work with ability and honesty.

On the other hand, the papers owned or edited by Englishmen tended to become more and more anti-Indian in their general outlook, unsympathetic to Indian political aspirations, and strong supporters of Government. This was due mainly to the memory of the Mutiny, 67 and the all-important fact that the Government of India now represented, not a private mercantile firm, but the Crown of England which claimed allegiance of every loyal Englishman.

In Bengal the Hindoo Patriot continued to be the leading journal. By its vigorous denunciation of the indigo-planters and heroic stand on behalf of the helpless and oppressed cultivators, it occupied a unique position in Indian journalism about this period. Day after day it exposed the terrible miseries inflicted upon the indigo-cultivators, and occasionally also encouraged their passive resistance from a higher national standpoint. The following extract from its issue of 19 May, 1860, may be quoted as an instance:

“The revolution has caused the Ryot community a vast mass of suffering. They have been beaten, insulted, bound, starved, imprisoned, ousted from home, deprived of their property, subjected to every form of oppression one can imagine. Villages have been burnt, men carried off, women violated, stores of grain destroyed, and every coercion has been used. Yet the Ryots have not yielded; they have not ceased to aspire after the freedom which they feel to be their birth-right and which they have been told the law assures them. Let them but suffer on a few weeks more, and they will gain their darling object. A revolution will have been effected in their social condition, the beneficial effects of which will reach all the country's institutions. The defects of our laws, the vices of our courts, the inefficiency of our police, the oppression systematically practised by some classes, and the general prevalence of anarchy will have been exposed in a manner never hitherto made—in a manner which will make reform inevitable," 68

The Hindoo Patriot also exposed the true character of the Mutiny of 1857 and boldly opposed the die-hard section of Englishmen, as already noted above.

The death of Haris-chandra Mukherji in 1861 diminished the importance of the Hindoo Patriot for some time. The mantle of that paper fell upon the Indian Mirror which was founded in 1862 under the patronage of Devendranath Tagore. Later Keshab-chandra Sen became its patron, and Narendranath Sen, its editor. Among the other important English papers may be mentioned the Indian Field edited by Kishori-chand Mitra, Mukherji's Magazine (1861), edited by Sambhu-chandra Mukhopadhyaya, and the Bengalee (1862), edited by Girish-chandra Ghosh. The National Paper, founded in 1865 by Naba-gopal Mitra, contributed a great deal to the development of nationalism in Bengal to which reference will be made later.

The leading position in Bengali journalism was agaiii taken by the Hindoo Patriot under the able editorship of Krishto-das Pal. His was an honoured name, both in politics and journalism, and he was highly respected both by the people and the Government for the depth of his views and the sobriety of his judgment. For twentythree years he was the editor of the Patriot; he made it a power in the country, and even the Government consulted this paper in order to feel the trends of public opinion. As Secretary of the British Indian Association, he wielded immense influence in that body and also in politics, and so the Patriot under his editorship acquired power, influence, and prestige such as fell to the lot of very few papers in India. He was well-known for the moderation of his views, but his spirit of independence brought him into conflict with the Government more than once.

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Several factors contributed to the phenomenal growth of the Indian Press during the sixties and seventies. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 stirred the public opinion and created greater interest in politics and newspapers, the natural medium of discussing matters of political interest. As early as 1860 telegrams received by Reuter in London from various parts of Europe were sent to the Bombay Times by mail, and when direct telegraphic communication was established between India and Britain, important news was sent by wire.= 9 So far as the Indian Press was concerned, the newly awakened consciousness of nationalism, to which reference will be made in Chapter XIII, gave a great fillip to it.

On September 28, 1861, theJBombay Times, which had incorporated the Bombay Standard, the Telegraph and Courier, changed its name to The - Times of India . Its editor, Mr. Robert Knight, explained the change as due to the pre-eminent position occupied by the city of Bombay which, he said, “is already the capital city of India, although not as yet the seat of the Supreme Government.” Then he added: “While the city is Imperial, its Press hitherto has been, in title, only provincial, and in announcing ourselves as The Times of India we are simply endeavouring to keep up with the march of events.” 60 Unfortunately, on account of differences with his partner, Knight cut off his connection with the paper, and settled in Calcutta. In 1875 he bought the journal, The Friend of India, which was founded by Carey, Marshman, and Ward at Serampore in 1818. It was at first a monthly and later became a weekly, and came into prominence during the Mutiny, as mentioned above. In 1875 Knight also founded the Statesman, and eventually the two papers were merged under the title The Statesman and the Friend of Indian Knight was one of the few English journalists who felt sympathy for Indian cause and wielded great influence both with the people and the Government. He was a radical and held liberal views on matters relating to the administration of public affairs. When he died in 1890 the Indian Press called him “the Bayard of India” and paid glowing tributes to him. 62

Among other important Anglo-Indian papers established about the same time as the Statesman may be mentioned the Madras Mail (1868), the first evening paper in India; the Pioneer of Allahabad (1865), the organ of British imperialism in India; and the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore (1876), “a faithful and conscientious advocate of the true interests of the services, civil and military, in India” —to use its own words. 63

To complete the account of the Anglo-Indian papers functioning as important organs of English public opinion in India at the end of the period under review, reference should be made to the Englishman of Calcutta, in a sense the oldest Anglo-Indian paper then in existence in India. For it was merely a new name for the paper called John Bull which was started in 1832 in order to counteract the influence of Buckingham’s Calcutta Journal, to which reference has been made above. 64 It was an 5 organ of the conservative section—the old Tories—and was owned by some employees of the

East India Company. To the last it maintained the same tradition and was ultra-conservative and reactionary in its views.

The Urdu Press also flourished and the majority of the Urdu organs of North India at the beginning of 1861 were edited by the Hindus. 65 There were, at this time, 11 Urdu and 6 Hindi papers, of which 8 were published at Agra, 2 at Ajmere, and 2 at Etawah. 66

It has been described by Surendra-nath Banerji how, in 1881, he persuaded Sardar Dayal Singh Majeetia to start a newspaper at Lahore called the Tribune . 66 «

The Indian Press, throughout the half century that elapsed since the Mutiny, took a distinctly political and nationalistic turn without losing sight of its main object of supplying information and useful knowledge. Among the Bengali papers, the Somapraka&a (1858), edited by Dwaraka-nath Vidyabhusan, was the earliest to devote itself prominently to political matters. 661 * The Sikshadarpana O Sam badasdra (1864), a monthly edited by Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, was chiefly devoted to educational topics, but also discussed political questions. It was the first to stress the inevitable animosity between the rulers and the ruled, and coined the word ‘jati-vairita,’ to denote this. The idea underlying this was fully developed by Bankim-chandra Chatterji in the weekly ‘Sadharayi’ (1874), edited by Akshay-chandra Sarkar, and in the monthly Bangadariana (1873), edited by himself. Both these Bengali papers rendered valuable services to the cause of nationalism and political progress. The following extract (in translation) from a Bengali article of Bankimchandra reflects the new spirit with which journalism was imbued in Bengal. “It is not in human nature for the conquered to respect the conquerors or regard them as selfless benefactors, and for the conquerors to shrink from employing physical force.This racial animosity is the natural result of our present condition; there will be no end of it so long as the foreigners rule over us, and we, though inferior, remember our past glory. We whole-heartedly pray that this conflict may influence us so long as we do not become equal to the Englishmen.” Some of the Bengali papers like Art/ada+iana, edited by Jogendra-nath Vidyabhushan, furthered the cause of nationalism by preaching revolutionary ideas through the lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi and other revolutionary leaders of Italy.

We find fearless criticism of the abuses of administration and reactionary measures of Government, not only in the Calcutta papers like Somapraka&a, Sahachar, and S&dh&ratrti, but also in papers published from mofussil towns, the number of which grew apace. Among these special mention may be made o^ the Hindu-hitaishhvi of Dacca and Bh&rata-mihir of Mymensingh.

Most of the above journals made their appearance during the sixties. About the same time was published the Amrita Bazar Pat rika which soon established its position as the most popular and powerful organ of national opinion, not only in Bengal, but probably in the whole of India. It was first published on February 20, 1868, as a Bengali weekly, from a village in Jessore (originally called Polomagura,. but later renamed ‘Amrita Bajar’), under the editorship of Sisir-kumar Ghosh. The paper, as Sisir-kumar himself says, began by teaching that “we are we” and “they are they”— a very simple statement of racial animosity referred to above. From the very beginning it distinguished itself by a scathing exposure of the abuses of administration and a free and frank discussion of the political problems of the day. Guided by a robust spirit of nationalism it spared no effort to serve the true interests of the country, both by ruthless, destructive criticism of the reactionary policy of the Government as well as by constructive proposals of reforms. In three articles published in 1870 it stressed the eternal conflict between the interests of the rulers and the ruled, and held out Parliamentary Government in India as the only solution of the problem. It advocated the establishment of political associations, not only in each district headquarters, but also in populous villages, and also of a central association in Calcutta to co-ordinate their activities. One of the special features of the paper was to publish regular reports of misdeeds by officials in mofussil. This brought the wrath of the English officials upon the editor and his staff who were often hauled up before the court and punished. But nothing could daunt the indomitable spirit of its editor. From the second year of its issue (Feb. 25, 1869), a part of the Patrika was written in English. In 1871 the office of the Patrika was removed to Calcutta and the English portion was gradually increased. Ultimately in 1878 it turned overnight into a full-fledged English paper in order to escape from the operations of Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act. It was a weekly paper and, as a result of the agitation over the Age of Consent Bill, became a daily on 19 February, 1891. 67

The Patrika was sometimes very outspoken in its comments. As a specimen, we may give here the translation of an extract from its issue of 31 December, 1868. "The Bengalis are determined to oppose the tyranny of Englishmen at every step. The conflict between the Bengalis and the English is becoming more and more serious every day. The English want to keep the Bengalis down, the - Bengalis want to stand up. The English find that the Bengalis can no longer be cowed down by merely bullying or bribery; so they adopt sterner measures. But thousands of Bengalis are now deter-. mined either to achieve their ends or lay down their lives. In this

struggle we do not blame either the English or the Bengalis. Let the Commissioner of the Presidency Division try to curb the spirit of freedom of the Bengalis as his national interest demands. But if the Bengalis do their duty Chapman will surely fail, for God is on our side. He befriends the weak and the helpless slaves, and to Him the English, the Hindu, the White, the Black, the Christian and the idolators are all alike.”

Poet Nabin-chandra Sen, who met Sisir-kumar about this time, has paid the highest tribute to him and to his paper by saying that “they were the pioneers of patriotism in this country.” He has related the story that a younger brother of Sisir-kumar committed suicide and left a piece of paper with the words: “It is no use keeping this life as it can do no good to our motherland.” Nabin-chandra adds that the patriotic verses in his Pala&r Yuddha —which are some of the sublimest stanzas in Bengali literature—were inspired by Sisir-kumar. The Samachdra-chandrikd wrote in its issue of January 18, 1872, “that no other journal has done as much for the freedom of the country as the Patrika , and it has suffered much on this account.”

That the achievement of independence was the guiding idea of the paper appears clearly from a Bengali verse which regularly appeared as its motto for some time since May 7,1868. It may be freely rendered as follows:—

“Alas! It is grievous to think how the poison of subjection has changed the sons of Ary as beyond recognition.”

There can be hardly any doubt that the Amrita Bazar Patrika raised the tone of Indian papers and infused a new spirit of strength, fearlessness, and nationalism in Bengali journalism. The following extract from a v letter of B. G. Tilak, written in 1917, gives a fair idea of its appreciation outside Bengal.

“I know with what enthusiasm and eagerness the Patrika was awaited in my province (Bombay) every week 40 years ago. I know how people were delighted to read his (Editor’s) sarcasm, his pithy and critical notes written in racy style, simple but at the same time effective. How people longed to see the paper on the day it was due by post, how people enjoyed it—I know it personally. You in Bengal cannot know what we felt and thought in Maharashtra. .. .They were really delighted to see his writings, but very few had the courage to quote these remarks before others—they enjoyed them in secret.” 68

Next to the Amrita Bazar Patrika the most powerful English paper in Bengal was the Bengalee, whose foundation has been referred

to above. On January 1, 1879, Surendra-nath Banerji took over the management and editorship of this paper. In his able hands the Bengalee became one of the most advanced organs of national opinion. As a matter of fact, since the eighties the Amrita Bazar Patrilya and the Bengalee made the greatest contribution to the national reawakening of Bengal, if not also of India.

The eighties saw the publication of two hew Bengali papers, the Bangabasl in 1881 and the Sanjibani in 1883. The Sanjibani adopted as its motto, “Liberty, Equality and Fraternity”. The Bangabasl was conservative and the Sanjibani was liberal in its social views. Both had a long and useful career in spreading political and social ideas among the middle class rural population of Bengal. Reference may also be made to the Sulabha-samachdra , the first one-pice paper in Bengali started by Keshab-chandra Sen. It was not a political paper, but its liberal views on social and educational matters, written in very simple language, contributed to the national reawakening, particularly as it had a very large circulation on account of its cheapness. The main function of these papers was to discuss all public measures and criticise the views and attitude of the foreign Government from Indian point of view. The Government naturally did not like this spirit of criticism and regarded it as dangerous to the stability of the British Government.

The Indian-owned papers were rapidly growing in number. “There were (in 1876) about sixty-two such papers in the Bombay Presidency,—Marathi, Gujerati, Hindustani and Persian; about sixty in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces; some twenty-eight in Bengal; about nineteen in Madras, Tamil Telegu, Malayalam and Hindustani. Their circulations were, of a necessity,

' restricted but they were nevertheless expanding. It was computed about this time that there were probably 100,000 readers of such papers and that the highest circulation of any one paper was in the neighbourhood of 3,000”. 69 In 1873 Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, ordered an inquiry into the state of the Indian-owned Press in

Bengal. It was found that there were altogether thirty-eight papers in existence.[70] Campbell expressed his views as follows: “My own opinion has always been that an entirely free press is inconsistent with a despotic form of Government even if it be a paternal despotism. In such circumstances press writers are always inclined to be ‘agin the government’ and there is no opposing press to answer them. No doubt criticism is useful in bringing abuses to light, and press fulminations may be a sort of safety valve; but a government, whose position largely depends on the sort of moral force due to a belief in its unassailable power, can

hardly afford to be constantly held up to the contempt of its subjects.” “At the same time, Sir George Campbell was clear that the cure was worse than the disease if a libel on the Government could not be punished without a protracted trial which gave the matter ‘all the notoriety that the most ambitious libeller could desire-”[71]

“For some fifteen years weekly abstracts had been prepared of the more important articles in the Indian Press and these were made available to officials in India and to the British Press. In 1875 we find Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, informing the Government of India that his attention had'been drawn by writings in the Pall Mall Gazette and another paper ‘to various articles in the Native Press which are not only calculated to bring the Government into contempt, but which palliate, if they do not absolutely justify as a duty, the assassination of British Officers/ Lord Northbrook’s Government replied that it was not desirable in the then state of the law for the Government to prosecute (under the sedition • sections, as had been suggested somewhat tentatively by the Advocate-General) except in the case of systematic attempts to excite hostility against the Government.

“Faced by the growing criticism of the press, Lord Lytton studied various methods of meeting the situation... .In the autumn of 1877 he prepared a Minute which was circulated to the members of his Council and to each local Government and Chief Commissioner. All, with the exception of Madras (where the press in Indian languages was not yet strong), concurred in the principle of taking legislative action. Consequently, a Bill was prepared, and its substance was telegraphed to the Secretary of State whose permission was sought for its introduction”. 72 The Vernacular Press Act IX of 1878 became law on March 14, and it was operative in all the provinces except Madras. Under this Act “the printer and publisher of £ny paper in an Indian language could be called upon to enter into a bond not to publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection against the Government or antipathy between persons of different races/castes and religions among His Majesty’s subjects. If a newspaper contravened this regulation, it was first warned of the offence and if it re-occurred its equipment was liable to be seized. For those who wished to avoid such a risk, a system of censorship was framed by the Government and one of its officers was appointed to scrutinize proofs before publication”. 73 Three members of the Secretary of State’s Council were against the Bill and at the instance of the new Secretary of State, Lord Cranbrook, the clause about censorship was deleted by a fresh Bill in September, 1878.

One of the results of the Act was the foundation of the Hindu of Madras. Six young men, who decided to establish the paper, felt tbs need of an Association in Madras of a type described by one of them as follows:

‘‘An Association which would represent the true state of the condition of the masses to the Government and their several grievances, and to get them redressed, to suggest to our Rulers the best means of utilising the latent activities of the people for the service of their country, to get recognised the claims of the sons of the soil to a proper share in the administration, to suggest modes of utilising the knowledge and attainments of the educated classes, in fact to induce our Rulers to put into practice the Magna Charta of our rights and liberties, such an Association was still a desideratum”.

“Though these words apply to the Madras Native Association which was subsequently organised, they may also be taken to express the task to which the Hindu set itself when it was first published on 20 September, 1878.”™

It was started under the editorship of G. Subramaniya Aiyar and Viraraghavacharya. “They were potent wheels in the machine that has made Indian Journalism the hand-maiden, if not something more, of Indian Nationalism.” W. S. Blunt paid high tribute to this paper in 1884 and wrote about the editors that they “contrasted by no means unfavourably with men of their profession in London”. Later, Kasturiranga Iyengar became the editor of the Hindu while its founder-editor G. S. Aiyar edited the Tamil paper Swadesha mitram. 75 The Hindu was started as a weekly but converted to triweekly from October 1883, and a daily since 1889.

There was strong opposition to the Vernacular Press Act all over the country. The Somaprakdia stopped publication when a bond was demanded from its printer. The Amrita Bazar Patrika, the suppression of which was believed at that time to have been the main object of the new legislative measure, escaped a similar fate by changing overnight into an English journal.

While it is not difficult to understand and even appreciate the strong and universal resentment in India at the passing of the Act, it is only fair to look at the question also from the point of view of the Government. It is unreasonable to expect that a foreign Government would ignore or tolerate the disloyal sentiment openly expressed, and the hatred towards the Government consciously or unconsciously excited, by the vernacular Press, That the vernacular newspapers indulged in such expressions would be obvious from a perusal of the papers submitted to the Legislature in justification of

the proposed Press legislation. 76 They contained mostly translations from the Bengali papers; and of these the SddMranl came in for the largest notice. Discussing the Russo-Turkish War, the S&dhfirant said that it had been deeply moved by the fall of Plevna because “we Hindus have bornd and still bear the hardships and misery which follow the downfall of the prestige of a nation. In every bone, vein and pore of our bodies this sense of national degradation works as a slow consuming fire. God forbid that even our deadliest enemies should suffer as we do. 5 ’ The next extract from the SddhSranl was from a fairly long article headed (in its English rendering) “Spurious Loyalty”, and ran as follows:—

“A history of the non-fulfilment of promises by the British Government would be the whole history of the last hundred and fifty years..

“It is the general belief that the Viceroy's speech on the 1st of January, 1877, nullified to a considerable extent the Queen's Proclamation of 1858.

Babu Surendra-nath Banerji, because he gave expression to this belief at a meeting of the Calcutta, Municipality, brought down upon himself the wrath of the Sahibs (Europeans), who charged him with being disloyal.

“It was declared in 1858 that if the natives of this country proved themselves equal, all appointments, so far as practicable, would be given to them. But now we are told that all high executive offices are to be given to Englishmen only. If these two declarations are not contradictory, then henceforth there will be no difference in colour between black and white. If it amounts to disloyalty to point out this contradiction, and if for this, the Government chooses to punish us, then, we with tens of millions of Her Majesty's subjects are prepared to be punished along with Surendra-nath.”

The following is an extract from Samdja-darpana published in its last issue:

“What heart will not be pained to see the spectacle of educated natives crying for want of food, while every month batches of Englishmen, fresh from England, are taking possession of all the appointments in the Public Service? Or what political economy is this that would sanction the retention in the service of highly paid Europeans, while famine and destitution raged in the land and people groaned under the burden of taxation? Why should Mowla Bux be hanged for an offence for which Heeman receives promotion? That you should despise me as a worthless thing not to be touched, while I should worship you with flowers and sandalwood, is a thing which nature never heard before.”

It would be difficult to deny that these comments exceeded the limits of legitimate criticism, and no Government, specially a Government of foreigners, could be expected to tolerate them. The only question is whether the particular legislation enacted by Lytton was justified. The Indian view was expressed by the'Somaprakasa in its issue of 24 December as follows: 77 “If the Vernacular Press is seditious, there is already a law to repress sedition; there are courts of law. Let complaints be lodged against them in the regularly constituted courts of the land, and let their mouths be gagged here.”

The passing of the Vernacular Press Act during Lord Lytton’s Viceroyalty seriously offended the public opinion throughout India, and gave a stimulus to the growth of nationalism and ideas of political unity to which reference will be made later. So in 1882 Lord Ripon repealed both the Acts of 1857 and 1878 and relied on ordinary law for the control of the Press.

Shortly after the arrival of Lord Ripon, the Kesarl, a Marathi daily, and the Mahratta, an English weekly, were founded respectively on January 4 and 2, 1881. Both were the results of great ventures undertaken by a group of Maratha young men including Chiplunkar, Agarkar, and Namjoshi, whose names have been cast into shade by that of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the most brilliant among them. For some time the KeSan was edited by Agarkar and the Mahratta by Prof. Kelkar. Tilak became the sole editor of the Ke&afi in October, 1887, and it was not till 1891 that Tilak's old colleagues left him and he became the sole proprietor and the fully responsible editor of the two papers. 78 Tilak was the guiding spirit of the new type of nationalism that emerged towards the close of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, and the Kesarl and Mahratta became the chief organs of this new movement. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance and significance of the role played by these two papers in the development of nationalism in India.

The last important journal, during the period under review, was the Indian Review published in January, 1900, by G. A. Natesan in Madras. He had a fine press and was himself the printer, publisher, manager, and editor of the Indian Review. Its speciality was the publication of important extracts from contemporary periodicals on various aspects of Indian problems. 79 By this monthly journal as well as by publication of books bearing on Indian nationalism, Natesan made valuable contribution to India's struggle for freedom in the twentieth century.

In spite of severe handicaps the Indian Press performed its task fairly well. It was clearly recognized, even by enlightened

Englishmen, that the Indian Press must, necessarily, be always in opposition to the Government. The Indian Press, as a body, followed this principle, and reviewed the entire administrative policy of the Government. There was hardly any topic of public importance which did not form their subject of discussion.

Among the important public questions they chiefly concerned themselves with (1) reduction of public expenditure, (2) appointment: of natives to high offices under the State, (3) defects in the administration of justice in the mofussil, and (4) the existence of feelings of distinction between the conquerors and the conquered. In many cases the writers displayed quite a high level of knowledge and strong independence of views. It is impossible to over-estimate the* importance of the Indian Press as a means of educating public opinion and inculcating patriotic and national views among the public. The introduction of cheap (pice) newspapers in Bengali was an important innovation for spreading political ideas among the masses.

The foundation of the Indian National Congress considerably changed the tone of both the Indian and Anglo-Indian Press, and brought politics into the forefront of discussions in both cases. The more important Indian papers now sought to educate the public in the political ideals of the Congress, and some even overstepped the limit of moderation set by that institution as its standard. The Anglo-Indian Press, with a few exceptions, criticised the political ideal of the Congress as chimerical and was definitely hostile to it. In this they reflected the British attitude which was opposed to all political aspirations of India. Racial arrogance clearly manifested itself in their outlook on Indian questions, as was amply demonstrated during the bitter Ilbert Bill controversy. What was still worse, they cast to the winds all sense of decency, fair play and justice when the interest or prejudice of Englishmen was at stake. This would be obvious from their frantic cry of protest whenever an Englishman was accused for assaulting an Indian, and the open support they gave to the tea- and indigo-planters, though guilty of brutal crimes against heloless Indians. Attention may be drawn to the comments of the Englishman , the Pioneer and the Morning Post on the Manipur outbreak in 1891, to which reference has been made above. 80

It is interesting to refer in this connection to the following extract from a letter written by Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State, to Lord Curzon on 16 February. 1900.

“I expected you would be attacked for the strong line you have taken in connection with the Rangoon outrage. The official element, both military and civil, is so strong in India that they have a very

dominant control over the English Press. We, from time to time, abuse the Native Press, and believe it to be a danger to our rule in India. I am not at all sure that the Anglo-Indian Press is not quite as mischievous, and, by its intolerance, does not greatly aggravate all racial difficulties and differences."

The tone of the Indian Press also was not always restrained, and grew more and more vehement with the growth of nationalism and political consciousness. Some extracts have already been quoted, and a few others may be added as specimens.

The taxes came in for a great deal of nasty criticism. A Bengali paper alleged, in 186.3, that prostitutes were utilised to promote the sale of liquor, and condemned the Government which "for a few rupees gained now will have debauched, degraded and demoralised the mass of the people of India". The Amrita Bazar Patrika described the Road Cess as a "shameful imposition". While condemning the increase in salt tax in 1888 by Lord Dufferin, the Prajd-handhu, a Bengali paper, wrote: "Cursed was the hour when His Excellency set foot on Indian soil. His crooked policy has impoverished India".

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The drain of India's wealth came in for caustic comments. The Samaya wrote in 1896: "Like locusts they came in swarms to drain the country of its riches which they spend not in India but in their own country". Another paper observed in this connection that "the Muslims did not suck the peoples' blood like India's present rulers."

The top-heavy administration, due mainly to the high salaries of English officials, was strongly criticized, and when Sir John Strachey defended it on the ground that an English recruit to the I.C.S. inherited qualities from his forefathers which a Bengali candidate could never inherit, the Bangabdst , a Bengali paper, replied: "When your tattooed ancestors lived in mountain caves or underground holes, ate raw flesh and jumped about like monkeys from tree to tree in search of fruits, our forefathers ruled over kingdoms. This is no empty boast, but historic truth.”

This was merely an indirect, though vulgar, protest against the racial arrogance which often manifested itself in brutal assaults on innocent Indians, causing grievous hurts and sometimes even death, by Europeans who were let free without or with merely nominal punishment. It has been estimated that nearly 500 cases occurred every year in each of the provinces, and these supplied materials for bitter comments, sometimes mixed with satire. The Amrita Bazar Patrika thus commented on the murder of a Sadhu (mendicant) by three English soldiers at Wazirabad: “The Sadhu looked so much

like a pig that the tommies were tempted to shoot him. Oh! dear! dear! and now a hue and cry would be raised in the native newspapers. But after all no harm is done in this case; it is the ultimate object of a Sadhu to seek Nirvan and three sons of Mars by shooting him dead simply helped him to reach his goal at once.”

The foreign policy of the Government was strongly attacked. Referring to the Second Afghan War a Bengali paper wrote in 1880: “Heaven only knows where the consequences of the dishonest actions of the Hebrew Premier (Disraeli) will ultimately lead us”. The Sanjivani of Calcutta wrote on the occasion of the Third Burmese War: “When we think that our money, assuming the form of bullets, is falling upon the breasts of heroic Burmese patriots, is serving to fill with lamentation thousands of Burmese homes, and is helping to deprive a people of their God-given independence, we cannot help losing all patience.” Commenting on the Tibetan War of Lord Curzon the Amrita Bazar Patrika wrote in 1904 that “every Englishman should be ashamed” of it. 81

The extracts from newspapers quoted in this chapter, and a few more scattered in other chapters of this volume, would-suffice to show that the Press very accurately reflected the mutual relations and attitudes of the rulers and the ruled, as will be described in detail in Chapters IX, X and XI. One can easily visualise how the haughty arrogance, caused by the racial superiority complex and leading to an undisguised contempt for the ‘natives’, on the part of the ruling community, generated in the hearts of the

Indians a sullen resentment and bitter hatred towards their white masters and their system of Government. The Press widely disseminated these ideas among the people at large and intensified the estrangement between the Indians and the Englishmen. This served as a potent factor in fostering unity and nationalism in India. The Indian Press also made valuable contribution to the growth of political ideas and development of an all-India political consciousness among the general public. It is thus impossible to exaggerate its importance as one of the most powerful elements in the building up of the Indian nation in the nineteenth century.

It could be hardly expected that the British Government would look favourably upon the Indian Press or even be indifferent to its tone. In his letter to Lord Cross, dated 21 March, 1886, Lord Dufferin refers to the agitation in Bengal, both in press and on platform, and thinks it to be due to Irish troubles. He then adds: "Day after day, hundreds of sharp-witted Babus pour forth their indignation against their English oppressors in very pungent and effective

diatribes. Facts are either invented or misrepresented to suit the purpose of these ingenious gentlemen, and I must say that the way in which they serve them up is by no means discreditable to their literary power." In another letter dated 23 November, 1886, to Cross, Dufferin abuses the Bengali Press in stronger language but praises the Bombay papers: "Bengalee press seems to be worked by a very malicious and cowardly set of people, who do not seem to know what truth means. At Bombay, I am happy to say, I found among the corresponding class, even of the most advanced type, a totally different tone. Their papers are moderate, sensible, and statesmanlike, and excellent feeling exists between themselves and the English community as well as the Civil Service, and I met amongst them men of the highest character and intelligence. It seems to me the sooner we change the capital of Bengal the better." 82

The last sentence is quite interesting,—-anticipating events by a quarter of a century.

1. O'Malley, 189. —— -

2. Bams, 46.

3. Ibid, 49.

4. Ibid, 59-60.

4a. Cf. above, p. 169.

4b. For a discussion on this-point, cf. B. N. Banerji, Bdrhld Sdmayika Patra (in Bengali), pp. 16-19; Collet, pp. 204-5; Prabasx, 1347 B.S., Part II, pp. 654-59. According to some the editor of the paper was Ganga-kishor Bhattacharya. Both he and Hara-chandra were associated with the paper.

5. For further details, cf. Chapter V. Quotations from Vernacular papers are given in Ch. HI. For a general account of Bengali papers, cf. B.N. Banerji, op. cit For the English Papers, Cf. Barns.

6. Barns, 230.

7. For a short account of Haris-chandra Mukherji and the origin of the Hindoo Patriot, Cf. Bengal Celebrities, pp. 64-86.

8. The Hindu Intelligencer, 17 January, 1853; quoted by J.C. Bagal in the VUvabhdratx (Bengali), Vol. X, part II, pp. 101-2.

9. Quoted by /H.P. Chose, op. cit., 25-6.

10. Dutt-H, 207.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid, f. n., 2.

13. 0‘Malley, 191.

14. Ibid.

15. Vol. IX, pp. 936-7.

16. O’Malley, 196.

17. Ibid, 195.

18. Gleig Life of Munro. II. 106-7.

19. O’Malley, 205. For tne reasons advanced by Elphinstone in support of his views, cf. Bams, 134.

20. O’Malley, 196.

21. -Ibid, 197.

22. Beveridge, m. 130.

23. Bams, 92-3.

24. Ibid, 94-101.

25. Bengal Public Consultations, Vol. 55, 17 October, 1822; No. 8 Minute.

26. Quoted in Dutt-II, 206-7.

27. Rammohun, 51.

28. For full text, cf. Bams, 115-9.

29. Collet, p. 177. The memorial was almost certainly drafted by Rammohan (ibid

205-6). ’

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30. Ibid, 180.

31. For the full text of the Appeal, cf. Works , 445-467.

31a. Collet, 180.

32. O'Malley, 198-99.

33. Ibid, 199.

34. Ibid, 198.

35. Ibid.

36. CR, 1908, January, p. 94.

37. Ibid, 102.

38. Ibid, 196; Bams, 273.

39. CR, 1908, January, 103-4.

40. Thornton, VI. 53.

41. Beveridge, HI. 252.

42. Thornton, VI, 57.

43. Ibid, 61 ff.

44. B. Majumdar, 63.

45. Thornton, VI. 58.

46. Ibid, 62-3.

47. Bams, 250.

47a. Perhaps it is a mistake for lotus.

48. Bams, 249-50.

49. Ibid, 250.

50. For the text of the Act, cf. Bams, 252.

51. Ibid, 255.

52. This article is quoted in O'Malley, 213 ff.

53. Bams, 256.

54. Ibid, 257.

55. Ibid, 258-9.

56. Ibid, 256.

57. Cf. Ch. IX.

58. Quoted by J. C. Bagal in the Peasant Revolution in Bengal, pp. 49-50.

59. Bams, 269-70.

60. Ibid, 270.

61. Ibid, 274.

62. Ibid, 296.

63. Ibid, 277.

64. See p. 230.

65. Bams, 260.

66. Ibid, 261. A detailed account of the Hindi and Urdu papers is given by Prof. Garcin de Tassy in La Langue et la Litterature Hindoustanies, 1861, p. 172.

66a. A Nation in Making, pp. 46-7,

66b. The Somaprak&sa was first projected by Pandit Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar, and the first number was probably written by him. "But he fell sick and made over the paper to Pandit Dwarakanath, under whose able management the paper attained the foremost place among the Bengalee newspapers.” Dwarakanath “taught his native brethren of the journalism craft a new style of journalism” (Hindoo Patriot, 9 January, 1865). B.N. BanerjL op. cit., p. 247.

67. Barns, 303. For an account of the early history of the Patrika and quotations of extracts, cf. J. C. Bagal, Bharatvarsher Svddhxnatd (Bengali).

68. Quoted in Bharatvarsher Svddhxnatd by J.C. Bagal (Preface pp. 18-19).

69. Bams, 276.

70. The list of the papers is given by Barns (p. 272).

71. Bams, 273.

72. Ibid, 279-80.

73. Ibid, 281.

74. Ibid, 294.

75. H. P. Ghose, op. cit., 35.

76. Some of these press comments are reproduced by B.C. Pal (Pal-1, pp. 275-9) of which a few are quoted below as specimens.

77. Pal-I, 283-4.

78. Kelkar, N.C., Life and Times of Tilak, pp. 103 ff., 115.

79. Bams, 317.

80. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 739.

81. The passages from newspapers are quoted in JIH, XXXVHI, 599 ff.

82. The two letters of Lord Dunerin to Cross are quoted from the original documents.

CHAPTER VII (XLV)

SOCIAL REFORM

I. PRINCIPLES OF REFORM

The same rationalistic spirit which led to reforms in religion also sought to introduce reforms in social customs and manners. There were, at the beginning of the 19th century, numerous social evils of such a character as would rudely shock our sensibility at the present day. They were tolerated, partly out of veneration for old customs and partly out of sheer inertia. But the urge of a rational spirit which declared war against religious superstitions could ill brook the social evils which were eating into the vitals of the society. It was therefore in the very nature of things that the Brahma Samaj under the leadership of young Keshab-chandra should take up the social reform as an integral part of its religious movement. Some account of this has been given above in Ch. IV. As noted there, this urge for social reforms was the cause of both the schisms that took place in quick succession in the Brahma Samaj. These splits within its own rank and the consequent secession from the Hindu society made the Samaj a less effective instrument of reform among the Hindus.

The situation was very different in Bombay, because there the Prarthana Samaj, the counterpart of Brahma Samaj, followed an entirely different principle under the able leadership of Mahadev Govind Ranade, the leading social reformer of the 19th century. The spirit with which, under his guidance, the social reform movement was carried in Bombay may be best understood from Ranade's own words.[1] He welcomed the fact that —thanks to the wisdom of the Western Indian leaders of the Prarthana Samaj movement—the schisms of Bengal in the Brahma Samaj were not repeated in Bombay, and the supporters of the movement remained within the pale of their respective communities. Ranade said: * "We do not want to break with the past and cease all connection with our society. We do not desire to give up our hold on the old established institutions". He was not, he said, "one of those who would abandon society because it tolerates what seems to them to be great evils". Ranade believed that "there was an ideal Hindu society in the old days but evils crept in during a period of depression, when in panic and weakness, a compromise was made with the brute forces of ignorance and superstition”. To Ranade, therefore, reform was merely the

work of liberating society from the restraints that were wrongfully imposed upon it. In support of this he pointed out that most of the evil customs which now prevailed in the Hindu society ran counter to the practices observed in the old times, and cited as instances the ‘dependent status of women, infant marriage, prohibition of remarriage of widows, restriction of marriage within the narrow circle of the sub-caste to which one belonged, ignorance and seclusion (purdah) of women, prohibition of foreign travel, various kinds of abstentions enforced upon women, restrictions as to interdining among various castes, untouchability, etc.’ These, according to Hanade, were innovations for which no sastric (scriptural) sanction could be pleaded. But he took care to add in a spirit of reverence for the old: “It may be, they were made with the best intentions. Admittedly they have failed to carry out these good intentions, if any, then entertained, and in seeking to upset them and restore the more healthy ideals they superseded, the reformers of the present day are not certainly open to the charge, that they are handling roughly our time-honoured institutions”.

This was, no doubt, an attempt to pacify the orthodox section, and thus smooth down the path of reforms. But it was not long before Ranade realized that he had over-simplified the problem. If the antiquity of a social institution be the only criterion for its goodness or validity, then the door is thrown widely open for admitting many customs which are unacceptable, nay even revolting, to our modern taste. So when neo-Hinduism ushered in the extreme revivalist movement, Ranade realized the danger of the principle he had enunciated, and the rationalism in Ranade got the better of his traditionalism. The unwisdom of reviving old customs, simply because they were ancient, was the main theme of one of his addresses at the Social Conference. He said in a pathetic tone that “while the new religious sects condemn us for being too orthodox, the extreme orthodox section denounces us for being too revolutionary in our methods. According to these last, our efforts should be directed to revive, and not to reform.their watchword is that re vival, and not reform, should be our motto. They advocate a return to the old ways, and appeal to the old authorities and the old sanction.” Then, forgetting that he himself had encouraged the idea, he raised the very pertinent issue: ‘What particular period of our history is to be taken as the old?’ For, as he rightly pointed out, ‘our usages have been changed from time to time, during the different periods represented by the Vedas, Smritis and the Puranas*. He turned the table completely against the revivalists by enumerating various abominable practices and immoral usages prevalent in India in the old days, and then asking them whether they were prepared to re-introduce them. “Shall we”, asked he, “revive the twelve forms of sons, or eight forms of marriage.the Niyoga system. Sati and infanticide customs.?” Ranade then went on to argue that “if these usages were good and beneficial, why were they altered by our wise ancestors? If they were bad and injurious how can any claim be put forward for their restoration after so many ages?” He had evidently to contradict or bypass his earlier views, as he found that the sleeping giant of revivalism which he had awakened thereby proved too powerful for him. As a wiser but sadder man he concluded that “in a living organism as a society is, no revival is possible and reformation is the only alternative open to us”. 2 He then proceeded to determine the principles on which this reformation must be based. The general principle enunciated by him was to root out those ideas and their outward forms which were responsible for the decline of the Hindus during the past three thousand years. Regarding the existing customs, the primary question was not whether they were sufficiently old, but whether they would altogether suit the changed circumstances of society. It meant, he proceeded to explain, that we must learn to be guided by our conscience, the wisdom of sages coming only to our aid and not to overpower us. In other words, Ranade came round to the view that the only basis of social reform was the real need of the country as rationally conceived. But whatever might have been the theoretical differences, all social reformers virtually agreed on the need of removing the concrete abuses or evils cited by Ranade, as mentioned above.

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To this list Ranade himself added a few others which he supported with his whole heart but on which there was no such unanimity of views. These were purity-movement comprising anti -nautch (dancing) and temperance agitation, admission of converts from other faiths, and reduction in extravagant marriage expenses. Throughout the nineteenth century there was an active propaganda for social reform on these lines almost all over India, but more particularly in Bengal and Bombay. When the Indian National Congress was formed there was a proposal to make it a forum for discussing not only political but also social problems. For, according to a school of thought political advancement was not possible without social progress. The Congress, however, wisely it seems, restricted its sphere of work to politics only, and so in 1887 Ranade founded the Indian National Social Conference which met every year at the time of the Congress session, though entirely as a separate organization. He worked steadily, and not without some

success against such glaring social evils as child-marriage, the purdah system, and the prohibition of widow-marriage.

The spirit of social reform in the nineteenth century cannot be judged merely by the concrete results it produced. The zeal with which the progressive section in society took up the various problems and launched series of campaigns against enormous odds is truly remarkable. How difficult such a task was would appear from the miserable plight of the pioneers of female education described in the last section of this chapter, and the violent opposition which was offered even by educated and highly placed men to the abolition of a cruel and inhuman rite like the Sati, mentioned in the next section. These two instances, among others, should make us realize the stiffness of opposition by the orthodox section against which the reformers had to carry on their struggle. And when we remember that the orthodox section, as is always the case, was backed up by the majority of the people and the best part of the material resources of the country, our admiration ought to increase for those small bands of social reformers who carried on almost a hopeless struggle throughout the nineteenth century at great personal sacrifice and not unoften at the risk of personal safety.

But orthodoxy was not the only obstacle to reformers. There was division in their own ranks regarding the method and speed of reforms. Some were so much carried away by their zeal that they would not brook any delay, nor refuse any means by which the object could be gained. Others were against sudden and violent changes and wanted to proceed more cautiously. This difference was clearly manifested on the specific issue of social legislation by the Government. It was welcomed by one party and opposed by the other. The nature of this difference may be illustrated by a concrete instance. In 1855 the Maharaja of Burdwan presented a petition to the Legislative Council setting forth the monstrous evils arising from the practice of unrestricted polygamy, specially among the Kulins of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir J. P. Grant, promised in 1857 to introduce a Bill on the subject; but the Mutiny stopped all further action, and also changed the attitude of the Government regarding social legislation. So when in 1863, several petitions were presented to the Government by nearly 21,000 Hindus in Bengal for the enactment of a law to restrain the abuses, the GovernorGeneral in Council refused to introduce a Bill as recommended by the Government of Bengal, but advised it to appoint a Committee to review the situation. The Committee, appointed in 1866, included several eminent Indians and Europeans. They reported in 1867 to the effect that they could not suggest the enactment of any

declaratory law or of any legislative measure that would suffice for the suppression of the abuse of polygamy. Even more important than this decision was the opinion expressed by two Indian members of the Committee, namely, Rama-nath Tagore and Digambar Mitra. They held that the evils had been too much exaggerated and were already on the decline, and that “this question may, without injury to public morals, be left for settlement to the good sense and judgment of the people.” The third Indian member, Jay-krishna Mukherji, also held that the State should not interfere in the matter. Pandit Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar was the only member to submit a note of dissent. He maintained that the evils were not greatly exaggerated and that the decrease of these evils was not sufficient to do away with the necessity of legislation. He was therefore in favour of passing a Declaratory Law. The Secretary of State decided against any legislation. 3

The main issue thus raised in 1855 continued to agitate, and divide, Hindu society for the next fifty years. Eminent men like Bankim-chandra Chatterji in Bengal and B. G. Tilak in Bombay were definitely opposed to the idea of a foreign Government legislating on social matters. Ranade did not agree, and said, "that the force of this objection would be irresistible if the interference was of foreign initiation". He also enumerated the various advantages of legislation. It would be a change from the law of status to the law of contract, from the restraints of family and caste customs to the self-imposed restraints of the free will of the individual. It would also free social restrictions from the binding character of religious injunctions and liberate the national mind from the thraldom of superstitions. 4

II. GENERAL REVIEW

It is somewhat singular that almost all the important social reforms of the nineteenth century should centre round women. The reason is not far to seek. The most important characteristic that marked the decadence of Hindu society was the gradual but steady degradation in the position of women and the lower castes, specially the untouchables. Both these features were eating into the vitality of the society and contributed not a little to the general degradation of the body-politic. It was inevitable, therefore, that the attention of the Indians should be drawn to these evils by the impact of western civilization, which held out a much higher ideal in both these respects. Of the two great evils, those associated with women claimed greater attention in the nineteenth century, while the other was to figure equally prominently in the twentieth.

The reason why the attention of the English-educated Indians was first drawn to the urgent necessity of reform in the status of women seems to be that it affected their own kith and kin whose vivid, real, and manifold miseries profoundly stirred their emotions as soon as they had freed their minds from the age-long shackles of superstition. The degrading position of women in Hindu society at the beginning of the nineteenth century was indeed most deplorable. It was a long tale of suffering and humiliation almost from birth to death. Among several tribes the birth of a girl was regarded as specially unfortunate, and they did not hesitate to kill them deliberately soon after they were born. The marriage of girls at an early age, long before puberty, and even sometimes when they were five to ten years old, if not earlier still, was the prevalent custom amongst the Hindus, with rare exceptions. This deprived the girls of any opportunity of receiving any education worth the name, and denied them altogether any say in the matter of selecting their partners in life. If the husband died, even when the wife was quite young or a baby, she was faced with the alternatives of either burning herself along with his dead body, or living a desolate and miserable life, most often as a neglected, if not hated, drudge in the family. For, beyond a bare maintenance, she had no right to the property of her dead husband, and could not marry again. But though the wife had no right to marry after the death of her husband, he could, and not unoften did, marry any number of wives, not only after her death but even during her lifetime. To carry on the household life with a number of co-wives was bad enough, but the lot of girls of certain classes, called Kulins, in Bengal^—though fortunately limited in number—was far more pitiable, owing to strict restrictions which confined the choice of husband to a very limited number of families. Sometimes a large number of girls—fifty, sixty or even more—were married to one person. Cases are on record where a large number of Kulin girls, with ages varying from ten to sixty, and related as sisters, cousins, and aunts of varying degrees, were all married together at on^ and the same time, by one common nuptial ceremony, to an octogenarian on his death bed. Most of the Kulin girls, even when married, had to spend their lives in their fathers' home, for the husband could maintain only a few at a time in his own house, and the rest had to Wait their turn as the common husband had to take several rounds to visit his numerous wives whose names and addresses he could find out only by reference to a written record. These tours were prompted by the regular honorarium paid to him by the wife he visited, or rather her relatives.

The greatest evil, from which the women suffered, was the denial of education, due partly to early marriage, and partly to a superstition that an educated woman was fated to become a widow. Still some women managed to get some education and ventilated their grievances through newspapers. Reference may be made in this connection to two remarkable letters published in the Samdchara darpana , on 14 and 21 March, 1835. 3 4 5 The first was a communication sent in the name of a ‘woman of Santipur/ a well-known locality in the Nadia District, Bengal. She depicts in pathetic language the sad plight of the widows and Kulin girls of Bengal who are denied the pleasure of living with their husbands unlike women of some other parts of the British territory. While the men may freely enjoy the company of concubines and whores with impunity, and still occupy honourable position in society, a woman is condemned if she visits a paramour. Reference is also made to the miserable diet and clothings prescribed for the widows. All these, it is contended, are against the Hindu scriptures, and an appeal is made to the British Government to do justice to women according to Hindu law and to prescribe as illegal the practice of keeping concubines.

The second letter, inspired by the first, was a communication in the name of the ‘women of Chinsurah’, about thirty miles from Calcutta. It is an appeal to their fathers and brothers against a number of specific evils or disqualifications which are put in the form of questions, serially numbered as follows:

1. Why are no arrangements made for our education as is done for the women of civilized countries?

2. Why are we not allowed to mix freely with other men and women like the women of other countries?

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

6. If a husband may marry after the death of his wife, why is a wife debarred from marrying after her husband’s death? Does not a woman possess the same desire for a conjugal life as a man? Can you prevent the evils arising from such unnatural laws?

The letter concludes with another appeal to the brothers and fathers to consider all these points and feel pity for the life of miserable slaves to which they have reduced the women, their own kith and kin.

These two letters might have been regarded as sufficient testimony for the awakening of women in Bengal, if they were really written by women; But it is just possible that they were the compositions of some men and sent in the name of women to evoke pity and sympathy. In any case, they put very pithily the many social evils which made the life of Bengali women wretched and miserable.

Such appeals, however, did not go in vain. Vigorous agitation was carried on by the English-educated Hindus, in the teeth of fierce opposition by the orthodox section, to spread education among women and to remove the evils, referred to above, from which they were suffering. The reformers were partially successful in their efforts. Education was promoted among women, female infanticide and Sati were prohibited, and widow-remarriage was legalised, as will be related in the following sections. Efforts to stop polygamy were not equally successful, though its rigours, such as are illustrated by Kulinism , were considerably minimised by the spread of education and liberal ideas during the nineteenth century. It is to be noted that while Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar put forth his efforts and energy to prohibit the evil of polygamy he was opposed by men like Bankim-chandra Chatterji, the great, if not the greatest, Bengali writer, the apostle of nationalism, and the author of the V ande-matcCram hymn. Certainly Bankim-chandra was not averse to social reforms, but it is apparent that even some of the Englisheducated and most advanced Indian thinkers of the nineteenth century were very much against the principle of abolishing social abuses like polygamy by legislation. 6 They were of opinion that spread of western education and the resulting social enlightenment, perhaps aided by economic causes, would slowly eradicate the evils. This has not proved to be a forlorn hope, for polygamy, declared illegal in independent India, certainly fell into disfavour and disuse, and a strong moral force was silently operating against it, even at the end of the period under review. The gradual abolition of childmarriage has followed a similar process.

The same thing may be said of another evil system, viz., purdah or seclusion of women. This custom, more strictly observed by the Muslims all over India, and probably borrowed by the Hindus from them in Medieval age, was prevalent among the high class Hindus of Northern India, but unknown in the Deccan and South India where the Muslim influence was less enduring and smaller in its extent. This long-standing practice was denounced by reformist sects like the BrShma Samaj and practically renounced by them, though by degrees. Their precept and example in this respect as well as in promoting education among women, remarriage of widows, abolition of child-marriage and polygamy, and in general improvement of the status and position of women, contributed largely to similar reforms within the Hindu society. Though the Brahma Samaj is no longer a living force in Bengal, it has left a rich legacy of these and other social reforms, such as abolition of the rigours of caste distinctions, sanction of sea-voyage, interdining with lower castes and non-Hindus, removal of restrictions about forbidden food and drink etc. These reforms were effected gradually and almost imperceptibly, and only their beginning could be noticed at the end of the period under review. But the progress of western education and western ideas completed or accelerated the process that was initiated under the influence of non-conforming religious sects like the Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and others.

Although the social reforms in Bengal in the nineteenth century centred mainly round the improvement of women’s condition, the miserable state of the lower classes was not altogether lost sight of. The abolition of slavery and slave trade, to which detailed reference will be made in a later section, was an important landmark in the history of social reforms in India. Two legislations of 1849 are also deserving of notice. By these the abominable practice of branding convicts was abolished, and provision was made for the custody of lunatics. 041

There was a strenuous campaign against drunkenness, an evil which assumed serious proportions both among the high and the low, and the rich and the poor. Temperance societies were established, tracts were written, and some of the best Bengali dramatists wrote satires to condemn the evils.

The social reformers directed their attention to the suppression of many cruel rites and practices performed in the name of religion. The more important of these will be referred to in the subsequent sections. An instance of minor ones may be referred to here. In 1865-7 newspaper articles strongly condemned the Hindu practice of taking sick people to the banks of the Ganges to die, and of immersing the lower half of his body in the water of the river, which was believed to hasten or even to cause many deaths. The Government was approached to stop this evil by legislation. The Government of Bengal, unwilling to prohibit the practice altogether, proposed to regulate it by requiring that in every such case a notice should be given to the police in the form of a declaration signed by the nearest relatives of the sick man to the effect that there was no reasonable hope of his recovery. The Government of India, however, vetoed this proposal with the concurrence of the Secretary of State. 7

In Bombay the agitation for social reform started earlier than in Bengal, and was not an offshoot of movement for religious reform. This is due to the fact that the Maratha rulers of the 18th century followed the old Hindu tradition of regulating social affairs, and showed a reforming spirit in certain directions, such as “readmission to Hinduism of converts, intermarriage, the enforcement of temperance, the remarriage of girls who had been engaged or informally married by force or fraud, and the prohibition of sale of girls. Instances of excommunication being set aside by the State were not unknown.” 7 ® This tradition exercised some influence upon the society even after the establishment of British rule in Bombay. Even as far back as the 1830’s Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar and Jagannath Shankershet carried on a campaign for taking back Christian converts into Hindu society. Out of their efforts grew the Hindu Missionary Society started by Gajananrao Vaidya to re-admit converts into Hindu society. Organized efforts were made during the forties to fight social inhibitions, particularly those associated with the caste system. A society called Paramahamsa Sabba was founded in 1849 with this object in view. It was a sort of secret association, at whose meetings members partook of food cooked by persons of low caste and consumed forbidden food and drink.

The establishment of the Prarthana Samaj on the model of the Brahma Samaj of Bengal gave a great impetus to social reform, as mentioned above. 7b Reference has already been made to the views and activities of Mahadev Govind Ranade who started an all-India movement for social reform. There were several other eminent social reformers in Bombay. One of them, Jotiba Phule, took up the cause of women and down-trodden masses. In 1851 he started a girls' school in Poona with the assistance of his wife. Undaunted by the harassment of the society he opened a school for the children of the depressed classes and helped the widows to remarry. As a result he and His wife were driven out of the house by his father. Perhaps this drove him to excess. His campaign for the removal of untouchability and the social and economic regeneration of the depressed classes

soon developed into an anti-Brahmin movement. He boldly challenged the age-long leadership of the Brahmins and sought to instill courage, enthusiasm and self-reliance among the masses. His attitude was one of social revolt against the domination of the Brahmin caste in all spheres of social and political life in Mahaiashtra. He championed the cause of villagers and propagated social reform among them. He founded the Satya-Shodak Sam&j with the object of extirpating the Brahmins. 70

Reference should also be made to Karsondas Mulji, a young Bania student, who was driven from his home for writing a tract in support of widow remarriage. In addition to his efforts to popularise this reform he set an example by refusing to perform expiatory rites after his return from England. But his most vigorous and successful campaign was directed against the Vaishiiava-Vallabh community to which he himself belonged. The spiritual heads of the community, called Maharajas, indulged in debauchery and licentiousness, and took liberty with the women of the community. Karsondas denounced these practices and wrote: "No other sectaries have ever perpetrated such shamelessness, subtlety, immodesty, rascality and deceit as has the sect of the Maharajas". After he wrote in this strain for about a month the Maharaja brought a libel suit against him. His plea of justification was accepted and the trial judge was fervent in his appreciation of Karsondas's courage and public spirit. 74

Another well-known social reformer was Paj^liia Ramabai. She travelled all over India, married a Bengali, and became a widow. 'Her denunciation of men for keeping women down, her marriage out of caste, and her criticism of popular Hinduism roused the orthodox section against her, though they admired her scholarship and eloquence*. She started the Arya MahiM Samaj in Poona but met with little success. 'Piqued at the attitude of her countrymen, she turned to the Christian missionaries and, after spending three years in England and America, returned to Poona with promise of financial support for educational work. She became a Christian and started the Sarada Sadan in 1889. Though Ranade and R. G. Bhandarkar sympathised with her, Tilak denounced her for engaging in conversion under the garb of imparting education. Ultimately she openly admitted the proselytising character of the Sarada Sadan and both Bhandarkar and Ranade cut off their association with her activities. 7 ®

The rise of Neo-Hinduism or Hindu Revivalism 74 slowed down the progress of social reform to a certain extent towards the end of the 19th century. But the activities of the Arya Samaj kept up the

tempo in the Punjab. The clarion call of Vivekananda to remove the excrescences while retaining the essential spirit of Hinduism, particularly his passionate appeaL against untouchability and in favour of the uplift of women and the masses, gave a new vigour to the spirit of reform. 7 *

It is worthy of note that by the end of the 19th century the spirit of social reform was in evidence in almost all the Provinces of India which had hitherto been lukewarm in this respect. 7h The spirit also seized some rulers of the Indian States, particularly those of Mysore, Baroda and Travancore. The Mysore Government passed a law "to put down marriages of girls under 12 and prevent unequal marriages between men over 45 and girls below 14," 71 An Act passed in Baroda fixed the minimum age of marriage at 12 for girls and 16 for boys. 7 * Association for the promotion of social reform sprang up all over India.

In conclusion it may be added that if we take a broad and general view and compare the state of Hindu society at the beginning of the 19th century with that at its end, the reforms, accomplished by legislation as well as silent process of evolution, cannot be regarded as either inadequate or unsatisfactory. Apart from what has been said above, or will be stated later in this chapter, attention may be drawn to the state of society in South India which Abbe Dubois witnessed with his own eyes towards the close of the eighteenth century. He refers to polyandry among the Nairs in Malabar coast and the custom among the Tolyas in Madura of brothers, uncles, and nephews having a common wife. In the Carnatic hills men and women did not wash their clothes till they wore away by use. Among a caste in Eastern Mysore the mother, giving her eldest daughter in marriage, had to puncture two of her fingers. The respect due from the Sudras to the Brahmanas, and from women to men, was shown by uncovering the upper part of the body of the inferior, even of a woman, before a man of the superior class. Reference is made to barren women who took vows to get children by resorting to the most abominable practices; and also to procession in which the images of gods and goddesses were made to mimic obscene gestures to one another. Sincere devotion in many temples took the form of such cruel practices as walking on burning fire, hook-swinging (to be described later), piercing the cheeks and the lips or the tongue with iron rods or silver wire.[8]

All these shocking customs[9] which prevailed at the beginning of the nineteenth century[10] were either altogether abolished or were in a process of steady decline by the beginning of the twentieth. The notorious system of Devadasis[11] was also gradually declining.

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Abbe Dubois further mentions that thousands of Hindus and Christians were converted by Tipu Sultan, but whereas the Christians were reconverted to Christianity, the Hindus were refused readmission within the fold of Hinduism, even though they applied for it and their case was backed by the Brahmin Government of Poona. The $uddhi movement, supported by social reformers like Ranade and included as a chief item in the programme of the Arya Samaj, shows the advance made in respect of this glaring evil in course of the nineteenth century. Another evil noticed by Abbe Dubois was that those among the Hindus who practised such fine arts as music, sculpture, and painting were looked upon as even lower than Sudras. There has been a great change of view in this respect. On the whole, while the well-wishers and reformers of the Hindu society at the end of the 19th century were fully justified in complaining that much still remained to be done, every impartial critic is bound to admit that the advance already accomplished in a century fully entitled it to the credit of being a progressive society.

III. SATI

The most important social legislation in the nineteenth century , was the abolition of the cruel rite of the Sati, i.e. the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband. 12 The nature and antiquity of this practice have been noted above. 13 The inhuman cruelty involved in the practice drew the attention of Muslim rulers. According to Ferishta, Sikandar, a bigoted King of Kashmir at the beginning of the fifteenth century, prohibited the performance of Sati. But his liberal-minded son, Zain-ul-*Abidin restored the religious rite to the Hindus. 14 In 1510 Albuquerque had prohibited Sati in Goa. Mughul Emperors like Akbar and Jahangir also forbade the practice but were unable to enforce their order beyond the neighbourhood of Delhi. The Peshwa Baji Rao discouraged the practice. 16 The persistence of such an inhuman practice for more than, two thousand years only demonstrates how religious superstitions can deaden absolutely all rational instincts and human feelings even among a highly civilized people. The Spartan practice of making the helots shooting targets, the gladiatorial fights in Rome, and the burning of Christian heretics in Europe during the Medieval age, and even later, testify to the universality of the strange spectacle of inhumanity flourishing side by side with high intellectual and moral development in a society.

The idea behind the practice of Sati would be clear from the following passage in Colebrooke’s Digest of Hindu Law , an authoritative manual of Hindu Law prepared by the Government with

the help of learned Brahmins. “No other effectual duty is known for virtuous women at any time after the deaths of their lords, except casting themselves into the same fire/' According to this Digest, failure of a widow to do this duty might lead to her rebirth as animals, while its faithful observance would not only enable her to ‘enjoy delight with her husband' for eternity but also expiate the sins of her husband’s maternal and paternal ancestors up to three generations.

The British Government had given a clear undertaking that they would preserve the existing laws of both the Hindus and the Muslims, and would protect them in the free exercise of their religion. The Government of Bengal did not, therefore, like to interfere even when they were strongly urged to do so by their own officials. The Madras Government followed suit; the Bombay Government did not, at first, tolerate this practice but, after the annexation of Peshwa's dominions, adopted the policy of neutrality, and even passed a regulation to the effect that ‘assistance at the rite of self-immolation known as Sati, was not murder/ 16

But Europeans, unfettered by any obligation to maintain neutrality in religious affairs, refused to tolerate such inhuman practice. The Supreme Court in Calcutta, the Danes at Serampore, the Dutch at Chinsura, and the French at Chandernagore prohibited the practice within their jurisdiction. But this did not go very far to minimise the evil. For the rites were performed just outside the jurisdiction of the city, sometimes even in its suburbs.

As far back as 1789 English district officers wrote to the Supreme Government asking for permission to disallow a practice at which human nature shudders. But the Government, true to the principle of neutrality, gave directions to their officers to confine their laudable efforts to dissuasion and not to adopt any coercive measures. Though this method proved occasionally successful, particularly when the party approached the authorities for permission, the evils were too wide-spread to be seriously affected by such measures. According to a census report of the Christian missionaries at Serampore, in 1804 no less than three hundred cases occurred in six months within a radius of 30 miles from Calcutta. 17

The voluntary self-immolation by a widow, though sanctioned by religion, was inhuman in itself, but the Sati was rendered more abominable by the manner in which it was often performed. There is no doubt that many widows, hardened by religious superstitions, or influenced by other considerations, voluntarily sacrificed themselves, and their grim resolve, undeterred by horrors of physical

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pain, deaf to all entreaties of dear and near ones, and unshaken by earnest persuasion of all kinds, extorts a sort of admiration. But there is equally little doubt that many cases, perhaps a large majority, did not fall under this category. In not a few instances a young widow was reported to have made the choice under duress, pressure being put upon her by her relatives, who either hoped to secure vicarious renown for virtue and piety for the family, or, worse still, wanted to get rid of her for serving their material interests. It became also almost a normal practice to take good care to see that once an unfortunate widow made the fatal choice, she could not escape the cruel fate even if she wished to do so. In not a few cases she was even drugged for the same purpose, and her body on the funeral pyre was pressed down by bamboo poles.

It was natural that protests against such practices would be strong and numerous. The Government, in spite of its pledge of neutrality, could not remain unmoved. In a letter dated 5th February, 1805, Wellesley referred the matter to the Nizamat Adalat. The judges of this Adalat consulted the Hindu Pandits and forwarded their views to the Government. The Pandits held that widows, excepting certain categories (such as pregnant, under the age of puberty, or with infants without any one else to take care of them), would, by burning themselves along with their husbands, contribute to the happiness of both themselves and their husbands in the next world. The Pandits, however, clearly laid down that it was contrary to law and customs to drug or intoxicate a woman in order to induce her to become a Sati. In forwarding these opinions the judges of the Nizamat Adalat advised that the Sati could be abolished in many areas where it was rarely practised, and regulated in others according to the recommendations of the Pandits. But they held that a general order for the wholesale abolition of the practice would offend the religious susceptibilities of the Hindus. 18

Seven years passed before the Government took any action on the lines of the recommendation of the Pandits. Orders were issued in 1812 (though not circulated till 1813) prohibiting intoxication, drugging, or any other means to induce a widow to become a Sati against her will. This was supplemented by two other sets of instructions circulated in 1815 and 1817. By these the district magistrates were to send annual returns of the cases of Sati, and the relatives were required to give previous intimation of impending Sati to the Police; further, certain categories of widows were declared ineligible for becoming Sati. All these orders were issued to the Government officers through the Nizamat Adalat. 19

While these orders did little good, they indirectly seemed to indicate the approval of the Government in those cases of Sati which did not fall under the restrictive clauses. Protests became stronger every day, particularly on the ground that the statistics proved the Sati to be a more or less local custom rather than a part of the general Hindu Law. The figures for the years 1815-17 showed that as against 864 cases in five districts of Bengal alone, there were only 663 cases in the rest of. British India. The Court of Directors also took a serious view of the situation and wrote on June 17, 1823, that they felt very doubtful whether the measures already taken "have not tended rather to increase than to diminish this practice", and they consented, only with much reluctance, "to make the British Government, by specific permission of the suttee, an ostensible party to the sacrifice." The Court of Directors proceeded even further and added: "We are averse also to the practice of making British courts expounders and vindicators of the Hindu religion when it leads to acts which not less as legislators than as Christians we abominate."

Lord Amherst stated the views of his Government in a letter he wrote to the Court of Directors on December 3, 1824: "Nothing but the apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice should induce us to tolerate it for a day." It is on record that both the Marquess of Hastings and Lord Amherst feared that the abolition of Sati by legislation would spread disaffection in the Bengal army. Subsequent events showed that such a fear cannot be regarded as absolutely groundless. 20

A further reason, which induced the Government of India to *go slow' in the matter, in spite of vigorous protests on all sides, was their belief that with the progress of knowledge and English education, the Indians themselves would condemn the practice of Sati, and then the abolition of this practice would be safe and expedient. The Marquess of Hastings, Lord Amherst and many others fondly believed that such a day would not be long in coming. 21

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This idea was not without some justification. For a sense of moral indignation was being slowly roused in the minds of the Indians themselves against this horrible and cruel rite. In this matter, as in so many others,'Raja Rammohan Roy was in the forefront of the cry for reforms. He worked with his whole heart and soul for the abolition of this horrid rite, and devoted his whole energy for the purpose. When the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta sent a petition to the Government for the repeal of the orders issued in 1812, 1815, and 1817, Rammohan and his followers submitted a counter

petition in August, 1818, narrating gruesome details, connected with the practice, in the following words:

“Your petitioners are fully aware, from their own knowledge and from the authority of credible eye-witnesses, that cases have frequently occurred where women have been induced by the persuasions of their next heirs, interested in their destruction, to burn themselves on the funeral piles of their husbands; that others who have been induced by fear to retract a resolution, rashly expressed in the first moments of grief, of burning with their deceased husbands, have been forced upon the pile, and there bound down with ropes and pressed with green bamboos until consumed by the flames; that some, after flying from the flames, have been carried back by their relations and burnt to death. All these instances, your petitioners humbly submit, are murders according to every Shastra as well as to the commonsense of all nations.” 22

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Rammohan also wrote tracts in Bengali to convince the people that the horrid practice of Sati was not only inhuman, but also lacked the sanction of the Sdstras. Some of these tracts were in extensive circulation and also translated into English. They were written in the form of disputes between an advocate and an opponent of the practice in which the former's position was shown to be untenable. 23 Rammohan also carried on a vigorous campaign against Sati through his journal SambadCL-Kaumvdt. He was violently opposed by the orthodox Hindus led by Raja Radha-kanta Dev, and it is stated on reliable authority, that "for a time Rammohan's life was in danger." 24 But the undaunted champion of the righteous cause pursued his course with unflagging zeal and industry, and succeeded in winning over a considerable section of the Hindus on his side. Bishop Heber refers to Dr. Marshman's remark in 1824 that "the Brahmins have no longer the power and popularity which they had when he first remembers India, and among the laity many powerful and wealthy persons agree, and publicly express their agreement, with Rammohan Roy in reprobating the custom". 24 *

Lord William Bentinck came out to India as Governor-General with instructions from the Court of Directors to "consider definite measures for the immediate or gradual abolition of Sati," There is no doubt that the Directors were influenced by the wave of liberalism in England which swept away, in recent times, many abuses of long standing. Bentinck, "a reformer by temperament," was also under this influence, and lost no time in taking up the question in, right earnest. He appreciated the effect that knowledge and education were slowly producing by way of diminishing the cases of Sati , but he thought that the influence of these factors was mostly limited

to upper classes in Calcutta and was not likely to extend to the population at large. But before taking any definite action he instituted a confidential inquiry to ascertain the views of civil and military officers. Of the 49 military officers to whom he wrote on the subject, 24 supported total and immediate suppression of the rite, 20 were in support of abolition by indirect means, and 5 were opposed to interference of any kind with the practice. The Superintendent of Police and nine-tenths of the public functionaries in the interior were in favour of abolition. Of the 15 civil servants consulted by Bentinck 8 were in favour of immediate abolition. All the five

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judges of the Nizam at Adalat were also in favour of immediate abolition. 25

Opposition, however, came from the most unexpected quarters. H. H. Wilson, a reputed oriental scholar, as well as Raja Rammohan Roy, advised Bentinck against any legislation to prohibit the practice of Sati, Raja Rammohan had a "constitutional aversion to coercion", 25 and, in view of the experience he had already gained by his vigorous agitation against Sati, seemed to prefer steady pursuit of persuasive methods to any sudden innovation caused by legislation. He expressed the opinion that the "practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police". 27 Wilson was probably also of the same view, and both of them feared that abolition by legislation would cause general distrust and dissatisfaction.

But Bentinck had decided upon his course of action. On November 8,1829, he laid an elaborate minute before his Council. 28 Referring to the apprehensions of danger from popular outbreak, he pointed out by quoting figures that the Sati was mostly prevalent in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the majority being in Calcutta Division. He then observed that among the people of these districts "so great is the want of courage and of vigour of character, and such the habitual submission of centuries, that insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling power may be affirmed to be an impossible danger." There would have been less assurance of safety, he said, if the practice were largely prevalent among the bold and manly people of Upper Provinces. Bentinck was satisfied from the replies he received from the army officers that there would be no trouble in the army if the Sati were prohibited. He therefore confidently hoped that the Council would share his own views about the expediency and safety of the abolition.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, one of the most distinguished servants of the Company and the most prominent member of the Council, expressed the fear that the proposed measure might possibly be "used

by the disaffected and designing to inflame the passions of the multitude and produce a religious excitement.'* He, however;'jjthought of such a danger only in immediate future, and if there w£re no insurrection in the early period of its operation, he did not believe that it would cause any danger later on. But in spite of such misgivings Metcalfe concurred with the proposal of the Governor-General, and the Council unanimously recorded: "We are decidedly in favour of an open, avowed and general prohibition, resting altogether upon the goodness of the act and our power to enforce it." 29

"On 4 December, 1829, Sati was declared by Regulation XVH to be illegal in the Bengal Presidency and punishable by the criminal courts. Persons assisting a voluntary sacrifice would be deemed guilty of culpable homicide; but those convicted of using violence or compulsion or assisting in burning or burying a Hindu widow in a state of stupefaction or in circumstances impeding the exercise of her free will, would be liable to sentence of death. A similar regulation was passed in Madras on 2 February, 1830. In Bombay Sir John Malcolm's Government repealed that clause in their regulations which declared 'assistance at the rites of self-immolation not to be murder'." 30

The promulgation of the Regulation was not followed by any popular outbreak or disaffection in the army. But the orthodox Hindus did not give up the battle as lost. On December 19, 1829, a petition for the annulment of the New Regulation was presented to Lord Bentinck. The signatories, consisting of 800 inhabitants of Calcutta, included many Zamindars and notable leaders of the Hindu community. Lord Bentinck met a deputation of their leaders—Raja Radha-kanta Dev, Maharaja Kali-krishna Bahadur and others—on January 14, 1830, and informed them that if they disputed his interpretation of Hindu Law, they might appeal to the King-in-Council. On the other hand, another public petition, of which Raja Rammohan was "the reputed and probable author." was sent, on January 16. to the Governor-General thanking him for his kind measure. It was signed by 300 Indians including Rammohan. 31 A meeting was held in the Government House, Calcutta, where a renowned Pandit spoke against the Sati before an audience of more than 600.

The orthodox party sent an appeal to the King-in-Council. Rammohan also prepared a counter-petition 32 and carried it with him when he went to England. He presented it to the House of Commons and was himself present when the Privy Council dismissed the appeal of the orthodox party. Thus the curtain fell at last on a long-drawn tragic drama, and on an age-long superstition inflicting

the agony of death on thousands of innocent Hindu women in the name of religion.

Though occasional cases of Sati were reported even after the passing of Regulation XVH, particularly outside British India, gradually the practice disappeared with the spread of knowledge and under the influence of the new age of reason and reforms.

In conclusion it should be noted that sometimes the widows were buried alive with the dead bodies of their husbands. According to a report of the Superintendent of Police, Lower Province, submitted in 1815, six widows of the Jugi community were buried alive with their dead husbands in the District of Tippera during three years- 32 * As noted above, Regulation XVII of 1829, prohibited the cremation as well as the burial of the widows, with their dead husbands.

IV. INFANTICIDE

Another cruel and horrible rite which Was abolished in the nineteenth century by the strenuous and unwearied exertions of the British officials was the practice of killing infant girls. Its victims were far larger in number than the Sati, and in cruelty and inhumanity the two differed only in degree, and not in kind. But infanticide drew less public attention because the crime was perpetrated in privacy, and was confined to a few tribes.

Unlike Sati the practice of killing infant girls had no real or fancied religious sanction behind it. It came into vogue as a rough and ready solution of a social problem. Social usage among certain Rajput tribes prohibited intermarriage between families of the same clan or tribe, and social customs and conventions demanded a very heavy expenditure on the marriage ceremony. The problem of suitably marrying the daughter was therefore a difficult one. But failure to marry a daughter not only involved a heavy social disgrace but also violated religious injunctions. In order to nip the difficulty in the bud, the practice gradually grew, among certain tribes, of killing the girl almost immediately after her birth. This was mainly effected in two ways. Either the mother deliberately neglected to suckle the child, or administered poisonous drug (mostly opium) to the nipple of her breast. But cases are on record where other and more direct methods were employed. Maharaja Dalip Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, said that <(he had actually seen when he was a child at Lahore, his sisters put into a sack and thrown into the river”. 33 But such instances were probably very rare, and were more akin to the practice, prevalent in Bengal, of throwing children (both male

and female) into the sacred river Ganga, in fulfilment of religious vows. This practice was prohibited in British India by Regulation VI of 1802.

The infanticide proper, as described above, came into notice as far back as 1789. The practice was in vogue among two Rajput tribes in the province of Varanasi (Banaras), known as Rajkumar and Raj bans!. Although Bengal Regulation XXI of 1795 and Regulation in of 1804 declared such infanticide to be murder, the inhuman practice continued almost unchecked. Ere long it was found that infanticide was widely prevalent among the Jharija (Jadeja) RSjputs in Cutch and Gujarat. It was estimated that nearly twenty thousand female infants were destroyed every year by the 1,25,000 Jharija families of what now constitutes the State of Gujarat. It was also reported that infanticide was practised among the Rafhor Rajputs of Jaipur and Jodhpur as well as by the Jats and Mewatis. 34

Several British officials—notably Duncan and Walker—distinguished themselves by unceasing efforts to induce, by persuasion, the abandonment of this horrid practice. But though Rajkumars and Jharijas gave written undertakings to discontinue the practice, it continued as usual. The Government of India as well as the Court of Directors took up the question seriously, and Lord Hardinge did all in his power to put down the crime in the Native States. But the difficulty of detecting a crime, practised in utmost privacy, baffled the varied and sustained efforts of a number of British officials. The British military officials who served as Political Agents in Native States also brought pressure upon their rulers to eradicate the evil. The strenuous exertions of all these, aided by various preventive measures and a general awakening of a rational spirit through the spread of Western education, ultimately bore fruit. The crime steadily declined in the second half of the nineteenth century. Still, as a measure of precaution, an Act was passed in 1870 which enabled the authorities to enforce ‘compulsory’ registration of births, and regular verification of the existence of female children for some years after birth, within the areas whore infanticide once prevailed. 36

V. REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

Another important landmark in the gradual amelioration In the lot\of Hindu women was the legalisation of ranarriage of widowp. It would appear-from what has been said abov«i® e thatli^ndu Law permitted a widow, under certain contingencies, to marry Again, and her issue by the second marriage was recognized as a legitimate heir; This law and practice, however, gradually came into dteM, and

the remarriage of widows, at least among higher classes, came to be rigidly prohibited in the Medieval age. But, as in the case of Sati, the iniquity of the practice drew the attention of social reformers during the pre-British period.

The last notable effort to introduce remarriage of Hindu widows was made by BajS Bajballabh of Dacca, a distinguished political figure at the time of Siraj-ud-daula. Anxious to remarry his widowed daughter he referred the matter to the learned Pandits all over India, and they accorded their sanction to the custom on the strength of the well-known verse occurring in, many Smyiti texts which runs as follows:—“A second husband is permitted to women whose (first) husband is lost (i.e., unheard of) or dead or has become an ascetic, or an outcaste.” 37 But in spite of religious sanction, the customs and usages proved to be too strong and Rajballabh’s efforts proved unsuccessful.

With the growth of Western education, and of the rational spirit it brought in its train, the question was seriously discussed. The reforming sects like Brahma Samaj introduced remarriage of widows in their societies, and this had a great repercussion on the orthodox Hindu society as well. The abolition of the Sati in 1829 gave a fillip to this movement, and it is gratifying to note that Hindu women themselves wrote to the press demanding reforms of this and other evils from which they were suffering. 38 Some time before 1837, a few public men of Calcutta proposed to call a meeting in order to encourage female education and remove the restrictions regarding widow-remarriage. The Calcutta Press took up the cause of the widow. About the same time an agitation for this reform was set up in Bombay. Several pamphlets on the subject were published in or about 1837 and there was an inquiry by the Bombay Government to elicit the views of its officers and the Pandits on the question.

The agitation which was set up in the thirties continued throughout the forties, and a few Indians set the example by marrying widows. In 1845 the British Indian Society sounded the two religious associations, the Dharma Sabhd and the Tattva-bodhini Sabhd , but found no support or encouragement from any of them. This was a foretaste of the great storm that burst out in Hindu society when Pandit Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar, a renowned Sanskrit scholar and Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, took up the question in right earnest. He wrote a series of articles and pamphlets in defence of widow-remarriage and sent a petition, signed by 987 persons, to the Government of India. The orthodox party sent a counter-petition signed by 36,763 persons. The opposition against him reached such

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an alarming stage that his life was thought to be in danger. But, nothing daunted, he went on educating the people and the Government, and it was mainly through his unwearied efforts that the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act (Act XV of 1856) was passed on July 26, 1856. It legalises the marriages of widows notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of the Hindu Law to the contrary, and declares that the children of such marriages are legitimate.

In spite of the Act, the remarriage of Hindu widows did not make any substantial progress. Pandit Ishwar-chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal and Vishnu Sastri in Western India put their heart and soul in propagating this reform. A Widow Remarriage Association was started in Bombay in 1866. But the actual number of widows remarried under the new Act was quite inconsiderable.

Reference should be made in this connection to the laudable organized efforts made by several eminent persons to improve the lot of the Hindu widows. Professor D. K. Karve founded the Widows' Home in Poona in 1896, and two years later Veeresalingam Pantulu founded a similar Home in Madras. Both of them literally begged from door to door to establish the Homes in their own buildings, and spent many years of their lives in popularising the remarriage of widows. Sasipada Bauerji also set up a Home in Calcutta, but it was closed down in 1901. 38 *

VI. SLAVERY

Slavery was a recognized institution in India since remote antiquity. 39 But the treatment of slaves in India differed remarkably from that accorded to them in ancient Greece or Rome or to Negro slaves in more recent times. This is probably the reason why the Greek ambassador Megasthenes reported that slavery was unknown in India. That this humane spirit generally prevailed also in modem times may be gathered from the following observation in 1772 by the Committee of Circuit in support of a regulation which condemned the families of convicted d&coits (robbers and brigands) to be sold as slaves:

> '"The ideas of slavery, borrowed from our American colonies, will make every modification of it appear in the eyes of our countrymen in England a horrible evil. But it is far otherwise in this country; here slaves are treated as the children of the families to which they belong and often acquire a much happier state by their slavery than they could have hoped for by the enjoyment of liberty." 40

This may be, generally speaking, true of slaves in Indian families, but contemporary references indicate that lots of many slaves must have been quite miserable. The branding of slaves* foreheads with red-hot iron rod was not unknown. The slaves were harshly treated by many Europeans, and, according to contemporary accounts, were often whipped even for minor offences. There are cases on record that the English ladies themselves whipped, even their men slaves, with their own hands. There were regular whipping houses in Calcutta which charged one anna for each lashing. The slaves themselves had to carry to these houses slips from their masters indicating the number of lashes to be inflicted on them, together with the fee. The slaves were tied to the stocks and flogged fifteen to twenty times, and many fell down unconscious. Even more severe was the treatment of the run-away slaves who were caught. A woman slave of one Mr. Anderson was recaptured and brought before a Magistrate, who ordered her to be flogged ten times before being returned to her master. 40 *

In a letter dated 18 January, 1823, Leicester Stanhope made a passionate appeal to the Duke of Gloucester to abolish slavery in India. He refers to the slaves in North India as mostly domestic servants or kept by prostitutes for immoral profession, and those in South India as mostly engaged in cultivation. In Kanara alone there were no less than 16,000 slaves. The purchase-price of a slave is mentioned by him as follows: Four to fifteen rupees for a boy; sixteen to twenty-four rupees for a woman; twenty-four to one hundred and sixty rupees for an adult man. 401 *

In general, the slaves who served as domestic servants comprised mostly persons who had voluntarily offered themselves or their children for sale in times of scarcity, as the only alternative to starvation by death. In many cases, though not perhaps in all, such children were restored to their parents when better times came. It is on record that grown-up girls were sold by their parents as slaves, and the debtors and gamblers sold even their wives, sometimes for a paltry amount. The rich and aristocrats as well as European settlers in Calcutta bought the female slaves to serve as concubines. A large number was, however, reduced to slavery in more dubious ways. The Regulation about the enslavement of the wives and children of the dacoits (brigands), referred to above, was passed in the first year of Warren Hastings's rule in Bengal. We also hear of children, and sometimes even adults, being stolen or forcibly seized by regular gangs employed by slave-traders. There was a regular trade in slaves, though not on a very large scale, and both Indians and Europeans were involved in this lucrative but nefarious business.

Boats filled with child-slaves were brought to large towns from the interior and then exported to different and remote parts of India, as well as to the English and French colonies.

Indian public was at one with the Government of India and fully supported the abolition of slavery even without any compensation to the owners. So the evil traffic was gradually brought under control by a series of Regulations during half a century. The organized agitation against slave-trade in Britain, commencing in 1787, had its repercussion in India. In 1789 an official proclamation made it illegal to collect together persons for exporting them as slaves. 41 The slave trade was abolished by Britain, in 1807, in the British Empire. In 1811 the importation of slaves into India from outside was forbidden. The purchase and sale of slaves brought from one district to another was made a criminal offence in 1832. Slavery was abolished in Britain in 1833, and twenty million pounds was voted by Parliament as compensation for the losses of the slaveowners. The Charter Act of 1833 required the Governor-General in Council to abolish slavery as soon as it could be safely and conveniently done. India Act V of 1843 made slavery illegal in India, but no compensation was paid to the owners. Lastly, keeping slaves or trafficking in them became an offence under the Indian Penal Code, enacted in I860. 42

VII. THE EMANCIPATION ACT

The Emancipation Act, which was always regarded by Lord Dalhousie as the most important of those passed by him, was contained in a single section, which ran as follows:

“So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company as inflicts upon any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter in the said territories.” 43

The main object as well as the effect of this Act was to remove a great difficulty in the way of those who wished to embrace Christianity. As the converts to Christianity were mostly recruited from the Hindus, the new legislation created great excitement among them. There were special reasons for this. Under the Hindu Law succession to a deceased’s property involved the duty of performing certain religious rites for the salvation of the departed soul. As these had to be done according to the prescription of the Hindu sastras, a Hindu convert to another religion was neither willing nor qualified to perform them. The Hindus, therefore, very rightly contended that the new Act constituted a great infringement of their religious principles. There were less defensible grounds of objection, too. The missionary propaganda in India was not always kept within reasonable limits. It was openly alleged, even by men whose opinion carried weight, that conversion to Christianity was sometimes made by force or fraud, not unoften backed by the authority of the ruling pdwer and the prestige attaching to a member of the ruling race. Whatever we may think of this, there is hardly any doubt that in most cases the converts were attracted more by material consideration than by the precepts of Jesus. Free maintenance, lure of good jobs, and many other similar considerations, not excluding payment in cash or kind, accounted for the largest number of converts to Christianity. This naturally alarmed the Hindu community. On the top of all this came the new legislation which threatened to take away the last obstacle in the way of such converts by removing the disqualification of inheriting ancestral property. This facilitated the conversion of precisely that class of persons which no society is prepared to lose.

It is, therefore, no wonder, that there was a violent agitation against the proposed legislation. Mass meetings were held and petitions were sent to the authorities in large numbers The failure of all the attempts to stop the proposed legislation not only caused righteous indignation against what was almost universally believed to be a serious infringement of Hindu religion, but gave an edge to the belief, then generally held, that the British Government really intended to convert the Indians to Christianity. The effect of this belief on the great outbreak of 1857 has been referred to above. 44 It cannot be gainsaid that of all the socio-religious measures of the British Government which are usually held responsible for that outbreak, the Emancipation Act is the only one which can, on reasonable grounds, be put in that category.

VIII. POST-MUTINY REFORMS

The outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 had an adverse effect on the progress of social legislation. It was held in many quarters that the laws prohibiting Sati and permitting remarriage of widows were contributory causes to that great upheaval. Some colour is lent to it by the fact that proclamations issued by some rebel leaders referred to these as evidence of the deliberate intention of the British Government to convert the Hindus into Christianity. It is, however,

Permissible to doubt whether these laws had any appreciable effect on the minds of the people at large, or whether the propaganda, based on them, did influence in any way the course of events during the great outbreak. It is to be noted that Bengal, where alone the Sati was a glaring evil, took no part in the revolt. The very recent legislation on the remarriage of widows in 1856 could hardly affect the people seriously in 1857, and it was only in Bombay and Bengal, two provinces that remained neutral, that this reform was a living issue. But whatever may be the truth, the years following the Mutiny were marked by an extreme uhwillingness on the part of the British Government to interfere with socio-religious customs and usages of the country.

Reference may be made to the abolition of a cruel rite, known as "hook-swinging", a ceremony observed during the Charak Puj-1 festival. On this occasion, a number of devotees "cast themselves on thorns and upraised knives; they pierce their arms or tongues by iron arrows, draw strings through the flesh of their sides, or fix thereto spikes that are heated by continually burning fire, while others swing on the Charak tree by hooks fastened through the muscles of their backs". 46 Men were tied to a rope attached to a wheel and rapidly whirled round, while in some cases, iron pikes or arrows were inserted into the back, legs or other parts of their bodies. Sometimes the rope snapped and the body was thrown at a distance of 25 to 30 yards, reduced to a shapeless mass. In all cases the men were all but dead when brought down from the wheel. These cruel practices drew public attention, but the Government did not like to interfere. The question came into prominence in 1856-57 when the Court of Directors took interest in the matter and the Calcutta Missionary Conference memorialised the Government for the suppression of the cruelties- After careful consideration Sir F. Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (1854-59), came to the conclusion that, as the case was one of pain voluntarily undergone, the remedy must be left to the missionary and the school-master, and that, as stated by the Court of Directors, all such cruel ceremonies must be discouraged by influence rather than by authority.

Sir J. P. Grant (1859-62), the successor of Halliday, instituted an inquiry from which it appeared that the hook-swinging was confined to Bengal proper and Orissa. Where this practice existed as a long established custom the local authorities were directed, by using their personal influence, and by obtaining the co-operation of the Zamindars, to induce the people voluntarily to abandon the practice. On the other hand, where Charak swinging was not an established custom but a mere occasional exhibition, the Magistrates were

authorized to prohibit its celebration as a local measure of police for the preservation of order and decency. 46

In 1864-65 the subject of hook-swinging at the Charak Puja came up again. After consulting the British Indian Association and obtaining from them a recommendation that all cruel practices should be suppressed, so long as no religious observances were interfered with, Sir Cecil Beadon issued a Resolution on the subject on 15 March, 1865. It directed all Magistrates of Districts in the Lower Provinces to prevent any person from the act of hook-swinging or other self-torture in public, and from the abetment thereof. Persons disobeying any such injunction were to be prosecuted and punished according ta law. As a result of these orders the cruel rites in connection with the Charak Puja practically ceased, though the Puja continued with many popular amusements. 47

Two important Acts were passed of which the first did not concern either the Hindus or the Muslims. This Act, passed in 1872, at the instance of the Brahma Samdj, and applicable only to those who were outside the pale of Hinduism, Islam or other recognized faiths, abolished polygamy and marriage of girls before 14, and sanctioned inter-caste marriages and remarriages of widows.

It was not till more than thirty years after the Mutiny that the Government again undertook any important legislation affecting the social custom of the Hindus. Behramji Merwanji Malabari, a Parsi, had been agitating to secure legislation against child-marriage and placed his views before the public in his Note* on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood in 1884. He was mainly instrumental in procuring the passing of an Act in 1891, known as the Age of Consent Act, forbidding the consummation of marriage before the wife had reached the age of twelve. It was a poor substitute for the prohibition of early marriage of girls, and, from the very nature of the case, its practical effect could not be of much consequence. Nevertheless, it roused a storm of protest, reminiscent of the orthodox Hindu opposition to the abolition of the Sati. A special significance was added to it by the fact that Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a highly educated and advanced thinker, and destined to become one of the greatest national leaders of India at no distant date, took the lead in the opposition, and first came into prominence in public life in this connection. Tilak made it quite clear that he objected, not to the provisions of the Bill, but to the right of a foreign Government to interfere in the social reform of the Hindus. How far his position is tenable, even in this limited view of the question, is a debatable point and cannot be discussed here. Tilak came in for a good deal of criticism and his political opponents made capital out of his attitude to this question. But, as

already pointed out above, it was a question of fundamental policy which divided the social reformers in India long before Tilak. Those who blamed him hardly realized that he merely continued the traditions of Rammohan Roy, the pioneer of social reform, followed by many eminent Hindu leaders throughout the 19th century. 47a Tilak seems to have also represented a characteristic phase of newly born Indian nationalism which was too proud of its past culture to admit the necessity of any social reform, save by the unfettered authority of the Indians themselves. The growing strength of this feeling did more to retard social legislation than even the apathy or reluctance of the British Government. It is not perhaps without significance that as nationalism advanced in India, the ardour for social reform visibly declined. As will be shown later, nationalism grew rapidly in Bengal in the last quarter of the 19th century, while Madras considerably lagged behind. A great social reformer writes: “By 1896, Madras had come to the forefront in social reform, and Bengal was passing through a reactionary phase. The resolutions adopted at the annual (Social) Conference at Calcutta

were passed after strong opposition from the Bengal delegates.

The Bengal social reformers wanted to move in social reform along national and Aryan lines. ” 47b

IX. EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Reference has been made in the preceding volumes to the high educational attainment of Indian women in the Vedic age and its gradual decline in subsequent ages. . Things came to such a pass that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a regular system of female education was practically unknown in most parts of India. The daughters of aristocratic families, particularly those who had to administer their estates, got a smattering of elementary education at home, and there were no doubt some exceptional individual cases here and there. 470 But as a general rule, education of females was positively discouraged. It was regarded as being against the injunctions of the Hindu scriptures, and there was a wide-spread belief that the education of girls leads to their widowhood.

The first efforts towards female education were made by the Christian missionaries, almost immediately after the restrictions against missionary work in this country were removed by the Charter Act of 1813. Inspired by the zeal of spreading gospel among the natives they thought that it was first of all necessary to eradicate the superstitions and idolatry from the minds of the Hindu women. They openly taught Christianity in their schools and hoped that the girls “now engaged in the degrading and polluting worship of idols

shall be brought to the knowledge of the true God.” Referring to Hindu girls bearing names of Hindu gods and goddesses (Annapurna, Vishnupriya etc.) it was remarked: “What kind of conduct ought we to expect from these poor children, named by their parents after imaginary goddesses, whose adultery, cruelty, and gratification of their passions, as detailed by their own sacred writings, are so abominable?” 43

But whatever the motive, these Christian missionaries were the first to start schools for educating the girls. As girls of respectable families were not allowed to join these, their first pupils were recruited from the lowest classes of Indians who were “bribed to give an irregular attendance.” 49 A correspondent in a Bengali paper, dated June 25, 1831, remarks that ‘for the last twenty years the missionary sahibs established schools at great expenses to teach the Bagdi, Vyddh, gipsy, vairdgi and prostitute girls. But they have not made any progress beyond the elementary instruction in reading and writing. It has not done any good, but is likely to do much evil'. 50

The first missionary school in Bengal was founded by Mr. May at Chinsura. But the first organized effort towards female education in Bengal was made by the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society founded in 1819. It taught eighty students during the first year. At the end of six years it taught one hundred and sixty female pupils in six schools. We learn from the Thirteenth Report dated 1834 that it maintained three schools in Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood in which about 200 girls were taught reading, spelling and geography by native women.

In 1821 the British and Foreign School Society of England, in consultation with the Calcutta School Society's agent Mr. Harrington and Mr. Ward of the Serampore Mission, both then in England, opened a subscription for a qualified lady teacher to be sent to India, and sent out Miss Cooke from England. As she was to work under the Calcutta School Society, a meeting of this Society was proposed to be convened to discuss the subject. But the Native Secretary of the Society, Radha-kanta Dev, wrote to the European Secretary that no such meeting was necessary, as "none of the good and respectable Hindu families will give her (Miss Cooke) access to their women's apartment, nor send their females to her school, if organised." He suggested that "Miss Cooke may render her services to the schools lately established by the Missionaries for the tuition of the poorer classes of native females." 61

This letter, dated 10 December, 1821, confirms the poor state of female education as noted in Adam's Report, referred to above.

But it is mentioned in the letter that in some families private tutors teach the girls up to the age of 9 or 10 years, at the farthest. The reluctance of the high-class Hindus to send their girls to the missionary schools was probably due as much to old prejudices as to the attitude and openly avowed object of the missionaries, mentioned above. The low-class girls of the type noted above, who attended these schools, sometimes even attracted by cash rewards for daily attendance, also stood in the way of respectable girls joining them. The missionaries did not at first realize this aspect of the question. It appears from an article in the Calcutta Review that the wife of a missionary, after labouring for many years in these schools (outside Bengal), had discovered, what she had not had the slightest suspicion of before, that almost everyone of many hundreds of girls who had attended her schools belonged to the prostitute class. 62 These facts explain the slow progress of female education in this country. Adam's Report of 1838 also supplies statistics to show that the girls attending schools even in mofussil towns in Bengal mostly belonged to the lowest classes in society.

Nevertheless, the efforts of the missionaries bore fruit, and a , great deal of credit for this belongs to Miss Cooke (later Mrs. Wilson). The number of schools was increased to 30 and that of the pupils to 600. The efficient supervision of so many schools proved to be a difficult task. So instead of multiplying such schools, it was decided to establish a Central School. Raja Baidya-nath Roy made a liberal donation of Rs. 20,000/- and the foundation-stone of the school building was laid on May 18, 1826, by Lady Amherst. On April 1, 1828, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson took charge of the Central School with 58 pupils, but the number rose to 320 in 1834. An interesting feature of the school was the payment of an allowance of one pice per student to the maid-servants called Hurkarees who collected them from different houses and brought them to school.

According to Adam's Report there were many other missionary schools for girls in Bengal in 1834, the total number probably exceeding 50. The girls in these schools were taught reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, needle work, and, in some cases, religion.

These missionary schools could not attain success for several reasons. In the first place, too much attention was devoted to preaching of Christianity. As Rev. K. Banerji put it, "in those schools little had been done in an educational, though much attempted in the catechising, way." Secondly, there was lack of good teachers. Thirdly, as noted above, the girls attending the schools belonged to the lowest classes, and not unoften, even from the brothels. Even these were removed from schools in their ninth or tenth year.

The first thing necessary for the improvement of female education was to remove the prejudices against it from the minds of the upper classes. An attempt in this direction was made by Pandit Gaurmohan Vidyalankar, who wrote in 1822 a pamphlet entitled StriHksha-vicMidyakci. He quoted numerous examples and gastric texts to prove that female education was formerly prevalent among the higher classes of the Hindus, and that far from being injurious or disgraceful, it ought to be welcome as producing the most beneficial effect upon the intellectual and moral development of women and domestic peace and happiness.

In the third edition of the book, published by the School Book Society in 1824, the author added at the beginning a dialogue between two girls which throws an interesting light on the state of female education in those days. A few passages are reproduced below in free translation.

Q. Women have begun to read and write. How do you like this? A. The thing begun by the Shahibs is for our good....

Q. But old men say that a girl who reads and writes becomes a widow.

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A . This is nonsense. It is not supported by scriptures, and our Puranas refer to many educated women. Take, for example, the European ladies. They are educated but not widows.

Q. Out of the 800 girls reading in about fifty schools is there any one of good family?

A. No, girls of good family do not yet go to school, but read and write in secret.

Q. Let me see what you have written. I shall show it to your father-in-law.

A. What a shame 1 It is an infamy to show it to male members.

In the sequel it was arranged that the daughter-in-law would be taught by a woman of low class not only the three R's but also needlework, which the latter had learnt in a missionary school.

In spite of such vigorous support of female education, the spirit of hostility against it continued among a section of the public, though gradually people began to take a more reasonable view. This is evident from a number of correspondence on the subject published in Bengali newspapers between 1831 and 1838, containing arguments both against and in favour of it. 63 A brief reference

may be made to it as throwing interesting light on the mentality of the people.

One writer argues that female education is unnecessary, for there are no Bengali books which can instil real knowledge. A course of elementary instruction is unnecessary for girls, for there are enough men to carry on the work of Patwari, Muhuri, Nazir etc. for which such instruction is a necessary qualification. To the argument that to keep women uneducated is to treat them like animals, it is replied that such is the eternal law of the Hindus. As regards the actual instances of the learned ladies such as Ha$I Vidyalankar, Ran! BhavanI and others of modem age, it is said that they did something repugnant to the Sastras. If the Hindu girls attend schools like English ladies, they can as well marry many husbands. In conclusion it is said that girls who attend schools are likely to lose their virtuous character, and some remarks are made in this connection which are too vulgar to be repeated.

In reply it is argued that the plea of eternal Hindu Law is not supported by gastric texts, and is not only opposed to actual examples of learned ladies, but also to religious rites of old which require the wife to participate in it. It is pointed out that women in Maharashtra are highly educated and openly perform Vedic religious rites in public. If Ahalya Bai or Rani BhavanI did wrong by educating themselves, our girls who go to school would be in good company. That to serve the husband is the chief duty of women is admitted; but there is nothing to show that education would stand in the way of properly performing this duty. As regards the fear of losing morals, it is pointed out that the schools were not meant for grownup girls.

The most interesting part of the reply concerns the remarriage of English widows. It is said that for every general rule there are specific exceptions. For example, to drink wine or kill animals is forbidden to Brahmins but permissible on occasions of religious sacrifices. Similarly, the European law and custom sanctions the marriage of widows whereas Hindu scriptures forbid it. There is therefore no reason why Hindu girls should follow this practice.

A Brahmin writer points out that with the spread of higher education among the boys, female education has been all the more necessary, as otherwise the wives would pot really be help-mates of their husbands and share their thoughts and feelings, and thereby the conjugal love and domestic happiness will both suffer. He therefore suggested that each important locality should establish schools for girls. As against this, it is pointed out by another that women are

by nature deceitful, and their knowledge and learning will produce evil instead of good. He quoted the phrases stfibuddhih pralayankari* a nd v naiva kartavyah strishu rdjakuleshu cha. 55 The

writer also shows the undesirability of the girls going on foot to schools and being taught by male teachers.

As a matter of fact, the Purdah system was a great obstacle to . girls attending schools. It was therefore suggested that at first only low class women, who were used to move out freely in public, should attend schools, and after they were sufficiently educated, they would be engaged to teach the female members of respectable families. Even if one lady in every respectable family got education, she would be able to instruct the other members of that family. Rev. K. M. Banerji was of opinion, in 1840, that a good number of Hindus would gladly accept the services of well-qualified European ladies, if they could get them free of charge within their doors. He, therefore, suggested that an attempt should be made to procure a number of such ladies for the purpose of instructing the Hindu women in their own houses. The only difficulty he apprehended was on the score of expense. “But”, he added, “considering how much the European community is indebted to this country, whence they are drawing so much of gold and silver, I have no hesitation in saying that they owe it to the natives, even upon moral considerations, to instruct and enlighten their sons and daughters.”

It is doubtful, however, if such an experiment, even if it were really tried, would have been successful to any large extent. For many Hindus were averse to the idea of European tutoress as the pupils were likely to imbibe Christian principles.

In addition to the general prejudice, based on customs, Rev. Banerji adduced two other grounds to explain the slow progress of female education among the Hindus. The first was the absence of any pecuniary advantage resulting therefrom. “Their desire to teach male children is the consequence of the prospect which knowledge opens of wealth and honour, and since their girls cannot enter into any sphere of active labour in the world, they do not feel any incentive towards their education.” The second reason advanced by him was that “as the female members of the family who received education would dislike the drudgery of household work, it would materially increase the expenses of the household.” He thought that “the poor salaries of many Hindus teach them the policy of keeping their women down for fear of swelling their expense.”

It is difficult to form an accurate idea of the extent to which these economic causes operated against female education. But so far as the upper classes were concerned, the two social causes, viz., fear of widowhood of an educated girl, and the strict observance of Purdah, stood mainly in the way of the growth of girls’ schools.

An obvious way to avoid the difficulty of sending girls to public schools was for the educated male members of the family to undertake the duty of teaching the females. Indeed it may appear somewhat strange that young men educated in English schools and imbued with liberal ideas should not have themselves taught their young wives at home. But the real difficulty in the way of instruction at home, in most cases, was the inveterate prejudices of the elder ladies of the family against female education in any form. These mothers, grandmothers, aunts etc., who exercised unlimited sway over the internal management of the household, were seized with a superstitious terror of early widowhood of the educated girl, or some great calamity to the family into which female education was introduced. As a writer remarked in 1855, 'the Macedonian Phalanx did not stand more firmly man to man, than do they unite to frustrate any efforts that a young educated husband may make to instruct his wife.'

Prejudices die hard not only among women but also among men. For, in spite of liberal ideas of a section of the public, and arguments in favour of female education published in books, pamphlets, and newspapers, the majority of the Hindus in Bengal, particularly in Mofussil areas, were for a long time bitterly opposed to the idea not only of sending girls to schools but even of starting such institutions. The following account of a girls' school at Baraset, about 14 miles from Calcutta, throws into relief the great difficulties that pioneers of female education had to encounter even in the middle of the nineteenth century.

A female school was opened at Baraset in 1849 by three publicspirited gentlemen, two of whom were Government officials. "These, with some other liberal-minded and active young men belonging to the station, induced several of the more respectable residents in the town and neighbouring villages to send their girls to the new school. Shortly after its opening, the school was visited by Mr. Bethune, who presented it with maps, pictures, books, &c. At first it was held in a temporary building, but subsequently in a pukka house, built expressly for the purpose. The most violent animosity was exhibited on the part of the more bigoted portion of the community towards the school and every one connected with it. The law was, as usual, enlisted in the cause of oppression and persecution. Charges of assault, suit for arrears of rent, and complaints of all kinds and characters, were brought against the parents of those who sent their daughters to the school. Fortunately this bright idea of legal persecution occurred during the temporary magistracy of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, who was not satisfied with the mere reports of darogas and nazirs, but enquired himself into each charge, as it came before him. Otherwise, the result might have been most disastrous. The members of the female school committee were abused in the streets with the foulest language, and every kind of annoyance that vindictiveness could suggest, was brought to bear against them. One morning it was found that a broad and deep ditch had been dug in the night in front of the house of one of these gentlemen l Notwithstanding all this, and a great deal more than this, they persevered, and the poorest people persevered in sending their children to school, though they were excommunicated, and in every possible way annoyed and persecuted for doing so. At last they tired out the perseverance and ingenuity of their persecutors. All opposition has died away; but, as is too often the case, the excitement and the interest have died away with it; and although the school still exists, the numbers who attend it are smaller than in the days of its early struggles. Still the number is almost twenty, one or two of whom learn a little English; but they leave at a very early age. The falling off is mainly the result of the inevitable tendency of all good undertaken in this country to languish for want of support, when the excitement of novelty is worn off. Verily, this is the land where ‘all good dies, death lives.” 66 .

The most important landmark in the history of women’s higher education in Bengal was the foundation in May, 1849, of a school in Calcutta by J. E. D. Bethune, whose name will be for ever remembered as a great patron of female education. He was the President of the Council of Education and rightly concluded that female education could not flourish unless people of higher classes could be induced to send their girls to schools. He made stringent regulations to ensure this. No pupil was to be admitted without carefully examining ‘the respectability of her family. The conveyance. of the girls, to and from the institution, was arranged in a manner to which no exception could be taken. No male person was to be admitted within the walls of the institution while the girls were within it. Mr. Bethune voluntarily made a pledge, which no one ever suspected him of any intention to violate, that Christianity should be entirely excluded from the course of the institution. It was a great experiment, but was not a great success at the beginning. The number of pupils did not at first exceed sixty.

The untimely death of Mr. Bethune (1851) was a great blow to its progress, particularly as he could not leave an endowment sufficient to

meet its expense. Fortunately, Lady Dalhousie immediately undertook to defray the charges, and on her death the Governor-General agreed to continue the subscription (about Rs. 600 a month) as long as he would remain in India; and, on his recommendation, the Court of Directors engaged that, on his retirement, they would take the charge upon themselves.

Reference should be made in this connection to Pandit Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar who rendered yeoman's service to the cause of women's education in Bengal. He acted as the Honorary Secretary of the Bethune School, and when, after the retirement of Dalhousie, it became a Government institution, he was appointed, first, the Secretary, and then a member of the School Committee. But Vidyasagar's activity for the promotion of women's education was not confined to the Bethune School. He was instrumental in opening no less than thirty-five girls' schools in Bengal between November, 1657 and May, 1858.

In Bombay the women led a comparatively freer life as there was no purdah among the Marathas. Both in Bombay and Poona English-educated young men spread education through girls' schools since 1851. The students of the Elphinstone Institution in Bombay, encouraged by their English professors, established the Students Literary and Scientific Society which espoused the cause of women's education. The Farsi community of Bombay also felt the need of such education, and when F. C. Banajee showed the way by giving his daughter English education, others followed in his footsteps. As a result of his pioneer effort the Students' Literary and Scientific Society started morning classes for girls by their free voluntary service. This led to the establishment of seven more schools. A journal for women, Stn-bodh, was started in 1857.

Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 1854 laid great stress on the importance of female education in India, and the subsequent progress of female education has been noted above. 67

1. The views of Ranade that follow, including quotations, are taken from the Religious and Social Reform—A Collection of Essays and Speeches by M. G. Ranade, compiled by A. B. Kolaskar (Bombay, 1902), Introduction, and pp. 156 - 178 ,

2. C.Y. Chintamani, Indian Social Reform , II. 85 95. Many persons quote only this speech, but ignore the earlier views of Ranade, mentioned above.

3. Buckland, I. 324-5.

4. Kolaskar, op. cit, xxvi, xxviii, 92-114.

5. Banerji, B. N., II. 186-88. The letters are in Bengali.

6. Bankim-chandra argued at length, in several essays, against the total prohibition of polygamy, as it was likely to produce some evils.

6a. Warner, I. 296.

7. Buckland, I. 323.

7a. Natarajan, 50.

7b. Cf. p. 107.

7c. Natarajan, 61-2.

7d. Ibid, 56-7. »

7e. Ibid, 84-5.

7f. Cf. p. 115.

7g. Cf. pp. 107 ff.

7h. For details, cf. Natarajan, Ch. VIII.

7i. Ibid, 102.

7j. Ibid, 107.

8. Dubois, Jean Antoine, Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, written early in the nineteenth century. Dubois spent about 30 years in India (1792-1823). He abjured European society, put on Indian dress, and lived amongst the Indians. He noted the customs from his own careful observation. Of course, we should make due allowance for natural errors of a foreigner and prejudices of a Christian missionary. For a list of abuses noted by Dubois, Cf. Kolaskar, Ranade, 179-97.

9. To which others may be added. Cf. Miles, Laud of the Ling am, where reference is made to chidi-mari or hook-swinging in South India (p. 33) taipusan, or a pilgrimage under torture (p. 34), dancing girls in temples (p. 181), etc.

10. They must have been prevalent for years, probably for centuries.

11. Dancing girls in temples who were supposed to have dedicated their lives to gods; but in practice, many of them were no better than common whores.

12. Though the word ‘sati’ is used to denote the ceremony, it literally means a good or chaste woman, i.e., the widow, who, by burning herself along with her dead husband’s body, is supposed to prove her goodness or chastity.

13. See Vol. II (1960), 567; III (1962), 571-2.

14. See Vol. VI, p. 379, f. n., 30.

15. Griffiths, 222.

16. The facts mentioned in this section are stated with full references in the Calcutta Review, 1867, pp. 221-261, and K. Datta-I, Ch. III.

17. K. Datta-I, 75,77; statistical figures are given on pp. 79-82.

18. CHI, VI. 135-6.

39. Ibid.

20. It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of public opinion on the abolition of the 'sati'. As against the prevalent view, stated in this para, one might cite the incident mentioned by Bishop Heber (I. 93), namely, that in a public meeting the proposal to thank Lord Hastings for supporting 'sati* was defeated by a majority of votes.

21. K. Datta-II, 97-8.

22. Rammohun, p. 20.

23. Works, 323-72; K. Datta-. 100-107.

24. K. Datta-I, 107.

24a. Collet (1962), p. 199.

25. K. Datta-I, 108; Boulger, Bentinck (RI), p. 87. Bentinck also gathered the information that the abolition of the Sati would not affect the native army.

26. Collet, p. 258.

27. Cf. Bentinck's Minute of 8 November, 1829.

28. For the text of the Minute, cf. Keith, I. 208 ff. Boulger, Bentinck, 96 ff.

29. K. Datta-I, 112-3.

30. CHI, VI. 142.

31. For the text of die petition, written both in Bengali and English, cf. Collet, 461. For the text of both the petitions and the one by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, and Bentinck's reply to these, cL Selections from Calcutta Gazette (1824 to 1832), ed. by A. C. Das Gupta, pp. 466-478. For

other petitions, papers, meetings, etc., cf. ibid, pp. 308-10, 389, 427-9, 540-1, 563-7 , 647-8. Also, B. N. Banerji, I. 280-94.

32. Works, 479-80.

32a. Judicial Criminal Proceedings, 29 November, 1816, No. 51. I am indebted for this information to Dr.. R. M. Lahiri.

33. Sketches, III. 207.

34. CHI, VI. 129-30.

35. Ibid, 130-1; Sketches, III. 207.

36. See Vol. II, p. 565.

37. Ibid.

38. Cf. the two letters mentioned above, on p.

38a. Natarajan, 97.

39. See Vol. II, p. 576.

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40. CHI, VL 127-8.

40a. For these and other allegations cf. Amal Kumar CShattopadhyaya, Slavery in India, Chapter IV. But no authentic evidence is cited.

40b. B. N. Banerji, I, 185.

41. The Bengal Journal of 29 May, 1789, "refers to a mariner who took on board at Tullah one hundred and fifty unhappy children whom, previous to his departure, he had purchased in Bengal. The children were transported under British colours to Colombo where they were sold as slaves." Barns, 62.

42. CHI, VI 128.

43. Warner, I. 297.

44. See above, DC. 629.

45. Buckland, I. 32.

46. Ibid, 177.

47. Ibid, 312-4.

. 47a. See pp. 259-60, 273.

47b. Natarajan, 92.

47c. Some women like Hatl Vidyalahkar in Bengal were renowned Sanskrit scholars.

48. The Calcutta Journal, 11 March, 1822.

49. The Calcutta Review, 1855, No. 25, p. 67.

50. B. N. Banerji, H. 68.

51. Cf. Introduction to StriHksha-vidhayaka by Gaurmohan Vidyalahkar, p. 9

of the edition of 1344 B. S. '

52. The Calcutta Review, 1855, p. 68.

53. B. N. Banerji, H. 67. '

54. “Intelligence of women creates utmost disorder”,

55. “One should not place any trust in women and kings.”

56. The Calcutta Review, 1855, p. 79.

57. Cf. pp. 65-6.

CHAPTER VIII (XLVI).

Chapter Notes

1. 3. Why are we transferred like cattle, at the tender age of
2. 4, 5, 10, or 12, to unknown men, who have no education, wealth or beauty, and denied the right of choosing our own husbands? To describe all the evil results of this system would be to create hatred against us. So we pray that we may be permitted to select our husbands under your general supervision.
3. 4. Why in the name of marriage are you selling us to the highest bidders so that our husbands, who purchase us by money, regard us as mere chattels? The purchase money is not given to us as stfidhana but is enjoyed by you. Our rulers would commit crime in the eyes of God if they tolerate such abominable practices.
4. 5. Why do you marry us to a person who has already many wives? Is it possible for a husband to do his duty to a number of wives?

MUSLIM COMMUNITY

1. MUSLIM POLITICS BEFORE THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT.

The reaction of the British conquest on the minds of the Muslims and the Hindus was bound to be very different. The Muslims naturally regarded the English as their bitterest foe who had usurped the political authority and the attendant privileges which they had so long enjoyed. Even as late as 1824-5, * Bishop Heber observed that “the Muhammadans are hostile to the English as those who have supplanted them/’ The Hindus, on the other hand, not only welcomed the English rule, but even regarded it as a deliverance from the tyrannies and miseries of the Muslim rule, as mentioned above. 1 It is immaterial to discuss how far this Hindu attitude was justified by historical facts, but, right or wrong, its one inevitable result was to alienate the Hindus from the Muslims. But there were other causes at work widening the gulf which already existed between the two communities. 1 ® The hostile attitude of the Muslims towards the English, and their strong aversion to merely secular education kept them severely aloof from English education imparted in schools and colleges. As noted above, the foundation of the Hindu College in 1817 gave a great impetus to the English education among the Hindus, but the Muslims made very little progress in it during the next fifty years. The comparative position of the Hindus and Muslims in English education will be evident from the following figures: In 1865, 9 Hindus and not a single Muhammadan passed the M.A. Examination; 41 Hindus and 1 Muhammadan passed the B.A.; and 17 students, all Hindus, passed the Law Examination. All the Medical graduates were also Hindus. In 1867, 88 Hindus and not a single Muhammadan passed the M.A. and B.A. Examinations. 2 During the period between 1858 and 1878 only 57 Muslims received Degrees (graduate and post-graduate) as against 3,155 Hindus. 3

A very frank and lucid exposition of the relation between the Hindus and Musalmans, as conceived by the latter, was given by a liberal Muslim leader, R. M. Sayani, in his Presidential Address at the twelfth Indian

National Congress, held in Calcutta in 1896. The following extract is a very candid expression of the sentiments

which powerfully influenced the Muslim community as a whole throughout the nineteenth century:

“Before the advent of the British in India, the Musalmans were the rulers of the country. The Musalmans had, therefore, all the advantages appertaining to the ruling class. The sovereigns and the chiefs were their co-religionists, and so were the great landlords and the great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility, or carrying influence and high emoluments, was by birthright, theirs. The Hindus did occupy some position but the Hindu holder? of position were but the tenants-at-will of the Musalmans. The Musalmans had complete access to the sovereigns and to the chiefs. They could, and did, often eat at the same table with them. They could also, and often did, intermarry. The Hindus stood in awe of them. Enjoyment and influence and all the good things of the world were theirs....By a stroke of misfortune, the Musalmans had to abdicate their position and descend to the level of their Hindu fellow-countrymen. The Hindus who had before stood in awe of their Musalman masters were thus railed a step by the fall of their said masters, and with their former awe dropped their courtesy also. The Musalmans, who are a very sensitive race, naturally resented the treatment and would have nothing to do either with their rulers or with their fellow-subjects. Meanwhile the noble policy of the new rulers of the country introduced English education into the country. The learning of an entirely unknown and foreign language, of course, required hard application and industry. The Hindus were accustomed to this, as even under the Musalman rule, they had practically to master a foreign tongue, and so easily took to the new education. But the Musalmans had not yet become accustomed to this sort of thing, and were, moreover, not then in a mood to learn, much less to learn anything that required hard work and application, especially as they had to work harder than their former subjects, the Hindus. Moreover, they resented competing with the Hindus, whom they had till recently regarded as their inferiors. The result was that so far as education was concerned, the Musalmans who were once superior to the Hindus now actually became their inferiors. Of course, they grumbled and groaned, but the irony of fate was inexorable. The stern realities of life were stranger than fiction The Musalmans were gradually ousted from their lands, their offices; in fact everything was lost save their honour. The Hindus, from a subservient state, came into the lands, offices and other worldly advantages of their former masters. Their exultation knew no bounds, and they trod upon the heels of their former masters. The Musalmans would have nothing to do with anything in which they might have

to come into contact with the Hindus. They were soon reduced to a state of utter poverty. Ignorance and apathy seized hold of them while the fall of their former greatness rankled in their hearts."

Though, as noted above, the social relations betv een the Hindus and the Muslims underwent no radical change at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the political outlook of the two communities was very different from the beginning. English education was the mainspring of all political evolutions of the Hindus; it is therefore hardly a matter of surprise that the Muslims, who lagged so far behind the Hindus in this respect, would fail to keep pace with them. The other circumstances mentioned above also powerfully operated in the same direction, with the result that the two great communities, though subject to the same foreign rule, suffering from the same disabilities, and seeking the same remedies or reforms, could not present a united front in politics and meet on a common political platform.

This difference of approach in politics was clearly manifested, for the first time, in the Wahabi movement, an account of which has been given in Vol. IX (883-901). Although the later phase of the movement, namely, a violent hatred against the English and an organized attempt to drive them out, should have evoked sympathy at least among a section of the Hindus, there is no evidence that such was the case. The reason is that it was a purely Muslim movement and was directed theoretically against all non-Muslims —its aim being to establish in India a dar-ul-Islam, "Muslim sovereignty pure and simple". Actually the Wahabis first declared war against the Sikhs, and later merely transferred their hostility to the English when they conquered the Panjab. It is true that, generally speaking, no definitely anti-Hindu spirit marked the movement as a whole. 4 But still the fact remains that all their proclamations were issued in the name and interest of Islam, and their appeals were only to the Muslims. The sympathy and support of the Hindus were never asked for; and it could hardly be done without violating the basic doctrine of the movement which sought to eradicate from India all power and influence other than Islam.

The political exclusiveness of the two communities was more convincingly demonstrated by the fact that the Muslims did not take any active part in the different political organizations to be referred to in Chapter XII. There was hardly any Muslim on the Committees of Landholders' Society, Bengal British India Society, and the British Indian Association. On the other hand, as soon as the Muslims became politically conscious, they started separate organizations of their own. A Muhammadan Association was started in Calcutta before 31st January, 1856. It is noteworthy that the Hindus regarded this separatist tendency as quite natural in view of the position of the Muslim community as a separate unit, and the Committee of the British Indian Association expressed rejoicings at the formation of this communal organization.[6] In 1863 Abdul Latif founded the Mohammedan Literary Society in Calcutta, its object being to interest its members in present day politics and modern thought and learning.[6] When the Hindu Mela and the National Society were started by the Hindus on communal basis, the Muslim leader, Nawab Amir Ali Khan, organized the National Mohammadan Association in Calcutta in 1877 with the object of 'promoting the well-being' and bringing about 'the political regeneration of the Indian Muslims'.[7]

Gradually the Muslim leaders appreciated the value of English education. In a public meeting held on January 10, 1868, Abdul Latif made a vigorous plea for the English education of Muhammadan boys and suggested the transformation of the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrasa to the status of a College.[9] The Muslim leaders in Bengal thus took a lead in this matter even before Sir Syed Ahmad thought of the Aligarh College. Although the proposal of Abdul Latif was not carried into effect, Muslim education in Bengal got a great impetus from the munificent charity of Haji Muhammad Mohsin in 1873. He left a large legacy, and it was resolved by the Government that out of the Mohsin Trust Fund, two-thirds of the fees would be paid to every Muhammadan student in any English school or college in Bengal. This partly accounts for the greater progress of Muslim students of Bengal in English education as compared with other provinces. This is indicated by the following figures:

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- "In 1881-82 the number of Musalman students pursuing their studies in colleges in the Bengal Presidency was 106 as against 30 in Madras, 7 in Bombay, 29 in the N. W. Provinces, 7 in Oudh and 13 in the Punjab. In the High Schools of Bengal there were 3,831 Mussalman students, as against 177 in Madras, 118 in Bombay, 697 (including students in Middle Schools) in the N.W. Provinces, and 91 in the Punjab. Between 1858 and 1893 the Calcutta University produced 290 Mohammedan graduates, as against 29 of the Madras, 30 of the Bombay, 102 of the Punjab and 102 of the Allahabad University." 9

Although the progress in English education advanced the political ideas of Muslims in Bengal, there was still a wide gap between the progressive elements of the two communities. The Muslim leaders lagged far behind the advanced political thinkers among

the Hindus, and the Muslim politics always resembled more or less that of the Hindus nearly half a century before.

A very good glimpse of the Muslims and their politics in the eighties may be obtained from the writings of W. S. Blunt. He was a liberal-minded Englishman who openly protested against the British policy in Egypt and made a common cause with the Egyptian Mahdi in his fight against the English. His two books, Secret History of the English and The Future of Islam endeared him to the whole Muslim world, and he found a warm welcome awaiting him in India, when he visited this country in 1883. He mixed freely and intimately with the Muslim leaders of all shades of opinion, and his observations on Muslim politics should, therefore, -command both respect and confidence.

From the very moment of his landing on Indian soil, Blunt received complaints about Hindus from the Muslims. As soon as he got down at

Tuticorin, the local Muslims, who went to the pier to receive him, “complained of being subject to annoyance from the Hindus, who came with drums outside their mosque, and that the magistrate, being a Hindu, would not prevent it.” 10

In Calcutta Maulvi Sayid Amir Hussain, Deputy Magistrate and a friend of Amir Ali, told him that “the Bengali Mohammedans... were an oppressed community, the Hindus having it all their own way, and there was very little courage among them, though the antiquated Mohammedans and Hindus lived on excellent terms. They dared not take any prominent part against the Government.” 11 The position is further elucidated by the following extract:

“Delawar Huseyn, a deputy-magistrate and a sensible man, gave the same melancholy account of the poverty of the Mohammedans in Bengal. I fear their case is nearly hopeless. In spite of their large population, they are without influence. The mass of them are extremely poor, mere peasants, or, in the town, day labourers. They have no commercial connection, and the sons of the few rich men are obliged to look to Government employment for a living, whereas the Hindus are rich and pushing. It is a struggle for existence, in which the Mohammedans are the weakest, and so are going to the wall. In the north-west, he tells me, it is not so.” 12

At that time the great agitation over the Ilbert Bill was going on, and Lord Hipon’s Government practically conceded the AngloIndian demands by offering a compromise or “concordat” which was strongly opposed by the Hindus. Maulvi Samiulla of Aligarh told Blunt “that the proper conduct for the Mohammedans here was being debated, some being for expressing themselves satisfied, others for making common cause with the Hindus...
.He had seen Amir Ali

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yesterday, who had changed his mind and was now on the Government side. He wants, the Maulvi 12 * explained naively, to get promotion, and that is why he supports the compromise. He himself was for a moderate attitude.” 13 Blunt’s reply to this Muslim gentleman and his companions is characteristic of him and may be quoted in full.

“I spoke my mind very plainly, and told them that, if they deserted the Hindus in this instance, they would never have any reform given or justice done them for another twenty years. They must sink their differences and their little private interests if they wanted to force the Government’s hand. The Bill was the battleground on which the whole principle of legislation for India was being fought; and the Mohammedans could turn the scale by their attitude one way or the other. The young men warmly applauded this, and I think, too, the Maulvi was partly convinced. I told them, if the Mohammedans only knew their power they would not be neglected and ill-treated by the Government as they now were. In England we were perpetually scared at the idea of a Mohammedan rising in India, and any word uttered by a Mohammedan was paid more attention to than that of twenty Hindus. But, if they sat still, thanking Providence for the favours which were denied them, the English public would be only too happy to leave them as they were. The Maulvi promised to make my opinion known at a Conference which had been summoned for this evening to consider the action of the Mohammedans, and so I trust I may have done some good, at least with the liberal party. Of Abd-el-Latif I feel more doubtful, for there is great ill-feeling in Calcutta between the old-fashioned Mohammedans and the Hindus.” 14

Two days later, Blunt had a talk with Maulvi A.M. “He said that none of the Mohammedans wished to do away altogether with English Government, as it would only lead to fighting, as there was no chance of Mohammedans and Hindus agreeing for a century to come, but of course they did not like English administration. It favoured the Hindus unduly. But, left to themselves, they should be able to hold their own in all Northen India. The English policy, however, had been to suppress them, and throw obstacles in the way of their educating themselves and learning their own power. The Maulvis of Calcutta were terribly ignorant of politics, and of all that was going on in the world. At the time of the Egyptian War they had not known whether Egypt lay North or South or East or West.

. . .Then Abd-el-Latifs son. in European clothes, joined us, and we got on the Ilbert Bill, as to which I exhorted them all strongly to make a concordat with the Hindus, helping them this time on a promise of help from them when their own interests were at stake...

I had it out, however, with Abd-el-Rahman, and hope he will influence his lather. Unless the Mohammedans show their teeth on an occasion of this sort, they will never get attention paid to their wrongs.” 15

Blunt’s diary continues:—

“Next came Surendranath Bannerji- He is very angry at the Ilbert Bill compromise, and let slip the gros mot of ‘revolution’ in regard to it. He was very urgent with me to get the Mohammedans to join them in protesting, and I promised to do my best this evening at Amir Ali’s dinner. It is high time certainly they should sink differences, but the Mohammedans are hard to move. Their position was well explained a little later by our last visitor this morning, Maulvi Ahmed, Municipal Councillor, and an independent man. He explained that there was hardly a leading man among the Calcutta Mohammedans who had any means apart from his Government pay. Neither Amir Ali nor Abd-el-Latif could afford to come forward as a champion, as all their prospects depended on the Government. Maulvi Ahmed drew a most gloomy picture of Mohammedan prospects. They were all, he said, in despair here in Bengal. It was impossible for them to do anything, impossible to combine with the Hindus who were so selfish, they wanted every post for themselves. Out of forty-eight Municipal Councillors there were only five Mohammedans, and as more power was given to the natives the Mohammedan position would get worse and worse. It was their poverty which stood in their way. They could not pay for the education necessary to pass the competitive examinations, so they were left behind. I tried to convert him to my view of energetic action, but in vain. There was no one to take the lead, and it would result in no good. 16

“I had an opportunity of saying a few words to Abd-el-Latif about the attitude Mohammedans should take in this Ilbert quarrel, and he agreed with me that it might be well if they showed their teeth a little. But he is a cautious man and would promise nothing. With Amir Ali and Amir Huseyn I was able to do more, and I shall be surprised if, at the meeting of the National Mohammedan Society tomorrow, they do not take my view. I proposed that they should address a dignified and moderate protest to the Viceroy, admitting that the Ilbert Bill did not immediately affect the Mohammedan community, but taking their stand on the principle that the proposed compromise affected the rule of equality before the law. At the same time I advised Amir Ali to come to a regular concordat with the Hindus for their mutual benefit.” 17

Nevertheless, Amir Ali supported the Government view in the meeting of the Muslims (probably held under the auspices of the National Mohammadan Association). Blunt mournfully remarks: “His attitude with regard to the Ilbert compromise is not that of a leader.” 18

The difference between the two communities became accentuated in connection with the legislation for local self-government on elective basis. It is on this occasion that for the first time a demand was made for separate representation of the Muhammadans. It seems, however, that, as in later days, the ball was set rolling by the English officials. The Commissioner of the Presidency Division observed in his Report “that the agitators in this matter are Hindus, and that Local Boards, instituted as proposed, will be comprised almost entirely of Hindus to the exclusion of Mohammedans.” Quoting this with approval, Muhammad Yusuf spoke as follows in the Legislative Council on May 3, 1883:

“The Council will be pleased to remember that though in most places the Mohammedan population forms a minority as compared with the larger bodies of the Hindus, still in many places they form a large proportion of the population. Or it may be that in some places, though fewer, the case is the reverse, and the Hindus form a minority. In such cases when there is party spirit and angry feeling between the two classes of people, it is necessary to reserve power for the representation of the minority. The Bill proposes to provide for this by nomination, but it would be an advantage and more fit recognition of the claims of the Mohammedan population if provision could be made in the Bill for the election of Mohammedans by reserving a certain number of membership for that community.” 19

The keynote of this speech is a firm conviction that even in political matters there is no common bond between the two communities and each must be ready to safeguard its own interests. Even more than thirty years before this, some English officials emphasised the communal difference in political matters in connection with the creation of Legislative Councils. Representative assembly in India was regarded as difficult in view of the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims, and in 1852 Lord Ellenborough even suggested the creation of two separate legislatures for the two communities. In those early days a vigorous protest against this was made by a Hindu politician, and no Muslims are known to have come forward to support the British or official view. 20 But Yusuf's speech shows the change that had come over the Muslim community.

This change was not confined to Bengal. It appears from Blunt's diary that the attitude of the Bengali Musalmans was shared by

those in other parts of India. Four Muslim gentlemen, whom Blunt met at Delhi, agreed ‘ that there should be more common action with the Hindus. But one of them was of opinion that the Hindus were impracticable, because they would not permit the killing of cows. ' 21 Nawab Alauddin Ahmad Khan, Chief of Loharo, told Blunt that '“what he did not like about the mutineers was that most of them were Hindus.” 22

Reference should also be made in this connection to the Indian visit of Jamal-ud-din Al-afghani (1839-97), a notable figure in the Muslim world in the nineteenth century. He agitated for the liberation of Muslims from European influence and exploitation, for the union of all Islamic States under a single Caliphate, and the creation of a powerful Muslim Empire capable of resisting European intervention. There was a general impression at the time, particularly among the Hindu political leaders, that he was largely responsible for creating a split between the Hindus and the Muslims. Thus B. C. Pal observes: “It was about 1880 or 1881 that Djemal ed Din, the founder of the Pan-Islamic movement, came from Afghanistan to India, and had confidential conversations with the leaders of the Mahomedan community in this country. He came to Calcutta and met the late Nawab Abdul Latif and the small group of educated Mahomedans associated with him, including the late Justice Ameer Ali, and inoculated them with the virus of his Pan-Islamism. Before Djemal ed Din’s advent the educated Indian Mohamedans, particularly in Bengal, had been loyally co-operating with their Hindu fellow-subjects for the common advancement of national political interests. But after his visit they commenced to draw themselves away from the political activities of their Hindu fellow-subjects until gradually a wide gulf was created between the Hindu and the Moslem intellectuals in the country in regard to our national endeavours." 23

It is difficult to accept fully the above views. There is no doubt that Jamal-ud-din had come into contact with the Muslim leaders and that his views had great influence upon them. , For this appears quite clearly from the writings of Blunt. Unfortunately, Blunt nowhere clearly says what those views were. But it appears from his book that they were widely different from those of Syed Ahmad, and were not incompatible with co-operation between the two communities. As will be clear from the extracts quoted above. Blunt never ceased to impress upon the Muslim leaders the value and necessity of such co-operation. His repeated insistence shows that such co-operation was lacking, and Blunt could not possibly have referred to Jamal-ud-din's views with respect and approval if he

had reasons to believe that this Muslim leader was really instrumental in creating communal difference. It is, of course, quite possible that Blunt did not fully grasp the significance of Jamal-ud-din's teachings, specially their effect upon Indian Muslims.

But whether it was due to the teachings of Jamal-ud-din or not, indications are not wanting that the pan-Islamic sentiment had already been exerting influence upon Muslim minds. Some Muslim leaders told Blunt: "During the Egyptian War (1881-82) we all looked to Arabi (Pasha) to restore our fortunes, for we are in a desperate state and need a deliverer." 24 These, words are significant. The Indian Muslims had already begun, or never ceased, to feel that the Muslims outside India were more closely allied to them than their neighbours, the Hindus. Such a feeling cut at the very root of the idea of Indian nationality. For howsoever people might differ in their views regarding the essentials of nationality, one thing is certain: No people can form a nation unless they are united by common sympathies such as do not exist between any constituent part of them and an outside element, and which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people.

The influence of pan-Islamic feeling may also be traced in the evidence given by the Muslim leaders before the Hunter Commission, demanding entirely separate arrangements for the primary education of the Hindu and

Muslim and insisting upon Urdu as a medium of instruction even in a province like Bengal where 99 per cent of the Muslims were ignorant of that language, 26 and their spoken language, Bengali, had always been the medium of instruction. 26

According to Aga Khan, the average Indian Muslim looked upon himself as a member of a universal religious brotherhood, sojourning in a land in which a neutral government, with a neutral outlook, kept law and order and justice. 26n

The British Government seem to have been fully aware of the influence of Pan-Islamism on Indian Muslims. Lord Hamilton, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, on 30 July, 1897: "... .We have, however, a new element of intrigue and commotion introduced into India by the Pan-Islamic Council in Constantinople and the close connection which is being established between the Sultan and Indian Mahomedans." 26b

It is, however, difficult to agree with B. C. Pal that Jamal-uddin was mainly responsible for the Muslim aloofness from the Hindus. For there is no evidence to show that before Jamal-ud-din's visit to India the educated Muslims of Bengal loyally co-operated with the Hindus in political matters. What has been stated above rather

points out the other way. B. C. Pal's statement about the aloofness ot the Muslims, based on his own experience, may be accepted as correct. But his view about the state of things before his time, and his diagnosis of the causes for the cleavage between the two, cannot command the same respect and confidence.

So far as evidence goes, Muslim politics, throughout the nineteenth century, has followed a course different from that of the Hindus. While the Hindus were developing their political ideas and political organizations on modern lines under the influence of English education, the Muslims launched the Wahabi movement, which was most violent and anti-British, and extremely communal in character. How far the outbreak of 1857 was the result of a cooperative movement between the two communities has been discussed above. Then came the Aligarh movement, also conceived in a communal spirit. It brought about the political and social regeneration of the Muslims, but at the same time widened the political cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims, and created a distinct Muslim unit in Indian politics.

II. THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT

Sir Syed Ahmad, whose views and activities gave rise to the Aligarh Movement, was born in A.D. 1817, and began his career as an official of the British Government at the age of about twenty. He held the office of the Sadar Amin at Bijnor when the Mutiny broke out, and remained loyal to the British throughout the great crisis. He saved the local Europeans by successful diplomacy, first with the mutineers, and then with Nawab Mahmud Khan, as mentioned above- 27 His loyal services were recognized by the grateful British Government and Syed Ahmad occupied a distinguished position after the Mutiny was over. But he utilised the opportunity, thus offered, not for advancing his own material interests, but for the uplift of his coreligionists. He pondered deeply over the deplorable situation of the Muslim community and made a noble resolve to take up its cause. He traced the sad plight of the Muslims to their innate conservatism which made them averse to English education and Western culture. Their position, bad in itself, was rendered worse by the Mutiny. There was a general impression among the British that the Muslims were the chief instigators and ringleaders of that great outbreak. The consequence was that the hands of repression fell more heavily upon the Muslims than upon the Hindus, and the Government came to entertain a permanent distrust of Muslim loyalty and allegiance to the British. The Muslims lost whatever little political influence they possessed, and their future prospect was indeed very gloomy.

Syed Ahmad set before himself the twofold task of bringing about a rapprochement between the British Government and the Muslims, and introducing the modem type of education among the latter. For the first object he exerted his utmost to wean away the Muslims from the fruitless, vindictive and sentimental opposition to the British. He gradually convinced them that their future interests from all points of view depended entirely on the favours of the Government, and these can be secured in full measure by loyal co-operation with the British. On the other hand, he persuaded the Englishmen to believe that the Muslims were pot at heart disloyal to the British Crown, that there was nothing in the religious tenets of Islam which, as the Wahabis thought, rendered it obligatory upon the Muslims to take to jihad , i.e. declare a war of independence against the British; and lastly, that though the Muslims might have been carried away by emotion and erred in 1857 by leading the war against the British, it was merely a passing phase, and a little tact and generous forgiveness on the part of the Government could easily change the Muslims into a body of staunch supporters of the Government.

The appeal of Syed Ahmad to the British Government to take kindly to his community came at a very opportune moment. The British, like all imperial powers, instinctively followed the policy of divide and rule in governing India. They could not be possibly unaware of the fact that while the Muslims resented the establishment of British political authority, the Hindus welcomed it, and so at the beginning they unduly favoured the Hindus. But after two generations of the Hindus had imbibed Western ideas through English education, they showed signs of political development which was regarded by the Government as anti-British and almost revolutionary. So they eagerly seized the opportunity, offered by Syed Ahmad, of enlisting the support of the great but politically undeveloped Muslim community, and holding it as a counterpoise to the progressive Hindu community. Henceforth the British Government steadily followed the policy of clogging or putting a brake on one wheel of the car of India's political evolution, so that its progress may be slowed down, even if not altogether stopped.

A fair idea of the nature and extent of the distinct change that came over the British attitude towards the Muslims is given by Hunter's book, The Indian Musalmans , published in 1871. Hunter held that for many years the entire Muslim community had been disloyal and "a source of chronic danger to the British power in India". 28 But his whole book is a vigorous plea for 'rallying the Muslims' round the British Government by removing their genuine grievances.

Syed Ahmad did not confine his attention to the improvement of the relations between the Government and his co-religionists, but also devoted his heart and soul to a regeneration of his community. He raised his voice against Muslim orthodoxy in order to prove that there is nothing in the Qur'an which stands in the way of the Muslims taking to English education and imbibing rational and advanced ideas as well as scientific knowledge of the West. In short, he urged the Muslims to follow the same line of development which was chalked out by Raja Rammohan Roy almost exactly half a century before. Both shared the same fate. Like, Rammohan, Syed Ahmad met with violent opposition from the orthodox section; he was excommunicated and even threatened with assassination. But truth and courage triumphed in both cases. Syed Ahmad had the great gratification to see his endeavour crowned with success, probably beyond his wildest imagination. It may be said without exaggeration that no single man did so much for his community during the nineteenth century, as Rammohan and Syed Ahmad did, respectively, for the Hindus and the Muslims. But the effective good which India could derive from the progress of the two communities suffered a great deal by the time-lag of half a century between the two.

Syed Ahmad rightly regarded the Western knowledge through English education as the foundation of all real progress. The idea was not an original one, as noted above, but his credit lies in the practical steps he took to give effect to it. As early as 1864 he established an English school at Ghazipur. Next year he founded the "Scientific Society" for translating useful English books on various subjects into Urdu and circulating them, among the Muslims. The Society also published a bilingual journal for spreading liberal ideas on social reform. In 1869 Syed Ahmad visited England and received a cordial welcome, being even received in audience by Queen Victoria. He had ample opportunity of studying at first hand the social and educational institutions of the English people, and felt more and more convinced that it is only by the assimilation of Western thought and culture that the Muslims could hope to recover anything like their former position in India. After his return in 1870, he made a more vigorous propaganda for the spread of English education and Western culture among his people. It is possible that the Young Turk Movement also inspired him and facilitated his work.

While Syed Ahmad is entitled to great credit for his laudable endeavour to uplift his community, it is somewhat painful to note that it had as its background a supreme contempt for the Indians. In a letter from London, dated 15th October, 1869, he writes: “Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high

and low, merchants and petty shop-keepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners, and uprightness, are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. Do you look upon an animal as a thing to be honoured? Do you think it necessary to treat an animal courteously, or the reverse? You do not 1 We have no right to courteous treatment. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes.” 29

Syed Ahmad was intoxicated with the wine of Western culture very much in the same way as the first generation of English-educated Hindus. But he went beyond all proportions and even exceeded the limits of decency. It is to be further remembered that at the time he wrote the letter he was not a young man fresh from an English institution, but a man of 52, with varied experiences in life. It is possible that his views underwent some change in course of time, but in any case the letter is a revealing one, and shows the wide gulf that separated the Hindus and Muslims at every stage of their national development. No Hindu, expressing such views in 1869, would have the least chance of being acclaimed as the leader of a movement for national regeneration.

While in England, Syed Ahmad conceived the idea of establishing an educational institution for Muslims in India on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge. The result was the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, the foundation stone of which was laid by Lord Lytton on January 8, 1877. The Muslim community derived from it as much, if not more, impetus to progress on modern lines, as the Hindu community did from the Hindu College founded sixty years before. The College provided for liberal education in arts and sciences through the medium of English language, under a succession of able principals, recruited from England. It was a residential institution and helped a great deal in developing the mental outlook and personality of the young Muslim students on progressive lines. Syed Ahmad also started the Muhammadan Educational Conference as a general forum for spreading liberal ideas among the members of his community. He gathered round him a band of faithful followers who spread his ideas with conspicuous success. He thus inaugurated a new era in the life of Indian Muslims and infused fresh blood into the Muslim community at one of its greatest crises in life.

The Aligarh Movement, thus inaugurated by Syed Ahmad, is no less remarkable for the political evolution of the Muslims. In the ultimate form which it took, it grew definitely anti-Congress and anti-Hindu, but this characteristic was not distinctly perceptible at its inception.

It is not easy to form a clear idea of Syed Ahmad’s attitude towards the Hindus and their advanced political ideals. Some of his early utterances are completely free from any communal bias. In a speech delivered in 1884 he said: “Do you not inhabit the same land? .... Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation.” [30] These words were received with loud cheers. In several other speeches also he referred to the Hindus and Muslims as forming one nation. To a Panjabi Hindu audience he said that every inhabitant of Hindusthan is a Hindu, and added, “I am therefore sorry that you do not regard me as a Hindu”. [31] He bestowed high praise on the Bengalis. “They are”, he said, ‘“the only people in our country whom we can properly be proud of, and it is only due to them that knowledge, liberty and patriotism have progressed in our country. I can truly say that really they are the head and crown of all the different communities of Hindusthan.” [32] He also organized and presided over a meeting in 1877 in which Surendra-nath Banerji delivered a speech in favour of the simultaneous examinations for civil service in England and India, and a resolution in favour of it was unanimously passed. [33]

But some of Syed Ahmad’s utterances, even of an earlier period, betray a mentality of just the reverse type. As far back as 1858 he deplored the fact (and regarded it as a cause of the Mutiny) that the two antagonistic races, Hindus and Muslims, were put into the same regiment of the British army, and thus a feeling of friendship and brotherhood sprang up between them. He significantly added: *Tf separate regiments of Hindus and separate regiments of Muhammadans had been raised, this feeling of brotherhood could not have arisen". 34 As will be noted later, the British took the lesson to heart and carried into practice the suggestion hinted by Syed Ahmad.

Again, in a speech at Mirat on 16 March, 1888, he refers to the Hindus and Muslims not only as two nations, but as two warring nations who could not lead a common political life if ever the British left India. Here are the exact words, conveying an idea so diametrically opposed to that to which he gave expression in other speeches four years earlier, as noted above: "Now suppose that all the English were to leave India, then who would be rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations, the Muhammadan and the Hindu, could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable." 36

Further, as early as 18S3, he delivered a long speech deprecating the system of representative institutions, even for local self-government, and particularly the principle of election, pure and simple, in constituting Local Boards and District Boards, for fear that "the larger community would totally override the interest of the smaller community." 36 In this speech Syed Ahmad harped upon the elements of discord and disunion that divided India. "In one and the same district", said he, "the population may consist of various creeds and various nationalities". The whole speech is an eloquent plea against the conception of Indian nationality, and indicates the wide chasm that divided the Hindu and Muslim leaders in their political thoughts and ideas. For, it should be remembered that the speech was delivered in the same year when the Indian Association of Calcutta had summoned the National Conference, the first All-India political organization, and only two years before the Indian National Congress held its first session. This speech, however, did not stand alone. As a matter of fact, Syed Ahmad and his followers, in their speeches and writings, were never tired of emphasising that India was inhabited by different nations with different social, political, religious and historical traditions. All these ideas were brought to a head in a violent opposition to the Indian National Congress since its very inception. Sved Ahmad looked upon the system of representative government demanded by the Congress as dangerous to the interests of Muslims. He even broadly hinted that if the demand were conceded the Muslim minority might be forced to take up sword to prevent the tyranny of the majority. The following lines clearly indicate his trend of thought which also permeates his other speeches and writings:

“In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any one of these fields (nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, mores, culture, and historical traditions), the introduction of representative government cannot produce any beneficial results; it can only result in interfering with the peace and prosperity of the land. .... The aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are based upon an ignorance of history and present-day realities; they do not take into consideration that India is inhabited by different nationalities; ..I consider the experiment which the Indian National Congress wants to make fraught with dangers and suffering for all the nationalities of India, specially for the Muslims. The Muslims are in a minority, but they are a highly united, minority. At least traditionally they are prone to take the sword in hand when the majority oppresses them. If this happens, it will bring about disasters greater than the ones which came in the wake of the happenings of 1857.The Congress cannot rationally prove its claim to represent the opinions, ideals, and aspirations of the Muslims.” 36a

As an indication of the change that came over Syed Ahmad it may be mentioned that though in 1877 he supported the simultaneous examinations for civil service, as mentioned above, he opposed it as a member of the Public Service Commission in 1887.

Whatever one might think of the early isolated utterances of Syed Ahmad in favour of the peoples of India forming but one nation, the two-nation theory formed the solid basis of the Aligarh Movement. Its political views and ideals, as they took definite shape, may be formulated in the following four fundamental principles:

(a) The Hindus and Muslims form two separate political entities v/ith separate outlook and conflicting interests.

(b) The grant of representative institutions based on democratic principles, and appointment to high offices by open competitive examination in India would be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims, as they would be subject to Hindu domination which is far worse than British rule.

(c) Consequently, the Muslims should regard the paramountcy of the British as the chief safeguard of their interests, and keep themselves aloof from political agitation against the Government.

(d) As the Muslim interests are quite safe in the hands of the British, the Muslims should confine their attention to cultural development, and avoid politics except in so far as it is necessary to counterbalance the mischief of Hindu political agitators. 37

In support of the last two points it may be pointed out that he declined to support the "National Mohammadan Association" founded in Calcutta in 1877 by Amir Ali Khan and a young group of Muhammadans, as mentioned above.

The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh became the chief centre for disseminating these political principles. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee, of which Syed Ahmad was Honorary Secretary for life, laid down, as a definite rule, that subscriptions should be asked from Muslims and Christians, the people of the Book, but from no others.

The Principals of the Aligarh College proved to be active agents for propagating the political ideas mentioned above. The first Principal, Theodore Beck, "gave up a life and career in England, and devoted himself to the service of the Muhammadans of India" and was their "faithful friend". He took charge of the Institute Gazette, the literary organ of the Aligarh College, and edited it on behalf of Syed Ahmad. He poured forth venoms on the Bengalis for their advanced

political and social ideas. In issue after issue he published political articles, whose central idea was that India contained two or more nations, that Parliamentary government was unsuited to India, and in the event of its being granted, the Hindus, who formed the majority, “would be absolute masters as no Muhammadan Emperor ever was. 5 ’ 38

When, in 1889, Charles Bradlaugh introduced a Bill in the British House of Commons for setting up democratic form of Government in India, Beck prepared a memorial on behalf of the Muslims and proceeded to Delhi with a batch of his Aligarh students. These were posted at the gate of Jumiria Masjid and, after a Friday Prayer, induced more than twenty thousand Muslims to sign the memorial, falsely representing it to be a petition against the attempt of the Hindus to put a stop to cow-slaughter. 39

It was mainly through Beck’s efforts that “in August, 1888, was established the United Indian Patriotic Association at Aligarh in which both Hindus and Musalmans joined. The objects of the Association were: (1) to inform the members of Parliament and the people of England through newspapers and tracts that all the communities of India, the aristocracy and the Princes were not with the Congress and to contradict its statements; (2) to keep the Parliament and the people of England informed about the opinions of Hindu and Muslim organizations which were opposed to the Congress; and (3) to help in the maintenance of law and order and the strengthening of the British rule in India and to wean away people from the Congress. This whole scheme was the result of Mr. Beck’s efforts and he and Sir Syed were put in charge of it. A branch of the Association was opened in England at the house of Mr. Morrison who subsequently became the Principal of Aligarh College after Mr. Beck’s death.” 40

The United Indian Patriotic Association continued to oppose the Congress in the name of Musalmans for some years, but a joint organization of Hindus and Muslims was not to the liking of Beck. So under his inspiration a new organization under the name of ‘Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India’ was founded at a meeting of some influential Muslims held on December 30,1893, at the house of Syed Ahmad. In his opening address Beck said that “he was not in favour of political agitation, as it would lead the Musalmans away from their tried and beneficial course of loyalty to the British Government. But, all the same, he felt the need of an organisation to give political lead to the young Muslims. He explained, ‘with the press pouring out a stream of political articles, our young educated Mahomedans will be drawn into the current to support or oppose the measures proposed.I think it would

be a mistake to leave them without guidance.’ It was in consequence of this advice that the Defence Association was set up through a resolution passed to that effect in the same gathering.” 41

The main objects of the Association were: (a) to place the opinions of Musalmans before Englishmen and the Government of India and to protect their political rights; (b) to prevent political agitation from spreading among the Musalmans; and (c) to strengthen British rule in India. In this new organization, of which Beck became the Secretary, Musalmans were separated from all other Indian communities except the Englishmen. The name ‘Defence Association’ was borrowed from the Anglo-Indian Defence Association which had been established in 1883 at the time of the Ilbert Bill agitation, but had ceased to exist after completing its work. 42

Beck made a systematic effort to divide the Hindus and Muslims. As an illustration we may quote the following extract: “The objective of the Congress is to transfer the political control of the country from the British to the Hindus. It demands the repeal of the Arms Act, reduction of military expenditure, and the consequential weakening of the frontier defences. Musalmans can

have no sympathy with these demands.It is imperative for the

Muslims and the British to unite with a view to fighting these agitators and prevent the introduction of democratic form of government, unsuited as it is to the needs and genius of the country. We therefore, advocate loyalty to the Government and Anglo-Muslim collaboration. ” 4 3

“In 1895, Beck proceeded to England where he addressed the annual meeting of the London Branch of the Association. A summary of his speech was published in the Aligarh College Magazine of March, April and June, 1895. According to it, Beck said that (1) a friendship between the British people and the Muslims was possible, but not between Muslims and followers of other religions; for example, the followers of Shivaji and those of Guru Govind Singh would never agree with the Muslims in accepting

Aurangzeb as their hero; (2) Muslims would nevet* accept a system of government in which the Hindu majority would rule over them; the Muslims of Kashmir who were living under the yoke of Brahmin officers envied the good fortune of the Muslims who were living happily under the British rule; (3) Indians themselves did not like a democratic system; they preferred monarchy; (4) Muslim behaviour during and * after the Revolt (of 1857) had warned the community against agitational politics of Hindus, and they were now wisely acting on the advice of Sir Syed—-it was the advice of loyalty to the British; (5) Muslims were opposed to the holding of the competitive examina

tions in India, for they knew that this step would mean the replacement of many impartial British officers by anti-Muslim Hindus." 43 *

Beck's contribution to the anti-Hindu bias in Aligarh Movement was very considerable. The personal influence exerted by Beck upon Syed Ahmad was believed to be so great that one Muslim writer humorously remarked that "the College is of Syed Ahmad and the order is of Beck".

A notorious instance of such influence is afforded by the abuses of the Bengalis in which Beck indulged in his articles in the Aligarh Institute Gazette. His anonymous articles were attributed to Syed Ahmad who was the editor of the Gazette. Reference has been made above to the high tributes paid by Syed Ahmad to the Bengalis, and the very fact that he allowed the publication of Beck's articles is a measure of the latter's influence upon him. The latitude he allowed to Beck was probably also partly due to the fact that he himself was gradually alienated from the Bengalis on account of their advanced political views. But there seems to be little doubt that Beck's influence was also at work.

Beck died in 1899, and his services, not merely as a friend and benefactor of the Muhammadans, but also as a builder of the British empire (on the solid basis of Hindu-Muslim split) were appreciated in high quarters. Sir Arthur Strachey, I.C.S., paid the following obituary tribute to Beck: "An Englishman who was engaged in the consolidation of the empire has disappeared from the scene." 43b Beck was succeeded as Principal by Morrison, who was in charge of the London office of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association. Morrison, who continued in this post till 1905, was an apt pupil of Beck, but he was alarmed at the growing political solidarity among the Muslims. So he tried to wean away the Muslims from political agitation and divert their energies to the educational and economic uplift of their community.

Thanks to the efforts of the founder and the first two Principals of the Aligarh College, an open manifestation of hostility against the Indian National Congress formed the basic creed of the Aligarh Movement.

Syed Ahmad regarded the Congress as inimical to the true interests of the Muslims. He even went further and wrote in the Pioneer, on 2-3 November, 1887, that the Parliamentary form of government was "unsuited to a country containing two or more nations tending to oppress the numerically weaker." 430 During 1888, Tyabji and Hume constantly endeavoured to secure his conciliation with the Congress. Sir Syed gave Tyabji a stunning reply. He said: "I do not understand what the words 'National Congress* mean. Is it

supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation, or can become a nation, and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible, and when it is impossible there can be no such thing as a National Congress, nor can it be of equal benefit to all peoples. You regard the doings of the misnamed National Congress beneficial to India, but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large. I object to every Congress in any shape or form whatever which regards India as one nation." Tyabji again wrote a persuasive letter, and again failed. 43 *

According to Syed Ahmad, 'the Congress was in reality a civil war without arms'. "The ultimate object of the Congress was to rule the country; and although they wished to do it in the name of all people of India, the Muslims would be helpless as they would be in a minority." Again he observed, "that a 'national' Congress could not., be composed of two nations who had such different opinions and only happened to agree on some small points." 43 ® In short, Syed Ahmad looked upon the Congress as a machinery devised by the Hindus to further their own interests at the cost of the Muslims. Hence we find an insistent opposition to the Congress from Syed Ahmad and his school. There were Muslim leaders like

Badruddin Tyabji and Rahimatullah Sayani in Bombay, Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur in Madras, A. Rasul in Bengal, Maulvi Mazar-ul-Haq in Bihar, and others who regarded themselves as Indians first and Muslims afterwards. They wholeheartedly supported the Congress, but their number was few, and their followers, fewer still. In general, it may be said that the Muslims of Northern India, at any rate, were firmly attached to the policy of Syed Ahmad.

Many leaders of the Congress were, however, loath to admit this patent truth. The official history of the Congress denies that the Muslims were opposed to the Congress. It makes much of the fact that "Sheik Raza Hussein Khan produced at the fourth session (1888, Allahabad) a fatwa supporting the Congress from the Shams-ululma, the leader of the Sunni community of Lucknow", and declared that "it is not the Muslims but their official masters who are opposed to the Congress." 44 A reference to the number of Muslim delegates present at the different sessions of the Congress, and the part which they took in its deliberations, would give us a true idea of the real interest taken by the Muslims as a class in the progress of Indian National Congress. These statistics, which will be found in Ch. XV, undoubtedly go against the position maintained in the official history of the' Congress. Even some of the stalwarts of the Congress in those days regretfully admitted the hostile attitude of the

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Muslims towards the Congress. Thus Surendra-nath Banerji writes: "The Muhammadan community, under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad, had held aloof from the Congress. They were working under the auspices of the Patriotic Association in direct opposition to the national movement. Our critics regarded the National Congress as a Hindu Congress, and the opposition papers described it as such. We were straining every nerve to secure the co-operation of our Muhammadan fellow-countrymen in this great national work. We sometimes paid the fares of Muhammadan delegates and offered them other facilities." 45 Even Gokhale remarked in one of his letters that "seventy millions of Muhammadans were more or less hostile to national aspirations". 46

The anti-Congress policy was clearly laid down by Syed Ahmad in his public speeches, the most notable of them being one at Lakhnau on December 28, 1887, and another at Mirat on March 16, 1888. An extract from the latter has been quoted above. 46 * At Lakhnau he told the assembled Muslims, on the eve of the Congress session at Madras: “If you accept that the country should groan under the yoke of Bengali rule and its people lick the Bengali shoes, then, in the name of God! jump into the train, sit down, and be off to Madras, be off to Madras.” 465 Referring to these speeches M. Noman remarks that “No Mussalman of India since then joined the Congress except one or two. Even Syed Ahmad Khan’s co-religionists who differed from his views on religious, educational and social matters and opposed him violently, followed him in politics and preserved their isolation from the Congress.” 47

There is no doubt that Syed Ahmad succeeded in keeping back the bulk of Muslims from the Congress. They made no secret of the reasons for their action. In 1896, Rahimatullah Sayani, a distinguished Muslim, presided over the Congress session. Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, a friend of Syed Ahmad, suggested to the Congress President that the Congress should pass a resolution to the effect that the Hindus and Muslims should have equal number of' seats in the legislative councils, district-boards, and municipalities. This showed where the shoe pinched. Sayani could not accept Ismail Khan’s proposal. Syed Ahmad, however, endorsed it, and wrote in an article that the Muslims could join the Congress only if the Congress agreed to the proposal of Ismail Khan. 47 *

As a matter of fact, it is quite evident from a perusal of the contemporary records that almost “all the leading Muslim institutions and personalities joined hands in their indignation against the Indian National Congress. Resolutions condemning the Congress were passed by the Musalmans of Allahabad, Lucknow, Meerut, Lahore, Madras

and other places. The Mahomedan Observer, The Victoria Paper , The Muslim Herald, The Raftq-i-Hind and the Imperial Paper —ail spoke with one voice against the Indian National Congress. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, a powerful Muslim organ of Northern India, never missed the opportunity of reprinting all sorts of views opposed to the Congress ideology from other newspapers and magazines. The Central National Muhammadan Association of Bengal, the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta, the Anjuman-i-Isiamia of Madras, the Dindigal Anjuman and the Muhammadan Central Association, Punjab, denounced, in the strongest possible terms. Congress aims and activities". 48 Important Muslim organizations in India refused to send delegates ta the Congress when invited to do so.

Syed Ahmad's opposition to the Congress was not confined to verbal protests. He also took practical steps to check its rising popularity by the foundation of the United Indian Patriotic Association, and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association to which reference has been made above.

It is also not without significance that Syed Ahmad laid the foundation of the Annual Muslim Educational Conference, in 1886, only a year after the establishment of the National Congress. This conference was held each year at different places in India exactly at the time when the Congress held its sessions. Although its main object was the discussion of the general and educational condition of the Indian Musalmans, it became also a forum for the dissemination of Muslim political opinions. By the gradual progress of this annual conference, the Muslims hoped to overspread "the whole of upper India with a network of societies, committees and individuals, all working harmoniously in the great cause, so that a big evil may be dealt with by a strong remedy and by the vigorous work of one generation the tide of misfortune may be turned and the Mohamedan Nation may be set moving on the tide of progress abreast of all the other Nations of India." 49

Abbas S. Tyabji, Bar-at-Law,. pointed out the real cause of Muhammadan aloofness and correctly exposed the unreasoning fear of the Muslims when he wrote: "The real reason is that the Mahomedan minority has a fear that it will not be dealt with fairly by the Hindu majority. Now I ask this question: has the Congress pressed for any rights during the last 25 years which would have specially benefited the Hindus at the expense of the Mahomedans? If it had, my Mahomedan brothren may rest assured that men like the late Mr. Justice Tyabji, Nawab Syed Mahomed and others, would not have kept up their connections with the Congress movement." 60

K. M. Sayani, President of the Congress in 1896, made an elaborate analysis of the probable causes of Muslim discontent against the Congress, as noted above, 61 and proceeded to reply to each of them. The Congress also lost no opportunity to placate the Muslims as far as possible without surrendering its basic principles. An instance is afforded by the third session of the Congress held in Madras in 1887, At this session of the Congress a member gave notice of a Resolution urging the prohibition of cow-slaughter. The Congress was in great difficulty, as the feeling of the Muhammadans on this question was only too well-known, and it was fully realized that the Resolution would raise a question of great difficulty and delicacy. The Congress found a solution that was fair to all interests, and was accepted by all parties, and which has since been the recognized convention of the Congress. It was decided that if any Resolution affecting a particular class or community was objected to by the delegates representing that community, even though they were in a minority, it should not be considered by the Congress. 62

But all this was in vain. Nothing could bring round Syed Ahmad to support the Congress. After his death in 1898 his mantle fell upon Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk who, too, followed the same policy. This spirit of animosity against the Congress gradually brought in its train a general spirit of opposition to the Hindus.

This spirit was further embittered by other measures, such as the propaganda initiated in Maharashtra against the killing of cows. Far more serious was the unfortunate and protracted controversy over Urdu vs. Hindi, originating from a movement begun by the Hindus in Varanasi as early as 1867 to replace Urdu by Hindi and the Arabic script by Nagarl. This movement convinced Syed Ahmad that the Hindus and Muslims could never “join whole-heartedly together and the differences between them would immensely increase in future.” Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk even adopted a militant attitude. “Although”, he said, “we have not the might of pen, our hands are still strong enough to wield the might of the sword.” 63

Both the Aligarh Movement and its founder have been severely criticised and condemned by a class of writers, mostly Hindu. They rightly point out that this Movement was responsible for bringing about that conflict between the Hindus and Muslims which culminated in the foundation of Pakistan. But it is necessary to look at the Movement, fairly and squarely, from the point of view of the Muslims for whom it was primarily intended. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the Aligarh Movement was to the Muslims what the Renaissance and Nationalist Movement of the 19th century was to the Hindus. It raised the Muslim community from the slough of despondency in which it had sunk after the Mutiny, and transformed it from the Medieval to the Modern Age. Syed Ahmad, who ushered in this Movement, deserves the highest praise for his love of the community and the far-sighted vision which he displayed regarding the problem of the Muslims. He did for his community something like what Baja Rammohan Roy did for the Hindus. He tried to introduce English education among the Muslims as he held, like the Raja, that that was the only way of removing the prejudices and superstitions which had accumulated in course of ages and retarded the healthy growth of the Muslims on modern lines. He had also introduced reforms in social customs and religious ideas. For all this he had to engage in a hard fight with the orthodox Muslims, specially the Maulavis, and it must be said to his credit that he fought, sometimes almost single-handed, against enormous odds that at one time almost threatened to ruin him. It is a great tribute to his personality that, although not quite well versed in English, he appreciated its importance for his community, and very rightly held that no true progress is possible for the Muslims until and unless they made up for their slackness in the past and imbibed English education and Western rationalism in very much the same way as the Hindus did. We can, therefore, understand why he laid so much stress on the educational propaganda, and deliberately avoided politics so far as the Muslims were concerned. When he started his crusade for Western education, the total number of Muslim graduates was only 26 against 1,652 in Hindu community. He was of the opinion that Muslims could advance in education only with the help of the Government, and so long as they did not make sufficient progress, it would be unnecessarily diverting their energy to join in the political movement, with the additional risk of incurring the displeasure of the Government. This, to a certain extent, explains also his opposition to the Indian National Congress. There were other grounds for his anti-Congress policy. In the first place, he had an innate sense of loyalty to the British, and the terrible consequences of the Mutiny, of which he was an eye-witness, probably warned him that the time was not ripe for any sort of opposition against the British Government. He also knew the temper of the Muslims and was justly afraid that their opposition to the Government might not be confined to passing Resolutions, as in the Congress, but might stir up the latent spirit of revolution and end in overt acts of rebellion which would again expose the Muslims to the same severe repression which followed the Wahabi Movement and the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Above all, he held that the Muslims must be mature by their education before they could fruitfully join politics. The trend and net result of his policy was undoubtedly to widen the cleavage between the two great communities, but perhaps it would be more correct to say that he was not so much anti-Hindu as pro-Muslim. He might well say, like the great Roman, Brutus, that it was not that he loved the Hindus less, but that he loved the Muslims more. The one and only aim of his life was to promote the Muslim interests, come what may.

Some apologists of Syed Ahmad have been at pains to prove that his anti-national, anti-Hindu and anti-Congress policy was entirely due to the advice of Beck. 54 This view is no doubt based on, and seeks to explain, the striking contrasts between Syed Ahmad’s liberal views of earlier period and communal policy of a later date. It should be remembered, however, that Beck came to Aligarh in 1883, but, as has been noted above, the reactionary views of Syed Ahmad may be traced to an earlier period, and liberal views even after 1883. Besides, it is permissible to doubt whether such a strong personality as Syed Ahmad possessed could be entirely dominated and led to a radically different policy by another individual. Beck undoubtedly exercised strong influence upon Syed Ahmad, as noted above, but it was possible for him to do so only because the fundamental ideas of both followed the same direction.

Whatever we might think of Beck's influence, there is no doubt that from 1880 right up to 1898 when Sir Syed Ahmad died, he was the pivot round whom the Muslim politics moved. It is also a point worth remembering that his view, including the policy towards the Hindus and the Congress, was fully approved by almost all the Muslim leaders, including some of those who later strutted on the stage of Indian politics as the great champions of Hindu-Muslim unity and Indian nationhood. Even so late as 1923, Muhammad Ali, then reputed to be the greatest nationalist of India among the Muslims, observed in his Presidential Address at the Congress: "Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Mussalmans, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Mussalmans."

III. DIVIDE AND RULE.

The activities of Beck and his successors should not be treated as mere personal or isolated incidents. They coincide with a deliberate change of policy on the part of the Government of India in favour of the Muslims. The policy of Devide and Rule is as old

in human history as imperialism itself, and it would have been strange indeed if the British empire-builders in India were immune from it. Actually it can be traced as far back as 1821, when a British officer, signing himself Carnations , wrote in the Asiatic Journal: "Divide et Impera should be the motto of our Indian administration, whether political, civil or military". Lt. John Coke, Commandant at Moradabad, wrote at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny: "Our endeavours should be to uphold in full force the (for us fortunate) separation which exists between the different religions and races, not to endeavour to amalgamate them. Divide et Impera should be the principle of Indian Government." Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, wrote in a minute dated May 14, 1859: "Divide et Impera was the old Roman motto and it should be ours." Sir John Strachey, another eminent British Civilian, observed: "The existence, side by side, of hostile creeds among the Indian people is one of the strong points in our political position in India.” 65

The policy of Divide and Rule was also pursued during the Mutiny, when the Sikhs and the Gurkhas were pitted against the other Indians. The success of the policy and its future possibilities did not escape the vigilant eyes of the English statesmen. Sir John Seeley wrote: “You see the mutiny was in a great measure put down by turning the races of India against each other. So long as this can be done, the government of India from England is possible, and there is nothing miraculous about it. But.if the state of things should alter, if by any chance the population should be welded into a single nationality, then I do not say we ought to begin to fear for our dominion; I say we ought to cease at once to hope it.” 66 Sir John Lawrence echoed the sentiment of Sir Syed noted above, 67 when he said: “Among the defects of the pre-Mutiny army, unquestionably the worst, and the one that operated most fatally against us, was the brotherhood and homogeneity of the Bengal army, and for this purpose the remedy is counterpoise; firstly the great counterpoise of the Europeans, and secondly of the native races.” 58

Actually, as noted above, the Indian army was reorganized after the Mutiny according to this principle. “In the old army, men stood by chance in the ranks, Hindu and Musalman, Poorbeah and Punjabi, cheek by jowl. The object aimed at in the new constructions was, to some extent, to put the races into watertight compartments.” Accordingly, the majority of the new regiments became class-company ones (where different races should be kept in different companies in the same regiments), but a few Sikh and Gurkha corps remained entirely homogeneous (class regiments). 09

At first the policy of Divide and Rule worked in favour of the Hindus. For, as the British dispossessed the Muslim rulers they naturally looked upon the

Muslims as their enemies and favoured the Hindus as a counterpoise to them. A clear enunciation of this policy was made by Lord Ellenborough. Writing to the Duke of Wellington from Simla on October 4, 1842, after the fall of Kabul and Ghazni, he remarked that while the Muslims, as a class, desired the failure of the English in Afghanistan, the Hindus were delighted, and then observed: “It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenths which are faithful.” Again, writing to Wellington on January 18, 1843, Ellenborough said: “I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (Mussalman) is fundamentally hostile to us, and therefore our true policy is to conciliate the Hindus.” 60

This anti-Muslim and pro-Hindu feeling was further developed after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, as the British regarded the Muslims as its chief instigators. Thus H. H. Thomas (retired I.C. S.) observed that “the Hindus were not the contrivers or the primary movers of the (1857) rebelion;.. .it was the result of a Muhammadan conspiracy. „C1 Reference has been made above 62 to similar views expressed by Charles Raikes and others.

But with the development of political ideas and national consciousness among the Hindus, they came to be regarded as a serious menace to the stability of the British rule and the Government realized the necessity of putting a check to this danger. The Muslims had given up their truculent attitude against the British and had not yet developed the national spirit with which half a century of Western education had imbued the Hindus. It was obvious that the Muslims could now he safely played against the Hindus. Hunter’s famous book, The Indian Musalmans, published in 1871, is an eloquent advocacy of this new policy. It was at this juncture that the Muslims also were ready, under Syed Ahmad’s leadership, to place implicit faith upon the benevolence of the Government. Syed Ahmad’s appeal to the British Government to take the Muslims under their aegis, therefore, found ready response and it was successful to a far greater degree than he ever could possibly hope.

This policy of favouring the Muslims as a counterpoise against the Hindus was gradually adopted by the British during the eighties and nineties. On 14 January, 1887, Lord Cross, the Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, in connection with the abstention of the Muhammadans from the Indian National Congress that “this division of religious feeling is to our advantage.” It was also clearly indicated by Lord Dufferin in some of his speeches. In these he elaborated for the first time the theory of the special importance of the Muslims in Indian politics, which was to play such an important role in future. He reminded them ‘that their forefathers had entered India through the north-western passes, and they should therefore realise, more than anybody else, the importance and duty of guarding that route against future invaders*. He did not stop with this astute diplomatic way of rousing their national feeling against the Hindus. Proceeding further, he told them that “fifty millions of men are themselves a nation,—and a very powerful nation.” 63 Lord Salisbury said in a public speech that it would be impossible for England to hand over the Indian Muslims to the tender mercies of a hostile numerical majority. 63 * 4

It is not strange, therefore, that the principle of separate representation for the Muslims should be adopted in the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Dr. Ambedkar observes:

“The introduction of this principle is shrouded in mystery. It is mystery because it was introduced so silently and so stealthily. The principle of separate representation does not find a place in the Act. The Act says nothing about it. It was in the directions—but not in the Act—issued to those charged with the duty of framing regulations as to the classes and interests to whom representation was to be given that the Muslims were named as a class to be provided for.

“It is a mystery as to who was responsible for its introduction. This scheme of separate representation was not the result of any demand put forth by any organized Muslim association. In whom did it then originate? It is suggested that it originated with the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, who, as far back as the year 1888, when dealing with the question of representation in the Legislative Councils, emphasized the necessity that in India representation will have to be, not in the way representation is secured in

England, but representation by interests. Curiosity leads to a further question, namely, what could have led Lord Dufferin to propose such a plan? It is suggested that the idea was to wean away the Musalmans from the Congress which had already been started three years before. Be that as it may, it is certain that it is by this Act that separate representation for Muslims became, for the first time, a feature of the Indian Constitution. It should, however, be noted that neither the Act nor the Regulations conferred any right of selection upon the Muslim community, nor did the Act give the Muslim community a

right to claim a fixed number of seats. All that it did was to give the-Muslims the right to separate representation." 63 b

Since the days of Dufferin and Salisbury the policy of favouring the Muslims grew apace and Sir Bamfylde Fuller merely gave formal and official expression to a bare truth when he represented the Hindus and the Muslims as his two wives, the latter being the favourite one. Those who are familiar with the stories of Suo-rani and Duo-rani (favoured and discarded queens) in Indian folk-tales will easily understand the full implication of this. The 'Divide and Rule jackboot' was still thei^e-—only it was on the other leg.

The Indian politicians could not be unaware of the new policy of the Government of India. When the Congress met in Calcutta in 1890, the Chairman of the Reception Committee remarked in his address that the British policy of Divide and Rule was unworthy of the great English people and was fraught with grave danger to the safety of the British Empire.

This aspect of the problem also struck some British statesmen. Shortly after the Congress session in Calcutta in December, 1886, the Muslim Observer stated that only seven Muslims joined it and that the statement of the Congress leaders that a large number of Muslims joined it was a lie. Lord Dufferin had already begun to dislike the Congress and his views were shared by Lord Cross, the Secretary of State. So Dufferin sent a cutting from the above paper to Lord Cross with a covering letter dated 4 January, 1887, in which he wrote: ^You will have observed that the Mahomedans have abstained from taking any part in the Indian National Congress. They have done this, I understand, entirely in accordance with their own views of what is politic, and not at all under any pressure from the officials.* Indeed I do not think we could make a greater mistake than to sow the seeds of dissension, suspicion or jealousy between any classes of Her Majesty's subjects. Such a policy would in the long run recoil upon our own heads. What the Mahomedans feel is that under a Bengalee Constitution they would be more completely left out in the cold than they are at present." 636

Lord Dufferin's disclaimer does not carry immediate conviction. We have seen how the anti-Hindu and anti-Congress spirit of the Muslims was encouraged—not to put it more bluntly—by Mr. Beck, the Principal of the Aligarh College, and others of his ilk; and from what we know of the mentality of the British officials, it is difficult to believe that they were absolutely neutral in the matter. The very fact that Dufferin went out of his way to declare that there was no official pressure shows that there were genuine suspicions about it.

His own speeches, reminding the importance of the Muslims as a separate nation, was also certainly calculated to alienate them from the Hindus. In any case, Lord Cross was u very glad that the Mahomedans have so distinctly kept aloof from the Congress."

The warning of Dufferin was not, however, heeded by the Home Government. How their mind worked is best seen in the following extract from a letter which Lord Hamilton, the Secretary of State, wrote to Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, on May 7, 1897: "I am sorry to hear of the increasing friction between Hindus and Mahomedans in the N.W. and the Punjab. One hardly Jmows what to wish for— unity of ideas and action would be very dangerous politically, divergence of ideas and collision are administratively troublesome. Of the two the latter is the least risky, though it throws anxiety and responsibility upon those on the spot where the friction exists."

In an earlier letter, dated 3 October, 1895, Hamilton wrote to Elgin: "Sandhurst (Governor of Bombay) sent me some details about the riot at Dhulia. The Mahomedans were clearly in the wrong. These outbreaks are, from administrative point of view, regrettable, but they do seem to me to strengthen our position generally as reminders of what was the condition of India before our authority was there established and what it would be if abolished."

These two letters show how in a cold, calculating spirit the British Government welcomed the tension between the Hindus and Musalmans as a safeguard of the British empire even at the risk of administrative difficulties and inconvenience. Of course, the moral side of the question does not seem to have ever troubled them. In the course of a decade. Divide and Rule was adopted as the official policy of the British Government during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto, as will be shown in the next volume.

IV. HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The contribution of the British rule to the cleavage between the Hindus and Muslims should be considered in its proper perspective. It must be frankly admitted that the roots of the cleavage lay deep in the soil, and it was already manifest even early in the nineteenth century. The British did not create it, but merely exploited the patent fact to serve their own interests. Reference has been made above to the growing difference between the elites of the two communities, even before a fillip was given to it either by the Aligarh Movement or the definite policy of Divide and Rule adopted by the British Government. The relations among the masses, though normally cordial, occasionally took a very ugly turn in the shape of communal riots, showing that the volcanic mountains, calm on the surface, had not altogether lost their eruptive tendency and power. Early in the nineteenth century there was such a violent outbreak in Varanasi (Banaras). In October, 1809, the Hindu mob of the city stormed the great mosque of Aurangzeb. Though well-authenticated details are lacking, it is reported that about fifty mosques were destroyed, the city was given up to pillage and slaughter, and a large number of Muslims were put to death.[64] In 1820 the Muslims assaulted a Durga Puja procession in Calcutta.

Communal riots and tensions during the great outbreak of 1857 have been noted above.[65] Hindu-Muslim riots with heavy casualties occurred at Bareilly and other localities in U.P. during 1871-2.[66] Two such riots took place in Bombay.

An article in a magazine, edited by a Parsi youth, gave an account of the Prophet of Arabia which lacked ‘‘that sentiment of respect and tolerance which is due to a sister community”. The lithographed portrait of the Prophet, which was given with the article, also gave umbrage, and “an undiscovered villain added fuel to the fire by posting a copy of the picture, with ribald and obscene remarks underneath, on the main entrance of the principal mosque.” Large crowds of Muhammadans assembled in the mosques of the town with the Qur’an in one hand and a knife in the other. At a meeting held on October 7, 1851, they proclaimed a Jih&d (holy war) against the Parsis. They overwhelmed the small police force on duty and marched triumphantly to the Parsi quarters of the Bombay town. The Parsis were “belaboured mercilessly by the rioters”. “For weeks together, that part of Bombay was a scene of pillage and destruction, and the Parsis had to put up with shocking atrocities such as defilement of corpses”. “Only after the editor had been compelled to tender a written apology a truce was declared”. “In connection with this disturbance the Parsi community looked in vain to the police for protection. If not altogether hostile, they were indifferent. Dddabhai Naoroji, who witnessed the tragedy, hastened the publication of the e Rast Goftar’ and wrote strong articles against the Government for indifference and failure of duty. He also rebuked the cowardly Parsi leaders for having tamely submitted to such outrages.” 67

Another riot took place in 1874 of which there is an eye-witness* account by the great Indian leader Pherozeshah Mehta. 67 *. In a book written by a Parsi vaccinator there was a reference to the Prophet which was regarded as objectionable by the Muslims. The publication was accordingly suppressed by the Government and the author was made to apologize for any affront he might have inadvertently offered. Nevertheless, there was “a brutal and unwarranted attack on Parsis by a mob of Mohamedans”, on 13 February,

1874. They “invaded Parsi places of worship, tore up the prayerbooks, extinguished the sacred fires and subjected the fire-temples to various indignities. Parsis were attacked in the streets and in their houses and free fights took place all over the city. Thanks to the weakness and supineness of the police and the Government, hooliganism had full play and considerable loss of life and damage to property were caused”. The riot continued for several days till the military was called out.

Pherozeshah Mehta, like Dadabhai Naoroji, none of whom one would accuse of having any special animosity against the Muslims or the British Government, has laid emphasis on the callousness of the police and the indifference of the Government. “The attitude of the Commissioner of Police was particularly hostile and objectionable. The Governor told a Parsi deputation that waited on him that the conduct of the community had been injudicious and unconciliatory and advised it to make its peace with the Muhammadans and to learn the lesson of defending itself without dependence on the authorities.”

Communal disturbances grew in volume and frequency, particularly between the years 1885 and 1893. Serious communal riots broke out at Lahore and Kamal (1885), Delhi (1886) where military had to be requisitioned, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Dera Ghazi Khan (1889), and Palakod in the Salem District of Madras (1891). The year 1893 was one of the worst and there were grave outbreaks over a large area in Azamgarh District (U.P.), Bombay town (lasted for 6 days) and interior, and Isa Khel (Mianwalli District, Punjab). Muharram and Dusserah processions, and cow-killing at Baqr’id were the causes, and murders, demolition of mosques and temples, and looting of shops, the chief characteristics of these riots. 6 ® Detailed accounts of a few riots are given in the Appendix. It is not perhaps unreasonable to assume that this increased tension between the masses of the two communities was the direct consequence of the growing cleavage between their leaders.

Thus towards the end of the period under review the Hindus and Muslims represented almost two opposite camps in politics, and the ground was prepared for this, throughout the nineteenth century, by the frankly communal outlook of the Muslims, both in their general political evolution as well as in the Wahabi and Aligarh movements. The Muslim political ideas were generally inspired by the consideration of purely Muslim interests. But in forming a proper estimate of the Muslim politics in the nineteenth century it would be unfair to look at it only from the standpoint of modem nationalist outlook, and several important factors, which dre generally overlooked, should be taken into consideration.

In the first place, it should be remembered that neither the Wahabi nor the Aligarh Movement represented the Muslim community as a whole. Large elements stood outside both, and even in the heyday of Aligrah Movement, the masses were mostly indifferent, and a number of distinguished Muslims co-operated in political matters with the Hindus.

Secondly, if the Muslims were communal and lacking in an allIndia outlook, the Hindus were partly responsible for this. The Hindu intelligentsia cherished a definitely anti-Muslim bias froiy the very beginning of the nineteenth«century, as has been noted above, 60 though some of them, like Peary-chand Mitra, realized the need of a united front and publicly expressed this view. It is not without significance that the formation of a Muhammadan Association in 1856 (or 1855) was welcomed by the British Indian Association. The Hindus regarded it as quite natural, and evidently looked upon the Muslims as a separate political unit. Far more significant is the justification offered by the authorities of the Hindu Mela for forming a National Society. To the objection that a Society with membership confined to Hindus could hardly be called national, the Nat ; oTUil Paper answered as follows on December 4,1872: “We do not understand why our correspondent takes exception to the Hindus who certainly form a nation by themselves, and as such a society established by them can very properly be called a National Society ” 69a No wonder that soon after the foundation of the Hindu Mela and National Society, the National Muhammadan Association was founded in Calcutta. It would be obvious from the above that while genuinely all-India national outlook was not altogether absent, there was a general feeling among large sections of both Hindus and Muhammadans that they formed two separate political units or nations.

Thirdly, it is to be considered very carefully why the Hindus gradually outgrew this narrow separatist -tendency and imbibed a truly national spirit, while the Muslims failed to do so during the period under review. The Hindus had a start of at least half a century over the Muslims in their political evolution, and this margin of time should be normally allowed for similar development. But there were special difficulties in the adoption of a national outlook by the Muslims. They were in a hopeless minority as compared with the Hindus, and in any democratic form of government, they were sure to occupy only a position of secondary importance. As noted above, this view was publicly expressed at the time of the legislation for local self-government. This apprehension of the Hindus obtainx ing superior authority would naturally increase with every advance of self-government on democratic lines. The same fear worked

upon the minds of the Muslims even in comparatively minor matters like recruitment to higher posts by open competitive examination, which was strongly advocated by the Hindus. Nobody could deny that it was the best mode of recruitment that could be conceived, but the Muslims opposed it on the ground that these were sure to be filled up mostly by the Hindus, not only because they were more numerous, but also because they were more advanced in education.

This feeling was brought to a head at the evidence given before the Public Service Commission in 1886. In his evidence Dadabhai Naoroji urged the necessity of holding simultaneous examinations in England and India. This was, however, strongly opposed by the Muslims "who feared that an examination held in India would lead to a preponderance of Hindus in the Civil Service to the detriment of the interests of their own community." 70

With the greatest chagrin Dadabhai learnt, after he returned to London, that his friend Kazi Shahabuddin had also joined in the opposition. On July 15, 1887, he wrote to Kazi in anguish:

"How your action has paralysed not only our own efforts, but the hands of our English friends and how keenly I feel this, more so because you have based your action on selfish interests, that because the Muhammadans are backward, therefore, you would not

allow the Hindus and all India to go forward.In the House

of Commons I think Mr. Bright has stoutly urged the necessity of an examination in India to put us on an equality with English candidates. To-day when he would and could have urged the same thing with ten times the force, he feels himself staggered, and owing to your opposition he feels puzzled and cannot help us. What a blight you have thrown upon our future and how you have retarded our progress for a long time to come. This discussion will hurt us in a variety of ways. I do not know w T hether I can hope that before the Commission's work has ended, you will still undo the mischief in some way." [71]

But the sentiment against which Dadabhai thundered was not confined to a few individuals; it was shared by the Muslims in general all over India. The Central Muhammadan Association, Madras, sent a memorial requesting the Government that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission for the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service and for the introduction of a system of competitive examination should not be accepted, for in that case the Hindus would get the full advantage and the "result would be disastrous to the Muslim Community." [71a]

There can be no gainsaying the fact that the Muslim apprehensions were well-founded, that in all human probability every advance in democracy in India would increase the dominance of the Hindus, and an open competitive examination would give preponderance to the Hindus over Muslims in all higher posts under the Government. There is, however, nothing to show that this patent fact was recognized by the Hindus who were too much imbued with nationalistic ideas to take a realistic view of things.

Dadabhai, however, touched the crux of the whole problem when he observed that the attitude of the Muslims was "based on selfish interests, that because the Muhammadans are backward, therefore, they would not allow the Hindus and all India to go forward". In all human probability there would never be a time, at least within measurable distance, when the Muslims would be equally advanced with the Hindus in point of education. If, therefore, the Muslims persisted in their present attitude, nobody could forsee a period, even in distant future, when they would readily join the Hindus in political fight for democracy or nationalism. The Hindu political leaders hoped that a consideration of this dismal prospect would induce the Muslims to give up communal for national interest in the hope that ultimately even the communal interest would be better served by following this course. But it is easy to explain why the Muslims as a body could not or would not follow this advice.

As always happens, a community, as a whole, is guided by the considerations of immediate interest involved rather than those of a remote ideal of which very few have any clear conception. Particularly, as in this case, the idea of an Indian nationality was generally lacking both among Hindus and Muslims.The Muslims could not forget that they were masters of the Hindus not long ago. To be subject to the British was bad enough, but subjection to Hindu domination would be far worse. This mentality may be regarded as ignoble from the higher standpoint of Indian nationality, but it is difficult to say that it is unnatural.

It would have been an act of great sacrifice on the part of the Muslims to join the Hindus in their political demands. But what were the inducements to such a sacrifice? In social and religious matters a deep gulf separated the two. Historical traditions and memories created a wide barrier between them. The name of Shivaji was an inspiration to the Hindus who held Aurangzeb in open contempt. The reverse was the case with the Muslims. The Rajput heroes like Rana Pratap were the idols of the Hindus and enemies of the Muslims. The Third Battle of Panipat was the occasion of national mourning for the Hindus but of a great deliverance for the Muslims. Such instances can be easily multiplied.

It may be argued with a great deal of plausibility, that in spite of all this a fusion of Hindus and Muslims into one nation was not an impossible ideal. Even if this be admitted, it must not be forgotten that what was at best merely a possible ideal should not have been mistaken for an actual fact, either already accomplished, or neaping completion. But the most eminent Hindu political leaders committed this fatal mistake. They took for granted what was at best a remote contingency, not to be achieved without great difficulty. They never understood, nor even cared to understand, the real feelings and impulses of the Muslim community. They never appreciated the motives which guided their policy and actions. The result was that they could not realize the patent fact that the Hindus and Muslims were, as yet, two different political units. In their new-born zeal for democracy and nationalism the Hindus forgot that a large section of the people, for very good reasons, refused to accept these ideals. They, therefore, could not conceive any possible opposition to them from any quarter, far less brook it when it occurred. In the voluminous political literature of the period one looks in vain for a just assessment of the Muslim point of view on the part of the Hindus. The Hindu leaders made the great mistake of taking Badruddin Tyabji and a few men of his views as the only real representatives of the Muslims. They failed to read the sign of the times and had no patience to listen sympathetically to the grievances of the Muslims, which might not excuse, but could at least satisfactorily explain, their attitude towards the Hindus.

The indifference or apathy of the Muslim masses to all political questions probably contributed largely to the mistaken notion of the Hindus about the Muslim attitude. Confronted by the opposition of educated Muslims, they consoled themselves with the idea that the Muslim masses were not with the latter, and the opposition was after all confined to the educated few. In arguing thus they committed the same mistake as the British rulers did when they ignored the demands of Indian politicians because they represented, in their eyes, a “microscopic minority”. But as a prominent Hindu pointed out in reply, “the educated community represented the brain and conscience of the country, and .were the legitimate spokesmen of the illiterate masses, the natural custodians of their interests”.

The Hindus, however, forgot that what they urged on behalf of the country at large applied equally well to a distinct and strong minority community. They should have foreseen that ultimately the Muslim masses were bound to fall in line with the views of their leaders.

APPENDIX

HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS

1. Thana (Bombay) Riots (1837)

The Official account runs as follows:—

“There has long been ill-feeling between the Musalmans and the Hindus of Bhiwindi (in Thana District). In April, 1837, the Muhar ram chanced to fall at the same time as the Hindu festival of Ramnavami, or Rama's birth day. The Musalmans were determined not to allow the idol of Vithoba, the local representative of Rama, to be carried about the streets during the ten days of M uharram. On the 14th April, Vithoba’s birthday, when his image ought to have been carried through the town, the Musalmans gathered in front of his temple. The Hindus, fearing violence, gave up their procession and went to their homes. To be revenged on the Musalmans the Banias closed their shops, and the low class Hindus promised to take no part in the Muharram. Next day (15th April) the want of supplies irritated the Musalmans, and in the evening they were further enraged by finding that of their seven or eight Muharram biers or tabuts, only two could be moved because the usual Hindu bearers refused to touch them and the Mahars would neither play music nor carry torches. According to the Musalman account, as the procession passed an empty house, the tabuts were battered with stones. On this the Musalmans broke into open riot, entered Vithoba’s temple, stripped the idol of its jewels, broke some trellis work and images, and handled an old sickly Mahar so roughly that he soon after died. Forty-eight Musalmans were arrested, and twenty-one convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.” 72

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2. Broach Riot (1857)

This had no connection with the Mutiny. In the beginning of May, 1857, the Muhammadans of Broach became angry with one Bezanji Seriadji, a Parsi, notorious for his bad character and supposed to have insulted Islam. On a charge of assault he was convicted. But the Muslims were not satisfied with his lenient sentence. On 15th May, in spite of some police precaution they managed to attack the Parsi quarters, and killed Bezanji and the Parsi high priest. The situation was quickly brought under control and several rioters arrested. Of them two were later hanged and several imprisoned. This was

the work of the Bohra community. Before attacking the Parsis a rumour was circulated that a mosque had been defiled. 73

3. Janjira Riots (1877)

The Official account runs as follows:

"In September, 1877, a series of riots took place between the Hindu and the Musalman subjects of the Nawab of Janjira. According to the rules of the State, Hindu procession and music were forbidden during Ramzan, from the 1st to the, 12th of Muha^am, and during two other months. Music was not allowed on Sunday or Thursday nights and during the whole of Fridays. If weddings or great Hindu festivals. fell during the forbidden periods, the Hindus were allowed to play music within their houses, unless the house was near a mosque or a Muhammadan's house, in which case music was forbidden.

"In September 1877, as Ganapati holidays fell in the Muhammadan month of Ramzan , under previous rules the Hindus were forbidden the use of music. On the 26th of August, just before the beginning of Ramzan, under the influence of his Hindu advisers, the Nawab issued an order which, though skilfully worded, in effect withdrew all restrictions on Hindu processions and music, except that music was not to be played in front of mosques. This order was communicated to Mr. Larcom, the Assistant Agent, and as he heard no objections, he supposed that the order had been issued to meet the difficulty of the Ganapati processions happening during the Ramzan . He therefore ordered the Magistrates to enforce the new rules. When they came to understand them the Muhammadans took bitter offence at the new rules, and getting no redress from the Nawab, determined to prevent the Hindus from playing music in public. Between the tenth and the sixteenth of September seven disturbances took place. In some cases the Musalmans took the offensive, entering Hindu houses and breaking idols; in other cases the fault lay with the Hindus, who were foolhardy enough to play in front of mosques. The offenders were in most cases fined and forced to apologise. The obnoxious order was withdrawn, and another order, fair to both sides, was prepared by a committee of leading Musalmans and Hindus" 74

4. Anti-kine-killing Riots in Bihar (1893-4)

During the early part of 1893-4 considerable activity was shown by different associations formed for the protection of kine, known as Gorakshini sabhci , in collecting subscriptions and in promoting

the anti-kine-killing movement. During April and May 1893, there were several riots occasioned by the forcible rescuing of cattle from Muhammadan butchers, and additional police had to be appointed in seven places in the Gaya District. On the 27th August a very serious riot broke out at Koath in Sahabad District. It began with an attack on the Muhammadan butchers by the Hindus, and ended in a general riot, involving some casualties. In the Saran District a drove of cattle, stopped by the Hindus on the high road between Champaran and Chapra on 31 August, were taken for safety to the police station, but it was attacked by a large mob of Hindus armed with lathis. The police opened fire, killing two and injuring many. 75

5. Calcutta Biots (1897).

Maharaja Sir Jatindra-mohan Tagore obtained by a decree of the court a plot of land at Talla, just outside the northern limit of the city of Calcutta. There was a small hut on the piece of land which the Muhammadans claimed to be a mosque. So when the Tagore's party went to take possession of the land, a large number of lower class Muhammadans gathered with a view to resisting the demolition of the hut. Though they were dispersed by the police, a group of them attacked the Calcutta Water-works pumping station in the neighbourhood. This was the signal for a number of riots, in different parts of Calcutta, by detached parties of Muhammadans during the night of 30 June and on 1 July, in the course of which the police opened fire on several occasions. The total casualties included 11 killed and about 20 wounded among the rioters, and 34 injured among the police. Eighty-seven of the rioters were arrested of whom eighty-one were convicted. 76

1. See pp. 4-5, 12-3.

la. See pp. 7-10.

2. The Amrit Bazar Patrika, 12 August, 1869.

3. Ram Gopal, 35.

4. But cf. Vol. IX, p. 886.

5. B. Majumdar, 393.

6. The name was later changed to Central National Mohammadan Association. The Hindus were eligible for membership but were not entitled to vote on purely Muslim matters. For an account of it cf. Central Mohammadan Association of Calcutta and the Memorandum Presented to Lord Ripon (1882), published by the Historical Research Institute, Panjab University, Lahore (1963). It is noteworthy that all the three Muslim Associations were founded in Calcutta. It may be held, therefore, that the Bengal Muslims took up the cause of their communiy before Syed Ahmad, and anticipated, in some respects, the Aligarh Movement minus its extreme communal attitude.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid, 394.

9. Ibid, 395.

10’ Blunt-1, p. 27.

11. Ibid, 94.

12. Ibid, 115-6.

12a. Blunt always writes ‘Mulvi* for ‘Maulvi\

13. Ibid, 103.

14. Ibid, 103-4.

15. Ibid, 107-9.

16. Ibid, 109-10.

17. Ibid, 111-2.

18. Ibid, 121.

19. B. Majumdar, 399.

20. Ibid, 211 ff.

21. Blunt-I, 163.

22. Ibid, 165.

23. B. C. Pal-I, I. 417.

24. Blunt-I, 112.

25. Ram Gopal, op, cit., 36.

26. Adam's Repoi*t, 248.

26a. Aga Khan, India in Transition.

26b. Unpublished record in CRO, London.

27. See above, IX. 521.

28. W. W. Hunter-I, p. 3.

29. Graham, Sir Syed Ahmad, pp. 183-4.

30. Eminent Mussalmans (Natesan), p. 32.

31. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided, p. 99.

32. Ibid, 100; Eminent Mussalmans, 32.

33. Rajendra Prasad, op. cit. 99.

34. Causes of Indian Revolt, 54-5.

35. Sachin Sen, p. 42.

36. Coupland-II, Part I, pp. 154-6.

36a. Syed Ahmad Khan, Akhari Madamin, pp. 46-50. Quoted in Sources of Indian Tradition , pp. 746-7.

37. R. Symonds, Making of Pakistan, pp. 30-1.

38. Muslim League, p. 4.

39. Masani, Dadabhai, pp. 254-5.

40. Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., 103.

41. Muslim League, p. 7.

42. Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., 104-5.

43. Asok Mehta, p. 60; Ram Gopal, p. 72.

43a. Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. 73.

43b. Ibid, 75. •

43c. P.C. Ghosh, The Development of the Indian National Congress, p. 148.

43d. Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. 67.

43e. P.C. Ghosh, op. cit., 148-9.

44. Hist. Congr., I. 67.

45. A Nation in Making , 108.

46. Hoyland, Gokhale, 160 (quoted in Buch-I, 183).

46a. See p. 309.

46b. Syed Ahmad Khan, On the Present State of Indian Politics, pp. 11-12.

47. Noman, p. 40.

47a. P.C. Ghosh, op. cit., 151-2.

48. Muslim League, 4

49. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 21 July, 1888, p. 806. Quoted in Muslim League, pp. 5-6, Italics mine. Attention may be drawn to the expression ‘Mohamedan Nation’.

50. Muslim League, pp. 25-6.

51. See p. 296.

52. A Nation in Making, 108.

53. Muslim League, 25.

54. Asok Mehta, p. 58.

55. Lajpat Rai-II, 404; Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., 87.

56. Seeley, 270.

57. See p. 309.

58. Asok Mehta, 54.

59. G.F. Macmunn and A.C. Lovett. The Armies of India, p. 118; also see above p 309.

60. Modem Review, 1911, I. 303; Lajpat Rai-II, 400. Colchester, EUenborough.

61. Lajpat Rai-II, 401.

62. See above, IX, 616.

63. Indian Speeches of Lord Duferin; Modern Review, 1911, I. 303.

63a. Noman, 55.

63b. Ambedkar, Pakistan, 240-41.

63c. This and the other letters referred to below are copied from the originals in the India Office (now C.R.O.) Library, London.

64. Cumming, Political India, p. 110.

65. See above, IX. 514, 519, 521.

66. Cumming, op. cit., 110.

67. Masani— Dadabhai, pp. 62-6.

67a. Mody —Pheroze Shah Mehta, pp. 81-8.

68. Statutory Report, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 96-7.

69. See pp. 11-3.

69a. For the full enunciation of this view, Cf. B. Majumdar, p. 294.

70. Masani— Dadabnui, p. 256.

71. Ibid.

71a. Unpublished Record.

72. Bombay Gazetteer, XIII, Part 2, p. 524.

73. Ibid, II. 476.

74. Ibid, XI, 450-1.

75. Buckland, II. 952.

76. Ibid, 1 004.

AND INDIANS

The attitude of a conquering people towards the subject races is bound to be rude and arrogant, at best condescending, in most cases, and the Englishmen in India formed no exception to this rule. The universal nature of this evil and its fundamental causes have thus been described by John Stuart Mill:

“Now, if there be a fact to which all experience testifies, it is that when a country holds another in subjection, the individuals of the ruling people who resort to the foreign country to make their fortune are of all others those who must need to be held under powerful restraint. They are always one of the chief difficulties of the Government. Armed with the prestige and filled with the scornful over-bearingness of the conquering nation, they have the feelings inspired by the sense of absolute power without its sense of responsibility.

“Among a people, like that of India, utmost efforts of the public authorities are not enough for the effectual protection of the weak against the strong: and of all the strong, the European settlers are the strongest. Wherever the demoralizing of the situation is not in a most remarkable degree corrected by the personal character of the individual, they think the people of the country mere dirt under their feet.” 1

Apart from this spirit of arrogance which the Englishmen in India fully displayed like all conquering nations, there were other causes of estrangement between the two. Englishmen despised the Hindus as barbarians, with hardly any trace of culture and civilization, and some even regarded them almost as brutes. Immediately after he set foot on the soil of India as Governor-General, the Marquess of Hastings wrote:

“The Hindoo appears a being nearly limited to mere animal functions, and even in them indifferent. Their proficiency and skill in the several lines of occupation to which they are restricted, are little more than the dexterity which any animal with similar conformation, but with no higher intellect than a dog, and an elephant, or a monkey, might be supposed capable of attaining. It is enough to see this in order to have full conviction that such a people can at no period have been more advanced in civil polity. Retrogradation from an improved condition of society never takes this course. According to the circumstances which have dissolved its government, the fragments of such a community either preserve the traces of effiminate refinement, or the rough fierceness stamped upon them by the convulsions amid which the centre of the fabric perished. Does not this display the true condition of India, and unveil the circumstances through which we have so unexpectedly and so unintentionally obtained empire here? There surely never has been an active and vigorous Hindoo population; nor are any of the bold, though rude, monuments of antiquity (as I think) ascribable to this race.”[2]

The above is an extract from the diary of the Marquess dated October 2, 1813, the day on which he reached the Diamond Harbour on his way from England to Calcutta, via. Madras. It refers mainly to Bengal. On June 23, 1814, he writes: “Every day more and more satisfies me that I formed a just estimate of those who inhabit Bengal at least.”

Five years after the noble Marquess recorded his impressions of the Bengali Hindus, the eminent British historian Mill echoed his views. He seeks to prove that the abject condition in which the English found the Hindus in the eighteenth century represents their normal condition throughout their history. He ridicules the ‘hypothesis of a high state of civilisation’ propounded by Sir William Jones in regard to the ancient Hindus and observes: “Their laws and institutions are adapted to the very state of society which those who visit them now behold, such as could neither begin, nor exist, under any other than one of the rudest and weakest states of the human mind.” In forming a comparative estimate, Mill declares that the people of Europe, even during the Feudal ages, were greatly superior to the Hindus. Proceeding further he observes: Tn truth the Hindu, like the eunuch, excels in the qualities of a slave’. A few lines further on he remarks: “In the still more important qualities, which constitute what we call the moral character, the Hindu ranks very low.” After all this, it would scarcely surprise any one to be told that ‘it will not admit of any long dispute, that human nature in India gained, and gained very considerably, by passing from a Hindu to a Mohammadan government.’ [3]

But be it said to the credit of Englishmen, that some of them, at any rate, not only did not share such views but even strongly resented them. Sir Thomas Munro correctly diagnosed the situation when he wrote in 1817: “Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none have stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character, of a people fallen under our dominion.” [4] Another contemporary Englishman, F. J. Shore, also wrote in the same strain. [6]

Even in the twentieth century, when the British imperialism was at its height, liberal-minded Englishmen were not wanting who followed in their footsteps. As the criticism or analysis of the British attitude towards the Indians by an Englishman is less open to suspicion and is likely to carry greater weight, no apology is needed to reproduce a few extracts from the writings of Mr. T. G. P. Spear.

“In Hindustan and Bengal the intercourse between the European and the Mussulman was almost entirely with princes and nobles. ...With the Hindus there is not so much evidence of extensive social intercourse... .But the seal of social intercourse is personal friendship, and this, too, had its place in the life of the eighteenth century. But as the century drew to its close, a change in the social atmosphere gradually came about... .The attitude of the average Englishman changed from one of disapproval of Hindu ‘superstition’ and Mussulman ‘bigotry’.. .into one of contempt for an inferior and conquered people. A ‘superiority complex’ was forming which regarded India not only as a country whose institutions were bad and people corrupted, but one which was by its nature incapable of ever becoming better.” “Such an attitude rankles in the mind like a festering sore__.” “It found expression in the eighteenth cen

tury—more commonly at the end than at the beginning—in the description of all Hindus as effiminate and servile and of Mussulmans as cruel and faithless..., ” “Europeans”, wrote Captain Williamson in 1810 with twenty years* experience of the country, “have little connexion with natives of either religion except for business.” Mrs. Graham, visiting Calcutta in 1810 after living in Bombay and Madras, deplored that “the distance kept up between the Europeans and the natives, both here and at Madras, is such that I have not been able to get acquainted with any native family as I did in Bombay....” “Amongst the Europeans the feeling was strong that Indians should always be subordinated to Europeans.” “As the new century advanced things grew worse rather than better”. 6

This characteristic trait of the Englishman in India may be traced from the beginning to the end, and was noticed by non-Englishmen.

Syed Ghulam Husain, the author of the Seir-ul-Mutaqherin, noted as far back as 1782 that the Englishmen avoided social intercourse with the Indians. Joseph Chailley, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies,, who visited India twice, in 1900-1, and again in 1904-5, wrote: “With very rare exceptions, chiefly made by and on behalf of the Parsis, English and Indians have only business relations and do not meet in the ordinary functions of society. There is more, however, than mere abstention from social relations; there is active repugnance and hostility. Englishmen will not join volunteer corps if Indians are admitted thereto. British soldiers will assault, plunder or even kill natives. If they are prosecuted, a European jury is prone to shut its eyes to the evidence; while, if they have to be convicted, European opinion is moved to the point of addressing remonstrances to the Government of India.” 7

This mental attitude was naturally reflected in the conduct of the British officials to the Indians. A classical example of the rude behaviour of English officials towards the Indians is furnished by the humiliation which Raja Rammohan Roy had to suffer in 1809 in the hands of the Collector of Bhagalpur. The details of the incident are recorded in a petition submitted by the Raja to Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, and throw interesting light on the mental attitude of both Europeans and Indians of high positions. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon on 1 January, 1809, the Raja was passing in his palanquin through a road in Bhagalpur, a new place where he had arrived on the same morning. Sir Frederick Hamilton, the Collector of the District, was standing among some bricks on the left side of the road, but as the door of the palanquin was shut to prevent dust, the Raja did not see him. The Collector, thinking that he was being slighted by a native, soon began calling out to him to get out of his palanquin, and that "with an epithet of abuse too gross" to be stated in the petition. The servant of the Raja, who was accompanying him on foot, tried to conciliate the irate Collector by explaining that his master had not observed the latter. But, in spite of it, the Collector not only continued the filthy abuse, but overtook the palanquin on horseback and demanded from the Raja 'the form of external respect due to a Collector'. Consequently the Raja, "notwistanding the novelty of the form in which respect was required to be testified", "alighted from his palanquin and saluted Sir Frederick, apologizing to him for the omission" of that act of respect on the ground that he did not see him before. Sir Frederick was not fully satisfied and desired that the Raja must discharge his servant immediately after his (Frederick's) departure from the place of occurrence The Raja made a spirited protest to the Governor-General who issued directions to the Collector for proper behaviour to the

Indians. 8 There the matter ended; but it is worthy of note that the Raja had to submit to the humiliation and also offer apology. Dwarakanath Tagore, the grandfather of poet Rabindra-nath, and a very distinguished man of his age, observed in a speech in 1836, that 'twenty years ago the Company treated the Indians as slaves". 9 The arrogance of the Englishmen was further aggravated by the abject submission of the Indians. Referring to this Dwaraka-nath remarks: "They are timid in the extreme, and very reluctant to come forward in asserting their rights. They fear that those who rule them will be displeased and would ruin therp by a stroke of the pen." But then he immediately adds that "the fear is not without cause, for numbers of them have suffered for no other cause than displeasing a civil servant, or unintentionally omitting to make a salam when they are passing on the road." 10

Things were gradually worsening in this respect. Referring to the regime of Bentinck, an English writer remarks: “On going to a station no Englishman thought of calling on the notables of the district, as was once done as a matter of course; instead, certificates of respectability were required of the notables before they could be guaranteed a chair when they visited the officer.” 11 Sir Henry Strachey, in his report to Parliament, attributes many of the defects in the administration in Bengal to “the immeasurable distance between us and the natives.” and adds that “there is scarcely a native in his district who would think of sitting down in the presence of an English gentleman.” 12

Dwaraka-nath Tagore recognized that non-official Englishmen, living in Calcutta, were more sympathetic towards the Indians, and thanks to their attitude and co-operation the Indians living in Calcutta were much better off than those living in mo/ussil. 13 But even in Calcutta “many writers expected every Indian to salute them,” and no Indian could drive to the Governor-General’s house in a carriage until Bentinck “achieved fame” by permitting Indians to do so. 14

But the events soon proved that the sympathy of non-official Englishmen towards the Indians was merely skin-deep. The violent agitation set up by them against the so-called “Black Acts” of 1849, referred to above, 14a demonstrated it beyond doubt. The political effect of the successful agitation of the Europeans on this occasion was the foundation of the British Indian Association in Calcutta. There were many European members in both the Landholders’ Society and the Bengal British India Society, but when these were amalgamated into the British Indian Association, not a single European member joined it.

As regards the change in Indian sentiment, we can do no better than quote the views of Bhola-nath Chandra, an eminent contemporary Bengali writer, expressed, long after the event: “There can be little room for mutual regard where a few persons are allowed to arrogate superiority, and others have to brook their humiliation in sullen discontent. The standing estrangement has caused a soreness between the two peoples, which has rankled down to the present generation. Worked upon by a heritage of passions that has deadened every feeling for fellowship, no rapprochement since made has ever proceeded from the heart of either race.” 16 But the effect of the same agitation on the social relationship was no less serious. It served to estrange the Indian and European communities which had hitherto co-operated in social and political activities. The Europeans now began to show those signs of aloofness from Indians which culminated in almost a complete isolation after the outbreak of 1857. A few concrete facts may be stated to illustrate the change in social relations. Englishmen at first maintained social relations with the Indians. They respected their religious and social customs and even married Indian women. They mixed with the Hindus in convivial parties, smoked hookah, chewed betels, and enjoyed the dancing and music of professional native girls. But Englishmen in the thirties referred to “the horrid example of the older generation of Englishmen, with their black wives running about picking up a little rice, while their husbands please them by worshipping the favourite idol”. Though changes were fast taking place, traditions of the old days had not died out altogether. Dwaraka-nath Tagore entertained big social parties of Europeans and Indians in his villa at Belgachia near Calcutta, and was not unoften a welcome guest of Lord Auckland at Barrackpur. In a magnificent breakfast held at Lakhnau op Christmas day, 1837, Auckland “sugared and creamed” the tea of the Nawab of Avadh (Oudh) who gave him some ‘pillau’ and offered buttered toast (rather cold and greasy) to his two sisters. At the end of the breakfast two hookahs were brought in so that the Governor-General and the Nawab might smoke together. ‘The old Khansamah wisely took care to put no tobacco in the former’s hookah; but even then Auckland was quite distressed as he could not persuade the inanimate instrument ' to make the right kind of bubbling noise.’ 16 This pen picture by one of the two sisters, present on the occasion, reveals a state of things which was soon to become a historic memory.

Lord John Lawrence issued orders restricting admission of Indians to entertainment at Viceregal Lodge. The European officers “assaulted respectable residents of the country because on passing a European in' the road they have not dismounted from their horses

in token of their inferiority. A Lieutenant-Governor of a province did not consider it unworthy of his dignity to issue general orders regarding the character of the head-dress to be worn by natives in the presence of their official superiors". 17

The official attitude towards Indian religions also underwent great changes. "The East India Company in early days patronized both the Hindu and Muslim religions. Offices were open on Sunday but closed on Indian holidays. Troops were paraded in honour of Hindu deities. A coconut was solemnly broken at the beginning of each monsoon, and British officials assisted in the management of Hindu religious trusts." 18 .

This phase ended early in the nineteenth century. The change was in a large measure due to the missionary activities. 18 * The right of unrestricted entry of Christian missionaries to India was conceded by the Charter of 1813. Henceforth the missionaries formed an important element in society. In general, they were far more sympathetic and well-behaved towards the Indians, and many of them proved to be genuine friends of Indian masses. Reference has been made above to their attempt to protect the cultivators from the oppression of the indigo-planters. 19 The missionaries were pioneers of English education and established schools for both boys and girls. Some of them like Carey and Marshman made valuable contribution to the growth of Bengali literature. For all this the Indians should ever remain grateful to them.

Unfortunately, all these humanitarian acts were part and parcel of their proselytising mission, and the two were indissolubly bound up together. The general dislike of the Hindus towards their religious propaganda has been described and explained by Raja Rammohan Roy in memorable words, quoted above, 20 which are lofty and dignified in tone and have a far wider application than the immediate context in which they were written. The missionaries, in their schools and religious tracts, poured forth venomous abuses against the Hindus, and this considerably estranged the relation between the two communities. In particular, the conversion of Hindus to Christianity. by force or fraud as the Hindus thought, embittered the relations, sometimes almost to a breaking point.

The Hindus felt alarmed at the efforts of the missionaries to educate Indian women with a view to propagating Christianity among them. The teaching of Christian doctrines was made compulsory in the girls' schools especially founded by them, and their contemptuous reference to Hindu gods has been quoted above 21

Contemporary Bengali periodicals frequently refer to cases of conversion to Christianity by means of methods which were regarded

as highly objectionable, and there was a very strong agitation in the Hindu community against such practices.

In Madras also there was a strong feeling on the subject. The Hindu community sent a memorial against Christian missionaries as well as highly placed English officials (including a Governor') whose activities were supposed to affect adversely the Hindu interests and harm Hindu religion. That such apprehensions were not altogether without foundation is proved by a minute by the Governor (1806) showing the importance of converting the Hindus and Muhammadans into Christians. 21 *

Spear observes : Another contributory factor to this growing racial estrangement was the influence of the evangelical missionaries and chaplains. Their denunciation of them (Hinduism and Islam) was so violent, that they propagated the idea of Indian society as irredeemably corrupt and degraded .... The violence of his (missionary's) denunciations confirmed the Europeans in their belief that few Indians were fit to associate with, that it was a waste of time to mix with them.... " 22

The social exclusiveness of the Englishmen, their arrogance and insolent treatment of Indians, particularly the immunity which they practically enjoyed for their criminal acts, including even murder of Indians, were sources of grave discontent. There are numerous instances of all this in contemporary periodical literature and judicial records. Before referring to these it is worth while reproducing the views of Englishmen themselves who spoke from their personal knowledge.

Routledge refers to Englishmen going through crowds of people elbowing their way as through a herd of cattle, and the people, as a rule, falling back on all hands. He further observes that “a man of the highest position in a District may be made to feel and feel sharply that he is subordinate to some young officer fresh from England and ignorant of all life save in school. „s3

The rudeness and brutal arrogance of the Britishers were more

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often manifested in striking Indians, especially domestic servants. Sir Henry Cotton refers to the “cult of Nicholson" and the many stories he heard of “the exploits of these heroes of India with stick and whip!" Then he proceeds: “I am bound to say that this pernicious practice of striking natives, and especially domestic servants, prevailed as a common and general habit during the whole of my residence in India.... I remember once when I was walking through the streets of an up-country city with a high official, and a few miserable petitioners blocked the way by throwing themselves prostrate before

him and endeavouring to clasp his feet, he struck them right and left with his stick, and thought nothing of it. On another occasion when I had ventured to remonstrate with a distinguished officer for striking a lazy or careless gardener, I was met with the reply that there was no harm in it, and that everybody did it. When I retorted that I did not, I was told that I was the only man he had ever met who could say that. These are not reminiscences on which I love to dwell, but they serve to illustrate how subtle and unconscious is the poison of demoralisation in Anglo-Indian life.” 24

A few more concrete instances are given by Sir Henry Cotton:

A subaltern gets into a railway carriage, where to his disgust he finds a couple of Hindu gentlemen. He quietly waits till the train is in motion, and then, as he expresses it, ‘fires them out of the door.’ A petty raja going in a first class compartment “had been boxed up with a couple of sahibs, muddy from snipe shooting, who made him shampoo them all the way”. This story is corroborated by Sir David Barr, the late Resident at Hyderabad. Again Cotton writes: “It is but too common an outrage to assault respectable residents of the country because when passing on the road they have not dismounted from their horses in token of their inferiority. I have known a case in which an unfortunate old man died from the effects of blows so received.” 215

As mentioned above, Raja Rammohan Roy was himself a victim of such outrage. But he had the courage to protest to the GovernorGeneral who issued directives to remedy this evil. But admonishments, even of the highest authority, had no effect, and what was exceptional at first soon became a regular feature of Englishman's life. Bankim-chandra Chatterji, the famous Bengali litterateur and a Deputy Magistrate, was similarly insulted, but he extorted an apology from the offending Colonel. 26

The cases of assault of Indians by Europeans not only continued throughout the period under review, but seem to have been on the increase as years rolled by. This is proved by the official records of the Government of India. More than 200 cases were reported in 1900 as well as in 1901. More than 75 out of these were brutal attacks on punkha coolies by European soldiers, and the others included outraging the modesty of women and assaults on coolies by European managers of tea-gardens.

Even a cursory glance at the Index of the Home Department Files would show the nature and extent of these crimes. A somewhat novel way of insulting an Indian is mentioned in a case where the Police Superintendent placed shoes on the head of a Brahmin constable.

The Indian newspapers were full of reports of such crimes. Many Bengali newspapers gave harrowing details of the death of the labourers in tea-gardens from the effect of kicks administered by Europeans. These were very seldom reported to the authorities. But even when brought to trial, the European planter almost always got scot-free, because the medical report put down the death of the unfortunate coolie to an enlarged spleen. Cartoons in Bengali papers showed the pathetic character of such mock trials. The trying Magistrate having acquitted the Manager on the evidence of the European Doctor, the three left the court together with smiling face and cigars in their mouths, while the dead body of the coolie was lying in a comer with his widow and children crying by its side.

The Indian papers also refer to the ludicrously light punishment awarded to European offenders:—a planter punished to nine months' simple imprisonment for killing his maid-servant; a European soldier sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment for stoning an Indian soldier to death; a veterinary Superintendent fined Rs. 100 for having thrown a native boy into fire and thus causing his death, etc. All these happened at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Barahanagdr Patrikd Samdchqr reports a case that Inspector Buckley, of the Barrackpur Station, entered the shop of an old man and dealt him a blow which knocked him down. On his rising and attempting to escape he was again knocked down. The Inspector also turned upon the people who had gathered on the spot by this time. The paper comments: “Acts of oppression like this have become, as it were, an ornament of the police.” The same paper reports that Inspector Smith of Dumdum Station tore off the beard of a carter for refusing him the use of a cart which had already been hired to another. 27

In 1877 Mr. Digby examined a number of Indian papers covering a consecutive period of a few weeks to note the tendencies they evinced and the characteristics they displayed. He noted that one of the prevalent ideas was that “Europeans ill-treated and are discourteous to the natives”. 28

W. S. Blunt, who travelled widely in India in 1883, has quoted many instances, from his personal knowledge, of the racial arrogance of the Englishmen displayed towards the most eminent Indians. Raja Amir Hasan of Lakhnau told him that ‘he does not go into English society, because he dislikes being disrespectfully treated.* 29 Blunt notes with surprise that “no hotel-keeper in India dares receive a native guest through fear of losing his custom.” When at Bombay, he met Ali Rogay, the leading Muhammadan of the city

who had travelled in Europe, dressed in European dress. “Yet, happening one day to ask him to dine with me at my hotel, it was explained to me that this could not be, at least not in the public room, ‘lest the English guests should take offence and leave the house. ” 23a

A few extracts may be quoted from Blunt’s book: “In Bengal and Northern India things are still worse, and I think it is not too much to say that no native gentleman, whatever his rank, age, or character may be, can visit a place of public resort frequented by Englishmen, especially if he be in native dress, without a certain risk of insult and rough treatment. Railway travelling is notoriously dangerous for them in this respect, and nearly all my native acquaintances had tales to tell of abuse from English fellow-passengers, and of having been turned out of their places by the guards to accommodate these, and now and then of having been personally ill-treated and knocked about.” 29 *

“A painful incident of this liability to insult occurred last winter in my presence, which, as ocular evidence is always best, I will relate. I had been staying at Patna with the principal Mohammedan . nobleman of the city, the Nawab Villayet Ali Khan, a man of somewhat advanced age, and of deservedly high repute, not only with his fellow-citizens, but with our Government, who had made him a Companion of the Star of India for his services. On my departure by the morning train on the 7th January last, he and some thirty more of the leading inhabitants of Patna accompanied me to the station, and after I had entered the railway carriage, remained standing on the platform, as orderly and respectable a group of citizens as need be seen. There was neither obstruction, nor noise, nor crowding. But the presence of ‘natives’ on the platform became suddenly distasteful to an English passenger in the adjoining compartment. Thrusting his head out of window he began to abuse them and bid them be off, and when they did not move struck at them with his stick, and threatened the old Nawab especially with it if he came within his reach. I shall never forget the astonishment of the man when I interfered, or his indignation, at my venturing to call him to account. It was his affair, not mine. Who was I that I should interpose myself between an Englishman and his natural right? Nor was it till, with great difficulty, I had procured the aid of the police, that he seemed to consider himself other than the aggrieved person....

“Moreover, it was evident to me that it was no unusual occurrence. The railway officials and the police treated it as a matter of small importance, did their best to screen the offender, and declared themselves incomnetent to do more than register my complaint. On the other hand, the Nawab and his friends confessed with shame

that, though they were insulted, they were not surprised. It had happened to all of them too often before for them even to feel any special anger/’

“We certainly feel insulted”, writes one of them to me a day or two later, “but are powerless to take any action on it. We are used to such treatment from almost every Anglo-Indian."

"We account for his conduct," says another, "by supposing that he thought us (the natives) to be nothing less than brutes and wild creatures"; while a third remarks: "From this you will see how our ruling race treats us with scorn and contempt. Had we been in English dress, then we would not, perhaps, have been so much hated." "I beg to assure you," writes a fourth, "that the incident was not (an only) one of its kind, but such treatment is becoming general. The alarm and dread with which the Anglo-Indians are regarded cannot be described. Alas! we are hated for no other reason but because we have a dark colour; because we put on a national dress; and because we are a conquered race."

"Allow me to say that it will be difficult for England to hold India long if such a state of feeling is allowed to progress without any check." 30 Blunt refers to a mass of letters of this kind.

"Mr. Mandlik, the Hindu Government pleader, holds the highest position of any native's at the Bombay bar. I told him the Patna story. He told me he had often been insulted himself; on one occasion turned out of a railway carriage neck and crop between Benaras and Allahabad. Every native in Bombay had been subjected to such incidents, and he mentioned the instance of the Chief Translator to the Government, promising to furnish me with proofs." 31

This attitude of Europeans towards Indians was due to a sense of racial superiority—a "cherished conviction which was shared by every Englishman in India, from the highest to the lowest, that he belongs to a race whom God has destined to govern and subdue." 32

Reference may be made in this connection to Sir John Lawrence's famous challenge, "Will you be governed by the pen or by the sword? Choose!" As Garratt observes, it was intelligible in its times and context. "But only an insensitive arrogance could have selected it to perpetuate on his statue in a great city (Lahore)." 33

John Nicholson was called, not inaptly, by his brother officers, "the autocrat of all the Russias." One day, while riding through a village, he observed that the Mulla of a mosque, “instead of salaaming to him, looked at him with a gesture of contempt or hatred. When he got home he sent his orderly to fetch the Moulla, and then

and there shaved off his beard!” 34 On another occasion he sent the following laconic note to John Lawrence: “Sir,—I have the honour to inform you that I have just shot a man dead who came to kill me. Your obedient servant, John Nicholson.” 35

While the social exclusiveness hurt the feelings of a comparatively few Indians of upper strata, the spirit of the rank and file was embittered by the gratuitous insult, not unoften accompanied by bodily assault, which every Tom, Dick and Harry could, and often did, inflict with impunity upon the most respectable Indians, not to speak of coolies, servants or other lower classes. Occasionally, though very rarely, the authorities took, or promised to take some steps against it, but this irritating evil showed no tendency to decline.

It was customary to find Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, insulting and humiliating Indians in every walk of life. The evidence in this respect is overwhelming. The difficulty, if any, is of selection from numerous cases of various descriptions bearing on the subject. The statement of Chailley has been quoted above. An American clergyman, Dr. C. C. Hall, who toured widely in India, said in 1908, “I have seen Indians of the highest intelligence and character, esteemed personal friends of mine, treated in India with positive discourtesy by Englishmen. These same Englishmen would have cut off their right hands before they would have treated a European so; but they will go out of their way to insult an Indian.” 36

Mr. G. F. Abbott writes: “I have seen youngmen (young government officials in India) who have sprung from London suburbs, treating in public aged Indian noblemen in a manner which a gentleman would not have adopted toward his valet. In any other country these things would have begotten sedition long ago. In India they beget a bitterness which is none the less harmful because it is rarely expressed in action.” 37

Several factors contrived to widen still further the cleavage between the Englishmen and the Indians in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first was the horrors of 1857-8. The cruelties perpetrated by both sides were terrible enough, 38 but were exaggerated by all sorts of wild stories. To the horrid details of Kanpur massacre and woes and miseries actually suffered by individual Englishmen were added fantastic tales of outraging the modesty of white women and other indignities suffered by them. On the other side were stories of wholesale rapine and massacre of Indians on a wide scale, not only perpetrated in course of military campaigns during the progress of the outbreak, but also as deliberate measures of revenge after its suppression. The memories of these haunted the

minds of both Indians and Englishmen for a long time and hampered the growth of sincere cordiality and mutual goodwill between the two.

Bussell, the Correspondent of The Times in India during the Mutiny, writes in his Diary: “The Mutinies have produced too much hatred and ill feeling between the two races to render any mere change of the rulers a remedy for the evils which affect India.... Many years must elapse ere the evil passions excited by these disturbances expire.”

The Mutiny also fostered a general attitude of indifference, sometimes bordering on cruelty, towards the Indian soldiers on the part of their officers. This is well illustrated by the Whipping Act on which Sir Henry Cotton observes as follows:

“The Indian Whipping Act was passed in 1864 and is one of the disastrous consequences of post-Mutiny legislation. It is still in force, though I am thankful to say it has lately been modified, and some of its worst provisions have been repealed. The number of judicial floggings which used to be inflicted in India is appalling; in 1878 it amounted to 75,223. That was a record, but even up to recent times it has always been excessive; in 1900 it was 45,054 and has rarely been below 20,000 in any year.” 39

C. T. Garratt observes: “The English have never attempted to remove the irritation caused by their behaviour after the Mutiny, and from that time we must date the long and bitter estrangement between the two races. Bom of hatred and fear it was nourished on a series of unfortunate incidents, most of which were the direct result of the new spirit which the Mutiny encouraged amongst Europeans.” 40

The effect of the Mutiny on Englishmen at home is thus described by Garratt:

“Countless middle-class Englishmen learnt to look upon Indians as the creatures, half gorilla, half negro, who appeared in the contemporary Punch cartoons. They were usually depicted standing over a murdered woman but cowering before an avenging Britannia who is praying to the God of Battles to ‘steel our soldiers' hearts*. For another generation their children learnt of India from the same source. The young men who went out East during and after the Mutiny left a country where ‘every one chuckled to hear how General Neill had forced high Brahmins to sweep up the blood of the Europeans murdered at Cawnpore, and then strung them in a row, without giving them the time requisite for the rites of purification*.** 41

It is easy to imagine that the feeling would be far more intense among Englishmen in India. Garratt observes that the Englishmen found, on coming to India, that the spirit of hatred which they brought with them “was shared by the entire mass of our countrymen. Invectives against the treacherous blood-thirsty Mussulmans, ironical sneers about the ‘mild Hindoo’, were nuts alike to the civilian and the planter. The latter rejoiced to hear the world acknowledge that his estimate of the native had been correct throughout.” 42

As a matter of fact, Garratt is not far from right when he states that the Englishmen in India evolved certain definite anti-Indian ideas. One of these was that the only thing an oriental understood was fear. Another was that in view of the many lives and many millions which were lost to conquer India, the Englishmen deserved some more substantial recompense than the mere privilege of governing India. But by far the most important principle that these AngloIndians adhered to as an axiom was that the life of one European was worth those of many Indians; the European’s life was sacrosanct and the Indian’s was of no consequence. 43

Lapse of time might have helped to improve the relations between the two communities. Unfortunately, several other factors were at work which stood in the way of such reconciliation and contributed to the growth of social aloofness between the two communities.

The improvement of communication between India and England, first by the introduction of steamship, and then by the opening of Suez Canal, introduced a great change in the attitude of Englishmen towards the Indians. India ceased to be looked upon as an adopted home by the Englishmen as they could now bring their wives with them and more frequently visit their own homes. This altered in a marked degree the relationship between the two races, increasing bitterness, hostility and fear. The presence of a much larger number of English women added very greatly indeed to a new racial tension. Wilfrid Blunt, writing in 1909, observes: "The English woman in India during the last thirty years has been the cause of half the bitter feelings there between race and race. ...it is her constantly increasing influence now that widens the gulf of ill-feeling and makes amalgamation daily more impossible." 44

All these had the effect of considerably lessening "the free intercourse between Indians and Englishmen of bygone days and led on to what has been called in India the 'Club' life. This took more and more an exclusive turn, and a caste barrier was raised against the admission of any Indian into this whole area of an Englishman's existence in the country."

Wilfrid Blunt suggests another reason for the change. Comparing older times with his own days (1883) he remarks, "that the men who came out to India as Government servants were, many of them, taken from a comparatively low rank in life, and that, being unused to refined society, or to being treated with much consideration at home, they lost their heads when they found themselves in India in a position of power." 46

Wilfrid Blunt, who came to India in 1883, and was singularly observant in these matters, noticed the rapidity of the change which had already become established when he arrived in India.

"The account given me by the oldest and best informed of my native acquaintances of the gradual estrangement which has come about within their recollection between themselves and the English in India, is most instructive. In those days the general feeling of the natives towards the English civilian was one of respect and even o$ affection... He took pains to know the people; and in fact he knew them well. He was readily accessible. He lived to a great extent among the people, and according to the customs of the people. He did not disdain to make friends with those of the better class, and occasionally he married among them.... The Englishmen of that day looked upon India not unfrequently as his second home.... The Anglo-Indian official of the Company's days loved India in a way no Queen's official dreams of doing now." 47

After this, he tries in his own way to explain the reason. It was, he says, because the civilian, under the Crown, looked much more to England than to India. His wife was with him, but she continually went backwards and forward: his young children were obliged to stay in England; and for these two reasons his heart remained where his real home was. His career became Europecentred. Those who before had all their chief interests in India had changed their outlook. They talked about India as "this wretched country" and in this way became, what they often called themselves, "birds of passage". No one could wholly blame them, but it was necessary to blame the system which led to such unfortunate results. "Lastly," he adds, "the Mutiny itself, with the bitter memories it left behind, put an end to the contracting by Englishmen of native habits and native ties."

Professor T.G.P. Spear of Cambridge also emphasizes the role of English women: "With the advent of women (from England) in large numbers a new standard was introduced, one set of customs and traditions died out and another equally rigid took its place." 48 "Every youth, who is able to maintain a wife, marries. The conjugal pair become a bundle of English prejudices and hate the country, the natives and everything belonging to them... .The 'odious blacks', 'the nasty heathen wretches', 'the filthy creatures' are the shrill echoes of the 'black brutes', the 'black vermin' of the husband. The children catch up this strain." 49

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The conservative nature of women and their ignorance of India made the English ladies less tolerant of the Indian habits and manners than Englishmen, and they set the standard in this respect in the English society in general. Blunt refers to one Lady S. who "complained of the shabby way the Anglo-Indian officials were treated by Government, and thought it hard India should not be governed entirely for their benefit. They all. hated India so much that they ought to be handsomely treated for being obliged to live there." 50

The bitter feelings created between Indians and Englishmen by the incidents of the Mutiny thus went on increasing, and the Englishmen soon formed an exclusive 'caste' as it were, to whom all the Indians were 'untouchable'. The following observations of two English writers clearly depict this and other evil effects of the Mutiny,

"The racial cleavage", write Thompson and Garratt, "became more marked, though the extent of the difference before and after the Mutiny has sometimes been exaggerated. It must be confessed that the growing number of English women who began to settle down in India with their husbands increased the tendency of the white population to form not only a caste but also a group of trade unions, and the recent vivid memories of 1857 inevitably encouraged a belief that these sacrifices merited 'some more substantial recompense than the privilege of governing India in a spirit of wisdom and unselfishness... The rougher type of Englishman interpreted this prevalent feeling by classing all Indians into one opprobrious category, by a disregard for authority, and by a rudeness of bearing which was to be the cause of continual and growing friction during the next half century." 51

The following observations of Sir Henry Cotton support the same view:

"Ten years had elapsed since the Mutiny, but the Mutiny was, in the early days of my service, a living memory in the minds of all. That memory was not a benign influence on the future career of the young Civilian. When I first arrived in the country, it was duly enjoined on me as a matter of vital importance that I should insist on all the outward and visible signs of deference and respect which

Orientals with a leaning to sycophancy, resulting from generations of subjection and foreign rule, are only too willing to accord. Although I was a very chota (small) sahib, and posted only to the humble office of Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector of a district, I was early taught that, though I might be but a fly on the wheel of the official hierarchy, I was, in the eyes of the people among whom I lived, a representative of the Government and entitled as such to rights and privileges on no account to be foregone.

“Such was the atmosphere in which we lived; we were directly encouraged to assume an attitude of a patronising and superior character, which was obviously inimical to the best influences which should be exercised in the service of the state. The old Haileybury tone still pervaded the Civil Service, and the new class of competitioners to which I belonged and who had their spurs to win were easily attracted into the prevailing current. Nor was there any deterrent from the Indian side; nothing could exceed the obsequious and cringing demeanour of the old class of Indians, especially those about the Law Courts, with whom mostly we were brought into immediate contact. It was, in fact, a demoralising environment into which we were thrown, and I am not ashamed to say that I succumbed to it.” 52

The demoralising environment, to which Cotton refers, was a legacy of the past. It was noted long ago by Dwaraka-nath Tagore, and he also traced its origin to the haughty and arrogant attitude of the English officials. The evils were accentuated after the Mutiny, and the English officials became more overbearing in their behaviour towards the Indians. Apart from the social reasons noted above, there were several other factors at work. In the first place, the new method of recruitment by competitive examination put a premium on intellectual efficiency alone and effectively shut off from Indian Service the members of those high social ranks whose birth and breeding made them, generally speaking, more urbane and gentle. Secondly, as the rights and privileges of the officials were now directly guaranteed by the British Government rather than a trading company, and the control of the Crown was necessarily more . nominal than real, they arrogated to themselves a higher authority and greater power without any corresponding responsibility or accountability to any superior body. Each covenanted civil servant naturally tended to become a dictator in his own sphere.

Thirdly, the high intellectual ability shown by the Englisheducated Indians made them an object of dislike to the English officials. These Indians proved themselves equal to the English

officials in intellectual eminence and attainments in all spheres of public activity, and this offended their vanity of ‘race superiority’—a delicate sensibility or sentiment deliberately fostered by the English officialdom in India. Sir Henry Cotton, who could speak from personal experience, describes it as follows:

“This abhorrence of equality rankles in the mind of all AngloIndians, and especially of officials. It is the peculiarity of residence in the East to develop sentiments of intolerance and race superiority. Nearly all young men, on their first arrival in India, are animated by kindly feelings towards the natives of the country. Their generous instincts recoil from the outward manifestations of dislike evinced by the older residents, and it is rare to hear them degenerate to harsh expression, until after they have become demoralized by bad example and the false position in which they are placed. Degeneration, however, soon sets in and few escape it.” 63

Chailley observes: “The British official, while benevolent and sympathetic towards the poor, tends to be stiff and patronising towards the well-to-do.... I was told by a Brahman member of the Viceroy’s Legislative Council: ‘The Indian Civilian does not wish us to rise. When we learn his language, understand his ideas, and attain his intellectual level, he regards this not as a homage which he should welcome, but as an encroachment to be resented. We used to esteem them for their character, and we flattered ourselves that they would welcome in us just and independent men, but they only want baseness and servility, and thier favours go out to flatterers and time-servers.^ 54

The social exclusiveness of the Anglo-Indians, the beginnings of which have been described in an earlier chapter, 64 * grew apace in the course of time. This was more and more resented by the growing number of Indians who had visited England. They had mixed freely on a footing of equality with Englishmen there, but found themselves treated in their own country like pariahs by the Englishmen, who refused them admittance into their family or club. Indians who were members of the best clubs in London, could not, on their return home, even call on their English friends at the Yacht Club in Bombay. Whatever excuses might be offered to justify this conduct, to the Indians it was nothing but a galling and humiliating racial discrimination which sometimes did more to antagonise them against the British rule than even political disabilities.

The English officials, recruited by competitive examinations, were very capable men, and maintained a high level of efficiency and integrity. They were honest, hard-working and conscientious,

and possessed a high sense of duty as they understood it. But much of the good effects of all this was marred by their arrogant and insolent behaviour towards the Indians, specially of the Western-educated type. In this caste-ridden country they formed a new caste. Politically a Kshatriya oligarchy, and socially a Brahmana caste, they assumed the powers and pretentions of both, and looked upon all the Indians as Sudras. How closely the position of the Indians resembled the abject condition of the Sudras may be illustrated by two incidents mentioned by Blunt. He relates how a leading Indian had said to him, after receiving a cruel injury on the railway platform: "We feel insulted at such things, but we are not surprised/' 66 This reveals the whole inner world of humiliation and indignation in which the 'natives' lived. Again, in his diary, Blunt writes: "It is painful to see, what terror he (i.e. Sir Alfred Lyall) inspires in the 'natives'. Ferid-ed-din, in spite of his boldness, was struck speechless in his presence, and stood before him barefooted. I told Ferided-din to put his shoes on, but Lyall said he had better stay as he was". 56

Evidently, Blunt was unaware of the "shoe question" which caused a serious headache to the British officials for many years. In accordance with the old Muslim practice, the Indians had to appear before the British officials without shoes. This custom or etiquette, however, ceased to have any meaning when chairs were used instead of carpets in official functions, and it became a positive nuisance when Indians began to use shoes of European fashion. A practice therefore grew up in the Presidency towns and other large stations whereby natives wearing boots and shoes of European fashion were permitted to appear on all official and semi-official functions. But the same natives who could thus meet the Viceroy with shoes on were denied the privilege before a petty British official in a district. This created an anomalous situation; but prestige dies hard. So, after a great deal of discussion, and after "consulting all the principal officers in the country, civil and political," the Government of India went to the length of passing an official resolution in 1868 to the effect that native gentlemen who wore boots and shoes of European fashion' could appear "thus habited" before

Government officials at Durbar and on all official or semi-official occasions, but that those who wore shoes of Indian fashion must take them off within the customary limits. 67

But the Indians smarted under something far worse than gratuitous insult and humiliation at the hands of l^he Englishmen. As Garratt very properly observed, one potent factor of hatred and estrangement between the Indians and Englishmen was “the long

succession of murders and brutalities perpetrated by Englishmen which either went unpunished or for which, at the demand of the whole European community, only a small penalty was exacted/’ 68 The same thing is testified to by Sir Theodore Morrison: “It is an ugly fact”, says he, “which it is no use to disguise that the murder of natives by Englishmen is no infrequent occurrence. In one issue of the Amrita Bazar Patrika of this month (August 11, 1898) three contemporary cases are dealt with, in none of which have the prisoners paid the full legal penalty for murder. . .Juries in European cases are empannelled from towns; this is the very class in which the arrogance of a conquering race is most offensively strong, and their moral sense does not endorse the legal theory that an Englishman should atone with his life for killing a nigger.” 59 Three artillery men, according to Morrison, were found guilty of killing one Dr. Suresh Chandra in a brutal manner; but they were sentenced only to seven years’ rigorous imprisonment. A military officer commenting on this judicial sentence remarked “that in any other part of the world but India, the three artillery men would have been hanged.” 598 It may be added that the Europeans received a far better treatment

in jail than an Indian prisoner belonging to the highest class in society.

The judicial records of the period under review are full of such cases, too numerous to refer in detail. Here, again, we shall begin with instances vouched for by eminent Englishmen.

Thus Sir Henry Cotton writes:

“I place on record here the circumstances of a criminal trial which occurred in 1874, because while it created the highest degree of local excitement in

Calcutta, it is also typical of similar cases which inevitably recur from time to time , in which the elements of race antagonism are vigorously reflected and the most dangerous passions are roused. Gerald Meares was a stalwart young planter whom I knew very well, as his factory was in the Chooadanga Subdivision. For some reason or other he had mercilessly thrashed the Government postman who was bringing his letters. The scene of the offence was across the border in the Jessore District, and Meares, after a careful trial by the Magistrate of Jessore, was convicted and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The usual result followed: no stone was left unturned by Anglo-Indian agitation to obtain a reversal of the sentence. The whole volume of English opinion found expression in denouncing the verdict; Calcutta society talked of little else, the Anglo-Indian newspapers added fuel to the flames, public subscriptions were raised to pay the expenses of an appeal, and influentially signed memorials were addressed to the Government praying for Meares's release. The High Court appeal was heard by Justices Kemp and Morris, both civilian Judges, and the verdict of the Magistrate was upheld. The memorial to Government was rejected, and so the case ended. But in the meantime great harm had been done; all the flood-gates of passion and prejudice had been let loose, and a corresponding feeling of resentment and anger had been excited among the members of the Indian community." 60

Still more interesting and instructive is the "Fuller case" which occurred in 1876, about which Cotton wrote as follows:

"The facts of the case are typical of a hundred similar cases before and since . One Sunday morning Mr. Fuller, an English pleader at Agra, was about to drive to church with his family. When the carriage was brought to the door the groom failed to be in attendance, but made his appearance when sent for. For this fault Mr. Fuller struck the groom with his open hand on the head and face and pulled him by the hair so as to cause him to fall down. Mr. Fuller and his family drove on to church; the groom got up, went into an adjoining compound, and there died almost immediately. The medical evidence was to the effect that the man had died from rupture of the spleen, which very slight violence would be sufficient to cause in consequence of the morbid enlargement of the organ. The Joint Magistrate of the Station found Mr. Fuller guilty of Voluntarily causing what distinctly amounts to hurt', and sentenced him to pay a fine of Rs. 30/- (or £ 2) which was to be paid over as compensation to the widow of the deceased.

"At the request of the Local Government, the High Court of Allahabad expressed an opinion on the case, which was to the effect that the sentence, though perhaps lighter than the High Court would have been disposed to inflict under the circumstances, was not specially open to objection. It was then that Lord Lytton rose in his wrath:

'The Governor-General in Council cannot but regret that the High Court should have considered that its duties and responsibilities in this matter were adequately fulfilled by the expression of such an opinion. He also regrets that the Local Government should have made no inquiry, until directed to do so by the Government of India, into the circumstances of a case so injurious to the honour of British rule and so damaging to the reputation of British justice in this country.

'The class of misconduct out of which this crime has arisen is believed to be dying out; but the Governor-General in Council would

take this opportunity of expressing his abhorrence of the practice, instances of which occasionally come to light, of European masters treating their native servants in a manner in which they would not treat men of their own race. This practice is all the more cowardly because those who are least able to retaliate injury or insult have the strongest claim upon the forbearance and protection of their employers. But, bad as it is from every point of view, it is made worse by the fact, known to all residents in India, that Asiatics are subject to internal disease which often renders fatal to life even a slight external shock. The Governor-General in Council considers that the habit of resorting to blows on every trifling provocation should be visited by adequate legal penalties, and that those who- indulge in it should reflect that they may be put in jeopardy for a serious crime/

"The whole of this letter, which was addressed to the Government of the North-Western, now called the United, Provinces, was a scathing condemnation of what had taken place. Its publication evoked, as was to have been expected, a storm of Anglo-Indian and official indignation; while in the Indian Press there was, of course, a chorus of approbation/' 61

Blunt also refers to a case which is typical of many others. "I may here note that I heard from Akbar Huseyn of a case in which liberties had been taken by an English official with a Hindu woman, whose husband's relations, finding her 'no longer of any use to them/ killed her and laid her outside his tent. The cas • was taken up, and though there was no kind of doubt as to the facts, those who brought it forward were proceeded against by the Government as having brought a malicious charge, and were sentenced to a fine of one thousand rupees each, and three months' imprisonment. My informant added : 'They will never allow a charge to be substantiated against an official for fear of injuring the British character." 62

One of the worst cases on record in this category is what is known as the 'Cowan Case'. It arose out of the Kuka rebellion to which detailed reference has been made above. 63 But as the punishment meted out to the rebels illustrates the callousness, cruelty and •utter lack of a sense of justice on the part of the British officials, it deserves a separate treatment. Here, again, we may reproduce the account given by Sir Henry Cotton. After narrating briefly the circumstances of the revolt and the surrender of 68 prisoners, Cotton proceeds:

"On the 16th of January Mr. Cowan, who was then Deputy Commissioner of the adjoining British District of Loodhiana, ordered the

prisoners to be sent into Kotla, where he himself arrived during the day. That evening he wrote to his official superior, the Commissioner, a letter reporting that tranquillity had been completely restored, and adding: 'The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns or hanging the prisoners to-morrow morning at day-break.' About noon of the following day (the 17th) he received a note from Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner, desiring him to keep the prisoners at Sherpore till a guard could be sent from Loodhiana. This note he says he put in his pocket 'and thought no more about it.' It was not until 4 p.m. on the afternoon of the 17th that the captured Kukas were marched into Kotla, and then and there, without delay or the semblance of a trial, Mr. Cowan caused fortynine of them to be blown away from guns. Close on 7 p. m. when the last batch of six men had been lashed to the guns, there came an official order from Mr. Forsyth to send the prisoners to him for trial. In his explanation to Government, Mr. Cowan wrote of that order: ‘After reading Mr. Forsyth’s letter, I handed it to Colonel Perkins with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to the guns; that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us*; and so the last six rebels were blown away as had been the forty-three others before them. One man, who would have made the fiftieth, broke from the guard, rushed at Mr. Cowan and caught him by the beard, but was promptly cut down by the sabres of the native officers who were in attendance.

“Such was Mr. Cowan’s share in this transaction. The Commissioner, Mr. Forsyth, had repeatedly enjoined on him to proceed with legal formalities, and on the 17th he telegraphed to the Government: T am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary and would increase excitement better allayed.’ On the 18th, however, having been informed by Mr. Cowan of the ghastly tragedy which had been enacted, he wrote to him in the following terms: ‘My dear Cowan, I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out.’ He did come out, and sanctioned within the terms of the law the execution of the sixteen remaining prisoners. They were hanged.

“The Government of India recorded an elaborate Resolution on these proceedings. It was understood to have been drafted by Mr. (afterwards Justice) Fitzjames Stephen, whose tenure of the Legal Membership of Council was then drawing to a close. ‘His Excellency in Council is under the painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not

palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterised by incidents which give it a complexion of barbarity.’ And so His Excellency was compelled ‘with deep regret’ to direct that ‘Mr. Cowan be removed from the Service.’ As for Mr. Forsyth, he was severely censured and transferred to another province in a corresponding office with the same emoluments.

He subsequently became Sir Douglas Forsyth, having been decorated for service beyond the frontier at Yarkand.

“The circumstances of this case and of the orders passed divided public opinion in India into two camps, in much the same way as Governor Eyre’s case had shortly before convulsed public opinion in England. The sympathy of officials generally and of the AngloIndian Press was with Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth.

“The Indian Press at this time exercised but a feeble influence, but it raised its voice, such as it was, in horror of what had occurred. For my part, I can recall nothing during my service in India more revolting and shocking than these executions, and there were many who thought, as I did and still think, that the final orders of the Government of India were lamentably inadequate. The Viceroy of the time was Lord Napier and Ettrick, who was temporarily in charge between the death of Lord Mayo and the arrival of Lord Northbrook on the 3rd of May.” 64

Reference has been made above, in the Fuller case, to the rupture of the spleen of the unfortunate victim of his brutal assault. This phrase, extenuating the crime, was repeated in the trials of almost all cases of assault by Europeans which ended in the death of Indians. We hear it too often in numerous cases concerning the murder of coolies (labourers) in tea-plantations. This was severely commented upon in Indian Press and caused bitter resentment among the Indians. These numerous instances not only brought home to Indian minds the utter callousness of Englishmen to Indian feelings and the little value they attached to lives of natives, but also exposed the sham of British justice, when Europeans were concerned.

By far the most important incident of this nature centres round the personality of an Irish Judge, Mr. Pennel. It not only throws a lurid light on the travesty of justice which occurs when an Englishman is the accused party, but also proves the extent to which even the highest authority in the land is guilty of this crime of denying justice to the Indian and shielding Englishmen from the clutches of law. The facts of the case may be summed up as follows:

On August 19, 1899, the Police Superintendent of Chapra dis* trict, named Corbett, kicked the bottom of a constable, Narsingh.

and the District Engineer, Simkins, hit him on the head with a rattan. Corbett then struck the man in the face with his fist causing him to fall against a house. Narasingh's fault was that he had declined to do forced labour for the District Engineer. He was admitted in hospital where it was found that his wounds were of a serious nature. Fearing that a complaint might be made, Corbett asked Narsingh to give up service, as otherwise he would be proceeded against in the court. As Narsingh did not do so, he was prosecuted, and the trying Magistrate, Maulvi Zakir Hussain, under pressure from above, 66 sentenced him to two months' rigorous imprisonment. He preferred an appeal before the District and Sessions Judge who was an Irish civilian named Pennel. Pennel allowed the appeal but invited trouble for himself. In his judgement he observed: "Assaults by Europeans upon natives are unfortunately not uncommon. They are not likely to cease until the disappearance of real or supposed racial superiority. It is proper no doubt that they should be punished, but excessive severity in punishing them, so far from improving, is more likely to exacerbate the relations between the two races, and to defeat itself. The better men among the native community are themselves disposed to make allowance for the irritability which this climate has a tendency to produce in the European character and the occasional acts of violence in which that irritability vents itself."

This judgement, passed on October 7, produced a commotion among officials throughout the province. Even the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Woodburn, was upset, and the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, considered PennePs act as an abuse of "liberty of enquiry". Pennel was transferred to Noakhali by telegram.

Some time after, Woodburn went to Noakhali, called Pennel in his private room, and told him: "Seeing your judgement I have grave doubts whether you are fit for judicial employment. The judicial officers are my officers just as much as the executive, and I want them to do well. Mind, I am speaking for your benefit and guidance. Reading your judgement leads me to doubt whether you were really so impartial as you should have been. The vindictive rancour with which you pursued the policemen and the district officers makes me think you must have had some quarrel with them.”

Pennel—“You may think like that, but a judgement like that was worth two National Congresses.”

Woodburn—“As impartial man I pass my opinion.”

Pennel—“I know your Government had done all they could to prevent truth coming out.”

The Lt. Governor was a little agitated and said: “My Government! Be careful, Pennel, you had better be careful what you are saying.”

Pennel—“You consulted the Legal Remembrancer whether witnesses need appear before me.”

Woodburn—“Yes, I had every right to consult the Legal Remembrancer. It was a trumpery case.”

Pennel—“Trumpery case! Should I have any reference about this matter to the High Court?”

Woodburn—“No, Pennel, I am not going to enter into any discussion with the High Court. I am speaking to you privately.”

In another case, Pennel had remarked in his judgement: “In this country the only people who will come forward to give evidence against officers in the cases of this kind are those who do not mind their houses being burnt, their shops looted, their relations turned out of Government employment, themselves and members of their families dragged up on false charges and sent to Jail.”

In Noakhali, Pennel got the Police Superintendent, Raily, arrested on a charge of perjury. Raily had attempted to secure ‘liberty for a murderer by giving false evidence/ Pennel sentenced the murderer to death. This case made Pennel a hero, and on February 15, 1901, the day he delivered the judgement, 10,000 people followed him up to his bungalow calling him Dharmavatdr or a Daniel. But on a recommendation from the Government, the High Court suspended Pennel, and telegraphically ordered release of Raily on bail. When Pennel was leaving for Calcutta, 15,000 people of all classes silently accompanied him from his residence to the railway station. People were lined up on either side of the road on which was moving Pennel's carriage. Pennel became the idol of the educated classes in Bengal. Mr. J. Chowdhury, Bar-at-law and a prominent public man in those days, observed: "The people could not forget the fact that it was for the sake of justice that Pennel sacrificed his own prospects and it was the cause of justice which had alone actuated him to act up to the dictates of his own conscience." 66

Mention has been made above 67 how justice was sacrificed by the English officers to protect the Indigo-planters, and these, naturally, were foremost in opposing the so-called Black Acts of 1849 which sought to bring them under the jurisdiction of the Indian officers. Similarly the Ilbert Bill, offering similar concessions to the Indians, was opposed tooth and nail by the tea-planters in order that, as a

British Lieutenant-Governor put it, they might beat and kill with impunity a few more niggars. Blunt remarked:

‘‘Throughout the agitation on the Ilbert Bill, the planters had a considerable backing in the official world. It was evident that the two societies were united in a way which would have been impossible in old times, in their opposition to the native hopes." 68

Tea-gardens offered numerous instances of miscarriage of justice when the European manager or his assistant was accused of inhuman atrocities perpetrated upon the coolies (labourers) or even of murdering 1 them. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Chief Commissioner of Assam, refers to two such cases. The following extract from his book, Some Personal Experiences (pp. 118-20), is most revealing in this respect.

"On some gardens there was a good deal of flogging, and I will mention two cases which had some interesting features. In one of them a woman was stripped and flogged. Her husband brought a criminal charge against the garden overseer. He was acquitted by an Indian Assistant Magistrate on the score that he acted under the orders of his European manager. No further action was taken. I heard of the case through a vernacular Assam newspaper. In dealing with offences of this kind, it was essential to carry planting opinion with one , and to use only just so much severity as would suffice to prevent their recurrence. I was not sure of the discretion of the District Magistrate, and while ordering him to take the case up against the Manager, I wrote to him, privately and confidentially, instructing him to impose a fine equal to a month's salary, should he find the man guilty. This was done. The Manager appealed to the High Court. But, rather to general surprise, the sentence was upheld, Many years afterwards, when dining at the Bengal Club with some High Court Judges, a discussion arose on the perennial subject of the complete independence of the judiciary from executive interference. I maintained that some guidance might be of advantage, and told the story of this case. One of the company burst out laughing.

"It was I who heard the appeal," he said. "Your duffer of a magistrate had left your confidential letter pinned to the record. I felt mad for a while, but concluded that, after all, things had gone for* the best."

"The other case was still more serious. A coolie who had been flogged with a strirrup leather, under the direction of a young European assistant, was killed by the punishment. He suffered from an enlarged spleen and this was ruptured. The young man, named Bain, was'tried by a jury of planters, and, according to popular opinion, was assured of acquittal. But they found him guilty, and the judge—an officer of excellent discretion—-sentenced him to eighteen months* simple imprisonment. This may seem to be an Unduly light punishment. But it was a sufficient deterrent from the thoughtless use of flogging, and left the feelings of the planting community unscandalized. I explained this to the Government of India. But Lord Curzon was dissatisfied, and ordered that an appeal should be made to the High Court for the enhancement of the sentence. This raised a storm amongst the European community of Calcutta, and the judge who heard the appeal actually acquitted Bain altogether! I had felt very sorry for the youth. Beyond doubt, he had acted under the orders of his garden manager, and had refused to give him away—a married man with children to whom conviction would have been ruin. I had arranged that the English Police officer who escorted him to prison in Calcutta should make things as smooth as possible for him. Meeting this officer after his return, I was told by him that after a whisky peg Bain had grown communicative. ‘You made one blooming error,* he said, ‘You. got hold of the wrong stirrup leather.” 68 *

The first mse shows that according to both the head of the Province and the judge of the highest court in India, an offence of the most brutal type, involving the most shameful public dishonour to a woman, did not merit any higher punishment than a fine equivalent to a month’s salary, when the accused happened to be an Englishman, and the victim, an Indian.

Fuller’s own statement of the second case reveals the mentality of Europeans about the value of Indian life and the immunity with which it could be taken by any European. To the credit of Lord Curzon it must be said that he stood up boldly against this outrage on Indian sentiments. For this Lord Curzon’s Government was strongly denounced in the Anglo-Indian Press on the ground that there was undue interference with the freedom of the judiciary. Comment is superfluous and we need only refer to the case of Pennel jmd the draft letter written to the Magistrate by Fuller mentioned above. Lord Curzon’s interference did one good. It proved that European judges, even of the High Court, sacrificed all judicial sense

to racial arrogance.

It has been suggested by Lord Ronaldshay, the biographer of Lord Curzon, that the latter’s interference in this matter was merely nominal and that he probably signed the documents as a matter of formality. But fortunately there are other cases on record where we have definite evidence that Lord Curzon took a bold step against

similar outrages on Indians by Europeans. The detailed minutes which he drew up in connection with some of these cases throw very interesting light on the whole history of similar offences and also the lenient manner in vhich the high officials concerned looked upon them. Indeed Lord Curzon's stricture and denunciation are so revealing in character that no apology is needed for referring to these cases and to the minutes of Lord Curzon in some detail. The first case refers to an outrage committed in Rangoon on April 2, 1899. 'An elderly Burmese woman, named Ma Gun, while walking along a public road after performing her devotion at the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, was seized by one soldier. He was soon joined by other soldiers and they all carried the woman to some rising ground and successively ravished her. She was then taken into a hollow and were again ravished by other soldiers. Two Burma ns and a Burmese woman, who were going along the road, reported the matter with the result that one soldier was caught on the spot but the rest dispersed. Some of the policemen who arrested this soldier stated that they saw this man rising from the woman 'who was lying on her back, practically naked and in an exhausted condition.' She was sent to the hospital, but her subsequent fate is uncertain. According to the letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma to the Secretary to the Government of India, she escaped from the hospital almost immediately after she was taken there, but it appears from a note by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, that the poor woman died in the hospital on April 4, and she remained almost unconscious after the outrage.'

In spite of the serious nature of the offence, and though one soldier was actually caught in the act, the authorities tried to hush up the whole matter and did not take any action, and Lord Curzon seriously took them to task and condemned them for their negligence of duty.

The second case refers to a regiment newly arrived at Sialkot. At 9-30 p. m. two soldiers asked a native cook to procure a woman for them, and for having refused to do so he was set upon and brutally beaten by two men of the 9th Lancers. They broke two of his ribs, and he was left lying out all night. On the next morning he was found in such a feeble condition that he had to be carried on a stretcher to the hospital. His dying deposition was taken by the Cantonment Magistrate, and the high officials, who visited the scene of the outrage, found the ground still covered with big patches of blood. On the day after, he seemed so much better that they thought he might pull through. Thereupon everyone, civil and military combined, conspired to hush up the whole affair. No inquiry was instituted, no evidence was taken, and until the man died a week or more later, nothing was done.

The above account is taken from a minute of Lord Curzon himself and there can be no question of doubting its authenticity in any particular. Lord Curzon concludes the above account with the following words: “In the post mortem the doctor found that the poor wretch had syphilis, but to contend that his death was due to any other cause than the savage assault by the soldiers, is out of the question.”

Lord Curzon further states that within two months of the above tragedy some soldiers of the same regiment, namely, 9th Lancers, killed another native, a punkha~coolie , who expired from a kick inflicted upon him by a private.

As in the Rangoon case, so in the Sialkot affairs, the authorities hushed up the whole affair and Lord Curzon had to reprimand them severely. A perusal of the minutes of Lord Curzon and other connected papers on the subject show in a staggering manner the utter callousness of the military authorities regarding the murder of Indians by English soldiers. We learn from Lord Curzon’s minutes that the authorities as a rule acted on the principle that these offences ought to be white-washed for fear of the scandal that they might cause. He says that this is the popular theory, but it is impossible for the Government of India to maintain it. Lord Curzon insisted that both the offending regiments should be punished as the soldiers conspired to withhold evidence against the particular offenders. The punishment was of a collective nature. The regiments were transferred to undesirable stations and were precluded from joining some ceremonial parades.

The following quotation from one of Lord Curzon’s minutes on this occasion puts the whole situation in a true colour. Although it is a long extract it will repay perusal:

“When I came to this country I found that in spite of excellent pronouncements on the part of many of my predecessors, the number of cases of violent collision between Europeans and natives was increasing with a rapidity that appeared to me to be dangerous and menacing. I found also that the general temper and inclination of the European , as illustrated by the attitude of many of our officers, both military and civil, by the tone of the English newspapers, by the verdict of juries and by any other test that it was possible to apply , was in favour of glossing over and palliating rather than of exposing and punishing these crimes. I found that they were of more frequent occurrence in the army than elsewhere, not because the British soldier is a worse behaved individual than the British civilian, but because of the immense numerical superiority of the British army over any other class of white men in this country, because of the exceptional opportunities for accident and collision afforded by the shooting Rules as they then existed, and because of the contemptuous attitude that is entertained towards natives by the class from which the bulk of our soldiers are drawn. I found that in the recorded cases of violence between British soldiers and natives in the previous 20 years the result had been that 84 natives had been killed as compared with only 5 Europeans, and 57 natives seriously injured as compared with 15 Europeans, and 49 natives slightly injured as compared with 7 Europeans. I further found that so strong is the racial feeling in this country between the dominant and the subject race, that in the last half century on only two occasions have Europeans ever been hanged for the murder of natives, though the cases proved against them may be counted by the score. Then came the Rangoon outrage (which would never have been investigated at all but for my intervention, since when I first mentioned it to the then Commander-in-Chief nearly two months after it had happened, it had never so much as been reported to him); but from which I learned that it was possible , even in the face of one of the most appalling and shameful outrages that can be conceived , for all the leading officers to join together in a conspiracy to defeat the ends of justice and to screen the guilty. I have seen other cases— that of the soldier O’Gara at Urn ball a who smashed in the head of a p unkha-coolie with a dumb-bell, that of the soldier O’Sullivan at Calcutta who murdered a tailor and then feigned madness, and many others, in which there has been the most wholesale perjury and an attempt at all hazard to get the guilty European off. I could allude to a score of other cases in which little or no assistance has been lent by the authorities involved towards the detection and punishment of obvious and palpable crime. Now what has been my feeling about these cases? I am not so foolish as to ignore the sentiment of racial prejudice which they illustrate or to sit in judgment upon what may seem to be the moral obliquity of my fellow countrymen.

“I know that as long as Europeans, and particularly a haughty race like the English, rule Asiatic people like the Indians, incidents of hubris (sic) and violence will occur and that the white man will tend to side with the white skin against the dark. But I also know, and have acted throughout on the belief, that it is the duty of statesmanship to arrest these dangerous symptoms, and to prevent them from attaining dimensions that might even threaten the existence of our rule in the future.” 69

It is hardly necessary to note that the English newspapers, as usual, were loud in their denunciation of Lord Curzon. But something more serious than this followed. During the time of the Delhi Durbar in 1903, when the 9th Lancers, guilty of the Sialkot crime, were passing in parade before the Viceroy and the assembled guests, they received hearty ovation from the European spectators. In reply the Indians heartily cheered the Viceroy. It was impossible to mistake the significance of all this, and Lord Curzon’s biographer tells us that the Viceroy felt deeply hurt at this demonstration of his countrymen.

The following extracts from the correspondence between Lord Curzon and Lord George Hamilton are most revealing in respect of the attitude of Englishmen towards the Indians:

1 . Hamilton to Curzon , 6 July , 1899

“You do not seem to be making much progress in bringing to justice the perpetrators of the Rangoon outrage. I am very glad to find that, in our letters, which crossed, the same idea pervades both —that, if these guilty cannot be convicted for want of evidence, some punishment should be inflicted upon the regiment. I am somewhat perturbed at your remark that you believe that the number of cases of such outrages is on the increase. I have had an uneasy suspicion that such was the case, and I am afraid, that, if this is the fact, it is due to the knowledge that this class of offence can be committed with comparative immunity from the extreme difficulty of obtaining a conviction from the jury. I understand that, ever since Ripon raised, by his inconceivable stupidity, racial feeling in India, it has affected the decision of the juries in cases where they have to adjudicate between Europeans and Natives, and that, previous to Ripon’s advent in India, it was easier to get juries, no matter what their composition might be, to look at the question submitted to them impartially rather than from the standpoint of the colour of the defendant. The British soldier is treated with far greater consideration in India than in any other part of the world, and he is surrounded with comforts and with attendants such as he never gets elsewhere; and if, under such conditions, he misuses his power or superior strength, I quite agree that it is for you to take some notice of such improper conduct. But pray, be very cautious and circumspect in anything that you propose. I admit that this class of outrage is perhaps more damaging to our rule, and creates more deepseated resentment in the Native mind, than any class of transactions connected with our rule in India. To successfully arrest and diminish this class of offence it is necessary to carry with you, to a certain extent, Anglo-Indian opinion. I recollect Lytton issuing a Minute, the substance of which was indisputably correct, and in connection with a case in which a European, who had accidentally killed a Native, had been subjected to ridiculously lenient sentence. But it created a great uproar at the time, and undoubtedly subjected JLytton to very great unpopularity, and this diminished for the future his influence with Europeans in India.”

2. Hamilton to Curzon, 27 July , 1900

"‘These cases, constant as they seem to be, of misconduct of certain members of the Civil Service, by which collisions are provoked with Natives, are very distressing. It argues a low tone and utter absence of either a sense of duty or of that honour which we are supposed to associate with gentlemen in responsible positions. About five and twenty years ago we tapped a very bad stratum of the social world, and the Indian Civil Service is, I think, now paying the penalty. The class from which many of the candidates then came was not only socially very inferior, but the boys had no University, and many of them no public school education. They were coached in London, lived in London, and got an entirely erroneous idea of what a gentleman's conceptions and aspirations should be, and were sent out to India at the worst stage of hobbledehoy ism."

3. Curzon to Harriilton, 17 September , 1900.

"I am sorry to say that, in the whole of my campaign on the subject of these accidents and collisions, I meet with nothing but tacit discouragement and sublatent antagonism from the soldiers. They are banded together throughout India in a compact body, animated by the fiercest espirit de corps. They will wink at things done by a fellow soldier, which they would denounce if committed by a civilian. The moment one is censured, all the rest are up in arms. They cannot see why the poor soldier should not be allowed to go out, and shoot and harry at his own sweet will; and if in the course of the excursion a Native is killed, their attitude is that of a very fast bowler at cricket whom I once met, and who having killed a man by the ball jumping up and striking him on the temple, said to me, 'why did the d-d fool get his head in the way?' Nothing to me since I came to India has been more surprising or more disappointing than the attitude and capacities of the leading members of the Military service....I told the Commander-in-Chief quite plainly that I had not taken up this affair in order to be defeated or baffled....

"Since I last wrote to you there has been another bad case. At Dinapur, where as you know, there has been much ill-feeling between the soldiers and the Natives, one of the Munsters has stabbed a washerman."

(Curzon then relates that in "Fort William a British soldier murdered an Indian tailor against whom he had a grudge and pleaded insanity. Another soldier hit a boy without any provocation with a stove and broke his leg.)

4. Curzon to Hamilton, 28 August, 1901 .

"I was talking last night with MacDonnell about the case in the Cawnpore Cotton mill, which I mentioned to you last week. He admitted the flagrant inadequacy of the sentence imposed by the Magistrate; but said that it is of no use to take such cases to the High Court. Such is their admitted partiality and incompetence."

(In this case a European Supervisor kicked a coolie who lay insensible and unattended for 3 hours after which he was removed to his house where he died. The European was fined Rs. 300/-.)

5. Hamilton to Curzon, 2 October, 1901.

(Reference to the papers sent by Curzon on the Travancore Planter's case, in which a European planter flogged an Indian to death). "It would appear that in India, where we have established for generations a complete code of criminal law and procedure, the European claims an immunity from punishment for murder and assault when committed upon the person of a Native that even in the wildest parts of West coast of Africa is not given to European officials ."

6. Curzon to(Hamilton, 29 January, 1903.

"In this very week has come up another case of three soldiers who, in violation of the shooting rules, were engaged in shooting in the vicinity of a native village, and shot, though they fortunately did not kill, a native boy. They were then set upon and hustled by the villagers. The latter were tried by the District Magistrate, a young Englishman of only three years' service. He delivered one of the most partisan and monstrous judgments that 1 have ever read , letting the soldiers off scot-free, sentencing the villagers to savage terms of imprisonment, and inflicting ten stripes upon the wounded boy. Just before I left Delhi I had a similar case of three soldiers, who assaulted and shot a native Forest Guard down at Madras, who had come up and asked them what they were doing in the forest reserve. The three men were identified out of the whole regiment,

though one of them had shaved off his moustache to escape recognition. They were proved to have been out shooting without passes on that day, they were proved to have been in the very reserve where the assault took place, and they were shown to be the only three British soldiers out shooting on that day. Nevertheless, because the Forest Guard was the only actual witness of the assault upon himself, and because he was a native, his testimony was discredited and the case against the men was dismissed. There, again, the Collector delivered a judgment saturated with gross partialityI spoke to Ampthill (Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras) about it, and the case is now being taken by Government for a re-hearing before the High Court. None of these cases are known to the public. They are more or less successfully kept out of the newspapers, and no one, except at headquarters, where, of course, the soldiers never say a word about the subject, has any knowledge of the state of things that goes on from one end of India to the other, and of the terrible injustice that prevails." 69 *

Lord Curzon's minutes and correspondence have been quoted at some length in order to give a quietus to those apologists of British justice in India who have been able, after laborious research, to hunt out a few cases where Englishmen were adequately punished, even sentenced to capital punishment, by British judges, and parade them before the public. The conspicuousness of such instances is the best evidence of their rarity. Lord Curzon, than whom there can be no greater authority on this subject, categorically states that during the latter half of the nineteenth century only two Europeans were hanged for the murder of the natives, though there were scores of such offenders whose crime was definitely proved. The attitude of the British judges, juries and the Anglo-Indian public and newspapers, to which Lord Curzon has drawn such a pointed attention, proves, as nothing else could prove, the real attitude of the British towards the Indians, and it can be hardly denied that the Britishers who lived in India formed an unholy alliance to deny justice to the Indians as against any one with a white skin. These are no doubt strong words and a severe indictment which no historian should indulge in except on very conclusive evidence. But such evidence we possess in this particular case.

Sir Walter Strickland, a British Baronet, is the author of a small booklet, entitled British Justice and Honesty, from which a few extracts are quoted below:

“The English in India and elsewhere boast of their even-handed justice. As English by birth, my personal experience is that this boast has no foundation whatever... .A Singapore paper not long ago stated that it was no uncommon thing for Burmese defendants to be flogged to death in their own prison at Rangoon....This scharf richter mode of meting out “even-handed justice” is apparently had recourse to by the jaded, drunken alien to save himself the trouble of hearing the defence. I called on the editor of this paper and he assured me that his authority for the statement was unimpeachable. In spite of this, I should be inclined to doubt it, were it not for the following fact, notorious all over Rangoon. Not very long ago an Irish private soldier murdered a beautiful Burmese girl whom he was “in love”(!) with and her mother, and then raped one or both of the still warm bodies. For this little error of judgment he who awarded such comfortable quarters in Rangoon gaol that he has no desire whatever to quit them.... These instances, which might he multiplied a hundred-fold , are enough to demonstrate that the parochial English are quite incompetent to deal out even-handed justice when their own ‘superior* race and ‘inferior’ ‘nigger’ ones are in question.”

Apart from isolated cases of ill-treatment to individual Indians, some form of cruel treatment had hardened into a normal practice. Lord Minto, Viceroy of India (1905-10), when asked by the Secretary of State of the allegations of insolence and cruelty of the English towards the Indians, wrote in a letter, dated 28 May, 1906, to Morley: “It does exist, and to me it is galling to see a symptom of it, and if galling to me how much more so to them”. But then he took comfort in the idea that things were much worse before. “He (Minto) had memories of bad dinners in Afghanistan, and young Neville Chamberlain’s commonplace request to Sir Fred. Roberts—‘Please, Sir , can I beat the cook?’—-a ceremony at once approved and summarily performed” 691 *

Before bringing this review to a close it is necessary to point out that some of the worst phases of British attitude towards the Indians persisted throughout the century and they found their spokesmen ip writers like Rudyard Kipling. It is hardly necessary to point out that the number of

Englishmen, who formed their opinion from these writers and were influenced by them, exceeded more than thousand times those on whom the speeches and writings of the few liberal-minded Englishmen and friends of India produced any effect.

The Bengalis, who were more advanced in political ideas, were the bete noire of the Jingo imperialists. A strong anti-Bengali feeling, to which reference has been made above, 690 marked the average Englishmen throughout the nineteenth century. To what extreme the vilification of the Bengalis proceeded, unchecked by sober Eng

lishmen, may be judged from the following extracts from an article published in 1855 in the Calcutta Review:

"What Jew looked for any good thing out of Galilee? What Anglo-Indian looked for fighting in Bengal?... ,

"The cowardice of a Bengali is indeed a thing by itself....

"Like a pate de foie gras from Strassbourg, or Eau de Cologne from Jean Marie Farina, or shawls from Cashmere, or rose-water from Ghazeepore, cowardice from Bengal is the only genuine commodity of the name. All other specimens are but imperfect and spurious....

"Bengal of course must be inhabited by Bengalis, and what are Bengalis, but the sleek, cringing sircar, the fat plausible Baboo, the be-Bacon'd and be-Shakespear'd School-boy, the lying witness, the patient coolie, whom we meet every day? These are metropolitan specimens. Provincial Bengalis are the same, unsophisticated, and uneducated; mere varieties of the timid, cunning, perfidious race, which dynasty after dynasty has conquered, used and despised....

"First in the row, look at the Bengali; for in all his phases, as a citizen, a villager, a rich man, a poor man, a rajah, a ryot, an ignoramous, a school-boy, a Brahmin, a Sudra, a Bengali is the antithesis of a warrior. He is dressed unlike a man of action, according to our modern ideas of dress. Physically he is weak, effiminate, sedentary, of low stature, of dark colour, of mild countenance. He possesses an intellect susceptible of the highest polish, but not of remarkable strength or vigour. Morally he is cunning, treacherous, cowardly, avaricious, a victim to a degrading superstition, and, we must add, terribly false. No nation on earth presents a more uniform surface. But the man must have very little sense, or very little experience, who fails to detect a Bengali under any disguise. His slender frame cannot be concealed even by occasional obesity. No swaggering will cover his constitutional cowardice. No affectation or nonchalance his characteristic cunning. No education his national peculiarities. In his case it may safely be said— Ex uno disco onines (From one you may learn all).

“Next, what is to be done with the Bengalis? They are certainly not savages; and yet what are they? Are they civilized or uncivilized? Calcutta philanthropists will, we suppose, decide for the former alternative; but we may doubt whether they are justified in doing so. If civilization means merely softness of character and manner, we allow that they are civilized. If civilization means a spread of education, erection of public works, commercial pursuits and such like, we allow that the country is civilized. But if civilization means that wholesome and prosperous state of society fitted for self-government, that good hearty condition, as Leigh Hunt has it, ‘a state of manhood befitting man/ we cannot save ourselves from saying that Bengal of the Bengalis is not civilized. Civilization, in its highest sense, means a manly, vigorous, national existence at its zenith. We decline to award the name either to effete or to weak Infantine societies. Hie Bengalis are in one or other of these positions. It is difficult to determine in which. But between the two alternatives, we may gather that Bengal civilization is not yet.

“Bengal of the Bengalis is a land of cowards and liars; and what remark can convey a more signal proof of hopelessness? A race of savages is more hopeful than a race of cowards and liars. Germs of civilized manliness may lie deep in the former; but the latter is a stock on which little good can be engrafted. What is to be done with a nation of cowards?...

“Bengal of the Bengalis is plainly then in no good way. A Mcrison’s pill of Baboos in Council, or on the Sudder Bench, in whatever numbers, will not cure its distemper. We are curious to see what the new educational regime in the hands of Mr. Pratt will effect. In the meanwhile it must not forget its degradation. It must be ground down. It must be kept low, even in the dust. It is but a race of women, not men!" 70

Such wild ravings might have been ignored as the result of eccentricity or mental aberration on the part of one or a few. But what gives them significance and importance is the fact that they were considered fit to be published in a reputed journal like the Calcutta Review , the most distinguished organ of the cultured English society. The passage is ostensibly a caricature of the Bengalis, but it is really a faithful pen-picture of the debased anti-Indian megalomania of a section, perhaps a large section, of the British community in India in the nineteenth century.

When the great Brahma leader Keshab-chandra Sen visited England, he delivered a lecture containing powerful indictment of the general conduct of the Britishers in India in their dealings with the natives of the country, as well as of the excise policy (liquor traffic) of the British Government in India. Keshab was "unanimously and vigorously abused" by the Anglo-Indian Press and almost every Englishman discontinued his subscription to the Indian Mirror , edited by Keshab. An Englishman in Bombay publicly threw out a challenge that he would give Rs. 500 to anyone who would venture to read the lectures in his presence while he stood horsewhip in hand. 70 *

The Indian feeling in respect of such attitude of the Englishmen was best expressed by Professor Gilbert Murray of Oxford in his address at the opening of the Conference on Nationalities and Subject Races. We subjoin an extract:

"If ever it were my fate to administer a Press Law, and put men in prison for the books they write and the opinions they stir up among their countrymen, I should not like it, but I should know where to begin. I should first of all lock up my old friend, Rudyard Kipling, because in several stories, he has used his great powers to stir up in the minds of hundreds of thousands of Englishmen a blind and savage contempt for the Bengali. And many Bengalis naturally have read these stories. You cannot cherish a savage contempt for anyone without its being quickly reciprocated. And when both sides regard each other with the same savage contempt it is not likely that they can dwell together in peace. And in case Mr. Kipling should feel lonely in his cell, I would send him a delightful companion, Mr- Anstey of Punch. Year after year, clever natives of India come over to England at great sacrifice of money and trouble, to study in our Universities and satisfy the tests for obtaining positions in their own country. They compete with us well, and with all the odds against them. And year after year they have found in our greatest newspaper caricatures of themselves—ridiculous Baboos, cowardly, vain, untruthful, in every way absurd, talking bad and bombastic English (not nearly so correct, I suppose, as Mr. Anstey } s Hindustani), held up for the amusement of the public. Now if these men are to be in any sense our subjects, that sort of thing is not fair play. It is not fair play, and it is not decent policy. If you must insult somebody, insult one who is free and can hit you back. If you want to govern a man, and to have him as a loyal and friendly citizen—well, you must give up that luxury. You cannot govern the man and insult him too. This incessant girding at the Bengali, the most intellectual and progressive of the peoples of India, has an ugly look. It goes along with much irritable hostility to the Congress, to the students, to almost every Indian society that professes high aims—such, for instance, as the Arya Samaj. There is in such sneers something perilously like jealousy. And if ever in a ruling race there creeps in a tendency to be jealous of its subjects, to hate them for their good qualities rather than their bad, to keep them out of power not because they are unfit for power, but because they are too obviously fit; such a tendency is, I believe, disastrous to any Empire, and the individuals and parties who foster and inflame it have forfeited their claim to stand among thereat leaders and governors of the world.” 71

The last sentence in the above extract seems to give a very correct analysis of the Anglo-Indian mentality and reflects the sentiment of educated Indians during the latter part of the nineteenth century. But even the utterance of such eminent Englishmen had little salutary effect upon the power-intoxicated Englishmen in India.

That the arrogance and social exclusiveness of the British persisted up to the very end, would be apparent to any one who reads the account of Joseph Chailley, mentioned above. This distinguished Frenchman has described the British attitude towards the Indians as he found it at the beginning of this century, just at the close of the period covered by this volume. Some of his views have been quoted above. 72 He has also referred to the justification offered by the British for their social exclusiveness in India. Some Englishmen told him: “It is not we who keep the natives at arm’s length, it is they who hold aloof from us. Caste and its rules, to say nothing of their personal tastes, prevents intimate relations”. The Englishmen then described the orthodox customs like purdah. Chailley was also told: “Can innocent English girls or married ladies...........be really intimate with Indian women, who are so much nearer a state of nature and are slaves to their husbands”? A young Englishman said to Chailley, “The mere smell of a native woman would prevent one marrying her”. 73

Anyone who has any knowledge about the educated Indians— men and women-—in the opening years of this century would And the hollowness and shameless character of these excuses. How far Chailley was deceived by these excuses and explanations of the British may be judged by his cursory remark that if a young English girl marrying an Indian in England arrives in India, she will not be received in English society. He also mentions that a Bengali I. C. S. told him, “My European colleagues treat me as an inferior and patronise me”. 74 Blunt also repudiated the arguments of the Englishmen on the strength of his personal experience in India. 716

The real explanation of the British attitude towards the Indians is to be found not only in racial arrogance and the mentality developed by a conquering nation towards the conquered, to which reference has been made at the beginning of this chapter, but also in certain inherent characteristics of the Englishmen. Mr. T.G.P. Spear has referred to many of these in his very interesting and illuminating book, The Nabobs , from which a few extracts are quoted at random. 76

“Insularity of the English character made the English persist in their customs and habits of life even in most unfavourable circumstances.” The Englishmen possessed “a maximum of national pride and a minimum of desire to understand the country''. They thought “it was the extremity of bad taste to appear in anything of Indian manufacture”, and exclaimed, “How nice India would be if it wasn’t for the Indians”. In reality “India became an unknown country to the English inhabitants of Calcutta and Madras”. Blunt also observed: “No Collector’s wife will wear an article of Indian manufacture to save her soul from perdition, and all her furniture even her carpets must be of English make.”[77]

Chailley remarked: “The Anglo-Indian, whether he be an official or a non-official, is usually interested in India only by reason of the income he derives from it and the use which it is to his country”.[78] Anyone who has dispassionately read the history of India in the nineteenth century would find it difficult not to agree, generally, with this observation.

It is, however, only fair to point out that the British attitude towards the Indians was partly the result of a superiority complex—the superiority of the white race over the black—which swept the whole of Europe during the nineteenth century. This has been very tersely put by an Englishman as follows: “There can be no question that the twenty-five years which have elapsed since 1884 have seen a change in the attitude of the white races of mankind towards their fellowmen of other hue and lineage, and in their avowed conduct towards them”. The Christian teaching of human brotherhood “has given place to a pseudo-scientific doctrine of the fundamental inequalities of the human kind which, true as a statement of fact, has been exaggerated and made political use of to excuse white selfishness and white exclusiveness, and to reinforce the white man’s pretension of rightful dominion over the non-white world at large.”[79]

1. Mill, J. S., Considerations on Representative Government, Chapter XVIII, p. 113.

2. Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, p. 17.

3. Mill, n. pp. 109, 115, 148, 342, 365-6.

4. Garratt-I, 398-9.

5. Shore, F.J., Notes on Indian Affairs, 2 Vols. (1847).

6. Spear, T.G.P., pp. 134-44.

7. Chailley, p. 192.

8. 1HRC, XXI. 50.

9. Mitra, Kishorichand, Memoirs of Dwarakanath Tagore, p. 53,

10. Ibid, 54.

11. Spear, T.G.P., 140.

12. THG. 306 (274). Hie bracketed figure refers to page number in 1958 edition.

13. Memoirs , 54.

14. Spear, T.G.P., 140.

14a. Vol. IX, p. 346.

15. Life of Digambar Mitra, 1.110.

16. Emily Eden, Up the Country, p. 55.

17. Cotton-1, 42.

18. Garratt-H, 398. Cf. also, Mayhew, 147.

18a. Cf. p. 153.

19. See Vol. IX, pp. 918, 933-6.

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20. See pp. 15-6.

21. See p. 285.

21a. Original Records in Madras Archives.

22. Spear, T.G.P., 141-2.

23. Routledge, 277-8.

24. Cotton-II, 65.

25. Cotton-L 69-70.

26. H. P. Ghose, p. 26.

27. Ibid, 26-7.

28. Ibid.

29. Blunt-I, 152.

29a. Ibid, 263.

29b. Ibid..

30. Ibid, 264-66; cf. also pp. 140-41.

31. Ibid, 174.

32. The passage has been quoted in full in Vol. IX, p. 871.

33. THG. 391 (348).

34. Ibid, 391-2 (348-9).

35. Ibid.

36. Sunderland, 72.

37. Ibid.

38. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 591-602.

39. Gotton-II, 79. For strong denunciation of the Whipping Act by the Indians, cf. four articles by Girish-chandra Ghosh, in the Hindoo Patriot, 12 September, 1861, and in the Bengalee, 24 February. 15 December, and 22 December, 1866. The last two disclose the horrible nature of flogging inflicted even for petty offences. A boy of eight, who stole a guava, died as a result of the flogging. (Selections from the writings of Girish Chunder Ghose, the Founder and First Editor of "The Hindoo Patriot" and "The Bengalee", edited by Manmathanath Ghosh, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 396, 576, 646, 654.

40. Garratt-I, 116.

41. Ibid, 115.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid, 118. The term Anglo-Indian in this chapter includes all persons of pure or mixed British blood residing permanently or temporarily in India.

44. Blunt-I, 261.

45. Andrews and Mookerji, 85.

46. Blunt-I, 74.

47. Blunt-H 44-46; Blunt-I. 60.

48. Spear, 140.

49. Ibid, 141.

50. Blunt-I, 218.

51. THG. 414.

52. Cotton-II, 65-6.

53. Andrews and Mookerjee, 81.

54. Chailley, 193.

54a. See pp. 26-7.

55. Blunt-I. 265. For the incident, see above, pp. 347-48.

56. Ibid. 145.

57. Buckland, I. 428-9. Cf. G.C. Ghose's article in the Hindo Patriot, 11 May, 1854 (Selections, 159).

58. Garratt-I, 116-7.

59. Morrison, Imperial Rule, 27-8.

59a. Ibid, 28.

59a. Ibid, 38.

60. Cotton-II, 124-5. Italics mine

61. Cotton-II, 166-8. Italics mine.

62. Blunt-I, 163.

63. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 904.

64. Cotton-II, 111-3. Italics mine. A pension of Rs. 300 per month was granted to Cowan from the Indian exchequer (Essays Presented to Sir

Jadunath Sarkar, Edited by Dr. H.R. Gupta, p. 121).

65. The trying Magistrate admitted that to avoid troubles, he consulted the District Magistrate beforehand. He said: “What I mean is that sometimes when cases are disposed of. and Magistrates do not like it, that they find fault and so I settled beforehand’’.

66. The full details of the case are given by H. Das Gupta in his Bengali work ‘Bharater Jatiya Congress’ , I. 204-15.

67. Vol. IX, p. 923.

68. Blunt-X, 268.

68a. The italics in the above extracts are not in the original.

69. Home Department Public A—1899, Nos. 220-250; December, 1902, Nos. 390400. Italics mine.

69a. Unpublished Records in CRO, London. Italics mine. (These letters have since been published. Cf. A.K. Majumdar, Advent of Independence, pp. -319 ff.) 69b. BPP. LXXX. Part II (1960), p. 72.

69c. See pp. 23-4, 338-9.

70. CR. July, 1853. pp. 138-40, 146, 155-6.

70a. B.C. Pal, Brahmo Samaj and the Battle of Swaraj in India, p. 60.

71. Quoted in the Modem Review, VHI. 463.

72. See pp. 340, 355.

73. Chailley, 195.

74. Ibid, 193.

75. Blunt-I, 262.

76. For these extracts, see pp. 126, 142, 182.

77. Blunt-I, 248.

78. Chailley, 197.

79. Blunt-I. 233.

CHAPTER X (XLVni)

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS INDIA

The final collapse of the Maratha powers and the consolidation of the British dominion in India quickened the imperial instincts of Britain, and henceforth the British people looked upon this vast sub* continent as their own. Though nominally India was the posession of a private trading company, the British Government treated her as an imperial domain, existing for the benefit of the English people as a whole. This idea, though of gradual growth, was firmly established during the period under review. Nor was it unnatural: Lord Ellenborough wrote to Queen Victoria in January, 1843, that 4 'he can see no limit to the future prosperity of India if it be governed with due respect for the feelings and even the prejudices, and with a careful regard for the interests, of the people, with the resolution to make their well-being the chief object of the Government, and not the pecuniary advantages of the nation of strangers to which Providence has committed the rule of this distant empire." 1 But it was a big "If". Such a lofty ideal of ruling a conquered country for the interest of the conquered had no place in the practical politics anywhere in the world. It is a curious coincidence that at the very moment when Ellenborough penned these lines, a British historian told the very plain truth that "it is remarkable that the interests of India should be invariably sacrificed whenever they are the subject of British legislation." 2

It is easy to pick up from the writings and speeches of Englishmen, and even from the Acts of the British Parliament, 'pious platitudes*, and occasionally even sincere professions, of the high ideal of ruling India for the interest of the Indians alone, treating Indians with justice and fair play, and making an earnest effort to make them fit for ruling their own country. Nor is it difficult, on the other hand, to quote very frank expressions to the effect that India was a conquered country, and must ever remain so for the benefit of Englishmen. The history of Indo-British relations leaves no doubt that the latter class alone represented the real voice and will of the British people as a whole, whatever might have been the views of individual Britons.

A generous sympathy towards the Indians and their political aspirations was expressed by many Englishmen, including high officials.

This is what we find in The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings under date, the 17th of May, 1818:

“A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest.” 3

Elphinstone wrote in 1819 that The most desirable death for us to die of should be the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain

the Government; but this seems at an immeasurable distance.

A time of separation must come; and it is for our interest to have an early separation from a civilised people, rather than a rupture with a barbarous nation, in which it is probable that all our settlers and even our commerce would perish, along with all the institutions we had introduced into the country.” 4

Only a few men were sufficiently far-sighted to realize that a paternal foreign government contains within itself the seeds of its own decay. Next to the Marquess of Hastings and Elphinstone a writer in the Anglo-Indian paper, the India Gazette, made a remarkable statement in 1820, which has proved to be almost prophetic in character. After referring to the spread of education, establishment of peace and security, and other benefits of the British rule, he continues: “All these will have the inevitable effect of qualifying the people of India for enjoying political and civil liberty and of furnishing them both with the will and the power to claim what they deem to be their rights. The separation of India from Great Britain cannot in the nature of things be prevented. It must come sooner or later; and after appropriating to the mother country all the advantages which colonial possessions can confer during the period of our rule, the true system of governing them should aim to provide that the separation shall be safe, gradual and friendly, whenever it may take place, so as to prevent the possible evils and secure the greatest benefits both to Great Britain and her colonies when the power of the former shall cease."[6]

Thomas Munro also expressed a similar view: "We should look upon India, not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently until the natives shall in some future age have abandoned most of their superstitions and prejudices, and become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and to conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn."[6]

Sir Charles Trevelyan also hoped that as a result of education the Indians would achieve independence without any struggle or mutual exasperation and "we shall have exchanged profitable subjects for still more profitable allies."[7] That many others, even some English officers, held similar views between 1829 and 1832, is testified by Jacquemont's letters from India.[8] All these were cast into shade by the speech of Lord Macaulay in the House of Commons in the course of the discussion of the Charter Act of 1833. The following passage has become classic, and though often quoted, will bear repetition.

"It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history.” 9

As the nineteenth century rolled on such sentiments gradually evaporated. By the end of the century, even the most liberal British Premier would not go further than what Gladstone observed in 1877: “Our title to be in India depends on a first condition that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable”; or said by way of passing remark ‘that India should be ruled by the Indians.* 10 But these casual expressions did not really mean much.

As a striking contrast to these views reference may be made to the characteristic expressions of some high officials. Lord Ellenborough said in the House of Lords: “Our very existence depended upon the exclusion of the (Indians from) military and political power. We have won the empire by the sword and we preserve it by the same means.” Lord Elgin also held out the threat that India was conquered by the sword and shall be held by the sword. 10 * Lord Salisbury, who held the office of the Secretary of State for India before he became Prime Minister of Great Britain, spoke in the same strain. He spoke of the “blackman” with that indefinable menace of disdain, characteristic of the English Grand Seigneur. And it was he who cut short with

a sharp word the mournful complaint about Indian wrongs presented

by a member of Parliament: “What good these hypocrisies?.

The Hindus know that they are governed by a ‘superior race’. When a man has a black, red, or yellow skin, and I should add when he has the ‘Providential’ chance of being governed by whites, he ought not to have, he has not in fact, an opinion. It is enough to bow down and utter thanks ” 11 Reference has been made above to similar expressions of views during the debate on the Council Act of 1892. 12 In a public meeting in A. D. 1886, while discussing the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, Lord Salisbury remarked: “There were races like the Hottentots and even the Hindus, incapable of selfgovernment.”

The views of British statesmen during the last quarter of the nineteenth century more or less conformed to this pattern. They were determined not to grant representative institutions to the Indians nor to diminish the number of European officers in India. A few extracts may be quoted from the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy 12 * to indicate the spirit of British administration in India.

1. Cross to Dufferin, 17 February, 1887.

"Of course anything like a representation with a population of 250 millions is absurd—and it is never to be forgotten that the claims are raised by the educated few, very few in comparison with the population, but by a noisy and educated few."

2. Cross to Lansdowne , 23 January, 1890.

(After referring to the Congress agitation for Permanent Settlement, an outcome of "the great blunder perpetuated in giving Bengal such a settlement," Cross proceeds:)

"This, however, to my mind, affords an additional reason for the greatest caution in the matter of adopting in any form the elective principle. It was the election of some 86 Home Rulers which

gave Mr. Gladstone's mischievous scheme such an impetus_I am

very glad at all events to find that both Lord Dufferin and yourself are entirely opposed to its being applied to the Supreme Council.

I think that such a step would be fatal to our rule in India. As regards the Provincial Councils, I know from private correspondence that both Lord Reay and Lord Connemara are entirely against it, and I presume that their Councils would be of the same opinion."

3. Hamilton to Curzon, 14 April, 1899.

"We cannot give the Natives what they want: representative institutions or the diminution of the existing establishment of Eqro peans is impossible. That being so, it seems to me that we can only cultivate reciprocally friendly relations with them by showing interest in them personally, and by utilising opportunities for coming in contact with representative men and representative bodies."

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4. Hamilton to Curzon, 5 January , 1900.

"Looking at the extreme difficulty of proposing any fresh measures or schemes which will fit in with the aspirations of 'young India,' it is most desirable to encourage in every way we can 'older India.' It was through the noblemen and country gentlemen of India that the earlier civil servants of the East India Company governed the country."

The British statesmen paid but scant attention to the views of the educated Indians. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that they had supreme contempt for them. The two following extracts are illuminating;

5. Cross to Lansdowne, 11 April, 1890.

"I read the comments on the Indian Councils Bill in the Indian papers, with much interest, and am well satisfied. I care nothing for the Babu comments."

i

6. Hamilton to Elgin , 16 September, 1897.

"If we can keep the affection of the fighting races and higher orders of society in India, we can ignore the dislike and disaffection of the intellectual non-fighting classes, the baboos, students and pleaders."

The attitude of the Eritish towards the appointment of Indians to senior administrative posts in India has been described later in detail. One or two interesting points may be noted here.

There was a proposal from Lord Cross that an Indian should be a member of the Secretary of State's Council. Dufferin and his Executive Council \

opposed this chiefly on the ground that no suitable Indian could be found for such post. How little suitability counted in these matters will be evident from the following letter from Lord Hamilton to Lord Elgin, dated 12 November, 1896.

“There is a strong feeling here that the Government should in some way mark its appreciation of Dr. (J.C.) Bose’s remarkable labours and researches in science. The highest scientists here express great admiration of the little man, who is undoubtedly the foremost scientific authority amongst the educational officers of the Indian Government, both European and Native. He receives, however, the native salary, only two-thirds of the salary of an European.To bring his salary up to the European standard would be an awkward precedent, but I think your ingenuity could suggest some other means of meeting his merits.”

It was thus a fixed policy to keep even the senior Education Service a close preserve for the Europeans. That this was not at all due to superior merits of the latter was admitted even by Lord Curzon. On 1st October, 1901, he wrote to Hamilton:

“The other day I saw with pleasure that you had appointed to the Indian Educational Service a young and distinguished Indian Graduate named Mr. Harinath De. I think this was a wise step. Our English professors and lecturers out here about whom I wrote recently to Godley, take such little interest as a rule in their pupils, and perform their duties so mechanically, and with so little real enthusiasm in their work, that perhaps a Native of ability, and who has received a good University training in England, may do better.”

Yet, for many years to come, the appointment of an Indian to the Indian Educational Service was an exception rather than the rule.

The British Governors-General, with perhaps a few exceptions like Ripon, were guided by the principles described above. Some of them, like Lytton and Curzon, made no secret of their motived and actions, while in most others, particularly Ellenborough, Dalhousie, and Dufferin, there was a wide gulf between professions and practices. But Ripon was decried and insulted by the Englishmen in India as will be described later.

Worse fate befell Sir Charles Trevelyan, Governor of Madras, who disapproved Wilson's financial budget presented in February, 1860, embracing proposals for three taxes—income tax, a licence duty and an excise duty on home-grown tobacco,—and described its main provisions as "three tremendous taxes." His unfavourable view in respect to the budget, besides exercising great influence with his colleagues at Madras and his principal officers, affected public opinion throughout Southern India. He then allowed the local newspapers to publish the protest which he had deemed it his duty to record against the proposed taxation. This publication caused excitement at Calcutta and other centres of opinion in India, and was thought to constitute an official collision between the Government of Madras and the Supreme Government. Sir Charles Trevelyan shortly left Madras (having been recalled by the Government of England) amidst the regrets of the whole country—European and native—in the Madras Presidency. 12b

Lord William Bentinck has earned fame and popularity by his various reforms, notably the abolition of Sati, the introduction of English as the medium of higher education and the appointment of the Indians to higher appointments. But he was an imperialist to the core, and never desired the real uplift of India. This would be evident from his policy towards Mysore and the annexation of Coorg, Cachar and Jaintia, to which reference has been made above- 12c But more revealing in this respect is his Minute of 13 March, 1835, i.e. just on the eve of his retirement from India. He emphasized the fact that in India "one hundred millions of people are under the control of a Government which has no hold whatever on their affections." So he held that "spread of knowledge and operation of the press weaken the respect for European character and prestige for British superiority," and "regarded the higher elevation of character, knowledge, improved morality, courage, etc., on the part of the Indians as internal evils from the point of view of the British Government.” The irony of the whole thing is that it is to this Bentinck that Macaulay paid the following tribute which has been accepted by posterity as genuine truth: “Who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed; whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the Government committed to his charge.”

The India Office was. as a rule, antagonistic to the political aspirations of the Indians, for “the council of the Secretary of State has always been the stronghold of reactionary officialdom.” As Mr. Hume put it, “the India Office is an organization perpetually employed in popularizing the official view of all Indian questions.” 13

The non-official Englishmen may be divided into three classes in respect of their attitude towards India. The majority of them made no secret of their imperialism of the Jingo type, to which an artistic literary expression was given by Hudyard Kipling. This is what could be naturally expected, and it is not difficult to understand their point of view. If it is realized that every one out of five Englishmen depended for his livelihood on Indian dominion, it would be idle to expect an average Englishman to be willing to forego the hold of England over India from abstract considerations of justice and fair play. Human nature being what it is, this attitude can be easily excused, even though Indians cannot possibly sympathise with it. But far less excusable is the conduct of those Englishmen who uttered liberal views with a mental reservation that these had no application to the east of Suez.

The most outstanding personality of this type was John Morley, the shining light of the British Liberal Party and the author of the

Life of Gladstone. He was regarded as one of the most liberalminded statesmen, and the Moderate party of the Indian National Congress pinned their faith on him, but he was really no friend of India.

When in 1885 Lord Randolph Churchill advocated a Royal Commission of Enquiry into Indian affairs, Mr. Morley delivered a violent attack on Lord Randolph's scheme, speaking of “an excitable mass of barbarism rampant in India,” which, he said, the Royal Commission would inflame.

Mr. William Digby, well-known for his very valuable services to India, who published an account of his interview with Mr. Morley in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of January 22, 1901, gave it as his definite view that "Mr. John Morley was never an ardent friend of Indian aspirations and, so far as I know, is not now." He (Morley) said, he would not agree that Gladstone, at Limehouse, in what he said about India, spoke for the Liberal Party. 14

But Morley was merely a representative of a class, to whom reference is made by Sir John Lawrence: "The difficulty in the way of the Government of India acting fairly in these matters is immense. If anything is done, or attempted to be done, to help the natives, a general howl is raised which reverberates in England, and finds sympathy and support there. I feel quite bewildered sometimes what to do. Everyone is, in the abstract, for justice, moderation, and such-like excellent qualities; but when one comes to apply such principles so as to effect anybody's interests, then a change comes over them." 16

While the overwhelming majority of the Englishmen belonged to one or other of the two types mentioned above, a few non-official Englishmen, who made an earnest endeavour to study the actual condition of India in a detached spirit, formed a small but distinguished class by themselves They not only expressed great concern for the miserable plight of the Indians but also frankly denounced the iniquities of the British Government and held it to be primarily responsible for this sad state of things. The boldness with which they exposed the real nature of the British administration and its injurious effect on India are above all praise, particularly when it is remembered what an amount of odium and unpopularity they thereby incurred among their own people. It is the public conduct of this handful of Englishmen that kept up for long an illusion in the mind of a large section of politically minded Indians about the generosity and sense of justice of England. To the very last, these Indians clung almost pathetically to the belief that England was sure to do justice to India. This belief exercised a considerable influence upon the Indian politics of the nineteenth century.

Apart from this factor of great importance, it may be pointed out that these few Englishmen echoed the real views and sentiments of the advanced political thinkers among the Indians who, for obvious reasons, could not give public expressions to them with the same frankness and boldness as characterised their English sympathisers. For gaining a true insight into the real Indian view of the British rule in India during the nineteenth century, one cannot do better than peruse the speeches and writings of these few Englishmen who may be regarded as the "friends of India" in the true sense of the term. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to this at some length.

One of the earliest of this noble band of Englishmen was George Thompson, whose six lectures, delivered in Manchester at the latter part of the year 1839, and published in the form of a book three years later, constitute a grave indictment against the British administration in India, as will be seen from the extracts quoted above. 16

While every single word in these long extracts—and in the book as a whole—echoed the feelings and sentiments of politically conscious Indians, it would be difficult to name any Indian politician who dared give expression to them in public. It is a lurid commentary on the Indian National Congress that up to the very end of the nineteenth century its leaders never went beyond what Thompson said in 1839, and even seldom approached his level.

John Bright was a worthy successor of Thompson. "In the famous debate on Sir Charles Wood's India Bill of 1853, Mr. Bright entered a vigorous protest against the system of Government established in India and categorically pointed out nearly all the defects of that system, some, if not most, of which are still applicable to the present-day arrangement. In his passionate eloquence he called the attention of the House to the extreme inadequacy of Parliamentary control over the administration of India which both sides of the House formally agreed in proclaiming as a 'solemn sacred trust,' though neither side raised its little finger even to treat it as more than a grazing common. He held that there was no continuity or consistency of any settled policy with regard to India, while everything was allowed to drift, there being no real disposition to grapple with any difficulty; that Indian opinion was unanimous in calling for a constitutional change and in complaining of the delay and expense of the law courts, the inefficiency and low character of the police and the neglect of road-making and irrigation; that the poverty of the people was such as to demonstrate of itself a fundamental error in the system of Government; that the statute authorising the employment of Indians in offices of trust was a dead letter; that the continuance of the system of appointments and promotion by seniority in the covenanted

service was a ‘great bar to a much wider employment of the most intelligent and able men among the native population;* that taxation was clumsy and unscientific and its burden intolerable to a people destitute of mechanical appliances; that the salt-tax was unjust and the revenue from opium precarious; that the revenue was squandered on unnecessary wars; that the Civil Service was overpaid; that there was no security for the competence and character of the Collectors whose power was such that each man could make or mar a whole district; that Parliament was unable to grapple fairly with any Indian question; that the people and Parliament of Britain were shut out from all considerations in regard to India, and that ‘on the whole the Government of India was a Government of secrecy and irresponsibility to a degree that should not be tolerated.” 17

Five years later (1858) John Bright said:

“The population of India were in a condition of great impoverishment and the taxes were more onerous and oppressive than the taxes of any other country in the world. Nor were the police arrangements, administration of Justice, the educational policy and the finances in a satisfactory condition.” 18

Charles Bradlaugh also had great sympathy for India. In a speech in the Parliament on 31 December, 1883, he said: ‘I am of opinion that we have obtained our authority in India in a great part by means, of which we ought to be heartily ashamed. And I think if we continue to govern India there is the weightiest duty upon every Englishman and Englishwoman to take care that the despotic authority of England should be used, as much as it can be, to redeem our past and to make our Indian fellow-citizens desirous of being governed by us/ 18a .

Samuel Smith, a member of the British House of Commons, visited India twice, once in 1863 and again in 1886. After his second visit he wrote his own impression of this country, particularly the changes he had noted among the educated people. He seems to have studied the Indian situation with great care and circumspection and hit unerringly at the vital points. His representation of Indian views and suggested remedies remarkably agree with those expressed by contemporary Indians, but gains additional strength from the impartial character which must be attributed to the observations of an English politician favouring reforms in India.

In his small pamphlet, India Revisited , Smith refers to the extreme poverty of India. He observes that "there is now an educated native tribunal by which our actions are closely scrutinised. This constitutes a totally new element in Indian problems as compared with former times."

He analyses as follows the principal objections urged by the Indians against the British rule.

I. It is too expensive and drains the country of its wealth, The European officers are very highly paid and spend most of their salaries outside India. Their pension is a heavy drain. The cost of the army is also very high as a white soldier is paid three or four times more than what a native sepoy gets. Most of this money is also spent in England.

II. India is saddled with the cost of expeditions in which she had no interest, as for example Kabul Expedition and Egyptian Expedition.

III. Growth of foreign trade at the expense of home industry.

IV. England forced upon India a fiscal policy not suited for her, but adapted to develop Britains' commerce.

V. Exclusion of natives from all higher posts in the administration.

Smith observes that the Indians do not desire to get rid of British rule. What they wish is not to overthrow British authority but to mould it into a truer Indian form, and above all, to get a substantial share of the administration and an effective voice in determining the policy of the Government. The main reform upon which the Indians insist in order to achieve the above purpose is the election of representative members to the Legislative Councils of India. The impression of the Indians is that the English officials stand between them and their just rights and claims. No such complaint is made of the British people, and there is a strong belief among the Indians in their sense of justice and good faith. Indians also object to the constitution of the Council of India in London. As it consists mainly of retired officials of India it merely serves as a court of appeal from the acting bureaucracy in India to the retired bureaucracy in London.

Smith suggested a few remedies for the grievances of the Indians. These may be summed up as follows:—

1. Return of a few members directly from India to British Parliament.

2. Election of a proportion of the Council of India in London by the Indians.

3. Inclusion of elected representatives in the various Councils of India.

4. Greater admission of Indians to Civil Service by holding simultaneous examinations in India.

Smith concluded by saying that these reforms are certainly not revolutionary.

II. M. Hyndman was also a great well-wisher of India. This will be quite clear from the following passages from his letter written to Robert Ruies La Monte who requested him to write an article on India:

“I recognise to the full the importance of putting the truth about India before the American people and American Socialists. What a time it takes to force any truth home. I began writing on India in 1874. My articles in the Nineteenth Century in 1878-79 were translated into nearly every known language. Yet here we are, thirty years later, with all that has been done in the meantime, still met by the grossest ignorance and the most insurmountable prejudice. Our role is heinous to India in every way.... It is very, very sad, to see a glorious old civilisation, capable of the highest development, crushed under the unsympathetic and unimaginative capitalist domination of our race. And things are getting worse instead of better. The men of to-day are inferior to the men of yesterday and our accursed English hypocrisy and colour prejudice shuts us out from real knowledge of Indian life.”

Once he wrote to Dadabhai Naoroji ‘that little could be done for India until we had a revolution here_ The same class —the capitalists—which is ruining you ruins also our own workers.” 1 ®

Fawcett was another genuine friend of India, whose views and activities will be referred to in Chapter XIII.“ In 1870 he vehemently protested against the orthodox practice of introducing the Indian Budget at the fag end of a session to be silently debated before empty benches. He maintained that India was a -poor country and complained that the British public failed to appreciate the dangerously narrow margin upon which the mass of the population lived on the verge of starvation. In 1871 it was at his instance that a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to inquire into the financial administration of India, he himself being elected as its President. All this time India was keenly watching the movements of the one man who was, single-handed, fighting her cause against tremendous odds, and in 1872 a huge public meeting in Calcutta voted an address to Fawcett expressing India’s deep gratitude towards him and urging him to continue the fight in defence of her dumb and helpless millions which he had voluntarily and so generously espoused. At the general election of 1874, Fawcett, like many other Liberals, lost his seat for Brighton and for the first time in those days, India seemed to have practically risen to the exigencies of the situation. A subscription was at once started in this country and a sum of £750, in two instalments, was remitted to England to enable Fawcett to contest another seat at the earliest opportunity, and soon after Fawcett was returned member for Hackney.”[20]

There were a few other Englishmen of the type represented by Thompson, Bright, Hyndman and Fawcett. Preference may specially be made to Hume, Wedderbum and Cotton. The names of these true friends of India are remembered with gratitude by the Indians even today for their sympathy with, and active support to Indian aspirations, though their voice was merely a cry in the wilderness and had had no effect on practical politics.

So far as the British people in general were concerned, they were mostly ignorant about India and had no definite opinion either for or against her, so long at least as their material interests were not affected. Raja Rammohan Roy, in the thirties, and Dwarakanath Tagore in the forties, of the nineteenth century, were warmly received by many notable persons in Britain. Rammohan Roy was requested to place his views about the reforms in Indian administration before a Committee of the House of Commons and was given a respectful hearing. Dwaraka-nath was invited to lunch and dinner by Queen Victoria. The citizens of Edinburgh presented him an Address in which they expressed the hope that in India "the rod of oppression may be for ever broken, and that the yoke of an unwilling subjection may be everywhere exchanged for a voluntary allegiance." 21 All this was said just before the most unjust annexation of Sindh and the tyrannical coercion of Gwalior by Ellenborough, 21 * but these did net provoke any reaction among the English public.

The reception of Keshab-chandra Sen in England in the sixties was reminiscent of the old days. The election of Dadabhai Naoroji to the British House of Commons clearly testified to the sympathy which a section of the British public still had for India, but the violent denunciation of him by the Conservative Party, including its prominent leaders, was a rude reminder of the change that had come over the British people. The general popular sympathy and respect for India grew less and less in proportion to the assertion by the Indians of their right to govern themselves. The reception —rather rejection—of the world-famous poet Rabindra-nath in London offers a sad contrast to that accorded to his grandfather Dwaraka-nath, and shows that much water had flown by the Thames during the interval.

Throughout the nineteenth century the people of Britain as a whole had been supremely indifferent to India and took little interest in Indian affairs. This was condemned by Macaulay and Thompson as far back as 1833 and 1839. The passage in which seventy years later Lord Curzon passed a severe indictment on Englishmen for this reason has become almost classic and would bear repetition.

"I sometimes think that the most remarkable thing about British rule in India is the general ignorance that prevails about it in England. Seventy years ago (i.e. in 1833) Lord Macaulay said, in his speech about the Government of India, that a broken head in Coldbath Fields produced a greater sensation amongst us than three pitched battles in India. Twenty years later Lord Dalhousie, that celebrated proconsul, wrote that nothing short of a great victory or a great defeat in India was sufficient to create in English society even a transient interest in Indian affairs.

“But I think that things have somewhat advanced since those days. Communications have greatly improved between the two countries; postal and telegraphic charges have been cheapened; more cold-weather visitors come out to us in India every year; and there is always an intelligent minority of persons here who follow, with the utmost interest, everything that goes on there. Yet, in its main essentials, the indictment still remains true, and you have only to look at the morning newspapers, to see that, with rare exceptions, the average Englishman is much more concerned in the latest, football or cricket match, in a motor trial, or a wrestling encounter, than he is in the greatest responsibility that has been untertaken by his fellow-countrymen on the face of the earth.” 22

But although the Englishmen in general knew little and cared less about India, their imperial instincts were naturally opposed to any real advance of Indian interests. As one of them put it, they were sorry for the Indians, but they must place their own interests above all other considerations. This conviction, dictated by material considerations, was strengthened by the views of the reactionary Englishmen. It is the writings of this class of Englishmen, and not those of Thompson, Bright, Fawcett and a few other liberalminded Englishmen, which both reflected and shaped the views of the average Englishman at home. It is hardly necessary to say that the views of the Englishmen in India were most reactionary and this also had effect upon the Englishmen at home, for they have always a blind faith on the men on the spot. The state of things in 1856 is thus described by Sir John Kaye:

“To suggest that in an Asiatic race there might be a spirit of independence and a love of country, the manifestations of which were honourable in themselves, however inconvenient to us, was commonly to evoke, as the very mildest result, the imputation of being ‘Anti-British/ whilst sometimes the ‘true British feeling’ asserted itself in a less refined choice of epithets, and those who ventured to sympathise in any way with the people of the East were at once denounced as ‘white niggers’. Yet among these very men, so intolerant of anything approaching the assertion of a spirit of liberty by an Asiatic people, there were some who could well appreciate and sympathise with the aspirations of European bondsmen, and could regard with admiration the struggles of the Italian, the Switzer, or the Pole to liberate himself, by a sanguinary contest, from the yoke of the usurper. But the sight of the dark skin sealed up their sympathies. They contended not merely that the love of the country, that the spirit of liberty as cherished by European races, is in India wholly unknown, but that Asiatic nations, and especially the nations of India, have no right to judge what is best for themselves; have no right to revolt against the beneficence of a more civilised race of white men, who would think and act for them, and deprive them, for their own good, of all their most cherished rights and their most valued possessions." 23

How little these ideas were changed in course of time may be judged from the following statement of Malleson who, with Kaye, were the joint authors of the History of the Sepoy War in India .

"More than thirty years have elapsed since the Mutiny was crushed, and again we witness a persistent attempt to force Western ideas upon an Eastern people. The demands made by the newfangled congresses for the introduction into India of representative institutions is a demand coming from the noisy and unwarlike races which hope to profit by the general corruption which such a system would engender. To the manly races of India, to the forty millions of Muhammadans, to the Sikhs of the Punjab, to the warlike tribes on the frontier, to the Rohillas of Rohilkhand, to the Rajputs and Jats of Rajputana and Central India, such a system is utterly abhorrent. It is advocated by the adventurers and crochetmongers of the two peoples. Started by the noisy Bengalis, a race which, under Muhammadan rule, was content to crouch and serve, it is encouraged by a class in this country, ignorant for the most part of the real people of India, whilst professing to be in their absolute confidence. The agitation would be worthy of contempt but for the element of danger which it contains....

"Concession to noisy agitation on the part of the ruling power would place the lives, the fortunes, the interests of the loyal classes of India at the mercy of the noisiest, most corrupt, and most despised race in India." 24

The ignorance and indifference of the British people towards India, except when their material interest was at stake, was reflected in the action of the British Cabinet as well as in the deliberations of the Parliament. Since the transfer of the administration to the Crown in 1858, no opportunity was given for a free discussion on the affairs of India, such as was offered by the periodical revisions of the Charter of the East India Company, which was regarded with a jealous eye by many who did not share its profits. The check afforded by this wholesome jealousy was now gone, and since 1858 there was "no account of stewardship, no day of reckoning for official delinquencies."

The manner in which the British Government now superintended the Indian affairs is thus described by Wedderbum:

"In theory, the Secretary of State in Council is supposed to be the servant of the House of Commons; and in theory, he is supposed to occupy a position of judicial impartiality, as the Court of Appeal for Indian grievances. But neither of these suppositions has any foundation in fact. In point of fact, no matter which Party is in power, the Secretary of State, as a member of the Government commanding a Parliamentary majority, is not the servant but, in Indian matters, the master of the House of Commons; and in dealing with the independent member who questions his authority, he does not even affect impartiality, but comes before the house as the indignant apologist of the department for which he is responsible.

"In other departments of the administration, an independent member, seeking redress of grievances, gets ready support from the Front Opposition Bench. But this is not so in the case of a Radical daring to voice India's complaint of destitution, famine, and pestilence. Him a Tory Secretary of State denounces for his malignant, though unaccountable, want of patriotism, while the ex-Minister, emerging from his retirement on the Liberal benches, re-echoes these sentiments, praises his own past administration, and proclaims the unspeakable blessings of British rule. With a few honourable exceptions, the London Press follows suit, finding subject for amusement when the House empties itself, as soon as it is a question of India's suffering, not seeing any shame in this shameful disregard of national duty." 26

Blunt also makes similar scathing comments: “The India Office”, says he, “represents of necessity the traditions of the past, and the

Council, which was designed to check it, has proved a more conservative and acquiescent body than even the old Board of Directors, its prototype and model. The reason of this is obvious. The Council, composed as it is almost exclusively of retired civil or military servants, views Indian matters from the point of view only of the Anglo-Indian service. It is even less amenable than this is to the influence of new ideas, and is more completely out of touch with modern native thought. Its experience is always that of a generation back, not of the present day, and it refuses, more persistently even than the younger generation in active service, to admit the idea of change.

“Thus the Secretary of State, who is dependent on this blind guide, is in no other position at home than is the Viceroy in India. Ignorant, as a rule, of all things Indian, and dependent for advice on the India Office and his Anglo-Indian Council, he never gets at the truth of things, and blunders blindly on as they direct.” 25 *

The Press is justly regarded as the Fourth Estate in Britain, as it largely reflects as well as influences public opinion. It is therefore significant to note that, as a general rule, the British Press reflected the imperialist view. It expressed no sympathy for the political regeneration of the Indians or their economic development, and always opposed any economic policy which had the remotest chance of clashing with the interests of the British people. While a few liberal-minded Englishmen expressed their sympathy for India, John Bull’s real voice was heard through the Anglo-Indian and British Press. One specimen would suffice. In a series of letters to the Englishman , a writer, who styled himself Britannicus, poured out day after day and week after week the most violent and offensive trash that ever was penned. Referring to Pherozeshah Mehta’s speech on the Ilbert Bill in a public meeting held at Bombay on 28 April, 1883, he wrote:

“It also shows not only that we must hold India by the sword , but that we must encourage as many loyal men as possible capable of using the sword to settle in the country, if we wish to hold India successfully against enemies who are not to be despised. In order to effect this desirable object, the only safe policy for Government to pursue is to encourage as many Britons as possible to settle in the country by throwing open the services to them, by fostering instead of hampering tea, indigo and other European industries and by refraining from degrading Englishmen by subjecting them to the criminal jurisdiction of conquered and emasculated races”. 26

If anyone supposes that this vitriolic attack was an unnatural outburst due to the heat caused by the Ilbert Bill agitation, the impression would be removed by the editorial of the London Times on the Proceedings of the First meeting of the Indian National Congress in Bombay in 1885, quoted in Chapter XV, which breathes the same spirit. It hurled forth thunder against the Congress for making demands for political reforms, which were generally regarded in India as extremely moderate, and made it clear that the British would not yield to talk but only to sharp sword. This policy of holding India by the sword also swayed the British Cabinet and British statesmen, though it was occasionally hidden under the cloak of sweet phrases or nominal concessions. The Indian National Congress came to be looked upon as the gravest potential danger to the British rule and the Government of India adopted various means to curb its growth. British imperialism was at the height of its power at that time and India was justly regarded as the crest-jewel of the British Empire. No wonder, that the British were determined never to let go its hold upon India.

As a specimen of the imperial demeanour displayed by the British statesmen, attention may be drawn to the following letter addressed by the Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, to Lord Elgin, the Viceroy of India.

‘T observe that in the debate on Budget one of the Native Legislative Members spoke of our Government as an alien Government. I think this is the first time that the obnoxious expression has been used at any official gathering. The speech seemed to me to have been a carefully prepared one, and which, not improbably, was written out or drawn up in England.

“Mr. Naoroji and his colleagues are becoming more and more violent in their language here, and he is consequently losing whatever little influence or weight he might previously have had. I understand that he trades a good deal on the assumption that he has influence at the India Office, and can act as an efficient intermediary between the Secretary of State and various interests and individuals in India. As soon as it is known that any request, memorial, or petition which passes through his hands, or with which he is in any way connected, is prejudiced from the very fact of having been associated with him, I have no doubt his influence will even more rapidly decay and vanish. Long residence in England and association with the least reputable portion of the political world have hopelessly deteriorated whatever brains or prescience he may originally have possessed." 27

As will be shown later in Chapter XIV, Dadabhai Naoroji was noted for his unflinching loyalty to the British throne and moderate views on Indian politics. He was elected to the British Parliament

and regarded as one of the greatest Indians of his age. All over India he was hailed as the 'Grand Old Man' in his later life. The views expressed about him by the Secretary of State for India in the last sentence would give a rude shock to every Indian, and perhaps also to not a few Englishmen who knew him. But still more important is the evidence it gives of one of the worst phases of intoxication produced by the wine of imperialism.

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All this was the result of a deliberate policy that the Indians should not be granted any higher political status. It was often hidden under the cloak of a humanitarian feeling for the "Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent, who subsist by agriculture." 28 Lord Curzon openly declared that the Indian masses "should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard." Hence the great Viceroy did not offer any political concessions to the educated classes because he "did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interest of India itself to do so." Lord Curzon repudiated "the claim constantly made that a man is not merely a Bengali, or an Uriya, or a Mahratta, or a Sikh, but a member of the Indian nation." "I do not think," said he, "it can yet be said that there is any Indian nation, though in the distant future some approach to it may be evolved." But, he added in the same breath, "however that may be, the Indian is most certainly a citizen of the British empire. To that larger unit he already belongs". 29 But this is to be understood with the distinct corollary that the Indians must always play the under-dog within that empire, petted and humoured, but always subservient to the British masters.

The mentality of the English in respect of India is clearly reflected in the deliberate policy of ignoring solemn declarations as well as provisions of the Acts of Parliament. The Charter Act of 1833 placed the Englishmen and the Indians on the same footing in respect of participation in Indian administration by laying down that "no native of India nor any natural-born subject therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the Company." 30 This principle was reaffirmed in the Royal Proclamation of 1858 by which Queen Victoria assumed the administration of India in her own hands. It is doubtful if even those who drafted them had any serious inclination ever to give effect to it. In any case both documents remained a dead letter. Lord Lytton had the candour to admit that they were deliberately ignored, as will be evident from the extract from his confidential minute quoted above. 31

It was not, however, long before the British Government took good care to demonstrate publicly that the old policy was changed in favour of a new one which openly marked the Indians with a stamp of inferiority so far as recruitment to public services was concerned. On the recommendations of a Commission appointed in 1886 to reorganise public services, these were divided into two nearly water-tight compartments, the higher one, called Imperial, being practically reserved for the British and the lower one, called Provincial, alone being open to the Indians. 32 Even some Englishmen had the candour to admit that "such a system bore the stamp, barely disguised, of racial discrimination, at variance with the spirit, if not the letter, of the Queen's proclamation." We can easily imagine the effect of this upon the sentiment and sensibility of the large body of Western-educated Indians, who believed, with good reason, that they were not a whit inferior, in any respect, to the English recruits, and that this badge of inferiority was solely due to less whitish colour of the skin. 32a

The policy, referred to by Lord Lytton, dominated the counsels of the British Cabinet throughout the nineteenth century. Thus the Secretary of State, Lord Hamilton, wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Elgin, on 7 May, 1897: "I do not think we should put very prominently forward the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. As a piece of English it is fine, but 40 years' practice has shown the extreme difficulty of giving effect to the academic utterances as to equality of races."

This British policy towards India was not materially changed down to the end of the nineteenth century. Lord Curzon, who came out to India as Viceroy in 1899, may be regarded as the typical representative of British statesmen in so far as their attitude towards the Indians was concerned. His speeches and activities give us a fair measure of the British imperialism, in its best form, so far a 3 it solidified itself towards the close of the nineteenth century.

Lord Curzon had no sympathy with the political aspirations of the educated Indians, and had a particular grudge against the Indian National Congress. In a letter written to the Secretary of State for India, dated 18th November, 1900, he says: "My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise". He was equally determined to keep the higher administrative offices in India as a special reserve for Englishmen. He not only ignored the demands of the Congress, repeated year after year, for the appointment of a gradually increasing number of Indians to higher offices, but even went a step further. In a letter to the Secretary of State dated

April 23, 1900, he referred to "the extreme danger of the system under which every year an increasing number of the 900 and odd higher posts that were meant, and ought to have been exclusively and specifically reserved, for Europeans, are being filched away by the superior wits of the natives in English examination". 32b

The Secretary of State, Lord George Hamilton, fully endorsed these views and wrote to Curzon on 17 May, 1900: "The large scale preponderance of Natives in appointments above a certain grade as compared with Europeans always fills me with apprehension as regards the future. The preponderance will increase rather than diminish. All the educational influences at work in India tend to widen rather than to narrow the inlets into our administrative service. One of the greatest mistakes that ever was made was the issue in the Proclamation annexing India of the principle that perfect equality was to exist, so far as all appointments were concerned, between European and Native.”

Lord Curzon, who stoutly defended this policy, sought to explain away the meaning of the Charter Act and Queen’s Proclamation by specious arguments. In his Budget speech before the Legislative Council on March 30, 1904, Curzon mentioned two general principles regulating the public appointments in India.

“The first is that the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, though open to such Indians as can proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule, be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that, the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the circumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that outside this corps d’elite we shall, as far as possible and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because our general policy is to restrict rather than to extend European agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State. This principle is qualified only by the fact that in certain special departments, where scientific or technical knowledge is required, or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility, it is necessary to maintain a strong European admixture, and sometimes even a European preponderance.” 33

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When Gokhale pointed out that this was at variance with the principles laid down in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, Curzon observed:

“I am familiar with both those documents, and 1 also remember—which those who quote them sometimes forget—that the late Queen’s words contained a qualification, not indeed modifying their generosity, but limiting their application by the necessary tests, firstly of practical expediency, and secondly of personal fitness. These were the words: 'It is our will, that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.' There is not one sentence in that memorable paragraph from which any Government of India or any Governor-General has ever either desired or attempted to recede. But the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's historical references stopped short at 1858. He altogether forgot to mention the findings of the Public Service Commission of 1887, which deliberately laid down that the service in India should in future be divided into two branches, firstly, an Imperial Service called the Civil Service, to be recruited by open competition in England only; and, secondly, a Provincial Service recruited in India, and consisting almost entirely of natives of this country."

Lord Curzon's bold assertion that no Governor-General or the Government of India had ever desired to recede from the pledges given to India is not only belied by the practice of the Government of India in filling up higher appointments, but is in striking contrast to the candid confessions of Lord Lytton and Lord Hamilton quoted above.

As to the first, a passage in a letter from Lord Cross to Lord Lansdowne, dated 6 June, 1889, is most illuminating. Referring to the "recommendation of the Public Service Commission as to the raising of the age of the examination of candidates before the Civil Service Commissioners", he writes: "Though I am favourable to it myself, the large majority of my Council are against me—for two reasons—1st, they think that too many natives will get in; 2nd, they think that it will be very hard upon parents of English boys to keep them at school so long."

As to the second, the confidential despatch of Lord Lytton, quoted above, 33 * clearly admits that the policy was never given effect to. Who spoke the truth? Lytton or Curzon? No one today—either British or Indian—would have a moment's hesitation in answering the question. Lord Curzon's assertion, therefore, is a very lamentable negation of another bold statement made by him about the same time, namely, that the ideal of truth was a virtual monopoly of the West.

Hamilton had the candour to admit that he regarded the Queen’s Proclamation a mistake, thereby implying that it had the same meaning as Gokhale attached to it. But Curzon had not the honesty to follow his chief, and defended his position by what may be called a piece of casuistry. It was most disingenuous on the part of a Viceroy, who was an astute politician to boot, to put the recommendations of a Public Service Commission on the same category as, and capable of infringing, an Act of Parliament or a solemn declaration of the British sovereign.

Lord Curzon quoted figures to show how the principles of public appointment, enunciated by him in the extract quoted above, ‘are vindicated in practice’. According to his own statement the progress of higher appointments given to Indians from 1867 to 1904 is indicated by the following figures:

Even in Provincial Service, generally meant for Indians, in the highest grade of Rs. 700-800 per month, the proportion of Indians rose from 5 to 13 per cent, during the period; in the next grade (600700), from 15 to 27 p.c.; and the next lower grade (500-600), from 9 to 25 p.c. But these were all subordinate posts. In the superior posts, which formed the steel-frame of the Government, to use Lloyd George’s happy phrase, there were only 12 Indians out of 648 in 1867, and 92 out of 1370 in 1903. This was the “progressive increase in native employment,” which, in the opinion of Lord Curzon, rendered altogether “fallacious” the charge of the educated Indians that “we give an inadequate representation to the ability of the country in our Government.” 34

Lord Curzon triumphantly declared, with an eye to the outside world opinion, that the British empire employed less than 6,500 of its own countrymen and 21,800 of the inhabitants of the country itself. 35 This was a trap for an unwary reader, as it was no doubt intended to be; for the fact is that it was the result of a jugglery, unworthy of a Viceroy. For Curzon got the number 21,800 by including all posts bearing a salary of Rs. 75 per month, and upwards. But, as noted above, of the 1370 superior officers, who really shaped the policy of the administration and supervised its execution, only 92 were Indians in 1903, i.e. less than 7 p.c., after more than a century of British rule in India.[36] The form of Government in India may thus be described, by a parody of Abraham Lincoln's famous definition of democracy, as 'the rule of the Indians, by the British, and for the British.'

The principle or ideal to which Lord Curzon gave expression in the above extracts, fairly represents the British imperial policy towards India in its most developed form. But there was a brighter side in Curzon's conception of imperialism which found little echo in the hearts of his successors or of Englishmen either in India or in Britain. He wished to broadbase the British rule in India on strict principles of justice and equity within the limitations of the imperial policy as mentioned above. He hoped that to every Englishman in India, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase, "thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity". The noble words in which he described, on the eve of his final departure from India, the duties of Englishmen to Indian people, constituting "Englishmen's justification (to be) in India", portray the other side of the shield of imperialism, which, alas! was ignored by most Englishmen. Lord Curzon had the candour to admit that "there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal." "But", he added, "let it be our ideal all the same. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham."[37]

It must be said to the credit of Lord Curzon that he carried his precept into practice. He was perhaps the only Viceroy who had the strength and courage to punish the Britishers for their brutal conduct towards Indian men and women. But the opposition he met with from the highest civil and military officials and the public insult he received for his generous conduct at the hands of his own countrymen in India tell their own tale.[38]

Lord Curzon's enlightened imperialism also led him to look upon the Government of India as the guardian "of Indian interests where they are liable to be impugned by external policy or influence". He is fully entitled to the credit which he claims in the following lines:

“We resisted to the best of our ability the heavy charge of more than three-quarters of a million sterling that was imposed upon Indian revenues by the increase of pay in the British Army —a measure about which we were not consulted and with which we did not agree. We protested more successfully against the placing upon Indian revenues of the charge for the entertainment of the Indian guests at the Coronation in London. We were also successful in resisting the suggestion that India should pay £400,000 per annum for a call upon a portion of the British garrison in South Africa. We have now finally established the principle (disputed till a few years ago) that when we lend troops from India to fight campaigns

for the Imperial Government in different parts of Asia and Africa, every rupee of the charge, from embarkation to return, shall be defrayed by the Imperial Government.” 39

The real significance of Lord Curzon’s achievement may be realized if we remember that the costs of the Burmese and Afghan wars and even of the military expedition to Abyssinia in 1867, as well as the expenditure of entertaining the Sultan of Turkey in a Ball dance at the India Office, were charged on Indian revenue.

Lord Curzon also waged a 4 ‘battle in defence of the Indian emigrant in South Africa” against the harsh and discriminatory treatment accorded to him by the British Colonial Government of that country. Some of their measures, said Lord Curzon, “seemed to the Government of India to be unduly severe and inconsistent with the reasonable claims of the people of India as subject of the British Empire,”

The preservation of ancient monuments in India is another feature of Curzon’s high conception of British imperialism.

In his address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 7 February, 1900, Lord Curzon referred to the vandalism of the past rulers of India. After mentioning the destruction of Hindu temples by Muslim rulers and cf Muslim sanctuaries by the Marathas and the Sikhs, he describes similar activities of the British officials in the past. In order to illustrate “how strongly the barbarian still dominated the aesthetic in the official mind”, he cites the following instances: “In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra, which had been tom up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV, but had somehow never been despatched. In the same regime a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandara to the executive engineer at Agra for the purpose of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman."

Referring to the new policy which he proposed to adopt, Curzon observed: "To us the relics of Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, Brahmin and Jaina, are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid and the other a weaker emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family.

Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power."

These are noble words, and nobly did Lord Curzon carry out his high policy.

All these things indicate that Lord Curzon had an enlightened view of the British Empire. But it is significant to note that he visualised India of the future not as an independent kingdom, free from British control, as Munro, Elphinstone and Macaulay did before him, but as a member of the British empire. It indicates a great change in the attitude of England towards India —a mean between the extreme ideals of holding India by the sword and setting her up as a free State. Lord Curzon hoped that "history will recognize myself as having done much (whether wisely or unwisely) to accelerate the lifting of India from the level of a Dependency to the position which is bound one day to be hers, if it is not so already, namely, that of the greatest partner in the Empire". Unfortunately, the definite verdict of history is that he ruined the prospect of any such consummation.

Lord Curzon’s conception of a Viceroy was that of a benevolent autocrat. But in the judgment of his career by the Indians the scale weighed heavily in favour of autocracy as against benevolence. Lord Curzon’s career in India also illustrates another characteristic of imperial statesmen of Britain, namely, the wide gap between profession and practice. It would be difficult, for example, to improve upon the following words in which he paid tribute to the value of public opinion in India: “That public opinion has been growing all the while, is articulate, is daily becoming more powerful, cannot be ignored. To contend that it does not exist, that it had not advanced in the last fifteen years, or that it may be treated with general indifference is to ignore the great change which is passing over this country.” 40 But in actual practice no Viceroy in India has so ruthlessly and systematically trampled upon public opinion as did Lord Curzon. Evidently, Lord Curzon reserved to himself the right to decide ‘when public opinion was an exposition of views based on sober reasoning and supported by obvious justice, and when it was a mere frothy ebullition of irrational sentiments.’ This was also typical of English statesmen.

In view of all that was said and done by Lord Curzon, it is hardly a matter of surprise that his administration, as a whole, was regarded with great disfavour by the Indians. His attitude was most reactionary and repressive in respect of the educated classes in India. There were four fields in which they had been steadily making their influence felt, but in all of them Lord Curzon’s policy

sought to put them back. He fettered the press by the Official Secrets Act, placed higher education under official control, took away the self-government in city Corporations—granted a quarter of a century ago—, abolished competition for high offices, and made everything dependent upon the pleasure of officials. He explained away the Queen’s Proclamation, as noted above, and evidently thought that it was not to the interest of the Englishmen that educated classes should be more and more associated with the government of their country. So the Indians were led to believe that the British rule was maintained not to promote their interests but for a selfish purpose.

These views were forcefully expressed by Gokhale, the sober leader of the Moderate Party, in one of his speeches. In his address as President of the Congress in 1905 he drew the best pen-picture of Lord Curzon in the following words:

“His Lordship will always be recognized as one of the greatest Englishmen that ever came out to this country. His wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work,—these will ever be a theme of just and unstinted praise. But even the most devoted admirer of Lord Curzon cannot claim that he has strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. Alas! the gods are jealous; and amidst such lavish endowments they withheld from him a sympathetic imagination, without which no man can .ever understand an alien people, and it is a sad truth that to the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of India. . . .For a parallel to such an administration we must, I think, go back to the times of Aurangzeb in the history of our own country. There we find the same attempt at a rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all round. Lord Curzon’s highest ideal of statesmanship is efficiency of administration. He does not believe in what Mr. Gladstone used to call the principle of liberty as a factor of human progress. He has no sympathy with popular aspirations, and when he finds them among a subject-people, he thinks he is rendering their country a service by trying to put them down.

“To him India was a country, where the Englishman was to monopolise for all time all power, and talk all the while of duty. The Indian’s only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country; and having

failed to amuse them for any length of time by an empty show of taking them into his confidence, he proceeded in the end to repress them. Even in his last farewell speech at the Byculla Club in Bombay, India exists only as a scene of the Englishman’s labours, with the toiling millions of the country

—eighty per cent, of the population—in the background. The remaining twenty per cent., for aught they are worth, might as well be gently swept into the sea !” 40ft

But Lord Curzon’s crowning act of folly was the partition of

Bengal which was carried out in the teeth of persistent and almost

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unanimous opposition of the whole of the province. Its wider effects on Indian politics will be treated in the next volume. It would suffice to state here that it chilled the enthusiasm even of the most moderate type of politicians, and many of them openly expressed in utter despair the futility of cherishing any hope for justice or generosity from the British Government. As a matter of fact, it is now generally recognized that it was his reactionary administration that practically killed the Moderate party in India, and facilitated the rise of an extreme section in the Indian National Congress, which ultimately changed the entire character of the organization and paved the way for the successful struggle against the British for the freedom of India. Lord Curzon’s rule amply proves the dictum that sometimes oppressions of rulers are a blessing in disguise and produce an effect

very much the opposite of what was intended by their perpetrators.

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It is not necessary to say much about the non-official Englishmen resident in, or visiting India. That there were some, particularly among the missionaries, who felt genuine sympathy for the Indians, has been shown above in connection with the Indigo plantation. Unfortunately, the number of such men—men of the type of Rev. Long, Wilfrid Blunt or George Thompson—-were so few that they could be almost counted on one’s fingers. The general attitude of the Englishmen in India towards the enjoyment of civil and political rights by their fellow-subjects in India was fully displayed when they set up violent demonstrations against the so-called Black Acts of 1849 and the Ubert Bill of 1883. The Englishmen in

India showed their aversion to the political advance of India when the Indian National Congress put forth demands for administrative and constitutional reforms. With a few honourable exceptions, the non-official Englishmen were bitterly hostile to this political organization of the Indians. They not only ridiculed or abused it, as suited the occasion, but, with official help, tried to destroy it, or at least to neutralise its utility, by fomenting dissension and discord between Hindus and Muslims, and creating anti-Congress blocs among the people by patronizing all hostile demonstrations to the Congress.

Finally, one must consider that class of Englishmen, who had the largest share in shaping the destiny of India, and have been regarded, not without good reason, as the steel frame of British rule in India. This was the famous Indian bureaucracy, the corporation of Indian Civil Service, whose efficient administration of India was the most effective challenge to the demands for reforms. To a casual observer, specially an Englishman without intimate knowledge of Indian life and thought, the period of twenty years that intervened between the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the partition of Bengal, might well be regarded as an era of peace and material progress in India, for which the credit was entirely due to that paternal autocratic Government which controlled her destiny, almost as a divine dispensation. The scars left by the Mutiny were being gradually healed up, the revolutionary activity and the sentiment of disloyalty were things of the past, and the political activities of the people were now not only open and above board, but least likely to cause embarrassment or nervousness to the foreign ruling powers. The alarming prospects of a general outbreak envisaged by Hume in the early eighties totally disappeared, thanks to the masterstroke of his policy which turned the national feelings into a safe channel within controllable bounds, and the local disturbances that occasionally broke out here and there were not such as to disturb the equanimity of the rulers.

But to those who had eyes to see and ears to hear, and could dive beneath the surface, the outlook did not appear quite so pleasant. Grave discontent which prevailed among all shades of opinion and classes of Indians in the preceding period were enhanced rather than diminished, for though the causes remained more or less the same, the national consciousness grew more sensitive and the people as a whole more restive than before. In every age and country discontent has proved to be the seeds of rebellion, and India could not possibly be an exception to the rule. Yet, strangely enough, the Government did not take any serious steps to remove the grievances of the people. The British came to regard themselves as the trustees for the welfare of the Indian people, and the conviction was gradually growing upon them that this trusteeship would last for ever. This determined the attitude of the local officials who were now organized into a powerful bureaucracy. The absence of periodical scrutiny into Indian affairs, such as took place during the regime of the East India Company, and the indifference of the English people and their representatives in the House of Commons towards Indian questions, except when they touched their interest, virtually rendered the Indian Government a dictatorial authority, which brooked no criticism and had an unbounded faith in their own sense of what was right and proper for them to do in order to serve the interests of Indian people.

In order to understand the full implication of this changed state of things it is necessary to say a few words about the great transformation which the Government of India had undergone in the meantime. The rapid expansion of the British dominions and the growing needs of a modern type of State to which British India gradually conformed, led to the growth of a huge and complex administrative machinery with a large number of departments. The .^ghest posts— the key-posts as one might call them—in this machinery were filled by the members of the Indian Civil Service recruited in England by competitive examination. The Viceroy’s Executive Council which controlled the entire system was dominated by them. The District Officers at the bottom, as well as the Secretaries of the different departments at the top, who formed the pivot and pillars of British administration, were all recruited from tVem. As noted above, 41 it was the deliberate policy of the British Government to keep the I. C. S. a safe preserve for the youths of England, a policy dictated alike by the material interests of the Britishers and a desire to maintain the British character of the administration. The result was the growth of a strong fraternity—the corps d’elite —who formed a close hierarchy of official aristocracy. They have been not inaptly called the neo-Brahmins of India, having the same pretentions of intellectual superiority and social supremacy, leading inevitably to the same narrowness of outlook and the same spirit of exclusiveness. Even an Englishman, by no means friendly to the Indians, and full of admiration for the great intellectual ability, administrative efficiency and integrity of character displayed by the I.C.S.— virtues which a large majority of them undoubtedly possessed—has been constrained to refer to some of their drawbacks which, in the long run, brought them into conflict with the educated Indians and rendered nugatory all the high qualities which distinguished them as a class. The following passage, quoted from one of his books, puts in a mild form what most Indians felt as the crux of the whole problem and denounced in no uncertain terms.

"But the Secretariats, v/hich from the headquarters of provincial governments as well as from the seat of supreme government directed and controlled the whole machine, became more and more self-centred, more and more imbued with a sense of their own omniscience. Even the men with district experience, and those who had groaned in provincial secretariats under the heavy hand of the Government of India, were quick to adopt more orthodox views as soon as they were privileged to breathe the more rarefied atmo

sphere of the Olympian Secretariats, that prided themselves on being the repositories of all the arcana of 'good government.' Of what constituted good government efficiency came to be regarded . as the one test that mattered, and if was a test which only Englishmen were competent to apply and which Indians were required to accept as final whatever their wishes or their experience might be." 42

Blunt's comment about the all-powerful I.C.S. is more to the point:

"The net result of his (Ripon's) Viceroyalty has been almost nil. Every measure that he has brought forward has been defeated in detail; and so powerful has the Civil Service been that they have forced the Home Government into an abandonment, step by step, of all its Indian policy. This they have effected in part by open opposition, in part by covert encouragement of the English lay element, in part by working through the English press.... The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy had shown itself his master in spite of Midlothian." 424

The great philosopher-statesman, John Morley, entertained the same opinion about the highly placed British officials in India from his experience as Secretary of State for India. Anyone who reads his Recollections cannot fail to be impressed by his frequent references to the orthodox, illiberal spirit of these officials, whom he called, on that account, by the hated Russian name of Tchinovniks. He looked upon them as the most reactionary element in the Government of India which thwarted at every step the generous move of the Home Government and the Viceroy. He held these die-hards in the Indian bureaucracy solely responsible for the popular discontent leading to unrest. He wrote to Lord Min to:

"It is not you nor I who are responsible for 'Unrest', but the over-confident and over-worked Tchinovniks who have had India in their hands for fifty years past."

Once, in great indignation, he wrote to Minto not to pay any heed to their advice. Writing in a lighter vein, he even suggested that some of them should be deported along with the terrorists under Regulation III of 1818. He wrote to Minto:

"To tell you the truth, the more I think both of—and—the less do I value the judgment of either one or the other. And now by the way, that we have got down the rusty sword of 1818, I wish you would deport—and—." 42b

The first sign of the new pirit of the time could be easily seen in the gradually widening cleavage between the Civil Service and the English-educated Indians. There were many reasons for the growing conflict between the two, some of which are easy to under

stand. The I. C. S. as a class were guided in all their actions by a strong determination to raise their power and prestige, and at the same time to exclude the Indian element as far as possible from what they considered as their own preserve. This was naturally interpreted by the Indians as due to a selfish spirit of maintaining intact not only their own material interests and prospects but also those of the Service to which they belonged, and thereby indirectly of the entire British pople who would hereditarily enjoy those privileges. It has been claimed that although such selfish motives might not have been altogether absent, they were equally influenced by their conviction that they had better knowledge of the needs, interests, and wishes of the people of India, and were therefore more fitted to rule over the masses and look to their true welfare than the English-educated Indians who were out of touch with them and had little knowledge of, and less inclination to do good to, the ignorant and inarticulate masses of India.

On the other hand, the very natural desire of the Indians to take their due share in the administration was set down by the Englishmen to a sordid desire for loaves and fishes. But here, again, though consideration for the material interest of individuals or communities

might not altogether be absent, one might, perhaps more justly than in the other case, give them credit for a more elevated sentiment or political wisdom which looked forward to the Indianisation of higher Services as the first step towards political advance of the country. That this is no mere surmise or theoretical speculation is proved by the persistent demand made by the press and from political platform for recuitment of Indians to the higher Services as the first step towards the reform of Indian administration.

It is hardly necessary to examine in detail the pretensions of the British bureaucracy in India that the interests of the people were more safe and secure in its hands than those of the educated section of their own community. There is not a single instance in the history of the world where the foreign rulers of a conquered, country have more sincerely tried to achieve its moral and material interests than its own people. In any case, the undeniable fact of the growing and grinding poverty of the masses in India, to which detailed reference has been made above, 43 gives lie direct to the pretensions of those self-constituted trustees of the people or guardians of their interest.

Considerations such as these, entertained on both sides with equal firmness, gradually brought about an estrangement between the two, which ere long developed into an antagonism between the ‘sun-dried bureaucrats* and the ‘Bengali Babus’ as they designated each other. This is all the more significant, if not deplorable, as the English-educated classes were the great champions of British rule in India, to secure whose co-operation and goodwill was one of the main planks in the administrative policy of the early British rule, such as is foreshadowed in the great Charter of 1833.

In view of what has been said above, it will hardly cause any surprise that the British authorities at Home were completely irresponsive to the just demands of the Indians, as formulated by the Indian National Congress. 44 It is true that, now and then, they made some concessions by way of reforms in the administration, as, for example, they did by the Acts of 1861 and 1892. But as has already been mentioned above, these concessions were always both halting and belated. The reforms which were conceded in 1892 would have fully satisfied the Indians in 1861, and similarly, to anticipate events, the reforms which were conceded in 1909 would have fully satisfied the Indians in 1892. But, as it is, the reforms which were actually granted in any one of these years failed tp satisfy the just aspiration of the Indians, and the political discontent found vent ultimately in the growth of a national and radical school. It may be said without much exaggeration that the words "too late" were writ large on the door of India Office in London, and this characteristic of English politics is mainly responsible for undermining the strength of that political party in India which had implicit faith in the British justice and which hoped to attain their ends by constitutional agitation. The reason seems to be that the authorities at Home possessed very little knowledge of real India. All that they knew was from the reports submitted by the Government of India, and they did not take any adequate step to keep themselves acquainted with the real feelings and sentiments of politically conscious India. Besides, it was evident that, as before, the idea of safeguarding British interests dominated their whole outlook towards India. Reference has been made in a previous chapter to the enormous drain of wealth from India which formed a permanent feature of British rule in this country. There was no change in this aspect even though the British fully realised its character.

The British knew full well that the interests of India were sacrificed for those of Britian. The following account of the interview which Sir E. N.

Baker, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, gave to. Mr. Frank G. Carpenter, an American journalist, is very revealing:

"Said I: 'Suppose you were the absolute ruler of India, Your Excellency. Suppose you were not controlled by Great Britain, but that

you had the same armies and the same administrative machinery that you have to-day, what would you do to better the condition of these people?"

"I would give them a protective tariff. I would encourage the establishment of factories and favour them in every way as to the making of goods for India in competition with those of Europe, Japan and other parts of the w T orld. What India needs is industrial development, and a protective tariff would bring that about. As it is, we are tied up by the manufacturing industries of Great Britain. We can levy no duties to speak of upon our imports of cottons. We once had a tariff of 5 per cent., but the Manchester mill men objected, saying that it ruined their trade. They demanded that an excise duty be added to equalize our competition, and the result was that the duty was reduced to 3J per cent., that amount being levied on all goods made in India. Do you wonder that the natives object? A protective tariff would foster our industries and we could in time build up a mighty industrial empire."

"Could you do this along other lines than the textiles?" "Yes. There is no reason why Indians should not make everything in Iron and steel." 44a

But few Englishmen would endorse Baker's views. For example, Sir Roper Lethbridge held that to give India fiscal freedom—i.e., to permit her to impose protective tariffs upon English goods if she thought fit—would lead to the disruption of the Empire. 44 *

Apart from this economic question, another proof, if any were needed, was supplied by the admission of Sir Henry Fowler that the British were opposed to simultaneous examinations for the Indian Civil Service for political reasons. 46 This point was further emphasised by the fact that though a Resolution introduced by Herbert Paul for the simultaneous examinations of Indian Civil Service was passed by the House of Commons in 1893, it was not given effect to through the machinations of India Office and the Government of India.

Another settled policy of the British Government was to maintain their interest in India by playing one class against another. This policy of Divide and Rule took different shapes and forms according to circumstances. They tried to play the Hindus against the Muhammadans, the princes against the Indian people, and the common people against the educated classes. By this they proposed to hold the balance of power in their hands without creating any public discontent, as they would be in a position to point out that they had to maintain their position in India in order to safeguard the interests of the different classes and communities, who would, otherwise, fly at each other’s throat. This aspect of the question has been partly discussed in Chapter VIII and will be more fully discussed in the next volume.

After all, it is difficult to deny that the whole British policy towards India has been beautifully summed up by the French statesman, Chailley, in a single sentence:

'“India is one of the main pillars upon which the grandeur of the British Empire rests, and England will not willingly let her go.” 46

The same truth was more elaborately expressed, in a slightly different form, by a still more eminent foreign statesman, William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State of the U.S. A. He has exposed the character of the British rule within a small compass. His views may be summed up in his own words:

“The trouble is that England acquired India for England’s advantage, not for India’s, and that she holds India for England’s benefit, not for India’s. She administers India with an eye to England’^ interests, not India’s, and she passes judgement upon every question as a judge would were he permitted to decide his own case.” “The Briton has demonstrated, as many have before, man’s inability to exercise with wisdom and justice, irresponsible power over helpless people. He has conferred some benefits upon India, but he has extorted a tremendous price for them. While he has boasted of bringing peace to the living he has led millions to the peace of the grave; while he has dwelt upon order established between warring troops, he has impoverished the country by legalized pillage. Pillage is a strong word, but no refinement of language can purge the present system of its iniquity.”[47]

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The moderate Indian view on the nature of British rule was summed up by Gokhale, the Prince of Moderates, in his Presidential Address at the Banaras session of the Indian National Congress in 1905. He passed a stern verdict on British rule in India: “For a hundred years England has ruled India, but four villages out of every five were without a school-house, and seven children out of eight grew up in ignorance.” After mentioning how the solemn pledges of 1833 and 1858 regarding the appointment of Indians to higher administrative services were deliberately broken, Gokhale continued:

“Our whole future, it is needless to say, is bound up with this question of the relative position of the two races in this country. The domination of one race over another, especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowment or their general civilization, inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side, it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people. For a hundred years and more now India has been for members of the dominant race a country where fortunes were to be made to be taken out and spent elsewhere. As in Ireland the evil of absentee landlordism has in the past aggravated the racial domination of the English over the Irish, so in India what may be called absentee capitalism has been added to the racial ascendancy of Englishmen. A great and ruinous drain of wealth from the country has gone on for many years, the net excess of exports over imports (including treasure) during the last forty years amounting to no less than a thousand millions sterling, The steady rise in the death-rate of the country—from 24 per thousand, the average for 1882-84, to 30 per thousand, the average for 1892-94, and 34 per thousand, the present average—is a terrible and conclusive proof of this continuous impoverishment of the mass of our people. India's best interests —material and moral— no less than the honour of England, demand that the policy of equality for the two races promised by the Sovereign and by Parliament should be faithfully and courageously carried out."

Gokhale then turned to the bureaucracy, and bitterly blamed the system, adding that "the bureaucracy is growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to their (the educated classes) national aspirations. It was not so in the past." And he spoke of the different feeling within living memory, when the rulers looked forward to India's self-government. It was pretended that the people were indifferent, but "what the educated Indians think to day, the rest of India thinks to-morrow."

This represents the view of those who had unflinching faith in, and loyalty to, the British Government.

1. Colchester, 64-5. Italics mine.

2. Thornton, V. 356-7.

3. Panini Office Edition, p. 365.

4. Griffiths, 245.

5. B. Majumdar, 73.

6. Griffiths, 246.

7. O'Malley, 743.

8. Letters from India, 1829-32, translated by C. A. Phillips (1936), p. XXV

9. Keith, I. 265.

10. Blunt-II, 175; Masani— Daddbhai, 304. But Gladstone's views were repudiated by Morley on behalf of the Liberal Party (cf. p. 388).

10a. Chintamani, p. 28 fn.

11. Modem Review, HI. 519.

n. VoL DC, p, 770.

12a. Unpublished records in the C.R.O. library, London. These And Other similar letters in this chapter have since feem published (CL A. K. MaJ\under, Advent of Independence, 346 $L).

12b.Tfemple-n. p. 191.

12c. VoL IX, pp. 37-46, 130-40.

13. Hume, 90.

14. Modern Review, H, 333. Cl. p. 383 above for Gladstone's statement

15. Letter to Sir Rrskine Perry, quoted In Chintamaiif p. IS.

18. Cf. Voi DC pp m~m. Cf. also Ch. XIL

17. Quoted is. Maxumdar, A.C., pp. 9-10, along with extracts from other speeches.

18. Ibid, 11.

18a. Bradkugh's fpeech is quoted by Hemendra Das Gupta in Congress, L 48.

It. 292.

20. MazumdAr, A.C., pp. 14-15.

21. Mitre, K .—Memoirs of Dwargkanath Tagore, pp, 85 IE.

21a. Cf. VoL DC, pp, 202-33.

22. Kaleigh, pp. 33-4. For Macaulay’^ iproeh, cf. Vol. DC, p. 315.

2$. Mcdem Review, IV, 261

24. MaUeaon, The Indian Muting of 1857 , pp. 4m.

25. Hume, 91-2.

25a. Blunt-XL 159-80.

26. Mody, Pherozeghah Mehta, I. 133.

27. Unpublished Records in C, R. O. library.

28. Raleigh, 584.

29. Ibid, 499.

30. Vol. XX, 314. It is curious that the vital word c ofibe* is omitted in the passage m quoted by Keith (L 273).

31. Vol. DC, 786-7.

32. Cf. Vol. DC, p. 789.

32a. Cf. Hamilton's Letters to Elgin dated 16 September, 1897 and 12 November, 1896* quoted on p 385.

32b. CR. April, 1954, pp, 46, 50, SL

33. Raleigh, 143.

33a. Vol. DC, 786-7. Cf. Hamilton’s letter quoted on p. 385.

34. Raleigh, 145.

35. Raleigh. 146.

36. Cf. VoL DC, pp. 1153-4 for the statistics given by Gokhaie,

37. Raleigh, 589.

38. See above, pp. 306-9.

39. Raleigh, 163.

40. Ransudshay, XX. 326-7.

40a. Speeches, pp. 1091 ff.

41. See p. 401; also VoL IX. 786-7.

42. Chirol-I, 102.

42a. Blunt-n, 158.

42b. Morley, Recollections, II. 265, 231, 214.

43. VoL DC, pp. 1157 ff.

44. The British policy towards the Indian National Congress has been fully discussed in Ch. XV, section II, which really forms a supplement to this chapter.

44a. MR, VIH 463-4.

44b. Ibid, 464.

45. Banerji, S.N., A Nation in Making, p. 152.

46. Chailley, p. 166.

47. William Jenningi Bryan, British Rule in India (1915), pp, 8,13.

CHAPTER XI (XLIX)

THE ATTITUDE OF INDIANS TOWARDS

BRITISH RULE

It has been related above, how the Hindus in Bengal acclaimed the establishment of British rule as a divine dispensation for their deliverance from the tyrannies of Muslim rule. Leaders like Raja Rammohan Roy, Dwaraka-nath Tagore, Prasanna-kumar Tagore and others gave public expression to this view, and some of them even went so far as to assert that they preferred the British rule to the rule by the Hindus themselves. The Muslims also accepted the British rule, in sullen resentment but without any active protest. The same thing was more or less true of the other parts of India, and so far as evidence goes, there was no general reaction to British rule anywhere in the British dominions in India.

The attitude of the Hindus towards the British and their rule in India was, however, gradually changed. The early enthusiasm over the blessings of the British rule became cold as the memory of the anarchy and confusion preceding it and the evils of Muslim rule faded more and more from living memory. It is almost a universal truth that there is no gratitude in politics. This applies as much to individuals as to nations. The crowned hero of the people soon passes out of public memory, even if a worse fate does not befall him. For, the people easily forget the benefits they owe to him, and merely remember his lapse or failure to keep abreast with the progressive ideas. So was it with the Indians vis d vis the British rule. They fully recognized the immense good that the British had conferred upon India, but general opinion gradually lost sight of it, and discontent and disaffection at the failure to obtain what they had a right to expect, proved a far more potent force than the gratification which they had felt or should still have felt for what they had already gained. It is useless to discuss in this context whether the benefits of British rule did or did not exceed its evils, for, the people are never in a mood to consider such a question in a calm and dispassionate manner. The resentment at immediate and visible wrongs always stirs the human feelings more deeply than, and out of all proportions to, the generous impulses invoked by acts of benevolence which are either too remote or do not lie on the surface.

Among the wrongs which caused the repulsion of Indian feelings against the Englishmen and their rule in India, the foremost place should be given to the deeds actuated by racial arrogance, referred to in Ch. IX. Numerous instances have been quoted there of the insult and humiliations suffered by Indians in daily life, and not infrequent assaults and bursting of Indian spleens by European kicks. The farce of criminal trial which usually let off the English offender, and the hue and cry raised by the entire AngloIndian community even if a very nominal penalty was imposed, left no doubt that the offence was neither exceptional nor of an individual character, but was the product of racial arrogance. These incidents, unfortunately only too common, rankled in the minds of Indians of all classes, and their utter helplessness to retaliate made the feeling more bitter and poignant. Little did the British realize, or do even now recognize, the profound nature of the discontent and disaffection caused by these individual acts and the support given to them by the whole community. They had no eyes to see how they struck at the very foundations of the loyalty and good will of the Indians to the Englishmen and their rule. It would be hardly any exaggeration to say that these incidents of assault and affronts, and the immunity from due punishment enjoyed by their perpetrators, did far more to kindle the fire of animosity against the British and their political authority than even graver abuses of their administration and economic exploitation.

Reference has been made to these administrative abuses in detail in the preceding chapters (Vol. IX) specially dealing with these topics. It will suffice here to refer to some general features. The grievance which wounded most the feeling and susceptibilities of the English-educated Indians was the deliberate policy to rule India mainly for the interest of England, and to keep out the Indians from their legitimate share in the administration of their own country. In both these respects they offered a most unfavourable contrast to the preceding Muslim rule; and they formed the principal complaint against the British, and called forth the most persistent demands for reform, throughout the nineteenth century. Even when a competitive examination was introduced for selecting candidates for superior services, the lowering of the maximum age, manipulation of subjects for examinations, and refusal to hold a simultaneous examination in India—all to the extreme disadvantage of an Indian candidate—merely underlined the policy of the British authorities to keep out the Indians as much as possible from the key-posts in the administration.

The Indians pointed out that though the competitive examina* tion was theoretically open to all, the holding of the examination

in England alone proved to be a great handicap for Indian students. For, apart from the expenses of journey to England which few could afford, the orthodox Hindu objection to sea-voyage, and the natural reluctance of Indian parents to send their children to such a distant place and strange social environment, created special difficulties. Liberal-minded Englishmen like John Bright fully shared the feeling of the Indians, When the British politicians argued in self-defence that no one was excluded from, the competitive examination on racial considerations, Bright humorously retorted: "They might as well say that conditions were absolutely equal as between Englishmen and Indians, only the Indian competitors must be 8ft. 6 inches in height." Indeed the justice of the Indian case was so obvious that even the British House of Commons once passed the resolution of a private member in favour of introducing simultaneous examinations. But the Cabinet never gave effect to it. 1

To the English-educated Indians who formed the chief pillars of support to the British rule, their virtual exclusion from the higher branches of administration on purely racial grounds (as they conceived it), proved to be the rudest shock, particularly as they had nurtured the fond hope that the Englishmen would never hesitate to offer higher posts to qualified Indians. It is, therefore, not difficult to understand why this Civil Service question, for the first time, brought the whole of educated Indians on a common political platform against the English, as will be related in Ch. XIV.

The British rulers showed the same mentality in their persistent refusal to admit suitable and representative Indians to the Legislative Councils, the demand for which was reiterated throughout the century. The principles laid down in Lord Durham's Report in 1839, advocating Responsible Government in Canada, and the speeches of the liberal statesmen like Cobden when this measure was under consideration of the House of Commons, had naturally roused expectation in the minds of the Indians that their case would receive an equally fair and favourable consideration.

Similar liberal policy towards Australia in 1850 and South Africa in 1854 had further strengthened this belief. There is hardly any doubt that the hope of securing similar liberal treatment from the British Government induced the English-educated Indians to hold aloof from the great outbreak of 1857. Their hopes were not belied. Even after the dark days of the Mutiny the gracious English Queen, while taking over the reins of Indian Government in her own hands, made a solemn promise to treat her Indian subjects on exactly the same footing as her other subjects. In particular she declared that all her subjects, irrespective of race or creed, shall be freely and impartially admitted into Government service.

This was rightly regarded as the Magna Carta of political rights by the Indians. Unfortunately, as years rolled by, the Indians felt that it was as deceptive as the Charter Act of 1833, and that their claims for political advancement would never be conced-. ed. There was a gradual change in the views of the authorities in England, and the Indians were not slow to recognise it.

Some concessions were made by the Acts of 1861 and 1892, but, as noted above, they fell far short, not only of Indian demand, but also of what the island of Ceylon had been granted years before. The Moderate party in Indian politics had pinned their faith on the British sense of justice and fondly entertained the hope that once the British people were convinced of the justice of Indian cause they would not hesitate to grant the necessary reforms. But hope deferred maketh the heart sick. The fate of the Congress resolutions passed year after year chilled even the most robust optimism. Though some incurable optimists still continued to hope, a section of Indians, gradually increasing in number towards the end of the nineteenth century, ceased to hope any longer and looked for other ways of fulfilling their political aspirations. The British tardiness in granting political reforms gave a death-blow to that school of Indian politics which was genuinely attached to the British, and never lost faith in ultimately gaining self-government for India with their consent and co-operation. A new school took its place, guided by a firm conviction that the British must be forced to grant what they denied to simple justice, and this view was shared by a steadily increasing number of Indians.

Besides racial arrogance and the deliberate policy to keep out the Indians from a legitimate share in the administration of their own country, there were other factors at work to alienate them from their rulers. That India was administered for the interest of England alone was nowhere more clearly manifest than in the British economic policy.

The grinding poverty of the Indians was a cause of grave concern and profound discontentment to the educated Indians. Reference has been made in earlier chapters to the ruin of flourishing Indian trade and industry brought about by the unfair use of political authority by the East India Company and their servants, the misery of the cultivators on account of the oppressive land-rent, the huge drain of wealth from India caused by the cost of maintaining English civil and military officials, and various other factors, the effect of which was the impoverishment of the country more and more. It assumed serious proportions and drew the attention of English-educated Indians. Dadabhai Naoroji was the first eminent

Indian leader to devote his attention to this subject, and bring home to the people, both in India and England, the abject poverty of the Indians by quoting facts and figures. At the same time he traced the poverty to its root causes, boldly exposed the evil effects of the administration of India by foreigners, and suggested remedial measures. Dadabhai made a scientific study of the economic aspect of foreign rule and carried on a vigorous propaganda, throughout his life, against the economic exploitation of India by England. He patiently collected the relevant data, and his formidable array of facts and unassailable arguments created a profound impression among his own countrymen, and even among a section of Englishmen. To him belongs the credit of rousing the political consciousness of India to this great menace of foreign rule, and henceforth it formed a chief plank in the constitutional agitation of India against British rule. The economic question was later taken up by other eminent men, notably William Digby and R. C. Dutt, and has always loomed large in the political relations between England and India.

In a paper read before the East India Association on July 27, 1870, Dadabhai concluded, after an elaborate calculation of all available data, that the average annual income of the population of British India was 40 shillings per head. It was merely the first step in his memorable investigation and exposition of the difficult problem. In this paper, and in subsequent writings, he drew prominent attention to several important facts. The lack of proper supervision over expenditure by the Indian Government was a crying evil. As a prominent English official complained, "they care no more about spending a crore of Rupees than we do a lac." Part of the difficulty in the financial administration of India was also due to the fact that the Indian Chancellor of the Exchequer had to serve two masters, the Local Government and the Home Government, and as the latter had the last word in the matter, the interest of India had on many occasions to be sacrificed to the interest of England. Another serious evil was the costliness of the administration caused by "lavishness in respect of salaries and leave-allowances, immense gathering of civil and military officers from all parts of India at the hill-stations during nearly half the year, and the ever-growing military expenditure which nearly absorbed a third of the gross revenue." The military expenditure of India "was more than the ordinary military expenditure of the great military monarchies of Europe, more even than the expenditure by which England maintained the security not only of the country, but also of the whole of the British colonies, including Canada. Even the ControllerGeneral of military expenditure had remarked that military history

presented 'no instance of any army so constituted, or of one so costly." 1 *

The inevitable result of the costly administration and inefficient financial supervision was heavy taxation which specially fell upon the poorer classes. Dadabhai maintained that the burden of taxation on the cultivator was not equitable when compared with the burden borne by other classes. Nor was he satisfied that the machinery for the collection of the land revenue was economical.

Dadabhai pointed out that "the total production of the country is admitted to be 40s. per head.... so that living from hand to mouth, and that on 'scanty subsistence' (in the words of Lord Lawrence), the very touch of famine carries away hundreds of thousands." "Is not this in itself," asked he, "as 'crushing' to any people as it can possibly be? And yet out of this wretched income they have to pay taxation as well.” Then he introduced his theory of ‘drain.’ /

“Whatever revenue is raised by the other countries, for instance, the £70,000,000 by England, the whole of it returns back to the people and remains in the country; and therefore the national capital, upon which the production of a country depends, does not suffer diminution; while, on account of India being subject to a foreign rule, out of £50,000,000 of revenue raised every year, some £12,000,000 or more are carried away to England, and the national capital—or, in other words, its capability of production—is continually diminished year after year.” 2

In 1876 Dadabhai read a paper on the poverty of India before a crowded meeting held under the auspices of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association. Two years later, the paper was published in London in the form of a pamphlet—a prelude to the bulky volume that was to follow a quarter of a century later under the title. Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.

Dadabhai produced facts and figures and cited authorities for his statement that India was sinking more and more in poverty, and that the system of administration of the country was largely responsible for her misery.

“After elaborate calculations, Dadabhai said he had clearly established that the value of the production of one of the best provinces in India was Rs. 20 per head per annum. The conclusion was that even for such food and clothing as a criminal (in jail) obtains, there was hardly enough production even in a good season, ‘leaving alone all little luxuries, all social and religious wants, all expenses on occasions of joy and sorrow, and provision for a bad season.” 3

Next came under review statistics of imports and exports. From 1835 to 1872 India imported goods worth only about £ 943,000,000 against exports valued at £ 1,430,000,000, leaving a balance of about £ 500,000,000, as the total tribute which India annually paid to England. Had interest been calculated, the drain would have amounted to a higher figure. Dadabhai then quoted statements made by British officials to establish his main contention that most of the ills of India were due to the heavy tribute which she had to pay to England. For example, one of the Commissioners of Revenue in the Deccan, "who afterwards became a member of Council, Saville Harriot, had stated in a letter written in the year 1836 that India had been 'verging to the lowest ebb of pauperism', and that it would be 'difficult to satisfy the mind that any country could bear such a drain upon its resources without sustaining very serious injury." 4

Another important question raised was that of protection. Instructions had been then issued by the Secretary of State for the abolition of the duties on cotton. 6 The real object, said Dadabhai, was to smother the infant factories in India, the ostensible reason being free trade. He then added:

"Now I do not want to say anything about the real selfish objects of the Manchesterians, or what the political necessities of a Conservative Government may be under Manchester pressure. I give credit to the Secretary of State for honesty of purpose, and take the reason itself that is given on this question, viz., free trade. I like free trade, but after what I have said to-night, you will easily see that free trade between England and India in a matter like this is something like a race between a starving, exhausted invalid, and a strong man with a horse to ride on. Free trade between countries which have equal command over their own resources is one thing; but even then the colonies snapped their fingers at all such talk. But what can India do? Before powerful English interests, India must and does go to the wall. Young colonies, says Mill, need protection. India needs it in a far larger degree, independent of the needs of revenue which alone have compelled the retention of the present duties. Let India have its present drain brought within reasonable limits, and India will be quite prepared for free trade. With a pressure of taxation nearly double in proportion to that of England, from an income of one fifteenth, and an exhaustive drain besides, we are asked to compete with England in free trade." 6

It is not necessary to discuss at length the accuracy of Dadabhai's facts and figures and the soundness of his views on economic questions mentioned above. They have been substantially corroborated

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by R. C. Dutt, Digby and other distinguished writers on the subject at a later date, and have not been seriously upset even by hostile critics. But the real importance of Dadabbai’s contribution lies in the deep impression it made upon the educated Indians about the seriousness of the economic condition in India and its close relation to politics. The contemporary periodical literature in India leaves no doubt that Dadabhai’s views found an echo in the hearts of Indians of all classes and shades of opinion.

Lord George Hamilton, Secretary of State for India in Lord Salisbury’s Cabinet, referred in his Budget speech to “a small school in this country as well as in India who are perpetually asserting that our rule is bleeding India to death.” “I admit at once”, said he, “that if it could be shown that India has retrograded in material prosperity under our rule we stand self-condemned, and we ought no longer to be entrusted with the control of that country.” But, he added, that in spite of the most careful study of facts and figures he could not find any justification for the view. It was pointed out by Digby in reply, that one of the earliest members of the “small school” was no other than the Prime Minister Lord Salisbury himself under whom Lord George Hamilton served. In 1875 Salisbury, as Secretary of State for India, urged that “as India must be bled, the bleeding should be done judiciously.” He also admitted that “much of the revenue of India is exported without a direct equivalent.” 7

Digby held, after an elaborate calculation, based wholly on official data, that the drain of capital from India during the nineteenth century amounted to £6,080,172,021. He pointed out that “about five weeks* average maintenance of each Indian outside the one million well-to-do folks is annually disbursed in Great Britain, one of the wealthiest of lands, while the disbursing country is, omitting none, the poorest realm in all the world!” 8 The views of R. C. Dutt have been quoted above. 81 Sir George Campbell, by no means a friend of India, also calculated that the annual remittances, both public and private, from India to England amounted to more than 32 million sterling. 9 Digby also pointed out that the non-official estimated average national income of an Indian was 2d. per head per day in 1850. The official estimate in 1882 was IJd. per day. According to his analysis of all sources the income was less than fd. per day in 1900.

In reply to the criticism of some Englishmen that Dadabhai's statements had "a possible seditious and mischievous tendency," Dadabhai said that "no native from one end of India to the other could be found more loyal than I am to the British rule; because it

is my sincere conviction, which I have expressed often, that the salvation of India, its future prosperity, its civilization, and its political elevation, all depend on the continuance of the British rule. It is because I wish that the British rule should be long continued in India, and that it is good that the rulers should know native feeling and opinions, that I come forward and speak my mind freely and boldly." 10

There was a wave of discontent and indignation all over the country when, early in 1879, the import duties on cotton goods were abolished. Though discussed above 11 in some detail, it is necessary, to recapitulate it briefly. The import duty which stood at 10% in 1860, was gradually reduced to 5% in 1875. Even this was resented by cotton manufacturers of Lancashire. Strong pressure was brought to bear upon Lord Northbrook by the ministry at home, but he stoutly refused to do away with the import duty. He rightly pointed out that the duty was levied not for protection of Indian industry, but for revenue purposes, that its abolition would mean new taxation, and that it was politically unwise to have the appearance of sacrificing the interests of India to those of Manchester. Northbrook won the day. But the continuous agitation of Lancashire induced the House of Commons to pass a resolution in 1877 that the duties ought to be repealed without delay as soon as the financial condition of India would permit. In 1878 and 1879 the duties were abolished on all cotton goods except those manufactured from finer counts of 30s. and upwards.

The majority of the members of Lord Lytton's Executive Council were opposed to this repeal. Lord Lytton passed the measure under the power given by law to the Governor-General to act on his own opinion alone, "whenever the safety, tranquillity or interests of the British possessions in India may in his judgment be essentially affected." Lord Lytton's use of the prerogative on this occasion was highly unconstitutional and was severely criticised even in the House of Commons.

Lord Lytton’s action aroused bitter opposition among the Indians, and indignant protests were made all over the country. A public meeting, held in Bombay on May 3, 1879, decided to send a petition to the House of Commons. The memorial, ably drawn up, was forwarded to Mr. Fawcett, the indefatigable ‘member for India’, for submission to the House of Commons. The result was, of course, a foregone conclusion. It was unceremoniously rejected by the House. “Thus did British statesmen discharge their ‘sacred trust’, and thus were £ 200,000 of India’s revenue shamelessly bartered away to win over the Lancashire votes for party purposes at Home.”

This incident demonstrated, as nothing else could, that India was governed in the interest of Britain, and provoked, beyond measure, Indians of all shades of opinion. The press denounced the action of Lord Lytton in the most vigorous language, and hundreds of public meetings and newspaper articles brought home to the minds of the Indians two important lessons, namely, that the British were out to plunder India without let or hindrance, and kill the infant cotton industry in India in order to remove a possible rival in future. These two lessons were never lost upon the Indians. They never forgot that these formed the basic policy of the English, nor forgave those who were responsible for it. Unable to devise any other means to give vent to their rage, and in an exasperated mood of frustration, some papers urged upon the Indians to make a firm resolve not to use Manchester piece-goods, thus forestalling by a quarter of a century the boycott movement in Bengal in 1905.

The masses did not seriously concern themselves with questions of high policy, political or economic, and were not very much affected by the newly born urge of nationalism or patriotism, which moved the English-educated classes. Nevertheless, they were gradually alienated from the British rule by the terrible miseries which they had to suffer from one end of the year to the other. As the large majority of the people were cultivators or labourers, it is necessary to refer briefly to them in order to understand the Indian attitude towards the British rule.

The condition of the cultivators grew from bad to worse, and famine became a periodically recurring disaster. R. C. Dutt, a retired Indian

Civilian, ruthlessly exposed the real causes of the repeated occurrence of this calamity all over India. These were mainly the heavy land revenue and the oppressive manner in which it was realized, the ruin of trade and industry, and the huge drain of wealth to England, to which reference has been made above. “The great famines of 1837, 1857, 1877 and 1897 are sad landmarks in the modem history of India—landmarks not of progress and prosperity but of desolation and disasters.” The growing character of this great evil will be apparent from the fact that while there were seven famines with an estimated total of one and a half million deaths in the first half of the nineteenth century, there were twenty-four famines with an estimated total of over twenty million deaths in the second half. 12

As mentioned above, there were serious agrarian disturbances in Bengal in 1872-73 where the tenants openly called themselves ‘rebclc* and launched something like a no-rent campaign. The administration reports of the Bengal Government during 1872-75

admitted that the “ryots of Eastern Bengal have learnt to unite for common action”, “that there seems to be a disposition among the ryots to combine in something like leagues and unions,” and regarded the consequences as ‘serious 5 .

Agrarian discontent reached its climax in Western India about the time when the Prince of Wales (later, Edward VII) visited India in 1875. It assumed serious proportions and produced violent antiBritish feeling and national sentiment. Two Zaxnindars in a village were sentenced to capital punishment for brutally killing a revenue officer. One of them, just before going to the scaffold, requested the officer that a volley of muskets should be fired over his dead body. He held that by killing the oppressive revenue officer he had done a public duty and patriotic deed. He therefore wished that there should be some recognition of the fact that he sacrificed his life for the cause of his country. 13

The cruelties perpetrated by European indigo- and tea-planters have become almost a by-word for iniquity of British rule during the period under review. The harrowing tales of misery and oppression, committed with impunity, and with the connivance, if not active support, of the officials, have been told above. 14 Nearly throughout the nineteenth century these woeful stories were spread from mouth to mouth, and through periodical literature, and created a strong hatred against the British in popular minds. Unable to bear their oppression the cultivators of indigo were forced to launch a Satyagrdha or civil resistance, anticipating Mahatma Gandhi's action by sixty years. The Coolies in the tea-garden bore in silence the kicks and blows of the white planters till 'the bursting up of their spleens' relieved them of their earthly miseries. But the stories of the 'Indian Negro-slaves' kindled fire of indigination in every Indian heart. 16

The Indians also smarted under other grievances which, they believed, were due to errors of omission or commission on the part of the foreign Government. The imposition of new taxes, particularly on necessaries of life, was strongly resented, as the people believed, rightly or wrongly, that these could be largely avoided by curtailing unnecessary and wasteful expenditure. To saddle the poor Indian exchequer with the heavy expenses of imperial wars in Burma, Afghanistan and Abyssinia was particularly assailed in this context. Steady rise in the prices of foodstuffs hit the people hard, and frequent famines decimated the land; the people attributed them solely to the selfish economic policy deliberately pursued by the British. The favouritism shown to the Englishmen as against Indians in all walks of life was another sore point with the Indians. Particularly galling were the supersession of the claims of Indians in favour of Englishmen of distinctly lower qualification in Government services; virtual exclusion of Indians from the higher Civil and Military services, and such other superior services as Police, Education, and Medical; undue advantages extended to English busi-. ness men even to the detriment of Indian interest; and, above all, the almost criminal partiality of English officers—magistrates, judges, policemen—and jurors to Englishmen.

The neglect of primary education causing appalling illiteracy, failure to provide for higher technical education in order to fit Indians for industry and business, prompted by the ignoble motive of keeping India as a perpetual market for English trade, restrictions imposed on Indians by the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act, the corruption and inefficiency of the police,—all these were heavy counts in popular minds against the British Government.

It is irrelevant to discuss in this context whether some of these charges were not either imaginary or unduly exaggerated. There is no doubt whatsoever about the fact that they were believed, almost universally, by all classes of Indians. For, when the people are perpetually deprived of all share and responsibility in the administration, they are prone to believe that all the ills they suffer are due to the faults of the Government* They may even be excused for highly exaggerating these faults, for those who have no opportunity or even expectation of shouldering the responsibility of Government are hardly likely to consider, in a calm and dispassionate spirit, the difficulties with which the Government had to grapple or to realize that some of the evils are inherent in the system and inevitable under any Government.

Thus when the nineteenth century was drawing to its close, the British almost entirely forfeited the large fund of goodwill with which they had started at the beginning of the century. Discontent and disaffection pervaded all classes and ranks. Constant brooding over the various grievances and grounds of complaint mentioned above, accompanied by a feeling of utter helplessness to stem the tide of repression and injustice, against Englishmen and their administration in India highly exacerbated the Indian feeling. Quickened by the newly awakened spirit of nationalism, the Indians gradually developed a mentality which was decidedly anti-British and differed fundamentally from that which spurred on the older generation with a buoyant faith in English sense of justice. The Moderate party, representing the older generation, was still at the helm of Indian politics, but as they failed to deliver the goods, their leadership was fast slipping away into the grasp of others, who more faithfully reflected the new temperament of the people. These had no faith

in the British justice or generosity and were not in a mood to regard the policy of mendicancy, hitherto pursued, as either fruitful or in keeping with the national dignity. Thus a new school of politics silently took the place of the old, and backed by the nation at large, was destined ere long gradually to oust it altogether. But as yet neither the Government nor the people fully realized the great transformation that was silently taking place in India at the turn of the century. At the close of the period under review Surendranath Banerji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and G. K. Gokhale were still the acknowledged political leaders of the country; B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal and Lajpat Rai did not yet count for much in active politics, and Arabinda Ghosh was almost an unknown figure. But those who had ears could hear the cry rising from the heart of the nation, “ring out the old and ring in the new”. In less than two years’ time the table was turned, and before the first decade of this century was over, ‘the old order had changed yielding place to the new.’ That story will be told in the next volume.

1. Vol. IX, pp. 790-1.

la. Masani, Dadabhai, pp. 123 ff.

2. Ibid, 128-9.

3. Ibid, 189-90.

4. Ibid.

5. Vol. IX, pp. 800 ff.

6. Masani, p. 192.

7. Digby, p. 2. The exact words used by Lord Salisbury in a Minute recorded in 1875 are as follows: “It is not in itself a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from rural districts, where capital is scarce, sparing the towns where it is often redundant and runs to waste in luxury. Hie injury is exaggerated in the case of India where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it.” (quoted in Dutt-II, pp. xii-xlii).

8. Digby, p. 220.

8a. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 1150 ff.

9. Digby, p. 231.

10. Masani, pp. 124-25.

11. Vol. IX, pp. 802 ff.

12. Vol, IX, pp. 836-7.

13. The Times of India , 17 August, 1876.

14. Vol. IX, pp. 914-37.

15. This has been discussed in detail in Chapter XVII, Section 1

CHAPTER XII (L)

GROWTH OF POLITICAL IDEAS AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS (UP TO 1858)

I. INTRODUCTION

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The most outstanding effect of the introduction of Western culture in- India was the growth of modern political concepts, such as nationalism, nationality, patriotism, political rights, etc., which are usually associated with western countries in modern age. Whether and how far these ideas existed in India in ancient and medieval times need not be discussed here. The history of these times in the preceding volumes contains fruitful materials for such a discussion. But certain it is that at the beginning of the period under review these ideas were almost conspicuous by their absence. The political theories of the Hindus did not extend beyond the stage which it reached in A.D. 1200-1300, and the stereotyped ideas of the Muslim rulers, based on the Qur'an , had no prospect of being developed to any extent. Such natural instincts as not unoften take the place of formulated ideas of patriotism and nationalism perhaps existed, to a certain degree, in certain localities. But by the beginning of the nineteenth century even these rudimentary ideas almost totally ♦ disappeared from India.

It is idle to expect the growth of patriotism or nationalism in the true sense of the word in those parts of India where the rulers were Muslims but a vast majority of the people were Hindus. The ruling clan might have a sort of national feeling, based on the community of religion, particularly the brotherhood of Islam. But in actual history no such instances are known. Neither in Delhi nor in Bengal, where the Muslims were numerically strong, we come across any evidence of political solidarity among the Muslims strong enough to induce them to make a common stand against the outside invaders. The only example of an organised unity among them is afforded by the Wahabis, but its outlook was strictly communal and religious, and it never played any important role in the general political development of India. Among the Hindus, the Rajputs and the Marathas were noted for their ardent patriotism, but it was too narrow and local in the first case, and merely centred round personalities in the second. Each petty Rajput State constituted a world by itself to its people, and whatever patriotic and national feelings they possessed in the nineteenth century never extended beyond its boundary. The Marathas lost their wider outlook, if ever they had any, and their allegiance was now to the Peshwa and the Bhonsle, and to a lesser degree to Sindhia, Holkar, and Gaekwar (whose subjects were mostly non-Maratha), rather than to any common country or to any common political ideal.

The process by which a body of British merchants gradually made themselves masters of India affords the best evidence, if such evidence were needed, of the utter lack of any sense of patriotism and nationalism in India. The Indian ruling chiefs, even those belonging to the same community, helped the British against one another. The Nizam and the Marathas joined the British against Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The Peshwa joined the British against the other Maratha leaders. The Marathas felt no scruple in crushing -the Rajputs, and fighting the Sikhs; the Muslim rulers and chiefs fought among themselves; the Marathas were fighting among themselves and against Muslim rulers; and all these went on when the British were consolidating their power and were well on the way to conquer the whole of the country. So it is hardly any exaggeration to say that, politically speaking, there was no India at the beginning of the nineteenth century—it was a mere congeries of States.

Analogy is usually drawn between India on the one hand, and such contemporary European States as Germany and Italy on the other. But this is only partially true. Like India both these countries lacked political unity, and were more or less mere geographical expressions. But as Seeley has rightly pointed out, India’s condition was still more degrading in one respect.[1] Napoleon was able to set one German State against another, but he did not make the attempt to raise an army of Germans simply by offering pay, and then use them in the conquest of Germany. It is very doubtful if such an attempt would have been successful. But this is precisely what the British did in India, and with conspicuous success. They conquered the south with the Tilings troops and the whole of North India with the sepoys recruited from all over that country. They defeated the Sikhs and the Gurkhas with the help of the sepoys, and suppressed the sepoy revolt in 1857 with the help of the Sikhs, Gurkhas and sepoys. Referring to the conquest of India by the East India Company an eminent English historian has aptly remarked that "India can hardly be said to have been conquered at all by foreigners. She has rather conquered herself."

The facts stated above leave no doubt that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and for at least a century before that, there was no India in the political sense. Neither the chiefs nor the

common man had any sense of national unity or even a national feeling in a narrow regional sense. Because there was no India, therefore, properly speaking, there was no foreigner, and people of India entertained no hostile feelings against the English merely as foreigners.

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Confirmation and illustration of what has been stated above meet us at almost every step in the early history of the British in Madras and Bengal, the two provinces where they first established a complete political authority. It must therefore strike one as very strange that it was in Bengal that the modern idea of nationalism had its birth in the nineteenth century. The fact is that it germinated in the soil of Bengal, was fertilized by Western education, and then spread rapidly to other parts of India.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss at length what constitutes the essential elements of nationality, and how far these were present in India or even in its separate provinces in the eighteenth century. The basis of nationality is usually regarded to be one or more of the following: the community of race, language, religion or culture; geographical position; identity of present political interests or past historical traditions, etc. How far all or any of these should be regarded as essential ingredients of nationality, and the extent to which they were present in India are subjects of keen dispute. But there is one element which seems to be a sine qua non for constituting a nationality. This has been explained by Mill in the following words:

> “A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nationality if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and any others—which make them cooperate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be governed by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively.”[2]

Such a feeling may be due to a variety of reasons, particularly those that have been referred to above as the basic factors of nationality. But, so long as this feeling does not inspire a considerable body of men, they can hardly be said to form a nation even though they may possess many other essential elements of nationality. Judged by this standard it can be at once said that there was no sense of nationality in Bengal, and far less in India as a whole.

The ideas of nationality and patriotism, on an all-India basis, and political consciousness, leading to struggle for freedom or an urge towards political advancement of the people, cannot be traced before the British period. Even in Europe these ideas were not fully developed, save in England, before the eighteenth century. The American War of Independence and the French Revolution, both in the latter half of that century, gave these ideas a prominence which they have maintained ever since, and shaped the destinies of mankind all over the world. It is a happy coincidence that India's first contact with the West dated precisely from the period when the ideas of nationality, freedom, and democracy exercised the greatest influence in that part of the world and permeated the English literature through which that contact was mainly established. The result was remarkable. Indians with English education were imbued with the most advanced political and social ideas of the West, and though their number was few, their influence was considerable and far-reaching.

II. BENGAL

As in many other fields, so in the demand for political rights also, Raja Rammohan Roy took a leading part and set an example to others. He had a passionate love of liberty which “made him take interest in and deeply sympathise with all political movements all over the world that had for their object the advancement of popular freedom." 3 His cosmopolitan sympathy in the domain of politics is well illustrated by several incidents. When the political aspirations of the people of Naples were crushed by the Holy Alliance in 1821, the Raja was so depressed by the news that he cancelled an engagement for the evening with Mr. Buckingham and wrote to him: “From the late unhappy news I am obliged to conclude that I shall not live to see liberty universally restored to the nations of Europe, and Asiatic nations, especially those that are European colonies, possessed of a greater degree of the same blessing than what they now enjoy”. The letter concludes with the remarkable sentence: “Enemies to liberty and friends of despotism have never been and never will be ultimately successful”. 4 The Raja also gave a public dinner at the Town Hall in Calcutta on the establishment of constitutional Government in Spain. During his voyage to England, though suffering from some injuries in his leg, he insisted on visiting two French frigates which were flying the tri-colour flag. 0

A passionate yearning for liberty .and an ardent sense of patriotism were instilled into the minds of the students of Hindu College, Calcutta, by its young and gifted teacher, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, an East Indian (equivalent to Eurasian or Anglo-Indian of the present day) of Portuguese-Indian ancestry. Born in 1808, he was educated in a private school in Calcutta by the Scotsman, Drummond, a ‘notorious* free-thinker and an exile from his native land,

and was inspired by him with those radical ideas about politics, society, and religion which he communicated to his own students. Derozio was appointed a teacher to the senior classes in the Hindu College shortly before 13 May, 1826, before probably he had even completed his eighteenth year. The biographer of Derozio has justly observed that “neither before, nor since his day, has any teacher, within the walls of any native educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils”. Derozio had unflinching faith in the French Revolution and English Radicalism, and drew the senior boys “like a magnet” around him. Through the medium of academic Associations and College Magazines, Derozio and his pupils discussed such topics as freewill and fate, virtue and vice, patriotism, idolatry, priestcraft, superstitions, and even the existence of God, not to speak of subjects of lesser importance like female education, cheap justice etc. The practical effect of the political teachings of Derozio may be illustrated by two incidents. “On 10 December, 1830, 200 persons attended the July Revolution celebration in the Town Hall. On Christmas day of the same year the tricolour flag of the French Revolution was hoisted on the monument, and it is not difficult to guess, by whom.”

Derozio regarded himself as an Indian and wrote patriotic verses, a specimen of which is given below:

“My country! in the days of glory past A beauteous halo circled round thy brow.

And worshipped as a deity thou wast,

Where is that glory, where that reverence now?”

Derozio’s personality ushered in a new era in the annals of the Hindu College, but for that very reason the orthodox Hindu community strongly disliked him, and at last brought about his dismissal in 1831. Undaunted in any way, Derozio established a daily paper—the East Indian —and carried on his activities. But death put an end to his career on December 26, 1831, at the age of 23 years and 8 months. 6

The dismissal and premature death of Derozio at the age of twenty-three struck a heavy blow at the growth of Young Bengal, for he left behind him ideas but no organization. Many of his pupils cherished to the last days of their lives the rational spirit and radical views in politics which they had imbibed from him, but being scattered about in various professions and pre-occupations, their activities did not lead to any permanent school of thought in politics. Nevertheless, it was no small gain that a large number of distinguished students of the Hindu College carried on the spirit of Derozio for many years to come, and, generally speaking, the Hindu College students became familiar with the most radical political ideas then prevalent in Europe. 6 * They carefully studied the history and revolutionary philosophy of ^France and were deeply stirred by the wave of Revolutions in Europe in 1830. That some of them even looked forward to the outbreak of a similar revolution in India may be gathered from a series of essays on the grievances of India published in the Bengal Harkaru of 1843. A deep patriotic feeling inspired a number of poems written about 1830 by Kashi-prasad Ghosh, a student of the Hindu College. In one of these he sang the glory of the motherland as follows:

"Land of the gods and lofty name;

Land of the fair and beauty's spell;

Land of the bards of mighty fame,

My native land! for e'er farewell!"

It has been justly remarked that "this song might be taken as the first cry of patriotic fervour, which was roused in Bengal by the introduction of Western culture."

But while the students of the Hindu College dreamt of independence, they were the first to recognize that it would take long in coming. This sentiment is beautifully expressed in the following verse by Kashi-prasad:

"But woe me! I shall never live to behold,

That day of thy triumph, when firmly and bold,

Thou shalt mount on the wings of an eagle on high To the region of knowledge and blest liberty."

This truth was so obvious to one and all that all practical efforts were mainly directed to demands for political reforms. The students of the Hindu College propagated the ideas through their associations and periodical publications, as already noted above. But more active efforts were made b> the new leaders by demanding specific reforms.

The general attitude of the educated classes towards the British Government is reflected in the following observations of Raja Rammohan Roy in his ‘Appeal to the King in Council’ against the Press Regulation:

“Your Majesty is aware, that under their former Muhammadan Rulers, the natives of this country enjoyed every political privilege in common with Mussulmans, being eligible to the highest offices in

the state.Although under the British Rule, the natives of

India have entirely lost this political consequence, your Majesty’s faithful subjects were consoled by the more secure enjoyment of

those civil and religious rights which had been so often violated by the rapacity and intolerance of the Mussulmans; and notwithstanding the loss of political rank and power, they considered themselves much happier in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty than were their ancestors; but if these rights that remain are allowed to be unceremoniously invaded .... the basis on which they have founded their hopes of comfort and happiness under the British Power will be destroyed”. 7

This spirited protest was evoked by the new Press Ordinance of 1823, noted above, which prescribed that no one should publish a newspaper or other periodical without having obtained a license from the Governor-General in Council. 8

The next measure which strongly agitated the public was the Jury Act of 1827 by which the Christians, including native converts, could not be tried by a Hindu or Musalman juror, but any Hindu or Musalman could be tried by Europeans or native Christians. The Act also denied both to Hindus and Musalmans the honour of a seat in the Grand Jury even in the trial of fellow-Hindus or Musalmans. Petitions against the Act for presentation to both Houses of Parliament were signed by Hindus and Musalmans. Raja Rammohan Roy, who drew up the petition, made some observations about the future of India, which may be quoted as a remarkable testimony to the advanced political ideas of educated Bengal in 1829.

“Supposing that 100 years hence the Native character becomes elevated from constant intercourse with Europeans and the acquirement of general and political knowledge as well as of modern arts and sciences, is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society? It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any quarter of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit. Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her remote situation, her riches and her vast population, either useful and profitable as a willing province, an ally of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy.”[9]

An idea of the other measures of reform which were demanded at the time may be gathered from the several communications made by Rammohan to the Board of Control in 1831. These included the fixation of maximum rents to be paid by the cultivator; the substitution of English for Persian as the official language of the courts of law; the appointment of native assessors in the civil courts; trial by jury; Habeas Corpus Act; separation of the offices of judge and revenue commissioners; separation of the offices of judge and magistrate; codification of the criminal law and also of the civil law of India; independence of judges; legal responsibility of officials; consultation with the local magnates before enacting laws; and last, but not the least, the appointment of Indians to higher posts, which were practically reserved for the British.[10]

Some of these measures were advocated by others even before Raja Rammohan Roy.[11] Nevertheless, he may certainly be regarded as the great pioneer of political movement in India.

Rammohan was also the first Indian to voice the grievances of his country before the British authorities. His activities were not altogether unsuccessful. It was generally believed that some of the beneficent provisions in the Charter Act of 1833 were mainly due to his influence. 12 In a memorial meeting for the Raja, held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on April 5, 1834, Rasik-krishna Mallik said:

“To his going there (England) we are in a great measure indebted for the best clauses in the new Charter; bad and wretched

as the Charter is.the few provisions that it contains for the

good of our countrymen we owe to Rammohan Roy”. 13

As an important indication of the political advance of the Bengali public it may be noted that the Charter Act of 1833 evoked strong protest both from Indians and Englishmen. At the request of the leading citizens of Calcutta, both Indians and Europeans, the Sheriff called a public meeting at the Town Hall on 5 January, 1835, to protest against the Act. Theodore Dickens, Thomas E. M. Turton, and Rasik-krishna Mallik made eloquent speeches to show that the Act put a burden of insupportable magnitude upon the people of India for the sole benefit of the East India Stock, and was extremely unsatisfactory as it was not likely to improve the administration of the country to any appreciable extent. The meeting urged the repeal of Press Regulations of 1823, and the removal of the restraint upon public meetings. The meeting also took steps to communicate its proceedings to the Government and the British Parliament.

Reference may be made, in connection with political reforms, to a pet idea of Raja Rammohan and his associates which provoked angry discussions in those days. It is the plan of having a European colony in India. The idea was to induce Europeans of upper classes, including capitalists and captains of industry, to settle permanently in India in large numbers. It was advocated mainly on two grounds.

The huge annual flow of money from India to England was discussed in the newspapers and Eammohan calculated the total amount withdrawn from India to England between 1765 and 1820 to be 110 million sterling. With a view to checking such a huge drain of Indian wealth he suggested that the

Europeans accumulating capital in India should be encouraged to settle in India so that the wealth might not go out of the country. 14 The second reason was the Raja's firm conviction that these Europeans would, by their superior knowledge and public spirit, bring about the industrial regeneration of India, effect improvement in mechanical arts, teach the people how to secure political rights, and would themselves secure better administration of the country by representing the grievances of India to the authorities in England. “The greater our intercourse with European gentlemen”, said the Raja in a public meeting in 1829, “the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs.” The idea was supported by men like Dwaraka-nath Tagore and a petition signed by a number of persons was sent to Parliament in favour of the colonization. It is only fair to add that Rammohan was fully alive to the probable dangers and disadvantages of the scheme. 16

There was, however, considerable opposition to the idea. A letter published in the Bengali periodical Samachdra-ddrpania (October 15, 1831) said that “it is not the wish of the great body of the Hindus that the English should come and cultivate the ground and become landlords.” 16

The students of the Hindu College, who supported many of the measures of reform, referred to above, were divided in their opinion on the subject of European colonisation in India. Some supported the scheme, w T hile others vigorously opposed it. A paper containing a very comprehensive review of the whole question was read before the Hindu Literary Society and published in the India Gazette (February 12, 1830). The writer traces the history of colonization from the most ancient times, and describes the oppressive character and the adverse effect on the native population of the Greek, Roman, and Phoenician colonies of the ancient, and the English, Dutch, and Spanish colonies of modern times. In a tone of brilliant satire the author observes: “No sooner did the benevolent inhabitants of Europe behold their sad condition, than they immediately go to work to ameliorate and improve it. They introduced among them, rum, gin, brandy and other comforts of life, and it is astonishing to read how soon the poor savages learnt to estimate these blessings .” 17

This splendid review is remarkable in many ways. It shows the depth of learning, power of expression, capacity of acute judgement,

and a spirit of true national feeling, on the part of a youth, which would do credit to any public leader of repute. What is more important, it proves that the teaching in Hindu College did not necessarily denationalize or anglicize the Hindus of Bengal, as is generally supposed. Above all, it shows that the inordinate flow of love for the British which swept the country during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was slowly ebbing away. Rammohan Roy tells us that the enlightened people looked upon the English as deliverers rather than as conquerors, and that the citizens of Calcutta offered prayers for the victory of the British during the third Maratha and the Nepal wars. 18 But while the older generation still retained this spirit of goodwill towards the British, a new generation was slowly growing up with less confidence in the benevolent character of the foreign rule. This is amply proved by the opinions freely expressed by some political writers of the time most of whom were students or ex-students of the College. A few may be quoted as specimens.

Rasik-krishna Mallik (1810-1858), a brilliant student of the Hindu College, and editor of the Gyananneshun, severely condemned the Calcutta Police and the administration of justice, which, in his opinion, was characterised by everything that is opposed to the just principles of government. “The primary function of government/’ said he, “was to administer justice fairly and impartially. But this function can be properly discharged only by such a government as has thoroughly identified itself with the welfare and interest of the governed.” According to him this was not the case in India which was governed by a body of merchants whose principal aim as such would be to promote their own interests and who naturally “will try to make their government subservient to the one ignoble principle of gain.” 19

Dakshina-ranj an Mukhopadhyay advocated the doctrine of equality of men and held that God “in his impartial wisdom created all men alike equal to one another in their birth rights.” 20 He reiterated the maxim that “governments are for the good of the many, and not the few”. 21 As a corollary to all this, he emphasised the evils of subjection to foreigners. In his opinion the foreign rulers were guided by their own interests and were seldom actuated by the philanthropic desire of promoting the welfare of the native races. He attributed the poverty of India to foreign subjection. 22

As against such radical views, many political leaders, mostly associates of Raja Rammohan Roy, had unflinching faith in the British Government. Thus Prasanna-kumar Tagore wrote: “If we were to be asked, what Government we would prefer, English or any other, we would one and all reply, English by all means, ay, even in preference to a Hindu Government”. 23 Dwaraka-nath Tagore also expressed ‘his conviction that the happiness of India is best secured by her connection with England.’ 24 Girish-chandra Ghosh, the founder and first editor of the Hindoo Patriot and the Bengalee, held that the educated Indians had not yet become fit for taking the responsibility of their country’s administration on their own shoulders, “and that by subverting the British rule,— even if it were in their power so to do,-—they would only prepare their necks for another and, perhaps, a heavier foreign yoke.” 26

But in spite of theoretical differences between the younger and older sections about the character and desirability of the British rule, there was a general agreement of views among the political thinkers of the time that there were serious defects in the system of administration. While the younger section vigorously denounced the abuses, mainly taking their stand on the abstract principles of government derived from the radical writers of Europe, the older section believed that they could be remedied by constitutional agitation. They had implicit faith in “the pure and benevolent intentions of the British Government whose noble solicitude for the welfare and improvement of millions committed by Providence to its - charge, may challenge the admiration of the wide world”.

The main object of these political leaders was to rouse the political consciousness of the people of Bengal in order to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon the Government. The apathy of the general people to political affairs constituted their main difficulty. Dwaraka-nath Tagore remarked in a public meeting held on 18 June, 1836: “The majority of my countrymen say, ‘If I have lost one eye, let me take care of the other,’ and thus they keep themselves back from public meetings and are tardy in the assertion of their jrights.” But he had great faith that English education would cure this evil. “Let the Hindu College go on,” said he, “for three or four years more and you will have a meeting like this attended by four times the number of natives.” 26

Undeterred by the general public apathy, the leaders carried on regular agitation in the press and on the platform. It is not possible to give an adequate account of the specific demands for political reform or the different views on which they were based, and only a brief reference to the important topics must suffice.

The spread of education among the masses was urged as a fundamental duty of the Government. Tara-chand Chakravarty, the leader of Young Bengal, regarded it as an essential function of government which is not only to maintain peace and order but also to lead the citizens to live a better life. “The general elightenment of the people”, said he, “is undoubtedly the best guarantee of a good government”. “According to Tarachand, power has been delegated to government by the people with a view to ‘the protection of rights, the prevention of wrongs and the consequent promotion of happiness’. Such being the origin of government, it is bound ‘to consider the education of the people, whom they govern, a part of their duty”. He further maintained that this education should not be merely theoretical, but include sound vocational training through government institutions built up on the model pf the Polytechnic schools of Paris. 27 Akshay-kumar Datta also wrote in the same strain. He believed that a proper system of education alone could remove all the social, political and economic evils from which Bengal was suffering. As early as 1855 he advocated free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of fifteen, the funds to be provided by curtailing military expenditure. He prepared a detailed scheme for different stages* of education, in which provision was made for teaching sciences and humanities as well as technical and vocational education, including agriculture, engineering, ship-building, etc. He also suggested that vernacular should be the medium of the higher, secondary and primary education. 28 Akshay-kumar stressed the need of representative character of the government and elaborated the well-known principle that the right to impose taxes involved the duty of improving the conditions of the people.

Amelioration of the condition of the ryots was another insistent demand. Rasik-krishna Mallik and Akshay-kumar Datta vigorously championed their cause and blamed the Government for their miserable lot. Though Dwaraka-nath Tagore, Prasanna-kumar Tagore and others were champions of the rights of the Zamindars, they also supported the cause of the ryots.

Indianisation of Services was an insistent demand from all quarters. On April 18, 1843, the Hindu College students held a public meeting in the Town Hall to send a memorial to the Court of Proprietors 'praying for the bestowal of more offices on Indians'. Tarachand Chakravarty, who moved the resolution, vigorously attacked the maintenance of the Civil Service as a monopoly of Englishmen. He argued that it "represses the expansion of talent and genius among the Indians" and "promotes a sort of clanship which usually blinds the sense of justice to members of its own fraternity and thus thwarts the efforts of natives to seek redress from the grievances to which they may contribute". So he pleaded for opening it to public competition. 29 In another public meeting held in 1853, Ram-gopal Ghosh urged the necessity of throwing open the Civil Service, without any reservation, to the Indians. 30

While there was a general desire that the Indians should be vested with more powers in regard to legislation, opinions differed widely regarding the concrete measures to be adopted to give effect to it. Raja Rammohan Roy demanded that the laws for India should be made by the King-in-Parliament and not by the Indian Government. 21 The other view was that there should be a Legislative Council for India. The Raja was opposed to it on the ground "that if any legislative council were established in India, the executive and the judicial officers would have the preponderant voice in it, and the inclusion of one or two Indian nominated members would not obviate the danger of uniting the executive, judicial, and legislative power in one body." He, therefore, suggested that the legislative measures should be initiated by the Government of India, then subjected to the criticism of leading citizens of India, and finally passed by the Parliament. 32

As a corollary to the above, it was suggested that some representatives of Indians should be included in the British Parliament. Though the Raja himself did not make this demand, Dwaraka-nath Tagore suggested that each Presidency should be allowed to send two representatives to Parliament. 33 This was, however, opposed by a section of younger politicians. They held that in view of the long distance and difficulty of communication, it would be difficult to find proper Indian representatives who would be willing to stay in England, and the Indian public would have no control over them. 34

The agitation for political reform on these lines was chiefly carried on by the friends and associates of Raja Rammohan Roy. One of them, Prasanna-kumar Tagore, started a paper called the Reformer. It was the first English newspaper conducted by an Indian and discussed all questions connected with local politics, political economy, literature, religion, metaphysics, jurisprudence, etc. Dr. Duff remarked about this .paper that "it represented the sentiments of a party not large in number but potent in rank and wealth, the party of the celebrated Raja Rammohun Roy". In 1833 the paper had a circulation of 400 copies, which was more than that of any other paper of those days with the exception of Bengal Hurkaru which had a circulation of 934 copies. 36

Dwaraka-nath Tagore, another associate of Raja Rammohan, followed a different policy in this respect. Instead of starting independent newspapers of his own he purchased large shares of the influential Anglo-Indian papers. He purchased the India Gazette and amalgamated it, first with the Bengal Chronicle, and then with Bengal Hurkaru . As noted above, the last-named paper had large cir

culation and Dwaraka-nath purchased considerable share of it, in order, we are told, to counteract the savage and unscrupulous attacks of the John Bull upon the natives. 06

Among other periodicals, dealing with political topics, during this period may be mentioned the Parthenon (1830), the Gyananneshun (1831), the Bengal Spectator (1842), and the Hindu Pioneer, all started by the students of the Hindu College. As a specimen of the political views preached through these papers, the following passage may be quoted from an article entitled ‘‘India under Foreigners” published in the Hindu Pioneer:

“The Government of India (under the English) is purely aristocrat ical; the people have no voice in the council of legislature; they have no hand in framing the laws which regulate their civil conduct. We need not expatiate on the monopoly of the State Service, the law’s delay, the insolence of office, the heavy expenses of Government, the retirement from India of all those who acquire wealth, and the enormous taxation to which the country is subjected —evils too well known in India. The Muhammedans patronised merit wherever it was to be found; the English, like the primitive Hindus, have one caste of men to govern the general body. The violent means by which foreign supremacy has been established, and the entire alienation of the people of the soil from any share in the Government, nay, even from all offices of trust and power, are circumstances which no commercial, no political benefits can authorise or justify.” 37

But the political leaders of Bengal did not rely on the press and platform alone for carrying on agitation for political reforms. They also realized the necessity of organizing political associations. The first to be established in Bengal was an association called “Bahgabhasha-Prakasika Sabha”, founded in 1836. As the name and activities of this association are now little known, we give a somewhat detailed account of it on the basis of reports and correspondence published in contemporary periodicals. 38 The first reference to it occurs in an anonymous letter published in the Gyananneshun on December 17, 1836. We learn from it that the association held a weekly meeting on Thursday evenings. The writer says that in the meeting on the previous Thursday, which he attended, the people assembled were ten times the usual number. The Chairman announced that the subject for discussion fixed in the last weekly meeting was ‘whether pleasure proceeds from sorrow or arises from pleasure*. Thereupon it was pointed out by Ram-lochan Ghosh that debates on such a subject would inevitably involve religious discussion which is strictly forbidden by the tenth rule of the Association. So he proposed that the meeting should rather serve the interest of the country by discussing such topics connected with the policy and administration of the Government which concerned the welfare of the people. This being accepted with acclamation it was proposed and resolved that the meeting would formulate, after discussion, the principal abuses in the system of administration which adversely affected the interest of the people, and then try to remove them by sending petition to the Government or by other means.

Ram-lochan Ghosh then pointed out that the Englishmen, assembled in a meeting, sat on chairs with a table in the centre, and each member rose from his seat when addressing the meeting. He proposed, and the meeting agreed, that the same procedure should be followed in future.

The Chairman then pointed out that the Association had just been started and had no funds of its own. The members were also mostly poor. How would they meet the expenses for their political activities? After some discussion it was settled that the rich members would bear the expenses of costly undertakings.

It was then resolved that the next meeting would discuss the recent measure of the Government by which rent was imposed upon lands which were hitherto rent-free. Four persons were selected for drafting a memorandum upon the subject.

Ram-lochan Ghosh wrote a long letter to the Secretary, supporting the measure of the Government on several grounds. The letter was published in the Bengali periodical PrabMkar (December 31, 1836) with a detailed criticism by the editor, who held that as Ram-lochan was a Government Official, he had shown a partisan spirit in supporting the measure. The editor, however, added that he did not blame Shri Ghosh, for, being maintained by the Government, he might have incurred sin by writing anything against it.

The arguments and counter-arguments throw interesting light on the political thoughts of the day. Ghosh supported the resumption of rent-free lands on the ground that, as the Government had abolished the duties, there was no other means to pay off the debts of the country as the Company had already spent a lot of money out of its own funds for defending it. In reply it was pointed out that the Government was spending on Christian missions in this country about ten to twelve lakhs of Rupees per annum and this sum could be utilised for paying off the debt.

The huge cost of administration on account of the high salary paid to English officials was put forward against the Government. To this Ghosh replied by saying that if the people of the country were fit for high administrative duties there would have been no necessity of employing English officials at a high cost. Two of the arguments of Ghosh are very interesting. He maintained that all people had equal rights in the land and the king had no power to grant rent-free lands to a person except on the ground that he had spent his fortune for public good or fought for the country. He further held that as the Muslim kings were no better than robbers, grants of lands made by them could not. be regarded as valid. As to the stipulations made in the Diwani Grant to respect such grants, Ghosh argued that the Emperor of Delhi, who gave it, was an exile, and though the English, for the sake of expediency, agreed to receive the Diwani from him, in reality they became masters of the country by their own skill and efforts.

\ The special pleadings of Ram-lochan Ghosh evidently represent the official views on the subject. But the "Bahgabhasha Prakasika Sabha" regarded the Government measure as highly injurious to the country and decided to summon a public meeting to discuss the proposal of sending a petition to the Government signed by five thousand persons. A circular was accordingly widely distributed among the people in Calcutta and its immediate neighbourhood. [39]

The above news was published on January 7, 1837. We next find a news item, dated October 14, 1837, that Ram-kamal Sen has decided to start a new association with a view to sending a petition to England on behalf of the owners of rent-free lands and with a prayer to introduce Bengali as the court language. [40]

On November 12, 1837, the landholders of Calcutta and its neighbourhood met at the Hindu College to establish an association in order to safeguard their interests as the Chamber of Commerce did in regard to traders.* 1 It was inaugurated in July 1838, and called “Zamindary Association”, but the name was soon changed to “Landholders’ Society”. It was open to all persons having any stake in the land, irrespective of caste, creed, or country, and its activities would not be confined to Calcutta, as it would keep in touch with all the districts. Referring to the genesis of the Society, Ramanath Tagore said in 1870: “Dwarakanath Tagore was one of the first native gentlemen who understood and appreciated constitutional agitation. Estimating rightly the influence of the landed aristocracy..., he established in July, 1838, the Landholders' Society (which took up) several questions of vital importance to the Zamindars... . At the instance of the Landholders' Society a monstrous meeting was convened at the Town Hall for memorialising the Government against resumption measure.... Babu Dwarakanath Tagore said (on the occasion) that the time would soon come when his young friends, the Hindu Collegians, would organise themselves into a compact band of patriots for the assertion or preservation of their political rights and the redress of their grievances.” 4 ^ Although the object and achievements of this political association were very limited in character, it deserves notice for three reasons. In the first place, it set the example of an organized constitutional agitation for redress of grievances by a public body. Secondly, it was the avowed object of the organizers to establish “branch societies in every district of the British Indian empire with the view of establishing regular communications on all subjects connected with the object of the society.” Thirdly, it enlisted the co-operation of Englishmen who sympathised with the political aspirations of the people. This, as well as the political character of the society, will be evident from Mr. Turton’s speech in a meeting of the Society on November 30, 1839, as reported in the Bengal Hurkaru of December 14, and 16, 1839: “It was not as a conquered nation that he desired to retain the inhabitants of India as British subjects, but as brethren in every respect; as constituting a part of the Kingdom of Britain, as fellow subjects—with the same feelings, the same interests and objects, and the same rights as the British-born inhabitants of England. He admired the principle adopted of old by the Romans, of incorporating their conquests with Rome, and granting to the conquered the privileges of Roman citizens.” 43 If we remember that this speech was delivered before the publication of Durham’s Report containing the idea of the Dominion Status, it must be regarded as a remarkable example of political insight.

While the Indian associates of Raja Rammohan were carrying on his work in India, his friend, William Adam, was continuing the political agitation in England on behalf of India which the Raja had initiated. In order to rouse the interests of the English public in Indian affairs, Mr. Adam established the “British India Society” in England in July 1839, and was the editor of a journal called the British India Advocate , published by the Society early in 1841. The “Landholders’ Society” of Calcutta decided to co-operate with the “British India Society” in London, and appointed a Committee to supply regular information to the latter about the Indians’ grievances and demands.

The Landholders’ Society was not content with this. Fully cognisant of the beneficent effects of political agitation in England, such as was carried on by Rammohan, and after him by Adam, it decided, at the instance of Dwaraka-nath Tagore, to appoint paid agents in England for the same purpose. This novel procedure continued for some time, and had important consequences for the future.

In a meeting of the Landholders’ Society held on July 17, 1843, Thompson 43 * was appointed such an agent. He was a well-known public man in England and had accompanied Dwaraka-nath Tagore when he returned from London in January, 1843. He aroused unparalleled enthusiasm among the young Bengalis by a series of lectures and was mainly instrumental in founding the ‘Bengal British India Society’ on April 20, 1843. Five resolutions were passed in the inaugural meeting explaining the scope and object of the Society. The third, moved by Tara-chand Chakravarty, defined the object of the Society to be “the collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British India... and to employ such other means of a peaceable and lawful character, as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of our fellowsubjects". 44

There were thus, since 1843, two political associations in Bengal, viz., the 'Landholders' Society' and the 'Bengal British India Society.' As a contemporary remarked, the first represented aristocracy of wealth, and the other, aristocracy of intelligence. None of these can be* said to have achieved great popularity, but there can be hardly any doubt that they served to rouse the political consciousness of the people. 45 This became evident in 1849 when four Bills were drafted by Bethune, the Law Member of the Government, with a view, among others, to extend the jurisdiction of the East India Company's Criminal Courts over the British-born subjects. Hitherto, these were subject only to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, with the result that the people in mofussil had practically no judicial remedy against their oppression by the British, as it was hardly possible for them to carry on litigation in the Supreme Court in Calcutta. 46 But though the Bills were eminently just, and the Indians strongly supported them, the European community in Bengal characterized them as "Black Acts" and carried on such a violent agitation that the Government was forced to withdraw them in spite of strong protests of the Bengali leaders. The educated community of Bengal was profoundly shocked, and felt the need of a strong political association, not only to safeguard Indian interests against the organized attacks of the European community, but also to represent Indian views to the Parliament on the eve of the renewal of the Charter Act. The result was that the two existing political associations in Bengal silently merged themselves into a new one named the "British Indian Association". 47

The British Indian Association was founded on October 29, 1851. 47 » From the very beginning it had an all-India outlook. We learn from its first Annual Report that the Committee of the Associa

tion carried on correspondence with leading political figures of other Provinces. It also notes with satisfaction the establishment of associations of a similar character at Poona, Madras and Bombay. According to the second Annual Report, the Committee of the British Indian Association kept up a friendly correspondence with the associations of the sister Presidencies.

The political association started at Madras was originally a branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta. A petition 48 submitted by the Madras Association to the British Parliament supplies very interesting information on the niethod of work and general political outlook of the British Indian Association, As the facts and views stated in this petition are not generally known it may be quoted in extenso.

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“1. That your petitioners, being desirous to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the approaching expiration of the Charter granted to the Honourable East India Company for going before Parliament with an exposition of various circumstances connected with Government of this country, which, as acknowledged subjects of Her Majesty, they feel to be serious grievances urgently demanding redress, formed an association at Madras, on the 26th of February, 1852, for the purpose of co-operating in this great object with a similar association established at Calcutta, under the name of the British Indian Association, with whom they immediately entered into correspondence, intending, as a branch society, to place themselves under the guidance of that body, to whose superintendence the work of petitioning the Imperial Parliament, on points involving the joint interests of both Presidencies, should be committed. That for this purpose they had previously been collecting the requisite information from various quarters, collecting a large amount of manuscript statements, together with printed documents, in order to ensure the utmost correctness regarding the subjects to be laid before your Right Honourable House.

“2. That in the course of the above-mentioned correspondence, the Calcutta Association transmitted to your Petitioners the sketch of a petition, to which the consent of your Petitioners, with such suggestions thereon as they might deem requisite, was requested: but that the said sketch related almost wholly to plans and recommendations of change in the Government of this country for the exaltation of the highest classes of the Hindus, while it left almost untouched the pitiable condition of the middling and lower classes, and was in various respects unsuitable to the circumstances of the inhabitants of this Presidency; your Petitioners, thence perceiving that there were many important points in which a joint interest could

not be taken, and others in which there could not be joint concurrence, deemed it expedient to withdraw from their connection as a branch association , subordinate to that of the metropolis, and to constitute from among themselves an independent society, under the denomination of the Madras Native Association, with the view of bringing before Parliament the immediate grievances of their own Presidency/' These grievances have been noted above. 49

The British Indian Association had great faith in the British goodwill and sense of justice, and its Secretary, Devendra-nath Tagore wrote in his report that "there can be no doubt that when the real state of things is understood, the British Parliament will not long delay justice to India." Accordingly, as mentioned above, in 1852, when the new Charter Act was under consideration, a petition was sent to the Parliament, in the name of the British Indian Association and other native inhabitants of the Bengal Presidency, complaining against grievances and praying for relief. It dwelt at great length upon the evils of the union of political or executive power with the legislative, and prayed for the establishment of a separate Legislature, possessing a popular character. Among other prayers in the petition may be mentioned the reduction of the salaries of the higher officers, separation of the functions of magistrates and judges, abolition of salt duty, abkari duty, and the stamp duties; and discontinuance of the payment for ecclesiastical establishment. 60

That the Association, and the Indian political leaders in general, laid great stress on the inclusion of Indians in the Legislative Council, would appear from the pamphlet written by Peary-chand Mitra on behalf of the British Indian Association about the same time as the above petition was sent. In this-pamphlet, entitled Notes on the evidence on Indian Affairs, he urged for the inclusion of Indians in the Legislative Council and discussed the evidence given by many Englishmen, including high officials, on the subject before the Committee of the two Houses in 1852. 61 In this connection, we meet foi the first time with the idea of communal representation which playec such an important role in the evolution of

Indian Constitution in the twentieth century. F. G. Halliday observed, in course of his evidence, that as the Hindus and the Musalmans were divided, the representation of Indians would be difficult. Lord Ellenborough, in his evidence, even suggested the creation of two Chambers of Legislature in India—one for the Hindus and another for the Muhammadans. It may be noted in passing that Ellenborough was not actuated by any love for Muslims in making this proposal. As Governor-General he wrote in 1843: "I cannot close my eyes to the belief that that race (Muhammadans) is fundamentally hostile to us and our true policy is

to reconciliate the Hindus". This is one of the earliest pronouncements of the Divide and Rule policy adopted by the British Government, as mentioned above. 62 Against Hailiday's remark Peaiychand Mitra wrote as follows:

"This remark (of Halliday) as to divisions applies to the social and religious state of the country, and the matters on which differences exist have little connection with legislation, and do not require separate representation. That body wants generally information on subjects connected with the internal administration of the country, on which the people think and feel substantially in the same manner; and even supposing that the community is divided in opinion, on subjects coming within the cognizance of legislature, who but a native can be competent to report the sentiments of the people at large?" 53

The Association noted with satisfaction that the Charter Act of 1853 gave effect to some of their demands. But though the Association's prayer for the separation of the Legislature from the Executive was partially granted by the addition of six members to the GovernorGeneral's Council for legislative purposes, its demand for the inclusion of some Indians in the Legislature was not conceded. The additional members were all Europeans, and the Association pointed out that it was utterly vain to expect that "the Europeans who do not mix with the people and cannot therefore know their sentiments and feelings on the different questions connected with the framework of native society and the internal administration of the country, should * rightly represent them". The Association therefore continued the agitation for the inclusion of Indians in the Legislative Council, and demanded the recognition of the principle of equality of all classes of citizens in the eye of the law. It also prayed for increasing the Government grant for education and the holding of the Civil Service examination in India. Two petitions were sent to Parliament in 1856 and 1860 incorporating these demands.

The Association brought to the notice of the Local Government the manifold grievances of'the people, and suggested various measures of reform. It established local branches and tried to rouse the interest of the masses in political questions. For this purpose it translated various Bills into Bengali and circulated them extensively all over the Province for eliciting public opinion. It also framed questionnaire on important current topics like indigoplanting and similarly circulated them.

Advanced political ideas such as those advocated by the British Indian Association were also preached by distinguished Bengalis.

Anyone who goes through the political literature of the period is sure to be struck by the fact that many of the thoughts and ideas expressed by them formed the basis of live political issues even in the first quarter of the twentieth century. A few may be noted as specimens. Both Peary-chand Mitra and Ram-gopal Ghosh urged the necessity of throwing open all offices, including the Civil Service, without any reservation, to Indians on the grounds of equity, economy and the good of India. 54 Dwaraka-nath Tagore advocated the introduction of trial by jury both in the Supreme Court and mofussil Courts. 65 Prasanna-kumar Tagore showed from the Mitakshard that the jury system was not unknown in India and regarded it as the best guarantee for fair and impartial justice. 56 Kishori-chand Mitra strongly condemned the exemption of British-born subjects from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts in the mofussil, and regarded it as unconstitutional and unjust in principle and often oppressive in practice. 57 Govinda-chandra Dutt, who was the first to denounce such inequality in the eye of the law, as early as 1846, also strongly advocated the separation of executive and judicial powers and raised his voice of protest against imprisonment, even of bad characters, on mere suspicion without adequate proof. In this connection he referred to the laws and practice prevailing in France and England. 58 Dakshina-ranjan Mukhopadhyay proposed that each Province should have a council consisting of Government nominees and representatives of the people in equal number, the latter being elected by people of each district possessing a reasonable property qualification. There should also be a Supreme Council, half of whose members would be nominated by Government and the other half by the Provincial Councils. 69

The British Indian Association was somewhat aristocratic in its composition, and in the light of later political evolution in this country, undoubtedly appears as conservative in character; yet considering* the political consciousness of the Indians at that period it is only fair to admit that it played a very important role in the political evolution of India. This is all the more necessary as even eminent Indian politicians have done scant justice to this body. Bipin-chandra Pal, for example, has stated that neither the British Indian Association, nor any political association in any other province started before the Indian Association of Calcutta, had an all-India outlook. 60 This is certainly an unmerited and unfair comment, so far at least as the British Indian Association is concerned. It is apparent from the petition of the Madras Native Association, quoted above, that the British Indian Association had a close and intimate touch with other parts of India and that it circulated the draft memorial to Parliament in 1852 to the political associations of other Provinces

inviting their suggestions upon it. If we remember the state of communication between different parts of India about this time, we must give credit to the British Indian Association for an all-India outlook, but for which they would not have taken troubles to keep in touch with such remote parts of India as Madras, Bombay and Poona.

Similarly, there has been a change of opinion regarding the nature and activities of the British Indian Association. A young writer, who has recently made a study of the old proceedings of the Association, sums up her views in the following lines:

“Many, indeed, would be surprised to know that the British Indian Association was founded not as a Zemindars’ Association but as a national political organisation, with the object of urging constitutional and administrative reforms and representing the views of the enlightened Indian community on these matters to the authorities in India and England. Its rules and its actual deliberations were those of a national political organisation and not of a close corporation of landlords”. 61 The object of the Association was defined to be to “promote the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian Government by every legitimate means in its power and thereby to advance the common interests of Great Britain and India and to ameliorate the condition of the native inhabitants of the subject territory”. 62

Though the “original members were drawn almost wholly from one particular class, representing landed interests (not at all surprising in the context of the social and political conditions of the time), it was never intended to keep the Association a close corporation of landlords. Within a few years men belonging to other classes were admitted as members, and particularly from the ‘seventies there was an increasing number of merchants, industrialists, lawyers, doctors and journalists in the membership of the Association. Thus, within two decades the body became fairly broad-based, and it represented the- upper layer of society no more than the Indian Association or the Indian National Congress at the time”. 63

This view is supported by copious references to the activities of the Association. The following extract would prove interesting in the light of later events:

“ImJL869 Surendranath Banerjee, disqualified for the Indian Civil Service, sought the intervention of the British Indian Association, and in 1895 M. K. Gandhi, described at the time as the agent of the Indfah^ommunity in South Africa, sought the assistance of the British Indhm Association to urge upon the Government of India the necessity of taking measures for the amelioration of the lot of

the Indians in South Africa. The position of the British Indian Association as the most influential public body in India was so wellrecognised that whether it was a Zemindar insulted and wrongly arrested by the District Magistrate, or a dismissed Police Clerk, or Hindu pilgrims ill-treated at a religious fair at Hardwar or a descendant of the Nawab of the Carnatic claiming back his patrimony, everyone turned to the British Indian Association for a redress of grievances. Similarly the authorities also sought the views of the British Indian Association, as representing Indian public opinion and not merely that of the Zemindar clfiss, on every possible issue, — a draft Bill or postal re-organization, Famine policy or Judicial reforms, construction of Railways or building a second port near Calcutta, Hooghly Bridge or Municipal administration, Finance or Epidemic, private latrines or burning ghats, education or public works. Suttee or Charak Puja*'. 64

It is interesting to note, however, that the British Indian Association failed to satisfy the advanced democratic views of the country. As noted above, the Madras Branch seceded from it on the ground that it looked to the interests only of the upper classes and not of 'middling and lower classes*. The same idea was prevalent even among a section of the Bengalis.

A somewhat humorous review of a political association, named 'The National Association*, was published in the Sarnachara-darpana in its issue of December 13, 1851. While commending the good intentions of the Association it remarks that this body only looks to the interests of the Zamindars (landholders), and concludes as follows: "No cultivator attends the meeting of the association nor is likely to do so. If the peasant Gopal expresses his own view in its meeting he is sure to be put to ridicule.** 66 The National Association was founded on September 14, 1851, at the house of Paikpara Raj, but was superseded by the British Indian Association established a month and a half later. 65 * The remarks are therefore fully applicable to it and prove that political views in the country were moving far in advance of the political organisations. But it must be noted that all these criticisms were levelled at the early stages, and, as shown above, the British Indian Association outlived its unpopularity.

Other indications were not wanting to prove the increasing interest taken by the people in political questions. Dwaraka-nath Tagore lamented in the forties that public meetings did not attract large audience, and prophesied that things would change with the spread of English education. His prophecy was fulfilled. We have the record of a public meeting in connection with the renewal of

the East India Company's Charter in 1853. On 3 June, 1853, Wood introduced in the British House of Commons the new scheme for the Government of India. On 29 July, Bam-gopal Ghosh addressed a public meeting in the Town Hall, Calcutta. The number of people present in the

Hall and its immediate neighbourhood was variously estimated between three to ten thousand, and hundreds had to return for want of space. Almost every native .gentleman of distinction, resident in or near Calcutta, attended the meeting. The exclusion of Indians from the higher services and other grievances formed the theme of the speech delivered by Ram-gopal Ghosh. It was eulogized by the London Times as a masterpiece of oratory. 66

The British Indian Association continued the policy initiated by Dwaraka-nath Tagore of appointing paid agents from amongst the public men of England to carry on agitation for Indian reform in that country. During the first three years of its existence it spent not less than Rs. 20,000 for this purpose.

The petition sent by the political associations of India to the Parliament in 1852 created a stir in England. Several friends of India, including John Bright and Joseph Hume, raised their powerful voice in favour of the petitioners. Cobden even went so far as to suggest that India should be ruled by the Indians themselves. On March 13, 1853, there was a meeting of 'The friends of India* and it constituted itself an "India Reform Society". This was highly appreciated by Indian leaders. The Charter of the East India Company was to expire soon, and the main object of the Society was to ensure that the customary Parliamentary inquiry before the renewal of the Charter should be full and impartial. The facts collected by the Society were supplied by John Dickinson to Bright who made several impassioned speeches on India in the House of Commons. How far these influenced that august body at the time is difficult to determine. It is, however, claimed by some that Bright's speeches on India "led to the issue of Queen Victoria's memorable Proclamation of 1858 and did much to determine the wise and humane policy under Lord Canning, which followed the Indian Mutiny." Bright worked consistently to advance the political interests of India during his whole political career from 1847 to 1880.

Reference may be made in this connection to Karl Marx who made England his home. On the eve of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853 he wrote a series of letters to the New York Daily Tribune explaining the conditions of the Indian masses and the ruthless spoliation of India by the British.

III. POLITICAL IDEAS AND ASSOCIATIONS OUTSIDE BENGAL.

A. Bombay

Next to Bengal, we may trace the growth of political consciousness more clearly in Bombay than in any other part of India. In certain respects the people of Maharashtra were more national-minded than the political thinkers of Bengal referred to above. This was due to the historical background of Maharashtra as distinguished from that of Bengal. The Bengali Hindus fait the establishment of the British rule as a providential dispensation to make them free from the tyrannical rule of the Muslims. This was not the feeling of the Maharashtra people, because they had freed themselves from the Muslim rule long ago, and looked upon the Britishers as foreign enemies who defeated them and baulked them of their ambition to establish their own supremacy in India. This difference in the historical background of the two provinces explains the difference in the attitudes of the liberal political thinkers in Bengal and Maharashtra.

This difference is most prominently brought out by the writings of Shri Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar in the Bombay Gazette . He regularly contributed to this paper for about six years, and a fair idea of the extreme views, bordering on hatred against the British rule, preached by him as early as 1841, may be formed from the following extracts:

“If I were to give you credit for your having saved us from the Pindaris and Ramosis, your trading system stands in the way which has indeed more effectually emptied our purses in a few years than the predatory excursions of these tribes could do in some five or six hundred years. In short it must be acknowledged that your progress in cunning and craftiness has kept pace with your advancement in knowledge and wisdom.”

* * *

“To say that the country taken possession of by a horde of foreign usurpers, whose sole aim is to enrich themselves at the expense of its real masters, is prospering under them, is as absurd as to conclude that a town left at the tender mercies of a gang of robbers is enjoying all the advantages of peace and security in

spite of their depredations and oppressions.”

* * *

“I shall now just ask you what could have induced your Government to harbour so much jealousy and hatred of so wise and eminent a Prince as Purtab Singh, as to sacrifice your good name and every consideration of national honour and good faith only to depose him....A weak and imbecile ruler better suits your purpose, you could exercise your control upon the latter in the same degree as a landlord in England does over his vassals, and hem him in on all sides so as to make him a mere pageant in your'hands while your political ingenuity cannot meet with equal success with the former. Among all the Native Princes in India the Ex-Raja of Sattara was the only one that could be said to have some knowledge of politics and a better known Indian Prince we have never heard of; but the same thing which would have recommended him

to the esteem of good people, has been the cause of his downfall."

* * *

"We cannot look upon your Government in any other light

than that of the most bitter curse India has ever been visited with.

The whole wealth of India has now been transported to Great

Britain and we have no employment left to us."

* * *

"Oh unhappy fate! India has been got hold of by a race of

demons who would never be satisfied until they have despoiled her

of all her precious things and reduced her sons; and daughters to

total beggary. I have heard the most pious of you say that a bare

clothing and coarse fare is all that we require for our maintenance

in the world. If such be your notions of our wants, excuse Mr.

Editor, if my modesty gives way to resentment, could I not say with an equal degree of truth and sincerity that a piece of leather upon your shoulders and a carcass of hog or bullock for your food would be quite sufficient to answer all your necessary calls."

* * *

"You not only withhold from us high appointments, but you would not permit us to have a voice in your administration of our country,—which latter circumstance weighs heavily upon us. Your Law Commission, composed of a few individuals who know little or nothing of India, have absolute power to construct regulations and laws for our Government! Is it in union with the dictates of sound principle and common humanity that we, the proper persons who should be consulted on such occasions, we, who know a thousand times much better how to promote our own interests than others, should be excluded from concerting measures for our own good, while a body of foreigners who care for the welfare of the Natives no more than they do for a broken reed, much less than having any regard for our comfort and happiness, be invested with full authority to rule the destinies of a population so vast and extensive as that of India?"

Similar views about Indian rights and British usurpations have been expressed by Gopal Hari Deshmukh, better known as Lokahitawadi, a Government employee in the Judicial Service. During 1848-9 he wrote a series of letters to the weekly Marathi paper, the Prabhakar of Bombay, in which he not only spoke very frankly about the faults of the British regime but even issued a solemn warning to the British administrators in the following words: "If you try to impose any legislation on us, against our wish, we will unite and ask you to quit. Please therefore be careful and administer the law considerately." Such was the burthen of his writings. He also pleaded for swadeshi or the use of indigenous goods in preference to articles of foreign manufacture, and suggested that a regular movement should be started with this object in order to help the Indian industries and to counteract the spread of poverty and unemployment in the country. He also suggested that Parliamentary institutions should be established in India and that the Indians should have a right to sit in the British Parliament. In his Marathi publication, entitled History of Gujarat, he appended a comparative statement of the benefits and evils of the British rule and of the old Peshwa regime. Even as early as 1848, he visualised the distant prospect of India becoming completely independent like the United States of America after having learnt the lesson of parliamentary government under the guidance of the British people. 67

Reference may be made in this connection to Vishnubuwa Brahmachari, a pioneer of the revivalist attitude of mind towards the social and religious movement. He had full faith in the superiority of the Indian culture over the Western civilization and he preached that Indians should look back to the Vedic times when, according to him, Indian culture had attained perfection. His mind was very original, and it is curious to find that he preached certain ideas in the economic field which are similar to those of modem socialism. He advocated collective ownership of land, socialisation of factories, and equal distribution of their produce among the masses. His social ideal was that of human brotherhood and a welfare state. He may well be described as a utopian socialist who based his social ideals on Vedic religion, and may be compared to the Christian socialists of Europe.

Vishnubuwa’s solicitude for the masses led him to create a political party to represent the interests and ideas of the village folk in Maharashtra. But his defiant challenge to Brahmin leadership of his time created'Sn undesirable split between the upper classes and the masses which ultimately led to some unfortunate developments in the public life of the province.

Ihe next stage in the development of political ideas and political associations in Bombay is closely bound up with the name of Dadabhai Naoroji. Shortly after graduating from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, he devoted himself to social reform, particularly education of women. In a meeting held under his Presidency was founded the “Students’ Literary and Scientific Society”, which undertook the cause of national regeneration. He was the heart and soul of all the political organizations in Bombay, and when his professional career required his residence in London, he organized several associations there to work for the pause of India. It was due in no small measure to his unwearied efforts that the Indian cause got such a good hearing in England.

Soon after the British Indian Association was founded in Calcutta, Bombay followed suit. On August 26, 1852, a public meeting of the Indian citizens of Bombay was held in the rooms of the Elphinstone Institute, and it inaugurated the first political association in the Bombay Presidency, named ‘The Bombay Association.’ 68 The meeting was presided over by Shri Jagannath Shankershet and the object of the Association was defined in the first resolution to be ‘to ascertain the wants of the natives of India in the Bombay Presidency and to represent to the authorities from time to time the measures calculated to advance the welfare and improvement of the country’. This was further elaborated in the fourth resolution which ran as follows:

“That this Association shall from time to time, on occasions arising, memorialize the Government authorities in India, or in England, for the removal of existing evils, and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious, or for the introduction of enactments which may tend to promote the general interests of all connected with this country.” Save that the sphere of its activity was strictly limited to the Presidency of Bombay, the Association followed the British Indian Association of Calcutta, and they set the general pattern of constitutional agitation which was to dominate Indian politics for the rest of the nineteenth century. '

The third resolution directed the Association to take advantage of the discussion, then going on in Britain for the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, “to represent to the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain such reforms and improvements in the existing system of government as are calculated to procure the most efficient administration of public affairs, and secure the general welfare and interests of the people of India.” With this object in view the Association was directed “to open communica tion with, and seek the co-operation of, the Societies formed for the same purposes at Calcutta and Madras." It is thus quite clear that the political consciousiness, so far at least as Madras and Bombay were concerned, was galvanized into activities, for the first time, by the prospect of improving the administration of India through the renewal of the Charter of the Company, and they followed the lead given by Bengal.

Like the tw Associations of Calcutta and Madras, the Bombay Association also sent ;a petition to the British Parliament in 1853, criticizing the system of administration and suggesting remedial measures 69 more or less on the same line. Some of its observations are, however, worth quoting. The Government, both of Bombay and other Presidencies, it is said, "is quite unequal to the efficient discharge of its duties and that nothing but the impenetrable veil of secrecy with which even its most trivial acts are covered protects it from universal condemnation." The members of the Council, selected by patronage rather than on grounds of merit, " have no specific duties to discharge and little or no responsibility as things may always be outvoted by the Governor." "The practical effect of a Government so constituted is that for the most part each Secretary in his own Department is the Governor in Council." The* system of secrecy which shuts out all healthy public scrutiny and public criticism bearing on the administration is "the ruling principle or vice in Indian administration." "Its obvious tendency- is to engender and perpetuate amongst the young servants of Government an illiberal and despotic tone, to give full scope to the prejudices, the ignorance and the self-sufficiency of all; to discourage progress; to discountenance all schemes of improvement emanating from independent and disinterested sources, and not within the view of the officer to whose department they are referred." The Association therefore recommended the abolition of the existing Councils and creation of new ones "of which the judges of the Supreme Court in legislative matters and some of the European ancjl native citizens should form a part"—such councils having the power to call for the proceedings of Government and its local officers. As regards the Executive Government the Association observed that "it would be highly desirable that there should always be among the more prominent members some persons trained and experienced in the public offices of England, who can bring to the consideration of public affairs a more extended knowledge and wider views than are to be expected from these European gentlemen who have passed all their days from boyhood in the bad system of the country and know no other by which to compare and improve them." The Association

strongly condemned the recruitment through the Haileybury College and the exclusion of Indians from all higher services. The Association also protested against the 'exorbitant salaries of many highly paid officers whose duties are so trifling or involve, comparatively, so little labour or responsibility that they might with advantage be amalgamated with other offices or remunerated in a manner commensurate with the nature of the duties to be performed.' Finally, the Association prayed for the separation of the Executive and Judicial branches and the establishment of University or College as proposed by Mr. Cameron for the purpose of qualifying the Natives for Government employ.

The petition as well as the speeches made at the inaugural meeting clearly express the buoyant faith of the leaders in the British Government. The President of the meeting assured his audience "that efforts on the part of natives to improve their own condition cannot but be looked on with pleasure by the paternal and enlightened Government that rules over this country, and meet with encouragement in proportion to their reasonableness and justice." Naoroji Furdunji observed: "The British Government, which is an enlightened and liberal Government, and professes to govern India for its own sake, will, I feel confident, be always ready and willing to hear the respectful appeals, the reasonable remonstrances, and the earnest representations which the native subjects may consider it proper to make for the amelioration of the conditions of this country and the welfare of its people." Although Dadabhai Naoroji was a Government servant, he addressed the meeting, and his speech contains the basic principles of his political philosophy. A deep faith in the benefits of the British rule and a wish for the permanence of that rule were the starting points. All the errors of the British Government were believed to have been due to ignorance and the remedy lay in agitation. Although efforts to obtain redress from the local authorities repeatedly received a rude rebuff, a belief grew that the liberty-loving people of England with their traditional love for justice and freedom would extend a helping hand to their Indian fellow-subjects, even though the local officials might not be sympathetic. These principles were held by Dadabhai throughout his life. He believed with his British colleagues, Hume and Wedderburn, that the interests of the Indian people and the British people were essentially the same, and the continuance of the British connection could be made to conform to the best interests of India.

Dadabhai Naoroji may be said to be the founder of the Moderate School of politicians in India whose principles he summed up as

follows: “If the British people were true to themselves, true to their inbred sense and traditions of equality, justice and fair play, they would help India to obtain freedom. The Government of India may be unsympathetic or even hostile, but the real masters are the people of England.” “We Indian people believe,” he used to say, “that although John Bull is a little thick-headed, once we can penetrate through his head into his brain that a certain thing is right and proper to be done, you may be quite sure that it will be done.” 70

It may be noted that the Bombay Association represented the advanced section of political thinkers in Bombay. The demands made in the petition and its general tone were objected to by several Indians who seceded from the movement. The Anglo-Indian newspapers also violently attacked the Association with the exception of the Spectator which sought to win over the affection of the natives. 71

B. Madras

i

The origin of the Madras Native Association, first as a branch of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, and then as an independent political organization, has been narrated above. 72 The Madras Native Association sent two petitions to the House of Commons in 1853, and copious extracts from these have been given above. 73 These petitions, enumerating the grievances most keenly felt by the people, throw a great deal of light on the progress of political ideas in the Madras Presidency. They are specially valuable, as we have very little information on this subject from any other source.

Unfortunately, we have no record of the later activities of the Association. A. C. Mazumdar has observed that it was “chiefly worked by some officials, possessed very little vitality, and had practically little or no hold upon the public mind in Madras.” 74 We have no means to determine how far this view is correct.

1. Seeley, Expansion of England, p. 203.

2. Mill, Representative Government Griffiths, 237.

3. Works, xix-xx.

4. Ibid, xx.

5. Ibid.

6. This categorical statement, published in the issue of the Calcutta Gazette of the same evening, shows that Derozio was born in 1808, and not 1809, as is generally supposed. The mention of his appointment to the Hindu College in the Samd chdxa-chandrxkd of 13 May, 1826 (Banerji, B.N., I. 32) shows that the proposed dates, 1827 and 1828 for this event are wrong. The account of Derozio and his students is based upon (1) B. Majumdar, 82-6; (2) Bengal Renaissance, 16-32* and (3) Selections from Calcutta Gazette (1824-32), pp. 420, 700. The statement on p. 38, line 33, above, should be amended accordingly.

GROWTH OF POLITICAL IDEAS AND ORGANIZATIONS

6a. See above, pp. 39-40.

7. Works, p. 462.

8. See p. 232.

9. Works, p. xxiii.

10. Ibid, xxiv ff.

11. It may be noted here that as early as June 27, 1818, the utility and importance of trial by jury were explained in the Samachdra-darpcina. . The same paper, in its issue of 16th June, 1827, exhorted the people to try to secure greater share in the work of administration. To the argument that this would induce corruption, the paper replied: “This fact does not prove that the natives ought for ever to be excluded from responsible situations in the land of their birth.” (B. Majumdar, 158).

12. B. Majumdar, 96.

13. Bangasrl (Bengali Periodical), Ashadh, 1340 B.S. p. 708. The Bengal Spectator expressed the same view (Bengal Renaissance, 146).

14. B. Majumdar, 71-2.

15. Works, 315-20; B. Majumdar, 72-4.

16. B. Majumdar, 74.

17. Ibid, 95.

18. Works, 439.

l!>. B. Majumdar, 100-1.

20. Ibid, 117.

21. Ibid, 120.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid, 186-7.

24. Ibid, 194.

25. Selections from the Writings, 117.

26. Mitra, K., Memoir, 55.

27. B. Majumdar, 112-3.

28. Ibid, 139-46.

29. Ibid, 113-4.

30. Ibid, 207.

31. Ibid, 33.

32. Ibid, 34, 41, 44-5.

33. Ibid, 199.

34. Ibid, 104.

35. Ibid, 161.

36. Ibid, 162.

37. Ibid, 90-1.

38. The account that follows is based on B.N. Banerji, II. 289 ff., III. 313 ff.

39. Ibid, II. 290.

40. Ibid, 292.

41. Ibid, 292; B. Majumdar, 163.

42. Sujata Ghosh in the Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee for West Bengal (1957-8), p. 19.

43. B. Majumdar, 164.

43a. For Thompson's speeches on India, cf. Vol. IX, p. 398.

44. B. Majumdar, 170-2.

45. Referring to the Landholders' Society, Rajendra-la! Mitra said that he looked upon it as the pioneer of freedom in this country. It gave to the people the first lesson in the art of fighting constitutionally to assert their claims and give expression to their opinions. Ostensibly, it advocated the rights of the Zamindars, but as their rights were intimately bound up with those of the ryots, the one cannot be separated from the other (Raja Rajendralal Mitra's Speeches, edited by Rai Jogeshur Mitter, p. 25; quoted in B. Majumdar, p. 165 f.n.).

46. See Vol. IX, pp. 345-6.

47. It appears that a new political organization, known as the "National Association" was founded by the Zamindars on September 14, 1851, its chief promoters being Prasanna-kumar Tagore and Devendra-nath Tagore. As the latter was the first Secretary of both this as well as the British Indian Association, founded about a month and a half later, it may be presumed that the first was merged into the second, particularly as nothing more was heard about the "National Association". For a short account of this Association cf. J. C. Bagal, Devendranath Tagore (in Bengali), pp. 58-59.

47a. Sujata Ghosh, op. cit., 20. B. Majumdar (p. 177) gives the date as 31 October, Jaut the former is the correct view as it is given in the Citizen of 8 November, 1851. (Bagal, J. C., Devendranath Tagore , p. 60).

48. There is a copy of it in the Madras Archives.

49. Vol. IX, pp. 389-93. The italics in the petition are mine. For reference, cf. ibid.

50. For details, cf. Vol. IX, pp. ,393-5.

51. B. Majumdar, 211 ff.

52. See pp. 320 ff.

53. B. Majumdar, 213.

54. Ibid, 214.

. 55. Ibid, 195.

56. Ibid, 189.

57. Ibid, 218.

58. Ibid, 222-4.

59. Ibid, 123.

60. Ibid, 178 f.n.

61. Sujata Ghosh, op. cit., 16.

62. Ibid, 20.

63. Ibid, 21.

64. Ibid, 17.

65. Prabasi (Bengali Periodical), 1347 BJ5. Phalgun, p. 613.

65a. cf. f.n. 47 above.

66. Calcutta Review, 1867, Vol. 46, p. 517.

67. The writer is indebted to Shri S. R. Tikekar for information about Lokahitawadi.

68. Masani, Dadabha i, pp. 52 ff. cf. Freedom — Bombay, 133.

69. For the petition, cf. Freedom — Bombay, 139; also Griffiths, 255.

70. Masani, Dadabhai, p. 96.

71. Ibid, 52 ff.

72. See pp. 449-50.

73. Vol. IX, pp. 389-93.

74. Indian National Evolution, p. 6.

CHAPTER XIII (LI)

BIRTH OF NATIONALISM

Reference has been made in Chapter III to the impact of English education ana, through it, of Western ideas, on the Indians, specially in Bengal. It produced both good and bad effects. Among the former prominence must be given to the growth of rationalism, leading to freedom of thought, and liberalism, three of the great characteristics of Modem Age, that replaced blind faith and inveterate habit of following traditional ways which marked the Medieval Age. But during the process of transformation a strong reaction set in, producing a very undesirable effect. For, as has been mentioned above, a section of the English-educated Bengali youths was carried away by a strong current of Western culture. They became very much anglicised and had inordinate fondness for everything English. They adopted Western ideas and habits, dresses and mannerisms, customs and usages, and openly indicated their repugnance to everything Indian. They spoke in English, thought in English, and, as humorously remarked by Bhudeb Mukherji, probably even dreamed in English. They had a sneering contempt for almost everything Indian. The evils grew with the spread of English education, and, in the course of time, a small group of Westernised people formed a distinct section within the Indian community.

But, fortunately, a reaction against the sweeping current of Western influence was not long in coming. It manifested itself in the growth of an intense nationalism during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It may be truly said that if rationalism was the watchword of the first generation of English-educated Bengalis, that of the second generation was nationalism.

Among the factors contributing to it an important place must be given to the growing knowledge of the glory and greatness of the ancient Hindus. When the Indians first began to learn English, little was known of their ancient history, and even the comprehensive and standard history of India like that written by James Mill about that time unhesitatingly expressed the view that the Hindus had ever been in the same abject condition in which the Englishmen found them in the eighteenth century. 1 The very poor knowledge that the Indians themselves possessed about their own past history is shown by the history of the Hindu kings written by Mrityunjav Vidyalankar, a Pandit of the Fort William College in Calcutta, in the year 1808 .[2] The works of early oriental scholars like Sir William Jones, Prinsep, Bohtlingk and other Europeans had not yet reached or impressed the general public. But the regular archaeological explorations and excavations, commencing in A.D. 1881 under the personal supervision of Alexander Cunningham, and the writings of Max Muller, Wilson, Fergusson, Rajendra Lai Mitra and others in -a more popular form, brought home to the educated Indians a very vivid picture of the past glory and greatness of ancient India which placed her on the same pedestal with Greece and Rome. This inspired the Hindus with a sense of their rich heritage from the past and the leading part they once played as a great nation in the history of the world. It necessarily generated in their minds a spirit of selfconfidence and held out before them a bright vision of their future destiny. The views promulgated by European scholars that the forefathers of the Hindus belonged to the same group of mankind from which were .derived all the nations of Europe famous in ancient and modern times; that the Vedas, the sacred literature of the Hindus, were the oldest literary works in the world; that the Upanishads contained the most profound philosophical speculations that human mind has ever conceived;[3] that Emperor Asoka united the whole of India and Afghanistan under one rule, as testified to by his own records engraved on stone more than two thousand years ago; and that, thanks mainly to his efforts, Buddhism, originating in India, played a great role in civilising a large portion of the population of the world, so much so, that even today one-fifth of the human race still profess that faith;—all these could not fail to stir deeply the hearts of the Hindus with the result that they were imbued with a spirit of nationalism and ardent patriotism. The revelation of India's past was one of the strongest foundations on which Indian nationalism was built, and gave it that stamp of Hindu character which made its influence felt in many ways at different stages of political evolution in India.

Another factor that must have stimulated the growth of nationalism in India was the strong current of nationalist ideas which passed over the whole of Europe and South America during the nineteenth century. The momentous revolutions in U.S.A. and France during the last quarter of the eighteenth century, which the English-educated Indians read in their books, roused their patriotic feelings. But they were far more deeply stirred by the national revolts happening in their own times, reports of which were regularly received in India. It was a happy coincidence that the period during which the English education spread in India also witnessed that phase in the history of Europe and America of which the most distinctive feature was the development of the idea of nationality. About a dozen national

States sprang into existence between 1822 and 1830, mostly out of the Turkish, Spanish and Portuguese empires. All these as well as the ideas and events culminating in the struggles for freedom in different regions of Europe in 1830 and 1848, and the stories of heroic resistance and untold sufferings associated with them, made a profound impression upon the English-educated Indians. In particular, the liberation from foreign yoke of Greece and Italy, two ancient centres of culture like India, and the fight for freedom by the Irish, subject to servitude under a common master, deeply stirred the emotion of the Indians, and evoked feelings of nationalism of the same type. The visit of Indians to Europe in increasing numbers contributed to the same end by making them familiar with the nationalist movements and the working of the free political institutions of Europe.

The introduction of printing press was another important factor. The growth of vernacular literature and the important role it played in the political education of the people has been mentioned in Chapter y. The printing press made the books accessible to a large number of people and stimulated their interest. The printing press also facilitated the growth of* periodical literature which was a powerful factor in the development of nationalistic ideas. 4 The opening up of communication between distant parts of India by the introduction of railways, post and telegraph also helped the cause of Indian nationalism by developing the sense of unity among the diverse peoples of the great sub-continent.

Apart from these important factors, the spirit of nationalism was intensified by the growing volume of discontent and disaffection against the British rule due to a variety of causes mentioned above. 4 * The grinding poverty of the people, punctuated by periodical famines, was naturally ascribed to the British policy of destroying Indian trade, industry and manufacture by unfair means dictated by the interest of their own country. 5 The galling distinctions between Indians and Europeans in the eye of the law, and the united opposition offered by the latter to the so-called "Black Acts" which sought to remove them, were bitterly resented by the Indian intelligentsia, and they were further estranged by the failure of the Government to concede even the most moderate demands for administrative reforms. The terrible tales of oppression by the indigo-planters, the haughty attitude of the English officials, the arrogant conduct of Englishmen towards Indians, not unoften resulting in brutal assaults and rupture of spleens of the latter, and the acquittal or very nominal punishment of the criminals with white skin by British Judges, produced an intense anti-British feeling among all classes of people which fed the current of national feeling among Indians. 6

There were many other contributory causes. Among these may be mentioned the effect of the outbreak of 1857-8. There is no doubt that the social and political relations between the Indians and the British, bad as they were before, grew much worse owing to that event, 7 and thus it indirectly helped the growth of national feeling. But it is a moot point to decide how far the mutiny or revolt of 1857-8 directly stimulated the growth of such a feeling. For the nationalistic feeling first appeared among the intellectuals who were, generally speaking, indifferent and even unsympathetic, if not positively hostile, to the movement, and were not therefore likely to be affected by it. 8

It is in Bengal, which was least affected by the incidents of 1857-8, that we find the distinct growth of a truly nationalist movement during the sixties, i.e. almost immediately after the suppression of the outbreak of 1857-8. It was not directed towards the advancement of political status or the achievement of administrative reforms, but it had a higher aim, namely, the regeneration of Indians on the basis of a true conception of nationality.

One of the important factors in the development of nationalism in Bengal was the new movement in Brahma Samaj, initiated by Keshab-chandra Sen, which carried one step further the ideal of freedom not only in respect of religious ideas—which was already developed by the older section—but also in social ideas and personal conduct. B. C. Pal, who was intimately connected with this movement, thus refers to it:

"The Brahmo Samaj, under Keshub Chunder Sen, had proclaimed a new gospel of personal freedom and social equality, which reacted very powerfully upon this infant national consciousness and the new political life and aspirations of young Bengal. Keshub's controversies with the Christian missionaries were widely read and greatly enjoyed not only by his own followers and co-religionists but by the entire body of our English-educated countrymen. In his victories over the Christian missionaries in these controversies, Keshub's countrymen, even outside his church and community, felt a genuine pride, which powerfully * fed their national conceit. Keshub's English visit and the way he was lionised by the British public and the British press also reacted very powerfully upon the mind of his people in India. The old paralyzing sense of superiority of their new political masters over them was visibly replaced by a new self-confidence in our educated countrymen in consequence of Keshub's successful missionary propaganda in England." 9

The all-India tour of Keshab also fostered the ideas of national unity by bringing together on a common platform diverse peoples

of India in different regions. He was the first great all-India figure symbolising the unity of Indian culture. This was proved beyond doubt by the high regard in which he was held all over India—a fact strikingly demonstrated after his death. Sir Henry Cotton justly remarks: "The death of Keshub Chunder in January, 1884, was one of the earliest occasions for the manifestation of a truly national sentiment in the country. The residents of all parts of India, irrespective of caste and creed, united with one voice in the expression of sorrow at his loss and pride in him as member of one common nation". 94

But great as were the services of Keshab-chandra, his contribution to the growth of nationalism was both limited and indirect. In , the first place, his appeal was “exclusively to the religious and moral sensibilities of the rising generations”, 10 and he deliberately eschewed politics. “If anything, Keshab’s politics accepted the British subjection of India as due to the intervention of God’s special Providence for the salvation of India”, and he openly proclaimed “loyalty to the British Government” as an article of the creed of his church. 104 Secondly, he derived his inspiration soley from the West, and his leanings towards Christianity were such that not only Christian missionaries hoped, but the Indians also feared, that he would ere long embrace Christianity. Whatever we might think of this popular impression, there is no doubt that Keshab’s theology was “built partly upon the Intuitionalist school of European philosophy and partly upon Carlyle’s Hero Worship and Emerson’s Representative Men. 11 For these reasons as well as the new doctrinal developments and other personal affairs, Keshab and his church steadily lost popular sympathies. “In fact, Keshub Chunder had almost as many detractors among young Bengal of his day as he had admirers.” 12

At this crisis of our national life, “when Keshub and his progressive Brahmos developed unmistakable tendencies towards the modern European or Christian ethics and rationalism,” 12 * the tide was turned by Rajnarain Bose, 13 himself a product of the Western education. He boldly proclaimed “the superiority of Hindu religion and culture over European and Christian theology and civilization.” 14 The Hindus, said he, had forgotten their past to such an extent that they had no recollection of the fact that rational thinking and ideas of social and personal freedom were not wanting in the history of their own culture. Rajnarain Bose boldly asserted that “not only have we the most perfect system of theism or monotheism in our ancient theology and religion, but Hinduism presented also a much higher social idealism, all its outer distinctions of caste notwithstanding, than has as yet been reached by Christendom”. 15 How far his

views were historically correct, we need not discuss in the present context. It will suffice to state that these ideas were catching and his clarion call rallied round his banner a large number of Hindus who accepted his views with enthusiast, and probably without argument or discussion. Rajnarain held before them a complete ideal of nationalism to be realised in every department of life. He gave a concrete picture of his ideas in a prospectus which he issued in 1886 with a view to the establishment of a “Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal”.

The following extracts from this Prospectus sufficiently illustrate his ideas, though the whole document deserves a careful study. 16

“Now that European ideas have penetrated Bengal, the Bengalee mind has been moved from the sleep of ages. A restless fermentation is going on in Bengalee Society. A desire for change and progress is everywhere visible. People discontented with old customs and institutions are panting for reform. Already a band of young men have expressed a desire to sever themselves at once from Hindu Society and to renounce even the Hindu name. It is to be feared that the tide of revolution may sweep away whatever good we have inherited from our ancestors. To prevent this catastrophe and to give a national shape to reforms, it is proposed that a Society be established by the influential members of native society for the promotion of national feeling among the educated natives of Bengal. Without due cultivation of national feeling no nation can be eventually great. This is a fact testified to by all history.

“The Nationality Promotion Society shall first of all use their best endeavours to revive the national gymnastic exercises... The Nationality Promotion Society shall establish a Model School for instruction in Hindu Music... .The Nationality Promotion Society shall also establish a school of Hindu Medicine, where Hindu Materia Medica and practice of physic will be taught freed from the error and absurdities that disfigure them.. .Hie teacher of the proposed Hindu School of Medicine should be one who is acquainted with both English and Hindu Medical Sciences.

“The Nationality Promotion Society will publish in Bengalee the results of the researches of the Sanskrit scholars of Europe in the department of Indian Antiquities, giving special prominence to their description of prosperity and glory of Ancient India, physical, intellectual, moral, social, political, literary and scientific....

“The Nationality Promotion Society shall afford every encouragement in their power to the cultivation of Sanskrit. It shall patronize the publication of important Sanskrit works, co-operating

with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in this respect, and shall offer pecuniary reward or panegyrical addresses to the best Sanskrit scholars of Bengal.

‘‘The Nationality Promotion Society shall make it binding upon its members to ground the knowledge of their sons in their mothertongue before giving them an English education. Education both in Bengalee and English, if carried on simultaneously, does great injury to the Bengalee education of a student, as he pays greater attention to the English than to the Bengalee language...

“The Nationality Promotion Society shall try its best to prevent daily increasing corruption of the colloquial language of the educated natives who mix, in common conversation, English words with Bengalee in the most ridiculous manner imaginable....

“The Nationality Promotion Society shall endeavour to prevail upon their countrymen to hold in the Bengalee language the proceedings of such societies as do not require the co-operation of Englishmen, and are exclusively composed of Bengalees, or have not as their object the improvement of youth in English speaking or writing...

“The Nationality Promotion Society shall publish tracts in Bengalee containing proofs of the existence of liberal and enlightened customs in Ancient India, such as female education, personal liberty of females, marriage by election of the bride, marriage at adult age, widow-marriage, inter-marriage, and voyage to distant countries. It will try to introduce such foreign customs into educated society as have a tendency to infuse national feeling into the minds of its members such as that of holding festivities in honour of men of genius as is done amongst European nations... The Nationality Promotion Society shall, in a few words, try, firstly, to prevent the introduction of evil foreign customs into educated native community; secondly, to introduce such foreign customs as have a tendency to infuse national feeling into the minds of its members; thirdly, to give, if possible, to foreign customs already introduced a national shape; fourthly, to aid social reformation by citing old precedents in its favour; and fifthly, to prevent the abolition of such old customs of the country as are beneficial in their nature.

"The Nationality Promotion Society will not overlook even such trifling points as the regulation of etiquette, with a view to give a national shape to the same. It would be impossible to abolish all foreign modes of etiquette that have crept into educated native society, such as the hearty handshake, but the members of the Nationality Promotion Society shall give the preference to our national

numuskar and pranam on all occasions on which it is practicable to do so... .

"It would be the duty of the Nationality Promotion Society to reprobate the practice of frequenting European hotels so common among our educated-countrymen. This practice shows a greedy hankering after European food, and demeans us in the eyes of foreigners. It must appear ridiculous in the eyes of all Europeans except hotel-keepers."

The ideas preached by Rajnarain Bose in this remarkable document were enthusiastically taken up by a young man named Naba-gopal Mitra, editor of the National Paper founded by Devendra-nath Tagore in 1865. He started an institution known as "Hindu Mela" to promote the national fbelings, sense of patriotism, and a spirit of self-help among the Hindus. It was an annual public gathering on the last day of the Bengali year. The special features of the annual gathering were patriotic songs, poems and lectures, a detailed review of the political, social, economic, and religious condition of India, an exhibition of indigenous arts and crafts, and performance of different forms of physical exercises and feats of physical strength. It had an all-India outlook and specimens of arts and crafts were collected from Banaras, Kashmir, Jaipur, Lakhnau, and Patna. Rewards were also offered for good books written in Bengali and Sanskrit, which were calculated to promote the welfare of the country. Thus intellectual development through fine arts and literature, and economic progress by means of industrial development formed the main planks of the Hindu Mela.

The Hindu Mela met altogether fourteen times from 1867 to 1880. Its importance gradually declined owing to the establishment of other associations more directly connected with the political and national movement in Bengal. But it is impossible to overestimate the importance of its contribution to the growth of national feeling in Bengal. The patriotic songs and poems, sung and recited in this Mela, including one or two by Rabindra-nath, then a boy of 18, are still regarded as treasures of Bengali literature.

An association, called the ‘National Society*, was founded after the fourth session of the Mela. Its avowed object was the promotion of unity and national feeling among the Hindus. The National Society arranged a monthly discourse. In one of these monthly meetings, presided over by Devendra-nath Tagore, Rajnarain Bose delivered an address on the “Superiority of Hinduism** embodying his main views as mentioned above... It evoked a keen controversy, and meetings were held not only by Christians but also by advanced Brfilimas to oppose his views. As the Mel& was confined to the

Hindus, objection was taken to the use of the word ‘National’. Against this, the National Paper, the organ of the Mela, observed as follows*

“We do not understand why our correspondent takes exception to the Hindus who certainly form a nation by themselves, and as such a society established by them can very properly be called a National Society.”

This was not an isolated expression of views, casually formed, but rested on a deep-seated conviction which, at first confined to a small section, was gradually imbibed, consciously or unconsciously, by a large majority of educated people.

Naba-gopal elaborated his view of Hindu nationalism through his writings. This has been summed up as follows: “Nabagopal holds that the chief criterion of nationalism is unity. This unity, according to him, is brought about, sustained and promoted in different peoples by different means and on different principles. The principle which promoted nationalism amongst the Greeks was love of country, amongst the Jews the Mosaic Law, amongst the Romans the love of liberty and renown, and amongst the English the love of liberty. He maintains that the basis of national unity in India has been the Hindu religion. ‘Hindu nationality is not confined to Bengal. It embraces all of Hindu name and Hindu faith throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan; neither geographical position, nor the language is counted a disability. The Hindus are destined to be a religious nation". 17

But, side by side with the idea of Hindu nationalism, there was a broader outlook which sought to embrace the whole of India in one nationality. Indeed, this was a dominant and characteristic feature of nationalism in Bengal even at the very beginning, and was never lost sight of throughout the chequered course of its evolution. The school represented by Nabagopal Mitra was at first insignificant, but gradually gained, strength for reasons discussed later.

The contribution of the Brahma Sarnaj to the development of nationalism, after Keshab-chandra Sen, cannot be regarded as very significant. Nevertheless, the founders of the third Samaj, notably Shiva-nath Sastri and Ananda-mohan Bose, in their personal capacities did much to further its cause. Reference will be made to A. M. Bose in connection with the growth of political organization discussed in the next chapter. B. C. Pal, an eminent political leader of Bengal at a later date, has preserved an interesting reminiscence of his close personal contact with Shiva-nath Sastri and the influence exercised upon him by the latter. Shiva-nath held that "freedom is one and indivisible", "political emancipation is impossible without

social emancipation and personal purity". In all this he agreed with the current Brahmaism. But he proceeded further and maintained that the realization of a man's spiritual destiny or his salvation was equally impossible unless the ideas of equality, liberty, and fraternity were fully organized in his personal life, his social relations, and in the constitution of his national State. To realize this completer ideal of freedom, a Society was organized by Shivanath in 1876. Its members were to take a pledge which was embodied in a formal document. The first article pledged the members to put up a strenuous fight against image-worship and castedomination. The next article started with the declaration that "self-government is the only form of political government ordained by God." Logically interpreted, it meant that the British Government had no moral title to the allegiance of the people. But it was not a practical declaration of revolt, for the removal of social and religious evils must be the condition precedent to the reconstitution of the national State upon a truly democratic basis. Till then they should obey the laws of the present Government, but would not "take service under this Government." The next article discussed ways and means for advancing the country to the goal of self-government. This comprised education, including that of women and the masses, introduction of widow-remarriage, abolition of purdah, and other social reforms. Lastly, emphasis was laid on the development of physique and ability to defend the country. The signatories therefore pledged themselves to learn how to ride and shoot, and preach the duties of acquiring these military trainings and aptitudes to their fellow-countrymen. 18

In spite of the fact that the actual achievement of this Society was very little or nothing, its idealism commands our attention. While the Brahma Samaj confined its activities to the religious and ethical life to the exclusion of political life, and political leaders ignored or belittled the ethical and social aspects, Shiva-nath combined all of them in his ideal of complete freedom. To him belongs the credit of viewing religion as a formative force in worldly life in all its aspects, and also of bringing to our new patriotism and politics the inspiration of a lofty ethical ideal. Probably such an ideal was never preached again till we come to the days of SvamI Vivekfinanda and Mahatma Gandhi.

Reference may be made to an innovation of Shiva-nath Sastri which signifies the change of spirit introduced by him. In the liturgy of Keshab-chandra Sen there was a prayer for universal humantiy. Shiva-nath, as a minister of Sadhftran Brahma Samaj. replaced it by a special prayer, offered every week, for the uplift and emancipation of his own country and his people. 19

The other religious movements also directly or indirectly helped the growth of nationalism. The Arya Samaj founded by Dayananda gave a great impetus to nationalism in the Punjab. It imbued the people with a spirit of self-confidence. B. C. Pal. who witnessed the early stages of its development, has described it as follows:

"The fact of the matter is that the new generation of Hindus in the Punjab felt a keen humiliation in their inability to meet the attacks of Moslem and Christian propagandists, who condemned their religion as idolatry and polytheism. In the message of Pandit Dayananda they discovered, first, a powerful defensive weapon by which they could repudiate the claims to superiority of Christianity and Islam over their national religion. Dayananda. in the second place, did not only find a weapon of defence to the Punjab Hindu in his Saty&rtha-Prakasa, he made a violent attack on Christian and Moslem propaganda showing up the unreason of both these alien systems and exposing what he believed to be their moral lapses also. All this helped to feed the pride of the race of the Punjabee Hindu, who had previously found himself in a completely helpless position under the attacks of Christian and Moslem propaganda ." 20

As noted above, the Arya Samaj was a militant sect from the very beginning. Its "chef inspiration came from its intense patriotism. This patriotism has always carried with it a spirit of intolerance of, if not virulent antagonism to, other religious systems, particularly the Moslem. Its attitude towards Christianity is not less hostile, though certainly not so open as it is towards Islam ". 21 Ere long it developed an anti-foreign sentiment which was particularly strong among the younger section. "The young Arya Samaj ists openly declared that they were waiting for the day when they Would settle their account both with Moslems and the Britishers ." 22

But the Arya Samaj had also a positive approach to nationalism. "Political independence was one of the first objectives of Dayananda. Indeed, he was the first man to use the term Swaraj. He was the first to insist on people using only swadeshi things manufactured in India and to discard foreign things. He was the first to recognize Hindi as the national language of India ". 23 Whatever one might think of these claims put forward by the biographer of Dayananda , 24 there is no doubt that the Arya Samaj aimed at the creation of an Indian nation by establishing a common religion and culture all. over India. For this it adopted £uddhi or reconversion into Hinduism of all those who had once renounced it, either willingly or under duress.

Similarly, a great impetus was given to nationalism by the Theosophical Society as well as by the great spiritual leader R&makjishoa Paramahamsa and his disciple SvfimI Vivekananda, to which reference will be made later.

Though the spirit of nationalism was first evolved in Bengal it soon spread to other parts of India, but the positive evidence afforded by contemporary records is not as adequate or as easily available as in Bengal. In Bombay the writings and activities of Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, who died in 1882, Mahadev Govind Rana.de, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, as well as the ideas preached by Gopal Hari Desmukh and Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar, to whom reference has been made in the preceding chapter, 26 definitely indicate the growth of a strong national feeling. This is only what could be normally expected. For the people of Maharashtra occupied a high and honourable position in Indian politics even v/ithin living memory. Less than a century ago they had made a bold bid for political supremacy such as the British then enjoyed in India, and the last descendant of the Peshwas, though in exile, continued as a living symbol of their political glory and greatness till 1853.

For similar reasons the Muslims were also inspired by a national feeling from the very beginning of the British rule. But it was dominated by class consciousness at the very outset, as it was based solely on the memory of their political greatness and historical traditions, and not broadbased on those ideas of patriotism and nationalist feeling which the Hindus of Bengal imbibed through Western education. The nationalism of Maharashtra was saved from this narrowness by the influence of Western ideas, and was gradually merged into the widely developing Indian nationalism. As this nationalism was a product of English education, and the Muslims as a class lagged far behind the Hindus in taking advantage of it, there was a marked divergence in the growth of nationalism among the Hindus and Muslims. The Wahabi movement in the first half of the nineteenth century was a genuine national movement, but it was exclusively Muslim in character. On account of this Muslim exclusiveness and the greater influence of English education and Western ideas upon the Hindus, the Western type of nationalism, which was a characteristic feature of the political growth in India during the latter half of the nineteenth century, gradually partook more and more of a Hindu character. This process was hastened by the fact, mentioned above, that the past glory and greatness of the Hindus came to form the solid basis of this nationalism. This was quite natural, for in every country the memory of past greatness binds the

people together into a national unity. But in India this historic consciousness operated upon the two major elements of the population, the

Hindus and the Muslims, in diametrically opposite ways. Every historical incident in the past which reflected glory upon the one was a humiliating memory to the other. The triumphs of Muhammad ibn Qasim, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, and Muhammad Ghurl which swelled the pride of the Muslims as a great conquering nation of the world, only evoked painful memories of national degradation and humiliation in the minds of the Hindus.

A very striking illustration of what has been stated above is afforded by the development of nationalism in Bombay. Here, too, as in Bengal, it was the English education that fostered the spirit of nationality as the people imbibed, along with Western culture, the love of freedom, the spirit of patriotism, the idea of selfgovernment, the higher duty of self-sacrifice for the preservation of national honour and national liberty, and similar ideas which permeated Western literature, but were comparatively strangers to our own. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great nationalist leader of Bombay, gave expression to these ideas through his paper, the Kesafi. As far back as 1885 he wrote:

“We are, at present, gradually being inspired by the spirit of patriotism. The birth of patriotism among us is due to English rule and English education. English education has imparted to us knowledge of ancient and modern history; it has enabled iis to know what were the fruits of patriotism among the ancient Greeks and Homans. We have also learned from their histories how, when they lost their patriotism, they were subjected to foreign domination and became ignorant and superstitious! English rule has made us realise the necessity of cultivating patriotism in our national concerns.The spirit of patriotism has not as yet permeated all classes. It is only those who have corr.e under the influence of English education and begun to realise the defects of British administration that have been inspired by that spirit. Patriotism is not our national quality: it is the product of the influences to which we have been subjected after the introduction of British rule”.

Tilak made it the great object of his life to diffuse the spirit of patriotism and nationalism among the masses. Two expedients adopted by him for this purpose were the inauguration of Shivaji festival and the transformation of the traditional worship of Gaijapati into an altogether new form. Thus he requisitioned to the national service two of the great forces which are calculated to deeply stir the national mind, namely, religion and history. But both the institutions produced diametrically opposite effects upon the Hindus and Muslims. The images of Hindu gods have always excited the Muslims with iconoclastic fury, and their traditional role in Indian history has been to break them to pieces rather than make them serve any national purpose. Even though bereft of any power to do any mischief, their religion forbade them to derive any good out of it. As Shivaji had founded the Maharashtra kingdom in the teeth of opposition from the most powerful Muslim Emperor in India, a festival in his honour was well calculated to inspire the masses in Maharashtra. But Shivaji and the Maratha power founded by him were rightly regarded by the Muslims as the main causes of the decline and downfall of the greatest Muslim Empire in India, and their national vanity was sure to be wounded by doing any honour to the great Maratha leader. As a matter of fact, though Tilak did yeoman's service to the cause of Indian nationalism, he was never forgiven by the Muslims for instituting the Shivaji festival. In Bengal also the new spirit of nationalism was gradually assuming a Hindu character. This first came into prominence in connection with the Hindu Mela whose founder definitely asserted that the Hindus formed a nation by themselves. This view, of course, did not go un* challenged, as the criticism of the use of the title 'national* by Hindu Mela, noted above, 26 clearly demonstrates. But the further progress of nationalism in Bengal leaves no doubt that it did not, or rather could not, shed its Hindu character, as a genuine pride in the old history and culture of the Hindus formed its very basis.

This is quite clear from the Bengali literature which made the greatest contribution to the development of national and patriotic feeling during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The name of Bankim-chandra Chatterji stands foremost in this connection. His famous novel Anandamath contains the hymn Bande Mdtaram which had been the national anthem of India up to 1947. During the long and arduous struggle for freedom from

1905 to 1947 Bande Mdtaram was the rallying cry of the patriotic sons of India, and thousands of them succumbed to the lathi blow of the British police or mounted the scaffold with Bande Mdtaram on their lips. The main theme of the novel inspired the Bengali youths to supreme self-sacrifice during the hectic days of the Swadeshi movement. The central plot moves round a band of sannydsins, called santidnas or children, who left their hearth and home and dedicated their lives to the cause of their motherland. They woshipped their motherland as the Goddess Kali;—they knew no other deity save the land of their birth, and no other religion except the service of their motherland. That is why they called themselves santanas or children (of the mother). In their temple they placed three images of the Goddess Kali representing the motherland,—Mother that was, great and glorious in her majestic grandeur; Mother that is, wretched and grovelling in the dust; and the Mother that will be, in her pristine glory. No other Bengali book—or, for the matter of that, no book written in any language—so profoundly moved the Bengali youths save perhaps Sarat-chandra’s Pathe'r Ddbi, written half a century later. The later novel was an emotional protest against the British rule, as the earlier one was, at least ostensibly, against the Muslim rule. This aspect of the Anandamath and the imagery of Goddess Kali leave no doubt that Bankim-chandra’s nationalism was Hindu rather than Indian. This is made crystal clear from his other writings which contain passionate outbursts against the subjugation of India by the Muslims. From that day set the sun of our glory—that is the refrain of his essays and novels which not unoften contain adverse, and sometimes even irreverent, remarks against the Muslims. The plots of some of his novels are based on historical fights between Hindus and Muslims, such as Bakhtyar Khalji’s invasion of Bengal, Aurangzeb’s fight with the Rajputs, etc., and his readers were never left in doubt as to where his sympathies lay. The following confession of the great Bengali leader, B. C. Pal, echoes the sentiment of every young Hindu reader of Bankim’s novels:

“Durgesh-nandirii quickened my earliest patriotic sentiments. Our sympathies were all entirely with Birendra Singha, and the court-scene where the Moslem invader was stabbed through his heart by Vimala (widow of Birendra Singha) made a profound impression upon my youthful imagination.” 27

Bengali lyric poems of the period gave a clarion call to patriotism. Rangalal’s famous Ode to Liberty is a notable instance. Its opening line, which has been in the mouth of every Bengali ever since, may be translated as follows: “Breathes there the man who would like to live, though shorn of liberty?” And this was put in the mouth of a Rajput fighting for his country against the Muslims. Nabin-chandra Sen, another famous poet of Bengal, wrote a long poem on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales (future Edward VII) to India. He makes Mother India recount in stirring verses to her guest her lost glory of the past, and the heroic achievements of the Marathas, Sikhs, and her other children; but no mention is made of the Muslims. But the broad Western type of nationalism which embraced India as a whole, irrespective of creeds and communities, was also faithfully reflected in Bengali literature. The greatest name in the field is that of Hem-chandra Banerji whose national lyrics, now become almost classic, drew a lurid picture of the Indians as contrasted with the Chinese and even the “uncivilized Japanese”, who were free nations while India was asleep. The burthen

qf his poems was a passionate appeal to India to awake and arise. His brilliant satires on the Anglo-Indian agitation against the Ilbert Bill and the presentation of the ladies of his family to the Prince of Wales by a Bengali gentleman of Calcutta were really strong appeals to the national sentiments and feeling of self-respect of the Indians.

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B. C. Pal describes as follows Hem-chandra’s influence upon him:—

“Hem Chandra, however, was our special favourite. The intense patriotic passion that breathed through his poems captured our youthful minds in a way which no other Bengalee poems had done. The new generation of English-educated Bengalees had already commenced to advance themselves to positions of trust and responsibility in the new Administration. In the learned professions of law and medicine, also, they were gradually asserting themselves as against the British members. A new spirit of independence and self-assertion was increasingly manifesting itself in the conduct and conversations of the English-educated Bengalee. All these had already commenced to provoke a racial conflict in the country. Hemchandra was, in a special sense, the poet of this new conflict and of the new racial self-respect and sensitive patriotism, born of it.” 28

The new-born patriotism and national sentiments found expression in, and were deeply stimulated by, a number of beautiful national songs which have survived to the present day. The Bengali dramas and the public stage also played a great part in fostering the national sentiments. There were social dramas written with the deliberate object of drawing pointed attention to the many social evils which were eating into vitals of the nation, for in those days “a new passion for freedom,—personal, social, and political—had possessed the Bengali mind.” 29 But there were also dramas with a distinctly national appeal. Reference may be made to the Bhdrata-mdtd (Mother India) which proclaimed the gospel of the religion of motherland. The following specimen of songs in this drama illustrates the anguish of a patriot's heart which it was the deliberate design of the author to evoke:

“O India, gloomy is thy face,

Beautiful that was as the moon;

Tears flow from thine eyes

Throughout the day and night.” 30

Some of the worst evils of the British rule which deeply stirred the feelings of the people formed the theme of dramas. The best illustration is the NXla-darpana by Dina-bandhu Mitra which depicted the

terrible oppression of the indigo-planters. 31 B. C. Pal writes in his autobiography:

“When it was put upon the boaird of the new Bengalee theatres, the audience got wild with passion against the White Planters; and sometimes they so far forgot themselves that they threw their shoes at the poor actor on the stage.” 32

In general, the Bengali dramas, umble, on account of press laws, to portray directly sentiments and actions against the British, took resort to a subterfuge. They either portrayed heroic historical fights by the Rajputs against the Muslims who invaded or conquered their motherland, or invented purely imaginary pictures of struggle against foreign rulers or conquerors. The scenes and speeches and actions were devised in such a manner that no spectator was under any illu sion as to the real objective.

The glaring evils of the British rule were overtly or covertly emphasised in poems, dramas, novels, and songs. Reference may be made to one particular national song which was an “open condemnation of foreign economic exploitation. The burthen of it was that India was becoming poorer and poorcir every day owing to the loss of her national freedom.” It was tak€?n from a novel by Manmohan Bose, Bangadhipa-parajaya, depicting the conquest of Bengal by a foreign people who came from a high island on the sea called Tuhgadvlpa. “The weaver and the blacksmith are crying day and night. They cannot find their food by plying their trade. Even threads and needles come from distant shore*.?. Even match-sticks are not produced in the country. Whether in dressing themselves or producing their domestic utensils or even in lighting their oil-lamps,—

in nothing are the people independent of their foreign masters.

Swarms of locusts from Tuhgadvipa coming to these shores have eaten up all its solid grains leaving only the chaff for the starving children of the soil.” 33

Among the important factors that contributed to the development of patriotic and national feelings must be reckoned the activities of some great personalities. The chief among these, during the period under review, was undoubtedly Surendra-nath Banerji.

Dismissed from Indian Civil Service for what is now generally regarded as a very minor offence of technical character, Surendranath had proceeded to England to appeal to the higher authorities. He failed in his mission, but during his stay in England he had made a special study of the history of the national movements in Europe and realized the important role played by young men in these movements. In particular the "Young Italy" movement by Mazzini made a deep impression upon him. Surendra-nath joined the Calcutta Students' Association founded by Ananda-mohan Basu, and soon became the life and soul of it. B. C. Pal, himself a student in those days, has recorded his impression as follows. "Surendra Nath's eloquence and burning patriotism lent to it a new strength and inspiration. Surendra Nath's first appearance on the platform of the Students' Association at once established his claims to the leadership of a new youth movement." [34]

The subject of Surendra-nath's first lecture was the rise of the Sikh power in the Punjab. This and several other eloquent lectures that followed made Surendra-nath the leader of a new political movement, which practically supplanted the new religious movement of Keshab-chandra Sen which had hitherto caught the imagination of Young Bengal. The spirit of freedom which had been dominating the educated intelligentsia of Bengal was largely diverted from religious and social spheres and "Surendra Nath found a new and larger scope for its fulfilment in the political propaganda which he initiated." [36] It was nothing short of a silent but powerful revolution in the intellectual atmosphere in Bengal which gave a great stimulus to the newly awakened sense of national and patriotic fervour.

At this distance of time, with the situation so profoundly changed, it is difficult to assay properly the value of the inspiring addresses of Surendra-nath. For what really matters is not so much the logic of arguments, or the accuracy of facts in the light of what we know today, but the effect it produced on the impressionable minds of the young men who listened to them, and the activities which they stirred up. Fortunately, there is a first-hand record of these impressions by one who was a student in, those days but later became a distinguished nationalist leader, viz. Bipin-chandra Pal. The following is an extract from his autobiography.

“The materials for his lecture on the ‘Rise of the Sikh Power* were, no doubt, drawn from English sources, particularly from Malcolm’s History of the Sikhs. But the Sikh movement was practi* cally unknown to us. Gur school text-books on Indian History did, no doubt, notice the story of the Sikhs in connection with Ran jit Singh. But these references had no inspiration for us. Surendra Nath for the first time presented the Sikh movement as really a movement of freedom, first, against the current ceremonialism and Brahminical domination of the Hindu community; second, against the oppression of the Moguls, who tried to crush a movement of religious and spiritual freedom by the organised brute force of an alien Government; and lastly, against British aggression. British

historians of the Sikhs had glossed over the wonderful military skill and valour of the Sikh army, describing signal defeats of the British as draws, and what were really draws as defeats of the Sikhs. Surendra Nath in his address on the ‘Rise of the British Power in the Punjab' exposed the unreliable character of British historians and painted in burning words the justice of the Sikh cause, the deathless devotion of the Sikh people to their Khalsa or Commonwealth, and the signal defeats which they inflicted on the British at Chilianwala and Gujerat, Our school histories never confessed, frankly these defeats. This revelation of the history of the Sikhs made a very powerful appeal to our infant patriotism and lent new strength and even bitterness to the anti-British feeling that had already commenced to possess our youthful minds. I was not present at this first lecture of Surendra Nath's, but those who were, carried with them from this meeting a new patriotic fervour. A friend characterised this lecture of Surendra Nath's as creating, by deafening rounds of applause that followed in quick succession

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his rapidly flowing periods, almost a literal storm about College Square. Surendra Nath's position as the most powerful orator of his generation was at once established by this performance." 36

"But the greatest and the most inspiring message of Surendra Nath's early propaganda was delivered through his lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the Young Italy movement organised by him. Mazzini's life and particularly his extremely sensitive patriotism

which so worked upon his youthful imagination that even as a school

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boy he refused to join in any form of gaiety of his family and his community, in the face of the bondage in which his country lay under Austrian domination, drew out all the latent passion for national freedom in us. The tyrannies of the Austrian army of occupation in Italy, who showed scant regard for the ordinary rights and liberties of the Italian people and treated even the Italian intellectuals of the middle class as membra of an inferior race, indeed literally as helots and slaves, made a profound impression upon our sensitive minds. Neither the person, nor the property of the Italian, in the neighbourhood of the Austrian military camps, nor even the honour of their women, were safe from the wanton insults and outrages of Austrian officers and soldiers. We saw or imagined a great similitude between the position of the Italians under Austrian domination and our own position under British.rule. In the outlying districts in cases between Europeans and Indians the latter could hope to receive practically no justice. The differential treatment accorded to Indians and Europeans even when they happened to be members of the same Covenanted Civil Service rankled in our

heart. The plight of the indentured labourers in the tea gardens of Assam had already commenced to be agitated in our vernacular press. The Amrita Bazar Patrika was circulating broadcast tales of magisterial high-handedness all over the province. All these things working upon our youthful imagination created a profound sympathy in us with the struggle for national freedom in Italy led by Mazzini, when the story was presented to us by Surendra Nath." 37

Another effect of Su rendra-nath's lecture on Mazzini, although little noticed at the time, and less known in later days, was big with future consequences. The familiarity of young Bengalis with the Young Italy movement led to the growth of secret political societies. Here also let Bipinchandra Pal speak of his own youthful days:

“We commenced to read the writings of Mazzini and the history of the Young Italy movement. Here we saw also the earlier organisations for Italian freedom, particularly those of the Carbonari, with which Mazzini had himself been associated at the beginning of his patriotiic career. The Carbonari were secret societies. They hoped to win their national freedom by covering the whole country with a network of secret revolutionary organisations, whose idea was to free their fatherland from the Austrian yoke by striking at the Austrian rulers. Secret assassinations were the main objective of these Carbonari organisations... But though without any real revolutionary motive or any plan of secret assassinations as the way to national emancipation, the new inspiration imparted to Young Bengal by Surendra Nath’s presentation of the life of Mazzini and the Italian freedom movement led many of us to form secret organisations. Calcutta student community was at that time almost honeycombed with these organisations. Secrecy has a strange fascination for youthful minds. And this was the real psychology of our penchant for these secret societies. Surendra Nath was himself, I think, the President of quite a number of these secret

societies.Surendra Nath’s connection with quite a number of

the new secret societies among the youthful intellectuals of Calcutta proved the unique confidence which he enjoyed of his young followers. Though without any serious plan or policy of political action aiming at the liberation of their people from the British yoke, these societies were, however, not lacking in seriousness. Their patriotism was serious, and how seriously they took it was seen in the vows and rituals of many of these societies. I knew of one such society, though I was not myself a member of it, whose initiatory rites were almost Masonic in some aspects. Every member of this society had to sign the pledge of membership with his own blood drawn at the point of a sword from his breast.” 38

These societies did not achieve any practical result by way of organising revolution or political assassinations. But they left a rich legacy in this respect to the next generation.

Surendra-nath’s nationality was of the Western type and it was predominantly political and free from any Hindu bias. In a speech he delivered in 1878 he urged the young men of India to dedicate their lives to the good of their country and laid special emphasis on the unity among different creeds. Here are a few passages:

“Young men, your country expects great things from you. Now I ask, how many of you are prepared, when you have finished your studies at the College, to devote your lives, to consecrate your energies to the good of your country? (cries of “all,” “all”).... There comes a time In the history of a nation’s progress, when every man may verily be said to have a mission of his own to accomplish. Such a time has now arrived for India. The fiat has gone forth. The celestial mandate has been issued that every Indian must now do this duty, or stand condemned before God and man. There was such a time of stirring activity in the glorious annals of England

when_(refers to Hampden, Algernon Sidney, and the Seven

Bishops).

“It is not indeed necessary for us to have recourse to violence in order to obtain the redress of our grievances. Constitutional agitation will secure for us those rights and privileges which in less favoured countries are obtained by sterner means. But peaceful as are the means to be enforced, there is a stem duty to be performed by every Indian. And he who fails in that duty is a traitor before God and man....

“Three hundred years ago, in the Punjab, the immortal founder of Sikhism, the meek, the gentle, the blessed Nanak preached the great doctrine of Indian unity and endeavoured to knit together Hindus and Musulmans under the banner of a common faith. That attempt was eminently successful. Nanak became the spiritual founder of the Sikh Empire. He preached the great doctrine of peace and good will between Hindus and Musulmans. And standing in the presence of his great example we too must preach the great doctrine of peace and good will between Hindus and Musulmans, Christians and Parsees, aye between all sections of the great Indian Community.

.“In the name then of a common country, let us all, Hindus,

Musulmans, Christians, Parsees, members of the great Indian Community, throw the pall of oblivion over the jealousies and dissensions of bygone times and, embracing one another in fraternal love and affection, live and work for the benefit of a beloved fatherland”. 39

The eloquence of Surendra-nath and the voice of many other leaders put this broad view of nationalism in the forefront of the young Indians, and it exercised great influence upon the political evolution of India.

The great leaders of Bengal had hitherto laid stress on social religious, and personal freedom. The emphasis of Surendra-nath’s appeal was far more on political freedom. This constitutes his principal contribution to the regeneration of Bengal. He brought a new message and inspiration of political freedom and carried young Bengal with him. Bipin-chandra Pal, himself a Brahma, admits that “Surendra Nath’s political propaganda gathered a much larger following than that of the religious and social revolt of Keshub Chandra Sen and the Brahrao Samaj. „4 °

Surendra-nath was not insensible to social reform, but he was against violent changes. “We must*’, he said, “so far as practicable, take the community with us, by a process of steady and gradual uplift, so that there may be no sudden disturbance or dislocation, the new being adapted to the old and the old assimilated to the new. That has been the normal path of progress in Hindu society through the long centuries.” 40 *

Another great personality who advanced the cause of nationalism in India broadbased on the unity of all communities was Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901). He held the office of a Subordinate Judge under the Government of Bombay and could not therefore take any active part in politics. But he devoted himself to the social and economic uplift of the country. In respect of social reform, as noted above, 41 he steered a middle course between the overzealous enthusiasts who would rather secede from the Hindu society than tolerate its evils, and the orthodox who would oppose any reform. Ranade made a deep study of the economic problems of India and advocated a vigorous policy of industrial and commerciar development. In 1890 he inaugurated the Industrial Association of Western

India. His life and activities were not so spectacular as those of Surendranath Banerji, but like the latter he greatly advanced the cause of nationalism in Bombay and inspired and initiated men like Gokhale to the service of the motherland.

Indian nationalism proved to be a dynamic force and gathered momentum as years rolled on. In general it may be said that the further development of nationalism was mainly due to the rapid expansion of those very influences which gave birth to it. Among these specific mention may be made of the English education and the consequent impact of Western culture, religious and social reforms, vernacular literature, press and periodical literature, and

political associations and organisations, which have been dealt with separately in different chapters. The phenomenal development of the Bengali literature and its reaction on the development of nationalism has been sketched above. In the same way the rapid expansion of English education through the Universities established in 1857 served as a potent instrument for developing nationalist ideas on a very much wider scale than before. Bankim-chandra Chatterji, one of the earliest products of the Calcutta University, made a philosophical study of nationalism as an abstract idea. In his view nationalism consists of two essential elements: first, the identification of individual interest with that of a particular community, so that every individual regards the welfare of the community as his primary duty. The second is a grim determination on* the part of the individual to promote the interest of his own community even when it clashes with that of another and can be safeguarded only by doing harm to other nations. Such a spirit might be good or bad, but historical examples show that only the nations inspired by it achieve greatness. The unification of Italy and Germany was pointed by Bankim-chandra as the result of such a spirit of nationalism, and nobody can possibly fail to understand that in all this abstract discussion his main objective was to draw the public at ten tion to the case of India. This is rendered crystal clear when Bankimchandra adds, that neither of the two elements of nationalism mentioned by him was ever present in India. This he seeks to prove by reference to the events of Indian history, and concludes that the ideas of independence and nationalism are new to India and have been taught to the Indians by the English. Tilak's searching analysis of the profound effect of English education on the growth of patriotism and nationalism, even so late as the eighties of the nineteenth century, has been quoted above. The great poet Rabindra-nath has described, in his inimitable way, the inspiration he received from the English literature in his younger days, i.e. in the seventies and eighties. Indeed any one who studies the Indian books and periodicals of the period cannot fail to be struck with the powerful force exerted upon Indian minds by the passionate outbursts for the ideals of human liberty and violent denunciations of desnotism in all shapes and forms by poets like Wordsworth and Shelley, and in general by the writings, speeches, and activities of celebrated Englishmen. A vernacular paper in Bengal felt almost a religious reverence for the Englishmen. "It is their Wilberforces, Hampdens, Mills, Brights, Metcalfes, Macaulays, and hundreds of other great men, whose liberal principles have captivated us, and we have regarded them as the very model of morality, and hold them in veneration."

The last three decades of the nineteenth century also saw a remarkable growth of Indian-owned newspapers—daily and weekly, and both in English and vernacular—-whose role in developing nationalism was very great indeed, and detailed reference to it has been made in Chapter VL Growth of political associations, described in Chapter XII, and the development of nationalism acted and reacted upon each other. It is the growing sense of nationalism which led to the development of powerful political organizations, and these, in their turn, further stimulated the Indian nationalism and made it a political force which even the mighty British Government had soon to reckon with.

In addition to these powerful forces which worked from within, there were others supplied by current events in the history of the world. The defeat of Italy in Abyssinian War, the rise of Japan as a great power, and the defeat it inflicted upon a mighty European power like Russia, had a great repercussion upon Indians. All these shattered the myth of European invincibility in war against nonEuropeans and infused in the heart of the Indians hope and faith in their own power. The early discomfitures of the British in the Boer War were hailed with delight in India, though the Boers were no friends of India, and probably hated the Indians even more than the

British. Here, again, a minor power successfully defying the authority of Britain, served as an object-lesson to the Indians that they could also rely on their own strength. The Irish struggle for independence against the British also served as a great inspiration to the Indians.

While nationalism in India was making rapid strides, it received a great momentum from two-special circumstances during the closing decade of the nineteenth century. The first was the degraded status and the miserable lot of the Indians who migrated to the British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, and were subjected to great hardships and disabilities by the Colonial Governments, to which a detailed reference will be made in Chapter XVII. Every Indian felt with bitter and poignant sorrow that such humiliating treatment of the Indians was possible only because they were a subject people and not an independent nation. This idea quickened the consciousness of the Indians to the great value of nationalism and independence.

The second circumstance, of far greater importance, was the meteor-like rise of SvamI Vivekananda as a great Messiah, Reference has been made above 42 to his religious career, but he shone no less brilliantly as a great nation-builder. It is not possible here to describe in detail the manifold ways in which he contributed to the development of Indian nationalism, and only a brief outline must suffice. As mentioned above, he championed the cause of Hinduism in the great Parliament of Religions, held at Chicago in U.S.A. in 1893 in connection with the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. There, in the presence of the representatives of all the religions from almost all the countries in the world, the young monk from India expounde . 1 the principles of Vedanta and the greatness of Hinduism with such persuasive eloquence that from the very first he captivated the hearts of the vast audience. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that it was Svaml Vivekananda who made a place for Hinduism in the cultural map of the modem world. The civilized nations of the West had hitherto looked down upon Hinduism as a bundle of superstitions, evil institutions, and immoral customs, unworthy of serious consideration in the progressive world of today. Now, for the first time, they not only greeted, with hearty approval, the lofty principles of Hinduism as expounded by Vivekananda, but accorded a very high place to it in the culture and civilization of the world. The repercussion of this on the vast Hindu community can be easily imagined. The Hindu intelligentsia were always very sensitive to the criticism of the Westerners, particularly the Christian missionaries, regarding the many evils and shortcomings of the Hindu society and religion, as with their rational outlook they could not but admit the force of much of this criticism. They had always to be on the defensive and their attitude was mostly apologetic, whenever there was a comparative estimate of the values of the Hindu and Western culture. They had almost taken for granted the inferiority of their culture vis A vis that of the West, which was so confidently asserted by the Western scholars. Now, all on a sudden, the table was turned, and the representatives of the West joined in a chorus of applause at the hidden virtues of Hinduism which were hitherto unsuspected either by friends or foes. It not only restored the self-confidence of the Hindus in their own culture and civilisation, but quickened their sense of national pride and patriotism. This was evident from the sentiment echoed and re-echoed in the numerous public addresses which were presented to Svaml Vivekananda on his home-coming by the Hindus all over India, almost literally from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. It was a great contribution to the growing Hindu nationalism.

On his return to India, Svaml Vivekananda made it a mission of his life to preach the spiritual basis of Hindu civilization. He pointed out in his writings and speeches that the spirituality of India

was neither less valuable, nor less important for the welfare of humanity, than the much vaunted material greatness of the West which has dazzled our eyes. He was never tired of asking the Indians to turn their eyes, dazed by the splendour of the West, to their own ideals and institutions. By careful comparison between the real values of the Hindu ideals and institutions and those of the West, he maintained the superiority of the former and asked his countrymen never to exchange gold for tinsels. Referring to the conflict between Westernized India and the true India of the old* he said: “On one side, New India is saying: ‘If we only adopt Western ideas, Western language, Western fqod, Western dress and Western manners, we shall be as strong and powerful as the Western nations/ On the other, Old India is saying, Tools! By imitation, other's ideas never become one's own—-nothing, unless earned, is your own. Does the ass in the lion's skin become the lion?'

"On one side, New India is saying: 'What the Western nations do are surely good, otherwise how did they become so great?' On the other side, Old India is saying: 'The flash of lightning is intensely bright, but only for a moment; look out, boys, it is dazzling your eyes. Beware!"

But Vivekananda was not prejudiced against the West, nor insensible to the great value of her achievements. He frankly admitted that Indian ciilture was neither spotless nor perfect,—itr had to learn many things from the West, but without sacrificing its true character.

Svaml Vivekananda combined in himself the role of a great saint and fervid nationalist. He placed Indian nationalism on the high pedestal of past glory, but it embraced the teeming millions of India, both high and low, rich and poor. He devoted his life to the awakening of national consciousness and many of his eloquent appeals would stir the national sentiments of India even today to their very depths. Here is one specimen:

"India!... Wouldst thou attain, by means of thy disgraceful cowardice, that freedom deserved only by the brave and the heroic? O India! forget not that the ideal of thy womanhood is Sltfi, SSvitri, Damayanti; forget not that the God thou worshippest is the great ascetic of ascetics, the all-renouncing Safikara, the Lord of Um§; forget not that thy marriage, thy wealth, thy life are not for sense-pleasure, are not for thy individual personal happiness; forget not that thou art born as a sacrifice to the Mother's altar; forget not that thy social order is but the reflex of the Infinite Universal Motherhood; forget not that the lower classes, the ignorant, the poor, the illiterate, the cobbler, the sweeper are thy flesh and blood,

thy brothers. Thou brave one, be bold, take courage, be proud that thou art an Indian and • proudly proclaim, T am an Indian, every Indian is my brother.' Say, 'The ignorant Indian, the poor and destitute Indian, the Brahman Indian, the Pariah Indian, is my brother.' Thou, too, clad with but a rag round thy loins proudly proclaim at the top of thy voice, 'The Indian is my brother, the Indian is my life, India's gods and goddesses are my God.

India’s society is the cradle of my infancy, the pleasure-garden of my youth, the sacred heaven, the VaraajasI of my old age.’ Say, brother, ‘The soil of India is my highest heaven, the good of India is my good,’ and repeat and pray day and night, ‘O Thou Lord of Gauri, O Thou Mother of the Universe, vouchsafe manliness unto me. O Thou Mother of Strength, take away my weakness, take away my rnmanliness, and —Make me a Man.” 43

Though an ascetic, Vivekananda was a patriot of patriots. The thought of restoring the pristine glory of India by resuscitating among her people the spiritual vitality which was dormant, but not dead, was always the uppermost thought in his mind. His great disciple, Sister Nivedita (an Irish lady named Margaret Noble), who was his constant companion, has remarked: “Throughout those years, in which I saw him almost daily, the thought of India was to him like the air he breathed.” A saint and an ascetic have always exercised a profound influence upon- Indian minds. No wonder, therefore, that the prophecy of Vivekananda that India, with all her shortcomings, and in spite of the present dismal outlook, shall rise to the stature of a great nation in the modern world, went home and quickened the national impulses of the people of India. There seems to be a great deal of truth in the following tribute paid to him by a recent historian of India’s struggle for Swaraj :

“SvamI Vivekananda might well be called the father of modern Indian Nationalism; he largely created it and also embodied in his own life its highest and noblest elements.” 44

An important contribution to the growth of Indian nationalism, was also made by the Theosophical Society, to which reference has been made above 46 Its effect on Indian mind is thus described by B. C. Pal:

“This Society told our people that instead of having any reason to be ashamed of their past or of the legacies left to them by it, they have every reason to feel justly proud of it all, because their ancient seers and saints had been the spokesmen of the highest truths and their old books, so woefully misunderstood today, had been the repositories of the highest human illumination-and wisdom. Our people had hitherto felt perpetually humiliated at the sense of their degradation. This new message, coming from the representatives of the most advanced peoples of the modern world, the inheritors of the most advanced culture and civilisation the world has as yet known, at once raised us in our own estimation and created a selfconfidence in us that commenced to find easy expression in a new propaganda which, instead of apologising for our current and mediaeval ideas and institutions and seeking to reform and reconstruct these after modern European ideals, boldly stood up in defence of them.” 4 ® Elsewhere Pal says: “But the greatest contribution of Theosophy to the development of our national consciousness was in its new and strange gospel of Ancient Indian Wisdom and in its announcement of a great world purpose and world mission which India yet had for the races of the modern world .”[47]

The most talented representative of the Society in India was Mrs. Annie Besant. Apart from revealing the past glory and greatness of the Hindus, she offered justification even for the many customs and institutions, which were generally tolerated by the educated Hindus though regarded by them as evil or superstitious and openly condemned as such. The justification of these customs and institutions by new interpretation of their significance and raison d’etre from the pen of a talented European lady, noted for profound learning and wisdom, naturally flattered the wounded vanity of the Hindus, the pride in their national glory being further enhanced by her dictum, repeatedly asserted, that the Hindu culture was essentially superior to the European.

It has been pointed out above that the newly born Indian nationalism was gradually assuming a decidedly Hindu character. This received further stimulus from the activities of Vivekananda and the teachings of the Theosophical Society. The latter, in particular, gave it a tinge of orthodoxy which was disapproved by Vivekananda himself. Referring to the Theosophical Society he said, “foolish depreciation is surely vicious, but fulsome praise is equally loathsome.” 47 * It was also disliked by a section of the nationalists. Nevertheless, towards the close of the nineteenth century, one could clearly distinguish a spirit of revivalism, i.e. an attempt to reconstruct the Hindu society on the model of the old .[48] This, as noted above, was strongly opposed by Mahadev Govind Ranade .[49]

But whatever one may think of this drawback, there is no doubt that patriotism was lifted to a high spiritual level by SvamI Vivekananda. Although he was mainly a religious devotee, and a sanny&sin who had renounced the world, his speeches, writings and activities had a direct bearing on the devotion to motherland. He

emphasized the greatness of the spiritual idea enunciated in the Vedanta, and the important role it was destined to play in elevating the whole mankind. But, he said, this great mission of India would remain unfulfilled so long as India continued in her present state of slavery and abject poverty. The political and material greatness of India was, therefore, indissolubly bound up with the spiritual regeneration of India and mankind. Vivekananda restated the old ideas of Vedanta in a new form. The fundamental concept of Vedanta was the essential unity of God and man and the realization of this truth by man by removing his illusion or ignorance. In the past, such realization was sought through metaphysical abstractions and renunciation of social and civic life. It is against this prevailing view that Vivekananda raised his voice of protest. Realization of God is to be achieved, said he, not by retirement into hills and forests and negation of wordly life, but by the spiritualization of the normal contents and actualities of life. He put it in a more concrete form by laying emphasis on the fact that one should not run away from the world in order to seek God, but try to recognize Him in his fellow-beings, who were the images of God Himself, as taught by the Vedanta. The true worship of God was the service of the people whom we have hitherto neglected or trodden under foot. He therefore asked every Indian to realize God in the nation and to dedicate himself to its service, in a spirit of religious reverence and without any pride or fear, irrespective of all earthly consequences. He gave a living touch to the idea by using the word Daridra-N&r&yana i.e. the God symbolised by the poor and the humble. Thi^ great sannyatfn, who had left his hearth and home at the call of his spiritual guru, gri Ramakpshoa, and delved deeply into spiritual mysticism, was never tired of preaching that 4 what India needs today is not so much religion or philosophy, of which she has enough, but food for her hungry millions, social justice for the low classes, strength and energy for her emasculated people, and a sense of pride and prestige as a great nation of the world.’

Vivekananda put Indian nationalism firmly on the five bed-rocks, viz, yearning for political independence, pride in the past giory and greatness of India, upity of Indians on the conception of brotherhood, awakening of the masses, and development of physical strength and vigour. To a group of young men who met him, seeking his guidance and blessings, he said: "Man-making is my mission of life. You try to translate this mission of mine into action and reality. Read Bankimchandra and emulate his defcbhakti (patriotism) and sanatdnadharma (activities of the band of patriots depicted in the Ananda

mafha) Your duty should be service to motherland. India should be freed politically first." "For the next fifty years", he said elsewhere, "this alone shall be our key-note—this, our great Mother India. Let all other vain Gods disappear for that time from our minds". 49 *

Again and again Vivekananda asserted that weakness, real or fancied, has been the bane of Indian national life in the past. "What I want", said he, "is muscles of iron and nerves of steel, inside which dwells a mind of the same material as that of which the thunderbolt is made." Again, "First of all, our young men must be strong. Religion will come afterwards. Be strong, my young friends; that is my advice to you. You will be nearer to Heaven through football than through the study of the Gita." But he held out the Krishna of the Bhagavud-Gitd as our national ideal of dynamic energy based on true religion.

The uplift of the masses seems to have been the key-note of his programme of national regeneration. "The only hope of India", he said, "is from the masses. The upper classes are physically and morally dead."

Again, he said, "Keep the motto before you—'Elevation of the masses'... Work among those young men who can devote heart and soul to this one duty—the duty of raising the masses of India.' Vivekananda put it in the forefront of his social programme. "Our modern reformers", said he, "are very busy about widow remarriage. Of course, I am a sympathiser of every reform, but the fate of a nation does not depend upon the number of husbands their widows get, but upon the condition of the masses," Vivekananda made a trumpet call to all Indians to shed fear of all kinds and stand forth as men by imbibing iakti (energy and strength), and reminded them that they were the particles of the Divine, according to the eternal truth preached by the Vedanta.

As for himself, he was even prepared to forego his own salvation for the sake of the masses. “Who cares for your Bhakti and MuktiV ’, he once exclaimed, “I will go into a thousand hells cheerfully, if I can rouse my countrymen, immersed in Tama$ t to stand on their own feet”. “What I now want”, he wrote in a letter in 1895, “is a band of fiery missionaries,” and he gave a practical shape to the idea a few years later. In the Rules which he had himself drawn up for the Belur Math, the centre of his organization, the last one runs as follows: “The root of all misery in India is the wide gulf between the lower and upper classes. Unless this difference is made up, there is no hope of any well-being for the people. Therefore we must send preachers to all places to give the masses education and religious teaching”. In pursuance of this he engaged the monks recruited mostly from the educated middle class for social service under an allied, but “distinct, organization known as the Bimakrish^a Mission, whose activities extend throughout India. The precepts and example of this great sanny&sin galvanised the current of national life, infused new hopes and inspirations, and placed the service to the motherland on a religious level. His voice had a special appeal to the Indians as they are always attracted by a saintly life, more particularly as his teachings, inspired by Sri RamaIqrishija, were highly honoured even in Europe and America.

Svami Vivekananda thus gave a spiritual basis to Indian nationalism. The lessons of Vedanta and the Bhagavad-Gita permeated the lives and activities of many a nationalist, and, as will be seen later, many a martyr, inspired by his teachings, endured extreme sufferings and sacrifices with a cheerful heart, fearlessly embraced death, and calmly bore the inhuman tortures, worse than death, which were sometimes inflicted upon them.

Not only religion and philosophy but also history was enlisted in the cause of nationalism. As Bengal had no knowledge in those days of her own great heroes, the lives of Rajput, Mara^ha and Sikh heroes took their place. The patriotism of Rana Pratap and the heroic deeds of Shivaji were household words in Bengal. It would be difficult to find in any literature such stirring poems as Rabindranath wrote on Shivaji and the Sikh leaders Banda and Guru Govinda.

The ground was thus prepared in Bengal for the emergence of a mighty wave of nationalism which soon revolutionised the political movement in India. But it was in Maharashtra where the new spirit of nationalism first manifested itself in a practical form. This is best illustrated by the career of Wasudeo Balwant Phadkc sketched above. 60

Wasudeo Balwant Phadke set the example of militant nationalism which took deep root in the soils of Maharashtra and Bengal a quarter of a century later, as will be described in another chapter. His activities, however, had no immediate effect on the progress of nationalism as an ideal and motive force in political and social life, such as has been described above.

A review of the progress of nationalism in India was made by Gopalkrishna Gokhale in 1905, in the following passage: “The growth, during the last fifty years, of a feeling of common nationality, based upon common tradition, common disabilities and common hopes and aspirations, has been most striking. The fact that we are Indians first, and Hindoos, Mahomedans, Parsees, or Christians

afterwards, is being realised in a steadily increasing measure, and the idea of a united and renovated India, marching onwards to a place among the nations of the world worthy of her great past, is no longer a mere idle dream of a few imaginative minds, but is the definitely accepted creed of those who form the brain of the community—the educated classes of the country.’* 51

The most significant trait of the new nationalism was an intense love of the motherland, based on a conception of its past glory and future greatness. But it was often distinguished from patriotism of the Western type by being elevated to a religious level. This was clearly preached by Bankim-chandra in his famous novel Anandamath to which reference has been made above. He has depicted therein the lives of a band of patriots who had left their hearth and home, wives and children, and dedicated their lives to the service of their motherland, conceived as the goddess Kali, the source of all power and energy. The only form of worship acceptable to her was the selfless service to the motherland. They revered no other deity, and no other form of worship was known to them. 62 Thus Bankim-chandra converted patriotism into religion and religion into patriotism.

Gokhale tried to give a practical shape to this high ideal by founding the ‘Servants of India Society’ in 1905. While inaugurating it, he described the progress of nationalism in the extract quoted above, and then observed: “The results achieved so far are undoubted ly most gratifying, but they only mean that the jungle has been cleared, and the foundations laid. The great work of rearing the superstructure has yet to be taken in hand.... One' essential condition of success is that a sufficient number of our countrymen must now come forward to devote themselves to the cause in the spirit in which religious work is undertaken. Public life must be spiritualised. Love of country must so fill the heart that all else shall appear as of little moment by its side. A fervent patriotism which rejoices at every opportunity of sacrifice for the motherland, a dauntless heart which refuses to be turned back from its object by difficulty or danger, a deep faith in the purpose of Providence that nothing can shake,— equipped with these, the worker must start on his mission and reverently seek the joy which comes of spending oneself in the service of one’s country.”

The object of the ‘Servants of India Society’ was to train such men—men who would be “prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit”, and, “as national missionaries,” promote “by all constitutional means the national interests

of the Indian people/’ Every member of the Society had to take seven vows at the time of admission. The first four of these are: (1) That the country will always be the first in his thoughts and he will give to her service the best that is in him. (2) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself. (3) That he will regard all Indians as brothers, and will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or preed. (4) That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if he has any, as the Society may be able to make. He will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

1. See p. 338.

2. Bengal Past and Present, LXVII (1948), pp. 40-5.

3. “If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but'’a transfigured and eternal life—again I should pointi to India.” F. Max Miiller, What Can India Teach Vs? 2nd Edn., Oxford, 1892, p. 6.

4. Cf. Ch VI.

4a. Cf. Ch. XT, and Vol. IX, Chs. XIII, XXIX.

5. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 412 ff.

6. Ch. IX and tne Chs. mentioned in f.n., 4a.

7. See pp. 349-51.

8. Vol. IX, Ch. XX; Griffiths, p. 259.

9. B.C. Pal-I, I. 229.

9a. Cotton-II, 222.

10. B.C. Pal-1, I. 233.

10a. Ibid, I. 315; II. XV.

11. Ibid, I. 237.

12. Ibid. 234.

12a.Ibid, 259-60.

13. This is the popular form of the name of Raj-narayan Basu mentioned on p. 176.

14. Ibid, 260.

15. Ibid, 261-2.

16. The text of the Document is reproduced in the Modem Review, June, 1944, pp. 444 ff.

17. B. Majumdar, 293-4,

18. B.C. Pal-I, I. 310-14.

19. B. C. Pal-II, 66.

20. B.C. Pal-I, II. 70-1.

21. Ibid, 84.

22. Ibid, 85.

23. H.B. Sarda— Dayananda, p. cxxii.

24. It may be noted that Keshab-chandra Sen and Bhudev Mukherji recommended Hindi as national language, and several others recommended Swadeshi, before Dayananda.

25. See pp. 456 ff .

26. See pp. 472-3.

27. B.C. Pal-I, I. 227.

28. Ibid, 228.

29. Ibid, 252.

30. Ibid, 256.

31. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 917, 922, 933.

32. B.C. Pal-I, 1, 253.

S3. Ibid, 256. I have »ubstited ‘Tungadvlpa’, the original word, for ‘a distant island*

in Pal’s translation.

34. Ibid, 233.

35. Ibid, 237-8.

36. Ibid, 242*3.

37. Ibid, 245-6.

38. Ibid, 246*48.

38. Speech** and Writing*, 227-31.

46. B.C. Pal-I, I. 235.

40a. A Nation in Making , pp. 387-8.

41. See p. 258.

42. See pp. 123-31.

43. For the extracts quoted from the writings and speeches of Vivekananda, and others of similar import, cf. Complete Work* of Vivekananda, TV (7th Ed.), pp.477-80; BhUpendranath Datta, Swami Vivekananda, pp. 314-42, 371-89; Eknath Ranade, Swami Vivekananda** Roueing Call to Nation (a compilation of select passages).

44. Pradhan, 60.

45. See pp. 131-4.

46. B.C. Pal-I, I. 425.

47. Ibid, II LV.

47a. Complete Works of Vivekananda, Vol, IV (7th Ed.), p. 318.

48. See pp. 115-6.

49. See pp. 257-8.

49a. Complete Works, HI (8th Ed.), 300-01.

50. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 908-14.

51. Speeches of Gokhale, Appendix, pp. 182-4.

52. See pp. 257-8.

CHAPTER XIV (LII)

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL IDEAS AND ORGANIZATIONS (1858-85)

I. BENGAL

As an inevitable consequence of the growth of nationalism, described in the preceding chapter, there was a forward movement in political ideas and organizations in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Hitherto the political aspirations of the Indians did not go much beyond administrative reforms with a view to giving more powers to the Indians, but gradually they were inspired by higher ambitions to which expression has been given by Surendra-nath Banerji in the following passage: “It was not enough that we should have our full share of the higher offices, but we aspired to have a voice in the councils of the nation. There was the bureaucracy. For good or evil, it was there. We not only wanted to be members of the bureaucracy and to leaven it with the Indian element, but we looked forward to controlling it, and shaping and guiding its measures and eventually bringing the entire administration under complete popular domination. It was a new departure hardly noticed at the time, but fraught with immense potentialities. Along with the development of struggle for place and power to be secured to our countrymen, there came gradually but steadily to the forefront the idea that this was not enough, that it was part, but not even the most vital part, of the programme for political elevation of our people. The demand for representative government was now definitely formulated, and it was but the natural and legitimate product of the public activities that had preceded it/* 1

The idea of a representative government was not, however, a new thing in Bengal polities. On July 25, 1867, W. C. Bonnerjee, who afterwards became the President of the first Indian National Congress (1885), delivered in England a long speech on “representative and responsible Government of India”. He made the concrete suggestion of setting up a representative

Assembly and a Senate in India with the power to veto their decisions given to both the Governor-General and the Crown. 2 In a speech at Brighton in March, 1873, Ananda-mohan Bose advocated the establishment of representative Government in India by gradual stages.

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Next year, Krishta-das Pal, the veteran politician of Bengal,

recommended a similar constitutional government for India. In 1874, in a leading article in the Hindoo Patriot on the “Home Rule for India”, he observed: “Our attention should, therefore, be directed to Home Rule for India, to the introduction of constitutional government for India in India. Most of the British Colonies have been blessed with constitutional Government, but India is the only Dependency which, despite the vast ness of its area, its population and interests, is denied the privilege. If taxation and representation go hand in hand in all British Colonies, Why should this principle be ignored in British India?... Home Rule for India ought to be our cry, and it ought to be based upon the same constitutional basis that is recognised in the Colonies”. 3

The existing political associations did not prove equal to the task of pursuing this higher ideal, and so a few advanced political thinkers of Bengal started a new association called “Indian League” on 23 September, 1875. Its object was defined to be “to stimulate the sense of nationalism amongst the people” and awaken political consciousness among them. The organizers rightly claimed that “this is the first instance of a political body formed by public announcement and a call upon the nation to attend it and mould it to their liking”. 4 Even the Anglo-Indian daily of Calcutta, the English• man, referred to this new political organization as “the first marked sign of the awakening of the people on this side of India to political life”. 5 The Indian League had a brief but useful career. It was shortly supplanted by another political organization which proved to be more durable. This new organization, promoted by several leaders of advanced political thought, headed by Surendra-nath, was inaugurated in a public meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on 26 July, 1876, which was attended by about seven to eight hundred persons. The new organization was named ‘Indian Association* for reasons which Surendra-nath himself explains as follows:

“The idea that was working in our minds was that the Association was to be the centre of an all-India movement. For even then, the conception of a united India, derived from the inspiration of Mazzini, or, at any rate, of bringing all India upon the same common political platform, had taken firm possession of the minds of the Indian leaders in Bengal. We accordingly resolved to call the new political body the Indian Association”. 6 Surendra-nath also defines the object of this Association in the following words:

“(1) The creation of a strong body of public opinion in the country; (2) the unification of the Indian races and peoples upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations; (3) the promo

tion of friendly feeling between Hindus and Mohamedans; and, lastly, the inclusion of the masses in the great public movements of the day”. 7

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The Indian Association was welcomed by all shades of public opinion. The well-known Indian paper of Calcutta, the Hindoo Patriot , the organ of the British Indian Association, which was opposed if o the ‘Indian League', welcomed it in words which show the new trend of political thought in the country.

“If they be less a petitioning body, and more an agency for the education of the rising generation in political matters, and for the direction of their political thoughts and aspirations through right channels, they may prove useful co-operators of the existing Associations. They cannot have a better model than the East Indian Association, which generally invites thoughtful men to discuss important questions, publishes the discussions for general information, and thus helps in the moulding and maturing of public opinion on those questions, and petitions to Parliament or Her Majesty’s Government on exceptional occasions”. 8

Surendra-nath very rightly observes:

“The Indian Association supplied a real need. It soon focussed the public spirit of the middle class, and became the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal”. 9

One of the important topics which engaged the attention of the Indian Association was the new regulation of 1876 reducing the agelimit of the competitors for the Indian Civil Service examination from 21 to 19. It was bound to prove a great handicap to Indian candidates, and was no doubt deliberately devised to reduce their chance of success. The Indian Association took up this question in right earnest and held a public meeting in Calcutta on 24 March, 1877, to enter an emphatic protest against it. In order to give an all-India character to the agitation, the Association had sent letters to the different provinces asking for their opinion, and letters and telegrams from the leaders of different regions of India, protesting against the reactionary measure, were read at the public meeting. Hits is the beginning of a novel feature in the political agitation of the country which soon became almost a normal procedure. Backed by the united voice of India, the Calcutta meeting decided to send a memorial to the British Parliament, protesting against the measure and praying that the maximum age-limit for the I. C. S. examination be raised to twenty-two years as was recommended by Lord Northbrook, the then Governor-General of India, and other eminent authorities, and that the examination be simultaneously held in London and one or more centres in India. This is the beginning of that

demand for simultaneous I.C.S. examinations in India and England which continued throughout the nineteenth century.

Apart from the great importance of this question, the organizers of the meeting had other ulterior motives. The meeting was held ostensibly to protest against the age-limit of the I.C.S. examination, but as Surendra-nath puts it, “the underlying conception, and the true aim and purpose, of the Civil Service agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India”. 10 The meeting accordingly decided “to bring the various Indian provinces upon the same common platform (a thing that had never been attempted before), and to unite them through a sense of a common grievance and the inspiration of a common resolve”. 11 Thus an ill-conceived administrative measure led to the organization of what may be justly regarded as the first political movement on an allIndia basis.

The task of carrying out this higher purpose was entrusted to Surendra-nath, and he was appointed a Special Delegate to visit the different parts of India. Surendra-nath discharged this onerous duty with great ability and industry. He left Calcutta on May 26, 1877, and made a prolonged tour in Upper India, visiting Banaras, Allahabad, Kanpur, Lakhnau, Aligarh, Delhi, Agra, Meerut, Amritsar and Lahore. Next year he made a similar tour in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. At all these places he addressed crowded public meetings which endorsed the resolutions passed at the public meeting in Calcutta. But he did something more. At Allahabad, Kanpur, Lakhnau, Meerut and Lahore he organized new political associations to act in concert with the Indian Association of Calcutta. The existing political organizations in other places also agreed to make a common cause. The foundation for concerted political action was thus well and truly laid. 12

The propaganda tour of Surendra-nath Banerji from one end of India to the other constitutes a definite landmark in the history of India’s political progress. It clearly demonstrated that in spite of differences in language, creed, and social institutions, the peoples of this great sub-continent were bound by a common tie of ideals and interest, creating a sense of underlying unity which enabled them to combine for a common political objective. For the first time within living memory, or even historical tradition, there emerged the idea of India over and above the congeries of States and Provinces into which it was divided.

This inner meaning of the tour of Surendra-nath impressed even discerning Englishmen of those days. Henry Cotton, a member of the I. C. S., but sympathetic to the political aspirations of India, thus describes his own impression at the time:

“The educated classes are the voice and brain of the country. The Bengalee Babus now rule public opinion from Peshwar to Chittagong; and, although the natives of North-Western India are immeasurably behind those of

Bengal in education and in their sense of political independence, they are gradually becoming as amenable as their brethren of the lower provinces to intellectual control and guidance. A quarter of a century ago there was no trace of this: the idea of any Bengalee influence in the Punjab would have been a conception incredible to Lord Lawrence, to a Montgomery, or a Macleod, yet it is the case that during the past year the tour of a Bengalee lecturer, lecturing in English in Upper India, assumed the character of a triumphal progress; and at the present moment the name of Surendra Nath Banerjee excites as much enthusiasm among the rising generation of Multan as in Dacca". 13

To the Indian community the successful tour of Surendra-nath brought a new message of hope and inspiration. It demonstrated, among other things, that politics might be a subject of as absorbing interest as religion had hitherto been, that there was a far greater degree of sympathy and community of interest between the peoples of different provinces than was generally taken for granted, and that it was quite feasible to bring them together upon a common political platform in a common endeavour to improve the political condition of India. The stage was thus set for a political organization embracing the whole of India, which came into being in less than a decade. It was foreshadowed by the return visit of political leaders of Poona and the Punjab to Calcutta early in 1878.

The Indian Association found a new scope of activity in another reactionary measure of the Government. This was the Vernacular Press Act which was passed by Lord Lylton's Government. 14 Its object was to muzzle the newspapers in Indian languages which spread the message of nationality and the newly awakened sense of political consciousness. The venom of Government's wrath fell on Bengali papers, cuttings of which were sedulously collected to justify the new measure. It was generally believed at the time that the object of the Government was to stop the publication of the Amrita Bazar Patrika , an outspoken weekly edited by the famous Ghosh brothers, mentioned above. 16 The Vernacular Press Act was passed by the Supreme Council in one sitting on March 14, 1878. It was followed during the same year by other reactionary measures such as the Arms Act and the License Act.

The Indian Association held public meetings to protest against all these obnoxious measures and, in particular, carried on a vigorous agitation against the Vernacular Press Act which sought to cut at the very root of the nascent spirit of nationalism and political activity in India* As on the previous occasion of protest against the new I. C. S. regulation, a public meeting was held in Calcutta, intimations of which were sent to the other Provinces. This meeting, held in the Town Hall on 17 April, 1878, was attended by about five thousand men, and this was an indication of the growth in the political consciousness of the people. The British Indian Association held aloof, but all other shades of opinion were represented. Letters and telegrams supporting the object of the meeting were received from leaders and political associations all over India. Those who had discerning eyes could see in this meeting the transfer of the political leadership to the middle class intelligentsia from the old landed aristocracy and other vested interests.

The sequel of this meeting was of great political interest. A petition against the Vernacular Press Act was approved by the meeting and sent to the famous British statesman, Gladstone, who was then the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. Gladstone moved a Resolution in the House which was fully debated. Jt was bound to be lost, but the amazing thing was that out of 360 members present, 152 members voted in favour of it. 16 In other words, it was definitely accepted as a party question. The Indian Association might well congratulate itself on the success achieved. Once more the whole of political India was united in a common effort, and the Indian point of view was presented before the British Parliament in a manner which had no precedent. It may be added that the agitation carried on by the Indian Association was not altogether fruitless, for some sections of the Act were modified.

The success thus achieved led the Indian Association to a still greater adventure. It had been proposed by them to send a memorial to Parliament on the Civil Service question, and a draft of the memorial was approved by the various public meetings in different provinces of India addressed by Surendra-nath. It was now decided that instead of sending the memorial by post it should be carried by a delegate in person, who would be in a position to explain the grievances of India to the British public. The expenses of this costly undertaking were met by a public-spirited lady, Mah&rfipi Swamamoyee of Bengal, and Lal-mohan Ghosh was chosen as the delegate. Ghosh addressed a public meeting at Willis's Rooms, House of Com* mens, on 23 July, 1879, and his eloquent speech, followed by the sympathetic remarks of the Chairman, John Bright, created a profound impression upon the English audience. As Surendra-nath remarks: "The effect of that meeting was instantaneous. Within twenty-four hours of it, there were laid on the table of the House of Commons, the Rules creating what was subsequently known as the Statutory Civil Service". 17

The most interesting thing about the success of Lal-mohan Ghosh was the spirit in which it was received all over India. On his return to India he was accorded a public reception at Bombay. While welcoming him, the Chairman of the meeting observed that although Lal-mohan "went from Calcutta he no less represented other parts of India as well,—that he was returning not as a delegate, simply of Calcutta, but as a delegate of Western India as well". The whole audience cheered this remark with loud applause,-—a Small but significant act which showed how rapidly germinated those seeds of an allIndia political consciousness which Surendra-nath had sown in the course of his Indian tour.

Lal-mohan Ghosh fully justified his choice as a delegate and was highly imbued with patriotic fervour. He tersely, but correctly, expressed the ideals of the age when he said: "It is for us to transform the tiny brook of a feeble public opinion into the rushing torrent of a mighty national demonstration". Lal-mohan himself and many others, both in Bengal and in other Provinces of India, made valuable contribution to the realization of this ideal during the decade 1875-1885.

The two reactionary measures which gave incentive to the activities of the Indian Association thus proved a blessing in disguise, and helped the political progress of the country. The Indian Association also focussed India's attention upon other important questions of public character. On 27 March, 1879, it convened a public meeting at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to discuss the financial implications of the Afghan War and the reduction of import duties cm cotton goods by way of favouring Manchester against the indigenous industry. The meeting was attended by three thousand people, and, to quote the annual report of the Association, was the occasion of a great demonstration of national feeling; for, from all parts of India letters and telegrams had been received from associations and representative men, expressing deep sympathy with the objects of the meeting.[18]

The Indian Association was not merely concerned with details of administration. As early as 1680 it took up the question of representative government for India. The idea was not altogether new. It was floating in the air and was occasionally given expression to by eminent Indian leaders, as mentioned above.[19] But these ideas were not taken up seriously, nor systematically pursued, by any organized political body before the Indian Association took up the question. At its annual meeting on 15 May, 1880, a committee was appointed to draft a scheme. Its importance was stressed in the Annual Report of 1880-1 as follows: “Above all there is the question of Representative Government to which the Association must soon direct its unremitting attention. It is the question of the hour and the quesion of the future”.[20] .

The Indian Association rightly felt that the Representative Government must be broadbased on local self-government. An agitation was therefore carried on for election, in place of nomination, of the chairman and members of the Local Boards and Municipalities. The agitation followed the usual pattern. Circulars were sent from Calcutta to different localities explaining the necessity and importance of democratic method in the administration of local affairs; public meetings were held in various localities demanding election of members and chairmen; and lastly, there was a big meeting in Calcutta to demand the democratic constitution of the local bodies, with letters and telegrams from different Provinces of India supporting the demand and giving it an all-India character. Many oppressive measures of the Government, specific grievances of the cultivators and labourers in tea-gardens, and various other subjects of public interest engaged the attention of the Indian Association and became the subjects of popular agitation guided by it.

The efforts of the Indian Association to stimulate political consciousness of the people were aided by two notable events in 1883. The first was the great controversy over a legislative measure introduced by Mr. Ilbert, the Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, and hence popularly known as the Ilbert Bill. In those days the European British subjects enjoyed the privilege of trial by a judge of their own race; hence Indian Civilians, even though they might hold the rank of Magistrates or Sessions Judges, could not try any European criminal. The Ilbert Bill sought to withdraw this privilege in order to remove a galling and glaring instance of racial inequality. 21 Reference has been made above to a similar attempt on the part of the Government in 1849, and the howling agitation of the Anglo-Indians against what they called the "Black Acts", which eventually led to the withdrawal of the measures. 22 The same type of violent agitation, but far more intense and rowdy in character, was carried on in 1883 against the Ilbert Bill by the Englishmen in India. They organized a Defence Association with branches all over the country, and collected a lakh and a half of rupees to conduct a campaign of vilification against the Indians

Ail notions of decency were cast aside, and the abuses and filthy language uttered by the English speakers were most shocking. One Mr. Branson, Bar-at-Law, obtained unenviable .notoriety for his venomous attacks against the Indians. The Indian Association carried on a counter-agitation, and Lal-mohan Ghosh paid Branson back in his own coin. The Indian political associations of Bengal and Bombay fought hard for the Bill and a joint representation was made by them to the Viceroy. But nothing availed. The Government yielded to the violence of the Englishmen, and though the Bill was not withdrawn, it was changed beyond, recognition and served no useful purpose when passed into law. One sinister aspect of the Government attitude in this matter has been emphasized by Blunt. The Government, he said, "gave way before the clamour of an insignificant section of the public, abetted by the sworn enemies of all reform in India—the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy". In support of the accusation he mentions the following: "Dr. Sandwal (Sanyal?) gave me particulars about the pressure which had been put lately on native officials about it (Ilbert Bill). A friend of his, holding a minor post under Government, had received a demi-official letter from his English superior warning him that if he attended meetings in favour of the Bill he should suffer for it." 23

The Ilbert Bill agitation left behind it a rankling sensation of defeat, disgrace, and humiliation in the hearts of the Indians, and an increased degree of racial arrogance in the minds of the Englishmen. But every cloud has a silver lining. The Ilbert Bill greatly helped the cause of Indian political advance. The method which was so successfully pursued by the Englishmen to defeat it was not lost upon the Indians. They learnt the value of combination and organization in political struggle, and their eyes were opened to the ignoble status of the Indians in their own country. In spite of humiliation they learnt great lessons from the Anglo-Indians, and were not slow to profit by them. The Ilbert Bill agitation is thus another landmark in the history of India's political progress, and the following account given by Henry Cotton, a member of the I.C.S., may be taken as a fair and unbiassed review:

"The readers of Trevelyan's biography of Lord Macaulay will remember how the whole non-official world in India was banded together to resist what it conceived to be the monstrous injustice of Macaulay's 'Black Act', which authorised Indian Judges to\exercise Civil Jurisdiction over British-born subjects. But this crisis was as nothing in comparison with that which occurred in Lord Ripon's time when Sir Ashley Eden, shortly before his retirement, proposed an amendment in the Criminal Law to give Indian Magistrates jurisdiction to try European offenders. This is the measure known as the Ilbert Bill, because it was introduced into the Legislative Council by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, who was then Legal Member. A public meeting of protest by the European community was held at the Town Hall in Calcutta; members of the Bar abandoned the noble traditions of their profession, and speakers and audience, frenzied with excitement, were lost to all sense of moderation and propriety. The Viceroy was personally insulted at the gates of Government House. A gathering of tea-planters assembled and hooted him at a railway station as he was returning from Darjilling, when 'Bill' Beresford, then an A.D.C., was with difficulty restrained from leaping from the railway carriage into their midst to avenge the insult to his chief. The non-official European community almost to a man boycotted the entertainments at Government House. Matters had reached such a pitch that a conspiracy was formed by a number of men in Calcutta, who bound themselves in the event of Government adhering to the proposed legislation, to over-power the sentries at Government House, put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal Ghat, and deport him to England round the Cape. I heard this story at the time, and it would seem to be incredible, but the facts are understood to have been within the knowledge of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Commissioner of Police.

“It is with a feeling of shame that I am bound to add that the opposition to the Ilbert Bill was headed by members of my own Service, and that the practical unanimity of opposition to that measure was as complete among civilian Magistrates and Judges as it was among planters, merchants, and members of the legal profession. Lord Ripon was thus harassed and hampered in an inconceivable degree by the bigotry and race feeling of his own fellowcountrymen. He was paralysed from want of support, and neither he nor any man in his position, single-handed, could have overcome the dead wall of antagonism by which he was confronted. The result was a sort of compromise which, according to Sir John Strachey, no mean authority, was the virtual though not avowed abandonment of the measure proposed by the Government.

“That was the immediate result. The ultimate effect of the insane agitation was to give rise to a movement of the widest reaching character and scope which few at that time were able to foresee. It is one of the ironies of history that the very object which agitations are intended to serve or to suppress should so often be lost or gained by the counter irritation which agitation sets up in a community. The. great Indian movement, of which we now hear so much and are assuredly destined to hear much more, is due to causes

intended to produce a very different effect. The germ of a national organization on the basis of English education had long existed, but it only sprang to life in the eighties. The Anglo-Indian agitation against Lord Ripon’s government, the protests which asserted that The only people who have any right to India are the British’, the whole attitude of Englishmen in regard to Indian interests—these things have succeeded far more in advancing the cause of Indian unity than any action or legislation on the lines contemplated by that Viceroy could have accomplished, "The Ilbert Bill, if it had been allowed to pass without opposition, would have proved innocuous and comparatively ineffective in any direction, But the unreasonable clamour and rancour of its opponents and the unexpected success which attended their efforts suggested reprisals. Indignation found its voice; clamour was met by clamour; and a national agitation was carried on throughout the length and breadth of India. The very object was attained which, if the Anglo-Indian leaders had been wise in their generation, they would have spared no labour to prevent. The people of India were not slow to follow the example set to them by Englishmen; they learned their strength, the power of combination, the force of numbers; and there was quickly kindled in all the provinces a national movement which is destined to develop and increase until it receives its fulfilment in the systematic regeneration of the whole country." 24

Along with the above may be read with interest the following views expressed by A. C. Mazumdar, an eminent political leader:

"The Ilbert Bill agitation thus went a great way towards impressing the Indian races, that in the political world success did not depend so much upon men as on organized efforts and so paved the way to united and concerted action. It also proved an eye-opener to those talented and highly educated Indian gentlemen who, having returned from England and adopted English habits and manners, had lost nearly all touch with their countrymen and were apparently seeking to form a class by themselves in the vain hope of assimilating themselves, as far as practicable, with the Anglo-Indian community. Forces were thus at work driving the people from different points of the compass to a common fold and to concentrate their thoughts, ideas and activities to a common focus for the attainment of the political rights and privileges of the people who being under a common rule, it was understood, could have but a common goal and common destiny. All the time the Indian Press throughout the country was incessantly urging the people to unite under a common standard ". 26

Mr. Mazumdar notes, however, that "the agitation stirred up the public mind only in Bengal and Bombay. It produced little or no effect in Madras, while the N. W. Provinces and the Punjab were perfectly silent." 26 This is not an unfair index of the progress of political thought and organization in different parts of India.

The excitement caused by the agitation over the Ilbert Bill had hardly died down when a charge was brought against Surendra-nath Banerji for contempt of court on account of some comments he had made on the conduct of Mr. Justice Norris of the Calcutta High Court who ordered a Hindu to produce the image of his deity in the Court. Although Surendra-nath tendered apology, the majority of the Judges found him guilty, and sentenced him to imprisonment, but the only Indian Judge dissented from this view. The case had created great sensation from the very beginning, because Justice Norris had taken a prominent part in the Ilbert Bill agitation. A vast crowd attended the Court during the trial, and when the sentence of two months' imprisonment was pronounced, a section of the crowd, mostly composed of students, became excited and smashed the windows of the building. Indeed so menacing was the attitude of the crowd, who had begun to pelt stones at the police, that Surendranath had to be removed secretly by a back-door in a private carriage instead of the prison van. 27

The incarceration of Surendra-nath, like the deplorable AngloIndian agitation over the Ilbert Bill, was not an unmixed evil, and furthered the cause of India's political advance. It evoked a spontaneous protest from all sections of people in Bengal which was unprecedented in character. All business was suspended, shops were closed, and a strong wave of indignation swept the whole of Bengal and even regions far outside its boundary. Numerous protest meetings were held in different towns in Bengal, and sometimes the attendance was so large that they had to be held in the open air. The meeting organized by the Indian Association was held in the Beadon Square on 16 May, 1883. "It was the largest meeting ever held ih Calcutta. There were about twenty thousand people present representing different sections of the community; numerous telegrams and letters as well as the presence of delegates specially sent from the Muffassil on the occasion testified to the all-pervading sympathy and interest of the country". Not only the educated classes but even the masses were affected. No such upheaval was witnessed in Bengal before the days of Swadeshi agitation in 1905. 28

Far more significant was the fact that the imprisonment of Surendra-nath evoked sympathy and protest in remote parts of India, and public meetings were held in Agra, Fyzabad, Amritsar, Lahore,

Poona and various other towns all over India. Even a Pandit of Kashmir, ignorant of English, burst into tears, crying, “What have they done with our dearest brother? Our Surendranath is in jail.” 29 All these testify to the extent to which the bonds of fellowship and good feeling between the different parts of India had been forged during the eighties of the nineteenth century. The following observations by Ananda-mohan Basu in the Annual Report of the Indian Association for 1883 are highly significant:

“That ‘good cometh out of evil’ was never more fully illustrated than in this notable event. It has now been demonstrated, by the universal outburst of grief and indignation which the event called forth, that the people of the different Indian provinces have learnt to feel for one another; and that a common bond of unity and fellow-feeling is rapidly being established among them. And Babu Surendranath Banerjea has at least one consolation, that his misfortune awakened, in a most marked form, a manifestation of that sense of unity among the different Indian races, for the accomplishment of which he has so earnestly striven and not in vain.” 30

The incarceration of Surendra-nath produced another good result. Babu Tara-pada Banerji of Krishnagar (Nadia Dt., Bengal) started the idea of a National Fund as a memento of the imprisonment of Surendra-nath. 30a He was released from jail on 4 July, 1883. On 17 July, a public meeting was held which was attended by over ten thousand people. It was resolved to raise a National Fund to secure the political advancement of the country by means of constitutional agitation in India and England. A sum of about Rs. 20,000 was collected and it was made over to the Indian Association, Calcutta, for the promotion of political work. 31

The agitation over the Ilbert Bill and the imprisonment of Surendra-nath had one particular feature of great importance. This was the part played by the student community in matters of public importance which agitated the country. They took a prominent part in the organization of public meetings, and openly gave vent to their feelings of resentment against the Government. Many students became victims of official repression, and many cases of harsh treatment, sometimes unduly severe, were reported in the newspapers of the time. The Government showed as much nervousness about the student agitators in 1883 as they did in the twentieth century.

The memorable events of 1883 brought into the forefront the question of a political organization of all-India character. 32 In spite of its remarkable achievements, the Indian Association was, after all, a provincial organization, and many felt the need of a closely knit organization embracing the whole of India. Hie feelings evoked by the Ilfoerfc Bill agitation and the imprisonment of Surendranath seemed to.be very favourable for such an attempt, and fortunately the necessary opportunity was provided by the proposal of the Government to hold an International Exhibition in Calcutta in 1883. The Indian Association naturally expected that a large number of eminent Indians would visit Calcutta on the occasion, and resolved to take advantage of it to inaugurate an all-India National Conference at 'hat time. The idea was fully approved by all the branches of the Association in North India as well as by the leading political organizations of Bombay and Madras. Backed by this support of the country as a whole the Indian Association called the First National Conference in Calcutta to be held on 28, 29 and 30. December, 1883.

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This National Conference is an important landmark in the history of the evolution of political organization, as it was the first all-India political conference which offered a model to the Indian National Congress, inaugurated two years later. Unfortunately, it was cast into shade by the growth and phenomenal progress of the latter organization, and has not been accorded the place it deserves in Indian history. As such, it requires a more detailed treatment than its brief tenure of existence would warrant.

The genesis of the Conference is thus described by Surendranath. “The idea of a National Conference is as old as the year 1877. It originated on the occasion of the Delhi assemblage, when the princes and the rulers of the land met for the purpose of a great show, and it suggested itself to the minds of many that the representatives of the people might also meet, if not for the purpose of a show, at least for the consideration and discussion of questions of national importance. That idea, however, was not realised until 1883". 33

"The objects of the National Conference were not sectional nor regional but truly national", "We have met", continued Surendranath, "to talk, to deliberate, to consult, and if possible, to arrive at a common programme of political action. Too often our energies are frittered away in isolated and individual efforts. One Association, for instance, might be agitating for the Reform of the Civil Service, a second for the Reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, a third for Retrenchment of Expenditure. Our idea is to bring the national forces, so to speak, into a focus; and if possible to concentrate them upon some common object calculated to advance the public good. Such I conceive to be the prevailing idea of the Conference". 34

The Conference, which met in the Albert Hall on 28 December, 1883, was attended by more than a hundred delegates, both Hindu and Muslim, and the places they represented, outside Bengal, included Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Allahabad, Delhi, Cuttack, Jubbulpore, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Bankipore, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Deoghar, Saugor, Bhagalpur, Meerut, Tejpur, Hossainpore etc.

The proceedings began with a national hymn. The questions that were taken up for discussion included industrial and technical education, the wider employment of Indians in Civil Service, separation of the judicial from the executive functions, Representative Government, National Fund and Arms Act.

The Conference was attended by two Englishmen, one of whom, W. S. Blunt, has recorded his impressions in the following words:

'Then at twelve, I went to the first meeting of the National Conference, a really important occasion, as there were delegates from most of the great towns, and, as Bose (Ananda Mohan) in his opening speech remarked, it was the first stage towards a National Parliament." 35

The second session of the National Conference was held in Calcutta in ,1885 on December 25, 26 and 27. It was more representative than the first, being joined by the British Indian Association, representing the landed aristocracy, which had kept aloof from the first session. As a matter of fact, the Conference was convened by the three leading Associations of Calcutta, viz., the British Indian, the Indian, and the Central Muhammadan Association. More than thirty political Associations, mostly of Northern India, sent their representatives to the Conference. “Mr. Cotton took part in the proceedings of the conference and assured the delegates that many of his countrymen in England sympathised with the natives of this country and their desire for more enlarged representation in the Legislative Assemblies of the Empire, but counselled moderation”. 338

Surendra-nath moved the first resolution on the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils in such a way that popular opinion might be reflected in it. Among other subjects which were discussed may be mentioned the Arms Act, the Civil Service question, the separation of the judicial and executive functions, and the retrenchment of expenditure, mainly under three heads, viz., annual military expenditure, the ‘home charges’, and the enormous cost of civil administration. In short, almost all the questions that formed the chief planks in the Congress platform during the first twenty years of its existence were discussed in the two sessions of the National Conference.

The Indian Association wanted to give a permanent character to the Conference. Accordingly, Surendra-nath moved That a Conference of delegates from different parts of the country should be held next year.’ The delegates from Allahabad and Meerut lent their support to the resolution. The latter suggested that the venue of the Conference should be changed every year and it should meet in places like Bombay, Madras, Allahabad and other great capitals of India. This resolution was carried with acclamation.

At the conclusion of the proceedings of the National Conference, a telegram to the following effect was sent to the political conference about to be held at Bombay: “The delegates in conference assembled in Calcutta desire to express their deep sympathy with the approaching Conference in Bombay.” 30

This Conference was the Indian National Congress, which held its first session at Bombay on 28 December, 1885. A deep mystery hangs round the almost simultaneous holding of these two all-India national organizations. The following extract from Surendra-nathfs autobiography throws some light on the subject.

“While we were having our National Conference in Calcutta, the Indian National Congress, conceived on the same lines and having the same programme, was holding its first sittings at Bombay. The movements were simultaneous; the preliminary arrangements were made independently, neither party knowing what the other was doing until on the eve of the sittings of the Conference and of the Congress. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, who presided over the Bombay Congress, invited me to attend it. I told him that it was too late to suspend the Conference, and that as I had a large share in its organization it would not be possible for me to leave Calcutta and attend the Bombay Congress.” 37

It must be regarded as passing strange that even a person like Surendra-nath should not have been one of the sponsors of the new political organization. But that he should not have even been invited to attend it, till at the very last moment, seems to be so extraordinary that one cannot help feeling that there was some underlying motive in thus deliberately excluding him.

Perhaps no less mysterious is the silent self-effacement of the National Conference in favour of the Indian National Congress. On this important point Surendra-nath simply observes as follows:

“The two Conferences met about the same time, discussed similar views and voiced the same grievances and aspirations. The one that met in Calcutta was called the ‘National Conference’ and the other, which assembled at Bombay, the ‘Indian National Congress.’

Henceforth those who worked with us joined the Congress and heartily co-operated with it.” 38

This passage contains all the reliable information that is available on the subject, but does not help in any way to solve the mystery referred to above. It merely states the fact, but does not give any satisfactory explanation. Nor does it throw any light on the stages or process of the amalgamation of the two organizations. 383

The end of the National Conference was sudden and abrupt, but by no means inglorious. This Conference was the crowning achievement of the Indian Association and marks the culmination of the political evolution in Bengal for more than half a century. It gave the first impetus and supplied the pattern for that dynamic all-India national movement which took a permanent form in the Indian National Congress.

II. BOMBAY AND MADRAS

Next to Bengal, the evolution of political ideas and organizations was more marked in Bombay than in any other part of India. This was due in no small measure to the able leadership of the so-called triumvirate, namely, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta and Badruddin Tyabjee. Another eminent leader was Mahadev Govind Ranade, but he was associated with social and economic, rather than political, problems.

The general trend of political ideas in Bombay during the seventies may be gathered from the speeches and activities of Pherozeshah Mehta. Like Dadabhai Naoroji, Mehta had a sincere faith in the sense of justice and fair play of the British and completely relied on them for the political salvation of India. “When in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence”, said he, “India was assigned to the care of England, she decided that India was to be governed on the principles of justice, equality and righteousness without distinctions of colour, caste or creed”. 39

Even the European agitation over the Ilbert Bill and its withdrawal by the Government of India did not modify the views of Mehta. On the other hand, he was a severe critic of the autocratic measures of Lord Lytton who, in his opinion, substituted a “narrowminded policy of autocratic imperialism” in place of the traditional British policy of “initiating oriental nations into systematic political life and existence”. He even went to the extent of opposing the proposal of giving a public address and erecting a memorial to Sir Richard Temple, the retiring Governor of Bombay. 40 When, on account of the menace of Russian invasion, the Government decided to form a Volunteer Corps exclusively from the European popula tion, Mehta entered a strong and emphatic protest. * 1 He had faith in the capacity of the Indians to manage representative institutions, and also believed that “the time was past when strong popular opinion on any subject could be successfully resisted by Government for any length of time.”

As already noted above, next to Bengal Bombay was seriously perturbed by the Xlbert Bill agitation. It was mainly as a result of this that the Bombay Presidency Association came into being. The oldest political association in Bombay, the Bombay Association, founded in 1852, 42 had lost its vitality within a decade and, though “revived in 1870 and galvanised into fresh life by Mr. Naoroji Furdunji in 1873, it shortly became practically extinct/' 43 This was partly due to the fact that a Branch of the East India Association of London was established in Bombay in 1871 and carried on useful work in developing political ideas. But its useful career came to an end along with that of the parent body in London, to which reference will be made later. 43a

After making vain efforts to put fresh life into these two political organizations, Mehta, Tyabji and Telang conceived the idea of starting a new political association in Bombay. For this purpose they convened a public meeting on 31 January, 1885, which was attended by a large number of persons representing all classes and shades of opinion. The Bombay Presidency Association, which was inaugurated in this meeting, amid great public enthusiasm, “showed considerable activity in the early years of its existence. By resolutions, memorials, and public meetings it focussed the general feeling of the community on all matters of common interest". Unfortunately, the public interest gradually waned and the whole show was run by the illustrious triumvirate. 44 While there is a great deal of truth in these remarks, it is only fair to remember that after the foundation of the Indian National Congress in December, 1885, the main political activities of India flowed through that great channel, leaving the other fields high and dry.

A passing reference should be made to a new venture undertaken by the Bombay Presidency Association. They took advantage of the forthcoming General Election in England to make some propaganda in that country on behalf of India. Having received good response to their appeal for co-operation from the other two Presidencies, and acting jointly with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, three delegates representing the three Presidencies were sent to England. They were to support those English candidates for Parliament who had made the cause of India their own, by speeches and distributing leaflets which were calculated to make the British people acquainted with the true condition of India and the hopes and aspirations of her people. How far the delegates , succeeded in educating the British electorate, it is difficult to say, but to judge by the result, it must have been very little indeed. In any case, the candidates supported by them were not returned to the Parliament, while those who were condemned as anti-Indian were mostly successful in the election. It is necessary to remember, however, that the electors were influenced more by the vital issues of the party politics at home than by any Indian policy. 45

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Reference has been made above to the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. It was established in 1867 and issued a Quarterly Journal since 1878. Its object, to use its own words, was ‘to represent the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan, being appointed on a popular elective system'. The members of the Sabha consisted of the “Sardars, Jahagirdars, Inamdars, Sawakars and the Gentry, who... represent the people of Maharashtra.” In reply to an Address, in 1884, to the Raja of Kolhapur, from which the above is quoted, the Dewan said that the Sabha “has become... the recognized political organ of the people of Maharashtra”, noted for “assiduous and prompt application to the various important public questions.” This is fully borne out by the contents of the Journal. The Dewan also referred to the “useful services rendered by the Sabha to our country, by its indefatigable exertions in representing to the paramount British power, in a spirit of sober independence and profound loyalty, the wants and aspirations of the people.” 46 This is hardly an exaggerated account. A more detailed account of the Sarvajanik Sabha is given in the Appendix.

Another important political association of the time was the ‘Mahajan Sabha' of Madras, founded on 16 May, 1884. A fair idea of its views and activities may be formed from the proceedings of the Conference which was summoned by it and met for four days, 29 and 30 December, 1884, and 1 and 2 January, 1885. A paper was read recommending the expansion of the Legislative Council to the furthest limit allowed by the Act of 1861, the non-official members being appointed on a representative basis. It was decided to send a memorial on this line to the Government. Another topic discussed was the separation of the judicial from revenue functions.

In addition to the political associations mentioned above, there were many other political organizations in different parts of India, which may be regarded as feeder institutions and were mostly of local importance.

III. POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN ENGLAND

The agitation for the introduction of reforms in Indian administration was not confined to India or to the Indians. From very early times the work in India was supplemented by work in England, both by the Indians and Englishmen. The first Indian to realise the importance of such work was Raja Rammohan Roy. The memorandum which he submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on Indian affairs was the first authentic statement of Indian views placed before the British authorities by an eminent Indian. It is generally agreed that this and other activities of the Raja during his visit to England (1830-33) produced some good effect and influenced the Charter Act of 1833. 47

Dwaraka-nath Tagore, the grandfather of poet Rabindra-n&th, was the next prominent Indian political leader to visit England. The honour and cordiality with which he was received in Britain offers a striking and refreshing contrast to the general attitude of the British towards the Indians in later times. During his first visit to Britain in 1842, he was given a public reception by the notabilities of England, and even Her Majesty Queen Victoria invited him to lunch and dinner. Special importance attaches to a function At Edinburgh where a public address was given to Dwaraka-nath Tagore in which a hope was expressed that in India “the rod of oppression may be for ever broken and that the yoke of an unwilling subjection may be everywhere exchanged for a voluntary allegiance/’ 48

Both Rammohan, and Dwaraka-nath felt the need of carrying on propaganda in England on behalf of India, and made permanent arrangements for this work, as mentioned above. 49 This was further facilitated by the fact that throughout the nineteenth century a band of noble-minded Englishmen, inspired by the liberal and democratic views of their country, felt real sympathy for India and exerted themselves on her behalf. Of the many Englishmen of this type special reference should be made to Fawcett, John Bright, Charles Bradlaugh, and Digby who were public men in England, and Allan Octavian Hume, "William Wedderburn, and Henry. Cotton, who were members of the Indian Civil Service.

Henry Fawcett has justly been described as “one of the greatest and truest friends of India in England”. He entered the House of Commons in 1865. His close vigilance and unremitting attention to the Indian finance earned for him the sobriquet of “Member for India” He openly and repeatedly advocated the appointment of able Indians in increasing number to the higher branches of administration in their own country, and, in 1868, moved a resolution in the House of Commons for holding the competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service, not only in London, but also simultaneously in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

Fawcett deplored the lack of interest in Indian affairs even among the members of the House of Commons. Addressing his constituency at Brighton in 1872, he said: “The most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament, a wrangle over the purchase of a picture, excited more interest than the welfare of one hundred and eighty millions of our Indian fellow-subjects. The people of India have no votes, they cannot bring even so much pressure to bear upon Parliament as can be brought by one of our Railway Companies; but with some confidence I believe that I shall not be misinterpreting your wishes if, as your representative, I do whatever can be done by one humble individual to render justice to the defenceless and powerless.” 60

Nearly three-fourths of the army that took part in the Abyssinian expedition of 1868 were drawn from India and the entire cost was thrown upon the Indian exchequer. Fawcett protested against this in the House of Commons, but found himself in the minority of 23 to 198, though later, on account of his repeated protests, the cost was shared between England and India. 61 Fawcett also protested against the cost of the Ball Dance given to the Sultan of Turkey at the India Office being charged to India.

Fawcett was never tired of drawing attention to the dire poverty of India and the dangerously narrow margin upon which the mass of the Indian population lived on the verge of starvation. It was at his instance that in 1871 the British Parliament appointed a committee, with Fawcett himself as Chairman, to inquiro into the financial administration of India. Fawcett was also unsparing in his criticism of the autocratic regime of Lord Lytton. He attacked the policy leading to war with Afghanistan, and vigorously denounced the remission of cotton import duties for the sake of party interest in England, as well as the extravagant expenditure incurred for the Delhi Durbar, particularly at a time when India was in the grip of a terrible famine.

India fully appreciated the services of Fawcett who had been fighting, almost single-handed, her cause against tremendous odds against his own countrymen. He was so loved and admired by the Indians that when, at the General Election of 1874, he lost his seat for Brighton, a sum of £ 750 was raised by public subscription in India to enable him to contest another seat. The pious wishes of India were fulfilled, for Fawcett was shortly after returned to the House of Commons from Hackney.

There is no evidence to show that the sympathy and activities of Fawcett and other British friends of India, to whom reference has been made elsewhere, really exercised any appreciable influence on British policy towards India. But it had a great effect upon Indian politics. Throughout the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century their examples kept up the faith of the largest and most influential section of Indian political leaders in the sense of justice and fair play of the British, and sustained their hope that the Indians would attain their political goal with the help and co-operation of the British.

One of the oldest and most well-known representatives of this class of Indian politicians was Dadabhai Naoroji to whom reference has already been made above. He was also one of the small band of Indians who made England their centre of activity for the political advancement of India by awakening the consciousness of the British people to their sense of duty towards India, and appealing to their democratic instincts and liberal principles. In order to carry on this work in a regular and systematic manner Dadabhai, in collaboration with W.C. Bonnerjee, started a society in London, in order to enable the Indians and Englishmen to meet together and discuss various matters concerning Indian administration. It was called 'The London Indian Society' and its inaugural meeting was held at the London residence of Jnanendra-mohan Tagore in 1865. Dadabhai was the President of the Society and Bonnerjee, the Secretary. 52 This Society was amalgamated within a year with another Society known as the 'East India Association*, which was inaugurated on 1 December, 1866. in collaboration with a Committee of retired English officials. This Society became very popular and counted among its members, natrons and sympathisers a large number of Englishmen who had distinguished themselves in various walks of life, as well as retired high officials from India, resident in England, who felt sympathy for Indian aspirations. Its meetings were usually well attended, and various grievances of India were discussed and remedial measures of various kinds proposed therein. It soon became recognized as an important political association and branches of it were established in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras in 1869. By the year 1871 the number of members of the East India Association ran into four figures and it began to exercise some influence even in the British Parliament. It continued its useful career till 1884 and then gradually sank in importance, due mainly, no doubt, to a change in the attitude of the Englishmen towards India. The shadow of Jingo Imperialism was slowly creeping over Indo-British relations. The East India Association continued —it continues even today—but it

lacked the old sympathy for India and consequently lost its old vigorous activity, beneficial to India. 63

Another association, with a view to carrying on both social and political work for India in London, was founded in 1867 by Mary Carpenter, the famous biographer of Raja Rammohan Roy, who visited India four times during the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. The "National Indian Association", as it was called, had its branches in different parts of India. It did not, however, acquire much importance. 64

Reference may be made to a few Indians who distinguished themselves by propagating Indian views during short residence in England. Anandamohan Bose, a young student of Cambridge, established 'Indian Society' in London in 1872 in order to foster the spirit of nationalism among the Indian residents in Britian. About his speech at Brighton in 1873 Mr. White, M.P., remarked that never in his life had he listened to a more eloquent description of the wrongs of India. Bose's speech was mainly instrumental in carrying by 74 votes against 26 a motion in the Cambridge University Union, "that in the opinion of this House England has failed in her duties to India", moved by Syed Mahmud. 56

APPENDIX

SARVAJANIK SABHA—POONA

Started originally as Poona Association in 1867 (on the lines of Bombay Association started in 1852 in Bombay), the Sarvajanik Sabha got its name three years later, and its main object was to serve as a bridge between the Government on the one hand and the people on the other. Just as it was necessary for the Government to know the reactions of the public for whom it was in fact administering, so also the public in their turn had to be told what Government was aiming at in enacting certain legislations.

Curiously enough, almost the first public work that the Sabha had to do, was to bring about suitable changes in the management of the famous Parvatl Temple of Poona. Originally it was patronised by most of the Southern Maratha "Princes" who had their "palaces" (—Wadas) in Poona. They even held leading offices of the Sabha as chairman, vice-chairman and secretary. This princely aspect of the Sabha did not endure long; by 1897, the Government of Bombay withdrew the recognition they had previously granted to the Sabha as a public body, and one by one, all the princely figures as well as Government officials cut off their connection with it.

It is not clear whether M. G. Ranade had any official connection with the Sabha, as his name is not found among the members, founders, or patrons. But this much is clear that he was the strong man behind the screen, pulling wires in this or that direction for making people institution-minded, giving them, as it were, practical lessons in running bodies engaged in public service. His close association with G.K.Gokhale, who was the Sabha's Secretary (1891-96), and with many others, indicates that though Ranade's connections with the Sabha were not direct, the indirect influence which he wielded was very strong. This was evident when, after the 'extremists' under B. G. Tilak had captured the committee of management, the defeated group, again under the guiding influence of Ranade, started what came to be known as the Deccan Sabha in 1896.

It will be difficult to adequately appreciate the achievements of the Sarvajanik Sabha at this distance of time. In the early stages of awakening the people, rousing them to the political consciousness of their rights, and inculcating in their minds the necessity of fighting constitutionally for them, the Sabha's work must be considered highly important as the Government of the day was prompted to withdraw recognition from it. Similar fate was not the lot of other contemporary organizations, working in Bombay or Calcutta. Its greatest contribution was the awakening of the people and the direct help it rendered during the great famine of 1876-77. It can be said that the Sabha was mainly responsible for the relief operations started by the Government and concessions that were secured for the peasants and victims of the catastrophe.

Expression of representative views on important public topics was regularly undertaken by the Sabha through memorials submitted to Government and through its quarterly journal that was well-informed and conducted in a dignified manner. Authoritative studies on agricultural and financial problems of the day always appeared in the pages of this quarterly journal, and although Government had withdrawn its recognition of the Sabha, it could not ignore its activities. The expositions in its journal were appreciated even in high official circles, being the contributions of the best brains outside the official world.

Able political leaders like Ranade, Gokhale and Tilak had made the Sarvajanik Sabha what it was, and it undoubtedly was the training school for many politicians and agitators of the day. But by the time Tilak returned from Mandalay in 1914, it was evident that the Sabh£ had outlived its utility. It exists today, more as a relic of the past than as a living institution.

1. A Nation in Making^ 67. "

2. Bengal Celebrities, 41.

S. Quoted in the Tree Lance, Puja Number, 1957; H.P. Ghosh, p. S3.

4. Bagal-V, p. 8.

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14.

Ibid, 10.

A Nation in Making, 41 Ibid, 42.

Bagai-V, p. 15.

A Nation in Making, 42. Ibid, 44.

22 .

23.

24.

27.

28.

29,

30.

Ibid.

Ibid, 44-51.

Cotton-I, p. 28.

See p. 247.

15. See pp. 244-5.

16. R&gai-V, pp. 34-9.

17. A Nation in Making, 54; cf. Vol. IX, pp. 787-9.

18. Bagal-V, p. 41; cf. Vol. IX, pp. 801 flf., 161 ff.

19. See p. 49®.

20. Bagal-V, p. 48.

21. cf. Vol. IX, p. 346.

Ibid.

W.8. Bhrnt-X, pp. 100, 273.

Cotton-II, pp. 178-81.

25. Indian National Evolution, 39.

28. Ibid, 38.

A Nation in Making, 76; Bagal-V, p. TO.

A Nation in Making, 79.

Ibid, 80.

Ibid, 80-1.

30a. Ibid, 81. J.C. Bagal, however, points out that the idea was first mooted by the Brahma Public Opinion, which, in its issue of 21st June, 1883, proposed editorially that such a fund for national purposes should be opened. On the lines of this proposal Tarapada Banerji, the leader of Krishnagar, formulated a scheme on the subject and got it published on 4 July, 1883, in the Indian Mirror (Bagal-V, p. 61).

A Nation in Making, 85; Bagal-V, pp. 61-3.

It is urged by some that it was Tarapada Banerji, mentioned above in f.n., 30a, who suggested the creation of a national assembly and a national fund in a letter published in the Indian Mirror of June 4, 1883 (Congress in Evolution by D. Chakrab&rty and C. Bhattacharyya, p. xvii). cf. fn. 30a.

Bagal-V, pp. 80-1.

Ibid, 81.

Blunt-I, pp. 114, 116.

35a. The details are given in the Hindoo Patriot, December 28, 1885, from which this extract is quoted.

36. Bagal-V, pp. 80-8,

37. A Nation in Making, 98.

38. Ibid, 99.

38a. These questions have been fully discussed in the Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, by R. C. Majumdar, pp. 97-100.

Mody, Ferozesnah Mehta, I, 130-1.

Ibid, 108-9,

Ibid, 92.

See p. 459.

A. C. Mazumdar, p. 6.

43a. See pp. 520-1.

44. Mody, 16M.

Ibid, 1® B. ™

Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, 1885.

See p. 438.

Mifcra, X.C., Memoirs of Dwarkanath Tagore, pp. 88 ff.

See p. 447.

_ A. C. Mazumdar. pp. 13-4.

51. W. Hunt and R. L Poole (Ed.), Political History of England, Vol. XU, pp. 309-10.

52. Bengal Celebrities, p. 41.

53. Masani, Dadabhai, p. 224 .

54. Modem Review, December, 1948, p. 463.

55. H.C. Sarkar, Anandmokm Bose, p. 85.

56. I am indebted for this note to Shri S. R. Tikekar of Bombay (Xd.).

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CHAPTER XV (LIII.)

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

I. THE GENESIS

A new era in the political life of India began with the foundation of the Indian National Congress towards the very end of the year 1885. For more than twenty years after that it completely dominated the political life of India and gave a shape and form to the ideas of administrative and constitutional reforms which formed the chief planks in the political programme of India. Even though the Congress ceased to play the dominant role in Indian politics after the split at Surat in 1907, it served the very useful purpose of keeping alive an all-India political platform which enabled Gandhi to revitalise this great organization and make it a lit instrument for leading India, stage by stage, to its goal of independence.

It is difficult to think of any age or country in which a single political institution played such a dominant role for more than fifty years in the liberation of a country from foreign yoke. It is not, however, historically accurate to say, as many do, that the history of the Freedom Movement in India is nothing but the history of the Indian National Congress; for, as will be shown later, there were other forces and agencies at work to achieve the same end. Nevertheless, the Congress must always form the central theme in any delineation of India's long struggle for freedom—the pivot round which revolves or evolves that story of epic grandeur.

The Indian National Congress was the result, rather the culmination. of the evolution of those political ideas and organisations which have been described in detail in the three preceding chapters. There as nothing like the sudden emergence of a political institution, nor was there anything novel either in its ideas or methods, for the National Conference held in Calcutta in 1883 and 1885 forestalled it in all essential aspects.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the reactionary measures of Lord Lytton and the Anglo-Indian agitation over the Ilbert Bill hastened the process which ultimately led to the foundation of the Congress. There is equally little doubt that the Congress was the direct result and a visible embodiment of the national awakening which has been described in Chapter XIII, and owed not a little to the English education and all the liberal political ideas of the West

which came along with it. It will also be perhaps generally agreed that the inauguration of the Indian National Congress was facilitated, and to a large extent inspired, by the various political associations that existed in different parts of the country, and the all-India tours of Surendra-nath Banerji, to both of which reference has been made above.

It is not, however, an easy task to trace the genesis of the Indian National Congress as a distinct institution. The problem has been stated as follows by Pattabhi Sitaramayya in his History of the Indian National Congress , published by the Working Committee of the Congress:

“It is shrouded in mystery as to who originated this idea of an All-India Congress. Apart from the great Darbar of 1877 or the International Exhibition in Calcutta, which, as stated above, are supposed to have furnished the model fGr the great national assemblage, it is also said that the idea was conceived in a private meeting of seventeen men after the Theosophical Convention held at Madras in December, 1884. 2 The Indian Union started by Mr. Hume after his retirement from the Civil Service is also supposed to have been instrumental in convening the Congress. Whatever the origin, and whoever the originator of the idea, we come to this conclusion, that the idea was in the air, that the need of such an organisation was being felt, that Mr. Allan Octavian Hume took the initiative, and that it was in March 1885, when the first notice was issued convening the first Indian National Union to meet at Poona in the following December, that what had been a vague idea floating generally in the air and influencing simultaneously the thought of thoughtful Indians in the north and the south, the east and the west, assumed a definite shape and became a practical programme of attion.” 1

As pointed out above, the Delhi Durbar of 1877 suggested to Surendra-nath Banerji the idea, not of the Indian National Congress, but of the National Conference which was held in Calcutta on 28 December, 1883. [2] He chose this date in order to take advantage of the presence of the people from different parts of India on the occasion of the Exhibition, to be held in Calcutta about that time. The third source of Sitaramayya is also more than doubtful. The theory that seventeen Indians, most of whom attended the Theosophical Convention at Madras, conceived the idea of the Congress, is found in Mrs. Besant's book How India wrought for Freedom . [3] Besides her statement there is no evidence to connect the meeting of these seventeen men with the organization of the Congress. But there are glaring inaccuracies in the statement. Mrs. Besant includes Surendra-nath Banerji among these seventeen. [4] But Surendra-nath himself says that "while we were organizing our National Conference at Calcutta, some of our friends headed by the late Mr. Allan Hume had met at Madras for a similar purpose." [6] There seems to be a double contradiction between the statements of Surendra-nath and Mrs. Besant. In the first place, Surendra-nath was evidently not present in the meeting at Madras though Mrs. Besant includes his name. This is not only implied in the statement of Surendra-nath just quoted, but also follows from another statement of his, almost immediately preceding it, viz., that he did not know anything about the Conference (later called Indian National Congress) "until on the eve of the sittings of the Conference (National Conference held in Calcutta) and of the Congress". Secondly, Hume, whom Surendra-nath places at the head of the list of those who attended the meeting, and who is universally regarded as the founder of the Congress, was not one of the seventeen "good men and true" named by Mrs. Besant. In view of this flat contradiction on a vital point, it is difficult to place much reliance on the somewhat vague statement, unsupported by any positive evidence, that the idea of the Indian National Congress was conceived by seventeen men, nearly all of whom were delegates to the annual Convention of the Thesophical Society held in December, 1884, at Adyar, Madras. It is, however, probable that a small body, including some delegates, met together and discussed the idea of a political organization/® But it is difficult to believe, as stated by Mrs, Besant, that this body set up a number of "provisional Committes" who would work in different parts of India and meet later for/consultation. Mrs.

Besant herself admits that “there seems to be no record of the work done in their own towns and provinces on their return home.” 6 * Yet she seems to convey, at least indirectly, that It was through their initiative that a circular was issued in March, summoning the Congress, 6 * as will be related later. But Wedderbum, the biographer of Hume, who gives a detailed account of the preliminary steps taken by Hume in connection with the first session of the Congress, makes no reference to the meeting at Madras or the committees set up by it. It is also worthy of note that the majority of the seventeen persons who, according,to Mrs. Besant, took the initiative, did not attend the first session of the Congress. In view of all this, we cannot accept the view of Mrs. Besant.

Thus of the three possible sources, referred to by Sitaramayya, the first two are definitely wrong and the third has nothing to commend itself. In view of this it is not a little curious that Sitaramayya did not refer to the National Conference in Calcutta as even a possible source of the idea of the Congress. He certainly knew of this Conference and refers to it only a few lines above his discussion of the possible sources of the Congress, quoted above. Yet the idea does not seem to have occurred to him that this Conference could most reasonably be looked upon as furnishing the idea of an All-India political organization such as the Congress was intended to be. This is quite clear from his conclusion, namely, “that the idea was in the air, that the need of such an organisation was being felt, that Hume took the initiative.” It is difficult to accept this conclusion. The idea was not merely in the air, as he says, but took a definite shape in the National Conference of Calcutta. As Surendranath rightly points out, ‘the Indian National Congress was conceived on the same lines and had the same programme as the National Conference’. 6 Another President of the Indian National Congress more definitely states that the Calcutta National Conference “anticipated the Congress by two years and in a large measure prepared the ground for the great National Assembly”. 7 The authors of the Rise and Growth of the Congress observe with reference to the Indian Association of Calcutta which sponsored the National Conference: “It has to be remembered that the idea of holding an All-India Conference with representatives from every province was its own invention.” 8 It is relevant to note in this connection that the organizers of the Indian National Congress knew about the National Conference of Calcutta, for Surendra-nath tells us that *K. T. Telang wrote to him from Bombay requesting him to send him some notes about the First National Conference held in 1883*. The old Dadabhai Naoroji was also credited with the foundation of the Indian National Congress, and the question was referred to the old Dinskaw Wacha. He repudiated the Idea and said: “The idea of the Indian National Congress originated with Hume, and not with Dadabhai Naoroji. The idea of a National Assembly with a National Fund came from the public men of Calcutta.”® Taking all these things into consideration it is a reasonable assumption that the idea and model of the Indian National Congress, as a specific institution of All-India politics, are to be traced to the Calcutta National Conference.

But whatever may be the genesis, the credit of organizing the Indian National Congress undoubtedly belongs to a large extent to Allan Octavian Hume, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and son of the founder of the Radical Party in England. There is no doubt that he was inspired by genuine feeling of sympathy for the interest and welfare of India, and it by no means detracts from the merit of this noble-minded Englishman that in setting up a political organization like the Congress, he could not possibly be, and was crtainly not, inspired by the same national sentiment and patriotic yearning for freedom of India which characterized the advanced political thinkers of Bengal and other parts of India. The reasons which induced him to conceive the idea of a political organization like the Indian National Congress were of an entirely different character, He was deeply impressed by the general discontent in India threatening imminent danger to the Government. “From wellwishers in different parts of the country he received warnings of the danger to the Government, and to the future welfare of India, from the economic sufferings of the masses, and the alienation of the intellectuals .” 10 A memorandum, preserved among the papers of Hume, describes in detail, how, about fifteen months before the end of Lord Lytton’s administration, he (Hume) got very definite information about the seething discontent among the masses from some religious devotees, held in highest veneration by the people. They approached him “because they feared that the ominous unrest throughout the country which pervaded even the lowest strata of the population, would lead to some terrible outbreak, destructive to India’s future, unless men like him, who had access to the Government, could do something to remove the general feeling of despair and thus avert a catastrophe ”. 11

The evidence which convinced Hume of “the imminent danger of a terrible outbreak” was contained in seven large volumes which were shown to him. These contained a vast number of communications from over thirty thousand different reporters from the different parts of India. These seemed to indicate that even men of the lowest classes, “convinced that they would starve and die”, were determined to “do something, and that something was violence”. “Innumerable entries referred to the secretion of old swords, spears and matchlocks, which would be ready when required. It was not supposed that the immediate result, in its initial stages, would be a revolt against our Government, or a revolt at all, in the proper sense of the word. What was predicted was a sudden violent outbreak of sporadic crimes, murders of obnoxious persons, robbery of bankers, looting of bazaars. In the existing state of the lowest half-starving classes, it was considered that the first few crimes would be the signal for hundreds of similar ones, and for a general development of lawlessness, paralysing the authorities and the respectable classes. It was considered certain, also, that everywhere the snail bands would begin to coalesce into large ones, like drops of water on a leaf; that all the bad characters in the country would join, -»nd that very soon after the bands obtained formidable proportions, certain small number of the educated classes, at the time desperately, perhaps unreasonably, bitter against the Government, would join the movement, assume here and there the lead, give the outbreak cohesion and direct it as a national revolt ”. 12

Hume now ‘'became convinced that some definite action was called for to counteract the growing unrest/’ “He, however, waited until, by his retirement from the service he should be free to act.” Hume retired from Government service in 1882, and on 1 March, 1883, addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University. 13 It was indeed a soul-stirring appeal to the educated Indians and every line of it bespeaks the genuine heart-felt yearning of a foreigner for the upliftment of India. “Whether in the individual or the nation”, said he, “all vital progress must spring from within, and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for the initiative. In vain may aliens, like myself, love India and her children, as well as the most loving of these; in vain may they, for her and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice; they may assist with advice and suggestion, they may place their experience, abilities and knowledge at the disposal of the workers, but they lack the essential of nationality and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves". Hume then enlarged upon the necessity of an organization: "Scattered individuals, however capable and however well-meaning, are powerless singly. What is needed is union, organization, and to secure these an association is required, armed and organized with unusual care, having for its object to promote the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India". "If only fifty men, good and true, can be found to join as founders, the thing can be established and the future development will be comparatively easy". "If you, the picked men, the most highly educated of the nation, cannot, scorning personal ease and selfish objects, make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for yourselves and your country, a more impartial administration, a larger share in the management of your own affairs,. . .then, at present at any rate, all hopes of progress are at an end, and India truly neither lacks nor deserves any better government than she now enjoys. Only...let there be no more complaints of Englishmen being preferred to you in all important offices, for if you lack that public spirit, that highest form of altruistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private ease to the public weal, that true patriotism that has made Englishmen what they are,— then rightly are these preferred to you, and rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers. And rulers and taskmasters they must continue, let the yoke gall your shoulders never so sorely, until you realize and stand prepared to act upon the eternal truth that, whether in the case of individuals or nations, self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness".

"This appeal", the biographer of Hume informs us, "was not made in vain. The men required as founders to initiate the movement were forthcoming from all parts of India; and the 'Indian National Union' was formed." It was this Union which was instrumental in summoning the first Indian National Congress. But before proceeding to describe that it is necessary to discuss a few preliminary points. The circular letter issued by Hume undoubtedly advocates the setting up of an organization which, among other things, should aim at the "political regeneration of the people of India". But, according to his biographer, "whereas he (Hume) was himself disposed to begin his reform propaganda on the social sid£, it was apparently by Lord Dufferin's advice that he took up the work of political organisation, as the matter first to be dealt with". 14 This view is also supported by W. C. Bonnerjee, the first President of the Congress, who says:

"It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, when that nobleman was the Governor-General of India. Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., had in 1884 conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognised political bodies

in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India... .Full

of these ideas he saw the noble Marquis when he went to Simla early in 1885. Lord Dufferin took great interest in the matter, and after considering it for some time he sent for Mr. Hume and told him that in his opinion Mr. Hume's project would not be of much use. He said there was no body of persons in this country who performed the functions which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England ... It would be very desirable in their interests as well as the interests of the ruled that Indian politicians should meet* yearly and point out to the Government in what respect the administration was defective and how it could be improved, and he added that an assembly such as he proposed should not be presided over by the Local Governor, for in his presence the people might not like to speak out their minds. Mr. Hume was convinced by Lord Dufferin's arguments, and when he placed the two schemes, his own and Lord Dufferin's, before leading politicians in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country, the latter unanimously accepted Lord Dufferin's scheme and proceeded to give effect to it. Lord Dufferin had made it a condition with Mr. Hume that his name should not be divulged so long as he remained in the country". 16

A somewhat different version is given by Professor Sundar Ra man who attended the first session of the Indian National Congress. According to him Hume's original idea was to rouse the conscience of the people of England by carrying on a persistent agitation in Great Britain. When Mr. Hume talked about this to Lord Dufferin he expressed his opinion that such an agitation in England was foredoomed to failure, and convinced Hume that the latter could secure his own aims best by confining the agitation to India for the present, and by making Indian public men all over the land to start and develop to its full strength a national organization in India itself conducted with zeal and discretion by her own leaders under Mr. Hume's sympathetic and courageous lead. 1G

Curiously enough. Lord Dufferin himself contradicts both these views and categorically states that he thought the Congress should direct its attention only to social questions. This is clear from the following passage in his famous speech at St. Andrews Day Dinner on November 30, 1888: "When the Congress was first started, I watched its operations with interest and curiosity, and I hoped that. in certain fields of useful activity it might render valuable assistance to the Government. I was aware that there were many social topics connected with the habits and customs of the people which were of unquestionable utility, but with which it was either undesirable for the Government to interfere, or which it was beyond their power to influence or control.When Congress was first started, it seemed to me that such a body, if they directed their attention with patriotic zeal to these (social questions) and cognate subjects, as similar Congresses do in England, might prove of assistance to the Government and of great use to,their fellow-citizens; and I cannot help expressing my regret that they should seem to consider such momentous topics, concerning as they do the welfare of millions of their fellow-subjects, as beneath their notice, and that they should have concerned themselves instead with matters in regard to which their assistance is likely to be less profitable to us! ." 17 Further, the view that Hume's original plan was to set up merely a non-political organization cannot be^easily reconciled with his "appeal" referred to above, and possibly Dufferin’s share in this project has been misunderstood or exaggerated. But there is no doubt whatsoever that the Congress was really designed by Hume to arrest the progress of a revolutionary outbreak. Wedderburn clearly states this in his biography of Hume: “These ill-starred measures of reaction combined with Russian methods of Police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak, and it wa$ only in time that Mr. Hume and his Indian advisers were inspired to intervene.” 18

This passage leaves no doubt as to the real motive which inspired Hume to set up the Congress organization with the advice and blessings of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. So far as its political objectives were concerned, it was not intended to subserve the object of securing representative government for India such as inspired the National Conference in Calcutta, nor was it actuated by the more moderate desire of training the Indians in Parliamentary form of Government, as has so often been claimed. It was solely designed to hold back the Indian intelligentsia from joining an apprehended general outbreak against the British. Hume candidly expressed it himself in the following words: “A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised.” 19

Thus whereas the National Conference of Calcutta was the culmination of a genuine political movement extending over half a century, the Indian National Congress, which otherwise resembled it, w r as suddenly brought into existence as an instrument to safeguard the British rule in India. To many Indians of the twentieth century it may appear strange that in spite of all this the Indian leaders chose the Congress as their national organization rather than the National Conference. The explanation probably lies in the unequal progress of political ideas in those days in different parts of the country, as was clearly shown by public reaction to the Ilbert Bill in different provinces of India, as noted above. There were evidently many Indian leaders who could not yet reconcile themselves to the advanced political ideas of the Indian Association of Calcutta. This is indicated by the exclusion of men like Surendra-nath Banerji at the inception of the movement, and the selection, as the first President of the Congress, of W. C. Bannerjee of Calcutta who had kept aloof from the Indian Association.

There was probably another consideration which weighed with those who responded to the clarion call of Hume. The Government, they rightly thought, would not look with kindly eyes upon any political organization of the Indians, demanding substantial reforms in the administration. But if the leading part were taken by an Englishman, who once held a high office, the hostility of the official class could be considerably neutralized. The great Indian political leader, Gokhale, gave expression to this view when he said: "No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress... If an Indian had come forward to start such a movement embracing all India, the officials in India would not have allowed the movement to come into existence, If the founder of the Congress had not been a great English man and. a distinguished ex-official, such was the distrust of political agitation in those days that the authorities would have at once found some way or the other of suppressing the movement/' 20 This feeling also probably influenced, to a large extent, the organizers of the National Conference in Calcutta to merge it in the Indian National Congress.

In any event there is no doubt that once Hume set the ball rolling, it gathered a momentum beyond expectation. Hume himself generously referred in his public speeches to the help he had received from Indian leaders. The Congress movement, he said, was the outcome "of the labours of a body of cultured men mostly born natives of India". 21 It appears that he met and discussed his plans with a good many leaders of Bombay such as Badruddin Tyabji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and K. T. Telang. But he did not consult Surendra-nath Banerji. According to B. C. Pal, Hume had a personal dislike for Surendra-nath, partly for his dismissal from Government service and partly for his advanced political views. The Government of the day did not like the political advance made in Bengal and Surendra-nath was definitely in their black list. These considerations might have also dissuaded the other more moderate Indian leaders of those days from associating themselves with the "extremist" Surendra-nath. No other Indian leader had done so much to foster the idea of an all-India political organization such as the Congress was intended to be. Yet he does not seem to have been taken into confidence by Hume along with the others named above. In any case, there can be hardly any doubt that Surendra-nath was deliberately kept out of this organization at its initial stage. This fact as well as the selection of W. C, Bonnerjee as the President of the first Congress gives a fair idea of the political outlook of the founders of the Congress. Mr. Bonnerjee lived the life of an Englishman and not only kept himself aloof from, but almost ridiculed, all sorts of political agitation. He was not even a member of the Indian Association, the premier political organization of Bengal. According to B. C. Pal, Mr. Bonnerjee "never appreciated the labours of Surendranath. In fact, it was an open secret in those days that Mr. Bonnerjee was not in favour of inviting Surendranath and the leaders of the Indian Association to the first session of the Congress in Bombay." 22

As Dufferin was intimately associated with the inauguration of the Congress, his views about the politics of Surendra-nath might have something to do with the exclusion of that great leader from the first or inapgural session of the Congress. Writing to Lord Cross, the Secretary of State, on 26 April, 1886, i.e. within four months of the Congress session. Dufferin praised the "moderate" Association

formed by Sir Jatindra Mohan Tagore, who "have no desire to embarrass the Government". Then Bufferin adds: "But besides them is a more violent and less respectable party, headed, as far as I can make out, by Mr. Surendranath Banerji, who is connected with a cleverly-conducted hut vicious paper called the Mirror". Bufferin then further denounces Surendra-nath and his party, his wrath being presumably directed against the activities of the Indian Association.

While all this may explain the attitude of the sponsors of the Congress towards Surendra-nath, it is not easy to explain why the National Conference silently merged itself in the Congress. The political leaders of Bengal could legitimately, claim recognition for the former as the national forum.of all India and dispute, on valid grounds, the necessity of starting a new institution. That apprehensions of such a squabble proved baseless reflects the highest credit on Surendra-nath and his colleagues. This self-abnegation or self-sacrifice on their part was inspired by a high sense of patriotism, and it is not unlikely that there were weighty political considerations behind the move. The British decried the political agitation in India as solely inspired by the cowardly Bengalis, and claimed that the sturdy military races were all against it. Surendra-nath says in his autobiography: “We wanted to dissipate this myth. To-day it stands exploded by the creation of the Congress.” These two cryptic statements! perhaps account for the readiness with which the political leaders of Bengal gave up their own organization and joined the Congress. The National Conference was, after all, a creation of Bengal, and in spite of its all-India character, the hostile critics, particularly the British, would never cease to represent it merely as a handiwork of the Bengali agitators. An organization sponsored by a British civilian and Indian leaders, without any special association with any particular province, was more likely to command great respect as an independent all-India organization than the National Conference.

These considerations gained additional strength from the fact that the new organization was started under the auspices of an Englishman, and was therefore sure to enjoy the blessings of the small group of public men in England who sympathised with the cause of India. Indian politicians of all shades of opinion had in those days an unbounded faith in the honesty and sense of justice of Englishmen. The Englishmen, they thought, had only to be convinced of the justice of Indian demands, and Our salvation would not be long in coming. Besides, a special prestige was attached in those days to an English name. They would therefore naturally welcome the movement which was initiated by an Englishman. 22 *

In conclusion, reference should be made to a view which seeks to give an entirely different and very unfavourable interpretation of the activity of Hume in connection with the Indian National Congress. The propounder of this view, Dr. N. L. Chatterji, starts with a proposition which may appear to be very startling indeed, but in view of what has been said above, merits serious consideration. It may be

stated in his own words:

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“An inquiry into the available evidence leads one to suppose that Mr. Hume’s real originality lay not so much in the propounding of the idea of an Indian National Congress, for the Indian Association of Calcutta, founded in 1876, had already arranged for the Indian National Conference in 1883 at the instance of Mr, Surendranath Banerjea, but that his achievement was the bypassing of the aforesaid Indian National Conference and the formation of an admittedly loyalist organisation apart from, and independent of, the existing body. It seeme^J, as if Mr. Hume was out to sabotage the Indian National Confenence sponsored by ‘a dismissed Government servant’, Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and controlled by ‘Babus from Bengal’. The student of Indian history is entitled to ask why a parallel body with an identical programme had to be brought into existence, even though the National Conference was going to hold an all-India Session at Calcutta in the Christmas week of 1885—-the same fateful week which saw the birth of the Congress at Bombay.”

Dr. Chatterji then answers the question himself: “The Congress was founded in fact as a precautionary move against an apprehended Russian invasion of India.” In support of his view he quotes the following statement of Lord Ripon:

“.As the Russians approach our frontiers more nearly,

they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how can such intrigue be best met and defeated”. Dr. Chatterji points to the part played by Dufferin, as stated by W. C. Bonnerjee, and comments: “Evidently, the Congress was meant to be the long-awaited counterpoise to possible Russian intrigue in India.” Dr. Chatterji finds support for his view in the address of W. W. Wedderbum as President of the Indian National Congress. Wedderbum undoubtedly implied that the Russians planned an attack of India in 1885 in order to test how far they could rely upon Indian support, but the Russian move was not followed by any signs of sympathy in India; and though Wedderbum does not say so, in Dr. Chatterji’s opinion, he implies that it was the foundation of the Congress that led to this happy result. This may be true, but it is difficult to follow Dr. Chatterji when he asserts that Wedderburn “explicitly corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a move to safeguard India against the menace of Russian invasion.” Similarly, Dr. Chatterji is right when he says that “the Congress became in its early years a platform for anti-Russian and pro-British propaganda”. But the Congress merely reflected the public opinion in this respect and it would be very far-fetched indeed to derive from it any clue regarding the origin of the Congress. On the whole, it is difficult to attach much importance to Dr. Chatterji’s view unless more positive evidence is forthcoming in support of it. 23

II. THE FIRST TWENTY SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS (1885-1904)

The Indian National Union, formed by Hume, as mentioned above, decided in March, 1885, to hold a conference at Poona from 25th to 31st December, and immediately issued a circular letter to this effect. “The leading politicians, well acquainted with the English language, from all parts of Behgal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies were invited to attend this conference whose objects were stated to be ‘(1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; and (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.’ It was also stated that subject to the unswerving allegiance to the British sovereign, the Union would oppose by all constitutional methods all official acts or measures opposed to those principles which were laid down by the Parliament. Lastly, a hope was expressed that ‘indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute, in a few years, an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions.” 24

On receipt of this circular letter, special committees were formed in a large number of towns in India, whose members or delegates, selected from among themselves, promised to attend the Conference. Hume then proceeded to England and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of a number of liberal Englishmen. He also took steps to ensure wide publicity to the conference in the British Press before he returned to India.

On account of the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in Poona the venue of the conference was shifted to Bombay. Its name was changed to the ‘Indian

National Congress' and the first session was held on December 28, 1885. The total number of delegates who attended the session was about 72, but they were fairly representative of the

different regions of India. According to the official proceedings, "all the leading native political associations and the principal Anglonative newspapers were represented; there were members of Legislative Councils, Presidents and members of Municipal Committees and Local Boards." It is to be noted, however, that only a few Muslims attended the session and the delegates from Bengal were very small in number, presumably because the second session of the National Conference was held about the same time in Calcutta. The meeting was strictly confined to the delegates, the members of the public not being admitted even as spectators. 25

W. C. Bonner jee, who was elected President of the Congress, elaborated in his Presidential address the objects of the Congress under the following four heads:

"1. The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the various parts of the Empire.

2. The eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices aniogst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.

3. The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

4. The determination of the lines upon, and methods, by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests." 26

The Congress then discussed and passed nine resolutions. The more important of these were in the forms of demands to the Government of India for the

1. Appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the working of Indian administration.

2. Abolition of the Indian Council (of the Secretary of State).

3. Creation of Legislative Councils for the North-West Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab.

4. Admission of a considerable proportion of elected members to the Supreme and Local Legislative Councils with the right of interpellation and discussion of Budgets, and the creation of a Standing Committee in the House of Commons to consider formal protests from majorities in the Councils.

5. Reduction of military expenditure and its equitable apportionment between India and England.

6. Introduction of simultaneous Public Service Examinations in England and India and the raising of the age of candidates.

The speeches were characterized by moderation and extreme (almost servile) effusions of loyalty to the British Crown. A number of Government officials took part in the drafting of the resolutions, and Justice Ranade of Bombay even spoke at the open session of the Congress.

The resolution formulating the fourth demand[27], mentioned above, was most hotly debated by a large number of delegates, and there was a wide divergence of opinion as to the best method of making India’s voice heard in the British Parliament. The creation of a Standing Committee in the House of Commons, which was ultimately accepted, did not commend itself to many. Narendra-nath Sen very cogently argued that “a Standing Committee of the House of Commons would be good if we had representatives of our own in the House”. As an alternative proposal he suggested that “there might be a small Parliament in India with many Indian members. Indian political bodies should be asked to name such members and also have a voice in the formation of the existing Executive Councils”.

In spite of the moderation and loyalty of the Congresss, the English public opinion looked upon the emergence of the Congress as a potential danger to the British power in India. An editorial in The Times of London frankly stated that to concede the demands of the Congress was tantamount to the grant of Home Rule in India, and the British would never retire from India in favour of those who could only talk. A long extract from this editorial has been quoted in the next section of this Chapter. The comment of. The Times foredoomed to failure the methods pursued by the Congress and was a correct forecast of the attitude of studied indifference which the Government adopted towards the resolutions passed by the Congress year after year-—the ‘hardy annuals’, as someone characterised them.

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The Times as well as its Bombay correspondent drew pointed attention to the fact that not a single Muslim member joined the Congress. K. T. Telang, on behalf of the Congress, pointed out that the statement was inaccurate, as two leading Muslim gentlemen —R. M. Sayani and A. M. Dharamsi—did attend the Congress. But this refutation was hardly less damaging than the original accusation. It is interesting to note in this connection that in a letter dated 31 December, 1885, i.e. almost immediately after the first session of the Congress was over, the Bombay correspondent of the London Times, recorded his impression of it as follows: “Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations. Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence, the M'ahomedans of India were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools and almost all their colleges and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax-paying units who contributed each his mite to swell their glory of Islam." 28

The main result of the first session of the Congress was that it quickened the political consciousness of the people. The resolutions passed by it were widely circulated and discussed by the local political associations. The newspapers also heartily welcomed the new organization as the most powerful organ of Indian political opinion, and put forward various suggestions for the consideration of the next Congress. The result of all this was clearly perceived in the second session of the Congress which met in Calcutta on 28 December with Dadabhai Naoroji as President. The number of delegates attending the session was about 440, 29 more than six times that of the first session. The eminent political leader Surendra-nath took an active part in this session 30 , and henceforth proved to be one of the strongest pillars of the Congress organization, like Dadabhai and Pherozeshah Mehta. The conservative British Indian Association of Calcutta joined the Congress but the National Muhammadan Association of Bengal held aloof, and the Muslims, as a class, deliberately abstained from taking any part in the Indian National Congress.

The second session of the Congress marked a distinct advance over the first. The men who attended the first Congress at Bombay had no representative character—they were only volunteers. The second Congress was composed of delegates, elected at public meetings held for the purpose in different provinces. "Five hundred delegates were elected, of whom 434 actually registered their names and credentials as present." 30 * This procedure has continued ever since and the method of electing delegates has been clearly formulated from time to time. Another innovation was the admission of the public as spectators of the proceedings. A third novel feature was also introduced. “Various circulars were issued suggesting subjects for discussion and outlining proposals, so that delegates might not come unprepared—a plan that, unfortunately, fell into desuetude.” 301 *

Bengal naturally sent the largest number of delegates, namely, 230. Next came N.W.P. and Oudh with 74. Bombay, Madras, Punjab, C. P. and Assam sent, respectively, 47, 47, 17, 8 and 8.

The great scholar and antiquarian, Rajendra-lal Mitra, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. In his address of welcome he observed: “We live, not under a National Government, but under a foreign bureaucracy; our foreign rulers are foreigners by birth, religion, language, habits, by everything that divides humanity into different sections. They cannot ascertain our wants, our feelings, our aspirations.” The Congress received the blessings of Devendranath Tagore, a great religious and political leader of the previous generation, and Jay-krishna Mukherji, the head of a distinguished aristocratic family of Zamindars in Bengal—an old man of 79, “blind and trembling with age.’*

The Congress passed a resolution drawing attention to the increasing poverty of the people. D. E. Wacha, who moved it, pointed out that 40 millions of people had only one meal a day, and not always that. The Congress, by another resolution, reiterated the demand for the expansion of the Legislative Councils and laid down elaborate principles according to which it should be carried into effect. It demanded enlarged powers for the Legislative Councils and an increase of members, not less than one-half of whom should be elected.

The Congress appointed a Committee to consider the question of recruitment for Public Services and recommended open competitive examination, that for the senior services being held simultaneously in India and in England.

A distinct change in the tone and spirit of the Congress was noticeable during its session at Calcutta, and this was undoubtedly due to the greater advance in political life in Bengal during the preceding half-a-century, as noted above. Although the first Congress was held at Bombay, and prominent political leaders of Bengal were absent, the idea was already growing that in demanding political rights the Congress only echoed the voice of Bengal. Malik Bhagavan Das from Dehra Ismail Khan protested against this and, drawing up his body in N. W. Frontier dress, asked: “Do I look like a Bengali Babu?” He then said that all the more intelligent persons wanted the reforms demanded by the Congress.

Nevertheless, the idea persisted. Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh tried to dissuade the Musalmans from joining the third session of the Congress on the ground that it was dominated by the Bengalis

and the satisfaction of its demands would lead to Bengali rule. In a speech delivered on the eve of the third* session at Madras to a Muslim audience he said: “if you accept that the country should groan under the yoke of Bengali rule and its people lick the Bengali shoes, then, in the name of God! jump into the train, sit down, and be off to Madras.” 30 * The Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, also referred to such a feeling entertained by the Muslims in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated 4 January, 1887, i.e. immediately after the Calcutta session of the Congress: “You will have observed that the Mahomedans have abstained from taking any part in the Indian National Congress .... What the Mahomedans feel is that under a Bengalee constitution they would be more completely left out in the cold than they are at present.” Three years later, Malleson, the great English historian oh the Mutiny, described the Congress as “started by the noisy Bengalis” and its demands for representative institutions as ‘utterly abhorrent to the manly races of India like the Sikhs, Rajputs, Rohillas, Jats, and the frontier Pathan tribes.’ 30d

Whatever we might think of these criticisms, there is no doubt that the Congress was invigorated by the political traditions and achievements in Bengal.

It is interesting to note the reaction of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, to the Congress session in Calcutta. In his letter to the Secretary of State, Lord Cross, dated 4 January, 1887, mentioned above, he referred to some of the resolutions as extravagant. He also described the discussions as very childish, reminding “rather of an Eton or Harrow Debating Society than even of Oxford or Cambridge Union”.

But this letter is not altogether devoid of interest. In his Presidential Address, Dadabhai Naoroji had regretted the refusal of the Government to grant the prayer of the first Congress for a Royal Commission of inquiry. But in his letter to Cross, Dufferin assumed that there would be a Parliamentary Commission on Indian affairs. It is in this letter, again, that Dufferin recommended, for the first time, election of Indian members of the Legislative Councils, in place of nomination, and an increase in their number. Coming immediately after the Congress session in Calcutta, the idea of Dufferin may be looked upon as being influenced by that body. This view is strengthened by the following lines in the same letter:

“A concession of the kind now would stop a good deal of agitation. Of course to political agitation in India we can afford to be more or less indifferent at present, though I am by no means certain that this will continue to be the case.’*

On the whole, it may be fairly presumed that the Calcutta session of the Congress set in motion the ideas of the Viceroy which ultimately led to the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

The third session, held at Madras, was presided over by an eminent Muslim leader, Badruddin Tyabji, who later rose to be a judge of the Bombay High Court. The number of delegates rose to 607, and the need was*felt for drawing up a regular constitution of the Congress. But though a Committee of 34 members was set up for this purpose, no regular constitution was adopted during the next twenty years. The difficulty caused by the absence of such constitution was brought to a head by the strong opposition made by a group of young delegates to the current practice of leaving to a few senior delegates the task of preparing drafts of resolutions to be moved at the public session. The opposition was somewhat violent in character, and ultimately it was decided to set up at the opening of each session of the Congress a small representative committee in order to fix up the programme and prepare the draft of the resolutions to be placed before the plenary session of the Congress. This was the genesis of the “Subjects Committee” which henceforth became a regular feature of the Congress, and made the first breach in the strong citadel of orthodox and conservative leadership of the Congress. 31

Perhaps the most significant feature of the third session was the eloquent appeal made by the President to his Muslim co-religionists to join the Congress. In his Presidential address, Tyabji ably answered the reproach made against the previous two sessions of the Congress that the Muslims had kept aloof from them. He urged them to work hand in hand with the other communities of India, and hoped that in future the Muslims would not stand aloof from the others in their joint efforts to secure "those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all... " The appeal of the Muslim President to his co-religionists did not go in vain. The Muslims, who had held aloof from the first two sessions, joined in large numbers in the fourth. It did not, however, remove their nervous fear of the Hindus as will be seen from the proceedings of the fifth session, described later.

The Indian National Congress passed a number of resolutions in each session, but the Government of India paid no heed to them. There was no doubt that the official attitude towards the Congress had undergone a change. Some officials attended the first session, but when, in the second session at Calcutta, invitation cards were sent to the Government House, they were returned on the ground that the officials could not attend the meetings of a political body.

Lord Dufferin, however, explained away this action and even invited the delegates of the Congress, not as such but as distinguished visitors, to a garden party. The Governor of Madras also did the same. But in spite of this politeness, there was no sympathetic response from the side of the Government to the demands of the Congress for reforms, repeated year after year. This chilled the enthusiasm of some and caused irritation to others. Among the latter group was Hume himself. He was shocked and pained by the stolid indifference displayed by the Government, and no less by the undisguised hostility shown towards the Congress by the official circles and the minority communities in India, who represented the Congress movement as an attempt to subvert the Government and establish a Hindu Raj.

"To the ardent mind of Mr. Hume platonic expressions of sympathy by the authorities were a mockery while nothing practical was being done" to relieve the misery of the masses. "The sufferings of the Indian masses from famine and disease arose from poverty; and this poverty was preventible, if the Government would take into their counsels experienced representatives of the people''. But the Government refused to do this, while "deaths by famine and pestilence were counted, not by tens of thousands, or by hundreds of thousands, but by millions". In this great predicament Hume rose to the height of his stature as a political leader. He decided that, "in order to constrain the Government to move", the leaders of the Indian people must follow "the drastic methods pursued in England by Bright and Cobden in their great campaign on behalf of the people's food". 32

"The educated men, the Press, and the Congress", said Hume, "have endeavoured to instruct the Government, but the Government, like all autocratic Governments, has refused to be instructed, and it will now be for us to instruct the nations, the great English nation in the island home, and the far greater nation of this vast continent, so that every Indian that breathes upon the sacred soil of this our motherland may become our comrade and coadjutor, our supporter, and if needs be our soldier, in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble band, will wage for justice, for our liberties and rights." 33

In pursuance of such a propaganda Mr. Hume, according to his biographer, set to work "with his wonted energy, appealing for funds to all classes of Indian community, distributing tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets, sending out lecturers and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts." Throughout'the country over thousand meetings were held, many of which were attended by more

than five thousand persons. Of the numerous pamphlets attention may be drawn to two which were widely distributed and created considerable stir at the time. These were entitled "A Congress Catechism'' and "A Conversation between Maulvi Furreduddin and one Ram Buksh of Kambakhtpur". They vividly depicted the evils of absentee landlordism and despotic Government and pointed out that the only remedy of these evils was the representative Government for which the Congress was fighting. These pamphlets contained bitter attacks against Government and were not as harmless as some have represented them to be; 34

The mass movement inaugurated by Hume made the official attitude towards the Congress definitely antagonistic. Hume defended his action in a speech at a meeting at Allahabad on 30 April, 1888, which was published under the title, “A Speech on the Indian National Congress, its Origin, Aims, and Objects”. 35 This only added fuel to the flame, and excitement ran very high among the reactionary class of officials who “desired to suppress the Congress” and even “recommended that Mr. Hume should be deported.” 36 Even Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who was hitherto “distinctly friendly to the Congress movement”, was very much perturbed by this active political propaganda among the masses. It gave rise to the historic correspondence between Colvin and Hume in October, 1888, later published as a pamphlet under the title of Audi Alteram Partem. Colvin’s criticisms were directed against the methods and not against the principles or objects of the Congress, which he generally approved. He considered the mass propaganda “premature and mischievous”, but Hume considered it necessary for the safety of the State. As the biographer of Hume has pointed out, the difference was irreconcilable. For while Hume looked at the whole question from the point of view of the Indians, with whom he identified himself after his retirement from the service, Colvin’s outlook was that of a British administrator. Hume wrote to Colvin: “You still look through the rose-tinted official spectacles that so long obscured my sight. But leave the service, mix freely with the people, and you would wholly change your views”.

In fairness to Colvin it must be mentioned here that even a class of Indian leaders, including Bipin Chandra Pal, who was destined to be a leader of the Extremist party in Indian politics, shared his views at the time. The following passage in his autobiography explains his motive:

“In the Hume-Colvin controversy I took some little part, writing to the press practically supporting Sir Auckland Colvin in his

warning against drawing the masses to this political movement. I held that it would be a dangerous thing not only for the British Government, but also for India, if the masses were to be imbued with antagonism to British rule through our political agitations. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee had declared in course of a public utterance that one of the objects of the Congress was to ‘lower the British Government in the estimation of the people*. I found it impossible to accept much less to support this view of the aims of the Congress’*.

Referring to the “price of allegiance to the ideals of social reform such as the Brahmo Samaj had to pay”, B. C. Pal continues: “The principle of complete religious freedom inculcated by the British Government in India secured to the Brahmo Samaj this right, and the general body of the Brahmos, therefore, were grateful to Providence for the establishment of the new political power in the country, which was regarded by them, in those days, as a great moral influence. This was really the psychology of the Brahmo leader, Keshub Chandra Sen, when he proclaimed ‘loyalty to the Government’ as one of the fundamental articles of the creed of his new church. Though not openly subscribing to it or incorporating it as an article of their religious faith the general body of the Brahmos of those days were frankly afraid of a return to Hindu or Moslem rule in India. This is why I joined in the protest raised by Sir Auckland Colvin against the kind of mass political propaganda that had been started by the Congress in 1887. The Congress leaders in those days had little or no sensing of the danger of exciting the masses against the existing British rule. On the eve of the Congress at Allahabad I was prompted to sound this note of warning and, therefore, organised an address to be delivered at the Kayastha Pathsala Hall with Babu Kali Charan Bannerjee in the chair.

“I went to the fundamental question whether India could reasonably expect to build up a real modern democracy by enlisting the masses to the service of the Congress before they were sufficiently advanced in social ideas and had been properly educated. The continuance of British authority was necessary for building up a real freedom movement in the country with a view to establishing a Government which would be government of the people, by the people and for the people”. 37

It would be interesting to note the reaction of Lord Dufferin to the unexpected vigour shown by his own pet child. He was sympathetic to the main objective of the Congress and actually recommended to the Home authorities a liberal reconstitution of the Legislative Council on the line recommended by the Congress. To this reference has been made above. But he, too, changed his views in 1888. In his famous speech at St. Andrews Dinner,[38] he described the Indian National Congress as representing a "microscopic minority" and denounced their claim to represent India. He even referred to theN Congress ideal as a "very big jump into the unknown". His Lordship, in his valedictory address, declared that "in the present condition of India there can be no real or effective representation of the people with their enormous number, their multifarious interests and their tessellated minorities". He also, like Colvin, severely condemned the propaganda among the masses. It seems to be somewhat illogical to belittle the Congress as representing a microscopic minority, and at the same time to condemn its propaganda among the masses, the only means by which it could broadbase the movement on the wishes of the people. Yet this was precisely what Dufferin did.

The remarks of Dufferin on the Congress were specially unfortunate, coming, as it did, from one who had sponsored the movement only four years ago. His apologists have argued that his words did not convey his real views but were only meant for consumption at home, where the new constitution was then in the offing.[39] But whatever that may be, the unfortunate speech of Dufferin set the tone which was henceforth to be adopted by the Indian Government towards the Indian National Congress.

The changed attitude of the officials was clearly indicated in connection with the fourth session of the Congress at Allahabad, where Colvin reigned supreme. Pandit Ayudhya Nath, a prominent political worker and generally styled as the lion of U. P., was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. But he could not procure any suitable site for the Congress, as both the civil and military authorities threw obstacles in his way. At last the Maharaja of Darbhanga solved the difficulty by purchasing the Lowther Castle and placing it at the disposal of the Congress. The official opposition, manifested in various other "spiteful" acts of bureaucracy, unworthy of a

Government, was backed up by the open hostility of Sir Syed Ahmad. This great leader, whose views and activities have been related in detail in Chapter VIII, joined by a loyal Hindu Zamindar, Raja Shiva Prasad, had set up a rival organization, styled United Indian Patriotic Association, in order to checkmate the Congress/ 0 He asked the Muslims not to join the Congress, and the local officials not only held out the threat that anybody joining the Congress would come to grief, but also openly lent their help for the organization of anti-Congress meetings. But in spite of, or perhaps due to, this opposition, the fourth session of the Indian National Congress at Allahabad was a great success. Over 200 Muslims and more than one thousand other delegates attended. The President of the session was

George Yule, a British merchant of Calcutta. In his Presidential address he observed that every big movement like the Congress had to pass through three stages: the first is one of ridicule, the second, of partial concession with misrepresentation of aim, and the third is a substantial adoption of the movement with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. He then pointed out that the Congress had passed the first stage and was now in the second, when reforms were accompanied by warnings against taking “big jumps into the unknown”. This was, of course, a reference to the St. Andrews Dinner speech of Lord Dufferin which came in for a great deal of scathing criticism during this session of the Congress.

The fifth session which met at Bombay in December, 1889, was attended by exactly 1889 delegates (a curious coincidence) and presided over Ky Sir William Wedderburn, the friend and biographer of Hume. This session was rendered memorable by the presence of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., whose genuine pro-Indian attitude in the House of Commons has been referred to above. 41 He told the delegates that they constituted a living refutation of the charge often heard within the walls of Parliament that “there is no Indian people; there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds.” A scheme of representative government was drafted in this session, but it raised the ugly head of communalism. A demand was made by a Muslim delegate that there should be an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members in the Imperial and Provincial Councils. It did not get much support, and even the majority of Muslim members voted against it. 42 But it was a bad omen for the future.

The Congress also resolved to send a deputation to England to place before the British public the views of the Congress about political reforms in India which were then being considered by the British Government.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, who presided over the sixth session at Calcutta (1890), put the case of the Congress in a nutshell when he said that it had survived the ridicule, abuse, misrepresentation and charges of sedition and disloyalty. “We have”, he continued, “also survived the charge of being a ‘microscopic minority'. We have survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise”. 43 The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mono-mohan Ghose, condemned the British policy of “Divide and Rule” as “unworthy of the British people”. It was also during this session that the Government of India, in order to remove misunderstanding of the official circle, publicly declared the Indian

National Congress to be “perfectly legitimate”, representing, in terms of European politics, “the more advanced liberal party”. It was also made clear that the Government servants could attend the Congress session, but not take any part in its deliberations; even this restriction was not applicable to the pension-holders.

Once more the stolid indifference of the Government to the Congress demands disheartened Hume, and in his despair he even thought of suspending the Congress. This idea was supported by a few on the ground that while the Congress had achieved no good results, it had irritated the Government and increased the tension between the Hindus and the Muslims. But the educated community in India repudiated the idea in no uncertain voice. Surendra-nath Banerji truly echoed their sentiments when he declared that “we should never abandon the Congress, the standard round which we have fought for the last eight years, the standard which we trust one day to carry proudly before us to victory”.

The situation was somewhat improved by the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. Disappointing though it was, it was regarded as the first victory of the Congress and its method of constitutional agitation. The hope of the Congress was further raised by the success of its efforts in Britain, to which reference will be made later. It was also heartened by the message of the Irish Home Rulers conveyed through Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the Lahore Session: "Do not forget to tell your colleagues that the Ireland Home Rule members in Parliament are at your back in the cause of the Indian people."

Henceforth the Congress did never falter in its onward march from year to year, buoyed up with courage and hope for ultimate success. Though there was no essential change either in its ideal and outlook, or in its method of agitation, it came to be gradually recognized both by friends and foes, in India and in Britain, to be a potent force in the public life of India. '

It is not necessary to describe the sessions of the Congress year after year, or to give an account of the various resolutions passed in them. A general account of the more important reforms demanded by the Congress during the first twenty years must suffice.

The demand for the abolition of the India Council, passed in the first session, was reiterated and a proposal was made to replace it by a Standing Committee of the House of Commons to advise the Secretary of State.

The Congress made persistent demands for expanding both the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils and increasing the popular element in them by election of non-official members. The

various resolutions passed by the Congress on this subject from year to year have been quoted above 44 . When the Indian Councils Act was passed in 1892, the Congress regretted that it did not concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and expressed the hope "that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons." In the next two sessions, in 1893 and 1894, the Congress passed resolutions, pointing out that 'material alterations are necessary alike in the rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments if real effect is to be given to the spirit of the Act'.

In 1904, the Congress went one step further and demanded representation of Indians in the British House of Commons, each Province or Presidency of India returning at least two members. It also asked for "the appointment of Indian representatives (who shall be nominated by the elected members of the Legislative Councils) as members of the India Council in London and of the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Governments of Bombay and Madras".

It is hardly necessary to add that year after year the Congress passed resolutions, protesting against the abuses, and urging for reforms, in the various branches of administration. The resolution for the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions was passed no less than ten times between 1886 and 1906. Trial by jury, reform of the police administration, reduction of salt tax and incometax, extension of the Permanent Settlement, etc., formed the subjects of resolutions passed in many sessions. In 1898 the Congress expressed "its deep sense of disapproval of the reactionary policy of Government with regard to the Local Self-Government, recently inaugurated by the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill into the Bengal Legislative Council, the creation of the Bombay City Improvement Trust without adequate popular representation, and its action in other directions." The general attitude of the Congress towards the British administrative system may be gathered from the following resolution adopted in 1891:

"That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses, affirms—that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that, in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation. That this unhappy condition is largely due to—

(a) The exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances of their own country...

(b) The extravagant cost of the present administration, military and civil, but specially the former; and to

(c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assured.

“That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

That the cost of the administration be greatly reduced in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the Standing Army, by the substitution of long-termed local European troops like those of the Hon. E.L Company for the present short-term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of the excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commissariat, Ordnance, and Store Departments; and in the Civil Branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and that' measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the. Land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of Temporary Settlements in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible; and to establish agricultural banks.”

The resolution has been quoted at length as it indicates that the Indian National Congress fully represented the popular feelings about the condition of the masses, and that it did not merely indulge in destructive criticism but also made constructive suggestions with a. view to removing the greatest evils of the British administration.

As mentioned above, the Congress was insistent in its demands for holding simultaneous examinations in London and India for admission to the Civil Service, and raising the maximum age for competitors 4,5 . The Congress placed on record “its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Public Service Commission” (appointed in 1886), 46 and pointed out in detail how the Government resolution had substantially reduced the number of higher appointments which were recommended by the Commission to be held by the Indians. It was resolved to send a petition to the House of Commons on the subject drawing its attention to the grave discontent caused by the Report of the Commission as well as the action of the Government.

The Congress guarded the interest of India like a vigilant watchdog, and never failed to record its emphatic protest against any measure likely to adversely affect the interest of India. Thus in 1894, in the Madras session, it protested against the “injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant Mill industry in this country’', and put on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise “the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire”. Similar protests were recorded against many other Government measures which, in the opinion of the Congress, would inflict unnecessary and unjustified hardship on the people, or would injure their true interest.

III. THE BRITISH REACTION TO THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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Since the inauguration of the Indian National Congress it represented the voice of the politically conscious India, and the British attitude towards it may be justly regarded as the touchstone of British liberalism and the key to the British policy towards India. The Indians were not left long in doubt as to what that attitude was likely to be. Almost immediately after the first session of the Congress was over, there was a leading article on the subject in The Times of London, the spokesman of the British people and the most renowned newspaper, in the whole world. The following extract from it may therefore be rightly interpreted as a very free and frank expression of general British opinion on the subject.

After summing up, in its own way, the various resolutions passed by the Congress, The Times comments:

“The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school masters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India will be the first to recognise the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they wer£ carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test. Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the

education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this. But that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the! entire Mahomedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been. The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will, the government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won , and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view." 47

* The outburst of The Times is of more than passing interest. Its fundamental assumptions were that the Congress demands for the political reforms were tantamount to Home Rule, and that the Indians were by no means fit for it. As was pointed out at the time in the Quarerly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, 48 the people of the neighbouring island of Ceylon enjoyed far greater political rights and privileges than the Indians, though both were under the British Crown. In Ceylon there was no such racial discrimination in the eye of the law as was sought to be prevented by the Ilbert Bill. The maximum age for candidates at the competitive examination for Civil Service was 24 instead of 19 as in India. Ceylon had already effected the disestablishment of the English Church which received no grant from the public exchequer. The most important point in the present context was the character of the Legislative Council in Ceylon as compared with that in India. The Ceylon Council was more representative in character as the non-official members were elected, not nominated. It possessed the right of

interpellating on executive matters, and complete control over finances, as the annual budget required the sanction of the legislature. The result was that Ceylon, unlike India, had not to bear the cost of Abhyssinian War and Egyptian expedition, or the expenses for the entertainment of the Sultan of Turkey in London. After pointing out all these differences the Journal pertinently asked the question whether the preferential treatment to the Ceylonese is justified by their superiority to the Indian in any respect.

The Times would have been hard put to it to answer this question. It would be difficult to maintain that the Ceylonese have ever been more distinguished than the Indians, either in regard to political ability or in cultural progress. As a matter of fact, Ceylon is contiguous to India and may be regarded, for all practical purposes, as part and parcel of India. Its population always contained a very strong element of Indians as it does today. These facts could not have possibly been unknown to the editor of The Times. To denounce as preposterous the general political demands of the Indians formulated by the Congress, which did not substantially exceed what was already enjoyed by the Ceylonese, betokened a deep-seated policy of never relinquishing the hold on India. This alone satisfactorily explains the attitude maintained by the British Government towards India. The writer of the letters to the Englishman, mentioned above, 49 and the article in The Times, in an unguarded moment, let the cat out of the bag; but they truly represented the real British policy, which was usually hidden under a cloak of liberalism and sweet phrases. Through these, and not through the liberal group of Fawcett, Bright and others, spoke the real voice of Britannia.

The British people were as usual apathetic to the demands of the Congress. Lord Ripon wrote to Sir Henry Cotton from England to this effect in 1887 as follows: “I fully share your opinion as to the importance of the reorganization of the Legislative Councils. But to obtain any attention to that or any other Indian question from the people of this country at the present time is simply impossible. Men’s thoughts, so much at least of them as they are able to give to politics, are totally absorbed now upon Irish affairs, and they have not five minutes to give to any other matter whatsoever, let alone the affairs of India”. 50 This was distinctly to the advantage of the officials both in India and England. "‘Not only was the India Office opposed to Indian reforms, but many of its operations were conducted under cover of secrecy. As Florence Nightingale wrote to Wedderbum (referring to Randolph Churchill, who was Secretary of State for India in 1885), “Lord Randolph, the ‘Boy with the drum\ is doing untold harm—literally untold, because the India Office is a secret society. , ’ 61

Lord Salisbury (who had been Secretary of State for India from 1874, during the period of the passage of the Vernacular Press Act, and Prime Minister from 1886 to 1892) expressed his opposition to the Congress in a memorandum in 1888 regarding the granting of legislative powers to elected councillors. He said: “I think I am not wrong in assuming that the men who will be brought to the fore by this plan will be (in Bengal) Bengalee lawyers, agents, newspaper writers... In India they are the class among whom disaffection is the strongest, and they are most competent to use the weapon which membership of a legislative Council would place in their hands to embarrass and damage the Government.. .1 cannot conceive the object of introducing this dangerous principle into the constitution of the proposed Councils. We shall in no way please the class on whose goodwill the submission of India depends: we shall not reconcile our only enemies, but we shall give them arms against ourselves". At the time of the introduction of Lord Cross's Councils Bill into the House of Lords in 1890, Lord Salisbury (Prime Minister of Britain at the time) was still in opposition to the principle of election. He commented on its application to India: "The principle of election or Government by representation is not an Eastern idea; it does not fit Eastern minds", and further, "Do not imagine that you can introduce it in small doses, and that it will be satisfied by that concession". 1 - 2

The Anglo-Indian Press was generally hostile towards the Congress. In January, 1889, the Calcutta Review observed: "The Com gress then is something more than a Political Club. It is a Revolutionary League... .It is obvious that agitation is on foot which may in certain events lead to the most serious consequences to the Government and the country." 63

The view that the Anglo-Indian Press was merely the mouthpiece of official policy is supported by such articles as "India for the Indians, or India for England?", in which a member of the Civil Service asks: "Is the peace of India to be sacrificed to the ambition of Babudom? Is the stability of the empire to be endangered for a set of Parliamentary Pecksniffs? Are we to forget the triple strife between French, Dutch and English for Hindustan? Is Plassey to go for nothing?" 64 An editorial on the Congress in the Calcutta Review called upon all Government servants who are "committed to an open programme of sedition against the power on which.... they depend for their daily bread" to first resign their government posts. 63

The attitude of the Government of India towards the Indian National Congress has been one of steady and increasing hostility. As related above, Fe many persons hold that it was at Lord Dufferin's

suggestion that the Indian National Congress as a political organization came into being. But after the first two sessions were over, the demands of the Congress, though extremely moderate in the eyes of the Indians, upset Lord Dufferin. The following extracts from his correspondence with Lord

Cross, the Secretary of State for India, would enable anyone to gauge the real attitude of both to the Congress.

1. Duffefrin to Cross, 1 February, 1887.

"I think on the whole the meeting of the Indian Congress at Calcutta has had an excellent effect, though not exactly in the direction its promoters anticipated. In the first place, it has given us in some degree the intellectual measure of these gentlemen, and has enabled us to gauge their political capacity.... My impression is that they are far more able and respectable in their individual capacity than as members of a rather hysterical assembly, in which the more violent and silly of their number rule the roost (rest?). On the other hand, their extravagant pretensions, as embodied in their resolutions, have aroused the opposition and indignation both of the Mahomedan community and of the conservative section of the society, which is both large and influential."

2. Cross to Dufferin, 25 February, 1887.

"You have brought up a favourable view of the Indian Congress at Calcutta. This noisy few will no doubt always pass resolutions of the most advanced and at the same time of the most unpractical character. But the masses of the people do not want to be ruled by the Baboos, and it is our duty as well as our interest, and still more the interesc of the people, that there is to be English rule."

3. Dufferin to Cross, 24 September, 1888.

"A new feature in connexion with the Congress movement has been developed, in the shape of a certain number of Government servants in various provinces acting as agents of the propaganda, and using their official position to collect money on its behalf. Several Provincial Administrations have called our attention to the subject, and have asked for instructions. I am inclined to tell them in reply that they must put a stop to all such proceedings on their own responsibility, but that of course we will support their action in doing so."

4. Cross to Dufferin, 17 February, 1888.

"I must, I am afraid, trouble you for your opinion as to these Congresses or Conferences or whatever they call themselves. Will they grow or lessen? What weight is to be attached to their declaration? Is it wise to take any action in any way? I know you have carefully studied the whole question, and that you are quite alive to all its difficulties and dangers."

In reply to the last, Dufferin forwarded to Cross a paper from General Chesney and a letter of Sir Auckland Colvin on the Congress. Chesney's report runs to 19 pages. He states that though men like Sir Madhava Rao and others have joined the Congress, it is really run by a class of extremists. He then adds: "What was in 1885 only an experiment, in 1887 bears the appearance of becoming, as they call it themselves, a prominent national institution.. . .A strong feeling of insecurity inherent in our rule has been shared by some of the ablest Indian administrators: Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord Metcalfe, Sir Thomas Munro, have given expression to it in vivid terms—a feeling that the people at large may some day combine to make our government impossible, that a movement may arise too widespread to make head against. There is strong evidence, I believe, that the beginnings of such a movement are now to be discerned, a movement directed by the agitators who are 'running' the Congress, which, if not stopped, will produce an outbreak, in which the sympathies of the native army might or might not be enlisted, but the great danger of which would consist in its wide extent. Hitherto, in all our struggles the people of the country, if not on our side, have not been against us. Our wars have been carried on with mercenary armies against mercenary troops, and when the enemy has been conquered in the field, the people in the country have quickly accepted our rule. What difficulties we have encountered hitherto would be nothing to the difficulties that would arise if the people of the whole country, or even any large part of it, were to become actively hostile to our rule. This is the result which the agents who are working the National Congress are trying, whether they mean it or not, to bring about."

In conclusion, Chesney recommends that "further meetings of the Congress should be prohibited."

Sir Auckland Colvin in his letter to Lord DufTerin, dated 10th June, 1888, takes a more moderate view, but deprecates Congress being invited at Government House as it gives them prestige, and advises the Government not to yield to popular demand.

In a memorable speech at St. Andrews Day Dinner, Calcutta, on 30 November, 1888, Lord DufTerin gave expression to his feelings in words which may be quoted in extenso, for it may be said without much exaggeration that they represented the settled policy which Britain pursued ever since with remarkable tenacity. Though occasionally forced to yield and make concessions to the strong cuirent

of Indian opinion, the principles laid down by Duffer in formed the basic policy of the British Cabinet and the Government of India. Lord Dufferin observed:

“Some intelligent, loyal, patriotic and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown—by the application to India of democratic methods of government, and the adoption of parliamentary system, which England herself has only reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation. The ideal authoritatively suggested, as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will. The organization of battalions of native militia and volunteers for the internal and external defence of the country is the next arrangement suggested, and the first practical result to be obtained would be the reduction of the British army to one-half its present numbers. Well, gentlemen, I am afraid that the people of England will not readily be brought to the acceptance of this programme, or to allow such an assembly, or a number of such assemblies, either to interfere with its armies, or to fetter and circumscribe the liberty of action either of the provincial governments or of the Supreme Executive. In the first place, the scheme is eminently unconstitutional; for the essence of constitutional government is that responsibility and power should be committed to the same hands. The idea of irresponsible councils, whose members could arrest the march of Indian legislation, or nullify the policy of the British executive in India, without being liable to be called to account for their acts in a way in which an opposition can be called to account in a constitutional country, must be regarded as an impracticable anomaly. Indeed, so obviously impossible would be the application of any such system in the circumstances of the case, that I do not believe it has been seriously advocated by any native statesman of the slightest weight or importance.. .less than one per cent, has any knowledge of English;.. .it may be said that, out of a population of two hundred million, there are only a very few thousands who may be said to possess adequate qualifications, so far as education and an acquaintance with Western ideas or even Eastern learning are concerned, for taking an intelligent view of those intricate and complicated economic and political questions affecting the destinies of so many millions of men which are almost daily being presented for the consideration of the Government of India. I would ask then, how any reasonable man could imagine that the British Government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control their

administration of that majestic and multiform empire for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before the face of civilization?.. .At present, however, it appears to me a groundless contention that it represents the people of India... .1 do not wish at all to imply that I view with anything but favour and sympathy the desire of the educated classes of India to be more largely associated with us in the conduct of the affairs of their country. Such an ambition is not only very natural, but very worthy, provided due regard can be had to the circumstances of the country and to the conditions under which the British administration in India discharges its duties.” 67

Three days after he delivered this speech Dufferin sent a copy of it to Cross with a covering letter, a portion of which is quoted below:

Dufferin to Cross s 3 December, 1888.

“Of course you will have been carefully watching the progress of what may be called the Home Rule movement in this country. It is neither formidable, nor—as far as most of the people who take part in it are concerned—either a disloyal or an illegitimate movement, though we must never forget that in it, and connected with it, there is a very real and bitter element of what I call ‘bastard* disloyalty, represented by a small Bengalee clique in Calcutta, whose organ is the Mirror. I say ‘bastard’ disloyalty, because, though this party hates Englishmen and the English rule, and desires all it can to injure and discredit them, I do not believe that in their own secret hearts they are aiming at any special ideal as a substitute. It is just possible they vfiay be in communication with Russia, but I do not think they are. At all events, they ought to know that they would find Russia’s little finger bigger than our thigh. For all that, we must regard them as our real enemies. On the other hand, the Mahomedans, the Oudh Talookdars, and even most of the responsible and sensible Bengalees, have an instinctive dislike of the Congress and of its works; but midway between the two parties there stands a considerable mass of irresolute opinion which has been watching with wonder the immunity extended to what in its view are the insubordinate proceedings of the Congress-Wallahs, such as Mr. Hume’s foolish threats of insurrection, and the dissemination of the libels and calumnies contained in the Tamil Catechism and similar publications. I considered therefore that before I left it would be my duty to give some sign of the light in which I regarded such of the Congress demands and proceedings as are extravagant and reprehensible. Accordingly I took the opportunity of a Scotch dinner at Calcutta to make the speech which I am sending to you and to the members of your Council.”

Dufferin’s hostile attitude towards the Congress was further displayed by his efforts to stop all pecuniary help to the Congress.

On 8 October, 1888, he wrote to Cross: “Bye the bye I ought to mention that some months ago the Maharaja of Mysore was said to have contributed largely to the National Congress. Though what really happened did not quite amount to this, I thought it well to send him a verbal message, the purport of which was reduced to writing in the accompanying form. Now the Nizam has sent even a larger contribution to the anti-Congress movement, so I have despatched an intimation to him in the same sense.” Dufferin further added that Government servants were collecting money for Congress, but Lieutenant-Governors had been authorised to stop this.

The effect of Lord Dufferin's hostile attitude was almost immediately felt. After the fourth session the Government servants were forbidden to take any part in the proceedings of the Congress. Reference has been made to Colvin's inveterate hostility to the Congress and his correspondence with Hume. "In this exchange it becomes apparent that the difference of opinion between Hume, who had identified himself with the Indian subjects, and Colvin, who represented the British ruling class, was a fundamental one, and one which at this time became more crystallized as the Congress was formulating its demands". 63 Lord Lansdowne took a more liberal view of the Congress. "He said in December, 1890, that the Congress was a legitimate movement which officials could not participate in but which they should not impede. Official recognition of the Congress dates from this statement. Lansdowne is further reported to have referred to the Congress as 'the advanced Liberal Party in India". 59 But Lansdowne was cautious as to the extent to which the reform of the Councils should be carried out, particularly with regard to the expansion of their functions. "In a despatch to Cross (Secretary of State for India) on May 25, 1889, Lansdowne and his Council supported Cross' proposals to allow the Councils the right of interpellation, and added, 'In our opinion the Budget should be submitted to the Legislative Council for discussion and criticism only, and that no power should be given to make a motion regarding it.' Also it was under Lansdowne's administration that in January, 1891, censorship by a government political agent of all newspapers was imposed. Therefore it cannot be maintained that the policy of Lansdowne was basically more favourable to the Congress than that of Dufferin, even though his public utterances were somewhat less vituperative."eo The next Viceroys and the Secretaries of State continued the traditional

hostile policy against the Congress. Lord George Hamilton wrote to Lord Elgin on 11 December, 1896: "It is gratifyng to note that Congress, as a political power, has steadily gone down during the last few years, and this is, I think, largely due to the indifference and unconcern with which the Indian Government has tolerated its proceedings." On 24 June, 1897, Hamilton again wrote to Elgin: "The more I see and hear of the National Congress Party, the more I am impressed with the seditious and double-sided character of the prime-movers of the organization."

Curiously enough, though Hamilton spoke of the decline in the power of the Congress, he was very anxious to curb its influence. On 1st May, 1899, he wrote to Lord Curzon suggesting three measures to counteract Congress activities. These were:

1. To ascertain who, amongst princes and noblemen, subscribed to the Congress fund and to let them know that the Government were aware of the fact.

2. To prefer for honours and distinctions those who were not Congressmen.

3. To exercise a greater control over education, its organisation and text books.

How Lord Curzon followed his chief's instructions may be easily gathered from his activities. There can be hardly any doubt that the Universities Act of 1904 was inspired by the item No. 3, which also accounts for the fact that Curzon forced Lee-Wamer's Citizen of India as a text-book upon unwilling universities. 61 As to item No. 1, he wrote to Hamilton on 7 June, 1899: "I gather that you want me to ascertain what native princes or noblemen contribute to Congress funds and I will endeavour to discover this." 62 But Curzon hardly required any inspiration. On November 18, 1900, he wrote to Hamilton: "My own belief is that the Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise."

It is interesting to note how Hamilton followed up his general instructions by concrete illustrations. He recommended that Mr. Bhownagree should be included in the Honours list, for "he has fought the violent portion of the Congress with courage and ability and seems to me an able and thoroughly loyal man." 62 * Hamilton also asked Lord Curzon to grant the request of Mrs. Besant as she "had been very useful in Madras in combating the Congress leaders, and denouncing Western methods of agitation as wholly unsuited to India, and endeavouring to establish a system of modern education associated

with definite religious and moral training.. .It seems to me that this college might be a useful antidote, and if so, it would be worth our while to try and smooth down the difficulties which have occurred between the Committee of this college and Sir Anthony MacdonnelI.” 621)

In other words, the Government adopted the policy of favouring the anti-Congress elements and putting pressure upon the rich and the aristocracy, who were amenable to Government control, to withdraw their patronage from the Congress. This was done with remarkable success, and few would have dared openly to support the Congress, and thereby provoke the wrath of the British Government. Unfortunately, this unholy conspiracy between the British and Indian authorities against the Congress could not achieve its object, owing to one miscalculation. They did not perceive that the Indian National Congress derived its real strength and support from the middle class and not from the wealthy and the aristocracy.

But Hamilton had other weapons in his armoury to destroy the influence of the Congress. In his letter to Lord Curzon, dated 20 September, 1899, lie writes:

“I think the real danger to our rule in India, not now but 50 years hence, is the gradual adoption and extension of Western ideas of agitation and organisation; and, if we could break the educated Hindu party into two sections holding widely different views, we should, by such a division, strengthen our position against the subtle and continuous attack which the spread of education must make upon our present system of Government/*

This is the genesis of the policy of “rally the Moderates”, which was followed with conspicuous success in the twentieth century, specially by Morley and Montagu, to which reference will be made

in the next volume.

It is hardly necessary to add that the British, both at home and in India, were very glad that important communities had not joined the Congress. Lord Cross wrote to Lord Beay, Governor of Bombay, on 23 January, 1890: “It is, however, very satisfactory to And that the Mahometans and the Parsees have as a body separated from the Congress.”

It would appear from what has been said above that the British came to look upon the Congress as a great menace to the security of their Indian Empire. Hence the Indian National Congress became almost a nightmare with the British politicians. It is interesting to note that in some quarters, Duffer in was held mainly

responsible for this evil. Lord Hamilton wrote to Lord Curzon on 17 May, 1900:

“Dufferin ... is a thorough Irishman; and I do not believe he has been in any single place of responsibility and authority in which he did not more or less purchase popularity by leaving to his successors unpleasant legacies. I attribute largely to his mismanagement and want of judgement the origin and development of the Congress Party; and he could, as you say, at that time have effected restrictions in the admission of natives to the higher ranks of the service that at present are quite impossible.” 62 '

IV. POLITICAL WORK IN ENGLAND

Reference has been made above to the political propaganda carried on in England, both by liberal Englishmen as well as by Indians, on behalf of India. 63 Hume, who conceived the idea of Indian National Congress, was also “firmly convinced that the British people desired fair play for India, and would see that justice was done, provided only they understood the merits of the case.” 64 As soon as the idea of the Congress took a definite shape, Hume proceeded to England and consulted many liberal Englishmen and faithful friends of India, including Lord Ripon, ‘as to the best means of getting hearing for Indian political aspirations from the British Parliament and public’. The general consensus of opinion was that “a vigorous and sustained propaganda must be kept up throughout the country (Britain), by means of public meetings, lectures, pamphlets, articles, and correspondence in the press, and by securing the sympathy of local associations and of influential public men”. After the Indian National Congress had consolidated public opinion in India, Hume was more and more convinced that the future political work lay more in Britain than in India.

He pointed out that ‘the European officials in India must necessarily be antagonistic to the Congress programme whose tendency was to curtail the virtually autocratic powers exercised by them, and as they are all-powerful, it is not possible to secure any reforms*. "Our only hope lies in awakening the British public to a sense of the wrongs" of the Indian people. 66 As Wedderbum put it, "a frontal attack on bureaucratic power, firmly entrenched at Simla—with all the armoury of repression at its command—was hopeless. But success was within reach, by means of a flanking movement, that is, by an appeal to the British elector." 66 Inspired by this idea Hume, in a letter dated 10 February, 1889, pressed upon Congress workers the vital need of carrying on a full-fledged political propaganda in Britain. "The least that we could do," said he, "would be to provide

ample funds—for sending and keeping constantly in England deputations of our ablest speakers to plead their country's cause—to enable our British Committee to keep up an unbroken series of public meetings, whereat the true state of affairs in India might be expounded—to flood Great Britain with pamphlets, leaflets, newspapers, and magazine articles—in a word to carry on agitation there, on the lines and scale of that in virtue of which the Anti-Com-Law League triumphed". 67

In accordance with this scheme, a paid Agency was established, in 1888 under William Digby with a regular office, and a vigorous campaign was carried on in Great Britain. "Then thousand copies of the Report of the third Congress, and many thousand copies of speeches and pamphlets were printed and circulated, while Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee and Eardley Norton, in connection with the Agency, addressed a number of public meetings, and Mr. Bradlaugh delivered many lectures on Indian questions in different parts of England." A permanent committee, under the title (finally adopted) of "The British Committee of the Indian National Congress", was started in July, 1889, with Sir W. Wedderburn as Chairman, Mr. Digby as Secretary, and a number of distinguished Englishmen and two Indians (W. C. Bonnerjee and Dadabhai Nabroji) as members. The Indian National Congress of 1889 confirmed its constitution and voted Rs. 45,000 for its maintenance, the amount to be raised by a proportional contribution from each of the Provincial Congress Committees. 68

The Committee decided to wage war against the hostile official propaganda, particularly of the India Office, on three fronts; in Parliament, by organizing an Indian Parliamentary Committee; on the platform, by arranging public meetings throughout the country; and in the Press, by founding the journal "India" as an organ of Congress views.

The Indian Parliamentary Committee gained great strength in 1893 when it comprised 154 members of the House of Commons. Their activities led to the appointment of the "Welby Royal Commission on Indian expenditure and the apportionment of charge between India and the United Kingdom." It is also probably due to their efforts that the House of Commons adopted in 1893 a resolution in favour of holding simultaneous examinations for the I.C.S. 68a

A number of public meetings and lectures were addressed, not only by liberal Englishmen but also by eminent Indians like Surendranath Banerji and G. K. Gokhale. Gokhale made a very good impression by his political speeches at Manchester and other places. He spoke at a meeting of the Undergraduates* Union at Cambridge,

where "his motion in favour of more popular institutions for India was carried by 161 to 62." In addition to public meetings and lectures, the interest in India was kept alive through addresses to associations and other select audiences, social entertainments, and interviews with ministers, members of Parliament, editors, and other public men. 69

The main function of the journal, India, was to supply reliable information to the British public about the actual state of affairs in India, in order to counteract the influence of the London Press whose articles on Indian subjects were "mainly supplied by Anglo-Indians unfavourable to Indian aspirations." The India supplied true record of "current facts, events and opinions" in India and thus furnished "arms and materials to those who were willing to fight for the cause of India". Its circulation was not very large, but it was recognized as "the chief purveyor of Indian news to a large part of the Liberal Press".

It may be noted in conclusion that political propaganda by the Indians was also carried on in Europe outside Britain. To cite an example, the veteran Indian politician Dadabhai Naoroji placed the Indian question before international opinion at the Congress of Socialists at Amsterdam, on 17

August, 1904. The following summary account is taken from the Temps of 19 August, 1904:—

“At to-day’s sitting a speech has been delivered which has caused a profound sensation and has marked, at the same time, the entry into the International party of Socialists of a representative of the Indian race.

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“This delegate is called Dadabhai Naoroji. He is an old man. He has been fighting for fifty years for the amelioration of the lot of his countrymen.

“He recalled that the Indian Empire has been founded by the English solely by the co-operation of the Indians, who fought for them and paid for their wars. To recompense the Indians, the English have subjected them to an execrable rule. A permanent drain impoverishes India. Two hundred millions of rupees are paid every year by the country to the officials who are Englishmen. One hundred million alone remains in the country. On the other hand, every year commerce takes out of India two hundred millions of rupees. It is an impoverishment of 300 millions of rupees or 460 million francs... This accounts for the frightful misery amongst the people. When the harvest is good a large portion of the people have scarcely the wherewithal to appease their hunger. When the harvest fails, there is famine and millions die of starvation. It is not that the produce is insufficient for the requirements of the country, but it is too poor to buy back the produce of its labour. Huge exportations of rice and grain have taken place at a time when the cultivators were dying in inanition.

“In 1833 and in 1858 England by solemn pledges undertook to treat the indigenes as its own subjects. She has conferred all the public offices on her own people. She has oppressed and ground down the Indians; she has broken her pledged word. Her conduct ought to be branded.”

After this discourse the president had recorded that: “This Congress unanimously stigmatises the Colonial policy of England.” [70]

V. THE RELATION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WITH THE OLD POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS

It would be interesting to study the relations between the Indian National Congress and the political associations already existing in India, which continued to carry on their useful activities after the foundation of the Congress. Copious data are available for such a study so far as the British Indian Association of Calcutta is concerned. The early history and activities of this body, founded as far back as 1851, have been described above. 71 It sent delegates to the Congress for the first three years (1885-87), but then difference arose over the exact nature and function of the Indian National Congress.

"In reply to a letter from the Standing Committee of the Congress (Calcutta), seeking the views of the British Indian Association on the tentative rules drawn up for the Congress, the Secretary of the British Indian Association stated (6th December, 1888) that while the Association had co-operated with the Congress for the past three years and would do so in future, it definitely objected to the tentative rules, which aimed at changing the character of the Congress and making it a separate and permanent organisation. The British Indian Association considered the Congress as only a national conference, representing the different political bodies in the country but not being a permanent and independent entity. The letter continued that the objects of the Congress did not differ materially from those of the existing political associations, namely, to petition the authorities on redress of grievances. But it would lose its representative character if it turned itself into a separate independent body, since the existing political associations would not like to function as mere Sub-Committees of the Congress. The letter concluded: 'The Committee are clearly of opinion that the Congress should simply be a

conference of the representatives of the nation and nothing more, and with that view it should dissolve itself as soon as its sitting was over, leaving to the different political Associations of the country to carry out the objects of the conference in the way which was most agreeable to them. In this way unification of public opinion will be secured while independence of the actions of the different Associations will be recognised and respected". 72

As the Congress refused to accept this point of view, the British Indian Association practically held aloof from it, for it instructed its delegates “not to take part in the discussion of any subject matter other than those relating to the expansion of the Legislative Council and the extension of the Permanent Settlement. The delegates were also forbidden to represent any other institution at the Congress”. 73

The rift between the two political organizations, though unfortunate, was inevitable. “It was not because the Association represented the rich and the Congress the poor, or because the Association's policy was timid while that of the Congress was bold. In the early days of the Congress there was not much of a difference between the two bodies in respect of either composition or policy. The rift was inevitable because of the natural pride of a political organisation of 40 years' standing, refusing to be swallowed up by an organisation just bom”. 74

It should be noted that the British Indian Association did not altogether lose its prestige and importance as a political organization down to the end of the nineteenth century. As noted above, “when at the end of 1895 Gandhi came to India to ventilate the grievances of Indians in South Africa, he sought the help of the British Indian Association (November, 1895) to make necessary representations to the British and Indian Governments”. 76 The British Indian Association “fully supported the views of Gandhi and sent a strong representation on the subject to the Government of India on the 5th February, 1897.” 76

Most of the other political associations, however, recognized the Indian National Congress as the central political organization representing India as a whole, and regarded themselves as more or less feeder institutions, concentrating their attention upon, and confining their activities to, the political regeneration of the particular provinces to which they belonged. In Bengal, and later in other provinces, the Annual Provincial Conference, and later even District Conference, became a regular feature of political activities. These bodies served as electoral colleges for the selection of delegates to the annual session of the Congress. They also formulated the political views to be placed before the Congress, and were mainly instrumental in giving publicity to the proceedings of the Congress and carrying its resolutions into effect. 77 A properly articulated system was thus evolved with the Indian National Congress as its apex,^and the local organizations (at the district or even lower level) as the broad base. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Indian National Congress had become the premier political organization of the country, casting into shade all the other political organizations in India.

In spite of its position as the premier political organization in India, the Indian National Congress suffered from some serious drawbacks which were noted by eminent Indians almost from the very beginning. Bankimchandra Chatterji criticised its lack of contact with the masses which, in his opinion, was essential for a political organization if it wanted to do any effective work. He also ridiculed its mentality of a mendicant or beggar. Some younger members also felt keenly on the subject, and regretted the lack of all political activity on the part of the Congress exept for the three days during which it was in session every year. Aswini-kumar Datta of Barisal (then a district in Bengal), who was destined to achieve great fame during the hectic days of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, voiced this feeling in the session of the Congress held at Amraoti in 1897, when he denounced it as a '“three days’ tarrvashd (fun)”. He was fully entitled to make this remark, for in the course of that year he had managed to send a petition signed by forty thousand common men, including peasants, weavers, carpenters, small traders etc., to the British Parliament urging the early introduction of the representative system of government in India. 78

These defects were partially removed by the Provincial Conferences which developed into a powerful political organization in Bengal. This was mainly due to the activity of the Indian Association. 'which was carried throughout the year with a network of branch associations spread all over the province. Thus the old political organizations, wherever they were still active, supplemented the work of the Indian National Congress. Nevertheless, it must be admittted that it remained in 1905, as it was in 1885, an organization of the English-educated middle class, and had no right to claim a popular character.

1. Hist Congr ., p. 11.

2. See p. 512.

3. P. 1 ff.

4. P. 2.

5. A Nation in Making, p. 89.

5a,, Professor Sundar Raman, who attended the first session of the Indian National Congress, also refers to the meeting mentioned by Mrs. Besant. According to him “Diwan Bahadur Raghunath Rao got up a special meeting of his friends ‘to find ways and means of bringing together Indian politicians to inaugurate a political movement’ ...” (Andrews and Mookerjee, p. 124).

5b. Besant, p. 3.

5c. Ibid.

6. A Nation in Making, p. 98.

7. A. C. Mazumdar, 40.

8. Andrews and Mookerjee, 116.

9. Ibid, 121-2.

10. Hume, 50.

11. Ibid, 79.

12. Ibid, 80-1. Wedderbum corroborates the reality of such danger by his personal experience of Deccan riots. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 940.

13. For the extracts from this letter quoted below, cf. Hume, 50-53.

14. Hume, 59-60.

15. Introduction to Indian Politics (published by G. A. Natesan, Madras, 1898). Indian National Congress (Natesan)—Page A at the end.

16. Andrews and Mookerjee, 122-4.

17. IHQ, XXXI, 150.

18. R.jne, 101.

19. Ibid, 77.

20. Ibid, 63-4; Andrews and Mookerjee, 121.

21. Andrews and Mookerjee, 124.

22. B.C. Pal-I, H. 13-4.

22a. For a full discussion of this question cf. R. C. Majumdar, Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century , pp. 91 ft .

23. For Dr. Chatterji's views cf. Journal of Indian History XXXVI, 172; al®@ Modem Review, October, 1950, p. 273.

24. Hume, 53.

25. The accounts of the Congress sessions that follow, unless otherwise stated, are based on the published proceedings of the different sessions of the Indian National Congress.

26. Congress, xviii.

27. This resolution has been quoted in Vol. IX, p. 762.

28. Appendix to the Proceedings of the First session of the Congress, pp. 78-82.

29. Tnb is the figure mentioned by Badruddin Tyabji in his Presidential Address at the Madras session and supported by Mrs. Besant (p. 15). But A. C. Mazumdar (p. 67) and Andrews and Mookerjee (p. 143) put the number respectively, at 406 and 412.

30. B. C. Pal observes (op. cit. 14): "After the Congress cf Bombay, Mr. Hume came to Calcutta to organise the next session of the Congress that was to be held there. And he soon discovered the impossibility of enlisting the sympathies and active co-operation of politically-minded and educated Bengal if Surendra Nath was left out of the counsels of the Congress. He, therefore, called upon Surendra Nath and induced him to join the Congress." See above, pp. 514, 533.

30a. Besant, 15.

30b. Ibid.

30c. On the Present State of Indian Politics, pp. 11-2.

30d. The Indian Mutiny of 1857, p. 412.

'31. B. C. Pal-I, n. 35-41.

32. Hume, 61-2.

33. Ibid.

34. Congress Proceedings, 1886-91; A. C. Mazumdar, 72.

35. For details, cf. Hume, 64 ff.

36. Ibid, 67.

37. B. C. Pal-I, II. 48-52.

38. For the text of the speech, cf. Lord Dutferin's Speeches delivered in India, pp. 237-44. It has been referred to above, and will be more fully discussed later.

39. This view gains some support from the following passage in his letter to Lord Cross, Secretary of State for India, dated 3 December, 1888, forwarding a copy of his speech: ‘It will of course make the Home Rule party in India very angry and expose me to a good deal of obloquy and abuse just as I am leaving the country, the echoes of which may reverberate at home, but I thought it would clear the atmosphere and render Lanadowne’a position easier and pleasanter^ H. P. Ghose, a veteran old Congressman in Calcutta, told me that he foiled some notes in the handwriting of an eminent Ifrigfaihg&an of the time, in a printed book belonging to him, from which it appears that Lord Dufferin poured his vial of wrath upon the Congress as the political leaders refused to make a demonstration on his departure as they did on the occasion of Lord Riport’s leaving India. I have seen the notes.

40. See p. 312.

41. See p. 390.

42. The amendment of Munshi Hid ay at Rasul, a delegate from Awadh, was rejected by the Muhammadan delegates; 16 voted for and 23 against the proposal, while the great bulk did not vote at all.

43. For Englishmen’s hatred and aversion towards the Bengalis, see pp. 337-8, 373-5.

44. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 762-3, 767.

45. Ibid, pp. 787 ff.

46. Ibid, 789 ff.

47. Appendix to the Proceeding# of the First session of the Congress, pp. 80-82. The italics are mine.

48. 1885, pp. 6-7.

49. See p. 397.

50. IHQ, XXXI, 140.

51. Ibid, 140-41.

52. Ibid, 141-42.

53. Calcutta Review, 1889, p. 142.

54. Ibid, 1890, pp. 34-5.

55. Ibid, 1889, p. 144.

56. See p. 530.

57. IHQ, XXXI, 149-50.

58. Ibid, 145.

59. Ibid.

60. IHQ, XXXI, 145-6.

61. Chintamani, 32.

62. Calcutta Review, 1954, p. 40.

62a. Hamilton to Elgin, 27 May, 1897.

62b. Hamilton to Curzon, 9 August, 1899.

62c. The letters referred to in this section are mostly unpublished and have been copied from the CRO Library by Dr. A. K. Majumdar. They have since been published in the Advent of Independence, by Dr. A. K. Majumdar (Appendix V).

63. Cf. pp. 518-21.

64. Hume, 54.

65. Ibid, 85-6.

66. Ibid, 86,

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid, 87-8.

68a. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 790.

69. Hume, 99.

70. Modem Review, HI. 527.

71. See pp. 448-54.

72. Report of the Regional Records Survey Committee for West Bengal (1957-8), pp. 42-3.

73. Ibid, 43.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid, 43-4.

76. Ibid, 44.

77. For an account of the Bengal Provincial Coolerence, cf. Bengal Renaissance, pp. 169-71.

78. Ibid, 170.

CHAPTER XVI (LIV)

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT IN POLITICS

I. RISE OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY

The foundation of the Indian National Congress marks a turning point in the history of Modern India. It shortly developed into a powerful political organization of all-India character and a public forum of the politically advanced section of the people. It could legitimately claim to represent the Indian intelligentsia. It focussed the political ideas of English-educated Indians and gave them a definite shape and form. Compared with the vast population of India the class represented by the Congress was no doubt numerically very poor, and Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, did not commit any arithmetical error when he described, rather derided, it as a ‘microscopic minority' of the Indian people. But such a minority always constitutes the brain of the people and has been regarded as their rightful representative even in progressive countries of the West. Lord Dufferin might well have remembered that about the time when he was born, the House of Commons represented a very small minority of the people.

The Indian National Congress was founded on the twin rocks of unswerving loyalty to the British sovereign and indissoluble partnership of the British Empire. It was pledged to strictly constitutional mode of agitation, which practically meant humble prayers and petitions to the Government, both in India and England, and occasional appeals to the English people who theoretically constituted the fountain source of all authority. These bore very little fruit, but were not altogether useless, for the Indian Councils Act of 1892 may justly be looked upon as an achievement of the Iflffian National Congress. Whatever might have been the intrinsic merit of the Act as a measure of political advancement, it certainly paved the way for further reforms of a more substantial character.

But although the Indian National Congress failed to secure from an unsympathetic Government any substantial grant of political reforms which it demanded for twenty years. (1885-1905), it helped the political advancement of India in various ways. The annual sessions of the Congress, by bringing together the leading representative men from widely remote parts of India, gave a reality to the ideal of Indian unity, developed patriotic feelings among all classes and the diverse races and creeds of India, and awakened political consciousness among a steadily increasing circle of educated Indians. Besides, as the more important political, economic and administrative problems of India were regularly discussed in the meetings of the Congress, and later also in the Provincial Conferences, and these discussions often reached a very high level, the Indian National Congress became instrumental in widely diffusing very useful and accurate knowledge necessary for the political development of India, and educating public opinion on all questions concerning the welfare and progress of India.

The same object was further achieved by the part played by some of the Congress leaders in the enlarged Legislative Councils set up by the Act of 1892. A large number of very distinguished political leaders were elected members of these councils, and for the first time Indian point of view on every public question was most ably pleaded by them. The eloquent speeches of Pherozeshah Mehta and Surendra-nath Banerji, voicing the aims and aspirations of political India, which were hitherto heard only in the Congress pandal or on public platform, were now echoed in the Council Chamber in the presence of the highest officials of the Government. Men like Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Ashu-tosh Mukherji, Rash-behari Ghosh, R. M. Sayani, P. A. Charlu, B. K. Bose, Sayyid Husain Bilgrami, and many others 1 brought to bear upon the burning questions of the day such a mature knowledge and wealth of details that no Government could easily brush them aside. They achieved little success by way of practical results, but their activities as well as the career of Dadabhai Naoroji, who placed the Indian question before the British public, and before the House of Commons when he was elected its member in 1892, roused the political consciousness of India to an extent unknown before.

Apart from this notable contribution to the political training of the Indian people, the Indian National Congress enhanced the political prestige of India and quickened our sense of national pride, in an indirect way, through the personality, character, patriotism, and high intellectual brilliance of the great galaxy of eminent leaders who nurtured this infant institution and brought it safely to an adolescent stage. Men like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendra-nath Banerji, Pherozeshah Mehta, R. C. Dutt, Lal-mohan Ghosh, G. K. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya,—to mention only a few—made a deep impression not only upon all classes and shades of opinion in India, but even upon Englishmen, as they were visible embodiments of the intellectual and cultural progress that India had made in the nineteenth century. Their lives and attainments were

living testimony to the fitness of Indiana for advanced political life, and they raised the Indians in the estimation of our foreign rulers such as nothing else could possibly have done.

It would be unjust therefore to minimise the importance of the Indian National Congress or the value of its work, eyen though its actual attainments fell far short of its aims and aspirations. It would, however, be equally wrong to look upon the Congress as the only channel through which flowed the political currents of India, and to regard it as the sole medium of the evolution of national life or the only agency which carried on the campaign for political regeneration of India during the period from 1885 to 1905.

Broadly speaking, the practical measures of reform demanded by the Indian National Congress between 1885 and 1905 represent more or less the stage of political progress reached in Bengal during the preceding quarter of a century. The shortcomings of the British rule and the measures suggested for their removal cover nearly the same ground. The means to achieve the ends were also the same. One marks the same unflinching faith in the providential character of the British rule, the robust and sincere sentiments of devoted loyalty to the British crown, and the same pathetic, almost abject, belief in the sense of justice of the British people who would concede all the reasonable demands of the Indians as soon as they were properly approached. The Indian National Congress, however, could not keep pace with the advanced political ideals, and failed to respond to the developed sense of nationality and patriotism, which grew in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. An abstract love of liberty for its own sake and as our birth-right, a passionate desire for freedom based upon a sense of greatness of our ancient culture, an innate hatred of British rule on account of its iniquitous character, and a spirited protest against the arrogance of the English—all these which deeply stirred the neo-nationalists of the period, are conspicuous by their absence in the programme and proceedings of the Indian National Congress during the first twenty years of its existence. No wonder, therefore, that the ideals and methods of the Congress failed to satisfy the advanced political thinkers of the time and the votaries of the new spirit of nationalism who were gradually becoming a political force in the country.

There were mutterings of protests against the Congress here and there, 2 and Arabinda Ghosh, destined to attain immortal fame at a later date, published a series of diatribes against it in the years 1893-4 in the Indu Prakash of Bombay. The general tone of the criticism may be judged by the following passages:*

“The Congress in Bengal is dying of consumption; annually its proportions sink into greater insignificance; its leaders, the Bonnerjis and Bannerjis and Lalmohan Ghoses, have climbed into the rarefied atmosphere of the Legislative Council and lost all hold on the imagination of the young men. The desire for a nobler and more inspiring patriotism is growing more intense. This is an omen of good hope for the future; for what Bengal thinks tomorrow, India will be thinking tomorrow week” 3 .

About a year earlier he had written:

“I say, of the Congress, then, this,—that its aims are mistaken, that the spirit in which it proceeds towards their accomplishment is not a spirit of sincerity and whole-heartedness, and that the methods it has chosen are not the right methods, and the leaders in whom it trusts, not the right sort of men to be leaders;—in brief, that we are at present the blind led, if not by the blind, at any rate by the one-eyed.... In an era when democracy and similar big words slide so glibly from our tongues, a body like the

Congress, which represents not the mass of the population, but a single and very limited class, could not honestly be called national...

Arabinda then refers to the contrary views of Pherozeshah Mehta and Manmohan Ghosh both of whom regarded the Congress as national. According to Mehta, “it is because the masses are still unable to articulate' definite political demands that the functions and duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand and to interpret their grievances and requirements, and to suggest and indicate how these can best be redressed and met”. “The Congress”, says Manmohan Ghosh, “represents the thinking portion of the Indian people, whose duty it is to guide the ignorant, and this in his opinion sufficiently justifies the Congress in calling itself national”. Arabinda concludes. “I shall therefore amend the obnoxious phrase and declare that the National Congress may be as national as you please, but it is not a popular body and has not in any way attempted to become a popular body”. 4

An edge was lent to the criticism against the Congress by the obvious fact that it did not respond to the famous manifesto issued by Allan Octavian Hume to the graduates of the Calcutta University in March, 1683, which is generally believed to have led to its inauguration two years later. Attention may be drawn to a few passages of this manifesto: 1. “Whether in the individual or the nation, all vital progress must spring from within.” 2. “They who would be free themselves must strike the blow.” 3. “Whether in the case of individuals or nations, self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness.” These are noble sentiments

but found no echo in the hearts of the leaders of the Con* gress if they are judged by their speeches and activities during the first twenty years. Instead of putting faith in the maxim that all vital progress must spring from within, the Congress looked to .the British Government for all improvements. Hume, in his manifesto, appealed to the educated Indians to “make a resolute struggle to secure freedom for yourselves and your country”, and observed that if “fifty men cannot be found with sufficient power of selfsacrifice, sufficient love for and pride in their country, sufficient genuine and unselfish heartfelt patriotism to take the initiative, and. if needs be, devote the rest of their lives to the cause, then there is no hope for India". It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the Congress would have looked upon this programme almost with horror and would not touch it with a pair of thongs.

The new nationalists felt whole-hearted sympathy with the ideals preached by Hume but ignored so far by the Congress. Their criticism against the Congress has been ably summed up by Lajpat Rai, himself a distinguished nationalist leader[6]. Their main point of attack was that the Congress lacked the essentials of a national movement. "The Congress movement", observed Lajpat Rai, "was neither inspired by the people, nor devised or planned by them. It was a movement not from within". 'The Congress leaders had neither sufficient political consciousness nor faith. They had certain political opinions, but not beliefs for which they were willing to suffer. Nor were they prepared to bear persecution for the cause they undertook. Either they did not know that they had a cause, or they were wanting in that earnestness which makes men suffer for a cause.'

Whether these comments and criticisms were fully justified or not, they unerringly indicate the new political outlook of the nationalist school as distinguished from those who had hitherto led the activities of the Congress. But their most serious charge against the Congress was that "its leaders were not in touch with the people; they felt shy of the masses, made no efforts to reach them, and systematically discouraged younger men from doing the same". There is no doubt that this charge was fair and just. In this respect Hume and some other English friends of the Congress movement showed more earnestness than many of the Indian leaders. When the prayers and petitions to the Government produced no effect, Hume concluded that "in order to constrain the Government to move, , the leaders of the Indian people must adopt measures of exceptional vigour, following the drastic methods pursued in England by Bright and Cobden in their great campaign on behalf of the people's food." Hume decided that the next step was "to instruct the great English

nation and also the far greater nation of India, so that every Indian shall become a comrade and if need be our soldier in the great war that we will wage for justice, for our liberties and our right". 6 Hume is said to have worked with his wonted energy, distributing tracts, leaflets and pamphlets, sending out lecturers and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts. Over one thousand meetings were held and over half a million pamphlets were distributed. If this work had been continued, the history of the Congress would have been different. The movement in England failed for funds; the movement in India collapsed for want of vigour.

It is thus apparent that although the organization envisaged by Hume might have developed into a truly national movement, the leaders of the Indian National Congress proved unequal to the task. Their activities in and outside the Congress and the Legislative Councils, however useful and praiseworthy in other ways, did not advance the cause of the national movement, whose origin and nature have been described above.

This, however, did not in any way deflect the national movement from its course, or retard its further development. As a matter of fact, the Indian National Congress lost the leadership of the national movement shortly after its birth, and did not recapture it until Mahatma Gandhi came to preside over its destiny. During this long interval the real national movement ran its course outside the Congress pandal and the legislative chambers. The same factors which gave birth to it and sustained it so far, were not only still at work, but, as mentioned above, some of them grew more and more intense with the progress of time, and gave a new shape and form to Indian nationalism.

This newly developed nationalism began to exercise considerable influence upon Indian politic* towards the close of the nineteenth century. Those who were imbued with this new spirit gradually drifted apart from the policy and ideals of the Congress, and formed a new group, first inside and then outside it. This process was fully in evidence before 1905, the closing year of this volume, but had not run its full course, nor fully developed its philosophical background, till two or three years later. It would be convenient, however, to discuss its main characteristics and fundamental principles at this formative stage so that the events at the opening of the next period may be studied in their true perspective.

The high priest of this new nationalism was Arabinda Ghosh whose criticism of the Congress has been quoted above. The following extract from one of his articles in his organ, the Bande Mataram, gives an insight into his philosophical interpretation of nationalism:

'It is not in human nature to rest eternally contented with a state of subordination or serfdom. God made man in his own image, essentially and potentially free and pure; shall man keep him in eternal bondage and sin? Freedom is constitutional in man, and when this freedom is curtailed by social and civil laws and institutions, it is done not to kill but to perfect this very freedom itself. This is the only rational end and justification of those necessary limitations that society imposes upon human freedom everywhere, and where this justification is absent, human nature revolts against these limitations, whether social, religious, or political, creating conflicts, struggles, revolutions, through which humanity realises its divinely appointed destiny everywhere. The desire for autonomy is constitutional in man and not a mere functional disturbance such as the tyrant and the aggressor has always proclaimed it to be. Is it sinful to cherish that which is a necessary element in the very constitution of man's mind and soul? Has not history preserved, as the most sacred relics of the race, the achievements of this natural and Godinspired impulse from its very birth? Has not art beautified it in a thousand lovely forms, in poetry, in painting, in music, and in sculpture? Has not religion, wherever and whenever it has not been able to free itself from the selfish control of priests and princes, sanctified this noble instinct, as the very breath of God? Shall we alone deem it a sin and be branded, for cherishing this divine desire, as criminals?

"Tyrants have tried but have they ever succeeded in repressing this natural love of freedom in man? Repressed it has grown in strength; crushed under the heel of the tyrant, it has assumed a myriad forms and in successive incarnations gaining strength and inspiration from repeated failures and endless suffering, it has risen finally, to overthrow its oppressor for good: this is the teaching of History, this is the message of Humanity.

"But like the scriptural adder, tyrants have eyes but they see not, have ears but they hear not, and the universal teaching of history, and the eternal message of humanity, are both lost on them. And the car of progress has, through human folly and perversity, to wade through blood and ruin still on earth.” 7

This is the rationale of the struggle for independence which was the keynote of the new school.

The credit of leavening Indian politics with this national spirit undoubtedly goes to Tilak. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpfivan Brahman of Poona, was the first among the Indian political leaders to emphasize, both by precept and example, the four distinctive features which characterized the new movement. The first is a sincere

faith in the glory and greatness of Indian culture in the past and the belief that all future development must be based upon this stable foundation. The second is a heartfelt conviction that the policy of mendicancy followed by the Congress would not lead to the desired goal, and that the Indians must rely on their own strength and assert their inalienable rights, even at the risk of great sufferings and sacrifices, before they can hope to achieve any substantial measure of selfgovernment. The third is the clear enunciation that the political goal of India is self-government or Swaraj rather than reforms in administration to which the Congress devoted its whole energy and attention during the early years of its existence. The fourth is the awakening of political consciousness among the people at large and the consequent need of political agitation among the masses.

Tilak struck a new note in Indian politics when a terrible famine broke out in Bombay in 1896. His emissaries orally explained to the people the ‘relevant sections of the Famine Relief Code and distributed leaflets or pamphlets containing abstracts of its important sections. Having thus educated the people in the knowledge of their rights, Tilak asked the people to take their stand on their rights and boldly demand the benefits offered by the Famine Relief Code. He asked them not to be cowards and not to pay the Government dues by selling their lands and cattle.’ Through his paper, the Kesari, he made stirring appeals to the people. “When the Queen desires that none should die, when the Governor declares that all should live,...will you”, he passionately exclaimed, “kill yourself by timidity and starvation? If you have money to pay Government dues, pay them by all means. But if you have not, will you sell your things away only to avoid the supposed wrath of subordinate Government officers? Can you not be bold, even when in the grip of death?” 7 * Week after week Tilak continued in this strain, denouncing in forceful language the lack of manliness among the “sheepish people”, and urging upon them lessons of self-reliance. He deplored and condemned food riots. “Why loot the bazars”, he used to say, “go to the Collector and tell him to give you work and food. That is his duty”. It is this activity of Tilak which the official circles regarded as “no-rent campaign” and has been described by them as such ever since. Tilak’s name was entered into the “Black List” of the Government as ‘Enemy' Number One’. The official circles never forgot or forgave him, and he was looked upon as one of those tall poppies which must be cut off to make India safe for British bureaucracy.

Far more important was the inauguration of the Ganapati and Shiva] i festivals by Tilak which may be said to be an important landmark in the history of the new movement, Tilak’s object

undoubtedly was to utilize the religious instincts and historical traditions for the purpose of engendering patriotism and national spirit among the people. He also hoped that these festivals, organized on a popular basis, would bring together the masses and the classes, a much desired contact, the importance of which the Congress never realized.

The Ganapati festival was an old religious institution in Maharashtra, but Tilak transformed it into a national festival and gave it a political character by organizing lectures, processions, melds, and singing parties. These were calculated to inculcate in the people a sturdy manhood, organized discipline and love of their country. Besides, it offered a common platform to the masses and classes and helped considerably in fostering national sentiment and promoting political education among large sections of people who kept aloof from organizations of a distinctive political character such as the Congress or Conferences. The festival, as reorganized by Tilak in 1893, appealed instinctively to all classes of people and spread rapidly all over Maharashtra.

Two classes of people were, however, seriously opposed to it. The liberal Hindus of the school of Ranade sneered at the old orthodox beliefs and practices underlying the ceremony, and the orthodox Congress politicians condemned it as an aggressive challenge against Muslims. Tilak defended his position in several articles in the Kesari in 1896. He emphasized the "wisdom of the policy of carrying forward, mutatis mutandis , those institutions which had been honoured by time and saved from the eternal silence." He also quoted analogies from the history of Greece and Rome. "The great unifying and rousing effect of the Olympian and Pythian festivals, and also of the Circus was emphasized with convincing force". Such festivals, he said, provided great opportunities for the educated classes to come into close contact with the illiterate masses, to enter into their very spirit, to understand their needs and grievances, and lastly, to make them co-sharers in the benefits of education and all other new notions of patriotism which education usually carried with it. To social reformers, he replied with bitter sarcasm: "Ranade, mixing with the people in the Ganesh festival and lecturing to them in front o* that God of learning, or participating freely in the anniversary celebrations of a saint like Ramdas and expatiating before hundreds of people that gathered there on the national work of that mighty and heroic sage, would be inconceivably more useful to the nation than Ranade sitting in the prayer-hall of the social reformers with his eyes and lips closed in devoted contemplation of their idea of the Almighty". 8

Tilak met the objections of the politicians by stating that "there was nothing wrong in providing a platform for all the Hindus of all high and low classes to stand together and discharge a joint national duty/ 7 On this occasion, as in later days, Tilak was charged with having a communal outlook and even accused of malice and hatred against the Muslims. But all this is belied, among others, by his magnanimous gesture at the Lakhnau Congress to which reference will be made later. Incidentally, reference may be made in this connection to another charge levelled against Tilak, namely, that he started an organization known as the Anti-Cow-Killing Society, which was intended to be, and actually served as, a direct provocation to the Muslims. This allegation was repeated in Valentine ChiroFs book, Indian Unrest , and formed one of the counts in the libel case instituted by Tilak against him. Chirol requested the Government of India to supply him evidence in justification of this and other accusations he had made against Tilak, for they were based on official records. The Government of India appointed Mr.

Montgomery, I.C.S., as a special officer for this purpose. After sifting all the available records, Montgomery was forced to come to the conclusion that “Tilak had nothing to do with the inception of an anti-cow-kilMng movement, nor is there any evidence to show that either before or after the Hindu-Muslim riots of 1803 he took any part in the management of the Anti-Cow-Killing Society or in furthering its aims’ 7 . 9 It is worth mentioning in this connection that even the All brothers acknowledged Tilak as their political guru.

The origin of the Shivaji festival is to be traced to the dilapidated condition of the tomb of Shivaji at Raigarh, which was his capital. In an issue of the Kesari in April, 1895, Tilak referred to it and made an appeal for money to repair the monument out of gratitude to Shivaji, the liberator of Maharashtra and protector of Hinduism. This object was not achieved during the lifetime of Tilak, but there were two important side issues of highly important character. The first was a movement, mainly through Tilak’s efforts, to celebrate an annual festival at Raigarh in honour of Shivaji’s birth. In spite of official opposition, the first celebration was successfully held on 15 March, 1895, at Raigarh, and lasted for two or three days amid the greatest enthusiasm of the people. Indeed, the festival took sdch a great hold over the public mind that it was held at many other places besides Raigarh.

These celebrations led to another Important development, namely, a revision of the historical estimate of Shivaji. The idea gradually gained ground that Shivaji should he judged by the standard of morality applicable to a great public benefactor; he had on

his shoulders the responsibility of establishing Swaraj for the Marathas, and whatever he did, with the purpose of accomplishing this end, was done for national good and must, therefore, be deemed to be appropriate.

The Shivaji festival was “national hero-worship, and round his name rallied all the newly aroused national pride and enthusiasm of the Maharashtrian people”. As regards the new conceptions of Shivaji which the Shivaji festivals held out before the people, the following description would give a fair idea. “Fiery speeches were made and Tilak himself said that a higher morality than that of the Indian Penal Code, in the usual ethical teachings of the East and the West, governs the life of nations; and Shivaji was fully justified in killing Afzal Khan, because it was a great unselfish act for national self-preservation. 'God has not conferred on the Mlechha a grant of Hindustan inscribed on imperishable brass'. Another speaker said: 'Who dares to call that man a murderer who, when only nine years old, had received Divine inspiration not to bow down before a Mahommedan Emperor? Who dares to condemn Shivaji for disregarding a minor duty in the performance of a major one? Had Shivaji committed five or fifty crimes more terrible, I would have been equally ready to prostrate myself not once but one hundred times before the image of our lord Shivaji.

.. .Every Hindu, every Mahratta must rejoice at this spectacle, for we too are all striving to regain our lost independence, and it is only by combination that we can throw off the yoke.” 10

All these points of view found eloquent expression during the celebration of the Shivaji festival at Poona on 12 June, 1897. Learned discourses were given on Shivaji, depicting him as a valiant fighter for the sake of his religion and motherland. In one of the meetings over which Tilak presided, Professor Bhanu defended Shivaji against the charge of murdering Afzal Khan. Professor Jinsivale also supported him by citing the similar doings of other historical empire-builders like Napoleon and Caesar. In his closing speech Tilak wound up the proceedings by “distilling out before the audience the inner patriotic motive of that deed and made a feeling appeal to the public to assemble at least for a day during the 364 of the whole year to pay their tribute to the memory of that great nation-builder”. 11 A detailed report of the proceedings of this meeting was published in the Kesari with some editorial comments. A poem was also published in its columns in which the following verses, among others, were put in the mouth of Shivaji.

“I delivered my country by establishing 'Swaraj' and saving religion. I planted in the soil of Maharashtra virtues that may be

likened to the Kalpavriksha (one of the five trees of Indra’s Paradise that yields whatsoever may be desired), sublime policy based on strong foundations, valour in the battlefield like that of Karna, patriotism, genuine unselfishness, and unity, the best of all. Alas, alas, all I see now is the ruin of my country. Those forts of mine to build which I poured out money, to acquire which torrents of fiery blood streamed forth, from which I sallied forth to victory roaring like a lion—all those are crumbling away. What a desolation is this! Foreigners are dragging out Lakshml (the goddess of fortune) by the hands of persecution. Along with her. plenty has fled, and with plenty, health.

“Say, where are those splendid ones who promptly shed their blood on the spot where my perspiration fell? People eat bread once in a day, and not even enough of that. They toil through hard times by tightening up their bellies... The cow... is taken daily to the slaughter house and ruthlessly butchered by the unbelievers......

How can I bear this heart-rending spectacle? Have all our leaders become like helpless figures on the chess-board? What misfortune has overtaken the land?** 12

There is no doubt that the Shivaji festival assumed a decidedly political character. The discourses on Shivaji were definitely intended to rouse patriotic feelings and awaken national consciousness among the people. But the festival was not confined to such discussions and discourses. Its regular features included, among other things, big public processions in which bands of volunteers showed their skill in fencing, music parties sang religious and patriotic songs, and stories and poems were recited to inculcate national sentiments. Some of these were definitely revolutionary in character as will be shown later.

Within ten days of the Shivaji festival held at Poona, Mr. Rand, the Collector of Poona, and another officer, Lieut. Ayerst, were shot dead while returning from the Government House at night. The murder was committed by the Chapekar brothers in order to avenge the atrocities perpetrated by the British soldiers employed in enforcing preventive measures against the plague epidemic in the city of Poona. But Tilak was held indirectly responsible for the crime by the Anglo-Indian circles, and the Anglo-Indian Press demanded his prosecution. The Government yielded, and Tilak was arrested on a charge of sedition. The charge mainly rested on the speech of

Tilak at the Shivaji festival, and in particular to that part of it in which he defended the murder of Afzal Khan by Shivaji. In reply, Tilak's counsel referred to the festivities in memory of Robert

Bruce and William Wallace, and pointed out that many persons, besides Tilak, took part in the controversy about Afzal Khan's murder, and it was in the press long before Rand's murder. Nevertheless, Tilak was convicted of sedition. The trying judge admitted that there was no evidence to prove any connection between Tilak's articles and Rand's murder; but he put a new construction on the word 'disaffection' (occurring in Section 124A of the Penal Code), and took it to mean 'absence of affection'. He held that absence of affection amounted to presence of hatred against the Government in a man's mind, and as such fell within the purview of section 124 A.

Tilak was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment (July 22). This baptism of fire enhanced his reputation and ad vanced the national cause. Sympathy for Tilak was felt and expressed all over India. All Indian newspapers, without exception, censured the Government and congratulated Tilak. A wave of discontent and indignation passed over the whole country. Even the untutored mill-hands fasted in protest and struck work for six days. The colleges and schools were deserted and the students wore the black mark, indicative of the deep sorrow they felt in their hearts. The most impressive demonstrations were witnessed and the bazars (markets) were spontaneously closed. 12 ®

People rightly held that Tilak was really persecuted for his sturdy spirit of independence, strong national sentiments, and fearless criticism of unjust measures of the Government, particularly their anti-plague policy and repression practised by Mr. Rand and his myrmidons. The proud disdain with which Tilak refused to offer an apology to the Government after his conviction offered a marked contrast to the conduct of Gokhale who tendered an humbly apology to the Government for statements he had made in England with respect to the violent acts of soldiers during the plague epidemic. 13 Much might be said in justification of Gokhale, but his abject surrender to the Government, without any proper inquiry into alleged violences, completely whitewashed the vile and heinous doings of the

British soldiers, whereas Tilak really suffered for his courageous protest against their conduct.

This difference between Gokhale and Tilak, as well as the Congress session of 1897 (held at Amraoti), throws a lurid light on the growing cleavage between the old school of politics and the new spirit of nationalism. Although public sympathy for Tilak was being continuously expressed all over India, the proposal to pass a special resolution about him in the Amraoti Congress was thwarted

by the influence of the Moderate party. Eloquent tributes were, however, paid to Tilak by Sankaran Nair, the President of the Congress, Surendranath Banerji, and others. "When Babu Surendranath Banerji reached the peak of his superb oratory while speaking of Tilak, people in the Congress rose to their feet in reverence, triumphantly cried out, echoed and re-echoed the name of Tilak, and clapped their hands with such a tremendous enthusiasm that even the stentorian voice of that renowned Demosthenes of India was very nearly drowned. Newspapers of the day described that magnificent scene in the Congress as unprecedented in its history".

The trial and conviction of Tilak may be regarded as a landmark in the history of Indian nationalism. Henceforth sacrifice and sufferings in the cause of the country, rather than eloquence and debating skill, came to be regarded as the badge of honour and distinction. The martyrs replaced mere orators as acknowledged champions of liberty, and the homage of the nation was no longer paid to intellectual brilliance in politics, but was reserved for the sturdy spirit that bravely challenged autocracy without any fear.

Though the charges against Tilak were substantiated by his writings and speeches in connection with the Shivaji festival, it survived his incarceration. After the release of Tilak "huge festivals were again celebrated at Raigarh". In spite of the bitter attacks of the Moderates and the hostile attitude of the Government, the Shivaji festival became a permanent feature of Maharashtra, and even travelled to distant Bengal. It inspired the great poet Rabindranath to write, in memory of the hero of Maharashtra, one of his finest poems, which made such a profound appeal to the national sentiment of Bengal that the Government had to proscribe it to prevent the spread of excitement against the British.

The inauguration of Shivaji festival was a memorable contribution of Tilak to the development of Indian nationalism. He rightly thought that round the personality of Shivaji, he could gather all the patriotic and national forces: "The inspiration which western democratic teachings gave to us was rather weak and essentially outlandish. But the worship of Shivaji was such as even the ignorant villager could understand. The name of Shivaji was symbol of unity, courage, sacrifice. It connoted the highest patriotic fervour. It stood for complete political emancipation. Shivaji and Swaraj were synonymous words. By starting the Shivaji festival in 1895, Tilak stimulated the national instincts of the people. He gave a message to the people freed from the puzzling verbiage, of western democracy and which being simple and direct went straight to their hearts." 14

There is scarcely any doubt that Ganapati and Shivaji festivals served well the purpose for which they were inaugurated by Tilak. They spread among the masses not only a feeling of pride and glory in their past, but also aroused in them an ardent desire for political freedom which was symbolised by the career and character of Shivaji.

Tilak was twice 143 sentenced to imprisonment for his political views. He accepted the punishment—rare in those days—with calmness and equanimity, and expressed his belief that perhaps he would serve the national cause far better from within the prison wall than by remaining outside it. As in many other respects, so also in this matter, he set an example which inspired others to brave the wrath of the Government and undergo sacrifices for the national cause.

Tilak's views and career have been described at some length because he typified the new nationalist spirit which was gathering force and was destined ere long to sweep the whole country. He fully deserves the high tribute paid to him in the following passages:

"Like Socrates, Tilak brought political philosophy in India from heaven to earth, from the Council Hall or the Congress mandap to the street and the market. Politics so far was comparatively a feeble affair,—it lacked life. It is the great merit of Tilak that he put a

new self-confidence, a new self-assertiveness into his people.

It was reserved for Tilak to make both the Government and professional politicians look for a new power, viz., the people. It was one of the standing arguments of the official party that the Congress did not represent the people. Tilak cleverly turned the tables on the Government by boldly identifying himself with the masses. Tilak's attempt to democratise the political movement and bring it home vividly into the consciousness of the average man, infused a new life and vigour into the movement and gave it a very different character." 15

"To bring in the mass of the people, to found the greatness of the future on the greatness of the past, to infuse Indian politics with Indian religious fervour, are the indispensable conditions for a great and powerful awakening in India. Others—writers, thinkers, spiritual leaders—had seen this truth; Tilak was the first to bring it into the actual field of practical politics". 16

It has been truly remarked that "Tilak has contributed more by his life and character than by his speeches or writings to the making of the new nationalism". His "selfless patriotism, indomitable courage and fierce determination," and above all, "his supreme concentration, without reservation, of his life to the one great aim, viz.,

the freedom of his country", may be said to mark a new epoch in the political struggle for India's freedom. 17

Tilak's efforts were ably seconded by Bipin-chandra Pal, Arabinda Ghosh, Lala Lajpat Rai, Khaparde and others. They raised the standard of revolt against what they called the mendicant policy of the Congress, and preached the cult of self-help in different parts of India through books, journals and lectures. The writings and speeches of these men breathed a new spirit of boldness and selfconfidence. They instilled a reverence for the past and confidence for the future, and asserted the inalienable right of the Indians to shape their destiny without caring for the frowns or smiles of the alien rulers.

Arabinda Ghosh was the most typical representative of the new type of nationalism in its most intense metaphysical and religious form. Nationalism with him was not a political or economic cry; it was the innermost hunger of his whole soul for the re-birth in him, and through men like him in the whole of India, of the ancient culture of Hindusthan in its pristine purity and nobility.

“What is nationalism?” he asked. “Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. Nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live. Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism is immortal; nationalism cannot die”. 18 “This nationalism is not a trick of the intellect; it is an attitude of the heart, of the soul; it springs from the deepest part of our nature which intellect can never fathom. What the intellect could not do, this mighty force of passionate conviction, born out of the very depths of the national consciousness, will be able to accomplish”. 19 Bipin-chandra Pal further elucidated the idea. “The new spirit”, said he, “accepts no other teacher in the art of self-government except self-government itself. It values freedom for its own sake, and desires autonomy, immediate and unconditioned, regardless of any considerations of fitness and unfitness of the people for it; because it does not believe serfdom in any shape or form to be -a school for real freedom in any country and under any conditions whatsoever. It holds that the struggle for freedom itself is the highest tutor of freedom which, if it can once possess the mind of a people, shapes itself the life, the character, and the social and civic institutions of the people, to its own proper ends.

“The time has come when in the interests of truth and the civic advancement and freedom of the people, our British friends should be distinctly told that while we are thankful to them for all the kind things they have said all these years for us, and the ready sacrifices they have made to make our lot easy and their yoke light, we cannot

any longer suffice 19 ® to be guided by them in our efforts for political progress and emancipation. Their view-point is not ours. They desire to make the Government of India popular, without ceasing in any sense to be essentially British, we desire to make it autonomous, absolutely free of the absolute contror\ 20

Eminent Moderate leaders have expressed the opinion that B. C. Pal’s articles in the New India gave rise to the extremist section in the Congress. 20 ® He preached in a popular form the philosophy of Vivekananda and

Arabinda Ghosh to which reference has been made above. Laj pat Rai, Khaparde and others were, like Tilak, hardgrained practical politicians who strove to leaven politics with this new element. The combined efforts of these leaders and their followers ushered in an altogether new movement in Indian politics which developed distinct features of its own, fundamentally different from the Congress school of the day. Some of these basic differences are noted below. For the sake of convenience, the two schools may be referred to as the Congress and the Nationalist School, without any further implication.

The Congress School sincerely believed that India was not yet in a position to stand on her own legs, and needed British rule for many years to make her fit for self-government. This mentality is clearly reflected in the Presidential address in the Congress of 1897, the very year in which Tilak was imprisoned for sedition. Here is an extract from the speech of Sankaran Nair who presided: “We are also aware that with the decline of British supremacy, we shall have anarchy, war, and rapine. The Mahomedans will try to recover their lost supremacy. The Hindu races and chiefs will-fight amongst themselves. The lower castes who have come under the vivifying influence of Western civilisation are scarcely likely to yield without a struggle to the dominion of the higher castes”.

The Nationalists were not deterred by these considerations, and advocated liberty from foreign control on abstract principles. The whole position was summed up by Tilak in one sentence which has become classic: “Swaraj is my birth-right and I must have it.” Arabinda Ghosh was an uncompromising champion of the same policy. “Can the wealth of the whole world,” passionately exclaimed La j pat Rai, “be put in the scales over against liberty and honour?” “A subject people,” he continued, “has no soul, just as a slave can have none... A man without a soul is a mere animal. A nation without a soul is only a herd of dumb driven cattle”. [21]

It was further urged by many that the Indians were not yet fit for carrying on their own administration, and a period of political apprenticeship was necessary for this purpose. It was also freely argued that freedom was a cry for the moon so long as social abuses, religious superstitions, communal rivalry, and illiteracy of the people were not removed, and the Indians did not have sufficient military knowledge to defend their country.

The Nationalists denied the logic behind these arguments and held that if India had to wait for the removal of these defects she would have to wait till doomsday. They further argued that a foreign rule was more likely to perpetuate those evils than remove thepi

The Congress School believed that the British rule in India was a divine dispensation, and piously hoped that under their guidance India would one day attain self-government. The Nationalists did not believe that a foreign ruler could ever have benevolent intentions towards the subject people, and pointed out that in all essential matters the British interests were bound to be in conflict with the true interests of the Indians. Far from believing in the providential character of the British rule, the Nationalists represented the British conquest of India as achieved by fraud and chicanery, inspired by greed, and maintained for purely selfish interests.

Unlike the Congress School the Nationalists did not pin their faith on the benevolence of the Viceroys or the sense of justice of the British people or any British party. The change in the outlook is beautifully expressed in the following passage:

“Our eyes have been turned away from the Government: away from the Houses of Parliament: from Simla and Calcutta; and our faces have turned now to the starving, the naked, the patient, and long-suffering 300 millions of Indian people, and in it we see a new potency, because we view them now with an eye of love which we had never felt before, and in the teeming, toiling, starving and naked populations of India, we find possibilities, potentialities, germs that have given rise to the movement namely, Faith in the people, Faith in the genius of the nation, Faith in God, Who has been guiding the genius of this nation through ages by historical evolution, Faith in the eternal destiny of the Indian people. With the decadence of our faith in the foreign Government and in the foreign nation, has grown up this higher, this dearer, this deeper, this more vital and more divine faith in Indian Humanity.” 22

The followers of the Congress School accepted the position that the British Government was established by law in India, and were not prepared to go beyond the bounds of the law as promulgated by the Government from time to time, even though they might have thoroughly disapproved of it. Their only method of approach was therefore by constitutional agitation. The Nationalists believed in certain inherent rights of man, and whenever any Government legislation violated those rights they did not regard themselves as morally bound to obey it. To them constitutional agitation in India was meaningless because India had no constitution, and everything in the ultimate analysis was really a fiat of the executive authorities.[23] Sir Ashu-tosh Chaudhuri gave expression to the same feeling when he said in 1904 that a "subject race has no politics". This fundamental difference in outlook distinguished the two Schools as regards the method of agitation against the Government and the general approach to the whole political problem in India.

A typical instance of fundamental difference is furnished by the conceptions of the two schools of political thought regarding the ultimate political goal of India. The Indian National Congress formulated various schemes of political advancement, but they mainly centred on reorganization of administrative machinery through such measures of reform as Indianisation of services, admission of Indians into the Legislative Councils in increasing numbers and entrusting them with greater powers and responsibility. But it had no definite conception of the ultimate political goal. Due to the influence of the new spirit of nationalism some prominent leaders of the Congress, at the very end of the period under review, vaguely looked upon Colonial self-government within the British Empire as a goal to be realised at a distant date. Gokhale, for example, expressed some such idea in 1905, but the Congress as a body did not accept that view. On the other hand, the Nationalists aspired after freedom and this was pithily expressed by Tilak in his famous dictum, "Swaraj is my birth-right", which caught the imagination of the new school and became its rallying cry. As a matter of fact, the ideal of freedom from British yoke was not new and was echoed in Indian literature even before the Congress was born. But the Congress kept itself at a safe distance from this ideal which was, not without reason, regarded as inconceivable and dangerous by most of its leaders. This ideal of freedom, however, loomed large in the new Nationalist movement.

The difference between the political thoughts and beliefs of the Congress and the new Nationalism was thus a fundamental one, both as regards ideal and method. It was a difference in kind and not merely of degree. The Nationalists were, consciously or unconsciously, the exponents of an altogether new ideal and spirit to which the old leaders of the Congress were strangers. This new development was undoubtedly of very slow growth, and was not clearly realized until the very end of the period under review. But it was manifested,

from the year 1905 onwards, by the sharp differences which arose between the official Congress party and its left wing—the so-called Extremists—on all important political questions and problems with which the country was confronted.

But the Leftists in the Congress, led by Tilak, represented only the moderate section of the new Nationalist movement, which also had a left wing, bent upon achieving freedom by armed rebellion. The votaries of this new cult had no faith either in the constitutional agitation of the Congress or in the less legal means contemplated by Tilak. They sincerely believed that freedom of India could not be achieved save by violent means, for the very simple reason that history did not record a single instance where foreign rule was liquidated by other means. In order to prepare grounds for open rebellion they formed secret societies with a view to manufacturing arms or importing them from outside. Although this movement did not come into prominence till after the end of the period under review, its origin goes back to the nineteenth century. It is generally referred to as ‘Terrorism* or ‘Anarchical Conspiracy’ in official parlance, but it should more properly be called ‘Militant Nationalism’, for there is no doubt that it was the product of the new Nationalist movement.

II. BEGINNINGS OF MILITANT NATIONALISM

Reference has been made above to the growth of amateur or mushroom secret societies in Calcutta, on the model of the Carbonari in Italy, as far back as the seventies of the nineteenth century. 24 There are also stray references to the formation of similar societies, even in Patna. The credit of organising the first secret society, with the avowed object of overthrowing the British Government in India, goes to Wasudeo Balwant Phadke, whose activities have been described above. 26 For nearly twenty years after the tragic end of this great Maratha hero no further trace of this movement is found in Maharashtra. It is not till the close of the nineteenth century that we find the revival of the old spirit for which Phadke lived and died. Its first signs in Maharashtra may be traced to the expression of bitter hatred against the British Governmert and almost open incitement to rebellion against it. The Ganapati and Shivaji festivals, noted above, were utilised for preaching this new spirit. 26 During the ten days' celebration of the Ganapati festival, "leaflets were circulated by schoolboys and others broadcast through the city calling the Hindus to arms, urging the Marathas to rebel as Shivaji did, declaring that the dagger of subjection to foreign rule penetrated the bosom of all, and urging that a religious outbreak should be made the first step towards the overthrow of the

alien power." 27 The Shivaji festival also provided suitable opportunities for similar propaganda. A regular society was organised to give physical and military training to the Hindus. The life and soul of this society were the two brothers of a Chitpavan Brahman family of Maharashtra, named Damodar Chapekar and Balkrishna Chapekar. The following verses were recited by them at the Shivaji and Ganapati festivals:

1. The Shivaji Sloka

"Merely reciting Shivaji's story Idee a lord (?) does not secure independence; it is necessary to be prompt in engaging in desperate enterprises like Shivaji and Baji; knowing, you good people should take up swords and shields at all events now; we shall cut off countless heads of enemies. Listen. We shall risk our lives on the battlefield in a national war; we shall shed upon the earth the lifeblood of the enemies who destroy our religion; we shall die after killing only, while you will hear the story like women."

2. The Ganapati gloka

Alas, you are not ashamed to remain in servitude; try therefore to commit suicide; alas, like butchers, the wicked in their monstrous atrocity kill calves and kine; free her (the cow) from her trouble; die but kill the English; do not remain idle or thereby burden the earth; this is called Hindustan, how is it that the English rule here?" 28

On 22 June, 1897, the Chapekar brothers—-Damodar and Balkrishna—murdered two British officers, Rand and Lieut. Ayerst, while they were returning from the Government House, Poona, after attending the Diamond Jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria's Coronation. The Chapekars intended to kill only Rand, but the other, who was closely following in another carriage, was shot by accident or through mistake. The murder of Rand was meant to avenge the insults and oppressions committed under his authority in connection with the measures undertaken to prevent the spread of the plague epidemic.

In order to understand the feelings which prompted the Chapekar brothers to commit this murder, and to take a proper perspective oi their action, it is necessary to give some idea of the state of things which prevailed in Poona. This may be gathered from the written complaint submitted to the Government by Natu, a leading Poona Sirdar. The following extract from the Presidential address of Sankaran Nair at the Indian National Congress of 1897 gives a summary of the complaints of this kind:

"This inspection of houses by soldiers seems to have been carried out without notice by forcing open, very often unnecessarily when there were other means of entrance, the locks of the shops and the houses when the owners were absent, and absolutely no attempt was made to protect the properties or the house. No notice was taken of complaints concerning them. A Hindu lady was assaulted by a soldier, and Mr. Natu reported the matter to the authorities producing the witnesses. No notice was vouchsafed. The soldiers were refractory, and any complaint against them was obstruction. When a man fell ill, many neighbouring families were taken to the segregation camp and left there without any covering to protect their body or any furniture, their property at home including horses, cows and sheep being left unprotected. A man was unnecessarily taken to the hospital and sent back as not being affected by plague to find his furniture destroyed and his poor wife and relatives forcibly removed and detained in the segregation camp. Temples were defiled by soldiers and his own temple was entered by them, on account, Natu believes, of his impertinence in making a complaint. An old man who succeeded in satisfying the search party that he was not suffering from plague was detained in jail some hours for having obstructed the search party, the obstruction apparently consisting in the delay caused by him. Insult was the reward for the services of volunteers, and their suggestions were treated with contumacy. You all know how sensitive our Mahomedan fellow-subjects are about the privacy of theii women. And when Mr. Natu suggested that the services of Mahomedan volunteers should be availed of to search the Mahomedan quarter, he was told that his conduct was improper and his services voluntarily rendered were dispensed with. Mr. Natu brought all this to the notice of the officials, pointed out that the operations were carried on against the spirit of the rules and complained that there was a great amount of unrest. The Indian newspapers gave prominence to these and similar complaints. They compared the English Government to other Governments very much to the disadvantage of the former. The Mahratta complained: 'Plague is more merciful to us than its human prototypes now reigning in the city.* The tyranny of the Plague Committee and its chosen instruments is yet too brutal to allow respectable people to breathe at ease. And it was added that, 'every one of these grievances may be proved to the hilt if His Excellency is pleased to enquire into the details**. 29

The Chapekar brothers killed Hand as he was the President of the Plague Committee under whose instructions and authority the operations mentioned above were carried out. Whether all the charges were true or not is immaterial for our present consideration. The truth of these very serious charges was never investigated and

they were believed to be true by the Indians. Even Gokhal-e, who was then in England, referred to these atrocities in the English press, but as soon as he came to India he offered an humble apology. The Natu brothers who were prepared to substantiate the charges were not given an opportunity to do so, but were deported without trial.

The Europeans were thrown into a frenzy over the murder of two European officials, and “an attack was commenced on the Vernacular Press and the educated Indians, perhaps unexampled in its virulence since the Mutiny.... It was suggested as a matter for regret that the native mind had forgotten the lessons of the last Mutiny, that a fresh mutiny would clear the air, particularly as the Mahrattas were not in the show of 1857”. 30 As stated above, it was mainly this outburst of European feeling that was responsible for the conviction of Tilak, though, as the trying judge admitted, there was nothing to connect Tilak with the murder of Rand. 31

The Chapekar brothers were hanged, but the two Dravid brothers, who had been rewarded by Government for information which led to the arrest and conviction of Damodar Chapekar, were murdered on 8 February, 1899, by the third Chapekar brother, Vasudev, and his friend. They were also hanged. Evidently the society founded by the Chapekar brothers survived their death; no other activities of this body are known, but two unsuccessful attempts on the life of a Chief Constable at Poona may be ascribed to it.

It is, however, known from the autobiographical sketch of Arabinda Ghosh 32 , that a secret society was started in Western India before the end of the nineteenth century with a Rajput noble at the head. This had a council of five in Bombay with several prominent Maratha politicians as its members. This Rajput leader was not a prince, that is to say, a ruling Chief, but a noble of the State with the title of Thakur. The Thakur was not a member of the Council in Bombay, but he stood above it as the leader of the whole movement, while the Council helped him to organize Maharashtra and the Maratha States. He himself worked principally upon the Indian army of which he had already won over two or three regiments. But no further information is available of the activities of this secret society.

The next phase of revolutionary activity in Maharashtra centres round Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, who may be said to have been a born revolutionary. It is said that when the story of Chapekar brothers reached him, he, then a boy of fifteen, took a vow before the goddess Durga to fulfil the mission of the martyred Chapel, ars by driving out the British from India. In 1900 he started an Association at Nasik called Mitra Mela. Its objective was political independence of India, and it emphatically asserted that such an independence could be won, if need be, by armed revolt. In 1904 this Association was developed at Poona and adopted the new name, ‘Abhinava Bharata’, after Mazzini’s Young Italy. 33

There were also some revolutionary activities in Madhya Pradesh organized by the ‘Arya Bandhav Samaj’. Its object was to drive the British out of India by collecting a secret army of thousands of batches of four, but no detailed account of its activities is known. The Samaj was probably started at the beginning of the twentieth century.

About the same time revolutionary movement was also developed in Bengal. 34 A revolutionary secret society, known as the ‘Anusilan Samiti’, was organized in Calcutta under the leadership of P. Mitra, Bar-at-Law. A similar organization was planned by Arabinda Ghosh, who was then at Baroda. He sent Jatindra-nath Bandy opadhyay, who set up a secret organization in Calcutta which was soon amalgamated with the Anusilan Samiti.

The members of the Anusilan Samiti, mostly young students, were trained in military drill, sword and lafhi-play, boxing, wrestling and other kinds of physical exercise. They were also given moral and patriotic training through regular weekly classes and general conversations held by eminent men like Rabindra-nath Tagore, Guru-das Banerji, B. C. Pal and many others. The members practised worship of arms in place of the images of goddess Durga. There were various branches of the Anusilan Samiti, and there were probably also several other secret societies acting independently of one another. The main activities of the Anusilan Samiti were carried on by some clubs in Calcutta. Its members also committed dacoities to procure funds, though this was not liked by the President, P. Mitra.

Barindra-kumar Ghosh, younger brother of Arabinda, also joined the Anusilan Samiti, but soon dissensions broke out among its different branches. Arabinda came to Calcutta in order to unite the different secret societies in Bengal with a common programme and under a common direction. He spent a large amount of money for these societies, and funds were also subscribed by C. R. Das and others. Unfortunately, a quarrel broke out between Jatindra and Barindra, and Arabinda came to Calcutta a second time. He made extensive tours, visited the. different secret societies, and also met leading men of some districts. He found that in Bengal the prevailing mood was apathy and despair. He decided to bide his time and in the meanwhile to continue his political work in silence behind the scene, for the moment for public work had not yet come. The Anusilan Samiti, however, continued, though in a languishing condition. How it was galvanized into activity by the Swadeshi movement will be related later.

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1. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 773.

2. For the criticism of the Congress by Bankim-chandra and Aswini Datta, see p. 567.

3. Published on 27 August, 1894. Essay on Bankimchandra Chatter ji by Arabinda (Pondicherry, 1954), p. 47.

4. Published on 28 August, 1893; Mukherjee, Sri Aurobindo's Political Thought, pp. 75-77.

5. La j pat Rai, HI. 146.

6. Ibid. 140-1.

7. Buch-H, 83-5.

7a. Ibid, 29; Athalye, Tilak, 84-5.

8. Kelkar, Tilak, 284-6.

9. Karmarkar, Tilak, 215.

10. Buch-H. 28-9.

11. Kelkar, Tilak, 368-9.

12. Buch-IX, 30.

12a. Athalye, Tilak, 209.

13. Kelkar, Tilak, 374.

14. Athalye, Tilak, 106.

14a. In 1897 and 1908. Tilak had also been sentenced to simple imprisonment for four months in 1882 on a charge of defamation.

15. Buch-H, 25.

16. Ibid, 26.

17. Ibid, 24.

18. Ibid, 187.

19. Ibid.

19a. This seems to be a mistake for ‘suffer’.

20. Buch-II, 90-1.

20a. Chintamani, p. 54. He also refers to the fact that the Maharaja of Natore, as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress held in Calcutta in 1901, characterised the Congress agitation as political mendicancy. Such criticisms of the Congress and even strong condemnations were a common feature of Bengal politics long before 1908. H.P. Ghosh, who won renown as a great journalist later in life, wrote a trenchant criticism against the Congress in the New India (11 November, 1901). It is to be noted that Bipin-chandra Pal, the editor of the New India, repudiated the idea of Ghosh and supported the Congress. As a matter of fact, Bipin-chandra Pal held the views erf the Moderates till the proposal of the Partition of Bengal changed him into an ardent nationalist or Extremist in 1904. Cf. Mukherji, Haridas and Uma, Bipin Chandra Pal and India's Struggle for Swaraj, pp. 11 ff.

21. La j pat Rai-HI, 86.

22. Buch-H, 93.

23. Ibid, 113-4.

24. See p. 484. Rabindra-nath Tagore, in his boyhood, was a member cf a secret society where, to use his own words, he was initiated into the vow of achieving freedom of India. Rajnarain Bose was the guru of the society, and the elder brother of Rabindra-nath was also an enthusiastic member. Atmaparichaya (in Bengali) by Rabindra-nath Tagore.

25. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 908-14.

26. See pp. 578 ff.

27. Sedition (Rowlatt) Committee Report, p. 1.

28. Ibid, p. 2. Quoted from the autobiography of Damodar Chapekar.

29. Congress Presidential Address, Natesan, Vol. I, 331-2.

30. Sankaran Nan’s Address, ibid, 337. Chintamani (p. 29) gives an account of the repressive measures that followed the murder of Rand.

31. See p. 582.

32. Sri Aurobindo on himself, later incorporated in a bigger book entitled Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother, published by the Pondicherry Asram.

33. Dhananjay Keer, Savarkar and his Times, pp< 6, 9, 24.

34. The account that follows is based on the Bengali book Bharater Dvitiya Sv&dhinati Sahgrdma, Vol. I, by Bhupendranath Datta, pp. 179 ff., 190 fff.

CHAPTER XVII (LV)

INDIAN SERFS AND SLAVES IN THE

BRITISH EMPIRE

I. IN INDIA

TEA-GARDEN LABOURERS IN ASSAM

9

1. The history of the Coolies in Assam Tea Gardens

The condition of the labourers in tea-gardens was in some respects much worse than those who suffered from the oppression of indigo-planters. The latter were legally free men, and the outrages on them were mostly committed before public gaze, or at least within public knowledge, save, of course, when the victims were kept in dark dungeons. But even then their confinement was a matter of public knowledge, though no remedy was available.

The labourers in Assam tea-gardens, generally called coolies; though not born as slaves, formed a body of legalised serfs, and their lot was hardly less miserable than that of the negro-slaves in American plantations. A poor ignorant coolie, born a free man, was tricked by force and fraud tp leave his (or her) home and to register himself as a labourer under contract in a tea-garden; and once this was done, he was absolutely in the clutches of the manager. There, within the secret enclave of the garden, far away from public gaze, he had to live the life of a slave, at the absolute mercy of the two or three European managers and assistant managers who were practically under no restraint, and did as they pleased with the hundreds of illiterate and helpless men' and women. It was only occasionally, by mere accident, that outside public came to know how these wretched men and women, ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed, were mercilessly caned, kicked or otherwise brutally assaulted, openly in the presence of other coolies, and how the female coolies had to minister to the Sahib's pleasure whenever he chose to send for her. If they tried to escape from the garden they were easily caught and subjected to still harsher treatment. Many of the coolies succumbed to the assaults and injuries, but the criminal was hardly ever brought to trial. In the few cases where he had to stand a trial, he was acquitted or. received nominal punishment on the strength of a medical certificate that the death of the coolie was due to the rupture of enlarged spleen. These grave allegations were frequently brought to the notice of the Government, but no inquiry was ever instituted as was done in the case of the indigo-planters; the obvious reason being that the crimes in the tea-garden, mostly hidden from the public, did not excite the same interest. But the tales of the woes and miseries of the coolies were narrated by those few among them who had the good fortune to effect their escape or to come out alive after their period of contract was over. Besides, pathetic stories of outrages upon individual coolies were reported in the Indian newspapers. The general truth of these is proved by revelations made, unconsciously or in an unguarded moment, by some of the highest officials, including the Chief Commissioner of Assam. Public attention was drawn to the pitiable condition of the labourers in Assam tea-gardens by Pandit Ram-kumar Vidyaratna, a preacher of the Sadhaxan Brahma Samaj. His Bengali book, Kuli-Kdhini (Story of the Coolies) belongs to the same type as the Uncle Tom's Cabin, and is not much inferior to it in evoking pity and sympathy for a degraded and unfortunate class or community. A detailed account of the woes and miseries of the coolies will be given in section 3.

The history of this community may be briefly told.

Since the growth of tea-plantations in Assam during the forties, necessity was felt for recruiting labourers from outside. Local supply was insufficient, and the conditions of work were not tempting enough to induce people to work in the garden of their own free will. So a network of agents was set up to secure recruits, preferably from distant places where the conditions of service in tea-plantations were hardly known. The tempting remuneration induced the agents to secure recruits by all possible means, fair or foul. They very often kidnapped men, even young girls, for the purpose, or induced them to leave home on false pretences of giving good appointments and then carried their helpless victims to the coolie depots. It soon became notorious that the system of recruiting was a fruitful source of oppression. It was regulated by Act XIII of 1859 by which the garden authorities had to enter into an agreement or contract with the coolie before he could be employed in a garden. But this was worthless as a safeguard, for the latter, being illiterate and ignorant, did not understand the purport of the contract he was induced to accept. The value of such a contract may be realized from the following extract of a Report by the Chief Commissioner of Assam. “A contract”, says the Chief Commissioner, “may be enforced under this Act, though it is not in writing, though it is not stamped, though it is not registered, though it has not been presented for verification before any official, though there is no proof (other than what evidence is produced in the trial) that the labourer under

stood the terms of the engagement, though the terms may be manifestly unfair. A labourer cannot free himself by redemption, nor can he plead any misconduct of his employer as an excuse for nonperformance. . . ,M

The grave abuses of this Act, to which the attention of the Government was repeatedly drawn, induced Lord Ripon to enact the Inland Emigration Bill which became Act I of 1882. While the Bill was under consideration, the Indian Association of Calcutta made a representation which ‘exposed, in true colours, the pathetic condition of the coolies in tea-gardens’. Referring to it Lord Ripon observed:

‘T have before me a very fair and temperate representation which has been made by the Indian Association within the last two or three days. They have argued the subject very fairly, and they have put forward objections to certain parts of the Bill which are well entitled to consideration. They press upon us in their memorial this point of the ignorance of the cooly and give a curious extract from a book published by a Missionary of the Brahmo Samaj (Ram Kumar Vidyaratna), to show how very ignorant the greater number of the coolies who engage to go to Assam are. I have no doubt that that is a perfectly fair statement of the knowledge of many of the coolies, but I do claim for the Bill that it takes the utmost possible care that the labourer should thoroughly understand the nature of the engagement he is about to enter into**. 2

The hopes of Lord Ripon were not realized and the pitiable condition of the coolies was not much improved even after the passing of the Act of 1882.

The Bengali newspapers, particularly the Sanfivani, edited by Krishnakumar Mitra, regularly published the heart-rending stories of the coolies. “These revealed a ghastly tale of horror and a condition of things which practically amounted to a species of slavery thriving under the protection of British laws and sanctioned by the British Government”. 3 The Indian Association again took up the question. In 1886 they sent their Assistant Secretary, Dwaraka-nath Ganguli; to inquire personally into the condition of the tea-garden labourers in Assam. “As an emissary of the Indian Association, its Assistant Secretary Dwarkanath toured the tea districts of Assam, entered and stayed at tea-gardens incognito to see personally the condition of the labourers—men, women and children. He discovered dungeons in the gardens where recalcitrant men and women were kept as punishment. Physical torture of various kinds was the order of the day. The Brahmo Missionary, Pandit Shiva Nath Sastri, was also at the time on a religious tour in these districts.

Dwarka-nath accompanied him to Dhubri, Goalpara, Tejpur, Naogaon, Shibsagar, Dibrugarh and other places.

“Shiva Nath Sastri has given us a graphic description of how selfless and heroic Dwarka-nath faced all the difficulties in thenway with utmost resignation, and how even the religious meetings organised for him were attended by Government officials, even of the rank of Deputy Commissioner, to note down anything that might be said by Dwarka-nath to the public. Dwarka-nath wrote Bengali articles for the SanfLvanx and English articles for the Bengalee, narrating the slave condition of the Assam labourers and the harrowing tales of their life-long misery/’ 4 He placed before the Committee of the Indian Association all the facts and figures gathered from personal inquiry. On the basis of these as well “as the judgements of several cases against the recruiters, Government officials and tea-garden managers, the Committee were in a position to prepare a long and documented memorial on the subject of the tea-garden labourer and place it in the hands of the Government and the public on 5th May 1888. The memorial dealt with the entire ‘coolie’ question, and the conclusions of the Committee were supported by extracts from official documents. The memorial was warmly supported by the Indian Press 5 ’. 6

The following account is mainly based on this memorial. For the sake of convenience the main items of complaint against the system may be discussed seriatim .

2. System of Recruiting Coolies

The following extract from the memorial sums up the position regarding recruits: “In the representation which the Committee of this Association made to the Government of Lord Bipon when the Bill which subsequently became Act I of 1882 was under consideration, they pointed out that the system of recruiting was liable to grave abuses arising from the ignorance of the labourers and their utter helplessness and inability to protect their interests against the arts of unprincipled recruiters who deceived them by false hopes and delusive promises to enter into contracts, the real nature of which they did not often sufficiently understand. The facts which have subsequently been brought to light and which have from time to time been published in the newspapers confirm the gravest apprehensions that ever were entertained with regard to the working of this part of the law”. 6 In support of their contention the Committee quoted the judgment of the Deputy Magistrate of Berhampur in a case where three recruiters were punished with rigorous imprisonment for having enticed a minor girl for employment as coolie Without her mother’s knowledge and consent. The Committee then refer in detail to the case of Kessur Sing Nepali, a postal peon drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 10. Being assured that one Lachman Sing of Assam could easily secure for him a suitable appointment there on a salary of Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 per month, Kessur and his wife met Lachman at Jalpaiguri, and were taken to Dhubri coolie depot. While on board the steamer Kessur Singh created a commotion by refusing to drink water drawn from the river by the Muhammadan crew. This attracted the notice of a kind-hearted passenger, and when the steamer reached Tezpur he persuaded a local lawyer to institute a suit for their release. Kessur Sing, on solemn affirmation, stated before the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang: “Soon after we were lodged in the depot, a Babu took down our names and gave us a blanket, two coortas (shirts) and two dhotis and a tin mug. I did not wish to accept these things, but the Jamadar Dutchman Sing said they are given us as present by the Sirdar and returned me the Rs. 5 I had given as my railway fare. We got no other money and this was my own. I never saw any agreement and I never signed any agreement. I can sign my own name. No saheb asked me any question. A saheb came on horse-back to the depot once, but left without saying anything. It was not till I got on board the steamer when the doctor said you must drink here and not there, that I found out I was an emigrant". 7 After making a reference to the Deputy Commissioner, Dhubri, the Deputy Commissioner of Darrang passed the following order: "Read letter 266E, dated 7th August, from the Deputy Commissioner, Dhubri. From the statements contained in this letter it is quite clear Kessur Sing and his wife entered into agreements, and his petition to the effect that he was deceived, cannot be entertained. He must therefore proceed to the garden for which he was recruited". 8 The Committee made the following comment on this order: "Even if it be admitted, that Kessur Sing and his wife had entered into any agreement, it is quite clear that they did so under misrepresentation and were according to law justly entitled to have their contracts cancelled. No man in his senses would have ever resigned a comparatively lucrative and respectable post for the purpose of being employed as a coolie in a tea-garden far away from his home on half his original pay, unless some kind of fraud had been practised upon him. Yet their application was dismissed". The Committee next referred to the cases of three women of respectable classes. Two of these, Ahladi, the daughter of a Brahman, and Shashi, a Boishtam woman, were bathing in the Ganges in Calcutta when the former told the latter that she would very much like to go to a relative's house in Baranagar but did not know where it was located. "Hearing this, some one near them volunteered to show them the place, and another woman corroborated what this man said. Thereupon the volunteer brought a hackney, took Ahladi and Shashi therein, and drove them off. This was at about 10 a.m. After driving from place to place, at last, at about 5 p.m. they were brought into a house where they were confined for some 5 or 6 hours, and afterwards again put into a coach and brought to the Sealdah Station, where, to their utter astonishment, they were locked up in the train, which then left for Goalundo and Dhubri. Breaking their journey now by train and then by steamer, they at last arrived, as they said, at a place (Dhubri) and were taken to some houses where they were thrust into the company of innumerable ragged, half-clad, dirty men, women and children. The next day they were conducted to the river ghaut and filed before a Sahib, and then put on board a steamer which after five days arrived at this place (Dibrugarh). It was on board the steamer that Ahladi and Shashi got acquainted with Deologni, who told them that she was a Rajput, and had two children at her home; one day, quarrelling with some one at home, she, in the heat of anger, came out to the road, where she was accosted by a man who, pretending to console her, put her into the train and conveyed to where God knows. Deologni was in her senses, but always crying for her children, till the second day after they were shipped, when suddenly she became mute and showed signs of insanity. For eleven days they did not eat anything." The correspondent, who heard the story from Ahladi and Shashi—Deolagni having become insane and died—-continues: "The tears of these poor women would move the heart of anybody: they would cling round the legs of any one who would kindly ask them their circumstances. Our kind-hearted Deputy Commissioner detained them for some two days till the receipt of their contracts, but when these showed nothing to authorise his interference, they were taken to their destination, the Khobong Garden, in the district". 9

One might well wonder how such things were possible when the Act of 1882, in the words of Lord Ripon, "takes the utmost possible care that the labourer should thoroughly understand the nature of the engagement he is about to enter into". As this is a very pertinent question and is likely to make many suspect the truth of the above story, though it was reported in several newspapers and never contradicted, the following lengthy extract is quoted from the memorial by way of explanation.

"The law provides that an emigrant should 'understand the contract as regards the locality, period and nature of the service, the rate of wages and the price at which rice is to be supplied to him, that the terms thereof are in accordance with the law, that he has not been induced to agree to enter thereunto by any coercion, undue influence, fraud, misrepresentation, and that he is willing to fulfil the same'. Before a labourer is registered it is therefore necessary that the registering officer should satisfy himself that he understands the drift of his contract as regards the points referred to above. But the manner in which this part of the registering officer's duty is performed precludes the possibility of the terms of the contract being clearly explained to the coolie or being understood by him. Like regiments of soldiers, the coolies are made to stand in groups before the registering officer. When they thus stand in regular lines, one after another, the registering officer begins his examination, and they are examined en masse. The questions that are usually put and the answers that are usually given are appended below:

"Questions of the registering officer.

1. Where do you go?

2. For how many years do you go?

3. What work will you do?

4. What will be the rate of your wages?

5. At what price will rice be supplied to you?

6. If the price of the rice be more than three rupees who will pay the difference?

Answers given by the coolies (men and women in one voice).

1. We go to Assam.

2. For five years.

3. Men—We will hoe. Women—We will pick up tea-leaves.

4. Men—Five rupees for the first three years and six rupees for the last two years. Women-—Four rupees for the first three years and five rupees for the last two years.

5. At three rupees a maund.

6. The Sirkar (meaning the employer) will pay.

“The enquiry then comes to a close. It is obvious, the Committee submit, that an enquiry conducted in such a fashion and under such conditions must defeat the purpose which the law has in view, viz., to provide the necessary safe-guards for the protection of the coolie. The stereotyped answers given to stereotyped questions by a crowd of ignorant people do not imply that they have really all taken part in the replies that are given, or that even those who have taken part in them have understood their drift. It would be absurd to hold that unless the necessary explanations were forthcoming they would even understand where Assam was—whether it was a Province or a town, or how far distant it was from their homes, or the sort of work which they would have to undergo in the tea-gardens. If the account which they have received regarding the manner in which the contract is explained to the coolies is correct, the Committee have little hesitation in affirming that it is an empty form which is gone through, that while the letter of the law is preserved, its spirit is completely broken, and that the coolies are not much wiser after their being brought before the registering officer than they had been before that event. Indeed the Committee of the Indian Association have been informed that in many cases the coolies, before they are brought before the registering officer, are regularly taught by the officers attached to the depots to return the stereotyped answers to the stereotyped questions which have been quoted above, and that those who in any way prove refractory are either kept back in the depots and there shut up as prisoners till they consent to sign the agreement, or if they are brought before the registering officer they are pushed back towards the rear, so that from behind other people they may not have an opportunity of speaking to him. The Committee are aware that these are grave allegations to make; and they have ventured to put them forward upon the evidence which they have been able to collect by enquiries made in Assam and by their agents, and they hope that the Commission of enquiry which they will have prayed for in this letter will sift this and other matters connected with coolie emigration into Assam and suggest the remedy,*’ 10

The hope of the Committee was never realized, for in spite of their challenge no commission of inquiry was appointed to inquire into the system of recruiting.

3. Condition of the Coolies in the Assam Tea-Gardens

The Deputy Surgeon-General and Sanitary Commissioner of Assam, the highest medical authority in Assam, makes the following observations in his Report of 1884: “The condition of the emigrant labourers alters greatly for the worse immediately he is landed from the river-steamers and discharged from Government sanitary protection. In many important respects he is thenceforward left to his own resources; in others he receives only modified and often injudicious care; in all the conditions of life he is less favourably placed than before. His food is no longer dietetic and carefully cooked; his clothing and bedding (beyond a blanket) is left to himself to provide; his lodging is often inadequate against the variations of climate; his work exposes him to all weathers, and often to dangerous disease-causes; he is unprotected against drinking to excess; nay, he is, in many instances, almost tempted to it; even if he falls ill, the hospital is a name only, he may receive medicine either by daily attendance at a dispensary or given to him in his hut; but the care of suitable food and adequate restoratives and nursing are, generally speaking, unknown. It is no wonder therefore that the rate of sickness and mortality among the tea-garden labourers as a class has been always very great; that in many gardens it is above what is counted a frightful epidemic in civilised countries.” 11

The death-rate, referred to in the Report, was 37.8 per thousand, in 1882, when the new Act for safeguarding the interests of the coolies came into force. It rose to 41.3 in 1883, and 43.2 in 1884, and, according to the Sanitary Commissioner, nothing occurred during 1885 which would induce him to modify his Report quoted above.

The infant mortality was also very high, rising from 39.7 per thousand to 44 per thousand in 1884. “Neglect on the part of the women who are unable to do their daily task and at the same time look after the children and who cannot afford to do no work and stay at home accounts in a great measure for the high mortality among children/’ 12 So the condition of labour was such that a cooliewoman had to neglect the duties of the mother in order to meet the demands of her employers. The lot of the coolie-child was thus described by the Civil Surgeon of Dibrugarh: “The conditions of child life in a tea-garden are altogether so unfavourable that the wonder is how so many children succeed in passing childhood’s stage. A coolie woman gets a variable amount of leave for her confinement. After that if the infant is not strangled at birth, she must either take it out to her work, or leave it behind with no one to look after it. In the former case, tied to its mother’s back or left in the nearest drain, it is exposed to the extremes of heat and cold, to wind and rain; in the latter the child gets half-starved and so paves its way to a death from some bowel-disorder or succeeds in cutting short its career by a fall or a roll into the open fire. So alive are coolie women to these facts that to avoid the trouble of bringing up their children under such circumstances, abortion is frequently resorted to, and dais (female quacks) who produce it, often find their business a very profitable one”. In noticing the excessive mortality among the children he again observes in his report of 1886: “Turning to an actual analysis of the figures, two facts are noticeable, and one more than another. This is the large number of death among the children. Of fifteen reported deaths among the non-Act coolies, fourteen are of children. This is directly traceable to the first of the causes of sickness I have mentioned.

Women are most needed during the plucking season, which is at the same time most sickly. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they are not allowed the time they need to look after their children, or that the latter are neglected*’. 13 This provoked the very just comment of the Committee: “A more revolting and at the same time a more painful admission, it is difficult to conceive.... No state of recognized slavery could be worse”. 14

The heavy mortality among the coolies was also largely due to the hard work imposed upon them. “Under Section 115 of the Emigration Act, the schedule of work is framed by the^planters themselves, and though subject to revision by the Inspector, the visits of that officer are few and far between, and he can scarcely be expected to exercise any effectual check over the work which the planters in their interests may think fit to allot.” 16

The punishment meted out to the coolies beggars description. The following is an extract from the memorial:

“The cane is too frequently employed in many of the tea gardens in Assam. A high officer of the Assam Government, while on an incognito visit to a garden, saw th$t the manager having tied the hands of a coolie to a tree was caning him most unmercifully. In 1884 Mr. Francis, Manager of the Dygoroon tea-garden, was tried on a charge of grievous hurt, for having struck a coolie woman with a cane which caused her death. Dr. Conceicao, the Civil Surgeon of Golaghat, who made a post-mortem examination said that ‘death was the result of congestion of the kidneys, which he was of opinion had been set up by violence applied to that part of the body where the kidnevs are situated*. But Francis called a witness to' show that he did not strike the woman, but only lifted his cane and threatened to strike her. Francis was eventually acquitted.

“The next mode of punishment which is sometimes resorted to is the lock-up. The Committee have been given to understand that it is the fermenting-house which is generally used for the purpose. In 1884 two officers of the Dum-Duma tea-estate in the District of Dibrugarh named Babus Kedar Nath Ghosh and Sasadhar Barua were charged with the offence of keeping a man under illegal restraint, and in this case the existence of dungeon in many teagardens was proved by the witnesses for the defence. The Assistant Commissioner Mr. Greenshield who tried the case expressed in his judgment great surprise and strong disapproval of such conduct on part of the planters.

“In December 1886, the following telegram appeared in the newspapers which goes to support the view which the Committee have here put forward:—

‘Having been systematically maltreated, some 110 coolies, men and women, came in a body on the 9th instant from the Kajabarie tea-garden, and made complaint before the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. McLeod, who immediately sent out Lieutenant Gordon to the garden, and asked him to report about the coolies’ complaints. Lieutenant Gordon has found some of the serious charges to be correct, namely, the existence of a dungeon, where absconders and other recalcitrant coolies are confined and tied down with ropes. The Manager, Mr. Eyre, admitted having the dungeon, and having cut a coolie with a cane”. 16

Reference has been made above 17 to the statement of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Chief Commissioner of Assam, that “on some gardens there was a good deal of flogging”, and also to two actual cases cited by him, in one of which a woman was stripped and flogged and in another a coolie was killed as a result of flogging with a stirrup leather. The first case is very important. The penalty—fine amounting to a month’s salary—inflicted for such a heinous crime, at the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner, and maintained by the High Court judge, an Englishman, shows the little value that even highest British officials put on the honour of Indian women. % After this it would be difficult to refuse credence to the stories of outrage on coolie women by the officials of the gardens. These stories, repeated in newspapers and widely circulated from various reliable sources, seem to indicate that such outrages were taken to be the normal lot of every coolie woman. As in the case of indigo-planters, it is difficult to prove such cases, but the probability in the case of teaplanters is much greater, as the temptation and opportunities of committing the crime were much greater.

The Committee pointed out in detail how the provisions of the Act of 1882, framed for the special protection of the coolies, were systematically violated or not given effect to, and in some respects it was done with the full concurrence of the authorities in Assam. This was true with regard to two very important safeguards, name* ly, the prompt registration of a contract and its verification provided in section 111 of the Act of 1882. The Committee made the following comment on the subject:

‘“It will thus be seen that a provision of the law which by ensuring prompt registration of contracts affords some sort of protection to the coolie is rendered nugatory by the manner of its application which again is contrary to law. Then with regard to that part of Section 111 which requires that contracts should be verified, the Chief Commissioner observes in the Emigration Report for 1883,

that ‘the number verified is extremely disproportionate to the number registered, and it seems that only in Cacher and Sibsagar have any strenuous efforts been made to perform this important duty 5 * The duty of verification is not only not regularly but also not properly performed. The Chief Commissioner in the report for the year 1883 admits that ‘It is in itself a much more satisfactory thing that the terms of the engagement should be explained to the coolie, before he signs it, by an officer of Government. But this is not always possible/

“Out of 25,457 local contracts executed in 1884, only 9,492 were verified during the year, and out of the number, 117 contracts were cancelled ‘as a punishment on managers for transgressing the rules.’ That the provisions of Section 111 of the Act operate to the injury of the coolie is a fact which is admitted by high official authority. Thus in 1883, Mr. Porteus, the sub-divisional officer of Karimgunge, wrote:—

‘There is not the smallest security that the coolie, when he is brought up to go through the form of touching the pen, in company with some dozens of others at the garden, understands in the least what he is signing to. There is no provision that his agreement should be first explained to him, nor is it very likely that any objection he might make would be listened to. He is expected to sign with the rest. As shown above, it is not uncommon for coolies to try to repudiate their agreements afterwards, and it is very difficult to decide whether their objections afford sufficient ground for cancellation/

“Mr. Stevens, the Deputy Commissioner of Syihet, endorsed these remarks. He said:

‘In the above remarks of the sub-divisional officer of Kjarimgunge on the liability of abuse of the Section 111 procedure I fully concur. In this matter the law appears entirely one-sided. Every thing is in favour of the employer. A labour contract, purporting to have been signed by the coolie, but either not executed by him or if executed, executed under a misapprehension, is sent in for registration under Section 111 and is registered. It may not be verified for a year afterwards; and suppose it is then cancelled, what compensation does the unfortunate coolie receive? He has been, one may say, in wrongful confinement for a year, forced to labour for a year, forced to labour for a master who had no claim to his services and liable, if he tried to escape from his state of quasi-slavery, to be pursued, arrested, and sent up for trial like a common criminal, or worse, as these even cannot in all cases be arrested without a warrant”. 18 It is important to note that the Deputy Commissioner describes the status of a coolie as one of quasi-slavery.

The following statement made by a garden-manager, Gibbons, before the Inspecting Officer is most revealing:—“Several coolies’ agreements were written out on the first December last. They were written by Gopal Chandra. They were signed by me. They were not signed by the coolies on the first December. I did not bring up the coolies to my bungalow on the first December. They never executed the agreements now placed before me. I however sent them in to be registered.” In reply to an exclamation of surprise on the part of Mr. Lyon, the Inspecting Officer, at this statement, Gibbons said that there was nothing extraordinary in this—that it was the custom and was always done. The High Court in reviewing this case observed:

“It is difficult to conceive a grosser case. The helplessness and ignorance of the labourers and the superior intelligence and position of the accused aggravates the offence which but for the intervention of the Inspector would have entailed grievous injustice on the labourers.” 19

The Committee observed with regret that “in cases between planters and coolies, too often the interests of justice and the interests of the weaker party are not sufficiently cared for.” This may be regretted but need hardly cause any surprise after what has been said above regarding the attitude of the English officers towards their fellow-countrymen, the indigo-planters. 20 The same reason operated with the same effect. The Committee described several instances in detail, but two may be briefly cited. “On the 10th of October, 1885, one Sheikh Sukari petitioned the Magistrate of Sibsagar for a discharge certificate under section 141 of Act I for the release of his son Sheikh Khodadin from the garden of one Mr. Hosack of Diron tea-estate. The Assistant Commissioner, I4eut. H. R. Browne, who was the trying Magistrate, wrote a letter to Mr. Hosack giving him the substance of the application and calling upon him to make his defence. But Mr. Hosack, without sending him a reply, wrote to the Deputy Commissioner”. He complained against Mr. Browne, stated that Sheikh Khodadin was not a coolie but his domestic servant, and finally requested the Deputy Commissioner to oblige him by looking into the case.

“On receipt of this letter, the application of the father was summarily dismissed on the 28th October without even calling for evidence”. But Khodadin, having managed to escape from the garden and “applied on the 2nd November to Lt. Browne to grant him a discharge certificate, the same day the following order was passed:—

‘Mr. Hosack has already written to say that complainant has no contract; complainant is told that he can leave the employ if he wishes to.’

“But on the next day, the 3rd November, one Pator Gogoi on behalf of Mr. Hosack made an application under Section 175 to Lt. Browne for the arrest of Sheikh Khodadin on a charge of desertion. A warrant was immediately issued, and the man having been arrested was put on his trial the same day and was summarily convicted to undergo a sentence of seven days’ rigorous imprisonment; it appears from the judgment that if Mr. Hosack had not asked for the accused ‘to be lightly treated,’ he would have been more severely punished.. .The judge forgot that this sentence passed on the accused completely upset his order of the previous day. It was he who had told the accused ‘that he can leave the employ if he wishes to,’ and the next day he upsets the order on the strength of a document whose existence Mr. Hosack himself was not aware of!

“In another case a coolie, Bhola Kachari by name, was convicted by Mr. Arbuthnot, the Assistant Commissioner of Jorhat, although the contract was not drawn up in conformity with the requirements of Section 9, Clause C of Act I of 1882 and its schedule, and of Section 111 as to registration. The High Court in setting aside the conviction observed:—‘It appears to the judges that owing to Mr. Arbuthnot’s mistake the accused in this case has undergone several months’ imprisonment for which there were no legal grounds’. The learned Judges, Justices Cunningham and Chandra Madhab Ghose, called for an explanation from Mr. Arbuthnot.” 21 Reference may be made in this connection to the two cases mentioned above, of failure of justice and executive interference in judicial affairs noted by Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the Chief Commissioner of Assam.[22]

The memorial of the Indian Association ended with a prayer for inquiry couched in the following words:—

“The Committee of the Indian Association have now submitted their representation; and they venture to hope that they have made it clear that the system by which coolies are recruited, their treatment in the tea-gardens, and the imperfect nature of the protection afforded them by the Act are such as should engage the earnest attention of the Government. The coolies themselves are voiceless; they have no organization to represent them. All the more, therefore, the Committee submit, is the duty incumbent upon the Government to look to their grievances and to redress them. The Committee would earnestly appeal to the Government for the appointment of an independent Commission to enquire into the facts which have been here urged and generally into the condition of the coolies in the Assam tea-gardens. A thorough and exhaustive inquiry is all that the Committee seek for as the basis for any future action which the Government may think fit to take, and the Committee earnestly hope that the Government will have no difficulty in complying with this request. The Committee have learnt with satisfaction that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has appointed a special officer to enquire into certain complaints of kidnapping and other criminal offences made by persons engaged in free recruiting outside the provisions of Act I of 1882. No enquiry, however, into the working of Act I of 1882 and Act XIII of 1859 has yet been ordered, and the necessity for it clearly exists in view of the evidence which has been set forth in this letter and indeed of the action, of Government of Bengal itself.”[23] To this the Government vouchsafed the following reply. “The Government of India, in communication with the Chief Commissioner of Assam, is taking measures for a full enquiry into the practical working of the emigration system in Assam with a view to introducing such amendments as may be found necessary. The reconsideration of the existing rules and regulations in the light of the practical experience gained was fixed, some time ago, for

January, 1890, and meanwhile the points raised in the letter of the Indian Association will be carefully investigated”. 24

But the Indians outside Bengal also had not much more sympathy for the coolies. Attempts were made to discuss the subject in the Indian National Congress, both in 1887 and 1888. But on both occasions the proposal was turned down on the ground that the subject 'vfras ‘provincial’ rather than ‘national’. This indicates the general apathy on the subject, outside Bengal. It is said that this refusal on the part of the Indian National Congress induced the Bengal leaders to call a Provincial Conference. It was first convened mainly for the discussion of the coolie question, but became a regular annual institution. The Conference passed the following resolution:

“The Conference is of opinion that it has become essential alike in the interests of the coolies, and for the credit of the Government, to appoint an independent Commission to enquire into the condition of the coolies in the tea-gardens in Assam, and the general working of Act XHI of 1859 and Act I of 1882” 26

The Government, however, never appointed such a commission. Perhaps the revelations made by the Commission on Indigoplantation served as a warning. But the ‘ruptured spleen’ of Assam coolies became a bye-word of reproach to the tea-planters as well as to the Government.

4. Brutality of the Tea-planters admitted by the highest British officials

The brutal outrages committed with impunity by the European planters upon the helpless Indian coolies are so incredible that it seems necessary to quote some official correspondence on the subject in order to depict their true nature. The following extracts from letters 26 would convey some idea of the tragic situation, though the actual state of things was much worse than such official admission.

a. General Review.

Curzon to Hamilton, 5 August, 1903

"Fuller has now returned to Assam.I also propose to add

ress him about relations between tea-planters and their coolies in his Province, which seem to me to be entering upon a more acute and dangerous phase. The coolies are learning to combine, and very often, upon any provocation, they are apt to gather together and assault the European manager of the plantation. These managers are drawn from a most inferior class of Englishmen and Scotchmen; they do not know the language, they have a profound contempt for the Natives and they are sometimes guilty of serious acts of lust and oppression. The planters actually allege in public meetings that they can be certain of no justice, though what they mean by this is that they regard it as the greatest of hardships if a planter is fined Rs. 100/- for an assault that terminates in the death of a coolie, while the coolie gets a term of rigorous imprisonment of from three to six years if he so much as lifts his hands against a European. In my view this unfortunate state of affairs is likely to continue, and even to develop as long as the present Labour Law remains in Assam. The Labour Law is really a penal contract, and the coolies may almost be described as slaves. They cannot run away except at the cost of being arrested and thrown into prison. As long as these conditions exist, the masters will continue to bully their slaves, and the slaves will resent the tyranny of the masters. Some day we shall abolish the penal contract altogether, and the planters will have to go to the open market for their labour. A good many concerns will smash altogether and disappear from view, but the stronger and better-managed gardens will survive, and the planters will then have to treat their coolies with humanity, because otherwise they will not be able to retain them at all."

b. Miscarriage of Justice.

1. Curzon to Hamilton, 17 October, 1900

"I have discussed with you, in many letters, the difficulties that have to be encountered in this country in the endeavour to secure even justice as between Europeans and natives in the Courts. I have shown you successively how Magistrates, District Judges, Juries and Court-martials all fail, when it is a question of sentencing a European for an injury to a native. I am sorry now to have to report that even the High Court of Calcutta is not exempt. There occurred, recently in Assam, a case of the most gross and aggravated assault by an Englishman in a tea plantation upon one of his coolies. The district .magistrate who tried it sentenced the culprit to a fine of Rs. 50/-. The Local Government in great anger at this utterly inadequate sentence took the case to the High Court, on a motion for enhancement. The two Judges who tried the case rejected the appeal on the flimsiest grounds, which could scarcely impose upon anyone. One of their number was the individual before whom was recently tried at Calcutta the soldier who successfully feigned madness in order to escape the consequences of his murderous deed."

2. Curzon to Hamilton, 24 July , 1901

"Much the same is true also of Assam. I have had three cases before me during the past weeks in which the English Magistrates, who are entirely in the hands of tea-planters, have given the most partial and unjust sentences in cases between the planters or managers of the tea gardens and their coolies. If a coolie threatens, or commits a technical assault upon an Englishman, he is given a year's rigorous imprisonment. The Englishman may thrash a coolie almost to death, or may criminally assault his daughter or wife, and he only gets a fine of Rs. 50/-. Now I learn it is the fashion for the Magistrates, when a case of this character comes before him, to send out to the tea-planters for their opinion, and if this be unfavourable to action, a great many of the cases are burked altogether. Cotton interns himself in his office, and writes long letters and resolutions, but knows next to nothing of his officers or of his people. The administration has therefore become very feeble in his* hands, and will want a good deal of bracing up when he goes."

II. OUTSIDE INDIA I. The Indenture System

The Industrial Revolution and the development of large-scale production in Europe had a great repercussion on those European countries which had colonies in various parts of the world. They had vast territories and capital, but their man-power was not sufficient to exploit the material resources of the colonies to the fullest extent. They at first used slave labour, but the abolition of slavery in the British empire in 1833 raised a great problem. Sufficient native labour was not available for the developing plantations, and the substitution of white labour was out of the question, because of the unsuitable climate and heavy expenditure involved. It was this predicament that forced the European planters and colonial governments to turn to India for the supply of labour.

The ruin of industry in India, brought about by the British rule and the Industrial Revolution in Britain, had rendered millions of Indian workers in various arts and crafts destitute without any means of earning livelihood. The poverty of the cultivators was increased by the heavy land tax. The cumulative effect of these and other factors was seen in the recurring famines during the 18th and 19th centuries. “It was in such a predicament that the planters from foreign countries approached the Indian Government through the imperial and colonial governments for a steady and continuous supply of Indian labour. The earnest entreaties and the rosy promises held out by the colonial planters and governments at a most psychological moment proved decisive. And organized emigration of Indian labour to the British colonies began from Bengal in 1838 under the supervision and direction of the Government of India. The active sympathy of the Government of India accelerated the pace of emigration. The colonial governments appointed professional recruiters who visited Indian villages stricken with failure of crops, or pilgrim centres during days of huge religious congregations, and entrapped poor Indians by dangling before them hopeful pictures of prospects in the colonies. They fulfilled the legal formalities with official connivance of the recruiting depots and then took them over for indentured service. With the success of the British planters, the other colonial planters also became interested in Indian labour. Indian emigration was later extended to the French and the Dutch colonies.” 27

The heavy cost involved in recruiting and transporting labourers across the seas to distant colonies led the planters to devise the indenture system which practically chained the labourer to the employer. “The chief features of this system were five years of State regulated labour, denial of the right to change the employer or employment, and the denial of increased wages in spite of increased prices and profits. The employer was under a legal obligation to provide fixed wages, free housing, medical attendance and other amenities.” But the planters adopted all means, fair or foul, to prevent the Indian emigrants from returning home.

Many colonies such as Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, and Fiji had regular recruiting agents in India who adopted most fraudulent practices for inducing the Indians to sign the contract, and in many cases men and women were enticed by deceit or falsehood, and even abducted by force. The mode of transportation was horrible. They were herded together like Negro slaves of the eighteenth century without any proper arrangement for food and sanitation, and a large percentage died on the way. Those who survived had to work under a vicious system and were subjected to fines, floggings and imprisonment. Many labourers went mad or committed suicide. There were also grave moral evils, mainly due to the housing of Indian labour. Andrews and Pearson who personally visited the coolie lines of Fiji stated that these were mostly responsible for prostitution and immorality among the Indian immigrants. Tyson reported that in Jamaica the housing, with a few exceptions, was deplorable. The Royal Commission of 1897 made a scathing criticism of the housing of Indian labour in Trinidad. There was no change in the wages in British Guiana between 1871 and 1922, in Trinidad between 1845 and 1920, and it remained constant for 40 to 50 years in many other places. 28

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the indenture system suffered from almost all the evils of slavery with the only change that Indian subjects of Britain were substituted for Negroes of Africa. Sir William Hunter stated that the indenture system was perilously near slavery. Gokhale and Gandhi described it as ‘semislavery’. Lord Olivier said: “It is notable that the West Indian Negro thinks the coolie (i.e., the Indian labourer) more of a slave than we do.” 2 ^

2. The Island of Mauritius 30

A typical example is furnished by Mauritius, an island in the Indian Ocean, 550 miles east of Madagascar. Known as He de France, while in French possession, it passed into the hands of the British during the Napoleonic War, and became a crown colony. But it was a colony of slaves, having

87,000 slaves in 1815, and 76,000 in 1835, when the slaves were officially emancipated in Mauritius. It was the first British colony to import free labourers on a large scale from India. The system began in 1830, and by 1838 there were 24,000 Indian labourers in Mauritius. These immigrants suffered terribly during the journey and fared no better when they landed. The planters of Mauritius, being long accustomed to coercive methods applied to the slaves, treated the Indian labourers also in the same manner. They had no idea that Sunday work, unlimited hours and corporal punishments were illegal. The Government of

Mauritius legalised such conduct by passing Ordinances 16 and 17 of 1835. They were so brutal that even the British Government vetoed them on the ground that they established a system of slavery.

The agitation in the Calcutta Press and the reports of their own officers induced the Government of India to pass the Act V of 1837, which, supplemented by the Act XXXII of 1837, regulated the recruitment of Indian labourers for Mauritius. These two Acts may be said to have formulated the system of Indenture whose main features have been described above. The evils of this system were exposed by scathing criticism, even in the British Parliament, in 1837-8, and Lord Brougham referred to the iniquitous measure as having given legal sanction to a future slave trade. There was also strong agitation in Calcutta, and at a public meeting in the Town Hall, held on 10 July, 1838, the prevailing malpractices in the export of coolies from Calcutta were strongly condemned. The Government of India suspended emigration from India to Mauritius, British Guiana, and other places with effect from 11 July, 1838, and appointed a committee to go into the matter. This Committee of six—one Indian and five Englishmen—were not unanimous in their recommendations. Two Englishmen and the solitary Indian submitted the majority report with two dissentient notes, the sixth member having left India before the Committee could complete the work. According to the majority report the "coolies were generally induced to come to Calcutta by fraud and deceit, practised upon them by subordinate agents employed by Europeans and Anglo-Indians, who were mostly aware of the frauds. In many instances the coolie was incapable of understanding his contract. Kidnapping had prevailed to a very great extent, the coolies, while kept in

Calcutta itself and its neighbourhood. being actually in a state of close imprisonment." As a result of this Report the emigration of labourers from India, suspended in 1838, was prohibited in 1840 by the Government of India, and the British Parliament ratified the decision.

This spelt utter disaster to the planters, traders, and merchants of Mauritius who sent a joint petition against the prohibition to the British authorities in London. The exoected result followed. The Government of India, under pressure of the Colonial Office and the Board of Control, passed the Act XV of 1842, permitting emigration of labourers from Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, the ostensible justfication of this volte-face being furnished by the promises, on the part of the Mauritius Government, of better conduct in future, followed by an ordinance which, however, did not abate by a jot the sufferings of the Indian indentured labourers.

Far from effecting any improvement, the authorities made the position of the labourers much worse by Ordinance XXII of 1847 which imposed new hardships upon them. Under this Ordinance it was no longer binding upon the employers to provide residence for the labourers; monthly wages of certain categories were reduced to four shillings; absence without leave was punished by forfeiture of wages and rations; and penalties, including imprisonment, were prescribed for various other offences.

The death of 284 out of 697 labourers, due to gross negligence during the voyage to Mauritius, led the Government of India to suspend for a short time the emigration of labourers in 1856 and to pass the Act XIII of 1864, incorporating therein the existing laws— 19 in all—and adding several measures to improve the lot of labourers. But though it partially removed some of the malpractices at the time of making contracts, it did not improve the condition of: the Indian labourers in Mauritius. There was an officer with the pompous name of the 'Protector of Immigrants'. But, as the Governor of Mauritius admitted in 1860, that officer was more a colonial agent than a protector. The immigrants were actually subjected to severe ill-treatment by the Protection Department. "On numerous occasions when they had to sleep overnight in the depot of the Immigration Department, they were beaten and pushed out on the road." On one occasion Joseph, a clerk, made a labourer, whose replies to his queries did not satisfy him, stand with a large register placed on his head while his peon “gave the labourer a few smart lashes with a cane”. A report of this incident in a local daily was turned down with ridicule by the authorities, but the ‘Protector’ had to admit its truth before the Royal Commission.

The Act XIII of 1864, and the Ordinance XXXI of 1867 passed by the Government of Mauritius, effected some improvements in the position and “lifted the indentured labourers at least theoretically from the slough of slavery.” But the benefits derived from them were more than counterbalanced by a number of reactionary laws which followed them.

A labourer found little relief even after the period of contract was over. If he refused to work for the planters and tried to earn, his living independently, he was treated rather like a convict. He had to take a license and wear a badge on his arm, and was fined for failure to do either. £ 20,060 were realised in fees and fines from this class of persons between 1867 and 1872. Many vexatious law;;—almost brutal in some cases—were rendered still more brutal by the way in which they were applied by an “unsympathetic police and a no more sympathetic magistracy”. In 1889 more than 30,000

persons were arrested for failure to produce on demand any of the various documents they were liable to carry with them. Of these 7,000 were released as they were illegally arrested, more than 11,000 received light punishments, while more than 12,000 were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. These had the desired effect, namely, to force the indenture-expired Indian labourers to re-indenture. The Government of India denounced the oppressive laws, and a Royal Commission was appointed in 1872 to inquire into the matter. The Commission admitted the complaints and allegations to be substantially true, and regarded the condition of immigrant labour as deplorable. But the British colonial office felt greater sympathy for the perpetrators of the brutal acts noted by the Commission than for those who were their victims. For, the former belonged to the white ruling race, and the latter, to the black subject-race. As in the cases of the indigo-planters and tea-planters in India, so in Mauritius and other colonies, weak and helpless Indian labourers were at the absolute mercy of the white planters, who knew that they could commit the worst outrages on their labourers with impunity, or with a nominal punishment. In India the planters were backed by the Government and European Police and Magistrates, while in Mauritius and other colonies the planters were backed by the Colonial Office in London.

A somewhat detailed account has been given of the lot of Indian labourers in Mauritius, because it was not an isolated case but typical of what took place in other colonies.

It is a sad commentary on the economic condition of the masses in India under British rule that, in spite of such horrible conditions, more and more labourers from India immigrated into Mauritius and other colonies. This illustrates, as nothing else could, the extreme poverty of the Indian people, and the apathy of the British rulers to their welfare when it came into conflict with the interest of the British planters. What this interest amounted to was very briefly indicated by Jackson, the Colonial Governor, when he said in 1935: "Mauritius owes much to the Indians. More than two-thirds of the people of Mauritius are of Indian descent and it is their presence in the colony which has made possible the intensive development, which places Mauritius among the most highly productive areas in the (British) Empire."

In support of the above statements we may quote the following figures to indicate the rapid increase in the number of immigrants in Mauritius:

Year	Total Population	Number of Indians
	(in thousands)	(in thousands)
1846	158	56
1851	180	77
1861	310	192

1881 359	248
1891 370	255
1901 371	.259

3. The Indians In South Africa 31

The Indians in South Africa fell under two broad categories, namely, (i) Indentured labourers; (ii) Free, unindentured Indians.

Indians were first imported into South Africa in 1860 as indentured labourers to till the British-owned sugar, tea and coffee plantations. They came as serfs under a contract for five years. A large number of labourers, however, chose to remain in South Africa even after the contract was over. But a law, passed in Natal in 1894, compelled these indentured labourers to return to India or renew their indenture. An Act of 1895 permitted an ex-indentured labourer to remain in South Africa on payment of an annual tax of three pounds for himself and each of his dependants. But few could meet this exorbitant demand.

Free immigrants from India also visited South Africa. They earned their livelihood as hawkers, tradesmen and artisans, and followed various other professions. In some Colonies, as in Natal, there were free Indians of this class, including ex-indentured labourers, as well as indentured labourers. But in the Transvaal there were no indentured Indian labourers. The Indians went there as free citizens of Her Majesty's Empire to trade in the Colony. But these Indians, being frugal in food, dress, and habits, could undersell the European traders who, being jealous and afraid of their competition, tried to keep them down by unfair means. The process began in Transvaal, chiefly at the instigation of the British merchants, though the Dutch—the Boers—controlled the administration.

The British had annexed the Transvaal in 1877, but the Boers rose in rebellion in 1881 and routed a small British force which had occupied the

Majuba Hill. The British thereupon came to terms with the Transvaal Government and these were elaborated in a Convention signed at Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, in August 1881. By this instrument the Transvaal was . granted self-government subject to British suzerainty.

THE BRITISH PARAMOUNTCY AND INDIAN RENAISSANCE—II

The clause 26 of the Pretoria Convention guaranteed full rights of citizenship to "all persons other than natives". Whether these 'persons' included Indians might have been in doubt, for there were no Indians in the Transvaal in 1881. They settled there in large number between 1881 and 1886. In 1884 the British and the Transvaal Governments signed a convention at London. Article XIV of the Convention reaffirmed the contents of clause 26 of the Pretoria Convention as follows:

"All persons, other than natives, conforming themselves to the laws of the South African Republic (a) will have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel or reside in any part of the South African Republic; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, ware-houses, shops and premises; (c) they may carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents whom they may think fit to employ; (d) they will not be subject, in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which are or may be imposed upon citizens of the said Republic".

As many Indians were then living in the Transvaal, their rights of citizenship were thus fully protected by the Convention of London. In fact, the early Indians actually enjoyed this protection; their presence and freedom were not objected to, as they stepped on the soil of the Transvaal, or established themselves there, as traders.

Shortly there commenced an agitation against the Indian and other Asiatic settlers who were mostly store-keepers, and the British merchants sent petitions to the Transvaal Government against them. Another petition was sent by the merchants of European descent with a suggestion to stop the immigration of the Asiatics, including the Indians, as these, in the opinion of the petitioners, were not covered by the Article XIV of the London Convention.

The Transvaal Government was fully sympathetic to the petitioners but was doubtful about the interpretation put upon section XIV by them. So its Secretary sent a full report to Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary of the Home Government, on 6 January, 1885, and asked his opinion on the question. “I beg to request”, said he, “that your Lordship will be so good as to acquaint this Government as to the views of Her Majesty’s Government on the subject, that is, whether according to the opinion of Her Majesty’s Government, this Government is at liberty, under the Convention now in force, to frame such regulations relative to the coloured persons referred to as may appear to them to be in the interests of the inhabitants of this

Republic, and h not, whether Her Majesty’s Government by its consent will empower this Government to meet either entirely or partly the wishes of the petitioners of European descent”.

Sir Hercules Robinson, the British High Commissioner in the Transvaal, forwarded the letter of the Transvaal Government to the Colonial Secretary with the following observation:

“As it was doubtless not the intention of Lord Kimberley to prohibit the Transvaal Government from adopting, if necessary, special legislation for the regulation of Indian or Chinese coolie immigrants, I should be disposed to recommend that the Government of the South African Republic be informed that Her Majesty’s Government will be willing to amend Article 14 of the Convention... (so as to read) as follows: All persons other than African -natives or Indian or Chinese coolie 'immigrants conforming themselves to the law of the South African Republic will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside, etc., etc./’

The Earl of Derby agreed with the recommendation of Sir Hercules Robinson and intimated his consent to be communicated to the Transvaal Government as follows:

“I have carefully considered your suggestion as to the amendment of the Convention, and, if you are of opinion that it would be preferable and more satisfactory to the Government of South African Republic to proceed as you propose, Her Majesty’s Government will be willing to amend the Convention as.suggested. It seems to deserve consideration, however, whether it would not be more correct for the Volksraad to legislate in the proposed sense, having received an assurance that Her Majesty's Government will not desire to insist upon any such construction of the terms of the Convention as would interfere with reasonable legislation in the desired direction".

Sir Hercules Robinson communicated the above to the Transvaal Government in a letter dated 17 April, 1885. It led to the enactment of Law No. 3, 1885, on 10 June, 1885. The main provisions of the Act were as follows:

(1) The Act applied to the persons belonging to one of the aboriginal races of Asia, among whom "the so-called coolies, Arabs, Malayas and Mohammedan subjects of the Turkish empire" were included.

(2) Persons falling in these classes were subjected to various disabilities. They could not acquire the rights of citizenship and could not be owners of landed property. Besides, those who settled

in the Republic for trade, or otherwise, must be registered within eight days of their arrival on payment of twenty-five pounds sterling. Non-registration was declared to be a penal offence.

(3) The Government would have the right to point out proper streets, wards and locations to persons falling in this category for purposes of residence.

After the passing of the Act, Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, made a protest on 24 February, 1886, to the Transvaal Government and asked for its revision, "as it is in direct opposition to the views of Her Majesty's Government, and in its present form is a contravention of the Convention of London".

The Government of the Transvaal now modified their stand and justified the measure on the ground of sanitary considerations in a despatch dated 6 September, 1886. This was, of course, a subterfuge, but they made slight amendments to the Act in that light.

This amendment made two major concessions: the registration fee was reduced from £. 25 to £. 3 and the Indians were allowed to acquire fixed property within the areas set apart for their residence by the Government. But “the Government required certain Indian merchants not only to live but also to conduct their business in the . prescribed locations. Licences were not issued to trade outside the locations. Thus € habitation* was extended to include ' trade’ also". The British Colonial Secretary protested against it and wrote as follows: “The right of residing, trading, etc., under the London Convention appears to be restricted, as regards Asiatics, by the law of 1885, amended in 1886, by requiring residence in certain localities selected for sanitary reasons and by registration, but not otherwise, and if trading licences are granted to other persons on application, Indian traders have clearly a right to obtain them. Moreover, the law only prescribes locations for ‘habitation’ and there does not appear to be any prohibition as to ‘trading’, in places other than locations". But, as before, the Transvaal Government triumphed, and it was decided “that all Asiatics and other persons coming under the said law shall have to limit themselves, both in respect to residence as well as to trade, to the localities appointed".

Though the Acts were passed ostensibly on grounds of health, it was too thin a disguise to deceive anybody. In this connection reference may be made to the following statement of Dr. Krause on behalf of the Transvaal British Association before Asiatic Enquiry Commission on Friday, 16 April, 1920:

“The painful question of Indian undesirability and trade jealousy was initiated as far back as 1886 by several chambers of commerce. It is interesting to note that in a discussion in the Volksraad of 1886 arising out of a petition presented by a number of white tradesmen to oust the Indians from Johannesburg a statement was recorded to the effect that ‘the European store-keepers charged poor people very high prices for the staff of life, while the coolies charged much less.’ Following upon the petition a deputation of white storekeepers waited upon the late President Kruger to urge him to enforce the petition and to do away with the Indian hawkers. The President flatly refused to listen to any such suggestions on the ground that hawkers were ‘very useful’ to his people.

“....Having failed in this attempt, the white traders, small store-keepers principally, supported another petition with the plea that the Indian was likely to spread leprosy, syphilis and similar loathsome diseases which the white community owing to the presence of the Asiatics were likely to contract. As against this, two counter-petitions were presented to the President, one signed by 1340 Europeans including a large percentage of European wholesale firms declaring that the sanitary habits of the Indian traders and those who resided in Johannesburg and other principal towns, were not inferior to those of the European and that the agitation was due purely to trade jealousy.... Having failed in this, the Indians’ rivals then adopted the plea of unfair competition.”

There were other restrictions imposed by law on Indians. These may be summed up as follows:

“Firstly, on entering the South African Republic, Indians were required to pay a licence fee of £. 3 and this exempted them from any other special tax, while they were domiciled in the State.

“Secondly, hawkers had to take out a licence of 10 sh. every month. This was not a special tax on Indians as hawkers of all nationalities had to pay this.

“Thirdly, Indians and other Asiatics were not allowed to be out after 5 p.m. without a pass. In the beginning there was no such regulation against Indians. The rule was introduced and consecrated by custom so far as the Natives of South Africa were concerned, and was presumably extended by analogy to the representatives of the coloured races of other countries. In June, 1888, certain Indians in Johannesburg presented a memorial to the Volksraad asking to be exempted from the operation of this rule, but their request was not granted.

“Fourthly, the railway regulations prevented Indians from travelling in first or second class. ‘Classed as coloured persons, Indians were not allowed to walk on side paths, though there was no specific restriction to this effect in their name*. The Indian traders protested against these restrictions early in 1898 and thereupon the State Secretary of the Transvaal Government gave an assurance to the effect that Indian traders of the better class would not be interfered with and thus the Transvaal Government agreed only to apply their various regulations to the poor class of Indians.

"Lastly, section 92 of the Gold Law No. 15 of 1898 imposed additional restrictions on the occupation of proclaimed land by Asiatics. Under this Act a white man alone could acquire a leasehold right in a stand. He was prohibited from transferring or subletting the leasehold right to a coloured person or permitting such person to reside on or occupy ground held under such right. It was further provided that in the mining district of Witwatersrand no coloured person should be permitted to reside on proclaimed land except in bazars, locations, mining compounds and such other places as the Mining Commissioner might set apart.

"No coloured person (including Indian) may be a licence holder, or in any way be connected with the working of the diggings, but shall be allowed only as a workman in the service of whites".

"The effect of the foregoing clauses was to make illegal in future the leasing of stands for occupation by people from Asia in the mining districts even for purposes of trade except in specified locations or bazars". Thus the Transvaal Government would tolerate Indians as labourers but not as free traders.

This painful episode of the Indians in the Transvaal may be fittingly closed with the following observations of Lord Lansdowne: "A considerable number of the Queen's Indian subjects are to be found in the Transvaal, and among the many misdeeds of the South African Republic, I do not know that any filled me with more indignation than its treatment of these Indians. And the harm is not confined to the sufferers on the spot; for what do you imagine to be the effect produced in India, when these poor people return to their country and report to their friends that the Government of the Empress, so mighty and irresistible in India with its population of 300,000,000, is powerless to secure redress at the hands of a small South African state."

But the Transvaal did not stand alone. Soon Natal followed suit. Here, too, the Europeans viewed with alarm the rapid growth of the Indian population about 1S90. An Act of 1895 imposed an annual tax on Indian labourers who refused to reindenture after the first contract was over. The Act No. 8 of 1896 deprived the Indians of the r;ight to vote for Parliamentary elections.

An Indian Immigration Restriction Act was passed in 1897. A second Act with the same title was passed in 1903 which, among other things, permitted the exclusion of all would-be immigrants unable to write in any European alphabets. Under this Act thousands of Asiatics were refused permission to land. Thus Natal did in a series of Acts what the Transvaal had done in 1885 by a single Act, and deprived the Indians of "political, vocational and property rights together with freedom of movement". But Natal did something more. It sought to stop the immigration of Indians and took various oppressive measures against the Indians to which reference will be made in the next volume.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that it was at the earnest request of the white settlers of Natal that the Governor of the Cape had arranged for the importation of Indian labourers, and the first batch of these landed on 17 November, 1860. What these Indians did for Natal was described by Sir Liege Hulett in the Legislative Assembly of Ratal in July, 1908, in the following words:

"The condition of the Colony before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom; it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country; and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to thrive. The Coast had been turned to one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and the Transvaal what could be found in the Coast of Natal—10,000 acres of land in plot and in crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians. Durban was absolutely built up on the Indian population." 32

The miserable lot of the Indians in South Africa roused great indignation in India and evoked strong protests from the Indian National Congress. Resolutions protesting against the disabilities actually or about to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and praying to \ Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard their interests and remove their grievances were passed in almost each session since 1894. The following resolution, passed in 1903, may be taken as a fair specimen:

"That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty's Indian subjects living in the British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the King, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the colonies as backward and uncivilized races; and it prays that in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the colonies and the economic advantages, which have resulted both to India and to the Colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty by enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair, equitable and honourable terms; and that in view of the great importance of the principle of equal treatment of all, His Majesty's Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position to Indian emigrants in all the British Colonies".

The British Government had declared war against the Transvaal for securing commercial interests of Englishmen, but not only connived at, but sometimes even encouraged, the legislation seriously curtailing the rights and status of the Indians. This provoked the Congress to pass the following resolution in 1905:

"....In particular, this Congress records its most emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggravated form, of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. In view of the fact that one of the declared causes of the recent Boer War was the treatment meted out to the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Government of that Republic, and in view also of the admitted loyalty of Indian settlers in South Africa and the help rendered by them during the war, this Congress fervently prays that the British

Parliament will insist on a just and equal treatment being secured to Indian settlers in that Crown Colony".

But the British Government ignored all these pathetic appeals.

1. Bagal, J. C., History of the Indian Association, Appendix, p. XLV.

2. Ibid, 53.

3. Ibid, 104.

4. Ibid, 103.

5. Ibid, 104.

6. Ibid, Appendix, p. XXXIII.

7. Ibid, XXXV.

8. Ibid, XXXV-XXXVI.

9. Ibid, XXXVI-XXXVII.

10. ibid, xxxvn-xxxvm.

11. Ibid, XXXVIII-XXXIX.

12. Ibid, XXXIX.

13. Ibid, XXXIX-XL.

14. Ibid, XL.

15. Ibid, XL.

16. Ibid, XLII.

17. See pp. 364-5.

18. Bagal, op. cit., XUII-XUV.

19. Ibid, XLIV-XLV.

20. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 922-25.

21. Bagal, op. cit., XLI-XLII.

22. See above, pp. 364-5.

23. Bagal, op. cit., XLV-XLVI.

24. Ibid, 104.

25. Ibid, 106.

26. Unpublished documents in QRO, London. The italics are not in the original. The letters haVe since been published. Of. Advent of Independence by Dr. A.K. Majumdar, pp, 323-6.

27. C. Kondapi, Indians Overseas , p. 5.

28. There is a vast literature on the woeful condition of the Indentured labourers. Gokhale described it as a monstrous system (Speeches , 520). For a vivid description of the evils and fraudulent practices, cf. Report of Messrs. Andrews and Pearson on Indentured Labour in Fiji. Also cf. the speech of Madan-mohan Malaviya in the Imperial Legislative Council on March 20, 1916.

29. C. Kondapi, p. 8.

30. The account of Mauritius is mainly based on The Indenture System in Mauritius , 1837-1915, by S. B. Mookherji. The quotations are also from that work.

31. The major part of this section, dealing with the Transvaal, is based on the article “Indians in the Transvaal” by Iqbal Narain, published in the Uttar a Bharati , Vol. IV, No. 2 (March, 1958), pp. 67-94. The official documents quoted will be found in this article with full references.

32. IAR, 1924, II. 329.

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Warren Hastings—Governor General (p. 2).

Birth of Dayaram, Gujarati poet (p. 190).

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The India Gazette published (p. 223).

Calcutta Madrasa founded by Warren Hastings (p. 42).

Hicky convicted of libel and his paper closed (p. 223).

Syed Ghulam Husain writes the Seir-ul Muta qherin (p. 340).

The Calcutta Gazette published (p. 223).

The Madras Courier published (p. 223).

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Birth of Muhammad Ibrahim Zauq, Urdu poet (p. 214).

The Bombay Herald published (p. 224).

Collection of persons for exportation as slaves declared illegal (p. 280).

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The Bombay Gazette published (p. 224).

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Herasim Lebedeff stages a play in Calcutta (p. 175).

The India Herald and the Weekly Madras Gazette published (p. 223).

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Birth of Parshuram Balwant alias Parashuram Pant Tatya Godbole, Marathi writer (p. 186).

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Birth of Muhammad Mu’min Khan Mu min. Urdu poet (p. 214).

English School established at Bhawanipore, Calcutta (p. 31).

William Carey publishes a Bengali grammar (p. 167).

Ramram Basu's Pratapadityacharita, published (p. 167).

Birth of Babar Ali Anis, Urdu poet (p. 214).

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Birth of Salamat Ali Dabir, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Birth of Hari Keshavji, Marathi author (p. 185).

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Bdlbodhmuktdvali (Marathi), published (p. 187).

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William Carey writes the Itihasamdla in Bengali (p. 167).

Visvanatha Simha Vaghela of Rewa, author of fifty works on Rama cult (p. 164).

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Charter Act permits Christian Missionaries to preach in British India (p. 153).

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Calcutta School Society established (p. 32).

Rammohan Roy defeats Subrahmanya £astrl in a debate on idol worship (p. 98).

Death of Dildar ‘All, first Indian-born Shha Mujtahid (p, 209).

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Birth of Akshay-kumar Datta, Bengali writer (p- 176),

Birth of Isvar-chandra Vidyasagar (p. 173).

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Native School and School Book Society (Bombay) formed (p. 70).

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Rammohan publishes the Sambada Kaumudi (pp. 170, 224).

Poona Sanskrit College (later Deccan College) opened (October 6) (p. 70).

A British officer writes: “Divide et Impera should be the motto of our Indian administration...” (p. 321).

Birth of Rajendra-lal Mitra (p. 176).

Birth of Bholanath Sarabhai, Gujarati Writer (p. 192).

Death of Muhammad Ghaus Sharf’ul Mulk bin Nizamuddin Ahmad, Arabic scholar (p. 209).

Death of Munshi Kundan Lai alias Ashki , Persian poet (p. 209).

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The Samachdra-chandrikd (Bengali) published (March 5) (p. 225).

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The Jam-i-Jahan Numa published (p. 225).

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Birth of Ramalitiga Swamigal, Tamil poet (p. 196).

Birth of Gopal Hari Deshmukh alias Lokhitawadi, Marathi writer (p. 189).

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Birth of Svami Dayananda (p. 108).

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Mrs. Wilson (nee Miss Cook) takes charge of the Central School (p. 286).

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Rammohan goes to England (p, 518).

General Assembly's Institution of the Church of Scotland founded by Dr. Duff (p. 68).

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Kasi-prasad Ghose's The Shair and other Poems (English) published (p. 216).

Saiyid Ahmad, the Wahabi leader, dies at the Battle of Balakot (6th May) (p. 141).

The Gyananneshun published (pp. 40, 444).

Publication of Darpan, Marathi Journal

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Birth of Mirza Khan Dagh, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Bodhakathd (Marathi) published (p. 187).

Birth of Dr. Kirtikar B. D. Palande, Marathi poet (p. 188).

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Birth of Narmadashankar Lalshahkar, Gujarati writer (p. 191).

Slavery abolished in Britain (p. 280).

Wilson College (originally called General Assembly's Institution) founded as a High School in Bombay (p. 71).

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Birth of Altaf Husain Panipati alias Mali, Urdu poet (p. 215).

1888 Birth of Bankim-chandra Chatterji (p. 173).

Birth of Surendra-nath Majumdar, Bengali poet (p. 173).

Birth of Hem-chandra Bandopadhyay, Bengali poet (p. 172).

Devendra-nath Tagore becomes a Brahma

(p. 101).

The first hospital opened in Calcutta (p. 69).

The Bombay Times (later the Times of India) published (p. 225).

The Government of India suspends emigration of Indian labourers to Mauritius, British Guiana and other places (July 11) (p. 614).

A public meeting at Calcutta condemns the malpractices in the export of Indian labourers (p. 614).

The Delhi Akhbdr published (p. 225).

Hooghli College established (p. 68).

Adam’s Report on Vernacular Education (III) (p. 60).

Zamindari Association later called Landholders’ Society (Bengal) inaugurated (July) (p. 446).

The Hindu Pioneer published (p. 40L

Krishuamacharya’s Hosaganna^a Nudigfin^ia4i, a grammar of New Kannada, printed (p. 201).

1880 Devendra-nath Tagore establishes the Tattva

bodhini Sabhd (p. 101).

British India Society established in England, (p. 447).

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Lord Elphinstone recommends the establishment of a Collegiate Institution at Madras (p. 73).

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Birth of Sivanarayar^a Paramahaihsa (p. 137).

Birth of V. J. Kirtane, Marathi playwright (p. 188).

A female hospital begins to function in Calcutta (p. 69).

The Committee of Native Education reconstituted as the , University Board (Madras' (p. 73).

Central School converted into a High School (Madras) (p. 74).

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Publication of Prabhdkar, Marathi Journal, by Bhau Mahajan ’ (p. 186).

British India Society publishes its Journal, the British India Advocate (p. 447).

Birth of Mahadev Govind Ranade (p. 486).

The Bengal Spectator published (p.p. 40, 444).

Publication of J nanoday a, Marathi Journal by Missionaries (p. 186).

The Government of India under pressure from British authorities passes an Act permitting emigration of Indian labour (p. 614).

Slavery declared illegal in India (p. 280).

Devendra-nath Tagore formally becomes a Brahma (p. 101).

The Council of education replaces the Committee of Public Instruction in Bengal (p. 49).

Institution of the Free Church of Scotland established (p. 69).

Bengal British India Society established (April 20). (p. 448).

Hindu College students at a public meeting send a memorial to the Court of Proprietors ‘praying for the bestowal of more offices on Indians' (April 18) (p. 442).

Birth of Phakir-mohan Senapati (p. 179).

Four Indians proceed to England for training in Medicine (p. 69).

A class for training engineers opened in the Elphinstone Institution (Bombay) (p. 71).

Educational Despatch of Lord Hardinge (p. 49).

Birth of Girii-chandra Ghose, Bengali actor and playwright (p 176).

Death of Abu Sulaiman Muhammad Ishaq. Arabic scholar (p. 209).

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Council of Education in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Charles Hay Cameron draws up a plan for a University of Calcutta (p. 49).

Grant Medical College (Bombay) opened (October) (p. 71).

Birth of Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampuran, Sanskrit poet (p. 164).

Birth of Jogendra-nath Vidyabhushan, Bengali writer (p. 177).

Birth of Bhdratendu Haris-chandra (p. 182).

Christian Missionaries publish the Arunodaya Samvad Patra (Assamese) (p. 178).

The first regular session of Grant Medical College, Bombay, begins (June 16) (p. 71).

St. Joseph's College established at Nagapatam (p. 74).

Death of Bal Gangadhar Jambhekar (p. 185).

Death of Haidar ‘All Atish, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Engineering College, Roorkee, founded (p. 52).

Death of Swathi Thirunal, Maharaja of Travancore. (p. 203).

Death of Nawab Amir Hasan Khan of Kakori, Persian poet. (p. 213).

The Council of Education, Bengal, stresses the necessity of combining vernacular with English education (p. 68).

A. Kmloch Forbes founds “The Gujarat Vernacular Society” (now called Gujarat Vidya Sahha) at Ahmedabad (p. 190).

The Jnanaprasarak Sabha (Maharashtra) established (p. 186).

The Students’ Literary and Scientific Society (Maharashtra) established (p. 186).

Thomason submits his scheme for re-organizing the educational system in U.P. (p. 75).

Birth of Radha-nath Ray, Oriya poet (p. 179).

Hindu Balika Vidyalaya founded in Calcutta by J. E. Drinkwater Bethune and I£varchandra Vidyasagar (May) (pp. 66, 70, 291).

The Roorkee Engineering College placed on a permanent footing (p. 76).

Michael Madhu-sudan publishes his first work, the Captive Ladie (English) (p. 216).

Publication of the Jnanaprak&6a (Marathi Journal (p. 186).

Birth of Rajakrishna Ray, Bengali playwright (p. 175).

Birth of Jyotirindra-nath Tagore (p. 175).

Birth of Indra-nath Bandyopadhyay, Bengali author (p. 177).

A female School opened at Baraset (p. 290).

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Publication of the Hindi Journal Sudhdkar (p. 183).

Death of Muhammad Mu’min Khan Mu’min, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Bareilly College founded (p. 74).

Birth of Vishnu Kjdsfana*4astribuwa Chiplunkar, Marathi writer (p. 189).

Publication of the BuddhiprakaS, Gujarati fort* nightly (p. 191).

Dalpatram writes Hunnarkhdnni ChajM, Gujarati poem (p. 191).

British Indian Association (Calcutta) founded (October 29) (p. 448).

Dadabhai Naoroji publishes the Hast Goftar (Gujarati) (p. 228).

Jotiba Phule starts a girls’ school at Poona (p. 285),

Madras Medical School raised to the status of College (p. 74).

The Dakshina Prize Committee (Maharashtra) established (p. 186).

Pr&sannardghava f the first Marathi play written (p. 188).

Birth of Laia Srinivasadas, Hindi playwright (p. 183).

Birth of Chintamani Pethkar, Marathi poet

(p. 188).

Hindu “Muslim riot in Bombay (p. 326).

Publication of the Vichdralahari, Marathi Journal (p. 186).

Dadabhai Kavasji publishes the Akhbar-o Souddgar (p. 226).

Death of Dayaram, Gujarati poet (p. 190).

The Bombay Association inaugurated (p. 459).

Harii-chandra Mukherji publishes the Hindoo Patriot (p. 225).

A College Department added to the Central High School which later developed into Presidency College, Madras (p. 74).

Government schools founded at Cuddalore and Rajhamundry (p. 73).

Birth of Amrita-lal Basu, Bengali actor and playwright, (p. 176).

Birth of Madhu-sudan Rao, Oriya writer

(p. 180).

Educational Despatch, No. 49, dated July 19, drafted by Sir Charles Wood (p. 49).

Department of Public Instruction formed (Madras) (p. 73).

Parashurara Pant Tatya edits Navneet, an anthology of Marathi' poetry (p. 186).

Death of Abu ‘Abd’ullah Husain bin Dildar ‘All, Arabic scholar (p. 209).

Publication of the Vartamdndipikd Marathi Journal (p. 186).

1855 Death of Hansaraja, Marathi poet (p. 188).

The Maharaja of Burdwan petitions the Legislative Council for restraining polygamy among the Kulins in Bengal (p. 259).

Birth of Govardhanram Madhavram Tripathi Gujarati writer ip. 192).

1.85(5 Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa becomes a

priest in the Dakshinesvara temple (p. 117)

Hindu Widow’s Re-marriage Act passed (Julv 26) (p. 278).

Calcutta College of Engineering founded (p. 52).

First female school in the Punjab opened at Rawalpindi (p. 77).

Publication of the Buddhiprakds (Hindi) by Munshi Sadasukhlal (p. 183).

Birth of Bal Gangadhar Tilak (p. 189).

Birth of Principal Agarkar, Marathi writer (p. 189).

1 857 University of Calcutta incorporated, 24 Janu

ary (p. 51).

University of Bombay incorporated. 18 July (p. 51).

University of Madras incorporated, 5 September (p. 51).

Baba Padmanji wites Yamuna Paryatari, first Marathi novel (p. 187).

Keshab-chandra Sen joins the Brahma-Samaj (p. 102).

Death of DasarathI Ray. the Bengali poet (p. 172),

Death of Faiz Ahmad bin Hafiz Ghulam Ahmad, Arabic poet (p. 209).

Publication of the Stri-bodh , a journal for women, in Bombay (p. 292).

Hindu Muslim riot at Broach (p. 332).

1858 Pyarl-chand's Alaler-gharer Duldl published

(p. 173).

The Industrial School attached to the Gun Carriage Factory becomes the Guindy College of Engineering and is affiliated to the Madras University (p. 52).

The Overseer's School of Poona raised to the status of Poona College of Engineering and affiliated to the Bombay University (p. 52).

The Somaprakasa (Bengali) published by Dwarka-nath Vidyabhushan (p. 243).

Birth of ManiJal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, Gujarati writer (p. 193).

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Birth of Bhola-nath Das, Assamese writer (p. 178).

Death of Hari Keshavji, Marathi writer (p. 185).

Lord Elphinstone writes in a minute (May 14): "Divide et Impera was the old Roman motto and it should be ours" (p. 321).

Death of Isvar-chandra Gupta, Bengali poet (p. 172).

Death of Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, Assamese writer (p. 178).

Birth of Narsinhrao, Gujarati Writer (p. 193).

Dinabandhu Mitra's drama, Nila-darpana, published (p. 175).

Rev. Long imprisoned for the publication of an English translation of the Nila-darpana (p. 175).

University education begins in U. P. by affiliating the Colleges with the Calcutta University (p. 76).

Lahore Medical School founded (p. 78).

Indian Councils Act passed.

Birth of Rabindra-nath Tagore (p. 177).

Alexander Cunningham begins regular archaeological exploration (p. 466).

Michael Madhu-sudan Datta composes the Meghnada-vadha-kavya (p. 172).

Radha-Soami-Satsarig founded by TulsI Ram (p. 138).

The Bombay Times changes its name to Times of India (p. 242).

The Indian Field published by Kishori-chand Mitra (p. 241).

The Muknerji's Magazine published by Sfeambhu-chandra Mukhop5dhyaya (p. 241).

Keshab-chandra Sen becomes a whole time missionary of the Brahma Samaj (p. 102).

Birth of Kali-prasanna Kavyavtearad (p. 177).

Death of Harii-chandra Mukherji, editor, Hindoo Patriot (p. 241).

Death of Muhammad Fazl-i-Haqq, Arabic Scholar (p. 210).

Keshab-chandra Sen becomes the Acharya of the Brahma Sam§j (p. 102).

Devendra-nath Tagore publishes the Indian Mirror (p. 241).

Lahore University College incorporated as a University (p. 78).

The Bengalee published by Girish-chandra Ghosh (p. 241).

First M.A. degree conferred by the Calcutta University (p. 69).

Publication of the InduprakaSa, Marathi Journal (p. 186).

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Ranchodbhai Udayram writes the first modern Gujarati play *JayakumdrV (p. 192).

Birth of Rev. N. V. Tilak, Marathi poet (p. 189).

Birth of SvarnI Vivekananda (January 12) (p. 123).

Patna College established (p. 68).

U mesh-chan dr a Datta starts the Bamabodhini , a Journal for Women, in Bengal (p. 65).

Birth of Dwijendra-lal Ray. Bengali playwright <p. 173).

Birth of V. K. Raj wade, Marathi writer (p. 189).

Bankim-chandra Chatterji publishes his first work, the Rajmohan’s Wife (English) (p. 174).

Canning College founded at Lucknow (p. 74).

Government Colleges established at Lahore and Delhi (pp. 77-78).

The SiksJiadarpana O Scimbadasdra (Bengali) published by Bhudev Mukhopadhyay (p. 243).

The Indian Whipping Act passed (p. 350).

Birth of Kshirod-prasad Vidyabinod, Bengali playwright, (p. 176).

Birth of S. M. Paranjpe, Marathi writer (p. 189).

Birth of Mrs. Kamim Ray, Bengali poetess (p. 173).

Birth of Hari Narayan Apte, Marathi writer

(p. 187).

Bankim s Durgesanandinl published (p. 165)

Calcutta College of Engineering amalgamated with Presidency College (p. 52).

Hook-swinging prohibited (March 15) (p. 283).

The National Paper published by Nabogopal Mitra (p. 241).

The Pioneer published (p. 242).

London Indian Society formed (p. 520).

Krishna-Sastri Chiplunkar completes the Marathi tr. of the Arabian Nights (p. 187).

Birth of Akshay-kumar Baral, Bengali poet (p. 173).

Birth of Balmukund Gupta, Hindi Journalist (p. 183).

Birth of Ayodhya Singh Upadhyay ‘Hari Audh’, Hindi writer (p, 183).

Keshab-chandra Sen organizes the Brahma Samaj of India (p. 103).

Dar-al-TJlum founded at Deoband (p. 142),

Government starts girls' schools (Madras) (p. 74).

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1870

Formation of the East India Association with which The London Indian Society was amalgamated (p. 520).

Publication of the Utkala Dipika (p. 180). Lakshman Moreshwar Halbe writes the Ratnaprabhd Marathi novel (p. 187).

Birth of Keshavasuta Krishnaji Keshav Damle, Marathi poet (p. 189).

Prarthana Samaj inaugurated in Bombay (p. 106).

Beginning of the Hindu Mela (p, 472).

Poona Sarvajanik Sabha founded (pp. 517, 521).

National Indian Association founded in England by Mary Carpenter (p. 521).

W. C. Bonnerjee delivers a speech on "representative and responsible Government of India" in England (July 25) (p. 499). Ravji-Sastn Godbole translates the Robhrson Crusoe into Marathi (p. 187).

Birth of Manishankar Ratnaji Bhatt, Gujarati author (p. 194).

The Amrita Bazar Patrika published by Sisir Kumar Ghosh (February 20) (p. 244).

The Madras Mail, the first evening paper in India, published (p. 242).

Naro Sadashiv Risbud composes Maniughdshd (Marathi) (p, 187).

M. M. Kunte writes the pseudo-epic poem, the Raja Shivaji (p. 189).

Birth of Lakshnru-nath Bezbarua, Assamese writer (p. 179).

Birth of Ramanbhai Mahipatram Ntlkanth, Gujarati writer (p. 195).

Surendra-nath Banerji disqualified for the I.C.S. (p. 458).

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan visits England (p. 148). Branches of East India Association opened at Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras (p. 520). Dwarakanath Ganguli starts the Journal Abala-bandhava (p. 65).

Birth of Balvantrai Kalya^rai fhakor, Gujarati writer (p. 194).

Death of Mufti Sadr-ud-din, Persian poet (p. 213).

Death of Ghalib, Persian and Urdu poet

(p. 212).

Dadabhai Naoroji points out that the average annual income of an Indian was 40 Shillings (p. 422).

R. G. Bhandarkar and M. G. Ranade join the Prarthana Samaj (p. 106).

1871

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Punjab (formerly Lahore) University College inaugurated (p. 78).

Law School founded at Lahore (p. 78).

Lahore Medical School raised to the status of a College (p. 78).

Rajkumar College at Bajkot opened (p. 78).

Naro Sadashiv Risbud composes Vishwdsrdo, (Marathi .novel) (p. 187),

Sir Syed Ahmad starts the Tahzibal-Akhldq (p. 144).

Birth of Mahablr Prasad Dvivedx, editor of the Hindi Journal Sarasvati (p. 184).

Death of Kalf-prasanna Sirhha, Bengali translator of the Mahabhamta (p. 177).

Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the financial administration of India under the Chairmanship of Henry Fawcett (pp. 392, 519).

Lord Mayo's resolution on the backwardness of Muslim Education (p. 79).

Hindu-Muslim riots in U.P. (p. 328).

A branch of the East India Association formed in Bombay (p. 516).

Publication of the Orissa Patriot and the Utkalahitaishini (p. 180).

Rama-chandra Bhikaji Gunjikar writes Mochangad, Marathi historical novel (p. 187).

Bankim-chandra publishes the Bangadarsana (p. 176).

Ananda-mohan Bose founds the Indian Society in London (p. 521).

First public stage opened in Calcutta (p. 175),

Mayo College opened at Ajmer (p. 78).

Rajkumar College opened at Nowgong (p. 78).

Muir College (U.P.) founded (p. 76).

Native Marriage Act (popularly known as Civil Marriage Act) passed (p. 104).

- Birth of N. C. Kelkar, Marathi writer (p. 189).

Birth of Madhavanuj, Marathi poet (p. 189).

Birth of Vinayaka Karandikar, Marathi poet (p. 189).

Death of Michael Madhu-sudan Datta (p. 1721.

Death of Dinabandhu Mitra, Bengali playweight (p. 175).

In Brighton, Ananda-mohan Bose advocates gradual establishment of representative Government in India (p. 499).

Krishna-Sastn Chiplunkar and his son translate the Raselas into Marathi (p. 187).

Publication of the Utkala-Darpana (monthly) and Uikala-Putra (fortnightly) (p. 180).

Arts College established at Jaipur (p. 78).

Moroba Kanhoba Vijaykar writes GMshiram Kotwal , Marathi historical novel (p. 187).

Death of Ranchodbhai GirdharbhSi, Gujarati writer (p. 190).

Death of Vithoba Anna Daftardar, Marathi poet (p. 188).

Death of Maulvi Karamat Ali, Persian writer (p. 213).

1874 Birth of Sursinhji Gohel, alias KalSpi, Guja

rati writer (p. 194).

Death of Dr. Kirtikar B. D. Palande, Marathi poet (p. 188).

Death of Aru and Toru Dutt (p. 216).

Death of Babar Ali Anis, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Death of Aliya Lihga Raja, Sanskrit and Kannada writer (p. 201).

Death of Ramalinga Swamigal, Tamil poet (p. 196).

Death of Parashuram Balwant alias Parashuram Pant Tatya Godbole, Marathi writer (p. 186).

Hindu-Muslim riot in Bombay (p. 326).

Publication of Nibandhamala of Vish$u£astri Chiplunkar (p. 186).

1875 Dayananda founds the Arya Samaj at Bombay,

(April 10) (pp. 107, 109).

Madame Blavatsky founds the Theosophical Society in U.S.A. (p. 131).

Syed Ahmad Khan establishes a school at Aligarh (p. 76).

Prince of Wales (later Edward VII) visits India (p. 428).

The Statesman published by Rebert Knight (p. 242).

Robert Knight purchases the Friend of India (p. 242).

‘Indian League’ started in Calcutta (September 23) (p. 500).

Death of Salamat ‘All Dabir, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Birth of D. K. Ghate, Marathi poet (p. 189).

1876 A new regulation is passed lowering the age

limit of competitors for the I. C. S. examination (p. 501).

The Civil and Military Gazette published (p. 242).

Fuller, an English lawyer, kills his groom and is let off on payment of a fine of Rs. 30/ (p. 358).

Aru and Toru Dutt's A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields published (p. 216).

Birth of Sridhar P§{hak (p. 183).

1877

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1880

Surendra-nath Banerji tours India propagating the message of unity (p. 502).

'National Mohammedan Association' founded by Amir 'AH (p. 311).

Lord Lytton lays the foundation stone of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh (January 8) (p. 308).

House of Commons passes a resolution urging the abolition of the import duty on British cotton goods in India (p. 426).

The Indian Association holds a public meeting protesting against the new regulation lowering the age of the I.C.S. candidates (March 24) (p. 501).

A Durbar is held at Delhi (t>. 525).

Ten principles of the Arya Samaj promulgated

(p. 110).

Madhvas of South India form an association (d. 135).

Dwiiendra-nath Tagore publishes the Journal Bhdratl (p. 177).

Hindu-Muslim riot at Janjira (p. 332).

The Vernacular Press Act passed (March 14) (p. 503).

The Arms Act and the License Act passed (p. 503).

Sadharan Brahma Samaj founded by Sivan&th Sastri and Ananda-mohan Bose (May 15) (p. 105).

The Hindu (weekly) published (September 20) by G. Subramaniya Aiyar and Viraraghavacharia (p. 248).

Death of Surendra-nath Majumdar, Bengali poet (p. 173).

Duties on imported cotton goods from England abolished (p. 426).

Lal-mohan Ghosh addresses the members of the Parliament in Willis's Rooms, House of Commons (July 23) (p. 504).

Formation of the rules of the Statutory Civil Service (July 24) (p. 505).

Surendra-nath Banerji takes over the management and editorship of the Bengalee (January 1) (p. 246).

Death of Chintamani Pethkar, Marathi poet (p. 188).

Birth of Prem Chand, Hindi novelist (p. 183).

Calcutta College of Engineering shifted to Sibpur (p. 52).

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad publishes the Bardhlni Ahmadiya (p. 146).

1881

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1884

SvamI Yivekananda meets £n Rsunakrish^a Paramahamsa (p, 123).

Lahore Central Training College for Teachers opened (p. 78).

Publication of the Bangabdsi (p. 246).

The Tribune published by Samar Dayal Singh Majeetia (p. 243).

The K&saft and the Mahratta published (January 4 and 2) (pp. 186, 250).

Birth of ChSma Raja Wodeyar ip. 202).

Lord Bipon repeals the Press Act;of 1857 and 1878 (p. 250).

Inland Emigration Bill passed (p. 597).

Punjab University (Lahore) incorporated (October 14) (p. 53).

Appointment of Hunter Commission on education (p. 53).

A.O. Hume retires from Government service (p. 529).

Kerala Varma translates the Sdkuntaiam into Malayalam (p, 206).

Birth of Brij Narain Chakbast, Urdu poet (p. 215).

Death of Dadoba Pan$urang Tarkhadkar, Ma» rathi grammarian (p. 185).

Death of Vishnu Krishoa-sastribuwa Chiplunkar, Marathi writer (pp. 189, 476).

Death of SvamI Day&nanda (p. 110).

First National Conference held at Calcutta (December 28, 29, 30) (p. 512).

A. O. Hume addresses an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University (March !) (p. 539).

Government passes a resolution declaring its policy on Muslim Education (p. 80).

W.S. Blunt tours India (p. 346).

IXhert Bill controversy (p. 506).

Publication of the Sanjibani (Bengali) (p. 246).

The Hindu converted into a tri-weekly (p. 248).

Death of Pyan-cband Mitra, Bengali author (p. 173).

Death of Keshab-chandra Sen (January) (p. 469).

Death of Bhdratendu Haris-chandra (p. 182).

Government passes a resolution on Muslim Education (p. 80).

The Lihgayat Education Association formed (p. 136).

The ‘MaMjan Sabha* of Madras founded (May 16) (p. 517). ' *

B. M. Malabari publishes his Notes on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood (p. 283).

1885

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1888

The Government of India approves the recommendations of the Hunter Commission

(p. 55).

Inauguration of the Bombay Presidency Association (January 31) (p. 516).

Second session of the National Conference held at Calcutta (December 25, 26. 27) (p. 513).

Indian National Congress holds its first session at Bombay (December 28) (pp. 514, 536).

The Government of Transvaal passes an Act imposing disabilities on Indians (p. 619).

Death of ‘All Abbas of Chirayyakot, Arabic scholar (p. 211).

Gunabhiram Barua publishes the Assam Bandhu (p. 178).

Lord Randolph Churchill advocates a Royal Commission of Enquiry into Indian Affairs (p. 388).

Hindu-Muslim riot at Lahore and Karaal Cp. 327).

Death of Sri Ramakpshna . Paramahamsa (August 16) (p. 120).

Aitchison College founded at Lahore (p. 78).

The Indian Association sends Dwarka-nath Ganguly to inquire into the conditions of the garden-labourers of Assam (p. 597).

Death of Akshay-kumar Datta (p, 176).

Death of Narmada-shankar Lalshankar, Gujarati writer (p. 191).

Death of Bholanath Sarabhai, Gujarati writer (p. 192).

Death of Abdul Hayy, Arabic scholar (p. 210h

Hindu-Muslim riots at Delhi (p. 327).

Tilak becomes the sole editor of the Kesarl (p. 250).

Allahabad University incorporated (p. 76).

T)eva Samaj' founded by Siva-narayaip. Agnihotri (p. 139).

Govardhanram publishes the first volume of his (Gujarati) novel Sarasvatuchandr (p. 192).

K. Vlresalingam’s Rdjasekhara-chantramu tr. into English (pp. 198-99).

Publication of the Odia (weekly) (p. 181).

Death of Rangalal Bandyopadhyaya (p. 172).

Death of Laia &rimv&sa~das, Hindi playwright (p. 183).

Death of Faiz'ul Hasan, Arabic scholar (p. 211).

Dufferin defines the British policy towards Indian aspirations at the St. Andrews Day Dinner (November 30) (p. 556).

Congress establishes a paid agency in England (p. 563).

Beck forms the ‘United Indian Patriotic Association ’ (p. 312).

Agarkar publishes the Sudharak (p. 186).

D. A. V. School in Lahore raised to the status of a College (p, 78).

Death of Navalram Lakshmiram, Gujarati writer (p. 192).

1889 The British Committee of the Indian National

Congress founded (July) (p. 563).

Charles Bradlaugh introduces a Bill for setting up democratic government in India (p. 312). Chandu Menon writes Indulekhd, a Malaya lam novel (p. 205).

Paudita Ramabai starts the Sarada Sadan

(p. 266).

The Hindu becomes a daily (p. 248).

The Jondki published in Assam (p. 178).

Death of Mufti Syed Muhammad ‘Abbas, Arabic and Persian poet (p. 211).

Hindu-Muslim riots at Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Ambala, and Dera Ghazi Khan (p. 327).

1890 Ranade inaugurates the ‘Industrial Association

of Western India* (p. 486).

C. V. Raman Pillai writes the Malayalam novel Mdrttandavarma (p. 205).

Death of Robert Knight (p. 242).

1891 Death of Isvar-chandra Yidyasagar (p. 173).

Death of Rajendra-lal Mitra (p. 176).

Death of Madam Blavatsky (8 May) (p. 134). Age of Consent Act passed (p. 283).

Tilak becomes sole proprietor of the Kesari and the Mahxatta (p. 250).

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad proclaims himself to be the Mahdi (p. 146).

Publication of the Utkala~prahh& (p. 181). Death of V. J. Kirtane, Marathi playwright

(p. 188).

Death of Mahipatram Rupram, Gujarati writer (p. 192).

Hindu-Muslim riot in Palakod (Madras) (p. 327).

1892 Indian Councils Act passed (p. 548).

Split in the Ary a Samaj (p. ill).

Islamia College, Lahore, opened (p. 78).

Death of Gopal Hari Deshmukh alios Lokhita

, wadi, Marathi writer, (p. 189).

1898 Vivekananda attends the Parliament of Religions at Chicago (p. 127).

Beck forms the ‘Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India* (p. 312).

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1895

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Tilak organizes the Ganapati festival (p. 578).

Anti-Cow killing riot in Bihar (p. 333).

Hindu-Muslim riots in U.P., Bombay, Punjab (p. 327).

Arts College established at Jodhpur (p. 78).

Death of Bankim-chandra Chatterji (p. 173).

Death of Bhudev Mukhopadhyay (p, 173).

Death of Rajakrishna Ray, Bengali playwright (p. 175).

Death of Chama Raja Wodeyar (p. 202).

Death of Bihari-lal Chakravarti, Bengali poet ip. 173).

Death of Muhammad Ibrahim Zauq, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Tilak organizes the Sivaji festival (March 15) (p. 579).

Death of Principal Agarkar, Marathi writer ip. 189).

The ‘Advaita Sabha’ of Kumbhakonam started (p. 136).

Death of Gunabhiram Barua (p. 178).

Famine in Bombay (p. 577).

Death of Hem-chandra Barua, Assamese writer ip. 178).

Plague epidemic in Bombay (p. 591).

Rand and Ayerst murdered in Poona (June 22) (pp. 581, 590).

Tilak sentenced to 18 months’ rigorous imprisonment (July 22) (p. 582).

Vivekananda returns to India (p. 128).

Publication of the Utkala Sdhitya (p. 181).

Khalsa College, Amritsar, founded (p. 78).

Hindu-Muslim riot at Calcutta (p. 334).

S. M. Paranjpe publishes the Kdl (p. 186).

Nadwat at’Ulama founded. at Lucknow by Shibli Numani (p. 142).

Death of Sir Syed Ahmad (p. 320).

Death of Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi (p. 193).

Rajkumar College, Nowgong, amalgamated with Daly College, Indore (p. 78).

Vivekananda establishes a Math at Belur ip. 129).

Vivekananda re-visits America (p. 130).

Lord Curzon appointed Viceroy (p. 400).

The two Dravid brothers, who informed against the Chapekar brothers, murdered by Vasudev Chapekar (February 8) (p. 592).

Death of Principal Beck (p. 314).

Death of D. K. Ghate, Marathi poet (p. 189).

Death of Raj-narayan Basu (p. 176).

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Vivekananda returns to India (p. 130).

V. D. Savarkar starts the ‘Mitra Mela, at Nasik (p. 592).

The Indian Review published by G. A. Natesan (p. 250).

Death of Sursinhji Gohel, alias Kaldpi, Gujarati writer (p. 194).

Death of the Sanskrit poetess. Lakshmi (p. 166).

Death of Amir Ahmad Minal, Urdu poet (p. 214).

Death of AppayachSrya, Tamil philosopher (p. 164).

Death of Mahadev Govind Ranade (p. 486).

Publication of Phakir-mohan's Chhaytndna Apa-Gwifha (Oriya novel) (p. 179).

Death of Vivekananda (July 4) (p. 130).

Indiain Universities Commission (p. 57).

Sri-Vaishi^avas of Mysore forms an association (p. 135).

Death of Hem-chandra Bandyopadhyay, Bengali poet (p. 172).

Indian Universities Act passed (March 21) (p. 58).

Curzon announces two principles regarding public appointments in India (p. 40).

‘Servant of India Society' founded (p. 496).

Nanfilal writes the Vasantotsav (Gujarati) (p. 195).

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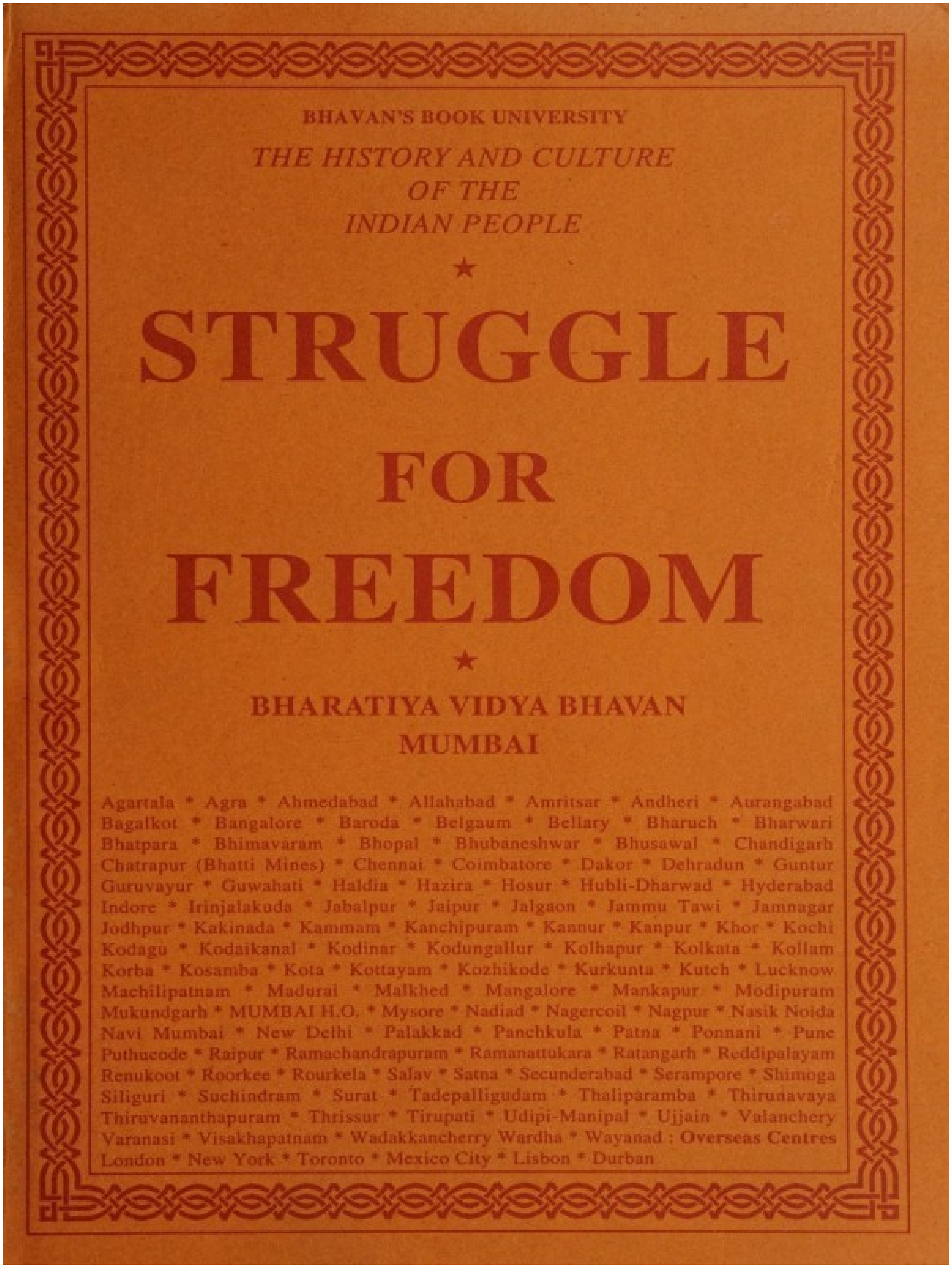

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History and Culture of the Indian People, Volume 11, Struggle for Freedom

S. Ramakrishnan, General Editor

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BHAVAN’S BOOK UNIVERSITY

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE

OF THE

INDIAN PEOPLE

STRUGGLE

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN

MUMBAI

Agartala * Agra * Ahmedabad * Allahabad * Amritsar * Andheri * Aurangabad Bagalkot * Bangalore * Baroda * Belgaum * Bellary * Bharuch * Bharwari Bhatpara * Bhimavaram * Bhopal * Bhubaneshwar * Bhusawal * Chandigarh Chatrapur (Bhatti Mines) * Chennai * Coimbatore * Dakor * Dehradun * Guntur Guruvayur * Guwahati * Haldia * Hazira * Hosur * Hubli-Dharwad * Hyderabad Indore * Irinjalakuda * Jabalpur * Jaipur * Jalgaon * Jammu Tawi * Jamnagar Jodhpur * Kakinada * Kammarn * Kanchipuram * Kannur * Kanpur * Khor * Kochi Kodagu * Kodaikanal * Kodinar * Kodungallur * Kolhapur * Kolkata * Kollam Korba * Kosamba * Kota * Kottayam * Kozhikode * Kurkunta ▪* Kutch * Lucknow Machilipatnam * Madurai * Malkhed * Mangalore * Mankapur * Modipuram Mukundgarh * MUMBAI H.O. * Mysore * Nadiad * Nagercoil * Nagpur * Nasik Noida Navi Mumbai * New Delhi * Palakkad * Panchkula * Patna * Ponnani * Pune Puthucode * Raipur * Ramachandrapuram * Ramanattukara * Ratangarh * Redd i pal ay am Renukoot * Roorkee * Rourkela * Salav * Satna * Secunderabad * Serampore * Shimoga Siliguri * Suchindram * Surat * Tadepalligudam * Thaliparamba * Thirunavaya Thiruvananthapuram * Thrissur * Tirupati * Udipi-Manipal * Ujjain * Valanchery Varanasi * Visakhapatnam * Wadakkancherry Wardha * Wayanad : Overseas Centres London * New York * Toronto * Mexico City * Lisbon * Durban

THIS, the concluding volume of the History and Culture of the Indian People deals with the momentous period in the history of Modern India beginning with the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal in 1905 and ending with the achievement of freedom from British yoke in 1947. The main emphasis is naturally laid on the struggle for freedom in various shapes and forms, such as the constitutional agitation by the Indian National Congress, Home Rule Movements of Besant and Tilak, Revolutionary Movements by Secret Societies (miscalled Terrorism by Ji the British Government), the Non-violent Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience by Mahatma Gandhi , the Quit India Movement ending in the great upsurge of V 1942, and the armed invasion of the Azad Hind Fauz (Indian National Army) of Netaji Sub'has

Chandra Bose in co-operation with the forces of Japan. All these are narrated in great details along with the vain attempts made by the British rulers to pacify the country by grants of successive doses of reforms in 1909, 1919 and 1935. A Vi. Critical appraisal of the different forms of India's struggle for freedom with special reference to the value of their j contribution towards its ultimate success is a special feature of this volume. Due notice has been taken of the [li rise of new political parties, many of which are destined to play a great role in Free India, either under the old name or pl under changed nomenclature. Particular care has been taken to delineate, without any prejudice or sentiment, the gradually widening cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims which ultimately led to the creation of Pakistan, and an attempt has been made to trace the forces and circumstances as well as the personal factors mainly responsible for this great tragedy which has cast its - shadow over both parts of divided India - a shadow h lengthening with every passing year. An effort has been made to portray the ideals and activities of the great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose and Muhammad All Jinnah in a detached spirit, free from that of hero-worship which, though dominant ere long, is showing unerring signs of steady decline. The stages leading to the final decision of the British to leave India, and its remote and immediate causes have been described in detail and critically discussed. In view of all these, this volume may claim the credit and honour of pioneer work. As a matter of fact this and the two preceding volumes of this series may justly be regarded as the first attempt by Indian authors to write a | comprehensive history of India under the British rule from a purely historical point of view, undeterred by any fear or | restraint to speak out the truth as they conceived it.

Although the achievement of freedom has been the 'central theme of the work, the other aspects of history dealt with in the preceding volumes, such as general ^administration, including foreign relations, economic condition, education, literature, social and religious condition, press, and art have not been overlooked, though their treatment has necessarily been more restricted and confined to a mere outline of essential features.

Besides the Editor, Dr. R.C. Majumdar, who has written the major part of this volume, its contributors include, among the others. Dr. Srikumar

Banerjee, Prof. S. K. Saraswati, Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, Dr. P. N. Chopra and Dr. Tapankumar Ray Chaudhuri.

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Let noble thoughts come to us from every side

— Rigveda, I-89-i

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General Editor

S. RAMAKRISHNAN

THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

VOLUME XI

STRUGGLE

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By Dr. K. M. Munshi

The publication of this volume is to me the near-realization of a long-cherished ambition of preparing and publishing a comprehensive history and culture of the Indian people by Indians. Many years ago, in defining the scope of history, I ventured to suggest that it must be primarily the story of the people of the land, a progressive record of their life and achievements in which their exploits and traditions serve as the pillars on which the super-structure of history is built to elucidate the characteristic reaction of the people to political, social’and economic changes.

Thus, history includes the story of political changes and vicissitudes which create the forces and conditions operating upon life, social institutions and beliefs; they provide the norms, creative arts and movements of thought which go to create values. To all these, people react, forging a collective will in a bid to form an organic unity. The central purpose of history, therefore, must be to investigate and unfold the values, which in succeeding ages have inspired men to develop their collective will and to express it through the manifold activities of life.

Whether my ambition has been realized is for the readers to judge. However, the writing of the history of India, particularly the earlier period, is beset with difficulties. For, while the history of religion and philosophy from the Vedas down to our times is well documented, that of political history is scattered and hardly adequate to be shaped into a continuous narrative. An important fact, however, emerges from this strange contrast: whatever the political vicissitudes, be they internecine wars or foreign invasion, our sages, seers, and poets went on undisturbed in their quest for unity—social, cultural and spiritual. Even in the present century when political thought and scientific approach dominate the destiny of man, the great names of Indian history are those of Ramakrishna Paramaharhsa, Vivekananda, Sri Aurobindo, Raman a Maharshi, Dayananda Saraswati, Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. This is a fact of history which the present genertion may carefully bear in mind. For, there is the danger, that the science and methodology of history, as developed in the West, being based upon the Graeco-Roman history and that of Europe in the middle and modern ages, may ’ bypass special features and accomplishments of Indian history, when it differs from the established notion, as irrelevant or obscurantist.

Vll

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Another problem that we have to consider is the persistent demand for the rewriting of history to foster communal unity. To my mind, nothing can be a greater mistake. History, in order to generate faith in it, must be written as the available records testify, without any effort to exaggerate or minimise the actual facts. Suppression and distortion of evidence, leading to false conclusions about the past, is hardly the way to improve the present situation or build up a better future.

I have had the privilege of living through the period of history covered by this volume, and practically from 1915 onwards I took part, small though it was, in the various nationalist struggles which I have described in my book Pilgrimage to Freedom. I shall not therefore go into those facts here. But one point I want to make clear. The communal problem, which ultimately divided the country, was neither inevitable nor insoluble. It was a price we had to pay for our inability to assess political realities.

Recent events in Pakistan have shown that religious bonds like Islam are not sufficient to create a nation out of different people separated by deep cultural traditions and language, and living more than a thousand miles apart. Indeed, Pakistan was created to placate not so much the Muslims, fifty millions of whom were left in India, but Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah who wanted a kingdom for himself. I knew Mr. Jinnah very well, being his close associate in the Home Rule Movement. He was inflexible, indomitable and honest according to his own light but was totally incapable of understanding other's point of view. However, Pakistan was created in his shadow and once he disappeared the political stability was in jeopardy.

In India, the greatest danger is the formation of sub-nation States and linguistic chauvinism. The formation of homogeneous provinces on the basis of language was an administrative necessity, and was recommended by the Congress long before anyone dreamt of independence in 1947. After independence some necessary adjustments were made, but it is impossible to draw the boundaries of a State in such a manner as to totally exclude linguistic groups from the adjacent States. Nor is such a boundary necessary or desirable, for we are citizens of India, not of any State, though the present dangerous trend is to identify oneself with his State rather than with India.

This tendency was not apparent before independence; it may be a passing phase. But, while it lasts, it has to be dealt with firmly though sympathetically, without weakening the Centre or the federal bonds in any way. . It has been the experience of history, as the pages of preceding volumes of this Series testify, that this subcontinent has fallen a prey to foreign invasion in the absence of a strong central authority. This lesson of history we had in mind when we adopted a quasi-federal constitution for India. What is now needed is not a constitutional change but a psychological one with political realism.

Unity of India is not a modern exotic growth, but is, as a French scholar has put it recently, a response, ‘a des liens anciens et profonds de conceptions, de sentiments, de rapports de situations, entre des groupes infiniment disparates, mais entes sur un memo f ends’. 1 *

Before I conclude, I would like to repeat that the publication of 9 out of the 11 volumes of the Bhavan’s History Series has been a matter of immense joy and pride to me.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. R. C. Majumder whose tireless industry and profound knowledge of Indian history ensured the success of this undertaking. I am also indebted to all the learned contributors to the volumes, some of whom, alas, are no longer alive to share with us the joy of a great achievement. I should not forget to pay a special tribute to Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, whose scholarship and diligent co-operation were available to Dr. R. C. Majumdar in full measure till the completion of five volumes. Dr. Pusalkar’s place had been taken by Dr. A. K. Majumdar, whose energy and sound knowledge have been of great value to his father.

I offer my thanks to the donors who have extended generous financial assistance by way of grant or loan to the scheme. I am also thankful to the Government of India for the loans that they have given to complete the Series.

I am indebted to the staff of Associated Advertisers and Printers, who have, with diligence and efficiency, seen the volumes through the press as also to the staff of the Bhavan and the Press who looked after the preparation and printing of this volume with care and zeal.

I am delighted to see that the volumes have proved popular both with scholars and others. The fact that all the volumes have run into several editions and have found a place in almost all the universities and libraries in the world, confirms my belief that this Series has been fulfilling a long-felt need.

It is my earnest hope that the remaining two volumes will also be published soon.

Note 1

Note 2

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- 1 4 _to ancient ties, deep and profound in conception, to sentiments, to exigencies
- of situation, between extremely differing groups, but reared on the snne foundation.’

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

List of New Abbreviations used in this Volume (For other abbreviations see preceding volumes).

B.P.P. Bengal Past and Present.

Cabinet Mission The Cabinet Mission in India by A. C. Banerjee

and D. R. Bose.

Freedom™ --Bihar Freedom Movement in Bihar, by K. K. Datta.

Freedom—India

Freedom— Madhya Pradesh

History of the Freedom Movement in India, by R. C. Majumdar.

Freedom Struggle in Madhya Pradesh, Government Publication.

Indian Struggle The Indian Struggle 1920-42, by Subhas

Chandra Bose.

Gandhi—I

An Autobiography, by M. K. Gandhi.

IAR

Indian Annual Register.

Mukher j ees—V

Nation

Nehru—II

Pakistan

P. Mukherji, Documents

India’s Fight for Freedom or the Swadeshi Movement, by Haridas Mukherjee and TJma Mukher jee.

A Nation in Making, by Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea.

The Discovery of India, by Jawaharlal Nehru.

Birth of Pakistan, by Dr. Sachin Sen.

Indian Constitutional Documents, by P. Mukher ji.

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar,

General Editor

This is the concluding Volume of the History and Culture of the Indian People originally planned in 1945. But it does not complete the series, as two Volumes, VII and VIII, dealing with the period from A.D. 1526 to 1818, have not yet been published, for reasons stated in the Preface to Vol. IX. As a matter of fact, that Preface may well serve also as a Preface to this. Volume, as Vols. IX, X, and XI really deal with a single topic—India under British Rule, and almost all that has been said in the Prefaces to Vols. IX and X are, mutatis mutandis, applicable to this Volume also.

Certain differences, however, mark this Volume from the preceding ones. As the title shows, it primarily deals with the struggle for freedom, and, generally speaking, this forms the central theme of its political history, all the other topics being treated as merely subsidiary or accessory to it. The difference is rendered conspicuous by the concluding Chapters, XXXV—XXXVIII, of Book I dealing with political history. These chapters, comprising only 35 pages, give a brief resume of the administration, both civil and military, the Indian States, Frontier policy, and the Indians outside India— topics, each of which has been dealt with in much greater detail in Vol. IX, covering the period 1818 to 1905. In other words, attention is focussed in this Volume on the events leading to India's independence, which forms the most significant episode in the political history of the period and overshadows other topics concerning it to such an extent that no adequate treatment of them was possible within the space of a single Volume. Besides, in the context of the period as a whole culminating in the end of British rule in India, these topics lose much of their importance which they would have otherwise possessed.

For similar reasons the economic condition of India, forming Book II, occupies much less space. Further, the different aspects of it, forming subject-matters of different chapters in Vol. IX, are dealt with together in a single chapter. For, it has been thought more desirable to give an integrated picture of the economic condition of India as a whole at the end of the British rule. Separate

treatment of the different aspects would have involved considerable overlapping, and none of the new aspects had completed a definite well-marked course of development within the short period of forty years dealt with in this Volume.

The course of cultural development ran more or less smoothly during the period under review, being comparatively free from the effect of the struggle for freedom. But press and literature were both influenced by it, the first to a very large, and the second to a smaller extent. The old plan has therefore been followed in Book III of this Volume dealing with cultural history. Here, again, as in Book II, the short duration of the period under review has caused considerable difficulty, as literary movements and activities of individual authors are not usually confined within such a short time. The most conspicuous example is furnished by the literary career of Rabindra-nath Tagore which goes back to the 19th century. The difficulty has been met by treating his whole literary career in this Volume. Care has also been taken to indicate the influence exerted by the national struggle for freedom, not only on literature but also on the Press which during this period had become the handmaid of politics to a far larger extent than ever before.

The last chapter of Book III dealing with art covers the entire period from 1707 to 1947, which forms the subject-matters of Vols. VIII, IX, X, and XL In other words, the art of the postMughal and British period is dealt with in a single chapter in this concluding Volume. The reason for this has been stated in the Preface to Vol. X (pp. xvi—xvii). It was stated there that the Kangra art would be dealt with in Vol. VIII, and the rest in Vol. XI. The author of the chapter on Art, however, thought it to be more convenient and appropriate to deal with the post-Mughal art in a single chapter, as its different phases are closely connected. There is no clear line of distinction between the earlier and later phase of Kangra art, which continued till the close of the nineteenth century, and this art itself is a developed form of the Pahari or Hill School of art that flourished at Guler, Basholi, and other places in the Punjab hills. Some art critics also associate all of these with the Rajasthani paintings. Accordingly, all these have been dealt with together in the chapter on Art in this Volume. This will also remove the inconvenience caused by the fact that Vol. VIII is not likely to be published within the next two or three years, and the inclusion of the Kangra art in that Volume will therefore make the treatment of that art in this chapter—particularly its beginning —somewhat abrupt and unintelligible to readers.

For reasons stated in Preface to Vol. IX. (p. xxx) the editor himself is the author of almost all the chapters of this Volume with the exception of those dealing with economic condition, literature and art, but the co-operative principle followed in Vols. I-VI, has not been altogether lost sight of. The editor has availed himself fully of the writings of some eminent persons on many topics of the political history of the period, the vast source materials of which are either too scattered and not easily available, or somewhat fragmentary, and not unoften contradictory. In particular he has made extensive use of THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA by R. Coupland and THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA by V. P. Menon. Both these writers have made a thorough study of documents relating to the events they relate and described the events in a lucid manner. The frequent quotations from them are a deliberate process, as the editor did not like to hide or minimise his indebtedness to them by simply paraphrasing or summarising the facts stated by them in his own words, as he could easily have done. It should be pointed out, however, that the editor has relied on them for facts and not views and opinions, unless he had reasons to agree w T ith them. For example, though he has quoted extracts from Coupland's book about the Pirpur Committee's Report, he has differed from him in assessing its value (cf. pp. 608, 613, p. 616, f.n. 8).

In this connection reference may be made to the following extract from the Preface to Vol. IX (pp. xxxi-xxxii) as it is as much, or perhaps more, applicable to Vol. XI.

"The editor does not claim any credit for original research, his main interest being concentrated on the proper presentation of historical truth, on the basis of facts already known and published, and a correct interpretation of them without being influenced in any way by long-standing notions, conventions, or traditions. In order to form correct opinions and judgments, he has tried to ascertain contemporary views of an impartial character. For views unfavourable to any group or community, he has cited evidence, as far as possible, of distinguished persons belonging to that group or community, for prima facie they are not likely to cherish any bias or prejudice against their own kith and kin."

Reference has already been made in the Prefaces to Vol. VI (pp. xxix-xxxii) and Vol. IX (p. xxxiii) to some peculiar difficulties confronting a writer of the modern history of India, particularly in dealing with any episode in which the Muslim or British community is concerned. The observations made in this connection are more applicable to VoL XL The following lines would therefore bear repetition.

"The editor has been a witness to the grim struggle for freedom which began with the partition of Bengal in 1905 and continued till the achievement of independence in 1947. He does not pretend to have been a dispassionate or disinterested spectator; he would have been more or less than a human being if he were so. His views and judgments of the English may, therefore, have been influenced by passions or prejudices to a certain extent. Without denying this possibility, the editor claims that he has tried his best to take a detached view of men and things—a task somewhat facilitated. by lapse of time. How far this claim is justified, future generations of readers alone would be in a position to judge.”

Additional difficulties are created by the necessity of dealing with the. activities of men like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who are looked upon by a large section of Indians with veneration, incompatible with dispassionate judgment. A regular propaganda has been kept up to preserve untarnished the halo of glory which contemporaries, in the first flush of enthusiasm, put round their heads. In dealing with these and other difficult and delicate questions or probems of individual or communal character, the editor has tried to follow the three fundamental principles, mentioned below, which have been adopted by him throughout this series, and to which reference has already been made in the Preface to Vol. VI.

"Firstly, that history is no respector of persons or communities; secondly, that its sole aim is to find out the truth by following the canons commonly accepted as sound by all historians; and thirdly, to express the truth, without fear, envy, malice, passion, or prejudice, and irrespective of all extraneous considerations, both political and humane. In judging any remark or opinion expressed in such a history, the question to be asked is not whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, mild or strong, impolitic or imprudent, and favourable or unfavourable to national interest or national policy as conceived by the ruling group, but simply whether it is true or false, just or unjust, and above all, whether it is or is not supported by evidence at our disposal.’

The views expressed about Mahatma Gandhi are based on these principles, but as they are likely to be unpalatable to many, the editor refers them to the preface to Vol. Ill of his book, History of the Freedom Movement in India. It explains and cites evidence for the views about Mahatma Gandhi which he has expressed in that hook as well as in the present Volume* It may be noted here that Vols. II and III of his History of the Freedom Movement i& India and this Volume cover the same period of Indian history and have much in common. Though, naturally, the first two give more details about some aspects of the struggle for freedom, all the three may be regarded as complementary to one another. In particular the reader is referred to the Prefaces of all the three Volumes of his History of, the Freedom Movement in India for his general views about the difficulty of writing on recent events, the HinduMuslim relations, Swadeshi Movement, militant nationalism (or terrorism), and notable leaders like Jinnah and Subhas Chandra Bose, which need not be repeated here. But the concluding passage in the Preface to Vol. Ill may be quoted here as a sort of apologia of the editor for the views expressed in this, the concluding volume of the History and Culture of the Indian People. “It deals with some leading figures who are still alive or have died during the lifetime of most of my readers. Passions and prejudices die hard, and personal opinions, once formed, are not likely to be altered soon. It is therefore not unlikely that the views I have expressed may not commend themselves to any, and perhaps a large section of my countrymen would bitterly resent some of them. But I find consolation in the wise saying of one of the greatest Sanskrit poets to the effect, that ‘there may be somewhere, at some time, somebody who would agree with my views and appreciate them; for time is eternal and the world is wide and large'. I may assure my readers that it has been a very painful task to have to comment adversely on the views and actions of some of our great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who are held in the highest veneration. I shall not be surprised if what I have said about them hurts the feelings of many. My only excuse is that it is impossible to avoid such comments in writing on a subject such as is treated in this book. I may, however, assure my readers that X have always tried to tell the truth, and in doing so followed no other guide than the light of my own judgment, sincerely formed, with malice to none and goodwill to all, and without any personal or ulterior motive of any kind.”

More than five years have passed since these lines were written, and it is a matter of gratification to the editor that there is already a distinct swing in public opinion in favour of many views which he had the audacity ta express, probably for the first time.

The Editor begs to convey his thanks to the contributors of the volume for their co-operation and Dr. A. K. Majumdar, the Assistant Editor, for his valuable service. The editor also expresses his obligations to Dr. D. K. Ghose for his valuable assistance specially by revising portions of the type-script, correcting proofs and preparing the Bibliography. The editor also acknowledges his debt to the Archaeological Survey of India, the National Museum, New Delhi, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for supplying photos of paintings and monuments for illustration, and conveys his thanks to the authorities of the three institutions. Detailed reference has been made under ‘acknowledgements’. The copyright of every photo belongs to the institution which supplied it.

The editor notes with deep regret the death of Dr. H. D. Velankar who wrote the Section on Prakrit in Vol. IV, N. N. Das Gupta who wrote the section on Buddhism in Vol. V, and Dr. J. N. Banerji who wrote the Section on Iconography in several volumes. The editor places on record his appreciation of the great services rendered by all of them to the study of Indian history and culture. The editor also conveys his thanks to the editors of the journals for their favourable review of the preceding two Volumes.

The editor regrets that Section V of Chapter XLII was not printed in its proper place and had to be inserted as an appendix on page 1069.

CHAPTER I

SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL

When Lord Curzon left India in November, 1905, the whole country heaved a sigh of relief. Perhaps no other Governor-General excited such bitter hatred or provoked such ill feelings in the minds of the people. Bengal was particularly jubilant and celebrated the news of his resignation by street processions with black flags. But the hostile feeling towards Curzon was not confined to Bengal, sorely aggrieved by the partition of the Province. Politically advanced India could ill brook the undisguised imperial attitude of Britain towards India of which Curzon was a visible embodiment. The following passage in the Presidential speech of the sober Moderate leader, G. K. Gokhale, at the Banaras session of the Indian National Congress

(1905) correctly reflects the public opinion of India at the time of Curzon's departure.

"Gentlemen, how true it is that to everything there is an end! Thus even the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon has come to a close !.... To him India was a country where the Englishman was to monopolize for all time all power, and talk all the while of duty. The Indian's only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country;

.India exists only as a scene of the Englishmen's labours,

with the toiling millions of the country—eighty per cent, of the population—in the background. The remaining twenty per cent., for aught they are worth, might as well be gently swept into the sea!"

Lord Curzon was succeeded in his high office by Gilbert John Elliot-Murray-Kynyn-Mound, the 4 th Earl of Min to, whose grandfather, the first Earl, was the Governor-General of India from 1807 to 1813. Born in 1845, he was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and won distinction as a gentleman jockey, riding several times in the Grand National and winning the Grand Steeple-chase of Paris in 1874. He had served as A.D. C. to Lord Roberts in the Second Afghan War, fought in Egypt in 1882, and held military offices in Canada. Minto had no parliamentary experience but was the Governor-General of Canada for six years. He was a well-known sportsman, and Curzon exclaimed, when he heard of the new appointment: "Imagine sending to succeed me a gentleman who only jumps hedges l"[1] Evidently, Curzon did not think Minto of much worth, and this probably accounts for the fact that when the new Viceroy landed in Bombay on 18 November, 1905, he was not received with the formality and respect due to his position. Next day Curzon left India, and Minto, who accompanied him to the Apollo Bunder, observed: "The marked coldness with which he was allowed to leave both by the people in the streets and the people on the pier deeply impressed us all.”

Lord Curzon had left a legacy of troubles to his successor. The most serious amongst them, the agitation against the Partition of Bengal, to which detailed reference will be made in the next chapter, created a peculiarly difficult situation which would have put to a severe test the worth of a seasoned diplomat or administrator. Minto’s task, serious in itself, was rendered more difficult by the change of Government in Britain about a fortnight after his arrival in India. Mr. Balfour and the Conservative Government resigned, and the Liberals came into power. John Morley became the Secretary of State for India in the new Cabinet.

Minto’s regime witnessed the sudden outburst of the national movement in India, accompanied by the rise of the Extremist Party in Indian politics and a band of underground revolutionaries, who would be satisfied with nothing short of complete independence. Neither Minto nor his official advisers could correctly diagnose the situation and saw in the genuinely national movement only rowdyism engineered by a handful of misguided persons which must be put down by force at any cost. Minto, therefore, followed the principle of repression-cum-conciliation which was henceforth the fixed policy of the British Government in India. Repressive measures took various forms, such as lathi charge by the police, quartering of troops, numerous prosecutions followed by vindictive punishments, and a number of legislative enactments which seriously curtailed the liberty of the Indians and practically reduced it to nil, placing every individual at the tender mercy of the Executive authority, untramelled by any legal restraint. Such a tyrannical regime, upheld only by lawless laws, was never witnessed in British India since 1857. Among the concessions which were intended to sugarcoat the bitter pill of repression, two stand out prominently: the appointment of an Indian to the Executive Council of the Viceroy, and the Constitutional Reforms of 1909. But they failed to conciliate even the Moderates, particularly as Reformed Constitution legitimised, for the first time, the dangerous principle of Divide and Rule , by granting separate electorate and weightage to the Muslims. Nevertheless, the Reforms of 1909 must be regarded as a great landmark in the history of India's constitutional development.

There were, however, two bright spots in the otherwise black record of Minto's administration: his refusal to give assent to the Punjab Colonization Bill, and acceptance of the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Few Viceroys have given evidence of such courageous stand against the bureaucratic opposition. To use Curzon's phrase, Minto 'jumped the hedge' of bureaucratic prestige. He displayed the same spirit of sportsmanship by remaining unnerved even when a bomb was thrown at him in the city of Ahmadabad.

In making a proper assessment of Minto's administration due allowance should be made for the extraordinary situation in which he was placed, first by the folly of his predecessor, and next by the change in the Home Government. He had to work under a Party that did not appoint him, and under a Secretary of State who not only interfered with the Indian Government more than any of his predecessors, but also believed in his heart of hearts that "the experiment of running in a team with a man whom your own party did not appoint is risky". 2

Minto's rule formed a memorable epoch in Indian history, but few would perhaps claim that he had strengthened the foundations of British rule in India. His admirers gave him credit—some even bestowed high praise—for restoring peace and quiet in the country. But it was the peace of the grave, and as the later events showed, Minto left India unreconciled.

The selection of Minto's successor did not prove an easy task. Lord Kitchener was at first a hot favourite. He was most anxious to succeed Minto and his appointment was strongly urged by H. M. Edward VII and many others, including the Prime Minitser, Mr. Asquith. Morley, however, was "irreconcilably opposed to the suggestion" of appointing Kitchener the Viceroy of India. He thought "it would be fatal to the prestige of the civil administration, and that everyone would imagine that Lord Kitchener, the man of blood and iron, had come oqt to reverse the present policy of conciliation." Morley wrote a short memorandum on the subject, stating both sides of the case and winding up with his own conclusion. "My whole point was", he wrote to Minto on 1 June, 1910, "that the impression made on India by sending your greatest soldier to follow reforms would make them look a practical paradox." Morley made it very clear to the Prime Minister, Asquith, that if he agreed with the view of the Secretary of State "he will have to support that view in the royal closet. If he does not, then the Indian Secretary

will go". This threat was enough. There were other names talked obout, but all speculations were set at rest on 11 June when Sir Charles Hardinge's name was officially announced as the next Viceroy. 3

Sir Charles Hardinge, the 1st Baron of Penshurst, was the second son of the 2nd Viscount Hardinge, and grandson of Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General of India (1844-48), who was created Viscount Hardinge of Lahore after the termination of the First Sikh War. Born in 1858, he entered the Diplomatic Service in 1880, and served in Persia and Russia as Secretary. On his return to England in 1903 he became successively Assistant Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ambassador to Russia (1904-6), and Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1906-10). He held the office of the Governor-General of India from 23 November, 1910, till 4 April, 1916. After retirement from India Hardinge was made a Knight of the Garter, appointed Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office for the second time, Chairman of the Royal Commission on the rebellion in Ireland, British Ambassador in Paris (192022), and the British Delegate for India at the Geneva Conference in 1923 and 1924. Hardinge died in 1944. He was an accomplished linguist, a trained diplomat, and an efficient administrator.

About the time when Hardinge became Viceroy, Lord Crewe succeeded as Secretary of State for India. The cordial agreement between the two on Indian policy offers a refreshing contrast to the differences between Minto and Morley, and a liberal change in the atmosphere was almost immediate. The task of conciliating Bengal was taken up in right earnest and the result w T as the unification of the Bengali-speaking regions. Thus Morley's settled fact was unsettled. But the modification of Curzon's partition of Bengal brought about many other consequential changes. Bengal was made a Governorship like Bombay and Madras. Bihar and Orissa were united under a Lieutenant-Governor, and Assam again became a Chief-

Commissionership. Another momentous step, due to the new status of Bengal, w 7 as the transfer of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi. All these big changes were announced by George V, the King-Emperor, who visited India with the QueenEmpress and held a coronation Durbar at Delhi on 12 December, 1911. This new policy of using the King-Emperor as mouth-piece of important measures in order to remove them from party politics was strongly criticized at the time.

The transfer of the capital was highly resented by the AngloIndian commercial community in Bengal. Though the Bengalis also did not like the change they found more than enough compensation in the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, for which they had been agitating for seven years. Unfortunately this measure came too late to undo the evils that had already been produced. Unrest and revolutionary activities had taken deep root in the soil. Hardinge continued the repressive legislation of Minto, though the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act had been modified, when placed permanently on the Statute Book in 1911. He also made efforts to lessen the rigours of repression on the part of the Executive. But neither his liberal attitude nor even the annulment of the Partition could stop the new national movement including its militant phase, generally known as the terrorist or revolutionary movement. Hardinge was under the delusion that he had scotched the movement, but was rudely disillusioned when a bomb was thrown at him on 23 December, 1912. As a matter of fact, the. political situation in India became much worse (from the British point of view) with the cry for Home Rule on the one hand, and secret societies for armed revolt on the other.

These movements were further stimulated by the outbreak of the World War on 4 August, 1914. India was dragged into the War and her soldiers had to lay down their lives in various battlefields in Europe, Asia, and Africa, for preserving British imperialism which sought to keep India in perpetual bondage. The war proved a great strain on the resources of India in men and money. The only military campaign, namely that in Mesopotamia, which was conducted directly by the Government of India, was hopelessly mismanaged. The conduct of the military operations was, therefore, taken away from the Government of India whose only duty henceforth was to keep up a constant supply of men and money, till India was bled absolutely w T hite, as Lord Hardinge himself put it.

There was a change of Ministry in Britain, and in the Coalition Government that took its place, Sir Austen Chamberlain, a member of the Conservative Party, succeeded Liberal Lord Crewe as Secretary of State for India on 27 May, 1915. Lord Hardinge, whose term of office would have normally ended in November, 1915, was granted extension till the end of March, 1916. But he had no easy time. Besides maintaining a constant supply of men, money, and materials, he had to tackle with German intrigue, terrorist conspiracy, specially in Bengal and the Punjab, constant raids by the hill tribes on the north-western frontier, and attempts to seduce the Indian troops. There was deep discontent and disaffection of the Indian Muslims, caused originally by the TurkoItalian war in Tripoli and the war in the Balkans against Turkey,

and aggravated recently by the British fighting against Turkey, whose ruler was the Caliph, or head of the Islamic religion. There was considerable unrest in the Muhammadan native regiments who were, or might be, called to fight against the forces of their Caliph. There was trouble with the 10th Baluchis, the Mahsud Company of which shot their officer on embarking at Bombay for Mesopotamia. “Other disturbing incidents took place such as the arrest of a Mahratta anarchist with ten loaded bombs inside the lines of the 12th Cavalry at Meerut where he was in touch with the Sowars, while a conspiracy was discovered to rob the armoury and magazines of certain regiments at Lahore, Pindi and Ferozepur.” At the same time Hardinge “received several warnings from various sources of a projected rising in Bengal within three months.” The Viceroy had other troubles, too. A serious strike sought to paralyze the railway between Bombay and Madras. The recruiting to fill the vacancies caused by death and wastage in the Indian regiments was going none too well, specially among the Sikhs. 4

Hardinge took various measures to put down these disturbances. He interned the two brothers, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, in a Hindu village in Central India, as he thought that these two leading members of the Khilafat movement were chiefly responsible for Muslim fanaticism.

Being afraid that the terrorists would take advantage of the military weakness of India owing to the depletion of her troops, he accepted the offer of 6,000 troops by Nepal. There is hardly any doubt that the “offer” was diplomatically managed, and was not a spontaneous one dictated by the generosity and friendly feeling of the King of Nepal.

Serious troubles were caused in the Punjab by a large number of Sikhs—more than 700 in number—many of whom, if not all, were members of the Ghadar, a revolutionary Indian association in U.S.A., of which a detailed account has been given in Chapter VIII. They had recently returned to India and were all regarded as revolutionaries by the Government. The Viceroy authorized the arrest and detention of more than 300 of them under Regulation III of 1818 and the police surveillance of a good many more. He also introduced a law on the lines of the English Act for the Defence of the Realm (DORA), and on his own admission, it was “a far more drastic DORA than her English sister”. He took credit for getting the law unanimously passed by the Indian Legislature. 5

Hardinge, however, was far more liberal and sympathetic than Minto even in the administration of repressive laws which he was forced to adopt. Two notable instances are furnished by the withdrawal of many prosecutions for political crimes 6 and the commutation of sentences in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. 7

Lord Hardinge earned the goodwill of the Indians by publicly condemning the treatment of Indians in South Africa and expressing his sympathy with the passive resistance they were forced to resort to. Such an action was so unusual on the part of a Viceroy of India that Generals Botha and Smuts of South Africa pressed the British Government for his recall. Hardinge was asked by the Home Government for an explanation, and he strongly defended his position. His recall was discussed by the British Cabinet, but no action was taken in view of the reaction of such an act on the public opinion and feeling in India. 8

Hardinge was also moved by the sufferings and humiliation of the Indentured Indians 9 in plantations of British colonies and secured from the Home Government the promise for the abolition of the Indian Indentured labour. Reference should also be made to another laudable effort on the part of Hardinge which may be described in his own words:

"I obtained an assurance from the Home Government that as soon as the war was over the economic position of India would be reconsidered with a view to abolishing the excise duty on cotton. This excise duty on cotton goods was imposed on India as a protective measure for the cotton industries of Lancashire and it certainly exposed the British Government to the accusation that India was being governed in the interests of Lancashire rather than of India. To this reproach there was absolutely no reply 10 and I felt its injustice so keenly that I left no stone unturned during my term of office in India to obtain its removal." 11

Hardinge gives an interesting account of the manner in which his successor was appointed. Chamberlain "submitted four names to Asquith to select from. They were two Earls, a Marquis and a Duke, all of the old Tory type, and Asquith would not look at them." Hardinge then "received instructions to offer the appointment to Lord Chelmsford, who was serving as a Captain in the Territorials, and with his company was guarding the wireless station at Chitogh, near Simla." 12

Frederick John Napier Thesiger, afterwards the 3rd Lord and 1st Viscount Chelmsford, was born in 1868. He was a good Classical scholar and became a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. In 1905 he succeeded his father in the Peerage and was successively appointed Governor of Queensland (1905-9) and of New South Wales (1909-13). In the First World War he came to India as a Territorial Captain with the Dorsetshire Regiment and the Royal Army Service Corps, and was appointed Governor-General of India, as mentioned above. After his retirement from the office of Viceroy

Chelmsford became the First Lord of the Admiralty in the Labour Government (1924).

Lord Chelmsford assumed the office of Viceroy on 5 April, 1916. His period of administration was rendered memorable by various incidents, the most notable of them being the Home Rule Movement led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant; the Khilafat Movement; the emergence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi as the leader of India's struggle for freedom with his new weapons of Non-co-operation and Passive Resistance (Satyagraha); the constitutional reforms of 1919; the repressive laws known as the Rowla tt Acts; and the horrible massacre of the Indians at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, by Brigadier-General Dyer. Detailed discussions on each of these points will be found in the subsequent chapters. Two significant departures mark the regime of Chelmsford. For the first time Indians were made eligible for King's Commission in the army, and an Indian, Sir S.P. Sinha, was appointed the Governor of a Province (Bihar). Two/matters of educational importance were the foundation of the Women's University at Poona in 1916, and the appointment of Sadler Commission by the GovernorGeneral in Council, in 1917, "to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to make suggestions for a constructive policy." The voluminous Report, submitted by the Commission'presided over by Sir Michael Sadler, led to important changes in the educational policy and programme almost everywhere in India, except in the Calcutta University for which it was specially appointed.

Chelmsford cannot be regarded as an able administrator or a successful Viceroy in any sense. He lacked personality and independence of judgment, and was more or less a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy. Montagu, the Secretary of State, wrote of him as follows in his Diary: "He (Chelmsford) seems to me to be strongly prejudiced in his views, holding them very, very keenly, but I do not seem to see that any of them are his views. They always seem to me to be views collected from his surroundings." 123

The Earl of Reading succeeded Chelmsford and assumed the office of Viceroy on 2 April, 1921. Few people in our days had such a remarkable and romantic career with such rapid success in so many different directions. Rufus Issacs, as he was originally called, was born in a Jewish family and had not much education. His father was a fruit merchant, but Issacs did not take any interest in this business. At the age of 16 he went to sea as a ship's boy in a cargo boat at a wage of 10 shillings a month. In 1880 he became a clerk and, later, a member of the Stock Exchange, where he came

to grief and was involved in debts. Finally Issacs turned to the Bar at the age of 24. His success was phenomenal and during a quarter of a century he was engaged in a number of important and interesting cases. This distinguished lawyer, known as Sir Rufus Daniel Issacs before his elevation to the Peerage as Lord Reading, was elected Member of the Parliament in 1904 when he was making £28,000 a year. He was appointed the leader of the Anglo-French Loan Mission to the United States and succeeded in raising a loan of 500 million dollars. On his return to London he was made a Viscount in 1916. When the U.S.A. joined Britain and France during the First World War, Reading was sent to Washington and Ottawa as High Commissioner. On his return to London he was raised to an Earldom and two months later was appointed Ambassador in Washington. When he was appointed Viceroy of India he was over sixty years of age. He went home for three months in 1925, leaving Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, in charge. On his return to London after retirement in April, 1926, he was immediately advanced to a Marquessate, the first Englishman since Wellington to have risen in his lifetime to this rank from that of a commoner. In 1930 he led the Liberal Delegation to the Round Table Conference. On the formation of the National Government in 1931 he became for a few months the Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Lords. He died in 1935 at the age of 75.

Reading came to India at a crucial moment when Gandhian tactics had ushered a new era in Indian politics. He dealt with the situation tactfully, but firmly, and of all the Viceroys who ruled India in the twentieth century, of him alone, excepting the very last one, it may be said that he left India better than he found it. A number of liberal measures were passed during his regime, such as the repeal of the Press Act of 1910 and the Rowlatt Acts of 1919. The Criminal Law Amendment Act largely removed the racial discrimination in the eye of the law which was so violently supported by the Anglo-Indian community in 1883. 13 Another important measure of the same nature was the abolition of the Cotton Excise Duty 14 for which credit is also due to Hardinge, as mentioned above. There were important changes in the system of recruitment to public services. It was decided to fill up the higher services on the basis of equality in the number of Indians and Europeans, and to hold simultaneous examinations for selecting candidates both in Delhi and London with effect from 1923, thus conceding the demand which had been urged for nearly half a century. 15 The Indianization of the officer's cadre of the Indian army was also begun. By a convention of fiscal autonomy in 1923 the Government of India was granted the right to organize its own economic system and impose

daties according to its need. It was supplemented by the setting-up oi a Tariff Board which enabled India to develop a policy of planned protection. The only fiscal measure which was highly resented was the doubling of the salt-tax.

Lord Reading was, however, an imperialist of the type of Lord Curzon. Even Samuel Hoare, he said in an unguarded moment, "is too much the Radical for me !" It has been suggested by a high authority that he was mainly responsible for Sir John Simon's reactionary attitude towards India. 16 Reading bluntly told the Nizam of Hyderabad that he could not claim equality of status with the British Government. "The sovereignty of the British Crown", wrote he on 27 March, 1926, "is supreme in India and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing". 17

Lord Reading was succeeded on 3 April, 1926, by Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, later Lord Irwin and Earl of Halifax, grandson of Sir Charles Wood, the 1st Viscount Halifax and the author of the famous Education Despatch of 1854. He obtained First Class Honours in Eton and Christ Church and was elected Fellow of All Souls. He served as Major in the First World War, was Undersecretary, Colonial Office, in 1921, and President of the Board of Education in 1922, entering the Cabinet at the age of forty. He became Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries in 1923 and, two years later, was appointed Viceroy of India and raised to the Peerage as Lord Irwin. He left India in 1931 and succeeded his father as Viscount Halifax in 1934. He then held a number of high offices, namely, Secretary of State for War and Lord Privy Seal (1935), Lord President of Council (1937), Foreign Secretary (1938), and Ambassador to the United States (1940). He was raised to Earldom in 1944, and two years later given the Order of Merit, the first exVic eroy to receive this honour.

The political calm of India was rudely broken in 1927 by the appointment of Simon Commission for reporting on the next instalment of reforms. It was boycotted by the Indians as there was no Indian member on this Commission.

The great event in Irwin’s regime was the Round Table Conference in London to settle the future form of Government in India, which the Indian National Congress at first refused to attend, on the ground that there was not a single Indian member on the Simon Commission whose report formed the basis of consideration. This injudicious act, for which Irwin must share responsibility, precipitated another crisis in the shape of mass civil disobedience which was put down with brutal acts of terrorism and oppression. The Viceroy, however, showed tact and ability in dealing with Gandhi and created a precedent in British Indian history by entering into a negotiation and concluding an agreement with him on equal terms. This act of high statesmanship, conceived in a liberal spirit, was rewarded with a truce between the Government and the people and Gandhi attended the second Round Table Conference. The ink with which the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was written was hardly dry when Irwin was succeeded by Freeman Thomas, afterwards Earl and Marquess of Willingdon (17 April, 1931). The new Viceroy had held the posts of Governor of Bombay (1913) and of Madras (1918), and was Governor-General of Canada and Delegate for India at the Geneva Conference in 1924. When he became Viceroy he w T as an old man of 65 and had become a sun-dried bureaucrat. Nothing illustrates more clearly the difference in the approach of the two Viceroys towards the Indian problem than their treatment of Gandhi. Willingdon disliked Gandhi and disapproved of the Gandhi-Irwin truce; so he fell back upon the old policy of repression instead of conciliation. As in 1921, so in 1931, the Government put down disturbances by strong action and peace was re-established. There was a sullen resentment on the part of the people, but the constitutional changes introduced by the Act of 1935 were substantial enough to induce the Congress to give up the policy of non-co-operation and work out the reforms.

Victor Alexander John Hope, Marquess of Linlithgow", who succeeded Willingdon on 18 April, 1936, was no stranger to India. He had toured all over the country as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and acquired first-hand knowledge of the Indian problem when he presided over the deliberation of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional problems (1933-4). Born in 1887, he served in the first World War, and was Civil

Lord of the Admiralty (1922-4). He w T as made a G.C.LE. and also a Knight of the Thistle. On his return from India he was made a Knight of the Garter. Linlithgow" held the office of Viceroy and GovernorGeneral for seven years and a half—a period longer than that of any other Viceroy. But almost throughout this period he was faced with grave difficulties. The first was the knotty question of the acceptance of the Ministry by the Congress under the Act of 1935. He succeeded in his attempt to induce the Congress to do so. He thus began his rule under happy auspices, and for the first time in British Indian history the administration of India was carried on largely by the Indian Ministers responsible to the legislatures. Looking back to this great change today after nearly thirty years have passed, it seems there was every reasonable chance of a gradual but steady evolution of Indian independence, by easy and peaceful

stages. But the outbreak of the second World War in 1939 deflected the entire course of the constitutional evolution in India, and once more revived the whole question of India’s freedom. The old ideal of immediate and absolute independence gained new force and urgency from the public declarations of the War aims made by British statesmen. So, when Lord Linlithgow issued a statement on 17 October, 1939, that the Dominion Status was the ultimate goal of the British policy in India, the Indians were convinced that all the high-sounding phrases like self-determination uttered as War aims by the British leaders were not applicable to India—an inference, the truth of which was positively asserted later by Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain. So the Congress Ministers resigned in October-November, 1939, and Indian politics reached a deadlock which the liberal promises and tinkering reforms, actually introduced, failed to remove.

The early reverses of the British in the war in Europe, and the astounding success of the Japanese culminating in the capture of Singapore and the fall of Rangoon in 1942, had a most disastrous effect on the position of the British in India. The Indians now generally looked upon the allied cause as a hopeless one and the British prestige as a great power suffered a serious blow. Hence the question was no longer whether India would achieve her freedom, but only when and how. This stiffened the attitude of the Congress leaders who refused the British offer brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, though they would have jumped at it if offered even three years before. On the other hand, in spite of Gandhi's 'Quit India' resolution, followed by the wholesale arrest of the top-ranking Congress leaders and the consequent violent outbreak of 1942 which, in some localities, almost completely paralyzed the British administration for a short time, the British counter-violence restored peace and order in the country. There was thus a stalemate which was not broken during the regime of Linlithgow.

The closing months of Linlithgow's administration witnessed a horrible famine in Bengal which, even at the most moderate estimate of an official Commission, took a heavy toll of no less than a million and half lives and caused widespread miseries of a terrible character. The faults of omission and commission on the part of the high officials must be held to be primarily responsible for this grim tragedy. It was no doubt a direct result of the war, but was accentuated by the "carelessness and complete lack of foresight of those in authority".

Two very significant changes took place in Indian politics during the Viceroyalty of Linlithgow. In the first place, the Working Committee began to disagree with Gandhi openly on certain matters which they did not do since 1920. When Linlithgow became Governor-General, Gandhi, in spite of the failure of Civil Disobedience Movement, wielded considerable power and authority; then, after the collapse of the 'Quit India' Movement, the power of Gandhi declined considerably, at least for the time being. Though the British still attached great importance to Gandhi, he did not, as before, play the dominant role in the last stages of the momentous negotiations between the Congress and the British Government. The Congress leaders now took important decisions without consulting him, sometimes even against his known views and principles.

Secondly, the Muslims, who were willing to share with the Congress the pow T er and responsibility of administration in 1937, completely changed their views in 1943, and would not be satisfied with anything short of the independent Muslim State of Pakistan. Henceforth the struggle was not for the freedom of India, but the maintenance of its unity, and the opposing parties were no longer the British and the Indians but the Hindus and Muslims of India.

Further, Muhammad Ali Jinnah came to the forefront of Indian politics, and became the undisputed leader of the Muslims. This was mainly due to the new policy of the British Government to hold up Jinnah as a counterpoise to Gandhi. Jinnah came to occupy the same position in the Muslim League as Gandhi had so long occupied in the Indian National Congress. It was now Jinnah, and not Gandhi, who held the whip hand in Indian politics. It was a revolutionary change and played a great role in shaping the future destiny of India.

Archibald Percival Wavell, later Earl Wavell, who succeeded Linlithgow as Governor-General on 20 October, 1943, was one of the best students in the military school at Winchester and was commissioned in the Black Watch Regiment at the age of eighteen (1901). After seeing some slight service in South Africa he was sent to India where he devoted himself to the serious study of his profession, to learning languages and to travel and sport. He also went to Russia to learn the language. During the first World War he served in France as Brigade Major and in Egypt under Lord Allenby where he became a Brigadier-General and Chief of Staff to an Army Corps. In 1938 he was made Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, and played a distinguished part in the second World War. He fought a series of campaigns in Africa, Greece, Crete, Syria and Irak (1940-1). In 1941 he changed place with Sir Claude Auchinleck and became Commander-in-Chief of India. He had also for a time the administrative control of the earlier part of the Burma campaign and of the South-West Pacific theatre of War. He was the first Allied General to command a combined force of British and American troops. In 1943 he was promoted Field Marshal, appointed Viceroy of India, and created a Viscount. After his resignation in March, 1947, he was given an Earldom.

The appointment of Wavell as Viceroy was generally regarded as very unfortunate in view of the political situation then prevailing in India. What India needed was a consummate diplomat rather than a brilliant general. With the end of the war and particularly after the great victory of the Labour Party in the General Election in Britain in 1945, the independence of India became an immediate issue. India's fight for freedom was henceforth not in the battlefield, but round the council table, between the

Hindus and Muslims with the British Governor-General as mediator. A military official, uninitiated into the intricacies of diplomatic manoeuvre, placed in this position, was bound to fail, as was conspicuously displayed in the miserable failure of the Simla Conference which Wavell had convened in June-July, 1945, to reach a settlement between the Hindu and Muslim leaders. Wavell must also share the responsibility of putting the I.N.A. Officers on trial in 1945, which, however justifiable from strictly military point of view, was a fatal political blunder. It convulsed the whole of India from one end to the other and gave a new turn for the worse to the political situation in India (from the British point of view). It may also be regarded as an indirect cause of the Mutiny of the Naval Ratings in February, 1946, which gave a severe blow to the prestige of the British. Presumably, the British people and the Labour Government had no great faith in Wavell's ability, and their direct negotiations with the Indian leaders were a special feature of his regime. First came the Parliamentary Delegation of ten members in January, 1946, and then the Cabinet Mission in March-April of the same year.

Wavell was almost a mute witness of the great Calcutta Killing in August, 1946. He did not show much tact in the course of forming the Interim Ministry, and lost face both in India and Britain by the manner in which he brought and kept the representatives of the Muslim League in the Interim Cabinet of Nehru, in spite of its going back upon the undertaking to join the Constituent Assembly.[18]

At long last, the Labour Government, being convinced that Wavell was not the man for the situation, recalled him and appointed in his place Lord Louis Mountbatten, now Earl Mountbatten of Burma, the second son of the Admiral of the Fleet, Prince Louis of Battenberg. His mother's mother was Princess Alice of Great Britain, and his sister, married to Prince Andrew of Greece, is mother of the Duke of Edinburgh. Born in 1900 he served in the Navy during the first World War and became Lieutenant R. N. in 1919. He became Commander of R.N. in 1930 and held many high offices during the second World War, such as Chief of Combined Operations (1942) and

Supreme Allied Commander of the South-East Asia Command (1943). After the end of the war he was for some months in virtual control of the whole of S.E. Asia. He was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and later made a Knight of the Garter. After retirement from the office of Viceroy of India—the last one to hold that post created ninety years before— he was raised to an Earldom.

Like his predecessor, Mountbatten distinguished himself in the second World War; in almost every other respect he was the opposite of his predecessor. Quick alike in making decisions and carrying them out, he was a diplomat to the very core. He had a firm grip over the political problems and a clear conception not only of the goal but also of the means to attain the same. Within an incredibly short time he carried the scheme of independence and partition of India through all the difficult stages entailing elaborate procedure. He had assumed the office of the Governor-General on 24 March, 1947, and the transfer of power from British to Indian hands took place on 15 August of the same year.

Critics have found fault with Mountbatten for rushing through independence at such a desperate rate, and ascribe to it the communal riots, cruel massacre and wholesale eviction in the Punjab that followed in the wake of the transfer of power. But this comment loses its force in view of the happenings in Bengal and Bihar in 1946. It has been urged that “a little patience, and all the troubles might have been avoided,” But the terrible massacres in Calcutta, Noakhali and Bihar took place when the Government of Wavell showed great patience, perhaps too much of it. In any case, we live too near the events to form a sound judgement of the actions of Wavell and Mountbatten, and would perhaps do well to leave the final decision to the verdict of history.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

1. This and the other quotations about Minto are taken from Mary, Countess of Minto, India, Minto and Morley.

2. Ibid, p. 47.

3. Minto, pp. 401-404; Morley, John, Viscount, Recollections , II. pp. 331-3. According to Hardinge, Asquith was opposed to the appointment of Kitchener as Viceroy. Hardinge. Lord of Penshurst, My Indian Years, p. 40.

4. Hardinge, pp. 117-8.

5. Ibid, p. 116.

6. Ibid, pp. 14-5.

7. Ibid, p. 130.

8. Ibid, pp. 91-2.

9. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 611 IT. Hardinge. p. 140.

10. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 799-805.

11. Hardinge, p. 140.

12. Ibid, p. 122.

12a. Montagu, E, An Indian Diary , p. 16.

13. Cf. Vol. X, p. 506.

14. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 799-805.

15. Ibid, p. 787.

16. Kulkarni, p. 319. Campbell-Johnson, Allan, Viscount Halifax, p. 227.

17. Report of the Indian States Committee, 1928-9, Appendix II, p. 56.

18. Before passing any final judgment on Wavell one should remember that almost throughout his period of Viceroyalty the Prime Minister in Britain was Winston Churchill, who held very strong and reactionary views about India and, as will be shown later, successfully resisted the efforts of President Roosevelt to concede substantial political reforms to India even at

a time when Britain sorely needed the help of U.S.A. to save herself. It has been hinted in some quarters that Wavell s freedom of action was constantly restrained by Churchill's dictatorial orders. But, for the present, Wavell must be judged by the part he actually played in the momentous events during his period of Viceroyalty.

CHAPTER II

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL IN 1905

I. THE HISTORY OF THE SCHEME OF PARTITIONING

BENGAL

The Partition of Bengal had a long history behind it. The gradual changes in the boundaries of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal have been mentioned above. 1 Since the constitution, in 1874, of Assam as a separate Province under a Chief Commissioner with the three Bengali-speaking districts of Goalpara, Cachar and Sylhet attached to it, the Province of Bengal comprised, besides Bengal proper, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur. It was the most populous Province in British India, having an area of about 190,000 square miles, with a population of 78J millions, and a gross revenue of more than eleven crores. The Government regarded the size of the Province to be too unwieldy to be properly administered by a single person, and the idea of reducing its size was raised from time to time.

The first concrete proposal of this kind dates back to 1891. An official conference, summoned to discuss the question of security of the North-Eastern Frontier and attended by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Chief Commissioners of Burma and Assam, and a few military officials of high rank, proposed the transfer of the Lushai Hills and Chittagong Division from Bengal to Assam.

The Government of India decided in 1892 that the Lushai Hills and the Chittagong District should be transferred to Assam. But, before it was actually carried into practice, Sir William Ward, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, suggested in 1896 that not only the Chittagong Division but also the two districts of Dacca and Mymensingh should be incorporated in Assam. This proposal, though partially known, was strongly opposed by the public, and in a memorial submitted by the Indian Association to the Government of India it was pointed out that “the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division has called forth the unanimous protest of all sections of the community in the Division.... European merchants and planters, Hindoo and Mahomedan Zamindars, are all agreed in making the common prayer that the Chittagong Division should continue to form a part of Bengal." 2 The Government referred the scheme to Henry Cotton who had succeeded Mr. Ward as Chief Commissioner for two months, "Mr. Cotton expressed his opinion in a minute in which he characterised the proposal for the transfer of the Chittagong Division as ill-advised and that of Dacca and Mymensingh as unthinkable". He remarked that if the proposal were made public it would excite a storm of protest. He, however, favoured the proposal of transferring South Lushai Hills to Assam. 3 The Government accepted this recommendation and dropped the scheme of Ward.

The subject of reducing the size of Bengal was next broached in 1901 in an official letter of Sir Andrew Fraser f Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, containing the suggestion that Orissa should be transferred from # Bengal to the Central Provinces.

Early in 1903, Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, submitted a comprehensive scheme for the partition of Bengal on the lines previously suggested by Sir William Ward. Lord Curzon recorded his general approval of the scheme about the middle of 1903, and in December, 1903, the Government of India addressed the various Local Governments on the subject and published these letters in the India Gazette.

The history of the whole question as well as the reasons which induced the Government of India to reopen it is explained very fully and clearly in a letter from H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Gov 7 ernment of India, Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 3rd December, 1903. In this letter Risley pointed out that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was called upon to administer an area of 189,000 sq. miles with a population of 78,493,000, and a gross revenue of 1,137 lakhs, and discussed various measures with a view to lightening the excessive burden now imposed upon the Government of Bengal by the increase of popular tion, the expansion of commercial and industrial enterprise and the growing complexity of all branches of the administration.

Risley considered various schemes of territorial readjustment and noted that the Government of India were in favour of effecting two important changes, in addition to some minor ones, in order to achieve the above object:

(1) To bring all the Oriya-speaking people outside the territorial limits of Orissa, under the administration of Bengal. 4

(2) To separate the whole of Chittagong Division and the Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh from Bengal and to incorporate them with Assam, and to transfer portions of Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces.

He admitted that the change would doubtlessly be represented as one of a retrograde character tending to place a highly advanced and civilized community under a relatively backward administration, but he thought that the administrative consideration outweighed these and other objections.

The publication of this scheme of partition was the signal for an outburst of public indignation. The people of Bengal of all ranks, from the Nawabs, Maharajas, Rajas and big zamindars down to the common man, unanimously decided to carry on sustained and systematic opposition to the scheme of Partition. The political Associations, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, and newspapers of all shades of opinion, including the Englishman , joined the chorus of condemnation. Thousands of pamphlets denouncing Partition were distributed all over Bengal. Protest meetings were reported from towns and hundreds of villages in every district. The Indian National Congress recorded its protest in its annual sessions in 1903 and 1904. The Government sought in vain to persuade and conciliate people by holding conferences with the leaders of East Bengal. As these conferences proved of no avail, Lord Curzon himself undertook a tour to East Bengal "ostensibly with the object of ascertaining public opinion but really to overawe it." 5 He visited Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh, and addressed meetings, respectively, on February 15, 18, and 20, 1904. He tried in these meetings to dispel the misconceptions and alarms caused by the proposal of Partition and convince the local people that they would derive great benefits from it. There is no evidence to show that Curzon succeeded in changing the views of the people, except perhaps the Nawab Salimulla of Dacca and a section of Muslims. But his own views underwent important changes. At Mymensingh he vaguely hinted at a larger scheme of Partition "so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship instead of a Chief Commissionership."

Lord Curzon must have been convinced of the solidarity of public opposition against any scheme for partitioning Bengal, for henceforth he gave up all pretence of consulting public opinion or conciliating it by conferences, as was done at an earlier stage. His plans were hatched in secret, so much so that a section of the public was induced to believe that the scheme of Partition was dropped.

The Government also encouraged this belief by a studied silence on tne subject and no reply was given to either memorials or questions asked in the Legislature. Nevertheless, the protests continued with unabated zeal and mammoth meetings were held to voice the popular grievances.

In May, 1905, the Standard of London published the news that the Secretary of State had agreed to the proposal of Partition. In reply to a question in the House of Commons by Mr. H. Roberts, Mr. Brodrick, the Secretary of State for India, replied that the question was still 'under consideration'. A telegram was immediately sent to the Secretary of State to postpone decision until a memorial

representing the views of the Bengalis reached his hands. The memorial was drawn up and had been signed by fifty to sixty thousand persons by July 4, 1905, when Mr. H. Roberts asked the Secretary of 1 State whether he was aware of it and would postpone decision till it was received. In reply Mr. Brodrick, the Secretary of State for India, said: "The proposals of the Government of India on this subject reached me on February 18 and I have already communicated to them the decision of the Secretary of State in Council accepting their proposals." The news that Assam with Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi Divisions of Bengal would be constituted as a separate Province first appeared in the Calcutta Press on 6 July, 1905, and next day it was officially announced from Simla. The revised scheme of partition was conveyed to the public in the form of a Government Resolution, dated 19 July, and published in the Calcutta Press on the 20th. 6

The resulting changes are summed up in Para 7 of the resolution which runs as follows:—

"7. The effect of the proposals thus agreed upon, and now about to be introduced, will be as follows:—A new province will be created, with the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, consisting of the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions of Bengal, the district of Malda, the State of Hill Tipperah, and the present Chief Commissionership of Assam. Darjeeling will remain with Bengal. In order to maintain associations which are highly valued in both areas, the province will be entitled Eastern Bengal and Assam. Its capital will be at Dacca with subsidiary headquarters at Chittagong. It will comprise an area of 106,540 square miles and a population of 31 millions, of whom 18 millions are Muhammadans and 12 millions Hindus. It will possess a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue of two Members, and the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta is left undisturbed. The existing province of Bengal, diminished by the surrender of these large territories on the east and of the five Hindu States of Chota Nagpur, but increased by the acquisition of Sambalpur and the five Uriya States before mentioned, will consist of 141,580 square miles with a population of 54 millions of whom 42 millions are Hindus and 9 millions Muhammadans. In short the territories now composing Bengal and Assam will be divided into two compact, and self-contained provinces, by far the largest constituents of each of which will be homogeneous in character, and which will possess clearly defined boundaries and be equipped with the complete resources of an advanced administration."

The argument advanced to support the inclusion of the whole of Rajshahi Division in the new Province, namely, "the concentration

of the typical Muhammadan population of Bengal in a single province" was undoubtedly a very important, but not the main, consideration which weighed with Lord Curzon. The idea behind the measure was not so simple or innocuous as the wording of the resolution w T ould have us believe.

Although the main argument advanced by the Government in favour of the Partition was the administrative consideration, 7 namely, lightening the burden upon Bengal, the real motive was to curb the growth of national feeling in politically advanced Bengal by driving a wedge between the Bengali speaking Hindus and Muslims, and destroying the solidarity of 78 millions of Bengalis by dividing them into two blocs. As this was persistently denied by Lord Curzon himself and the Government of India, it is necessary to refer to this point at some length. Sir Andrew Fraser expressed the feeling "that the influence of Eastern Bengal in the politics of the Province is very great and out of all proportion to its real political importance, in so much that the Bengali altogether overshadows the Bihari who is in everything save the use (or abuse) of language immeasurably superior". He also regarded it as an "object of great political and administrative importance to diminish this influence by separating one of its great centres from others." Fraser represented all these personally to Lord Curzon who observed as follows in his own minute:

"There remains an argument to which the incoming Lt. Governor of Bengal, Sir A. Fraser, attaches the utmost weight and which cannot be absent from our consideration. He has represented to me that the advantage of severing these Eastern Districts of Bengal which are a hotbed of purely Bengali movement, unfriendly if not seditious in character, and dominating the whole tone of Bengal administration, will immeasurably outweigh any possible drawbacks." That Lord Curzon had some secret motive which he did not like to divulge to the public is apparent from the following note in his minute:

"I regret to say that in my view if the letter to Bengal were published in its present form, it would create absolute consternation .... When I wrote my minute for the confidential information of my colleagues, it never occurred to me for a moment that its contents could be or would be practically reproduced to be dissected by every newspaper scribe, English or Native, in Bengal. What I could safely say in the privacy of the Council Chamber is not necessarily suitable for proclamation from the house tops.

"The Secretary in his anxiety to respect the form as well as the substance of what I wrote has produced a draft which would be disastrous. I have, therefore, revised it from beginning to end.

“Neither do I propose to send a copy of my minute home.... it will be sufficient if I send a copy privately to the Secretary of State to explain the inner meaning of that which it has not been found altogether advisable to say in the letter of Bengal.” This minute bears the signature of Curzon dated 10.11.03. 8 There is no doubt that he refers to the letter of Risley referred to above, and there cannot be any manner of doubt that partition was not decided upon purely on administrative grounds because in that case there could have been no occasion for suppressing anything and hardly any justification for the language used by Lord Curzon.

Fortunately for historians, all doubts on the real motive for partitioning Bengal are set at rest by some recently published documents. When there was a proposal that instead of partitioning Bengal, Bihar might be separated and created a Chief-Commissionership, and Orissa might be transferred to the Central Provinces, it was opposed on the following grounds: “It wc ild tend still further to consolidate Bengali influence and the so-called national sentiment. Instead of breaking up the present combination of political agitators and creating wholesome centres of provincial opinion, it would strengthen the predominance of the political organisations in Calcutta.” The same despatch refers to the apprehensions of the Congress that the Partition would weaken the power of the Bengalis, and then adds : “Their apprehensions are perfectly correct and they form one of the great merits of the scheme. It is not altogether easy to reply in a despatch which is sure to be published without disclosing the fact that in this scheme as in the amalgamation of Berar to the Central Provinces one of our main objects is to split up and thereby weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule.” 9

Curzon was more explicit in his letter to Brodrick dated 17 February, 1904. He writes: “The Bengalis, who like to think themselves a nation, and who dream of a future, when the English will have been turned out, and a Bengali Babu will be installed in Government House, Calcutta, of course, bitterly resent any disruption that will be likely to interfere with the realisation of this dream. If we are weak enough to yield to their clamour now, we shall not be able to dismember or reduce Bengal again; and you will be cementing and solidifying, on the eastern flank of India, a force almost formidable, and certain to be a source of increasing trouble in the future.” 10

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL IN 1905

It may be added that the policy of dividing the politically advanced communities in separate provinces was already an accepted principle. In connection with the approaching incorporation of Berar with British India Curzon wrote in a note dated 6 March, 1903: “I cannot contemplate any proposal which would add strength or solidarity of the Maratha Community with anything but dismay.” 11 Fraser endorsed this view. He thought that the transfer of Berar to Bombay would mean the “tremendous political blunder of consolidating the whole Maratha Community of India under the influence and guidance of Poona.” 12

But Curzon and Fraser do not stand alone. A. T. Arundel, a member of the Viceroy’s Council, wrote in a note, dated 19 June, 1903: “The reasons for transferring Mymensingh and Dacca are not so conclusive as in the case of Chittagong as regards development, but I am impressed with the political reasons for severance which are similar to those which assign Berar to the Central Provinces and which led me to demur to the political union of the Uriyas.” 13 And this feeling seems to have been shared by the entire officialdom. Lord Minto, who succeeded Lord Curzon and did not approve of the manner in which the latter had carried out the Partition, wrote to Morley that he became more and more convinced that one of the objects of the Partition was to break the political influence of Bengal “wb*ch might have become a preponderating factor difficult to deal wi+h in questions affecting advanced Indian ideas, if the boundaries of Bengal had not been curtailed.” That Minto fully approved of it is quite clear from another letter which he wrote to Morley: “I did not tell Gokhale that the crippling of Bengali political power is in my opinion one of the strongest arguments in favour of Partition. It is the growing power of population with great intellectual gifts and a talent for making itself heard, a population which, though it is very far from representing the more manly characteristics of the many races of India, is not unlikely to influence public opinion at home most mischievously. Therefore from a political point of view alone, putting aside the administrative difficulties of the old province, I believe Partition to have been really necessary.The diminution of the power of Bengali political agitation will assist to remove a serious cause for anxiety.” 14 Referring to the Partition, Lord Hardinge, who succeeded Minto as Governor-General, also wrote to the Secretary of State, Lord Crewe on 13 July, 1911, that “the desire to aim a blow at the Bengalis overcame other considerations in giving effect to that laudable object.” ,4a

It is thus quite clear that the real motive behind the partition of Bengal was to weaken the influence of the Bengalis who had imposed an increasing burden upon the Government of Bengal’ “by the spread of higher education and the advanced political aspirations that accompany it, among others.” 15

There was also the motive of placating the Muhammadans and creating a solid Muhammadan bloc against the Hindus in respect of political views. This is proved by the following extract of a letter from Herbert Risley, dated 13 September, 1904: “The boundary suggested would bring within the Eastern Province the bulk of the characteristic Muhamadans of Bengal who form 78 per cent of the population in Rajshahi, 50 per cent, in Dinajpur, and 48 per cent, in Malda. Not only would it give Dacca a central position in relation to the rest of the new Province, but it would tend, in course of time, to confer on that city the special character of provincial capital, where Muhamadan interests would be strongly represented, if not predominant.” 16

That Lord Curzon himself entertained the same opinion is abundantly clear from his speech at Dacca on 18 February, 1904, from which the following extract is quoted:

“Will any one here pretend that Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self?” The proposed scheme of partition “would make Dacca the centre and possibly the capital of a new and selfsufficing province which must give to the people of these districts by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Musalman Viceroys and kings, and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us once attached to the kingdom of Eastern Bengal."

The opposition to the idea of Partition, from its initial stage to the very end, was so unanimous and persistent that it has no parallel in the history of British administration. According to the Government resolution it was based merely on sentimental grounds. But this was only partially true. It was no doubt mere sentiment that made the people loth to transfer to Dacca, "the extinct capital of a barbaric regime", the hearty homage which they had so long paid to Calcutta. There was also the fear that deeprooted social ties of long standing among the Bengalis were likely to be sundered. But the opposition was not due to such sentiments alone. Material interests were also involved. The lawyers, newspapers, educational institutions and various other interests were likely to suffer by the division of territories, and the influence of public opinion, as a safeguard to public interests, would lose considerable strength. But these were, comparatively speaking, minor matters. The principal consideration that worked in the popular mind was the destruction of the solidarity of the Bengalis, who justly regarded themselves as the most politically advanced in the whole of India, and took pride in the fact that their province was the most populous and wealthy, and their chief city, Calcutta, the glory of India, nay of Asia. The people of East Bengal would lose Calcutta and a truncated Bengal would be deprived of the other advantages mentioned above. Finally, in the new Province of Bengal, the Bengalis, 17 millions, would be outnumbered by the Hindi speaking population, 20 millions, to which may be added the Oriya speaking minority. Thus the Hindus of Bengal would be in a minority in both the Provinces in which their homeland was to be divided. As mentioned above, the Government were fully aware of these highly objectionable features, but looked upon them as the chief merits of the scheme.

But there was a still deeper apprehension among the Bengalis. They could not but feel that the Partition was a measure deliberately adopted to kindle rivalry and animosity between the Hindus and Muslims—the two great communities in Bengal. This was best expressed by Surendra-nath Banerji while describing the general reaction to the publication of the Government resolution on 20 July, 1905. 17

An edge was given to this suspicion by the refusal of the Government even to consider the proposal that the redistribution of territories might be so effected as to keep all the Bengali-speaking people within the same province.

If the proposals of the Government of India were bad enough, the manner in which they were carried out was worse still.

According to Mr. C.J. O'Donnell, M.P., the measure "was forced through by a flagrant act of contempt for the House of Commons." The Secretary of State "pledged himself that the proposal of the partition of Bengal would not be given effect to till all the papers relating to it had been laid before Parliament, and yet this pledge was broken. The whole project of the creation of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was hatched in secret in India and approved in secret by the Secretary of State without giving the Parliament a chance to consider it. The legislation to give effect to it was carried through at Simla at a hole and corner meeting of Lord Curzon and the official members of the legislative council at which not a single Indian member was present." 18 Surendra-nath voiced the opinion of Bengal when he said:

"The revised scheme (of Partition) was conceived in secret, discussed in secret, and settled in secret, without the slightest hint to the public. . . .We felt that we had been insulted, humiliated and tricked." 19

II. THE AGITATION AGAINST PARTITION

When, in spite of the country-wide agitation of an unprecedented character, the Government of India adopted the scheme of partitioning Bengal, her people did not take it lying down and refused to accept the Partition as a settled fact. The Bengalee, edited by Surendra-nath, published on 7 July a leading article under the caption, ‘A Grave National Disaster’, which “forewarned the Government of an impending national struggle of the greatest magnitude in case the Government did not reverse their decision.” “Let not the Government”, it said, “lay the flattering unction to its soul that the country will acquiesce in these monstrous proceedings without a strenuous and persistent struggle in which no expense or sacrifice will be grudged and in which the people will not fail to take the utmost advantage of the constitutional resources at their disposal. We are not guilty of the smallest exaggeration when we say that we are on the threshold of an agitation, which, for its intensity and its universality, will be unrivalled in the annals of this province.” 20

Never was a prophecy more literally fulfilled. More than two thousand public meetings, attended by both Hindus and Muslims, varying in number from 500 to 5,000, and occasionally even 50,000, were held in different parts of Bengal, protesting against the Partition. The Indian Press, both in Bengal and other Provinces, were unanimous in their condemnation of the measure, and even a large section of Anglo-Indian Press, some of which were recognized as semi-official organs, joined in the protest. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive of a more unanimous and persistent opposition to a Government measure; there is certainly no precedent in the previous history of British rule in India. 21 The Partition was also strongly condemned by some British newspapers. 22

The character of the agitation and its universality deeply impressed even Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India from 1906, and he flatly contradicted the great pro-Consul Lord Curzon and his apologists when he admitted that the agitation against the Partition was not “the work of political wire-pullers and political agitators,” but was the result of genuine feelings in the minds of the people “that they were going to suffer a great wrong and inconvenience.” 23 Morley had also the candour to admit that the measure went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned.

There is, however, no doubt that the solidarity of opposition against the Partition was gradually weakened. Lord Curzon won over Salimullah, the Nawab of Dacca, partly by advancing a loan at a very low rate of interest, and partly by holding out the hope that the interest of the Muslims will dominate the administration of the new Province, and the Nawab, as their leader, will occupy a unique position there, with Dacca, his own home, raised to the status of a great capital city of an opulent province. The Nawab gradually became a great supporter of the Partition, and gathered a section of Muslim? round him-. The new administration, in its actual operation, openly favoured the Muslims, and the first Lieutenant-Governor, Fuller, said, with reference to the two main sections of population, the Musalmans and Hindus, that they were like his two queens of Indian legends, the first being the suo (favoured) and the second, the duo (neglected). 24 No wonder that the followers of Salimullah would gain in strength. Various suggestions were made as to the most practical means of throwing a direct challenge to the British authority, without violating the law. The one that was ultimately adopted was the boycott of the British goods. The use of boycotting was well-known as an essential part of the Irish struggle for freedom against the British. The idea of boycott as a coercive weapon for securing political or economic objects was also not unknown in India. As early as 1874 boycott was advocated as a means for reviving Indian industries which had been ruined by the British commercial policy in India. Boycott of Manchester cloth was preached in 1875, 1876, and again in 1878 on account of the hostility of Manchester to the newly started Indian mills in Bombay. In 1883-4 when popular feelings were roused by the agitation of the Anglo-Indians against libert Bill and the imprisonment of Surendra-nath Banerji, the boycott of British goods was ardently preached. In 1891, the boycott of British goods was preached and also practised to some extent by the opponents of the 'Age of Consent' Bill. But none of these proposals were seriously acted upon or put into practice. It is quite possible that the idea was suggested in 1905 by the example of the Chinese who had been conducting at the time a very successful boycott campaign against American goods as a protest against the expulsion of Chinese immigrants from the United States. For we find the following in the Barisal Hitaishi of 19 July, 1905: "Will the Bengalis be able to imitate the example of 4he Chinese in the boycott of foreign goods? If they can, the path is clear before them."

The boycott of British goods was first suggested in the Sanjlvanj , a Bengali weekly in Calcutta, on 13 July, 1905, and was adopted at a public meeting at Bagerhat, a mofussil town, on 16 July. The

idea proved catching and was adopted at many public meetings. These prepared the ground for a highly representative meeting held on 7 August, 1905, at the Town Hall, Calcutta. The students of Calcutta, who had already taken the vow of "Boycott" and "Swadeshi" at several meetings, played a very fruitful role on that day.

The Town Hall meeting was scheduled for 5 P.M.; but "from two o'clock", reports the Englishman , "there was the unusual sign in the streets of Calcutta of processions of students marching, two by two, with blue pennons inscribed in Bengali with the words 'United Bengal'. The students were marshalled under their teachers in College Square". There they stood in groups, each holding aloft black flags bearing words such as 'United Bengal', 'Unity is Strength', 'Bande Mataram' and 'No Partition'. 25 "With measured steps and heavy hearts" a huge procession of students, estimated at not less than 12,000 in number, marched from College Square to the Town Hall, as if in a funeral procession. The shops were closed during the morning and the business was largely suspended. So general and unanimous was the popular movement that, even according to police reports, in some sections of the town not even a bottle of lemonade could be obtained after noon.

The crowd that assembled near the Town Hall was so great that it w~as impossible to accommodate them all. 'Rajas and pleaders and Babus jostled each other and the gathering shaded off into the poorest class.' So, in addition to the main meeting held in the Hall, two overflow meetings had to be arranged.

The most important resolution passed at the meeting read as follows: "That this meeting fully sympathises with the Resolution adopted at many meetings held in the mofussil, to abstain from the purchase of British manufactures so long as the partition Resolution is not withdrawn, as a protest against the indifference of the British public in regard to Indian affairs and the consequent disregard of Indian public opinion by the present Government." The fourth resolution emphasized the need of continuing the agitation till the partition was reversed.

The ‘Boycott’ suggestion spread quickly all over the country. Public meetings were held at all important towns and hundreds of villages, in which resolutions were passed endorsing the Boycott proposal. According to official reports, meeting and processions took place daily in towns and large villages. In Barisal, at the meeting, an effigy of Lord Curzon was burnt, and mock Sradh ceremony performed. According to the same reports, the cry of Bande Mataram was adopted as the war cry of the agitation, and the general attitude of the Bengalis towards Europeans became insolent and aggressive. In many papers suggestions were made to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales, and resolutions to this effect were passed at many meetings.

The entire Bengali Press vigorously supported the Boycott movement. Thus the Hitabandhu (24.7.05) wrote: “We know that England is governed by merchants.If we can but once move the weavers of Manchester, they will perform a mass feat. All we have to do is to take a firm resolution not to use Manchester piecegoods and carry our resolution to effect..We will unite divided Bengal.” A new spirit was manifest all over the country. It was marked by a high degree of patriotic fervour and religious devotion to motherland, symbolized by Bande Mataram. Even in the small town of Barisal, students as well as teachers in some schools went bare-footed to the school. The Government took strong measures; 275 students were turned out of their classes, and all were threatened with expulsion in case they refused to return with their shoes on. All over the country the students held meetings and organized processions. In some cases the students purchased foreign salt and sugar and destroyed them. But the agitation was the strongest in Calcutta. The Town Hall meeting of August 7 was followed by a number of open-air meetings attended by large groups of students. Thereafter the picketing system was started and parties of college students and school boys commenced to parade the bazar dissuading customers from purchasing foreign goods. They even approached the purchasers with folded hands to return the English goods purchased by them and not to do so in future. Generally speaking, the attitude of these boys was peaceful, but on some occasions there might have been some altercations or disputes. On these slight pretexts, and even when such pretexts were altogether wanting, the police beat the students by lathi (thick bamboo sticks) and many of them were even arrested on the most flimsy charges. In the markets, both of towns and villages, the boycott and picketing were in full swing. The police report says that this was mainly due to the support of the land-holders who actively encouraged the boycott through their ‘naibs’ and peons. But although this may be true, there is no mistaking the fact that t*he spirit of boycott moved the people, both high and low. The cobblers in Mymensingh refused in a body to mend English shoes. The Oriya cooks and servants in Barisal held a meeting declaring that they would not serve masters using foreign goods. The washermen of Kalighat held a meeting and passed a resolution boycotting the washing of the foreign clothes. The cobblers of Faridpur refused to mend European shoes, and the washermen to wash European clothes. Some remarkable instances may be cited to show the depth of this

feeling among the middle-classes. A young girl of 6 refused to take foreign medicine even when she was seriously ill. The priests refused to officiate in marriage ceremonies where foreign clothes were used. The students refused to appear in the examination on the ground that the answer books supplied to them were made of foreign paper. The orthodox ‘pandits’ lent their support to the movement and announced that the use of foreign salt and sugar was not sanctioned by Hindu religion. So strong was this feeling among the Bengalis that the Englishmen, who had hitherto supported the antiPartition agitation, now called upon the Government to strike at the root of the Boycott movement. The European merchants of Calcutta threatened to dismiss all their Bengali clerks as a sort of reply to boycott. The Anglo-Indians threatened to unsheathe the sword which, they said, they had not unsheathed for 50 years.

The meeting of August 7 may be fittingly described as the beginning of the grim struggle between the people and the Government. The student community, in particular, was caught in the grip of revolution, and fearlessly carried the message of boycott and Swadeshi from one end of the Province to the other. They succeeded in communicating their zeal to all classes. Even aristocratic classes and women who had hitherto kept away from politics joined the Boycott and Swadeshi movement. In spite of the defection of the Nawab of Dacca, a number of eminent Muslim leaders continued to associate themselves with the movement, and a resolution in favour of it was passed at a big meeting of the Muslims held in Calcutta on 23 September, 1905. The movement soon outgrew its narrow limits. The original feeling against Partition now developed into a full-fledged patriotic fervour to which was added an element of religious feeling. This was very clearly manifest on the occasion of the Durga Puja, the great national festival of Bengal, on 28 September, 1905. Nearly 50,000 men assembled at the famous temple of the goddess Kali at Kalighat, a suburb of Calcutta, in spite of a regular cyclone accompanied by heavy downpour. The Brahmins in the temple uttered the following invocation in Sanskrit: 'Worship the mother-land before all other deities; give up sectarianism, all religious differences, animosities, and selfishness; adopt one and all the pledge of serving the mother country and devote your lives to relieve her distress.'

"The assembly entered in batches the Ndtmandir and solemnly took the following vows: 'Mother, today, the auspicious day, standing before thy holy presence and in this place of sanctity, I solemnly promise that to the best of my power I will never use foreign articles, that I will not purchase such articles from foreign shops as are to be had at Indian shops, that I will not employ foreigners for work

which could be done by my countrymen." This solemn vow was the first declaration of war against the British.

As mentioned above, the Partition of Bengal was to take effect from 16 October, 1905. It was generally felt that the event should be marked by some special ceremonies, particularly with a view to emphasize the unity of Bengal. Accordingly the occasion was celebrated by the ceremony of Rakhi-bandhan (tying of yellow threads on the arms of one another). The idea was conceived by the great poet, Rabindra-nath Tagore, who also composed short verses emphasizing the unity of the Bengalis, to be recited while tying the thread. The ceremony was intended to remind the people as well as the Government that no monarch's sword, however powerful, could cut asunder the bond of union implanted by Providence amongst people forming one and the same race. A less poetic and more material way to achieve the same purpose was the decision to organize a federation of the two parts of Bengal and the construction of a Federation Hall which was to be the symbol of the indissoluble union between the two provinces, a meeting-ground of the Eastern and Western Bengal. 26

The scene which was witnessed on 16 October in Calcutta (and practically all over Bengal) defies all description. All the business was suspended and vehicular traffic stopped, and all the shops were closed for the whole day. Young men paraded the streets from before sunrise, singing Bande Mataram songs, and a huge concourse of people marched towards the Ganga in order to take bath in the holy river. There were processions, samkirtans (religious songs) and patriotic songs. After the bath in the sacred river the people met at different public places and there tied rakhi on each other's arms. In the afternoon a meeting was held at Circular Road in order to lay the foundation stone of the Federation Hall. The meeting was attended by more than 50,000 people. Ananda-mohan Bose, a veteran political leader, who presided over the meeting, was then seriously ill and had to be brought to the meeting in an invalid chair. After the foundation stone was laid the following proclamation was read at the meeting:

"Whereas the Government has thought fit to effectuate the partition of Bengal in spite of the universal protest of the Bengali Nation, we hereby pledge and proclaim that we, as a people, shall do everything in our power to counteract the evil effects of the dismemberment of our province and to maintain the integrity of our race. So God help us". A Bengali translation of this proclamation was made by poet Rabindra-nath. After the ceremony was over, the entire crowd, all bare-footed, walked a distance of nearly

two miles to the house of Pashupati Bose at BagbazSr. Even old and veteran leaders like Surendra-nath walked without shoes over the rough streets of Calcutta. A huge meeting was held at Bose's house, and a sum of Hs. 70,000/- was collected in the meeting itself for the promotion of Swadeshi movement. The subscription consisted mainly of small donations from the members present.

The history of the agitation against Partition may be fittingly closed with the account of this memorable episode. For henceforth the agitation was really merged into the Boycott and Swadeshi movement which forms the subject-matter of the next chapter.

1. Cf. Vol. IX, pp. 323-4, 780.

2. Bagal, J.C-, History of the Indian Association, p. 154.

3. For Cotton's Minute, cf. The New India, 4 February, 1904, pp. 346-8, quoted in Mukherjees India 9 s Fight for Freedom, p. 4.

4. This was effected by transfer to Bengal of Sambalpur and some Feudatory States from the Central Provinces, and the Ganjam District and the Gan jam and Vizagapatam Agency Tracts from Madras.

5. Nation, 186. For details cf. All About Partition, Edited by P.Mukherji, Mukherjees, op. cit., and biographies of Curzon by Ronaldshay and Fraser.

6. The full text of the resolution is given by Bagal, op. cit., App. G, p. L.

7. That the partition would’in any way improve the administration was denied even by some European officials. Cf. a note by Stevens, A.K. Majumdar: Advent of Independence, pp. 31-32, 331-336*

8. Home Dept. Proceedings December, 1903, Nos- 149-160

9. Risley’s Note, dated 6-12-04. Home—Public—A, February, 1905, Nos. 155-67.

10. Curzon Papers—Private Correspondence of the Viceroy with the Secretary of State, dated 17 February, 1904.

11. Curzon's Note, dated 6-3-03- Home—Public—A, December, 1903, Nos. 149-160.

12. Note, dated 28-3-1903- Ibid. The passages referred to in this and the three previous footnotes, along with many others of the same kind, are quoted in an article by Mrs. Kalpana Bishui in The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies, Vol- V, Number 2, pp. 78-96

13. The Modem Review, 1959, Part I, p. 297.

14. For the two letters of Minto, cf- “Memorandum on the Partition of Bengal 0 — an enclosure to Minto's letter to Morley dated 5 February, 1906. I am indebted for this information to an unpublished thesis by Dr. Mrs. V. Majumdar.

14a. Hardinge Papers, Cambridge University Library.

15. Letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, recommending Partition of Bengal, Unpublished record in CRO. Judicial & Public, 1903, No. 73 of 1903. Government of India, Home Dept., Public

16. Blue Book, Cd. 2746, p. 203. Quoted by C.J. O’Donnell, The Causes of Present Discontent in India, Ch. VI, pp- 68 ff.

17. Nation, pp. 187-8

18. O’Donnell, op. cit., p. 61.

19. Nation, pp. 186-7.

20. Mukherjees op. cit., pp. 30-31

21. Gokhale observed in his Presidential address at the annual session of the Congress in 1905: “To add insult to injury, Lord Curzon described the opposition to his measure as ‘manufactured’—an opposition in which all classes of Indians, high and low, uneducated and educated, Hindus and Mohammedans, had joined, an opposition than which nothing more intense, nothing more widespread, nothing more spontaneous, had been seen in the country in the whole of our political agitation.” For a fuller account of the agitation, cf. Mukherjees, op. cit., Ch. I; R.C. Majumdar, History of the Freedom Movement in India, II. Ch. I.

22. For example, The Times, Manchester Guardian, London Daily News

23. O’Donnell, op. cit., Ch. V. p. 53

24. For Fuller's version, cf. B. Fuller, Some Personal Experience, pp. 140-41.

25. Mukherjees, op. cit., p. 42.

26. Nation, pp. 187-88

CHAPTER III

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

I. THE NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT

As mentioned in the last chapter, the Bengalis had adopted the Boycott movement as the last resort after they had exhausted the armoury of constitutional agitation known to them, namely, vocal protests in mass meetings, propaganda in the press, appeals, petitions and conferences. It was then, and not till then, that they forged this new weapon with a view to coercing the British to concede the unanimous national demand.

The original conception of Boycott was mainly an economic one. It had two distinct, but allied, purposes in view. The first was to bring pressure upon the British public by the pecuniary loss they would suffer by the boycott of British goods, particularly the Manchester cotton goods for which Bengal provided the richest market in India. Secondly, it was regarded as essential for the revival of indigenous (swadeshi) industry which, being at its infant stage, could never grow in the face of free competition with foreign countries which had highly developed industry.

Like the Boycott, the Swadeshi, as a purely economic measure for the growth of Indian industry, was not an altogether novel idea in India. It was preached by several eminent personalities in the nineteenth century, such as Gopal Hari Deshmukh, better known as Lokahitawadi, of Bombay, Swami Dayananda, and Bhola-nath Chandra of Calcutta.

But the seeds sown by Hitawadi, Bhola-nath Chandra and others did not germinate till the soil was rendered fertile by the grim resolve of a united people, exasperated beyond measure, to forge the twin weapons of Boycott and Swadeshi in order to undo the great wrong which was inflicted upon them by an arrogant Government, callous to the voice of the people.

Although the ideas of Boycott and Swadeshi were not entirely novel, they got a new meaning and a new impetus in 1905, because they were now instrumental in the fight for a common cause which rallied fifty million

Bengalis under the leadership of persons who were inspired by the new national sentiments whose origin has been traced above.

S.P.—8

The influence of nationalism is clearly seen in the rapid growth of the original concepts of Boycott and Swadeshi and of the purposes underlying them. The idea of economic boycott as a weapon to coerce the British to undo the Partition gradually receded into the background. It developed into an idea of non-co-operation with the British in every field, and the object aimed at was a political regeneration of the country, with the distant goal of absolute freedom looming large before the eyes of the more advanced section.

Similarly, Swadeshi completely outgrew the original conception of promoting Indian industry. It assumed a new form based upon the literal connotation of the word Swadeshi, namely attachment to everything Indian. This development was undoubtedly the result of the newly awakened patriotism and nationalism which had been slowly gathering force during the 19th century. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that such a new development was also partly due to the repressive policy adopted by the Government to put down the movement.

II. THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT AND SWADESHI

The beginnings of the first phase of the Boycott and Swadeshi movement have been discussed in the preceding chapter. Though Manchester cloth was the chief target of attack, the movement was extended to other British manufactures also, such as salt and sugar as well as luxury goods in general. The rock-salt, found in India, and countrymade sugar and gur were now in great demand; but the greatest headache was caused by the question of cloth, for, as matters then stood, the demand considerably exceeded the indigenous supply. But the mill-owners of Bombay and Ahmadabad came to the rescue. The Boycott movement in Bengal supplied a momentum and driving force to the cotton mills in India and the opportunity thus presented was exploited by the mill-owners. It was complained at the time that the Bombay mill-owners made a huge profit at the expense of what they regarded as ‘Bengali sentimentalism’ for buying indigenous cloth at any sacrifice, and there may be some truth in it.

Bengal had to supplement the supply from Bombay mills by the coarse production of handlooms. The weaving industry in Bengal was a very flourishing one till the British ruined it after they had established their rule over the province in the eighteenth century. The Boycott movement seemed to be a suitable opportunity for reviving that industry. The cloths produced were very coarse, but were accepted by the Bengalis in the true spirit of the Swadeshi movement. A song which became very popular all over the country urged upon the people to give the place of honour

(lit. put on the head) the coarse cloth which is the gift of the Mother, too poor to offer a better one.

But neither sentiments nor a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the masses can be always relied upon as a sufficiently impelling force of long duration. So the leaders had to keep the tempo of popular enthusiasm by various means. Numerous meetings were held all over the country, in which Boycott was preached and the assembled people took solemn yows or pledges to eschew foreign goods, and buy indigenous goods alone.

A large number of Samitis f Societies), the majority of the members of which were students, were formed in Calcutta and all over Bengal for pushing on the Boycott movement.

Earnest attempts were made to enlist the sympathy and support of all classes of people. A confidential official Report refers to attempts made by the leaders of Faridpur and Barisal to enlist the sympathies of the Namasudras to the Boycott and Swadeshi movement. As a matter of fact the movement was broadbased. “Not to speak of the participation of zamindars and pleaders, students and youths, peasants and shop-keepers, even medical men and native army, Brahmins and priests, barbers and washermen played an important part in the extension of the Boycott -Swadeshi movement. .. At a washermen’s meeting at Boalia, the participants took the solemn vow of not washing foreign cloths on pain of excommunication. Even Brahmins and priests refused to perform Pujas and ceremonies in which offerings were made of foreign articles. In some places the dissidents were even excommunicated from the caste. Moreover, the Government also noticed how the secret connivance of the native police fostered the Boycott - Swadeshi cause." 1

The religious sentiments of the people were regularly exploited. "Bengali vernacular papers like the Sandhya and the Bangavasi began to preach that by using Liverpool salt and foreign sugar, Which were refined by the use of blood and bones of swine and cows, the people would run the risk of losing their dharma. The Pandits of Navadwip and Bhatpara also lent their support to the movement and sent out two of their members as Swadeshi missionaries. In the Nadia district the family priests carried the Boycott from door to door. In the district of Jessore also this feature was manifest." 2 Reference has already been made to the grand Puja and Homa ceremony at the Kalighat temple, followed by the solemn vow to use Swadeshi and boycott foreign goods. 3 Similar incidents were reported from many other places.

The ideas of Swadeshi and Boycott were kept alive and brought home to every door by articles in newspapers, processions, popular

songs, enrolment of volunteers to keep vigilant watch, and by occasional bonfires of foreign cloths, salt and sugar. The old apparels of foreign make belonging to sundry people were placed in a heap and then it was set on fire. The blazing flames were greeted with shouts of Bande Mataram. Such bonfires were looked upon as a special mode of honouring noted public leaders when they visited any particular locality. Such tours of eminent leaders and the bonfires greeting them were regarded as of great value as a means of infusing enthusiasm for Swadeshi.

Various other methods were adopted to ensure success of the Boycott. 4 The following incidents referred to in Police Reports may be regarded as illustrative:

Bankura confectioners declared a fine of Rs. 100/- to be inflicted on anyone found using foreign sugar. At Birbhum the foreign cigarettes at Suri Bazar were bought up and burnt in the streets, and it was decided at a meeting of the Brahmins to refuse to assist any religious ceremonies in houses where European salt and sugar were used. At Dinajpur, doctors, pleaders and mukhtears threatened the Marwaris that if they imported foreign articles they would refuse to work for them.

The movement spread to the peasant classes, both Hindu and Muslim. At Jalpaiguri, some students made a bonfire of cigarettes, cricket bats, foot-balls, clothes etc., and an effigy of Lord Curzon was also burnt in fire.

But these methods did not prove sufficient for the purpose. So the shops selling foreign goods were picketed by national volunteers. This was the beginning of that system of 'peaceful picketing' which was destined to become a normal feature in almost every type of political agitation in future.

The normal procedure of picketing was somewhat as follows: A small band of young men, mostly students, w T ould stand close to the shops where foreign goods were sold. They would approach with folded hands anyone going towards these shops and try to persuade him not to buy foreign goods. If any one was found coming out of these shops with foreign goods they would request him to return them and get the price back. If the person was willing but the shop-keeper refused to refund the price, the volunteers would in some cases pay the price themselves, and make a bonfire of the foreign article, as an example to others.

To anyone acquainted with human nature it should be evident that the procedure was liable to grave abuses. Some hot-headed young men would not remain quiet if the intending or actual purchaser of foreign goods turned down their request, or if the shop keepers refused to take back the foreign goods already sold. In some cases, at least, there were altercations and high words were exchanged; and, perhaps, in a few cases they led to abuses or even assaults. This would give the police a good opportunity to interfere. The volunteers were roughly handled and if they resisted, the police beat them with lathis. The police lathi was a long and stout stick made of seasoned bamboo, and shod at the lower end with iron tip. Hard blows of a lathi were enough to cause bleeding wounds, fracture of bones and skulls, and even death, depending upon the manner of striking and the particular part of the body struck. These 'Regulation lathis ,' as they were called, were freely used by the police, in the first instance to drive away the picketers and to disperse crowds, whether riotous or peaceful, if they were supposed to be sympathetic to the picketing volunteers. The uttering of Bande Mataram was an indisputable evidence of such sympathy, and later it was made illegal to shout Bande Mataram in a public place.

The official phrase, "mild lathi charge", to describe the assault of the police, was a misnomer. It was certainly not mild as the gaping wounds on the bodies loudly proclaimed. But sometimes even these lathi charges failed to stop the picketing. Then the police took to the nearest police station a number of persons—whether actual picketers, sympathisers, or mere passers-by—and regular cases were instituted against them for obstructing, abusing or assaulting peaceful citizens engaged in buying or selling foreign goods. These 'citizens' found no difficulty in identifying a dozen or more arrested persons most of whom he had probably never seen at the time of occurrence. Many would probably regard it as a wonderful feat for a person to be able to identify a dozen of men whom he could at best notice for a few moments in a tense situation. But the explanation is simple. The arrested persons were kept in the police lock-up and the 'citizens' whose honesty and loyalty were proved by their partiality for foreign goods, were secretly taken to the police stations more than once to look at the accused persons so that they could identify them in court. The trying Magistrates would not hesitate to convict the accused on such evidence. Most of the Judges were Indian and knew the true state of things, but they knew also that 'no conviction' in such cases meant 'no promotion', and in many cases degradation or other kinds of punishments on various pretexts. 4 *

The Government, however, did not depend on these measures alone, but sought to strike at the very root of the matter. As the students supplied the bulk of the volunteers and picketers, the Government issued instructions to the educational institutions to

control their boys and prevent them from participating in the Swadeshi movement in any way. This topic will be dealt with in a separate section. It will suffice here to state that students were punished by the institutions to which they belonged as well as by the police. Indiscriminate assaults were made by the latter upon students and many of them were rusticated or fined. According to a contemporary report, “the chief part of the official wrath against Swadeshi is vented on the students. They are harassed, prosecuted and oppressed for their advocacy of the country’s cause. They are being flogged, fined, imprisoned, expelled from schools and colleges and

even rusticated from the universities.”

The second method was to control the rural markets by influencing the local landlords or Zamindars who owned them. They had large interests at stake and could ignore, or disobey, the Government only at their peril.

The third method adopted by the Government was setting up the loyal Muslims against the recalcitrant Hindus which will be discussed in detail later.

The fourth method was to ban the processions and meetings and curb the newspapers by rigorous press laws, for it was rightly thought that the spirit of Swadeshi movement was sustained by propaganda carried in the press and on the platform.

The fifth and the last method devised by the Government was the confinement of the leaders of the movement without any trial.

The supporters of the Swadeshi movement, also, had weapons, other than those mentioned above, in their armoury. If they were less offensive, they were not always less effective.

As repression increased, a four-fold programme of boycott was preached:

1. Abjuring of English cloth, salt, sugar etc.

2. Abjuring of English speech.

3. Resignation of honorary offices under Government and

seats in Councils.

4. Social boycott against persons purchasing foreign articles,

which was to take the following forms:—

(a) None shall eat and drink with them.

(b) None shall intermarry with them.

(c) None shall buy from, or sell to, them.

(d) Depriving them of the service of barbers.

(e) Boys and girls should be instructed not to play with their children.

The social boycott was a very powerful weapon. A man selling or buying foreign goods or in any way opposing Swadeshi movement and helping Government in putting it down would be subjected to various degrees of humiliation. People would not talk to him, jeer at him from a distance, and his children would be hooted and hissed in schools and play-grounds. His relatives or neighbours would not attend his social ceremonies, his priests, physicians, servants, washermen and barbers would refuse to serve him, and there are even instances where the marriage of his sons and daughters was rendered difficult, if not impossible. Such social ostracism would make a man quite unhappy, sometimes even very miserable, and the Government could do very little to help him in his distress.

But such non-violent ostracism was not the only form of persecution. Sometimes the 'renegade' would suffer material loss and bodily or mental pain. His house would accidentally (?) catch fire at night, he would be struck from behind while walking in darkness, and slanders, deliberately spread about the female members of his family, would find ready credence. In mofussil towns even the wives of Government officials—particularly those of the police, executive and judicial branches who were guilty of maltreating the national volunteers, picketers or other supporters of Swadeshi movement—would meet with a cold reception in ladies' societies, though spared of further humiliation on account of the status of their husbands.

Several cases of social ostracism may be mentioned only by way of illustration. The most notable was that of the Sahas of Barisal. In spite of the remonstrances of the Swadeshi party of Barisal, these Sahas were selling foreign cloth. So the Swadeshiwalias sent some volunteers to the native village of the Sahas (Shamsiddhi, Dt. Dacca). These volunteers, with the help of local recruits, succeeded in preventing many of their guests from attending a mahotshab ceremony organized by the Sahas in their native village. In Barisal itself all the native doctors, barbers and washermen etc. were induced to boycott the merchants and they were jeered at and insulted in the streets. In 1907 a consignment of foreign goods belonging to these Sahas was destroyed by means of nitric acid injected into the bales by a syringe.

A case is reported from Nadia in which Chandra-kanta Pal who used foreign sugar was boycotted by his castemen, priest and barber. One Krishto Napit, who privately shaved him, was taken to task for it and beaten by his brother-in-law.

The known facts, therefore, do not support the current notion that the faults were all on the side of the Government. That the

repressive measures such as lathi-charge , criminal prosecutions and convictions on insufficient testimony, harassing of people on suspicion, persecution of students and sometimes even of their guardians, specially if they happened to be Government servants, and several others adopted by the Government were in many, perhaps most, cases unjust and illegal, as we ordinarily understand these two terms, admits of no doubt. But it would be equally wrong to suppose that there was no provocation from the other side, and that the picketers were always peaceful and inoffensive and did not interfere in any way with the free choice and judgement of the people as regards buying and selling foreign goods. Further, it would be idle to pretend that the success achieved by the Boycott and Swadeshi was solely due to a spontaneous movement on the part of the people without any artificial prop to support it.

The real state of things can best be described as an incipient rebellion—an undeclared war between the Government and the people. Each side fought with the weapons it possessed—an imperialistic and autocratic Government making full use of its organized civil and, as need arose, military forces, while the unarmed, or rather disarmed, people fought with the only weapon it could command, namely, a sort of organized Passive Resistance. Psychical force was pitted up against the physical force.

It is in this conception of an undeclared war that one finds the key to subsequent developments. In the first place, it led to the wider conception of Swadeshi . In revolutions men live fast, and ideas, which grow in the course of a year, would have taken a century or more in normal times. Further, one does not engage in a war for a small stake. As soon as one realizes that a state of war exists, he naturally puts his objectives on a much higher level. This is how and why the narrow and limited objectives, for which Boycott and Sviadeshi were started, slowly receded into the background, yielding place to a much higher goal, and the two movements gradually merged themselves into a wide all-India national struggle for freedom.

Secondly, it is the war-spirit that explains the sudden release of pent-up or latent energy and enthusiasm of the people that led to the political re-awakening and development of patriotism and national consciousness. All these suddenly blazed into flame, as it were, and found expression in a wonderful literary outburst, in novels, stories, poems, songs and dramas.

Thirdly, as soon as the idea went home that the people were in a state of war against the Government, it occurred to many that such an unequal fight between armed force on the one side and mere

passive resistance on the other could not go on for long and its ultimate result could never be in doubt. Out of such ideas arose a faction which resolved to meet force by force. But as the people had no means of openly securing arms they had to work in secret. This is the genesis of the sudden emergence of a network of secret revolutionary organizations which were determined to meet the Government on equal terms, by collecting arms and opposing terrorism by terrorism.

Fourthly, the idea of the war between the Government and the people in Bengal caught the imagination of the rest of India. People who were not likely to be much disturbed by the grievances of the Bengalis over the partition of their Province, were sure to be seriously affected by the spectacle of a Province waging a single-handed fight against the mighty British Government. All the latent spirit of discontent and disaffection and the newly awakened sense of nationalism and patriotism would be spurred into activity to make a common cause and a common endeavour to free their motherland. The sound of war-drums generates a spirit which makes the people shake off lethargy and rush to the battlefields on a sudden impulse— a spirit that otherwise might have lain dormant for years.

Reference may be made in this connection to observations made by Mr. Stinton, a senior Government official, towards the end of 1907, while discussing the political agitation in Kishorgunj in the District of Mymensingh, in a confidential report:

“To sum up: During the last two years disaffection has been steadily spreading throughout the whole middle class of educated and semi-educated Hindus. The outbursts which marked the earlier period immediately after the Partition, have ceased. Prompt punishment and drastic preventive measures have been successful in keeping a show of calm. Under the surface, however, the feelings of resentment and hatred are far more general now than two years ago. The agitation has changed in character and scope. At first it was directed entirely against the Partition. Gradually the scope has extended. Condemnation of a particular measure grew into execration of all Government measures. The movement revealed its innately seditious character.

“The result is that the possibilities of ‘Swaraj’ in its extremest sense are freely debated. The ultimate appeal to force is lightly discussed by people who have never seen a blow struck in anger, and political assassination is in the mouths of schoolboys.” 5

III. THE EFFECT OF BOYCOTT

It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the effect of the Boycott movement on the import of foreign goods in Bengal, as no exact statistics are available. 511 It appears, however, from the official and confidential Police reports that for the first two or three years there was a serious decline in the import of British goods, particularly cloth. According to carefully prepared figures, published in the Statesman, the purchase of British cloths in eight districts outside Calcutta showed a decrease from seventy-seven thousand to nine thousand rupees during the period, September, 1904, to

September, 1905, and more or less the same was the case with other British goods, such as shoes and cigarettes. 6 This is supported by the following extract from the confidential report by the Collector of Customs, Calcutta, dated 8th September, 1906, covering the first year of the Boycott movement.

“The boycott has been chiefly directed against salt, cotton, piecegoods and possibly yarn, boots and shoes and cigarettes. A short statement is given below showing the importations or clearances of these for the past August, compared with the same month in 1905. „

The annexed statement shows a decrease in the import of foreign salt by 1,40,000 maunds and increase in Indian (Aden) salt from 48 to 77 thousand maunds. The imported cotton piece-goods decreased by three crores of yards and the value of imported cotton twist and yarn fell by nearly a crore of rupees. The import of foreign shoes fell by 75 p.c. and of cigarettes by nearly 50 p.c.

One of the European firms in Bengal cabled as follows to England:

“Boycott result is disastrous. Boots are not salable; the busy season has closed; hosiery, hats and waist-bangles are also affected. A distinction is being made between English and continental goods. Japanese imports are doing very well at low prices. One firm has marked their English goods ‘Made in Germany’ and succeeded in selling them.”

“The British export trade returns for the month of December, 1908, as published in The Times of 22 January, 1909, show that cotton piece-goods declined in quantity by 89,065,000 yards, equal to 18.6 per cent, and in value by £1,514,213, equal to 23.7 per cent. India was responsible for a decline of 77,416,000 yards ,—which proves that India was mainly responsible for the decline, India’s share in the shortage being about seven-eighths in quantity and over a million pounds in value,” 7

By this time the Boycott and Swadeshi movement merged itself into the great national movement launching the struggle for freedom. The question was no longer the boycott of British goods but of British rule. The purely economic aspect of the Boycott movement seems to have receded into the background. This is indicated by the following extract from the Monthly Report from Bengal for September, 1910. "British goods are being imported on a larger scale. The Government thinks that the boycott was on the wane,"

Stress should, however, be laid on the long-term and permanent effect of the Boycott and Swadeshi movement on the industrial regeneration of the country. "The weaving industry of India in particular received the greatest impetus from the Swadeshi movement. By a systematic and. relentless boycott of British cloths and by fostering and stimulating a temper for things Swadeshi, the national movement of 1905 created in the country a tremendous demand for indigenous articles. As the demand for indigenous cloths grew, increasing attempts were being made to start new mills,"

IV. NATIONAL EDUCATION

Reference has been made above to the very important role played by the students in promoting the Boycott and Swadeshi movement which drew upon them the wrath and violence of the British raj. Circulars were issued forbidding the students, under threat of severe penalty, to associate themselves in any way with the Boycott movement; even the cry of Bande Mataram in streets and other public places was declared to be a punishable offence. Schools or colleges whose students disobeyed the order were not only threatened with the withdrawal of Government grants and even with disaffiliation, but their students were to be declared ineligible for Government service. The authorities of the educational institutions were asked to keep strict watch over their pupils, and if unable to control them, were to report me names to the Education Department for taking necessary disciplinary action. The Magistrates were asked tp inform the teachers and those connected with the management of educational institutions, that if necessary, they might be enrolled as Special Constables. The Director of Public Instruction asked the principals of colleges to show cause why their students who took part in the picketing should not be expelled.

All this produced a storm of indignation in the country, and the Indian-owned Press denounced the circulars in the strongest language. The people of Bengal took up the challenge. The students of some colleges in Rangpur defied the Government orders, and when they were fined, the guardians refused to pay the fine and established a national school for the boys who were expelled. The Headmaster of the Madaripur School was asked to whip the boys, but he refused to do so. Under the pressure of the Government the school authorities asked him and eleven other teachers, who approved of his action, to resign, and they had to do so. Similar incidents took place all over Bengal and the newly created Province of East Bengal and Assam.

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The action of the authorities led to a movement among the students to boycott the Calcutta University which they described as golamkhanti (House of manufacturing slaves). At a conference attended by a large number of very eminent men of Bengal in different walks of life, held on 10 November, 1905, it was decided to establish at once a National Council of Education in order to organize a system of education—literary, scientific and technical—on national lines and under national control. It was announced at the conference that besides the promised one lakh of rupees from Subodhchandra Mallik and five lakhs of rupees (to be paid in cash or in property yielding Rs, 20,000 a year), from another gentleman (Brajendrakishor Raychaudhury, a zamindar of Mymensingh), a third gentleman (whose name was not disclosed) offered two lakhs in cash and a large house with compound, while a fourth donor was likely to make an endowment of Rs. 30,000 a year.

The number of National Schools also grew apace, and in 1908 there were 25 Secondary and about 300 Primary National Schools. The Bengal Provincial Conference endorsed the idea in its annual session of 1908 and resolved to establish and maintain National Schools throughout the country.

The enthusiasm with which the two Bengals responded to the idea of national education shows the way in which the Swadeshi movement, like a mighty river, was overflowing its bed, and inundating vast stretches of country. It was no longer confined to its primary object of industrial regeneration and boycotting British goods. More important still, the movement, with its extended connotation, was no longer confined to Bengal but spread to the whole of India. This is proved by the unanimous acceptance of a resolution in its favour by the Indian National Congress in its Calcutta session of December, 1906, as will be noted later. In moving this resolution Hirendra-nath Datta very clearly explained the different aspects of the Swadeshi movement. "I have often thought'*, said he, "that Swadeshism was a goddess with more than one face like the Roman Janus who has descended in our midst for the regeneration of India and by the worship of whom we would attain to what our venerable President has called 'Swaraj \ that is, self-government. The goddess is a three-faced goddess. The one face or aspect of the goddess is political, the second face is industrial, and last, and not the least, is the educational."

V. SPREAD OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT OUTSIDE BENGAL

It was not long before the Swadeshi movement in Bengal affected other parts of India. The confidential reports of the Intelligence Branch of the Government of Bengal throw very interesting light on this point. They clearly reveal that the "Boycott-Swadeshi Movement assumed an all-India character even towards the end of 1905. The progress of the movement was reported from 23 districts in the United Provinces, 15 towns in fhe Central Provinces, 24 towns in the Bombay Presidency, 20 districts in the Punjab, and 13 districts in the Madras Presidency.

"In the Bombay Presidency the movement found its leaders in B. G. Tilak and S. M. Paranjpye, as well as in Mrs. Ketkar (Tilak's daughter) and Mrs. A. V. Joshi. An active part in propagating it was taken by Vishnu Govind Bijapurkar and Mahadev Rajaram Bodas. In the Punjab there were three prominent leaders, viz., Jopal (Jaipal?) Ram Ganga Ram, Pandit Chandrika Dutt of the Arya Samaj and Munshi Ram (later known as Swami Shraddhananda), a pleader of Jullunder and an Arya-Samajist. In the Madras Presidency Subrahmania Aiyar, P. Ananda Charlu and T. M. Nair were among the most enthusiastic advocates of the movement. At an important meeting held on December 1, 1905, with P. Ananda Charlu in the chair, Mr. Nair moved a resolution justifying Boycott as adopted by the Bengalis and characterizing it 'as a weapon of a weak nation against a strong nation.' He even cited the Irish and American examples in support of the Boycott movement.

"The movement bore special fruit in the Bombay Presidency. The tremendous increase in the demand of indigenous goods gave a great impetus to the production in the mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad which sold about 1,00,000 bales of cloth to the Calcutta merchants during August-September, 1905—a sale six months ahead." 3 As in Bengal, religious sentiments "were sought to be exploited for the propagation of the Boycott-Swadeshi movement. From Lahore and Hardwar reports came that the Pandas were refusing to accept sweetmeats made of foreign sugar. In Poona leaflets in Marathi were found pasted in public places urging men to boycott the foreign goods in the name of religion." 9 At a meeting held at Puri 100 itinerant Sadhus pledged themselves to the "propagation of the Swadeshi ideology throughout India. Besides, at a meeting held in the Puri Jagannath Temple Hall the Pandas resolved on boycotting foreign articles and on using countrymade goods." 10

The idea of national education caught the imagination of the whole of India. All-India Nationalist leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Lala Lajpat Rai propagated the idea During the period

from 1906 to 1909 national education made good progress outside Bengal, and National Schools were established in U.P., Berar, and in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, A National College was opened at Masulipatam by the Andhra National Council of Education in 1909, The Bombay Provincial Conference unanimously passed a resolution in favour of national education, and the Bombay people raised funds for the National Council of Education in Calcutta by performing charity shows. 11

VI. REPRESSIVE MEASURES BY THE GOVERNMENT

The four-fold ramifications of the Swadeshi movement—industrial, educational, cultural and political—and its spread all over India

unnerved the Government. It was not long before they realized that a local movement for removing a local grievance was being slowly t but steadily, developed into an all-India national movement against British rule. Lord Minto found it difficult to kill the hydra-headed monster let out of the basket of his predecessor, Lord Curzon. The situation was rendered worse by the freaks and pranks of Bamfylde Fuller whom Lord Curzon had appointed the Lieutenant-Governor of the newly created Province of East Bengal and Assam. Far from conciliating the Hindus of East Bengal, who were sorely aggrieved over the Partition and formed the nucleus of discontent and disaffection, Fuller alienated them by his ill-concealed favouritism to the Muslims. The Boycott and Swadeshi irritated the Government which took stern repressive measures to put them down. But these very measures more and more inflamed the people and strengthened their determination to carry on the movement in the teeth of the Government opposition. As mentioned above, there ensued an undeclared and undignified war between the people and their Government.

Government repression was not confined to picketing and educational institutions to which reference has been made above. Gradually it took a more brutal form. As Barisal took a prominent part in this agitation, Punitive police were posted at various places, and Gurkhas were imported into the town for putting down the movement. Some of their atrocities are mentioned below:

1. A house was pulled down because Bande Mataram was written on one of the posts of the house.

2. A boy of 10 or 11 years was dragged to the whipping triangle before the Collectorate Court and bound and flogged for singing Bande Mataram while sitting inside the kitchen.

3. The shop-keepers had to supply to the Gurkhas all articles without any payment.

4. Two confectioners were severely wounded for refusing to remove Swadeshi notifications on their shops.

All this was bad enough, but with the arrival of a new Magistrate, Mr. Jack, who had already attained notoriety, things took a worse turn. As soon as he assumed office, the horrors of Gurkha outrage were let loose upon the Hindus of Barisal and a veritable reign of terror set in. It was not confined to the town of Barisal but spread to villages in the interior. Two independent and impartial accounts may be quoted to give a fairly accurate idea of what actually happened.

The first is the report of the special correspondent of the Statesman of Calcutta. After making “the most diligent enquiries into the conduct of the Gurkhas” the correspondent summed up as follows the chief complaints against them:

(a) that they had paraded the bazar;

(b) that they had refused proper payment for the goods taken and in some cases assaulted the shop-keepers;

(c) that they had entered the precincts of private houses and belaboured many innocent persons, in some cases inflicting dangerous injuries;

(d) that on the night of Thursday, November 23rd, they were let loose and went through the town “like a tornado”.

The correspondent held that the evidence available was “more than sufficient to prove that the Gurkhas had much abused • their office. There were in all nearly a dozen cases for trespass and assault against the Gurkhas pending.” He further stated that “the actual evils of the Gurkha irruption have been exaggerated; but there is no denying that their presence has struck terror into the minds of the Hindu population. It is not true, as some would have us believe, that one-third of the inhabitants have fled from the town, but it is perfectly true that peaceable folk, after the affair of last Thursday week, are in mortal fear of what the Gurkhas may do should they chance to make another sortie. The people keep indoors after nightfall, many of them do not seem greatly inclined to venture out during the day.”[12]

Mr. Nevinson, the special correspondent of the Daily News of London, who visited Bengal during 1907-8 and has given an overall picture of Fuller’s regime in East Bengal, practically supports the correspondent of the Statesman. After referring to the rude treatment meted out to As win i Datta and other leaders of Barisal by Fuller, he continues:

“But Barisal’s punishment has not been exhausted. A number of respectable men have been ordered to leave the town within a fortnight, their offence being that they have taken a prominent part in the popular protest against the partition. Several companies of Gurkha Military Police have been quartered on the people, and are everywhere entering into private houses and acting after a fashion which in almost any other part of India would have resulted in dangerous rioting.” 13

But though Barisal was the worst sufferer, the Government terrorism was not confined to this district. Magistrates in other districts threatened the people that if they did not give up selling Swadeshi goods and deal in British goods, they would bring Gurkhas. A District Magistrate was so infuriated by the cry of Bande Mataram that he humiliated a number of elderly and highly respectable gentlemen by appointing them Special Constables. Numerous cases were instituted against preachers of Boycott. There were several cases of dismissal of Government employees for the alleged offence of taking part in the Swadeshi movement. In Barisal alone 66 clerks were dismissed for connection with Swadeshi. The following overall picture of Fuller’s regime given by Mr. Nevinson is by no means an exaggeration of facts:

“By a succession of orders and circulars Mr. Fuller has taken away the right of public meeting. The police are authorised to treat as criminals any student or other person who may so far forget himself as to shout “Bande Mataram” (Hail, Motherland) in the street. Under, the pretext of guarding against a breach of the peace, which was never threatened, the recalcitrant gentry of Rangpore, who refused to join in an address to Mr. Fuller, have been ordered to act as special constables, to ‘drill with belt and baton’ by the side of ordinary policemen, and to bring daily information regarding ‘disloyal movements’ in the town, To the credit of Rangpore it must be added that these gentlemen declined to obey these preposterous and humiliating orders—preposterous because they were not according to the law and humiliating because they were obviously designed to punish them for their inconvenient shows of independence—and they have been threatened with prosecution which they have cheerfully undertaken to face.” 1 -*

Sirajganj had also a fair share of the woes. An Anglo-Indian correspondent who visited the place wrote: “The Lieutenant-Governor proceeded on his journey, and on the 4th, 5th and 6th December, the Assam policemen took their stand in various quarters of the town, and beat indiscriminately with their belts every one who passed by .... In order (as one may suppose) to prevent subsequent

identification of an inconvenient kind, the local police were employed to point out various individuals prominently connected with the boycott movement, and they were thereupon promptly beaten with belts by the Assam constables. Many respectable men, who were passing along the streets, were subjected to this treatment which makes one wonder whether we are really discussing an occurrence in British India or in Russia/' 16

In order to prevent the news of the tyrannies from reaching the public the telegraph offices refused to accept press telegrams.

It is unnecessary to give more details of the veritable reign of terror inaugurated by Mr. Fuller which gained such notoriety even in U.K., that the Manchester Guardian was constrained to comment: "It is doubtful if Russia can afford a parallel to this pettyfogging tyranny". 16 But no picture of the reign of terror would be complete without a reference to the incidents connected with the Provincial Conference held at Barisal in 1906, on April 14 and 15, with Abdul Rasul, a Muslim Barrister, as President. When the delegates from Calcutta and Dacca reached Barisal by steamers on the evening of 13 April, they were confronted with an awkward situation which Surendra-nath Banerji explains as follows:

"The cry of Bande Mataram was forbidden in the streets of Barisal, and indeed of all the towns in East Bengal. We held the order to be illegal, and we had fortified ourselves with competent legal opinion". It was decided at a conference of the leading delegates on the morning of the 14th "that the delegates should meet in the compound of Raja's haveli , and march in procession to the pandal where the Provincial Conference was to be held, crying Bande Mataram as they went along. It was apprehended that the police would interfere and even use force; but it was strictly enjoined that in no circumstances were the delegates to retaliate and that they were not to carry lathis or even walking-sticks with them." The procession led by the President and his wife, an English lady, in a carriage and Surendra-nath, Moti-lal Ghosh and Bhupendra-nath Bose on foot started at 2.30 p.m. The police armed with regulation lathis were strongly in evidence, and there was an Assistant Superintendent of Police on horseback. What followed is thus described by Surendra-nath: “We were allowed to pass unmolested. It was when the younger delegates, the members of the Anti-Circular Society, emerged from the haveli into the public street that the whole programme of the police was developed, and the attack was begun. They were struck with regulation lathis (fairly thick sticks, six foot long); the Bande-Mataram badges that they wore were torn off. Some of them were badly hurt, and one of them, Chittaranjan Guha... .was thrown into a tank full of water, in which, if he had not been rescued, he would probably have found a watery grave.

“I turned back at once, followed by Babu Motilal Ghose and one or two others. As I was coming along, I met Mr. Kemp, Superintendent of Police. I said to him, ‘Why are you thrashing our men? If they have done anything, I am the person to be punished. I am responsible. Arrest me if you like.’ ‘You are my prisoner, Sir/ was the prompt reply of the Police Superintendent.” [17]

The rest of the story may be briefly told. Surendra-nath, on entering the room of the Magistrate, Mr. Emerson, was going to sit on a chair, when the Magistrate shouted out, “You are a prisoner. You cannot take your seat. You must stand.” Surendra-nath said in reply, “I have not come here to be insulted by you in your house. I expect to be treated with courtesy and consideration.” Emerson immediately drew up contempt proceedings against Surendra-nath and fined him Rs. 200 for contempt, and the same amount, again, for taking out the procession.

In the meantime the Conference continued. The young Chittaranjan, mentioned above, appeared with a bandage round his forehead and told the delegates the story of the assault upon him. He had been attacked by the Police with the regulation lathis, and thrown into a tank full of water. The assault was continued, notwithstanding his helpless condition. He offered no resistance of any kind, but shouted Bande Mataram with every stroke of the lathi . As Surendra-nath observed, “it was a supreme effort of resignation and submission to brutal force without resistance and without questioning.” The Conference met next day when Mr. Kemp entered the pandal and told the President that the Conference must disperse, unless he was prepared to give a guarantee that the delegates would not shout Bande Mataram in the streets after the Conference was over. As the President declined to give any such guarantee, Kemp read out the Magistrate’s order, and it was with great difficulty that the leaders were able to persuade the delegates to obey the order, however arbitrary the conduct of the Magistrate might be.

On his way back from Barisal to Calcutta, Surendra-nath received unique ovation at every station, and when he reached Sealdah station, Calcutta, before day-break, about ten thousand people welcomed him. The excited crowd unhorsed the carriage of Surendra-nath and drew it to the College Square where he addressed them. But this was only the beginning. The storm that broke out in Barisal raged with cyclonic fury all over Bengal. The Barisal incident was generally referred to as having no parallel in the history of British India, and it created tremendous enthusiasm for the Swadeshi movement even among those who had hitherto held aloof from it.

But far more significant was the reaction of the Barisal Conference outside Bengal. Telegrams expressing sympathy for the sufferers poured in from Lahore, Madras and Poona. There was no doubt that the “proceedings of the authorities in connection with the Barisal Conference created a sense of indignation among the educated community not only in Bengal but also outside our province.”

The Barisal Conference must ever be regarded as a memorable episode in the history of the Swadeshi movement. It served as the baptism of fire so far as any organised political body was concerned, and called forth the latent spirit of sturdy nationalism and brave defiance of autocracy and tyranny which henceforth marked every stage of Indian struggle for freedom. At long last there emerged a political cause round which the people could rally and for which they were prepared to suffer and sacrifice. The ideals of new nationalism preached by its high priests like Tilak, Arabinda, and Lajpat Rai assumed concrete shape, which may be regarded as the precursor of the Civil Disobedience Movement of Mahatma Gandhi. But there were other momentous consequences. It made the Swadeshi movement an all-India issue which had its repercussion on the Indian National Congress and the alignment of Indian political parties. The reign of terror which culminated in the police outrage on the Barisal Conference was the signal for the rise of terrorism in Bengal. What Arabinda Ghosh and other leaders of the so-called terrorist party had failed to achieve, was done for them by Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Mr. Emerson.

Lastly, these two high officials put Surendra-nath on a high pedestal. The crown of thorn which Mr. Emerson put on his head made him the uncrowned king of Bengal. He proved to be the greatest Moderate leader that the Swadeshi movement had thrown up, and for some time he enjoyed a position and popularity which no political leader enjoyed before.

The Government were now determined to curb the Press. Arabinda Ghosh, the Editor of the Bande Mataram —the chief organ of the Nationalists or Extremists—was charged with sedition, but was discharged, as there was no evidence to prove that he was the editor. Bipin-chandra Pal, whom the Government cited as a witness to prove it, refused to give evidence (as he could not truthfully deny the editorship of Arabinda) and was sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment.

Brahma-bandhab Upadhyaya, the editor of the Sandhyd y a very popular vernacular daily in Calcutta, was also prosecuted on a charge of sedition. There is no doubt that the effect of his writings was a great incitement to popular discontent, and created great disaffection against the Government. Brahma-bandhab knew this and refused to defend himself—the forerunner of what became a regular practice during the days of Gandhian Non-co-operation. He propounded the philosophy of his non-co-operation in a written statement submitted to the court which contained the following:

"I do not want to take part in the trial, because I do not believe that, in carrying out my humble share of the God-appointed mission of Swaraj, I am in any way accountable to the alien people, who happen to rule over us and whose interest is, and must necessarily be, in the v/ay of our true national development." 18

Brahma-bandhab also boasted that no foreign court would be able to punish him. Curiously enough, this proved to be only too true, for he died before the conclusion of the trial.

The editor of the Yugdntar , the organ of the revolutionary party, was also prosecuted several times, and on each occasion sentenced to imprisonment along with the printer.

The Swadeshi spirit however was not affected by these repressive measures. The Swadeshi and Boycott movements were not only maintained but considerably reinforced by several factors. One of these was the visit of notable leaders like Tilak, Khaparde, Lajpat Rai and others to Bengal, and this demonstration of all-India sympathy was a great encouragement to the Bengalis. The tours of leaders like Bipin-chandra Pal over the whole of Bengal, particularly Eastern Bengal, were also very important in keeping up the spirit. The growth of Samitis or associations and Volunteers' associations served as an important factor in carrying on the movements in spite of repressions of the Government. But, above all, the spirit of the Bengalis was kept up by a sudden literary outburst in the shape of songs, poems, dramas, and Yatras (a sort of popular drama) which bred a new spirit of nationalism and patriotism. It gave a new impetus to the patriotic sentiment of the Bengalis and sustained them in their struggle against the Government. Indeed, it would be hardly any exaggeration to say that the whole of Bengal was carried off its feet by the new enthusiasm created by Bengali literature. The influence of the press was also a significant factor. The writings of the Bande Mataram edited by Arabinda, Sandhya, edited by Brahma-bandhav Upadhyaya and Yugdntar, to which reference has been made above, practically revolutionized the political attitude of Bengal. A new national feeling was created which spurned at all obstacles in the attainment of its object. The signs of the times were such that even he who ran could easily read them. Thus we find it stated in October, 1906, in the official reports, that the Boycott movement has practically ousted the anti-Partition agitation: "It is now urged by the leaders that the removal of the partition should not affect the maintenance of the boycott, and the Swadeshi movement should continue/* According to a report of the District Magistrate of Pabna, “the Swadeshi movement has recently developed into a general movement for the self-government of India/* The official reports also admit that the apparent failure of all constitutional agitation to move the Government and bitterness caused by the anti-Swadeshi measures adopted by the Government increased the impatience of a section of people and leaders, and they quoted the following passage from the New India edited by B. C. Pal as typical of the new spirit: “If the Government stoops to Russian methods, people have no alternative but to imitate those plans and schemes of self-development which have created an impassivity in Russia. They can organize strikes and by mere passiveness bring the administration to a standstill**. This gradual development of Swadeshi and its influence upon the politics of the country will be dealt with in a separate section. But before turning to it we must describe in some detail the attitude of the Muslims towards the Partition, Boycott and Swadeshi, as it had a very important bearing on the subsequent political development.

VII. HINDU-MUSLIM RIOTS

At the early stages of the anti-Partition movement it was supported by the Muslims of East Bengal. Even the Nawab of Dacca was at first disposed to stand by the Hindu Zamindars, and many prominent Muslim leaders were enthusiastic supporters of the Swadeshi movement. A large number of Muslims took part in the Swadeshi meetings from the very beginning. Even in mofussil areas, particularly Barisal, the Muslim masses joined the Swadeshi movement and were inspired by the folk-songs composed for the purpose. They joined Bande Mataram processions, carried Bande Mataram flags, and attended public meetings addressed by Hindu leaders. The mingled shouts of Alla-ho-Akbar and Bande Mataram by both Hindus and Muslims formed a characteristic feature of these meetings and processions.

But this is only one side of the picture. A section of Muslims supported the Partition scheme from the very beginning. The Government was very eager to enlist the support of the Muslims against the Hindus. The policy was initiated by Lord Curzon when he visited East Bengal in February, 1904, and induced Nawab Salimullah of Dacca to declare himself in favour of the Partition. Though there were a few members of the Nawab family of Dacca who opposed the Partition and joined the Swadeshi movement, Nawab Salimullah became the leader of Muhammadan opposition to the anti-Partition and Boycott movement in East Bengal and Assam, and actively helped the Government in fighting the Swadeshi movement in the new Province. In return for these political and public services the Government of India granted a loan of fourteen lakhs of rupees to the Nawab at a very low rate of interest.

But it was not the British Government alone that was responsible for the change in the Muslim attitude. Reference has been made above to the anti-Hindu policy inaugurated by Sir Syed Ahmad at Aligarh. It culminated in the foundation in Dacca on the last day of December, 1906, of the Muslim League which became the centre of an organized opposition on the part of the Muslims to the Hindus.

As days passed by, the Musalmans took a more and more hostile attitude towards the Hindus and the Swadeshi movement sponsored by them. This attitude, deliberately encouraged under the leadership of the Nawab of Dacca, and connived at, if not instigated by British officials, culminated in a series of outbreaks in East Bengal. There were a number of communal riots, the most serious of which were those at Comilla and Jamalpur. The depth of infamy to which the Muslim propaganda descended is best exemplified by the notorious document, known as Lai lshtahar } or Red Pamphlet, which was the most virulent anti-Hindu proclamation.

How inflammatory the teachings of the pamphlet were, would appear from the following extracts:—

4 'The Hindus, by various stratagems, are relieving the Mahomedans of nearly the whole of the money earned by them."

"Among the causes of the degradation of Mahomedans is their association with the Hindus."

"Among the means to be adopted for the amelioration of Mahomedans, is boycotting Hindus."

“Ye Musalmans arise, awake! Do not read in the same schools with Hindus. Do not buy anything from a Hindu shop. Do not touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands. Do not give any employment to a Hindu. Do not accept any degrading office under a Hindu. You are ignorant, but if you acquire knowledge you can at once send all Hindus to Jehannum (hell). You form the majority of the population of this Province. Among the cultivators

also you form the majority. It is agriculture that is the source of wealth. The Hindu has no wealth of his own and has made himself rich only by despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened, then the Hindus will starve and soon become Mahomedans.”

“Hindus are very selfish. As the progress of Mahomedans is inimical to the self-aggrandisement of Hindus, the latter will always oppose Mahomedan progress for their selfish ends.”

“Be united in boycotting Hindus. What dire mischief have they not done to us? They have robbed us of honour and wealth. They have deprived us of our daily bread. And now they are going to deprive us of our very life.”

The disturbances at Comilla broke out on the 4th of March, 1907, and continued for about 4 days. They synchronized with the visit of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca to Comilla town to put fresh vigour into the anti - Sivadeshi agitation. When the Nawab was being taken in a procession through the public streets, there occurred a case of assault on Hindus and looting of Hindu, particularly Hindu Swadeshi , shops. These incidents were a signal for a general outbreak of hooliganism involving assault, looting, destruction of properties and arson. Hie most notable feature was the indifference and callousness of the local officials and the police. In spite of all these the Government officials were full of praise for the Muhammadans for their self-restraint. The Comilla riot was followed by various other outbreaks of a similar nature, though of less intensity. Considerable bodies of Muhammadans armed with lathis mustered from time to time and molested the Hindus. As a result there was widespread panic among the Hindu minority population in East Bengal and a growing estrangement of the relations • between the two communities. The most serious outbreak took place at Jamalpur in the District of Mymensingh. In addition to grave disturbances in the town created by the Muslims, in the course of which an image of goddess Durga was destroyed and hundreds of Hindus—men and women—had to take shelter in a temple throughout the night, the riot spread to outside areas. There were indiscriminate looting and molestation of Hindus in a large number of localities. We find the following in the confidential reports of the police: “The rough and turbulent Mohammedan population of the North-Western Than as, lined between the Jamuna river and the Garo Hills, were instigated by the prevailing excitement to the belief that they had an opportunity of looting with impunity. The accounts which have appeared in the Calcutta Press are exaggerated, but it is unfortunately certain that a certain number of villages and huts were the subject of looting and, in some 5hses, of incendiarism, and further that the greatest panic and alarm prevailed among the respectable classes.” These communal riots came to be almost a normal feature in some parts of Eastern Bengal.

The following observations by H. W. Nevinson, who visited India about this time as correspondent of the Manchester Guardian and other British papers, may be taken as a fair and accurate general description of the riots: “In Comilla, Jamalpur, and a few other places, rather serious riots occurred. A few lives were lost, temples desecrated, images broken, shops plundered, and many Hindu widows carried off. Some of the towns were deserted, the Hindu population took refuge in any ‘pukka* house (i.e. house with brick or stone walls), women spent nights hidden in tanks, the crime known as ‘group-rape* increased, and throughout the country districts there reigned a general terror, which still prevailed at the time of my visit. Thus a new religious feud was established in Eastern Bengal, and when Mr. Morley said in the Commons that the disturbance was due to the refusal of Hindus to sell British goods to Mohammedans, it was a grotesque instance of the power that officials have cf misleading their chief.** 19

A careful perusal of all available evidence, including the official papers, hardly leaves any doubt that the Local Government haa a great share in fomenting this Muslim frenzy against the Hindus. It is certainly a very serious accusation against any civilized Government that they deliberately set up one class of their subjects against another in order to achieve their own selfish ends. No one should lightly bring in such a charge.

Unfortunately, authentic facts unerringly lead to such a conclusion. But what is even worse is that even high European officials could hardly conceal the delight which they derived from the reports of these disturbances. Sir Herbert Risley commented on the Jamalpur incident: “If the volunteers did get hammered they have themselves to thank.**

Nevinson entirely supports the view that the Government must take the principal share of blame for the unfortunate riots that took place in various parts of Eastern Bengal. As he is an impartial observer and is not likely to be prejudiced against his own countrymen, no apology is needed for making extensive quotation from his book:

“Owing to these pleasant qualities ... I have almost invariably found English officers and officials on the side of the Mohammedans where there is any rivalry of race or religion at all. And in Eastern Bengal this national inclination is now

encouraged by the Government’s open resolve to retain the Mohammedan support of the Partition by any means in its power. It was against the Hindus only that all the petty persecution of officialdom was directed. It was they who were excluded from Government posts; it was Hindu schools from which Government patronage was withdrawn. When Mohammedans rioted, the punitive police ransacked Hindu houses and companies of little Gurkhas were quartered on Hindu populations. It was the Hindus who in one place were forbidden to sit on the river bank. Of course, the plea was that only the Hindus were opposed to the Government’s policy of dividing them from the rest of their race, so that they alone needed suppression.” 20

Nevinson further observed: “Priestly Mullahs went through the country preaching the revival of Islam and proclaiming to the villagers that the British Government was on the Mohammedan side, that the Law Courts had been specially suspended for three months, and no penalty would be exacted for violence done to Hindus, or for the loot of Hindu shops, or the abduction of Hindu widows. A Red Pamphlet was everywhere circulated, maintaining the same wild doctrines. It was seen that a large proportion of Government posts were set aside for Mohammedans, and some were even kept vacant because there was no Mohammedan qualified to fill them. Sir Bampfylde Fuller said in jest that of his two wives (meaning the Moslem and Hindu sections of his province) the Mohammedan was the favourite. The jest was taken in earnest and the Mussalmans genuinely believed that the British authorities were ready to forgive them all excesses.” 21

C. J. O’Donnell, M.P., shows from judicial proceedings that these Muslim riots were engineered, and the Musalmans were led to believe by public proclamation that they would not be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus. He also refers to a number of trials which show how English judges were biased against the Hindus. In one case the High Court observed:—

“The method of the learned judge in dealing with the testimony of the witnesses by dividing them into two classes—Hindus and Musalmans—and accepting the evidence of one class and rejecting that of the other is open to severe criticism.” 22

Referring to the Muslim outrages, the special correspondent of the Statesman significantly remarked that “a mysterious influence seems to have been at work here as elsewhere.”

There, is, however, no real mystery. It is painful to record, but difficult if not impossible to avoid the conclusion, that the British Government in India descended far below the average ideal and

standard of a modern civilized Government in deliberately setting one community against another, with the full knowledge that it would lead to riots, bloodshed, plunder and raping, if not something worse, on a large scale, and all this in a country which it was supposed to protect by holding the balance equally between the different communities.

It was perhaps more in sorrow than in anger that C. J. O’Donnell, M.P., sorely aggrieved at the open partisanship of the British officials towards the Muslims during the Swadeshi movement, put the question straight in the House of Commons: “May I ask since when has it become a part of the policy of the British people to sub-divide our possessions according to the religious tenets of their inhabitants?” 23

VIII. WIDER ASPECTS OF BOYCOTT AND SWADESHI

MOVEMENT

1. Boycott

The twin ideas of Swadeshi and Boycott—the first spontaneous fruits of the great upsurge of outraged popular feelings in 1905— were largely supplementary, as one could not succeed without the other. The boycott of foreign goods required that their supply should be met by those produced in the country. The Swadeshi or promotion of indigenous industry could not succeed when Indian industry was at its nascent stage, unless people deliberately eschewed foreign and purchased native goods even at a pecuniary loss and sacrifice of comfort.

But though the two ideas were organically connected there can be hardly any doubt that it was the idea of Boycott which first animated the people, and that of Swadeshi came later in its train. In view of the attitude of the Moderate party, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that it was Boycott which led to Swadeshi and not vice versa. This is quite clear from the speeches and writings of the period. Reference may be made to the speech of Surendranath when he moved the resolution on the Partition of Bengal in the open session of the Congress at Varanasi (Banaras) in 1905. He not only admitted but stressed the fact that when the Bengalis found that all their protests, petitions and prayers were in vain and theirs was a voice crying in the wilderness, they were driven, in utter desperation, as a last resort, to the adoption of the Boycott. The Bengalis were driven to the adoption of this policy of passive resistance which constituted a memorable departure from the usual political programme of the country.

A section of the Moderate school of political thought was, however, definitely against the idea of boycott of foreign goods,

though it welcomed Swadeshi to which it gave birth. In the first place, they ignored the historic origin of this Boycott. Even Gokhale felt sure that “most of those who spoke of the Boycott mean by it only the use, as far as possible, of Swadeshi articles in preference to foreign articles.” Certainly the Bengalis, with whom the idea originated, could not subscribe to this view, for they looked upon Boycott as a sort of passive resistance, as Surendra-nath put it. Gokhale argued that ‘Boycott has a sinister meaning—

it implies a vindictive desire to injure another.' 24 Gokhale therefore recommended that "we would do well to use only the expression Swadeshi to describe our present movement, leaving alone the word 'Boycott' which created unnecessary ill-will against ourselves." This typical Moderate attitude ignored the great historical fact that the Bengalis adopted the Boycott as a deliberate means to injure British interests. It would be highly improper to call it vindictive, because it was the only weapon left to the Bengalis to redress the great injury done by the British. Nor is it easy to understand why anyone should regard it as sinister. It was a weapon openly wielded to achieve a definite result,—and other nations adopted it in similar circumstances, e.g. the Americans, the Irish and the Chinese. 26 Gokhale backed up his view by the argument that as a strict boycott of foreign goods was not at all practicable in the then industrial condition, we would only make ourselves ridiculous by talking of a resolution which we could not enforce. But the success of a movement is not to be judged by the test whether it achieved all that it urged; the real test and measure of its success is the value of what it did achieve.

The agitation following the Partition of Bengal brought into prominence the great value of Passive Resistance as a more effective weapon than petition-making, hitherto the only method of political agitation known to the country and sanctified by the Indian National Congress. This would have been a great achievement by itself as subsequent events showed the great potency of Passive Resistance under the guidance of a leader like Mahatma Gandhi. But the Partition agitation did much more than this. It awakened into activity the dormant political consciousness of the people at large and gave a new and definite shape to the spirit of nationalism which had been gathering strength for some time past, but had not yet assumed any clearly recognized form and emerged as a force to reckon with in Indian politics. A great national impulse suddenly brought to the fore what was hitherto hidden and latent, and gave cohesion and vitality to vague and scattered forces. The giant was asleep, and nothing but a rude and violent shake could awaken him. The Partition gave that shock to Bengal and the whole political life of Bengal was revolutionized, almost overnight.

“There are moments in the life of an individual as well as of a nation when he is overwhelmed by an emotion and is guided by an instinct which leads him he knows not whither, the goal and direction being determined by his innate character. At such a moment reason halts, judgement is suspended, only a great impulse moves the nation and carries everything before it. Bengal, in 190507, was passing through such a moment. It had no precedent and was strange to Indian politics. The Bengalis left the beaten track followed by the Congress, conceived new ideals, adopted new methods for their achievement, shed all fears, gave lie to their proverbial lack of physical courage, were ready for all sacrifice, braved all sufferings, and fearlessly faced death.” 26 How was this transformation possible? The reply was given by a nationalist writer, J. L. Banerji: “The Partition made us conscious that we had a national life which was susceptible to wound and capable of expansion. Once consciousness had been awakened, the rest of the process was simple, nay it was inevitable; for with consciousness came strength; came desire to realise that new life to which we had awakened at last; desire led to action and action multiplied our new-born strength. Thus the seed which had been sown in darkness rnd matured in silence, burst all at once into the broad light of day and began to shoot and sprout and bourgeon with wondrous vigour and rapidity.” 263

2. Swadeshi

Although Swadeshi was originally conceived as merely a handmaid of boycott of foreign goods, and meant only to be an urge to use indigenous in preference to foreign goods, it soon attained a much more comprehensive character and became a concrete symbol of nationalism.

The gradual growth of this conception can be traced everywhere in India and among all schools of political thought. This may be illustrated by quoting the views of four great eminent leaders expressed at the time. Surendra-nath Banerji traced the historic growth of this idea in a speech delivered in December, 1906. “Swadeshism”, he said, “. . .was, until its more recent developments, a purely economic movement which, in the particular circumstances of our province, received an impetus from political considerations.

.. I have heard the Swadeshi movement described as being in the domain of economics what the Congress is in the domain of politics. I venture to think it is a good deal more than that. It is not merely an economic or a social or a political movement, but

it is an all-comprehensive movement co-extensive with the entire circle of our national life, one in which are centred the many-sided activities of our growing community.” [27]

But it was not the sentimental Bengalis alone who entertained this conception of Swadeshi; Gokhale, the prince of Moderates and belonging to the race of cool-headed, unemotional Marathas, observed in 1907:

“I have said more than once, but I think the idea bears repetition, that Swadeshism at its highest is not merely an industrial movement but that it affects the whole life of the nation—that Swadeshism at its highest is a deep, passionate, fervent, all-embracing love of the motherland, and that this love seeks to show itself, not in one sphere of activity only, but in all; it involves the whole man and it will not rest until it has raised the whole man. My own personal conviction is that in this movement we shall ultimately find the true salvation of India.” [28]

M. K. Gandhi, then unknown to name and fame, wrote in 1903 that “the real awakening (of India) took place after the Partition of Bengal”, and was also shrewd enough to prophesy that “that day may be considered to be the day of the partition of the British Empire.” He also realized the wider significance of the agitation for the repeal of the Partition and observed: “The demand for the abrogation of the partition is tantamount to a demand for Home

Rule.As time passes, the Nation is being forged... .Hitherto

we have considered that for redress of grievances we must approach the throne, and if we get no redress we must sit still, except that we may still petition. After the Partition, people saw that petitions must be backed up by force, and that they must be capable of suffering. This new spirit must be considered to be the chief result of the Partition.” He explained the new characteristics of the spirit, viz., the shedding of fear for the British or for imprisonment, and the inauguration of the Swadeshi movement. "That spirit" said he, "was seen in the outspoken writings in the Press. That which the people said tremblingly and in secret began to be said and to be written publicly.... People, young and old, used to run away at the sight of an English face; it now no longer awes them. They do not fear even a row, or being imprisoned_This is some

thing different from mere petitioning." Gandhi further said: "The spirit generated in Bengal has spread in the north to the Punjab and in the south to Cape Comorin". 29

Similar views were expressed in an article entitled "The Swadeshi Movement—A natural development" by G. Subramania Iyer, the eminent leader of Madras. It may be summed up as follows:

"As the Congress is the expression of the revolt of the Indian people against their present political condition, so is the Swadeshi movement a revolt against their state of dependence in regard to their industrial condition, in fact, against it in all branches of their national life....

"The Swadeshi movement, while directly striving for liberation from industrial dependence, recognises it only as a means to a great national end, to an all-comprehensive programme of reform and reconstruction in the modern life of the people of India. Need we say that the Swadeshi movement has come to stay and grow from place to place and dimension to dimension? Its full force and significance are evident in the wonderful progress it has made, not in Bengal alone, nor in any single province, but throughout the country, bringing into play unsuspected fresh energies and opening up fresh prospects of national expansion and prosperity. The tide is not of the same force or height everywhere; but its sweep touches the extremities as well as the heart of the nation.. . .

"The Congress has inspired the educated classes with the lofty sentiment of patriotism and of devotion to the elevation of their motherland; but in the minds of the great masses it is the Swadeshi movement that is planting the seeds of National self-consciousness. It is teaching them to reflect on their present condition, on their common grievances, and on the common remedy of union and selfsacrifice.” 30

There can be hardly any doubt that the four great leaders from Bengal, Bombay, Gujarat and Madras correctly represented the views permeating the educated classes of all shades of public opinion in India. The Nationalist school of thought received further inspiration from the Boycott movement as explained by J. L. Banerji. 31 Even foreign writers were struck with the wider dimensions that the Swadeshi movement had gradually assumed. Valentine Chirol remarked: “The question of Partition itself receded into the background, and the issue, until then successfully veiled and now openly raised, was not whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure in Bengal or, for the matter of that, anywhere in India.” 32 Will Durant also remarked, with rare insight: “It was in 1905, then, that the Indian Revolution began”. 32 ®

No less significant was the effect of the Swadeshi movement on Indian politics as a whole. In Bengal it brought into the vortex of politics a class of people—the landed aristocracy—who had hitherto held studiously aloof from the Congress or any other political

organization. Outside Bengal, it gave a rude shock of disillusionment to the whole of India and stimulated the political thoughts of the people. The different provinces were brought closer together in this hour of adversity which the rest of India shared with Bengal. The events in Bengal even shook the complacency of the great political leaders and made them, at least for the time being, waver in their long-cherished faith and belief in the clemency and justice of the British. This was frankly expressed by Gokhale, the prince of Moderates, in his Presidential speech in the Congress Session at Banaras in 1905. “A cruel wrong”, said he, “has been inflicted on our Bengalee brethren, and the whole country has been stirred to its deepest depths in sorrow and resentment, as has never

been the case before. The scheme of Partition.will always

stand as a complete illustration of the worst features of the present system of bureaucratic rule—its utter contempt for public opinion, its arrogant pretensions to superior wisdom, its reckless disregard of the most cherished feelings of the people, the mockery of an appeal to its sense of justice, its cool preference of Service interest to those of the governed.” Then, referring to the prominent persons who stood foremost among the opponents of the scheme of Partition, he made special mention of such men as Sir Jatindra-mohan Tagore. Sir Guru-das Banerjee, Raja Peary-mohan Mukherjee. Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, and the Maharajas of Mymensingh and Cossimbazar, “men who keep themselves aloof from ordinary political agitation and never say a word calculated in any way to embarrass the authorities, and who come forward to oppose publicly the Partition project only from an overpowering sense of the necessity of their doing what they could to avert a dreaded calamity. If the opinions of even such men are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle; if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own country, then all I can say is: Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interest of the people. 33 I can conceive of no graver indictment of British rule than that such a state of things shall be possible after a hundred years of that rule.”

That Bengal's heroic fight made a deep impress upon Indian politics and changed its character was acknowledged by Gokhale in the following eloquent words: “The tremendous upheaval of popular feeling which has taken place in Bengal in consequence of the Partition, will constitute a landmark in the history of our national progress. For the first time since British rule began all sections of the Indian community, without distinction of caste or creed, have been moved, by a common impulse and without the stimulus of external pressure, to act together in offering resistance to a common wrong. A wave of true national consciousness has swept over the Province and, at its touch, old barriers have, for the time at any rate, been thrown down, personal jealousies have vanished, other controversies have been hushed! Bengal’s heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India, and her sufferings have not been endured in vain, when they have helped to draw closer all parts of the country in sympathy and in aspiration. A great rush and uprising of the waters such as has been recently witnessed in Bengal cannot take place without a little inundation over the banks here and there. Those little excesses are inevitable when large masses of men move spontaneously—especially when the movement is from darkness into light, from bondage towards freedom, and they must not be allowed to disconcert us too much. The most astounding fact of the situation is that the public life of this country has received an accession of strength of great importance, and for this all India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal."

Lala Lajpat Rai also echoed the same sentiment on the same occasion. "We are", he said, "perfectly justified in ... trying to obtain freedom. I think the people of Bengal ought to be congratulated on being leaders of that march in the van of progress.... And if the people of India will just learn that lesson from the people of Bengal I think that the struggle is not hopeless."

One particular aspect of the Swadeshi movement which M. K. Gandhi prized above everything else should be specially emphasized. It taught the people to challenge and defy the authority of the Government openly in public and took away from the minds of even ordinary men the dread of police assault and prison as well as the sense of ignominy which hitherto attached to them. To go to prison or get lathi-blows from the police became a badge of honour, and not, as hitherto, a brand of infamy.

Even still more important than the people's readiness to suffer was the public sympathy, openly displayed for the sufferers in the cause of the country. Several public meetings were held to honour the political sufferers.

3. The National Movement

The silent transformation of the Swadeshi movement into a great national movement, which later merged itself into the successful struggle for freedom, constituted the first great landmark in the history of India's fight for freedom in the first half of the twentieth century. The slow but steady progress of thte great movement will be described in its proper place. But before doing so it is necessary to trace the causes of this transformation.

The genesis of nationalism and its further development in the hands of a new class of leaders like Tilak, Arabinda, Lajpat Rai and B. C. Pal have been discussed above. 34 Nationalism and Swadeshi movement acted and reacted upon each other, and each influenced and widened the scope of the other. It may be safely asserted that but for the newly awakened sense of nationalism the Boycott or Swadeshi could never have developed into a powerful movement. But it would, perhaps, be equally difficult to deny that it was the Swadeshi movement which brought nationalism from a realm of theory and sentiment into the field of practical politics which leavened the life of India as a whole. In revolution men live fast, and move in ten years over a distance which they would have taken a century or more to cover in normal times. This miracle was achieved by the Swadeshi movement. India marched a longer distance towards its goal in the decade between 1906 and 1916 than it did during the century between 1805 and 1905.

The Swadeshi movement gave a great impetus to nationalism through the nationalist cum patriotic literature which it brought into being. The literary talents of Arabinda Ghosh blazed forth day after day in his articles in the Bande Mataram. He not only expounded the religious and philosophical basis of nationalism, as mentioned above, but also presented it as a sublime sentiment in human life. “Love has a place in politics’*, said he, “but it is the love of one’s country.The feeling of almost physical delight in the touch of the mother-soil.music, poetry, habits,

dress, manners of our Indian life,—this is the physical root of that love. The pride in our past, the pain of our present, the passion for the future are its trunk and branches, self-sacrifice and selfforgetfulness, great service, high endurance for the country are its fruit. And the sap x which keeps it alive is the realization of the Motherhood of God in the country, the vision of the Mother, the perpetual contemplation, adoration and service of the Mother.”

If Arabinda was the high priest, Rabindra-nath was the great poet (charana) of the Swadeshi movement. What Arabinda achieved in the realm of thought by his fearless writings, Rabindra-nath conveyed to the masses by his songs, incomparable in diction and inimitable in the melody of its tune.

No less remarkable^ though perhaps less effective as a mass propaganda, were some of the poems of Rabindra-nath, equally instinct with patriotism and national consciousness and clothed in words of inimitable beauty. They are, however, more varied in character. The idea which inspired Bankim-chandra to write the Bande Mataram hymn, was expressed through charming poems and songs by Rabindra-nath. But Rabindra-nath did a great deal more. He sang the glories of ancient India and its culture and held vividly before the people the portraits of Shivaji and Guru Govinda as nation-builders, and of Banda as a symbol of the stoic heroism and spirit of sacrifice displayed by the Sikhs. Many of his ballads touch upon the patriotism, chivalry and heroism of the Rajputs, and the struggle of the Marathas and Sikhs for freedom. How profoundly they stirred the blood of the young Bengalis in the hectic days of the Swadeshi and prepared them for the great struggle that lay ahead—no words can adequately convey. But Arabinda and Rabindra-nath proved that ‘the pen is mightier than the sword*. For to them is mainly due the credit for the fact that the mighty British power failed to subdue the national spirit of the Bengalis. It is, however, only fair to mention that the work of both Rabindranath and Arabinda was ably supplemented by a number of other poets and writers. Every type of literature—drama, history, novel, essay—was used to create and foster genuine national feelings.

It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole atmosphere of Bengal was surcharged with a new literary current which galvanized the whole country. It gave a new meaning to Swadeshi and a formidable impetus to the newly awakened national consciousness of the people. Indeed it may be said without hesitation that such a powerful impact of a great popular movement on contemporary literature—and vice versa—is unprecedented in the annals of India, and nothing like this was seen even when the Civil Disobedience movement initiated by Mahatma Gandhi reached its highest point. Much of this literature has become a permanent asset and will remain a standing testimony to the new spirit that convulsed Bengal from one end to the other.

In conclusion, reference may be made to a remarkable pronouncement by a foreigner on the part that Swadeshi movement of Bengal played in transforming the nationalism of India and making it richer and more comprehensive. Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, who later became the Prime Minister of Britain, wrote in the Daily Chronicle:

"The Bengalee inspires the Indian Nationalist movement.. .but Bengal is perhaps doing better than political agitation. It is idealising India. It is translating nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature.... .From Bengal gush innumerable freshets of religion, all flowing to revive and invigorate the Nationalist spirit. A literary revival makes for the same end...

"That is what Bengal is doing for the National movement. It is creating India by song and worship, it is clothing her in queenly garments. Its politics must be for some time an uncertain mingling of extremist impossibilism and moderate opportunism. It is romantic, whilst the Punjab is dogmatic... .Bengal will brood for long over the bereavement to its heart caused by the Partition; it will cling fondly to Swadeshi; on the shores of its enthusiasm it will throw up the bomb-thrower as a troubled sea throws up foam; and from this surging of prayer and song and political strife will come India if India ever does come." 36

IX. SPLIT BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS

The agitation following the Partition of Bengal brought into prominence the rise of a new political party which differed in some essential points from that which had hitherto dominated the Indian National Congress. This new party was really the product of the new spirit of nationalism and widely differed from the old Congress on many essential points to which reference has been made above. 36 But hitherto it did not make any headway or create any stir in the public life of India. The spirit of opposition which was evinced by the Bengalis since 1904 with regard to the Partition of their country gave a fillip to the new political party, and since then it became a great rival to the old one, and ultimately supplanted it. These two parties were known, respectively, as Moderates and Extremists, and it is better to retain the use of these terms to indicate the two main political parties, representing two distinct schools of thought, though, for reasons as will appear later, these terms are neither happy nor very accurate.

The transformation of a Moderate into an Extremist, due to the agitation against Partition, is best illustrated by the example of Bipin-chandra Pal. He did not share the nationalist or antiCongress views of Arabinda Ghosh and B. G. Tilak expressed during the last decade of the nineteenth century. 36a Even in 1902 he echoed the views of the old Congress leaders, such as unquestioning loyalty to the British as their rule in India was a divine dispensation, and robust faith in British liberalism and sense of justice which would give India her rightful place in the British empire as soon as she was fit for it. But all these illusions—as he called them later—were dispelled by Curzon's action. Henceforth B. C. Pal fell in line with the nationalist leaders and became a pillar of the Extremist party. Referring to this great change B. C. Pal observed in 1907, that "it was Curzon and his Partition plan involving as they did total disregard of the popular will, that had destroyed our old illusion about British India." 37

The political changes and transformations through which Bipinchandra Pal himself passed were typical of what was taking place all over India, and brought into sharp relief the two political parties labelled as Moderates and Extremists. For reasons which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, these two parties gradually drifted apart owing to new developments in the Swadeshi movement. In particular, the Moderates could not reconcile themselves to the boycott of foreign goods and the existing educational institutions. It is singular that even the Moderates of Bengal did not throw their whole weight in favour of the Boycott resolution in the Banaras Session of the Congress (1905). 38

As the Swadeshi movement outstripped its original limitation and became an all-India movement, so the Extremist Party of Bengal became an all-India Party under the leadership of Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Khaparde, B. C. Pal and Arabinda Ghosh. This was an accomplished fact before the end of 1906, and the new alignment in Indian politics was the most striking feature in the Congress Session held in Calcutta in December of that year.

The difference between the Moderates and the Extremists was accentuated by the return of the Liberal Party to power in Britain at the close of 1905.

The autocratic regime of Lord Curzon, which set public opinion at naught, was a great blow to the Moderate Party's cherished ideals, and seemed to blast the hope of the people in general of receiving any justice from the British. The liberal traditions of the new British Government, and specially the appointment of John Morley as Secretary of State for India, revived the hope that the Indians might still achieve a great deal by following the old policy of petition and agitation. On the other hand, the emergence of the Extremist Party alarmed the British and made them turn towards the Moderates as the only friend of the British Government. Hence grew the British policy of rallying the Moderates. These were coaxed into the belief that the Liberal Party, which was then in power in Britain, would grant India a substantial instalment of reforms. But it soon became clear that the condition precedent to it was the dissociation of the Moderate Party from the Extremists. The lure of achieving their qherished goal through constitutional means* on which they had hitherto pinned their faith, made the Moderates swallow even this bitter pill, and in 1907 the Extremists were forced to leave the Congress on some vital issues arising out of the Swadeshi movement.

X. MILITANT NATIONALISM

The growth of revolutionary spirit acting through secret societies has been mentioned above. 39 But it was not till the great upheaval in Bengal caused by the partition of that Province that these societies developed a well-knit organization which gradually spread all over India. The Bengalis at first hoped that they would be able to annul the Partition by the Swadeshi and Boycott movement. But it gradually dawned upon a section of the educated young men that these means were insufficient to achieve the desired end, and more violent means were necessary to gain their object. They had not the means to organize an open armed rebellion against the mighty British power, and so they naturally fell back upon the secret societies as the only way to make preparation for sporadic violence leading ultimately to a wide-spread revolt. Since they decided to play for high stakes 4;heir objective was no longer the reversal of Partition but extended to the attainment of independence.

It should be clearly understood, however, that the so-called terrorist activities were neither sudden and isolated reactions against any specific measure of the Government, nor designed simply as a remedy against any particular grievance. The overt acts of secret societies were the outward manifestations of a determined and violent resistance to the British with a deliberate view to overthrowing their rule in India. Underground societies existed before the plague-incidents in Bombay and the partition of Bengal. No doubt their activities were stimulated by these specific incidents, and gathered momentum from them, but they did not owe their origin to any such incident. The real genesis of these secret societies is to be traced back to the growth of new nationalism described above, and is merely a further development of the same spirit in an extreme form. Save in methods of operation, it is hard to distinguish the terrorists from the true nationalists of the new school. The essential and fundamental ideas were the same in the two cases, but while the nationalists relied mainly on passive resistance or other forms of self-assertion on an organized basis, the extreme left school had no faith in these methods and activities, and regarded armed resistance as the only feasible way of destroying British power. But as the immediate or open organization of such resistance was not practicable, they had to prepare the ground by secret societies. For these reasons, this new cult of violence, forming the left wing of the new nationalism, may be termed militant nationalism.

Since militant nationalism, as an organized and sustained movement, had its origin in Bengal, it is necessary to trace in detail the different stages of its growth and the forces underlying its development. As noted above, the secret societies in Bengal, at the beginning, had concentrated their attention upon drill, gymnastic, riding, boxing, lathi play and similar exercises. But gradually they took to terrorist activities with fire-arms and bombs, due mainly to the

influence exercised by the examples of Italy, Russia and Ireland. One important consideration specially appealed to the young men of Bengal. There was a general feeling among the Indians that Bengalis were an inoffensive and peaceful people, unused to, and incapable of, physical exertion, so much so that they were often branded as cowards. The youth of Bengal was determined to remove this stigma by acts of daring and heroic sacrifice. There was, also, another important consideration. It was felt that a rude shock was necessary to awaken the dormant manhood in India whose vitality was sapped by the Indian National Congress.

In order to understand properly and assess rightly the activities of this militant group of young men, which will be described in Chapter VIII, it is necessary to form an idea of the high principles which actuated them. Apart from intense patriotism and the spirit of sacrifice which formed the basis of new nationalism, they felt the call of a higher life as expounded by SvamI Vivekananda on the basis of the Vedanta. A firm faith in the immortal soul within led them to shed the fear of death and bodily pain. The religious attitude which made them realize God in the nation, i.e., in their fellow-countrymen, prepared them to sacrifice everything at the altar of the motherland. Guided by this spirit of making supreme sacrifice for the sake of the country, they approached their task with a spiritual faith and cheerfully embraced death. There is sufficient evidence to show that the following idealized picture of a patriot was literally true in numerous cases. “The patriot, when the call to self-immolation comes, rejoices and says: ‘The hour of my consecration has come, and I have to thank God now that the time for laying myself on His altar has arrived and that I have been chosen to suffer for the good of my countrymen. This is the hour of my greatest joy and the fulfilment of my life/*

That this philosophy, based principally on the teachings of Vivekananda and old texts like the Gita, profoundly influenced the young men are amply proved not only by their constant use of these books but also by the autobiographies and memoranda of quite a large number of them. It is proved by official reports that the Gita and the works of Vivekananda were very much in use by the “terrorists” and many copies of them were seized by the police in the course of their searches.

A more concrete and positive evidence of the philosophy and mental attitude which fostered militant nationalism in Bengal is furnished by the famous novel of Bankim-chandra entitled Ananda math. The great novelist, by his magic wand, held up before their eyes a band of patriotic sannyasins who had left their hearth and home, knew no other God than their motherland, and were prepared to sacrifice everything at her altar. Many young Bengalis literally left their hearth and home and joined the secret societies in the spirit of the sannyasins of Anandamath.

They were not, however, to depend for long on the works of Vivekananda and Bankim-chandra alone. The new spirit during the Swadeshi movement found a fuller expression in contemporary literature. As mentioned above, the Swadeshi movement opened a new era in Bengali literature and the militant nationalism inspired songs and poems which became extremely popular. Though perhaps not always intended by the author, many of these struck the keynote of the spirit which created and sustained the "terrorist" movement.

The most obvious argument against "terrorism" is its very slender chance of success. The attitude of the "terrorist" towards this is reflected in the following song:

"With clanking chain round Mother's neck,

Will he stop to think If he be strong or weak?"

The opening lines of a few other poems are quoted below:

First, there is the call for sacrifice.

1. "Come all who'll mind not danger.

Death, oppression, fate or thunder,

Who, looking steadfast on Mother's face,

Long, broken to bits, to die."

2. "Battered and sinking in sea, my boat I ply,—

Come all to-day who'd meet their death with me".

Then comes the response:

1. Devoted, valiant, we fear not to shed our own or

other’s blood'

In pride we hold our heads high,

And bend them low to Mother’s feet alone.”

When five Bengali youths fell fighting with the British force on the banks of the Buribalam in Balasore District, many recited a stanza from the famous poem of Rabindra-nath on the Sikhs with the alteration of the name of the river.

“So ? on the banks of the Buribalam, streams of blood gushed out of the bodies of devotees. Like birds flying back to their nests souls rusned out of their bodies to go to their own abode.”

The Bengali poems and songs serve to demostrate, beyond any doubt, that the militant nationalism—the so-called terrorism—was

not the wild pranks of a few misguided youths, but the result of a great national awakening which deeply touched the people at large. We know of epochs in Indian history when men of all classes left their hearth and home to seek spiritual salvation. Here we find the same phenomenon in Bengal; only political salvation is substituted for spiritual. Like the wandering ascetics of old, these young men willingly forsook all that was dear and near to them, to carry on a life-long struggle for their goal. Fear of death and physical sufferings worse than death did not deter them; obstacles and difficulties like Himalayan barriers could not deflect them from their course. Deserted by friends and relatives, ignored, if not derided, by their countrymen, without means or resources to keep their body and soul together, haunted by spies and hunted by police, flying from one shelter to another, these young men carried on a heroic but hopeless struggle, from day to day, from month to month, and from year to year. They chose the life of hardship and privations and consecrated their lives to the service of their country. Many of them rushed headlong to destruction. They died in order that others might live. One may call them emotional, unreasonable, and unrealistic. But nobody can doubt either the depth of their feelings or the sincerity of their faith. That their compatriots never doubted it is proved by the homage paid to them both in private and in public. When the dead body of Kanai-lal Datta was taken out from Alipore Jail, thousands of men, women, and children formed a procession to the burning ground, and auspicious things like flowers and parched grain were showered by ladies from the balconies on the road side. Bengal was in tears when Khudi-ram was hanged, and the news of a terrorist's death was a signal for mourning in almost every household. 40

No age or country has produced martyrs of this type in large number, for the people at large fight shy of the extreme path and keep aloof. Nor does every one of those who join the movement reach a high or ideal standard. But if we judge, as we must, by the conduct of the great leaders and the general level maintained by their followers, we have no ground to withhold the praise, admiration and homage which they received from their contemporaries. We are also bound to admit that militant nationalism in Bengal was not merely a passing phase in politics, but a great movement that swept the country. Its material contribution to the achievement of political freedom will be discussed in due course. But it would be a mistake to estimate its effect and importance by that test alone. It galvanized the political consciousness of the country in a way that nothing else could, and left a deep impress upon all the subsequent stages of our political advance. They really commenced

the national struggle for freedom as we conceive it today. Posterity will not grudge them the laurels due to the pioneers of fight for freedom in India. Even today when we think of the true national movement for freedom, our minds fly back, at one leap, clear over half a century, to those who conceived their country as Mothergoddess and worshipped her with the offerings of their own lives.

1. Mukherjees, India's Fight for Freedom, pp. 223-4.

2. Ibid., p. 234.

3. See p. 30.

4. See p. 29.

4a. This was the almost universal belief among the public and is substantiated by some glaring instances of miscarriage of justice.

5. Unpublished document. Official reports, statements, etc., referred to in this Chapter, unless otherwise stated, should be treated as unpublished documents

5a. A recent writer has challenged this statement by quoting the annual value of imports through Calcutta port, but these figures are somewhat misleading for our purpose. For example, they show that the import of cotton goods, sugar, liquors, and tobacco rose substantially from 1904-5 to 1905-6, a period when boycott movement was at its peak. The import figures do not represent consumption of Bengal alone but of a large part of Northern India served by the Calcutta port. (BPP, LXXXIV, Part II, p. 151).

6. Mukherjees, op. cit., p. 65.

7. Modern Review, V. p. 191.

8. Mujherjees, op. cii, p. 236

9. Ibid., p. 235.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 135.

12. Ibid, pp. 116-7.

13. Ibid, pp. 118-9.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid, pp. 120-1.

16. Ibid, p. 122.

17. Nation , pp. 220 ff.

18. P.C. Ray, C. R. Das, p. 57.

18a. Mukherjees, op. cit., pp. 69, 143-6.

19. Nevinson, p. 193.

20. Ibid, p. 202.

21. Ibid, p. 192.

22. C.J. O'Donnell, The Causes of Present Discontent in India, pp. 72-3, 83

23. Ibid, p. 67.

24. Speeches of G. K. Gokhale, p. 1133.

25. Speeches of Surendra Nath Banerji, Vol. VI, p. 426.

26. Modem Review , VI. 481.

26a. Ibid.

27. Speeches of Surendra Nath Banerji, VI. 424 ff.

28. Speeches of G. K. Gokhale, p. 1114. Cf. also p.

29. M. K. Gandhi, Hind Swaraj, pp. 15-18.

30. Modem Review, I. pp. 137-39.

31. See above, p. 60

32. Chirol, Indian Unrest, p. 88.

32a. A Case for India, p. 123.

33. This sentence was quoted later in order to prove that even Gokhale preached Non-co-operation long before Gandhi

34. See above, Vol. X, pp. 572 ff.

35. Modem Review, VIII, pp. 458 ff.

36. Cf. Vol. X, Ch. XVT.

36a. Ibid, pp. 575 ff. ,

37. For changes in the political views of B.C. Pal, cf. Mukherjees—II. pp. 11-21.

38. This has been discussed in the next chapter.

39. Cf. Vol. X. pp. 589 ff.

40. For Kanai-lal and Khiidi-ram, cf. Ch. VIII.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (1905 to 1907)

1. THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MODERATES AND THE EXTREMISTS

Reference has been made above 1 to the new political ideology which inspired Arabinda, Tilak and others and brought into being a new school in Indian politics distinct from the Indian National Congress. It has also been explained how the repercussion of the Swadeshi movement widened the cleavage between the two and gave rise to two distinct political parties known as the Moderates and the Extremists.

The fundamental differences between the two parties concerned both the political goal and the method to be adopted to achieve it. As regards the goal, the ideal set up by the Congress was defined in 1905 as the Colonial form of self-government, but the Extremist party's ideal was absolute autonomy free from foreign control.

As regards the method, the Extremist party concentrated its whole attention upon the attainment of Swaraj or self-government. "Political freedom", said Arabinda, "is the life-breath of a nation; to attempt social reform, educational reform, industrial expansion, the moral improvement of the race, without aiming first and foremost at political freedom, is the very height of ignorance and futility." Of the three possible lines of policy for the attainment of the goal, the New party rejected 'petitioning' as mad and fantastic, for, as Arabinda put it, it is not in human nature that one people would sacrifice their interests for the sake of another. The party also considered 'self-development and self-help' as vague and inadequate and therefore advocated 'the old orthodox historical method of organised resistance to the existing form of Government.' Peculiarly situated as the country was, the New party prescribed organized 'Passive Resistance' as the only effective means, by which the nation could wrest the control of national life from the grip of an alien bureaucracy'.[2] Arabinda wrote a series of seven articles[3] on 'Passive Resistance' in the Bande Mataram between 11 and 23 April, 1907. These contain a masterly exposition of the doctrine of 'Passive Resistance' which later, in the hands of Gandhi, played an important role in India's struggle for freedom. The following extract from one of these articles, published on 17 April, would convey a fair idea of the theory and programme of Passive Resistance:

"The essential difference between passive or defensive and active or aggressive resistance is this, that while the method of the aggressive resister is to do something by which he can bring about positive harm to the Government, the method of the passive resister is to abstain from doing something by which he would be helping the Government. The object in both cases is the same,— to force the hands of the Government; the line of attack is different. The passive method is especially suitable to countries where the Government depends mainly for the continuance of its administration on the voluntary help and acquiescence of the subject people. The first principle of passive resistance, therefore, which the new school have placed in the forefront of their programme, is to make administration under present conditions impossible by an organized refusal to do anything which shall help either British commerce in the exploitation of the country or British officialdom in the administration of it,—unless and until the conditions are changed in the manner and to the extent demanded by the people. This attitude is summed up in the one word, Boycott. If we consider the various departments of the administration one by one, we can easily see how administration in each can be rendered impossible by successfully organized refusal of assistance. We are dissatisfied with the fiscal and economical conditions of British rule in India, with the foreign exploitation of the country, the continual bleeding of its resources, the chronic famine and rapid impoverishment which result, the refusal of the Government to protect the people and their industries. Accordingly.by an organized and relentless boycott of British goods, we propose to render the further exploitation of the country impossible.

“We are dissatisfied also with the conditions under which education is imparted in this country, its calculated poverty and insufficiency, its anti-national character, its subordination to the Government and the use made of that subordination for the discouragement of patriotism and the inculcation of loyalty. Accordingly, we refuse to send our boys to Government schools or to schools aided and controlled by the Government.

“We are dissatisfied with the administration of justice, the ruinous costliness of the civil side, the brutal rigour of its criminal penalties and procedure, its partiality, its frequent subordination to political objects. We refuse accordingly to have any resort to the alien courts of justice, and by an organized judicial boycott propose to make the bureaucratic administration of justice impossible while these conditions continue.

“Finally we disapprove of the executive administration, its arbitrariness, its meddling and inquisitorial character, its thoroughness

of repression, its misuse of the police for the repression instead of the protection of the people. We refuse, accordingly, to go to the

executive for help or advice or protection.and by an organized

boycott of the Executive propose to reduce executive control and interference to a mere skeleton of its former sell” Finally comes the refusal to pay taxes and rents. 4

The theory of ‘Passive Resistance’ was further explained by Arabinda in his famous “An Open Letter to my Countrymen” published in the Karmayogin of 31 July, 1909. 5 This is looked upon as his ‘Political Will’ and one passage in it runs as follows:

“Our methods are those of self-help and Passive Resistance. The policy of passive resistance was evolved partly as the necessary complement of self-help, partly as a means of putting pressure on Government. The essence of this policy is the refusal of co-operation so long as we are not admitted to a substantial share and an effective control in legislation, finance and administration. Just as ‘no representation, no taxation’ was the watchword of American constitutional agitation in the eighteenth century, so ‘no control, no cooperation' should be the watchword of our lawful agitation—for constitution we have none—in the twentieth. We sum up this refusal of co-operation in the convenient word 'Boycott'; refusal of cooperation in the industrial exploitation of our country, in education, in government, in judicial administration, in the details of official intercourse." The use of the words 'no co-operation' is -significant in the light of the non-co-operation movement launched by Gandhi ten years later.

The leaders and members of the Moderate party vigorously denounced the different items of Passive Resistance proposed by Arabinda, and had not much difficulty in showing how they were either impracticable (boycott of English goods, Government Service, Honorary Offices) or injurious (boycott of Universities and other educational institutions), and some items (strikes) might invite heavy repression by Government.

Generally speaking, the arguments put forward by the Moderates were rational and logical, and, on the face of it, they appeared quite unassailable. But the real standpoint of the Extremists was the new creed of nationalism which was being advocated by Arabinda, Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bepin-chandra Pal and others. They did not try to meet the individual arguments of the Moderates, but their main point was that it was time that we should come to regard politics more seriously and as part of our religion, and we should approach it with "that power of faith and will which neither counts obstacles nor measures time."

This would be evident from the following passage from a speech of Arabinda:

"There is a creed in India today which calls itself Nationalism, a creed which has come to you from Bengal... .What is Nationalism? Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; Nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live. If you are going to be a Nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. It is a religion by which we are trying to realise God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. We are trying to realise Him in the three hundred millions of our people". 6

Referring to the fears of repression he said in another speech:

“Storm has swept over us today. I saw it come. I saw the striding of the storm blast and the rush of the rain, and as I saw it an idea came to me. What is the storm that is so mighty and sweeps with such fury upon us? And I said in my heart, ‘It is God who rides abroad on the wings of the hurricane,—it is the might and force of the Lord that manifested itself and His almighty hands that seized and shook the roof so violently over our heads today.’

.Repression is nothing but the hammer of God.without

suffering there can be no growth.They do not know that great

as he is, Aswini Kumar Dutta is not the leader of this movement, that Tilak is not the leader,—God is the leader.

“It is because God has chosen to manifest Himself and has entered into the hearts of His people that we are rising again as a

nation.It will move forward irresistibly until God’s will in

it is fulfilled”. 7

Arabinda thus took politics on the much higher plane of spirituality. He regarded patriotism as a form of devotion and expressly said that, to the new generations the redemption of their Motherland should be regarded as the true religion, the only means of salvation. Approaching from this point view, it was idle to talk of possibilities of failure or to count losses and gains in terms of the Moderates. As he characteristically put it in a letter to his wife, “if a demon sits on the breasts of my mother and is about to drink her blood, shall I sit idle and coldly calculate whether I have the strength enough to fight it? My only duty is to rush to the rescue of my mother”. 8 “In a similar spirit,” he observed, “the Indians should approach the political question:—their prime duty was to save the Motherland. It was for them to rush headlong to achieve this goal without pausing to think of its probable success or failure”.

To what extent Arabinda’s idea took shape in the minds of the party may be gathered from the following passage in an article by Lajpat Rai.

"In my opinion the problem before us is in the main a religious problem—religious not in the sense of doctrine and dogmas—but religious in so far as to evoke the highest devotion and the greatest sacrifice from us. Our first want, then, is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion and to aspire to live or to die for it". 9

II. THE CONGRESS OF 1905

The first definite manifestation of a split in the Congress rank took place in the annual session of the Congress at Varanasi (Banaras) in December, 1905. This was brought about by the policy of Boycott which formed an integral part of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal.

The Congress had passed resolutions condemning the Partition of Bengal, in 1903 as well as in 1904, and proposed, early in 1905, to wait upon the Viceroy in a deputation to place their case before him. But Lord Curzon refused to receive the deputation of the Congress and referred to its activities in contemptuous terms. Even this rebuff did not open the eyes of the Moderate leaders. They still pinned their faith on the innate sense of justice of the British people, and so a deputation consisting of Gokhale and Lajpat Rai was sent to England to appeal from Philip the drunk to Philip the sober. The result was disappointing, and the two members of the deputation returned to India, sadder but wiser. Its reaction on Gokhale is not easy to determine, but it may not be a mere coincidence that it was for the first time in 1905 that Gokhale, as President of the Indian National Congress, declared 'self-government within the empire' as the goal of India. His strong denunciation of the Government for the partition of Bengal may also be a reflex of his experience in England. But Lajpat Rai did not mince matters. He realised that the British people were indifferent to Indian affairs and "the British press was not willing to champion Indian aspirations", or ventilate Indian grievances. To the delegates and visitors of the Congress at Varanasi he plainly gave out his own opinion that India had to achieve freedom by her own efforts alone.

The Congress met at Varanasi in 1905 in a tense atmosphere. Every one of the 758 delegates that attended the Congress on December 27-30, 1905, felt that the country was passing through a crisis. Gokhale, the shining light of the Moderates, who presided over the session, made an assessment of the

British rule in India and condemned Lord Curzon’s administration in most scathing terms,

as noted above. 1 ' Speaking of the Swadeshi movement Gokhale said:

“The devotion to Motherland, which is enshrined in the highest Swadeshi, is an influence so profound and so passionate that its very thought thrills and its actual touch lifts one out of oneself. India needs to-day above everything else that the gospel of this devotion should be preached to high and the low, to Prince and to peasant, in town and in hamlet, till the service of Motherland becomes with us as overmastering a passion as it is in Japan.”

It was well understood by everyone that the Partition of Bengal and the Boycott and Swadeshi movement would loom large in the deliberations of the Congress. The President’s reference to these topics, mentioned above, was highly appreciated by all, including the delegates from Bengal. But the situation became somewhat intriguing when the appropriate resolutions on these subjects were discussed in the Subjects Committee. So far as the Partition was concerned, the proposed measure had been condemned by the Congress in 1904. Now that the Partition had already been effected, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

“That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the Province.(and) appeals to the Govern

ment of India and to the Secretary of State to reverse or modify the arrangements made in such a manner as to conciliate public opinion, and allay the excitement and unrest manifest among large

masses of the people.” Several delegates, speaking on this

resolution, “voiced, in one indignant protest after another, the anger and determination of India. Not often has the National Congress witnessed such a scene of excitement 5 ’. 11

But the Boycott resolution proved a bone of contention. The Bengal delegates, particularly the Extremist or Nationalist section, desired that the Congress should give its seal of approval upon the Boycott movement. But, as mentioned above, 12 the Moderate leaders were averse to it as it was in conflict with the policy of petition and persuasion which they had hitherto pursued. A proposal approving of Boycott led to an acrimonious discussion in the Subjects Committee and its fate hung in the balance, when the Bengal delegates hit upon a device to coerce the Moderates. The Moderates proposed to send a message of welcome to the Prince and Princess of Wales during their forthcoming visit to India. But the delegates from Bengal opposed it on the ground that Bengal was in mourning and could not receive the Prince with a smiling face. Gokhale had given a pledge to Minto that he would stop the boycott of the royal visit. 13 Besides, the Moderates could not think without

horror that the resolution conveying such a loyal message would be opposed in the public session of the Congress. They were sure of getting it passed by a majority of votes, but absence of unanimity would take away the grace and charm of such a message. At last both sides yielded to a considerable degree and a compromise was effected. The Bengal delegates agreed to leave the Congress pandal before the resolution about the message was moved, so that it might be unanimously passed. On their side the Moderates offered an indirect support to the Boycott movement and agreed to the following resolution:

“That the Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest, and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal, in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people.”

Like all make-shifts,, the resolution was a curious one. It is not clear and was perhaps deliberately intended not to be clear—whether the Congress approved of the boycott of foreign goods. But the partial discomfiture of the

Nationalists was to some extent made up by Lajpat Rai. While seconding the resolution he “congratulated Bengal on its splendid opportunity of heralding a new political era for the country. The English had taught them how to resist when they had a grievance, and the English expected them to show more manliness in their struggle for liberty. They must show that they were ‘no longer beggars, and are subjects of an Empire where people are struggling to achieve that position which is their right.* If other Provinces followed the example of Bengal the day was not far distant when they would win .** 14 Several speakers recounted the examples of Ireland and China.

The Congress reiterated the usual demands asking for further expansion and reforms of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, a larger voice in the administration, power given to each Province to return at least two members to the British House of Commons, appointment of not less than three Indians as members of the Secretary of State’s Council, of two Indians as members of the Governor-General’s Executive Council, and of one Indian as a member of each of the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras. Many other resolutions, also on the old line, were passed.

The following general impression of the Banaras Congress has been recorded by an eminent writer, not attached to any political party:

&

4 *A new turn was given to Indian politics; the policy of ‘mendicancy’, as the Congress method was derisively called, was henceforth even more seriously assailed and significantly enough that great Indian Sinn Feiner (and adversary of Gokhale) Tilak was once more received with an ovation, as at Banaras he rose to speak on Passive Resistance, on Famine, and on Poverty.” 15

There was a sequel to the Banaras session which clearly demonstrated that the Swadeshi movement had cast its shadow, and in its wake the neo-nationalism had spread its net, all over India. As mentioned above, the Nationalists did not succeed in carrying a resolution approving of Boycott. Though the differences between the two sections of the Congress were somehow composed for the time being, the Nationalist ideas and feelings were too pronounced to be accommodated within the existing framework of the Congress. So the advanced section of the Nationalist delegates met at a Conference within the Congress campus and formed a new National Party. It decided to remain within the Congress but with a distinct programme of its own. This incipient rebellion did not attract much attention at the time, but bore fruits later.

III. THE CONGRESS OF 1906

The year 1906 witnessed a distinct cleavage between the two political parties, known at that time, and ever since, as the Moderates and the Extremists. This nomenclature is, however, unhappy. For, as Tilak pointed out, these two terms were relative; the "Ex* tremist" becomes "Moderate" in the course of years, while a new and more advanced section takes its place. This argument also applies to the name "Forward" assumed by the new party itself. The current of ideas which brought this new political party into being has been described above and may be termed Nationalism, and hence the designation Nationalist Party is quite appropriate. Bui the Moderates also called themselves nationalists. In order to avoid the implication that they were not so, and to use the terms that have already become very familiar, it would be convenient to refer to the two parties as the Moderates and the Extremists.

Two events, outside India, in 1905-6, had repercussions on the two parties. The Russo-Japanese War came to an end in 1905. and the resounding victory of Japan over Russia had a great repercussion on Indian nationalists. Their ideal of complete independence from British yoke received a stimulus from the fact demonstrated by Japan that the Europeans were not invincible* and that the Asiatics did not lack inherent powers to become as great as they. Whether such a feeling was just and proper may be doubted, but contemporary literature—-including periodicals—leaves no doubt that Indian nationalism was buoyed up with new hope and fresh courage by the example of Japan and it gave a great stimulus to the Extremist party.

The Moderates were also stimulated by events in England. A General Election had taken place in Britain and the Liberal Party came into power. How it influenced the Moderates may be best described in the words of Gokhale, their trusted leader:

“My recent visit to England”, he said, “has satisfied me that a strong current has already set in there against the narrow and aggressive Imperialism, which only the other day seemed to be carrying everything before it. The new Prime Minister is a tried and trusted friend of Freedom. Mr. Ellis, the new Under-Secretary of State for India, is openly known to be a friend of our aspirations. And as regards the new Secretary of State for India, what shall I say? Our heart hopes and yet trembles, as it had never hoped nor trembled before. John Morley—the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Gladstone—will he courageously apply their principles and his own to the government of this country; or will he succumb, too, to the influences around him?” 16

The Moderates were sadly disillusioned before long. The Partition of Bengal, according to Morley, was “a settled fact, which could no longer be unsettled”; on the wider issue of Colonial SelfGovernment, which India demanded, he was equally antagonistic and emphatic, telling Gokhale that to ask for it was merely “to cry for the moon”. The fur coat of Canada’s Constitution, he suavely added, would never suit the actual conditions of the historical, cultural and psychological climate of India. Thus in the long run the victory of the Liberal Party in Britain turned to the advantage of the Extremists. But, for the time being, the Moderates were elated beyond measure at the appointment of John Morley, and eagerly looked forward to the triumph of “constitutional agitation” which had lately come in for a good deal of criticism. They were as much buoyed up by the victory of the Liberal Party in the General Election in England, as were the Extremists by the victory of the Japanese over the Russians in 1905. It was in such an atmosphere that the Congress met in December, 1906, in Calcutta, the great stronghold of the Extremists.

Throughout the year 1906 the Moderates and the Extremists were drifting further and further apart for reasons already stated above. The Extremists had won over the people of Bengal to a large extent, and the power and prestige of the Moderate leaders in Bengal were visibly on the decline. The Extremists, not content with this, now tried hard to make their advanced views— Swadeshi, Boycott, and National Education—the accepted creeds of the country as a whole. For this purpose it was necessary to capture the citadel of their opponents' stronghold, the Indian National Congress, and they made hard preparations for the same. It was an uphill task, for although hopes based on Morley were gradually dashed to the ground by his reactionary actions and statements, and the value of Moderate policy gradually declined in the political share-market, the Moderates still formed a solid phalanx in the Congress. But the Extremists in Bengal were not long left alone. Eminent leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Khaparde from outside had joined the party. Bipin-chandra Pal had risen to the height of his stature, and preached the new policy of his party through his eloquent speeches—both in English and Bengali,—and vigorous, thoughtful writings in his weekly organ, the New India. He was ably aided by Brahma-bandhav Upadhyaya, who created a new colloquial Bengali style suitable for the masses, and his message, put in an inimitable form of his own, had an immediate and profound appeal to all ranks. The Extremist Party, now with an all-India outlook, had an accession of immense strength when it was joined by Arabinda Ghosh, who proved to be a host in himself. Indeed the entry of this new personality in the Congress arena may be regarded as a major event of the year in Indian politics. Arabinda's articles in the $ande Mataram put the Extremist Party on a high pedestal all over India. He expounded the high philosophy and national spirit which animated the party, and also laid down its detailed programme of action in the form of Passive Resistance. 16 But far more valuable to the Extremist Party than even his discourses was his own striking personality. Fired with religious fervour he preached nationalism as a religion, as noted above, and he, the prophet of this new religion, infused, by his precept and example, courage and strength into every one that came in touch with him. His emergence in Indian politics was as sudden as it was unexpected; of him it may be truly said that he awoke one morning and found himself famous; or that he came, he saw, and he conquered. He rose like a meteor and vanished like it from the political atmosphere. But unlike the meteor the dazzling light he shed on Indian politics did not vanish with him. The torch which he lighted continued to illumine Indian political firmament till it passed into the hands of worthy successors who led it to its destined goal.

So the Calcutta Congress met on 26 December, 1906, in an atmosphere which was far more tense than that at Banaras a year before. The Moderates had scored a triumph over the Extremists

in the matter of selecting the President. Any leader of the new party, or one sympathetic to it, was unacceptable to the Moderates. Yet his eminence and services to the country might be such as to make the choice desirable and popular, and it would be ungenerous, if not also difficult, for the Moderates to oppose him if nominated by the Extremists. It was actually in the air that the Extremists would propose the name of Tilak. 17 To avert such a contingency the Moderates forestalled any move on the other side by persuading Dadabhai Naoroji, then 82 years old, to accept the Presidentship of the Congress. The name and fame of the Grand Old Man, as he was called, and the services he had rendered to his motherland made it impossible for the Extremists to demur to this proposal, though they would have preferred a person like Tilak or Lajpat Rai in his place.

The attendance at the session was very large. There were 1663 delegates and the visitors numbered about 20,000.—something unique in the history of the Congress up to that time.

The President’s speech showed that he was altogether out of touch with the new spirit that was animating India. He reiterated the grievances against the British rule and the remedies against them—such as had been repeated ad nauseam since the foundation of the Congress and for many years before that. The only method for political fight was, he said, agitation.

The only redeeming feature of the President’s speech was the reference to Swaraj as the goal of India. This word, destined to be the war cry of India for the next forty years, was used by Tilak in the nineties, 18 but was uttered for the first time on the Congress platform by Dadabhai Naoroji. But he did not choose to define Swaraj or explain what he ni^nt. So the Moderates and the Extremists put different interpretations upon it.

Nevertheless, looking retrospectively, Indians of a later age remembered that one word of Dadabhai's speech while they forgot the rest of it.

The chief interest of the Congress session of 1906 centred round the proposals of the Extremist party about Swadeshi and connected problems. There was a great deal of excitement in the Subjects Committee, and ultimately four draft resolutions were agreed upon and passed in the open session.

The resolution on the Partition of Bengal was more or less a reiteration of the resolutions on the subject passed in 1904 and 1905. It was moved by Nawab Khwaja Atikullah, brother of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, who, as mentioned above, was the leader of the Muslims of East Bengal and the chief supporter of the Partition. A special interest therefore attached to Atikullah's

denunciation of the Partition and public declaration that the Hindus and Muhammadans should enter a united protest against it.

A great deal of heat was generated by the following resolution

regarding Boycott:

"That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the Partition of that Province, was, and is, legitimate.**

Tn moving this resolution Ambika-charan Majumdar said that in view of the little voice the people had in administration, and the lack of consideration shown by Government to their representations, the Boycott was legitimate as a protest against Partition. Bipin-chandra Pal seconded the resolution in a vigorous speech, and said that it was not a mere boycott of goods, but one of honorary offices and associations with the Government in East Bengal. Not one leader of the people would associate with the Lieutenant-Governor in any legislative work. The Hon. Mr. L.A. Govindaraghava Aiyar justified the use of the Boycott in Bengal, but did not think it could be used ordinarily in other Provinces. A. Chaudhury pointed out that the resolution was limited to Bengal, that was smarting under a great injury, and had a right to use the Boycott as a political weapon. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said that Bengal was justified in using the Boycott as a weapon, but the Congress could not be committed to the view of Mr. Pal and the extension of the Boycott, as he described it. He hoped the other Provinces would never be driven to the necessity of using it, but that reforms needed would be gained without it. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale said that they were bound only by the resolutions of the Congress, and the resolution declared that the Boycott movement marking the resentment of the people against the Partition of Bengal was and is legitimate. They were not bound by individual speeches. The resolution was carried with one dissentient and one neutral/ 19

The resolution on Stvadeshi was worded as follows:

“That this Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success, by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice/ 1

Then came the following resolution on National Education:

“That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National education for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—suited to the requirements of the country, on National lines and under National control. 1 *

The most important resolution of the session was that concerning Self-Government, which read as follows:

“That this Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India, and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out:

(a) All examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England, and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only;

(b) The adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy, and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay;

(c) The expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country;

(dj The powers of Local and Municipal bodies should be extended and official control over them should not be more than what is exercised by the Local Government Board in England over similar bodies."

The original resolution made some reservation for backward classes. In the light of later events it is interesting to note that Jinnah moved an amendment to delete it and it was carried.

The resolution, like that of Boycott, was evidently the result of a compromise. The first paragraph or the substantive part of the resolution shows the influence of the new Nationalist school of thought. But the modifying clauses, which blunted the edge of the main part, were the handiwork of the Moderates. The ideal of self-government in the resolution was only held out as a distant goal, the immediate concern being the reforms suggested in the following paragraphs.

The only other resolution of importance was one concerning the internal organization of the Congress. It set Up a Provincial Congress Committee for each Province and a Central Standing Committee for all India, and laid down rules for the selection of the President and of the members of the Subjects Committee.

The Extremist view of the Congress session was thus ably summed up in the Bande Mataram (presumably by Arabinda): "Nothing was more remarkable in the present Congress than its anti-autocratic temper and the fiery energy with which it repudiated any attempt to be dictated to by the authority of organised leaders. Charges of want of reverence and of rowdyism have been freely brought against this year's Congress. To the first charge we answer that the reverence has been transferred from persons to the ideal of the motherland; it is no longer Pherozeshah Mehta or even Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji who can impose silence and acquiescence on the delegates of the nation by their presence and authority, for the delegates feel that they owe a deeper reverence and a higher duty to their country.... Only in one particular have we (i.e. the Forward Party) been disappointed and that is the President's Address. But even here the closing Address, with which Mr. Naoroji dissolved the Congress, has made amends for the deficiencies of his opening speech. He once more declared Self-government, Swaraj , as in an inspired moment he termed it, to be our one ideal and called upon the young men to achieve it. The work of the older men had been done in preparing a generation which were determined to have this great ideal and nothing less; the work of making the ideal a reality, lies with us. We accept Mr. Naoroji's call and to carry out his. last injunctions will devote our lives and, if necessary, sacrifice them." 20

The Calcutta session of the Congress gave rise to a new trend of political thought which was big with future consequences. Expression was given to it in a long article in the Modem Review from which a few extracts may be quoted:

"Mr. Dadabhai Naorcji exhorts us to agitate, agitate and agitate. I say, Amen! but on the clear understanding that agitation is an educational duty which has to be performed regardless of success in the shape of concessions. Let the public be accustomed to agitate for the sake of agitation and not in the hope of getting any immediate redress. That is, in my opinion, the only way to ward off disappointments and to prepare the people for more effective methods of political activity. Our esteemed countryman, Mr. Tilak, advises the people to make the work of administration on the present lines impossible by passive resistance. I say, that is only possible by training the people to a habit of suffering for principles, i.e., to dare and to risk; and by infusing in them a spirit of defiance wherever a question of principle is involved. The way is to be shewn by personal example and not by precept alone.

“Hitherto the political movement has only been carried out by fits and starts. It has completely depended on the moments of

leisure which gentlemen, engaged in learned professions and business, could conveniently spare for the same. It has been a labour of love to them, but it has always occupied a secondary position in their thoughts. The country has so far failed to produce a class of men whose chief and prime business in life will be political agitation and political education. The chief and crying need of the national movement is the coming forward of a class of earnest, sincere, able and devoted men, who will move about the country freely and preach the Gospel of freedom, both by word of mouth as well as by example—men who will win over the masses to the cause of Truth and Justice, by words of wisdom and lives of service. The non-existence of this class at the present moment, combined with other difficulties, makes the national outlook very gloomy indeed, but the remedy to change the face of things lies in our own hands.* 121

IV. THE CONGRESS OF 1907

The Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress in 1906 witnessed a sort of compromise between the Moderates and the Extremists. Though the personality of the Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji, ensured a smooth session, and the differences were somehow patched up, it left a legacy behind which manifested itself in a keen controversy between these two parties about their aims and methods, which lasted throughout 1907. 22 This controversy gave rise to a sort of general apprehension in the minds of the Extremists that the Moderates were determined to recover some of the grounds which they had lost in Calcutta, during the next session of the Congress. This meant that the resolutions on Self-Government, Swadeshi^ Boycott and National Education, which were passed in Calcutta against the opposition of a section of the Moderates, would be omitted or whittled down by the Moderates at the next session of the Congress. This was not an unreasonable inference from the acrimonious discussions on these topics which were going on in the Press and on the platform throughout 1907 . The signs were also not altogether wanting that the Extremists had some justification for their fear; for in the Provincial Conference held at Surat in April, 1907, the propositions of Boycott and National Education were excluded from the programme of the Conference, and it was believed by the Extremists that this was due to the personal influence of Pherozeshah Mehta who had a great following at Surat. Towards the end of the year, the same fear was further enhanced by the incidents at the District Congress Conference, held at Midnapur (Bengal). Surendra-nath tried his best to convince Arabinda that the Moderate policy would not only bring about the re-union of Bengal but even a great measure of self government within a short period. Arabinda, however, did not yield. Rowdyism broke out on account of differences between the two parties, particularly on the refusal of the Chairman to discuss Swaraj, and the police had to be called in to restore order.

It had been decided in the Calcutta session that the next annual session of the Congress in 1907 would be held at Nagpur. When the preliminary arrangements were being made, there were acute differences between the two parties at the meeting of the Reception Committee over the election of the President. The meeting broke out in confusion and the venue of the Congress was shifted to Surat. It was inevitable that the Extremists would interpret this move as actuated by a desire to facilitate the triumph of the Moderates in the next Congress session. For Nagpur was a stronghold of the Extremists, and the Reception Committee at Surat would presumably be composed largely of Pherozeshah Mehta’s followers.

The sharp difference of opinion over the selection of the President continued. The Extremists suggested that Lajpat Rai, who had just been released after deportation, should be elected President to mark the country’s indignation and protest against the unfair treatment accorded to him by the Government; but he was not acceptable to the Moderates who chose Dr. Rash-behari Ghosh for the post. The situation was saved by the patriotic action of Lajpat Rai who declined to be a mere pawn in a political game. But this showed the Extremists which way the wind blew, and their suspicions were further confirmed by the fact that the list of subjects likely to be taken up for discussion by the Surat Congress, officially published about ten days before the date of the Congress session, did not include Self-Government, Boycott and National Education.

It was in this atmosphere that the Congress met at Surat. In order to understand properly what actually took place in the open session of the Congress, it is necessary to sketch the background against which the whole scene was enacted. Unfortunately, it is not easy to give an accurate account of all that happened, as widely different versions have been given by two such eminent leaders as Gokhale and Tilak. It is, therefore, neither possible nor desirable to go into minute details, and it will suffice to stress the main points the truth of which seems to be more or less established on reliable grounds.

There is no doubt that the Extremists came to Surat in a truculent mood. They were genuinely afraid that the Moderates would go back upon the Calcutta resolutions and thereby put back the hands of the clock. They also knew full well that they could not command a majority among the delegates of the Congress. Being, therefore, more or less certain that they could not carry their points by the usual procedure of vote, they wanted to make their position clear and record an emphatic protest against the retrogression of the Congress ideals by offering opposition or putting obstacles in any way they could, within the limitations of the constitution of the Congress.

The Congress was to meet on 26 December, but Tilak reached Surat on the morning of the 23rd. In a large mass meeting held oji the same evening, he denounced such retrogressions as suicidal in the interests of the country and appealed to the Surat public to help the Nationalists in their endeavour to maintain at least the status quo in respect of the resolutions about Self-Government, Boycott, Swadeshi and National Education. The next day, i.e., on the 24th December, a conference of about 500 Nationalist delegates was held at Surat under the Chairmanship of Arabinda Ghosh, where it was decided that the Nationalists should prevent the attempted retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary. A letter was written to the Congress Secretaries requesting them to make arrangements for dividing the House, if need be, on every contested proposition, including that of the election of the President. On the 25th, Tilak addressed a meeting of the delegates at the Congress camp, explaining the grounds for his belief that the Bombay

Moderate leaders were bent upon receding from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education. But he made it quite clear that if the Nationalists were assured that no sliding back of the Congress would be attempted in respect of these, the opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn. Apart from other negotiations for this purpose, Tilak saw Surendra-nath on the morning of the 26th December and informed him that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn if the Nationalist Party were assured that the status quo would not be disturbed. Tilak also wanted to see Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, but the latter excused his inability, as he was engaged in religious practices. A little before 2-30 p.m., when the Congress was to meet, Tilak made another attempt to see Malvi, but it was not successful. Thus Tilak failed in his attempts to secure any assurance that the status quo would not be disturbed, and the delegates of the Extremists' camp were informed of the failure of Tilak's attempt in this matter.

It was in this atmosphere that the 23rd Indian National Congress commenced its proceedings at Surat at 2-30 p.m. with about

1600 delegates. After the usual address from the Chairman of the Reception Committee was over, Dr. Rash-behari Ghosh was proposed for the office of President. As soon as this was done some voices were heard in the hall, shouting 'No', 'No'. When Surendra-nath stood for seconding the proposition, there was a great uproar from a section of the delegates, and as, in spite of repeated appeal for 'Order', no heed was paid to it and Surendranath was unable to deliver his speech on account of the disorderly shouts, the Chairman was compelled to suspend the sitting for the day. On the evening of the same day the Extremists held a meeting and proposed to carry on negotiations for having the status quo maintained, but if the attempt did not succeed, it was decided tu oppose the election of Rash-behari Ghosh. On the morning of the next day, that is, the 27th, Tilak made further attempts to get an assurance about the status quo from the Moderate leaders, but with no better success than before. Having failed in his attempt, at about 12-30, he wrote in pencil the following note to Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee;

“Sir, I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please allow me”.

The Congress met on the 27th at 1 p.m. and as the procession escorting the President was entering the pandal, Tilak’s note was put by a volunteer into the hands of Malvi. The Chairman, however, took no notice of this, and the proceedings were resumed at the point at which they v^ere interrupted the day before. So Surendra-nath seconded the proposal for the election of the President and Motilal Nehru supported it. There were loud voices of ‘Aye,’ ‘Aye’ from the assembled delegates, but a minority also shouted ‘No*, ‘No’. The Chairman thereupon declared the motion carried and Dr. Ghosh rose to read his address. At this stage Tilak came upon the platform and urged that he must be permitted to move the motion of which he had already given notice to the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Malvi now told Tilak that his motion was out of order, but Tilak refused to accept this decision and decided to appeal to the delegates. By this time, there was an uproar in the pandal , and while the President tried to read his address, Tilak kept shouting that he must move his motion and would not allow the proceedings to go on unless he was permitted to do so. The uproar' naturally increased, and the two sections, the Moderates and the Extremists, were shouting at each other at the top of their voice. This was followed by a general disturbance in the course of which, it was alleged by some, an attempt was made to remove

Tilak bodily from the meeting; on the other hand, it was maintained by the other side that there was a general movement among Tilak’s followers to rush to the platform with sticks in their hands. All that is definitely known is that in the general melee that followed, chairs were flung and a shoe was hurled from the pandal which struck both Pherozeshah Mehta and Surendra-nath. The President, finding that the disorder went on increasing, suspended the session of the Congress sine die. 23 On the 28th December an attempt was made to arrive at a compromise, and Tilak formally gave in writing the assurance that he and his party were prepared to waive their opposition to the election of Rash-behari Ghosh as President and were prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive, provided, firstly, the last year’s resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education were adhered to and re-affirmed; and, secondly, such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghosh’s speech (already published in newspapers, though yet undelivered) as may be offensive to the Nationalist party were omitted. Tilak’s letter was taken to the Moderate leaders but no compromise was arrived at. A Convention of the Moderates was, therefore, held in the Congress pandal the next day, where the Extremists were not allowed to go, even when some of them were ready and offered to sign the required declaration. The Moderates eventually decided to have no connection in future with the Extremists. The Convention passed a resolution appointing a committee of over a hundred persons to draw up the Constitution of the Congress. The Convention Committee met at Allahabad on 18 and 19 April, 1908, and drew up a Constitution for the Indian National Congress to which reference will be made in Chapter IX. In effect, it excluded the Extremists from Congress membership.

The unfortunate split at Surat is a great landmark in the history of the Congress, as it practically ended the first phase of that great national organization. It is difficult to pass any definite opinion apportioning the share of blame attaching to any individual or party for the unfortunate events that occurred at Surat. Opinions differed strongly at the time the incidents occurred and have continued to differ ever since. There is no doubt that the Extremists* opposition was entirely due to a genuine fear that the Moderates were bent upon altering the resolutions on Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education and Self-Government. It seems to be equally clear that in spite of all that has been said to the contrary, the Moderates were not anxious to dissipate that fear. The fact remains that although it was quite well-known for days together that all the troubles that were likely to occur were due to this fear, the authorities in charge of the session did not allay it by taking the Extremist leaders into confidence regarding the actual wording ot‘ the resolutions. At this distance of lime, when all the party excitement is over, it is difficult, nay impossible, to believe that this obvious remedy for the whole trouble did not suggest itself to the Moderate leaders. Gokhale's plea that on account of difficulties of the printing press the draft resolutions could not be circulated before the actual session of the Congress began, can hardly be taken seriously, and its use as an argument against his ability to satisfy Tilak may be taken to indicate his guilty conscience. Equally untenable is his defence that the draft resolutions were not got ready as he had to spend a long time in preparing the draft of the resolutions on reforms. All that was needed was to show the resolutions on the four subjects, mentioned above, in manuscript, to conciliate the Extremist leaders. When it is remembered that Tilak made it repeatedly clear that they would withdraw all their opposition if they got an assurance that the status quo would be maintained, and that in spite of it none of the Moderate leaders, not even Surendra-nath, who was personally approached by Tilak, did come forward to satisfy him on this point, one cannot altogether exonerate the Moderates from the charge that at least an influential section of them undoubtedly entertained the view that the Calcutta resolutions should be whittled down. The other plea of Gokhale that no guarantee could be given beforehand regarding the resolutions on those topics, as the Subjects Committee was the final authority in this matter, must also be regarded as a rather poor and lame excuse; for although Gokhale was legally and technically quite right, it is difficult to believe that a seasoned politician like him could not realise that all that was intended by Tilak and was bound to satisfy him was a verbal assurance from eminent Moderate leaders that they would support the resolutions exactly in the form in which they were passed in Calcutta. Tilak could not have very well said or demanded that the Subjects Committee should have no say in the matter. All that was evidently required by him and his party was the assurance mentioned above. This assurance the Moderate leaders could have easily given them without infringing the rights or the legal position of the Subjects Committee, if they had no design to modify these militant resolutions and really intended to conciliate the Extremists and thereby avoid the critical situation with which the Congress session was threatened.

As regards the standpoint of Tilak that he had a right to speak before the President delivered his Address, the legal position is not after all so clearly against him as it was supposed at the time. He had sent a notice of a resolution, and if the Chairman of the Reception Committee thought it was out of order, it was his plain duty to inform him beforehand or to announce it openly in the meeting that a notice was given by Tilak for a motion of adjournment but he had ruled it out of order. It appears from the version of the incident, as given by Tilak and the members of his party, that the actual wording of the motion was to move an adjournment, and under the ordinary rules of meeting a motion of adjournment could be moved at any stage, and there .was nothing contrary to it in the Congress Constitution.

Of course, it may be argued that although Tilak's position was legal, he was certainly not morally justified in breaking the convention of the Congress according to which the nominee of the Reception Committee for the office of the President was always approved by the open session, such approval being merely a formal affair. But against this it may be pointed out that Tilak and his party felt that the retrogression of the Calcutta resolutions was so vital a matter that they were justified in opposing it in any constitutional manner. This they had openly said and intimated to the authorities. Their conduct is not therefore so reprehensible, after all, as it might otherwise appear, particularly if it is remembered that the venue of the Congress, decided upon by the Congress, was changed without any valid ground, and the Extremists had every reason to believe that it was a clear manipulation on the part of Pherozeshah Mehta in order to secure a Reception Committee favourable to the Moderates.

In the light of later events it is not difficult to make a reasonable guess of the motive that actuated the Moderates. Large instalments of reforms were promised by Morley, and the Moderates believed, perhaps rightly, that these would be withheld if the Moderates could not prove the bonafides of their moderation and loyalty to the British by dissociating themselves from the Extremists. The Moderate leaders, who regarded the reforms as their life's work, and honestly believed that these would regenerate the country, were not prepared to sacrifice them for the sake of the Extremists, an upstart body who, they thought, would lead the country to rack and ruin, if allowed to grow in power. It was this spirit that induced the Moderates to save the reforms at any cost, even by cutting themselves adrift from the exponents of other political views. As will be shown later, the visible or invisible hand of Morley was probably at the back of the decision of the Moderates. They did exactly the same thing in 1918 at the bidding of Montagu.

The Calcutta session of 1906 marks a turning point in the history of the Congress. By the adoption of the resolutions regarding Boycott, Swadeshi , National Education and Self-Government the Indian National Congress identified itself with the Swadeshi

movement and accepted its programme as its own. In other words, the Congress now reflected the school of advanced national ideas. This was not admitted by many Moderates, but there could be no mistake of the fact. Whatever the Moderate leaders might say regarding the continuity of their policy, their own attitude towards the 'militant' resolutions, in Banaras in 1905 and at Surat in 1907, leaves no doubt on the point. Every impartial observer would admit that the Congress in 1905 dared not, at least refused to, accept, and the Congress in 1907 was anxious to repudiate, the militant resolutions passed in 1906. Some Moderates deny the truth of this last charge. This question has already been discussed. But it is very significant that since 1908 when the Extremists left the Congress and the Moderates were left to themselves, the two militant resolutions concerning Boycott and National Education were never passed, nor even discussed by the Congress. All this proves the triumph of the new Nationalists—or Extremists—in 1906. It might have been a passing phase, but their triumph, for the time being, cannot be seriously challenged.

The Calcutta session in 1906 was the last session when the Congress dominated by the old guards—the Moderates—represented the country as a whole. During the next ten years it was a party organization, pure and simple, and had no claim to represent national views. When in 1916 the Congress again became, in reality as well as in name, both 'Indian' and 'National', it ceased to be dominated by the Moderates. New leaders and new ideas had taken the place of the old.

1. Vol. X, pp.,585 ff.

2. Mukherjees-V, pp. 173-4.

3. These have been published together in the form of a booklet entitled The Doctrine of Passive Resistance (Arya Publishing House, 1948). In an article in the Karmayogin (22 January, 1910) Arabinda remarked: "Bipin Chandra Pal is the prophet and first preacher of Passive Resistance." This was taken

by many to mean that B.C. Pal was the author of the seven articles, the first of which appeared in the Bande Mataram on 11 April (not 9 April as stated in the booklet—an error pointed out to me by Sri Haridas Mukherjee). But Arabinda himself wrote on 5 December, 1944. to Charu-chandra Datta: "I was the writer of the series of articles on the 'Passive Resistance' published in April, 1907. Bipin Pal had nothing to do with it." (Sri Aurobindo on himself and on the Mother , p. 93). It may be noted that Tilak, in a speech in Calcutta on 2 January, 1907, referred to the fundamental principles of Passive Resistance (Speeches of Tilak , editet by R. R. Srivastava, pp. 189-93).

4. Doctrine of Passive Resistance, p. 35 ff. Arabinda also develops the idea that self-development is supplementary and necessary to the scheme propounded above, and points out that the boycott of foreign goods. Government schools, law-courts and Executive Administration necessarily implies Swadeshi, national education, arbitration, and league of mutual defence (Loving Homage, pp. 283 ff.).

5. It was separately published as a pamphlet.

6. Speech delivered on 19 January, 1908, at the Bombay National Institution quoted in Bharat Purush Sri Arabinda by Upendra-chandra Bhattacharya,

pp. 95-7.

7. Speech delivered at the Conference at Jhalakathi, Barisal, at the end of June, 1909 (ibid, pp. 132-3).

8. Ibid, p. 46.

9. Modern Review, I. p- 287

10. See pp. 1, 63.

11. Besant, pp. 426-7

12. See p. 68.

13. Countess Minto, p. 20

14. Besant, pp. 427-8.

15. Zacharias, p. 144.

16. Presidential Address, Varanasi Congress.

16a. See above, pp. 75-6.

17. H.P. Ghosh, The Congress, p. 119

18. Chintamani, p- 58

19. Besant, p. 452.

20. The leading article in the issue of 30 December, 1906 (Quoted in Mukherjees. V, 179-81).

21. Modern Review, I. pp. 286-8

22. A summary of the prolonged controversy between the Moderates and the Extremists, covering the main points of difference, both in theory and action, is given in the History oj the Freedom Movement in India , by R. C. Majumdar (Vol. II, pp. 175-95).

23. Four different accounts are given of this incident by four persons who were present at the Congress pandal at the time. These are Arabinda Ghosh, M. R- Jayakar, the journalist H. W. Nevinson, and a Police official specially deputed by the Government to take down notes of the meeting. Of course, there are many other conflicting accounts both by eye-witnesses and others. It is interesting to note that the Police Report definitely says that the shoe was hurled at Tilak and not at Surend"a-nath or Pherozeshah Mehta who were actually struck. For the latest discussions on the subject cf. P.I.H.C-, 1958, pp. 543-8; Annual Addiess at the Bihar Research Society by Dr. B. Majumdar in 1965.

CHAPTER V

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD MIN TO

I. INTRODUCTION

"Lord Curzon has strewn Lord Minto's bed with thorns and he must lie on them". 1 This pithy remark of the shrewd old Pratab Singh correctly sums up the whole situation. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal, the Swadeshi movement, and the repressive measures adopted by the Government described in chapter III, created a critical situation and even Sir Denzil Ibbetson, a great admirer of Curzon, and a member of the Viceroy's Council, observe ed: "Never has a Viceroy found such a tangled web or such a heri-* tage of difficulties as Lord Minto". To make matters worse, the Prince and Princess of Wales were shortly due to arrive in India, and it was uncertain what kind of reception they would have in certain parts of the country.

It was also difficult for the new Viceroy to make a correct appraisal of the situation. His bureaucratic advisers were always in the habit of looking at things through their highly coloured spectacles. As regards Bengal, he was told that "disappointed agitators of the Congress group had seized upon this grievance (Partition of Bengal) as a means of keeping up a ferment of political feeling". 2 As regards the Punjab, it was, of course, the work of the Arya-Samajists. The officials never realized the real state of public feeling and the causes that led to it. They regarded everybody and everything at fault except themselves and their actions. It was one of the greatest tragedies of British rule that these officials alone were the eyes and ears of a new Viceroy who was completely ignorant of the Indian situation. The stamp which they impressed upon his mind was never altogether effaced, even after he had acquired experience.

Bengal was already in a great ferment when Minto took over charge, but ere long the situation was rendered far more serious by the growth of terrorism and the gradual development of a spirit of militant nationalism, as described in Chapter III. But the troubles were not confined to Bengal. The Punjab was also a seething mass of discontent. The difficulties of Lord Minto, great as they were, were further aggravated by the autocratic conduct of the LieutenantGovernors of the Punjab and the newly created Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

II. EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

Lord Min to showed courage and statesmanship in dealing with Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of the newly created Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. This member of the I.C.S. did not make any secret of his special attachment to the Muslims and aversion against the Hindus. 3 Already in the first six months of his tenure of office he had made many blunders. One of the tyrannical features of his regime was the quartering of Gurkha troops, simply to terrorise the people. The situation created by letting loose a band of hardy mountaineers, with little culture and less morals such as generally characterize soldiers, upon peoples or mojussil towns can be far more readily imagined than described. Mr. Morley was eager that he (Fuller) should be removed.

Lord Minto also was fully aware of the freaks and pranks of Fuller, and felt convinced that his administration constituted a grave danger, but, according to his biographer, “shrank.from the step which would certainly be misconstrued by the critics of the Government”. 4 But fortune favoured Minto. Fuller was angry at the conduct of the pupils of two schools and requested the University of Calcutta to disaffiliate the two institutions. Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, the Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, succeeded in convincing Lord Minto, the Chancellor, of the unwisdom of the step. Thereupon the Government of India requested Fuller to withdraw his recommendation to the Calcutta University for disaffiliation of the two schools. But Fuller refused, saying that he would rather resign than withdraw his recommendation. He was, of course, firm in his belief that the Viceroy would not dare take this extreme step. “It seemed to be impossible’’, says he, “that the higher authorities would accept the lowering of British prestige, and the administrative confusion that would be involved in my retirement”.[43] Fuller also told Morley that he did not expect that his resignation would be accepted. But, unfortunately for Fuller, Minto took him at his word and accepted his resignation. Morley also heartily approved of it and telegraphed his concurrence without delay. It was not a sudden, nor a precipitate, action on the part of Minto or Morley. For some time past they were both seriously disturbed by the reported activities of Fuller.

III. THE PUNJAB

The terrorist organisation did not make as much headway in the Punjab as in Bengal. Nevertheless, the situation grew very tense in 1907-08, and riots took place in Lahore and Rawalpindi. The people strongly resented the fact that while Indian editors and printers were imprisoned for the national propaganda, the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore, the leading Anglo-Indian paper, was carrying on with impunity a systematic and scurrilous campaign against the Indians, particularly the educated classes. “They were spoken of as ‘babbling B.A.’s’, ‘base-born B.A.’s,’ ‘an unhonoured nobility of the school’, ‘serfs’, ‘beggars on horseback*, ‘servile classes’, ‘a class that carries a stigma,’ and so on. When petitioned twice to put an end to this kind of journalism as stirring up strife between the races, Sir Denzil Ibbeston, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, regretted the tone of the articles but refused to prosecute.”[5]

In order to provoke wrath and hatred against the Indians the Civil and Military Gazette spread all sorts of alarming reports of revolutionary activities which had absolutely no foundation in facts. It was responsible for the rumour that the fiftieth anniver* sary of the revolutionary outbreak of 1857 would be celebrated on May 10, 1907, by a similar rising against the Europeans. The rumour was taken seriously and measures were actually taken in many localities for the protection of British lives. But while no steps were taken against this paper, the editor and proprietor of ‘ India* was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for publishing a letter from America addressed to the Indian troops.

The situation was further aggravated by the unwise action of the Local Government in respect of the Canal Colonies. The irrigation rates as well as the land-revenue were increased and the Government rushed through the Legislative Council a "Colonization Bill", taking away some of the privileges which were promised to the settlers in the Chenab Colony by the Act of 1893. These measures were strongly resented and a number of public meetings were held to protest against them. The leaders of the movement were Ajit Singh and Syed Hyder Riza, who founded an organization called "Indian Patriots' Association", and Lajpat Rai also occasionally addressed the public meetings, criticising the Government measures.

The people of Rawalpindi District were specially affected by the increase of land-revenue. In a public meeting held on April 21, 1907, at Rawalpindi, Ajit Singh made a violent attack upon the increase of land assessment, calling upon the peasants to stop cultivation until the amount was reduced. Ajit Singh was, however, called to order by the President and left the meeting in rage.

Nevertheless, the Deputy-Commissioner served a notice on the President and two respectable pleaders to attend a public inquiry into the matter to bb held on 2 May, at 11 a.m. They regarded the notice as illegal and decided to disobey it. But there was a vast crowd near the Court on May 2, and it was swelled by

a large number of labourers employed in Government and private workshops, who had gone on strike. The Deputy-Commissioner did not arrive at the scene till 12-30, and according to telegraphic instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor, announced the postponement of the public inquiry. The crowd thereupon broke into violence, in the course of which they "destroyed and burnt some furniture from a mission house and church, and damaged some gardens and houses of Europeans, together with a Hindu workshop, where the men were on strike. The police did not appear but troops patrolled the town later". 6

The Government now took vindictive measures, not only against the three persons upon whom notice was served, though they were not present in the scene of the riot, but also against three other prominent lawyers. They were arrested and kept in jail, no bail being allowed during the hot months of the year (May to September), at the end of which, on October 1, the Magistrate acquitted them declaring that the evidence was ‘fabricated'. Sixty other persons were also arrested on account of the riot, of whom only five were convicted for riot and arson, and sentenced to imprisonment for terms varying from three to seven years. In the meantime much mischief had been caused by the rumour about the ‘Anniversary of the Mutiny’, spread by the Anglo-Indian papers like the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore. It produced a highly nervous tension in the British community in India. They expected trouble between 8 and 11 May, and reports reached even Minto “of Europeans arming everywhere : of British soldiers sleeping with rifles by their sides and of the unauthorised issue by Commanding Officers of Army rifles and ammunition to civilians wherewith to defend themselves”. 7 The Punjab Government was seized with panic and made an urgent representation to the Government of India in the shape of a minute written by the Lieutenant-Governor.

A summary of the official version of the state of things in the Punjab is given in the following telegram from Lord Minto to Morley, dated 8 May, 1907: “Three days ago we received a weighty and urgent minute from Ibbetson on the present political situation in

the Punjab.He describes a state of things giving rise to the

greatest apprehensions. Everywhere the extremists openly and continuously preach sedition, both in the press and at largely attended public meetings convened by them, while well-disposed classes stand aghast at our inaction and will before long, in Ibbetson’s opinion, begin to despise a Government which permits sedition to flourish unrebuked and submits to open and organized insult.

“The campaign of sedition assumes two main forms. In the towns of Lahore, Amritsar, Pindi, Ferozepore, Multan and other places,— 7a has openly advocated the murder of high officials and he and others have urged the people to rise, attack the English, and be free. In the country systematic efforts are being made to corrupt the yeomanry from whom the army is recruited. Special attention is given to Sikhs and military pensioners; seditious leaflets are circulated to Sikh villages, and, at a public meeting at Ferozepore, -where disaffection was openly preached, the men of the Sikh regiments stationed there were invited to attend, and several hundred were present. The Sikhs are told that they saved India for us in the Mutiny, that we are now ill-treating them, and that this is a judgment on them for betraying their country in her

war of independence.It is alleged that we wish to crush the

flourishing indigenous industries of cotton and sugar-cane; it is said that we have taken the people's money and given them paper in return, and the villagers are asked who will cash our currency notes when we are gone. The people are urged to combine to withhold payment of Government revenue, water rates, and other dues; to refuse supplies, carriages and other help to Government Officers, on tour, and Native soldiers and police are pilloried as 'traitors' and abjured to quit the service of the Government.

"This propaganda is organized and directed by a secret committee of the Arya Samaj, a society, originally religious, which has, in the Punjab, a strong political tendency.

"The head and centre of the entire movement is Lala Lajpat Rai, a Khatri pleader, who has visited England as the Congress representative of the Punjab. He is a revolutionary and a political enthusiast who is inspired by the most intense hatred of the British Government. He keeps himself in the background, but the Lieutenant-Governor has been assured by nearly every native gentleman who has spoken to him on the subject that he is the organizer-in-chief. His most prominent agent in disseminating sedition is A jit Singh, formerly a school-master, employed last year by the supposed Russian spy Lasseff. He is the most violent of the speakers at political meetings; he has frequently advocated active resistance to Government and his utterances are largely directed to exciting discontent among the agricultural classes and the soldiery. After dwelling upon the objections to prosecuting these men under the ordinary law, and the impossibility under present conditions of producing satisfactory evidence of what has been actually said at a meeting, the Lieutenant-Governor made a formal official application for the issue of warrants against them under Regulation III of 1818, and laid stress upon the extreme urgency of immediate action, as the situation, instead of improving, shows signs of growing seriously worse". 8

There is hardly any doubt that the Government of India shared the panic of the Punjab Government.

Minto wrote to Morley:

"Though I think less seriously than many do of the present situation, and believe that immediate trouble will disappear, one must not disguise from oneself how little it would take to set the whole of India in a blaze." 9 It need hardly cause any surprise, therefore, that when the minute of the Lieutenant-Governor was placed before the Viceroy's Executive Council they regarded the deportation of Lajpat Rai and A jit Singh to be imperatively necessary and warrants were immediately issued against them.

This was the beginning of the series of repressive measures which characterized the regime of Lord Minto. But he also foreshadowed his future policy by combining repression with conciliation. He had the sense to perceive that the Colonization Bill, which was partly responsible for all these troubles, was an unjust measure. So he refused his assent to the Bill and quiet was somewhat restored in the Punjab. A letter which he wrote in this connection to Morley, the Secretary of State, contains a noble sentiment and a just principle which, unfortunately, very seldom influenced the Government, either in India or at home. "I hate the argument," said Minto, "that to refuse to sanction what we know to be wrong is a surrender to agitation and an indication of weakness. It is far weaker, to my mind, to persist in a wrong course for fear of being thought weak." 10

IV. MOPLEY AND MINTO

The stern measures taken in East Bengal by Sir Bampfylde Fuller, and continued, to a large extent, by his successor, Sir Lancelot Hare, failed to check the nationalist spirit and, as mentioned above, it gradually spread all over India. The Boycott and Swadeshi movement had been transformed into a mighty urge for national regeneration and political freedom which manifested itself in various ways. There was a general spirit of open defiance against the Government, and speeches and writings denouncing it not unoften exceeded the bounds set up by law. Prosecution of persons for writing seditious books and articles in newspapers, and delivering seditious speeches became the order of the day. The whole thing moved in vicious circles. The repressive measures increased the spirit of resistance and further embittered the tone of writings and speeches; they became not only more violent, but also more widely spread, affecting larger sections of men in ever-widening

areas; the terrorist activities also grew more and more menacing. Faced with this situation, the Government, anxious to maintain law and order, adopted still more severe and autocratic measures. The effect was, however, exactly the opposite of what was intended. Far from improving, the situation grew worse every day. Thus, by the end of 1908, law and order as well as rule of law had simultaneously vanished from the country. Unlimited autocracy on the one hand, and unchecked violence on the other, acted and reacted upon each other and created an extremely tense and critical situation.

Neither the Secretary of State nor the Viceroy, however, was oblivious of the fact that mere repression would not end the troubles, but the grievances which gave birth to them should be removed as far as possible. It was a good principle, but its application was not an easy one. It was well-known that the partition of Bengal was the root cause of all the evils. If Morley and Minto had taken courage in both hands and rescinded the partition in 1906, as Crewe and Hardinge did five years later, all might have been well. But the sense of prestige was too high to allow the Government to do so, even though some of the highest authorities were convinced that the measure was wrong in principle and execution and disastrous in its effect. 11 The next best remedy would have been to satisfy the reasonable political aspirations of the people by conceding reforms in a generous spirit. But here, again, neither Morley nor Minto was prepared to go very far. Even the moderate demands of the Indian National Congress appeared too high to them. But, in spite of this general agreement, there was a vital difference between Morley and Minto, both as regards fundamental principles and the method of administration. In particular their views differed very widely about the new spirit represented by the Indian National Congress and the establishment of autocratic rule in the place of rule by law. Hardly six months had passed since Minto's arrival in India before he conceived a dislike for that national organization and wrote to Morley on 28 May, 1906: "As to Congress... we must recognise them and be friends with the best of them, yet I am afraid there is much that is absolutely disloyal in the movement and that there is danger for the future.** Minto was so much perturbed by the disloyal spirit spreading from Bengal to the rest of India, that he looked upon the Congress as the source of all troubles, and in true Curzonian spirit wanted to curb its influence, if not to kill it outright like his illustrious predecessor, who knew no half-way and was always thorough-going in whatever he took up. Thus we find Minto writing in the same letter to Morley: "I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to

Congress aims. I think we may find a solution in the Council of Princes, or in an elaboration of that idea; a Privy Council not of Native Rulers, but of a few other big men to meet, say, once a year for a week or a fortnight at Delhi for instance. Subjects for discussion and procedure would have to be very carefully thought out, but we should get different ideas from those of Congress, emanating from men already possessing great interest in the good government of India... ." 12 . In other words, Minto seriously thought that a body of 'yes* men, autocratic and irresponsible by birth, servile and sycophant to the Government of India by necessity, and without a modicum of knowledge of, and vestige of influence in, British India, could counter-balance the influence of the Congress.

Morley, with his wider knowledge of history and struggles for freedom in Europe, took a more philosophic view of the discontent and turmoil in India, and was inclined to treat the popular upheaval, not as a war between the people and the Government but as a matter to be settled by a genuine understanding between the two in a spirit of sympathy. He therefore never ceased to urge upon Minto that he should tinge the repressive measures with sympathy. Minto's mind was more influenced by the actual situation he saw around him than by the lessons of history or teachings of philosophy. In the letter to Morley, referred to above, he had the candour to speak out his mind very freely:

“I cannot say how much I am with you as to ‘sympathy*.

But with all one’s desire for ‘sympathy’ one must not lose sight of hard facts. We are here a small British garrison, surrounded by millions composed of factors of an inflammability unknown to the Western world, unsuited to Western forms of Government, and we must be physically strong or go to the wall. I can imagine a want of knowledge at home, an exaggerated idea of the value of Western forms of Government, and the eloquence of political agitators from the East, who would not hold their own for an instant in their own country, proving very dangerous to India.” 13

Morley’s reply, dated 6 June, shows the characteristic difference between a truly Liberal and a Conservative in English politics, so far at least as their attitude towards India was concerned. The substantial part of this letter reads as follows: “Fundamental difference between us, I really believe there is none. Not one whit more than you do I think it desirable or possible, or even conceivable, to adapt English political institutions to the nations who inhabit India. Assuredly not in your day or mine. But the spirit of English institutions is a different thing, and it is a thing that we

cannot escape even if we wished, which I hope we don’t. I say we cannot escape it, because the British constituencies are the masters, and they will assuredly insist—all parties alike—on the spirit of their own political system being applied to India. The party of ascendency fought that spirit in Ireland for a. good many generations; but at last ascendency has broken down. No Unionist denies it. This is what Gokhale and his friends have found out, and you make a great mistake if you don’t allow for the effect that they may produce in the Press, on the platforms, and in the House of Commons. Cast-iron bureaucracy won’t go on for ever, we may be quite sure of that, and the only thing to be done by men in your place and mine is to watch coolly and impartially, and take care that whatever change must come shall come slow and steady. We are one in all that, I am sure. Pray do not think that 1 am afraid of the House of Commons. Nobody respects it more, and just because I respect it so much, nobody fears it less.

"Suppose the designs of the extreme men are as mischievous, impracticable, and sinister as anybody pleases. Call them a band of plotters, agitators, what you will. Is that any reason why we should at every turn back up all executive authority through thick and thin, wise or silly, right or wrong? Surely that is the very way to play the agitator's game. It really sets up his case for him. Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Sir W. Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you,' and so forth and so forth. That is what they all cry out. I don't know how true this may or may not be. I have no sort of ambition for us to take part in any grand revolution during my time of responsibility, whether it be long or short. Just the very opposite. You need have no apprehension whatever of a private telegram reaching you from me some fine morning, requesting you at once to summon an Indian Duma. On the other hand I don't want to walk blindfold in the ways of autocracy". The change in Minto's tone was almost immediate. In his reply to Morley, dated 27 June, he admits that "there is change in the air." He then continues: "What the change will be, or how or when it will come, it is impossible to say, but accepting the Congress party as one of the chief factors of that change I have said ever since I have been here, that one must recognize it as a power with which we have to deal and with whose leaders we must reckon." 14

But though obviously influenced by Morley, Minto could not altogether shed the bureaucratic temperament which he had already imbibed. He refers to the Congress movement as "entirely Bengali" and their leaders largely connected with the Native Press, whose tone was "almost universally disloyal" and the "control of which they are acquiring throughout India".

Morley, free from close bureaucratic control and with ears open to a wider public, had also the immense advantage of wide knowledge, political experience, and a liberal tradition. He could therefore take a more realistic view of the Indian situation and undoubtedly had a firmer grasp of the essential facts. His conception of the real remedy for Indian evils was more in consonance with Indian views. He expressed it in his characteristic way:

“The promotion of reforms was one main limb of our work; the other was the suppression of disorder and sedition. 'The task was steady perseverance with the first, along with . firmness in the second.” 15

As regards the methods of dealing with the troublesome situation, there was similar difference between Morley and Minto. There is no gainsaying the fact that Minto’s regime of five years had the worst record, so far, of British autocracy and oppression, with the sole exception of the dark days of the Mutiny. Poor John Morley, with all his sympathy, had to look on, and sanction the measures one after another. His personal temperament and the traditions of his high office stood in the way of his boldly standing up against all this tyranny. All that he could do was to stop one or two measures which “made his flesh creep”. For the rest, he thundered out adjectives like ‘atrocious’, ‘outrageous’, ‘monstrous’ etc., but had not the courage to stop the car of Jagannath which moved steadily on its course, mercilessly crushing under its wheels thousands of fighters for freedom, martyrs whose blood whetted the knives of the terrorists and consecrated the ground whereon the temple of liberty was to be built in future. The dog barked, but the caravan went on.

The voluminous correspondence between Morley and Minto possesses a unique interest for the students of Indian history and of human nature It reveals the conflict between a liberal and a conservative mentality—between two personalities, one, a sedentary philosopher with abundance of liberal ideas but little of active energy, and the other, a bold, energetic rider who could easily jump the hedges with little concern for its probable consequences. The background of this conflict was the beginning of the great fight between British imperialism and nascent Indian nationalism

which, with occasional truce, went on till the victory was won by the latter. But for the correspondence, much that we know of this eventful period of Indian history would have remained obscure, much would have been misunderstood, and the role played by the two great actors would never have been assessed at its proper value. It is a rare privilege for a historian to have access to firsthand materials of this type, and he may be excused for laying too much emphasis on these as source materials for his history, and quoting lengthy extracts from the writings of the actors themselves rather than purveying his own summary and interpretation of them. 15 ®

V. REPRESSIVE MEASURES

Morley and Minto initiated the policy of reform cum repression which was henceforth adopted by successive Viceroys and the Government at home as the basis of British administration in India. But although the two policies were pursued side by side and synchronised to a certain extent, it would be more convenient to deal with them separately. As Reforms were made effective long after the repressive measures were undertaken, these latter may be taken up first. The repressive measures may be treated under the following heads:

1. Legislation curtailing the normal rights of individuals.

2. Effect of the Press Act of 1910.

3. Prosecution for sedition.

4. Deportation without trial.

1. Repressive Laws

Lord Minto had shown great courage and firmness in accepting the resignation of Fuller, but this did not bring peace to Bengal. The unrest and violence in Bengal went on increasing, and as situation worsened day by day, repressive laws followed one another in quick succession. No less than five Acts, seriously curtailing the ordinary rights of citizens, were passed between November, 1907, and August, 1910.

An Ordinance was issued by the Viceroy on 11 May, 1907, restricting severely the right of holding public meetings. No such meeting could be held without giving seven days’ written notice to the Magistrate, who could prohibit it or send police to watch its proceedings. As an Ordinance was only a temporary measure, valid for six months, the Government of India now proposed to put this as well as a series of other repressive laws permanently on the Statute Book.* Morley, the great democrat and biographer

of Gladstone, at first shrank from sanctioning these measures. He frankly confessed that the proposed Press law gave him “some shivers”. He knew full well the reactionary policy of some members of the Viceroy’s Council, and refused to bow to their opinions. In his private correspondence with Minto, Morley referred to these colleagues of his as Tchinovniks (despotic Russian officials) and made no secret of his entire disapproval of their views and judgment. Once he wrote to Minto, in a sarcastic vein, about them: “And now, by the way, that we have got down the rusty sword of 1818, I wish you would deport Dane and O’Connor.” 15 ^ The honest John (as Morley was popularly called) vetoed the reactionary proposals of the Government of India by telegraph. On 23 August, 1907, he explained his position to Minto in a letter full of admirable ideas and sentiments which would do credit to the most advanced member of the Liberal party.

But in spite of all his magnificent utterances, Morley was persuaded by repeated demands of the Government to sanction a series of the most repressive legal measures. The first was the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1907. It required the conveners of a public meeting of more than 20 persons, for any purpose whatsoever, to give three days’ notice to the authorities who could prohibit the meeting, forbid any specified person from addressing any meeting allowed to be held, impose any other restrictions on it they thought fit, and send police to attend such meetings. The definition of ‘public meetings’ was so worded that it could be applied to any meeting, even a social gathering of more than 20 persons in a private house. The restrictions proposed had no precedent in the annals of British rule, and the Home Member himself referred to the Act as “ repressive measure of considerable potency”. Sir Rash-behari Ghosh characterised the legislation as an attempt to kill all political life in the country. In 1910 the Seditious Meetings Act expired at the end of three years to which its duration was limited. So in August, 1910, the Act was continued up to the 31st March, 1911. It was then replaced by a permanent Act of the same kind, with modifications removing some of the glaring iniquities. 16

When the Seditious Meetings Act was discussed in 1907, Rashbehari Ghosh voiced the opinion of all Indians, including the Moderates, when he observed that the Seditious Meetings Act “will be potent for one purpose only, namely the propagation of the bacillus of secret sedition”. His words proved prophetic. Within a short time the terrorist crimes multiplied, and secret organizations for manufacture of bombs came to light. Then followed the bomb outrage at Muzaffarpore.[17] All this unnerved the Government and two repressive legal measures were passed on 8 June, 1908, in the course of a single day, by suspending the ordinary rules of procedure.

The first, the Explosive Substances Act of 1908, laid down heavy penalty— extending to transportation for fourteen years— for one who possessed bombs or materials and implements for preparing them, or helped in any way to manufacture bombs or store materials that may be used for the purpose. For causing explosion, even though no loss of life occurred, or for even an intent or attempt to do the same, one was liable to transportation for twenty years, or imprisonment for seven years. Lastly, “any person who, by supply of or solicitation for money, the providing of premises, the supply of materials, or in any manner whatsoever, procures, counsels, aids, abets, or is accessory to, the commission of any offence under this Act, shall be punished with the punishment provided for the offence.”

The other Act, Newspapers (Incitement. to offences) Act of 1908, authorised the District Magistrate not only to “extinguish a newspaper”, i.e. stop its publication, but also to confiscate the printing press where it was printed or intended to be printed, if in his opinion the newspaper contained any incitement to (1) murder,

(2) any offence under the Explosive Act, just mentioned above, or

(3) any acts of violence. In the original draft of the Act, the Magistrate’s order was final, but at the instance of the Secretary of State, an appeal was allowed to the High Court within fifteen days. As a result of action taken

under this Act three well-known organs of the Extremist party in Bengal, the Bande Mdtaram, Sandhya and Yugantar had to cease publication.

As will be shown in the next section, the Government launched many prosecutions under these Acts, and a large number of persons were convicted. Even these successful prosecutions, involving heavy sentences, did not satisfy the Government of India. On 11 December, 1908, they passed in a single sitting of the Council the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, which changed the normal procedure of the Penal Code. A Magistrate, after an ex-parte enquiry, could send the accused for trial by a Special Bench of the High Court, consisting of three judges, without a jury. The court could accept as valid evidence not admitted under ordinary law, and their decision was final.

The Act also authorised the Government to declare, as unlawful, any association which it regarded as inimical to peace and order. The organisation of meetings by such unlawful associations, and taking part in, or even attending or helping, any such meeting were punishable with imprisonment.

The Provincial Government might, by notification, take possession of any place used for the purposes of an unlawful association and evict any person from such place. If the officer taking possession of such places found any movable property which could be used for the unlawful association, such property would be confiscated (properties not for the furtherance of unlawful association to be returned to the owner). When the Government was satisfied that any monies or securities of credits were being used or intended for the purposes of an unlawful association, the same could be confiscated. “An association shall not be deemed to have ceased to exist by reason of any formal act of dissolution or change of title, but shall be deemed to continue so long as any actual combination for the purpose of such association continues between any members thereof.” Such were the drastic provisions of the Act. Though aimed at terrorist organizations it led to the extinction of many public bodies doing useful service to society.

The year 1908 was thus a Black Year which saw the passing of so many repressive measures. It fittingly ended with the deportation of nine public men of Bengal, as will be noted later.

The Government had now stifled public life in a thorough-going manner by imposing restrictions on Press and public meetings, and removing all healthy rules and procedure ensuring impartial justice. Political associations were banned and public meetings for political purposes were practically prohibited altogether. As regards the Press, the Government already possessed wide powers of prosecuting newspapers for sedition and demanding security, under the Indian Penal Code, and the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, enabled them to suppress papers preaching violent action. But the Government of India felt that even these powers were not enough and they pushed a new Press Act through the Imperial Legislative Council, by suspending ordinary rules of procedure.

The Indian Press Act of 1910 empowered the District Magistrate to require the keeper of a printing press and publisher of a newspaper to deposit security to any amount between five hundred and five thousand rupees, in case of existing, and between five hundred and two thousand for new, keepers of printing-presses and publishers of newspapers which would be forfeited for publication of seditious or objectionable matter defined in such wide terms as to include almost any independent criticism of the Government, or any writing against the Indian princes, judges, executive officers and public servants. All attempts, direct or indirect, to seduce persons employed in His Majesty's defence forces, or to intimidate people to give money for revolutionary work, or to prevent them from giving help in discovering and punishing revolutionary crime, were included in the definition of objectionable matter. It was the Local Government and not any court of law which was to decide whether any matter was objectionable or not. If the security were forfeited, fresh securities of heavier amounts, between one and ten thousand, were to be deposited. If a further offence was committed after that, not only the security, but the printing press and offending publication were to be forfeited. An appeal against the order of the Local Government could be made to the High Court and was to be tried by a Special Bench of three Judges.

The Act also empowered the Local Governments to require the Post Office or the Customs Office to detain any packet or parcel suspected to contain any objectionable matter as defined in the Act and to forward the same to the Local Governments.

The Local Governments were also empowered to declare any book, newspaper, or other document, wherever printed, to be forfeited, if it contained ‘prohibited matter’. The definition of ‘prohibited matter’, given in the Act, was detailed and comprehensive. It included incitements to murder or acts of violence, inferences, suggestions, allusions, metaphors tending to seduce soldiers from their allegiance, or to bring the British Government or any native chief, or any class of His Majesty’s subjects into contempt, or to intimidate public servants or private individuals.

It is significant in many ways that this Act of 1910 was the first great measure dealt with by the new Imperial Council set up under the Act of 1909. It was supported by the Indian members, including Gokhale. It was not merely the assassinations, conspiracies, or political dacoities that filled him with anxiety, but also the ideas antagonistic to the continuance of British rule in India which were quite as serious as anything else. He considered the writings of a section of the Press as one of the causes contributing to this result. Minto naturally felt highly elated at the attitude of the leader of the Moderate party. He took justifiable pride at the Reforms of 1909 in the speech he delivered on the occasion: “The members of the greatly enlarged Council, thoroughly representative of Indian interests, have passed what may be justly called a ‘repressive’ measure, because they believe, with the Government of India, that that measure is essential to the welfare of this country. In doing so they have furnished the proof, which I have always hoped and believed that they would furnish, that increased representation of Indian interests and communities would not weaken, but would vastly strengthen British administration.” 18 But though Minto patted the Indian members on the back when they supported the Government, no importance was attached to their views when they were against the Government. Even Gokhale, who supported the Bill, had to enter an emphatic protest against its ruthless application. But no heed was paid to it.

The new legislations mentioned above did not stand alone. They merely supplemented the Sections 124 A, 153 A and 505 of the Indian Penal Code enacted in 1898. These are reproduced below in order to give an idea of the powers which were already possessed by the Executive Government to bring to book anyone who preached sedition or did any seditious act, taking the word sedition in a very comprehensive sense.

Section 124 A (Indian Penal Code) as redrafted in 1898:

"Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.

"Explanation 1. The Expression 'disaffection' includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity. 19

Section 153 A (Indian Penal Code):

"Whoever, by words, either spoken or written or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or fine, or with both.

Section 505 (Indian Penal Code) as amended in 1898: "Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report,

(a) With intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine or in the Imperial Service Troops to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such; or,

(b) With intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity; or,

(c) With intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community; shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years or with fine, or with both,"

2, The effects of the Press Act of 1910

The effects of the working of the Act during the period 19091919 were briefly summarised by the Secretary of the Indian Press Association in a cable sent by him to the British Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India, on 2 July, 1919: "Act since enactment penalized over 350 presses, 300 newspapers, demanded securities amounting over £ 40,000, proscribed over 500 publications. Owing to demand of security over 200 presses, and 130 newspapers not started. Leading, influential Indian English Journals, like Amrita Bazar Patrika, Bombay Chronicle , Hindu f Independent, Tribune , Punjabee , leading vernacular papers like Basumati, Swadeshmitram , Vi jay a, Hinduvasi , and Bharatmitra , subjected to its rigours. On the other hand, violent provocative writings in Anglo-Indian Press entirely immune." 20

The Press Association of India in a memorandum on the operation of the Act, submitted in 1919, analysed the prosecutions under the Act as follows:

"The total number of printing presses and newspapers which were old and had existed prior to the Act and against which action of some kind or other was taken under the Press Act, was nearly one thousand, viz. 991. Among these there were 286 cases of warning, many of which must have sufficed to cripple small ventures or blocked their progress and expansion once for all. The rest of the 991, viz. 705, were cases of the demand of heavy securities and the forfeitures thereof by executive orders whenever the Government thought any publication objectionable. To these have to be added about 70 other cases of securities and forfeitures of presses and papers started after the Act.

“Over 173 new presses and 129 new newspapers were stilled at their birth owing to the demand of a security which they could not furnish. The number of prospective presses and papers which did not, owing to the existence of the Act, come into being and take the chance of an exemption of security which as a rule was demandable, must be many times these figures. The effect of the Act on old presses has been even more striking.

“Up to the year 1917, 18 out of 22 newspapers ceased publication immediately after demand of security, less, it may be presumed,

on account of the pecuniary hardship involved than on account of the tutelage imposed and official displeasure incurred which made -any legitimate independence or freedom perilous for them owing to the further executive pains and penalties in prospect. Similarly, during the same period, out of 88 old printing presses doing ordinary printing business from whom security was demanded owing to the mere printing at their presses of some publication or other to which the executive took objection, nearly 40 had to close down owing to the heavy penalty involved.

“The total amount of securities and forfeitures, which went into the hands of the Government during the first five years of the Act was nearly five lakhs. The rate of receipts into the Government treasuries since then under this head has been much more accelerated owing to the increased vigour of the repressive policy with which the Act is being worked year after year. According to another official return made in 1918, over 500 publications have also been proscribed under the Act.” 21

3, Prosecution For Sedition

During the regime of Lord Minto the Government instituted quite a large number of cases under the new Acts and sections 124 A and 153 A of the Indian Penal Code. The penalties inflicted in many cases were vindictive in character. Even Morley fumed and fretted, though in vain. On 7 May, 1908 , he wrote to Minto: “Well, I’am as much for Vigour as they are, but I am not going to admit that Vigour is the same thing as Pogroms. When I read of the author (or printer) of a ‘seditious pamphlet’ being punished with seven years of transportation, I feel restive. I have ordered that the pamphlet and proceedings shall be sent to me, and it may prove that I have been misinformed. I hope so. Then — is said to have sentenced some political offenders (so called) to be flogged. That, as I am advised, is not authorised by the law either as it stood, or as it will stand under flogging provision as amended. Here also I have called for the papers, and we shall see. — said to me this morning, ‘You see, the great executive officers never like or trust lawyers’. Til tell you why,’ I said, ‘tis because they don’t like or trust law : they in their hearts believe before all else the virtues of will and arbitrary power.” 22 Later Morley referred to these sentences as “thundering”, “outrageous”, “monstrous” and “indefensible”, in a letter written to Minto on 14 July, 1908, which concluded as follows:

“They cannot stand. I cannot on any terms whatever consent to defend such monstrous things. I do therefore urgently solicit your attention to these wrongs and follies. We must keep order, but excess of severity is not the path to order. On the contrary, it is the path to

ill

the bomb”. 2 ' Morley again referred to the subject in his letter to Minto dated 8 August, 1908. He referred to the “young corporal who in a fit of excitement shot the first Native he met”, and asked: “What happened to the Corporal? Was he put on his trial? Was he hanged?” Then he continued: “If we are not strong enough to prevent Murder, then our pharisaic glorification of the stern justice of the British Kaj is nonsense. And the fundamental question for you and for me to-day is whether the excited Corporal and the angry Planter are to be the arbiters of our policy..... .On the other hand, is it not idle for us to pretend to the Natives that we wish to understand their sentiment, and satisfy the demands of ‘honest reformers’, and the rest of our benignant talk, and yet silently acquiesce in all these violent sentences? You will say to me, ‘These legal proceedings are at bottom acts of war against rebels, and locking a rebel up for life is more affable and polite than blowing him from a gun: you must not measure such sentences by the ordinary standards of a law-court; they are the natural and proper penalties for Mutiny, and the Judge on the bench is really the Provost-Marshal in disguise.’ Well, be it so. But if you push me into a position of this sort—and I don’t deny that it is a perfectly tenable position, If you like—-then I drop reforms. I won’t talk any more about the New Spirit of the Times, and I’ll tell Asquith that I am not the man for the work, and that what it needs, if he can put his hand on him, is a good, sound, old-fashioned Eldonian Secretary of State. Pray remember that there is to be a return of these sentences laid before Parliament. They will be discussed, and somebody will have to defend them. That somebody I won't be". 24 Morley rightly fastened the responsibility of all these atrocities upon the die-hard bureaucrats of India. In a fit of anguish and righteous indignation he wrote to Minto: "It is not you nor I who are responsible for 'unrest', but the overconfident and overworked Tchinovniks who have had India in their hands for fifty years past". 25

It is not possible, nor necessary, to refer in detail to the numerous cases. As an extreme example, reference may be made to Chidambaram Pillai of Tinnevelly who was sentenced to transportation for life, but the term was reduced to six years by the High Court. Hoti Lai Varma of Aligarh was sentenced to seven years' transportation for sending a telegram to the Hande Mataram and circulating a leaflet both of which were held to be seditious in character. Editors and printers of various newspapers in different parts of India were charged with sedition. The editor of the Urdu-i-Molla was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 for an article on the educational policy of the British Government in Egypt. In Bombay the editors of the Hind , Swarajya, the

Vihari, and the Arunodaya were prosecuted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Reference has been made above to the prosecution of the editors of the Bande Mataram and Yugantar of Calcutta on a charge of sedition. When these failed to crush the papers, advantage was taken of the new Press Act of 1910 to suppress the two papers altogether.

But the most important case that created a sensation all over India was the prosecution of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great nationalist leader, for seditious writings in the Kesari, of which he was the editor. "The case was committed to the Criminal Sessions of the Bombay High Court on 29 June, 1908. Tilak was tried by Mr. Justice Bavar with the help of a special jury. He conducted, his own defence and spoke for full 21 hours 10 minutes. He questioned the correctness of the Government translations of his articles, and bis plea was that he had only performed his journalistic duties of answering the criticisms of the Anglo-Indian Press and of pointing out the dangers of repression. He wanted to sound a note of warning and to appeal to the Government to adopt the right policy of reform and reconciliation. The explanations of Tilak were not accepted by the jury who pronounced him guilty by 7 votes to 2. The judge agreed with the jury and sentenced him to six years 1 transportation and a fine of Rs. 1,000. Before the sentence was delivered, Tilak was given an opportunity to speak, when he uttered the following remarkable words: ‘AH I wish to say is that in spite of the verdict of the jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destinies of things; and it may be the will of the Providence that the cause I represent may prosper more by my sufferings than by my remaining free/

The news of the incarceration of Tilak led, to the closing of shops and strike of students, not only in Bombay but in many other parts of India. The mill-hands of Bombay also struck work and this led to riots. As this was quite a new feature it may be described in some detail.

On 22 July, Tilak was convicted and sentenced to 6 years’ transportation. As a protest a number of shops’ employees decided not to attend work for six days, one day for each year of Tilak'S imprisonment. On 23 July, nine mills struck work and several markets and shops were closed. On 24 July, seventy mills stopped work. A party of these mill-hands was dispersed by a troop of cavalry, but another party stoned the police, and the police officers fired their revolvers on them, killing three and wounding many. The same scene was enacted in different parts of the town, and, there was police firing in many places. The same thing continued on the 25th and seventy-six mills struck work. Disturbances continued on the 26th and 27th. On the 27th when the Governor intended driving through the native town, black flags were hung across the streets with Tilak’s photographs and a large crowd made a hostile demonstration. There was an open clash between the police and the crowds. A number of police were injured, and the fire from military killed and wounded a large number of people.

'The official report regarded it as “a matter for congratulation that throughout the trouble the Mohammedans kept aloof though strenuous efforts were made by the Hindus to induce them to join

forces* 5 .

The details of these riots are very instructive. If the Government had launched the campaign of prosecution for sedition in order to instil wholesome dread and fear into the minds of the Indians, that object failed to a large extent. On the other hand, as Tilak*s case illustrated, a prosecution sometimes produced results exactly the opposite of what was intended. Tilak was the first among top-ranking Indian leaders who were sent to jail for sedition. The Government, by this act, merely made him a martyr and put him on a high pedestal of national glory. As soon as Tilak returned from Mandalay where he was confined, he became the unquestioned leader of politically conscious India, and the uncrowned king of Indian masses,—a position which he retained till his death.

4. Deportation

During the Third Maratha War, when the British Government was sorely tried by the open hostilities of the Maratha Chiefs and the elaborate measures necessary for the suppression of the organized brigands known as

Pindaris, they passed a Regulation—known as Regulation III of 1818—authorising the Government to place a person under confinement as a State prisoner—without any trial. It was obviously intended to deal with powerful recalcitrant Chiefs who could not be brought to open trial for any specific crime, but whose removal was thought necessary for the safety and security of the British Empire. No serious notice was taken of this Regulation by the Indians. For such arbitrary action was the order of the day, and the Xndrans had no conception or knowledge of the British traditions concerning individual liberty.

Things had changed a great deal during the ninety years that followed. New India had sprung up with new consciousness of individual and political rights derived from British law, history and constitution. The Habeas Corpus Act was prized as highly in India as in England, and every Indian had come to regard it as an

established principle that no individual could be confined by mere executive fiat without a regular trial for specific offences. The Government also made no use of the Regulation. As a matter of fact people forgot the existence of a law which denied the elementary right to a citizen.

It was not till the Swadeshi movement and the nationalist sentiment made the British Government nervous, that they thought of bringing out this rusty weapon from their armoury. The first notable instance was the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh on 9 May, 1907, to Mandalay in Burma. There was strong opposition on all sides to the resuscitation of an obsolete legal provision like Regulation III of 1818 which was enacted about a century before to deal with a situation which had long passed away.

As could be expected, the Governments of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam took the cue from the Punjab. The first victim selected by them was Bipin-chandra Pal, the leader of the Extremist party in Bengal, except for the short period when that position was occupied by Arabinda Ghosh. Apart from his activity in Bengal he incurred the wrath of the Government for his political tour in the Madras Presidency from 11 April to 12 May, 1907, in the course of which he delivered public speeches attended by vast crowds at Vizagapatam, Vizianagram, Cocanada, Rajahmundry, Bezwada, Masulipatam and the city of Madras. But Morley did not sanction the deportation. He did not relish the idea of deportation which went against the fundamental ideas of British Law. Morley wrote to Minto on 16 May, 1907, that "Deportation is an ugly dose for Radicals to swallow," 26 Again, on 28 June, 1907, he wrote: "Since the deportation of La j pat, I am often wounded in the house of my friends: *shelving the principles of a lifetime \ *violently unsaying all that he has been saying for thirty or forty years', and other compliments of that species." 27 To quote the words of the Countess of Minto, "the practice of deportation had always stuck in the throat of Morley; it outraged his liberal conscience, and it went sorely against the grain with him to try to silence the critics on a matter on which in his heart of hearts he agreed'* 28

Evidently Morley's disinclination to deportation had some effect on Minto. On 3 July, 1907, the Government of East Bengal and Assam proposed to deport Aswini-kumar Datta, the renowned leader of Barisal, mentioned above. But the proposal was negatived by the Government of India. On 10 December, 1908, when Criminal Law Amendment Act was on the anvil, the Secretary to the Government of East Bengal and Assam again wrote to the Government of India recommending the deportation of Aswini-kumar Datta. This letter,

which contains a full array of facts and arguments in favour of the deportation, clearly show's that it was decided upon on mere suspicion rather than any proved action, and the accused was never given any opportunity to know the charges against him, far less to defend himself against them. Nevertheless, in December, 1908, nine persons, including Datta, were deported by the Government of India. Confinement without trial, based on secret investigation in the absence of the accused, was strongly condemned by public opinion in India and was resented even by Morley. Referring to deportation he WTote to Minto on 18 December, 1908: "One thing I do beseech you to avoid—a single case of investigation in the absence of the accused. We may argue as much as we like about it, but it has an ugly continental, Austrian, Russian look about it, which will stir a good deal of doubt or wrath here, quite besides the Radical Ultras. I have considerable confidence, after much experience, in my flair on such a point.** 29

Even the British public grew restive over the manner in which a man like Aswini-kumar was deported. On 27 May, 1909, Morley wrote to Minto: “A pretty heavy gale is blowing up in the H. of C. about Deportation, and shows every sign of blowing harder as time

goes, for new currents are showing.and some of the best

of our own men are getting uneasy. The point taken is the failure to tell the deportee what he is arrested for; to detain him without letting him know exactly why; to give him no chance of clearing himself.” 30

The cases of these deportees were reviewed after every six months in order to determine the desirability of keeping them under detention for a longer period. In the first review of 1909, S. P. Sinha, who had been appointed Law Member of the Viceroy’s Council in March that year, emphatically expressed his ©pinion that the cases against all the State prisoners except Pul in Das and Bhupesh Nag were weak and he recommended their release. But the Viceroy and the other members of the Council disagreed.

In the next review, the question of releasing the nine deportees from Bengal, as a gesture of goodwill, on 1 January, 1910, was considered and rejected. Lord Minto was personally responsible for this decision. The members of his Council were divided in their opinion, but the Viceroy was adamant. But less than six weeks later the nine State prisoners were released on 9 February, 1910.

There was a general impression at the time that the release was due to pressure from Home authorities, and the Finance Member of the Viceroy’s Council even put this suggestion in writing.

Lord Minto took strong exception to this allegation and asserted that he and his Council had recommended the release purely in consideration of the political situation prevailing at that time in India.

The publication of Morley’s f Recollections' has revealed the whole truth. Minto was all along against the release of the deportees. But a strong section of the House of Commons was opposed to the policy. Morley wrote to Minto on 5 May, 1909: “Some 350 members of Parliament have written to Asquith protesting against Deportation. Asquith will give them a judicious reply, but you will not be able to deport any more of your suspects —-that is quite clear". 31 On 14 October, 1909, Morley wrote to Minto that he had placed latter's telegram before the Cabinet, and said he (Morley) would be content with the release of two. Morley adds: "The cabinet, however, led by Grey, were against making two bites of a cherry, and were unanimous in pressing you to let out the whole batch when you launch the Regulations. Very sensible too". 32 But Minto was yet unwilling to lose the handy Weapon. In righteous indignation Morley burst forth on 9 November, 1909: "I won't follow you into Deportation. You state your case with remarkable force, I admit. But then I comfort myself, in my disquiet at differing from you, by the reflection that perhaps the Spanish Viceroys in the Netherlands, the Austrian Viceroy in Venice, the Bourbon in the two Sicilies, and a Governor or two in the old American Colonies, used reasoning not wholly dissimilar and not much less forcible. Forgive this affronting parallel. It is only the sally of a man who is himself occasionally compared with Strafford, King John, King Charles, Nero, and Tiberius." 33

On 27 January, 1910, Morley wrote a long letter on the subject to Minto, clearly explaining his own views. He had supported deportation as a temporary measure only, but did not agree with those who "wish to make this arbitrary detention for indefinite periods a regular weapon of Government." "Now", he wrote to Minto, "your present position is beginning to approach this. You have nine men locked up a year ago by lettre cle cachet , because you believed them to be criminally connected with criminal plots, and because you expected their arrest to check these plots. Now you refer to 'a great anarchist conspiracy.* You say, 'We admit that being locked up they can have had no share in these new abominations; but their continued detention will frighten evil-doers generally*. That's the Russian argument: packing off train-loads of suspects to Siberia will terrify the anarchists out of their wits and all will come right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia". 34

Morley took a very firm attitude and sent Adamson to the Viceroy with a private request to release the deportees immediately. "This is the last letter that I shall inflict upon you in this matter", wrote Morley to Minto on 27 January, 1910, "but I cannot budge from my case, and the clock has struck.

After you have seen Adamson, please let me know whether you accede to my private request, or I shall be forced to official instruction". 35 Minto bowed to this ultimatum.

The credit of releasing the deportees therefore goes, in order of merit, to the liberal section of the House of Commons, Lord Grey, the British Cabinet, and lastly, but to a small extent, to Morley. Minto has no title to the credit he and his wife 36 claimed. His claim and righteous (?) indignation at the Finance Minister who referred to pressure from home, only prove what little worth should be attached to a pronouncement of even the highest British dignitary in India in self-defence or self-justification, even when it was made in confidential circles and not in public.

Shortly after the Government of India had arrived at the decision to release the deportees, the Bengal Government sent a proposal to deport fifty-three persons under Regulation III of 1818. The list included the names of C. R. Das and Rarnanancla Chatterji. The latter was accused of spreading revolutionary doctrines in Allahabad. The proposal was neither accepted nor rejected. It was held in abeyance and the Bengal Government was asked to collect and keep ready all evidences against the leading revolutionaries.

An idea of the official enthusiasm on the subject may be formed from the following note by H. C. Woodman: "It is essential that all arrangements should be perfected as early as possible in order that they may be carried out with secrecj? and expedition when the blow is struck. It would greatly enhance the effect of these measures if the lettre de cachet system could be applied, the prisoners being silently removed to an unknown destination, which should not, for some time at least, be divulged. There would be no difficulty in effecting this, especially if the Andamans or Nicobars were chosen".

VI. THE REFORMS OF 1909 I. The Background

If we have to trace in a chronological sequence the growth o ideas which led to the Reforms during Morley-Minto regime, we have to begin with the visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Shortly after his return, the Prince told Morley that the watchword of British rule in India should be sympathy-—wider sympathy —as well as firm justice. 37 Morley whole-heartedly approved of the ideal and conveyed it in a letter to Minto, dated 11 May, 1906. The reply of Minto, dated 28 May, quoted above, 38 shows that already during his six months' stay in India he had imbibed the spirit of bureaucracy to a not inconsiderable extent.

The idea of reforms was first broached by Gokhale. In his Budget speech in March, 1906, he made an appeal to Minto to conciliate the educated classes, and pointed out that "there is but one way in which this conciliation can be secured, and that is by associating these classes more and more with the government of their country." This appeal evidently had some effect on the new Viceroy. He thought of appointing an Indian member to his Executive Council. He consulted the prominent members of his Council, but the majority of them were strongly opposed to such a step. There the matter ended for the time being. But Minto never lost sight of the idea, and like one's first love it had always a soft corner in his heart. As will be shown later, he fought strenuously for it, against the Secretary of State as well as his own advisers, and ultimately gained his object. The tenacity which he showed in carrying out this bold and courageous administrative measure of great significance and far-reaching consequence, deserves the highest praise.

For the rest of the reforms, the initiative came from Morley. But here, too, he took the cue from the Prince of Wales who spoke to him "of the National Congress as rapidly becoming a great power". 39 Fortunately, about this time Gokhale visited England, and as he was justly regarded as the leader of the Moderates who managed the Congress, Morley took him into his confidence and discussed the Indian political problem with him, Morley's view of the Congress was basically different from that of Minto. "My own impression", said he, "formed long ago, and confirmed since X came to this Office, is that it will mainly depend upon ourselves whether the Congress is a power for good or for evil. There it is, whether we like it or not. Mr. Gokhale is to stay in London until the end of the Session, and I am in good hopes of finding him a help to me, and not a hindrance, in guiding the strong currents of democratic feeling that are running breast-high in the H.

of C.” 40 This may be taken as a fitting reply to Minto’s criticism of the Congress and his desire to bypass this organization, mentioned above.

Gokhale had five interviews with Morley between 9 May and 1 August, 1906. How the policy of the Moderates was influenced

through him by Morley is very clearly revealed in the following extract from a letter of Morley to Minto dated 2 August, 1906:

“Yesterday I had my fifth and final talk with Gokhale.‘For

reasonable reforms in your direction’, I said to him, ‘there is now an unexampled chance. You have a Viceroy entirely friendly to them; you have a Secretary of State in whom the Cabinet, the House of Commons, the press of both parties, and that small portion of the public that ever troubles its head about India, repose a considerable degree of confidence. The important and influential Civil Service will go with the Viceroy. What situation could be more hopeful? Only one thing can spoil it: perversity and unreason in your friends. If they keep up the fuss in Eastern Bengal they will only make it hard, or even impossible for Government to move a step. I ask you for no sort of engagement. You must of course be the judge of your own duty, and I am aware that you have your own difficulties. So be it. We are quite in earnest in our resolution to make an effective move. If your speakers or your newspapers set to work to belittle what we do, to clamour for the impossible, then all will go wrong. That is all I have to say.*

“He professed to acquiesce very cordially in all this, and assured me that immediately after my Budget speech he had written off to his friends in India and pitched a most friendly and hopeful note”. 41

It is important to note that when Gokhale agreed to remove the only obstacle to reforms by putting down the Extremists, he could have no illusion on the British policy towards India. In the course of that very talk Morley had already plainly told him in respect of the ultimate hope of India’s attaining the status of a self-governing colony, “that for many a long day to come— long beyond the short space of time that may be left to me —-this was a mere dream”. That the Moderates rallied round the

Government even with this knowledge explains the basic difference between them and the Extremists.

Gokhale's tacit agreement with Morley explains the strong opposition of the Moderates to the resolution in the Congress session of 1906 supporting Boycott advocated by the Extremists. It also explains the sudden outburst of bitter controversy between the Moderates and Extremists after the Congress session of 1906 and its continuance throughout the year 1907.

It appears that though the Moderates could not go the whole hog with the Government, they tried to recover the lost ground as much as possible by cutting themselves adrift from the Extremists which Morley held out as sine qua non for the grant of reforms.

There is also no doubt that since the beginning of 1907 the Moderates practically left the Extremists in the lurch and veered round the Government. So, Minto had every reason to feel exultant, as he informed Morley, when the Moderate leaders including Surendra-nath joined the landed aristocracy and the Muslims in waiting upon the Viceroy in a deputation and implored his assistance to keep down the evil passions of the Bengalis misled by the 'extravagances of Bipin-chandra Paid

Later, after a second deputation, Minto wrote to Morley: "Gokhale was very reasonable. He says that the whole younger generation of India is going over to the extremists' side; that they are quite unreasonable and attracted by the idea of getting rid of British rule, which is the doctrine preached to them; that the glamour of the British Raj, which in the old days fascinated the people, has departed, and that the only way to recover our moral control is to do something that will appeal to the Native imagination". 42

After all this it is difficult to believe that the invisible hands of Morley and Minto did not pull the strings from behind the scene when the great split between the Moderates and the Extremists took place at the Surat session of the Congress. For, it would not be unreasonable to infer from what has been said above about the Surat Congress, that the Moderates deliberately provoked a quarrel with the Extremists and threw away every reasonable chance of compromise.

Having ensured the Moderates' help by his conversation with Gokhale, Morley proceeded, without delay, to fulfil his own part of the agreement. On 15 June, 1906, he wrote to Minto to make a good start in the way of reform in the popular direction. "Why should you not now consider as practical and immediate things— the extension of the Native element in your Legislative Council; ditto in local councils; full time for discussing Budget in your L.C. instead of four or five skimpy hours; right of moving amendments. (Of course officials would remain a majority.) If I read your letters correctly, you have no disposition whatever to look on such changes as these in a hostile spirit; quite the contrary. Why not, then, be getting ready to announce reforms of this sort? Either do you write me a dispatch, or I'll write you one—by way of opening the ball. It need be no long or high-flown affair. I suppose the notion of a Native in your Executive Council would not do at all. Is that certain? I daresay it is—and it would frighten that nervous personage (naturally nervous), the Anglo-Indian". 43 This was followed by another letter on 23 June, informing Minto that in order to silence the critics of Indian policy he (Morley) would

like to refer to the reform proposals on the occasion of the Indian Budget debate in the House of Commons on 20 July (1906). He therefore requested Minto to send a telegram indicating his (Minto's) "inclinations and intentions in this matter." Morley op™ posed Minto's favourite idea of a Council of Native Princes as a counterpoise to the Congress which, he added, was also the view of Lord Cur son. 44

Thus the two suggestions for reform—the only ones made by Minto, namely an Indian member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the Council of Native Princes—were turned down by Morley, and it was he who suggested the outlines of the remaining reforms which were actually carried out in 1909. That Minto never made any such concrete suggestions is proved by the anxiety expressed by Morley to learn the views of Minto on his proposals. In his Recollections , Morley adds, within brackets, the following note: "These two letters (June 15 and 23) possess some interest as marking the date at which reform took a definite sort of shape in our correspondence". 45 In the light of all these it may appear somewhat strange that Minto should give all the credit for the reform of 1909 to the Government of India, as he did in his speech to the Legislative

Council on 27 March, 1907. While opening the Imperial Legislative Council constituted under the Act of 1909, on 25 January, 1910, Lord Minto observed: “It is important that my Honourable colleagues and the Indian public should know the early history at any rate of the Reforms which haye now been sanctioned by Parliament, They had their genesis in a note of my own, addressed to my colleagues in August 1906-™ -nearly three and a half years ago. It was based entirely on the view I had myself formed of the position of affairs in India. It was due to no suggestions from home: whether it w^as good or bad I am entirely responsible for it”. 46 The only excuse that may be offered on his behalf in making such an inaccurate and misleading statement is the desire expressed by Morley in his letter of 23 June. Referring to the reform proposals which he made and liked to place before the House of Commons after ascertating the views of Minto, he added: “You understand, I hope, that I would wash the move to be directly and closely associated with yourself”. 47

Minto agreed to this and wrote back: “I attach great importance to the official initiative being taken by the Government of India”. Accordingly this procedure was followed. The pretence was kept in official despatches, for example in the following telegram from Morley to Minto, dated 17 May, 1907: “My Lord: I have examined in Council, with the care that their high importance demands, the five proposals submitted to me in your despatch of 21st

March. Those proposals, as Your Excellency assured your Legislative Council on 6th April, were not framed in accordance with instructions conveyed to you from home. This move in advance has emanated entirely from the Government of India. This initiative you took as a great step towards satisfying the present requirements of the Indian Empire”. 48 But all this does not seem to justify the categorical assertion of Minto referred to above, which reminds one of the credit he took for releasing the deportees. As a matter of fact the available records—-despatches, notes, memoranda, etc.— clearly reveal the guiding and forcing hand of Morley behind the reforms from beginning to end. Lord Curzon rightly observed during the debate in the Lords on the Indian Councils Bill: “If we collate and compare these Despatches, we find that, so far from the Secretary of State having accepted the views of the men on the spot, he has, in reality, overruled and altered them at almost every critical and vital stage and has substituted for them entirely independent proposals of his own". 48a

The official initiative was taken by Lord Minto by appointing a Committee, as Lord Dufferin had done before in connection with the Indian Councils Act of 1892. This Committee was appointed in August, 1906, and consisted of four members of his council, namely, Sir A.T. Arundel, Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Mr. H.E. Richards and Mr. E. N. Baker, with Sir A. T. Arundel as Chairman and Mr. H. Risley as Secretary. The Committee was asked to consider the whole question of political reforms and Minto wrote a minute for its guidance. In this minute he stressed the necessity of taking initiative so that "the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country, or by pressure from home". Lord Minto then referred to the various proposals regarding reforms and the important political interests that needed protection, namely, the hereditary nobility and the landed classes; the trading, professional and agricultural classes; and the planting and commercial European community. He also emphasized the need of maintaining "a stable and effective administration". The subjects proposed for the Committee's consideration were: (a) a Council of Princes, and, should this be impossible, whether they might be represented in the Viceroy's Legislative Council; (b) an Indian member of Viceroy's Executive Council; (c) increased representation of Indians on the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and of Local Governments; (d) prolongation of the Budget debate, and procedure as to presentation of the Budget; and (e) powers of moving amendments. 49

The Arundel Committee submitted its report to the Viceroy in October, 190G. Lord Minto circulated it with a note of his own

specially dealing with the question of the appointment of an Indian to the Viceroy's Council, on which the Committee was evenly divided, to the other members of the Executive Council. The proposals of the Arundel Committee were discussed at length in many a meeting of the Council and it was not till about the close of March, 1907, that the Government of India was able to send its views to the Secretary of State who was getting very impatient at the delay. An announcement was made in this connection by Lord Minto in the Legislative Council on 27 March, 1907.

“The Secretary of State lost no time in consulting the Cabinet and his Council on the Government of India’s Despatch of March, 1907, and authorised the Government of India to consult the Local Governments and to invite public opinion on its proposals. The Government of India drew up a Circular, dated 24 August, 1907, and sent it to the various Local Governments and administrations for opinion. It was also published for public information and opinion.” 50

2. The Muslim Question

Even before the Arundel Committee had submitted its report, Minto took a momentous step which gave a definite stamp to the forthcoming reform. He promised, in advance, to grant the Muhammadans separate electorates and also gave vague hints about other special concessions. In view of the important role played by this decision in the future history of India it requires a detailed treatment.

An account has been given, in the preceding volume, 50a of the Aligarh Movement, inaugurated by Sir Syed Ahmad, which ushered in a new era of regeneration in the history of the Indian Muslims towards the close of the 19th century. It has also been shown how this movement gradually alienated the Muslims from the Hindus in the political field, and that this was due in no small measure to the machinations of Englishmen and encouragement by the officials. The anti-Hindu feeling was conspicuously shown in the Muslim attitude towards the Indian National Congress since its very inception. As shown above 501 *, the partition of Bengal was also a clever move deliberately designed to make a cleavage or drive in a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims.

As soon as it was known that the reform was in the air and the Viceroy had appointed a Committee to consider, among others, the question of extending the representative element in the Legislative Council, Nawab Mohsin-ul-mulk, who succeeded Syed Ahmad as leader, decided to wait upon the Viceroy in a deputation at Simla. The deputation consisted of 36 members with Aga Khan as their leader, and was received by Lord Minto on October 1, 1906. The address presented by the deputation demanded several special concessions for the Muslim community.

First, that "the position accorded to the Mohammedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire", and with due regard to "the position they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago.....Second, that the methods of nomination as well as of election prevailing hitherto had failed to give them the proper type or adequate number of representatives, and that in the proposed reforms they should be given the right of sending their own representatives themselves through separate communal electorates.

Besides these two important demands the deputation also asked for greater representation in the services; protection of their interests in case an Indian Executive Councillor was appointed; help in founding a Moslem University; abolition of competitive examinations for recruitment to the services; appointment of Muslim judges in every High Court and Chief Court; communal electorate for municipalities; and Muslim electoral colleges for election to Legislative Councils.

In reply, after some preliminary observations of a general nature, Lord Minto assured the deputation that 'in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase the electoral organization, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community, (and its) position should be estimated not merely on numerical strength but in respect to its political importance and the service it has rendered to the Empire." 51

This reply heralded a new policy of British rule in India. In the first place, it gave the official seal of approval to the principle that the Hindus and the Muslims constituted practically two separate nations with different interests and different outlook. In the second place, the Government practically promised to show undue favour to the Muslims in respect of their number of representatives in the Legislative Council, by making it far in excess of their numerical ratio to the whole population. These two points formed the chief planks in Muslim politics ever since, and it may be said without much exaggeration that they formed the foundation on which Pakistan was built about forty years later. 52

It is now definitely known that the whole of this deputation was engineered by the Government, or at least by Englishmen under official inspiration. This is proved by the detailed statement of Maulvi Sayyid Tufail Ahmad Mangalori showing how the matter was settled at Simla between Mr. Archbold, the Principal of the Aligarh College, and Dunlop Smith, the Private Secretary of the Viceroy. 53

It may be added that long after this event, Muhammad Ali, who was at that time a devout follower of Gandhi, let the cat out of the bag and pronounced the whole deputation to be a “command performance”. 54 Even Lady Minto, in her diary, actually used the word “engineered” in connection with the Muhammadan deputation. The fact that it was engineered by some officials and that they had a clear idea of the inevitable consequences of this measure upon the subsequent relations between the Hindus and the Muslims, would appear from the following entry in the diary of Lady Minto, under date, October 1, 1906: “This evening I have received the following letter from an official: ‘I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very, very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition.' ” 55 The same view is expressed by Buchan, the biographer of Minto, who observes, significantly enough, that Minto's reply to the Muslim deputation “undoubtedly prevented the ranks of sedition being swollen by Moslem recruits, an inestimable advantage in the day of trouble which was dawning.” 56 Lady Minto evidently endorsed the same view, for she observed: “This has been a very eventful day—-an epoch in Indian history”. 57

Long afterwards, Ramsay Macdonald, the future Prime Minister of Britain, lent his support to the prevailing suspicion that “sinister influences have been at work, that the Mohammedan leaders are inspired by certain Anglo-

Indian officials, and that these officials have pulled wires at Simla and in London and, of malice aforethought, sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities by showing the Muslims special favours". 58

It seldom falls to the lot of historians to get such unimpeachable evidence about a great sinister move which otherwise could never have been convincingly proved. 584 This one incident shows how eager the Government was to wean away the Muslims from joining the political struggle which the Hindus were waging against the British. It does not require much ingenuity to conclude that it was as a great counterpoise to Congress influence that Minto welcomed the Muslim deputation, an idea which was either conceived

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by himself, or engineered by his officials and other non-official Englishmen. At last Minto found a solution to the vexed problem of reducing the importance of the Congress which had been troubling his mind since his arrival in India.

3. The Draft of Reform Proposals

Throughout the next two years, 1907 and 1908, there was an acrimonious discussion regarding the principles of weightage and communal representation which henceforth formed the chief planks in the platform of Muslim politics. Amid these disputes and discussions, the Government of India pursued their own way in drafting the promised reforms, and on 24 August, 1907, circulated their proposals to the Provincial Governments. 59 In their long despatch 60 to the Secretary of State, dated 1 October, 1908, on the Reform proposals, the Government of India mentioned that all Local Governments approved of the proposals for the special representation of Muslims, but failed to note that some of them were doubtful as to the advisability of organizing separate Muslim electorate. 61 They then added: "The proposals are as a rule adversely criticised by the Hindus who regard them as an attempt to set one religion against the other, and thus to create a counterpoise to the influence of the educated middle class.The Indian Muslims are much more than a religious body. They form, in fact, an absolutely separate community distinct by marriage, food, and custom and claiming in many cases to belong to a different race from Hindus". As regards other communities, the Government of India proposed that they were to be represented indirectly through non-official members of the Provincial Legislature in the case of the Indian Legislative Council and through Municipal and District Board members in cases of the Provincial Councils.

Morley was not very much impressed by the scheme submitted by the Government of India. In his despatch, dated 27 November, 1908, on the Reform proposals of the Government of India [62] he disapproved of the plan of separate electorates, and the other proposals of the Government of India. Apart from the objections of the Indian nationalists that separate electorates would widen the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims and retard the growth of national spirit, two other objections were mentioned by the Secretary of State. The first was that the proposals of the Government of India created an invidious distinction between the Muslims and the Hindus; and secondly, that they would give the Muslims in several cases two votes instead of one. In order to remove these defects Lord Morley proposed "for consideration of the Government of India, a system of reservation of seats to be operated as follows. In each electoral area, an electoral college was to be established, the members of which were themselves to be elected in communal proportions (that is to say, a fixed number of Hindus and Muhammadans corresponding to the numerical strength of these communities in the area concerned; by a joint electorate composed of substantial landowners paying a certain amount of land revenue, members of rural or sub-divisional boards, members of district boards and members of municipal corporations. These electoral colleges would, in their turn, elect their representatives to the provincial councils, the members being free to vote for any candidate but the seats having been previously allotted on a communal basis". Serious objection, however, was taken to this proposal by the Muhammadan community, and on 27 January, 1909, a deputation of the All-India Muslim

League, headed by Ameer Ali (afterwards the Right Hon. Sir Ameer Ali), interviewed the Secretary of State to protest against it. 63

Morley's reply did not satisfy the Muslim League and they approached Minto with similar prayers. It had the desired effect. The Government of India did not accept the scheme of Morley, and were determined to secure communal representation. In mental anguish he wrote to Minto on 6 December, 1909: '1 won't follow

you again into our Mahomedan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was your early speech about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision was best." 64 But the Government of India knew how to force the hands of a recalcitrant Secretary of State, and the latter ultimately gave in. Accordingly, although the Act did not contain any reference to provision for separate electorate, the Regulations made thereunder by the Government of India created separate electorates for the Muhammadans and also gave them the right to vote in general electorate. They also got representation in the Councils far in excess of their numerical strength.

While the Muslim League was pressing for separate electorates it was strongly opposed by the Hindus, and even a few Muslims joined them. 65 They held that separate electorate was a clever move on the part of the bureaucracy to prevent the Hindus and Muslims from uniting together to form a nation. A Muslim publicly blamed his co-religionists for the attempt —not a very laudable one _'to create an irreconcilable Ulster in India'.

4. Two Important Measures of Reform

As mentioned above, Minto had appointed a Committee to draft the proposals for Reform and these were thoroughly discussed by various bodies. 66 The proposals in their final form were sent to the

Secretary of State on 1 October, 1908. On 23 February, 1909, Morley, who had been raised to the Peerage in April, 1908, introduced a short Bill in the House of Lords.

The Bill was based on the proposals made by the Government of India save in one important respect. The Government of India had suggested the creation of Advisory Councils both for the Centre as well as for the Provinces. The Central Advisory Council was to consist of 60 members, of whom 20 might be Ruling Chiefs, and the rest, landed magnates from various Provinces. As mentioned above, it was a pet idea of Minto to set up such an aristocratic body as a counterpoise to the Indian National Congress. The proposal was opposed not only by the people, but even by the Princes themselves, and though various modifications were suggested, the Secretary of State turned down the whole proposal. 67

While discussion was going on and plans were being drawn up for selecting the members of the Legislative Councils which were the essential features of the reform as envisaged in the new Act, two other proposals for reform, not forming part of it, were being hotly debated. These were the appointment of an Indian member on the Executive Council of the Governor-General, and of one or more Indian members on the Council of the Secretary of State,

The first proposal emanated from Minto, but it was opposed by all the members of his Executive Council except Mr. Baker, by the Secretary of State and his Council, and lastly by the British Cabinet. The objection rested mainly upon three grounds, namely, 1. That it was impossible to trust a native in a position of so great responsibility; 2. That it was unwise to trust him with military and foreign secrets; and 3. The fear of its reaction upon the Anglo-Indian community, somewhat like that of the Ilbert Bill. But Minto stuck to his guns, and after a great deal of discussion, and not without misgivings, the proposal was sanctioned. 68

The British Cabinet, while opposing the Indian member in the Governor-General’s Council, agreed, evidently by way of compromise, to the appointment of one or two Indian members on the Council of India, i e., the Secretary of State’s Council in London. The suggestion was made by Morley to Minto long ago, but the latter was strongly opposed to it. 69 Now it was the turn of Morley to stick to his guns, and the Bill to amend the constitution of the India Council was passed on 28 August, 1907.

The Council of India Act, 1907, made the following modifications in the constitution of the India Council:

In the first place, the Secretary of State was to determine the membership of the Council, subject to a maximum of fourteen, and

minimum of ten. Secondly, the period of service or residence in India, which the majority of the members were required to have kept by the Act of 1858, was reduced from "more than ten years" to "more than five years". Thirdly, the salary of members was reduced from £. 1,200 to £. 1,000 a year. And, lastly, the tenure of office was reduced from ten years (prescribed by the Act of 1869) to seven.

In accordance with this Act, Morley appointed four additional members, two of whom were Indians. Of these one was a Hindu civilian, Mr. K. G. Gupta, who had risen to the position of a member of the Bengal Board of Revenue; and the other, a Muhammadan, Mr. Syed Husain Bilgrami, who was then the principal adviser of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The choice was not very happy, for none of these two gentlemen counted for anything in Indian politics. 70 Morley now decided to push on with the scheme of appointing an Indian member on the Governor-General's Executive Council. He announced it in the House of Lords on 17 December, 1908. There was a storm of opposition both inside and outside the House, and even His Majesty the Emperor told Morley that he strongly felt against the measure. Morley told him "that withdrawal of Native Member would now be taking the linch-pin out of the car". 71

On 21 January, 1909, Morley wrote to Minto: "It is lucky that my appointment of an Indian member on your Executive Council does not need Parliamentary sanction, for I don't believe the H. of L. would agree. My Council, or most of them, would be averse." 72

On 18 February Morley wrote to Minto: "The Indian Member on the Executive Council will be debated in the course of the discussion on the Bill—but I shall make it plain to them that whatever they may say, I shall recommend an Indian." But there was no difficulty in the House of Lords, and the Indian Councils Bill was passed smoothly on 11 March, 1909. The Cabinet unanimously accepted the nomination of S.P. Sinha, an eminent

Barrister and the Advocate-General of Bengal. King Edward VII protested, but had to yield as "there was no alternative against a unanimous Cabinet." S. P. Sinha was formally appointed a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council on 24 March, 1909.

5. The Indian Councils Act, 1909

After the curtain fell upon the appointment of an Indian member in the Governor-GeneraTs Council, the Indian Councils Bill was discussed in the House of Commons. It evoked little* interest. At the stage of the second reading the House was very slack and thin— fourteen on the Government side and eight on the other. 73 Nevertheless, the debate was occasionally a heated one. The Conservative

members expressed great misgivings on the introduction of democratic principles in Indian administration. The leader of the Conservative party, Balfour, observed that the Bill "while securing none of the advantages, will expose India to all the drawbacks and disadvantages of representative Government. ,, Lord Ronaldshay proposed to make the provision for separate Muslim electorates still more favourable to the community. Lord Curzon expressed the fear that the new Councils would inevitably tend to become "Parliamentary bodies in miniature" to which Morley gave a categorical denial. 74 On the other hand, liberal-minded Englishmen like Sir Henry Cotton, C.G. O'Donnel, and Keir Hardie took up the cause of Indian nationalists, and strongly opposed the reactionary features like separate electorates based on class, creed, or community. The Bill was finally passed on 21 May, 1909. It received royal assent and became the Indian Councils Act on 25 May, 1909.

The Indian Councils Act, containing eight clauses, merely laid down the framework of the new Councils, and the details were fixed by Regulations made under that Act. Its main provisions may be summed up as follows:—

Clause 1. The members of the Legislative Councils shall be both nominated and elected, the total maximum number being 60 for the Council of the Governor-General, 50 for each of the major provinces—Bombay, Madras, Bengal, U.P., Eastern Bengal and Assam, and 30 for the rest; in addition to the members of the Executive Councils who were ex-officio members of these Legislative Councils.

Clauses 2-3. The Governor-General in Council was authorised to create Executive Councils for the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal and other provinces; the maximum number of the members of Bengal, as well as of Bombay and Madras, being fixed at four.

Clause 5. The Governor-General in Council and the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors in Council were to make rules authorizing the discussion of the Budget and any matter of general public interest and the asking of questions by the members of Councils.

Clause 6. The Governor-General in Council was authorized, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, to make regulations, among others, for laying down the procedure for election and nomination of members of all Councils and determine their qualifications.

Clauses 2-3 were rejected in the House of Lords, but were introduced again in a modified form in the House of Commons, which was accepted by the House of Lords.

The underlying purpose of fixing the number of members of the Executive Council as four, as explained by Morley in his Reform Despatch of 1908 (para 36), was that ‘at least one of these should be an Indian. But, as he said, this was to be done, not by any statutory provision but by practice and usage.

6. Legislative Councils

The new Act was a real improvement on the Act of 1892 in two respects: first, an increase in the number of members in the Legislative Councils, and, secondly, the adoption of the system of election for the appointment of non-official members. As to the rest, the character of the new Councils was left to be determined by the Regulations. Unfortunately, the initiative for these being left to the Governor-General in Council, the ‘Tchinovniks’, to use Morley’s designation of the I.C.S., did their best to make the Reforms as innocuous (from their point of view) as possible. This will be clear from a complete picture of the new Councils as finally drawn up on the basis of the Regulations.

i. The Composition

The composition of the Councils was based on two fundamental principles. First that the Governor-General's Legislative Council must have a "substantial", though not "an overwhelming", majority of officials. Secondly, such official majority was not necessary for Provincial Legislative Councils, partly because their powers were very limited, and partly because the Head of the Government had the power to withhold assent to any measure passed by the Council. But the non-official majority did not necessarily mean a majority of elected non-official members. As a matter of fact, there was no such majority in any Province except Bengal. The relative strength of the different Councils is shown in the table, on the next page, where the figure for total excludes the Head of the Government and the two experts "who may be appointed members of each Provincial Council when the legislation in hand is of a nature to demand expert advice". The figures given within brackets indicate the changes made in 1912. 75

ii. Nomination and Election

The procedure of nomination was adopted to give representation to certain interests which were not likely to be properly or adequately represented through election. The Government of India had absolutely free hands in such nominations, and no qualifications were specified in the Regulations made under the Act.

Legislative Council of	Elected	Nominated	Total (excluding the Head of the Govt, and the Experts)
non	officials		

officials

India	25(27)	7(5)	36	68
Madras	19(21)	7(5)	20	46
Bombay	21	7	18	46
United Provinces	20(21)	6	20	46(47)
Bengal	26(28)	5(4)	20	51(52)
Eastern Bengal & Assam	18	5	17	40
Punjab	5 (8)	9(6)	10	24
Burma	1	8	6	15
Bihar & Orissa	(21)	(4)	(18)	(43)
Assam	(ii)	(4)	(9)	(24)

Elaborate Rules were, however, laid down for election, by Regulations made under clause 6 of the Act.

The electorates for the Imperial Legislative Council created by the Regulations under the Act of 1909 may be divided into three main classes: (1) General Electorates, consisting of the non-official members either of Provincial Legislative Councils or of the Municipal and District Boards; (2) Class Electorates, such as Landholders and Mohammedans; and (3) Special Electorates, such as Presidency Corporations, Universities, Chambers of Commerce, Port Trusts, Planting and Trade interests, etc.

The 27 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council were to be elected as follows:— (1) 13 members by the General Electorates—two members each by the non-official members of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and U.P. Legislative Councils, and one member each by those of the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, Burma and the C.P. Councils; (2) 6 members by special landholders' constituencies in the six Provinces—one from each—Bengal, Bombay, Madras, U.P., Bihar & Orissa, and the C.P.; (3) 6 members by separate Mohammedan Constituencies—two from Bengal and one each from Madras, Bombay, Bihar & Orissa and the U.P.; and (4) 2 by special electorates—one each by the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce.

Similarly the elected members of the Provincial Councils were returned by the three different kinds of constituencies—-the General, Class and Special Electorates, mentioned above.

The Regulations also prescribed certain qualifications for both (a) the candidates for election, and (b) the voters. According to Clause IV of the Regulation, "No person shall be eligible for election

as a member of the Council if such person-—(a) is not a British subject, or (b) is an official, or (c) is a female, or (d) has been adjudged to be of unsound mind, or (e) is under twenty-five years of age, or (f) is an uncertificated bankrupt or an undischarged insolvent, or (g) has been dismissed from the Government Service, or (h) has been sentenced by a Criminal Court to imprisonment for an offence punishable with imprisonment for a term exceeding six months, or to transportation, or has been ordered to find security for good be

haviour.or (i) has been debarred from practising as a legal practitioner.or (j) has been declared by the Governor-General

in Council to be of such reputation and antecedents that his election would in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council be contrary to the public interest.” The disqualifications in the last four cases could be removed by an Order of the Governor-General in Council.

As regards voters it was laid down that females, minors or persons of unsound mind could not vote at any of the elections. Separate qualifications were prescribed for (a) the Landholder’s Constituencies and (b) Moslem Electorates. “For the Imperial Council elections substantial landowners with certain specified incomes or certain minimum land revenue payments or with high titles or with certain honorary offices were given the right of voting.” As to the Moslems, “those who paid land-revenue of a specified amount or who were assessed to income-tax or who were members of the Provincial Councils or fellows of the Indian Universities or graduates of certain standing or Government pensioners were included in the list of voters.” 76

iii. Powers and Prerogatives •

By the rule-making powers vested in the Imperial and Local Governments by clause 5 of the Act the powers and prerogatives of the Legislative Councils, both Imperial and Local, were considerably enlarged. The most important of these was the extension of the powers of discussion in financial matters. This may be best illustrated by the following procedure in the Imperial Legislative Council that was evolved in respect of the annual budget. “After the Financial Statement has been presented by the Finance Member, any member may give notice of a resolution ‘relating to any alteration in taxation, any new loan or any additional grant to Local Governments proposed or mentioned in such Statement or explanatory Memorandum’. On the specified day such resolutions will be moved, discussed and voted upon by the Council. After all the resolutions have been disposed of, each head or group of heads shall be taken into consideration separately—and in case of each of these any member may move a resolution, which will then be discussed and voted upon by the Council. After all the heads or groups of heads have been disposed of, the Finance Member shall present, 'on or before March 24th', the Budget—explaining any changes that may 'have been made in the figures of the Financial Statement, and the reasons why any resolutions passed in the Council have not been accepted'. A day was then fixed for general discussion of the Budget, 'but no member shall be permitted to move any resolution in regard thereto, nor shall the budget be submitted to the vote of the Council." 77

The Councils had also the right to discuss and vote upon resolutions on matters of general public interest. The resolutions of the Councils were, however, in the nature of "recommendations to the Government which the Government may or may not accept".

The right to ask questions was also slightly enlarged by the new Regulations. A member who had asked a question was given the right to put a supplementary question to elucidate the answer.

7. General review of the Reforms

Before proceeding to judge the nature of the reforms introduced by the Indian Councils Act of 1909, it is necessary to form a clear idea of what its authors had in view. Morley was undoubtedly anxious to conciliate public opinion in India by giving Indians wider powers and a larger voice in the administration of India. But this was subject to three important limitations.

In the first place, as he told Gokhale, the ideal of Colonial selfGovernment was a mere moon-shine, for, as he expressed later, the Colonial type of Government no more suits India than the fur coat of Canada.

Secondly, it was the avowed object of Morley to keep intact the effective authority possessed by the Government. It should not be diminished in any way, and there should be no camouflage about it. 78 He considered a "substantial" though not "an overwhelming majority" of officials absolutely essential in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. 79

Thirdly, Morley was particularly anxious that no sapling of the Parliamentary or Responsible and Representative Government should be sown in the soil of India. He openly said in the Parliament: "If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it." 80

While the Government of India were in accord with Morley on these three points they had also other views in respect of the reforms which may be stated as follows:

1. They regarded it as a necessary evil, forced on them by terrible unrest and terrorist activities in India and the radical views of the Secretary of State in England. They did not choose to do more by way of reform than what was regarded as just sufficient to allay the one and satisfy the other.

2. While the Government of India were forced to make concessions to popular demands they adopted both short and long term measures in order to prevent the recurrence of the present state of things and thereby ensure future peace and stability of the British empire in India. The first was to keep the nationalists or Extremists at arm's length from any kind of participation in the administration, and to give a greater share in the government of their country only to the Indians "of known loyalty"—an euphemistic way of describing the (Yo-hukums 9 or 'Yes' men. 81 The second was to destroy the growing solidarity of the Indian people by setting class against class and creed against creed.

As regards the first, reference need only be made to the Regulations which gave ample powers to the Government of India to disqualify any candidate, whom they thought undesirable, from standing for election. Besides, it automatically disqualified a number of eminent leaders because they were deported or suffered imprisonment. Morley at first entirely disapproved of such disqualification, and took a very firm attitude on this issue. He argued that it was "impossible to defend the attachment of any political disqualification to deportation after the deported man was once free," and telegraphed to Minto that he would state this firmly in the Parliament. Minto was, however, equally firm in his decision to exclude the deported persons from his Council. An angry discussion followed. Ultimately, in spite of all that Morley had said, and notwithstanding the pledge given to the Parliament, the Government of India carried their point and retained deportation as a ground of disqualification for the membership of the Council. 82

As to the second, the Government deliberately avoided territorial constituencies in order to keep away the educated middle classes as far as possible, and set the landlords and other classes as a counterpoise to them in the Council. They intended the separate electorate and weightage to the Muhammadans also to serve the same purpose. Even the Statesman, the leading AngloIndian daily of Calcutta, was constrained to remark: "The more carefully the Council Reforms mooted by the Government of India are considered, the more apparent does it become that the scheme amounts to little else than provision for including in the Legislative Councils more landowners and more Muhammadans". 83

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Of course, the most objectionable element in the new constitution was the separate electorate for the Muhammadans which was strongly denounced even in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. 84 Although Minto'must be held primarily responsible for this, the fact is generally ignored that Morley was at first highly enthusiastic and wrote to Minto on 26 October, 190'6: "The whole thing (i.e. Deputation of the Muslims on 1 October) has been as good as it could be". 85 At a later stage, Morley protested against separate electorate, 86 but ultimately yielded to the Government of India. The measure was almost universally condemned except by those who directly benefited by it. Later events h^ve fully justified the adverse criticism of this measure as well as the general apprehension of its evil consequences. Indeed the separate electorate for Muslims promised by Minto on 1 October, 1906, was the beginning of that process which slowly but steadily led to the inevitable end—the partition of India—forty years later. 87 Morley and Minto both must share the blame for striking a fatal blow at the political unity of India, which was the greatest achievement of the British rule.

As could be easily anticipated, the attitude of the different political parties in India to the reforms was widely divergent. The nationalists and the Extremist party felt no enthusiasm over it and regarded it as a mere shadow without substance. On the other hand, the Moderates hailed the Act with unbounded jubilation. This is proved by the resolution passed, in December 1908, by the Indian National Congress, then an organization exclusively of the Moderate party, and the speeches delivered on the occasion by Surendranath Banerji and G.K. Gokhale, two eminent leaders of the party.

The jubilation of the Moderates was, however, of short duration. Exactly one year later in the Lahore session of the Congress, held on 27 December, 1909, the President, Pandit Madan-mohan Malaviya, gave expression to the total change of feeling. At the last Congress they had hailed the Reforms with joy; the Regulations, issued five weeks before the present Congress, caused widespread disappointment and dissatisfaction. The Congress passed the following resolution on the subject:

“That this Congress while gratefully appreciating the earnest and arduous endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto in extending to the people of this country a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms, as now embodied in the India Councils Act of 1909, deems it its duty to place on record its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion and regrets that the Regulations framed under the Act have not been framed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley’s despatch of last year was conceived. In particular the Regulations have caused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country by reason of:

(a) The excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion;

(b) the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinctions made between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise, and the qualifications of candidates;

(c) the wide, arbitrary and unreasonable disqualification and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils;

(d) the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the Regulations; and

(e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.

And this Congress earnestly requests the Government so to revise the Regulations, as soon as the present elections are over, as to remove these objectionable features, and bring them into harmony with the spirit of the Royal Message and the Secretary of State's despatch of last year."

In moving this resolution, Surendra-nath Banerji said: "It is no exaggeration to say that the Rules and Regulations have practically wrecked the Reform scheme as originally conceived w r ith a beneficence of purpose and a statesmanlike grasp that did honour to all

that are associated with it.Who wrecked the scheme? Who

converted that promising experiment into a dismal failure? The

responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the bureaucracy.Is

the bureaucracy having its revenge upon us for the part we have played in securing these concessions?" Nevertheless, he urged that the Moderates should neither abandon hope nor lose faith in constitutional agitation. 88

We have noted the reaction of the reforms of 1909 on the Extremists as well as the Moderates. Perhaps the utmost that may be said in their favour is the comment in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. As regards the object and expectations of the Government in respect of the reforms, it says:

"The problem which Lord Minto's Government set themselves to solve was how to fuse in one single government the two elements which they discerned in the origins of British power in India. They hoped to blend the principle of autocracy derived from Moghul em

perors and Hindu kings with the principle of constitutionalism derived from the British Crown and Parliament; to create a constitutional autocracy, which differing toto coelo from Asiatic despotisms, should bind itself to govern by rule, should call to its councils representatives of all interests which were capable of being represented and should merely reserve to itself in the form of a narrow majority predominant and absolute power. They hoped to create a constitution about which conservative opinion would crystallize and offer substantial opposition to any further change. They anticipated that the aristocratic element in society and the moderate men, for whom there was then no place in Indian politics, would range themselves on the side of the Government, and oppose any further shifting of the balance of power and any attempt to democratize Indian Institutions."

On the real nature of the reforms the same Report observes: "But the reforms of 1909 afforded no answer, and could afford no answer, to Indian political problems. Narrow franchises and indirect elections failed to encourage in members a sense of responsibility to the people generally, and made it impossible, except in special constituencies, for those who had votes to use them with perception and effect. Moreover, the responsibility for the administration remained undivided; with the result that while Governments found themselves far more exposed to questions and criticism than hitherto, questions and criticism were uninformed by a real sense of responsibility, such as comes from the prospect of having to assume office in turn. The conception of a responsible executive, wholly or partially amenable to the elected councils, was not admitted. Power remained with the Government and the councils were left with no functions but criticism. It followed that there was no reason to loose the bonds of official authority, which subjected local Governments to the Government of India and the latter to the Secretary of State and Parliament. ... The Morley-Minto reforms in our view are the final outcome of the old conception which made the Government of India a benevolent despotism (tempered by a remote and only occasionally vigilant democracy), which might as it saw fit for purposes of enlightenment consult the wishes of its subjects.. . Parliamentary usages have been initiated and adopted in the councils up to the point where they cause the maximum of friction, but short of that at which by having a real sanction behind them they begin to do good. We have at present in India neither the best of the old system, nor the best of the new." 89

It is no wonder, therefore, that the reforms of 1909 failed to satisfy public opinion in India. They were no doubt hailed by the

Moderates in 1908, when they had ceased to represent the politically conscious India. But even they were disillusioned before a year was over. According to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report the reforms spent their utility by 1918 and were no longer acceptable to Indian opinion. 90 It would be more correct to say that the Act of 1909 was never acceptable and was really a still-born child.

1. Countess Minto, p. 52.

2. Ibid.

3. Fuller said that he had two wives, but was forced into the arms of one of them by the rudeness of the other (Fuller, p. 140). See above, p. 57.

4. Buchan, p. 237.

4a. Fuller, p. 139.

5. Nevinson, pp. 17-8.

6. Ibid, p. 19

7. Countess Minto p. 131. Lord Kitchener issued an order stopping all this (Ibid).

7a. The dash indicates the omission of a personal name occurring in the original

(Evidently it was Lajpat Rai or Ajit Singh).

8. Countess Minto, pp. 124-5.

9. Ibid, p. 131.

10. Buchan, p. 257

11. But, as noted above (p. 23), Minto appreciated the wisdom of the Partition as a means to check the growing national spirit of the Bengalis.

12. Countess of Minto, pp. 28-9.

13. Ibid, pp. 29-30.

14. Ibid, pp. 30-31.

15. Morley, II. p. 214

15a. Part of the correspondence was published by Morley and Countess of Minto, but now the whole of it has been thrown open to the public.

15b. The two names were omitted in the printed book and are restored from the original record by Dr. Mrs. V. Majumdar at my request. Sir Louis Dane was then the Foreign Secretary.

16. For example, the clause empowering the authorities to forbid any specific person from addressing the meeting was omitted. The nature of the meeting to be controlled by the Act was also defined.

17. Cf. Chapter VIII.

18. Countess Minto, p. 376.

19. In the trial of Tilak the trial judge held that ‘disaffection’ means ‘want of affection.’

20. Ghose, The Press and Press Laws in India, pp. 39-40. A complete list of the victims of the Press Act is given on pp. 92-9 of this book. The Government placed before the Indian Legislative Council a detailed statement of the action taken under the Press Act during 1910 to 1913

21. Report of the Press Commission, Part II. History of Indian Journalism. Compiled on behalf and under the directions of the Press Commission by J. Natarajan, pp. 157-9.

22. Morley, II. pp. 256-7.

23. Ibid, pp. 269-70.

24. Ibid, pp. 272-3.

25. Ibid, pp. 265.

26. Ibid, p. 217.

27. Countess Minto, p. 147.

2S. Ibid, p. 300.

29. Morley, II. p. 289

30. Ibid, pp. 309-10.

31. Ibid, p. 308.

32. Ibid, p. 319.

33. Ibid, p. 322.

34. Ibid, p. 327.

35. Morley Papers, Vol. V; Morley’s letter to Minto, dated 27 January, 1910.

36. It is interesting to note that Countess Minto does not refer to the ultimatum of Morley which forced Minto to release the deportees, but observes: “The Viceroy has released the deportees: his alone is the responsibility: but there are many who are apprehensive” (Countess Minto, pp. 377-8).

37. Ibid, p. 27.

38. See pp. 103, 104.

39. Morley, II. p. 171

40. Ibid.

41. Countess Minto, pp. 99-100.

42. Ibid, pp. 108-9.

43. Morley, II. p. 171.

44. Ibid, p. 174-6

45. Ibid, p. 176.

46. Countess Minto, p. 371.

47. Morley, II. p. 175.

48. Countess Minto, p. 111.

48a. Hansard, 5th series, Lords, 1909, Vol. I.

49. P- Mukherji, Indian Constitutional Documents , pp. 208-10*

50. G. N. Singh, pp. 351-2.

50a. Vol. X. pp. 305 ff.

50b- See pp. 21*4.

51. G.N. Singh, pp. 378-80; Countess Minto. pp. 46-7.

52. Aga Khan writes in his Memoirs: “Lord Minto’s acceptance of our demands was the foundation of all future constitutional proposals made for India by successive British Governments, and its final, inevitable consequence was the partition of India and the emergence of Pakistan”. The Memoirs of Aga Khan, Simon and Schuster, p. 54. The Countess of Minto says that the idea of separate electorate originated with Gokhale (p. 20, f.n.) but cites no evidence for such an important statement. More recently, S. R. Wasti has made a similar statement and referred to a speech of Gokhale in which he said that he had all along been in favour of special separate

electorates for important minorities (Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement, 1905 to 1910, p. 169, f.n. 4). But Wasti fails to note that Gokhale wanted such electorates to provide, not the whole of the representation to which the communities were entitled, but only so much of it as was necessary to redress the deficiencies and inequalities of general elections. He therefore suggested that there should be first, general elections on a territorial basis in which all communities should participate, and then, special separate supplementary elections should be held to secure the fair and adequate representation of such important minorities as had received less than their full share in the general elections. Speeches of G. K. Gokhale (Natesan & Co.), p. 1138. But this is very different from the scheme suggested by Lord Minto, and finally adopted.

53. Rajendra Prasad, pp. 112-15

54. Presidential Address, Cocanada Congress, 1923.

55. Countess Minto, pp. 47-8.

56. Buchan, p. 244.

57. Countess Minto, p. 45.

58. Ramsay Macdonald, Awakening of India, (Popular Edition), p. 176*

58a. M.S.Jain, in his book, The Aligarh Movement, its Origin and Devslopment, has sought to refute the idea that the Muslim Deputation to Lord Minto in 1906 was a “Command Performance”. By cogent arguments he has sought to prove that there was nothing new in the demands made by the Deputation, but all the essential points, including separate electorate and weightage, were formulated by file Muslims long before that. He also emphasizes the fact that “the Muhammadans had thought of sending a deputation to the British Government in 1896 to put forward demands similar to those put forward by the Simla deputation in 1906” (pp. 153-4). Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny that the idea of the deputation which was abandoned in 1896 was revived ten years later mainly through the machinations of some Englishmen in high office. The part played by Archbold and Dunlop Smith, the confession of Muhammad Ali at a later date that it was a command performance, and the revelations made in Lady Minto's Diary leave no doubt on this point. Even Morley held Minto's speech responsible for the advance of extra claims by the Muslims (see p. 131).

59. For the full text of the proposals, cf. P. Mukherji, Documents, pp. 211-28.

60. For the full text, cf. ibid, pp. 229-67.

61. Cf. Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I. Part II, Appendix V, Para 4.

62. For the full text, cf. P. Mukherji, Documents, pp. 268-84.

63. For an account of the Deputation, cf. Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, Pait II, Appendix V, Para 5; G. N. Singh, pp. 385-6.

64. Morley, II. p. 325.

65. G. N. Singh, pp. 386-7; Hindusthan Review, April, 1909, pp. 320-36; Ramsay Macdonald, op. cit., p. 129.

66. See pp. 166-7.

67. G. N. Singh, pp. 407-9

68. Countess Minto, pp. 101-4, 112; Morley, II. p. 211.

69. Countess Minto, pp. 102-3

70. For public opinion on these appointments, cf. Hindusthan Review , 1907, September, pp. 285-6.

71. Morley, II. p. 299.

72. Ibid, p. 293.

73. Ibid, p. 304.

74. Morley, Indian Speeches, p. 91. The passage has been quoted on p. 138.

75. G. N. Singh, p. 394.

76. Ibid, pp. 400-1. The Regulations are quoted in P. Mukherji, Documents, p. 307 If.

77. G. N. Singh, pp. 404-5.

78. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, para. 74.

79. G. N. Singh, pp. 393-4- The Government of India recommended an equal number of official and non-official members excluding the Governor-General, whose vote would decide the issue in case of ties. Morley disliked such camouflage.

80. Morley, Indian Speeches , p. 91.

81. Countess Minto, p. 217.

82. Ibid, pp. 300-2; Morley, II. pp. 319-20.

83. Statutory Commission Report, Vol. I, Part II, Appendix V, Para 7; G. N. Singh, pp. 396-400.

84. Paras 228-30, quoted in Chapter VI.

85. Countess Minto, p. 48.

86. See p. 130.

87. See p. 128, and f.n. 52.

88. Besant, pp. 495-6.

89. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Paras. 73, 81.

90. Ibid, Para. 74

CHAPTER VI

THE MUSLIM POLITICS

1. Effect of the Partition of Bengal

The progress of the Aligarh Movement up to the death of Syed Ahmad has been described above. 1 After the death of Syed Ahmad in 1898, his mantle fell upon Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who had already established his reputation by his co-operation with Syed Ahmad and his meritorious services in the administration of Hyderabad. The Nawab tried to continue the policy of Syed Ahmad, viz., that the Muslims must not participate in politics, and opposed an endeavour to found a political organization of the Muslims at Aligarh. 2 Nothing came out of similar endeavours until the Partition of Bengal gave a new impetus to the political activities of the Muslims who regarded the newly created Province with a majority of Muslim population as a source of strength and as a centre of their political activity. It reacted upon the Muslim feelings throughout India and quickened their political consciousness such as nothing else did. It has been urged by a number of writers, mostly Hindu, that the Partition was not opposed by the Muslims as a class, but only by a few interested individuals. This, however, does not seem to be true. There was, no doubt, a small section which was opposed to it at first, but it gradually dwindled to insignificance. It is a fact that even those Muslim politicians who were not averse to the Congress strongly supported the Partition. In the very first meeting of the Indian Muslims after the Simla deputation, held at Dacca on 30 December, 1906, a resolution was passed upholding the Partition as beneficial to the community and deprecating agitation against it as well as the Boycott movement. The Central Committee of the Muslim League passed a resolution in 1908 expressing grave anxiety over the Hindu movement against the Partition and the hope that the Government would stand firm in respect of the Partition which had brought salvation to the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal. In the annual session of the League held at Amritsar in December, 1908, it expressed vehement opposition to all "mischievous efforts" to unsettle the settled fact of the Partition of Bengal. Reference may be made in this connection to the meeting of the Imperial Council in 1910 in which Bhupendra-nath Basu proposed to raise the question of reversing the Partition of Bengal. Both Shams-ul-Huda of Bengal and Mazhar-ul-Huq from Bihar strongly denounced the attempt. The

latter said he wished Mr. Basu had brought up the question of Partition as a resolution, and then “the voting would have shown what India thought”. The British public, he said, had heard only one side, “but the time was coming when they would hear the other side with no uncertain voice. If the Government meddled with this ‘beneficent measure*, it would be committing an act of supreme folly and would create unrest and discontent where none existed now.” 3 No Muslim organization opposed Partition, and the great nationalist leader, Muhammad All, in his speech as Congress President in 1923, referred to the reversal of the Partition of Bengal as an important cause for the alienation of the Muslims from the British Government

2. Deputation to Lord Mmto

The new political consciousness of the Muslims soon found a favourable field for active political work. In 1908, Merely announced in the House of Commons that the Viceroy, Lord Min to, was about to appoint a small committee to consider the question of extending the representative element in the Legislative Council. This naturally opened before the Muslims the possibility of negotiating, in advance, with the Government in order to safeguard their rights and interests in the new Legislation. Nawab Mohsinul-MulJc made arrangements to wait upon the Viceroy in a deputation at Simla, to which reference has been made above 4

It has also been pointed out how the deputation was really engineered by the British as a deliberate step to drive in a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims, and Minto regarded this move as a ‘possible counterpoise* to the Congress which he regarded as disloyal and dangerous. 5

Here, again, it was a Principal of the Aligarh College, Mr. Archbold, who, like his two predecessors, Beck and Morrison. 6 guided Muslim politics in a channel which was very favourable to the Government and most injurious to the interests of the Hindus.

But the conspiracy was not confined to India, Tufail Ahmad writes that things had been so arranged that the deputation should receive a good press in Bngland. And so in fact it turned out to be. The British press was agog with joy that the myth of one Indian nation was exploded. The Congress and Bengal agitators were ridiculed for holding this view, and the Muslims were praised for pricking the bubble. On the very day the Simla drama was enacted, The Times devoted a few columns to a .study of the Indian problem and reiterated Beck's theory that India was not suitable for democratic institutions. Next day, on October 2, The Times drew

a comparison between Bengal agitators and Muslim statesmanship. Another paper abused the Hindus and the Congress, and praised the Muslims as a brave nation.

"It appears from these articles how the English press looked upon Indians forming one nation with a sense of shock and heart burning, and how pleased they were to see it broken into pieces and how proud they felt in setting the Indians against one another on the basis of religion and of creating lasting hostility between them/' 7

One need not feel surprised at this, for even Morley, the 'Honest John* and the idol of the Moderate party in India, expressed his jubilation at the conduct of Minto, and looked upon the deputation as a master stroke of diplomacy or statesmanship. 8 Buchan describes Minto's reply as a Charter of Islamic rights. 84

But although Lord Minto scored a great success against the Hindus, it is necessary to point out that he built upon foundations well laid already. The separate outlook of the Muslims, even in the political field, was not a new thing, and may be regarded as almost inherent in them. It can be traced as far back as 1883, when they actually made a demand for separate representation in the Municipal bodies as already noted above. 9 Curiously enough, some British statesmen suggested this more than 30 years before that, 10 and so it is no wonder that they supported this demand in 1883. The separatist mentality grew apace with the Aligarh Movement and found a congenial soil for development in the new British policy of Divide and Rule in favour of the Muslims against the Hindus to which reference has been made above. 11 The view was put forward by both the interested parties in connection with the Reform of 1892. Lord Dufferin held this view in 1888, and in 1892, Lord Lansdowne's Government put forward the same principle, though in cautious words. It wrote: "The representation of such a community upon such a scale as the Act permits can only be secured by providing that each class shall have the opportunity of making its views known in Council by the mouth of some member specially acquainted -with them". Thus here, as in many other cases, the British diplomacy succeeded because the Muslims were a willing party.

In August, 1893, the Central National Muslims' Association, representing leading Muhammadans of Bengal and other Provinces, submitted a memorial for the due representation of Muhammadans in the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Government of India, in reply to the memorialists, had indicated a sympathetic attitude. 12

The stage was thus already set. But it was reserved for Min to to give the official seal of approval to the policy of Divide and Rule and setting the Muslims against the Hindus, which two successive Secretaries of State—Lord Cross and Lord Hamilton—regarded, since the birth of the Indian National Congress, as a consummation devoutly to be wished for.

3. Foundation of the Muslim League

The Muslims were naturally elated with the favourable reception that the Government accorded to their deputation. As noted above, the Partition of Bengal and the events that followed also filled them with a new zeal and quickened their political consciousness. They now felt the need of a central political organization of the Muslims as a whole. Syed Ahmad had always discouraged the idea of such organizations, and regarded them as unnecessary, as he had implicit faith in the justice of the British Government, His European friends also supported this view, as they were afraid that if the Muslims were politically organized, they might follow in the footsteps of the Hindus in ultimately turning against Government. The Muslims, therefore, did not bestir themselves for any central political organization. Their position may be likened to that of the Irish accused, who, when questioned by the Judge about his counsel, promptly replied: "Sir, I have not engaged any defence counsel, for I have got friends in the jury." Unfortunately, the friendliness of the jury could not always be relied upon. The first rift in the lute was caused by the Hindi-Urdu controversy. It was the practice in Uttar Pradesh that all petitions to the court must be written in Urdu. The Hindus having protested against it, the Government passed an order on 8 April, 1900, to the effect that the Government offices and law-courts should also entertain petitions written in Hindi and Devanagari script, and that court summons and official announcements would be issued in future in both Urdu and Hindi. The Muslims resented the order on the ground that it lowered the status and prestige of Urdu and held protest meetings in different parts of the Province. The Hindus also held meetings supporting the Government order, and this controversy continued for months, worsening the Hindu-Muslim relations to a considerable degree.

The Aligarh politics was also naturally affected. Nawab Mohsinul-Mulk, who presided over a protest meeting at Lakhnau, demanded the withdrawal of the order in such unrestrained language that the Lieutenant-Governor asked him either to resign his Secretaryship of the Aligarh College, or to give up • his connection with the Anjuman-e-Urdu, a body mainly responsible for carrying on the vigorous agitation against the Government order. The Nawab accepted the latter alternative, but a few leaders in Aligarh took exception to the conduct of the Lieutenant-Governor and mooted the idea of starting a political organization. Mohsin-uiMulk himself opposed the idea as it violated the directive of Syed Ahmad, and Morrison, the Principal of the College, condemned the move, as it would mean going the Congress way. Morrison’s attitude scotched the proposal for the time being, though some time later Waqar-ul-Mulk succeeded in forming a Muhammadan political organization. In spite of his earnest efforts he could not infuse any strength in it, and it became defunct after a precarious existence for five years.[13]

The situation was, however, completely changed, first by the Partition of Bengal, and next by the announcement of the coming constitutional reforms. The anti-Partition agitation among the Hindus was mounting high and the Congress championed their cause. It occurred to the Muslims that in order to counteract the political organization of the Hindus, particularly the Congress, they must have a central organization of their own. Taking advantage of the presence of a large number of eminent Muslim leaders at Dacca in connection with the Muhammadan Educational Conference, Nawab Salimullah of Dacca convened a meeting and proposed the scheme of a Central Muhammadan Association to look exclusively after the interests of the Muslim community. He said that it would provide scope for the participation of Muslim youths in politics and thereby prevent them from joining the Indian National Congress, and thus check the growth of that body. The scheme was accepted and, at a meeting held on 30 December, 1906, the 4 All-India Muslim League' was established.

The aims and objects of the League were laid down as follows:

(a) To promote, amongst the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intentions of Government with regard to Indian measures.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights of the Musalmans of India and respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the Government.

(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other aforesaid objects of the League. 14

The Secretary of the League declared:

"We are not opposed to the social unity of the Hindus and the Musalmans. But the other type of unity (political) involves

the working out of common political purposes. This sort of our unity with the Congress cannot be possible because we and the Congressmen do not have common political objectives. They indulge in acts calculated to weaken the British Government. They want representative Government which means death for Musalmans. They desire competitive examinations for employment in Government services and this would mean the deprivation of Musalmans of Government jobs. Therefore, we need not go near political unity (with the Hindus). It is the aim of the League to present Muslim demands through respectful request, before the Government. They should not, like Congressmen, cry for boycott, deliver exciting speeches and write impertinent articles in newspapers and hold meetings to turn public feeling and attitude against their benign Government.” 15

Further light is thrown on the political ideals of the League by a speech which Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk delivered about three months after the Dacca meeting in a students* gathering at Aligarh. He saidr “God forbid, if the British rule disappears from India, Hindus will lord over it ; and we will be in constant danger of our life, property and honour. The only way for the Muslims to escape this danger is to help in the continuance of the British rule. If the Muslims are heartily with the British, then that rule is bound to endure. Let the Muslims consider themselves as a British army ready to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives for the British Crown.” Then referring to the Congress, he said: “We are not to emulate the agitational politics of the Congress. If we have any demands to make, they must be submitted to Government with due respect. But remember that it is your national duty to be loyal to the British rule. Wherever you are, whether in the football field or in the tennis lawn, you have to consider yourselves as soldiers of a British regiment. You have to defend the British Empire, and to give the enemy a fight in doing so. If you bear it in mind and act accordingly, you will have done that and your name will be written in letters of gold in the British Indian history. The future generations will be grateful to you.” 16

The militant attitude of the Muslim leaders deserves special notice. Nawab Mohsin-ui-Mulk went to the length of saying, in course of the Hindi-Urdu controversy: “Although we have not the might of pen.... our hands are still strong enough to wield the might of the sword.”

4. Hindu-Muslim Relations

The foundation of the Muslim League and Minto’s concessions had the effect of dividing the Hindus and Muslims into almost two

hostile political camps. A remarkable example of this is afforded by a letter written about 1908 by Mr. Ziauddin Ahmad, later ViceChancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh, to Mr. Abdulla Shuhrawardy, both of whom were then prosecuting their studies in Europb. Abdulla’ Shuhrawardy shared the national feelings which then characterized Indian students in

Europe, and for this he was rebuked by Ziauddin in a letter from which we quote the following extract:

“You know that we have a definite political policy at Aligarh, Le. the policy of Sir Syed. I understand that Mr. Kirshna Varma has founded a society called ‘Indian Home Rule Society* and you are also one of its vice-presidents. Do you really believe that the Mohammedans will be profited if Home Rule be granted to India?

.There is no doubt that this Home Rule is decidedly kgainst the

Aligarh policy... What I call the Aligarh policy is really the policy of all the Mohammedans generally—of the Mohammedans of Upper India particularly.** Mr. Asaf Ali wrote to Pandit Shyamji in September, 1909: “I am staying with some Muslim friends who do not like me to associate with nationalists; and, to save many unpleasant consequences, I do not want to irritate them unnecessarily.** Thus the Muslim antagonism to the Freedom Movement of India dates back to its beginning itself. 17

Even Muhammad Ali, later regarded as the greatest nationalist leader among the Muslims, admitted in a public speech in 1908 that the interests of the Muslims differed from those of the Hindus and would suffer if they joined the Hindus in their political agitation. He therefore frankly asserted that the Muslims could not be expected to become martyrs to the unity of India and it would be a retrograde step in the political evolution of the Muslims to leave them “at the mercy of an angelic majority** (i.e. of the Hindus). 18 The spirit of Syed Ahmad dominated the Muslims who, with rare exceptions, regarded themselves as Muslim first and Indian afterwards.

It is hardly surprising that Englishmen would exploit the situation and seek by every means to keep up, if; not aggravate, the differences between the Hindus and Muslims. Sir Valentine ChiroPs book, Indian Unrest , published in 1910, serves as an example par excellence of this mentality. “It would be an evil day*’, he says, “if the Muhammadans came to believe that they could only trust to their own right hand and no longer to the authority and sense of justice of the British Raj, to avert the dangers which they foresee in the future from the establishment of an overt or covert Hindu ascendancy.” 19 Sir Percival Griffiths, a member of the I.C.S., stressed the Muslim belief that “their interests must be regarded as completely separate from those of the Hindus, and that no fusion of the two communities was possible.” He adds, significantly enough, that however deplorable, “the statesman had to accept it.” [20]

No Indian could possibly improve upon the words of comment on this attitude of Englishmen which were written by a Frenchman, M. Ernest Piriou, Professor in the University of Paris. A few passages are quoted below:

“Who had foreseen that Indian nationalism would give birth to a Musalman nationalism, first sulky, then hostile and aggressive? .... At any rate the most dangerous enemies of Indian politics are the Musalmans. And they have not stopped midway, they have thrown themselves into the arms of the English so warmly opened to receive them. These irreconcilable enemies of the day before, artificers and victims of the revolution of 1857, are now the bodyguards of the Viceroy.

“The Indians when they become very troublesome are shown the sword of the Musalman hanging over their heads. The menace even is not necessary. When the Indians, strong in the opinion of the nation, demand simultaneous examinations in London and in India, it is so easy to tell them with curled lips: ‘First begin by coming to an understanding amongst yourselves, and by converting the Musalman’. The Musalman opposition is a marvellous resource. The English, I beg of you to believe it, know how to draw fine effects out of it.

“If ever this misunderstanding, so skilfully nourished, happens to clear up, the English would be the most disconsolate. For this Islamic bloc is a force, and on this bloc, this solid point d 9 appui , revolves Anglo-Indian policy [2i] ”

The agitation over the Partition of Bengal demonstrated the wide cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims. The passionate outburst of the Hindus against the Partition, which was noticed not only all over Bengal, but more or less all over India, was in striking contrast to the delight with which the Muslim League welcomed the measure. The Partition was not merely an administrative measure; it was a deliberate outrage upon public sentiment. But even more than this, it brought to the forefront a great political issue, namely, whether India was to be governed autocratically without any regard to the sentiments and opinions of the people, or on the enlightened principles professed by the British rulers. Looked at from this point of view, the Partition involved a trial of strength between the people and the bureaucracy.

It was a momentous issue far transcending the mere wishes and opinions or even the interests of one community or another. It was a national issue of vital importance, and the attitude of the Muslims naturally gave a great shock to the national sentiments

in India.

Then there was also the question of weightage and separate electorate granted to the Muslims. However much the Muslims might defend or justify the demand for separate electorate, National India could not but feel that it cut at the very root of the idea of an Indian Nation.

Throughout the two years, 1907 and 1908, there was an acrimonious discussion regarding the separate electorate and the weightage proposed by the Muslim deputation and consented to by Lord Minto. The question was discussed ad nauseam in the different journals and the numerous public meetings which were held all over the country. As regards the separate electorate, the Muslims stressed the essential differences between the Hindus and the Muslims in religion, social customs, and historical tradition, and held that their interests were entirely different from those of the Hindus. The Muslim minority therefore feared that it would not be dealt with fairly by the Hindu majority. The Muslims, in fact, said in so many words that they could not safely trust the Hindus with what they conceived to be the real and proper interest of the community. This was tantamount to what afterwards came to be known as the two-nation theory. Besides, the Muslims believed that the Hindus would not vote for a Muslim candidate as against a Hindu of even inferior merit, and would support only those Muslim candidates who would be ready to placate the Hindus even at the cost of sacrificing the true interests of their own community. On the other hand, the opposite school, mostly consisting of Hindus, refused to accept the Muslim contention by pointing out actual instances of municipal and district board elections where the Muslims were returned in even larger number than warranted by their numerical strength. Muslim leaders with national outlook openly asked their co-religionists: “Has the Congress pressed for any rights which would have specially benefited the Hindus at the expense of the Muhammadans?” “Can you point a single instance where the Indian National Congress has done anything injurious to the interests of the Muslim?” The number of such national leaders was, however, very few indeed.

But although the Hindus could not agree to the arguments of the Muslims on the subject of separate electorate, there was undoubtedly, a good deal of logic in them. There was however, very

little of it in the arguments by which the Muslims supported the other concession, namely, that they should be given a greater representation in the different councils than was warranted by their numerical strength in the whole population of India. The two arguments which were pressed by the deputation and were later taken over by the Muslim disputants all over the country were the political importance of the Muslims and the part they took in the defence Of India. It is very difficult to understand the import of any of these arguments. As regards the political importance, it was pointed out by the Muslims that they had ruled India for 700 years before the British came. Apart from the fact that this is not quite accurate, because just on the eve of the British rule the Hindu Marathas and the Sikhs wielded far greater political authority than the Muslims, the Hindus could very well point out in reply that if the Muslims ruled for 700 years before the British, the Hindus ruled at least for 2500 years before the Muslims, and there were many principalities ruled by the Hindus throughout the Muslim period. Further, it is to be pointed out that less than half a century before Lord Minto recognised the political importance of the Muslims, the British rulers held an entirely different view 7 about them, and far from admitting any claims of the Muhammadans for favour in that respect, the Government definitely held that the Muslims were their greatest enemies and treated them accordingly. It is an interesting sight how, almost overnight, the Muslims were transformed into an important element in favour with the British from a frankly hostile group—a position which was accorded to them, on very good grounds, by the British rulers of an earlier generation. The expression ‘political importance’ has got another connotation, namely, the part played in the development of political consciousness of the country, which alone should form a basis of rightful claim for demanding political rights. Looked at from this point of view, the claims of the Hindus were undoubtedly far greater than those of the Muslims, as the latter had done really very little by way of positive contribution to the national development, and did their very best to check the progress of any efforts made by the Hindus in that direction. But the Hindus did not claim any additional advantage on the ground of such political importance.

The Muslim deputation to Minto stressed the part played by the Muslims in defending the country. It is a curious claim in view of the fact that the country was defended by paid soldiers forming part of a regular army, and no particular community can base any special claim for concession on that ground. For the composition of the army depended upon the sweet will of the Government and could be varied from time to time according to the needs and exigencies of circumstances. But even taking the question in the sense intended by the Muslims, namely, the number of Muslims in the Indian army, it should be pointed out that they could hardly claim any special importance in view of the fact that the Gurkhas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, and the Marathas played no less important part, not to put it more bluntly, than the Baluchis, the Pathans and other Muslim regiments of Indian army. It is also to be noted that the Muslim tribes had hardly developed any political consciousness as yet. It is amusing indeed that the civilian political leaders would put forward claims to improve their political status by invoking the military service of bands of paid soldiers, who had little or no interest in the political question even considered from a communal point of view.

The question in the abstract was discussed by both sides for a great length of time. This topic may be concluded by quoting the following words of Montagu and Chelmsford who can by no means be regarded as unduly friendly to the Hindus:

“The crucial test to which, as we conceive, all proposals should be brought is whether they will or will not help to carry India towards responsible government. Some persons hold that for a people, such as they deem those of India to be, so divided by race, religion and caste as to be unable to consider the interests of any but their own section, a system of communal and class representation is not merely inevitable, but is actually best... .But when we consider what responsible government implies, and how it was developed in the world, we cannot take this view... .We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission hy the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself.

“Indian lovers of their country would be the first to admit that India generally has not yet acquired the citizen spirit, and if we are really to lead her to self-government w r e must do all that we possibly can to call it forth in her people. Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens, and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them

on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted.

“There is another important point. A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. On the other hand, the latter will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen and that they are free to use their power for their own purposes. The giveand-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself.

The Communal system stereotypes existing relations.

"We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore , as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle" 22

As mentioned above, the Act of 1909, and the Regulations made thereunder, embodied in substance the concessions virtually promised by Minto to the Muslims. This set the seal of Government approval on the theory of two nations or two races, or two separate communities, with distinct interests and outlooks, which were preached by Sir Syed Ahmad and formed the basis of the Aligarii Movement, Henceforth, there was no turning back and, as years rolled on t this idea of the Muslims being a separate political entity got greater and greater momentum like a ball moving down an inclined plane. It constituted the chief problem of Indian politics and, through strange vicissitudes and under strange circumstances, the problem was ultimately solved by the creation of Pakistan.

As already mentioned above, there were some individual Muslims who uttered a dissenting note of warning and pointed out that the separate electorate or weightage, instead of benefiting the Muslims, would rather go against their true interests; 23 but they were few in number and their views made no impression on the community.

The Hindu view about the resulting situation may be summed up in the two following extracts from the speeches of G. K. Gokhale. "It was a commonplace of Indian politics that there can be no future for India as a Nation unless a durable spirit of co-operation was developed and estabished between the two great communities." And again, "The union of all communities is no doubt the goal towards which we have to strive, but it cannot be denied that it does not exist in the country to-day, and it is no use proceeding as though it existed when in reality it does not.** 24

The Hindu leaders were thus in a great dilemma. On the one Hand, they realized the need of unity, and on the other, they felt that there was no immediate prospect of such unity. There were, however, some politicians who ignored the great difference between the two communities and talked and behaved, as if there was none and these two constituted a common brotherhood. This attitude was carried to an extreme—almost absurd—length by Gandhi and his followers while carrying on struggle against the British. But Gokhale was more realistic and frankly admitted that "over the greater part of India, the two communities had inherited a tradition of antagonism which, though it might ordinarily lie dormant, broke forth into activity at the smallest provocation. It was this tradition that had to be overcome.** 25 So he fully shared the desire for unity but was as fully conscious of the absence of any such thing.

The Muslim community realized the dilemma in which the Hindu politicians were placed, and it is not at all surprising that they would fully utilise it in bargaining with them for the sake of establishing a united political front. Once an individual is told that his assistance is indispensable, it is only natural that he should put a high premium on his co-operation. The Muslims would be something more or something less than human if they would not be actuated by that spirit in putting an unduly high price on the political co-operation with the Hindus which the latter believed to be essential for the further progress of India. It is only fair to add that there were a few individuals, here and there, who realized the incongruity and inconsistency in the attitude of the Hindu leaders, and its almost inevitable consequence—namely the growing intransigence of the Muslims. They publicly declared that while the Muslim help would be of great advantage to the national struggle, it was not sine qua non for success. But such voices were very rare. One instance may be offered as specimen:

“Is there any hope for Nationalism in the event of a misunderstanding between Hindu and Musalman? Of course there is: We should like to work together. There is no question as to the greater strength of the rope that is made of double strands; but in the face of the immense numerical preponderance enjoyed by one of the parties, it would be quite clear, even if the history of the past had not already elucidated it, that mutual co-operation of the two great sections of the Indian nation is only an advantage, not a necessity to nationalism. Hindus are in no way inferior in prowess. The bravest race in India is Hindu, not Mohammedan. We have the advantage in education. It is for the sake of Moharamedans themselves that we desire that nationality should be a common cause; not for nationality, which cannot ultimately lose, whoever opposes it.” 26

The Muslims fully exploited the eagerness of the Hindus for Muslim support in their political struggle against the British, and grew more and more truculent in their attitude, demanding further extension of the principle of communal representation and increase in the appointment of Muslims in all State services. Agitation for all these was carried on not only in India but also in England. A British branch of the Muslim League was opened in London in 1908, with Sir Syed Ameer Ali as Chairman, in order to enlighten public opinion in England regarding the separatist tendencies of the Indian Muslims. In his inaugural address Ameer Ali observed: "It i is impossible for them (the Musalmans) to merge their separate communal existence in that of any other nationality or strive for the attainment of their ideals under the aegis of any other organization than their own". The London branch was actively helped by the All-India Muslim League, and it left no stone unturned in influencing British opinion. There is hardly any doubt that the fulfilment of Muslim demands for separate electorate, weightage and reservation of seats was largely due to its activities carried on under the enthusiastic zeal of Syed Ameer Ali. 27

5. Communal Riots

Reference has been made above 28 to a series of outrages in Bengal perpetrated by the Muslims on the innocent Hindus in the wake of the partition of that Province. They heralded more communal riots which soon extended beyond the boundary of that Province.

In 1910 a severe riot broke out at Peshawar. Two years later there was a serious clash between the two communities at Ayodhya and Fyzabad on the occasion of the Muslim festival of Bakrid. Next year there was a similar riot at Agra on the occasion of Muhurrum. Sir John Hewett, the Governor of U.P., who lived in the Province since 1875, remarked that the differences were more acute and the feelings more bitter between the two communities in the United Provinces than they had been at any time during his residence there.

Hut the Bakrid disturbances at Shahabad (Bihar) in 1917 were perhaps the most serious which ever occurred during the British rule up to that time. On 30 September, more than 25,000 Hindus attacked Ibrahimpur and neighbouring villages, and with great difficulty, after a hand to hand fight with the rioters, the police restored order. But on 2 October rioting began again, simultaneously

over a large part of the district, and for six days law and order practically disappeared from the area. Muslim houses were destroyed and their property looted; and the operations were directed by petty Hindu landholders from elephants or horseback. On 9 October, the disturbances spread to the adjoining regions of the Gaya District where over 30 villages were looted. Nearly one thousand were convicted under the Defence of India Act, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

In 1918 riots broke out at Katarpur, six miles from Hardwar in U.P. Here, too, the Hindus burnt down Muslim houses in the course of which 30 Muslims were killed and 60 more were injured, including some women. 29

1. Vpl. X, pp. 305-20.

2. Noman, pp. 62, 64. Ram Gopal, p. 34.

3. Lovat Fraser, India under Curzon, pp. 391*2, f.n.

4. See pp. 127-8.

5. See p. 129.

6. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 311 ff.

7. M. Tufail Ahmad, Roshan Mustaqbal. p. 363; quoted by Rajendra Prasad, p. 115.

8. Morley’s letter to Minto, dated 26 October, 1906. Countess Minto, 47-8.

8a. Buchan, 244. See p. 129.

9. Cf. Vol. X, p. 302.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, pp. 320 ff.

12. Home Public Proceedings, October, 1893, Nos. 51-3- See also f.n. 58a of Chapter V.

13. Ram Gopal, p. 83-4.

14. Muslim League, p. 43.

15. Aligarh Institute Gazette , 14 August, 1907, pp. 7-8. Quoted in Muslim League, p. 43

16. Tufail Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 363-4.

17. Savarkar, p. 29.

18. Noman, pp. 52-3.

19. For this and other similar passages cf. Chapter IX of the same book.

20. Griffiths, pp. 309-10.

21. The Modern Review, I. pp, 579-91. The passage is taken from the translation of a chapter of Piriou's book, LTnde Contemporaine et le Movement Nationals .

22. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, paras 228-31. The Italics are mine.

23. The Hindusthan Review, April, 1909, p. 323 and p. 357. Ramsay Macdonald, p. 129.

24. Gokhale ! s Speeches, pp. 1137, 209.

25. Ibid, p. 1136.

26. The Modern Review , VII, p. 3.

27. Muslim League, pp. 41-2.

28. See pp. 54 ff.

29. Report of the Statutory Commission, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 97 ff. The last two accounts arc based on official reports which were often biased against the Hindus.

CHAPTER VII

LORD HARDINGE

I. ANNULMENT OF THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Lord Hardinge arrived at Calcutta on 21 November, 1910, and took charge of his office two days later, when Minto left. Lord Morley also resigned his office as Secretary of State for India in November, 1910, and Lord Crewe succeeded him.

Immediately after his arrival at Bombay on 18 November, 1910, Hardinge, who had not yet taken charge, announced in the course of his reply to the Address of Welcome presented by the Bombay Municipality, that Their Majesties, the King and Queen, would hold an Imperial Durbar in India in December, 1911. On his arrival at Calcutta he formed an idea of the situation which was very different from that pictured by Lord Minto and his wife. In view of the great contrast it is better to quote Hardinge's own words describing his feelings and the steps he took:

"Before I arrived in India I was well aware that the Province of Bengal was seething with sedition, the outcome of the policy of Partition. Dacoities and assassinations of police and informers were almost of daily occurrence in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and it was practically impossible to secure a conviction by the ordinary process of law. But I hardly realized till I was actually in Calcutta the state of political unrest and terrorism that prevailed, and the number of prosecutions for sedition that had been instituted and that were likely to extend over at least a year. Some of these prosecutions, in fact most of them, presented no likelihood of a successful issue, and had been initiated through the shortsightedness of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edward Baker, and his legal advisers. In India nothing could be worse than prosecutions that failed. They lowered the prestige of the Government and gave encouragement to the lawless. As soon as I had realized the true situation I sent for the Lieutenant-Governor and told him how much I disliked all these unsatisfactory prosecutions just at a moment when I was most anxious for a policy of conciliation in view of the impending visit of the King and Queen to India within a year's time, and I laid down the rule that no new political prosecution was to be initiated without my personal consent, and that in any pending case, where there was a doubt as to the sufficiency of evidence to secure a conviction, the prosecution was to be

withdrawn."[1] Lord Crewe also expressed "his deep discontent with the administration of justice in Bengal" in a telegram sent to Hardinge, and requested the latter "to exercise supervision." As a result of all this* "all prosecutions were completed or withdrawn before the arrival of their Majesties in India for the Durbar."[2] Lord Crewe was, however, anxious to go to the root of the matter. In January, 1911, Hardinge received "a proposal from Lord Crewe suggesting the possibility of a modification of the partition of Bengal, which had been effected by Lord Curzon, and which had ever since been a festering political sore and the cause of all the anarchical agitation in Bengal. His proposal was intended to satisfy that section of the Indian political community who regarded the partition as a mistake. His idea was to create a Governorship instead of a Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal with the capital of the Province at Dacca or elsewhere, to form an Imperial Enclave of Calcutta directly under the Viceroy, and to appoint Commissioners for various divisions, as in Sind, The suggestion was that the rectification of the partition should be announced by the King at the Durbar, His Majesty being strongly in favour of it in principle."[3] Hardinge, being only two months in India, did not like to express any opinion on his own authority alone. He "consulted several officials in responsible positions," and as all of them were strongly opposed to it, he "declared the scheme to be impracticable", and the matter was dropped for the time being.[4]

But before many months were over, Lord Hardinge awoke to the realities of the situation. How he was convinced of the necessity of modifying the partition of Bengal and of the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi may be described in his own words.

"During later months it was brought home to me that if there was to be peace in the two Bengals it was absolutely necessary to do something to remove what was regarded by all Bengalis as an act of flagrant injustice without justification. There was at the same time a feeling of expectancy abroad that something would be done at the time of the Durbar to remove this injustice, and I appreciated the fact that if nothing were done we would have to be prepared for even more serious trouble in the future than in the past in Bengal. Moreover, the presence of the Legislative Assembly in Calcutta created an undue and inevitable Bengali influence upon the Members, which was detrimental to their legislative impartiality and presented a field for intrigue in which the Bengalis excelled. All these aspects of the situation in Bengal were most unsatisfactory and were a constant source of anxiety to me, for which I did not then see the remedy. It was Sir John Jenkins,

the Home Member of my Council, who in a letter to me, dated the 17th June, 1911, sent me a memorandum which caused my views to materialize into a definite policy. He, as the Member responsible for security in India, held very strong views upon the urgency of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi which, he thought 'would be a bold stroke of statesmanship which would give universal satisfaction and mark a new era in the history of India/ With this scheme the reversal of the partition of Bengal was to be associated as well as other changes in the delimitation of the provinces. He urged that these changes should be announced by the King in Durbar at Delhi." 4a

Hardinge drew up a very secret memorandum and submitted it to the members of his Council for opinion. "The principal points were: (1) The transfer of the Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. (2) The creation of United Bengal into a Presidency with a Governor in Council appointed from England. (3) The creation of Behar and Orissa into a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and capital at Patna, and (4) the restoration of the Chief Commissionership of Assam." 5 Curiously enough, the same members who opposed the simple scheme of Crewe now gave their assent to the more comprehensive proposal, and it was agreed to by all the members of the Governor-GeneraPs Council. Thereupon Hardinge wrote on 19 July, 1911, a long letter to Crewe urging upon him the acceptance of his proposals. On 7 August, 1911, Crewe sent a telegram to Hardinge assuring him “entire support and full authority to proceed”. He also agreed that the first announcement would be made at the Imperial Durbar in Delhi. Both India Council and the Cabinet approved of the proposals in November, 1911.

A clear exposition of the whole policy of the Government of India in regard to these matters of great political moment, which were indissolubly linked together, is given in their lengthy despatch, dated 25 August, 1911, to the Secretary of State, Lord Crewe. 6

The arguments advanced on behalf of the transfer of the capital from Calcutta may be summed up as follows:

“That the Government of India should have its seat in the same city as one of the chief Provincial Governments, and moreover in a city geographically so ill-adapted as Calcutta to be the capital of the Indian Empire, has long been recognised to be a serious anomaly.” Recent events have increased the importance as well as the urgency of the question. “On the one hand the almost incalculable importance of the part which can already safely be

predicted for the Imperial Legislative Council in the shape it has assumed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, renders the removal of the capital to a more central and easily accessible position practically imperative. On the other hand, the peculiar political situation which has arisen in Bengal since the Partition makes it eminently desirable to withdraw the Government of India from its present Provincial environment, while its removal from Bengal is an essential feature of the scheme we have in view for allaying the ill-feeling aroused by the Partition amongst the Bengali population."

A more important argument was furnished by the shape that the Government of India was likely to take in future. This part of the despatch may be quoted in full as it is the first enunciation of the principle on which the reforms of 1919 were based.

“The maintenance of British rule in India depends on the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General in Council. Never theless it is certain that, in the course of time, the just demands of Indians for a larger share in the government of the country will have to be satisfied, and the question will be how this devolution of power can be conceded without impairing the supreme authority of the Governor-General in Council. The only possible solution of the difficulty would appear to be gradually to give the Provinces a large measure of self-government, until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, and possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of imperial concern. In order that this consummation may be attained, it is essential that Supreme Government should not be associated with any particular Provincial Government. The removal of the Government of India from Calcutta is, therefore, a measure which will, in our opinon, materially facilitate the growth of Local self-government on sound and safe lines. It is generally recognised that the capital of a great central Government should be separate and independent, and effect has been given to this principle in the United States, Canada and Australia.'*

The choice of the new capital did not present any difficulty. Long ago Lord Lawrence had considered the scheme of removing the capital from Calcutta to Delhi and was in favour of it , but did not succeed in overcoming the opposition of his Council. As the Despatch points out, "on geographical, historical and political grounds the capital of the Indian Empire should be at Delhi", and "it is the only possible place. It has splendid communications.

its climate is good for seven months in the year, and its salubrity could be ensured at a reasonable cost."

"The political advantages of the transfer are impossible to over-estimate. Delhi is still a name to conjure with," so far as the Muhammadans are concerned, and they would be gratified beyond measure "to see the ancient capital of the Moguls restored to its proud position as the seat of Empire". Delhi, as the site of old Indraprastha, and in the neighbourhood of the great scene of battle described in the Mahabharata, "is also intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends."

As regards the Partition of Bengal the Government were forced to the conviction "that the bitterness of feeling engendered by the Partition of Bengal is very widespread and unyielding, and that we are by no means at an end of the troubles which have followed upon that measure. Eastern Bengal and Assam has, no doubt, benefited greatly by the Partition, and the Mahomedans of that Province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented; but the resentment amongst the Bengalis in both provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions, and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever, though somewhat less vocal."

"No doubt sentiment has played a considerable part in the opposition offered by the Bengalis, and, in saying this, we by no means wish to underrate the importance which should be attached to sentiment even if it be exaggerated. It is, however, no longer a matter of mere sentiment, but rather, since the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, one of undeniable reality. In pre-reform scheme days the non-official element in these Councils was small. The representation of the people has now been carried a long step forward, and in the Legislative Councils of both the Provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal the Bengalis find themselves in a minority, being outnumbered in the one by Beharis and Ooriyas, and in the other by the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal and the inhabitants of Assam. As matters now stand, the Bengalis can never exercise in either province that influence to which they consider themselves entitled by reason of their numbers, wealth, and culture. This is a substantial grievance which will be all the more keenly felt in the course of time, as the representative character of the Legislative Councils increases and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is therefore only too much reason to fear that, instead of dying down, the bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute."

The conclusion of the Government is stated as follows:

"To sum up, the results anticipated from the Partition have not been altogether realized, and the scheme as designed and executed, could only be justified by success. Although much good work has been done in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Mahomedans of that Province have reaped the benefit of a sympathetic administration closely in touch with them, those advantages have been in a great measure counterbalanced by the violent hostility which the Partition has aroused amongst the Bengalis. For the reasons we have already indicated, we feel bound to admit that the Bengalis are labouring under a sense of real injustice which we believe it would be sound policy to remove without further delay."

There can be hardly any doubt that the Government correctly gauged the situation so far as Partition was concerned. The Bengalis regarded it as a grievous wrong ever since Lord Curzon decided upon it. Ambika-charan Majumdar very justly observed in the Congress in 1908: "If the Partition is a settled fact, the unrest in India is also a settled fact, and it is for Lord Morley and the Government of India to decide which should be unsettled to settle the question.** 7

To Lord Hardinge belongs the chief credit of undoing the great wrong done to Bengal. But while he united the Bengali-speaking region, he did not restore the status quo. The territories comprised in the two Bengals were redistributed as follows:

(1) Bihar, Chotanagpur and Orissa were constituted into a Province under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

(2) Assam reverted to a Chief Commissionership.

(3) The rest constituted the Province of Bengal under a Governor in Council.

Apart from the desire of doing with too big and unmanageable administrative units which, in the opinion of the Government, necessitated the partition of Bengal in 1905, the Government of *India gave some special reasons for separating Bihar and Orissa from Bengal. "We are satisfied", so runs the Despatch, "that it is in the highest degree desirable to give the Hindi-speaking people, now included within the Province of Bengal, a separate administration. These people have hitherto been unequally yoked with the Bengalis, and have never, therefore, had a fair opportunity for development. The cry of Behar for the Beharis has frequently been raised in connexion with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Behar having been held by Bengalis. ... There has more

over, been a very marked awakening in Behar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among Beharis that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal.... The Ooriyas, like the Beharis, have little in common with the Bengalis, and we propose to leave Orissa (and the Sambalpur district) with Behar and Chota Nagpur. We believe that this arrangement will well accord with popular sentiment in Orissa, and will be welcome to Behar as presenting a seaboard to that province." There can be hardly any doubt that the passage correctly reflects the feelings of the Biharis, as they had their representative, Ali Imam, in the Viceroy's Executive Council. Whether it is equally correct in regard to Orissa may be doubted. Orissa had much less in common with Bihar, than with Bengal,—not even a common geographical boundary.

These administrative changes were made, partly by three Proclamations issued on 22 March, 1912, and an Act passed by the Government of India on 25 March, 1912, and finally by an Act of Parliament,—the Government of India Act, 1912—which received the Royal assent on 25 June, 1912. This Act placed the new Governorship in Bengal exactly on the same footing as those of Bombay and Madras, created an Executive Council for Bihar and Orissa, and authorised the creation of Legislative Councils in Provinces under Chief Commissioners. Two Legislative Councils were created, under this provision of the Act, for Assam and Central Provinces, respectively, on 14 November, 1912, and 19 November, 1913.

Finally, a small Province of Delhi, comprising the new Imperial city and its immediate neighbourhood, was created by a Proclamation in 1912 and placed under a Chief Commissioner.

The merits of the measures which Hardinge and Crewe thought fit to adopt formed subjects of acrimonious discussion for a long time, and opinions were sharply divided both in England and India. The modification of the Partition of Bengal was hailed with delight by Indians of all shades of opinion, except a large section of Muslims who looked upon it as a great betrayal. The officials and the die-hard section of the Englishmen regarded it as a severe blow to the British prestige. The transfer of the capital, as was foreseen, was strongly criticised by the British mercantile community as well as the Anglo-Indians in Bengal who made bitter attacks upon the Viceroy. The Statesman of Calcutta came out a few days after the durbar with the leading article—'H. M. G.' "Hardinge must go." The Bengalis also disliked the removal of the capital from Calcutta, as it involved loss of both* prestige and material interest; they were, however, naturally loth to condemn* outright the measure as it was indissolubly coupled with the virtual

annulment of the Partition of Bengal for which they had fought so long and sacrificed so much. The change was, however, welcomed by the Indians of other Provinces.

But apart from the merits of the proposals, the manner in which they were hatched in secret and carried out in secret, came in for a good deal of criticism. Much was made of the fact that the Parliament became aware of the momentous proposals, involving heavy expenditure and far-reaching consequences, only after His Majesty had made the announcement. It provoked Lord Curzon's criticism that the Cabinet had ''used the authority of the sovereign to settle in their own way an issue of an acutely controversial character." Lord Crewe defended his action on the ground that it was purely administrative in character, and therefore did not require Parliamentary sanction. He completely turned the table on Curzon by pointing out that the original partition of Bengal had been carried out without reference to Parliament.

II. ROYAL VISIT AND THE DURBAR

His Majesty the King-Emperor Edward VII died on 6 May, 1910, and the coronation of George V was celebrated on 22 June, 1910, in Westminster Abbey. But it was also decided that the KingEmperor and Queen-Empress should visit India and the Emperor should announce in person their coronation already held, so that those who could not be present at the coronation in London, should have the opportunity of taking part in its commemoration at Delhi.

The visit, in person, of the King-Emperor to India was a unique event. No British King before George V had visited India (and no one after him followed the example). The programme was therefore drawn up on an elaborate scale, and the arrangements were made in right imperial style. The central idea was, of course, the durbar to be held in Delhi on 12 December, 1911, with all the pomp and grandeur associated with the Mughuls. Delhi was deliberately chosen as the seat of the imperial function, as it was intended to impress upon the oriental minds that the successors to the Mughuls were not a whit behind them in display of magnificence, and far excelled them in political power and authority. Two hundred ruling chiefs of India and the heads of all Provincial Governments assembled in Delhi to pay homage to Emperor George V. No Mughul Emperor—neither Akbar nor Aurangzeb—could ever dream of holding a durbar where the rulers of the whole of India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, would bow down their heads before the Imperial throne. The might and majesty of the British Emperor of India, which was symbolically displayed by

Lord Lytton's Delhi durbar in 1877, was to be given a more concrete and vivid expression thirty-five years later, almost to a day.

His Majesty George V arrived at Delhi on 7 December, 1911. The terrorist activities made the Government take special precautionary measures for the safety of His Majesty's person in Delhi. 8

The details of the magnificent durbar, held on 12 December, 1911, have been fully described in official and other publications, 9 and need not detain us here. It is chiefly memorable for the announcements of His Majesty regarding the transfer of the capital to Delhi and the redistribution of provincial territories mentioned above. This announcement was the last item of the durbar programme and was preceded by announcements made by the Governnor-General on behalf of His Majesty, declaring the "grants, concessions, reliefs and benefactions", bestowed on the people in commemoration of his accession. These included, among others, grant of 50 lakhs for promoting popular education (to be supplemented by further grants in future), award of half a month's pay to everyone in the military or civil establishment drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 50 or less, making Victoria Cross eligible to Indian military officers and soldiers, the stoppage of the customary payment of nazarand by native chiefs upon succession to their States, and the release of certain classes of prisoners.

Soon after the durbar day His Majesty George V laid the foundation-stone of the new capital of India. On 16 December, His Majesty left for Nepal to shoot tigers, and arrived at Calcutta on the 30th. Various pomps, processions, fetes and festivities took place in Calcutta as in Delhi. Their Majesties left Calcutta on 8 January, and went straight from the railway station in Bombay to H.M.S. Medina which had brought them from England and also took them back.

Lord Hardinge had deluded himself into the belief that he had succeeded by his conciliatory measures in stamping out the revolutionary movement that had started in Bengal and gradually spread over the whole of India. It was not long before he was sadly disillusioned. The State entry into the new capital was fixed for 23 December, 1912. From the railway station started a long procession, headed by a number of elephants carrying the Viceroy and Vicereine, the Ruling Princes, and senior officials. When the procession was passing through Chandni Chowk, a bomb was hurled at the elephant carrying the Viceroy. Lady Hardinge was unhurt, but Lord Hardinge was badly wounded and fainted from loss of blood; while the servant behind them holding the State umbrella was killed. Another servant was covered with 30 or

40 minor wounds; his two eardrums as well as one of the Viceroy's were burst. As soon as Hardinge recovered consciousness and received first aid while still lying on the pavement of the road, he gave orders that everything was to be carried out according to the programme, and his speech should be read at the ceremony by the senior member of his Council.

The news of this outrage evoked a wave of indignation throughout India, and Lord Hardinge announced that his policy “would not deviate a hair's breadth” on account of the attempt on his life. But he never realized the true significance of the bomb thrown at him. His first feeling was that all the improvement that he had noted in the general situation had disappeared “through the wanton act of the miscreants who had planned it.” 10 He was right only in part; what he could not understand was that he had to deal, not with individual miscreants, but a great national movement. So his first instinct of misgivings gave way to the old complacent belief that ‘he would have no more trouble from the people of India who would give him the most loyal support.' He was strengthened in his belief by the assurance of Gokhaie that he and his party would never oppose him. The history of the next five years showed, what should have been clear to any far-sighted statesman, that Gokhaie and his party had ceased to count in Indian politics. New India was being heralded by the cry for ‘Home Rule’ in public, and conspiracy for armed revolt on a big scale in secret. They were in full swing when Lord Hardinge was still on Indian soil, living in a fool’s paradise.

III. THE FIRST WORLD WAR

1. The Origin and Progress of the War

The most important event during the administration of Hardinge was the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. It was really due to the long-standing tension between Germany and France which led to the formation of two blocs of great powers in Europe. Germany, Austria and Italy had formed a Triple Alliance. Against this was a definite alliance between France and Russia, and also the Entente Cordiale between France and England which, though not a defensive or offensive alliance, brought the two powers closer together; each pledged itself to support the other in diplomatic field, and they discussed military plans to be adopted in the event of the two countries becoming allies in war. There was also a similar entente between England and Russia. Thus in 1914 the great European powers were divided into two allied groups: Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy) and Triple Entente (France, Russia and England).

On 28 June, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia which was a part of the Austrian empire, by a Serbian subject of the Austrian Emperor. The Austro-Hungarian Government took it for granted that the murder was committed at the instigation of the Government of Serbia. So, in July, the Austrian Government sent an ultimatum to Serbia asking her to accept the most humiliating terms. Serbia refused, and Austria declared war against her on 28 July. Russia mobilised in order to help Serbia; so Germany declared war against Russia and her ally, France. England was at first indecisive, but as Germany invaded Belgium in order to make a flanking march to France, Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August, 1914. Japan joined Britain under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

For the sake of convenience the progress of the War may be briefly described year by year.

Year 1914

The German army swept over Belgium, and after inflicting heavy casualties on the French army and the British Expeditionary force sent to Belgium, reached the bank of the Marne within 20 miles of Paris. But there the German progress was halted. Towards the end of the year the British army in Belgium suffered a disastrous defeat with a loss of 50,000 men.

Russia at first entered into German territory but the brilliant manoeuvre of two German Generals, Hindenburg and Ludendorff, forced 120,000 Russian soldiers to surrender at Tannenberg. Then the German army entered Russia and inflicted heavy casualties, about 300,000 killed and wounded. But the Russians achieved some success against the Austrians.

Towards the end of October, Turkey joined the Central Powers (Germany and Austria) and declared war against the Allies (Britain, France and Russia). A British army, consisting mostly of Indian soldiers, was sent to Mesopotamia and Palestine.

The British blockaded the coast of Germany preventing any vessels from proceeding to that country, and this cut off her trade and intercourse with the outside world. The British navy scored a victory over the German navy off Falkland Islands in the South Atlantic.

Year 1915

The Germans occupied Poland, and the British forces were defeated by the Turks at the Dardanelles through which they planned to reach Russia. Italy, which, though a member of the Triple Alliance, had hitherto remained neutral, now joined the Allies, while Bulgaria joined the Central Powers and occupied Serbia. Germany began the submarine warfare against British shipping. The British vessel S. S. Lusitania was sunk with 1200 passengers.

Year 1916

In spite of severe fight with heavy casualties, the British could not push back the Germans from the Somme, and the Germans were unable to force back the French army near Verdun. Rumania joined the Allies but was soon overrun by German troops. The Indian army was forced to surrender at Kut, as will be described later. German navy scored a victory over the British at the battle of Jutland, but thereafter never ventured into the high seas.

Year 1917

The German submarines inflicted heavy losses upon British shipping which produced a food crisis in Britain. On 1 February Germany declared that any ship bound for Britain would be sunk. The United States made strong protest against indiscriminate destruction of neutral ships bound for Britain. As Germany did not heed these protests and a few U.S.A. ships were sunk, the latter declared war against Germany. This was a great gain for the Allies, but was more than counterbalanced, for the time being, by the outbreak of a revolution in Russia which meant her collapse as a fighting power. This enabled the Germans to bring over to the western front her troops from the Russian frontier. The Allies were unable to force the Germans back and the British lost nearly 300,000 in killed and wounded at Passchendaele between July and November. Italy, suffered heavily and was saved by the Allied forces rushing to her aid. Greece entered the War on the side of the Allies. Turkey lost her hold on Egypt and Arabia. The British recovered Kut and entered Baghdad. A British force occupied Jerusalem.

Year 1918

Russia concluded a humiliating treaty with Germany on condition of paying heavy indemnities and cession of a considerable portion of her western dominions. Rumania also concluded a treaty with the Central Powers. The Germans inflicted defeats upon the Allied forces in France and again reached the banks of the Marne within 40 miies of Paris, while the way to the English channel was laid open. It was at this juncture that the Allies were saved by the arrival of the troops from U.S. The French General* Foch, began the counter-attack on 18 July and forced the retreating Germans to evacuate France and a third of Belgium before the end of October. Henceforth the Allied army was triumphant everywhere and gradually, one by one, Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria sued for peace. Finally, Germany surrendered on 11 November. The Kaiser fled to Holland and a republic was established in Germany. The Great War was thus brought to an end.

The series of treaties that concluded it badly crippled the power of Germany and dismembered the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Turkey was perhaps the worst sufferer. By the Treaty of Sevres concluded on 10 August, 1920, Turkey gave up all rights in Egypt, the Sudan, Cyprus, Tripolitania, Morocco, and Tunisia, and over Arabia, Palestine* Mesopotamia, and Syria. Smyrna, south-western Asia Minor and part of Eastern Thrace were handed over to Greece. Some islands in the Aegean were wrested from Turkey and given to Greece and Italy. In Europe the Turks retained only the capital city of Constantinople and a small strip of land up to the town of Chatalja. Armenia became an independent State and Kurdistan was to receive autonomy; nothing was left to Turkey even in Asia except Anatolia or Asia Minor. Thus the dismemberment of the once mighty Turkish Empire was complete. The Sultan of Turkey, who was also the Caliph of the Muslims all over the world, lost his suzerainty * over a number of Muslim States including Arabia, the holy land of Islam. As will be seen later, this had a great repercussion upon the Indian Muslims as well as the political history of India.

2. India's Contribution to the War

The declaration of war by Great Britain against Germany on 4 August, 1914, automatically made India a belligerent and dragged her into the great holocaust. The Indians, of course, had no voice in the matter, and the Government of India did not ask for the opinion of her people. Britain had great doubts, and for good reasons, whether the Indians could possibly feel any enthusiasm for the war or heartily co-operate in war efforts. Referring to the beginning of the war Montagu observed in his famous speech on the Report of the Mesopotamian Commission in the House of Commons on 12 July, 1917; “We did not know whether India should co-operate in this War or not; we did not trust them; we dare not trust them.” n Gradually the British were reassured by the expressions of loyalty from the ruling chiefs and the

loyalist section in India, and began to draw upon her resources. Indian troops were sent to France, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Gallipoli, Palestine, Salonika, Aden, and the Persian Gulf. India’s supply in men, money and material was so large that the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, declared in the British Parliament, and repeated it in his autobiography, that India had been “bled white” by the War Office. That this was no mere rhetoric would be apparent from a few statistical figures. Prior to the war the normal rate of recruitment of combatants for the Indian army was only about 15,000 a year. In the year ending May, 1917, this had been raised to 121,000, and in the following year ending on the 31st May, 1918, to over 300,000 men. The total recruitment, combatant and noncombatant, rose nearly to half a million. 12 Edwin Montagu, in the course of his election speech at Cambridge in November, 1918, stated that during the War 1,161,789 Indians had been recruited, and 1,215,338 men had been sent overseas from India, 101,439 of whom had become casualties. 13

India had to bear the heavy expenses of maintaining this huge army and even the cost of their transport to the distant theatres of war mentioned above. Not satisfied with all this, India, represented by her British masters, made a “free gift” of one hundred million to Britain for conducting her imperial war. This amount exceeded the annual revenue of the Government of India and increased her national debt by thirty per cent. The total war expenditure of the Government of India, up to 31st March, 1918, was about £.127,800,000 sterling. In addition, Indian princes and peoples contributed £.2,100,000 sterling in cash, besides placing at the disposal of the Government of India considerable further sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc. 14 In 1917-18 the interest, sinking fund and other charges in connection with the gift of 100 million sterling amounted to 6 million sterling. 15 The material supplied by India included 1,874 miles of railway track, 5,999 vehicles, 13,073 L.ft. of girders, 237 locomotives, 883 steamers and barges, and ten million cubic ft. of timber. 15a

In spite of all this Lloyd George, the War Minister and Prime Minister of Britain during the War, made very uncharitable remarks about India's war-efforts. In his War Memoirs published in 1933, long after the excitement caused by the war was over, he observes: "In the opening months of the War the Indian Government showed an extraordinary tardiness in rendering any help at all to the Empire in its struggle. Only under strong pressure would it send a single soldier to the front, and despite its enormous population it declared itself incapable of recruiting substantial additional forces. It would not spend an extra pice on the War." 16 This is directly contradicted by the figures given above and the passage quoted below from the autobiography of Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India:

"Immediately on the outbreak of war India offered the Home Government two complete divisions of infantry and one division of cavalry for service overseas, with one division of infantry in reserve. These were readily accepted and immediately mobilized and despatched as soon as the requisite transports were available. These fine divisions arrived in France just in time to fill a gap in the British line that could not otherwise have been filled.

"In spite of the severity of the weather and of their unfamiliar surroundings they behaved with great gallantry but suffered terrible losses in the trenches... and they won two Victoria Crosses within their first month in France. Only fifty men survived of the two battalions." 17

In September a mixed Indian division was sent to East Africa. This expedition was 'run' by the India office and proved to be a disastrous failure. "In October and November two further divisions of infantry and one brigade of cavalry were sent to Egypt, and a regiment of Indian infantry operated with the Japanese in the capture of Tsingtao from the Germans." 18

The general position is thus described by Lord Hardinge:

"Within six months of the outbreak of war seven divisions of infantry and two divisions and two brigades of cavalry were sent from India overseas. But in addition to these organized forces no less than 20 batteries of artillery and 32 battalions of British infantry, 1,000 strong and more, were sent to England. Altogether 80,000 British officers and troops and 210,000 Indian officers and men were sent from India overseas during the first six months of the war. I would here remark that the largest Indian expeditionary force ever previously sent from India overseas amounted to 18,000 men. It is interesting to note as regards the army in India that of nine British cavalry regiments seven were sent overseas, of 52 British infantry battalions 44 went overseas, and of Royal Artillery batteries 43 out of 56 were sent abroad. Twenty out of 39 Indian cavalry regiments and 89 out of 138 Indian infantry battalions were also sent overseas. It is a fact that for several weeks before the arrival of some untrained Territorial battalions from England the total British garrison in India, a country bigger than Europe and with a doubtful factor on the North-West Frontier, was reduced to less than 15,000 men....

"At the same time India supplied England in her need within the first few weeks of the war with 560 British officers of the Indian

Army who could ill be spared, 70 million rounds of small-arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, more than 550 guns of the latest pattern, together with enormous quantities of material such as tents, boots, clothing, saddlery, etc., every effort being made to meet the increasing demands of the War Office. All the Indian aeroplanes with the personnel Of the Indian Air Force were sent to England or Egypt, and the later demands of India for aeroplanes in Mesopotamia when the need was great, w r ere entirely ignored." 19 'To this should be added the help rendered by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs in the shape of personal service, troops, hospital ships, nurses, etc.'

In return for all these, "about three months after the outbreak of war twenty-nine Territorial batteries and thirty-four Territorial battalions were sent to India to replace British troops. They were welcome in the denuded state in which India found herself, but they had to be trained, armed and equipped. Their rifles were no better than gaspipes, and for clothing they had only what they stood up in and that had no pretence of fitting. One battalion had 500 unserviceable rifles, all marked "D.P." (drill purposes). As for the artillery, the guns could not be fired as the breech-blocks, instead of having fittings of asbestos, had wood painted to look like asbestos, and the ammunition was marked 'Dangerous and not to be used for practice". 20

Of the great achievements of the Indian army in the various fields of war, it is not necessary to speak at length. They have been recognised by the allied military authorities. At a great critical moment of the War when the Germans had forced back the British army in Flanders and were rapidly advancing on Paris, the Indian army was flung across the road and checked the enemy. "In both blouses of the British Parliament the members sprang to their feet and cheered with hot enthusiasm when the news reached them that the German advance was checked and that the Kaiser's boast 'that he would dine in Paris in a fortnight' had been falsified by the appearance of the Indians". It is fully recognized by all the historians of the Great War that the Indian soldiers shared the glory of the Empire everywhere,—'in the boggy fields and trenches of Flanders and the desert sands of Egypt; in the immortal heights of Gallipoli; in the burning plains of Mesopotamia and the impenetrable jungles of East Africa.' It is quite true that the Indian soldiers fought bravely in all these places, but while they shared the toils, sufferings and sacrifices they can hardly be said to share the glory of the Empire. For the Indian soldiers fought, neither for their motherland nor for an Empire of which they were equal partners, as was the case with their comrades in battle. They

had to fight for the preservation of the British Empire of which India was a bond-slave.

Save for the danger that Indian vessels, both mercantile and passenger ships, were exposed to the attacks of German submarines, India did not directly suffer from the war. But this immunity from the ravages of war was broken for a short period owing to "the very successful raids of the German cruisers Emden and Koenigsberg which destroyed an enormous amount of British shipping in the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. After an adventurous career during which the Emden shelled the town of Madras, she was caught by an Australian cruiser and after a very gallant fight was completely destroyed. The Koenigsberg was also run to ground in a river on the coast of East Africa and destroyed by aeroplanes." 21

An indirect consequence of the war was the recrudescence of troubles in the North-Western Frontier. Immediately after the outbreak of War three divisions on this frontier were mobilised. During the first year of the war there were repeated attacks by Afghan tribesmen on the British frontier. But heavy defeats and punishment were inflicted upon them by means of aeroplanes, bombs, and armoured cars. Hardinge writes: “To prevent night raids a fence of live wire was extended along some parts of the frontier and was most effective. Counter-measures were taken with the utmost energy. If ever any tribesmen raided our territory a retaliatory raid was immediately carried out into tribal territory, their crops were burnt and their cattle driven off by our troops”. 22 These ruthless measures succeeded in stopping the tribal incursions.

Fortunately, the Amir of Afghanistan maintained his friendly feelings towards the British throughout these troubles. His own people, particularly the Mullahs and the tribesmen, pressed him to seize the opportunity and attack the British frontier. Some Germans and Austrians, who proceeded to Kabul, also pressed him to make an alliance against Britain, offering him the Punjab in the event of victory. But the Amir refused to break his alliance with the British Government. 23

3. The Mesopotamian Muddle

It is unnecessary to describe the military campaigns in which Indian troops were engaged. For they were part of the imperial British army, and the Government of India had nothing to do with them. The only campaign which was conducted by, or under the direct supervision of, India was that in Mesopotamia. This requires

a somewhat detailed discussion not only from the military point of view, out also on account of the light it throws upon the organization and efficiency of the military department of the Government of India. As will* be shown later, the revelations made in this connection had an important bearing on the later history of India.

As the attitude of Turkey, even at the beginning of the War, caused much misgivings, one brigade of Indian troops occupied the island of Abadan at the mouth of the Euphrates on 23 October, 1914, in order to protect the oil tanks and pipe-lines of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

“Within a fortnight after this, on 5th November, 1914, war was declared on Turkey, Thereupon two fresh brigades were dispatched to Mesopotamia, and on 2nd November the town of Basra was captured and occupied.... The expedition had extended its area in December by capturing the town of Kurna, where the Tigris and Euphrates join, 50 miles above Basra. It had thus occupied the whole length of the Shatt-el-Arab.

“The Indian Government decided on 1st April, without obtaining the consent of the India Office at home, to organise the expedition as an army corps. They sent two more brigades to complete a second division, and appointed General Nixon to be Commanderin-Chief of the force. He was instructed to make plans for occupying the wffiole of the Basra Vilayet, and eventually advancing on Baghdad....

“General Nixon then sent part of his force, under General Gorringe, up the Karim river, and the other part under General Townshend, to capture Amara, 90 miles up the Tigris, getting a last-minute sanction from the British Government. Both operations were successful, and on 3rd June Amara was taken."’ 24

Shortly after the capture of Amara, Nixon advanced and occupied Kut-el-Amara on 29 September, It is not quite clear who is mainly responsible for the further advance towards Baghdad. According to Lloyd George, though the Viceroy of India rejected the idea in November, 1914, “subsequent successes had led the Indian Government to favour the project” and they practically forced the hands of Sir Austen Chamberlain, who had succeeded Lord Crewe as Secretary of State 25 The version of Lord Hardinge is entirely different, and it is not easy to reconcile Lloyd George’s brief reference to the attitude of the Government of India with the detailed statement of Lord Hardinge. 26 In any case, “the advance to Baghdad was authorized by the Secretary of State on the 23rd October” and two divisions were promised as reinforcements “as soon as possible.” 27

“Townshend advanced as far as Ctesiphon, a few miles from Baghdad, where he found the enemy strongly entrenched, and numerically equal or superior to his own exhausted troops. After a fierce fight the British forces retired, and had to retreat down the river, compelled by lack of supplies and medical accommodation for casualties, and fighting a series of rearguard actions till they reached Kut, which they prepared to hold until relieved and reinforced by further troops which were expected. More than 30 per cent, of the force had been killed or wounded.” 28

General Townshend reached Kut on 3rd December (1915) and four days later the town was fully invested by the Turks. The two promised Indian Divisions were sent from France and they “arrived piecemeal during December at Basra, where 12 } 0G0 troops were immobilised through lack of transport to take them to the front.” “The attempts of the Tigris force to relieve General Townshend were heavily defeated”. At last on 29 April, 1916, “after having gallantly defended the town for 147 days, Townshend’s brave men were starved into surrender/ 129

It was by now evident that the Mesopotamian expedition was being hopelessly mismanaged, and early in February, 1916, the War Office in Britain took charge of the expedition. The forces were, however, immediately under the Indian General Staff in Simla. In July, 1916, when Lloyd George took charge of the War Office, the administration of matters connected with the expedition was transferred to the control of the Home Government. It is unnecessary, therefore, to continue the account of the Mesopotamian campaign with w T hich, henceforth, the Government of India had no connection. But before concluding this topic it is necessary to describe in some detail the most scandalous way in which the Government of India managed—rather mismanaged—the expedition from beginning to end.

Immediately after taking over charge Lloyd George appointed a Commission “to make an investigation into the muddle and its causes. This Commission was set up in August, 1916, and issued its report on 17th May, 1917. The report was signed by seven of the eight Commissioners, while Commander J. Wedgwood put in a separate report, substantially agreeing with the other, but emphasising more forcibly certain aspects of the blunders and errors which had been committed, particularly by the Viceroy and Commander-inChief in India.” 30 Lloyd George reflected the general opinion—both official and unofficial™ when he observed:

“The facts revealed by this Commission’s report cast a baleful light upon the mismanagement, stupidity, criminal neglect and

amazing incompetence of the military authorities who were responsible for the organisation of the expedition, and on the horrible and unnecessary suffering of the gallant men who were sent to failure and defeat through the blunders of those in charge.” 31

Some of the essential defects prominently stressed in the Report, may be stated as follows: 32

In view of the climate and general nature of the country, it was the obvious duty of the Government of India to ensure, before the expedition was sent, “that it had an ample supply of suitable river boats for its transports; that clothing and food should be suited to the conditions of the country; that medical equipment, especially for the wounded and the sick, should be above the average, to meet the dangers of a sterile and diseaseridden land; that provision was made for establishing a wellequipped base at the port of Basra; and that arrangements for reinforcements should be carefully planned and promptly executed Every single one of these obvious duties was not merely done badly, but left undone to the point of incredibility.” The expedition was short of artillery, particularly of heavy guns.

“Even as late as the spring of 1916 the expedition was deficient in many things which India could have supplied such as wire-cutters, rockets, Very lights, water-carts, tents, mosquito nets, sun-helmets,

bombs, medical supplies and even blankets and clothing.But

it is when we come to the question of river transport that the blundering and incompetence of the military authorities is seen in its full functioning/ 7

Although the need for special river transport was brought to the notice of General Barrett, as early as 23 November, 1914, after the capture of Basra, only four tugs were sent out from India in May 1915,

The Commission gives a very detailed picture of the circumlocution and red-tapism which created abnormally long delays before any request from Mesopotamia could get even a negative reply. “It seems almost certain that, but for the shortage of river transport, the Turkish Army would have been destroyed' betvreen Amara and Ctesiphon; and the evidence shows conclusively, according to the Commission, that shortage of river transport was the chief cause of the failure to relieve Kut.”

“Allied to the failure to furnish river transport was the neglect to develop wharfage and storage facilities at Basra.”

“But if the neglect of transport by the military authorities was directly responsible for the failure and defeat of the expedition, their neglect of medical equipment turned disaster into horror.”

The Commander-in Chief of the Army in India set up a Commission to inquire into the matter in March, 1916. “Their report was, however, such a sickening exposure of official negligence and incompetence that the Indian Government would not publish it. The Mesopotamia Commission appointed by the Home Government had this report before them, and published it as an appendix to their own report.”

“The evidence of both reports is that the expedition was systematically starved by the Indian military authorities in regard to every vital medical provision, and that protests were stifled and outside offers of help refused.”

“There was at times a serious shortage of essential drugs. Necessary appliances for the hospitals were scanty or altogether lacking. Often there was no ice. For months there were no electric fans. There were not enough bandages, blankets, bed-pans, and splints. Even when the wounded got to the military hospital at Bombay it was to find there an appaling state of neglect—no X-ray apparatus, a lack of splints and surgical appliances, a shortage of doctors, surgeons, nurses and attendants.”

“No wheeled transport for seriously wounded cases was sent out. ... In default of wheeled ambulances, the medical officers were forced to move the more seriously wounded in springless army transport carts, drawn by mules, ponies, or bullocks,... a practice which can only be designated as barbarous and cruel. In some cases, we learn, dead bodies were used as cushions on these carts, in default of any other means of padding them.... But it is when we come to the transport to wounded and sick men down the river to Basra that the story reaches its culminating horror."

"It is hardly necessary to add that the Commission passed severe censures upon the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Beauchamp Duff, and the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge; on the SurgeonGeneral, the Director of Medical Services, the Indian Marine, and the Commanding Officer in Mesopotamia, General Nixon. It further condemned the whole military system of administration as 'cumbrous and inept' and recommended its drastic reform." 33

IV. REACTION OF THE INDIANS TO WORLD WAR I

There has been curious misconception regarding the attitude of the Indians towards the War. The loyalist ruling princes and leaders of Moderate party rent the air with cries of loyalty and devotion to the British throne, as they felt themselves bound to do under the circumstances. But in most cases it was a command performance. In any event, they did not represent the real feelings of India.

In 1914 not even one per cent, of the politically conscious Indians felt any genuine love for the British and willingly paid allegiance to them. There was no reason why they should feel any real sympathy for the British in their trial, except in so far as the situation could be turned to their advantage. The Moderate leaders, of course, poured forth effusions of loyalty which no one, acquainted with India, could take at their face value. Bhupendra-nath Basu, the President of the Indian National Congress in 1914, made a ludicrous exhibition of the ultra-loyalty of that body, which was now isolated from the current of Indian life and represented nobody but the Moderates and loyalists. One of the main functions of the Congress, in his opinion, being to discharge the duties of 'His Majesty's opposition', its leaders hesitated for a long time, whether it would be wise to hold the session, as this w r as not the time to deal with controversial issues and "we must present to the world the spectacle of a United Empire". A more pathetic case of illusion, vanity, and self-deception—combined with a lamentable lack of knowledge of history—displayed in the Presidential Address, it is difficult to imagine.

The Congress passed a resolution expressing its profound devotion to the Throne and gratitude for the Royal Message addressed to the Princes and peoples of India at the beginning of the war. The Governor of Madras attended the Congress, and the resolution was moved and supported with effusions of loyalty in his presence. It was the first—and also the last—visit ever paid by a Representative of the Crown to the Congress. The Congress next passed a resolution offering to the Viceroy thanks for the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the theatre of war and thereby "affording to the people of India an opportunity of showing that, as equal subjects of His Majesty , they are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of other parts of the Empire in defence of right and justice , and the cause of the empire The words, put in italics by us, merely underline the fact that the whole proceedings of the Congress, its speeches and resolutions, were totally divorced from the reality' of Indian life. The President of the Congress expatiated on the "whole-hearted devotion and enthusiastic loyalty and support of the Indian Princes and the Indian people". Such phrases and slogans were the order of the day and meant for the consumption of the British Government and people. But the President exceeded all limits when he said: "In this hour of danger the cry has come from every part of India—from all communities and classes—for a rush to the front". This is belied by the autocratic and terrorist methods, described later, 33 * by which even the martial Punjabis had to be forcibly recruited to join the

army. The President of the Congress in 1915, Sir S. P. Sinha, went a step further and said 4 'that the wave of loyalty which swept over India has touched the hearts of all classes.... The Bengalee is just as anxious to fight under the banner of His Majesty the King Emperor, as the Sikh and the Pathan". The examples were very ill-chosen. For the anti-British revolutionary activities in Bengal, Punjab and North-Western Frontier, at the very moment when these words were uttered, as described in this and the next Chapter, show the real feelings of the people—-for few would probably deny that the sympathy of the people at large was with the revolutionaries and not the Moderates.

Nothing could be more false or misleading than the following outburst of the President in 1915:

"We want to make it perfectly clear, if we have not done so already, that there is no one among us willing to cause the slightest embarrassment to the Government. We seek to make no capital out of the service so ungrudgingly rendered by our countrymen to the Empire. There is not, I trust, a single person in our camp who expects reforms as the price or the reward of our loyalty. That loyalty would indeed be a poor thing if it proceeded from a lively sense of favours to come". Unfortunately for the President, the Congress resolution in the preceding session (1914) demanding political reforms began with the preamble: "In view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis the Congress appeals to the Government" (to grant Colonial Self-government). The fact is that every political party in India wanted to exploit the war situation to its own advantage. The Nationalists frankly acted on the time-honoured plea that 'England's necessity is India's opportunity'. This is proved by the unfurling of the banner of Home Rule and the revolutionary conspiracies during the War. The Moderates, being clever diplomats, theoretically repudiated, the principle or at least did not preach it openly. But that their mind was working on the same line is clearly proved by the fact that far from maintaining political truce and pursuing the policy of! 'not embarrassing the Government*, as behoved 'His Majesty's opposition 5 , in each successive year after the outbreak of the War the demands of the Congress for constitutional reforms rose higher and higher.

Indeed almost every Indian wanted to exploit the war situation for the political advancement of India. Even Gandhi was probably not an exception. Immediately after the War Conference held by the Viceroy, to which reference will be made later, Gandhi wrote to him: "But it is the simple truth that our response is due to

the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily... . and I am sure that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation."

33i> It was a slap on the face of S.P. Sinha. In 1916, when the fate of the British Empire was still hanging in the balance, the Congress, joined by the Muslim League, presented a cut-and-dried scheme of reform, and demanded Colonial Self-government, as will be related later.

This brings us to the. attitude of the Muslims. The outbreak of the War could not shake the loyalty of the Muslims, even though they had many grievances against the English. Everything yielded to the one "supreme consideration," as Muhammad Ali put it, namely "our need of England and her tutelage at the present stage of our national and communal growth''.

As noted above, the Muslim loyalty to the British was dictated by the considerations of communal interest. Muhammad Ali very candidly observed: "We are sure that the less lofty motive of selfinterest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip-loyalty of Ji-Huzurs"

But if we can rely on Muhammad Ali's assessment of Muslim feelings, the Muslim loyalty to the British, after Turkey joined the war against them, was conditioned by the solemn pledges, given by the British Government and Britain's allies, to the effect that Arabia must not be attacked nor must the protection of Islam's Holy places by a really independent Muslim Power be endangered.

The collapse of Russia at the commencement of 1918 threatened the security of India. The Germans made an alliance with the Bolshevik Government in Russia and it was believed that they aimed at a general confusion and conflagration in Central Asia, Afghanistan and the frontiers of India. Southern Russia was occupied by German troops; new Turkish Divisions were moved across the Black Sea to Batum and the Caucasus; Turkish troops invaded the province of Azerbaijan in Persia; and rapid preparations were made to cross the Caspian and carry the war into Central Asia and Persia. In view of this alarming situation the British Prime Minister sent a telegram to the Viceroy on 2 April* 1918, asking the Government and people of India to redouble their war efforts "to save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve." On receipt of this appeal the Viceroy called a Special War Conference of Princes and people at, Delhi on 27 April, 1918. This

Conference sat for three days and was. attended by the Ruling Chiefs, the members of Viceroy's

Council, and delegates representing all shades of political opinion sent by the Provincial Governments. 34

As could be expected, the proceedings were marked by loyal platitudes, specially by the Ruling Chiefs who, as in duty bound, offered to place their resources unconditionally at the disposal of their beloved Emperor. But there was a jarring note also. On 29 April, Mr. Khaparde wanted to move the following resolution: "That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke wholehearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man-power and material and money, the Government in England should, without delay, introduce a Bill into Parliament to meet the demands of the people to establish Responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the Statute". 35 But the Viceroy ruled the resolution out of order on the ground that it did not come within the scope of the Conference which was summoned to discuss how best India could help the Empire in man-power and material resources. It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the measures adopted by the Conference to achieve this purpose or to refer to the princely (both literal and figurative) donations announced in the Conference.

Similar War Conferences were also held in the Provinces. In Bengal Mr. B. Chakravarti endorsed the resolution of Khaparde. In Bombay Lord Willingdon, the Governor, referred in the following words to the attitude of the Home Rulers: "From reading their speeches the position of those gentlemen seems to be this: 'We quite realise the gravity of the situation; we are all anxious to help, but unless Home Rule is promised within a given number of years, and unless various other assurances are given us with regard to other matters, we do not think we can stir the imagination of the people, and we cannot hope for a successful issue to the recruiting campaign". This is a very realistic appraisement of the general attitude of politically minded India, but whereas the Home Rulers boldly asserted it, the others, for obvious reasons, did not choose to declare it openly.

Tilak, who attended the Bombay War Conference (but was not invited to the Conference at Delhi), said that co-operation with the Government necessitated certain things, and attempted to reply to the attack of the Governor on Home Rulers. The Governor twice ruled him out of order. Tilak then declared that the only self-respecting course for him was to retire from the meeting and left the Hall. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, who was next called upon to speak, also referred to the need of raising the political status of India for satisfactory recruitment. Not being allowed

to discuss politics, he also walked out of the Conference, accompanied by Messrs B. G. Horniman, S. R. Bomanji, and Jamnadas Dwarkadas. Mr. M. A. Jinnah entered an emphatic protest against the aspersions cast at the Home Rule Party by the Governor. He added 'that the Government scheme for the recruitment of sepoys was not enough to save them from the German menace which was right at their door on the frontiers. They wanted a national army or, in other words, a citizen army, and not a purely mercenary army.*

The British statesmen, in order to hide the real nature of their rule in India, took every opportunity to proclaim to the world that the war-efforts of India were purely voluntary on the part of her people. After the War was over the Indian politicians took full advantage of this hypocrisy to serve their own interests. They claimed great credit for the war-efforts of India and made her services and sacrifice a basis for the demand of political reforms. The British politicians, with a few exceptions among the die-hard Conservatives, thought it politic to concede these claims, at least theoretically* in order to maintain their frequently expressed views about the voluntary nature of the Indian war-efforts. In reality, there was little justification for the Indian claims. For whatever India had done, she did at the bidding of her masters who ruled her on behalf of British interests. The people or politicians of India had no choice or voice in the matter and had no power to stop the flow of men, money and material decided upon by the Government of India. It is true that some Indian leaders helped the recruiting of troops and organised volunteer bands etc., but compared to the gigantic war-efforts of India their contribution was almost negligible. Further, most of them came forward solely to utilize this opportunity for imparting military training and actual experience of modern fighting to the Indian educated classes who could not gain it by any other means. 36 Gandhi himself has borne testimony to the extreme reluctance of the

Indians to offer themselves as recruits, and the almost open opposition to his recruiting campaign by his friends and co-workers. In meetings called for the purpose, people used to ask him point-blank: “What good has Government done for India to deserve our co-operation?” One of the arguments used by Gandhi, which displeased the high officials, was: ‘if we want to learn the use of arms, here is a golder opportunity’. 363 Gandhi told the Viceroy the simple truth that he and others decided to help the British Empire in times of need only in the expectation that India would be a self-governing unit of it “all the more speedily”. It would be a travesty of truth to sav that the Indian leaders helped the war-efforts to any appreciable

extent; the little that they did was either motivated by political interest or in the spirit of bargaining. At the utmost India could claim credit for the fact that she passively acquiesced in all that their masters did without creating any trouble or throwing any obstacle in their way.

The view put forward above is fully supported by the methods adopted for securing recruits and war-loans. There is unimpeachable evidence to prove that the overzealous officers of the Government inflicted untold misery and sufferings upon the people in order to induce them to join the army or subscribe to the war-loan. Cases w r ere instituted in the Court, and one of the trying judges, Mr. Coldstream, Sessions Judge of Muzaffargarh, recorded a strong censure in his written judgment on the methods followed “to raise the war loan and to find recruits”. These, he observed, “were frequently unauthorised, objectionable, oppressive and opposed to the intentions of the Government. In remote districts they were found intolerable by the people”. Sir Michael O’Dwyer admitted that the tyrannical methods adopted by one Government official “amounted almost to conscription.” 37

A quota of recruits and war-loan was fixed for each district, and the fate of many unfortunate officials depended upon their attaining this target, and if possible, exceeding it. No wonder they made all exertions to retain their jobs and often exceeded all reasonable limits in the hope of securing promotion or special recognition. A Tahsildar who obtained notoriety by his cruel, sometimes abominable, practices in forcing men to enlist in the army and subscribe to war-loans or war funds, was murdered by the infuriated people. In the course of the trial that followed the Revenue Assistant of the locality deposed before the Court that he “heard a complaint to the effect that he (Tahsildar) made men to stand naked in the presence of their women-folk.” 37a

The Governor of the Punjab, Sir Michael O’Dwyer, belonged to the class of I.C.S. men who are known as Jabardust or strong and imperious. He cannot escape responsibility for the oppressions referred to above, simply on the ground that these were unauthorised acts. For the very system adopted or sanctioned by him made such practices almost inevitable, and he made redress of grievances impossible by treating all opposition or protest as sedition and putting it down with a stern hand. Even Mrs. Besant, who was then a Moderate of Moderates, was forced to condemn, in 1922, the “harsh and oppressive rule of Sir Michael O’Dwyer, his press-gang methods of recruitment, his forced war-loans and his cruel persecution of all political leaders”. 38

I£ we remember that the Punjab made the greatest contribution to the recruitment of troops in India during the War, we may, from what has been said above, form some idea of the manner in which it was done, and ask ourselves whether any credit is justly due to India, as opposed to her Government under the aegis of Britain, for the ‘sacrifices’ made by her.

The Indian soldiers fought with great valour and heroism and laid down their lives for the sake of the British Empire. But they fought as mercenaries, either attracted to the military profession by lure of money or forced to join as new recruits under duress. They had no conception of making any noble sacrifice for their motherland. They were in duty bound to fight for their British masters, not only against the much maligned Germans or any other enemy, but even against Indian patriots, at their masters’ bidding. They were duly paid for what they did, and the matter rested there. It certainly did not lie in the mouths of the Indian people, least of all the political leaders, to claim reward for what the sepoys had done in the course of their routine duty and specified programme of work. The Sydenham group of British politicians actually urged this view, and it is impossible to deny that there is a great deal of truth in the following extract from an article which appeared in the National News of England over the signature of Lord Sydenham:.

"When War broke out it was certain that the Princes and Chiefs of India, who realise what the downfall of Britain must mean to their class, would heartily and generously support the imperial cause. It was as certain that the gallant Indian Army, under British officers whom it loved and trusted, would fight bravely wherever duty called. So much everyone who knew India confidently expected. What we did not expect was that the invaluable help of the Chiefs and of the fighting classes of India and the resources

of the country.would be alleged as valid reasons for handing

over power to a little fraction of the population which has not only done nothing to help the Empire at a crisis in its fate, but has, by raising a ferment in India and by preaching contempt for British rule broadcast since the War began, done its utmost to increase our abounding difficulties." 39

There is little doubt that this was also the real feeling of the Britishers, both official and unofficial, in India. This alone can explain the fact that though sweet reasonableness and a sympathetic attitude marked their words and conduct during the course of the War, all these were forgotten as soon as the Armistice was signed. The Government of India became as reactionary in regard to

reforms, and as oppressive in putting down unrest, as before. Instances of arrogance to the 'natives' on the part of individual Britishers and the insulting treatment and cruelty to them, to which reference has been made above, 40 continued as ever. Obviously they felt they had no reason to feel grateful to the Indians for war services rendered by them.

Of course there were a few Britishers who cannot be charged with such duplicity. Sir Michael O'Dwyer is a shining example. Even during the worst days of the War he stood no nonsense about sacrifices made by the Indians or any reforms deserved by them. He kept the Punjab quiet by a stern rule and cruel suppression of political leaders and political activities. The Punjab delegates to the special session of the Congress in 1918 said that they were living over a volcano. 404 The hidden embers of resentment did not take long to blaze forth in flames, far beyond the frontiers of the Punjab, over the whole of India.

V. REPRESSIVE MEASURES

The terrorist outrages and revolutionary activities in India and abroad, both before and during the War, will be dealt with in the next Chapter. The chief centres of their organisation and active operation during the War were Bengal and the Punjab. The Government, as could be expected, adopted most rigorous measures to suppress them.

In 1913 the Government passed the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act which made conspiracy an independent criminal offence. It laid down an elaborate definition of ‘conspiracy’ and provided for the punishment of criminal conspiracies. Among the ‘Conspiracy’ cases tried under the provisions of this Act the most famous was the Delhi Conspiracy Case in 1913. A number of persons were put on trial for planning to murder Lord Hardinge by throwing a bomb at him in Delhi in December, 1912, as mentioned above. Four of the accused, Amir Chand, Avadh Behari, Balmukund and Basanta Kumar Biswas received capital punishment and two others were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for seven years.

This was followed by the Defence of India Act which was on the lines of the English Act for the Defence of the Realm (DORA), but far more drastic. As soon as the draft Bill was published there was a great outcry all over India, but the Moderates who dominated the Legislative Assembly meekly submitted to the dictates of the Viceroy who was assured, after the bomb outrage, by the Moderate leader, Gokhale, that he would never oppose any measure which the Viceroy really wished to be carried in the Legislative Assembly. This is a painful revelation, but not surprising; for on one occasion when Hardinge asked Gokhale what he would do if the (Viceroy) left India with all the British officials, Gokhale promptly replied that he would be telegraphing to them, before they reached Aden, to come back. So the Moderates fumed and fretted but gave their assent to the Defence of India Act with two innocuous amendments which, as Hardinge said, he accepted to “save their face”. The obnoxious measure, which cut at the very root of the civil rights and liberty of the people, was passed unanimously, to the eternal disgrace of the Moderate School of politics in India. It also demonstrated the real value of the reforms of 1909.

The Defence of India Act was not simply a war measure like the English DORA. In addition to the measures to protect the military and naval interests of the country, it authorised the Government to supersede the provisions of the Criminal Law and institute summary trials by Special Tribunals, each consisting of three Commissioners appointed by the Local Government. The Act empowered the Tribunal to inflict sentences of death, transportation for life, and imprisonment up to ten years, for violation of rules or orders framed under the Act, and there was no appeal from its decision. The Tribunal was not bound to follow the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure. It had to make only a memorandum of the substance of the evidence and was not bound to adjourn any trial, and could accept as evidence the statement of any person, recorded by a Magistrate, even if the person were subsequently dead or otherwise incapable of giving evidence.

The rules, for the violation of which a person was liable to be tried and punished in such an irregular and extraordinary fashion, were to be made by the Government at its discretion, "for the purpose of securing the public safety and the defence of British India". This was vague but comprehensive, and practically gave a carte blanche to the executive authority. Among the specific matters covered by the rules, attention may be drawn to three clauses, under which the Government could make rules *(i) to empower any civil or military authority where, in the opinion of such authority, there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that any person has acted, is acting or is about to act in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, to direct that such person shall not enter, reside or remain in any area specified in writing by such authority, or that such person shall reside and remain in any area specified, or that he shall conduct himself in such manner or abstain from such acts, or take such order with any property in his possession

or under his control as such authority may direct; (ii) to empower any civil or military authority to enter and search any place if such authority has reason to believe that such place is being used for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety or to the defence of British India, and to seize anything found there which he has reason to believe is being used for any such purpose; (iii) to provide for the arrest of persons contravening or reasonably suspected of contravening any rule made under this section and prescribing the duties of public servants and other persons in regard to such arrests.* The net effect of these rules was that the Government could authorize any official to do anything in regard to any person and his property, merely on suspicion that such a person may act in a way which in the opinion of the official was 'prejudicial to the public safety'—a beautifully vague term which may mean anything and everything.

So the Government, established by law in British India, passed a law to the effect that the reign of law had ceased and India was henceforth to be governed by the fiat of the executive authority. The mockery of a judicial trial was merely intended to delude the people into the belief that the reign of law was not altogether a thing of the past,

A number of cases were tried by Special Tribunals set up under the Defence of India Act. Among these were nine Conspiracy cases, in each of which a large batch of conspirators was tried together. Notorious among these were three different trials for conspiracy in the Punjab known as Lahore Conspiracy trials. The nature of the charges against the accused will be mentioned in the next Chapter.

Altogether nine batches, totalling 175 persons, were put on trial for general conspiracies, of whom 136 were convicted of offences which were in nearly all cases punishable with death. Thirtyeight were sentenced to death (18 later commuted to transportation for life), 58 transported for life and 58 transported or imprisoned for shorter periods. Some mutinous soldiers were tried by court martial, and a large number was dealt with by ordinary courts on charges of murder, robbery, etc.

How lightly the Special Tribunals approached their task may be judged from the following passage in Lord Hardinge's autobiography: "The Lahore conspiracy gave me much trouble at this time. No less than twenty-four men were condemned to death by a Special Tribunal. I went to Lahore to see the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir M. O'Dwyer, and told him categorically that I absolutely declined to allow a holocaust of victims in a case where only six men had been proved to be actually guilty of murder and dacoity. He recommended that only six of the twenty-four should have their sentences commuted. I agreed to commutation in these cases but submitted the remaining eighteen cases to the judgment of the Law Member. He proved to me conclusively that in the case of all except six actually guilty of murder and dacoity, they had been convicted under a clause of the Penal Code which could not entail a death sentence. This opinion was confirmed by my Council and as there was no appeal from the Special Tribunal except to the Viceroy I had to assume the responsibility of commuting the sentences of eighteen of the twenty-four condemned to death". 41

Reference has been made above to the Rules made under Defence of India Act which vested the executive with almost unlimited powers over the movements of an individual citizen and absolute discretion to keep him in confinement without any judicial trial, merely on suspicion based upon ex parte evidence of a questionable character.

Under the first Rule quoted above, 42 quite a large number of persons were interned for an indefinite period. The Government claimed that full inquiries were made by Gazetted Officers of tht Police in the case of each suspect who was interned, and he was informed generally as to the allegations made against him and was asked what he had to say in answer to them. Later, the charges were reduced to writing and written replies were taken. Still later, the whole of the evidence against the internee was submitted to a judicial officer for his opinion.

As to the nature of evidence on which the Government acted it will suffice to quote the two following extracts from the speeches of Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal—a Province which had about 800 internees.

1. "So far we have not been able to produce, I wish we could, exact evidence to bring heme their guilt, beyond a shadow of doubt, to the individuals who committed these crimes. But we have evidence which goes a long way towards it."

2. "We may of course have made mistakes in some cases, but we have interfered with the liberty of no one against whom we did not feel that there

is evidence, though we admit, it is not evidence which ought to lead to conviction in an ordinary court of

law.” 43

It is interesting to recall that not long before this the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court acquitted a boy charged with the crime of throwing a bomb with the following observation: “We decline to hold him guilty, or that his guilt is so probable that a

prudent man ought, under the circumstances of this case, to act upon the supposition that he is guilty. ” 43a Evidently the evidence of the Government did not come even to this standard of probability.

Two successive Governors of Bengal, Lord Carmichael and Lord Ronaldshay, stated that the majority of cases of detention were justified by the confessions of either the accused or his associates. How such confessions were usually obtained by Indian Police even in cases which were tried in the courts of law has been disclosed by many trial judges. Justice Straight observed:

“My experience in this Court has conclusively convinced me that the primary object towards which the police direct their attention and energies is, if possible, to secure a confession.Instead

of working up to the confession, they work down from it with the result that we frequently find ourselves compelled to reverse convictions simply because beyond the confession there is no tangible evidence of guilt.... It is incredible that the extraordinary large number of confessions which come before us should have been voluntarily and freely made in every instance as represented.... During fourteen years’ active practice in Criminal Courts in England, I do not remember half a dozen instances in which a real confession once having been made was retracted. In this country, on the contrary, the retraction follows almost invariably as a matter of course. It is impossible not to feel that the average Indian Policeman with the desire to satisfy his superior before him and the terms of the Police Acts and rules behind him is not likely to be overnice in the method he adopts to make a short cut to the elimination of a difficult case by getting a suspected person to confess ." 44

In the same case Mr. Justice Mahmud referred to the "malpractices of Police Officers in extorting confessions from accused persons in order to gain credit by securing convictions, and observed that those malpractices went to the length of positive torture ". 45

If the Police could resort to such malpractices for extorting confession in cases where, they knew, their conduct would be subjected to judicial scrutiny, one can easily imagine the extent to which they would be prepared to go to gain credit with their supeilors where their conduct was absolutely beyond any such scrutiny. It was alleged by many persons that they made false confessions to avoid most brutal tortures to which they were subjected, such as suspension in a handcuffed state for days together, forcible injection of pins in various, parts of their body, forcing ordures into mouth, etc.

8.F.—18

As noted above, about 800 persons in Bengal were kept in detention without any trial, under the Defence of India Act or Regulation III of 1818. They had to live for months, and sometimes years, under most miserable conditions. Akhil-chandra Datta, a distinguished lawyer, a prominent political leader, and a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, referred to them as follows in his Presidential Address at the Bengal Provincial Conference held on 30 and 31 March, 1918:

"Brother Delegates, how shall I describe to you the intolerable sufferings of the people interned and deported. They are too painful for description. I shall not dwell upon the privations and inconveniences to which these detenues are subjected. I shall not describe the horrors of the environments which they are forced to put up with. I shall not remind you of the snake which constituted the only companions of some of the detenues in their exile. I shall not tell you how these ill-fated people have to remain alone in a solitary house in a solitary place even during illness. I shall not tell you about the low and ill-ventilated huts in which they are accommodated. I shall not tell you how many of them have not been allowed access to any books and newspapers in spite of repeated requests. These are hardships to which the detenues have by this time reconciled themselves. But I would ask you, Brother Delegates, to ponder for one moment, over the circumstances that brought about the untimely and tragic death of professor Seth and Chandi-charan Nag. I want to ask you to dive deeper into the mysteries of the Dulanda House and their cloistered seclusion in the cells. I would ask you to imagine and realise what impelled some young men to seek repose in death. I would ask you to enquire into the circumstances which in some cases caused insanity and goaded others to go on a hunger strike.” (He then mentions some individual cases to some of which reference is made in the next para). 46

There was a continuous and vigorous agitation in Bengal against the policy of internment. It was alleged that in not a few cases the cruel treatment of the detenues bordered on inhumanity. Two most shocking cases were often cited as instances. Professor Manindra-nath Seth, M.Sc., Vice-principal of the Daulatpur College, w r as arrested on 28 August, 1917, and kept in solitary confinement. He showed symptoms of insanity in September, developed pthisis next November, and died on 16 January, 1918. A still more shocking case was that of Professor Jyotish-chandra Ghosh of Hooghly. He was arrested on 3 January, 1917, and kept in a solitary cell for two months. He developed symptoms of insanity and gradually sank into a state of coma; totally irresponsive to all sensations, he

was artificially fed through the nose, and thus lived—dumb, staring, rigid, paralysed—like a block. His poor old mother cried and appealed from the lowest official to the Viceroy to give back her child to die in her arms, but even this cripple, against whom no crime was proved, was not allowed to come out. These and several cases of alleged suicide were generally believed by the public to be results of inhuman torture and suffering inside the jail or place of confinement. What terrible and inhuman atrocities were perpetrated behind ‘the iron curtain’ by minions of law and order Will never be accurately known, but enough glimpses are thrown at this terrible tragedy by the memoirs and writings of a few who were the victims of this lawless law and survived the British rule to tell their tales of woe and suffering in public. Anyone who reads these books will be convinced of the immense depth of infamy to which a civilised people or their Government could descend. Inhuman cruelties and barbarous methods of torture applied to men kept on mere suspicion within the four walls of a dungeon at the absolute mercy of the so-called ‘guardians of law and order’ recall the barbarities perpetrated in the German concentration camps during the Second World War. It is true that the British Government in India, unlike the German Government, did not perpetrate mass massacres by Gas Chambers, but so far as barbarous torture of helpless victims is concerned, their crimes certainly differ in degree and extent, but probably not in kind, from that perpetrated by the German Nazis. It is a very serious—one may call, an odious --charge against British rule in India. But such a charge was publicly made by no less a person than Bertrand Russell, one of the most distinguished Englishmen of this century. Referring to similar, but much less heinous, crimes of the Government of India in 1932, he observed: “Few people in England realise that misdeeds quite as serious (as those of the Nazis in Germany) are being perpetrated by the British in India.” [47] Had there been any trial of those guilty of similar crimes in India, as there was in Germany after the War, another chapter of horror and infamy would have been added to the history of inhumanity. The treatment meted to the so-called ‘terrorists’ in India constitutes one of the blackest chapters in the history of the British rule in India.

So great was the indignation caused throughout India by the Government’s policy of internment that, in order to soothe public opinion, the Government appointed a committee consisting of two judges (one Indian, and one Englishman) to review the cases of 806 persons kept in detention. Their finding was that the evidence in possession of the Government justified detention in all cases except six. But, as has been pointed out, the evidence was mostly confession and information supplied by ‘informers’. No opportunity was given to the persons concerned to rebut the evidence, or submit counter-evidence in their support. The finding of the two judges therefore has no value and certainly had no reassuring effect on the public mind. Akhil-chandra Datta in his address, referred to above, said:

"It is admitted that many internment orders have been passed on the testimony of professional informers even when it is not corroborated by any other evidence, circumstantial or otherwise. Gentlemen, nothing can be more disastrous than this. We know that a large amount of money is being expended from year to year in maintaining the glorious band of informers."

1. Hardinge, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 15*

3. Ibid, p. 36.

4. Ibid.

4a. Ibid, 36-7.

5. Ibid., p. 38

6. For the full text, Cf. P. Mukherji, Indian Constitutional Documents , pp. 377-90; the passages within inverted commas are quotations from the Despatch.

7. Besant, p. 480. Similar views, in even stronger language, were expressed by Bhupendra-nath Basu (ibid, p. 498) and Surendra-nath Banerji (Nation , p. 254). The Indian National Congress passed every year, from 1903 to 1910, a resolution demanding the annulment of the Partition of Bengal.

8. For details, cf. Hardinge, pp. 47-8.

9. Hardinge, pp. 29, 42. Ubert, Sir Courtney, The Coronation Durbar and its Consequences.

10. Hardinge, p. 81.

11. IAR 1919, Part I of Part II, p. ix.

12. CHI. VI, 481.

13. Ibid. Part II of part II, p. 6.

14. Mr. Fisher's statement in the House of Commons on 19 May, 1919 (IAR, 1919, Part II, Part I, p. 117).

15. IAR , 1919, I. p. 145.

15a. Ibid, p. 144.

16. Lloyd George, War Memoirs, II, p. 809.

17. Hardinge, pp. 99-100

18. Ibid, p. 101.

19. Ibid, p. 102-3.

20. Ibid, p. 106-7.

21. Ibid, p. 104.

22. Ibid, p. 107-8.

23. For details, see ibid, p. 132

24. Lloyd George, op. cit-, pp. 804-5.

25. Ibid, pp. 805-6

26. Hardinge, pp. 123-4.

27. Ibid, p. 124.

28. Lloyd George, op. cit., p. 806.

29. Ibid, 807.

30. Ibid, p. 807-8.

31. Ibid, p. 808.

32. Ibid, p. 808 ff. The quotations are from Lloyd George's War Memoirs. Most of these are quotations from the Report of the Commission.

33. Ibid, p. 824.

33a. See p. 187.

33a. See p.

33b. Gandhi-I, 547. In the written statement which Gandhi submitted to the Court in Ahmedabad during his trial in March. 1922. after mentioning his long record of war service to the British empire in South Africa, during the Boer War and Zulu revolt, and in London and India during the First World War, when he 'struggled at the cost of his health to raise a corps in Kheda', he adds: "In all these efforts at service, 1 was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen." (Hist. Congr ., I. 239).

34. JAR, 1919, Part I, pp. 113 ff.

35. That this resolution echoed the sentiments of the people is proved by the proceedings of the meeting of the AICC on 3 May, 1918. "The Committee insisted that nothing short of an authoritative pronouncement that India should have Responsible Government as the issue of the War would inspire the youth of the country to flock to the colours in sufficient numbers to ensure success". Hist. Congr., I. p. 149.

36. Tilak sent a cheque of Rs. 50,000 to Gandhi, to be forfeited if he lost the wager between them. The wager was that Tilak undertook to recruit 5,000 persons from Maharashtra if Gandhi could secure a promise from Government beforehand that Indians would get Commissioned Ranks in the Army. Gandhi held that the help should not be in the nature of a bargain and therefore returned the cheque to Tilak (Hist. Cong., I. 150).

36a. Gandhi, I, p. 547.

37. G. N. Singh, p. 663.

37a. This and other kinds of oppression practised by the zealous officials during the recruiting campaign, such as ill-treatment of women, confining men between thorny bushes, destroying the crops of villagers, who had run away to avoid forced recruitment, in order to induce them to return or enlist, are described in the Congress Punjab Inquiry Committee Report (Vol. I, p. 19). The poor villagers tried to save themselves by offering bribes and the Tahsildar, mentioned above, is said to have accumulated Rs. 17,000/- or 15,000/in this way.

38. Besant, The Future of Indian Politics, p- 236.

39. JAR, 1919, Part II of Part II, p. 14.

40. Cf. Vol. X, Chapter IX, particularly, pp. 344 ff.

40a. Besant, op. cit., p. 236.

41. Hardinge, p. 130.

42. See p. 190.

43. JAR, 1919, Part IV, p. 41.

43a. Ibid.

44. Ibid, p. 42.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid, p. 59.

47. Preface to the Report of the Delegation of the India League. This has been dealt with in detail in Chapter XX.

CHAPTER VIII.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

AND ABROAD 1

I. EARLY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN BENGAL

The revolutionary activity in Bengal, the beginnings of which have been described above, 2 got a great impetus from the Swadeshi movement which stirred the political and national consciousness of Bengal to an extent unknown before. The boycott of English goods failed to achieve the desired object which, as mentioned above, soon outgrew the original aim of undoing the Partition of Bengal and envisaged the political freedom of India. Hence a steadily increasing number of young men turned to revolutionary activities as the only possible means to attain their ends. There were two broad divisions among the revolutionaries. One believed in armed conflict against the British with the help of Indian soldiers and, if possible, also of foreign nations inimical to the British. The other held that violent actions such as murdering officials would paralyze the Government machinery. Both felt the need of creating a revolutionary spirit in the country at large and followed a common programme of military training to the youths and the collection of arms. The necessary expenditure was to be met by forcing the rich to part with their ill-gotten gain, to be repaid when the Swaraj was established. This was the genesis of the political dacoities which, along with political murder, loomed so large among the early activities of the revolutionaries.

The 'Anusilan Samiti,' the first revolutionary organization in Bengal, got a large number of recruits, and numerous branches were started in different parts of Bengal. But the spearhead of the revolutionary movement was formed by a small band of youngmen under the leadership of Barindra-kumar Ghosh, the younger brother of Arabinda. In 1905, they published a book entitled Bhavdnx Mandir (Temple of the Goddess Bhavani) giving detailed plan of establishing a religious sanctuary, in a secluded spot, as the centre of revolutionary activities. 3 Two years later they published another book, called Vartaman Ranamti (Rules of Modern Warfare), which made an eloquent plea for military training and laid down details of war, particularly guerilla warfare. They also conducted a periodical named Yugdntar (New Era) which openly preached armed rebellion in order to create the necessary

revolutionary mentality among the people. It was started in 1906, had a circulation of more than 7,000, and was suppressed in 1908 by the Government under the newly passed Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. As a Judge observed, the Yugdntar exhibited a burning hatred of the British race, breathed revolution in every line, and pointed out how revolution was to be effected. 4 Another publication, Mukti Kon Pathe (Which Way lies Salvation?), exhorts its readers to win over the Indian soldiers to the revolutionary societies and secure arms from foreign powers.

The group led by Barindra actually put these ideas into practice. Two members went abroad to be trained for the manufacture of explosives, and on their return regular arrangements were made for preparing bombs in the Muraripukur garden house in Maniktala, a suburb of Calcutta. Attempts were made to kill the Lieutenant-Governors of East Bengal and Bengal, but proved unsuccessful. Their next venture was to murder Mr. Kingsford, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, under whose orders some young men had been severely flogged for comparatively slight offences. Mr. Kingsford was then the judge at Muzaffarpur (Bihar). Two members of the party, named Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose, were sent to Muzaffarpur for the purpose. They threw a bomb at a carriage, which resembled that of Kingsford, but really belonged to one Mr. Kennedy, with the result that the wife and daughter of the latter were killed. Prafulla was arrested but shot himself dead, and Khudiram was tried and hanged. The incident took place on 30 April, 1908. Two days later the Muraripukur garden house was searched by the police, and bombs, dynamite, and cartridges were found. Thirty-four persons, including Arabinda Ghosh. Barindra and his principal associates were arrested and charged with conspiracy. While the trial was going on, the public prosecutor who conducted the case at Alipur, and a Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was attending the appeal of the Alipur Conspiracy Case in the High Court, Calcutta, were both shot dead, in the court premises. Of the accused, fifteen were ultimately found guilty and some of them including Barindra were transported for life. Arabinda Ghosh was acquitted.

It would appear from the brief account given above that Barindra and his associates could not carry on the revolutionary activity beyond the preliminary stage. But when they were ar* rested and their activities, particularly manufacture of bombs, came out in the Alipur Conspiracy Case, it created a great sensation all over the counrty. Very few in India could really believe before this that there could be an organized attempt to overthrow the British Government by means of bombs. The courage and the

self-sacrificing spirit of the young men served as a great inspiration to hundreds of Indian youths, and although Barindra failed to achieve any conspicuous success he may claim the credit (or discredit as some might say) of having set the revolutionary movement in Bengal on a firm footing, and given it a definite character and direction which it retained till the end.

Another revealing fact was the almost universal sympathy felt for the revolutionaries. The accused in the Alipore Conspiracy Case were regarded as martyrs for their country, and those like Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram who had lost their lives became heroes of folk songs sung all over the country.

It was Narendra Gosain, a member of the Barindra group, who had divulged the secret to the police and thus enabled them to trap the whole revolutionary band at the garden house. When he turned an approver, his name was cursed by all. He was murdered inside the jail compound by Kanai-lal Datta and Satyen Bose, two revolutionary prisoners of the same group, so that his confession could not be treated as evidence. The news of Gosain’s death was hailed with joy all over Bengal and his murderers were elevated to the rank of heroes and martyrs. After Kanai-lal Datta was hanged for his crime, his dead body was carried in a funeral procession which kings and conquering heroes might envy. Bengal was in tears, and thousands behaved as if they belonged to Kanai’s family.

Though Barindra and his associates were removed after a brief spell of activities, they had not only made the revolutionary ideal—the cult of the bomb—popular, but also gave it an honoured place in the struggle for freedom. Their unfinished work was carried on by the Anusilan Samiti[5] which was fully inspired by the ideals preached in the Yugdntar and other publications of the Barindra group. Pulin Das, the leader of the Anusilan Samiti at Dacca, made it the most powerful centre of activity with a large number of branches affiliated to it. The most important activities of the Samiti were to recruit new members and train them, collection of arms, political dacoities, and the murder of officials, both Indian and European, who in any way hampered their activities, or were likely to do so. There were also many other secret societies following more or less the same method and programme.

The most sensational among their activities were the murders and dacoities. So far as recorded evidence goes, no less than sixtyfour persons were murdered between 1907 and 1917. These included Police officials, both high (Deputy Superintendent of Police, Inspector of Police) and low (Sub-inspectors, constables, etc.), one Public Prosecutor, several Police informers, witnesses against revolutionaries in the Court-trials, and fellow-revolutionaries suspected of having betrayed the secrets of the party to the Police. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to kill high officials including the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Andrew Fraser, and in some cases persistent attempts were made to kill the same person until he was dead.

Several daring dacoities are on record. The most adventurous was the dacoity at Barha where the revolutionaries escaped in boats with 25,000 rupees, though pursued by the villagers and a Police launch. Another daring dacoity was committed with the help of a taxi in Calcutta, in broad daylight, and 18,000 rupees were taken from a hackney carriage. A sum of Rs. 23,000 was robbed from a railway train. The general method was for a number of revolutionaries, armed with guns or pistols and sometimes wearing masks, to raid a rich man’s house suddenly at night. They demanded the key of the iron safe and if the owner of the house did not give it, he was forced to do so at the point of the pistol. But it was a fixed principle that the body of a woman should never be touched. The official records give details of 112 dacoities involving nearly seven lakhs of rupees during the years. 1907-1917. During the same period there were 12 bomb outrages and three attempts to wreck trains.

Among the means adopted to collect arms we may refer to the following which may be regarded as authentic, being vouched for by the persons who were actually connected with the operation.

1. There was an organization for smuggling cocaine. Its activities extended from Turkey through Arabia, Persia, and Afghanistan to the whole of India as far as Assam. It carried goods and communications through men moving in different railway stations, disguised as beggars, lame, blind etc. It is with the help of this organization, secured through a Kabuli, that revolvers, pistols and cartridges were purchased.

2. Another source of supply was the body of sailors in a foreign vessel. After receiving the price the sailors deposited the arms in the houses of prostitutes at Kidderpore, as arranged beforehand. Some Anglo-Indians of the Licence Department helped in thus securing arms.

3. Some Hindustani mechanics employed in the Fort William and also by Manton & Co., helped in repairing pistols, revolvers etc.

4. The most famous case of collecting arms was the removal on 26 August, 1914, of ten packing cases containing 50 Mauser pistols and 46,000 rounds of cartridges which came in a ship for the Rodda & Co., Calcutta. A revolutionary had secured an employment in

this Company and ingratiated himself into the favour of the autho rities. He was deputed to take delivery of the packing cases from the dock. In the course of doing so he disappeared with ten of these cases. These pistols were immediately distributed among nine different revolutionary groups.

II. EARLY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE BENGAL

The revolutionary societies in Bengal, particularly the Anusilan Samiti, tried to create revolutionary centres all over India, and definite evidence is available of the existence of such centres almost in every Province of India.

A. Bihar and Orissa

A confidential official report 6 gives a detailed account of the revolutionary activities in Patna, Deoghar, Dumka and other places in Bihar, and refers briefly to those in Varanasi and Allahabad. According to the Report most of the revolutionaries dealt with therein came from Bengal and many of them belonged to the Anusilan Samiti, though other organizations were also represented. The activities were similar and included dacoities, murder of officials and collection of arms. These were sometimes carried on in close cooperation with secret societies in Bengal. The Report refers to a dacoity committed at Chainpur, near Jajpur (Orissa) "by a gang of 17 young men who used whistles, patkas, hammers, knives, gas lamps etc.—all the usual paraphernalia of a typical Bengali Bhadralog gang". The telegraph wires were cut, and so perfect was the arrangement made beforehand that all of them escaped except one whose arrest at Kharagpur was pre-arranged in order to give the remaining sixteen a chance to escape. The Report gives a detailed account of the activities of Sachindra Sanyal, a Bengali youth, in organizing revolutionary centres in Varanasi, Patna and Bankipore, with a view to enlist the people of those regions in the revolutionary cause. 6a

B. The Punjab

As early as 1904 a few young men of Saharanpur formed a secret society and took a solemn oath to lay down their lives in the struggle for the independence of the country. They were soon joined by Lala Hardayal. Ajit Singh, and Sufi Ambaprasad. The Swadeshi movement gave a great impetus to them and they kept a close contact with the Bengal revolutionaries. As usual, arrangements were made for collecting arms, manufacturing bombs, and the wide distribution of revolutionary publications. There was a lull in the revolutionary activities on account of the repressive measures of the Government, including the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. But the revolutionary activities flared up again in 1909 after the return of Hardayal from abroad in 1908. According to Government report, he "held a class in Lahore, preaching the bringing to an end of the British Government by a general boycott combined with passive resistance' of every kind". After Hardayal again left India, the work was carried on by Rashbihari Bose and a number of his devoted pupils. It was this group who arranged to throw bomb at Lord Hardinge in Delhi, as mentioned above.[7]

C. Maharashtra.

Reference has been made above[8] to the early revolutionary activities in Maharashtra ending with the foundation of Abhinava Bharata by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Although Savarkar himself proceeded to London in 1906, his organization continued to flourish in India. It seriously took up the revolutionary activities and tried to spread its branches all over Maharashtra. It preached the gospel of freedom and sang songs and ballads of freedom, the refrain of which was “Free India from the foreigners’ yoke”. The life of Mazzini was translated by Savarkar in Marathi, of which 2000 copies were sold in three months. There was at that time a network of secret societies all over the Province. Many colleges and higher educational institutions in Poona and Bombay had at least one secret society or branch of the Abhinava Bharata. The young men, thus saturated with revolutionary ideas, went away after completing their education and became the leaders in their own towns and cities and started the branches of Abhinava Bharata or new secret societies in Maharashtra, Mysore and Madhya Pradesh. The society also established contact with Bengal.

The society’s activities included collection of, and training in, arms and explosives wherever and whenever possible. Arms were surreptitiously sent from London by Savarkar when he settled there in 1906. He sent a number of Browning pistols to India with Mirza Abbas, Sikandar Hay at and several others. Chaturbhuj brought 20 of them in a false-bottom box and successfully evaded the vigilance of the Customs authorities. Mr. Parker of the Scotland Yard stated in the course of his deposition in the Nasik Conspiracy Case that hundreds of such pistols were purchased by Indians in England and on the Continent. A member of the society, P. N. Bapat, was sent to Paris to learn the art of bomb-making from Russian revolutionaries. He worked along with Hem-chandra Das and Mirza Abbas who were also there for the same purpose. They secured a copy of a Russian book on the method of preparing bombs, and this bomb-manual was translated in, English. Cyclostyled copies of this translation were brought to India and many were trained in bomb-making. It is interesting to note that one copy of this bomb-manual was given to Tilak.

In addition to Abhinava Bharata many other secret societies sprang up in different parts of Maharashtra early in the twentieth century. Most of them worked independently of, and even unknown to, one another, though the aims, objects and methods were more or less the same. This was mainly due to a very natural desire to maintain secrecy. The Abhinava Bharata came in direct contact with a large number of such independent secret societies working on parallel lines at Bombay, Poona, Nasik, Kolhapur, Aundh, Satara, Gwalior, Baroda, Amraoti, Yeotmal, Nagpur, and many other places. In Poona three, and at Nasik two, groups were working separately and unknown to each other. Baroda and Gwalior had not only branches of Abhinava Bharata, but also other secret societies. Many secret societies concentrated their main effort on the manufacture of bombs.

D. Other Regions

A revolutionary organization grew up in Rajasthan in imitation of Bengal shortly after the partition of that Province in 1905. Sachindra Sanyal, mentioned above, sent two members of his organization from Varanasi to Kharwa to prepare bombs. Two other Bengali revolutionaries found shelter with the Thakur of Kuchaman between 1908 and 1911. By the year 1911 the local organization was joined by a number of young men some of whom were sent to Delhi to be trained by notable revolutionary leaders like Amir Chand, Avadh Bihari and Bal Mukund. Among the overt acts of this organization was the murder of Jodhpur Mohant (abbot) with a view to securing money for revolutionary purposes.

An educational institution founded by Arjun Lai Sethi at Jaipur became the centre of a revolutionary organization. The ideals of revolutionaries in Bengal were held up before the students and they were taught that the committing of dacoity was necessary for the attainment of Swaraj as it would enable them to procure revolvers and pistols. Three students of this school killed the Mohant of a temple in 1913, but as they could not open the iron safe they got no money.

Varanasi was also a great centre of revolutionary activities and was the headquarters of Rash-bihari Bose and Sachindra Sanyal.

Revolutionary activities were also noticeable in Madras-. According to Government version, this was due to the excitement caused by the fiery speeches of Bipin-chandra Pal in 1907, preaching the ideal of complete freedom from British control. A serious riot broke out at Tinnevelly in 1908 in the course of which public buildings were burnt and furniture and records were set on fire. A secret association was organized and one of its members, a follower of Savarkar, started revolver practice for young men and preached the necessity of violence and assassination to free the country. Another member shot dead Mr. Ashe, the District Magistrate of Tinnevelly, for his part in suppressing the riot at that place in 1908. The motive for taking this revenge three years later was stated by the murderer in a letter found on the body of the deceased. The murder, he said, was a symbolical announcement that 3,000 Madrasis had taken a vow to kill George V as soon as he landed in India.

III. EARLY REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE INDIA

1. Early Activities in Europe

From the very beginning the Indian revolutionaries realized the importance of setting up centres in foreign countries. In addition to securing foreign help, it gave them the additional advantage of carrying on their activities without any fear from the British police. One of the earliest instances is furnished by Shyamji Krishnavarma 9 who settled in London in 1897. He established six lectureships of Rs. 1,000 each for qualified Indians visiting foreign countries, and another Indian revolutionary in Paris, Sardar Singh Rana, also offered three travelling fellowships of Rs. 2,000 each. By these means Shyamji gathered round him a group of Indian revolutionaries, the most prominent among whom were Savarkar, Hardayal and Madan Lai Dhingra. The centre of their activities was the ‘India House’ of Shyamji in London. On 18 February, 1905, he founded the ‘Indian Home Rule Society’ with the object of securing Home Rule for India by carrying on propaganda in the United Kingdom by all practical means. For this purpose he started a paper called the Indian Sociologist. It stressed the absolute freedom from British control as the political goal of India. As regards the method, it laid the greatest stress on Passive Resistance and Non-co-operation in an extreme form, 10 which meant a complete dissociation from Englishmen as the chief means to force the British to quit India. But he did not rule out violence nor underestimate its value as a method for securing the freedom of India.

The British newspapers and politicians were alarmed at the activities of this group of Indians and held a meeting under an exGovernor of Bombay to adopt means to 'socialize" the revolutionary Indian element. The growing revolutionary attitude of Shyamji also drew T the attention of the British Government, and The Times and other newspapers in London attacked Shyamji and his associates. Shyamji thereupon left London and settled in Paris, and the political leadership of the India House fell upon Savarkar. His colleague, Madan Lai Dhingra, shot dead Curzon Wyllie on 1 July, 191)9, at a gathering at the Imperial Institute in London. Madan made a statement to the effect that "he shed English blood intentionally and of purpose as an humble protest against the inhuman transportation and hangings of Indian youths". He was hanged. Savarkar was arrested and sent to India to take his trial in the Nasik Conspiracy Case and other charges. His attempt to escape through the porthole of the ship at Marseilles failed 11 , and he was sentenced to transportation for life. The activities of India House, London, thus came to an end.

A worthy political associate of Shyamji was Madam Bhikhaji Rustam K. R. Cama, "the Mother of the Indian Revolution". She left India in 1902 and was engaged since then in making revolutionary propaganda against British rule in India, both in Europe and America. She and Sardar Singh Rana, mentioned above, lived in Paris and attended the International Socialist Congress which met at Stuttgart in August, 1907, as representatives of India. She moved a resolution strongly denouncing British rule in India. It was disallowed on technical grounds, but Madam Cama made a fiery speech exposing the disastrous results of the British rule in India and, at its conclusion, unfolded the National Flag of India—a tricolour flag in green, yellow and red. 12

2. The Ghadar Movement in America (U.S.A.)

Towards the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century there was a regular exodus of Punjabi peasants to the outside world. Unable to earn the bare minimum of livelihood from the small plots of land they possessed at home, they migrated to Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Hongkong, Shanghai and other parts of China, then to Australia, and finally to Canada and U.S.A. They were employed in large numbers by the owners of factory and farms in America, for they were cheaper than American labour. They were paid two to three dollars a day (six to nine rupees) and lived quite happily. The news of their prosperity attracted more and more men from the Punjab to America. By 1910, there were about 30,000 Indian workers between Vancouver and San Francisco.

But the organized American workers hated the cheap Indian labourers as undesirable competitors, particularly because the latter allowed themselves to be used by the American capitalists as blacklegs in order to break the strikes of American workers. Besides, the Americans hated slavery, and in their eyes the Indians were no better than slaves. So, although many Indian settlers earned a good deal of money by trade and business, the Indian workers as a class were looked down upon in America. “Everywhere they were insulted and despised. In hotels and trains, parks and theatres, they were discriminated against. Everywhere hung notice-boards: Hindus (i.e. Indians) and Dogs Not Allowed”. A white man refused to sit at the same table even with the leading men of the Indian community. 13 The Indians felt ashamed of their political status and realized the value of liberty and democracy of which the most shining example loomed large before them—the United States of America. This brought a political consciousness and yearning for liberty—and the feeling was strengthened by the events moving fast in Ireland, Egypt, China and Turkey. They also felt the impact of the nationalist movement in India.

The revolutionary ideas and activities which the educated Indian youths carried with them to Europe and America reached the sturdy peasants of the Punjab, settled in large groups in U.S.A. Students read and explained to them the revolutionary papers like the Indian Sociologist of Shyamji Krishnavarma and Madam Cama’s Bande Mataram which had unrestricted entry to the U.S.A. Many well-to-do leaders of Indian settlers came forward to help Indian students, and a students’ fund was established for the purpose of training Indian scholars in America for service at home. Before 1912, vernacular newspapers had sprung up in British Columbia and California.

“By 1906, Indians carried on nationalistic activities in U.S.A., and Indian students and labourers had established various headquarters in the country. During the Swadeshi movement Indian groups in America were publishing materials against the British rule in India. The Free Hindustan, published in 1908 by Taraknath Das and his group, was probably the first regular propaganda sheet in the U.S.A. It won American, particularly Irish-American, sympathy and support. Even before the World War I the State Department and its officials, at the request of the British, wanted to suppress this activity. But they were thwarted by the local laws and popular American support for India.” 14

As a result of all these, several political organizations had sprung up at different times and under different groups of individual

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leaders. Ultimately all these coalesced into a single party which came to be known as the Ghadar. There are different accounts of how it actually came into being. Most probably the organization was. finally constituted in a meeting of representative Indians held at San Francisco on 1 November, 1913. About 15,000 dollars were collected and the ‘Hindi Association of America’ was founded. It was decided to bring out a weekly paper, Ghadar (rebellion), named in commemoration of the Mutiny of 1857, in Urdu, Marathi and Gurumukhi. This gave the Association its hallowed name—the Ghadar Party. 15

“The resolutions founding the Ghadar Party laid down its aim as the overthrow of imperialist Raj in India and the building up in its place of a national republic based on freedom and equality. This aim could be achieved only by an armed national revolution Every member of the Ghadar Party was declared to be in honour and duty bound to participate in the fight against slavery carried on anywhere in the world.” 16 There seems to be little doubt that since 1913 Lala Hardayal, mentioned above, was the guiding spirit of the movement which, under his dynamic personality, took final shape in that year in the formal inauguration of the Ghadar Party.

The organization began to function from a place at 436 Hill Street, San Francisco, named the ‘Yugantar Ashram’, after the well-known revolutionary journal published in Calcutta. A Central Committee was formed to formulate plans of action. It was composed of several members elected by various State committees functioning at such points as Astoria, Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, Bakersfield, Los Angeles, and Imperial Valley. Each of these committees sent two elected representatives to constitute the central body which served for two years. Its regular meetings were held every three months, but in case of emergency, the president was authorized to call a special session to consider important problems^. The most important function of this body was to educate its supporters in Indian politics, and to collect funds.

The main activities of the Ghadar Party, 17 besides the regular campaign of lectures, were the publication of the Ghadar and various books and pamphlets.

The weekly journal, the Ghadar, sometimes called the Hindustan Ghadar, was first published oh November 1, 1913, in San Francisco. The first issue of this paper boldly declared: “Today

there begins in foreign lands.a war against the British

Raj.What is our name? Mutiny. What is our work?

Mutiny. Where will mutiny break out? In India. The time will

soon come when rifles and blood will take the place of pens and ink.” This clearly foreshadowed the line of policy to be pursued by the paper.

Each issue of the paper had on its front page a set feature which was called “Angrez Raj ka Kachcha Chittha ” (a transparent account of the British rule). It contained a long list of the crimes perpetrated by the British in India. This indictment of British rule was very popular with all Indians living abroad, for it gave the Indian version of British rule in India and was meant to be a set-off against the virulent propaganda carried on against India by the British Government. The Ghadar sought to arouse the national self-respect of the Indians by perpetually emphasizing the point that they were not respected in the world because they were not free. The Ghadar also kept India’s struggle for freedom in the forefront of world opinion by publishing the biographies of the great Indian patriots who fought for the freedom of the motherland. At the same time it inspired the Indians by publishing life-sketches of the fighters for freedom in other countries.

Almost every issue of the Ghadar contained poems urging upon young India to take up arms, rise in insurrection, kill the British, etc. On the other hand, it published informative articles on Indian culture—showing the great height attained by the Indians in the past in various branches of art, science and letters, in order to give lie direct to the British propaganda, which had been hitherto going on unchecked, that the Indians occupied a very low rung in the ladder of civilization.

Among the specific measures suggested by the Ghadar may be mentioned the following:—

(a) The seduction of Indian troops; (b) the murder of loyal subjects and officials; (c) hoisting the revolutionary flag; (d) the breaking of jails; (e) the looting of treasuries thanas , etc.; (f) the propagation of seditious literature; (g) union with the foreign enemies of the British; (h) the commission of dacoities; (i) the procuring of arms; (j) the manufacture of bombs; (k) the formation of secret societies; (1) the destruction of railways and telegraphs; and (m) the recruitment of young men for revolutionary work.

Hie Ghadar became very popular, particularly among the living abroad. Its circulation rose by leaps and bounds, and the paper appeared in different languages—Gurumukhi, Urdu, Hindi and English. The facts and ideas published ill the Ghadar were taken by other papers, and thus the Ghadar became a centre of world-wide revolutionary propaganda, on behalf of India, to raise the country in the estimation of Europeans and Indians.

While the Ghadar Party was steadily rising in power and prestige, Hardayal had to suddenly quit the scene of his activity. He had denounced in strong language the new immigration policy of U.S.A. for total exclusion of the Orientals, and had further lost the sympathy and support of the Americans by an act of great indiscretiomr-he championed the cause of the Syndicalist party and made public speeches from its platform. The American Government, whose mind was already poisoned by the British Government against Hardayal, now regarded him as a dangerous character. On 25 March, 1914, on a complaint of the British Consul, Hardayal was served with a warrant of arrest, preliminary to deportation as an undesirable alien. Hardayal was released on bail, and it was believed at the time that this was due to the influence of W. J. Bryan, then Secretary of State in U.S.A., who was sympathetic to India's struggle for freedom. Anyway, Hardayal took advantage of the bail to leave U.S.A. He safely reached Geneva in Switzerland, and edited a paper there called the Bande Mataram . One of his faithful adherents, Ram Chandra, was left in charge of the affairs of the Ghadar Party. The following summary of a Doctoral thesis on Ghadar Movement by an American may be regarded as an accurate description of its activities and a fair assessment of its achievement:

The literature of Ghadar propaganda comprised pamphlets, handbills, newspapers, letter to the Press, and a monthly periodical. Generally speaking the letters to the press were of the highest level, the magazine articles somewhat lower, and the other material often verged on the crude or sensational. Photographs and drawings were used sparingly. One full-page cartoon, entitled "The Path of the Hangman", depicted a black-hooded muscular figure with the Union Jack on his chest bearing a hangman's axe in his left hand and a knout in his right, with which he flogged a semi-nude young girl tied to a cross. The caption read: "John Bull, the Beast-of-Prey-Thdt-Walks-Like-a-Man, pursuing his path of Blood, Tears, and Ruin across the world amidst the cries of agony and despair rising day and night from throttled India, Ireland, Egypt, Persia, Mesopotamia and the latest victims of his greed, falsehood and ferocity".

One of the main themes of the Ghadar propagandist was the appeal to nationalist groups within the empire. The Ghadar Party on July 21, 1919, presented to Eamon De Valera, later, President of the Irish Republic, an engraved sword and his national flag. Gammons, Secretary of the Pacific Coast Branch of the 'Friends of Freedom for India', read an address on the occasion. He pointed out that only a few weeks earlier some Irish Americans had protested against the deportation of several Indians. Next year the Ghadar party sent condolence on the death of martyr Mayor MacSwiney of Cork. It predicted that such cold-blooded murder as his would be answered in a way which would for ever quench the blood-thirst of the British and hoist the flag of freedom throughout the empire. In 1921 three revolting sex-crimes committed by the British soldiers against Irish women were cited.

It was alleged that the British deliberately created communal dissension in India to strengthen their own position. An army of Government provocateurs and huge sums spent for creating riots were mentioned by a Muslim writer, F. Husain Khan. Another favourite tactics was to identify the cause of India with the American tradition of democracy and freedom. Ram Chandra said: “We aim at nothing less than the establishment in India of a republic, a government of the people, by the people, for the people in India. 1 ’ In another letter he said: “Indians desired to come to the United States to escape the oppressive poverty under the British rule, hoping to better their status in 'the land of freedom and opportunity”. It was British policy to prevent Indians from being contaminated with ideas of political freedom.

Ram Chandra appealed to the idealism of President Wilson. The President was reminded that the United States became a free nation by an act of rebellion against the British. He compared the benevolent rule of the U.S.A. in the Philippines to British rule in India which allowed millions to die of starvation, Hindus to be sold like slaves in the British colonies, and women to be dishonoured every day.

Two years later Ghadar Society reported how in Philadelphia (where America declared her independence) a stirring welcome was given to a parade of Indian revolutionaries. “Ten thousand American citizens joined the parade to protest against British barbarities in India and Ireland, as also to register Philadelphia’s open recognition of the sister republics of Ireland and India. Philadelphia, the home of Benjamin Franklin, knows full well what it is for a nation to struggle for the recognition of foreign powers.”

The appeal to labour was couched in terms of “drain theory”. England was siphoning off the wealth of India by economic exploitation—tax policy and customs duties hindered industrial development—Lancashire was protected by an excise tax on domestic cloth. Peasants were forced to pay 60 to 70 per cent, of their produce as t ax , Average annual income of an Indian was nine dollars according to Curzon, and five dollars according to Digby. Men and women of the labour class were urged to prevent the ruthless oppression of

labour in other countries. Self-rule for India, Egypt and Ireland would enable workers to control the conditions of their own lives. These appeals had their effect. ‘‘At the twenty-first annual convention of the Californian State Federation of Labour, a resolution was passed which speaks of the valiant efforts of the Indians to free their country from the tyranny of the British.” “The sooner the masses thoroughly grasp the fact that the interests of the proletariat are identical everywhere in the world, and realize the latent power of the people, the speedier the shackles of slavery and bondage will be shattered.”

The account of the Amritsar massacre, based on the Congress report, formed the subject of one pamphlet. It was perhaps the most popular single subject of Ghadar literature, inspiring drawings, endless comments, and even verses. The Ghadar party published an indictment of police methods by a Britisher, replete with sensational charges.

Prohibitionist sentiment of U.S.A. was also exploited. “At a time when the people in the U.S.A. are engaged in making their country dry, the British Government in India is busily engaged in making India wet.” Even suffragist feeling was used by citing the instances of Indian women like Sarojini Naidu who were doing public work.

The purpose of the propaganda was to enlist American sympathy. “Its effect on the American public is almost impossible to gauge, but literature of the type examined probably won a certain amount of sympathy for Indian nationalism, especially among the working classes.”

“The attempt to excite active disaffection was apparently concentrated in the vernacular publications; the propaganda in English was largely aimed at capturing American public opinion. The latter end was approached by identifying the Ghadar cause with antiimperialist sentiment in general and Irish republican feeling in particular; with the American tradition of freedom and democracy; with the interests of organised labour; with humanitarian sympathies; and even with prohibitionist and suffragist sentiment. The illustrations used either pictured Ghadar martyrs or victims of atrocities calculated to evoke hatred of British rule.” 18

The strength of the party seemed to have dwindled toward the end of the twenties. There is some reason to suspect that its energies were diverted into the larger stream of international Communism.

IV. REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE INDIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

A. Germany

The outbreak of war between England and Germany on 4 August, 1914, was hailed with delight by the Indian revolutionaries living abroad. They had been anticipating such an event for a long time and eagerly looked for the day when the British would be involved in a war with Germany. For they instinctively felt, like the Irish, that England’s necessity was India’s opportunity. The general plan to be followed, if such a contingency occurred, was crystal clear to the revolutionaries. They would turn to Germany for active help and use as base U.S.A., a neutral country, where they had already a well-knit revolutionary organization.

Whether consciously inspired by such a policy or not, the Indian revolutionaries, mostly students, had long been engaged in preparing the ground in Germany. As soon as war broke out, these Indian revolutionaries, both in Germany and U.S.A., renewed their efforts to enlist the sympathy and support of the Germans. Their success was beyond their expectation. For now the Germans were equally, if not more, anxious to utilize the revolutionary activities of the Indians against the British. They had two definite objects in view. First, to stir up armed rebellion in India in order that the British might be forced to send back the Indian army from the Western front to India, thereby considerably weakening their position in the vital centre of the war. Secondly, to excite antiBritish spirit among the Indian soldiers in the Western front by playing upon the national sentiments of the Hindu sepoys and the religious pro-Turkish feeling of the Muslim soldiers, so that they might not fight against Germany with whole heart, but surrender after making a feint of military operations.

The support of the German Government was thus assured to Indian revolutionaries, though it was due not so much to the love for the Indians as the hostility against the British. In any case, the promised support was given in full measure. An organization was set up in Berlin, and contact was established with the Indian revolutionaries in U.S.A. through German embassy in that country. The German Government opened the purse strings wide and spared no pains to supply India with men and money. On 3 September, 1914, a Committee was formally constituted with the name 'Deutscher Verein der Freunde Indien' (The German Union of Friendly India). Herr Albercht, President of the Hamburgh American Steamer Co., a great friend of the Kaiser, was elected the President, Baron Oppenheim and Sukhthankar, Vice-Presidents, and

Dhiren Sarkar, the Secretary. After Sukhthankar left for India, Birendranath Chattopadhyaya was made Vice-president, and after Dhiren was sent to America, Dr. Muller was appointed the Secretary. There were 17 other Indian members in the Committee.

As regards the work done by the Committee, the following may be regarded as of special importance:

1. Training in the preparations of explosives in a camp at Spandau near Berlin (the chemists among the members of the Committee learnt how to prepare bombs, hand-grenades, time-bombs, land-mine etc.).

2. Members were taken to the arsenal and shown the use of the most modern types of weapons.

3. Some members were taken to the Prisoners* Camp in order to carry on propaganda among the imprisoned Indian soldiers.

4. Consultation was held with the naval officers for concerting measures to convey weapons to the Indian coasts.

Arrangements were also made with Ghadar party to carry on the revolutionary work jointly.

By the middle of 1915, the old Committee was thoroughly changed. There was no foreign member in it and it was called ‘Indian Independence Committee*. Its main work was to organize the revolutionaries, both in India and abroad, under a common plan of action. They sent men and money to India with instructions to inform the leaders of both Nationalist and Revolutionary organizations that help would be forthcoming from Germany by way of supply of weapons, and that they should organize themselves accordingly and prepare plans beforehand.

Indian revolutionaries also went to various eastern countries such as Japan, China, Philippines, Siam, Java, etc. for helping the importation of arms from Germany. It was decided that the Germans in Siam along with the Indians would attack Burma through Moulmein, and the Germans in China would be divided into two groups, one joining the party in Siam and the other attacking Burma through Bhamo with the exiled King of Burma as their head.

It was also planned that three ships full of arms would be sent to India. One with 500 German Officers and 1000 soldiers would proceed to the Andamans, release the political prisoners and then go to Calcutta. The second would go to some other place in Bengal, and the third to the western coast. As soon as Burma was attacked, there would be revolutionary outbreak in the Punjab and Bengal, and an attempt would be made to invade India through Afghanistan and Baluchistan. This and similar plans were made by the Indian revolutionaries and the Germans at different times, but could not be carried into effect.

The account of the Berlin Committee given above is based on the authority of Bhupendra-nath Datta, a close associate of Barindra and the editor of the Yugantar mentioned above. [19] He not only attaches no importance to the role played by Hardayal in the work of the Committee, but makes many deprecatory remarks against him. [19a] On the other hand, Hardayal is credited by many as playing the chief part in the Indo-German conspiracy. Thus an American author, who made a special study of German plots in U.S.A., observes:

“In Germany Hardayal was taken in hand by Von Wesendonck, Secretary in charge of the Indian section of the Foreign Office; and together they organized the ‘Indian Independence Committee’. At their rallying call numerous Indian nationalists, chiefly students in various Indian Universities, flocked to Berlin. Regular meetings were held, attended by German officials who knew India well; a special fund amounting to several million marks was provided by the Imperial Government; and a campaign was outlined to promote sedition in British India. Emissaries were sent there through Turkey and Afghanistan, and the organization in the United States was brought under the direction of the Central Committee in Berlin. Finally, Germany’s diplomatic representatives throughout the world were instructed by the German Foreign Office to render material aid and assistance.” 211

This is quite in keeping with the early activities of Hardayal in California, as described above. But Datta’s denunciation finds some support in the following statement made by Hardayal in 1919: “I now believe that the consolidation of the British Empire in the

East is necessary in the best interests of the people of India.

Imperialism is always an evil, but British and French imperialism in its worst form is a thousand times preferable to German or Japanese imperialism”. 21

There is an interesting reference to the work of the Indian Independence Committee in Berlin in the Judgment of the 3rd Lahore Conspiracy Case. 213 It is said that the Indian Revolutionary Society, which aimed at establishing a Republic in India, held constant meetings attended by Turks, Egyptians, German officials and, most noteworthy of all, German ex-prisoners and ex-missionaries, who in their time had received the hospitality of the British Government in India. Hardayal and Chattopadhyaya were in daily communication with the German Foreign Office. To carry out the revolution in India, there was an Oriental Bureau for translating

and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany. Inflammatory letters, drafted by the German Government and addressed to the Indian Princes, were translated and printed, and meetings were held in which the common objects of Germany and India were dilated upon, these meetings being sometimes presided over by highly placed German officials.

B. The United States of America.

As mentioned above^Ram Chandra succeeded Hardayal as the leader of the Ghadar Party. The Berlin Independence Committee entrusted him with the task of sending men and arms to India. With the active help of German officials and merchants a number of Indians were able to pass through the Chinese ports—Shanghai and Swatow—to Siam, whence they were smuggled across the Indian border. Probably a large number passed into India in this way, for Tehl Singh spent 30,000 dollars in helping the revolutionaries who passed through Shanghai.

An elaborate plan was made by the German embassy in USA for sending arms to India. Under instructions of Franz von Papen, military attache of the German Embassy, the New York Agency of Krupp purchased arms and ammunition for about ten thousand men, and in January, 1915, shipped cartloads of freight containing 8,000 rifles and 4,000,000 cartridges to San Diego, California. It was planned that these would be placed on board the schooner, Annie Larsen, and then transferred, at a secluded spot, to the tanker Maverick, to be placed in one of the empty oil tanks, covered with oil. The Annie Larsen safely arrived at the meeting place with the arms, but unfortunately the Maverick did not arrive in time, and the whole scheme fell through. 23

In February, 1916, the Berlin Committee sent Chandra K. (Kanta) Chakravarty to USA to organize the work there. 24 Chakravarty organized a Pan-Asiatic League to cloak the movements of the plotters, had sent one agent to Japan to enlist support there, and had another appealing to the Indians living in the West Indies. Ample funds were provided by Germany. Chakravarty received fifty thousand dollars in May, and in August was asking for an additional 15,000 25 In San Francisco Ram Chandra was receiving monthly a thousand dollars from the German Consulate. But little progress was made in securing arms. In one report Chakravarty admitted that in a period of six months no more than two hundred pistols had been smuggled across the Pacific.

Attempts to enlist the active support of Japan continued. According to Chakravarty, Rabindra-nath Tagore saw the Japanese

Premier and others for this purpose, 26 but this has been categorically denied by Tagore 27 Tarak-nath Das also urged the Japanese to form an alliance with Germany 28 An agreement was proposed with China which provided for German military support to her if she would help the Indian revolutionaries by sending forces and arms to them across the border. The Chinese were to receive one-tenth of any military supplies thus handled. But Sun Yat-sen opposed a German alliance 29 So Indians obtained sympathy from influential elements in China and Japan, but nothing else.

Other troubles dogged Chakravarty. The Indians were split into various groups. Only with great difficulty could partisan jealousies be kept under control. Many of the Sikhs living on the Pacific coast refused to co-operate, and it was widely rumoured that the British were bribing some of them to break up the Ghadar Party. The leadership of Ram Chandra was criticised and complaints against his arbitrary control reached Berlin. Chakravarty went to San Francisco and brought about a temporary truce, but within a few months Ram Chandra created new strife by expelling from the party three of his associates, whom he accused of misappropriating funds. The split in the Pacific Coast ranks was complete.

Shortly after midnight on the morning of 6 March, 1917, Chakravarty was arrested in New York for violating the Neutrality Laws of the U. S. A. With his arrest a great quantity of evidence came into the hands of the Federal authorities, and the whole plot was discovered. Chakravarty readily revealed the identity of his associates. On 7 April, 1917, the day after the U.S.A. declared war, Ram Chandra and sixteen other Indians were arrested in San Francisco. More men were gradually arrested in Chicago and other places, and the Federal authorities decided to concentrate the prosecution in San Francisco. The trial opened on 20 November, 1917. All the defendants pleaded not guilty. Chakravarty was allowed to act as his own defence attorney, but was so truthful that the rest of the defendants loudly denounced him. There were deep-seated feelings of distrust and charges were made on the witness stand that Ram Chandra was a grafter and had diverted association money to his own use. On the last day of the trial Ram

Singh, a defendant, sent four bullets into the body of Ram Chandra, and was shot dead by a marshal.

Except an American, all other defendants were found guilty. Of the original 105 defendants, 29 were convicted, three had changed their pleas to guilty, one was found not guilty, two were dead, one had been adjudged insane, and the remainder either had fled the country or become Government witnesses.

C. Indo-China

Even after the failure of the scheme to stir up rebellion in India with the help of the arms supplied by Germany, Indian revolutionaries acted in concert with Germany. They were liberally helped with money. There is evidence to show that the German Consul of Chicago paid money to Abdul Hafiz, and about half a dozen men were sent by Von Burken from San Francisco who were “assisted to the tune of many thousands of dollars by Von Papen. ,> The well-known revolutionary, Barkatulla, was engaged in a campaign to win over Indian prisoners of war in German camp, thus continuing the work of Champakaraman Pillai, which anticipated the achievement of Subhas-chandra Bose during the second World War. But the main activity seems to have been concentrated in Burma, Siam and Malay Peninsula. It is not easy to draw a clear and connected outline of their work in this region, which began quite early; only we get occasional glimpses of important incidents happening here and there. Two of these, viz., the mutiny at Singapore and the revolutionary activities at Bangkok may be described in some details.

1. Mutiny At Singapore [30]

The normal garrison of Singapore consisted of a British and an Indian battalion. The British battalion had been sent Home and Indian battalion, the Fifth Light Infantry, was composed entirely of Muslims, largely from Hindusthan. There were some 300 German sailors and civilians interned in a camp near Tanglin barracks. On the 15th of February (1915), just on the eve of departure for Hongkong, the Fifth Light Infantry at Alexandra Barracks mutinied. The mutineers broke up into three parts, one to overpower the men guarding the German internment camp and release the prisoners, another to attack the house of its commanding officer. Col. Martin, and a third to prevent any assistance reaching from Singapore. Further, several small parties were formed, apparently to murder stray Europeans. The first party attacked the camp and there was terrible massacre. A number of officers, N.C.O., and men of the regulars and volunteers and several others were killed including some German prisoners. Having destroyed the camp guard, the mutineers rushed in and tried to enlist the support and sympathy of the German prisoners. But these refused to have anything to do with them and declined to accept the arms and ammunition which were offered. So, the disappointed mutineers left.

The mutineers who attacked the quarters of Col. Martin were also not very successful, as the defenders kept them at bay for the whole night.

But the third party of the mutineers who had marched off on the Singapore road killed quite a large number of British military and civilians. Detached groups also killed quite a large number of Europeans. The mutiny continued on the 16th and 17th. In the meantime, a French and a Japanese cruiser in the vicinity were summoned by wireless and help was received from the Sultan of Johore. The sloop Cadmus, which was in the port, sent a landing party. Volunteers were also recruited. With the help of all these, the mutiny was suppressed on the 18th. Many of the mutineers were captured, but some three hundred of them dispersed in the jungles. The native population remained singularly quiet and no sympathy was displayed with the mutineers by any section of the people. Eighty of the rebellious battalion went to the Colonel’s house to say they were loyal and ready to help, and they reported themselves to the police station.

As a result of this mutiny, the casualties on the side of the British were 8 officers, 1 lady, 9 soldiers and 16 civilians murdered, with a few more wounded. As regards the mutineers, two of the leaders were hanged and 38 were shot, all in public. The Fifth Light Infantry ceased to exist.

2. Siam

The British official version of the revolutionary activities in Siam and the neighbouring regions may be summed up as follows:

‘(Heramba) Gupta 31 returned to San Francisco from Berlin to organize the Siam expedition by which depots were to be established on the Siamese frontiers of Burma, where Indian revolutionaries could be trained by German officers, equipped with arms, and launched against Burma. There Ram Chand sent many of the Ghadar Party, while the Sikh, Bhagwan Singh, was despatched to Japan, China, and Manila to collect recruits from among the Indians serving there. But most of these were arrested at Bangkok in August, 1915, shortly after their arrival there. Some made their way to Burma, but were arrested in connection with the German Conspiracy Case which was engineered from Chicago. Four of the leaders were convicted at a trial there. Some of the Bangkok party escaped to China. The later developments of this conspiracy were revealed to the New York Police by a Bengali who had been summoned to Berlin by Hardayal, and who had been sent to Japan to induce that nation to adopt an anti-British attitude.’ 32

D. Middle and Near East

As has been shown above, the Indian revolutionaries in Europe and America made elaborate attempts to' enlist the sympathy and

support of various nations in Europe, America and the Far East in India’s efforts to regain her freedom. Casual reference has also been made to similar attempts made in the Middle and Near East. We have got a number of memoirs of individual revolutionaries giving some account of the negotiations or conspiracies in which they were engaged. Some of them tried to influence the Indian soldiers stationed at Suez. Failing to reach them in the ordinary way, it was even contemplated that some of them should swim across the narrow channel at night to the Sepoys* camp, but this was considered too risky and ultimately given up. Attempts were also made to form a regiment out of the Indian soldiers imprisoned in Turkey, but this scheme also failed, and it is alleged that the failure was due to communal spirit between the Hindu and Muslim soldiers, and the partiality shown to the latter by the Turks. 33 How far this allegation is true it is difficult to say. Attempts were also made to combine the Muslims of Arabia against the British, and Obeidullah carried on negotiations for this purpose with various Arab peoples then subject to Turkey.

Of all the attempts made in the Middle East the most important was the Indo-German mission to Kabul headed by Raja Mahendra Pratap, of which we have fortunately an account by the Raja himself, a Chief of Hathras in U.P. 34

As soon as the first World War broke out, he went to Europe. He met Hardayal at Geneva and proceeded with him to Germany. There he was given a right royal reception and had an interview with the Kaiser. With the help of the German high officials he succeeded in getting the German Government interested in India's struggle for freedom. The German Chancellor wrote letters to 26 Indian princes and a mission was sent to Afghanistan. On the eve of the departure of this mission the Chancellor BethmannHollweg gave him a letter with his signature promising him German support in his work for India.

The Indo-German mission which went to Afghanistan consisted of the Raja, Maulana Barkatullah, mentioned above, and Dr. Von Hentig of the German diplomatic service holding the rank of Legation Secretary. A number of Afghan-Afridi soldiers accompanied the mission. The mission, on its way through Turkey, visited Istambul where the Sultan gave an audience to the Raja and gave him a letter for the Amir of Afghanistan. The Turkish high officials showed great sympathy to the object of the Mission, namely, conquering India from the British. Barkatullah procured a futwa from Sheikh-ul-Islam asking the Muslims of India to act in unison with the Hindus. At Ispahan, in Persia, another mission

under Neidermayer joined this mission to travel together. After suffering a great deal of troubles from Iranian brigands, in the course of which a part of the luggage, including most of the documents and some of the men, were lost, the mission reached Afghanistan. Here the Kabul Government gave the mission a right royal reception and the members were treated as guests of the State. On 2 October, 1915, the mission reached Kabul, and a few days later, they were received by King Habibullah. After a great deal of talk the King said: "You show your wares and then we shall see whether they suit us". Many official meetings were held between the mission and the Afghan officials as a result of which a Provisional Government of India was established on the 1st December, 1915. Raja Mahendra Pratap became its

President, Barkatullah was appointed Prime Minister, and Obeidullah got the portfolio of the Home Minister. Secretaries also were appointed from among the Indians. This Provisional Government dealt directly with the Afghan Government and even a treaty was drawn up between the two. The Provisional Government sent several missions, issued many proclamations, sent the letters of the German Chancellor to the Indian princes, and even tried to come to some kind of understanding with Russia. The Raja, as President of the Provisional Government of India, wrote a letter to the Czar of Russia on a plate of solid gold, but this Russian negotiation, for the time being, came to nothing, though on a later occasion Mahendra Pratap was personally received by Trotsky. A special messenger carried the German Chancellor's letter to the King of Nepal. But no tangible results followed, and Mahendra Pratap returned to Berlin.

V. REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES IN INDIA DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

1. Bengal

The activities of the Berlin Committee and the Ghadar Party in U.S.A. had a great repercussion in India. As soon as the Indian revolutionaries came to know that arrangements had been made by Germany for sending arms to India and a large number of Punjabi revolutionaries were coming from U.S.A. to join them, the plan of a general rising took definite shape. At last the day, long hoped for, had arrived. Brisk preparations were made for receiving and safely storing the arms—a work of extraordinary difficulty—and making elaborate plans for an armed revolution. The chief responsibility for the enterprise was shared by two veteran revoultionary leaders, namely, Jatin Mukherji, and Jadu-gopal Mukherji. 35 As they were under the impression that the arms of the Maverick would be landed partly at the Orissan coast, near Balasore, and partly at Raimangal in the Sundarbans, the two leaders took, charge, respectively, of these two places. Jadu-gopal Mukherji induced a zamindar in the vicinity of Raimangal to provide men, lighters, etc., for the unloading of the vessel. Some men were sent to the locality to help in the unloading of the Maverick, but after waiting for some days they returned by the end of June, as the Maverick did not arrive, for reasons stated above. 36

Jatin Mukherji set up a firm with a branch at Balasore in order to facilitate the work. The firm used to receive money froxr* German sources at Batavia. Altogether Rs. 43,000 were sent in several instalments, but the last instalment of Rs. 10,000 fell into the hands of the Government and gave clue to the whereabouts of the revolutionaries working near Balasore. The District Magistrate with a party of armed police reached their haunt, about 30 miles from tha* town, but the revolutionaries had left the place. Five of them were traced three days later, and when the police came near, they took position on a raised ground in a paddy field. Then a regular fight ensued for about twenty minutes in the course of which Jatin Mukherji was mortally wounded, one of his associates was killed, and another seriously wounded. The remaining two surrendered. This fight near the Buri Balam river is a memorable event in the history of the revolutionary movement in Bengal. 37

2. The Punjab A. Muslim Conspiracy

The Muslims, generally speaking, did not take any active part in the revolutionary activities in India described above. But there was still a small colony of the old Wahabis— Mujahidins—in the independent territory across the North-West Frontier Province, who cherished the old idea of carrying on Jihad against the British. 38 They “took part in various border wars, and in 1915 were concerned in the rising which led up to the engagements at Rustam and Shabkadr. Twelve of their number, dressed in the customary black robes, were found dead on the field after the latter.” 39

Turkey’s entry in the War against Britain in 1914 caused a strong anti-British feeling among Indian Muslims. In February, 1915, fifteen young Muslim students from Lahore and several from Peshawar and Kohat joined the Mujahidins and later moved to Kabul. Such revolutionary sentiments were not confined to the Punjab. “In January, 1917, it was discovered that a party of eight Muhammadans had joined the Mujahidins from the districts of Rangpur and Dacca in Eastern Bengal. In March, 1917, two Bengali Muhammadans were arrested in the North-West Frontier Province with

Rs. 8,000 in their possession which they were conveying to the Mujahidin colony. These two men had, for some time, been themselves Mujahidin and had been sent dov/n to their native district to collect subscriptions. „4 °

There is evidence that these isolated instances were part of, or at least inspired by, a general Muslim conspiracy in India against the British. The leader of this movement was Maulvi Obeidulla of the Muslim religious school at Deoband (Shaharanpur District, U.P.), and he was assisted by Maul&na Mahmud Hasan, the head Maulvi of the school. They conceived the project of destroying British rule in India by means of an attack on the North-West Frontier, synchronizing with a Muslim rebellion in India. With this object in view Obeidulla got into touch with the Mujahidins and left secretly for Kabul where he met the other revolutionaries from India. They were interned, and some Indian revolutionaries, who were on trial in India but had escaped to Afghanistan, were put in chains. But they were all released at the request of Mahendra Pratap, 41 who led a mission to Kabul.

Shortly after Obeidulla left for Kabul, Maulana Mahmud Hasan, accompanied by Mian Ansari and a few others, left for the Hedjaj tract of Arabia. There they got into communication with Ghalib Pasha, then Turkish military Governor of the Hedjaj, and obtained from him a declaration of Jihad (Holy War) against the British. Mian Ansari proceeded with this document—known as Ghalibnama —to Kabul, distributing copies of it on his way both in India and among the frontier tribes. By the time Ansari reached Kabul the Indian revolutionaries had been favourably received by the Amir of Kabul and had established a Provisional Government with Obeidullah as Home Minister, as noted above. Encouraged by his success, Obeidulla wrote a long letter to Mahmud Hasan urging him to secure the active co-operation of the Turkish Government and of the Sheriff of Mecca, and describing the scheme of a pan-Islamic army—the "Army of God"—with headquarters at Medina, and subordinate commands at Constantinople, Tehran and Kabul. There were other letters describing the progress of revolutionary activities in Kabul. These letters were dated 9th July, 1916, and were ad* dressed to an agent in Sindh with instructions to forward by a reliable messenger or convey them in person, to Mahmud Hasan. They were carried to India by a family servant of two students— two brothers—who had left Lahore and gone to Kabul.

The letters were written neatly in Persian on lengths of yellow silk and sewn up inside the lining of his coat. The servant met the father of the two boys with their news, but the old man's suspicions having been roused, he extorted a confession from the servant

and got possession of the silk-letters. These he handed over to the British authorities who got "valuable information as to the sympathisers in India", interned about a dozen persons, and took other necessary preventive measures. Thus ended the "Silk letters" conspiracy.[42]

B. Activities of the Revolutionaries returning from America

While the Indo-German conspiracy was busy in U.S.A. with the efforts to send arms and ammunitions to India, the Ghadar Party devoted its main energy to sending Indians, mostly Punjabis, imbued with revolutionary ideas, back to their country to stir up rebellion there. Ram Chandra and his associates carried on a whirlwind campaign urging the Indians to take advantage of the Great War that was then going on. They pointed out that her** was a unique opportunity to drive the English out of India. They must go back to India in thousands to liberate their motherland from the British yoke, in co-operation with their countrymen already engaged in the work. The powder magazine was there and only a spark was needed to explode it. They should serve as that spark. Once the advantage was. lost it would never recur. List was made of those who volunteered to go back to India, and funds were collected for the expenses of the journey. The movement found ready response from Indian settlers in all parts of the world—Canada, Japan, Shanghai, Hongkong, Manila, Singapore, British Guiana, Fiji and South Africa—who helped it with men and money. About three thousand men reached India in different batches, at different times, and through various routes.

The Government of India were fully informed of this movement of the Ghadar Party and took all precautions. Hie S . S. Korea, which sailed from San Francisco on 29 August, 1914, had on board about sixty revolutionaries, including some of the most prominent leaders. Nearly a hundred joined them on the way. They were detained at Hongkong and changed to another ship, the Tosa Maru, which arrived at Calcutta on 29 October, 1914, with 173 passengers, mostly Sikhs, from America, Manila, Shanghai and Hongkong. One hundred of these men were interned. 43 Ship-loads of returning emigrants came during the next two months. In spite of Government precautions and internments, a large number of persons from outside reached India. The estimate of their number varies between three to five thousand, excluding 400 kept in jail, and 2500, whose movements were confined to their villages.

Regular instructions had been given to the returning revolutionaries about their programme of work in the Punjab. There was

to be a general rising all over India as soon as German arms and ammunitions were received. As a preliminary to this, seditious ideas were to be spread among the Indian soldiers, not only in India, but also among those stationed at Hongkong, Singapore, Penang, Rangoon and other places through which they passed. As the ships were detained for long periods at important ports, the revolutionary Sikhs took advantage of it to invite the local Sikh soldiers at Gurdwaras and delivered seditious speeches to them.

The revolutionaries held frequent meetings to discuss plans for waging war against the British with the help of Indian troops, and decided to raise the necessary funds by committing dacoities. No less than twenty such dacoities are believed to have been committed by them during the months of December, 1914, and February, 1915. Attempts were also made for derailing trains, at least six times. According to the official version, the revolutionaries were also guilty of the following crimes, among others:

1. Efforts were made at Hongkong and in more than a dozen military cantonments in India, to seduce the Indian soldiers to mutiny and join the conspiracy.

2. Manufacture as well as procurement of bombs.

3. Collection of arms and ammunitions.

4 Murder of loyal subjects and officials.

5. Attempts to loot treasuries and Thanas.

6. Publication and circulation of seditious literature.

One of the most serious charges was the attack on a regimental guard at Amritsar on 12 June, 1915, when two sepoys were murdered and several wounded, and the revolutionaries carried off six rifles and a large quantity of ammunitions.

All these were, however, merely preparations for the great general rising on which the revolutionaries of both Bengal and the Punjab had set their heart. They regarded the situation as very favourable. India was denuded of troops; Germany had agreed to supply arms and ammunitions; Turkey would influence the Muslims in India to fight against the British; Afghanistan, as a Muslim country, was expected to create a diversion either by an actual invasion of India or by assuming such a hostile attitude as would force the British to mass their troops on the North-Western frontier, leaving the rest of India comparatively weak and defenceless.

The leader of the big enterprise was RasK-bihari Bose, mentioned above in connection with the throwing of bomb at Lord

Hardinge at Delhi. He chose Varanasi as his centre of activity, and was joined there by a large number of revolutionary leaders, many of whom had returned from America in 1914 in the company of the Sikhs of the Ghadar Party. Attention was concentrated upon propaganda among Indian soldiers with a view to inducing them to join in the general rebellion planned to take place simultaneously all over North India. Sachindra Sanyal, a close associate of Rashbihari, mentions in his autobiography that contact was established with the Indian soldiers of all cantonments of North India from Dinapore to Jullundur, and while most of the regiments promised to join the rebellion after it had actually broken out, only two regiments in the Punjab agreed to begin the rebellion.

The general plan of the rebellion had been outlined as follows by Sachindra: On a particular night fixed beforehand, the sepoys in the cantonments all over North India would suddenly attack the English soldiers; those who surrendered would be imprisoned (and the rest would presumably be killed). During the same night the telegraph wires would be cut, Englishmen—both volunteers and other adult civilians—imprisoned, treasury looted, and prisoners released from jail. Having done all this and elected somebody to take charge of the administration of the place, the revolutionaries would assemble at Lahore.

This revolutionary plan was based on the fact that there was a very small number of English troops in India at the time, consisting mostly of young raw recruits of Territorial Force. 44 These could be easily overpowered and the arms and ammunitions stored in the different cantonments were regarded as sufficient for carrying on the fight for one year. It was thought that if the revolutionary struggle could be carried on for at least one year, the rivalry of European nations, the assistance of the enemies of the English, and the international situation would help India to attain her freedom.

As the rebellion was intended to be a general one, the revolutionary groups in Bengal were duly informed about the plan, so that they might make necessary arrangement for a simultaneous rising among the civil population. In particular, they were asked to supply bombs in large quantities. It appears from the statements and reminiscences of several Bengali revolutionaries that the news of the impending rebellion created a great excitement all over Bengal. Revolutionary groups gained new recruits, military training was imparted to them in the jungles, and theft of guns and revolvers increased to a considerable extent. Half-pants were sent to different centres, depots of foodstuff were established, and

a list was made of local motors, lorries, and other conveyances. A vague sense of an impending rebellion was somehow created among the people from Dacca to Lahore, and bombs were safely brought from Bengal to Varanasi and thence to Lahore.

After the arrangements had made some progress, Rash-bihari himself proceeded to Lahore via Delhi. February 21 was fixed as the date of simultaneous rising all over India. But a police informer, Kripal Singh, who had managed to enrol himself as a member of Rash-bihari’s party, secretly communicated the date to the police. As soon as this was known, the date was changed to 19th February. But though Kripal Singh was kept under strict surveillance, he managed to send words to the police about the change of the date. The Government immediately removed the suspected regiments to other places and made a large number of arrests. Rashbihari and Pingley evaded arrest and safely returned to Varanasi. But the whole plot miscarried and the elaborate plan came to nought.

The premises occupied by the conspirators in Lahore were raided by the police, and they seized seditious literature, arms, ammunition, bombs and chemicals for bombs, revolutionary flags, and implements for cutting telegraph wires, locks and safes. A large number of revolutionaries were arrested and tried by Commissioners appointed under Act IV of 1915, and were ultimately convicted ?f waging war, and of conspiracy to wage war, against the King Emperor, at three trials, generally known as "Lahore Conspiracy Case" and "Lahore Supplementary Conspiracy Cases". The results of these cases have been discussed in the preceding chapter. 45

C. Komagata Maru

In conclusion, reference must be made to an incident not altogether unconnected with the troubles in the Punjab described above Baba Gurdit Singh, a Sikh of the Amritsar District, chartered the Japanese vessel Komagata Maru early in 1914 for carrying a large number of Punjabis to Canada. As they were not allowed to land in Canada, the vessel returned with its passengers and was moored at Budge-Budge, near Calcutta, on 29 September, 1914. The Government looked upon the returned Sikhs as revolutionaries, or at least tainted with the doctrine of the Ghadar Party, and asked them to start immediately for the Punjab in a special train which was waiting to convey them free. This action was taken under the recently enacted 'Ingress into India Ordinance* which authorised the Government to restrict the liberty of any person entering India after 5 September, 1914. Only 60 passengers agreed to leave immediately, but as the rest wanted to go to Calcutta, and refused to get into the train for the Punjab, the fusiliers opened fire. Eighteen

Sikhs were killed, twenty-nine disappeared, and the rest were arrested. Six of the men on the Government side also died, but there are good grounds to believe that they were killed by the fire of the fusiliers. As a matter of fact, the available evidence seems to show that the Sikh passengers had no firearms with them. The Government, as usual, appointed a committee which concluded on ex parte evidence that the Sikhs were armed rioters. All their allegations were challenged by Gurdit Singh, whose statements indicate that what took place at Budge-Budge was not a riot between the Sikhs and the Government forces, but a cold-blooded massacre. 46

VI. GENERAL REVIEW

There was a considerable volume of opinion against the Terrorist* methods —political dacoities and murder of officials—as well as the armed rising against the British which the Indian revolutionaries advocated and carried into practice. The objections against terrorism were based on moral grounds, while both terrorism and revolution were condemned as useless, inasmuch as they were not likely to prove successful in driving away the British from India.

These are weighty arguments and have been repeated ad nauseam. But it is a very important topic in the history of Modern India dealt with in this volume, and therefore deserves a more careful consideration than has been given to it either by the historians or by general public. This is all the more necessary as hitherto both the supporters and opponents of the cult of violence have been led more by sentiments than logical reasoning. Perhaps it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion on the subject, but a few relevant facts and views may be emphasized to help a more reasonable approach to the problem.

In Western countries political assassinations are not universally condemned, and even thoughtful and respectable writers not only condone but even eulogise them. The following lines of Mathew Arnold may serve as an example:

u M.urder:—But what is murder ? When a wretch For private gain or hatred takes a life ,

We call it murder; crush him, brand his name.

But when, for some great public cause an arm is, without love or hate , austerely raised Against a power exempt from common checks , Dangerous to all , to be thus annulVd —

Ranks any man with murder such an act?

With grievous deeds, perhaps; with murder, not.'* [47]

There are many instances in European history when the political murderers, if successful, have been called heroes, and if caught and executed, regarded as martyrs; they are seldom branded as criminals, except by those who suffer.

Even Englishmen living in India, who urged the Government to hang, draw, and quarter the Indian 'terrorists', offered justification for political murders when they concerned other nations. For instance, when in 1906, certain persons were killed in the villa of M. Stolypin, the Russian Premier, the Pioneer , the influential Anglo-Indian paper of Allabahad, wrote in the issue of the 29th August, 1906:

"The horror of such crimes is too great for words, and yet it has to be acknowledged, almost, that they are the only method of fighting left to a people who are at war with despotic rulers able to command great military forces against which it is impossible for the unarmed populace to make a stand. When the Czar dissolved the Duma, he destroyed all hope of reform being gained without violence. Against bombs his armies are powerless, and for that reason he cannot rule, as his forefathers did, by the sword. It becomes impossible even for the stoutest-hearted men to govern fairly or strongly when every moment of their lives is spent in terror of a revolting death, and they grow into craven shirkers, or sustain themselves by a frenzy of retaliation which increases the conflagration they are striving to check. Such conditions cannot last." [48]

No Indian revolutionary could possibly improve upon this language in justifying his deeds, and the supporters of armed revolution may validly argue that the effect of bombing, as prophesied by the Pioneer , proved to be a correct prediction of the political evolution in India.

What the Pioneer wrote was fully in consonance with the cultural tradition of Europe. When in ancient Athens, in 514 B.C., Harmodius and Aristogeiton plotted against the Tyrants, Hippias and Hipparchus, and struck down the latter at the cost of their own lives, "the democracy glorified them as martyrs of liberty, and they were celebrated by a statue and by the singing of their praises in a famous song. There was an epigram attributed to Simonides which told how liberty dawned at Athens when Aristogeiton and Harmodius struck down Hipparchus." 49

When Kanai-lal Datta and Satyendra-nath Basu, accused in the Alipore Bomb Case, murdered Naren Gosain, who had turned approver, even an English Paper compared them to Harmodius and Aristogeiton 50 , presumably in a fit of liberalism, for which it was, of course, taken severely to task by the Anglo-Indian community.

But even the passing phase of liberalism showed the influence of inherited tradition.

Mazzini, held in the highest veneration all over the world, "did not shrink from employing all the weapons of conspiracy including assassination." 51 As such, the following oath which he administered to the members of his secret league becomes significant:

"By the flush which reddens my face when I stand before the citizens of other countries and convince myself that I possess no civic rights, no country, no national flag.. .by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons who have perished on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or in exile... I swear to devote myself entirely and always to the common object of creating one free, independent and republican Italy by every means within my power 31 . 51 Every word of this echoes the sentiments of the so-called 'Indian terrorist'.

Numerous Englishmen have accorded their support to continental terrorists, while Irish terrorism found sympathy and support in Europe and America. Terrorism, therefore, has met with approval as a last resort in winning political freedom in circumstances which also prevailed in India.

It is only fair to add that some distinguished Englishmen appreciated the patriotism even of the Indian terrorists. When on 1 July, 1909, Madanlal Dhingra shot dead Sir Curzon Wyllie, "Lloyd George expressed to Winston Churchill his highest admiration of Dhingra's attitude as a patriot. Churchill shared the same views and quoted with admiration Dhingra's last words as the finest ever made in the name of patriotism. They compared Dhingra with Plutarch's immortal heroes." 53 The Irish were naturally more appreciative. "Huge placards from Irish papers paid glowing tributes to Dhingra: Ireland honours Madanlal Dhingra who was proud to lay down his life for the sake of his country." 54

It has been urged by some Indians that political terrorism is foreign to the genius of our race—an assumption which is very difficult to prove or disprove, for it is not easy to define what is or is not the genius of our race or culture. But a few facts may be mentioned which would enable the reader to judge things for himself. Eminent Indians like Arabinda Ghosh, Aswini-kumar Datta, P.C. Ray, Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and C.R. Das, have lent their direct or indirect support to the policy and activities of the 'terrorists'. 55 There has always been widely felt sympathy for them among the people at large all over India. Even Mahatma Gandhi had to quail before the passionate outburst of sympathy and sorrow for the murderer Bhagat Singh, and an appreciative

resolution, such as was passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference for Gopi-nath Saha but was strongly condemned by Gandhi, was passed by the Indian National Congress in his presence. 56 Black flags were shown to Gandhi by an excited populace who, probably erroneously, believed that he had not done his best to save Bhagat Singh. It is also not without significance that the present Congress Governments which swear by the non-violence of Gandhi, have paid highest tributes to the memory of the revolutionaries, not only by erecting monuments to the dead and naming or renaming streets of big cities after them, but also extending sympathy and support— though very meagre—-to those who are still alive. As mentioned above, Bengal was in tears when Kanai-lal Datta was hanged, and his funeral procession was one which even kings could envy. The homage and reverence paid to the accused in the Alipore Bomb Case, Chittagong Armoury Raid Case, and similar other cases, and particularly to their leaders like Barindra-kumar Ghosh and Surya Sen, the beloved Master-da, could only be the result of a sincere heart-felt appreciation of their work.

Going back to the ancient period, it may be pointed out that the principle involved in terrorism, namely, getting rid of political enemies by murder, is enjoined in Kautilya's Arthasa&tra, and the Mahabhdrata is replete with concrete instances of this kind. Nor is it difficult to cite numerous instances of political murder or attempts to do so from the history of India of both ancient and medieval periods. One may certainly condemn all these, 56 * but in the face of the facts cited above, it is difficult to accept, without demur, the view that the terrorist principles were against the genius of Indian race or culture. It is true that we find injunc* tions in the Hindu Stistras, against murder, robbery etc. But this is equally true of other religious scriptures also. Christianity enjoins upon its follower: "He who smites thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." Should one conclude from this that any kind of violence, including open war and terrorism, is foreign to the genius of Christian nations of Europe?

So far as ethical principles are concerned, we are on more debatable grounds. The terrorists regarded themselves in a state of war against the British, and defended their action on the ground that being situated as they were, they had no means of waging war openly. It is only one stage removed from the guerilla warfare which is condoned by civilized society. On purely moral grounds, a terrorist might argue, to kill a few officials or to rob a few houses is not more sinful than destroying thousands by modern arms or bombing cities in a modern warfare. It is merely an agelong convention which tolerates inhuman cruelty on a massive scale

in the name of an open war, but staggers at one millionth of it if the conduct of military operations do not fulfil our conventional notions of what a war should be or of the conditions it would fulfil.

This point of view is indirectly supported by even Mahatma Gandhi, for he condemned with equal vehemence both terrorism and war, even a defensive war against an invader of the country. Men like him have every right to condemn the terrorists, but one finds it difficult to understand how terrorism stinks at the nostrils of those who do not feel a greater aversion towards those who are responsible for the most devastating warfare which destroyed whole cities and killed or maimed millions of human beings, besides causing serious damages and ravages on a colossal scale. Even moral indignation should be regulated by a graduated scale.

But whether terrorism is good or bad, there is nothing, in any case, to distinguish the Indian variety from its European forms, displayed particularly in Italy, Ireland and Russia, from which it was borrowed in almost every detail. 565 Those who approve of the one ought not to denounce the other. The Indian ‘terrorists’ are at least in good company.

We may now discuss the second argument against ‘terrorism’, namely, its uselessness. The possibility and effectiveness of a general armed rebellion against the British will be considered later when that idea took a more definite shape. So far as the first phase is concerned, we must try to understand the ideas and objects of the ‘terrorists* themselves before indulging in any criticism.

To those who argued in 1908 that a few bombs would not drive away the British, we can do no better than quote the very effective reply given by Barindra Ghosh himself—the leader of those who manufactured the first bombs in Bengal. “Your sermon is lost labour. We did not mean or expect to liberate our country by killing a few Englishmen. We wanted to show people how to dare and die.”

Few would deny that this object was more than fulfilled. The discovery of the activities of the Maniktala group of revolutionaries led by Barindra Ghosh gave an impetus to the latent revolutionary mentality of the Indians such as nothing else could. It gave rise to that fearless spirit of defiance and resistance against the dread of British power and prestige, which has formed the foundation of all subsequent revolutionary activities, including the non-violent Saty&graha of Mahatma Gandhi.

Curiously enough, some distinguished Europeans have testified to the effectiveness of terrorism. W.S. Blunt wrote about his interview with Mr. Lyne Stevens, the ‘Doctor Royal friend’, as follows:

“He talked about the Dhingra assassination, which seems to have at last convinced his Royal friends that there is something wrong about the state of

India. People talk about political assassinations as defeating its own end, but that is nonsense; it is just the shock needed to convince selfish rulers that selfishness has its limits of imprudence. It is like that other fiction that England never yields to threats. My experience is that when England has her face well slapped she apologises, not before." 57

Mrs. Annie Besant, who denounced Arabinda Ghosh, 58 herself emphasized the usefulness, nay imperative necessity, of violence in gaining political objects. "Violence", said she, "is the recognised way in England of gaining political reforms." "There would be no Home Rule Bill if landlords had not been shot and cattle maimed—no Reform Bill of 1832 without riot and bloodshed. No later Reform Bills if Hyde Park railings had not gone down." She justified suffragete violence, asking, "to what else have politicians ever yielded?" 59 The statement in the Pioneer , quoted above, 60 is an eloquent testimony to the usefulness of violence as a method of attaining political objectives.

The above dissertation is not intended to prove that the cult of violence is a commendable or successful method in the struggle for freedom, but merely seeks to show that it does not deserve the sweeping condemnation which is now in vogue among a class of Indians. Such an attitude is of recent origin, and the unqualified condemnation cannot be regarded as an axiomatic moral truth to be accepted without any question. To guard against misconception, misrepresentation, or cheap criticism, it is further necessary to emphasize that the facts, views and arguments stated in this section are not intended to lay down any ethical principle in respect of terrorism. That task must be left to the students of moral philosophy. The business of the historian is to facilitate it by presenting both sides of the shield,—in other words, to review all the aspects of the question with special reference to the views, traditions, and practices in all ages and countries. And nothing more has been attempted in this section.

The moral problem involved perhaps defies any solution that will commend itself to all. But one need not be a prophet to hazard the conjecture that the cult of organised violence for political purposes, such as war, terrorism etc., which has always been a trait of organized human society—in spite of occasional protests by individuals and scriptural injunctions against it—is likely to continue, so far as our present vision goes. The only way to remove this regrettable feature—perhaps the blackest stain on humanity

—is to strive for bringing about such a change in the state of human affairs as would eliminate the root causes and incentives to violence and thereby render it unnecessary. Darkness cannot be dispelled by shouts, curses and even fights, but disappears completely as soon as a tiny lamp is brought in.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

Majumdar=History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II, By B. C* Majumdar.

Rowlatt=Report of the Sedition Committee presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt- (1918).

1. For further details about the revolutionary movements described in this chapter, with full references, cf. Majumdar, Chapters VI and Vm.

2. Cf. Vol. X, p. 593.

3. The idea was no doubt inspired by Bankim-chandra's Anandamafh.

4. For some specimens of the writings in the Yugdntar, cf. Rowlatt, pp. 22-5.

5. Majumdar, pp. 278-98.

6. A Report entitled "Connections with the Revolutionary Organization in Bihar and Orissa, 1906-16'* compiled by W. Sealy and marked "strictly secret". It was printed by the Bihar Government in 1917.

6a. The autobiography of Sanyal is full of interesting details.

7. See p. 169.

8. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 589-93.

9. For a detailed account of Shyamji Krishnavarma, cf. Harbilas Sarda, Shyamji Krishna Varma. (Ajmer, 1954-59).

10. For a detailed programme of his Passive Resistance which closely resembled that of Gandhi, cf. ibid.

11. For details of this historic and romantic episode, cf. Majumdar, pp. 324-7

12. For an account of Madam Cama's activities in Europe, cf. Essays Presented to Sir Jadunath Sarkar , p. 227.

13. Randhir Singh, The Ghadar Heroes . (Bombay, 1945), pp. 6-7;

14. This is quoted from a thesis entitled American Relations with South Asia, 1900-1940 by E. R. Schmidt of the University of Pennsylvania.

15. Randhir Singh, op. cit., pp. 8-9. For a different account, cf. Majumdar, p. 393.

16. Randhir Singh, pp. 8-9

17. The account that follows is based on an article, entitled "The Hindu Conspiracy 1914-17", by G. T. Brown, published in the Pacific Historical Review , Vol. XVII (1948), pp. 299-310.

18. Ibid.

19. See pp. 198-9 and cf. Bhupendra-nath Dutta, Chapters I-III.

19a. Ibid, p. 61.

20. Captain Henry Landau, The Enemy Within, p. 29.

21. G. T. Brown, op. cit., pp. 309-10.

21a. Cf. pp. 191, 227.

22. See p. 210.

23. For a detailed account ot this and other activities in U.S.A., cf. Brown, op. cit., and Majumdar, pp. 414-29.

24. Chakravarty succeeded Heramba Gupta by orders of the German authorities. The details that follow are known from the secret German Diplomatic Correspondence in code deciphered by the British and forwarded to the USA authorities which was produced by the U.S.A. Government at the San Francisco trial of the Ghadar members. Summaries of some of these interesting 'documents' are given in Majumdar, pp. 422-9.

25. Detailed account of the payments made to Chandra K. Chakravarty and Heramba Gupta whom he succeeded are known from the 'documents' (f.n. 24).

26. Documents, Majumdar, p. 422.

27. MR., June, 1963, pp. 453-4.

28. Testimony of Tarak-nath Das (San Francisco Chronicle, 19 January, 1918).

29. German documents (f.n. 24).

30. This account is based upon The Turmoil and Tragedy in India , 1914 and After by G. Macmunn, pp. 106-13.

31. Cf. footnotes 24 and 25.

32. G. Macmunn, op. cit., p. 121.

33. B.N. (Bhupendra-nath) Datta, Chapters III, IV.

34. Mahendra Pratap, My Life Story of Fifty-five years (Delhi, 1947). The account that follows is mainly based on this work; B. N. Datta also refers to his activities in Chapter VIII.

35. A detailed account is given in Rowlatt, pp. 121-2. Also cf. B. N. Datta, Chapter II.

36. See p. 216.

37. A full account is given in the Report referred to in footnote 6- Also cf. Majumdar, pp. 440-4.

38. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 897.

39. Rowlatt, p. 174.

40. Ibid, p. 175.

41. See p. 220.

42. O'Dwyer, pp. 180-1; Rowlatt, pp. 176-8

43. Rowlatt, p. 149.

44. See pp. 175-6.

45. See p. 191.

46. For a full account, cf. Majumdar, pp. 461-7. For official version, see Rowlatt, pp. 147-8.

47. Quoted in MR., III. p. 547.

48. Ibid, p. 548.

49. The Cambridge Ancient History , IV, p. 80.

50. I write from memory and cannot be sure of the name of the paper. Perhaps it was the Statesman of Calcutta.

51. MR., VI. p. 83.

52. Ibid.

53. W. S. Blunt, My Diaries, Part II, p. 288 (quoted in Savarkar, p. 57). For the murder committed by Dhingra, see p. 206. For Dhingra's full statement, cf. Majumdar, p. 485.

54. Savarkar, p. 56.

55. Majumdar, p. 305, pp. 474-5.

56. Detailed reference to these episodes will be made in a later Chapter.

56a. "The deliberate murder and qrganized treachery on the part of Shivaji", by which, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, got possession of Javli, have not been generally speaking, condemned by the Indians. The interview between Shivaji and Afzal Khan, ending in latter's death, shows that assassination was quite common in Medieval Indian politics.

56b. Sir Valentine Chirol has taken pains to show, by detailed comparison, how the Indian terrorists 'slavishly' copied every item of their programme from "the West, as represented, at any rate, by the Irish Fenian and the Russian anarchist". India Old and New, p. 146 (quoted in Majumdar, p. 470). Mrs. Besant referred to the Bengali youth, not satisfied with "the practical revolt led by the elders while it was confined to Swadeshi and Boycott, and rushing on, when it broke away from their authority, into conspiracy, assassination and dacoity as had happened in similar revolts with Young Italy in the days of Mazzini, and with Young Russia in the days of Stepniak and Kropatkin" (Presidential Address at the Calcutta Congress, 1917).

57. Blunt, Diaries, II. p. 276 (quoted in Savarkar, pp. 56-7).

58. MR., VI. p. 83.

59. MR. XL. p. 562.

60. See p. 229.

CHAPTER IX

INDIAN POLITICS (1907-18)

1. THE POLITICAL PARTIES (1907-14)

1. The Congress

The break-up of the Indian National Congress at Surat on 27 December, 1907, has been mentioned above. 1 The Moderate party, which comprised the majority of the delegates at Surat (about 1,000 out of 1,600), met the very next day in the pandal of the Congress under a police guard, and formed a Convention for drawing up the constitution of the Congress. The Convention, consisting of more than a hundred delegates, met at Allahabad in April, 1908, and drew up a constitution for Indian National Congress and also a set of rules for the conduct of meetings.

The Congress, adjourned at Surat, met at Madras on 28 December, 1908, under the constitution and rules drawn up by the Convention.

This constitution, which was adopted by the Congress at Madras in 1908, was further amended in 1911, 1912, and 1915. It defined the component parts of the Congress organization and laid down elaborate rules for the election of the President and constitution of Provincial, District and other local Congress Committees or Associations, All-India Congress Committee, Reception Committee, Subjects Committee, and the British Committee of the Congress. The first two articles of the constitution read as follows:

Article I.

“The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral* economic and industrial resources of the country."

(This is the famous "Creed")

Article II

"Every delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this constitution and by the rules of the Congress hereto appended."

These and some other provisions to which reference will be made later, barred the door of the Congress against the "Extremist" party, and henceforth, for a period of eight years, the Congress became a party organization rather than a national institution. The absence of the Extremist party enabled it to go on smoothly year after year, repeating its usual demands 2 to which no importance was attached by the public and no attention was paid by the Government.

Its diminished importance is indicated by the dwindling number of delegates attending its session, which averaged a little more than 400 during the first five years after the break-up at Surat, and on two occasions came to the astoundingly low figures of 243 and 207.

The Extremists, who seceded from the Congress, had no organized political activity after the split of 1907. Apart from the ruthless repressive measures of the Government mainly directed against them, the absence of their two great leaders thinned their rank and weakened their political status and importance. Arabinda Ghosh was arrested and locked up as an under-trial prisoner in 1908, and though he was acquitted, he shortly afterwards retired from politics and adopted the life of a recluse in Pondicherry. A far more serious blow was the imprisonment of Tilak in 1908 for a period of six years. The Nationalist movement went underground and terrorist outrages increased by leaps and bounds as mentioned above. The nationalist views and sentiments, however, steadily gained ground among the people.

2. The Muslim League

The only organized political party that showed some signs of new life between 1907 and 1914 was the Muslim League. The communal spirit to which it owed its origin in December, 1906, characterized its activities during the next seven years, and its chief object throughout this period was to secure political and other advantages for the Muslims at the cost of the Hindus.

The first annual session of the Muslim League was held at Karachi on 29 December, 1907. The choice of the site was an indication of the new nationalism which was growing among the

Muslims and, as in the case of the Hindus, was based on religion and historical traditions of past glory and greatness. Sindh was chosen because, as a League publication put it, "Sindh is that pious place in India, where Muhammed bin Qasim came first, with the torch of religion and the gift of Hadis. No other place could appeal to our elders." More significant still was the remark of the President: "If a handful of men under a boy could teach Kalima to the territory of Sindh and promulgate the law of true shariat of God and His Rasul, can seven crores of Mussalmans not make their social and political life pleasant?" 3

In the second annual session of the League held at Amritsar on 30 December, 1908, there was a prolonged discussion on the forthcoming constitutional reforms. The President and an overwhelming majority of the delegates strongly supported the scheme of separate electorate and opposed with equal vehemence the modification proposed by the Secretary of State. A very small minority raised their voice in favour of the principle of joint electorate, but it was drowned amidst the vociferous cry of the overwhelming majority. 4 The speech of Ghulam Mahmud on this occasion deserves a passing notice. He said "that Muhammadans have a political status, having been rulers of the land immediately before the advent of the British rule in India, and as such they deserve in my opinion somewhat larger representation than may appear warranted by an arithmetical strength." 5 Evidently he forgot, or was un* aware of the fact, that the Marathas, Sikhs and Rajputs also ruled over large parts of India immediately before the British, and that the first two offered a resistance to the British such as no Muslim power ever did with the exception of Mysore, which was a predominantly Hindu State in 1908.

As the reforms of 1909 conceded to the Muslims practically all that they had demanded, some political leaders regarded the time as favourable for bringing about a rapprochement between the Hindus and the Muslims. Accordingly, a conference was held at Allahabad on 1 January, 1911, which was attended by about 60 Hindus and 40 Muslims. G. K. Gokhale, who took the leading part, “asked the conference to remember that Muslim fears of being dominated by the Hindu majority should not be lightly treated”. 6 Gandhi’s utterances were also designed to serve the same end. He said: *As a man of truth I honestly believe that Hindus should yield up to the Mahomedans what the latter desire, and that they should rejoice in so doing”. 7

The Conference dispersed after appointing a Committee which, of course, did nothing. But, in spite of its failure, the Conference is of great historical importance. For it marks the beginning of that policy of appeasement which the Congress henceforth adopted towards the Muslim community. Howsoever laudable its object might be, in practice it led to two undesirable consequences. Though it did not reconcile the Muslims, it irritated the Hindus and increased the importance of the Hindu Mahasabha, a counterpart of the Muslim League. Secondly, it encouraged, almost incited, the Muslims always to pitch their demands too high.

But events soon happened both in India and far outside its borders which alienated the Muslims from the British and drew them closer to the Hindus. The first was the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, which gave a rude shock to the Muslim community and was regarded as a breach of faith on the part of the British rulers. But far more important was the British hostility to Islam as evidenced by British occupation of Egypt, Anglo-French agreement with regard to Morocco, Anglo-Russian agreement with regard to Persia, and the Italian invasion of Tripoli. All these were interpreted as a definite move for the extinction of the power of Islam, both temporal and indirectly also spiritual. 8

This apprehension was soon confirmed by the Balkan War. Immediately after Turkey was forced to cede Tripoli to Italy, four Balkan States, viz., Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro declared war against Turkey (1912). Being badly defeated, the Turks had to buy peace by surrendering all the territories they still possessed in the Balkan peninsula with the exception of Constantinople and a narrow adjoining strip of territory (1913).

During all these humiliating disasters the attitude of Britain was regarded as distinctly unfavourable to Turkey. This exasperated the Indian Muslims and there was a wave of enthusiasm for Turkey. Prayers for her success in the war, donations of money, and despatch of volunteers were some of the means through which it found expression. Even the Muslim students of Aligarh effected savings by curtailing their diet in order to send money to the Balkans.[9]

There was an almost immediate repercussion of these events on the political attitude of the Muslims in India. A growing desire for unity with the Hindus was manifest among them and, with a view to effecting this, a new constitution was accepted in the annual session of the Muslim League held at Lakhnau on 22 March, 1913. It adopted the Congress ideal of self-government under the British Crown and sought to achieve it by promoting national unity and co-operating with the other communities. These were significant departures and no wonder that older members strongly opposed the change.[10]

The Indian National Congress welcomed the change in a jubilant spirit and gave a public mark of its appreciation by electing a distinguished Muslim leader, Nawab Syed Muhammad, as the President of the annual session of the Congress at Karachi in 1913. The Congress leaders also passed a formal resolution expressing the hope “that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good...”

By giving up the policy of loyal co-operation with the Government and agreeing to act in unison with the Congress, the Muslim League undoubtedly facilitated the political advance of the country. But it would be wrong to look upon the new policy of the League as indicating a national, as opposed to a communal, outlook in its basic approach to the political problem of India. This is quite clear from Muhammad Ali's address as the President of the Indian National Congress at Cocanada in December, 1923. He began by stressing the justification of the Muslim communalism engendered by the Aligarh Movement. True partnership and association in politics, said he, required that there should be no great disparity between the two parties. Therefore, "it was a true instinct that guided Syed Ahmad Khan in opposing, a generation previously, the yoking together of the strong and the weak". So the Muslims chose to co-operate with the British as against the Hindus. But, he continued, "the attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans from England ever since 1911". At home the reversal of the Partition of Bengal at the clamour of the Hindus showed to the Muslims that in co-operating with the British Government they were leaning upon a broken reed. This produced a reaction amongst the Muslims, who felt that "never was a more ignoble betrayal perpetrated in the whole history of Indian politics." "The bitter experience of ill-will against the Muslim States and populations abroad", continued Muhammad Ali, "hastened the conversion of the Musalmans to the view that to rely on this foreign and non-Muslim Government for support and sympathy, even after making every conceivable sacrifice for its sake, was futile, and that if they were in need of support and sympathy they must have a lasting and equitable settlement with the sister communities of India. The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal."

It is quite clear from this address of Muhammad Ali, and the speeches and writings of other Muslim leaders, that there was no whittling down, far less abandonment, of the communal spirit, based on the fundamental conception that the Muslims formed a separate political entity. The reference in the Muslim League's resolution of "co-operating with the other communities" set the seal of approval upon two assumptions whose ominous significance was missed even by the advanced Hindu politicians of the time. In the first place, it recognized the Muslims as forming a separate political bloc in India which might extend its hand of co-operation, if it so chose, to the other communities, and, therefore, also might not do the same if its own interest dictated otherwise. In other words, the resolution reiterated the statement of Muhammad Ali that there were three parties in India, viz., the Hindus, the Muslims and the Government, and the Muslims were free to co-operate with the one or the other according as it suited their own interests. This was clearly emphasized even in the amended constitution by mentioning, as one of the objects of the Muslim League, "to protect and advance the political and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans." This clearly foreshadowed what came to be known later as the two-nation theory of Jiimah.

Secondly, as the co-operation with the other communities was primarily intended to cover co-operation with the Indian National Congress, the policy of the Muslim League was a definite repudiation of the Congress claim to represent the whole of India, including the Musalmans. Thus the new constitution of the Muslim League, which was hailed with delight by the Hindu political leaders as well as the Indian National Congress, was tantamount to a declaration by the League, and tacit acceptance by the Congress, that the Indian population consisted of at least two, if not more independent political blocks, and by no means formed a homogeneous nation. The foundation of Pakistan was thus laid with the full concurrence of the Indian National Congress.

Finally, there cannot be any reasonable doubt that the Muslim policy of alliance with the Hindus was largely influenced by the pan-Islamic sentiments, which Muhammad Ali described, in his Presidential Address, as "part of the quintessence of Islam". It clearly follows from what has been said above that the political interests of the Muslim world outside India counted far more with the Indian Muslims than the political progress of India. They did not hesitate to help the British in keeping India under subjection, but turned against them and joined the Hindus merely at the apprehension of similar danger to outside Muslim States. In other words, the Muslims of India were less concerned with the British domination of India than with the British attitude towards the Muslim States outside India. They refused to join the Hindus in a common political campaign against the British because they believed that their interests could be better served by following a pro-British policy. But they were prepared to sacrifice them at the mere threat of a danger to Islam, They were quite ready, for the sake of Islam, to make sacrifices which they were not prepared to make for their neighbours and fellow-subjects, the Hindus. The Muslim students of Aligarh endured, for Turkey, sufferings and privations, even a fraction of which they would not undergo for India. The attitude of the Muslims may do credit to their religious sentiment, but cuts at the very root of Indian nationalism,

II. THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND INDIAN POLITICS

The outbreak of the World War I in 1914 had a great repercus* sion upon Indian politics. The leaders of the allied countries, particularly U.S.A. and Britain, sought to justify their action by expressing high ideals couched in noble phrases. Woodrow Wilson, President of U.S.A., declared: “We light for the liberty, the selfgovernment and the undictated development of all peoples . No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live”. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Britain, drew a vivid picture of Britain conquered by Germany—the Germans ruling in Britain, levying taxes, holding all highest offices, making her laws and controlling her policy—and spoke of this “intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke” as inconceivable. The Indians naturally compared the position of their own country under the British with the imaginary picture of Britain under German yoke, and no wonder that the pregnant words of the British Prime Minister, intolerable degradation of a foreign yoke , would ring in their ears. The next Prime Minister of Britain, Lloyd George, said: “The dominant factor in settling the fate of the German colonies must be the people's own desires and wishes, and the leading principle is that the wishes of the inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the re-settlement—in other words, the formula adopted by the Allies with regard to the disputed territories in Europe is to fee applied equally in the tropical countries” Referring to these, the Metropolitan of Calcutta observed: “If we turn away from any such application of our principles to India, it is but hypocrisy to come before God with the plea that our cause is the cause ©f liberty”.

Even Lord Curzon, who was singularly impervious to Indian sentiments, admitted that the War had produced a profound effect upon Indians. “The War”, he said, “has altered the whole atmosphere of life, and it is inconceivable that it should have passed through its tragic course without leaving much more than a mere

ripple upon the surface of the Indian nation and without stirring its depths”.

The English and American statesmen had repeatedly announced in no uncertain terms that they were waging the war ‘to make the world safe for democracy', and promised the right of self-determination to every nation. In other words, autocracy and colonialism would disappear for ever, and every nation, large or small, would be allowed to choose the form of government under which it desired to live. These solemn and liberal declarations could not fall flat on the Indian political leaders. Whether they took them at their facevalue may be doubted, but they certainly regarded them as something which they could exploit for serving their own ends. They could easily point out that the demand for Home Rule was nothing more than a fulfilment of the pledges so solemnly given. Besides, the discomfiture of the British in the early stages of the war must have encouraged the Indian Nationalists to press their demands, Britain had to rely upon India for substantial resources in men and money in conducting the war, and Indian Nationalists instinctively acted upon the principle that ‘England’s necessity was India's opportunity’;

There was a general feeling in political circles that some great changes in the constitution of the Government of India were in the offing, and the leaders lost no time in formulating demands in a concrete form. During the September session (1916) of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla, nineteen elected Indian members submitted a joint memorandum embodying their views and proposals for reforms in the shape of fifteen demands. 11

The Indian National Congress passed a resolution in its annual session in 1916 “that the time has come when His Majesty the KingEmperor should be pleased to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer selfgovernment on India at an early date”. This was followed by a demand “that a definite step should be taken towards self-government by granting the reform contained in the Scheme, prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League”.

Before discussing the detailed provisions of this scheme of reforms, it is necessary to go back a little and trace the course of events which brought about a joint demand by the Muslims and Hindus, including both Moderates and Extremists. like other political bodies, the Indian National Congress was also fully alive to the situation and sought to take advantage of the opportunities created by the War. The leaders, however, rightly concluded that in order to gain the maximum advantage they must present a united front. For this purpose they sought to win over the Extremist or Nationalist group, as well as the Muslim League, and succeeded in this task.

The achievement of this unity was the most creditable performance of the Congress since the split of 1907. The reconciliation with the Extremists was largely facilitated by the release of the great Nationalist leader, Tilak, on 16 June, 1914, after he had served the full term. Before resuming political activities, he not only publicly denied ever having any intention to overthrow the British Government, but also condemned the acts of violence as retarding the cause of political progress. In May, 1915, Tilak organized a Provincial Congress in Poona. He not only proposed a resolution wishing success to the Allies, but expressed his view that it was in the interest of India that Britain should succeed, as there was greater hope of Swaraj from the British,

Tilak’s conciliatory attitude considerably bridged the gulf that separated the Moderates and the Extremists, and allayed the fears and suspicions of the former to a large extent. Mrs. Annie Besant seized this favourable opportunity to bring about a compromise between the two sections of the Congress, and commenced negotiations for this purpose.

Some uncertainty prevails regarding the e^act course of her negotiations, but the following account given by a recent biographer of Tilak seems to be the nearest approximation to truth:

“Mrs. Besant saw Tilak with Subba Eao, the Secretary of the Congress, on December 5, 1914. She had already consulted Gokhale who was agreeable to compromise. The amendments to the Congress Constitution which she had proposed and were agreeable to both Tilak and Gokhale, would have enabled any association having colonial self-government as its object to elect delegates to the Congress, whereas the existing constitution provided that the election should be made at a public meeting convened by Congress Committee or other recognised bodies. Subba Rao later went to Pherozeshah Mehta who, however, was not agreeable to the amendment. Subba Rao returned to Poona and orally conveyed to Gokhale the conversation he had with Tilak. According to him, Tilak’s view was that while there was no difference between the two schools regarding their objective, the difference lay in the approach. The Moderate Party believed in association-cum-opposition, while the new party believed in opposition, pure and simple. Tilak further held that they should concentrate on only one demand, namely, that for self-government within the Empire, and he and his party, once they came inside the Congress, would try to work for obtaining a majority for their method in the Congress. On learning this, Gokhale wrote to Bhupendra-nath Basu (the President-elect of the Congress) a letter explaining his withdrawal from his original agreement. When the matter was discussed at the Madras Congress in December, 1914, the President, Bhupendra-nath Basu, read that letter to the Subjects Committee. On this Besant wired t© Tilak asking whether he advocated boycott of the Government, and Tilak promptly wired back that he had never advocated boycott of Government, and that prominent nationalists have served and were serving in municipal and legislative councils, and that he had fully supported their action, both privately and publicly. The Subjects Committee of the Madras Congress referred this question to a Committee.” 12

Gokhale, in his letter to the President mentioned above, stated that ‘Tilak had openly avowed his intention of adopting the boycott of Government and the obstructionist methods of the Irish if he entered the Congress’. 13 There arose an acrimonious controversy between Gokhale and Tilak on this affair, but it was hushed by the death of the former on 19 February, 1915.

The subsequent course of events is not dealt with by the biographer of Tilak referred to above, but may be construed without much difficulty. Pherozeshah Mehta continued his opposition to the admission of the Extremists to the fold of the Congress, for he feared that once admitted, they would ultimately capture the organization—a fear that was amply justified by subsequent events. He, therefore, tried to defeat the move for unity by all means in his power. There is hardly any doubt that he was mainly actuated by this motive to make Bombay, the stronghold of his followers, the venue of the next session of the Congress. Then he thwarted the general desire of electing Lajpat Rai as the next general President of the Congress by nominating S. P. Sinha, and inducing him, much against his will, to accept the Presidentship.

It was an ignoble move, for S. P. Sinha, though a brilliant lawyer, had no record of political work to his credit, whereas Lajpat Rai was an eminent political leader of tried ability, who had devoted his life to the cause of his country and made great sacrifices for it. It should be noted also that even after the split of 1907 he attended the meetings of the Congress, and was selected by that body as a member of the deputation to England in 1914. On the other hand, the political idea of S. P. Sinha may be gathered from the following passage in his Presidential Address:

“Even if the English nation were willing to make us an immediate free gift of full self-government—and those who differ most from the Congress are the first to deny the existence of such willingness—I take leave to doubt whether the boon would be wort! having as such, for it is a commonplace of politics, that nations, like individuals, must grow into freedom, and nothing is so baneful in political institutions as their prematurity: nor must we forget that India free can never be ancient India restored.” Reference may also be made to another passage in his speech quoted above. 14

These show the wide gulf between the nationalist sentiments that were sweeping the country and the antiquated shibboleth of the man chosen by the old Moderates as their spokesman. If Sinha reflected the opinions of the Congress, as he claimed, it is not difficult to understand why the Home Rule movement gave a decent burial to Moderatism led by men like Pherozeshah Mehta.

It is also easy to understand how Mrs. Besant's broadmindedness in politics came into conflict with the obscurantism and party spirit of Pherozeshah Mehta. A tussle between the two great leaders at the next Congress seemed almost a certainty. But it was not to be. Pherozeshah Mehta died in November, 1915, shortly before the Bombay session of the Congress. The death of both Ghokhale and Mehta was a severe blow to the Moderate party. Mrs. Besant, who had emerged as a great political leader by this time, had no difficulty in carrying the proposed amendment to the Congress Constitution. "The Constitution of the Congress was suitably altered so as to throw the doors of entry practically open to the Nationalist delegates who were elected by 'public meetings convened under the auspices of any association which is of not less than two years' standing on 31st December, 1915, and which has for one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government within the British Empire by constitutional means." This was followed by a hearty response from Tilak who forthwith publicly announced the willingness of his party "to re-enter the Congress through the partially opened door." 15 The breach of 1907 was thus closed after eight years.

The attempt of the Congress to make a common cause with the Muslim League was very much facilitated by the rapprochement between the two bodies which had taken place just before the outbreak of the Great War, as mentioned above. 16

The facts leading to it may be briefly stated. No session of the League was held in 1914. Next year it met in Bombay under the Presidentship of Mazhar-ul-Haq. At the motion of Jinnah, a committee was appointed for drawing up a scheme of political reforms in consultation with other communities. The alliance between the Congress and the League was furthered by the attitude

of the Government towards the Muslims. Several Muslim leaders, besides Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad, were arrested and kept in detention for their pro-Turkish activities.

The bond of alliance between the two communities was cemented by the practice of holding the annual sessions of the League and the Congress at the same place and during the same week. A number of Congress leaders, in a body, attended the session of the League at Bombay in 1915, and as they entered the hall, received a great ovation. The first major outcome of this hearty co-operation was a scheme of political reforms jointly drawn up by the committees of the two political organizations, and finally adopted by them, separately, at their respective annual sessions held at Lakhnau in December, 1916.

The essential features of the scheme may be briefly stated:

I. The Council of the Secretary of State for India shall be abolished and he shall occupy the same position in regard to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the self-governing colonies,

IX. Half of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be Indians elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

III. Four-fifths of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be elected, and one-third of these shall be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates.

IV. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of the Province.

V. Except in military and foreign affairs the Imperial Legislative Council shall have full control over the Government of India.

VI. Four-fifths of the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils shall be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible. The number of Mahomedan members was specifically laid down Province by Province, and they were to be elected by separate Mahomedan electorates.

VII. The Provincial Legislative Council shall have full control over the Provincial Government, the head of which shall not ordinarily belong to the

Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

VIII. No Legislative Council shall proceed with any Bill or Resolution if three-fourths of the members of any community are opposed to it on the ground that it adversely affects its interest.

IX. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province." 17

This scheme did not substantially differ from the one drawn up by the nineteen members of the Legislative Council mentioned above, except in respect of the special provisions made for the Muslims. By accepting the former, the Congress took upon itself the entire responsibility for accepting in a full measure undisguised communalism in the constitution of India. The scheme of the nineteen members has thus the unique distinction of being the first as well as the last concrete scheme of reforms, drawn up by the Indians themselves, on a purely national basis.

The joint scheme was hailed as establishing the Hindu-Muslim unity on a solid foundation by solving the knotty problem of the representation of the two communities in the various legislatures. But this result was achieved by accepting communal representation, the principle of weightage, and also communal veto in legislation. Thus the Muslims gained all the points which were persistently demanded by them and against which the Moderate and National leaders had hitherto struggled with equal obstinacy, though in vain.

There is no doubt that the Congress leaders made this supreme sacrifice for the sake of political unity. In view of the political situation created by the World War I, they were led to believe that Britain would be forced to grant a substantial measure of self-government to India only if there was a united political front to bring pressure upon her. With a view to achieving such political unity they had amended the Constitution of the Congress in 1915 in order to bring back within its fold the Nationalists or Extremists *who had seceded from it in 1907. To complete this unity they were determined to win over the Muslim League at any cost. They succeeded, but at a very heavy price. For, no one can doubt in the light of subsequent events, that the

Congress action in 1916 well and truly laid the foundation on which Pakistan was built up thirty years later. A compromise on the fundamental basis of Indian nationality, once begun, was bound to lead to further and further compromises till the whole foundation gave way.

All these, however, could not be foreseen at the moment and the Hindu-Muslim Pact was hailed with delight by all sections of Indians as another milestone in the arduous march towards freedom. The Government of India was more surprised than anybody else, for the Pact seemed to deprive them of the one trump card they held in their hands to stem the tide of Indian nationalism.

The general feeling of the British is reflected in the following words of an Englishman.

“It will be seen that the proceedings at this session constitute a remarkable leap forward from the position taken up by Mr. Sinha in the previous year, and a remarkable triumph for Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant. They did more. They showed that absolute political independence had become the professed ideal of Moderate and Extreme politicians alike, and the Government was confronted with a more definite situation than any that had hitherto presented itself in this connection. There was a note in the proceedings which implied that if the Extremists had adopted the ideal of the Moderates, they had led the latter, so far as the Congress was concerned, into the very paths against which Mr. Gokhale warned his countrymen in 1909—the paths trodden by the new school of political thought to which he alluded.” 18

III. THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

While the Moderate leaders were busy forging unity among the different political parties in order to recover their strength and wring as much political concession from the British as they thought possible or proper, the wind was taken out of their sails by the Home Rule movement which soon cast into shade all other political activities in India. The idea of starting a Home Rule League originated with Mrs. Annie Besant, and she announced it on 25 September, 1915. She was, comparatively speaking, a new figure in the political field, but her activities as the head of the Theosophies! Society had made her name quite familiar in India. She came to this country in 1893 and devoted herself to the cause of social and educational uplift with undaunted energy. Gradually she came to realize that no real improvement could be effected without raising the political status of India. She was equally convinced that the Indian National Congress, under the guidance of its Moderate leaders, was not likely to achieve much. With characteristic energy she plunged herself into the political struggle. As early as 1913 she championed the cause of "the building up of India into a mighty self-governing community." The definite campaign for Home Rule began with the publication of a weekly Review, The Commonweal, on 2 January, 1914. The paper adopted as its cardinal programme, "religious liberty, national education, social reform, and political reform," aiming at self-government for India within the British Commonwealth. 19 In 1914 Mrs. Besant went to England to try to form an Indian party in Parliament. The attempt failed, but she roused sympathy for the cause of India by her public addresses, declaring that ^the price of India's loyalty is India's

freedom". On her return to India she bought a daily paper in Madras, renamed it New India, and published it on 14 July, the date of the fall of the Bastille. 20 In September, 1915, she made a speech at Bombay pleading India's case for Home Rule or self-government in which she said: "I mean by self-government that the country shall have a government by councils, elected by all the people, elected with power of the purse, and the government is responsible to the House."

On 25 September, 1915, Mrs. Besant made a formal announcement of her decision to start the 'Home Rule League' with 'Home Rule for India' as its only object, as an auxiliary to the Indian National Congress, and moved a resolution to that effect in the Congress session at Bombay (1915). The Moderate leaders did not like the idea as they thought that such a new organization would weaken the Congress. 21

Besanfs resolution on Home Rule was ruled out by the President on the ground that it contravened Article I of the Congress Constitution which restricted the scope of the demand for selfgovernment by the words "bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration." In the end it was decided that a draft scheme should be prepared by the All-

India Congress Committee after consulting other bodies. Mrs. Besant, having agreed to abide by this decision of the All-India Congress Committee, postponed formation of the League.

The draft Home Rule scheme which was to be prepared by the All-India Congress Committee before 1 September, 1916, having not been produced by that date, Mrs. Besant considered herself absolved of the undertaking, and decided to organize the Home Rule League on a regular basis. It was formally inaugurated in September, 1916, and within a few days, branches were formed at Bombay, Kanpur, Allahabad, Varanasi, Mathura, Calicut, Ahmadnagar, Madras etc.

Mrs. Besant now began an active propaganda by personal addresses and through her two organs, New India and Commonweal* She took full advantage of the ready-made organization of the Theosophical Society with its branches all over India and even outside, as well as of the personal devotion and admiration felt for her intellect, learning and religious mission by a wide circle of Indians. She set up Home Rule organizations all over the country, made extensive tours, delivered stirring addresses and distributed vast quantities of propagandist literature. She was nothing, if not extraordinary, in whatever she took up, and her short period of political activity of less than five years was marked by an "indomitable

will, concentrated purposefulness, undaunted courage, and indefatigable zeal". Her superb oratory and matchless literary gifts enabled her to reach the foremost rank in politics in an incredibly short time. Even the Moderates, who detested her most, admitted that "she stirred the country by the spoken as well as the written words as scarcely anyone else could do.** 22

In the meantime Tilak had also taken up the idea of Home Rule. A short account of his early political activities up to 1908, when he was sentenced to imprisonment for six years on a charge of sedition, and a general review of his contribution to the growth of nationalism in India have been given above. 23 After his release in 1914, he set himself to the task of reorganizing the Nationalist party and making it a dynamic force in Indian politics. He wanted to move on with the Congress, if possible, and without it, if necessary. He honestly tried his best to bring the two wings of the

Congress together, and, as mentioned above, it was achieved in 1915 after a great deal of difficulty, and only by the accident of the death of Gokhale and Mehta. Tilak was, however, convinced by the attitude of these two leaders that so long as the Congress was led by the Moderates they would not follow Mrs. Besant and take up Home Rule as their war cry. Subsequent events, mentioned above, show that he was right in his judgement. As unlike Mrs. Besant, Tilak was outside the fold of the Congress, he could give effect to his ideas without any reference to that body or without deference to its desire or decision. He therefore summoned a Conference of the Nationalists of Bombay, Central Provinces and Berar at Poona on 23 and 24 December, 1915. The Conference appointed a Committee, and its report was placed before the Belgaum Conference held on 27-29 April. On the basis of this report the Conference resolved to establish the Indian Home Rule League, its object being "to attain Home Rule or Self-Government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organise public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same." The League was accordingly established on 28 April, 1910, with Joseph Baptists as President and N. C. Kelkar as Secretary. The members included G. S. Khaparde, B. S. Moonje, and R. P. Karandikar. Tilak did not accept any office. There was a definite understanding that the Provincial Conference and the Indian Home Rule League would remain two distinct bodies.

In a leading article in the Mahratta explaining the reasons why it became necessary to bring the League into existence Tilak

wrote:

"It was generally recognized that the time had positively come for an organization to be started for educating public opinion and agitating for Home Rule throughout the country. The Congress was the body which naturally possessed the greatest authority for undertaking such a work with responsibility. The scheme of selfgovernment which the Congress is supposed to be intending to hatch, served as a plausible excuse for most of the Moderates to negative a definite proposal to establish a Home Rule League. But the Congress, it is generally recognized, is too unwieldy to be easily moved to prepare a scheme for self-government and actively work for its political success. The spade work has got to be done by someone. It can afford to wait no longer. The League may be regarded as a pioneer movement and is not intended in any sense to be an exclusive movement."

Week after week Tilak wrote stirring articles in his two weeklies, urging for Home Rule.

About the middle of 1916, Tilak undertook an extensive lecture tour for instructing masses on Home Rule and exhorting them to become members of the Home Rule League. He appealed mainly to the masses and spoke to them in homely language with simple illustrations such as could easily bring home to them the idea of self-government.

Tilak's homely speeches and direct appeals made him not only popular but a hero among the masses. He earned the epithet Loka-mdnya (Respected by the people) and was almost worshipped as a god. Wherever he went he received a right royal reception. He appealed to the people to imbibe the virtues of patriotism, fearlessness and sacrifice, and held out the national hero Shivaji as their model.

Although there were two Home Rule Leagues of Mrs. Besant and Tilak, they acted in close co-operation. There was an informal understanding between them that Mrs. Besant's field of work would cover the whole of India except Maharashtra and C.P., where Tilak's League would carry on the work.

The wrath of the Government now fell on the devoted heads of Tilak and Mrs. Besant. It was the peculiar mentality of Indian bureaucracy to ignore the underlying causes and strength of a public movement, but to look upon one or more persons as solely responsible for it. So they tried to muzzle the two leaders as the best way to crush the movement. In July, 1916, a case was instituted against Tilak for certain speeches he had delivered at the Home Rule meetings. He was ordered to furnish a personal bond of Rs. 20,000 with two sureties of Rs. 10,000 each, to be of good behaviour for a

period of one year. About the same time a security of Rs. 2,000 was demanded from the New India , the daily paper of Mrs. Besant. It was forfeited on August 28 and a new security of Rs. 10,000 was levied. The

Bombay High Court set aside the order against Tilak, but Mrs. Besant's appeal was rejected both by the Madras High Court and the Privy Council, Mrs. Besant sold the two presses where her two papers were printed. She also suspended the publication of New India on June 18, but it re-appeared three days later under another editor. 24 These pin-pricks did not cripple the activities either of Tilak or of Mrs. Besant, both of whom continued their efforts with redoubled vigour. The unwearied activities of Mrs. Besant, Tilak and their associates propagated the idea of Home Rule far and wide, and made it practically the only living issue in Indian politics. The movement had its repercussion on the Indian National Congress and infused it with new strength and vigour. This is clearly proved by comparing the Presidential Address in the annual session of the Congress at Bombay in December, 1915, and the Resolution on Reform passed by it, with the Presidential Address in 1916 and the Congress-League scheme adopted in that year at Lakhnau. For the first time after 1907 the Extremists or Nationalists attended this session of the Congress. A '"Home Rule Special" carried Tilak and his party to Lakhnau and they received unique ovations all along the way. Tilak received a right royal reception at Lakhnau. When he arrived at the pandal of the Congress he was carried by his admirers on their shoulders, and when he rose to speak he was greeted with deafening cheers.

After the conclusion of the Congress session in 1916 Tilak and Mrs. Besant visited many parts of India and these visits were referred to in police reports as "triumphant tours". Largely attended meetings were addressed by them and many leaders who had hitherto belonged to the Moderate party joined the Nationalists in welcoming them.

The Home Rule movement was spreading over India like wildfire. Two characteristic features of it were the participation of women and the religious colouring given to it as in the case of Swadeshi movement in Bengal. It was not long before the Government realized the intensity of the movement. On 17 January, 1917, the Home Member of the Government of India wrote in a confidential report: "Tire position is one of great difficulty. Moderate leaders can command no support among the vocal classes who are being led at the heels of Tilak and Besant." He therefore expressed his opinion that the Moderates should be placated by an early sanction of the reform proposals already made to the Secretary of State (which recommended) greater Indianization of the local bodies and increase of Indian element in the Legislature. 25

But, true to the policy of reform-cum-repression, the Bombay Government had prohibited Mrs. Besant from entering into Bombay. The Government of C. P. also externed Mrs. Besant, while Tilak and B. C. Pal were prohibited by the Governments of the Punjab and Delhi from entering into their jurisdiction. Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, warned the people against the extravagant demands of Home Rule and uttered a threat which was soon followed by action. On 15 June, 1917, the Government of Madras issued orders of internment against Mrs. Besant and her two co-workers, G. S. Arundale and B. P. Wadia. All this had an effect on political India just the opposite of what was intended.

The Government's determined hostility against the Home Rule Leagues and evident desire to declare them as illegal associations stirred the whole country. Sir Subrahmaniya Aiyar, recognized throughout India as an eminent lawyer, boldly stood forward as the champion of the Home Rule League. He declared that he would stand by them even if the Government declared them illegal, and was prepared to suffer any punishment that would be meted out to him for that offence. More than two thousand persons, including many men of light and leading, pledged themselves to stand by the Home Rule League if it was declared illegal.

The internment of Mrs. Besant was adversely criticised even in Britain and other foreign countries. A storm of indignation swept India from one end to the other. Protest meetings were held all over the country and those nationalist leaders, who had hitherto stood aloof, joined the Home Rule Leagues and actively participated in their campaigns. Even the placidity of the Congress was disturbed. Under the inspiration of Tilak the All-India Congress Committee made a vigorous protest to the Viceroy against the repressive and reactionary policy and asked for an official declaration accepting the political demands of the Indians. They also asked for the release of Mrs. Besant and her associates. They placed on record their appreciation of the work carried on by the Home Rule Leagues, and as a mark of it, elected Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress session in

1917. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Besant and her associates served the cause of Home Rule far better in jail than if they had been free.

The Home Rule League was making rapid strides. At the end of the first year Tilak's League alone had 14,000 members with an income of about Rs. 16,000. In winding up the first annual

Conference of the League, held at Nasik on 17-18 May, 1917, Tilak emphasized the role of the League and its difference from the Congress. The latter, he said, was merely a deliberative body whose only or main function was to pass pious resolutions. The Home Rule League, on the other hand, was pledged to work zealously throughout the year for the sole object of achieving Home Rule. He did not thank those who wished the League a long life, but would prefer that the League be dissolved in two years after the grant of Home Rule to India.

After the annual Conference was over, the workers redoubled their efforts to carry the Home Rule propaganda to the villagers. The local officials sent alarming reports of their seditious teachings and the Government of India were urged by Local Governments to take strong measures. The Viceroy, being impressed by the strength and popularity of the movement, put a brake on their ardour, but apprised the Secretary of State of the real situation in India. While doing so, he observed: "Mrs. Besant, Tilak and others are fomenting with great vigour the agitation for immediate Home Rule, and in the absence of any definite announcement by Government of India as to their policy in the matter, it is attracting many of those who hitherto have held less advanced views. The agitation is having mischievous effect on public feeling throughout the country/* 26

The Home Rule League was equally anxious that the Government would publicly declare their policy. In England, Lord Pentland had ridiculed the idea of Home Rule in a public speech. Tilak took up the challenge and advised the Congress organizations all over India not only to make vigorous protests, but also to get up a monster petition urging upon the Secretary of State to grant Home Rule to India. There was already a suggestion to resort to Passive Resistance in order to secure the release of Mrs. Besant, and Tilak now proposed to broadbase it on the main political issue of Home Rule, The influence of the Home Rule movement is best evidenced by the fact that both the Congress and the Muslim League considered the proposal of starting Passive Resistance. It was referred to the Provincial Congress Committees and was considered by them in August and September. The Madras Committee fully approved of the idea on 14 August, 1917, and appointed a sub-committee to formulate practical steps to give effect to it. Six days later the Secretary of State, E. S. Montagu, made his historic pronouncement in the House of Commons, declaring Responsible Government as the goal of British policy in India. There can be hardly any doubt that

it was the direct result of the Home Rule movement. In any case it altered the political situation in India. The Congress and the Muslim League dropped the idea of Passive Resistance and decided to send an All-India deputation to the Viceroy. 27 Mrs. Besant also dropped the Home Rule movement.

Tilak, however, did not suspend or relax the Home Rule agitation. He knew that it was this agitation that had forced the Government to meet the Indian demands half-way, and it was therefore necessary to keep it alive in order to obtain substantial concessions from the Government. The Home Rule movement became more and more popular and tended to become a mass movement, though within a restricted zone in India. Still more surprising is the fact that even prominent Muslim leaders like Jinnah and the family of Muhammad Ali joined it. Indeed both the people and the Government now began to look upon Tilak as the live wire in politics and the real leader of India. Tilak's activities after Montagu's statement were described in an official report as follows: "The capture of the Congress organization by Mrs. Besant and Tilak is complete. The Moderate Party in the Congress is extinguished. The Congress is completely identified with Home Rule". Montagu, after his arrival in India, had an interview with Tilak on 27 November and tried, in vain, to secure the support of Tilak for his Reform proposals. But he wrote in his Diary that Tilak "is at the moment probably the most powerful leader in India, and he has it in his power, if he chooses, to help materially in the war effort. His procession to Delhi to see me was a veritable triumphant one'*.

There is no doubt that the Home Rule campaign had practically ousted the Moderates from the political field which they had dominated till the return of Tilak to active politics in 1914. Neither Pherozeshah Mehta nor Gokhale could have possibly prevented his re-entry into the Congress even if they were alive, but their anticipations about its effect upon the Congress proved to be only too true. This was made quite clear when even with the utmost efforts the Moderate leaders could not prevent the election of Tilak's nominee, Mrs. Besant, as President of the Congress session in 1917. This leader of the Home Rule movement uttered words, as President, which were never heard before in the Congress pandal. The Moderates who successfully prevented in the past the election of Tilak and Laj pat Rai as Congress President, now failed in the case of Mrs. Besant, and must have read their doom in the applause with which the vast audience greeted the new tone she introduced in an organization which they had hitherto claimed to be their special citadel.

The Congress session, held in Calcutta in 1917 with Mrs. Besant as the President, was a great triumph for the Home Rule movement. There was a record gathering—nearly five thousand delegates and an equal number of visitors, including four hundred ladies, forming the mast significant feature. The general view was that it was "the Congress of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Tilak—of Mrs. Besant more than of Mr. Tilak 5 '. Mrs. Besant, with her usual eloquence, made a vigorous plea in her Presidential Address for immediate introduction of a Bill in the British Parliament for the establishment of self-government in India, preferably in 1923, and not later than 1928. She rose to the height of her stature as the following passages, taken at random from her Address, will show:

"Early in the War, I ventured to say that the War could not end until England recognised that autocracy and bureaucracy must perish in India as well as in Europe. The good Bishop of Calcutta, with a courage worthy of his free race, lately declared that it would be hypocritical to pray for victory over autocracy in Europe and to maintain it in India."

"I once said in England: 'The condition of India's loyalty is India's freedom'. I may now add: "The condition of India's usefulness to the Empire is India's freedom."

"India demands Home Rule for two reasons: one essential and vital, the other less important but weighty. First, because Freedom is the birthright of every Nation; secondly, because her most important interests are now made subservient to the interests of the British Empire without her consent, and her resources are not utilised for her greatest needs. It is enough only to mention the money spent on her Army, not for local defence but for Imperial purposes, as compared with that spent on primary education."

"Thank God that India's eyes are opening; that myriads of her people realise that they are men, with a man's right to manage his own affairs. India is no longer on her knees for boons; she is on her feet for Rights. It is because I have taught this, that the English in India misunderstand me, and call me seditious; it is because I have taught this, that I am President of this Congress to-day."

The Presidential address of Mrs. Besant offers a striking contrast to those delivered by Bhupendra-nath Basu and S. P. Sinha during the last two sessions of the Congress dominated by the Moderates, to which reference has been made^above. 25 The difference in tone is a fair measure of the great transformation of the Congress and of Indian politics in general brought about by the Home Rule movement. Never before had the Indian National Congress listened to such sentiments which were first voiced by the Extremists or Nationalists during the Swadeshi movement. The resolution passed by the Congress in 1917 demanding immediate legislation for granting Self-Government within a prescribed period had been the warcry of the Nationalists during the preceding ten years, and was a fitting reply to the antics of S. P. Sinha, the Congress President of 1915, quoted above. The Home Rule movement was the natural culmination of the Nationalist movement that had been gathering force since the Swadeshi movement in 1905.

The appeal of the Home Rule movement was not confined within the frontiers of India. Sir Subrahmaniya Aiyar, K.C.I.E.* retired Judge and Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, was the President of the

Indian Home Rule League, Madras, and in this capacity wrote a letter to President Wilson of the U.S.A. on 24 June, 1917. He described the intolerable condition of India under alien rule and made a moving appeal to the President to apply his war-message of democracy and self-determination of nations to India. “At present”, he said, “we are a subject nation, held in chains”; but, he added, “an immediate promise of Home Rule —autonomy—for India would result in an offer from India of at least 5,000,000 men in three months for service at the front, and of 5,000,000 more in another three months.” The publication of this letter created a furore in the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Montagu described the letter as ‘disgraceful* and Aiyar, as a protest, renounced his titles, K.C.I.E. and Diwan Bahadur.

Far different was, however, the reception of the letter in America. ‘A printed copy of the letter was placed on the desk of the Senators and Congressmen. There was a great sensation and 1500 newspapers with 20,000,000 readers flashed the offer of ten million men. England was strongly criticised. The military men were strongly impressed. American Labour at once wanted Home Rule for India as in Canada apd Australia*. 29 An Indian Home Rule League was established in New York. It started a monthly journal, called Young India, in July, 1918, which supplied correct news about India to the outside world and exposed the organized campaign of misrepresentation against India*s fitness for Home Rule carried on by a section of the American Press at the instance of the British.

Tilak strongly felt the need of propaganda in the U.S.A. whose democratic ideals were highly admired in India. Laj pat Rai, with N. S. Hardikar and K. D. Sastri, proceeded there on behalf of the Home Rule League, a branch of which was established at San Francisco. Hardikar gave the following account of his activities in a letter written to Tilak: “From the 9th of February to the 6th of May (1919), a period of 86 days, I travelled through 20 States of the Union. I gave 83 popular addresses, and arranged 25 different conferences. The conferences were held in ten States and 25 large cities, and were the result of 24 extensive tours. In the cities the audiences ranged from 25 to 3,000. I sold 4,000 copies of ‘Self-determination for India', and 1500 copies of ‘Get Together on India’. In all the cities I was received at the principal colleges, and by the chief newspaper proprietors. Going from one place to another to speak, I could only arrange conferences at 25 places, and had to refuse nine invitations.” Lajpat Rai also sent Tilak a brief report in which he wrote: “Dr. Hardikar has returned from his tour which was very successful from every point of view. He brought new members, established new branches, and secured also some funds. We have been issuing occasional bulletins to the United States Press giving them a summary of what we put in the English press.”

Tilak wrote in 1918 to M. Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, requesting him to solve the Indian problems so that India might “be a leading power in Asia” and “a powerful steward Ojl the League of Nations in the East for maintaining the peace of the world.” 30

A Home Rule for India League was also established in London. Mrs. Besant sent a stirring message to the British labourers concluding with the following words: “Help us to become a free Commonwealth under the British Crown and we will bring our manpower to secure the World-peace. Our people have died in your war for freedom. Will you consent that the children of our dead shall remain a subject race?”

The activities of the Home Rule Leagues bore fruit. Eminent Americans and Englishmen wrote and spoke for self-government in India. A Committee of members of Parliament was formed in London for the purpose of pressing forward the claims of India to self-government. The Labour Party Conference at Nottingham, early in 1918, unanimously passed a resolution in favour of Home Rule for India.

The Home Rule movement marked the beginning of a new phase in India’s struggle for freedom. It placed before the country a concrete scheme of Self-Government, bereft of the verbiage with which the Congress, led by the Moderates, surrounded this political goal. It also emphasized the point that if the Congress really wanted to achieve this goal it rfiust cease to be a club of arm-chair politicians taking to public work only to th*e extent to which their leisure permitted them; instead it should be guided by leaders who were prepared to place their whole time and energy

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at the service of their country. This new ideal of a political leader soon commended itself to the whole country and developed a new standard of public life:

The Home Rule movement was the fitting end of Tilak’s noble political career, which shines brilliantly, particularly in contrast with the transformation that came over his colleague, Mrs. Besant, a little later. This great movement shows him at his best—a sincere, fearless, unbending patriot, who fought for his country with a religious zeal without caring for the favour or frowns, either of the people or of the Government. An intellectual aristocrat, he brought himself down to the level of the common people, and initiated that mass movement in the political field which worked such a miracle in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. 31

1. See p. 91.

2. It is interesting to note that the resolutions on Boycott and National Education, passed in 1906 in Calcutta, were never adopted by the Congress during the next eight years when the Moderates had exclusive control over it. This makes it quite clear that the Moderates would not have adopted them at Surat, and the suspicions of the Extremist party, which brought about the fracas at Surat, were well-founded.

3. The Muslim League, by Lai Bahadur, pp. 71-2.

4. Ibid, p- 77

5. Ibid, p. 79.

6. Ibid, p. 84.

7. Ibid.

8. Valentine Chirol, India Old and New, p. 136.

9. Muslim League, p. 89.

30. Ibid., pp. 89-91.

11. These have been quoted in the Presidential Address in the Congress Session of 1916.

12. Karmarkar, Tilak, pp. 244-6.

13. Hist. Congr., I. p. 120-21.

14. See p. 183.

15. Hist . Congr., I. p. 124.

16. See pp. 239-40.

17. For the full text of the scheme, cf. Congress, pp. 189 ff.

18. Lovett, H., A Short History of Indian Politics .

19. Besant, Annie, India, Bond or Free, p. 162.

20. Ibid, p. 164.

21. Nation, pp. 237-8

22. Chiritamani, p. 102.

23. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 576-585. For the accout of Tilak, cf. his biographies mentioned in the Bibliography.

24. Besant, op. cit., p. 174.

25. Karmarkar, Tilak , p. 260.

26. Ram Gopal, Tilak, p. 384.

27. Hist . Congr., I, pp, 131*5.

28. See pp. 182-4.

29. For the full text of the letter and a detailed account of the whole episode, cf. IAR, 1919, Part II, Part I, pp. 36-53.

30. Ram Gopal, Tilak, p. 423.

31. Cf. also Vol. X, p. 584.

CHAPTER X

MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

I. THE GENESIS OF MONTAGU'S DECLARATION OF

20 AUGUST, 1917

The Great War had its impact not only on Indian political movement, but also on the Government of India. The British rulers, both in India and at Home, could not be insensible of the fact that the avowed war objects, so often reiterated by President Wilson and English statesmen, had a direct bearing on the problem of India. 'To make the world safe for democracy* and 'to give the right of self-determination to the people in choosing their own government*, —these and similar other utterances, they knew, could not fail to stir the pulses of the politically conscious section of India. It would be idle—nay hypocritical—to pretend that what the Allies were ready to grant to the German Colonies should be denied to their own subject-races like the Indians; and Indian political leaders, both Moderates and Extremists, stressed this point again and again. While the British statesmen freely acknowledged the great services rendered by India during the War, they could hardly ignore the psychology behind it, namely, an expectation, if not a regular bargain, of compensation by way of political reform. At the same time the British statesmen were not willing to relinquish authority over India, and not prepared to hand over real powers of Government to Indians—for that would mean a serious blow to the power and prestige of Britain. They were therefore eager to find a via media by which they could grant political reforms without surrendering any substantial authority.

Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay (who later became Viceroy of India), asked Gokhale to prepare a scheme of reforms. Gokhale drafted one shortly before his death in 1915, but by the time it was published in 1917, it had already become out of date and did not exert any influence either upon the Indians or upon the Government. 1

Soon after Lord Chelmsford assumed the office of GovernorGeneral, a scheme of reforms was prepared by the Government of India and forwarded to the Secretary of State. This scheme, which was kept a profound secret, did not. contemplate to vest any real power or authority in the hands of the Indians, but recommended

increase of Indians in the legislature and greater authority to the local bodies. As mentioned above, 2 the rapid success of the Home Rule movement made the Home Member nervous, and he urged the necessity of getting the scheme sanctioned at an early date. “If our proposals”, said he, “are sanctioned, I am convinced that they Will appeal to all moderate sections, and will give them rallying cry”. Such an assumption proves, if any proof were needed, that the bureaucrats in India were completely out of touch with the current political situation. Even Austen Chamberlain, the Secretary of State, by no means a radical or friend of India, realized the inadequacy of the measures proposed by the Government of India to meet the situation. The despatch of Chamberlain, in reply to the proposals of the Government of India, has not hitherto received the attention it deserves. It laid the foundations on which Montagu subsequently built, though the entire credit has been appropriated by the latter.

The main principle on which Chamberlain proceeded is thus stated by him: “After all we must take into account all the changes produced by the War, and the constant emphasis laid upon the fact that the allies are fighting for freedom and the nationality, and the revolution in Russia and the way it has been hailed throughout Europe and America and the effect of all these things on Indian opinion and on our own attitude to Indian questions. What would have seemed to be a great advance a little time ago would now satisfy no one and we must, I think, be prepared for bold and radical measures.”

Chamberlain therefore thought that it was not enough merely to increase the number of Indians in the Council or legislature, but greater authority and responsibility must be vested in the Indian representatives of those bodies. He suggested that the British should definitely declare the goal to be “the development of free institutions with a view to ultimate self-government.” But he continued: “If such a declaration is to be made, I think it should be accompanied by a very clear declaration that this is a distant goal .... I think, too, that we should have to assert plainly that the rate of progress, and the time and stages by which it is to be reached, must be controlled and decided by His Majesty's Government." Chamberlain further proposed to appoint a small commission to examine the proposed reforms. 3

It is perhaps for the first time in the history of British India that the Secretary of State for India took a realistic view of the Indian problem, and suggested a really statesmanlike solution. But it was impossible for the Indian bureaucrats to swallow such a big

dose of reforms. The Viceroy, therefore, not only disliked the Commission but proposed to issue a statement to the effect that the reforms would be of a very limited character, and that it was futile to expect revolutionary changes. Chamberlain, however, disapproved .of the idea of issuing any such statement before any final decision was reached. Chelmsford ^thereupon suggested that Chamberlain should himself come to India for a review of the political situation. This, however, did not appeal to the Secretary of State, as he thought that his presence in India might create an awkward situation for the Government of India.

Further course of negotiations was suddenly stopped by an unexpected development in Home politics. The arrangements made by the Government of India for the military expedition sent to Mesopotamia during the War were severely criticised in Britain and a Commission was appointed to examine the whole question. The Commission, as noted above, submitted its Report in July, 1917, and passed severe strictures on the Government of India for the manner in which they conducted the Mesopotamian campaign. 3 * In the course of the debate on this subject in the House of Commons on 12 July, 1917, Mr. Edwin Montagu, a former Under-Secretary of State for India, made a famous speech, which was really a scathing indictment of the whole system by which India was being governed. He described the Government of India as "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view", and also strongly condemned the organization of the India Office. He went further and supported the Indian claim for greater powers in managing their own government. He pointed out that Indian demands for political reform could no longer be refused on the plea of inefficiency, for the Mesopotamian muddle has proved that even the existing Government of India was not efficient. Referring to the war conditions he told the House that “if you want to use that loyalty (of the Indians) you must give them that higher opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control of the Executive itself.” 31 *

The speech of Montagu created great excitement in India. It was a direct support to the Indian demands for political reform which gained added significance from the fact that Montagu was an influential member of the political party then in power. As a matter of fact, shortly after Montagu had delivered the speech, he was appointed Secretary of State for India in place of Chamberlain who had resigned on account of the strictures contained in the Mesopotamian Commission Report.

The whole of India was agog with expectations and the Home Rule movement was carried on with great vigour and energy. The British authorities at home were also fully alive to the tense political situation in India. The game of playing the Muslims against the Hindus and of rallying the Moderates against the Extremists had failed, and political India was united as never before. The Home Rule movement had deeply stirred the people such as was witnessed only in Bengal during the Swadeshi movement. The Government had even then found it difficult to cope with the national awakening, though it was mostly confined to Bengal. They could easily realize the tremendous nature of the task now before them, involving, as it did, the suppression of national impulses of people over a wide stretch of country. Repressive measures were tried but failed. The whole country was seething with discontent and disaffection, and there was a spirit of open defiance against the Government. The so-called ‘terrorist* organization was at work, and extended its activities to foreign lands in order to exploit the situation, created by the War, fully to their advantage. To make matters worse, the fortunes of War were steadily going against the British.

India was convulsed with excitement about impending reforms, and disappointment and discontent were steadily growing at the failure of the

Government of India to make any definite announcement. The delay was partly caused by the resignation of Chamberlain and the appointment of Montagu in his place in July, 1917. Montagu took up the thread where Chamberlain had left it, but it was a difficult task to reconcile the views of the Government of India with those of the late Secretary of State. The whole policy was thoroughly discussed by the Government of India and the British Government. As Lord Curzon stated in the Parliament, 'more time and energy were devoted to the drafting of the announcement than perhaps any other document, including the Queen's Proclamation of 1858.' At last, a final decision was arrived at after "a prolonged correspondence with the Government of India", and "a close and repeated examination" of the proposals submitted by them. Curiously enough, the policy determined as a result of such elaborate discussions was not announced in the form of any official declaration of the British Cabinet. But a question being asked in the House of Commons by a private member, Mr. Charles Roberts, about the intended tour of Mr. Montagu, the latter, by way of answer, made the 'historic pronouncement' on 20 August, 1917. Montagu described it as "the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history", and yet, as Mr. V. A. Smith observes, it "was given to the world in a curiously unpretentious way, as if its author desired to avoid notice."

MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS

The essential part of the pronouncement runs as follows:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible."

"I would add", proceeded Montagu's announcement, "that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and the advancement of Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament." 30

Montagu also announced that he would proceed to India in order to consult the Viceroy and to give a hearing to all the interests concerned in India's advance towards self-government. Other concrete proofs were also given of the new outlook on the part of the British Government. The racial bar which excluded Indians from the King's Commissions in the Army was removed. Mrs. Besant and her associates, kept in detention in spite of indignant protests from all over India, were released. India, too, showed her appreciation of the new policy. The All India Congress Committee and the Council of the Muslim League decided to drop the Passive Resistance movement. 4

The crucial expression in the whole announcement of Montagu was "responsible government" which, in modern English politics, means that the Executive Government is responsible to the House of Commons and must go out of office when it loses confidence of that House. Doubts were felt in some quarters whether it bore the same significance in Montagu's pronouncement. These doubts were removed by the joint declaration of Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, and Mr. Bonar Law, the leader of the Conservative party, on 22 November, 1918, that "the Cabinet has already defined in unmistakable language the goal of British policy in India to be the development of responsible government by gradual stages. To

the general terms of that declaration we adhere and propose to give effect."

So, at last, all doubts were set at . rest regarding the intention of the British Government about the ultimate form of Government in India, and their determination to take steps to give effect to it at an early date. While Montagu's name will for ever be associated with the epoch-making declaration, it is only fair to remember that it closely followed the lines laid down by Austen Chamberlain, who could not probably issue it owing to the delay caused by the opposi tion of Government of India. The real credit of Montagu and the British Cabinet lies in overcoming that opposition.

II. REACTION TO MONTAGU'S DECLARATION

Montagu's historic declaration reacted differently upon the two principal political parties in India. The Moderate party welcomed it as "The Magna Charta of India", while the Nationalists felt that it fell far short of the legitimate expectation of India. The differences were reflected in the next session of the Congress held in Calcutta in December, 1917. To begin with, there was an unseemly quarrel over the election of the President. The Nationalists pressed the claims of Mrs. Besant whose name was recommended by the majority of the Provincial Congress Committees. The final decision lay with the Reception Committee whose members were sharply divided on the issue on strictly party lines. When the question was being discussed, feelings ran high; a large group of Moderate members left the meeting and challenged the view held by the Secretaries that Mrs. Besant was duly elected by the Reception Committee. Ultimately the question was referred to the All India Congress Committee who elected Mrs. Besant by circulation.

The Calcutta session of the Congress 43 was attended by 4,967 delegates and about 5,000 visitors. Mrs. Besant, in her Presidential speech, made a vigorous plea for the establishment of SelfGovernment in India on lines resembling those of the Commonwealth, preferably by 1923, and in any case not later than 1928. 4b But the specific dates were not insisted upon, and the Congress passed the following resolution:

"This Congress expresses its grateful satisfaction over the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of responsible government in India.

"This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary Statute providing for the establishment of responsible government in India, the full measure to be

attained within a time-limit to be fixed in the statute itself at an early date.

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the CongressLeague Scheme of Reforms ought to be immediately introduced by statute as the first step in the process.”

The resolution was of the nature of a compromise. The first para was a sop to the Moderates, while the other two reflected the views of the Nationalists.

Montagu’s declaration fell almost like a bombshell upon the reactionary die-hards in Britain, and there was a strong and organized opposition to it. Mr. V. A. Smith, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and the famous historian of India, summarised the views of this political faction in Britain in his book, Indian Constitutional Reform viewed in tJ\e Light of History. He proved to his own satisfaction, that social customs and political tradition of the Indians marked them as totally unfit for responsible government, and then made constructive suggestions for reforms in Indian administration without essentially changing its character.

On the other hand, there were retired members of the I.C.S. of a totally different mentality, though their number was very few. One of them, Bernard Houghton wrote an article in India , the Congress organ in England, supporting the views of the Indian Nationalists. He suggested reforms in the Central Government and scathingly condemned it in the following words:

“The Government which has shown its efficiency in Mesopotamia, its loyalty by the ignoring of Lord Morley’s orders on local self-government, its liberalism by the internments without trial, its sympathy with free institutions by the Press and other arbitrary Acts....To hand over the control of these momentous reforms to such officials is like handing over the introductions of free institutions in Germany to a Ministry of Prussian Junkers or the establishment of Home Rule (in Ireland) to the Orange Grand Committee. There is no community of aim. There is rather antagonism of will.” 5

The retired British officials, of whom V. A. Smith was a typical representative, organized the Indo-British Association in England under the leadership of Lord Sydenham, immediately after the announcement of 20 August. It was named Indo-British Association, and one of its avowed objects was to “promote and foster the unity and advancement of the Indian people.” This ill-disguised attempt to conceal its real object of stirring up anti-Indian feelings in Britain, could not deceive anybody. Even the Maharaja of Bikaner, a staunch loyalist and unflinching supporter of the British

rule, was constrained to exclaim: ’ save us from such friends.” The Association held its inaugural meeting in London on 30 October, 1917, and issued a Confidential Circular to all Britishers having trade relations with India, pointing out the ruinous consequences of the contemplated political reforms in India upon their business. They were invited to subscribe to the funds of the association, and were reminded that the money so paid would really constitute “insurance premiums for British interests in India.” 6 The Association carried on vigorous propaganda, through newspapers and pamphlets, against the character and attainment of Indians, particularly the educated classes. It appealed to the class interests of both working men and business firms trading in India, and described vividly how their interests were bound to suffer considerably by conferring political rights upon the Indians. One of the pamphlets, entitled Danger in India—Sedition and Murder , drew up a lurid picture of the condition of India, quoting facts and figures from the Report of the Sedition Committee and publicising its views.

The Indo-British Association did not rest content with merely carrying on anti-Indian propaganda in England. It also urged upon the Europeans in India to do the same. The successors of those who agitated against the Black Acts of 1849 and Ilbert Bill of 1883 hardly needed any such suggestions or encouragement from their brothers beyond the sea. The European Defence Association, which had been started in connection with the opposition to the Ilbert Bill, had gradually shrunk in number and in influence, for they had nothing to fight for or against during the long period of thirty, four years that had elapsed since then. As there was not likely to be any more occasion for ‘defence’ of European interests in India —the Government of India having faithfully performed that duty —the word ‘Defence’ was dropped from the name of the Association in 1913. But they must have repented of it four years later, when the declaration of Montagu on 20 August, 1917, once .more threatened their vested interests in India. It acted as an electric shock which galvanized the European Association into feverish activity. In a trice branches sprang up all over India under a new central organization with its headquarters in Calcutta, and the membership, which had dwindled down to less than a thousand, suddenly rose to eight times that number. Needless to add that the Englishedited papers in India fully backed up the agitation carried on by the Association. They all strongly denounced the proposed reforms, and demanded that in case the 'unwise hasty measure of political advance was thrust on the people of India', the non-official European community must get a separate and adequate representation in the Councils in order to safeguard their special interests.

The prospect of responsible government in India also led to similar demands from certain sections of Indian population, constituting important minorities. The Muslim claims had been settled at Lakhnau Congress. But there were non-Brahmans in Madras and the Sikhs in the Punjab. The non-Brahman movement had begun in 1916-17 under the capable leadership of Dr. Nair, and it was widely believed at the time that it was engineered by the British as a counterpoise to the Home Rule movement started by Mrs. Besant in Madras, as mentioned above. 7 The non-Brahmans, who constituted the vast majority of the people, had just and longstanding grievances against the Brahmans who maintained, for ages, iniquitous social barriers against them, and had practically monopolised knowledge, learning, and all power and prestige in the State and society. The non-Brahmans were, generally speaking,; materially prosperous, and many of them became wealthy by carrying on trade and commerce. But they strongly resented their markedly inferior status in society, and feared that the Home Rule would mean the perpetuation of Brahman rule. Thus, as in the case of Muslims, the communal spirit was already there, due to historic reasons, and not as a creation of the British, though in both cases the foreign rulers naturally tried to exploit it for creating divisions in the ranks and thereby weakening Hindu political agitators. The non-Brahmans demanded special representation either through separate electorates or through reservation of seats in joint electorates.

The Sikhs, who formed only 11 per cent, of the population of the Punjab, based their claim for special representation and weightage in the Councils on historical, political and economic grounds. They were the rulers of the

Punjab less than seventy years before, and had stood by the British in the dark days of the great outbreak of 1857. Since then they formed an important part of the British army, and one-third of the recruits in the Punjab during the Great War were supplied by them. They formed half the aristocracy and the greater part of the landed gentry of the province, and 40 per cent, of the land revenue and Canal charges were paid by them. In view of all this the Sikhs claimed one-third of the seats in the Punjab Council.

On the whole, the historical declaration of 20 August, 1917, created a stir in political circles, almost unprecedented in the history of British India. In the midst of this tense political situation, prevailing both in India and England, Mr. Montagu and other members of his mission arrived in India on 10 November, 1917.

III. MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT

Whatever • might have been the views of the different political parties regarding the announcement of 20 August, Montagu received a hearty welcome from all. Tilak joined the large body who welcomed him at Bombay, and garlanded him on behalf of the Home Rule League.

After his arrival at Delhi, Montagu received a series of deputations. A joint delegation representing the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League waited upon him on 26 November. Montagu was fully conscious of the political importance of the Delegation, as would appear from the following entry in his diary: "We were face to face with the real giants of the Indian political world. We had not the dupes and adherents from the Provinces, but we had here a collection of first-class politicians of the various provinces. Old Surendra-nath Banerjea, the veteran from Bengal, read the address, which was beautifully written and beautifully read. There was Mudholkar from the Central Provinces, Jinnah from Bombay, Mazhar-ul-Huq and Hassan Imam from Bihar and Orissa, Gandhi, Mrs. Besant, Kesava Piilai and so on. All the brains of the movement were there". 8

Then followed the Home Rule Delegation. Montagu writes: "And then Mrs. Besant and the great Tilak came with their Home Rule League, and read us a more extreme and a bitter address, but one which was undoubtedly interesting and good." Montagu wrote a great deal more about Tilak sifter separately interviewing him the very next day: “Then, after lunch, we saw Tilak, the politician, who probably has the greatest influence of any person in India, and who is very extreme. His procession to Delhi to see me was a veritable triumphant one. He was really the author of the Congress-League scheme, and although he did not impress me very much in argument, he is a scientific man of great erudition and training. It was quite obvious that he was not going to be satisfied with anything but what the Congress asks for. ‘We shall take whatever the Government gives us’, he said, ‘but it will not satisfy us, unless it is at least what the Congress asks.”

Montagu also received deputations from various public bodies, 9 including sectional and communal organizations, and met many individual political leaders.

The ostensible object of Montagu’s visit to India was to formulate proposals for constitutional reform in consultation with the Viceroy, after ascertaining the views of the people and the officials. But he was already in possession of the different schemes

of reform, and either knew, or could easily find out, the views of the Viceroy and officials as well as of the different communities without coming to India. A suspicion, therefore, naturally arises that his main object in coming to India was something different and this is supported by his diary. He had already formulated in his own mind a general outline of the reforms he was going to recommend, and he came to India in order to prepare the ground for a favourable reception of it, both by the Government of India as well as by the Indians. He proposed to placate India by easing the political situation which still continued to be very troublesome to Government and by creating a corps d’elite from among the Moderates for backing his reforms. He believed that he had, at least partially, succeeded in both the objects. Thus he wrote on 28 February, 1918:

“I have kept India quiet for six months at a critical period of the War; I have set the politicians thinking of nothing else but my mission/* There is some truth in this, for his visit undoubtedly diverted the attention of the leaders from political agitation to various efforts to exert influence upon him. The release of Mrs. Besant and her associates was also intended to indicate a changed angle of vision. It is significant that the Government of India, which had refused to release them in spite of numerous public protests, suddenly changed their mind on 5 September, 1917, i.e., within a fortnight of Montagu's declaration.

Montagu also succeeded in rallying the Moderate leaders round him with the deliberate purpose of "creating a nucleus of people who will support" his scheme and thus ensure its successful working. As early as 12 December, 1917, that is almost within a month of his arrival in India, he wrote in his diary "of a new organization of Indians to be collected, assisted in every possible way by the Government, for propaganda on behalf of our proposals, and to send a delegation to England to assist us." This scheme was discussed and developed in an informal conference with Bhupendranath Basu and S. P. Sinha. Under the date 24 January, 1918, he writes in his diary: "We talked about the formation of a moderate party; they were very enthusiastic; and talked about editing newspapers, and so forth. I think they mean business." Thus it was Montagu who sowed the seeds of National Liberal Federation, a new organization which shortly sprang up, composed of the Moderate leaders who seceded from the Indian National Congress.

Montagu, however, found it a tough job to deal with the Government of India. There are indications that he had to whittle down his original reform scheme to a considerable extent in order to placate the Government of India and the Provincial Govern* ments as well as the all-powerful bureaucracy. The high ideas of 'doing something big', and sanguine hopes expressed in his earlier letters from India to the Prime Minister, offer a strange contrast to the almost apologetic tone in which he refers to his report in his later correspondence. At one time Montagu felt like "dashing down to the Congress and saving the whole situation", but "the intransigence of the Government of India" stood in the way. 9a There can be hardly any doubt that much of the drawbacks of the Report which disappointed even the Moderates and provoked bitter comments were due to concessions which Montagu was forced to make in order to appease the Government of India and the British officials.

After inquiry and consultation the Report was drafted and signed jointly by Montagu and Chelmsford on 22 April, 1918. It was approved by other members of his mission, namely, Lord Donoughmore, Sir William Duke, Mr. Bhupendra-nath Basu, and Mr. Charles Roberts.

It is a moot point to decide how far the reforms promised and actually granted to India depended upon the vicissitudes in the fortunes of war. But some pertinent facts should be remembered. At the time the British Cabinet announced their intention to grant Responsible Government to India, the tide of war was definitely against the Allies and the situation was fast becoming very critical. The official narrative of India very candidly refers to it in the following words: “The collapse of Russia towards the end of 1917 had thrown on the Allies an additional burden; the situation became infinitely more dangerous after the Brest Litovsk Treaty when Germany exploited the Bolshevik Government in Russia with the object of carrying

the war to the East.German troops overran and

occupied a large part of southern Russia, crossed the Black Sea to Batum and into the Caucasus, while Turkish troops invaded Persia.” 90 The Prime Minister of Britain sent a long telegram to the Viceroy of India on 2 April, 1918. He drew attention to Germany’s intention to establish a tyranny not only over all Europe but over Asia as well, and appealed to the Indians to equip themselves to be the bulwark of Asian defence. But shortly after, the exhaustion of Germany and increasing aid from USA slowly, but steadily, turned the tide of war in favour of the Allies. The scheme of reforms had a parallel evolution, though in an inverse order. At first Montagu thought of something “epoch-making”

which would be “the keystone of the future history of India” 91 But the actual scheme presented by him was nothing of the kind. And even this was much whittled down later when the proposals of reform were actually embodied in an Act. By that time the war had ended triumphantly for the British. India’s gain was almost in inverse ratio to the success of British arms.

Before proceeding to give a detailed account of the recommendations of the Report on constitutional development, it is necessary to observe that by enunciating the goal of Responsible Government for India it had broken an altogether new ground. None of the schemes of reform prepared by Indian leaders or authoritative bodies, such as those prepared by Gokhale in 1915 and submitted by nineteen members of the Legislative Council in 1916, hinted at the introduction of Responsible Government in India, though they proposed to invest the non-official Indians with far greater powers than were contemplated by the Act. The idea of Responsible Government in India originally emanated from an unofficial body known as the ‘English Round Table Group’ whose leading members were Mr. Lionel Curtis and Sir William Duke, who once served as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and was then a member of the India Council. It was in a memorandum prepared by Sir William Duke that reference was made for the first time to the need of initiating Indians in the art of “responsible” government, as distinguished from mere “selfgovernment.” This was to be done by gradual stages and a beginning was to be made by transferring the administration of certain subjects to popular control—subjects which were regarded as ‘safe’ and not ‘vital’ to the maintenance of British control. It is unnecessary to elaborate in detail the system of Government recommended by Sir William Duke and Curtis, and known popularly as the Dyarchy, for it was adopted as the basis of the scheme ultimately recommended in the Report drawn up by Montagu and Chelmsford, and will be discussed in connection with it.

The scheme of the Round Table Group was ready at the beginning of 1916 and was fully known both to Chelmsford and Montagu long before the latter had started for India. It was formally presented to them in November, 1917, in the form of an address signed by sixty-four Europeans and ninety Indians. But both the communities adversely criticised it, sometimes in very scathing terms. It seemed to have no friends or patrons in India, but found both in the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. For there is no doubt that the scheme of the Round Table Group formed the nucleus of their Report.[10] The general belief at the time was that the Report was ‘‘largely drafted by Sir James Meston and Mr. Marris, while Mr. Lionel Curtis greatly assisted in the task.”[11]

The Report on Indian constitutional reforms, known generally as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (more briefly as Mont-Ford Report) , for which political India had been waiting so long in animated suspense, at last saw the light of the day on 8 July, 1918.

The Report proceeded on the fundamental basis that “substantial step to be taken at once is to give some measure of responsibility to representatives chosen by an electorate. This can be done at one of three levels: in local bodies, in the Provinces, and in the Government of India. And in proportion as control by an electorate is admitted at each level, control by superior authority must be relaxed. Nor can the process go on at the same pace on all levels. As we go upwards the importance of the retarding factors increases. Popular growth must be more rapid and extensive in the lower levels than in the higher.”

In order to give effect to the above principle the Report laid down the following fundamental principles (paras 188-191):

1. There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies, and the largest possible independence for them of outside control.

2. The Provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, with an aim to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions permit.

3. The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and, saving such responsibility, its authority must remain supreme.

4. In proportion as the foregoing changes take effect, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial Governments must be relaxed.

In order to give effect to the above principles the Report made the following specific recommendations:

1. All local Boards and Municipalities shall contain substantial elected majorities and should have full liberty to impose and alter taxation within the limits laid down by law.

2. The Central and provincial budgets should be completely separated. Certain subjects of taxation should be reserved for the provinces and the residuary powers should be kept for the Government of India.

3. The Provincial Executive should be of a composite character: one element consisting of the Governor and an Executive Council of two members, of whom one would, in practice, be an Indian; and the other consisting of one or more ministers chosen by the Governor from the Legislative Council, and appointed for the lifetime of the Council. The administrative business will be divided into two classes. Subjects transferred to popular control, known as Transferred Subjects, will be dealt with by the ministers. Other subjects, called Reserved Subjects, would be dealt with by the Governor in (Executive) Council.

4. Each Province shall have an enlarged legislative council with a substantial majority chosen by direct election on a broad franchise. The Report regards the communal electorate as "opposed to the teachings of history, as perpetuating class distinctions, as stereotyping existing relations, and in fact, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. But in order to fulfill the undertaking given to the Muhammadans, the present . system of separate electorate should be maintained." As regards other communities, the Sikhs in the Punjab are the only minority tp whom the Report proposes that the privilege should be freshly conceded.

5. The decisions of the ministers regarding the transferred subjects shall be final subject to the advice and control of the Governor who is not bound to accept their decisions.

6. If such legislation or such supplies as the Executive Government considers absolutely necessary for the reserved services be not passed by the legislative council, it should be referred to a Grand Committee in the council, so constituted as to enable the Governor to nominate a bare majority upon it.

7. The process of development will be one of adding to the transferred and of taking from the reserved subjects, until with the disappearance of the latter the goal of complete responsibility is attained.

8. As regards the Government of India there should be a second Indian member in the executive council and the statutory restrictions governing the appointment of the members of this council should be abolished. The strength of the legislative council, to be known in future as the Legislative Assembly of India, should be raised to about 100 members, of whom two-thirds would be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third shall be non-officials.

9. To secure the affirmative power of legislation the Report recommends the institution of a separate constitutional body, known as the Council of State upon which the Government should command a majority. Assent by both the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State should be the normal condition of legislation, but if the Governor-General in Council certifies to the need for special treatment, legislation may be carried in the Council of State alone.

10. The powers of the Parliament through the Secretary of State for India should be considerably curtailed by rules.

11. The Report recommends the institution of a Privy Council for India.

12. As regards the Native States there should be a Council of Princes over which the Viceroy should preside.

13. The Report recommends the recruitment of superior services in India up to a fixed percentage, 33 per cent being fixed for the I.C.S. rising annually by 1J per cent.

IV. REACTION TO THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT

The publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on 8 July, 1918, like the Announcement of 20 August, 1917, had different reactions in different quarters. The immediate reaction of some prominent leaders may be summed up as follows: “Mr. Tilak characterised it as a sunless dawn. Mrs. Besant held that the political reforms were unworthy of England to give and of India to take. The Hon'ble Mr. Patel showed how in certain details the Report had made retrograde proposals. Mr. N. C. Kelkar pronounced the proposals as cruelly disappointing and ‘almost a wicked attempt to let Indian leaders be stewed in their own juice*. Prof. J. L» Banerji declared that the reforms were grudging, half-hearted, meagre, inadequate, and hence disappointing and abortive; while the veteran Subrahmaniya Aiyar advised his countrymen not to touch the narcotic that was offered to them.” 12 The Moderate leaders, of course, wholeheartedly endorsed the scheme. Nine Moderate leaders, including Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar issued a lengthy manifesto supporting the proposed reforms. They held that the scheme was a progressive measure of reform, calculated to make the Provinces of British India reach the goal of complete Responsible Government. They were not, however, enthusiastic over the proposals concerning the Central Government and described them as excessively cautious and illiberal, being based on a formula, the soundness of which might be questioned.

The manifesto issued by eighteen Home Rulers in Madras on 8 July, 1918, expressed a radically different view, as the following passage shows: “The scheme is based on an unqualified distrust of the people of India and is so radically wrong alike in principle and in detail that in our opinion it is impossible to modify and improve it. Nor do we think it possible to devise any system of safeguards against the mischievous working of the whole complex scheme. It cannot consequently form the basis of discussion or compromise by the people or their representatives.”

The difference between the two extreme views was best illustrated in Bengal. There the Moderates formed themselves into a party, the National Liberal League, and issued a manifesto, a few days before the Report was published , declaring that “if the scheme (proposed) will take us a long way forward towards the goal of responsible Government, we should give it our approval and support so far as it is satisfactory. If it falls short of our expectations it will be our duty to express our disappointment and to record our protest.” 13 This verbiage can be reasonably interpreted, as was actually proved by subsequent events, that the Moderates in Bengal, at least the section represented in the manifesto, had decided to convey their approbation in advance . On the other hand, the Bengal Provincial Conference, in a special session held on 14 July, 1918, passed the following resolution, almost unanimously, only ten voting against it: “That this

Conference is of opinion that the scheme of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State is disappointing and unsatisfactory and does not present any real steps towards responsible government.” 14

But after the first ebullitions had subsided, there seems to have been a general swing in favour of the Report. Ultimately three different schools of opinion emerged which were also reflected in the Indian National Congress. The Moderates regarded the pro-* posals as progressive and substantial, though susceptible of a great deal of improvement. The extreme left group was of opinion that the proposals were “so radically wrong, alike in principle and in detail”, that “it is impossible to modify and improve it.” There was an intermediate group which looked upon the Report as unsatisfactory, but pleaded for material alteration and not total rejection. The actual difference between this group and the Moderates was not very considerable, except in the language of welcome to, and the emphasis laid upon the sincerity and honesty of, the authors of the Report. For, the suggestions made by these two schools for improvement of the scheme envisaged in the Report did not materially differ from each other. As subsequent events showed, this intermediate group in the Congress was much stronger than

the Extremist group, and there was no legitimate basis for the fear of the Moderates that the -Congress would definitely and summarily reject the Report. But misled by this fear, and due perhaps to other reasons which are not apparent, the Moderate group in the Congress decided to leave that national organization, and form a separate party. How far Montagu had a hand in this unfortunate split, has already been noted above. 14a

The Report had also disappointed the communities who had asked for separate representations. The Sikhs began to agitate for increased representation and sent a deputation to England for the purpose. The Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians joined the European Association for separate communal representations. The non-Brahmans of Madras organized themselves into the ‘Justice Party*, and carried on strong agitation for separate representation. As will be seen, the agitation of all these communities bore fruits.

Another community which was very much ruffled by the Report was the Indian Civil Service, or rather the European members of it. They formed an organization to offer stubborn resistance to the scheme of Reforms which threatened to take away some of their powers and privileges. Their attitude gave lie direct to the following assertion in the Report: “We regard it as a libel on the Indian Civil Service as a body to say that they have resisted or will resist the policy announced last August. They have welcomed

The members of the I.C.S. in Madras and Bihar organized associations for protesting against the Reform proposals and issued confidential circulars to the British members of the service. The Madras circular remarked, with reference to the suggestion in the Report that the I.C.S. approves and even welcomes the scheme: “We think it desirable to say that it is not so’*. It was proposed to send a memorial to the Secretary of State for India and a draft was prepared and circulated by the Madras organization. Even a member of the Service, to whom it was sent for signature, was constrained to observe: “It is full of political innuendo; it is peevish, not to say mutinous in tone.” 14b

While the Indians in one voice strongly condemned the attitude and activities of the I.C.S. organizations, the Viceroy almost ate his own words in the Report and went out of his way to placate the I.C.S. by showering praises and guaranteeing full protection of their economic and political interests in any scheme of reform, in his speech before the Indian Legislative Council on 6 February, 1919. It may not be a mere coincidence that just after the Viceroy’s speech the Home Member introduced the repressive legislation,

known as the Rowlatt Bills, to which reference will be made later. All this was a bad omen, and augured ill for the reforms. There is hardly any doubt that Chelmsford’s unfortunate speech, as well as the Rowlatt bills, were both interpreted by the Indians as a victory for the reactionary I.C.S., and largely contributed to the fact that the Government of India Act, 1919, based on the MontFord reforms, was not given a fair trial and met with dismal failure.

V. THE POLITICAL SPLIT

In view, of the wide difference of opinion about the Reform proposals, the Indian National Congress very wisely decided to hold a special session at an early date to discuss the subject. The Moderates took exception to the outright condemnation of the Report by prominent Nationalist leaders and were afraid that the Congress might reject it wholesale. They therefore seriously considered the course of action they should adopt at this juncture. The position has been frankly stated by a great Moderate leader, C. Y. Chintamani, as follows:

“The older party of the Congress were at this stage called upon to decide whether they should or should not join that special session. They conferred among themselves, they gave responsible thought to the question and came to the decision that the country was bigger than the Congress, the Congress was a means to an end whereas the country was the end itself, and at the juncture it was essential that they should not associate themselves with the condemnation of the scheme, but should hold a separate Conference at which to formulate their own opinions. There were a few who thought that they should not leave the Congress except after actual defeat had made their position untenable. It was not in the mind of even those who took the opposite view, permanently to give up the Congress. The course of events, however, perforce converted their temporary abstention into permanent secession.” 15 It is difficult to accept this explanation. The relevancy of the platitude about the country being bigger than the Congress in the present context would appear incomprehensible to many. Nor is it easy to understand how the mere attendance at the session of the Congress would associate the Moderates with the condemnation of the scheme. By their opposition to any objectionable proposal they could easily vindicate their position, and even if it were not enough, they might make their attitude perfectly clear by holding a separate Conference as they actually did. It is also singular that in his long explanation Chintamani carefully avoids any reference to the understanding already arrived at between Montagu and some

prominent Moderate leaders. 16 Yet this seems to be the most rational explanation of the conduct of the eminent leaders of the Moderate party. It is not difficult to imagine, how, after the frustration of a life-long endeavour, they were overjoyed at the very idea that India was at last being placed on the road to Responsible Government. They put too much value on this to take any risk whatsoever in the way of its fulfilment. They knew, and were too well coached by Montagu to forget, that the bureaucrats in India and the die-hard politicians in Britain were ready to do their utmost to wreck the scheme, and nothing could save it but a loyal, zealous, and sincere support on the part of the Indians to Montagu's efforts. The attitude of uncompromising hostility to the scheme shown by Extremist leaders made it, therefore, specially incumbent upon them to give steadfast support to Montagu. This attitude was perhaps strengthened by a sincere belief, at least on the part of a large section of them, that Montagu was genuinely interested in the welfare of India and his attitude to India indicated a real change of heart. The failure to grasp the hand of fellowship extended by him to the Indians would, they thought, be a betrayal of the country, as such an opportunity might not recur in near future.

Such reasonings undoubtedly go a long way to explain, though not to excuse, the non-attendance of the Moderates at the special session of the Congress in 1918. If we remember the adverse comments of some eminent Nationalist leaders on the Mont-Ford Report, quoted above, the Moderates may be excused for the belief that the Congress would reject the scheme in toto. They thought, though perhaps not rightly, that as a minority, they would only compromise their position by attending the. Congress without being able to influence its decision in any way. Their action in abstaining from the special session of the Congress, though certainly unwise, cannot therefore be condemned outright, as has generally been done by their opponents.

There may also be a psychological factor behind the decision of the Moderates. The sessions of the Congress at Lakhnau and Calcutta, particularly the latter, made it quite clear to the Moderates that they possessed little influence in the country and were, politically speaking, a back number. The Moderates felt that their days were numbered, and they bowed to the inevitable.

The special session of the Congress was held in Bombay on 29 August, 1918, under the Presidentship of Hasan Imam. Just a few days before it met, an attempt was made to reconcile the differences at a Conference, but it failed. The most prominent leaders of the Moderate party like Dinshaw Wacha, Surendra-nath Banerji,

Bhupendra-nath Basu, Ambica-charan Majumdar and others did not attend the Congress. The Congress was, however, largely attended, and no less than 3,845 delegates were present. Leaders like Tilak, Mrs. Besant, and Pandit M. Malaviya, who attended the Congress, regarded the split in the Congress rank as a great catastrophe, and tried to restore the unity by avoiding extreme measures. Due mainly to their influence, the Congress adopted a very conciliating attitude. The resolution on the subject passed by the Subjects Committee was very reasonable in tone and warding, and Tilak seems to be fully justified in making the following claim on behalf of the Congress:

“We were told the Congress was going to reject the whole scheme. I could never understand, and have never understood

what it means.Fortunately for all, we have been able to place

before you a reasoned document, a resolution, which combines the wisdom of one party, I may say, the temperament of another party, and if you like to call it,—I do not like to call it myself—the rashness of a third party.We have tried to satisfy all parties con

cerned, and a very difficult task has been accomplished.’*

The resolutions passed by the Congress may be summarised as follows: The Congress re-affirmed the principles of Reform contained in the Congress-League Scheme and declared that nothing less than Self-Government within the Empire would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people. It declared that the people of India were fit for Responsible Government and repudiated the assumption to the contrary contained in the Report. It asked for simultaneous advance in the Provinces and the Government of India. It conceded, however, that subject to a Declaration of Rights of the people of India, guaranteeing to them liberty of person, property, association, free speech and writing, and freedom of the Press, the Government of India might have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity, and defence of the country. The resolution dealing directly with the Reform Scheme appreciated the earnest attempt on the part of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy to inaugurate a system of Responsible Government, and while the Congress recognized that some of the proposals constituted an advance in some directions, it was of opinion that the proposals were ‘disappointing and unsatisfactory*, and went on to suggest modifications which were considered absolutely necessary to constitute a substantial step towards Responsible Government. Dealing with the proposals relating to the Government of India, the Congress desired the same system of reserved and transferred subjects for the Central Government as had been proposed for the Provinces, the subjects reserved being

Foreign Affairs, excepting relations with the Colonies and Dominions, Army, Navy and relations with Indian ruling Princes, all the other subjects being transferred subjects. All legislation should be by bills introduced in the Legislative Assembly, provided that, in case the Legislature refused to pass any measures regarding reserved subjects which the Government deemed necessary, the Governor-General might provide for the same by'regulations which would remain in force for one year but could not be renewed unless 40 per cent, of the members of the Assembly present voted for them. There should be no Council of State, but if one was constituted, at least half of the total strength should be elected. The procedure by certification should be confined to reserved subjects. At least half the members of the Executive Committee (if more than one) in charge of reserved subjects should be Indians. The Legislative Assembly was to consist of 150 members, four-fifths of whom were to be elected, and it should have the right to elect its own President and Vice-President, and make its own rules of business. A statutory guarantee was demanded that full Responsible Government should be established in the whole of British India within a period not exceeding fifteen years.

As regards the Provinces, the Congress resolved that the status and the salary of Ministers should be the same as that of Executive Councillors, that half the Executive Council should be Indians, and that the budget should be under the control of the Legislature subject to the allocation of a fixed sum for the reserved subjects; if fresh taxation became necessary it should be imposed by the Provincial Government as a whole. The Congress, while holding that the country was ripe for full Provincial Autonomy, was yet prepared,' with a view to facilitating the passage of the Reforms, to leave the departments of Law, Police and Justice (prisons excepted) in the hands of the Executive Government in all Provinces for a period of six years. Executive and Judicial departments must be separated at once.

As regards communal representation, the Congress resolved that the proportion of Muslims in the Indian and Provincial Legislatures should be as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme. Women should not be disqualified on account of sex.

As regards the place of Indians in the Army, the Congress recorded its deep disappointment at the altogether inadequate response of the Government to the demand for the grant of commissions to Indians in the Army, and opined that steps should be immediately taken so as to enable the grant of at least 25 per cent, of the commissions to Indians, to be increased to 50 per cent, within fifteen years.

More than two months after the special session of the Congress at Bombay, the Moderate party held a Conference at the same place on 1 November, 1918, in order to formulate their views on the MontFord scheme of reform. This meant an irrevocable parting of the ways and led to the emergence of a new political party, called the ‘Liberal’. It is difficult to accept the view of Chintamani, quoted above, that the Moderates were forced to take this step. Such a contention is meaningless in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress, in its special session, not only did not condemn and summarily reject the scheme, as the Moderates apprehended, but actually urged its modification more or less on the same lines which, the Moderates themselves adopted in their Conference, as will be shown later.

The justification for holding a separate Moderate Conference, offered by its President Surendra-nath Banerji, would not bear a moment’s scrutiny. He explains the difference between the Moderates and the Congress leaders by saying: “Our guiding principle is —‘co-operate when we can; criticise when we must’. It is not ‘criticise when we can; co-operate when we must’.” It is certainly ungenerous to give such a distorted view of the Congress leaders like Tilak who always upheld the principle of “Responsive Co-operation”. The other ground is even less tenable. Surendra-nath contends that “because the leaders of the present day Congress movement will not recognise the change, the profound change in the spirit and policy of the Government, and persist, despite the altered conditions, in a campaign of opposition, that we are here in this platform holding a separate Conference of our own.” Unfortunately, this is completely belied by facts which leave no doubt that the Moderates were actuated by a separatist tendency from the very beginning.

Even' before the publication of the Mont-Ford Report, a new party, the ‘National Liberal League’, was started in Bengal by the ultra-Moderates who issued a manifesto explaining their general attitude to the Reform proposals. 17 Two days after the publication of the Report, Surendra-nath Banerji convened a meeting of the Indian Association, Calcutta, a stronghold of the Moderate party, and the whole-hearted approval of the Report by this body was, of course, a foregone conclusion. 18 Nine Moderate leaders of Bombay issued a manifesto in favour of the Report, though making suggestions for improvement, specially in the structure of the Central Government. 19

On 16 August, 1918, the Moderates held a meeting in Calcutta and decided to boycott the special session of the Congress

announced to be held in Bombay on 29 August. 20 The newly started Moderate organization in Bengal, the National Liberal League, held a Conference of the Bengal Moderates on 30 August. 21 It is certainly not unreasonable to hold that in all these one merely notices an attempt to fulfil the undertaking which some of the Moderate leaders had given to Montagu to organize a separate party to carry on propaganda in favour of his proposals. 22 It is, no doubt, ungenerous to assume that the Moderates seceded from the Congress at the dictation of Montagu. But, unfortunately, many facts lend colour to this view. That Montagu regarded such a secession as an essential part of his scheme is proved by his own writings. 23 That at least a powerful section of the Moderates readily fell in with this scheme, is also proved by Montagu’s diary as well as the fact that even before the publication of the Mont-Ford Report a new party, the National Liberal League, was started in Bengal by the Moderates. But the most important, though indirect, evidence of such outside influence is furnished by the resolutions passed at the All India Moderate Conference held in Bombay on 1 November, 1918, under the Chairmanship of Surendra-nath Banerji. The resolutions on the Reforms passed at this Conference, when compared with those passed by the Indian National Congress, do not show any such fundamental difference in spirit as would justify the secession of any reasonable body of politicians from the parent institution which they themselves reared up, unless there were some other compelling reasons.

For facilitating such a comparison we give below side by side some of the important resolutions passed by these two bodies:

Congress Resolution

V. Fiscal Autonomy.

VI. Introduction of Dyarchy in the Central Government.

,, Special Powers of the Governor-General.

,, Provincial Governments.

,, Control of Parliament and India Office.

VII. Muslim Representation.

XII. Commissions in the Army— Indians to have 25 per cent Commissions to start with.

Moderate Conference Resolution

VI. Almost identical.

VI. Almost identical.

,, Almost the same.

VII. No substantial difference. XI. No substantial difference.

VIII. (d) Identical.

VIII. (b) 20 per cent.

The real difference between the Congress and the Moderates was in the expression of general opinion on the Reforms. Both ‘appreciated the earnest attempt of their authors’, while the Mode^ rate Conference, in addition, ‘welcomed’ the proposals. The former recognized that some of the proposals constituted an advance, but they were on the whole disappointing and unsatisfactory, while the latter regarded them as real and substantial steps towards responsible Government in the Provinces, but modifications were necessary. Thus the difference between Congress Resolution VI and the Moderate Conference Resolution No. Ill on this subject was merely of general attitude. Both demanded considerable modifications in the proposals and, as shown above, there was no radical difference in the concrete proposals made by the two bodies. It is, therefore, difficult to believe that the Moderates really thought it beyond the range of practical politics to come to an amicable understanding with the Congress. The conclusion, therefore, seems to be almost irresistible that the Moderate leaders seceded from the Congress at the suggestion, if not at the bidding, of Montagu who regarded it as sine qua non for successfully launching the reforms. The expulsion of the Extremists from the Congress in 1907 and the secession of the Moderates from the Congress in 1918 were both due to the British policy of rallying the Moderates as against the Extremists, the strings being pulled by Morley in one case and Montagu in the other. 238

On 6 September, 1918, the Indian Legislative Council appointed a Committee consisting of all non-official members to consider the Reforms. They mostly belonged to the Moderate party and Surendra-nath Banerji was elected Chairman of the Committee. Its Report strongly emphasized the need of introducing some elements of Responsibility in the Centre as in the Provinces.

By the end of 1918 it was abundantly clear that the Moderate party had left the Indian National Congress from which, a decade ago, they had driven out the Extremists. The two cases were not, however, in any way parallel. The Extremists, in exile, formed a strong element among the people, and their influence was daily on the increase. The position of the Moderates after 1918 was unenviable. In spite of the contributions of the individual

Moderate leaders to the progress and welfare of India in many ways, and in various spheres of life in future, the Moderate party and its new organization, called All-India Liberal Federation, counted for little in Indian politics and slowly faded away into insignificance. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the moment the Moderates walked out of the Congress, they

also walked out of the history of India's national struggle for freedom.

The final secession of the Moderates from the Indian National Congress had a great repercussion on its annual session held at Delhi in December, 1918, under the Presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Extremist section, which was kept in check in the special session of the Congress, evidently in the hope of avoiding a split with the Moderates, now broke all restraint. They became rowdy, and even an old veteran like Srinivasa Sastri, one of the few Moderate leaders who still adhered to the parent organization, was not allowed to deliver his speech without constant interruptions, accompanied by rude remarks and gestures. The resolution passed by the Congress about the Reforms also went much further beyond the one passed in the special session in Bombay. It runs as follows:

"That this Congress also reaffirms resolution No. 5, relating to self-Government, passed at the special session of the Congress held in Bombay, subject to this, that, in view of the expression of opinion in the country, since the sitting of the said special session, this Congress is of opinion that so far as the Provinces are concerned, full Responsible Government should be granted at once, and that no part of British India should be excluded from the benefit of the proposed Constitutional Reforms."

Srinivasa Sastri moved by way of amendment to drop all the words beginning with "subject to this" and substitute the following in their place: "except the clause pronouncing the scheme to be disappointing and unsatisfactory, and the clause fixing a period of fifteen years for the completion of Responsible Government for India as a whole."

The amendment puts in a nutshell the whole difference between the Liberals and the Nationalists. No unprejudiced critic will possibly aver it to be of such fundamental importance as made it incumbent upon the former to leave the Congress for ever. The portions of the old and new resolutions which sought to be omitted, conveyed an expression of opinion and indicate a difference rather of degree than of character. It cannot be denied that an edge to the opposition to the Moderate leader Srinivasa Sastri and his proposal was given by the boycott of the Congress by the Moderates and their alignment with the Government. It was not beyond the range of possibility that the participation of the Moderates in the Congress might have softened its tone and considerably modified its attitude.

This clearly emerges from the debate in the Congress on the amendment by Sastri. Mrs. Besant supported Sastri's amendment for omitting "immediate grant of Responsible Government to the provinces" by referring to the compromise on this point in the Bombay Congress. C.R. Das replied to it as follows: "One speaker said that it was a compact between Nationalists and Moderates.... If that is so Mrs. Besant is out of court here, because the Moderates as a party have not joined the Indian National Congress, and have therefore broken the compact." Mrs. Besant corrected C. R. Das by saying that she referred to a compromise and not a compact. To this C. R, Das replied: "I entered into that compromise because I hoped that upon a surrender of point by us the Moderate party as a whole would join us. The Moderate party has not joined us."

The Congress resolved to send a deputation to England consisting of persons who supported the Delhi resolution and not the Bombay compromise. The Congress also passed a resolution asking for the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as "one of the progressive nations to whom the principle of self-determination should be applied" and, as a first step, demanded the immediate repeal of all laws, regulations and ordinances restraining the liberty of the people. The Congress also demanded an Act of Parliament establishing at an early date complete Responsible Government in India and according to India the same status as the Dominions. The Congress further asked for direct representation at the Peace Conference and nominated Tilak, Gandhi and Hasan Imam as its representatives. The Congress requested the Government of India to relieve India from the burden of contributing 45 millions for war purposes.

VI. HOME RULE AGITATION IN BRITAIN

It is now necessary to follow the activities of Tilak and the course of the Home Rule movement which really dominated the political situation. To counteract the agitation of the reactionary elements in England against the grant of Responsible Government to India, Mrs. Besant's Home Rule League had sent a deputation to England. Tilak's Home Rule League had grown by leaps and bounds and its membership now exceeded 33,000. At the annual Conference of the. League in 1017, a resolution was passed urging the necessity of sending immediately a strong deputation of representative and influential men to England. Accordingly, Mr. Joseph Baptista left for England in July, 1017, and carried on a campaign of lectures throughout the country. Tilak collected money for sending a Home Rule deputation to England, and one consisting

of Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Aiyar and four others sailed in two batches on March 10 and 18, 1918, and safely reached Gibraltar. But they were forced to disembark there and return to India under the orders of the British War Cabinet. In the meantime Tilak decided to lead in person a deputation to England. The idea was heartily supported all over the country. A Conference of the Indian Home Rule League, held on the eve of his departure, received 1400 telegrams and 617 letters in support of it. It is worthy of note that while the petty cloth merchants of Marwari community presented him with a purse of Rs. 15,000, —16,000 mill-hands, subscribing one anna each, contributed one thousand rupees. The medical profession contributed Rs. 5,000.

The delegation consisting of Tilak, Khaparde, Karandikar, Kelkar and Bepin-chandra Pal left Bombay on 27 March, 1918, for Madras en route to Colombo, whence they were to sail for England by the Cape route. The delegates started for the railway station in decorated motor cars, preceded and followed by a long procession. All along the route the roads were packed with crowds of people who showered flowers, and a big gathering at the Victoria Terminus station kept on cheering until the train left. When the deputation arrived at Madras on 1 April, 1918, it was received by Mrs. Besant, accompanied by many prominent Congressmen and Home Rulers. A huge procession took the members from the station to Adyar, and thousands, assembled in the streets, gave a hearty ovation to Tilak. The city presented a festive appearance and the delegates were entertained with illumination, garden party, and dinner. Five hundred orthodox Brahmans performed religious rites in the Parthasarathi temple and took Tilak in procession round the temple with the beating of drums, blowing of conches and chanting of mantras. Tilak received addresses from the Maratha and Andhra communities and the Maratha ladies, and himself addressed a mass meeting of 20,000. Tilak made it clear that the deputation was going to England, not to appeal to the generosity of the British people, as would have been the case ten years back, but he was going to tell the British democracy to save the empire by trusting India instead of Japan, and granting her Home Rule which would bring forth millions of people to die for the Empire and the Motherland. He appealed to the people to carry on the agitation for svarajya with a persistence, the echo of which would be heard in England and would strengthen him and his mission.

Tilak and his party also received a hearty reception from the Indian residents of Colombo. But shortly after their arrival there they were informed that their passports were cancelled and they could not, therefore, proceed to England. Montagu, who was then in India, thus refers to the whole episode in his Diary: “The Tilak incident was very characteristic. Passports were issued to him and his friends, without reference to me. But in issuing them, it seems to me that the Government were clearly right. Tilak had to go home to fight the Chirol case, and to stop his expedition at the time when the papers are full of Lord Sydenham’s activities, would have been a fatal mistake. But having allowed him to go home, either out of sheer malice or crass stupidity, the Home Department, without reference to the Viceroy, sent home a telegram, containing so black a picture of Tilak’s antecedents and probable activities, that I do not wonder the Home Government were nervous. It seems a little strange, however, that they should have cancelled a passport given by a duly authorised authority without consulting him. However, it was done. I drafted for the Viceroy a telegram of protest, which was ultimately sent, with a request for reconsideration. It has failed, the Home Government refuse to let him sail, mainly on the ground, that the General Staff will not have it.*’ 24

Comment on the extraordinary and irregular conduct of the Home Member is superfluous. It is needless to add that the cancellation of passports evoked universal protests from all parts of India. The British War Cabinet refused permission to Tilak to visit England on the ground that all political controversies should be hushed up while England was engaged in a war of life and death. But, curiously enough, no step was taken against the anti-Indian activities and campaigns of slander carried on by Sydenham and his Indo-British Association which it was the object of Home Rule deputations to counteract. In India the bureaucracy pursued Tilak with unremitting hostility. He was not invited to the War Conference summoned by the Viceroy at Delhi. Montagu disapproved of this step to exclude "that biggest leader in India at this moment". Gandhi also protested and refused to attend the Conference if Tilak, Mrs. Besant and Ali Brothers were not invited, but later was persuaded by the Viceroy to change his view.

Public meetings were held in almost every important town throughout India protesting against the exclusion of prominent Home Eulers, including Tilak and Mrs. Besant, from the Delhi Conference. It appeared later, from a statement of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Munro, that their names were included by the Government of India in the list of persons to be invited, but the Governments of Bombay and Madras made their own selection. On 22 April, a manifesto signed by Tilak, Annie Besant, Subrahmania, Kasturiranga Aiyangar, Rangaswami Aiyangar, Patel, Jinnah, Bomanji, Motilal Ghose, C. R. Das, Hasan Imam, Khaparde and many others was sent to the Government of.India and England. This manifesto, in vigorous but restrained language, elucidated the national view that "if India is to make great sacrifices for the Empire it must be as a partner in the Empire and not a Dependency. ,r25

There was a similar War Conference in Bombay on 10 June, in which Tilak was invited, perhaps as a result of Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy. How he and the Home Buie League were insulted by the Governor, and Tilak left the meeting along with others has been described above, 26

Some time after his return from Colombo, Tilak was permitted, on 8 June, 1918, to visit England in connection with the case which he had brought against Sir Valentine Chirol for libel, on condition that he would abstain from political agitation during his stay in England. He left for England on 19 September, 1918 , and could not therefore accept the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress to which office he was elected on the eve of his departure. In the latter part of 1919, two delegations, respectively of the Home Buie League and Congress, arrived at London, and Tilak was a member of both. As a matter of fact Tilak was now the leading figure in the Congress, which was completely dominated by the Nationalists after the Moderates had boycotted it in 1918. In spite of this change, the British Congress Committee and its organ, India , continued on the old line, and supported the Montagu-Chelmsford Beport. As a consequence the Congress had stopped the financial aid to the Committee. Tilak now compelled the Committee to fall in line with the Congress. He also addressed many public meetings. A line of cleavage soon manifested itself between him and Mrs. Besant who now supported Montagu-Chelmsford proposals and gradually veered round to the Moderate party. Tilak, in his speeches, favoured a middle course between an outright rejection and a whole-hearted support

While Tilak was thus busy in England, momentous events happened in India such as agitation against Bowlatt Bills ending with Jallianwala Bagh massacre and Martial Law in the Punjab. It is at least partly due to Tiiak's absence from India during this crisis that the political leadership gradually passed into the hands of Gandhi.

MONTAGU-CIIELMSFORD REFORMS

1. The scheme is known as "Gokhalc's Political Testament". For details of the scheme, cf. ICND, pp. 527-29.

2. See p. 253.

3. Karmarkar, pp. 262-33a. See p. 179.

3b .IAR, 1919, Part II, First part, pp. ix-xiii.

3c. Hist. Congr., I, p. 134.

4. See p. 256.

4a. See p. 257.

4b. See p. 258.

5. IAR, 1919, Part II, Second part, p. 12.

S.ICND., p. 630.

7. See p. 250.

8. The statements of Montagu, unless otherwise stated, are taken from his book, An Indian Diary (1930). Page references are given in the footnote only when the date of entry is not mentioned.

9. For the list of 108 Associations permitted to present Address and 104 Associations refused permission to do so, cf- IAR , 1919, Part IV, pp. 3-9.

9a. Montagu, Diary, pp. 58-9.

9b. Rushbrook Williams, India in 1917-8, p. 69c. Montagu, Diary, p. 8.

10. For the Round Table Group cf. Hist. Congr., I. p. 152; 1CND., pp. 539-44, pp. 558-9.

11. Hist. Congr., I. p. 152.

12. Athalye, Tilak, p. 251-2.

13. IAR., 1919, Part IV, pp. 116-20.

14. Ibid, p. 128.

14a. See p. 271.

14b. 1CND, p. 632.

15. jChintamani, p. 106

16. See above, p. 271.

17. 1CND., p. 634; Bagal, History of the Indian Association, p. 215.

18. ICND., p. 634.

19. IAR., 1919, Part IV, pp. 116-8.

20. Ibid, Part I, p- 9.

21. Ibid, Part IV, pp. 150-2.

22. Montagu, Diary, pp. 104, 217; ICND; pp. 555, 634; see above, p. 271.

23. Montagu, Diary, pp. 82, 104, 134, 21723a See pp. 94, 123, 271.

24. Montagu, Diary, pp. 345-6.

25. IAR, 1919, Part IV, pp. 87-8

26. See pp. 185-6.

CHAPTER XI

ANNUS MIRABILIS - J919

The year 1919 constitutes an important landmark in the history of British India. It will ever remain memorable for four outstanding events which shaped India’s future relations with Britain.

These are—

1. The Rowlatt Bills and the reign of terror in the Punjab, culminating in Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and barbarous enforce-, men! of martial law in the Punjab.

2. The emergence of M. K. Gandhi of Satydgraha fame in South Africa as the political leader in India.

3. Development of Pan-Islamism as a force in Indian politics.

4. The Passing of the Government of India Act on the basis of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Although these factors were inter-connected to a certain extent, it will be convenient to deal with them separately even at the risk of some repetition.

I. ROWLATT BILL

Lord Chelmsford followed the policy of reform-cum-repression pursued by his two predecessors. So on 10 December, 1917, even while he was busy, along v/ith the Secretary of State, formulating principles and proposals of constitutional reform, he appointed, with the latter’s consent, a Committee, (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, and (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that had arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them.

Mr. Justice Rowlatt, Judge of the King's, Bench Division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice, was the President, and Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice of Bombay, Sir Veraey Lovett, Member of the Board of Revenue, U.P., C.V. Kumaraswami Sastri, Judge of the High Court of Madras and Mr. Probhash Chandra Mitter, Vakil of the High Court, Calcutta, were the members of the Committee.

Montagu, it may be noted in passing, merely followed the illustrious precedent of Morley who was a great upholder of the twin policy of conciliation and coercion.

The Sedition Committee—as the Rowiatt Committee was officially called —held its sittings in camera and merely examined the facts and figures submitted by the Government of India in respect of the revolutionary movement in India since its very inception. It had also before it a scheme of special legislation prepared by the Government of India to take the place of the Defence of India Act which would cease to operate after the War was over. So the Committee was mainly intended to prepare an official history of the revolutionary movement in India and to register its approval of the measures proposed by the Government of India to put it down. Montagu was not only fully aware of all this, but also realized the great danger involved. He went out of his way to warn Justice Rowiatt against 4 'the plan which had been prepared for him by the Government of India"—a plan of "Government by means of internment and police." 1 The warning went unheeded. The Sedition Committee submitted its Report in April, 1918. With reference to the first para of the terms of reference the Committee gave a very comprehensive review of the revolutionary activities in different parts of India to which reference has been made in Chapter VIII. In compliance with the second para of the terms of reference, the Committee recommended special legislation, both punitive and preventive in character, which perpetuated the suspension of ordinary law safeguarding the rights and liberties of the people, and left them at the tender mercies of the Executive or rather the Police—even in times of peace, exactly as in the critical days of the War. The Government of India lost no time in framing two Bills on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee, which really gave effect to their own idea. It is unnecessary to describe the provisions of the Bills in detail, 2 only one of which was passed. It will suffice to indicate, in broad outline, the manner in which the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919, sought to curtail the liberty of the people. It provided for speedy trial of offences by a Special Court, consisting of three High Court Judges. There was no appeal from this Court, which could meet in camera and take into consideration evidence not admissible under the Indian Evidence Act. The Provincial Government could order any person, on suspicion, "to furnish security or to notify his residence, or to reside in a particular area or to abstain from any specified act, or finally to report himself to the police". The Provincial Government was also given powers to search a place and arrest a suspected person without warrant and keep him in confinement "in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may *specify". There was provision for an Investigation Committee of three persons appointed by the Provincial

Government before whom the person dealt with under the Act could appear in camera , and offer an explanation, but he had no right to engage a lawyer to advise him.

According to the Government view these drastic provisions, which practically denied the protection of law to Indians, were absolutely necessary for the security of life and property. But these were strongly denied by Indians of all shades of political opinion. Such an action, they thought, was specially impolitic at a time when the constitutional reforms, then in the offing, were expected to improve the condition of the country; for the enactment of the ruthless measures was sure to destroy the chances of any such improvement. They drew the attention of the Government to the numerous protest meetings against these "lawless laws", and the wave of indignation that was passing from one end of the country to the other. All the non-official Indian members of the Indian Legislative Council were united in opposing the measure, and four of them resigned by way of protest. Indeed such a unique opposition of Indians to a Government measure was never witnessed since the Partition of Bengal. But the Government of India, like the Bourbons in France, never learnt from past experience, and remained adamant. The Bill was passed on 18 March—the officials alone voting in its favour, and placed on the Statute Book on 21 March, 1919.

H. THE EMERGENCE OF GANDHI AS POLITICAL LEADER

1. Early Activities in South Africa

The most important event in Indian politics in 1919 is the emergence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, better known as Mahatma Gandhi, as the political leader. In view of the dominant role he played in the momentous events that led to the freedom of India from British control, and the novel methods and the new spirit which he introduced in Indian politics, it is necessary to give some idea of his early activities.

Gandhi, born on 2 October, 1869, in Porbandar, Saurashtra (Kathiawar Peninsula), in a well-to-do family, proceeded to England in 1888, and returned to India as a Barrister-at-law in 1891. But he proved a failure as a lawyer both in Rajkot and Bombay. In May, 1893, he proceeded to Natal in South Africa as the lawyer of a firm of Porbandar Muslims and was deeply shocked by the political and social disabilities, imposed by law and usage upon the Indian residents in South Africa, to which reference has been made above. 3 He himself received the most humiliating treatment on more than one occasion. He was spurred into activity by the steps

taken by the Natal Government for depriving the Indians of their right to elect members of the Natal Legislative Assembly, and set up a permanent political organization under the name of Natal Indian Congress. In spite of Gandhi's efforts a Bill for disfranchising the Indians was passed, and an annual per capita tax of £ 3 was imposed upon the indentured Indian labourers who refused to renew their contract. Besides, in 1896, he was the victim of a murderous assault by a band of white men. 4 But, in spite of all this, Gandhi formed an Ambulance Corps to aid the British during the Boer War and joined the British army with a platoon of 24 Indian stretcher-bearers during the Zulu rebellion (in Natal) of 1906 , when there was a strong current of anti-British feeling in India during the Swadeshi movement. He volunteered, he said, be-, cause u the British empire existed for the welfare of the world", and he had a "genuine sense of loyalty" to it. 5 This, as well as the fact that he seems to have been unaware of the doctrine of Passive Resistance and Non-co-operation preached by Arabinda Ghosh as early as 1907, seems to indicate that Gandhi was not in close touch with Indian politics at this period, and, in any case, had no sympathy with the advanced nationalist anti-British ideas preached in India by Arabinda, Tilak and others. 6

But it was not long before Gandhi was engaged in a grim struggle with the white settlers in South Africa over the Asiatic Law Amendment Act which affected about ten thousand Indians in Transvaal, who were to be registered with finger prints like a criminal on pain of severe penalties. It was in the course of resistance against this legislation that Gandhi first used his new political weapon which came to be known later as Satydgrdha . He asked the people to defy the 'Black Act' by refusing to register and give finger prints, and to go to jail, or if need be, die. The people took an oath to this effect. After about 150 men, including Gandhi himself, went to jail, an agreement was reached, but though the Satydgraha was called off, the Government of South Africa did not fulfil the terms of the agreement. Gandhi adopted similar tactics against another Act passed in 1907 preventing the Indians from entering into Transvaal. He led a body of Indians to cross the frontier in defiance of the Act. They were sent to jail and subjected to great hardship. Gandhi went on a deputation to England, but achieved no success.

A judgment of the Supreme Court on 14 March, 1913, made illegal all marriages in South Africa which were not registered and performed in accordance with Christian rites. Gandhi requested the Government to pass special legislation to validate Indian marriages, but in vain. So Satydgraha of women was offered on this issue, and they crossed over to Transvaal in batches of sixteen.

A number of them, including Gandhi's wife, Kasturbai, were sent to prison, and those who were not arrested roused the mine-workers against the iniquities of the £3/- tax. About 6,000 miners in New Castle went on sympathetic strike, and would not yield even though they were driven from their lodgings and had to live in the open with their women and children. Gandhi put himself at their head, and on 28 October, 1913, marched with more than two thousand men, 127 women, and 57 children, to the border of Transvaal to offer Satyagraha. Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. The strikers were also arrested and taken back to New Castle. "The labourers were brave men, and they flatly declined to work on the mines with the result that they were brutally whipped .... (and) kicked .... But the poor labourers patiently put up with all their tribulations". There were strikes and Satyagraha by women in other places in sympathy with New Castle miners. The Government resorted to firing which resulted in a number of casualties. The whole Indian community rose as one man against the tyranny of the whites.

Ultimately, Smuts opened negotiations with Gandhi. "You can't put twenty thousand Indians in Jail", said he, and on 30 June, 1914, a settlement was arrived at. "The £.3/- tax was annulled; Hindu, Moslem and Parsi marriages were held valid; Indians bora in South Africa could enter the Cape Colony, but free movement between Union provinces was otherwise prohibited; indentured contract labour from India would cease arriving from 1920; free Indians, however, could continue to enter, and their wives could come from India to join their husbands." 7 The Satyagraha campaign which had commenced in September, 1906, was closed by the passing of the Indian Relief Act of 1914.

2. Satyagraha

As Gandhi introduced the principle and technique of Satyagraha in Indian politics and under his leadership it played a dominant role in the struggle for freedom, it is necessary to explain at this stage the general ideas and philosophy underlying it.

The word Satyagraha is a compound of two separate words, satya (truth) and dgraha (adherence, holding fast). Its root meaning is 'holding on to truth', Truth-force. But Gandhi also called it Love-force or Soul-force. The term Satyagraha was coined by Gandhi in South Africa to indicate the movement which was originally described, even by Gandhi himself, as 'Passive Resistance*. The word Satyagraha was deliberately substituted for it later, both because Gandhi felt ashamed to use an English word, and also

because Gandhi wanted to emphasize the essential difference between his movement and the Passive Resistance. As Gandhi himself put it: <c Satydgraha differs from Passive Resistance as the North Pole from the South. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak, and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence for the purpose of gaining

one’s end; whereas the former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest, and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form.”[8]

This is further elucidated by a staunch follower of Gandhi in the following words: “Passive Resistance is a weapon of the weak. It does not eschew violence as a matter of principle, but only because of the lack of the means of violence or out of sheer expediency. It would use arms if and when they are available, or when there is a reasonable chance of success. Love has no place in it. Satyagraha, on the other hand, is the law of love, the way of love for all.”[9]

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Non-violence, which forms the very basis of Satydgraha, is thus expounded by Gandhi: “When a person claims to be non-violent, he is expected not to be angry with one who has injured him. He will not wish him harm; he will wish him well; he will not swear at him; he will not cause him. any physical hurt. He will put up with all the injury to which he is subjected by the wrongdoer. Thus non-violence is complete innocence. Complete nonviolence is complete absence of ill-will against all that lives. It therefore embraces even sub-human life, not excluding noxious insects or beasts.... ”

“In contradistinction to passive resistance, Satydgraha is the law of love, the way of love for all. It eschews violence absolutely as a matter of principle, at all stages and in all forms. It can never go hand in hand with any kind of violent activity involving injury to person or property. The idea behind it is not to destroy or harass the opponent, but to convert him or win him over by sympathy, patience, and self-suffering. Whilst Satydgraha hates all evil and would never compromise with it, it approaches the evil-doer through love. The Satydgrahi has infinite trust in human nature and in its inherent goodness.”[10]

The aim of Satydgraha is the conversion of the opponent by self-suffering. Its basic assumption is the essential goodness of human nature which is bound to triumph over temporary aberration, if faced with love and self-suffering on the part of his opponent, or rather the victim of that temporary aberration. In a more philosophic phraseology it is the triumph of the soul-force over the brute-force. Gandhi describes it as follows: “Non-violence, in its dynamic condition, means conscious suffering. It does not mean

meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one’s whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire, to save his honour, his religion, his soul, and lay the foundation for that empire’s fall or its regeneration.” 11

How Satyugraha triumphs over the opponent is described in the following passage in a way more intelligible to an ordinary layman. “As a moral-—not a physical—weapon, it raises political warfare to a higher plane. Groups, powerless in a political and military sense, can fall back upon it as their only weapon. It involves self-chosen suffering and humiliation for the registers and thus demands in them unusual resources of self-mastery and strength of will. If it is effective, it is so by working on the consciences of those against whom it is being used, sapping their confidence in the exclusive rightness of their case, making their physical strength impotent and weakening their resolution by insinuating a sense of guilt for the suffering they have a part in causing.” 12

The following quotations from the writings of Gandhi, taken at random from different sources, throw further light on the whole idea:

“I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.”

“But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the condign punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces if they could.”

“I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit. I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagraha and its offshoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton."

Gandhi himself referred to non-co-operation and civil resistance (meaning probably the same thing as Civil Disobedience) as the two offshoots of Satyagraha. In addition to these two the hartal (temporary strike), picketing, non-violent raids or marches (as on salt depots in 1930), and fasting, either for a short and fixed period or unto death, are also reckoned by some to be forms of Satyagraha. Examples of all of these will be found in the course of the narrative of events and need not be described here in detail,

3. Early Activities in India

After the conclusion of the Satyagraha struggle in South Arfica, Gandhi received instructions from Gokhale to return home via London. Gandhi arrived at London on 8 August, 1914, two days after the outbreak of the Great War. Actuated by his innate spirit of loyalty to the British, Gandhi pleaded with the Indians in London to help Britain. But a good many of them opposed the idea and urged that this was the moment for making a bold declaration of Indian demands. Gandhi thought he could convert the British by love and offered the services of an Ambulance Corps. The insults and humiliations suffered by the members of the Corps at the hands of young Oxford students who were their commanding officers, were of such a character as compelled even Gandhi to offer a Satyagraha . na

When Gandhi arrived in India in January, 1915, he himself realized that he was a misfit in Indian politics and did not immediately take part in it. Gokhale was anxious to admit Gandhi as a member of the Servants of India Society, but could not do so as many members opposed it on the ground that there was a wide difference between their ideas and methods and those of Gandhi. Then, with Gokhale's approval, Gandhi set up a Satyagraha Ashram at a small village, but it was shortly removed to Ahmad abed on the Sabarmati river.

Though Gandhi was not actively engaged in politics, he occasionally reminded the British Government in India that the Gandhi of South Africa was very much alive. He was fully aware of the evils of the Indenture system of recruiting Indian labourers for the British colonies, and so when the Government refused permission to the introduction of a Bill for its immediate abolition in the Central Legislative Council, Gandhi toured all over the country to start an all-India agitation and made it clear that he would launch a Satyagraha if the system were not abolished before 31 July, 1917. The Government averted it by an announcement before that date that the system would be stopped.

This triumph of'Gandhi w r as followed by another of even a more impressive character. It was in connection with the oppression

of the indigo-planters in Champaran in Bihar, more or less of the same character as prevailed in Bengal in 1860 and has been described above. 13 Gandhi proceeded to Champaran in 1017 to inquire personally into the grievances of the indigo-cultivators, and was joined by a number of people, both local leaders and peasants. When the party reached Motihari, Gandhi was served with a notice to quit the place immediately. He defied the order, was tried in court on 18 April, and pleaded guilty. But he added that he had disregarded the order "not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience." These words and the whole demeanour of Gandhi throughout the campaign showed that a new star had arisen in the firmament of Indian politics. Its reaction was immediate. Letters and telegrams poured in, expressing readiness to join in the struggle, and the Government not only withdrew the case against Gandhi but also appointed him a member of the Committee to inquire into the grievances of the cultivators. The result was the Champaran Agrarian Bill of 1917, the first triumph in India of the new weapon forged by Gandhi, viz. Satydgraha or Civil Disobedience. The Champaran incident may be regarded as the first stage in the emergence of Gandhi as the political leader of India. Champaran also marked the beginning of his stormy career in India which was not destined to enjoy any rest till the freedom's battle was won. Even v/hile engaged in the constructive work in the villages of Champaran, Gandhi had to hurry back to Ahmadabad to lead a strike of the labourers in local mills for increase of pay. After two weeks the strikers lost their zeal and began To totter’. Thereupon Gandhi told the mill-hands, assembled in a meeting, that “unless they rally and continue the strike till a settlement is reached, or till they leave the mills altogether, he will not touch any food.” This fast, the precursor of many that were to follow, had the desired effect, both upon the labourers as well as upon the mill-owners, and a settlement was reached after 21 days’ strike.[14]

Immediately after the strike was over, Gandhi plunged himself heart and soul into a Satydgraha campaign in Kheda (or Kaira) District. Under the Land Revenue Rules, the cultivators were entitled to suspension of the revenue assessment if the yield of the crops fell below 25 per cent. The cultivators claimed that this was the case, but the Government officials denied, and refused the popular demand for arbitration. When all attempts to settle the matter failed, Gandhi advised the cultivators to resort to Satydgraha. They took a pledge not to pay the revenue and suffer all the consequences, including attachment of movables and forfeiture of lands. Gandhi was joined by a number of public men including Vallabhbliai Patel. In spite of occasional lapses, the cultivators stood firm. Their fear of officials passed away; they stood up against threats of coercion and intimidation by them, and even faced with equanimity attachments of their property and notices for forfeiture of land. The Government was ultimately forced to offer terms which were acceptable to the cultivators.[15] This successful campaign, like that at Champaran, though confined to a small locality, was watched with keen anxiety all over India and had important effect. It marks the beginning of political consciousness among the peasants and of that intimate contact between the educated public workers and the masses, which were big with future consequences. The mode of political struggle in India now entered the third stage. The period of mendicancy was followed by vigorous self-assertion and open defiance to Government, backed by such means, among others, as boycott and ‘terrorism’. The campaign of Kheda commenced the third phase, as the people began to perceive that their salvation depends upon Satyagraha which demands infinite capacity for suffering and sacrifice.

4. Agitation against Rowlatt Bills

To Gandhi the Satyagraha campaigns, referred to above, were not incompatible with loyalty to the British Government. He was as unwilling as ever to press the demands for Home Rule during the War, and willingly took an active part in the campaign of recruiting troops for the War. At the same time he wrote to the Viceroy: “I feel sure that nothing less than a definite vision of Home Rule to be realized in the shortest possible time will satisfy the Indian people.... You have appealed to us to sink domestic differences. If the appeal involves the toleration of tyranny and wrong-doing on the part of the officials, I am powerless to respond. I shall resist organized tyranny to the uttermost.” 16

Gandhi was as good as his word. As soon as the Government introduced two Bills (6 February, 1919) to give effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, Gandhi decided to organize a Satyagraha campaign. But as was his wont, he first appealed to the Viceroy to withdraw them, and when no heed was paid to it, he drafted a pledge to the effect that in case those two Bills became law “we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee, to be hereafter appointed, may think fit, and we further affirm that in this struggle, we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property”. 17 The pledge was signed by 24 persons whom Gandhi had called together in a small conference. A Satyagraha Sahhd was established with Gandhi as President to organize the campaign. As a preliminary

step Gandhi made an alUndia appeal to observe hartal for a day. It meant that the people would suspend business on that day and observe it as one of fasting and prayer. The date originally fixed was 30 March, 1919, but was subsequently changed to 6 April. The hartal was a unique success. But there were clashes between the police and the people in some localities, due in many cases to the efforts of the crowd to induce the shop-keepers to close their shops. At Delhi, where the hartal took place on 30 March, the police fired upon the crowd, killing a few* and wounding a large number. It was reported that the British nurses in the Police hospital refused to attend the wounded removed there, saying: “They have been well served. They are rebels and we wont attend on them.”

As there were great popular excitements in both Delhi and Amritsar, the local leaders invited Gandhi to visit these places, but Gandhi was prohibited from entering the Punjab. He was forcibly removed from the railway train at a station near Delhi and sent to Bombay under police escort, and set free. A vast crowd, roused to a pitch of mad frenzy by the news of Gandhi's arrest, was overjoyed as he reached Bombay and formed a procession, Though stopped by a body of mounted police, the crowd had nearly broken through the police cordon when the mounted police charged upon the dense mass of human beings. Some were trampled under foot and many were badly mauled and crushed.

Disturbances also broke out at Ahmadabad as the rumour spread that not only Gandhi but Anasuya Ben had also been put under arrest. The people, particularly the mill-hands, were infuriated and committed acts of incendiarism and violence.

According to Hunter Commitee's Report, "two officials were killed; among the rioters 28 are known to have been killed and 123 wounded. It is probable there were other casualties. Telegraph wires were cut at eight places in Ahmadabad and at fourteen places outside. The value of the property destroyed by the rioters at Ahmadabad was approximately nine and a half lakhs of Rupees."

Gandhi did not mince matters. He recounted the misdeeds of the people in a speech at Ahmadabad on 14 April, 1919, in the following words: "I have said times without number that Satyagraha admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism; and still in the name of Satyagraha we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison house or the scaffold, I should not like to be saved." 17 *

ANNUS MIKA B.ILIS —15)11)

From Ahmadabad Gandhi proceeded to Nadiad. As he saw the actual state of things there and received reports, it suddenly dawned upon him that he had committed a grave error in calling upon the people to launch a campaign of civil disobedience. 'He felt that a Satydgrahi must scrupulously obey all laws; for only then does the right accrue to him of the civil disobedience of certain laws in well-defined circumstances. No one had a right to adopt Satydgraha before he had thoroughly qualified himself for it, and Gandhi realized that his error lay in his failure to observe this necessary limitation. It was on this occasion that Gandhi declared his Satydgraha campaign to be a ‘Himalayan miscalculation’, 18 and, as an expiation, observed a three days’ fast. He also suspended the civil disobedience on 18 April, 1919, and decided not to re-start it on a mass scale without creating a band of well-tried, pure-hearted volunteers who thoroughly understood the strict conditions of Satydgraha, could explain them to the people, and by sleepless vigilance keep them on the right path. Accordingly, he went to Bombay and raised a corps of Satydgrahi volunteers through the Satydgraha Sahhd . But Gandhi found that people took little interest in the peaceful side of Satydgraha. The number of volunteers dwindled and even those who remained did not take a regular training.

There were many who were unhappy over Gandhi’s decision to suspend Satydgraha. They felt that if all-round peace was regarded as a condition precedent to Satydgraha , mass- Satydgraha would be an impossibility. Gandhi, however, held the view that those who wanted to lead the people to Satydgraha ought to be able to keep them within the limits of non-violence expected of them.

IH. THE TRAGEDY OF THE PUNJAB

Even before Gandhi suspended his Satydgraha campaign, events had been moving fast in the Punjab where the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O’Dwyer, had already exasperated the whole province by his ruthless suppression of the rights of the people and the insults heaped upon the educated classes. He interned hundreds of local men, gagged the vernacular press, and prevented the nationalist papers published outside the Punjab from entering the province. As already mentioned above, he was hated by the people for his tyrannical methods of collecting funds for war and forcible recruiting of men for the army. One of the devices adopted by him was “to force Lambardars (land-owners) to furnish recruits on the penalty of forfeiting their rights to the land.” 19 All this caused so much popular resentment that during the special session of the Congress at Bombay (1918) the delegates from the Punjab told

their fellow-delegates that “they were living over a volcano, which any act of exceptional tyranny might cause to burst out.” 20

This proved to be a prophetic utterance and the volcano burst out soon after the hartal of April 6. Within a week a considerable part of the Punjab was aflame and the authorities put down the “rebellion” by such measures as no civilised Government in modern times had ever been known to take against its own subjects.

It is not possible to give a detailed account of even the most important incidents that took place in various localities. It will suffice to give a few typical instances, both of the popular violence and of the steps taken by the Government.

1. LAHORE

At Lahore the hartal passed off smoothly on 6 April, but there was great excitement on 10 April over the news of Gandhi’s arrest. A peaceful procession of about 200 or 300 students was stopped, but as they neither moved forward nor turned back, they were fired upon. Another crowd of about 10,000 or 15,000 persons, asked to disperse within ten minutes, was going to disperse when fire was opened upon them, bullets beside buckshots being used. There was a similar firing upon those who attended a meeting at the Badshahi mosque. Three local leaders, Mr. Har Kishen Lai, Dunichand and Pandit Rambhuj Dutta, who went to see the Magistrate, were deported on the 14th. The hartal continued until the 18th, when the shopkeepers were forced to open their shops under Martial Law. 21

2. GU JR AN WALLA

The trouble started over the killing of a calf and hanging it on a railway bridge. It was alleged that the police did it by way of insulting the Hindus. On April 14, a big crowd surrounded a train, stoned it, and burnt two railway bridges including the one mentioned above. The crowd then set fire to the telegraph office, post office, railway station, Dak Bungalow, the office of the Collector, a railway shed, a church and a school. 22

3. KASUR

In Kasur the violence of the crowd took a more serious turn. It is alleged that the people got excited by the conduct of the police and were highly provoked. In any case, the crowd got out of all control on April 12, burnt the main post-office, Munsiff's office and a small oil shed, did considerable damage to the Railway station signal and telegraph wires, and did other acts of rowdyism. They also attacked a train and beat two European soldiers to death 23

4. AMRITSAR 24

The two hartals on 30 March and 6 April passed off peacefully and there was no trouble till 9 April, when the Government of Sir Michael O'Dwyer deported two prominent local leaders, Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew. Hartal was immediately declared and a large crowd of demonstrators marched through the principal streets in the city. On their way the crowd came to know of Gandhi's arrest, but though highly excited, marched peacefully till it was checked and firing was opened on the unarmed mass of human beings at the railway level-crossing, called the Hall Gate Bridge. This unwarranted act of brutal violence maddened a section of the people who got entirely out of hand. 4 'Five Europeans were murdered and several buildings, including the telephone exchange, two banks, the Town Hall, and the Indian Christian Church, were attacked and fired, and, in some instances, destroyed. Three of those killed were officials of the National Bank and the Chartered Bank. A lady missionary doctor, Miss Sherwood, was set upon hv the mob, struck with sticks and fists, and left unconscious in the street. She was subsequently rescued by some Indians, who took her into a house and cared for her until she was restored to her friends. Later, the crowd again attempted to pass the Hall Gate Bridge, and were fired upon, with twenty to thirty casualties. The telegraph wires were cut and two railway stations outside the city were attacked." 25

Things seemed to have settled down on the 11th. A big funeral procession carrying the dead bodies of the victims of police firing passed off smoothly, and no untoward incident happened in course of the day. But things took a bad turn with the arrival, on the evening of the same day (11 April), of Brigadier General Dyer, who immediately established de facto Martial Law, though it was not officially proclaimed before 15 April.

Dyer began his regime on the 12th by indiscriminate arrests and the issue of a proclamation prohibiting all meetings and gatherings. But, as the Hunter Committee reported, the proclamation was not read in many parts of the city. This omission, deliberate or accidental, was very unfortunate, as it was announced on the 12th evening that a public meeting would be held at Jallianwalla Bagh on the 13th at 4-30 p.m. Although Dyer was fully aware of it, he took no steps to warn the people about its illegality, or prevent its being held by stationing troops at the entrance of the Bagh. But soon after the meeting had begun, Dyer arrived on the spot with armoured cars and troops (fifty rifles). He stationed himself and his troops on a rising ground at the entrance of the Bagh, and then, without issuing any warning, ordered the troops to fire, at about 100 yards’ range, upon a dense crowd, estimated by him at 6,000 and by others at 10,000 and more, but practically unarmed, and all quite defenceless. “The panic-stricken multitude broke at once, but for ten consecutive minutes he kept up a merciless fussilade— in all 1650 rounds—on that seething mass of humanity, caught like rats in a trap, vainly rushing for the few narrow exits or lying flat on the ground to escape the rain of bullets, which he personally directed to the points where the crowd was thickest.” The official estimate of the killed—at first 250 and then 500—was based upon an inquiry held four months after the tragedy. According to more reliable estimate the death roll was probably about 1,000.

Dyer was very frank in his evidence before the Hunter Committee. He admitted that his act was deliberate and he had fully made up his mind while marching his men to Jallianwalla, and would not have flinched from still greater slaughter if the narrowness of the approaches had not compelled him to leave his machineguns behind. His purpose, he declared, was to strike terror into the whole of the Punjab”[26] He also admitted that he could have dispersed the crowd without firing, but that would have been derogatory to his dignity as a defender of law and order. And so, remarks Pandit Motilal Nehru, "in order to maintain his self-respect, he thought it his duty to fire and fire well till his ammunition was exhausted and 1,000 persons lay dead on the ground. There ended his duty. It was none of his business, he said, to look after the dead and the wounded. It was no one's business. The defenders of law and order had won a great victory, they had crushed the great rebellion What more was. needed?" 27

But Dyer does not stand alone. The Government of India and a section of the British people—men and women, women more than men—both in India and in Britain, endorsed his action and rewarded him for it.

The cold-blooded massacre at Jallian walla Bagh, to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in the annals of any civilized Government, took place before Martial Law was declared and the administration was still, at least nominally, in the hands of the civil authority. Martial Law was proclaimed at Amritsar on the 15th April, 1919, and in five districts of the Punjab between 15th and 24th April. It was withdrawn on 11 June except on railway lands.

The facts elicited by the Hunter Committee from the officials concerned leave no doubt that there was hardly any justification for the introduction of Martial Law to control the situation.

As regards the continuance of the Martial Law even the majority of the Hunter Committee were constrained to observe: "The wisdom of continuing Martial Law for the whole length of time it remained effective in the Punjab is more open to objection than the original declaration." 28

The regime of Martial Law was a veritable reign of terror, characterized by acts of brutality and deliberate rascality unworthy of any civilized government or of officers claiming to belong to a civilized nation.

Dyer, as mentioned above, did not take any step to look after the wounded at Jallianwalla Bagh. He said, 'it was not his job, they might go to the hospital if they liked'. But on that very day (13th April) "he had issued a Curfew Order, that all persons must be indoors after 8 p.m., and would go abroad in the streets at the risk of being shot at sight. Is it surprising that the wounded lay in their agony, that the dead lay putrefying in the hot atmosphere of an Amritsar April night, that the vultures and jackals came to !^ar the flesh from the bodies of the innocent victims of this dreadful holocaust, while the anxious relatives of innocent victims remained terrified in their houses?” “The Curfew Order in Amritsar was maintained for weeks, and was administered with the utmost rigour”. “Among General Dyer’s inspirations was the cutting off of the water supply and the electric supply of the city.” One of the most astounding inventions of Dyer’s fertile brain was the ‘crawling order’. “By his orders, for several days, everyone passing through the street in which Miss Sherwood, the lady doctor, was assaulted, was ordered to crawl with belly to the ground.” “Floggings were a common feature of the Martial Law administration. Some men, who were alleged to have been concerned in the assault on Miss Sherwood, were brought to the scene of the assault, and publicly flogged in the street. They were tried afterwards!” “A public platform for whippings was erected near the fort, and a number of triangles for floggings were erected in various parts of the city.”

“On major charges 298 people were put before the Martial Law Commissions, who tried cases unfettered by the ordinary recognised rules of procedure or laws of evidence. Of these 218 were convicted: 51 were sentenced to death, 46 to transportation for life, 2 to imprisonment for ten years, 79 for seven years, 10 for five years, 13 for three years, and 11 for lesser periods.” 2 *

But Amritsar did not stand alone and Dyer had a worthy colleague in Capt. Doveton at Kasur. Capt. Doveton confessed that

some people were made to touch the ground with their foreheads by way of making them acknowledge authority. He heard of ‘Sadhus being whitewashed.’ Ahmad Khan said that one or two persons were made to get down on all fours and draw lines with their noses. This was done by Doveton’s orders. Some persons were lime-washed and made to stand in the sun. As many as 107 persons were kept in a public cage, without any overhead covering, specially built for the purpose. These 107 suspects—not yet criminals in the eye of the law—were exposed to the burning sun and were obliged to answer calls of nature just where they were. Prostitutes of the town were called to witness flogging. Students had done nothing, but were excited. So six were selected at random and whipped. In some cases Doveton gave considerable number of lashes to school-boys. Men were sentenced to skip twenty times without stopping. Many villages were raided and arrests made between midnight and four in the morning. Flogging took place in public, and photographic records of these disgusting incidents are in existence. 30

Lala Lajpat Rai, in his Presidential Address at the Indian National Congress in Calcutta, held on 4th September, 1920, has given a gruesome account of "the outrages that were actually committed in the name of law and order." A few instances are quoted below:

"Raliyaram and Abdulla have said that they were forced not only to crawl on their bellies, but, while crawling, were kicked by the soldiers with their boots and struck with the butt-ends of their rifles. L. Kahan Chand, a blind man, told how even he was made to crawl and was kicked. Six boys were flogged in public; one of them, Sunder Singh, became senseless after the fourth stripe, but after some water was poured into his mouth by soldiers, he regained consciousness; flogging was then resumed. He lost his consciousness for the second time, but the flogging never ceased till he was given 20 stripes."

"The invalid wife of Manohar Lai, Bar-at-Law, who was for some time Minto Professor at the University of Calcutta, and their children were dragged from their rooms, and forced to take shelter in the servants' quarters and the kitchen. He was kept under arrest for 28 days and then let off without a charge and without trial."

"Lala Beli Ram Kapur of Hafizabad was arrested and locked up with 23 others in a room measuring 12 by 25, the same room having to be used by all of them for natural purposes also. They were kept as under-trial prisoners up to the 6th June."

"Mr. Bosworth Sleuth went towards the women. He removed their veils and used abusive language. He called them 'flies, bitches she-asses’ and worse things. He said to them: ‘Your skirts will be examined by the Police Constables. When you were sleeping with your husbands why did you allow them to get up and go*? He spat on them.” The treatment accorded to an aged widow, Gurdevi, narrated by Laj pat Rai, is even more damaging. 31 An order was passed at Lyallpur and Gujranwalla that whenever the inhabitants met any Gazetted military or civil officer, those riding an animal 01 wheeled conveyance would alight, and those who had a raised umbrella should lower it. Colonel O’Brien who was responsible for the above order at Kasur was guilty of most inhuman treatment to persons of all categories. 32

The Punjab was treated by the military as even worse than an enemy territory. The Lieutenant-Governor himself conceived the idea of sending aeroplanes to throw bombs upon the rioters even when a section of responsible Englishmen believed that the danger from the mob was at an end. Bombs were freely used even where there was no gathering of armed men. At Gujranwalla there was promiscuous dropping of bombs and firing of altogether 255 rounds of machine guns, apparently at close quarters. O’Brien admitted that ‘the crowd was fired on (from aeroplanes) wherever found’. lit. Dodkins, R.A.F., machine-gunned twenty peaceful peasants working in the field. He dropped a bomb on another party in front Of a house, simply because a man was addressing them. The mentality of these officers, who can only be regarded as depraved specimens of humanity, may be construed from the following report of Carberry’s evidence: “Major Carberry, R.A.F., bombed a party of people because he thought they were rioters. The crowd was running away and he fired to disperse them. As the crowd dispersed, he fired machine gun into the village itself. He could make no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty. He was at a height of 200 feet and could see perfectly what he was doing. His object was not accomplished by the dropping of bombs alone

.The firing was not intended to do damage alone. It was in

the interests of the villagers themselves! By killing a few, he thought, he would prevent the people from collecting again. This had a

moral effect .” After that he went over the city, dropping bombs, and fired at the people who were trying to get away. The official report speaks of 150 rounds. But Carberry says in his evidence that he followed up the bombs with “several hundred rounds of machine-gun fire on the town itself.” The official estimate of the casualties by bombing and machine-gunning from aeroplanes is nine killed and sixteen wounded. Horniman justly comments:

‘"Hie public are asked to believe that this promiscuous dropping of bombs and the firing of altogether 255 rounds of a machine gun, apparently at close quarters, into crowds of people, resulted in the killing of nine and wounding of only about sixteen people! Can anyone, who remembers the work of the Gorman aeroplanes in England during the war, doubt that the popular assertion of many more casualties is well founded? The Report is transparently dishonest.” 33

For eight months the Government of India tried to draw a veil over the horrible atrocities perpetrated in the Punjab. But the news of the terrible events slowly percolated to other parts of India, and a wave of horror and indignation swept the country from one end to the other. The great poet Rabindra-nath Tagore relinquished his Knighthood as a measure of protest and wrote a strong but dignified letter to the Viceroy, “giving voice to the protest of the millions of my countrymen surprised into a dumb anguish of terror.” He felt that as “the universal agony of indignation roused in the hearts of our people has been ignored by our rulers,—possibly congratulating themselves for imparting, what they imagine as salutary lessons, the time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in their incongruous context of humiliation.” He therefore begged the Viceroy to relieve him of the title of Knight.

The reaction of Gandhi to the grim tragedy brought about by his Satyagraha campaign appears to be somewhat mysterious. As mentioned above, he had suspended the Satydgrdha movement on April 18, in view of the mob violence. On 21 July, 1919, he issued a statement in which he said that on account of indications of goodwill on the part of the Government and advice from many of his friends, he would not resume civil disobedience, as it was not his purpose to embarrass the Government. He called on the

Satyagrahis to work for the constructive programme, viz., use of indigenous goods and unity between Hindus and Muslims.

On the other hand, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya patiently collected the details of the tragic incidents as far as possible and sought to place them before the public in the shape of 92 leading questions in the Central Legislative Council alleging specific instances of brutality. These questions were disallowed by the Viceroy and the Government immediately introduced a Bill of Indemnity for protecting the civil and military officials in the Punjab from consequences of their action. The questions asked by Pandit Malaviya, however, sent such a thrill of horror over the whole country, that the Viceroy announced the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry in his opening speech. The non-official members suggested the postponement of the Indemnity Bill in view of the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry—for it would be nothing short of a parody to absolve from punishment, in advance, those very persons whose conduct was the subject of inquiry. But the amendment was negatived and the Bill was passed.

The Indian public opinion and the political leaders, however, shared the sentiments of Tagore and Malaviya, rather than those of Gandhi, whose moral philosophy and humanitarian spirit, transcending the narrow limits of nation or country, evidently, had not yet made any appeal to his own people. On 7 June, 1919, the All-India Congress Committee appointed a sub-committee of nine members for the conduct of an inquiry into the recent occurrences in the Punjab and other places.

The Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Viceroy consisted of Lord Hunter (Chairman), Mr. Justice Rankin, Mr. Rice, Major-General Sir George Barrow, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Sultan Ahmad. Pandit Jagat Narain and Mr. Thomas Smith were later added and the Committee began its work in October, 1919.

In the meantime the Congress Committee had started its investigations. They thought it advantageous to co-operate with the official Committee and accordingly requested them:

1. to release the leaders, who were undergoing imprisonment, on parole or bail, for the period of inquiry only, in order to make a proper and fair investigation of the Punjab events;

2 . to permit the Committee to lead evidence throughout and

to cross-examine the witnesses of the other side;

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3. to supply a list of official witnesses and their printed

statements which would enable their counsel to cross-examine the witnesses properly.

Popular opinion throughout India backed these requests as very proper and reasonable in order to elicit the truth, but the official Committee and the Punjab Government refused to accede to the requests. The Congress Committee thereupon refused to cooperate with the official Committee.

Thus the Hunter Committee had mainly to rely on the official documents sanctioning, or conniving at, the atrocities which formed the subject-matter of investigation.

The Congress Committee of Inquiry consisted of Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Fazl-ul-Haq and Abbas Tyabji; M.R. Jayakar replacing Nehru when the latter was nominated President of the Congress. The members of this Committee visited the disturbed areas and took evidence of 1700 persons, the statements of about 600 of whom were incorporated in their Report. These witnesses were duly warned of the consequences of allegations they-might

make against the Government, but they Voluntarily made the statements without being afraid of the oppressions they were likely to suffer at the hands of the Government.

The Congress Committee submitted a unanimous report on 25 March, 1920. The main findings of the Committee are summarised below, in their own words as far as possible:

‘We believe that mob excesses in Amritsar and elsewhere were wrong and deserving of condemnation. Evidence shows that Sir Michael O’Dwyer subjected the Punjab to the gravest provocation under which the people momentarily lost their self-control. If Gandhi had not been arrested and Kitchlew and Satyapal not been deported, innocent English lives would have been saved and valuable property including English churches not destroyed. These two acts of the Punjab Government were uncalled for and served like matches applied to material rendered inflammable by previous acts.

‘The theory of rebellion or war or conspiracy to overthrow the Government completely broke down before the Hunter Commission; there is no proof of any organisation outside the Punjab behind the so-called conspiracy. Martial Law was therefore unjustified, much more so was its prolongation for nearly two months. The measures taken under it were such as to disgrace any Government calling itself civilised. Nearly twelve hundred lives were lost, at least three thousand six hundred men were wounded, and some permanently disabled. The vengeance taken was out of all proportion to the wrong done by the people. The slow torture administered to survivors during the Martial Law period, we have sufficiently

described.Jallianwalla Bagh massacre was a calculated piece

of inhumanity and unparallelled for its ferocity in the history of modem British administration.

‘It is impossible to ignore or slur over the inaction, if not active participation, of the Central Government. The Viceroy never examined peoples’ case and ignored the telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Punjab Government without any inquiry. He kept back from the public and the Imperial Government the horrible tales of massacres and other atrocities, even those which have been admitted by official witnesses and must have been known to him; he took all possible steps to prevent the public from ascertaining the truth and allowed Mr. Thompson, Chief Secretary, Punjab Government, to indulge in a distortion of facts. He expressed such a callous indifference to popular feelings, and betrayed such criminal want of imagination, that he would not postpone death sentences pronounced by Martial

Law Tribunals except after he was forced to do so by the Secretary of State. He has proved himself incapable of holding the high office of the Viceroy and should be recalled.

‘O’Dwyer, Dyer, Johnson, O’Brien, Bosworth Smith, Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be impeached. But future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by dismissing them.’

The Report of the Hunter Committee was issued on 28 May, 1920. It was not unanimous, the five European members signing the Majority Report and the three Indian members, the Minority Report. Such a difference was perhaps inevitable, but it was due to a large extent to the attitude of the President which was hardly befitting the Chairman of a semi-judicial body. An interesting glimpse is thrown on this aspect by the following reminiscence recorded by Chimanlal Setalvad, a member of the Committee.

“The discussions, which were on occasions heated, led to some unpleasantness, particularly because of the intolerant attitude adopted by Lord Hunter towards any difference of opinion. During one of the discussions I had with Lord Hunter, he lost his temper and said: ‘You people (meaning myself and my Indian colleagues) want to drive the British out of the country’. This naturally annoyed me very much and I said: ‘It is perfectly legitimate for Indians to wish to be free of foreign rule and Indian independence can be accomplished by mutual understanding and goodwill. The driving out process will only become necessary if the British are represented in this country by people as shortsighted and intolerant as yourself’. After this, though under the same roof, we, the Indian members, ceased to talk to Lord Hunter.”

The Majority and the Minority Reports agreed upon the following points:

(a) The Satydgraha movement was mainly responsible for the outbreak.

(b) The police and the military were justified in firing upon the mob. As regards Jallianwalla Bagh, the Majority held that Dyer's conduct was open to criticism in two respects; first, that he fired without warning; and second, that he continued firing too long. They thought Dyer committed a grave error of judgment, but could not be blamed for not attending the wounded, for no one was exposed to unnecessary suffering for want of medical attention. The Minority differed on this point, and took a graver view of the whole incident, stigmatising Dyer's conduct as inhuman and un-British.

(c) Both commented strongly upon exclusion of lawyers from outside Punjab, considered the sentences of flogging to be too numerous, and condemned the crawling order and the penalties imposed upon the students.

(d) Both exonerated the Government of India from all blame.

The main differences between the two were on the following points:

(a) The Majority regarded the outbreak as a rebellion. The Minority did not agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion or might have rapidly developed into one. The two consequently differed about the necessity or justification of Martial Law. The Minority stated that Martial Law came into existence when the crisis was past, at a time when the situation afforded no justification for it, and declared that its imposition for punitive purposes was constitutionally unjustifiable, and that its continuance was wholly unnecessary. They took a more serious view of the orders and punishments under the Martial Law and strongly denounced the actions taken as unjustifiable and calculated to humiliate and to foment racial bitterness.

(b) The Majority held that the outbreak at Amritsar was antiGovernment at every stage, hostility to Government quickly merging into antipathy for Europeans as such. The Minority held that the anti-European sentiments developed subsequent to the military firing on 10 April.

(c) While generally agreeing upon the justification of the methods adopted in dealing with riots in other places, the Minority objected to certain specific incidents and regarded as unjustifiable some of the unnecessary firing done at Chuharkhana and Sheikhupura.

(d) The Minority regarded the working of the Courts and methods of arrest highly objectionable, while the Majority regarded the trials as lengthy, detailed and careful.

A few Englishmen condemned the action of the Government of India in the strongest terms. Mr. Hyndman wrote: “Our own atrocities stand almost on a level with the outrages committed by Germany in Belgium, France and Poland. Worst of all we bombed unarmed crowds from aeroplanes.” This sentiment was echoed by Mrs. Annie Besant and undoubtedly represents the voice of humanity. England had sunk to the level of belligerent Germany before the bar of world opinion. Mr. Eardley Norton, Bar-at-Law, condemned the sentences passed by the Punjab authorities as “brutal exhibitions of superior force—unredeemed by one tinge of judicial balance.” Mr. Lansbury spoke in a public meeting

that “every Englishman should be ashamed”. Mr. A.G. Gardiner wrote that the Punjab atrocities “universally outraged the feelings of the British people”, and he stressed the “urgent necessity of convincing the people of India that the people of England share their indignation at the appalling incident, feel its intolerable shame, and will not rest under its shadow an hour longer than circumstances compel”.

But these honest souls were out of tune with imperial Britain fresh from her triumphs over Germany. The Government of Britain pronounced only a mild censure on Dyer and removed him from active service, but absolved O’Dwyer and Chelmsford from all guilt. But even this was carried in the House of Commons only by a vote of 232 to 131. On the other hand, the House of Lords passed a resolution by 129 votes to 89, deploring the removal of Dyer from the army as unjust and establishing a dangerous precedent. What was worse still, Dyer was acclaimed a hero, and public subscriptions were raised to present a purse to him. The British public or prominent British newspapers never repudiated such attitude nor made any active protest against Dyer’s inhuman conduct.

In India, the Englishmen regarded Dyer as the saviour of the British Empire. The European Association strongly resented the decision of the House of Commons and “received hundreds of letters through their branches and from European men and women all over India protesting against failure to reinstate General Dyer." They issued an appeal to support the fund for General Dyer opened by the Morning Post in London, and organize a memorial of General Dyer in India. A collection was made by the English ladies in India who started a Dyer Appreciation Fund at Mussoorie. Dyer was presented with a sword and a purse of £20,000/-. The Europeans of Lahore entertained Col. Johnson at a farewell dinner and lauded him as the "protector of the poor". He had no difficulty in securing a good commercial appointment in India. 34

It is difficult to say which outraged the Indian feelings more,— the brutal acts of Dyer and other officials, or the approval of their conduct by the Englishmen in general, both in India and Britain. In any case, the Punjab atrocities created a river of blood between India and Britain which could not be bridged. The relation between the Indians and the British could never again be what it was before 1919 . No other event since 1857-8 created such bad blood between the two.

IV. THE PAN-ISLAMIC MOVEMENT AND GANDHI 1. Indian Muslims and Turkey

Reference has been made above 35 to an attempt towards inaugurating a Pan-Islamic movement in India during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It did not succeed, but the sentiment behind it never died out altogether. This is proved by the active sympathy of the Indian Muslims towards the Turks in their fight against Italy and the Balkan powers. The Pan-Islamic movement gathered force at the end of the First World War. Turkey's entry into that war as an ally of Germany against Britain put the Indian Muslims into an awkward situation. Their natural sympathy with the Sultan of Turkey as their Caliph or religious head was in conflict with their loyalty to the British throne as Indian subjects. The British Government fully realized the difficulty of the Indian Muslims, and, in order to win their sympathy and support during the War, gave assurances of sympathetic treatment of Turkey at the end of the War. The British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, publicly declared on 5 January, 1918, that the Allies were "not fighting to deprive Turkey of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race'*, and this view was endorsed by President Wilson in his message to the Congress on 8

January, 1918. These specific assurances led the Indian Muslims to believe that whatever happened, the independence of Turkey and her territorial integrity, so far at least as her Asiatic dominions were concerned, would be maintained. But all these hopes were doomed to disappointment by the terms of the Armistice which concluded the War. Thrace was presented to Greece, and the Asiatic portions of the Turkish Empire passed under the control of England and France under the guise of Mandates. While Turkey was thus dispossessed of her homelands, her ruler, the Sultan, was deprived of all real authority even in the remaining dominions, as he was placed completely under the control of a High Commission appointed by the Allied Powers, who really ruled the country in his name.

The Muslims of India regarded the treatment of Turkey as a great betrayal on the part of the British and other Allies, and a storm of indignation broke out among them. They carried on agitation both in India and England throughout the year 1919, but to no effect.

2. Gandhi's role in Pan-Islamic Movement

In India

Early in 1920 the Indian Muslims started a vigorous agitation to bring pressure upon Britain to change her policy towards Turkey.

This, known as the Khilafat Movement, received enormous strength by the large measure of sympathy and support which the Muslims received from Gandhi. He felt that the Muslim demand for Khilafat was just and he was bound to render all possible help to secure the due fulfilment of the pledge that the British Prime Minister had given to the Indian Muslims during the war. He even went to the length of placing the Khilafat problem on the same level of political importance as the Home Rule for India. The concluding para of the letter which Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy immediately after the War Conference at Delhi contains the following passage: “In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of those (Muhammadan) States and for the Muslim sentiment as to their places of worship, and your just and timely treatment of India’s claim to Home Rule lies the safety of the Empire”. 36 It need hardly cause any surprise, therefore, that when the All-India Khilafat Conference met at Delhi on 24

November, 1919, Gandhi was elected its President. The Conference asked the Mussalmans not to join the public celebrations of victory, and on the advice of Gandhi held out threats of boycott and non-co-operation if the British did not solve the problem of Turkey in a manner satisfactory to the Muslims. This decision was re-affirmed by the Muslim League in Calcutta.

The release of Ali Brothers from internment, after four years, on the eve of the session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar towards the end of December, 1919, gave a great fillip to the Khilafat agitation. Gandhi had a soft corner in his heart for the Ali Brothers who were the most vigorous champions of the Khilafat cause, and they must have taken full advantage of it. The “leading Congress and Khilafat men, assembled at Amritsar”, discussed the whole question and it was “decided to organise the Khilafat work under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi”. 37 In other words, the Congress lent the full support of its power, prestige and organization to the cause of the Khilafat.

It was decided in an All-India Khilafat Conference, held at Amritsar immediately after the Congress session, to send a deputation to the Viceroy. This deputation of the Khilafat Conference was fully representative of Hindus and Muslims, and the Address which it presented to the Viceroy on 19 January, 1920, was signed by many eminent Hindu political leaders, including Gandhi, Swami Shraddhananda, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

The Viceroy’s reply to this Address, as well as that of Lloyd George on 17 March, 1920, to the Indian Khilafat Delegation led by Muhammad Ali, did not hold out any hope to the Muslims. In anticipation of the harsh terms which were later actually imposed on Turkey 38 , Gandhi issued a Manifesto on March 10, embodying his ideas on the future course of action to be pursued by the Khilafatists if their demands were not granted. This Manifesto is historically important as it contains the first definite elaboration of Gandhi’s doctrine of Non-violent Non-co-operation which was shortly to play a dominant role in Indian politics. After ruling out the violent method of warfare, open or secret, “if only because it is impracticable”, he proceeds: “The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence can generate, is a power that is irresistible... .Non-co-operation is, therefore, the only remedy left open to us. It is the clearest remedy, as it is the most effective, when it is free from all violence. It becomes a duty when cooperation means degradation or humiliation, or an injury to one'f cherished religious sentiment. England cannot expect a meek submission by its to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Muslims means a matter of life and death". 39 It is no doubt a lofty sentiment, but it is pertinent to ask whether England's treatment of Turkey, even assuming that she was wholly responsible for it, was a greater degradation and humiliation to India than England's treatment of the Indians during a century and a half, or even the recent atrocities in the Punjab. Further, Gandhi looked upon the fate of Khilafat as a matter of life and death to the Muslims. But this was out-Heroding Herod himself, for in less than five years' time the post of Caliphate was abolished by the Turks themselves without creating a stir in the Muslim world. Besides, Gandhi's view is repudiated by the Muslims themselves. The Muslim historian, Prof. I. H. Qureshi, admits that the claims of the Sultan of Turkey as the supreme religious authority of the Muslim world had no practical significance outside the Ottoman Empire. Then he adds: "But now that the Indian Muslims haft lost their own liberty, they had reason to feel a strong emotional attachment to a Caliph whom they could claim as their own sovereign, even though only in a nominal and religious sense. Indeed, before the First World War, prayers for the Turkish Sultan had already come to be included in the Friday Khutbah (sermon) in the mosques of India". 40

Even the leader of the Khilafat Movement, Muhammad Ali, himself expressed the same view. In 1912 he openly scoffed at the idea that Indian Muslims should be affected by events in the Muslim world outside India, or form a pact with the Hindus as a means of bringing pressure upon the British—exactly the two features which marked the Khilafat Movement in 1919. 41

Gandhi's attitude towards the Khilafat question was criticised even by his friends; he justified himself in the name of Hindu

Muslim unity, and on grounds of expediency as would be clear from his following utterance:

"The test of friendship is true assistance in adversity, and whatever we are, Hindus, Parsees, Christians or Jews, if we wish to live as one nation, surely, the interest of any of us must be the interest of all. .. .We talk of the Hindu-Mahomedan unity. It would be an empty phrase if the Hindus hold aloof from the Mahomedans when their vital interests are at stake." 42

It is an admirable sentiment, and does honour to the-heart of a saint like Gandhi. But Gandhi failed to realize that the pan-Islamic idea which inspired the Khilafat question cut at the very root of Indian nationality. If the real sympathy and "vital interests" of a large section of Indians were bound up with a State and society which lay far outside the boundaries of India and had no political connection with it, they could never form a unit of Indian nationality. Howsoever opinions might differ on the basic requirements of a nationality, it is generally agreed that different groups of people cannot constitute a nation unless they have common sympathy, agreement, and interest to such an extent as does not subsist between any of them and any external group. If a hundred million Muslims are more vitally interested in the fate of Turkey and other Muslim States outside India, than they are in the fate of India, they can hardly be regarded as a unit of Indian nation. By his own admission that the Khilafat question was a vital one for Indian Muslims, Gandhi himself admitted in a way that they formed a separate nation; they were in India, but not of India.

That 'expediency' had also a share in the formulation of Gandhi's views is fully proved by his oft-quoted statement that such an opportunity of winning over the Muslims and forging the unity of Indian people to fight the British would not come in a hundred years. It is really this feeling that was uppermost in the minds of the Hindu leaders. But they did not realize the true significance of the Khilafat Movement and the danger to Indian nationality lurking behind it.

V. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919 1. The Passing of the Act

Although the Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms by Montagu and Chelmsford was published on 8 July, 1918, considerable time elapsed before the passing of a Parliamentary Act to give effect to it. For it was necessary to complete the details, and three Committees were appointed for the purpose, namely, the Franchise Committee, the Functions Committee, and the Committee

on Home administration. These Committees, whose functions are clear from their names, were presided over, respectively, by Lord Southborough, Mr. Richard Feetham, and the Marquess of Crewe. The Government of India Bill, drafted on the basis of these reports, was referred to a Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament, after the Second Reading. This Committee examined a number of witnesses, both Indian and English, and official and nonofficial. The report of this Committee led to certain amendments of the original Bill. The amended Bill was passed by the House of Commons on December 5, and by the House of Lords on December 18, and received the Royal assent on 23 December, 1919. Thereafter a Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Lord Meston to determine the financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments, and it reported on 31 March, 1920. The procedure having thus been completed, elections to the new Legislative Councils set up by the Act were held in November, 1920, and the New Reforms scheme came into operation on the first day of the year 1921.

2. The New Constitution 43

The Government of India Act introduced fundamental and farreaching changes in the Provincial administration by establishing what is usually referred to as Dyarchy. Compared with these, the changes made in other levels of the Government, though important in themselves, were less striking. Still it would be convenient to describe the changes from the highest stage downwards.

A. Home Government

1. The salary of the Secretary of State, instead of being paid out of the revenues of India, was to be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

2. Considerable changes were introduced in the composition of the Secretary of State's Council, and the qualification, term of office, and remuneration of its members.

3. The Secretary of State's powers of superintendence, direction and control over the Government of India were reduced to a minimum in relation to the Transferred subjects, and were practically restricted to safeguarding the administration of Central subjects and matters of imperial concern.

B. The Government of India

The Act set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre, the two houses being called, respectively, the 'Legislative Assembly' and the 'Council of State.' The Council of State consisted of 60

members 44 out of which 33 were elected and 27 were nominated by the Governor-General. The Legislative Assembly consisted of 145 members, 45 of which 103 were elected and the rest were nominated. Of the nominated members, 25 were officials and the rest nonofficials. Of the 103 elected members, 51 were elected by the general constituencies, 32 by communal constituencies (30 by Muslims and 2 by Sikhs), and 20 by special constituencies (7 by land-holders, 9 by Europeans and 4 by Indian Commerce).

The life of the Legislative Assembly was 3 years, and the Council of State, 5 years, but the period could be extended by the Governor-General. The first Speaker of the Assembly was to be nominated by the Government, the subsequent Speakers being elected by the members of the Assemly.

The franchise of both the houses was restricted and differed in different Provinces. In the case of the Council of State, voters must have either an annual income of not less than Rs. 10,000 (to Rs. 20,000) or paid land revenue of Rs. 750 (to Rs. 5000). The qualifications of the voters for the Legislative Assembly were either the payment of municipal taxes amounting to not less than Rs. 15 (to Rs. 20) per annum, or occupation or ownership of a house of the rental value of Rs. 180, or assessment to income-tax on an annual income of not less than Rs. 2,000 (to Rs. 5,000), or assessment to land revenue for Rs. 50 (to Rs. 150) per annum, varying from Province to Province. It is to be noted that the total number of voters for the Council of State was about 17,364 and for the Central Legislative Assembly, about 909,874 in 1920.

The Governor-General was given the power to summon, prorogue and dissolve the chambers. He was also to have the right of addressing the members of the two Houses.

The Central Legislature could make laws for the whole of British India, for the subjects of His Majesty and Services of the Crown in other parts of India, for the Indian subjects of His Majesty wherever they may happen to be, and for all persons employed in His Majesty's defence forces. However, the previous sanction of the Secretary of State-in-Council was required to pass any legislation abolishing any High Court. The Indian Legislature had no power to amend or repeal any Parliamentary statute relating to British India or to do anything affecting the authority of Parliament or the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom.

The previous sanction of the Governor-General was required to introduce Bills concerning the following subjects:

(i) The public debt or public revenues of India.

(ii) Religious rites and usages of the British subjects in India.

(xiij Discipline or maintenance of His Majesty's military, naval or air forces.

(iv) Relations of the Government of India with foreign States or Indian States.

(v) Any measure which repeals or amends any Act of a Legislature or any ordinance made by the Governor-General,

etc.

The Governor-General could prevent the consideration, at any stage, of a bill or a part of a bill in either chamber of the Central Legislature, if in his opinion it "affects the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof." The Governor-General was empowered to enact laws which he considered essential for the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India or any part thereof, if either chamber refused or failed to pass them. Every

Act, so passed, required the assent of His Majesty. The Governor-General possessed the power of making and promulgating ordinances for the peace of British India in cases of emergency. An ordinance issued by the Governor-General had the same force of law as a law passed by the Indian Legislature, but it lasted only for G months. The Governor-General had the power of returning any measure passed by the two houses of the Central Legislature for reconsideration before signifying his assent or dissent. The assent of the GovernorGeneral was essential for the enactment of a law by the Legislature. He had the power to give his assent or reserve the Bill for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure on the same. The Crown had the power of disallowing any Act made by the Indian Legislature or the Governor-General.

Members of both houses of the Central Legislature were given the right of making interpellations, asking supplementary questions, and of moving resolutions and adjournment. The members were given the right of freedom of speech in the two chambers.

As regards the Central Budget, there were certain items which were not subject to vote, nor open to discussion in either chamber, unless the Governor-General otherwise directed. All other items of expenditure were submitted to the vote of the Assembly. If the Governor-General was satisfied that any demand which had been refused by the Assembly was essential for the discharge of his responsibilities, he could restore the grant. In cases of emergency, he was empowered "to authorise such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India or any part thereof.

In the case of the nine major Provinces, called in the Act 'Governors' Provinces', many powers of the Central Government

were transferred to the Provincial Government by the Devolution Rules made under the Act, These nine Provinces were Madras, Bombay, Bengal, U.P., the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces, Assam and Burma. The rest of British India remained essentially in the same position as before. In respect of the nine "Governors' Provinces", the method followed was to classify subjects, for the purpose of distinguishing the administrative and legislative functions of Provincial Governments and Legislatures from those functions of the Central Government and Legislature, by dividing them into “Central Subjects” and “Provincial Subjects.” The principle of discrimination between Central and Provincial subjects was laid down as follows: “Where extra-Provincial interests predominate, the subject is treated as Central, while, on the other hand, all subjects in which the interests of a particular Province essentially predominate are Provincial. Accordingly, military matters, foreign affairs, tariffs and customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, income tax, currency, coinage and the public debt, commerce and shipping, and civil and criminal law were among the Central Subjects. Among Provincial Subjects were local self-government, medical administration and public health, education (with certain exceptions), public works and irrigation, land revenue administration, famine relief, agriculture, forests, and what is popularly called Taw and order’. Besides distinguishing the legislative and administrative spheres, the reformed Constitution effected a delimitation of sources of revenue for purposes of Provincial finance by Rules, which allocated certain classes of revenue, such as land revenue and excise on alcoholic liquor, to Provincial Governments, while customs and income tax, for example, remained sources of Central revenue.

C. The Provincial Government i. The Executive

The nine Major Provinces, named above, had each a Governor and a Legislative Council.

The most characteristic feature of the new constitution was the introduction of “dyarchy” in the provincial administration. The subjects to be dealt with by the Provincial Governments were divided into two parts called “Transferred” and “Reserved”. The Reserved’ subjects were administered by the Governor with the help of the Executive Council, and the Transferred subjects, with the help of his Ministers. The members of the Executive Council were nominated by the Governor at his discretion, but the Ministers were to be chosen by him from among the members of the Legislature.

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The division of the subjects was made by Rules under the Act. The List of Transferred Subjects (given in detail in Schedule II of the Act) included the following:

(1) Local self-government; (2) Medical administration, Public Health and Sanitation; (3) Education (other than European and Anglo-Indian Education, and Central Universities like Banaras Hindu University); (4) Agriculture; (5) Veterinary Department; (6) Cooperative Societies; (7) Excise; (8) Registration; (9) Religious and Charitable Endowment; (10) Development of Industries.

The number of members in the Executive Councils of Bombay, Madras and Bengal were four, of whom two w r ere Indians. In the other six Provinces there were two Executive Councillors, one of whom was an Indian. The Governor-in-Council had charge of the Reserved Subjects and normally the decision of the majority prevailed, but the Governor could override the decision of the majority in case of any measure which in his judgment affected the safety, tranquillity or interests of his province.

It was enacted in the Act, That in relation to Transferred Subjects the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers, unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice/ There were two or three ministers in each Province, but the number varied from time to time. In theory, they held office during the Governor’s pleasure, but the power of the Legislative Council to reduce or withhold their salaries, to censure their administration, and to refuse supply, made the continuance of the confidence of the Council essential to their retention of office. While it is quite clear that the responsibility for the Reserved subjects lay with the Governor-in-Council, there is some doubt whether the Ministers were jointly responsible for all the Transferred subjects or each Minister alone was responsible for those in his charge.

ii. The Legislature

The size of the Provincial Legislative Councils was considerably enlarged. While about 70 per cent, of the members of the Provincial legislatures were elected, about 30 per cent, were nominated by the Governor. Some of the nominated members were officials and the others non-officials. The Legislative Council continued ordinarily for three years, but it could be dissolved earlier and its life extended beyond the normal period of three years by the Governor. The members were given the right of asking questions and supplementary questions.

Bills passed by a Provincial legislature required the assent, not only of the Governor, but of the Governor-General. And certain classes of Bills, e.g., Bills touching religion or affecting In certain directions the land revenue of the Province, had to be reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the GovernorGeneral. If the Provincial Council refused to consider, or to pass in a form recommended by the Governor, a Bill relating to a Reserved subject, the Governor might, by certifying that its passage was essential, put the Bill in the same position as though it had been actually passed by the legislature.

The Governor also possessed similar power of overcoming the unwillingness of the Provincial legislatures in making grants of money. If a demand for a grant, refused by the Legislative Council, related to a Reserved subject, and the Governor certified that the expenditure provided for by the demand was essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the subject, action could be taken as though the money had been voted. If the Legislative Council rejected a demand for a grant for a Transferred subject, the money could not lawfully be paid, but the Governor had power to authorize necessary expenditure for the safety or tranquillity of the Province or for the carrying of any department.

iii. Electorates

There were special and communal Electorates for Legislative Assembly, the Council of State and Legislative Councils.

a. Legislative Assembly

The elected members of the Legislative Assembly were distributed amongst the Provinces in proportions which do not appear to bear any close resemblance to the distribution of population or area, but on a basis which presumably reflected consideration of the importance of each Province. The franchise, as noted above, was arranged on the same lines as for the Provincial Councils, but with somewhat higher electoral qualifications. The

Muslims, as well as Europeans in certain Provinces and Sikhs in the Punjab, secured separate representation by special constituencies of their own members. 48 out of the 105 seats filled by election were in "non-Muhammadan" General Constituencies, whether rural or urban, i.e. the electorate excluded Muhammadans, though it included every other sort of qualified voters except Europeans and Sikhs, where those had separate electorates. Apart from the General Constituencies, Muhammadan and non-Muhammadan, and the European seats, there were certain "special" constituencies for land-owners and for Indian commerce.

b. Council of State

The electors were for the most part grouped in communal constituencies.

c. Legislative Council

In allocating the proportion of separate Muhammadan and nonMuhammadan seats, the Lucknow Pact was taken as a guide, with the result that Muhammadan representation was considerably in excess of its population ratio in those Provinces where the Muslims were in a minority.

The Sikhs of the Punjab were also provided with a separate electoral roll and separate constituencies. The Sikhs formed 11.1 per cent, of the population of the Province, but they constituted 24.1 per cent, of the voters and had 17.9 per cent, of the communal seats.

Members of the depressed classes voted, in the rare cases where they had the property qualification, on the non-Muhammadan roll, but provision was made for their further representation by nomination. Nomination was also resorted to in order to secure representation of the workers in organized industry.

Separate electorates were also provided (although not contemplated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which would have preferred nomination) for Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans.

In addition to the representation which the Europeans secured in this way, they also found the opportunity for filling additional seats in the Councils in every Province through some of the places allotted to Chambers of Commerce, Trade Associations, and Mining and Planting Associations.

A University seat was provided in each Province—making an all-India total of eight, to be elected by all registered graduates of over seven years' standing.

VI. THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND INDIAN POLITICS

The reaction of the Government of India Act on Indian politics followed more or less the same lines as noted above in connection with the publication of the Mont-Ford Report. The Moderates, though not wholly satisfied, stood for ungrudging and whole-hearted co-operation for working if as successfully as possible within the limited sphere. A strong section was inclined to reject it altogether. But Tilak, who dominated the Nationalist Party and the Congress, stuck to the middle course all along advocated by him. When the King Emperor issued an appeal to the Indian people for co-operation in working the Reforms, Tilak, then on his way to attend the Amritsar Congress, sent a telegram from the railway train, assuring "Responsive co-operation" on behalf of the people of India.

The Moderates held a Conference in Calcutta on 30 December, 1919. They welcomed the Reforms Act as the first definite and substantial step towards the progressive realization of responsible government, and earnestly appealed to all sections of the community, European and Indian, officials and non-officials, to co-operate wholeheartedly for the successful working of the Act.

Three days before this the Indian National Congress had held its annual session at Amritsar (27 December). C. R. Das moved the following resolution:

"That this Congress reiterates its declaration of the last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary.

"That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.

"That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination."

Then followed a battle royal regarding two crucial points, namely, co-operation with the Government in working out the reforms, and offering thanks to Montagu. It was on this occasion that Gandhi for the first time took a leading part in the discussions of the Congress. C.R. Das v/as in favour of rejecting the reforms, while Gandhi took the opposite view. Tilak was in favour of responsive co-operation. Gandhi's attitude is explained by the following passage in the Young India of 31 December, 1919: "The Reforms Act coupled with the (Royal) proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India and it ought to remove suspicion on that score.... Our duty therefore is not to subject the Reforms to carping criticism but to settle down quietly to work so as to make them a success." Even a die-hard Moderate could hardly improve upon these words to suit his views. The Congress had pronounced adverse judgments on the Reforms both at Bombay and Delhi in 1918, in no uncertain terms, and was prepared to repeat in Amritsar that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing. The fact that notwithstanding all this Gandhi's view was not only patiently heard, but got a volume of support, even under the shadow of the inhuman atrocities perpetrated upon that city only a few months ago, speaks a volume of the great hold that Gandhi had already secured, not only upon the masses, but also upon the educated, politically minded classes in India, by his personality and saintly life, and the introduction of the new weapon of Satyagraha in Indian politics. In that assembly of veteran nationalist leaders who had distinguished themselves in various fields of life and had a long record of public service in India behind them, Gandhi, a comparatively new figure in the Congress, easily established his position as a leader of the first rank. The contest was a prolonged one and there was an apprehension of another split in the Congress. But fortunately a compromise was arrived at. It was to the effect that the following addition should be made to the resolution moved by C. R. Das:

“Pending such introduction, this Congress trusts that, so far as may be possible, they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible Government, and this Congress offers its thanks, to the Rt. Hon’ble Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labour in connection with the Reforms.”

C.. R. Das, while accepting the compromise, made his attitude quite clear. He was not opposed to co-operation if it helped the early establishment of full responsible Government; but he was not opposed to obstruction plan, downright obstruction, when that helped to attain cur political goal. While commending the additional clause he reminded the members that his original three propositions ‘remain just as they are with the word disappointing’. 46

Thus ended the memorable discussion in the Congress on the Reforms at Amritsar. On the whole, the final outcome was a triumph, neither of C. R. Das nor of Gandhi, but of the ‘Responsive co-operation’ formulated by the great and shrewd statesman B. G. Tilak.

1. Montagu, E.S., An Indian Diary , p. 156.

2. For details, cf. JCND, pp. 667 ff.

3. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 617-24.

4. For details, cf. Gandhi-I, pp. 236-9; Frcedom-India, III. p. 5.

5. Gandhi-I, p. 383.

6. Cf. Freedom-India, III. pp. 10-12.

7. For the incidents of Gandhi's life in Africa, cf. the Biographical Bibliography under Gandhi, particularly the works of Tendulkar and Louis Fischer. The account in the text is mainly based on Louis Fischer’s book,

Gandhi, his Life and Message for the World. The passages quoted are also from his book.

8. Sitaramayya, P., Gandhi and Gandhism, p. 101.

9. Diwakar, R.R., Satyagraha in Action, p. 17.

10. Diwakar, R.R., Satyagraha , p. 5.

11. Duncan, Ronald, Selected Writings cf Mahatma Gandhi, p. 54.

12. Sitaramayya, P-, Gandhi and Gandhism, p. 111.

12a. For details, cf. Gandhi-I, pp. 430-34.

13. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 914.

14. Gandhi-I pp. 521-2, pp. 526-8

15. Ibid, pp. 531-8

16. For the full text, cf. Ibid, pp. 516-50

17. Tendulkar, I. p. 293.

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17a- Raghuvamsi, p. 158

18. Gandhi-I, p. 575

19. Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, set up by the Congress in 1922.

20. Young'India (U.S.A.), III. p. 151; ICND, p. 684.

21. Young India (U.S.A.), II, p. 155

22. Hist. Congr., I. p. 164.

23. Ibid, p. 163.

24. The accoimt of atrocities that follows is based upon the Reports of the Hunter Committee and the Congress Committee as well as Homiman’s book, Amritsar

and Our Duty to India .

25. Horniman, pp. 90-3.

26. Chirol-II, pp. 177-8

28. I.A.R. , 1921, part III, p. 26

27. Motilal Nehru’s Address as Congress President at Amritsar, 1919.

29. The passages within inverted commas in the last three paras are quotations from Horniman’s book, pp. 123-30.

30. Photographs of public floggings and of public cage are given in Horniman's book,

pp. 120, 154.

31. I.A.JR., 1921, Part III, pp. 38-41.

32. Horniman, pp. 150-4.

33. For a detailed account of the bombing and machine-gunning from air, cf. Horniman, pp. 142-9. The passage quoted is on p. 146.

34. Hist. Congr., I. n. 167; I.A.R., 1921, p. 221.

35. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 303-4.

36. Gandhi-I, p. 550.

37. Hist. Congr., I. p. 189.

38. The terms offered to Turkey by the Allied Powers were announced on 15 May, 1920- There was a complete dismemberment of Turkey. Although Turkey retained Constantinople, the rest of Thrace was given to Greece along with Smyrna; Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia were detached from Turkish dominions and handed over as Mandates, the first to France and the other two to Britain; Kurdistan became an autonomous State, certain portions of the Armenian district of Turkey wore added to the existing Armenian Republic, and Hedjaz became a free and independent State, its king guaranteeing free and easy access to Mecca and Medina to Muslim pilgrims of all countries.

39. Hist. Congr., I. p. 191. Italics mine.

40. Sources, p- 770.

41. Ibid, p. 777.

42. Pradhan, pp. 151-2.

43. The following account is based on the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, Part II, from which many passages have been quoted.

44. This was laid dowm as the maximum number.

45. The minimum number w ? as fixed at 100.

46. Sen, Rajen, Chittaranjan Das, n. 115

CHAPTER XII

THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

I. THE GENESIS

As mentioned above 1 , the peace terms offered to Turkey were announced on 15 May, 1920. Two days later Gandhi issued a statement urging upon the Muslims to adopt Non-co-operation ‘as the only effective remedy’, as suggested by him as far back as 10 March. 2 The Central Khilafat Committee accepted his advice, and in a huge public meeting at Bombay, on 28 May, adopted Non-cooperation as the only practical line of action. On the same day was published the report of the Hunter Committee which caused a painful impression and profound indignation throughout India. The All-India Congress Committee, which met at Varanasi on 30 May, made a strong and elaborate protest against the Majority Report of the Hunter Commission and urged the British Government to recall the Viceroy and award suitable punishment to Sir Michael O’Dwyer, General Dyer, and other officers guilty of atrocities, mentioned above. 3 The Committee also protested against the peace terms offered to Turkey in flagrant violation of the solemn pledge given by His Majesty’s Government. The Moderate party also passed similar resolutions but opposed the adoption of Non-co-operation. The A.I.C.C. decided to convene a special session of the Congress to consider the question of Non-co-operation.

A meeting of the Hindus and Muslims was held at Allahabad under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee on June 1 and 2 to consider the serious situation created by the Allies’ peace terms offered to Turkey. Among the Hindu leaders who attended the meeting were Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Lajpat Rai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, B. C. Pal, Malaviya, Satyamurti, Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Chintamani. An informal meeting was held on the morning of June 1, and the main Conference was held at 9 p.m. The Muslim leaders appealed to the Hindus to co-operate with them and support Non-co-operation. Several Hindu leaders spoke expressing sympathy with the Muslim claim, but differed as to the remedy suggested.

Some expressed doubt about the success of Non-co-operation; others welcomed it on principle, but not at that moment. Mrs. Besant strongly opposed it.

On 2 June, the Conference met in the morning when the Muslims from various Provinces explained how far they were prepared to take up Non-co-operation. The same night, again, a meeting was held when only members of the Central Khilafat Committee took part in the discussion and voted, but delegates and visitors attended. Gandhi, in a solemn speech, said he knew full well that the Muslims realized that Non-co-operation was the only remedy now left to India. He was prepared to co-operate with them and suggested that a committee consisting of members prepared to remain with him, with full powers, be appointed to work out the scheme whose decision would be binding on all people. This was agreed to and the following resolution was passed by the Central Khilafat Committee: “This meeting reaffirms the movement of Non-co-operation in accordance with the four stages already approved by the Central Khilafat Committee and appoints a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen with power to add to their number to give practical effect to the movement wbthout further delay.” The gentlemen named were Gandhi and six Muslim leaders. The meeting also resolved that the Swadeshi movement should be undertaken in right earnest, and appointed a sub-committee to w r ork out a scheme.

In pursuance of the decision arrived at this meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee, a letter signed by about 90 Muslim leaders from various parts of India was sent to the Viceroy which, inter alia , stated: “If, unfortunately, Your Excellency will not adopt our humble suggestion, we shall be obliged, as from the first August next, to withdraw co-operation from the Government and to ask our co-religionists and Hindu brethren to do likewise.” Gandhi also wrote a letter to the Viceroy explaining 'his connection with, and conduct in, the Khilafat question’. Both these letters were made public in the last week of June.

In July 1920, the Non-co-operation sub-committee, appointed by the Khilafat Committee on 2 June, issued a manifesto outlining the programme of the demonstration to be held on 1 August.

In addition to a complete hartal and public meetings at every village, the Committee issued following directions for the demonstrations on the first of August. “There should be no procession and no pressure against any one refusing to close shop”. “Special effort should be made and continued to secure surrender of titles and honorary posts, and parents are requested to withdraw their children from schools recognized by or under Government control. Lawyers are requested to suspend practice. .. . We hope also that full Swadeshi will be inaugurated on Sunday. . . . Agitation for securing complete boycott of Councils should be continued unabated. Finally, the Committee expects Muslims to lead as well in preserving peace

and order as in sacrifice, and we feel sure that our Hindu brethren will not fail to respond and join the Muslims.” 4

The Central Khilafat Committee organized a general all-India hartal on 1 August 1920, under the guidance of Gandhi. Gandhi wrote a letter to the Viceroy and returned all the war medals which were awarded to him by the British for his war services. “Valuable as these honours have been to me”, wrote he, “I cannot wear them with an easy conscience so long as my Mussalman countrymen have to labour under wrong done to their religious sentiment. I venture to return these medals, in pursuance of the scheme of Nonco-operation inaugurated today in connection with Khilafat movement” 5

The italicised words and the whole history sketched above leave no doubt that the action of Gandhi in launching Non-co-operation on 1 August, 1920, was the direct outcome of the Khilafat movement. A somewhat different interpretation is given of his action in the following words: “The attitude of the Imperial and Your Excellency’s Government on the Punjab question has given me additional cause for grave dissatisfaction.... I therefore respectfully ask Your Excellency to summon a conference of recognised leaders of people and in consultation with them find a way that would placate Mussalmans and do reparation to unhappy Punjab”. It is obvious that the Punjab incident was at best a secondary issue; at a still later date, at the suggestion of Vijayaraghavachari endorsed by Motilal Nehru, Gandhi added a third issue, viz., independence of India, as the ground of Non-co-operation movement. 6 In view of the whole history of the Khilafat movement sketched above, and the first suggestion of Nonco-operation by Gandhi in connection therewith as far back as November, 1919, 7 there seems to be no doubt whatsoever that when he launched the Non-co-operation movement on 1 August 1920, the Khilafat wrongs were the single issue which determined his action; the Punjab atrocities and winning of Swaraj were subordinate issues which were gradually tacked on to the main issue of the Khilafat, at a later date and as an after-thought.

II. ADOPTION OF THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

BY THE CONGRESS

The Special session of the Congress 73 was held in Calcutta on 4 September, 1920, under the shadow of a grave calamity, for the great national leader, Tilak, had passed away on 1 August, 1920. It was presided over by Lala Lajpat Rai who, after a long forced internment in the U.S.A., was at last permitted by the Government of India to return to his native land. The Congress met in a tense

atmosphere to decide upon the momentous, but controversial, issue of Non-co-operation. A new weapon, which had been forged by Gandhi and had hitherto been tried on a small scale with varying success, was now going to be hurled by India against the mighty British Empire. The draft resolution placed before the Subjects Committee by Gandhi read as follows:

“In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him;

“And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919, both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the official crimes, and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India, and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab;

“This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swaraj ya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent Non-co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swaraj ya is established;[3]

“And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts, and its legislative councils, and inasmuch as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice, compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises:

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

(b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials, or in their honour;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of National schools and colleges in the various provinces;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election;

(g) boycott of foreign goods;

"And inasmuch as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Sivadeshi in piece-goods' on a vast scale, and inasmuch as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the Nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, the Congress advises immediate simulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving handspinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement."

But though sponsored by Gandhi and backed by the Ali Brothers and nearly the whole Muslim bloc, the resolution was strongly opposed by a large section. The Subjects Committee debated it for three days. The substantive motion was the one drafted by the Reception Committee, and Gandhi introduced his motion by way of an amendment.

There were about thirty amendments but the others were lost, and Gandhi's amendment was carried by a majority of seven votes only. In the open session of the Congress, on 8 September, it was opposed by C. R. Das. B. C. Pal, Annie Besant, Malaviya, Jinnah and others. Among the eminent Hindu leaders only Pandit Motilal Nehru supported Gandhi. After a prolonged debate the motion was carried by 188G against S84 votes. 9

So the die was cast and a grim struggle of a novel type began. Looking back at this distance of time from a detached point of view, one is bewildered at the fanatic enthusiasm for retaining the political status of the Caliphate displayed not only by the Muhammadans, but even by some eminent Hindus. The Indian leaders with a modern outlook should have known that the Caliphate as an institution had long ceased to be a vital part of Muslim religion. Even if they had not, they should not have failed to realize it from the comparative indifference with which the Muslim world outside India viewed the “calamity” which befell the Caliph. It is also very surprising that the Indian leaders, after the First World War, should have felt so little sympathy for, and failed to give due and just consideration to, the claim of self-determination on the part of the Arabs under the domination of Turkey which they themselves had been urging upon the British Government. When, later, the Congress adopted Non-co-operation for the sake of restoring the old status of the Caliph and attaining Swaraj for India, they were invoking two contradictory principles in the same breath—replacing nationalism by autocracy in the one case and autocracy by nationalism in the other.

That a great movement, though based on such a weak foundation, received wide popular support was undoubtedly due in a very large measure to the personality of Gandhi and peoples’ almost blind faith in, and complete devotion to, him. Such blind faith and devotion have a tendency to become contagious. This was proved when, only four months later, those very people and leaders who had vehemently opposed Non-co-operation in the Congress at Calcutta accepted it without demur at Nagpur. No adequate grounds are known which may account for such a complete change of views on a serious question of policy.

The blind faith in Gandhi was, however, confined to the Hindus, and was not shared by his Muslim followers. They gathered round him only to exploit his influence with the Hindus in order to enlist their service in the struggle for the Khilafat against the British. A high regard, not to speak of veneration, for a Hindu was perhaps not compatible with the tenets of Islam. This was openly admitted by no less a person than Muhammad Ali, the life and soul of the Khilafat movement, whom Gandhi called his dear brother. For his sake Gandhi gave up a splendid opportunity for coming to a settlement with the British, as will be shown later in

this section. When on 17 September, 1924, Gandhi undertook a fast for 21 days as a protest against serious communal riots, he was staying at the house of Muhammad Ali. 9a Yet about a year later Muhammad All said: ‘However pure Gandhi’s character may be, he must appear to me from the point of view of religion inferior to any Mussulman, even though he be without character. 5 ’ He repeated it later, saying, ‘Yes, according to my religion and creed, I hold an adulterous and a fallen Mussalman to be better than Mr. (no longer Mahatma) Gandhi. ” 9b

Under the existing rules the resolution passed at the Special session of the Congress at Calcutta had to be ratified in the regular session of the Congress, which was held at Nagpur in December, 1920, under the Presidentship of Vijayaraghavachariar. There was an unprecedented enthusiasm and more than 14,000 delegates attended the session, 10 for it was generally believed that there would be a fresh trial of strength on the question of Non-co-operation. But the popular expectation was belied; for the resolution passed in Calcutta was ratified with only a few dissentient voices. This was mainly due to the sudden change of C. R. Bas’s view. He started for Nagpur with a strong contingent of delegates to fight against Gandhi, but on arriving at Nagpur he wholeheartedly joined Gandhi without even consulting his friends and other leaders of Bengal like B. C. Pal who took him to task on this account. 11 The cause of this sudden change has never been explained satisfactorily. 12 But Mrs. Annie Besant, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. C. Pal and M. A. Jinnah were among the few who opposed the resolution ratifying the Non-co-operation movement. Jinnah, when approached by Gandhi for his co-operation, wrote: “I thank you for your kind suggestion offering me to take my share in the new life that has opened up before the country. If by ‘new life’ you mean your methods and your programme, I am afraid I cannot accept them, for I am fully convinced that it must lead to disaster.Your methods have al ready caused split and division in the public life of the country, not only amongst Hindus and Muslims, but between Hindus and Hindus and Muslims and Muslims and even between fathers and sons; people generally are desperate all over the country and your extreme programme has for the moment struck the imagination mostly of the inexperienced youth and the ignorant and illiterate." 13 G. S. Khaparde, a co-worker of Tilak, also made a spirited protest against Non-co-operation in a short memorandum published on 10 December, 1920. 14

A number of other decisions adopted at the Nagpur session makes it a landmark in the history of the Congress.

In the Amritsar session of the Congress in 1919, Gandhi was authorized tc prepare the draft of a new constitution for the Congress. On the basis of this draft certain important changes were made in the constitution. The goal of the Congress was defined in the existing constitution as "self-government within the British empire". This kept out of the Congress a radical section whose political ideal was complete independence. To accommodate this section the goal of the Congress was declared to be 'Swaraj'. It literally means self-rule, and neither long usage nor any generally accepted convention had given any definite connotation to it. It was evidently kept deliberately vague so that each individual member might satisfy his conscience by putting any interpretation upon the word he liked. Gandhi defined 'Swaraj' to mean "self-government within the empire, if possible, and outside, if necessary".

The Congress was reorganized on the basis of a gradation of committees beginning from village, the smallest unit, through gradually increasing areas like subdivision, district, and province, to the All-India Congress Committee of about 350 members. This Committee was to elect a Working Committee of 15 members which would be the supreme Executive of the Congress for the whole country. The provinces, for the purpose of the above organisation, were rearranged on a linguistic basis; Madras, for example being divided into Andhra and Tamil-nad. The Subjects Committee was henceforth to be composed of the members of the AICC alone and was to meet 2 or 3 days before the open session of the Congress.

Another important change was the substitution of the words “all peaceful and legitimate means” for the existing “Constitutional means”, which defined the method to be followed by the Congress in achieving its goal. This was evidently a compromise between the Moderate section represented by Malaviya and Jinnah and the Radical section who demanded absolute independence to be achieved by all possible means. Gandhi’s influence induced the extreme section to accept the compromise.

III. NON-CO-OPERATION AT WORK 1. The Nagpur Programme i. Constructive Work

The Non-co-operation movement launched by Gandhi had two aspects which may be called positive and negative, or constructive and destructive. The former included the promotion of Swadeshi , particularly the revival of hand-spinning and weaving, removal of untouchability among the Hindus, promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity, prohibition of the use of alcoholic drinks, and the collection of a crore of rupees for the memorial of Tilak (in the shape of a Swarajya fund).

The negative side is usually referred to as the triple boycott: namely, boycott of legislatures, courts, and educational institutions, both schools and colleges, maintained or aided by the Government. The ideas of passive resistance and civil disobedience, though not explicitly included in the programme, seem to have been tacitly permitted, though under strict limitations, whenever necessary to carry out the above programme. The minor items of boycott included surrender of titles, honours, etc., as formulated in the resolution of the Congress in its Special session at Calcutta, quoted above. Some constructive work was directly necessitated by the destructive programme: such as setting up arbitration boards to take the place of courts, and national schools and colleges, where students leaving Government schools and colleges might continue their education. By a reverse process, the boycott of foreign goods, particularly foreign cloth, required the promotion of Swadeshi.

Immediately after the Nagpur session Gandhi made an extensive tour of the country in order to popularize the movement. It seems that at first the constructive side was more emphasized than the destructive. The All-India Congress Committee, meeting at Bezwada on 31 March, 1921, passed resolutions ‘calling upon all workers to concentrate their attention chiefly on (1) collecting a crore of rupees for the Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund; (2) enlisting a crore of members, and (3) introducing 20 lakhs of Charkas (spinning wheels) into Indian households—all this before 30 June, 1921. The first item was successfully carried out, the fund being over-subscribed by 15 lakhs of rupees. The membership reached more than fifty lakhs and the number of Charkas almost reached the target. Gandhi was at first against the boycott of foreign goods, as it was, in his opinion, a form of violence, but he changed his views in a few months and laid great emphasis on it. In its meeting at Bombay on 28 July, the All-India Congress Committee sent detailed instructions to all Congress organizations in order to attain "complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th September next", and asked them to concentrate their attention upon manufacture of Khaddar by stimulating hand-spinning and hand-weaving. It also approved the picketing of liquor shops which had already begun, but deplored the excesses committed by the mob at Aligarh and Malegaon.

The production and popularizing of Khaddar made some progress, but the production was slow and far behind the target aimed at. As to the consumption of liquor, it underwent a marked decline due to vigorous picketing of liquor shops and there was a substantial fall in the revenue of the Government, but "after the removal of the pickets, the pendulum swung back and the evil asserted itself again in full force." 15

The All-India Congress Committee at Bombay, while passing the resolution on the boycott of foreign cloth, also advised all Congress organizations "to collect foreign cloth for destruction or use outside India at their option." This evoked a heated discussion and several amendments were moved against the burning of cloth or its being sent out to Smyrna for the use of the Turkish forces. V. J. Patel, supported by Kelkar, opposed the destruction of foreign cloth which he thought was valued roughly at hundred crores and which he described as national wealth, especially at a time when millions were either ill-clad or naked. Gandhi vigorously supported the burning of cloth by the consumers, though not by the cloth dealers. Immediately after the session of the AICC, the city of Bombay displayed great enthusiasm in this item, and made a great spectacular demonstration of burning foreign cloth. 16

Similar bonfires, though not on such a grand scale, were made in other towns, and this became almost a regular feature of the programme of cloth boycott. Eminent men, including poet Rabindranath, made vigorous protest against this “insensate waste” of cloth when millions were going half-naked. Gandhi gave a spirited reply in his paper, the Young India. “Critics”, said he, “have overwhelmed me with their rebuke regarding the burning of foreign cloth. After having considered every argument advanced against it, I cannot help saying that destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth”.

But in spite of spectacular demonstration of the burning of foreign cloth, the boycott of foreign cloth did not show satisfactory progress, as was admitted by the Working Committee at its Bombay meeting on 5 October, 1921. As regards the items of constructive programme it is difficult to recognize any substantial progress eiher in the removal of untouchability and other class distinctions among the Hindus, or in the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. The deplorable communal riots in Malabar and at Multan, to which reference will be made later, rather show a worsening of the situation.

ii. Boycott

The three most exciting items of the Non-co-operation movement were the boycott of legislature, law-courts, and educational institutions.

There is no doubt that much of the success in regard to the last item was due to picketing by the students themselves. Picketing was also an essential feature in reducing the sale of liquors and foreign goods. This work was mainly done by the National Volunteers—a body thoroughly reorganized for carrying out the programme of Non-co-operation. It was also mainly this body of volunteers who put social and economic pressure to induce unwilling persons to follow the N.C.O. programme, both constructive and destructive. Though pledged to non-violence, their activities were, according to the official view, ‘subversive of order and discipline’—a view which was not absolutely without foundation.

The movement for boycotting the Councils was a complete failure. All the Congress candidates had withdrawn from the contest in obedience to the mandate of the Calcutta Congress, and all the seats were filled up by non-Congressmen. Just out of fun, or out of spite, the Congressmen put a cobbler as a candidate in Bengal and he was duly returned. But though the Congress was undeniably strong and could easily command majority of votes in almost all the Hindu constituencies, it was not strong enough to prevent at least a quarter of the total number of voters from casting their votes and thereby render the election void or ineffectual, as they hoped. The Congress, however, succeeded in proving to the world that the Legislative Councils elected under the new Constitution had no claim to represent the people of India. 17

The boycott of legal profession was heralded by the magnificent self-sacrifice of Pandit Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das, both of whom were leaders of the bar and enjoyed princely income. They gave up their practice, and their example was followed by a large number of lawyers. Here, again, the boycott was more spectacular than effective, for the number of boycotting lawyers (though perhaps exceeding a thousand to start with, but gradually dwindling as time passed) was not large enough in proportion to their total strength, and hence could not make any impression upon, far less cripple, the work of the British law-courts. The attempt to dissuade the people from resorting to British courts and settle their litigation by Boards of arbitration set up by the Congress or village panchdyats , though partially successful in a few localities, did not achieve any important result.

The programme of boycotting schools and colleges at first created great enthusiasm. It was foreshadowed by the All-India College Students’ Conference held at Nagpur on 25 December, 1920, under the Chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai.

There was a heated debate on the boycott of Government-aided schools and colleges. A resolution was passed to the effect that the ‘Conference wholeheartedly supports the immediate and unconditional boycott of Government and Government-aided colleges, and advises the college students of India to respond to it.' By another resolution national leaders were requested to establish National Colleges, including provision for technical education. A programme of work was laid down for the student non-co-operators. The students of India were requested by another resolution to use only their vernacular in their correspondence, daily talk and provincial deliberations.

The Students' Conference and the almost unanimous adoption of the Non-co-operation resolution by the Congress at Nagpur had great repercussion upon students all over the country. The greatest upheaval took place in Calcutta 'on 12 January, 1921, as a large number of students left their colleges, marched through the streets in procession, and gathered in a meeting addressed by Congress leaders like C. R. Das and B. C. Pal. In the course of the next week many more students came out and processions and mammoth meetings became the order of the day. The teachers, however, with rare exceptions, did not join the students' strike. The example of Calcutta was followed by many mofussil colleges. The boycotting students adopted a novel method of picketing for preventing others from entering the colleges. A number of them lay flat side by side, on the pavements of the doorways, blocking the entrance. The students, willing to attend, had either to tread upon the bodies of their fellow-students or abstain from attendance. It is easy to understand why many chose the latter alternative. The initial success of the boycott was mainly due to this practice, whose nonviolent character may justly be questioned. But the boycott of colleges, thus artificially maintained, did not in the long run prove very effective. There was also a great commotion among the students in the Punjab, a large number of whom left their colleges. Most of the colleges had to be closed down for the time being. But by the end of February the movement for strike practically died down both in Calcutta and Lahore. There were commotions in varying degrees, but no strong movement of students in other parts of India. On the whole, the movement for the boycott of schools and colleges proved a failure. Though quite a large number of students gave up their studies, the movement never gained sufficient strength, and failed to create any lasting impression or produce any serious effect on the existing institutions. Many of the students who came out rejoined their old institutions; some resumed their studies in newly started national schools and colleges;

only a small band remained steadfast to their resolve, at least for many years to come.

But the boycott of courts and educational institutions produced most significant and far-reaching consequences in another direction. Men like Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das, along with others, now devoted their whole time and energy to the service of the country. So did most of the students who gave up their studies. For the first time in the history of modern India there was a select band of whole-time workers, both leaders and rank and file, all over the country, who made the freedom of India their only goal in life and consecrated themselves to its achievement. There were many who took to the service of the country as a whole-time job rather than a pastime of leisure time; and their example had a profound influence over others. All this changed the entire outlook of the country, and gave a new zeal and spirit to India's struggle for freedom. The ideal of Bankim-chandra's Anandamath[18] and the idea with which Gokhale started the Servants of India Society[19] at last came to fruition.

The Boycott of titles and honours, as well as Government offices, was a hopeless failure. As regards the resignation of Government jobs, the response was insignificant and negligible. The number of persons who renounced honours and titles was very small compared to the total number. But it is an undeniable fact that these titles and honours henceforth ceased to be distinctions in the estimation of the people at large, and generally came to be regarded as badges of slavery. Many holders of titles, though unable to renounce them for fear of incurring the displeasure of Government, really felt uncomfortable, and gradually the display of the so-called honours and their recognition as such were confined to Government functions.

More spectacular success attended the movement for boycotting the Prince of Wales. It was originally proposed that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales would formally inaugurate the legislatures in India, both Central and Local, constituted under the Reforms Scheme of 1919. But as he had not yet completely recovered from labours of his Dominion tour, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was appointed by His Majesty to discharge the task. But it was announced by the Viceroy in his inaugural speech at the September session of the Legislative Assembly that the Prince would visit India in November. The Indian public generally interpreted such royal visit as an attempt to exploit the traditional sentiments of India, and the view was generally held that the visit was deliberately planned as a counterpoise to the Non-co-operation movement with a view to conciliating a large section of the people and rallying them to the support of the Government. The Viceroy, Lord Reading, emphatically repudiated the allegation that the Prince was coming to serve some political end, and assured the Indian people that ‘neither he nor his Government have ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness’ visit for political purposes’.

The Congress was not satisfied with these assurances and the All-India Congress Committee, meeting at Bombay on 28 July, 1921, decided to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. It is worthy of note that even the leading politicians of the Moderate party opposed the idea of the visit of the Prince.

The boycott of the Prince’s visit followed the same pattern as that of the Duke of Connaught when he came to inaugurate the new Reforms in January, 1921. 19a Some Municipalities like those of Calcutta and Bombay presented addresses, but the Lahore Municipal Committee refused to do so. There were usual receptions with pomp and grandeur in one part of every city he visited, while there was hartal in the other parts.

The Prince of Wales landed in Bombay on 17 November at about 10 a.m. He was welcomed by the Viceroy, officials, and a large number of ruling Chiefs, leading business men and landed aristocrats.

The city, however, observed hartal and swelling crowds rushed into the streets. They joined the boycott meeting at the beach which was addressed by Gandhi, and a huge bonfire was made of the pile of foreign cloth. The mill-hands came out and began hooliganism of all kinds. Other people joined them, and a swelling mob was molesting the peaceful passengers in the tram cars and held,up the tram traffic. Their special wrath fell upon those who had joined or gone to witness the royal procession. The mob forcibly removed their foreign caps and head-dresses, pelted Europeans, and burnt tramcars, a motor and several liquor shops. Some Parsi women were roughly handled and had their saris torn from them. In some quarters every passer-by with a foreign cap was molested, and even beaten, if he refused to give up the cap.

The orgy of the mob is thus described by Gandhi himself: "The crowd did not consist of hooligans or only of boys. It was not an unintelligent crowd. They were not all mill-hands. It was essentially a mixed crowd, unprepared and unwilling to listen to anybody. For the moment it had lost its head, and it was not a crowd but several crowds numbering in all less than twenty thousand. It was bent upon mischief and destruction."

Soon there was police firing and the Anglo-Indian and Parsi quarters took revenge upon those wearing Khaddar. Many Congress volunteers were seriously injured. The following is a contemporary description: "For full five days the riot went on. There were Parsi mob in the Parsi quarter, Moslem mob in the Moslem quarter, Christian and Anglo-Indian mob in their own quarter, and, to crown all, the monster mob of mill-hands in the Mill quarter ot the town. The Parsis, infuriated at the treatment of their women and children, came out in the streets armed with guns, lathis and bamboos, and belaboured whoever came in their way— not excepting their own kinsmen who happened to have Khaddar and Gandhi cap on. Europeans and the Jews also took the law into their own hands. and mercilessly injured Hindu and Muslim passers-by. As a result there was another mob-rising which was quickly quelled by military and police fire. Several grog-shops were burnt, a Parsi temple was set fire to, and immense damage was done to shops. Eminent Indian leaders, who had gone out to pacify the fighting mobs, were badly molested by the Parsis and AngloIndians. The casualties were heavy. According to official report 53 persons were killed and about 400 were wounded." But, as Gandhi pointed out, "of the 53 persons who lost their lives, over 45 were Non-co-operators or their sympathisers—the hooligans: and of the 400 wounded, to be absolutely on the safe side, over 350 were also derived from the same class”.[20]

Gandhi was deeply mortified at the incidents of Bombay. He

violently denounced the rioters and vowed to abstain from food till

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the violence stopped. He remarked: “With non-violence on our lips we have terrorised those who happened to differ from us. The Swaraj that I have witnessed during the last two days has stunk in my nostrils.” As a result of this ugly riot Gandhi suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement which was to be launched at Bardoli on 23 November.

Generally speaking, the hartal was successfully observed all over India on November 17, and passed off quietly everywhere except at Bombay.

The peaceful hartal was very successful in Calcutta.[21] The two local English dailies , the Statesman and the Englishman, remarked that Congress volunteers had taken possession of the city of Calcutta and the Government had abdicated; they demanded immediate and drastic action against the volunteers.

2. Changed Attitude of the Government

The loud outcry of the Englishmen had the desired effect. The Government issued a notification within twenty-four hours, declaring the Congress and Khilafat volunteer organization as unlawful.

A week later proclamations were issued suppressing all public assemblies and processions for three months in Calcutta and some important towns. Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, threatened to take more drastic steps if these measures proved inadequate, and many other Provincial Governments followed suit.

The fact is that the complete hartal that greeted the arrival of the Prince of Wales in India radically changed the policy of the Government of India. This is clearly explained in the telegram of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State:

“A new and dangerous situation confronted Government after the events of the 17th November. An increasing disregard for lawful authority and the growth of a dangerous spirit of lawlessness had been engendered by the outbreaks of the last few months, and it had become evident that a systematic campaign of violence, intimidation and obstruction had been embarked on by many of the Volunteer Associations, to combat which it had proved ineffective to proceed under the ordinary criminal law. In many places these associations were at first recruited from educated classes, but as the campaign became more violent, they began to draw adherents from unemployed labourers, mill-hands and city rabble, many of whom were paid for their services. Government decided in these circumstances that measures of a more comprehensive and drastic character should be resorted to, and information was sent to the Local Governments that sanction would be given to the application of the Seditious Meetings Act in any district where it was considered necessary to adopt that course. Instructions were also given to them that vigorous use should be made of the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, Part II, for combating the Volunteer Association’s illegal activities, and that troops should be employed more freely..... Action was promptly taken by practically all Local Governments in Northern India, in accordance wdth these instructions. Various Associations had been declared as unlawful. A large number of persons have also been arrested and convicted. At the same time prosecutions were more freely instituted against newspapers, leader^ and speakers who had incited to violence.”

Thus after eleven months of inactivity, comparatively speaking, the Government declared open war against the Non-co-operators and the whole of India watched with a thrill the results of the first encounter between the armed might of the powerful British Government and the non-violent Non-co-operation or PassiveResistance.

Calcutta proved to be the most sensational theatre of war. A meeting of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee was

called and held in camera towards the end of November, 1921. The Committee unanimously decided to start civil disobedience and vested all its powers in C. R. Das, thus making him a Dictator both in name as well as in fact. He decided to begin by sending out batches of five volunteers who would proceed quietly to sell khudi cloth. Das issued a stirring appeal for volunteers who would thus defy the official ban and take all the consequences. As the response at the outset was not quite satisfactory, Das decided to send his only son Chira-ranjan and his wife Basanti Devi as volunteers, in order to set an example to others. As soon as the son was arrested the number of volunteers who offered their services increased. But still, against the unanimous remonstrances of all his followers, Das sent his wife the next day with a batch of volunteers including two other ladies. As soon as the news spread that Mrs. Das was taken to prison with the other ladies, there was wild excitement in Calcutta and men and women began to pour in as volunteers. In the meanwhile Mrs. Das had been taken to the Police Station; but as she was stepping into the prison van, police constables 'came up to her and vowed that f they were going to resign their jobs the same day'. There was also a sensation at a dinner party in the Government House, Calcutta. Mr. S. N. Mallik, a leading member of the Liberal Party, one of the invited guests, left the party as a protest as soon as he heard the news of the arrest of Mrs. Das. The excitement grew so tense all over the city of Calcutta that at midnight the Government ordered the release of Mrs. Das and her associates and gave out that they had been arrested through mistake. 22

But it was too late; the shrewd device of Das was crowned with complete success. From the next day thousands began to enlist as volunteers. The number of volunteers increased rapidly beyond all expectation or calculation, and everyone of them was eager to court arrest. Within a few days the two big prisons in Calcutta were filled with political prisoners. Camp-prisons were then opened, but they too were filled in no time. The British jail had lost its terror and imprisonment became a badge of distinction. This was the most marked characteristic of the N.C.O.

movement and became a permanent feature of the national struggle in future.

As the number of prisoners became unmanageable, orders were given for the release of a large number of political prisoners, but no one would leave the prison. Prisoners were thereupon taken forcibly to the prison-gate and set at liberty. Outside prison, arrests were stopped and sticks and batons were used freely by the police in dealing with crowds. Sometimes the demonstrators were removed in

police-vans to out-of-the-way places, say thirty miles from the city, and there asked to walk back home. 23

The Prince of Wales was due to arrive in Calcutta on 24 December. The Governor, Lord Ronaldshay, opened negotiations with Das. He proposed to withdraw the repressive measures if Das called off the boycott of the Prince. Das pointed out that the boycott was proclaimed by the Congress and could only be lifted by that body. On December 10, Das himself went out as a volunteer and was arrested. This was followed by the arrest of all the prominent leaders of Khilafat and Congress organizations who were in Calcutta. To overawe the people the British soldiers were posted in different quarters of the city.

This repressive policy was not confined to Calcutta, but was followed with relentless vigour in other Provinces where trouble was brewing or apprehended. Leaders like Motilal Nehru and Lajpat Rai were arrested and put in prison. The scene of Bengal was repeated. People came out in open defiance of Government orders and courted arrest. A wave of unprecedented enthusiasm swept over the country, and within a month twenty-five thousand people were put in prison.

3. Efforts for Peaceful Settlement

There is no doubt that the Government were hustled into this repressive campaign, partly by the pressure brought to bear upon them by the non-official European opinion, and partly, perhaps mainly, by the unprecedented situation with which they were faced. No Government could possibly tolerate an open defiance of its authority by an organized movement spreading over the whole country. The disrespect shown to the Prince of Wales was also a grave cause of offence, as it made the Government of India look small in the eyes of the Home Government and the world at large. The riot at Bombay was also a grave warning to those who were responsible for maintaining law and order in the country. The Government could be hardly blamed if they regarded the Nonco-operation movement, as it emerged in November, 1921, as an incipient revolt on the part of a large section of the people. On the face of it, therefore, the Government had every right to consider itself justified in taking the extraordinary measures which, in their view, were forced upon them. But what the Government failed to realize was the national character of the revolt, and that the real remedy was not the suppression of the disorders which were merely outward symbols, but to eradicate the root cause by generous concessions to the demands for freedom. This is a lesson which the history of every age and country has taught, but which

no Government has ever taken to heart. Another great lesson which was ignored by the Government of India, like all others, is that repression, however necessary or justified, merely helps the cause of the revolution; the blood of the martyr has always proved the seeds of the church. There is therefore nothing to be surprised at the fact that the campaign of repression launched by the Government in place of the cautious policy they had hitherto pursued produced an effect very much the opposite of what was expected. It did not crush the spirit of revolt, but served to widen still more the breach between them and the people. Even the Moderates who had hitherto been their staunch supporters wavered in their loyalty and showed a sullen spirit of resentment and revulsion.

The disaffection of the Moderates must have created a deep impression upon Lord Reading. The position was brought home to him in a more personal way. He arrived at Calcutta about a week before the date of the Prince’s arrival in the city, and must have been mortified to learn that the banquet which the Calcutta Bar had arranged in his honour as ex-Lord Chief Justice of England was cancelled on account of the arrest of C. R. Das. The day of the Prince’s visit was drawing near and there were clear signs as to the sort of welcome he would receive in Calcutta. The whole outlook was gloomy indeed. The Non-co-operation movement was attaining greater and greater dimensions, and there were variousother disturbing factors such as the Akali movement and the Moplah rebellion. Perhaps all these made him eager, or at least willing, to arrive, if possible, at a settlement with the Congress. Unfortunately, a veil of secrecy still surrounds the negotiations that were carried on for this purpose during that fateful week. According to Subhas Bose.who was himself in prison along with C. R. Das at the time, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who had kept away from the 1921 movement, "came to interview Deshabandhu Das in the Presidency jail with a message from the Viceroy", thus clearly implying that it was the Viceroy who took the initiative. The rest may be stated in Bose's own words:

"The offer that he (Malaviya) brought was that if the Congress agreed to call off the civil disobedience movement immediately, so that the Prince's visit would not be boycotted by the public, the Government would simultaneously withdraw the notification declaring Congress volunteers illegal and release all those who had been incarcerated thereunder. They would further summon a Round Table Conference of the representatives of the Government and the Congress to settle the future constitution of India.

"The leader (Das) had a long discussion with Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the outstanding Moslem leader of Calcutta, and with

Pandit Malaviya.Under the joint signatures of Deshabandhu Das

and Moulana A. K. Azad, a telegram was sent to Mahatma Gandhi recommending for acceptance the proposed terms of settlement. A reply came to the effect that he insisted on the release of the Ali brothers and their associates as a part of the terms of settlement and also on an announcement regarding the date and composition of the Hound Table Conference. Unfortunately, the Viceroy was not in a mood for any further parleying and wanted an immediate decision. All that the Deshabandhu could do in the circumstances was to send for his friends who were then outside prison and urge upon them that they should use ail possible means to get the Mahatma to agree. These friends did so and many telegrams passed between Calcutta and Sabarmati. Ultimately the Mahatma did come round, but by then it was too late. The Government of India, tired of waiting, had changed their mind.

The Deshabandhu was beside himself with anger and disgust. The chance of a lifetime, he said, had been lost.”[24]

The circumstantial character of the whole narrative leaves no doubt of its substantial authenticity. But as we have no copy of the telegraphic correspondence between C. R. Das and Gandhi, and no definite information on the point of view of Gandhi is available, it is difficult to pass a final judgment on this episode.

IV. END OF NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

Shortly after the failure of the above negotiations the annual session of the Congress was held at Ahmadabad in December, 1921. As nearly 40,000 Congress workers were in jail, the number of delegates was only 4,726, as against 14,583 at Nagpur a year ago. The President-elect, C. R. Das, being in jail, Hakim Ajmal Khan presided over the session. The main resolution adopted by the Congress urged the continuance of the N.C.O. movement with greater vigour and advised all Congress-workers to organize not only individual civil disobedience but also mass civil disobedience as soon as the masses were sufficiently trained in the method of non-violence.

True to the spirit of this resolution, Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy on 1 February, 1922, communicating the decision of Bardoli, a small tahsil in the Surat District (in the State of Gujarat), having a population of about 87,000, to embark on mass Civil Disobedience.[25] In this historic letter Gandhi briefly traced the history of the movement,—how it was intended to launch the campaign at an earlier date but was suspended on account of the riots in Bombay on the occasion of the Prince’s visit, how it was renewed on account of the repression of a virulent type resorted to by the Government since that event, and the summary rejection of the proposal to hold a Round Table Conference in order to arrive at a settlement. As specific instances of repression, Gandhi referred to “the looting of property, assaults on innocent people, brutal treatment of the prisoners in jails, including flogging”, suppression of “the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of Press”. “This lawless repression (in a way unparalleled in the history of this unfortunate country)," said Gandhi, "has made immediate adoption of mass Civil Disobedience an imperative duty". Gandhi made a final appeal to the Viceroy to revise his policy, set free all the prisoners convicted for non-violent activities, to free the Press from all administrative control and declare in clear terms the policy of absolute non-interference with all non-violent activities undertaken for "the redress of the Khilafat or the Pan jab wrongs or Swaraj". Finally, Gandhi added: "If you can see your way to make the necesisary declaration within seven days. . . .1 shall be prepared to advise postponement of Civil Disobedience of an aggressive character".

Gandhi's letter was thus an ultimatum to the Viceroy—a procedure which has no precedent in the annals of India's struggle for freedom. It was a bold step which a man like Gandhi alone could think of.

The Government of India took up the challenge, for, as they wired to the Secretary of State, they were "satisfied that the army and the great majority of the Police are staunch", and believed that "there is no disaffection on the part of the majority of the population." Gandhi proceeded to Bardoli to lead the campaign in person. The whole of India watched the great battle in a spirit of animated suspense. But the battle was lost before it had begun, for at the critical moment Gandhi cried halt because a dastardly crime was committed by the people of Chauri Chaura, a village in U.P. near Gorakhpur. The police had opened fire on a procession, but when their ammunition was exhausted, and they shut themselves up inside a building, the excited mob set fire to it, and as the members of the police force were thus forced to come out, they were all, twenty-two in number, hacked to death, and their bodies were thrown into the flame (5 February, 1922). There was another mob-outbreak at Bareilly, but it was easily suppressed. These incidents created a feeling of disgust, and about fifty prominent leaders of the U.P. at once issued a manifesto condemning the conduct of the volunteers. Some prominent leaders made an urgent appeal to Gandhi to suspend the Civil Disobedience movement, and Gandhi immediately agreed. The Working Committee of the Congress, hastily summoned at Bardoli, discussed the matter on 11 and 12 February and upheld Gandhi's view. The A.I.C.C., which met at Delhi on 24 and 25 February, also endorsed the same, but there was a strong opposition and many considered the suspension a great blunder. It put a stop not only to the civil disobedience but practically to the whole programme of Non-co-operation which involved any defiance to Government, laying down instead a constructive programme which aroused very little enthusiasm.

The nationalists all over India were staggered and the devotees and admirers of Gandhi, both Indian and foreign, were the loudest in denouncing his action. 26 Whatever one might think of it, there is no doubt that the suspension of Non-co-operation movement hdd the disastrous effect of developing a spirit of frustration, and this may be regarded as the main cause of the political inertia of the masses that followed. As very often happens, the pent-up energy found an outlet in the Hindu-Muslim riots that disgraced the political atmosphere of India during the next few years.

The Government correctly gauged the situation and took full advantage of the unpopularity of Gandhi in having him arrested— a step which they had not dared adopt so long for fear of popular outbreak. Gandhi was tried at Ahmadabad on 18 March, 1922, and was sentenced to six years' simple imprisonment. Thus ended the first phase of the Non-co-operation movement. For, the whole movement centred round one person and his disappearance gave a death-blow to it, at least for the time being. This shows the greatness of Gandhi and gives us a fair measure of the role he played in India's struggle for freedom. At the same time it illustrates the precarious nature of a political movement whose success depends entirely upon one man, however great.

In the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi Gandhi had tried hard to maintain that the resolution of suspension did not in any way nullify the resolution on Non-co-operation passed in the Nagpur session of the Congress. But neither his eloquence nor his prestige could conceal the fact that Non-co-operation was dead. This was fully admitted by the Congress Inquiry Committee, which observed: "There can be no doubt that the principle and policy laid down at Ahmedabad were completely reversed, to the great disappointment of an expectant public", and the Congress "failed to create sufficient enthusiasm to carry on the constructive programme with the earnestness it deserved". The last is a very significant admission, and should be borne in mind in making a proper study of the Non-co-operation movement, both in 1922 and thereafter. It means that the enthusiasm which sustained the movement was really kept up by its fighting programme, and the constructive programme, such as weaving and spinning, removal of untouchability etc., which was not likely to involve any collision with the Government, really fell flat upon the masses who

looked upon them as merely of secondary importance, to be tolerated for the sake of Gandhiji, if not as an unnecessary hindrance to the real fight.

V. REPRESSIVE MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT DURING NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

In a full dress debate in the Legislative Assembly on 24 March, 1921, the Government declared that as the object of the Non-cooperation movement was to paralyze the administration, they were justified in taking repressive measures to put it down. As mentioned above, the Government issued instructions to the local authorities to use unsparingly all the instruments of repression which a series of lawless laws, enacted during the preceding fifteen years, had placed in their hands in order to curb the freedom of the individual, associations and the Press. In addition, the excesses committed by the police such as indiscriminate merciless beating with iron-shod heavy bamboo sticks, and 'house searches' with or without warrants which in many cases meant breaking, looting, assaulting the inmates, and sometimes even putting the women to indignities of all kinds, became the order of the day. The Congress workers and Congress offices were the chief targets of attack and European officers are known to have given open orders to the constables to beat and plunder (maro aur looto) which were, of course, carried out to the letter. 27 The forcible dispersal of a meeting at Dacca was followed by the dragging of innocent spectators by their legs. The Indian Association of Calcutta, completely dominated by the Moderates, brought to the notice of the Government various types of police terrorism such as indiscriminate arrests of men and women, maltreatment of arrested persons, their detention in custody without any charge, trial in camera and in jail without any lawyer to defend them, severity of the sentences passed on political offenders, and the stationing of military pickets in various parts of the city. So far as Calcutta was concerned, a unique feature of repression was added in the shape of Anglo-Indian Civil Guards, who, together with the Gurkha troops and Police, formed the veritable trio of oppression. A specimen of their brutality was witnessed in Entally, a suburb of Calcutta, on 25 December, 1921. After a drunken brawl the civil guards assaulted the Muslims of the locality. They were soon reinforced by other civil guards and several European sergeants, "who madly roamed about the street, revolver in hand, ready to shoot whoever interfered with their mad career. One man was killed outright and some twenty wounded. The same night the police raided a mosque. They entered with shoes on, and desecrated it." 2 *

Reference may be made to some serious cases whose authenticity is based on careful inquiries made by non-official committees. The firing on 21 July, 1921, on an unarmed crowd at Matiari in Hyderabad district (Sindh), which inflicted one fatal and twelve other casualties, was condemned as unjustified even by the official committee, which further held that responsible Police officials like the District Superintendent were guilty of making false statements and many of the allegations against the Khilafatists "had been shamelessly fabricated by the Matiari Police." 29

Far more serious was the Gurkha outrage in Chittagong (Bengal). On 20 October, 1921, the Congress leader J. M. Sen Gupta and 17 others were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. A report spread that they would be taken to the railway station that very evening and a big public procession proceeded there. Other people had also gathered at the station. There was no disturbance of any kind, but suddenly a band of Gurkhas began to "assault the people right and left indiscriminately, mainly with the butt-end of the rifle". As the people fled on all sides, the Gurkhas chased them all along and struck them all the way. The Gurkhas also attacked several carriages and struck severe blows upon their occupants, including a Zamindar who was also an Honorary Magistrate. One Gurkha party also fell upon the processionists and struck them. Altogether more than 100 persons were wounded, some of them very severely. 30

Many districts, particularly in the Punjab, U.P., Bengal and Assam, were from time to time practically denuded of the more active of their Congress and Khilafat workers by wholesale and indiscriminate arrests and prosecutions. A few examples may be quoted as specimens, to show how the authorities acted in the name of law:

(i) Fifty-five members of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee were discussing a resolution on volunteering at an emergent meeting at Allahabad. The Police entered, seized the draft resolution, asked every individual present whether he approved of it, and on his replying in the affirmative, sent him to the Police van downstairs. Those who did not move quickly enough had some gentle pressure applied to them from behind, and the progress of at least one was accelerated by a mild assault. They made no defence in the Court and were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment each, which was simple or rigorous according to the personal whim of the Magistrate. The Government, as advised by a special judge appointed by it, had to admit that the convictions were illegal, but the men were still kept in prison. One of them died in jail, and as he was a strong young man, a public inquiry was demanded, but was not allowed.

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(ii) C. R. Das, who was arrested on December 23, on the eve of his departure to Ahmadabad to attend the session of the Congress of which he was the President-elect, was convicted and sentenced to six months' imprisonment after being detained for nearly two months as an under-trial prisoner.

(iii) Lala Lajpat Rai was convicted under the Seditious Meetings Act and sent to jail, when the Law Officer of the Government, who was not consulted before, gave his opinion that the conviction was illegal. Lalaji was released, but as soon as he stepped out of the prison gate, he was arrested and sentenced for another offence to two years' imprisonment.

(iv) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment for two offences: (1) Declaring his intention to picket foreign shops in a public speech; (2) Presiding at a committee meeting which decided to send letters to certain cloth merchants calling upon them to pay the fines imposed by the cloth merchants' own association under their own rules. This was construed as an abetment of extortion.

Appalling lawlessness prevailed outside the Courts. It may be broadly stated that causing injury to the person, property or reputation of a Non-co-operator not only ceased to be an offence, but came to be regarded as an act of loyalty to the Government of a specially meritorious character. Specific references may be made to a few horrid varieties of oppression on the authority of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee consisting of some of the most eminent Congress leaders. "Taking the country as a whole, a general summary of the various kinds of anti-non-co-operation activities may be given in a few short sentences. Gandhi caps and Khaddar dress were anathema to the officials generally throughout India, and marked out the wearer for all kinds of insults and humiliations, as also for false prosecution. Assaults on volunteers, stripping them of their clothing, and ducking them in village tanks in winter months were some of the 'innocent' practical jokes designed by police for their own amusement. Confiscation of licenses (or arms, forfeiture of jagirs, watans and inams , withholding of water-supply for irrigation, and refusing takavi advances were some of the milder punishments for those who were not charged with specific offences. Destruction of Congress and Khilafat offices and records and of national educational institutions, burning of houses and crops and looting property were resorted to in the case of the more obstinate recalcitrants. Several cases of forcible removal of jewellery from the persons of women, and of indecent assaults and outrages

committed on them, as well as the burning and trampling under foot of,religious books and other sacred objects, have also been brought to our notice. The estate of an extra-loyal zamindar in Utkal (Orissa) has gained a wide notoriety in that Province for cases of shooting, assaults on women and a novel method of humiliating and insulting high caste people by sprinkling liquor on them and compelling them to carry night-soil on their shoulders." 31

VI. THE EXCE&SES COMMITTED BY THE PEOPLE

The Enquiry Committee claimed that the people bore all these with admirable patience and self-restraint. That this was not due to cowardice or want of strength was, according to the Committee, demonstrated by the fact that it was the martial races of the Punjab and U.P. who, while smarting under brutal treatment, maintained the most wonderful self-restraint. This may be generally correct, but there is no denying the fact that excesses were also committed by overzealous Non-co-operators, and sometimes it fully resembled the atrocities of the Police. The Committee admitted some sporadic cases of outbursts of violence, but refused to believe that the Nonco-operators were to be held responsible for the few sad incidents that occurred. While one may readily admit that these cases were few and far between, it is difficult to exonerate the Non-co-operation movement from all blame in this respect, whatever we might think of the actual perpetrators of the crimes. A few instances may be mentioned below:

1. ‘Peaceful* picketing was one of the methods usually resorted to by Non-co-operators to prevent the purchase of foreign goods and liquor, and attendance at schools, colleges and University classes and examinations. But like the “mild’* lathi charge of the police, picketing was often far from “peaceful**. Non-co-operators usually stretched themselves on the ground before the gates of educational institutions so that no one could get in without trampling upon their bodies. Sometimes young boys were specially employed for the same purpose.

2. Intimidation was used to force shop-keepers to close shops and make the drivers of carriages to cease to ply on the occasion of the hartals . There is hardly any doubt that the official allegations about these were not altogether unfounded.

3. Agrarian Riots

Early in 1921, there were great agrarian troubles in the districts of Rae Bareli and Fyzabad in U.P. Troubles were due to the refusal of the tenants to pay some of the illegal and oppressive *sses which were imposed by the landlords, and often realized

with the help of the police and the Magistrate, who, in addition to their natural sympathy with the latter, scented in the opposition of the former the influence of the Non-co-operation movement. A great riot raged in many villages from 2 to 7 January. A scuffle between peasants and the police at

Fursatganj on 5 January led to a gathering, two days later, of about 10,000 people before the jail at Munshigunj. Though dispersed by police fire, the mob looted the bazar and some property of the landlords. On 23 January, a serious riot took place at Rachrawan in which several constables were killed. In the course of another peasant rising on the 29th at Gosaigunj, about 1,000 men lay flat on the railway line on hearing that their leader was being carried away in the incoming train. The train had to stop for three hours until the police cleared the line by buckshot fire.

The Government believed that these agrarian troubles were created, or at least exploited, by the Non-co-operators in various parts of U.P. and Bihar. It was alleged that the mob, armed with lathis and sticks, shouted Mahatma Gandhi ki Jai, Shaukat AH Muhammad Ali ki jai , etc., and attacked petty as well as substantial Zamindars and Talukdars. The leaders of the mobs moved about the country collecting cesses. ‘‘Short of taking life they resorted to every form of intimidation, including the defiling of wells, the destruction of crops, and the burning of houses.” The ryots were promised swaraj if they refused payment of rent to the Zamindars. 32

4. A serious mob-outbreak at Malegaon in the Nasik District (Maharashtra) caused considerable loss of lives and property. The population, predominantly Muslim, was largely affected by the Khilafat agitation. The conviction of several Momins in April, 1921, for carrying arms at a mass meeting in contravention of an order by the District Magistrate, created great commotion, and a Police constable was roughly handled. Thereupon the City Sifb-Inspector with a few officials and a dozen armed constables proceeded to the town. Being attacked by the mob, his men fired some rounds of small shots, but as the mob did not disperse, they took refuge in a Hindu temple. The mob brought fuel and kerosene and set fire to the temple, which was burnt along with several neighbouring houses. The Sub-Inspector, while trying to escape in the guise of a woman, was caught, beaten to death, and thrown into the fire. One or two constables were also killed and burnt, while the other officials escaped, though badly injured. The mob cut the telegraph wires and stopped the mail tongas from running. The unarmed police on town duty were driven out of the town. Some were beaten and some were killed. It was alleged that the mob burnt

the Hindu temple, because the Sub-Inspector had taken refuge there and the inmates of the temple refused to surrender him. 33

5. There was a violent outbreak at Giridih (Santal Paraganas, Bihar) on 25 April. It arose out of the refusal of a person to accept the decision of the Non-co-operation Panchayat (arbitration tribunal, replacing the regular courts) of Bishnupur. The offender was socially boycotted, and when his daughter went to the village well to draw water, a Khilafat volunteer is alleged to have assaulted her and broken her pitcher. The volunteer was prosecuted, and when the trial was going on, about ten thousand people surrounded the Court building. They stoned the police, inflicting severe injuries, and damaging the jail building. In the afternoon a mob of about 5000 appeared in front of the thana, pelted the Sub-Inspector with stones and brickbats, and wrecked and looted his quarters. 34

6. On 5 July, 1921, when a political agitator, Malkhan Singh, was being tried by the Magistrate at Aligarh, a crowd endeavoured to rush the court. They were driven by the Police with the help of batons, and were also unsuccessful in their attempt to attack Police building. Later on, a mob attacked and burned certain buildings in the Police quarters, including the Treasury. The armed guard fired cn them. One constable was killed and three dangerously wounded. A number of rioters were wounded. No attacks were made on the houses of Europeans. 35

7. Picketing of liquor shops often led to violent acts such as snatching away of liquor bottles and assaulting the purchaser, burning of liquor shops etc. More serious charges were brought against the volunteers by Mr. Hammond, the officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa. He cited the three following cases: (1) A Muslim vendor in Ranchi died, and the Khilafat party tried to obstruct his funeral rites. After he was buried, his corpse was exhumed, thrown upon the public road and the face beaten in with a brick. (2) Gopi Kahar of Chatra was beaten and, with his face blackened, paraded through the town because his wife sold food to those who visited liquor shops. (3) A woman of Kateya, near Siwan, named Musammat Paremia Koerin, was, for similar offence, stripped naked and driven through the country by a howling mob. When a Police officer went to 'hold an inquiry, he was attacked by a mob.

Similar incidents were also reported from other places. At Dharwar (Mysore State), while volunteers were picketing liquor shops, the mob tried to murder a Sub-Inspector of Police and to set fire to certain buildings.

8. The most deplorable outbreak occurred at Chauri Chaura, a Police Station, 15 miles from Gorakhpur in U.P. As a result of vigorous picketing there was hardly any customer of foreign cloth or liquor in the local bazar. A zealous police officer was alleged to have beaten some volunteers engaged in peaceful picketing. In consequence of this, all the volunteers of the neighbouring villages, numbering about 500, accompanied by a large crowd, went to the thana on 5 February, 1922, and asked for an explanation of the conduct qf the police officer. Some neutrals pacified them and the whole party moved on. After they had proceeded to some distance there was a hue and cry in the rear. It was alleged that the Police roughly handled some of the stragglers in the rear. In any case, the mob returned and began to throw brickbats. The armed police fired on the mob. How long the firing lasted is not known, but dead bodies of only two rioters were later found near the thana . It is not unlikely, however, that some wounded persons were removed by the mob. After some time the firing ceased, presumably because the police had exhausted their ammunitions. As soon as tfie crowd realized this, they rushed towards the thana building shouting: "through Gandhiji's kindness even the bullets have turned to water". On their approach the policemen went inside and bolted the door. The mob then set fire to the building. Some perished and those who were driven out by the heat and smoke were thrown back into the fire after being besmirched with kerosene.

It should be pointed out that the allegations against the Nonco-operators, including those mentioned above, were not inquired into by a reliable committee and rest solely upon official statements whose accuracy may justly be challenged in the light of many charges brought in by officials which later proved to be without any foundation or highly exaggerated. In the case of Chauri Chaura, however, we possess a corroborative statement signed by the President of the District Congress Committee and others who were not likely to be prejudiced against the popular side. 36

The Government also brought serious charges against the National Volunteers for inciting the masses to violence and disorder, and held the Non-co-operation movement directly or indirectly responsible for all the disturbances in the country during 1921, including industrial and railway strikes. The following specific instances are cited:

“In Bihar, there was a strike, complicated by Non-co-operation activities, in the East Indian Railway Collieries, leading to a riot at Giridih. Another strike, also accompanied by disorder, broke out on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway. At Nagpur, in the Central Provinces, the intimidation practised by “National

Volunteers” against persons resorting to liquor shops led to serious disturbances. In Assam, inflammatory appeals to ignorant teagarden labourers began to produce their inevitable effects in riot and disorder.” In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies mobs of hooligans, with the name of Gandhi upon their lips, practised subtle terrorism and intimidation of a sort with which the authorities found it most difficult to cope, while Khilafat preachers roused the frenzy of poor and ignorant Muslims with the cry of ‘Religion in danger.’ Everywhere through these masses of combustible elements, moved the emissaries of non-co-operation, preaching, it is true, non-violence, but coupling with this admonition fervent exhortations as to the necessity of “passively” defying the authority of the State, and inflammatory appeals for the rectification of the Punjab and Khilafat grievances, and the acquisition of immediate swaraj. Everywhere they invoked the magic of Gandhi’s name, thereby strengthening, whether consciously or unconsciously, the belief of the credulous masses in his miraculous powers. Thousands of ignorant and humble persons, whether dwellers in the city or countryside, were fired with enthusiasm for the great ‘Mahatma’ whose kingdom, when it came, would bring them prosperity, affluence, and a respite from labour. Little wonder that while eagerly drinking in the tales of the Government’s iniquity and oppression, they set small store by admonitions against the use of violence.” 37

Charges of general ‘non-violent’ coercion were also brought against the followers of Gandhi by eminent political leaders. The following extract from a speech of Mrs. Besant during Non-cooperation movement reflected the opinion of a large body of men. “Under the Gandhi Raj there is no free speech, no open meeting except for Non-co-operators. Social and religious boycott, threats of personal violence, spitting, insults in the streets, are the methods of oppression. Mob support is obtained by wild promises, such as the immediate coming of Swaraj , when there will be no rents, no taxes, by giving to Gandhi high religious names, such as Mahatma and Avatara, assigning to him supernatural powers and the like.” 38

The historian has not sufficient data to enable him to pass a final judgment on the allegations of either the brutality of penal measures adopted by the officials or the violent character of the non-violent Non-co-operation Movement. There seems to be no doubt, however, that there is a great deal of truth in the charges and counter-charges by the Congress and the Government. The Non-co-operation movement was both directly and indirectly responsible for much violence, and sometimes even serious crimes, and the Government measures were often unnecessarily cruel and harsh, deliberately designed to terrorize the people. How far these

were justified it is difficult to say. To argue that they were necessary to maintain law and order, is but a tacit admission that the Government was based cn force, pure and simple, and not on the willing allegiance, far less loyalty, of the people at large, as the Government of India claimed in season and out of season.

On the other hand, some of the worst excesses in brutal outrages during the Non-co-operation movement were committed by the people and not the Government, and the Congress was as eager to minimize and explain away their enormities as the Government showed in cases of similar atrocities committed by their own officials, such as the happenings in the Punjab in 1919. This is illustrated by the terrorism of the Moplahs and the attitude of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee towards the whole episode.

VII. MOPLAH REBELLION—AN OFFSHOOT OF THE KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

The Moplahs are a band of fanatic Muslims, poor and ignorant, about a million in number. They are descended from the Arabs who settled in the

Malabar coast, as described above 39 , about eighth or ninth century A.D. and married mostly Indian wives. They lived in Malabar along with about two million Hindus, and had acquired an unenviable notoriety for crimes perpetrated under the impulse of religious frenzy. They were responsible for no fewer than thirty-five outbreaks, of a minor nature, during the British rule. But their most terrible uprising took place in August, 1921, and is described in the official report as follows:

"During the early months of 1921, excitement spread speedily from mosque to mosque, from village to village. The violent speeches of the Ali Brothers, the early approach of Swaraj as foretold in the non-co-operating press, the July resolutions of the Khilafat Conference-—all these combined to fire the train. Throughout July and August innumerable Khilafat meetings were held, in which the resolutions of the Karachi Conference were fervently endorsed. Knives, swords, and spears were secretly manufactured, bands of desperadoes collected, and preparations were made to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of Islam. On August 20, when the District Magistrate of Calicut, with the help of troops and police, attempted to arrest certain leaders who were in possession of arms at Tirurangadi, a severe encounter took place, which was the signal for immediate rebellion throughout the whole locality. Roads were blocked, telegraph lines cut, and the railway destroyed in a number of places. The District Magistrate returned to Calicut to prevent the spread of trouble northwards, and the machinery of Government

was temporarily reduced to a number of isolated offices and police stations which were attacked by the rebels in detail. Such Europeans as did not succeed in escaping—and they were fortunately few— were murdered with bestial savagery. As soon as the administration had been paralysed, the Moplahs declared that Swaraj was established. A certain Ali Musaliar was proclaimed Raja, Khilafat flags were flown, and Ernad and Walluvanad were declared Khilafat kingdoms. The main brunt of Moplah ferocity was borne, not by Government, but the luckless Hindus who constituted the majority of the population. . . .Massacres, forcible conversions, desecration of temples, foul outrages upon women, pillage, arson and destruction— in short, all the accompaniments of brutal and unrestrained barbarism —were perpetrated freely until such time as troops could be hurried to the task of restoring order throughout a difficult and extensive tract of country.

"As the rebellion had spread over a wide area, the troops available in the Madras District were unable to cope with the situation, and strong reinforcements had to be sent; and by the middle of October these amounted to four battalions, one pack battery, a section of armoured cars, and other necessary ancillary services. As the rebels took to the hills, it w r as some time before they could be caught in appreciable numbers. By the end of the year 1921 the situation was well in hand, and the back of the rebellion was broken. An idea of the fierceness of some of the fighting may be gained from the night attack at Pandikad, on which occasion a company of Gurkhas was rushed at dawn by a horde of fanatics who inflicted some 60 casualties on the Gurkhas and were only beaten off after losing some 250 killed. Throughout the campaign casualties among the Government troops totalled 43 killed and 126 wounded; while the Moplahs lost over 3,000 in killed alone. A great tragedy marked the end of the rebellion. On November 19, 1921, a batch of seventy Moplah prisoners were being conveyed by train, but through the neglect of the guards there was no arrangement for ventilation in the closed coach in which they were put, and all of them died by asphyxiation" 40

The Muslim leaders put the number of Moplah 'martyrs' as 10,000, and they also referred to the desecration of mosques and other outrages perpetrated by British troops while suppressing the revolt. The main incidents of the Moplah rebellion, particularly the terrible outrages upon a large number of Hindus, such as has been described above in the Government version, have been corroborated by independent testimony. It will suffice to refer to a few documents out of a mass of materials collected on the subject.

1. A statement signed by the Secretary and the Treasurer of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee, Secretary, Calicut District Congress Committee, and Secretary, Ernad Khilafat Committee, and K. V. Gopala Menon, refers to the following misdeeds of the Moplahs: "Their wanton and unprovoked attack on the Hindus, the all but wholesale looting of their houses in Ernad, and parts of Valluvanad, Ponnani, and Calicut taluqs; the

forcible conversion of Hindus in a few places in the beginning of the rebellion, and the wholesale conversion of those who stuck to their homes in later stages, the brutal murder of inoffensive Hindus, men, women, and children, in cold blood, without the slightest reason except that they are ‘Kafirs’ or belong to the same race as the policemen, who insulted their Tangals or entered their mosques, desecration and burning of Hindu temples, the outrage on Hindu women and their forcible conversion and marriage by Moplahs.”

The signatories add: “These and similar atrocities (were) proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by the statements recorded by us from the actual sufferers who have survived.” 41

2. The memorial of the women of Malabar to Lady Reading

contains the following: “It is possible that your Ladyship is not fully apprised of all the horrors and atrocities perpetrated by the fiendish rebels; of the many wells and tanks filled up with the mutilated, but often only half dead, bodies, of our nearest and dearest ones who refused to abandon the faith of our fathers; of pregnant women cut to pieces and left on the roadsides and in the jungles, with the unborn babe protruding from the mangled corpse; of our innocent and helpless children torn from our arms and done to death before our eyes and of our husbands and fathers tortured, flayed and burnt alive; of our helpless sisters forcibly carried away from the midst of kith and kin and subjected to every shame and outrage which the vile and brutal imagination of these inhuman hell-hounds could conceive of; of thousands of our homesteads reduced to cinder-mounds out of sheer savagery and a wanton spirit of destruction; of our places of worship desecrated and destroyed and of the images of deity shamefully insulted by putting the entrails of slaughtered cows where flower garlands used to lie, or else smashed to pieces. ... We remember how driven out of our native hamlets we wandered, starving and naked, in the jungles and forests.” 42

(This is only a short extract from a long harrowing tale of misery).

3. Proceedings of the Conference at Calicut presided over by the Zamorin: “Resolution VI. That the Conference views with

indignation and sorrow the attempts made in various quarters by interested parties to ignore or minimise the crimes committed by the rebels such as:

(a) Brutally dishonouring women;

(b) Flaying people alive;

(c) Wholesale slaughter of men, women, and children;

(d) Burning alive entire families;

(e) Forcibly converting people in thousands and slaying those who refused to get converted;

(f) Throwing half-dead people into wells and leaving the victims for hours to struggle for escape till finally released from their sufferings by death."

(Two other items refer to looting and desecration of temples as described in the above memorial of the ladies). 43

4. A report, dated Calicut, 7 September, 1921, published in the Times of Indi and another, dated 6 December, 1921, published in the New India , give detailed accounts of the most horrible outrages on women which cannot be reproduced for the sake of decency.

5. Sankaran IS air refers to cases of men who were skinned alive or made to dig their graves before v being slaughtered. 44

The Congress leaders at first disbelieved the stories, but when hundreds of Hindu refugees arriving at Calicut confirmed the most terrible stories of barbarous and fanatical cruelty, a wave of horror spread among those Hindus who were not blinded by the new-fangled ideas of Hindu-Muslim unity at any cost. Gandhi himself spoke of the "brave God-fearing Moplahs" who were "fighting for what they consider as religion, and in a manner which they consider as religious". Little wonder that Khilafat leaders passed resolutions of congratulations to the Moplahs on the brave fight they were conducting for the sake of religion. Local members of the Congress and Khilafat asked for, and obtained, permission to enter the disturbed area in order to pacify the Moplahs, but they speedily returned with the admission that they could effect nothing. When truth could not be suppressed any longer, and came out with all its naked hideousness, Gandhi tried to conciliate Hindu opinion by various explanations, denials, and censure of the authorities which were crystallised in the following resolution passed by the Congress at Ahmedabad:

“The Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat Movement, specially as the Non-co-operation and the Khilafat preachers were denied access to the affected parts by the District authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property, and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised.”

This resolution is unworthy of a great political organization which claims to represent India and not any particular community. Its deliberate attempts to minimize the enormity of crimes perpetrated by a band of fanatic Muslims upon thousands of helpless Hindus betrays a mentality which generally characterized Government communiques whitewashing the crimes perpetrated by officials upon the Indians, and both should be strongly denounced by any impartial critic. It is ridiculous to maintain that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or Khilafat movement in the face of well authenticated facts, such as the holding of Khilafat meetings which endorsed the resolutions of the Karachi Conference, the proclamation of Khilafat Kingdoms, and the flying of Khilafat flags. 45 It is interesting to compare the words of the resolution, almost apologetic in tone, condemning the Moplahs with those which are used against the Government for the faults— severe though they were—of some officials.

Mrs. Besant has definitely connected the Moplah rebellion with the Non-co-operation and Khilafat movements, and many other eminent men have expressed similar views. Even Muslim leaders indirectly supported this view. Thus Hazrat Mohani, in his Presidential speech at the session of the Muslim League held at Ahmadabad on 30 December, made the following observations about the atrocities of the Moplahs:

“The Moplahs justify their action on the ground that at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours (Hindus) not only do not help them or observe neutrality, but aid and assist the English in every way. They can, no doubt, contend that, while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their houses, property and belongings and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterise as plunder their commandeering of money, provisions and other necessaries for their troops from the English or their supporters.”

In characterising the Moplah action as a religious war against the British, Hazrat Mohani definitely regards it as a political movement which cannot be dissociated from the Khilafat agitation. His justification of the atrocities of the Moplahs is not only puerile in the extreme but is directly contrary to facts. He ignores the patent fact that in the majority of cases, the almost wholesale looting of Hindu houses in portions of Ernad, Valluvanad and Ponani taluqs was perpetrated on the 21st, 22nd and 23rd of August, before the military had arrived in the affected area, i.e. long before the Moplahs had taken themselves to hills and jungles.

By its attitude towards the Moplah outrages the Congress forfeited its moral right to criticize the action of the British authorities in respect of the outrages in the Punjab. Gandhi's ejaculations about the "God-fearing Moplahs" and the congratulations showered on them by the Congress and Muslim leaders, like O'Dwyer's telegi^aphic approval of Dyer's action, might have been due to ignorance of all the facts, but even when these were fully known, they did not repudiate their original views.

At the annual session of the Khilafat Conference at Cocanada held in 1923, when all the woeful tales of barbarous outrages committed by the Moplahs were widely known all over the country, the great national leader, Shaukat Ali, President of the session, moved a resolution for the provision of Moplah orphans and families. "Thousands of Moplahs", he said, "had been martyred but they owed a duty, both on religious and humanitarian grounds, to these brave Moplahs". While conceding that some Hindus had suffered at the hands of the Moplahs, he said the whole chapter was a closed book to them; but they had a duty to the brave Moplahs. He announced that he and his brother Muhammad Ali would each provide for the maintenance of one Moplah orphan.

Member after member rose to narrate the sufferings that the Moplahs had suffered in the hands of the Government, but there was no reference to the inhuman barbarities committed by them. The Khilafat Conference adopted the Resolution moved by Shaukat Ali and funds were collected for the maintenance of the Moplah orphans. One looks in vain for a similar action on the part of the Congress or Hindu leaders to help the victims of the Moplah outrage.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

VIII. GENERAL REVIEW

The question has often been discussed whether the Non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi in 1920-1 was a success or failure. Perhaps the correct view would be that it was neither a complete success nor a complete failure, and the truth, as often happens, lies between the two. People have argued that it must be regarded as a failure because it failed to achieve any of the three objects for which it was undertaken. The wrongs done to the Khilafat or the Punjab were not remedied, and the 'Swaraj within a year', promised by Gandhi, was as far off as ever. Nor did any conspicuous success attend the efforts to achieve the specific objects immediately in view. The boycott of Councils, lawcourts, and educational institutions proved ineffective, and that of liquor and foreign goods had only a limited and temporary success, due to active picketing. As regards the constructive programme the only visible effect was the revival of the spinning wheel, though its popularity did not last very long, and it survives today primarily as a ritual to be observed on the anniversary of the birth and death of Mahatma Gandhi.

But even admitting all this, it is difficult to concede that the Non-co-operation movement was a failure. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, set up by the All-India Congress Committee and consisting of such eminent men as Motilal Nehru, C. Rajagopalachari, M. A. Ansari, V. J. Patel and Kasturiranga Aiyangar, with Hakim Ajmal Khan as Chairman, made an extensive tour almost all over India and received written replies to their questionnaire from 459 witnesses, of whom 366 were also orally examined. They made a general review of the success and failure of the Nonco-operation movement, item by item, and much of what has been written above on this subject is based on their report. Even making due allowance for the fact that the members were* all Congress leaders responsible for the movement and, as such, would be naturally inclined to exaggerate its good and minimize its evil, there seems to be a great deal of truth in the following passage in their Report:

“Witnesses from all parts of the country speaking from direct local knowledge have testified to the outstanding features of the crisis through which the country is passing. These are: (1) the general awakening of the masses to their political rights and privileges, (2) the total loss of faith in the present system of Government, (3) the belief that it is only through its own efforts that India can hope to be free, (4) the faith in the Congress as the only organisation which can properly direct national effort to gain freedom,

and (5) the utter failure of repression to cow down the people. Our own personal observation in the course of our tour round the whole country fully corroborates the evidence on these points. We have found the general population permeated with the indomitable spirit of a great national awakening unprecedented in the history of the human race for its wide sweep and rapid growth. The great bulk of the people show T ed complete lack of confidence in the Government and were found to be firm believers in Non-co-operation and all that it stands for. Repression, where it had done its worst, had no doubt left behind it a trail of sorrow and suffering, but failed to crush the spirit of the people.”

Although stated with some amount of pardonable exaggeration, the claims made by the Congressmen, as expressed in the above passages, cannot be lightly brushed aside. Even the Government was forced to admit that in spite of its impracticable nature, the Non-co-operation movement was engineered and sustained by nationalist aspirations. In the statement submitted to the Parliament, the Government of India made the following observations regarding the general results of the Non-co-operation movement:

“But when we turn to consider the campaign as a whole, it would be idle to assert that it was infructuous. Whether the results obtained are desirable or undesirable will be demonstrated beyond all possibility of doubt by the passage of time. But that these results are real is no longer open to question. Mr. Gandhi’s intensive movement during the years 1921 and 1922 has diffused far and wide, among classes previously oblivious to political considerations, a strong negative patriotism born of race hatred of the foreigner. The less prosperous classes both in the town and the countryside have become aroused to certain aspects—even though these be mischievous, exaggerated and false—of the existing political situation. On the whole, this must be pronounced, up to the present, the most formidable achievement of the non-co-operation movement. That it has certain potentialities for good will be maintained by many; that it will immensely increase the dangers and difficulties of the next few years can be denied by few.” 46

Making necessary allowance for a foreign Government’s view about what constitutes true patriotism, and what is mischievous, on the part of the Indians, the above lines may justly be regarded as an indirect admission of the great success of the Non-co-operation movement.

An eminent leader of the Moderate party, who characterizes the Report of the Enquiry Committee as a one-sided document, has presented his “non-partisan conclusions” on the subject.[47] Though his claims to be a ‘non-partisan’ may justly be challenged, it is interesting to note that his conclusions do not materially differ from what has been stated above regarding the success or failure of the different items on the basis of the Committee’s Report. It is also deserving of notice that the Committee itself admitted the failure of the movement in a manner which a ‘partisan’ committee has seldom done or is likely to do in future.

The most outstanding feature of the Non-co-operation movement was the willingness and ability of the people in general to endure, to a remarkable degree, hardships and punishments inflicted by the Government. This is the reason why though the Non-co-operation movement collapsed, the memory of its greatness survived, and was destined to inspire the nation to launch it again at no distant date. For, the movement proved to be a baptism of fire which initiated the people into a new faith and new hope, and inspired them with a new confidence in their power to fight for freedom. Anyone who reviews the whole course of events during the movement must be struck with two undeniable facts. First, that the Congress had, for the first time , become a really mass movement in the sense that national awakening had not only penetrated to the people at large but also made them active participants in the struggle for freedom. The second, which is no less important, but was generally ignored at the time, is that the Indian National Congress was, almost overnight, turned into a genuine revolutionary organization. It was no longer a deliberative assembly but an organized fighting force, pledged to revolution. Its weapons were different, but its aims, objects, and temperament closely resembled those of militant nationalism. But there were two significant differences. Unlike the latter the Congress did not work in secret, and its non-violent creed and method had the full sympathy and active support of the people at large. These two features were the greatest contributions of Mahatma Gandhi to India’s struggle for freedom.

1. See footnote 38 of Chapter XI.

2. See p. 318.

3. See p. 313.

4. JAR, 1921, Part I, p. 116.

5. Ibid, 206. The italics are not in the original.

6. This point has been fully discussed in my Freedom-India, III. p. 75 and f.n. 11, 11a, and lib on pp. 826-7.

7. Ibid, p. 56, and fji., 11a, p. 827. Also see above, p. 317.

7a. See the last sentence in para. 1 of this chapter, on p. 330.

8. Gandhi himself says that the reference to Swarajya was not in his original draft but was added later at the instance of Vijayaraghavachari, My Experiments with Truth, p. 610

9. This is the voting figure given in Hist. Congr. } I. p. 202; but others give the figures as 1855 to 873, 1866 to 884, 1886 to 884, etc.

9a. Cf.Ch.XV.

9b. Ramgopal, p. 166.

10. Khaliquzzaman, a Muslim political leader, says (p. 57) that the Congress session at Nagpur “was almost a Muslim session of the Congress for I believe the number of Muslims was so large as to give it a Muslim colour.”

11. H. Das Gupta, Bhdrater Jdtlya Congress (in Bengali), III. p. 37.

12. Freedom-lndia, III. p. 97.

13. Ishwari Prasad, Modern India, p. 408

14. Ibid.

15. The Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee. For the origin and composition of this Committee, see p. 389. According to an official report, the reduction in excise revenue in the Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, and Bombay was, respectively, 33, 10 and 6 lakhs of Rupees.

16. IAR, 1922, p. 250.

17. Cf. the speech of Sir Frank Sly, Governor of C P. (IAR, 1924, Part II, p. 205).

18. Cf. Vol. X, p. 478.

19. Ibid, p. 496.

19a. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

20. MR, 1922, pp. 377, 384.

21. For a contemporary account, cf. ibid, p. 307.

22. Subhas Bose, The Indian Struggle, II. pp. 94 ff.

23. Ibid, p. 97.

24. Ibid, pp. 99-101.

25. For the full text of the letter, cf. Hist■ Congr ., I. pp. 233-5.

26. For some actual comments, cf. Freedom-India , III. pp. 157-61. Moonje moved a vote of censure against Mahatma in a meeting of the Congress Party (Kulkarni, p. 290).

27. IAR, 1922, p. 341.

28. Ibid, pp. 340-1.

29. For full details, cf. IAR, 1922-3, pp. 803-6; Freedom-India, III. pp. 171-2

30. IAR, 1922-3, p. 793; Freedom-India, III. p. 171.

31. These examples are quoted in The Report of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee.

32. IAR, 1921, Part I, p. 156.

33. IAR, 1922, p. 190; 1922-3, p. 780.

34. MR, 1922, p. 192.

35. IAR, 1922-3, pp. 64-5

36. Published in the Leader of Allahabad on 9 February, 1922.

37. India in 1921-2, p. 61.

38. India: Bond or Free, pp. 194-5; Sir Sankavan Nair also narrates the misdeeds of Gandhi's followers (Gandhi and Anarchy, pp. 96 ff.).

39. Cf. Vol. IV of this series, p. 164.

40. India in 1921-2, pp.18-20; MR, 1921, p. 41.

41. Sankaran Nair, op. cit., Appendix III.

42. Ibid, Appendix V.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid, p. 40

45. Cf. the Official Report, quoted above on pp. 360-61. According to a Confidential Report of the Intelligence Bureau, prepared by P.C. Bamford, Deputy-Director, Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, "The Moplah rebellion broke out in August after Khilafat agitators, including Abul Kalam Azad. and Hakim Ajmal Khan, had been making violent speeches in that area. Ever since the Majlis-ul-Ulema Conference at Erode in April, the feelings of the Moplahs had been steadily growing with respect to Khilafat, while' the nonviolent Non-co-operation movement was receding more and more into the background." For further extracts from this Report containing anti-Hindu sentiments of the Moplahs, cf. Freedom-lndia, III. pp. 831-2, footnote, 85 a.

46. Parliamentary Papers—Accounts and Papers, 1922, Vol. XVI. p. 108.

47. Chintamani, p. 132.

CHAPTER XIII

REFORMS AT WORK (1921 -23)

I. THE INAUGURATION OF THE REFORMS

The new constitution was brought into operation on 3 January, 1921, when new Governors, Executive Councillors and Ministers took oath and charge of office. The Council of State and the Legislative Assembly at Delhi were formally brought into existence a month later, on 3 February. In his royal proclamation, issued on 23 December, His Majesty had announced his intention to send the Prince of Wales to India to inaugurate on his behalf the new Chamber of Princes and the new constitution in British India. As the Prince was unable to undertake the journey on grounds of health, His Majesty's uncle, the aged Duke of Connaught, a son of Queen Victoria, was sent in his place.

The Duke landed at Madras on 10 January, 1921. In accordance with the resolution of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur to boycott the Duke's visit, a huge public meeting of the citizens of Madras was held on 5 January, in which the following resolution was passed: "This meeting of the citizens of Madras calls upon the people of this city not to take part in any of the functions and festivities arranged in honour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit." Propaganda for the boycott was carried on for a week, and meetings, lectures at street corners, and processions crying slogans about boycott were the order of the day. Big

placards were posted in the streets carrying such inscriptions as

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"Boycott Connaught", "Connaught cannot redress our wrongs", "Remember Jallianwallah" etc. On the day of the Duke's arrival there was a complete hartal in the city, and a mass meeting was held at the Triplicane beach which was attended by nearly 50,000 people.

At another part of the same beach the Duke was received by the officials, and an address of welcome was presented on behalf of the Madras Municipal Corporation. On 12 January, the Duke performed the inauguration ceremony of the new Reformed Legislative Council. Even nature seemed to be helping the Non-cooperators. For, a heavy downpour and a stormy weather destroyed the costly decorations in the streets, and the arrangements about the procession were cancelled. The Duke gave a very graceful and conciliatory address, typical of the many addresses which

he subsequently gave in other places. There were some speculations at the time about the choice of Madras as his landing place instead of Bombay, which was the usual thing. It was the popular view that the Government selected Madras as the safest place for greetings and welcome to the royal guest, as it was least affected by Non-co-operation, and the situation could be easily manipulated by working upon the differences between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans. The Duke in his Address pointed out that Madras was the most appropriate place, for "it was here that the connection between India and the British Empire was first definitely established."

After spending about a fortnight in Central India, the Duke came to Calcutta on 28 January. The scenes of Madras— hartal, protest meetings, boycott, processions, Municipal Address etc.,—were repeated. Gandhi was present in Calcutta and personally went round, requesting the picketers to disperse in order to allow freedom to the people to welcome the Duke if they liked. Nevertheless, the hartal was a complete success. Eight different meetings, held in different parts of the city on 1 February, the day of inauguration of the Council, passed the self-same resolution, declaring that the Bengal Legislative Council "does not represent the country and this meeting calls upon those members who have allowed themselves to be elected to resign their seats immediately." The Duke inaugurated the Council with a graceful address, and paid very high compliment to the Bengalis.

On 8 February, the Duke inaugurated the Chamber of Princes at Delhi. The ceremony was held in a pavilion just in front of the Diwan-i-Am in the Red Fort, and was attended by about 120 Ruling Princes. Next day, 9 February, the Duke inaugurated the two Imperial Legislatures, viz., the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, which sat in joint session for the purpose. The Viceroy opened the proceedings with a dry speech describing the various stages of the Reforms and took the opportunity to make a public denial that there was any whittling down of the reforms.

The Duke, who followed the Viceroy, first read the King’s Message and then addressed the two legislatures. After uttering the usual platitudes about the British rule and the value of the Reforms, the Duke concluded with “a few words of a personal nature.” “Since I landed”, said he, “I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India.... No one can deplore those events more intensely than I do myself.... I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from today.” To put together the British and the Indians in the same category, as regards forgetting and forgiving the past, adds one more instance of the lamentable failure of the British to understand the Indian sentiment on the ‘'terrible chapter of events in the Punjab” to which the Duke referred as a matter of deep concern to His Majesty.

On 23 February, the Duke inaugurated the Bombay Council, and left Indian shore on the 28th. Both in Delhi and Bombay there were the usual boycott, protest meetings and hartal. The Municipal address of welcome presented at Delhi was not subscribed to by the Indian Commissioners. Nine out of the eleven elected members of the Municipal Board, and even some of the Government nominees were absent. The Municipal Address of Welcome was presented by the District Magistrate in the name of the people of Delhi, but the Congress office issued a manifesto exposing the fraud that was being practised.

Gandhi addressed a letter to the Duke in course of which he said, “Not one among us has anything against you as an English gentleman. . . . We are not at war with individual Englishmen. We seek not to destroy English life. We do desire to destroy a system that has emasculated our country in body, mind and soul. We are determined to battle with all our might against that in the English nature which has made O'Dwyer and Dyerism possible in the Punjab, and has resulted in a wanton affront upon Islam—a faith professed by seven crores of our countrymen." Gandhi concluded by asking the Duke as an Englishman to study the Non-co-operation movement and appreciate its view-point.

II. THE REFORMS AT WORK

The new constitution introduced by the Act of 1919, which was put into operation on 3 January, 1921, survived the attempts of the Non-co-operation movement to wreck it both from within and without the Council Chamber. But it had to work in an atmosphere which destroyed even the slender chance which it possessed, on its own merit, of proving to be a real stage in the evolution of Responsible Government in India as it was represented to be. By a strange irony of fate, it was almost a still-born child. The shots that Dyer fired at Jallianwalla Bagh and the shouts of his countrymen in his defence crippled the Reform Act beyond recovery. It set to work at a time when more people in India were alienated from the Government than perhaps at any time since the Mutiny. The persistence of the old bureaucratic mentality evidenced by the passing of the Rowlatt Acts in the teeth of unanimous opposition of all shades of political opinion, the horrors of the military rule in the Punjab unredeemed by a frank admission of the enormity of the crime and adequate punishment of the offenders, and the breach of pledge to the Muslims regarding the treatment of Turkey had, as mentioned before, disillusioned the largest section of the Indians—both Hindus and Muslims—about the utility of any reform, short of granting Swaraj to India, and they were not in a mood to work it out or let others do so. Even those who welcomed the Reforms felt no less keenly on the great wrongs mentioned above and were thoroughly alienated from the Government. So far as feelings were concerned, the difference between the twol sections was one of degree and not of kind. Even less than a year] after the reforms were at work with the co-operation of the Moderate, now called Liberal, party, the annual conference of the party voiced the discontent of the Moderates in a language which, though guarded and moderate in tone, betrayed the same spirit which led to Non-co-operation. They regarded the reforms as unsatisfactory, and asked for full autonomy in the Provinces, and popular control over the Central Government in all subjects except defence, foreign affairs, relations with Indian States and ecclesiastical affair, at the end of the next two years. They reiterated the opinion that India would not be satisfied unless suitable punishment were inflicted upon the officers guilty of acts of cruelty, oppression and humiliation during the period of martial law administration in the Punjab. They also expressed regret that the Prime Minister's pledge to the Mussalmans, made in January, 1918, was not redeemed, and strongly urged upon His Majesty's Government to revise suitably the treaty with Turkey. They were also highly critical of the campaign of repression launched by the Government, and, in spite of admonition and explanation by the Viceroy, strongly urged an immediate reconsideration of its policy. Between the people imbued with these ideas or nourishing such grievances, and the Government unwilling or unable to redress any one of them, there could not exist, even in the best of circumstances, that spirit of harmony and sympathy, without which the experiment of Responsible Government could not be carried out with any hope of success.

The resignation of Montagu, the sympathetic Secretary of State for India, on 9 March, 1922, was also a severe blow to the successful working of the Reforms. It happened in a curious way. On 28 February, the Government of India, in full agreement with the views of the Provincial Governments, sent to the Secretary of State

a telegram, on the eve of the Graeco-Turkish Conference at Paris, suggesting some modifications of the Treaty of Sevres, namely, the evacuation of Constantinople, maintenance of the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy places, and the restoration of Thrace and Smyrna. The Government of India also made a request to be allowed to publish their views, evidently to rehabilitate their position with the Muslims in India. Montagu circulated the telegram to the members of the Cabinet. But when a further request came from the India Government on 4 March to publish their views immediately, Montagu gave the necessary permission without waiting for the views of the Cabinet. He thought that the question of its publication was not a matter for the discussion of the Cabinet. Lloyd George, the Premier, however, thought otherwise and regarded the action of

Montagu as a grave dereliction of duty; so the latter had no other alternative but to tender his resignation. He, however, publicly declared that the incident of the telegram was merely a pretext to get rid of him, and showed reasons for this view. It is significant that while the Leader of the House of Commons announced the resignation of Montagu, he did not utter any expression of regret, and the announcement was received with "loud and prolonged Unionist cheers, followed by a wild exhibition of indecent hilarity, cries, cat-calls etc. by the Die-hards." There is no doubt that the general opinion was that Montagu was sacrificed to satisfy, the die-hard Conservatives who did not like his Indian policy.

Apart from personal question, there was an important constitutional issue involved. As regards the telegram of the Government of India, Lord Curzon regarded it as intolerable that "a subordinate branch of the British Government 6,000 miles away should dictate to the British Government the line of foreign policy to be pursued in the Conference". To this Montagu gave the following reply: "India is a member of the League of Nations; the Treaty of Sevres was signed on behalf of India independently, as well as on behalf of Great Britain and the Dominions, and I think it the greatest folly to suggest that India, which has been given Dominion status for this purpose and was a party to the original Treaty, should not be allowed to express its opinion as to the modification of the Treaty. If it is allowed to express its opinion, what is the use of hushing it up?"

Hemmed in between a hostile public and unsympathetic and unresponsive Government, the leaders of the Liberal party would have found it hard enough to execute the task entrusted to them, namely, to sow the seed of responsible government on Indian soil and nurse the tender plant, when grown, into maturity. But

their task was made harder by the undisguised hostility of the bureaucracy in India and the die-hard elements in Engliand. Reference has been made above to the open rebellion of the I.C.S., and the propaganda of the Indo-British Association of London, immediately after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and the consequent whittling down of the Reforms. The hostile spirit was further evidenced by the proposals submitted by the LieutenantGovernors, themselves senior members of the

I.C.S., which sought to grant concessions only to such an extent as would leave unimpaired the unlimited and almost unchecked powers of the I.C.S. Its influence is clearly visible in the first despatch of the Government of India on the reforms, dated 5 March, 1919. The effect of the I.C.S. revolt may be clearly traced in the rules framed under the Government of India Act, to which reference will be made later. The agitation did not die with the introduction of the Reforms. A retired ex-Governor of India raised in England the cry of "I.C.S. in danger", and this cry of alarm was so far successful that in the I.C.S. examination of 1921, there were only 26 European candidates, out of a total of 86. Of the 16 successful candidates only 3 were British, and of these one retired almost immediately after joining. The enemies of India sedulously preached the slogan that 'India was a lost dominion,' and it fell on sympathetic ears as the attitude of average Englishmen towards India was stiffened by the Non-co-operation movement. The British Government felt it necessary to reassure the services, and the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, made one of those unfortunate speeches, which are prompted solely by a desire to ease a temporary difficulty, but whose grave reaction on political situation as a whole is hardly suspected by their authors. In the course of his speech in Parliament on 2 August, 1922, Lloyd George, after paying tribute to the successful working of the Reforms by the Indians, added: "What I want specially to say is this, that whatever their success as Parliamentarians or as Administrators, I can see no period when they can dispense with the guidance and assistance of the small nucleus of the British Civil Service. They are the steel frame of the whole structure. I do not care what you build on it; if you take the steel frame out, the whole structure will collapse." Lloyd George did not leave the people in any doubt as to the logical sequel to his utterance. He remarked: "There is an institution which we will not interfere with, there is one institution we will not cripple, there is one institution we will not deprive of its functions or of its privileges, and that is the British Civil Service in India." He made his view crystal clear when he added that it was a cardinal principle not merely of the present Government, but he believed, of all

future Governments, that "Biitain will in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India."

The speech plainly meant that the so-called ideal of Responsible Government which the British Government declared as the goal of Indian political evolution meant something very different from what is ordinarily understood by the term, viz. the responsibility of the executive to the legislature elected by the people. For, such a Government was absolutely incompatible with the existing functions and privileges of the I.C.S. In a Responsible Government the members of the 'heaven-born' service should really be "civil servants", as their name implies, and not "rude masters" of the people, as they had hitherto really been. Lest the Indians be encouraged to pin their faith on the declared policy of the British Government in the Government of India Act of 1919, Lloyd George was very outspoken in his views about its real nature. Referring to the changes inaugurated by that Act he said: "Those changes were in the nature of an experiment, and they must be treated as an experiment. A great and important experiment, but still an experiment." He even more than hinted that if the Non-co-operators were elected to the next Council in large numbers "it would constitute a serious situation and we should have to take it into account".

The Indians cannot be blamed if they construed the speech of the Prime Minister as an open and undisguised attempt to repudiate the policy of 1917, and believed that the Reforms of 1919 were more a sham than a reality. So the speech strengthened the hands of the Non-co-operators and created almost a consternation in the ranks of the Moderates.

Even fair-minded and liberal Englishmen condemned Lloyd George's speech. Col. Wedgwood, speaking after Lloyd George in the House of Commons, "wondered what evil genius inspired the Prime Minister with the necessity to make this speech today". "There was no doubt", said he, "that this was a new declaration as regards India, a declaration which he would find it difficult indeed to square with the Declaration of August, 1917. Besides obscuring at any rate, if he did not eclipse, the famous Declaration of August, 1917, the Prime Minister went on to offer threats of the withdrawal of the diarchy reform."

In India Mr. Sethna moved a resolution in the Council of State on 7 September, 1922, expressing "keen sense of apprehension and disappointment", but the resolution was lost. Next day Mr. Agnihotri moved a similar resolution in the Legislative Assembly, requesting the British Government "to repudiate the statement made

by Lloyd George". The resolution, in an amended form, was passed by 48 votes to 34, in spite of strong opposition by the Government.

Lloyd George's speech does not seem to be merely an individual outburst, but the outcome of a deep-seated policy or conspiracy on behalf of the I.C.S., and its effect was perhaps more serious than was anticipated. In order to understand this it is necessary to go back a little. On 30 May, 1922, Mr. S.P. O'Donnell, Secretary to the Government of India, sent a memorandum to all Provincial Governments, inviting their opinions on the issues raised in the following resolution moved by Mr. Sethna in the Legislative Assembly and accepted by the Government:

"The Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that inquiries should without delay be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the Declaration of August 20, 1917, in the direction of increased recruitment of Indians for the All-India Services, and also that steps be taken to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter the technical services in larger numbers than it is at present possible."

The memorandum briefly summarised the arguments both for and against the demand for the Indianization of services. It also hinted at some possible solutions of the problem as may be gathered from the following passage: "The Government of India are inclined to think, therefore, that the abolition or any large reduction of the recruitment of Europeans will inevitably entail the provincialisation of the posts for which in future only Indians are to be recruited. Should provincialisation be decided upon, a further point to be decided is the method by which recruitment for these appointments should be effected. There appear to be two possible alternatives:

(i) the appointment might be merged in the existing services; or,

(ii) might, as soon as a sufficient number have become vacant, be formed into separate (and upper) divisions of these services. .. .

“The balance of argument appears to the Government of India to be on the whole in favour of the two divisions scheme, but they have no desire to prejudice an issue in regard to which the opinions of the local Governments will be of special value”.

The reaction of the memorandum was immediate and tremendous. The Moi'ning Post demanded the recall of Lord Reading, and this gave a signal for the flare-up of the ‘Die-hard’ agitation in England on behalf of the I.C.S. In India the I.C.S. Associations made frantic appeals to the new Secretary of State for India,*

Viscount Peel, who had replaced Montagu. There were interpellations in Parliament, and Lord Sydenham declared the “crumbling away” of the I.C.S. as no less serious than the Non-co-operation movement in India. Lord Peel gave sympathetic replies, and it is impossible not to connect Lloyd George’s speech with all these. After all this, hardly anything could be expected of the Memorandum of O’ Donnell.

Even apart from the utterance of Lloyd George, the Moderate leaders had already been disillusioned about the character of the reforms, by realizing the unpalatable truth that the I.C.S. still reigned supreme, and even the Ministers had little or no control over them. The great redeeming feature of the Act of 1919 was the creation of ministers, responsible to the legislature. This was designed to be the necessary training ground for Indians, and for this purpose the Secretary of State and the Government of India relaxed their control over the Transferred Departments whose administration was placed in the hands of ministers. The purpose of the Act was quite clear. In respect of Reserved Subjects, the Governor, with his Executive Council, was to be responsible, as before, to the Government of India, but with regard to the Transferred Subjects he was to be a Constitutional Governor whose ministers would be responsible to the Council. But by a clever manipulation in the framing of rules under the Act, all the powers in these Departments were concentrated in the hands of the Governor, who was responsible neither to the Governor-General nor to the Council, and could, if he chose, act in a more autocratic manner in respect of the Transferred Subjects, than of the Reserved Subjects. If there were a difference of opinion between a member of the Executive Council and the Governor, the matter was placed before the Council and ordinarily decided by the votes of the majority. But the Governor consulted the Ministers individually, and regarded them as merely advisers whose opinion he was perfectly at liberty either to accept or reject. The Section 52(3) of the Government of India Act lays down that “in relation to Transferred Subjects, the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his ministers unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion.” This clearly implies a consultation with the whole body of ministers, and the Joint Parliamentary Committee emphasized the corporate responsibility of the ministers. But under the rules, which were prepared by the I.C.S. and not by the British Parliament, the Governor could violate the section 52(3) both in letter and spirit. He could, and, as a general rule, did, consult the ministers individually. As regards observing the spirit of the section, it will suffice to refer to the evidence given by ex-ministers to the Muddiman Committee.

The eminent Moderate leader, C. Y. Chintamani, the first Minister of Education in U.P., stated that he was overruled by the Governor in matters of varying degrees of importance and unimportance down to nominations to a Library Committee. 1 Lala Har Kishen Lai, Minister in the Punjab, also testified to the same effect. Sir A. P. Patro, Minister in Madras, frankly stated that the ministers were completely under the control of the Governor. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, an Executive Councillor in Bombay, declared that the Governor, instead of limiting his interference to exceptional occasions of fundamental differences, claimed that “the Minister’s function in law was merely to advise”. It is true that, in practice, the Governor did, perhaps oftener than not, accept the advice of the Ministers, but the fact remains, that under the Reforms Scheme, the Governor’s powers were increased and he virtually became an irresponsible, rather than the constitutional, head, as he was expected to be, in respect of the Transferred Subjects.

But, as the ministers viewed it, the situation was rendered far worse by the fact that their own Secretaries could, and did, defy them with the help of the Governor. Sir A. P. Patro (Minister, Madras) said: “Ministers occupy a position of responsibility without the power of freedom of action. The Act and the Rules give power to the Secretaries and the Heads of Departments to take cases direct to the Governor, who may overrule the Minister on the representation of the Head of the Department or the Secretary.”

The ministers had never possessed any real authority in their own departments on account of the powers and prerogatives claimed and exercised by the Governor. As Nawab Ali Chaudhury, an ex-Minister, put it: “It came to this that while the minister was responsible to the Legislative Council for his administration, it was the Governor who had the final decision on almost all questions, though he was very little in touch with the Council.”[2]

The hands of the I.C.S. were also clearly seen in another set of rules which more directly concerned themselves. The.. Instrument of Instructions issued to the Governors charged them to safeguard all members of the Services “in the legitimate exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges.” This was interpreted to mean that all matters relating to the Services should be under the control of the Governor. Under the Rules, appointment, postings and promotions, even in the Ministers’ Departments, were placed in the sole charge of the Governor, and the Ministers were left absolutely powerless. It is interesting to note that a despatch of the Court of Directors, issued in 1844, nearly eighty years before, was cited in support of this preposterous claim. The Law officers of the Madras Government held that the Legislative Councils could not even discuss the appointments made in the Transferred Subjects, on the ground that the responsibility lay with the Governor whose actions could not be criticised by the Council. By the Rules framed under subsection 5 of Section 72 D, no resolution could be moved in regard to any action taken by the Governor even in Transferred Departments. This would have justification only if the Governor was a constitutional head, for then the ministers alone should be held responsible. But as the Governor claimed that he could act on his own authority, disregarding the advice of his ministers, whenever he chose, the Rules merely made his autocracy secure from interference by legislature.

The Rules also vested the Governor with final authority in all matters of dispute between the Executive Council and the Ministers. Formerly differences between two departments were decided by the votes of majority in the Governor's Executive Council, but now the final decision in cases of such differences lay with the Governor alone.

Enough has been said to indicate that contrary to what was intended and expected, the Reforms gave the Governor more autocratic powers than before, and ministers could only exercise as little or as much authority as the Governor allowed them at his discretion. In addition to the powers which thus came to be vested in him by a clever framing of the Rules, in violation of the spirit of the Act of 1919, that Act itself gave him wide powers. He could certify measures rejected by the Council, veto or refer to the Government of Lidia any legislation passed by the Council, and disallow resolutions in the Council even after they were admitted by the President of the Council. And the Governors were not chary in making full use of these powers. But even apart from the illegitimate interference by the Governor, it is difficult to maintain that the Act really provided for ministerial responsibility in the administration of Transferred Subjects. Such responsibility clearly means that the ministers must secure the approval of their measures by the people through their representatives in the legislature. This implies that the minister's actions must be supported by a clear majority of the elected members of the Council. But as a substantial number of members in the Legislative Council were either officials, or nominated by the Government, or returned by special constituencies under the influence of the Government, the ministers could get a majority of votes in the Council even though a clear majority of the elected members were against them. It has been calculated, for instance, that in Madras, if ministers could secure the votes of only 23 out

of 86 members elected from general constituencies (Hindu, Muslim and Christian), they would secure a majority of votes in the Legislative Council, if the Government wanted to retain them in power. Thus the ministers were really responsible, not to the people, but to the Government, through the Council which could maintain them in power even against the popular will. A glaring instance was furnished by a vote of censure moved against the ministers in the Madras Council in 1927. The motion was defeated and the ministers continued, but the Division list showed that a clear majority of elected members voted against the ministry. As far back as 1923, it was admitted by the Government that whips were issued to the officials and the supporters of the Government to vote for the Government and thus save the ministers. No wonder, therefore, that even the ministers themselves did not always recognize their responsibility to the Council. The Raja of Panagal gave out the bare truth when, opposing the vote of censure in November, 1923, he said that "he was responsible only to the Governor". However amazing and incredible such a statement might appear, particularly when it comes from the Minister of a Province, it serves to show that the so-called parliamentary responsibility of ministers was nothing but a sham, at least in actual practice, as the effective authority rested not with the ministers but with the Governor whose actions could not be criticized by the Council.

Apart from the lack of real power and authority, the ministers were handicapped in many other ways. The division of subjects into Reserved and Transferred was effected in such a way that the ministers were seldom in control over all the essential branches of any single department. Thus Sir K. V. Reddi, Minister in Madras, observed: "I was a Minister for Development without the forests. I was a minister of Agriculture minus Irrigation. As Minister of Agriculture, I had nothing to do with the administration of the Madras Agriculturists Loans Act or the Madras Land Improvement Loans Act. The efficacy and efficiency of a Minister of Agriculture without having anything to do with irrigation, agricultural loans, land improvement loans and famine relief, may better be imagined than described. Then, again, I was Minister for Industries without Factories, Boilers, Electricity and Water Power, Mines or Labour—all of which are Reserved subjects." The Medical administration was under a minister, but there was a standing rule, binding upon him, which stated that "a local government shall employ such number of Indian Medical Service Officers in such appointments and on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council." Thus the division of subjects

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was made in such a way that the ministers were considerably handicapped in doing any effective good even in respect of those subjects or departments of which they were placed in charge. The difficulty was further increased by the fact that the ministers had no control over financial provisions for the development of the departments placed in their charge.

We possess a very valuable means to judge the success or failure of the working of reforms in the evidence of those very persons, who worked out the reforms as ministers, before the Muddiman Committee 3 to which reference will be made later. Some of their statements have been quoted above. A few more may be quoted below in respect of the general working of the Reforms scheme known as Dyarchy. Ministers of all the Provinces, without exception, regarded Dyarchy as a failure and urged that "it should go as quickly as possible" (Surendra-nath Banerji). Sir P. C. Mitter (Bengal) said: "Soon after joining Government I realised that the system was Unsatisfactory and unworkable." The ministers of Bihar and Orissa were of opinion that "Dyarchy is doomed, and it is not possible to work it successfully." According to M. V. Joshi (C. P.) "Dyarchy as a working experiment neither had nor can have a fair trial". Sir K. V. Reddy (Minister, Madras) said: "It is admitted on all hands that Dyarchy has failed. Even in the province of Madras where an honest attempt has been made to work the reforms in the spirit in which they were conceived, Dyarchy has absolutely failed". In a joint statement the Executive Councillors and Ministers of Bombay observed: "The main object of the Reforms was to secure that the country should be governed with greater regard to the Indian point of view, but this purpose has not been achieved".

Viewed in the light of the actual working of the reforms as described above, one feels bound to admire the foresight of the Non-co-operators when they refused to accept office unless there was real responsibility. They were also not exaggerating the evils of Dyarchy when they declared that to accept office under this system "was to convert oneself into an instrument of Executive Government, rather than serve the public as its chosen representative". Some fair-minded Europeans also saw through the game and held even stronger views. Mr. E. Villiers, who twice represented the European Community in the Bengal Legislative Council, issued a public statement with regard to the Ministerial responsibility after watching the reforms at work for six years. In this he observed: “Instead of teaching her (India) responsibility we are teaching her irresponsibility. Until the Reforms are re-cast, until they are applied to the Provinces as separate States, until such subjects as are Transferred —no matter how small or how unimportant they may be— are transferred lock, stock and barrel, uninterfered with by the Governor and uninfluenced by Government votes in the Council.... I see no hope for the success of the Reforms”. This was indeed quite a sound view. It brings out vividly how, through the power of making Rules, an irresponsible bureaucracy, to serve their own interests, thwarted the intention of the Parliament to introduce Responsible Government in India.

In spite of all this it must be said to the credit of the leaders of the Moderate, later known as Liberal, party, that many of them, as ministers, gave a good account of themselves. The ability and efficiency with which they worked in spite of the numerous handicaps referred to above, certainly demonstrated, if such demonstrations were necessary, that the Indians were fully capable of carrying on the work of administration efficiently and with a full sense of responsibility. Much of the forebodings about the personal relation between the political leaders and the I. C. S. Secretaries proved quite wrong, and on the whole, thanks to the tact on both sides, the change-over was, generally speaking, smooth and free from difficulties. It is interesting to note that Surendra-nath Banerji, as Minister, had under him a Secretary, who happened to be the same I.C.S. official who dealt with him so harshly as Magistrate at the time of Barisal Conference, mentioned above.[4] All this undoubtedly paved the way for further progress in Reforms, and at least furnished the Indians with good grounds, based upon facts, for urging the same. The ministers also occasionally rose to the full height of the dignity of their position, and C. Y. Chintamani and Jagat Narain, two ministers of U.P., tendered resignation as a protest against the action of the Governor which they deemed to be unfair.

Even while in office, the Liberal party never ceased to press upon the Government to make the Reforms more real and effec* five. In 1921 they brought in a motion urging the establishment in 1924 of full Responsible

Government in the Provinces, and the transfer of all Central Departments, except Defence and Foreign Affairs, to popular control, leading to the establishment of full Dominion Status in 1930. Though the Government opposed the motion, they agreed to convey the view of the Assembly to the Secretary of State for India.

It must be recorded, to the credit of the Moderates, that they never lost sight of the goal of Colonial Self-Government and never ceased to press it upon the Government by all possible means within the limitations imposed by law and constitution. Reference

may be made in this connection to the Commonwealth of India Bill which was actually introduced in the British House of Commons and gained the support of the Labour Party. Its history will be discussed later.

On 22 September, 1921, Jadunath Majumdar moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly for transferring, from the beginning of the next Legislative Councils, all Provincial subjects to the administration of the Governor acting with ministers, and similar transfer of all subjects except the Army, Navy, Foreign and Political Departments to the administration of the Governor-General acting with ministers.

As a matter of fact, while the Reforms scheme failed miserably in achieving its main object of introducing the system of Responsible Government, it was more fruitful in the working of the Legislatures, both Provincial and Central. They exercised an effective influence, though in a small degree, over the Executive in several ways.

In the first place, the Legislatures utilized the power of voting on demands to bring pressure on the Executive to conform to the wishes of the Council. A notable instance is furnished b^*the threat of the Bombay Council to reject the Stamp Bills if their demand to cut 60 lakhs from the Budget of 1922-3 were not met. The Government had to yield. It is true that the right of certificate was often used to restore grants that were cut, but as even a Bureaucratic Government did not like to restore every rejected grant, they tried to meet the Council half-way. On the other hand, even the Government testified to the fact that the Indian members of the Legislature exercised the right in a responsible manner. The Swaraj party, at a later date, threw out the whole Budget, but this was part of a fighting campaign and cannot be regarded as part of a normal procedure. The power of moving token cut also enabled members to criticize the Executive and to control or mend its ways to a certain extent.

The Legislatures also liberally utilized their power to ask questions and move resolutions, and, though rarely, move adjournments of the Council or Assembly. Many useful facts of public importance were elicited by questions, while the resolutions covered a wide range of subjects including important questions of public policy such as the separation of Executive and Judicial functions, encouragement of temperance, grievances of railway passengers, etc. Among the important resolutions passed by the Madras Assembly were those concerning enfranchisement of women (1 April, 1921), the re-settlement of Provincial contributions (2 April, 1921), the

permanent settlement of land revenue (14 December, 1921), and the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee (16 September, 1922). In Bengal, Surendra-nath Banerji, as Minister, amended the Calcutta Muncipal Act in 1923, thus undoing the reactionary legislation of Lord Curzon, as a protest against which he himself along with 27 others had resigned from the Corporation in 1899. 5 The new Act gave it a democratic character and enabled the Swarajya party to capture it in 1924. When the authorities resorted to flogging the political prisoners, the Legislative Council protested against it. Sir Abdur Rahim, Member in charge of jails, disapproved of it, but as he could not carry the Government with him, he resigned the portfolio of Prisons.

The Legislative Assembly, set up under the Reforms scheme, had no real voice over the Executive, such as was possessed, in however minute a degree, by the Provincial Councils. But it has a creditable record of legislation over a variety of matters of national importance. Some of these are noted below:

1. The Europeans in India enjoyed special privileges in criminal law and the great agitation over the Black Acts in 1849 and Ilbert Bill in 1883, which sought to remove them, has been referred to above. 6 Indian public opinion never ceased to strongly protest against this racial discrimination in law.

Under pressure from the Legislative Assembly the Government abolished the most glaring discrimination and offensive prerogatives.

2. Reference has been made above 7 to the various laws by which personal liberty of an Indian was considerably curtailed and the Executive was armed with extraordinary powers to put them under vexatious restraint or in confinement without any trial. These lawless laws were strongly opposed by all sections of Indian opinion, and the Legislative Assembly accepted a resolution moved by Srinivasa Sastri on 14 February, 1921, to appoint a Committee to report on the matter. Though the recommendations of the Committee were of a halting character, and did not fully satisfy Indian opinion, still the rigours of the law were partially removed, and individual liberty was restored to a considerable extent.

3. The harsh press laws, to which reference has been made above, 8 were revised and many of its obnoxious provisions, such as heavy security and confiscation of the press, were removed.

4. The assembly succeeded in persuading the Army Command to adopt a scheme of territorial organization with a view to imparting military training to Indian youths and providing for a reserve of officers and men in case of necessity. There was a still more important proposal, which was later carried into effect, namely,

the Indianization of eight units of the Army by the gradual displacement of European officers by Indians holding the King’s Commission. These schemes led to the establishment of a Military College in India at Dehra Dun. As freedom implies ability to defend the country, this beginning of military training, very small though it was, must be looked upon as an important step in the history of India’s struggle for freedom.

The Legislative Assembly also took up a number of labour legislations such as the Indian Factories Amendment Act (on the lines of the English law on the subject), Workman’s Compensation Act, and the Indian Mines Act, which provided some essential safeguards for the protection of workers. The non-official Bill for weekly payment of labourers was thrown out by the Government' opposition.

The Legislative Assembly was always fully alive to the humiliating position of India in other parts of the British dominions, and moved various resolutions to remedy the situation, not always without, success. Towards the end of its term the Legislative Assembly passed a Reciprocity Bill. It provided for retaliation against the Dominions and Colonies of the British Empire where Indians were not given equal rights, by inflicting on their nationals in India the same disabilities which Indians had to suffer there.

Special reference should be made to the Civil Marriage Act, legalising marriage between different castes in Hindu society. Two non-official Bills on the subject were introduced in pre-reform days, successively by B. N. Basu and V. J. Patel, but were thrown out by the official majority in the Council. In the first Reformed Legislature Dr. Gour's Bill was thrown out by one vote, though the majority of elected members voted for it. After the Swarajya party entered the Assembly, it was passed by the Nationalist majority in spite of the opposition of official bloc. Among other social legislations, brought forward by the Nationalist opposition, may be mentioned a Bill to regulate Hindu Religious Endowments and a Bill for raising the age of consent for marriage to fourteen. Another important legislation was the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act.

The Assembly was fully alive to the need of industrial development and economic prosperity. As the result of a non-official resolution, the Government appointed an Industrial Commission with a predominantly Indian personnel, and, on their report, adopted a policy of discriminating protection. A Tariff Board was constituted to inquire into conditions of special industries and to suggest ways and means for their development. One of its outstanding achievements was the Steel Protection Act. A Marine Committee was set up as the result of a resolution in the Assembly, in order to develop Indian shipping. Again, due to pressure of the Assembly, the Government of India agreed that, as far as possible, all stores for Government and railways would be purchased in India.

On the political side the Assembly recommended the immediate abolition of the distinction between votable and non-votable items in the next Budget, and the appointment of a Hound Table Conference to settle the constitution of India. A resolution was also moved to completely Indianize the Services, though the Government shelved it by referring it to Local Governments for opinion.

It is thus quite clear that, contrary to expectations, and perhaps also the intention, of the framers of the Government of India Act of 1919, the Legislative Assembly exercised a great deal of effective influence on the Government of India, and proved by far the most successful feature of the Reforms of 1919. Strange though it may appear, this was partly, if not mainly, due to the Non-co-operation movement, which exercised a great deal of indirect pressure both or» the Government and the Liberal party which co-operated with it. In order to take off the edge of the criticism that Reforms were a mere sham, the Government deliberately yielded on important demands, such as the revision of the repressive laws. The Government admitted to have adopted this policy as a measure of counter-propaganda against the Non-co-operation movement. 9 The Liberal party also had to stiffen their back and raise their demands, partly to rehabilitate themselves in the good opinion of the public, and partly to take the wind out of the sails of the Non-co-operators. But for the spectre of the Non-co-operators swaying the whole country and forming a solid opposition bloc, the Government would not have gone out of its way to rally the Moderates and placate the people, extending the limits of concession as far as possible.

Nevertheless, it would be a serious blunder to imagine that the Government of India had modified in any way its autocratic character and spirit. The Salt Tax was doubled in 1923, and though the Legislative Assembly rejected the measure, it was restored by the certification of the Viceroy. Another unpopular measure was the appointment of the Lee Commission to inquire into the status, position and grievances of the All-India Services. It meant readiness to incur additional expenditure for the Britishers, and offered a glaring contrast to the doubling of salt tax and refusal to effect economy by curtailing unnecessary expenditure as recommended by the Incheape Committee. The deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha was another unpopular measure which stirred the country, for it was believed that he was penalized solely for his nationalistic views. It must also be pointed out that the Government steadily refused to modify its policy of repression, though several resolutions to this effect were moved in the Assembly, and supported by a large number of non-official Indians.

The Government introduced the Press (Princes' Protection) Bill, to protect Indian princes against seditious attacks or calumny by preventing the publication of books, newspapers, etc., calculated to bring into hatred or contempt or excite disaffection against the Rulers of Indian States. It was thrown out by the Assembly but certified by the Viceroy.

1. JAR, 1924, II, p. 46.

2. Ibid, p. 55.

3. For the evidence given before this Committee, cf. IAR. 1924, II, pp. 40-64.

4. See p. 50.

5. See Vol. IX, p. 848.

6. Ibid. pp. 346, 794; Vol. X, pp. 506-9

7. See pp. 107-112.

8. See pp. 110 IT.

9. On 9 February, 1922, the Viceroy sent a long telegram to the Secretary of State summing up the policy adopted by the Government of India towards the Non-co-operation movement. It refers to two forms of counter-propaganda by the Government. In the first place, the Government subsidised some papers and issued leaflets pointing out the evils of the Non-co-operation movement and defending the policy of the Government. The second form of the propaganda was to convince the people of the great powers conceded to them by the Reforms of 1919, as would be evident from the following passage in die telegram referred to above: "Government at the same time took every opportunity during the first session of the

reformed legislature of convincing Indian opinion that the reforms were real and great, and that they had conferred on the representatives of the people wide powers, and that there was a readiness to inquire into the cause of discontent, or any specific grievances. It was, for example, agreed to refer to non-official Committees of the Legislature certain Acts which conferred extraordinary powers on the Executive, as well as the Acts regulating the conduct of the Press; the greatest consideration was shown in framing the Budget according to the opinion of the Legislature." (Parliamentary Report, Accounts and Papers 1922).

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL PARTIES

I. THE SWARAJYA PARTY 1. The Genesis

In spite of the suspension of all subversive activities by the Non-co-operators after the arrest of Gandhi, the Government continued its repressive policy in some localities, and this gave rise to a feeling that the Congress should resort to Civil Disobedience.The All-India Congress Committee which met at Lakhnau on 7 June, 1922, thereupon requested the President to nominate a few eminent persons to tour round the country for reviewing the present situation. This is the genesis of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to which frequent reference has been made above. 1 A section of Congressmen, however, felt that they should carry the fight inside the Councils set up by the Government of India Act, though this would mean going back upon the resolution of boycotting the Councils.

The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee reported that the country was ‘not prepared at present to embark upon general Mass Civil Disobedience’, nor was there much enthusiasm for the constructive programme laid down as part of Non-co-operation activities. This undoubtedly gave a fillip to the views of Council-entry, but an overwhelming majority of the witnesses who appeared before the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee were against the programme of Council-entry with a view to fighting the Government inside the Councils. This led to a split in the Congress rank—a section headed by Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das supporting the Council-entry, and another headed by Rajagopalachari leading the orthodox party of no-changers.

The question came to a head at the annual session of the Congress at Gaya in December, 1922. The President, C. R. Das, in his Presidential Address made a vigorous plea for Council-entry, but the motion of Rajagopalachari in support of continuing the bovcott was carried by a large majority. C. R. Das resigned the Presidentship and, along with Motilal Nehru and others, formed a new party within the Congress, called the Congress Khilafat

Swaraj party, briefly referred to as the Swarajya party. By successful propaganda the new party rapidly gained in strength and a special session of

the Congress, held at Delhi on 15 September, 1923, arrived at a compromise on the question, by passing the following resolution:

“While re-affirming its adherence to the principle of Non-cooperation this Congress declares that such Congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise the right of voting at the forthcoming elections. ...”

As the next election to the Councils was to be held in November, 1923, the Swarajya party began to make preparations without delay for the coming contest. They issued a manifesto from Allahabad on 14 October, 1924, explaining the policy and programme of the party. They declared at the very outset that the Swarajya party was an integral part of the Congress and always kept in view the essential principles of ‘non-violent Non-co-operation’ as they understood them. The party, on entering the Legislative Assembly, would demand the right of framing their own constitution, and if this was refused, and they constituted a majority, they would resort to a policy of “uniform, continuous, and consistent obstruction with a view to make Government through the Assembly and Councils impossible.” The manifesto made it quite clear that for achieving their purpose they would try to secure the co-operation with Nationalist members of the Legislatures who, “without agreeing with the principles of Non-co-operation, are in sympathy with the party programme so far as it relates to Councils.” The party would also readily accept the invitation of other parties to join with them “for the purpose of defeating the Government on any non-official measure opposed by the Government or on an official measure opposed by the inviting party or members”. 2 The Swarajya party’s contest for election in November, 1923, roused great enthusiasm all over the country which seemed to have got over the political inertia brought about by the sudden suspension of the Non-co-operation movement. Considering the very short time in which t^ie party had to prepare for the contest, its success must be regarded as very remarkable. It practically routed the Moderate or Liberal party. Even veteran leaders of this party like Surendra-nath Banerji in

Bengal, Sheshagiri Iyer in Madras, and Paranjpye in Bombay, were thoroughly beaten at the polls. The defeat of C. R. Das (Calcutta), Mr. Chintamani (U.P.), Hriday Nath Kunzru and others completed the debacle of the Moderates who henceforth ceased to count as an effective factor in Indian politics. The utter disorganization of the Liberal party was clearly reflected in the poor attendance at the session of the National Liberal Federation held at Poona on 26 December. The President of the session, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ascribed the debacle of the party at the recent election to lack of organization and failure to educate public opinion. But the plain truth seems to be that they had forfeited the confidence of the educated classes and had no influence upon the masses.

The success of the Swarajya party varied in different provinces. It had captured the majority of seats in C. P., but very few members of the party were elected to the Legislative Councils of Madras and the Punjab. In Bengal the Swarajists formed the single largest party, though they did not command an absolute majority of votes. In Bombay, U P., and Assam, the Swarajists w r ere fairly strong; no member of the Swarajya party was sent up for election to the Legislative Council in Bihar and Orissa, but the Nationalists were returned in large number.

2. Change in the Programme

In the Legislative Assembly the Swarajists had 48 members, and there was a group, calling itself Independent, of 24 members under the leadership of Jinnah. The number of official and nonofficial nominated members was, respectively, 25 and 14, forming practically a solid bloc of 39 votes controlled by the Government. It was obvious that the Swarajists and Independents joining together could defeat the Government. Ere long there was such a coalition, generally known as the new Nationalist party. The Swarajya party maintained its separate identity, but had to revise its declared policy of “uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction”, and draw up a new programme of work within the Assembly. They would not only throw out budgets and official resolutions and bills, but also themselves move resolutions and support measures necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the constructive programme of the Congress.

The programme of the Joint Party was laid down as follows:

“If the Governmeht do not make a satisfactory response to the resolution demanding, reforms within a reasonable, time, the party (Joint Party) will then be bound to a policy of obstruction and will put the policy into operation at the earliest period when the demands for grants are made by the Government, by refusing supplies, provided the party decide by a majority of three-fourths at a meeting specially to be convened for the purpose, that the response, if any, made by Government is not satisfactory.”

This policy worked remarkably well and the Joint Party achieved notable successes. But the Independents soon changed their mind and were not prepared to join the Swarajists to the full extent in the policy of obstruction. The result was that though on some important occasions the Swarajists, with the help of the Independents, inflicted defeat upon the Government, they were defeated on many occasions when the Independents deserted them; the latter not only remained neutral, but some of them voted with the Government against the Swarajists.

When the fourth session of the Assembly opened in Delhi in January, 1925, a revised rule was introduced by the Independents to the following effect:

“In the event of the Party desiring to resort to a policy of obstruction including refusal of supplies or rejection of Finance Bills, no such decision shall be taken in the Nationalist party unless both the Swaraj and Independent parties have separately met in the first instance and decided at their respective meetings to make it a party question. If either group does not desire to resort to a policy of obstruction or of refusing supplies, the Nationalist party shall not make it a party question. In that event either group will be free to act as it may determine.”

The definite end of the coalition made it impossible for the Swarajists to follow effectively their policy of obstruction. This was undoubtedly the main cause of their final decision to walk out of the Assembly, as directed by the Congress at the end of 1925.

3. Work in the Legislative Assembly

The Legislative Assembly met on 30 January, 1924, when oath was administered to the members. Next day the Viceroy, Lord Reading, addressed the Assembly. The Address was resented by the nationalist members on two grounds. There was no reference to Gandhi who had undergone a serious operation while in jail. Secondly, the Viceroy practically threatened the Swarajists that if they did not behave well the British Government might withdraw the reforms. The extent of the indignation may be judged by the fact that even Pandit Malaviya and his followers boycotted the garden party arranged by Mr. A. C. Chatterji, Member for Industries and Labour, to meet the Viceroy and the Countess of Reading. The Swarajists had already decided upon this course and Malaviya group joined them as a protest against the Viceroy's speech.

On 8 February the adjourned motion of Mr. Rangachariar on constitutional advance came up for discussion. It asked for "the appointment of a Royal Commission for revising the Government of India Act so as to secure for India full self-governing Dominion Status within the British Empire and Provincial autonomy within the provinces." The Government opposed it but agreed to make a departmental inquiry into the defects and difficulties in the actual working of the present constitution. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the Leader of the Swarajya party, then moved the following amendment on behalf of the newly formed Nationalist party:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full Responsible Government in India and for the said purpose (a) to summon at an early date a representative Round Table Conference to recommend with due regard to the protection of the rights and interests of important minorities the scheme of a constitution for India, and (b) after dissolving the Central Legislature, to place the said scheme before a newly elected Indian Legislature for its approval and submit the same to the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute."

The matter was discussed for full three days, namely 8th, 13th and 18th February, and Nehru's amendment was carried by 76 to 48 votes. This was the first great victory—an almost historical one—of the Swarajya Party-cum-Independents. This was shortly followed by other triumphs. When the Budget debate on the voting of demands was held on March 10, Nehru moved for the total omission of the grant under Customs. It was carried by 63 to 56 votes. Similarly, the Assembly refused the demands under the heads, Income-Tax, Salt, and Opium.

On 17 March, the motion for leave to introduce the Finance Bill was rejected. Three days later a resolution to repeal the notorious Regulation III of 1818 and other repressive laws was passed by 68 votes to 44.

In the September session of the Legislative Assembly, the most important subject that came up for discussion was the consideration of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Superior Civil Services in India, generally known as the Lee Commission from the name of the Chairman, Lord Lee.

On 10 September, 1924, the Home Member moved a resolution to give effect to the chief recommendations of the Commission. The more important among these were the following:

1. That while the existing system of appointment and control of the All-India Services should, in present conditions, be maintained in Reserved fields, the Services operating in Transferred fields should, so far as future recruits are concerned, be appointed and controlled by Local Governments.

2. The recruitment of Indians for the Services in Reserved fields should be increased as recommended (direct recruitment of 40 Europeans and 40 Indians out of every hundred, the remaining being promoted from the Provincial Service so that there will be a half and half composition in 15 years.)

3. The Constitution of a Public Service Commission.

4. That pay, passage, concessions and pensions be granted to the officers on the scale recommended (increase of basic pay in the Indian Police Service and the Indian Service of Engineers, privilege granted to European officers to remit his total overseas pay at tw6 shillings to the Rupee, grant of four return passages to the European officers and their wives and one passage for each child, increased pension for the members of the I.C.S. serving as Members of Council or Governor).

Motilal Nehru moved a long amendment to the Government resolution of which the principal points were the following:

1. That the recommendations of the Lee Commission be not accepted.

2. That all further recruitment in England for the Civil Services in India be stopped.

3. That the powers of appointment and control of the Services now vested in the Secretary of State be transferred to the Government of India and the Local Governments, such powers to be exercised under laws to be passed by the Indian and Local Legislatures.

4. That a Public Service Commission be established in India and the constitution and functions of that Commission be determined on the recommendations of a Committee elected by this Assembly.

5. That instead of accepting the recommendation number 4 of the Home Member's resolution a Committee elected by this House should go into the entire question so far as the present incumbents are concerned.

Mr. Rangachariar pointed out that there was a revision of pay on the ground of high prices in 1919-20, when the prices had already reached the high water-mark, and there was a total increase of over a crore in emoluments. Now that prices had fallen, they were asked to sanction a further increase costing another crore and a quarter. Col. Crawford remarked that the House was representative to some extent of the intelligentsia of India, but it did not represent the voice of the people of India who desired to retain the European element in the Services. If the Pandit's amendment were carried, the House would show that it was not a civilized body. More than one speaker pointed out that the Services should be in

the real sense services as they were in other countries, but must not be masters.

After two days' debate the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru was put to vote and carried by 68 votes against 46 on 12 September.

On September 16, Dr. Gour's Bill to repeal Part II of the Criminal Amendment Act of 1908 was taken into consideration. The Home Member strongly opposed the motion on the ground that Associations with the objective of assassination and murder were still active. Malaviya said that the dacoities and murders mentioned by the Home Member could be very well dealt with by the ordinary law, and strongly condemned the action of the Bengal Government in sending thousands of Congress volunteers to jail under this Act and of the Punjab Government in declaring the Sikh Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee as an unlawful Assembly. Dr. Gour's motion was carried by 71 votes against 31.

Although the Labour Government rejected the demand of the Swarajya party for revision of constitution, it was evidently at their instance that a Committee was appointed in February, 1924, to inquire into the working of the reforms. The terms of reference were: (1) to inquire into the difficulties arising from or defects inherent in the working of the Government of India Act and the rules thereunder in regard to the Central Government and the Government of Governors' Provinces, and (2) to investigate the feasibility and desirability of securing remedies for such difficulties or defects, consistent with the structure, policy, and purpose of the Act, (a) by action taken under the Act and the Rules; or (b) by such amendments of the Act as appear necessary to rectify any administrative imperfections.

The Committee consisted of nine members with Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member, as the Chairman. There were two reports known as the Majority and the Minority Reports. The Majority Report was signed by five members, 3 three of whom were officials, one an ex-official, and the other a European capitalist. The Minority Report was signed by four members, 4 three of whom were ex-officials and the remaining one, the leader of the

Independent party in the Legislative Assembly. But shortly after the publication of the Report one of the members of the Majority, M. M. Shaft supported the recommendations of the Minority as soon as he was free from the restraints of office. Thus the so-called Minority Report may be taken to be really representing the views of the majority.

The assumption underlying the Majority Report was that they wore prevented from recommending any remedies which were inconsistent with the Act, whether such remedies were to be found by action within the scope of the Act or by the amendment of the Act itself. Their recommendations were therefore confined to a few minor adjustments. The Minority Report, how T ever, held that Dyarchy had failed and "the only cure to be had is in the replacement of the Dyarchical by a unitary and responsible Provincial Government".

The most significant feature of the so-called Minority Report is that its analysis of the causes of the failure of Dyarchical system, as well as the recommendation of replacing it by a Unitary and Responsible Provincial Government, is entirely based on the opinion held by the Ministers and Indian Members of the Executive Councils in all the Provinces. Even some of the Provincial Governments admitted in their evidence that "Dyarchy is obviously a cumbrous, complex, confused system, having no logical basis" (U.P.); "very little can be done to smooth the working of Dyarchy or to eliminate the different administrative imperfections; whatever defects exist are inherent in the system itself" (Bihar and Orissa); Dyarchy cannot solve the political problem (Assam); and necessarily contains illogicalities and anomalies (Punjab).

The following observations of the U.P. Government might easily be mistaken as an extract from the Minority Report:

"It seems to the Governor-in-Council that the difficulties and defects inherent in the scheme are quite incurable by any mere alteration of the Act or rules. The utmost that their changes so restricted could do would be to oil the wheels of the constitutional machinery, they could have no effect on the general and permanent tendencies of the constitution itself." 5

The Majority attributed some of the difficulties in working the constitution to the atmosphere in which it was introduced, and observed that ‘the constitution required to be worked by reasonable men in a reasonable spirit*. On this the Minority observed:

“In our opinion the system of Dyarchy was during the first three years everywhere worked in the Legislatures by men most of whom were professedly its friends and who, generally speaking, tried to work it in that spirit of reasonableness which is referred to by the majority of cur colleagues, and it is no exaggeration to say— indeed this is also the testimony of several local Governments which we have quoted above—that generally a spirit of harmony and cooperation prevailed between the Legislature and the Executive,

notwithstanding the fact that the atmosphere outside was for some time markedly unfavourable.”

The Committee had verbal and written evidence from past and present Ministers and Executive Councillors from all the Provinces. With the exception of three disgruntled Ministers of Bengal who were driven out by the Swarajists in 1924, they all expressed the view, supported by reasons, that the experiment of Dyarchy has already taught all that it can be used to teach, that it is impossible to work it satisfactorily, that it is condemned, not only by themselves, who have tried to work it, and by all politicians of all Indian parties, but by an increasingly pronounced popular feeling, due to its failure to fulfil popular expectations. 6

The assumption in the Majority Report that it could not suggest any amendment of the Act in any case, was denied by the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald. “Dominion status for India”, he said, “is the idea and the ideal of the Labour Government.. ... An inquiry is being held by the Government, which means that inquiry to be a serious one. We do not mean it to be an expedient for wasting and losing time. We mean that the inquiry shall produce results which will be a basis for consideration of the Indian Constitution, its working and its possibilities, which we hope will help Indians to co-operate on the way towards the creation of a system which will be self-Government.”

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Ramsay MacDonald's Government fell before the Report of the Committee was submitted, and a Conservative Government took its place. It is significant to note in this connection that the Labour Party, at its Conference in Liverpool in September, 1925, declared "its agreement with the conclusions of the Minority Report of the Indian Reforms Inquiry Committee", and that Lord Olivier, writing in December, 1925, associated himself entirely with the resolution passed by the Conference of the Labour Party at Liverpool. 7

The Majority Report was strongly condemned by all political parties. In the Madras Council, when voting on Budgets commenced on 16 March, 1925, an adjournment motion was moved to discuss the unsatisfactory character of the Muddiman Committee Report. Speakers of all parties described it as unsatisfactory, retrogressive and disappointing, and the motion was carried. The Assam Council passed a resolution on March 18, disapproving of the recommendations, and recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission or Round Table Conference. An adjournment motion was also passed in the Bombay Council on 10, C.P. Council on 14, and the Punjab Council on 18 March. 8

On 7 September, 1925, the Report was discussed by the Legislative Assembly. After Sir Alexander Muddiman moved for the acceptance of the Majority Report, Motilal Nehru moved a long amendment. After reiterating the demand contained in the resolution of 18 February, 1924, it recommended some fundamental changes in the present constitutional machinery and administration of India. The more important of these were as follows:

1. The principle of responsibility to the Legislature shall be introduced in the Central Government subject to some reservation of powers to the Governor-General.

2. Unitary and autonomous Governments shall be established in the Provinces.

3. The Central and Provincial Legislatures shall consist only of members elected on a wide franchise.

4. The Indian army shall be nationalized within a reasonably short and definite period of time.

Finally, the Amendment recommended the appointment of a Convention, Round Table Conference, or other suitable agency to frame a detailed scheme on the above principles. After a full dress debate for two whole days, the Amendment was carried on 9 September.

In the Council of State the motion for the acceptance of the Majority Report was carried by 28 votes to 7.

It is necessary now to go back and refer to some other important matters discussed in the Assembly. The first in point of importance was the notorious Bengal Ordinance mentioned above. The Government of Bengal introduced in the Bengal Council, on 7 January, 1925, "The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 1925," to take the place of the Ordinance, issued in October 1924. The Government motion for leave to introduce the Bill was, however, defeated, 57 voting for and 66 against it. The Governor certified the Bill under section 72-E(l) of the Government of India Act and forwarded it to the Viceroy for assent. On January 20, in his opening address to the Legislative Assembly, the Viceroy announced that he fully approved of the action of the Governor and reserved the Act for the assent of His Majesty in Council.

On 28 January, 1925, Doraiswami Iyengar moved in the Assembly "that steps be taken forthwith to supersede by an Act of Indian Legislature the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance 1 of 1924 made and promulgated by the Governor-General for and in the province of Bengal." 9 After two days' debate the resolution was carried by 58 against 45 votes. On 23 March, after the Royal assent

was given to the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Government of India brought in a Supplementary Bill, as certain provisions of the Bengal Ordinance, such as those affecting the jurisdiction of the High Court, were beyond the scope of the Bengal Legislature, and could not be incorporated in that Act. The motion for consideration of the Bill was agreed to. But Clause 4, empowering detention outside Bengal, was rejected by 74 against 34 votes, and Clause 5, suspending jurisdiction of Civil and Criminal Court, was rejected by 73 against 37 votes. After Clause 6 was also defeated by 73 to 39 votes, the Home Member refused to proceed further with the "mutilated" Bill. Next day, 24 March, the Viceroy sent a message to the Assembly asking it to pass the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Bill as recommended by him. The Home Member first moved the re-instating of Clause 4 without any speech. It was strongly opposed. Finally, all the three clauses proposed to be reinstated were put together to vote and rejected by 72 to 41. On 26 March, the Council, of State passed the Bill as recommended by the Governor-General. The Viceroy certified the Act. 10

Many interesting disclosures were made in the course of the various debates that took place. Motilal Nehru examined one by one the various acts of terrorism quoted by the Government in justification of the Bengal.Ordinance, and showed that many of them were proved to be false and fabricated by the Police. In one dacoity case the approver said that he had driven a car, but when asked to drive a car, could not do so. Motilal also pointed out how the people had in many cases openly assisted the police in arresting dacoits, and they were convicted in open trial. There was therefore no case for the abolition of the ordinary course of law. In this connection he quoted an extract from a letter written by Sir Reginald Clarke, ex-Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, to The Times: "I have had much experience of those agencies in the East, and often wonder they do not raise more devils than they lay. One has to use them (Police informers) to fight anarchy, but their inevitable concomitants, the agent provacateur and the lettre de cachet alienate public opinion to such an extent that they can never be* continued^or long." 11

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The Legislative Assembly had also a long and protracted debate over the repeal of repressive laws. 12 On 4 February, 1925, V. J. Patel asked for leave to introduce his Bill to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure. In spite of Government opposition leave was granted by 49 votes against 41.

After several adjournments and strenuous opposition of the Government at every stage, Patel's Bill was passed on March 19 by 71 against 40 votes. As usual, a motion for the consideration of the Bill in the Council of State was defeated, 0 voting for and 29 against it. 13

It was apparent at the time of the discussion of the Budget that the coalition of the Swarajists and the Independents had broken down. On 2& February, 1925, Nehru moved the rejection of the demand for the grant re expenses of the Railway Board, on the old principle that there should be redress of grievances before supply, Jinnah, the leader of the Independent party, announced that his party had discussed the question and thought that refusal of supplies was not a proper course. There was a hot exchange of words between Jinnah and V. J. Patel who pointed out that the Nationalist party, by its very constitution and programme, was bound to a policy of obstruction. But Jinnah replied that the Nationalist party rules had been recently revised, so that the Independents and Swarajists were free to decide as they pleased unless there was an agreement between them. Patel admitted it, but added, "I still affirm that we are bound, in honour, to go by the original agreement." But the Independents voted against Motilal's motion which was lost by 41 votes against 66.

The General Budget was introduced on 28 February, 1925. The Swaraj ya and Independent parties met separately on 2 March, to determine their attitude. The Swarajya party adopted the sub-committee's recommendation to reject all demands under several heads of General Administration and the Secretary of State's expenditure, besides the provision for the Cotton Excise establishment. The Independents did not think it necessary to join the Swarajists in this plan.

The voting of demands began on 6 March, and the provision for the establishment for collecting the Cotton Excise Duty was opposed by various parties on different grounds. Eventually the demand was rejected by 70 votes against 41. On 14 March, Motilal Nehru moved the omission of the whole demands for the Executive Council. It was, he said, a motion of censure on the Government of India, and the Swarajya party would vote for it on the principle of refusal of supplies before redress of grievances. After a prolonged discussion the motion was carried by 65 to 48 votes. 14 But other demands were granted, though the Swarajists opposed each of them. Pandit Motilal also opposed the Finance Bill and there was a passage at arms between him and Jinnah, who opposed the Swarajist "purpose of wrecking the present constitution". The Bill was passed.

In pursuance of the Government of India Act, the Legislative Assembly was called upon, for the first time, to elect its own President on 22 August, 1925. There wore two candidates—V. J. Patel and Rangachariar—who received, respectively, 58 and 50 votes.

Patel, an eminent leader of the Swarajya party, who came to the Assembly to wreck it by non-co-operation, was accordingly elected, and it was approved by the Governor-General. On 24 August, after high tributes were paid to the retiring President, Sir Frederick Whyte, Patel took the Chair and received welcome from all sections of the House. In reply, Patel remarked that from that moment he had ceased to be a party man, and asked his friend Motilal Nehru to pass a resolution absolving him from all the obligations of a Swarajist.

The most important event during this session of the Assembly was the discussion on the Report of the Muddiman Enquiry Committee, and the adoption, on 9 September, of the amendment moved by Motilal Nehru, as mentioned above.

On 26 January, 1926, the Assembly discussed the question of the release of political prisoners and the treatment accorded to them in jails. The main resolution was moved by Muhammad Shafi, but T. C. Goswami, a Swarajist member from Bengal, moved the following amendment:

"That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council—(a) forthwith to secure the immediate release of all political prisoners detained without trial;

(b) to take steps to remove all difficulties in the way of the return to India of Indian exiles in foreign countries who may be or may have been suspected of being concerned in any revolutionary or other activities regarded by the Government as prejudicial to the interests of India; and

(c) to bring to trial under the ordinary law of the land such persons against whom the Government think that they have sufficient evidence to go to court."

The Government opposed the amendment, but it was carried by 53 against 45 votes.

On 12 February, the Assembly discussed the Bill for the repeal of Regulation III of 1818. It was discussed the whole day and next taken up on 19 February. The main contention of the debate centred round terrorism in Bengal and its relation to Bolshevism. The Home Member asserted that the Bolshevik danger was undoubted and considerable, and hinted darkly at documents in his possession more than proving his case. He also referred to attempts which had been made by Communists at Oxford to convert Indian students to their way of thinking. The motion to take the Bill into consideration was defeated by 49 votes to 46.

On 26 February, the Assembly passed a motion 1'ol' tlie adjournment of the House to discuss the situation created by the hunger-strike among the Regulation and Ordinance prisoners in Mandalay jail, by 57 votes against 40.

The Budget was introduced in the Assembly on 1 March, 1926. Neither the Swarajists nor the Independents participated in the general discussion of the Budget; the former, in accordance with the mandate of the Kanpur Congress, and the latter as a protest against the recent attitude of Birkenhead and Lord Reading towards the question ot constitutional reforms. When the House met on 8 March to discuss demands for grants, Jinnah moved that the demand under the head Executive Council be taken up first. His motive was to defeat it with the help of the Swarajists, for under the Congress mandate the Swarajya party was to walk out after opposing the first demand for grant. The President, however, ruled him out of order. Jinnah thereupon moved the adjournment of the discussion under Customs. This was put to vote and lost by 43 to 49 votes.

Pandit Motiial then got up and announced that his party was under a mandate to walk out in view of the Government attitude over the Reform issue. He referred to the resolution of the Kanpur Congress in December, 1925, and the All India Congress Committee at Delhi on March 6 and 7, to which reference has been made elsewhere. 15 He gave a short history of the demands for constitutional reforms made by the Assembly, and the refusal of the Government to make even any conciliatory gesture. The Government passed repressive laws in the teeth of opposition of the Assembly by powers of certificate and there was also the ‘Lee loot.’ “The co-operation we offered ’, said Motiial, “has been contemptuously rejected, and it is time for us to think of other ways to achieve our object”. In conclusion he said: “There is no more use of us here. We go out into the country to seek the suffrage of the electorates once more. We do not give up the fight.... We feel that we have no further use for these sham institutions, and the least we can do to vindicate the honour and self-respect of the nation is to get out of them and go back to the country for work in the country. We will try to devise those sanctions which alone can compel any Government to grant the demands of the nations. We hope and trust that the nation will give a suitable reply to the truculent rejection of our demands, and will send us again in larger numbers, with a stronger mandate, and God willing, with the mission of fulfilling its aspirations and enforcing its commands”.

After Motilal’s speech was over, he and all the Swarajist members walked out of the House in a body. It must be said that the concluding part of Motilal’s speech, quoted above, is not only vague, but somewhat self-contradictory. If there was no further use of these sham institutions, one might ask, then why again seek for election to them? Nor is it easy to understand what is meant by a ‘stronger mandate’, or “those sanctions” which will compel Government to grant the demands of the Swarajya party. It is not, perhaps, an unreasonable conjecture that Motilal deliberately chose these vague expressions as the future course of action was not finally decided upon.

It was soon apparent that the; interest, importance, enthusiasm, and excitement walked out cl the Assembly along with the Swarajist members. Mr. Jinnah moved for the omission of the demand for the Executive Council in order that the House might record its unequivocal vote of censure on the Government policy with regard to the reforms. Both he and Rangachariar denounced the Government for its policy in regard to reforms, and the refusal to accept the hand of co-operation which the Swarajists had extended to the Government. But Jinnah’s motion was defeated by 47 to 31 votes in spite of his pathetic appeal to the nominated and non-official European members.

This was the last flicker of the lamp before it went out, and henceforth the proceedings of the Assembly ceased to evoke much interest.

In spite of the unfortunate end of the Swarajya party’s activity in the Assembly, there cannot be two opinions on the signal service it had rendered to the country. For the first time, the Legislative Assembly wore the appearance of a truly national Assembly, w r here national grievances w 7 ere fully voiced, national aims and aspirations expressed without any reservation, and real character of the British rule through sham legislatures ruthlessly exposed. The British autocracy and Indian bureaucracy, in their naked form of tyranny and repression, stood exposed to the whole world. This, by itself, was no men 1 , achievement, even though the Party could not continue Vais useful function during the whole life of the Assembly owing to the secession of the Independents. The stewardship of. Pandit Motilal Nehru was fully vindicated, and the aims and aspirations of the Swarajya party were fulfilled to a very large degree.

Reference hus beer, made above’ 6 to the change of the policy and programme of the Swarajya party in the light of experience gained in the Assembly. The decision to promote the constructive

programme of the Congress, and to pursue a definite economic policy against foreign exploitation and in furtherance of national industrial development, within the Assembly, bore rich fruit. Reference may be made to the Steel Protection Bill and the undertaking given by the Government for the appointment of a Committee to examine the question of the importation of foreign capital into the country. In addition to the various measures for the repeal of repressive laws, amelioration of the lot of Indian detenus and prisoners, and the removal of various grievances, either of individual or collective nature, to which they always drew the attention of the Government, some outstanding measures passed by the Assembly were undoubtedly due to their support, if not initiation. The most important among these were the abolition of the Cotton Excise Duty' reduction of the duty on salt, and the abolition of the import duty on sulphur. The Party also passed various resolutions of national importance such as the improvement of labour condition, protection to Indian industries, removal of racial distinction in railway and of grievances of Indians abroad, imposition of a countervailing duty upon the South African coal, establishment of a military college in India, protection and growth of Trade Unions, and relieving the burden of the poor by reduction of railway fare and the price of postage stamps. The Swarajya party was also instrumental in instituting an inquiry into the currency problem of the country.

As noted above, the credit for all this also goes to the Independent members of the Assembly without whose votes the Swarajya party could not defeat the Government. The wisdom of the policy of the Independents in withdrawing their support from the Swarajists may be questioned. But it cannot be looked upon as a treachery or unpatriotic act, inasmuch as they stood for the policy they declared at the time of the election. They were not returned on the Swarajya party ticket and were not bound legally or morally to pledge their full support to it.

4. Work in the Provincial Councils i. Central Provinces

It was in the Central Provinces that the Swarajya party could carry out its policy and programme to the fullest extent, because it commanded an absolute majority of votes in the Council. In his opening speech at the inauguration of the Council on 15 January, 1924, the Governor mentioned that as neither the Swarajists, who formed the Majority party, nor some of the Independents agreed to accept the Ministry, he had to select ministers from a very "narrow sphere." On 18 January, Raghavendra Rao moved

"That a formal address be moved to His Excellency, the Governor, submitting that the Hon'ble Ministers do not enjoy the confidence of the Council and he be pleased to request them to resign."

After a whole day's discussion the motion was carried by 44 votes against 24. But the ministers did not resign. The Swarajya party therefore threw out two bills introduced by the two Ministers on March 4. On 8 March, voting took place on Government grants which were all summarily rejected one after another. Only one amendment was passed, reducing the minister's salary to two rupees a year. On 10 March, when the Council met for the last time, it passed the following resolution:

"That no articles manufactured in any part of the British Empire outside India should be used in any Department by the Local Government or by its contractors unless they are not obtainable in any other part of the world."

After the wholesale rejection of the Budget the two Ministers resigned on 27 March, and the Governor took over the administration of the Transferred Subjects. He restored the grants in the Reserved Department, with minor exceptions, but as regards the Transferred Departments he only authorised expenditure on the scale necessary for the carrying on of each department, and all new schemes of development had to be dropped for want of funds. The Government instructed its officials to bring home to the villagers the mischief caused by the Swarajists, for whom they had voted, by refusing grants to carry on the various beneficent projects it had in view. Leaflets were issued telling people: "Those who tell you that men were happy in the earlier days before them (British), are liars.... When the British came, they found the people ignorant, oppressed and frightened" and "they were killing one another like ravening wolves." The Swarajya party decided to create a Publicity Bureau of their own to counteract such official propaganda.

After about one year the C. P. Council met again on 3 March, 1925. A question was put concerning the sensational Government communication, published in several Indian dailies, purporting to contain Government instructions issued to all Deputy Commissioners to fight out Swarajist tactics throughout the Province. The Chief Secretary tacitly admitted the truth of the said document. Mr. S. B. Tambe, Swarajist, was elected President of the Council.

On 12 March, the Governor invited Dr. Moonje and Raghavendra Rao to discuss the question of the Ministry. Dr. Moonje and his section were opposed to the formation of any ministry, whilst Mr. Rao and his section did not desire to form one without the support of Dr. Moonje and his section. It was agreed that the sense of the Council should be taken on this issue by making a demand for the Ministers' salaries.

Accordingly on 13 March, 1925, the Government asked for a grant of Minister's salary at the rate of Rs. 4,000 each. A Swarajist member moved for the reduction of the amount of annual salary to rupees two only. While moving the amendment he said: "As there has been no change in the political situation during the last year.... and particularly as the Muddiman Committee's Report is not only disappointing and unsatisfactory, but in some respects positively retrograde, I see no reason why we would vote for the salaries of ministers." The amendment was carried by 37 votes against 28. The same procedure was repeated in 1926, on 9 March. Next day the Swarajists, after rejecting the demand for Landrevenue, withdrew from the Council in obedience to the instructions of the Congress.

ii. Bengal

In Bengal the Swarajists did not have an absolute majority in the Council, but formed the largest single party. The Governor, Lord Lytton, asked C. R. Das, the leader of the Swarajya Party, to form the Ministry; but he declined, and ministers were selected from among the non-Swarajist elected members of the Council. The action of Lord Lytton in inviting Das to form a Ministry was perfectly constitutional, and perhaps the most legitimate one in accordance with constitutional theory and practice. Nevertheless, it provoked the wrath of the European community in Calcutta. The Statesman , the leading English daily in Calcutta, denounced the conduct of Lytton in strong language, and it formed a subject of acrimonious discussion in a meeting of the European Association in Calcutta where an overwhelming majority were against the Governor.

On 23 January, 1924, the Governor formally opened the Council. On 24 January, J. M. Sen Gupta moved for the release of all political prisoners of and belonging to Bengal, detained under Bengal Regulation III of 1818.

In the course of the debate that followed, C. R. Das tore to pieces the various arguments and justifications advanced by the Governor and his officials for keeping hundreds of men in confinement without any trial. "We have done it, trust us, was the whole argument of the bureaucracy in support of the deportations", said Das. To Lord Lytton's statement that the materials against the persons deported were placed before two judges who found every one of them guilty of active participation in revolutionary conspiracy, Das gave an

effective reply. This opinion, he said, is based on official reports containing statements of certain persons. He pointed out that no man, however gifted he might be, is in a position to test the truth of a statement, unless the man who makes the statement is brought before him and questions are put to him. "The wonder is", he observed, "that judges can be found to report as to the guilt or innocence of persons upon what we call dead records." This opinion, coming from an eminent member of the English Bar, must have been a home thrust. Continuing, Das said that he had persuaded many of the old revolutionaries to accept the Congress creed and renounce violence, but he found to his horror that they were pounced upon by the Police and lodged in jail under Regulation III of 1818. In reply to the Government statement that the deportees were furnished with charges against them, he exposed the whole show by reproducing the statements of some of these deportees whom he had interviewed with the permission of the Government. Beyond a few vague allegations no definite charges were communicated to them. Some of the remarks made by Das on this occasion have become classic. One of these may be quoted here: "We are told that the Government will never be coerced. If by coercion is meant the application of physical force, I agree. But if that statement means that the Government is not to yield to the wishes of the people, I differ entirely. If it is stated that Government is not to be coerced, may I not make this declaration on behalf of the people of this country that the people of this country will not be coerced either."

When the resolution was put to vote it was declared lost. A division was demanded and the result showed that 76 members voted for and 45 against it. The next resolution which was carried by 72 votes against 41 ran as follows: "This Council recommends to the Government that all political prisoners of and belonging to Bengal, namely:

(a) those convicted for offences committed with a political motive before the Royal amnesty granted in the Royal Proclamation issued by His Gracious Majesty, the King Emperor, on the 23rd of December, 1919;

(b) those convicted under the Criminal Law Amendment Act (XIV of 1908) during 1921 and 1922; and

(c) those convicted for sedition, and those bound down and imprisoned under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code for delivering seditious speeches during 1921, 1922 and 1923,

be forthwith released."

After these two resolutions were carried, the following resolution was moved: "This Council recommends to the Government to request the Government of India for the immediate repeal or withdrawal in regard to Bengal of the following laws:

(1) The prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911 (X of 1911);

(2) The Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908 (XIV of 1908);

(3) Sections 15 and 15A and other sections so far as they relate to Sections 15 and 15A of the Police Act, 1861 (V of 1861); and

(4) Bengal Regulation III of 1818.

The Council adjourned while the motion was still being discussed, and it was again taken up on 28 January. In reply to the taunting remark of Sir Abdur Rahim, a member of the Governor's Executive Council, that the gentlemen who want to have the statutes repealed would not take up the responsibility of the Government, C. R. Das said: "The moment the Government is made responsible to the people of this country Sir Abdur Rahim will find every one of us ready to take up the responsibility of the Government".

The resolution was carried.

The passing of the above three resolutions in the teeth of the opposition from the Government and their henchmen showed the degree of unpopularity which the Government had incurred. Here, as in the Legislative Assembly, the Swarajists were supported by a group of

Independents, both Hindu and Muslim, and it was apparent, that like his co-adjutor, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das had succeeded in evolving a Nationalist party by the alliance of the Swarajists with a group of Independents.

When the Council reassembled after the recess on 18 February, the President announced that he had received notices of two motions of no-confidence against the Ministers, and had ruled them out of order. But in view of a contrary ruling by the President of the Madras Legislative Council, he explained at length his reasons for disallowing them and suggested how the same object could be achieved by other means.

In accordance with the suggestion of the President a no-confidence motion against the Ministers was brought in the shape of an adjournment motion, but it was lost by the narrow margin of one vote. The Government, however, sustained several defeats, the most important being the following resolution moved by Dr. P. N. Banerji:

"That early steps be taken to move the proper authorities to amend rule 6 and schedule 11 of the Devolution Rules so as to include, in the list of Provincial subjects for transfer in Bengal, all subjects except Land Revenue Administration, European and AngloIndian Education, and Local Fund Audit." The resolution was carried by 71 against 49 votes.

The voting on the Budget began on 18 March. The Nationalist party held a meeting the night before and decided to throw out the whole Budget. This unnerved the Government and the Governor came to the Council without notice and clearly explained to the house the possible effects of the refusal of demands, particularly with regard to Transferred Sujects, as he had no power to restore a single grant. The Dacca University, which depended entirely on Government Grant, would have to close down at once, and Education, Public Health, Medical, Agriculture and Industries would be starved and crippled. He concluded with the following words: "It may be thought perhaps that Government would not dare to face such a situation. Let there be no illusions on this point—my Government would not be embarrassed by such situation which was not of our creation, and from which we would in no way suffer while it lasted." After His Excellency left, the first Demand for Expenditure under Land Revenue was opposed by J. M. Sen Gupta who moved for a total refusal. "Delhi has rallied", said he.

“C. P. has done its duty. Will Bengal fail? The Councillors are to reply by their votes on the Budget”. The motion for refusal was carried by 65 votes to 63. The motion for the refusal of grant under Excise was lost by the margin of one vote but that under Stamps was carried by the same majority of one vote. Four Demands were disposed of on the next day of which three were refused. The most important item, the salary of the Ministers, came up for discussion on the 24th. On the motion of Maulvi Sayedul Huq the whole salary was refused by 63 to 62 votes. The result was hailed with deafening applause and cries of “resign, resign.” Then the Demands under the heads “General Administration” and “Administration of Justice” were refused as well as that under “Jails and Convict Settlements”.

On 31 March, the Governor held a Conference of Government members and their supporters in the Council within closed doors at the Government House. Next day, when the Council met, the propriety of the conduct of the Governor was questioned by the members of the Nationalist party. When the first motion on the refusal of grant was lost, C. R. Das scanned the Division list and found that some members of his party had voted in favour of the Government. He thereupon remarked that “the voting of today has been influenced by last evening’s conference”. There were loud cries of ‘no’ from European and Government benches, to which Das replied: “A thousand times yes”. C. R. Das observed that under the circumstances it was useless to go on and, following him, all the members of the Nationalist party left the Chamber in a body. The remaining grants were then put without any speech and were hurriedly carried unopposed.

Before concluding the account of the Bengal Council in 1924 reference should be made to the manifestation of communal spirit. This was first evident on 20 February, when the no-confidence against the Ministers w r as to be moved by way of an adjournment motion, as noted above. Shortly before the Council began its proceedings, a number of Muslim boys came in a procession to the Town Hall (where the Council met) with placards containing warning to the Muslim members not to run the risk of falling in with the endeavours of some of the Hindu members of the Council to break the Muslim Ministry. During the course of the proceedings a large number of leaflets containing a similar appeal were freely distributed amongst the

Muslim members, asking them “to save the Muhammadan Ministry and not to be wiled away by the camouflage and guise of their bitterest enemies”. To the same communal spirit may be traced the motion moved by Nawab Musharaff Hussain that while making appointments in future the Government should give eighty per cent, of the posts to the Muslims till the number of Muslim officials in each category specified by him become 55 per cent of the whole. The House, however, accepted an amendment of C. R. Das that the motion be adjourned sine die.

The refusal of Ministers’ salaries in the Bengal Council had a very interesting sequel. In the communique issued by the Governor of Bengal on 14 April. 1924, stating the action taken by him in respect of the grants refused by the Council, he said that the Ministers did not regard this vote as a censure on themselves, necessitating their resignation, and he agreed with this view. At the same lime the Ministers expressed their willingness, if necessary, to serve in an honorary capacity. The Governor, however, thought that it would be against the spirit of the constitution, except as a purely temporary expedient, either for Ministers to serve in an honorary capacity or for him to authorise the payment to them of salaries which have been refused by the vote of the Legislative Council. He therefore decided to resubmit the matter to the Legislative Council at its next session, and in the meantime to authorise the payment of salary to the Ministers up to the statutory limit.

In pursuance of this policy the Governor summoned a meeting of the Bengal Council on 7 July, 1924, and included in the agenda an hem of supplementary grant for Ministers’ salaries. The Swarajist

regarded this as a clear violation of the Constitution and decided to challenge its legality in a Court of Law. Accordingly a case was instituted in the High Court, Calcutta, and the Judge, Mr. C. C. Ghose, issued an order restraining the President of the Legislative Council from putting the item of Ministers’ salaries before the Council for its consideration until the final determination of the suit. The order was issued on 7 July just when the Council was to begin its proceedings. The President came to the Council a quarter of an hour late, and declared that in view of the injunction the Governor had asked him to adjourn the House till Monday. On 10 July, the

Governor prorogued the Legislative Council. On 21 July, a Gazette of India Extraordinary was issued announcing an amendment to the Indian Legislative Rules with the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council, which legalised the proposed action of the Governor of Bengal. Thereupon a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council was called for 26 August to reconsider the grant of Ministers* salaries and other rejected demands. When the Grant for the salaries was moved Akhil Chandra Datta moved an amendment that the Demand be refused. Datta's amendment was carried by 68 votes against 66. As a result of this voting the Ministers resigned and the Governor assumed charge of the Transferred Departments.

On 25 October, 1924, the Governor-General, on the recommendation of the Governor of Bengal, promulgated the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, giving almost unlimited authority to the Executive to deal with political suspects. Although the Ordinance would automatically continue in force for six months, the Government of Bengal introduced on 7 January, 1925, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Bill 1925, to continue the provisions of the Ordinance for a period of five years by regular legislative Act. Its main provisions, like those of the Ordinance, were:

1. Trial by three Commissioners instead of Ordinary Courts

of Law.

2. Various restrictions on a person, on mere suspicion, including custody in jail.

3. Arrest and search without any warrant.

The Governor, Lord Lytton, addressed the Council explaining the reasons or necessity of the Bill. The most interesting speech was that of Prabhas Chandra Mitter, a signatory to the Rowlatt Report. In opposing the Bill he stated: "The present Bill departs from the recommendations of the Rowlatt Report in almost every important question of principle and proceeds on the Defence of

India Act.The Government.in following the principles of the war time measure.is following a quack's remedy and

not a physician's treatment in dealing with this dangerous malady/' Hie motion for leave to introduce the Bill was lost, 57 voting for and 66 against it.

On 7 February, the Governor held a conference of the leaders of different groups in the Council to discuss the question of Ministers' salaries. In accordance with the decision of this conference Sir Abdur Haliim moved a resolution in the Council on February 17, recommending the provision of Ministers* salaries in the next Budget. In spite of the opposition of the Swarajists the resolution was carried by 75 votes to 51, as some of the Independents remained neutral, and some voted in favour of the resolution. Accordingly the Governor appointed two Ministers. In course of the voting on Demands, the Swarajists moved an amendment that the de-~ mand of Rs. 1,28,000 for the salary of two Ministers be reduced by Rs. 1,27,998. C. R. Das, in spite of ill health, attended the meeting and explained the position of the Swarajist Party. The amendment was carried by 69 against 63 votes.

On 13 June, 1925, the Government decided that the transfer of all Transferable Subjects in Bengal be suspended for the life time of the present Council.

On 8 December, J. M. Sen Gupta, the leader of the Swarajya party after the death of Das, moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the recent treatment of certain prisoners who were transferred from one jail to another in winter night without notice and without proper clothing. The motion was carried by 58 votes to 50. 5

On 15 March, 1926, when the Council re-assembled for voting on Budget grants, J. M. Sen Gupta made a statement and walked out followed by all the Swarajist members. Nine Independent members also refused to participate in the business of the House from this day.

iii. Other Provinces

No spectacular successes attended the efforts of the Swarajya party in any Province other than Central Provinces and Bengal. Still they occasionally scored some significant victory over the Government. Thus the Bombay Council passed a motion of adjournment to protest against the speech of Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State, to which reference will be made later. In U.P., notices of no-confidence against the Ministers were given by two members, but none of these was actually moved and was treated as withdrawn. An attempt was also made to form a Nationalist party by combining with the Independents as in Bengal and the Assembly, to refuse the Grants. But after a few trials it broke down. On March 25, Maulvi Faiznur Ali, the leader of the Swarajya party in Assam, moved the following resolution in the Assam Legislative Council

"This Council recommends to the Government to request the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council to take such immediate steps as may be necessary in order to establish full Responsible Government in Assam." After a lengthy debate the resolution was carried by 29 votes to 17. The Assam Council also passed by the margin of one vote two important resolutions, one for the inclusion of Forests, P.W.D., Excise and Fishery in the Transferred Subjects, and another for the reduction of the salary of Ministers, amounting to Rs. 84,000, by Rs. 48,000. In accordance with the directions of the Kanpur Congress in December, 1925, the Swarajist members walked out of the Council in U.P., the Punjab, Assam, Bihar and Orissa, Madras and Bombay.

5. Swarajya Party and Gandhi

On 13 January, 1924, the whole of India was startled by the news that Gandhi had been removed from the Yeravda jail to the Sassoon Hospital, Poona, for an operation of appendicitis. The Swarajya party gave notice of a resolution in the Assembly demanding the release of Gandhi, and 5 February was fixed as the date for moving it. At midnight on February 4, the Government issued a press-note to the following effect: "The Government of Bombay have received medical advice that Mr. Gandhi should be removed to the seaside for a prolonged period of convalescence, not less than six months in any event. In these circumstances they have decided, with the concurrence of the Government of India, to remit unconditionally. . . the unexpired portion of his sentences ... ”

As soon as Gandhi had sufficiently recovered his health, he held a long discussion with Motilal Nehru and C.R. Das, but remained as convinced as before that the Council-entry was inconsistent with the Non-co-operation programme. There was a showdown on both sides at the A.I.C.C. meeting held at Ahmadabad on 27 June, 1924. Gandhi proposed to disqualify for the membership of any Congress Executive Board those who did not fully subscribe to the Non-co-operation programme. Motilal opposed Gandhi in a vigorous speech. “The Charka programme”, said he, “was not going to bring them any nearer toward Swaraj”. He also asked the supporters of Gandhi how much they worked his Constructive Programme during his imprisonment. Motilal’s motion that the resolution of Gandhi was out of order, being against the constitution

of the Congress, was defeated by 82 against (38 votes, and both Nehru and Das, with their followers, left the meeting by way of protest. But after lapse v:' some time an agreement was reached in Calcutta between Gandhi on one side and Das and Nehru on the other, the essential part of which read as follows: “Spinning and weaving', removal of untouchability and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial legislatures should be carried or. by the Sw r arajya Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organization, and for such work the Swarajya Party should make its own rules and raise and administer its own funds.” 17

6. Negotiations of C. R. Das with the Government

The Pact was agreed to by both the Congress and the Swarajya party, but ere long the political views of C. R. Das underwent a great change. At Ahmadabad he had fought against Gandhi’s resolution condemning Gopinath Saha who had murdered a European, and moved an amendment which appreciated Saha’s ideal of selfsacrifice and expressed respect for the same. This amendment was lost by only eight votes, 70 voting for and 78 against it. Das’s amendment merely endorsed a resolution passed by the

Bengal Provincial Conference at Sirajgunje on 1 June, 1924, which was denounced by Englishmen both in India and England, even in the House of Commons.[18] But on 25 March, 1925, Das issued a manifesto condemning unreservedly all acts of violence for political purposes.[19] Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, referred to it in appreciative terms in the House of Lords and requested Das to co-operate with the Government. Das reciprocated the sentiment in a statement issued on 3 April.

On 6 April, it was stated by the Under-Secretary in the House of Commons that “if, as he (Lord Birkenhead) hopes, Mr. Das now makes constructive proposals which obtain the support of the Government of Bengal and the Government of India, His Majesty’s Government, so far as they are concerned, will give such proposals their sympathetic consideration.”

On 2 May, Das outlined his policy in his Presidential speech at the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Faridpur. He defended the ideal of Dominion Status as against independence. He also offered co-operation with Government on the following terms:

“In the first place, the Government should divest itself of its wide discretionary powers of constraint, and follow it up by proclaiming a general amnesty to all political prisoners. In the next place, the Government should guarantee to us the fullest recognition of our right to the establishment of Swaraj within the Commonwealth in the near future, and that in the meantime, till Swaraj comes, a sure and sufficient foundation of such Swaraj should be laid at once.”[20]

It is evident that Das extended the hand of fellowship lo the Government even by sacrificing some of the cherished principles of his party. As a matter of fact, the speech of Das created great discontent among a section of his followers, and it was openly talked about that it was the result of a secret negotiation between Das and the Government.

This suspicion grew stronger when the Viceroy, Lord Reading, left for London, and it was announced that after consulting him Birkenhead would make an important pronouncement about India. But all these speculations were set at rest by the sudden death of C. R. Das on 16 June, 1925.

According to Subhas Bose who testifies to the negotiations mentioned above, the death of Das led the British Government to change its mind; the official pronouncement, carefully prepared by Birkenhead on behalf of the Cabinet, and announced to be made on 7 July, 1925, was suppressed, and a non-committal speech was made instead on that day. 21

7. Disintegration oj the Swarajya Party after the death of C. R. Das

The General Council of the Swarajya party met at Calcutta on 16 July, 1925, and passed a resolution wholly endorsing the sentiments and the conditions of honourable co-operation with the Government laid down in the Faridpur speech by the late President, C. R. Das, on 2 May, 1925. The Council also regretted “that the recent pronouncement of the Secretary of State for India in the House of Lords is not only no response to the late President’s offer, but is calculated to make the chances of honourable co-operation difficult, if not impossible”.

Gandhi’s reaction to the death of Das and the speech of Birkenhead was of a different character. In a letter to Motilal Nehru, dated 19 July, he wrote: “I have come to the conclusion that I should absolve the Swaraj party from all obligations of the pact of last year. The result of this act is that the Congress need no longer be predominantly a spinning association. I recognise that under the situation created by the speech, the authority and the

influence of the Swaraj party need lo be increased. This can

be done if the Congress becomes a predominantly political body. Under the pact the Congress activity is restricted to the constructive

programme mentioned therein. I recognise that this restriction should not continue under the altered circumstance that faces

the country. I propose to ask the forthcoming meeting of the

A.I.C.C. to place the whole machinery of the Congress at your disposal."

Gandhi's ideas were carried out in the meeting of the All India Congress Committee held at Patna on 22, September, 1925, which passed the following resolution:

"That the Congress now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest of the country, and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress provided that the work in the Legislatures shall be carried on by the Swarajya Party under the constitution framed by the party and the rules made thereunder, subject to such modifications made by the Congress as may be found necessary from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the said policy". There was, however, one important departure. A separate autonomous organization was set up under the name of All-India Spinners' Association for the development of hand-spinning and Khaddar . It was a permanent organization under a Council of its own with a constitution laid down by the A.I.C.C., and funds and assets of the Congress were earmarked for this body, which were specifically excluded in the above resolution from those available for political purposes. In other words, the position of the Swarajya party vis a vis the Congress was now reversed; the party and its politics now became the main concern of the Congress, and the constructive programme was relegated to a separate non-political organization within the Congress. This was further emphasized by changing the franchise of the Congress membership, the annual subscription of four annas being restored as an alternative qualification to spinning, in modification of the decision of the Belgaum Congress.

But ere long the Swaraj ya party was threatened by a split in its own rank. There was a growing feeling within the Party that its policy should be revised and brought into line with the programme of 'Responsive Co-operation' formulated by Tilak. But the majority steadily pursued the old policy. In the annual session of the Congress, held at Kanpur on 25 December, 1925, Motilal Nehru moved the adoption of the following directives to the Party: 'If by the end of February, 1926, the Government do not give any satisfactory reply to the demands for constitutional reforms set forth in the resolution passed by the Assembly on 18 February, 1924, the Party will no longer continue to work in the present legislatures.'

Pandit Malaviya moved by way of amendment:

"That the work in the Legislatures shall be so carried on as to utilize them to the best possible advantage for early establishment of full responsible government, co-operation being resorted to when it may be necessary to advance the national cause, and obstruction, when that may be necessary for the advancement of the same cause".

Jayakar, who seconded this amendment, dramatically announced at the very outset that he, Kelkar and Moonje had resigned their seats in the Legislatures as they could not subscribe to the policy of the Swarajya party. He said that either they must come out of the Councils altogether, or, being in, "take the last juice out of it by occupying every place of power, initiative and responsibility, and would give no quarter to the Bureaucracy".

The amendment was, however, lost and Nehru's resolution was passed by a large majority.

In the meantime the wing of the Swarajya party in favour of Responsive Co-operation grew in strength. On 23 June, 1926, a meeting was held in Calcutta to organize a party within the Congress which would work this programme. By the end of July, 1926, the most influential section of the members of the Legislative Council in C.P. seceded from the Congress. Lajpat Rai tendered resignation from the Swaraj ya party on 24 August, 1926. Malaviya made a last but vain dffort to unite the different sections of the Congress in a Conference at Delhi on 11 September, 1926. At last the Responsivists and Independent Congressmen formed a Coalition party, known as the Independent Congress party, which issued a manifesto on 28 September, 1926, laying down a policy and programme based on Responsive Co-operation.

The position of the Congress was further weakened by the growth of communalism. A section of the Muslims carried on propaganda that they would have nothing to do with the Hindus carrying on Non-co-operation, but should work out the constitution. The Hindu Mahasabha made a counter-propaganda that if the Hindus non-co-operated while the Muslims co-operated with the Government, the Hindus would be placed at great disadvantage.

The result of the election of 1926 showed that the old Swarajya party had been replaced by three distinct groups, namely, the Swarajists, the Responsivists and communal Muslims. Thanks to the Responsivist Party in C.P. and the Muslim members in Bengal, the Ministers in both these Provinces were kept in the saddle. As a result of the election the Congress in the Gauhati session in 1926 abandoned the walk-out policy, but it ceased to play any effective part in politics.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

II. OTHER PARTIES

1. The Muslim League

The complete rout of the National Liberal (the old Moderate) party in the election of 1923 marks the end of that Party as an organized body, though the Party counted among its members some eminent persons who still exercised great influence on the political movement in the country, such as Srinivasa Sastri, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Khaparde, Dr. Gour and B. C. Pal.

The Khilafat Committee also ceased to function after the abolition of the Caliphate by Kemal Pasha in 1924. This led to the revival of the All-India Muslim League whose activities had been suspended for four years. Its fifteenth adjourned meeting was held at Lahore on 24 May, 1924, with M. A. Jinnah as President.

As the speedy attainment of Swaraj was one of the declared objects of the League, it proceeded to lay down some basic and fundamental principles in any constitution for India acceptable to the Muslims. The main points stressed were the following:

1. There shall be a Federal Constitution for India with full autonomy for the Provinces, the functions of the Central Government being confined to matters of general and common concern.

2. The mode of representation in the Legislature and all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every Province, subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be

reduced to a minority or even to an equality. The representation shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present.

3. No Bill or Resolution shall be passed in any elected body if it is opposed by three-fourths of the members of any community which feels itself affected by it.

4. The Reforms of 1919 are inadequate and unsatisfactory, and immediate steps should be taken to establish full Responsible Government.

The League deprecated communal dissensions and, in order to establish inter-communal amity, recommended the establishment of conciliatory boards with a central board in each Province. The Chairman of the Reception Committee gave an economic interpretation of the communal discord by saying that as the "majority of the Muslims is poor and the majority of Hindus is in better circumstances, the poor Muslim is ready to rob the rich Hindus at the slightest provocation."

2, The Hindu Mahasabha 11

The Hindu Mahasabha, a definitely communal organization of the Hindus, was undoubtedly brought into existence as a counterpoise to the All-India Muslim League, the communal organization of the Muslims. There were genuine misgivings in the minds of many nationalist Indians about the Hindu Mahasabha which were sought to be removed by Madan Mohan Malaviya, its noblest representative and the ablest spokesman, in the following passage in his Presidential address at the special session of the Mahasabha held on 27 December, 1924, at Belgaum: "There were some who thought that as a communal organisation it was likely to clash with the national organisation of the Congress. It would be a shame if any Hindu opposed the National Congress. Their object was to supplement and to strengthen the Congress. The necessity for organising the Mahasabha had arisen because the Congress being a political body could not deal with questions which affected various communities in social and other non-political spheres. In this country they had more than one culture. Muslims cherished their own culture. Hindus must cherish their own and preserve it and spread it. Hindus must preserve and popularise their culture as Muslims were doing." Malaviya then referred to the great tasks that lay ahead of the

Mahasabha, such as removal of social abuses like child-marriage, untouchability and inter-caste jealousies. Lastly, he referred to two topics which brought the Hindu Mahasabha into the arena of politics as a rival to the Muslim League.

“For centuries,” said Malaviya, “Muhammadans had been converting Hindus, and the majority of the Muslims of India were converts. Numerous, Christian missions were also carrying on a campaign of proselytisation. Therefore the question of having a Hindu Mission for proselytisation had become a very pressing necessity in the situation created in this country by the activities of Muslim and Christian Missions.” Malaviya denounced the communal representation in elected bodies, but since the Muslim League was putting forward a'demand on behalf of Muslims for such representation, Hindu Mahasabha’s work lay in focussing Hindu opinion on this question and to voice it when anybody undertook to discuss the question with a view to reconcile the interests of both communities.

The above passage in the Presidential address of Malaviya clearly defines the object of the Hindu Mahasabha. But its genesis and early history are somewhat obscure. In December, 1910, it was decided at a meeting of the leading Hindus held at Allahabad that an All-India Hindu Mahasabha should be formed with its headquarters at Allahabad. Though the idea did not materialise, a

Hindu Conference was held at Amritsar in 1911 under the auspices of the Punjab Hindu Mahasabha.

The organizers of the Hindu Mahasabha, however, used to call annual sessions of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Conference at Hardwar, generally on the occasion of certain annual fairs. The head-office of the Hindu Mahasabha was also located at Hardwar. The fifth Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Conference was held on 26, 27 and 28 Decernber, 1918, at Delhi, with Raja Sir Rampal Singh as president. It was attended by representatives of different Provinces. This may be regarded as the beginning of Hindu Mahasabha proper, but it really came into prominence with an active programme by way of reaction to the horrible atrocities perpetrated by the Muslims upon Hindus in Malabar, Multan and other places to which reference has been made above. 22a Malaviya moved the formation of

Hindu Sangathan in order to promote the solidarity of the Hindu organization.

The most sensational activity of the Hindu Mahasabha was the re-conversion of four and a half lakhs of Malakana Rajputs who had embraced Islam and were now eager to get back to the old religion. They were all taken back into the Hindu fold in 1923. A special session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Gaya, but the more important session was held at Varanasi in 1923. The Indian Annual Register first notices the organization in connection with this session which it calls the seventh session of the Hindu Mahasabha. Two important resolutions were passed at the Belgaum session in 1924, mentioned above. One, moved by Dr. Moonje, asked the Hindus to start Hindu Sabhas all over the country with a view to improve themselves socially and religiously, and also to safeguard their political rights. Another resolution, moved by Mr. Satyamurti, "appointed a Committee to ascertain and formulate Hindu opinio,n on the subject of Hindu-Muslim problems in their relation to the question of further constitutional reforms".

According to a well-known economic principle, known. as Gresham's Law, bad coins have a tendency to drive good coins out of circulation. Similarly in politico-social organizations, politics has a tendency to drive out all less exciting topics. The Hindu Mahasabha also gradually distinguished itself more by political than social and religious activities.

3 Non-Brahmin Organizations

The different non-Brahmin organizations of South India were merged into a single All-India body, and the first All-India Non-Brahmin Conference was held at Belgaum on 28 December, 1924, with A. Ramaswami Mudaliar as the Chairman. The President, in his

address, referred to the great achievements of the non-Brahmin ministry in Madras, specially dwelling upon the introduction of free and compulsory education in several municipalities, increased appointment of non-Brahmins in various Government services since 1920, and improvement in the administration of religious endowments to Hindu temples, which were mostly bequeathed by nonBrahmins but were grossly abused. For the rest, he dwelt upon the most burning political questions of the day. The system of Dyarchy, he said, could not be worked much longer and must be replaced by one giving more real power to the people. He asked for full Provincial autonomy, condemned the Bengal Ordinance and the recommendations of the Lee Commission, drew attention to the humiliating position of the Indians in the Colonies, and ended with a word to the Britishers regarding their duly to India. The resolutions passed, like the Presidential address, showed that the body was purely a political association. Its object was defined as attainment of Swaraj or Home Rule for India as a component part of the British Empire, by all peaceful, legitimate and constitutional means; its membership was confined to non-Brahmins; it advocated communal representation of non-Brahmin, Hindu, Christian, Muhammadan and other communities, both in elective bodies and in Government services; and demanded full Responsible Government in the Provinces and the introduction of a measure of Responsible Government in the Centre. Save for its communal character the AllIndia non-Brahmin organization might be regarded as a branch of the National Liberal Federation.

4. The Communist Party 21

The beginning of the Communist party may also be traced to this period. Attempts were made to organize a Communist party in India since 1921 by M. N. Roy and others, who followed the traditional and now well-known methods of organizing the working classes in Unions, teaching them the principles of Communism, inciting them to strikes etc.-—all preparatory to an industrial and agrarian revolution. { A Communist party of India and four Workers' and Peasants' parties in Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, were formed. These bodies were given financial aid from Moscow and their policy was dictated from Moscow, both directly, as well as via England and the Continent.' But no conspicuous success attended the efforts of M. N. Roy and his colleagues till the Communist party in Britain took up the matter and sent a few agents to India. One of them, Philip Spratt, who arrived in India in December, 1926, infused fresh life into the Party which, though started in 1924, had as yet very few members, probably not even a dozen. Spratt, with the financial help from Moscow, increased the number of Unions, held organized demonstrations, edited newspapers, instituted youth movements, initiated and conducted strikes, and used all possible methods of propaganda, with the result that the number of Communists reached a high figure.

But further activity of the Communist party was cut short by the arrest of 31 members, including almost all the prominent leaders, on 20 March, 1929. They were brought to Meerut for trial in what is known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. The arrests were accompanied by search operations throughout the country, which brought to light a mass of records, including plans, secret codes, letters written in cryptic terms or in invisible ink, and many secret documents. These, together with other evidences and testimony of the accused themselves, enabled the court to give a comprehensive account of the activity of the Communist party in India. 24 It is interesting to note that quite a large number of the accused did not know that they had fallen into the traps of the Communists. Spratt himself bore testimony to the fact that "almost half the accused were nationalists or trade unionists who were largely ignorant of the real nature of the conspiracy and of its underhand methods. When those were revealed during the trial, they were taken aback. The demoralisation and quarrels among the prisoners during the later stages of the trial could partly be attributed to this factor." 25

After a protracted trial 27 accused persons were found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment on 16 January, 1933. The High Court considerably reduced the sentences, and by 1935 all the accused were set free. It is interesting to note that the accused in the Meerut case gained the sympathy of the Indian nationalists of all shades of opinion who were presumably moved by the liberal professions and principles as well as the anti-British sentiments cherished by the accused. The team of lawyers who formed a defence committee to fight for them included Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and K. N. Katju. Nehru looked upon the trial as "one phase of the offensive which the Government here has started against the Labour Movement". He added: "There is a lot of shouting about Communists and Communism in India. Undoubtedly there are some Communists in India, but it is equally certain that this cry of Communism is meant to cover a multitude of sins of the Government.” 26 Gandhi also visited the jail and offered encouragement to the prisoners. 27

The attitude of the nationalists and the publicity of the prolonged Meerut trial offered rare propaganda opportunities to the

Communists, of which they took full advantage. Spratt says: “On the whole the revelation of our secret methods caused people to

admire us; we had done what most young men wanted to do.

We had our opportunity in the sessions court to make political statements, and these were widely published in the press. Several of them were long enough to make a short book, and altogether no doubt most of what can be said in favour of Communism was said.” 28

Saumyendra-nath Tagore observed that the Meerut Case “placed Communism on a sure footing in India”. 29 Spratt agreed/ 3

1. See above, pp. 354-5.

2. The text of the Manifesto is given in IAR, 1923, Vol. II, pp. 219-20.

3. Sir A.P. Muddiman, Mian Muhammad Shafi, the Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan, Sir A. Froom, and Sir Henry Moncrieff Smith.

4. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P.S Sivaswamy Aiyar, M.A. Jinnah, and Dr. R.F. Paranjpye

5. IAR, 1925, I. p. 38.

6. Ibid, p. 40.

7.. Rao, B.Shiva, Ch. VI; Appendix, I, III

8. IAR, 1925, II. p. 239, p. 257, p. 263.

9. IAR, 1925, I. p. 162, p. 174.

10. Ibid, II. p. 252.

11. Ibid, I. p. 177.

12. For details, cf. Ibid, I. p. 173, p. 179, p. 246.

13. Ibid, IL p. 226.

14. Ibid, I. p. 245.

15. See pp. 416-7.

16. See p. 391.

17. For the details of the controversy, cf. IAR , 1924, I. pp. 601-4, II. pp. 132 b-d, p. 184. Freedom-lndia , III pp. 245- 51.

18. IAR, 1925, p. 87.

19 Ibid.

20. Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian Struggle (1964 Ed), pp. 109-10.

21. Ibid, p. 110.

22. For an account of the Hindu Mahasabha, cf. Indra Prakash, Its nature and origin have been further discussed in ch. XLII.

22a. See pp. 360 ff.; 425, 428 ff.

23. For a comprehensive account of the early Communist activities in India, cf. G. D. Overstreet and M. Windmiller, Communism in India, pp. 7-139; M. R. Masani, The Communist Party of India, pp. 19-40.

24. Masani, pp. 36 ff.

25. Ibid, p. 274, f.n., 25.

26. Overstreet and Windmiller, p. 135.

27. Lester Hutchinson, Conspiracy at Meerut, p. 107 (Hutchinson was one of the accused.).

28. Spratt, Blowing up India, p. 53.

29. Historical Development of the Communist Movement in India, p. 21.

30. Overstreet and Windmiller, p. 137

CHAPTER XV

HINDU-MUSLIM RELATION (1919-28)

The Hindu-Muslim unity brought about by Gandhi in 1920-21 was artificial in character and did not produce any real change of heart. It was based on the common hostility and hatred entertained, for quite different reasons, by the Indian nationalists and the Khilafatists towards the British, and was sustained by the militant programme of Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience. The suspension of the Civil Disobedience and Non-co-operation programme chilled the enthusiasm of the Khilafatists, and when Kemal Pasha showed no concern for the holy places of Islam, and finally abolished the Caliphate, the Khilafat movement died a natural death. The need for a common front against the British having thus disappeared, the Muslim politics again resumed its communal character. The Muslim League, so long overshadowed by the Khilafat movement, now recovered its old strength and prestige and pursued the old communal game in politics.

Almost as soon as the Non-co-operation movement died down, there was a recurrence of the old feuds between the Hindus and Muslims. At the back of it lay the old Muslim policy of deriving communal or personal advantages by co-operating with the Government against the Hindus. It is very significant that when there was a general feeling among the Muslims against co-operation with the Hindus, in 1923, Muhammad Ali, in his Presidential Address at the annual session of the Congress at Cocanada in December, 1923, tried to combat it, not by appealing to the national feeling of the Muslims and their patriotism to India, but by pointing out the comparative advantages of co-operation with the Hindus and the British Government for attaining pan-Islamic objectives. After explaining why the Muslims' loyalty to the British Government is incompatible with their loyalty to Islam, he asked: "And if we may not co-operate with Great Britain, is it expedient, to put it on the lowest plane, to cease to co-operate with our nonMuslim brethren? What is it that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, went to gaol for advocating the cause of Islam, that we must cease to co-operate with his co-religionists?" 1

But in spite of the earnest appeal of Muhammad Ali there was no possibility of reviving the spirit of co-operation of 1920-1, which was but a passing phase in Indian politics. The revival of the old communal spirit resulted in discords over petty issues, such as music before mosque, cutting down the branches of pipal tree, held sacred by the Hindus, which obstructed the very long pole carried in the Muslim Tajiya procession, killing of cows in public places during Id ceremony, and things of this sort. Referring to this lamentable state of things Muhammad Ali said in his Presidential Address in December, 1923: “I know that Hindu-Muslim relations today are not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it possible for any honest and truly patriotic Indian to say that either community is wholly blameless, and that the guilt is entirely one community’s?. Most regrettable events have unfortunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Shaharanpur and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the creation of a national tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two communities”. This was an eminently wise suggestion, but though it was mooted at a conference held at Delhi, the idea was not carried into effect. Early in 1923, there were serious communal clashes in Multan and Amritsar. Later in the year the Muslims started a definite communal movement called Tanzeem and Tabligh in order to organize the Muslims as a virile community. All this had a great repercussion upon the Hindu Mahasabha which, among other things, sought to strengthen the Hindu community by admitting the depressed classes to the rights and privileges of the higher classes. Corresponding to the Tanzeem and Tabligh of the Muslims, a Safigathan movement sprang up among the Hindus for promoting physical culture and removing social abuses. Swami Shraddhananda organized the Suddhi (purification) movement with a view to bringing back within the Hindu fold those who had renounced Hindu faith and were converted into Islam. Reference has been made in the last chapter to the reconversion of the Malkana Rajputs into Hinduism. The Sahgathan and Studdhi movements 2 were denounced by the Muslims and caused a serious rift between the two communities.

The Muslims suspected that the object of the removal of untouchability was not the absorption of the suppressed classes into Hindu society, but merely to use them as auxiliaries on the Hindu side in future affrays between the Hindus and Muslims. The promotion of physical culture among the Hindus was also suspected on the same ground. As regards the Snddhi movement, there were allegations of coercion, intimidation and undue pressure by Zamindars and money-lenders, and by a numerical majority of neighbours in the surrounding area. In view of such allegations by the Muslims, and the denial and counter-allegations by the Hindus, the Congress decided to appoint a Committee of Inquiry, but nothing

came out of it. Muhammad Ali's observation in his Presidential Address on the sudden manifestation of zeal by the Muslims and Hindus for conversion and reconversion to their faith is worth quoting: "My own belief is that both sides are working with an eye much more on the next decennial census than on heaven itself, and I frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the days when our forefathers settled things by cutting heads rather than counting them".

The Hindus naturally resented the attitude of the Muslims towards Suddhi movement, and felt themselves perfectly justified in converting or reconverting others to their own faith, a right which the Muslims and Christians had exercised all along and which alone accounted for their number in India. They also could not find any justification for the Muslim interpretation of the Sahgathan movement. But there is no doubt that the whole Muslim community was highly excited.

In the Jamait-ul-Ulema Conference held at Cocanada on 29 December, 1923, the President referred to the sponsors of the Suddhi movement as "the worst enemies of India," and expressed the opinion that "the Sahgathan movement would prove detrimental to the cause of Indian advance". The Conference also "condemned those activities which are likely to weaken the basis of (HinduMuslim) unity and considered their promoters as enemies of the nation". 3

Serious communal riots vitiated the political atmosphere of India from 1923 onwards. The ostensible and immediate causes of these riots have been mentioned above, but they were really due to the revival of mutual suspicion and distrust which have generally characterised the relation between these two communities except during rare intervals. The deep-rooted causes—-political, social and religious—which kept the Hindus and Muslims as two distinct units in India although they lived together, side by side, in this country for more than seven hundred years, have been analyzed in previous volumes. 4

Serious efforts were made by eminent leaders of both the communities to eliminate the causes of discord by drawing up an agreed covenant for guiding the relation between the Hindus and Musalmaris. A Committee had been appointed at the Delhi session of the Congress (1918) to draw up an Indian National Pact. A draft of the pact, prepared by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, was placed before the Subjects Committee of the Cocanada Congress in 1923. In the meantime the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, under the

inspiration of C. R. Das, approved of a Hindu-Muslim Pact in respect of Bengal. Its main provisions were as follows:

1. Representation in the Legislative Council on the population basis with separate electorates.

2. Representation to local bodies to be in the proportion of 60 to 40 in every district—60 to the community which is in the majority and 40 to the minority.

3. Fifty-five per cent of the Government posts should go to the Muslims, and eighty per cent. Muslims should be annually recruited till this proportion is reached.

4. No music should be allowed before a mosque.

5. There should be no interference with cow-killing for religious sacrifices, but the cow should be killed in such a manner as not to wound the religious feeling of the Hindus. 5

The Subjects Committee being in favour of further consideration of the matter, Motilal Nehru moved a resolution in the open session of the Congress to refer back the draft of the Indian National Pact as well as the Bengal Pact to the Committee appointed by the Delhi session, with the substitution of Amar Singh in place of Mehtab Singh who was in jail. The Bengal Pact was strongly opposed and after a heated debate, lasting for four hours, an amendment for the deletion of Bengal Pact from the resolution was carried by a substantial majority, 678 voting for and 458 against it. It was evident from the discussion that a written pact of compromise was not favourably looked upon by many. Although, therefore, the National Pact was referred back to the Committee, no further action was taken in the matter.

One of the worst communal riots broke out in Calcutta in May, 1923. It arose out of an Arva-Samajist procession playing music while passing before a mosque. The Arya Samajists contended that they were merely following a regular practice which was never objected to before, while the Muslims asserted that the music disturbed their religious prayer. So fighting commenced and continued for several days, in the course of which there were many casualties on both sides.

There were a series of riots on 15 July, 1924, on the occasion of the Bakr-id. The most serious one took place at Delhi, in spite of the fact that Muhammad Ali, Ajmal Khan and other eminent Muslim leaders had, only a week before, earnestly appealed to the Muslims to keep peace on the Bakr-id day. There was a riot on 11 July, in the course of which, owing to a false rumour that a Muslim youth was killed, the Muslims attacked the Hindus, killing

3 and injuring 45 of them; the Muslim injured numbering 25 (hospital figures). The cause of the riot on the Bakr-id day, 15th July, was an official notice closing an additional route through the Hindu quarters for cows destined for slaughter. The attempt of the Muslim butchers to take by force a cow through the prohibited road caused a serious rioting in which about 12 Hindus were reported to have been killed and about a hundred seriously injured. Order was not restored till the military were called in and opened fire. Panic prevailed in Hindu quarters and houses and shops were closed for many days. A Hindu temple was desecrated and sporadic attacks on Hindu passers-by continued for several days. According to official estimates, hospital casualties were, Hindus—dead 8, injured 44; Muslims—dead 1, injured 25; an unknown number being privately treated. 6 Similar,

but less serious, disturbances occurred in many other places on the Bakr-id day. Some of the bigger streetfightings took place in Nagpur, Jubbulpore and other places in C. P., where the Muslims, being much fewer in number, suffered more heavily than the Hindus.

Generally, communal riots were confined to British territory, and the Indian States were free from them. A serious riot in 1924, in Gulburga, in the Nizam's territory, formed an exception. The following is a contemporary account:

'On the day of the Muharram, some Muhammadans accompanying the punja procession molested Hindu men and women whom they met on the road, and afterwards entered the Sharan Vishveshwar Temple, remained in possession of it for some hours, and did some damage. Next day a story went round that the Hindus had caused mischief to a mosque. Thereupon Muhammadan mobs attacked all Hindu temples in the city, numbering about fifteen, and broke the idols. They also raided the Sharan Vishveshwar Temple and attempted to set fire to the temple car. The Police were eventually obliged to fire.

'On the 14th August, the Muslim mob fury was at its height and almost all the temples within the range of the mob, some fifty in number, were desecrated, their sanctum sanctorum entered into, their idols broken, and their buildings damaged. Subsequently, the Nizam's Government sanctioned Rs. 25,000, the estimated cost of repairs to the temples.' 7

The most serious outbreak occurred at Kohat in the N.W.F.P., a predominantly Muslim area. The trouble arose over the publication of a pamphlet by the Sanatan Dharma Sabha, Kohat, containing a virulently anti-Islamic poem. It was said to be a reply to an equally offensive anti-Hindu poem published in a Muslim news-sheet. Nevertheless, on 2 September, the Hindus passed a resolution regretting their error and requesting pardon. But this did not satisfy the Muslims, and a large crowd approached the authorities and asked for drastic action. Thereupon Jiwan Das, Secretary of the Sanatan Dharma Sabha, whose name appeared on the offensive leaflet, was asked by the Assistant Commissioner to execute a bond for Rs. 10,000 with ten sureties and detained in custody during the security proceedings. Jiwan Das was released on bail on 8 September, and protest meetings were at once held by the Muhammadans in their mosque. They took the talaq oath which means that their wives stood divorced as the men were determined to die or arrive at a satisfactory decision next morning. In other words, they were determined to take the law in their own hands if the Deputy Commissioner did not redress their grievances. The sinister significance of this oath was well-known to the people as well as the officials of N.W.F.P. According to the Hindu versirn, the fact of the oath was communicated to the local officials by them with prayers for taking adequate protective measures. According 1o Government version, “owing to the error of an Inspector of Police the report failed to reach the Deputy Commissioner till too late.”

There was a violent outbreak on the 9th in the course of which the looting in the bazar became general and Hindu shops were raided and burnt.

On the night of 10 September the Muslims made a number of breaches ir the mud walls of the city, and committed wholesale plunder and incendiarism, the alleged provocation being firing from some Hindu houses in self-defence. Before noon there were wide-spread fires in Hindu quarters. The Deputy Commissioner and Brigade Commander were unable to prevent the raid, and apprehending that there was a grave danger of the wholesale slaughter of the Hindus, removed them to the Cantonment, Later on, the Hindus moved to Rawalpindi.

The woeful tales of the Kohat tragedy and the failure of the Government to protect the Hindus caused a painful impression all over India, and a deep resentment among the Hindus. There was a demand for a full, open and independent inquiry. Gandhi wanted to visit Kohat with a few Muslim and Hindu leaders to restore friendly relations between the two communities, but the Viceroy refused permission. The Government made a Departmental inquiry and published a resolution. The Government criticised some action of the local officials, but, as usual, exonerated them on the ground that they had to deal with a very difficult situation. But

the Government admitted that “some members of the forces of law and order were involved in looting.”

The main defence of the officials, according to the official version, was, as noted above, that owing to the error of an Inspector of Police, the report (of the Divorce Vow) had not reached the Deputy Commissioner till too late. For, the Government Report adds, it cannot be doubted that the Deputy Commissioner would have taken further precautionary measures had he known that night or early the next morning of the taking of this oath. On this crucial point Lala Lajpat Rai made the following observation: "At 1 A.M., i.e. within an hour of the taking of the vow, the Court Inspector verbally made a report of that vow to the Superintendent of Police who asked for a written report which was submitted at 6 A.M, The Superintendent asked for the names of persons who had taken the vow and so a third report was given before 10 A.M. At 10 A.M. the Hindus again telegraphed to the Chief Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner about the seriousness of the situation, and yet we find the authorities say that they had no information. The Hindus warned the authorities on the situation on 8th, 9th and 10th and sent telegrams directly to the Deputy Commissioner, Superintendent of Police, and the Chief Commissioner, but no action was taken. Afterwards when the tragedy has been enacted, they come round and say that they had no information."

This observation of a man of the status of Lajpat Rai cannot be lightly dimissed, and there seems to be a great deal of justification for the public allegations against the Government mentioned above.

The Kohat tragedy formed a subject of discussion in the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the Hindu Mahasabha. The manner in which it was treated by these three bodies throws interesting light on the way in which the communal question was looked at by different sections of Indians. Motilal Nehru, who moved the resolution on the subject in the Congress, began by saying that "in Kohat a tragedy has taken place the like of which has not been known in India for many years", but scrupulously avoided casting any blame on any party, merely observing that "this is not the time for us to apportion the blame upon the parties concerned", though more than three months had passed since the incident. As he admitted, "the resolution is a non-controversial one and commits the Congress to nothing", and his speech was worthy of it. Lajpat Rai, probably because he lived nearer Kohat and had a personal knowledge of the affair, gave a short account of the incident for which he was taken to task by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan. The Congress resolution deplored the incident, urged the Musalmans of Kohat to assure their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and property and invite them to return, advised the refugees not to return except upon such an invitation, and asked everybody to suspend judgment till a proper inquiry was made.

The Muslim League repeated all these but added the following: “The All-India Muslim League feels to be its duty to place on record that the sufferings of Kohat Hindus are not unprovoked, but that on the contrary the facts brought to light make it clear that gross provocation was offered to the religious sentiments of the Mussalmans, and the Hindus were the first to resort to violence. ...”

The Hindu Mahasabha “expressed grief at the loss sustained by Hindus and Muslims in life and property, the burning of about 473 houses and shops, the desecration or destruction of many temples or Gurudwaras which compelled the entire Hindu and Sikh population to leave Kohat and to seek shelter in Rawalpindi and other places in the Punjab.” Lala Lajpat Rai, speaking on the motion, asked “whether even admitting that the Hindus were at fault, their fault was such that it deserved the punishment inflicted on them.”

All the three resolutions blamed the Government for the tragedy and urged the necessity of an independent public inquiry.

A joint inquiry was made by Gandhi and Shaukat Ali into the riot at Kohat, and as they differed on essential points, both issued individual statements. As Gandhi was refused permission to visit Kohat, the inquiry was held at Rawalpindi. The Hindus submitted written statements and some Muslims of Kohat gave evidence. But a section of Muslims, forming the working committee at Kohat, refused to come to Rawalpindi on the ground that a reconciliation had already been effected between the two communities.

Both the statements agree about strained communal feeling and the publication of the pamphlet by Jiwan Das as the immediate cause.

As regards the riot on the 9th, the Muslim version is that the Hindus fired the first shot killing a Muslim boy and wounding (or killing according to Shaukat Ali) another, that this infuriated the mob and led to burning and looting. The Hindu version is that the Muslims fired the first three shots killing one Hindu woman and wounding another, that the Hindus then fired in self defence, and that the first three shots were pre-arranged signal for the Muslim attack. Gandhi says there is no direct evidence on the point, and he is unable to reach a definite conclusion, but he holds it as certain that the suburban residence of a Hindu, Sardar Makhan Singh, was burnt before the firing. Shaukat Ali says that as the Deputy Commissioner satisfied the angry crowd by ordering arrest of Jiwan Das and several other members of the Sanatan Dharma Sabha as demanded by them, there was no meaning now in starting a massacre of the Hindus. "My own firm conviction is," says Shaukat Ali, "that the firing and the burning of the 9th September was quite accidental."

As regards the riot on the 10th, Gandhi writes: "It is generally admitted that on the 10th September the Mussalman fury knew no bounds. No doubt highly exaggerated reports of Mussalman deaths at Hindu hands were spread, and tribesmen from all parts stole into Kohat by making breaches in the walls and otherwise. Destruction of life and property, in which the constabulary freely partook, which was witnessed by the officials and which they could have prevented, was general. Had not the Hindus been withdrawn from their places and taken to the Cantonment, not many would have lived.... Even some Khilafat volunteers, whose duty it was to protect the Hindus, and regard them as their own kith and kin, neglected their duty, and not only joined in the loot but also took part in the previous incitement".

Shaukat Ali disbelieves the Hindu story that the Muslims organized a general jihad against the Hindus by sending invitations to other Muslims beforehand. He remarks: "The Musalmans say that thev did neither want nor force the Hindus to leave Kohat on the 10th September. The Police and the border constabulary and all the British officers were present on the spot and for the unfortunate looting and firing of the 10th September it is the

Government which is responsible. They could have stopped everything if they wanted; but they did not want to stop. The Hindu-Muslim fight in the Frontier was a godsend to them to further embitter the feeling of the Muslims of the Frontier and the Hindus of the Punjab and India, and to proclaim to the world at large that the Hindus and the Muslims w T ere now openly fighting and that their unity was impossible. It was the strong hand of the British Government that was needed for peace."

It is not quite clear from the above whether it was Shaukat Ali's case that the Government incited the Muslims to riot, or his grievance is that the Government did not stop it when it began. If it is the latter, it is somewhat strange that he does not give any reason for the starting of the riot on the 10th, the serious nature of which is described by Gandhi in the passage quoted above. Some of the details of Muslim fury are given by Gandhi: "During these days temples including a Gurudwara were damaged and idols broken. There were numerous forced conversions, or conversions so-called, i.e., conversions pretended for safety. Two Hindus at least were brutally murdered because they (the one certainly and the other inferentially) would not accept Islam. The so-called conversions are thus described by a Mussalman witness. 'The Hindus came and asked to have their sikhas cut and sacred threads destroyed, for the Mussalmans whom they approached for protection said they could be protected only by declaring themselves Mussalmans and removing the signs of Hinduism.' I fear the truth is bitterer than is put here if I am to credit the Hindu version."

Shaukat Ali admits the murder of two Hindus for refusing to embrace Islam, and the pretended conversions which, he adds, were really no conversions at all. But he is not satisfied that there were any forced conversions to Islam.

Immediately after the riots Gandhi had asked the Kohat refugees at Rawalpindi to refuse to return to Kohat until the Kohat Muslims invite them and assure full protection. The Indian National Congress, as noted above, endorsed this view. Various efforts were made for a settlement but without success, until January, 1925, when a reconciliation agreement was signed by the Hindus and Muslims of Kohat. Regarding this Gandhi observes in his statement as follows:

> "The so-called reconciliation is a reconciliation brought about under threat of prosecution against both.... The compromise is intrinsically bad, because it makes no provision for restoration of lost and damaged property. It is also bad because it still involves prosecution of Mr. Jiwan Das who is being made the scape-goat."[8]

The communal riot at Kohat has been described at some length, not merely on account of the enormity of the crimes committed, but also because it highlighted the position of the Hindus in a Muslim-dominated area as well as the attitude of the Government and different political parties to such grave communal disorders. There were other communal riots, notably one at Lakhnau on 13 and 14 September. Gandhi completely broke down at the news of these riots, particularly those of Kohat and Gulburga. His heart must have been filled with sadness and sorrow when he found that the citadel of Hindu-Muslim unity which he thought he had built on a solid foundation proved to be nothing but a castle in the air. As was usual with him, he commenced a fast for twenty-one days

with effect from 17 September, 1924, by way of penance. The news caused grave concern all over the country[9], and a Conference of nearly three hundred leading men of all parties met at Delhi on 26 September to devise ways and means to restore communal unity and thereby save the life of Gandhi. But no good came out of it,[10] and equally futile were a series of informal conferences held at Lahore early in December, 1924, under the guidance of Gandhi himself. It transpired, however, in these meetings that the main stumbling block in arriving at a communal settlement was the representation of the two communities in various legislatures. The Hindus wanted to postpone its discussion till communal harmony was restored and a favourable atmosphere was created for an agreement. The Muslim leaders, on the other hand, argued that disputes and differences over the question were solely or mainly responsible for the communal riots, and a settlement on this issue must precede talks of communal harmony. Perhaps they were right, but it was a very significant admission on their part that the discord between the Hindus and Musalmans was due to political rather than religious feelings. But the Hindu leaders were not prepared to face facts, and so these informal conferences proved abortive.

The Hindu-Muslim relations continued to deteriorate in 1925 and 1926, the Bakr-id ceremony causing serious riots in Delhi, Allahabad and Calcutta. No less than 16 communal riots took place in 1925, the worst of which were those at Delhi, Aligarh, Arvi (C.P.) and Sholapur. The most serious riot in 1926 took place in Calcutta in April over the question of music before mosque. The riot, which continued in full fury on 3, 4, and 5 April, caused 44 deaths and 584 injuries, besides looting, burning and desecration of both temples and mosques. There was another riot on 22 April, and the casualties were 66 killed and 391 injured. There was a third riot in Calcutta which continued from 11 to 25 July resulting in 28 deaths and 226 serious cases of injury. There were also riots in the interior of Bengal as well as in Rawalpindi (14 killed and 50 wounded) and Allahabad (2 killed and 27 injured); there were no less than five riots in Delhi. The Government made unsuccessful efforts to control, by regulations, the hours of music before the mosque, but the Hindus reacted very strongly against them. Public meetings were held and resolutions were passed, denouncing the action of the Government and urging upon the Hindus to take all necessary and legitimate steps to exercise their time-honoured rights and privileges. In Patuakhali, a small town in East Bengal, the Hindus offered Satydgraha in order to assert their time-honoured right of playing music before mosque, and about one hundred in batches of four courted arrest.

The question of music before mosque was discussed on 18 August, 1926, in the Legislative Assembly, but was shelved, though the Home Member stated that during the last three years communal riots occurred in 71 places and were responsible for 3.000 injuries and 260 deaths.

It is very significant that during this period of great communal tension Gandhi kept himself aloof, probably giving up as hopeless any attempt at communal harmony by negotiation after his failure in Lahore in 1924. But Motilal Nehru and Abul Kalam Azad issued a manifesto in July, 1926, proposing to establish a non-communal association. The new organization was to be called Indian National Union and would be non-political in character. A preliminary meeting of those who agreed with the manifesto was held in Delhi on 10 September, 1926, and draft rules were prepared. According to these rules every member of the Union had to take a pledge to the following effect: "I neither am nor will be a member of any organisation declared communal by the Central Board of the Union". The proposal was not welcomed either by the Hindus or by the Muslims in general. The most apt criticism was that of Swami Shraddhananda. He pointed out that it was a great mistake to ignore the political issues between the two communities which really lay at the bottom of the quarrel. Further, if the organization excluded all those who belonged to any communal organization, it would have to work without the help of those who really had a hold on the masses. He further complained that while Pandit Malaviya and several other prominent Hindus, who were the real leaders of the Hindu community, had been excluded, Hakim Ajmal Khan, who recently made a bitter communal speech in the Khilafat Conference at Delhi, had been welcomed. No wonder that the praiseworthy effort of Motilal and Azad came to nothing. More successful was the Bengal Muslim party, inaugurated by Sir Abdur Rahim early in 1926, consisting originally of most of the Muslim nonSwarajist members of the Bengal Council. He justified his communal organization on the ground that all political organizations in India had in fact been of a communal character.

The year 1926 ended with a terrible tragedy inspired by communal hatred. Swami Shraddhananda, 11 well known as the founder of the Gurukul at Kangri, a unique educational institution on ancient Indian model, and a great nationalist leader belonging to the Arya Samaj, was highly respected by both Hindus and Muslims during the Non-co-operation movement. But as he was closely associated with the Stiddhi movement, as mentioned above, a section of the Muslims cherished bitter hatred against him. On 23 December, 1926, when the Swami, after a serious attack of pneumonia, was

lying in his bed, a Muslim entered into his room on false pretext and stabbed him with a dagger. 12 The news was received with horror and indignation throughout the country. The Indian National Congress, which met three days after the murder, passed a resolution calling upon the

Working Committee to take immediate steps in consultation with Hindu and Musalman leaders to devise means for the removal of the present deplorable differences between the two communities, and submit their report to the A.I.C.C. not later than 31 March, 1927. Several communal riots broke out in 1927. At Kulkathi (Barisal, Bengal) a Muslim mob refused to allow passage to a Hindu procession which was permitted by the local authorities to proceed. The Police opened fire, killing 17 and wounding 12 Muslims. 13 Twenty-seven were killed in a communal riot at Lahore, and eleven at Bettiah (Champaran District, Bihar). It has been calculated that between 1922 and 1927 approximately 450 lives were lost and 5,000 persons were injured in communal riots. 14

The Statutory Commission observes:

“Every year since 1923 has witnessed communal rioting on an extensive, and, in fact, on an increasing scale which has as yet shown no sign of abating. The attached list, which excludes minor occurrences, records no less than 112 communal riots within the last five years, of which 31 have occurred during 1927.”

The Commission also notes that the riots were not confined to a restricted area, but almost every Province was more or less affected by it. Further, the storm centres had a tendency to shift rapidly from one locality to another,—from the larger cities to small towns and then to countryside. 15

1. IAR, 1923, Supplement, p. 59. Congress Presidential Addresses, II. p. 673.

2. These movements were carried on independently in different parts of India. For an account of these movements in Bombay inspired by Savarkar, cf. Dhananjay Keer, Savarkar and His Times, Chapter IX.

3. JAR, 1923, Supplement, p. 192.

4. Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 617 ff., Vol. X, Chapter VIII.

5. For full text, cf. IAR, 1924, I. p. 63 and Ramgopal, p. 175.

6. IAR, 1924, II. pp. 25, 309.

7. Ibid, pp. 25-6.

8. For the Kohat riot, cf. IAR, 1924, II. pp. 25-32, p. 308, p. 421; p. 443, p. 481, p. 486; JAR, 1925, pp. 97-106.

9. But as an indication of the futility of Gandhi's fast over the communal issue, it may be mentioned that four days after its commencement, when it must have been fairly well-known all over the country, there was a serious riot at Shahjahanpur to quell which the military had to be called, the casualties being 9 killed and 100 injured. On 8 October, when Gandhi broke his fast, there were serious communal riots at Allahabad, in a Calcutta mill, and at Kanchrapara (Bengal), Sagar and Jubbulpore. For these riots, cf. IAR, 1924, II. pp. 25-32.

10. For an account of the Conference and its results cf. IAR, 1924, II, pp. 147-60(a).

11. See para 3 of this Chapter.

12. IAR, 1926, II. p. 312.

13. This is the official version. According to IAR (1925, p. 182), only 14 were killed and 7 wounded.

14. Statutory Commission's Report, Vol. IV, Part I, p. 106- The account of the communal riots given in this Chapter is chiefly based upon this Report and IAR.

15. Report, p. 99.

CHAPTER XVI

BRITISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIA 1

I. BRITISH GOVERNMENT

There are good grounds to believe that the British Cabinet passed the Act of 1919 in haste and then repented at leisure. The pronouncements of responsible leaders and some of the proposed measures raise grave doubts whether the British Government had any real desire to introduce Responsible Government in India within any measurable distance of time. Reference has been made Ia to the speech of Lloyd George which hardly leaves any doubt that the British had not the remotest idea of relinquishing their real hold on India. Though attempts v/ere made both in England and India to explain away Lloyd George’s speech, the truth underlying it was revealed in the Lee Commission's Report, mentioned above. 2 It was an undisguised attempt to strengthen the steel frame which underlay the whole structure of the Government of India. Even a veritable tiro could not fail to see that such a frame was incompatible with any scheme of Responsible Government of India in the true sense of the term. Another measure which points in the same direction is the Report of the Esher Committee on the reorganization of Indian army, to which reference will be made later.

On the other hand, credit must be given to the Government for certain measures intended to facilitate the working of the new Constitution. The chief among these was that the recruitment for the Indian Educational Service, Indian Agricultural Service, the Veterinary Service, and some other Services were taken away from the hands of the Secretary of State and given to the Ministers, so that they might have full powers to organize the services through which their departments were administered. 22 Another important measure was the appointment of two Indians on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in 1926.

Since the beginning of their political consciousness the Indians put much faith on the sense of justice and democratic instincts and traditions of the British, and this faith buoyed up the Moderate party till the very end. But now the faith and hope centered round the Labour Party in Britain. Not only had important Labour leaders like Ramsay MacDonald and Col. Wedgwood expressed sympathetic views about the political aspirations of India, but the British Labour Party repeatedly declared from public platform

their support of the Indian demand for Home Rule. Ramsay MacDonald sent a message to the Amritsar Congress in 1919, that when Labour comes into office it will not be bound by the objectionable clauses of the Reforms Act. Mr. Adamson, the Chairman of the Labour Party, criticised the Act of 1919 on the ground that "it does not go far enough, and that we are failing to take the people of India themselves to assist in the successful accomplishment of the great tasks we have in hand." In 1920 the Annual Conference of the Labour Party passed the following Resolution: "This conference demands the full and frank application of the principle of self-determination in the organisation of the Government of India in such a way as to justify all the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people." The National Executive of the Labour Party issued in November, 1922, a manifesto which said: "Labour advocates the recognition of the real independence of Egypt and self-government of India." Even so late as 1923 Ramsay MacDonald attended the meeting at the Queen's Hall, held on 27 June, to support the Indian demand of equality of status with the Dominions, and delivered a long speech, in the course of which he referred to the Rowlatt Act as "that stupid piece of political blundering" which "has been the cause of all the troubles." He denounced that section of the British people who had gone back on the war-time promise of selfgovernment for India. He also declared that "most of us who have liberal minds" must accept Dominion Status for India as the "essential condition of imperial unity." 3

Naturally high hopes were raised in the minds of many Indians when, in January, 1924, the Labour Party came into office with Ramsay MacDonald as the Premier of Britain. But soon all hopes were dashed to the ground.

There was hardly anything to distinguish the tone and spirit of the Labour Ministry from that of the Conservative. On 26 February, 1924, Lord Olivier, the Secretary of State for India, made a long speech outlining the views and policy of the Labour Party with respect to India.[4] It followed the usual line hitherto pursued by the British Government. He strongly expressed himself against the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly, urging the appointment of a Round Table Conference at an early date to revise the Government of India Act 1919, which has been mentioned above.[5] Lord Curzon felt relieved that the new Government did not propose to go beyond the Act of 1919.

In his speech in the House of Commons on 15 April, 1924, Curzon frankly stated the British point of view in regard to India: “I ask the Government: is it too much to hope that the Prime Minister’s declaration when he first took office will be translated into action and that Indian problems will be regarded not as party questions but as national questions. I want to look at them from a national point of view, and whatever party is in power, I hope it will assert and give effect to the principle that Great Britain will, in no circumstances. relinquish her responsibility to India.”[6] It can hardly be disputed that this formed the keystone of British policy towards India, even though all shades of political opinion in India, Moderates and the Swarajists alike, demanded self-government. The justification of the policy was the specious plea that these parties did not represent more than two per cent, of the Indians, and the masses were in favour of the British rule. In spite of occasional lapses (of liberal views) Lord Olivier maintained what Curzon regarded as the correct national attitude of Britain towards India.

The parting kick of the Labour Government was the sanction of the Bengal Ordinance of 25 October, 1924. Lord Olivier was under no illusion as to the nature of the Ordinance. Three months after the Labour Government was replaced by the Conservative, he himself raised the question in the House of Commons and indicated that the Ordinance practically took away any protection for liberty established by British law.[7]

The coming of the Conservatives into power therefore meant no change of policy. Only the British Government took off its mask. They protected the Indian Civil Service, the steel frame of the Government of India, by practically accepting all the proposals of the Lee Commission which were rejected by the Indian Legislative Assembly. They made it clear beyond all possible doubt that they would not move an inch beyond the framework of the Act of 1919, and held out an open and undisguised threat that there might be a set-back in the reforms after ten years if the Indians did not behave properly in the meantime. The fears of the Conservatives, caused by the temporary assumption of power by the Labour, passed away like an evil dream, and the British Government could now pursue its traditional policy towards India, explained with brutal frankness by Lord Curzon, without let or hindrance.

Lord Birkenhead succeeded Lord Olivier as the Secretary of State for India in the new Conservative Government. Reference has been made above[73] to his negotiations with C. R. Das. Whatever we may think of that somewhat mysterious episode, Birkenhead certainly made a great show of activity. The Viceroy, Lord Reading, was called to London to consult him, and India expected an important pronouncement of policy. But the proverbial mountain produced a mouse. His speech on 7 July, 1925, contained nothing new and held out no hope. It disappointed all sections of Indians, including the ultra-Moderates, but is noteworthy as a definite declaration of British policy without any ambiguity. As a historical landmark of the British policy towards India even as late as 1925, Birkenhead's speech is of great importance. A few extracts will suffice to give an idea of the mentality behind his utterances,—mentality not of his alone, but of the British statesmen in general who exercised or were likely to exercise any real power in British politics.

"Of the 440 millions of British citizens, who constitute the British Empire, 320 millions are Indian. The loss of India would mean a shrinkage in the Empire from 13,250,000 to less than 11,500,000 square miles. The fiduciary obligations which we undertook, in relation to the complex peoples of

India, embracing as they do a population of 320 millions, practising nine great religions and speaking 130 different speeches, have not been unfaithfully discharged.

"To talk of India as an entity is as absurd as to talk of Europe as an entity, yet the nationalist spirit which has created most of our difficulties in the last few years is based upon the aspirations and claims of a Nationalist India. There never has been such a nation. Whether there ever will be such a nation, the future alone can show.... If we withdraw from India tomorrow, the immediate consequences would be a struggle, a Voutrance, between the Moslems and the Hindu population."

Lord Birkenhead defended the policy of the Government in ignoring the decisions of the Legislatures, which apparently was in conflict with the British traditions of liberal and democratic principles. He reminded the intractable members of the Legislatures who refused to support the Government "that, while we have obligations in respect of the voters who number only some eight and a half millions, we have also obligations in respect of the two hundred and fifty millions in British India of whom we are the responsible guardian, and, in a less degree, in respect of the seventy millions in the Indian States". In conclusion, Birkenhead assured his peers that "There is no Lost Dominion" and "There will be no lost Dominion". 8

Such was the British policy towards India in 1925, and such it continued to be for the next fifteen years. There was no vital difference between the Conservative and the Labour Party in this respect. Lord Oliver wholeheartedly endorsed the views of Birkenhead and felt sure that Birkenhead's speech "would be a message of encouragement and sympathy to India for which the community would be grateful to him". It is hardly necessary to add that

Birkenhead's speech and specially the Labour Party's support of it was strongly resented in India.

In judging~the nature of British rule in India, to which more detailed reference will be made in the next section, it is only fair to remember that the retention of absolute control over India was not merely an imperial sentiment; it was regarded as almost a question of life and death to the

British people. Eminent British statesmen like Churchill dinned into the ears of the British public that every man in Britain out of five was maintained by India (or words and figures to that effect) and that England could not maintain her position of supremacy in world-politics, unless she could control the resources of India to her benefit. 8a So there was a deadly struggle in British mind between the abstract love of liberty and the instinct of self-preservation. Two most powerful forces in human nature were pitted against each other, and the result was a grim tragedy. How this titanic struggle would have ended it is not easy to say. But, as it is, the hammer blows of Hitler forced Britain to relax her grip on India.

II. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

It is hardly necessary to say much on the attitude of the Government of India, as it is sufficiently demonstrated by the whole history of the period narrated in the preceding chapters. It was almost entirely dominated by the bureaucracy, and the personality or views of the Governor-General seldom counted for much. The bureaucracy took very little interest in the welfare of the country and regarded the sole duty of the Government to be to maintain law and order, or rather the supremacy of the British in India.

The officials, in season and out of season, declared themselves to be the guardian and protector of the interests of the masses, but did precious little for their real welfare. Their attitude towards the economic interest of India was clearly demonstrated by the opposition to the motion in the Assembly for the repeal of the Cotton Excise Duty. Their attentions were directed mainly to two ends; first, to nullify the effect of the Reforms Act as far as possible without tearing off the mask; and secondly, not only to maintain the existing powers, privileges, and prerogatives, but also to increase them by various means. How they used, or rather abused, the rule-making powers vested in the Government of India under the Act of 1919, has been mentioned above. 8b Not satisfied with these, a series of new rules were suddenly brought into effect, by a Gazette notification, with effect from 21 June, 1924, without even consulting the Legislative Assembly. The proposals of the Lee Commission, though rejected by the Legislative Assembly, were given effect to as proposed by the bureaucracy. Lastly, the evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee and the so-called Majority Report show the bureaucracy in its true colour.

Like autocracies in every age and in every part of the world, the Government of India carried on a system of ruthless oppression in the name of law and order. It will be hardly any exaggeration to say that practically throughout the period from 1908 to 1947, India was governed by what has been aptly described as a set of lawless laws.

Almost every demand in legislatures for the repeal of repressive laws Was resisted by the bureaucracy on the ground that law and order could not otherwise be maintained. If this contention were true, it can only be interpreted as a failure and breakdown of administration.

The gradual development of the iniquitous methods of the Government of India has been summed up in a remarkably lucid manner by Sir Sankaran Nair, once a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who cannot be accused of either extremism in politics or bias against the British Government in India. If he had any bias at all it was in favour of that Government, as was evidenced by his open accusation of Gandhi and his methods. The adverse judgment of such a man against the Government of India cannot be lightly set aside, and no excuse is therefore needed to reproduce a lengthy extract from one of his articles published in an English paper after the Bengal Ordinance was promulgated on 25 October, 1924. "When the Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon and the steps taken by Sir Bampfylde Fuller to suppress the protest against it threw Bengal into a ferment, the 'agitators' of Bengal were prosecuted before the ordinary civil courts of the country. In the majority of cases the prosecutions failed, because in the opinion of the High Court the case was supported by false witnesses; it was proved that they manufactured evidence in various ways —for example, by placing bullets in incriminating places, and by introducing bombs into the dwelling places of the accused. The High Court found also that certain District Magistrates lent their countenance to Police pressure on witnesses, and that Sessions Judges in many cases convicted against the evidence. All this appears in the published reports of the cases which are available to anyone who desires details.

“The Indian Government availed themselves of the opportunity of the War to pass the Defence of India Act, which it is now sought to review. Under this Act. . . .a man might be arrested and kept indefinitely in jail (or interned in a particular locality) without

being brought to trial. For those who were to be tried, new courts were or could be constituted and new laws of evidence or procedure were prescribed... The Rowlatt Act, a repetition of the Defence of India Act, was responsible for an agitation unexampled in India. The Punjab.. .rose in fury: Amritsar, Lahore, Jallianwalla massacres, indiscriminate arrests, trials and convictions which recall the days of Jeffreys in England followed.... India lost faith in England....

“Then the Labour Party came into power. In India there were great hopes.. . Events have belied these expectations... But no one expected they would go farther and revive a measure which has been responsible for a terrible conflagaration and has destroyed England’s moral supremacy and Englishmen’s influence for good. This Act, as I have pointed out, would destroy freedom of speech, of the Press, and of the person. Trials would become a farce.”[9]

In taking recourse to naked force as the only means of ruling India, the Government occasionally descended below the standard which every Government, deserving the epithet ‘civilized’, is reasonably expected to maintain. This will be evident from the Memorial sent to the Secretary of State for India on 25 July, 1924, by some State prisoners detained in Bassein Jail. It unfolds a gruesome picture of the methods pursued by the Government of India in selecting victims for the lawless laws, the real purpose lying behind wholesale arrests and detention without trial, the farcical method of framing charges against them and the so-called judicial scrutiny of the evidence by judges in camera, the inhuman treatment of the detenus—all of whom were educated persons belonging to respectable classes of society—and, above all, the network of agents provocateurs, maintained by the rapidly growing Secret Service with the selfish object of provoking commitment of crimes in order to justify the organization, the use of the manufactured revolutionary crimes to serve the political end of putting down legitimate activities for the upliftment of the masses and constitutional agitation for gaining self-government. As a pen-picture of the barbarous medieval methods pursued by the British Government in India in the twentieth century, drawn by actual victims from their own knowledge and experience, this document is of great historical importance. 10 It may be argued that the account proceeds from an interested party; but exactly the same charge lies against the Government version. It is necessary to read both in order to form an impartial opinion on the question. But the Memorial does not stand alone. It is fully in

keeping with the police methods described by Sir Sankaran Nair, as mentioned above. It has also been generally corroborated by the writings and oral accounts of many high-souled patriotic Indians who spent the best part of their lives in detention camps or British jails. The writer of this chapter has taken great pains to ascertain the truth from a large number of respectable persons, still living, who had personal experience of such a life, and have at the present moment no motive or inducement to misrepresent the British Government or exaggerate their iniquities. Every available evidence indicates that in the name, and under the disguise, of suppressing revolutionary crimes, such as dacoities and murders, the British Government in India adopted most unscrupulous methods in order to stifle national urge for freedom and curb all legitimate and constitutional activities for attaining the same—methods, a knowledge of whose true character would shock the civilized world.

These comments are fully supported by the evidence of Englishmen themselves who cannot be accused of any perverse mentality of unduly blackening the deeds of their fellow-countrymen. Special interest attaches to one such body who visited India after the ruthless suppression of the Civil Disobedience of 1930. 11 The account published by them led Bertrand Russell, perhaps the greatest Englishman then living, to compare the British atrocities in India to those of the Germans in Western Europe during the first World War. lla

There is also the testimony of European and American correspondents of newspapers who published accounts of what they saw with their own eyes. Some of the revolting barbarities described by them will be related later in Chapter XX.

III. THE BRITISH OFFICIALS IN INDIA

The general attitude of the British official class as a whole towards the Indian demand for Swaraj and political reforms has been described in the last section. The Government of India Act brought about changes in their position and status, and how they reacted against it and tried their level best to safeguard their interests and privileges has been referred to in Chapter XIII.

The high officials had not lost the old arrogant belief in their superiority and infallibility, and looked down upon the Indians as their inferiors, as they did during the nineteenth century. They were insensible to the changes that time had wrought in India, and could not adapt themselves to the new situation. The political advance of the Indians and the concessions wrung from Britain irritated the sensibility of the British officials and served as an almost impassable barrier between them and the Indians, except the loyal and grovelling elements whom they were now eager to set up as true representatives of India.

Among the Provincial Governors Lord Lytton attained an unenviable notoriety by his ill-judged pronouncements. Addressing a Police parade at Dacca, he said: "The thing that has distressed me more than anything else since I came to India is to find that mere hatred of authority can drive Indian men to induce Indian women to invent offences against their own honour merely to bring discredit upon Indian policemen". 12 Such an insinuation against the womanhood of India which, from its very nature, is incapable of any satisfactory proof, naturally provoked an outburst of indignation and resolutions were passed asking Indians to boycott all functions given by the Governor and demanding his resignation. 13

The British officials in India were generally believed by the Hindus to be unduly favourable to the Muslims. These charges cannot, from the very nature of things, be either definitely proved or disproved. But the idea was not confined to the Hindus. Lord Olivier, shortly after he had ceased to be the Secretary of State for India, in a letter to The Times , made the following comments on the communal riots in India: "But there are other causes of the increasing faction fighting. No one with close acquaintance of

Indian affairs will be prepared to deny that on the whole there is a predominant bias in British officialism in India in favour of the Muslim community, partly on the ground of closer sympathy, but more largely as a makeweight against Hindu Nationalism." When challenged in the House of Lords by both Birkenhead and Lord Reading, he made the following observations, among others, in explaining his position: "But what I did say—and it is based upon what I have heard from a great many Englishmen who have served in India and from a great many Indians who have a very good reputation in India—was that there is an official bias in favour of the Mahomedan community....

"The feeling which I had encountered and which I had underlined in my mind in that letter was something of which I will give you an example. When the Hindu-Muslim pact was made it was a pact which strengthened the probability of an advance towards Swaraj policy in India. A very large number of persons, officials and others in India, regard the advance towards the self-governing Swaraj policy as a movement deleterious to British interests in India, and I say confidently that when the Hindu-Muslim pact broke up there was a distinct satisfaction on the part of those persons both in this country and in India, who were opposed to the Nationalist movement, that the pact had broken up and that there should be political dissensions among those affected."[14]

It would be difficult to think of a more damaging evidence in support of the charge that the British, both officials and unofficials, favoured the Muslims against the Hindus and enjoyed, if they did not foster or encourage, directly or indirectly, the discord between the Hindus and the Muslims. The British Government, in India and England, of course, repudiated the charge most vehemently, but it cannot easily be brushed aside by a mere denial, when an ex-Secretary of State for India vouches for it on the evidence of reliable English officials. Nevinson has also testified to the proMuslim attitude of British officials.[15]

IV. THE BRITISH PEOPLE

The general attitude of the British people towards India continued to be, as before, 16 namely, one of general indifference. The small section which interested itself on Indian questions consisted mostly of die-hard Conservatives, backed up by the retired members of the Indian Civil Service, with a sprinkling of genuine sympathisers for Indian political aspirations. Reference has been made above 163 to the professions of the Labour Party before they came into office, and the extent to which they carried them into practice. It is, however, only fair to add that individual members of the Labour Party in the House of Commons often spoke in support of Indian point of view. Special reference may be made in this connection to Col. Wedgwood, Mr. Lansbury, Mr. Scurr, Mr. Pethick-Lawrence, and Major Graham Pole, among others, who often protested against wrongs and injustices to India. As a counterpoise to this, reference may be made to interpellations by Conservative members which showed that the old Jingo imperialism of the nineteenth century had not abated a jot in spite of the liberal and pious utterances during World War I, or the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, with the avowed object of introducing, by degrees, the full Responsible Government in India.

Nothing more strikingly illustrates the differences between the two sections than the reaction to the statement made by Mr. Justice McCardie regarding General Dyer in his address to the jury during the trial of the defamation case brought by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, ex-Governor of the Punjab, against Sir Sankaran Nair. He made an elaborate defence of Dyer's action at Amritsar on 13 April, 1919, and ended by expressing the view that General Dyer acted rightly and was wrongly punished by the Secretary of State for India, though, he said, he "weighed every circumstance and every detail which was put before the Hunter Committee". 17

Some of the Labour members gave expression to their disapproval of the conduct of Justice McCardie, and Lansbury gave notice of "a motion to present an address to the King that Justice McCardie be removed from the Bench". 18

On the other hand, a question was asked in the House of Commons by a Conservative member, whether in view of Justice McCardie's pronouncement that General Dyer had not been fairly dealt with by the authorities, the Prime Minister would consider immediately what steps could now be taken to reconsider the matter —and this question was greeted with Conservative applause. 19

The whole episode of Dyer—his brutal measures, the light punishment inflicted upon him, the condonation of his conduct by the House of Lords, the favourable verdict by a British judge, and the acclamation of praise with which his inhuman conduct was greeted by Englishmen and English women, both in India and England—illustrates, as nothing else could, the racial arrogance of the English people and the little regard or consideration which they had for Indians as a whole.

After winning the Defamation case against Sir Sankaran Nair, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, of Punjab notoriety, wrote an article under the caption, "India at stake", and issued it to the Press. It was full of misstatements and misrepresentations of Indians, deliberately propagated to alienate the British sympathy, whatever there was, from the national aspirations of the Indians. It was circulated and applauded all over Britain, and its reaction upon British opinion may be judged from the comment of the Sunday Express: "In the last resort we hold India by the sword, and as guardians of civilization we dare not let it slip from our grasp." Mrs. Besant, who was then in England, issued a rejoinder to O'Dwyer's statement. It was couched in very mild language, but pointed out the inaccuracies in O'Dwyer's statement. No British paper printed it except Mr. Brailsford's paper, The Standard. 20 This is an eloquent testimony to the fairness and sense of justice displayed by the British people in any matter concerning India.

But some Britishers were more honest and straightforward, and less hypocritical, than the Sunday Express. Thus Joynson-Hicks said: "We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should continue to hold it—I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold India for the Indians. We went with a yard stick in one hand and a sword in the other, and with the latter we shall continue to hold them helpless while we force the former down their throats." 2 '

One of the characteristic features of the British imperialism of the twentieth century was an organized propaganda in foreign countries, specially in U.S.A., to convince the world opinion of the blessings conferred on India by the British. It was partly due to a very natural desire of a guilty conscience to win ever public opinion in its favour, and partly to counter the propaganda carried on by Indians abroad, particularly in U.S.A., against the autocratic and tyrannical nature of the British rule in India and the evils it had brought upon the country. A very remarkable example of the success of British propaganda (or diplomacy?) is afforded by a speech delivered by President Roosevelt. But the success was very shortlived. For the speech drew forth angry protests from eminent Americans. 22

V. NON-OFFICIAL BRITISHERS IN INDIA

The non-official British population of India who may be referred to as Anglo-Indians for the sake of convenience, 223 constituted an unofficial wing of the British bureaucracy in India. They were the greatest enemies of the true interest of India, for the very simple and obvious reason that as India politically advanced, their material power and prestige almost necessarily declined.

The Anglo-Indians of the nineteenth century could afford to be generous or indifferent to the Indians as they had no reasonable apprehensions of any political regeneration of India. The AngloIndians of the twentieth century were faced with a national reawakening of the Indians, of the portents and possibilities of which their local knowledge made them .fully conscious. They had to gird up their loins to fight for their own interests. The equanimity of the older generations was only occasionally disturbed by the prospect of “Black Acts” of 1849 or Ilbert Bill of 1883, 2213 resulting in wild outbursts of racial passion and arrogance, which showed them in their true colours. The twentieth century had not in any way softened the colours, while circumstances had converted the periodical outburst into an almost perpetual ‘cold’ war.

As one member of the European Association in Calcutta put it in 1923: “The European Association had run for 40 years on the Ilbert Bill and it had run down-hill. But the time had now come when the European must take a definite hand in politics.” Nor was the public left in any doubt as to what that politics would be. “We must”, said the President, “absolutely refuse to consider any advance towards self-government until the completion of the 10 years.” He was not afraid because the Labour Party had come into power, for he was sure it would “give full consideration to the men on the spot”. Evidently he appraised the Labour Party more correctly than Indian politicians. But he added that should the inconceivable happen (i.e. if any further advance be made towards self-government in India), the Anglo-Indians would “consider their position and utilize any means in their power to look after themselves”.[23] It was the roar of the British lion at bay.

The general attitude of haughtiness, arrogance and insolence displayed by the Englishmen in India towards her people, described in detail in the preceding volume, was as characteristic of them in the twentieth century as in the nineteenth. This has been very critically discussed by Henry W. Nevinson who paid a short visit to India during the Swadeshi movement. He writes: “The attitude of the vulgar among Anglo-Indians towards the people of the country would be incredible to any one who had not seen it, and the vulgar are a large and increasing class.”[24] As in the nineteenth century, so in the twentieth, even decent young Englishmen, fresh from home, rapidly joined the crowd of their vulgar countrymen. The process is thus described by Nevinson: “They increase by a kind of infection, and the deterioration of a new-comer who has been sent out with the usual instincts of our educated classes in favour of politeness and decency is often as unconscious as it is rapid. ... At first they are astonished that Anglo-Indian opinion not only permits but imposes so ill-bred a manner in intercourse with ‘natives’, but the astonishment soon wears off, and the infection of arrogance catches them as a matter of course.”[25] But an almost irresistible social pressure also facilitated this conversion. The new arrivals from England would be socially ostracized, if they did not fall in line with the vulgar Anglo-Indians in their attitude towards the Indians. As Nevinson put it, many of the young Englishmen and English women were driven to conform to the code of insolence established by the Anglo-Indians, for it is too much to expect that a young man fresh from home would choose “to cut himself off altogether from the society and amusements of his own people”, or “stand alone against feminine dislike and masculine views of good-form”, and be altogether indifferent to “personal reputation or advancement”. [26] So, Gresham’s law operated in Anglo' Indian society and turned the good coin out of circulation in favour of the bad. It is still within living memory how a young Britisher belonging to the I. C. S., married the daughter of a very distinguished Indian, well-known for advanced Anglicised mode of life, and, for this offence, could not rehabilitate himself into the Anglo-Indian society, not to put it more bluntly.

If the insolence of the Anglo-Indians continued as before, its exhibition also conformed to the old pattern. To quote again from Nevinson’s book: “On almost every railway journey one sees instances of ill manners that would appear too outrageous for belief at home. But it is the same throughout . In hotels, clubs, bungalows, and official chambers, the people of the country, and especially the educated classes, are treated with an habitual contumely more exasperating than savage persecution”. [21] There is no doubt that there were also Englishmen possessing good manners, but Nevinson very truly observes: “But one’s mere delight in finding them proved their rarity”. [28]

The social estrangement between the two races, ‘which rapidly increased after Port Said was left’, soon made its influence felt also in political and even judicial spheres. A few cases noted below, which are merely illustrative and not exhaustive, show that as in the nineteenth century, so in the twentieth, there was one standard of justice for the Indians and another for the Englishmen.

Sir Walter Strickland, a British Baronet, wrote in 1913: “The other day, in Lahore, an English or Scottish person of the name of Stirling murdered his Indian servant in the most cowardly and treacherous manner. He first kicked him out of the room, and then shot him in the back. I cited this case in a letter home to illustrate British even-handed justice. . . .with the following comment: ‘This cowardly scoundrel will be as certainly acquitted, without a stain upon his honour, as the unfortunate servant would have been swung without mercy, if the crime had been the other way.’ We have just had the sentence: Mr. Stirling was sentenced to one month’s simple imprisonment.” 29

The three following incidents were reported in a single year, 1921.

1. Khoreal Shooting Case—A British planter of Assam shot at the father of a coolie girl whom he wanted for his lust, but in the trial the British jury acquitted him.

2. A British Major at Sialkot, travelling with his wife without ticket, entered a compartment occupied by some Indians and forced them to leave.

3. Lt. House at Agra forced some Indian first class passengers to leave the compartment by threatening them with a * revolver. He was simply fined by the court. 30

Nevinson found it disconcerting to discover a prevailing and uneasy suspicion that British justice could not be safely trusted. Referring to a few recent instances, he observed: “Killing no murder, outrage no crime, when Indians are concerned and Englishmen are culprits—that was the common conclusion, and it was not unnatural.” 31 The instances cited above, to which others may be added, prove that the conclusion was absolutely right, being based on unimpeachable facts, and that it was a tradition handed down from the nineteenth century.

Referring to the rabid writings in Anglo-Indian Journals, Nevinson comments: “I have seen violent and bloodthirsty passages translated from the Yugantar, the Sandhya, the Hitaishi of Barisal, and other vernacular papers. Such papers are fined, suppressed, have editors imprisoned, and under the new Press Act may have their type confiscated. But in none of them have I seen more deliberate attempts to stir up race hatred and incite to violence than in Anglo-Indian papers which suffer nothing. Take, for instance, this obvious instigation to indiscriminate manslaughter by the Asian” (and he quotes a long passage).' 2

Referring to the Englishman and the Civil and Military Gazette, the two leading Anglo-Indian papers, respectively of Calcutta and Lahore, Nevinson observed that “it must have been difficult for any thoughtful Indian who loved his country to read them during 1907 without cursing our race”. 33

The Swadeshi movement and the growth of nationalism among the Indians irritated the Anglo-Indians more and more, and the racial hatred exhibited by them to the Indians seriously perturbed Morley, the Secretary of State. The Prince of Wales told him after his return from India of the ungracious bearing of the Europeans towards the Indians. The Duke of Connaught also told Morley the same old story—of the stiff, ungenial and ultra-official manners of the Englishmen towards the Indians—as a result of his personal experience in India. Lord Ampthill, who officiated as Viceroy for some time in 1904, told Morley that the rough and insolent ways of the English—especially of the officers of the army—to Indians were often painful to see, as they were painful to hear. The use of rough language and pretty free use of whips and sticks, and brutalities of that sort were all brought to the knowledge of the Secretary of State. Morley wrote to Minto about it and asked him to make a serious effort to improve the situation. “It may seem a trivial business”, wrote he, “but I have read history enough to know what harm may come of bad manners”. Minto admitted that the Englishmen showed bad manners in their dealings with the Indians, but did not take up the question so seriously or earnestly as Morley desired. Curiously enough, he seemed to take comfort from two ideas. First, that bad as the situation is, it was much worse in the past. He cited the normal practice in olden days of military officers beating the cook for preparing bad dinners, and doubted if a Head-Quarters Staff would beat their cook in his days. Secondly, Minto urged that in spite of their many failings and faults as colonists, the English were the best in Europe, being not so bad as other nations. “Nothing, for instance,” said he, “could be more barbarous and horrible than the story of the

subjection of the Red Indians of the ‘West’ by the advancing civilization of the United States, a story which still continues bad even in the present day.”

Mrs. Annie Besant issued a public appeal to the Viceroy: “Your Excellency, your Indian and English children are bruising each other’s hearts to the death and wrecking the future. Oh! raise your powerful voice to check the hatred. . . . Speak strongly, as you alone can do, to these lower English who are destroying your work and undermining the Empire. Bid your officials everywhere to guard your Indian children, and to shield them from outrage from wrong.” For this Mrs. Besant was hauled over the coals by the European community. The Lieutenant-Governor of U.P. not only condemned her action, but used his influence with the ruling chiefs, who helped with funds the Central Hindu College founded by her at Banaras, to dissociate themselves from her. This is an eloquent testimony to the general feeling of the Englishmen— high or low, official and non-official—to the Indians.

Even Lord Minto disapproved of Mrs. Besant’s action. The fact of the matter is that Minto failed to keep up the tradition set by Lord Curzon of meting out adequate punishment to Englishmen for their crimes against the Indians. In 1908 a European nurse of a military officer was murdered at Jutogh near Simla by his Muhammadan officer, who was believed to have been in love with her. Just before the funeral a young English Corporal took his gun and killed the first native he met. The Viceroy was more sorry for the white soldier than the Indian. Minto himself felt that “if the native is hanged and the European is not it is impossible to foresee the consequences.” But he did not raise his little finger to avert this catastrophe. He pleaded inability to do anything as the English soldier would be tried by the Chief Court and an all-white jury, although the universal opinion was that the jury would never convict him and let him off on a plea of insanity. 34 The Curzonian tradition proved to be a mere passing phase. 35

1. There was not much change in the British attitude towards the Indians in the twentieth century from that in the nineteenth century which has been dis« cussed in Vol. X, Chaps. IX-X. This chapter may be regarded as a supplement to those two chapters.

la. See pp. 375-6.

2. See pp. 393-4.

2a. But cf. p. 379, lines 40-42.

3. IAR, 1924, I. pp. 265, 268.

4. Ibid, p. 273.

5. See p. 393.

6. IAR, 1924, I. p. 740.

7. He even quoted a passage from the observations of Blackstone in support of his view. IAR, 1925, I. p. 314. Freedom-India, III. pp. 290-1.

7a. See pp. 414-5.

8. IAR, 1925, I. pp. 336 ff; 1926, II. pp. 121-135.

8a. Hist. Congr II. pp. 255, 425.

8b. See p. 378.

9. IAR, 1924, II. pp. 8-10.

10. The full text is given in IAR, 1924, II. pp. 289-98.

11. This will be discussed in Ch. XX.

11a. Cf. also p. 195 and pp. 406-7.

12. IAR, 1924, II. p. 138.

13. Ibid, I. p. 672.

14. IAR, 1926, II. p. 132.

15. Nevinson, p. 202. The relevant passage has been quoted on pp. 56-7.

16. See Vol. X, Chs. IX, X.

16a. Cf. pp. 437-8. u

17. IAR, 1924, I. p. 788. j,

18. This was subsequently withdrawn as the Prime Minister refused to allot a day for its discussion (ibid, p. 783).

19. IAR, 1924, I. pp. 782-3.

20. IAR, 1924, I. pp. 790-94.

21. British Rule in India condemned hy the Britishers themselves (p. 36), published by the Indian National Party (London, 1915). This book contains a large collection of statements made by eminent Britishers regarding the deplorable condition—both political and economical—of India under British rule

22. Evening Journal (New York), 2 June, 1910.

22a. This term is used in the sense given in The Concise Oxford Dictionary, namely, "of British birth but living or having lived long in India".

22b. Cf. Vol. IX, p. 346; Vol X, pp. 506-7.

23. IAR, 1923, Supplement, pp. 303, 315.

24. Nevinson, pp. 115-6.

25. Ibid, p. 116.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid. Italics mine

28. Ibid, p. 117

29. Sir Walter Strickland, Bart-, British Justice and Honesty (1913), p. 4.

30. IAR, 1922, pp. 256-7.

31. Nevinson, p 118.

32. Nevinson, pp. 228-9. A portion of the passage is quoted in Freedom-India, HI, p. 305.

33. Ibid, p. 230

34. For the Morley-Minto correspondence and connected episodes mentioned above^ cf. BPP, LXXX, Part II (1960), pp. 71 ff.

35. For the efforts of Lord Curzon to remove the evils of judicial iniquity caused by racial hatred, see Vol- X, pp- 366-72.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE (1928-30)

I. SIMON COMMISSION

! * .

It is a noticeable fact that on more than one occasion when the Indian political struggle showed visible signs of depression and languor, it was an unwise act on the part of the Government that gave it fresh life and vigour. As mentioned before, the Nonco-operation movement in 1921 gathered momentum towards the end of the year by the visit of the Prince of Wales. So in 1928, the slump in the political activity and decadence in public life were suddenly lifted by the announcement of the appointment of Simon Commission.

The genesis of the Commission may be briefly told. The Government of India Act, 1919, contained a provision that at the end of ten years after its passing the working of the Reforms introduced by it should be inquired by a Commission with a view to determine what further action, if any, should be taken to extend, modify or restrict the degree of Responsible Government then existing. As mentioned above, several attempts were made by Indian leaders, of different parties, to accelerate the pace of political progress by revision of the Reforms at an earlier date, without waiting till December, 1929, which would complete the statutory period of ten years from the passing of the Act. But the Government of India and the British Government had steadily refused to concede the demand. Suddenly, on 8 November, 1927, the British Prime Minister sprang a surprise upon the Indian public by announcing the decision of the British Cabinet immediately to constitute the Commission. The motive was apparent to everybody. The life of the British House of Commons would expire in 1929, and there was a growing probability that the new election would return the Labour Party to power. It was generally held in Britain that a Labour Government would be more sympathetic to Indian demands, and perhaps go further in conceding reforms, than would be compatible with the vested interests of Britain in India. It was, therefore, considered safer to appoint the Commission forthwith and thus forestall the Labour Government.

But the sting was in the tail. The Prime Minister announced at the same time that the Commission would be composed of seven British members of the Parliament, including Sir John Simon, the Chairman. The exclusion of Indians from a body which was to prepare the future constitution of India was so unnatural and unreasonable, that the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, while making the announcement in India on the same day, was at pains to defend the composition of the Commission. He said, in effect, that The two chief requisites of a member of the Commission are that he should be unbiased and unprejudiced. An Indian member cannot be expected to possess these two qualities'. For, "the desire, natural and legitimate, of the Indian members to see India a self-governing nation, could hardly fail to colour their judgment of her present capacity to sustain the role." Further, the- Parliament would instinctively feel that the opinion of Indian members "in more than one case represented views to which the holder was previously committed". The Viceroy, however, agreed that Indians have every right to ask that "their solution of the problem or their judgment on other solutions which may be proposed should be made an integral factor in the examination of the question and be given due weight in the ultimate decision". This was to be effected by twofold means suggested in the Prime Minister's announcement. First, "the Central Indian Legislature (as well as Provincial Legislatures) would appoint a Joint Select Committee, chosen from its elected and nominated unofficial members, which would draw up its views and proposals in writing and lay them before the Commission for examination". Secondly, after His Majesty's Government had presented proposals to the Parliament on the basis of the Report submitted by the Commission, these proposals should be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, and facilities would be given to the Indian Central Legislature to present their views before the Joint Committee by delegations who would be invited to attend and confer with the Joint Committee. 1

The Indians held that the reasons advanced by the Viceroy for excluding the Indians were too puerile to merit serious consideration. For, if desire for self-government could bias the judgment of the Indians, the desire and interest of the British to keep control over India were more likely to warp their judgment about the future constitution of India. The so-called opportunities given to the Indians to place their views were worse than useless.

The announcement about Simon Commission was received with profound disappointment and righteous indignation by all political leaders in India, irrespective of their party affiliations, and they unanimously decided to boycott the Commission. Never before, within living memory, did the Indian political leaders hold a common view on such an important political issue. 2 The general attitude of the Indians towards the Commission was thus eloquently

put by Sapru in his Presidential Address at the annual session of the All-India Liberal Federation: "I do not think a worse challenge has been thrown out ever before to Indian nationalism, and notwithstanding the profuse assurances in Mr. Baldwin's speech and the yet more profuse assurances in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's speech, Indian nationalists of the Moderate school have been compelled to ask if the only way of recognizing the spirit of co-operation is by telling Indians that their lot is to be none other than of petitioners, that they cannot be trusted to participate in the responsibility of making recommendations to Parliament for the future of their country, and that all that they may aspire to is to put their proposals before the Commission which may accept them or reject them, and again to repeat the same process of persuasion, argument and discussion before the Joint Committee of Parliament. Now, if this is what is meant by co-operation, if this is the new idea of equality of status on which we are to be fed, if our patriotism is a prejudice and if the patriotism of the seven Members of Parliament is to be treated as impartial justice, then we Liberals feel justified in telling the Government here and in England, "You may do anything you like in the assertion of your right as supreme power, but we are not going to acquiesce in this method of dealing with us. Neither our self-respect nor our sense of duty to our country can permit us to go near the Commission." 3

The manifestoes and proposal to boycott the Commission were endorsed by numerous public meetings all over India. It came as a rude shock to the Indians that men like Ramsay MacDonald and Lord Olivier, who had supported the grant of Dominion Status to India in their public speeches and writings, should have been party to the betrayal of India's cause.

While the idea of boycotting the Simon Commission was adopted by all political parties, the Indian National Congress suggested some practical measures to make it effective. These included (1) mass demonstrations all over India on the day the members of the Commission set foot on this country, and similar demonstrations in every city on the day it was visited by them;

(2) refusal of the legislatures to elect their own Committees to cooperate with the Commission or helping their inquiry in any way;

(3) rejection of the demand for grant in connection with the Commission; and (4) social boycott of the members of the Commission.

The Congress organizations made the boycott a great success. On 3 February, 1928, the day of the arrival of the Commission in Bombay, complete hartal was observed in all important towns in India, and huge demonstrations marched in processions waving

black flags and carrying banners with the words, "Go back, Simon", inscribed on them. Of the numerous public meetings of protest held on that day, the one held in Bombay was the most memorable.

On 16 February, 1928, Lala Lajpat Rai moved a resolution in the Assembly to the effect that as the scheme of the Commission was unacceptable to the House, it would have nothing to do with it at any stage and in any form. The resolution, supported by an overwhelming majority of elected members, was passed amid cries of "Bande Mataram"

II. ATTEMPTS BY INDIAN LEADERS TO DRAFT AN AGREED CONSTITUTION

In a speech in the House of Lords on 7 July, 1925, Lord Birkenhead referred to the contention of the Swarajya party that no constitution framed by the British would be acceptable to them, and said: "Let them produce a constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India. Such a contribution to our problems would nowhere be resented. It would, on the contrary, be most carefully examined by the Government of India, by myself, and, I am sure, by the Commission, whenever that body may be assembled."

The same challenge was renewed by Birkenhead while moving the constitution of the Statutory Commission ,in November, 1927. He said: "I have twice invited our critics in India to put forward their own suggestions for a constitution. That offer is still open."

The Indian leaders now decided to accept the challenge. Preliminary discussions between the Hindu and Muslim leaders for the settlement of outstanding differences between the two communities in regard to the future constitution of India having been carried out in a friendly spirit with great chance of success, the question was taken up by the Indian National Congress in its Madras session in 1927. It passed a resolution authorizing the Working Committee to confer with similar committees appointed by other organizations, political, labour, commercial and communal; to draft a Swaraj constitution for India; and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March, 1928, consisting of the All-India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of the other organizations mentioned above, and elected members of the Central and Provincial legislatures.

The idea was fully approved by the All-India Liberal Federation and the Muslim League and the Working Committee of the

Congress issued invitations to a large number of organizations, including the following: 4

National Liberal Federation; Hindu Mahasabha; All-India Muslim League; Central Khilafat Committee; Central Sikh League; South Indian Liberal Federation; All-India Trade Union Congress; General Council of All-Burmese Associations; Home Rule League; Republican League;

Independent Party in the Assembly; Nationalist Party in the Assembly; Indian States Subjects' Association; Indian States Subjects' Conference; Indian States Peoples' Conference; Anglo-Indian Association; Indian Association of Calcutta; Parsi Central Association; Zoroastrian Association; Parsi Rajekeya Sabha; Parsi Panchayat; All-India Conference of Indian Christians; Southern India Chamber of Commerce; Dravida Mahajana Sabha; and the Landholders Associations of Oudh, Agra, Behar, Bengal and Madras.

Many of these organizations sent representatives to the Conference which held its first meeting on 12 February, 1928, at Delhi, under the Chairmanship of Dr. M. A. Ansari. But it was soon apparent that there were sharp differences between the Muslim League on the one hand and the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh delegations on the other, over matters which each of them considered vital. Thereupon the Conference, in its session of 19 May, 1928, appointed a small committee under the Chairmanship of Pandit Motilal Nehru to consider and determine the principles of the constitution for India. The Committee submitted its report on 10 August, 1928, and it was considered by the All Parties' Conference held at Lakhnau from 28 to 31 August, 1928.

The important recommendations were moved as separate resolutions and votes were taken on each. There was some hitch on the resolution demanding Dominion Status for India. The Congress in its Madras session (1927) had adopted independence as the goal, and the younger section, headed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, opposed the resolution and demanded a constitution based on full independence. They submitted a statement to this effect and abstained from voting. The resolution was passed nem con. It was unanimously resolved that there should be joint electorates without reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab, provided that the franchise was based on adult suffrage and it was open for reconsideration after ten years. Subject to this the Report was adopted with only one dissentient voice.

The Report envisaged a sovereign Parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives, with powers analogous to those of the Dominions.

The Constitution provided for a Federal System with residuary powers vested in the Central Government, joint responsibility of the ministry to the Legislature, a single Chamber in the Provincial Councils, and a Committee of Defence.

Regarding the all-important communal representation, the Nehru Committee made the following recommendations which were accepted, subject to the Punjab agreement mentioned above:

“I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representatives and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims in the N.W.F. Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they were in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in N.W.F. Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims, where reservation is allowed to them, shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces.

(a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal;

(b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats;

(c) In the N.W.F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats, where allowed, shall be for a fixed period of ten years.

The Constitution adopted by the All Parties Conference, hereafter referred to as the Nehru Constitution, was, however, a stillborn child. The Conference had decided to place the new constitution before a representative Convention in Calcutta, and it met on 22 December, 1928. The Muslim League and a section of the Khilafat Committee led by M. A. Jinnah refused to accept the communal settlement incorporated in the Constitution on the basis of compromise between the Muslims and other communities. Jinnah moved, by way of amendments, the incorporation of the following in the Nehru Constitution:

1. The Muslims should have one-third representation on the Central Legislature.

2. The Punjab and Bengal Legislatures should have Muslim representation on the population basis for ten years in the event of adult suffrage not being granted.

3. Residuary powers should be vested in the Provinces and not in the Centre.

After an acrimonious debate Jinnah's amendments were lost, and he left the Convention in protest. Next day the Sikhs also withdrew, and two days later, the Convention was adjourned sine die on 1 January, 1929, the eighth day of the session.

Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, now joined the groups of Muslims led by the Aga Khan and Sir Muhammad Shaft, and organized a united opposition which held an All Parties' Conference in Delhi on 1 January, under the Chairmanship of the Aga Khan. It endorsed Jinnah's amendments, demanded separate electorates for Muslims in various legislatures and other statutory self-governing bodies, constitution of Sindh as a separate Province, and raising the status of Baluchistan and N.W.F.P. to that of other Provinces.[5]

Apart from the Muslims, some sections of the Sikhs, non-Brahmins and Backward and Depressed communities also did not fully approve of the Nehru Constitution, and even the Christians, while expressing general approval, were of opinion that it did not sufficiently safeguard the interest of minorities. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that eminent Muslim leaders like Dr. Ansari, Sir Ali Imam, the Raja of Mahmudabad and many others approved of the Nehru Constitution and the scheme for communal representation adopted in it. The same thing may be said of the other minority communities and organizations. Besides, the All-India Liberal Federation, an all-India political body next in importance only to the Indian National Congress, gave its blessings to the Nehru Constitution.

The discussion following the publication of the Nehru Constitution and criticisms directed against it revealed the all-important fact, that on the question of immediate grant of Responsible Government, the whole of India stood united, the difference being only in respect of details.

The sentiment of complete independence, however, gradually gained ground. As mentioned above, the Indian National Congress had declared independence as India's goal in the Madras Session in 1927. Since then it was reaffirmed in the Provincial Conference of the Punjab, Delhi, and U.P. The younger section led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas-chandra Bose organized an Independence League and carried on active propaganda in favour of independence. 6

The nation-wide sentiment for independence also found expression in the annual session of the Indian National Congress in Calcutta in December, 1928. In view of the strong sentiment held on the subject, Gandhi, by way of compromise, suggested that the Dominion Status be accepted, provided the British Parliament accepted the Nehru Constitution in its entirety within a year. He therefore moved the following resolution:

"This Congress having considered the Constitution recommended by the All-Parties' Committee Report welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to Complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress, approves of the Constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

"Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the Constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent Nonco-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

"Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on in the name of the Congress of the propaganda for complete Independence."

But even though Gandhi declared that he would join the movement for independence in case the ultimatum given by the Congress was rejected, his proposal was vigorously opposed by the younger section led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas-chandra Bose. An amendment was moved by the latter to the effect that the Congress would be content with nothing short of independence. The amendment was lost by 973 votes to 1350, but the large number of votes cast in opposition to veteran leaders like Gandhi and Motilal Nehru showed the rising strength of the left wing in the Congress.

III. THE YEAR 1929 1. New Activities

The compromise resolution of the Calcutta Congress put a stop to active political agitation by the Congress in 1929. But it was a lull before the storm which broke out in 1930 in the shape of Civil Disobedience Movement and continued, with an interval,

till 1934. Before describing the events that led to that great trial of strength between the Congress and the Government, it is necessary to refer briefly to some other activities during this period, which formed other outlets, as it were, for national ardour and enthusiasm.

In the first place, there was a revival of revolutionary activity which will be discussed in detail in Ch. XXII. It will suffice to state here that considerable stir was created in the political circle by the murder of Mr. Saunders, Asst. Superintendent of Police, Lahore (for the assault on Lala Lajpat Rai in 1928 which was believed to have caused his death), throwing of bombs in the Assembly Hall at Delhi (1929), Lahore Conspiracy Case leading to a hungerstrike and the martyrdom of Jatin Das (1929), the Chittagong Armoury Raid and fight at Jalalabad Hill (1930), hanging of Bhagat Singh and his two comrades (1931), and murder or attempted murder of a large number of officials, both Indian and European. The railway train carrying the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, from South India met with a bomb accident near New Delhi on 23 December, 1929. The Viceroy narrowly escaped.

The death of Jatin Das also gave a fillip to the youth movement. Throughout 1929 youth and ^student organizations grew up all over India, and congresses and conferences were held at Calcutta, Poona, Ahmadabad, Lahore, .Nagpur, Amraoti, and several places in Madras. In December, 1929, an All-India Congress of Students was held at Lahore, presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

There was also wide-spread Labour unrest caused mainly by the Communists and ending in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, to which reference has been made above. 7 There was also a big split in the Trade Union Movement caused by the appointment of a Royal Commission on Labour with Mr. Whitley as Chairman. Profiting by the sad experience of Simon Commission, two Indians were offered seats on the Whitley Commission. These were N. M. Joshi of Bombay, the father of the Trade Union Movement in India, and Mr. Chamanlal of Lahore, who at once accepted the offer. Both of them, however, belonged to the Right Wing of the Labour Movement, and when the All-India Trade Union Congress met at Nagpur in November, with Jawaharlal Nehru as President, a resolution boycotting the Whitley Commission was carried > amidst shouts of "Down with Joshi and Chamanlal." The Right wing members, offended at the insult to Joshi, walked out of the Congress and, later, set up a separate organization called "All-India Trade Union Federation."

2. Congress Politics

A sudden change in the views of the two Nehrus—father and son—was the most interesting phenomenon in the Congress camp. In Bengal the repeated defeats of the Ministry led to the dissolution of the Bengal Legislative Council in May, 1929. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the leader of the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly, instructed the Bengal Congress party to fight the elections. This they did with the result that the Congress party came back with added strength, and some of the Nationalist Muslims, defeated in the election of 1926, regained their seats. But suddenly, on 15 July, 1929, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution calling upon the Congressmen to resign their seats. There were many surprising features in it. In the first place, no attempt was made to invite the opinions of the Congress parties in different legislatures, nor was even any notice given to them of the proposed change. Secondly, even Motilal Nehru acquiesced in the resolution, though only two months before he had encouraged the Bengal Congress party to fight the elections and enjoined upon them to recapture some of the Muslim seats. The All-India Congress Committee, to which the question was referred for final decision, met on 26 July, 1929, rescinded the resolution, and referred the whole question to the Congress. But the coalition of Motilal Nehru and Gandhi in favour of the boycott of the Council plainly showed the emergence of Gandhi and his creed once again into active politics of the Congress. The election of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the President of the next Congress was another significant event. Jawaharlal had been a devoted follower of Gandhi, but since his return from Europe in December, 1927, he called himself a Socialist and joined the left wing. As mentioned above, he and Subhas Bose led this wing, maintained the Independence League, and openly opposed Gandhi in the Calcutta Congress. But after he accepted the Presidentship of the Congress, he became a consistent and unfailing supporter of Gandhi. 8 Thus Subhas Bose and Nehru parted company, and the former remained the sole leader of the. younger section and the left wing of the Congress.

3. The Viceroy’s Declaration of 31 October, 1929

As a result of the General Election in Britain in 1929, the Labour Party came into office. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, invited the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, to London for consultation. Evidently, by a sort of pre-arrangement, Sir John Simon wrote to the Prime Minister, asking for the extension of the terms of reference of his Commission so that the methods for the adjustment of future relationship between British India and the States might be fully examined by the Commission. Simon further suggested that after the publication of the Commission’s Report, a Conference should be arranged between the representatives of His Majesty’s Government and representatives of British India and the States, for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals to be submitted by the Cabinet to the Parliament. The Cabinet agreed to both the suggestions, and Lord Irwin returned to India. Shortly after his arrival he issued a statement on 31 October, 1929. It referred to the Cabinet's acceptance of Simon's proposals and the summoning of a Conference on the lines proposed by him. But the most important part of his statement is the following declaration: "I am authorized, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to state clearly that, in their judgment, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's Constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status."

This declaration was strongly criticized by a powerful section of the British Press, and both the Conservative and Liberal Parties opposed it in both the Houses of Parliament. In India, however, the Declaration was welcomed by all the political parties, and the most prominent leaders, including Gandhi and Motilal Nehru, issued a statement offering co-operation to evolve a Dominion Constitution for India. But the combined protest by the Tories and Liberals had done its work. 9 The Labour Party did not command absolute majority in the House of Commons and could carry on the Government only with the support of the Liberal Party. So when Gandhi, Nehru and others interviewed the Viceroy on 23 December, 1929, and sought for a definite assurance that the Dominion Status would be granted to India, the Viceroy was unable to give it. Gandhi thereupon declared himself definitely for independence, and thereby after nearly seven years regained his position of undisputed supremacy in the Congress. "I have burnt my boats" said he.

4. The Congress Session of 1929

The Congress met at Lahore on 29 December, 1929, in a tense atmosphere. There was an intense fervour throughout the country over the impending declaration of independence—a fervour increased, rather than kept down, by the indiscriminate arrests of political workers by the Government. The choice of Jawaharlal Nehru, an embodiment of youthful ardour and indomitable enthusiasm for independence, as President, lent a special glamour to the vast concourse assembled at the Congress pandal. The resolution which embodied the spirit of the vast audience read as follows:

"This Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee m connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders, including

Congressmen, on the Viceregal pronouncement of the 31st October relating to Dominion Status, and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards a settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened and the result of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru, and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress, therefore, in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year, declares that the word 'Swaraj' in Article I of the Congress Constitution shall mean Complete Independence, and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's report to have lapsed, and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of Complete Independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence, and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed, this Congress resolves upon complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and Committees constituted by the Government and calls upon the Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the Legislatures and Committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress, and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, whenever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary."

There is no doubt that the revival of Civil Disobedience in the Lahore Congress was Gandhi's handiwork. He was somewhat upset by the recrudescence of violence in the country and thought that the best way of preventing it was to canalize the resurgent spirit of youth into a non-violent campaign. As he stated: "Civil Disobedience alone can save the country from impending lawlessness and secret crime, since there is a party of violence in the country which will not listen to speeches, resolutions, or conferences, but believes only in direct action."

The adoption of independence as the goal of India was hailed with befitting solemnity. As the clock struck midnight on December 31, and the date of ultimatum issued by the Congress expired, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, came out

in a solemn procession to the banks of the Ravi and hoisted the tricolour flag of Indian independence in the presence of a mammoth gathering that dared the biting cold of Lahore winter to witness the historic scene. “As the flag slowly went up the staff, a thrill of joy shook the vast audience, and imbued them with a new hope and a distant vision of the glorious future of India.”

The Nehru Constitution got a decent burial in the hands of the Congress at Lahore. Apart from discarding Dominion Status in favour of the goal of complete independence, the Congress also definitely rejected its recommendations about the solution of the communal problem. The resolution adopted by the Congress was as follows: “In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India communal question can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities, that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned.” This resolution put a premium on the intransigence of the communalists by giving them a power of veto on every proposal for communal settlement and rendered a solution of the communal problem wellnigh impossible; for past experience had shown that it was beyond human ingenuity to devise a scheme of communal settlement which would give “full satisfaction to the parties concerned.”

At the dictate of Gandhi all the left wingers in the Congress, including Subhas Bose and Srinivasa Iyengar, were excluded from the new Working Committee which met on 2 January, 1930. 10 In accordance with the Congress resolution it asked the members of the legislatures to resign. It was also decided that 26th of January should be observed all over India as the Puma Swaraj day (day of complete independence). A declaration (prepared by Gandhi) was to be read on that occasion to the people in the villages and towns all over the country, and the assent of the audience was to be taken by show of hands.

The ‘declaration’ was a long one. It began by emphasizing the inalienable right of the Indians to enjoy freedom, then described in detail how “the British Government has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually”, and ended with the enunciation of the future policy in the following words:

“We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will therefore prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We therefore hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Puma Swaraj” 11

Thus, every Indian was to make a declaration of complete independence and take a pledge of loyalty to the Indian National Congress and to the sacred fight for India’s liberty.

The independence day was solemnly observed, and evoked great enthusiasm all over the country. But the ink with which the declaration was written had hardly dried when Gandhi issued a statement in his paper, Young India, which, by no stretch of imagination, could be made compatible with the declaration, to which every Indian was asked to subscribe.

He enumerated eleven specific items of redress and appealed to the Viceroy in the following words: “This is by no means an exhaustive list of the pressing needs, but let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of Civil

Disobedience; and the Congress will heartily participate in any Conference where there is a perfect freedom of expression and demand." 12 One might rub his eyes in wonder and ask himself,—is it the same Gandhi who refused to attend the Round Table Conference save on the express promise of the grant of Dominion Status?

Again, however important might be the specific reforms demanded by Gandhi, does it lie in the mouth of those who were pledged to fight for Puma Swaraj or complete independence, to bargain over certain administrative reforms under the British Government and promise to abandon the fight as soon as some reforms were conceded? It is impossible to discover any consistency between Gandhi's statement and the Congress resolution or Independence Day declaration on any rational basis.

Evidently, Gandhi's statement did not attract serious notice as the country was passing through excited times. Arrests were going on and Subhas Bose and eleven others were sentenced to imprisonment for a year. The undertrial prisoners in the Meerut

Conspiracy Case were committed to the Sessions. A large number of Congress members had defied the mandate to resign the seats in the Legislatures.

The Working Committee met again at Sabarmati on February 14-16, and passed the following resolution on Civil Disobedience:

"In the opinion of the Working Committee, Civil Disobedience should be initiated and controlled by those who believe in nonviolence for the purpose of achieving Puma Swaraj, as an article of faith, and.... welcomes the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi and authorises him and those working with him who believe in nonviolence as an article of faith to start Civil Disobedience. The Working Committee further hopes that, in the event of a mass movement taking place, all those who are rendering voluntary cooperation to the Government, such as lawyers, and those who are receiving so-called benefits from it, such as students, will withdraw their co-operation or renounce benefits as the case may be, and throw themselves into the final struggle for freedom." 13

The Working Committee thus authorised only Gandhi and his followers in faith to start Civil Disobedience. But the A.I.C.C., which met at Ahmadabad on 21 March, 1930, i.e. after Gandhi had begun his march for Dandi, not only endorsed the resolution of the Working Committee, but somewhat widened its scope. They expressed the hope "that the whole country will respond to the action taken by Gandhi" and authorised "the Provincial Congress Committees to organise and undertake such Civil Disobedience as to them may seem proper and in the manner that may appear to them to foe most suitable".

1. For the Prime Minister's announcement, cf. Gwyer, pp. 205-6; for the statement of Irwin, ibid, pp. 206-7. For reasons suggested for appointing the Commission before due time, cf. Kulkarni, p. 329; Earl of Halifax, Fullness of Days, pp. 114-5; S. Gopal, The Viceroyalty of Lord, Irwin, p. 19. Lord Irwin had approved of the Commission being composed of Englishmen only. Cf. S. Gopal, op. cit., p. 21.

2. For the Manifesto issued by the Moderate leaders, including Tej Bahadur Sapru, Annie Besant, M.A Jinnah, and Mr. Yaqub Hasan, on 16 November, 1927, cf. IAR, 1927, II. pp. 98-9; Gwyer, pp. 207-8. For the statement by S. S. Iyengar, President of the Congress, on 10 November, cf. Gwyer, pp. 208-9, IAR, 1927, II.

pp. 101-2.

3. Gwyer, pp. 209-10.

4. The list that follows and the subsequent account of the All Parties Conference are based on the Report of the Conference published separately and also in IAR, 1928, I. pp. 9-42.

5. For the full text of the long resolution, cf. Gwyer, pp. 244-5.

6. Subhas Bose, The Indian Struggle, II. p. 215.

7. Seep. 422.

8. The Indian Struggle, tl. pp. 237-8.

9. Louis Fischer, Life of Mahatma Gandhi (Bombay, 1959), II. p. 10.

10. The Indian Struggle, II. p. 245.

11. For the full text, cf. Hist. Congr I. pp. 363-5.

12. Ibid, p. 366.

13. For the full text, cf. ibid, p. 369.

CHAPTER XVIII

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

I. VIOLATION OF SALT LAWS

The whole country was agog with excitement over the Civil Disobedience movement decided upon by the Working Committee. All eyes were turned towards the Sabarmati ashram, for Gandhi alone would determine the hour, place and the precise issue on which the Civil Disobedience campaign would be launched. He decided to launch the Satyagraha campaign by manufacturing salt at Dandi, a village on the sea-coast in Gujarat about 200 miles from Sabarmati, and thereby openly break the salt-law. He wrote a long letter to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, on 2 March, 1930, communicating this decision. 1 After enumerating the evils done by the British Government, more or less on the lines indicated by his 'Eleven Points', he announced that if his letter made no appeal to the Viceroy's heart to the extent of removing the evils of British rule enumerated by him, he would proceed with his followers to disregard the Salt Laws on the eleventh day of March. He also asked for an interview, but Irwin refused to see Gandhi and regretted that he (Gandhi) should have been "contemplating a course of action which was clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." The die was cast and there was no retreat.

On 12 March, 1930, Gandhi with 78 male members 2 left the Sabarmati ashram on foot and reached the sea at Dandi on 5 April. It was a veritable triumphal progress. The villagers flocked from all sides, sprinkled the roads, strewed leaves on them, and, as the pilgrims passed, sank on their knees. Over three hundred village headmen gave up their jobs. Early on the morning of the sixth of April, Gandhi and his party dipped into the sea-water, returned to the beach and picked up some salt left by the waves, thus making a technical breach of law. 3 The plan was a grand conception and it was superbly executed with consummate skill. The slow march on foot from village to village was, by itself, an automatic and intensive propaganda carried on in the neighbourhood, and roused the entire countryside to a realistic sense of the coming struggle for Swaraj contemplated by the Congress. As wide publicity was given in the Press to every detail of the march and display of the unique devotion to Gandhi and enthusiasm for the cause he had

espoused, among the masses, the story of the 'Pilgrims' journey to Dandi' worked up the feelings of the country as a whole, such as nothing else could. The technical breach of the Salt Law by Gandhi on 6 April, 1930, was a signal for the countrywide repetition of the same. Where natural conditions did not permit of the illegal manufacture of salt, violation of other laws was resorted to. J. M. Sen Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, defied the law of Sedition by openly reading seditious literature in a public meeting. An intensive campaign was started on an extensive scale for the boycott of liquor and of intoxicating drugs, as well as of foreign cloth and British goods of all sorts, with the help of volunteer organizations of picketers.

Besides these activities which were generally followed all over India, there were special ones in various localities. In defiance of forest laws people began to cut down timber in C. P. and Bombay. A campaign for non-payment of taxes and land-revenue was started in Gujarat, U. P. and Midnapur District in Bengal. In the NorthWest Frontier Province, the home of the fierce warlike Pathans, the Red-Shirt volunteers organized by Abdul Ghaffar Khan (better known as Frontier Gandhi) followed, in a non-violent manner, an intense anti-Government movement in various ways including nonpayment of taxes.

But Gandhi made the violation of salt-law his chief object. He announced his intention of raiding the salt depot of Dharasana in Surat District. As usual, he communicated his decision in a long letter to the Viceroy and again requested him "to remove the salt tax and the prohibition on private salt-making." Otherwise, said he, he would reluctantly set out for Dharasana with his followers and demand possession of the salt works. But before Gandhi set out for Dharasana, he was arrested and put into prison. Abbas Tyabji took up Gandhi's place as leader of the Salt Satyagraha, but he also was arrested. Then Sarojini Naidu hurried to Dharasana and directed the raid on 21 May; 2500 volunteers from all parts of Gujarat took part in it. A series of raids were made on the Wadala salt depot. It began on May 22, but the most demonstrative raid took place on 1 June when nearly 15,000 participated in the action. 4 Many other raids on salt depots took place. Everywhere the volunteers were mercilessly beaten and arrested in large numbers. A detailed account of the heroic non-violent fight put up by the salt-raiders at Dharasana has been preserved by Mr. Webb Miller, Foreign Correspondent of the United Press, U.S.A., who was an eyewitness of the grim tragedy. His description has an epic grandeur about it, and will go down in history as the finest literary memorial of the martyrs of Civil Disobedience Movement launched by Gandhi

in 1930. On 20 May, 1930, Mr. Miller heard reports of the demonstration of the volunteers near Dharasana, but the Government took steps to prevent persons coming to, and news going out of, the place. Telegraphic messages to Mrs. Naidu were withheld, and Miller was forcibly detrained at Bulsar, so that he might not reach Dhingri, the Railway station nearest to Dharasana. Miller, however, managed to reach Dhingri by a goods train and then walked six miles to Dharasana. He found there 2500 Congressmen accommodated in several thatched sheds. The events of the 21st May, 1930, may be narrated in his own words:

“Mme. Naidu called for prayer before, the march started and the entire assemblage knelt. She exhorted them: ‘Gandhi’s body is in jail but his soul is with you. India’s prestige is in your hands, you must not use any violence under any circumstances. You will be beaten but you must not resist; you must not even raise a hand to ward off blows.’ Wild, shrill cheers terminated her speech.

“Slowly and in silence the throng commenced the half-mile march to salt-deposits. A few carried ropes for lassoing the barbedwire stockade around the salt pans. About a score who were assigned to act as stretcher-bearers wore crude, hand-painted red crosses pinned to their breasts, their stretchers consisted of blankets. Mauilal Gandhi, second son of Gandhi, walked among the foremost of the marchers. As the throng drew near the salt pans they commenced chanting the revolutionary slogans, Inquilab Zindabad , intoning the two words over and over.

“The salt-deposits were surrounded by ditches filled with water and guarded by four hundred native Surat Police in Khaki shorts and brown turbans. Half a dozen British officials commanded them. The Police carried lathis —

five foot clubs tipped with steel. Inside the stockade twenty-five native riflemen were drawn up.

“In complete silence the Gandhi men drew up and halted a hundred yards from the stockade. A picked column advanced from the crowd, waded the ditches, and approached the barbed-wire stockade, which the Surat Police surrounded, holding clubs at the ready. Police officials ordered the marchers to disperse under a recently imposed regulation which prohibited gathering of more than five persons in any one place. The column silently ignored the warning and slowly walked forward. I stayed with the main body about a hundred yards from the stockade.

“Suddenly, at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shod lathis. Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like ten pins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow.

“Those struck down fell sprawling, unconscious or writhing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. In two or three minutes the ground was quilted with bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors, without breaking ranks, silently and doggedly marched on until struck down. When everyone of the first column had been knocked down, stretcherbearers rushed up unmolested by the Police and carried off the injured to a thatched hut which had been arranged as a temporary hospital.

“Then another column formed while the leaders pleaded with them to retain their self-control. They marched slowly towards the police. Although everyone knew that within a few minutes he would be beaten down, perhaps killed, I could detect no signs of wavering or fear. They marched steadily with heads up, without the encouragement of music or cheering or any possibility that they might escape serious injury or death. The police rushed out and methodically and mechanically beat down the second column. There was no fight, no struggle; the marchers simply walked forward until struck down. There were no outcries, only groans after they fell. There were not enough stretcher-bearers to carry off the wounded; I saw eighteen injured being carried off simultaneously, while forty-two still lay bleeding on the ground awaiting stretcher-bearers. The blankets used as stretchers were sodden with blood". 5

The above description gives a graphic picture of the wonderful spirit of self-sacrifice and self-discipline which Gandhi had, by his precept and example, instilled into the minds of his devoted followers. It forms one of the features which constitute the real , greatness of Gandhi. Mention may be made of another example of similar influence exerted by Gandhi which left a deep and permanent impress upon Indian society.

On 10 April, 1930, Gandhi had made a special appeal in his paper Young India to the women of India to take up the work of picketing and spinning. The effect was almost miraculous. Thousands of women responded, and even those of orthodox and aristocratic families, who had never before come out of their seclusion, offered themselves for arrest and imprisonment. It took by surprise not only the Government but even the Indians themselves. Foreign tourists in India, like H.N. Brailsford and G. Slocombe, deeply

impressed by the great change that had been wrought on the womenfolk of India, almost overnight, observed that if the Civil Disobedience movement had accomplished nothing else but the emancipation of the women of India, it would have fully justified itself. The awakening of women not only added to the number of civil resisters to a considerable extent, but their examples, also redoubled the energy and activities of the men and spurred them on to greater efforts and sacrifices for the country.

II. GOVERNMENT REPRESSION

The Government and their henchmen did not at first take the Civil Disobedience campaign very seriously. Some even looked upon Gandhi s campaign with ridicule and contempt. The Statesman of Calcutta wrote: "The Mahatma could go on boiling seawater till Dominion Status was attained." But before a month had passed, the Government realized the gravity of the situation caused by a wide national movement, and struck hard, in a ruthless manner. The horrors that were let loose upon the people cannot be described in detail for want of space, and a brief reference must suffice.

The Working Committee of the Congress refers to "numerous indiscriminate and brutal lathi-charges, various forms of torture even of those in custody, firing resulting in the maiming and deaths of hundreds of people, looting of property, burning of houses, marching of moving columns of armed Police and Sawars and British soldiers in several rural parts, depriving people of the right of public speech and association by prohibiting meetings and processions and declaring Congress and allied associations unlawful, forfeiting their movables and occupying their houses and officies". 6 For the sake of convenience the Government measures may be reviewed under three separate heads:

1. Repressive Laws

New Ordinances were passed, authorizing the Government to curtail the liberty of the individual in various ways as indicated above. The Congress organizations were declared unlawful and Government was authorized to confiscate their property. On 27 April, 1930, the Government passed an Emergency Ordinance, called Press Ordinance, reproducing the stringent provisions of the repealed Press Act of 1910. According to an official statement in July, 1930, securities aggregating to two lakhs and forty thousand rupees were taken from 131 newspapers and nine newspapers declined to pay and suspended publication. 7

2. Arrests

The defiance of law led to wholesale arrests. Even according to official figures, more than sixty thousand were put behind prison bars. But this figure is somewhat misleading, for it gives only the number of those who were directly charged with political offence. But many Satydgrahis or Civil Resisters were sentenced on charges like stealing, exercising intimidation, rioting etc., and they are not included in the above number. 8 These false charges were not challenged as the Satydgrahis , true to their creed, refused to take any part in the court proceedings. The Working Committee estimated the number of those imprisoned as 75,000. Most of the leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, were in prison, and finally Gandhi was arrested on 4, May 1030. The whole country seemed to be in jail.

3. Terrorism

But the prosecutions under the Ordinances or 'lawless' laws formed only a minor part of the devices adopted by the Government to crush the movement. They inaugurated a veritable reign of terror and employed both police and military to cow down the people by most ruthless and indiscriminate brutal assaults on unarmed and unresisting men and women.

It is impossible to refer in detail to the atrocities performed by the Government. But various public organizations collected facts and published reports which unfold a tale of ruthless and savage persecution unworthy of any Government which calls itself civilized. 9 In a letter written by Gandhi to the Viceroy, published in the Young India of 8 May, 1930, he refers to his own experience in Gujarat, confirmed by reports from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, U.P.. Delhi and Bombay, where the Satydgrahis "have been often savagely and in some cases, even indecently, assaulted". He refers to unnecessary and unprovoked firing in Karachi, Peshawar and Madras. "Bones have been broken, private parts have been squeezed", said he, "for the purpose of making volunteers give up salt". "In Bengal," he added, "unthinkable cruelties are said to have been practised in the act of snatching flags from volunteers". 10 Many gruesome stories of atrocities in Midnapore and elsewhere are well authenticated from various sources.

An English lady, Miss Madeleine Slade, a disciple of Gandhi, paid a visit to Bulsar in Gujarat on 6 June, 1930, to see with her own eyes how the Satyagrahi volunteers, engaged in the nonviolent raid on the Dharasana salt depot, were being treated by the Police. In a report published in the Young India of 12 June,

1930, she stated that she had found evidence of the following injuries perpetrated on Satyagrahi volunteers.

1. Lathi blows on head, chest, stomach and joints.

2. Thrusts with lathis in private parts, abdominal regions.

3. Stripping of men naked before beating.

4. Tearing off loin cloths and thrusting of sticks into anus.

5. Pressing and squeezing of the testicles till a man becomes unconscious.

6. Dragging of wounded men by legs and arms, often beating them all the while.

7. Throwing of wounded men into thorn hedges o«r into salt water.

8. Riding of horses over men as they lie or sit on the ground.

9. Thrusting of pins and thorns into men’s bodies, sometimes even when they are unconscious.

10. Beating of men after they have become unconscious and other vile things too many to relate, besides foul language and blasphemy, calculated to hurt as much as possible the most sacred feeling of the Satyagrahis.’ 11

Orders to fire were issued on the slightest pretext. Crowds collected round a house where distraint of property was being made, watching preparation of salt or the arrest of persons, and even retreating crowds were fired upon. According to official figures there were 24 cases of firing, as a result of which 103 died on the spot and more than four hundred were wounded, of whom eight died subsequently. 12

In conclusion, reference may be made to a few incidents, noted by Webb Miller, which show both the violent and non-violent attitude of the people during the outbreak. 13

“A crowd of several thousand surrounded a Police barrack at Bhendibazar, Bombay, six days after the Dharasana beatings mentioned above. The crowd showered ‘rocks the size of a fist’ and smashed the windows. Half a dozen Police rushed out and opened fire with revolvers point-blank into the streaming mob.... the British sergeants stood and fired methodically into the mass of human beings. With shrieks of rage and yells of agony the mob quickly broke and scattered in all directions. We could see people falling as they ran and the street for a couple of blocks was spattered with blood. Twelve British Police sergeants were more or less badly wounded during the fracas. We learnt afterwards that about eight natives had been killed and eighty wounded in the firing. Attempts were made by the mob to set fire—but it was quickly extinguished".

But Miller is positive that 'this riot had nothing to do with Gandhi movements', and 'was due to a personal quarrel'. The rioters were Mahomedans who held aloof from Gandhi campaign and hence the British regarded it as serious. 14

Miller adds:

"Within a few days there was a procession of more than 100,000 people as a protest against Gandhi's arrest. Just opposite the Victoria Terminus Railway Station, Police blocked the street. The procession sat down in the street. One frenzied Gandhiite rushed in front of the Police, shouting repeatedly, 'shoot me in the breast'. One Gandhi man shouted to the demonstrators, 'If you are prepared to die, stay, if not, go home'; but none left. After four hours, at 8 p.m., the authorities allowed the Procession to proceed into the heart of European Quarters." "This triumph of non-violence over armed force", says Miller, "gave Gandhi's idea of non-resistance its first spectacular victory."

But non-violence could not always be maintained. At Wadala, iri the suburbs of Bombay, about one hundred Congress volunteers, leading a mob of about 40,000, made a mass attack on the salt works. It lasted three hours. Gandhi's instructions of nonviolence were ignored. Time after time the mob broke through police cordons, invaded the salt pans, and carried away salt. The police belaboured the mob with clubs while the mob showered the British Police with large stones. In the course of two such demonstrations Miller witnessed 1,000 arrests. Several hundred suffered injuries. 15

1. For the full text of the letter, cf. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 372-6.

2. According to some accounts, the number was 75 (Hist Congr., I. p. 383), or 79.

3. Louis Fischer-II, II. pp. 15-16; Hist . Congr., I. p. 378 ff.

4. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 398 ff.

5. Miller, Webb, I Found no Peace, Chapters 16, 17, pp. 192-6.

6. Hist. Congr., I. p. 425.

7. Ibid, p. 413.

8. Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian Struggle (1964), p. 184, f.n., 1.

9. For a more detailed account and specific cases of terrorism, cf. Freedom-India. III. pp. 343-367.

10. The Young India, 8 May, 1930. Subhas Bose, who quotes this, also describes other forms of terrorism (Indian Struggle, pp. 185-7).

11. Ibid, pp. 187-8.

12. Legislative Assembly Debate on 14 July, 1930 (quoted in Hist. Congr., I. p. 410).

13. His description of Dharasana raids has been quoted above, on pp. 471-2.

14. Miller, Webb, op. cit.. pp. 200-202.

15. Ibid, pp. 202-6.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

I. REPORT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

The Report of the Simon Commission was published on 7 June, 1930. Its chief recommendations were as follows:

1. The new Constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development.

2. The ultimate Constitution of India must be Federal.

3. Burma should be excluded from the new Constitution.

4. There should be full autonomy in the Provinces including the department of Law and Order—but the Governor should, on the administrative side, be given overriding powers in certain matters like internal security, safeguarding of all communities, etc.

5. The presence of British troops and British officers in Indian regiments will be essential for many years. The Commander-inChief should not be a member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council and he should not sit in the Legislature.

6. The Provincial Legislative Councils should be enlarged.

7. The Lower House of the Central Legislature should be called the Federal Assembly. It should be enlarged and be elected by the Provincial Councils. The Upper House—the Council of State-—should remain much as it was.

8. A Provincial Fund should be constituted for ensuring adequate resources to the Provinces without infringing their autonomy.

9. The Governor-General should select and appoint the members of his Cabinet. He should be the actual and active head of the Government, and in some matters his powers should be enlarged. (The Commission did not recommend the introduction of Responsibility at the Centre.)

10. The High Courts should be under the administrative control of the Government of India.

11. The functions and membership of the Council of the Secretary of State for India should be reduced.

On 20 September, the Government of India sent a despatch to London as a preliminary to the discussions of the Round Table Conference. It was in general agreement with the recommendations of the Commission.

II. THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE [1]

In accordance with the Viceroy's declaration of 31 October, 1929, there was a Conference of the representatives of His Majesty's Government and those of India. This, the First Round Table Conference, was inaugurated by His Majesty the King Emperor on 12 November, 1930, and was presided over by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Prime Minister. It was attended by 16 members from the British Parties, 16 from the British Indian States, and 57 from British India—altogether 89 in number. The Congress was not represented, but the other parties were represented by eminent leaders.

It was evident from the preliminary discussion that while the British members—irrespective of parties—were unwilling to\ concede Dominion Status, even with safeguards, and Responsible Government at the Centre, all the Indian members were unanimous in their demands of both. An All-India Federation with the Indian States was strongly advocated by Sapru, and was not only urged by the other Indian members but was also agreed to by the Ruling Princes. The Indian members also unanimously advocated the introduction of the British parliamentary system. Lord Peel, representing the Conservative Party in Britain, observed: "We have not thought that our parliamentary methods should be transferred wholesale from Westminster to Delhi, but have suggested that we might well consider for India the Swiss or American parliamentary models." [2]

When, after the general debate, the Conference proceeded to discuss the framework of the constitution, the Ruling Princes agreed to consider an immediate federation on two conditions: British India must be federalised, and the Central Government must cease to be a purely official government and become in some degree responsible to the Central legislature. 'We cap only federate', said the Nawab of Bhopal, 'with a self-governing and federal British India.' The other Indian members and the British delegates agreed to this and the main principle having thus been settled, a number of sub-committees were appointed to work out the details.

The Federal Structure sub-committee prepared a detailed plan of the proposed All-India Federation. The other sub-committees recommended abolition of Dyarchy in the Provinces, subject to the Governor's powers of intervention; extension of franchise so as to include from 10 to 25 per cent, of the population; separation of Burma from India and of Sindh from Bombay; appointment of Ministers in N.W.F.P.; substantial increase in the Indianization of

the army; and the abolition of all-India Services except the Indian Civil Service and Indian Police Service, which should be recruited and controlled in future by the Government of India. 3

The work of these sub-committees proceeded smoothly and led to substantial results. Far different was the case with the Minorities sub-committee, "a body of thirty-nine members, of whom thirty-three were Indians, with the Prime Minister in the chair. The Committee unanimously accepted the principle 'that the new constitution should contain provisions designed to assure communities that their interests would not be prejudiced'. It was also agreed that the claims of the various communities to employment in the civil services should be adjusted by Public Service Commissions at the Centre and in the Provinces. As regards the system of election to the legislatures the Committee was agreed on rejecting nomination as a method of securing communal representation, but on nothing else." 4 A new complication was added by the demand of B. R. Ambedkar that for electoral purposes the Depressed Classes should be treated as a separate community. These and the other minorities all favoured separate electorates with weightage.

A premium was put on the intransigence of the minorities by the repeated declaration of the Hindu members of the Conference, both in the sub-committee meetings as well as in open sessions of the Conference, that 'no constitution has any chance of success in India unless the Minorities are fully satisfied.' But Sapru, who said this, as well as Jayakar, expressed the hope that the communities would settle their differences if they were given the chance of working together side by side for their one country.

It seems that the Labour Government took a similar stand and there was a chance of communal settlement. But Sir Fazl-i-Husain. then a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, pulled the strings from India, and the attempts of the Labour Government were foiled. The following extract from the diary of Sir Fazl-i-Husain, dated December 3, 1930 (recorded in his biography by his son, Azim Husain), is revealing:

"News from Round Table Conference indicates that Labour Government made attempts to make Moslems agree to some sort of joint electorates. Shaft, Bhopal, Sultan Ahmed, Fazl-ul-Huq, Hidayatullah were ready for the game, but others were against it. Mahommed Ali was also helping, and no doubt Jinnah, too, though himself remaining in the back-ground. I had to take strong action, and the situation has just been saved. We must keep our present weightage in six Provinces and Centre and have majority in Bengal

and the Punjab through separate electorates. Let Hindus non-cooperate, and let us build up sufficient strength during the next ten

years." 5

How the "situation was saved" still remains a mystery. But henceforth the Muslims, of all shades of opinion, insisted that the Muslim claims must be met and that was a condition precedent for their support to the demand for Dominion Status. Sir Muhammad Shaft, M.A. Jinnah, Fazl-ul-Huq, and Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan—all spoke in the same strain. The last-named, perhaps the most liberalminded of them all, observed: "We have never tried to create an Ulster in India; that has never been. . . . our wish. On the contrary, we have said that we will fight shoulder to shoulder with our brethren for the cause of India, our common Motherland. But we have at the same time made it perfectly clear.... that our safeguards, our rights, the rights for which we have been fighting for years, must be preserved and guaranteed”. [6]

But the ‘most unkindest cut of all’ came from the whilom nationalist leader, Muhammad Ali, a devoted follower of Gandhi. ‘Make no mistake about the quarrels between Hindu and Mussalman,’ he said, ‘they are founded only on the fear of domination.’ And he reminded the Conference that Islam was not confined to India. ‘I belong to two circles of equal size but which are not concentric. One is India and the other is the Muslim world.We are not nationalists but supernationalists.” [7]

Before the Conference closed, the Muslim delegation as a whole made a formal statement to the effect that “no advance is possible or practicable, whether in the Provinces or in the Central Government, without adequate safeguards for the Muslims of India, and that no constitution will be acceptable to the Muslims of India without such safeguards.” [8]

In view of the disagreement, the Conference merely noted the report of the sub-committee and recorded the comments made thereon.

There were plenary sessions of the First Round Table Conference on 16 and 19 January, 1931, in which a general review was made of the work of the Conference. No less than thirty-five speeches were made, marked by an optimistic tone and mutual appreciation and admiration by Indian and British delegates. The agreement on Dominion Status and all-India Federation was hailed with joy and the speck of cloud in the distant horizon in the shape of the unsolved minority problem did not mar the calm atmosphere of the proceedings.

In his concluding speech on 19 January, 1931, the Prime Minister defined the policy of His Majesty’s Government as follows:

(a) “The view of His Majesty’s Government is that responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon Legislatures, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary to guarantee, during a period of transition, the observance of certain obligations and to meet other special circumstances, and also with such guarantees as are required by minorities to protect their political liberties and rights."

(b) "His Majesty's Government has taken note of the fact that the deliberations of the Conference have proceeded on the basis, accepted by all parties, that the Central Government should be a Federation of All-India, embracing both the Indian States and British India in a bi-cameral legislature."

(c) "With a Legislature constituted on a Federal basis, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to recognise the principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the Legislature".

(d) "Under existing conditions the subjects of Defence and External Affairs will be reserved to the Governor-General, and arrangements will be made to place in his hands the powers necessary for the administration of those subjects. Moreover, as the Governor-General must, as a last resort, be able in an emergency to maintain the tranquillity of the State, and must similarly be responsible for the observance of the constitutional rights of minorities, he must be granted the necessary powers for these purposes".

(e) "The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on a basis of full responsibility. Their Ministries will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. The range of Provincial subjects will be so defined as to give them the greatest possible measure of self-government. The authority of the Federal Government will be limited to provisions required to secure its administration of Federal Subjects, and so discharge its responsibility for subjects defined in the constitution as of all-India concern." 9

"In such statutory safeguards as may be made for meeting the needs of the transitional period, it will be a primary concern of His Majesty's Government to see that the reserved powers are so framed and exercised as not to prejudice the advance of India to full responsibility for her own government."

As to the communal controversy, 'it was the duty of the communities to come to an agreement among themselves.' "The

Government will -continue to render what good offices it can to help to secure that end, as it is anxious not only that no delay should take place in putting the new constitution into operation, but that it should start with the goodwill and confidence of all the communities concerned."

Finally, the hope was expressed that "those engaged at present in 'civil disobedience' might respond to the Viceroy's appeal and take their part in the co-operative work that lay ahead." 10

The Round Table Conference was adjourned sine die on 19 January, 1931. The policy outlined by the Prime Minister undoubtedly marked a considerable advance over the recommendations of the Simon Commission. There can be no reasonable doubt that this change was largely due to the strong attitude taken by the Indian National Congress and the recent demonstrations of its hold over the country. But it was equally clear that everything depended upon the attitude of the Congress. It alone could deliver the goods and thus determine whether the new British policy would bring peace in India and carry her constitutional progress one stage further.

The reaction of the Congress was swift and sharp. On 21 January, 1931, only two days after the conclusion of the Round Table Conference, the Working Committee met at Allahabad and passed a long resolution on the subject. It refused to give any recognition to the Conference and regarded the statement of policy by the British Premier as too vague and general to justify any change in the policy of the Congress. The Committee therefore advised the country to carry on the struggle with unabated vigour. 11 Next day the Committee received a telegram from Sapru and Sastri, who attended the Round Table Conference, requesting it not to come to any decision without hearing them. Accordingly the publication of the resolution was postponed. On 25 January, the Governor-General issued a statement to the effect that the ban on the Working Committee would be removed and its members, then in prison, would be released in order to provide the Working Committee full opportunity for the consideration of the Prime Minister's, statement of 19 January. 12

III. GANDHI-IRWIN PACT

The members of the Working Committee were released on 26 January, 1931. On 6 February, 26 members of the Round Table Conference, immediately after landing in India, made an appeal to the Congress to reconsider its decision and Gandhi was requested to seek an interview with the Viceroy. Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy on 14 February, 1931. The reply came by telegram on the 16th, and

Gandhi left for Delhi on the same day. The Working Committee had formally passed a resolution investing Gandhi with powers to negotiate a settlement in the name of the Congress, but nevertheless, a few days later all the members proceeded to Delhi at the summons of Gandhi.

Gandhi saw the Viceroy for the first time on 17 February, and the conversations dragged on from day to day. Gandhi kept the members of the Working Committee fully informed of what was happening day after day. At last, after a protracted negotiation, terms of settlement were drafted and Gandhi returned from Viceregal Lodge at 2.30 a.m. on 5 March to place it before the expectant members of the Working Committee who had kept a whole night vigil. Gandhi put every item of the settlement to each individual member of the Working Committee and asked whether he should reject the settlement as a whole or on any particular item. He made it quite clear that he would not proceed further without the unanimous support of his colleagues. It seems that Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and many other members did not fully approve of the draft on one point or another. But they all ultimately gave in and unanimously approved of it. The Pact was signed by the Viceroy and Gandhi on 5 March, 1931. The first three paras of the Agreement run as follows:

(1) Consequent on the conversations that have taken place between His Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, it has been arranged that the Civil Disobedience movement be discontinued, and that, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, certain action be taken by the Government of India and Local Governments.

(2) As regards constitutional questions, the scope of future discussion is stated, with the assent of His Majesty's Government, to be with the object of considering further the scheme for the constitutional Government of India discussed at the Round Table Conference. Of the scheme there

outlined, Federation is an essential part; so also are Indian responsibility and reservations or safeguards in the interests of India, for such matters, as for instance, defence; external affairs; the position of Minorities; the financial credit of India, and discharge of obligations.

(3) In pursuance of the statement made by the Prime Minister in his announcement of the 19th of January, 1931, steps will be taken for the participation of the representatives of the Congress in the future discussions that are to take place on the scheme of constitutional reform. 1 '

The rest of the pact, which was a very lengthy document, contained details of the ways in which the Government agreed to undo the injuries suffered by individuals during the Civil Disobedience movement; in particular, the Government agreed to withdraw the Emergency Ordinances, release all Satydgrahi prisoners, withdraw pending cases against them, remit fines not already realized, restore confiscated land and property unless already sold, and pursue a liberal policy, in regard to the reappointment of Government servants and village officials who resigned but apply for reinstatement.

The concessions granted by the Government were: (1) To permit people who live in areas where salt can be collected or made, to do the same for their own use but not for sale.

(2) To permit peaceful picketing without any violation of ordinary laws, for “furtherance of the replacement of non-Indian by Indian goods or against the consumption of intoxicating liquor and drugs,’' on condition that the boycott of British goods ‘as a political weapon’ be given up.

The Congress agreed to discontinue Civil Disobedience movement, and participate in the further discussions on the scheme of constitutional reform as envisaged in para 2. In an interview which Gandhi granted to the foreign and Indian journalists on 6 March, 1931, he was asked: “In view of the second paragraph of the agreement, would it be consistent for the Congress to reaffirm its resolution relating to full Independence, passed at the

Madras, Calcutta and Lahore Sessions?” His answer was: “Yes; decidedly. Because there is nothing to prevent the Congress at Karachi passing a similar resolution, and, what is more, pressing that at the forthcoming R.T.C. I am betraying no secret by telling you that I took good care to ascertain that position and to make my own position clear before agreeing to the settlement.” 14 It is, however, obvious that the second para definitely committed the Congress to the reservations or safeguards in respect of defence, external affairs, and some other subjects, and no rational interpretation can equate such a political constitution with Purna Swaraj or complete independence. Besides, Federation, with autocratic rulers of Native States playing an important and almost a decisive role in conjunction with the British officials, was accepted as an essential part of the Constitution. It is technically true to say that Gandhi might, if he so chose, pass again the Independence Resolution in the Karachi Congress, or press it in the Round Table Conference, but that would be a violation of the Agreement and not in keeping with it. It would make his position ridiculous in the eyes of those who were not accustomed to look upon him with blind devotion and admiration.

THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

This all-important clause, which practically gave away the whole Congress case, was agreed to by Gandhi without the knowledge, not to speak of the previous approval, of the members *of the Working Committee in Delhi, although they were being kept informed of the progress of the negotiations from day to day. Its reaction on Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, is described by himself as follows:

“On the night of the fourth of March we waited till midnight for Gandhi’s return from the Viceroy’s house. He came back about two A.M., and we were awakened and told that an agreement had been reached. We saw the draft. I knew most of the clauses, for they had been often discussed, but, at the very top, Clause 2, with its reference to safeguards, etc. gave me a tremendous shock. I was wholly unprepared for it. I said nothing then, and we all retired....

“The question of our objective, of independence, also remained.

I saw in that clause 2 of the settlement that even this seemed to

*

be jeopardised. Was it for this that our people had behaved so gallantly for a year? Were all our brave words and deeds to end in this? The independence resolution of the Congress, the pledge of January 26, so often repeated? So I lay and pondered on that March night, and in my heart there was a great emptiness as of something precious gone, almost beyond recall."

Next morning Gandhi had a long talk with Nehru and gave his own interpretation of Clause 2. Nehru continues: "The interpretation seemed to me to be a forced one, and I was not convinced, but I was somewhat soothed by his talk. The merits of the agreement apart, I told him that his way of springing surprises upon us frightened me; there was something unknown about him which, in spite of the closest association for fourteen years, I could not understand at all and which filled me with apprehension. He admitted the presence of this unknown element in him, and said that he himself could not answer for it or foretell what it might lead to.

"For a day or two I wobbled, not knowing what to do. There was no question of opposing or preventing that agreement then....

"So I decided, not without great mental conflict and physical distress, to accept the agreement and work for it wholeheartedly. There appeared to me to be no middle way." 15

It will be clear to any unprejudiced mind, as it was to Nehru, that the Congress not only gave up the demand for Independence or Dominion Status, but definitely and substantially receded from the position they had taken up at the Conference with the Viceroy on

23 December, 1929, which led to the rejection of the Round Table Conference and precipitated the Civil Disobedience movement. The Working Committee also definitely went back upon its own resolution of January 21, 1931.

The Pact caused a great disappointment to many, and the Youth Organizations openly expressed their dissatisfaction. The main points of their opposition were summed up by Subhas Bose in his Presidential speech at the All-India Naujawan Bharat Sabha held in Karachi during the session of the Congress. 16

Subhas Bose's criticism met with general approval at the Youth Congress and a resolution was adopted condemning the Delhi Pact. The followers of Gandhi, however, regarded the Pact as a great victory for him and the Congress. 17 Gandhi himself issued a statement 18 to the effect that 'the victory belongs to both the parties.' He further stated, in justification of his action, that "it would be folly to go on suffering when the opponent makes it easy for you to enter into a discussion with him upon your longings." Such a view is, however, inconsistent with his rejection of the invitation to the First Round Table Conference. His laboured argument is not at all convincing.

It is a moot point to decide why Gandhi made such a volte face . The only rational justification that can be urged is a realization on his part that in this unequal fight with the Government the chances of success were very remote, and a compromise in good time is preferable to an admission of failure and forced retreat.

But whatever might have been the real grounds for Gandhi's retreat, the Pact should not be judged merely by what it accomplished or failed to achieve. There is one aspect of it which, though generally ignored at the time in India, must be regarded as a valuable gain in a long view of things. For the first time in the history of British India, the British Government condescended to treat the Indian National Congress on a footing of equality as a political opponent, and entered on a prolonged negotiation with its accredited agent to settle terms of peace. The very fact that the Viceroy and Gandhi put their respective signatures on a 'treaty of peace', put the Indian National Congress on a high pedestal, and increased its prestige and stature. What was more important, the British practically conceded to the Congress a status and authority to speak for political India, and consciously or unconsciously admitted its right to be heard on all future negotiations. This was no small gain, and British statesmen like Churchill fully realized that they had yielded grounds and the British prestige suffered a set-back. The very fact that Gandhi, 'the half-naked fakir,'—to use Churchill's

expression—ascended the staircase of Viceregal lodge, day after day, to carry on diplomatic negotiations on behalf of the Congress, made it patent to all that henceforth the British rule in India must take due cognizance of the great national organization which was fighting for India's freedom. Whether, and if so how far, this aspect of the question weighed with Gandhi, no one can say.

In spite of its failure to achieve the goal, the Civil Disobedience movement, which came to a seemingly ignoble end, had a great value and importance in India's struggle for Swaraj. It demonstrated the awakening of political consciousness among the masses and their ardour and ability to take an active part in the struggle for freedom, to a degree undreamt of before, either by the friends or foes of India. It also gave evidence of the high moral inspiration and unflinching courage infused among the people by Gandhi, the Saint, which gave men strength to endure sufferings for the cause of the country to an extent which appears incredible to ordinary reasoning. The Mahatma's call to the people for sufferings and sacrifice found a response in the hearts of men and women of India to a degree which ensured the success of India's struggle for freedom. It was no longer a question of whether, but when she would reach the goal. Whatever one might think of Gandhi's political leadership, wisdom of judgment in critical moments, or ability to carry on diplomatic negotiations with the astute British politicians, there is a consensus of opinion that India must ever remember with reverent gratitude his solid contribution to the moral regeneration of India's fighters for freedom which was an inestimable asset in the impending struggle.

Indirectly, the Civil Disobedience movement fully exposed the British rule in India in all its naked hideousness, and lowered its moral prestige in the eyes of the whole world. As the great poet Rabindra-nath said, it was a great moral defeat for Europe, and Asia could now afford to look down on Europe where before she looked up.

The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was considered at the annual session of the Congress at Karachi held on 29 March, 1931.

The resolution of the Congress endorsing the Pact is a curious example of self-delusion and an attempt to mislead the people. The Pact, as mentioned above, clearly lays down the acceptance of the British control over such matters as defence, external affairs, financial credit of India etc. Yet, according to the resolution of the Karachi Congre'ss, while endorsing the Pact “the Congress desires to make it clear that the Congress goal of Puma Swaraj remains intact”. The resolution further adds that in the Conference “the

Congress delegation will work for this objective and, in particular, so as to give the nation control over the defence forces, external affairs, finance and fiscal and economic policy”. Though asked by Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru at first refused to move the resolution in the open session of the Congress. It went against his grain, he said. But at the last moment he ‘decided to sponsor it*.

The younger section, though disapproving the Pact, did not oppose it in the plenary session of the Congress. The reasons given in support of this attitude by Subhas-chandra Bose 19 do not appear to be convincing. But the sullen resentment of the youths found expression in other ways, particularly over the news of the execution of the three youths, Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukh Dev, convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy Case. Bhagat Singh was the founder of the Youth movement in the Punjab and, according to the official history of the Congress, “at that moment Bhagat Singh’s name was as widely known all over India and was as popular as Gandhi’s.” 20 Pressure had been brought upon Gandhi to intercede with the Viceroy for the commutation of their capital punishment. Gandhi probably did his best, but the utmost that he could get from the Viceroy was an assurance to postpone the execution and reconsider the matter. This led the public, including Gandhi, to believe that the execution would be finally cancelled. But on March 23, only six days before the Congress session, Bhagat Singh and his two comrades were executed. The news filled the whole country with poignant grief and cast a gloom over the whole Congress camp. The usual festivities on the opening day of the Congress were cancelled by the order of the President. The younger section, however, was under the impression that Gandhi did not press the matter upon the Viceroy’s attention sufficiently strongly, and Subhas-chandra Bose had suggested to him that he should, if necessary, break with the Viceroy on the question. But Gandhi, averse on principle to revolutionary activities, did not go so far. The younger section, therefore, held Gandhi in a way responsible for the death of Bharat Singh, and when Gandhi, along with the President-elect Vallabhbhai Patel, alighted from the Railway train at a minor station, 12 miles from Karachi, they were met with a hostile demonstration, and several young men offered black flowers and black garlands.

The matter did not end there. A resolution was moved at the Congress to place on record its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of the late Bhagat Singh and his comrades. According to the official history of the Congress, “it is really a point of doubt, even at this distance of time, as to which resolution was the more arresting one at Karachi,—that relating to Bhagat Singh or that relating to the ratification of the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement”.[21] The resolution on Bhagat Singh was taken up immediately after the formal condolence resolutions. Gandhi and the Congress were averse to such a resolution in favour of revolutionaries, and therefore, to save the face, it was proposed to add a few words (italicised) by way of preamble to the resolution so as to read: The Congress, while dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any shape or form, places on record its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of. .. .etc. But even with the face-saving preamble, the resolution must have been a bitter pill for Gandhi to swallow. For he had strongly expressed his views against an exactly similar resolution passed by the Bengal Provincial Conference in respect of Gopinath Saha, and was overwhelmed with sorrow when C. R. Das challenged him on this point and was defeated by only a narrow majority in a meeting of the A.I.C.C.[22]

But the execution of Bhagat Singh was not the only shadow under which the Congress met. While the Congress was actually in session, a serious Hindu-Muslim riot broke out in Kanpur. The following is the official account of the Congress which passed a resolution and appointed a Committee of Inquiry on the riot: “On the 24th March, began the plunder of Hindu shops. Even on the night of the 23rd some fifty were wounded. On the 25th, there was a blaze. Shops and temples were set fire to and burnt to cinders. The Police did not render any assistance; disorder, arson, loot, murder, spread like wildfire. Five hundred families abandoned their houses and took shelter in villages. Dr. Ramachandra was one of the worst sufferers. All the members of his family, including his wife and aged parents, were killed and their bodies were thrust into gutters. According to the official estimates, 166 were killed and 480 were injured". 23

Shortly after the end of the Congress session at Karachi, the new Working Committee met on 1 and 2 April to decide, among other things, the representation of the Congress at the Round Table Conference. Most of the members were of the opinion that the deputation should consist of about 15 members, and the Government were quite willing to accommodate up to 20. But ultimately it was decided unanimously that Gandhi should be the sole representative. This decision appeared to many to be a very unwise one. 24 A band of able men, including nationalist Muslims like Dr. Ansari, would have given a far more realistic impression of Congress position and strength to the Englishmen, generally unaware of the inwardness of Indian politics. As it was bound to happen, Gandhi's voice was merely a lonely cry in the wilderness, and the communalists

seemed to convey, as it was deliberately designed by the Government to do so, a helpless picture of divided India.

Gandhi was worried by the communal riots at Kanpur and felt that the success of the Conference entirely depended upon a previous agreement between the Hindus and Musalmans. Evidently urged by this view, the Working Committee of the Congress made an attempt to undo the mischief committed by Lahore Congress by presenting for the adoption of the country a scheme of communal agreement, which they claimed to be "as nearly national as possible," though communal in appearance, and hoped would be generally acceptable to the communities concerned.

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A long statement was issued by the Working Committee on 20 July, 1931, and it is described in the official history as the magnum opus of the Congress. In practical supersession of the Lahore Resolution mentioned above, 25 the Working Committee offered a scheme of communal settlement on the following basis:

“1. (a) The article in the Constitution relating to Funda

mental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of their cultures, languages, scripts, education, profession and practice of religion, and religious endowments.

(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the Constitution.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various Provinces shall be the concern, and be within the jurisdiction, of the Federal Government.

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3. (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation

in the future Constitution of India.

(b) For the Hindus in Sind, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, and for Hindus and Muslims in any Province where they are less than 25 per cent, of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

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7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate Province, provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated Province.

8. The future Constitution of the country shall be federal. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units, unless, on further examination, it is found to be against the best interests of India.” 26 .

But the communal problem, in spite of its great importance justly stressed by Gandhi, was cast into shade by the deliberate policy of the Government to ignore the stipulations of the GandhiIrwin Agreement.

Lord Irwin was succeeded by Lord Willingdon as Viceroy on 17 April, 1931, and in spite of his sympathetic speeches, officials had resumed the repressive campaign in various ways. Gandhi complained of the violation of the Agreement he had made with Irwin, but the Government maintained that "Local Governments have been scrupulous in carrying out the obligations imposed on them" by the Agreement, and brought counter-charges against the Congress workers. After a prolonged correspondence Gandhi requested the Home Secretary to the Government of India to appoint Boards of Inquiry in different Provinces, each consisting of an official and a Congress nominee, to conduct a summary inquiry into the allegations on either side. This the Secretary refused point blank. 27

Similarly the Government also turned down Gandhi's suggestion for the appointment of a permanent board of arbitration to decide questions of interpretation of the Agreement. 28

While this correspondence was going on, 29 reports reached Gandhi from different quarters, particularly U.P. and N.W.F.P., of serious violations of the Agreement he had made with Irwin. In disgust he wired to the Viceroy on August 11 that he would not sail for England. He was particularly mortified at the attitude of the Governor of U.P., and at a letter from the Bombay Government, in which it was claimed, in effect, that the Government must be the final judge of facts as well as of law. Gandhi referred to it in his telegram to the Viceroy and said that "in naked terms, this means that the Government should be both the prosecutor and the judge with reference to matters arising out of a contract to which they and the complainants are parties." 30 As the Viceroy, in his reply dated 13 August, supported the actions of the Governors of Bombay and U.P., Gandhi wired back on the same day that "it shows fundamental differences in our respective outlooks upon the settlement", and repeated his decision not to go to London to attend the Round Table Conference. Gandhi's decision was endorsed by the Congress Working Committee on 13 August. 31

Gandhi's decision not to attend the Round Table Conference was also partly influenced by the fact that in spite of an assurance given by Irwin, Dr. Ansari, the Muslim nationalist, was not nominated to the Round Table

Conference. Lord Willingdon justified his action on the ground that the Musalman delegates were opposed

io the nomination of Ansari. 1't obviously fitted in with the policy of the Government to show that the Muslims were en bloc opposed to the Congress.

The events, however, took a dramatic turn. Gandhi wrote a letter to Lord Willingdon inquiring whether his decision not to attend the Round Table Conference meant an end of his Agreement with Irwin. 32 The Viceroy’s reply, dated 19 August, pointed out that the failure of the Congress to attend the Round Table Conference defeated one of the main objects of the Agreement, but added that the “Government would continue to avoid resort to special measures so far as possible, restricting action to the requirements of the specific situation”. Gandhi immediately wired to the Viceroy for an interview and met him at Simla along with Vallabhbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru and Prabhasankar Pattani. The results of the interview were summed up in an official communique dated 27 August. 33 The Government agreed to hold an inquiry into the alleged coercion in collecting land-revenue in some villages in the Surat District, but ‘not in regard to other matters hitherto raised by the Congress.’ Gandhi accepted it with the reservation that if in extreme cases of hardship no inquiry is held, the Congress retains the right of seeking relief ‘in the shape of defensive direct action’. 34 A special train was arranged to enable Gandhi to sail from Bombay on 29 August.

IV. THE SECOND ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE 35

During the interval between the first and the second Round Table Conference the Labour Government in Britain was succeeded by a National Government dominated by the Conservative Party. Ramsay MacDonald was still the Premier, but Wedgwood Benn was replaced by the Conservative Sir Samuel Hoare as the Secretary of State for India.

The second session of the Conference opened on 7 September, 1931. Most of the leading personalities at the first session were present, and there was a distinguished group of new-comers. The most eminent among them was, of course, Mahatma Gandhi, chosen as the sole representative of the Congress.

He had left India on 29 August and reached London on 12 September. During his voyage he received an ovation at Aden from the Arabs and Indians who presented a joint address. 36 While passing through Egypt he received greetings from Madame Zaghlul Pasha and Nahas Pasha. 37 He was heartily welcomed at Marseilles by the sister of Romain Rolland who was prevented by ill health from personally greeting him. He was also greeted by a number of French students. 38 On September 12, 1931, he reached London.

Gandhi's presence in London created a great sensation among different classes of people, but counted for little in the eyes of those who were presiding over the destiny of India. Gandhi delivered fine speeches, elaborating his ideas of peace and goodwill on earth, emphasizing the unique position of the Congress in Indian politics, explaining the supreme need of a partnership between Britain and India as between two equal nations, and stressing the determination of the Congress to infect the British people with love for India and to wander, no matter for how many years— even a century— in the wilderness for that great consummation to be devoutly wished for, rather than accept anything which does not ensure freedom and Responsible Government.

The main work of the Conference was done by two large committees on Federal Structure and Minorities. Gandhi was a member of both and pressed for the acceptance of the Congress demand. He claimed that the Congress was a national and not merely a party organization. It represented, he said, all the communal minorities, and in support of this claim pointed out that there were four Muslims among the fifteen members of the Working Committee and thousands of Muslims in the rank and file. The Congress also represented the Indian States, for it served the princes' interests on two occasions by refraining from any interference in their domestic affairs. Gandhi even claimed that the Congress not only represented all India but was its only proper representative, since the non-Congress Indian delegates had not been chosen by the people but nominated by the Government. He stuck to the Karachi Resolution. He demanded that Responsible Government must be established, immediately and in full, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, including complete control over the finance, army, defence, and external relations. Safeguards were not needed and therefore no special powers should be given to the Governor-General. He referred at times to safeguards in general terms, but never specified their nature. The new status of India, he said, would give her freedom to secede from the British Commonwealth, but would not necessarily mean secession. It is hardly surprising that Gandhi's speeches, personality and appeals to the British did not influence the deliberation and decision of the Conference to the slightest degree.

The outstanding feature of the Conference was the unending discussion of the communal problem. Though several meetings of the Minorities Committee were held, and Gandhi himself carried on informal negotiations in order to reach agreements between the various interests affected, it unfortunately proved impossible to

devise any scheme which all the parties were willing to accept. Gandhi himself tabled a scheme which was more or less the scheme adopted in the Nehru Report, but it was not accepted.

"The representatives of the Muslims, Depressed classes, AngloIndians, a section of the Indian Christians and the European commercial community intimated that they had reached an agreement inter sc, which they formally presented for the consideration of the committee. 39 But the course of the discussion on 13th November made it clear that the agreement in question was not regarded as acceptable by the Hindu or Sikh representatives, and that there seemed no prospect of a solution of the communal question as the result of negotiation between the parties concerned." 10 Before accepting the Agreement, mentioned above, Dr. Ambedkar had proposed to Gandhi an Agreement whereby a certain numbei of seats would be reserved in the Legislatures for the Depressed Classes on the basis of a Common Electorate for all sections of the Hindus. But though Gandhi, as we shall see, later approved of a similar proposal with terms much more favourable to the Depressed classes from every point of view, he rejected the proposal and Ambedkar joined the other Minorities. 402 At the meeting of the Minorities Committee held on 13 November, 1931, the Chairman, Ramsay MacDonald, stated that the Minorities Pact was acceptable to over 115 million people. Gandhi emphatically repudiated the statement and claimed that the Congress represented 85 per cent, of the population of the whole of

India. Gandhi had openly declared as far back as October 8, that the causes of failure to reach a communal agreement were inherent in the composition of the Indian Delegation. He had further suggested that the Minority question should not take precedence over the fundamental question of framing a constitution for India which should be taken up first, and if all efforts for communal agreement failed at the close of the Conference, there might be a provision in the Constitution that the question should be referred to a judicial tribunal for final decision. 41

Ramsay MacDonald, however, held that inability to solve the communal question was hampering the progress of Constitutionmaking. In the course of discussions, suggestions were made that the British Government should settle the dispute on its own authority. These suggestions, however, were accompanied by such important reservations that there was little prospect of any of them securing the necessary harmony in working. 42 Gandhi also offered to accept the arbitration by the Premier, provided it related only to the Muslims and Sikhs. He would not be a party to the separate

representation of other communities. The Premier asked a plain question on this subject: "Will you, each of you, every member of the Committee, sign a request to me, to settle the community question and pledge yourself to accept my decision? That, I think, is a very fair offer." Most of the members, but not all, signed such a request. When the Premier finally announced his decision in June, 1932, it was a moot point to decide whether it was an award binding upon all, or merely a proposal of the Government. It was contended that as all the members did not sign, it could not be looked upon as an award, which all parties were bound to accept, but only as a proposal. 43

At the plenary session on the 1st of December, 1931, the Prime Minister announced the decision that the North-West Frontier Province should be constituted a Governor's Province, of the same status as other Governors' Provinces, and that Sindh should be constituted a separate Province, if satisfactory means of financing it could be found.

The main work of the Second Round Table Conference was:

1. The completion of the structure of federal judiciary and federal legislature.

2. The distribution of financial resources between the Centre and Provinces.

3. The mode of the accession of States to the Federation.

These were technical questions. Regarding the main problem of constitutional progress of India, the Second Round Table Conference did not, on the whole, advance the matter much further beyond where it was left by the first. Gandhi left London on 6 December, and landed in Bombay on the 28th.

The whole inner history of the Round Table Conference and the part played by different parties in it are revealed in a striking manner by a confidential circular issued by the representatives of the European community who attended the Second Round Table Conference.

It clearly shows that they worked with a set purpose to block any real constitutional progress in India beyond what was conceded by the Simon Commission. As a mark of their success they triumphantly pointed out that Gandhi "landed in India with empty hands". They also gloated over the fact that Gandhi "undertook to settle the communal problem and failed before all the world". The following passage in the Circular throws some light on the cause of Gandhi's failure: "The Muslims were a solid and enthusiastic team: Ali Imam, the Nationalist Muslim, caused no division.

They played their cards with great skill throughout; they promised us support and they gave it in full measure. In return they asked us that we should not forget their economic plight in Bengal and we should 'without pampering them' do what we can to find places for them in European firms, so that they may have a chance to improve their material position and the general standing of their community." As regards the general policy, the following para is very revealing:

"On the whole, there was one policy of the British Nation and the British Community in India, and that was to make up our minds on a national policy and to stick to it. But alter the general elect tions, the right wing of the Government made up its mind to break up the Conference and to fight the Congress. The Muslims, who do not want responsibility at the Centre, were delighted. Government undoubtedly changd their policy and tried to get away with Provincial Autonomy, with a promise of Central reforms. We had made up our minds that the fight with the Congress was inevitable; we felt and said that the sooner it came the better, but we made up our minds that for a crushing success we should have all possible friends on our side. The Muslims were all right; the Minorities Pact and Government's general attitude ensured that. So were the Princes and the Minorities.

"The important thing to us seemed to be to carry the Hindu in the street as represented by such people as Sapru, Jayakar, Patro and others. If we could not get them to fight the Congress, we could at least ensure that they would not back the Congress, and that, by the simple method of leaving no doubt in their minds that there was to be no going back on the Federal Scheme which broadly was also the accepted policy of the European Community, and we acted accordingly. So we joined with strange companions; .... and the Conference, instead of breaking up in disorder with 100 per cent, of Hindu political India against us, ended in promises of cooperation by 99 per cent, of the Conference, including even such people as Malaviya, while Gandhi himself was indisposed to join the Standing Committee.

"The Muslims have become firm allies of the Europeans. They are very satisfied with their own position and are prepared to work with us." 44

The failure of Gandhi to achieve any success brings out in relief the inconsistency and unwisdom of the Congress in refusing to attend the first and accepting the invitation to the second Round Table Conference. The conditions on which Congress agreed to attend the second Round Table Conference could have been easily secured on the occasion of the first. By joining it from the very beginning in sufficient strength the Congress could influence its outlook and general approach. As it is, Gandhi was confronted with a communalist structure which had been allowed to grow up freely without let or hindrance. Besides, with Irwin as Viceroy and the Labour Party in Power, there was a far greater chance of gaining substantial reforms than in the second Conference, when Lord Willingdon was the Viceroy and the Conservatives had come into power.

The failure was mainly due to the lack of harmony among Indian delegates and the obstinate reluctance of the Conservatives to part with real power in India. But the tactics, or lack of tactics, on the part Qf Gandhi was also responsible for it to a large extent. The saint had no place in a meeting of die-hard politicians. Gandhi's idealism made no impression on them, his frank gesture for peace and co-operation at any price was taken as a sign of weakness, his lack of diplomacy in putting all his cards on the table was fully exploited by the astute British politicians, and the measure they made of his power and ability by actual contact was far lower than their previous estimate based on reports of his leadership in India. Gandhi had realized from the very beginning that the importance of Indian National Congress, which he represented, was deliberately minimized, if not totally ignored, and it was treated as merely one out of many parties represented at the Conference. And he made only piteous appeals to the Conference in such words: "For heaven's sake give me, a frail man of sixty-two, a little bit of chance. Find a little corner for him and the organisation that he represents." Things might have been different, however, if, instead, he took a bold stand on the inherent strength of the institution he represented, and made a defiant gesture of leaving the Conference if it failed to give due recognition to the Congress which could legitimately claim, as the only all-India organization, to speak in the name of political India as opposed to the rest which at best represented communal, sectional, or vested interests. Gandhi's Christian meekness and humility fell flat on the followers of Christ who only understood the language of strength or force. His conduct in the Conference added one more illustration of his utter inability to carry on negotiations with trained politicians. 45

V. THE THIRD ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The Third Round Table Conference met on 17 November, 1932. It was boycotted by the Congress and only forty-six delegates attended the session. The main business of this session was a further consideration of the central organization in the light of the reports of the Lothian, Percy and Davidson Committees dealing, respectively, with the Franchise, Federal Finance, and the States. Among the new features agreed upon by the Conference were the enfranchisement of a large proportion of women and election to the Federal Upper Chamber by the Provincial Legislatures. The most noticeable feature of the session was a substantial change in the attitude of the rulers of Indian States, who seem to have lost the old enthusiasm over the Federation. There were also unmistakable signs that the attitude of the new British Government, dominated by the Conservatives, was far less sympathetic than before. On the whole, when the Third Round Table Conference broke up on 24 December, 1932, there was less enthusiasm or optimism among the "Indian members as regards a satisfactory settlement than was the case a year before.

VI. BURMA

In conclusion, reference should be made to the separation of Burma from India. “Burmese sentiment was in favour of separation but there was a widespread belief that the British Government was encouragaing and supporting the separationist move ‘to perpetuate British domination there so as to make Burma together with Singapore, by reason of the presence of oil and their strategic position, strongholds of imperialism in Asia*, and this gave birth to a strong anti-separationist movement. The Indian Statutory Commission, however, recommended separation, and a separate Round Table Conference in respect of Burma was held in January, 1932. In the elections held in November, 1932, to ascertain the wishes of the people, the Anti-Separationists came out top.” 46 When the newly elected Council met, the following resolution was carried after a lengthy debate, without a division, on 22 December, 1932.

1. That this Council opposes the separation of Burma from India on the basis of the Constitution for a separated Burma outlined in the statement of the Prime Minister made at the Burma Round Table Conference on the 12th January, 1932.

2. That this Council emphatically opposes the unconditional and permanent federation of Burma with India.

3. This Council will continue to oppose the separation of Burma from India until Burma is granted a Constitution on the following basis: (Details Given) (In the alternative) this Council proposes that Burma shall enter the Indian Federation with at least the following terms (details given).

4. This Council urges that a conference be called at an early date for the purpose of determining the future constitution of Burma either as a separate unit on the basis defined or as a unit in the Indian Federation according to the terms defined with right to secede.

(Clauses three and four were the amendments incorporated in the resolution). 47

As the Burma Legislative Council did not vote for unconditional federation with India, the Government proceeded with their scheme of separating it from India. The second Burma Round Table Conference was therefore called in 1933, and the anti-separationists, though in a majority in Burma, were given less seats than the separationists. 48 It seems to be, however, clear that the Burmans were not opposed to separation; what they were afraid of was the possibility of the perpetuation of British domination if they were separated from India without the clear promise of self-government for Burma. The British Government, however, was keen on separating Burma from India, and the separation was ultimately decided upon in the Conference.

1. For a short account, cf. Coupland, R-, The Constitutional Problem in India, Part I. pp. 113-22.

2. Ibid, p. 116.

3. For a detailed account of the recommendations of these sub-committees, cf. ibid, pp. 117-20

4. Ibid, p. 120.

5. Pakistan, pp. 95-6.

6. Coupland, I. p. 121.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Sapru, p. 15.

10. Coupland, I. p. 122.

11. For the full text of the long resolution, cf- Hist. Congr., I. 424-5.

12. Ibid, p. 426.

13. Gwyer, p. 232. For details of the Pact, of which only a summary is given here, Cf. Hist Congr., I. pp. 438-42.

14. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 448-9.

15. Nehru on Gandhi, pp. 66-70. Cf. Subhas Bose's view on the subject (Indian Struggle, pp. 200-217).

16. Indian Struggle, pp. 207-9.

17. Ibid, p. 213.

18. For the full statement, cf. Hist • Congr., I. pp. 443-8.

19. Indian Struggle, p. 203

20. Hist. Congr., I. p. 456.

21. Ibid.

22. See above, p. 414. Also cf. Freedom-India Vol. Ill, p. 349.

23. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 457-8.

24. The justification usually offered (ibid, p. 4G0) is hardly convincing. For, all the benefits claimed by this decision might have been secured, and the evils that actually followed might have been avoided, by sending a select team of eminent persons under the leadership of Gandhi.

25. See p. 466.

26. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 480—1.

27. Ibid, pp. 473-4.

28. Ibid, pp. 472-3.

29. Ibid, pp. 471-7.

30. Ibid, p. 478.

31. Ibid, pp. 479, 484.

32. For the full text, cf. ibid, p. 487.

33. Ibid, pp. 489-90.

34. Ibid, p. 490.

35. For a short account, cf. Coupland, op. cit., pp. 122-7.

36. Hist. Congr., I. p. 492.

37. Ibid, p. 493.

38. Ibid.

39. For the text of this Minority Pact, cf. Gwyer, pp. 262-3.

40. Sapru, p. 17

40a. B. R. Ambedkar, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, Ch. III.

41. For Gandhi’s speech, cf. Hist . Congr., I. pp. 494-5.

42. Sapru, p. 17.

43. Hw f . Congr., I. p. 495

44. Ibid. pp. 519-20.

45. For a very lucid and realistic assessment of the Round Table Conference and of the role played by Gandhi therein, by an impartial observer, cf. H.C.E* Zacharias, Renascent India, pp. 279-84.

46. Gwyer, Vol. I, p. xlii.

47. Indian Struggle, p. 256; Gwyer, pp. 310-11.

48. Indian Struggle, pp. 273-4. For the Burma question, cf. Gwyer, pp. 309-20.

CHAPTER XX

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE—LAST PHASE

I. GANDHI'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE VICEROY

Even while Gandhi was in London, news reached him that the promised inquiry into the alleged police excesses in connection With the collection of revenue in Surat District, on the basis of which he had agreed to attend the Round Table Conference, ended in a fiasco. Mr. Gordon, I.C.S., who held the inquiry, refused the demand of Bhulabhai Desai and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel that all relevant orders of the Government should be produced in court. The refusal to produce papers in the possession of the Government convinced the two Congress representatives that "such mutilated inquiry was worse than useless". As the trend of the inquiry was hostile and one-sided, they withdrew from the inquiry and sent a cable to that effect to Gandhi on 13 November.

The acute economic crisis in U.P. had led the Congress to start a no-rent campaign which was suspended after the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement. The peasants were not in a position to pay, and the Government made a partial remission. But this was quite inadequate, and the Provincial Congress Committee carried on negotiations with the Government. In November, 1931, matters reached a crisis. The Government demanded that the peasants should pay up their dues pending negotiations, while the peasants asked for suspension of payment during the negotiations. On the refusal of the Government, the Provincial Congress Committee advised the peasants to withhold payment of rent during negotiations. The Government thereupon made wholesale arrests of Congress workers. Jawaharlal and Purushottamdas Tandon were arrested only five days before the return of Gandhi from London.

In the N.W.F.P. the organization of the Khudai Khidmatgars, or Red Shirt Volunteers of Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was declared illegal. The Khan, who was called Frontier Gandhi for his scrupulous non-violent policy, his brother, and some other leaders were thrown into prison, and within a few months several thousand Red Shirts were put behind ths bars. Thereafter troops were sent into the villages to terrorize the people and break up the organization.

An acute situation had developed in Bengal to which detailed references will be made later. There were several terrorist outrages, generally believd to have been acts of reprisals for oppressive conduct.

The murder of the Inspector General of Prisons and of three successive Magistrates of Midnapore was evidently the result, respectively, of ill treatment of prisoners and the atrocities committed to suppress the no-tax campaign. To retaliate such terrorist outrages, reprisals were made by, or at the connivance of, the Government. The town of Chittagong was left at the mercy of non-official Europeans and a band of hooligans for three days, and looting went on ih broad daylight without the least interference by the police. Even the State-prisoners at the Hijli Camp were fired upon and struck with the butt-end of the rifle.

These incidents are merely illustrative, and not an exhaustive list of official repression. In addition, repressive Ordinances were in force in Bengal, U. P., and N. W. F. P. Thus on his return to India on 28 December, 1931, Gandhi found the whole thing in a prettymess. “Deputations waited on him from morning to evening, re* peating the tales of official excesses in Province after Province.” 1 It was clear that the officialdom had realized the tactical blunder of concluding an agreement with the Congress, and was now resolved to treat it as no better than a scrap of paper. But as was usual with Gandhi, he would never take for granted anything against his opponents without conclusive evidence. So the day after his arrival, on 29 December, 1931, he sent the following telegram to the Viceroy:

“I was unprepared on landing yesterday to find Frontier and U.P. Ordinances, shootings in Frontier and arrests of valued comrades in both, on top of Bengal Ordinance awaiting me. I do not know whether I am to regard these as indication that friendly relations between us are closed or whether you expect me still to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising Congress. I would esteem wire in reply.’* 2 In reply the Government in a telegram dated 31 December, 1931, justified their measures in Bengal and U.P. on the ground of "dastardly assassination of officers" -in the former and the launching of "no-rent campaign" in the latter, without admitting any lapse or negligence on the part of the officials. In N.W.F.P., it was said, Abdul Ghaffar Khan's "open and intensive preparation for an early conflict with Government created a situation of such grave menace to the peace of the Province and of tribal areas as to make it impossible further to delay action". The Viceroy was unwilling to believe thait Gandhi was personally responsible for the-Congress activities in U.P. and N.W.F.P. or approved of them. "If this is so", the telegram continued, "he is willing to see you", but he "feels bound to emphasize that he will not be prepared to discuss with you measures which Government of India, with the full approval of His Majesty's Government,

have found it necessary to adopt in Bengal, U.P. and N.W.F.P. These measures must in any case be kept in force." 3

The telegAm makes it clear that the new policy was formulated by the Government of India with the full concurrence of the British Cabinet. The reference to the British Cabinet is, in a way, a tacit admission by the Government of India of a departure from the policy hitherto pursued, for otherwise there was no need for securing approval of the Cabinet.

Gandhi wired a very dignified reply to the Government telegram of the 31st December, on the very next day. He pointed out that the Viceroy, in effect, asked him to repudiate his valued colleagues in advance before he could be granted an interview, and even then could not discuss the matters of vital importance to the nation. He then challenged the correctness of the official version of happenings in U.P. and N.W.F.P. As regards Bengal he said: "Whilst the Congress would condemn in unmeasurable terms the methods of terrorism, it can in no way associate itself with Government terrorism as is betrayed by the Bengal Ordinance and acts done thereunder, but must resist, within the limits of its prescribed creed of nonviolence, such measures of legalized Government terrorism." Gandhi repeated his offer of co-operation, and his willingness "to go to the respective Provinces and, with the aid of the authorities, study both sides of the question". But he pointed out that if his efforts fail to persuade the Government, he would have no other course left but to resume Civil Disobedience. 4 The Working

Committee had already passed a resolution on the same line and Gandhi sent a copy of it to the Viceroy. After mentioning the excesses committed by the Government and refuting the official charges against the Congress, the resolution continues:

“The Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to institute a public and impartial enquiry into the events that have led up to the passing of these Ordinances, the necessity of superseding the ordinary Courts of Law and Legislative machinery and the necessity of several acts committed thereunder....

“The Working Committee regards the declaration of the Prime Minister made before the Round Table Conference... .as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand, and places on record its opinion that nothing short of complete Independence, carrying full control over the Defence and External Affairs and Finance with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of the Nation, can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory.

“The Working Committee is prepared to tender co-operation to the Government, provided His Excellency the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the Ordinance and its recent acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future further negotiations to prosecute the Congress claim for complete Independence, and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives, pending the attainment of such Independence.

“In the absence of any satisfactory response from the Government in terms of the foregoing paragraph, the Working Committee will regard it as an indication on the part of the Government that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi Pact. In the event of a satisfactory response not forthcoming, the Working Committee calls upon the Nation to resume Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes, boycott of foreign cloth, picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth, manufacture and collection of salts.” 5

The Government reply to this was, of course, a foregone conclusion. In a telegram dated 2nd January, 1932, the Viceroy refused even to contemplate the possibility of an interview “held under the threat of resumption of Civil

Disobedience”. In his reply and final telegram, dated the 3rd, Gandhi reminded the Government of India “that negotiations between him and Lord Irwin were opened and carried on whilst Civil Disobedience was on, that when the Agreement was concluded Civil Disobedience was not given up but only discontinued, and that this position was re-asserted and accepted by Lord Willingdon in Simla in September last.” 6 This telegram marked the end of the correspondence between the Viceroy and Gandhi which covered exactly six days from 29 December, 1931, to 3 January, 1932. On 4 January, the Government issued a manifesto in justification of its policy and began the offensive by promulgating four new Ordinances, and arresting, in the early hours of the morning, both Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel. Khan Saheb and Jawaharlal were already in prison and the other political leaders were secured in batches. As to the rank and file, nearly ninety thousand men, women, and children were convicted and sentenced.

The elaborate defence of the Government of India in the statement issued on 4 January, 1932, was smashed to pieces by the rejoinder published in the Young India of January 14, which fully exposed its unscrupulous character by showing how “it is packed full of evasions, false statements, suppressions, and dishonest distortions”. 7 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya also thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the Government pleas in justification of their conduct.

It is obvious that there was a wide divergence of opinion between the Government and the Congress as to the actual facts and incidents on the basis of which each justified its action. It is difficult to assess the value of statements made by either party in the absence of relevant documents. In these circumstances a great deal of importance necessarily attaches to the expression of views which may be reasonably regarded as free from any bias or prejudice against the Government.

The Viceroy’s refusal to interview Gandhi was condemned by Brailsford in the New Leader , and even the semi-official organ, the Times of India, regretted the action of the Viceroy. 8 An eminent English scholar, Mr. Verrier El win, personally visited the regions concerned to ascertain the truth, and a short treatise written by him 9 gives the most impartial account and dispassionate judgement on the disputed points. As regards U.P., he describes the most pathetic condition of the peasants and fully justifies the steps taken by the Congress, which, in his opinion, “can hardly be called a no-rent campaign”. In the N.W.F.P. the action of the Government, in his opinion, “was more indefensible”. Elwin remarks: “There was no warrant whatever for the promulgation of the Frontier Ordinance except the desire of the Government to crush the Congress movement in the Province. Ghaffar Khan was no danger to the public peace. There were no riots, no assassinations.... By the Ordinance (of which Sir Abdur Rahim said that he could hardly believe his eyes when he read it) Government declared war on the Congress in the Frontier Province and deliberately provoked a conflict”. 10

After a critical review of the whole situation El win observes: “The real failure to observe the spirit of the Settlement appears to me to have been on the other (i.e. Government) side. Local Governments showed their utmost unwillingness to follow the lead of Irwin. . .. Nor was Government behindhand in preparing for a future conflict”.

It is a striking fact that exactly the same view was* held by the India League Delegation to which reference will be made in the next section. The Delegation held that the officials regarded the Gandhi-Irwin settlement as an administrative blunder, and rebelled against it. They therefore desired the truce to come to an end.

Indeed a careful review of all relevant circumstances leads a historian to the justifiable belief that the Government of India, under Willlngdon, smarting under the indignity of Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, made a deliberate plan to undo the ‘mischief’, as far as possible, by forcing the resumption of Civil Disobedience so that

they could put it down by brute force and thus wipe away the ‘disgrace’ of asking for truce in the first round of the fight.

II. THE PART PLAYED BY NON-OFFICAL EUROPEANS.

But the Government were not acting alone. They were backed by the entire non-official European community. Like the officials they had scant regard for the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement and were devising plans to kill the Civil

Disobedience Movement, which they feared, or rather hoped, would soon be resumed. How their mind was working even during the period of truce will be evident from a letter which the Bombay Branch of the European Association wrote to the Secretary, Home Department, Government of Bombay, after the presentation of an address to him on 15th October, 1931 u by the Europeans of Poona, making a number of specific suggestions to counter Civil Disobedience in the event of its revival. Further, the leader of this deputation, on the suggestion of the Home Member, wrote a letter to the Home Department suggesting, among other extraordinary steps neither sanctioned by law nor customs of civilized countries, that all the persons responsible for financing the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 "should be at once brought under control, and, if necessary, put under restraint... .they should be treated in the same fashion as enemy subjects interned during the

war". The letter concluded as follows:

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"It cannot be too strongly urged upon the Government that if the revolutionary movement again gets under way their action must be prompt, vigorous and even ruthless. Congress must not be given time for the full mobilisation of its undoubtedly powerful forces."

This letter was approved by the European Association of India and its different branches. It is significant that the policy actually adopted by the Government closely followed the lines suggested by the European Associations in India. Even when the repressive measures of the Government were in full swing, at the annual meeting of the Bombay Branch of the European Association, in the presence of the Governor of Bombay, Mr. Miller, the retiring President of the Association, observed: "The Government of India, if anything, in my opinion, has erred on the side of leniency.... We are satisfied that there will be no weakening on the part of the Government, and indeed there may be need for stronger action." 11

III. THE REPORT OF THE INDIA LEAGUE DELEGATION

A. GENERAL REVIEW

We possess a very detailed account of the political situation in India during the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1932, by an authoritative, independent and impartial body. It was a small delegation sent by India League, London, to study at first hand the complex situation in India. The Delegation consisted of Miss Monica Whately, Miss Ellen Wilkinson (ex-M.P.), Leonard W. Matters, and V. K. Krishna Menon.

The Delegation reached Bombay on 17 August, 1932, and left India on 7 November. During this period they went to every Province of British India except C.P., visited many important towns and villages, and met Indians of every class and shade of opinion as Well as officials, both British and Indian. The facts and views they collected in this way formed the basis of their report, published in 1932.

The Delegation took great pains to gather from all possible sources, both official and non-official, authentic account of the repressive measures adopted by the Government to suppress the Civil Disobedience campaign. As at least three out of its four members cannot be reasonably deemed to be prejudiced against the British Government, the Report of the Delegation must be regarded as the most reliable and authentic account of the conduct of the Government to which a historian has access at the present moment. The Report is a bulky one and even a summary that adequately represents its view cannot be attempted here. Only a broad outline of the principal findings may be indicated.

If we believe in the Report, the Government ushered in a veritable reign of terror in which any conception of rule of law and administration by civilized methods of Modern Age was conspicuous by its absence. Instead, the British rule in India sank to the level of Medieval tyrannies whose annals of brutality fill the mind of a modern reader with an unspeakable horror, and whose modern parallel is only to be found in the Communist and Fascist rule in Europe. It is a severe indictment, but is supported by Bertrand Russel, who is universally regarded as one of the greatest Englishmen, then living. In his Preface to the Report of the Delegation he observes:

“There has been no lack of interests in the misdeeds of the Nazis in Germany; they have been fully reported in the Press and have been commented on with self-righteous indignation. Few people in England realise that misdeeds quite as serious are being perpetrated by the British in India”.

The Report describes as follows the general nature of Civil Disobedience campaign in order to indicate the nature of the crimes to prevent or punish which the horrors of Medieval barbarities were let loose upon the volunteers or workers of the Congress:

“Civil Disobedience is often spoken of as lawlessness. Inasmuch as it is defiance of existing law it is ‘lawless’. But it would be a gross misrepresentation to describe the Civil Disobedience campaign as a movement which lets loose lawless people on society; a campaign in which everybody was asked to do as they pleased. Still more would it be grotesque to describe it as an encouragement to violence, crime, or licence. Civil resisters do not go about breaking laws as they please, nor interfering with the liberty of others. Civil Disobedience is a form of direct action against the Government of the day. Its moral basis is that law in India is not based on consent; its administration is under alien direction; and its ends are not determined by Indian wills or purposes. Civil Disobedience thus becomes both a moral protest and weapon of attack on the present system of administration.” 12

So far as the Civil Resisters were concerned their activities were mainly the following:

1. Leading processions in contravention of Police orders and

prohibitory notices.

2. Holding public meetings and conferences in spite of bans imposed on them.

3. Picketing and boycotting of British goods, banks, insurance companies, mints and bullion exchanges.

4. Issuing unauthorized bulletins and cyclostyled leaflets and distributing them among the people.

5. Saluting the national flag in public and hoisting it over civil and criminal courts and public buildings.

6. Withholding of land revenue and Chaukidari tax.

7. Violating restraint orders and refusing to be on police parole.

8. Attempting to reoccupy Congress offices taken possession of by the Police.

9. Manufacturing salt.

In addition to these local activities of a routine nature, there were also campaigns of an all-India character planned and organized by the Working Committee. Among these may be mentioned the celebration of the National Week (April 6-13) and the holding of the Annual Session of the Congress at Dfclhi despite the Police ban and the strictest surveillance. It was followed by Political Conferences all over the country and the celebration of special 'days' like the All-India Prisoners' Day, Peshawar Day, etc. It must be noted that the Civil Resisters made no physical resistance, even when they were arrested or mercilessly beaten, and did not defend themselves in Court even against false accusations, for they took no part in any judicial trial.

The general impression of the methods pursued by the Government in dealing with the Civil Disobedience campaign has been thus expressed by the Delegation:

"We had not understood what the expression Police Raj, which we have heard used so often, meant till we came to India and saw it in action. The Police are a law unto themselves. Petty officials exercise very wide powers which are freely used. The statement that in India 'the police beat first and inquire afterwards' is only partially true to-day, as there is no necessity for any inquiry. The Ordinances have destroyed every safeguard against police oppression, which obtains all over India and is by no means confined to the ill-paid ranks of the Force.

“Police methods are cruel and vindictive. Men are beaten inside lock-ups; brutal force is used in ‘dispersing’ resisters (often only one, as in the case of picketing), undertrials are starved in lock-ups, and property is appropriated or destroyed. Vulgar abuse and the infliction of humiliation and violent assault are pretty common. It is difficult to understand why force should be used at all in effecting arrest of civil resisters, as it is admitted that they neither resist nor evade arrest. In any case, beating-up or lathi charges, or kicks and bullying preliminary to, or instead of, arrest, is a wanton piece of brutality. One explanation given to us was that such methods were more effective and cheaper than arrests. The explanation carries with it its own condemnation. Another gross abuse that appeared to be widely prevalent was the practice of allowing the police to buy, directly, goods that had been attached or confiscated.

“JAILS. We had great difficulty in obtaining permission

to see jails, and had to take refusals in several cases. The total number of jails that the Delegation saw is eight. We have, however, collected evidence from ex-prisoners in different parts of the country. We have no doubt in our mind that ill-treatment of political prisoners is widely prevalent. Even the jail code is not observed by the officials, who impose several penalties for the same jail offence, though the code allows only one at a time. Solitary confinements, different kinds of fetters, flogging, unofficial beating and kicks, the oil mill, and humiliating treatment are among the methods which jail authorities use against political prisoners. The majority of the prisoners are in ‘C’ class and treated as common criminals. Their warders are criminals. The quality of food varies from jail to jail. Some of the food we have seen is dirty, deficient and quite bad. The news recently published about beating in the Nasik Jail dees not surprise us. The practice is not confined to Nasik. Rae

Bareilly, which we saw, provided enough evidence that the practice of beating by jail officials was prevalent there.

“OFFICIALS. They were willing to listen to us, but their

attitude was uncritical of excesses. The Ordinance mind pervades the administration. If a bureaucratic form of Government is bad, a bureaucracy ruling by Ordinances is a serious menace to the most innocent people. There are district officials who recognise that excesses are going on, and some who even regret them. Even those latter, however, do little or nothing to check abuses and excesses. We think that the Ordinances are responsible for this indifference to wrong-doing which appears to have affected even the better class of officials. , ’ 13

The repressive action of the Government falls broadly under two classes. The first is a series of Ordm^xw which practically suspended all the normal laws safeguarding the ife, property, and personal liberty of the Indians, and placed then under the regime of executive orders. The most important among these were (1) Bengal Emergency Powers (Supplementary) Ordinance of 2 January, 1932; (2-4) Emergency Powers, Unlawful Instigation, and Prevention of Molestation and Boycotting Ordinances, all passed on A January, 1932; (5-6) Amending Ordinances nos. 7 and 8 of 1932; (7) Special Powers Ordinance of 1932; (8-10) Tlree Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance, Nos. 9, 11 and 12 of 19 2, passed respectively on 28 May, 30 June, and 20 July, 1932.

The second class comprises the actual measrn *s taken against individuals, groups and organisations in order to put down Civil Disobedience.

The Report refers to ten Ordinances which wer ^ in force at the time they visited India. After describing briefly their provisions and the judgments in courts, the Delegation observes: “It would appear not merely from what actually goes on in India, but from the decisions of courts that the rights that the Indian subject enjoys are in fact determined by the acts of ‘competent’ authorities in India, in which category would come all executive orders and Acts.” (p. 32). As against executive authority and “suspicion” and orders of the “Local Government” the subject has no rights in India.

The Delegation sums up the position created by the Ordinances as follows:

“In. 1932 the Ordinances and now the Acts recently passed deprive the Indian people of the rights of personal freedom and safeguard which, most British people believe, exist under British law everywhere.”

“Martial Law conditions obtain now to the extent that there is: (a) Suspension of ordinary law; (b) The substitution of executive discretion for law (in fact); (c) The use of soldiers for maintaining internal order; (d) The use of armed police as a normal practice; (e) The discretionary rule of the executive functioning in the main through the police (but not the military); (f) Billeting, punitive fines and commandeering of supplies; (g) Curfew; (h) The power to stop and search any person suspected of carrying arms or information; (i) Blockading of areas (villages); (j) Control of information about movements of police and military; (k) Control of the movements of individuals and sometimes of sections of the population by means of passports, etc. (even within a province); (1) Special tribunals and procedure displacing and barring judicial processes and normal system and ideas of Criminal Jurisprudence; (m) Quartering of troops on peasant villages; (n) Firing by sentries on suspects and villagers who are alleged to fail to answer a challenge;

(o) Mass intimidation by the display of armed force in villages;

(p) Indemnity for official acts, civil and military, which is given in advance, not after, as even in martial law.” 13a

Regarding the measures taken and the methods adopted by the Government, the Report gives the following list:

“(1) Declaring illegal disapproved organisations (not merely Congress).

(2) Confiscation of funds of Congress and other disapproved organisations.

(3) Control and right of examination of accounts of those likely to subscribe to any Congress or to allied activities.

(4) Arrest and imprisonment of leaders—national, provincial or local (right down to the village leaders)—in the first few weeks of the Ordinance.

(5) Use of excessive force in dispersal of assemblies, illtreatment in lock-ups and gaols.

(6) Intimidation of villages, crowds, etc.

(7) Mass punishments, punitive impositions, victimisation of neighbours, relatives, etc.

(8) Confiscation of lands, cattle, utensils and personal belongings.

(9) Ill-treatment of women and children.

(10) Police and excecutive action and severe penalties for technical breaches of the law.

(11) Illegal police and executive action against flag-hoisting, use of handspun, closing of shops, processions, etc.

(12) Censorship of the press, interception of correspondence, and interference with travel, etc.

(13) Imprisonment after summary trials or without trials.

(14) Searches, with or without warrant.

(15) Prohibition of meetings, or assemblies of more than five persons, and surveillance over every kind of meeting.

(16) Beating of pickets and volunteers.

(17) "Parole" orders (cat and mouse procedure). 14

(18) Internment and internment at executive discretion.

(19) Marching of troops through villages ("showing the flag").

(20) Police surveillance on an unprecedented scale.

(21) Destruction of property and closing down of social service and similar institutions. 143

The Report adds that between January and July, 1932, security was demanded from 109 journals and 98 printing presses in India.

The Report gives full details and cites concrete cases under each of the above items. Only a very brief reference may be made to a few of them.

B. DETAILS OF REPRESSION

1. Treatment of Women Resisters

"The worst cases of ill-treatment of women and children have, like most of the excesses and atrocities, occurred in the villages and inside the prisons.... In many instances, of which we have the facts, the women were savagely set upon, beaten or insulted by the police with the object of preventing them from participating or to frighten them and others from such activities. In the many statements made to us or sent to us, complaints of foul and filthy language and threats of dishonour, either expressed or but thinly veiled, are made against all ranks of police officers".

"Ill-treatment and excesses include:

(1) Taking women resisters on police lorries and leaving them far away in lonely places.

(2) Actual beating and threats of violence.

(3) Abuse, indecent suggestions and insults.

(4) Compulsion to travel (as prisoners) in male custody.

(5) Rape and indecent assault, etc.

"We took a statement concerning Mani Devi Temmana of the village Vasare, Ankola. She, a widow of about forty, refused to vacate her house, which had been attached under the law for nonpayment of land revenue. The head constable entered the house and beat the woman with his shoes until she was unconscious. She was then dragged out of the house and left in the field. Her neighbours picked her up and took her to Ankola in an unconscious condition. She was admitted to the public hospital for treatment. The incident took place ten or twelve days prior to our visit.

“The mother of Jawaharlal Nehru was witnessing a Congress demonstration in Purshottamdas Park, Allahabad, on 8 April, 1932. She was pushed off her chair and fell down. She was beaten with lathis on her body and on her head. She was wounded on the head and was bleeding and fainted.

“We have in our possession copies of signed statements of many women victims of Police Raj. Some of the statements from Bengal and Gujarat refer to cases of attempt at or committal of rape on women by Police.” (A number of concrete cases are given).

2. Beating by Police

(1) The Delegation points out that the Civil Disobedience volunteers do not resist arrest.

(2) That volunteers are beaten even (a) after they attempt to run away, (b) after they have been arrested, (c) when they take all the beating without retaliation, (d) after they fall semi-conscious or are otherwise on the ground, and (e) when the victims include women.

(3) That the beating is accompanied by vile abuse, drenching with coloured water, dragging along the roads and the infliction of other injuries.

(4) That the victims of the beating are not the volunteers alone but also innocent sightseers, who are merely members of the general public.

(5) That ‘dispersal’ in this manner is not merely of ‘assemblies’ but of individuals. The police ‘disperse’ individual pickets, who cannot by any stretching of the law be called a gathering tending to create a mob riot.

“Each of these five assertions is based on our experience, and the admissions made in the Legislatures by Government spokesmen. We shall give here a few samples not necessarily of the worst or extraordinary cases of instances in illustration of each of the five categories mentioned here.” These are given on pp. 168 ff.

According to the Delegation Report, the Madras Government instructed the police not to beat the volunteers while the members of the Delegation were present at the scene. Actually beating was stopped as soon as they appeared. Two instances are cited. “In Calicut, however, the stopping of the procession was followed instantly by a shower of lathi blows on the volunteers on the left front of the procession. They immediately squatted on the road; a few more blows followed. In the meanwhile the police noticed that the crowd which gathered in the buildings on either side of the road was looking away from the procession. We had reached the spot from the opposite direction and had been noticed. We saw no more beating.... This incident shows the police method and the lack of any justification of necessity. The arrests did not require force; at the same time we saw enough to verify for ourselves the widespread allegations against the police.”

At Rochesan in Gujarat, the members of the Delegation reached before morning and hid themselves on the terrace of a house. What followed is thus described: “The procession consisted mainly of women, the total number being perhaps about thirty or forty. Policemen with full-sized lathis met the procession near our house and the procession stopped. We witnessed the most savage beating that we had seen till then. The men and women squatted down. Policemen swung their five-foot lathis with both hands and delivered blows on the heads and shoulders. One of the victims was an old woman, another whose statement we took afterwards. It was a ruthless performance, savage in the fury with which the police delivered the blows.”

In one case eight young picketers were beaten by the police and fell down senseless. Water was then poured to revive them and afterwards it is alleged they were again beaten.

“P. L. N. K. Chettiar, Ramnad district, a banker worth about two lakhs of rupees, was present at an open-air meeting on the 9th January, 1932. The Police Inspector said they should not crowd there. Mr. Chettiar moved when a policeman beat him with a lathi and fractured his knee. Mr. Chettiar will never be able to bend his knee."

"We saw the results of lathi blows on children, and some quite savage beating. The statements that we received and took in different places contain quite a number of instances of loathsome horrors, some of them unprintable. We saw on the head of a frail little girl aged about twelve scars of wounds inflicted by the lathis and on her back some marks of savage beating. On a child of such tender years, whose crime appears to have been that she was distributing handbills, such cruelty may without any apology be classed as gruesome. We cross-examined the child and we are convinced in our minds that the child was savagely beaten."

3. Hair set on Fire

"At Madura we met a Dhobie (Washerman). He wore khaddar and picketed. He was beaten severely and then taken to the house of Police Inspector, who was an Indian. He was again beaten, then kerosene oil was poured on his hair and set alight". The rest of

the story may be said in the words of the man himself. "The Circle Inspector's wife cried out in horrified protest. A constable put out the fire with his hands. There were burns all over my head. The Circle Inspector then beat me with a ruler with one hand and a lathi in the other, on the elbow, shoulder, wrist, kneecap and thigh, and on my back and fingers. My hands were bleeding. I had five wounds on the head, six or seven on my left arm, seventeen on my right arm, displacement of three finger nails of the left hand."

Four young boys, aged 7, 10, 12, and 16, were beaten, kicked and slapped for alleged offences of their eldest brother who was absent. The Police tied their legs with ropes and hung them by their feet from the roof and beat them.

4. Firing ,

The Police fired on crowds even on the alleged offence of stonethrowing. "In no instance is there evidence of an actual riot which had to be quelled.

According to Mr. Haig, the Home Member, 80 were killed and 319 wounded.

"The practice that obtains in India, of not ordering an inquiry even after people are killed as a result of firing by the Police or the Military, coupled with the visiting of penalties on the publication of accounts in newspapers, justifies our giving here some of the information that we collected, side by side with the official version. Ordinance rule appeared obviously more arbitrary than even a Martial Law regime when Police, Military and District Civil Officers may shoot people dead or order firing and no inquiry is held after the incident and no compensation offered to the relatives of those killed, even when they happen to have been neutral citizens who are spectators."

"The allegations of atrocities made by public men have often been denied or explained away by official departments or spokesmen in the Legislatures or in press communiques. In no case has a public inquiry been instituted, and when, as in the case of the firing at Hijli Detenue Camp, an official committee has found fault with the official side, no action has been taken."

5. Raids and searches of Premises.

"Raids and searches were made by the police all over India. We have the figures of the total searches in six months in 1932. Two random instances would suffice to show the extent: Contai Subdivision of Midnapore District, 45 searches, Muzaffarpur (Bihar), 39, in approximately six months. The worst cases are in the villages."

"Mrs. Purna Devi, whom we met in Lahore, informed us that in 1930 her house was searched while her husband was in prison.

The police came at 2 a.m., and as she was alone she told them she would not open the doors till the morning. They then broke open the doer and entered the courtyard and climbed the pillars and got into the house. She also said that such searches were common. Three or four policemen would come and turn places upside down. The police are supposed to bring ordinary citizens to witness the search. In fact, such people as they bring are men in their own pay. Arrests are often made at night."

6. Beating in Lock-ups

“Beating, or other forms of torture, in a police lock-up, which are entirely illegal, appear to have been adopted by the police in almost every province. Madras, Gujarat, Bengal and the United Provinces furnished us with instances. It is at once one of the worst forms of atrocity and the most difficult to prove. We examined at some length the cases.

“Apart from these two instances on which we questioned these men and convinced ourselves, the report of savage beatings in the lock-ups which appear to have been a special feature of the Calicut police methods, were mentioned to us by many people, mostly opponents of Congress.

“Mr. Russell, the Collector, received us in his bungalow. He did not deny that such incidents took place, though he made no admissions. The interview confirmed our feelings about the police beatings.

“Chunilal, whom the Sub-Inspector dragged by the tuft (of hair) and ear and knocked against the wall several times, said: ‘From the 5th to 11th I was given water alone, and no food’. Food was sent by his people, but the police did not allow it to be given to the man. They said that unless he apologised no food would be allowed. The Sub-Inspector came three times a day and beat him and knocked him about, with his hand and with a stick. There were four other people in the lock-up who were similarly treated.”

7. Condition in Jails

The food is “unfit for normal human consumption”. “The eating and cooking utensils we saw in Peshawar made one sick to look at.” The supply of water was insufficient. Complaints about all these led not to rectification of evils but to punishments which include solitary confinement and fetters, beatings and kicks. 15

“The condition in which children from 9 to 16 years are kept is nothing short of a crime. Some of them are flogged or whipped and do the labour of adults.”

“Two young educated ladies, Bina Das Gupta and Arati Mukherji, it was stated to us, were beaten, the latter, aged 26, by a British Police officer.”

“Then there is the problem of infants living in jails with their mothers. The jail rules provide that mothers may keep their children with them if the children are under six years of age. We were informed that in the case of Civil Disobedience women prisoners of Class C, this rule was broken. The mothers were put on to hard labour and the children isolated in another barrack.”

“These children are innocent of any crime or offence whatever, and the infliction of hardship and cruelty on them in their tender years should rouse the indignation and protests of all decent-minded people.”

“We were informed by women ex-prisoners that in Class C, prisoners were herded with habitual criminals and prostitutes. It is not only against jail regulations but reprehensible”.

“Transport of Prisoners:—Women prisoners were escorted over long journeys by policemen and head constables, without women warders, or other female company. The policemen always insisted on occupying the same third class apartment, however small, aS the women prisoners.... They squeezed themselves in, used the same lavatories, made vulgar jokes and sang ribald songs, and used foul language.”

“Mr. Hall, the District Magistrate, as well as the jail superintendent, had asserted that all educated women were given Class A. and B. But this we found was not true.”

8. Shooting of Detenus.

“Complaints of ill-treatment and violence by jail officials in these internment damps were made to us in Bengal. There have been cases of firing on detenues. The Bengal Government appear, from the order we quote below, to have given wide powers to prison officials:—

L_ _ .

Tf any detenu under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, disobeys or neglects to comply with any order made, direction given or condition prescribed by virtue of any rule made under Section 13 of the said Act, the authority, which made the order, gave the direction or prescribed the conditions, may use any and every means necessary to enforce compliance with such order.*

“The shooting of unarmed detenues at Hijli in September, 1931, by the armed guards of this camp, and the findings of an official committee, consisting of a British Official and an Indian Judge, which state that the shooting was ‘indiscriminate* and ‘without justification*

and resulted in serious injuries and two deaths, should have been sufficient reason for the Bengal Government to desist from placing such unrestricted powers as provided in the Order quoted in the hands of prison officials.”

Jail Penal Code:—Punishments inflicted for trivial offences or breaches of etiquette (such as not rising and saluting when any jail officer passes by) were:

1. Standing handcuffs for days together (during which the prisoner had to answer calls of nature in the same condition).

2. Solitary cell.

3. Bar fetters.

4. Twenty to fifty chained together at night in the verandah without blankets in winter.

9. The No-Tax Campaign and Punitive Police

“The No-Tax Campaign was pursued on a mass scale. We visited villages and made close investigations. The police terrorised the villagers, and landlords took the la>v into their own hands and smashed up tenants’ houses, and took their property with the aid of the police”.

“Punitive police, for which the villagers had to pay, were stationed in many areas. Police camps were built round the crops to prevent tenants reaping their crops. In Ras we saw crops rotting in the fields. In some places, police had mowed the corn.... In some areas the tenants set fire to the crop rather than allow it to be reaped by others. The police encampments, with the armed pickets, gave the place the appearance of area under occupation.

“Attachment of property, usually a revenue process, has now become a police job. The police raided the villages, beat the foremost resisters, seized livestock, fodder, food-stuffs from them, pulled down parts of houses, and none of these can be questioned in a court of law even if Congress people decided to fight actions in court.”

10. Blockading Of Villages

“Villages were blockaded, to round up people, and as a particularly noxious form of coercion. In the Gujarat districts the police made a practice of blockading villages for twenty-four hours or more. It is the residential part of the village which is thus besieged, and the object is to prevent people from going out into the fields for their natural functions”.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE-LAST PHASE

11. Looting and Pillage

“Where punitive police are stationed, entering of houses, taking away of goods, looting and destruction, take place as part of Police Raj, according to the evidence we received and the results that we saw. In the villages, mainly in Gujarat, looting has followed in the wake of tax collection.’*

“We went in to a large number of houses in the Gujarat villages and saw the destruction that had been wrought. Utensils and furniture had been broken up where they had not actually been taken away. In Ras and Bochasan we saw house after house, in which the huge earthen jars, in which grain is stored, were broken up.

“We saw a village (in Sylhet in Bengal) in which the tenants refused to pay rents which were alleged to have been increased three times by the

Zamindar. Armed Gurkhas and constables headed by the Superintendent of Police, with the help of elephants, razed fifty houses to the ground. The owner of one of these was in jail. His wife 'told us that these elephants were brought out and three houses which belonged to her family, all in the same compound, were destroyed'. 'The Police', she said, 'even now come into our houses and take away our utensils, grain, beddings and clothes. The Sub-divisional Officer visits the house and abuses us from a distance.,"

"In Bengal, as in the North-West Provinces, police pillage has reached excesses comparable only to conditions under military occupation in time of war." (Photographs of looted houses were shown).

"From the statements and information in our possession we could give instance after instance of the terrorising activities of the police garrison, which is what the punitive police resembles. They levy blackmail, and rob women, visiting the area, of their jewels.

"At Sheohar, Sobhai, a Moslem, told us the story of his daughter, a married woman, who, while cutting corn in the field, was rushed at by the punitive police and violated.

"At Midnapore, we saw people who had received wounds at the hands of the punitive police. In Tamluk (Bengal) Pathans, Punjabis, and Gurkhas have been planted all over the district. The people had been beaten, robbed, fired on, and tortured, and made to pay for the very force that was responsible for these acts."

12. Terrorism in Excelsis

"Lieut. Colonel Arthur Osborn, D.S.O., in his book, Must England Lose India?, quotes an official who told him: T give you

my word that after some of my punitive police have been stationed in a village for a few days, the spirit of the toughest of the political agitators is broken.' Lieut. Colonel Osborn inquired, 'How?' 'Well, they will help themselves to everything. Within twenty-four hours there will not be a virgin or a four-anna piece left in that village.' 16

This is the confession, not of a Thug, but of a British official who was obviously inspired by the achievements of his countrymen in Ireland in the seventeenth century. It is the most fitting conclusion of the section dealing with barbarous outrages perpetrated by the British Government in India for suppressing the non-violent Satydgraha campaign of Gandhi.

IV. THE END OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

While the Civil Disobedience movement was continuing in full force in spite of the unabated fury of Government repression and the imprisonment of almost all notable Congress leaders together with nearly ninety thousand followers, Gandhi suddenly side-tracked the whole campaign by raising a side issue.

As mentioned above, the question of the electoral representation of the different communities could not be solved in the Second Round Table Conference, and the British Prime Minister was authorized to decide it. In pursuance of it Ramsay Macdonald announced his 'Communal Award' on 16 August, 1932. 17 According to this Award the Muhammadan, European and Sikh voters would elect candidates by voting in separate communal electorates. As regards the Depressed Classes the arrangement was as follows:

"Members of the 'Depressed Classes' qualified to vote will vote in a general constituency. In view of the fact that for a considerable period these classes would be unlikely, by this means alone, to secure any adequate representation in the Legislature, a number of special seats will be assigned to them as shown in the table. These seats will be filled by election from special constituencies, in which only members of the 'Depressed Classes' electorally qualified will be entitled to vote. Any person voting in such a special constituency will, as stated above, be also entitled to vote in a general constituency. It is intended that these constituencies should be formed in selected areas where the Depressed Classes are most numerous, and that, except in Madras, they should not cover the whole area of the Province" (as was the case with the Muhammadans, Europeans and Sikhs). Mr. MacDonald, however, promised to accept any alternative scheme mutually agreed upon by the Hindus and the Depressed Classes. 18

In the Round Table Conference Gandhi had strenuously opposed the idea of separate electorate for the Depressed Classes, and said that he would resist it with his life. On 11 March, 1932, he had written to Sir Samuel Hoare that if the Depressed Classes were granted separate electorate he would fast unto death. True to this resolve Gandhi wrote to the Prime Minister on 18 August, 1932, that he would commence the fast on 20 September, and it would cease if only the scheme were revised and a common electorate restored. 19 This caused great alarm and anxiety over the whole country and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya summoned a Conference which met, first in Bombay and then at Poona. Dr. Ambedkar, the most prominent leader of the Depressed Classes, was induced to join it, and he fully exploited the situation to his advantage. After a prolonged negotiation, and a great deal of bargaining, a settlement was arrived at on 25 September, that is, the sixth day of the fast. A common electorate of all the Hindus was agreed upon, subject to two conditions. First, one hundred and forty-eight seats in the different provincial legislatures were reserved for the Depressed Classes in place of seventy-one. Eighteen per cent, of the seats in the Central Legislature which were allotted to the general electorate for British India were similarly reserved for them. Secondly, there would be a primary election, by the voters of the Depressed Classes alone, of four candidates for each reserved seat, and the election by the General (Hindu) Constituencies was restricted to these alone. The agreement, or the Poona Pact 20 as it came to be known, was ratified by the Hindu Mahasabha and accepted by the British Government, and the constitution was amended accordingly. Thus the Depressed Classes benefited both ways. They secured double the number of seats reserved for them in the Communal Award, and also enjoyed the benefits of a separate electorate, though in a modified form.

For the time being all these considerations were absent from the minds of men who were only concerned with saving the life of Gandhi at any cost. This immediate object was achieved, and Gandhi broke his fast on September 26. It was not long, however, before people wondered whether the ‘epic fast’ was worth either the issue involved or the decision arrived at. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote:

“I felt annoyed with him (Gandhi) for choosing a side issue for his final sacrifice. What would be the result on our freedom movement? Would not the larger issues fade into the background, for the time being at least? And, if he attained his immediate object and got a joint electorate for the depressed classes, would not that result in a reaction and a feeling that something had been achieved and nothing more need be done for a while? And was not his action a recognition, and in part an acceptance, of the communal award and the general scheme of things as sponsored by the Government? Was this consistent with non-co-operation and civil disobedience? After so much sacrifice and brave endeavour, was our movement to tail off into something insignificant?

“I felt angry with him at his religious and sentimental approach to a political question, and his frequent references to God in connection with it. He even seemed to suggest that God had indicated the very date of the fast. What a terrible example to set”.[21]

These and similar thoughts were uppermost in the minds of a large section of people after the immediate crisis was over. There can be no doubt that the effect of Gandhi’s action upon the Civil Disobedience movement was disastrous. It diverted all attention from the actual fight, at least for the time being, when it was at its height. But far more disastrous was the fact that henceforth Gandhi devoted his whole energy and attention to the question of untouchability and seemed to have lost interest in the political issue.

In spite of such feelings the fight was kept on. The Independence Day on 26th January, 1933, was celebrated with great enthusiasm all over India. Demonstrations were broken by force, large numbers were arrested, and at Badangunj in Hoogly District (Bengal) the police resorted to shooting.

The Congress held its annual session at Calcutta on 31 March, 1933. In spite of the ban, more than a thousand delegates met at the place selected for the session. The police soon arrived at the scene and began to strike the Congressmen with lathis. But even while the heavy lathi blows were breaking their heads, the delegates who were in the centre of a circle, held the session under the Presidentship of Mrs. J. M. Sengupta. Resolutions were passed reaffirming (1) the goal of independence, (2) Civil Disobedience, and (3) boycott of foreign cloth and British goods.

The following extract from the speech of the President-elect, the venerable Pandit Malaviya, reflects the feeling of the country at the time:

"It is estimated that nearly 120,000 persons, including several thousand women and quite a number of children, have been arrested and imprisoned during the last fifteen months. It is an open secret that when the Government started repression, the official expectation was that they would crush the Congress in six weeks' time. Fifteen months have not enabled the Government to achieve the object. Twice fifteen months will not enable it to do so." 22

But while the Congressmen continued their fight with grim determination and held aloft the banner of their freedom, Gandhi had no heart in the Civil Disobedience movement, and his mind was fully occupied by the anti-untouchability campaign. This campaign began immediately after he had broken his fast. On the day preceding that, the Hindu leaders who had successfully negotiated the Poona Pact met at Bombay under the Chairmanship of Malaviya and passed the following resolution (25 September, 1932):

"The Conference resolves that, henceforth, amongst Hindus no one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same right as other Hindus in regard to the use of the public wells, public schools, public roads and all other public institutions. This right shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall be one of the earliest Acts of the Swaraj Parliament, if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.

"It is further agreed that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, an early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the so-called untouchable classes, including the bar in respect of admission to temples." 23

In response to the appeal made by Gandhi and due to the efforts of the leaders, temples and public wells throughout India began to be thrown open to the untouchables. This was the beginning of a general campaign against untouchability which did valuable work and soon led to the foundation of Harijan Sevak Sangha with G. D. Birla as President and Amritlal Thakkar of the Servants of India Society as Secretary. Suddenly Gandhi announced on 8 May, 1933, that he would begin a fast of 21 days for purification of himself and his associates for "greater vigilance and watchfulness in connection with the Harijan cause". The Government issued a communique that they had decided to release Gandhi in view of the nature of the object of his fast and the attitude of mind which it disclosed. Immediately after his release, on 8 May, Gandhi issued a long statement recommending to the President of the Congress to suspend Civil Disobedience campaign for one full month or even six weeks. In the same statement Gandhi made an appeal to the Government of India to withdraw the Ordinances and release the Civil Disobedience prisoners. Lord Willingdon not only paid no heed to the appeal but gave Gandhi a strong rebuff.

It was clearly stated in an official communique, dated 9 May, that "there is no intention of negotiating with the Congress for a withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience movement or of releasing prisoners with a view to arrive at any settlement with them in regard to these unlawful activities". It was a rude reminder to Gandhi that the days of Irwin were over and the British had regained the prestige that had been sacrificed by the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

Aney, the Acting President of the Congress, in obedience to Gandhi's request, suspended Civil Disobedience, at first for six weeks and then for a further period of six weeks. As soon as Gandhi had sufficiently recovered from the effects of the fast an informal Conference of Congressmen was held at Poona on 12 July, 1933, to review the political situation and determine the future plans. The Conference "rejected a motion for the unconditional withdrawal of Civil Disobedience but also threw out a motion for favouring Individual Civil Disobedience". In the end it was decided that Gandhi should "seek an interview with the Viceroy for arriving at a settlement with the Government". 24 As could be anticipated from the official communique of 9 May, quoted above, the Viceroy declined to interview Gandhi. This rebuff, according to the official history of the Congress, "forced the Nation, if it was to conserve national honour, to continue the struggle". 25 Accordingly it was decided to suspend Mass Civil Disobedience and only those "who were able and willing were advised to offer Individual Civil Disobedience". Further, "under the orders of the Acting President, all Congress organizations and war councils ceased to function in view of the suspension of mass Satytigraha." 26 It is certainly not very easy to appreciate the methods adopted to save 'national honour'.

The undignified proceedings of the Conference provoked some caustic remarks from K. F. Nariman, a member of the Congress Working Committee, who made a scathing criticism of the whole proceedings and particularly the attitude of Gandhi. 27 Whatever one might think of his comments they certainly reveal an independence of judgement and action which was very rare in the Congress circle. 28

The history of Individual Civil Disobedience movement may be briefly told. Gandhi decided to inaugurate it on 1 August, 1933, by commencing his march to the village of Ras, but was arrested on the previous night with 34 other inmates of the Ashram, and all were sent to prison. Gandhi was released on 4 August, and served with an order to reside in Poona. Gandhi, having disobeyed the order, was arrested again on the same day and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Gandhi's example was followed by hundreds of others all over the country. An important decision taken at this time must be noticed. When the Civil Disobedience campaign was

resumed in January, 1932, Vallabhbhai Patel, the then President of Congress, drew up a list of persons who were to succeed him as Acting President one after another, as each was put in prison or otherwise unable to act. Aney was the President when Civil Disobedience was suspended in May, 1933, but he offered Individual Civil Disobedience and v/as arrested on 14 August. His successor, Saraul Singh Cavesheer, followed his example, but before doing so he issued orders terminating the office of the Acting President. Thus the last vestige of Congress organisation was voluntarily destroyed, "with a view to facilitate the campaign becoming truly one of Individual Civil Disobedience". 29

As Gandhi was refused facilities in prison for conducting the anti-Untouchability campaign, he resorted to a fast on 16 August, a step incompreb msible to even Nehru. 30 As Gandhi's condition became very critical he was released unconditionally on 23 August, 3 933. Gandhi, however, regarded himself as not free to resume Civil Disobedience till the full term of his imprisonment was over, and devoted the period to the furtherance of the Harijan movement.

By that time the Individual Civil Disobedience "was dead like a door-nail". Referring to the commencement of the New Year, 1934, the official history of the Congress records: "The progress of events in the line of Civil Disobedience was none too satisfactory. The prisoners who were released were fagged. The Provincial leaders who had promised at Poona Conference to lead their Provinces if Mass Civil Disobedience were given up and Individual Civil Disobedience continued, did not carry out their pledges, except in a few cases. Those who were released from jails found themselves unable or unwilling to face another conviction." 31 Slowly and silently the movement faded away, and during the upheaval caused by the great earthquake at Bihar on 16 January, 1934, it passed away unnoticed into the limbo of oblivion.

Thus the great Civil Disobedience campaign came to an ignoble end, in spite of all the brave and heroic deeds of which any nation may well feel proud. On the eve of his famous march to Dandi, which started the campaign, Gandhi had said: "Civil Disobedience, once begun this time, cannot be stopped and must not be stopped so long as there is a single civil resister left free or alive." 32 What puzzled the Indians most was the leader's order to lay down arms and surrender even before the soldiers had abandoned the grim struggle. Gandhi had practically given up the fight for freedom on 18 August, 1932. The then situation is thus described by Madan Mohan Malaviya in a public statement issued on 2 May, 1932:

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

"During these four months up to April 20th last, according to the reports published in the press, 66,646 persons, among whom were included 5,325 women and many children, have been arrested, imprisoned and humiliated. This could not possibly include arrests in the far-off villages in the interior of the country and, therefore, the Congress estimates the total arrests to be over 80,000 up to that date. The jails are overcrowded and ordinary prisoners are being released before their time to make room for political prisoners. To this has to be added the number of arrests made during the last ten days, including those of the delegates to the Delhi Congress. According to the reports in the press firing has been resorted to in at least 29 cases with considerable loss of life. There have been lathi charges on unarmed crowds at 325 places. There have been 633 cases of house searches and 102 cases of confiscatior of property. A general policy has been pursued of imposing extraordinarily heavy fines on persons who have been convicted in connection with the movement and property far in excess of what was necessary for realising the amount of fines has been attached and sold. The Press has been gagged as it has never been gagged before. 163 cases have been reported where the newspapers and the public presses have been regulated by orders for confiscation, demands for security and consequent closing down of the presses, warnings, searches and arrests of editors, printers or keepers. Numerous public meetings and processions of non-violent men and women have been dispersed by lathi charges and sometimes by firing." 33

That this tempo of the Civil Disobedience movement continued for one year more is indicated by the account of the Congress session in Calcutta at the end of March, 1933, and the Address of its President Pandit Malaviya, quoted above. 34 And yet Gandhi cried halt just at this psychological moment, as he did in 1922.

1. Hist. Congr., I. p. 510.

2. Ibid, p. 511.

3. Ibid, pp. 511-2.

4. Ibid, pp. 512-4.

5. Ibid, pp. 514-7.

6. Ibid, p. 518.

7. Verrier Elwin, Truth about India, Can We get it? p. 38.

8. Ibid.

9. See f.n. 7, for the name of the book.

10. Ibid, pp. 34-5.

11. The whole of section II is based upon the Report of the India League Delegation referred to in the next section.

12. India League Delegation Report, p. 76.

13. Ibid, pp. 496-500.

13a. Ibid, pp. 56-9.

14. The Delegation explains it as follows: "The Ordinances gave powers to the Executive Officers to keep any person in detention for fifteen days on mere suspicion. At the end of the period, the persoji against whom no charge was preferred was released, but he was sometimes re-arrested in a few minutes or a few hours after release. In this way the period of detention could be extended at the sweet will of the Executive officers."

14a. Pp. 142-4.

15. The Report quotes in footnotes two statements in this connection:

1. "We were supplied with one bucket of water for six of us per day for washing purposes"—Vidya Devi Varma, Woman ex-prisoner, Bareilly Jail. Evidence, U.P. Committee Report.

2. "U.P. Committee Report.—Hari Singh (Bareilly Jail) stated: 'In oil mills political prisoners were made to run like bullocks. They had to eat while they were doing work.' Altar Singh of Muzaffarnagar, Bareilly Jail, stated that he worked on the oil mill from 6 A.M. to 5 P.M. Had to work while suffering from fever. Reported to Superintendent and punished for short labour."

16. The statement of the official is quoted in the Report of the India League Delegation, p. 413.

17. It was released on 16 August, according to Gwyer (p. 261), but the date of announcement is given as 17 August in Hist. Congr., I. p. 532.

18. For the full text of the Communal Award, cf. Gwyer, pp. 261-5.

19. For the full text of the letter, cf. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 542-3; for his earlier statements, cf. ibid, p. 539.

20. For full text, cf. Gwyer, pp. 265-6.

21. Nehru on Gandhi, pp 72-3.

22. Subhas Chandra Bose, The Indian Struggle, p. 260.

23. Hist. Congr., I. p. 536.

24. Ibid, p. 562; The Indian Struggle, p. 262.

25. Hist. Congr., I. p. 562.

26. Ibid.

27. The Indian Struggle, p. 264.

28. Jawaharlal Nehru also showed independence of judgment as his many adverse comments on Gandhi's action would show, but he always ultimately accepted Gandhi's decision.

29. Hist. Congr., I. p. 563.

30. Nehru observed: "It seemed an extraordinarily trivial matter for such a tremendous step. It was quite impossible for me to understand his decision." Nehru on Gandhi, p. 84.

31. Hist. Congr., I. p. 565.

32. Ibid, p. 381.

33. The Indian Struggle, p. 242.

34. See p. 522.

CHAPTER XXI

MUSLIM POLITICS

I. MUSLIM ATTITUDE (1929-34)

As mentioned above, the Hindu-Muslim fraternity proclaimed by Gandhi in 1920 came to an end as soon as the Non-co-operation movement was suspended by him, and this was signalized by the recrudescence of communal riots and gradual veering of Muslim leaders to the communal policy of the Muslim League. Gandhi's sincere anxiety to arrive at a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem miserably failed. The so-called Nationalist Muslims who had joined Gandhi in the anti-British crusade of 1921 were really pan-Islamists who merely exploited Gandhi for securing redress of the Khilafat wrong. As soon as the Khilafat agitation came to an ignoble end after the abolition of the office of the Caliph by Kemal Pasha in 1924, most of these Muslims, including the Ali Brothers, whom Gandhi identified with his cause, appeared in their true colours.

Muhammad Ali, who was the principal lieutenant of Gandhi in his first Satyagraha campaign in 1920, refused to join him in the second campaign in 1930. At a meeting of the All-India Muslim Conference at Bombay held in April, 1930, attended by over 20,000 Muslims, he bluntly stated: "We refuse to join Mr. (no longer Mahatma) Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India but for making the seventy millions of Indian Musalmans dependants of the Hindu Mahasabha". 1 He made no secret of the fact that the Muslims, as a whole, were guided by Pan-Islamism. He told the members of the Round Table Conference: "Islam was not confined to India. I belong to two circles of equal size but which are not concentric. One is India and the other is the Muslim World. . . . We are not nationalists but supernationalists." 2 In his address as Congress President in 1923 he reminded the audience that "extra-territorial sympathies are part of the quintessence of Islam".

But the influence of the Ali Brothers and their group was on the wane, and Muslims under the leadership of Jinnah and others now concentrated their attention upon the improvement of their political status at home. In this they were aided by two factors. The first was the clever move of the British Government to declare openly that no political concessions could be granted to India unless

there was a fair measure of agreement between the two major communities .... the Hindus and the Muslims. The second, a consequence of the first, was the oft-repeated open declaration on the part of Gandhi, supported not only by the Congress, but also by the Moderate leaders, that there could be no solution of the constitutional problem of India so long as the two communities did not agree on a common plan. The Muslims, thus armed with the powers of veto, fully exploited the situation and pitched their demands higher and higher.

In this clever manoeuvring for power, Muhammad Ali Jinnah stood head and shoulders over the other Muslim leaders. His early career has been described above. 3 The acceptance of the Nehru Constitution by the Indian National Congress in 1928, and the ultimatum issued by it to the Government had a strong reaction on Jinnah. His failure to carry the Convention with him had mortified him beyond measure, and he looked upon the resolution of the Congress as a determined move to ignore the Muslim claims, and an indirect but unceremonious rejection^of the claim of Muslim League to be heard upon such an all-important problem. Piqued at what he regarded as an insult to the Muslim community, he first organized an All-Parties Muslim Conference and then summoned the adjourned meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi on 28 March, 1929. Here he repudiated the Nehru Constitution and laid down his famous “fourteen points” embodying the minimum demands of the Muslim community, which ran as follows:

(1) The form of the future Constitution should be federal with the residuary powers vested in the Provinces.

(2) A uniform measure of autonomy shall be granted to all Provinces.

(3) All Legislatures in the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principle of adequate and effective representation of Minorities in every Province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even equality.

(4) In the Central Legislature, Mussulman representation shall not be less than one-third.

(5) Representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community, at any time, to abandon its separate electorate in favour of joint electorate.

(6) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and the North-West Frontier Province.

(7) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship and observance, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.

(8) No Bill or resolution or any part thereof, shall be passed in any Legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill, resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community or in the alternative, such other method is advised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

(9) Sindh should be separated from the Bombay Presidency.

(10) Reforms should be introduced in the North-West Frontier. Province and Baluchistan on the same footing as in other Provinces.

(11) Provision should be made in the Constitution giving Muslims an adequate share, along with the other Indians, in all the Services of the State and in local self-governing bodies, having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.

(12) The Constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim culture and for the . protection and promotion of Muslim education, language, religion, personal laws and Muslim charitable institutions and for their due share in the grants-in-aid given by the State and by local self-governing bodies.

(13) No Cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of at least one-third Muslim Ministers.

(14) No change shall be made in the Constitution by the Central Legislature except with the concurrence of the States constituting the Indian Federation. 34

Though Jinnah was defeated at the Convention, the lapse of the Nehru Report 4 was a great triumph for him. It also killed the Nationalist Muslim party formed by Ansari in 1928, and left the held open for communal Muslims. A comparison of Jinnah's Fourteen points with the Muslim proposals of 1924, 5 Jinnah's amendments at the Calcutta Convention of December, 1928, 6 and the resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference held on 1 January, 1929, at Delhi, 7 would give a fair idea of the gradual advance and diversity of Muslim claims. It was abundantly clear that the chances of any adjustment between the Muslims and the other communities were gradually but steadily receding into the background. As a matter of fact, the two communities henceforth drifted further and further apart and held widely divergent views on almost every material point concerning constitutional reforms in India.

This observation holds good even though the Muslims were divided into several parties. For there was a general agreement among them regarding their claims in any future constitution of India and their opposition to the Congress.

As mentioned above, the proposal of Round Table Conference (R.T.C.) was opposed by the Congress, and the Delhi Conference of prominent politicians accepted the proposal on certain conditions. But Jinnah gave his unqualified support to the Conference proposal.

Jinnah was not, however, alone in the field to support the Round Table Conference. The President of the All-India Khilafat Conference which commenced its sitting on the 31st of December, 1929, ‘welcomed the announcement regarding the Round Table Conference, and trusted that Musalmans would avail themselves of the opportunities of stressing their view point’. The idea of the R.T.C. was also welcomed by the Ali Brothers, Abdul Qadir, and Muhammad Shaft, who had set up an independent League in the Punjab by way of protest against Jinnah’s dictatorial conduct. The Ulema Conference at Kanpur on 23 December, 1929, under the Presidentship of Muhammad Ali, condemned the Nehru Report and supported the proposal of the Round Table Conference. The All-India Muslim Conference, meeting at Lahore on 30 and 31 December, 1929, also welcomed the Viceregal announcement of the Round Table Conference. All of them further demanded that the Muslims should be represented in the R.T.C. only by men “who truly represent the community, respect the inviolability of the Islamic Law, possess the confidence of their co-religionists and give true expression to their views and sentiments”. 8 In other words, Nationalist Muslims like An sari should have no place in the R.T.C. wdiich would have the benefit of hearing only the views of communalist Muslims.

Nothing could be more gratifying to the British Government and they acted upon this principle. When Gandhi agreed to attend the second session of the R.T.C. he made Irwin to give a definite undertaking that Ansari would be nominated by the Government a member of the R.T.C. “In answer to the demand for the fulfilment of Lord Irwin’s promise, Lord Willingdon pleaded that the Mussalman delegates w T ere opposed to Dr. Ansari’s delegation”. 9

The First Round Table Conference was attended by all other prominent Muslim leaders, and they declared in clear and unambiguous language, that no constitution, by whomsoever devised, wrould be accepted by the Musalmans unless their interests were adequately safeguarded in the constitution. Of course, the Muslim leaders alone wmuld decide whether the proposed safeguards were adequate or not. This position w r as tacitly accepted by the Conference, by passing a resolution which admitted, inter alia , the Muslim claims

(3) The Agricultural Markets Products Act, mainly intended to prevent malpractices in the markets whereby the ignorant cultivator had been defrauded of his just dues.

(4) The Registration of Money-lenders Act, denying to a money-lender the assistance of the courts in obtaining the repayment of a loan unless he holds, or has applied for, a licence.

(5) The Belief of Indebtedness Act, which, like similar legislation in Bengal and other Provinces, limited the rate of interest, prohibited the imprisonment of debtors, and restricted creditors* powers of seizing property in execution of debt. 14

At the end of 1940 the Government proposed three measures which were all eventually carried. These were "(1) a tax on urban immovable property, (2) a bill restricting urban rents in order to prevent landlords passing the burden of the tax on to their tenants, and (3) a general sales tax. All these measures, particularly the last, were strenuously resisted, and the local Congressmen were backed by the high command. On its orders they withdrew from the Assembly and with its help agitation was widely and effectively organised outside. There was a local hartal at Amritsar in December, 1940, and a more general on May, 1941." 15 The troubles persisted for a long time. There was rowdyism in the streets of Lahore, processions were broken by the police, and six Congress members of the Assembly were arrested. But things settled down in February, 1942 .

Among ether important measures adopted by the Government a few deserve special notice:

The Village Panchayat Act gave a further impetus to local selfgovernment "by increasing the simple social services under the Panchavat's (village council) control and extending its judicial powers; and the State Aid to Industries Act provided public money for the maintenance of cottage and village crafts. The Government pledged itself, moreover, to a 'five-year plan* of rural development costing 10 lakhs a year. Nor was urban welfare wholly neglected. The Trade Employees Act prohibited the employment of children under 14 unless they were genuine apprentices, and imposed early closing, holidays with pay, and so on. Lastly, for the benefit of the whole community, the Government succeeded, after some years* discussion arising mainly from communal suspicions and intransigence, in carrying at last at the end of 1940 a Primary Education Act, the main purport of v/hich w^as to enable any local authority to make primary education compulsory for boys between 6 and 12 and girls between 6 and 11 in the whole or part of the area under its jurisdiction". 16

defeated the Government. This Parnellian tactics gave Jinnah a pre-eminent position in the Legislative Assembly.

After the Poona Pact 15 negotiations were started to arrive at an agreed solution of the points of difference between the Hindus and the Muslims. A Unity Conference for the .purpose was held at Allahabad on 3 November, 1932, and a committee appointed by it succeeded in reaching an agreement on all outstanding points of dispute, such as the powers of the proposed Federation, the Electorate and Muslim representation. Joint Electorate was agreed upon subject to the proviso that no candidate should be declared successful who had not secured at least 30 per cent, of the votes polled by his own community. The Muslim representation in the Central Legislature was fixed at 32 per cent. But before the committee had concluded its labour, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State, announced that His Majesty's Government had decided to allot 33-1/3 per cent, of British India seats in the Central Legislature to Muslims, and not only to constitute Sind into a separate Province but also to provide it with adequate finance as subvention from the Central Government. 15 * It was, of course, impossible after this to induce the Muslims to accept the lower bid of the Unity Conference. This deliberate and mischievous attempt to wreck the HinduMuslim agreement, which was almost within sight, showed the shrewd British diplomacy of Divide and Rule at its worst, and made it quite clear that Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible during the British rule unless there was a radical change in the British policy towards India.

II. MUHAMMAD IQBAL (1873-1938)

The most characteristic development in Muslim politics during the period under review is the beginning of that new trend in political thought which led to the creation of Pakistan. It may be definitely traced to the ideas of Iqbal.

As Syed Ahmad was the greatest political leader, so was Muhammad Iqbal the greatest political thinker among the Muslims in Modern India. He was essentially a poet and a philosopher, but also took part in politics. He was member of the Punjab Legislature (1925-28), presided over the Muslim League session at Allahabad (1930), and attended the second session of the Hound Table Conference in London in 1931. Although he did not shine in politics, and never became a party leader, his political thoughts exercised a deep influence upon the Indian Muslims in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

The essence of IqbaPs political ideals may be described as enlightened Pan-Islam ism, based upon the totalitarian character of

the State in which there is no distinction between its spiritual and secular domains. There was nothing new in his fundamental conception. The State in Islam was theoretically a theocracy—an effective machinery to enable men to realize the spiritual through human organization. The brotherhood of Islam was also a wellknown idea. The importance and novelty of Iqbal’s philosophy lay in the practical application of these ideas in Indian politics.

Iqbal emphasized the idea that Islam was non-territorial in character, and the idea of brotherhood applied only to the followers of Islamic faith. The Islamic brotherhood might furnish a model for the final combination of humanity, but, for the time being, the only division in human society was between the Muslims and the non-Muslims, irrespective of any racial considerations.

Iqbal leaves us in no doubt about his ideal. “I confess”, he says, “to be a Pan-Islamist. The mission for which Islam came into this world will ultimately be fulfilled, the world will be purged of infidelity and the worship of false gods, and the true soul of Islam will be triumphant, .. . This is the kind of Pan-Islamism which I preach.” 16 In the same spirit he asserted: “Islam as a religion has no country.” 17 Still, being in India, he thought of its current politics, and expressed his view's as follows:

“The present struggle in India is sometimes described as India’s revolt against the West. I do not think it is a revolt against the West; for the people of India are demanding the very institutions which the West stands for. ..

.Educated urban India demands democracy. The minorities, feeling themselves as distinct cultural units and fearing that their very existence is at stake, demand safeguards, which the majority community, for obvious reasons, refuses to concede. The majority community pretends to believe in a nationalism theoretically correct, if we start from Western premises, belied by facts, if we look to India. Thus the real parties to the present struggle in India are not England and India, but the majority community and the minorities of India which can ill afford to accept the principle of Western democracy until it is properly modified to suit the actual conditions of life in India.” 18

Iqbal’s Presidential Address in the Allahabad session of the Muslim League (December, 1930) deserves more than a passing notice, as it has generally been looked upon as laying the foundation of Pakistan. He begins by explaining the function of religion in the development of Muslim life:

“It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity—by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal—has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of, the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-defined people. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that India is perhaps the only country in the world where Islam, as a people-building force, has worked at its best...,

“1$ it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics, in which a religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European.... The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India.”

Referring to the requisites of nationality, Iqbal observes: “Experience, however, shows that the various caste-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. .. . The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. ...” The “attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed”, observes Iqbal, but he declares that “if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-land?! is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India.”

Iqbal then defends himself against the charge of preaching narrow communalism: “There are communal isms and communalisms. A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will toward other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest "respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay. it is my duty according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be.

Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby recreating its whole past as a living factor in my present consciousness....

“Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups.”

It is on this ground that Iqbal justifies the “Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India”. “The resolution of the All-Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi”, says he, “is, to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this House will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in the resolution.”

The resolution of the Delhi Conference (on 1 January, 1929) has been referred to above, 19 but even this did not satisfy Iqbal. He said:

“Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British empire or without the British empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.... Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body politic of India the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets.... To my mind a unitary form of Government is simply unthinkable to selfgoverning India. What are called residuary powders must be left entirely to self-governing States, the Central Federation State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal States”. 20

The most important consequence of the doctrine preached by Iqbal was the slow but steady growth of the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims in India. This idea took a definite shape in the mind of a young man, Rahmat All, educated in Cambridge, and he communicated it to the Muslim members of the Round Table Conference assembled in London. But nobody took it seriously. The feelings which animated Rahmat Ali may be gathered from an account of his interview with Madame Halide Edib. 21 His conception was that the Punjab, N.W.F.F. (also called Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan comprised the national home of the Muslims, called by him Pakistan by taking the initials of the first four and the last part of the fifth. This was not a part of India, for since A.D. 712 the Hindus were a minority there. The Muslims lived there as a nation for 1200 years whereas they came to Hindusthan only as conquerors. To him Hindu-Muslim clash was not due to religious or economic grounds,—it was an international conflict between two national ambitions, Muslim for survival and Hindu for supremacy. His basic theory was that the Hindus and Muslims were fundamentally distinct nations. This he supported by the following statement: "Our religion, culture, history, tradition, literature, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles. They extend to the minute details of our lives. We, Muslims and Hindus, do not interdine; we do not intermarry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different."

Having thus, perhaps unconsciously, endorsed Sayyid Ahmad's views, and forestalled Jinnah's theory of two nations, he continued: "Therefore for us to seal our national doom in the interest of one Indian nationhood would be a treachery against our posterity, a betrayal of our history and a crime against humanity for which there would be no salvation,"

Although these ideas did not carry much weight at the time, it must be admitted that all the subsequent arguments in support of Pakistan proceeded from the theses of Iqbal and Rahmat Ali, and did not cover much new ground.

When the idea of an All-India Federation emerged out of the deliberations of the Round Table Conferences, Rahmat regarded it as a tragedy for the Muslims who would be reduced to a minority community, belonging to the Hindu nation and under the supremacy of the Hindus. He lost no time and founded the Pakistan National movement in 1933. When he met Madame Halide Edib, some time between 1935 and 1937, he told her that the movement had its propaganda centres all over Pakistan. The foundation of Pakistan was thus well and truly laid long before the leaders, either Muslim or Hindu, ever dreamt of it. 22

1. The Times of India, 24 April, 1930. Quoted in Coupland, I. p. 111.

2. Coupland, I, p. 121.

3. See pp. 459-60. Cf. also Freedom-India- , III. pp. 313-4.

3a. There was an alternative to the provision in the resolution. For the full text cf. Gwyer, pp. 246-7.

4. See p. 465.

5. See p. 418.

6. See pp. 459-60.

7. See p. 460.

8. The Indian Review , January, 1930, p. 36.

9. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 485-6.

10. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930 to 19th January, 1931, p. 72. The resolution was passed in the final plenary session held on 19 January, 1931.

11. See pp. 493-5, 521.

12. The Modem Review, 1934, Part II, p. 350.

13. Report of the Stautory Commission, II, p. 71.

14. Coupland, II. p. 8.

14a. See pp. 542-3.

15. See p. 521.

15a. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided, pp. 139-41.

16. Quoted in Birth of Pakistan by Dr. Sachin Sen, p. 83.

17. Ibid, p. 82.

18. Sources, pp. 761-2.

19. See p. 460.

20. Sources, pp. 763-8; Pakistan, p. 140.

21. Halide Edib, a Turkish lady, visited India in 1935 and recorded her impressions in a book entitled Inside India, published in 1937. She gives an interesting account of her interview with Rahmat Ali long before the scheme of Pakistan was looked upon as a practicable proposal or a living political issue even by the Muslim leaders.

22. It is interesting to note that five years before Iqbal, Lala Lajpat Rai "suggested the creation of Moslem provinces in the north-east and north-west of India_ to set at rest the ceaseless Hindu-Muslim bickerings and jealousies in some provinces." (Modern Review, 1925, Part I, p. 489).

CHAPTER XXII

POLITICAL EVENTS DURING 1928-1934

I. THE FRAMING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The decisions taken by His Majesty's Government in the light of the discussions at the Round Table Conferences 1 were published in the form of a White Paper in March, 1933. It was severely condemned by all sections of public opinion in India, but this did not produce any effect on the British Government. 2 A Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament was appointed in April, 1933, with Lord Linlithgow as Chairman, to consider the proposals embodied in the White Paper. The Committee was authorized to consult Indian delegates. Twenty-one delegates from British India and seven from Indian States—all nominated by the Government of India as in the case of the Round Table Conferences—took part in the examination of all the witnesses and, to a certain extent, in the private discussions of the Committee. But it would be wrong to describe them as members of the Joint Committee. The Committee considered the whole question de novo. It held 159 meetings and examined 120 witnesses, including Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, who passed unscathed through the ordeal of an examination for 19 days during which he had to answer over 7,000 questions.

But these prolonged discussions and deliberations did not materially change the proposals contained in the White Paper, except in regard to the method of election to the Central Legislature. But the decision of the Committee was amended in the Parliament, and so, for all practical purposes, the White Paper formed the basis of the Bill which was introduced in the Parliament on 19 December, 1934. It was strenuously opposed by the die-hard section of the Conservatives led by Sir Winston Churchill in the Commons and Lord Salisbury in the Lords. The Bill was, however, passed on 2 August, 1935, by a large majority, and received the royal assent two days later. 3

The following observations of C.Y. Chintamani may be taken to represent the views of those who were most friendly to the British and were anxious to co-operate with them: “The White Paper scheme was a cruel denial of the most cherished aspirations of the people of this country. It is utterly incorrect to say, as the British apologists of the new constitution have shown a repeated fondness

for saying, that the report embodied the results of joint deliberation between the British and the Indians. The Indian ‘delegates’ presented two memoranda to the Committee, one by all British-Indian ‘delegates’ headed by His Highness the Aga Khan, and the other separately by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Their proposals did not err on the side of excess, and they stated the very minimum of changes which would satisfy any section of Indian opinion. But it was all love’s labour lost. Not a solitary recommendation made by the Indian ‘delegates’ proved acceptable to the British. The Joint Select Committee achieved almost a miracle by making the White Paper scheme still worse—-an amazing feat indeed. And the Bill in its passage in Parliament underwent further changes for the worse, all to satisfy British die-hardism. Indian opinion was almost stunned by the result of years of agitation and cogitation, and many sections of it, including the Liberal, felt and said that it would have been far better if no reform had been attempted.

“There are no doubt some good features in the scheme—no large scheme could be altogether without them. But, on the whole, the so-called reform is not a constitutional advance that should be acclaimed. In this conclusion Congressmen, Liberals, and other nationalists see eye to eye with one another.” 4

Mr. Jinnah regarded the Federal part of the scheme as “thoroughly rotten”; 5 for “it is devoid of all the basic and essential elements and fundamental requirements which are necessary to form any Federation”. As regards Provincial schemes Jinnah said: “They are undoubtedly an advance on the present, and that is why I want to make a distinction. ,. . But there are certain objectionable features, such as the Second Chamber and the Governor’s Powers.” 6 He was also not quite satisfied with the Communal Award as it did not meet the full demand of the Muslims. 7

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly, maintained that no real power was given to the Indians in the Central Government. As regards the Provincial autonomy, he observed that "the Responsible Minister would be between the devil and the deep sea, namely, the Governor with extraordinary powers and the great Services who would have a backdoor influence against those under whom they served; and with no money and resources at his disposal for any nation-building purposes. Why offer this mockery of w r hat is called Provincial Autonomy?" [8]

II. THE CONGRESS

After the collapse of the Civil Disobedience movement a gradually increasing number of Congressmen once more turned towards

the idea of entering into the Legislatures. A Conference held at Delhi on 31 March, 1934, resolved that the All-India Swarajya party should be revived.

Gandhi not only welcomed the revival of the Swarajya party and its decision to fight the forthcoming elections, but also felt that it was "not only the right but the duty of every Congressman who believed in its utility to do so." [9] The decision of 1920 to boycott the Council was reversed in 1923, reaffirmed in 1929, and was now again reversed in 1934. The Indian National Congress thus slid back into the position which it had renounced as a result of the Non-co-operation movement in 1920.

The Working Committee, in accordance with the resolutions of the AICC, called upon all Congressmen to give up Civil Disobedience, and the movement was officially terminated on 20 May, 1934.

The Government of India, being satisfied that the Civil Disobedience movement was really dead, lifted the ban on the Congress organizations, except in Bengal and N.W.F.P., on 12 June, and announced a general policy of expediting the release of the Civil Disobedience prisoners.

A Parliamentary Board was set up in accordance with the decision of AICC in its meeting at Patna on 18-19 May, 1934. This Board naturally asked the Working Committee to formulate its policy with regard to the White Paper proposals and the Communal Award. The matter was considered by the Working Committee in its meeting at Bombay on 17-18 June, 1934. The discussion revealed a fundamental difference of views between a section led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and M.S. Aney on the one hand, and the majority of the members on the other, regarding the Communal Award.

The Working Committee after a prolonged discussion passed a long resolution which is partly quoted below:

“The Congress claims to represent equally all the communities composing the Indian Nation and, therefore, in view of the division of opinion, can neither accept nor reject the Communal Award as long as the division of opinion lasts. At the same time, it is necessary to re-declare the policy of the Congress on the communal question.

“No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any solution, falling short of the national, which is agreed to by all the parties concerned, and, conversely, tc reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.” [10]

Malaviya and Aney were opposed to this attitude, and were in favour of condemning the Communal Award. They therefore formed a new Party, called the Congress Nationalist Party, for contesting the election.

The strength of the different parties, as they emerged from the polls, was as follows:

I.	Congress	44
II.	Congress Nationalist	11
in.	Europeans	11
IV.	Nominated Officials	26

V.	Nominated non-officials	13
VI.	Independents	22

It will thus be seen that while the Government could normally command no more than 50 votes (III, IV, V), the Congress (I and II, who voted together except on communal questions) had a majority of five over them. The independents (VI), all but three of whom were Muslims led by M. A. Jinnah, thus held the balance. The Liberal Party was eliminated.

III. THE NEW LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Congress Party in the Assembly was ably led by Bhulabhai Desai. Sarat Chandra Bose, a detenu, was returned unopposed by Bengal, and the Assembly carried by 58 to 54 votes a motion for his release. The Assembly also condemned the Indo-British Trade Agreement signed on 10 January, 1935, and passed a resolution by 66 votes against 58 that it should be terminated. Among other notable victories may be mentioned the resolutions on the removal of ban on the Khudai Khidmatgars (74 to 46 votes.)

The budget was thrown out twice. The Government was also defeated on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. All these were, of course, certified by the Governor-General. “Of the fourteen occasions on which the Governor-General used the power of certification between 1921 and 1940, eight occurred in the lifetime of this Assembly.” 11

The greatest interest naturally centred round the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the constitutional reforms. The Working Committee of the Congress had denounced its proposals as even worse than those contained in the W T hite Paper. The Congress Party in Legislative Assembly moved a resolution in February to the effect that the Government should not “proceed with any legislation based on the said scheme”. But it was defeated by the combination of official and Muslim votes. The following amendment of Jinnah was carried instead:

“1. That this Assembly accepts the Communal Award, so far as it goes, until a substitute is agreed upon by the various communities concerned.

«

2. As regards the scheme of Provincial Governments, this House is of opinion that it is most unsatisfactory and disappointing inasmuch as it includes various objectionable features, particularly the establishment of second Chambers, the Extraordinary and Special Powers of the Governors, provisions relating to Police rules, Secret Service and Intelligence Departments, which render the real control and responsibility of the Executive and Legislature ineffective, and, therefore, unless these objectionable features are removed, it will not satisfy any section of Indian opinion.

3. With respect to the scheme of the Central Government, called ‘All-India Federation 5 , this House is clearly of opinion that it is fundamentally bad and totally unacceptable to the people of British India, and, therefore, recommends to the Government of India to advise His Majesty’s Government not to proceed with any legislation based on this scheme, and urges that immediate efforts should be made to consider how best to establish in British India alone real and complete Responsible Government, and with that view, take steps to review the whole position in consultation with Indian opinion without delay.” 12

As the Government spokesman pointed out, the amendment contained in clauses 2 and 3 was as much a rejection of the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report proposals as the more direct rejection of the same by the Congress.

The Congress group remained neutral as regards the first clause which w r as put separately to vote and carried. The second and third clauses were supported by the Congress, and though opposed by the Government and nominated members, were carried by 74 against 58 votes.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1935

The main features of the Government of India Act which was passed on 2 August, 1935, may be summarised as follows: “In the Provincial sphere, Burma was separated from India and two new Provinces, Orissa and Sind, for the formation of which there was a long-standing demand, were created. In view of the federal form of Government envisaged at the Centre, the Provinces were endowed for the first time with a legal personality. Dyarchy was abolished, and all the provincial subjects were transferred to popular control. Certain ‘special responsibilities’ were, however, laid upon the Governors as before in respect of the protection of the legitimate interest of minorities, etc., and adequate powers, legislative and administrative, were vested in them for their proper discharge. Bicameral Legislatures were established in Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, and Assam, and the other Provinces continued to have only unicameral Legislatures. The official blocs vanished, and the nomination of persons to represent backward classes and other interests ceased. There was no change in principle in the allocation of seats among the different communities and special interests, the Communal Award, as modified by the Poona Pact, regulating the distribution of seats among the former. Property qualifications continued to be the main basis for enfranchisement, a very much higher standard being adopted for the Upper Houses. Franchise for the Lower Houses was fixed at a much lower level than before, and this resulted in more than a four-fold increase in the number of voters.

“As regards the Centre, the Federation of India was to be inaugurated only after rulers representing not less than half the aggregate population of the Indian States and entitled to one-half of the seats allotted to them collectively in the Federal Upper Chamber had executed Instruments of Accession.

“As the country was considered to be not yet ready for the transfer of full responsibility at the Centre, a dyarchic executive was provided for.” 13

“It was envisaged that some time would elapse before the negotiations for the establishment of the Federation could be completed. The provisions in respect of Provincial Autonomy were to come into force immediately, and so also the provisions in respect of the Federal Court, the Federal Public Service Commission, and the Federal Railway Authority. As regards other matters relating to the Centre, the provisions of the Act of 1919 were to continue in force till such time as the Federation was established." 14

V. REVIVAL OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

A. The First Phase (1919-1927)

An important development during the period under review was the revival of the revolutionary activities which had gradually ebbed away after 1918. Partly encouraged by the lull in these activities and partly with a view to creating a favourable atmosphere for the working of the new reforms, the Government released, early in 1920, all the political prisoners as well as those who were detained under the Defence of India Act. A number of the old revolutionaries joined the Non-co-operation movement launched by Gandhi. Even those who had no faith in it decided to give it a fair trial by suspending all revolutionary activities during the movement.

The suspension of the Non-co-operation movement by Gandhi early in 1922 and his imprisonment, shortly after, were followed by the revival of revolutionary activities. In Bengalthe old Anusilan and Yugantar Samitis and a new revolutionary organization set up in the District of Chittagong under the leadership of Surya Sen signalised the resumption of terrorist activities by daring daeoities, murder of officials, and the establishment bi manufactories of bombs nn a large scale and of improved patterns, in 1924 and 1925. The Government took alarm, made arrests on a large scale, and passed a new Ordinance in 1924 arming the Executive with powers similar to those they had under the Defence of India Act. A Bill was later introduced under which these special powers were to remain in force for five years. As the Legislative Council refused leave to introduce the Bill it was certified by the Governor.

But the revolutionary movement was not confined to Bengal. The U.P. was also soon covered with a network of revolutionary centres, chiefly by the efforts of four Bengali revolutionaries, the most prominent among them being Jogesh Chandra Chatterji. At a conference held at Kanpur in October, 1924, and attended by the revolutionary leaders from different parts of

India, a Central All-India organization was set up under the name of Hindusthan Republican Association. The following account of this organization is given in an official report:

“Probably the most persistent terrorist organization outside Bengal is the Hindusthan Republican Association subsequently styled the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association or Army. This was originally started, after the failure of Gandhiji’s first mass civil disobedience campaign, by two Bengalis in the U.P. The rules of the Association stated that ‘the object of the Association shall be to establish a federated Republic of the United States of India by an organized and armed revolution/ Each Provincial organization was to have its various departments and each was to concentrate on crimes of violence with a view to collect money and arms: for the enforcement of discipline assassination was made permissible. This Association has, since its inception, been very loosely knit; at times it has almost ceased to exist, but it has frequently come to notice subsequently, and has even been established in Madras. It has functioned in Bihar, U.P., Punjab and Delhi.” 15

It is further stated in this note that as early as 1925, if not before, Sachindra Sanyal was in touch with M. N. Roy, who was charged by Russia with the task of spreading communism in India. 16

S.F.—83

In accordance with the decision of the Kanpur Conference, the revolutionary movement in U. P. was thoroughly organized by Ramprasad Bismil. The organization followed the same pattern as in Bengal, and the financial difficulties could only be met by committing dacoities. Ramprasad, however, introduced a novelty. He decided that the object of the dacoity must be to secure the money belonging to Government, and not to any private individual. 163 His most notable exploit was the dacoity on 9 August, 1925, in a railway train proceeding from Kakori towards Alamnagar, in the Shaharanpur-Lucknow section of the Northern Railway, Alamnagar being the las.t station before Lakhnau. About ten young men who had boarded the train stopped it by pulling alarm chain. The guard was held at the point of a revolver, and indiscriminate shots were fired to keep the passengers in their own compartments. A few entered the Guard’s van, broke open the iron safe 160 (in which money collected from the different stations was kept), and decamped with a large amount. The Government unearthed the whole plot. Altogether twenty-nine persons were tried by a Special Magistrate, who found twenty-seven of them guilty. These were tried by a Special Sessions Judge. The Kakori Conspiracy Case dragged on for about a year, in the course of which the prisoners had to resort to fasting as a protest against cruel treatment to them in jail. Two leading figures were subsequently arrested and tried. Four were sentenced to death, four were transported for life, and four, including two approvers, were acquitted. The rest were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, ranging from 14 to 5 years. There was a great public agitation against the capital punishment, and a proposal to commute the sentence to imprisonment for life, moyed in the U.P. Legislative Council, was supported by all the non-official members. But nothing availed. On 18 December Ramprasad was hanged, his last words being, "I wish the downfall of the British empire." His colleague, Roshanlal, bravely went up to the gallows with a copy of the Gita in his hand and Bande Mataram on his lips. Ashfaqulla stepped to the gallows with a copy of the Quran tied round his neck. Just before the noose was put round his neck, he said, "I tried to make India free, and the attempt will not end with my life," and died with a smiling face.

B. The Second Phase (1928-34).

1. Bengal.

There was a lull in the activities of the revolutionaries after 1927, and the Government felt justified in relaxing the rigours imposed upon them. By September, 1928, the Government released all the detenus who had been interned under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and Ordinance of 1925, and the Act itself was allowed to lapse in 1930. But within a fortnight occurred the Chittagong Armoury Raid, perhaps the most daring of the revolutionary enterprises in India.

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This raid was not an isolated incident, as is generally supposed, but formed part of a comprehensive plan to launch simultaneous attacks on the Government armouries in Chittagong, Mymehsingh and Barisal. In accordance with this plan Surya Sen, after having made regular military preparations, issued a manifesto in the name of the Indian Republican Army, Chittagong Branch. It was an open declaration of war against the British. After giving a detailed account of the atrocities perpetrated by' them in India, the Republican Army appealed to every Indian to offer his support to its endeavour to destroy the British rule in India by an armed attack. This manifesto was widely circulated in the town of Chittagong on 18 April, 1930.

The same night at about 10 P.M. "four batches of varying strength set out from the Congress office in Chittagong. One was to capture the Police Armoury, one to capture the Auxiliary Force Armoury, one to massacre the Europeans in the club, and the other to destroy the telephone exchange and telegraph office. The club happened to be deserted and the party deputed to attack it joined the other groups. The Police Armoury Party consisted of about 50 youths clad in khaki, led by Ananta Singh and Ganesh Ghosh, dressed in officer's uniform. The Police sentry was shot down; the party broke into the armoury and magazine and armed themselves with muskets, revolvers, and ammunition. Practically the same thing happened in the Auxiliary Force Armoury, and the sentry together with another sepoy and the Sergeant Major were shot dead. The place was then forced open and pistols, revolvers, rifles and a Lewis gun were taken away". 17

But the raiders, in their hurry, forgot to take the cartridges kept in a separate locked room. This rendered useless the rifles and the Lewis gun which they had seized. While they were engaged in ransacking the armoury, they fired at the carriage of officials, killing a railway guard, two taxi drivers, and a constable in the Magistrate's car. After having carried off the arms the raiders soaked the building with petrol and set fire to it. They were repeatedly fired at from the barracks but managed to reach the Police lines. "The telegraph office party seized and chloroformed the telephone operator, hacked the telephone board to pieces and set fire to it. The Telegraph Master was fired at when he came to the operator's assistance, but he returned with a gun and drove the raiders off before they destroyed the telegraph office. This party then went to the Police lines and joined the main party". There they all stood in a line, in right military style, and declared the provisional independent Government of India with Surya Sen as President. "A counter-attack under the Deputy InspectorGeneral of Police was organized, and although few in number and poorly equipped, it succeeded in forcing the raiders to leave the town and retreat towards the hills. The raiders thus had to abandon their further project of looting the Government treasury and massacring the Europeans in the town. Meanwhile another party cut all telegraph communications between Chittagong and the outside world, and attempted to interrupt railway communications by removing a rail and derailing a goods train; yet another party . attempted, unsuccessfully, to derail the down mail train to Chittagong at a place 70 miles from Chittagong on the same night. Information of the raid was sent out by wireless from a ship in the harbour and reinforcements reached Chittagong on the 20th April." 18

Fifty-seven revolutionaries, each armed with a revolver (or pistol) and a musket, after wandering through hills and dales for three days, practically without any food, took position on the 22nd morning on a hillock named Jalalabad Hill, but were not attacked by the British force till 5 p.m. Then followed a regular pitched battle which continued for three hours when the British force retired at about 8 p.m. In the first few volleys from the British machine gun, eleven revolutionaries fell. The casualties on the Government side were heavy, but exact figures are not available.

It is said that Sir Charles Tegart, while assaulting the raiders who were taken prisoners, cursed them and said, "You have killed 64 of our men".

The British forces made three attempts to climb the hill, but were repulsed each time. It was, however, clear to the revolutionaries that they could not carry on this unequal fight for long. So they dispersed in several groups in order to carry on guerilla warfare as long as possible.

Surya Sen and a number of Chittagong revolutionaries were at large for a long time. The British assembled a large force and ransacked the whole of the district, but could not capture the great leader. The Chittagong armoury raid left a long trail of revolutionary incidents all over the district and had a great repercussion upon the revolutionaries all over Bengal. The

Government also passed various measures which placed the life and liberty of the people at the absolute discretion of the Executive authorities down to the District Magistrate. 19

“The news of this coup, unprecedented in the annals of terrorism, gave a fillip to the younger section of the revolutionaries who were fired with enthusiasm to drive out the British from India by the force of arms. The elderly leaders considered that an adequate supply of arms and man-power had not yet been collected and therefore counselled delay, but after the Chittagong raid the younger section could no longer be restrained. Recruits poured into the various terrorist groups in a steady stream, and these included women and young girls who, from this time onwards, were found assisting the terrorists as housekeepers, messengers, custodians of arms, and sometimes even as comrades.

“In May the leaders of the main Yugantar party in Calcutta drew up a programme of terrorism and made arrangements for the manufacture of bombs. The principal features of this programme were:

(1) The murder of Europeans in hotels, clubs, and cinemas, simultaneously in Calcutta and the districts by bombs.

(2) The burning of the aerodrome in Dum-Dum with petrol.

(3) The cutting off of the gas and electric supply of Calcutta, by destroying the gas works and the electric power stations.

(4) The cutting off of the petrol supply of Calcutta by destroying the depot at Budge-Budge.

(5) The disorganization of the tramway service in Calcutta by cutting overhead wires.

06) The destruction of telegraphic pommunication between Calcutta and the districts in Bengal.

(7) The destruction of bridges and railway lines by dynamites and hand-grenades.” 20

Some idea of the revolutionary activities in Bengal in accordance with the above programme, during the period 1930 to 1933, may be gathered from the following official figures of the various types of outrages during these four years. There were 20 murderous outrages, 27 attempts at outrages, 167 cases of actual or attempted robberies, 16 cases of bomb-throwing, 8 bomb explosions, and one armed raid. The casualties during the same period were 23 officials killed and 36 injured, 20 non-officials killed and 44 injured, and 33 terrorists killed and 8 injured. 21

Reference may be made to a few concrete instances of murder or attempted murder included in the above statement. Attempts were made to kill two Governors of Bengal, Sir Stanley Jackson and Sir John Anderson, by two girls. 21a Mr. Lowman, InspectorGeneral of Police, and Mr. Hodson, Superintendent of Police, Dacca, were shot and the former succumbed to the injury. Three

revolutionaries having entered the Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, during office hours, shot dead Mr. Simpson, Inspector-General of Police, and wounded Mr. Nelson, the Legal Remembrancer, and Mr. Townend, I. C. S. Three district magistrates of Midnapore— Mr. Peddy, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Burge—, Mr. Garlick, Sessions Judge of 24 Parganas, Mr. C.G.B. Stevens, Magistrate of Comilla, Mr. Ellison, Superintendent of Police, and Inspector Ahsanullah were shot dead. Unsuccessful attempts were made to kill Sir Charles Tegart, the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Cassells, Commissioner, Dacca Division, Mr. Durno, District Magistrate of Dacca, Mr. Grassby, Additional Superintendent of Police* Dacca, Mr. Luke, Superintendent, Rajshahi Central Jail, Mr. Villiers, the President of the European Association, and Sir Alfred Watson, the Editor of the Statesman.

For three years after the Chittagong Armoury raid the group of revolutionaries under Surya Sen carried on their activities in spite of numerous arrests and amid a veritable reign of terror launched by the Government throughout the district.

The trial of the accused in the Armoury Raid case ended in 1932, and fourteen of them were transported for life to the Andamans. Five revolutionaries, including Surya Sen, were in hiding at a village which was surrounded on 14 June, 1932, by the Police and a military force under Capt.

Cameron. Cameron was shot dead while ascending the staircase, and there was a prolonged fight. Two of the revolutionaries died, but so effective was their fight that Surya Sen and two young girls—Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Datta—managed to escape.

Three months later, on 22nd September, 1932, this Pritilata Waddedar led a group of revolutionaries to raid the Railway Institute at Pahartali, Chittagong, which was frequented by the Europeans and Anglo-Indians of the town. A large number of ladies and gentlemen, engaged in dance and other merriments, were startled by the sudden explosion of bombs and revolver-shots. The Europeans and Anglo-Indians defended themselves with revolvers and crockeries. One, a lady, was killed and thirteen were seriously wounded. Pritilata, being struck by a revolver shot, took potassium cyanide to evade arrest. The rest of her party escaped.

In February, 1933, when Surya Sen was in hiding in a village, the Police surrounded the house. After a brave fight he left the house and hid himself in a pond where he was caught by a Gurkha soldier. He was hanged, but the man who betrayed him to the Police was murdered in broad daylight. The revolutionary activities in Bengal declined and seemed to have practically died out after Surya Sen’s death.

2. Outside Bengal

The police terrorism and the imprisonment of most of the leaders effectively stopped the activities of the Hindusthan Republican Association for some time after the Kakori Conspiracy case. Chandrasekhar Azad, the sole remaining absconder of the Kakori Conspiracy Case, took the leading part in re-organising the revolutionary movement; The name of the Association was changed to “Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association” with a Socialist State in India as its objective. ‘ The party'was reorganized with a Central Committee, and'Provincial and District Committees under it. All decisions were to be taken in these Committees, and majority decisions were to be 1 binding upon all.

Its first overt act of importance was the murder of Mr. Saunders, the Assistant Superintendent’ of Police, Lahore. When the Simon Commission arrived at Lahore Railway Station (30 October, 1928), Lala Lajpat Rai, the great Indian leader, was assaulted by the Police and died shortly after. To avenge his death Bhagat Singh shot Saunders dead, and escaped.

The next activity of the Association was not only more daring but a very significant one. When, after the murder of Saunders at Lahore the people were suffering terribly at the hands of the Police, a feeling slowly gained ground that while the revolutionaries effect their escape and hide themselves, the people have to suffer the consequences of their crimes. In order to remove such a feeling the Association decided to send two members to commit a crime and then court arrest. It was also felt that the crime should have two objects in view: first, to create a great sensation all over India in order to remove the political lethargy from which the country had been suffering; and, secondly, to give wide publicity to the aims and objects of the Association and stimulate the revolutionary urge in the country.

It was mainly for this reason that the Hindusthan Association decided that Bhagat Singh and his friend, Batukeshwar Datta, should throw two bombs on the floor of the Assembly Chamber, New Delhi. 22 Care was taken to prepare two such bombs as would not cause any fatal or even serious injury.

On 8 April, 1929, Bhagat Singh and his comrade attended the Assembly. Bhagat Singh dropped a bomb on the floor, and within five seconds Batukeshwar threw another. They also fired a few revolver shots and dropped from above copies of the Red Pamphlet on the floor. No one was killed, four or five persons were slightly hurt, and only one was more seriously injured.

The bomb-throwing in the Assembly was followed by the discovery of a huge bomb factory at Lahore with materials enough to prepare seven thousand bombs. Another big bomb factory was discovered at Saharanpur in May, 1929. Some active members of the Association, as soon as they were arrested, divulged all the secrets of the Association, and searches and arrests took place all over North India. Within a few weeks almost all the leaders of the Association and a large number of members were arrested, and the Government instituted the Lahore Conspiracy Case against them in 1929. Bhagat Singh, who was sentenced in connection with the throwing of bombs in the Assembly Hall, was also an accused in this case and brought to the Lahore jail.

A The Lahore Conspiracy Case has been rendered famous by the hunger-strike of the undertrial prisoners in jail. After about two months the prisoners broke their fast on the assurance given by the Government to consider their case favourably. But one of them, Jatin Das, stuck to the last and died after 64 days* fast on 13 September, 1929. The family of the Irish martyr, Terence MacSwiney, who had also died in the same way, sent a condolence message to the family of Jatin Das.

The Lahore Conspiracy Case gave a death-blow to the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association. Almost all the prominent leaders were either dead or in confinement, with the exception of half a dozen who had managed to evade arrest and were in hiding. One of these, Chandrasekhar Azad, now collected a few members and reorganized the Association. Its first activity was directed towards the murder of the Viceroy by way of revenge for the Lahore Conspiracy Case. A few bombs exploded under the Viceroy's Special Train near Delhi in December, 1929. The train was damaged but the Viceroy was not hurt.

Chandrasekhar next planned an armed revolution and for this purpose secured more than Rs. 14,000 by an armed robbery on a firm in Delhi, on 6 July, 1930. In the course of investigation in this case the Police got information about the secret plot of Chandrasekhar. One of his trusted lieutenants was arrested a few days later with a large stock of arms, and the Police discovered a bomb factory in Delhi, with a stock of chemicals enough to make explosives to fill about 6,000 bombs. Chandrasekhar fled to the Punjab and his presence was signalized by the explosion of a series of bombs which killed and injured a few officials. The police made a vigorous but fruitless search for him in the course of which they arrested a number of revolutionaries and discovered several depots of arms and small bomb factories. The Government instituted two cases, the second Lahore Conspiracy Case and the New Delhi Conspiracy Case.

Although Chandrasekhar was the principal accused, he remained in hiding and the Government offered a reward of Rs. 10,000 to anyone who could seize Chandrasekhar Azad, dead or alive. He was constantly on the move in an attempt to rally the few workers who were still at large. He arranged to meet an old worker in the Alfred Park at Allahabad on 27 February, 1931. One of those who knew it communicated the news to the Police; About a dozen Police in plain clothes surrounded Chandrasekhar as soon as he entered the Park. Chandrasekhar fired at the Police and seriously wounded two high officials. But he himself was riddled with bullets and fell dead. 22:1 Thus ended the career of a great revolutionary in India.

The death of Chandrasekhar was a serious blow to the underground organization in North India. But the revolutionary activities continued in U.P. and the Punjab, as well as in other parts of India, during 1930-34. The preparation of bombs, attempts, often unsuccessful, to murder officials and Police informers, revolver fight between the Police and the revolutionaries faced with arrest, and armed robberies were the chief activities.

A few prominent incidents may be mentioned.

1. On 23 December, 1930, when the Governor of the Punjab was leaving the University Hall after the Convocation, he was fired at and injured in the arm and hip. Two English ladies, one Inspector of Police and one Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police were also wounded, and the last-named subsequently died. The assailant, Har Kishan, was arrested and hanged.

2. On 1 February, 1932, a bomb was placed on railway line near the Hardinge Bridge, Delhi, in order to wreck the Special Train carrying the British members of the Lothian Committee. The bomb exploded but there was no damage to the train.

3. On 22 July, an attempt was made on the life of the Acting Governor of Bombay, Sir Ernest Hotson, during his visit to the Fergusson College, Poona. A student of the College fired pointblank at the Governor who had a miraculous escape, the bullet striking a metal button on his pocket book.

Some terrorist activities—explosion of bombs—were reported from Peshawar, but they were confined to the Hindus. Some armed robberies took place in Assam and Burma, and there were also attempts to murder officials in Burma. According to an official report the terrorist movement in these two Provinces was “practically confined to Bengalis’’ 23 The official report further observes:

“To sum up, terrorism has its birth in Bengal, and where it has shown its head in other Provinces it can almost invariably be traced

to Bengali influences. It is at all events true to say that in no Province but Bengal is there that widespread and deep-rooted terrorist mentality which is essential for its development”. 24

C. General Review.

It would appear from what has been said above that the revolutionary movement, which became a potent force in Indian politics during the Swadeshi movement, continued, with checks and breaks, up to the end of the Civil Disobedience movement of Gandhi. The two movements—one violent and another non-violent—went on side by side, and it was almost inevitable that each would be influenced by the other. The idea of an armed rebellion still swayed the revolutionary party, but there was a more conscious attempt to bring the organization in line with the national movement and make revolutionary mentality more broadbased in the country by rousing the political consciousness of the people to the futility of Gandhian way of non-violence and negotiations. To counteract the Gandhi movement of non-violence and to focus the attention of the country to the supreme need of ‘Direct Action’ in order to achieve complete independence, and to remove the lethargy in political activity, were the chief objects of the revolutionaries. According to their own statement the hunger-strike in jail and the throwing of bomb on the floor of the Assembly Hall were inspired by this motive. 25

That these expedients quickened the national consciousness of the people and indirectly helped to create a favourable atmosphere for the growth of revolutionary mentality among ever-increasing circles is abundantly proved by the country-wide enthusiasm evoked by the hunger-strike and martyrdom of Jatin Das as well as of Bhagat Singh and his comrades. A spontaneous movement developed and centred round the hunger-strike. June 30, 1929, was observed as Bhagat-Datta memorial day, and meetings were held in many places, specially in the Punjab. The A.I.C.C. issued a circular to observe 18 August, 1929, as “Political Sufferers’ Day” all over the country. The people held meetings and organized processions in defiance of Section 144 and the lathi -charges and other oppressions of the Police. The whole country seemed to have reverberated with the new revolutionary cry of Inqilab Zindabad. (Long live the Revolution).

The tumultuous enthusiasm for the revolutionary heroes particularly stirred the younger section, and even Gandhi had to bend before the new force in the Karachi Congress as noted above. 26

A notable feature of the revolutionary movement during the period under review is that the ideology of the revolutionaries was

more clearly formulated and widely promulgated. Some idea of it may be formed from the Joint Statement issued by Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta during their trial for the Assembly Bomb Case referred to above. After stating the reasons for throwing bombs, they proceeded to explain what was ‘violence’ and what was not:

“Force, when aggressively applied, is violence and is therefore morally unjustifiable. But when it is used in furtherance of a legitimate cause it has its moral justification. Elimination of force at all costs is Utopian and the new movement which has arisen in the country and of which we have given a warning is inspired by the ideals which guided Guru Govind Singh and Shivaji, Kamal Pasha and Reza Khan, Washington and Garibaldi, Lafayette and Lenin”.

Far more interesting is the comprehensive ideal of revolution. The revolutionaries had not only destructive but also constructive ideas. They not only wanted to replace British imperialism by a republican form of Government in India, but they also wanted to place it on a socialistic foundation. This was already indicated by the addition of the word ‘Socialist* to the original name of the Hindusthan Republican Association.

After narrating how they surrendered of their own accord and were prepared for any penalty, Bhagat and Batukeshwar observed:

"By crushing two insignificant units a nation cannot be crushed. We wanted to emphasize the historical lesson that lettres de cachet and Bastille could not crush the revolutionary movement in France. Gallows and Siberian mines could not extinguish the Russian Revolution. Blood Sundays and Black and Tans failed to strangle the movement of Irish freedom. Can Ordinance and Safety Bills snuff out the flame of freedom in India?" 27

Another interesting characteristic of the revolutionary movement is a high degree of development in technical skill as displayed by the preparation of superior types of bombs, to which reference has been made above. This was accompanied by a higher efficiency in military skill and strategy of which a typical example was furnished by the Chittagong Armoury Raid in 1930.

The revolutionary movement did not die out in 1934. The new constitutional reforms of 1935 took away the edge of both the violent and non-violent methods in Indian politics. But the revolutionary spirit, like that of Gandhi's Satyagraha , was not lost upon the people. When Gandhi sought to revive the Civil Disobedience movement in 1942, but was prevented from launching it by his sudden arrest, the revolutionary spirit raised its head and

the cult of non-violence was submerged under that of violence. As we shall see, the wide-spread but shortlived outbreak of 1942 was the product of an admixture of the revolutionary violence and a spirit of non-violent resistance inculcated by Gandhi. The two streams joined together and gave a new form to this, the last battle for India's freedom fought on Indian soil.

1. Cf. Chapter XIX.

2. Chintamani, p. 174.

3. Coupland, I. p. 129.

4. Chintamani, pp. 174-5. Chintamani and Masani, India's Constitution at Work ,

p. 12.

5. Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah, collected and edited by Jamil-ud-din Ahmad, p. 10.

6. Ibid, p. 19.

7. Ibid, p. 4.

8. Gwyer, pp. 321-2.

9. Hist. Congr., I. pp. 568-70.

10. Ibid, p. 575.

11. Coupland, II. p. 10.

12. Hist. Congr., I. p. 596.

13. Gwyer, pp. xliii-xliv.

14. Ibid, pp. xliv-xlv.

15. A Note on "Terrorism in India' prepared by the Government of India, which was submitted by the Secretary of State for India to the Joint Committee on Constitutional Reforms on 30th November, 1933 (hereafter referred to as ' Report '), p. 320.

16. Ibid, p. 262.

16a. It is however difficult to say how far this principle was scrupulously followed in practice.

16b. According to another account, the chests containing cash collected from different stations, were removed from the brake van and were emptied at a place not very far from the place of occurrence (K. C. Ghosh, The Roll of Honour, p. 385).

17. Report, p. 327. (See footnote 15).

18. Ibid.

19. For details, see Freedom-India, III, p. 501.

20. Report, p. 328, (See footnote 15).

21. Ibid, pp. 342-52. For Provinces other than Bengal, cf pp. 353-61. The figures given in India in 1930 are somewhat different.

21a. The statement in Freedom-India, III, p. 508, that both the attempts were made against Sir John Anderson is not correct.

22. The account of Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Datta is based on I.A.R., 1929, Vol. I, pp. 78-80, and the documents and information supplied to the writer cf this Chapter by Batukeshwar Datta. The writer takes this opportunity to express his obligations to late Sri Datta.

22a. For a detailed, but slightly different, account cf. K. C. Ghosh, op. cit., p. 499.

23. India in 1933-4, p. 48.

24. Ibid, p. 321.

25. This has been asserted by Batukeshwar Datta; for the full statement, cf. Freedom-India, III. p; 525.

26. See pp. 488-9.

27. See footnote 22.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CONGRESS—1935-39

Although, as mentioned above,[1] Gandhi retained his influence over the Congress, its character was somewhat changed by the emergence of the new creeds of socialism, particularly in its extreme form, Communism, in Europe. These new ideas, which convulsed Europe, had also great repercussion upon India, particularly her younger generation.[2] The emergence of a Socialist left wing in the Congress, clearly noticeable in the Congress session of 1934, "was a sure indication of the resurgence of the radical or leftwing forces in the country. This was accompanied by a phenomenal awakening among the peasantry and the students, and to some extent, among the workers. For the first time, there emerged a centralized All India Peasants' Organisation, called the All India Kisan Sabha, the most prominent leader of which was Swami Sahajananda Saraswati. The students' movement, also, which had gone through many ups and downs in the past, was centralized under the leadership of the All-India Students' Federation. The All-India Trade Union Congress, which had experienced two successive splits—in 1929 at Nagpur and again in 1931 at Calcutta—was once again unified under a joint leadership representing all shades of opinion, both Right and Left. In the literary world, too, there was an attempt to organise the progressive writers"[3], whose outlook was influenced by the new ideas and forces which the First World War had brought into being in Western countries. "The Congress Socialist Party began to rally the younger generation and also the more radical elements inside the Congress and among the Indian people in general. For the time being, both Satyfigraha or Civil Disobedience and revolutionary terrorism had lost their charm and in the vacuum created thereby, the Congress Socialist Party naturally made headway. The Communist Party of India, a small group which had been declared illegal by the British Government, instructed its members to join the Congress Socialist Party and thereby use its public platform in order to push forward its own organisation and objective. It did succeed in extending its influence among a section of the students and factory workers."[4]

The Socialists had two notable leaders in Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas-chandra Bose. In his article 'Whither India'? Nehru "pleaded for social and economic equality, for the ending of

all special class-privileges and vested interests.” 5 In a Press statement issued on 18 December, 1933, he said: “I do believe that fundamentally the choice before the world today is between some form of

Communism and some form of Fascism_One has to choose between

the two and I choose the Communist ideal. In regard to the methods and approach to this ideal, I may not agree with everything that the orthodox Communists have done... .But I do think that the basic ideology of Communism and its scientific interpretation of history is sound.” 6 Subhas Bose did not fully agree with Nehru. He believed that a synthesis between these two was possible, and hoped that India would discover it. 7

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The Golden Jubilee of the Congress fell in 1935, but no session was held during the year. Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President of the Indian National Congress session held at Lakhnau in April, 1936. His Presidential speech was the resultant of the dual aspect—intellectual and emotional—which characterized his personality throughout his life. He clearly comprehended the difference between the national movement in India and the contemporary Socialist and Communist movements in Europe with which a section of Indians tried to link it up. He pointed his finger at the fundamental difference between the two. The object of the former was primarily and essentially a movement for the attainment of political independence, and not any radical change in social or economic order. Hence the leadership of the former was monopolized by the bourgeoisie and not the labourer class or Ale* proletariat. This is an obvious truth, though ignored, or at least not clearly recognized, by many. It is due to this character of Indian national movement that Gandhi’s fight against the British deeply stirred the people of India—both classes and masses—, but his Charha (spinning wheel) and Harijan movement failed to evoke any comparable enthusiasm. As stated above, Gandhi himself did not always keep this difference in view, the most notable instance being the manner in which he side-tracked the Civil Disobedience movement in order to fight the issue of Harijan.

But although Nehru gave clear expression to this fundamental truth, his emotional self led him astray. In his Presidential address at Lahore, in 1929, he had described himself as a socialist, in a general way, but at Lakhnau he definitely veered round towards Communism. Though the Congress condemned the new constitution introduced by the Act of 1935, it decided, against the known views of Nehru, to contest the election, and the A.I.C.C, was entrusted with the task of preparing an election manifesto. There was, however, a wide difference of opinion on the issue of acceptance of office. So the Congress resolved not to commit itself in any way at the stage and left it to be decided at the proper time by the A.I.C.C. after consulting the Provincial Congress Committees. But the Lakhnau session left no doubt that the orthodox or Gandhi wing reigned supreme, while the Socialist section formed a feeble opposition. Nehru’s views coincided with those of the latter, but his personal allegiance was to the leader of the former. He therefore drifted along without joining either the Gandhi wing or any other radical party. “He made the best of the situation by taking three ardent socialists into the Working Committee, Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Dev, and Achyut Patwardhan; even Sarojini Naiclu w r as cut out from the Committee not without some internal commotion.” 8 This did not, however, solve the fundamental difficulty caused by the fact that the President was 'out of tune’ with the majority of the Working Committee. Jawaharlal offered his resignation at the very outset, but he was persuaded to continue. 9 That the course of subsequent events was different from what happened three years later to Subhas Bose in similar circumstances, is very largely due to the magnetic personality of Gandhi. The intellectual Nehru fought against his programme and theory, but the emotional Nehru always submitted to his authority. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the next decade than the gradual conversion of Nehru, step by step and stage by stage, to the views and practices of Gandhi. One might well ponder how and why a dynamic personality like Jawaharlal Nehru made an abject surrender to Gandhi—about whom he himself said that “ideologically he was sometimes amazingly backward,” 10 and again, ‘much that he says seems to fit in with a medieval Christian saint and not at all with modern psychological experience and method’. 11 Fortunately, Nehru has himself answered this question, on behalf of himself and many others who were insensibly drawn within the magnetic circle of

Gandhi: “How came we to associate ourselves with Gandhiji politically and to become, in many instances, his devoted followers? The question

is hard to answer.Personality is an indefinable thing, a

strange force that has power over the souls of men, and he possesses this in ample measure.He attracted people.They

did not agree with his philosophy of life, or even with many of his ideals. Often they did not understand him. But the action that

he proposed was something tangible.Any action would have

been welcome after the long tradition of inaction which our spineless politics had nurtured; brave and effective action with an ethical halo about it had an irresistible appeal.and we went

with him although we did not accept his philosophy.How 7

he disciplined our lazy and demoralised people and made them work—not by force or any material inducement, but by a gentle

look and a soft word, and, above all, by personal example. Umar Sobhani called him ‘beloved Slave-driver.” 12

The next session of the Congress was held at Faizpur in Maharashtra in December, 1936, and Jawaharlal was re-elected President. Just about a month before, Russia had adopted the new constitution of U.S.S.R. which not only introduced a new organization of the State but also ushered in a new era of political, social, economic and cultural progress. By this time “capitalism was wholly liquidated,. . .merchants and speculators were completely driven out of the field and the entire commodity circulation passed into the hands of the co-operative and the collective farms.” It was therefore quite natural that at “Faizpur the atmosphere should have been surcharged with socialist slogans, emphasising the rights of workers and peasants on the one hand and declaiming against tl~' forces of Imperialism and Fascism on the other.” Indeed the Socialist Party at the Subjects Committee of the Faizpur Congress urged that “the Congress declares the solidarity of Indian people with the enslaved peoples of the world .... and with the people of the U.S.S.R.” 13

But in sharp contrast to all these, the President, Jawaharlal Nehru, had considerably mellowed down in his enthusiasm for Communism. The official history of the Congress attributes this change to the “schooling that the President of Lucknow had had for wellnigh a year in the University of life.” 14 It would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the schooling really took place in the University of Sabarmati under its presiding genius, Gandhi. In any case, the change was significant. “The Congress”, said the President, “to-day stands for full democracy in India and fights for a democratic state, not for socialism”.

Though Nehru expressed himself very definitely against the acceptance of office, the question was again held over to be decided by the A.l.C.C. as soon as possible after the Provincial elections were over.

A general election under the new Act was held in 1936-37. It was significant from many points of view. It forced the Congress to come into close contact with the masses, and this aroused political consciousness among them. “The enfranchisement of 3J crores of voters, including the wives of men voters and those that could sign their names, gave an impetus to the awakening of women with their civic consciousness on the one hand, and to the progress of literacy in one bound on the other. Thousands of women came forward to register their names as voters, and thousands more of illiterate men who had just learnt to sign their names”. 15

The Congress won the election and its position in the Legislative Assemblies and Councils in different Provinces may be summed up as follows: 16

The Congress had absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly in Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, and Orissa. It was the biggest single party in four Provinces, namely, Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the N.W.F.P. In the Assemblies of Sindh and the Punjab it was in comparatively smaller minority. The total number of Muslim seats in the Assemblies of the 11 Provinces was 482. Out of this number the Congress contested 58 seats and won 26. The total number of Labour seats in the 11

Provinces was 38. Of these the Congress contested 20 and won 18. The total number of seats reserved for landholders in the Assemblies of the 11 Provinces was 37. Out of this number the Congress contested 8 and secured 4. The total number of seats reserved for commerce and industries in the Assemblies of the 11 Provinces was 56. Out of this the Congress contested 8 and won only 3.

The all-important question of the acceptance of office was discussed by the A.I.C.C. in its meeting at Delhi on 17-18 March, 1637. After a debate of two days an amendment opposing acceptance of office was defeated and the A.I.C.C. "authorised and permitted the acceptance of office in provinces where the Congress commanded a majority in the Legislature, provided the Congress party in tne Legislature was satisfied and was able to state publicly that the Governor would not use his special powers of interference or set aside the advice of ministers in regard to constitutional activities".

The Governors of the Provinces concerned were not prepared to give any such assurance and pointed out that the obligations laid upon the Governors by the Government of India Act and the Instrument of Instructions were so clear and specific that it was not in their power to meet such a demand.

After a great deal of controversy, both in India and in England, the deadlock was ended by a declaration of the Viceroy on 21 June, 1937, that it was the design of the Parliament and the object of the Government of India to avoid in every way consistent with the special responsibilities for minorities and the like which the Act imposes, any such clash of opinion as would be calculated unnecessarily to break down the machine of Government.

On 7 July the Working Committee permitted Congressmen to accept office and Congress ministries were formed before the end of that month.

There was no session of the Congress in 1937, evidently as the Congress high command was busy with the problems facing the administration of which they had taken responsibility in the Provinces. The problems indeed were almost baffling in character. The high hopes which popular Governments had raised were dashed to the ground. Thousands of detenus and convicts in Indian jails and Andamans, the continuance of the repressive laws, the unredressed sufferings and miseries of the cultivators, and many things else were rude reminders that the regime of the British imperialism had not undergone any change. The spirit of frustration caused great stir, particularly among the long-suffering kistins (cultivators), who organized themselves in huge parties, and, unfurling the red flag of hammer and sickle, marched hundreds of miles through villages, uttering Communist slogans and creating new energy and enthusiasm. Though Gandhi had awakened the mass spirit he could no longer control it, and "ah most everywhere there were conflicts between Congress-men and Kiscnis". As already stated above, the organization of the peasants was mainly the work of the Indian Communist party.

But far more important was the reaction it produced upon the Congress itself. Socialism had already made its power felt In the Congress, but now it constituted a powerful left wing with distinct leaning towards Communist ideas. The younger section lost faith both in the non-violent programme, which had made very slow progress and so far yielded but poor results, and in its leader, Gandhi.

Gandhi occupied a very peculiar position. Since 1934 he not only held no office but had ceased to be even a primary member of the Congress; yet he attended the meetings of the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. and took part in their discussions. It was well-known that the Congress leaders took no decision in vital matters without consulting him and, in general, it may be said that his will was in the last resort the will of the Congress, The author of the official history of the Congress expressed the bare truth when he Said that Gandhi, "though not a member of the Congress, was still the power behind the throne", and Nehru conveyed the same idea when he described Gandhi as "permanent super-President of the Congress," and remarked that the "Congress at present meant GandhijL" 17

The fifty-first session of the Congress met at Vithalnagar, Haripura (Gujarat), on 19 February, 1938. The unanimous election of Subhas Bose, the leader of the radical party, as President of the Congress, was a distinct pointer to the growing influence of the younger section whose socialist creed was not in tune with the

orthodox Congress views of which Gandhi was the most typical representative.

In his Presidential speech Bose reiterated the Congress views against Federation and anxiety to come to an understanding with the Muslims and concede all their reasonable demands "consistent with nationalism."

The Congress at Haripura had to tackle several intricate problems. Its chief attention was devoted to the reported friction between the newly appointed Congress ministries and the Governors in certain Provinces. This will be dealt with in the next section.

Another intriguing problem was the relation of the Congress with the people of the Indian States. The Congress felt that to make Indian Federation a success 'the Indian States should be made to approximate to the Provinces in British India in respect of representative institutions and Responsible Government, as well as civil liberties and method of election to the Federal Houses.' 173 All this could not be achieved without a strenuous fight with the rulers of Indian States, and the States people naturally looked up to the Congress to help them in their struggle for freedom. 'The State peoples organized Associations (Prajti Mandal) which sprang up everywhere, and many of them were affiliated to an All-India body.' 173 In some States there were Congress Committees side by side wifh States' Peoples' Organizations. These felt that the Indian National Congress should take the responsibility for the political organizations of the States' peoples, and with this object in view a convention of the States' Peoples' Organization suggested change in Article I of the Congress Constitution by stating that 'India means the people of India.' They were wholeheartedly supported by the younger section, constituting the left wing of the Congress, who had already passed the following resolution in a meeting of the A.I.C.C. held in Calcutta in October, 1937, supporting peoples' resistance in Mysore.

"This meeting of the A.I.C.C. expresses its emphatic protest against the ruthless policy of repression as indicated by the inauguration of various restrictive and prohibitory orders and political prosecutions launched in the Mysore State and also against the suppression of civil rights and liberties by denying the elementary rights of speech, assemblage and association.

"This meeting sends its fraternal greetings to the people of Mysore and wishes them all success in their legitimate non-violent struggle. It appeals to the people of Indian States and British India to give all support and encouragement to the people of Mysore in

their struggle against the State for the right of self-determination.” 1 * But neither Gandhi nor Nehru approved of it; Gandhi even criticised it in severe terms.

The difference came to a head at Haripura. The Working Committee had prepared a comprehensive draft resolution on the subject. But there was a serious controversy over the clause which banned the organisation of Congress Committees in Indian States. A sort of compromise was ultimately effected and a long resolution was passed. The operative part of it read as follows:

‘‘The Congress therefore directs that, for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in any parliamentary activity or direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. The internal struggle of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organizations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States.”

More controversial was the question of the kisdn movements which not unoften displayed open hostility to the Congress—not because they disagreed with its objects but because they thought that the Congress programme and method were not likely to yield sufficiently quick results. Impelled by this notion the kisans, though members of the Congress, not unoften indulged in activities which were opposed to its basic policy. The Haripura session therefore passed a long resolution defining its policy. It pointed out that the Congress itself in the main was a kisdn organization and that the kisans should join it in larger number. It then added:

“While fully recognising the right of the Kisans to organise Kisan Sabhas, the Congress cannot associate itself with any activities which are incompatible with the basic principles of the Congress and wall not countenance any of the activities of those Congressmen, who as members of the Kisan Sabhas help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy.”

The Haripura Congress passed another long resolution defining its basic policy of education and appointing an All-India Education Board. It was laid down that for the primary and secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles:

1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

2. The medium of instruction must be the mother tongue.

2. Throughout this period education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be

developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

The Haripura Congress met at a time when the political sky of Europe was overcast with war-clouds and another world war was seriously apprehended. The Congress could not ignore the situation, and though unable to play an effective part in it, made its general attitude quite dear in another long resolution. After expressing noble sentiments about the establishment of fraternity, peace and goodwill on earth, it declared:

"India can be no party to such an imperialist war, and will not permit her man-power and resources to be exploited in the interests of British Imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress, therefore, entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India and large scale manoeuvres and air-raid precautions by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war, this will be resisted." As will be seen, this resolution, particularly the para quoted, had very grave consequences in near future.

The year 1938 saw the widening of the gulf between the two wings of the Congress party. Subhas Bose offers the following explanation of the breach between him and Gandhi:

“As Congress President, the writer did his best to stiffen the opposition of the Congress Party to any compromise with Britain and this caused annoyance in Gandhian circles who were then looking forward to an understanding with the British Government Later in the year 1938, he launched the National Planning Committee for drawing up a comprehensive plan of industrialization and of national development. This caused further annoyance to Mahatma Gandhi who was opposed to industrialization. After the Munich Pact, in September, 1938, the writer began an open propaganda throughout India in order to prepare the Indian people for a national struggle, which should synchronise with the coming war in Europe. This move, though popular among the people in general, was resented by the Gandhiites who did not want to be disturbed in their ministerial and parliamentary work and who were at that time opposed to any national struggle.” 19

The fundamental difference between Subhas Bose and the Gandhi-Nehru group was in their attitude towards Britain. Bose looked upon a war between Germany and Britain as a godsend which would enable India to exploit the situation to her advantage; for he followed the principle: England's necessity was India’s opportunity.

Even in 1935, 19a if not before, he had been thinking of the possibility of securing help from Britain’s enemy. On the other hand, Gandhi and Nehru had a soft corner for Britain and were definitely opposed to the idea of taking advantage of Britain’s peril.

But this difference was unnecessarily widened by the insinuations of Subhas Bose that the members of the Gandhi circle were not keen on carrying on the national struggle, and were looking forward to an understanding with the British Government presumably behind the back of the declared policy of the Congress. Later, he particularly hinted that some leaders were hobnobbing with the British over the question of the Federation. 20 There is, however, nothing to substantiate these charges and they merely served to alienate the members of the Working Committee whose resignation after the re-election of Bose might at least partly be due to this attitude on his part,, Gandhi had certainly legitimate grounds to complain about his manifesto on this occasion ‘‘that his (Bose’s) reference to his colleagues were unjustified and unworthy.” 21

All these differences between Subhas Bose and the ‘Gandhi circle’ came to a head over the election of the President of the next session of the Congress to be held at Tripuri in the C.P. in March, 1939. Never since 1920 was there any conflict of views regarding the choice of President, for it depended solely upon the choice of Gandhi. The election of Subhas Bose in 1938 as President of the Congress also followed this procedure. When at the end of September, 1938, it came to be known that Subhas Bose entertained a desire for re-election as President for a second term, Gandhi dissuaded him, 22 and his own choice fell upon Abul Kalam Azad 23 Bose, however, decided to contest and thereupon Maulana Azad withdrew his candidature. Gandhi’s choice now fell upon Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and Gandhi put his whole weight in his nominee’s favour during the contest. Nevertheless Subhas won by a majority of 95 votes.

This historic election provoked adverse comments and criticisms against both Subhas and Gandhi. As regards the former, in refusing to accede to Gandhi’s request, he acted in strict accordance with democratic principles, and his conduct is fully justified by the fact that he had a volume of public opinion behind him and it was his duty to give an opportunity to those who endorsed his views to test their strength against Gandhi. This was particularly called for at a time when war clouds were gathering in the West and India might have occasion to choose one of these views as against the other to serve the true interest of the country. The result of the voting vindicated the choice of Subhas, for it clearly

demonstrated that in the opinion of the majority of Congressmen the way of Gandhi was not the only way to salvation.

So far as Gandhi is concerned his opposition to Subhas need not be attributed to personal dislike for Subhas, for it is satisfactorily explained by the irreconcilable differences between their political principles, as mentioned above. This seems to be also clear from a statement which Gandhi issued on 31 January, 1939, two days after the “decisive victory of Subhas” as Gandhi put it. As some of the passages in this statement stand in the way of the simple explanation offered above, they may be discussed in some detail. There are:

1. “It is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the

principles and policy for which I stood.”

2. “I must confess that from the very beginning I was against

his re-election for reasons I need not go into.”

3. “Since I was instrumental in inducing (Dr. Pattabhi Sita

ramayya) not to withdraw, the defeat is more mine than

his.” 24

The first passage clearly implies that the contest was based on the question of policy as suggested above. But this conclusion is somewhat weakened by the second passage, for it indicates that there were other reasons which Gandhi was not willing to make public. The third passage is very unfortunate, as it introduces a personal element and makes the result of the election a question of confidence in Gandhi. Whatever might have been the intention of Gandhi in making this statement it had an ominous significance, and there is no doubt that a large section of the Congress delegates took Gandhi’s statement as an open challenge to them to choose between democratic procedure and the leadership of Gandhi, and they chose the latter. Referring to the statement of Gandhi the official history of the Congress remarks: “This created consternation in the country. There was a searching of hearts, a revolution of positions. Those who had voted for Subas Babu came out with a fresh voting of confidence in Gandhi and Gandhi’s leadership.” The result was “the subsequent crossing of the floor by an appreciable number amongst them (delegates) and their unchanging support for Gandhi in the All India Congress Committee.” 25

Before describing its effect on the actual session of the Congress, reference may be made to another probable cause of Gandhi’s opposition to the re-election of Subhas Bose which has recently come to light. Shri K. M.

Munshi wrote in a letter dated 4 December, 1962: "The Government of India knew my relations with Gandhiji and Sardar, and often saw to it that confidential information reached

Gandhiji through me. On one such occasion, I was shown certain secret service reports that Netaji had contacted the German Consul in Calcutta and had come to some arrangement with him, which would enable Germany to rely upon him in case there was a war. I conveyed the information to Gandhiji, who naturally felt surprised." 26 This happened in 1938, and it has been suggested that this information led Gandhi to decide that Subhas should not be re-elected President of the Congress. 27 This is at best a hypothesis, for even Munshi does not connect the two events as cause and effect. But such a hypothesis would be damaging to Gandhi's reputation for his having placed implicit faith in the version of the Government which was biased against Subhas whom they regarded as their Enemy No. 1. Besides, suspicion should have occurred to any man, not to speak of Gandhi, that if the Government had really possessed any positive evidence of treason on the part of Subhas, they would hardly have left him at large to preside over the Congress. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that while Subhas Bose was in Vienna in 1935, he went to Berlin, met Hitler, and discussed with him the contingency of a war between Germany and Britain. To a German-Jewish friend, a refugee in Vienna, Subhas is reported to have said: "Hitler is our natural ally. And he knows it. I put before him detailed plans for an agreement between Germany and the Indian Free State which is to come into force when we gain our freedom. He is studying the project. We shall get his support when we revolt." 273 It is difficult to say how far all this may be accepted as authentic. But the very casual manner in which this episode is reported by a Jewish emigrant to Vienna in a book which deals mainly with drama and has nothing to do with Subhas Bose or his politics, and in which there is no other reference to Subhas or India, seems to give it an authentic character. On the whole, in the present state of our knowledge it would be unfair to both Gandhi and Subhas to attach much importance to the intrigues of Subhas with Germany in connection with the attitude of Gandhi towards the contest for Presidential election in 1939.

We may now resume the story of the Congress session at Tripuri. The volte face of a large number of Congressmen due to Gandhi's statement augured ill for the proceedings of the session. Subhas, the President-elect, also certainly aggravated the tension by passing a resolution in the District Conference at Jalpaiguri (Bengal) to the effect that six months' notice should be given to Britain and after that Mass Civil Disobedience should be embarked upon. 28 The situation was rendered complex by the continued illness of the President-elect and the fast undertaken by Gandhi at Rajkot as a protest against the breach of faith by its ruling chief.

Even before the Congress met, an indication of the coming storm was given by the "resignation tendered by thirteen members of the Working Committee, leaving Subhas Bose and his elder brother, Sarat-chandra Bose, alone on its personnel." 29 This was followed by a formal notice given to the President by Govind Vallabh Pant and about 160 other members of the A.I.C.C. of their intention to move a resolution, the operative part of which read as follows:

"In view of the critical situation that may develop during the coming year and in view of the fact that Mahatma Gandhi alone can lead the Congress and the country to victory during such crisis, the Congress regards it as imperative that the Congress Executive should command his implicit confidence and requests the President to nominate Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhi ji." 30

The competency of A.I.C.C. to consider such a resolution was questioned and the President gave his ruling that the resolution could not be discussed by the A.I.C.C. He, however, expressed readiness to have the matter considered by the Subjects Committee.

The Tripuri session was held on 10-12 March, 1939, and only 2285 out of 3319 delegates attended the meeting. The President, Subhas Bose, was too ill to join the usual Presidential procession which included fifty-one elephants carrying portraits of Subhas and fifty other past Presidents* of the Congress.

Three important resolutions were adopted by the Congress. The first was a reiteration of the Congress objective, namely, achievement of independence, rejection of the Federal part of the Act of 1935, and a declaration to the following effect:

“The Congress declares afresh its solemn resolve to achieve independence for the nation and to have a Constitution framed for a free India through a Constituent Assembly, elected by the people on the basis of the adult franchise and without any interference by a foreign authority. No other Constitution or attempted solutions of the problem can be accepted by the Indian people,”

The second resolution was a comprehensive statement on foreign

policy which is quoted below in parts:

“The Congress records its entire disapproval of British Foreign Policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and co-operation with governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom.

“The Congress dissociates itself entirely from British foreign policy which has consistently aided the Fascist powers and helped in the destruction of democratic countries. The Congress is opposed to Imperialism and Fascism alike and is convinced that world peace and progress required the ending of both of these.”

When the Congress took up the resolution of Govind Vallabh Pant quoted above, a proposal was made to refer it to the A.I.C.C. This was the signal for a general uproar and tumultuous scenes in the Congress pandal which reminded one of the Surat session more than thirty years ago. “Speaker after speaker attempted to make himself heard, paralysing all proceedings for wellnigh an hour.” The session had to be adjourned till next day when the visitors were refused admission ill the meeting and the delegates alone discussed the momentous issue. The proposal to refer the resolution to the A.I.C.C. was withdrawn and it was discussed and passed in the open session. 31 It made Gandhi a dictator de jure, and though he had long been one de jacto f still the resolution made a very serious difference. Henceforth the Congress had not even any pretence of functioning as a democratic body; for Gandhi was officially installed in the position of its dictator. And this was done by the veteran leaders in the same session of the Congress in which they denounced the “betrayal of democracy” in the West, in the resolution quoted above. The last normal session of the Indian National Congress, by openly repudiating democracy even as an ideal, set a precedent which was bound to have repercussion on Indian politics for many a year to come.

It is pertinent in this connection to refer to the views expressed by some eminent Congress leaders less than three years before. When, in 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru’s name was suggested for the Presidentship of the Congress at Faizpur, he pointed out that he did not fully subscribe to the official views of the Congress. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, in withdrawing his candidature in favour of Nehru, made the following observation:

“The Congress President has no dictatorial powers. He is the chairman of our well-built organisation. He regulates the proceedings and carries out the decisions of the Congress as they may be arrived at from time to time. The Congress does not part with its ample powers by electing any individual—no matter who he is.” 32 The concession made in favour of Nehru, in spite of his well-known personal views, was denied to Subhas Bose, and both the Working Committee and Gandhi treated him most unceremoniously—not to put it more bluntly.

In accordance with the instructions of the Congress, President Bose carried on correspondence with Gandhi about the personnel

of the Working Committee, but the latter refused to suggest any name. Thereupon Bose resigned at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. held on 29 April, and next day Rajendra Prasad was elected President in his place. On 1 May, Rajendra Prasad re-appointed the 12 members of the Working Committee who had resigned on Bose’s election. Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarat-chandra Bose declined to serve on the Committee.

Subhas Bose now organized a new party known as the Forward Bloc. He himself thus describes the genesis of the party:

“In the absence of an organised and disciplined Left Wing, it was impossible for the writer to fight the Gandhi Wing. Consequently, India’s primary political need in 1939 was an organised and disciplined Left Wing Party in the Congress.

"The negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and the writer revealed that on the one side, the Gandhi Wing would not follow the lead of the writer and that, on the other, the writer would not agree to be a puppet President. There was, consequently, no other alternative but to resign the Presidentship. This the writer did on the 29th April, 1939, and he immediately proceeded to form a radical and progressive party within the Congress, with a view to rallying the entire Left Wing under one banner. This Party was called the Forward Bloc. The first President of the Bloc was the writer and the Vice-President (now acting President) was Sardar Sardul Sing Cavesheer of Punjab." 33 • The programme of the new party included Satydgraha in Bengal even on minor questions like Agrarian Relief. This was at variance with the policy of the Congress which had been running the administration in eight Provinces under the British rule. The A.I.C.C. accordingly passed a resolution towards the end of June, 1939, that "any movement of Satydgraha for any purpose should be run under the direction, control, and superintendence of the Provincial Congress Committee." The A.I.C.C. also laid down that "in administrative matters, the A.I.C.C. should not interfere with the discretion of the Ministry, but it is always open to the Executive of the P.C.C. to draw the attention of the Government privately to any particular abuse or difficulty." "In matters of policy", the resolution said, "if there is a difference between the Ministry and the P.C.C. reference should be made to the Parliamentary Board. Public discussion should be avoided." 34

The dissident group led by Subhas Bose did not approve of these resolutions. They organized public meetings to condemn them, and 9 July was fixed for an all-India day of protest against them. Many public meetings were held in Bengal, U.P., and C.P.. and a large

number of prominent members of the Provincial Congress Committees attended some of these meetings. This was regarded as a breach of Congress discipline and the President asked Bose for an explanation of his conduct.

The long and spirited reply of Subhas Bose was couched in moderate language, and was the last flicker of the lamp of democracy in the Congress camp dominated by Gandhi. A few passages may be quoted below.

“In the first place, one has to distinguish between protesting against a certain resolution and actually defying it or violating it. What has so far happened is that I have only protested against two resolutions of the A.I.C.C.

“It is my constitutional right to give expression to my opinion regarding any resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. It does not matter if those views are favourable or unfavourable. Your letter seems to suggest that only expression of unfavourable views is to be banned.

“We have so long been fighting the British Government, among other things, for our Civil Liberty. Civil Liberty, I take it, includes freedom of speech. According to your point of view, we are not to claim freedom of speech when we do not see eye to eye with the majority in the A.I.C.C. or in the Congress. It would be a strange situation if we are to have the right of freedom of speech against the British Government, but not against the Congress or any body subordinate to it. If we are denied the right to adversely criticise resolutions of the A.I.C.C. which in our view are harmful to the country’s cause, then it would amount to denial of a democratic right. May I ask you in all seriousness if democratic rights are to be exercised only outside the Congress and not inside it.” 35

It would appear to any ordinary man that Bose’s letter enunciated the true democratic principles which ought to govern a political organization like the Congress. But the Working Committee regarded the explanation to be unsatisfactory. They took the view that it was Bose’s duty to obey implicitly the instructions of the President (or A.I.C.C.) though it was open to him, if he felt aggrieved, to appeal to the Working Committee of A.I.C.C. 36 If we accept this view we are bound to say that top-ranking Congress leaders like C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru were far more guilty than Bose when they carried on propaganda in favour of Council entry against the policy of boycotting it laid down by the Congress. 37 Surely, the instructions of the Congress President or the A.I.C.C. cannot claim greater sanctity than a definite resolution or policy adopted by the Congress. In any case, the Working Committee thought fit to pass a resolution by which Subhas Bose,

twice elected President of the Congress, "was declared disqualified as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and to be a member of any elective Congress Committee for three years as from August, 1939."

Many persons believed at the time, perhaps not without reason, that the decision of the Working Committee was inspired, not by a sense of justice or discipline, but by a personal bias against Subhas Bose and a desire to drive from the Congress one who had the hardihood to defy Gandhi, and, worse still, scored a victory against him.

1. See pp. 524, 541.

2. For the spread of Communism in India, see pp. 421 ff., 545.

3. Indian Struggle, p. 330.

4. Ibid, p. 325.

5. Ibid, pp. 263-4.

6. Ibid, p. 313.

7. Ibid, pp. 313-4,

8. Hist. Congr., II. p. 11.

9. Ibid, p. 13.

10. Nehru on Gandhi , p. 78.

11. Ibid, p. 91.

12. Ibid, p. 64.

13. Hist. Congr., II. p. 30.

14. Ibid, p. 31.

15. Ibid, p. 36.

16. Sapru Committee Report, pp, 22-3.

17. Hist. Congr., II. p. 72; Nehru on Gandhi, p. 78.

17a. Hist. Congr., II. pp. 77-8.

17b. Ibid., p. 78.

18. Coupland, II. p. 171.

19. Indian Struggle, pp. 331-2.

19a. Cf. Otto Zarek's statement referred to later, on p. 568.

20. H. N. Das Gupta, Subhas Chandra, pp. 165-6.

21. Gandhi's statement on 31 January, 1939, referred to later, on p. 567.

22. According to H. N. Das Gupta (op. cit. p. 164 v "Mahatmaji himself asked him (Subhas) not to stand or contest."

22. According to the official history of the Congress (II. p. 105) Gandhi "did not encourage Subash (sic) Babu's candidature" because the national interests demanded that the choice of President "should fall upon a Muslim of outstanding position." This argument falls to the ground as we find that when Azad declined to offer himself as a candidate. Gandhi chose, not an eminent Muslim leader, but P. Sitaramayya.

24. H. N. Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 166-7.

25. Hist. Congr., II. p. 106.

26. A. K. Majumdar, Advent of Independence, p. 409.

27. Ibid, p. 155.

27a. Otto Zarek, German Odyssey , pp. 202-3. Published by Jonathan Cape, London, 1941.

28. Hist. Congr., II. p. 106.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid, pp. 110-1.

31. Ibid, pp. 113-4. The stormy scenes are described in I.A.R.. 1939, I. pp. 327-30.

32. Hist. Congr., II. p. 32.

33. Indian Struggle, p. 333.

34. Hist. Congr., II. p. 115.

35. Ibid, pp. 116-7.

36. Ibid, p. 118. For details of the whole episode, cf. ibid. pp. 115-118.

37. See pp. 389-90.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE NEW REFORMS AT WORK

I. THE FEDERATION

The part of the Government of India Act, 1935, which provided for a Federation of British India with Indian States, proved to be a still-born child. As stated above, the Rulers of States showed great enthusiasm for the Federation when it was suggested at the first session of the Round Table Conference. But even though the new Bill made generous concessions to them, their enthusiasm gradually cooled and they turned their faces against it. The whole question was discussed at a fairly representative meeting of Rulers and State's Ministers held at Bombay in 1935. It was quite clear from the proceedings of the meeting that the Rulers were reluctant to enter the Federation as constituted by the Act. Some of the fundamental issues raised in this meeting which explain the attitude of the Rulers may be dealt with in some detail.

Issue was joined first on the question of paramountcy. This question had been agitating the Rulers of States for some years and the Indian States Committee had been appointed. But the Committee upheld the statement of Lord Reading in 1921 on this crucial point. It runs as follows:

"The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India." 1 This carried the pretensions of the British authority to a much higher degree of control than was clearly understood before. The Committee proceeded further when it stated that the exercise of Paramountcy was governed not only by the treaties and other written engagements between Rulers and the Crown, but also by usage and sufferance. The Rulers were unwilling to accept this view of British

Paramountcy. “They objected, for example, to ‘usage and sufferance’ being coupled with ‘treaties’ in the text of the Instruments of

Accession, and they claimed that those documents should be called ‘Treaties of Accession' and regarded as bilateral agreements, involving on the British side an obligation ‘to preserve and safeguard the whole of their sovereignty and internal autonomy.... from any encroachment in future’. Otherwise the Princes would be required to acquiesce in a ‘derogation of their position from allies and absolute rulers in their own territories to rulers under the suzerainty of the other party to the alliance’.

“To these claims the Secretary of State replied that Paramountcy was a side issue. Its exercise could not be defined in a bill which was only concerned with part of the field it covered and only contemplated ‘that certain matters, which had previously been determined between the States and the Paramount Power, will in future be regulated, in so far as the States accede to the Federation, by the legislative- and executive authority of the Federation.’ Nor, of course, could the Princes’ claim to treat as equals with the Crown be accepted. ‘The nature of their relationship to the King-Emperor’, said the Secretary of State, ‘is a matter which admits of no dispute.’ ” 2

Apart from this fundamental question of principle, the Rulers objected to other provisions defining the spheres in which their authority should be replaced by that of the Federal authorities constituted by the Act. They argued, for example, that the ‘special responsibility’, vested in the Governor-General, seriously curtailed their sovereignty and internal autonomy.

The general attitude of undisguised hostility against the inclusion of the Rulers in the Federal part of the Act, displayed by the political leaders in British India, must have also had its repercussion on the Rulers of States. The Congress as well as the Muslim League regarded the Ruling Princes as reactionaries, autocratic and enemies of democracy, and a Federal structure with Indian States was interpreted by them as a “clever attempt to buttress feudal elements to hold in leash progressive and nationalist forces. The Muslim League regarded the Federal Scheme to be ‘most reactionary, retrograde, injurious, and fatal to the vital interests of British India vis-a-vis the Indian States,' and the Congress felt that it was 'designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India." 3 The attitude of the Congress must have been quite alarming to the Rulers of the States, for it was the natural culmination of the policy which that body had always entertained towards the States. As far back as 1928 the Congress passed the following resolution:

"This Congress urges on the Ruling Princes of the Indian States to introduce Responsible Government based on representative

institutions in the States, and to issue immediately proclamations or enact laws guaranteeing elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free speech, free press, and security of person and property. This Congress further assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full Responsible Government in the States.'

This resolution attained greater significance when Gandhi stated in the Round Table Conference in 1931 that the Congress represented the States as well as British India. The Rulers of the States felt that with the introduction of the new constitution in the Provinces the contrast between the forms of Government in British India and those in States would be more and more glaring. They feared that their own subjects would demand similar reforms, and such demands would be hard to resist once the States formed a part of the Federation of India.

These and other considerations made the Rulers of States reluctant to join the Federation. On the other hand, the presence of the Rulers in the Central Legislature was a matter of vital interest to the British rulers in India as they mostly relied upon this reactionary element to keep down, at least moderate, the democratic element in British India. The British Government undoubtedly devised the Federation in the hope that the mutual jealousies and rivalries between the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Rulers of States would enable them to retain the real authority by playing off one against the other. They could therefore never think of introducing Responsible Government in the centre, even in a modified or diluted form, without roping in the Rulers within the Federation. They were consequently "anxious to smooth the Princes' path to federation; and during the winter of

1936-7 a group of selected officials representing the Viceroy personally were sent to tour the States and discuss with their Rulers and ministers the procedure and the meaning of accession. The collation of the results and their consideration by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State took a long time. It was not till the beginning of 1939 that the Viceroy made known to the Rulers the terms on which the Government, as then advised, would regard a State's accession as acceptable. The Rulers' replies were still incomplete in the autumn, and soon after the outbreak of the war the process of negotiation was formally suspended. By that time it had become obvious that many of the Princes were drawing back from the great design of a united India." 4

Whether, taking a long view of things, the choice of the Rulers was a wise one, may be doubted. But that it was a quite natural

and legitimate decision from the point of view of their own individual interests, it is impossible to deny. Between the Paramountcy of the British on the one hand, and the opposition and dislike, if not hatred, of the Congress on the other, their lives would have been miserable indeed in a Federation. It may not be easy to excuse, but is certainly not difficult to explain, the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Rulers to form an integral part of a federation, the most powerful element of which, viz., the Congress, made no secret of its contempt for the moth-eaten' system and desire for the submergence of the medieval monarchies in an all-India democracy.

II. THE MINISTRIES UNDER THE NEW ACT A. NON-CONGRESS PROVINCES

1. Bengal

The position of the different political parties in Bengal's first Legislative Assembly elected under the Act of 1935 was as follows:

1. Congress 60

2. Independent Muslims 41

3. Muslim League 40

4. Praja Party 35

5. Europeans 25

6. Independent Scheduled Caste

(Depressed Class) Hindus 23

7. Independent Caste Hindus 14

The 60 members of the Congress did not form a single solid bloc, because 17 of them were returned from special groups (Scheduled Castes, Labour, and Tippera Cultivators' Society). The Praja Party was a predominantly Muslim body claiming to represent the agrarian tenantry.

It was obvious that no single party could form a ministry and a coalition was inevitable. Fazlul Huq, the leader of the Praja party, was a nationalist Muslim, and made earnest efforts to form a ministry in co-operation with the Congress. The local Congress party approved of this proposal but the Congress High Command turned it down, as they had not yet decided whether the Congress should accept office. Whatever may be its theoretical justification, the decision proved to be an extremely unwise one. For it forced Fazlul Huq to come to terms with the Muslim League and paved the way for the rise of that communal organization into power and importance in Bengal. The Bengal coalition was based on the combination of parties Nos. 3, 4, 6, and 7. Fazlul Huq became the Chief Minister, and of the remaining ten ministers five were Hindus

and five Muslims. But the coalition did not prove either strong or stable; for, apart from internal dissensions, it had to rely on the support of groups of individuals outside the coalition, and such support was always precarious.

Repeated failures of Fazlul Huq's earnest attempts to come to an understanding with the Congress resulted in a closer cohesion of the Muslim groups of the Assembly. The Ministry became stable but communal in character. Jinnah took advantage of the situation to impose the authority of the League upon the Ministry, but failed. Fazlul Huq continued his coalition ministry, though the personnel, had to be changed. Two Hindu ministers, Nalini-ranjan Sircar and Shyama-prasad Mukherji, who were towers of strength to the ministry, had to resign on different grounds. But though considerably weakened, Fazlul Huq's Ministry still continued when the Second World War broke out. 5

It is not possible to review in detail the working of the Fazlul Huq ministry, but a few prominent features may be mentioned.

The appointment of a popular ministry raised high hopes about the repeal of repressive laws and the release of political prisoners and detenus. These hopes were only partially fulfilled. No repressive law was repealed. But the detenus, 2304 in number, were all released. As regards the convicts, the Government decided to release at once those suffering from grave or lasting illness and appointed a Committee to examine each individual case. The result was that '‘by October, 1939, 12 terrorist convicts had been released unconditionally, 41 had been offered release on conditions, and 7 had been granted remissions of sentence; 41 were left as they were.” 6 Altogether more than 2,000 persons, who were either convicted or gravely suspected of being associated with terrorism, were discharged.

The Government policy was justified by the result, for the old type of terrorist or revolutionary activities was not revived. There were, however, troubles of a different character. There was an agitation for the removal of the Blackhole Monument in Calcutta as it was considered a libel on the good name of Siraj-ud-daula. Subhas Bose organized something like a Satyagraha and the students threatened a general strike. There was a clash between the police and the students, and the public indignation was so great that the Premier declared next day that the Monument would be removed.

The peace of the country was disturbed by a series of communal riots in 1940-41 in several places. The most serious were repeated outbreaks in Dacca in which stabbing, looting and arson continued for days together, and both tear-gas and troops had to be used. More than 50 persons were killed and many more injured.

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The riots spread to the countryside where several Hindu villages were looted and burnt and more than 10,000 Hindus were said to have fled from their homes.[7] The Hindus complained that the officials showed a definite bias in favour of the Muslims. Both the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha —which was fast growing into importance in Bengal—accused Fazlul Huq's Ministry of making a deliberate attempt to undermine the political and cultural position of the Hindu community. But in spite of occasional lapses, in words more than in deeds, Fazlul Huq was least influenced by a communal spirit. He made sincere attempts to make a political truce with the Congress but his offer was rejected. In the worst days of communal riots in Bengal he proposed to Jinnah that the Muslim League should take the initiative in an attempt to come to terms with the Congress. "Mr. Jinnah replied that he, too, desired a settlement, but that it was impossible to obtain one when the Congress was trying to compel the British Government to accept its demands and leave the Moslems in the lurch. In this opinion Mr. Fazlul Huq ultimately acquiesced."[8] It is difficult to refute the charge that from the beginning to end the interests of Bengal were sacrificed at the altar of the All-India policy of the Congress and Muslim League.

One of the reforms which called for immediate action, according to all political parties, was the relief to agricultural population, particularly in respect of high rents, indebtedness, and unjust tenancy laws from which they had long been suffering. The removal of these abuses and the introduction, of compulsory primary education were the first two items in the electoral programme of Fazlul Huq.

The Government appointed a commission, with Sir Francis Floud as chairman, to examine the land-revenue question with special reference to the Permanent Settlement, but it led to no tangible result.

The Government, however, carried a measure of tenancy reform under the existing system. "The Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Bill was on somewhat similar lines to those of the corresponding legislation in the Congress Provinces. Among its purposes was the restriction of the landlords' powers of recovering rent, the abolition of landlords' fees on the transfer of holdings, the reduction of the rate of interest on arrears of rent from 12i per cent, to 6}, and the suspension for ten years of all provisions relating to enhancement of rent.” 9 The Bill became law in 1938. Another Tenancy Bill, mainly designed to protect tenants in the matter of mortgages and arrears of rent, was also passed in 1941. Another law was passed in 1940 for the relief of rural indebtedness. It prescribed 10 per cent, and 8 per cent, per annum simple interest as the maximum charges on unsecured and secured loans, respectively.

More controversial was the act of 1939 which amended the constitution of the Calcutta Municipality by the introduction of separate electorates for the Muslims and Anglo-Indians, and of reserved seats for the Scheduled Castes, in the teeth of a fierce opposition by the Hindus.

Reference may be made to two other legislations; one to establish a fund for relief and insurance against famine and other calamities of nature; and the other, to provide for maternity relief to women employed in industry.

‘The Bengal Shops and Establishment Act, passed in September 1940, provided for the closing of shops and for holidays for employees without loss of pay on 1J days in each week and for closing on other days at 8 p.m., regularised the payment of wages and overtime, and entitled employees to obtain a fortnight’s leave on full pay each year. The Act applied in the first instance to Calcutta and Howrah, but could be extended by notification elsewhere.’ 10

An Act was also passed for the assistance of the poor and unemployed in rural areas.

The Ministry, however, failed miserably in effecting any real improvement either in primary or in secondary education. A bill was introduced for setting up a Board of Secondary Education, but its composition on communal principles provoked strong opposition from the Hindus, and it was shelved. Both in educational reforms and prohibition Bengal lagged far behind the Congress Provinces.

2. The Punjab

The population in the Punjab consisted of 57 per cent. Muslims, 26h per cent. Hindus, and 13l per cent. Sikhs. The allocation of seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly was a difficult problem, for the Sikhs claimed weightage on account of their contribution to the ranks of the Indian army and to the fact that they were rulers of the whole province less than a century ago. The question was settled by the Communal Award of 1932 which gave them weightage.

The Punjab politics was free from the domination both of the Congress and of the Muslim League, But it was mainly communal ever since 1919. As the Simon Commission wrote: 11 “The most striking feature of the Council remains, nevertheless, its deep communal cleavages; and the stability of the successive Ministries is largely to be explained by the existence of the official bloc generally

in a position to hold the balance between nearly equal forces of Muhammadans on the one side and Hindus and Sikhs on the other/ 5

In spite of the disappearance of the official bloc in the Legislative Assembly of 1937, a stable ministry was formed by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the leader of the National Unionist Party, because it had secured 96 seats in a House of 175. Sir Sikandar maintained the strength and popularity of his Government till his death on 26 December, 1942.

As in Bengal, the Ministry in the Punjab was faced with the demand for release of political prisoners, numbering 44. There were two hunger-strikes and a mass demonstration of nearly 20.000 persons round the Assembly Hall. In March, 1938, seven nonviolent prisoners, and in April, five terrorists were released. The Punjabi convicts in the Andamans were transferred to jails in the Punjab.

Within a few months of the installation of the new Ministry there v/ere three fights between the Muslims and the Sikhs, and one between the Muslims and the Hindus. There was another Hindu* Muslim riot early in 1938. A grave situation arose over the Sahidgunje mosque, which had been in possession of the Sikhs for about a century and their possession had judicial sanction. An agitation was set up by the Muslims to regain possession of it and a prominent part was taken in it by the Ahrars, a minority group of

Muslims supporting the Congress. They started Civil Disobedience movement and were joined by volunteers froib the N.W.F.P., Delhi and U.P., who courted arrest by marching to the mosque in defiance of Government orders. After more than a thousand volunteers were arrested the agitation rapidly collapsed. 12

A serious communal riot broke out at Multan in 1938 and next year at Amritsar, in the course of which several persons were killed and injured and many houses were set on fire. British troops had to be called in both cases. 13

As in Bengal, so in the Punjab, the agrarian problem engaged the chief attention of the Ministry, and by 1942, they passed the following measures, among others:

(1) Three Acts to amend the Punjab Alienation of Land Act of 1900 which placed further restrictions on the transfer of agricultural land to money-lenders and mortgagees.

(2) The Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Act, providing for the liquidation on easy terms of all mortgages executed before 1901 (i.e. before the imposition by the Act of 1900 of a statutory limit of twenty years on agricultural mortgages.).

(3) The Agricultural Markets Products Act, mainly intended to prevent malpractices in the markets whereby the ignorant cultivator had been defrauded of his just dues.

(4) The Registration of Money-lenders Act, denying to a money-lender the assistance of the courts in obtaining the repayment of a loan unless he holds, or has applied for, a licence.

(5) The Belief of Indebtedness Act, which, like similar legislation in Bengal and other Provinces, limited the rate of interest, prohibited- the imprisonment of debtors, and restricted creditors* powers of seizing property in execution of debt. 14

At the end of 1940 the Government proposed three measures which were all eventually carried. These were "(1) a tax on urban immovable property, (2) a bill restricting urban rents in order to prevent landlords passing the burden of the tax on to their tenants, and (3) a general sales tax. All these measures, particularly the last, were strenuously resisted, and the local Congressmen were backed by the high command. On its orders they withdrew from the Assembly and with its help agitation was widely and effectively organised outside. There was a local hartal at Amritsar in December, 1940, and a more general on May, 1941.** 15 The troubles persisted for a long time. There was rowdyism in the streets of Lahore, processions were broken by the police, and six Congress members of the Assembly were arrested. But things settled down in February, 1942.

Among ether important measures adopted by the Government a few deserve special notice:

The Village Panchayat Act gave a further impetus to local selfgovernment "by increasing the simple social services under the Panchayat's (village council) control and extending its judicial powers; and the State Aid to Industries Act provided public money for the maintenance of cottage and village crafts. The Government pledged itself, moreover, to a 'five-year plan* of rural development costing 10 lakhs a year. Nor was urban welfare wholly neglected. The Trade Employees Act prohibited the employment of children under 14 unless they were genuine apprentices, and imposed early closing, holidays with pay, and so on. Lastly, for the benefit of the whole community, the Government succeeded, after some years' discussion arising mainly from communal suspicions and intransigence, in carrying at last at the end of 1940 a Primary Education Act, the main purport of which was to enable any local authority to make primary education compulsory for boys between 6 and 12 and girls between 6 and 11 in the whole or part of the area under its jurisdiction", 16

Slow but steady progress was maintained in the process of consolidating and expanding the existing schools. The attendance of girls in schools rose by upwards of 9000 each year. Attention was given to adult education and a five-year programme w r as adopted for the progressive elimination of illiteracy throughout the Province.

3. Assam

Assam had a population of only ten millions and there was little urban or industrial development, yet there were no less than fourteen political parties. “Of the 108 seats in the Assembly, 35 went to Congressmen (one of whom was a Moslem), 34 to Moslem parties (14 Independent Moslems, 9 Moslem League, 5 Assam Valley Moslems, 5 Surma Valley Moslems, 1 Praja Party), 10 to the Independent Hindus, 4 to Labour, 3 to the United People’s Party, 2 to the Indian Planters, 1 to the Indian Christians, 1 to the Independent Women, and 9 to the Europeans. Of the 21 members of the Council or upper house, 10 were Moderates (Hindu), 6 Independent Moslems, 2 Europeans, and 3 nominated members.

“An eminent Moslem lawyer, Sir Syed Muhammad Saadulia, was invited to form a Government, and having chosen two Moslems, one Indian Christian and one non-Congress Hindu (Mr. R. Chaudhury) as his colleagues, he succeeded in obtaining sufficient cooperation among the rival Moslem groups to provide him, together with the Europeans and a few Independents, with a majority in the Assembly.” 17

The majority was precarious, the Congress refused to form a coalition Ministry, and the tv/o Muslim colleagues of Saadulia were hopelessly incompetent. A motion of no-confidence was lost in March by only one vote, but when four such motions were tabled in September, the Ministry resigned. The Congress leader, Gopinath Bardoloi, then formed the Ministry, which was really a coalition, for out of the eight ministers only two were Congressmen.

The administrative record was very poor. Among the important measures adopted by the Ministry may be mentioned (1) reduction of land-dues payable by the the poor agriculturists; (2) release of the few political prisoners in the Province; and (3) the abolition of one of the two Divisional Commissionerships.

4. Sindh

The population of Sindh was only 45 lakhs, of which 71 per cent, were Muslim and 27 per cent. Hindu. It was detached from Bombay and created into a separate? Province on purely communal grounds, that is, to increase the number of Muslim majority Provinces. But the ratio of the population does not give a correct idea of the relative importance of the two communities in Sindh. The business, including the overseas trade, was entirely in the hands of the Hindus and a few Parsis. who thus possessed an economic hold on the entire community. Thus communalism, on religious grounds, was embittered by considerations of material interests. The situation was rendered worse by the lack of unity and consequent multiplicity of parties, both among the Hindus and Muslims.

“The result of the elections gave 18 out of the 60 seats in the Assembly to the Sindh United Party, the chief Moslem group, 11 to the Sindh Hindu Sabha, 9 to the Independent Moslems, 8 to the Congress, 4 to the Sindh Moslem Party, 3 to the Sindh Azad Party (another Moslem group, associated with the Congress), 2 to the Independent Hindus, 1 to a Labour Independent, and 4 to candidates who had adopted no party labels.'* 18 As attempts to consolidate the Muslims into one group proved futile, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatuliah, a Muslim landowner of the United Party, formed a coalition Cabinet of three with a Hindu and a Muslim colleague. The hostile combinations of Hindu and Muslim groups with the Congress Opposition forced the Ministry to resign in March, 1938. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, another big landowner, formed a Cabinet with one other member of the United Party, and one Hindu Independent. He carried on with the goodwill of the Congress party which he secured by adopting some minor items of the official Congress programme. “Ministerial salaries were reduced to the Congress level. Honorary magistracies were abolished. Ministers were requested to boycott social functions. The single ‘political prisoner* confined in the Province, a Punjabi terrorist, was released. And in the next session the standard resolution condemning the federal scheme of the Act of 1935 was carried and the nominated seats on various local government bodies were abolished**. 19

But the Ministry’s policy of increasing revenue from the newly irrigated lands to meet the debt-charges on the great Lloyd Barrage and Canal scheme, as laid down by the Act of 1935, was opposed by the Congress members even though the Congress leader Vallabhbhai Patel counselled moderation. At the same time Jinn ah made an attempt to convert the Sindh Government into a League Government. The spirit of local patriotism—Sindh for the Sindhis—enabled the Government to resist the onslaughts of the combined Congress and Muslim League. 20 But a communal frenzy proved its doom.

The troubles began with two domed buildings known as the Manzilgah on the river front at Sukkur. Although they were in the possession of the Government for a century, the Muslims claimed that one of them w T as a mosque and should be surrendered to them. The old demand was pressed hard in August, 1939, and as the Hindu and Muslim Ministers differed sharply on the Muslim claim, the negotiations with the Government broke down. On October 1, the Muslims started Civil Disobedience and hundreds of volunteers courted arrest. But after two days’ trial the cult of non-violence was given up and the Muslims forcibly occupied the building. The murder of a venerated Hindu poet in the northern part of the Province made the communal situation at Sukkur much worse. “At last the Government decided to take strong action. Police, with Indian troops held in reserve, attacked the Manzilgah with lathis and tear-gas, drove out the ‘volunteers’, and put the building once more under guard. But that did not end the trouble. Rioting broke out that evening in the town of Sukkur, aided by the fugitives from the Manzilgah. It lasted for more than two days, and 19 Hindus and 15 Moslems were killed. The troops were promptly reinforced from Hyderabad and later from Quetta; but disorder was now r spreading beyond Sukkur. At Shikarpur there was panic among Hindus, but no actual outbreak. At Rohri a riot w r as quickly suppressed, but not before several Hindus had lost their lives. Nor was the trouble confined to the towns. The countryside was now alight, and Moslem peasants fell upon their Hindu neighbours, murdering and looting.” Justice Weston after a careful inquiry fixed the final figures for the casualties in Sukkur town and district as 151 Hindus and 14 Moslems killed and 58 Hindus and 18 Muslims injured.

“In January 1940 the two Hindu Ministers, no longer able to withstand the fierce attacks of their fellow Hindus for failing to protect their community, resigned, and in February the rest of the Baksh Government collapsed.” There are good grounds to believe that the Muslim League fanned the flame of communal frenzy in order to bring about the fall of the Government. In any case, “it is significant that after change of Government the communal agitation began gradually to subside.” 21

After the resignation of Allah Baksh, Mir Bandeh Ali Khan formed a new Ministry in March, 1940, as the leader of a new Nationalist Party formed by the strange combination of the Muslim League and the Hindu Independents. The Ministry secured the support of the Congress and adopted some points in the Congress programme. The consumption of liquor was restricted as the first step towards total prohibition, and joint electorates were introduced in Municipalities in 1940. The Bill to establish joint electorates

in Local Boards was not proceeded with as the Muslim League threatened to rekindle communal strife.

On account of internal dissensions caused by purely personal question, the Ministry resigned on March 6, 1941. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh now formed a cabinet of two Hindus and six Muslims none of whom was a member of the Muslim League. As usual he placated the Congress and “announced a three-point programme: the fixing of a communal ratio for the recruitment of the Provincial Services, the gradual separation of the judicial from the executive branch of the administration, and a Tenancy Reform Bill. Meantime a Debt Conciliation Bill was passed; and, while an increase of ministerial salaries was carried, a similar increase in the payment of members of the Assembly, vehemently attacked by the Congressmen, was dropped.”

Some interesting constitutional questions cropped up during the short Ministry of Allah Baksh. There arose a difference between the Governor and the Chief Minister over the appointment of the Revenue Officer for the Lloyd barrage. The Governor refused to sanction the appointment of an Indian for the post and in exercise of his extra ‘special responsibility’ for the administration of the barrage, he appointed a British official instead. “Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, unable to get his way in private discussion with the Governor, appealed to public opinion. In the course of December 1941, he declared in the Assembly that the Governor’s conduct was not only in conflict with the undertaking given by the Viceroy in 1937 as to the Governors’ use of their ‘special responsibilities’.. . but was inspired by race prejudice. He disclosed the fact that he had lodged a complaint with the Viceroy, and it was understood that he and his colleagues were contemplating a formal representation to the Secretary of State. No such representation was in fact made.” 22

In spite of rapid changes in Ministries a number of social legislations were passed. A Primary Education Act reorganized the machinery of administration, and another Act made primary education compulsory for the children of the better class of Zamindars. Two Acts were passed to give relief to the debtors, and two more to facilitate industry. A Famine Relief Fund Act provided a capital of 12 lakhs.

During the regime of the Allah Baksh Ministry in 1942 a grim tragedy was enacted in Sindh by a body of fanatical tribesmen known as the Hurs. They owed allegiance to local notables, called Pirs, who were notorious for open defiance of authorities. Pir Pagaro, the most powerful of them, was known to have instigated all types of crimes from petty theft to murder, and maintained an armed band. His arrest for complicity in a murder case was followed by a reign of terror in the north. “Murderous outrages were frequent. Twenty-six people were killed in the month of Febuary, 1942. Telegraph and railway lines were sabotaged. In consultation with the Central Government, plans were made by the Provincial Government to cope with these disorders. Special police forces were organised, and in the course of April over 800 Hurs were rounded up and jailed. But in May the situation rapidly worsened. The Karachi-Lahore mail train was derailed on the 16th, and some twenty of the passengers murdered, including the son of Sir G. H. Hidayatullah, the Home Minister. Apart from this outrage there were 33 cases of murder—-among the victims was a Congress member of the Provincial Assembly—or gang-robbery in this period; canals were breached, crops destroyed, and tribute exacted from landlords. It was clearly time for the Centre to take a hand,” The Central Government intervened, sent a brigade of infantry, and martial law was proclaimed in the troubled areas. By the end of July "some 2,000 Hurs and dacoits had been arrested and tried by special tribunals and 45 hanged. But isolated crimes were still occurring and some months elapsed before public peace and safety were in the main restored", 23

The attitude taken up by Gandhi in this affair is interesting. "The Government machinery", he wrote in the Harijan of 24 May, "has evidently broken down. The real remedy is for Congress members to withdraw from the Assembly and Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh to resign. These should form a peace-brigade and fearlessly settle down among the Hurs and risk their lives in persuading their erring countrymen to desist from their crimes". 24 There was no response to this proposal.

B. THE CONGRESS PROVINCES 1. Formation of Ministries

It was taken for granted, both in the Simon Commission's Report and the discussions in the Round Table Conference, that the important minority communities, particularly the Muslims, ought to be, and in fact would be, represented in the Provincial Ministries. But it was not made a statutory obligation, as was suggested by some Muslim leaders, for it was felt that "to impose minority representation by a clause of the Act might endanger the accepted principle of the joint responsibility o:: Ministers; for it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to feel jointly responsible unless their association were voluntary and wholehearted." So "nothing was said on the subject in the Act, but the Governors were told

in their Instructions on the one hand that their Ministries should include 'so far as practicable members of important minority communities' and on the other hand that they must 'bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility' among their Ministers." 25

"The view expressed in the Simon Report and at the Conference that minority representation in the Ministries would come about almost as a matter of course was clearly based on the belief that no single party would be strong enough to do without minority support. But this was belied by the result of the elections. In five Provinces the Congress obtained clear majorities. In two others they only needed the support of one or two sympathetic groups. Broadly speaking, therefore, there was no necessity for the Congress to come to terms with minority parties, not even with the strongest of them, the Moslem League." 26

When the Congress decided to accept office they proceeded on the general principle that in the Congress Provinces the Ministers should be selected solely from the Congress Party. They were quite consistent, for they had refused to join coalition ministry in those Provinces where the Congress members did not form a majority in the legislature. The result of this attitude in Bengal politics has been noted above. But the consequences were far more serious in the Congress Provinces. In practice the member of a minority organization was bluntly told that he must either repudiate his own organization (like the Muslim League) and join the Congress by accepting its creed, or must give up the hope of taking a share in the government of his country. As could be expected, the Muslim League refused to accept the position. The whole problem became crystal clear in the constitution of the Ministry in U.P.

Although the Muslims numbered only 16 per cent, in U.P., they constituted a strong element for two reasons. In the first place, they formed a much higher proportion of urban population; secondly, in point of learning, wealth, and social status, they occupied a very high place not only in comparison with Muslims in other parts of India, but also as compared with the Hindus in U.P. This was mainly due to the Aligarh University and the local traditions of the Mughul Age. There were eminent leaders and local magnates whose name and fame spread among the Muslims all over India.

The result of the election in 1937 was very significant so far as the Muslims were concerned. "Out of the 228 seats in the Provincial Assembly 64 are reserved for Moslems chosen by separate Moslem electorates. At the polls in 1937, 26 of those seats were won by the Moslem League. 28 by the Independent Moslems, 9 by

the National Agricultural Party, and only one by a Congress Moslem. Only one of the seats won by the League was uncontested. In at least 20 of the 25 contests the League's majority was substantial and in several cases overwhelming." 27 It is clear from the above that the Congress had practically no hold upon U.P. Muslims, while the Muslim League was forging ahead, but a majority were still sitting on the fence without committing themselves to any communal organization (the Congress being looked upon by a section of the Muslims as a Hindu organization).

Between the League and the Congress, the only two organized political bodies in U.P., there was hardly any difference in ideas and programme save on the communal representation. The electoral programmes of the two were also very nearly the same in all essential matters, and the leaders of the two organizations fought the elections on a more or less common platform. But when the Congress decided to accept office there arose a strong difference between the two. There seems to have been a sort of understanding—tacit or explicit—before the election that in case of victory, two places in the joint Ministry would be allotted to the Muslims. But the Congress, in pursuance of their principles mentioned above, offered to include two members of the Muslim League only on certain conditions. After a prolonged discussion and considerable wrangling definite terms were communicated by Maulana A.K. Azad, a prominent Congress leader but not belonging to U.P., to Mr. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, the Provincial leader of the League. The Congress would accept two ministers from the Muslim League only on certain conditions of which the more important ones are given below:

“The Muslim League group in the United Provinces Legislature shall cease to function as a separate group.

“The existing members of the Muslim League Party in the United Provinces Assembly shall become part of the Congress Party, and will fully share with other members of the Party their privileges and obligations as members of the Congress Party. They will similarly be empowered to participate in the deliberations of the Party. They will likewise be subject to the control and discipline of the Congress Party in an equal measure with other members, and the decisions of the Congress Party as regards work in the legislature and general behaviour of its members shall be binding on them. All matters shall be decided by a majority vote of the Party, each individual member having one vote.

“The Moslem League Parliamentary Board in the United Provinces will be dissolved, and no candidates wall thereafter be set up by the said Board at any by-election. All members of the Party shall actively support any candidate that may be nominated by the Congress to fill up a vacancy occurring hereafter.

“In the event of the Congress Party deciding on resignation from the Ministry or from the legislature, the members of the abovementioned group will also be bound by that decision.** 28

It meant, in plain language, that the Muslim League in U.P. would cease to exist for all practical purposes and merge itself in the Congress. It could hardly be expected by any serious statesman that the Muslim League would agree to commit political Harikiri at the bidding of the Congress. Khaliq-uz-Zaman, in consultation with Jinnah, the leader of the Muslim League, rejected the offer of the Congress.

There is no doubt that the decision of the Congress leaders was extremely unwise and it was bound to have disastrous consequences, The Muslims now fully realized that as a separate community they had no political prospect in future. The Congress ultimatum was the signal for the parting of the ways which by inevitable stages led to the foundation of Pakistan.

In view of these important consequences, it is necessary to examine the ideas which lay behind the decision of the Congress leaders. The general view on the subject held by non~Congress men has been ably summed up as follows by Coupland:

“The Congress system is not only highly Unitarian: it is also, to use a word with which the world has become grievously familiar, totalitarian. In many ways, of course, this Indian form of oneparty dictatorship is very different from the forms it has taken in Europe, but the principle is the same. Since 1920 the Congress has claimed to be the sole authentic champion of Indian freedom. It professes to represent, and alone to represent truly, all the nationalists of British India whatever their community or faith. It also backs the cause of the people of the States, and has even asserted a kind of right to represent their Rulers. As its leaders* abuse of their Liberal fellow-countrymen shows, no Indian is regarded as a patriot whose opinion differs from the Congress creed. India can only be freed by the Congress and only in the Congress way.** 29

So far as the Congress view is concerned it was really shaped by Nehru, at least at the time of which we are speaking, with the general concurrence of the other leaders. Unfortunately, Nehru had a very poor knowledge of the history of the Muslims in India and particularly their attitude towards the Hindus during the periods of both Muslim and British supremacy. How amazing this ignorance was even at the time when Nehru was called upon to play

a decisive role in the ever-recurring Hindu-Muslim problem in one of its most critical phases, may be best seen in a letter which he wrote to Lord Lothian on 17 January, 1936, from which a few passages are quoted below:

"India has never known in the whole course of her long history the religious strife that has soaked Europe in blood.... Some conflict arose when Islam came, but even that was far more political than religious.... The communalism of today is essentially political, economic and middle class.... One must never forget that communalism in India is a latter-day phenomenon which has grown up before our eyes... .With the coming of social issues to the forefront it is bound to recede into the background." 30

Did Nehru forget the torrents of Hindu blood through which Mahmud of Ghazni waded to India with Quran in the one hand and sword in the other? Did he forget Timur's invasion of India to wage "war with the infidels" and his terrible outrage on the Hindus? One would like to know in what sense the iconoclastic fury of Firuz Tughluk, Sikandar Lodi, and Aurangzeb—not to speak of a host of others—was political rather than religious? Nor does Nehru seem to have any knowledge of the Aligarh Movement and its founder, for otherwise he could not have described the "communalism of today" as he has done, or thought of it as growing before his eyes. That he could hope for the weakening of communalism with the "coming of social issues", even after his experience of Jinnah and the Muslim League for more than ten years, merely shows that he was an incurable idealist, unable or unwillihg to face facts.

How tenaciously Nehru clung to these ideas even after a further experience of another eight years during which the Pakistan issue had come to the forefront, may be gathered from his book, The Discovery of India, which he wrote in 1944. Thus he says:

“The Communal Problem, as it was called, was one of adjusting the claims of the minorities and giving them sufficient protection from majority action. Minorities in India, it must be remembered, are not racial or national minorities as in Europe; they are religious minorities.... Religious barriers are obviously not permanent, as conversions can take place from one religion to another, and a person changing his religion does not thereby lose his racial background or his cultural and linguistic inheritance,” 31

Here the doctrinaire Nehru speaks, oblivious of all realities of Indian life. Did Nehru seriously believe that conversion of Hindus to Islam, or vice versa, in the twentieth century could take place on such a large scale as to change substantially the proportion of Hindus and Muslims in India and solve the communal problem?

Nehru described the Muslim League as a “small upper-class organization controlled by feudal elements”, and remarked that “it had no influence on the Moslem masses and was hardly known by them.” 32 Nehru here committed the same type of mistake as the Britishers did in respect of the Congress when they belittled its importance by describing it as the organization of the English-educated classes, constituting a microscopic minority. It is indeed very surprising that Nehru should have made this observation about the Muslim League in 1944 after his miserable failure in 1939 to win over the Muslim masses to the Congress view by a regular campaign to which reference will be made later, 32a It merely proves, if proof were needed, that Nehru’s idealism, at least in respect of the Muslim community, had absolutely no relation to actual facts.

Nehru further observed: “On two fundamental questions the Congress stood firm: national unity and democracy. These were the foundations on which it had been founded and its very growth for half a century had emphasized these.” 33 To speak of democracy in the Congress of the Gandhian era, specially after the annual session of 1939, that is, only five years before Nehru wrote, is so unrealistic that no comment is necessary beyond a bare reference to facts mentioned in connection with that event. 34

Similarly, Nehru’s emphasis on national unity ignores some patent facts: It was the Congress which in 1916 recognized the Muslims as a separate political entity with separate interests; it was Gandhi w 7 ho by his action in respect of the Khilafat movement endorsed the views of Muslim leaders that they were Muslims first and Indians afterwards, that their interests were more bound up with the fate of the Muslim world outside India than that of India herself. As mentioned above, 35 such a view is absolutely incompatible with Indian nationality, howsoever it might be defined or described. To sacrifice the collaboration with the Muslim League in the name of ideals, which did not at all correspond with existing facts, was an extremely unwise—almost fatal-—step for which India had to pay very dearly.

The view put forward by Rajendra Prasad was theoretically more rational. "The Congress", he said, "had gone to the Assemblies with a definite programme and in furtherance of a definite policy; and it could not, without being false to the electorate, admit into the Ministry persons who did not accept that policy and that programme.... It was a political and economic programme." 36 Now the question is: did the Congress leaders approach the League, the only organized Muslim party in a Province where the Congress had absolutely no following among the Muslims, in this spirit? Did they lay before the League the political and economic programme

and ask it whether, and if so how far, it was prepared to accept it? No. Instead of that the Congress demanded that the League must cease to exercise political influence, which no sane member would dream of doing. On an ultimate analysis the position appears to be somewhat as follows: The Muslim community in U.P. was an influential one but constituted a very small minority of the population (16 per cent). There was only one organized party among them, the League, which secured 26 seats out of 64 in the election, the remaining seats being captured by Independent candidates (28), a mushroom organisation (9), and the Congress (1). There was thus no reasonable chance that the Congress would ever capture a large number of Muslim seats, whereas considering the history of the League, it had every reasonable chance of being the strongest Muslim Party, if not the only one. The Congress had only two alternatives. Either to impose a perpetual rule by the Congress which most Muhammadans regarded as a Hindu organization and hardly enjoyed the confidence of even a microscopic minority (one out of 64); or to attempt a coalition with the League on reasonable terms without violating its fundamental principles.

The Congress chose the first alternative, proclaiming thereby to the whole Muslim community that it must either join what it considered to be a Hindu organization, or must remain satisfied to be ruled by it. In other words, the Congress set an example of that totalitarianism to which reference has been made above. That it had the most disastrous consequences in future Indian politics, admits of no doubt. Whether these could or should have been foreseen is a matter of opinion. The apologists of the Congress merely look at the theoretical or constitutional aspect of the question, but completely overlook its practical consequences which a statesman can ignore only at his peril.

2. The Working of Ministries i. General Characteristics

It is necessary, at the very outset, to note some characteristic features of Congress administration which distinguished it from that in other Provinces. In the first place, the Congress Ministries, with absolute majority in the Legislative Assemblies, formed strong and stable administration on a single party basis. They had a definite programme and could count upon persons of real ability to steer the helm of affairs. On the other hand, the Congress imposed a rigid control upon Provincial Governments whose freedom and initiative were largely restricted by the High Command. An important part was "played by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee 37 which was formed by the Working Committee in March 1937. It consisted of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Vallabhbhai

Patel. Its duties were 'to be in close and constant touch with the work of the Congress parties in all the legislatures in the Provinces, to advise them in ail their activities, and to take necessary action in any case of emergency. 5 Maulana Azad was assigned the special care of Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province. Dr. Bajendra Prasad was given Bihar, Orissa and Assam; and the remaining four Provinces—Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces and Sindh—fell to Mr. Patel. In October 1938, the Working Committee specifically ruled that the Parliamentary SubCommittee was entitled to perform its duties suo motu 38 without any reference from the Provincial Parliamentary Party or Congress Committee. It was the Parliamentary Sub-Committee which, 'with the approval of the Working Committee 5 , issued instructions in October, 1939, for the resignation of the Congress Ministries.” 39

In view of the position of Gandhi, 39a it is not difficult to imagine that the Parliamentary Board or Sub-Committee was, in fact though not in theory , a tool in his hands and merely registered his commands and wishes which they would never dream of opposing. As mentioned above, 390 Gandhi was really a permanent Super-President of the Congress. Thus the Congress Ministries in Provinces were under the dominant control of one individual and an organization having no constitutional authority over them. As an indirect corollary or consequence of this, the Provincial autonomy, as envisaged in the Act of 1935, became more a myth than a reality in the Congress Provinces. The fact that many top-ranking Congress leaders chose to serve as supervisors rather than Chief Ministers, is also an indication of the spirit in which the Congress administration in the Provinces was intended to be carried on. There is no doubt that the Congress leaders were most anxious, above all other considerations, to maintain the unity and supremacy of the Congress. As the Congress had no hold over the Central Government, while the popular Provincial Governments were vested with ample powers, there was the great risk of Provincial patriotism being quickened at the cost of the sense of Indian unity. Besides, there was the still greater danger that the attention of the Ministries being rivetted to the Provincial affairs, with immense possibilities of improvement, they might lose sight of the goal of national freedom. The fear was expressed by Nehru that ‘Independence itself will fade away and the narrowest provincialism raise its ugly head 5 . It was to avoid these dangers that the Congress High Command, which of course meant Gandhi, assumed a dictatorial policy. 40 It was accepted as a basic principle that though the Ministries were, in theory , responsible to the majorities in the Legislatures, in reality they, as well as the majorities, were responsible

to the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee. 41 Writing in November, 1937, Nehru said:

“What is the responsibility of the electorate? That electorate plumped for the Congress candidates, not because of their individual merits, but because they represented the Congress and its programme. Nothing could be clearer than this. The vote was for the Congress. . .. It is to the Congress as a whole that the electorate gave allegiance, and it is the Congress that is responsible to the electorate. The Ministers and the Congress Parties in the legislatures are responsible to the Congress and only through it to the electorate." 42 If the Congress High Command looked upon the Provincial Ministry as part of the Congress organization, the members of the Congress—including rank and file—in each Province looked upon the Provincial administration more as a Congress organization than an independent authority constituted by an Act of Parliament.

In general administration, too, the leading Congressmen in the countryside conducted themselves as if they were the official delegates of the Provincial Government. "Nothing was too petty", wrote a Governor, "nothing too local, too palpably groundless not to justify, in the eyes of the small local leaders, a reference direct to the centre over the head of the district administration." 43

A more striking exhibition of the same mentality was afforded by the attitude assumed by the Congressmen 'that they were now the ruling class'. "Young Congressmen in the villages lorded it over their neighbours. Many Congressmen nursing a grievance or wanting a job seem to have regarded themselves as entitled to the Government's assistance and pestered Ministers or members of the legislature accordingly. All the committees of primary party-members, great and small, became qriasi-official organs overnight." 44

The Congress High Command, however, did not like that other Congress Committees should, in imitation of their own example, try to control the Provincial Ministries. So in September, 1938, the Working Committee passed the following resolution:

"It has come to the notice of the Congress that Congress Committees interfere with the ordinary administration. . . .by seeking to influence officers and other members of the Services. The Congress advises Congressmen not to interfere with the new course of administration." 45 It had, however, very little practical effect.

ii. Law And Order

a. Release of Political Prisoners

As could be expected, the Congress Ministries lost no time in setting themselves to the task of removing all the restrictions on civil liberty and setting free the political prisoners. Their action was naturally more thorough-going than in the non-Congress Provinces. “Orders under the existing restrictive legislation were cancelled, bans on Communist and other associations lifted, securities deposited by newspapers refunded, prosecutions stayed and withdrawn. In most of the Provinces, however, the old powers of ‘repression’ were kept in being. 7546 The release of the few political prisoners in Bombay and Madras was soon and easily effected. “But in February, 1938, there were still fifteen in jail in the United Provinces and twentythree in Bihar, and some of them were on ‘hunger-strike 5 . The left wing of the Congress had pressed from the first for the immediate release of all the ‘political prisoners 5 whatever their record; but, since such a drastic measure might involve the Governors 5 ‘special responsibility 5 for preventing ‘any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the Province or any part thereof 5 , the two Governors had come to a working agreement with their Premiers under which each case was considered on its merits. Most of the prisoners had already been released under this arrangement, but now Pandit Pant, apparently under pressure from the ‘high command 5 , advised the immediate and wholesale release of the fifteen still in jail, and similar action was taken by his colleague in Bihar. This raised an issue which concerned other Provinces, and more gravely. For the most numerous ‘political prisoners’ and those of the most violent character were not in the United Provinces or Bihar or in any Congress Province, but, as has been seen, in Bengal and in the Punjab. In both these Provinces, one of them contiguous with Bihar and the other with the United Provinces, there was persistent agitation for release. In both some of the prisoners were ‘hunger-striking 5 . Convinced that a wholesale release in the two neighbouring Congress Provinces would seriously affect the situation, the Governor-General held that it was more than a Provincial question and that he must use the power given him by the Act of 1935 for ‘preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof 5 . Accordingly he instructed the two Governors not to concur in their Premiers' recommendation, and thereupon the Ministries resigned." 47

The whole question was thoroughly discussed in the Haripura session of the Congress which took place shortly after. The left wing called for a resignation of all the Congress Ministries. But Gandhi counselled moderation and his views prevailed. He "declared that all that was needed was an assurance that the Governors were not attempting to usurp the powers of their Ministers. The Governor-General, for his part, explained that the Governors still desired to carry on the 'progressive' policy. Thereupon the exMinisters withdrew their resignations. The crisis was over"

Though the Government won a technical victory in theory, they yielded in practice to the Congress demand. Twelve of the fifteen prisoners in U.P. were freed within a month and the other three by the end of March. In Bihar ten were immediately released, and all save one by the middle of March. The whole episode, however, gave a clear indication that the majority of the Congressmen were in favour of working the constitution in the right spirit.

This was the only instance in which the Government of India exercised overriding powers in the Congress Provinces. There was similarly very little interference in legislation. Only four out of a large number of bills were vetoed. As regards Governor's power to legislate by ordinance in his discretion it was exercised only once in Sindh in' 1939. On the whole the relation of the Ministers with the Governors as well as members of the superior Services was fairly cordial.

b. Congress Policy towards maintaining Law and Order

The creed of the Congress was ahimsa , or non-violence. But the responsibilities of office and administration taught its leaders that whatever might have been the proper method in fighting the British, in order to maintain law and order they must take to a policy of coercion. As we shall see, they were faced with agrarian and industrial troubles leading to violent outbreaks, and it was clear that if Ministries were to govern they must be prepared to take the same kind of coercive action which they condemned in the British regime. The left wing of the Congress was violently opposed to this idea, but Gandhi took a bold stand in the matter. “Civil liberty is not criminal liberty”, he wrote. “It has been suggested that Congress Ministers who are pledged to non-violence cannot resort to legal processes involving punishment. Such is not my view of non-violence accepted by Congress. They cannot ignore incitement to violence and manifestly violent speeches.” 49 This view was accepted by the Working Committee and the AllIndia Congress Committee. It is said that though Pandit Nehru, at that time President, contested the decision, he loyally accepted and propounded it. He reminded Congressmen, however, that they were all ‘seditionists’ still. 50

As a matter of fact, the Congress Ministries gradually came to wield almost all the weapons in the Government armoury of repression which they had so vehemently denounced before they accepted office. 51

iii. Central Control of Provincial Congress Ministries

Reference has been made above to the control of the Congress Ministries by the High Command. This control could not be exercised in the North-West Frontier Province. Here the Muslims numbered over 92 per cent, and the Hindus and Sikhs combined formed the remaining 7.6 per cent. There being no fear of the Hindu rule there was less intolerance for the Hindus. And in their opposition to the British rule, a characteristic trait of the Pathans, they had a common ground with the Congress. Their leader, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, organized the Red Shirt movement for religious and social reforms, and its members called themselves Khudai Khidmatgars or ‘Servants of God’. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a devoted follower of Gandhi and joined the Civil Disobedience movement. At the time the Act of 1935 came into force, the Red Shirts fought and won the election on the programme of the Congress. Henceforth the term Red Shirt went out of use and the party merged itself into the Congress. Nevertheless, the tie with the Congress was more personal—through the leader Ghaffar Khan— and less ideological. The Pathans had little knowledge of the Congress policy and principles and less inclination to adopt them. They did not wear Gandhi cap and looked down with contempt upon Charka (spinning wheel), the symbol of Gandhi cult. Their only common bond with the Congress was enmity against the British and a desire to be free from their control. It naturally followed that the turbulent Pathans were less amenable to the control of the Congress High Command than the other Congress Provinces.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan's brother, Dr. Khan Sahib, formed the Ministry with three Muslims and one Hindu. The Muslim League had hardly any influence in the Province. But the growing influence of the Congress was an invitation to the League. Whereas the very name of the Muslim League was scarcely known, in the Province in the twenties, a Muslim League Party was formed after the election of 1937. Some of the opposition groups combined under the banner of Muslim League and they even won one or two byelections. This fact enabled Dr. Khan Sahib to act more or less independently of the Congress High Command.

Generally speaking, the Congress Ministers worked in harmony in a team spirit. The C.P. Ministry was, however, an exception. From the very beginning the Ministry had to cope with peculiar difficulties. The Province had two dominant sections—speaking Marathi and Hindi—between whom there was not much love lost. The Premier, Dr. Khare, who came from Maharashtra, was not in the good book of the Congress High Command.

From the very beginning Khare's Cabinet was rent by internal dissensions. To what extent this was encouraged by the relation of the two sections to the Congress High Command, it is not easy to determine. The crisis was precipitated by the conduct of Mr. M. Y. Sharif, Minister of Law, a convert from the Muslim League, who had ordered the premature release from jail of a Muslim Inspector of Schools who had been convicted of a heinous crime'perpetrated on a young Hindu girl. It provoked strong indignation and excited communal feelings. To make matters worse, the belief gained ground that Khare and the local Congress Committee tried to hush up the matter. The Working Committee now intervened and asked an ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court to express opinion on the propriety of Sharif's action. The opinion was unfavourable, and Sharif resigned in May, 1938.

But the scandal was too great to be overlooked, and the Working Committee took the matter in its own hands. Khare and two of his colleagues resigned in July, 1938, in anticipation of the decision of the Committee. The three other ministers who refused to resign were dismissed by the Governor. Khare was induced to carry on till, at a meeting of the

Provincial Congress party which was attended by some Congress leaders from outside, Mr. Shukla was voted to the leadership by a great majority of votes. The Working Committee had condemned Khare the day before, and his name was not even considered for the leadership.

The above account is based on the authority of Coupland who condemns the action of the Congress High Command in the following words:

"Dr. Khare still nominally commanded a majority in the legislature. No vote of 'no confidence' was moved against his Government. He was forced out of office, not by any decision in the Provincial Assembly, still less by any pressure of the Provincial electorate on its representatives, but by a decision of the Congress Working Committee adopted by the Provincial Congress party under pressure from some of the Committee's foremost members. Was anything left, it might be asked, of Responsible Government or Provincial Autonomy?" 52

On the other hand Rajendra Prasad gives an altogether different account. According to him Khare did not pull on well with D. P. Mishra and R. S. Shukla, the two leading ministers from the Hindi-speaking region, and tried to throw out both of them from the Cabinet. In order to settle these differences, the Parliamentary Committee and the Working Committee decided to meet in Wardha. But during the night before the Working Committee meeting Khare submitted the resignation of the Cabinet and formed a new one

from which both Shukla and Mishra were excluded. The Parliamentary Committee resented this action of Khare and asked the newly formed Cabinet to resign which it did. In a meeting of the Congress Legislative Party of C. P., Shukla was elected leader, and when he formed his Cabinet, he included Mishra, but left out Khare.

It is noteworthy that in his circumstantial narrative Dr. Prasad does not at all refer to the incident leading to the resignation of Sharif and the dismissal of the three ministers, who refused to resign, by the Governor. The grounds assigned by Dr. Prasad for the meeting of the Parliamentary Committee and the Working Committee are also somev/hat vague and unconvincing. It is evident that there was something more in the whole affair which Rajendra

Prasad did not know or choose to divulge. It is impossible, on the basis of evidence available at present, to find out the whole truth. 521

iv. Agrarian Legislation and Minor Reforms

No part of the election manifesto issued by the Congress in 1937 excited so much interest among the masses as that which held out hopes of removing the appalling poverty, unemployment, and indebtedness of the peasantry. “The Congress”, so ran the manifesto, “stands for a reform of the system of land-tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land, giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue. The question of indebtedness requires urgent consideration and the formulation of a scheme including the declaration of a moratorium, an inquiry into and scaling down of debts, and the provision of cheap credit facilities by the State.” 53 As usually happens, speeches during election campaign promised more than was intended or even practicable, and the masses put the most optimistic interpretation on anything said in their favour. So hopes were raised very high when the Congress accepted Ministry, and the disappointments equally keen as there was no immediate relief by way of substantial reduction in rents and legislation for tenancy reform and debt relief. Consequently there was frustration among the kisdns (peasant cultivators) and in some places, notably in Bihar and U.P. where the land revenue system was most oppressive, there were almost open revolts.

In Bihar there was an organized campaign of lawlessness by the end of 1938. “Riots were frequent. Crops were looted by night or destroyed as they stood and the land ploughed up. The situation was no better in 1939. Armed police were needed to protect the spring harvesting. Rent-collection was at a stand still. In the summer bands of kistin ‘volunteers’ were marching about the country, flying red flags.” 54 Fortunately the excitement subsided by the middle of 1939.

Disorders of a similar nature, though less violent, broke out in U.P. In the other Congress Provinces there were agitations, varying in degree, but little or no disorder. Tenancy legislation on a fairly comprehensive scale was passed both in Bihar and U.P., and on a less comprehensive scale in Bombay, C.P., Orissa and North-West Frontier Province. 55

As mentioned above, the relief of peasant indebtedness was an important item in the election manifesto of the Congress and a series of Money-lenders or Debtors' Relief Acts w r ere passed by all Congress Ministries. These- were more or less uniform in character and provided "for the registration of money-lenders and the regulation of their business, for the cancellation or reduction of interest on debts incurred before a certain date, and for the limitation of future charges to fixed rates of simple interest, ranging from 6J per cent, in Madras and the N.W.F.P. to 9 per cent, in Bihar." 56 These were regarded by many as extreme measures, likely to cripple very seriously the capacity of the peasants to secure any loans atr all. The point of this criticism was that the Congress Ministries did very little either to provide the cultivators with State credit for productive agricultural purposes or to develop the co-operative

system.

In addition to the measures mentioned above which were concerned primarily with tenancy and debt, other measures were passed providing for famine-relief funds, better marketing facilities, the early closing of shops, etc.

Reference may also be made to the Bombay Village Panchayats Act which led to the establishment of about 1500 panchayats or small elected rural committees which were authorized to tax the villagers for local purposes and try petty civil and criminal cases.

Not much was done in the field of industrial labour. But reference may be made to the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act which resulted in an increased recourse to conciliation instead of direct action for the settlement of disputes between the employers and labourers.

3. Three Great Reforms

Three great social reforms, for which the Congress Ministries deserve special credit, are all associated with the name of Gandhi who threw the whole weight of his popularity and authority in their favour. These concerned primary education, prohibition, and depressed classes (including untouchables). No conspicuous success

was attained in any one of these during the brief tenure of office of the Congress Ministries; still the initiative taken by them had important consequences in the future. Although, therefore, the real progress of these movements falls beyond the scope of this volume, brief reference may be made to the first two, reserving a more detailed treatment of the third for Chapter XLIIX.

i. Basic Education

The new system of Primary and Middle education envisaged by Gandhi differed radically from the one that had been current in India since time immemorial. Its central idea or underlying principle is to impart to the children, at the very beginning, that is, at elementary stage, a new type of education centred round some form of manual and productive work with which the entire training is to be integrated. This has been fully explained in Chapter XL.

This new type of education is generally known as Basic Education or Wardha Scheme. Its main principle of ‘learning through activity’ was generally endorsed by the educationists, but some of the original features of the scheme are now generally rejected as not feasible or practicable. The most important among these is the idea that education at any stage,- and particularly in the lowest stages, can or should be expected to pay for itself through the sale of articles produced by the pupils.

The Governments of Bihar, U.P. and Bombay took up the idea of Basic Education more seriously than the rest of the Congress Provinces. In Bihar a Basic Education Board was set up at the end of 1938, a Central Training School for training teachers of the Basic School was started in Patna by the conversion of an existing Training School, and a scheme was sanctioned for establishment of 50 experimental Basic Schools in one ‘compact* area in the Province. A seven-year plan was adopted, according to which the lowest grade only was opened in the first year (1939), to be followed by an additional grade each subsequent year, so that the complete course would be started in 1945. In U.P. a similar plan was adopted over an extensive area, while the Government of Bombay introduced Basic Education in 59 schools; in four ‘compact’ areas and in 28 isolated schools. A novel scheme, known as Vidyd Mandir, was adopted in C.P. for economising expenditure, but it did not prove very successful. The scheme of Basic Education was taken up by the successors to the Congress Ministries and was in a continual process of experiment and development till the end of the period covered by this volume. But then its popularity steadily declined.

The campaign against illiteracy among the adult population, though an outstanding achievement of the Congress Provinces, cannot be regarded as specially characteristic of them, for it was strongly taken up in the Punjab and at least a beginning was made

in Bengal.

ii. Prohibition

‘To make India dry’ was one of the most cherished projects of Gandhi, and the problem was tackled with keen interest and great enthusiasm by the Congress Ministries. But while there was a general agreement about the necessity of prohibition, financial loss accruing therefrom presented almost an insurmountable difficulty. “Excise duties on alcohol and drugs had hitherto been one of the mainstays of Provincial revenue. In 1936-37 they constituted 17 per cent, of the total revenues of all the Provinces together. In Bombay the proportion was 26 per cent., in Madras 25, in the United Provinces 13. New administrative charges, moreover, would be incurred for enforcing Prohibition and preventing the illicit distillation of ‘country spirit’ from the liquor obtained by tapping the toddy palm.” 57 ' In spite, however, of the financial difficulty a beginning was made by the Congress Ministries, during the first year of their office, by proclaiming limited areas as dry. Only the Bombay Government drafted in 1938 a scheme to cover the whole Province in three years. The result was that in 1939-40 the total loss to the exchequer was 180 lakhs of Rupees per annum with an additional burden of expenditure to the extent of ten to fifteen lakhs of rupees for maintaining a staff to prevent illicit distillation. To recoup the loss partially, the

Government imposed a tax on urban immovable property, but this was widely resented as an encroachment on municipal resources.

The pace of progress was slower in other Provinces. The posh tion would be generally clarified by a statement of the loss of excise revenue, which amounted to 41, 37, 13 and 10 lakhs, respectively, in Madras, U.P., Bihar, and Orissa in 1939-40 Budget as compared with the actuals in 1936-7. It is interesting to note that there was an increase in excise revenue during the same period in Bengal and the Punjab amounting, respectively, to 21 and 7 lakhs.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

1. Coupland, II. p. 2.

2. Ibid, p. 3.

3. Gwyer, p. xlv.

4. Coupland, II. p. 4. For details, cf. Kulkarni, pp. 382-3.

5. Coupland, pp, 26-32.

6. Ibid, p. 33.

7. Ibid, pp. 35-6.

8. Ibid, p. 37.

9. Ibid, p. 38.

10. Ibid, p. 39.

11. Report, p. 208.

12. Coupland, II, pp. 48-9.

13. Ibid, p. 49.

14. Ibid, p. 53.

15. Ibid, p. 54.

16. Ibid, p. 55.

17. Ibid, p. 56."

18. Ibid, p. 65.

19. Ibid, p. 66.

20. Ibid, p. 67.

21. Ibid, pp. 69-70.

22. Ibid, p. 72.

23. Ibid, p. 76-7.

24. Ibid. p. 76.

25. Ibid, p. 110.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid, pp. 110-11. The figures given by Khaliquzzaman (pp. 152-3) are somewhat different.

28. Ibid, p. Ill; Khaliquzzaman, p. 161.

29. Coupland, II, p. 100.

30. Nehru, A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 144-5.

31. Nehru-II, p. 332.

32. Ibid, p. 331. Nehru had also a very poor idea of Jinnah. cf. Freedom-lndxa, III, p. 313, p. 843, f.n., 15. Louis Fischer, Mahatma Gandhi Part II, p.

150.

32a. Cf. pp. 605-6.

33. Ibid, p. 335.

34. Cf. p. 570.

35. Cf. p. 319, also Vol. X, p. 433. Also pp. 638, 695-6 of this volume.

36. Rajendra Prasad, p. 145.

37. Azad (p. 22) calls it “Parliamentary Board”.

38. I.e., ‘on its own motion’ (spontaneously).

3.9. Coupland, II, p. 90.

39a. cf. p. 562, para 3.

39b. Ibid.

40. This has been discussed in detail by Coupland (II, pp. 95-108). Even though one may not fully agree with all his comments, there is no doubt that broadly speaking, his views are quite fair, and at least free from the obsession usually displayed by Congress leaders.

41. Ibid, p. 96.

42. Ibid.

13. Ibid, p. 104.

44. Ibid, p. 103. This is fully corroborated by the attitude of the Congressmen after independence.

45. Ibid, p. 105.

46. Ibid, p. 116.

47. Ibid, pp. 116-7.

48. Ibid, p. 117.

49. The Harijan, 23 October, 1937.

50. The Hindu, 31 October, 1937 (quoted by Coupland, II. p. 133).

51. Coupland (lx. 134) gives details in respect of different Provinces.

52. Ibid, pp. 124-5.

52a. Rajendra Prasad, Autobiography , pp, 474-6.

53. Coupland. II, p. 137.

54. Ibid, p. 126.

55. For details, cf. ibid, pp. 138-40.

56. Ibid, p. 140.

57. Ibid, p. 141.

CHAPTER XXV

MUSLIM POLITICS (1935-39)

Immediately after the election was over in 1937, there was a parting of the ways between the Congress and the Muslim League as mentioned above 1 .

Such a breach was no£ perhaps regarded by the Congress at the time as a matter of much consequence, for the election results proved that the Muslim League had no great hold over the country. Instead of conciliating the League they considered it to be a safer and • more feasible course to destroy even the little influence it still possessed. This end was sought to be achieved principally by bringing over the Muslim masses within the Congress fold and winning over members of the Muslim League by offers of ministry and other offices. 2 Little success attended either of these efforts.

Jinnah took up the challenge. Like a clever lawyer and an astute politician, he represented the Congress as following an exclusively Hindu policy and demanding unconditional surrender oi the Muslims to this Hindu organization. Not content with this it was now making efforts by active propaganda to destroy the solidarity of the Muslims. In his Presidential Address, delivered at the Lakhnau session of the Muslim League in October, 1937, he explained his new outlook and policy in a fiery speech tinged with bitterness: “The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last ten years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu, and since they have formed the Government in six Provinces where they are in a majority, they have, by their words, deeds and programme shown more and more that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands. Wherever they are in a majority and wherever it suited them, they refused to co-operate with the Muslim League Parties and demanded unconditional surrender and signing of their pledges.”

He pointed out that the Muslim ministers in the Congress Cabinet “did not command the confidence or the respect of an overwhelming majority of the Musalman representatives in the Legislature”. ' “This was,” he said, “a flagrant breach of the spirit of the Constitution and the Instrument of Instructions in the matter of appointment of Muslim ministers.” After reference to these

"very serious and noteworthy signs oi the time”, Jinnah declared: “The one wholesome lesson that I ask the Musalmans to learn, before it is too late, is that the path before the Musalmans is, therefore, plain. They must realise that the time has come when they should concentrate and devote their energies to self-organisation and full development of their power to the exclusion of every other consideration .” 3

Jinnah now franklv stood as the leader of the Muslim community and an arch-enemy of the ‘Hindu Congress’. His clarion call to the Muslims went home and changed the Muslim political outlook almost overnight. He touched the chord of religious feelings of the Muslims which have always proved a potent factor in Muslim politics. “The mullahs of the countryside were soon up in arms against the Congress propagandists.... It was blasphemy, they told their Hocks, to say that politics was a purely secular affair, and they reawakened in them all their old suspicions of Hindu intentions towards their faith.” 4 The Congress mass contact movement, which had made some headway, collapsed under the attack of the Mullahs. The Congress made frantic efforts to counteract Jinnah’s propaganda and passed resolutions guaranteeing full rights to the minorities, assuring them the widest possible scope for developing in the fullest measure their political, economic and cultural life along with the other elments of the nation, and asking the Muslims to co-operate with the Congress for the common good and the advancement of the people of India. 5 But all these fell on deaf ears. Jinnah had played his trump card by converting Indian politics into a struggle for powder, nay even the very existence with honour, between the Muslim minority and the Hindu majority. As the Hindu majority had a stronghold in the Congress organization, bare logic and sheer instinct of self-preservation demanded a similar citadel for the defenders—and there could be hardly any other choice than the Muslim League for this purpose. Thus Jinnah took advantage of the Congress propaganda to put himself and his Muslim League on a high pedestal in Muslim politics. The effect was so clear that even he who ran could read it. Coupland has briefly described the changing situation in the following words:

"The Moslem leaders in the two chief Moslem-majority Provinces had decided to put their weight behind the League. On the day of Mr. Jinnah's speech, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan announced that he was advising all the Moslem members of his Unionist Party in the Punjab to join the League, and shortly afterwards Mr. FazL ul-Huq and Sir Muhammad Saadulla made similar declarations in Bengal and Assam. The action of these Moslem Premiers did more than any speeches to put new life into the League. About this time a Congress versus League contest at a by-election in the United Provinces was won by the Congress, but the three similar contests which quickly followed were all won by the League. Meanwhile the League was fighting the 'mass-contact' campaign on its own ground, building up at last a rival organisation in the rural areas, hoisting its green flag over against the Congress tricolor in the village street. Within two or three months after the Lakhnau Conference, over 170 new branches of the League had been established; 90 of them in the United Provinces and 40 in the Punjab. No less than 100,000 new members were said to have been enlisted in the United Provinces alone." 5a Thus at one stroke Jinnah became the leader of the Muslims and henceforth the Muslim League regarded itself as the only organization which could speak in the name of the Indian Muslims as a whole. This was formally announced by passing a resolution to the effect that "it is not possible for the All-India Muslim League to treat and negotiate with the Congress the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organization of the Musalmans of India." But this was not all. Jinnah made it clear in his letter to Subhas Bose, dated 2 August, 1938, that the Committee, appointed by the Congress to discuss Hindu-Muslim questions, should not include any Musalman. When Gandhi wanted to have Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with him in his talks with Jinnah, the latter said 'no' to it. 6

It is easy to understand that the Congress could not accept these demands without stultifying its whole history as a national organization of Indians of all faith and communities. The Conggress demand in 1937 that the Muslims must desert the Muslim League if they wanted to share powers with the Congress 6 ' 1 was bad enough, but it was far worse to demand that the Indian NationalCongress, with its proud record of more than half a century's service as a national organization, should voluntarily degrade itself into a communal Hindu organization only to serve as a counterpart to the Muslim League. Besides, the claim of the Muslim League to be regarded as the sole representative of the Muslim interests did not correspond to facts, as there were other organizations in the country which did not admit this claim of the League, and refused to see eye to eye with the League on many questions. 7

Nevertheless, the Muslim League signalised its leadership by carrying on an unceasing and virulent campaign against the Congress Ministries for many alleged offences against the Muslim community. The League Council appointed a Committee with the Raja of pirpur as Chairman In collect information on this point. The

Committee submitted its report on 15 November, 1938, and it contained a number of frivolous charges and grievances. 8 The main charges may be briefly stated with short comments on each:

1. The Bande Mataram song. It had been regularly sung since 1905 in Congress and other assemblies, attended by Mr. Jinnah and many other Muslims, and also during Khilafat agitation, but no objection was taken to it before.

2. The tri-colour flag. It was accepted as the national flag by both the Hindus and Muslims, and no one ever objected to it before.

3. Congress movement for Muslim mass contact, to which reference has already been made. Any objection against this implies that no one, not belonging to Muslim League, particularly a Hindu, has the right to speak to a Muslim in India about political, economic, or any other matter of general interest.

4. The Wardha Scheme of Education. The Committee which worked it out was presided over by Dr. Zakir Hussain and he was assisted by G.

Sayyedain, two eminent Muslim educationists connected with the Aligarh University.

5. Attempt to extend the use of Hindi at the expense of Urdu. But all non-Hindi-speaking Hindus of India—and they numbered more than the Muslims—were equally affected.

6. The Hindu-Muslim riots. They had been chronic evils and it is difficult to see how any Congress Ministry was specially responsible for them.

All these and the reverence paid to the cow by the Hindus are cited as evidence of a deliberate and far-reaching attack on the civic and cultural rights of the Muslim community.

In addition to the above, the Pirpur Report mentions cases of alleged persecution or injustice. The general attitude towards the Congress is summed up in one sentence: "The Muslims think that no tyranny can be as great as the tyranny of the majority." Horrible tales of 'atrocities' perpetrated on the Muslims by the Hindus in Bihar were reported by. a League Committee of the Province, and even Fazlul Huq, generally regarded as above communalism, issued in December, 1939, a pamphlet on the Muslim sufferings under Congress rule, containing, among other things, a description of 72 incidents in Bihar and 33 in the United Provinces, and a summary account of similar events in the Central Provinces. 9

The Congress ministers gave effective reply to these charges, point by point, and demonstrated by positive evidence that most of the charges had no foundation in fact. They also removed

some grievances' even though they were there for many years without any opposition on the part of the Muslims. The most glaring instance is the omission of all stanzas, except the first two, of the famous Bande Mdtaram song while sung as a national anthem, on the ground that those stanzas contained reference to a Hindu Goddess, even though this action was highly resented by the Hindus.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, who was then a leading member of the League, threw out a challenge to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Pandit Nehru agreed to go round with Mr. Huq, as the latter had suggested, to ascertain the truth of the allegations made by the Muslim League, but Mr. Huq did not fulfil the engagement. In October, 1939, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who happened to be at that time the President of the Congress, wrote to Mr. Jinnah to have the complaints investigated by an impartial authority and suggested the name of Sir Maurice Gwyer, the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, for the purpose. Mr. Jinnah, however, refused to accept this suggestion. "The Congress Prime Ministers, before their resignation, were asked by the Congress Parliamentary Board to invite the Governors of the Provinces to point out any policy or act of their Ministries which adversely affected minorities and particularly the Muslim minority. In not a single case was any Governor able to point out an instance." 10 Indeed, after retirement, Sir Harry Haig, the Governor of the United Provinces, wrote as follows at the end of 1939:

"In dealing with communal issues the Ministers, in my judgement, normally acted with impartiality and a desire to do what was fair. Indeed, towards the end of their time they were being seriously criticised by the Hindu Mahasabha on the ground that they were not being fair to the Hindus, though there was in fact no justification for such a criticism." 11

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a member of the Parliamentary Board appointed by the Congress to supervise the work of the ministers, who had to deal with every incident involving communal issues, characterized as "absolutely false" the charges levelled by Jinnah and the Muslim League against the Congress with regard to injustice to Muslims and other minorities. 12

In view of all this, the charge of atrocities to the Muslims, levelled against the Congress Ministries, must be dismissed and denounced as false, and altogether unfounded allegations. But true or false, these allegations inflamed the passions of the Muslims to such an extent that they threatened to take resort to unconstitutional means, and the League authorized its Working Committee in 1938 "to decide and resort to direct action if and when necessary". 13

The means of executing a direct action of violent type were by no means lacking. There were three quasi-military organizations of the Muslims at the end of 1938. The first was the 'Muslim League Volunteer Corps' whose number was said to be “11,000 in U.P. and 4,000 in N.W.F.P.” The second was the ‘Muslim National Guard’, “equipped with uniform and flag, and said to be 3,000 strong in U.P.”. 14 Last, but not the least, were the Khaksars who drilled and marched in khaki , and like some contemporary Nazi formations, carried spades. Their strength was estimated to be about 7,300 at the beginning of 1039. 15

But though the threat of direct action was not really carried into effect, the bitter attack against the Provincial part of the Constitution continued. Finally, when the Congress ministries resigned, Jinnah declared they must never come back, and the League organized the celebration of “a day of deliverance and thanksgivings” throughout the country on 22 December, 1939.

As mentioned above, the Muslim community was violently agitated by the stories of misdeeds of the Congress Ministries against the Muslims. No less serious than the specific charges of atrocities was a growing belief among the Muslim intelligentsia that the Muslim education and culture, so long safe under the neutral British Government, were bound to suffer under the Hindu regime of the Congress. Such an apprehension grew, partly with the growth of the national consciousness of the Muslims, and partly with the transfer of real power in the Government to the people, which meant, in effect, to the Hindus in most parts of India. The All-India Moslem Educational Conference appointed in its annual session at Calcutta, in 1939, a committee under the Chairmanship of Nawab Kamal Yar Jung Bahadur, in order to survey the educational system throughout India and to frame a scheme for Muslim education with a view to the ‘preservation of the distinctive features of their culture and social order.’

The Report, published in the spring of 1942, “drew r a sombre picture of the position of Moslem education in all its branches. In the universities and colleges the proportion of Moslem students was too low, the place accorded to Moslem studies in the curriculum too small, and the opportunities for advanced research in Moslem history and culture quite inadequate.” 16

The main target of attack was that the schools did not teach religion, for the Muslim education without direct religious teaching was no education at all. Objection was also taken to the distinct impress of Gandhi cult—for the doctrine of non-violence and the craft of spinning and weaving, however genuine and high minded, were certainly coloured by Hindu rather than by Muslim thought.

Mr. Azizul Huq, Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly and Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, was the guiding spirit of the Committee, and led a touring sub-committee over a large part of India to visit the important localities. He was a sober and temperate man, respected by both Hindus and Muslims in Bengal. Even such a man expressed a feeling of alarm and dismay in a note which he appended to the Report of the Committee. “From top to bottom of the educational field he sees the Moslem fighting a losing battle. The very languages he speaks are steadily losing their Arabic and Persian words and being ‘Sanskritised’. If he studies literature, his pabulum is mainly the philosophy and romance of Hinduism: ‘he hardly has any opportunity to know anything about his Prophet, the Caliphs, the saints, the scholars, the philosophers, the poets or the heroes of Islam.’ If he studies history, he is primed with all the merits and achievements of Hindu civilisation from its earliest days, but with the Moslem conquest the scene changes to an unrelieved record of strife and bloodshed.”'

In Azizul Huq’s view there were two and only two alternatives. “Either the present system of school and university studies must have such syllabuses and themes that the Hindus, the Muslims and all other creeds and communities can meet on an essentially common platform with no influence, tendency or bias in favour of the one or the other. Or educational India must be a federation of two or more distinct types of educational organisations, each trying to develop its own culture and heredity, but in a spirit of catholicity and goodwill to others. I do hope and pray that wisdom and sense will still prevail and there will be a common and unified plan and programme of education.” [17]

If we remember that this view took shape between 1939 and 1942, it is not difficult to find in the above suggestion a plea for supporting, on cultural grounds, the vivisection of India on communal lines, which had already been put forward as the only possible solution of the political problems facing the country.

Before tracing the genesis of such a belief it is necessary to refer to one important factor which was responsible to a very large extent for the emergence of the idea of partition of India on communal lines. This was the Hindu Mahasabha, whose origin and early activities have been mentioned above. 173 Under the leadership of the great revolutionary leader, V.D. Savarkar, who had been re-elected President of the organization year after year since

1938, it was developed into a political and communal body exactly of the type of Muslim League in its earlier days. But there was one vital difference between the two. Neither theoretically nor practically could the Hindu Mahasabha claim 10 represent the Hindus in the same sense in which the Muslim League represented the Muslims in 1938 and later. For the large majority of the politically minded Hindus belonged to the Congress which denounced alike the communal approach of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. The fact of the matter is, that the Mahasabha as fiercely attacked the Congress as anti-Hindu, as the Muslim League did on the ground that it was anti-Muslim. Nevertheless, the Muslim League took serious notice of the frank speeches of Savarkar, the main ideas underlying which may be summed up as follows:

“The idea that there could be one homogeneous all-India nationhood was a mirage. The Hindu-Moslem schism was an unpleasant fact. It could not be wished away or overcome by compromise. The only way^to treat it was to recognise that all India was Hindustan, the land of the Hindus, at once their fatherland and holy land, and the only land with which Hindus, unlike Moslems, were concerned; that there was only one nation in India, the Hindu nation; and that the Moslems were only a minority community and as such must take their place in a single Indian State. They would be treated justly, for no distinction would be made on grounds of race or faith. All citizens of the State would be equal: ‘one man, one vote’ would be the general rule; such matters as the national language would be settled as in other democratic countries by the will of the majority.” 18 The Hindu Mahasabha had a straightforward creed, and appeared to a large section of the Hindus as a necessary counterpart to the Muslim League, which was mainly responsible for its growth and development. The session of the Mahasabha at Nagpur in 1938 was largely attended, and a detachment of volunteers was armed with swords and lathis . It passed a resolution demanding universal military training in order to counteract the Muslim preponderance in the Indian Army and to prepare the way for a full-scale national militia.

It would be clear from what has been said above, particularly the result of the election of 1937, that however deplorable might be the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha from a national point of view, it had no large following among the Hindus and did not represent the Hindu community in any sense of the term. Besides, it had no chance of carrying its views against those of the Congress which the Muslims themselves looked upon as a Hindu organization. If this supposition were true, then logically the Hindu Mahasabha should not have counted for much in the eyes of the Muslims. But the world is often governed by sentiments rather than logic. There were two special reasons why the Muslims got nervous over the views so frankly expressed by Savarkar. First, he aimed at establishing Hindu Raj in India, a contingency which was a nightmare with the Muslims and never ceased to create the worst fear in their minds. Secondly, the Muslim League was well aware of the effect produced by passionate appeals to communal instincts. The same means by which the Muslim League gained pre-eminence at the cost of Nationalist Muslims and other Muslim organizations might also enable the Hindu Mahasabha to secure predominance in the Hindu community in spite of the Congress. Suspicion breeds mistrust and many Muslims thought that a number of Congressmen probably at heart agreed with Dr. Savarkar. The Pirpur Report echoed the general feelings of the Muslims when it observed that “the conduct of the Congress Governments seems to substantiate the theory that there is something like identity of purpose between the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha. . . .We Muslims feel that, notwithstanding the non-communal professions of the Congress and the desire of a few Congressmen to follow a truly national policy, a vast majority of the Congress members are Hindus who look forward, after many centuries of British and Muslim rule, to the re-establishment of a purely Hindu Raj. >M9

Whatever one might think of the excuses or explanations, there can be no doubt about the serious effect of Savarkar’s speeches and the general propaganda of the Hindu Mahasabha on the feeling of the Muslim community. It is against the background of Muslim feelings created by the Mahasabha and the other factors mentioned above, that we must trace the growth of the idea of Pakistan.

As mentioned above, the cry for a homeland of the Muslims first found a definite and forceful expression in the Presidential speech of Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the Allahabad session of the Muslim League in 1930, 20 and a group of young men led by Rahmat Ali sedulously propagated the idea ever since, as a result of which the Pakistan National movement was started in 1933. A fourpage leaflet, headed Now or Never , and signed by Rahmat Ali and three others, was privately circulated from Cambridge in January, 1933. They protested against the federal constitution favoured by the Round Table Conference, and repudiated the claim of the Indian Muslim Delegation to speak for their community. They also admitted that the scheme of Pakistan proposed by them was radically different from that of Iqbal: "While he proposed the

amalgamation of these Provinces into a single State forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There can be no peace and tranquillity in this land if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu-dominated Federation where we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls."

The Cambridge pamphlet attracted very little serious notice at the time, for the scheme of Pakistan was hardly regarded a practicable proposal. When the delegates of the All-India Moslem Conference and the Muslim League appeared before the Joint Select Committee in August, 1933, their spokesman was asked 'whether there is a scheme for a federation of Provinces under the name of Pakistan?' 'As far as I know,' was- the reply, 'it is only a student's scheme'. 'So far as we have considered it,* said another member of the delegation, 'we have considered it chimerical and impracticable'. 20 * 1

Mr. C. Rahmat Ali, who claimed to be the 'founder of the Pakistan National Movement' and its President, circulated another four-page leaflet in July 1935, and summed* up the position in a statement published in England in

1940. The old arguments were repeated, but a demand was made that Bengal and Hyderabad should also be separated from India, and formed into two additional independent ‘nations’ forming a triple alliance with Pakistan.

But though the project of one or more independent Muslim States, separated from India, did not as yet make any appeal to any section of Muslims, the idea was gaining ground that the Muslims constituted a separate nation and therefore the unitary federal form of Government as contemplated by the Congress would not meet with the requirements of the Muslims. As an alternative to this as well as to Pakistan, several schemes were proposed. 21 The central idea underlying all these was that the Muslims should not be treated as a minority community in Hindu India, but as a separate nation with a distinct culture. The general tone of discussions made it quite clear, also, that the Muslims would resist by force any settlement of the political issue imposed upon them against their will, either by the Congress, or by the British Government, or even jointly by both. It was inevitable that the growth of such a feeling would promote the unity of Muslims all over India and make the Muslim League their central organization. The Prime Ministers of the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam, and the leaders of the Muslim minorities in the Congress Provinces now rallied round the League and its permanent leader, Jinnah. There was hardly any doubt that Jinnah had become the most popular and powerful leader of the Muslims who alone could speak with authority in the name of the Indian Muslims and deliver the goods.

The Muslim League now spoke in no uncertain voice and finally chose the most extreme proposal, namely, a separate State for the Muslims. The rapid growth of this idea which was laughed at as chimerical by the Muslim leaders themselves only seven years before, may be regarded as the most remarkable thing in contemporary Muslim politics.

In September, 1939, the Working Committee of the League declared that Muslim India was “irrevocably opposed to any ‘federal objective* which must necessarily result in a majority-community rule under the guise of democracy and a parliamentary system of government. Such a constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of this country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national State.”[22] In February, 1940, Mr. Jinnah declared that the constitutional settlement must be governed by the fact that India was not one nation but two, and that the Muslims of India would not accept the arbitrament of any body, Indian or British, but would determine their destiny themselves.[23] The climax was reached in the session of the Muslim League held at Lahore in March, 1940, and attended, it was estimated, by as many as 100,000 members. It passed the following resolution:

“That it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Moslems unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically continuous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Moslems are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute ‘independent States’ in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign....”[24]. This was a definite demand for the partition of India on a communal basis.

During this great metamorphosis of Muslim politics in India, neither the Congress nor the Hindu public men outside it seem to have devoted to it the serious attention it deserved.[25] They angrily apposed the idea of vivisection of India in any form, and took their stand on the twin ideas of Indian nationality and Indian unity—the ideas which were repudiated by the Muslims, almost in one voice. The Congress consistently adhered to the one idea of a ‘Constituent Assembly* as the only remedy for all political discord and discontent. From this high pedestal the Hindu leaders never came

down to discuss, in detail, in a friendly spirit, even the more moderate suggestions of a loose federation. Gandhi condemned the Lahore resolution in a long article in the Harijan, and the Hindu press attacked it in varying degrees of bitterness. But there was no constructive suggestion or attempt of a compromise, conciliation or even mutual understanding, till it was too late.

1. See above, p. 590.

2. For details, cf. Coupland, II, pp. 181-2.

3. J. Ahmad, Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah , pp. 29-35.

4. Coupland, II, p. 182.

5. Ibid, where the full resolution is quoted.

5a. Ibid, pp. 182-83.

6. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided, pp. 154-5.

6a. Cf. p. 590.

7. For a detailed account of these organizations, cf. Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., p. 153.

8. For details, cf. Coupland, III. pp. 185-6; Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., pp. 146 if. It is difficult to agree with Coupland's assessment of the value of this and two other similar reports mentioned later. His statement that the Pirpur Report is "well-written and clearly arranged", and shows "restraint", clearly betrays a biased view. I have called the charges 'frivolous', because Jinnah and Fazlul Huq persistently refused Congress offers to verify them, as noted below.

9. Coupland, II, p. 186.

10. Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., pp. 146-7.

11. Coupland, II. p. 188.

12. Azad, p. 22.

13. Coupland, II. p. 195.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid, pp. 49, 195.

16. Ibid, p. 189.

17. Ibid, p. 192.

17a. See pp. 419-20.

18. Ibid, pp. 193-4.

19. Pirpur Report, pp. 7-10 (quoted in Coupland, II. p. 194).

20. See p. 536. But the idea seems to have been in the air even long before this, as early as 1919. Keith observed: "Among the Muslims also there was propagated a wild but not negligible scheme for the creation of a Muslim State based on Afghanistan and embracing all those North-Western areas where the faith is strong. Such a State would inevitably form a permanent source of danger in India." A Constitutional History of India, p. 287. Attlee says that he heard of Pakistan when he was a member of the Simon Commission (As it Happened, p. 182).

20a. Cf. Kulkami, p. 428; Coupland, II. p. 200.

21. For the details of the different views and suggestions, c.f. Coupland II. pp. 2016. Also cf. The Cultural Future of India (Bombay, 1938); A Federation of Cultural Zones for India (Secunderabad, 1938); Kulkarni, pp. 428-30.

22. IAR, 1939, II. p. 351.

23. The Times of India, February 13 and 19, 1940; quoted in Coupland, II. p. 206.

24. MR, 1940. I. p. 312. Lai Bahadur, Muslim League, p. 267.

25. Cf. e.g., the observations of Jawaharlnl Nehru quoted above, on p. 592.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE REVOLT

OF THE CONGRESS

I. THE SECOND WORLD WAR“

1. The War in Europe

By the end of 1936 Italy and Germany, which felt aggrieved by the political settlement at the end of the First World War, were ruled by two great dictators, Mussolini and Hitler, who not only repudiated the terms of that settlement but were bent upon undoing the wrongs they had suffered. Its inevitable result was the alliance between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, to which Japan became a willing partner to form the great Axis. Hitler began the offensive by occupying Austria in 1938 and bringing Czechoslovakia under his authority in March, 1939. Immediately after this he occupied the Baltic port of Memel and then demanded from Poland the port of Danzig and a strip of territory connecting East Prussia with the rest of Germany across the corridor land ceded to Poland after the First World War. This brought about a counteralliance between Britain, France, and Poland.

Poland refused to accept German demands and was invaded by German troops on 1 September, 1939. Her two allies, Britain and France, declared war against Germany. At first Japan and Italy remained neutral, but later, both joined with Germany. The British Dominions and India also joined in the fight. .

The attack on Poland was a ‘Blitzkrieg’—-a quick smashing attack by overwhelming numbers with armoured tanks and bombing planes. On 17 September Germany occupied Western Poland, and Eastern Poland was soon occupied by Russian forces. The two Powers concluded a treaty on 28 September, dividing between themselves the whole of Poland. Communist Russia, now compelled Estonia, Latyia, and Lithuania to cede stations for Russian troops, aerodrome, and naval bases. Finland, which refused to do so, was invaded and forced to come to terms.

In the West the Allied Powers declared a maritime blockade of the whole German coast, and Germany retaliated by opening a ruthless U-Boat campaign, inflicting heavy losses on mercantile shipping of Britain till the Convoy system brought some relief. In

April, 1940, German troops invaded Denmark and Norway. Denmark submitted, and Norway, which resisted, was conquered, even though the Allies helped her w ? ith troops. This disaster to the Allies had great reaction on Britain and France and led to change of Government. On 10 May Churchill became Prime Minister of Britain and formed a Coalition Government.

Germany now launched a big offensive in the West and occupied Luxembourg, Belgium, and Holland. This put the British Expeditionary Force in France in great danger, and by a remarkable feat of naval operations more than 335,000 British troops were successfully transported from Dunkirk to Britain between 20 May and 4 June. On 5 June began the Battle of France, and the French towns like Amiens, Brest and Toul all fell quickly one after another. At this juncture Italy declared war on France and Great Britain (10 June). On 14 June the Germans entered Paris without any opposition and the Franco-German armistice was signed on 22 June.

Hitler expected that the fall of France would force the British to capitulate, but Britain led by Churchill refused to surrender.

Hitler thereupon launched a mass aerial offensive against England on 8 August, 1940. The German bombers came to Britain in mass formations of from 50 to 100. They swarmed across the channel from bases in occupied France and bombed England from end to end. Industrial cities and ports were pounded heavily, London was raided night after night, numbers of civilians were killed, and the entire population was subjected to a terrific strain, but the objective of the Germans, namely, to break the morale of the British people, was not achieved.

The struggle was long and bitter, but the R.A.F. (British Royal Air Force) proved more than a match for the Luftwaffe (German Aeroplanes). The R.A.F., growing stronger with the passing of time, even bombed Berlin, and by the end of the year Hitler came to realise that he had suffered his first definite check, —that the Battle of Britain was lost.

Along with the aerial campaign, Germany intensified her efforts to establish an effective blockade and prevent Britain from bringing supplies from outside. Operating from bases along the entire Atlantic coast of Europe, German submarines and planes struck with deadly effectiveness at merchant shipping.

The failure to achieve a quick victory over Great Britain drove Hitler to concentrate on the Mediterranean region to force the British out of North Africa. It seems that the strategy was an Italian attack in North Africa to be coupled with a German drive through South-Eastern Europe. The new Axis campaign opened in August,

1940, with an Italian invasion of British Somaliland. The following month Italy invaded Egypt from Libya, and on 28 October, marched against Greece. In all these ventures Italy met with disaster. Cunningham's fleet protected the Suez Canal Zone, while Wavell drove back the Italians out of Egypt as far as Libya. At the same time British troops struck at Italian East Africa from Kenya and Sudan, and in April, 1941, the victorious army entered Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. The Indian troops formed a substantial part of the British army engaged in the African campaign.

While Italy was trying to drive the British out of North Africa, Hitler was attempting to establish his 'new European order' in the Balkans. Before the end of October, 1940, Germany occupied Rumania and brought Hungary under her control. Bulgaria had joined the Axis powers and after a short resistance Yugoslavia was overrun. Italian troops, advancing from Albania, invaded Greece, but were defeated. The German troops from Bulgaria overran Macedon and Thrace and came to the rescue of the hard-pressed Italians. The British force, sent from Egypt to help Greece, evacuated the country and Hitler overran the whole of Greece (May, 1941). The German parachute troops occupied the island of Crete occupied by the British.

The astounding success of Germany alarmed Russia and the alliance between the two showed visible signs of cooling down. Hitler, flushed with success, decided to strike before Russia was ready, and overwhelm her in a short campaign before the United States could render material help to Britain. On 22 June, 1941, without any formal declaration of war, Germany invaded Russia. England concluded a pact with Russia and pledged technical and material aid to her. But this was not of much use in the titanic contest between the two largest armies in the world extending over a length of 2000 miles from the White Sea to the Black Sea. At first the German troops seemed to carry away everything before them: they overran the whole of Crimea except Sevastopol, and in the north reached within 31 miles of Moscow. But "General Winter" which defeated Napoleon saved Russia once again. By December, 1942, Hitler realized that his attempt to overwhelm Russia had failed. The heroic resistance of the Russians in Stalingrad decided the issue, and the German troops fell back after suffering a tremendous loss, the casualties amounting to about 330,000 in killed and wounded.

2. War in Asia

The most important result of Hitler's attack on Russia was the stimulation of Japanese aggression. When the World War broke out. Japan was in the third year of her struggle to conquer China.

But the Chinese people defended fiercely their land under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek. Because of this the Japanese sought gains elsewhere. Encouraged by the Pact of 1941 with Russia, and also by Axis victories, Japan not only persevered in her war against China but practically took over French Indo-China in July,

1941, and secured footholds in Thailand (Siam). This brought about conflict of interests between Japan and the United States, and negotiations began for a settlement. But on 7 December, 1941, while the Japanese envoys were still in America, discussing terms with the Government of the United States, the Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbour of the U.S.A. in Hawaii Island. A large number of vessels were sunk or seriously damaged. A formidable blow was thus struck at U.S.A.'s naval strength and the balance of the sea-power in the Pacific was changed entirely.

Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbour the Japanese declared war on the United States and Great Britain. On 8 December, England reacted by declaring war against Japan. This was followed by a similar declaration of the United States Congress. On 11 December, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. Two days earlier, China had already issued a formal war declaration. Similarly, the Latin American States also declared war on Axis Powers. The armies of Great Britain were, as before, reinforced from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa and Canada. Thus as a result of Japanese invasion, the war in Europe was turned into a global war.

The march of Japan was an amazingly swift one. In about six months she came into possession of countries rich in raw-materials and other ingredients of war industries. American losses at Pearl Harbour were heavy and the Japanese had air superiority. On 10 December, 1941, they used torpedo planes to sink the British battleship, Prince of Wales , and the cruiser, Repulse. Advanced American bases at Guam and Wake Island were battered into sub

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mission on 11 and 23 December, respectively. British possession of Hongkong surrendered on 25 December. Meanwhile the Japanese attacked Siam, and on 10 December launched heavy attacks on Luzon in the Philippine Islands, and Manila fell on 2 January,

1942, despite the brave fighting of the army under the command of General Douglas MacArthur. It was in Malaya that the invaders won their most spectacular triumph. In eight weeks the Japanese forces from Thailand drove the British and Australian forces down the Malaya peninsula to Singapore, which was believed to be an impregnable stronghold and was defended by a large British-Indian force. But it was forced to surrender on 15 February, 1942. With Singapore as a base, the Japanese invaded the Dutch

East Indies which surrendered on 9 March, 1942, overwhelmed Borneo, and reached the islands north of Australia.

The Japanese, advancing from Malaya to the north, inflicted a series of humiliating defeats on the British-Indian forces, which rapidly fell back upon Rangoon, evacuating one position after another in quick succession. The Japanese air raid on Rangoon had begun on 28 January, 1942, and the Japanese land forces reached the outskirts of that city in March. The British forces in Pegu left Rangoon to its fate and extricated themselves with great difficulty before the Japanese could contact them (March 7-9). The city was occupied by the Japanese without any resistance. A large number of Indian residents, seized with panic, began the disastrous

trek to India, which cost thousands of lives on the way and caused

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infinite hardship to the remainder who succeeded in reaching India.

Chinese troops were sent by Chiang Kai Shek to North Burma to co-operate with British-Indian troops in stemming the Japanese advance to Upper Burma. Even Burmese levies were recruited for this purpose. But nothing availed. The Japanese occupied Lashio on 29 April, and Mandalay fell on i May, 1942. The retreat of the British became a virtual rout. By 15 May, the whole of Burma was in Japanese hands. About, the same time the Japanese conquered the Philippines.

The Japanese occupation of Burma brought the War to the very door of India. It was generally believed that the Japanese aimed at the conquest of India. The Japanese aeroplanes bombed India on 6 April, 1942. The Japanese warships and aircraft-carriers moved across the Bay of Bengal and seized the Andaman Islands. The Japanese submarines were engaged in attacking Allied transports in the Indian Ocean and inflicted very heavy losses. The first Japanese air raid on Calcutta took place on 20 December, 1942. Panic seized the city and there was a great exodus, L from it in all directions.

3. The Triumph of the Allies

Several months elapsed before the Allied powers could pull their full weight against the Axis powers. The U.S. fleet slowly recovered from the disaster of Pearl Harbour, and gained several successes against the Japanese navy. A Japanese armada of 53 ships was routed on 3 June, 1942, and though the U.S.A. suffered severe losses, the balance of naval power in the Pacific was restored. The Japanese were slowly driven back by the re-conquest of their recently acquired possessions in the Pacific.

The African campaign, in which the Indian troops took part in large numbers, also gradually went against the Axis powers, though for a long time the fortunes of the two fighting forces were hanging in the balance. In May, 1942, the German General, Rommel, advanced with a formidable force towards the Suez, captured Tobruk, and advanced to El Alamein. The British General Montgomery however, not only arrested the advance, but by 6 November drove the Germans back towards the w T est, and captured several Italian Divisions. Montgomery pursued the fleeing Germans for 1300 miles along the shores of Libya.

The Russians began the counter-offensive at the beginning of 1943. They not only drove the Germans out of Russian soil, but also forced Rumania and Bulgaria to change sides, captured Belgrade, and overran Lithuania and Latvia. About the same time the Germans were also driven away from Africa, and later also from Italy. Mussolini was driven from power, and Italy surrendered to the Allies.

All the while the Allies were making preparations for the final grand offensive against the Germans from the west. General Eisenhower of U.S.A. was put in charge of this operation. In. the early morning of 6 June, 1944, the British and the American troops began to land on the beaches of Normandy in France. In spite of heroic and desperate resistance, the German forces were pushed back to the north and east. On 15 August another allied army landed on the Mediterranean coast of France and pushed back the Germans from Southern France. Verdun fell on 31 August, and the Germans were slowly pushed out of Belgium and Holland.

The relentless bombing by Allied air forces crippled German munition works and war industries to such an extent that once the Allies crossed the Rhine, the German resistance began to crumble all over the vast area they had conquered. The Russians captured Berlin on 2 May, and the Germans finally surrendered unconditionally on 7 May, 1945.

The war in Europe was over, but Japan still remained as a belligerent. The phenomenal success of Japan in the sea had been arrested by the U.S. naval force. But Japan was still triumphant on land in Burma, Siam, and Malay Peninsula. Japan was now making preparations for invading India from their base in Burma across Naga Hills, Manipur, and Arakan. It was at this stage, in 1943, that the great Indian leader, Subhas-chandra Bose, arrived at Singapore and formed the Indian National Army (INA) to join the Japanese forces in their march towards India. A detailed reference to it will be made in the next chapter.

But Japan was rapidly losing her hold on the sea before the combined British and American fleets. In a great battle in the Bismarck Sea, fought on March 3 and 4, 1943, a Japanese convoy of ten warships and fifteen transports, carrying 15,000 troops, was

practically annihilated by an Allied air attack. The Allied forces in the Pacific then made an attempt to enter into the outer defences of* the Japanese Empire. The occupation of Solomon Island was completed and parts of New Guinea were recovered by November,

1943. In 1944 the Allies occupied the Marshall and Mariana Islands, belonging to Japan, and in October landed in the Philippines, conquered by her. In spite of bitter and prolonged resistance, the Japanese were finally driven out of the Philippine Islands.

These reverses had serious repercussion on the Japanese forces in Burma. Early in 1944 they had advanced towards Imphal. But the attack was stopped and early in March, 1944, the Allied air-borne troops landed in the .rear of Japanese communications in Central Burma. But the Japanese led three crack divisions across the Indian frontier. The British troops in Kohima and Imphal were besieged by the Japanese forces accompanied by the Indian National Army which thus reached the soil of India as liberator. A grim fight ensued. The Japanese forces had lost superiority in air and could not maintain adequate supply from a long distance. Their supply ran short and after a prolonged fight they had to retreat from Kohima on 7 June, 1944. The Japanese raiding columns had entered Manipur on 22 March, 1944; on 20 July, 1944, they retreated from Imphal, and on 17 August, 1944, they withdrew from the Manipur State. The allied troops pursued the

Japanese, and the campaign in Burma continued throughout the monsoon and winter. The road linking Burma with China, which was cut off by the Japanese, was again freed and the Chinese forces came down the Salween. Henceforth the Allied forces had the Japanese completely at their mercy. On 6 August, the Allies captured Nyitkyina, an important Japanese base in North Burma. On 15 December, 1944, Chinese troops captured Bhamo. On 8 March, 1945, the Indian troops entered Mandalay, and on 4 May, 1945, Rangoon fell. That was the end of the Japanese campaign in Burma.

In the meantime on 5 April, 1945, Russia announced the end of Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact. The Allied forces advanced towards the mainland of Japan from all sides. On 6 August, 1945, a United States Army B-29 bomber dropped the first Atomic Bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima, a major military storage and assembly point. The effects were devastating. Of a population of 245,000, about 80,000 were killed and an equal number were seriously injured. More than 60 per cent, of the buildings were destroyed. Events moved rapidly in the days that followed. Russia declared war against Japan on 8 August, and invaded Manchuria. The next day, the second Atomic Bomb was dropped. This time the target was Nagasaki, a major seaport. Casualties of the second bomb were between 35,000 and 40,000 killed, and about the same number injured. This bomb convinced the Japanese Government of the folly of further resistance, and on 10 August, it sued for peace.

II. THE REVOLT OF THE CONGRESS 1. India’s reaction to the Second World War

Ever since the war-clouds were darkening the sky of Europe, Indian National Congress made its position quite clear. In his Presidential Address at the Congress session in Lakhnau, in April, 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru declared: “Every war waged by imperialist powers will be an imperialist war whatever the excuses put forward; therefore we must keep out of it.” That this was not a mere personal opinion but represented the considered view of the Congress is clear from its election manifesto issued in August, 1936, which re-affirmed the opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war.

The Congress also made it clear that ‘India cannot fight for freedom unless she herself is free’. In pursuance of this policy which the Congress maintained throughout the war, the Working Committee issued a directive to the Provincial Congress Governments not to assist in any way the war preparations of the British Government and to be ready to resign rather than deviate from the Congress policy. Thus even before the actual outbreak of war the Congress had openly declared its policy of non-co-operation in war efforts.

On 3 September, 1939, war broke out between Britain and Ger many, and a proclamation of the Viceroy intimating this fact automatically made India a party in the war against Germany. The ministers of the Punjab, Bengal and Sind pledged the full support of their Provinces to Britain, and their action was upheld by the legislatures. The Indian States^ of course, were solidly behind the Government. Among the political parties, the National Liberal Federation and Hindu Mahasabha offered unconditional support to the Government, while the Congress refused to co-operate with it in any way. Between these two extremes stood the Muslim League. While its High Command did not offer to support Britain, it had done nothing to prevent the Ministries of Bengal and the Punjab from doing so.

The Congress did not issue any statement immediately after the war, and evidently took time to discuss the situation and decide a policy. But its two great leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, who were often led by emotion rather than reason, made individual statements which can only be interpreted as unconditional support for

Britain. GandhTtold the Viceroy in an interview on 5 September, that his own sympathies were with England and France, and he actually broke down at the very possibility of the destruction of London. In an article which gave a short account of this interview, Gandhi wrote: “I am not just now thinking of India’s deliverance. It will come, but what will it he worth if England and France fall, or, if they come out victorious over Germany ruined and humbled?” 1

Nehru went a step further and made it quite clear that in his view India should offer not only sympathy but unconditional support to Britain. On 8 September, after a hurried return from China, Nehru declared: “We do not approach the problem with a view to taking advantage of Britain’s difficulties.. .In a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of democracy.... I should like India to play her full part and throw all her resources into the struggle for a new order”. 2 This is all the more strange in view of Nehru’s own statement against participation in imperial war, quoted above.

Only one leader stood boldly up in defence of the Congress policy. It was Subhas Bose who pointed out that the Congress had since 1927 repeatedly declared that India should not co-operate in Britain’s war, and that the Congress should now put that policy into practice. 3 According to Subhas Bose, his uncompromising attitude had its effect and the Gandhi wing gave up altogether the idea of co-operation with the British Governmefit. 4

" Whether it was due to the influence of Subhas Bose or not, something-happened which can almost be regarded as a miracle. For once, the Congress High Command refused to be led by the emotional approach of Gandhi and Nehru. Nehru’s emotion, however, gave'way to cold logic after the first flash of enthusiasm was over. Gandhi’s emotionalism, tinged with mysticism, continued throughout the war, and he had to plough a lonely furrow, because even his devoted admirers found it too hard a pill to swallow.

On 15 September, 1939, the Working Committee adopted a lengthy resolution, drafted by Pandit Nehru. It condemned the ‘ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism’ and the German attack on Poland, but, on the other hand, took the ‘gravest view’ of the Viceroy’s proclamation of war, the enactment of the amending Bill, and the promulgation of war Ordinances—all without India’s consent. “The issue of peace and war must be decided by the Indian people”, and they cannot “permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends.” “If co-operation is desired. . . . (it) must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider worthy". "India's sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom, but India cannot associate herself with a war, said to be for democratic freedom, when that very freedom is denied to her and such limited freedom as she possesses taken away from her.... If the war is to defend the status quo of imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges, then India can have nothing to do with it." "The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular how those aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people?" 5

The A.I.C.C. not only endorsed the views of the Working Committee but went even further in its resolution of 10 October, 1939. "India must be declared an independent nation, and present application must be given to this status to the largest possible extent." 6

The Muslim League had evidently been watching the reaction of the Congress before formulating its own policy. On 18 September, three days after the Congress Working Committee, it passed a resolution on the situation created by the war. The British Government was promised support and co-operation only on two conditions. First, the Muslims must be assured of "justice and fair-play" in the Congress Provinces. Secondly, the British Government must give an undertaking, "that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League, nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval." Further, the Government was asked "to take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India." 7

2. Government Policy of Appeasement .

Lord Linlithgow interviewed about fifty Indians—political leaders of different parties and representatives of different schools of opinion—including Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah. He then issued a statement on 17

October. He reiterated that Dominion Status was the goal of British policy, but pointed out that for the present the Act of 1935 held the field. The only hope he held out was that at the end of the war it v/ould be open to modification in the light of Indian views, full weight being given to the opinions and

interests oi the minorities. In order to associate Indian public opinion with the prosecution of the war, he proposed "the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the GovernorGeneral would himself preside." 8

The Working Committee of the Congress regarded the Viceroy's statement as unfortunate in every way and refused to give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the imperialist policy which the Congress had always condemned. As a first step in this direction the Committee called upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations 9 , and all the Congress Ministries resigned between 27 October and 15 November, 1939.

The Muslim League was not prepared either to follow the lead of the Congress or to endorse the policy of unconditional support adopted by the three Muslim Premiers of the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal. So it neither accepted nor rejected the Viceroy's statement, but asked for further discussion and clarification. While it commended that part of the statement which assured the rights of the minority, it condemned the proposed amendment of the Federal part of the Act of 1935. The scheme, in its opinion, should be scrapped altogether, and the whole constitutional problem should be considered afresh.

The Secretary of State tried to conciliate Indian opinion by the offer of taking more Indians in the Executive Council of the Governor-General. 10 The Congress leaders refused to consider any such proposal unless the British Government clarified its war aims. 11 When the Congress resigned office, Lord Linlithgow felt that there was no longer any necessity to woo the Congress so far as the war effort was concernd. since the administration of the Congress Provinces had been taken over by the Governors. "From now on, he began to lean more on the support of the Muslim League.With the Congress in the wilderness and Jinnah's hands considerably strengthened, waverers among the Muslims began trickling into the League. For all practical purposes Jinnah was given a veto on further constitutional progress and, adroit politician that he was, he made the very most of the situation/' 12

3. The Congress

The Congress, in its session at Ramgarh held on 19 and 20 March, 1940, presided over by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, endorsed the emphatic protests made by the Working Committee and A.I.C.C. against the declaration of India "as a belligerent country without any reference to the people of India", and reiterated that

> "nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India". They "alone can properly shape their own constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage."

The war situation in Europe took a grave turn shortly after the Ramgarh Session was over. In mid-April, Germany launched the offensive in the West, and Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France collapsed before the end of June. It had a profound effect on India. It was feared by many that Britain, too, would shortly share the fate of France. This was emphasized by the 'India and Burma Act' passed by the Parliament in the middle of June. It transferred some of the powers exercised by the Secretary of State to the Governor-General, in the event of a complete breakdown of communications with the United Kingdom.

While the fate of the world was being decided in Europe, the Congress was highly excited, partly by feelings of sympathy with Britain in her difficulties, but mainly by the hope ox India's freedom. There were, however, serious differences among the. leaders of the Congress. Gandhi, true to his creed of non-violence, was against India's participation in war in any case. To him the issue was one of pacifism, and not of India's freedom. To a majority of his colleagues, however, non-violence was not a creed but a policy, and Abul Kaiam Azad, the President of the Congress, echoed the sentiments of most of them when he declared openly "that the Indian

National Congress was not a Pacifist organization but one for achieving India’s freedom.” 13

There were other causes of difference between the Working Committee and Gandhi. Gandhi was opposed to the restoration of Ministerial Government in the Congress Provinces and the entry of Congressmen into the Central Council. The Working committee did not accept this view, and expressed their willingness to ask Congressmen to accept the ministry on certain conditions. Meeting again in Delhi from 3 to 7 July (1940), the Working Committee renewed their demand for an immediate and unequivocal declaration of the ‘full independence of India’, and proposed that “as an immediate step to giving effect to it, a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre.”

The Working Committee declared that, “if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw its full weight into the efforts for the effective organisation of the defence of the country”. 11 This resolution was duly adopted by the A.I.C.C. at Poona on 27-28 July, 1940.

4. Gandhi and Jinnah

Curiously enough, Gandhi’s attitude towards the Muslims underwent a radical change about this time. In an article in the Harijan, on 15 June, 1940, he candidly confessed that “the Congress, which professes to speak for India and wants unadulterated independence, cannot strike a common measure of agreement with those who do not.The British Government would

not ask for a common agreement if they recognised any one party to be strong enough to take delivery. The Congress, it must be admitted, has not that strength today. It has come to its present position in the face of opposition. If it does not weaken and has enough patience, it will develop sufficient strength to take delivery. It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress.” 15 One would rub one’s eyes in wonder and ask in all seriousness, ‘is it the same Gandhi who was unwilling to attend the second session of the Round Table Conference without a previous agreement with the Muslims, and constantly gave out that no real progress was possible without a HindUrMuslim agreement'? What a volte face for Gandhi !

Gandhi proceeded further. "The Muslim League", said he,

"is frankly communal and wants to divide India into two parts.

Thus for the present purpose there are only two parties—the Congress and those who side with the Congress, and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its purpose." 16 Though at long last Gandhi, for once, got rid of the phantom which he had been pursuing since he entered Indian politics, here, again, his idealism got the better of realism. The last sentence quoted above may give expression to an excellent national ideal, but was certainly not in conformity with facts which a statesman could ignore only at his peril.

Gandhi, who, to the outside world, represented the Congress, threw a direct challenge to the Muslim League which Jinnah was not slow in taking up. Gandhi's article enabled him to convince the Muslims that the Congress Raj was not a figment of his imagination but a real danger to Muslims who, as a separate nation, had no place in the totalitarian ideal of the Congress. Muslims must surrender themselves to the Congnress or would be crushed. The moderate section led by Sikandar Hyat Khan lost its influence in the Muslim League. "The Working Committee of the League, meeting on June 15 and 16, endorsed Mr. Jinnah's policy -and invited him to proceed with his negotiations with the Viceroy.

No other member of the Committee should negotiate with Congress leaders without Mr. Jinnah's permission. Nor should Moslems serve on war Committees pending further instructions from Mr. Jinnah." 17 Thus Gandhi's article helped Jinnah to set himself up as a dictator of the Muslims. "In other words, the twonation principle was to be fully applied in terms of constitutional arithmetic," 18

5. The British Attitude

Faced with the worsening of the war situation, the British made a bold bid for winning the willing support of India in her war efforts. The new declaration of British policy, known as the “August Offer”, was issued in the form of a statement by the Viceroy on 8 August, 1940.

It may be summarised as follows: 19

(1) The expansion of the Governor-Generars Council and the establishment of an advisory war council should no longer be postponed.

(2) Tlie minorities were assured that the Government would not agree to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India’s national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

(3) After the war a representative Indian body should be set up to frame the new constitution.

The statement sought to conciliate both the Muslim League and the Congress. The guarantee asked by the former was given in clause (2) and the Congress demand for the Constituent Assembly was virtually conceded in clause (3). But like most compromises it failed to satisfy any party. The Congress took exception to clause (2), for there is no doubt that it gave Jinnah the power to put a veto on constitutional advance. Similarly the Muslim League would not be favourable to clause (3), for in any democratic procedure the number would count in the long run, and the Muslims could not hope to get anything like equality with the Hindus which they demanded as a separate nation.

Many adversely criticised the ‘August Offer’ on the ground that the British had missed the last chance of bringing the Conggress into the war. It was pointed out by them that “under stress of the crisis in Europe the majority of the Working Committee had proved their desire to defend their country by throwing Mr. Gandhi overboard. If the British Government had responded more wholeheartedly to this new mood might they not have

brought about settlement? 20 On 13 August Gandhi cabled to an English newspaper that the August Offer “widens the gulf between India, as represented by the Congress, and England. 7 ’ 21 “The whole conception of Dominion Status for India”, said Pandit Nehru, “was as dead as a doornail.”

22 Meeting on August 13 to 22, the Congress Working Committee followed this lead. The British refusal, said their resolution, “to part with power and responsibility in favour

of the elected representatives of the people of India.is a direct

encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife. The

issue of the minorities has been made into an insuperable barrier to India’s progress.. . .The rejection of the Congress proposals is proof of the British Government’s determination to continue to hold India

by the sword.The desire of the Congress not to embarrass the

British Government at a time of peril for them has been misunderstood and despised.” 23

The Muslim League’s reception of the ‘August Offer’ was naturally more friendly. Meeting from August 31 to September 2 the Working Committee welcomed Clause 2 which the Congress had particularly condemned, but repudiated the theory of national unity, implicit in the statement and made explicit by Amery, the Secretary of State, while explaining it. “The partition of India”, the resolution continued, “is the only solution of the most difficult problem of India’s future constitution.” 24

The Congress decided to start the Civil Disobedience campaign, as contemplated in the resolution adopted at the Ramgarh Congress, under the leadership of Gandhi. But, curiously enough, Gandhi chose the issue to be, not the independence of India, but the right to preach openly against the war, and it was to be an individual (later changed to a small group) and not a mass Saty agraha. 25 It was started on 17 October, 1940, and as soon as an individual (or a small group) was arrested, another took his place, till the prisoners numbered 600. But it created little enthusiasm and less interest, and Gandhi suspended it on 17 December, 1940. It was resumed on 5 January, 1941, and more than 20,000 were convicted. 26

This barren policy was severely criticised by many and seems to be due to the unwillingness on the part o:: Gandhi and Nehru to embarrass the British

Government and at the same time a desire to take the wind out of the sails of Subhas Bose's Party (Forward Bloc) which had begun its campaign of Civil Disobedience in right earnest 27 For, even the repeated rebuffs of the British Government to the Congress had not modified in any way the attitude of Gandhi and Nehru towards the British. On 20 May, 1940, Nehru said

that 'launching a Civil Disobedience campaign at a time when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle would be an act derogatory to India's honour." 28 Similarly Gandhi said: "We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin. That is not the way of non-violence". 29 Gandhi probably thought that by following a mild policy he would ultimately secure valuable concessions from the Government, but he was disappointed. 30 On the other hand, the Working Committee of the Congress renewed, on 16 January, 1942, the offer of co-operation on the old conditions.

The August Offer seems to have been the pivot round which the British policy revolved for more than a year. But it created no enthusiasm and a whole year passed before even the very small concessions promised therein came into operation. "The Viceroy's negotiations with Mr. Jinnah and other leaders dragged on for several months and it was not till July 22, 1941, that the composition of his new Council was announced." 31 Although eight out of the thirteen members were Indians, they were neither responsible to the Legislature nor to any political party. The old belief therefore "persisted in nationalist minds that the function of the Council was to register the opinions of the Viceroy and the function of the Viceroy was to do what he was told bv Whitehall." 31 The Defence Council, which was established at the same time, being merely an advisory body, did not make any impression on the Indians. There was therefore hardly anything tangible which could convince the Indians of the bonafide of the British offers and promises to give a real Dominion Status to the Indians. All this distrust and suspicion were converted into a definite belief in the insincerity and double-dealing of the British by an unfortunate speech of Churchill.

The Atlantic Charter, issued jointly by Britain and U.S.A. as an enunciation of their war policy, declared, among other things, that "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-Government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them”. This clause was heartily approved by all sections of Indians. But Churchill hastened to dispel all hope and enthusiasm by declaring in the House of Commons on 9 September, 1941. that the Atlantic Charter had no application to India, though in his opinion, it was in full accord with British policy in India as embodied in August Offer. 33 If it were so, one might well ask. then why this disclaimer that India was not covered by the Atlantic Charter.

If Britain had made a deliberate resolve to antagonize all sections of public opinion of India , she could not devise anything more suited to the purpose than this speech of Churchill. The large majority of Indians merely found in it a formal corroboration of what they had all along believed, namely, that the British never meant any real concession to India. British dishonesty, said Congressmen, had now been nakedly exposed. The Liberals, including Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, who was the greatest champion of unconditional aid to British war efforts, felt shocked. The subsequent attitude of the Indians is to be viewed in the perspective of the situation created by C-hurchiirs speech. Henceforth India would never trust or put any faith in the promise of ‘perfidious Albion.’ Everything must be paid in cash, and no credit was to be allowed. This was the real cause of the failure of Cripps Mission to which we now turn.

6. The Japanese Menace and it's Reaction on Indian Politics

The war suddenly took an alarming turn so far as India was concerned, by the entry of the Japanese into the war on the side of the Axis powers against Britain. The rapidity with which they seized Singapore (15 February, 1942) hitherto regarded as almost impregnable, overran Malaya and entered Burma, raised their prestige as a military power and brought India within the range of actual hostilities. For it was quite clear that the Japanese intended to invade India from the east through Burma and Manipur. No doubt was left on this point by the propaganda through radio that the Japanese were coming to deliver India from the yoke of the British. The Indians had too much knowledge of their own past history and of Japan’s treatment of China to believe in Japanese propaganda. They were not, with probably a few exceptions, proJapanese. But they w r ere not drawn closer to the British either. To the old causes of anti-British sentiments the Japanese invasion added more. In the first place, they could not but feel that the present predicament was entirely due to the British, who had dragged them into the war against their will. For, it was argued, the Japanese would never have invaded India if she were not a part of the British empire, and even then, if India had enjoyed Dominion status, she could remain neutral like Eire and not forced to become a belligerent. The Indians could not but feel that in their present state of dependence they were destined to share only the evils and sorrows of the British Empire and not its benefits and blessings. Secondly, in spite of the many shortcomings and evils of British rule, the Indians always balanced them against one inestimable advantage it had offered, namely, security from foreign invasions. The fortunes of the war clearly indicated the hollowness of this claim in immediate, and possibly remote, future. Thirdly, the Japanese victories had considerably lowered the British prestige and destroyed the myth of their invincibility. Many had come also to believe that the days of the British Empire were numbered.

As regards the Congress, though the Japanese invasion did not change its attitude, it certainly changed its leadership. Once more, as in June 1940, Gandhi feared that the war-conditions would force Britain to offer independence to India on condition of participation in the war, and he rightly felt that the majority of Congressmen would accept it.

The Working Committee of the Congress met at Bardoli on 23 December, 1941, and passed a long resolution, a part of which is quoted below:

“The whole background in India is one of hostility and distrust of the British Government, and not even the most far-reaching promises can alter this background, nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from Fascist authoritarianism....

“The Committee is therefore of opinion that the resolution of the A.I.C.C., which was passed in Bombay on 16 September, 1940, and defines the Congress policy, holds to-day still.”

By another resolution the Working Committee relieved Gandhi of the responsibility laid upon him (of leading the Satyagraha movement) “but the Committee assures him that the policy of nonviolence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress.” 34

The Working Committee issued a series of instructions in anticipation of the Japanese attack. The general trend of these instructions was to set up the Congress as an independent organization, outside the Government, throughout the country, in order to help and serve people in any contingency arising out of the threatened Japanese invasion. The net position was that although the Congress shook off the pacifism of Gandhi, it reiterated its old policy of non-co-operation with the war-efforts of the Government so long as the independence of India was not guaranteed.

But the Liberals were fully impressed with the gravity of the Japanese menace and took a more realistic view of the situation than the other political parties in India and the British Government. On 3 January, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the spokesman of Liberal opinion, dispatched a lengthy cable to Mr. Churchill, signed by fifteen non-party leaders, insisting that “the heart of India must be touched to rouse her on a nation-wide scale to the call for service and urging the acceptance of the Liberal programme—a national all-Indian Government responsible to the Crown, and a higher national status for India in international and inter-imperial relations.” 35 As could be foreseen, Churchill would be the last man to

accept any such programme. He slept over Sapru’s cable tor more than two months until he was rudely awakened by the booming of Japanese guns. On 11 March. 1942, four days after the fall of Rangoon, Mr. Churchill announced that the War Cabinet had come to a unanimous decision on Indian policy and that, in order to explain it and “to satisfy himself upon the spot by personal consultation that the conclusions upon which we are agreed, and which we believe represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose”, Sit Stafford Cripps, who had recently joined the Government as Lord Privy Seal and become a member of the War Cabinet and leader of the House of Commons, would proceed as soon as possible to

India 36 Churchill did not leave anyone in doubt as to the genesis of this new policy. He said at the very outset of his announcement: “The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader.” 37 But this was only a half-truth. The Japanese invasion began more than two months before, and the fall of Singapore on 15 February brought home to everyone the danger to India. Churchill, however, did not move an inch. But Roosevelt, the President of the U.S., took a more realistic view of the situation and urged upon Churchill to settle matters with India. The help of U.S.A. w^as then the only hope for the safety of Britain, and Churchill could ignore Roosevelt’s advice only at his country’s peril. Still he wavered until the fall of Rangoon revealed to him, for the first time, the desperate situation which faced Britain in the east.

That the despatch of the Cripps Mission was mainly, if not wholly, due to the pressure of Roosevelt, was merely a conjecture at the time, but it has since been confirmed as a fact by the publication of the secret documents of the Foreign Office, U.S.A. 38 As this has been denied by some, the relevant facts culled from these documents may be briefly noted below.

On 17 February, 1942, two days after the fall of Singapore, the Assistant Secretary of State, U.S.A., submitted a long Memorandum containing the following: “It seems to me that the State Department must immediately get to v/ork on the changed situation in the Far East arising out of the fall of Singapore. The first item on the list ought to be to tackle the Indian problem in a large way. . . .It v/ould seem that the logical thing to do was to have Churchill announce in London that the British plans contemplated the introduction of India as a full partner in the United Nations.” 30 On 25 February, 1942, the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S.A. Senate discussed Indian affairs. They were impressed by -{ho man-power of India as a source of military strength, but fully realized that “the Indians would not have the desire to fight just in order to prolong England’s mastery over them.”

“Concerning India, the argument was that we are participating on such a large scale and had done so much for England in LendLease that we had now arrived at a position of importance to justify our participation in

Empire Councils and such as to authorize us to require England to make adjustments ofi a political nature within the framework of her Empire. We should demand that India be given a status of autonomy. The only way to get the people of India to fight was to get them to fight for India. . . .The American people ..would expect this Government to do everything within its power to obtain military participation by India.... even though we had to go to the extent of dictating to England what she should do with regard to India. ,M0

Evidently as a result of this report Roosevelt sent on the very same day a cable to the U.S. ambassador in London suggesting that he or Averell Harriman, his special representative in London, should send him “a slant on what the Prime Minister thinks about new relationship between British and India.” 41 Harriman immediately saw Churchill who promised to keep Roosevelt informed of the trend of discussions about India that were taking place.

On 4 March, Churchill cabled this information of which the text of the first para is given below:

“We are earnestly considering whether a declaration of Dominion Status after the war carrying with it if desired the right to secede should be made at this critical juncture. We must not on any account break with the Moslems who represent a hundred million people and the main army elements on which we must rely for the immediate fighting. We have also to consider our duty towards 30 to 40 millions untouchables and our treaties with the Princes states (sic.) of India, perhaps 80 millions. Naturally we do not want to throw India into chaos on the eve of invasion.” 42

Presumably in reply to this, Roosevelt cabled a long message to Churchill on 10 March. Churchill received it on the same day and the very next day announced the Cripps Mission in the Parliament, as stated above. It is a reasonable inference that Churchill accepted the advice or suggestion of Roosevelt, though perhaps very grudgingly. 43

According to Attlee, the Cripps Mission was recommended by a Special Committee on India in the war-time Cabinet. Attlee was the Chairman of this Committee and Amery, Simon and Cripps were among its members.

Attlee adds that “it was greatly to the credit of Winston Churchill that he accepted that (Cripps Mission)

when he did not like the idea of any change really.' 544 All this fully tallies with the theory of Churchill ? s decision being due to pressure of Roosevelt. The recommendation of the Special Committee on India might have also been influenced by the same source. 45 In any case, the views of both Attlee and Simon, as may be judged from the Simon Commission Report, and of two other members, Amery and Sir John Anderson, as judged by their statements on India, were very different from the instructions with which Cripps was sent to India, and they agree more with the suggestions of Roosevelt.

Roosevelt was highly interested in the fate of Cripps 5 Mission, and sent Col. Louis A. Johnson as his personal Representative to New Delhi to keep him informed about the progress of the negotiations between Cripps and the Indian leaders. Though Johnson had not any official status to meddle in the affair, he played a very important role as peace-maker throughout the negotiations, as will be shown later. 46

7. The Cripps Mission

Sir Stafford Cripps arrived at Delhi on 23 March, 1942. The proposals which he brought with him were embodied in a Draft Declaration and may be summarized as follows:

(1) In order to achieve ‘the earliest possible realisation of selfGovernment in India 5 , the British Government propose that steps should*be taken to create “a new Indian Union which will have the full status of a Dominion.”

(2) ‘Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities 5 , a constitution-making body shall be set up.

(3) The British Government ‘undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed 5 on two conditions. First, any Province or Provinces which are not prepared to accept the new constitution will be entitled to frame by a similar process a constitution of their own, giving them ‘the same full status as the Indian Union. 5 Indian States will be

similarly free to adhere to the new constitution or not. In either case a revision of their treaty arrangements will have to be negotiated.

(4) The second condition is the signing of a treaty to be negotiated between the British 1 Government and the constitutionmaking body to cover all ‘matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands 5 , particularly the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the British Government's past undertakings.

(5) Until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must retain control of the defence of India ‘as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India in co-operation with the peoples of India.’ To that end the British Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. 47

There is no doubt that these proposals virtually conceded all the reasonable-demands of both the Congress and the Muslim League, as far as it was possible to do so under war conditions. As Sir Stafford unequivocally declared in one of his Press Conferences, the proposals meant ‘complete and absolute self-determination and selfGovernment for India.’ The demands of the Muslim League were also met by the first proviso in Para (3) of the above summary.

The rejection of these proposals was due mainly to three reasons. First, the deep-rooted distrust of the British and the consequent suspicion of the genuine character of their offers or promises. Secondly, a growing belief that .Britain will be worsted in the battle against Germany and her future was gloomy, at best very uncertain. Apart Iron) these two psychological factors, clause 3 of the proposals, contained in the Declaration, was sure to lead to a partition of India which was opposed by every political party in India except the Muslim League.

Apart from the virtual partition of India which the long-term proposals involved, they w r ere open to another serious objection, namely, that the rulers, not the peoples of the Indian States, would determine their future. As early as 2 April, the Working Committee passed a resolution 43 rejecting the proposals of Cripps. As regards the States it observed:

"The complete ignoring of the ninety millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination." To this Cripps replied that the British, Government had no control over the States in this matter. 49 As regards Clause 3, the resolution says: "The acceptance beforehand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity." But then it adds: "Nevertheless, the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will." This practically gives away the whole case of the Congress and virtually amounts to a support of Clause 3.

The Hindu Mahasabha declared that 'India is one and indivisible', and refused to be party to any proposal which involved the political partition of India in any shape or form. 50 The Liberal Party also opposed the scheme of partitioning India. 51 Curiously enough, the proposals which alienated the rest of India failed to satisfy even the Muslims whom they were intended to conciliate. The Muslim League demanded "a definite pronouncement in favour of Partition." 52 The proposals of Cripps were also rejected by the Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians, and the labour-leaders, who all demanded sufficient safeguards. 53

As a matter of fact, the proposals of Cripps for the future constitution of India received but scant attention of the Congress and other sections of the public. The general feeling was expressed by a pithy saying, wrongly attributed to Gandhi, 54 that they were a "post-dated cheque on a crashing bank", implying a growing belief that Britain would be worsted in the battle. As the Congress resolution put it, "in today's grave crisis it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present." 55

The chief difficulty in arriving at an agreement on the interim proposals in Clause 5 was to fix the power and responsibility to be entrusted to Indian members of the Governor-General's Council for the administration in general and for defence in particular. There was also difference of opinion between the Congress and Cripps on the character of Central Government that was immediately to be set up. The Congress insisted that it must be a Cabinet Government with full powers which Cripps had at first suggested but later withdrawn. There was a prolonged discussion on these points and in spite of the best efforts of Johnson, Roosevelt's Personal Representative, the negotiations broke down on 10 April. 56 As soon as this was known the Working Committee of the Muslim League rejected Cripps's proposals.

There was a general impression at the time that' the failure of Cripps Mission was due to the reactionary attitude of Churchill. This is now fully corroborated by the secret documents of U.S. Foreign Office to which reference has been made above. It now appears that Johnson had succeeded in bringing about an agreement on the question of the status and functions of the Indian Defence Minister, and the formula evolved by him was accepted by the Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief, Cripps, Nehru and Azad. 56a But Churchill refused to budge an inch from the original draft declaration sent with Cripps. As Johnson put it, "London wanted a Congress refusal." On 11 April. Churchill sent Roosevelt a copy of Cripps's

cable intimating the reasons which led to the failure of the negotiations and enclosed a copy of his reply heartily congratulating Cripps on his achievements, which "have proved how great was the British desire to reach a settlement." Churchill added: "The effect throughout Britain and in the United States has been wholly beneficial. The fact that the break comes on the broadest issues and not on tangled formulas about defence is a great advantage."

Roosevelt was not, however, taken in by this hypocritical outburst. He immediately (11 April) cabled a long message from which a few extracts are quoted: "I most earnestly hope that you may find it possible to postpone Cripps's departure from India until one more final effort has been made to prevent a breakdown in the negotiations.

"I am sorry to say that I cannot agree with the point of view set forth in your message to me that public opinion in the United States believes that the negotiations have failed on broad general issues. The general impression is quite the contrary. The feeling is almost universally held that the deadlock has been caused by the unwillingness of the British Government to concede to the Indians the right of self-government, notwithstanding the willingness of the Indians to entrust technical, military and naval defence control to the competent British authorities. American public opinion cannot understand why, if the British Government is willing to permit the component parts of India to secede from the British Empire after the War, it is not willing to permit them to enjoy what is tantamount to self-government during the war.... I read that an agreement seemed very near last Thursday night (9th April). If he (Cripps) could be authorised by you to state that he was empowered by you personally to resume negotiations as at that point with the understanding that minor concessions would be made by both sides, it seems to me that an agreement might yet be found." In conclusion Roosevelt again suggested that a nationalist Government should be immediately set up (in India). 57

Thus even at that late hour Roosevelt tried his best to prevent the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations. But Churchill was adamant. In his reply to Roosevelt he even offered to retire to private life if that would be any good in assuaging American public opinion. 58 He did not trust the Indian Congress, he said in defence of his policy. But the negotiations could not be reopened in any case because Cripps had left India. 59

The British official view was that it was the pacifism of Gandhi that brought about the failure of Cripps Mission. As a matter of fact, Gandhi left Delhi at an early stage of the negotiations and

took no further part in them. But some Englishmen asserted that Gandhi telephoned from Sevagram instructing Congress to reject the Cripps offer, and even said they had a record of that conversation. When told about this, Gandhi said, "It is all a tissue of lies. I! they have a record of the telephone conversation let them produce it." 60 It is hardly necessary to discuss the British official view after this denial of Gandhi. 61

On the other hand, the Indian intelligentsia, at least an important section of them, doubted the sincerity of the British Cabinet and held that the Cripps Mission was designed merely to placate American opinion. Even Harold Laski observed that the "take it or leave it" mood of Cripps "was bound to make it look as though our real thought was less the achievement of Indian freedom than of a coup de main in the the propagandist’s art among our allies who contrasted American relations with the Philippines against British relations with India.”[62] There is hardly any doubt that the available evidence^ lends the strongest support to this view, though we must revise the current Indian opinion that Cripps was the villain of the piece.[63] He was merely an agent of Churchill who pulled the wires from behind.[64]

1. The Harijan, 9 September, 1938; quoted by Coupland (II. p. 214).

2. The Statesman, 10 September, 1939: quoted bv Cortland (II. p. 2ML

3. The Indian Struggle, p. 340.

4. Ibid, p. 341.

5. Coupland, II. p. 215; IAR, 1939, II. pp. 226-8.

6. IAR, 1939, II. p. 231.

7. Coupland, II. p. 216.

8. Ibid, p. 217.

!}. Ibid, pp. 217-8. Italics mine.

10. For details, cf. Menon, p. 68.

11,. Coupland, II. p. 219.

12. Menon, pp. 69-70.

12. Azad, pp. 33-4.

14. Coupland, II. pp. 239-40; IAR, 1940, II. pp. 176-77.

15. Coupland, II. p. 242.

16. Ibid!

17. Ibid, p. 243.

18. Ibid, pp. 242-3.

19. For full details, cf. ibid, pp. 243-4.

20. For this as well as the opposite view, cf. ibid. p. 245.

21. Coupland, II. p. 245.

22. Ibid.

28. IAR. 1940, II. pp. 196-8.

24. IAR, 1940, II. pp. 243-5.

25. Azad. p. 37.

26. Coupland, II. pp. 249-50.

27. Indian Struggle, pp. 342-3.

28. Ibid, p. 344.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid, p. 346.

31. Coupland, II. pp. 259-60.

32. Ibid, p. 260.

33. Ibid.

34. Hist. Congr., II. pp. 291-2.

35. Coupland, IT. p. 268.

HG, Gwyer, II. pp. 519-20.

37.Ibid, p. 519.

38. The documents are published in the Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1942, Vol. I. pp. 593 to 750 (hereafter referred to as ‘Documents). The.c have been discussed in greater detail in Freedom-India , Vol. Ill, pp. 6*7 If. and India Quarterly, XIX pp. 214 ff.

39. Documents, pp. 602-4.

40. Jbid, pp. 600-7.

41. Ibid, p. 604.

42. Ibid, p. 612.

43. Louis Fischer, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (Bombay 1959), II. pp. 111-2. Churchill himself admitted, later in life, that the despatch of Cripps Mission was partly due to American opinion (Churchill, The Second World War, IV. p. 190).

44. F. Williams, A Prime Minister Remembers, p. 206.

45. It is significant that the Committee was appointed on 25 February, the day on which Clvurchdi received Roosevelt's cable. (Churchill, op. cit., p. 185.)

46. Johnson was also the Chairman of a Technical Commission sent to India by U.S A.

47. For the full text, cf. Gwyer, II. pp. 520-1.

48. Azad, pp. 61-3.

49. Menon, p. 123. Nehru has challenged this interpretation of Cripps on the authority of A. B. Keith (Discovery of India, p. 402).

50. Coupland, II. pp. 279-80.

51. Ibid, p. 280.

52. Ibid, p. 279.

53. Ibid, p. 280; Hist. Congr., II. p. 332.

54. Cf. Hist. Congr., IL p. 434.

55. Menon, p. 130.

56. For a detailed account of the negotiations, cf. Freedom-India, III. pp. 626-8; Documents, pp. 630-4; Menon, pp. 126 ff.; .Majumdar, A.K. pp. 172 ff. India Quarterly, XIX, pp. 233 ff.; Hi3t. Congr., II. pp. 315 ff.

56a. Cf. Freedom-India, Vol. Ill, p. 629; also Roosevelt’s telegram quoted on p. 640.

57. Documents, pp. 634-5.

58. Louis Fischer, II, pp. 111-2.

59. Churchill looked upon the departure of Cripps as a godsend which saved him from a lot of embarrassment (op. cit., pp. 194-5.).

60. Louis Fischer, II. p. 110.

61. Even Cripps and Attlee held Gandhi responsible for the failure. Attlee writes: “Cripps Mission got very near to success... .there seemed a real chance that Nehru would co-operate. But Gandhi turned difficult... .And the dictatorial Saint can be quite as bad as the dictatorial sinner” (p. 206). That Gandhi was against the acceptance of Cripps proposals, like so many others, is true, but we have it on the authority of Nehru himself that Gandhi had nothing to do with the crucial stage of the negotiations dealing with the interim Government on which they actually broke down (Nehru, Discovery of India, p. 408; Louis Fischer, II. p. 110.).

62. Hist. Congr., II. p. 331.

63. Ibid, p. 332. For adverse comments on Cripps by Indian leaders, cf. Coupland, II, pp. 287-8.

64. Both Louis Fischer (II.. p. 112) and Johnson have left on record their appreciation of Cripps. Johnson wrote: “Neither Churchill, the Viceroy nor Wavell desired that the Cripps Mission be a success and that in fact they were determined it should not be.” Again, “Cripps is sincere, knows this matter should be solved. He and Nehru could solve it in 5 minutes if Cripps had any freedom or authority.” (Documents , pp. 631-2, 657-62).

CHAPTER XXVII

QUIT INDIA MOVEMENT

I. GANDHI RESUMES LEADERSHIP

The failure of Cripps Mission brought about an immediate and distinct change in the attitude of Gandhi. He was hitherto definitely opposed to any mass movement during the World War, but now his mind once more veered round it. This was the consequence of his novel idea of asking the British to quit India and leave her to her fate, which was, again, the result of his peculiar view about the nature and significance of the Japanese menace to India. He thought that if the British left, Japan would probably leave India alone, and wrote in his paper, the Harijan, on 26 April, 1942: "Whatever the consequences therefore to India, her real safety, and Britain's too, lies in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India." 1 He also "elaborated how there should be unadulterated non-violent non-co-operation against the Japanese and advised people not to give quarter to them and to be ready to risk loss of several million lives." 2 Nehru at first differed from these views and was in favour of helping the democratic Allies against the autocratic Axis povrers,—even after the failure of Cripps Mission. But, as usual, he surrendered to Gandhi, and the A. I. C. C. meeting at Allahabad, from 29 April to 2 May, 1942, passed a resolution defining the Congress policy which, inter alia , stated: "Not only the interests of India, but also Britain's safety and world peace and freedom, demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations." The resolution did not refer to Japan by name, but added that in case of any foreign invasion it must be resisted, though "such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation." 3 It is significant that the draft of this resolution, which replaced that by Gandhi, was prepared by Nehru who had so far consistently preached violent resistance to the Japanese. 4

It would thus appear that Gandhi had once more assumed the leadership of the Congress which he had relinquished during the most critical phase of the negotiations between the Congress and Cripps. Gandhi's undisputed sway over the Congress was further demonstrated by the discomfiture of a stalwart in the inner circle of Gandhi, namely C. Rajagopalachari.

On 23 April, 1942, Bajagopalachari and some of his old Congress supporters in the Madras legislature adopted two resolutions for submission to the A.I.C.C., the first recommending the acceptance of Pakistan in principle as the basis of a settlement between the Congress and the League, the second proposing the restoration of responsible government in Madras. 5

“The second of his two resolutions was withdrawn at the A.I.C.C. meeting. The first, recommending a Congress-League accord, was rejected by 120 votes to 15, and a counter-resolution was passed declaring that “any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation, will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and Pro* vinces and the country as a whole, and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal.” 6

But, unlike Nehru, Bajagopalachari refused to surrender. He resigned from the Working Committee on 30 April, 1942, and continued his campaign. He openly crticised Gandhi's attitude towards Japanese invasion and his ‘Quit India' policy.

“Such open insubordination provoked a threat of ‘disciplinary action’, and, without waiting for it, Mr. Bajagopalachari announced his intention to resign his membership of the Congress and also his seat in the Madras Assembly, ‘in order to be absolutely free to continue his campaign to convert the Congress.' At a meeting of the Congress members of the Provincial Legislature on July 15, he formally resigned. Once more the strength of Mr. Gandhi's authority was made evident. Only seven of his colleagues followed the exPremier into exile, and by overwhelming majorities the meeting rescinded the previous pro-Pakistan resolution and confirmed the resolutions of the A.I.C.C.” 7

There was now no doubt that Gandhi had again recovered his undisputed supremacy. over the Congress. In spite of the almost non-committal resolution of the A.I.C.C., he wrote a series of articles elaborating his idea which was soon to crystallize into the ‘Quit India' movement. On 3 May, and again on 10 May, he wrote: “The time has come during the war, not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reconciled to complete separation from each other .... I must devote the whole of my energy to the realisation of this supreme act.... The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawl removes the bait. Assume, however, it does not; free India will be better able to cope with the invasion. Unadulterated non-co-operation will then have full sway.” “Leave India in God's hands”, he said on 24 May, “in

modern parlance, to anarchy, and that anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoitics. From these a true India will rise in place of the false one we see.” 8 Gandhi is also reported to have said: “I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entrust India to God or in modern parlance to anarchy. Then all the parties will fight one another like dogs, or will, when real responsibility faces them, come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect nonviolence to arise out of that chaos.” 9 Gandhi’s changed attitude to Britain also brought about a change in his method of activity. Since the collapse of the Civil Disobedience of 1930 Gandhi had abandoned the idea of mass movement. But, as Azad put it, his “mind was now moving from the extreme of complete inactivity to that of organized mass effort.” 10 On 7 June Gandhi wrote:

“I waited and waited until the country should develop the nonviolent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery.” 11

There was a meeting of the Working Committee at Wardha on 6 July, 1942. The memoirs of Maulana Azad, the President of the Congress, throw light on the part played by Gandhi in leading the Congress to his ‘Quit India’ policy. Azad says:

“I reached Wardha on 5 July and Gandhiji spoke to me for the first time about the ‘Quit India’ Movement. I could not easily adjust my mind to this new idea. . .1 felt that we must refrain from any word or action which could offer encouragement to the Japanese. It seemed to me that the only thing we could do was to wait upon the course of events and watch how the war situation developed. Gandhiji did not agree. He insisted. . .that the British must leave India. If the British agreed, we could then tell the Japanese that they should not advance any further. If in spite of this they advanced, it would be an attack on India and not on the British. If such a situation developed we must oppose Japan with all our might.

“I have already said that I had been in favour of organized opposition to the British at the outbreak of the war. Gandhiji had not then agreed with me. Now that he had changed, I found myself in a peculiar position. I could not believe that with the enemy on the Indian frontier, the British would tolerate an organized movement of resistance. Gandhiji seemed to have a strange belief that they would. He held that the British would allow him to develop his movement in his own way. When I pressed him to tell us what exactly would be the programme of resistance, he had no clear idea. The only thing he mentioned during our discussions was that unlike previous occasions, this time the people would not court imprisonment voluntarily. They should resist arrest and submit to Government only if physically forced to do so.

“Gandhiji held that the British would regard his move for an organized mass movement as a warning and not take any precipitate action. He would therefore have time to work out the details of the movement and develop its tempo according to his plans. I was convinced that this would not be the case.

“Gandhiji’s idea seemed to be that since the war was on the Indian frontier, the British would come to terms with the Congress as soon as the movement was launched. Even if this did not take place, he believed that the British would hesitate to take any drastic steps with the Japanese knocking at India’s doors. He thought that this would give the Congress the time and the opportunity to organize an effective movement. My own reading was completely different....

"Our discussions started on 5 July and continued for . several days... .We began to discuss in greater detail the various elements of the proposed movement. Gandhiji made it clear that like other movements, this would also be on the basis of non-violence. All methods short of violence would however be permissible. During the discussions, Jawaharlal said that what Gandhiji had in view was in fact an open rebellion, even if the rebellion was non-violent. Gandhiji liked the phrase and spoke of an open non-violent revolution several times." 12

H. 'QUIT INDIA' RESOLUTIONS

On 14 July, 1942, the Working Committee passed a long resolution, generally referred to as the 'Quit India' resolution. It renewed the demand that "British rule in India must end immediately", and reiterated the view that the freedom of India was "necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism, and the aggression of one nation over another."

The solution of the communal tangle has been made "impossible by the presence of the foreign Power whose long record has been to pursue relentlessly the policy of divide and rule. Only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention", there will be an agreement between different classes and communities.

"On the withdrawal of British Rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of Free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people’s united will and strength behind it.

V

“In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British Rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress is therefore agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression, and to protect and help China....

“The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal herein made, not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

“Should, however, this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and weakening of India’s will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the nonviolent strength it might have gathered since 1920, when it adopted Non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A.I.C.C. will meet in Bombay on the seventh of August 1942.** 13

No one outside Gandhi’s immediate circle of devotees could have the least doubt about the attitude of Government towards the new move of the Congress. Among Gandhi’s ‘staunch* disciples was Miss Slade, popularly known as Mira Ben, the daughter of a British admiral. She was sent to Delhi to apprise the Viceroy of the purport of the Working Committee’s resolution and the nature of the movement proposed by it. The Viceroy refused to interview her as Gandhi was thinking in terms of rebellion. “He made it clear that the Governnent would not tolerate any rebellion during the war, whether it was violent or non-violent. Nor was the Government prepared to meet or discuss with any representative of an organisation which spoke in such terms.” 14

“The refusal of the Viceroy even to receive Mira Ben made Gancjhiji realize that the Government would not easily yield. Hie confidence he had in this regard was shaken, but he still clung to the belief that Government would not take any drastic action. He thought that he would have enough^iime after the A.I.C.C. meeting to prepare a programme of work and gradually build up the tempo of the movement.” 15

The A.I.C.C. met in Bombay on 7 August, 1942, tu consider the resolution drafted by the Working Committee. After two days’ discussion it was passed by an overwhelming majority; only a few Communists were against it.

The A.I.C.C. expressly repeated with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India, and explicitly stated that free India would join the Allies with all her great resources. It sanctioned the non-violent mass struggle under the leadership of Gandhi, but provided also for the contingency of his arrest. “A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committee can function. When this happens, every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.” 16

No one except Gandhi, with his childlike faith, and his devotees, blindly attached to him, could have seriously believed that the Government would sit idle while the A.I.C.C. had proclaimed open rebellion. It is true that Gandhi conceived it to be a kind of non-violent revolt,—unarmed revolt as he called it. But everybody knew or should have known that the revolt once begun would not, or rather could not, retain its non-violent character. Gandhi’s utterances at different times leave no doubt that he meant it to be a fight to the finish. After the Working Committee passed the resolution at Wardha on 14 July, Gandhi said:

“There is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation. There is no question of one more chance. After all it is an open rebellion.” 17 Again, Gandhi is reported to have said: “I shall take every precaution I can to handle the movement gently, but I would not hesitate to go to the extremest limit, if I find that no impression is produced on the British Government or the Allied Powers.” 18 Reference may also be made to Gandhi’s speech after the A.I.C.C. had passed the Quit India Resolution at Bombay: “Every one of you should from this moment onwards consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free.... I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. We shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt.” 19

No Government, faced with an impending foreign invasion from outside, would tolerate the growth of a rebellion inside which was sure to hamper the efforts for defence against such aggressions. The Government of India were closely following the activities of the Congress and made elaborate preparations to nip any active rebellion in the bud. They were presumably waiting till the Congress would put itself clearly in the wrong by an open declaration of revolt. As soon as the A.I.C.C. resolution was passed, they struck hard. The A.I.C.C. meeting terminated late at night on 8 August, 1942. Before the next day dawned the police arrested Gandhi, Azad, and all the other eminent leaders of the Congress. Within a week almost everyone who mattered in the Congress organization was in jail. The A.I.C.C. and all the Provincial Congress Committees except in N, W. F. P. were declared unlawful organizations. The Congress headquarters at Allahabad were seized by the police and Government confiscated the Congress funds. Rigorous control was imposed over the publication of news and comments to such an extent that several newspapers, including the Harijan of Gandhi, had to suspend publication.

The Government of India issued a communique justifying their action. 20

“It was afterwards made known that the Central Government’s decision had been unanimous. The Executive Council, it will be remembered, had recently been expanded, and, as it happened, the three official members (apart from the Viceroy) w r ere absent. Thus the decision was taken by the Viceroy and the twelve unofficial members, all of whom, except Sir E.C. Benthal.. were Indians.” 21

The sudden removal of all types of leaders,—-all-India, Provincial, District, and even Taluk- -left no responsible men to guide the mass movement announced by the A.I.C.C. But if the Government had thought or hoped that by this means they would be able to crush the movement, they soon found out their mistake. They had made a profound miscalculation about the state of popular feeling and the hold of the Congress on the Indian public.

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1. Statement published by the Government of India on the Congress Party's responsibility for the disturbances in India, 1942-43. Parliamentary Report , Accounts and Papers , 1942-3, Vol. IX. It is reproduced in MR, 1942, II. pp. 23754 (hereafter referred to as Statement). Also cf. Hist. Congr.. II. p. 333.

2. Hist. Congr., n. p. 334.

3. Coupland, II. pp. 288-9.

4. Ibid, p. 289.

5. Ibid, p. 288.

6. Ibid, p. 289.

7. Ibid, p. 290.

8. Ibid.

9. Statement.

10. Azad, p. 72.

11. Statement.

12. Azad, pp. 73-7.

13. Hist. Congr., II. pp. 340-42.

14. Azad, p. 81.

15. Ibid, p. 82.

16. Hist. Congr., II. pp. 342-6.

17. Statement.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid. It should be remembered, however, that Gandhi made similar declarations before launching the Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1930.

20. Coupland, II. pp. 297-8. Freedom-India, III. pp. 645-6.

21. Coupland, II. p, 298.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE OUTBREAK OF 1942

I. GENERAL VIEW

The news of the arrest of Gandhi and other Congress leaders was immediately followed by non-violent popular demonstrations in the shape of meetings, hartals and processions over nearly the whole of India, The Government adopted stern measures to put them down. The closing of shops and restaurants was forbidden by rules passed under the Defence of India Act, and not only Ihe usual lathi-charges but firing was also resorted to to disperse processions. This led to violence on the part of the people, and the Government had to face a revolt which was unarmed but most violent in character. The official version may be summed up as follows: 1

‘Gandhi and other leaders were arrested on the morning of 9 August. On that day there were disturbances in Bombay, Ahmadabad, and Poona, but the rest of the country remained quiet. On August 10, disturbances occurred also in Delhi and a few towns in the U.P.; but still no serious repercussions were reported from elsewhere. It was from 11 August that the situation began to deteriorate rapidly. From then onwards, apart from the hartals . protest meetings and similar demonstrations that were to be expected, concerted outbreaks of mob violence, arson, murder, and sabotage took place; and in almost all cases these were directed either against communications of all kinds (including railways, posts and telegraphs), or against the police. Moreover, these outbreaks started almost simultaneously in widely separated areas in the provinces of Madras, Bombay, and Bihar, and also in the Central and United Provinces. Finally, the damage done was so extensive as to make it incredible that it could have been perpetrated on the spur of the moment without special implements and previous preparation; and in many instances the manner in which it was done displayed a great deal of technical knowledge. Block instruments and control rooms in Railway stations were singled out for destruction; and the same technical skill appeared over and over again both in the selection of objects for attack—on the railways, in P & T offices and lines, and on electric power lines and installations—and also in the manner in which the damage was carried out. On the other hand—and this is a significant fact -— industrial plant and machinery, even when it was fully .employed on Government work, escaped any serious injury.

‘The position was at one time extremely serious in the wiiofe of Bihar except its most southern districts, and in the eastern part of the U.P. In these areas the trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas; thousands of rioters gave themselves up to an orgy of destruction of communications and certain classes of Government property; whole districts, with their small defending forces of Government officials and police were isolated for days on end; a very large part of the E.I. Railway and practically the whole of the B. & N.W. Railway systems were put out of acting. For a considerable period, Bengal was almost completely cut dSf from Northern India, while communications with Madras wei^e also interrupted by the damage done to the Railways in the Guntur district and around Bezwada.On the other hand, Assam, Orissa, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P. remained free from serious trouble throughout the first week after the arrests, and there was comparatively little disorder in Sindh.

Tn all the affected provinces, students, invariably Hindu students, were in the forefront of the initial disorders. Everywhere the Congress creed of non-violence was ignored and mobs were recklessly incited to extremes of fury. Apart from attacks on communications and various forms of transport such as trams, buses, and motor vehicles, the violence of the mob was directed against certain classes of government buildings; .... municipal, and even private property also suffered; and there was some looting.*

As regards sabotage activity “there was widespread destruction of the property of the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs. One hundred and four railway stations were attacked and damaged, 15 being burnt down; 16 derailments were caused; about 100 instances of sabotage to railway tracks were reported**, says the administration report of the United Provinces for 1942.

“Over 425 cases of sabotage to telephone and telegraph wires were recorded 7 *, the report adds. “A hundred and nineteen post offices were destroyed or severely damaged and 32 employees of the Posts and Telegraph Department were attacked. Damage was caused to a large number of Government buildings, records, seed stores and some A.R.P. equipment. 13 Attacks on Government servants resulted in the murder of 16 members of the police force and 332 were injured. Arrests, totalling 16,089 were made in connection with the disturbances throughout the province.”

The “total amount of collective fine imposed was Rs. 28,32,000, the bulk of which was promptly realised. Recoveries by the close of the financial year amounted to slightly over Rs. 25,00,000.” 1!j

There was no general strike and work was soon resumed in mills and factories, with the one important exception of v Ahmadabad mills. These were subjected to special political pressure, backed by ample funds.

‘During the first two weeks following the arrests the disturbances continued with varying intensity mainly in C.P., Bihar, and U.P..By the fourth week firm action had largely succeed

ed in suppressing mass lawlessness, except in Assam, where disorders began to appear similar in nature to those which had occurred earlier elsewhere. Indiscipline in jails was a part of the Conggress programme and jail mutinies duly occurred in two provinces. By the sixth 'week normal conditions had been restored throughout most of the country except in the eastern provinces.

‘With the close of the first phase of violent mass disorders three new tendencies became apparent, viz., (1) orthodox non-violent Civil Disobedience movement; (2) development of serious crime, and (3) drift towards terrorism. . . .Cases of arson, sabotage and of murderous assault on public servants continued. Bombs made their appearance in C.P., Bombay and the United Provinces. These were at first crude and ineffective, but technical improvement was rapid, and by the twelfth week of the movement bombs and other explosive mechanisms, some of a highly dangerous type, were in use on a fairly extensive scale, particularly in the Bombay Province.'

The extensive extracts, quoted above from the statement issued by the Government of India, briefly indicate the nature of the disturbances that occurred all over India after the arrests of the Congress leaders on 9 August, 1942.

In view of the fact that an impartial inquiry was never made, no authentic details are available of the disturbances. It is only fair, therefore, that the Indian version of the whole affair should be reproduced. The following extract from the official history of the Congress conveys a general idea:

"The people grew 7 insensate and were maddened with fury, when the slightest acts of disobedience of orders prohibiting meetings, processions and demonstrations, freedom of association and of opinion were put down, not with a mere lathi but with the rifle and the revolver, with the machine-gun and the aerial firing. Within less than twelve hours of the arrests;, the old story of brickbats and bullets got abroad. . . .The mob on their part began to

stone running Railways and stop trains and cars, damage Railway stations, and set fire to them or property therein, loot grain shops, cut Telegraph wires, rip open the tyres of cars, harass Victoria, bullock carts, and tongas. Besides these excesses initiated by the people at large, there were hartals throughout India despite the Ordinance prohibiting them in which the school and college students took a big hand in picketing. Educational Institutions and Universities very soon emptied and closed from one end of the country to another,— from Dacca to Delhi, excepting Aligarh, and from Lahore to Madras. The Benares University, however, was taken possession of by the military at an early stage in the movement. Instances of paralysing Railway traffic by removal of fishplates of rails or the rails themselves early figured on the field of Civil Disobedience, the Madras Mail being unable to proceed for a number of days and thereafter unable to proceed at nights for some time. A whole length of 130 miles from Bitragunta to Bezwada was disorganized. In Bihar, Monghyr was isolated from all external contact for nearly two weeks. The Railway disorganization was in the extreme in Bihar.

The Ahmedabad Mills were all closed while in Bombay only three or four ceased work. Numerous Electric Municipal lamps, Fire brigade signal, posts and Municipal carts were shattered and smashed to pieces. Near the Dadar B.B. & C.I. station on Sunday, the 9th August, a car was set fire to. There was a complete cessation for an hour of all Suburban Train Traffic both

on the B.B.C.I. and G.I.P. lines on the 9th August_Railway

stations, Income-tax Offices, School and College buildings, Post Offices, Railway godowns became the common objects of mischief by arson. In Bihar a mob attempted to storm the Secretariat." 2

Regarding the nature and extent of the repressive measures taken by the Government, the official and non-official statements in the Legislative Assembly at various times give a fair idea. There is hardly any doubt that the Government used the most stringent measures to suppress the movement. "The disturbances/* stated Winston Churchill, the then British Prime Minister, in the House of Commons (September 10, 1942), "were crushed with all the weight of the Government.... large reinforcements reached India and the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small compared to its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection." 3 Hundreds of persons were arrested and imprisoned, and a large number were killed, chiefly by the firing of the military and the police. Insult, indignity, injury and even assault were meted out in complete disregard of the position and status of the persons concerned. Whipping was inflicted on many and heavy collective, or as K.C. Neogy, a member of the Central Assembly,

called it, 'communal', fines were imposed in many areas. 4 The total fines amounted to Rs. 90 lakhs, the hulk of which were promptly realized from the Hindus. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru criticized this communal imposition of collective fines. 5 Several members of the Central Assembly made a demand for the setting up of a commission having a majority of non-official members to inquire into the excesses committed by the military and police on the people. K.C. Neogy listed the charges against the administration as "general pillage and arson and wanton damage to property by the police and the military, shooting at random in places not affected by any hooliganism just for the purpose of creating an impression, random shooting of innocent persons when hooligans had already left, assault or shooting of non-violent crowds or individuals, merciless assaults, particularly whipping and insults, and indignities on all and sundry.” 6

‘The Civil Defence Secretary gave details of the time, date and number of air-raids on Calcutta, Chittagong and Feni areas from 16 September, 1942, to 10 February, 1943. The total casualties in all raids on India since April, 1942, were 348 killed and 459 wounded.'

According to an official statement made in the Central Assembly on 12 February, 1943, firing had been resorted to 538 times up to about the end of the year 1942, as a result of which 940 were killed and 1,630 were injured. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru comments:

“Official estimates of the number of people killed and wounded by police or military firing in the 1942 disturbances are: 1,028 killed and 3,200 wounded. These figures are certainly gross underestimates for it has been officially stated that such firing took place on at least 538 occasions, and besides this, people were frequently shot at by the police or the military from moving lorries. It is very difficult to arrive at even an approximately correct figure. Popular estimates place the number of deaths at 25,000 but probably this is an exaggeration. Perhaps 10,000 may be nearer the mark.” 7

The official figures for persons arrested, convicted and detained without trial during the period from 9 August to the end of the year 1942, were, respectively, 60,229, (approximately) 26,000, and 18,000. The military casualties were 11 killed and 7 wounded.

The number of Police Stations, offices and houses belonging to Government and private persons burnt by the people in Contai and Tamluk Sub-divisions of the Midnapur District in Bengal were respectively 43 and 38, while 195 Congress camps and private houses were burnt by the Government forces in the same region.

Men, rightly or wrongly supposed to be saboteurs at work on the railway lines, were machine-gunned from air at five different places. In at least one case the Government admitted that the coolies were mistaken for saboteurs.'

The terrorist methods of the Government produced a violent reaction even upon the minds of those who did not participate in the popular upsurge and were opposed to it. "The industrial workers in many important centres spontaneously declared strikes in protest against Government action in arresting national leaders. The steel factory of the Tatas at Jamshedpur furnishes a notable instance. ..There the skilled workers, drawn from all over India, stopped work for a fortnight and returned to work only when the management promised to try their best to get the Congress leaders released and a National Government formed. The complete strike in all the Ahmadabad mills continued for three months in spite of all attempts to break it, and without any special call from the trade Union. There were strikes at other centres, too, though of briefer duration." 9

II. CHARACTER AND ORGANIZATION

As mentioned above, Gandhi did not formulate any definite programme of action before he was arrested on 9 August. This is quite clear from the statement of Azad quoted above, 10 and is fully supported by Nehru when he says: "Neither in public nor in private at the meetings of the Congress Working Committee did he hint at the nature of action he had in mind, except a one-day general strike. So neither he nor the Congress Working Committee issued any kind of directions, public or private, except that people should be prepared for all developments and should in any event adhere to the policy of peaceful and non-violent action." 11 It is somewhat surprising, therefore, that the official biographer of Gandhi quotes verbatim the draft of instructions prepared by Gandhi and marked confidential which was placed before the Working Committee of the Congress on 7 August for consideration. 12 In any case it is difficult to take these instructions as genuine, particularly when we remember that secrecy had no place in Gandhi's Movements.

No authentic account is available about any organized body which carried on the movement after the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders. It is said that a few of those who escaped arrest met and sent a set of instructions on behalf of the A.I.C.C. to all Provincial Congress Committees. According to

Jayaprakash Narayan a small group met in Calcutta and laid the foundation of the so-called “illegal Congress Organization,” which functioned throughout the struggle. 13 There is, however, little doubt that each

Provincial Congress Committee drew up its own plan, and reference will be made later to some of them.

The ‘illegal Congress Organization’, referred to above, did not take any effective part in the 1942 movement until it was crushed by the Government, and then it went underground and made preparations for violent and revolutionary activities, giving a complete go-bye to the non-violent pacific policy of Gandhi. This will be discussed in section IV.

But although the underground movement was carried on till the beginning of 1943, the open movement was crushed within two months, and it practically collapsed before the end of September, 1942. This was clearly recognized by the Congress itself in an appeal issued by the A.I.C.C. towards the end of November, 1942. It frankly admits that “our ranks have been depleted; our resources, in the form of local assistance in rural areas, and active enthusiastic support from village young men have been reduced by repression.”

The A.I.C.C. therefore proposed a last ditch fight on the basis of the following programme:

1. The peasantry should refuse to pay the land-tax and obstruct the revenue and police officers to collect the tax. Even a military invasion should be rendered ineffective by flight into the jungles.

2. Non-sale of food-crops and cattle.

3. Non-acceptance of paper money.

4. Emphasising upon the people the danger of food and cloth famine.

5. Organization of Swaraj Panchayat and boycotting of revenue or Police officers.

6. Roads, and telegraphs and railways to be destroyed to defeat the British military.

But this appeal fell flat on the people. The movement had lost its momentum. The Congress had fired its last shot and missed. The battle was lost.

This sad result was believed to be solely due to the absence of Gandhi and other leaders. Such a contingency was, however, almost inevitable, and was actually foreseen by Gandhi himself and the other leaders. This is clear from the A.I.C.C. resolution, quoted above, 13a urging upon everybody to act on his own initiative if the leaders were clapped into prison. It would be still more damaging to the Congress to argue that the arrangements for the campaign were

not yet completed when the leaders were arrested. It w r ould be the height of lolly on the part of a general to declare war before preparing the plan of his campaign. Similarly, the Congress stands self-condemned if the A.l.C.C. had adopted the resolution of sanctioning civil disobedience on the mass scale on August 8, and the leaders publicly urged the people to fight to a finish and ‘do or die’, before the plan of the ‘unarmed revolt’ was ready. Yet, incredible as it may seem, such was really the case, for which the full responsibility lies upon Gandhi and those who blindly followed him. No reasonable person should have believed that the British Government would allow the leaders to go on with their most deadly campaign against them in one of the greatest crises of their history without making the most desperate efforts to nip it in the bud or crush it with all the force they could command. The Congress leaders must or should have known all this before they staked everything on this final campaign and resolved ‘to do’ or ‘die’. 1315 They neither ‘did’ nor ‘died’.

Jayaprakash Narayan, for whom Gandhi had the highest admiration and who was the real leader of the revolt of 1942, so far as there was any, ascribed its failure to lack of co-ordination and lack of organization. He pointed out that “even important Congressmen were not aware of the progress of the revolt, and till late in the course of the rising it remained a matter of debate in many Congress quarters whether what the people were doing was really in accordance with the Congress programme.”

Organization meant secrecy which had no place in Gandhi's conception of nonviolent Satydgraha. No less important was the lack of a clear-cut programme of action. "After the first phase of the rising was over, there was no further programme placed before the people." Jayaprakash cited the instance of Ballia and some other places where the people had seized power, but did not know what to do next. A few days later a contingent of soldiers w T as able to restore British power without much resistance. 14 "The people", according to the Socialist leader, "should have set up in these areas their own units of revolutionary Government and created their own police and militia." Lack of funds was another drawback and in this connection Jayaprakash deplored the role of the wealthy who "have proved to be not only extremely selfish but also exceedingly small men." 15 Jayaprakash Narayan no doubt hit at some really weak points, but it is difficult to agree with him that these defects could be easily removed, even under the leadership of Gandhi, or even if removed as far as possible, the results would have been much different.

Besides, it should be remembered that the movement of 1942 was mostly confined to students, peasants and the lower middle class.

The intellectual or the higher middle class had not taken any very active part, evidently because they were gradually losing faith in the specific remedy offered by Gandhi. Though there were some labour strikes, they were mostly of very short duration and the labourers as a class held aloof This was mainly due to the influence of the Communists who put their whole weight against the movement and actively helped the Government, as will be related later. It was generally believed that Communist leaders like M. N. Hoy were liberally provided with funds by the Government to sabotage the national movement of 1942, and being influenced by false ideas ox internationalism, they became a ready tool in the hands of the British.

III. ACTIVITIES IN DIFFERENT REGIONS

Having given a general picture of the outbreak we may now proceed to describe very briefly the notable incidents in different regions. 16

1. Maharashtra and Karnatak

Bombay, the venue of the historic A.I.C.C. session, naturally gave the lead in the matter of demonstrations. Huge crowds collected on 9 August at Gowalia Tank Maidan, and later on at Shivaji Park, to protest against the arrest of the leaders. There was firing at the Maidan resulting in 8 deaths and 169 wounded, according to official version. Students took the lead in Bombay as elsewhere, and schools and colleges and even the markets remained closed for over two weeks. The movement had taken a violent turn by the 10th, and attacks were directed against Government buildings and means of communications. Roads and lanes were blocked at some places and telegraph and telephone wires were cut. The G.I.P. and B.B. & C.I. railway lines were tampered with, causing dislocation in traffic. The Matunga railway station was attacked and demonstrations were held at Parel. Firings were reported from several parts of the city. Miss Naoroji said: “Crowds have been fired on several times at intervals of 10 minutes or so; they retreated for a while with as many of the dead and wounded as they could carry, but they were back on the spot to face the bullets again and again.” The first bomb burst in Bombay in the first week of September, and thereafter a number of Government buildings were burnt. On 14 January, 1943, the police recovered from a flat a revolver, time-bombs, stocks of high explosives and all the paraphernalia needed for lethal bombs. One of the unique features of the movement in Bombay was the establishment of a wireless station by some zealous workers which continued to broadcast the news concerning the movement and its programme till November 1942, when it was found out and operators arrested. 17

The movement was widely spread and well organized in Karnataka where the important leaders had managed to remain out. There were over seven thousand arrests, and collective fines, amounting to over Rs. 3 lakhs, were imposed. Village records in over 200 cases were burnt, 23 railway stations were attacked, and over 35 post offices damaged, besides attack on other Government buildings and bridges etc., according to non-official sources.

In Maharashtra, the movement was quite intense in Poona, Sholapur, Nasik, Ahmednagar, and Satara. Poona remained virtually under military control for four days. Explosion of a bomb in the Capital Cinema which was the rendezvous of the Tommies cost them four lives. A large ammunition godown near Poona was set ablaze. There was complete boycott of all

Government officers in Ratnagiri District, and even vegetables, rice and other articles of daily use were not supplied to them. In the Thana District near Wade about 1500 peasants encircled the police station and captured some of the officials. In Satara, the people threw up the foreign yoke and set up a parallel government known as the ‘Patri Sarkar’. Nana Patil was at the head of this Government which ran its course for a number of months. Patels of about 80 villages tendered their resignations.

The worst atrocities were perpetrated over the people of Satara. A group of independent journalists who visited Satara in April, 1945, testified to the terroristic activities of the Police which included 2,000 arrests, 6 deaths in jail, and 13 killed by police firings. Four old men of village Katewadi were seated in a line with stone slabs on their heads and a boy was mounted on each one of them. Some cases of molestation of women were also reported. Inhuman treatment was meted out to prisoners in the jails and there were instances when they were beaten with leather straps soaked in salt water.

2. Gujarat

In Gujarat the movement began with general strikes which lasted from three days to a week at many places, a month in Nadiad, and three months and a half in Ahmadabad. All mills, bazars and factories remained closed and all efforts of the Government to break the hartal proved futile. Some of the schools and colleges did not open for six months. Ahmadabad Municipality was superseded by the Government with the result that the municipal employees went on strike and created a deadlock. 18 There were firings on the 12th, and there was even a display of tanks and machine guns to terrify the people. The movement had spread to villages and there were firings at Nadiad, Dakor, Chaklasi, Bhadran, and

Karamsad in Khera District. In Nadiad, a batch of 50 students, who were on their way back to Adas Station after finishing the propaganda campaign in that area, were asked to sit down and were shot at by the policemen. In Broach an armed band, led by “two Congress leaders”, raided a police station and took away arms and ammunition. The orderly on duty was fired at and wounded. Another mob headed by the same leaders raided a police post in Wagra taluk . killed the sentry, overpowered the policemen and looted the lines. 19 In Panchmahal, the district office was burnt and sabotage cases were reported from Kalol taluk where the police and the guerillas clashed several times. 20

3. Bihar * 1

Attempts were made even in remote villages to paralyze the Government machinery by sabotaging means of communications and getting control of Government buildings.

In Patna, the situation took a serious turn on 11 August when a huge procession of students, in spite of severe lathi charges, was able to hoist the national flag on the eastern gate of the Patna Secretariat. The military fired 13 or 14 rounds resulting in the death of 7 students and injuries to several. 22 On 12 August, telegraph and telephone wires were cut at many places, roads were blocked and bridges damaged. Railway lines between Gulzarbagh and Patna City near Futwah were tampered with. The Government admitted in the Central Assembly that Patna was completely cut off from the rest of India for some time. 23 The thanas of Teghara. Simara Ghat, Rupnagar and Bachhwara were completely burn down. An aeroplane crashed in Monghyr and two of the crew were beaten to death by the crowd. The people were able to take control of the thanas of Surajgarha, Chautham, and Tarapur, and set up Panchayats and Defence Parties for purposes of efficient administration.

A huge procession at Muzaffarpur disarmed the constables and officers at Katra Police Station. The Police stations at Lai Ganj and Belsaud were brought under their control by the people. The Minapur Police Station was attacked on 16 August and the SubInspector and two constables were left for dead. The Sub-Inspector, according to official version, was burnt alive. 24 The worst affected place, according to the Commissioner of Tirhut, was Hajipur. A large mob attacked the S.D.O. and a police party at Sitamarhi on 17 August, relieved them of their guns, and killed them. Their dead bodies were then placed in a house which was set on fire. The administrative machinery of the British Government was completely paralysed and people set up their own Government and

courts. The police station was set up in a temple at Rampur village. In Mahnar thana , the people’s government functioned under Madan Jha from

18 August to 3 September, 1942. The Pupri thana in Sitamarhi sub-division and Karaka remained under people's control for several days.

The people declared the establishment of a National Government in north Bhagalpur. Under the guidance of the indomitable revolutionary, Siaram Singh, the Congress workers set up a parallel administration at Sultanpur and appointed their own ddroga. In Madhipur, all government offices were in possession of the people who ran their own government offices for a few days. Several persons were killed at Rupauli when a Police Inspector fired indiscriminately on a mob of 12,000 through the barred windows of specially constructed quarter of iron frame with asbestos roof. The Assistant Sub-Inspector and three others were, however, overpowered by the mob and burnt alive. At Karabara, 5 British and 1 Anglo-Indian soldiers who had fired on a meeting were disarmed and finally killed. 25 The leader of the movement in this area was Jaglal Chaudhury, a former Congress Minister, who was later sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on the charge that he had urged the crowd to tie up a Sub-Inspector in a sack and throw him into the river. According to official version he had made plans to resist troops with spears, lighted torches and boiling oil. In Manjhi, Ekma, Dighwara, Darauli, Raghunathpur, Siswan, Parsa, Baikunthpur, and Garkha, the British administrative machinery was completely paralyzed. An efficient administrative system was set up by the people in these areas. Swatan tra Mandal was the highest body which worked through villagp panchayats above which were thana panchayats . There were four main departments under Swatantra Mandal, 1. Department of Dislocators, 2. Publicity Department, 3. Village Defence Department, 4. Volunteers Department or Sevak Dal. The head of each of the departments was known as Adhyaksha whose orders were carried out by Sevak Dais under him.

The attack on the Bahera Police Station was led by the wife of Charitar Singh of Kharki who broke open the thana gate and exhorted others to follow her lead. Railway lines and bridges on the west of Tarsarai station were wrecked by workers, and traffic on several.lines of the B.N.W. Railway was suspended for several days.

In Santal Parganas, the movement was quite intense in Deoghar, Sarwan and Pahapur. Prafulla Chandra Patnaik of Damn-iKoh organised the

Paharias for the movement. A parallel government also worked at Sarwan for some time.

Ranchi in Chhota Nagpur, and Dalbhum and Jamshedpur in Singhbhum were other storm centres of the movement. About 20,000 people of the Tata Iron & Steel Mills in Jamshedpur went on strike, as mentioned above. 26 The most significant incident was the strike by policemen of Jamshedpur which alarmed the authorities, and British soldiers had to be sent there to control the situation. 27 Sweepers, too, went on strike.

Revolutionaries played an important role in the struggle in Bihar. Some of them, including Jayaprakash Narayan, Kartik Prasad, Braj Kishore Prasad Singh, Dr. Baidyanath Jha and Shyam Sundar Prasad took shelter in Tarai, Nepal, and set up a centre for training of Azad Dastas (Guerilla bands); Sardar Nityanand Singh was the chief instructor. But under pressure from British Government these leaders were arrested by Nepal Government and confined in Hanuman Nagar jail. With a band of his Azad Dastas, Nityanand and Suraj Narayan Singh led an attack on the jail, overcame the guard and'released the leaders. In Bihar, an independent council was set up under Suraj Narayan Singh.

The two revolutionary groups, Siaram Dal and Parsuram Dal, were very active in Bihar. With a band of 150 young followers, Siaram Singh, the founder of the former dal, carried on guerilla activities in Bhagalpur and adjoining districts and helped to paralyze the Government in these parts. Horrors of police and military raj were let loose in many areas. Loot, arson and assaults went on unrestrained for a number of days. Even women were stripped of their ornaments at some places. Houses at Phulparas, Laukahi and Lakaha were burnt. Monghvr suffered no less at the hands of the military. In the area where the air crash crew had been killed, military atrocities were terrible. There was machine gunning of the mobs from air, as a result of which 40 to 50 persons died and many were injured. Soldiers penetrated into villages, burnt many houses, and whipped and flogged the inhabitants. Terrorstricken men, women and children fled away to escape dishonour and molestation at the hands of the troops. On 2 September, 1942, there was reckless military firing at Rohiyar resulting in the death of 10 persons. Many houses in this village were burnt.

Inhuman physical tortures were inflicted on the people of Saharsa, Sonbarsa, and Supaul in Bhagalpur. Their houses were burnt and properties looted. At Sonbarsa, the troops caught hold of a person and killed him by stabbing at several places. One Lahtar Chaudhury was forced by the military to stretch himself on a table, “stripped of his garments and was given 26 furious strokes of caning.” Military firing at Kishanganj resulted in the death of 4 persons. To crush the movement in Bhagalpur, mobile columns of the military were organized to act as a ‘striking force’. The severe military firing at Sultanganj resulted in the death of about 65 persons, according to unofficial estimates, but the Government report put the figure of the dead and injured at 10 and 4 respectively. The indiscriminate police firing on the prisoners at Bhagalpur Central Jail who had broken out into open rebellion and set fire to factory and godown, killing 3 jail officials, resulted in the death of 29 persons and injuries to 87. Tilakpur was ravaged and many of its inhabitants were flogged. People were compelled to repair bridges and one Sukhdev Gope of village Pain was dragged and crushed to death under a motor lorry of the soldiers. A British officer ravaged Sarwan in Santal Parganas. A party of military raided Lasari village in Shahabad District (September 15), but met with determined resistance from the people whereupon they opened fire, killing and injuring several.

The total collective fines imposed in the province of Bihar was a little over 24 lakhs of rupees, out of which more than 20 lakhs had been recovered by the end of November, 1942.

4. TJttar Pradesh (U.P)

The movement took a very serious turn in Uttar Pradesh, especially in the eastern districts of Ballia, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Basti, Mirzapore, Fyzabad, Sultanpur, Banaras, Jaunpur and Gorakhpur. To quote the official report: “In these areas, the trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas; thousands of rioters gave themselves up to an orgy of destruction of Government property; while districts were isolated for days on end; a large part of the E.I. and practically the whole of B & N.W. Railway systems were put out of action.” [28] The Government Report refers to a typical instance of mass attacks on Government buildings at a tahsil in Ballia

District which was one of the main storm centres. The mob led by a local Congressman, according to Government version, who had installed himself as ‘Swaraj Tahsildar’, broke down the perimeter wall, destroyed every record in the office, broke into the treasury and looted Rs. 15,000. At Bairia, a huge procession of over 20,000 marched to the kotwali and demanded its surrender. The police only gave up when they had exhausted their ammunition resulting in the death of 19 persons. Eight police stations were burnt down by the infuriated mobs who were in complete control of the district by the 19th August. 29 While referring to Ballia, Dr. Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmad admitted that “every organisation there was destroyed and they (rioters) took possession of the treasury and of armoury and everything else; and one person assumed the office of one administrator and another assumed the office of another officer and they attempted to carry on the administration in their own way.” 30 The arrested leaders were released and a ‘national’ Government was set up under Cheetu Pandey. The people were asked to return the looted public property. To quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, “in Ballia the British rule ceased to exist. The whole structure of the British Government collapsed from top to bottom, though not for long.” 31 The military arrived on the scene within three days and a wave of repression started.

In the district of Ghazipur, national flags were hoisted almost on all thanas without much resistance. Practically the whole of Ghazipur came under the control of the people who ran the Government for three days from 19 to 21 August, when the military arrived. In Azamgarh, almost the entire population rose in rebellion. “A district magistrate was besieged in an outlying police station by a mob of about 5,000, and a pitched battle lasting 2 hours took place before the mob could be driven off.” 32 Banaras with its large population of students became the centre of the struggle in those parts. The Hindu University had become a free area and students organized their own guards and police. Passes were issued for admission and exit. 33 For five days, students of the Hindu University led the masses and were able to paralyse the administration. National flags were hoisted on the civil and criminal courts in the very presence of the police. The police firing at five places on the 12th was responsible for turning the movement into a violent one and attacks were directed against Government buildings and means of communications. Besides the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, almost all the stations on the East Indian Railway were looted and burnt. The broad gauge line on the E.I.R. from Banaras to Lakhnau was completely blocked. The Grand Trunk Road was breached at many places and regularly barricaded. Aerodromes at Raj war i and Ibbatpur were damaged. Even in the remote Garhwal, people hoisted the national flag on the court buildings, and in Gujru ilaqa, there was a sort of people's raj for a few days. In the less accessible hill areas of Almora, the movement lingered on even after it had been crushed elsewhere. There were bomb outrages at Farrukhabad. Agra, Lakhnau, Moradabad, Kanpur, and Hardoi.

With the arrival of the military and mounted police, a reign of terror was let loose, especially in the eastern districts of Ballia, Azamgarh, Jaunpur and Ghazipur, where village after village was pillaged, looted and burnt. Even there was air bombing of Ballia.[34] Pandit Nehru said about military repression in this area: "The armies came and the planes came. They razed the villages to the ground. They ploughed the land where the villages once stood in order to put an end to the very fact that such brave villages once existed."[35] K. C. Neogy, a leading member of the House, cited in the Central Assembly (Sept. 24, 1942) a typical instance of military oppression in a village in Ghazipur. Four European soldiers, accompanied by about 150 military men armed with rifles, along with the Sub-Inspector, Nandganj Police Station, came to this village on 24 August and ordered all male members to quit the village and file on a road near by. Women were asked on the threat of being shot at, to come out of their houses and were robbed of their ornanaments. Their houses were then raided and cash, jewellery, ornaments, etc. were looted. The males above 12 were ordered to sit like frogs after undressing themselves. Five stripes were then inflicted on the naked body of each of the villagers.[36] In Almora, students were whipped with lashes soaked in oil. In Bakshi Police Station (Jaunpur), two persons were kept hanging the whole day long and shot dead in the evening.[37] Women had to suffer indignities, and cases of molestation were reported from Ballia and villages of Ramnagar and Kajha in Azamgarh District. It was alleged that the wife of Chaitu Hariian of Village Rampur (Azamgarh District) was raped many a time.

5 . Madhya Pradesh

In Madhya Pradesh, the movement sprang up almost simultaneously in every district, but in places like Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, Amraoti and Betul, it was very intense, vigorous and sustained. The capital, Nagpur, was ablaze on 11 August, and almost all the police stations in the city were taken possession of by the infuriated mobs. Government Treasury was looted and General Post Office was burnt. National flags were hoisted on district courts, and as the Governor of Central Provinces put it, "for 72 hours the Nagpurians ruled Nagpur." 38 After the police was able to restore order, some of the respectable persons were brought out of their houses to remove the refuse in the streets. Some ladies also suffered at the hands of the military. 39 At Chimur, Government buildings were burnt down by a mob which refused to disperse even after a severe lathi charge. The police then resorted to firing which, according to one account, continued till their ammunition was exhausted. The infuriated mob attacked the police party which resulted in the death of a Sub-Divisional Magistrate and a Naib Tahsildar in a dak bungalow , and the murder of the Circle Sub-Inspector of Police and a constable shortly after. 40 At Ashti, a mob of about 250 persons comprising Hindus and Muslims attacked the police station (16 August, 1942). The police opened fire, knocking down about half a dozen men, out of whom five succumbed to their injuries. It led the indignant mob to set fire to the

station and the Sub-Inspector of Police was beaten to death with stones and lathis , and three of the constables having been soaked in kerosene oil were burnt alive. The fourth, who had been rescued by his friends, was caught and killed. These shocking incidents let loose the reign of terror. The military took over charge on 19 August. In Chimur they perpetrated "bestial crimes that are a disgrace to the human race." 11 All the men folk having been arrested, the soldiers took complete possession of all the houses, looted everything they could lay their hands on, and outraged many a woman, young, old, and even those who were pregnant.

6. Bengal (including Bengali-speaking districts in Assam)

The students of Calcutta gave the lead by abstaining from schools and colleges, parading the streets in processions, holding meetings, etc. Roads and streets were blocked with logs of wood, bullock carts etc., and tram cars were burnt. Ballygunge sub-post office was set on fire. The Bombay Mail, the Doon Express, and the Parcel Express could not leave the Howrah Station. No person was allowed to go clad in European dress. A secret radio station also worked in Calcutta for quite a long time and broadcast news. Immediately after the launching of the movement in Calcutta, Dacca became active and there were attacks on Government buildings. During an unsuccessful attack on a police station, a policeman was shot dead by an arrow, and about a hundred arrows were shot at a police party at village Parila during a pitched battle with the rioters. There were many casualties including a number of police officers. 42 There were hartals and processions at Faridpur, Barisal, Mymensingh, Jessore and Khulna. The Government buildings were raided at these places by mobs and set on fire. There were police firings at Sakhari Bazar, Sadarghat and Taltola in Dacca. Muragacha railway station in Nadia was attacked and burnt. In Sylhet, Government offices were attacked, and thanas at Kulaura and Biswanath were set on fire. One wagon full of petrol and another of ration for the military were burnt at Silchar railway platform. Similar activities were reported from many other places. However, it was in Midnapore that the situation took a serious turn and, to quote Dr. Shyama-prasad Mookerjee, “there was a deliberate challenge thrown out to the Government.” 43 In huge public meetings held in front of law courts, Government offices and police stations, war was declared on the British and each thana was declared independent. People were asked to boycott all Government offices. The law courts were empty with no business to transact. Tamluk sub-division was in open revolt. A procession, 20,000 strong, approached the town of Tamluk to seize its police station where it

met with indiscriminate firing resulting in several deaths. 44 In face of bullets, the 73 year old lady, Matangini Hazra, held aloft the national flag with the right hand, and when it was shot, with the left, till a bullet from the military struck her dead. 45 At Sutahata, however, a huge crowd, estimated at 40,000, led by Vidyut-Vdhini members in uniform and also members of

Bhagini-SendSibir (Sisters' Army Corps) were able to take possession of the thana which was set on fire. Two aeroplanes were reported to have flown over the gathering at this time and dropped a bomb, which fell into a tank and did not cause any damage.

The people of Moradanga, who had captured some constables, had to pay a heavy price. Under the command of a European officer, the village was raided by the military, and all the houses were levelled to the ground, the inmates having taken shelter in the neighbouring jungle. The local Muhammadans were incited and about 150 of them looted all the moveable property of the Hindus which was carried in carts with the help of the local police.

A parallel Government, called Tdmralipta-Jdtiya-Sarkdr, was set up on 17 December, 1942, with a thana Jdtiya-Sarkar in each of the thanas of Sutahata, Nandigram, Mahishadal and Tamluk. Satishchandra Samanta, a veteran Congress leader, was appointed the Sarbddhindyaka or director of Tdmralipta-Jdtiya-Sarkdr by the Congress Committee. Vidyut-Vdhini, or the ‘national army’, was organized at Tamluk, Nandigram and Mahishadal. To its three branches, viz., (1) Fighting Branch, (2) Intelligence Unit, and (3) Ambulance Branch, three more, viz., Guerilla Detachment, Sisters' Army and Law and Order Unit were added later on. The people had set up their own postal system and a paper, Viplabi, was also brought out. The Government publication, Some Facts About the Disturbances in India, 1942-43, pays a tribute to the organization as follows: “In Midnapore in Bengal, the operations of the rebels indicated considerable care and planning; effective warning system had been devised, elementary tactical principles were observed, for instance encirclement and flanking movements, clearly on pre-arranged signals. The forces of disorder were accompanied by doctors and nursing orderlies to attend to the casualties and the intelligence system was efficient.” The Jatiya Sarkdr was dissolved on 1 September, 1944, due to Gandhi's statements regarding the nature of the movement published after his release. 46

Hundreds of soldiers were brought from outside and raids were carried on in villages, houses were looted and burnt, and villagers oppressed. Meanwhile, the entire Sub-Division was visited with a terrible cyclone which resulted in about 10,000 deaths; 75^ of the cattle perished and over a lakh of houses collapsed. 47 The

Sub-divisional Officer of Tamluk, however, refused to suspend the curfew order even for a short period in that terrible night of the cyclone. Boats were not allowed to be used for saving the lives of the persons who somehow or other escaped their doom by sitting on the trees or the house tops at the time of the tidal bore. The attitude of the District Officer was most unsympathetic, and as Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee said in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on 12 February, 1943: “His previous prejudice against the people who were called rebels prevented him from doing what any responsible officer was bound to do to mitigate the sufferings of the people.” In fact the District Officer wrote to the State Government: “In view of the political misdeeds of the people, not only should Government withhold relief but it should not permit any non-official organisation to conduct relief in the affected area.” 48 The press was gagged and no news was allowed to be published in respect of Midnapore disaster. According to the Report of a Committee there were 44 deaths due to firing throughout the sub-division and it included a 73 year old lady and boys between 12 and 15 years of age. The Committee also reported that “certain men under the employ of the British Government committed rape on 74 women of this sub-division. One of the victims was pregnant for some months at the time. One woman victim died as a result of assault. On 9 January, 1943, three villages, namely, Masuria, Dihimasuria and Chandipur in Mahishadal thana were surrounded by about 600 soldiers who plundered the houses, pillaged the villages, and committed criminal assaults on 46 women in one single day. Men were tortured in various ways; hundreds of them were made to walk long distances and kept without food; some of them were dipped in cold water of tanks in chilly winter night. A European police officer had devised a new method. He used to insert a wooden rule inside the rectum and turn it round to cause insufferable pain. About 2,000 persons were arrested in the sub-division, and about 500 of them were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment; 125 houses were burnt in this sub-division resulting in a loss of Rs. 1,39,000; 1044 houses were looted resulting in a loss of Rs. 2,12,795. The total loss of the sub-division in terms of money was about Rs. 10 lakhs. The collective fine to the extent of Rs. 1,90,000 was imposed on the subdivision. 49

7. Assam .

In Assam, the movement reached its peak in September when roads were blocked and breached at many places and some of the important bridges were destroyed. The derailment of two trains, carrying troops, near Gauhati resulted in the death of about 150

soldiers. In various places the mob attacked Government buildings and came into clash with the police, resulting in many casualties. The way Kanaklata braved the police bullets at Gohpur in an effort to hoist the national flag on Gohpur Police Station marks an immortal story of martyrdom, 50 comparable to that of Matangini Hazra, mentioned above. At Barhampur, five miles east of Nowgong, a 15 year old girl, Ratna Phookan, showed exceptional bravery by keeping aloft the national flag in face of heavy police firing. The movement was most intense in the Nowgong District, the Midnapur of Assam, where the number of arrests was 1600, convictions, 1200, and security prisoners, 60. In some villages people were able to take control of the administration and set up panchayats which behaved as units of a parallel Government. A Sdnti Send was also organized in most of the villages to work out a programme of self-sufficiency, self-defence, communal amity and other social activities. Police and military were, however, soon let loose on the countryside and there was indiscriminate firing which was not always justified. At least 30 men and women, if not more, including a boy in his teens, were thus killed as a result of firing in various districts.

8. Orissa

The movement in Orrissa was of a sporadic nature and could not be a sustained one due to the arrest of almost all the important leaders and the violent character it assumed. Students, as elsewhere, took a leading part in the movement which was described in a Government communique as “a purely students’ revolt” against the authorities. Balasore, Cuttack and Koraput were the main centres. Swaraj-Panchayats are said to have been formed in some' of the villages of Balasore. A procession of 8 to 10 thousand was fired upon by a police party. Nineteen persons died and at least 140 were injured. Some cases of molestation of women were also reported. The police atrocities in this State include the inhuman treatment meted out to the political prisoners. Fifty of them died in the Koraput jail mainly due to suffocation in tiny cells where they were huddled up. In Balasore, “women were made naked and hung on trees upside down.” They were also whipped and tortured. 51

The movement was most intense in the States of Nilgiri and Talcher. The arrest of their leaders exasperated the people of Nilgiri who declared a social boycott of the State officials, organized partial strikes, and closed the market twice a week. The authorities had to release the leaders as the people had made it a condition precedent to their giving up the boycott.

In the Talcher State, the rumoured murder of the Praja-Mandal President, Pabit Rai Baboo, led the people to openly defy the State laws and organize a Government of their own. Chasi-Maulia, or Mazdoor Rdj as it was called, was to be set up on the basis of adult franchise in each village, block circles, pargana and subdivision. The Central Government was also to be constituted on the same lines. Some of the Government servants voluntarily resigned, burnt their European dresses and uniforms, set fire to official records, and swore allegiance to the new Government. The people were able to have their hold in almost the whole of the State excepting the town of Talcher where the ruler and his servants took refuge under British protection. A national militia was formed by the rebels, equipped with all sorts of crude implements, and a march was organized in the Talcher Principality to request the ruler to relinquish British authority and hand over the Government to the Kisan-Mazdoor-Raj —the ruler might himself act as the Constitutional head. There was machine-gunning of the mobs from the air and also firing from the British soldiers below, which resulted in many casualties. On the next day the military paraded every village while the aeroplanes dropped tear-gas bombs and pamphlets in the villages and fields.

9. South India

The tempo of the movement was comparatively less in the South. Bhimavaram, in the district of West Godavari, was the storm centre of the movement. A huge mob was* able to hoist the national flag on the Revenue Divisional Office and forced the officerin-charge to join the procession. The police firing resulted in five casualties. 52 The cutting of wires, removing of rails, blowing up of bridges, etc., were done on scientific lines. The official report refers to the recovery of "big wrenches and drilling machines and two packets of gun-powder" from persons who were preparing to remove bolts from railway lines. 53 In Kollengode, the students heading a procession unbuttoned their shirts and exposed their chests to the loaded revolvers of the police. The military aerodrome at Coimbatore was completely burnt down. Almost all the male inhabitants of the nearby villages were arrested and kept standing in a small enclosed space for over a week. About 9 miles from Coimbatore, a military camp was set on fire. Besides many rows of camps, 200 tanks were also destroyed. The military opened fire on the mob resulting in 20 to 30 casualties, according to unofficial sources. 54 In Tamil Nad almost all the mills including the famous Buckingham and Karnatik Mills at Madras struck work.

There was also strike in schools and colleges. The worst affected area was Ramnad where the entire system of communications was disorganised. The thana at Tiruvedani was seized without any resistance, the policemen having fled away. The rioters broke open the local jail and released the prisoners. This state of affairs did not last long, and with the arrival of the military worst types of atrocities were perpetrated. As T. T. Krishnamachari stated in the Central Assembly, "villages were burnt, thatched sheds and huts were looted during the absence of male members of the villages and, it is said, women were molested." 55 The wife of Gopalakesavan, a fugitive, was stripped naked and her modesty outraged by 10 policemen, followed by 10 Pallas, a class of untouchables. Similar was the fate of the wife of one Mathirulappa Servai and three other women of Vilankattoor. They were tied to the trees and tortured in a most indecent and inhuman way till they were dead. 56 In Madura, there was report of two women being stripped naked and left on the road with only rags on.

10. Other Regions

There was a complete hartal in Delhi, especially in the Hindu localities, and many of the banks, schools and colleges remained closed throughout the disturbances. The workers of Birla and Delhi Cloth Mills also went on strike. Many Government buildings were burnt. 57 Lathi charges, firings and indiscriminate prosecutions became the order of the day. Thirteen persons were killed by police firing, according to an official version.

In Rajasthan, the movement was concentrated in the cities of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Udaipur, Bharatpur, Kishengarh, Kota and Shahpur. There were general hartals, boys in schools and colleges went on strike, and processions were taken out. Stray incidents of cutting telegraph and telephone wires were also reported.

In the provinces of the Punjab, Sindh and North-West Frontier, the movement remained symbolic. A few cases of cutting telegraph and telephone wires were reported. Demonstrations were organized by Khudai Khidmatgars at Peshawar, Bannu, Kohat and Mardan; attempts were made to hoist national flags on Government buildings, and police resorted to lathi charges.

In Karachi, there were demonstrations and picketing of schools and colleges which did not voluntarily close. Foreign-made clothes were burnt at many places and telegraph and telephone wires were also tampered with. The civil court of Shikarpore and the Gariaseen Post Office were gutted. The office of the Munsif at Nawab Shah was also burnt down 58 . The students, after being tortured, were compelled to touch the boots of the police officer with their noses and shuffle on the ground on their buttocks or to do what is known

in Sindhi as Gisi. School boys between the ages of 11 and 14 years, according to Navalrai Lalchand, member of Central Assembly, were stripped naked before their comrades, tied to a tik-tiki, and then flogged, and many of them bled. 59

IV. GENERAL REVIEW

It is necessary at the very outset to remove two great misconceptions regarding the outbreak of 1942. The first, namely, that it was predominantly non-violent, will not bear a moment's scrutiny in the face of the details given in the preceding sections. Gandhi himself, Nehru, Azad, Patel and the official history of the Congress,— all admitted this patent fact. Patel said that "one had to face the reality and India switched over from non-violent to violent attempt to regain independence." 60 If the outbreak of 1942 is a specimen of 'predominantly non-violent form of satydgraha , 61 then this phrase must mean something very different from what Gandhi himself understood by it. It is true that the movement called forth on more than one occasion the true spirit of non-violent satydgraha , when men and women, young and old, gave a display of cool, sublime courage by calmly facing the bullets with the national flag in their hands and the revolutionary cries on their lips. It proved that the spirit of 1930 was not yet dead, but to call the movement of 1942 as a non-violent movement in any sense, is nothing but a perversion of truth, or travesty of facts. The difference between the movements of 1930 and 1942 was such that even he who runs may read it.

Secondly, credit is given to Gandhi for carrying out this glorious revolution which led us to our goal of freedom. Both the assumptions are opposed to actual facts. It is well-known, and the Conggress was the first to admit, that the movement collapsed in two months' time and India had to wait for five more years before it achieved freedom under very different circumstances. Similarly, far from claiming any credit for achievements of 1942, both Gandhi and the Congress offered apology and explanation for the "madness' which seized the people participating in it. 62 Jayaprakash Narayan most emphatically asserts that "to fasten the August programme on Gandhiji is a piece of perjury of which only the British ruling class can be capable." 63 The correspondence between Gandhi and the Government of India 63a is conclusive on this point.

We may next consider the question whether, and if so how far, the Congress was responsible for the outbreak of 1942. It has been argued that the Congress leaders could not be held responsible for the violent outbreaks which broke out after they were all behind the prison bars. It was, however, pointed out by the Government that during the period between the Working Committee's resolution on 14

July and the meeting oi the A.l.C.C. at Bombay on 8 August, tne Congress leaders, including Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, indicated in public speeches the nature of the coming struggle and laid special emphasis on two points. First, that it was the linal struggle for freedom that 'would kindle a fire all over the country which would only be extinguished after either achieving it or wiping out Congress organisation altogether'. The people—one and all, and not merely tried Satydgrahis as in 1930—must therefore respond to this desperate campaign in a spirit of k do or die'. The second was the insistence with which almost all speakers urged that every man should be prepared and willing to act on his own initiative. 64 In view of ..such speeches, the Government argued, not without some reason, that the Congress leaders cannot altogether be absolved from responsibility for the outbreak of 1942.

But in all fairness, the responsibility—or credit—cannot be said, on such evidence alone, to extend beyond the creation of a mental state or excitement easily leading the mass to a violent outbreak, though the leaders never ceased to emphasize the non-violent character of the movement they had in view.

The utterances of Congress leaders also largely negative the view that the outbreak was a spontaneous popular reaction to the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders, and not a premeditated course of rebellion. In reply to such a suggestion, "the Government spokesman in the Central Assembly pointed out that the disorders had begun simultaneously at widely separated points, that the worst trouble had been located in a vital strategic area, that expert technical knowledge had been displayed and special tools used in the assault on communications, and that discrimination had been shown in the conduct of sabotage from which, for instance, the plant and machinery of private industrialists were exempted, —all of which seemed to be evidence of design and preparation." 65

These revelations also very much weaken the plea, urged on behalf of the Congress, that the violent items of the campaign would not have come into operation but for the terrorism of the Government. In support of this view it is pointed out that the popular reaction to the arrest of Gandhi and other leaders was very mild on the 9th and 10th, and assumed a violent character only on the 11th after the Government had broken up peaceful processions by lathi charge and firing. This view has been clearly expressed by Nehru 66 and also in the official history of the Congress in a passage quoted above. 67 But the view was by no means confined to the Congressmen or even the Indians. Horace Alexander, a well-known British journalist, who toured India during the period, also says that it was the "repression let loose by the police that

goaded to violent fury crowds that have intended to act quite peacefully*" 68 Gandhi himself wrote to Lord Linlithgow, that it was the 'leonine violence' which goaded the people to acts of violence. " 69

Such a view seems to be incompatible with the elaborate plans and preparations for violent acts like disruption of communications and sabotage of industrial works. It is idle to contend that these items would not have been carried out but for the terrorism of the Government. Special attention may be drawn in this connection to a document secretly circulated by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee. "It was headed with Gandhi's slogan, Do or die: and it outlined a plan of campaign to be developed in successive sfages, the fifth of which was to include the cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, the removal of rails and the demolition of bridges. Other items in the programme were 'to impede the war efforts of the Government' and 'to run parallel Government in competition with the British Government." 70

It is significant that all these were the characteristic features of the 1942 movement throughout the country.

The truth of these instructions as well as the statement of the Government quoted above regarding preparations to carry them out, has been challenged as they emanate from official sources. But we have corroboration of the same from unofficial sources also. The Bihar Congress Committee had issued detailed instructions as to the course of action to be followed "after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders", and these conformed strictly to the Gandhian policy of non-violent Scityagrciha. But on 11 August seven students were killed by police firing in an attempt to hoist the national flag on the Patna Secretariat building. On the 12th a meeting held at the Congress Maidan under the chairmanship of a prominent member of the Congress resolved:

1. To destroy all communications by cutting railway lines, telegraph and telephone wires, etc.

2. To take control of Police Stations, Courts, Jail and other Government institutions and also to burn the records etc. kept there. 71

"Activities on these lines began on an extensive scale spontaneously and immediately." 72 The word 'spontaneously' obviously means 'without any direct and definite instructions from the Congress'. But it is difficult to understand how on that very evening "telegraph and telephone wires were cut at many places and telephone posts were uprooted", without some previous direction (like the Andhra document), organization, training and equipment. This was followed by another Congress Circular, which began with the

slogan 'do or die', and sketched a programme of 15 items including the following:

5. Railway lines should be uprooted, large bridges should be pulled down, telegraph and telephone wires should be cut of! and roads too should be torn asunder.

6. Courts and Adalats , thanas and post offices, should be brought under possession and tricolour flag be hoisted on them.

7. Arms of the Police and the Military should be taken non* violently.

14. Be always non-violent. 73

To reconcile the first three of these items with the fourth may appear difficult to an ordinary mind, but a philosophical explanation has been provided by Jayaprakash Narayan. He observed, when taking up the leadership of the movement after escaping from prison:

"Dislocation is an infallible weapon for people under slavery. . . Cutting wires, removing of railway lines, blowing up of bridges, stoppage of factory work, setting fire to oil tanks as also to thanas, destruction of Government papers and files-—all such activities come under dislocation and it is perfectly right for people to carry out these." 74

A review of these facts, to which others may be added, leave no doubt that the violent acts in the 1942 movement cannot be explained as 'insensate and mad acts of fury on the part of the people provoked by ruthless acts of the Government,' but were really due to the fact that whatever might have been its original character, the movement of 1942 shortly merged itself into the revolutionary or terrorist movement which was always an active political force running on a parallel line with the non-violent policy of Gandhi. How strong this revolutionary feeling was may be judged by the fact that even a powerful section of the Congress led by Jayaprakash Narayan openly repudiated the policy of Gandhi and preached the cult of violence and mass revolution—to fight Britain with arms— and regarded this course to be in accord with the Congress resolution of Bombay though not with Gandhi’s principle. 75 It is not difficult to visualize the rapid development of the course of events after S August, 1942. The resentment at the arrest of Congress leaders including Gandhi, and the absence of his restraining hand, violently reacted on the amorphous groups of people who had no specific instructions to follow, but were urged to pursue their individual inclinations. The revolutionary wing of the Congress and even its other members who adopted non-violence as a policy and not a creed became very lukewarm in support of it. The professed revolutionaries

must have taken full advantage of the situation. They had their own organizations and a ready technique of violence to be carried through different stages according to circumstances. Many of these revolutionaries must have already infiltrated into the Congress camp. Horace Alexander tells us that “a section of younger Congressmen, some of whom were impatient with Gandhi's delays and hesitations”, tried to procure arms and actually “set up bomb factories at several places.” 76

We know that similar activities were carried on by one or more groups who went underground after the movement had been ruthlessly crushed by the Government. The one led by Jayaprakash was the most prominent among these underground organizations. The cult of violence preached by him and the specific acts to bo done in accordance with it have been mentioned above. Leaflets carrying these instructions were issued and widely circulated throughout the country. There was a secret meeting of a small group at Sardar Griha in Bombay, and it was decided to work underground in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Their programme was to procure arms and ammunition from non-British ports like Goa and Indian States where the Arms Act did not apply. Factories for preparing bombs and other explosive materials were set up at Agra, Gwalior, Kanpur, etc. Nagpur supplied dynamite from its neighbouring mines. Efforts were made to get rifles and guns from North-Western Frontier Province. Enterprising girls freely travelled from one place to another hiding on their persons arms and ammunition.[77] The movement gained momentum after the escape of Jayaprakash Narayan and his colleagues from Hazaribagh jail in October, 1942, when efforts were made to co-ordinate the activities in all the States. Programmes were framed with some reorientation, and in a highly significant document, entitled "The Freedom Struggle Front ", the socialist leaders unfolded their strategy. "The training of workers, the issue of leaflets, news-sheets, slogans, the organisation of contacts, the raising of funds, frequent reviews of progress and issue of directions to the fighting line", were to be the urgent administrative problems of the Freedom Struggle Front.[78] The first circular issued under the signature of Jayaprakash Narayan addressed to "All Fighters for Freedom" justified the use of arms to fight the British in terms of the Bombay resolution.[79] He laid stress on intensive propaganda work among masses—peasants in villages, workers in factories, mines, railways and elsewhere. Then there was work to be done in the "Indian army and services in Native States and on the frontiers of India."[80] Jayaprakash's other appeals were addressed to American officers and soldiers (to desist from shooting Indians), to students, to the peasants and others. The Central Action Committee, consisting of Jayaprakash and some other leaders and a batch of students from Banaras Hindu University, met at Delhi to chalk out a programme of action for the whole of India. Gandhiites like Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani did not endorse the programme and kept out of the struggle.[81] A separate code for sending and receiving information was formed. There was to be a dictator for each province, and in case of larger provinces like Uttar Pradesh, districts were grouped into zones for each of which a dictator was appointed. Agra, Kanpur and Banaras were the zones in Uttar Pradesh. Each dictator had a committee of action under him and in case of the arrest of a dictator, the seniormost member was to take his place. There were several departments as Demonstration, Propaganda, Information, Finance, Intelligence, Volunteer, Village, School and College, Dak, Ambulance, etc., each in charge of a member of the Committee.

Besides issuing the usual exhortatory pamphlets some of which have been appended to the White Paper, 82 and setting up provincial and zonal committees, minute technical instructions were circulated to help saboteurs to destroy planes, tanks, locomotives, etc., with easily obtained substances and methods. There was a separate set of instructions to guerillas and details about the training and equipment were given out in these pamphlets. For the training of Azad Dastas or guerilla bands, a centre was set up outside the British territory at a place known as Bankro Ka Tapu. Sardar Nityanand Singh of Bihar was the chief instructor at this centre while Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia took over the charge of Radio and Publicity Department. 83 Among the revolutionary groups working in different - parts of the country, Siaram Dal and Parasuram Dal in Bihar, 84 Hindustan Socialist Republican Army in Uttar Pradesh, and Anusilan Samiti and Jugantar Group in Bengal were the most important ones. This gigantic revolutionary movement, spread over almost all the provinces, however, soon lost its tempo, and by February, 1943, it was over.

But though the 1942 movement in the open was practically crushed in less than a month and finally collapsed within two months, it would be a mistake to suppose that it was a dismal failure. The violent mass upsurge of 1942 left no doubt that freedom’s battle in India had begun in right earnest. The individual, and in many instances, collective, heroism and bravery in the face of heavy odds, and the readiness to suffer and sacrifice everything for the freedom of the motherland displayed by a very large number of people all over this vast country, and, above all, an enthusiastic response to the call of the Congress from the Himalayas to Cape* Comorin, were unerring signs of India’s grim determination to be

free from the British yoke, and even he who ran could read them. But this does not prove the oft-repeated claim that India won her freedom by the non-violent Satydgraha of Gandhi. For the movement of 1942, the last rising of the people against the British Government, was not non-violent, and was neither planned nor led by Gandhi. To give him credit for it, after he had publicly disowned his responsibility for the whole movement, would be an indirect imputation of untruth and insincerity on his part—a charge which his worst critics would be the foremost to repudiate.

So far as India is concerned the year 1942-3 marks the end of her struggle for freedom. The revolutionary movement which had begun early in this century, as well as the non-violent Satydgraha which Gandhi had launched in 1920, both came to an end, almost simultaneously, without achieving freedom. Curiously enough, the last battle for India's freedom began almost immediately after, far beyond her frontier, and this also proved a failure, in this respect. But it was out of these failures that success came in less than five years. We may therefore now proceed to describe this last fight for India's freedom.

Table caption1. Statement (cf. footnote 1 Chapter XXVII.).

Table captionla. The All-India figures for the sabotages of this kind are given as follows:

Railway Stations damaged or destroyed	.. 250
Post Offices attacked	.. 550
Post Offices burnt	.. 50
Post Offices damaged	.. 200
Telegraph and Telephone wires cut at 3500 places.	
Police Stations burnt .. .. ' ..	.. 70
Other Government buildings	.. 85

Hist. Congr., II. p. 376.

lb. Ibid, p. 375.

2. Hist. Congr., II. pp. 373-4.

3. Nehru-II. p. 427.

4. Vidyarthi, R. S., British Savagery in India, p. 125.

5. India Unreconciled, p. 17.

6. Ibid, pp. 403-4.

7. Nehru-II. p. 431. The official figures for the killed and wounded as quoted by Nehru differ from those given in the preceding para on the authority of the Home Member's statement quoted in Hist. Congr., II. p. 374.

8. Hist. Congr., II. p. 377. For other figures given above, cf. ibid. pp. 373-7.

9. Nehru-II. pp. 427-8; cf. also the statement of Horace Alexander, p. 47.

10. See above, p. 646.

11. Nehru-II, p. 419. The same view is expressed by Jayaprakash Narayan and Sardar Patel (Freedom-India, III. pp. 663, 667-8, 673).

12. Tendulkar (VI, pp. 212-5) reproduces these instructions which are fairly comprehensive and cover three printed pages.

13. Jayaprakash Narayan, Towards Struggle, pp. 25-6.

13a. See p. 648.

13b. See p. 649.

14. Jayaprakash, op. cit., pp. 215-6.

15. Ibid, p. 21.

16. The account that follows is mainly based on unofficial publications mentioned in the bibliography and the footnotes. The authenticity of the details cannot, therefore, be°regarded as absolutely certain. It should be remembered that no authoritative inquiry, private or official, was ever made and we have to depend upon these publications alone.

17. Govind Sahai, pp. 87-8.

18. Ahmadabad, 1858 . Edited by Kapilraj Mehta, Gujarati Publishers, Ahmadabad, 1959, p. 12.

19. Statement.

20. Govind Sahai, p. 134.

21. The account of Bihar is chiefly based upon Freedom-Bihar, Vol. IIIl

22. Ibid, pp. 142-3.

23. India Unreconciled, p. 313.

24. Statement.

25. Govind Sahay, p. 167.

26. See p. 656.

27. Jayaprakash Narayan, Towards Struggle, p. 212.

28. Statement. Also cf. P. N. Chopra, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, pp. 79-82.

29. U.P. Government Press Note, dated 17 August, 1942.

30. India Unreconciled, p, 439.

31. J. M. Deb, Blood and Tears, p. 65.

32. Statement.

33. The Report of the Banaras August 1942 Disturbances Enquiry Committee (Chairman—Abdul Alim, Secretary—Raghunath Singh), page 11 of the manuscript in the A.I.C.C. Library.

34. Tendulkar, VI, p. 225.

35. Deb, op. cit., p. 65.

36. India Unreconciled, pp. 405-6.

37. Vidyarthi, p. 263.

38. Also cf. Deb, p. 65.

39. India Unreconciled, p. 430.

40. IAR, 1942, II. p. 196. It belies the statement of Sultan Ahmad in the Central Assembly (India Unreconciled, p. 416).

41. Freedom—Madhya Pradesh, p. 473.

42. Vidyarthi, p. 107.

43. Proc., Bengal Legislative Assembly, 12 February to March 29, IAR 1943-1, p. 207. For disturbances in Midnapore cf. Freedom-India, III. pp. 653-6.

44. August Revolution and two Years National Government in Midnapore, part 1, Tamluk (Orient Book Company, Calcutta) based oh the report of a nonofficial Committee, p. 24.

45. Chamanlal, Martyrs of India, p. 21; Tarini Sankar Chakravarti, India in Revolt, 1942, Vol. 1 (Bengal and Assam), Calcutta, 1946, pp. 47-8. Also cf. Freedom-India, III. pp. 654-5. On p. 346 of this book the incident has been wrongly included in the disturbances of 1930.

46. For details, about the working of the Jatiya-Sarkar, cf. August Revolution etc. (f.n. 44), pp. 36-40.

47. For details, cf. Report on the Cyclone and Tidal Bore of October, 1942, Vol. I.

48. Ibid, pp. 31-2.

49. For details about loss of life and property, cf. T. S. Chakravarti, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 66-82.

50. Ibid, pp. 150-1.

51. Vidyarthi, p. 270.

52. Govind Sahai, p. 320.

53. Statement.

54. Govind Sahai, p. 339.

55. Quoted in Vidyarthi, p. 205.

56. Ibid, p. 203.

57. Ibid, pp. 278-81; India Unreconciled, pp. 396-7.

58. Govind Sahai, p. 397.

59. Vidyarthi, pp. 273-5.

60. Nehru regretted that "the people forgot the lessons of non-violence which had been dinned into their ears for more than twenty years." (Nehru-II, pp. 427-30). According to Azad "the movement was not confined to nonviolent resistance" (p. 90). For the full statement of Patel, cf. Freedom-India, III. pp. 677-8.

61. This is the view of Diwakar (p. 100).

62. Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi, August 1942-April 1944, (Published by the Government of India (1944) (hereafter referred to as Correspondence), p. 1. Also the Congress statement quoted above on pp. 653-4, and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress dated 11 December, 1945 (Rebel India, p. 206).

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63. Letter to "All Fighters of Freedom," dated 1 September, 1943, (Rebel India,

pp. 194-5).

63a. See fn., 62.

64. Statement.

65. Coupland, II. p. 303.

66. Nehru--II, p. 427.

67. See p. 653.

68. Horace Alexander, p. 44.

69. Correspondence , pp. 8, 9, 11, 12.

70. Coupland II, p. 303, f.n. 1.

71. Freedom-Bihar, III, p. 45. As these resolutions were passed in a meeting presided over by Shri Jagat Narayan Lai, a member of the A.I.C.C., it is difficult to accept the explanation offered by Rajendra Prasad regarding the outbreak of violence in Bihar. According to him, printed leaflets were distributed by the Bihar PCC containing the programme to be followed in case the fight commenced and no leader was available to issue instructions (presumably Circular No. 1 published in Freedom-Bihar, III, pp. 37-40). In the original draft there was an item related to cutting telegraph lines and damaging railway tracks, but Rajendra Prasad 'cut that out' and it was not included in the printed programme. He points out that the statement issued

by tire Government in order to justify the arrest of the Congress leaders outlined the programme which the Congress intended to follow and it included the item of destruction of telegraph lines and railway tracks. The Secretary of State, Mr. Amerv, also mentioned that item as included in the Congress programme. These statements were published in newspapers throughout India. According to Rajendra Prasad the people therefore thought that this item was really part of the Congress programme, and as there was no Congress leader to dissuade them from this erroneous belief they "considered, it to be their duty to implement it as best as they could." (At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi, pp. 290-92). The last sentence is hardly compatible with the resolutions passed at a meeting presided over by a member of the A.I.C.C.

72. Ibid, p. 46.

73. Ibid, pp. 52-3.

74. Ibid, p. 444.

75. The Letter of Jayaprakash addressed to "All Fighters for Freedom". Ibid.

pp. 442-4.

76. P. 49.

77. Freedom-Madhya Pradesh , pp. 474-5.

78. Freedom-Bihar, III, p. 270. For full text, see ibid, 'Appendix I. (pp. 429-35).

-79. Ibid, p. 442. He argues as follows: "Congress is prepared to fight aggression

violently if the country became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves independent, and also named Britain as an aggressive power; we are, therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution itself to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhiji's principle that is not my fault."

89. Ibid, pp. 271-2; also Appendix J, particularly, p. 443.

81. Ibid, pp. 72-3.

82. Statement.

83. Freedom-Bihar, III. pp. 273-4.

84. Ibid, pp. 275-88.

CHAPTER XXIX

SUBHAS BOSE AND I.N.A.

1. BOSE'S FLIGHT TO GERMANY

The failure of the 'Quit India' movement and the collapse of the outbreak of 1942 practically marked the end of the heroic fight for freedom in India under the leadership of the Congress and revolutionary leaders. But it did not end the struggle for India's freedom which now took the shape of a grim fight waged beyond the eastern frontier of India by the Indian National Army led by Subhas Bose in co-operation with the Japanese army invading India. It was not only an interesting incident in the Second World War, but also one of the most important episodes in the long history of the freedom movement in India.

Reference has been made above to the political activities of Bose and how, after twice being elected President of the Indian National Congress, his fundamental differences with Gandhi, in respect of both policy and tactics, forced him to quit the Congress and form a new party known as the Forward Bloc. 1

The British Government naturally looked upon Bose as a dangerous revolutionary, and arrested him on 2 Julv, 1940, under Section 129 of the Defence of India Rules. Even while he was in detention in the Presidency Jail, Calcutta, he was undergoing trials in two criminal suits brought against him by the Government. He decided to go on hunger-strike, and on 26 November, 1940, addressed a letter to the Governor of Bengal and his ministers, two sentences of which read as follows: "The individual must die, so that the nation may live. Today I must die so that India may win freedom and glory." 2 He commenced his fast on 29 November, 1940, but as he developed alarming symptoms the Government released him on 5 December.

After his release Bose remained quietly in his ancestral house in Elgin Road, Calcutta, which was under strict surveillance by the Police. He was last seen there on 16 January, 1941, but ten days later it was reported that he was not to be found in the house. His sudden disappearance long remained a mystery, but his movements are now fairly well-known.

Bose left his home on 17 January, 1941, at about 1-25 a.m. and proceeded by car to Gomoh. Thence he went by Railway

train to Peshawar, and then passing through Jamrud and bypassing the Landikotal Fort, crossed the Indian border and reached Kabul, via Jalalabad, travelling partly on foot, partly in tonga, and partly by motor bus or truck. He then proceeded to Russia with an Italian passport, and on 28 March, 1941, flew from Moscow to Berlin. Bose's journey from Calcutta to Berlin, full of thrilling details, was a historic one, and its nearest parallel is the escape of Shivaji from the clutches of Aurangzeb.

Bose was well received by Ribbentrop, the right-hand man of Hitler, and proposed that (1) he would broadcast anti-British propaganda from Berlin; and (2) raise "Free Indian" units from Indian prisoners of war in Germany; while (3) the Axis Powers would jointly make a Declaration of Indian Independence.

Neither Germany nor Italy agreed to the third proposal, but the other two were accepted. The idea of forming Indian military units got an impetus when Germany declared war against Russia on 22 June, 1941.

Bose had also founded Free India Centres in Rome and Paris and raised the legion to its full strength of 3000. But further activities in Germany were suddenly stopped when Bose heard of the phenomenal success of the Japanese against the British, culminating in the fall of Singapore. He instinctively felt that the Far East would provide a more advantageous base for fight against the British, and his presence was needed there.

II. INDIANS IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

The outbreak of war in the east in 1941 caused a great stirring among the Indians in these regions. Those living in territories freed from European domination organized themselves into associations with the twofold objects of contributing their quota to the liberation of India from the British yoke and serving the interests of the overseas Indians during the critical, transitory period. Such associations were established in a large number of towns, even in villages, and attained great popularity. Out of these associations was born the idea of an Indian Independence League, of which they regarded themselves as branches. A definite shape was given to this idea by the great Indian revolutionary, Rash-behari Bose, whose early activities in India have been referred to above. 3 He had fled to Japan in June 1915, 3a married a Japanese girl, and became a Japanese citizen. But he never ceased to work for his motherland, and it was mainly due to his inspiration and efforts that a conference was held at Tokyo from 28 to 30 March, 1942, for the discussion of political issues.

The Tokyo Conference passed a resolution to form an Indian National Army. An Indian Independence League of overseas Indians was provisionally established throughout Japanese Asia, and it was decided to hold a fully representative conference of Indians at Bangkok in June.

This Conference was held in Bangkok from 15 to 23 June, 1942. It was attended bv about 100 delegates from Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, Philippines, Japan, China, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Hong Kong and Andamans. Rash-behari Bose was elected Chairman.

The tricolour flag was raised by Rash-behari Bose, and the Conference formally inaugurated the Indian Independence League (I.I.L.) with a definite constitution. The object of the League was defined to be the attainment of complete and immediate independence of India. The Conference passed altogether thirty-five resolutions, including one inviting Subhas Bose to East Asia.

In the meantime the nucleus of an Indian National Army had come into being. In December, 1941, when the Japanese invaded North Malaya and defeated the British forces there, Captain Mohan Singh and a small party with him, wandering in the forest, surrendered to the Japanese. He was taken to Bangkok by Giani Pritam Singh, a holy man who had set up an association there for the independence of India, of the type described above.

Both Giani Pritam Singh and Major Fuzihara, a Japanese military officer, tried to induce Mohan Singh to work for the independence of India. After a great deal of discussion Mohan Singh yielded to their persuasions. After the fall of Singapore on 15 February, 1942, Col. Hunt, on behalf of the British Government, handed over 40,000 4 Indian prisoners of war to Major Fujiwara, representative of the Japanese Government, who, in his turn, handed them over to Capt Mohan Singh. Mohan Singh now asked for volunteers from among the prisoners to join the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) or Azad Hind Fauz to be organized by him to fight, along with the Japanese army, against the British in order to drive the latter from India. Many of them joined the I.N.A., but many refused to do so. By the end of August, 1942, forty thousand prisoners of war signed a pledge to join the Indian National Army under Mohan Singh. A number of young men, without any previous military training, also volunteered their services, and a military camp was opened for training them.

Captain Mohan Singh attended the Bangkok Conference, mentioned above, which adopted the following resolutions, among others:

1. That an Indian National Army be formed comprising the Indian troops and civilians of East Asia. Capt. Mohan Singh would be the Commander-in-Chief of this 'Army of Liberation' for India. The Indian Independence League would make arrangements for the supply of men, material, and money required by the Indian National Army, and would request the Japanese Government to supply the necessary arms and equipment, ships and aeroplanes required by the Indian National Army which would be commanded entirely by Indian officers and would fight only for the liberation of India.

2. That a Council of Action be established for carrying out all necessary actions in connection with the independence movement and prosecution of the War of Independence. 5

Rash-behari Bose was elected the President and Mohan Singh, one of the four members, took up the portfolio of the Army as well as the position of the Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st September, 1942, the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) was formally established. The Military Department was organized with almost all its branches. Arrangements were also made for an intensive training of the men of I.N.A. To the normal physical training of the soldiers was added a type of mental training in order to rouse their national spirit and patriotism. For this purpose arrangement was made for lectures on national history with special reference to the condition of India under British rule. The trainees were urged to free their motherland from the foreign yoke and exhorted to adopt the three principles laid down by the Indian Independence League, viz., unity, faith and sacrifice. 6

Unfortunately, the progress of work was hampered by internal dissensions, 7 and as soon as Subhas Bose arrived at Singapore, Rash-behari Bose surrendered his power and position to him.

III. SUBHAS BOSE IN THE EAST

Subhas Bose accepted the invitation of the Bangkok Conference, and on 8 February, 1943, accompanied by Abid Hassan (founder of the Indian legion at Frankenburg), left Kiel in a German U-boat. The boat made a wide detour in the Atlantic to avoid the British ships, and met the Japanese submarine 129, which, by previous arrangement, was waiting at a place four hundred miles S.S.W. of Madagascar. On 28 April Bose and his colleague were transferred by a rubber dinghy to the Japanese submarine which took them across the Indian Ocean to Sumatra. They were met by a Japanese officer and arrived at Tokyo on 13 June, 1943.

Bose was received by Tojo on the day after his arrival. The Japanese Premier was frank; whether India were invaded or not

she would come under Japanese control on the defeat of the British. But Japan had no demands to make on her beyond the necessities of war, and intended her to be independent. Bose was encouraged in his project of a Provisional Government which would take com trol of Indian territory as the Japanese forces moved on; he then heard Tojo make a declaration about India in the Diet:

“Japan is firmly resolved to extend all means in order to help to expel and eliminate from India the Anglo-Saxon influences which are the enemy of the Indian people, and enable India to achieve full independence in the true sense of the term.” 8

Subhas Bose spoke from Tokyo, over the Radio, his determination to launch an armed fight against the British from India’s eastern borders. The overseas Indians were thrilled with delight at the prospect of participating in this great venture. When Bose arrived at Singapore on 2 July, 1943, he was welcomed with tumultuous enthusiasm by an immense surging crowd who instinctively felt that at last the Man of Destiny had come to lead them on as victors to liberate their own motherland. On 4 July, Rash-behari Bose handed over the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to Subhas Bose, and the latter took over the Presidentship of the I.I.L. and the supreme command of the I.N.A. in the presence of five thousand Indians who represented thirty lakhs of Indian nationals spread all over East Asia. He was hailed as Netaji —the supreme leader—as in Germany, and henceforth he was always referred to by this honorific title. Netaji revealed to the gathering his decision to form a Provisional Government of Free India and to lead the Indian National Army towards India. Next day, he reviewed the Indian National Army and gave it the rousing war cries of “Chalo Delhi” (March to Delhi) and “Total Mobilisation”.

Immediately after taking over the leadership of the movement Netaji put through a comprehensive plan of reorganization and expansion of the League with a view to achieving these two goals. There was a thorough reorganization of Recruitment and Training Departments. Training Camps were opened for men as well as women, 9 commands, orders and instructions being given in Hindustani. After about six months of intensive training the recruits were- absorbed into the I.N.A. 10 Netaji also organized the civil departments that were already functioning at the headquarters and added new ones. 11

Having thus made a good start Netaji inaugurated the Provisional Government. Delegates from all over Asia were summoned to Singapore. After discussing the matter with them Netaji summoned a public meeting at Cathay Hall on 21 October, 1943. There,

before an almost hysteric crowd who stormed the precincts of the

Cathay Ilall and presented indescribable scenes of overpowering feelings and emotions, Netaji read his famous Proclamation setting up the Provisional Government of Free India at Singapore. 12

On 23 October, the Provisional Government, at a Cabinet meeting, decided to declare war on Britain and U.S.A. The declaration was broadcast over radio by Bose himself and San Francisco Radio communicated it to the world.

In a few days, nine world powers—Japan, Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma, Thailand, Nationalist China, the Philippines and Manchuria—accorded their recognition to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind.

“On the 28th of October, Netaji flew to Tokyo where he attended the Greater East Asia Conference in the first week of November, and was received by the Japanese Emperor with all honours due to the Head of the State and the Provisional Government of Free India.

“At the Greater East Asia Conference, Premier Tojo announced on the 6th November, 1943, that Japan had decided to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind. Thus the Provisional Government acquired its first stretch of territory in Free India.” 1 '

IV. I.N.A's FIGHT FOR INDIA’S FREEDOM 1. The status of I.N.A.

There was no doubt in the mind of Netaji and his followers that the main task of the Provisional Government was to take part in the Japanese offensive campaign against British India. Steps were accordingly taken to equip the I.N.A. properly for this purpose. But an unexpected difficulty presented itself at the very beginning. When Netaji first raised the question of I.N.A. participating in the proposed Japanese campaign against Imphal (in Manipur, India), Field-Marshal Count Terauchi, the Commander of all the Japanese forces in South-East Asia, expressed unwillingness to accept the proposal. Its soldiers, he said, had been demoralized by defeat in Malaya; they could not stand up to the rigours of a Japanese campaign, and would have an irresistible compulsion to cross over to their old friends and easier circumstances. He proposed that the Japanese Army should do all that was necessary to liberate India, that Bose himself should assist by enlisting the goodwill and co-operation of the Indian population, that the main part of the I.N.A. should be left in Singapore, and that only espionage and propaganda groups should be used in the field.

This proposal, which virtually meant that Netaji should merely play the role of a fifth columnist, gave a rude shock to him. He made a proud and dignified reply. “Any liberation of India secured through Japanese sacrifices/’ he said, “is worse than slavery.” He talked about the national honour of India, insisted that Indians must make the maximum contribution of blood and sacrifice themselves, and urged that the I.N.A. be allowed to form the spearhead of the coming offensive. Terauchi at last consented to the employment of one regiment as a trial. If this regiment came up to Japanese standard the rest of the army would be sent into action.[14] He also agreed that some I.N.A. troops should remain attached to the different units of the Japanese army as irregulars.[15]

2. General Plan and Military Operations

After the main issue was thus settled, Netaji decided to raise a new brigade by selecting the best soldiers from the other three brigades, named after Gandhi, Azad, and Nehru, and that this brigade should go into action first. The regiment was raised at Taiping in Malaya, in September, 1943, and Shahnawaz Khan was appointed its commander. The soldiers themselves called it Subhas Brigade much against the will of Bose.

On 24 January, 1944, General Katakura, Chief of the Japanese General Staff in Burma, met Netaji and Shahnawaz and discussed, behind closed doors, the general strategy of the impending campaign against India, and the role that had been assigned in it to the I.N.A. Thereupon the Subhas Brigade was placed, for purposes of operations only, under the direct command of Japanese General Headquarters in Burma. The role allotted to the Subhas Brigade was as follows:

Battalion No. 1 was to proceed via. Prome to the Kaladan Valley in Arakan. The Battalions Nos. 2 and 3 were to proceed via Mandalay and Kalewa to the Chin Hill areas of Haka and Falam.

On 4 February, 1944, the 1st Battalion of the Subhas Brigade left Rangoon by train for Prome. From Prome they marched on foot and arrived at Kyauktaw (in Akyab) on the Kaladan river, suffering casualties on the way from aerial bombing of the enemy. Here they formed the base in the middle of March, 1944, and inflicted a defeat upon the much-praised Negro troops from West Africa in the British army, while engaged in constructing a bridge over the Kaladan. 16

The Indian battalion, reinforced by Japanese troops, then advanced along both the banks of the Kaladan for about fifty miles north to Paletwa. After a severe fight they captured it and also

another place, Daletme. in the neighbourhood. From Daletme they could see the frontier of India forty miles to the west, and were very eager to reach it. The nearest British post on the Indian side was Mowdok, about fifty miles to the east of Cox Bazar. It was captured by a surprise attack during night (May, 1944) and the enemy fled in panic leaving large quantities of arms, ammunitions and rations. “The entry of the I.N.A. on Indian territory was a most touching scene. Soldiers laid themselves flat on the ground and passionately kissed the sacred soil of their motherland which they had set out to liberate. A regular flag-hosting ceremony was held amidst great rejoicing and singing of the Azad Hind Fauz National Anthem.” 17

On account of the difficulty of supply as well as impending counter-attack by the British forces, the Japanese forces decided to withdraw from Mowdok and advised the I.N.A. commander to do the same. The I.N.A. officers with one voice refused to do so. “No, Sir”, they told their Commander, “the Japanese can retreat because Tokyo lies that way; our goal—the Red Fort, Delhi—lies ahead, of us. We have orders to go to Delhi. There is no going back for us.” 18

The Commanding Officer of the I.N.A. thereupon decided to leave one Company under the command of Capt. Suraj Mai at Mowdok to guard the flag and withdraw the remainder. The Japanese, admiring the spirit—almost a suicidal role—-of the I.N.A. men, left one platoon of their own troops to share the fate of the Indians. These Japanese troops were put under direct command of Capt. Suraj Mai. “It was probably the first time in the history of the Japanese army that their troops had been placed under command of a foreign officer.” 19 Evidently moved by this heroic sacrifice and the brilliant record of the I.N.A. men, “the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Burma went to Netaji, and bowing before him, said: “Your Excellency, we were wrong. We misjudged the soldiers of the I.N.A. We know now that they are no mercenaries, but real patriots.” 10

Capt. Suraj Mai and his band of heroic fighters stayed at Mowdok from May to September, 1944. During this period they were constantly attacked by the British forces but always succeeded in repulsing them.

The 2nd and the 3rd Battalion took ever the charge of Falam and Haka from the Japanese. The area was infested by British guerilla forces, and the I.N.A., by sudden attacks, inflicted severe defeats upon them. Some of their exploits were highly creditable. Special mention may be made of the rout of Major Manning’s forces at

Klankhua, the successful defence of the post on the Klang Klang Road by 20 men of the I.N.A. against 100, and the capture of the British stronghold at Klang Klang.

The Japanese were satisfied of the military skill and efficiency of the I.N.A., and issued instructions “that the main body of the Brigade would proceed to Kohima and would be prepared, on the fail of Imphal, to advance rapidly and cross the Brahmaputra into the heart of Bengal/’ 21 Accordingly, about 150 and 300 men of the I.N.A, were left, respectively at Haka and Faiam, and the rest marched towards Kohima, the capital of the Naga Hills in Assam. It had been already captured by the Japanese forces accompanied by small detachments of I.N.A. who hoisted the tricolour flag on the hill tops. 22 But by the end of May when the regular I.N.A. troops arrived, the military position of the Japanese forces in the area had changed for the worse. A few 7 days later the Japanese forces, and the I.N.A. with them, had to withdraw 7 to the east bank of the Chindwin river. Thus ended the career of - the Subhas Brigade.

The Gandhi Brigade was ordered to proceed towards Imphal which was besieged by the Japanese forces. Its fall w 7 as supposed by both sides to be impending, and a severe fight was going on along the Tamu-Palel road leading to Imphal. The Gandhi Brigade was instructed to carry out guerilla activity against the enemy forces and won several victories, the most memorable operation being the successful defence of the height around Mythun Khunou by 600 I.N.A. men against a whole British Brigade, 3,000 strong, supported by heavy artillery and aeroplanes. This happened in June, 1944, but shortly after this the position of the Japanese forces changed for the worse for failure to take Imphal.

Three special auxiliary units of the I.N.A. were attached to the Japanese force attacking Imphal. These crossed the IndoBurma frontier and planted the national Tricolour flag for the first time on the liberated Indian soil on 19 March, 1944. There was tremendous enthusiasm and the Indian troops vied with one another to be the first to set foot on the free Indian soil. On the same day, Tojo, the Prime Minister of Japan, stated in the Diet that the Provisional Government of Azad Hind w 7 ouid administer the occupied territory. 23

As mentioned,above, the Japanese w 7 ere somewhat over-sanguine about the capture of Imphal at an early date. Possibly the idea was due to the easy capture of Singapore, and w 7 ould most probably have been realized but for the entanglements of the Japanese with the Americans in the Pacific. The Japanese had to withdraw their aeroplanes from the Indo-Burma border to the Pacific zone, and this

enabled the British to bring full one division by air from the Arakans. The Japanese calculation was that they would capture Imphal by the middle of May at the latest, and then the advent of monsoon would make British counter-attack impossible, enabling the Japanese to consolidate their position and, if possible, to cross the Brahmaputra into Bengal and Bihar. But the monsoon started before the fall of Imphal, and by the end of June, 1944, it became almost impossible to supply rations and ammunition to the forces besieging Imphal. This, together with the constantly increasing pressure of the British reinforcements-—thanks to the absence of Japanese aeroplanes—forced the Japanese, and the I.N.A. along with them, to withdraw to the east bank of the Chindwin.

Summing up the whole situation, Shahnawaz Khan, the Commander of the Subhas Brigade, writes:

“Thus ended the main I.N.A. and Japanese offensive which had been started in March, 1944. During this period the I.N.A., with much inferior equipments and an extremely poor supply system, was able to advance as much as 150 miles into Indian territory. While the I.N.A. was on the offensive, there was not a single occasion on which our forces were defeated on the battlefield, and there was never an occasion when the enemy, despite their overwhelming superiority in men and material, was able to capture any post held by the I.N.A. On the other hand, there were very few cases where I.N.A. attacked British posts and failed to capture them. In these operations the I.N.A. lost nearly 4000 men as killed alohe.” 24

3. The Last Phase

The British began their counter-offensive in the cold season of 1944-45. Arakan was cleared of enemy troops and the British advanced towards Burma. The Japanese retreated. Rangoon, which was left in the hands of the I.N.A. after its evacuation by the Japanese, w T as occupied by the British early in May, 1945. The I.N.A. men were disarmed and made prisoners. The Indian Independence Movement in South-East Asia collapsed.

Netaji left Burma in the hope of renewing the fight—a hope that was never to be realized. It is unnecessary to describe in detail his “historic twenty-one-day trek over three hundred miles from Rangoon to Bangkok, his flight to Singapore to carry on nonstop broadcasting campaign addressed to India against the Wavell offer in June-July (1945), the Japanese surrender of mid-August, and finally his last flight from (Bangkok via) Saigon.” 23 After that there is a blank.

Netaji left Bangkok with a single companion in a twin-engined Japanese bomber carrying senior Japanese officers to Tokyo via Dairen in Manchuria. It arrived safely at Taipei iTaihoku) in Formosa at about 2 p.m. on 18 August. After lunch it left Taipei. This is all that is definitely known. What happened after this is uncertain. The Japanese official version, issued at the time, was that almost immediately after the plane had taken off, it caught fire. .Netaji, badly burnt, somehow came out of the plane, and was removed to a hospital where he died that very night, between 8 and 9 p.m. This story was discredited in .India from the very beginning. The Government of Free India evidently shared the suspicions of the public and appointed a Committee of Inquiry. The majority of the members held that the official version was substantially correct, but one member—-the elder brother of Netaji —disagreed and pointed out many serious flaws in the method of inquiry. 26 There the matter rests, and the end of this valiant fighter for freedom is shrouded in mystery.

Very few outside the official circles attached any importance to the report of the Committee of Inquiry which did not take the evidence of the fellow-passengers of Netaji, nor visited the aerodrome of Taipei where the accident is supposed to have occurred. A few years later, Satya Narain Sinha visited the site and met at least one official who was there on 18 August, 1945, the day of the accident. Sinha was convinced by his testimony as well as the records that no plane accident occurred there on that date. Pursuing his inquiry with admirable energy and patience, he could trace definitely the further progress of Netaji’s journey. The result of this inquiry may be summed up as follows:

Netaji’s plane halted at Taipei for refuelling and took off for Dairen (in Manchuria) at 14:30 hours on 18th August. He arrived safely at Dairen and stayed there in disguise even after it was occupied by the Russians. But his identity was discovered by the Russian officers. He was looked upon as a friend and partisan of the German Nazis and was transported to Siberia. No further information could be gathered by Sinha about Netaji’s life behind the iron curtain.

The truth of Sinha’s story has not been tested by either the Government of India or any other public body, though it regularly appeared in the Sunday issues of the Hindusihan Standard, Calcutta, in April, 1965. A large section of Indians believe that Netaji certainly did not die at Taipei, and is probably still alive.[27]

In spite of failure, the I.N.A. occupies an important place in the history of India's struggle for freedom. The formation of this force and its heroic exploits proved beyond doubt that the British could no longer rely upon the Indian sepoys to maintain their hold on India. The universal sympathy expressed all over India for the I.N.A. officers, when they were tried for treason in the Red Fort at Delhi, gave a rude shock to the British, inasmuch as it clearly demonstrated that Indians of all shades of opinion put a premium on the disloyalty of the Indian troops to their foreign masters and looked upon it as a true and welcome sign of nationalism. The honour and esteem with which every Indian regarded the members of the I.N.A. offered a striking contrast to the ill-concealed disgust and contempt for those sepoys who refused to join the I.N.A. and remained true to their salt. Incredible though it may seem, it is none the less true, that even the stories of oppression and torture suffered by the latter for their loyalty evoked no sympathy for them in the hearts of the Indians who remained absolutely unmoved. All these opened the eyes of the British to their perilous situation in India. They realized that they were sitting on the brink of a volcano which might erupt at any moment. As will be shown later, this consideration played an important role in their final decision to quit India. So the members of the I.N.A. did not die or suffer in vain, and their leader, Netaji Subhas Bose, has secured a place of honour in the history of India's struggle for freedom.

(This chapter is based mainly on the following books and articles to which reference is made in the footnotes by the lame of the author.)

1. I.N.A. and Its Netaji, by Maj-Gen. Shahnaivaz Khan (Delhi, 1946).

2. Subhas Chandra Bose (The Springing Tiger), by Hugh Toye (Bombay, 1957).

3. India r s Struggle for Freedom , by A, C. Chatterji.

Articles.

1. S. A. Ayer, The Indian Independence Movement in East Asia, Netaji Research Bureau, Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 1, July, 1961, pp. 2-16.

2. John A. Thivy, A Short Sketch of the Indian Independence Movement, Hanoi, 1945 (unpublished). Reference in the footnotes is 1o a typed copy kindly lent by the Netaji Research Bureau, Calcutta.)

1. See p. 571.

2. Subhas Chandra Bose, Crossroads , pp. 342-3.

3. See pp. 226-7,

3a. He left in a Japanese vessel on 12 May 1915 under a faked passport in the name of P. N. Tagore and reached Tokyo early in June. For his subsequent activities, cf. K. C. Ghosh, The Roll of Honour, pp. 568 ff. and J, G. Oshawa, The Two Great Indians in Japan.

4. Toye (p. 7) gives the number as 45,000.

5. Chatterji, pp. 20-1.

6. Ibid, pp. 35, 42-3.

7. For details, cf. Ibid, pp. 48-50; Freedom-India, HI. pp, 707-B,

8. Toye, p. 79.

9. Women volunteered in large number and formed the Jhansi Regiment.

10. For details, cf. Chatterji, pp. 120-9.

11. Freedorn-India, III. pp. 711-12.

12. Ibid, pp. 712-3; Ayer, p. 7.

13. Ayer, pp. 8-9,

14. Shahnawaz, pp. 99-100; Toye, pp. 83, 85.

15. For the functions and duties of the different sections of these, cf. Freedom India, III, pp. 716-7; Chatterji, p. 38.

16. No official account of the fight between the British forces and I.N.A. is available. The account that follows is mainly based on Shahnawaz's book. For a more detailed account cf. Freedom-India, III. pp. 717-737.

17. Shahnawaz, p. 116.

18. Ibid, p. 118.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid, p. 134.

22. Chatterji, p. 80.

23. Toye, pp. 102, 107, Chatter ji (p. 183) gives the date as 4 February which seems to be wrong. Netaji's Special Order of the Day, dated 1st January, 1945, and Tojo's statement, quoted at the end of the para, support the date 19 March.

24. Shahnawaz, p. 159.

25. Ayer, p. 11.

26. A Committee was appointed by the Government of India ‘‘to enquire into and report to the Government of India on the circumstances concerning the departure of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Bangkok about the 16th August, 1945, his alleged death as result of an aircraft accident and subsequent developments connected therewith.” Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose, who was a member of this Committee, wrote a long dissentient Report and published it separately. The

Chairman, Shahnawaz Khan, the Commander of the Subhas, Brigade and one of the I.N.A. officers tried in the Red Fort, Delhi, and then a Parliamentary Secretary, and other members of the Committee held that Netaji's death was established.

27. It is regarded by many as very significant that in spite of Jawaharlal Nehru's admission that there was no conclusive evidence about the death of Netaji, the positive statement made by Satya Narain Sinha, who held a responsible post under the Government of India, that the alleged accident at Taipei is disproved by the evidence he collected at that aerodrome, and the persistent public demand that at least this fact might be verified by the Government of India—-which could be easily done—nothing has been done so far to clear the mystery of the end of one of the greatest heroes in the struggle for India's freedom.

CHAPTER XXX

THE NON-CONGRESS POLITICAL PARTIES

1. THE MUSLIM LEAGUE 1 . Gandhi and Savarkar on the Muslim Claim

For some time before the Bombay meeting of the A.I.C.C., Gandhi had made an effort to settle matters with the Muslim League. But it is difficult to follow the trends of his thought which appear to be often quite contradictory. Thus he wrote on 15 June; 1940: "There are only two parties —the Congress and those who side with the Congress, and the parties who do not. Between the two there is no meeting ground without the one or the other surrendering its purpose, . . .It is an illusion created by ourselves that we must come to an agreement with all parties before we can make any progress." 1 But in April, 1942, a few days after the departure of Cripps, he once again realized that "attainment of independence is an impossibility till we have solved the Communal tangle." 2 And he involved himself in a further contradiction when he said that the communal problem won't be solved so long as the British did not leave India. Similarly, although he looked upon Indian unity as a sheet anchor of his policy and would not brook the very idea of partitioning it, he wrote in April, 1942:

"If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with the Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition, unless Hindus want to fight against such a division. So far as I can see, such a preparation is silently going on, on behalf of both parties. That way lies suicide." 3

Far more astounding was his approval, on 2 August, 194*2, of Azad ? s statement that he had no objection to British handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party, provided it was real independence, since, as he pointed out, no single party could function properly without the co-operation of other parties. 3a Finally, a few hours before his arrest, Gandhi wrote to a Muslim business man in Bombay: "Provided the Muslim

League co-operated fully with the Congress demand for immediate independence without the slightest reservation, subject of course to the proviso that independent India will permit the operations of the Allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus help both China and Russia, the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it to-day exercises to the Muslim League on behalf of the whole of India. And the Congress will not only not obstruct any government that the Muslim League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government in running the machinery of the Free State." 4

But he did not wait for Jinnah's reaction to such a proposal before passing the final 'Quit India* resolution at Bombay on 8 August, 1942. In any case, Jinnah did not attach much importance to this belated offer. Immediately after the arrest of the Congress leaders he issued a statement "deeply regretting that the Congress had declared war on the Government, regardless of all interests other than its own, and appealing to Moslems to keep completely aloof from the movement," 5

The League Working Committee, which met at Bombay on 20 August, interpreted the action of the Congress as a move to coerce the Government as well as the Muslims to submit to the demands of the Congress, whose sole objective had been to secure power for itself and establish the Hindu raj. The resolution assured the Government of Muslim support provided the Government pledged themselves to carry the Pakistan scheme into effect. The Council of the League also made an appeal to the United Nations:

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declarations of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world, the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations to the demand of 100 millions of Muslims of India to establish sovereign States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority." 6 The resolution stressed the fact "that as the Muslims of India were a nation and not a minority, they w r ere entitled to autonomous homelands in the areas in the north-west and north-east where they were in a majority.” 7

Rajagopalachari renewed 7 ® his plea for the acceptance of the scheme of Pakistan by the Hindus, but without success. The Hindu press did not support him, nor did he receive encouragement from Jinnah or Ambedkar. The Hindu Mahasabha, which now dominated Hindu politics in the absence of the Congress, opposed the scheme of Pakistan as strongly as ever. In its annual meeting held in December at Kanpur, the President, Savarkar, spoke in bitter and provocative language: “The Moslems* duty,** he said, “was allegiance to the nation. Their rights and responsibilities were the same as those of other minorities, and they would be similarly

represented on a democratic basis at the Centre. But the ‘outrage ous and treacherous’ demand for Pakistan would not be tolerated. What nation would hand over its strongest frontiers to ‘the very people who have seceded from the central State and who have been cherishing a hereditary desire to dominate the whole State’? There must be no secession, no right of Provincial self-determination. Such claims would be put down as treason by the united strength of the Central Government just as a movement for ‘Negrostan’ would be punished by the American nation.”* The mantle of the Congress fighting for freedom now fell on the Mahasabha, and Savarkar and other leaders disapproved of the policy of the Congress and asked their followers not to give any active support to it. 9

2. Muslim League Ministries

The outburst of the Hindu Mahasabha served to strengthen the power and influence of the Muslim JLeague. This is clearly proved by the establishment of League Ministry in Bengal, Assam, Sind, and N.W.F.P.

In Bengal the Muslim League Party was gaining strength at the cost of Fazlul Huq’s Progressive Coalition Party which, as mentioned above, 10 was considerably weakened by the resignation of Shyama-prasad Mookerjee in November, 1942. In the triennial election to the Legislative Council, Huq’s Party lost to the League all the six seats directly elected. Huq had incurred the displeasure of Jinnah, and was expelled from the Muslim League. It appears that taking advantage of the situation, the

Muslim League, in collusion with the Governor of Bengal, Sir John Herbert, manoeuvred the downfall of Huq. On 24 March, 1943, Huq’s government defeated a hostile motion on the Budget by 116 votes to 87. Three days later, on 27 March, another similar motion was also defeated, though by a smaller majority,—109 votes to §§, But on the very next day, 28 March, the Governor sent for Fazlul Huq and placed before him a typed letter of resignation for his signature. Immediately after leaving the Governor, Huq told a friend, waiting for him in his car, that he was cajoled and threatened into signing the letter. 11

There was a general impression that the Governor was forced to take this extraordinary and unconstitutional step at the pressure of the European group in Calcutta who were openly aligned with the Muslim League. The resignation of Huq. which was immediately accepted by the Governor, created a deadlock in the Assembly, which the Governor had either not foreseen or deliberately planned in order to get power in his own hands. When Fazlul Huq announced in the Assemble on 29 Marc!) !h;d be had resigned, and that the Governor had accepted his resignation, the Speaker of the Assembly, maintaining that the Ministry had ceased to exist, adjourned the House for a fortnight. The Budget for 1943-44 had not yet been passed, and as there was no means to get it passed before the end of the financial year, the Governor took over the administration of the Province. On 24 April, 1943, Sir K. Nazimuddin formed a Ministry which was mainly composed of the members of the Muslim League.

When the Congress Ministry resigned in Assam, Muhammad Saadullah formed a coalition Ministry. But in “December 1941, Rohini Kumar Choudhurv. Education Minister in Assam, resigned his office and formed a new party. This brought about the downfall of the Saadullah Ministry, and the administration was taken over by the Governor. Rohini Kumar Choudhury felt that he could form a ministry, but it would have to depend on the votes of the Congress for its stability. The refusal of two successive Governors to accept a ministry that depended for its support on a party which refused to co-operate in the war effort, destroyed Choudhury’s hopes/’ 12 Saadullah, after prolonged negotiations, secured the support of the European members of the Assembly, “Ultimately, in August, 1942, the Governor revoked the Section 93 proclamation and Sir Muhammad Saadullah took office with a majority. The internment of about half the number of Congress members of the Assembly by the end of that year, made his position secure for the time being.” 13

In N.W.F. Province the Muslim League leader Aurangzeb Khan, succeeded in establishing a League Ministry on 25 May, 1943. He “obtained a promise of Support from 20 Muslim members. There were 50 seats in all in the Assembly, of which 22 belonged to the Congress Party; but ten of the Congress members were in prison, while seven seats were vacant. Aurangzeb Khan formed a cabinet of live ministers, as against four in the previous cabinet, and by so doing was able to obtain an additional following.” 14

In Sindh, the Prime Minister, Allah Baksh, assumed a peculiar attitude after the Congress Revolt of 8 August, 1942. He offered co-operation with the Centre in war-efforts like the premiers of other non-Congress Provinces, but openly exhibited his sympathy for the Congress. He renounced his title of Khan Bahadur and his O.B.E. as tokens of British imperialism and wrote to the Viceroy:

“The policy of the British Government has been to continue their imperialistic hold on India and to persist in keeping her under subjection, to use political and communal differences for propaganda purposes, and to crush national forces to serve their own imperialistic aims and intentions.”

A few days later, on 8 October, Mr. Allah Baksh made' a still more outspoken attack on British policy. “The responsibility for plunging the country into chaos must lie with the British Government .... Instead of winning the friendship and alliance of India, the Government has launched a campaign of repression and terror.” 15 On the analogy of the Congress Provinces; Allah Baksh should have resigned, but he refused to do so. Thereupon the Governor dismissed him on the ground that he no longer possessed his confidence. This gave a handle to the ex-Premier’s remark: “A Premier remains a Premier, only if he has the confidence of the Governor and not merely if he has the confidence of the legislature.”

The Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to form a Ministry. He was the first Premier in Sindh in 1937-8, and also Home Minister in the ’preceding Ministry. He formed a coalition Government in October, 1942, consisting of two members of the Muslim League and two Hindus, who resigned from the Hindu Independent Party. The sympathizers of the Congress picketed the houses of the two Hindu ministers and, on 26 October, 1942, a bomb exploded near one of them. By the end of the year both the Premier and the Independent Muslim members joined the Muslim League.

The Ministry, which was now virtually a Muslim League Ministry, was safely entrenched. There was hardly any effective opposition party, and the Legislative Assembly passed on 3 March a resolution similar to the Pakistan resolution of the Lahore session of the Muslim League in 1940.

“This resolution, the first of its kind to be passed in a Provincial legislature, was supported by 24 votes. Three votes were cast against it, being those of the two Hindu Ministers and the Hindu Parliamentary Secretary. The ‘Non-official Hindu’ or Congress group of seven walked out. The two representatives of the British community did not vote.” 16

Although the Punjab Ministry had not yet gone definitely into the Muslim League camp, the sudden death of its premier, Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, on 26 December, 1942, considerably strengthened the hands of Jinnah. Sir Sikandar w ? as a consistent upholder of Indian unity as against Jinnah’s scheme of Pakistan. Even after the Congress revolt of August, 1942, when cry for Pakistan rose to the highest pitch, Sikandar Hyat Khan drew up a tentative plan for the solution of the communal problem. “His scheme provided that, in the absence of a 75 per cent, majority of members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in favour of either accession or nonaccession to the Indian Federation, the Muslim community should be given an opportunity of deciding on non-accession by means of a referendum; if they so decided, the non-Muslim portions of the Punjab should, by a similar referendum, be accorded the right to cut themselves adrift from the province. If it actually came to the point where non-Muslims decided to break adrift, it would mean (assuming the unit concerned to be a district) that the Arnbala division and a large part of the Jullundur division and also the Amritsar district, would cease to belong to the Punjab. If a smaller unit such as the tehsil were to be taken, at least a very large part of the areas mentioned, and possibly certain others, would disappear from the province. In either case a disastrous dismemberment of the Punjab would be involved. The underlying idea of Sikandar's scheme was to bring home to all reasonably-minded men that if it should ever eventuate, Pakistan would smash the Punjab as it existed. He was, however, dissuaded by the Viceroy from publishing or proceeding with his scheme." 17

The Unionist Party of Sikandar Hyat Khan, based on the principle of coalition, survived the shock of his sudden death. Malik Khizr Hyat Khan Tiwana, a Minister in the old Cabinet, became the Premier on 31 December, 1942, and all the old Ministers (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh) continued, save that Sikandar Hyat's place was taken by his son. The position of the new Ministry was. on the face of it, as strong as before. The Punjab was not affected by the disturbances of 1942, but there was little justification for Jinnah's claim that it was under a Muslim League Government.

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3. Two Viceroys on Muslim demands

The influence of the Muslim League had been thus increasing by leaps and bounds, and Jinnah exercised supreme authority over it in the region that was to constitute Pakistan, with the single exception of the Punjab. But Jinnah could not but be nervous when two successive Viceroys emphasized the need of the political unity of India, When Pakistan became a live issue in Indian politics, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in his Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on 17 December, 1942, went out of his way to stress the geographical unity of India, adding that a divided India could not carry the weight that it ought to carry, nor could it make its way in the world with a confident expectation of success. 18 This statement roused great indignation among the followers of Muslim League, and spurred them to fresh activity. At the Karachi session of the League in December, 1943, they adopted a new slogan, 'Divide and Quit', presumably as a counterpart of Gandhi's 'Quit India'. The League resolved “to establish a ‘Committee of Action’ to organize Muslims all over India to resist the imposition of a unitary constitution and to prepare for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan,” But undaunted by any such threat, Lord Wavell, who succeeded Linlithgow as Viceroy, repeated the latter’s view in his first political speech, namely, his address to the joint session of the Central Legislature on 17 February, 1944. He observed: “You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit. That two communities and even two nations can make arrangements to live together in spite of differing cultures or religions, history provides many examples.”

This provoked the Muslim League’s official organ to remark: “This drawing in of geography without reference to history and psychology, is a poor compliment to Lord Waveil’s gift of statesmanship”^

II. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Next to the Muslim League, the Communist Party of India (CPI) was fast growing to be the most powerful political organization outside the Congress. Its origin and history up to the Meerut Conspiracy Case has been discussed above. 20 The effect of this case upon CPI was twofold. On the one hand, the prolonged trial of the Communist leaders from 1929 to 1933 gained for them wide sympathy of the Indian nationalists. Jawaharlal Nehru and Ansari joined the Committee set up to arrange for the defence of the communists under trial; even Gandhi visited them in jail and offered encouragement. More important still was the publicity and propaganda value of the longdrawn trial which the Communists fully exploited. 21

On the other hand, the CPI suffered a heavy blow, at least for the time being, by the sudden removal of almost all its prominent leaders. It not only crippled the nascent organisation and its activity, but made it difficult for the Communists to face new dangers and difficulties. The chief of these was the new ultra-leftist policy laid down for India by the Comintern. “The CPI’s course was now clearly and authoritatively mapped out; it was to dissolve any remnants of the Workers and Peasants Party (WPP), sever connections with all elements of the bourgeoisie, and launch a full-scale attack on Gandhi, Nehru, and the Indian National Congress/’ 22 The new policy, pursued during 1928-34, was revealed in the “Draft Platform of Action of the C.P. of India” published in December, 1930. It described the Congress as a “class organization of the capitalists working against the fundamental interests of the toiling masses of our country” It called for “ruthless war on the ‘Left’ national reformists.’* ‘The road to victory”, it declared, “is not the method of individual terror but the struggle and the revolutionary armed insurrection of the widest possible masses, of the working class, the peasantry, the poor of the towns and the Indian soldiers, around the banner and under the leadership of the Communist party of India”. So far as the present stage of revolution was concerned its main objects according to the platform were: “The confiscation without compensation of all the lands, forests and other property of the landlords, ruling princes, churches, the British Government, officials and money lenders and handing them over for use to the toiling peasantry; cancellation of slave agreements and all the indebtedness of the peasantry to money-lenders and banks.” Such a policy was sure to alienate the sympathy of all the politically active elements in Indian society. “The Draft Platform was a bill of divorcement from the main nationalist movement.” 2 ''

While the ultra-leftist policy isolated the CPI from other political parties, its effective strength was further reduced by internal differences. The old leaders Uied to direct affairs from the Meerut prison, but new leaders were actively working in the trade-union movement. There was disagreement even among the new leaders. While some of them were moderate, others tried to follow the militant Comintern line. The party in Bombay was split into two groups and the "major arena of their struggle, the trade-union movement, became badly riven with factionalism". But this was not all. Birendra-nath Chattopadhyaya and Clemens Dutt established a Secretariat in Berlin, later removed to London, from which they attempted to guide the Indian Communist movement. Further, M. N. Roy, who was expelled from the Communist Party in December, 1929, arrived in India a year later on a forged passport. , "Working underground, with the police in vigorous pursuit, he succeeded in getting a major section of the trade-union movement to abandon ultra-leftism and to adopt a more moderate policy under his leadership." According to the report of the British Intelligence Department, "he made serious and by no means unsuccessful endeavours to impregnate the Congress with his views and was received, and well received, by several of the Congress leaders in different parts of India." Roy certainly attended the Karachi Congress, and Gandhi was aware of it. There is a general belief that the socialist resolution passed in Karachi was really drafted by him, but Nehru denies it and claims the whole draft to be his alone. Unfortunately, Roy was arrested in July, 1931, prosecuted as an accused in the original Kanpur Conspiracy Case, and sentenced on 9 January, 1932 , to imprisonment for twelve years. The period was reduced on appeal and Roy was released on 20 November, 1936. 24

Thus, during the period 1930-33, when Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement swept the country and the nationalist movement reached its highest peak, the CPI, instead of joining the fight for freedom, did their best to weaken and sabotage the greatest mass campaign India had so far seen.

To judge by definite and concrete results, the Communist Party in India achieved the greatest success in establishing its influence over the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC). As a result, genuine Trade Unions seceded from the All-India Trade Union Congress and formed a separate organization called the National Trade Union Federation (N.T.U.F). Thirty Unions joined the latter while only twenty continued affiliation with the parent body. There was a further split in this body in 1931 when the Communists organized their own labour front called the Red Trades Uffion

Congress. After the Communist leaders convicted in the Meerut Conspiracy Case were released, they tried to organize the party and strengthen the Red Trades Union Congress. They called for a wide strike of all textile workers on 23 April, 1934, and it received overwhelming response all over the country. The Government of India took alarm and the Communist party, along with some dozen Trade Unions under their control, was declared illegal. The Communist party then went completely underground. 25

The Communist party soon realized that the extreme left and anti-Congress views entertained by them had practically isolated them from the political life in India which was gathering tremendous force under the leadership of Gandhi, The Communist High Command also realized the position and adopted an altogether new plan. It may be described as a policy of infiltration into the Endian National Congress, with a view to wrecking it from within. .The first step in this direction was to make an alliance with the recently formed Congress Socialist Party dominated by Jayaprakash Narayan. The task was not a difficult one. For, many Indians, particularly those with a leaning to socialism, felt wide sympathy for Communist principles: in general without any attachment to the party itself, and sought from Russia inspiration minus active control or direction. The Congress Socialist Party, without any suspicion of the 'Trojan Horse’ policy on the part of the Communists, welcomed their proposal and formed a United Front. Rules were laid down for joint action by the All-India Congress Socialist Party, the All-India Trade Union Congress, National Trade Union Federation and the Red Trades Union Congress. This United Front was not only a body for joint action on party basis; it also permitted individual Communists to become members of the Congress Socialist Party, and, therefore, also of the Indian National Congress. Thus

while tiie Communist Party, being declared an illegal organization by the Government of India, could not function in its own name, it established its influence in the left wing of the Congress, and used the Congress organization itself for its own propaganda. Several Communists occupied high official positions in the Congress Socialist Party, and some of them became members of the All India Congress Committee. At about the beginning of 1937 the two parties concluded the so-called “Lucknow Agreement” which, according to the Socialist interpretation, signified that they would eventually merge in a single organization. Unfortunately, secret documents of the Communist Party came to light which clearly showed that the United Front was being used only as a platform to serve its own ends. It opened the eyes of the Congress Socialists, and matters came to a head in 1933 over the election of the new Executive of the Congress Socialist Party. Jayaprakash Narayan made a proposal in which the Communists were given one-third seats. The Communists produced their own list which gave the Communists a clear majority in the Executive. Under the open threat of secession by Jayaprakash and his party in case the Communist list was accepted, the Conference adopted, by a narrow majority, the composite list proposed by” him. Two years later, in 1940, the Communists were expelled from the Congress Socialist Party and the United Front was dissolved. But the Communists carried with them the branches of the Socialist Party in Andhra, Tamilnad and Kerala. 26

The Communists also infiltrated heavily into students’ organizations. The All-India Students’ Federation was hitherto dominated by nationalist ideas, but a Communist faction soon made its influence felt, and the Students’ Federation was clearly divided into two groups,—-Communist and non-Communist. 27

The split was complete and the two groups held rival conferences. The conference of the Communist students in December, 1940, led by Hiren Mukherji and K. M. Ashraf, challenged the right of the Congress to speak for the whole of India, and passed a resolution declaring “that the future India should be a voluntary federation of regional States based on mutual confidence.” Thus, instead of a single nation comprising the people of India as a whole, the Communists upheld the ideal of India as a multinational State. This resolution was a clear bid to enlist the support of the Muslims by conceding the claim of Pakistan. In various other ways, too, the CPI conciliated the Muslims in an attempt to win them over to Communism. But it did not prove very successful. 28

About the same time the Communists also broke from the Forward Bloc, a leftist organization founded by Subhas Bose. Bose.

like Jayaprakash, realized that the Communists had used the Left Consolidation Committee merely as a platform for "popularizing their own organization", while carrying out "reprehensible propaganda" against the Forward Bloc. But there was a deeper motive behind the Communist policy. The split with the Forward Bloc was a deliberate attempt to reduce the prestige of'what might prove to be a dangerous rival, and which, therefore, must be prevented from seizing the opportunity to build a mass following based on a radical programme. P.C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the CPI, very frankly stated: "Workers, peasants, and students have already adopted the proletarian technique of struggle—mass action. They have already come under the influence of socialism. The effort of the Forward Bloc to win over these movements has to be resisted as the infiltration of bourgeois influence over the masses. Before the working class, Kisan, and student workers, the Forward Bloc has to be opposed not as being too left but as being the disruptive agency of bourgeoisie". 29

The CPI also declared an open war against the Congress leadership. They wanted to "free the national front from the influence of bourgeois reformism and develop the political strength of the proletariat." At the Ramgarh session of the Congress (1940) the CPI issued a new statement of policy entitled "Proletarian Path". It demanded that India should "make revolutionary use of the war crisis;" the first step toward this objective, it declared, would be a "political general strike in the major industries together with country-wide no-rent and no-tax action". !Next, the national movement vrould enter "a new and higher phase—the phase of armed insurrection." The principal features of this forthcoming struggle, according to "Proletarian Path", would be "storming of military and police stations by armed bands of national militia in rural as well as urban areas, destruction of Government institutions, actual offensive against the armed forces of the Government on the most extensive scale." In pursuance of this policy two Communist delegates proposed an amendment to the main resolution at the Ramgarh Congress which urged "immediate launching of the struggle" and condemned any talk of compromise with the British. 30 It was, of course, defeated.

As a first instalment of the policy chalked out in the "Proletarian Path", the CPI organized a general strike in the textile mills in the Bombay area, and

150,000 workers were involved at its peak. These pronouncements and activities led the Government to take drastic action against the CPI. They arrested and detained under the Defence of India Rules 480 persons who were "acknowledged Communists or else supporters of the Communist programme of violent mass revolution". The CPI was disorganized and seriously crippled.[31]

The Communists all over the world, outside Russia, were puzzled by the Stalin-Hitler Pact in August, 1939. But they had to obey instructions from Moscow. So Hitler ceased to be a Fascist menace, and became a friend of peace, while England and France were the imperialist war-mongers. The Indian Communists were in a more happy position than their comrades in Britain and France. For Indian National Congress, as noted above, declared itself against the war and the Communist could, and did, easily fall in with the popular opposition to the war, posing as genuine revolutionist and anti-imperialist. But while the CPI was engaged in a bitter war against the British imperialism for the freedom of India, Russia was invaded by Germany in June, 1941. It altered the whole international situation. Russia, the fountain source of world Communism and the determinant of its policy, was now forced to align herself with the capitalist countries and the bourgeois, and the international Communist policy had to be suitably altered. This had a serious reaction on Indian Communists. As mentioned above,[32] the Congress refused to help the war'efforts of the British unless India's freedom was assured, and so far the CPI not only endorsed this view, but, as we have just shown, were prepared to go to further extremes than the Congress to achieve this object. The International Communist authorities, however, demanded that the CPI must support war, with or without Indian freedom. This immediately created a critical situation for the CPI. There were at this time two Communist Parties in India, isolated from each other. The first was composed of the arrested leaders and members kept in a detention camp at Deoli in Ajmer-Merwara; the second, consisting of those outside prison, formed a disorganized underground party led by P.

C. Joshi. The “old guards” at Deoli fell in with the view of the British Communist Party which was expressed as follows by R. Palme Dutt: “The interest of the peoples of India and Ireland and of all the colonial peoples, as of all the peoples of the world, is bound up with the victory of the peoples against Fascism; that interest is absolute and unconditional, and does not depend on any measures their rulers may promise or concede.” The Deoli group accordingly decided that CPI must fully support the British war efforts since this now contributed to the defence of the Soviet Union, the fatherland of Communism. Whether the Deoli leaders independently arrived at this conclusion or merely followed the direction of the British Communist party, is difficult to say. It has been alleged that the Home Secretary of the Government of India arranged to transmit to the Communist detenus at Deoli camp the letter from the

Secretary of the British Communist Party communicating the new policy. 33

In any case the so-called Deoli Thesis, propounding the “People’s War’” slogan, was smuggled out of prison to the underground party. They at first refused to accept it, declaring that “the purpose of the war was broader than the mere victory of the Soviet Union”, and included a “world-wide victory of the people”,—or, in short, liberation from the old order as well as from Fascism”. The underground CPI therefore adhered to the old view of fighting against both the British Government and its imperialist war. As late as the end of October, 1941, the party declared that those who urged support of the British war effort “are following an imperialist policy” and “echoing the imperialist lie.” During the whole period from June to November, 1941, the underground CPI suited their action to these brave words. But then came the change. As blood is thicker than water, so is Communism thicker than nationalism. Never was this dictum more clearly established than by the complete volte face of the CPI, when, on 15 December, they passed the following resolution:

“We are a practical party and in a new situation it is our task not only to evolve a new form of struggle for it, but also to advance new slogans.... The key slogan of our Party (now) is “Make the Indian people play a people’s role in the people’s war.” 34

So the table was completely turned. The Communist leaders were set free and on 24 July, 1942, the ban against the Communist party was lifted. Henceforth the CommUnists functioned as a lawful party and enjoyed the favours of the Government of India who used them as counterpoise to the Congress. The strange spectacle was thus witnessed of the leftist Communist party being anti-National and pro-imperial, and eating up the very words by which till recently they had incited the people against the Imperial and war-monger British.

The whilom Imperialist war turned overnight into a People's war. During the great national upsurge of 1942, the Communists acted as stooges and spies of the British Government, and helped them against their own countrymen fighting for freedom. The part played by the Communists can be best understood from confidential correspondence during the years 1942, 1943 and 1944 between P.C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party in India, and Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member of the Government of India. This file was seen by S. S. Batlivala, a former member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who referred to its contents in an interview given to the Press on 22 February, 1946. According to him, it is quite clear from that correspondence that "an alliance existed between the Politbureau of the Communist Party and the Home Department of thp Government of India, by which Mr. Joshi was placing at the disposal of the Government of India the services of his Party members;" that the various political drives undertaken by the Party in the name of anti-Fascist campaigns were a part of the arrangement which helped the Government of India to tide over certain crises, and that P. C. Joshi had "detailed certain Party members, without the knowledge of the Central Committee or the rank and file of the Party, to be in touch with the Army Intelligence Department, and supplied the CID chiefs with such information as they would require against nationalist workers who were connected with the 1942 struggle, or against persons who had come to India on behalf of the Azad Hind Government of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose."

In a letter published in the Bombay Chronicle on 17 March. 1946, Batlivala added further: "Joshi had, as General Secretary of the Party, written a letter in which he offered ‘unconditional help’ to the then Government of India and the Army GHQ to fight the 1942 underground workers and the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) of Subhas Chandra Bose, even to the point of getting them arrested. These men were characterized by Joshi in his letter as ‘traitors’ and fifth columnists.” 35

Joshi’s letter also revealed that the CPI was receiving financial aid from the Government, had a secret pact with the Muslim League, and was undermining Congress activity in various ways. 36

“On the industrial front, the communists, using the control they exercised over the AITUC, similarly exerted their utmost to keep the workers out of the national unrest. The Party which had called for strikes, strikes and more strikes, now demanded work, work and no strikes.” 37

The Communists did not rest satisfied with sabotaging the national movement for freedom. They sought to destroy the unity of India. “Not only did the communists support the demand for Pakistan, but went much further by saying that every linguistic group in India had a distinct nationality, and was therefore entitled, as they claimed was the case in the USSR, to the right to secede.” 38

As most of the nationalist leaders were in jail or in hiding, the Communists had the field left to themselves, and were able to capture many organizations of the labour, students and peasants. They even infiltrated into the All-India Women’s Conference, and many members in non-party capacity set up literary and cultural organizations which might serve as centres of propaganda. 39 But this success was shortlived. After the War was over, the Communist

Party was thoroughly discredited and lost the good faith and esteem of the people for the anti-national part it had played in the recent struggle for freedom. So when, in 1945, the Congress began to function again, the Communist Party tried to curry favour with Gandhi and the Congress. But Gandhi w^as not impressed, and the Communists were excluded from the Congress. 40

The almost overnight transformation of the Communist attitude towards the War at the bidding of Moscow showed the Communist Party of India in its true colour, and it failed to win a single seat at the general election to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1945. It lost the influence it had acquired in the Women's Conference and the various cultural organizations. The control over the working class also passed from their hands. For, both the nationalists and socialists formed their own trade union centres (National Trade Union Congress and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha) which soon outstripped the All-India Trade Union Congress in membership and importance.

The Communists realized their isolated position in Indian politics. So after independence was achieved in 1947, they made one more bid to win the favour of the Congress. They vigorously supported the Nehru administration and showed as much enthusiasm for the Congress now' as it had shown dislike and opposition to it during the War.

1. Coupland, II. p. 242.

2. Harijan, quoted in Ibid, p. 298.

3. Harijan, 18 April, 1942; cf. Ibid.

3a. But neither Azad nor Gandhi supported this very demand made by the Muslim League in 1937 (cf. pp. 587 ff.).

4. Ibid, p. 299.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, p. 300.

7. Menon, p. 145.

7a. Cf. p. 644.

8. Coupland, II. p. 304.

9. For other activities, cf. Menon, 143-4, and Coupland, II. p. 304.

10. See p. 578.

11. This friend, S. N. Biswas, told the story to the writer of this chapter.

12. Menon, p. 148.

13. Ibid, p. 149.

14. Ibid, p. 151.

15. Coupland, II. p. 74.

16. Coupland, III. p. 3.

17. Menon, p. 144.

18. Ibid, p. 145.

19. Ibid, p. 154, Pakistan, p. 149.

20. See pp. 421-3.

21. Cf. the observations of Spratt and Saumyendra-nath Tagore, quoted &bove,

on p. 423.

22. Gene D. Overstreet and Marshall Windniiller. Communism in India (hereafter referred to as Communism), p. 140.

23. Ibid, pp. 145-6.

24. Ibid. pp. 146-8.

25. Masani, pp. 51-3.

26. Ibid, pp. 66-71. Communism , p. 179.

27. Masani, pp. 71-2.

28. Communism, pp. 188-9.

29. Ibid, p. 181.

30. Ibid, pp. 181-2.

31. Ibid, pp. 183-4.

32. See pp. 626-8.

33. Communism, pp. 192-5. Masani, pp. 79-80.

34. Communism, pp. 195-8.

35. Masani, pp. 82-4.

36. Communism p. 219. The authenticity of the letter is denied by the CPI and there is no positive evidence of its existence. Batliwala challenged the CPI to publish the correspondence, but the challenge was not accepted. Cf. Krishnan (ed), .Forgery versus Facts, pp. 3-16. Batlivala, Facts versus Forgery, pp. 7-10.

37. Masani, p. 84.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid, p. 85.

40. Ibid, pp. 85-6.

CHAPTER XXXI

NEGOTIATIONS FOR SETTLEMENT (1944-45)

1. Efforts of Gandhi

When the year 1942 drew towards its close, the Indian political situation showed an outward calm, offering a striking contrast to the violent scenes that were witnessed during August and September. The Congress leaders being mostly in jail, the field was open to the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. The former was obsessed with the idea of Pakistan as the one and only issue, while the latter was equally determined to preserve the integrity of India, achieve her freedom with a strong centre, and deny to any province, community, or section the right to secede. But though both the Mahasabha and the League threatened direct action, so far none of them ventured beyond duelling in words.

The political stalemate continued throughout the remaining months of the Viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow. The only interesting episode during this period was the correspondence between Gandhi and the Viceroy regarding the responsibility of the Congress for the disturbances in 1942, to which reference has been made above. The Viceroy insisted on having from Gandhi not only an admission of guilt but “appropriate assurances as regards the future” Gandhi replied: “My answer is that the Government goaded the people to the point of madness. They started leonine violence.... on a scale so gigantic that it displaces the Mosaic law of tooth for tooth by that of ten thousand for one. . . .If then I cannot get soothing balm for my pain, I must resort to the law prescribed for Satyagrahis, namely, a fast according to capacity.” 1 The fast started on 10 February and ended on 3 March, 1943.

Lord Linlithgow retired on 20 October, 1943, and was succeeded by Lord Wavell who was the Commander-in-Chief of India during the disturbances in 1942. In his first speech he repeated the usual phrases indicating the British policy to be to grant Dominion Status to India and the desirability of having an agreed constitution drawn up by the Indians, but refused to release the Congress leaders till the policy of non-co-operation and obstruction had been withdrawn.

About the middle of April, 1944, Gandhi had an attack of malaria, and as the disease proved obstinate, he was released unconditionally on 6 May on medical grounds. On 17 June Gandhi asked for permission to see the Viceroy and the members of the Working Committee. The Viceroy refused both, but said that he was ready to consider any definite and constructive policy suggested to him. In compliance with this Gandhi gave an interview to Stewart Gelder, a correspondent of the News Chronicle, London, on 9 July, 1944.

"The substance of the interview was that Gandhiji could do nothing without consulting the Congress Working Committee. If he met the Viceroy he would tell him that it was his purpose to help and not hinder the Allied war effort. He had no intention of offering civil disobedience. History could never be repeated; he could not take the country back to 1942. The world had moved on during the last two years and the whole situation had to be reviewed de novo. Today he would be satisfied with a national Government in full control of civil administration and would advise the Congress to participate in such a government if formed." [2]

On 27 July (1944) "Gandhiji wrote to Lord Wavell to the effect that he was prepared to advise the Working Committee to renounce mass civil disobedience and to give full co-operation in the war effort, if a declaration of. immediate Indian independence were made and a national Government responsible to the Central Assembly were formed, subject to the proviso that during the pendency of the war, military operations should continue as at present, but without any financial burden upon India." [2a]

The very next day, 28 July, the Secretary of State, in his speech on India Debate in the House of Commons, said that Gandhi's proposals obviously did not form even the starting point for a profitable discussion, either with Lord Wavell or with the interned Congress leaders. [3] After this rebuff from the Government, Gandhi realized that the only solution lay in an agreement with Jinnah. The way had been opened by Rajagopalachari. In 1943 he had drawn up a formula for partitioning India as a basis for settlement with the Muslims, and when he visited Gandhi in jail during his fast in February, 1943, secured the latter's approval to it. In April, 1944, Rajagopalachari carried on negotiations with Jinnah. 3a

Gandhi himself then suggested to Jinnah that they should meet and talk over the matter. Gandhi's letter was most pathetic in tone and shows the importance which the Congress High Command noio attached to the Muslim League. It was a striking contrast to the high and mighty attitude displayed by Nehru in rejecting Jinnah's offer of coalition ministry in 1937.^ Six years had indeed wrought a marvellous change in the balance of power in Indian politics. Gandhi wrote to Jinnah on 17 July, 1944: "I have

always been- a servant and friend to you and to mankind. Do not disappoint me." Jinnah turned down Rajagopalachari's proposal as offering "a shadow and a husk, a maimed, mutilated and motheaten Pakistan", but he agreed to discuss the matter with Gandhi. 4

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Gandhi's offer to negotiate with Jinnah on the basis of partitioning India created a sensation and particularly provoked the indignation of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in the Punjab and the Hindus of Bengal. As could be expected, the most bitter criticism was made by the Hindu Mahasabha. Savarkar echoed the sentiments of the Hindus all over India when he asserted that 'the Indian provinces were not the private properties of Gandhiji and Rajaji so that they could make a gift of them to anyone they liked.'

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks commenced on 9 September, 1944, and continued till the 27th, but the tw 7 o failed to reach an agreement. The main points of difference may be summed up as follows:

1. Gandhi did not accept the view that the Indian Muslims constituted a separate nation which Jinnah regarded as the fundamental principle on which the claims for Pakistan rested. Gandhi would regard India as one family consisting of many members, and the Muslims were merely one of them.

2. Gandhi proposed that only the Muslims living in Baluchistan, Sindh, N.W.F.P. and parts of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, who desired to live' in separation from the rest of India, should form the new State. Jinnah insisted that Pakistan should include all the six Provinces mentioned above, subject to territorial adjustments that might be agreed Upon as indicated in the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League in 1940.

3. Gandhi held that the separate Muslim State should be formed after India was free: but Jinnah urged for an immediate and complete settlement.

4. Gandhi "suggested that there should be a treaty of separation to provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, communications, customs, commerce and the like, as matters of common interests; but Jinnah was clear that all these matters, which were the life-blood of any State, could not be delegated to any common central authority or government.” [5]

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks did not bring the two communities nearer each other, but two results followed. In the first place, Jinnah was placed on a high pedestal and there was an inordinate accession of strength to the Muslim League.

Secondly, the Viceroy was now convinced that the Indian problem could not be settled by an agreement between the Hindus and Muslims, and the^British Government must take the initiative for the post-war settlement promised by them.

2. The Plan of the Viceroy

Lord Wavell now finalized a plan which centred round the formation of a transitional Government at the Centre. It would work within the existing Constitution, but would be representative of the political parties and vested With large powers and responsibilities. [6]

The Secretary of State, Amery, however did not approve of the idea, for he held that no Executive Council at the Centre wodi4 work smoothly, unless there were prior agreement between the political parties with regard to the-constitutional future of India. He suggested that the present Executive

Council at the centre should continue for a year. In the meanwhile, as the views of the Congress and Muslim League were irreconcilable, the Viceroy might set a Conference of other parties, less unbalanced and irreconcilable, for the purpose of discussing the basis of a future constitution for India and framing proposals to that end. Lord Wavell had no difficulty to convince the Secretary of State that to bye^pass the Congress and Muslim League was an impracticable idea, and proposed to discuss his own plan with the Cabinet in London.

This was agreed to, but the departure of Wavell was delayed by two attempts made by Tej Bahadur Sapru and Bhulabhai Desai to bring about an agreement between the different political parties in India. The proposals sponsored by Sapru were rejected by the Muslim League because they recommended joint electorate but not Pakistan, while the non-Congress Hindus were hostile to the recommendation nqL parity between the Muslims and Hindus other than the Scheduled Cartes.[7]

3. Desai-LAaqat Pact

Bhulabhai Desai was the leader of the Congress party in the Central Legislative Assembly which had boycotted it since the beginning of the war, but now attended it and formed an alliance with the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, of which the de facto leader was Liaqat Ali Khan. These two now came to an agreement on the following terms.

“Desai and Jinnah should be invited to form an interim Government at the Centre. They would then consult the groups in the Indian Legislature and submit names to the Governor-General for inclusion in the Executive Council. The selection would not be confined to members of the legislature. Communal proportions within the Council would be settled by agreement. Bhulabhai Desai would be accommodating about this (he said that, speaking for himself, if the Muslim League insisted, he would agree to equality between them and the Congress, with a 20 per cent reservation for the rest). The interim Government would work within the present constitution, but all the members of the Executive Council, except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, would be Indians.[8]

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“Desai claimed that these proposals had support of Gandhi, that they were based on informal talks with Liaqat Ali Khan, and that if the British Government really wanted a Central Government with political backing they could get it now. He was confident that Jinnah was aware and had approved of what had passed between him and Liaqat Ali Khan.” 9 The Viceroy fell in with this proposal and recommended its adoption to the Secretary of State. While the matter was still under discussion between them, Jinnah made a public statement disclaiming any knowledge of the Desai-Liaqat Ali Pact. Thereupon Liaqat Ali also resiled from it. There is no doubt there was such a pact and Gandhi admitted later that it had received his blessings. But it was repudiated not only by Jinnah but later, by the leaders of the Congress also; as a result, Desai, like Rajagopalachari, had to make an exit from the political stage.

After the failure of these negotiations Wavell proceeded to London and arrived there on 23 March, 1945. But before discussing his activities there it is necessary to refer briefly to the position of the provincial Ministries.

4. The Non-Congress Ministries 10

The release of Congress members from prison had an adverse effect on the Muslim League Ministry set up in N.W.F.P. in 1943. The number of Congress members in the Legislative Assembly was increased and the Ministry was defeated on 12 March, 1945. Dr. Khan Sahib, the leader of the Congress party, was allowed to form a ministry after he had assured the Governor of his wholehearted co-operation in the prosecution of war.

For similar reasons the Assam Ministry was also at the mercy of the Congress. Gopinath Bardoloi, the leader of the Congress party, had already secured Gandhi’s permission either to form a ministry, or to join a coalition. When Saadullah, the Premier of Assam, opened negotiations with him, Bardoloi did not ask for any seats in the proposed new ministry, but he laid down certain conditions, such as the replacement of the non-Muslim Ministers, the release of all political prisoners, and the ending of all restrictions on political activity. In March, 1945, Saadullah signed an agreement to this effect and a new cabinet was formed in Assam.

In Sindh the League Ministry was defeated by the defection of some League members. The Premier thereupon formed a new Ministry with Hindus and independent Muslims, but Jinnah insisted that Moula Bakhsh, brother of the late Allah Bakhsh, who had already been sworn in as a Minister, must join the Muslim League. Moula Bakhsh refused, and a new Ministry was formed on 14 March, 1945.

In Bengal Nazimuddin's Ministry was defeated and the entire Budget demand under the head of Agriculture was rejected on 28 March, 1945. The Speaker adjourned the House sine die and the administration was taken over by the Governor under Section 93.

5. The Simla Conference 11

Lord Wavell arrived in London on 23 March, 1945, and there was a prolonged discussion between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. After discussions a general plan was agreed upon. It was decided to summon a conference of the leaders of all the parties, and for this purpose to release unconditionally all the members of the Congress Working Committee who were still in prison. "Amongst other important decisions, besides the transfer of the subject of external affairs to an Indian member, were the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India and parity of representation for Muslims in the Executive Council. Meanwhile a draft statement was prepared, which was discussed and re-discussed and underwent many revisions before it was finally accepted." 12

Lord Wavell returned from London to Delhi on 4 June, 1945. On 14 June he broadcast his proposals, designed, as he said, 'to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government'. "It was his intention, he announced, to hold a political conference in Simla on 25 June, to which would be invited twenty-one leaders, including premiers of provincial governments; persons who last held the office of premier in the provinces administered by Governors; the leader of the Congress party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly; the leaders of the Congress and the League in the Council of State; the leader of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Central Legislative Assembly; Gandhiji and Jinnah, as the recognized leaders of the two main political parties, and a representative each of the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes. The purpose of the Conference would be to take counsel with the Viceroy with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council which would be more representative of organized political opinion. It was intended that the new Council would represent the main communities and would include ‘equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims’. Except for the Viceroy and for the Commander-in-Chief, who would hold charge of the war portfolio, it would be an entirely Indian Council. The subject of external affairs, which had hitherto been administered by the Viceroy, would be ‘in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned’. The new Council would work under the existing constitution; there could be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of overriding his Council in certain circumstances, but this power would not, of course, be exercised unreasonably. It was also proposed to appoint a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain’s commercial and other interests in India. Lord Wavell made it clear that the formation of this interim Government would in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement; also that the proposals were confined to British India and did not in any way affect the relations of the Indian Princes with the Crown Representative. The main tasks of the new Executive Council would be first, to prosecute the war against Japan; secondly, to carry on the government of British India (with its manifold tasks of post-war development) until a new permanent constitution could be agreed upon and come into force; and thirdly, to consider (when the members of the Government thought it possible) the means by which such agreement could be achieved. The third task, Lord Wavell said, was most important— neither he himself, nor His Majesty’s Government, had lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and the present proposals were intended to make such solution easier. He considered that the proposals were not merely a step, but a stride forward and a stride in the right direction.” 13

The Press and the public welcomed the proposals, but Gandhi on one side and Jinnah on the other disapproved some issues arising out of them. Gandhi took objection to the classification, ‘Caste-Hindus’, whom the Congress was supposed to represent. He would rather prefer parity between the Congress and the Muslim League. Jinnah demanded that the Muslim half of the Executive Council must all be members of the League. The Hindu Mahasabha felt aggrieved, both on account of its exclusion from the Conference, and of the idea of parity between Caste Hindus and Muslims in the proposed Executive Council.

The members of the Congress Working Committee were released on .15 June and it met in Bombay about a week later. In spite of the misgivings of Gandhi on several points, on which he failed to obtain satisfaction from the Viceroy, the Working Committee decided that the Congress should participate in the Conference.

The Conference assembled in the Viceregal Lodge, Simla, on 25 June, and was attended by 21 invitees.[14] Gandhi did not attend the Conference but stayed on in Simla throughout its session. After the preliminary explorations and explanations were over, the Conference met on 26 June to discuss, point by point, the various issues relating to the proposed Executive Council of the GovernorGeneral. There was general agreement on the powers and functions of the Executive Council and its relations with the Viceroy.

The Conference, however, came to a deadlock over the composition of the Executive Council. Jinnah would not agree to the appointment of Muslims who did not belong to the League. It would mean that even the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, could not be a member of the Executive Council.

The Congress claimed the right to include in their quota members of all communities, particularly the Muslims, Scheduled Castes, and Christians.

Sivraj objected to the Congress claim to nominate representatives of the Scheduled Castes, and insisted that the number of Scheduled Caste members should bear the same ratio to their population as the Muslim members bore to theirs. Forestalling the argument of Jinnah on his two-nation theory, Sivraj maintained that the Scheduled Castes represented a separate element in the national life of India and had been recognized as such. In order to understand Sivraj's contention it is necessary to remember that Gandhi himself, in course of his correspondence with Wavell, expressed the view that if Coalition Ministry were formed in the Provinces, the minorities should be represented only by members of their body belonging to the Congress. To this the Viceroy had replied that the essential thing was that the minorities should be represented by some one they trusted and it was this psychological factor that was important.

Jinnah's attitude was widely criticized throughout the country, even by a section of the Muslims who did not belong to the League. 15 But he refused the co-operation of the Muslim League "unless (a) all five Muslim members of the Council were taken from the League, and (b) the Governor-General's power of veto were reinforced by a special safeguard for the Muslims within the Council, e.g. a provision that no decision objected to by the Muslims should be taken except by a clear two-thirds majority, or something of the kind." 16

As the Viceroy was unable to accept these conditions, Jinnah told him that the Muslim League could not co-operate. The Viceroy informed him that this meant the failure of his efforts, but Jinnah remained obdurate. On 14 July the Conference met for the fifth and last time, and the Viceroy announced that the Conference had failed.

The proceedings as well as the final result of the Conference are highly discreditable to WavelTs statesmanship. If, as his action showed, he were of opinion that no constitutional progress was possible without the consent of Jinnah, he could have summoned, as the preliminary step, only the leaders of the Congress and Muslim League, at least to settle the fundamental principles. As it is, the other members played more or less the part of dummies, and from this point of view the composition of the Simla Conference was a fraud upon the public as well as upon its members.

Two considerations may be urged in extenuation of Wavell's responsibility for the failure. In the first place, he was surrounded by British officials who were not only pro-Muslim but also did not like any agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, as it was sure to hasten their exit from India. It is also learnt on fairly good authority that a member of the Executive Council of Wavell betrayed him and advised Jinnah to be intransigent, and used his influence on the Viceroy to make sure that it worked. 17 Secondly, the time of the Conference was unfortunate. About a month before it met, the Coalition Cabinet in Britain was replaced by the Conservative Ministry of Churchill who would never have the formation of an Executive Council which did not include the representatives of the Muslim League. But Wavell knew it fully well before he summoned the Conference, and his subsequent conduct proves him to be as much a pro-Muslim as either Churchill or the British officials in India. There might have been difference of degree but not of kind.

In any case, the Simla Conference did irreparable mischief to India and practically ensured the creation of Pakistan. Wavell formally handed over to Jinnah the power of veto, and henceforth it was regarded as an axiomatic truth in Indian politics that the final authority in any constitutional progress in India rested in the hands of Jinnah. Wavell thus reversed the process followed by Cripps who attached far greater importance to the Indian National Congress representing an overwhelming majority of Indian people. Jinnah fully exploited the situation created for him by Wavell, and cleverly manipulated his power of veto till he attained his goal. No wonder that the Congress and the people whom it represented no longer trusted Wavell—not to put it more bluntly—and this explains to a large extent the attitude of Gandhi and Nehru towards Wavell to which reference will be made later.

Wavell also indirectly helped the Muslims in another way. The failure of the Simla Conference immensely strengthened the position of the Muslim League. It was now quite clear that the Muslim League could make or mar the fortunes of the Muslims, as the Government gave it the power to veto any constitutional proposal which was not to its liking. It was apprehended by many that its extravagant claim that it alone represented the Muslims of India would, in near future, be conceded in fact, if not in theory. No Muslim outside the League had therefore any chance of a political career in future. The Muslim League loomed large as the only door through which the Indian Muslims could enter into positions of power and profit. No wonder, therefore, that the 'wavering and middle-of-the-road Muslim politicians tended to gravitate to the Muslim League'. This was particularly welcome to Jinnah as the fortunes of the League were at a very low ebb at the time, as mentioned above.

1. Correspondence with Mr. Gandhi — August 1942 — April 1944. published by the Government of India, 1944; cf, specially, pp. 7-9.

2. Menon, p. 160.

2a. Ibid, pp. 160-61.

3. Ibid,

3a. For details see ibid, pp. 162-3.

3b. pp. 589 ff.

4. Menon, pp. 162-3.

5. Ibid, p. 166.

6. For details, cf. ibid. p. 168.

7. Ibid, p. 179.

8. Ibid, pp. 176-7.

9. Ibid, p. 177.

10. Ibid, pp. 179-180.

11. For a detailed account, cf. ibid, pp. 182-215.

12. Ibid, p. 181.

13. Ibid, pp. 182-3; the full text is given on pp. 459-61.

14. For the names of the members of the Conference, Cf. Ibid. p. 191.

15. According to V. P. Menon, Husain Imam, the leader of the Muslim League party in the Council of State, and Liaqat Ali Khan did not endorse the views of Jinnah (ibid, 214).

16. Ibid, p. 206.

17. Mosley, p. 15. Menon, p. 214.

CHAPTER XXXII

POST-WAR NEGOTIATIONS

1. GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Second World War, which had dominated world politics for about six long years, came to an end with the surrender of Japan on 15 August, 1945. Shortly before this there was a general election in Britain. It resulted in a resounding victory for the Labour Party which secured, for the first time in its history, a clear majority in the House of Commons. Churchill's Government was now replaced by a Labour Government with Clement Attlee as Prime Minister and Lord Pethick-Lawrence as Secretary of State for India.

These two events had a great repercussion on Indian politics. The British Government had pledged themselves to grant Dominion Status to India as soon as possible after the war, and the time had therefore come for the practical fulfilment of the pledge. The Labour Party, now at the helm of affairs, had undoubtedly greater genuine sympathy for the cause of India than the Conservatives, and they showed a firm determination, from the very start, to solve the Indian problem.

But though nothing was now wanting on the side of the British, the Indians themselves were unable to present a united scheme. Apart from other minor differences, the Congress and the Muslim League presented two different fronts which had no common ground. The Muslim League insisted upon the acceptance of Pakistan as a condition precedent to any negotiation for settlement. The Congress was determined to keep at least a semblance of political unity for the whole of India. It was impossible to reconcile the two irreconcilables.

The first step taken by the British was to hold a general election in India without delay. 'The last elections to the Central Assembly were held in 1934, and to the provincial legislatures, in 1936. Elections had subsequently been postponed, under the special powers of the Governor-General in the case of the Central legislature, and by parliamentary legislation in the case of Provincial legislatures. There seemed to be no justification for putting off the elections any longer'.[1]

The idea behind these elections was, as Sir Stafford Cripps first broached it, that a Constituent Assembly, composed of the newly elected representatives, should work out a new free selfgoverning constitution for British India, or such part of it as was ready to consent to such a constitution.

It was announced on 21 August, 1945, that the elections to the various legislatures would be held in the cold weather and that the Viceroy would proceed to London for consultation with His Majesty's Government. Lord Wavell left for London on 24 August, and returned on 16 September, 1945. On the 19th he announced:

"1. His Majesty's Government are determined to do their utmost to promote in conjunction with the leaders of Indian opinion the early realisation of full self-government in India.

"2. Elections to the central and provincial legislatures, so long postponed owing to the war, are to be held during the coming cold weather. Thereafter His Majesty's Government earnestly hope that ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders in all provinces.

"3. It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to convene as soon as possible a constitution-making body.

"4. As soon as the results of the provincial elections are published, steps would be taken to bring into being an Executive Council which will have the support of the main Indian parties."[2]

On the same day Prime Minister Attlee broadcast an appeal to the Indians to make a united effort to evolve a constitution which would be accepted as fair by all parties and interests in India.

The Congress had grave difficulties in fighting the elections. It had been in wilderness for more than three years, its organization had broken down as many of its leaders and members were still in prison, and its party funds had been sequestrated by the Government. But, as on more than one occasion in the past, the blunders committed by the Government came to its rescue just at the psychological moment when its fortunes were at a very low ebb. It was the trial of the Indian soldiers who had joined the Indian National Army (I.N.A.) organized by Subhas Bose in Singapore, whose exploits have been mentioned above. About twenty thousand Indian soldiers—prisoners of war in the hands of the Japanese—who had joined the I.N.A., were rounded up after the collapse of the Japanese army in Burma. The military authorities, on the basis of evidence in their possession, brought charges against some of the officers, not only of waging war against the king but of gross brutality in the methods employed to induce their fellow-prisoners to join them. Accordingly a Military Tribunal was constituted by an Ordinance, and the first batch of three accused officers—a Hindu, a Muslim, and a Sikh—were put on public trial in the historic Red Fort at Delhi, The Indians, however, regarded the I.N.A. as a band of patriotic heroes fighting for liberation of their motherland, and a wave of sympathy for them passed all over India, The Congress took up the defence of the accused and set up a panel for this purpose, which included Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai, and Nehru. The glamour of Subhas Chandra Bose's name and the fact that the Congress had taken up the cause of the accused evoked popular enthusiasm for the Congress. The official evidence, given in the course of the trial, for the first time brought home to the Indians the magnitude of the I.N.A. organization under Subhas Bose and the heroic feats performed by it. Popular enthusiasm all over India now rose to the highest pitch. When the Muslim League associated itself with the defence of the accused, the agitation assumed an all-India character. There was great resentment at the persecution of the 'Patriots', and wild popular demonstrations were held over a wide area, from Calcutta to Lahore and

Bombay, and from Lakhnau to Madura, occasionally accompanied by popular violence and firing by the police. 74

The Government quailed before the storm. The accused were convicted, but ultimately the sentence for transportation for life was remitted and they were simply cashiered. The Government wanted to make a public demonstration, through these trials, that they would not tolerate any indiscipline or disloyalty in the armed forces. The Government also felt that they owed it to the Indian soldiers who remained faithful to them even under the most trying circumstances, that an exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon the rest who forsook their duty, particularly those who used grossly brutal methods to bring over their faithful comrades to their side. While it is difficult not to appreciate the very natural and not unjust sentiment of the Indians, one cannot possibly blame the authorities in view of the motives which inspired their action. There is however no doubt that in view of the political tension in India, the decision to hold a public trial was a great blunder. The purpose which the Government had ip view was not accomplished. On the other hand, these trials provided the political parties with excellent material for propaganda against the Government which they used to the fullest extent for their own benefit. 3 It was generally held after the elections that the Congress swept the polls at the crest of the wave of enthusiasm created by the I.N.A. trial.

The violent speeches of some Congress leaders threatening another struggle, and the wide-spread disturbances caused by the trial of the I.N.A. prisoners, created such a tense political situation in India that the British Government felt bound to take some fresh action. On 4 December, the Secretary of State announced in the House of Lords that a Parliamentary Delegation, drawn from all the parties, under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, would shortly visit India. They would meet leading political Indian personalities, to learn their views at first hand, as also to convey in person the general desire of the people of England that India should speedily attain her full and rightful position as an independent partner State in the British Commonwealth. 4 For the first time the British Government officially declared the independence of India as their immediate goal, and there was a wide appreciation of His Majesty's present Government for pronouncing it.

The Parliamentary Delegation of ten members, led by Professor Robert Richards, arrived in India on 5 January, 1946. It spent about a month in this country and met almost all the important political leaders. Jinnah insisted on two constitution-making bodies, and conceded that he did not want predominantly non-Muslim areas like the Ambala Division of the Punjab to be included in Pakistan. He also assured the Delegation that Pakistan would remain within the British empire with a British Governor-General.

"Nehru in his talks with the Delegation conceded that the British Government might have to declare for Pakistan, but that there would have to be a plebiscite in border districts to confirm it." 5

In the meantime elections to the Central Legislative Assembly were held, and the results were known towards the end of December, 1945. "The Congress won an overwhelming success in the General constituencies, the Hindu Mahasabha and other opposing candidates preferring in most cases to withdraw rather than risk defeat. The Muslim League won every Muslim seat, the Nationalist Muslims forfeiting their deposits in many instances. The Congress secured 91.3 per cent, of the votes cast in non-Muhammadan constituencies, and the Muslim League, 86.6 per cent of the total votes cast in Muhammadan Constituencies. The final figures were, Congress 57; Muslim League 30; Independents 5; Akali Sikhs 2; and Europeans 8; making a total of 102 elected seats. In the previous Assembly the figures at the time of dissolution were, Congress 36; Muslim League 25; Independents 21; Nationalist Party 10 and Europeans 8." 6 Both parties were jubilant on their success. 7

Elections to the Provincial Legislatures followed shortly. The results in the different Provinces may be summed up as follows:

1. Assam: The Congress "won all the General territorial seats and the League almost all the Muslim seats. The Congress Party, having captured fifty-eight out of 108 seats, was commissioned to form the Government and Gopinath Bardoloi became the premier.

The ministry consisted of five Hindus, one Indian Christian and one Nationalist Muslim. Two seats were offered to the Muslim League on condition that it would agree to work the Congress parliamentary programme, but the League rejected the offer because of the inclusion of a non-League Muslim in the ministry.” 8

2. Sindh: The Muslim League won 27 seats and one independent member joined it after the election. The Congress won 21 seats but was joined by 7 members belonging to two other groups and one independent Labour member. There were, besides, three European members. Although the Congress coalition commanded a majority of one over the Muslim League, the leader of the League was asked to form a ministry by the Governor. This unconstitutional procedure was severely criticized.

3. JV.W.F.P.: The Congress won 30 seats (including 19 Muslims) while the Muslim League got only 17. Dr. Khan Sahib formed a Congress Ministry.

4. The Punjab: The results of the elections were as follows:

1 .	Muslim League	75
2.	Congress	51
3.	Akali Sikh	22
4.	Unionists	20
5.	Independents	7

There were some changes after the election. Nos. 2 and 3 formed a working alliance and invited No. 1 to join it. But the negotiations failed. Eventually a coalition was formed between Nos. 2, 3 and 4 under Khizr Hyat Khan who formed a Ministry.

5. In Bengal, out of 250 seats, the Muslim League won 113 out of 119 Muslim seats and the Congress got 87. H. S. Shuhrawardy, the leader of the Muslim League, negotiated with the Congress for a coalition but, being unsuccessful, formed a League Ministry with the support of independent members.

6-11. In Bombay, Madras, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, and C.P., the Congress won an absolute majority of votes. The Leader- of the local Congress Party in each negotiated with the local leader of the Muslim League, but having failed, formed Congress Ministries. Even in these six provinces the Muslim League swept the polls so far as the Muslim seats were concerned. In Bombay, Madras, and Orissa, all the Muslim seats were captured by the Muslim League. In the other three Provinces, namely U.P., Bihar, and C.P., the Muslim League captured 54, 34, and 13 seats respectively, out of the total of Muslim seats numbering 66, 40 and 14.

The results of the elections in the Provinces confirmed the deductions made on the basis of the elections to the Central Legis

lative Assembly. They proved that the Congress and the Muslim League were the only two parties that counted in the country, and, generally speaking, dominated, respectively, the Hindu and Muslim communities, except in the N.W.F.P. and Sindh. But it is noticeable that the Muslim League had not absolute majority in any of the four Provinces which were to constitute Pakistan, the separate sovereign Muslim State, and could form Ministry in only two—Bengal and Sindh—though in the latter it was more a matter of grace on the part of the Governor than a claim of right. Another noticeable result of the elections was the fact that a large section of the Scheduled Castes supported the Congress.

The Viceroy announced on 28 January, 1946, that he would establish a new Executive Council composed of political leaders and also set up a constitution-making body as soon as possible.

Lord Wavell was now in consultation with the Secretary of State regarding the future programme, and communicated to him two important decisions made by him.

First, that if Jinnah refused to participate in the interim Government, the Government should go ahead without him. Secondly, though Pakistan had to be conceded, the large non-Muslim populations (in the East Punjab and West Bengal) could not be forced to remain in Pakistan against their will.

The Secretary of State and the British Cabinet agreed with these views, but held that instead of the Viceroy discussing separately with the leaders about each stage of progress., three members of the British Cabinet should proceed to India, to conduct, in association with the Viceroy, negotiations with the leaders.

Just about this time took place the revolt of a section of Indians serving in the Royal Indian Navy, followed by grave disturbances in the city of Bombay. “It started on 18 February, when ratings of the Signal School in Bombay went on a hunger-strike in protest against what their Central Strike Committee described as ‘untold hardships regarding pay and food and the most outrageous racial discrimination,’ and in particular against their Commander’s derogatory references to their national character. They were joined later by ratings from other naval establishments. These persons got completely out of hand. They took possession of some of the ships, mounted the guns and prepared to open fire on the military guards. A very ugly situation developed. Admiral Godfrey, Flag Officer-Commanding, Royal Indian Navy, broadcast to the ratings calling upon them to surrender. At the same time efforts were made to secure guns and planes and to rush reinforcements to the scene. There were even some who tried to fish in the troubled waters. It was due largely to the efforts of Vallabhbhai Patel that, on 23 February, the ratings surrendered. In the meantime, contrary to the advice of the Congress and Muslim League, strikes and hartals were organised in Bombay, and unruly crowds went about looting and setting fire to banks, shops, post offices, police posts and grain shops. The police had to open fire several times and the military had to be called in to assist before order could be restored. Over 200 persons were killed as a result of these disturbances, which had their repercussions in other centres such as Karachi, Madras and Calcutta.

"The Army and the Air Force were not altogether unaffected. There was trouble in several places, though not of a serious character." 9

The troubles in the Navy began on 18 February, 1946. On the very next day, 19 February, 1946, "Lord Pethick-Lawrence in the House of Lords and Prime Minister Attlee in the House of Commons made a simultaneous announcement that in view of the paramount importance, not only to India and to the British Commonwealth, but to the peace of the world, of a successful outcome of discussions with leaders of Indian opinion, His Majesty's Government had decided to send out to India a special mission consisting of three Cabinet ministers to seek, in association with the Viceroy, an agreement with those leaders on the principles and procedure relating to the constitutional issue. The members of the Mission would be Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty." 10 Whether the decision of despatching a Cabinet Mission was hastened by the revolt of the naval ratings, it is difficult to say. It is, however, significant that the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps was also announced only three days after the fall of Rangoon in Japanese hands.

In any case, the announcement about the Cabinet Mission was well received throughout India. It was felt that the grant of independence to India was now a certainty and would not be delayed beyond a period that was absolutely necessary to complete the preliminary arrangements. The favourable impression was strengthened by the speech of the Prime Minister, in the course of the debate in the House of Commons on 15 March, 1946, on the Cabinet Mission's visit to India. Attlee said "that the tide of nationalism was running very fast in India and that it was time for clear and definite action. The Cabinet Mission was going to India in a positive mood. The temperature of 1946 was not the temperature of 1920, 1930, or even 1942. His colleagues were going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain freedom as speedily and as fully as possible. What form of Government was to replace the present regime was for India to decide, though he hoped that India would elect to remain within the British Commonwealth.” In conclusion he said: “We are mindful of the rights of the minorities and the minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of the majority.” 11 This passage in Attlee’s speech may be regarded as a historic pronouncement. It indicated a notable departure from the traditional policy of the British Government. One cannot help feeling that the Indian problem would have been solved long ago, with much less trouble, and perhaps, without partition of India, if the predecessor of Attlee had the wit to accept and the courage to announce, that a minority would not be allowed to place a veto on the advance of the majority. This one sentence served as ‘open sesame’ to the closed doors of the solution of Indian problem.

Jinnah, as could be expected, demurred to the declaration of Attlee, and was at pains to show that the Muslims were not a ‘minority’, but a ‘nation’. He also repeated his usual threat that if only a single constitution-making body be set up, the Muslim League would refuse to co-operate with it. But all the other political leaders welcomed the decision to send the Cabinet Mission, and offered their hearty co-operation.

II. THE CABINET MISSION 12

The Cabinet Mission arrived in New Delhi on 24 March, 1946. The Secretary of State made it clear that the objective of the Mission was to set up quickly a machinery for drawing up the constitution for independent India, and to make the necessary arrangements for an interim Government. He also announced that the Viceroy would be, for all practical purposes, a member of the Commission and would join with them in the discussions with the Indian leaders. The Secretary of State also took the earliest opportunity to remove the misgivings in the minds of the members of the Muslim League caused by Attlee’s reference to the minority not being allowed to place a veto on the advance of the majority. The very next day after his arrival, the Secretary of State observed at a Press Conference that “while the Congress party are representative of larger numbers, it would not be right to regard the Muslim League as merely a minority political party. They are in fact majority representatives of the great Moslem Community.” Being asked pointblank whether he regarded the Muslims as a nation or a minority, the Secretary of State answered: “We regard them as one of the great communities in India.” 123

The Cabinet Mission spent the first three weeks in discussions with the Governors, Members of the Viceroy’s Executive Council, Party leaders, eminent Indian politicians, premiers of Provinces, representatives of minorities and special interests, and princes and their ministers.

It is unnecessary to give a detailed account of the numerous interviews and meetings held by the Cabinet Mission. It would suffice to give a summary of the views of the two principal political parties.

“The Congress case was presented on 3 April by Abul Kalam Azad. It proceeded on the basis of independence and on the assumption that the future constitution would be determined by a constitution-making body.” With regard to the composition of the Central Government, “in an interim government, of say fifteen members, there might be eleven provincial representatives, and four places might go to representatives of the minorities”. “Regarding the future constitution, what the Congress had in mind was a federal government with a limited number of compulsory federal subjects such as defence, communications and foreign affairs, and autonomous provinces in which would vest the residuary powers.” 13

In course of discussion Azad admitted that under his proposal the Muslims would not get more than two or three seats in the Executive Council, but observed that arrangements could be made to give them more.

Gandhi, who was interviewed immediately after Azad, gave only his personal views. He denounced Jinnah’s two-nation theory as most dangerous, for, in his view, the Indian Muslims, save a microscopic minority, were all descended from Indians. He was also opposed to two constitution-making bodies. For the interim period Gandhi suggested that Jinnah should be asked to form the first Government with the ministers chosen from amongst the elected members of the legislature. If he refused, the offer should be made to the Congress.

Jinnah pointed out that throughout her history India had never been under a single Government, and that ever since any real political power was transferred to the Indians, the British Government had given separate electorates to the Muslims.

These are specious arguments. The real argument in favour of Pakistan was furnished by Jinnah's i;wo-nation theory. He developed the idea somewhat as follows:

"The differences in India were far greater than those between European countries and were of a vital and fundamental character. Even Ireland provided no parallel. The Muslims had a different

conception of life from the Hindus. They admired different qualities in their heroes; they had a different culture based on Arabic and Persian instead of Sanskrit origins. Their social customs were entirely different. Hindu society and philosophy were the most exclusive in the world. Muslims and Hindus had been living side by side in India for a thousand years but if one went into any Indian city one would see separate Hindu and Muslim quarters. It was not possible to make a nation unless there were essential uniting factors.

"How would His Majesty's Government put 100 millions of Muslims together with 250 millions whose whole way of life was so different? No Government could survive unless there was a dominant element which could provide a 'steel frame'. This frame had hitherto been provided by the British, who had always retained the key posts in the Civil Service, the Police and the Army. It was necessary to have a 'steel frame' for an independent India, but Jinnah could see none. He had therefore come to the conclusion, after years of experience, that there was no other solution but the division of India. There were in India two totally different and deeply rooted civilizations side by side, and the only solution was to have two 'steel frames', one in Hindustan and one in Pakistan. He agreed that it w T ould be convenient to have common railways, customs and so forth, but the question was, by what government would those services be controlled? He certainly contemplated treaties and agreements governing such matters, which could be settled once the fundamentals of Pakistan were agreed.” 14

It is impossible to deny that there was a great deal of truth in Jinnah’s assessment of Hindu-Muslim relationship, which a patriotic Indian may regret, but can ignore only at his peril. In any case, Jinnah’s view was more realistic than that of Gandhi or Nehru. 14a The only point at issue, which Jinnah always cleverly and carefully avoided, was whether in view of India’s geographical unity and the fact that large numbers of Muslims and Hindus lived in areas which would form, respectively, Hindustan and Pakistan, earnest attempts should not be made for two nations to live under the same Government under a Constitution mutually agreed upon. If Canada with its two warring nations, the English and the French, and Switzerland, an artificial combination of three different nations, could evolve a formula of political integration, was that inherently impossible in the case of Muslims and Hindus who had lived together within the natural limits of the same country for wellnigh seven hundred years? This question was not squarely faced by either Jinnah or the top-ranking Congress leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It was not to the interest of Jinnah to raise

this issue, and the Congress leaders were precluded from raising it because they never admitted the validity of the two-nation theory. This is the principal reason why all the past (and future) attempts for the solution of Hindu-Muslim questions proved a failure.

There were two other powerful and vocal minorities whose representatives placed their cases before the Commission, but did not always present a common view. The non-caste Hindus were represented by two different organisations, namely, the Scheduled Castes Federation led by Dr. Ambedkar, and the All India Depressed Classes’ League, represented by Jagjivan Ram and two others. Ambedkar held that the Scheduled castes were not Hindus at all, but a distinct religious entity, whereas the League considered them as Hindus who formed an important minority, but, in view of their present condition, required special safeguards, including special representation in the Legislature, in order to raise the level of the non-caste Hindus gradually to the level of the caste Hindus. Ambedkar wanted separate electorate for the Scheduled castes and was opposed to any Constituent Assembly as it would be dominated by the caste Hindus. He suggested instead two ad hoc committees, respectively, for constitutional and communal questions. The Depressed Classes' League pleaded for safeguarding the rights and interests of the Scheduled castes in the new Constitution. It suggested that the Scheduled caste members of the Provincial Legislatures should form an electoral college-for selecting their representatives in the Central Government.

The other powerful minority, the Sikhs, were represented by four leaders whose views did not agree, even on all important issues. The extreme view was presented by Giani Kartar Singh who demanded a separate sovereign State, Khalistan—where the Sikhs would be in a dominant, or almost dominant, position. He suggested that this new State should comprise Jullundur and Lahore Divisions, together with the Hissar, Ka'rnal, Ambala and Simla Districts of the Ambala Division, $nd the Montgomery and Lyallpur Districts. Baldev Singh was opposed to the idea of a separate Sikh State and favoured a united India. In order to safeguard the Sikh interests he asked for weightage in representation in the Punjab Legislature,—for example forty-five per cent, of the seats (instead of fifty-one) to the Muslims and the balance divided between the Sikhs and thq Hindus.

The two other Sikh representatives, Master Tara Singh and Harnam Singh, preferred a united India, but if India were divided they demanded a separate State for the Sikhs with the right to federate with either Hindustan or Pakistan.

The Liberal leaders, Sapru and Jayakar, pressed for the immediate formation of an interim Government and strongly opposed the idea of Pakistan. But in order to conciliate the Muslims they suggested equality of Muslims and caste Hindus in the Central Government.

The Hindu Mahasabha, represented by Shyama-prasad Mookerjee and L. B. Bhopatkar, demanded integrity and independence of India, and decried the idea of parity between the Hindus and Muslims in the Central Government.

Jinnah seems to have been somewhat unnerved by the attitude of the Cabinet Mission. He had been led to believe, by the practices hitherto followed by the Government of India, that he could put a spoke in the wheel of progress whenever it served his interest to do so. He now sensed, somehow, that the Cabinet Mission was determined to arrive at a decision, whether he agreed or not. So he now changed his tactics and held out threats of violent action, if Pakistan was not conceded.

"On or about 10 April qnd while these interviews were still in progress, Jinnah called together in Delhi a Convention of over four hundred members of the various legislatures recently elected on the Muslim League ticket. A lengthy resolution was passed which demanded a sovereign and independent State of Pakistan, comprising the six provinces of Bengal and Assam in the north-east, and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India; the setting up of two separate constitution-making bodies by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions, and the provision of safeguards for the minorities. The acceptance of the Muslim League demand for Pakistan, arid its implementation without delay, were declared to be the sine qua non for Muslim League co-operation and participation in the formation of an interim Government at the Centre. Any attempt to impose a constitution or to force on them an interim Government contrary to their demand would leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all the means possible for their survival and national existence." 15

Undeterred by these threats the Cabinet Mission calmly'thought of various possible alternatives which would secure the essence of the Muslim League demand and at the same time be acceptable to the Congress. Ultimately in an interview on 16 April, 1946, they offered Jinnah the two following alternatives to choose from.

(1) Pakistan as a sovereign State with the exclusion of those Districts where the non-Muslims formed a majority.

(2) Pakistan, comprising the areas demanded by Jinnah, but only as a separate federation which would function together with Hindustan on terms

of equality within an all-India Union for the essential purposes of defence and foreign affairs. 16

Jinnah decided against the idea of Indian Union. He declared that the domination of the Muslims by the Hindus could not be prevented in any scheme in which they were kept together, for "no amount of equality provided on paper would work. Equality could not exist between the majority and a minority within the same governmental system." 17

Jinnah said that once the principle of Pakistan was conceded he would be prepared to discuss the area to be included in it. But he stressed that he could not in any event accept the exclusion of Calcutta.

The Cabinet Mission continued the negotiation by adopting fresh lines of approach. In the course of these Jinnah agreed, for the first time, to enter into a Common Union Centre, but demanded as a price "the right of the Muslims to frame their own group and provincial constitutions for the 'six Muslim provinces' through a separate constitution-making body—in other words, the virtual recognition of Pakistan. This the Congress was not prepared to concede." 18

On 16 May, 1947, the Cabinet Mission issued an important statement. 19 After referring to the failure of the Congress and the Muslim League to reach a final agreement on the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India, the statement continued:

2. "... .Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

3. "We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new constitution can be brought into being. ..."

The Cabinet Mission then examined the question of a fully sovereign State of Pakistan as demanded by the Muslim League and pointed out:

6. “. .. . The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan

comprising the whole of the six provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures show:

Table captionSTRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

North-western Area .	Muslim	Non-Muslim
Punjab	16,217,242	12,291,577
North-West Frontier Province.	2,788,797	249,270
Sind	3,208,325	1,326,683
Br. Baluchistan	438,930	62,701

22,653,294 13,840,231

62.07% 37.93%

Table captionNorth-Eastern Area

Bengal 33,005,434 27,301,091

Assam	3,442,479	6,762,254
	36,447,913	34,063,345
	51:69%	48.31%

“The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed, amongst a total population of 188 million.

“These .figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.”

The Mission then considered the question of a smaller Pakistan by excluding non-Muslim areas. Apart from the fact that the Muslim League regarded it as quite impracticable, the Mission added:

7. ...We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition. Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity' divide the Sikhs, leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.’ 5

The Mission then pointed out the serious consequences of the partition of India:

8. “Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments, there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph systems of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India. The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective. The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. “A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. “Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves

of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred

miles and the communications between them both in war and #

peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. “We are therefore unable to advise the British Government tnat the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.”

The Mission then considered the Congress scheme of Federation of India “under which provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of central subjects, such as-foreign affairs, defence and communications.”

12. “Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.”

13. “Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with compulsory subjects, were responsible

to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with optional subjects, would be responsible only to those provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

“Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces, which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.”

After this remarkably statesmanlike review of the proposals put forward by the Muslim League and the Congress, the Mission set forth its own suggestion which reads as follows:

15. “We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:—

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British-Indian and States’ representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority

of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form groups with Executives and Legislatures, and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter."

As regards setting up the constitution-making machinery, the Mission rejected the election of a Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise as it would delay the matter too long. They also decided against utilizing the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies, for there were two serious objections against it.

18. "_First, the numerical strengths of Provincial Legis

lative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each province. Thus, Assam with a population of 10 millions has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250. Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Moslems in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48% of the total, although they form 55% of the provincial population. ... .We have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be

— ■

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage;

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population;

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of'that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikhs."

The operative part of the Mission's Statement may be quoted in full:

19. (i) "We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislative Assembly (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote:—

Table captionSection A

Province	General	Muslim.	Total .
Madras	45	4	49
Bombay	19	2	21
United Provinces	47	8	55
Bihar	31	5	36

Central Provinces	16	1	17
Orissa	9	0	9
Total	167	20	187

Table captionS. __47

Table captionSection B

Province	General	Muslim	Sikh	Total
Punjab	6	18	4	28
North-West Frontier Province	0	a	0	3
Sind	1	3	0	4
Total ...	9	22	4	35

Section O

Province	General	Muslim	Total

Bengal	27	33	60
Assam	7	3	10
	34	38	70

Total for British India 292

Table captionMaximum for Indian States 93 Total .. 385

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected, and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the Provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B and C. in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what Provincial subjects the Group should deaL Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of "each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities , consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution."

(Sections 20 and 22 will be referred to later).

The Cabinet Mission proceeded to point out the important problems, both internal and external, which the Government of India will have to face in the post-war world, and therefore proposed immediately to set up an interim Government having the support of the major political parties, in which all the portfolios, including that of the War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people.

The general public accorded a favourable reception to the Cabinet Mission's statement, and Gandhi echoed it when he said that the plan was worthy of acceptance. He even went further and said that the Mission had brought something of which they had every reason to be proud. 19 *.

The Congress Working Committee interpreted para 15 of the Mission's Statement to mean that in the first instance, the respective provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the sections in which they are placed. But the Mission declared this interpretation to be quite wrong.

It is evident that the Congress in interpreting para 15 (5) ignored para 19 (iv), and the Mission rightly stressed that “the scheme stands as a whole.” This insistence on the original proposal of initial grouping disturbed the Sikhs who felt that they would not have sufficient safeguards against the Muslim majority in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. They rejected the Mission’s plan and decided t*> fight. Tie Congress also disapproved of the compulsory grouping of Provinces, but was evidently more concerned with the exact status of the interim Government vis-a-vis the GovernorGeneral. On 25 May, Azad wrote to the Viceroy suggesting that a convention might be established to recognize the responsibility of the Interim Government to the Central Legislative Assembly. 20 In his reply, dated 30 May, the Viceroy wrote to Azad:

“His Majesty’s Government have already said that they will give to the Indian Government the greatest possible freedom in the exercise of the day-to-day administration of the country; and I need hardly assure you that it is my intention faithfully to carry out this undertaking.” 21

III. NEGOTIATIONS FOR INTERIM GOVERNMENT

On 6 June the Council of the Muslim League passed a resolution accepting the Cabinet Mission’s proposals, and authorized Jinnah to negotiate with the Viceroy in regard to the interim Government.

On 8 June Jinnah wrote to the Viceroy stating that during the discussions the Viceroy had assured him that there would be twelve members, namely, five League, five Congress, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. The Viceroy denied having given any such assurance but made proposals to Nehru which conceded the demand of Jinnah. The Congress rejected the proposal which was much worse than what was offered at the Simla Conference. Thereupon the Viceroy suggested an Executive Council of thirteen members, six Congress (including a member of the Scheduled Castes), five Muslim League and two representatives of the minorities. But the formula was turned down by the Congress.

A complete deadlock being thus reached, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy finally issued a 'Statement’ on 16 June, proposing to set up an Interim Government of fourteen persons (mentioned by name), six belonging to the Congress, including a representative of the Scheduled Castes, five to the Muslim League, one Sikh, one Indian Christian and one Parsi. The list included both Nehru and Jinnah. 2Ia .

The paragraph 8 of the Statement ran as follows:—'In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16th.” 22 In reply to a letter from Jinnah, dated 19 June, 23 asking for clarification of certain points in the statement of 16 June, the Viceroy assured him the very next day: "No change in principle will be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties. No change in the number of fourteen members will be made without the agreement of the two major parties. If any vacancy occurs among representatives of the minorities I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it. The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without, the agreement of the two major parties. No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it.” 24 The Viceroy also wrote to Azad on 22 June, that the Congress would not be allowed to nominate a Muslim in the Interim Government. 25

It is difficult to account for this complete surrender of the Viceroy to Jinnah. Even one of the most friendly critics of Lord Wavell was constrained to observe that he made these commitments to Jinnah '‘without sufficient and timely consideration”. 26 But taken along with his later conduct, his present action may be looked upon as the beginning of a new policy of shift to the Muslims, which wrecked the Cabinet Mission’s Plan as well as his own career It is, however, only fair to mention certain facts which would go far to exonerate Wavell, and perhaps also the Cabinet Mission (making the very natural assumption that his letter to Jinnah was written with their knowledge) of the charge of bad faith. According to Pyarelal, Sudhir Ghosh was told by Cripps on 22 June that as regards the non-inclusion of a Muslim nominee of the Congress "they had proceeded on a written assurance which they had received from the Maulana Saheb that the Working Committee would not stick out on that point. And now they felt themselves placed in an awkward position." We are further told by Pyarelal that on the evening of 23 June, Abell, the Private Secretary of the Viceroy, showed Rajkumari Amrit Kaur "the letter received from the Congress which apparently seemed to have been written without the knowledge of the Working Committee. It was only on receiving that letter that they had conceded Jinnah's demands for the sake of a settlement. How could they be blamed for it?" 26s .

The Viceroy's correspondence with Jinnah became public, and, as could be easily anticipated, the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution on 25 June rejecting the plan of Interim Government. The Committee, however, decided that the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly with a view to framing the Constitution of a free, united and democratic India. 27

On 28 June, three days after the meeting of the Working Committee, Gandhi left Delhi, and this departure practically marks the end of the dominant part played by him in Indian politics. The difference between him and his chosen followers had been growing during the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, but though there was never any open breach between them, it was quite clear that Gandhi no longer exercised any influence over the decisions of the Working Committee, and the Committee did not think it necessary to keep Gandhi informed about the course of events. Referring to the meeting of the Working Committee and the Cabinet Mission on 25 June, Pyarelal wrote in his diary on the same day:

"Bapu not being a member was not sent for and did not go. On their return nobody told Bapu a word about what had happened at the meeting." Of course, Gandhi still remained a popular idol, but he had ceased to count in Indian politics,—a fact which became more and more noticeable during the final phase of the negotiations with the British. 273 .

“Immediately after the Congress decision, the Cabinet Mission saw Jinnah and informed him that the scheme of 16 June had fallen through; that the Congress had, however, accepted the Statement of 16 May; and that, since both the Congress and the League had now accepted the Statement, it was proposed to set up a coalition Government, including both parties, as soon as possible”. 2713 As the negotiations for an Interim Government failed and some members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General had resigned, the Viceroy decided to set up a temporary caretaker Government composed entirely of officials, pending a settlement with the political parties. The Cabinet Mission found it impossible to remain longer in India and left on 29 June. 28 Although it had not succeeded in achieving its object, its strenuous efforts extending over more than three months were not altogether barren of results. The Indian constitutional problem had been put into the form of concrete realities and a machinery had been devised to discuss them and come

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to a decision. More important still, the Indians now felt convinced that the Labour Government in Britain was really anxious to see India free. The question for India was no longer how to achieve freedom, but how to enjoy it without cutting each other’s throat.

The All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on July 6 and 7, and ratified by 205 votes against 51 the settlement with the British, or the acceptance of the Cabinet plan. Only the Socialist wing of the Congress opposed.

Jawaharlal Nehru, who was elected President of the Congress some time ago, took over the office from Azad at this meeting. In winding up the proceedings of the Committee, Nehru made a long speech explaining the position of the Congress vis-a-vis the Cabinet Mission’s plan. He said “that as far as he could see, it was not a question of the Congress accepting any plan, long or short. It was merely a question of their agreeing to enter the Constituent Assembly, and nothing more than that. They would remain in that Assembly so long as they thought it was for India’s good and they would come out when they thought it was injuring their cause. r We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided for the moment to go to the Constituent Assembly.” 29

Later, speaking at a press conference on 10 July, Nehru qualified his statement. He admitted that the Congress was bound by the procedure set down for the election of the candidates to the Constituent Assembly. But then he added: “what we do there, we are entirely and absolutely free to determine.” Far more important however were his observations on paras 20 and 22 of the Cabinet Mission’s plan. These paras read as follows:

20. , “The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Bights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to ad* vise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union Constitution.

22. “It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.”

Referring to these Nehru observed that he would have no treaty with the British Government if they sought to impose anything upon India; as for the minorities, it was a domestic problem and “we shall no doubt succeed in solving it. We accept no out-* sider’s interference in it—certainly not the British Government's interference in it—-and therefore these two limiting factors to the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly are not accepted by us.” These observations, at that particular moment, were very injudicious and impolitic, to say the least of it. Still more unfortunate were Nehru’s observations on the question of grouping the Provinces. “The big probability is”, he said, “that there will be no grouping,” because section A and some States in groups B and C will decide against grouping. So far there could be no valid objection. But then Nehru added: “But I can say with every assurance and conviction that there is going to be finally no grouping there, because Assam will not tolerate it under any circumstances whatever. Thus you see this grouping business, approached from any point of view, does not get on at all.” Such words, coming from the new President of the Congress, were justly calculated to rouse a genuine fear in the minds of Jinnah that the Congress might accept the Cabinet plan, but was determined not to work it in the proper spirit.

Dealing with the powers of the proposed Union Centre, Nehru said that "Defence and Communications have a large number of industries behind them. External Affairs inevitably include

foreign trade policy". It was equally inevitable that the Union

must raise its finances by taxation, rather than by any system of contribution or doles from the Provinces. Further, the "Central Government must be responsible for foreign markets, loans etc., and must obviously control currency and credit"; and "there must be some overall power to intervene in graVe crisis, breakdown of the administration, or economic breakdown or famine." 30

These words might be legally and constitutionally true, but if Nehru were determined to scare away Jinnah, he could not have devised a better or more ingenious plan. The Grouping of Provinces and a weak Centre with residuary powers to the Provinces or Provincial groups were, in the opinion of Jinnah, the only two meritorious features of the plan, which might make amends for sacrificing the idea of a sovereign Pakistan. Nehru's assertion or explanation negatived the former and neutralized, to a very large extent, the value of the latter.

It was hardly a surprise, therefore, when Jinnah characterized Nehru's statement as "a complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the long-term scheme rests and all its fundamentals and terms and obligations and rights of parties accepting the scheme." Jinnah suggested that His Majesty's Government should make it a point, at the forthcoming debate in the British Parliament, "to make it clear beyond doubt and remove the impression that the Congress has accepted the long term scheme." 31

The British Cabinet made a genuine effort to satisfy Jinnah. On 18 July, the Secretary of State said in the House of Lords that the Congress and the Muslim League agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly with the object of making it work. Then he continued:

“Of course, they are at perfect liberty to advance their own views of what should or should not be the basis of a future constitution. That is the purpose of the Constituent Assembly, to hammer out agreement from diverse opinions and plans. Likewise, they can put forward their views as to how the Constituent Assembly should conduct its business. But having agreed to the statement of May 16 and the Constituent Assembly elected in accordance with that statement, they cannot, of course, go outside the terms of what has been agreed. To do so would not be fair to other parties who come in and it is on the basis of that agreed procedure that His Majesty’s Government have said they will accept the decision of the Constituent Assembly.” 32

The same day Sir Stafford Cripps cleared the position in regard to Provincial Grouping. Speaking in the House of Commons he observed:

“There were two main points which the Congress were stressing as to the statement of 16th May. The first was as to whether Provinces were compelled to come into the Sections of the Constituent Assembly—Sections A, B and C—in the first instance, or whether they could stay out if they wished. We made it quite clear that it was an essential feature of the scheme that the Provinces should go into Sections, though if groups were subsequently formed they could afterwards opt out of those groups.

“A fear was expressed that somehow or other the new provincial Constitutions might be so manoeuvred as to make it impossible for the Provinces afterwards to opt out. I do not myself see how such a thing would be possible, but if anything of that kind were to be attempted, it would be a clear breach of the basic understanding of the scheme.

“The essence of the constitution-making scheme is that the Provincial representatives in Sections A, B and C mentioned in paragraph 19, should have the opportunity of meeting together and deliberating upon the desirability of forming a group and upon the nature and extent of the subjects to be dealt with by the group. If, when the pattern of the group ultimately emerges, any Province wishes to withdraw from the group, because it is not satisfied, then it is at liberty to do so after the first election under the new Constitution, when, with no doubt a wider electorate than at present, that matter can be made a straight election issue.” 33

It is difficult to say how the British Cabinet could have made a more categorical assertion in support of the plan of 16 May. Nothing could be more reassuring to the Muslim League than the statement of the Secretary of State that His Majesty's Government would accept the decisions of the Constituent Assembly only if the agreed procedure were followed. But it was now Jinnah’s turn to become refractory. He was not satisfied with the statements made in the Parliament. He “accused the Cabinet of bad faith and condemned the Congress for its ‘pettifogging and higgling attitude.” 34 The Council of the Muslim League passed two resolutions on 29 July, 1946, withdrawing its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals and deciding to resort to direct action. The first resolution pointed out that the Congress had not in fact accepted the Cabinet Mission plan because their acceptance was conditional and subject to their own interpretation. In support of this the resolution referred to the observations of Nehru, mentioned above, and also a public speech by him at Delhi on 22 July after the debate in the Parliament.

There is no doubt that here the Muslim League stood on a firm ground as pointed out above.

The second resolution begins with some premises such as: “Whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of the British; and whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs;. . . ”

These premises led to the conviction that “now the time has come for the Muslim Nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future CasteHindu domination.”

Then comes the operating part which reads as follows:—

“This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organization, the All-India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice.

“This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy enunciated above and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

“As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this council calls upon the Mussulmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government.” 35

These two momentous resolutions were passed by the Council of the Muslim League without any dissent. Lest there be any misunderstanding on the nature of the direct action, Jinnah declared immediately after the second resolution was passed: “What we have done today is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid goodbye to constitutional methods.” “He recalled that throughout the fateful negotiations with the Cabinet Mission the other two parties, the British and the Congress, each held a pistol in their hand, the one of authority and arms and the other of mass struggle and nonco-operation. ‘To day,’ he said, ‘we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it*.” 36

“The Working Committee of the League followed up the Council’s resolution by calling upon Muslims throughout India to observe 16 August as ‘Direct Action Day’. On that day, meetings would be held all over the country to explain the resolution passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League.” 37

POST-WAH NEGOTIATIONS

It may be mentioned that Jinnah had, on more than one occasion, threatened a civil war if the Muslim demands were not satisfied. Now, at last, he launched one. But the pistol which he forged was meant to be used only against the Hindus, and not, like the Congress pistol, against the British Government.

By the end of July, the elections for the Constituent Assembly were completed so far as the seats for the British Indian Provinces were concerned. The Congress won all the general seats except nine. The Muslim League won all the seats reserved for the Muslims with the exception of five.

The Sikhs, as noted above, had rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and refused to join the Interim Government proposed in the statement of 16 June. They did not at first nominate candidates for election to the Constituent Assembly, but were persuaded to do so at a later date. Their fear was that under the system of Provincial grouping they would have no reasonable chance to opt out of the predominantly Muslim group of the north-west, even if they had so desired. It must be admitted that such a fear was not without foundation.

Before these elections were over, the Viceroy resumed negotiations with Nehru and Jinnah for the formation of an Interim Government (22 July).

The resolutions of the Muslim League passed on 29 July naturally altered the whole situation, and Jinnah refused to accept the proposals of the Viceroy. The Secretary of State, however, refused to allow Jinnah to hold up the formation of an Interim Government. The Viceroy also felt that he could "scarcely disregard the commitment to form a Government as representative as possible of those who had accepted the Statement of 16 May." 38

On 6 August the Viceroy invited Nehru to make proposals for the formation of an Interim Government on the basis of the assurances contained in his letter of 30 May to Azad. a9 The Viceroy informed Jinnah "that in view T of the League resolutions of 29 July, he had decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an interim Government and he was sure that if they made a reasonable offer of a coalition, he could rely on Jinnah for a ready response." 40 The Working Committee of the Congress met at Wardha on 8 August and passed a long resolution with a view to satisfying the Muslim League. 41 But though they asserted that the Congress "accepted the scheme in its entirety", it is difficult to regard as satisfactory their reply to the two specific issues raised by the League against the Congress, namely the option of a Province to join the Group to which it was allotted, and the unlimited power of the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body.

As could be easily anticipated, Jinnah was not satisfied with the resolution of the Congress Working Committee. He expressed the view that but for its phraseology, the resolution was a simple repetition of what the Congress had been saying from the very beginning.

The Congress Working Committee, meeting in Wardha on 8 August, also authorised Nehru to accept the invitation to form an Interim Government. The Viceroy accordingly issued a communique on 12 August inviting the President of the Congress to form the Provisional Government. Nehru accepted the invitation and wrote to Jinnah offering five seats out of fourteen, in the Interim Government, to nominees of Jinnah. But the negotiations broke down as Jinnah did not agree to the appointment of a non-League Muslim in the Government even out of the Congress quota.

The Muslim League now took to a course of action which had no parallel in the recorded history of the British period. With regard to the observance of the Direct Action Day on August 16, "Mr. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, in a statement, said that the day had been fixed for the purpose of explaining to the Muslim public all over India the resolutions passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League on July 19 at Bombay and not for the purpose of resorting to 'Direct Action' in any form or shape. He, therefore, enjoined upon the Mussalmans to carry out the instructions and abide by them strictly and conduct themselves peacefully and in a disciplined manner and not to play in the hands of their enemy." 42 But in certain localities in Bengal it was merely a camouflage for an organized anti-Hindu campaign of loot, arson and indiscriminate murder of men, women and children in broad daylight, with impunity. The worst holocaust took place in Calcutta as the Muslim League Government took a direct part in organizing the Muslim attack against the Hindus, and it was alleged that even the Chief Minister himself shielded the notorious ruffians of Calcutta and encouraged them to do their worst. It was reported in the press that a notorious Muslim goon da, responsible for murdering Hindus and caught red-handed, was released from the lockup at the intervention of the Chief Minister. The Hindus were taken unawares and had the worst of it at the beginning; they were butchered like sheep, their women were violated, and their houses looted and burnt in predominantly Muslim quarters. The British Governor, all the while in Calcutta, sat unmoved, and the Central Government did not take any effective step 43 even though they received secret official reports that the Muslim League Government was at the hack of the whole affair. This unwillingness of the British Government to maintain law and order for which they were still responsible under the existing constitution, rendered the Hindus desperate and forced them to organize themselves. Then followed what may be described as a civil war between the Hindus and Muslims, members of each community indiscriminately killing those of the other whenever any opportunity offered itself. When it was realized by the Government that the butchery, pillage and arson were no longer one way traffic, they cried halt and peace was restored after about a week. No regular inquiry was made, but according to a rough official estimate at the time, nearly 5000 lives were lost, over 15,000 were injured, and about 100,000 were rendered homeless.

Leonard Mosley has recorded a gruesome account of what took place in Calcutta on those fateful days. He summed up the casualties in the following words:

“Between dawn on the morning of 16 August, 1946, and dusk three days later, the people of Calcutta hacked, battered, burned, stabbed or shot 6,000 of each other to death and raped and maimed another 20,00c).” 44

The Statesman, an English daily in Calcutta, also described the condition as horrifying and regarded the whole thing as an organized Muslim scheme favoured by the Government of the Muslim League with Suhrawardy as Chief Minister. It wrote: “We have already commented on the bands who found it easy to get petrol and vehicles when no others were permitted on the streets. It is not mere supposition that men were brought into Calcutta to make an impression.Thousands have been brutally hurc, smashed eyes,

smashed jaws, smashed limbs of men, women and children.... What befell India's largest city last week was no mere communal riot ... For three days, the city concentrated on unrestrained civil war. The primary blame lies upon the Muslim League cabinet and particularly upon the Chief Minister (Suhrawardy)." 45 It is very significant that the Government declared 16 August as a public holiday, and as Azad rightly pointed out to the Viceroy during an interview, "it had made the hooligans of Calcutta's underworld believe that they had the license of the Government to behave as they liked.*® 46

While Calcutta was a scene of the unprecedented holocaust engineered by the Muslim League, neither Nehru nor Jinnah thought it fit to visit Calcutta, for, as Mosley tauntingly remarked, "both of them were too busy for that" Nehru was busy negotiating with

the Viceroy about the Interim Government. After a prolonged discussion it was agreed that there would be a Cabinet of 14 and the names of 6 Congressmen, 1 Sikh, 1 Indian Christian, 1 Parsi and 3 out of 5 Muslims were agreed upon. The personnel of the Interim Government was announced on 24 August, 1946. in the following communique:

"His Majesty the King has accepted the resignation of the present members of the Governor-Gener al's Executive Council. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following:

"Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. M. Asaf All. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr John Matthai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali Zaheer and Mr. Covesji Hortnusji Bhabha.

"Two more Muslim members will be appointed later. The Interim Government will take office on September 2." 47

There was also a broadcast by the Viceroy on the same day. He regretted the refusal of the Muslim League to join the Ministry although he offered it five seats out of fourteen and all possible assurances, but added that the offer was still open.. The Viceroy promised to implement fully the policy of giving the new Government the maximum freedom in the day-to-day administration of the country. In conclusion the Viceroy appealed to the Muslim League, to join the Constituent Assembly. 48

On 25 August Jinnah made a spirited reply to the Viceroys broadcast. He described the alleged offer to the Muslim League as “a misleading statement and contrary to facts.’* 49

IV. THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

There was a sudden change in the attitude of the Viceroy toward the Interim Government and the Congress, and the appeasement of the Muslim League became the corner-stone of his new policy. Almost immediately after the formation of the Interim Government the Viceroy flew to Calcutta to acquaint himself at first hand with the tragic happenings there. Immediately after his return he saw Gandhi and Nehru on 27 August and gave them an account of what happened in Calcutta. He told them that the only way to avoid similar tragedy all over India was to set up coalition Governments by unequivocal acceptance of the interpretation of the disputed clauses by the Muslim League on the part of the Congress. But neither Gandhi nor Nehru was prepared to accept the formula which the Viceroy had drawn up on this line for their signature, even though the Viceroy made it clear that he would

not summon the Constituent Assembly until this point was settled. 50

Nehru pointed out to the Viceroy in his reply dated 28 August, that the new proposals were at variance with his own broadcast and meant, that there could be no reference on this particular point to the Federal Court. To change the declared policy of the Congress, which was generally acknowledged to be fair, because of intimidation, was surely not the way of peace, but an encouragement of further intimidation and violence. 51 But these words had no effect on the Viceroy who adhered to his view. The Home Government, however, did not agree with the Viceroy. They asked him not to take any steps which were likely to result in a breach with the Congress, and to form the Interim Government with the personnel already announced. So the Interim Government was sworn in on 2 September. On the eve of the new Government's assumption' of office, a murderous attack was made on Sir. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, one of the Ministers, and communal riots broke out in Bombay and Ahmadabad. The League had realized that violence did pay, so far at least as the Viceroy was concerned.

Jinnah’s attitude was gradually more and more stiffened. Public resentment against the League Ministry in Bengal was very strong, and Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister, made a proposal to form a Coalition Government, but Jinnah turned it down. The difference between the views of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State grew wider every day. The latter was inclined to continue the Interim Government without further ado, at least for some time. But the Viceroy was very eager to take immediate steps to clinch the issue between the Congress and the Muslim League. So he carried on feverish but fruitless negotiations with Nehru and Jinnah in order to bring about a settlement,[52] till Jinnah sprang a surprise on the Viceroy by “asking whether since the Congress had the right to nominate a Muslim in its quota, he could nominate a representative of Scheduled Castes or other minority in his quota. The Viceroy admitted that he could do so”,[53] and confirmed it in writing on 12 October. Strange to say, on the very next day, the Muslim League agreed to join the Interim Government.

The Viceroy interviewed Jinnah and “stressed that the presence of the Muslim League in the Interim Government would be conditional on their reconsideration of their Bombay resolution and acceptance of the Statement of 16 May. Jinnah said that he realized this, but that it would be necessary to secure certain guarantees from the Congress, and that the Council of the Muslim League must be called together to withdraw their Bombay resolution. The Viceroy said that this should be done as soon as possible.”[54]

In order to make room for these five nominees (there were already two vacancies), three existing members—Sarat-chandra Bose, Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan and Syed Ali Zaheer—retired from the Interim Government.

The decision of the Muslim League to join the Interim Government did not evoke the enthusiasm that could be normally expected. For, as a matter of fact, there was no real coalition Government. "The League's representatives in the interim Government refused to accept Nehru's leadership, or the convention of collective responsibility. The interim Government, as Liaqat Ali Khan described it, 'consisted of a Congress bloc and a Muslim bloc, each functioning under separate leadership." 55

What was worse still, the Muslim League did not take any step to rescind the Bombay resolution and accept the Cabinet Mission Plan.

The Viceroy was now caught in his own meshes. In his eagerness to get the Muslim League members inside his Executive Council, he had to satisfy himself only with a vague assurance, and he now found to his dismay that Jinnah did not play straight with him in this matter. When the Viceroy urged Jinnah to call a meeting of his Council to rescind the resolution boycotting the Constituent Assembly, he evaded it and urged the Viceroy to announce immediately the postponement of the Constituent Assembly sine die . He stressed that to call the Constituent Assembly with only Congress representatives would lead to terrible disaster. But the Secretary of State proved to be less amenable to such threats than the Viceroy.

The Viceroy next met Nehru who advised that the invitations for the Constituent Assembly should be issued without any further delay. The Viceroy agreed and invitations were issued on 20 November. "Jinnah characterized it as 'one more blunder of a very grave and serious character.' ... He called upon the representatives of the Muslim League not to participate in the Constituent Assembly and emphasized that the Bombay resolution of the Muslim League Council still stood." 55a

The Congress leaders therefore demanded that the Muslim League ministers should quit the Government. With the prospect of a civil war throughout India, the Secretary of State made on® more effort to bring about an agreement between the two major parties by inviting their representatives to London. A Sikh representative was added at the suggestion of the Viceroy. Nehru, Baldev Singh, Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan, together with the

Viceroy, arrived in London on 2 December, 1946. As could be easily anticipated, the interpretation of para 19 (v and viii) of the Cabinet Mission plan proved to be the stumbling block and no settlement could be achieved.

But though no agreement was arrived at, the British Government gave its verdict in favour of the interpretation put upon the disputed clauses by the Muslim League. The following statement was issued by His Majesty's Government on 6 December, 1946:

"The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement read as a whole is that the provinces have a right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions.

"His Majesty's Government have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of May 16 means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the Statement as so interpreted must therefore be considered as an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should therefore be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.

"It is, however, clear that other questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16 may arise, and His Majesty's Government hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side, and will accept such a decision, so that the procedure, both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the sections, may accord with the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

"On the matter immediately in dispute, His Majesty's Government urge the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission, in order that the way may be open for the Muslim League to reconsider their attitude. If, in spite of this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission, the Constituent

Assembly desires that this fundamental point should be referred for the decision of the Federal Court, such reference should be made at a very early date. It will then be reasonable that the meetings of the sections of the Constituent Assembly should be postponed until the decision of the Federal Court is known.

"There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except on this basis of an agreed procedure. Should a constitution come to be .ramed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country." 56

This very important statement was accompanied by an assurance to Jinnah in the presence of Nehru, that if the decision of the Federal Court was contrary to the British Government's interpretation they would have to consider the position afresh. 57 This cut the ground from under the feet of Nehru who had agreed to abide by the decision of the Federal Court even if it went against the Congress. It is therefore no wonder that "Nehru took the line that the Statement amounted to a variation and extension of the Statement of 16 May and that he and his colleagues would have to consider the whole situation." 574 It was undoubtedly a triumph for Jinnah. He was assured on two important points. First, that the interpretation of the disputed clauses, whatever the decision of the Court, was ultimately bound to be in his favour. Secondly, the Muslim League need only boycott the Constituent Assembly in order to render nugatory any decision that it might arrive at 'regarding the Constitution of an Indian Union.' Jinnah further strengthened his position by staying on in England where he made a number of speeches warning Englishmen that the only alternative to grant of Pakistan was a civil war in India.

V. THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly met on 9 December, 1946, but the Muslim members did not attend. Rajendra Prasad was elected President, and Nehru moved the 'Objectives Resolution'. "It envisaged the Indian Union as 'an independent Sovereign Republic', comprising autonomous units with residuary powers, wherein the ideals of social, political and economic democracy would be guaranteed to all sections of the people and adequate safeguards would be provided for minorities and backward communities and areas.” Its consideration was postponed to a later date in order to enable representatives not only of the Muslim League, but of the Indian States, to participate in the discussion, and the Assembly was adjourned till 20 January, 1947. Although the Congress deeply regretted the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure of Provincial Grouping, the A.I.C.C. in an emergency meeting held at Delhi on 5 January, 1947, accepted it, subject to protest and

the following reservation which rendered the acceptance practically nugatory:

“It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion of a province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardised. In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a province or part of a province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned.” 58

The Constituent Assembly met on 20 January and had a session of six days. Nehru’s resolution on ‘Objectives’ was passed. Some important committees were also appointed, in which a number of places were left vacant for the Muslim League. Controversial measures, such as a proposal for the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, were dropped.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League met at Karachi and passed a lengthy resolution on 31 January, 1947. It regretfully noted that in spite of the Statement of 6 December by the British Government, the Congress “is determined to adhere to its own views and interpretations of the fundamental provisions in the Cabinet Mission’s statement of May 16”. In support of it reference was made to the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress and A.I.C.C. mentioned above. The resolution concluded as follows:

“The Working Committee accordingly calls upon His Majesty’s Government to decide that the constitutional plan formulated by the Cabinet

Mission, as announced on May 16, has failed because the Congress after all these months of efforts has not accepted the statement of May 16, nor have the Sikhs, nor the Scheduled Castes....

"The Working Committee of the Muslim League is, therefore, emphatically of opinion that the elections to, and thereafter the summoning of the Constituent Assembly, . .. and its proceedings and decisions are ultra vires , invalid, and illegal and it should be forthwith dissolved." 59

The Working Committee of the Muslim League declined to call the Council of the League to reconsider its decision of 29 July, 1946. 60 This meant in effect that the League not only rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan and boycotted the Constituent Assembly, but was also committed to the policy of Direct Action. The Congress and the minority members of the Viceroy's Council therefore made a demand to the Viceroy, on 5 February, 1947, for the resignation of the League members from the Interim Government.

The Viceroy saw Liaqat Ali Khan on the 6th and informed him of the Congress demand. On the 7 th Liaqat wrote a long letter to the Viceroy. "He particularly emphasized that if the basis of participation in the interim Government was acceptance of the Statement of 16 May, neither the Congress, which had not accepted it, nor the Sikhs, who had definitely rejected it, had any greater right to have their representatives or nominees in the Government than had the Muslim League. In the circumstances it was extremely presumptuous on the part of the nine members of the Executive Council to demand that their Muslim League colleagues should resign." 61

The Viceroy was sympathetic to the Muslim League's view and was inclined to call upon the Congress to accept the Cabinet Mission's Plan without any reservation. His proposal to this effect was turned down by the Secretary of State who was evidently more perturbed than the Viceroy at the idea of the Congress members resigning from the Interim Government. He had good reasons for such apprehension. For the Congress had practical]y given an ultimatum to the effect that unless the Muslim League changed its Karachi decision, either the ministers who represented it must resign their posts, or the Congress would withdraw from the Ministry.

VI. BRITISH DECISION TO LEAVE INDIA

The Labour Government made a far more realistic assessment of the grave situation in India than the Viceroy, ‘the man on the spot’, who had always been the conscience-keeper of the Government at Home. They were on the horns of a dilemma. The resignation of the Muslim ministers, they knew, would lead to serious disorders —perhaps the repetition of the Calcutta massacre on 16 August, 1946, on a much wider scale. No less disastrous consequences might possibly ensue if the Congress withdrew from the Government. There were also good grounds to apprehend that the virus of communalism had so much affected the army and the Civil Service that they could not be relied upon to act impartially or support the Government loyally in any serious communal strife.

It was at this grave crisis that the Prime Minister Attlee came to a momentous decision. He decided to fix a definite date when the British would leave India and the responsibility for the administration would fall upon the Indians themselves. Wavell differed from him and wished to persist with the Cabinet Mission plan and the attempt to compose the differences between the Congress and the League. Attlee did not agree and boldly expressed the view that unless a date line was fixed there would never be any solution.

So, on 20 February, 1947, Attlee made the historic announcement of the end of British rule in India. After a brief review of the failure of repeated attempts to bring about an agreement among the different parties in India, Attlee observed:

“....The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged. His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948."

After referring to the Cabinet Missions's plan of 16 May, 1946, Attlee continued:—

“His Majesty's Government there agreed to recommend to Parliament a Constitution worked out in accordance with the proposals made therein by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. But if it should appear that such a Constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph 7, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people.”

In conclusion Attlee announced the appointment of Admiral the Viscount Mountbatten as Viceroy in succession to Lord Wavell, and also that the new Viceroy, who would join his office in March, 1947, “will be entrusted with the task of transferring to Indian hands responsibility for the government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India." 62

This remarkable statement set at rest all doubts about the intention of the British Government by declaring a* definite date when India would be free from British control. The declaration was absolute and unconditional, inasmuch as the transfer of power would not depend upon any agreement between the Indian parties. If such agreement were not arrived at by the prescribed date, the British Government would relinquish their power to such party or parties as they might think proper and competent to take charge.

The statement of Attlee was a direct challenge to Indian statesmanship, and particularly to Gandhi and Nehru, who never ceased to harp upon the idea that all the communal troubles were due to the presence of the British. Now that the British had stated in unequivocal terms that they would “quit India" by the middle of June, 1948, Gandhi, Nehru and the Congress had a splendid opportunity to prove their oft-repeated theory. 623 It was put to a crucial test and failed miserably.

The Congress Working Committee, which met on 6 March, welcomed the statement of Attlee and passed a momentous resolution, foreshadowing the partition of India. After narrating the recent events in the Punjab the resolution recommended that “in order to avoid compulsion of any section, the province should be divided into two parts so that the predominantly Muslim portion might be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim portion.” This was not agreeable to a section of the Congress. “The Congress President explained in a press interview that the Congress had only suggested a division of the Punjab as a means of putting an end to violence, and that the same remedy would hold good for Bengal if the circumstances in that province were similar.” 63

The Working Committee also invited the Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly and nominate representatives to meet those of the Congress to consider the situation created by Attlee’s statement.

The Muslim League did not accept the invitation of the Congress to discuss the situation. Nor did it issue any official resolution on the February statement of the British Government. But the League Press severely criticized the Congress proposal to divide the Punjab into two parts. Jinnah declared that the Muslim League would not yield an inch in its demand for Pakistan.

With the exception of the Muslim League and the Anglo-Indian community, the statement of Attlee was hailed with joy all over India, though there were a few dissidents who looked upon it as a leap in the dark. But the real trouble of the Labour Government was with the ‘Diehard Conservatives’—an epithet fully justified by the debate on Attlee’s statement in the Parliament. 64 In the House of Lords Viscount Templewood (Sir Samuel Hoare) moved that the British Government’s decision to hand over India “under conditions which appear to be in conflict with previous declarations of the Government on this suject, and without any provisions for the protection of minorities or discharge of their obligations, is likely to imperil the peace and prosperity of India.” He described the Statement as “unconditional surrender, at the expense of many to whom we have given specific pledges for generations past, which would lead to a division of India under the worst possible circumstances.”

“Lord Simon supported Viscount Templewood. T sadly fear’, he said, ‘that the end of this business is not going to be the

establishment of peace in India, but rather that is going to degrade the British name.’

“When it looked as though the division might go against the Government, it was the intervention of Lord Halifax that turned the scales. His was the most important and historic contribution to the whole debate. He said:

‘With such knowledge as I have, I am not prepared to say that whatever else may be right or wrong, this step must on all counts certainly be judged to be wrong. .. .for the truth is that for India today there is no solution that is not fraught with the gravest objection, with the gravest danger. And the conclusion that I reach —with all that can be said against it—is that I am not prepared to condemn what His Majesty’s Government are doing unless I can honestly and confidently recommend a better solution. .. .1 should be sorry if the only message from the House to India at this moment was one of condemnation, based on what I must fully recognise are very natural feelings of failure, frustration and foreboding.*

Lord Pethick-Lawrence pointed out that the only alternative to the present policy of the Labour Government was to start all over again the unhappy procedure of arrest and imprisonment without trial, thus coming into conflict with a determined body of people in India. He made a very significant revelation w r hen he added that responsible authorities in India held the view that ‘British rule cannot be maintained on its existing basis with adequate efficiency after 1948*. Viscount Templewood finally withdrew his motion.

A heavy gale also blew in the House of Commons for two days. Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking on behalf of the Government, pointed out that there were only two alternatives. The first was to keep down India by force, for another 15 or 20 years at least, by considerable reinforcement of British troops and civil personnel. The second was the one adopted by the Government. “The first alternative we had no hesitation in putting aside. It would be contrary to all we have said, and to the policy of this country, to prolong our stay in India for more than a decade against the wishes of the Indians—and there can be no shadow of doubt that it would be against their wishes. It would be politically impracticable, from both a national ard an international point of view, and would arouse the most bitter animosity of all parties in India against us.

"Even if we had been prepared to make available the extra troops that would be required to deal with opposition by the Indian

people over that period of years, it is certain that the people of this country—short as we are of manpower, as we all know—would not have consented to the prolonged stationing of large bodies of British troops in India, for a purpose which was not consistent with our expressed desire that India should achieve self-government at as early a date as possible. Such a decision would, as I have said, have met with the hostility of all Indian communities, as indeed has been shown by the reaction to the statement the other day. We should, therefore, have had to rule India through the GovernorGeneral and the Governors without any representative Indian Government. We therefore ruled out the first alternative, as both undesirable and impracticable." As regards the devolution of authority, Cripps said: "We could not accept the forcing of unwilling Provinces into a United Indian Government."

The Conservatives described the fixing of a date for withdrawal as "a gamble and an unjustifiable gamble." Their criticism was based on three main considerations: firstly, that it was a departure from the agreed policy embodied in the Cripps Offer of 1942; secondly, that by fixing a time limit for withdrawal Britain had lost its bargaining power vis-a-vis India; and thirdly, that the course adopted by the Government woud lead to developments contrary to its expectations, that is to say, it would accentuate rather than minimize Indian differences.

Winston Churchill condemned the handing over of the Government of India to the 'political classes who were men of straw of whom in a few years no trace will remain.' He concluded: "Many have defended Britain against their foes, none can defend her against herself. But, at least, let us not add—

by shameful flight, by a premature hurried scuttle—at least, let us not add to the pangs of sorrow so many of us feel, the taint and smear of shame."

In winding up the debate, Prime Minister Attlee emphasized that 'the dangers of delay, the dangers of hanging on, were as great as the dangers of going forward.' He was sure that the whole House would wish godspeed to the new Viceroy in his great mission. 'It is a mission, not as has been suggested, of betrayal on our part, it is a mission of fulfilment.' The censure motion was defeated by 337 votes to 185.

VII. LAST DAYS OF LORD WAVELL IN INDIA

Lord Wavell left India on 23 March, 1947, and Lord Mountbatten was sworn in as Viceroy the next day. Before we proceed to relate the almost dramatic events that marched at railway speed in the new regime, it is necessary to take stock of the political situation when Lord Wavell left India.

The communal riots became more wide-spread and far more bitter and sanguinary during the preceding seven months, since August 1946, than ever before. It was the result of the 'Direct Action' of the Muslim League which had virtually declared a Civil War against the Hindus. The Muslim League Ministry in Bengal was rightly suspected of helping the massacre of the Hindus by the Muslims, and hence became extremely unpopular. The people of Assam, with a predominantly non-Muslim population, grew restive at the prospect of being grouped with Bengal as a Muslim bloc under the provisions of the Constitution devised in the Cabinet Mission Plan. Although the Muslim League could now claim to speak in the name of Indian Muslims, its effective political authority was at first restricted to the discredited Ministry of Bengal. For in Sindh, the only other Province where a League Ministry was formed after the election of 1945, it could not carry on against the Congress coalition and the Assembly was dissolved. But the fresh election resulted in a League majority and League Ministry was again established. Similarly, in the N.W.F.P. which was once a stronghold of the Congress under the Khan Brothers, a swing towards the Muslim League was visibly taking place day by day. Official reports reached Nehru during the first period of Interim Government that the Congress had largely lost local support and that the people had transferred their loyalty from Congress to the League. “Jawaharlal was of the view that these reports were not correct and were fabricated by British officers who were against Congress. Lord Wavell did not agree with Jawaharlal, though he did not accept the official reports in toto . His view was that the Frontier was almost equally divided between the Khan Brothers and the Muslim League. The impression in Congress circles was that the overwhelming majority of the people were with the Khan Brothers. Jawaharlal said that he would tour the Frontier and assess the situation for himself.” 65 It did not take Nehru long to realize that the Khan Brothers did not really command as much influence and authority in N.W.F.P. as was believed by the Congress leaders. Azad writes:

“When Jawaharlal landed at the airport, he found thousands of Pathans massed: there carrying black flags and shouting antislogans. Dr. Khan Saheb and other Ministers who had come to receive Jawaharlal Nehru were themselves under police protection and proved completely ineffective. As Jawaharlal emerged, slogans were raised against him and some people in the mob tried to attack his car. Dr. Khan Saheb was so worried that he took out his revolver and threatened to shoot. Only under this threat did the crowd give way. The cars had to proceed under police escort.” 6 "

Nehru witnessed a similar state of thing during his tour in the tribal areas. Everywhere he met with large hostile crowds. In some places his car was stoned and Nehru was once hit on the forehead. Dr. Khan Saheb, the Chief Minister, and his colleagues looked completely helpless. *

There was a strong suspicion that the hostile demonstration was partly engineered by the officials. After Nehru’s return Lord Wavell “expressed his regret for the whole affair and wanted an enquiry to be made into the conduct of the officers, but Nehru did not agree that any action should be taken against them.” 67

But whatever one might think of the extent, if any, of official influence, there is hardly any doubt that the attitude of the Pathans in the Frontier Province had undergone a material change against the Congress. The officials might have exploited the situation, but could not manoeuvre the change. It was due principally to the general spread of anti-Hindu feelings amongst the Indian Muslims, pari passu with the growth of Muslim League in power and prestige.

The same thing was noticeable in the Punjab. Since the failure of the Muslim League, after the election of 1946, to form a Ministry, it concentrated its energy upon breaking up the coalition Ministry of Khizr Hyat Khan. The League took a leaf out of the Congress and carried on a vigorous agitation on the same pattern. The people defied orders banning meetings and processions. Masses with women and students in front made wild demonstrations before the Government House, Legislative buildings, Secretariats and even Magistrates' courts and jails, shouting slogans in favour of Pakistan. Communal bitterness increased and the Hindus and Sikhs grew restive. They plainly told the Chief Minister that either he should suppress the agitation of the Muslims or they would take up their defence in their own hands. Tara Singh called upon the Sikhs to prepare themselves against the grave danger that threatened them. The British Government's announcement of 20 February, 1947, made the position of the anti-League Ministry a precarious one. They could no longer hope to curb the violence of the Muslim League with the full knowledge that power would definitely pass into the hands of the Muslim majority which meant almost certainly Pakistan. Khizr Hyat Khan tendered resignation on 2 March.

The resignation of Khizr Hyat Khan was hailed with joy by the Muslim League. But the jubliation was of very short duration. The Governor called upon the Khan of Mamdot, the leader of the provincial Muslim League to form a Ministry. But he failed to do so, as both the Sikhs and the Hindus refused to co-operate with the League. Thereupon the Governor took charge of the administration under Section 93 of the Act of 1935.

The failure of the Muslim League to form a Ministry was immediately followed by violence on a large scale. It is not difficult to trace the connection between the two, for the new policy of the Muslim League, camouflaged under the name of 'Direct Action', was really the adoption of outrages upon Hindus as a deliberate policy to further political ends. It was inevitable that after the first surprise attacks on the Hindus in Calcutta on 16 August, when the new policy was brought into action for the first time, the Hindus and Sikhs would be ready to retaliate and pay the Muslims back in their own coin. Aggression, followed by retaliation, became the recognised feature in the violent uprisings of the time. It materially differed from the old communal riots. They were due to religious frenzy worked up, in some cases, by interested political motives. The communal outrages, which were initiated by the Muslim League on 16 August, 1946, and continued in subsequent periods, were directly motivated by political considerations, and religious frenzy was merely an accessory or auxiliary to them. The most regrettable aspect of this new type of communal violence was the element of vicarious retribution. It took the form of indiscriminate retaliation on persons of one community, not even remotely connected with the outrages perpetrated by their coreligionists in a far distant locality. Thus barbarous outrages on Hindus in Noakhali, in the eastern parts of Bengal, provoked equally barbarous revenge on Muslims in Bihar. The Hindus were numerically insignificant in Noakhali and therefore too weak to resist the Muslim outrages, and the task of retaliating them was taken up by the Hindus of Bihar where the Muslim minority was equally helpless. Such a spirit cannot be justified by any means, but a statesman may ignore its existence, and in some case, its inevitability, only at his peril.

As in Bengal, the Muslim League must be held chiefly responsible for the initiation of a reign of terror in the Punjab. The ‘Direct Action’, begun in Lahore, followed the pattern of Calcutta. Street fightings in Lahore ‘developed into a frenzy of stabbing and killing’ which spread to other towns such as Multan, Rawalpindi and Amritsar. The troubles spread to the N.W.F.P. where the Muslim League organized demonstrations against the Congress Ministry. The Government took strong measures and made arrests on a large scale. The arrest of the Pir of Manki Shariff, a prominent member of the Muslim League, created unrest among a section of the tribal people.

The most disquieting element in Indian politics was the Interim Government after the Muslim League Members had joined it at the end of October, 1946.

From the very beginning there was an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust between Congress and the League. The first question was about the distribution of portfolios. Lord Wavell suggested that the Home Department should be given to a representative of the League. Sardar Patel, who was then Home Member, vehemently opposed the suggestion, 68 and the Finance portfolio was therefore offered to the League. Azad observes:

“When Liaqat Ali became the Finance Member, he obtained possession of the key to Government. Every proposal of every Department was subject to scrutiny by his Department. In addition he had the power of veto. Not a chaprasi could be appointed in any Department without the sanction of his Department. His persistent interference made it difficult for any Congress Member to function effectively. Internal dissensions broke out within the Government and went on increasing.” 69

This was not a mere accident nor due to any personal factor. From the very beginning it was apparent that the League members had no mind to work in the spirit of a Cabinet, but were bent upon forming an opposition party against their colleagues. The GovernorGeneral’s Executive Council became really a combination of two hostile groups—Congress and League—-carrying their fight inside the Government. The conflicting leadership of Nehru and Jinnah was in evidence not only in the Executive Council, but down the whole ranks of officials who also were divided into two hostile communal camps owing allegiance to one or the other. Sardar Patel, one of the Congress members in the Executive Council, did not much exaggerate matters when he said that during his .nine months in office he had noticed that Muslim officials right from the top down to the chaprasi , with a few honourable exceptions, were all for the Muslim League, and mutual recriminations and allegations were the order of the day. 70

The bitter experience of even the short period of six months made the idea of a joint Hindu-Muslim Cabinet stink into the nostrils of many Congress leaders who had all along fought for an undivided Indian Dominion, and the creation of Pakistan appeared to them to be the only way of deliverance from anarchy and bloodshed caused by chaos, confusion and complete break-down of administration.

POST-WAR NEGOTIATIONS

1. Menon, p. 217.

2. Ibid, pp v . 218-9.

2a. For a day-to-day account of the disturbances ci. IAR, 1946, I. pp. 269-84.

3. Cf. the comments of Mosley (pp. 186-7) and the Foreword by Philip Mason to Subhas Chandra Bose (The Springing Tiger) by Hugh Toye.

4. Menon, pp. 223-4.

5. Ibid, p. 227.

6. Ibid, p. 226.

7. Ibid,

8. Ibid, p. 229.

9. Ibid, pp. 228-9. For a detailed account, cf. IAR, 1946. pp. 285-308

10. Ibid, p. 234.

11. Ibid, pp. 234-5.

12. For a general account of the statements and activities of the Cabinet Mission, cf. Banerjee and Bose, The Cabinet Mission in India (referred to hereafter as Cabinet Mission). A great deal of very interesting information, not otherwise known, of the private negotiations of the members of the Mission with the Congress leaders, particularly Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, is given in a recent book, Gandhi's Emissary, written by Sudhir Ghosh and published in 1967, after this chapter was set in type. As the title of the book shows, Ghosh acted as a confidential emissary between Gandhi and prominent British ministers like Sir Stafford Cripps and Pethick Lawrence, not only while the Cabinet Mission was in India, but also during the subsequent eventful period up to the achievement of independence by India. For this purpose Ghosh was sent to London by the Interim Government of India as Public Relations Officer. The message and letters that passed

through Ghosh show the great confidence reposed in him by Gandhi and Sir Stafford Cripps as well as Petiiick-Lawrence. This would appear incredible, but for the publication of the actual texts of numerous letters written by these three to Sudhir Ghosh who, curiously enough, held no official position, at least to begin with, i.e. before his appointment as Public Relations Officer in London in March, 1947.

12a. Cabinet Mission, p. 31.

13. Menon, pp. 237-8.

14. Ibid, pp. 240-1.

14a. See pp. 729, 591-2, 646.

14b. A radically opposite view was taken by the Communists, who did not count for much in Indian politics in those days but became powerful at a later date, after the achievement of independence by the Indians. The following extract is quoted from the memorandum of the Communist Party to the Cabinet Mission, dated 15 April, 1946: u Wc suggest the setting up of a Boundary Commission to redraw the boundaries... so that the re-demarcated Provinces become as far as possible linguistically and culturally homogeneous National Units, e.g., Sind, Pathanland, Baluchistan, Western Punjab, etc. The people of each such Unit should have the unfettered right to self-determination, i.e. the right to decide freely whether they join the Indian Union or form a separate Sovereign State or another Indian Union (IAR, 1946, Vol. I, p. 220).

15. Menon, pp. 246-7.

16. Ibid, pp. 248-9.

17. Ibid, pp. 249-50.

18. Ibid, pp. 263.

19. For the full text of the statement, cf. Gwyer, II. pp. 577-86; Cabinet Mission, pp. 90-107; Menon, pp. 466-75.

19a. The Harijan, 26 May, 1946, p. 152, quoted by Pyarelal (I. pp. 214-5); Menon, pp. 268-9. Gandhi's approval was subject to the interpretation of Clause 15 adopted by the Congress.

20. Gwyer, II. p. 595.

21. Ibid, p. 596.

21a. The list was drawn up on the basis of names submitted by the Congress and * the League; but some changes were made in the Congress list by the Viceroy.

Pyarelal, I, p. 229.

22. Gwyer, II. pp. 602-3.

23. Ibid, p. 603.

24. Ibid, pp. 605-6.

25. Ibid,, p. 606. In glaring contrast to this the Viceroy wrote to the Congress President on 15 June: "I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object

to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than I would accept similar objections from the other side." (Pyarelal, I. p. 232).

26. Menon, p. 277.

26a. Pyarelal, I. pp. 234-5. This is corroborated by Sudhir Ghosh (pp. 165-7) who adds: "Gandhiji was deeply hurt to hear the story of the Maulana's letter...He had another sleepless night." Maulana's conduct is, of course, indefensible.

27. Gwyer, II. pp. 610-11.

27a. Cf. Pyarelal, I. pp. 239 IT.

27 b. Menon, p. 278.

28. Menon, pp. 278-9, Gwyer, II. pp. 611-2.

29. Menon, p. 280.

30. For the full statement, cf. Gwyer, II. pp. 612-5.

31. Menon, p. 281.

32. Ibid, p, 282.

33. For the full text, cf. Gwyer, II. pp. 630-40.

34. Menon, pp. 282-3.

35. For full text, cf. Gwyer, II. pp. 618-21.

30. Menon, p. 284.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid, p. 288.

39. Ibid, p. 289.

40. Ibid, p. 289-90.

41. Ibid, p. 292; Gwyer, II. pp. 621-2.

42. Hist. Congr., II. p. 805. ‘July 19’ is evidently a mistake, for ‘July 29’.

43. Menon, p. 296; Azad, pp. 159-60.

44. Mosley, p. 1.

45. Ibid, p. 38. Cf. in this connection the speech of Dr. Shyama-prasad Mookerjee in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the no-confidence motion against the Ministry on 20 September, 1946.

46. Menon, p. 296.

47. Gwyer, II. p. 643.

48. Ibid, pp. 643-5,

49. Ibid, p. 645.

50. Menon, pp. 301-2; Mosley, pp. 42-3.

51. Menon, p. 303.

52. Ibid, pp. 303-07.

53. Ibid, p. 315.

54. Ibid, p. 316.

55. Ibid, pp. 320-1; Azad, p. 168.

55a. Menon, p. 324.

56. Gwyer, II. pp. 660-1. Menon, pp. 329-30.

57. Menon, p. 330.

57a. Ibid.

58. Ibid, pp. 332-3.

59. Gwyer, II. pp. 663-6.

60. See pp. 745-6.

61. Menon, p. 336.

61a. Azad, p. 177.

62. Gwyer, II. pp. 667-9.

62a. Cf. pp. 646, 743.

63. Menon, p. 347.

64. The following account of the Parliamentary debate is based on Menon, pp. 340 ff., and Kulkarni, pp. 459-61.

65. Azad, p. 169.

66. Ibid, p. 171.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid, p. 166.

69. Ibid, pp. 166-8. The function of the Finance Member seems to be exaggerated.

70. Pakistan, p. 175.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE LAST DAYS OF BRITISH RULE

I. LORD MOUNTBATTEN

Lord Mountbatten assumed the office of the Viceroy and Governor-General on 24 March, 1947. His immediate task was to restore peace among the two warring sections—the Congress and the League—both in his Executive Council and the country at large. He lost no time in arranging interviews with the party leaders. Gandhi, in his second interview, 1 on the first day of April, suggested that the Viceroy should dismiss the existing Cabinet and give Jinnah the option of forming a new one; that the selection of the members should be left entirely to Jinnah—they might be all Muslims, or all non-Muslims, or they might be representatives of all classes and creeds. This suggestion was most unceremoniously rejected even by the Congress leaders and Gandhi had to withdraw it. 2

In the course of his talks with party leaders Mountbatten was convinced that there was absolutely no prospect of an agreed solution on the basis of the Cabinet Mission plan, and that the partition of India on communal lines was inevitable. He succeeded in convincing both Patel and Nehru of the same, and gradually other Congress leaders veered round to it. Azad 3 , Mosley 4 , and many others have condemned both Nehru and Patel on this account, and held them up as the real authors of the ill-fated partition of India. But before denouncing Patel or Nehru and describing them as mere dupes of ‘wily Mountbatten’s clever manoeuvring’, it is only fair to remember that the Congress had unanimously passed resolutions, directly or indirectly conceding Pakistan, in 1934, 5 1942, 6 1945, and March 1947. 7 Gandhi and Nehru referred to this contingency as a very possible one. 8 No Congress leader liked the idea but some had to accept it as an evil necessity, and each might have his own special reason for finally accepting the Partition as a concrete proposal. So far as Patel was concerned, his experience of working with the League members in the Executive Council had convinced him that the Pakistan mentality was so strong among the

Muslims that it was impossible to work with the Muslim League. At last the naked truth dawned upon him, and he said that “whether we liked it or not. there were two nations in India. He was now convinced that Muslims and Hindus could not be united into one nation. There was no alternative except to recognize this fact.” 9

Rajendra Prasad's motive in accepting Partition may be understood from the following passage: “It is necessary to mention here that it was the Working Committee, and particularly such of its members as were represented on the Central Cabinet, which had agreed to the scheme of partition.... (They) did so because they had become disgusted with the situation then obtaining in the country. They saw that riots had become a thing of everyday occurrence and would continue to be so; and that the Government.. .was incapable of preventing them because the Muslim League Ministers would cause obstruction everywhere.. .It had thus become impossible to carry on the administration. We thought that, by accepting partition, we could at least govern the portion which remained with us in accordance with our views, preserve law and order in a greater part of the country and organise it in such a way that we might be of the greatest service to it.We had, accordingly, no alternative but to accept partition.” 9a

Jawaharlal Nehru at first reacted violently against the Partition, but was gradually reconciled to it. Azad suggests that he was influenced by Vallabhbhai Patel and Lord and Lady Mountbatten. 10 There may be some truth in it, but as regards the reasons which finally induced him to accept it, we have the testimony of Nehru himself which should outweigh everything else.

Leonard Mosley writes:

“Pandit Nehru told Michael Brecher, his biographer, (in 1956, the reasons for accepting the Partition of India): ‘Well, I suppose it was the compulsion of events and the feeling that we wouldn’t get out of that deadlock or morass by pursuing the way we had done; it became worse and worse.

Further a feeling that even if we got freedom for India with that background, it would be very weak India, that is a federal India with far too much power in the federating units. A larger India would have constant troubles, constant disintegrating pulls. And also the fact that we saw no other way of getting our freedom—in the near future I mean. And so we accepted it and said, let us build up a strong India. And if others do not want to be in it, well how can we and why should we force them to be in it?' "

But perhaps Pandit Nehru came nearer the truth in a conversation with Mosley in 1960, when he said:

"The truth is that we were tired men, and we were getting on

in years too. Few of us could stand the prospect of going to prison again—and if we had stood out for a united India as we wished it, prison obviously awaited us. We saw the fires burning in the Punjab and heard every day of the killings. The plan for partition offered a -way out and we took it."

He added: "But if Gandhi had told us not to, we would have gone on fighting, and waiting. But we accepted. We expected that partition would be temporary, that Pakistan was bound to come back to us. None of us guessed how much the killing and the crisis in Kashmir would embitter relations." 11 When we remember that Nehru looked upon Brecher as his best biographer and frankly confided his inmost personal feelings to Mosley, we may reasonably put a great value upon their version of what Nehru himself had said. The two statements, though somewhat different, are not self-contradictory, and perhaps both contain a great deal of truth.

Like Nehru, Gandhi also admitted not only the possibility but almost the inevitability of Pakistan. He wrote in the Harijan in 1942 that if the vast majority of Muslims want to partition India they must have the partition, 12 and in 1944 he actually carried on negotiations with Jinnah on this basis. 13 And yet when the crucial moment for final decision arrived, he told Azad on 3 March, 1947, before he met Mountbatten: "If the Congress wishes to accept partition, it will be over my dead body. So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India. Nor will I, if I can help it, allow Congress to accept it." 14 According to Azad, a great change came over

Gandhi after he had interviewed Mountbatten. Gandhi “no longer spoke so vehemently against it (partition.) and began to repeat the arguments which Sardar Patel had already used. For over two hours I pleaded with him but could make no impression on him.” 15

According to Rajendra Prasad, “Mahatmaji feared that the results of that acceptance (of Partition) would be disastrous.... But when lie realised that those who were entrusted with the responsibility of administration found that it was not possible to carry on and that there must either be partition or open war with the League, he decided to keep quiet and not to oppose partition in any way,” 153

But the reasons which Gandhi himself gave out for his conversion are somewhat different. When opposition to the acceptance of partition was running very high in the meeting of the A.I.C.C. on 14 June, Gandhi spoke for about 40 minutes urging the acceptance of the partition. His main argument was that if the A.I.C.C. threw out the recommendations of the Working Committee, they must

find a new set of leaders who could not only constitute the Congress Working Committee, but also take charge of the Government. As it was wellnigh impossible to replace the old and tried leaders, he would advise the House to accept the resolution. 16 Gandhi thus threw his whole w r eight in favour of the partition. Gandhi concluded by saying that he was one of those who had steadfastly opposed the partition of India, but sometimes certain decisions, however unpalatable they might be, had to be taken.

The first part of the last sentence cannot be accepted as quite accurate in view of his statement and activities in 1942 and 1944, just mentioned above, and it is difficult to reconcile the main trend of his speech with Nehru’s statement that if Gandhi had said ‘no’ to Pakistan, the Congress leaders would have all stood by him. Mountbatten very effectively used one strong argument in favour of the partition of India to win over the Congress leaders. In all the plans discussed so far there was one point in common, namely, that there should be a weak centre with a very limited authority, while the residuary powers should be vested in the Provinces. This was a concession to the Muslims, who were apprehensive of Hindu majority in the Centre. In a country like India, with diverse languages, races and religions, and people in different stages of political and cultural evolution and with different historical traditions, a strong central authority was needed to keep down the fissiparous tendency which has been a permanent feature of Indian politics since the beginning of recorded history. The separation of Muslim Provinces would give the opportunity to the rest of India to evolve a constitution with a strong central government. So Pakistan would not be an unmixed curse. What it 'would take away in quantity, would be compensated by the solidarity it would give to the rest. What idealism would suffer, real politics would gain. [17] This argument must have deeply impressed the Congress leaders after their recent experience of the joint Hindu-Muslim administration in the Viceroy’s Executive Council.

Having convinced the Congress leaders, Mountbatten put his plan before a conference of Governors on 15 and 16 April. Both the Governors of the Punjab and Bengal vehemently opposed the idea of partitioning India. Sir Evan Jenkins, the Governor of the Punjab, thought that the partition of the Punjab “would be disastrous. Crude population figures were not necessarily the only criterion. Within the districts the communities were not evenly distributed and the city and town populations often had a different communal composition from that of the adjoining country-side. In some districts the population of tehsils differed widely. In his view, partition would not solve the minorities problem since the divided provinces would still have considerable and probably discontented minorities. Sir Frederick Burrows, the Governor of Bengal, was .... against the partition of Bengal. There were many Muslims in Bengal who were not, in his opinion, in favour of such a course. If Bengal were divided, there was no doubt that East Bengal would become a rural slum/' [18]

But as no alternative plan, with better prospects for the future, could be devised, Mountbatten regarded the partition of India as inevitable. This led to the problem of the minorities of the Punjab and Bengal. Jinnah insisted upon the transfer of these two .Provinces wholesale to Pakistan. But the Congress leaders, [19] though agreeing to the creation of Pakistan, were adamant on the point that the non-Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal, living in districts contiguous to Hindusthan and forming a majority of population in these areas, must be given the option to choose between Pakistan and Hindusthan. This would mean the creation of two separate Provinces of the East Punjab and West Bengal.

Jinnah issued a statement strongly opposing the proposal for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. "If the Punjab and Bengal" said he, "were partitioned, all the other Provinces would have to be cut up in a similar way. Such a process would strike at the root of the administrative, economic and political life of the Provinces which for nearly a century had been developed and built up on that basis and had grown and were functioning as autonomous Provinces. He suggested that an exchange of population would sooner or later have to take place and that this could be effectively carried out by the respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan. He finally demanded the division of the Defence forces and stressed that the States of Pakistan and Hindustan should be made absolutely free, independent and sovereign." 20

While this discussion was going on. a proposal was made to the effect that Bengal should be made a sovereign and independent State. The Chief Minister, Shuhrawardy, and Sarat-chandra Bose, elder brother of Subhas-chandra Bose and leader of the left wing of the Congress party, sponsored the scheme. 21 This, however, received little support from either the Congress or the Muslim League. On the other hand, the Provincial Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha both endorsed the proposal for creating a separate Province of West Bengal.

The Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab also demanded a just and equitable division of the Province. But a small section of the Sikhs started an agitation for a separate State of their own, to be called 'Khalistan', and also demanded safeguards for the preservation of the integrity and homogeneity of the Sikh community. As a counterpart to this the Muslim League in U.P. and Bombay demanded the light of self-determination for Muslims in certain areas in those Provinces. Whatever one might think of these demands, they no doubt clearly reflected the precarious condition of the minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan, left to the tender mercies of the other community at a time when communal passions were increasing every day. It must be regarded as one of the serious drawbacks of the plan of Partition that no thought was bestowed on this problem. Jinnah suggested an exchange of population. It was an excellent suggestion and could be given effect to in gradual stages. It no doubt involved difficulties and hardships, but they pale into insignificance when compared to those that actually befell the minorities, a large number of whom found refuge in India after Independence. Unfortunately nobody seriously thought of the problem, or the suggestion of Jinnah.

In the meantime the communal 'killings' were steadily on the increase, particularly in the Punjab and Delhi, and stabbing and arson became almost the order of the day. In N. W. F. P. the Muslim League leaders demanded the resignation of the Congress Ministry and there were disturbances and attacks on trains resulting in many casualties among the Hindus.

It will ever remain a blot on the otherwise remarkable career of Lord Mountbatten in India that he allowed the terrible communal outrages worsen day by day, without any attempt to check them. This point gains additional strength from a conversation between him and Azad, reported as follows by the latter in his memoir:

"I also asked. Lord Mountbatten to take into consideration the likely consequences of the partition of the country. Even without partition, there had been riots in Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, Bombay and the Punjab. Hindus had attacked Muslims and Muslims had attacked Hindus. If the country was divided in such an atmosphere, there v/ould be rivers of blood flowing in different parts of the country and the British wmuld be responsible for the carnage.

"Without a moment's hesitation Lord Mountbatten replied, 'At least on tips one question I shall give you complete assurance. I shall see to it that there is no bloodshed and riot. I am a soldier, not a civilian. Once partition is accepted in principle, I shall issue orders to see that there are no communal disturbances anywhere in the country. If there should be the slightest agitation, I shall adopt the sternest measures to nip the trouble in the bud. I shall not use even the armed police. I will order the Army and the Air Force to act and I will use tanks and aeroplanes to suppress anybody who wants to create trouble.” 22

Two questions inevitably arise if we accept the reported conversation as even generally true. If Mountbatten knew he could prevent riot and bloodshed, why should he choose to wait till “Partition was accepted in principle 5 ’? It was his duty as the Governor-General of India to maintain peace and order, and the acceptance of Partition had nothing to do with this plain duty. Secondly, even after the Partition had been accepted in principle and decided upon with the consent of the different parties, the communal ‘killings’ went on unchecked, and there was no attempt to suppress communal riots by military force.

The inactivity of Mountbatten in this respect is all the more strange, because he was so deeply impressed by the communal disturbances spreading like wildfire, that he felt that “if the procedure for the transfer of power was not finalized quickly, there was a possibility that at least in some parts of the country there would he no authority to whom power could be transferred,” He accordingly revised his tentative plan and sent it to London with Lord Ism ay and George Abell on 2 May. “This was to transfer power to the Provincial Governments, leaving them to come together to form a Central Government, if and when they chose. The Princely States would also be free to make such arrangement as they wished in these conditions.”

On May 10 he got back his plan which the Cabinet had approved with certain modifications, 23 The Viceroy showed the amended plan to Nehru who “turned it down most vehemently and made it clear that the Congress would in no circumstances accept it.” 24 According to the very interesting narrative of V. P Menon 25 it 'was at this stage that he (Menon) put up before the Viceroy a plan which he had drawn up during the regime of Lord Wave!!. It was based on the partition of India into two States enjoying Dominion Status, the predominantly non-Muslim, areas in the Punjab and Bengal being excluded from Pakistan. Sardar Patel had approved of it and Menon had sent it by a special messenger to the Secretary of State. But no action was taken on these proposals at the time.

After Nehru had sent a scathing criticism of the plan received from London, he was interviewed by the Viceroy, and Menon explained the new plan devised by himself. Nehru was favourably impressed, but did not like to commit himself before seeing a draft of the plan in writing. The draft was hurriedly prepared and shown to Nehru who said that The approach contained in it w-as on proper lines and that it would not be unacceptable to the Congress.' Patel ©Iso conveyed similar assurance.

All these took place in Simla where the Viceroy had gone for a short respite after sending his plan to London. He communicated

to the Secretary of State the new development at Simla and an outline of the revised plan. Immediately after the Viceroy's return to Delhi he was invited by the Prime Minister to go to London. Hie Viceroy desired to secure the approval of the Indian leaders to the new plan before he left India. So he held "consultations with Nehru and Patel on behalf of the Congress; Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan on behalf of the League; and Baldev Singh on behalf of the Sikhs. In the light of these discussions the new* plan was finalized. 25 The Viceroy was anxious to obtain the acceptance of it by the leaders in writing, if possible. Nehru readily complied on behalf

of the Congress_..Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan seemed willing

to accept the general principles of the plan, but refused to state their acceptance in writing."' 27

On 18 May the Viceroy left for London with V. P. Menon, and next day began the discussion with the Prime Minister and with the India and Burma Committee of the Cabinet.

"Throughout these discussions, Lord Mountbatten kept in constant touch, through Sir Eric Mieville who had stayed behind in Delhi, wit h Nehru and Jinnah, so that they were both kept fully informed throughout the evolution of the plan to its final stages." 28

II. THE FINAL DECISION OF THE BRITISH CABINET

The Cabinet approved of the new plan and finalized the statement to be issued by His Majesty's Government. The main points of the statement may be summarized as follows:

It is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly. At the same time, it is clear that any constitution framed by it cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. Hie procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people whether their constitution should be framed by the existing Constituent Assembly, or by a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing one. When this has been done it will be possible to determine the authority or authorities to whom power should be transferred.

Bengal and the Punjab

The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim-major! ty districts and the other the rest of the Province. For the purpose of determining the population of the districts, the 1941 census figures should be taken as

authoritative. The Muslim-majority districts in those two Provinces are set out in the Appendix of hi& announcement.

The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned. If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly.

Before the question as to the partition is decided, it is desirable that the representatives of each part should know in advance which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join in the event of the two parts subsequently deciding to remain united. Therefore, if any member of either Legislative Assembly so demands, a meeting shall be held of all the members of the Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) at which a decision will be taken on the issue.

In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide whether its constitution should be framed by the existing Constituent Assembly, or by a new and separate one.

The partition of Bengal and the Punjab according to Muslimmajority districts and non-Muslim-majority districts as proposed in the Appendix is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature. As soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either Province,—a Boundary Commission will be set up by the GovernorGeneral, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned.

Sindh

The Legislative Assembly of Sindh (excluding the European members) will, at a special meeting, take its own decision as to whether its constitution should be framed by the existing, or a new and separate, Constituent Assembly.

North-West Frontier Province

With regard to the North-West Frontier Province, it will be necessary, in view of its exceptional position, to give it an opportunity to reconsider its position if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly. A referendum will be made, in such a case, to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly to choose between the existing Constituent Assembly and a new and separate one.

British Baluchistan

British Baluchistan, in view of its geographical situation, will also be given a similar opportunity of reconsidering its position.

Assam

Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim province, the district of Sylhet, which is contiguous to Bengal, is predominantly Muslim. If it be decided to partition Bengal, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district to decide whether the district should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of East Bengal. If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with East Bengal, a Boundary Commission, with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal, will be set up to demarcate the Muslim-majority areas of Sylhet district. The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly.

If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections in order to choose representatives for the respective Constituent Assembles on the scale of one for every million of the population, according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's plan of May, 1946. Similar elections will be held for Sylhet in the event of it being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal.

His Majesty's Government are willing to hand over the power even earlier than June 1948, the date originally proposed. Accordingly, His Majesty's Government propose to introduce legislation during the current session of Parliament for the transfer of power in 1947 on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities, according to the decisions taken under the plan. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether the parts of India which they represent will remain within the British Commonwealth. 29

4

III. MOUNTBATTEN'S DECLARATION ON THE FREEDOM OF INDIA

Lord Mountbatten and party returned to India on 31 May. On 2 June, the Viceroy held a conference attended by the seven leaders —Nehru, Patel and Kripalani on behalf of the Congress; Jinnah, Liaqat All Khan and Abdur Rah Nishtar on behalf of the League, and Balder Singh representing the Sikhs. In his opening speech the Viceroy put the difference between the Congress and the Muslim League in a nutshell—the Congress would not agree to the principle of the partition of India, although they accepted the* principle that Muslim majority areas should not be coerced; while Jinnah, who demanded the partition of India, would not agree to the principle of the partition of .Provinces. 30 The Viceroy then told the leaders that he had tried to put forward what he believed to be the points of view of both parties not only to the Cabinet but to the members of the Opposition, including Churchill. The members of the Opposition were broadly in agreement with the policy which His Majesty's Government intended to adopt. Government and Opposition were at one in their desire to help India.

The Viceroy then explained the grounds on which certain specific proposals had either been accepted or rejected. The Muslim League had demanded the inclusion of Calcutta in Eastern Pakistan and asked for a referendum in the hope that the vote of the Scheduled castes might result in a decision in favour of it. The Viceroy was satisfied that the Scheduled castes would not prefer Muslim to Hindu Rule, and the Cabinet decided that no exception to the general rule could be made in the case of Calcutta.

The Viceroy then referred to the position of the Sikhs who were so spread out over the Punjab that any partition would necessarily divide their community: nevertheless they still declared themselves to be in favour of partition. It had not been possible to adopt any principle other than division between Muslim-majority and non-Muslim-majority areas.

The Viceroy mentioned that under the new plan the India Office should be abolished. He added that His Majesty's Government would like to be associated in any defence agreement or treaty between the two new Dominions which were to be set up, "It felt that the situation would be impossible if either of these Dominions, having British officers and equipment, were to allow other nations to come in and establish bases in their territories. The Viceroy conveyed His Majesty's Government's readiness to help both Dominions with British officers for administration as well as for their defence forces." 31

The Viceroy then handed over copies of the Statement of His Majesty's Government to the leaders with a request to convey the decision of their Working Committees before midnight. He, however, enjoined strict secrecy in the matter until the following afternoon, when he intended to make a broadcast over All-India Radio which would be recorded in London and relayed all over the world. He requested Nehru and Jinnah to broadcast immediately after him. conveying their personal support for the plan and an assurance to make their best endeavours for its acceptance by their respective parties.

Soon after the interview with the leaders was over, the Viceroy saw Gandhi and recounted to him the various steps leading to the final agreement. Ultimately Gandhi was persuaded to accept the plan as the best that could be had in the circumstances. It being his day of silence Gandhi did not say anything but wrote a friendly note.

The Congress Working Committee met on 2 June and accepted the plan. Baldev Singh, on behalf of the Sikhs, accepted the principle of partition as laid down in the plan. The Viceroy saw Jinnah and was verbally assured of the support of the All-India Muslim League Council.

The next morning (3 June) the Viceroy again met the leaders and said that he had received written assurances from the Congress and the Sikhs, and a verbal assurance from the Muslim League. The Viceroy turned towards Jinnah, who nodded his head in assent, as previously agreed upon.

The Viceroy communicated to the Secretary of State the assurances given him by Nehru, Jinnah and Baldev Singh in regard to the acceptance of the Plan. Attlee announced the plan in the House of Commons on 3 June, which hence came to be known as “the June 3rd Plan*. 32

Lord Mountbatten held a Press Conference on 4 June and announced that the transfer of power would be effected, not in June 1948, as declared in the Statement of 20 February, 1947, but much earlier than that, in 1947, and probably about 15 August.

The announcement of the plan resulted in an immediate improvement in the communal relation. The Muslim League mass movements in Assam and in the North-West Frontier Province were abandoned, though there were sporadic disturbances in parts of the Punjab and in Calcutta.

IV. THE CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE ACCEPT THE

PARTITION OF INDIA

The Working Committee of the Congress met on 3 June, 1947, and approved of the new plan announced by the Viceroy. The most intriguing problem before the Committee was the future of the N.W.F.P. In spite of the opposition of the Muslim League, the Congress Government under the Khan Brothers had been functioning still. The new plan would place the Khan Brothers and the Khudai Khidmatgars at the mercy of the League who looked upon them as mortal enemies. When, therefore, even Gandhi supported the plan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, we are told by Azad. "was completely stunned and for several minutes he could not utter a word." He then bitterly accused the Congress and "repeatedly

said that the Frontier would regard it as an act of treachery if the Congress now threw the Khudai Khidmatgars to the wolves."- 3 This statement—if it has been correctly reported by Azad—cannot be regarded as having fairly or accurately represented the actual state of things. Lord Mountbatten had declared in unequivocal language that the people of the N.W.F.P, would be given an opportunity, like the non-Muslim minorities in Bengal and the Punjab, to decide for themselves whether they would opt for Pakistan or Hindusthan, This was a fair and square proposal, and if Khan Abdul GhafTar Khan had as much hold over the people as his statement implied, there was no reason why he should have hesitated to accept it. Once having opted for Hindusthan he could have negotiated with the friendly Congress party for the future status of N.W.F.P., either as a free Pa than State or as an autonomous State under Hindusthan. If the Congress then failed to meet his reasonable demands he would have been justified in hurlirig the abuses which he did against the Congress,

But Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan evidently knew full well that blood was thicker than water, and on a straight issue of joining either Hindusthan or Pakistan, the Muslim population of N.W.F.P., in spite of their profession of loyalty to the Congress, would overwhelmingly vote for Pakistan. In any case, he was unwilling to accept the proposal of plebiscite. It is therefore difficult to maintain that the Congress treatment of its Muslim followers in N.W.F.P was more harsh or unjust than its treatment of the non-Muslim followers in Bengal and the Punjab, In any event, the latter could, with far greater justification, accuse the Congress of an act of treachery or of throwing them to the wolves.

Hie Congress Working Committee met again on 12 June, 1947.

and prepared a draft resolution for the All-India Congress Committee

which met at New Delhi on 14 and 15 June, 1947, and accepted it 1 *

*

Some extracts of this resolution are quoted below:

“The Committee welcomes the decision of the British Government to transfer power completely to the Indian people by next August..

“In view of the refusal of the Muslim League to accept the Plan of May 16, and to participate in the Constituent Assembly, and further, in view of the policy of the Congress that ‘it cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will/ the A X.C.C. accepts proposals embodied in the announcement of June 3.

“The proposals of June 3, 1947, are likely to lead to the secession of some parts of the country from India. However much this may be regretted, the A.I.C.C. accepts this possibility, in the circumstances now prevailing . .. . ”

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, who moved the resolution in the A.I.C.C., said that This was the only way to achieve freedom and liberty for the country. It would assure an Indian Union with a strong centre, . . . ’Die choice today was between accepting the statement of June 3 or committing suicide.’

The resolution was seconded by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. He said ‘that the decision of the W.C. was not the right decision, but the Congress had no alternative, as the present state of indecision and drift could not be allowed to continue any longer, specie ally in view of the internal strife and disorder and the obstinacy of the Muslim League. He felt sure that the Partition would be short-lived and the seceding parts of India would, in the very near future, hurry back to the Indian Union.'

The Congress President then announced that notice had been given of 12 amendments, but eight of them, being of the nature of direct opposition, were out of order. In the course of the discussion that followed there was strong opposition to the resolution from several members, Choitram Gidwani, the Congress leader of Sindh, in a forceful speech asserted 'that the unity of India, was much more precious than the advantage of a strong centre. He characterized the resolution as downright surrender to brute force and violence/

Among the opponents the most impressive and impassioned speech was made by Purshottamdas Tandem He said: 'Acceptance of the resolution will be an abject surrender to the British and the Muslim League. The W.C. has failed you, but you have the strength of millions behind you and you must reject this resolution. The decision of the W.C. was an admission of weakness and the result of a sense of despair. The Partition would not benefit either community—the Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in India would both live in fear/

The point of view expressed in the last sentence was also stressed by Maulana Hafizur Rahman who vehemently opposed the resolution.

Dr. Kitchlew, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, opposed the resolution and characterized it as a 'surrender of nationalism in favour of communalism/

When passions were rising high against the motion, Gandhi intervened and strongly urged the acceptance of the resolution on

Indiajs division. His arguments in support of it have been stated above. 35 *

Nehru, who spoke on the second day, asserted 'that the most urgent task at present was to arrest the swift drift towards anarchy and chaos by the establishment of a strong Central Government.' He said that there was no question of any surrender to the Muslim League. The Congress had all along been against coercing any unit to remain under the Indian Union. It was wrong to suggest that the Congress Working Committee had taken fright and therefore surrendered, though it was correct to say that they were very much disturbed at the prevailing madness. Partition was better than murder of innocent citizens.

Following Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a vigorous speech extended his full support to the June 3 Plan, He entirely disagreed with the view of Azad that the Cabinet Mission's Plan was better, and said That, looking at the Cabinet Mission's proposals today in the light of his experience in the Interim Government during the past nine months, he was not at all sorry that the Statement of 16 May had gone. Had they accepted it, the whole of India would have gone the Pakistan way. Today they had seventy-five to eighty per cent, of India, which they could develop and make strong according to their genius. The League could develop the rest of the country.'

Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, in his concluding speech, observed:

"The Hindu and Moslem communities have vied with each other in the worst orgies of violence.... I have seen a well where women with their children, 107 in all, threw themselves to save their honour. In another place, a place of worship, fifty young women were killed by their menfolk for the same reason. I have seen heaps of bones in a house where 307 persons, mainly women and children, were driven, locked up and then burnt alive by the invading mob. These ghastly experiences have no doubt affected my approach to the question. Some members have accused us that we have taken this decision out of fear. I must admit the truth of this charge, but not in the sense in which it is made. The fear is not for the lives lost, or of the widows' wail, or the orphans' cry, or of the many houses burned. The fear is that if we go on like this, retaliating and heaping indignities on each other, we shall progressively reduce ourselves to a stage of cannibalism and worse. In every fresh communal fight the most brutal and degraded acts of the previous fight become the norm.*'

The resolution of Pant, when put to the vote, was carried, 15 7 voting for it, 29 against, and 32 members remaining neutral. 16

The Council of the All-India Muslim League met in New Delhi on 10 June, and approved of the Plan of 3 June. 37

But though the two principal parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, accepted the Plan of 3 June, the extremists of both communities sharply reacted against it. The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha met in Delhi and passed a resolution to the effect that "India is one and indivisible and there will never be peace unless and until the separated areas are brought back into the Indian Union and made integral parts thereofThe Mahasabha even called for an all-India 'Anti-Pakistan Day 1 .

"The extremists on the Muslim side were also dissatisfied; and the Khaksars, a group of militant Muslims (who demanded a Pakistan stretching from Karachi to Calcutta), staged demonstrations when the All-India Muslim League Council met in Delhi.* >3S

Thus at last the curtain fell on the question of Indian unity. Curiously enough, very little attention was devoted by the Congress leaders to the pitiable condition of the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Pakistan. This was bad enough, but according to Abul Kalam Azad what followed was even worse. When the point was raised in the A.I.C.C. meeting on 14 June, the members from Sindh, who vehemently opposed the resolution of Pant, were given all kinds of assurances and were told in private discussion, that if they suffered in any way in Pakistan India would retaliate on the Muslims in India.* Soon this kind of propaganda was used, as a regular means, to remove opposition against partition. "It was being openly said in certain circles that the Hindus in Pakistan need have no fear as there would be 45 millions of Muslims in India and if there was any oppression of Hindus in Pakistan, the Muslims in India would have to bear the consequences.*' 39 There is, however, no evidence to corroborate these statements which rest solely on the authority of Azad.

1. Menon, pp. 351-2; Allan Campbell™ Johnson. Mission with Mounthatten , p. 57. Menon calls it the very 'first* interview.

2. Azad, p. 187.

3. Ibid, pp. 183 ff.

4. Mosley, pp. 98-106.

5. See p. 541.

6. Cf. p. 638, the last five lines, which were repeated by the Congress Working Committee in September, 1945 (Gwyer, II, pp. 525, 567), and June, 1947 (p. 779).

7. See p. 758.

8. See pp. 695, 713, 724. Nehru admitted this even in his final speech, accepting Partition (p. 781).

9. Azad, p. 185.

9a. Rajendra Prasad, At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi, pp, 302-3.

10, Ibid, pp. 183-4,

11. Mosley, p. 248,

12. Above, p. 695.

13. See pp. 713-5.

14. Azad, p, 186.

* 15. Ibid, p. 187.

15a. Rajendra Prasad, op. cit., p. 303.

16. Gandhi believed that the Partition of India was favoured by the Congress leaders, but not by the people. Two days after his interview with Mountbatten (on 4 May, 1947) Gandhi told N. K. Bose; "Mountbatten had the cheek to tell me, 'Mr. Gandhi, today the Congress is with me and no longer with you.'' Bose asked, "What did you say in reply?" Gandhi answered: "I retorted, but India is still, with me". N. K. Bose, Studies in Gandhism , p. 284.

17. Azad, p. 188.

18. Menon, p. 354.

19. Gandhi forms a notable exception. He wrote to the Viceroy on 8 May, 1947: “I feel that partition of the Punjab and Bengal is wrong in every case and a needless irritant to the League.” N. K. Bose, op. cit., p. 285.

20. Menon, pp. 355-6.

21. The sponsors of the scheme carried on negotiations with Gandhi, a detailed account of which is given by N. K. Bose (My days With Gandhi, pp. 227-36).

22. Azad, p. 190.

23. It is somewhat curious that Menon, who gives a detailed account of the progress of events in those days in his book, The Transfer of Power in India, does not disclose either the outline of the plan which Ismay and Abell took to London or to the modification made by the British Cabinet which “considerably worsened it and worried Mountbatten” (p. 361). It is only in a short article published in the Journal of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay (August, 1964), p. 127, that he refers to the plan in two sentences quoted in the text. These were later incorporated in his book, An Outline of Indian Constitutional History (Bombay, 1965), p. 68.

24. Menon, p. 361.

25. Ibid, pp. 357 ff.

26. For details, cf. ibid, p 368.

27. Ibid, pp. 366-7.

28. Ibid, p. 367.

29. For the full text of the statement, cf. Menon, pp. 510-5; Gwyer, II. pp. 670-5.

30. Menon, p. 372.

31. Ibid, pp. 372-4.

32. The above account, with the passages quoted, is taken from Menon, pp. 372-8.

33. Azad, p. 193.

34. For the account of the A.I.C.C. meeting, including the summary of the speeches, that follows, cf. l.A.R. 1947, vol. X. pp. 122-37.

35. See pp. 769-70.

36. These are the figures given by Menon (p. 386) and also found in 1AR, p. 137. According to Azad, “29 voted for it and 15 against”, and he comments: “Even Gandhiji’s appeal could not persuade more members to vote for the partition of the country:” (p. 198)—Azad’s figures must be wrong. According to K. L Panjabi (The Indomitable Sardar, p. 126), there were 153 votes for and 29 against, with 38 abstentions.

37. Menon, p. 383.

38. Ibid, pp. 382-3.

39. Azad, p. 198.

CHAPTER XXXIV

INDIA BECOMES FREE

The Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, was now confronted with the formidable task of implementing the June 3rd Plan. This involved many operations which were stated as follows:

“The verdicts of the Provinces had to be ascertained; parliamentary legislation had to be hurried through; if partition were decided upon, * the administrative services and armed forces had to be divided, assets and liabilities to be apportioned and the boundaries in the disputed areas to be settled A 1

All these tasks had to be carried through more or less simultaneously and finished before 15 August, It reflects great credit on the practical ability and statesmanship of Lord Mountbatten that he successfully accomplished the Herculean task within three months, and transferred the British authority and control over India to the Indians on 15 August, 1947, the target date he had set for himself. A few words may be said on each of the stages, mentioned above, through which the ultimate goal was reached.

1. Verdict of the Provinces

‘In Bengal the Provincial Legislative Assembly decided by 126 votes to 90 in favour of joining a new Constituent Assembly. The members from the non-Muslim “majority areas of West Bengal then decided by 58 votes to 21 that the Province should be partitioned and that West Bengal should join the existing Indian Constituent Assembly; while the members from the Muslim-majority areas of East Bengal decided by 108 votes to 35 that the Province should not be partitioned and, by almost the same majority of votes, that East Bengal should join a new Constituent Assembly and that Sylhet should be amalgamated with that Province.’ 2 The Punjab Legislative Assembly, which met in an atmosphere of communal tension and under a strong police-guard, “decided by ninety-one votes to seventy-seven to join a new Constituent Assembly. The members from the Muslim-majority areas of West Punjab then decided, by sixty-nine votes to twenty-seven, against the partition of the Province; while the members from the non-Muslim majority areas of East Punjab decided, by fifty votes to twenty-two, that the Province should be partitioned and that East Punjab should join the existing Indian Constituent Assembly/’[3] The Sind Legislative Assembly decided by thirty votes to twenty to join a new Constituent Assembly.

As regards Baluchistan there were difficulties and differences of opinion about the procedure to be adopted. “The Viceroy finally decided that the Shahi Jirga and the non-official members of the Quetta Municipality should be summoned in order to decide the future of the Province. The members of these bodies met and unanimously decided to join a new Constituent Assembly. The seven Hindu and Parsi members of the Quetta Municipality did not attend the meeting.”[4]

The Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet in Assam was the only territory where the result of referendum was uncertain. While the Muslims formed 60.7 per cent, of the population, they formed only 54.27 per cent, of the total electoral Roll. Liaqat Ali Khan suggested “that the number of Muslim votes should therefore be multiplied by a factor which would equate the voting strength of the Muslims with their population strength. The Congress, on the other hand, claimed that the voters in the Labour and in the Commerce and Trade constituencies of the district should be allowed to participate in the referendum. Ultimately, the referendum was confined to voters in the General, Muhammadan and Indian Christian constituencies. It was held early in July. A majority of the voters—239,619 to 184,041—were in favour of separation and joining East Bengal.”[5] It was strongly believed at the time that as the people and Government of Assam did not like a strong Bengali element to dominate them, they deliberately manoeuvred the polling of votes in favour of Pakistan.[6]

There were serious apprehensions of trouble at the time of the referendum in N.W.F.P., and the arrangement was entrusted to British officers of the Indian army. But there was an anti-climax. The Viceroy turned down the proposal of the Khan Brothers that the people should have the choice to vote for an independent Pathanistan, and not simply asked to cast their votes in favour of either Pakistan or Indian Union. Thereupon Abdul

Ghaffar Khan and his followers boycotted the referendum which was held from 6 to 17 July. About fifty per cent, of the electorate participated in it,-— 289,244 voting for Pakistan and only 2,874 voting against it.

“Thus in effect East Bengal, West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province all voted for Pakistan. Later, fresh elections were held in Sylhet, in West and East Bengal, and in West and East Punjab, for the election of representatives to the respective Constituent Assemblies. No fresh election was held in the North-West Frontier Province, in view of the fact that there was no change in the boundaries of that Province; it already had its elected representatives in the existing Constituent Assembly and those members had merely to be transferred to the new Constituent Assembly. For similar reasons no fresh election was held in either Baluchistan or Sind.” 7

2. Indian Independence Bill

Immediately after the Partition had been decided upon, steps were taken by His Majesty’s Government, in consultation with the Viceroy, to prepare a draft of the Indian Independence Bill and the adaptations to the 1935 Act. It was an arduous task, for the successful execution of which great credit is due to V.P. Menon who, as Reforms Commissioner, was entrusted with it. Departing from the usual Parliamentary practice, the Viceroy, with the approval of His Majesty’s Government, gave an opportunity to the Indian leaders to discuss the Bill. The leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League met separately in two adjacent rooms for the purpose, and their comments were taken into account in the final revision of the Bill.

On 4 July, 1947, the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister Attlee. High tributes were paid to Attlee and Mountbatten by members on both sides of the House.

The Bill was passed, without any amendment, by the House of Commons on 15 July, and by the House of Lords on the following day; it received the Royal Assent on 18 July. The Government of India Act, 1935, as modified and adapted, was brought into operation by the India (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947, made by the Governor-General on 14 August, 1947. 8

The main provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, may be summarised as follows:

1. Two independent Dominions, known respectively as India and Pakistan, shall be set up as from the 15th day of August, 1947.

2. The territories of the two Dominions were defined in such terms that Pakistan was to comprise Sindh, British Baluchistan, N.W.F.P., the West Punjab and East Bengal, it being understood that the exact boundary of the last two would be determined by a Boundary Commission.

3. For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a GovernorGeneral who shall be appointed by His Majesty and shall represent His Majesty for the purposes of the government of the Dominion:

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.

4. The Legislature of each of the Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, and no Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, nor any Order in Council passed after 15 August, 1947, shall have any validity in either of the two Dominions. In short, the jurisdiction of the British Parliament over India will cease from that date.

5. With effect from 15 August, 1947, His Majesty's Government will cease to have any responsibility for the Government of British India; and all treaties and agreements between His Majesty's Govenment and the rulers of Indian States or any authority in tribal areas shall lapse. The words "Emperor of India" shall be omitted from the Royal Style and Titles.

6. The Constituent Assembly of each Dominion shall exercise the powers of the Central Legislature, and the existing Central Legislative Assembly and the Council of State would be automatically dissolved.

7. The Governor-General was vested with all power and authority necessary for bringing the Indian Independence Act into effective operation.

8. Provision was made for safeguarding the interests of the existing officers in India appointed by the Secretary of State, who shall not, of course, have power of making any such appointments in future.

9. Provision was made for the division of the Indian army between the new Dominions which will exercise authority over them. As to the other forces of His Majesty in India, they will continue to be under the jurisdiction and authority of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

10. Transitory provisions were made for the continuance of the functions exercised by the Secretary of State and the Auditor of Indian Home Accounts.

11. Aden, so long administered by the Government of India, was placed directly under the administration of the British Government.

3. The Governor-General

The appointment of the first Governor-General for each of the two Dominions came to be a subject of discussion for some time. "Nehru had already requested Lord Mountbatten to continue as Governor-General of India, and it was assumed that Jinnah would make a similar offer. Jinnah himself had suggested that there should be a 'Super-Governor-General' over the Governors-General of the two Dominions. But it was hoped that if Lord Mountbatten continued as Governor-General of both the Dominions during the transition period, it would facilitate the division of assets and liabilities and that the partition of the defence forces could be smoothly accomplished." 8 The proposal was made to Jinnah more than once, but he did not give any definite _ reply till the evening of 2 July when he communicated to the Viceroy that he himself would like to be the Governor-General of Pakistan. Mountbatten now seriously considered whether, in this changed circumstance, he would stay on as Governor-General only of India. But both Nehru and Patel on the one hand, and the Prime Minister and

Opposition leaders in Britain on the other, desired that he should do so. So Lord Mountbatten became the Governor-General of the Dominion of India, and M. A. Jinnah, the Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan.

4. The Interim Government

It was decided to re-allocate the portfolios in such a way that the Congress and the League wing of the Cabinet would take charge, respectively, of affairs pertaining to the Dominion of India and Pakistan, matters of common concern being dealt with jointly under the Chairmanship of the Governor-General. A similar procedure was adopted for partitioned Bengal and the Punjab. 9

In order to deal with the various matters 10 which would have to be tackled in order to effect the partition, it was decided to set up a Partition Committee, later replaced by a Partition Council, with equal number of representatives from the Congress and the Muslim League, and with Lord Mountbatten as Chairman. This Council continued even after the Dominions of India and Pakistan came into existence on 15 August, 1947. 11

"An Arbitral Tribunal was set up at about the same time as the Partition Council for the settlement of questions on which the two Governments might not be able to reach agreement. The Tribunal was composed of one representative each of India and Pakistan, with Sir Patrick Spens, ex-Chief Justice of India, as President.

"The Partition Council decided that from 15 August the Indian Union and Pakistan would each have within its own territories forces under its own operational control, composed predominantly of non-Muslims and Muslims respectively. The Partition Council's decision involved the splitting up of the three services of the armed forces and the establishment of separate headquarters in India and Pakistan so that they might be in a position to take over their respective commands on 15 August." 12

The withdrawal of British troops from India, which started on 17 August, 1947, was completed on 28 February, 1948, when the last contingent, the Somersetshire Light Infantry, left India. 13

5. Services And Compensation

On 30 April, 1947, the Viceroy announced the decisions of His Majesty's Government on the position of the members of the Secretary of State's services, as well as officers and British warrant officers of the Indian Armed Forces. The Government of India undertook to give those who continued to serve under it and in the Provinces their existing scales of pay, leave, pension rights, etc. Compensation was provided for the European and some special categories of Indian officers who chose to retire from service.

Most of the European officers on the civil side preferred to take compensation. In the defence forces, however, a large number agreed to continue in service. 14

6. Boundary Commission

Two Boundary Commissions were set up, one for the partition of Bengal and the separation of Sylhet from Assam, and the other for the partition of the Punjab. Each Commission consisted of a Chairman with four members, two nominated by the Congress and two by the Muslim League. With the consent of both parties Sir Cyril (later Lord) Radcliffe was appointed the Chairman of both Commissions.

Unfortunately, the members of neither of the two Commissions were able to reach any satisfactory agreement, and it was finally decided that the Chairman should give his own award. The net effect of the award is clearly indicated in the map of India and Pakistan at the end of this volume. In Bengal 16 per cent, of Muslims remained in West Bengal while 42 per cent of non-Muslims remained in East Bengal. To' suit natural boundaries, Khulna, a district with non-Muslim majority was included in East Bengal, while Murshidabad District, with a Muslim majority, was included in West Bengal. In the Punjab, Eastern Punjab obtained control over three of the five rivers, namely, the Beas, Sutlej and the upper waters of the Ravi. About thirty-eight per cent, of the area and forty-five per cent, of the population were assigned to it. The nonMuslims of the Punjab, especially the Sikhs, bitterly resented the loss of Lahore and the canal colonies of Sheikhupura, Lyailpur and Montgomery, while the Muslims protested against the retention of the Mandi hydro-electric project by East Punjab. 15

7. The International Status

The question of the international status of the two Dominions also proved a thorny problem. “The Congress claimed that the Dominion of India would continue as the international personality of pre-partition India. The Muslim League, on the other hand, maintained that the existing Government of India would, on 15 August, disappear altogether as an entity and would be succeeded by two independent Dominions of equal international status, both of which would be eligible to the existing rights and obligations.” 16

The United Nations Organization, to which the question was referred, decided in favour of the Congress point of view.

‘Accordingly, the membership of all international organizations, together with all its rights and obligations devolved solely upon the Dominion of India. The rights and duties under international agreements to which pre-partition India had been a party devolved upon both and would, if necessary, be apportioned between them, such rights and obligations as had exclusive territorial application devolving exclusively upon the Government of the territory to which they related. It was also agreed that the existing diplomatic relations abroad should continue to function for India alone.’ 17

8. The States

Another important step was the solution of the problem of the Indian States. Under the Indian Independence Act the British Paramountcy was to lapse on 15 August. After protracted negotiations a settlement was arrived at, and the rulers of all the States geographically contiguous to India, with the exception of Hyderabad, Junagadh and one or two other States in Kathiawar, with Muslim rulers, and Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement with India before 15 August, 1947. Thus though two wings were lopped off, the heart of the Indian Dominion gained in strength and solidarity. The credit for thus establishing ‘a unified political structure in the new Dominion of India’ must go principally to Sardar Patel and his lieutenant, V. P. Menon, who has given a very interesting account of the integration of States. It was a great, though silent, revolution which did not attract as much notice as it deserved, being cast into shade by the still greater revolution which brought freedom to India.

By the waving of a magician’s wand, as it were, there tumbled down in a heap, hund. reds of States, big and small, some of which traced their existence to the ancient Hindu Age.

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9. The Inauguration of Independence

On 7 August, Jinnah left India for Karachi, and the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which met on 11 August, elected him as its President. The Assembly also conferred upon him the honorific of Quaid-e-Azam (great leader), a title which had been attached to his name by his followers for several years past. Lord Mountbatten flew to Karachi on 13 August, and addressed the Constituent Assembly the next day. Pakistan officially became a Dominion on 15 Augiist, 1947, when Jinnah was sworn in as Governor-General, and the Pakistan Cabinet headed by Liaqat Ali Khan was sworn in.

The Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union met in Delhi on the night of 14 August. In an atmosphere, tense with excitement, Nehru addressed the members. “At the stroke of the midnight hour,” said he, “when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.” [18]

The Constituent Assembly then appointed Lord Mountbatten the first Governor-General of the Dominion. He was sworn in as Governor-General on the morning of 15 August, and the new Cabinet headed by Nehru was sworn in by the Governor-General. Lord Mountbatten then drove in state to the Chamber of the Constituent Assembly. Hajendra Prasad, the President of the Assembly, read messages of congratulation from all over the world, and Lord Mountbatten read out the King’s message felicitating the birth of the new Dominion of India. Lord Mountbatten then addressed the Assembly. Rajendra Prasad gave a suitable reply in the course of which he said that “while our achievement is in no small measure due to our own sufferings and sacrifices, it is also the result of world forces and events and, last though not least, it is the consummation and fulfilment of the historic tradition and democratic ideals of the British race." 19 This is a great truth, which is not always realized, nor remembered, by the Indians.

It is hardly necessary to say that August 15 was hailed with joy all oyer India, and no words can adequately describe the tumultuous scenes of wild rejoicings witnessed in every city and every village. Lord and Lady Mountbatten, driving in state, were greeted with resounding cheers by the enthusiastic crowds that lined the streets. This heralded a new era of goodwill between India and England. Stories of many hard and bitter struggles between India and Britain fill the pages of this history. Let it end with a note of

goodwill, trust, and confidence which manifested itself on the streets of Delhi on 15 August, 1947.

How the author wishes that he could have closed this volume with a similar note in respect of the relation between India and Pakistan. But that was not to be. Instead of an era of goodwill, the independence ushered in one of communal hatred and cruelty of which there is no parallel in recorded history of India since the invasion of Tamerlane. It is unnecessary to recount that story of shame and barbarity as it falls beyond the period under review. It will suffice to state that India had to pay a very heavy price for freedom. According to an estimate, not probably much exaggerated, "600,000 Indians died and 14,000,000 lost their homes."

But this was only the first instalment. Similar tragedies, differing in degree but not in kind, were to occur in the Eastern Pakistan at regular intervals.

Some have held Mountbatten responsible for this grim tragedy. According to them, "it would not have happened had independence not been rushed through at such a desperate rate." 20 The truth of this may be doubted. It would, perhaps, not be unreasonable to hold that an important contributing factor to the tragic events that took place was the failure of Hindu leaders to make a proper assessment of the feelings and attitude of the Muslims and a realistic, instead of idealistic, approach to the Hindu-Muslim problem, to which attention has been repeatedly drawn in this volume. The difference between these two kinds of approach may be best illustrated by the ‘Hindu-Muslim Brotherhood’ preached by Gandhi and the ‘requisites of Indian nationality’ from the Muslim point of view, as expounded by Muhammad Iqbal. 21

1. Menon, p. 387.

2. Ibid, pp. 387-8.

3. Ibid, p. 388.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Some unpublished documents supporting this view have since come to light, but they cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence as their authenticity cannot be proved.

7. Menon, pp. 389-90.

8. Ibid, pp. 393-4.

9. Ibid, p. 396.

10. Ibid, pp. 396-7.

11. Ibid, pp. 397-8.

12. Ibid, pp. 397, 399.

13. Ibid, p. 400.

14. Ibid, pp. 400-401.

15. Ibid, pp. 402-3.

16. Ibid, p. 404.

17. Ibid, pp. 405-7.

18. Ibid, p. 413.

19. Ibid, p. 415.

20. Mosley, pp. 244-6.

21. See above, pp. 535 ff.

CHAPTER XXXV

ADMINISTRATION

I. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

As mentioned in Volume IX, Lord Curzon had raised the bureaucratic government to a high pitch of efficiency, but, in the course of doing so, he centralized the whole system of administration to a degree unknown before. Even the Secretary of State, Lord Morley, remarked in 1907 that “if the present system is persisted in, the Government of India is likely to become rather mechanical, rather lifeless, rather soulless”. 1 He therefore thought of instituting perio dical inquiries into the state of India, such as automatically took place during the rule of the East India Company on the occasion of each renewal of the Charter. There was also a general demand at the time, both in Britain and in India, for an authoritative inquiry into the causes of present discontent. As could be expected, Minto’s Government was opposed to what his biographer describes as “Morley’s dangerous proposal of Parliamentary inquiry into Indian affairs” which, according to Minto himself, “would lead to all kinds of difficulties”. 2 This meant, to use a slang expression, that many dirty linens would be washed in public. As usual, Morley yielded and accepted instead Minto’s suggestion to appoint a Royal Commission to examine into the great mischief of over-centralization. So the Indian Decentralization Commission was appointed in December, 1907, with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Hobhouse as Chairman.

Indian political leaders, like Gokhale, who gave evidence before the Commission, stressed the need of taking a wider view of things, and held that decentralization was necessary only if the representatives of the people were given real voice in managing Provincial affairs. Otherwise, if the Provincial Governments were to remain as autocratic as before, they were opposed to any relaxation of control by the Government of India, as their officials would take a broader view of situation. The Commission, however, looked at the question from a purely administrative point of view and submitted its report in 1909.

The Commission recommended the substitution of the ‘system of a single Lieutenant-Governor by a regular Council Government such as existed in Madras and Bombay, with a Governor usually, but not invariably, appointed from home’. This was not acted upon for a long time. It also recommended that the powers and position of the Collector should be enhanced and he should be recognized as the head of the district in all administrative matters. But it rejected the proposal made by a number of important non-official witnesses, including Gokhaie, that District Advisory Councils should be associated with the Collectors. Only one member of the Commission, R. C. Dutt, supported it. The Commission made important recommendations about financial relations between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. As a result of these recommendations of the Commission the control of the Government of India over Provincial Governments was relaxed in a number of details, such as the creation of new appointments, and some steps were taken to delegate increased powers to the heads of departments in both Central and Provincial Governments. The policy of doles, i.e., giving lump grants to the Provinces from Central Fund, was revised and certain principles were laid down to remove the objections urged against it. One of these was that in cases of large fixed assignments they should be commuted, as circumstances permit, into shares of growing revenue. This was given effect to, and rules were framed to regulate the control of the Government of India over Provincial Budgets.

The principle of local self-government had been laid down by the resolution of 1882, and given effect to by Acts passed in 1884 and 1885 as mentioned above. 3 Although minor changes were effected by legislation at later dates, the general framework remained unchanged.

It could hardly be called ‘real self -government’, and was severely criticised from time to time by the Indian public. The main points of criticism were thus summarised by the Decentralization Commission : “Critics of the present system have dwelt on the failure to develop the principle of election, and on the appointment of official presidents. The boards, it has been urged, have practically become a department of the Government administration; their work is done by the official element within the boards themselves, or by Government departments at the boards' expense; their proceedings are subject to excessive outside control; and in present circumstances they can never become, as Lord Ripon intended them to be, effective instruments of local self-government."

According to the Decentralization Commission these criticisms "contain a large element of truth". Even John Morley, as Secretary of State, lent his support to the criticism. [4] The MontaguChelmsford Report also pointed out that in a space of over thirty years the progress in developing a genuine local self-government has been inadequate in the greater part of India. [5] The Decentralization Commission made some recommendations for improvement —but almost all of them were whittled down in the resolution of the Government of India, passed in 1915. The final decisions were taken in 1918, nine years after the submission of the Report. The main provisions of this resolution were:

1. There should be substantial elected majorities on both municipal and rural boards.

2. The Chairman of the municipalities should be elected by the boards, and he should ordinarily be a non-official.

3. The boards' power of taxation was slightly extended.

4. The board should have full control over its own employees whose salary was paid out of its own funds.

5. The board was practically given a free hand, in regard to its budget.

6. There should be departments of Local Self-Government in the Provinces.

7. The establishment of Village Pafichdyats.

With the introduction of the Reforms of 1919 the Indian Ministers were in charge of Local Self-Government. There was an attempt in every Province to make it more efficient and a more effective training ground for larger and wider political responsibilities. This was sought to be achieved, among other things, by lowering the franchise, increasing the elected element in local boards, and passing executive direction more and more into non-official hands.

In 1912, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, a Royal Commission was appointed by the Home Government under the Chairmanship of Lord Islington to consider the organization of the Civil Service in India.

The Commission submitted its report in August, 1915, but it was not published till January, 1917, in order to avoid controversy during the First World War. The crucial question before the Commission was the greater Indianisation of Superior Services for which there was an insistent demand for more than half a century. But the Islington Commission rejected the proposal of holding competitive examination for Superior Services in India, and also the fixation of a definite proportion of places in each Service to be reserved for Indians. The Commission sought to keep the door open as widely as possible for the recruitment of Europeans, and as slightly as practicable for Indians. They definitely recommended that the Indian Civil Service and the Police Department should be preponderating!;^ manned by Europeans. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report observed:

“By that time the war had raised the pitch of Indian expectations to an extreme height, and we are not surprised that a report

which might have satisfied Indian opinion two years earlier was generally denounced in 1917 as wholly inadequate. The Commission proposed that some Services should be entirely recruited in India and that the Indian element in others should be largely increased. But their assumption that British responsibility for India requires a preponderating proportion of British officers in the security services did not commend itself to many Indian critics.” 6

Though subsequently rules prescribing a progressive rate of Indian recruitment had been adopted, they failed to satisfy the Indian public opinion, which was stiffened by the Preamble to the Act of 1919, declaring “the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Indian administration” to be the policy and object of the British Parliament. It was not till 1922 that simultaneous competitive examination for entrance into the Indian Civil Service was held in India—seventy years after the question was first mooted and due to an insistent demand on the part of Indians ever since 1877.

The introduction of Reforms in 1919 had a great effect upon the Superior Services. British officers in the All-India Services were granted very favourable terms of retirement and pension by the Secretary of State in view of the changed conditions in service created by the Reforms, under which they might not be willing to work. By 1922, 200 British officers in the All-India Services retired under the special terms, and by 1924 the number had risen to 345. The greater number of these had alrady put in 10 to 25 years' service. This had a very bad effect upon the recruitment of British officers as young Britishers were not very willing to compete for them.

All this led to the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Superior Services with Lord Lee as Chairman, which reported in 1924. The recommendations of the Commission, Indian opposition to them, their rejection by the Legislative Assembly in September, 1924, and the constructive proposals made by it have been discussed above. 7 Of course, the recommendations of the Commission were given effect to by the special powers of the Governor-General. Among other important administrative changes during the interval between the two great reforms of 1909 and 1919, not noted above, may be mentioned the High Court Act of 1911, which raised the maximum number of Judges of a High Court from sixteen to twenty, empowered His Majesty by Letters Patent to create new High Courts, and gave power to the Governor-General in Council to appoint temporary additional Judges in any High Court for a term not exceeding two years. A new High Court was established at Patna in 1915 and at Lahore in 1919 under this Act.

II. MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

Reference has been made above 8 to the great controversy between Lord Curzon and Kitchener regarding the status and responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief vis d vis the Governor-General and his Council. The British Cabinet supported Kitchener's view and, as a result, since 1907 the

Commander-in-Chief became the sole authority responsible for military administration in India. This policy indirectly came in for review and criticism when the hopeless mismanagement of the Mesopotamian expedition revealed the "stupidity, criminal neglect and amazing incompetence of the military authorities" in India. 9 In his evidence before the Commission, appointed in 1916, to report on the Mesopotamian muddle, Sir Beauchamp Duff, the Commander-in-Chief in India (and the supporter and right-hand man of Kitchener), admitted that while in time of peace one man could discharge the dual function imposed upon him, it was more than he could manage in times of war. The Commission condemned the whole military system of administration as cumbrous and inept and recommended its drastic reform. 10 In the course of the debate on this subject in the House of Commons, Edwin Montagu, who shortly afterwards became the Secretary of State for India, described the Government of India as "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian". 11

But the inefficiency was not the only charge levelled by Indian public opinion against the military organization. The exclusion of Indians from the rank of officers in the army was felt to be a great grievance for more than half a century. So these two aspects of the army organization in India formed the chief problem of the British Cabinet.

From the very beginning, the policy of the British Government was to exclude Indians from the rank of officers. It was mainly due to a belief in the inherent superiority of the British to the Indian in respect of the qualities required by a military officer. 12 After the great Mutiny of 1857 a feeling of fear and distrust was added to this racial prejudice, and exclusion of Indians from the rank of officers became the fixed and deliberate policy of the Government.

Up to 1918 the highest rank to which an Indian could aspire was the Viceroy's Commission. This was mostly given to Indian soldiers promoted from the ranks. But the holder of such a Commission, "whatever his experience and length of service, was lower in rank and command than the most newly joined of British subalterns." 13

The skill, bravery, and the heroic spirit of sacrifice displayed by the Indian soldiers during the first World War had probably some repercussion on this policy of exclusion. For, in 1918 the Indians became eligible, for the first time, to hold the King's Commission, i.e., a Commission held by the British officers of the British and Indian armies. For this purpose ten vacancies at Sandhurst were annually reserved for Indian candidates for competition among themselves. The Government having accepted the principle of Indianisation of the army, Lord Rawlinson, the Commander-in-Chief of India, appointed in 1921 an expert Committee of high military officers to work out a scheme for the complete Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian army. This Committee, known as the Shea Committee, prepared a scheme which would completely Indianise the officer ranks in 42 years; but this period was reduced to 30 years, when the Commander-in-Chief requested the Committee to revise it. The Committee also suggested Indianisation by units. “This was known as the ‘eight units scheme’, under which five infantry battalions, two cavalry regiments, and a pioneer unit were selected, to which Indian officers holding commissions in the Indian Army were to be transferred and posted so as to fill up the appointments for which they were qualified by their rank and by their length of service, with the result that these units will in due course be transformed into units officered entirely by Indians”. 14 This scheme was very unpopular with Indian officers who looked upon it as a form of racial segregation.

The next important advance was suggested by a Committee which was presided over by Major-General Sir Andrew Skeen, then Chief of Staff of the Army in India, and consisted of the Secretary of the Army Department and 10 Indian members. The Skeen Committee, also known as the Indian Sandhurst Committee, was appointed in June, 1925, and made a series of proposals for the future. “The Committee recommended an extension of the scope of employment of Indians in the officer ranks of the Indian Army by means of an initial doubling of vacancies allotted to Indians at Sandhurst, followed by further progressive increases, until a Military College on the lines of Sandhurst is established in India—-a step which it considered should be undertaken in 1933. Under the scheme of the Committee, if all went well, half of the total cadre of officers in the Indian Army would be Indians by 1952. In paragraph 17 of its Report the Committee dealt with the ‘eight units scheme’, and expressed the view that with Indianisation proceeding in the Army in any measure the only means of ensuring successful Indianisation and, concomitantly, the attainment of a maximum degree of military efficiency, was to allow Indian officers to serve shoulder to shoulder with British officers, each learning from the other, in every unit of the Indian Army; and consequently in paragraph 32 it recommended that the ‘eight units scheme’ be abandoned.”[15]

Fifteen months after the publication of the report of the Committee the authorities communicated their decision on the proposals. The proposals for increasing the number of vacancies at Sandhurst were adopted and carried into effect. Vacancies for Indians were also provided at Woolwich and CranwelL The proposal for setting up in the future a Military College in India on the lines of Sandhurst was postponed for the time being. The very important recommendation of abandoning the ‘eight units scheme’ was, however, definitely rejected, and this was strongly resented in India on the ground that it was motivated by a desire to ensure that no British officer served under an Indian.

The question of Indianisation was considered by the Defence Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference in 1931. It was during its discussions on this topic that the Shea Committee’s Report was brought to light. The Indian leaders—Jayakar, Jinnah. Shafi, and Sapru—and the Maharaja of Bikaner urged the acceleration of Indianisation on the lines of Shea Committee’s Report, and Jinnah even asked for the stoppage of all British recruitment to the Indian army. But the question was shelved and the only decision arrived at was to establish a military training college in India with a view to increase substantially the rate of Indianisation of the army officers. As a result of this a Military Academy was established at Dehra Dun in 1932, but though the output of Commissioned officers was nearly doubled, it fell far short of the recommendation of the Shea Committee that the Indianisation should be completed in 30 years.

In consequence of the policy hitherto pursued, there were not more than 500 Indians holding the King’s Commission in the Indian army at the outbreak of the second World War, in September, 1939. The W T ar, however, effected great changes. ‘Necessity knows no law’, and never was this adage more practically demonstrated than in the changed attitude of the British towards the increment of Indian Commissioned Officers. The exigencies of the War brushed aside, in a moment, the racial prejudice,-specious arguments, and even genuine doubts about the efficiency of Indians—a change which would have probably taken another half a century to be accomplished in normal times. As soon as the War broke out, Emergency Commissions were granted. In course of five years Indian Commissioned officers increased from a few hundreds to about 8000. They were recruited from all parts of India and all classes and creeds, and the artificial distinction between military and non-military races was

thrown away. On 31 March, 1944, "the proportion of British to Indian Officers in the Indian army proper was about 1.3 to 1". The Commander-in-Chief told the cadets at Dehra Dun that "there was no such thing as the British Officer or the Indian Officer in the Indian army now T ; there were just Officers". 16 The bravery and military skill displayed by the Indian soldiers and officers in different theatres of war elicited the highest praise from the Britishers, and offers a lurid commentary on the British policy of Xndianisafion in the past

The other aspect of the problem of military organisation in India, namely, the status and efficiency of the army, was also considered shortly after the end of the first World War by a Committee. It was presided over by Lord Esher, and its report was published in October, 1920. The Committee was dominated by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and as could be expected, made recommendations exceeding even the worst apprehensions of the Indians. These may be summarised as follows:

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1. The Indian army was to be used for prosecution of war in the Middle East, and for that purpose the control of the army should be diverted from India to Whitehall.

2. The Indian army was to be placed under the complete disposal of the Imperial General Staff in England; the Commanderin-Chief in India was to be a mere nominee of the General Staff; so, too, his Chief of Staff.

3. There was to be an interchange of personnel between the British and the Indian army. 17

The effect of these recommendations was to make the Indian army, maintained by the Indian tax-payers, to be really a part of the British army to subserve the purposes of the Imperial defence.

The Moderate party, not to speak of the Congress, strongly denounced these proposals, and the Council of the National Federation of India, in its meeting at Bombay on October 30-31, passed several resolutions on the subject. It recommended that (1) Indian troops should not, as a rule, be employed for service outside the frontiers of India except in grave emergencies; (2) the army in India should be independent of the British army and under the control of the Government of India; (3) not less than 25 per cent, of the King's Commissions should be given to His Majesty's Indian subjects to start with, the proportion being raised in ten years to 50 per cent. 18

Even The Times of London, by no means friendly to India, made some scathing comments on the Report. It asserted that "the task of the army in India is to prevent invasion and maintain internal security, and unless the empire is attacked elsewhere, it is nothing more". Commenting on the proposals to transfer the control of the Indian army to War Office in London it observed: "These extraordinary proposals are in the highest degree unconstitutional. They reduce the Viceroy, who by Statute is the head of the army in India, to a nonentity. They wipe the Government of India off the slate altogether. This is the negation of constitutional government. It is entirely destructive of the fundamental principle that in military matters civil power shall be supreme. The amazing thing is that Mr. Montagu has already seen fit, without consulting Parliament, to approve these subversive projects... .India is entitled to ask that her present heavy military expenditure shall not be exceeded. The principle that India shall, as far as possible, be self-contained as a military unit of the Empire must be restored." 19

On 17 February, 1921, the Indian Legislative Assembly accepted a Resolution which practically rejected the main recommendations of the Esher Report. On 5 March, 1921, the Assembly appointed a Committee to consider the report of the Esher Committee. The Report of the Committee was in the form of a series of draft Resolutions which were moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar on March 28. The net result of the Resolutions accepted by the Assembly may be summed up as follows: <

1. Repudiation of the two assumptions underlying the whole report of the Esher Committee, namely, (a) that the administration of the army in India could not be considered otherwise than as part of the total armed forces of the empire; and (b) that the military resources of India should be developed in a manner suited to imperial necessities.

2. The purpose of the army in India must be held to be the defence of India against external aggression and the maintenance of internal peace and tranquillity.

3. When co-operating with the British army, the obligations resting on India should be no more onerous than those resting on the self-governing Dominions, and should be undertaken subject to the same conditions as were applicable to those Dominions. The Indian army should not be used outside India except in the case of grave emergency affecting the Empire.

4 . Indians in increasing numbers should be admitted to Commissioned ranks in all branches of the army, and for this purpose, to begin with, 25 per cent, of the King’s Commission be granted every year to the Indians.

5. Steps should be taken to establish a Military College in India such as Sandhurst in Britain.

6. The pay of Commissioned ranks should be fixed on Indian basis with overseas allowance in case of both Indians and British when serving overseas.

[1] Speeches of John Morley, p. 66.

[2] John Buchan, Lord Minto—A Memoir, p. 265.

3. Vol, IX, pp. 842-50.

4. Cf. the resolution passed on the subject in the 25th session of the Indian National Congress, held at Lahore in 1909.

5. Para 13.

6. Para 12.

7. Above, pp. 393-95.

8. Vol. IX, p. 853.

9. Above, pp. 179-81.

10. Above, p. 181.

11. Above, p. 263.

12. Lord Roberts, a strong opponent to the grant of Commission in the army to Indians, observed:

“It is this consciousness of the inherent superiority of the European which has won for us India. However well-educated and clever a native may be, and however brave he may have proved himself, I believe that no rank that we could bestow upon him would cause him to be considered as an equal by the British officer or looked up to by the last joined British subaltern.” (quoted in Sapru Committee's Report, p. 272).

13. Statutory Commission’s Report. Vol. I, p. 101.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid, p. 103.

16. Sapru Committee’s Report, p. 281.

17. IAR., 1921, Part I, p. 139; Part II, pp 137-167.

18. Ibid, Part I, p. 134.

19. Ibid, p. 140.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE INDIAN STATES

I. FROM 1905 TO 1935

As mentioned above, 1 the apogee of Imperial haughtiness towards the Indian States was reached during the Viceroyalty of Curzon who regarded the Princes as merely the agents of the Crown in the administration of their territory, having no inherent rights of their own. Lord Minto, who succeeded Curzon, did not ride the high horse like his predecessor, but adopted a more conciliatory policy, as would be evident from the following extract of his speech at Udaipur:

"Our policy is, with rare exceptions, one of non-interference in the affairs of States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence and in undertaking their protection against external aggression, it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and would not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs, and other services of an imperial character. But the relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of suzerainty."

Lord Minto recognised that the tradition of petty interference that had grown up among the officers of the Political Department in their dealings with the States was one of the major obstacles in the way of the harmonious co-operation that he contemplated. He emphasised that point as follows:

"The foundation-stone of the whole system is the recognition of the identity of interests between the Imperial Government and the Durbars, and the minimum of interference with the latter in

their own affairs.I can assure Political Officers that I am speaking in no spirit of criticism.... My aim and object will be, as it has always been, to assist them, but I would impress upon them that they are not only the mouthpiece of Government, and the custodian of Imperial policy, but I look to them also to interpret the sentiments and aspirations of the Durbars."

Lord Minto, it may well be said, not only reversed the policy of Lord Curzon, but laid the foundations of a new policy, based on friendliness, co-operation and identity of interests. The first World War had also established closer relation between the States and the Government of India. The whole-hearted response of the Princes and their great contribution in men and money emphasised once again the importance of the States in the polity of India. The nomination of Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner and, later, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh of Patiala, along with Sir S. P. (later Lord) Sinha, as members of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, demonstrated to the world both the unity of the States with the rest of India and the importance they had gained in the affairs of the Empire. The Princely representatives at this and other conferences that took place later spoke for India as a whole as they formed part of the Indian delegation and were not representatives of the States as such.

The Montagu-Chelmsford inquiry and report gave an opportunity for a comprehensive consideration of the position of the States in relation to the rest of India. Chapter X of that report is important as being the first official document which discusses the position of the States. The point of view of the States was effectively represented by a group of very able and distinguished Princes, of whom the most notable were Maharaja Madhava Rao Scindia, Maharaja Ganga Singh of Bikaner, and Maharaja Ranjit Singhji of Nawanagar. The view that the Princes urged may be summarised as follows:

(1) That the rights guaranteed to the States by their treaties had been encroached upon both in the political and economic spheres.

(2) That "usage and practice" had grown up in the Political Department which failed to recognise the inherent authority of the States.

(3) That matters of common concern to British India and the States were being decided upon without reference to their interest.

(4) That w'here action was to be taken against individual Rulers, it should be preceded by a proper commission of enquiry where the Ruler would be afforded the necessary opportunity to defend himself.

A committee of the Conference of Princes and Chiefs, known as the Codification Committee, had examined the main grievances of the Princes in regard to the encroachment by the Paramount Power on treaty rights of the States which seemed to require rectification.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report recommended ‘‘the establishment of a Chamber of Princes with a Standing Committee,” and also

recommended “that political practice should be codified and standardised; that Commissions of Enquiry and Courts of Arbitration should be instituted; that a line of demarcation should be drawn between rulers enjoying full powers and those who do not; that all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India, and that machinery should be set up for joint deliberation on matters of common interests to British India and the Indian States.” 2

This object was fulfilled by the institution of the Chamber of Princes by a Royal Proclamation on 8 February, 1921. It was a deliberative and advisory, but not an executive, body, and its establishment did not affect in any way the individual relations between any State and the Viceroy. But its importance lay in the clear recognition of two important principles, viz., (a) the right of the Princes to discuss matters affecting their States among themselves, and (b) the right of the States to be consulted in matters of all-India policy. The cherished policy of isolation, which had been carried to such an extraordinary length that even courtesy visits of one Ruler to another required permission, was given up. It helped to a considerable extent in the recovery of sovereignty by the States, which was the characteristic of the period between the two World Wars. Through its Standing Committee, it not only resisted further encroachments on the authority of States, but regained some of the lost ground in both political and economic spheres.

The major political issue which affected the States about this time was the theory of paramountcy which found expression in its widest form in Lord Reading's letter to His Exalted Highness the Nizam, dated the 27th March, 1926, to which reference has been made above.[3] That letter specifically deals with the claim of the Crown to intervene in the internal affairs of the States. The Nizam had stated: "Save and except matters relating to foreign powers and policies, the Nizams of Hyderabad have been independent in the internal affairs of their State just as much as the British Government in British India." It was the last agony of Separatism, of a claim that the States had no integral relation with India. The reply of the British Government was unequivocal. "The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exists independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States, to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well known, and so clearly apply no less to Your Exalted Highness than to other Rulers, that it seems hardly necessary to point them out. But if illustrations are necessary, I would remind Your Exalted Highness that the Ruler of Hyderabad along with the other Rulers received in 1862 a Sanad declaratory of the British Government's desire for the perpetuation of his House and Government, subject to continued loyalty to the Crown; that no succession in the Masnad of Hyderabad is valid unless it is recognised by His Majesty the King-Emperor: and that the British Government is the only arbiter in cases of disputed succession.

"The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise this right without grave reason. But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where Imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility. Other illustrations could be added no less inconsistent than the foregoing with the suggestion, that except in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, the Government of Your Exalted Highness and the British Government stand on a plane of equality. But I do not think I need pursue the subject further. I will merely add that the title 'Faithful Ally' which Your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting Your Government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountcy of the British Crown."[4]

This historic document rejected the claim of independence from the Ruler of Hyderabad who had been recognised as the Faithful Ally of the British Government and was also honoured by the title of His Exalted Highness in recognition of his primacy among the Princes of India. It went further and definitely put forward on behalf of the Crown rights of intervention in the internal affairs of the States on the basis of paramountcy. The publication of the correspondence and its uncompromising tone alarmed the Princes who pressed for an authoritative inquiry into their political relations. The result was the appointment of the Indian States Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler. The Report of the Butler Committee provided only a gloss on the text of the Hyderabad letter, so far as Crown's rights were concerned. Paramountcy must remain paramount, the Committee declared.[3]

On the question of intervention, the Committee went a step further than even the Baroda and Hyderabad declarations. The Committee held that the Paramount Power was entitled to interfere with State sovereignty "for the economic good of India as a whole", a claim which had never been put forward before but reflected the undoubted economic unity of India; and secondly that, “in case of widespread (popular) agitation for a change in the form and nature of Government, the Paramount Power would be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand”.

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Thus the report of the Committee may, in a sense, be said to put the coping stone on the British Imperialism.

The period under review also witnessed some developments in internal administration. Attention may be drawn to a few examples. Legislative Councils with popular element, nominated and elected, were established in the more advanced States of Travanco^e, Mysore and Cochin, and later in Baroda and Kashmir, and these were brought more or less into line with the advance in British India. *In other States, also, the principle of liberal government, through closer association with the people, was accepted as the ideal, though the steps taken to implement that principle were slow and cautious.

But these could not satisfy the aspirations for political rights created in the minds of the peoples of the States, more or less under the influence of the Indian National Congress. The organizations of the State Peoples for this purpose and the attitude of the Congress towards them have been referred to above. 6

In 1910 the Maharaja of Baroda founded the Central Library at Baroda and started the Library movement in his State. The Cooperative Societies already started in Baroda in 1905 were reorganized in 1912, and the Maharaja himself presided over the first Co-operative Conference in 1914. In Mysore, a limited scheme for compulsory education was introduced in 1913. The local self-governing bodies were reformed in 1916. Finally, in 1916, the first University in any Indian State was founded in Mysore. Two years later, the Hyderabad State, too, established the Osmania University which imparted instructions in all its faculties through the medium of Urdu, English being a compulsory language up to the Degree standard.

Mysore, under a succession of able Dewans, showed the way in industrial development, and Gwalior, Baroda and Indore, and in later years, Earn pur, Bhopal, Travancore and Mayurbhanj, followed in its wake. The maritime States realised the advantages of their position, and the growth of the ports of Cochin (developed jointly with British India), Okha, Bhawnagar and Bedi, gave sufficient evidence of a new life in trade and commerce. The development of railways in Jodhpur and Bikaner, in the Kathiawad States, in Baroda and in Hyderabad, and great irrigation schemes in Mysore, Travancore and Bikaner, are also important facts to be noted in this connection.

II. FROM 1935 TO 1947

A revolutionary change in the relation between British India and the States was suggested by the Simon Commission, and given effect to in the Government of India Act of 1935. The Federal Scheme embodied in the Act envisaged British India and the States as forming a single Federation. It provided for the first time a constitutional relationship between the Indian States and the Government of India, and if carried into effect, would have practically made the States an integral part of the administrative organisation of India as a whole. How the proposal was at first received with enthusiasm by the Ruling Princes as well as the Indian members of the First Round Table Conference, how the scheme was opposed by the Congress as well as the Muslim League, how the enthusiasm of the princes gradually cooled down and could not be revived by the efforts of Cripps and the Cabinet Mission, and why the scheme of Federation ultimately failed, have been stated above. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Reference has also been made to the process by which the separate existence of States was abolished, and they were incorporated with India and formed her integral part as a result of the independence granted to her in 1947. These matters have been discussed as part of the general narrative and need not be repeated here. 8 Taken as a whole, this integration of India (minus Pakistan) as one political and administrative unit is a unique event during the whole course of Indian history known to us.

Note 1

Note 2

Note 3

Note 4

Note 5

Note 6

Note 7

Note 8

CHAPTER XXXVII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Vol. IX, p. 970.
2. 2. Summary by the Butler Committee.
3. 3. Above, p. 10.
4. 4. Report of the Indian States Committee, 1928-9, Appendix II.
5. 5. Above, p. 74.
6. 6. Above, pp. 563-4, 575-6, 638
7. 7. Above, pp. 478, 574-7, 638.
8. 8. For a comprehensive account of the States from 1935 to 1947, cf. White Paper on Indian States, published by the Government of India in July, 1948.

RELATION WITH THE FRONTIERS AND

AFGHANISTAN

I. FRONTIER EXPEDITIONS

Reference has been made above 1 to the new policy initiated by Lord Curzon regarding the North-Western Frontier and the legitimate pride he took in its success by pointing out that there was no frontier expedition for seven years. But the hope of a permanent peace on the frontier proved illusive. There were serious risings of the Pathan tribes—of the Waziris in 1919, Mahsuds in 1925, a second and more serious rising of the Waziris together with the Mohmands and Afridis in 1930-31, the renewed outbreak of the Mohmands in 1933, and the rebellion of Tori Khel in 1936-7.

There was also some trouble in the North-Eastern Frontier. Mr. Williamson, a political officer, crossed the frontier and penetrated into the country of the Abors in the Sadiya Frontier Tract, Assam, without permission, and was murdered. A small punitive expedition was sent into the country.

II. AFGHANISTAN 1. The Third Afghan War

Reference has been made above 2 to the activities of Indian revolutionaries in Kabul during the first World War, and the IndoGerman Mission led by Raja Mahendra Pratap which reached Kabul on 2 October, 1915. The Mission was received by Amir Habibullah, and he allowed the establishment of a Provisional Government of India in Kabul with the Raja as President. Though no tangible result followed, the British had every reason to regard it as an unfriendly act. The Amir, however, proceeded cautiously and maintained his friendly relations with the Government of India throughout the War. As a mark of appreciation of his services the Government of India increased his subsidy. But there was a rising tide of nationalism in Afghanistan, as in ether oriental countries, at the beginning of the 19th century, due mainly to the current of world progress and specially the victory of Japan over Russia. The Amir was therefore very unpopular with a section of his people who resented his friendly and subservient attitude towards the British. Presumably due to their pressure, the Amir demanded of the

Government of India in February, 1919, that the full freedom of Afghanistan should be recognized at the Peace Conference. But before Amir Habibullah received any reply he was shot dead in his hunting camp, near Jalalabad, on 20 February, 1919. 3 His brother, Nasrullah, who was with him at Jalalabad, proclaimed himself king and was acknowledged by the two elder sons of Habibullah. But the third son, Amanullah, who was in Kabul in charge of the arsenal and in command of the garrison, soon triumphed over his uncle and occupied the throne. Apart from his initial tactical advantages Amanullah's success was partly due to his popularity with a large section of the people. But within a few weeks he antagonized the powerful religious section as well as the army. As the internal situation rapidly deteriorated, Amanullah launched an aggressive military campaign against India.

It is not easy to determine the cause or motive of this action of the Amir. Eminent authorities have ascribed it to the timehonoured political expedient of launching war as a means to check internal discontent and disunion. W. K. Fraser-Tytler, a high official of the Government of India and a recognized authority on Afghan politics, upholds this view, and further observes: 'In so doing he showed considerable astuteness. While on the one hand he was able to pose as the leader of his people in their march to freedom from British suzerainty, on the other he appealed to their religious fervour by proclaiming a holy war against the unbelievers and to their cupidity by holding out to them the fair prospect of loot which an invasion of India would furnish to his followers as it had done to their forefathers from the days of Mahmud of Ghazni." 4

There is no doubt that the Amir's precipitate action was partly due to the reports about the disturbed condition of India. FraserTytler not only lays stress on this factor, but makes a positive allegation that the Amir had intended his attack "to coincide with a rebellion in India which was being fomented by his agents and principally by a certain Ghulam Haidar, Afghan postmaster in Peshawar." "This was," he added, "timed to open on 8 May in Peshawar city, where the agent had collected, with the help of the Indian

Revolutionary Committee, a mob of some 7,000 bad characters with the intention of burning the Cantonment and Civil Lines, damaging the railway, and destroying the mobilization stores." 5 But the British authorities, we are told, came to know of the plot on 7 May and nipped it in the bud by turning off the water supply of the city after closing its gates.

After his defeat Amanullah asserted that the war was due to misunderstanding by officials on both sides of the border. 6 But this

is belied by the fact that hostilities were actually commenced by the Afghans without any provocation. 7 On 3 May, 1919, an Afghan force under Zar Shah "attempted to provoke hostilities with the Khyber rifles on the Khyber border and displayed a proclamation by the Amir which protested strongly against the cruelty and injustice of the British in India. At the same time the Afghan Commanderin-Chief, who had reached Dakka, openly talked of a Holy War." In reply to the protest of the Government of India the Amir sent a "somewhat imprudent reply*', received on 17 May, "virtually admitting the authorship of the proclamation and demanding removal of the tyrannical laws which he said had been imposed in India." In the meantime "various acts of aggression took place in the Khyber border, culminating on 5 May in the capture of the Bagh Springs and the heights which commanded Landi Kotal by three Regiments and two guns."

The war which thus began was of short duration and we may briefly refer to the main incidents that took place in the northern, central and southern sectors.

In the north, enemy concentration and military objectives in important places such as Jalalabad and Kabul were bombed by British aeroplanes. This proved particularly effective end gave a heavy blow to the morale of the Afghan troops not accustomed to this type of modern warfare. In ten days the Afghans had been severely defeated and ejected from Indian territory in Khyber, and their advanced base at Dakka was occupied. On 14 May, the Afghan Commander asked for cessation of hostilities which was not agreed to by the British.

Though defeated in the north, the Afghans at first scored some success in the central sector. The advance of the Afghan General Nadir Khan to the capital of Khost, and the consequent evacuation of a large number of British militia posts, led to the rising of the Mahsuds and Waziris who made inroads into the Zhob Agency and the British districts bordering on Waziristan. A small Afghan detachment entered Wana and, on 27 May, Nadir Khan occupied the hills to the west and south of Thai and shelled the place. But Indian re-inforcements sent from Kohat defeated the Afghans, cleared the hills and drove the enemy back across the Kurram river.

In the southern sector the capture of the Afghan fort of Spin Baidak, six and a half miles across the frontier, on 27 May, was followed by a series of Afghan reverses during the next week.

On 28 May the Amir suspended hostilities and asked for an armistice. Prolonged negotiations followed and it was not till 8th of August, 1919, that a Treaty of Peace was signed at Rawalpindi.

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By this treaty the Government of India stopped the payment of annual subsidy to the new Amir and even confiscated the arrears of the late Amir’s subsidy. Further, they withdrew “the privileges enjoyed by the former Amirs of importing arms, ammunition or warlike munitions through India to Afghanistan.” On the other hand, the Afghan delegates were given a letter which “officially recognised the freedom of Afghan foreign relations from British control.” Thus ended the subordinate alliance of the Afghans with the British after a long period of forty years.

It may be added that even though the hostilities were of short duration “allegations of incompetency in medical and transport arrangements were made against the Government of India.”

2. Indo-Afghan Relation After the War

The relation between India and Afghanistan was somewhat strained towards the end of 1920 on account of friendly relations of the latter with the Soviet Government of Russia. The Government of India was much perturbed by the arrival of Bolshevik and Turkish emissaries in Kabul and the news of a Russo-Afghan pact by which the Russians would be permitted to establish

Consulates in Kandahar, Ghazni, and Jalalabad. A British mission was accordingly sent to Kabul under Sir Henry Dobbs who reached there on 7 January, 1921. But more than four months passed and yet nothing was heard about the result of the mission. In the meanwhile the Mahsuds and some clans of the Afridis broke into open rebellion, and there were almost constant raids on British convoys.

The delay in the negotiations and the strict silence of the Government of India gave rise to a variety of rumours, and speculations were rife as to what would happen if the Afghans invaded India. It was revealed that about a year before, an Afghan, representing himself to be an emissary sent by some leading persons in Afghanistan, saw Pandit Malaviya and wanted to know whether and how far the Hindus would support an Afghan invasion for the liberation of India from the yoke of the British. It was definitely proved that this man had nothing to do with Kabul and was most probably sent by Maulvi Niamatullah, the chief of the old Indian Muhajirins of Bunair in the N. W. Frontier.

The story of the Afghan spy, though about a year old, received undue importance from the strained relation between India and Afghanistan and the attitude of the Muslims and Non-co-operators towards Afghan invasion of India. Muhammad Ali, in his speech at Erode, was reported to have said that the Indian Muslims would join the Afghans if Jihad was proclaimed. In reply to a question in the House of Commons in May, 1921, Mr. Montagu stated that ‘he had been informed by telegram that the Government of India were giving their attention to the statement by Muhammad Ali at Madras that the Ali brothers would help Afghanistan if she came to India to fight the British Government’. [8] The Pan-Islamic activities of Muhammad Ali were resented by the Englishmen as well as a large section of the Indians, and the matter was discussed by the Leader and the Pioneer of Allahabad and the Pratap of Lahore. On 11 May, the Pioneer challenged Muhammad Ali to say definitely whether directly or indirectly he was not in communication with the Amir on the subject of the invasion. Questioned on this point Muhammad Ali gave an evasive reply. “I am a Muslim first and everything else afterwards", said he, but added : "This Afghan hare is none of my starting. I do not remember having said anything about any foreign invasion of India for more than a year". But he said in Allahabad District Conference held on 11 May, 1921, that "they wanted to win Swaraj but not with the aid of a foreign power. If any such waged war against the present Government for the purpose of making India free, they would not render any help to Government but would simply watch the fight and take no part in it because they did not believe in violence." He also added "that there was no correspondence between him and the Amir." 9

Gandhi also took a very curious view in this matter. "Not only did he advise the Amir not to enter into any treaty with the British Government but declared:

'I would, in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government. That is to say,

I would openly tell my countrymen that it would be a crime to help a government which had lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power'." 10

Gandhi further stated that the Non-co-operators were not to help the Government in any case. "I would rather see India perish at the hands of Afghans", said he, "than purchase freedom from Afghan invasion at the cost of her honour. To have India defended by an unrepentant Government that keeps the Khilafat and Punjab wounds still bleeding, is to sell India's honour". This attitude was resented by many. C. F. Andrews was afraid that Gandhi was unwittingly supporting pan-Islamism. Laj pat Rai wrote three articles in his paper Bande Mataram, strongly condemning the attitude that the Moslems should join the Afghan invader in case a Jihad was declared. B. C. Pal strongly attacked Gandhi in the columns of the Englishman. 11

But all these speculations and apprehensions were soon seLat rest. After a protracted negotiation, a treaty of peace was signed in

Kabul on 22 November, 1921, after the Afghan Government had given satisfactory written assurances to the effect that no Russian Consulates would be permitted in the Jalalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar areas. The main provisions of the treaty were the following:

1. The British Government reaffirmed their recognition of Afghanistan's complete independence.

2. There was to be an interchange of Ministers in London and Kabul, and of Consuls in India and Afghanistan.

3. The boundary between British India and Afghanistan, as settled by the Treaty of Rawalpindi, dated 8 August, 1919 and demarcated by the British Commission in August and September, 1919, in accordance with the said treaty, was accepted, with slight realignment, by both parties.

4. The privilege of importing arms and ammunitions (so long as such importation constituted no danger to India or threat to India's security), as well as other materials required for the welfare of Afghanistan, such as factory machinery, engines and materials, instruments for telegraph, telephone etc., without let or hindrance, and without payment of customs duties, which was withdrawn by the preliminary treaty of 8 August, 1919, was restored. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

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Note 11

Note 12

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Chapter Notes

1. 1. Cf. VoL IX, p. 1019.
2. 2. See above, pp. 220-224.
3. 3. W. K. Fraser-Tytler, Afghanistan, p. 194
4. 4. Ibid, p, 195.
5. 5. Ibid, pp. 195-6.
6. 6. Ibid, p. 195.
7. 7. The account of the War that follows and the passages within inverted commas are taken from. India in 1919 by Rushbrook Williams, pp. 10-14.
8. 8. IAR, 1922-3, Vol. I, p. 55. Rushbrook Williams, India in 1921-2, p. 63.
9. 9. IAR , 1922-3, Vol. I, p. 207.
10. 10. The Young India, dated 4th May, 1921. Quoted by Ambedkar, B.R., in Pakistan, p. 145
11. 11. IAR, 1922-3, Vol. I, p. 211.
12. 12. For the terms of the two treaties with Pakistan, cf. Rushbrook Williams, India in 1919, pp. 12-3, and India in 1921-2, pp. 4-5, and Appendix VII, p. 319. Also IAR, 1921-2, Vol. I, pp. 87-8, 91-5.

INDIANS ABROAD

I. SOUTH AFRICA

Reference has been made above 1 to the Satydgraha campaign led by Gandhi in South Africa ending in the Gandhi-Smuts settlement of 1914 and the Indian Relief Act passed in that year. Though Gandhi hailed it as "Magna Charta of our liberty" in South Africa 2 , less idealistic people held that it "was not in fact so great a victory for the Indians as it appeared at first sight". 3 In any case, two things are quite clear. Firstly, Smuts gained his main objective which was to terminate Indian immigration into South Africa; and secondly, Gandhi's hope that "my countrymen will have comparative peace and South Africa shall hear little of the Indian problem in an acute form" was completely belied. The position of the Indians in South Africa "is more unsatisfactory in theory and practice today than it was at the turn of the century". 4

The great contributions made by the Indians to the war efforts of South Africa during the first World War were appreciated publicly by General Smuts, and pleasant platitudes were uttered by him and Mr. Barton who represented South Africa in the Imperial Conference in 1917 and 1918. Sir (later Lord) S. P. Sinha who, along with the Maharaja of Bikaner, represented India at this Conference, pleaded for the repeal of the laws in Transvaal which forced the Indians to live in certain segregated areas. Nothing could be more gratifying than the cordial response of the two great statesmen of South Africa. General Smuts said in the Conference of 1917:

"Now that the fear which formerly obsessed settlers has been removed, and the great principle of restricted immigration for which they (South Africans) have contended is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the authorities in India, I think that the door is open for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of all the minor administrative troubles which occurred and will occur from time to time."

In the course of the debate that took p]ace at the Imperial Conference of 1918 on Lord Sinha's Memorandum on the position of Indians in the self-governing colonies, Mr. Barton, representing South African Government, said : "As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in certain parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see that they are treated as human beings,

and in a proper manner.As far as we are concerned in South

Africa, we are in agreement with this resolution, and also with the proposal referring the Memorandum to the consideration of our Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can, certainly."

The Reciprocity Resolution passed at the Imperial Conference of 1918 affirmed the right of each country in the British Empire to regulate the composition of its population by imposing restrictions on immigration. Nothing proves more clearly the political immaturity, or lack of diplomatic wisdom, of the Indians than that they should hail this resolution as a great victory in their fight for equality. For, while theoretically conceding equal rights to all the British dominions, it practically meant the virtual acquiescence of all of them, including India , in the policy of restricting immigration of Indians into South Africa and other parts of the empire, while India, having no such settlers from other dominions, could do nothing to oppose it by way of reciprocal actions.

The ink with which the Reciprocity Resolution was written was hardly dry before the South African Whites renewed their campaign against Indian settlers. The Asiatic Land and Trading (Amendment) Act of 1919, passed by the Transvaal Government, phohibited Indians from owning fixed property anywhere in the Transvaal either directly or indirectly, and also curtailed their trading rights in the mining areas. But, according to the South Africans* League, this Act did not go far enough, and it was declared in their conference in 1920 that "South Africa is not prepared to take the first steps in national suicide by admitting Indians to free and indiscriminate residence amongst white people". On the plea of a large influx of Indians into South Africa in an illegal manner, a Commission, known as the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, was appointed in 1920 to inquire into the provisions of the law affecting the acquisition of land by Asiatics and their trading rights. As the report of this Commission was cited as the basis of some very drastic laws against the Indians, reference may be made to a few general observations by the Commission. The Commission found no justification for the allegations that the number of Indians had materially increased in recent years and that there was unfair competition in trade between the Indians and the Whites. Hie Commission observed: "And a great many European witnesses of repute testified to the honesty and fair dealing of Indian traders, and a considerable number of well-known wholesale merchants described them as thoroughly reliable men to deal with". Even in Transvaal where the antiIndian feeling was most intense, members of the farming community appealed to the Commission not to interfere with the trading rights of Asiatics jn country districts. "It was pointed out that, if they are debarred from trading, the farmers would be left at the mercy of the alien European trader who is alleged to be far worse than the Asiatic. The latter, it is said, is honest in his dealings, sells at reasonable prices, gives credit in retail and does not press his creditor unduly; while the former is often dishonest, generally exorbitant and exacting, and aims at eventually getting a mortgage on the land of debtor." The suggestion of segregation, both as to trade and residence, was advocated by several white witnesses, but they candidly confessed that they supported it only as a means to an end, that end being to drive Asiatics out of the country. The Commission pronounced definitely against the compulsory segregation or compulsory repatriation of Indians, but at the same time not only opposed the repeal of the Anti-Indian laws in force, but in some respects, imposed further restrictions. Sir Benjamin Robertson watched the proceedings of the Commission on behalf of the Government of India which protested against the "withdrawal of the right of Indian settlers to acquire land in the uplands of Natal, among others."

The Provincial Government of Natal issued three ordinances in 1924 which "sought to cripple Indian trade in rural areas, deprive the Indian community of municipal franchise in Natal, and to enforce racial segregation by preventing Indians from possessing land in European areas."

This was merely the beginning of a series of anti-Indian Legislations, which acquire a special significance for two reasons, namely, the liberal views of the Imperial Conference and the strong antiIndian attitude of General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. The Imperial Conference of 1921 held that there was an "incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the Empire and the existence of disabilities upon British Indians lawfully domiciled in some parts of the Empire." But though the Colonial Secretary upheld this view, the South African delegation refused to accept the resolution. What is more significant is that it was Smuts who now championed the anti-Indian campaign. He publicly declared: 'The whole basis of our particular system in South Africa rests on inequality. It is the bedrock of crfir constitution," He tried his best to abrogate the resolution of 1921 at the conference of 1923, but failed. Thus Smuts, who had expressed his sympathy for Indians when they fought to defend

the British Empire, now appeared in his true colour. In violation of his agreement with Gandhi in 1914, the Asiatic Land and Trading (Amendment) Act of 1919, mentioned above, was put into operation. In defiance of the clear recommendation of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission of 1920, his Government introduced the Class Areas Bill in the Union Assembly in 1924, giving effect to the policy of commercial and residential segregation of Indians throughout the Union. The Bill lapsed as the party of Smuts was defeated at the General Election. But General Hertzog, the new Premier, introduced the Colour Bar Bill which prohibited the employment of Asiatics and natives in mines and industrial works. This Bill was too much even for Smuts, and though it was passed by the Union Assembly it was thrown out by the Senate where Smuts commanded a majority. Hertzog then introduced the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill on 23 July, 1925. It was based on the same principles of segregation as the Class Areas Bill of Smuts' Government, but much wider in scope. This bill provided that (1) the Indians shall be permitted to buy and sell land, and carry on trade, only in areas to be set apart in towns and cities, and nowhere else; and (2) the Governor-General may proclaim that no Indian shall buy or lease land more than 30 miles away from the coast line and except from an Indian within those 30 miles.

Drastic changes were also made in the immigration regulations vesting absolute power in the hands of the Minister and immigration officer to deal with the entry and deportation of Indians, even though they might have lived in this country for many years.

The introduction of this Bill evoked strong protest from Indians in South Africa, and a mass meeting of Natal Indians, attended by delegates from all over the province, was held at Durban on 31 August, under the auspices of the Natal Indian Congress. Several prominent Europeans attended the meeting and strongly protested against the Bill. The meeting recorded an emphatic protest against the Bill "which has for its object our compulsory segregation, the deprivation of our proprietory and trading rights, further restriction of our domiciliary rights and the ultimate extinction of the Indian community as openly declared by the Minister of the Interior, inasmuch as it is contrary to all knowm laws of equity and justice".

There was a strong outburst of indignation all over India. October 11 was fixed as the day of protest. A hartal was observed on this day and public meetings of protest were held, attended by persons of all parties and shades of opinion. After the Natal Ordinances were passed in 1924, a representative and influential deputation of leading Indians, headed by Sir Dinshaw Petit, waited on the Viceroy at Delhi on 28 January, 1925, and urged upon him the gravity of the problem.

The Government of India repeatedly urged upon the Government of South Africa the holding of a Conference to discuss their general policy towards the Indians. The Union Government agreed to a Conference provided its discussion was limited to a more effective scheme of repatriation of Indians which would result in a considerable reduction of the Indian population in South Africa, and to proposals for the mitigation of the economic competition between Indians and other classes in South Africa. This the India Government did not accept and instead suggested the sending of a Deputation to collect information regarding the economic condition and the general position and requirements of the Indians. To this the Union Government agreed and the Deputation left Bombay on 25 November, 1925. G. F. Paddison was the Chairman of the Deputation.

In the meanwhile the South African Indian Congress sent to the Government of India a deputation headed by Dr. Abdur Rahman which arrived at Bombay on 12 December. On 19 December, they waited upon the Viceroy and presented a memorandum setting forth in detail the position of the Indians in different parts of South Africa. As regards the new Bill Dr. Abdur Rahman characterised it as pure ‘'Class Legislation, its object being to. drive Indians into locations or areas, reduce them to industrial serfs and thus ultimately hunt them out of South Africa. This is clear not only from the various sections of the Bill itself but also from the speech of the minister who, when introducing it into Parliament, said: ‘that the Bill firmly starts from the general supposition that the Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population, and that no resolution of this question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population in this country.” The Viceroy gave a sympathetic reply to the memorandum and Dr. Abdur Rahman’s speech while presenting it, and assured the deputation that “no course which can legitimately and constitutionally be taken, will be left unexplored, and all reasonable measures calculated to ameliorate the situation will be taken. The deputationists then left for Kanpur to lay their grievances before the Congress. The Congress passed a lengthy resolution on the subject moved by Gandhi asking for arbitration or a Round Table Conference.

The Paddison deputation also suggested that a fresh inquiry should be made before proceeding further with the Bill introduced in the Assembly of South African Union. The Union Government agreed and a Round Table Conference was decided upon. Accordingly the Areas Reservation Bill was suspended, but the Local Government (Provisional Power) Act was passed in 1926. It gave wide powers to the Provincial Councils to deal with local matters, and legalised the Health Ordinance of the Government of Natal depriving the Indians of the right of representation on the health committees, the last civic right that was still enjoyed by them.

The Indian delegation to the Conference was led by Sir Muhammad Habibullah, and included the Rt. Hon’ble Srinivasa Sastri and Sir Pheroze Sethna. The Conference met at Cape Town on 17 December, 1926, and continued till 12 January, 1927. The most important points agreed to by the Conference may be summed up as follows:

1. Recognition of the right of the Union (of South Africa) to use all just and legitimate means for the maintenance of Western standard of life and its willingness to enable domiciled Indians to adopt such standard if they chose to do so.

2, The Union Government agreed to introduce a scheme of assisted migration to India or countries where Western standards were not required. Under this scheme every Indian, who chose to migrate, would receive free transport from Africa and a bonus of £20, if he was above 16, and £10, if below that age,

3, Facilities were to be given for the entry of the wives and children ©f a naturalised Indian in the Union.

4. By an ‘Uplift Clause* the Union Government accepted the principle that ‘it is the duty of every civilized government to take all possible steps to uplift the whole of its permanent population to the fullest extent of their capacities and opportunities*. This involved sympathetic consideration of affording better facilities for the promotion of higher education, improvement of sanitary and housing conditions, as well as granting trade licenses.

In consequence of this Cape Town Agreement of 1927 the Areas Reservation Bill was dropped and an Agent-General (designated later as High Commissioner) of the Government of India was to remain in South Africa in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments. Srinivasa Sastri was appointed the first Indian Agent-General.

The high hopes raised by the Agreement of 1927 were soon dashed to the ground. The ‘Uplift Clause’ referring to the welfare of the domiciled Indians remained more or less a dead letter. The Whites were also equally disappointed. They had thought of getting rid of the Indians by the assisted emigration scheme, but only a little over sixteen thousand Indians left Africa during the period between July, 1927, and February, 1939.

The representatives of the Governments of India and South Africa had a second conference at Cape Town in 1932 and it was agreed that the scheme of assisted emigration had been a failure.

The Union Government appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of James Young on 15 June, 1933. It expressed the view that “economic pressure would sooner or later compel him (the Indian) to seek fresh avenues of occupation, and suggested that investigation be made for colonisation of Indians in British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guinea." In other words, as South Africa was no longer in need of Indian labour, the descendants of those who were settled there at the invitation of European settlers might be banished to other parts of the world. The proposals were denounced by all sections of the Indian people and by the Government of India which would have to spend thirtyfive hundred million rupees to finance the scheme, if even one per cent, of the Indian population in South Africa decided to emigrate to a new colony.

Foiled in their last attempt to get rid of the Indians, "the Union Government sought to make their life more miserable than ever, so that if Indians wanted to stay on in South Africa they must stay as pariahs to all intents and purposes" 5 The Union Government declared openly in 1939 that they would introduce legislation involving racial segregation. The first fruit of this was the 'Asiatics Act* of 1939, which was to peg the position of Asian occupation and trading for a period of two years. It was renewed in 1943 for a further period of three years with its operation extending to Natal, even though Smuts, who succeeded Hertzog as Premier at the outbreak of the second World War, had declared that no law involving segregation would be passed during the War. Apart from segregation which was a flagrant violation of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, very harsh and discriminating restrictions were imposed by the Act. The Natal Indian Congress in 1944 described the operation of the Pegging Act as the violation of the most elementary rights. Though the Government of India passed the Reciprocity Act in 1943, the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa advised the Indians to settle their own problems and not to rely on the Government of India for assistance.

Attempts were made by the Union Government to soothe Indian feelings by the modification of the rigours of the Pegging Act. But these proved a failure and the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946—better known as the Ghetto Act—

which replaced the Pegging Act of 1943 was passed on 3 June, 1946, by the Assembly. It made the situation much worse by introducing racial segregation in the whole of Natal for the first time, on a permanent basis, and also extending it to Transvaal. The Ghetto Act took away the elementary right of the Indians to possess property anywhere they liked, which they enjoyed for over 80 years. It granted franchise to Indians to elect two European members to the Senate and three European members to the Assembly of the Union Government—no Indian could be elected to represent them in the central legislature of the Union.

The Ghetto Act created bitter feelings of resentment both in India and among the Indians of South Africa. The latter started Passive Resistance on 13 June, 1946, by sending a batch of women to Natal without permission and by occupying lands in prohibited areas. Nearly 23,000 Indians—men and women—courted imprisonment. The Europeans resorted to hooliganism of the worst type, and launched organised campaigns to boycott Indian traders and refuse employment to Indians in European firms.

When the Ghetto Act was still under consideration, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution in 1946 condemning it in the strongest terms, as the following extracts will show:

"The Working Committee are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. . . .the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics, . . .and of broken promises and declarations.... The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation".

The Government of India recalled the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa. They also terminated the Indo-South-African Trade Agreement, and the trade relations between the two countries were severed. They complained to the United Nations Organisation against the Ghetto Act and contended that it violated the United Nations Charter of human rights and the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 between India and South Africa. Smuts, on behalf of South Africa, contended that the question of Indians in South Africa was a domestic matter of South Africa and therefore the complaint of the Government of India should be deleted from the Agenda. Mrs. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit, who opened the case for India, withdrew her original motion in favour of an alternative resolution sponsored by France and Mexico, which read as follows:

"The General Assembly, having taken note of the application

made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa, and having considered the matter: first, states that, owing to that treatment, friendly relations are likely to be further impaired; second, is of the opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with the international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two governments and the relevant provisions of the charter; third, therefore requests the two Governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect."

The amendment of Smuts to refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice was rejected by the General Assembly on 7 December, and next day, 8 December, it accepted the original proposal by the necessary two-thirds majority. Thirty-two nations voted for the proposal, fifteen voted against it, and seven abstained from voting. South Africa was supported by Britain, Canada and the U. S. A.

In accordance with the proposal of the General Assembly the Government of India approached the Union Government of South Africa for discussion on the subject, but the latter refused, and so the matter rested there at the end of the period dealt with in this volume.

II. EAST AFRICA A . Kenya

In the early days of the East African Protectorate of Kenya, the Indian and British merchants were on friendly terms and the officials, who formed the great bulk of the European population, were favourably disposed towards the Indians who settled there. The reason is not far to seek. As in many parts of South Africa, the Indians had largely contributed to the growth, development and prosperity of the Protectorate. This would be evident from a letter written to The. Times in August, 1921, by Sir Harry Johnston,

one of the earliest British administrators in Central and Eastern

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Africa. Referring to the anti-Indian attitude of the European settlers he wrote: “The excess of their influence revolts me who strove before they were born to open up East Africa to knowledge by the help of Indian troops, Indian doctors, and Indian clerks”. He pointed out that ‘without the help, the bravery and the discipline of Indian soldiers, it was doubtful whether Britain would easily have got the better of Arab hostility, have suppressed slavery and the slave trade, or have acquired the magnificent empire over East Africa which she now possessed”. 6

Troubles began with the arrival of the European settlers in 1903 who demanded that healthy highlands should be set aside exclusively for them on the ground that ‘there was plenty of land outside this area suitable for Indians but not for Europeans,’ 7 and this was recommended in 1905 by a Committee, appointed by the High Commissioner, consisting only of white members. The Indians were highly indignant and sent a deputation to the Colonial Secretary in London in 1906, protesting against it. He instructed the High Commissioner of Kenya that “it was not consonant with the views of His Majesty’s Goverment to impose legal restrictions on any particular section of the community, but as a matter of administrative convenience grants in the upland area should not be made to Indians.” 8 Similarly, when a Legislative Council of eight members was established in 1907, provision was made for 2 nominated members from the small European community, but there was no representative from the larger Indian community. Two years later one Indian nominated member was added, though according to the census of 1911 there were 11,866 Indians as against 3,167 Europeans.

Two significant changes took place after the first World War. First, the settlement, under a scheme sponsored by the British Government, of hundreds of demobilized British soldiers who took up farming in the highlands; second, the conversion of the East African Protectorate into the Crown Colony of Kenya (1920). The British settlers, increased in number, demanded responsible selfgovernment for the European community and severe restriction on Indian immigration. It was announced in 1919 that the newly elected Legislative Council w r ould have 11 elected European members and only two Indian members nominated by the Governor. As a result of Indian protest to the Viceroy of India and the Colonial Secretary, and of the former to the latter, election was substituted for nomination of the two Indian members, but segregation in townships and the reservation of highlands for the whites w y ere to continue. A significant fact was that even the white Christian missionaries carried on propaganda against the Indians on the ground that the “unrestricted immigration of traders and artisans from India constituted a more serious threat to the advancement of African natives than the presence of a comparatively small number of Europeans.” In the name of the ‘sacred trust’ they held for the native races they opposed the Indian demands and defended the policy of the segregation of Indians. Henceforth all the white settlers concealed their racial prejudice and selfish interests in the anti-Indian campaign under the cloak of this ‘sacred trust’ and overflowing sympathy for native Africans. Mr. Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, set the seal of official approval on this hypocrisy when, in 1922, he publicly supported the reservation of the highlands for Europeans and strict regulation of future immigration of Indians ‘in the interests of the British settlers and the native population, and to help the growth of Kenya as a distinctively British Colony 5 ,

The high indignation and strong protest of Indians both in Africa and India led to a discussion between the Colonial and Indian offices in London, and a compromise was arrived at by the Undersecretaries of the two Departments in 1922. The Winterton Agreement, as it came to be known, “provided for a common electoral roll for all British subjects with a property qualification and an educational test so arranged as to enfranchise about 10 per cent, of the Indian population and to give Indians four seats on the Legislative Council. In addition, immigration was to be unrestricted, and segregation was to be abolished. There was, however, to be no change with regard to the reservation of the highlands for white settlement. 559 Thus, on three of the major issues, the proposals were unfavourable to the white settlers.

The publication of this agreement w^as followed by a hysteric outburst of indignation on the part of the white settlers who openly threatened to rebel ‘in the interest of the natives.’ As the Right Hon’ble Srinivasa Sastri wrote in an article, ‘it was only since the beginning of the dispute, that the settlers had discovered that the ‘natives had rights and interests which must be preserved and that the European settlers alone v r ere the rightful custodians of those rights.’ 10 Early in 1923 steps w T ere taken by the European settlers to organize a military force for opposing any attempt to give effect to the Winterton Agreement. The British Cabinet quailed before the storm and issued a White Paper on 25 July, 1923. It was based on the theory that the British Government regarded as a sacred trust the interests of the African natives to which the interests of all the immigrants must be subordinated. As regards concrete proposals they rejected the common roll in respect of franchise recommended in the Winterton Agreement. The existing number of elected Europeans, namely eleven, was retained, but Indians were allotted five elected members, and the Arab community one. An additional member was to be nominated to represent native interests. The policy of segregation in townships was given up, but the existing practice of reserving the highlands for white settlers was to be continued. The Government also undertook not to prohibit immigration of Indians by legislation but might ‘control it in the interests of natives,’ and the Kenya Government was asked to submit concrete proposals to effect this. The result w r as the Bill of 1923 to consolidate and regulate immigration and employment in the colony which was directly aimed against Indians.

As Col. Wedgwood pointed out in the course of the discussion in the House of Commons, the White Paper ‘had not been dictated by reason but was a surrender to threats’. All sections of Indian opinion expressed the same view and regarded it as a violation of the solemn pledge of the Imperial Conference that the Indians would enjoy equal status within the Empire. Lord Reading, the Viceroy of India, associated himself with Indian opinion and referred to the White Paper as a great disappointment both to himself and the Government of India. Needless to say, that the Indians in Kenya felt sorely aggrieved, particularly over the abandonment of the common roll on equal franchise. Their feelings were so bitter that they refused to pay the poll tax or to elect members to the Legislative Council. It was not till 1931 that they elected members to the Legislature.

It may be noted that General Smuts lent the whole weight of his authority in support of the European settlers in Kenya during the agitation. He sent many a cablegram to the British Cabinet advising, threatening, and finally warning them that the British Cabinet was not dealing with Kenya only but with the whole of (White) Africa.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that the Indians in Kenya suffered from many other disabilities and indignities. First Class Lavatory and Waiting Rooms in the Railway stations were reserved exclusively for Europeans, and the Indians were not allowed to travel in upper class in steamers. In the East Africa Indian Congress, presided over by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, which met in 1924, the Chairman of the Reception Committee gave a long catalogue of other disabilities imposed upon the Indians which included the following:

‘No trial by Jury; exclusion from Government hospitals which existed for Europeans; prohibition of fire-arms; rules for trading license and increase in customs duties which adversely affected Indian traders.’

B. Zanzibar

Early in the 19th century, the two neighbouring islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, off the coast of Tanganyika in East Africa, formed a part of the British East African Protectorate, ruled by a British Resident, though there was a nominal Sultan of Arab descent. The area of the two islands is, respectively, 640 and 380 square miles, and according to the census of 1931 there were 14,242 Indians out of a total population of 235,428. The overwhelming majority of Indians, not less than 80 per cent., were born and brought up in the islands and had lost touch with India. The importance of these two islands lies in the fact that they produce eighty per cent.—according to some estimate 90 per cent.—of the world’s supply of cloves. The Indians had built up the clove trade and opened its markets, and during the first quarter of the 20th century became virtual owners of most of the clove plantations by lending money on mortgage. An attempt was made to ruin them by passing two laws in 1934.

The Land Alienation Decree provided that alienation of agricultural land belonging to an Arab or African to a person who was not an Arab or African would be of no effect unless it was sanctioned by the British Resident. The Indians had invested eight million rupees in land, and if they could not purchase properties mortgaged to them, the properties would fetch hardly anything and they would lose a large portion of their capital. The Decree also provided for a moratorium in respect of mortgage debts which Arabs and Africans owed on their land (mostly to Indians).

By another Decree, complete control over the clove industry was placed in the hands of the Clove Growers Association, founded in 1927.

A third Decree prohibited the export of cloves from Zanzibar without a license from Cloves Growers Association which was completely under the influence of the British Resident. This Association “armed itself with the most powerful weapons for the purpose of eliminating Indian traders from the clove business.” 11 Even Winston Churchill was forced to admit in his book, My African Journey, that the cumulative effect of the legislation was “the squeezing out of the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every security of public faith”.

These decrees caused much excitement and ill-feeling among the Indians of Zanzibar, and the public opinion of India forced its Government to send Mr. K.P.S. Menon, I.C.S., to report on the situation. In August, 1937, the Indians in Zanzibar declared a boycott of the clove industry, and all the importers of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras refused to import cloves. It caused a fall in the receipts from the clove export duty amounting to £30,000. This alarmed the Zanzibar Government and a new Resident initiated discussion with the Indian leaders. A new agreement was made in 1933 which considerably curtailed the powers of the Clove Growers Association regarding the purchase and export of cloves, and provided for the appointment of two Indians to the Board of

Management of the Association. As a result, the boycott was withdrawn by the Indians. The Land Protection (Debts Settlement) Decree of February, 1938, also gave relief to the Indian moneylenders to a large extent.

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See Vol. X pp. 295-6. f.n.

P. S. Joshi, Verdict on South Africa , pp. 87-8Mukherji, S- B., Indian Minority in South Africa, pp. 86-7. Ibid. p. 89.

Ibid. p. 121.

L. \V. Hollingsworth, The Asians of East Africa, p. 90. Ibid, p. 77.

Ibid, p. 78.

Ibid, p. 92.

The New Age . 10 May, 1929, quoted in ibid, 94Report of K. P. S. Menon.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE INDIAN ECONOMY (1905-1947)

I. INTRODUCTION

The debate as to whether the Indian economy under the British rule was characterised by growth or stagnation or progressive impoverishment has not yet come to an end. The major reason for the inconclusive character of the debate is the inadequacy of the relevant quantitative data. In the absence of such data, the available qualitative evidence is interpreted in various ways,—one feels almost in accordance with the ideological preferences of the particular writer. The thesis of India's progressive impoverishment as a result of colonial exploitation by Britain was strongly put forward by the nationalist writers on the Indian economy from the days of Dadabhai Naoroji onwards. The position taken by the 19th century nationalists was accepted and developed by their 20th century counterparts with reference to the entire period of the British rule including the period under discussion. On the other hand, books with titles like "The Economic Development of India" covering the history of the Indian economy under Britain are still reprinted or republished in the sixties of the 20th century. Sophisticated arguments are put forward to prove that there was considerable economic development in India during the 19th and at least the early years of the 20th century, and that if this process of development was not quantitatively as impressive as one might expect, the blame cannot be laid at the door of colonial rule. There is one further possible line of analysis which has not been specifically applied to the Indian case, but can have obvious relevance to it: the impact of the world market forces and the development of the social overheads stimulated a limited degree of growth in the economy, but the nature of this growth was such that it could not by itself lead to the stage of economic development described as that of sustained economic growth.

There is only one way in which a final verdict could have been passed regarding the correctness or otherwise of any of these alternative hypotheses, namely, by estimating the long term trends in national and per capita income. Attempts have been made from time to time to estimate India's national income from the days of Dadabhai Naoroji onwards. These attempts refer either to specific

years or points of time and to comparison between two such points, or are concerned with actual measurement of trends in the long period. National income studies are a respectable branch of empirical economics today, but as regards countries for which adequate statistical data are not available, the historian must reluctantly treat such studies as courageous rather than discreet attempts to reconstruct the past. So far as India is concerned, the available statistical data are extremely unsatisfactory with regard to the unorganized sectors of non-agricultural production which account for about 30 to 35 per cent, of India's national income. All available studies of national income have imputed different weights to this sector and consequently there is a very wide divergence in the results obtained. 1 It would indeed be inappropriate for the purposes of this chapter to judge between the relative merits of these various estimates, because the extent of the guess-work involved is so very large, and one must regretfully conclude that we really do not know what the trends in India's national and per capita income were in the long period except that there was probably an upward trend of very limited magnitude which was levelled off by the population increase after 1921.

II. AGRICULTURE AND ITS PROBLEMS

It is, however, fortunate that we do now have a dependable measurement of trends in the major sector of production, namely agriculture, for the years 1891 to 1947. George Blyn's study of agricultural trends in India, 1891-1947, is no doubt partly based on estimation of missing data, but the ratio of such data to the statistical information available is not such as to effectively distort the estimation of the trend rate.

The picture which emerges from Blyn's study is one of a very slow rate of growth in the total volume of output: an average rate of 0.37 per cent, per annum. 2 The rate of growth is relatively high till 1914 after which it tends to taper off. 3 The production of crops other than foodgrains increased at a relatively faster rate: namely, 1.3 per cent, per year, while the rate of growth in the production of food-grains was only 0.11 per cent. Taking the period as a whole, one finds that "agricultural output was increasing at only about half the rate of population growth" which was no more than 0.6 per cent, for the entire period. And when after 1921 the population growth reached an average of 1.3 per cent., per capita agricultural production began to fall sharply and the downward trend was specially marked in the production of food-crops. Between 1893-94 and 1945-46, the fall in per capita production of all crops was 20% while

the decline in the production of food-crops was as high as 32%. The over-all picture is thus essentially one of stagnation.

This fact is emphasized by the causes of the limited increase in output which resulted from the expansion of the area under cultivation rather than from any increase in productivity. The total acreage of cultivated land went up from 199.71 million acres in 1901-02 to 209.96 million acres in 1939-40, after which it appears to have remained more or less stagnant till the end of our period. This extension of the area under cultivation was the result of actual improvements like irrigation only to a small extent. The increase in population and the failure of alternative employment opportunities to siphon the increased population off the land were the major factors behind the change, and it involved the bringing of marginal lands under cultivation.

The one spectacular element in the transition in agriculture refers not so much to the area under cultivation as to the increase in the output of commercial crop, which nearly doubled. The relative position of the food-crops and commercial crops underwent a slow but not insignificant change, particularly after World War I. While the food-crops continued to comprise the bulk of the agricultural production, there was a persistent decline in its relative importance.

Percentage of food-crops to all crops.

1896-1906	80.4
1906-16	77.8
1916-26	76.3
1926-36	71.1
1936-45	67.5

(K. Davis, “Social and Demographic Aspects of Economic Development in India”, in Kuznets et al., (editors), Economic Growth: Brazil, India , Japan, p. 277.)

During this period, the production of all crops,—but especially of the non-food crops,—showed an increasing responsiveness to market demand. Before World War I, the production of oil-seeds,-—of which linseed, sesamum, rape, mustard and groundnut were the chief varieties,—increased primarily in response to the export market. In the quinquennium 1909-10 to 1913-14 the percentage of exports to estimated total production in the country was in the case of linseed 77, sesamum 25, rape and mustard 23, and groundnut 38. World War I adversely affected India's oil-seed exports by reducing demand and encouraging the development of alternative sources of supply. But the steady and expanding home market

ensured an expansion in production and the export of certain items, particularly groundnuts, also increased after the War. The area under cotton,-—'the most important money crop in India',—increased steadily in the years before World War I, but this expansion was concentrated almost exclusively in the cotton tracts. In the subsequent decades, despite occasional fluctuations, the upward trend was maintained because the price level remained high most of the time. The increase in area under jute, restricted to Bengal, suffered a set-back during World War I, because of a comparatively sharp rise in the price of the competing crop, rice. The depression further affected the production of jute, the area under cultivation dwindling to a mere 1.86 million acres in 1931 while the figure for 1901-2 was 2.28 million acres. By 1939-40, however, the position had improved sufficiently and again an area of 3.12 .million acres was under jute. Still, the fact remains that the total expansion in the area under cultivation over a period of four decades was only about 36%. Of other industrial crops, sugar-cane and the fodder crops made considerable progress, while indigo and opium declined, though the former enjoyed a period of brief prosperity during World War I. 4

Blyn's study divides the whole country into six regions of which five show a steady, if somewhat insignificant, rate of growth in agricultural output, and some show a much higher rate of growth than the others. The rate of growth, however, is reduced considerably by the depressing influence of the output in Greater Bengal, comprising the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Assam. 5 The downward trend in the output of rice which accounted for a very large proportion of the total production of food-crops in India was a major factor in this negative situation. Agricultural stagnation in Greater Bengal is to be explained primarily by the negative trend in output in Bihar and Orissa where the total acreage under rice cultivation was declining, and there was a general decline in the per acre yield for all crops. A decay in irrigation, extensive deforestation leading to soil erosion, and decline in the supply of manure were among the major factors leading to this result. 6 In the lower Gangetic delta one further factor appears to have adversely affected productivity. The development of the railways involved the construction of embankments which resulted in the silting up of certain rivers, thus dividing the delta into two parts, one active and the other moribund. The productivity in the moribund delta suffered a natural decline and the migration from these parts to the active delta led to an excessive pressure of population on land leading in its turn to a decline in per capita production. 7

The implication of the trend rates in agricultural production as indicators of the nature of economic change in India during the last half-century of the British rule has been brought out very clearly in a comparison between the pre-independence and postindependence situation: “The slow overall growth of agricultural output in the half century preceding independence' stands in sharp contrast to the compound rate of growth of 3 per cent, per annum realised in the post-independence period. Despite a short step-up in the rate of population growth to about 2.2 per cent, per annum in the decade 1951-61, and to around 2.5 per cent, thereafter, the agricultural output rate has stood comfortably above it. Whereas in the pre-independence period as a whole, most of the increase in output was achieved through an expansion of acreage,—yield per acre trend averaged around zero,—in the post-independence period as a whole productivity per acre has contributed about as much as area to growth. In the pre-independence period, growth rate was decelerating over time; for the post-independence period there is scarcely any firm evidence to indicate deceleration in the rate of growth. Furthermore, in the earlier part of the pre-independence period both acreage and per acre yield were rising, while in the later part acreage alone continued to rise with little change in yield per acre. In contrast, while in the earlier part of the post-independence period the contribution of area to growth was three times as large as that of per acre productivity, in the later part the roles got reversed: per acre productivity contributed three times as much as area towards sustaining growth”. Moreover, the earlier regional tendencies towards a decline in agriculture have also disappeared, proving beyond doubt that there was nothing inevitable about the process. 8

An evidence of the low level of agricultural development in India during the first half of the 20th century was the continued recurrence of famines. The dependence of agricultural production on the monsoons, which continues to characterise the Indian economy even now, was the chief reason for the recurrence of famines in India, though nothing on the scale of the famines of the late 1890s was experienced again until 1943. The first serious shortage in the 20th century was in 1907-08 when the country experienced widespread failure of crops necessitating large scale relief operations, especially in the United Provinces. Again in 1918-19 India had one of the major famines, and the experience was repeated in 1920-21, though on a somewhat less drastic level. These famines, however, were in the first place less frequent than their 19th century counterparts and not associated wfith any high mortality rate. Improvements in the system of transport and in the measures for famine relief were primarily responsible for this changed situation. 9

Otherwise, the 20th century famines caused by short fall in production and the low purchasing power of certain sections of the population,—agricultural people with a marginal livelihood, artisans, handicraftsmen and the urban poor,—were basically similar in character to those of the 19th century. It has been argued that the increasing export of food-grains, which benefited only such sections of the population as secured the bulk of the profit from this trade, reduced/ the total quantity of food available to the consumers in India, and whenever there was a short fall in production this fact induced a condition of acute scarcity. 10 Blyn's study of agricultural output and its availability referred to above does suggest that during the later decades under discussion the output of foodgrains per head declined substantially. However, the position with regard to the availability of food, modified by imports, especially of rice from Burma, appears to have been one of relative stagnation rather than of decline. The total supply of food-grains per head of population was so small, and the purchasing power of a substantial section so low, that one does not have to postulate export of food-grains as an important factor leading to famines. As these sections of the population lived on the margin of subsistence, any serious short fall in production caused by bad monsoons was enough to cause acute scarcity. In fact the export of rice declined steadily over the years and the increasing consumption at home affected the export of wheat as well, and it even became necessary at times to have a net import of wheat.

The catastrophic famine in Bengal in 1943 involving some 1.3 million 103 deaths, however, belongs to a separate class by itself. It was only to a very small extent the result of short fall in production and natural calamities affecting certain districts. There is little doubt that the famine was caused primarily by administrative bungling,—the food procurement policy necessitated by the war to provide against possible threats to civil supplies and the dislocation of the indigenous system of river transport as a consequence of war time security measures,—and extensive blackmarketing in food-grains which the government could not successfully control. While the 1943 famine was in many ways atypical of agricultural conditions during the period, it cannot but be taken as an instance of a major catastrophe resulting from administrative ineptitude and a certain degree of callousness on the part of the ruling authorities.

The relative stagnation in agricultural output during the period under discussion can be explained only partly in terms of technical factors like deforestation and the construction of railway embanKments referred to above. The typical problems of Indian agricul ture—rack-renting, rural indebtedness, alienation of land, subdivision and fragmentation of land holdings—were no doubt major factors in inhibiting the upward trend in agricultural production induced by specialisation in crop production and movement towards higher value crops which were partly the result of the growth of the export and domestic markets and partly that of the development of social overheads. These typical problems of Indian agriculture are often attributed to the increasing pressure of population on land. It should, however, be remembered in this connection that nearly all the problems were fully articulated by the '70s of the 19th century if not earlier, several decades before India experienced sustained population growth of any mentionable magnitude. It is no doubt true that the population increase after 1921, by increasing the pressure on land, aggravated the problems which were already there, but the problems themselves are to be traced to an origin other than an unfavourable land-man ratio. The monetisation of the revenue demand which was completed in the first half of the 19th century except in such outlying areas as Assam, created a pressure to sell, usually just after the harvesting season. The absence of an appropriate marketing organisation and the inadequacies of the modern system of transport generally forced the peasant to sell to the local grain dealer, who was often also the village money-lender and the purveyor of the commodities the peasant might require. As a result, the agriculturist very frequently did not get an adequate return for his produce and was forced to borrow" in order to carry on his cultivation from year to year. The consequent indebtedness often meant alienation of land and where the law, as in the case of the Punjab, prohibited the foreclosure of the mortgaged land by non-agriculturists, the rate of interest was pushed up and a class of peasant-money-lenders developed. 11

It is difficult to say whether there w r as an absolute scarcity of capital in the Indian economy during this period. What, however, is certain is that the problem of distributing the available capital to the millions of agriculturists created a situation of acute scarcity from the point of view of the cultivating classes. In this context, the village money-lender performed the all-important function of providing credit when and where it was needed. Very often as the only supplier of capital to a particular group of agriculturists, he was in a very strong bargaining position and able to push up the interest rate to fantastic levels. Any attempt to deal with this problem hence had to encounter not only a powerful vested interest, but the unfortunate fact that there was no adequate substitute for the village money-lender. Within the limitations imposed by this severe handicap, the central and provincial governments could at best make only half-hearted attempts to regulate money-lending. The Usurious Loans Act, as amended in 1918 and again in 1926, seeking to set a maximum limit to the rate and amount of interest recoverable and broaden the scope of the Court's interference, was found to be inoperative in practice by the Royal Commission on Agriculture. 12 The provincial governments seriously took up the question in the 30 s and a series of legislations were passed, particularly after 1937, providing for the registration and licensing of money-lenders, checking of accounts and a ceiling on rates of interest. In Bombay, Bihar and Orissa, compound interest was prohibited. But the simple law of demand and supply on which the money-lender's power was solidly based, blunted the edge of much of these legislations. The efforts to scale down the debts by mutual consent through the media of Debt Conciliation Boards and miscellaneous legislations were even less successful, and a number of provincial governments,—notably Madras, U.P. and Bombay,—felt compelled to enact laws scaling down debts on a compulsory basis. 13

All such legislation was, however, essentially preventive in character and, in the absence of adequate supply of cheap organized credit to the agriculturist, necessarily of limited utility. The takkavi loan, despite its long and prestigious history, was too limited and circumscribed a measure to deal with this vast and complex problem. The co-operative movement, which had its formal inception with the Co-operative Societies Act, 1904, and eventually included a wide variety of functions, was much more of a step in the right direction. Functioning exclusively as credit societies till 1912 under the guidance of government-appointed provincial Registrars, the total number of Co-operative societies in India rose to 8,177 by that year with a primary membership of 403,318 and a working capital of over 331 million rupees. The loans issued to members and other societies rose to over 50 million rupees by 1913-14. The scope of co-operation was soon extended to cover other economic activities, both agricultural and non-agricultural. Sale societies meant to improve marketing facilities were natural complements of the credit societies, while executive and legislative actions for counteracting the tendency towards fragmentation of holdings were supplemented by the formation of co-operative consolidation of holdings societies, first in the Punjab (1920-21), and later in several other provinces. By 1939-40, the total number of cooperative societies in India had risen to 1,37,000 and the total membership to over 6 million, while the working capital in that year stood at over 1070 million rupees. The upward trend in the movement was indeed of impressive magnitude, but its impact was very

unevenly distributed over the different parts of the country, and as late as 1928, according to the Agricultural Commission, a maximum of 10.2 per cent families in the rural areas in the Punjab were members of co-operative societie^, while the corresponding figure for most - of the other provinces was below 4%. No wonder then that the apparently impressive growth of the co-operative movement failed to solve the problem of inadequate supply of credit. Excessive dependence on official initiative and lack of spontaneity were among the major handicaps of the movement, but limited availability of resources was the most serious obstacle. 14

High interest rates were only one of the major disincentives to production so far as the agriculturist was concerned. A steady rise in the rent payable on all arable land as more and more marginal land was brought under cultivation was a characteristic feature of the economic history of the period. The increase in population, specially after 1921, ahd the fact that the additional population could not be taken off theMand through developments in industry and the nonagricultural sector generally were primarily responsible for the growing pressure on land. This pressure accentuated the problem which had already developed before the land-man ratio had become clearly unfavourable. Under such circumstances rent would have probably increased in any case, but the tenuria] system—which had conferred proprietory right in land either on non-agricultural rent receiving classes, as in the Permanently Settled areas, or on small ^spgments of the agricultural population as ip the Mahalwari and Rydty/ari areas—further strengthened the tendency toward rackrenting. Already by the later years of the 19th century, even in the Ryotw&ri areas^ the peasantbroprietors had tended to develop into a rentier class. This tendenc^hpd evidently become very much stronger during the' period under discussion^ One expression of the tendency was an increase not in occupancy tenures as such but in the ntn^ber of 'share-croppers, who enjoyed no mnurial rights whatsoever alid: v were subject to the worst forms of rack-renting. The characteristic, development in the Permanently Settled areas was a proliferation of intermediary sub-tenures of which there were as many as 25 grades between the zamindar and the peasant in some of the Bengal pistricts. In addition there could be three to four levels of under-tenures below that of the tenure holding peasant cultivator. 15 In the Ryotwari areas also there was a steady increase in tenancy and some, if limited, proliferation of under-tenures. So far as the fixity of tenures was concerned, the share-croppers without any legal rights on the land they cultivated were the worst sufferers. The tenure holders enjoyed a limited fixity of their rights determined by the nature of the specific agreements. The tendency towards eviction of tenants was on the whole stronger in the permanently settled areas than elsewhere, though it would not be correct to say that the zamindars were more given to rack-renting than the peasant proprietors. 16

Inadequate attempts tc deal with the tenurial problems, especially the question of fixity of tenures, were made as early as the second half of the 19th century. Efforts in this direction were, however, generally stepped up in the 20th. Among these were a series of tenancy legislations meant to guarantee greater security of tenure to the agriculturist and reduce the possibilities of extortion by the intermediate rent-receiving interests in land. After 1937, the majority of the elected provincial governments enacted legislations for the purpose, not without grim resistance from the rentier class. None of these legislations, however, aimed at the abolition of parasitical rent-receiving interests which performed no useful economic function, and they were thus at best half-way compromise measures. The majority report of the Floud Commission in Bengal (1938-40) did recommend the abolition of the Permanent Settlement on the basis of compensating the landholders, but no steps were taken to implement this somewhat radical suggestion until after 1947. 17

The typical problems of Indian agriculture in this period include the sub-division and fragmentation of land holdings. Sub-division of landholdings is to be explained only partly with reference to the system of inheritance. During the period when land-man ratio was not unfavourable, that is before 1921, an adequate supply of capital could have encouraged the bringing of fresh land under cultivation in proportion to the needs of the slowly increasing population. This would have obviated the necessity for dividing up the small holdings. A significant increase in productivity through changes in the techniques and organisation of agriculture could also have prevented the holdings from becoming nearly uneconomic. As it happened, however, capital scarcity prevented an adequate expansion of cultivation as also the necessary changes in the techniques of production, so that the holdings tended to become smaller and smaller through sub-division and their output tended to approach uneconomic levels. The increase in population aggravated these tendencies. A system of inheritance based on primogeniture, rather than equal division of the inherited property, would have meant an increase in the -number of landless agriculturists rather than a decline in the size of the holdings. But in so far as such landless classes would have remained a burden on the land as a result of limited employment opportunities elsewhere, this alternative possibility would not have had any positive impact on agriculture. The fragmentation of the land holdings which hampered the efficiency

of cultivation also followed primarily from the causes discussed above. Those who inherited the land wanted a share of every piece which was relatively fertile and also insisted that the less fertile land should be evenly distributed among the inheritors. The 1 limited manoeuvrability induced by the small size of the holdings made them reluctant to give up any possible advantage and encouraged them to insist that all possible disadvantages should be equally shared.

Oneof the most unhappy elements in the position of the Indian agriculturist from the period of World War I onwards was the persistently unfavourable effect of price movements on his real income. In the early years of World War I, prices of foodgrains and of agricultural products / generally remained relatively low, partly as a consequence of administrative controls, while the prices of important items of mass consumption, e.g., cloth, went up considerably. The disparity between the price movements of agricultural and non-agricultural products continued through the subsequent decades, but was particularly pronounced after the depression. The slump in the agricultural prices was far more severe than the one in the prices of manufactured goods. The actual effects of the slump were variously modified by particular circumstances; regions specializing in commercial crops suffered more than the relatively self-sufficient communities, while peasants in possession of limited quantities of precious metals or liquid capital lived off them. At least in some instances, production increased to make up for the losses suffered through falling prices and the volume of consumption of certain essential items like cloth did not always suffer a decline because a shift to the consumption of poorer quality goods was often possible. But, to quote Professor Gadgil, the depression "rendered agriculture, as a whole, unprofitable and by materially increasing the real burden of the agriculturist's monetary liabilities it has made the position of the mass of the cultivators absolutely helpless." The comparative rise in the prices of agricultural commodities during World War II, though marked in areas like Bengal, does not appear to have helped the agriculturist substantially, because the price rise was so distributed over various groups of commodities that the earlier disparity was not redressed. Thanks to the imperfections in the market, the high prices of food-grains in Bengal, the result of an artificial scarcity, benefitted the profiteering graindealer rather than the producer who in fact suffered ruin in many cases. 18

Increase in the number of landless agriculturists is considered a typical feature of the economic history of India during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The reduction of the agriculturist's income to an uneconomic level through high rates of interest, rackrenting and decline in the size of landholdings on the one hand, and alienation of land through indebtedness and loss of tenancy rights through eviction on the other, are believed to have primarily contributed to this development. Looked at from another point of view, the increase in the number of landless agricultural labourers was also the consequence of the increase in population which could not be absorbed into the non-agricultural sectors. The factors just mentioned are no doubt the most important determinants of the growth of this class in the 20th century. One should, however, recall that during the 19th century the new tenurial systems had reduced certain sections of the rural population, who, according to the prevailing social customs, were excluded from occupancy rights in land, to the status of landless labourers. This was particularly true of the agrestic serfs and slaves who constituted a fair proportion of the working force in agriculture in southern India. 19 They formerly enjoyed a security of livelihood on the margin of subsistence guaranteed by custom and were now reduced to the position of wage-earners dependent for their livelihood on the sale of their labour. As such castes did not acquire proprietory or tenancy right during the following decades, the natural increase in their number contributed a fair proportion of the increase in the number of agricultural labourers. For the agricultural labourers who traced their origin to the agrestic serfs and slaves of the south, or the north Indian castes who were excluded from rights in land, the change appears to have been primarily social rather than economic in character; for the exact implications of their traditional security of livelihood is by no means clear when one recalls that there were recurrent famines in the pre-British period also and that such classes having a marginal subsistence in agriculture were among the first victims of acute scarcity. From the point of view of the economy, the growth of landless agricultural labour really meant an increase in disguised unemployment or under-employment in agriculture, because the labour force in agriculture came to exceed the number actually required for maintaining production at the level attained during this period.

Another negative feature in the agricultural development during this period concerns the unproductive use of capital. The capital invested in landed estates cannot be described as productive investment since they were no more than speculative investments meant to secure a rental income and did not contribute to production in any way whatsoever. The capital which the agriculturist borrowed from the money-lender was no doubt used for productive purposes, but the result of such productive investment was not so much any

increase in output as the development of a pattern of distribution of agricultural income which siphoned off an increasing proportion of the produce as the share of the money-lender. In the long run the supply of credit by the money-lender thus became a parasitical rather than a productive use of capital.

The positive efforts of the State did little to counteract the overwhelming weight of the various negative influences described above. Such increase in output as took place in Indian agriculture during this period was mainly in response to the market forces and the result of population increase. One may, however, mention such positive steps taken by the government as the appointment of an Inspector-General of Agriculture for all India in 1901, followed by the establishment of the Agricultural Research Institute in 1903, the all-India Board of Agriculture in 1905, and the Agricultural College at Poona in 1908. Later, in the wake of the constitutional reforms of 1919, provincial ministers for agriculture were appointed in 1921. The appointment of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1926), on whose recommendation the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was set up in 1929, helped to identify the problems of agriculture rather than solve them. After the

1935 Act came into operation, the provincial governments paid particular attention to agriculture in pursuance of a policy of rural development, but could achieve little as they were in office only for a very short period.

Much of the government's systematic efforts to improve agriculture was concerned with the introduction of improved varieties of crops, and a certain measure of success was achieved with regard to rice, wheat, cotton, jute, ground-nut and sugar-cane. Such improvements, however, hardly touched the fringe of the agricultural problem. As late as 1937-38, only 6% of the lands under rice was under the high yielding varieties. The position with regard to cotton, thanks to the Indian Central Cotton Committee, was only a shade better. 20 No substantial increase in the producer's income resulted from the improvements suggested or adopted. Many of the technical innovations, considered desirable, were not acceptable to the peasantry who lacked the necssary resources. In fact, while the low level of technique was undoubtedly a major factor in agricultural backwardness, no significant improvement in this regard was possible without changes in the organisation of production, increased supply of capital and substantial investment in overheads. 21

The irrigation projects of the Government of India were more effective than the research undertakings in tackling the problem of low productivity, in so far as they protected certain areas from excessive dependence on rainfall, and increased productivity in certain other areas, some of which had been practically deserts.

The recommendation of the Famine Commission of 1880 considerably pushed forward the work in this field, while the detailed programme drawn up by the Irrigation Commission (1900-1903) introduced a certain measure of system and direction. The major projects were classified as productive—i.e., those likely to yield a rate of interest on the capital invested through increase in productivity or area under cultivation—, and protective, i.e., those considered essential for protection against famines. After irrigation became a provincial subject under the Act of 1919 (a central Bureau of Irrigation was set up in 1931 to co-ordinate research in this vital field) all projects which did not yield a substantial rate of interest were classified simply as 'unproductive'.

The magnitude as also the inadequacy of the Government's irrigation work can be judged from the fact that the total area irrigated at their instance rose from 19.25 million acres at the beginning of the century to 32.61 million acres in 1938-39, but this was only 13 per cent, of the total area under cultivation. The extent of irrigation varied considerably from province to province. It was as high as 88.1 and 58.3 per cent, of the total area sown in Sind and Punjab, respectively, while the corresponding figure for Coorg was only 2.7, and for Bombay only 4.5 in 1941-42. The total capital investment by the latter year amounted to Rs. 152.80 crores as against Rs. 42.2 crores in 1900-01. An analysis of the central and provincial budgets in 1935-36 shows that a mere 27 million rupees, i.e., less than li% of the total expenditure, was spent on the development of agriculture. 22

Despite the many problems which agriculture had to face during the period under discussion, the output in this sector was not characterised by total stagnation. Only the slow upward trend in output was more than counterbalanced by the rate of increase in population.

III. INDIA’S POPULATION 1901 - 1951 ”

Year	United India		% Increase		
Population in Census figures	Millions K. Davis's estimates	Indian Union (Census figures)	Davis's Estimates	Indian Union	
1901	283.9	285.3	235.5	• • •	• • •
1911	303.0	303.0	249.0	6.2	5.7
1921	305.7	305.7	248.1	0.9	0.4
1931	338.2	338.2	275.5	10.6	11.0
1941	389.0	389.0	312.8	15.0	13.5
1951	• • • • • •	• • •	356.9	• • •	14.1

Until 1921, however, India never had two successive decades of sustained population growth. In fact, in two of the four decades preceding 1921 the population of the territories now included in the Indian Union actually declined. The explanation for the downward trend during the years 1911-1921 is to be found in the post-World War I influenza enidemic believed to have taken some 12 to 13

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million livds. The increase in population after 1921 is to be explained primarily as a result of the control of epidemic diseases and, to a lesser extent, of the decline in the rate of infant mortality.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES FROM 1001 to 1950 24

Year	Estimated birth rate	Estimated death rate
1901-10 a a »	48.1	42.0
1911-20 • • •	49.2	48.6
1921-30 • a •	40.4	30.3
1931-40 a • •	45.2	31.2
1941-50 a a a	39.9	29.4

Another characteristic feature of the demographic trend in India is revealed by an analysis of the age structure. The proportion of persons in the working age group— i.e., 15 to 64—-was not only small but declined over time. “While total population increased by 50 per cent, during 1901 to 1950, the working population increased only by 21 per cent, so that the proportion of working force to total population declined from 50 in 1921 to 40 per cent, in 1951.” 2S

Year	Total	Total	Working

	population (In Millions)	Working population	foree as % of total population
1901	235.5	117.2	50
1911	249.0	124.2	50
1921	248.1	121.3	49
1931	275.5	129.6	47
1941	314.8	122.4	39
1951	356.9	142.3	40

Some other aspects of the demographic trends also indicate a pattern of relative stagnation in the economy. The overwhelming bulk of the increase in population was concentrated in rural areas and in agriculture. The percentage of the total population living in urban areas moved up from 10.84 per cent, in 1901 to only 17.29 per cent, in 1951.

Table captionGROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN INDIA, 1901-1951 26

Census Year	No. of Towns	Total urban population (Millions)	Per cent, of total population in urban areas
1901	1917	25.85	10.84

1911	1909	25.94	10.29
1921	2047	28.09	11.17
1931	2219	33.46	11.99
1941	2424	44.15	13.85
1951	3060	62.44	17.29

The pattern of stagnation in the economy is also suggested by an analysis of the trends in the occupational structure. The several extant studies of this problem do not agree in matters of detail, some suggesting a relative rise in the proportion of people engaged in agriculture, others arguing that there was no mentionable change in this respect.[27] None of the extant studies, however, suggests a change of more than 5 per cent, plus or minus in the proportion of population engaged in agriculture for the 50 year period from 1901 to 1951, i.e., a change of less than 1% per decade. Changelessness in the distribution of the working force does not necessarily indicate economic stagnation because it is quite possible that productivity inindustry may increase at such a fast rate that the relative contributions of industry and agriculture to national income may be basically altered without any change in the proportion of workers employed in the two sectors.

We have, however, other evidence to show that no such vital change in the contribution of industry to national income took place during the period under review. For one thing, traditional industry continued to provide for the country’s main industrial employment, modern industry including all establishments employing 20 persons or more accounting for no more than 2.5 per cent, of the working force as late as 1951. While there is no consensus as yet on the contribution of organised industry to national income, the fact of relative stagnation in this respect is generally accepted. In absolute terms, the growth of modern industry was not insignificant, but it did not affect vitally either the predominance of agriculture in the economy as a whole or the position of traditional handicrafts and small scale enterprise in the industrial sector.

IV. INDUSTRY A. The Unorganised Sector

One major component of the traditional views regarding the changes in the Indian economy produced by the impact of colonial rule needs to be modified in the light of some incontrovertible facts. As already stated above, the bulk of the employment in the industrial sector continued to be provided by the unorganised industries down to the middle of the 20th century. An even more striking fact is that some of the traditional handicrafts located in both rural and urban areas not only do not register any decline during the period under discussion but actually show an increase in output. The industry supposed to have been destroyed most effectively in the 19th century through the competition of machine manufacture and the loss of the export markets is handloom weaving. The following table concerning the production and consumption of cotton in India, however, gives a very different picture. 28

Year	Net Import		Net Available Mill Production		Handloom Production		Net Available Consumption	
	Actual yards (million)	Per capita yards	Actual yards (million)	Per capita yards	Estimated yards (million)	Per capita (yards) (million)	Total yards	Per capita yards
1905-06	... 2390	7.97	610	2.03	1080	3.60	4080	13.60
1923-24	... 1420	4.30	1540	4.67	1010	3.06	3970	12.03
1941-	100	0.26	3720	9.54	2070	5.30	5800	15.10

An analysis of the above data would show that as late as 1905-06, i.e. after 50 years of development of the modern cotton textile industry in India, handlooms accounted for 63.3 per cent, of the total production of the cotton piece-goods in the country. During the following decades both the Indian factory industry and handloom industry gained at the cost of the imported cotton goods, and as late as 1941-42 handloom production accounted for 35 per cent, of the total consumption in India. So far as this particular handicraft is concerned, the established theory regarding its steady decline has to be substantially modified, if not totally rejected, in view of such evidence. Probably certain lines of handicraft, manufactures, especially the finer quality textiles meant for the traditional urban markets and some of the export markets abroad, did suffer a decline as a result of the competition of machine manufactures in the domestic market and the loss of the export markets. The destruction of the famous muslin industry has dramatised this fact and

perhaps drawn undue attention to the limited decline in some areas of handicraft production. Holt Mackenzie's famous reference to the decline of the weavers in the 19th century may also be an objectively valid description of what was happening in parts of the country. But it would evidently be a mistake to take that statement as applicable to the position of the industry in the country as a whole. A limited increase in income through expansion of agriculture and a new distributive pattern which created an urban market for comfort goods through the rise of a new middle class may have easily compensated for the loss of the export market which after all was necessarily small owing to technological limitations. The deepening of the domestic market could thus accommodate the increasing imports and the produce of a rising factory industry, and at the same time sustain and expand demand for the products of the Indian handlooms. Such a hypothesis alone can explain the trends in the output of handlooms indicated by the above table.

The available evidence suggests not only an expansion in the traditional handicrafts and small scale unorganised industries, but also certain basic changes in their structure. Organised traditionally on the family basis like Indian agriculture, these industries, now very much dependent on the supply of capital from external sources, witnessed a transition towards the workshop type of organisation with “capitalistic owning of equipment and the employment of sustained wage work away from their homes.” 29 In these traditional handicrafts the capitalist came to occupy a more important position in the urban than in the rural areas where the familybased organisation survived on a more extensive scale. The handicrafts now also took a “partial advantage of modern industrial technique”. The entire process of change was most clearly illustrated by the chief traditional handicraft, weaving, now largely controlled by the capitalists who advanced the raw material, purchased the finished product and, in many instances, organized workshops and employed the weaver on a wage basis. The weaver now extensively used machine-produced yarn and also depended on the machine for improvements in his technique like central reeling, winding or sizing. “A vital factor in adding to the competitive strength of the handloom weavers during 1900-1940, was the substitution by the fly-shuttle of the throw-shuttle loom which enabled almost doubling of production.” 30

B. The Modern Sector

If traditional industry continued to provide the country’s main industrial employment, by our period the machine factory almost certainly accounted for the bulk of the country’s industrial production.

The development of modern industry in India really began in the second half of the nineteenth century and was confined mainly to the plantations and a few consumers’ goods industries like textiles. There was also a limited development of mining, particularly coal. The ownership of these industries, except in the case of the textile factories which, too, were never exclusively under Indian control, was predominantly European, a fact which accentuated the feeling of frustration over India’s industrial backwardness. The recovery of India’s agriculture around 1905, after a prolonged period of depression, which implied a recovery of the domestic market, 31 combined with the Swadeshi movement, generated an outburst of entrepreneurial activity. But the inexperienced entrepreneurs, unaided by the State and exposed to the unchecked competition of developed foreign industries, mostly came to grief before long. The pattern of industrial development which had emerged in the 19th century—confined to a limited sector and concentrated in a few unevenly distributed areas—remained virtually unchanged till the beginning of World War I, though within these narrow limits the years 1905-1914 witnessed a relatively rapid growth.

The World War I offered a rare opportunity for industrial development by eliminating much of the foreign competition in the Indian market. The special demands created by the war and the sharp rise in the price of manufactured goods enabled the Indian industries to make enormous profits, and when, after the end of the war, importation of machinery etc., became easy, an investment boom began on an unprecedented scale. 32 By 1920, however, the short-lived boom was at an end, though it continued in the cotton industry till 1922. A sharp fall in the value of the rupee was a major influence contributing to this result. The discriminating protection offered by the Government of India to industries like iron and steel and textile on the recommendation of the Tariff Board—a belated response to a demand which goes back to at least the '80's of the 19th century—failed to alter the downward trend, which continued in an accentuated form during the crisis of 1929, till 1932. The policy of protection did eventually contribute to the recovery of Indian industries which lasted till about 1937-38, when the world-wide 'recession' began to affect them once again.

World War II* opened a new phase in the industrial history of India. Comprehensive restriction on imports, the demand for war materials, the initiative taken by the Government to ensure the production of supplies which covered some 20,000 items, and guarantee to continue protection after the end of the war, led to a tremendous expansion of industrial activity, though shortage of capital goods and skilled personnel continued to inhibit growth. The war also

gave fresh impetus to systematic attempts to formulate the specific problems of economic underdevelopment in India and to plan a way out of the impasse. Already in 1938 a National Planning Committee had been set up under the auspices of the Indian National Congress, which resumed its work in 1945 after a period of suspended activity during the war years. In 1944, a group of prominent business men produced the well-known 'Bombay Plan'. The PostWar Reconstruction Committees, including the Consultative Committee of Economists set up by the Government, were also thinking in terms of planned development. Thus towards the closing years of the British rule in India, a prolonged period of slow and inconspicuous industrial growth culminated in feverish activity—a product of the exigencies of war—and around the same time the future pattern of economic planning, destined to become soon the determining influence in the conutry's economy, began to take shape.

(i) Textiles

The development of modern industries in India during the period of the British rule, as has been mentioned already, was confined in the main to certain consumer goods. Chief among these was textiles. 33 By the 'nineties of the last century the textile industry was well-established in the Bombay region under Indian enterpreneurship. But the famines and agricultural depression of the 'nineties, which continued till the early years of the twentieth century, severely affected the domestic market, and production was further reduced through scarcity of labour caused by bubonic plague. The comparative recovery of agriculture around 1905 and increased demand in China, the main market for Indian yarns, led to a brief boom in the textile industry which was cut short by the trade depression of 1907.

The depression proved to be a watershed in the history of the Indian textile industry. The China market for yarns was lost through the development of a domestic spinning industry in that country which eventually turned her into an exporter of cotton yarn to India. Nearly 30 per cent, of the Indian yarn was produced for export, the bulk of which went to China. Piece-goods, on the other hand, having a steady and expanding domestic market, were less dependent on exports and could also count on a number of export markets. The tendency which was already there to add to the loomage was accentuated by the loss of the China market. 34 Hence if the earlier expansion of the Indian textile industry was to a large extent in the direction of spinning, the post-depression recovery led to a concentration on piece-goods. Changes in the pattern of domestic demand caused by the growth of an urban middle class further

induced a tendency to manufacture goods of finer quality. A tendency towards the diffusion of the centres of production, which goes back to 1877, received a fresh impetus from the Swadeshi movement, and the factory legislations also led to 4 the migration of the industry' to certain princely States. The very substantial increase in the number of spinning units in Southern India was an important feature of the new development. 35

The opening years of the World War I found the industry 'just recovering from the shock of the 1913 bank failures'. Before long it was in thriving condition, thanks to the virtual elimination of imports, the special demand created by the Government's military requirements, and the expanding markets in neighbouring countries now deprived of supplies from the U.K. The post-war boom in Indian industries thus had an earlier origin in the case of the cotton industry. The fact that during the war years the domestic demand could not be fully met partly explains the comparative firmness of demand for cotton textiles sustained over a relatively longer period after the war. Besides, a genuine increase in the demand for textiles also helped postpone the depression till 1922. Hie expansion during the boom period was also concentrated on weaving: production of woven goods increased by 46 per cent, between 1914 to 1920. In response to the demands of the increasing number of looms, production of yarns also showed a slight increase. Between 1917 and 1922, the capital investment in the industry increased by nearly 95 per cent.

By 1921 the world depression in agricultural prices began to affect the Indian textile industry through its severe effects on the domestic market and the consequent downward trend in prices. In Bombay the wages which had gone up during the boom period were slow in coming down, while all over the country machinery ordered at the height of the boom were received by the various companies, both old and new, at a time when there was no further need for increasing the industry's productive capacity. The depression was, however, unevenly distributed over the various parts of the country, Bombay being the worst sufferer. Moreover, during the world depression of 1929, the textile industry absorbed the shock with relative ease, thanks to protection and a number of other factors.

A new development which contributed substantially to the downward trend in the Indian textile industry was the competition from Japan. The superior organization and the consequent economies in the Japanese industry, helped further by a more effective exploitation of labour, gave it a position of advantage vis-d-vis its Indian competitor. This advantage was first exploited in the Chinese yarn market where the Indian exports had already been reduced to a position of little importance by the first decade of the century. During the war years, Japanese export of piece-goods to India began to increase on a very large scale, and in the post-war years, with a brief break during the depression of 1919-21 in the Japanese industry, reached phenomenal proportions. From an annual average of 3 million yards in the pre-World War I quinquennium, it reached the record figure of 592 million yards in 1929-30.

Japanese competition brought to the forefront the question of granting protection to the Indian textile industry. After prolonged deliberation and under considerable pressure from the public, the Government raised the ad valorem duty on imported piece-goods by legislation to 15 per cent, and also imposed an additional 5 per cent, protective duty in 1930. In 1934, the ad valorem duty on all non-British goods was raised to 50 per cent. It is interesting to note that in 1930 also British goods were exempted from the payment of the additional duty of 5 per cent, oh the ground that the industry suffered from Japanese rather than British competition. As a matter of fact, however, even according to an official estimate, 124 per cent, of the piece-goods imported from U.K. competed with the Indian products. In 1935, and again under the Indo-British Trade Agreement of 1939, import duties on British goods were further scaled down.

World War II helped revive the cotton industry which had reached a stage of stagnation by 1939 through the combined effects of the Japanese empetition, the property tax in Bombay and Ahmadabad, heavy import duty on raw cotton and the recession of 1937-38. The elimination of Japanese competition by 1941, enormous expansion in the export market and the sizeable war orders ushered in a boom period in the industry, and prices rose high enough to call for governmental measures to protect the interests of the consumer.

The available statistics for the production and import of cotton textiles indicate a very substantial increase in the absolute volume of production and the steadily declining role of import until it accounted for less than 2 per cent, of the total available for supply. At the same time they also show that the per capita consumption increased very little and was only a little above the level of minimum requirements. A final fact to be deduced from them is the continued importance of handlooms which accounted for some 35 per cent, of the available supply as late as 1941-42. 36

(ii) Sugar and other Consumer's Goods

The other consumer's goods industry which attained considerable proportions was sugar. But in the earlier decades of the present

century down to 1931-32, the year when protection was granted to the Indian sugar industry, its growth was seriously inhibited by the competition of imported sugar. Under the impetus of protection sugar production rose to 1.23 million tons (including 100,000 tons produced by the khandsari factories) in 1936-37 from a mere 99,088 tons in 1928. By the later year the country had become self-sufficient in sugar and before long became the largest sugarproducing country in the world. 37

The present century saw the rise of a number of consumer's goods industries besides cotton and sugar, but none of these other industries acquired any significant dimensions. They were however important as indicating a proliferation of entrepreneurial activity in the country. Among these lesser industries mention may be made of silk, woollens, artificial silk, vegetable oils, match and paper. Besides, miscellaneous industries like rice and flour mills and branches of the building trade also now formed parts of the industrial scene.

(iii) Jute

The beginning of the jute industry in India—which eventually enjoyed a position of quasi-monopoly supplying nearly two-thirds of the total world demand—goes back to 1855. 38 The industry developed almost exclusively in and around Calcutta, enjoying the advantage of proximity to the source of raw material supply. As the chief demand for jute arose from the requirements of packing and

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storing agricultural produce, the history of the industry was closely linked up with fluctuations in agricultural production both in India and abroad. The early years of the century found the industry recovering from the effects of reduced demand caused by famines in India. But before long, despite increasing competition from Germany and the U. S. A., the process of rapid growth was resumed. The subsequent history of the industry was one of sustained development, but marked by occasional downward trends, particularly after the world depression of 1929.

World War I provided a great impetus to the growth of the industry by creating a new demand for sand-bags and jute canvas cloth for war purposes and by inhibiting the export of raw jute. With the prices of jute more or less stationary and wages lagging behind, the ratio of net profits to paid-up capital rose as high as 75 per cent, in 1916. The end of the war brought to an end the special advantages created by an exceptional situation, and around the same time extensions planned earlier were carried out as import of machinery became once more possible. The net result was that the industry was burdened with excess capacity, a problem which was partly met by an agreement to work only four days a week. In fact the flexibility of the industry's production programmes—a result of its close-knit trading organisation—, combined with the high level of world jute consumption, enabled it to grow despite the problems indicated. Jute manufactures remained the only important manufactures that India exported. Even the shock of the 1929 crisis was absorbed by the industry without any great damage. The policy of maintaining adequate reserves, and reducing the hours of work, whenever necessary, helped the industry to ride over the difficulties created by falling prices, unsold stock and labour troubles. Around 1938, however, a serious crisis developed, mainly because the agreements to keep down production had to be abandoned and the resulting competition within the industry adversely affected an already declining market. The intervention of the Government of Bengal and a subsequent return to reduced production programmes by agreement saved the situation.

The depression in the jute industry definitely ended with the outbreak of World War II. 'The monthly production rose sharply from 90,700 tons in September 1939 to 125,700 tons in March 1940/ and with speculative increase in prices, the industry returned to a sixty hour week. But the problem of excess capacity continued to pester the industry, particularly because the increased prices affected demand and encouraged the quest for substitutes. Hence, even during the war years 'restrictionism' remained an important feature of the jute industry in India.

(iv) Plantation Industries

The earliest forms of capitalistic industrial organization in India—the plantation industries—were relatively unimportant during the period under review. 39 Indigo, the product which was first brought under the new type of production organization, had been virtually pushed out of the market by the competition of German synthetic products, first placed on the market in 1879. A revival in demand during World War I ended with the war. Coffee, which enjoyed a brief period of prosperity in the 19th century, was in decline since 1885 owing to the pest blight, and later, the competition of Brazilian coffee. The area under this plant steadily declined until, in 1938-39, only 181,200 acres were under coffee as compared to 260,887 acres in 1900-1901. Rubber and cinchona were introduced at the end of the nineteenth century in India, Burma and Ceylon. Rubber, produced mainly for export, became an important item in India's foreign trade by 1920-21 when 14 million lb. was exported. But the subsequent history of the industry has been marked mainly by a struggle to adjust itself to the world slump in rubber prices through limiting production and export. Cinchona was cultivated only in a very limited area and the crop supplied a mere fraction of the domestic demand.

Tea alone among the plantation industries occupied an important position in India's economy in the twentieth century. Already before World War I Indian tea had emerged as 'by far the most important factor' in the world tea market, thanks mainly to its successful competition with China tea in the English market and the opening of a new market in Russia. During the War years, high prices led to an expansion of production, and though the fall in price had disastrous results in 1920-21, the recovery in the tea industry was remarkably rapid. The subsequent slumps, in 1925 and 1930, were countered by measures to restrict production, on the basis of an international agreement in the latter year. World War II terminated the downward trend in tea prices. The bulk of the tea produced in India—79% in 1939-40—was meant for the export market and in the above-mentioned year 80% of India's tea exports went to U.K. The loss of the Russian market after the revolution was compensated by increasing exports to U.K., Canada and the U.S.A., and also by a steady expansion of the domestic market.

(v) Mineral Industry

Inadequate exploitation of mineral resources was one of the main contributory factors in India's industrial backwardness. A beginning in the direction had however been made in the '80's of the last century, and by 1918 it was recognized that the mineral deposits in the country were nearly enough to support the major 'key' industries.

Coal mining, the earliest of the mineral industries in India, first began to develop under the auspices of several European-owned joint-stock companies. In response to the demand of the Indian railways, by 1901 production had risen to 6.6 million tons. Despite the inhibiting effects of the depression in the '20's and '30*s the upward trend in production was maintained during the period as a whole and the two wars contributed substantially to this result. In 1914 the volume of production stood at over 16.45 million tons. The corresponding figure for 1938 was over 28.34 million tons. Besides the railways, the chief consumers of Indian coal, the expanding industries also provided a growing market and the bulk of the produce was consumed at home. In spite of the uneven distribution of coal deposits in India and the consequent heavy costs of transport to places situated far away from the coal areas, the home market remained fairly stable throughout our period and except for the brief duration of post-World War I slump, India was a net ex

porter of coal. In the export market, however, its position was seriously threatened by S. African competition, and the boom in coal exports from India during World War II was largely the result of an artificial situation. But the potential domestic market for coal in India—still in its infancy of industrialization in 1947—was so vast that the fluctuations in the export market did not in the long run constitute any threat to the industry. The danger really lay in the opposite direction. As the Coal Mining Committee's Report (1937) pointed out, while the second-class deposits were practically unlimited in India, it was necessary to conserve good quality coal lest faulty mining methods should lead to their premature exhaustion. 40

(vi) Iron and Steel

The production of iron and steel, the basic minerals required for industrialisation, had a feeble beginning in the 19th century and the average annual production was only about 35,000 tons in the early years of the present century. 41 The significant phase in the history of the industry really began with the establishment of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in the Singhbhum district which started production in 1911. By 1916, thanks to the war demands, the Tata plants were producing to full capacity, and by 1924 considerable plans of extension were completed. Meanwhile other, though much smaller, companies had also been established in W. Bengal and Mysore. The industry profited further from the world-wide re-armament in the 'thirties' and later from the extensive demands created by World War II, which could not be fully met, so that a system of rationing had to be introduced. The products of the Indian iron and steel industry covered a wide range including high quality pig iron, finished steel and steel ingots, and made possible the development of the engineering industry, particularly during World War II.

In 1939 production was stepped up considerably and the output of pig-iron, finished steel and steel ingots totalled 3,964,900 tons. While the bulk of the produce was consumed at home, a substantial quantity of pig-iron—514,000 tons (i.e., nearly one-third of the total output) in 1938-39—was exported to Japan, U.K. and U.S.A. But the increasing consumption of iron and steel in the Indian railways, industries and public works produced at the same time an upward trend in the imports, checked only by the outbreak of World War II. The competition of imported steel and iron .and the post-World War I slump were serious enough to necessitate protection and bounties in 1924. The bounties were dropped in 1927, but protective duties on imports continued. But for the Government's

policy of protection, the industry might have found it difficult to survive. There was, however, a serious kink in the armour of protection, namely the preferential treatment of British products, and the explanation that this was in the consumer's interest was not quite acceptable to the public. Still, despite such possible discrimination, the closing years of the British rule in India found the Indian iron and steel industry in a buoyant mood: the substantial increase in its productive capacity over a period of some four decades had laid one of the most important foundations for the future economic development of the country.

(vii) Other Mining Industries

Among the other mining industries developed in India which were useful for the country's future industrialisation, manganese, petroleum and mica were specially important. The output of manganese—quarried mainly in the Central Provinces, Madras. Bombay and Mysore—rose from 682,898 tons in 1914-15 to 994,279 tons in 1929. India became one of the major producers of manganese and from 1907 to 1912-13 was the leading producer of the metal. Besides supplying the iron and steel industries with this important raw material for the manufacture of ferro-manganese and pig iron, the industry exported a substantial proportion of the manganese ore produced every year. As regards petroleum, the development of the industry was mainly concentrated in Burma. "Of 306 million gallons of petroleum in 1924 Burma produced 253.4, Assam 33.5 and the Punjab 19.2." In 1938, after the separation of Burma, the Indian production of petroleum accounted for only 1 per cent, of the world production. For many years India was the leading producer of mica—in great demand in the electrical industry— s a metal which was produced largely for export. Besides, the Indian mineral industry comprised a variety of items like gold, saltpetre, wolfram etc., but the total volume of production of such items was not very significant.

By the time when political power was transferred from the British to Indian hands, Indian industry undoubtedly showed some positive gains. At least one 'key' industry, the manufacture of iron and steel, was securely established, thanks to the policy of protection and the impetus provided by the two wars. ‘The exploitation of a variety of mineral deposits’ had begun and industrial production was marked by a certain degree of diversification essential for growth. Yet most of the pre-requisites of sustained economic development were still lacking. The total industrial production was sadly inadequate for the country’s requirements and the bulk of the

industrial employment was still provided by the unorganized sector. India’s economic planners had to start with the heritage of a perfunctory, uneven and wholly inadequate development of modern industries.

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V. THE ‘STATE’ AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

India’s industrial backwardness was, up to a point, a result of inadequate capital accumulation in the country and of the failure to mobilize for purposes of productive investment even the capital that was available. The caste-ridden social organisation, concentration of industrial entrepreneurship in the hands of a small section, the preference of the native capitalists for commerce which yielded a quick return rather than for long-term investment in industrial production, and similar other somewhat intangible and elusive factors have often been identified as economic ‘depressors’ which inhibited growth. The extent to which caste affected urban economic activity in the twentieth century is, however, extremely difficult to ascertain. It is equally difficult to say whether lack of investment in industry in the same period was induced by traditional preferences, or by the absence of congenial State policies. The specific impact of the proverbial lack of enterprise in Indian society would defy even more stubbornly any attempt at analysis. The positive facts which suggest that the sociological inhibitions were never very strong are the growth of the cotton textile industry despite severe competition from U.K. and the eager response of the Indian private capital to a policy of protection.

It would be idle to speculate if political independence would have facilitated industrial development in India. The instances of several Asian countries could be cited to support a contrary hypothesis. But the fact that despite a variety of favourable factors India’s colonial status frustrated her chances of rapid industrialization cannot be doubted.

The initial development of social overheads in India—the construction of railways in particular—had been oriented to the needs of the British, rather than the Indian, economy. The railways, in so far as they were not planned in accordance with military requirements, were concerned mainly with the conveyance of raw materials to the ports and of British manufactured goods inland from the ports. The development of communications in the interior consistent with the needs of the country's economic development suffered from comparative neglect. 'Thus the extension of the market via railways rather than stimulating a well-rounded development of the Indian economy had the effect of extending and strengthening the complementary colonial relationships between the British

and Indian economies." 42 Till after World War I, the British Indian Government's positive contribution to industrial development in the country was practically nil. No attempt was made to mobilize capital or build heavy industry. No State aid to industry was offered at any stage. No long-term industrial finance was made available. A curious tariff policy, geared allegedly to the doctrine of laissez faire and overtly influenced by the Lancashire textile interests, either allowed import of British manufactures without any duty or matched the small duty imposed on imported British textiles by an equivalent excise duty on Indian mechine-made cloth. 43 Even the post-World War I policy of protection was consistently modified by a preferential treatment of British goods on the ground that this was in the best interest of the consumers. The change in tariff policy involved inter alia the imposition of Imperial Preference—long resisted by the British Indian administration— implying an increased exchange of Indian raw material for British manufactured goods. 44

The appointment of the Industrial Commission in 1916 symbolized the abandonment of the laissez faire policy. Besides circumscribed protectionism, the new policy included short-term bounty, Government purchase of Indian manufactures, and the establishment of departments of Industry at the Centre and in the Provinces. But it came at a time when the high tide of British investments abroad-—which in India had earlier contributed to the growth of a stunted colonial rather than a spontaneously developing economy—was already at an end and interest and profits on earlier investments taken out of the country exceeded the fresh influx of capital in volume. 45 The reforms of 1919 transferred the responsibility for nation-building activities, including industry, to the Provinces, while the Centre retained control over the major sources of revenue but did not take the initiative to organize any planned industrial development. Very little was done to improve the agricultural base of the economy, and its backwardness inhibited the expansion of the domestic market. The Indian-owned industries had to compete with British industrial interests in the country, enjoying the advantages not merely of superior technique and capital resources, but also of preferential treatment at the hands of the Government. The fact that nearly half the Government-owned railways were managed by private British companies is an instance in point. Besides, the hesitancy of the State to intervene in industrial affairs itself strengthened the hands of the stronger competitor. It did more. The total absence of legislation in restraint of monopoly encouraged the growth of producer and trader associations some of which ‘freely indulged in price maintenance and price

raising activities.’ The Government’s new economic policy has been aptly described as ‘a case of too little and too late.’ The limited development of a few industries which it encouraged at best replaced certain imports by home manufactures. Nothing happened to generate a process of sustained economic growth based on the steady expansion of productive capacity, either planned or spontaneous.

VI. INDUSTRIAL WORKING FORCE

A major problem which Indian industry is supposed to have encountered during the early years of its development was the absence of a committed labour force. The Indian villager’s preference for the rural way of life and agriculture as an occupation, as also the inhibiting influences of the caste system and the jointfamily system are believed to have negatively influenced the growth of an industrial working force in India. A recent study of the development of the working force in Bombay textile industry proves beyond reasonable doubt that in the case of this major factory industry a steady increase in recruitment of labourers was secured with very little increase in real wages. 46 This was possible partly because there was a surplus population in the rural areas, especially in the deficit districts. Later, a fair proportion of industrial w T orkers came fro n the population of the city itself which showed a steady increase over time both through migration and natural increase. In the Bombay cotton textile industry the high rate of turn-over was really artificial rather than real, the jobbers vtfho got a commission for fresh recruitments being interested in maintaining such a high rate. The turn-over simply meant migration of the factory workers from one factory to another rather than from industry back to agriculture. In the 20th century with the increase in population, of course, the problem of scarcity of unskilled labour disappears altogether, if it ever existed.

What is true of the Bombay cotton textile industry is, however, not necessarily true of all other industries either in the 19th or in the 20th century. It is known for instance that processing industries like cotton ginning situated in the midst of agricultural areas and drawing their labour force largely from the local rural population experienced periodic scarcity during the harvest season when the demand for labour in the agricultural sector increased substantially. It is also to be noted that the mining industries, collieries in particular, drew their labour force to a very substantial extent from the aboriginal tribes and not from among the settled agricultural population nearby who surely were not free from the incidence of under-employment or disguised unemployment. The fact that in the

Calcutta-Howrah belt a very large proportion of the working force, if not the major part, came from other Provinces despite the acuteness of rural problems in certain districts like Bankura and Birbhum, also needs to be considered in this context. Above all, there is the fact that total demand for industrial labour in proportion to the working population was indeed very small, so that it is difficult to make a general statement asserting that there was no inhibiting influence of the sociological factors on the growth of a working force. So far as the growth of a skilled working force is concerned, the relevance of the sociological factors cannot be denied. It is well-known that the proportion of literates in the population moved up from 6.2 per cent, in 1901 to only 15.1 per cent, in 1941, the year when the world average was about 48 per cent. 47 What is less known is that the percentage of literacy was very unevenly distributed between the various sections of the population. Small communities like the Parsis and Jains had a high percentage of literacy, while among the Hindus the increase in literacy was heavily concentrated in the upper castes. In 1891, 11 of the upper castes comprising only 14 per cent, of the total population accounted for more than 50 per cent, of the literates. In 1931 one caste had 63.4% literates while another showed only 55 per cent, literacy. Between 1931 and 1951 the growth in literacy continued on the same lines, higher education being confined almost exclusively to the upper castes and the minority groups mentioned above. 48 There is little reason to doubt that the disinclination of the Hindu upper caste to accept employment in factories and their preference for white collar jobs had something to do with the slow growth of a skilled labour fo^ce in India.

So far as the residual problems regarding the recruitment of unskilled workers in the industries are concerned, these are no doubt to be attributed primarily to unsatisfactory working conditions,—low wages, exhausting work, poor housing and insanitary conditions of urban life.

Attempts to improve the conditions of work through factory legislations go back to 1881. But the early legislations could be easily evaded as there was no adequate machinery for enforcing them, and the working conditions in many Indian industries at the beginning of the 20th century recalled the early phases of the Industrial Revolution in England. This scandalous state of affairs, combined with the continued pressure from British textile interests, who saw in the working conditions of the Indian labour an unfair advantage enjoyed by their Indian competitors, led to fresh inquiries in 1905. In course of the following decades a series of factory legislations were enacted by the Government of India—-in 1911, 1922,

1934 and 1946—which set a maximum limit to working hours (11 hours per day and 60 hours per week in case of seasonal factories, 10 and 54, respectively, for perennial ones, and 5 per day in case of children), introduced the principle of ‘spreadover’, fixed a minimum age limit (12) for the employment of children and gave sufficient power to the inspectors of factories to ensure the observance of the laws. The Mines Acts of 1923, 1928 and 1935, which replaced their very inadequate predecessor of 1901, supplemented the Factory Acts, and the Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Act, 1932, performed a similar function for a major plantation industry where the conditions of employment bore a fair resemblance to serf labour. 483 While such legislations tried to establish a minimum standard for working conditions in the factories, the Workmen's Compensation Acts of 1923 and 1933 went a step further to guarantee compensation in case of accidents in the course of duty. Even the question of social insurance was discussed and a Labour Investigation Committee appointed in 1944 for the purpose of a fact-finding survey, but actual legislation in this behalf had to wait till 1948.

The worker's standard of living, and not merely his conditions of work, was also not conducive to any high level of efficiency. Till about 1918, there was hardly any upward trend in wages, though the price level rose sharply during the years of World War I. The subsequent rise in wages continued generally till 1921 and till as late as 1925 in some cases, when the slump began to affect wages besides causing widespread unemployment. During the economic depression of 1929-33 the wage cuts assumed even more serious proportions and there was no mentionable improvement in the situation till the outbreak of World War II. 49 During the years of World War II money wages did show an upward trend, but the strong inflationary tendency and sharp rise in prices continued to keep the workers' real income at a low level. Poor housing, chronic indebtedness and the habits of drunkenness further lowered the worker's living standard, and, with it, his level of efficiency.

The trade union movement, which had its real beginning in Madras in 1918, was in a way a reaction to this extreme situation. During the years of the post-war boom in Indian industries the movement prospered as industries were willing to concede wage demand rather than suffer loss of production. The All India Trade Union Congress first met in 1920, a year marked by a series of successful short strikes which firmly established the movement. But the post1921 recession blunted the edge of strikes as a weapon in industrial disputes, and the de jure recognition of the right to strike, formalized in the Trade Union Act, 1926, did not immediately help matters. The movement was marked by a certain measure of militancy in

the early phase of the depression as evidenced by the strikes at Jamshedpur and the Bombay cotton mills, followed by a period of comparative inaction, a result partly of the growing unemployment. By 1937, however, the worker's acute distress generated a wave of strikes which kept mounting higher during the early years of the war, and the year 1942 witnessed 694 industrial disputes in India. The Government tried to meet the situation by enacting laws which provided for, and later prescribed, arbitration in cases of industrial disputes.

By 1946-47, the number of registered Trade Unions in India had risen to 1,725 of which 998 submitted returns showing a membership of 1,331,962. These were impressive figures. Yet the illiteracy of the bulk of the industrial workers, the consequent dependence on leadership from outside, and the susceptibility to political influence which contributed to dissensions and eventual split in the movement, were major factors of weakness that could not be overcome.

VII. COMMERCE

It has often been stated that though India experienced no industrial revolution during the period of the British rule, she did undergo a revolution in her commerce. In absolute terms, there is some truth in the statement as is evidenced by the fact that between 1869-70 and 1929-30 there was a seven-fold increase in the value of our foreign trade. 50 The fillip provided by the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 was one major factor determining this upward trend. In the nineties of the last century India's foreign trade showed a relatively slow rate of growth, to be explained partly with reference to monetary factors and partly the extensive famines. Between 1900 and 1914, however, there was once again a steady growth in the country's foreign trade, and during the war years the values of both imports and exports actually compared favourably with the pre-war average but with price adjustments show a 25 per cent, fall in exports and a 50 per cent, decline in imports. 51 The circumstances of the war circumscribing the area and extent of the imports were primarily responsible for this decline. The removal of the war restrictions led to an increase in the total volume of trade in 1919-20, but this was accompanied by an import surplus owing to an 'enormous increase' in imports to satisfy the pent-up demand, and a decline in exports caused by a number of factors. Down to 1928-29 there was a period of relative stagnation characterised by fluctuations within the limited range in the volumes of exports and imports to which the Svmdeshi movement and he increased import tariffs imposed in 1922-23 no doubt contributed. After

1923-24, however, there was a steady, if somewhat slow, recovery of India's foreign trade. The available statistics for exports and imports for the years 1930-31 onwards reveal the severe impact of the great depression. A sharp decline in agricultural prices and a fall in foreign demand explain the downward trend in export during this period. As to the decline of the available imports this cannot probably be attributed primarily to a fall in domestic demand, for during these years there was a substantial extension of industrial investment in India. It is in fact possible that a fair proportion, if not the bulk, of the demand for manufactured goods in India came from the urban population whose purchasing power probably increased as a result of the fall in agricultural prices, thus deepening the market for manufatured goods and creating fresh opportunities for industrial development. The tariff policy of the Government, especially in relation to cotton and sugar, encouraged import substitution during this period and the growth of Indian industries, as a result of which the volume of imports declined even though there was not probably any decline in the demand for manufactured goods. After 1932-33, there was a slow but steady recovery in the volume of exports though the volume of imports did not reveal any significant change until 1937-38 when the separation of Burma and the consequent inclusion of the Burma-India rice trade in our import statistics suggests an amplitude of change which is some what unreal. During World War II, the increased demand for India's products contributed to an improvement in the volume of trade, though the conditions of the war leading to the temporary loss of the Continental and the Far Eastern markets occasionally pushed down the volume of both imports and exports as in 1942-43. The decline in the volume of exports is, however, not fully revealed by the available value figures because of an increase in the prices of exports. 52

An important aspect of India's foreign trade during the period under discussion was a slow but significant change in the commodity composition of both the exports and imports. 53 Throughout this period exports were dominated by primary products but the extent of their preponderance steadily decreased over time. In 1879 manufactured goods accounted for 8 per cent, of the total exports. By 1907-12 on an average this proportion had increased to 22 per cent. This increase was maintained during the subsequent decades rising to 30 per cent, in 1938-39 and 51.1 per cent, in 1944-45. Similarly, in the imports manufactured goods predominated, but their preponderance declined over time. In 1879 they accounted for 65 per cent, of the total. This figure declined to 53 per cent, in 1907, rose to 60.9 per cent, in 1938-39, again coming down to 31.1 per cent.

in 1944-45. Primary products accounted tor 21.7 per cent, of the total imports in 1938-39 and 58.3 per cent, in the last year of the war. It Burma rice is included among the imports in the pre-1937 period, the share of primary products in the total would be substantially higher even during those years. The change in the commodity composition definitely reveals a pattern of import substitution in India. This is most clear with regard to certain important consumer goods. Cotton, for instance, accounted for 38.8 per cent, of the total imports in 1900-1905 which declined to only 11 per cent, on an average during 1935-40. The proportion of sugar in the total imports which was 7 to 8 per cent, as late as 1924-29, declined to 4.6 per cent, during 1929*35 by which time Indian industry had begun to respond vigorously to the protected market. By 1935-40, the relevant figure had declined to a mere . 8 per cent. Much emphasis has been laid on the fact that metal manufacture accounted for a steadily increasing proportion of import which rose from 7.9 per cent, in 1900-05 to 12.4 per cent, in 1935-40. It would, however, be incorrect to equate this import with that of machinery, for a fair proportion of metal manufactures is known to have consisted of consumer goods of various sorts. The change in the composition of exports discussed above also suggests a pattern of upward trend in the production of manufactured goods. It would not, however, be correct to interpret these positive changes in the composition of India’s exports and imports as an indication of structural change in the economy as a whole. For foreign trade, despite the substantial extension in its absolute volume, accounted for only a small proportion of the economic activity. Besides, compared to other countries of the world, the value of this trade per head of population remained extremely low. 54

The dynamism in Indian foreign trade is also reflected in the changes in its direction. 55 Britain’s domination of both exports from and imports to India, a notable feature of the country’s foreign trade during the 19th century, gradually disappears in the 20th. Even as late as 1909-10 to 1913-14, U.K. accounted for 62.8 per cent, of India’s imports, a figure which came down to 13.5 per cent, in 1938-39. So far as the exports were concerned, the position is somewhat different. Already by 1909-10 to 1913-14, U.K., the biggest importer of Indian products, consumed only 25.1 per cent, of the country’s exports. After some fluctuations this percentage figure rose to 34.3 in 1938-39. Thus while Britain continued to remain the largest single factor in India’s foreign trade, other countries, especially Japan, Germany and the U.S.A., accounted for an increasing proportion of India’s imports as well as exports. The policy of free trade encouraged this competition from countries other than the U. K. for an increasing share of India's trade, and the policy of protective tariffs adopted in 1922-23 apparently did not have any inhibiting influence on this international competition. On the other hand, the position of the British empire vis-a-vis India’s exports showed a marked improvement after the adoption of the Imperial Preference in 1932, its share in the total exports rising from 34.8 per cent, in 1928-29 to 53.6 per cent, in 1938-39. While U.K’s share of Indian exports as already mentioned improved during this period, according to one authority on the subject this was not the consequence of the Imperial Preference. 56 During the years of the Second World War the loss of trade with the enemy countries had further improved the empire countries’ share in India’s foreign trade. Thus while the predominance of the U. K. in India’s trade suffered a decline, the British empire as a whole continued to account for the bulk of both imports and exports and the share of both the U.K. and the British empire in India’s exports increased over time, till the outbreak of the Second World War. By 1944-45, however, the demands of the war production reduced the share of the empire countries in India’s imports to 38.6 per cent.

We do not as yet have a full study of India’s balance of payments for the entire period under discussion. The two extant studies, however, for the periods 1888 to 1913, and 1921 to 1939, respectively, give us adequate insight into the position for the period as a whole . 51 For both the periods the balance of trade shows a net deficit,—of Rs. 239 crores for 1888 to 1914, and 217 crores for 1922-1939. The deficit may be treated as equal to the foreign capital investment in the country. An analysis of the balance of payments position for the years 1922-1939 reveals the following facts:—

Commodity balance Balance of services Non-commercial transactions

-j-1492 crores

1487 222

Net Deficit ... -— 217 crores

Thus it is evident that the favourable balance in the commodity trade was negated by the unfavourable balance of services and non-commercial transactions. The service transactions included the well-known Home Charges,*—that is, the cost of establishment of Secretary of State for India, recruitment of army and civil servants, purchase of stores and material for railway construction, interest on the sterling debt, shipping etc. The non-commercial transactions included on the debit side remittances by non-Indian residents of the country and the savings of the emigrants which together came on an average to Rs. 2 crores per year. To put it in simple, if somewhat inaccurate, terms, the advantages gained by

India through her export surplus were wiped off mainly by the cost of her being a part of the British empire. From the point of view of the economy the advantage of the export surplus itself was somewhat illusory, partly because the surplus "constituted payment for her invisible imports and debt services obligations." Besides, there is enough evidence to show that throughout these years India imported quantities of bullion, substantial proportions of which went into hoarding and as such were a dead loss for the economy.

VIII. A RESUME

The economic history of India under the British rule, during the 20th century in particular, does not reveal a pattern of changelessness and surely not one of total stagnation. Almost in every sector of economic activity one comes across modest positive gains, but such gains are invariably counterbalanced by negative developments somewhere else. The upward trend in agricultural production in the greater part of the country is by and large neutralized by the downward trend in Greater Bengal. What is worse, the steady aggravation of India's rural problems created so many built-in disincentives to agricultural production. Within the individual industries developments took place in absolute terms, but these were not enough to bring about a change in the structure of the economy, —in the relative shares of agriculture and industry. Development of modern industry did not even succeed in providing for the bulk of the industrial employment in India. The history of commerce also reveals a pattern of substantial growth and, what is perhaps even more significant, a change in the commodity composition especially of imports which indicates that import substitution was taking place. But the deficits in the balance of payments arising mainly out of the unfavourable balance of services neutralized most of the gains from commerce. In industry capital formation was adversely affected by the high cost of servicing the foreign capital already invested, especially as in the 20th century, the inflow of foreign capital declined over time. Finally, whatever little gain there was in agricultural and industrial output, the increase in population after 1921 apparently outstripped them. This is surely true of agriculture and it would be surprising if it was not true of industry as well.

Such development as the Indian economy experienced during the 19th and 20th centuries was in response to the world market forces. The operation of these forces was facilitated to a large extent by the political unification of India under Britain and the benefits of a modern administration which removed the irregularities and uncertainties of earlier times. The development of social overheads like the railways always helped establish links between India’s traditional economy and the world market. The positive effects of such developments were, however, inhibited by the refusal of the British Government to protect and support India’s developing industries, in response to the pressure of British private capital operating both in India and U.K., and from their failure to create a milieu favourable to steady development in agriculture. There are very few instances of economic development in the 19th century where the State did not play a positive role. What difference such a role, if assumed by the British Indian Government, could have made would be clear from a comparison of India’s economic experiences since Independence with her experiences of the two preceding centuries. The marked change in the history of Indian agriculture after 1947 despite many loopholes in the Government’s policy is an instance in point. Instead of a policy of positive encouragement, the one which the Government did adopt has been described very perceptively as one of “guided underdevelopment”.[58] Its main result was to help establish “a raw material biased export economy in India.” Even as late as 1908 the Madras Government’s proposal to set up pilot projects for the improvement of some local industries had to be abandoned because of opposition from local Europeans. As the Annual Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1921, pointed out, the British Indian Government’s attempts to encourage Indian industries “were effectively discouraged from Whitehall”. There was a basic change in this respect after 1922. Even then the positive impacts of the new policy were partly neutralized by the Imperial Preference. Besides, the new policy came too late, at a time when the upward trend in India's population was already outstripping the rate of increase at least in agricultural output. At the time when the power was transferred to an Indian Government the country had a peculiar pattern of economic organisation. It was marked by a limited development of modern industry, the growth of an export sector, and some increase in agricultural output as compared to the mid-19th century level. But the development of industry was mainly based on the growth of an unskilled or semi-skilled labour force; the export sector, more or less isolated from the rest of the economy, stimulated little or no growth outside its limits, and the development of agriculture was achieved mainly through expansion within the framework of traditional techniques and organisation. India in the mid-twentieth century was thus a typical case of economic backwardness.

APPENDIX Table I

Table captionESTIMATES OF NATIONAL INCOME OF INDIA

	Authoh	Title of Source	Area covered	National Year income of refe- (Rs. rence crores)	Per capita income Rs.	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 .	Dadabhai Naoroji	Poverty and Un-British rule in India, 1871	British India	1867-68	340	20
2.	Atkinson, F J.	"A Statistical Review of the Income and Wealth of British India," JRSS, June, 1902	99	1875	574	30.5
3.	Major Baring	Budget Speech, 1882	99	1881	525	27

4.	Richard, T.	A paper read before the	9 9	1881	223	10
		Institute of Bankers,				
5.	Horne, E.A.	London, July 1881 “An Estimate of India’s	9 9	1891	•••	28
		National Income,” Bengal Economic Journal, January				
0.	Atkinson, F.J.	1918	99	1895	877	39.5
		“A Statistical Review of				
		the Income and Wealth of British India,” JRSS,				
7.	Digby, W.	June 1902	9 9	1898-99	428	18.9
		“ Prosperous ” British India				
		1901				
8.	Curzon	Budget speech, 1901	9 9	1901	675	30
9.	Giffen, R.	Economic Enquiries and	India	1903	900	30
		Studies				
10.	Horne, E.A.	“An Estimate of India’s	British	1911	980	42
11.	Shirras, G.F.	National Income,” Bengal Economic Journal, 1918 Report on an Enquiry into	India 9 9	1911	1920	80

12.	Balakrislina	ivorking Class	India	1911-12	539	21
		Budgets in Bombay Industrial Decline of India,				
		1917				
13.	Vakil and	Currency and Finance in	9 9	1911-14	1774	58.5
	Muranjan	India, 1926				
14.	Wadia and Joshi	The Wealth of India, 1925	British	1913-14	1087	44.5 <
15.	Lupton, A.	Happy India 1922	India 99	1919-20	2854.5	114
16.	Slater, G.	The Madras Year Book,	Madras	1919-20	9 9	112
		1933				
17.	Sarker, B.N.	Proceedings of the Council	British		9 9	over
		of State, 1921	India	1921		100
18.	Shah, K.T.	Trade, Tariff and Trans	9 9	1921-22	1470	46
		port in India, 1924.				
19.	Shah and	Wealth and Taxable Capa	India	1921-22	2364	74
	Khambata	city in India, 1924				

National Per

	Author	Title of Source	Area covered	Year of reference	income (Rs. crores)	capita income Rs.
	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Tiwari, S.G.	Economic Prosperity of U.P. 1951	U.P.	1921-22	• • •	107
21.	Shirras, G.F.	Poverty and Kindred Economic problems in India, 1935	British India	1921-22	2866	110
22.	Rao, V.K.R.V.	An Essay on India's National Income, 1940	99	1925-29	2068	80
23.	Shirras, G.F.	Poverty and Kindred Economic Problems in India, 1935	99	1926-27	2824	115
24.		Central Banking Enquiry	Agrcrl.	1928	• ••	42

		Committee, 1931	Population			
25.		Simon Commission Report, 1929	India	1929		116
26.	Shirras, G.F.	Quoted by Davis, Population of India and Pakistan.	British India	1931	• • •	63
27.	Rao, V.K.R.V.	The National Income of British India	India	1931-32	1689	62
28.	Desai, R.C.	The Standard of Living in India and Pakistan	99	1931-32	2809	825
29.	Tiwari, S.G.	Economic Prosperity of U.P. 1951	U.P.	1921-22	*	50.5
30.	Grigg, J.	Quoted by Davis, Population of India and Pakistan	British India	1937-88	• • •	56

31.	Tiwari, S.G.	Economic Prosperity of U.P. 1951	U.P.	1938-39	• • •	56.1
32.	Student	Commerce, December, 1943	British India	1988-89	1865	65
33.	Natarajan, B.	An Essay on National Income and Expenditure Provinces in India, 1949	Union 1988-39	1482	68.5	
34.		The Eastern Economist	\ • • •	1939-40	1924	67
35.		Government of India	British India	1942-43	3433	114
36.		Commerce, December 1943	• • •	1942-48	4265	142
37.	Adarkar and Tandon	Mimeographed : Ministry of Finance	India	1944-45	5060	171
38.	Saxena, D.N.	Ph. D. Thesis, London	British	1945-46	5430	224

	University	India			
39.	Ministry of Commerce	Union Provinces	1945-46	4981	204
40.	Ministry of Commerce		1946-47	5580	228
41.	Commerce Annual Review No. 1948	Indian Union	1947-48	4974	213

Author	Title of Sources	Area covered	Year of reference	National income (Rs. crores)	Per capita income Rs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	Ministry of Commerce	Union Provinces	1948-49	7059	277
43.	First Report of National Income Committee, 1951	Indian Union	1948-49	8710	255
44.	Final Report of National Income Committee, 1954	9 9	1948-49	8050	247

45.		99 99	99	1949-50	9010	254
46.	Natarajan, B.	An Essay on National Income and Expenditure in India , 1949	Union Provinces	1949-50	5658	229
47.		Final Report of National Income Committee, 1954	Indian Union	1950-51	9530	265

This table was prepared by Dr. S. Sivasubramonian, Reader in Economic Statistics, Delhi School of Economics, who very kindly allowed it to be used for this Chapter.

Table II

AVERAGE PERCENTAGE CHANGE PER YEAR IN AGRICULTURAL

PRODUCTION 1900-1950

Greater

India Bengal U.P. Punjab

Population	0.67	0.63	0.40	0.84
Yield				
All crops	0.37	-0.45	0.42	1.57
Foodgrain	0.11	-0.73	0.35	1.10
Non-Foodgrain	1.31	0.23	0.92	2.40
Acreage				

All crops	0.40	—0.06	0.44	0.96
Foodgrains	0.31	0.00	0.41	0.87
Non-Foodgrains	0.42	—0.41	0.60	1.20
Yield per acre				
All crops	0.01	—0.34	0.15	0.62
Foodgrains	... -0.18	-0.55	-0.02	0.31
Non-Foodgrains	0.86	0.59	0.24	1.13
Major Foodgrain crops				

Rice

Wheat

Jowar

Gram

Bajra

Barley

Maize

Ragi

... -0.09

0.84 0.05 0.26 0.72 0.02 0.51 ... -0.37

869

Greater

India Bengal U.P. Punjab

Table captionNon-Foodgrain crops

Sugarcane	1.30
Cotton	1.30
Tea	2.74
Linseed	... -0.47
Indigo	... -6.19

Source : G. Blyn, Agricultural Trends in India, 1891-1947 : Output, Availability and Productivity (Philadelphia, 1966).

Table III

DECADE RATES OF CHANGE IN AGGREGATE CROP OUTPUT AND POPULATION (Percent Per Year), 1891-1941

	1891-01	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	Mean
Population	0.35	0.49	0.09	0.95	1.19	0.61
All Crops	0.88	0.79	-0.14	0.50	0.25	0.46
Foodgrain Crops	0.38	0.48	—0.15	-0.27	— 0.68	-0.15
Food Crops	0.52	0.52	-0.08	—0.06	-0.27	0.13

Non-Foodgrain Crops	2.41	1.57	-0.13	2.04	2.09	1.60

Table captionSource : Blyn, op.cit.

Table IV

ESTIMATED YIELD AND AREA OF CERTAIN PRINCIPAL

CROPS

			Area (Millions of acres) Average 1900-01 to 1904-05	Yield (Millions) Average 1900-01 to 1904-05	Area (Millions of acres) 1939-40	Yield (Millions) 1930-40
Rice	(tons) .	43.44	18.63	73.20	25.36	
Wheat	(	„)	25.32	7.68	34.01	10.75
Linseed	(	„)	3.55	0.42	3.71	0.47
Rape	(	)	5.60	1.01	6.11	1.12
Sesamum	(	„)	4.90	0.46	4.05	0.42
Groundnut	(	..)	0.43	0.06 (1901-2) 8.20	3.15	

Cotton (bales 400 lb.]	> 16.50	3.18	21.35	4.91		
Jute	(	..)	2.33	7.04	3.17	9.74
Sugar-cane	(	..)	2.26	2.05	3.62	4.59

Table captionSource : Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India (1939-40), pp. 8 and 27-30. Also see Jathar and Beri, Indian Economics (9th edition), I, pp. 160-162 : Gadgil, Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times , pp. 98ff, 213ff.

INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

	Mills	Spindles (000’s)	Looms (000's)	Workers (000’s)	Piece-goods (million yards)	Yarn (million lbs.)
1904-05	206	5,196.4	47.3	196.3		
1907-08	227	5,763.7	66.7	225.3		
1913-14	264	6,620.5	96.7	260.8	1,164.3	683
1924-25	275	8,310	159	368	1,955	719
1931	339	9,311.9	182.4	395.4	2,561.1	966
1937-38	• • •	10,020	200	438	4,084	1161

1943-44 • • •	10,240	202	506	8,870	1680

Table VI

PRODUCTION OF SUGAR AND GUR

(000 tons)

Year	Production	Index of production Base 1925-30
1920	73.1	67
1921	75.4	69
1922	74.1	68
1923	94.7	87
1924	67.4	62
1925	91.4	84
1926	121.0	112
1927	119.8	110

1928	99.1	91
1929	111.0	102
1930	151.7	140
1931	228.1	210
1932	370.3	341
1933	515.0	475
1934	617.2	569
1935	982.2	905
1936.	1130.9	1042
1937	947.3	873

Table VII

PRODUCTION OF PIG IRON AND STEEL

(000 tons)

Pig-Iron

Year Production

(000 tons)

1900	35
1901	35
1902	35
1903	35
1904	 41
1905	45
1906	47
1907	39
1908	 38
1909	39
1910	36
1911	49
1912	59
1913	59

Year	Production of Pig-iron (000 tons)	Production of finished steel (000 tons)	Indices of pig-iron production*	Indices of Steel*
1914	235	67	71	55
1915	242	76	74	63
1916	245	93	74	77

1917 248	114	75	94
1918 247	130	75	107
1919 317	134	96	111
1920 311	113	95	94
1921 368	125	112	104
1922 320	112	97	92
1923 490	151	179	125
1924 673	248	265	204
1925 880	320	268	264
1926 920	360	280	298
1927 1140	429	347	355
1928 1052	276	320	228
1929 1392	412	423	340
1930 1175	434	357	359

1931	1056	450	322	372
1932	913	427	278	353
1933	1058	531	322	439
1934	1320	604	401	499
1935	1452	646	441	534
1936	1540	667	468	551
1937	1621	660	493	545

Table caption*(Base : Average 1919-22)

THE INDIAN ECONOMY (1905-1947)

Table VIII

INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE 1904-05 to 1945

Year	(In Chores of Rupees) Imports	Exports
1904-05	104.41	157.72
1905-06	112.11	161.84
1906 07	117.29	177.03

1907-08 « • •	136.65	177.48
1908-09	128.79	153.14
1909-10	122.65	187.98
1910-11	133.70	209.96
1911-12	144.05	227.99
1912-13	166.63	246.22
1913-14	191.31	249.01
1914-15	144.93	182.17
1915-16	138.17	199.48
1916-17	160.25	247.36
1917-18	164.35	244.90
1918-19	170.26	256.57
1919-20	221.70	336.00
1920-21	347.56	267.76

1921-22	282.59	248.65
1922-23	246.19	316.17
1923-24	237.18	363.37
1924-25	253.37	400.24
1925-26	236.00	386.82
1926-27	240.82	311.05
1927-28	261.53	330.26
1928-29	263.40	339.15
1929-30	249.71	318.71
1930-31	173.06	226.50
1931-32	130.64	161.20
1932-33	135.01	136.07
1933-34	117.28	150.23
1934-35	134.59	155.50

1935-36	136.78	164.59
1936-37	127.72	202.49
1937-38	173.33	189.21
1938-39	151.83	169.21
1939-40	165.29	213.57
1940-41	156.37	198.70
1941-42	173.14	252.89
1942-43	110.44	194.97
1943-44	117.77	210.84
1944-45	203.57	227.73

THE SHARES OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES IN THE TOTAL VALUE OF IMPORTS

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Table XI

FOREIGN TRADE PER HEAD OF POPULATION

(In U.S. dollars.)

(Special trade, merchandise only.)

1913 1924 1927 1929

New Zealand Australia Canada U.K.

U.S. A.

Dutch East Indies

Russia

China

India

177.86	318.64
154.97	216.41
141.84	201.47
125.83	189.98
43.11	70.93
11.20	16.98
8.51	3.51
1.61	3.25
4.31	6.05

304.89	334.08
237.19	213.41
247.17	241.82
102 .79	195.66
73.66	77.44
19.38	19.58
5.20	5.77
2.91	3.15
6.24	3.27

Table XII

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD’S TRADE (Basis : Recorded values, reduced to dollars)

	Import				Export			
	1913	1924	1927	1929	1913	1924	1927	1929
U.S.A.	8.3	12.5	12.4	12.0	13.8	16.7	16.2	15.7
U.K.	19.0	18.6	17.5	16.5	15.0	13.9	12.1	11.2
Germany	11.7	7.3	9.0	8.2	13.6	6.9	8.3	9.7
France	7.2	5.6	4.9	5.7	6,3	5.4	5.4	5.2
Canada	3.2	3.2	3.7	4.1	1.8	3.3	3.4	8.8
India	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.9	4.5	4.1	3.7	3.2
Japan	1.9	3.6	2.9	2.7	1.6	2.8	2.8	2.8

Australia	1.7	2.0		2.1	1.9	2.0		1.0	2.0	2.2

Table XIII

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES IN INDIA'S

FOREIGN TRADE

1909-10 1916-20

Imports to to 1928-29 1931-32 1938-39

(into India) 1913-14 1923-24

Pre-World Post-World War I War I

Average Average

Table captionPre-World Post-World

War I Average	War I Average				
British Empire ...	69.7	65.2	53.9	44.8	58.1
U.K.	62.8	57.6	44.7	35.5	30.5
Japan	2.5	6.9	6.9	10.6	10.1
Germany	6.4	2.8	6.2	8.1	8.5
U.S.A.	3.1	8.5	7.0	10.2	6.4
Other countries outside the British					

Empire	18.3	16.6	26.0	26.3	16.9
			*		
Export from India					
British Empire	41.1	41.4	34.8	44.2	58.6
U.K.	25.1	24.2	20.9	27.9	34.3
Japan	7.5	13.3	10.4	8.7	8.8
Germany	9.8	4.9	9.7	6.3	5.0
U.S.A.	7.5	12.0	11.8	8.9	8.4
Other countries outside the British Empire 34.1	28.4	33.1	32.1	24.2	

Table captionSource : Compiled from Reviews of Trade of India , by Varshney, loc. cit.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

1. See Table I.

2. See Table II.

3. See Table III.

4. See Table IV.

5. See Table II.

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9. D. R. Gadgil, op. cit.: pp. 97, 208 ff.

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10a. According to some, 1.5 million (Ed.).

11. J. Barrier, The Punjab Land Alienation Act (Duke University Pitess, 1965).

12. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, paragraph 365, C. N. Vakil, "Legislation for the Relief of Indebtedness", Proceedings, Indian Economic Conference, 1938.

13. N. G- Abhyankar, Provincial Debt Legislation, 18, 19, 90; K. C. Ramkrishnan, "Debt Legislation and Rural Credit in Madras," Proceedings of the Indian Economic Conference , 1938.

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15. Jack, Report on the District of Backergunge .

16. Agricultural Economics Association, Land Tenures in India (extract from the Report of the Famine Commission, 1943).

17. The following are among the more important tenancy legislations of the 20th century: Oudh Rent Act (1921), U. P. Tenancy Act (1939), Estates Land Act, Madras (1908), Bihar Tenancy Act (1938), Orissa Tenancy Amendment Act (1938), Bengal Tenancy Act (1938), Madras Estate Land

Act (1939), Central Provinces Tenancy Act (1939), Bombay Tenancy Act (1939).

18. Gadgil, op. cit., pp. 211 ff; Vera Anstey, Economic Development of India, XXVXXVII p 488

19. Dharma Kumar, Land and Caste in South India (Cambridge, 1965).

20. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India (1937-38), p. 15.

21. For the Governmental measures meant to improve agriculture, see Anstey, op. cit. Ch. VII, Jathar and Beri, op. cit., I, Ch. XI. Gadgil, op. cit., pp. 101-2 and 219 ff:

22. Indian Year Book (1941-42), p. 355; Statistical Abstracts for British India (193839), Tables 192 and 193; Z. A. Ahmad, Congress Political and Economic Studies No. 8, ‘Public Revenue and Expenditure in India’ (1938), pp. 44-45.

23. J. N. Sinha, “Demographic Trends” in V. B. Singh (editor), Economic History of India, 1857-1956, 104.

24. Ibid, 106

25. Ibid, 112.

26. Ashish Bose, “Six Decades of Urbanization in India”, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 2.

27. For a discussion of the various estimates, see J. Krishnamurty “Occupational Structure in India”, Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 2.

28. Review of the Trade of India, 1936-37, 43 and 1941-42, 110. Professor Morris D. Morris, who is now engaged in research on the history of the handloom weaving industry in British India, first drew my attention to these facts. In this discussion I have accepted the view that the Indian handicrafts, especially cotton textiles, were not destroyed under the British rule—a thesis Professor Morris is working out in detail.

29. Gadgil, “Indian Economic Organization”, in Kuznets et al (editors) op. cit-, p. 453.

30. S. D. Mehta, The Indian Cotton Textile Industry, (Bombay, 1953) p. 1.

31. This assumption, however, may not be entirely valid. As has been discussed below, during the post-1929 depression in India, industrial investment showed an upward trend. Apparently the rural demand for factory products was relativelv small and inflexible, so that a fall in agricultural income did not significantly reduce their market. On the other hand, a fall in agricultural

prices meant an increase in the purchasing power of the urban classes, whose demand for such products was both flexible and relatively large.

32. The number of registered companies in India in 1921-22 was 4,781 with a paidup capital of 2,230 million rupees. The corresponding figures for 1913-14 were 2,681 and 7.6 million rupees, See Gadgil, op. cit., p. 243.

33. See Table V«

34. Mehta, op. cit, p. 3.

35. Ibid, 9.

36. See p. 845 above.

37. See Table VI.

38. For a detailed history of the jute industry, see M. C. Matheson, Indian Industry , part II, Ch. 4.

39. For the history of the plantation industry, see D. H. Buchanan, The development of Capitalist Enterprises in India , Chs. HI and IV.

40. Report of the Coal Mining Committee , 1937, paragraphs 136, 176 and 273.

41. See Table VH.

42. Helen B. Lamb, “The ‘State’ and Economic Development in India”, in Kuznets et al (editor), op cit, p. 477.

43. S. Bhattacharya, “Laissez-faire in India”, Indian Economic and Social History Review, January, 1965. Also cf. Vol. IX, pp. 798 ff.

44. As discussed below, one important authority has questioned the connection between the Imperial Preference and the increase in Indo-British trade.

45. Helen B. Lamb, loc. cit., pp. 483-84.

46. Morris D. Morris, Growth of a Working Force in the Bombay Cotton Textile Industry, 1853-1947 (California University Press, 1965).

47. K. Davis, loc • cit, pp. 269, 270.

48. K. Davis, Population of India and Pakistan.

48a. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 595 ff.

49. S. A. Palekar, Real Wages in India, 1939-50; J. Kuezynski, “Condition of Workers”, in V. B. Singh (editor), op. cit.

50. Parimal Ray, Inida’s Foreign Trade since 1870.

51. R. L. Varshney, “Foreign Trad'e”, in V. B. Singh (editor), op. cit.

52. See Table VHI.

53. See Tables IX and X.

54. See Tables XI and XH.

55. See Table Xni.

56. B. N. Ganguli, Reconstruction of India’s Foreign Trade.

57. Y. S. Pandit, India's Balance of Indebtedness, 1898-1913; A. R. Banerji, India's Balance of Payments, 1922-1939.

58. A. Bose, "Foreign Capital" in V. B. Singh, op. cit.

ALDICARB SYSTEMIC PESTICIDE

CHAPTER XL

EDUCATION

I. THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT

The educational policy and ideal of the Government at the beginning of the period was dominated by the Universities Act of 1904 to which reference has been made above. 1

Whereas the Act of 1857 established the first three Universities "for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science, and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees ,, , the Act of 1904 laid down that the University should make "provision for the instruction of students with power to appoint University Professors and Lecturers", and take other steps necessary for the purpose. Thus the Universities ceased to be mere examining bodies and began to take part directly in promoting higher education and research. This brought about a very significant change in the Universities and constitutes an important landmark in the progress of higher education in India,

Up to 1910 the subject of Education was under the administrative control of the Home Department. In that year the Government showed their sense of the growing importance of education by creating a new Department of Education under a separate member of the Viceroy's Council. At the Durbar of 1911-12 Government announced an annual grant from imperial funds of fifty lakhs of Rupees for popular education.

The next important landmark in the history of higher education is the resolution of the Government of India on Educational policy issued in 1913, which observed: “At present there are only five Indian Universities for 185 arts and professional colleges in British India besides several institutions in Native States. The day is probably far distant when India will be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating University. But it is necessary to restrict the area over which affiliating Universities have control by securing, in the first instance, a separate University for each of the leading provinces in India, and secondly, to create new local teaching and residential Universities within each of the provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency.”

The first Universities of this type were to be located at Dacca, Banaras and Aligarh. The Government further urged the necessity of multiplying and improving facilities for the training of teachers for primary and secondary schools; reaffirmed the policy of relying mainly on private efforts in Secondary Education with the assistance of a more elastic system of grants-in-aid.

The third important landmark was the appointment of the Calcutta University Commission, under the Chairmanship of Sir Michael Sadler, which deliberated from 1917 to 1919 and submitted a voluminous report (1919) dealing with practically every problem of Secondary and University Education. It endorsed the policy laid down in the Government Resolution of 1913. Among its other recommendations which were sooner or later accepted by most Universities, the following four deserve special notice.

1. The Intermediate Classes of the University were to be transferred to Secondary Institutions, and the stage of admission to the University should be that of the present Intermediate Examination.

2. Secondary and Intermediate Education was to be controlled by a Board of Secondary Education and not by the University.

3. The Government of India should cease to have any special relationship to the University of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal should take its place.

4. The duration of the Degree Course should be three years after the Intermediate Stage, the provisions being applied immediately in regard to

Honours Courses and soon after to Pass Courses.

This was readily accepted by the Government in view of the constitutional changes introduced by the Government of India Act, 1919.

II. THE UNIVERSITIES

Two important consequences followed. A number of new Universities of the affiliating type as well as a number of a new type of unitary, residential and teaching Universities were established. This policy was followed even after the constitutional changes of 1919 and 1935, by which education was placed in charge of Indian Ministers. The Indian States also adopted the same policy. Seventeen new Universities, which thus came into existence during this period, are enumerated below:

I. Affiliating, Agra (1927), Utkal (1943).

II. Affiliating and Teaching.

A. British India :

Patna (1917); Rangoon (1920); Nagpur (1923); Andhra (1926);

Saugor (1946).

B. Indian States :

Mysore (1916); Travancore (1937).

III. Teaching and Unitary (or Federative).

A. British India :

Lucknow (1920); Dacca (1921); Delhi (Federative, 1922); Allahabad (since 1927); Annamalai (1929).

B. Indian States :

Osmania (1918).

An idea of the expansion of University education may be gathered from the following figures which relate to the year 1941-42 :

Total number of students :

British India. Intermediate, 85.072 (Men 77,313; Women 7,759).

Under-graduates,32,972 (M. 28,950; W. 4.-022) in Arts, -do- 10,770 (M. 10,039; W. 731) in Science.

Post-graduates 6,085 (M. 5,437: W. 648) in Arts, -do- 1347 (M. 1266; W. 81) in Science.

The corresponding figures in Indian States are : 8,571 (7,654 and 917);

1359 (1226 + 133); 1350(1178 + 172); 90 (76 + 14); 57 (55+2).

The number of Research students in Arts and Science were, respectively, in British India 336 (305+31), 164 (152+12), and in the States 22(M) and 20 (19 + 1). The number of students in Medicine, Law and Engineering were, respectively, 6,531 (5,788+743), 7,555 (7,438 + 117), 2278 (2277+1) in British India, and 340 (305+35), 311 (305+6), 441 (M) in the States. 2

Five Universities, not included in the above list, deserve special notice. Two of these are the Benares Hindu University (1916), and the Aligarh Muslim University (1920). Unlike other Universities which were all started, more or less entirely, under official auspices, these two were founded largely by the leaders of the two communities themselves, though aided by the Government and established by Acts of Legislature like the rest. The aim of both is declared to be to preserve and promote the culture of the respective communities, viz., Hindu and Muslim, but admission is not restricted to any community and the subjects of study are by no means confined to those having a special bearing on religion. Both have the usual departments to be found in a modern University, and the Benares Hindu University is perhaps better known for courses of studies in Engineering, Mining, Metallurgy and Agriculture. The third University of this type, though not a full-fledged one, is the Serampore College, on the banks of the Ganges, about twenty kilometres to the north of Calcutta. It has got an interesting history going back to the days of the introduction of English education in India.

“Founded in 1818 by William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward ‘for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth in Eastern Literature and European Science’, it was in 1827 incorporated by Royal Charter granted by His Danish Majesty, King Frederick VI, to whom the town of Serampore at that time belonged, and in 1845 it w r as confirmed by the British Government in its chartered rights and immunities on the transfer, by the Treaty of Purchase, of the Settlement of Serampore from Denmark to Great Britain. In 1856 the College was entrusted to the Baptist Missionary Society to become part of the Society’s educational activities; and the following year it was decided, instead of utilizing its own charter, to affiliate the College to the newly-formed Calcutta University, and for 25 years students were sent up for the Calcutta Examinations. For another 25 years the University classes were suspended, but in 1910 the College was re-organized under its own Council on the lines laid down by the founders, by the appointment of a qualified Theological Staff, the opening of Theological classes on an interdenominational basis, and the renewal of affiliation to Calcutta University. In 1915 the College charter was utilized for the first time for the conferring of degrees in Divinity, and in 1918 the Serampore College Act was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, by which the College Council was enlarged and a new Senate was constituted on an interdenominational basis. Accordingly the College is now affiliated to Calcutta University for Arts and Science while in Theology it confers its own diplomas and degrees”. 3

The fourth University, the Visvabharati, grew out of the Santiniketan Asrama founded by Maharshi Devendra-nath Tagore, in 1863, at &antiniketan, near Bolpur Railway Station, about 100 miles from Calcutta, for the use of those who wished to meditate in an appropriate environment on the ‘One Impersonal.’ In 1901 a school was started by his son, the great poet Rabindra-nath, and on 6 May, 1922, the Visvabharati, as an international University, was formally founded and endowed by Rabindra-nath Tagore and “registered as a public body with the declared object: (i) of bringing the diverse cultures of the East into more intimate relationship with one another, (ii) of approaching the science and culture of the West, from the standpoint of their unity, and (iii) of realising in common fellowship of study and humanitarian activity, the concord of the East and the West, and thus to bring about the conditions that may lead to world harmony.”

According to the “Memorandum of Association' 5 , this ideal is to be realized by making this institution “a Centre of Culture where research into and study of the religion, literature, history, science and art of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Christian and other civilizations may be pursued along with the culture of the West, with that simplicity in externals which is necessary for true spiritual realization, in amity, good-fellowship and co-operation between the thinkers and scholars of both Eastern and Western countries, free from all antagonisms of race, nationality, creed or caste, and in the name of the One Supreme Being who is Shantam Shivam , Advaitam.”

This institution received world-wide recognition and some of the best minds of both the West and the East associated themselves with it. Its programme includes an effort to discover, preserve and transmit the vast elements of Indian culture and it lays special stress on fine arts like drama, music, dancing, painting, etc.

It has got, as its annexe, The Institute of Social Reconstruction founded at the neighbouring village of Sriniketan, in 1921. Rabindra-nath himself defined its object to be “to bring back life in its completeness to the villages, making the rural folk self-reliant and self-respectful, acquainted with the cultural traditions of their own country, and competent to make an efficient use of modern resources for the improvement of their physical, intellectual and economic condition.”

The fifth University is the “Sreemathi Nathibai Damodher Thackersey Indian Women’s University”' 3 Bombay. The genesis of this institution will be referred to later in Chapter XLIII, in connection^ with social reforms.

The University was founded by Prof. D. K. Karve in 1916 with the following aims and objects:

ta) To make provision for the higher education of women through modern Indian Languages as media of examination and instruction by starting, aiding and affiliating institutions for such education.

(b) To formulate courses of study specially suited to the needs and requirements of women.

(c) To make provision for the training of teachers for primary and secondary schools.

(d) To institute and confer Degrees and Diplomas, etc., as may be prescribed by the regulations.

It provides for instruction in Fine Arts, Domestic Science, and Hygiene along with other subjects.

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During the first 25 years (i.e., by the end of the session 1939-40) the total number of Matriculates, Trained Primary teachers, and Graduates passing out of this University were, respectively, 1548, 155, and 450.

In that year the University conducted two Colleges and two High Schools, and nineteen High Schools, two Arts Colleges and one Training College were affiliated to it. In 1942 the total number of school students was 5,260, and that of Graduates passing out of the University was 517.

Some other institutions belonging to the type of Universities are not included in the above list. The Swadeshi movement in Bengal and the growth of national sentiments led to the foundation of the National Council of Education in Bengal, mentioned above. 4 This and the Gurukul Kangri of Hardwar were both independent of the system of education controlled by the State. The first provided for course of studies in Arts and Science as also in Technology, and there were schools affiliated to it even in remote parts of India outside Bengal. The Arts Section and the affiliated schools languished soon, but the college of Engineering and Technology, founded about 1921, continued its useful career as a Technological Institution which was developed into a full-fledged University at Jadavpur, a suburb of Calcutta, after the achievement of independence.

The Gurukul Kangri of Hardwar was started in 1902 by Swami Sraddhanand, with the same object which was professed by the Benares Hindu University as its aim, but carried it out more faithfully and with greater sincerity. But its ideal to revive the old Hindu culture by imparting education of a special antiquated type and in an artificially created environment suitable for it, has not evoked much enthusiasm outside a very limited circle.

III . RESEARCH INSTITUTES

In addition to Universities there were many other institutions for advanced study and research of University standard which formed a class by themselves, for they cannot be regarded as Universities nor ranked with ordinary Colleges affiliated to a University. For scientific study and research the following deserve special mention. 5

1. Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

The Indian Institute of Science owes its origin to the munificence and imagination of the great industrialist, late J. N. Tata, whose plan for establishing a Research Institute was brought to fruition after his death by the far-sighted generosity of his two sons, the late Sir Dorabji Tata and the late Sir Ratanji Tata. In giving

effect to their father's wishes these benefactors were supported by the Government of India and the Government of H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

The Institute began work in July 1911, and its laboratories provided facilities for post-graduate work in rive main branches of Science, namely, Physics, General Chemistry, Organic Chemistry, Bio-Chemistry and Electrical Technology.

2. Bose Research Institute, Calcutta.

The Bose Research Institute was founded by Sir J. C. Bose on 30 November, 1917, with the object of enabling the founder to carry on his fundamental investigations on the similarity of life phenomenon exhibited by plants and animals, and also to train up a band of able and devoted workers who would continue this line of

work after him.

The scope of the investigations carried out in the Institute was subsequently widened, till at the time of Sir J. C. Bose's death in November, 1937, facilities for investigations in the following subjects were provided.

(i) Plant Physiology and Genetics, (ii) Bio- and Agricultural Chemistry, (iii) Zoology and Animal Physiology, (iv) Anthropology and (v) Theoretical and Experimental Physics.

3. Forest Research Institute and College, Dehra Dun. The first Forest Research Institute was opened in 1914 on the Chandbagh Estate, Dehra Dun. In 1929 it was shifted to Kaulagarh (New Forest) Estate, a few miles out of Dehra Dun.

4. The Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Kanpur, founded in 1921, was intended to be a centre of technological research, for promoting industrial development.

5. The Imperial Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi, owes its origin to the magnificent donation of £30,000 by Mr. Henry Phipps, an American philanthropist. Part of this donation was devoted to the construction of a Pasteur Institute at Coonoor in South India, and the balance formed the nucleus of a fund out of which a college and research institute, to which a farm of 830 acres was attached for purposes of experimental cultivation and demonstration, was established at Pusa under the control of the Central Government.

Owing to the total destruction of the Phipps Laboratory and many other buildings in the great earthquake of January, 1934, the Institute has been rebuilt on a new site near Delhi.

6. Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad. The Indian School of Mines was opened by the Government of India in 1926 and was

established to provide high grade instruction in Mining Engineering, and in Geology along the lines of the courses of instruction given in the Royal School of Mines, London, and similar Mining Colleges in Great Britain.

7. Thomason College of Civil Engineering, Roorkee. It was opened in 1847 and has been converted into a university after the achievement of independence.

For Oriental learning reference may be made to two Institutions.

1. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

It was inaugurated on 0 July, 1917, to commemorate the 80th birthday of the great oriental scholar, Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. The Government of Bombay transferred to this institute the Manuscript Library, formerly at the Deccan College, Poona, and also entrusted it with the publication of the Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series. Its monumental work is the publication of a critical edition of the Mahdbh&rata. It is now recognised as an international centre of Oriental research.

2. Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner, East Khandesli.

The Indian Institute of Philosophy is a purely research Institute. It was founded by Seth Motilal Maneckchand of Amalner, with the help of his friend, Seth Vallabhdas, in 1916. Its object is to encourage persons who have already studied Western Philosophy to get a first-hand acquaintance with Indian Thought in general and with Sahkaracharya’s Advaitic Philosophy in particular.

IV. INTER-UNIVERSITY BOARD

With the increase in tne number of Universities the Government of India felt the need of some agency to co-ordinate their work, and the Indian Universities Conference, held at Simla in May 1924, passed a resolution unanimously recommending to the Universities that it was desirable that an

Inter-University Organization should be established. The functions assigned to it were the following:

(i) To act as an Inter-University Organisation and Bureau of Information;

(ii) To facilitate an exchange of professors;

(iii) To serve as an authorized channel of communication and facilitate co-ordination of University work;

(iv) To appoint or recommend, where necessary, a common representative of India at an Imperial or International Conference on Higher Education;

(v) To assist Indian Universities in obtaining recognition for their degrees, diplomas and examinations in other Universities.

It was suggested that the expenses would be equally shared by the fifteen Universities then in existence. But only twelve Universities agreed to join the Board and made a preliminary contribution. The first annual meeting of the representatives nominated by the universities was held at Delhi in February, 1926. Since then, in addition to annual meetings held at different university headquarters, there were also larger quinquennial conference of delegates from all the universities.

Of the work performed by the Board, the following observations made by the University Education Commission (1948-9), presided over by Sir S. Badhakrishnan, may be regarded as a fair assessment.

"The Board has acted as an advisory body but its influence has not been as potent as it might have been. The universities have not always been inclined to follow the advice given by the collective voice of the Vice-Chancellors which, in effect, the Board has become. The Board has, however, acted as a forum for discussion of university problems." 6

Another important body composed of experts on education was the Central Advisory Board of Education, India, constituted in 192021. It was presided over by the Education Member of the GovernorGeneraFs Executive Council, and the Educational Adviser to the Government of India was its most important member. It consisted of nominees of the Government of India, Provincial Governments, and the Inter-University Board, as well as one elected representative of the Council of State and two of the Legislative Assembly. It held periodical meetings to discuss educational problems and advise the Government on them.

V. RESEARCH

Apart from the quantitative expansion of education and the extension of its scope so as to include diverse branches of knowledge, both in arts and science, the most remarkable progress in education during the period under review was the advanced study and research. Valuable research work was undoubtedly conducted by a large number of individuals on their own initiative in the 19th century, both in arts and sciences. The names of Cunningham, Fleet, Kielhorn, Buhler, R. G. Bhandarkar, Bhagawanlal Indraji, Rajendra-lal Mitra, Hara-prasad Sastri and many others in the field of Indological studies, and of Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray in sciences, will be ever remembered as pioneers of research work in

India, but no organised attempt was made to train students in methods of research and to develop schools of research at any University before 1904. This was, however, rendered possible by that section of the University Act of 1904 which laid down teaching and research as proper functions of the University in addition to holding examination. As mentioned above, 7 the Act of 1904 was strongly condemned by the Indian public, and neither friends nor foes probably put much faith in, or even gave much thought to this pious declaration. Hostile critics regarded it as a mere platitude— as so often proved to be the case with official Acts—and looked upon it as mere sugar-coating of the bitter pill. Only one man realised its potentiality for good, and that was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. So, when Lord Minto offered him the post of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta in order to reconstitute the University in accordance with the Act of 1904, he readily agreed. He served as the Vice-Chancellor from 1906 to 1914, and again from 1921 to 1923. Even during the intervening period he was the de facto if not de jure head of the University and its guiding spirit. Throughout this long period of 17 years Sir Asutosh devoted his time, energy and resourcefulness in transforming the Calcutta University into the most important teaching University and the greatest centre of research in India. It is remarkable that though the same Act was in operation in the remaining four Universities in India, at Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, and Lahore, progress in them on the same line came rather late and even then only as a very feeble echo of Calcutta University.

As the method pursued by Sir Asutosh greatly influenced the other Universities and was generally followed by them, it will suffice to give a brief account of the course of development by which the University of Calcutta was gradually transformed from an examining body to a centre of research.

This was accomplished in three stages during his first period of Vice-Chancellorship (1906 to 1914). In the first stage instructions were given to M. A. students by University Lecturers, most of whom were College Professors, giving only part-time service to the University students. Eminent scholars were also appointed as ‘Readers’ in order that association with them might stimulate the original thinking of the advanced students. In the second stage distinguished scholars were appointed whole-time Professors. In the third stage there was a regular staff of whole-time Professors, Readers, and Lecturers, though the part-time services of eminent Professors of colleges were not altogether dispensed with.

But all this required money. Curiously enough, as Sir Asutosh succeeded more and more in giving practical effect to the professed object of the Act of 1904, the attitude of the Government became more and more hostile, and, far from showing appreciation by placing larger funds at the disposal of the University, it tried its very best to cripple the Post-Graduate and Research activities of the Universitj' by withholding even minimum requirements of the University. This called forth the unique quality Asutosh possessed of inducing wealthy persons to make rich endowments to the University. Tarak-nath Palit and Rash-behary Ghosh made princely' donations and endowments, respectively, of fifteen and ten lakhs of Rupees, which the latter supplemented at a later date by a further donation of Rs. 11,43 000. Many others followed suit. Hie wonderful resourcefulness and diplomatic skill of Asutosh also enabled him to secure special endowments for four Professorships from Lord Hardinge. He adopted various means to promote research in the University and possessed almost an uncanny power to select the right type of men for the purpose from every part of India and even outside it.

It was the magic personality of Sir Asutosh and the facilities of research promised by him that induced Dr. C. V. Raman to give up a prize-post under the Government and join the University as a Professor. Not only the University of Calcutta but the world of Science should ever remain grateful to Sir Asutosh for this great change-over. As a part of the facility for research, the equipment of libraries and laboratories constantly engaged his attention.

Attention should be drawn to one aspect of the activities of Sir Asqtosh which has not received due recognition from the Indian public. He wanted to make higher study and research, both in arts and science, a potent instrument for the development of national ideas and an all-round improvement in the material condition of the country.

He was the first to make special provision for the study and research in ancient Indian history and culture as well as the history of the Sikhs, Rajputs and the Marathas in a University. He made Bengali and all other major languages in India and their literature full-fledged subjects of study for the M.A. Examination. He thus laid the foundation of nationalism and national integration in the truest sense of the term, at a time when nobody possibly even dreamt of utilising the University for such purposes. His appointment of University teachers from all parts of India was also a great step towards national integration. His college of Science and Technology was an essential step for the economic and industrial regeneration of India.

The following observations by the University Commission of 1948-9 give a fair outline and estimate of the subsequent progress of the research work.

“It was only in 1914 that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee founded the first post-graduate departments at the Calcutta university and placed post-graduate training and research there on a proper footing. Promising scholars from all parts of India were appointed to professorial chairs and in a few years Calcutta had produced research work of a high quality, both in the humanities and in the sciences, and several of its professors won international recognition. After the first World War several new universities came into being: of these, the teaching universities started post-graduate training and research from their very beginning, while some of the affiliating universities, new as well as old, started post-graduate departments in certain fields of study. These new schools attracted a number of young and promising teachers who organized research and raised the level of post-graduate teaching at several university centres. The degrees cf Ph.D., D.Litt., and D.Sc. were instituted and were awarded to students on successful completion of their researches. In a few departments of some Universities, the teaching staff came to consist largely of men with research degrees. A number of professors fulfilled their promise of leadership in research and their work brought them international recognition, like the Nobel Prize, the Fellowship of the British Academy, the Fellowship of the Royal Society, or the higher Doctorate Degrees of Oxford and Cambridge. It may rightly be said that both in quality and quantity the level of scientific research was at its best in Indian Universities between the years 1920-1945. While before 1920 scientific research was mainly a monopoly of the scientific services, after 1920 the leadership in fundamental research in most of the sciences passed over largely to the universities." 8

Outside the University the research work was promoted by a number of learned societies, both old and new, and periodical AllIndia Conferences. The most important among these Conferences is the Indian Science Congress founded in 1914. There are also the Oriental Conference, The Indian History Congress, the Political Science Conference, Educational Conference, and the Indian Historical Records Commission, all of which are All-India in character and meet annually, except the first which meets biennially.

"With the growth of scientific research, several scientific societies have also been formed. These societies, like the National Academy of Sciences, the Indian Academy of Sciences and the National Institute of Sciences provided facilities for the publication of scientific papers in their journals and have thus substantially encouraged

the growth of research in the country. Similarly, there are several societies looking after special subjects of study, like the Mathematical, Chemical, Physical, Geological, Botanical and Zoological societies. Of all these the National Institute of Sciences has been recognised by the Government of India as the premier scientific organisation in the country to whom they refer all scientific matters for advice and guidance. This society offers 11 senior and junior fellowships as well as 4 Imperial Chemical fellowships for research at the universities and scientific institutes." 9

It must be confessed, however, that the brilliant prospects of research held out by the successful endeavours of Sir Asutosh have not been realized and few will dispute the truth of the following observations of the Radhakrishnan Commission (1948-9) with reference to the period covered by this volume.

"Unfortunately there are signs of a steady decline in the quality and quantity of research at our universities. There are several causes, but the most important is that most of the leaders of research in different fields have either left the universities or are on the verge of retirement and the universities have not been able to find suitable successors to continue the research tradition initiated and fostered by these pioneers. Ever since the higher administrative services were thrown open to Indian graduates, the universities have had to compete with the Government, which is the largest employer in India, for recruitment of their teaching staff. The universities could not attract the best men to their staff and during the last ten years a number of brilliant teachers have left the universities for government service, as they were offered better salaries and prospects there." 10

VI. PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

On the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, appointed in 1928, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was incorporated in 1929. Twenty institutions for higher educational work in agriculture were established during the period under review, of which only five were established before the forties and five in 1947.

As regards commerce, the Government Commercial Institute in Calcutta and the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay (1914) were the oldest institutions. Since then almost every University has either a Faculty or Department of Commerce.

Degree Colleges for training school teachers were started in Calcutta in 1908, in Bombay in 1922, and also at other places. Government Colleges were established at Patna and Allahabad for Diploma Courses, while Nagpur, Banaras, Aligarh and Lakhnau (Lucknow) had University Training Colleges. All these institutions admit only Graduates and award them the Diploma or the Degree after training for one academic year.

Engineering And Technology

Reference has been made in the preceding volume to the establishment of three Engineering Colleges in the three Presidencies at Sibpur (Bengal), Poona (Bombay), and Guindy (Madras), and one at Roorkee. As mentioned above, a college of Engineering and Technology was established at Jadavpur during the Swadeshi movement.

In 1915 the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore opened Electrical Engineering Classes.

The University of Benares first started (1917) the degree classes in mechanical and electrical engineering and in metallurgy. The Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur started mechanical engineering courses in 1931-2, electrical engineering courses in 1935-36, and courses in metallurgy in 1939-40. Courses in these subjects were also introduced at Guindy and Poona more or less about the same time.

At the end of the period under review there were altogether 19 Engineering Colleges, including the four established in the 19th century. There were also 15 Institutions or Departments for training in Technology. The courses of study included Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Chemical, Mining and Communication.

Advanced study deserving Master’s Degree was not provided for, and India had to depend on foreign experts for designs of important works such as water-supply, sewerage, bridges, railway lines and factories, as well as machines for textiles, sugar and jute. In fact for research, developmental work and design, India was entirely dependent on foreign organisations. This proved a very serious handicap to the proper development of Indian industry.

“Since 1920 increasing facilities have been made available for professional and technical training in all the provinces of British India. This has mainly been due to the fact that during the Great War of 1914-18 and after, there has been marked progress in industrial development in this country with the result that increasing numbers of students seek accommodation in technical and professional schools.” 11

i ... . .

The heed of improving technical education was realised, and two British experts, namely Messrs. A. Abbott and S. H. Wood, were invited to advise the Government of India. They submitted

their Report in June 1937, but very little practical effect was given to their recommendations.

Law

Although there were many distinguished lawyers and jurists in India during the nineteenth century, there was no adequate provision for advanced study and research in law in the Universities. There were faculties of law which prescribed courses of study, and attendance at Law classes, where practising lawyers were employed as part-time lecturers, was followed by an examination, the success in which entitled the graduates to practise in any court. There were also lower courses for non-graduates, who could, after passing the prescribed examinations, practise as a pleader and a Muktear. Law course in a University was hardly ever regarded as part of a liberal education and was only valued as the passport to legal profession.

Some improvements in the teaching of law were effected during Jhe period under review. A Law College was started in the Calcutta University during the regime of Sir Asutosh where regular classes were held and lectures were delivered by practising lawyers. The advanced study and research in law were recognised by the award of M. L. and D. L. Degrees, and the institution of Tagore Lectureship in law in Calcutta University. But India was never renowned for profound scholarship and enlightened research in the theoretical study of law, though there were eminent practitioners and judges who shed lustre on the profession.

Medicine

Nearly all that has been said about law applies also to medicine, except the fact that regular arrangements for both theoretical and practical training were made in a number of Medical Colleges and schools. As in law, there were both graduate and undergraduate courses, and advanced study and research were encouraged by the award of M.D. Degrees. But although there were many eminent practitioners whose fame spread all over India, very little was done by Indian graduates in medicine by way of new discoveries in medical science. As a notable exception reference may be made to the discovery of a specific remedy for Kala-jar (Black Fever), namely Urea Stibamine, by Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.

The indigenous systems of medicine, such as Ayurvedic and Unani, as well as Homoeopathic were very popular with a large section of the people, but a regular study of these was not provided for, either by the University or by the Government. There were, however, a few private institutions for teaching these courses.

VII. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The question of the teaching of religion assumed importance only during the British rule. Till then the Hindu, Muslim and other communities regarded religious and moral education as more important than the development of intellectual powers by secular education, and the two types of education formed the regular curriculum of studies even from primary stage.

The British adopted religious neutrality as the fundamental principle of their rule and therefore scrupulously forbade any form of religious teaching, direct or indirect, in schools and colleges supported by the Government. This policy was not challenged by the Education Commission of 1882, the

Indian Universities Commission of 1902, and the Sadler Commission. Prominent Indian leaders of liberal ideas realized the difficulty, and their general views were summed up in the following words by Mr. K. T. Telang, who was a member of the Education Commission of 1882: “There are only two possible modes, which can be adopted in justice and fairness, of practically imparting religious instruction. Either you must teach the principles common to all religions under the name of Natural Religion, or you must teach the principles of each religious treed to the student whose parents adopt that creed.” Again, “At all events on this I am quite clear, that our institutions for secular instruction should not be embarrassed by any meddling with religious instruction; for such meddling, among other mischiefs, will yield results which on the religious side will satisfy nobody and on the secular side will be distinctly retrograde.”

But there w r as no general agreement of views even among the nationalist leaders regarding the scheme of either national or religious education. Gandhi, Malaviya, the Muslims and the Ary a Samajists condemned the secular character of the education given in schools and colleges, and advocated religious instruction (Gita for the Hindus, Qur'an for the Muslims, etc.) as an integral part of education. On the other hand younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru preferred purely secular education. Gandhi put forward the Vidya Mandir (or Wardha) scheme (to which reference will be made in connection with Primary education) in which truths common to all religions were to be taught to all children. But this was not generally approved and was evm opposed by a section of Muslims. The question was taken up by the Central Advisory Board of Education which, in January, 1944, appointed a Committee to examine the desirability and practicability of providing religious instruction in educational institutions.

The Committee met in November, 1944, under the Chairmanship of the Right Rev. G. D. Barne, Bishop of Lahore. It was attended by 7 members out of 11 and adopted a Report with a single dissent (Dr. Chandrasekharan). The Board referred the

matter back to a reconstituted Committee of 14 members, of whom

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8 attended the meeting held in October, 1945, and adopted a report with two members dissenting (Khan Bahadur Shah Alam Khan and Dr. M. Hasan). While some members of the Committee “felt that the teaching of religion should be restricted exclusively to broad moral and ethical principles, others held that denominational teaching constituted the essence of religious instructions and must be provided for in schools if the spiritual needs of children as well as the wishes of their parents are to be satisfied.

“After fully considering all aspects of the question, the Board resolved that while they recognise the fundamental importance of spiritual and moral instruction in the building of character, the provision for such teaching, except in so far as it can be provided in the normal course of secular instruction, should be the responsibility of the Home and the Community to which the pupil belongs.” 12

VIII. PRIMARY EDUCATION

Primary education was imparted by Lower Primary and Upper Primary schools. The number of Primary Schools in British India was 189,751 in 1939-40 and the number of pupils was 11,445,392. According to the census of 1941, only 12.1 p.c. of the people (persons above the age of five) were literate. Though this showed an increase of more than 4 p.c. as compared with 1931, still the Indians in 1941 were the most illiterate people in the whole world. Out of the total population of 389 millions in India only 47 millions could read and write in 1941. Hence the question of primary education evoked considerable interest. Even apart from the very small number of pupils, a more serious problem was the gradual dropping off in successive stages. This would be evident from the following number of pupils in classes I-V of the Primary schools in 1937.

Class I. 52 lakhs.

»> II. 24 55

> » III. 17 55

>> IV. 12 5 5

»> V. 7 55

These figures indicate that less than one out of every four children stayed long enough at school to reach the earliest stage, viz., class IV, at which peimanent literacy was likely to be attained. And thus the money spent on the others, nearly 80 p.c., was wasted.

The situation was not very different from those of the preceding or succeeding years. The only remedy for this was to make education compulsory. G. K. Gokhale was a great champion of introducing free and compulsory primary education. In 1911 he introduced a Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council, which would have made compulsory primary education permissive, i.e., subject to the consent of the local authorities and local Governments, the cost being met from local and provincial funds. The Bill was circulated, and the matter was discussed again in March 1912. The Government opposed the Bill on various grounds. There may be some truth in their contention that the idea of additional local taxation was. strongly opposed. But it is difficult to accept their statement that there was no popular demand for the measure and that the weight, though not the majority, of non-official opinion was hostile. It may be pointed out that when the Gaekwar of Baroda introduced free compulsory primary education in his State, it was hailed with delight all over India.

As a matter of fact, since the rejection of Gokhale’s measure, the Indian public opinion constantly urged the need of introducing compulsory Primary education. The hollowness of the official view is further exposed by the fact that in less than a decade after it was pronounced, Acts were passed in various legislatures to give effect to this policy as far as possible —in Bombay (1918, 1920, 1923), U.P. (1919, 1926), Punjab (1919), Bihar and Orissa (1919), Madras (1920), Central Provinces (1920), and Assam (1926). By April, 1927, 119 Municipalities and Urban areas and 1571 District Boards and rural Boards introduced compulsion.

In the Educational resolution of 1913, mentioned above, 13 the Government refused to adopt the principle of compulsion in primary education for financial and administrative reasons. Many Indian States stole a march over British India in the matter of free Primary education and the percentages of literacy in Travancore, Baroda, and Mysore were much higher.

The gradual progress in Primary education is indicated by the following figures of enrolment in Primary schools for boys.

1901- 2 1906- 7 1921-22 1936- 7 1946- 7

80,70,191 36,30.668 55,43,437 90,47,007 1,14,24,108

As a result of the transfer of control over education to Indian Ministers there was an appreciable growth in the spread of Primary education after 1921. This is indicated by the following figures:

1921—22 1925—27

Number of Primary Schools . 1,55,017 1,84,829

Number of Pupils in Primary Schools ... 61,09,752 80,17,923

Direct expenditure of Primary education ... 495 675

(in lakhs of Rupees).

Reference should be made to a great movement to reconstruct the whole structure of Primary Education which convulsed India during the last decade of the period covered by this volume. This was the revolutionary scheme of Primary Education propounded by Gandhi which came to be known as the ‘Basic Education* or the ‘Wardha Education* Scheme. The main principles of the scheme, as originally propounded by Gandhi in the columns of his paper, the Harijan, in 1937, have been summed up as follows.

“(a) The course of primary education should be extended at least to seven years and should include the general knowledge gained up to the matriculation standard less English and plus a substantial vocation.

(b) For the all-round development of boys and girls all training should so far as possible be given through a profit-yielding vocation.

(c) This primary education, besides training the mind, should equip boys and girls to earn their bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocations learnt and by buying from the schools their manufactures at prices fixed by the State.

(d) Such education taken as a whole can and must be selfsupporting.

(e) Higher education should be left to private enterprise and the State universities should be purely examining bodies.

“An All-India National Education Conference, which was convened at Wardha in October, 1937, under the presidentship of Gandhiji to consider his proposed scheme of self-supporting education, passed the following resolutions:

(a) that free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale;

(b) that the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue;

(c) that the Conference endorses the proposal made by Gandhiji that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual and productive work and that all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

(d) that the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.

The age of entry to school should be 7 years and the standard attained at the end of 7 years schooling should approximate to the Matriculation (less English).” 14

The original scheme of Gandhi, as well as the slightly modified form in which it was accepted by the Conference, evoked strong criticism on all sides which led to further modification, of a more substantial nature, by the Committee, presided over by Dr. Zakir Husain, which the Conference had appointed to prepare a detailed scheme of the Basic Education on the lines suggested by the resolutions.

Both in this report as well as in the course of the discussion of the scheme by a Committee appointed for this purpose by the Central Advisory Board of Education, Dr. Zakir Husain explained away some of the most objectionable features of the scheme on the usual plea “that many of the criticisms to which the Wardha Scheme had been subjected, arose from either a misconception of the fundamental ideal on which the scheme rests or from statements extracted (sic. divorced?) from their context which give a false or distorted impression.” 15

As a matter of fact, Dr. Zakir Husain gave a more rational form to the crude ideas by ignoring some clear passages and twisting the meaning of many others without in any way admitting that he had deviated from the views of Gandhi, which were regarded as sacrosanct. For example, he repudiated the absurd idea that the cost of the Basic Education would be met either' wholly or even to any appreciable extent by the sale of articles made by the pupils. However absurd the idea may be, there is no doubt that it was seriously believed by Gandhi and his devoted followers and put forward as one of the merits of the scheme. Similarly, the “Zakir Husain report defines the aim of the Wardha Scheme not as ‘the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft mechanically but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work/ and sounds a warning of the obvious danger of stressing the economic aspect to the sacrifice of the cultural and eduational objectives. The Wardha scheme rejects any mechanical labour in schools merely for production and states as a necessary condition of education that ‘the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities. It should find natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests.” 16

“The Zakir Husain Committee also doubted whether such edu cation could be made entirely self-supporting and while expressing the opinion that 'basic' education should cover the major portion of the running expenses, stated that all other educational expenditure, e.g., on buildings, equipment, etc., must be met from other sources, public and private." 17

This was undoubtedly a great improvement from theoretical point of view, but did not remove the vagueness of the whole project of craft work as the sole basis of education at the Primary stage. Zakir Husain repudiated the statements made by "enthusiastic but misguided protagonist" of the scheme that it would remove unemployment, or that the Government would provide employment to the pupils at the end of the course. Finally, Dr. Zakir Husain pointed out "that the proposed syllabuses were merely tentative and their interpretation depended on the teacher and on the provision of suitable text-books. Experience would show what changes were necessary and the syllabuses would be modified accordingly. The syllabuses published with the Wardha scheme do little more than indicate the nature of the work of the Wardha schools. Necessary details will be incorporated after experience." 18

Being thus shorn of many of the features which at first excited the public enthusiasm, the Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education gave its general approval to the scheme with some changes in details. Thus instead of the age-group 7 to 14 suggested by Zakir Husain Committee, it recommended that the "age range for compulsory education should be six years to fourteen years". The Committee also held that the basic school could never be an entirely self-supporting unit. They suggested however that the marketable articles produced in the school should be sold as advantageously as possible, and added: "After this and other possible sources of income have been fully explored, the balance of the cost of providing a compulsory system of education, which must be free, will have to be met from public funds." 19

The Committee unanimously recommended that "the Central Government should contribute not less than half the amount of the approved net recurring expenditure on 'basic' education in each province, the balance to be found by the Provincial Government and the local bodies entrusted by it with the administration of compulsory education. For capital expenditure on buildings, equipment etc., a loan system should be adopted.” 20

The Central Advisory Board of Education generally approved of the recommendations of the Committee except the one concerning financial arrangement just quoted:

“While the majority of the members of the Board accepted the view of the Committee, the official members representing the Government of India expressed their inability to commit themselves in any way. The representative of the Legislative Assembly attending the meeting felt himself precluded under existing circumstances from supporting the Committee’s recommendation. One or two members, while in favour of the principle that the Central Government should make some contribution, found themselves unable to go as far as the Committee desired.” 21

It is unnecessary to proceed with the history of the Wardha Scheme which was nurtured like a hot-house plant in a few areas out of devotion to Gandhi but did not make any appreciable impact on Primary Education.

IX. SECONDARY EDUCATION

In 1939-40, there were 14,214 secondary schools with 2,659,201 pupils in British India. As before, the High schools were primarily looked upon as preparatory stages for the University. The successful students in the Matriculation or School Final Examination had to pass the Intermediate Examination after two years in order to qualify themselves for admission to the Degree course in a University. Both the Intermediate and Degree classes were usually held in the same college under the same authority.

The percentage of successful students in Matriculation or School Final who joined the Intermediate course varied in different Provinces. The figures for 1927, i.e., about the middle of the period under review, are:—

Bombay — 59.9; Bengal — 80.3; U. P. — 42.8;

Punjab — 35.1; Bihar and Orissa — 64.6;

Central Provinces — 67.0; Assam — 47.9.

Whether this difference is due to the greater or less inclination for University education, it is difficult to say. But in any case it shows that quite a large number finished their education after their first stage, for the opening for technical, vocational, or professional courses was very limited and could absorb only a very small number.

One of the most important recommendations of the Sadler Commission was to remove the Intermediate Classes from the control of the Universities and place the teaching and examination in the Intermediate stage under a separate Beard. This recommendation was accepted and given effect to by many Universities, but not by the University of Calcutta for which the Commission was specially appointed.

The standard and efficiency of school teaching varied in various Provinces. Some idea of this may be obtained from the following figures for 1927.

	Madras	Bombay	Bengal
1. Average number of teachers per High School ...	20.1	14.5	12.8
2. Average number of trained teachers per High School...	15.6	3.2	1.8

An attempt was made to remove this discrepancy and effect improvement in the teaching of schools by establishing colleges for the training of teachers. The student had to attend lectures on the history and general principles of education, child psychology, and undergo practical training in teaching classes under the supervision of the teachers of the college. It was one year’s course, at the end of which an examination was held and successful candidates were awarded B.T. Degree. There was also provision for a L.T. diploma to under-graduates.

During the earlier part of the period under review the course in both High Schools and Intermediate Classes was a comprehensive one, including important subjects in both arts and sciences without any or very little option. Thus a student of High School or Intermediate classes had to take up English Literature, Sanskrit, History, Geography, Mathematics and elementary Science. The general tendency in later years was to introduce options and finally to bifurcate the Intermediate course into Arts, Science, Commerce etc., with corresponding bifurcations in the Degree courses in the University. Doubts have been expressed about the wisdom of this policy which lays emphasis on specialisation before a young man has got a good background of general knowledge. Thus a student might get the highest degree without knowing most elementary things about Physics or Chemistry, or even the least idea of the broad facts of Indian history and culture.

The introduction of the Boy Scouts Movements (or its indigenous counterpart like Bratachdri movement in Bengal) among school boys has been of immense value in building up their physique, personality, and character.

X. WOMEN'S EDUCATION

Women's education made steady progress. As compared with the previous period, the number of women students at each stage increased very largely and fairly rapidly. But still the total number was very small when compared with boys. There were 935 women for every 1000 men in India in 1941. The number of women who

could read and write in 1911 formed only 1.1 per cent, as against 11.3 per cent, in the case of men. The corresponding figures for 1921 were 1.8 as against 13.0. Early marriage of girls and orthodoxy are believed to be the main reasons for this state of things. But both these obstacles were slowly but steadily being removed, and the rate of progress increased towards the end of the period under review. The following figures show (I) the number of girls under instruction in all institutions and (II) number of girls' Colleges (General and Professional) with enrolment within brackets.

I. ii.

1937 -38 30,12,212 41 (3,810)

1941 -42 37,26,876 58 (6,072)

1946 -47 42,97,785 91 (10,315)

A new feature in women’s education is the system of co-education. Divergent opinions were expressed on the wisdom of this policy. The general trend of opinion seems to have been that girls of the age-group 13 to 18 should be educated in separate institutions. Many favoured the idea of separate colleges for women above 18 though they did not definitely rule out co-education if such colleges could not provide necessary accommodation.

“Some of the arguments given are that a woman cannot develop her personality in a men’s college : that there is no need for women to undergo the nervous strain of examinations: that women’s education should be more in keeping with the temperament and needs of women as wives and mothers : and that overcrowding is more serious for women than for men.” 22

On the other hand, it was argued that separate colleges for women would mean unnecessary increase in expenditure and were likely to be in many cases poor or inferior duplicates. Further, a healthy association and competition of girls with boys in academic fields would perhaps be beneficial to the development of personality and character of both. As a matter of fact, both the systems, separate colleges for girls and co-ducation, were in vogue during the period under review. Co-education was almost a necessity in the post-graduate stage, and the number of girl-students in post-graduate classes as well as Degree Colleges had been steadily on the increase. But co-education being, comparatively speaking, a recent innovation, the system had many defects at the end of the period under review, as would appear from the following observations made by the Radhakrishnan Commission:

“There are few truly co-educational colleges in our country. Rather, there are men’s colleges to which women have been admitted as students, which is a very different matter. Quite frequently in

“co-educational” colleges nearly all the amenities are for men, and women are little more than tolerated. Often sanitary facilities for women are totally inadequate, and sometimes wholly lacking. Recreation space and facilities for women similarly are inadequate or lacking.” 23

No less important was the allied question of a common curriculum for boys and girls. Here again the opinions sharply differed.

The Principal of a college wrote: “Women’s present education is entirely irrelevant to the life they have to lead. It is not only a waste, but often a definite disability.” Another wrote: “The present system of women’s education, based as it is upon man’s needs, does not in any way make them fit for coping with the practical problems of daily life. Their education should give them a practical bias, especially from the point of view of families, for making them good mothers, teachers, doctors and nurses.” 24

On the other hand, there was a gradually growing tendency among girls not only to be equal to men, but to be like them in all her interest and activities. One educationist rightly observed:

“It is too late in the day to suggest that women should not have the same courses as men. The remaining question is, what additional opportunities shall be provided?” 25

But women, particularly those who were advanced in age, were in favour of a special curriculum suitable for women. The Hartog Committee, writing in 1927-8, observed:

“In recent years repeated demands have been made by representative women’s associations for the differentiation of the curriculum in girls’ schools from that adopted in boys’ schools. The first All-India Women’s

Conference on Educational Reform, held at Poona in 1927, recommended alternative courses for those who do not want to take up college education —domestic science, fine arts, handicrafts and industries. Similar recommendations were made by other Conferences. In Primary Schools separate optionals for girls are common. In Secondary Schools alternative courses are less common. Little has been done to provide alternative courses in the Universities." 26

It is not easy to reconcile the two aims, namely, (1) to make the education of girls similar to that of boys in every respect, and (2) to fit the girls for the home and married life. Perhaps the real solution is to make alternative provisions, as far as possible, for achieving both the aims and leave the option to the girl or her family.

It was generally complained that there was no adequate **nd satisfactory provision for the physical training and medical inspection of girl-students. Reference may be made in this connection to the Girl-Guide Movement. In 1928 there were in British India nearly 600 Companies and Flocks with ah enrolment of over 10,000 Guides and Blue Birds.

XI. EDUCATION OF THE MUSLIMS AND DEPRESSED CLASSES

A very happy feature in the progress of education during the period under review is the rapid progress in education made by the Muslims who had previously been very backward in this respect. During the decade 1917 to 1927 the total number of pupils in Colleges and Universities rose from 5,212 to 8,456 and those of Secondary and Primary Schools from 1,552,142 to 2,437,373, the total number in all recognised educational institutions rising from 1,593,528 to 2,589,836. The situation has been thus summed up:

"In all important Government reports on education you will find special chapters devoted to the education of Muhammadans. Of late years the total number of Muslim pupils has grown faster than the rest of the school population. Between 1917 and 1927 it increased by 62-1/2 per cent., or almost a million, and at the time of the last Quinquennial Review, while the ratio of Muhammadans to non-Muhammadans was 24.7 per cent., the ratio of Muhammadans under instruction to the total number under instruction was 26.7 per cent. An analysis of the figures for the different stages shows, however, that at every stage going upwards the proportion of Muhammadans unfortunately diminishes. The wastage among both boys and girls is appallingly heavy. Only 17 per cent, of the boys and less than 6 per cent, of the girls reach Class IV. In the 'high stage' of secondary education Muslims only form 15 per cent, of the total. But it is clear that in the high schools they are making up leeway, for between 1927 and 1932 the number increased by nearly 50 per cent., from 32.000 to 47,000; and in the collegiate and university stage they are also beginning to make up leeway, though less rapidly. In 1935 they still formed only about 14-1/2 per cent, of the university population (male students).'" 27

But the progress of Muslim girls' education was not equally satisfactory. The total number of Muslim girls in recognised institutions, were in 1917, 1922 and 1927, respectively, 234,328, 298, 423. and 312,704. But even this does not represent the actual situation. For whereas pupils in Class I of the Primary School in 1927 represented 35.5 p.c., the number in Class V came down to 5.8 p.c. The percentages in Primary, Middle, and High Schools were respectively 29.1, 5.1 and 2.1 p.c. In 1917 there were only

6 Muslim girls in Arts College; in 1922 it increased to 25, and in 1927 only 30. In 1935 there were only about 300 Muslim girls out of 5,500 in the University. In Bengal, the under-graduates increased in 10 years from 2 to 7. The situation is comparable to the state of Hindu girls' education fifty years before.

Much stress was laid on the education of the Depressed Classes — particularly since Gandhi entered the political field. The increase in enrolment of the depressed class pupils during 1922-1927 was in all Provinces larger in proportion than the increase in the enrolment of all pupils. But the boys reading above the Primary stage were very small in number and only one girl out of every 30,000 of the female population of the depressed classes proceeded beyond the Primary stage. In 1927 there were only 1670 boys of the Depressed Class reading in the colleges in Bengal and only 82 in the rest of India.

XII. GENERAL REVIEW

Certain special features marked the progress of education during the period under review".

First, increase in the number of pupils receiving instructions specially among women, Muslims, and Depressed Classes, who lagged far behind others during the preceding period.

Secondly, there was a larger variety of subjects in which instruction was provided.

Thirdly, there v^as a steadily increasing trend towards the study of scientific and technical subjects in place of humanities.

Fourthly, steady growth of a spirit of research in both arts and science subjects.

Fifthly, stress was laid upon the training of teachers in schools.

Sixthly, the establishment of unitary, residential and teaching Universities, in place of, or in addition to, affiliating and examining Universities.

There w*ere, however, dark shadows in this otherwise bright picture.

First, the progress was not commensurate with the needs and reasonable expectations of the country, and this is particularly applicable to such effective primary education as would increase the percentage of literacy.

Secondly, as regards the post-Primary stage, i.e., High Schools, Colleges, and Universities, it may be questioned whether the increase in quantity was not accompanied by decrease in quality. In

other words, whether the expansion of education had not lowered its standard.

The last point is closely linked up with the grave problem of unemployment of the educated which steadily increased throughout the period under review. This was partly the cause of deterioration in quality, and partly the effect of it. Writing in 1909 Valentine Chirol observed:

“Even the unskilled labourer (in 1909) can often command 12 annas to a rupee a day; but the youth who has sweated himself and his family through the long course of higher education frequently looks in vain for employment at Rs. 30 and even Rs. 20 a month. In Calcutta, not a few have been taken on by philanthropic Hindus to do mechanical work in the jute mills at Rs. 15 a month simply to keep them from starvation.... The educational system is now turning out year by year a semi-educated proletariat which is not only unemployed but in many cases almost unemployable. One of the highest authorities on education told me that in Bengal he estimates the number of these unemployed at 40,000. Out of one group of 3,054 teachers in Bengal over 2,100 receive salaries of less than Rs. 30 a month. One cannot, therefore, be surprised to hear that in Bengal only men of poor attainments adopt the profession, and the few who are well qualified only take up work in schools as a stepping-stone to some more renumerative career.” 28

In spite of obvious exaggerations, natural to a foreigner and a journalist, the evils referred to in the above passage represented, broadly speaking, a growing evil which persisted throughout the period under review.

Another and a far more serious charge against the educational system prevalent during the period under review was that it failed to adjust itself to changed conditions and was not inspired by any life-giving and creative ideal. Some put it differently by saying that the educational system was not based on, or rooted in, our national culture, and hence most unsuitable for healthy growth of the personality of the pupil. According to the nationalists our education “was divorced from the actualities of Indian life. It did not give a true picture of Indian life, of the political servitude and of the real causes of the economic and cultural backwardness of Indian society. It did not pose Indian problems or offer their solution from the Indian national standpoint. It gave a distorted account of India’s past history, glorified the British conquerors of India and portrayed the British as civilizers of India. It tended to weaken national pride and self-respect.” 29

But even if we admit the truth of the charge and regard it as a great peril, the vague nature of the allegations is demonstrated by a few well-known facts.

(1) That no substitute in a concrete form has been suggested, far less tested, so far, and there was no agreement as to the nature of national education.

(2) Individual ideals taking shape in the form of institutions, such as Visvabharati, Gurukul Kangri, etc., have not been accepted as national and adopted by the people.

(3) Even after twenty years of independence no essential change has been introduced in the system.

It may, therefore, be argued that the evils of the current system belong to a category which is easy to detect but very difficult to remove. The difficulty in the present case arises from the fact that the critics of the system do not agree in their views about the meaning of national culture. For the matter of that, no generally accepted view of the national culture of India has yet emerged in a clear and concrete form.

While the slogan of 'national culture' is put forward as the basis of all kinds of reform by all types of men, few have so far analysed the contents of what they mean by it. There is a universal ideal of education, viz., full development of the physical, moral (including spiritual) and intellectual faculties, and there is no reason to discard or belittle it.

APPENDIX

EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS

The figures given below, collected from official records, unless otherwise stated, would convey a fair idea of the general progress of education during the period covered by this Volume, namely 1905 to 1947. Attention may be drawn to an admirable survey of the whole field of education up to the year 1927, which represents very nearly the middle of the period under review, by the Auxiliary Committee, presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, appointed by the Simon Commission. Unless otherwise stated, the figures refer to British India.

Table captionTable 1

PERIOD	1902-7.	
Examination	Number of candidates	Number passed
1 . Entrance or Matriculation...	24,000	11,000
2. Intermediate in Arts	7,000	2,800
3. B. A. Degree	4,750	1,900

Table II.

1917 1922 1927

1. Percentage of males receiving instruction

2. Percentage of females receiving instruction

3. Number of pupils in Colleges

4. Do in High Schools

5. Do in Middle and Vernacular Schools

6. Do in Primary Schools

7. Number of High Schools

8. Number of Middle Schools ...

4.85	5.04	6.91
0.97	1.12	1.46
67,972	58,837 30	83,890
216,100	218,606	236,781
385,372	434,810	631,490
6,404,200	6,897,147	9,247,617
1,584	2,040	2,447
2,900	2,864	3,201

Table captionTable III 31

Under the Government of India Act of 1919 the Department of Education in the Provincial Governments was transferred to the control of Indian ministers in 1921. In spite of the various handicaps and financial difficulties, mentioned above, under which the ministers had to work, there was a steady expansion of education between 1921 and 1937. This is illustrated by the following Table:

Type of Institution	Number of Institutions 1921-2 1936-7	Number of Scholars 1921-2 1936-7

Universities	10	15	(Not available)	9,697
Arts Colleges	165	271	45,418	86,273
Professional Colleges	64	75	13,662	20,645
Secondary Schools ...	7,530	13.056	11,06,803	22,87,872
Primarv Schools	1,55,017	1,92,244	61.09,752	1,02,24,288
Special Schools	3,344	5,647	1,20,925	2,59,269
Unrecognized				
Institutions	16,322	10,647	4,22,165	5,01,530

Table captionTable IV

Expenditure from all sources in lakhs of Rupees :

1937-8	26,98
1943-4	34,46

1944-5 39,06

1945-6 46,00

1946-7 57,66

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM Table V

Institutions and Enrolments (The first figure gives the number of institutions under each year; enrolment is shown by the f igure within brackets)

Table caption1937—8

Table caption1945—6

1 .	Universities	15	(10,139)	16	(15,693)
2.	Arts and Science Colleges and Intermediate Colleges	279	(101,132)	454	(175,509)
3.	High Schools	3,416	(1,117,991)	4,949	(1,978,546)
4.	Middle Schools	9,889	(1,274,897)	12,120	(1,626,000)
5.	Primary Schools	189,601	(10,516,353)	167,841	(12,103,203)
6.	Engineering and	9	(2,426)	12	(4,789)

	Technical Colleges				
7.	Training Colleges	23	(1,785)	38	(2,550)
8.	Other Professional Colleges	43	(17,907)	73	(31,489)
9.	Engineering and Technical Schools	558	(33,368)	654	(35,619)
10.	Training Schools	537	(26,019)	588	(31,383)
11.	Other Special Schools ...	4,847	1218,641)	9,255	(362,589)

Table VI Literacy

In 1941, the date of the last Census taken during the period under review, the total population of India was 389 millions and of British India, 296 millions.

The increase in population was 1.2 p.c. during 1911-21; 10 p.c. during 1921-31; and 15 p.c. during 1931-41.

There were 935 females for every 1000 males.

Only 47 millions out of the total population of 389 millions were literate. The highest was in Travancore—47.8 p.c., followed by Cochin with 35.4 p.c. and Baroda with 23.01 p.c. The percentage in the three major British Provinces, namely, Madras, Bombay, and Bengal was, respectively, 13.01, 19.5, and 16.1. In U.P. the percentage was only 8.

An approximate idea of the state of things in 1947, with which this volume closes, may be formed from the following figures for 1951, which obviously exclude Pakistan.

	Population	Literate	Percentage
Male • • •	183,333,874	45,610,431	24.9
Female • • •	173,545,520	13,650,683	7.9
Total • • •	356,879,394	59,261,114	16.6

EDUCATION

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

Report, 1944—Post-War Educational Development in India—Report by the Central Advisory Board of Education, Fourth Edition. January, 1944.

Handbook —Handbook of Indian Universities, 1942, published by the Inter-University Board, India.

Wardha Report, I—Report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed to consider the Wardha Education Scheme. 1938.
Wardha Report, II—Report of the Second Wardha Education Cammittee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 1939, together with the decisions of the Board thereon. 1940.

Religious Education —Report of the Religious Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education in India, 1945, together with the decisions of the Board thereon. 1946.

1. Cf. Vol. X, pp. 57-60.

2. Report, 1944, p. 89.

3. Handbook, p. 661.

3a. This is the name given in the Handbook, p. 668, but it is also spelt as "Sreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Indian Women's University".

4. See pp. 44 ff.

5. The account that follows is mainly based on the Handbook .

6. Report of the University Education Commission (1948-9) ^presided over by Dr. S- Radhakrishnan, 1949, p. 29.

7. See p. 59,

8. Report of Radhakrishnan Commission, pp. 144-5.

9. Ibid, p. 146

10. Ibid, pp. 147-8.

11. Nalanda Year Book, 1944-5, p. 191.

12. Religious Education, Preface.

13. See p.

14. Wardha Report, I. pp. 1-2.

15. Ibid, p. 2.

16. Ibid, p. 3.

17. Wardha Report, II. p. 6.

18. Wardha Report, I. p. 9.

19. Wardha Report, II. p. 6.

20. Ibid, p. 8.

21. Ibid, p. ii.

22. Radhakrishnan Commission Report, pp. 400-401.

23. Ibid, p. 399

24. Ibid, p. 401.

25. Ibid.

26. Report of the Auxiliary Committee appointed by Simon Commission and presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, p. 172.

27. Studies and Reports, No. VII, by Sir Philip Hartog (Oxford, 1939), pp. 50-1.

28. Quoted in "A History of the Press in India", by S. Natarajan, pp. 132-3

29. A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, pp. 141-2

30. The fall in the number is presumably due to the Non-Co-operation Movement.

31. Cf. A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, p. 139.

CHAPTER XLI

LITERATURE

I. BENGALI

Many of the seeds sown and the first tentative beginnings made in the nineteenth century ripen into full maturity in the twentieth Prose which had just begun its first faltering steps in the beginning of the previous century grew into a fully developed instrument of expression with Bankim-chandra and soon caught up with the progress of poetry, its senior by at least five centuries, in range and variety of expressiveness and the subtle delicacy of its tones and cadences. The most rapid and spectacular progress was achieved in the field of the novel and the short story. Literary criticism and belles-lettres also made big strides- forward and attained an international outlook and standard of achievement. Drama, never as completely naturalised in Bengali soil as other branches of literature, nevertheless achieved its most significant triumphs with the setting in of the flood-tide of patriotic emotion in the early decades of the twentieth century. The dramatists belonged to the old generation, but the dramas shifted their emphasis from the old devotional sentiments to the new political fervour and their scenes from the Puranas to history, remote or slightly removed in time. The growth of monthly journals and magazines also testified to a widening range of interests in the ordinary reader much more intellectually developed than in the previous century. Above all, the full efflorescence of the genius of Rablndra-nath, whose life-span was almost equally divided between the two centuries but whose amazing record of many-sided achievements was fully disclosed only during the twentieth, transcended all departmental divisions and almost upset the slow process of evolution followed in historical surveys, blazing a trail of almost blinding glory on the entire domain of Bengali literature.

1. Rablndra-nath

Rabindra-nath (1861-1941), the survey of whose entire work has been left over to the present volume, really carried over the spirit of the nineteenth century with its deep religious convictions, its firm faith in the idealistic values of human life and its all-pervasive sense of beauty and order, into the somewhat unsettled and experimental temper of the following century. He assimilated the

lessons of the revolutionary transition, its doubts and problems, its negative approach to life and demolition of old certitudes, with an anguish of soul, upheld and fortified by an unshakable faith in the ultimate beneficence of the meaning of life. The whole of his literary career affords a unique evidence of the triumph of beauty and moral order in a world disintegrating before his very eyes. It is this which makes his appeal of such supreme interest not merely to his own country but to universal humanity yearning for a message of hope in the midst of the collapse of the entire fabric of civilisation. It is this which has made him a world-poet, although he wrote in a provincial language functioning within very narrow limits.

(a) Poetry

Rabindra-nath’s poetry falls into six well-marked divisions. The first period (1882-1886) comprises Sandhyd Saiigit (1882), Prabhdt San git (1883), Chhabi-O-Gan (1884) and Kadi-O-Komal (1886). These youthful productions are marked by a vague yearning and wistful melancholy of the poetic soul not yet sure of itself, which looks at life through a hazy, uncertain mist, with colour and music divorced from clearness of ideas and depth of perception, and in the last poem an overcharged sensuousness of passion presented with some maturity of powers. Through these immature exercises, Rablndra-nath is not only learning his poetic craft but discovering himself. The dreamland through which the poet moves is pierced through with occasional flashes of genuine vision and the master passion of love, which Rablndra-nath presents in such an astonishing diversity of ways, gradually supplies him with the key to the understanding of life.

In the second period, consisting of Mdnasi (1890), Sonar Tafi (1893), Chitrd (1896), Chaitdli (1896) and Kalpana (1900) Rablndranath attains the fulness of self-realisation in one of its aspects. The mists have lifted, clear, bright sunlight floods the landscape, the imagination has grown steady and luminous, the sense of form has deepened to keep pace with the penetrating suggestiveness of the ideas and the poet’s distinctive philosophy of life, profoundly romantic and mystical, has emerged in all its clarity. Poems of

Nature and of Love show a surprising diversity of form and inspiration and an inexhaustible variety of metrical forms forges a perfect vehicle for the ever-varied patterns of moods and emotions of the poet. This period is specially remarkable for the Jivana-devata conception, a realisation of the capricious and inscrutable workings of the mystery of the poetic imagination, touched sometimes by the playful fancy of love and sometimes spiritualised into a kinship with the sportive Divine Ilia pervading both human life and the cosmic universe. In Kalpand there is a wonderful realisation of ancient Indian life and manners and of the glamour of Sanskrit poetic style, whereas in Kshanika we find the sportive fancy of the poet making light of all his philosophies of life and love and creating a sort of ideal vacuum to be filled in by his devotional poems.

The third phase comprising Naivedya (1901), Kheya (1906), Gltdnjali (1910), Gitimaiya and Gitdti (1914) is steeped in the fervour of divine love and of the yearning for divine communion. It is this phase of Rablndra-nath's poetry, his mystic passion for God, that was made known to the western world through his English translations, and made of him a world-figure in poetry, leading on the one hand to immediate extravagant praise, and later on to an undeserved neglect, by people who came to know him as an exclusively religious poet. Kathd o Kdhinl (1900) affords another proof of the versatility of Rabindra-nath, in which he makes the past heroic episodes of Indian history live before us with superb narrative directness, intermingled with apposite reflections and comments but free from any excess of imaginative subtlety.

In the fourth phase represented by Baldka (1916), Purabl (1925) and Mahud (1929), Rablndra-nath breaks fresh ground. Baldka , in particular, marks a turning point in the development of the poet's ideas and verse-craft. Here the poet introduces an intellectual profundity, the stimulus of new ideas, a quickening awareness of social and political problems thrown up by the ferment of the first world-war. The creative evolution of Bergson is blended with strange effect with the Upanishadic idea of a ceaseless progressive movement and freedom from attachment as the sine qua non of a spiritual life. The verse form of irregular length and free and unhampered movement from line to line very aptly brings out the sweep and rush of thoughts that forge their poetic expression through their own momentum. Purabl and Mahud mark a resurgence of the poet's old feeling for love and sensuous, passionate imagery, touched with a new intellectual vigour and the philosophic meditation of autumnal ripeness.

The next phase marks a new experiment in the abandonment of the time-honoured verse forms and the adoption of a naked, bare, unadorned style shorn as far as possible of the special graces of poetry. These writings, known as prose-poems, include Punascha (1932), Sesh Saptak (1935), Patraputa (1936) and Syamali (1937). They may be said to illustrate in Bengali poetry the kind of experiment made by Wordsworth in his Lyrical Ballads to show the identity between the language of prose and verse, Rablndra-nath tries, as a mature poet and in the fulness of his powers,- what Wordsworth had attempted as a novice. And Rabmdra-n&th seeks to rely on the weight of his metaphysical and artistic reflections as a substitute for the regular metrical scheme and the rhythmic harmony of poetry as commonly practised; whereas Wordsworth gives us generally flat stories from rustic life at its lowest. Thus the results in the two cases are not quite the same. Wordsworth's successes are due mainly to his mystic faith in the dignity and emotional intensity of rustic life : Rabindra-nath's triumphs are due to the essential nobility of his thought, though there are occasions when he follows Wordsworth in giving us pointless, insipid details from low-level life. Wordsworth never discarded the verse-form; and the effect is sometimes comical because of the incongruity between the metrical pattern and the triviality of the thoughts. v Rablndra-nath always maintains a distinction and elevation of tone, and makes us half reconciled to, if not entirely satisfied with, the sacrifice of the last idealising touches of poetry. The prose-poems of Rabindranath, though reaching a high standard themselves and urging a revision of our traditional notions about the essential appeal of poetry, have unfortunately set a fashion in modern Bengali poetry, which is not quite happy in its effects.

In the last period, Rablndra-nath, caught up in the meshes of acute physical suffering brought on by ill-health and disease, reveals himself as a saint and a seer to whom the last secrets of human life and the role played by Death in it have stood unmasked, as in a clairvoyant vision. The poems of Prdntik (1938), Akcis pradip (1939), Sejuti, Navajdtaka (1940), Roga Sayyaya, Arogya and JanmaMne (1941) are bathed in a transcendent light, which illuminates th^ experiences of this life as a transparent medium through which the other-worldly realities vividly make their presence felt. The mists and blurred perceptions of disease in which the whole scheme of creation appears as a misbegotten abortion, and the purged vision of convalescence in which the simple beauties of life are appreciated at their true worth add a fresh chapter to the record of world

* *

poetry. The last three poems ..pffer a wonderful poetic realisation of the truths of Indian philosophy about the relation between the perishable body and *jie immortal soul and show how deep and abiding was the poet's faith in the spiritual intuition^ of his religion. They are like the hymns of the Upanishads, brought back to life after the lapse of millenniums, a rediscovery of the timeless verity in the doubt-distracted, scepticism-ridden life of a scientific and industrial age.

Rablndra-nath's poetry is an inexhaustible store-house of innumerable moods and outlooks ever seized by the Muse of Roetry and translated into terms of significance and beauty. His fecundity is marvellous and command over metrical artistry astonishing. His lyrics and songs, so rich in their infinite diversity, so haunting in their melody, so significant in their idea-values, are enough to assure him a place among the very highest. Above all, he enshrines an ideal of life, a spiritual vision, an exalted moral tone to which the modern world would be sure to return after its present orgy of materialism runs its course.

(b) Short Stories and Novels

Rabindra-nath's contribution to the novel is extraordinary, though it has not the epoch-making character of his poetry. His earliest novels, Bau-thdkurdnir Hat (1882) and Rdjarshi (1885), bear the stamp of the same features of thought and style as his first characteristic poetical utterances like Sandhyd Sangit (1882) and Prabhdt Sangit (1883), and appear almost like story versions of his poetic yearnings and wistful fancies and reflections. Still the novelist has to be more firmly grounded in reality than the poet and must show a more intimate acquaintance with the situations and problems of life. In his first novel Rabmdra-nath gives us the picture of an intolerable tyranny in domestic life which stifles every natural impulse of self-expression and which is vainly sought to be averted by an old man who is the embodiment of the spirit of joy in life. This man of irrepressible gaiety and buoyancy of spirits is a favourite and oft-recurring character in Rabindra-nath's novels and dramas, because of his intuitive grasp of the deeper meaning of human existence. The story is awkwardly conducted and the characters are all mechanical and passive and more like the personifications of abstract ideas than creatures of flesh and blood. The story ends in a catastrophe which is never acquiesced in by the judgment of the reader and the picture of life is quite unconvincing. The second novel, Rdjarshi (1885), is a great advance upon the first and turns upon a conflict between the opposite principles of formal ritualism and the religion of the heart. Raghupati is the exponent of the former and Maharaja Gobinda-manikya is the champion of a religion based upon the promptings of the heart, whereas Jayasimha is torn between his conflicting loyalties to the two ideals. The characters are much more clearly conceived and the cause of action and the acute inner and outer conflicts are much more poignantly realised. A historical background is set up to lend more emphasis and definiteness to the religious conflict, but the novelist does not quite succeed in making history fit in with the main narrative. There is just a hint of melodrama in Jayasimha's self" immolation overlaying a genuine tragic impressiveness.

After an interval of seventeen years since his first apprentice work, Rablndra-nath returned to the form with a series of masterpieces —Chokher Bali (1902), Naukadnbi (1905) and Gord (1909). In the meantime he had developed mature powers as a poet and also perfected the form of the short story. In these novels Rabindra-nath struck out a distinctly new line of approach and treatment and shook himself free from the influence of his great predecessor, Bankim-Chandra. Bankim-chandra, besides exploring with superb success the resources of the historical novel, also interested himself in the vein of romance and mystical, superhuman elements that were implicit in the rhythm of Bengali life. Even his novels of domestic misunderstanding and tragedy were not without an element of fatalism and mysterious coincidences. Providence justified itself in the denouement of most of his novels, while the romance of history and religion interwove itself in the texture of normal human occurrences. Bankim also followed the method of suggestiveness rather than the realistic method of minute portrayal of motives and actions.

Rablndra-nath relied upon the detailed psychological method, in which incidents and intentions are marshalled in a close array and every step in the evolution of the story and character is subjected to a process of minute analysis. He seeks his relief not in romance which had gradually faded away out of Bengali life, or in that intervention of destiny which had ceased to dominate the faith of the people, but in the rich, transforming power of the poetic imagination which he utilised in the interpretation of character and elucidation of motives whenever he felt tired of the rigours of realism. The result has been that in most of 'Rabindranath's novels we seem to be breathing in two heterogeneous atmospheres, either simultaneously or in succession. In Chokher BMi } while we follow the carefully calculated moves of the young widow, Binodim, to seduce Mahendra out of his conjugal fidelity, and are about to set her down as a heartless coquette without any redeeming tenderness in her character, she suddenly reveals herself as wrapped up in the dreams of ideal love. Rabindra-nath is hardly conscious that there is any gulf to be bridged between the two aspects of Binodini. Mahendra is transformed by his unsettling experiences from a self-willed young man to a desperado ready to trample upon most delicate sanctities of family life: but in the end he returns to the domestic fold, sober and chastened. The novelist shrewdly reveals unsuspected elements of weakness in even the most normal and respectable characters. But it is evident that his real interest is not so much in probing and dissection, as in resolving conflict into ideal poetic harmony.

In Naukadnbi Rablndra-nath is tired of psychology and reverts to the romance of mistaken identity, the motive of the comedy of errors with consequent entanglements in situation and feeling. Much of it is taken up with the charming description of a boat journey in diverting and enjoyable company, in which everything is peaceful and soothing except the gnawing uneasiness in the heart of a couple in equivocal position. The novel ends, albeit at the cost of some probability, in a happy reunion of the misplaced couples and in the vindication of the time-honoured ideal of conjugal fidelity. No intricate problem taxes the energy of the novelist, who feels himself in a very relaxed mood and surrendering to the enchantment of a folklore atmosphere in the midst of reality.

Gord is the greatest of all Rablndra-nath's novels, combining an epic breadth of canvas with a rich delineation of character and a crowded picture of contemporary life. The full turmoil of the age with its political passions and religious controversies threw up personalities at once representative and individual and filled the pages qf the novel with a dynamic and varied energy of life. Gora, the hero, was the son of an Irishman. He lost his parents in the Sepoy Mutiny, and ignorant of his birth, was reared up as the child of a Hindu family. Very curiously, he developed a stern and uncompromising Hindu orthodoxy and an ardent and passionate patriotism that brought him into sharp conflict both with political authority and social and religious latitudinarianism. He even broke with his friends and family on the minutest issues of conscience and duty and was the centre of a perpetual storm raging round him. He sternly repressed his love for Sucharita on account of her belonging to the heretical Brahma sect and for the first time felt the throes of self-introspection alien to his direct and forthright nature. The religious battle is much more interesting and drew within its orbit not merely fierce zealots on both sides but ardent and sincere souls striving to realise the essential spirit of religion. Paresh Babu on the Brahma side and Anandamayi within the Hindu fold had to suffer social ostracism because of their exceptional liberality of outlook and neglect of dogmas and rituals. At long last, Gora comes to know the secret of his birth and after shaking off the barriers of orthodoxy is restored to his right relations with his environment. His patriotism takes a wider meaning and loses its narrow aggressiveness. The novel is a masterpiece of dialectical skill in the conducting of religious disputes and presents us with a number of men and women throbbing with vitality and alive to the fingertips. The novel is an epic of the life of Bengal in the early years of the twentieth century when modernity was establishing itself as a stable shaping force in society.

Rabindra-nath's novels subsequent to Gora—Ghcire Vdire (1918), Chaturaiiga (1916), Yogayoga (1929), Sesher Kavitd (1930), and slighter sketches such as Dui Bon (1933), Mdlancha (1934), Char Adhydya (1934) and Tin Sangl (1941)—representing a shift of emphasis and method may be more briefly treated. The author's view of life was now contracted to significant fragments marked by a special interest of situation and character instead of being spread over representative aspects. The method that he usually follows is that of epigrammatic condensation and rapid general survey rather than detailed consecutive narration. The situations that he explores are the problems of exceptional personalities in unusual circumstances. Ghcire Vdire and Char Adhydya deal with the terrorist movement in Bengal which unhinged the equilibrium of minds and created violent revulsions in the ideals of conduct. Rablndra-nath was in imperfect sympathy with political anarchism, because it also brought in its train moral disintegration; for him the end never justified the means. His picture of the revolutionary movement has been impugned as one-sided and partial, but a novelist is not bound like a chronicler to present the whole truth. He is free to choose what suits his artistic purpose, provided that his choice does not amount to a flagrant perversion of truth.

Chaturanga is a story of hectic changes in human relations and feelings brought about in theory-ridden minds under the influence of rapid shifting of situations. In this novel the changes depicted, though testifying to great delicacy of touch and psychological insight, are too swift for coherent presentation, and the final impression leaves us dazed rather than fully satisfied.

Yogayoga and Sesher Kavitd reveal brilliant, if uncoordinated, powers, though they can hardly be acclaimed as showing mastery of form and consistent greatness as works of fiction. Stark realism and idealised romance, penetrative characterisation and half-satirical caricatures are somewhat incongruously mixed together in the novels. The final impression in the former is one of bewildered uncertainty and in the latter a triumph of ideal truth over a realistic conclusion, suggesting a closer approximation of the novel to the imaginative atmosphere of poetry. Habindra-nath as a novelist leans rather too heavily on his resources as a poet and his legacy, while extorting admiration and applause, can hardly be claimed to stand in the direct line of the development of the novel.

As a writer of the short story, Rabindra-nath stands easily among the master artists according to the most exacting world-standards. As against the novels, where poetry and realism stand in a loose, rather uneasy alliance, in the short story, there is an exquisite fusion between the two elements, resulting in consummate perfection of form and an almost lyrical unity of impression. Their variety of interests and subjects is wonderful; their insight into the very spirit of Bengali life in all its phases is marvellous. The family life of Bengal, with its intricate network of rights and obligations, its conflicts and contradictions, its flow and flux and frustration of feelings, has been probed with a surprising sureness of touch. Psychology and poetic feeling, idealising sentiments and emotions in the context of the coarseness and triviality of average life have been rendered in a fine and intimate fusion, though there are cases in which one feels an overbalance of poetic impression. The Bengali's faith in the unexpected and supernatural finds expression in some stories, sometimes with a touch of picturesque exoticism, and sometimes with a weird and uncanny effect ensured through deft psychological manipulation. In some stories human figures have been suffused with Nature-magic and transformed into the human counterparts of the silent, pervasive passivity of the life of Nature.

Near about the third decade of the twentieth century Rabindranath's short stories underwent a change of spirit and technique parallel to the change that overtook his novels. They came to acquire a sharp polemical tone, a tone of pungent social criticism and a pre-occupation with aggressively eccentric and abnormal individuality. Rabindra-nath was quick to sense and seize the change that came over Bengali manners as a result of the gradual infiltration of the experimenting, irreverent Western spirit. Criticism may be in its place in the novel, but in the short story it might tend to spoil harmony of effect and balance of form. Characters and situations bristling with the sharp-pointed spikes of eccentricity may administer a shock of surprise and rouse the mind from the lethargy of custom, but they are ill calculated to crystallise into deeply felt emotions and a mood of placid and unreserved acceptance. Rabindra-nath's short stories not only are rich with the sap of the immemorial social order, a long-cultivated sense of beauty and fitness, but also offer the acrid savour of freshly turnedup soil, of experimental life with its raw young demands and untested satisfactions.

(c) Drama and non-fictional Prose

The dramatic form was not quite congenial to Rabindra-nath's genius, being intertwined with and partially obstructed by an excess of lyricism and song and by an over-insistent and ever-recurring philosophy of life. He begins with song-drama and ends in dance-drama. In the intervening period are interspersed dramas of different kinds and inspirations—-the regular five-act dramas of passion and conflict, the drama of ideas, lyrical narratives dramatic in form though hardly conceived in the spirit of drama, the symbolic drama dealing with spiritual problems and intuitions, and humorous comedies and farces exploring the effects of fantastic and ridiculous situations, not without occasional touches of pathos and poetry. His dramatic output is considerable in bulk and varied in its contents, but still one feels that the dramatic spirit was not quite inevitable in him. He changes the forms of his dramas again and again and does not seem confident of having attained final perfection in any of his versions. Many of his dramas are dramatised versions of novels and short stories written as the result of after-thought and not as a spontaneous, first-time response to a given situation.

Among the best of his dramas in all kinds may be mentioned Raja O Rdnl (1889), Visarjan (1890) and Mdlinl (1896) among the regularly constructed plays of tragic conflict, and Tapatl (1929;, a refashioned version of Rdjd O Rani, designed to achieve more purely tragic effects but missing its mark because of the unbalanced shifting of focus; poetic dramas, e.g. Chitrdngadd (1892) and Karna-Kuntv Sarhbad (1900), where the dramatic effect is weakened and diluted by a predominantly lyrical treatment of passion; symbolic dramas, e.g. Rdjd (1910), appearing in a new version as Arup Ratan (1920), Sdradotsav, rechristened as Rin-Sodh (1921), Muktadhdrd (1925). Rakta Karabt (1926), and comedies, e.g. Gordy Galad

(1892), rewritten as £esh Rakshd (1928), Baikunther Khdtd (1897) and Prajd patir Nirbandha (1908) dramatised as Chira Kumar Sahhd (1926) bubbling over with fun and wit and an ever-flowing current of good humour. The Rabindra drama stands slightly apart from the main line of dramatic tradition, but may perhaps contain promise and fruitful hints of the drama of the future.

As a prose writer Tagore shows the same inexhaustible variety of forms and richness of effects as in his other forms. Travelaccounts, essays,—political, social, religious and pesrsonal-—, literary appreciations ranging over a very wide field, emotional and imaginative writings in which prose is lifted to the levels of poetry and touched with the rhythm and cadence of verse, testify to his astonishing versatility and the wide-arching range of his interests. Of him,

more than of Dryden to whom the praise was given, it may be truly affirmed that he has equal mastery in both the forms and instruments of expression. He travelled widely over all the continents, and except for the juvenile impressions of his earlier visits to England has left records of his experiences and reflections revealing his deep insight into life and manners. His political, social and religious essays show a keen dialectic power, close-knit logic and telling sarcasm and a high ideal that judges the shortcomings of foreign rule or degradation of a politically subject and custom-ridden people against a background of exalted and uncompromising ethical standards. They are, however, a little too prolix, long-winded and repetitive to a fault, so that in spite of their brilliance they are apt to prove a little tiresome. His religious essays, however, are marked by a fine spiritual intuition and offer new and striking interpretation of the inner import of customary observances and the fossilised rituals of Hinduism. But his personal and imaginative essays are the best of the kind in world-literature, combining a rare sense of style with a subtle play of the imagination and enshrining moods and outlooks of profound appeal.

Rablndra-nath’s literary criticisms, though restricted to a somewhat narrow compass, offer fine examples of penetrating judgment and interpretation, and their originality and delicacy of perceptions have given them the rank of creative literature. He is not only illuminating in his exposition of first principles and aesthetic canons^ but remarkable in his application of these principles to individual authors and books. His excursions in the field of ancient Sanskrit literature amount almost to re-creations of the literature and of the inspirations that gave it birth, and have opened new vistas in our mental horizon. His studies in modern literature, though not penetrating so deep as in the case of Sanskrit, are nevertheless stimulating and are replete with evidences of insight and discrimination. He also gives us a brilliant reconstruction of the background of folk-poetry. The poet in him is always at work, whatever may be his field of interest and whatever the instrument he handles. Among writings of perennial interest in Rablndra-nath's prose may be mentioned Panchabhut (1897) which makes abstract discussion piquant by setting it in a loosely conceived dramatic context and intermingling points of view with glimpses into character. The volumes of literary criticism comprise Sanity a, Sdhityer Pathe, Prdchin Sdhitya, Lok Sdhitya and Adhunik Sdhitya, the sheafs of personal essays collected in Bichitra Prabandha, and lyrical rhapsodies bound in prose rhythm in Lipikd in which the dividing line between prose and poetry has been almost obliterated. These will

shine as lustrous gems in the double crown which encircles Rabindranath's head as a master artist in both prose and poetry.

2. Post-Rablndra-nath Bengali Literature

(a) Poetry

Bengali poetry, immediately after Rablndra-nath and previous to the advent of the ultra-modern group, is dominated by the influence of Rablndra-nath. Whatever the individual peculiarities of each poet, they cannot just escape the all-pervasive solar presence of the great poet. They continue and consolidate the Rablndra tradition, if in a diluted and slightly imitative form, and -within the narrower orbit of humbler subjects, not offering a full scope to Rabindranath's soaring genius.

Among immediate disciples may be mentioned Jatlndra-mohan Bagchi (1877-1948) and Karuna-nidhan Bandyopadhyaya (1877-1955). They try to apply Rabindra-nath's technique and style to domestic subjects, glorifying the old ideals of social conduct and the timehonoured spirit of religious devotion. To this range of feelings, lowflying and limited, Karuna-nidhan adds sometimes a dreamy haziness of vision and an exuberance of colouring, rather uneven in its distribution and unexpected in a poet of quiet rural feelings. Jatindramohan is the better controlled artist and regulates his pitch of emotion more steadily, moving with even footsteps on a path chalked out by Rablndra-nath.

A second class consists of poets who were genuine admirers of Rablndra-nath, but reconciled this worship of the master with following independent tracks dictated by their own poetic needs. Among this class may be included Pramatha Chaudhuri (18681946), Satyendra-nath Datta (1882-1922), Mohit-lal Majumdar (1888-1952), Jatlndra-nath Sengupta (1887-1954) and Nazrul Islam (born 1899). Pramatha Chaudhuri was an anti-romantic intellectual poet, cultivating the French ideals of lucidity, precision and a tone of dry persiflage in his utterances and a special master of the sonnet form with its condensation of ideas.

Satyendra-nath Datta was the poet of fancy and of metrical innovations, having introduced and naturalised a great number of new and untried metrical patterns in Bengali poetry. His poetry was more marked for topical interests, matters of ephemeral appeal than for deep and abiding inspiration. He sometimes achieves eerie effects out of his light-hearted play of fancy and translates the rhythms of every-day occupations into the rarer atmosphere of poetry. He also enjoyed a great contemporary reputation as a translator of the great poems of many different languages, and some of his translations, notably from French poetry and from Shelley and Swinburne, are examples of consummate success in the reproduction of the spirit and atmosphere of the original. He adds a note of excitement and effervescence, of a restless, all-probing curiosity, and of mobile experiment in the somewhat staid and over-punctilious sphere of Bengali poetry,

Mohit-lal Majumdar achieved greatness both as a poet and a literary critic. His poetic output is rather thin and marked by the unusual feature of over-charged sensuousness and a languorous magnificence of style. In many of his poems there is a synthesis between classical austerity and romantic feeling for beauty. He has nothing in common with the exaltation of the spiritual element in life which is an inheritance from the Vaishnava tradition and is strongly re-inforced by the example of Rablndra-nath, but boldly and unapologetically proclaims the pagan enjoyment of life as the highest ideal for man. As a critic his work is expected to have more lasting influence, though his sympathies are limited by a too rigid principle of exclusion.

Jatindfa-nath Sengupta affects to repudiate the romantic and spiritual values in life so deep-rooted in the Bengali temperament, and to proclaim an agnostic philosophy of extreme and unredeemed suffering. But there is so much of romantic glamour in his very repudiation of romance, so much of an ill-suppressed agony in his ironical denial of the benevolence of Providence, that his scepticism itself has something of the appeal of a positive faith. And in the poems of his later period, he puts off the mask and reveals himself as a worshipper of love and beauty. His poetry has an acid taste which is the more enjoyable by reason of its contrast with the almost exclusive cultivation of sugared sentiments in contemporary poetry.

Kazi Nazrul Islam is primarily a rebel and it was his impulse of rebellion that drove him into poetic utterance. He poured so much of impetuous passion and of iconoclastic zeal, and was so impatient of the cultivation of artistic beauty as such, that it was only his irrepressible native genius that enabled him to overcome his turbid emotions and discipline them into some sort of ordered poetic harmony. It was like the eruption of a volcano that fitted itself into the rhythm of a metrical pattern and lyric order. Somewhat later in life, when his passions cooled and w*ere exhausted by their very intemperance, the true poetic vein in him which underlay his stormy instincts came out in exquisite response to the subtler appeals of love and beauty. His lyrics of love and nature breathe a dreamy, languorous enchantment, standing at the opposite pole to the musical clang and rhetorical vehemence of his impetuous youth. But unfortunately his muse was silejiced before the chastening influence of reflective wisdom and a profound knowledge of life could add weight of meaning to its emotional fervour, and he stands today as a somewhat tragic monument of unfulfilled possibilities.

The present generation of poets in Bengali literature stands alien to its past traditions. They have been deeply influenced by the pessimism and despair of contemporary Western poetry and bear upon them deep trace of influence of Elliot and Spender, Subtle allusiveness, a lack of consecutive ideas and of a close-knit and coherent structure, an aimless drift and an all but complete indifference to the traditional graces of poetry are relieved by occasional lines of a suggestive beauty and a presage of the new vision that is slowly taking shape out of the wreck of the old.

Among the moderns, Jibanananda Das (1899-1954) stands alone, though his influence upon the younger poets has been considerable. His poems are steeped in an imaginative vision hardly related to real life but deriving from it poetic symbols for sustaining and suffusing his dream-yearnings for an unrealisable beauty. This allpervasive atmosphere of haunting, visionary suggestiveness and the soft, delicate quality of his sense-impressions which are not knit up into coherence of meaning but resolve themselves into rippling undertones of music, mark him out as an essentially romantic poet in an age of stark, coarse-grained revolt and disillusionment. Among the many others w T ho are now older poets and those who are just rising into fame, mention may be made of the late Sudhlndra-nath Datta who achieved some distinction in thought and style and succeeded in building up a new technique. Others, though distinguished in many respects, must abide the judgment of time.

(b) Short stories, Novels and other Prose Writings

It is in the field of the short story and the novel that the twentieth century has surpassed and improved upon the record of the nineteenth. Rabindra-nath will always remain an unapproachable figure, but with this inevitable exception, Bengali fiction in both its forms has forged ahead and hit more varied and difficult targets. The complexity of modern life, its vastly increased scope of interests and entanglements, its loosening of social and domestic ties and more richly experimental outlook, its international contacts and expanding horizons, the emergence of a new rhythm of individual life— all have been reflected in the fiction of the day with much keener intellectual curiosity, if not with more impeccable artistic form.

And in at least one novelist, Sarat-chandra Chatterjee (1876-1938), it has produced a writer who has revolutionised the whole outlook of the cultured man towards the old social restrictions and ideals, and implanted the seeds of a new intellectual and moral freedom which will regulate the human relationships of the future.

Sarat-chandra had the magic touch to transform at a bound the narrow medieval outlook of the Bengali mind into the free and elastic modern conception of life. He awakened our social conscience from the slumber of centuries by his deeply sympathetic treatment of the unmerited suffering of the victims of social injustice. He showed up the iniquity of our treatment of women in denying them even elementary justice. Above all, with subtle psychological insight he revealed the true workings of love and other elementary passions whose reality had been obscured to us under the distortion of conventional values. His novels brought home to us that love is something elusive and unpredictable and no synonym for conjugal constancy, that one recognises its true nature not through books but through the insight of direct experience. They also demonstrated the devious course of affection in our family life which tends to flow through underground and unexpected channels. Though he protested against the abuse of social authority and the tyranny of customs, yet he was steadfastly loyal to the old ideals in their unperverted purity. His women are specially dynamic figures and show a surprising initiative and clearness of vision, when his men are frequently wavering and undecided. He has extended the scope of our knowledge of life by his vivid portraiture of abnormal characters—Bohemians, questionable characters, eccentrics, persons of a philosophic detachment of temper, and others belonging to the remote fringes of society. Bengali life stands revealed in his novels in a new light, with new dimensions, under the grip of strange doubts and torments of the soul, struggling through many vicissitudes to a fresh realisation of its inmost nature. Among his more outstanding works may be mentioned Palli Samdj (1916), Charitrahlna (1917), Srikanta in four parts (1917-1933), a novel of autobiographical interest, Grihadaha (1920), Father Dabi (1926), a novel of the revolutionary movement, once prescribed by the British Government, and Sesh Prasna (1931).

Prabhat-kumar Mukhopadhyaya (1873-1932), more famous as a writer of short stories, and in his novels reflecting the earlier happy temper of Bengali life, also deserves mention.

The twentieth century is the age of women novelists who became equipped through the educational progress of women to put to literary use their loving and minute observation of family life and excelled particularly in unfolding the hidden soul of their own sex. The major women novelists of the period are Nirupama Devi, Anurupa Devi (1882-1958), Sita Devi, and Santa Devi, who strike a definitely feminine note in the Bengali novel. Among more recent women novelists Jyotirmayl Devi, Asapurna Devi, Pratibha Basu, Mahasveta Bhattacharyya and a few others have made notable contributions, but owing to the equalising tendencies of a more democratic age, the distinctive feminine note is not as well marked in them as in the group of their predecessors.

Among writers of humorous fiction, Trailokya-nath Mukhopadhyaya (1847-1919) was a pioneer, being followed by Jogendra-chandra Bose, Indra-nath Bandyopadhyaya, Kedar-nath Bandyopadhyaya, Rajsekhar Bose writing under the pseudonym of Parasuram, and Bibhuti-bhushan Mukhopadhyaya.

The tradition of the serious problem novel was maintained by Naresh-chandra Sengupta, who introduced the motives of sex and crime with sufficient psychological power backed up by a probing intellect; Charu-chandra Bandyopadhyaya, and Upendra-nath Gahgo* padhyaya. Buddha-dev Basu, Achintya-kumar Sengupta, Dhurjati-prasad Mukhopadhyaya, and Annada-sankar Raya represent a younger generation with a new technique and wider and more diverse interests of life.

Premendra Mitra, Probodh-kumar Sanyal and Manik Bandyopadhyaya (1910-1956) approach life with a special theory-bias and tend to concentrate on its morbid aspects* They are unconventionally anti-romantic in their attitude and Manik in particular writes under Freudian inspiration. But they are all gifted writers and make up by brilliance what they may lack in naturalness.

The romantic view of life is not without its exponents. Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyaya (1894-1950) brought to bear upon the novel a cosmic range of imagination and a profound absorption in the peaceful beauty and benign influence of nature. His Father Panchali (1929), Apardjita and Ar any aka (1939) inaugurated a new genre, which has not been further explored. Tarasankar Bandyopadhyaya (b. 1898) is the most outstanding of the living novelists of today and over and above initiating new trends of inspiration has a few undoubted masterpieces to his credit. Manoj Basu, &aradindu Banerjee, Narayan Gangopadhyaya are writers who follow the romance of history and adventure as a welcome relief to the overwrought realism of the age, while Balai-chand Mukhopadhyaya is ever experimenting with new forms and motives and bidding fair to expand the horizon of the novel.

Some very young novelists are also engaged in ploughing the field and raising promising harvest, helping in opening up limitless vistas in the future of the Bengali novel. But for limitation of space it is not possible to include them in this survey.

The short story in Bengali is really progressive and this is the only field where we may claim to have advanced beyond the limits set by Rablndra-nath. But beyond this general statement, no detailed survey is possible for obvious reasons.

Non-fictional prose has not kept up the heights reached by Rablndra-nath. Among writers who have cultivated the essay and conferred some distinction upon the form mention may be made of Ramendra-sundar Trivedi (1864-1919), who gave a literary grace and philosophical breadth of view to recent advance in scientific knowledge, and Pramatha Chaudhurl (1868-1946), the editor of Sabuj Patra, whose Birbaler Hal Khdtd achieved a rare distinction in a successful application of the language of refined conversation and of light-hearted wit and humour in .the presentation of serious subjects. Mohit-lal Majumdar (1888-1952), already dealt with as a poet, also made notable contributions to literary criticism in Bengali. But the record under this head is not as bright as might have been expected. We may reasonably expect that as the need for more serious prose is increasingly felt, the last quarter of the twentieth century may achieve something to redress the balance and to supply the deficiency in this direction.

II. ASSAMESE

Among the Assamese writers of note whose main activities fall in the 20th century the following deserve special mention: Hem-chandra Gosvami (1879-1928); educationist, historian, editor of old texts, essayist: he edited on behalf of the University of Calcutta three big volumes of Typical Selections from Assamese Literature , as part of the University of Calcutta programme to encourage the study of Assamese and the development of its literature by making it a subject for the M.A. Examination; Rajanl-kanta Bardalai (1867-1939); outstanding novelist, mostly of historical themes; Satya-nath Bora (1860-1925), essayist; Kamala-kanta Bhaftacharya who became a Brahma or reformed Hindu with a passionate zeal against the evils of orthodox religion which he looked at with Brahma eyes—as a reformer he fought against caste and untouchability and advocated widow-remarriage and was a powerful poet of patriotic sentiments; Hite£var Barbarua (1887-1939), poet with three, long narrative poems in blank verse and some volumes of lyrics; Chandra-dhar Barbarua (born 1884), poet; Chandra-kumar

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Agarwala (1867-1938), a lyrical poet of great power, nationalist as well as preacher of -universal brotherhood; Padma-nath Gohain Barua, a prose writer; Benu-dhar Raj-khowa (1872-1935), author of some comic dramas, in a reformist spirit; Raghu-nath Chaudhari (born 1890), a poet with inspiration from nature and one of the most popular in Assamese; Ambika-giri Ray Chaudhari (born 1885), a poet of Indian nationalism; Durgesvar Sarma (born 1885), whose writings are in a philosophical vein.

The writers of the present day are quite numerous in Assamese, and mention may be made of the names of the most significant of them: Sarat-chandra GosvamI (1886-1944: short story writer); Dandi-nath Kalita, poet and satirist; Jatindra-nath Duara, a poet who has lived mostly in Calcutta, and who translated the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam from Fitzgerald's English; Ratna-kanta Barkakati, lyric poet; Nalinl-bala Devi, poetess; Mafizuddin Ahmad, poet of religious mysticism; and Dimbesvar Noog, Sailadhar Rajkhowa and Binanda-chandra Barua, all poets of distinction; Atul-chandra Hajarika, dramatist, who wrote on themes from the Puranas; Jyoti-prasad Agarwala, perhaps the most significant contributor to the

Assamese drama; novelist of note like Radhika-mohan GosvamI, Muhammad Piyar, and Naba-kanta Barua; short story-writers like Abdul Malik, Jogesh Das, Kesav Mahanta, Manik Das and Dhlrendranath Bhattacharya; and drama-wwiters with a new outlook like Ravm Barua and Sarada Bardalai.

III. ORIYA

Reference has been made above 1 to the "illustrious trio" in Oriya literature —Phakir-mohan Senapati, Radha-nath Raya and Madhu-sudan Rao, who died, respectively, in 1918, 1908, and 1912 and were thus all alive at the beginning of the period under review. The impetus they gave to Oriya literature bore fruit and many writers followed in their footsteps. Of particular mterest is the growth of modern type of drama which was introduced by Rama-safikara Raya whose literary activity continued till 1917, as mentioned above. 2

Among the modern dramatists may be mentioned Asvini-kumara Ghosha (author of the Konarka, 1927), Godavarlsa Misra (a great political and social leader of Orissa: his Purushottama-deva appeared in 1918, giving the story of King Purushottama-deva and Princess Padmavatl, as in the romantic poem, the Kanchi-Kaveri); Chandrasekhara Pam, and Kall-charana Pattanayaka.

During the lull between the two World Wars, following the movement for a rationalistic and non-sentimental, as opposed to the pietistic and orthodox, approach to life and literature, which

was started in Bengal during the second decade of this centurj by Pramatha Chaudhuri (editor of the Sabuj Patra), a similar progressive and intellectual movement came into being in Oriya literature also, Rabindra-nath Tagore also exerted a tremendous influence on this group, which called itself Sabuja or The Green Group/ and which included, among others, writers, like Kalindicharana Panigrahi, Sarat-chandra Mukherji, Baikuntha-natha Pattanayaka, Harihara Mahanti, and Haris-chandra Badala. Visvanatha Kara,, editor of the journal Utkala Sdhitya, gave this group his great support. Annada-sahkara Raya, one of the foremost writers of Bengali at the present day, was a member of this group, and as such he contributed articles, poems, and translations in Oriya which won high approbation—he has been, a real link between Oriya and Bengali, and Oriya writers deplore that he is now concentrating on Bengali and not writing in Oriya any more.

Of the present-day writers of Orissa, we can enumerate the following; Nanda-kisora Bal whose Palli-chitra , in 8 cantos, gives a very beautiful picture of Oriya village life; Cangadhara Meher (who wrote under the inspiration of Radha-natha Raya); Chintamani Mahanti, Kuntala-kumarl Sabat, Utkala-bharati, a lyric poetess of great distinction; Baikuntha-natha Pattanayaka; Prof. Narayanamohana De (much influenced by English poetry), and Niladri Das a. Gopa-bandhu Dasa (1887-1828: one of the makers of Modern Orissa in the domains of educational and political advancement and social service), Nllakantha Dasa, and Codavarlsa Misra, formed a trio who founded the school at SatyavadI near Puri (which formed the first centre of their activities) and 'whose writings, mostly in the form of essays, evoked the sentiments of patriotism and a desire to serve the people in the minds of the Oriya-reading public. Ananta Pattanayaka and Bichhanda Pattanayaka are poets,' in addition to others; and the most esteemed novelists are Umesa Sarakara, Divyasirhha Panigrahi, Gopala Praharaja (humorist and satirist and compiler of the great Oriya Lexicon the Purnachandra Odid-bhasha kosha : died 1950), and KalindLcharana Panigrahi, a prose-writer and a realistic novelist of the first rank, whose greatest creation is his novel Mdtira Manisa (the Man of Earth), giving a very true and very sympathetic picture of Oriya life; he is also a poet of eminence.

Sachl-kanta Ray is the great innovator of the ultra modern note in present-day Oriya poetry. The modern approach and modern technique were taken up by other writers like Codavarlsa Mahapatra (a nationalist poet and story-writer), Dr. Mayadhara Manasirhha (a poet, primarily of love, and a good critic), and Ananta Pattanayaka and Manomohana Misra who are leftist ‘poets of the people’, besides Nityananda Mahapatra and Kunja-biharl Dasa, both poets. Apart from Godavarlsa Mahapatra, other story-writers are Kanhu-charana Mahanti, Upendra-kisora Dasa and Govinda-chandra Tripathi, besides Raja-kisora Raya, Raja-kisora Pattanayaka, Surendra-natha Mahanti, Kamala-kanta Dasa, Udava-natha Shadangi, and Kanhu-charana's younger brother Gopi-natha.

The best prose-writers are Madhu-sudana Dasa, Visva-natha Kara, Basudeva Mahapatra, Ratnakara Pati, Sasi-bhushana Raya Braja-bihari Mahanti, Bipina-bihari Raya, Mrityuhjaya Ratha, Chintamani Acharya (former Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University) and Professor Artavaliabha Mahanti, distinguished as an editor of early Oriya texts. Prabhasa-chandra Satpati is known for his translations into Oriya of foreign classics, apart from Udaya-natha Shadangl, Sunanda Kara, Narayana-chandra Mahanti and Surendranatha DwivedI, and Godavarisa Misra of the earlier generation.

Tarini-charana Ratha and Goplnatha Nanda, Prof. Girija-sankara Raya, Pandit Bi nay aka Misra, Pandit Nilakantha Dasa, Prof. Garuikumara Brahma, Bichhanda-charana Pattanayaka, Paramananda Acharya, Kedara-natha Mahapatra, Krupasindhu Misra, Sarvanarayana Dasa, Jagabandhu Siriiha, Krushna-chandra Panigrahi, Pyari-mohana Acharya, Satya-narayana Raj a guru and Harekrushna Mahatab are critics and essayists and historians; Dr. Harekrushna Mahatab, formerly Governor of Bombay State, and Chief Minister of Orissa, has a place of special eminence in Oriya life and Oriya literature, as a political leader and as a thought-leader, writer and organiser. Apart from history, he has essayed also poetry and fiction.

Oriya literature on the whole is flowing as a quiet stream, depicting the quiet flow of Oriya life which is not overmuch disturbed by events of an earth-shaking type which have taken place in some of the other States. It reflects the character of an industrious and peace-loving and highly artistic people who have made in the past notable contributions to Indian civilization in art and literature (Orissan architecture and sculpture of the past is one of the glories of India).

IV. HINDI

The Hindi writers of the late 19th century, mentioned in the preceding volume, had a tendency to display their knowledge of Urdu-Persian as well as of Sanskrit. It was not till about the beginning of the period under review when a standard literary language was established that this tendency disappeared. This was mainly due to Premchand (1880-1936) mentioned in the preceding volume. He had already established his reputation as an Urdu novelist, but when he changed over to Hindi the decisive step had been taken and Hindi finally shook off the allurements of UrduPersian. Mahavir Prasad Dvivedi also contributed to this result. His ‘devotion, integrity, and indefatigable zeal’ as Editor of the S&rCisvaii (1903-20) established him as the architect of Hindi prose.

From the time of Haris-chandra up to the end of the nineteenth century the influence of English had generally been imbibed through Bengali.

Premchand was the most prominent novelist and short-story writer. His works were translated into Indian languages like Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, and Tamil, and into English and Russian. Jayasankar Prasad (1890-1938), who distinguished himself as a romantic and mystic poet as well as a writer of historical drama, also wrote some social novels, two of which (Chhayd and Akas-dip) possess a lyric quality. There are some powerful novelists writing in the modern realistic as well as psychological vein, among whom the most prominent are Pande Bachchan Sarma Ugra whose realism at one time disconcerted the Hindl-reading public, and Jinendra Kumar, the leader of the psychological novelists in Hindi. Of an altogether different vein is the writer of historical novels, Brindaban Lai Varma, whose romantic-realistic revivification of Medieval Indian history has given him a special place in Hindi fiction. Among other writers of fiction may be mentioned Bhagavatl Prasad Bajpeyi who is rather inclined towards risque in the relations between man and woman; Yas Pal evoking ancient history as in his Divya and a powerful and Marxist writer, sometimes giving an undue emphasis on sex; Upendranath Ashk; S. H. Vatsyayan Ajneya; Ramchandra Tewarl and Amritlal Nagar, authors of two novels centering round the Bengal famine of 1943; Bhagavatl-charan Varma who wanted to emancipate Hindi novel from romanticism and idealism; Dr. Dev Raji Dhar-Vir; Ilachand Joshi, a Freudian protagonist; besides others, either following the ordinary grooves of illustrious fiction, or romantic history, or “progressive” tendencies of modern European writers, or even propaganda of a particular “ism” (as for example the communist scholar Rahula Sankrityayana), or idealistic reconstruction of the past, e.g. Hazari Prasad Dvivedi, Sivapujan Sahay, Radhikaraman Sirnha, etc.

In addition to the Hindi poets mentioned in the preceding volume, some of whom continued their literary activities for three or even more decades in the present century, there were a few others w T ho have left a distinct impress on the development of Hindi poetry. Among these may be mentioned Suryakanta Tripathl ‘Nirala’ (1897-i.967), who brought in a completely new movement in Hindi —ih freeing the metre from the bonds of rhyme and fixed length.

and In bringing into it a new modernistic mystic note known .as chhdyd-vdda (literally “Shadow School”); Sumitra-nandan. Pant (born 1900), also an innovator in modernistic vein; Mahadevi Varma (born 1907), a poetess, also in the mystic vein; and the late Jayasankar Prasad, noted as a dramatist as well as novelist, and also one of the innovators, author of the Kdmdyant, a popular Hindi poem on the destiny of Man treated on the background of Hindu myth. There is a good deal of influence of the Bengali poets, particularly Rabindra-nath Tagore, on this new school, as well as of English poets of the romantic schools. Maithili Saran Gupta, who was looked upon as the doyen of Hindi poets during his last years was a good Bengali scholar, and he translated Michael Madhusudan Datta’s epic Meghanad-vadha into Hindi. In his Sdketa and Yasodhard, long narrative poems, there is an evocation of the spirit of ancient India in a remarkable way: the former poem gives a beautiful treatment of a theme put forward by Rablndra-nath in one of his literary essays, where Urmila, the wife of Lakshmana in the Rdmdyana, is treated as a heroine ‘neglected’ (upekshitd) by the great author of the epic.

Other poets in Hindi are quite numerous, writing in the accepted style of poetry. With the innovators, the Khar! Boll form of Hind! has come to its own, although the Braj-bhasa dialect still flourishes, and some Awadhi also.

The other well-known poets of Hindi now are grimatl Subhadrakumar! Chauhan, Pandit Makhaalal Chaturvedi, Balkrishna 6arma ‘Navin’, Ramdhari Singh ‘Dinkar , Bharat Bhush an Agarwal, Mohanlal Mahato ‘Viyogr, Kedarriath Misra ‘Prabhat’, Janakiballabh Sastri ‘Suman’, Dr. Rangeya Raghav, and the novelist S. H. Vatsyayan ‘Ajneya’, besides others.

Speakers of distinct dialects and even languages all over ‘Hindi Samsdr* or the Hindi World are now acquiring Hindi at school, and they are all helping to build up a great means of expression through Hindi. Side by side with this love for Hindi and an appreciation of its value as a great linking force, there is occasionally a wistful solicitude for the speeches other than Khari-Boli Hindi; but the literary force of Hindi is now growing from strength to strength. Hindi is producing a mass of literature of information, of criticism, of religion; and a large amount of general prose literature, scientific and informative, which is so necessary for the mental development of a people, is coming into existence in Hindi. Among the powerful essayists, historians, philosophers and other prose writers of Hind! at the present day may be mentioned Dr. Hazari-prasad DvivedT, Sivapujan Sahay, Dr. Pitambar-datU Barthwal, Biswanath-prasad Miira,

Mata-prasad Gupta, Sri Nagendra, Prof. Nand-Dulare Bajpeyi, Prof. Film-Ellas Sarma, Prabhakar Mach we (a Maharashtrian), Sri Kesarl Kumar, Jagadls Pandeya, Sri Naresh, Dr. Vasudeva Sarana Agarwala and Chandraball Pande,

The present-day writers of Hindi are quite numerous, and they represent a population of 140 to 150 millions. This vast population ready to receive Hindi works is offering to Hindi a greater opportunity than any other Indian language. With the spread of a modernistic culture which is not divorced from the bases of Indianism, with a scientific attitude not too much bound up by the tradition and at the same time alive to the permanent and universal qualities of the Indian mind, Hindi literature is certain to rise to unpremeditated heights in the near future, provided there is allowed the fullest play of the modern spirit of curiosity and rationality.

V. PANJABI

Modern Panjabi literature begins with the works of the Sikh poet Bhai Vlr Singh, Padma-bhushana (1872-1957). His Rand Surat Singh (1S05), a long narrative poem of 13,000 lines in a sort of blank verse (called Srikhandl

Chhand) of 20 morae, with the caesura after the 11th, in 35 cantos, is an outstanding work in Panjabi. The story is romantic with an allegorical idea —ithe heroine Rani Ray Kaur stands for the soul, and the hero, her husband Rana Surat Singh, represents the Godhead, The work is thus one of religious mysticism in its essence, and its general background is that of the Adi-Granth. Vlr Singh also wrote one of the earliest novels in Panjabi, Sundarl (1897), which is a tragic story of Sikh heroism; he was quite a pioneer in this line too. His biography of Guru Nanak is a wellknown modern classic of Panjabi (1928), as also is his biography of Guru Govind Singh (1925). He made very important contributions to the study of the Granth Sahib , and of Sikh history and religion. He wrote also shorter poems and lyrics, some of which have been translated into English by Bhai Puran Singh (Nargas: Songs of a Sikh by Bhai Vir Singh: London, 1924). Bhai Vlr Singh was also a distinguished prose writer.

Puran Singh (1882-1932) has been called the Tagore of Panjabi. He is well-known to readers of Modern Indian Literature in English translation by his Sisters of the Spinning Wheel (London, Dent) and Unstrung Beads (London, Dent), his versions of a number of his own poems and of portions from the Guru-Granth. He is a very human poet, full of profound fellow-feeling for man, deep emotion and sensibility and an intense love of the beautiful and th.e good in Indian village life. There is a considerable amount

of English influence on his poetry. Collections of his important writings in Panjabi appeared as early as 1923 and 1925. As an essayist of great power, Puran Singh (in his Rule Lekh, 1929) has his own place in Panjabi prose. He was largely influenced by

Rablndra-nath Tagore.

Some other important poets have appeared in Panjabi contemporaneously with Bhai Vir Singh. Kirpa Singh (1879-1939) is wellknown for his long romantic poem with a historical background, the Lakshmi Devi (1920-21), full of adventure. His language has been praised for its simplicity, and for being true to the speech of the people, and his poetic qualities of imagination and his power of nature-description are of a really high order. Dhani Ram Chatrik (1876-1954) is a poet of nature; his Himdla, Gaiigci, Rat are noteworthy, as well as a poem Kora Qddir, where we have his passionate cry against the division of humanity through diversity of creed.

The most popular poet of Panjabi at the present day is Mohan Singh (also known by his former pen name ‘Mahir’) who has been described as occupying “the central place in Panjabi letters today”. He is one of the pioneers of a modern outlook in life and things in Panjabi. Other poets of note are Pritam Singh Saflr, and 6rimati Amrita Pritam. The new spirit in Panjabi literature is also well represented by Sant Singh Sekhon, Gopal Singh Dardi, Kartar Singh Duggal, Kulwant Singh Virk, Devindar Satyarthi and Surindar Singh Narula. The last is more representative of the new trends in his works of fiction, like Poe Puttar (Father and Son), relating to Panjabi life in Amritsar, Rang Mahal (the story of a middle-class family), Nili Bar (depicting conditions in West Panjab, with influx of Sikh settlers from the East among the local peoples) and Lok Dushman (treating of the struggle between landlords and peasants in East Panjab).

There is a handful of Panjabi writers in other departments of modern literature, like the novel and the short story, the drama and general prose writing. English influence is manifest everyhere. Early in this century, the drama in Panjabi came to the front, and I. C. Nanda and Gurbakhsh Singh came forward with a number of plays, of which the former’s Suhhadrd (1920), and the latter’s Pur ah te Pacham (East and West) and Nawd Canarn (New Light) are social plays with criticisms of modern ways and with a statement of conflicts of ideals. Kirpa Singh, the poet, also wrote a historical play, Ran jit Singh (1923).

Nanak Singh is the most popular novelist and short-story writer. His writings all have a great sympathy for the poor and the down trodden. He is quite a voluminous writer, with some 100 short stories to his credit. Kartar Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh are other story-wr iters, the former being more psychological, and the latter full of reforming zeal. Gurbakhsh Singh is also a w r riter of emotional prose. Other prose writers of note are Teja Singh, and Har-Dayal Singh.

VI. GUJARAT!

About 1905 new national and political forces begin to thicken in the atmosphere of India. Discontent against the British power increases and the heart of the people inclines to extremism in politics. In active political life in Gujarat there were some lone voices like Ambalal Sakarlal preaching Swadeshi. These were expressions of liberal thinking and polite discontent, but in Gujarat they were virtually ineffectual, In this hour of crisis Mahatma Gandhi arrived from Africa and settled in Ahmedabad, By 1920 Gandhiji was enthroned in the country's heart and all activities of the nation took on a universal and realistic shape. At first, there was somewhat of an ebb in creative literature and scholarship in Gujarat; devotion to them as vehicles of self-expression declined; but never before had India witnessed such a purposeful spirit of adventure, devoted in selfless activity with nation-wide influence. It incalculably raised the moral stature of the Indian people. About 1930 it became the leaven of Indian life and an intense literary inspiration. Even in the absence of the great movements of Gandhiji, initiated with the new ethical technique of non-violence, for the true and total emancipation of the land, writers of genius and learning, such as Nanalal Kavi, Khabardar and B.K. Thakor, Anandashankar Dhruva and Narasimharao Divatia would have continued to write and to influence the minds of people, but they had, with the advent of Gandhiji, to answer in argument or in art the urgent questions posed by him. The response to the Mahatma's thought and life was by 1930 both creative and critical. The new intellectual ferment encouraged initiative and change in social relations, education, scholarship, art and literature. In fact there was a revolution in the ethos of the people. Kaniyalal Munshi (b. 1887), Ramanlal Desai (1892-1954), Gaurishankar Joshi-— ("Phumaketu" (1892-1965) and Zaverchand Meghani (1896-1947) were men of genius and were on the horizon by 1925, but the personality of Gandhiji and the new spirit engendered by him made a difference. Munshi's best work is as a writer of historical novels (Patan-ni Prabhuta, Gujarat-no Nath, Prithvi-vallaabh , Jay Somanath, etc.). They are all marked by romantic setting, lively characters and dramatic movement of action. Ramanlal was essentially a novelist of

contemporary middle class life (Kokila, Divyachakshu, etc.) "Dhumketu" was the first great short-story writer with a Wordsworthian sentiment for the simple poor folk. Meghani having the same feeling for the countryside exploited folk-lore, revived the romances of battle and love of long ago in a vibrant medium of language and style that bore the stamp of oral delivery before large audiences. The novel as handled in this period by Munshi and Ramanlal attained an easy simplicity of form, brisk movement and crisp style. It was brought within the range of ordinary taste. There is an artistic fusion in both Munshi and Ramanlal of the dramatic and narrative, of the picturesque and the poetic, of sentiment and satire. Munshi has more vigour; Ramanlal more delicacy. Munshi has also given fair examples of tragedy (Tarpan), comedy (Kaka-ni Shashi) } and historical play (Dhruvaswdminl Devi). Folk literature came, through Meghani's efforts, to be committed to letters; it became a general influence. Its value was discerned and assimilated into the literature of the time. The current of folklore now joined the wider stream of culture. Literature expressive of tender sympathy with the rural folk—the peasant, the labourer, the underdog and the outcaste-—came into vogue. Belles-lettres could not escape the tide of socialism which aimed at the uplift of the oppressed. Both the beauty and the misery of rural and unsophisticated life are vividly depicted in the short stories of "Dhumketu", in Ag-gadi, a comi-tragedy by Chandravadan Mehta, and in the novels (Malela Jiva, etc.) of Pannalal (b. 1912) Ramanlal Desai in his novels, "Dhumketu" and Ramnarayan Pathak (1887-1955) in their romantic and realistic short stories, Kalelkar (b. 1885) and Jyotindra Dave in their romantic or humorous essays reach a certain level of beauty and purport and establish the genres in distinctive forms. In the critical essays of Vijayray Vaidya (b. 1897) and Vishvanath Bhatt (b. 1898) literary perception embodies aesthetic values and becomes itself creative. The tradition of examining Indian concepts of Rasa in the light of Western criticism and contemporary literature continues.

The social and political ideals cherished by this age as also the personal emotions of the poets have been exquisitely rendered into poems by "Sundaram" (b. 1908) and Urnashankar Joshi (b. 1911). They are the leading poets of the age. They are scholars and their creative activity is not confined to poetry. Umashankar's poetry, marked by delicate and noble sensibility and a perfection of form, has been the receptacle of contemporary national inspiration along with the dynamic influence of Western classics. It contemplates a reconciliation of the two large cultural streams of the East and the West. It experiments without abjuring tradition in technique, and its spirit remains essentially Indian. “Sundaram”, in his early phase, had similar inspiration and urgency of tone. His poetry showed keener realism and bolder vigour. But in the later phase it has found fulfilment in the beauty he perceived in Sri Arabinda’s sublime world-view and his spiritual message. His poetry of religious quest and earnestness is as much a landmark in Gujarati literature as his earlier poetry of social zeal. Munsukhlal Jhaveri, Sundarji Betai and Ramanarayan Pathak are other notable voices in poetry. All of them show a love of formal beauty and restrained emotion.

Gandhiji (1869-1948) is the spirit that breathes life through this age and embodies it. His universally beneficial activity resulted in giving new proofs of the power of Gujarati language, which he wielded with set purpose and surprising dexterity. He was not a man of letters, he was a man of action; but the energy, lucidity, and economy of his language for the expression of truth as he felt it won for him a unique place in Gujarati literature. The missionary that he was in all walks of life, he brought into his language an emotional quality, a spontaneous fervour and a spiritual grace. The entire body of his writings and speeches is characterised by a plainness that never falters into banality, an easy simplicity that does not deteriorate into dullness, and a. noble seriousness that avoids both subtlety and sophistry. The harmony of thought and word and purpose in Gandhiji’s writings leads to fine distinction of meaning between phrase and phrase, and to justness and grace of language. His autobiography should easily find a high place in the world’s literature. It is a masterpiece of candour, humility, dignity and an unceasing quest of Truth.

Among men of letters who were Gandhiji's close associates in his programmes of service of the people were pandits, trained in native tradition, men of university learning and scholarship, thinkers and poets. Chief among them from the literary point of view were Kakasaheb Kalelkar the essayist, Kishorlal Mashruwala the philosophic thinker (1899-1952), Mahadevbhai Desai the diarist (1892-1942), Ramnarayan Pathak the critic, and Pandit Sukhlalji the Jain scholar (b, 1880). Such books as Mahadevbhai’s volumes of Diaries, Mashruwala’s Samuli Kranti, and the novels of Manubhai Pancholi—“Darshak”—are as readable and thought-provoking to-day as they are representative of the age. Kalelkar in his numerous essays interpreted religious ideas and customs in aesthetic terms with a delicate sense of beauty and humour.

pujarati language by 1947 was also cultivated by popular newspapers and literary journals. It has become an adequate and flexible instrument for higher instruction and discourse, as fit for inquiry and reflection as for poetic fancy and rhetoric. Various styles in prose have evolved—from the elaborately expansive of Govardhanram and the intricately taut of Thakore, to the simple and glistening or conversational and familiar of Gandhiji, Munshi, Romania!, Dhumketu, Ramnarayan and Jyotindra Dave. Literary genres have developed and come to stay: the novel, the short story, serious and light essay, biography and autobiography, letter and reminiscence, diary and travelogue, one-act play, narrative lyric, the sonnet, ode, elegy and lyrical drama. Not that in ail these genres Gujarati literature has attained a classical height, but it can certainly claim a distinctive achievement in the novel, the short story, autobiography, diary, the lyric and the lyrical drama. To think only of the period 1905-1947, the lyrics of Nanalal, Thakore, Umashankar and "Sundaram", the novels of Munshi, Ramanlal Desai and Pannalal, the short stories of Dhumketu and Ramnarayan Pathak, the plays of Munshi, Batubhai Umarwadia and Chandravadan Mehta, the essays of Narsimharao Divatia, Kalelkar, Vijavray Vaidya, and Jyotindra Dave, the critical, social and philosophic thought of Anandashankar, Gandhiji and Mashruwala, the scrupulously faithful Diaries of Mahadev Desai, would enrich the literary heritage of any language. With similar cultural background and identical literary and social influences, this achievement has naturally its counterparts in other Indian literatures. According to competent judgment, it may be added, it compares well with them.

VII. MARATHI

The eighties of the 19th century saw the rise of ail major forms in Marathi literature. The essay, which was nurtured by Lokhitwadi and a host of other writers during the forties, fifties and sixties and which attain status in the 'Nihandhamala' of Chip* lunkar, flourished towards the close of the century because of the arrival of Tilak, Agarkar, Shivarampant Paranjape and others on the literary scene. The essay thrives on controversy and there was nothing if not controversy in the writings of Tilak, Agarkar and Shivarampant Paranjape. They were veteran thinkers, educationists, and social and political reformers, and in their hands the essay blossomed in all its stylistic splendour. Tilak brought it precision and force of persuasive and provocative argument, while Agarkar embellished it with clarity of thinking, a thorough rational attitude, courage of conviction, transparent sincerity and fearlessness. Shivarampant Paranjape, an extremist in political thought and a conservative in social thought, brought to the form a mind which was that of a poet and a brilliant satirist. His writings were more in the mode of Chiplunkar than that of Tilak, whose political philosophy he followed. He had a lively imagination which noted parallels in history and the epics with the contemporary political situation and with the use of metaphor, allegory and inversion brilliantly satirised the rulers. The essay in his hands took enchanting forms and captivated the hearts of thousands. The British were forced to ban his writings, which have since then carved for themselves a special niche in modern Marathi literature; but the writer who really enriched the essay and brought to the notice of the reader its rich potentialities during the entire period under review was N. C. Kelkar. He, first as Tilak's trusted colleague and then as editor of the Kesari, stayed in all-India political arena till his death in 1948, but he was not interested merely in active politics. His interests were varied; history, philosophy, literature, political science, and sociology engaged his equal attention, and his writings covered all these fields of study. He was a great seeker and disseminator of knowledge. His varied interests and his sense of humour helped to make his essay luminous: history came to the help of literature and literature to the help of philosophy. He loved the form and adorned it with his copious writings. In his hands the form shed some of its formal, rigid aspect and took on the informality of the personal essay. Kelkar was the last of the great essayists. Achyutrao Kolhatkar, a veteran journalist, is also a name to be reckoned in this connection. His essay, which was mainly journalistic, sparkled with eloquence and wit. He gave it attractive forms and enhanced its readability. Modern Marathi weekly journalism owes a great debt to Kolhatkar. The essay has during the last thirty years lost its enthusiasts. There are many who write brilliant critical articles and papers on different subjects, but there are very few who consciously practise the essay.

It will not be out of place here to mention the growth of the humorous essay during this period. Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar was the first to write in this genre and his essays, which are collected under the title Sudamyache Pohe, are full of brilliant wit and scathing satire. He was a master of epigram and paradox and he used these effectively to ridicule the meaningless and harmful social and religious practices. Gadkari, who followed in the footsteps of Kolhatkar, was more of a wit than of a satirist, and though his humorous writing delighted the reader it did not disturb him. But the epigrammatic and paradoxical style of writing that Kolhatkar forged caught on; and Marathi humorous essay thrived during the last thirty years under the penmanship of C. V. Joshi, P. K. Atre, Shamrao Oak, P. L. Deshpande and others.

The personal essay owed its birth mainly to the efforts of Prof. N. S. Phadke who in 1925 wrote his first Gujgoshthi in Ratnakar, The form became instantly popular and the thirties saw a host of writers who practised the personal essay. Prominent among them w r ere Anant Kanekar and V. S. Khandekar who gave it lustre because of their colourful literary personalities; but it soon lost its original vigour and freshness and fell into a dead routine. The forties saw a steady deterioration of the form which very soon failed to attract new talent. Of late there have been noteworthy attempts to revitalize it, in the writings of Vinda Karandikar, Durga Bhagwat, Iravati Karve, Shrinivas Kulkarni and others. These writers do not consciously practise the form as did their predecessors, but write prose that has the freshness, informality and directness of the personal essay.

Keshavasuta, the father of modern Marathi poetry, wrote between 1885-1905. A number of poets sprang up around him and enthusiasm for poetry reached its peak after the death of Keshavasuta in the second decade of the 20th centurv. Rev. N. V. Tilak with his devotionals, Vinayak with his narrative poems, Datta with his song-lyrics and Bee ? with his metaphysical verses contributed their mite to the revolution that Keshavasuta's poetry had brought in, but the compositions of Govindagraj and Balkavi really made modern Marathi poetry popular both among its readers and practitioners.

Govindagraj with his boisterous imagination and arresting diction and Balkavi with his capacity of spontaneous communion with Nature in all its moods, captured the hearts of thousands; but the end of the second decade saw the passing away of all these major poets and there appeared a slight lull in the held of modern poetry.

The twenties saw the rise of Tambe and poets of the ‘Ravikiran Mandal’, a poets’ Sunday-club founded in 1923. Tambe was a contemporary of Keshavasuta but his poetry, which was by nature and texture different from that of Keshavasuta and his other contemporaries, attracted little attention till the death of Govindagraj and Balkavi. A collection of his poems was published in 1920 and it attracted immediate attention. Tambe wrote beautiful songs of love and anguish and his poetry played a great role during the twenties and the thirties in setting the tone of contemporary poetical writings. Poets of the ‘Ravikiran Mandal’ mainly followed in his footsteps and wrote pieces which could be easily sung, and poetry-recitals by poets became the order of the day. Yeshwant, Girlsh, and Madhav Julian were the principal poets of the Mandal. These were times which saw the rise of different forms of poetry like song, sonnet, elegy, narrative poetry etc. There was widespread enthusiasm for poetry which saw the birth of poets* clubs modelled on the ‘Ravikiran MandaF pattern in different cities and towns of Maharashtra. These poets’ clubs brought out their collections of poems, and poetry-readings became very popular. But amidst this boundless enthusiasm for poetry, quality suffered and poetry sometimes reached the level of ordinary verse. Of all the poets of the ‘Ravikiran MandaF, Madhav Julian was a rebel who wrote boldly, tried unfamiliar forms and experimented with the language of poetry. He tried to bring to poetry the abandon of a free-thinker and the methodicity of a scholar. Anant Kanekar who followed in his wake raised his voice against sham romanticism and made poetry more earth-bound. Anil had begun composing in the twenties but came into his own in the thirties and produced beautiful love-lyrics followed by longer reflective poems. He was one of the first to introduce free-verse in modern Marathi poetry. But the names that attracted real attention towards the end of the thirties were those of Kusumagraj and Borkar. Kusumagraj, both a vigorous thinker and an aesthetic, took his inspiration mainly from what was happening around him, and the pieces he produced had both strength of thought and beauty of expression unequalled in current poetical writing. Borkar, a worshipper of the beautiful, the good and the noble in life, mainly followed in the footsteps of Tambe and composed pieces which were both sensuous and musical. And then came P. S. Eege. His was a lone voice. He belonged to no school. An aesthete to his finger tips, he was extremely honest to himself and wrote a language all his own. His poetry has all along remained highly individualistic and is a source of joy and inspiration to many a young poet of the present generation. The other name that stood out in the forties was that of Indira, whose poignant love-lyrics have not yet shed their fresh appeal. The forties gradually saw a change in the nature of Marathi poetical writing, and Mardhekar, who appeared on the scene during the second World War, accelerated this change. His was a poetry of anguish and anger, of disillusion and self-search, devoid of ornament and padding. Its expression was bare and unorthodox but it forged a close link with the mediaeval saint-poets like Tukaram and Ramdas, through its tone and the metres it used. Though Mardhekar got a hot reception from the critics, he made them rethink about the nature and function of poetry, and round about 1947 the literary scene, especially in the field of poetry, changed radically. The present generation of Marathi poets owes allegiance more to Mardhekar and Eege than to poets of the ‘Ravikiran

MandaF,

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Reference has been made above 4 to Hari Narayan Apte whose historical and social novels set a high standard of artistic achievement. He ruled over the literary scene till the end of the second decade of the 20th century and established the norms of novelwriting. The form became popular among the readers during his lifetime and a number of Kadambarimalas and novelists sprang up. They were primarily entertainers and though they helped towards perfecting the craft of fiction, very few among them could be named as his worthy contemporaries. It was in 1915 that Waman Malhar Joshi wrote his first two novels* which were in nature and motivation different from Hari Narayan’s. He was more a philosopher-cum-artist than a social observer, and his novels, which he wrote up to

1937, tended to make the novel more a vehicle of thought than of the social scene. Dr. Ketkar, who was a contemporary of Waman Malhar, was a poor artist, but he brought to the novel the knowledge and vision of a social thinker and an encyclopaedist and widened its canvas. But the novel really became popular in the hands of Prof. N. S. Phadke. Though Phadke continues to write still and enjoys considerable popularity even now, the thirties really saw him at the zenith of his career. The themes he handled were dear to the hearts of the young, and his technique was arresting. He quickened the slow-moving pace of narrative practised by Hari Narayan, and made the novel more shapely. He is a conscious artist who has given an attractive look to all the main aspects of novel writing, like dialogue, plot construction and atmosphere. Phadke naturally was a great influence in shaping the novel of the thirties. Even the novels of Khandekar, Madkholkar and P. Y. Deshpande, in many ways different from those of Phadke, owe much to the norms of novel-writing which he established, Khandekar brought to the novel an idealism which was rather naive but very appealing to young minds. Madkholkar, mainly a political journalist, made the novel more politically alive, and P. Y. Deshpande, who was a peculiar mixture of a visionary and a realist, made it poetic and reflective. The outstanding novel of the thirties is Ranangan (1938) by Vishram Badekar, a story of love, persecution, hate and nobility,—a story of today, yesterday and tomorrow. Badekar did not write anything equal to it again and it remains singular in its unique quality. All the writers mentioned above continued to write in the forties but most of what they wrote w T as just a mixture as before. Mardhekar tried to write a Joycean novel, Ratricha Divasa. in 1942, but it was a failure. The only fictional writing that brought a fresh breeze in the arid field of Marathi novel-writing round about 1947 was that of Shri S. N. Fendse who wrote about the simple joys and sorrows of the people of Konkan with an uncommon understanding of the relationship of man with nature. The novel has since then gained fresh

strength in the writings of Jaiwant Delvi, Udhav Shelkey, Khanoikar, Ranjit Desai, Inamdar, Dandekar, Bhau Padhye and a host of other writers.

Drama had fully come into its own in the first decade of the 20th century after the noteworthy efforts of Annasaheb Kirloskar, Deval and their contemporaries during the last two decades of the 19th century. Along with this extremely popular musical drama, a powerful theatre had also come up with the numerous prose adaptations from Shakespeare. The first decade of this century saw the rise of two dramatists on the Marathi theatre: Shripad Krishna Kolhatkar and K. P. Khadilkar U872-1948). Shripad Krishna was more a wit and a critic than a dramatist, and though he introduced some innovations in dialogue and construction and always looked for original themes for his plays, his works enjoyed a temporary popularity on the stage. But because of his brilliant wit, epigrammatic style and a fine sense of music, he had a good following, and Ram Ganesh Gadkari, Mamasaheb Warerkar and several others acknowledged him as their "Guru". Kakasaheb Khadilkar, whose fine sense of the dramatic art w 7 as fed mainly on Shakespeare, went to mythological and historical themes and pro duced plays which were both stageworthy and extremely meaningful in the contemporary political context. His prose and musical compositions were equally successful on the stage, and his Kichakavadha made such an impact on audiences that it came to be banned by Government. Gadkari, who took inspiration from Kolhatkar, was a gifted writer with a lively imagination matched by surprising command over the language. He wrote plays which had both wit and pathos and were instant success. Though he lacked a sense of artistic proportion, his Ekach Pyala is a tragedy of certain magnitude. The twenties saw the height of Marathi dramatic activity. Warerkar had come on the dramatic scene much earlier, but his dramatic genius followed in the twenties with his Satteche Gulam and other plays for which he found themes in the current politicocultural scene. He was the first to experiment with the one-act-onescene pattern of play-writing. The name that stands out in the Marathi theatre world of the twenties and thirties is that of Madhavrao Joshi, a playwright who took inspiration both from Moliere and the indigenous Marathi Tdmdshd , and produced pieces w T hieh sparkled with satire and had also a touch of vulgarity. His San git Municipality, a scathing satire against Municipal administration, was and is still a stage success. Among the other noteworthy playwrights of the twenties and thirties mention must be made of Khareshastri, N. C. Kelkar, Tipnis, Veer Wamanrao Joshi, Aundhakar and a few others.

With the advent of the talkies in the thirties, drama-theatres were overnight converted into cinema-theatres, and the touring dramatic companies suddenly became homeless. The heyday of the theatre was over. There were desperate attempts to keep it alive. Shorter skits of two hours' duration were written and staged, but failed to attract audience. The dramatic companies had to be disbanded. There was an attempt to inject new blood into the theatre by producing plays written on the Ibsenian pattern with female roles played by women and containing a just few songs: but this attempt also met with failure. The only playwright who stood the test of time was P. K. Atre, w r ho, with his brilliant comedies, farces and melodramas, could attract audience not very eager to visit drama-theatres. His Sashttihga Namaskar was and is still a great draw. The other name that stands out is that of M. G. Rangnekar, who formed a dramatic troupe towards the end of the thirties and staged mostly his own plays. He had mastered the technique of playwriting and production and produced a number of plays in the forties. Of all his plays Kulavadhu was a great success and enjoyed a very long run on the Marathi stage. In 1943 Maharashtra celebrated the centenary of the modern Marathi stage and interest in the theatre revived. There has been a good deal of theatreactivity, both professional and amateur, in the principal cities of Maharashtra ever since. Several adaptations of stageworthy western plays have been made and produced on the Bombay stage. Warerkar, the veteran playwright, with his new plays helped a good deal to keep the theatre alive. The one-act play attracted the attention of writers and extremely well-made one-act plays came to be written and staged round about 1947.

With the appearance of Hari Narayan Apte's weekly Karamanuk (1890) and Kashinath Raghunath Mitra's monthly Manoranjan (1895) the Marathi short story began to come into its own. Writers began to seriously practise the form and by the end of the first decade of the 20th century a band of writers made the form very popular. The foremost among them was Vi that Sitaram Gurjar, a co-editor of the Manoranjan, who brought variety, readability and proportion into the form by modelling his short stories on the Bengali and the English pattern. He translated and adapted many stories from Bengali into Marathi and had a good following. Gokhale, Anandibai Shirke, Sharadashamvasi, Shahakari Krishna, G. G. Limaye and quite a few others helped the growth of the short story during the second decade of the century. But the writer who gave the form its strength and magnitude and helped to increase its potential was Diwakar Krishna. His attempts in the early twenties gave the story a psychological depth which it did not till then possess. The story ceased to be a mere instrument of entertainment in his hands but aimed at a serious purpose. The form was further developed by the stories that appeared in the Rainakar from 1925 onwards under the able stewardship of Prof. N. S. Phadke. N. S. Phadke, Kshamabai Rao, Krishnabai, Manjrekar and several others gave the form a status and strength which it rarely enjoyed in the past.

And then in 1928 came the Yeshwant, a monthly devoted mainly to the short story. It held the first short-story contest in 1930-31, and a host of new short-story writers entered the field. The foremost among them were Y. G. Joshi, V. S. Khandekar, Laxmanrao Sardesai, E. R. Natu, V. V. Bokil, and a few others. The thirties form a period in Marathi critical writing which emphasizes the formal aspect of different genres. There seemed to be an increasing interest in this formal aspect of literature among both critics and creative writers of the time, which degenerated consequently into a stress on the technique. Y. G. Joshi was a writer who sensed this and revolted against this tendency. He wrote stories that stand out among those of his contemporaries on account of their straightforwardness, simplicity and artlessness. Khandekar with his exuberant imagination mainly relied on the metaphor, and his stories, like his novels, moved in an idealistic world; Little reviews like Pratibha, Pdrijdt } Vihangam, Jyoisnd and Samikshd helped the growth of the form in the thirties by producing a band of writers who gave it depth and variety; but there was an overall tendency to make the story more "artistic" and "effective". The writers who contributed significantly to the development of the form during the thirties were, besides those mentioned above, B. D. Gangal, R. B. Joshi, Wamanrao Chorgghade, Kusumavati Deshpande, Anant Kanekar, V. V. Shirwadkar and a few others. But the form lost its freshness and vigour towards the close of the thirties and the short story became more and more schematic.

It was during the second World War that the story came to be revitalised by the efforts of Gangadhar Gadgil, Arvind Gokhale. Vyankatesh Madgulkar, Sadanand Rege, and P. B. Bhave. It ceased to be schematic and narrowly "artistic". It came to rely more on the innate meaningfulness of life-experience than on the deliberate artistic presentation of it. It become satirical, poetical, bizarre, whimsical, deeply psychological, penetratingly realistic and comic. It gave new meaning to the terms “plot” and “character” and gave a helping hand even to the growth of the novel.

VIII. TAMIL

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Twentieth century Tamil literature could be described, not inaptly, the Age of Subramania Bharati. In ancient days Valmlki and Vyasa served human progress in Arvavarta; so too, says Rajaji (Rajagopalachari), “Bharat! has served the Tamils in recent times by his writings”. B bar all died in 1921, hardly forty years old, but already he had fulfilled his mission as incarnate Agastya, giving new life to the Tamil language and literature; although striving against tremendous odds, he had laid firmly the foundations of the Tamil renaissance that we have been witnessing during the last fifty years or more. Mother India and Mother Tamil were to him divine realities, not figurative abstractions; and in their service he found his joy and realisation as a poet. His Collected Poems make a volume of over 600 pages, and comprise patriotic songs, devotional lyrics, prose poems, and the three 'major 5 works Pdnchdli Sapatam (‘Braupadl’s Vow 5), Kannan Pdttu (‘Krishna Songs 5), and Kuyil Pdttu, Bharat! was both an intrepid and original singer, and his poems may be said to have set the pace of the cultural and political regeneration of the Tamils. In Pdnchdli Sapatam , Bharat! made Draupadl’s predicament in the Kaurava court the symbol of enslaved Mother India’s plight in the comity of nations. And, at another level, Draupadl and Mother India became the Great Creatrix, the Parasakti, herself. The poem was, thus, not only a modern version of the Mahabhdrata story, but also a mantra of redemption for the Tamils or an enunciation of the religion of patriotism. In Kannan Pdttu, Krishna mingles in the life-ways of the poet, and becomes now friend, now servant, now mistress, now father, now ruler. He is everybody, and everything, and is intimately involved in the poet’s everyday life. Kuyil Pdttu is a fable that fascinatingly explores the nature of Love, while Oozhi-k-kooihu (Dance of Doom) is the most terrifyingly evocative of Bharati’s lyrics. Although much is lost in translation, here is a rendering of the last stanza of Oozhi’k-koothu:

When Time and the three Worlds Have been cast in a ruinous heap,

When the frenzy has ceased

And a lone splendour has awakened,

Then auspicious £iva appears To quench your terrible thirst.

Now thou smilest and treadst with him The blissful Dance of Life!

Mother, Mother,

You've drawm me To see thee dance! 5

And here are some lines from one of Bharati's prose-poems:

Ah! What shall I say of the greatness of the God who then came out of the piece of rope?

The Wind-God appeared,

I had imagined his form to be monstrously big.

It was bright as a diamond pin.

Namaste Vdyo, tvameva pratyaksham Brahmasi.

Hail Wind! Thou art the visible Supreme.

When he appeared all space was filled, and glowed with 6akti's incandescence.

I worshipped him with a thousand bows. 6 Bharat! was also a master of the 'other harmony' of prose, and he eschewed the pedantic involutions of an earlier day and forged a vigorous, nervous, natural prose that proved a splendid instrument for both practical and artistic purposes. Jndnci Ratham (The Chariot of Knowledge) is an Utopian allegory, and Chinna Sankaran and Chandrikai are fictional narratives which Bharati left incomplete. There is no doubt Bharat! is among the great figures in modern Indian literature, and he is entitled, as Sarojini Naidu remarked, “to rank among those who have transcended all limitation of race, language and continent, and have become the universal possession of mankind”.

Since Bharati’s untimely and tragic death in 1921, modern Tamil literature has taken great strides, and today it has the puissance, versatility and self-confidence that one associates with maturity and strength. For India, the period 1920-1947 w T as the Gandhian Age, our latter-day ‘Heroic Age’; and for Tamil literature, too, the radiance of Gandhi’s personality and the urgency of his political and social gospel were a potent source of inspiration hardly less important than the ringing poetry of Bharat!. More and more the writer’s audience w^as the mass of the people rather than the elite, and this necessarily gave a colloquial ease, vigour and simplicity to verse as well as prose. Political and social protest figured increasingly in popular literature, and Gandhism, Marxism, and Leninism became the fashionable stances of commitment. “The Tamil literature of the modern age”, says T. P. Minakshisundaran, “has all the enthusiasm of this fervour for the regeneration of society in general and of the common man in particular. This has a tendency to engender more heat than light, and sometimes propaganda parades as literature.... The cult of the common man and the poetry of familiar things do not mean the glorification of vulgarity and the popularisation of the lower passions. In this age of the cheap Press, this danger threatens to drive out of the market all other kinds of literature”. 7 But as yet the authentic voices have not been quite stilled; and even in spite of new mass media like the newspaper, the cinema and the radio, the genuine lyric note or^ the responsible voice of persuasion runs no danger of being over* whelmed by the cheap, the loud and the fraudulent.

In poetry, BharatTs work has been continued by Bharat! Dasar (who is known also as a ‘poet of revolution’), and by Sivaprakasam and Mudiarasan. Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai (now ‘Poet Laureate’ in Tamil) is a Gandhian in his way of life, and his muse is pure and undefiled; his long narrative poem, Avanum Avalum (He and She), and numerous lyrics have endeared him to the Tamils. Among other notable poets of our time are Swami Suddhananda Bharafi, T. D. Minakshisundaran, S. S. D. Yogi.

Somasundara Pulavar and Kanna Dasan. Some of the most successful children's poetry has come from Kavimani Desigavinayakam Pillai (who is even otherwise a distinguished poet) and AL Valliappa. And Kothamangalam Subbu and Surabi have published songs with an immediate popular appeal.

In drama, the record is rather less impressive. The plays produced by T. K, S. Brothers or by the All India Radio often reveal considerable merit, but it is the cinema that dominates the scene. Translations or adaptations of Western classics appear occasionally (for example, K. Swaminathan's Kattai Vandi, after W. S. Gilbert), and are produced with success. C. N, Annadurai's Oru Iravu (One Night) and Velaikkdri (Maidservant), with their accent on social criticism, have enjoyed a considerable vogue. Puranic rehashes, sentimental romances, farces, and plays with a rustic slant or charged with social protest or heavy with political propaganda, still seem to find favour with present-day audiences, but serious drama—drama that is also literature—is not as much in evidence as one might wish.

In fiction, on the other hand, there has been increasingly vigorous activity. Western classics, and the better known Bengali, Marathi and Hind! novels, have appeared in Tamil versions. The detective novel has found exponents in J. R. Ranga Raju and others, and Kalki's historical novels (for example, Pdrthipan Kanavu and Sivakamiyin Sapatam) have been widely read and enjoyed. Akilan's novels— Snehithi and Nenjin Alaihal —are in a class apart, being convincing in their character-drawing and evocation of everyday life. Shanker Ram is a gifted story-teller, and novels like Manndsai (Love of the Soil) and Pdrvati are characteristic of his art. Among other novelists who have an established reputation are Ka Naa Subramaniam, M. Varadarajanar, P. M. Kannan, K. Rajavelu, T. N, Kumaraswarni and Senapati.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The successful practitioners of the short story are legion, and there is a living tradition dating at least from V. V. S. Aiyar's Kamala Vijayam and other pieces. Notable among the short-story writers of yesterday and today are Rajaji, Kalki, Akilan, K. V. Jagannathan, Guhapriyai, Konashtai, Kumudini, Periasami Thooran, N. Pitchamurti, Pudumai-pithan, Somu (M. P. Somasundaram), and Rasikan (N. Raghunathan).

Like creative writing, other forms of writing, too, are, as it were, on the march. Rajaji’s abridged Tamil renderings of the Mahdbfoarata and the Rtim&yana, his commentaries on the Gita and the Upanishads , his exposition of the teachings of Tirumular and Sri Ramakrishna, as also his political and polemical writings, have enriched modern Tamil prose and given it a sense of puissance, agility and versatility. T. V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar’s discourses and journalistic writings in the nineteen twenties and thirties gave a new nimhleness, grace and power to Tamil prose, and in fact he has been hailed rightly as one of the shining lights of modern Tamil letters. The passage from the old Punditry, heavy with circumlocution and erudition, and the transitional hybridism of the Anglicised Tamils that might have made angels weep, to the nervous, functional, resilient and vigorous prose of today was effected by alert resourceful spirits like Kalyanasundara Mudaliar. There has also been the swaying between the excessive purism of writers like Maraimalai Adigal (Swami Yedachalam) and the Anglo-SanskriticArabie-Tamil maniprav&la of the easy-going writers and speakers. These birth-pangs are nearly over, and today Tamil prose is really prose, and is recognisable living Tamil.

No doubt present-day prose is not all of a piece: there is plain prose, and there is coloured prose; there are the steely dialecticians, and there are the wizards who purposefully let loose Niagaras of words; there is colloquial prosey and there is ceremonial prose-—yet all, and each in its own way, justifiable in the particular complex of time, place and situation. 'ITiere are perceivable norms, though there is the play of variety, too. Scholars like S. Yaiyapuri Pillai, R. P. Sethu Pillai, M. Raghava Iyengar, S. Somasundara Bharati, T. P. Minakshisundaran and K. V. Jagannathan have generously enriched Tamil prose, and each is master of a style uniquely his own. T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliar was a commentator of genius who loved the poet Kamban “on this side idolatry”, and M. P. Sivagnana Gramani brings to his discourses a compelling force of conviction. Like ‘T.K.C.’, ‘P. Sri’ also has made a name for^ himself as a sensitive commentator on Tamil classics like the Ndlayira Prabandham, and his recent biography of 6ri Ramanuja is a most creditable achievement. Literary criticism has not come of age yet, but in the work of Ka Naa Subramaniam, A. S. Gnanasambandam and others, there is an attempt to fill this void as well. More and more, Tamil writers are turning to subjects like science, history, philosophy, politics and economics, and Tamil is being tempered into a fit instrument for the communication of modern knowledge in all its opulence and complexity.

From the preceding sketches of the various periods of Tamil literature it will be clear that it may, with adequate reason, be considered one of the oldest, richest and most variegated literatures of the world. Some of the Sangam works take us to the first centuries of the Christian era, and certainly the Tamil language must have reached a high degree of organization and become a splendid instrument for literary expression some centuries earlier still. The history of Tamil literature is thus a record of about 2,000 years* almost unbroken history. Tiruvalluvar, Manikkavachakar, Nammaivar, and Kamban are in their unique ways supreme lords of language, and have contributed phenomenally to the world store of knowledge, secular and spiritual. Next only to Sanskrit. Tamil is the oldest as well as the most opulent of Indian literatures, and Tamil is abroad too—-for it is spoken and creatively used in Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji, Mauritius, and elsew r here. Again and again Tamil has had, during its long history, to stand the impact of alien influences and cultures. Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu, French and English, Buddhism, Jainism, Islam and Christianity—these in successive or concurrent waves have threatened to overrun the Tamil language or destroy the character of Tamil culture. But Tamil has always managed to assimilate the foreign matter and retain its own individuality. Uniqueness and vitality are its traditional traits, and these are its distinguishing ‘marks’ even today. When one takes a bird’s-eye-view of the 2,000-year stretch of Tamil literature, one is chastened by a feeling of humility, for it is no mean heritage that one has received from the past; one recapitulates the glories of the Sangam Age; one repeats to oneself Tiruvalluvar’s gem-like iridescent poetic flashes; one finds oneself carried to haven of felicity on the flood-tide of a Manikkavachakar’s or a Namraalvar’s music; one recalls the sinuous dialectic of a Meykandan, one rocks with laughter remembering Kalamegam’s verse, or one exchanges pulse-beats with a latter-day poet like Thayumanavar or Subramania Bharat!—and one awakes from this trance of memory with the conviction that the noons of the future will be worthy of all the past dawns.

IX. TELUGU

There was an all-round progress in different branches of Telugu literature during the period under review. In particular, the two

decades, 19.15-1935, have been regarded by some as the most brilliant period in Andhra history from the literary point of view, com- , parable to the Periclean Age in Athens and Elizabethan Age in England.[8] An important contributory factor to this remarkable development was an almost revolutionary change in the language brought about by G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu (d. 1940) who emancipated it from archaic grammar and introduced the spoken language as the vehicle of literature. This is best illustrated by the contrast between the poems of Tirupati Venkatesvara who follows the old traditions and those of Gurujagia Apparava, the pioneer of the new school.

Lyrical poetry reached a high degree of excellence, its main themes being love in its various forms and appreciation of the beauties of nature. Nanduri Venkata Subbarao wrote exquisite love lyrics in the series Y ehki-Patalu or the songs of Yenki which are regarded by some as ranking among the most beautiful lovepoems in modern Indian literature. Two other great poets were Visvanatha Satyanarayana who was called kavi-samrdt (Emperor • among poets), and Devulapalli Krishnasastn who came to be known as the “Shelley” of Andhra. Another distinguished poet was Rayaprolu Subbaravu who was a student of the school of Santiniketan founded by Rablndra-nath Tagore and translated the writings of the great poet in Telugu. There were other leading poets such as Krishnamurti Sastri, leader of a large group of poets, Tallavajjhula Sivasahkara Sastri, Narayanacharlu Basavaraju Apparao, D. R. Reddi, Mallavarapu Visvesvara Rao, and Buchchi SundarasamT Sastri. All of them and a few others belonged to the old traditional school. Srlrangam Srinivasa Rao belonged to the “progressive” school, while ‘Neo-Classicism’ (as opposed to the earlier Romanticism) is represented by a number of poets such as Nanduri Krishnamacharlu, G. Joshuan, Gadiyaram Sesha-Sastrl and others. Telangana produced two great poets, namely, C. Narayana Reddi and Dasarathi.

The poet Visvanatha Satyanarayana also wrote novels. His best known work is Veyipadagalu (Thousand Snake-hoods) which gives a comprehensive picture of the present Andhra society. Another great novelist is Adavi Bapiraju who is as popular as Visvanatha. Among other distinguished novelists may be mentioned Nori Narasimha Sastri who wrote historical novels, and S. V. Subba Rao (alias Buchchi-Babu) who inaugurated a new style of Telugu prose. There are also a number of short-story writers such as Guglipati Venkatachalam, K. Kutumba Rao, T. Goplchandra, Srlpada Subrahmanya Sastri, Chinta Dikshitulu, Veluri Sivarama Sastri and Palagummi Padmaraju. Telugu seems to be richer in short stories

than long novels. Jonnalagad^a Satya-narayana-murti has translated a large number of English and Bengali short stories.

Dramatic literature has also made a good progress. Gurujada Apparava is the author of the first noteworthy social drama, Kanyl sulkamu (The Bride-price). Among other authors of social plays may be mentioned Visvanatha Satyanarayana, the poet and novelist mentioned above, P. V, Rajamannar, and A. Venkateivara Rao. One-act plays were also written, the most distinguished in the field being Gudipati Veiikatachalam. Among others may be mentioned Rajamannar, mentioned above, Narla Vehkatesvara Rao, Muddukrishna and Acharya Atreya. The one-act play seems to be more popular than full-length play. K. Srinivasa Rao wrote historical plays on Prithvlraja and fall of Vijayanagara. There were several other writers of social and historical plays.

Among other distinguished writers may be mentioned Bhamidipati Kamesvara Rao noted for his humoristic writings in his dramas and skits. The cousins Vasavaraju Appa Rao and Nanduri Subba Rao are noted for the beautiful songs composed and sung by them.

A very important role was played in the development of Telugu literature by the Sahiti Samiti—-a sort of literary fellowship—founded by givasankara Sastri, the “Anna Guru” (Elder Brother), who attracted round him a number of brilliant writers—poets, shortstory writers, and essayists. The movement in favour of adopting spoken language as literary medium was inaugurated by G, V. R. Pantulu, mentioned above, but its success was assured by the practical adoption of this medium by this group of writers. It is not unlikely that they were inspired by the Sahuj Patra movement in Bengali literature by Pramatha Chaudhuri (c. 1915). The Sahiti Samiti counted among its members some of the distinguished authors mentioned above and represented the most progressive and rationalistic element in Telugu thought and letters. They started the journal Sahiti and a few others.

The progress of Telugu literature was helped by a few able critics, and historians of literature. The most distinguished among them was Dr. C, R. Reddy, former Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who was a great literary critic. Many others followed him, such as Potlapalli SItaram Rao, Indrakanti Hanumanta Sastri and Hanumanta Rao.

The autobiography of T. Prakasam is an outstanding work in Telugu literature. The Bengali influence on this literature is testified to by the translation of Bengali novels by Bankim-chandra Chatterji and Ramesh-chandra Datta. The Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1905 had also a great repercussion on TelugU literature.

like the social movements of the 19th century associated with the names of Rammohan Roy, Kesab-chandra Sen and Isvar-chandra Vidyasagar who were also distinguished literary men. Several novels originally written in Hindi and European languages were also translated in Telugu.

X. KANNADA

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The first quarter of the 20th century saw the dawn of modern Kannada writing mostly in the form of journalism, translation and adaptation. The second quarter of this century (roughly from 1920 to 1947) was marked by the rise of a new spirit in all spheres of activity in Karnataka. In respect of literature, it stood for genuine creative self-expression. The progress of Kannada in this period was rapid, varied and remarkable. A new prose, enriched by diversity of styles, came into existence and was fostered alike by journalists and men of letters. The lyric manifested itself in all its richness and fulness. Almost all forms of literary expression known to the modern world were introduced in Kannada and showed signs of maturity in the best writing of the period.

Modern Kannada poetry of this period has much to be proud of, in form and content. All the freedom, the abandon and the variety of romantic poetry is to be found in it. There are new themes and new metres, inspired by the West but adapted to the traditions of India and Karnataka. In the field of lyrical self-expression, poets such as Panje, B. M. Srikanthaiya, D. V. Gunappa, Masti and Bendre blazed the trail. They were followed by K.Y. Puttappa, P. T. Narasimhachar, Madhurachenna, Yihayaka and a host of other gifted poets. Every one of these has struck out a path for himself. Mention may be made of the achievement of Masti in narrative blank verse, of Bendre in sonnet and balladic tunes, of Puttappa in descriptive lyric and of Yinayaka in free verse. Rajaratnam has finely expressed the thoughts and emotions of a rustic drunkard in colloquial style in his songs of Ratna, having a larger significance and power than is apparent.

The modern short story started on its career in the writings of Panje, Kerur and Masti. The short stories of Masti are voluminous and significant in the very simplicity of their narrative art. His long short-story entitled ‘Subbcinna’ stands unique as a character study and deserves to be placed side by side with the best in modern Indian literature. There are other excellent short-story writers like Ananda, Anandakanda, Gorur Ramaswami and Krishnakumar.

The novel appeared in the first decade of this century with original social novel along with translation of Bengali and Marathi

novels. B. Yenkataehar translated Bankim-chandra and Galaganath translated or adapted Hari Narayan Apte. The credit for original fiction goes to Gulwadi, Bolar Kerur and M. S. Puttanna. The Kannada novel got into stride in the second quarter of the century with the coming up of the social novel in the works of Karant, A.N. Krishnarao, KattTmani, Tarasu, Niranjan and Puranik. Many more novelists have come into the field and shown promise. Three big novels of* vast canvas and varied character-study deserve special mention viz, Maralimannige by Karant, Kdnuru Subbamma Heggaditi by Kuvempur, and Samarasave-jivana by Gokak.

The drama, which was mostly confined to professional companies in the early part of the century came into its own later with the rise of gifted dramatists and amateur groups. Original writing in the field of social drama was pioneered by Huiilgol and Kerur. It spurted in the typical plays of T. P. Kaiiasam and Sriranga. Kailasam proved to be an extraordinary dramatic gsnius worthy of notice not only in the Indian scene but also in world drama. Sriranga also deserves praise for trenchant satire and variety of technique. The one-act play is the main forte of both these playwrights, though they have written full-length plays as well. Among others, who enriched Kannada drama, full-length or one-act, one must refer to Karant, A, N. Krishnarao, L. J. Bendre and Enke with commendation.

The modern essay in all its types, chiefly the personal essay, has struck root in the Kannada soil. Shri A. N. Murthy Bao is about the best representative of the personal essay during tills period. Literary criticism, biography and scientific literature have been making good progress, though the supply of books in these categories is not commensurate with the demand.

XL MALAYALAM LITERATURE

1. Novels

The early decades of the 20th century saw the beginning of a period of rapid development in almost all the branches of Mai aval am literature. A good number of talented and academically qualified young men, familiar with the latest trends in English literature, came forward to contribute towards the enrichment of their mother tongue. Their efforts were directed more to the development of prose than of poetry.

The pattern set by Chandu Menon and Raman Pillai 9 was followed by a number of writers. Besides historical and social novels, some writers like Narayana Kurukkal attempted even political novels. But very few of the vast mass of works produced by them have survived the test of time. One good feature was that a number of English novels was translated during that period. Some of the best novels of Sir Walter Scott and Goldsmith’s Vicar of Wakefield were among the earliest works to be rendered into Malayalam.

Special mention has to be made of the translation of some of the famous Bengali novels. C. S. S. Potti, mentioned above, 10 also brought out the Lake of Palms of R. C. Dutt under the title Thala Pushkarani. Kapalakundald by V. Krishnan Thampi, and Krishna Kanthente-Maranapathram and Visha Vruksham by T. C. Kalyani Amma are also translations of Bengali novels by Bankim-chandra Chatterji. Later on, some of the well-known European continental novels were brought out, the pioneering works under the category being Nalappadan's Pavangal and P. K. Karunakara Menon's Kuttavam Sikshayam, the former being the translation of Les Miserahles and the latter of Crime and Punishment.

Among the original novels written at that time only a few are worth mentioning, such as Bhootha Rayar by Appan Thampuran, Keraleswaran by Raman Nambeesan and Chcraman Perumal by Kappana Krishna Menon. Another notable novelist was Sardar K. M. Panikkar who wrote over half a dozen novels of which Kerala simnam, Paranki Padayali, and Kalyanamal are the best known.

As regards the large number of social novels produced at that time, only a few are still remembered, such as Snehalatha by Kannan Menon, Hemalatha by T. K. Velu Pillai and Kambola-balika by N. K. Krishna Pillai. But by far the most inspiring work in this category, produced at that time, was Aphante Makal by Muthirngottu Bhavathrathan Namboodiri, a young Kerala Brahmin, who directed his literary talents towards abolition of old worn-out customs and manners which had been for years the very bane of that community.

2. Short Stories

The short story also came into being by this time and was developing gradually. Oduvil Kunjukrishna Menon, C. Kunjurama Menon, Ampati Narayana Poduval, and K. Sukumaran were the earliest short-story writers. Their works lacked emotional depth and they failed in the creation of characters of any perceptible individuality, but most of these authors had to a certain extent felicity of expression and a touch of humour. Sukumaran especially was a humorous writer.

With the advent of E. V. Krishna Pillai, certain marks of novelty became noticeable in the short story. Though as an essayist he was

essentially a humorist, some short stories, included in the four volumes of his collections, Keleesouclham, prove his capacity to write with considerable emotional appeal. His stories also abound in interesting characters with their own marks of individuality.

3. Social (Prose) Dramas

Educated young men coming out of the University with some knowledge of the works of authors like Sheridan, Goldsmith and others, tried their hands at prose dramas. C. V. Raman Pillai, the novelist, 11 was the pioneer in this field also. Gifted with a very high sense of humour, he had a peculiar knack to write dramas in a lighter vein. His Kurupillakalari published in 1909 marks the appearance of the first original Malayalam prose drama. It is essentially a satirical drama intended to ridicule the hypocrisies that prevailed at the time in Trivandrum society as a result of a tendency among the official classes to imitate western fashions and etiquettes. Following this comedy C. V. wrote seven more plays in the same lighter vein. Himself an actor of extraordinary talent, he often took part in the staging. This also led the way to the birth of the amateur stage.

After his death his son-in-law E. V. Krishna Pillai was the leading force in the writing and acting of dramas. At first he also wrote dramas in a lighter vein in the manner of C. V. Raman Pillai. But later on he turned his attention to dramas of a serious tone based on historical themes akin to those of the novels of the latter. His Sithalekshmi and Raja Kesavadasan are the best known among such dramas. Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai and Kainikkara Kumara Pillai are two other authors who have contributed to the growth of this kind of drama in its initial stages. Padmanabha Pillai’s Kalvariyile Kalpapadapam and Kumara Pillai’s Mohavum Mukthiyum are the best known of their works in this category.

4. Poetry—-The Romantic Impact

Reference has been made above 12 to A. R. Raja Raja Varma. Some of the earliest of younger poets to be inspired by him were Kumaran Asan, V. C.

Balakrishna Panikkar and Vallathol Narayana Menon. Balakrishna, who died at a very young age like the English poet Keats, has left behind him two of the most beautiful and emotional pieces in Malayalam poetry, Oru Vilapam and Viswa Roopam, both of which are characterised by deep emotion and philosophical questionings, natural to Romantic poetry. Kumaran Asan's celebrated poem, Vina Puva (The Fallen Flower), depicts in a symbolic manner the tragedy of human life in a moving and thought-provoking manner. Vallathol's Bandhanasthanaya Anjruddhan, which is characterised by an exceptionally brilliant power

of imagination and deep emotional faculties, depicts a situation from the Puranic story of Usha and Aniruddha, in which the heroine persuades the minister of her father King Ban a to let her meet her lover who had been put in a dungeon of the palace. The bold and daring appeal that Usha makes to the minister, the latter's permission to do the same, and her final interview with her lover are all des^ cribed with the highest emotional effect of a full-fledged romantic poem.

Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer was another veteran to join the new school. Though a poet of very strong classical leanings and attainments, he could feel the signs of the time and adapt himself to its course. He wrote a series of poems like Oru Mazhathulli (A Rain Drop), Vicharadhara etc. in all of which he had excelled as a Romantic poet. Ulloor with his deep scholarship in Puranic and Kavya literature in Sanskrit, was a great advocate of ancient Indian culture as it is reflected in the great epic Mah&bhdrata which was his favourite book. This aspect of his attainment is reflected in his Romantic poems, too.

The three more or less contemporary poets, Asan, Vallathol, and Ulloor considerably enriched Malayalam poetry. Some of their later works reflect social and political movements of the time. Asan's Chandalabhikshuki and Duravastha , for instance, were written wdth the object of exposing in an artistic and critical manner the evils of untouchabiiity prevalent in Kerala. Vallathol's Chakra Gatha, Poara Poara , Khadivasanangal and Ente Gurunathan , written at the time when the non-violent fight of Mahatma Gandhi for the independence of India was at its highest pitch, ring with the spirit of nationalism. Ulloor did not advocate any social or political ideology; but the underlying note of his poems in general is his deep devotion and unstinted admiration for the great moral and spiritual values which, he believed, w r ere the real assets of the ancient social life of India.

There is an impression that after the period of the Trio', as the panel of Asan, Vallathol, and Ulloor is called, there was a decline in the standard of poetry. But this does not appear to be correct. Poets like Nalappattu Narayana Menon (the author of the famous poem Kannuneerthulli) , Pallathu Raman, Kuttippurath Kesavan Nair, and K. M. Panikkar were contributing to the growth of poetry even during the time of the stalwarts. Among the younger writers C. Sankara Kurup and Changampuzha Krishna Pillai were poets of no mean order and they made history by the new paths they opened up in Malayalam. Changampuzha died at the young age of thirty-five, but he made an indelible mark in poetry by his

highly lyrical poems, sometimes full of pathos and occasionally echoing a note of challenge to the existing social and economic inequalities. One of the major poems of Changampuzha was Ramanan which perhaps has enjoyed a greater popularity than any other modern poems in Malayalam, probabably due to its sweet music, pathos and its dramatic form allegorically depicting' the tragic death of the poet's bosom friend, Edapaily Raghavan Filial, who himself had earned equal reputation as a poet of great promise.

Sankara Kurup at present is a poet of all-India renown by his winning of the first 'Jhanapitha Award'. He had, by his symbolic and mystical poems, made his mark in the poetic world even before 1947. There is a high tone of philosophy throughout his poems. The emotional aspect is polished with restraint, and even where patriotism is the leading note his feelings and expressions are disciplined.

5. Growth oj Prose Literature

There 'was no important development in prose literature during the period under review. But under the guidance and inspiration of A. Balakrishna Filial, a progressive school of authors appeared in almost all branches of literature such as novel, short story, drama and criticism. Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai, Kesava Dev, Mohammed Basheer, Karoor Neelakanta

Pillai and S. K. Pottekkad who later on rose to prominence had all appeared on the scene with their early short stories and novels. Dramatists like N. Krishna Pillai, C. J. Thomas, K. Damodaran and Edassery Govindan Nair too had also begun to contribute.

Literary criticism had not developed to any considerable extent since the days of P. K. Narayana Pillai. But A. Balakrishna Pillai, and following him M. P. Paul and Joseph Mundassery, extended its scope by incorporating into it certain aspects of the latest trends in Western literary criticism. They also gave an impetus to progressive trends by encouraging and propagating the new movement known at the time as 'Progressive Literature'.

Very few of the various branches of prose had any considerable development during the period under reference. However, the contributions of writers like Sitharaman, P, K. Raja Raja Varma and Messan—to mention the name of a few who had come to the light before 1947—are worth remembering.

Of the biographies and autobiographies, too, very little need be said. Of such biographies of distinguished personalities, which appeared before 1947, most prominent ones are Moorkkothu Kumaran's Chandu Menon, M. R. Balakrishna Warrier's Kerala Varma Devan : C. Narayana Pillai's Chang anacherry , P. K. Parameswaran Nair's Sahithya Fanchananan and A. D. Harisarma's K. C. Kesava Pillai. A few autobiographies also were published during the period, one of them being E. V. Krishna Pillai's Jeevithasmaranakal and the other, P. K. Narayana Pillai's Smaranamandalam.

XII. SANSKRIT 13

With the dawn of the present century, Sanskrit studies may be said to have become well-settled in their comparatively modern setting. While Pandits who continued on the traditional lines went on composing commentaries or new dialectical works on the different traditional Sdstras or original plays, hymns etc., on the old pattern, there was also the growth of a new literature from Sanskritists who had come into contact with modern knowledge and English literature. These latter produced translations of English poems and works of science and Western philosophy, while quite a considerable number of them turned their creative gifts in Sanskrit to native themes, with love of the ancient heritage and a national feeling animating their writing. The output on both these lines, traditional and modern, has been quite conspicuous, both in quantity and quality.

A noteworthy historical work in Sanskrit of the period under review is the account of the first world war, Ahgla-Jarmanlyuddhavarnana, by Tirumala Bukkhapattanam Srlnivasacharya. In 1913, there appeared from Leipzig, the Jarmanikavya by Raja Syamkumara Tagore. From this, Sanskritists turned to the writing of histories of India in Sanskrit. Lakshminatha Sastrl of Jaipur wrote a Bhdratetivrittasdra. Mm, T. Ganapati Sastrl wrote from Trivandrum his Bhdratdnuvarnana, and Ramavatara Sarnia of Bihar, his Bharatiyam Itivrittam in verse (1929). Appasastrl Rasivadekar wrote in his Journal Samskrita Chandrika a critical review of British rule in his Svadestyakathd. In the fifties, the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishatpatrika, Calcutta, carried a series on Indian history, the Bhdratetihasa.

Sikh history was dealt with in a long 16-canto poem, the Sryankakdvya, by Krishna Kaur. 14 Sripada Sastri Hasurkar of Indore wrote on individual rulers who had proved especially inspiring by their character and achievements: Prithvlraj, Rana Pratap and Sivaji. On Sivaji, Ambikadatta Vyasa of Jaipur composed the Sivardjavijaya. Among the thirty works of Mm. Mathuraprasad Dikshit are plays on the lives of Prithvlraj, Rana Pratap (Lahore, 1937) and other historical figures. Similarly M. M. Yajnik of Gujarat produced the historical plays, Prat&pavijaya, Sam yogitasvayamvara, and Chhatrapatisdmrajya. Sakharama Sastri

wrote a Mahakavya on Ram Ahalya Bai (Satara, 1951). Some of the ruling houses of Indian princes were described in historico-poetic works. The opposition of some Pandits to the new social customs and ways of life led to the production of a class of polemical Sanskrit writings on subjects like the age of marriage, sea-travel, widow-remarriage, etc.; e.g. Abdhi-naii-ydna-mimdmsd by Kasi Seshavenkatachala Sastrl (Bombay, 1903); Dura-desagamana-prayaschittakrama by V. T. Natesa Sastrl (Chidambaram, 1907); Vivaha samaya-mTmdmsd-abdhi-ydnavimarsaii by Ananta-krishna Sastrl (1913); Bdlavivdha-hdni-prakdsa by Ramasvarupa Vaisya (Etawah, 1922); Bdlavidhavd chandrodaya, advocating remarriage of child' widows, by Ayodhyaprasad Bhargava (Allahabad, 1905). Pulya Umamahes vara Sastrl of Andhra wrote a comprehensive criticism of all the measures of social reform in respect of marriage, untouchability etc., in his Dharmavyavasthdvajrahara (Madras). In Varanasi Mm. Sudhakara Dvivedi was a distinguished writer on, and editor of, Jyotisha works; his Ganakatarangini in Sanskrit is an account of Sanskrit Jyotisha writers and their works. The Maithili scholar Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha, wrote Sanskrit poems and commentaries on well-known texts: on Sdn&lyabhakti-sutras, Prasannardghava (1906), the Khadyota (1925) on Vatsyayana’s Nyayabhdshya, Mimdmsamandana (1930) on Mandana’s Mxmdmsdnukramanikd, and an account of the Prabhakara school of Mimamsa, the Prabhakarapradipa; the last still unpublished.

The Pandits of Bengal brought out a number of Sanskrit texts, in grammar, in different Sdstras, and in poetry and drama, with their own new commentaries, e.g., the voluminous output of JIvananda Vidyasagar in this direction. Many of the Pandits co-operated also in the edition of Sanskrit texts for the Bibliotheca Indica Series (started in 1898) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (founded 1784). Mm. Chandrakanta Tarkalankara (1836-1909) was author of works in several branches,— Alamkara in which he composed some Sutras, Vaiseshika in which he wrote a gloss on the Sutras, poems, plays, a supplement to Kdtantra grammar covering the Vedic usages, and in Dharma Sdstra, the Smritichandrdloka (Calcutta, 1903, 1906) Rakhaldas Nyayaratna (died 1921) wrote, besides other works, a criticism of Advaita, Advaitavddakhandana, which evoked a reply from Vanlkanta Sarman (Calcutta 1912). Mm. Pramathanatha Tarkabhushan (born 1866) was a Sastra-writer as well as a poet who produced Kokiladuta, Rdsarasodaya and Vijayaprakdsa. Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha (1870-1934) wrote some poems also. Mm. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, the well-known Pali scholar, was also a Sanskrit writer; he edited the Sanskrit Journal Mitragoshthi and

wrote the poems Yauvanavilds a } Umdpariyaya, Harischandracharita, ChittavUdsa, and in prose Bharatachar it a and the novel Chandra prabha.

In Utkal, mention must be made of Mm, Sadasiva Misra. One Rama Sastrl wrote a play Madhukesvariya-mahandtaka (Parlakhimidi 1929). Mm. Damodara Sastrl of Puri wrote the Bhdratagaurava on India's greatness.

In South India traditions of different branches of Sanskrit learning had been strong during the 19th century, thanks to the continuing patronage of the Courts of Mysore, Travancore and Pudukottah, the numerous Zamindaris of Andhra, and religious heads of the three main schools of Vedanta.

Andhra produced during this period some polymaths: Mudumbai Venkatarama Narasimhacharya (1892-1928) wrote hundred and fourteen works in the fields of poetry, poetics, hymnology etc.

Malladi Suryanarayana Sastrl wrote a history of Sanskrit poets in Sanskrit which is now being published in serial volumes. More recently there has been much output of original Sanskrit writings in the form of poems and plays; among writers of these Sri S. T. G. Varadachari may be mentioned for his Sanskrit poetic renderings of several of the famous Satakas in Telugu literature.

Shortly before this period South India was dominated by the personality of Mm. Tyagaraja Sastrl alias Raju Sastrl of Mannargudi (1815-1904), eighth in descent from the great Appayya DIkshita. No less than seventy-five Pandits of different parts of South India who later attained celebrity, sat at his feet; and he himself produced thirty-three works in Advaita, Siva-bhakti etc., the foremost among which is Nydyendusekhara (Kalahasti, Kumbakonam, 1915), defending Advaitasiddhichandrikd against the Visishtadvaitic criticism of Anantalvar of Mysore in his Nydyabhdsko.ra. The most distinguished pupil of Raju Sastrl was Mm. Pannanadu Ganapati Sastri (1871-1913), a poet and Advaitic scholar, author of several hymns and poems, short and long, Advaitic works and a commentary on Apastambapitrimedhakalpa (Kumbakonam, 1905).

Of the next generation of Advaitic scholars, Mm. N. Anantakrishna Sastrl, who was attached for the greater part of his life to the Calcutta University, was most active and productive, and in addition to editing Advaitic works, himself wrote a number of dialectic works criticising the positions of the followers of Ramanuja and Madhva.

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There were some ladies in the Tamil area who were Sanskrit writers: of these one whose interests lay in Sastras, chiefly Advaita and Nydya, is Kamakshyammal of Mayuram who edited Tryambaka Sastri’s Srutiratnaprakdsa and Srutimatoddyota with her notes (Mayavaram-Kumbhakonam, 1910), and wrote in Tarka the Nydya bodhinbNilakanthiya-vishayamala (Kumbhakonam, 1912) and an independent Advaitic work, the Advaitadipikd (Mayavaram, 1910).

In the field of Srlvaishnavism, besides A. V. Gopalachariar, we may mention some noteworthy Pandits: Kapisthalam Desikacharya who wrote the Adhikaranaratnamdld and the Siddhdntatrayasangraha, and Kali Rahgacharya of Pudukottah court who composed a number of hymns embodying philosophical doctrines and an epitome of the three schools of Vedanta, Matatrayasangraha.

In Dvaita Vedanta, the Pontiff of the Uttaradi Math, Satyadhyanatirtha (1913-42) wrote the Chandrikdmandana against the criticisms of Ramasubba Sastri, the Brahmasutravimarsa, the Advai tabhrantiprakoJa etc.

Poetry and drama showed in the Tamil region as rich an output as the Sdslras. In addition to the literary productions of the authors of Sastric works noted above, there were Pandits whose contributions lay primarily in the field of belles lettres. Some of them were incredibly prolific: MedhasrI Narayana Sastri of Radhamangalam (died 1932) of the Sanskrit College at Tiruvayaru near Tanjore, wrote more than 108 works which included twentyfour plays.

South India produced some accomplished ladies who composed poems; Jnanasundarl, Hdldsyachcimpu (Kumbhakonam, 1906) and Sundaravalli, Rdmdyana Champu (Bangalore, 1916).

At the turn of this century Sanskrit was strong in Kerala, with the Nambudri houses, as well as members of other higher communities related to them, still devoted to Sanskrit studies, with the several Kerala royal houses patronising Sanskrit and with the new Sanskrit schools and colleges working with fresh enthusiasm.

Among the members of royal families Kadattanad Ravivarma Raja was a poet, a collection of whose poems, Padyapetikd, was published (Tanjore, 1911); his other v/orks are Anydpadesasataka, Vidhuravildpakdvya, and a play called Padmdvati. Rajaraja Varma of Travancore (1863-1918) produced a Sanskrit prose version of Othello (Udddlakacharita), the Angla-sdmrdjya, a long poem on Indo-British history, the Rigvedakdrikd, a recast of Panini’s Ashtddhydyl called the Laghupdninlya (Tricinopoly, 1913), Karanaparishkarana on Calendar-reform, Gairvdnlvijaya, a play on the introduction of Sanskrit in schools, and several hymns and short poems.

The Cochin royal family had a lady writer in Subhadra (Ikku A mm a) (1844-1921) who composed several stotras. The most noteworthy figure in this line is the last ruler, Ramavarma Parlkshit Tampuran who passed away recently. The foremost Naiydyika of Kerala, he wrote a commentary. Subodhini on the Muktavali with Dinakarl and Rdmarudriya, and composed also narrative poems on Prahlada, Ambarlsha etc., and hymns.

Another modern Sanskrit poetess from Kerala is Lakshmi Rajhi of Kadattanad royal house who composed the Santdnagopdla, displaying Yamakas in the last, the third, canto, and a Bhdgavata sarhkshepa. Two other poets of this same family are Ravivarman (died 1913) and Udayavarman (died 1910).

Mm. T. Ganapati Sastri (1860-1926), the Curator of the Library at Trivandrum, became famous by the discovery of Bhasa, on whose plays he wrote his own commentaries, and by his publication of the Artha-sastra of Kautilya with his commentary; his other writings in Sanskrit have not been so well known.

As examples of writing from Kerala, expressive of new trends in theme or form, may be mentioned the prose plays of Principal V. Krishnan Tampi (Trivandrum, 1924), and the Scittvikasvapna of Kesava Sambhu Bhatta (Trichur, 1921) in which is described an imaginary assembly of animals and birds, parodying modern political meetings, some of the members displaying their loyalty to the British and some agitating against the British.

A very wellwritten autobiography is Tapovanacharita or Isvaradarsana (Ahmedabad, 1945-7) of SvamI Tapovanam, a Keraliya who retired in the Himalaya as a Yogi. The Kerala Sanskritists also wrote on medical works, including a work on germ theory, calendar reform and arithmetic.

Among heads of leading religious Maths in Mysore, Sachchida nanda Sivabhinava Nrisimhabharatl (1878-1912) of the Srihgeri Sankara Math was a great Yogi and prolific composer of hymns all of which are published in a collection Bhaktisudhdtaranginl (Srirangam, 1913); he wrote also three short Advaitic tracts. Of Advaitins of Mysore, one known for his novel interpretation must be mentioned, namely Y. Subrahmanya Sarma, who criticised later Advaitic writers and showed in his Muldvidydnirdsa (Bangalore, 1929) that Sankara did not contemplate a permanent Mayic entity and that such a concept was a creation of his successors.

Some of the published contributions of the traditional Pandits of Maharashtra may be noticed; Vishnu Ramakrishna Athavale wrote the Purushdrthachintdmani (Anandasrama, Poona, 1907). Mulasahkar Maniklal Yajnika and Gopalacharya Utgikar gave in

prose the Purnakathatarangini (Part I, Bombay, 1917). Mm. Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankar wrote the Advaitamoda (Poona, 1918) and commentaries on the Sarvadarsanasamgraha and the Siddhdntabindu.

Among modern Sanskrit writers of Gujarat, Vijayasankar Kanji Pattani (1888-1957) has left a considerable volume of reflective Vedantic writings in prose, called Anuchintana.

Centering round the Palace and the Sanskrit College at Jaipur some gifted writers, chiefly poets, wrote different types of creative work: Krishnarama wrote the Jayapuravildsa and several minor poems including a hundred verses on Onion. Mm. Mathuranatha Sastri was a prolific and versatile poet; among his writings are Uvaravilasa, Padyamukt avail, GltivitM (1929), Sdhityavaibhava (Jaipur, 1930), Jayapuravaibhava (1947), imitations of Persian modes Gazl etc., and a Sanskrit poetic version of the Prakrit Gdthdsaptasatl.

In this modern period, too, there have not been wanting composers of recondite Chitra-kdvya. C. N. Rama Sastri wrote the Sltdrdvanasamvddajharl (Mysore, 1905) in which the removal of one letter from Ravana's address to Slta gives, in each verse, Sita's reply to him.

In the fields of sociology, dharma, were produced several types of works— compilations putting forth the duties of Hindus at the time of the first impact of Western ideas and habits, handbooks on Hinduism and Hindu practices, and new compositions incorporating modern ideas. In the third category mentioned above, viz., modern Smritis, if we may call them so, the following works may be noted: Sukhabodha (Bellary, 1921) which tried to bring ancient thought in line with the modern, Dr. Babu Bhagavan Das's shorter and longer Mdnavadharmasdra and the Aryavidhdna or Visvesvarasmriti of Mm. Visvesvarnath Reu of Jodhpur which adopts ideas of modern hygiene, birth-control etc.

The new religious movements within the fold of Hinduism figured in the recent Sanskrit writings, their followers giving them traditional status by presenting them in Sanskrit, and the orthodox scholars criticising or lampooning them with satires and parodies. The most prominent reformist school is the Arya Samaj which gave a fillip to the study of Veda and Sanskrit. Several of its adherents wrote short and long poems on Svarnl Dayananda's life and teachings: Ramana Maharshi and Arabinda Ghosh inspired some Sanskrit writings; Kavyakantham Ganapati Sastri (Vasishtha muni) gave an exposition of Ramana's teachings in Ramanagitd and Saddarsana in 44 verses; and his pupil Kapali Sastri published Sanskrit renderings of select poems of Arabinda— Kavitdnjali —in

1946. M. V. Upadhyaya of Baroda, who followed Gandhiji to some extent, expounded in his isvarasvarupa (Baroda, 1950) a line of thought which discounted caste, untouchability and even the doctrine of rebirth.

Of the ancient sciences, Ayurveda and Jyotisha continued to flourish. Particularly the former was developed considerably as a subject of study in colleges and universities, too, and some of its leading practitioners wrote new commentaries on the old classics and composed new works in Sanskrit, bringing to bear on their work knowledge of modern physiology and anatomy and the theory of germs etc. Bengal, Madras and Kerala were pioneers, although work in this line was written in other centres, too.

The Sanskrit periodicals, Sarhskritachandrikd and Sahridayd, published series of articles on modern sciences under headings Vijnanakusuma and Pdschdtyasdstrasara. The editor of the former, Appa Sastri, wrote on ancient Indian astronomy, Prdchdmbliugolavijndna. On the scientific knowledge of ancient Indians, C. Venkataramanayya wrote the short Sanatana-bhautika-vijndna (Mysore, 1939), and the large Saridtana-vijndna-samudaya (Bangalore, 1946).

A development, wholly modern in the field of Sanskrit, is the Sanskrit journalism. Sanskritists had started literary journals even in the last quarter of the 19th century; but there was wide spurt of Sanskrit journals during the period under review. These journals published a great variety of material—minor poems, prose essays, translations, short and long stories and plays, one-Act play and farces, informative and critical articles, satires and criticism of public matters. In novels, there were translations from Bankimchandra and also many original works.

The contact with the literature of the outside world gave a new impetus to Sanskrit writers; English-educated Sanskritists, particularly, rendered into Sanskrit, poems, prose works and plays from English and other Western languages including German and Italian. A large number of minor poems, and a few r longer ones also, of English poets were translated; the essay form took root and so also the short story. With the old one-Act forms already available in Sanskrit, the short play and farce became now a popular medium for Sanskrit playwrights.

Although there was any amount of Alamkdra Stistra in Sanskrit, literary criticism and comparative evaluations in essay form in Western style was one of the new developments.

Modern comparative philology was incorporated in Rajaraja Varma’s Laglmpdninlya (1913). Other Sanskrit books on IndoEuropean Comparative Philology are: R. Shama Sastri’s Bhdshd tantra (Mysore 1925-6); S, T. G. Varadachari's Bhashasastrasah graha (Madras, 1933) and R. S. Venkatarama Sastrfs Bhdshmdstra » pravesirii (Madras, 1938).

Histories of Sanskrit literature, tracing the chronological development of works in the different branches, were also produced in Sanskrit.

The new spirit of nationalism and the struggle for freedom produced a number of Sanskrit writers who depicted India's ancient glory and lamented her present plight in poems and dramas.

Mahatma Gandhi who was an amalgam of a traditional saint and a political leader, was of course the hero of many types of composition ranging from a long epic poem to short minor poems. The dawn of Swaraj was hailed in several minor poems; and the tragic death of Mahatmaji was mourned in several elegies. 15

XIII. ARABIC AND PERSIAN

The period under review was by no means favourable for the development of Arabic or Persian literature in India. It was, for one thing, a period of intense political activity, and bitter con* troversy about the future set-up of the country. The struggle for freedom now received a fresh impetus. This struggle occupied most of the attention of the intellectual classes with the result that the activities even of some of the more important centres of Arabic and Persian learning, such as the Daruruium of Deoband, became tinged with politics which led to a general neglect of Oriental studies. The rapidly deteriorating economic conditions and the lack of suitable encouragement, material and moral, was another potent factor responsible for this general decline, w'hich, as a matter of fact, had set in much earlier. The essentially modernistic and materialistic outlook of the period, again, with greater emphasis on the practical utility of learning rather than its cultural value, was another contributing factor. When we add to these the fact that there was very little literary intercourse before 1947 between India and the lands where Arabic and Persian are spoken, we can easily account for the obvious apathy to the study of these languages in India and the absence of any really remarkable original work based on them. This is true practically of all branches of literature, except perhaps Persian poetry, thanks mainly to Iqbal and a few other scholars who lived and wrote during this period.

A. ARABIC LITERATURE

The main centres of Arabic studies during this period were the DaruPUlum, Deoband, the Nadwathil 'Ulema, Lakhnau, with the cognate institution, the Darui Musannifin, Azamgarh, the Mazahir-i-'Ulum, Saharanpur, the Sultan'ul Madaris and the Nazimiya College of Lakhnau, the Farangi Mahal, Lakhnau, the Oriental College, Lahore, and the Muslim University, Aligarh. The emphasis, however, in most of these institutions was on religious studies and hardly any incentive was provided for the development of a real literary taste among the scholars studying there such as might have resulted in the creation of any original work of real merit. The last two institutions did, no doubt, pay greater attention to literary studies, but the knowledge of Arabic that the students gained at all of them was hardly adequate for creative purposes. The teachers and students in them, with a few notable exceptions, confined their activities to second-rate work, such as editing Arabic texts or writing glosses and commentaries on them which were not always of a very scholarly type.

The most outstanding work in Arabic prose produced during this period is the Nuzhat'ul Khamdtir by Maulavi Abdul Hayy of Lakhnau who was closely associated with the Nadwat'ul 'UlemS and was the general manager (Mu'tamad) of that institution from 1333 A.H. (1914) till his death in 1341 A.H. (1922). The work which has been recently published by his sons 16 consists of seven volumes and contains biographical notices on several hundred Indian poets and scholars who lived from the first century up to the end of the 13th century of the Hijra. The eighth and last volume of the work dealing with the later scholars is still under publication. Maulavi Abdul Hayy's younger son, Syed Ali, himself a well-known scholar of Arabic, has travelled extensively in the Middle East countries and has written several thoughtful books and tracts on the sociopolitical problems of the countries, one of which, entitled Madha Khasir al-Alam bi inhitdt 'iUMuslimm (What the world has lost by the decline of the Muslims) (Third Edn. Cairo, 1959), is specially noteworthy. The Arabic monthly dl-Bath , which has succeeded a previous magazine, al-Diya , also owes its success mainly to his supervision.

Another Nadwa scholar, Syed Sulaiman, compiled a dictionary of modern Arabic words, entitled al~DaM ‘aid al-Muwallad ’walDdkhil, a handy and useful work of reference, 17 while Abdur-Rahman al-Kasgharl, who was associated with the same institution for a fairly long time, published a small collection of his Arabic poems under the title of al-Zahrat. The poems, mostly referring to contemporary events,, are of considerable interest.

At Aligarh, Professor Abdul Aziz Maimani, one of the greatest living Arabic scholars in the sub-continent, wrote a masterly commentary of the Kitab-al-Amali entitled Simt* ul Laali which was

published at Cairo in 1936 (2 vols.) and has won tributes of praise from Arab scholars. He also produced several other scholarly Arabic works among which we may mention ‘Abu’l ‘Aid wa ma ilaihi, a comprehensive biography of the Arab poet-philosopher, Abu’l ‘Ala al-Ma’arri, and a critical study of his works, and Ziyddat Shi’r aUMutanabbi, comprising, as its name suggests; certain additions to the published poems of the great Arab poet ul-Mutanabbi (d. 354 H.) gleaned from various sources. Both these works were also printed at Cairo and have received wide publicity.

Professor Zubair Siddiqi, late of the Calcutta University, published a brief but comprehensive survey in Arabic of the development of Hadith literature entitled al-Sayrul Hadith ji tadwin ‘llm al-hadith (Hyderabad, 1939).

Some of the other scholars who distinguished themselves by their valuable contributions to Arabic prose and poetry during this period, were Maulavis Faizul Hasan of Saharanpur (d. 1304 H.), Zulfiqar Ali of Deoband (d. 1322 H.) and Nazir Ahmad of Delhi (d. 1334) H.). Special mention may also be made of another Deoband scholar, Maulavi I’zaz Ali, whose prose and poetry selections were published by Maulavi Syed Ahmad under the title of Nafhat’ful ‘Arab (Jagadhari, 1365 H.). This work is very much in the style of the well-known Nafhat’ul Yaman of Ahmad ibn Muhammad and is of considerable literary merit.

Among the editions of Arabic texts, the most remarkable perhaps, was A.A.A. Fyzee's edition of the Da'ti' imul-lslam, an important work of Ismaili Jurisprudence by Qadi Nu'man bin Muhamad of Cairo, which however, was actually printed a little later (1951) at Cairo. Professor Muhammad Shaft of the Punjab University, Lahore, (d. 1963) published the text of 'Ali bin Zaid al-Baihaqu's Tatimma Siwan al-Hikma, an important biographical work (Lahore, 1935), as also a very useful index of the 'Iqd'ul Farid, by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi of Cordova (Calcutta, 1935-37). He also contributed numerous learned articles to the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, which has been serving as an important medium for the propagation of Arabic and Persian studies for the past several decades. Mention should also be made of Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi's edition of the Firdaus'ul Hikma by 'Ali bin Rabban, a famous Arab physician of the 9th century (Berlin, 1925), and of Dr. A. Aleem's edition of the Kitab al-Nukat by al-Rummani (Delhi 1934). Dr. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad of the Allahabad University (d. 1962) published about this time the first part of a remarkable work, the Contribution of India to Arabic Literature, while his history of Arabic literature, written in Urdu under the title of Adab'ul ' Arab, also deserves special mention.

The Madrasa-i-Mazahir'ul 'Ulum of Saharanpur continued to do useful work for the promotion of Arabic studies throughout this period, although it failed to produce any notable literary work. 18

B. PERSIAN LITERATURE

In Persian poetry Iqbal (d. 1938) stands head and shoulder above his contemporaries. A pupil of Ghulam Qadir Girami, a contemporary but little-known scholar and poet of Jullandhar, who was nevertheless a polished artist and had the distinction of being the court-poet of the late Nizam and his teacher of Persian poetry, Iqbal had imbibed deeply the mystical ideas of Jalal-ud-dln Rum! and Hafiz on the one hand, and the philosophy of Nietzsche, Bergson, and other European philosophers on the other. He had at the same time studied closely the poetry of Ghalib, 'Urfi and Nazlrl and was considerably influenced by their technique. This, coupled with his own natural talents, enabled him to produce Persian poetry of a very high order which has acquired wide recognition all over the world and has been particularly appreciated in the countries where Persian is spoken, notably Iran and Afghanistan.

Iqbal was essentially a thinker and philosopher, but it would, perhaps, be futile to trace any concrete or constructive philosophy in his verse. He was strongly swayed by his poetic moods and. like other poets, has occasionally given expression to more or less incongruous or even contradictory ideas. His mind seems to have oscillated between mystic emotionalism and the Nietzschian doctrine of the super-man with its emphasis on action. He has, no doubt, tried to reconcile the two philosophies and to find a meeting point between them, but has not achieved any conspicuous success in this attempt. He was, however, bitterly opposed to the attitude of passive resignation which characterizes the utterances of so many Iranian Sufis. But Iqbal's real greatness lies rather in the fact that by his impressive personality and the eloquence of his poetry, he succeeded in dispelling the gloom and despondency into which the eastern countries generally, and the Muslim world particularly, had been plunged ever since the rise of European colonialism and in giving them .a message of new hope and self-confidence which has resulted in a mass political and cultural re-awakening of the East. This was certainlv no mean achievement.

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Iqbal has laid special stress on the doctrine of khudl or selfconsciousness, the development of which he holds to~be the prime object of man, for it is by this development that he can utilize fully his natural potential talents and approach nearest to God. Nay.

he can even challenge fate and mould the world to his liking. In a characteristically bold and out-spoken couplet he says:

“Dar dasht-i-junun-i-man Jibril zabun saidi,

Yazddn bakamand dwar oAy himmat-i-mardaria”.

(Jibril is but a helpless prey in the wilderness of my mad quest; bring Yazdan himself within the orbit of thy noose O manly ambition!)

Again in a well-known Urdu couplet he exhorts man thus:

“Raise up thy ego to such heights that before taking a decision God Himself may ask thee:

‘Tell me what thy pleasure is’—”

It is this doctrine of khudi which Iqbal has propounded and explained at length in the famous mathnawi A,srari-khudl (the Secrets of the Self), a real masterpiece of Persian poetry which has been translated into English by Nicholson and has acquired wide celebrity. Yet the development of his own personality was not the only function of man. He is a part and parcel of the corporate human society and has frequently to subjugate his ego to the demands of his fellow-beings and the duties which he owes them. This aspect of man’s life finds expression in the twin poem which he has named Rumuz-i-BekJiudi (the Mysteries of Selflessness) which, however, lacks the charm and vigour of its counterpart, just as his Urdu poem Jaivdb-i-Shikwa is devoid of that powerful human appeal which marks its precursor the Shihwa. Another short mathnavi Pas chi bay ad kard ay aqwdm-i-Sharq (What is to be done now, O nations of the East?) is a stirring appeal to the people of the East to shake off their lethargy and put up a bold front before the domineering attitude of Europe.

Iqbal, especially during his younger days, also wrote a fairly large number of Persian lyrical poems which are decidedly of an excellent quality and compare favourably with the lyrics of Ghalib of whom he was a great admirer. They are delightfully fresh and spontaneous and reveal his poetic talent to a greater extent than do his more elaborate productions, but strangely enough very little attention has been paid to these poems, and their enchanting beauty and graceful charm remain generally unrecognised—Iqbal, the poet, has been over-shadowed in popular esteem by Iqbal the thinker and reformer. A number of these Persian lyrics have been collected in Zabur-i-Ajam, the Jaw aid Nameli and other anthologies.

Another distinguished scholar of this period who wrote Persian poetry was Shibli Nu'mam (d. 1914), a zealous patron of the Nadwatul 'Ulema, Lakhnau, and the founder of the Dar'ul Musannifin, Azamgarh, who is also the author of a well-known and valuable history of Persian poetry entitled Shi'rul 'Ajam . This work is in Urdu as are almost all of his other notable works. His Persian verses have not been collected so far but are found scattered in different works. 19

Lakhnau enjoys the distinction of having produced another remarkable Persian poet, Khwaja Azizuddin 'Aziz (d. 1915) whose command of the Persian language and mastery of poetic technique won a glowing tribute from Iqbal himself. 20 Most of his poetry was collected and published after his death by his son, Khwaja Wasiuddin, in 1931, under the title of Kulliydt-i-'Aziz and contains specimens of practically all the different branches of poetry— qasida ghazal, vmkhammas, rubd'i mathnawl , etc. Some of his qasidas and mukhammases are redolent of those by the famous Iranian poet of the Qachar period, Qa'anl, and display all the vigour and flow of that master's verse. Aziz may, indeed, be described as one of the last great representatives of classical Persian poetry in India. The Kulliydt also includes a number of letters in Persian which testify to the author's erudition and skill in writing elegant prose. Iqbal Suhayal of Azamgarh (d. 1955) and Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore were also good Persian poets.

But whereas the writings of Persian poetry continued to be a favourite pastime of the Indian scholars all through the period under review, Persian prose received little attention from them. It had long ceased to be the medium of elegant literary composition or the vehicle of day-to-day correspondence. We do not, therefore, come across any remarkable Persian prose work produced during this period—not even a noteworthy collection of letters written in an ornate style such as were very fashionable in the earlier times, like for instance those of Munshi Madhu Ram or Lachhmi Narain. Among important editions of Persian texts published during this period we may mention that of Abdur-Razzaq Samarqandi's Matla'as-Sa'dain by Professor Muhammad Shafi (Lahore, 1941-49) and of Sayf bin Muhammad al-Harawi's Tdrikh Ndma-i-Hirat by Dr. M. Zubair Siddiqi

(Calcutta, 1943). The former also edited the Persian 4 ext of the Tatimma, mentioned above, known as Durratul Akhbar (Lahore, 1935) and that of Rashid ud-Din Fadlullah’s Mukdtabat-i-RashTdi (Lahore, 1947). Professor Mohammad Iqbal’s edition of the Rahat-us-Sudur is another noteworthy work of this nature. Mention should also be made of Saiyid Manzur All’s edition of the Tazkira-e-Benazif by Saiyid Abdul Wahhab “Iftikhar of Daulatabad” who lived during the later Mughul period, and taking his cue from Ghulam Ali Azad, his preceptor and

author of the Sarw-i-AzcicL and Maathir-i-Kiram, has dealt in this Tazkira with Persian poets of Iran and India who lived during the 12th century of the Hijra (published at Allahabad in 1940).

XIV. URDU

The present age of Urdu is dominated by the spirit of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938). Born in a family of Kashmiri Brahman origin, he studied philosophy in England and Germany after taking the M.A. degree in Lahore. At first he was an Indian nationalist in his ideas, but gradually he gave a new interpretation to the ideals of Islam, and his teachings made him one of the founders of Pakistan, as mentioned above (pp. 533-6). Sir Muhammad Iqbal was equally at home in both Persian and Urdu. 21 His doctrine went counter to the quietism and acceptance preached by traditional Sufism. It was rather a militant doctrine of action, of fight to achieve an ideal placed before man, and this ideal was that of primitive Islam which in Iqbal’s opinion was preached by the Prophet -—to select the narrow path of shaping one’s destiny and forging ahead, ‘heart within and God overhead’. This doctrine of action naturally made Iqbal the great leader of Indian Muslims. He was unquestionably a magnetic force in present-day Indian thought and politics, and his influence on the larger percentage of Muslims in India and Pakistan continues unabated. His two longer poems Shikwa (Complaint) and JaVjab-i-Shikwah (Reply to the Complaint) are looked upon as the Mein Kampf of Muslim revivalists in India who were for separation from India in both spirit and political rehabilitation. These poems give in the form of a complaint before Allah about the adverse circumstances in which the Muslims in India had fallen, and the sequel gives the remedies prescribed by God for Muslim uplift.

One of the most popular poets of modern Urdu is the late Akbar Ilahabadi, who had a remarkable flair for extempore composition of piquant, satiric verses. He was a government servant, but a very staunch nationalist, and an admirer of Mahatma Gandhi. He preferred old ways of life and thought, but nevertheless there is a charm of novelty heightened by sincerity in all that he wrote.

Modern Urdu literature, particularly after 1936, has also developed ‘progressive’ tendencies, and new lines of approach to the problems of life are becoming increasingly prominent. The short story and the novel, as well as the essay, and of course poetry, were the forms through which this progressive or modern spirit found its expression. The creators and exponents of this modernism in Urdu literature are, among others, the story writer Muhammad Husain Askari (originally of Allahabad, now in Pakistan), the late Mira j I, Faiz Ahmad ‘Faiz’, Sardar All Jafari of Balrampur (Gonda, U.P.), Ahmad Ali of U.P. now in Pakistan, Sajjad Zahir from Jaunpur in U.P., a progressive writer of great charm and sincere human feeling, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas (of the family of ‘Half Panipati), Saghir Nizami of Meerut, the late Qazi Abdul Ghaffar from Delhi, Hafiz Jalandhari (new in Pakistan), XJpindar Nath Ashq, and Shabbir Husain Josh MallhabadI of U.P., now in Pakistan. Prem Chand, who later on passed from Urdu to Hindi, became the greatest novelist of Hindi. Josh MallhabadI is perhaps the most popular and powerful of living Urdu poets with a remarkable command over language. Raghupati Sahai Firaq Gorakhpuri is another popular poet in the same line. As usual, Marxism and Communism also have their ardent exponents in Modern Urdu literature, and among these are to be mentioned Ali Sardar Jafari, Parvez Shahid! (who insists upon the supreme place of art in literature and propaganda must never be given precedence over art), Kaifi Azmi of Azamgarh (U.P.), Makhdum Muhiuddin (from Hyderabad, Deccan), the late Asraru-l-Haqq ‘Majaz’ of U.P. who was cut off at an early age and promised to be one of the great leaders of modern Urdu, Sahir LudhianI, Majruh Sultanpurl and Kanhaiyalal Kapur.

The liberalising and modernising spirit of Bengali literature has also penetrated into Urdu through translations. Works of Bankimchandra

Chatterji, Sarat-chandra Chatterji, Tara-sahkar Banerji, Manik Banerji and a number of other living writers, and above all, Rablndra-nath Tagore, have been translated into Urdu. The message of Rablndra-nath is perhaps not wholly understood or appreciated, but nevertheless there is a silent penetration into Urdu of the modern spirit from the Bengali, more than from any other modern Indian literature, and, of course, also from English literature.

In modern Urdu literature, there are other strands than the Islamic only. Some Hindus of the Punjab and Western U.P. have made Urdu their very own, and both Hindu and Muslim writers have written short stories in Urdu which are among the best productions of modern Indian literature for their human qualities. Among Hindu (and Sikh) writers of Urdu short stories may be mentioned Krishan Chandar (born 1912), Rajindar Singh BedI, Kanhaiyalal Kapur, Upindar Nath Ashq and Dr. Mohan Singh. Krishan Chandar is one of the most popular writers of present-day Urdu, and Kanhaiyalal Kapur, a progressive writer, is also a great satirist. Even Hindu and Arya Samaj propaganda has been done through Urdu.

XV. INDO ANGLIAN LITERATURE

As a distinctive phenomenon, serious Indian writing in English is not much more than a century old. Till about 1870, there was

the Age of the Pioneers: Raja Rammohan Roy, Kasi-prasad Ghose, Henry Derozio and Michael Madhusudan Dutt. Then came the renaissance in the spirit, the Age of Religious and Literary Awakening; Toru Dutt turned ancient Hindu legends into English ballads, and Romesh Chunder Dutt translated the two national epics into Eng' lish rhymed verse. With his eloquent discourses in English, Svami Vivekananda carried the Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna to the ends of the world. Manmohan Ghose, Oxford-educated, nevertheless solicited the English Muse, though with a recognisable Indian sensibility. From 1905 to 1920 was the Age of Political Awakening. With a mantric potency, Bande Mdtaram galvanised the national political consciousness, and when World War 1 came, the ‘Home Rule’ agitation kept the nationalist fervour alive. It was the era of Tagore and Aurobindo, 22 of Gokhale and Tilak, of Annie Besant and Sarojini Naidu. Literature and politics kept house together, and in fact political aspiration seemed to be the common factor in all the expressions of the national genius—literature, law, philosophy, science, education.

Poet, novelist, critic, philosopher, nationalist, educationist, Rablndra-nath Tagore (1861-1941) is one of the glories of Indo-Anglian literature, as he is certainly the greatest of modern Bengali writers. He has been called the Goethe of India, and the Leonardo da Vinci of the Indian renaissance. His Gitdnjali (1912), although a book of free renderings from his own original Bengali is an indubitable English classic as well. In plays like Chitrd (1913), Tagore didn't hesitate to alter or compress the original Bengali in many places. The poem that he wrote in English in the first instance was The Child (1931), inspired partly by Mahatma Gandhi's march to Dandi in 1930 and partly by the Passion Play at Oberammergau The Child is an uncanny impressionistic piece, and there are passages that seem to prophesy Gandhi's martyrdom in 1948;

Someone from the crowd suddenly stands up

and pointing to the leader with merciless finger

breaks out

'False prophet, thou hast deceived us'

The leader is dealt a mortal blow, but wdien daylight comes again and they look at the fallen leader, an old man speaks for them all:

'We refused him in doubt, we killed him in anger,

Now we shall accept him in love

Tagore's plays— Chitra, The King of the Dark Chamber, The Post Office —are symbolistic with spirals of meaning. Chitrd is a romantic comedy of the seasons, The King of the Dark Chamber presents

the adventure of the human soul seeking the Divine, and The Post Office dramatises the truth that he who opts for the Divine has already been chosen by the Divine. Tagore's prose works— Sddhana } Personality, The Religion of Man — being meant for an international audience were originally written or delivered in English. The point worth making is that even Tagore's casual or formal prose is the prose of one who was primarily a poet.

Like Tagore, Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) was also a manysplendoured power and personality. Manmohan Ghose's younger brother, Sri Aurobindo was educated at Cambridge and started as a professor at Baroda and wrote a lot of poetry; he then moved to Calcutta, and threw himself into politics and political journalism; and he finally sought in 1910 a retreat in Pondicherry, edited the philosophical journal, Ary a, formulated the metaphysics of divine evolution and indited the rhythms of the future poetry in the symbolistic epic, Sdvitri. Sri Aurobindo's Collected Poems and Plays came out in two volumes in 1942, and included lyrics, narratives, translations, and philosophical poems, llion, an unfinished epic on a Homeric theme in quantitative hexameters, came out posthumously. His magnum opus is Sdvitri, an all but complete epic in about 24,000 lines of blank verse. Although the 'fable' is taken from the Mafidbhdrata, the Aurobindonian version is charged with Vedic symbolism and becomes a recordation of the dynamics of Aurobindonian integral Yoga. It is verily a 'divine comedy', Love vanquishing Death, and achieving the larger Life. Sri Aurobincfo also wrote five fulllength plays in verse: Perseus the Deliverer, Vdsavadattd, Rodogune, The Viziers of Bassora, and Eric. These might almost be Elizabethan plays, though of course the Aurobindonian slant too is always there. Of Sri Aurobindo's prose writings, the most important is The Life Divine , and among his other works are Essays on the Gita, The Synthesis of Yoga, The Secret of the Veda, The Human Cycle and The Future Poetry. His philosophical speculations regarding the possibility of further evolution from the present human situation to a condition of supermanhood are embodied in a prose characterised by a global sweep and a sonorous richness. Sri Aurobindo's prophetic thinking challenges comparison with that of the more recently published Teilhard de Chardin , whose 'omega point' seems to be something akin to the Indian thinker's conception of the 'supermind'. Even as the Visvabharatl at Santiniketan has become the rallying centre of Tagore studies, the Ashram at Pondicherry has become an international centre of education where Sri Aurobindo studies have a special place. Different aspects of Sri Aurobindo's life and thought are being studied, and already this literature is of immense bulk and range. Some of Sri Aurobindo's disciples—K. D. Sethna and Dilip-kumar Ray, for example—are themselves poets in their own right, and among the ablest exponents of Sri Aurobindo's thought are Nalini-kanta Gupta, A. B. Purani, Sisir-kumar Mitra, Kishor Gandhi and M. P. Pandit. Sri Aurobindo is without question the most outstanding figure in Indo-Anglian literature, and his Sdvitri has been hailed by a Western critic, Raymong Grank Piper, as "perhaps the most powerful artistic work in the world for expanding man's mind towards the Absolute".

Like Manmohan and Sri Aurobindo, Sarojini Naidu and her brother Harlndra-nath Chattopadhyaya have both made a mark as poets. Sarojini Naidu's The Golden Threshold (1905) was followed by The Bird of Time (1912) and The Broken Wing (1917), and these comprise her poetic promise and partial poetic fulfilment. Although many regretted that she should have given up poetry for politics, her published verses—including the posthumous collection, The Feather of the Dawn —are of respectable bulk, and there are several pieces in it that lovers of Indo-Anglian poetry will not let die. Her snaps of Nature, her portraits in verse (of the Wandering Singers, the Palanquin Bearers, or of the Bangle Sellers), her exploration of the mind and heart of woman in love (as in The Temple: A Pilgrimage of Love), and her flashes of revelation of the infinitudes of the spirit (as in To a Buddha seated on a Lotus and The Flute-Player of Brindavan) are certainly the work of a gifted poet. The light touch, the easy tilt and the apt phrasing never fail her, and when occasionally passion rocks her, she can also give her poetry a fierce edge and a blinding glow (as in some of the pieces in The Temple). Her brother, Harindra-nath's first volume, The Feast of Youth (1918), showed great promise, but its numerous successors, for all their fluency and play of fancy, have not quite redeemed that promise.

Of other Indo-Anglian poets only a few can be mentioned here: Brajendra-nath Seal (The Quest Eternal, 1936); P. Seshadri (Bil hana, 1914, Vanished Hours , 1925); C. K. Chettur (The Shadow of God , 1935); V. N. Bhushan (Moonbeams , 1929, The Far Ascent, 1948); Armando Menezes (Chords and Discords, 1936); V. K. Gokak (The Song of Life , 1948)—all professors as well as poets. There was Fredoon Kabraji, whose A Honor Georgian's Swan Song contains some good chaste poetry in the traditional style; J.

Vijayatunga's Do Not Go Down, O Sun (1946) is another creditable collection, and so are Manjeri Isvaran's Altar of Flowers (1934), Penumbra (1942) and The Fourth Avatar (1946); and J. Krishnamurti (The Immortal Friend, 1928) is, of course, in a class apart. After Independence the number of Indians who have turned to English for

creative self-expression has increased rather than otherwise, and the new poets are understandably conscious of the 'new directions' opened by Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, and later, Yeats, Wallace Stevens and W. H. Auden.

In drama, apart from Tagore's and Sri Aurobindo's plays, there are hardly any notable efforts. Fyzee-Rahamin's Daughter of Ind (1940) attempts tragedy after a fashion, while Bharati Sarabhai's The Well of the People (1943) is a poetic play that could best leap to life in a people's theatre. The foci of the play are the divine Gafiga at Haridwar and the 'well of the people'—-a temple well meant for the use of the village Harijans. In the Old Woman of the play Bharati Sarabhai has pictured the dumb misery and sublime faith of Indian womanhood. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar (Dramatic Divertissements, 1921) was a master of comedy as in 'Vichu's Wife'; T. P. Kailasam (Fulfilment , 1933, and Karna, 1946) could rise to tragifc heights; and, among others, Harlndra-nath Chattopadhyaya (Five Plays, 1937), A.S.P. Ayyar (The Slaves of Ideas , 1941) and J. M. Lobo-Prabhu have boldly attempted drama in English.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century and later, some of the Bengali novels of Bankim-chandra Chatterji (Durgesa-nandini or, the Chieftain's Daughter, 1880; Chandrasekhar , 1904) and Romesh Chunder Dutt (The Lake of Palms, 1902; The Slave Girl of Agra, 1909) appeared in English as well. Tagore's The Home and the World (1919), The Wreck (1921) and Gord (1923), Englished from the original Bengali, were widely read. Occasionally novels were also written in English in the first instance, 23 but it is only since the nineteen-twenties that Indo-Anglian fiction has secured a niche for itself in contemporary English literature. Having won a discriminating audience for himself with his Paper Boats (sketches of South 'Indian village life) and On the Sand-dunes (prose-poems), K. S. Venkataramani turned to fiction in Murugan the Tiller (1927) and Kandan the Patriot (1932). Gandhian economics and Gandhian politics charge these novels with ‘purpose’ without jeopardising their value as works of prose fiction. Kandan is tighter in structure than Murugan , and brilliantly recaptures the mood of the country during ‘salt satyagraha’ and after. Raja Rao’s Kanthc.pura (1938) has the same theme, but the events are supposed to be recapitulated by a woman of the village where the ‘satyagraha’ had taken place. Raja Rao’s more recent novel, The Serpent and the Rope, is set in the post-Independence period, and the ‘action’ is disarmingly spread over India, France and England. And Raja Rao’s The Cow of the Barricades (1947) contains some of the best Indian short stories in English (for example, ‘Javni’ and ‘Akkayya’). Shanker Ram’s The Love of Dust (1938) projects the image of the Indian peasant, and in this novel, as also in his short stories, he shows that he knows the peasant almost from the inside.

The two outstanding Indo-Anglian novelists of our time are unquestionably Mulk Raj Anand and R. K. Narayan. Anand is engrossed in the peasant, the city labourer, and the exploited everywhere, and his series of novels — Coolie (1933), Untouchable (1935), The Village (1939) The Sword and the Sickle (1942), Seven Summers (1951) and The Road (1961)—give him the status of a Laureate of the Downtrodden. He is a powerful short-story writer, too, and in his fiction as a whole Anand tirelessly reiterates the changes that are slowly, yet irresistibly, altering the very fabric of Indian society. Although Anand is what one might call a ‘committed’ writer, yet his portrayal of the Indian scene is on the whole marked by a fundamental veracity.

R. K. Narayan is the purer artist, and he has apparently no axes to grind. His first novel, Swami and Friends (1965), has been followed by several others —The Bachelor of Arts, The Dark Room, The English Teacher (1945), Waiting for the Mahatma (1955) and The Guide (1959)—and he has come to be recognised as one of the finest novelists of our time. The ‘action’ of Narayan’s novels and short stories is usually located at the mythical ‘Malgudi’—mythical yet recognisably South Indian—and his sensitive and potent art insinuates itself into the reader’s heart rather than takes it by violence. Narayan is a good observer, with a fine sense of humour; he is a gentle ironist too, and he presents pattern after pattern of delicately self-adjusted comedy, but, perhaps, he is at his very best in the first half of The English Teacher , where the simple beauty of ‘holy wedded life’ is unfolded till sudden death intervenes and brings tragedy into the life of the young husband and lover.

Bhabani Bhattacharya’s So Many Hungers (1947), which evoked the terror and pity of the war-time famine in Bengal, established his reputation, and he has since published three more novels which have more than fulfilled the expectations raised by his first triumph; and in A Goddess Named Gold (1960), his latest, his art is at its mellowest, for it carries a warning and a prophecy to independent India.

Non-fiction prose has of course been cultivated by large numbers of Indians, though only seldom does such prose rise above the pedestrian. Autobiography has been attempted by many, but it is in Jawaharlal Nehru’s Autobiography (1936) that the style and the self-revelation fuse into works of prose art. Rajagopalachari’s (Rajaji’s) abridged prose versions of the Rdmayana and the Mahd bhdrata have been best-sellers in English. Gandhiji’s Autobiography (although it is but an English translation from the Gujarati original) is now a universally recognised classic of prose, almost

Biblical in its forceful simplicity. 24 There have been Indo-Anglian journalists of exceptional competence, and in the collected essays of N. Baghunathan we have journalism that reaches the level of literature. In the fields of oratory, history, biography, law, philosophy and other branches of knowledge also, Indian writing in English not only achieves functional adequacy but now and then grows wings and glows as literature. SvamI Vivekananda and Professor S. Radhakrishnan have thus carried the meaning and message of Indian philosophy to the entire world, and an orator like V. S. Srinivasa Sastri could give to the spoken word a nobility and beauty all its own.

It is too early to say what kind of future Indo-Anglian literature is going to have. Its century-old history and post-Independence trends show that perhaps this literature has an even brighter future, and that it will survive and prevail, with its own individual vision and voice, alongside of the various indigenous Indian literatures.

1. Vol. X, pp. 178-80.

2. Ibid, p. 180.

3. His real name is Naravan Mura lid ha r Guota (1872-1947) (Ed.).

4. Vol. X, pp. 187-8.

5. Translation by Prema Nandakumar (Bharati in English V&rse, 1958, p. 79).

6. Translation by Prema Nandakumar (Subramahia Bharati , 1964, p. 64).

7. Contemporary hidian Literature , Sahitya Akademi, Hew Delhi, Second Edition, 1959, pp. 274-5.

8. Ibid, p. 287.

9. CL Vol. X, p. 205.

10. Ibid, p. 208.

11. Ibid, p. 205.

12. Ibid, pp. 206-7,

13. This section, as written by Dr. V. Raghavan, being too long for incorporation in this volunie, has been considerably abridged. The section, as originally written, will be published as an article in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

14. For a brief account of Sanskrit writings on Sikhs, Sikh History and the Gurus,

see the* writer's Foreword to Srigurugovindasimhacharita by Dr. Satyavrat, Patiala, 1967, „

15. For detailed accounts of the works of this phase of Sanskrit literature, see the writer's account in Contemporary Indian Literature , pp. 240-252.

16. Dairatu! Ma'arif, Hyderabad, 1947, onwards.

17. First edition, Asi Press, Lakhnau, 1912; Second edition, the Maarit Press. Azamgarh, 1344 H.

18. See Report of 80 years' Activity, Ludhiana, 1945.

IS. A short, incomplete collection was published at Lakhnau in 1893 under the title of Maymu'a-i Nazm-i~Shihli.

20. See his letter quoted in the preface of the Kulliyat (Nami Press, Lakhnau, 1931).

21. CL pp. 970-1. Some rfepetitions are unavoidable (Ed.).

22. See his letter quoted in the preface of the Kulliyat (Nami Press, Lakhnau, 1931) of this book. But as he is known in literary circles outside Bengal by the Anglicised form 'Aurobindo', assumed by himself, as the author, it has been retained in this section.

23. It is interesting to note in this connection that the famous Bengali novelist, Bankim-chandra Chatterji, also began his literary career with an English novel, Rajmohan's Wife , published in 1864 (Ed.).

24. Gandhiii's Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth was written by him in Gujarati and translated into English by Mahadev Dtesai with the exception of the last fifteen chapters which were translated by Pyarelai (Bd.).

CHAPTER XLII

RELIGION

I. THE ARYA SAMAJ

The diffusion of knowledge was one of the ten principles of the Samaj. The educational activities of the Samaj were carried on in two parallel lines by the tv/o opposing wings of the Samaj. On the one hand, a number of institutions were started for higher education on Western lines, the most important of them being the Dayanada Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore. On the other hand, in deference to Dayananda's rallying cry of *back to the Vedas' a number of institutions were set up on the pattern of the ancient Indian educational institutions, the most important among these being the Gurukula at Kangri to which reference has been made above. 1

The crusade against the proselytising activities of Islam and Christianity at the cost of the Hindus was jointly carried out by both the wings, irrespective of their differences in outlook as manifested by their educational ideals. Following in the footsteps of Dayananda the Ary a Samaj ists cultivated a militant spirit and refused to take, lying down, the insulting denunciations of Hinduism by Muslims and Christian missionaries. But they proceeded further so far as the Muslims were concerned, and attacked them in their own stronghold by an organised effort to reconvert the Hindus who had embraced Islam long ago. This process, known as Suddhi , was accompanied by the Sangathan or Sanghatan movement which was launched in order to bring about the union of the Hindus and organise them for self-defence. The tone of manliness, displayed in these militant activities of the Arya Samaj, generated a new spirit among the Hindus, who joined both these movements. But they provoked the wrath of the Muslims and led to the murder of Lala Ram Chandra in Kashmir in 1923. But the initial success of the Suddhi movement was almost phenomenal. More than two thousand Hindus who had been converted to Islam by the fanatic Moplahs in Malabar during their rebellion in 1922-23 2 were reconverted to the old faith. Still more important was the reconversion of more than 30,000 (or many more according to some account) Malkana Rajputs in the villages of U.P. and

Rajputana. The Muslim community, enjoying the monopoly of conversion for more than twelve hundred years 2 ®, now made it a great grievance that the Arya Samaj should pay them back in their own coin; and one of the manifestations of their resentment was the foul murder of Swami Shraddhananda in his sick bed in 1926, to which reference has been made above. 3

“The murder of Shraddhananda was only the culmination of a series of attacks on the Arya Samaj workers and of obstructions placed in the way of the religious activities of the Samaj. And those who hoped to promote Hindu-Muslim unity, always by unilateral concessions, found fault with the Arya Samaj for its propagandist activities.” 4 In order to ventilate their grievances and establish their rights, the International Aryan League convened an all India Aryan Congress at Delhi on 4 November, 1927. It was presided over by Lala Hansraj and attended by prominent Arya Samajists like Lajpat Rai and many eminent Hindu leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The proposal of starting a Satydgraha was postponed, but the idea did not die. In 1939 the Arya Samajists offered Satydgraha in the State of Hyderabad which had put a ban on their preachers and congregations. No less than 12,000 Satyd • grahis, including many orthodox Hindus, courted arrest, and more than twenty died in jail. The Nizam accepted their demands, and the Satydgraha movement was withdrawn.

Reference has been made above to the existence of Muslim majority in the cabinets of several Provinces as a result of the reforms introduced by the Act of 1935. Some of these Provinces placed obstructions on the religious activities of the Arya Samaj. In 1944 Muslim ministry of Sindh proscribed under the Defence of India Act the Sindhi translation of Satydrth Pralms, the famous book of Dayananda, published more than sixty years before. The Arya Samaj ists started Satydgraha on 14 June, 1947, and publicly carried the book for seven days. As the Government took no action, the order became a dead letter and the Satydgraha came to an end.

II. BRAHMAISM

The immediate and apparent causes of the downfall of the shortlived church of Keshab-chandra Sen have been described above. 5 The character and principles of the Sddhdran Brahma Samaj which seceded from it revealed that the differences between the two were fundamental and deep-seated. The new Samaj denounced the uncontrolled authority of a single individual, meaning evidently such as was exercised, first by Devendra-nath Tagore and then by Keshab. Perhaps this democratic feeling was inspired by the prevailing current of political thought in India. But the democratic spirit was carried further even in religious principles. As time passed, it was more and more evident that the cosmopolitan character of Keshab's religion was carried to such an excess that the new Sarnaj definitely cut itself adrift from Hinduism. "Whatever book", they said, "contains truths calculated to ennoble the soul or elevate the character is a Brahmo's scripture, and whoever teaches such truths is a teacher and guide". This may be quite good on principle, but it gave an altogether new character to the Brahma Sarnaj. It was "to be not a flowering tree with its roots struck deep in the soil, but a garland of cut flowers taken from various trees." It was a far cry from Rammohan Roy and Devendra-nath Tagore who were staunch believers in Hinduism bereft of its excrescences. The new Brahmaism had no faith in any particular scripture as an authority, and the philosopher of this new cult asserted that "it is as much allied to Hegelian idealism as to the Vedanta philosophy." No wonder that in the course of time the Sadharan Brahma Sarnaj has declared itself as something entirely different from Hinduism—and its members regard themselves as non-Hindu.

Having thus lost the solid foundation, which has stood the test of centuries, and placed itself on a somewhat vague and shifting basis of abstract principles like reason, truth and morality, the Brahma Sarnaj lost its vitality as a popular movement. Milk is a health-giving drink for all men, because it is profusely diluted with water—pure essence of milk is indigestible and hence unsuitable for human beings. So religion, bereft of elements of popular appeal, ceases to be a vital force in a society. This was admitted by some of the greatest leaders of the Sadharan Brahma Sarnaj.

Pandit §iva-nath &astrl observed:

“Western ideas appeal more to sympathising hearts among us than the truths treasured up in our own books and in our own usages and customs. We are more concerned with the Western modes of spiritual exercise, such as vocal prayer, readings and spiritual intercourse than the Hindu methods of meditation and communion to which Maharshi Devendranath showed the way. It is time the attention of our members should be directed to the spiritual resources of our own country and of our own people.” 6

This observation was made more than half a century ago, but it fell flat on the leaders of the Sarnaj. Even today the worship of the Brahmas in a congregation resembles the Christian rather than the Hindu mode, and sustains the popular saying that ‘Brahmaism is Christianity minus Christ.*

As mentioned above, the Brahma Sarnaj is a spent force. This is frankly admitted by its own leaders, one of whom said, in his Presidential Address in the Annual meeting in 1952: ^‘We have

dwindled into insignificance, ceased to make ourselves felt in the general body politic.” 7 But as noted above, 7a even the shortlived career of the Brahma Samaj marks an epoch in the social and religious history of India, and has left a rich legacy to Hinduism which has made it richer in content and purer in form. Perhaps one of the indirect causes of the decline of Brahmaism is the fact that all its ideas of social reform were accepted by Hinduism, and excepting its insistence on discarding the worship of images, its religious views were not repugnant to the modern educated Hindus in any way.

III. HINDUISM

A. Liberalism in Hindu Religion

Though the Hindu society has accepted the various items of the social programme of the Brahmas and gone further in some respects than even the most ardent Brahma of the 19th century could have wished, it has not accepted all their religious doctrines. The worship of images and belief in multiplicity of gods and goddesses, as well as the various local and popular cults, which formed the chief elements of the Brahmas' protest against Hinduism, more or less characterise the great body of the Hindus even today. The educated Hindus are no longer apologetic in regard to those primitive features which formed the target of attack by the Christian missionaries, but take them along with the higher elements, such as the spirituality of Upanishadic philosophy, the spirit of devotion inculcated by the Bhakti cults, catholicity of religious faith, the other-worldliness, belief in Karma and transmigration, etc., as part and parcel of a great religious discipline suitable for persons varying largely in thought, belief, education, tradition, views, and inclinations which are inevitable concomitants of a vast heterogeneous mass of people. Hinduism still chooses to live in the old spacious mansion of many rooms, though some of them are dark, dusty, ill-ventilated and out of repair, and prefers it to a neat new cosy building of a small size, every single room of which is filled with the most up-to-date amenities of modern life that science has placed at the disposal of men.

This does not, however, mean that Hinduism has remained static or fallen a prey to that process of revivalism which we find in the nineteenth century as a reaction against the reforming sects. Throughout the ages Hinduism has responded to the call of the great saints who have made efforts to reform it from within—to cleanse and repair the old house without destroying its basic foundations. The twentieth century has similarly responded to great saints

and saintly personalities like Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Arabinda, Ramana Maharshi and a host of lesser lights. The most important effect of their teachings has been an urge to distinguish the chaff from the grain, though both form essential ingredients. It is not a call like 'back to the Vedas', but an appeal to go back to the life based on spirituality that underlies the various outward manifestations of Hinduism.

This great message of the modern saints has found expression as much in the writings of the poet Rabindra-nath Tagore and philosopher Radhakrishnan, as in the life and precepts of the great saints mentioned above and national leader like Mahatma Gandhi.

The following justification of the cosmopolitan character of Hinduism by Vivekananda has been generally accepted in the 20th century as the broad principle underlying Hinduism.

“From the high spiritual flights of the Vedanta philosophy, of which the latest discoveries of science seem like echoes, to the low ideas of idolatry with its multifarious mythology, the agnosticism of the Buddhists, and the atheism of the Jains, each and all have a place in the Hindu's religion," 8

“To him all the religions, from the lowest fetishism to the highest absolutism mean so many attempts of the human soul to grasp and realise the infinite, each determined by the conditions of its birth and association, and each of these marks a stage of progress; and every soul is a young eagle soaring higher and higher, gathering more and more strength till it reaches the Glorious Sun." 9

The liberal ideas of Swarm Vivekananda rapidly spread all over India through the Ramakrishna Mission and Math at Belur and a network of its branches all over India.

Reference has been made in the preceding volume to the institution of Ramakrishna Mission by Vivekananda on 5 May, 1897, and the removal, in 1899, of the Ramakrishna Math (Monastery) to Belur which became the headquarters of the whole organization. 10 The Ramakrishna Mission thereupon ceased to function, but later, a separate organization called Ramakrishna Mission was set up under the control of the Trustees of the Belur Math . The members of the Math devote themselves mainly to the spiritual practices of study, prayer, worship, and meditation, whereas the members of the Mission carry on public activities in various fields.

These were, among others:

1. To spread the Vedantic and other religious ideas in the way in which they were elucidated in the life of Ramakrishna, and for this purpose to establish Maths and Asramas all over the world.

2. To remove the wide gulf between the lower and upper classes, by engaging preachers, specially trained for the purpose, for giving the masses education and religious teaching.

3. To send trained members of the Order to foreign countries to start centres of spiritual instructions. 11

In less than fifty years after the passing away of Vivekananda there were 44 centres of the Mission in Bengal (including East Pakistan), 53 in the rest of India, and 20 in foreign countries of which 11 were in the United States of America. It will be hardly an exaggeration to say that Ramakrishna Missions are now functioning as the most important propaganda centres of the liberal form of Hinduism preached by Ramakrishna and Vivekananda. They have not only elevated Hindu religion and placed it on the high pedestal of its pristine glory, but also enhanced its prestige in the world outside to a degree it has never reached during the last thousand years. The old spiritual ideals emphasized by Vivekananda have been further explained and illustrated in their own lives by Arabinda, Ramana Maharshi and a host of lesser lights.

As against this liberal section of Hindus, the orthodoxy has sought in vain to assert itself, strictly in the spheres of religion and social reform. But it has gathered momentum as a political force vis a vis the Muslim League. It is really against this political background that one has to study the All-India organization of the orthodox Hindus known as the Hindu Mahasabha which is a new feature of Hinduism in the 20th century.

B. The Hindu Mahasabha 12

The Hindu Mahasabha is the result of several attempts to bring together the whole of the Hindus in a single all-India organization. A national conference was held at Delhi in 1900 under the Presidency of the Maharaja of Darbhanga, and was attended by nearly a hundred thousand people. In 1902 the various local organizations were united under the ‘Bharata Dharma Mahamandala’ formed at Mathura. It was registered and a constitution was drawn up. In 1905 the headquarters of the Association were removed to Banaras. Its object was “to promote Hindu religious education in accordance with the Sandtan Dharma , to diffuse the knowledge of the Veda, Smritis, Puranas and other Hindu Sastras, and to introduce, in the light of such knowledge, useful reforms into Hindu Life and Society.” The Mahamandala published an Anglo-Hindi monthly and several provincial magazines in the vernacular. It flourished under the guidance of SvamI Jnanananda who retired in 1910. Even during this short period the Mahamandala was recognised by the heads of the chief Hindu sects and religious orders as representative of the

whole Hindu community. There came into being under this great national body a number of Provincial Associations, and under these were some 600 local societies in towns and villages.

The orthodox character of the Association and its avowed object to maintain the Sandtan Dharma secured for it the support of ruling princes, religious pontiffs and also a section of the common Hindus. The Maharaja of Darbhanga became its General President in 1912, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was one of its prominent leaders. But the orthodox character of the Association provoked strong opposition and adverse comments from many educated Hindus,, who regarded the movement as reactionary.

There were similar movements in the Punjab and a Conference was held at Lahore in 1909 presided over by Sir Pratul-chandra Chatterji. It was attended by eminent leaders like Lajpat Rai and Lala Hansraj. The President, in his Address, observed that such Conference of the Hindus would advance rather than retard (as some feared) the national cause as it would help the growth of national sentiment. Lajpat Rai also remarked that before attempting Hindu-Muslim or all-India unity the Hindus should try to unite themselves by reclaiming the Depressed Classes.

Four more Hindu Conferences were held during the years 1911 to 1914, respectively, at Amritsar, Delhi, Firozpur, and Arnbala, while a special one was held at Lahore in 1914. 13 All these were superseded by an All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the nature and origin of which have been briefly referred to above. 14 There is no doubt that like the other Hindu Conferences mentioned above, it was established as a counterpoise to the Muslim League in order to resist the undue concessions made to the Muslims by the Indian National Congress. In 1912 Sir Shadilal, while inaugurating the" third Punjab Hindu Conference at Delhi, observed: “The events of the past four or five years proved beyond the shadow of doubt that with a body which could speak with the authority of the entire Hindu community behind its back and resist the aggressive action of the Muslim League, the Hindus would not have been in the plight in which they find themselves at present.” 15

Henceforth an annual session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha took place at Hardwar and its headquarter was located there. It received a great impetus from the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and the new reforms under the Act of 1919, both of which were regarded by a large body of the Hindus outside the Congress as a curtailment of the just rights and interests of the Hindus. The fifth conference, held in 1918 at Delhi, was attended by the representatives of different provinces of India. The Khilafat Movement, patronised

by Gandhi and the Congress, and the forcible conversion and the massacre of the Hindus by the Moplahs on a large scale, connived at by the Congress, and to a certain extent by the Indian Press which blindly followed the Congress, 16 left the Hindu Mahasabha as the only organised body to protect the purely Hindu interest.

The Moplah atrocities were followed by the terrible incidents in Multan where the Muslims massacred and plundered the Hindus and outraged the honour of women with impunity. A still greater tragedy was enacted at Kohat. 17 The Hindu leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya and Laj pat Rai were forced to the conclusion that the only way by which the Hindus could save their lives and property and the honour of their women was to organise themselves. Thus arose the Hindu Sangathan (or Sanghaian) movement purely as a means of self-defence. This was accompanied by the Auddhi movement. Reference has been made to these movements in connection with the Arya Samaj. Not only were the Muslims highly irritated, but the Hindu leaders of the Congress also cursed these movements as impediments to Hindu-Muslim unity which was looked upon as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj . A great Indian leader is reported' to have declared "that he cared not though all the Hindus became Mussalmans if only freedom could be attained.’* 13

But a large section of the Hindus was quickened to a consciousness of the great danger facing them. The Banaras session of the Hindu Mahasabha, held in August, 1923, was attended by 1500 delegates and thousands of visitors including the Sikhs, the Jains, the Buddhists, the Parsis, the

Sanatanists and the Arya Samijists. For the first time there was a representative gathering of almost all the religious sects in India except the Muslims and the Christians.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya presided. Rules were amended and steps were taken to organise Provincial and Branch Hindu Sahha s. The Suddhi movement was formally sanctioned and the need of removing untouchability was admitted.

As the Hindu press generally supported the Congress view, three daily newspapers were started in Delhi-—the Hindusthan Times in English, Tej in Urdu, and Arjun in Hindi—to carry on propaganda in support of Hindu Sangathan, Auddhi and Achchhut Uddhdr (removal of untouchability).

9 *

The great leaders of Hindu Mahasabha, to begin with, were Swami Shraddhananda, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Lala Lajpat Rai. Rajendra Prasad, too, presided over the special session In 1923. Then came Dr, B. S. Moonje and Bhai Paramanand, and

last of all the great revolutionary, Veer Savarkar, who gave it a militant character. During the whole of this period the Hindu Mahasafeba really constituted a political organization to fight for the interests of the Hindus to which the Congress leaders were indifferent and even hostile. Reference has been made to the activities of the Hindu Mahasabha in the course of the political narrative,

IV. THE SIKHS

The spirit of religious reform in the 19th century, due mainly to contact with Western ideas, was not confined to the Hindu community. The other religious communities were also powerfully affected by it, and an added impetus was given to it by the newly awakened sense of nationalism.

A striking illustration of it is furnished by the reform movement among the Sikhs. This religious sect had gradually shed its militant spirit; even in purely religious matters, the old protestant spirit lost its vigour and there was even a tendency among certain sections to drift back to Hinduism. “Idols found their way not only into the homes of the people but also into the Sikh temples, and Sikhs of untouchable castes were excluded from temples. „i9

But towards the end of the 19th century there arose a body of reformers who sought to uplift the community. A college for the Sikhs, called the Khalsa College, was founded at Amritsar, and local associations, called Singh Sabhas, were formed all over the country for the strengthening and purification of Sikh life. An agitation was started in favour of the extension of education and of social reform. A weekly paper in English, the Khalsa Advocate , was started in 1903, and by 1905 “the reforming spirit had gone so far that the Sikh leaders found it possible to cast out the Hindu idols which had found their w r ay into the central place of Sikh worship, the Golden Temple at Amritsar. ’ ^The chief items of reform were removal of caste and child marriage, temperance, re* marriage of widows, and spread of English education. A central association, called the Chief Khalsa Diwan, was set up with its headquarters at Amritsar in order to carry out the reforms, and it employed a large number of missionaries to carry out this purpose.

But the Sikhs were also seized with a spirit of nationalism. Ever since the British conquest of the Punjab the Sikhs became famous for their unswerving loyalty to the conquerors, and the Sikh soldiers helped the British not only to maintain their empire, as in 1857, but also to extend its boundaries. This loyalty suffered a set-back in 1912 when, during the construction of the new capital at Delhi, the Government acquired land attached to the well-known

Gurdwara Rikab Ganj of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and demolished an old boundary wall in order to widen a road.

The Central Sikh League, founded at Amritsar in 1919, passed a resolution of non-co-operation with the British Government and decided to send volunteers to take forcible possession of Rikab Ganj land. A call was made for 100 Sikhs who would be prepared to re-erect the walls even at the cost of their lives. The threat was enough to induce the Government to re-erect the wall and to restore the acquired land.

The relation of the Sikhs with the Government was embittered by many other incidents, such as the quarrel over the possession of the keys of the toshakhana of the Golden temple, the right to wear full-size swords (Kirpan), and exercise full control over their religious and educational institutions without interference of any kind from the Government. A reform committee called the Shiromani Gurdwara 21 Prabandhak Committee was formed in November, 1920, to undertake the management of all Sikh Gurdwaras and other religious institutions. This was opposed by the Mohants (abbots), 22 the hereditary managers in charge of the temples, who had been hitherto enjoying their revenues and were generally of depraved character. 23 The Akalis, a body of Puritan Sikhs, took lead in this matter, and a company of 130 Akalis, who had entered the Nankana Gurdwara to take possession of it by force, were all deliberately murdered by a hired band of ruffians engaged by the Mohant , 24 A crisis was precipitated by the abdication of Ripudaman Singh, the Maharaja of Nabha, as the people believed that he was removed by the Government for his independent spirit and sympathy for the Akali movement. The agitation reached a climax when the Sikhs were not allowed to hold the sacred ceremony of Akhand-path (continous reading of scriptures) by way of seeking divine help for the restoration of the Maharaja. The Sikhs engaged in the Akhand~pdth at a Gurdwara in the village Jaito in the Nabha State were arrested. Bands of Akali Sanghs marched towards Jaito in defiance of Government orders and were either shot down or arrested. The Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) and the Shiromani Akali Dais were declared unlawful bodies, and almost all important Sikh leaders were arrested and thrown into prison. The number of Akalis arrested was nearly 10,000. At last the Government, unable to break down the opposition, climbed down and negotiated with the Akalis. A Gurdwara Bill was passed into law in 1925 with the result that all the important Gurdwaras in the Punjab passed into the hands of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee.

This Act, further amended in 1945, placed the supreme control of hundreds of important Gurdwaras, with a revenue of about

20 lakhs a year, in the hand of the Central Bqard of the S.G.P.C. So far as their religious affairs and organization are concerned, the Sikhs have established, so to say, an imperium in imperio. It has enabled their Central Board to employ hundreds of preachers who are not mere reciters of sacred texts but are virtually their political agents, not only propagating the Sikh religious views but also consolidating the community and watching over its social and political interests.

Thus the history of the Sikhs resembles to a large extent that of the Hindus, and illustrates the tendency of the religious bodies to shed the purely religious aspect and assume more or less the character of a nationalist and political party.

Referring to the whole movement, in the course of which 30,000 were arrested, 400 killed, 2000 wounded, and Rs. 15 lakhs of fine inflicted, a Sikh writer observed:

“The most significant outcome of the four years of intense agitation, in which the Hindus supported the Udasi mahants against the Akalis, was to widen further the gulf between the two communities. The breakaway from Hinduism, to which Kahan Singh of Nabha had given expression in his pamphlet Ham Hindu Nahih Hain (we are not Hindus), was even more emphatically stated by Mehtab Singh.... Hindus, despite their opposition to the Akalis, continued to protest that Sikhs were Hindus. T look upon Sikhism as higher Hinduism,’ said a leader of the Punjab Hindus. Another, who came to the support of the Gurdwara legislation, referred to the Sikhs as ‘the flesh of our flesh, and the bone of our bone’. Whether the Sikhs were a separate people or a branch of the Hindu social system became a major issue in the years that followed.” 25

J. See p. 885.

2. See above, pp. 360 ff.

2a. That such conversion was not merely a thing oif the past, but also took place in very recent times, is proved by the statement of the Aga Khan that he was ‘personally responsible for the conversion to Islam of some 30,000 to 40,000 caste Hindus'. (The Memoirs of Aga Khan, Simon and Schuster, 1954, pp. 4, 5).

3. See above, pp, 435-6.

4. D.S. Sarma, Hinduism Through the Ages (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1962), p 93.

5. Vol. X, p. 105.

6. Shivanath Sastri, History of the Brahma Samaj , II. p. 278.

7. D. S. Sarma, op. cit., p. 76.

7a. Vol. X, p. 106.

3. Swamiji's Lecture on Hinduism at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, I. pp. 6-20.

9. Ibid.

10. Vol. X, p. 129.

11. Swami Gambhirananda, History of the Rumakrishna Math and Mission pp. 119-20, 185.

12. The account of the Hindu Mahasabha is based mainly on A Review of the History and Work of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Sanghatan Movement by Indra Prakash, and published by the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha New Delhi, 1938.

13. For the Punjab Conferences, cf. B. Majumdar, Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature (1818-1917), pp. 256-8.

14. See above, p. 419.

15. B. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 257.

16. See above, pp. 360-65.

17. See above, pp. 428-33.

18. Indra Prakash, op. cit., p. 30.

19. Farquhar, J. N., Modern Religious Movements in India, New York, 1918, p. 340.

20. Ibid, p. 341.

21. Gur award.

The Sikh temple was originally merely a place of worship (dharamsal) where the devotees gathered to listen to religious discourses and to sing hymns. It soon became a community centre where, apart from worship and religious ceremonials connected with births, baptisms, betrothals, marriages and obsequies, there was a free kitchen, the guru-ka-langar, and a school where children learnt the alphabet and their daily prayers. It also became the panchdyatghar, where the elders met to settle disputes and to deliberate on matters concerning the community. These functions were performed in the smallest village gurdwdrd as well as in the biggest. Cf. Khushwant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, Vol. 2, pp. 193-4.

22. These were originally merely care-takers. In the days of Mughal persecution, the job of granthi (scripture reader) was a hazardous one, and many important shrines were entrusted to members of the Udasi order, who did not fully subscribe to the Khalsa creed and, being usually clean-shaven, could disclaim their association with Sikhism when their lives were in danger. Even after Mughal rule, these shrines continued to be looked after by the Udasis, and the post of prant/u-cum-manager passed from father to son. The less important gurdwdrds were looked after by men who wished to dedicate their life to prayer and the service of the community. During the British rule, the names of the Mohants were entered into the settlement record as proprietor of the temple and land properties attached thereto. Ibid, pp. 104-5. The ‘Mohants’ are written as ‘Mahants’ by Khushwant Singh.

23. For an account of depravity of the Mohants , cf. Ibid, p. 195, f.n. 2.

24. As a sequel to this incident, which took place in 1921, the S.G.P.C. got control of the Nankana Gurdwara. Control over Guruka Bagh, a small shrine 13 miles from Amritsar, was also obtained by means of non-violent passive resistance of the Akalis after 5,605 of them were arrested and 936 were injured and sent to hospital.

25. Khushwant Singh, pp. 213-4. For Udasis, cf. f.n. 22.

CHAPTER XLIII

SOCIAL REFORM

I. GENERAL PROGRESS

The enthusiasm for social reform waned considerably with, the progress of political struggle, and it was deliberately dissociated from the political movement. But the spread of education and natural course of evolution increased the tempo of demand for social reform and widened its horizon. This demand came from both individuals and organizations. The genesis of the Indian National Social Conference, founded in 1887, has been discussed above.[1] It continued its useful career, and when its founder and guiding genius, Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, died (17 January, 1901), his mantle fell upon Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, also a judge of the High Court. He succeeded Ranade as General Secretary of the 'Social Conference' which assumed a new form and played a more forceful role under his leadership. He felt that hitherto there was more talk than practical work, due mainly to vague generalisations and efforts for compromise, and declared in favour of reforms based on reason undeterred by the Sdstras. He repre-* sented the advanced section of social reformers and their views. The efforts of the Indian National Social Conference were ably supplemented by various other associations that sprang up in different parts of India, either for reforms in general or with a specific object in view. In imitation of the Provincial political conferences, there were Provincial social conferences, too, and there was a network of reform associations throughout the country. Indeed, this multiplication of societies for social reforms in various directions, and the increasing number of conferences for the same purposes, both in British India and the States, may be said to be a characteristic feature of the first half of the 20th century.[2]

The Bombay Social Reform Association was reorganised in 1903 into a Central Association. In Madras Mrs. Annie Besant launched the Hindu Association, and C. Sankaran Nair put new life into the Hindu Social Reform Association.

As in the 19th century, so in the 20th, the attention of the social reformers was concentrated on the women and the depressed classes, though the problems of 'prohibition' or 'temperance', 'spread of education', and removal of minor evils and abuses in social life were not neglected.

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II. WOMEN

The spread of education among women made them eager for improving their rights, privileges and status, and they took an active part in the social conferences. A Ladies' section was added to the Indian National Social Conference since 1903, and under its auspices a Women's Conference was held in 1909. It resolved to organize a separate association for women and held another conference in Allahabad in 1910 with Mrs. Sarala Devi Chaudhurani as Secretary.

Ail these no doubt facilitated social reforms by bringing about a gradual change in public opinion, but the actual changes introduced by legislation were few and far between. For the Government was averse to any change, and thus indirectly lent its support to the orthodox views. This is best illustrated by the efforts to increase the age-limits of marriage. Up to 1908 the social conferences put the minimum, age limits at 12 years for girls and 18 for boys, but these were raised next year to 16 and 25. There was vigorous agitation all ever India, both by men and women, in support of enforcing it by legislation. It was not, however, till 20 years had passed that any legislative enactment was made. In 1927 Har Bilas Sarda introduced a Bill for preventing child marriages and it was passed in 1929 with a proviso that it should not come into effect till 1930. The Act, applicable to all communities, penalised parties to a marriage in which the girl was below 14 or the boy below 18 years of age.

Similarly, there was a vigorous move for a civil marriage law, but all attempts to pass legislation to effect it ended in failure, although Baroda State had passed a Civil Marriage Law in 1908. The Amand Marriage Act was passed in 1908 to validate the marriage of the Sikhs by removing restrictions on caste and sect. Bhupen Basu moved his Special Marriage Bill in the Legislative Assembly on 1 March, 1911. It was intended for the

Hindus, and a civil marriage measure which required the girl to be above 14 years of age and the boy above 18, insisted on monogamy and provided for registration—just as the Brahmo Marriage Act had done in 1872. It was defeated, 42 voting against it and 11 for it. Of the 42 only 17 were elected non-official Indian members.

In 1918 Vithalbhai Patel introduced a Bill to validate intercaste marriage. "It was referred to Select Committee where a majority supported the bill and recommended amendments enforcing monogamy and insisting on both parties being above 18 years of age, but it was decided to defer the bill till the reformed councils came into existence. And then Non-co-operation intervened to prevent its being raised again." 3

Dr. Hari Singh Gaur's Civil Marriage Bill was defeated on 2 February, 1922, and was passed only in a very modified form in October, 1923. It was restricted to the Hindus, and though it did away wtih the declaration that the persons concerned did not belong to any religious community, as in the Brahmo Marriage Act of 1872, it made the dissolution of ties with the Hindu family a necessary condition.

In 1921 a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly for giving rights of succession to certain categories of women. But eight years passed before it was put in the Statute Book. The Act passed in 1929 gave the son's daughter, the daughter's daughter, a sister, and her son their natural place in the order of inheritance. In 1937 the Indian Legislature passed the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, which conceded to the Hindu widow a share in her husband's property and the right to demand partition.

Two important items of reform for which the social reformers agitated were the establishment of monogamy and the sanction of divorce. The Baroda Government legalised divorce by an Act of 1931. But the attempt to do the same in British India did not prove successful. Three Bills were introduced in the Central Legislature for making Hindu marriage monogamous. Several measures were initiated also in the provincial legislatures in Bombay, in the Punjab, in the United Provinces and in the Central Provinces—all of them falling into two classes—monogamy and divorce. But none was passed.

Success was, however, achieved in one important case. The institution of Devaddsi —a class of women who dedicated themselves to life-long service in temples chiefly by way of singing and dancing —may be traced back to hoary antiquity. But whatever may be its original nature, it came to be recognised as nothing but prostitution in the name and under the protection of religion. The number of such women exceeded two hundred thousand in Madras. As a result of vigorous agitation, an Act was passed in 1925 which extended to the Devadasis the Sections of the Penal Code which made traffic in minor girls a criminal offence.

Activities for social reform were not, however, confined to the council chamber. Vigorous movement for the improvement of women’s position continued throughout the country. One of the important items was the popularisation of the remarriage of widows. For, though the Act of 1856 accorded legal sanction to it, such marriages, in actual practice, were very rare. There was difference of opinion even among social reformers, and in the Social Conference held in Calcutta in 1901 there was considerable opposition, particularly from Bengal and Madras delegates. On the other hand, numerous public meetings were held, laying stress on the remarriage of widows and improvement of Depressed Classes as the two main items of social reform in India.

Measures were, however, taken in various parts of India to improve the lot of widows. "‘Between 1906 and 1912 several Hindu Widows’ Homes were founded throughout the country, the most prominent amongst them being the Widows’ Home in Mysore (1907), the Mahila Silpasrama in Calcutta (1907), the Widows’ Home in Bangalore (1910), Mrs. Dutta’s Widows’ Home in Dacca and the Brahmin Widows’ Hostel in Madras (1912). The Deva Samaj at Ferozpore and Bhatinda, the Arya Samaj at Jullunder, and the Digambar Jains at Bombay also established Widows’ Homes earlier, shortly after Sasipada Banerjee’s Widows’ Home had been closed down in Calcutta.” 4

Reference has been made to the pioneer efforts of Prof. D. K. Karve in this direction. The Widows’ Home founded by him at Poona served as the model for others. To this Home, which pledged itself to promote remarriage of widows, he added a High School for girls and a Social Service Centre. These three institutions v/ere reorganized into a Women’s University formed on 20 June, 1916. 4a

There were other organizations doing valuable work for the uplift of women. * The Sevasadan in Bombay, established in 1908, which ‘'sought to build up a lay sisterhood, had an elaborate programme directed to the three major communities of Bombay—Hindus, Muslims and Parsees. The purpose of the organisation was to train women workers and to provide medical help, work-rooms, classes for teaching English and Sanskrit and lectures on civics. The Sadan had within a year set up branches at Ahmedabad, Surat and Poona. As the popularity of the institution grew, education in the Indian languages and the teaching of crafts were also developed.” 5

The question of providing higher education for women was stressed by social reformers, the educationists, the Government, and, above all, by the various organizations set up by the women themselves for the purpose.

The matter engaged the serious attention of the Sadler Commission and its auxiliary committee, presided over by Sir Philip Hartog. They drew pointed attention to the fact that the method, curricula and organization which might be appropriate to boys were not necessarily applicable to girls, and recommended that “priority should now be given to the claims of girls’ education in every scheme of expansion”.

This was carried into effect by the gradual increase in the number of-schools and colleges for women, provision of women’s section in colleges, and popularity of co-education in colleges and universities. There is no doubt that both State and society, and above all, the organised efforts of the women themselves contributed to a steady advance in women’s education, both qualitatively and quantitatively. An official review made in 1944-5, stresses “the trebling of girl scholars in schools and colleges since 1921 as compared wdth a mere doubling in the number of boys during the same period.” 6 It may also be mentioned that the number of girls attending schools rose from 1,230,000 in 1917 to 2,890,000 in 1937. Further details have been noted above. 6a

Among other items of promoting women's condition may be mentioned the abolition or limitation of dowry and marriage expenses. Public attention was drawn to them by a tragic incident. In 1914 a Bengali girl, Snehalata, burnt herself to death when she

learnt that her father had to mortgage his house to meet her marriage

!

expenses and dowry. The country was shocked and young men formed societies whose members took solemn pledges not to take dowries and to restrict expenses of marriage. The evil was denounced in successive conferences, but the pious sentiments evaporated in no time. It was obvious that nothing short of legislation could remove this grave evil.

In the cases of some important items, what the earnest reformers failed to do was more than accomplished by the march of political events, particularly the struggle for independence in India and the situation created by the two world wars. The Swadeshi movement, Home Buie movement, the Non-co-operation movement, and the Civil Disobedience movement drew women out from the seclusion of home and, in many instances, made them active participants in the grim struggle.

The most important consequence of all this was the almost imperceptible disappearance of the age-long purdah system. Gandhi's influence was also an important factor. In the course of his Champaran mission in Bihar in 1917 he discussed the seclusion of women and pointed out "what harm this pernicious system does to their health and in how many ways they are deprived of the privilege of helping their husbands." [7] A few years later, recalling the women behind the screen at a public function in Darbhanga, he observed: "The sight of the screen made me sad. It pained and humiliated me deeply.Let us not live with one limb completely or partially para

lysed. What we are doing to our women and what we are doing to the 'untouchables' recoils upon our heads with a force thousand times multiplied. It partly accounts for our own weakness, indecision, narrowness and helplessness. Let us tear down the 'purdah with one mighty effort.” 8

The All-India Women’s conference denounced purdah . An anti-purdah movement began in Bihar about 1927. Many influential men and fifty women of orthodox Hindu families issued an appeal demanding that ‘purdah must go, if we want our women to develop along Indian ideals’. In a public meeting held on 8 July, 1928, and crowded with ladies, most of whom had been observing purdah even an hour before, the following resolution was adopted:

<? We, the men and women of Patna assembled, hereby declare that we have today abolished the pernicious practice of the purdah, which has done and is doing incalculable harm to the country, and particularly to women, and we appeal to the other women of the Province, who are still wavering, to banish this system as early as they can and thereby advance their education and health.” 9

On 10 April, 1930, Gandhi had made a special appeal in his paper Young India to the women of India to take up the work of picketing and spinning. The effect was almost miraculous. Thousands of women responded, and even those of orthodox and aristocratic families, who had never before come out of their seclusion, offered themselves for arrest and imprisonment. It took by surprise not only the Government but even the Indians themselves. Miss Mary Campbell, who had carried on temperance work in India for forty years, has vividly described the awakening of the women in Delhi where alone 1600 women were imprisoned. Dhangopal Mukherjee has given a lively description of a meeting in Bombay where a large number of ladies of high class were holding a purdah meeting to discuss the situation, while the men were waiting on the other side of the screen dividing the two. The decision of the ladies was announced in a practical manner by suddenly removing the screen, and exposing them in the full glare of light to the gaze of the bewildered throng of men. Foreign tourists in India, like H. N. Brailsford and G. Slocombe, deeply impressed by the great change that had been wrought in the women-folk of India, almost overnight, observed that if the Civil Disobedience movement had

accomplished nothing else but the emancipation of the women of India, it would have fully justified itself. 10

The two Great Wars, particularly the second one, led to the expansion of Government departments and gave scope for the employment of women in large number. This economic freedom, along with the national struggle for freedom, wrought such changes upon the intellectual, moral and social outlook of Hindu women of upper classes during a period of 30 years as were not witnessed during the

preceding seven hundred years. The abolition of purdah, free social intercourse between men and women, co-education, use of public transports along with men, increase in marriageable age of boys and girls, and practical monogamy of men—-these and many other revolutionary changes were carried out almost imperceptibly and without any protest. Even inter-caste marriages took place without any serious consequence—though they were very few in number.

III. THE CASTE-SYSTEM

The evils of the caste-system did not make any deep impress on the people, and even the Indian National Social Conference, on the whole, took a defensive attitude. The Gaekwar of Baroda, in his Presidential Address at the Social Conference in 1904, denounced the caste-system, but the only practical measure he suggested was the elimination of sub-castes. In 1908 Sankaran Nair observed that the restoration of the original four castes by removing the sub-castes would perhaps be no less difficult than the abolition of the castesystem. But the only reaction to this wise remark was the adoption by the Conference of a resolution calling for the gradual relaxation of caste restrictions. In 1928 the Social Conference passed the following resolution: “This Conference is of opinion that the present caste-system is a great obstacle to the unification of the Hindu society, and therefore resolves that its abolition should be expedited (a) by encouraging true inter-dining, (b) promoting intercaste marriages; and (c) by removing untouchability and all disabilities arising therefrom wherever they exist.” 11 As could be expected, no practical steps were taken to achieve this end. But the progress of this social reform suffered a sudden reverse when Mahatma Gandhi, at the height of his power and popularity, declared himself in favour of maintaining the Varridsrama Dharma and specifically objected to inter-dining and intermarriage. Even when he gave top priority to the removal of untouchability, he expressly defined his aim to exclude even inter-dining. The result was a set-back to the first practical step by way of social equality, viz., the taking of meals by the orthodox Hindus and the members of the untouchables seated side by side. Even staunch Congressmen, who spoke eloquently from public platform in favour of removing untouchability, refused point-blank to join the inter-communal dinners to which members of the Depressed classes were invited. Less straightforward Congressmen offered lame excuses for inability to attend them. Those who had the temerity to join such dinners in the first flush of enthusiasm, readily restored themselves to the favour of their caste-men by performing some kind of penitential ceremony prescribed by the sdstras. 12

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Although, therefore, a section of social reformers denounced the caste-system as a clog in the wheel of national progress and the greatest hindrance to all social reforms, the system remained.

But though the citadel of caste defied all efforts of the social reformers to pull it down, it could not resist the spirit engendered by the social and economic forces of the new age. Cracks in the walls of the citadel were visible to discerning eyes, and these were gradually widened during the period under review. Inter-dining became almost an accepted practice, at least in urban areas. Most remarkable changes in this direction were noticed in the students' hostels as well as in general hotels or common messes of ordinary type, where common meals were the normal rule rather than exception. Even in social and ceremonial parties inter-dining became the general rule. Intermarriage took place not only between the upper castes, but- even between upper castes and Depressed classes, and came to be slowly recognised, at least admitted as an evil necessity. The beginning of this social reform, like the improvement in the status of women, was imperceptible at first, but steadily grew. But although the caste-system was gradually crumbling down, its place was gradually taken by new social classes created by the educational and economical conditions. Prominent among these were the educated middle class, landlords, peasant-proprietors, agricultural labourers, officials, businessmen, merchants, etc.

But in spite of obvious fissiparous tendencies, these classdivisions were a much lesser evil than the caste-system. For these new divisions, not being based O upon birth, were more flexible and less rigid than the caste, and the admission of new entrants was always open. There was "also no' formal restriction in regard to inter-dining and intermarriage.

IV. DEPRESSED CLASSES A. Before Mahatma Gandhi

Though the frontal attack on the citadel of caste produced no appreciable effect, the efforts of the social reformers towards improving the condition of the Depressed Classes and the Untouchables, who formed nearly one-fifth of the total Hindu population, subject to the existing restrictions of inter-dining and intermarriage, evoked sympathy and support of a large section of Hindus long before Gandhi included it as an important item in his political programme for attaining Swaraj.

The Theosophical Society and Arya Samaj also took up the task of educating these classes. As far back as 1897, Mr. K. Ranga

Rau started schools in Mangalore for the free education of the children of the Depressed Classes. Next year, the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay started a Depressed Class Mission, and the Social Conference adopted a resolution on the subject. Ere long, the improvement of Depressed Classes formed an important item in the discussions of various Social Conferences held all over India. In 1906 V. R. Shinde launched the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India in Bombay as an independent association, with Chandavarkar as President, in order to organise the educational activities which had so long been carried on under the auspices of the Prarthana Samaj. The Gaekwar of Baroda had also established schools for the children of Depressed Classes and created scholarships for their higher education. The Depressed Classes Mission Society of Madras was established in 1909.

The work of the reformers got a fillip from two circumstances. The Muslim League, in its political demands, scored a point against the Hindus by pointing out that their claim, based on their numerical strength, was very shallow, inasmuch as the Depressed Classes, foriping a large percentage of the Hindus, could not really be called as such, and this contention was supported by Edward Gait, the Census Commissioner, who had sought to distinguish the Depressed Classes as separate from the Hindus. This point gained great importance when the Muslims demanded communal electorate and their leaders insisted that the number of Depressed Classes should not count in calculating the proportion, respectively, of Hindu and Muslim representation in the various Legislative Councils. These ominous portents undoubtedly served to quicken the zeal of the Hindus to remove the disabilities of the Depressed Classes as far as possible, so that they might be presented without qualm of conscience as forming an indissoluble fraternity with the caste Hindus.

But the mischief, from the orthodox Hindu point of view, was already done. The Depressed Classes were not slow in realizing their potential value as a political factor, and the possibility of gaining from the caste Hindus, by skilful manipulation of their political strength, what they refused to yield on the basis of equity and social justice.

As in the case of women, the Depressed Classes themselves now held conferences to ventilate their grievances and demand their rightful place in the Hindu society. All-India meetings were held under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association in 1910. The All-India Depressed Classes Association and the All-India Depressed Classes Federation were the two chief organizations of the community.

As mentioned above, the Indian National Congress had deliberately excluded the question of social reform from its programme during the first thirty-two years of its existence. But it now found itself constrained to make a bid to win the sympathy and support of the Depressed Classes by espousing their cause.

In a meeting held in Bombay on 11 November, 1917, and presided over by Chandavarkar, the Depressed Classes Mission Society supported the Congress-League scheme of reform and passed the following resolution:

“That the chairman of this meeting be authorised to request the Indian National Congress to pass at its forthcoming session a distinct and independent resolution declaring to the people of India at large the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all the disabilities imposed by religion and custom upon the Depressed Classes, those disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting these classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience by prohibiting them from admission to public schools, hospitals, courts of justice and public offices and the use of public wells, etc. These disabilities, social in origin, amount in law and practice to political disabilities and as such fall legitimately within the political mission and propaganda of the Indian National Congress.^ 13

A second meeting of the Depressed Classes, held in Bombay about a week after the one mentioned above, passed the following resolution:

“(2) That this meeting cannot give its support to the Congress-League Scheme in spite of its having been declared to have been passed at the meeting of 11th November, 1917, by an overwhelming majority.

“(3) That it is the sense of this meeting that the administration of India should be largely under the control of the British till all classes, and specially the Depressed Classes, rise up to a condition to effectually participate in the administration of the country.

“(4) That if the British Government have decided to give political concession to the Indian Public, this meeting prays that Government should grant the Untouchables their own representatives in the various legislative bodies to ensure to them their civil and political rights.” 14

The Indian National Congress accordingly passed the following resolution in its thirty-third annual session held in Calcutta in 1917: “This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience.”

This resolution is almost a verbatim repetition of the resolution passed by the Depressed Classes Mission Society quoted above, and there can be hardly any doubt that the one was inspired by the other.

When it is remembered that on 20 August, 1917, Mr. Montagu made the famous announcement of granting Responsible Government to the Indians, it is easy to understand the anxiety of the Congress to placate the moderate section of the Depressed Classes. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that the resolution passed by the Congress in December, 1917, was not inspired by a spirit of social justice, but by the less laudable motive of gaining political power. This is true, to a large extent, of the subsequent efforts of the Congress, as a body, in the same direction. The First All-India Depressed Classes Conference was held on 23-24 March, 1918, and attended by prominent political leaders. It issued an All-India AntiUntouchability Manifesto to the effect that they would not observe untouchability in their everyday affairs. Tilak denounced untouchability and said it must be removed, but he did not sign the manifesto.

It is thus apparent that since 1917, if not before, the problem of the Depressed Classes—including the removal of untouchability— became more and more a political rather than a social question. Even Mahatma Gandhi, whose name is indissolubly associated with the progress of this great reform after 1920, made no secret of the fact that he valued it mainly as a necessity for attaining Swaraj than as a purely social reform based on humanitarian grounds. As he very succinctly put it in his Presidential Address at the Belgaum Congress in 1924, “everything that is absolutely essential for Swaraj, is more than merely social work, and must be taken by the Congress”. That is why he gave top priority to the removal of untouchability in his programme.

This aspect of the question should be remembered in judging of the dominant part played by Gandhi in social reform during the period subsequent to his entry into Indian politics. Bare justice also requires that we must not forget the contribution made by pure and genuine social reformers in promoting the welfare of the Depressed Classes before Gandhi took up the question as part of a much wider political problem. This is specially necessary as some of the items, for which sole credit is given to

Gandhi, including the right of entry into temples,, were advocated by social reformers before him.

"In 1915 Sir Narayan Chandavarkar had indicated that admission to schools, the use of public roads, and access to wells, were civic rights which ought not to be withheld from the depressed classes. This he affirmed even more strongly in 1920 when he visited Malabar where the restrictions on these classes were at their worst. After a session of the Depressed Class Conference, he led a procession of 5,000 on the forbidden road to Cochin Fort. It was largely through his influence too that the Government of Bombay had declared a policy of equal rights to educational facilities for the depressed classes. It was Sir Narayan, too, who had referred to temple entry in 1920 in his speech at Cochin." 15

B. The Era of Gandhi

Gandhi's entry into active politics in India is generally regarded as having ushered in a new era in the history of the removal of untouchability. Like many other notions about Gandhi, it is a highly exaggerated statement, although he played a notable part in giving a fillip to the great reform movement for removing untouchability. Gandhi dominated the Congress since 1920 and it passed a resolution in 1921 appealing to the Hindus 'to bring about removal of untouchability, and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes." Next year the Congress appointed a Committee "to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so-called 'untouchables' throughout the country". This was intended to give effect to the Constructive Programme which Gandhi launched after the failure of the Nonco-operation movement and was adopted by the Working Committee of the Congress at Bardoli in February, 1922. The Committee's achievements were very poor and this was practically recognized by the Working Committee of the Congress. It passed a resolution in May, 1923, requesting the All-India Hindu Mahasabha also to take up this matter and to make strenuous efforts to remove this evil from amidst the Hindu community. The sequel, though not unexpected, is worth mentioning. In August, 1923, Madan Mohan Malaviya made a powerful appeal from the platform of Hindu Mahasabha for the removal of untouchability. But the resolution moved for this purpose was dropped owing to the opposition of the orthodox section.

It would be interesting to discuss in this connection the extent to which Gandhi himself was prepared to go in working out this programme of reform. It has already been stated above that he was not in favour of interdining and intermarriage among different castes, far less the total abolition of caste without which it is vain to expect a real and lasting improvement in the condition of the untouchables. What is stranger still, he did not even always support the idea of the untouchables entering the Hindu temples. Thus he said: “How is it possible that the Antyajas (Untouchables) should have the right to enter all the existing temples? As long as the law of caste and ashram has the chief place in the Hindu religion, to say that every Hindu can enter every temple is a thing that is not possible today”. 16 This attitude was displayed in actual practice when, “on 30 March, 1924, the Kerala Congress Committee, with some encouragement from Congressmen elsewhere, decided to launch a Satydgraha in Yaikom, a village in Travancore, where the road to a temple had been forbidden to depressed, classes. The agitation confined itself to securing the use of the forbidden road to depressed classes, and with setbacks was carried on for over a year, when it was settled on the personal intervention of Gandhiji on a status quo basis”. 17 The problem of the Depressed classes entered a new phase after the historic fast of Gandhi, followed by the Poona Pact signed on 24 September, 1932. The very next day the following resolution was adopted in a Conference of the Hindus at Bombay:

“This Conference resolves that henceforth, amongst Hindus, no one shall be regarded as an Untouchable by reason of his birth, and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same right as other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, public schools, public roads, and all other public institutions. This right shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall be one of the earliest Acts of the Swaraj Parliament, if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.

“It is further agreed that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, an early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the socalled Untouchable Classes, including the bar in respect of admission to temples.”

“This resolution was followed by a feverish activity on the part of the Hindus to throw open temples to the Untouchables. No week passed in which the Harijan, a weekly paper started by Mr. Gandhi, did not publish a long list of temples thrown open, wells thrown open and schools thrown open to the Untouchables set out under special column headed “Week to Week” on the first page”. 18

As before, Satyagrahas were launched to force the trustees to throw open temples, and what was done at Vaikom in 1924 was repeated at Guruvayur, as will be stated later. But there was something more. Bills were introduced —one in the Madras Legislative Council and four in the Central Legislative Assembly—regulating the entry of untouchables to the Hindu temples.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

But all this did not evoke much enthusiasm among the untouchables. The reasons for their indifference, as stated by Dr. Ambedkar, may be summed up as follows:

First, the principle underlying the Temple-Entry Bill of Mr. Eanga Iyer is that if a majority of Municipal and Local Board voters in the vicinity of any particular temple on a referendum decide by a majority that the Depressed Classes shall be allowed to enter the temple, the Trustees or the Manager of that temple shall give effect to that decision. But if past experience be any guide there is little chance of securing such majority.

Secondly, the Bill regards untouchability merely as social evil but does not declare it to be inherently illegal, immoral, and sinful. According to the Depressed Classes it is so, and “it must be destroyed without any hesitation even if it was acceptable to the majority”.

Thirdly, the untouchables did not place much value on temple entry. “They think that the surest way of their elevation lies in higher education, higher employment and better ways of earning a living. Once they became well placed in life the religious outlook of the orthodox towards them was sure to undergo change."

There was also, they felt, the question of self-respect. This was put by Dr. Ambedkar in words which every orthodox easte-Hindu should ponder upon.

"Not very long ago there used to be boards on club doors and other social resorts maintained by Europeans in India, which said "Dogs and Indians" not allowed. The temples of Hindus carry similar boards to-day, the only difference is that the boards on the Hindu temples practically say: 'All Hindus and all animals including dogs are admitted, only Untouchables not admitted.' The situation in both cases is on a parity. But Hindus never begged for admission in those places from which the Europeans in their arrogance had excluded them. Why should an Untouchable beg for admission in a place from which he has been excluded by the arrogance of the Hindus?"

Finally he asked the question:

"Is temple entry to be the final goal of the advancement in the social status of the Depressed Classes in the Hindu fold? Or is if only the first step, and if it is the first step, what is the ultimate goal?" He then added:

'If the Hindu religion is to be their religion, then it must become a religion of Social Equality.... merely an amendment of the Hindu religious code to provide temple-entry is not enough. What is re

quired is to purge it of the doctrine of Chaturvarna (which is the) parent of the caste-system and untouchability.' 19

The only valid reply to these very reasonable arguments would be to point out that old customs and usages, striking roots in the society for 3000 years or more, could not be eradicated in a day, but must be taken up stage by stage. Of course, this presupposes a clear enunciation of the ultimate goal— abolition of caste-system— and adoption of a definite programme to achieve it. Even Ambedkar would, perhaps, have been satisfied with it. But unfortunately, Hindu leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi, definitely expressed views opposing the abolition of caste. The result was that an extreme section, led by Ambedkar, urged the Depressed Classes to leave the fold of Hinduism and embrace some other religion.

As mentioned above, the movement of temple-entry began with a great fanfare in 1932-33. The weekly reports in the Harijan of the number of temples and wells thrown open to the untouchables, and of other concessions made to them, became gradually shorter and ultimately vanished altogether. “As a matter of fact”, says Ambedkar, “a large part of the news that appeared in the ‘Week to Week 5 was faked and was nothing but a lying propaganda engineered by Congressmen to deceive the world that the Hindus were determined to fight untouchability. Few temples, if any, were really opened, and of those that were reported to have been opened most were dilapidated and deserted temples which were used by none but dogs and donkeys’ 5 . 20 This seems to be an exaggeration, but there is no means to make a proper assessment of the success of the voluntary movement. There is no doubt, however, that a large number of temples were opened to the untouchables, and there was a change of sentiment in favour of it.

Sensation w^as created by the fast commenced by Mr. Kelappan on 20 September, 1932, with a view to throw open to untouchables the temple of Krishna at Guruvayur in the Ponnani taluk in Malabar. The Zamorin of Calicut, as the trustee of the temple, stood firm, and though Gandhi offered his full support to Kelappan and even threatened to undertake a fast himself, the doors of the temple remained closed to the untouchables. Ambedkar has severely criticised Gandhi for his failure to undertake the sympathetic fast promised by him. 21

The fate of the legislation on the subject was still more tragic. As mentioned above, there w r ere no less than five Bills introduced tfor regulating the temple-entry. Four of these were dropped and only one, moved by Mr. Ranga Iyer in the Central Legislature on

24 March, 1933, was pursued. It was strenuously opposed both inside and outside the Assembly from the very beginning. The motion for the circulation of the Bill was adopted, but before any further progress could be made, the Assembly was dissolved and a new election was held. The Congress was evidently afraid to face the electorate with the issue of

temple-entry, and discreetly omitted it in their election manifesto. The main objective of the Congress was to sweep the polls and it was justly feared that by an open support of temple-entry the party would lose the votes of the orthodox section. So the Congress appealed to the country only on the political issue and that sealed the fate of all future legislation on templeentry. The same reason which originally induced the Indian National Congress to exclude social reform from its programme operated once again. A great deal may be said in support of the Congress view that, for the moment, the achievement of political freedom was the first object and anything that was likely to stand in the way must be sacrificed, though it might otherwise be very valuable. Nothing but an overwhelming success at the polls would enable the Congress to make a vigorous stand against the Government, and the Congress leaders felt, perhaps rightly, that an open support of temple-entry of the untouchables would ruin the chance of such a complete success. At the same time, we should realize how the attitude of the Congress must have been a cruel blow to the Depressed Classes. They cannot be blamed for treating as utterly insincere the professions hitherto made by Gandhi and the Congress for their welfare, and regarding themselves as a mere pawn in the political game between the Congress on the one hand and the British Government and Muslim League on the other. The intensity of their resentment and despair of getting social justice from the Hindus may be judged from the provocation which led Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in 1945 to write his famous book, What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, and lead a campaign of mass conversion of the untouchables to Buddhism even after the achievement of political independence.

It should be remembered, however, that the Congress Governments, formed in various Provinces as a result of the General Election (of 1937), adopted various measures, particularly free education for the Depressed Classes, to improve their lot. As regards the specific issue of temple-entry, the Congress Government of Bombay passed the Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Act permitting the trustees, if they wished, to admit the Harijans to the temples even if the current custom or the Instrument of Trust debarred them.

Reference has been made above to the resolution passed at a meeting on the day following the Poona Pact urging the removal of untouchability. Five days later, on 30 September, 1932, another largely attended meeting in Bombay passed a resolution forming an All-India Anti-Untouchability League with its headquarters in Delhi. The aims and objects of this organization were laid down as follows:

"Carrying propaganda against Untouchability and taking immediate steps to secure as early as practicable that all public wells, dharmasalas, roads, schools, crematoriums, burning ghats and all . public temples be declared open to the Depressed Classes, provided that no compulsion or force shall be used and that only peaceful persuasion shall be adopted towards this end". 22

Gandhi later changed the name of the League to Harijan Sevak Sangh, Harijan being the word by which Gandhi designated the untouchables. It would be convenient to use this name throughout this chapter.

As regards the programme, such ambitious reforms as introduction of inter-caste dinners and marriages were excluded, and stress was laid on constructive work such as "the uplift of Depressed Classes educationally, economically, and socially", with which "even a staunch Sanatanist can have nothing but sympathy".

As regards method, each Province was divided into a number of units, each of which would be placed in charge of paid workers. It was calculated that there would be 184 such units each of which would annually cost Rs. 3000. Together with administrative expenses in Central and Provincial offices, the total annual expenditure was calculated to be in round number about six lakhs of rupees.

The Sangh did a lot of useful work. It set up separate primary schools, where necessary, instituted scholarships for High School students and trainees in Arts, Technical and Professional courses; and maintained hostels for untouchable students. The Industrial Schools turned out a number of artisans.

The Sangh maintained a few dispensaries for the use of the untouchables, and medical aid was given by itinerant workers of the Sangh to the sick and the ailing among the untouchables. It also facilitated water supply to the untouchables by (1) sinking new wells or installing tube wells and pumps for the use of the untouchables, (2) repairing old ones and (3) persuading Local Governments and Bodies to sink and repair wells for the untouchables. 23

The chief credit for the valuable welfare work done by the Sangh is undoubtedly due to Gandhi. He was not only the guiding

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genius of the whole movement, but actually collected a sum of eight lakhs of rupees by an all-India tour, mostly on foot, for about nine months. The rich friends and admirers of Gandhi made handsome donations and the Congress Ministries also made large grants. But even with all these the requisite sum was not available, and during the first eight years the Sangh spent about 28 lakhs of rupees —only a little more than half of the estimated amount. The amount was quite inadequate for forty to fifty millions of untouchables, and a section of the untouchables naturally made grievances against the Hindus, that while one crore was raised for Tilak Swaraj Fund, they did not contribute towards the welfare of the Depressed Classes more than twenty-eight lakhs. But the untouchables had other grounds of complaint. Out of the eight members of the Central Board of the Sangh, as originally constituted, three belonged to the untouchable community. But first Ambedkar, and then the two others, M.C. Rajah and Rao Bahadur Srinivasan, retired from the Board. Since then no representative of the untouchables was ever appointed on the Board. A writer in the Indian Social Reformer of 14 October, 1944, refers to this in the following words:

‘A deputation of Harijans waited on Gandhiji at Sevagram with the request that members of the castes grouped under the head of ‘Scheduled Castes’ should be allowed representation on the governing body of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Gandhiji is reported to have replied that the Sangh is meant to help Harijans and was not a Harijan organization and, therefore, their request was inadmissible”. 24

Dr. Ambedkar observes:

“Mr. Gandhi has propounded a new doctrine in defence of his position. He says: “The welfare work for the Untouchables is a penance which the Hindus have to do for the sin of Untouchability. The money that has been collected has been contributed by the Hindus. From both points of view the Hindus alone must run the Sangh. Neither ethics nor right would justify Untouchables in claiming a seat on the Board of the Sangh”. 25

No authority is cited for any of the above statements and it is difficult to believe that Gandhi made any such remark.

The gravamen of the charges against the Harijan Sevak Sangh is that this organization served as a wing of the Congress and that “its real aim is to ensnare the Untouchables, to make them the campfollowers of the Hindus and the Congress”. 26 In support of this contention Ambedkar refers to an attempt of the General Secretary to disqualify the students of the Mahar community for some Government scholarships, obviously because the Mahars were against

the Congress, and also to utilize the Conference of the Sangh workers to change the system of voting under the Poona Pact. 27

Far more real and reasonable was the grievance, that while the Sangh did a lot of welfare work, it did practically nothing to remove untouchability from the Hindu society which was its chief object. Whereas the resolution founding the Sangh, quoted above, clearly stated its object to be “carrying propaganda against Untouchability”, G. D. Birla and A. V. Thakkar, the President and Secretary, respectively, of the Sangh, issued a statement on 3rd November, i.e. only two months after its inauguration, that its “main line of work will be constructive such as the uplift of Depressed Classes educationally, economically and socially, which itself will go a great way to remove untouchability”. This, by itself, clearly indicates a departure from the original resolution. But as if this was not enough to irritate the Depressed Classes, the statement added: “With such a work even a staunch Sanatanist can have nothing but sympathy. And it is for such work mainly that the League has been established”. 28 The Depressed Classes cannot be blamed if they infer from all this that the Sangh (League) was more anxious to placate Sanatanists than to carry on genuine social reform by removing the virus of untouchability from the Hindu society. No wonder that in spite of its praiseworthy philanthropic activities the Sangh (League) failed to inspire any genuine sentiment for social reform among the orthodox Hindus, and the Depressed Classes did not adequately appreciate the valuable services rendered by the Sangh (League) to their community.

But whatever might have been the achievements of the Harijan Sevak Sangh or the organizations of the Harijans themselves, there is no denying the fact that the most important factor that contributed to the amelioration of the Depressed Classes was the new spirit of the time engendered by the World Wars, the national struggle for freedom, and the great economic and other changes that were sweeping the country. Modern systems of transport —Railway trains, buses, trams—where all had to sit together, modern industrial factories where orthodox Hindu and Depressed Class labourers had to work, live and fight (in cases of strike) side by side, the great national struggle where all classes mingled together to fight for a noble and inspiring cause—all these brought all classes and creeds together in close physical touch and spelt doom to untouchability, both in theory and in practice. The value of individuals and their equality, not only in the eye of the law but also laid down and guaranteed in the democratic constitution as its very basis,—practical examples of which one had to face almost every day in life—could not fail to give a mortal blow to the deep-rooted sense of superiority

inherent in the orthodox Hindus. These causes have been in operation to relax the rigidity of the caste-system and loosen the foundation of the iron wall that was raised by the ancient orthodox Hindus between themselves and those who were regarded by them as untouchables. It is no longer a question of ‘whether’ but ‘when* that wall will fall.

V. TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION

One other great social evil was sought to be removed by legislative enactment and executive actions of the Government. As mentioned above, one of the evil effects of contact with Western society and culture was the growth of drinking habits among the Englisheducated classes, specially in Bengal in the nineteenth century. The problem in the twentieth century was to save the working classes from this ruinous habit. The question was taken up by the Social Conferences and a temperance resolution was passed in every annual session. Temperance societies sprang up in large number all over the country and in 1924 the National Prohibition Association of India was formed. These attempts, however, had little effect.

Gandhi included prohibition as one of the items in his Constructive Programme, and the picketing of liquor shops during the Nonco-operation movement produced some temporary effect. It was always recognised that nothing but strong action on the part of the Government could eradicate the evil. As far back as 1890 Gokhale had denounced the system of licensing liquor shops and auctioning licences. But the loss of revenue from excise stood as a great obstacle. After the Reformed Constitution under the Government of India Act of 1919 was introduced, attempts were made to legislate on the subject. The Indian Legislative Assembly voted for Prohibition in 1925, but both the Central and Provincial Governments were opposed to the idea mainly on two grounds: (1) the loss of revenue; and (2) the likely increase in illicit distillation. Most of the Provincial Governments accepted ‘prohibition’ as the ultimate goal, but no time-limit was set and practically nothing was done to devise concrete steps to attain the goal. Only the Madras Legislature adopted a resolution in 1926 accepting Prohibition in 20 years as the goal.

The Congress ministries set up in 1937 showed some activities in order to carry into practice what they had so long preached. Voices were raised against hasty introduction of Prohibition, but Gandhi insisted on immediate implementation of the Congress programme. Nevertheless, the action taken by the various State Governments was meagre and half-hearted, and varied in character. “Madras, first to declare itself under Mr. Rajagopalachari, favoured introduction in

one district, Salem, where he had done considerable spadework for over a quarter century. Bombay started with Prohibition in the city itself, making up the loss in revenue with a property tax. Both Bombay and Madras exempted Europeans, and the Central Provinces made a further concession to aborigines. Bengal and Sind, Muslim Provinces outside the Congress influence, approved of Prohibition, but did not implement it in any way. The

United Provinces initiated a district-wise policy which, the Government hoped, would cover the whole province in time". 29

It was quite clear that there was no genuine enthusiasm for the cause among the Congressmen, and no clear conception of the subject. Referring to Prohibition in the Bombay city, Gandhi declared that the Bombay Government was not introducing Prohibition, but only shutting down liquor shops. Some have observed that "there were men serving on Prohibition Boards, who did not know that Prohibition implied giving up alcohol". 30

VI. SEA-VOYAGE

One great reform that silently took place, without any legislation or great agitation, was the removal of restriction to Sea-voyage. In the first decade of this century a young man of orthodox Hindu family proceeding abroad across the sea, even for education, would find himself an outcast on his return, and could, at best, be readmitted into society by performing expiatory ceremonies for committing a sin. The need and facilities for foreign education, commercial journeys caused by economic necessity, and other forces of time succeeded in removing the last vestiges of such restriction and Hindu men and women proceeding abroad in large number hardly caused a ripple in the placid water of the society.

VII. SOCIAL WELFARE

A characteristic feature of the spirit of social reform in the twentieth century is the widening of its scope, embracing what is generally known as Social Welfare work. Prominent examples of these are:

1. Child welfare. It includes proper arrangement for health, education and recreational and cultural activities. The last item is served by organizations like the Bharat Scouts and Guides, the N.C.C., St. John's Ambulance in colleges and universities, publication of juvenile literature, specially children's books and magazines, children's clubs, specially programmes of the All-India Radio, excursions, etc.

2. Youth welfare. It is served by Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., and organized social service work in colleges and universities.

3. Adult Education. This got a great impetus when the popular ministries came into power in 1937. During the period 1938-42 the number of adult classes or centres rose to 1,88,777. Nearly 78,18,189 persons were enrolled in the classes and the number of adults who became literate was 29,04,068. In 1940 the Central Advisory Board of Education considered the question in all its aspects and laid down a detailed programme. The Jamia Millia of Delhi established an Adult-Education Department, which organized community centres and brought out literature for neo-literates. Another notable event was the formation of Indian Adult Education Association in 1939 as a result of the first Indian Adult Education Conference in 1938 organised by the Delhi Adult Education Association founded in 1937.

4. The Problem of Beggary. It attracted a great deal of attention and there were both Central and State Legislations to control the menacing evil. But no effective improvement was noticeable.

5. Help to the Physically Handicapped. The great humanitarian work to offer help to the blind, the deaf and the crippled, who constituted about 3 per cent, of the total population, evoked great sympathy, and organised efforts were made to educate them.

6. Labour welfare. This was regarded as an important item of Social Service, and its scope was extended so as to cover even the life of the worker outside the factory; such as his health and morals, and the amenities of life to his family by the improvement of housing, transport, sanitation, etc., and provision of co-operatives, recreation, education etc.

For the work inside the factory several legislations were passed. The Factory Act of 1911 improved the condition of women and children working in the factory and limited the work of children to six and adults to twelve hours per day. By the Act of 1922 a person under 15 was considered a child, and children under 12 could not be employed in a factory. The Act .of 1945 provided for holidays to workers with pay.

Shri N.M. Joshi drew up a scheme for carrying on welfare work for thirteen mills of the Currimbhoy group. It was mainly a programme of educational work. A night school was started where, besides reading and writing, some instruction was imparted in mechanics and in spinning and weaving. There were co-operative societies for credit facilities to mill workers and for encouraging thrift by inducing them to keep deposits in the societies. A temperance club and a recreation centre were established. The expenses were borne by the management, amounting to Rs. 100,000 a year, for five years till 1922. For the same period, similar work

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was undertaken with the Tata Mills at the same cost to the management. Under the auspices of the Social Service League, an AllIndia Industrial Welfare Conference was launched in 1922 where workers' welfare was discussed by delegates from all industrial centres, and an All-India Industrial Workers' Organisation was planned. Later in 1924, Mr. Joshi established a Textile Technical School for training workers on the model of training schools in Western countries. The Leagule also did some pioneering work in adult literacy". 31

1. Vol. X, p. 258.

2. Cf. S. Natarajan, A Century of Social Reform in India, pp. 109-10.

3. Ibid, p. 131.

4. Ibid, pp. 123-4.

4a. See above, p. 884.

5. Ibid, p. 122.

6. Quoted by K. K. Datta in Renaissance, Nationalism and Social Changes in Modem India, p. 111.

6a. Cf. pp. 902-5.

7. Tendulkar, I. 248.

8. The Young India, 3 February, 1927. Quoted by K. K. Datta, op. cit., p. 113.

9. K. K. Datta, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

10. Freedom-Indi a, pp. 340-1.

11. K. K. Datta, op. cit., p. 126.

12. Natarajan, op. cit., pp. 149-50.

13. Ibid, pp. 144-5.

14. Ambedkar, B. R., What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables ,

p. 16.

15. Natarajan, p. 148.

16. Gandhi Sikshan, Vol. II, p. 132, quoted by Ambedkar, op. cit., p. 107.

17. Natarajan, p. 148.

18. Ambedkar, pp. 103-4.

19. Ibid, pp. 108-12.

20. Ibid, p. 115.

21. Ibid, pp. 115-7.

22. Ibid, p. 126.

23. Ibid, p. 130.

24. Ibid, p. 132.

25. Ibid, p. 142.

26. Ibid, p. 145.

27. Ibid, p. 144.

28. Ibid, p. 141. The statement added: “Social reforms like the abolition of the caste system and inter-dining are kept outside the scope of the League.”

29. Natarajan, p. 162.

30. Ibid, p. 163.

31. Ibid, p. 1231 For details of the work of the Social Service League mentioned above for improving the condition of labourers in Bombay, cf. ibid., pp. 122-3.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE PRESS

I. THE PERIOD FROM 1905 TO 1920 A. GENERAL REVIEW

The Indian Press, during the period covered by this Volume, may be truly described as the handmaid of politics. The political upheaval in India, narrated in detail in Rook I, Part I, and the Press acted and reacted upon each other. The Press not only reflected the diverse views and forces that lay behind the national struggle for freedom, but to a large extent sustained and gave them a definite shape and vigour. On the other hand, the movement not only supplied valuable materials to the Press but also stimulated its activities by making it a vehicle for the most exciting political propaganda that was ever witnessed in India during British rule. While the political movement put the Press on a high pedestal and made it a live force such as it has never been before, the Press imbued the people with patriotic fervour, indomitable courage, and heroic selfsacrifice to an extraordinary degree. The new spirit which seized the Press at the beginning of the period under review may be judged from the following statement made by Arabinda Ghosh about the Bande Mataram edited by him:

“It came into being in answer to an imperative public need and not to satisfy any private ambition or personal whim; it was bom in a great and critical hour for the whole nation and has a message to deliver, which nothing on earth can prevent it from delivering.... It claims that it has given expression to the will of the people and sketched their ideals and aspirations with the greatest amount of fidelity”. 1 The same spirit was displayed by Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, the Editor of the Sandhyd, when he made the famous statement before the court which has been quoted above. 2

The Indian Press maintained its old vigour and a new blood and a new spirit were infused into it. Needless to add that it aligned itself to different political units or parties that were thrown up by the conflict.

The Anglo-Indian Press, i.e., the newspapers owned and edited by Englishmen, naturally supported the Government. The Statesman, the

Englishman , and the Asian of Calcutta, the Times of India of Bombay, the Madras Mail, the Pioneer of Allahabad, the Civil and Military Gazette of Lahore, and other Anglo-Indian newspapers lent their full and indiscriminate support to the Government and the British community. There was, no doubt, some difference of degree, but not of kind, to distinguish one from the other in this respect. The Pioneer was, to all intents and purposes, an official organ. It was looked upon as the voice of the British officials and had a circulation of about 4,000. The Statesman of Calcutta had gained some reputation as a supporter of reasonable Indian opinion under the able editorship of S.K. Radcliffe, but soon became a strong advocate of British interests in India. The Times of India, the only English Daily in Bombay, rapidly increased its reputation under the able guidance of Stanley Reed Fraser, one of the leading journalists of his time, and Lord Curzon once referred to it as the first newspaper of Asia. Being confronted by the one anna Bombay Chronicle in 1913, the price of the Times of India was also lowered to this level and its circulation went up to more than 12,000. Compared with the North Indian English Press the Anglo-Indian papers of Bombay were less amenable to the official control. The Government naturally looked upon the Indian Press as its enemy and the Anglo-Indian Press as its friend, and therefore treated the latter with favour and condoned its lapses. The following observations of Gokhale regarding the articles in the Anglo-Indian Press hold good throughout the period under review: “The terms of race arrogance and contempt in which some of these newspapers constantly speak of Indians, and specially of educated Indians, cut into the mind more than the lash can cut into the flesh. Many of my countrymen imagine that every AngloTndian pen that writes in the Press, is dipped in government ink. It is an absurd idea but it does great harm all the same.” [3]

Again, “I would like to see the official who would dare to arrest and march to the Police Thana the editor of an Anglo-Indian newspaper. But so far as Indian editors are concerned, there are, I fear, officers in this country who would not be sorry to march whole battalions of them to the Police Thana.” [4]

The climax was reached when the Anglo-Indian Press lent support to Brigadier-General Dyer and the Martial Law in the Punjab. But this had an unfortunate effect upon it. As it became more and more an official organ, its expansion almost necessarily declined. For, as there was only one point of view to be expressed, there was no room for more than one newspaper in each important centre. The disappearance of the Englishman of Calcutta, leaving the field to its whilom rival, the Statesman , is perhaps best explained on this ground.

The Indian section of the Press backed up the different political parties, particularly the Moderates and the Extremists, and their

different sub-groups. The Government sought to crush it with a high hand, with the help of the repressive lav/s mentioned above. 5 Many eminent Indian journalists fell victims to these laws. Arabinda Ghosh and Brahma-bandhab Upadhyaya of Bengal were prosecuted. The former took refuge in Pondicherry and the latter died during his trial. In Madras and the South, Chidambaram Pillai and Subrahmania Siva were sentenced to six years' transportation; Srinivas Iyengar, editor of the Tamil India, was deported for five years; the editor and proprietor of the Telugu Swaraj were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. In the Central Provinces, the editor of the Hart Kishore was sentenced to five years' rigorous imprisonment, and the press was confiscated. In the United Provinces, the editor of the Urdu-i-Moalla was sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500; and Hoti Lai Varma was deported for seven years for communicating a seditious message to the Bande Mataram. 6

Several newspapers ceased publication in 1908 after the first Press Act was passed, most of them expressing sympathy and support for the terrorists. Nine prosecutions were instituted—and of the seven presses confiscated, four were in Bengal, two in the Punjab and one in Bombay. 7

Apart from rigorous Press laws the Government attempted subsidization of the Press. Even the noted journalist, Narendra-nath Sen, the Editor of the Indian Mirror, agreed to start a Bengali newspaper with Government subsidy (191J.) and was completely discredited by this act. 8

Nevertheless the Indian Press, both in English and Indian languages, boldly expressed the different points of view that stirred the Indian public. Generally speaking, most of the Indian papers cared less for material gain and more for the patriotic duty of inspiring the people with the advanced political ideas that appeared to be most suitable for the time in their judgment.

The events in the Punjab in 1919 brought to light the best in the Indian-owned and the worst in the Anglo-Indian Press, as well as the real attitude of the Indian Government towards both. In spite of the iron curtain which the Government threw round the Punjab, the tragic happenings in that Province, particularly the horrible massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh and the brutalities perpetrated under the Martial Law, were partially reported in the Indian Press, even at great risk, undaunted by the repressive laws in force. The attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press reflected the views of their community which made Dyer a hero and rewarded him as such with a purse collected by public subscriptions. Some of these papers fully

exonerated Dyer, O'Dwyer and the rest from all blame, a few pleaded extenuating circumstances to excuse their conduct, while most of them vindicated the inhuman conduct of the Martial Law officers. The Government used all the repressive laws and the Defence of India Act to penalize the Indian Press which had the temerity to bring to light the black deeds they tried to hide from the public. A few instances may be cited:

"The Bombay Chronicle topped the list of newspapers which were victimised. Its editor, Benjamin Guy Horniman, was deported, an action reminiscent of the days of the East India Company. The directors suspended the publication of the paper for nearly a month after which it resumed publication subject to an order of censorship, after having deposited a security of Rs. 5,000 which was later enhanced to Rs. 10,000. The Amrita Bazar Patrika forfeited a security of Rs. 5,000 and deposited a fresh security of Rs. 10,000. The Tribune deposited a security of Rs. 2,000, its editor was sentenced to imprisonment and a fine, and the paper suspended publication for a few days. The Ptmjabee suspended publication altogether. The Hindu and the Swadesamitram of Madras were asked to furnish a security of Rs. 2,000 each, and the former paper was banned in the Punjab and Burma. The

Independent of Lakhnau was similarly penalised. Three papers were penalised in Sind and two suspended publication. The Pratap of Lahore was prosecuted under the Act in respect of certain articles relating to incidents in Delhi, and its editor was sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500. A number of other papers were required to furnish securities." 9

As against this dismal picture of official repression and the degeneration of the British Press, there were a few redeeming features. "The Imperial Press Conference, which met in London in 1909, was attended by Surendra-nath Banerjee representing the Indian-owned Press and Stanley Reed among the representatives of the British Press in India. It was at the instance of Reed that cable charges were drastically cut and the cheaper press rates favoured by Curzon came into existence. The amendment of the Indian Telegraph Act enabled news agencies to come into being by extending press facilities to them—till then a news agency was only able to function through the correspondentship of a newspaper. And towards the end of the war in 1918, Stanley Reed was asked to organise publicity for the Government of India and, at the personal request of Chelmsford, he continued despite the opposition of officialdom. Indian editors, too, were invited by the British Government to visit England and the war theatres. The delegation, virtually headed by Kasturi Ranga Aiyengar of the Hindu, visited the war sites and reached England after the armistice-was signed." 10

B. THE NEWSPAPERS DURING 1905-1920

I. Newspapers in English

In spite of the heavy hands of repression with which the Government sought to stifle the Indian Press, many old papers continued to foster the spirit of nationalism, and a number of new Monthly Magazines and Dailies and Weeklies made their appearance. Among them the most notable was the Bande Mataram (1906), the organ of the newly risen Extremist Party, edited by Arabinda Ghosh. It propounded the political philosophy of the Party and anticipated Gandhi by an elaborate discussion of Passive Resistance, known later as Satydgraha or Civil Disobedience or Non-violent Non-co-operation.

Delhi's first newspaper, the Delhi Mail, was started during the First World War. Among other papers may be mentioned the Leader of Allahabad, launched by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in 1909 with the support of the Moderate leaders, which became a powerful organ of the Moderate (later Liberal) Party under the able editorship of C. Y. Chintamani after 1911; the Bombay Chronicle of Pherozeshah Mehta, started in 1913 as an organ of the Moderate Party; the New India and the Commonweal of Mrs. Besant to which reference has been made above; 11 the Justice, the powerful organ of the non-Brahmin or Justice Party in Madras started in 1917 under the editorship of T.M. Nair, who was replaced later by Ramaswami Mudaliar^ the Young India , a Weekly, started by the Home Rule Party of Bombay which was destined to win world-wide renown in the hands of Gandhi who took it over in 1919; lla the Comrade, another Weekly, started in Calcutta in 1911, which rose into prominence in 1918 when its founder-editor Muhammad Ali leapt into fame as the Khilafat-cum-national leader, as noted above ; llb the Independent, launched by Pandit Motilal Nehru at Lakhnau in 1919 when, being outmanoeuvred by Chintamani, he failed to capture the Leader of Allahabad by winning over the majority of the share-holders; the Servant, a new paper in Calcutta supporting Gandhi; the Searchlight, an English Daily and a staunch supporter of Gandhi, started in 1918 in Patna by Sachchidananda Simha in association with the Maharaja of Darbhanga; and the Tribune of Lahore which, under the editorship of Nagendra-nath Gupta (1911) and Kali-nath Roy (1917), regained its old importance.

The Daily Gazette of Karachi and the New Times of T. I. Vaswani were the organs, respectively, of the British business community and the Nationalist Indians in Sindh. When the New Times

closed down in 1919, the Sind Observer took its place, its guiding spirit being K. Punnaiah of Andhra who settled down in Karachi for this purpose. Among the Monthlies, the Modem Review (1911) of Calcutta edited by Ramananda Chatterji, the Hindusthan Review of Patna edited by Sachchidananda Simha, and Natesan's Indian Review attained all-India fame.

Among the old Papers the Bengalee and the Amritabazar Patrika of Calcutta, the Hindu of Madras, and the Mahratta of Tilak still occupied a prominent position. These and the new Papers, mentioned above, proved more than a match to the Anglo-Indian papers which began to lose grounds except in Bombay and Calcutta. The two commercial Weeklies, the Capital and Commerce, were sponsored by the British business interests in Calcutta, but the first Industrial Journal, the Indian Textile Journal, was founded by S. Rutnagar in Bombay in 1910.

II. Newspapers in Indian Languages

1. Bengali

Several important Papers in different Indian languages also made their appearance. Two Bengali Dailies—the Ndyak , edited by Panchkari Banerji and the Sandhyd edited by Brahma-bandhab Upadhyaya,—written in racy popular dialects, gained great popularity. The Vasumati —daily, weekly, and monthly—was started in 1914 by Hemendra-prasad Ghosh who organized an efficient service of news for his paper. The monthly Prabdsi, edited by Ramananda Chatterji (1901), was distinguished for the editorial notes and views and the wealth of information culled from various sources. Both Ramananda Chatterji and Hemendra-prasad Ghosh came to be recognized as the doyens of Bengali journalists. An important monthly magazine, the Bharatavarsha, was started in 1913. The old papers, the Hitabddi and the Sanjivani, and a new paper, Atmasakti, edited by Manoranjan Guha Thakurta, gave powerful support to the national movement.

2. Hindi

The Bharat Mitra, under the two editors, Bal Mukand Gupta and Ambika Prasad Bajpai, became the leading newspaper, and only the Vishwamitra, since 1918, came to be its serious rival. Both of these were published from Calcutta. The Hindi Kesari (1907) was the Hindi version of Tilak’s paper of the same name, and the Karmayogi (1910) took its cue from the paper of Arabinda Ghosh bearing the same name. Among others may be mentioned the Abhyu day a (1907), sponsored by Madan Mohan Malaviya, and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi’s Pratdp (1913). The Calcutta Samdchar and the

Venkateswara Samdchar of Bombay were the only two which functioned throughout the period. The magazine Sarasvatl, edited by Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, made a rich contribution to the development of Hindi literature and was regarded by some as the best journal of the time.

3. Kannada

The Swadeshi movement in Bengal (1905) and, later, the First World War gave a great impetus to newspapers in Mysore. A number of Dailies and Weeklies appeared in the Kannada-speaking regions. Credit for this partly belongs also to the enlightened policy of the Dewan, Sir M. Visvesvarayya.

4. Marathi

Among the new Dailies the Sandesh, edited by A. B. Kolhatkar from Bombay, introduced a number of new features not known till then in Marathi journalism, and was highly popular. He "specialised in war-news and covered, as fully as possible, the activities of the nationalists led by Tiiak, particularly the Home Rule Movement. One of the reporters of the paper, Anant Hari Gadre, who covered Tilak's Home Rule League tour in Berar, gave verbatim reports of Tilak's speeches with vivid description. All this increased the popularity of the Sandesh which fell a victim to official repression. It died and came to life several times, not always under the same name". 12 The Dnyan Prakash, published from Poona in 1849 as a Weekly, became a Daily in 1904. It was taken over by the Servants of India Society, and continued till the early fifties. Among its brilliant editors were Hari Narayan Apte, G. K. Devdhar, A. V. Patwardhan and K. G. Limaij. The Marathi Daily Rashtramat gained great popularity as the organ of the Extremist Party led by Tiiak, but fell a victim to the Press Act of 1910. Another Marathi Daily in Poona, the Lokasahgraha , was started in 1919. It supported the pro-change policy of N. C. Kelkar as against Non-co-operation.

5. Oriya

A number of newspapers were started after the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912.

6. Punjabi

New magazines and journals appeared in large number, but there was no political paper.

7. Tamil

The most important Tamil Daily at the beginning of the period under review was the Swadesamitram which was started in 1882

as a Weekly and converted into a Daily in 1899. Its founder was also the founder of the Hindu and it held the field of daily journalism in monopoly until 1917, when the Desabhaktan was started. Its second editor, V. V. S. Iyer, was associated with the revolutionary activities of the Savarkar brothers. During its brief existence of three years the paper enjoyed reputation both from political and literary points of view and broke the monopoly of Swadesamitram. The weekly paper, India, edited by Subrahmanya Bharati, gave a great impetus to national awakening and made a rich contribution to Tamil prose and poetry.

8. Telugu

The Andhra Patrikd, started by Nageswar Rao as a Weekly in 1908 from Bombay, was removed to Madras in 1914 and converted into a Daily a few years later. The Krishna Patrika, started in 1902, was not only the premier Telugu Weekly but also enjoyed a reputation above the Dailies as the spokesman of Andhra nationalism. There were several other successful Weeklies.

9. Urdu

“In the beginning of the twentieth century, there were about 70 Urdu journals being published more or less regularly. In the nineteenth century, the Urdu Press beat Hindi by its numerical strength, but within two decades of the twentieth century, the position was reversed so that in 1921, the total number of Urdu journals was 151, and there were 175 Hindi journals in circulation. In. spite of the domination of the Aligarh Movement a section of the Urdu Press showed the influence of national awakening. The

Swarajya of Allahabad had a national policy. But the most important journal from this point of view was the weekly Al Hilal launched by Abul Kalam Azad on 1 June, 1912. He wielded a powerful pen and gave expression, without fear, to his nationalist ideas which were in conflict with the Aligarh School of thought represented by the Comrade of Muhammad Ali. Azad was therefore a bete noir to the Government and was interned in Ranchi from 1915 to 1919. The Ai Hilal also boldly told the Muslims that their insistence on cowslaughter was not conducive to communal peace. The circulation of Al Hilal reached 11,000 within six months." 13

The Madina, edited by Hamidul Ansari (1912) and the Hamdard of Muhammad Ali were powerful organs of Muslim nationalism. In 1920 Lala Lajpat Rai founded the popular newspaper, Bande Mataram .

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM 10. Gujarati

The Sanj Vartamdn, started in 1902, was an influential evening paper in Bombay throughout the period. Another paper, the Navjiban, edited by Indulal Yagnik, became famous when Gandhi took it over in 1919. In 1913 Ranchhodas Lota walla was the most prominent figure in the Gujarati Press. He took over the Advocate of India as well as two Gujarati papers— Prajamitra and Farsi — and launched the Hindustan around 1913. He supported the Home Rule Movement of Annie Besant and also the political views of Gandhi.

IL THE GANDHIAN ERA (1920-47)

A. GENERAL REVIEW

The Indian-owned Press, generally speaking, was dominated after 1920 by the new ideals preached by Gandhi to which reference has been made above; but a few represented different political views, while a large section of the Muslim Press was opposed to Gandhi and the Congress (except during a short interval caused by the Khilafat movement) and represented the Aligarh School, the Muslim League or some other sections of the Muslim community. The bitterness and resentment of the British towards Gandhi, the Congress, and the struggle for Swaraj, found full expression in the AngloIndian Press which backed up almost every other school of thought in the desperate hope of making a common cause against Gandhi and the Congress. The Muslims, the Depressed classes, the nonBrahmins and other Minority communities were patted on the back and egged on to raise their demands as high as possible. Barring a few individual cases, the Indian-owned and the Anglo-Indian Press stood face to face as combatants in the arena of journalism. The Hindu nationalists and their few supporters in other communities were the special targets of attack in the Anglo-Indian Press.

The period opened with some bright prospects for the Indian Press. The notorious Press Act of 1910 was repealed in 1922, and many obnoxious features in other repressive Press laws were removed.

But a novel method was adopted by the Government to terrorize the Press. The officers of the Government were encouraged to prosecute newspapers for comments on their actions, and were helped liberally with ample resources of the Government. Large numbers of such defamation cases were instituted, the most notable being those against N, C. Kelkar, editor of the Kesari (1924), Bombay Chronicle (1924), the Searchlight of Bihar, the Servant, Bangabasi and the Formird of Calcutta, between 1925 and 1930.

The Government reverted to its old attitude as soon as Gandhi launched the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. An Ordinance containing the stringent provisions of the repealed Press Act of 1910 was passed. "It netted securities to a total of Rs. 2,40,000 and struck at 131 newspapers in six months. About 450 newspapers failed because they could not put up the deposit demanded in 1935; 72 newspapers were penalised and a sum of over Rs. 100,000 was demanded. Only 15 newspapers paid up." 14

The underground activities of the revolutionaries led to the passing of a Press Emergency Powers Act in 1931 "which penalized words, signs, or visible representation which incite or encourage violence or tend to do so." In 1932 the Press Act of 1930 was amplified in the form of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1932. After the passing of the 'Quit India' Resolution in 1942 the Government issued a notification under Rule 41 of the Defence of India Act prohibiting the printing or publishing of any factual news relating to the mass movement or to the measures taken by the

Government except those approved by the Government. In the month of August, 1942, alone, 92 journals were suppressed.

To these measures of repression the Government added a more sinister method to bring the Press under control. This was the subsidization of the Press the nature of which may be gathered from the following passage in the secret report of the Press Officer in Bengal relating to the period 1932 to 1935.

“The intense pressure on the Nationalist Press bore fruit towards the end of 1933, when some of the most important papers came forward, though half-heartedly, to give publicity to the materials supplied by me from time to time explaining the motives, policy and activities of Government. By the beginning of 1934, I had succeeded through personal influence, a judicious control of official advertisements, and the threat of the Press Act in the background in persuading one or Wo of the most important Nationalist papers to accept even ‘editorial’ articles from me secretly. The articles were written in consonance with the general policy of the papers to convey in a subtle manner the Government point of view or the view more favourable to Government.”

The Press Officer gloated over his own achievements in the following words:

“The revolutionary character of this method of work must be apparent. This was probably the first time since the days of Lord Lytton’s Viceroyalty that the Nationalist Press allowed itself to be used by Government on this scale and in this manner.

Money was freely spent by way of help given to students to start and carry on journals which followed the policy dictated by the Government.

The Government sometimes took steps to prevent the news of repression in India from spreading outside 4he country.

Even in 1943 when a severe famine was taking its toll in India the foreign correspondents in India were not permitted to cable abroad even the bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation, issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information to the Bengal Government, lest the British and American public would know the blunt facts of the situation. 16

An earlier instance was to prevent similarly the news of the terrors of the Government repression during the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930 from getting abroad. 17

As the severity of the criminal laws drove the revolutionary movement underground, so the rigorous press laws led to the largescale distribution of unauthorized and cyclostyled news-sheets. When in 1930, the promulgation of the Press Ordinance made it impossible for Gandhi to print his Young India, it was issued in cyclostyled sheets. Sometimes the Congress Bulletin was similarly issued and its daily publication ran up to five figures. The practice was enormously increased during the forties when typed, cyclostyled or even printed bulletins, leaflets, news-sheets and reports were issued in still larger number.

When the popular Interim Government was installed at the Centre in September, 1946, the powers of the control of the Press under the Defence of India Act came to an end. But the communal riots in 1946-7 forced many of the Provincial Governments to issue Ordinances in order to control the tense situation. These were replaced by no less than ten Acts, passed by the Centre and nine Provinces in 1947, to control the Press.

B. THE NEWSPAPERS DURING 1920-1947

The two most important papers during the period were the two Weeklies of Gandhi—the Young India in English and the Navjiban in Gujarati. As mentioned above, 172 the Young India was started in Bombay in 1917 by the Home Rule Party. When Gandhi took it up, it had only 1200 subscribers, but with the emergence of Gandhi as the great political leader the circulation shot up to 45,000. Gandhi took over the monthly Navjiban and converted it into Weekly. Its circulation shot up from 9,000 in 1919 to 20,000 in 1920, while the two orthodox papers, the Gujarati of Bombay and the Gujarati Punch of Ahmadabad declined in popularity. The Navjiban was converted into the Harijan Band.hu in 1932, and had a very distinguished group of editors, such as Mahadev Desai, Kaka Kalelkar, Kishorelal Mashruwala, and Narhari Parekh, besides Gandhi. Lotawalla was the proprietor of a group of flourishing papers, both English and Gujarati, but as soon as he supported the Council entry and denounced Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience, the papers had to be closed down—a remarkable instance of the influence of Gandhi on the Indian Press. The Swarajya was started in Madras in 1923 by T. Prakasam to advocate Gandhi's cause. Prakasam gathered round him a brilliant group of young writers who later won high distinction as journalists, and his paper gained considerable support from the very start. The Daily Vande Mataram from Bombay (1941) was also an important paper.

But though many influential papers supported Gandhi, his critics and opponents were neither very small nor very insignificant. The Hindu of Madras wrote in defence of boycott of British goods in defiance of Gandhi and was rebuked by him. The Bengalee and the Nayak of Calcutta opposed Gandhiji's programme and the papers in Maharashtra condemned Gandhi's "failure to utilise the mass awakening". But Mrs. Besant proved to be the most formidable opponent.

The Delhi Mail stopped publication in 1922, and next year the Hindustan Times, edited by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, was started with the funds provided by the Akalis and the dethroned Maharaja of Nabha. The Akalis, unable to run it at a loss, sold it to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who made it an organ of the Hindu Mahasabha. Finally, the paper passed completely into the hands of G. D. Birla and occupied a leading position in Delhi. The Statesman started its Delhi edition in 1929. In 1932 the National Journals Ltd. started the morning and evening National Call. It was the first one-anna paper in Delhi, the first to be published on Sundays, and the first to bring out a full-size companion Hindi edition, called Navyug. In 1946 the management changed hands and the names of the papers were also changed, respectively, into Indian News Chronicle and the Nav Bharat.

In 1930 Sadanand published the Free Press Journal from Bombay, which was priced at half an anna and provided an exclusive news service to its readers. He was in a way the pioneer of popular journalism so far as English newspapers went. When the Bombay Government forefeited its security deposit amounting to about Rs. 20,000 it was closed down (1935), but reappeared in 1937. Sadanand started several other papers—the evening Free Press Bulletin from Bombay, Free India in Calcutta, Nav Bharat, a Gujarati daily,

Navasakti, a Marathi daily from Bombay, and the Dinamani, a Tamil daily from Madras. Sadanand also acquired the Indian Express of Madras.

Two papers came into existence in Bombay during the Second World War —the Blitz in 1941 and the People's War , the organ of the Communist Party, in 1942. Ramakrishna Dalmia launched the Evening News of India, and the Servants of India Society issued as its weekly organ, the Servants of, India.

The Indian Daily Mail was launched in Bombay by J. B. Petit on a lavish scale as an evening newspaper. After a few changes its editorship was taken by F. W. Wilson, the former editor of the Pioneer which passed into Indian hands in 1933, being bought by the land-owning interests of Uttar Pradesh. The Englishman and the Statesman of Calcutta were merged together.

The Times of India was purchased by Ramakrishna Dalmia in 1946. The Times of India of Bombay and the Madras Mail were the first to employ Indian sub-editors on their staff since 1924. The Pioneer and the Statesman followed suit somewhat later.

In dalcutta, the Amrita Bazar Patrika, the old English daily, continued to flourish. It issued an edition from Allahabad in 1943 and a Bengali daily, Yugantar, was published in Calcutta by the same proprietors in 1937. The old Bengalee lost all importance, but Satyendra-nath Majumdar brought out the Ananda Bazar Patrika (a Bengali daily) in 1922 and the Hindusthan Standard , an English daily, in 1937. Both of these flourished exceedingly and the former is reported to have the largest circulation of any single daily in Indian language. Two English dailies, the Forward (1923) and the Liberty (1929), associated with the nationalist movement, had a short but useful and chequered career. The same thing may be said of the Krishak , the organ of the Krishak Praja Party, and Bharat, both Bengali dailies started in 1939. The Muslim leader Fazlul Huq issued a Bengali daily, Navayug, in 1941, and there were two other Bengali dailies edited by two prominent Muslims, the Azad (1936) and Ittehdd (1947). The Svadhinatd, the official organ of the Communist Party of India, started publication in 1946. The Bengali monthly Bangabdni was added in 1922 to the Prabdsi and Bharatavarsha — and all the three had a flourishing career.

The Lokamdnya, edited by K. P. Khadlikar, a trusted lieutenant of Tilak and twice editor of the Kesari, gained great popularity and its circulation rose to about 18,000 copies. But after Khadlikar resigned on account of differences with the management, the popularity of the paper declined and it ceased publication in 1925. Khadilkar started the Nevakal in 1925, the oldest Marathi daily

now existing. It introduced many regular weekly features such as commerce, industry, agriculture, physical culture and games, book reviews, market reports, and short stories. Associated with Neva kal was an evening daily, the Sandhyakal. The Nevakal supported the official Congress policy while the Lokamanya was a protagonist of the Swaraj Party. The Prabhat, another daily priced at one pice, supported the Responsive Co-operation Party, and later, the Democratic Swaraj Party led by N.C. Kelkar. It was the first Bombay paper to have its counterpart published from Poona (1935). The success of the Prabhat as a one-pice daily led to the publication of a number of one-pice sheets which particularly catered to the needs and tastes of the working classes.

Two other important dailies were started by Sri D. G. Savarkar, Shri Lokmdnya in 1930, and the Lokmanya in 1935. For some time the daily Dnyan Prakdsh of Poona started a Bombay edition which became very popular. The Sakai y another daily at Poona, was started in 1931 and rose to be the paper in Poona with the largest circulation. The Kal was the organ of the Hindu Mahasabha. The first Marathi daily to be published in Madhya Pradesh was the Sandesh at Nagpur started in 1920. Many Marathi dailies were published from Mofussil centres after the Second World War.

Two Oriya dailies, the Asha and the Samaj were started, respectively, in 1928 and 1931.

A number of other fiewspapers, including several dailies, came into existence as a result of the Non-co-operation movement, but had to close down for want of finance.

The Akali Movement 17b in the Punjab (1920) brought into existence a large number of papers including 23 dailies, 67 weeklies, and 25 monthlies. Several papers were also started in 1936-7 when the general elections were held.

The Tamil Swadesamitram regained its importance in 1920 and held the field till 1926 when the daily Tamil Nadu became a powerful rival. But as the latter stood aloof from the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Congress paper India gained greater success than either of them. A new paper, Dinamani, was started by the Free Press of India Group and Tamil Nadu was merged into it. The India was wound up, leaving the other two, Swadesamitram and Dinamani as sole rivals in daily journalism. The first one-pice paper, Jayabharati , started publication about 1933, and the Bharati Devi, an organ of the non-Brahmin movement, was started in 1910. Two other important papers, from political point of view, were the India edited by Subrahmanya Bharati which helped in promoting the national awakening, and the Swatantra Sangha, a tri-weekly published by the well-known firm owned by G. Ganesan which strongly supported the Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1942 the daily Thanthi was published simultaneously from four different places. The best known Tamil weeklies were Ananda Vikatan (1924), and the Kalki (1941). The two leading monthlies were the Kalaimagal (1932) and the Cauveri (1941).

The Andhra Prabha, the Telugu daily, started in 1939, was the only successful rival of the Andhra Patrikd, though there were about seven journals. The monthly Bharat started in the late twenties was very popular.

The Urdu paper Pratap was suppressed a number of times, and gradually leaned towards communalism. The Milap, founded in 1923, supported the Congress policy but criticised the Communal Award and opposed concessions to the Muslim League. Both of these were organs of the Arya Samaj. The Tej, founded by Shraddhanand in 1923, was a national paper. The Siasat (1925) and the Inquilab (1926) were completely communal in outlook. These and several other papers supported the Muslim League. The All-India Shia conference and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind launched, respectively, the Sarfaraz and the Al Jamiat in 1925. The Riasat concerned itself with the States, the Vir Bharat (1928) took up the cause of the Hindus, the A jit (1940) was the spokesman of the Sikh community, and Preet Lari, an Urdu monthly, became an organ of the Communist party. In 1945 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Chaudhuri Khaliq-uz-Zaman launched, respectively, the Qaumi Awaz and the Tauveer.

III. PRESS ASSOCIATIONS

Great difficulty was experienced in importing the requisite newsprint during the Second World War, and the Government allotted ten per cent, of the total paper available to the Press. The Bureaucracy, which determined the quotas to each newspaper, indirectly exercised an effective control over the Press. The Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society (IENS) was formed in 1939 to look after the business interests of newspapers in general and to meet this situation in particular. It eased the situation to a considerable extent by inducing the Government to increase the quota to 30 per cent. This success led the Society to tackle other problems facing the Press, and turned its attention to the rigorous control imposed by the Government on the Press by the notification issued in 1940. [18] The IENS called a meeting of editors at the end of 1940 to protest against it, and through its efforts the notification was withdrawn and a system of Press Advisers, originally designated as Press Censors, was set up in all the Provinces with the Chief Press Adviser at the Centre. As a result of this success the All India Newspapers Editors Conference (AINEC) was set up as a permanent organization in 1940. On its intercession the notification issued in 1942 was also withdrawn and the

Press Advisory Committees set up by it succeeded in saving a few newspapers from the wrath of the Government, though its intercession was not always successful. On one such occasion the AINEC, by way of protest, advised all newspapers to suspend publication for a day and to exclude from their papers all Government circulars (including New Year Honours List of 1943) and speeches of officials, including members of the British Government. The hartal was successful and the matter was amicably settled.

IV. PRESS AGENCIES

As mentioned above, the Pioneer was to all intents and purposes the official organ and so got all official news in advance. The competing newspapers, the Englishman, the Statesman and the Indian Daily News, therefore decided, for the purpose of news-getting, to pool their resources together and formed the Associated Press of India in which K. C. Roy, though not connected with any newspaper, took a leading part. Since 1910 it developed as an official news agency in India along with Reuters which had become an established institution in the 19th century, and the two were amalgamated in 1913. About that time K. C. Roy started the Indian News Agency, a news bulletin of about two typed pages, which was continued till 1947.

On matters relating to India and the service to and from India, Reuters was subject to strong official influence both in London and in Delhi. As the Associated Press of India was started by representatives of Anglo-Indian papers and later taken over by Reuters, which was essentially a British concern, it was also similarly influenced to the detriment of its being able to provide an impartial news service in times of political crisis.

By the early twenties, Reuters and the Associated Press were well under official control. News of the Non-co-operation and the Civil Disobedience movements was kept down to the barest minimum and Indian leaders in politics and business felt that on controversial matters (such as the rupee ratio, for example) their views were not adequately carried to London. 19

In 1927 S. Sadanand started the Free Press of India News Agency to provide coverage for national and commercial news. But the Indian press could not patronise it as the Government came down heavily on newspapers which used Free Press news, particularly those on Satydgraha. The Associated Press, too, exerted pressure in the same direction by insisting that its services would not be available to newspapers subscribing to any other agency. Official pressure was exerted on the Directors and four of them resigned in 1929.

Further difficulty was created when B. Sen Gupta resigned from the Free Press Agency and started the United Press of India from Calcutta (1933). The final blow fell two years later when, as mentioned above, Sadanand's Bombay newspapers forfeited security aggregating to Rs. 20,000, and the Free Press of India News Agency closed down in 1935.

1. Ghose, H.P., The Newspaper in India , pp. 32-3.

2. See p. 52.

3. Ghose, op. cit., pp. 163-4.

4.. Ibid, pp. 164-5.

5. See pp. 109-114.

6. Ghose, op. cit., p. 168.

7. Ibid, p. 171.

8. For details, see ibid, p. 152.

9. Natarajan, J., History of Indian Journalism, p. 161.

10. Ghose, op. cit., pp. 178-9.

11. See pp. 249-50.

11a. It may be noted that the Young India was started, among others, by Mr. K. M. Munshi, and he and Jamnadas Dwarkadas were the Joint Editors. Later, when Shankarlal Banker, who was one of its financiers, transferred his loyalty to Gandhi, he carried the Journal with him. The first issue was published on 17 November, 1915, with the blessings of V. S. Srinivasa Sastrl under the guidance of Mrs. Annie Besant.

lib. See p. 317.

12. Natarajan, J., op. cit., p. 192.

13. Ibid, pp. 204-5.

14. Natarajan, S., A History of the Press in India (Part II of the Report of the Press Commission), p. 252; cf. also Ghose, op. cit., pp. 65-6.

15. Ghose, op. cit., pp. 74-5.

16. Ibid, p. 80.

17. Cf. Webb Miller's statement, above, p. 471.

17a. See p. 1020.

17b. See p. 990.

18. This notification prohibited the printing or publishing of any matter calculated, directly or indirectly, to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion.

19- Natarajan, J., op. cit., p. 245.

CHAPTER XLV

ART (1707-1947)

The regime of the Grand Mughals witnessed outstanding achievements in every sphere of purposeful artistic pursuits. The arts of building and painting reached an unwonted brilliance. The decorative scheme in architecture, meticulously planned and minutely executed in a variety of ways, was illustrative also of high degree of plastic sense and skill. In textiles there was a rich harvest and the excellence of the manifold types of plain and patterned fabrics may seem to be simply bewildering. In minor arts, too, there were produced charming modes and forms. Collectively, all these constitute a rich artistic heritage, inspired mainly by the intelligent and liberal patronage of the emperors, a few of whom are known to have been endowed with keen aesthetic sense and discernment.

The disintegration of the empire meant also a general decline of all powerful artistic traditions in the country. A definite setback was noticeable already during the reign of narrow-minded and bigoted Aurangzeb, and his death let loose the forces of disintegration. The empire, which was rapidly losing ground, could not survive the shock of Nadir Shah's invasion and ultimately vanished. With the dissolution of the empire, all forms of art languished and gradually petered out.

The impact of the west, that followed in the wake of the establishment of British paramountcy in India, stifled whatever was left of the indigenous artistic activities. Yet, the contact with the British was not an unmixed evil altogether. The early days of the British rule engendered a general apathy towards the arts leading to the desiccation of the indigenous creative spirit. At the same time, it brought in new forces which were destined to lead to an awareness of the artistic legacies of the country and the need for further aspirations in this regard. This situation was rather slow to appear, ho'wever, and the major part of the period under review generally offers a dismal picture of steady retreat and decline, so far as artistic activities are concerned.

I. ARCHITECTURE

The grand legacy of the Mughals in architecture seems to be on the way of being irretrievably lost. The style had exhibited

signs of weakening already during the reign of Aurangzeb. The buildings erected during his reign show poverty in imagination, economy in materials and a slackening of technical skill. After him the fastly dwindling resources of the empire precluded any major or costly undertaking and the inevitable collapse was not long in coming.

A few buildings erected within fifty years of the death of Aurangzeb have the appearance of being ineffective attempts to recapture the past glory of Mughal architecture. The earliest monument of this kind is the Zinat-ul Masjid in Daryaganj (Delhi), 1 built by Aurangzeb's daughter, Zinat-un-Nisa Begam, in 1711. It is a copy, on a smaller scale, of the grand Jami Masjid built by her grandfather and resembles it in all essential aspects. It consists of a spacious courtyard supported on a series of basement chambers and approached by gateways on the north and south, the latter forming the main entrance. The prayer chamber, built largely of red sandstone, is situated at the western end of the courtyard and is crowned by three domes with alternate flutings of black and white marble. The facade has seven arches and is flanked by tall minarets at the corners. Zinat-un-Nisa Begam's mosque, in spite of reproducing every essential element of the grand Jami Masjid, lacks the majesty and coherence of the latter. A further desiccation of the style is recognised in the Sunhari Masjid, 2 built in 1751 by Nawab Qudsiya Begam, wife of emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-54). The three domes were originally of gilt copper—and hence this distinctive name—but were replaced by sandstone by Bahadur Shah II in 1851.

The last of the Mughal monuments that can claim to have any architectural pretension is the Delhi tomb of Mirza Muqim AbulMansur Khan, otherwise known as Safdar-Jang. He was the viceroy of Oudh (Awadh) under Muhammad Shah (1719-48), later became his prime minister, and continued in this office under Ahmad Shah (174854). The tomb 3 was built by Safdar-Jang's son, Nawab Shuja-udDaula of Oudh in 1753-54. It is situated in the centre of an ornamental garden disposed in the usual Mughal pattern, known as Charbdgh . and is enclosed by high rubble walls with an impressive doublestoreyed gateway in the middle of the eastern wall. In the interior the walls have series of recessed arches with a multi-chambered spacious pavilion in the middle of each of the northern, southern and western sides. The tomb building in the centre, of 60 feet side, is supported on a high arcaded platform, 110 feet square and 10 feet high, and is double-storeyed in elevation. It is built of red and buff stone relieved by marble, and in respect of the fundamentals of its design, the prototype seems to have been Huma^ airs tomb erected nearly 200 years earlier. Another nearer example of this pattern is furnished by the tomb of Khan-i-Khanan at Delhi from which red sandstone, marble and other stones had been removed for use in Safdar-Jang's tomb. The interior shows an arrangement of a central square tomb chamber surrounded by eight other apartments, four octagonal at the four corners and four rectangular on the four sides. In the middle of each side there is an arched entrance to the tomb chamber, embowed within a high engrailed arch in a rectangular frame flanked by slender pilasters at the quoins, together with similar arched alcoves in two stages at the sides. At the corners rise polygonal towers, again in two storeys, with domed kiosks at the top. The bulbous dome over the central tomb chamber, the domed kiosks at the corners and the projecting heads of the pilasters at the quoins seem to impart an effect of breaking the skyline. But because of the lack of balanced proportions everything seems to be stilted and ill-organised and the whole has an appearance of congestion. The tomb of Humayun and that of SafdarJang stand at the two ends of a fruitful architectural movement, the former heralding the emergence of a dynamic tradition in building art that reached its fruition during the reign of Shahjahan, the latter its ultimate exhaustion. Planned and designed in the usual Mughal manner and with a number of notable predecessors behind the conception, the tomb of Safdar-Jang illustrates in a tragical manner the rapid dissolution of the brilliant architectural style associated with the name of the Great Mughals.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Nawabs of the newly risen state of Oudh tried to emulate the Mughals in the patronage of art and culture. Their resources, however, were limited and their splendour ephemeral. Moreover, the tradition that they took over from the Mughals had already reached a state of exhaustion and afforded hardly any scope for revivification. The Nawabs were assiduous builders no doubt, and adorned their capital city of Lakhnau (Lucknow) with a fairly large number of imposing edifices, religious and secular. But circumstanced as they were, they were not destined to bequeath any great or forceful style. The principal building material was brick, the decorative details being worked in stucco. It is surprising to find the skill and efficiency with which buildings of large, and often imposing, dimensions and rich details of ornamentation were raised by the use of these inconsequential materials.

The buildings of the Nawabs of Oudh 4 fall into two distinct groups, separated from each other chronologically as well as stylistically. The first group, dated in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, represents a continuation of the decadent Mughal tradition in a florid and over-ornate manner that leads to suffocation of the style under a maze of sham and tawdry encrustation of detail. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula (1775-97), son of Shuja-ud-Daula who built the Safdar-Jang at Delhi, was the chief patron of his day of art and culture. He was a prince of grandiose and voluptuous temperament, and the style that he initiated betrays this princely disposition in a striking and emphatic manner. The great Imambara (1784) with its mosque, courts and gateways, in spite of spacious dimensions and splendid proportions, fails to evoke an effective impression in consequence of the too florid character of ornamentation. Even the imposing gateway, known as the Rumi Darwaza, though an ambitious conception, suffers from extravagance often approaching frivolousness. It is the temper of the Oudh court that one finds reflected in these buildings, and this temper persists also in the buildings of the later phase, not infrequently even in a more exaggerated manner.

Early in the nineteenth century the second phase of building activity in Lakhnau starts with a new impact. An immense chateau called ‘Constantia*, erected by Major General Claude Martin in what may be described as a fantastic expression of Palladian style in Indian environment, seems to have supplied the source of this new impact. Because of its striking character and unusual appearance it at once aroused the Oudh Nawabs’ sense for the bizarre and they went on producing monument after monument in a mixed style of the most incongruous fashion. As Percy

Brown says: “Thus there developed in Lucknow a style of architecture of a pronounced hybrid character in which triangular pediments, Corinthian capitals, and Roman round arches were combined with fluted domes, ogee arcades, and arabesque foliations, a medley of western and eastern forms, mostly of a corrupt kind.” The buildings, he continues, may be most suitably described as consisting of “a debased Mughal framework garnished with classical motifs often of an inappropriate type.” 5 It is in the secular buildings, like the two Chhattar Manzils built by Nasir ud-Din Haidar (1827-37), the gateway of the Sikandra Bagh and the Chaulakha Darwaza of the Kaisar Bagh, both erected during the time of Wazid Ali Shah (1847-56), that the incongruities of this unhappy and ignorant admixture of elements from divergent sources are most glaringly felt. The Kaisar Bagh, also, which itself is an imposing square of buildings surrounding an immense court, lacks balance and effect owing to similar reasons. In the Roshenwali Kothi and the Begam Kothi, the design in each

case seems to have been determined principally by occidental ideas and there is hardly any use of Indian detail. But they, too, cannot be regarded as effective adaptations of western models to Indian requirements and purposes. No Indian builder of those days could be expected to have a correct knowledge and understanding of the elements and motifs of western architecture, much less their spirit. Due to his ignorance his effort turns into a sad jumble of misapplied details, jarring and incongruous to an inordinate degree. In his passion for imitation of a model that he failed to understand properly, he discards whatever he had inherited from his forbears and the unhappy situation spells the extinction of the great legacy of Mughal architecture.

Bengal constituted an important Mughal province since the days of Jahangir, and after the death of Aurangzeb emerged as a practically autonomous State with Murshidabad as its capital. Mughal architectural style had touched but little the building art in Bengal which followed its own tradition that was largely governed and determined by its own material, brick and stucco. A few buildings raised at Dacca (the seat of Mughal governorship) in the seventeenth century and at Murshidabad during our period were, to a certain extent, ineffectual attempts to reproduce the Mughal manner without an understanding of its spirit or an awareness of the limitations of the material in this regard. The Katra Masjid 6 at Murshidabad (1723), impressive even in its ruins, seems to have been a conspicuous production, no doubt. In every respect, however, it appears to be a rather weak and ineffective rendering of the decadent Mughal scheme and can in no way be regarded as a convincing creation. Mughal architectural style did never constitute a vital force in the distant province of Bengal and whatever attempt was made by the Nawabs to transplant the style on this soil was doomed to failure, first, because the source was already desiccated, and secondly, on account of the fact that it was not suited to the land and its environment which precluded a proper understanding and correct application of the principles of this seemingly alien tradition.

If the decadent Mughal architectural style had led to extravagant and tawdry creations in Oudh and weak, insincere and ineffectual imitations in Bengal, a judicious restraint and better sense and understanding were displayed in the continuation of the style elsewhere, especially in the Punjab and in Rajasthan. The Sikhs in the Punjab, the inveterate enemies of the Mughals, adopted the style, as it was the prevailing form, for their secular as well as religious buildings. The adaptations in the latter, required for ritualistic purposes, endowed the manifestation, however, with a certain individual character. The most important product of this Sikh expression is supplied by the Golden Temple at Amritsar 7 (1764), remarkably set in the centre of a large sheet of water (‘pool of nectar’) and connected with the mainland by a causeway, approximately 200 feet long. Added to from time to time, but in no way disturbing the effect and appearance of the whole, this temple embodies all that is characteristic of the Sikh form of architecture which may be described as a picturesque sequel to the Mughal. In the middle of the tank, the causeway spreads out into a platform, 65 feet square, on which stands the temple. This is a square hall covered by a low fluted dome of gilt copper and with pillared kiosks with fluted cupolas of metal at the four corners. A wide eave runs around the building, which is two-storeyed in exterior elevation having projected balconies on brackets in the upper stages. The parapets are lined by small cupolas and the whole affords a varying skyline with charming reflections in the rippling waters of the pool. The causeway has perforated marble balustrades on the two sides and is approached by a double-storeyed building with elegant archways' no less picturesque in effect. The typical features of this Sikh form of architecture, according to Percy Brown, are "the multiplicity of chhatris or kiosks which ornament the parapets, angles and every prominence or projection; the invariable use of the fluted dome generally covered with brass or copper-gilt; the frequent introduction of oriel or embowed windows with shallow elliptical cornices and supported on brackets, and the enrichment of all arches by numerous foliations." 8 The sources from which these features are derived are easily identifiable, and though the buildings of the Sikhs cannot be said to have any great architectural significance, yet the elegant form that eventually developed under their patronage characterises the buildings erected in the Punjab in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Rajput building tradition played a significant role in the formation and development of the Mughal architectural style. It is not surprising, therefore, that the imperial style found a more congenial environment in the different States of Rajasthan. Simultaneously with the Mughals the Rajput princes built their palaces on the Mughal model, incorporating in their compositions many architectural features from the imperial style with commendable understanding and technical skill. Hence, in this environment the characteristic qualities of the style continued to remain vital even after the imperial style itself had reached the irrevocable state of degeneration and dissolution. The Rajput form, as it should be

designated now, remained in vogue in Rajasthan and parts of Madhya Pradesh. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were built the palaces at Bikanir, Jodhpur, Jaisalmir, Udaipur, Orchcha, Datia and the city of Amber, and in these palaces the characteristic Rajput form came to be established. The palaces at Bharatpur and Dig were put up in the eighteenth century, and in the same century Maharaja Jai Singh founded the beautiful city of Jaipur. Some of the rulers built palaces outside their territory, for example, at Varanasi, and there also the same form prevailed. The productions during our period are too numerous to be individually described or mentioned within the scope of this chapter, and only a general statement on the character of these buildings may be attempted here. The palaces mostly take the shape of extensive and irregular groups of buildings showing very little sense of orderliness, either in planning or in composition. Yet, they are picturesque and romantic and all have certain common structural and artistic features that are readily recognisable. One may quote Percy Brown in this regard: "Chief among the architectural elements which produce this appearance are hanging balconies of all shapes and sizes, and even long loggias supported on rows of elaborately carved brackets. With these are pillared kiosks having fluted cupolas which rise from every angle above perforated stone parapets, while not infrequently there are endless arcades forming the upper stories, every arch engrailed and every opening filled with a latticed screen. But a feature which is most pronounced and almost invariably introduced into every building scheme is a carved cornice or eave, arcuate in shape, and as it is considerably projected, producing shadows arched like a bow. It is the presence of such a graceful and striking element freely distributed over all parts of the building which gives this palace architecture much of its animation and charm ." 9 There is no doubt that each of these elements, by its nature and form, illustrates a close association with the building art of the Mughals. The last, it should be observed further, was derived from the hut-shaped superstructure of a characteristic type of Bengali temples, again through the Mughal architectural style where it was used with no less charm and effect.

The religious buildings of the Rajputs, or for the matter of that of the Hindus in general, of this period, followed the conventional order and pattern. They are nothing tut faint trickles from the earlier streams that once were great and vital and call for little comment. In the brick temples of Bengal , 10 however, it is possible to recognise charmingly individual expressions. Such temples of various shapes and designs were being erected from earlier times

and, during the period under notice, temple-building activity was assiduously pursued. Generally they were modest structures in brick, but among the innumerable temples erected in different parts of the territory there may be recognised not a few that can be described as felicitous productions by all standards. They can bo grouped into a number of types, but all emerged form a common tradition which was a product of the soil having much deeper roots in the building practices in wood, bamboo, etc. In brick, and occasionally in stone, the forms established in impermanent materials were given a more or less durable character; and the characteristic features of some of these forms were pleasing enough to be adopted by even the Mughal and Rajput master builders who used them frequently with charming effect.

In view of the large number of erections of this kind it would seem advisable, within the limited scope at our disposal, to refer to them by types along with a description of the salient features of each. Broadly speaking, Bengali temples of the period may be divided into six types: (a) Chala; (b) Bdngld ; (c) Ratna; (d) Octagonshaped; (e) Deul; and (f) Matha. The last was characteristic of East Pakistan only.

(a) CHALA TYPE: Of frequent occurrence, the type consists of a square shrine with a superstructure like the roof of a thatched hut. Usually, two varieties may be recognised—(i) chauchala and (ii) dtchald. In the former the superstructure resembles the shape assumed by four thatched roofs (chalds) from four sides converging at the apex; in the latter the superstructure is in two stages, each of an identical shape, the upper one being smaller in scale. Evidently, the form was derived from the thatched huts of bamboo and straw, so common in this part of the country. Closely akin to the thatched huts of Bengal, the type, it is presumable, originated in this territory. The Draupadi ratha, one of the rock-cut monoliths at Mahabalipuram (Madras), of the seventh century, reproduces the shape, except for the straight-edged cornice, and indicates, in a manner, the antiquity of the type. The temple at Garui (Burdwan district) is another example in stone of this type. The type, however, is the commonest among the brick temples of our period.

(b) BAftGLA TYPE: It consists of a rectangular shrine with a superstructure that resembles the shape of two thatched roofs from front and back meeting at the apex. Varieties are achieved by joining longitudinally two such structures together, in which case it is known as jor bdngld, or by arranging four such structures on four sides of a central quadrangle; the latter is known as char bdngld. Occasionally, in a jor bdngld temple, in between the two roofs, is placed a chauchala superstructure, possibly to add to the cohesion and strength of the two. Jor bdngla is a common variety among the temples of Bengal; char bdngla is, however, of very rare occurrence. Bdngla roof of Bengali temples, it should be noted, supplied an important artistic element to Mughal and Rajput architecture.

(c) RATNA TYPE: It consists of a square shrine with an ambulatory around or with a verandah in front. Ratna, which means jewel, stands in this context for a tower (sikhara) and the chief interest of the type lies in its multi-towered superstructure. The simplest example of the type is the five-towered or pancha-ratna temple which is a single-storeyed shrine with a central tower and with four turrets at the four corners, the central tower being taller in elevation than the corner ones. Progressively, with the increase in the number of storeys in elevation, we, have nava-ratna (ninetowered), trayodasa-ratna (thirteen-towered), saptadasa-ratna (seventeen-towered), ekavimsa-ratna (twenty-one-towered), pancha vimsa-ratna (twenty-five-towered) and so on. Sometimes the turrets at the corners are in groups of two or three, thereby leading to an increase in the number of towers irrespective of the number of storeys. Temples of this type are usually larger and more ambitious productions.

(d) OCTAGON-SHAPED TYPE: This rare type consists of an octagonal shrine with a conical tower above of the same design. A temple at Baranagar (Murshidabad district) and another at Nator (Rajshahi district) are the best known examples of this type. Both were erected by Rani Bhavani of Nator and it is presumable that the type was first introduced by her.

(e) DEUL TYPE: A square temple with a tall curvilinear tower had been a characteristic type of Bengali temples from preMuslim days. In the period under survey several temples of this type are also known to have been raised. The type survives, however, in a degenerate state with much of its elegance and proportions irretrievably weakened.

(f) MATHA TYPE: Besides the above, in East Bengal there may be noticed a fair number of square (sometimes octagonal) shrines with tall and slender conical spires resembling those of the Christian churches. Usually, they were raised over the chitds (cremation grounds) of the dead and were called mathas. An interesting variety is recognised in a temple in which the tall spire is of the shape of a large number of jars placed one above the other in a receding scale and ending in a point. In the waterways of East Pakistan the tali spires of the mathas serve as guiding landmarks to many a wayfarer.

A Bengali temple is usually supported on a high basement that adds to the elevation of the modest brick structure. The basement is of plain square shape and is larger in dimension than the shrine itself, thus providing for circumambulation in the open. The plain square shape of the basement is relieved by the projection of a flight of steps in the middle of the front side or, though rarely, by four such projections, one in the middle of each of the four sides. The first four types are characterised by elegantly curved eaves together with curving ribs in the superstructure. The deul and the matha also occasionally partake of this feature. The curved eave or cornice is a derivation, no doubt, from the thatched hut prototype where it was a necessary concomitant in order to impart strength to the frameworks and to provide for easy and quick drainage of water from the straw roofs. Usually there is a verandah in front with an arcade of three engrailed arches. The ambulatory, where it exists, is enclosed by similar arcades, one on each of the four sides. The arches are supported on heavy and squat columns of pleasing design divided axially into many sections —alternately square, octagonal and circular. The whole facade, not excluding the columns, is embellished with carved bricks of varied patterns—geometric, arabesque, floral and figural—each having a definite place in a well-organised scheme. 'The figural works are employed to depict the various legends and myths, not excluding secular and homely scenes, and are composed in a number of carved bricks to complete the story. The vegetal and geometric devices run in bands, the primary function of 'which was to emphasise the structural lineaments and to demarcate the areas of narrative themes. Even in the most exuberant of the temples the ornamental scheme was always governed by and subservient to architecture, the form and lay-out of each pattern being determined by the lineaments of the structure. Besides the facade, the other three sides are also similarly treated occasionally. Generally, however, these are rather sparsely ornamented, one of the usual modes being the division of the wall surface into small panels filled in with carved bricks. Sometimes, in the later phases particularly, the panels are kept empty. Gradually, in the ornamental scheme there is less of figural work, and carved brick ornamentation is replaced by stucco work. The process indicates a weakening of the tradition that heralds the approaching disintegration.

With the coming of the Europeans, occidental styles and modes inevitably came to be introduced into India. The impact of such

alien traditions, however, does not seem to have encouraged or facilitated the emergence of a purposeful and effective architectural style that could hope to equal or rival the past heritage of the country. In the early days of European contact times w T ere not opportune enough for an intelligent understanding and assimilation of new ideas by the Indians, nor were the European patrons of those days competent to supply the guidance required for this purpose.

Reference has already been made to ‘Constantia* erected at Lakhnau in the so-called Palladian style towards the close of the eighteenth century. It is one of the earliest buildings of an occidental order that can claim to have some architectural pretension. It has a somewhat fantastic arrangement and violates most of the canons of Palladian architecture, apparently because Major General Claude Martin, the builder of the mansion, was his own architect and some change of pure Palladian design was perhaps unavoidable due to Indian climate and conditions. Nevertheless, it was an impressive production. Though Fergusson deplores the violation of the canonical prescriptions, he commends it. “There is", he says, “something very striking in the great central tower, rising from a succession of terraced roofs one over the other, and under which are a series of halls grouped internally so as to produce the most pleasing effects, while their arrangement was at the same time that most suitable to the climate. The sky-line is everywhere broken by little kiosks, not perhaps in the best taste, but pleasing from their situation, and appropriate in the vicinity of a town so full of such ornaments as the city in whose proximity it is situated.. . . if its details had been purer, and some of those solecisms avoided which an amateur architect is sure to fall into, it really does contain the germ of a very beautiful design.” 11 Fergusson concedes the design to be beautiful as well as, purposeful, but it failed to initiate a resurgence of the moribund building art of the time. The disastrous effects of its impact on the later group of buildings have already been noticed.

From the latter half of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth a fairly large number of public buildings came to be designed and executed by British engineers in different cities of India. They were usually modelled on contemporary or near contemporary buildings produced in England, w r ith slight adaptations to suit Indian conditions. Among such buildings mention may be made of St. John's Church (1787) ana the Government House (1802) in Calcutta. The former, designed by Lieutenant Agg of the Bengal Engineers, was based, according to Percy Brown, on St. Stephen’s Church at Walbrook. The Government House in Calcutta ow T ed its conception to Lord Wellesley and was designed by Captain Charles Wyatt, again of the same corps of Engineers. Consisting of an immense central block connected by galleries with four substantial wings, it is said to be a reproduction of the Keddleston Hall in Derbyshire. In the other cities also public buildings, churches, etc. were raised. In each of these the main idea was borrowed from the west and a number of sources seems to have been drawn upon. The wealthy Indians raised immense houses in a style that Percy Brown describes as “popularised Renaissance”.

The state of architecture in India about the middle of the nineteenth century seems to be rather bleak. The fashion for western or pseudo-western styles had led to the stagnation of whatever was left of the indigenous building traditions. The Government of the day was apathetic to indigenous arts and crafts. The aristocratic and princely houses went in for western models. In spite of the patronage afforded, no western style could take firm root in India. At this juncture, in the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a reaction in favour of the utilisation of indigenous styles by rational and intelligent adaptations to suit modern conditions. The new movement was pioneered by a civil servant, F. S. Growse, who was also an archaeologist of repute. In a few structures erected under his auspices he tried to combine elements and features from Indian and western architecture with understanding and intelligence. Sir Swinton Jacob, an engineer with much artistic insight, designed and built a large number of buildings in

Rajasthan, including the Museum building at Jaipur, in which the prevailing Rajput form has been very ably adapted to modern requirements. In Madras R. F. Chisholm and H. Irwin put up a number of notable structures in what has been described as “Hindu-Saracenic” style. In the Punjab Sardar Ram Singh, a Sikh master builder, designed the buildings of the Central Museum and the Senate House at Lahore, incorporating elements and features of the prevailing Sikh style. Early in the present century, in Bombay G. Wittet designed the Gateway of India and the Prince of Wales Museum building in the Gujarat Muslim architectural style. Structurally and aesthetically each of these buildings may be considered to be a successful production.

The above buildings convincingly demonstrate the possibilities of the indigenous architectural forms under modern conditions, and at the turn of the present century one meets with a number of eminent advocates for the revival of Indian architecture. At the same time there was also a strong opinion in favour of the western style adapted to the conditions of the country. The controversy gained a momentum at the time that the Government of India planned the building of New Delhi as the imperial metropolis. At the instance of the India Society, London, a partial survey of the state of architecture as practised by the indigenous master builders was undertaken, the result being incorporated in a book by Gordon Sanderson of the Archaeological Survey of India. 12 It was observed that whereas the indigenous craftsmen w r ere still eminently noted for their remarkable skill in the fields of design and decoration and in the manipulation of material, they lacked sound constructional methods required for the production of a substantial work of architecture. This drawback can certainly be remedied by proper scientific training and the case for a revival of Indian architecture cannot be seriously ignored. If, however, any such revival is desired, it should be done under intelligent and judicious direction in order to avoid an unhappy jumble, a hotchpotch so to say, of diverse elements and features drawn from various sources and often applied without a correct understanding of their function in the architectural scheme. The Lakshml-Narayana temple at New Delhi is an instance of what may happen when the enthusiasm for revival goes too far without being correspondingly balanced by a sense of reason and understanding.

In 1906 foundation was laid of a building of outstanding importance, that of the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta. Designed by Sir William Emerson, it was completed in 1921, except for the cupolas at the corners which were put up in 1934. Built principally of white Makrana marble, the material which was used also in the building of the Taj Mahal, it conveys the impression, to a lay observer at least, of being a copy of that celebrated mausoleum at Agra. It is conceived, however, in the Renaissance style, though incorporating certain elements and motifs from Indian sources, pleasingly integrated into the entire scheme. The city of New Delhi, designed by Sir Edward Lutyens and Sir Edward Baker, was formally opened in 1930. It is a vast, complex of structures, predominantly classical in appearance, as the extensive columned facades of the principal buildings amply testify. There have been introduced many elements and features from Indian and other sources. Certain new features have been evolved. All have been applied with elegant taste and judicious understanding, so that each building and each complex may be said to have the effect of a coherent whole without any disturbing or ill-fitting element anywhere. These felicitous productions of the present century, in spite of being derived from the western world, ably demonstrate how occidental designs may be organically blended with Indian environment and imbued with an Indian feeling. They open a new avenue for Indian architectural aspirations. It is a pity post-independence India has ignored this direction.

II. PAINTING

The other form of art that shone forth brilliantly under the Mughals was painting. Simultaneously, this art flourished also in the princely courts of Rajasthan which maintained a continuous output throughout the seventeenth century. Mughal painting was court art pure and simple. The development of the Mughal school was closely associated with the personalities of its patrons. Its maturity was the result of the sympathetic attitude and intelligent guidance offered by the emperors themselves. Naturally, therefore, it began to lose ground in the mid-seventeenth century with the accession to the throne of Aurangzeb who, with his puritan ideas, appears only to have tolerated painters as recorders of official events. It has been argued that the school had reached its peak of perfection during the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and altered conditions of the court apart, it would have withered as a matter of course, there being hardly any scope for further achievements. Hie argument no doubt, has some force; but it is difficult to agree with it wholly, Mughal painting has been a creation of the Mughal court, reared and nurtured by the actively assiduous patronage and intelligent guidance furnished by the emperors. The characteristics of the school at its best are well known. Judged at its peak, it holds an honourable position in the record of human cultural achievements. Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzeb was not only apathetic to the arts but also insensitive to quality. His attitude and temperament were, therefore, inimical to further progress. His weak and effete successors lacked the character and personality of the emperors who brought the school into being and gave it its distinctive form and quality. They were hence incapable of giving a lead to the school to tread new paths and add to its lustre. Again, what little energy they possessed was spent in civil war among rival claimants to the throne and quelling the intrigues of the ambitious nobles in order to keep themselves on the throne of the empire the history of which is one of steady and rapid disintegration. There was at least a semblance of the court till the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, and then that, too, vanished. The invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali or the incursions of the Marathas were like flogging a dead horse. The Mughal school of painting declined not so much because it had run its course, but because the circumstances that conditioned its being had disappeared.

The story of Mughal painting in the eighteenth century is hence one of steady decay and gradual disintegration. Under Farrukh

siyar (1713—1718), Muhammad Shah (1719—1748) and Ahmad Shah (1748—1754) painting seems to have a brief spell of court support. The courtiers of the fast dwindling empire appear also to have patronised the art to a certain extent. But the nature and degree of such support and patronage, and the circumstances and environments, too, were not such as to lead to a rejuvenation of the moribund art. With the puppet emperors and their courtiers such support and patronage was, more or less, a pastime, a relief and relaxation from the onerous cares of the State that were daily mounting up. That there was no real or sincere interest is proved by the fact that

Muhammad Shah gave aw r ay to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur Akbar’s illustrated copy of the Persian version of the Mahabh&rata , the Razmndmd, which was one of the priceless possessions of the Mughal imperial library. It is only a callous indifference on the part of the emperor towards the artistic treasures of his illustrious predecessors that may possibly account for parting with such valuable document. The tempo of the effete court with all its intrigues and licentiousness relegated the painters to the position of hangers-on seeking to pamper to the pleasures and tastes of their patrons. Under such conditions no sincere art could thrive. The painters were commissioned to portray the court beauties of the day. The main themes selected for representation were the harem scenes, love episodes, drinking carouses, musical concerts, musical modes often having voluptuous imports, acrobatic feats and the like. Sensuousness and sentimentality, together with a romantic touch, were the keynotes of eighteenth century Mughal painting. The new tone tended to displace the masterly observation and acute feeling for detail that distinguished the seventeenth century works. Gradually, there was a loss of fineness and precision of drawing, strength and vivacity of composition, and balance and harmony of colour scheme. In the course of time, with the debasement of form and increasing stylisation Mughal painting towards the end of the eighteenth century sank into a bazar craft engaged in turning out miniatures on ivory in and around Delhi.

Till the middle of the eighteenth century the painters seem to have retained, to a certain extent, their skill in the execution of portraits. Portrait painting, it has to be noted, has been one of the greatest contributions of the seventeenth century Mughal school. In the first half of the eighteenth century the painters were, not unoften, required to prepare copies of the old works, including portraits, by the seventeenth century master painters, and it was this familiarity with the earlier technique and style which was possibly responsible for the retention of the delineative skill by the later artists. Indeed, such copies had been so faithfully done that at times it is difficult to distinguish between an earlier original and its later copy. The contemporary portraits by these artists also evince the same fundamental tone and spirit. This is a happy interlude, no doubt, to the above picture of decay and deterioration. Soon, however, portrait painting also degenerated into bazar craft.

The indifferent and unsettled conditions at the capital brought about a dispersal of artists from the imperial ateliers, and they scattered to different parts in search of patronage and support. With the centre shaken by disturbed conditions, the art moved to the peripheries of this vast sub-continent. It is possible that the Mughal governors maintained ateliers of their own in the provincial capitals. Before decline set in such provincial ateliers were not separated from the main stream and remained closely dependent on the works produced in the imperial ateliers. The scantiness of documents precludes, however, any definite statement in this regard. Nevertheless, if is significant to note that in the eighteenth century, when the disintegrating forces led to the assertion of virtual independence by the provincial governors, their capitals are found to have developed local styles which were, in the ultimate analysis, derived from the main stream. With the dimming of the lustre of the imperial court, the artists, depending much on patronage, began deserting the decaying centre for the more congenial courts of these rising potentates, some of whom tried to rival the splendour of the imperial court even in its most flourishing days. As Percy Brown observes, “the change of environment in each case led to a corresponding change in the style of their art”, each of an individual character and thus distinguished from the other. Mughal painting thus lost its oneness and the word qalam came into use as a convenient term to designate every one of these local styles. In the north, four such qalams, offshoots of the Mughal school, have been recognised, namely, Delhi, Murshidabad, Patna and Lakhnau.

A standard book on Mughal painting usually ends with Aurangzeb. Very little study has been made of the later history of the school or of its offshoots, the local qalams. Most of the authentic documents have strayed outside India and lie scattered in various collections. An analysis of such documents, so indispensable for a detailed and critical study, has hardly been attempted. Pending this, only a general outline of the different qalams can be given.

The sketch, given above, of the Mughal school in its declining days holds true of what is known as the Delhi qalam , with this reservation, that it lost touch with the court much earlier, and away

from the court, paintings of this qalam developed coarseness far ahead of those associated with the puppet Mughals. The Murshidabad qalam had a brief spell of flourish in about the mid-eighteenth century corresponding to the short period of prosperity enjoyed by the Bengal Nawabs. The Patna qalam, though in a sense associated with the decadent Murshidabad qalam, is more an Anglo-Indian style than Indian, far less Mughal. The Lakhnau qalam began at Faizabad, the first capital of the Awadh Nawabs, with a certain promise, and at Lakhnau it enjoyed a transient glory in the second half of the eighteenth century, when this court vied with that of the Mughals in pomp and magnificence.

Nearer to the best achievements of the Mughal school, the products of the Murshidabad qalam are found to have a certain refreshing vitality, quite different from the somewhat weak and sentimental works associated with the contemporary imperial court. The qalam emerged about 1720 with works produced in Mughal fashion, formal and rigid to a certain extent. Alivardi in his later years seems to have evinced some interest in painting, and the interest of this forceful personality was responsible for a few works, produced between 1750 and 1755, which, though in contemporary Mughal manner, have a certain freshness in respect of composition, precise draughtsmanship, restrained colour scheme, delineation of action and mood, and an individualistic treatment of the landscape. But soon the spell was over. The works produced during the brief regime of Siraj-ud-daula retained these qualities, but after him the products were commonplace and sank into insignificance.

The decadent Murshidabad trend lay at the root of what emerged as the Patna qalam under the tutelage of western mode and technique. The chief patrons were the officers of the East India Company who wanted to have their miniature portraits painted in the western style. The artists were also commissioned for painting Indian flora and fauna for purposes of documentation and illustration. These particularly are extremely well done, and though in a composite style, are reminiscent of the naturalism of the paintings of the Jahangir period. The other products of the qalam, done in a hybrid Indian-English manner, are, however, mostly devoid of feeling.

The Lakhnau qalam began also early in the eighteenth century in the Mughal manner, but gradually it grew more eclectic in character. From the beginning the works were sentimental and sensuous in import. Early eighteenth century works may be found to have some charm and skill. The thriving period of the qalam centres round the painter Mir Kalan Khan who lived about 1770

and produced some of the best miniatures of this style. Gradually, with increasing European contact, the Nawabs developed a preference for oil portraits, and, as in architecture, the nineteenth century works are characterised by extravagant tastes leading often to garish and vulgar effect.

A historian of Mughal painting has made the following apt observation: “The Mughal school of painting formed, as it were, the spinal column of the various schools of Indian miniature art. If the Mughal school of painting had not come into being, the Pahari and Rajasthani schools would not have emerged in the forms in which we find them,” The Rajasthani painting has truly been recognised to be a sister of the Mughal. Both the schools emerged, each in its distinctive form, at about the same period by assimilating and absorbing a number of trends, and in a sense each may be described to be a synthetic tradition. The question of inter-relations between the two schools has often been discussed, but there is hardly any agreement in this regard. It is difficult to deny however that during the formative period the Mughal and the Rajasthani concepts were in a sort of balanced relationship. The Rajasthani elements made as much intrusion in the paintings of the Akbar period, as the Mughal elements did in the Rajasthani paintings, particularly of those States which were in subservient alliance with the Mughal emperor. It is only Me war which tried to resist, as far as it could, the Mughal impact, in political as well as in cultural spheres. But it had to succumb also in the end. But whatever Mewar painting borrowed from the Mughal was soon adapted and acclimatised to its basic form and tradition. As one scholar observes, “the Mughal influence, not felt directly for Mewar was not closely associated with the court, had refined the drawing, enriched the palette and in some respects simplified the design, but the core of the style remains Indian." Not so the styles of the other States. Most of them are found to be highly imbued with Mughal manners and flavour.

In spite of such inter-relations the two schools remain apart. The Mughal, prominently a court art and concerned with court scenes including its diversions, had only a limited appeal and interest. Rajasthani painting, with subjects drawn mostly from the legends and myths of religion, had also an appeal to, and interest for, the common man. Hence, though nurtured by a feudal aristocracy it reached a wider section of the people. Further, its rugged vitality and naive simplicity stand in definite contrast to the subtle refinements of the Mughal school. Easily comprehended by the common man, Rajasthani painting naturally withstood the terrible shock which extinguished that of the grand Mughal empire. Rather,

it gained from the dispersals from the imperial ateliers, and a few styles of the school had their supreme expressions in the eighteenth centuiy.

Before we discuss the state of Rajasthani painting during the period under survey a little digression seems to be necessary. With the emergence of the Rajasthani school in its characteristic form, the new impulse led to wide-spread activities in the various States, vying with one another in the production of paintings. Of late, there has been a tendency to describe the products of each State as constituting a distinct school with the result that in recent writings one comes across the names of a number of schools of Rajasthani painting. This attitude fails to recognise the fact that Rajasthani painting is basically one, in form as well as in content and import. The divergences in minor details that one finds in the products of the different States hardly disturb the common character and cannot justify the claim of each to be regarded as a separate school. The divergences recognised in the products of the different States are to be interpreted as constituting local styles, qalams if we may borrow the Mughal term, of the main school.

Decay and dessication started in the Mughal school in the second half of the seventeenth century, and by the first part of the eighteenth its dominating influence lessened considerably. Rajasthani painting was not slow to seize the advantage. It gradually became more and more assertive and succeeded, in course of time, in shedding off the subservience to the Mughal school. In a few of the styles it was dominant till the first quarter of the eighteenth century, but weakened after that date. Till the middle of that century Mughal compositions are known to have been preferred, and some scholars are inclined to recognise Mughal manner in the Rdgamdld series of paintings. But by this time Rajasthan had infused the art with a new feeling and a rhythm of line and colour. There was also added a certain romantic import. The rugged primitive quality was, to a certain extent, sophisticated. In general there was a richness of palette. At Jaipur and Bikanir which, in the earlier phases, were most affected by the Mughal impact, a comparable lessening of Mughal manner was noticeable, and the products of each are imbued with individuality. The developments, in the Mewar (Udaipur) style have already been noted. Portrait subjects had been introduced in Rajasthani painting in the preceding century,—apparently a take-over from the Mughal. In the eighteenth century their demand increased phenomenally. But such portraits were done in the Rajasthani manner, the plasticity of form and its relation to the background depending on linear and colour manipulations, true to

the Indian tradition. Exuberantly done, with a rhythmical and lyrical quality, Rajasthani painting in the eighteenth century seems to glow with a new richness and vitality. During this century it made notable contributions, thus offering, in a way, a happy relief to the sad and dismal state presented by contemporary Mughal painting. Decadence, however, set in in the nineteenth century by the middle of which it was to all purposes dead.

Within the Rajasthani school a number of styles and modes may be recognised, though all are imbued with the same spirit and tone. A few are found to have certain individual traits, and among these, the most notable are those of Bundi, Kota and Kishangarh. The first two represent practically one movement, the second bifurcating from the first at a later phase, obviously because of political reasons. The existence of a Bundi style in the seventeenth century is well evidenced by the sumptuous paintings in a manuscript of the Bhagavata Pur ana and number of Rdgamdld sets, now dispersed in various collections. The first series, executed about 1640, is characterised by a largeness and vigour of design and, at the same time, a tender feeling, particularly because of the treatment of the subtly modelled and sophisticated human types, especially of the women. The colour scheme, varied and at the same time rhythmically balanced in respect of the figures, their dresses and landscape with lush vegetation in the background, is extremely pleasing. All these qualities are accentuated in the R&garmla sets to be dated about 20 to 25 years later. The Bundi style begins in the seventeenth century with great promise and continues through the eighteenth. It is in the first part of the eighteenth century that it reaches maturity both in quality and in quantity. The treatment of nature, though rich and lush, becomes more sophisticated. There is a preference for softer colours for the figures of which the drawing is sure and mobile and the moods integrated. These distinctive characteristics remain valid till at least the middle of the century. In the latter half of the eighteenth century the charm gradually fades away and a too generous use of gold and red and greenish yellow results in a sickly tone,—just the premonition of the final withering away. Kota works of the period share in the characteristics of the contemporary Bundi style. The style matured suddenly during the period of Raja Umed Singh (1771-1820) as an individual form, and in this period painting seems to have become an important activity in Kota. Among a large number of paintings in this series one may recognise some of the liveliest pictures of Indian art, technically highly accomplished and aesthetically pleasingly organised. Later paintings, those of the regime of Raja Ram Singh (1828-1866), maintain the

tradition together with an absorption of certain European elements, particularly in the treatment of landscape, within the framework of the Kota style. Under Raja Chhattar Singh the brush work tends to become loud and garish together with a deterioration of quality. The end was not long to come.

In the eighteenth century an individual style of significant interest flourished in the small State of Kishengarh. The style centred round Maharaja Savant Singh, who ascended the gaddi of Kishengarh in 1748, and his gifted artist Nihal Chand. A poet prince, who wrote verses in praise of Krishna under the name of Nagarl Das, Savant Singh fell in love with a singer girl, celebrated in his verses by the name of Bani Thani or the bewitching lady of fashion, and it is presumed that the identification of these two passions of his life was responsible for the small and exquisite series of pictures painted at Kishengarh between the early years of his love for Bani Thani and his abdication in 1757. Depending on the early eighteenth century Mughal technique and composition, the artist Nihal Chand created in these paintings a visual presentation of his patron’s lyrical passion. Not satisfied with the conventional human types, he introduced new ideally beautiful types for the divine lovers, and it has been suggested that the type of female beauty selected for Radha was based on the features of Bani Thani herself. Ideal in conception, it has the feel of an individual experience. The slim and slender body with sharp features is characterised by an arched mouth and long slanting eyes pursed up at the outer edges. Due to the Rajasthani conception, a firm clear geometry underlies the composition and it is against this that the figures, architecture and vegetation, all firmly drawn, are placed in balanced relationship, the colour scheme rhythmically unifying the entire composition and lending it a rare charm. It is an art of the most sensitive kind in which the Hindu devotional feeling has been combined with an exquisite skill of handling space and colour relations. Among the various modes and styles of Rajasthani painting, that of Kishengarh is perhaps the most significant. The spell that Nihal Chand created by his series of paintings lingered till the early nineteenth century.

Even more significant in the history of Indian painting of this period is the emergence in the Punjab hills, i.e. the mountain region watered by the five rivers, of a number of styles of delicate charm and enchantingly lyrical quality. Collectively they are designated as the Pahari or ‘Hill’ school. Coomaraswamy describes the paintings of Rajasthan and those of the Punjab hills under the general appellation of ‘Rajput’, and this appellation is still by no

means obsolete. Like Rajasthan, the Punjab Himalayas, from the valley of the Indus to the springs of the Ganges, were divided among numerous small principalities, each under its own hereditary ruler of Rajput extraction. These hill States came into contact with the Mughals also and were in various terms of relationship with them. In this manner they came in contact with the artistic impulses engendered by the Rajput and the Mughal courts, but it is not known whether such contacts had any reaction on them in the early seventeenth century.

The earliest records of Hill painting come from Basholi, a tiny State between the rivers Chenab and Ravi. They date from the last decade of the seventeenth century. The themes of these are mostly drawn from a text called Rasamanjari, describing the emotional states of lovers, and from the Krishna legend. All paintings are splendidly coloured, vigorously drawn and charged with emotion. Red vermillions, browns, blues, yellows and greens are used in strong and flat tones, the treatment of nature is simplified, and the squares and cubes of architecture are emphatically delineated. There is a preference for plain background, perhaps with a view to throw the figures into strong relief. A rugged strength and vitality characterise the composition. The question of the origin of the style, to be named Basholi after its principal centre, has been the subject of much discussion, and it is generally held that it was derived from a Rajasthani style, probably the early Mew 7 ar, with which it has much in common, in composition, in draughtsmanship and in bold colour scheme. It has also been suggested recently that the Basholi style emerged as a result of the impact of the Mughal miniature technique on the indigenous base of the Punjab hills, a view that has hardly any document in support.

In the early works the drawing is found to be lacking in delicacy. Nevertheless, it does not represent a folk art, but is a tradition handed dow r n by professional painters working for a feudal aristocracy. In the early part of the eighteenth century, as evidenced in the paintings of a manuscript of the Gitagovinda, dated about 1730, the style is considerably softened resulting from an increasing delicacy of line. The bold colouring remains the same as before. In this manner the style continues till the middle of the eighteenth century.

The State of Guler on the other side of the Ravi went further, drawing inspiration from the Basholi style and, according to Archer, played a decisive part in the development of the Pahari school in the eighteenth century. Basholi style was already on the way of shedding off its archaic mannerism, and Guler artists further accelerated the movement. Beginning from about 1720 with paintings in near Basholi idiom, the movement goes on uninterrupted for approximately half a century. Gradually, the lines became more delicate and facile, the sharp profiles were toned down, and colour scheme acquired a subtle refinement with restrained and subdued plasth city, the architecture and landscape, no longer harsh or statesque, harmoniously bindihg the composition as an organic whole. These refinements apart, the paintings of Guler evince a lyrical quality together with a balanced expression of different emotions and moods. Lines and colours are in rhythmic relationship, each complementing and supplementing the other. All these, no doubt, indicate great advance for which several factors seem to have been responsible. The first to be mentioned is the economic prosperity of the region resulting from the diversion of trade routes to the hills, due to the insecurity of the plains following the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739. Secondly, there is the persistent tradition of Mughal artists fleeing to Kangra, and the tradition does not appear to have been a pure myth. It is possible that the exodus of the artists from the capital to the hills occurred in consequence of the terrible disaster of 1739 and the ravages of Ahmad Shah Abdali a little later. Guler, the senior of the twin States of Guler and Kangra, may have thought it advisable, particularly at this time of artistic resurgence, to shelter a few artists from the capital. The rapid advance of Guler art since 1740 supports such a presumption. The Mughal artists might have been responsible, in no small measure, for the excellence within so short a period. A Mughal manner is recognisable in the later series of Guler paintings, and it is at this time that Kangra takes over.

Basholi, Jammu and Jasrota, because of geographical proximity and political reasons, had intimate contacts with one another. Cultural contacts with Guler also seem to have been very close. Raja Balwant Singh of Jammu was an ardent patron of painting, and Nainsukh of Jasrota, one of the painters in his court, is believed to have worked also under Raja Govardhan Singh of Guler. From 1748 onwards a series of paintings, including the portrait of Balwant Singh by Nainsukh, came to be executed at Jammu, and they show unmistakable affinities with the sure draughtsmanship and softer colours of Guler. The background, however, remains simple, and even austere, nearer to the Basholi idiom, in relation to the richer and softer atmosphere in Guler painting. Portraits and activities of the rulers were the favoured themes. The style continued in Jasrota, the home of Nainsukh, but gradually, with certain admixtures due to increasing Sikh influence, it withered away.

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

The most eminent of the styles of the Punjab hills, and also the last of the great Indian styles of painting, is that of Kangra. Beginning in the reign of Raja Sansar Chand (1775-1823), the style continued till the close of the nineteenth century, with its distinctive qualities more or less intact. Of the artists in Sansar Chand’s court three are known, though no signed works by them appear to have survived. They are Fattu, Parkhu and Khusan Lai or Khusala, the last said to have been a nephew of Nainsukh. It is not unlikely that these painters and others might have come from Guler when patronage had dwindled there after the death of Govardhan Singh. There is no denying that Kangra art developed out of Guler and these artists might have been responsible for starting the movement. Kangra intensified all those qualities that characterised Guler art and improved upon them further, thereby leading the Pahari school to its supreme expression. The principal themes have been drawn from the Vaishnavite myths, particularly those related to the life of Krishna, especially his dalliances with Radha and other gopis . Subjects with erotic imports, like Ndyaka-Nayikas, etc., are also greatly preferred for pictorial representation. In short, every theme that admits of a visualisation of tender emotions, moods and sentiments, has a particular appeal to the Kangra artists who rendered them with a fine and sure fidelity.

The Bhdgavata Pur ana paintings in the Modi collection, done at Kangra, seem to illustrate the Kangra art in its initial phase. It is an extension of the elegant and sophisticated Guler style with all its Mughal manner in the sensitive treatment of the feminine faces, arrangement in geometric planes, etc. But already a new interpretation of the Guler idiom is evident in the strange rhythm that absorbs landscape with human actions and moods. In the later phases a heightening of the lyrical charm, rhythmic lines, and softer colours, together with a balanced and harmonious integration, constitute the keynotes of the Kangra style. The delicate charm of some of the paintings of the time of Sansar Chand may be said to excel even that of the Guler prototypes, or of their remote ancestor, the Mughal. The distinctive characteristics which remain valid throughout the course of the style may be generally stated. In the perfection of drawing, in the subtle and organic relationship between line and colour schemes, in a rhythmical and lyrical quality, in the rendering of emotions and moods together with a fluid naturalism, in romantic charm and delicacy, the Kangra style constitutes an outstanding achievement in the history of Indian art. It is at Kangra that one may recognise a complete and successful fusion of the Mughal manner and technique with the Pahari idiom

in its Hindu characterisation. As French rightly sums up, Kangra painting is "a glorious contribution of Mughal line and Hindu spirit."

Extensions of the Guler and the Kangra idioms may be recognised, respectively, in the remote hill State of Chamba and in Tehri Garhwal. Compared to the achievements of the two great styles, the works produced at Chamba and Tehri Garhwal are, however, of minor and insignificant importance.

From the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839) painting came to be practised under Sikh patronage by some artists from the Punjab hills migrating to Lahore and Amritsar. The works are mostly in the style of Kangra. Portraits, however, became more frequent possibly to satisfy the demands of Sikh nobility. A few of the portraits in profiles, with the full validity of the Kangra line, are among the successful productions.

Among the local styles of painting in the south mention may be made of Tanjore and Mysore. At the close of the eighteenth century, in the reign of Raja Sharfoji of Tanjore, some families of artists from Rajasthan seem to have settled at the place and evolved a local style combining the local elements with the Rajasthani. Though not of great quality, these paintings have a peculiar interest, historically, and continued during the Maratha domination. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a dispersal of the artists and disintegration of the art into a bazar craft, with much use of tinsel applique. In the early part of the nineteenth century under Raja Krishna Udaiyar 0 of Mysore there is record of a local style of painting in the State, much of which consisted of paintings on ivory. After him this style also languished and ultimately withered out.

In Orissa, palm-leaf manuscript paintings done with stylo have long been in vogue and they continued through the eighteenth century and major part of the nineteenth. Though sharp and angular, they evince a certain vivacity in composition. The style is exclusively linear, though sometimes flat colours have been used to lend brightness. The nineteenth century paintings tind towards decorative emphasis. The cloth and paper icons of Puri represent survivals from an ancient tradition distinctive for their bright colours and extremely rich decoration. The circular playing cards with paintings of divine figures and emblems constitute another traditional art in Orissa.

In the pre-Islamic phase Eastern India under the Palas had developed an important school of miniature painting, records of which are available in manuscript illustrations of the tenth to the twelfth centuries from Bihar and Bengal. The school had achieved significant qualities in linear and plastic treatment and colour tones as well. The influences of the school were felt in Nepal and Tibet in the north and in Burma in the east. It collapsed, however, with the Islamic occupation of the land.

For a long time past Bengal had been the home of a naive and simple folk tradition in painting. Early evidences of this tradition are extremely scarce, doubtless because of the fragile nature of the material on which they were done. Recordsi of this mode are, however, available in manuscript paintings from the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. An illustrated manuscript of the Bhdgavata Parana (tenth skandha) in the author’s collection, copied in Saka 1611 (A.D. 1689) supplies significant paintings of this folk mode, nearest to the period of this survey. Broad and curving linear rhythm with a surprising capacity of rendering the volumes and masses and defining the outline, which characterised this folk tradition, connects it wfith the classical Indian style, as evidenced in the cave paintings at Ajanta and Bagh and in manuscript illustrations, referred to above. The folk tradition, however, differs from the classical in the simplicity and broadness of its composition and colour scheme and in its elimination of all unnecessary details. Another characteristic of the Bengali folk mode is the emphasis on form achieved by a certain dissonance in the coloured areas. This folk mode lingered for centuries despite the social and political vicissitudes which, of course, affect but little the common folk. Scroll paintings of the rural patuds , at one time largely in vogue throughout Bengal, reveal the vitality of this trend till about 1900. In spite of local dialects all folk expressions are linked together by the common characteristics referred to above.

Perhaps the best known records of the Bengali folk trend in painting are supplied by what are commonly known as the patas of Kalighat. This pata style emerged towards the latter half of the eighteenth century and remained potent for about a century. Kalighat has a special sanctity for the Hindus as one of the fifty-one sacred pithas connected with the worship of the goddess gakti. With the growth of Calcutta as the premier city in India, the sacred tlrtha, standing in its neighbourhood, also rose in importance and pilgrims came to visit its shrine in increasing numbers. As in all tirthas, the incessant flow of pilgrims created a brisk market and a number of rural patuds from parts of western and southern Bengal migrated with their families to Kalighat and settled in the vicinity of the temple there. The vocations of these patuds consisted not only of picture-making, as their caste name signifies, but also of making images in clay, wood and a variety of lesser materials. Indeed, an

impress of their important profession of making images and dolls seems to be equally evident in their patas (pictures), characterised, as they are, by bold and sweeping brush strokes defining the full and rounded plastic masses that make up the form. By a manipulation of curves in the composition, the features are chiselled, so to say, with an excellent precision. The chief merit of this art lies in the modelling capacity of the line, amazingly fresh and spontaneous. “The drawing”, to quote A jit Ghosh who was the first to recognise the excellence of this tradition, “is made with one bold sweep of the brush in which not the faintest suspicion of even a momentary indecision, not the slightest tremor, can be detected. Often the line takes in the whole figure in such a way that it defies you to say where artist’s brush first touched the paper or where it finished its work.”

These are qualities that are found to have been inherent in the entire structure of Indian artistic tradition, and in view of this longcontinuing heritage it is difficult to accept the theory advocated by Archer that the school presupposes Anglo-Indian source. The illustrations that Archer cites in support of the possible Anglo-Indian content in theme as well as in mode do not appear to have emanated from the Kalighat tradition. Nor is the early date attributed to them above reasonable doubts. Archer further postulates that the later paintings show a weakening of Anglo-Indian influences, whereas the truth seems to be just the contrary. The Kalighat style seems to have started as a pure and spontaneous expression of the indigenous folk trend, and the paintings in which the qualities, detailed above, are valid were seemingly the earliest. In the later phases Anglo-Indian influences, naturally and inevitably, made their intrusions leading to a weakening of the indigenous folk elements in the style. The decay began in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The composition tended to become cruder and coarser, the superb draughtsmanship grew weaker, lines became broken and faltering, and, despite the introduction of the Anglo-Indian modes of shading and stippling, the figures in the later patas lacked that chiselled precision which characterised the earlier works. Economic reasons and changes of tastes were, no doubt, the main factors that contributed to this decline. At the same time it should also be remembered that the impact of the alien modes sapped the very foundation of this naive and simple folk trend, which became extinct early in the present century.

Kalighat paintings depict mythological themes as well as humorous skits on social and contemporary subjects, the latter gradually growing popular in the later phases. The themes, usually limited,

were endlessly repeated, each from a type picture preserved in the family. The quality of the earlier paintings deteriorated in the later generations lacking the spontaneous dexterity and manipulative skill of their forbears.

In this general, and to some extent telescopic, survey, it has not been possible to refer to a number of modes and varieties which, though not without some significance, are of minor and limited interest. Except for significant achievements in a few directions it gives us a picture generally of an overall decline. The alien Britishers in the early days of their rule were not likely either to check the decay of indigenous artistic traditions or to initiate a new and fruitful movement for a resurgence of the artistic instinct and activities. These early Britishers, the makers of the British empire in India, were men of little learning and culture whose only object was to expand the Company’s trade and political authority in India and to acquire vast fortunes for themselves in addition. It is true that reports of the fabulous wealth of the Company’s servants attracted a large number of British artists to India. But the conditions prevailing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were not suitable for any real and happy commingling of ideas and modes of two alien traditions to prepare the ground for a new movement. Tilly Kettle arrived in India in 1789, and the news of his success induced many others of his profession to follow him. Till 1820 the flow of British artists to India was, more or less, continuous and regular, and they worked for the Company's new nabobs and for Indian princes and nobles. After 1820 the regular flow stopped, as a result evidently of a fall in the demand for the works of the British artists.

The paintings executed by the British artists in India fall into three categories. In the earliest days the fashion seems to have been for large-size oil paintings, a mode that was entirely alien to India. Tilly Kettle, Johan Zoffany and Arthur Devis were the three best exponents of this mode and each of them amassed a vast wealth by the profession of his art. John Smart, Ozias Humphrey and George Chinnery were the leaders of the art of miniature paintings, particularly portraits in ivory. This mode ousted the large-sized oils from favour. The third category of British painting in India consisted of water-colour drawings, either as ends in themselves or as studies for subsequent oil paintings, engravings, aquatints or lithographs. William Hodges, Thomas and William Daniells and others executed in this mode a large number of views and landscapes which were highly popular in Europe.

^ Among the British artists who sojourned in India, a few belonged to the top rank, there being several Royal Academicians among them.

The paintings executed by them in various mediums were also certainly not small in number. As an instance it may be stated that the Victoria Memorial Hall in Calcutta alone has in its collection as many as 140 original works by Thomas and William Daniells. It is surprising that the works of the British artists did not evince any Indian feeling, nor produced any impact on indigenous Indian painting. The West and the East have definitely contrasting traditions of art, and it is difficult to combine the two unless a mutual understanding is possible. The style and modes which the British artists brought to India were firmly established in the western mould from which any deviation was considered to be a sacrilege. Their sense of superiority precluded, again, any receptive attitude or mood on their part so as to enable them to know and understand the Indian modes and techniques.

Later, from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Indian artists received some training in western techniques and styles for works under Company’s commissions. At that time indigenous traditions had reached practically the lowest ebb, and the artists in their moribund state had already lost the instinct and capability required for a better understanding and assimilation of the alien trend. Little could they imbibe the new techniques and modes, much less their feeling and spirit. The result was the emergence of some bastard styles (commonly called Anglo-Indian or Indo-British) in different parts of the country, their divergences mainly depending on the differing indigenous modes. On the whole, none of these styles can be said to have much artistic merit. Their main purpose was illustration and this function they fulfilled to a certain extent. In Eastern India the Patna school of painting furnished one instance of this bastard art.

With the growth of western education, schools of art were established in different centres for the instruction of Indians. Presided over by European artists, the courses of teaching in such schools aimed at copying faithfully western works of art in occidental techniques and modes. In such a method there was very little scope for originality or individuality. In fact, such qualities were often baulked at. In spite of the fine delineative skill, the paintings of the students and artists trained in this method lacked character and appeared to be shams and ineffective. No great art can be fostered by ignoring the traditions of the soil and its environments.

The great celebrity attained by Ravi Varma’s paintings in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in a manner, brought the question of the conflict of styles into a conscious focus. Connected with the princely family of Travancore, Ravi Varma had displayed a flair for painting early in his life and had some instruction in the elementary techniques of the art from a traditional artist as well as from an English painter, Theodore Jenson. He does not seem to have any regular schooling, however. As a result of his contact with Jenson he had a glimpse into the mysterious world of oil colours, and it must be said to his credit that by his own talent and application he thoroughly mastered the technique of this new medium, completely alien to Indian tradition though it was. He employed this new medium in painting Indian mythological themes which at once attained wide recognition and through oleographs became popular throughout the country. He is said to have depicted these age-old themes with all the powers of European art. In spite of this distinction, critics accuse him of having failed to convey adequate expressions of Indian feeling or of the poetic faculty that an Indian allegory ought to be capable of evoking. Some have gone still further and described his paintings as having paralleled “British art in its most banal form”.

The controversy aroused by Ravi Varma’s paintings was, in a way, responsible for an awakening that led to the emergence of a new and significant artistic movement in Bengal about the beginning of the present century. This new movement is said to have started with a retrograde step. Several circumstances may have conditioned this. The reaction to the westernisation of Indian art had been brought to the fore by the critics of Ravi Varma’s paintings. In 1896 E.B. Havell, an Englishman, joined as Principal of the Govern ment School of Art in Calcutta. He had come to India in 1884 to take charge of the Government School of Art in Madras. He felt dissatisfied with the method of instruction in the Art schools of India. Meanwhile he had delved deep into Indian lore and culture. When he came to Calcutta as the head of the premier art institution in the country, he thought that the opportunity had come and denounced in unequivocal terms the methods of art instruction in India. Ho had been one of the strongest critics of Ravi Varma’s paintings. With his great regard for India’s rich heritage in the field of art, he emphasized the necessity of an intimate acquaintance with the past traditions of the country and of recapturing their glories. About the begining of the present century Lord Curzon took steps to make us conscious of our great heritage in art and architecture. The movement for national awakening that was beginning to take shape in the last decade of the nineteenth century, had its tempo quickened in Bengal as a result of the Swadeshi movement consequent to the unwanted partition of Bengal, again an award of Lord Curzon. Never were the times more propitious for an appeal to the country’s past.

The leader of the new movement was Abanindra-nath Tagore, a talented colleague of Havell in the Government School of Art in

Calcutta. He belonged to a gifted family deeply steeped in Indian lore and culture. In spite of his thorough training in the western modes, Abanindranath felt the formal and realistic concept of western art to be a handicap to the intellectual and imaginative function of art. Following Havell, he also delved deep into Indian artistic and literary lores in order to seek new ground and new inspiration. His quest was not confined to India, but was extended far beyond, to Iran on the one hand and Japan on the other. This versatility led him to discover his style which may be described to have been a fusion of the occidental and oriental modes without any detriment to the character of Indian art tradition. This style was entirely a creation of his for the expression of his own genius and in fulfilment of his own artistic impulse. His aesthetic ideals and his charming personality drew around him a small band of young artists. The Master with his immediate pupils were the pioneers of the new movement.

Because of the studied attempt to return to the past, the movement has been described to have begun with a retrograde step. Such a step, it may be felt, was a necessary one. In the general state of chaos and disintegration, as outlined above, such a return appeared to have been called for in order to find a solid ground and mooring in the past artistic heritage of the country, if not for anything else. The achievements of every great period of Indian art were explored and their possibilities carefully analysed. With this knowledge of the past there were experiments in diverse methods, manners and techniques. It is by such laborious processes, and guided by the genius of a master artist, that each of his pupils discovered his own distinctive rritier . The work of the pioneers initiating the new movement cannot be described to be a slavish imitation of any one of the past styles. Each had acquired his own individuality in interpreting his imaginative conception in colour and form by following an indigenous style and traditional methods. The new movement started with a creative urge and impulse and produced many distinguished artists, and they, in their turn, led the movement to further advances. It explored the past legacies; that does not mean that the movement itself was retrograde.

In the works of the pioneers of the movement it is possible to recognise a high idealism and technical virtuosity. The leading traits of Abanindranath's style "are an intensely romantic and lyrical quality and a dreamy and mystic treatment of his subjects which lift them to a far higher level than the plane of merely literal naturalism'\ The dreamy and mystic atmosphere which pervades his compositions seems to impart a certain sentimental and

emotional content to his works, and this might, at times, tend to an effect of weakness. His sure draughtsmanship however saves his works from such a destiny. He is said to have introduced the Japanese colour wash, but he modified his technique in his own way. In landscapes and portraits he also made distinct contributions. In the first he used colour in the western mode without any detriment whatsoever to the Indian feeling and atmosphere. In portraits he devised a special mode of using oil colours which emphasized the grey and sombre tints. This he did to maintain conformity with the Indian atmosphere. His best portraits are however in pastel, and in these he stood unrivalled, particularly in the matter of delineating the texture of the skin. He was a master of many modes and trends which he successfully synthetized always with a view to impart Indian feeling to his productions.

Many were the immediate disciples of Abanindra-nath. The foremost and most distinguished among them was Nanda-lal Bose. In his works the indigenous ideals in art may be said to have been most successfully interpreted. In his early career he was engaged in copying the murals at Ajanta. This familiarity with the classical trend turned him essentially into a lover of statuesque classical form. His unerring dexterity in draughtsmanship led him also to the classical line with its bounding curves and sinuous plasticity. He was thus the best exponent of our classical trend in art. His works, however, differ from the classical as in his interpretation of the classical he always avoided the pretty and the sentimental and emphasized the statesque dignity and majesty of form. These may be regarded as the distinctive and outstanding qualities of his style, and in these respects he excelled even his master. Along with these qualities, he combined also a decorative sense which endows his compositions with superb effect. Hardly did he use colour, but when he did, he followed the traditional Indian method. Clear and explicit, he always avoided what is vapoury or misty. In his interpretation of the classical he recreated it, and added a new dignity and dimension.

Asit-kumar Haidar, Mukul Dey, Surendra-nath Kar, Kshitindranath Majumdar and a few others were also the immediate disciples of Abanindra-nath; each was eminent in his own distinctive sphere. In a way they appear to have been more influenced by Abanindranath's style which they maintained with slightly varying degrees of their own individual touches.

The Kala Bhavan school of Art in Santiniketan, under the fostering care of Rabindra-nath and guiding inspiration of Nanda-lal, produced a number of artists of talent, including Binod-bihari

Mukherjee, Ramendra-nath Chakravarti and others, each of whom came to be reputed in his own sphere.

In recent years it has been usual to disparage the new movement as barren. Critics fail to recognise that it had behind it a conscious awakening and creative inspiration and it showed great promise and potentialities from the start. It had produced significant and distinctive works and a number of talented artists who guided the destinies of many an art institution in the country for approximately a quarter of a century. It signified the first awakening after a stupor of about two centuries. It heralded a new resurgence of artistic impulse throughout the country. It had active followers in different parts of the country. It is only the third generation of artists working in Abanindra-nath's style who failed to reach the required standard. The movement weakened as the works of such artists were sentimental and insipid. It is because of the insufficiency of these successor-artists that the movement failed. The neo-Bengal school (as the movement came to be known) may not have been a modern movement in the strictest sense of the term, but one should not forget that it underlies the artistic resurgence that ushered in the modern art movement in India.

The potentiality of the awakening symbolised by the neoBengal school is demonstrated by the simultaneous emergence of talented artists trying to tread new grounds. Some of them are known to have been intimately associated with the neo-Bengal movement. With Abanindra-nath mention should be rpade of his elder brother Gaganendra-nath who was hardly less gifted than his more famous brother. An individualist, his fame rests chiefly on the effect of chiaroscuro which he introduced in his works, on his experiment with light and shade in the manner of European cubism which he used in a new mode and with a charming result, and on his cartoons which were lashing satires on contemporary society and topical events. He worked principally in the western mode, but his productions did not lack Indian warmth and feeling. The paintings in his own cubist fashion reveal rare genius. Instead of the hard and formal aspect of European cubism, Gaganendra-nath’s cubist works glow" with a mysterious charm which he alone knew how to impart.

Among the modern greats, Jamini Ray is an outstanding personality. A versatile artist, he achieved success in the earlier days in the western mode and came to be associated also with the neoBengal movement. Later, an instinctive urge led him to explore the fundamentals of Indian art concepts and develop a style, distinctively his own, drawing his inspiration from the basic concepts of the Bengali folk trend, seen at its best in Kalighat patas of the early nineteenth century. This he remodelled in his own manner and in his own style, successfully integrating line and colour into a harmonious scheme which the folk artists found difficult to achieve. In developing his style he depends not only on his own interpretation of the fundamental concept of art, but exploits and seeks to assimilate lessons from other alien trends nearer to his own ideas and perceptions. His mastery of the western mode enabled him to blend the different strains into an organic composition that is itself vital as well as dynamic and rhythmic in content. The artist seems to work in his own pleasure of creation. The spectator also evinces pleasure for the freshness and spontaneity that permeate the creation. Jamini Ray succeeded in his experiments and may be regarded as one of the pioneers in exploring successfully the great potentialities of Indian art in recent times.

How vital the new awakening was may be discerned from the surprising fact that the great poet Rabindra-nath suddenly emerged as a great painter when he was nearing seventy. It is possible that he might have felt the urge for creation in the new medium of line and colour from the sincere earnestness of the pioneers of the new movement which had its root in his own family. But his intention and ideal seem to have been different. It should also be remembered that he had no training in the fundamentals of the pictorial technique. This, in a way, left him free of any imposed standard. A poet is an artist also, and his artistic instinct led him to explore for himself his proper avenue for the fulfilment of his new creative urge. In so doing he did not look to the past like the pioneers of the new movement. And the mode that he discovered was entirely his own. He was principally concerned with the delineation of masses and volumes in organic relationship with one another in order to create an effective form. By his distinctive genius he succeeded in doing so. Line was of little import in Rabindra-natlTs art. Rabindra-nath’s writing—poetry or prose-—is imbued with a fine lyrical grace; but it is surprising to note the complete absence of any lyric quality in his painting. This may indicate that he wanted his art to be an expression of himself as a separate personality altogether. Rabindra-nath depended on colour for the delineation of masses and volumes. In this respect he made new approaches different from the western as well as the Indian modes. The Indian mode using bright colours depended on curving contours for the rendering of plastic masses. The western artist adopts softer colours with various shades and tonalities to achieve the same end. Rabindra-nath followed neither. The possibilities of line in this regard he failed to appreciate. Nor did he like to soften down his brilliant colours. He solved the problem in his own unique manner by the blends that he devised by various experiments with the palette. He invented colour schemes, bright and glowing in texture but without any adverse effect on the plastic shapes. In this, respect he was a path-finder to be ranked among the great masters of the world. His paintings reveal a rough and rugged strength and powerful forms which are highly truthful, judged from the aesthetic standard. Rabindra-nath’s painting, it is to be noted, evolved out of calligraphic pictographs that are often found to embellish his manuscripts.

The sincerity that characterised the pioneers of the new movement in Bengal may also be felt in the works of Amrita Sher Gil, a woman painter of mixed Sikh-Hungarian descent who unfortunately died before she was twenty-nine. She had a brief schooling in Paris where she acquired a dexterous skill in the use of oil colours. The rich pigments of Basholi and the bright colours of South Indian wall paintings also caught her imagination. She had a sensitive mind and the Indian scene with its sadness and suffering moved her. With the true instinct of an artist she began to interpret Indian life with a genuineness of feeling that itself is touching. Her style is simple, eliminating, as it does, all irrelevant and distracting detail. The sure and perfect drawing, the pure colour tones with touches here and there to heighten effect, all combine to endow her works with a distinct flavour in which the techniques and materials of the west may be found to have been successfully fused with the lyricism of the east.

Since the late thirties of the present century the individualistic movement in art has gained ground considerably. With it there is the growing revolt against the fetters of tradition, past or present. Painters in different parts of the country have begun experimenting in new modes and methods of expression and there have appeared fresh trends and fresh directions as to the ways of handling colours and of organising forms in terms of new aesthetics based on individual imagination.

1. Y. D. Sharma, Delhi and its Neighbourhood, p. 120. 2. Ibid.

3. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture (Islamic Period), p. 114; James Fergusson.

H.I.E.A', II, pp. 323-4; Y. D. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

4. Percy Brown, op. cit., pp. 116-7. 5. Ibid, p, 117.

6. A. H. Dani, Muslim Architecture of Bengal, pp. 275-6.

7. Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 118. 8. Ibid. 9. Ibid, pp. 121-2.

10. S. K. Saraswati, Chapter on Art in History of Bengal, Calcutta University.

1967.

11. James Fergusson, op. cit., II, pp. 325-6.

12. Types of Modem Indian Buildings , Allahabad, 1913.

13. Above, Vol. IX, p. 37.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 459 Add the following footnote about Jinnah mentioned in line 33: Disgusted and disappointed at the mysticism of Gandhi's politics and the orthodox and reactionary views of the Muslim leaders, Jinnah had proceeded to England and decided to settle in that country. But he gave up the idea and returned to India, being, according to a popular story, piqued by a remark of Nehru to the effect that 'Jinnah has ceased to count in politics' or that 'Jinnah is finished'. Cf. Louis Fischer, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Edition! Part II, p. 150; Kulkarni, V. B., British Statesmen in India, p. 398, f.n. Mosley (op. cit, pp. 66-68), however, says that it was an earnest appeal of Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the Muslim League that induced Jinnah to return,

P. 685, line 41. Mr. K. K. Ghosh, Lecturer, Jadavpur University, Calcutta, who had the opportunity of examining Japanese records about Subhas Bose has supplied the following note:

"Subhas arrived at Saban Island on 6 May, 1943. He was flown to Tokyo in a plane despatched by the Japanese Government, and reached Tokyo on 16 May, 1943. His presence in Tokyo was not revealed by the Japanese Government for about a month. On 10 June he met To jo for the first time, and another meeting took place on 14 June, 1943. On 18 June, the Tokyo Radio announced that Subhas Bose had arrived at Tokyo but mentioned no date of his arrival."

Mr. Ghosh cites the following authorities for his statement:

1. Subhas Chandra Bose and Japan, published by the External Affairs Ministry of the Government of Japan, pp. 92-95, 98.

2. Extracts from Short-wave Radio, Tokyo and other affiliated stations, from December, 1941, to September, 1944, compiled by the Research and

Analysis Branch, office of the Strategic Services, Honolulu.

Fuller details are given in Mr. Ghosh’s recent publication, The Indian National Army: Second Front of the Indian Independence Movement ('Meerut, 1969), p. 133.

P. 759, lines 19-26. For the statement of Lord PethickLawrence, cf. Kulkarni, op. cit., p. 460.

P, 7S2, f.n., 20 Add the following: But this view is opposed by Michael Edwards in his book, Last Years of British India.

P. 980, f.n. 22. For the first line substitute the following: The proper spelling of the name is Arabinda Ghosh as used in other parts.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XLII V. Muslim Religion

Some important changes took place in the religious thoughts and in the society of the Muslims of India during the period under review. They were due to various causes such as the movement started by Sir Syed Ahmad about 1870, the Deoband School of thought and the Nadwatu’l-’Ulama, as well as the attack by some of the European powers on Islamic countries including Turkey, which was the seat of the Caliphate-—a highly important institution of Islam. This led to the establishment of the Khilafat Committee and of the Jair/iyatu’l-TJlama, in 1919. After the abolition of the Khilafat the two movements of the Jama'ati-Xslami and of the Tahlighi Jama‘at influenced the religious thought and the society of the Muslims to a large extent.

Reference has been made above (Vol. X, pp. 143-4, 305-20) to the views and activities of Sir Syed Ahmad. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College founded by him in 1877 attracted more and more Muslim students and developed into a full-fledged residential Muslim University in 1921, and became a source of inspiration to the modern-minded Muslims . Other Muslim leaders also established similar educational institutions which resulted in the rapid modernisation of students as mentioned above (Vol. X, p. 148). The orthodox Ulamas could not tolerate these changes in the thought and life of the Muslims and condemned them as un-Islamic. The people in general also followed their lead and there was a general feeling that the regeneration and uplift of the Muslims of India could be attained only by following the Islamic religious system of education, re-establishing the Islamic mode of life, and developing the qualities and character recommended by the Prophet and his immediate followers.

One of the important centres of the orthodox Ulamas who held these opinions has been the Madrasa of Deoband, to which reference has been made above (Vol. X, p. 142). Maulana Mahmud-al-Hasan was in charge of this institution from 1888 till 1920. was not only one of the most eminent masters of the various branches of Islamic literature, but had also imbibed the great qualities of selflessness and complete devotion to Islam from his teacher Maulana Qasim, one of the founders of the institution. He shared the religious and political views of his great teacher, but differed from him in his attitude towards modern educated Muslims, and tried to establish friendly relation between Aligarh and Deoband. 1

All the leaders of Deoband movement were followers of Hanafi school of law, belonged to certain order of Muslim Sufis, and had little to do with the Wahabis. They claimed to be strict followers of the path of the Prophet and of the Companions. They differed strongly from some of the views and practices of some of the Mus

lim mystics, such as the celebration of the birth of the Prophet, the annual celebration of the death of the saints, the belief in their miraculous powers, to beseech them or the Prophet for help, etc. All this they considered to be un-Islamic. They also believed that another Prophet, like Muhammad, could be created by God. On account of these views they are declared as Wahabis by a group of Orthodox Ulamas some of whom condemned them as non-Muslims.

The Nadwatu'l-'Ulama (the Association of the Ulamas) of Lakhnau tried to bridge over the gulf between Aligarh and Deoband and between the various groups of the Ulamas. It wanted to bring together, on a common platform, the various groups of them and to reform the Logic-ridden Nizamiyya system of religious education, by putting greater emphasis on Islamic history and religious subjects, and by introducing in it, modern sciences as well as English language as secondary subjects. Maulana Shibli (1857-

1914) became its secretary in 1905, and continued in that position till 1913. During this period the institution improved greatly in every respect. He stood between the Ultra-modernism of Aligarh and extreme orthodoxy of Deoband. He recognised the importance of modern science and English language. But he gave them only secondary place in his system. In the interpretation of Islam and Islamic principles, he differed from Sir Syed Ahmad. He followed in this respect the lead of Shaykh Muhammad Abdulu (1842-1905) and his illustrious student Rashid Rida of Egypt. 2

The Daru'l-'Uium of Nadwa has been an important centre of Islamic learning and research since its foundation and has played an important role in moulding the religious ideas of the Muslims. The names of great scholars like Maulana Shibli, Maulana AbulKalam Azad and Maulana Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi have been associated with it.

The Khilafat problem greatly agitated the religious emotions of the Muslims. Reference has been made above (pp. 316-9, 330-2) to the formation of Khilafat Committee in 1919 which was supported by every party of the Muslims without any exception. Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress also supported its demands. It played an important part in uniting the different sections of the Indian people. The abolition of the Khilafat in 1924 by Mustafa Kamal greatly disappointed the Muslims of India. It w T as the greatest blow on one of the most important institutions of Islam, by a group of the Muslims who had defended it for centuries and shed their blood for its sake.

The Khilafat Committee continued to exist after the abolition of the Khilafat. But it lost its popularity. The Jam'iyyatu'l-'Ulama. which was established simultaneously with the Khilafat Committee, played an important part in Indian politics during the later period of the struggle for freedom. Since then it has been helping the Muslims in various ways whenever they have to face any difficulty. But more important and more active than the Jamdyyat are (a) the Khaksar movement, (b) the "Jama'at-i-Islami", and (c) the "Tablighi Jama'at".

(a) The Khaksar movement 3 wanted to unite the Muslims, to organise them in every locality on military basis, and infuse in them, afresh, the original Islamic spirit to serve God and His creatures. It was planned and organised by Tnaytullah Mashriqi who laid down that the Muslims of every quarter and village should get together under a chief, dressed in Khaki and carrying shovels, before the sun-set prayer, perform military drill for half an hour, serve men or animals collectively for two hours, and then perform sun-set prayer. They should meet personally all their expenses in this connection, obey their chiefs implicitly even at the sacrifice of their property and life, be punctual in performing all their duties, and ready to face all kinds of difficulties and dangers. They should not quarrel with any one and be courteous to all. Its political activities have been described above. 4

(b) The Jama‘at-i-Islami is a religio-political society. It was founded in 1941, at Lahore, by a group of 70 Muslims belonging to various walks of life including some Uiamas. After the partition of the country it was taken over by the “Jama‘at-i-Islam-i Hind’ 5 . Its object is to establish religion (Islam) in order to please God and attain salvation after death. It wants to bring about a complete change in the outlook and character of man, to revolutionise society on the basis of religious ideology, and to establish, ultimately, a religious State.

Religion, according to it, is concerned not only with the relation of man to God, but also with his behaviour towards his fellow-beings and the society at large. All the religious scriptures of the various periods show that all the Messengers who came to India and other countries preached not only the purity of man’s relation with his Creator, but also that of his behaviour to the other members of the society. The teachings of all of the Prophets attained the highest stage of their evolution in the message of the Prophet of Islam. Like all the other Prophets his mission also was to purify human mind and behaviour in all its aspects. Islam recommends a balanced and harmonious realization of all the natural urges of man. It has laid down general principles relating to private morality, public behaviour, social conduct, political activity, as well as international relation. It says that it is man’s action on the earth that brings about his spiritual salvation after his death. These principles are the common property of mankind and it is the duty of the Muslims to propagate them among their fellow-beings.

The Jama‘at wants to propagate these principles on the basis of the Quran and the Traditions, by peacefully persuading people to accept, adopt and follow them honestly and sincerely. It proposes to educate and prepare public opinion for the social revolution, and after it gets the support of the majority, to establish a religious State in the country.

The Jama‘at has framed detailed rules and regulations, established several centres of its activities, published considerable literature in English and several Indian languages. It brings out four periodicals and holds public meetings at different places. 5

(c) The Tablighi Jama at (the party for the propagation of Islam) was not a regular society with definite rules and regulations like the Jama‘at~i~Islami and the Khaksars. It was a movement started by a single individual, Maulana Muhammad Ilyas, in 1939, and was propagated by him among his friends and admirers for the pure religious purpose of the revival of the genuine Islamic spirit among the Muslims.

He was touched to the quick to find that the Muslims were ignorant of the Commandments of Islam, were losing their faith in religion and respect for it, and many of them laughed at it. His love and zeal for Islam impelled him to revive the love and respect for religion among the Muslims.

He held that the Muslims should spare some time out of their usual occupations, appoint one of themselves as a chief, go out of their homes to some distant place with pure intentions, stay in a mosque and live a purely Islamic life, observing all its commands and recommendations in all their movements and activities, and follow the footsteps of the Prophet in every respect. They should personally meet all their expenses and should devote all their time to offering prayers, reciting the Quran and learning the life of the Prophet and his associates. They should visit the lanes and bylanes of the place, and teach the local Muslims, the Islamic formula, the methods of observing Islamic rituals, and to respect Islam and fellow Muslims. 6 The main activities of Maulana Muhammad Ilyas and his followers, however, fall beyond the period under review.

But the man who influenced Islamic thought and the educated Muslims most, during the first half of the present century was Dr. Sir Muhammad

Iqbal (1873-1938). His political views and activities have been discussed above (pp. 533-7). His influence on Islamic thought is of permanent value and his contribution to the revival of Islamic spirit among the Muslims is of great importance.

By his philosophical, forceful, and charming poems, Iqbal revived among the Muslims the original Islamic spirit and kindled in them such a fire of faith and urge for spiritual and physical activity, as had not been experienced by them for centuries. He discarded the generally accepted theory that the material world was unreal and that the spiritual ideal of man was to lose his identity in God who is the only real Being. This conception of the physical world and of the ideal of man, Iqbal thought, killed man’s inner urge for activity and his efforts to attain higher stages of his evolution. He, on the other hand, recognised the importance of the material world.

It is through it that God unfolds His creative qualities, and man is co-worker with Him in this process of evolution. By working with God in this process, with large heart, and wide sympathies for the good of humanity at large, man develops Godly qualities and absorbs Him in his own self.

Iqbal believed in the unity of human race and equality and freedom of all men. While he admired the West for its achievements in science and technology, he condemned it for its domination of the East, which has destroyed not only the political freedom of the Eastern nations, but also their spiritual purity and mental freedom.

In one of his last poems which he addressed to the Eastern nations in 1938, he described the cause of their fall and suggested its remedy. He says that the basic cause of their fall is the domination by the West, which has killed the purity of their thought and the independence of their mind. They should shake off this political and economic domination of the West even if they have to live without the necessities of life. They should establish a religious State based on the independence and equality of all men. In it every one should earn his livelihood by proper legal means, and should consider himself to be the trustee of all that might belong to him, and not its owner and proprietor.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that the political, economic, and moral decline of the Muslims continued to engage the minds of their leaders from 1905 to 1947. They tried to determine its causes and remove them. But the problem is difficult and complicated and involves the question of values. There is bound to be serious difference of opinion among the leaders about it. The Aligarh movement attached the greatest importance to the economic aspect of the problem. The Deoband school ignored this aspect and attached greater value to its moral and political aspect. The Nadwatu'i-'Ulama ignored the political aspect and tried to bridge the gulf between the Aligarh and the Deoband schools of thought. The Khaksar emphasised the physical and moral discipline. The Tablighi Jama'at attached the greatest value to the religious and moral aspect of the problem and ignored all the other aspects entirely. Dr. Iqbal gave due importance to all the aspects of the problem and suggested the remedy for all of them. He wanted the establishment of a model State in which all the spiritual and physical urges of man might be satisfied and no individual or group was exploited by another. But it remained only an ideal.

1. Naqshi Hayat, Vol. II, pp. 130-35.

2. Hayat-i-Shibli, pp. 58-96, 298 ff., 412-17.

3. al-Islah, Lahore, 1936, pp. 383-4; The Khaksar Movement under Searchlight, by Hira Lai Seth, Lahore, 1943, p. 70.

4. See above, p. 782.

5. Musalmdn aur Maujuda Sayasi Kashmakash , Parts 1-3; Introducing Jamdt-iIslami Hind, Delhi, 1960.

6. Maulana Ilyas ki Dini Da'wat; Tablighi Daure.

APPENDIX 1

The Unpublished Volume VI of Hunter Committee's Report

Reference has been made above (pp. 311, 313) to the appoint* ment of a Committee, presided over by Lord Hunter, to inquire into the disturbances in the Punjab in April, 1919. The Report of the Committee was published with five volumes of evidence on the basis of which the account given in this book, and also in other books dealing with the incident, is based. It is now known that there were two other volumes of evidence which were printed but withdrawn from publication by the Secretary of State due to the opposition of the Government and Army Department of India. Reference has been made to Vol. VI on p. 146 of Ci SIX MINUTES TO SUNSET, The Story of General Dyer and, the Amritsar Affair" by Arthur Swinson, published in 1964. More recently the existence not only of Vol. VI but also of another Volume has been mentioned in an anonymous letter published in the National Herald" of September 17, J968. But neither Vol. VI nor Vol. VII is easily available to the public and very little is known of their contents. The following note is added on the basis of information kindly supplied by Mr. V. N. Datta, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab), of the Kurukshetra University, who is now engaged in editing Vols. VI and VII of the Hunter Committee Report. I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to him.

The Volume VI is divided into three parts; it includes oral evidence, in camera , of J. P. Thompson, Sir Michael 0'Dw T yer and Sir Umar Hayat Khan; and the confidential written statements of O'Dwyer, Umar Hayat and the Punjab Government.

Sir Michael's contention was that in early 1919, there was in India an organised conspiracy to overthrow" the Government by force. After much discussion on it, Sir Chimanlai asked for the precise evidence which Sir Michael failed to produce. The President, Lord Hunter, to cut it short, characterized it only as Sir Michael's inference.

About General Dyer's firing in Jallianwala Bagh, O'Dwyer said:

"Dyer was aw^are that his retreat might be cut off. I think he said that after he fired the first volley, the crowd made a rush. He thought that this was intended to intercept his retreat and he went on firing, but he thought afterwards (he was very frank about it) that was not their intention after seeing the place more fully, and that this was one of the methods of egress so as to escape from the Bagh."

This evidence enhanced rather than mitigated Dyer's responsibility.

Regarding the 13th April meeting in Jallianwala Bagh, O'Dw^yer maintained that the firing was justified because the assembly was in

sympathy with those who had committed murders on the 10th April. But when asked for evidence, Sir Michael again cut a sorry figure.

Much evidence on the objectionable methods of recruitment is available; how men were charged under Security sections 107 and 160 of the Criminal Procedure Code to enlist themselves as recruits; how the district officials confessed that repressive method had been used in their areas for an intensive campaign of recruitment. It seems that this evidence on recruitment was not available to Sir Sankaran Nair during his case against O'Dwyer in England.

APPENDIX 11

Indian National Army (I.N.A. or Azad Hind Fauz)

The account of the I.N.A., given in Chapter XXIX (pp. 682694), dealt with more fully in the author's book, History of, the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. Ill, pp, 715-736, is mainly based on the authority of the officers of the I.N.A., and it is not unlikely that they, consciously or unconsciously, exaggerated the success and heroism of the Indian sepoys who joined the I.N.A. It is therefore necessary to refer to the British versions of their achievements which are now available. As a typical example we give below a summary of the account in the biography of Field-Marshall Sir Claude Auchinleck, the Commander-m-Chief of India at the time, written by a high military official under the pseudonym of John Connel:

When Singapore fell in February, 1942, some 85,000 men, that remained of the British forces in Malaya, surrendered to the Japanese. Of these nearly 60,000 were Indians—officers, V.C.O.s, N.C.O.s, and other ranks. About 25,000 of these were seduced from their sworn allegiance to join the Indian

National Army and bore arms against the Allied forces in South-East Asia from the winter of 1943-4 onwards.

Captain Mohan Singh, a Sikh officer of the 1/14 Punjab Regiment, was put in command of this army. The Japanese made lavish promises to him, but signally failed to fulfil them. Mohan Singh, deeply disillusioned, resigned and withdrew all connection with the I.N.A. which then languished. It was refashioned in 1943 by Subhas Chandra Bose, a man of much more powerful character than Mohan Singh. Out of the total originally recruited in 1942 by Mohan Singh, the Japanese military authorities permitted only one combatant division, numbering some 16,000 men, to be raised. The surplus, whom they described as 'unabsorbed volunteers', reverted to the status of prisoners of war. In December, 1942, when Mohan Singh gave up his command, 4,000 of these 16,000 withdrew with him.

When Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore towards the end of 1943, therefore, the I.N.A. consisted of some "12,000 disgruntled and perplexed men. His prestige, his fiery oratory, his promises and his money recruited from among the ranks of the Indian P.O.W.s some 10,000 fresh volunteers, and from the Indian civilian community in Malaya and Singapore about 20,000."

"One division, in strength between 14,000 and 15,000 strong, fought on the Japanese side in the Burma campaigns of 1944 and 1945. The role which the Japanese enforced on them was in part propaganda (which was not at all successful), and in part that of a guerilla or skirmishing formation (which they fulfilled halfheartedly). They had no aircraft, no artillery, no heavy mortars, no tanks, or armoured cars; they were light infantry, issued with captured British rifles and equipment of 1941 pattern."

"In every recorded clash between British and Indian forces and the I.N.A. in Burma, the I.N.A. were worsted. Their leadership was far from inspiring; three officers in all were killed in battle, one was killed by a Japanese sentry and one died in an air crash. By the time of the final Japanese defeat in Burma, 750 of the I.N.A. had been killed in action, 1500 had died of disease or starvation, 2,000 had escaped to Siam, and 3,000 had surrendered or deserted, 9,000 were captured."[1]

It would be obvious to anybody who reads this account that the Indian and British versions of the achievements of the I.N.A. are so radically different that it is impossible to reconcile them. It may be mentioned that an astute lawyer like M. C. Setalvad gave preference to Indian version on two grounds, namely,

1. The accounts of those who actually participated in these operations are clearly more authoritative and deserve to be accepted.

2. Many of the salient events described in the Indian version have been borne out in the evidence given at the Red Fort trial.[2]

This opinion must hold the ground until further researches, based on Japanese records, throw further light on the subject.

It may be argued that those who took part in the operations would be naturally prone to exaggerate the value of their achievements. As against this it should be remembered that from the very nature of the case the British are not less likely to be highly prejudiced against the I.N.A. and belittle their achievements and minimise their importance from every point of view.

Note 1

Note 2

APPENDIX III

APPENDIX III

SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL

(1900-47)

Date of the assumption of Office

6 January, 1899

19 November, 1905

23 November, 1910 5 April, 1916

2 April, 1921

3 April, 1926

17 April, 1931

18 April, 1936

20 October, 1943

24 March, 1947

APPENDIX IV INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS SESSIONS

1918— Bombay; Delhi

1919— Amritsar

1920— Calcutta; Nagpur

1921— Ahmedabad

1922— Gaya

1923— Delhi; Cocanada

1924— Belgaum

1925— Kanpur

1926— Gauhati

1927— Madras

1928— Calcutta

1929— Lahore

1931— Karachi

1932— Delhi

1933— Calcutta

1934— Bombay

1936—Lakhnau; Faizpur

1938— Haripura

1939— Tripur i

1940— Ramgarh

Name

Lord Curzon Lord Minto Lord Hardinge Lord Chelmsford Lord Reading Lord Irwin Lord Willingdon Lord Linlithgow Lord Wavell Lord Mountbatten

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1. 1. John Connell, Aucliinleck, Cassell, London, 1959 (pp. 794-797).
2. 2. M. C. Setalvad, Bhulabhai Desai (Builders of India Series, 1968), p. 306.

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Asraf, Shaikh M.

Latiff, S. Abdul

Saxena, Dr, Babu Ram

Singh, Iqbal Singh, Mohan

Basu, Lotika

Oaten E. F.

Seshadri, P.

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CHRONOLOGY

1711

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1869, October 2 1873 1882 1887 1887

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1893 August

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1898 1902 1902

1904

1905 February 18

Zinat u'n-Nrsa builds the Zinatu'l Mosque in Delhi (p. 1034).

Katra Masjid built at Murshidabad (p. 1037).

Qudsiya Begam builds the Sunhari Mosque (p. 1034).

Shuja-ud-Daula builds the tomb of Safdar Jang at Delhi (p. 1034).

Golden Temple of Amritsar built (p. 1038).

Asaf-ud-Daula builds the great Imambara at Lakhnau (Lucknow) fp. 1036).

St. John's Church built at Calcutta (p. 1043).

The Government House at Calcutta built <p. 1043).

Beginning of the jute industry in India (p. 815).

Suez Canal opened (p. 861).

Birth of M. K. Gandhi (pp. 224, 938).

Birth of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (p. 973).

Education Commission appointed (p. 895).

Birth of K. M. Munshi (p. 936).

Indian National Social Conference founded (p. 992).

Proposal to transfer Lushai Hills and Chittagong Divisions from Bengal to Assam (p. 17)

Birth of Gaurishankar Joshi, "Dhumaketu' (p. 936).

Mrs. Besant arrives in India (p. 249).

The Central National Muslims' Association submits a memorial for the due representation of Muslims in the Viceroy's Legislative Council (p. 148).

Sir William Ward proposes the transfer of Chittagong Division and the Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam (p. 17).

Shyamji Krishna varma settles in London (p. 295).

Prarthana Samaj of Bombay starts a Depressed Class Mission (p. 1001).

Madam Bhikhaji Rustom K. R. Cama leaves India and settles in Paris (p. 206).

Swam! Sraddhanand starts the Gurukul Kangri at Hardwar (p. 885).

Act passed empowering the Universities to appoint professors and lecturers (pp. 880; 889).

Shyamji Krishnavarma founds the 'India Home Rule Society' in London (p. 205).

1905 May

1905 July 4 1905 July 16 1905 July 20 1905 August 7

1905 October 16

1906

1906 October 1906 October 1

1906 December 34

1907 March 4 1907 April 11-23

1907 May 9

1907 May 11

1907 August 28

1907 December

1908 April 30 1908 May 2

1908 June 8

1908 June 8 1908 June 29 1908 July 22

1908 October 1

1908 December

1908 December 11

1909

1909

The Standard of London publishes the news that the Secretary of State had agreed to the proposal of partition.

Anti-partition memorial signed by 50,000 persons (p. 20).

Adoption of a resolution to boycott British goods at a meeting in Bagerhat (p. 27). Publication of Government Resolution on Partition of Bengal.

Adoption of Resolution on Boycott and Swadeshi at a meeting in Town Hall, Calcutta

(p. 28).

Partition of Bengal comes into force (p. 31). Foundation stone of the Victoria Memorial Hall (Calcutta) laid (p. 1045).

The Arundel Committee submits its report on political reforms to Lord Minto (p. 126). Lord Minto receives the Muslim deputation headed by Aga

Khan (pp. 127-28, 147). Muslim League formed at Dacca (p. 150). Hindu Muslim riot at Comilla (p. 55).

Arabinda writes seven articles on Passive Resistance (p. 74).

Lala Lajpat Rai and A jit Singh deported

(p. 118).

Ordinance restricting the right of holding public meeting passed (p. 107).

The Council of India Act passed (p. 132). Indian Decentralization Committee appointed (p. 793).

Khudiram Bose executed (p. 199).

Muraripukur Garden house (Calcutta) searched (p. 199).

Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act passed.

Explosives Substances Act passed (p. 109). Tilak's trial begins at Bombay (p. 116).

Tilak sentenced to six years' transportation (p. 116).

Government of India's despatch for Reform proposals sent to the Secretary of State (p. 130).

Aswini Kumar Datta and eight others deported (p. 119).

Criminal *Law (Amendment) Act passed (p. 109).

Hindu Conference held at Lahore under the presidentship of Sir Prafulchandra Chatter ji (p. 987).

Depressed Class Mission Society of Madras started (p. 1001).

1J03

1909 February 23

1909 May 21

1909 July 1

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1910 January 25

1910 February 9 1910 May 6

1910 June 22

1910 August

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1911 July

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1911 December 23

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1912 March 25 1912 June 1 1912 November 14

1912 December 23

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1913

Morley introduces the Indian Reforms Bill in the House of Lords (p. 132).

Indian Councils Act passed (p. 134).

Madan Lai Dhingra shoots dead Curzon Wyllie in London (pp. 206, 230).

Hindu-Muslim Riot at Peshawar (p. 159).

Department of Education under a separate member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council established (p. 880).

Arabinda retires to Pondicherry (p. 976).

Press Act passed (p. 1024).

Minto inaugurates the Imperial Legislative Council (p. 125).

Nine State prisoners released (p. 119).

Death of Edward VII and accession of George V (p. 168).

Coronation of George V (p. 168).

Seditious Meetings Act renewed (p. 108),

High Court Act passed (p. 796).

Tata Iron and Steel Company starts production (p. 854).

Factory Act improves the condition of women and children working in a factory (p. 1014).

The weekly Comrade started in Calcutta

(p. 4020).

Ramananda Chatterji starts the Modern Re view (p. 1021).

Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, starts functioning (p. 886).

Coronation Durbar at Delhi (pp. 41, 168-69).

Bomb thrown at Lord Hardinge (p. 5).

Province of Delhi created by a proclamation.

Islington Commission appointed to consider the organization of the Civil Service in India (p. 795).

An Act passed by the Government of India to effect administrative changes (p. 167).

Abul Kalam Azad publishes the Al Hildl (Urdu) (p. 1023).

Legislative Assembly for Assam created (p. 167).

Bomb hurled at Lord Hardinge as he was making his State entry into Delhi (p. 169).

Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act passed (p. 189).

Government of India passes a resolution on educational policy (p. 880).

Death of Ravi Varman (p. 964).

Pherozeshah Mehta starts the Bombay Chronicle (p. 1020).

1913

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1913 March 14

1913 March 22

1913 November 1

1913 November 19

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1914 June 16 1914 June 30

1914 July 14 1914 August 4 1914 September 3

1914 September 29

1914 November 5

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1915

1915 January 1915 January

1915 February

1915 February 15

1915 February 19 1915 June

1915 September 25 1915 September 29

Ganes gahkar Vidyarthl publishes the Prat dp

(p. 1021).

Associated Press of India amalgamated with Reuters (p. 1031).

A judgment of the South African Supreme Court made all unregistered marriages illegal and Gandhi began his satyagraha (p. 295).

New Constitution adopted by the Muslim League at its annual session at Lakhnau (p. 239).

Ghadar organization finally constituted at San Francisco (p. 208).

Legislative Assembly for Central Provinces created (p. 167).

Forest Research Institute and College opened at Dehra Dun (p. 886).

Government Commercial Institute, Calcutta, and Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, Bombay, founded (p. 892).

Snehalata burns herself to death in protest against the dowry system (p. 997).

Tilak released (p. 244).

Gandhi and Smuts arrive at an agreement (p. 296).

Mrs. Besant publishes the New India (p. 250).

Outbreak of the first World War (pp. 5, 170).

Deutscher Verein der Freunde Indian (The German Union of Friendly India) formed (p. 213).

Kamagata Maru arrives at Budge-Budge (p. 227).

England declares war against Turkey (p. 179).

Indian Independence Committee formed in Germany (p. 214).

Patna High Court established (p. 796).

Gandhi arrives in India (p. 299).

Krupp ships 8000 rifles and 4,000,000 cartridge to San Diego intended for India

(p. 216).

Muslim students from Lahore, Peshawar and Kohat join the Mujahidins and go to Kabul

(p. 222).

Mutiny of the Fifth Light Infantry in Singapore (p. 218).

Death of Gokhale (p. 245).

Rash-behari Bose flees to Japan (p. 683).

Mrs. Besant announces the formation of the Home Rule League (p. 249).

General Nixon occupies Kut-el Amara (p. 178).

1915 October 2

1915 November 1915 December 1

1915 December 3

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1916 February 1916 February

1916 April 28 1916 June 20 1916 September

1916 September

1917 April 18 1917 June 15 1917 June 24 1917 July 6

1917 July

1917 August 20 •1917 November 30 1917 September 30 1917 November

Indo-German Diplomatic Mission led by Raja Mahendra Pratap reaches Kabul (p. 221).

Death of Pherozshah Mehta (p. 246).

A Provisional Government of India established in Kabul (p. 221).

General Townshend reaches Kut (p. 179).

Internment of Muhammad 'All and Shaukat 'Ali (p. 6).

Ghadar Movement (pp. 6, 206).

Sadler Commission appointed (pp. 8, 881).

Indian Institute of Philosophy established at Amalner (p. 287).

Benares Hindu University established (p. 882).

D. K. Karve founds the S.N.D.T. Women's University in Bombay (p. 884).

Industrial Commission appointed (p. 857).

The War Office in Britain took charge of the Kut expedition (p. 179).

Berlin Committee sends Chandra K. Chakravarty to organize work in the U.S.A.

(p. 216).

Tilak establishes the Indian Home Rule League (p. 251).

Women’s University opened at Poona (pp. 8; 996).

Nineteen Indian members of the Legislative Council submit a joint memorandum for reforms (p. 243).

Home Rule League formally inaugurated by Mrs. Besant (p. 250).

Gandhi tried for Champaran satydgraha (p. 300).

Mrs. Besant interned by the Madras Government (p. 254).

Sir Subramaniya Aiyar writes to President Wilson (p. 258).

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, inaugurated to commemorate the 80th birthday of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (p. 887).

Sir Austen Chamberlain resigns and is succeeded by Montagu as Secretary of State for India (p. 264).

Montagu announces granting of* responsible government (pp. 255, 1003).

Sir J.C. Bose founds the Bose Research Institute

(p. 886).

Hindu-Muslim riot at Shahabad (Bihar), (p. 159).

The Round Table Group presents their scheme to Montagu and Chelmsford (p. 273).

1917 November 20

1917 December 10

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1918 March 23-24 1918 March 27

1918 April

1918 July 8

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1919 April 15-24

1919 May 5 1919 May 28

1919 August 8

1919 October

1919 December 5 1919 December 18

1919 December 23

1920

Trial of the Indians begins in San Francisco (p. 217).

Rowlatt (Sedition) Committee appointed (p. 292).

Indians become eligible to hold the King's Commission (p. 798).

A major famine (p. 833).

Beginning of trade union movement in India

(p. 860).

Death of Phakir-mohan Senapati (born, 1843) (p. 929).

Sachchidananda Sinha and the Maharaja of Darbhariga start the Searchlight at Patna

(p. 1020).

The first all-India Depressed Classes Conference held (p. 1003).

Tilak, Khaparde, Karandikar, Kelkar and B. C. Pal leave Bombay for England but sent back from Colombo (p. 288).

Rowlatt (Sedition) Committee submits its report (p. 293).

Montagu-Chelmsford Report published (p. 274).

Lahore High Court established (p. 796).

Gandhiji takes over the Young India (p. 1020).

Gandhiji takes over the Navajivan (Gujarati) (p. 1024).

Government introduces the Rowlatt Bills (p. 301).

All-India hartal over the Rowlatt Bills (p. 302).

Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew deported and trouble begins at Amritsar (p. 305).

Firing at Lahore (p. 304).

Dyer passes the curfew order; Amritsar Massacre (p. 307).

Martial Law proclaimed in Amritsar and five districts in the Punjab (p. 306).

Beginning of third Afghan War (p. 811).

Amir Amanullah of Afghanistan asks for armistice (p. 811).

Treaty of peace signed with Afghanistan at Rawalpindi (p. 811).

The official (Hunter) Committee of Inquiry into Punjab massacre begins its work (p. 311).

House of Commons passes The Government of India Bill (p. 320).

House of Lords passes The Government of India Bill (p. 320).

The Government of India Act receives the Royal assent (p. 320).

A major famine (p. 833).

STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

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1920 May 28 1920 May 28

1920 August 1 1920 August 1

1920 October

1920 November

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1921 August 1921 November 17

1921 November 19

1921 November 22

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1922 February 1

1922 February 2

1922 February 5 1922 February 11-12

First meeting of the All India Trade Union Congress held (p. 860).

Aligarh Muslim University established (p. 882).

Central Advisory Board of Education formed

(p. 888).

Hunter Committee Report published (p. 313).

The Central Khilafat Committee in a public meeting at Bombay adopts non-co-operation resolution (p. 331).

Death of Tilak (p. 332).

The Khilafat Committee organizes an all-India hartal under the guidance of Gandhi (p. 332).

Esher Committee Report published (p. 800).

Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee formed (p. 990).

M. N. Roy attempts to organize a Communist Party in India (p. 421).

Shea Committee appointed to prepare a scheme for the complete Indianization of the officers in the Indian army (p. 798).

Death of Subramania Bharati (born 1882) (p. 946).

Construction of the Victoria Memorial Hall (Calcutta) completed except for the four corner cupolas which were put up in 1934 (p. 1045).

New reforms under The Government of India Act, 1919, come into operation (p. 320).

Duke of Connaught lands at Madras (p. "370).

The Legislative Assembly rejects the main recommendations of the Esher Report

(p. 801).

Madras Legislative Assembly passes a resolution enfranchising women (p. 384).

All Ind^a Congress Committee meeting at Bombay decides to boycott the visit of Prince of Wales (p. 343).

Moplah rebellion (pp. 360, 981).

Prince of Wales lands at Bombay; the city observes complete hartal along with the rest of India (pp. 343-44).

Seventy Moplah prisoners die of asphyxiation (p. 361).

Treaty of peace signed at Kabul (p. 814).

Press Act repealed (p. 1024).

Gandhi writes to the Viceroy his decision to start civil disobedience (p. 349).

Hari Singh Gaur’s Civil Marriage Bill defeated (p. 995).

The incident at Chauri Chaura (pp. 350, 358).

Working Committee of the Congress meets at Bardoli and endorses Gandhi’s decision to

1922 March 9 1922 May 6

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1923 May 1923 August

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1924 February 4 1924 February 8-13

1924 March 10 1924 March 17 1924 May 24

1924 September 10

1924 October 25

1925 1925

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1925 April 6

stop the Civil Disobedience Movement (p. 350).

Montagu resigns (p. 373).

Visvabharati University started by Rabindranath Tagore (p. 883).

Lloyd George delivers the ‘steel frame’ speech (p. 375).

Surendra-nath Banerji amends the Calcutta Municipal Act (p. 385).

Four and half lakhs of Malkana Rajputs converted to Hinduism (p. 426).

Serious communal clashes in Multan and Amritsar (p. 425).

The Hindustan Times with K. M. Panikkar as editor starts publication (p. 1027).

Communal riot in Calcutta (p. 427).

Banaras session of the Hindu Mahasabha, presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan MalaViya, attended by 1500 delegates including Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and Arya Samajists (pp. 988; 1004).

Hari Singh Gaur’s modified Civil Marriage Bill passed (p. 995).

Communist Party of India starts its activities (p. 421).

Royal Commission on the Superior Services (Lee Commission) submits its report (p. 796).

Gandhi released (p. 413).

Legislative Assembly debate on a resolution for constitutional advance and Motilal Nehru’s amendment carried (pp. 392-93).

Legislative Assembly rejects the demand for grant under Customs (p. 393).

Legislative Assembly rejects the motion for leave to introduce the Finance Bill (p. 393).

All-India Muslim League revives its activities after four years (p. 418).

Communal riot at Kohat (pp. 428-29).

The Governor-General promulgates the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act (pp. 411, 442). Labour Party approves the Act (p. 439).

Serious communal riots at Delhi, Aligarh, Arvi (C.P.), and Sholapur (p. 434).

Gurdwara Law bestows all the important Gurdwaras in the Punjab to Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (p. 990).

Act passed abolishing the Devadasl system (p. 995).

Under-Secretary of State for India invites C. R. Das to make constructive proposals (p. 414).

1925 May 2

1925 June

1925 June 16 1925 August 9 1925 August 22

1925 September 22

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1926 December 23

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1928 February 3

1928 August 28-31

1929 1929 1929

1929 January 1 1929 March 20 1929 March 29

1929 April 8

G. K. Das outlines his policy in a speech at Faridpur (p. 414).

Indian Sandhurst (also known as Skeen) Committee appointed (p. 798).

Death of C. R. Das (p. 415).

Train robbery at Kakori (p. 546).

V. J. Patel elected the first Indian President

of the Legislative Assembly (p. 400). All-India Congress Committee at Patna passes a resolution permitting the Swarajya party to work in the Legislatures (p. 416). Communal riots at Calcutta, Delhi, Rawalpindi and Allahabad (p. 434).

Trade Union Act passed (p. 860).

Indian School of Mines opened at Dhanbad

(p. 886).

First meeting of the Inter-University Board held (p. 888U

Swarm &raddhananda murdered (pp

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982).

Several communal riots (p. 436).

Sadanand starts the Free Press of India News Agency (p. 1032).

British Prime Minister announces the Simon Commission (p. 454).

Royal Commission on Agriculture appointed (p. 892).

Death of Hem-chandra Gosvami (Born 1879) (p. 928).

Death of Gopa-bandhu Dasa (Born 1887) (p. 930).

Death of Mudumbai Venkataratna Narasimhacharya (Born, 1892) (p. 962).

Simon Commission arrives in Bombay, and allIndia hartal (p. 456).

All-parties conference considers the Nehru Report (p. 458).

Imperial Council of Agricultural Research set up (pp. 841, 892).

Sarda Act for prevention of child marriage passed with effect from 1930 (p. 994).

Act passed to give certain categories of Hindu women the right of inheritance (p. 995).

All-parties conference adjourned sine die (p. 460).

Thirty-one members of the Communist Party arrested (Meerut Conspiracy case) (p. 442).

All-Parties Muslim Conference, formulates the ‘fourteen points’ under the leadership of Jinnah (p. 529).

Bhagat Singh and Batukesvar Datta drop bombs in the Legislative Assembly (p. 551).

1929 September 13 1929 October 31

1930 February 14

1930 March 12 1930 April

1930 April 18 1930 June 7 1930 November 12

1930 December

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1932 January 1932 August 16

1932 August 17

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1932 September 24 1932 September 30

1932 November 7 1932 November 7

1932 December 24

1933 January

Jatin Das dies in jail after sixty-four days’

fast (p. 552). p .

Viceroy Irwin announces that the goal oi British Policy was the attainment of Dominion Status by India (p. 464).

Working Committee of the Congress meets at Sabarmati and passes the Civil Disobedience resolution (p. 468).

Gandhi begins his Dan<jl march (p. 469).

Muhammad ‘All refuses to join Gandhi (p. 528).

Cittagong armoury raid (p. 547).

Simon Commission Report published (p. 477).

First Round Table Conference inaugurated by George V (p. 478).

Communist Party publishes the 'Draft Platform of Action’ (p. 701).

Press Emergency Powers Act passed (p. 1025).

Plenary session of the first Round Table Conference (p. 480).

First Round Table Conference concludes (p. 481).

Gandhi-Irwin talks begin (p. 483).

Gandhi-Irwin pact signed (p. 483).

Working Committee of the Congress issue a scheme of Communal settlement (p. 490).

Gandhi leaves for England to attend the Round Table Conference (p. 492).

Second Round Table Conference begins (p. 492).

Gandhi arrives in London (p. 492).

Ramsay MacDonald announces the decision to constitute N. W. F. P. into a Governor's Province and Sindh a separate province (p. 495).

Gandhi arrives at Bombay (pp. 495, 502).

Bertrand Russell denounces the misdeeds of the British Government in India (p. 195).

Round Table Conference for Burma (p. 498).

Ramsay MacDonald announces the Communal Award (p. 520).

India League Delegation arrives in India (p. 507).

Pritilata Waddedar raids the Railway Institute, Chittagong (p. 550).

Poona Pact signed (p. 1005).

All-India Untouchability League, later known as Harijan Sevak Sangh, formed (p. 1009).

India League Delegation leaves India (p. 507).

Third Round Table Conference begins (p. 497).

Third Round Table Conference ends (p, 498).

Beginning of the Pakistan National Movement (p. 613).

1934 January 16

1934 December 19

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1935 January 10 1935 June

1935 August 2

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1938 November 15

1939 January 31

1939 April 29

1939 September 1 1939 October 17

1939 October 27November 15

1939 December 22

1940 February

1940 March

1940 May 10

1940 July 2 1940 August 10

1940 August 18-22

1940 August 31

Earthquake at Bihar (p. 525).

India Government Bill introduced in Parliament (p. 539).

All the accused in the Meerut Conspiracy case set free (p. 422).

Indo-British Trade Agreement signed (p. 542).

Rahamat ‘All publishes a leaflet on the formation of Pakistan (p. 614).

Government of India Bill passed by the British Parliament (p. 539).

Government of India Act (1935) receives the royal assent (pp. 539; 543).

Death of Premchand (Born 1880) (p. 931).

A. Abbott and S.H. Wood submit their report on technical education in India (pp. 893-94).

Working Committee of the Congress permits Congressmen to accept office (p. 561).

All-India National Education Conference under the Presidentship of Gandhiji formulates a new education policy (p. 898).

V.D. Savarkar elected President of the Hindu Mahasabha (pp. 611-12).

Death of Sarat-chandra Chatter jee (Born 1876) (p. 926).

Death of Sir Muhammad Iqbal (Born 1873) (pp. 970, 973).

Pirpur Committee submits its report (p. 602).

Gandhi issues a statement regarding the election of Subhas-chandra Bose (p. 564).

Subhas-chandra Bose resigns the Presidentship of the Congress (p. 571)

Germany invades Poland (p. 617).

Lord Linlithgow issues a statement that Dominion Status was the ultimate goal of British policy in India (pp. 12, 626).

Congress ministries resign (pp. 12, 627).

Jinnah declares ‘Day of Deliverance’ (p. 610).

Jinnah propounds his two nation theory (p. 615).

Lahore session of the Muslim League passes the Pakistan resolution (p. 615).

Winston Churchill becomes the Prime Minister of England (p. 618).

Subhas-chandra Bose arrested (p. 682).

Viceroy declares British policy (August offer) (p. 630).

Congress Working Committee rejects the August offer (p. 631).

Muslim League Working Committee welcomes the.‘August offer’s proposal to divide India (p. 631).

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Congress starts the Individual Civil Disobedience movement (p. 631).

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Death of Rablndra-nath Tagore (Born 1861) (p. 912).

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Subhas-chandra Bose arrives in Berlin (p. 683).

Churchill declares that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to India (p. 631).

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England declares war against Japan (p. 620).

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Fall of Singapore (pp. 620; 633).

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Conference of Indians in South Asia in Tokyo under the leadership of Rashbeharl Bose (p. 683).

Working Committee of the Congress reject Cripps's proposals {p. 638).

First Japanese air-bombing of India (p. 621).

Breakdown of Cripps's negotiation with the Congress (p. 639).

Rajagopalachari and others adopt resolutions accepting Pakistan and urging the restoration of Congress ministry in Madras (p. 644).

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Bangkok Conference of representative Indians (p. 648).

Congress Working Committee passes the 'Quit India' resolution (p. 646).

Forty thousand Indian prisoners of war decide to join the I.N.A. (p. 684).

Gandhi approves Azad's statement indicating that he had no objection to the British handing power to the Muslim League (p. 695).

All-India Congress Committee meets at Bombay (p. 648).

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Gandhi and the Congress leaders arrested (pp. 649; 650).

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Collapse of the 1942 Movement (p. 657). Indian National Army established (p. 685). First Japanese bombing of Calcutta (p. 621). Bengal famine (pp. 833-34).

Subhas-chandra Bose leaves Germany for Japan (p. 685).

Subhas-chandra Bose boards a Japanese Submarine (p. 685).

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(p. 686).

Rash-behari Bose hands over the leadership of the Indian Independence Movement in East Asia to Subhas-chandra Bose (p. 686). Subhas-chandra Bose received by Premier To jo of Japan (p. 685).

Subhas-chandra Bose proclaims the formation of the Provisional Government of Free India (pp. 686-87).

Premier Tojo announces Japan's decision to hand over the Andaman and Nicobar Islands to the Provisional Government of Free India (p. 687).

Karachi session of the Muslim League adopts the slogan 'Divide and Quit' (p, 700).

First Battalion of Subhas Brigade leaves Rangoon for Prome (p. 688).

First Battalion of Subhas Brigade defeats the West African troops of the British Army (p. 688).

I.N.A. hoists the National Flag on the free Indian soil (p. 690).

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Japanese raiding columns enter Manipur (p. 623).

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I.N.A. captures Mowdok (p. 687).

Japanese retreat from Kohima (p. 623).

British troops recapture Mowdok from the I.N.A. (p. 689).

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Second atom bomb dropped on Nagasaki (p. 623).

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Subhas-chandra Bose arrives at Taipei (Formosa) (p. 692).

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Government of India recalls the Indian High Commissioner from South Africa and terminates the Indo-South African Trade Agreement of 1927 (p. 822).

Parliamentary delegation arrives in India (p. 724).

Wavell announces Government's intention to set up an Executive Council of political leaders (p. 726).

Mutiny of the Indian naval ratings in Bombay (p. 726).

Attlee announces the Cabinet Mission (p. 727).

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South African Indians start ‘passive resistance’ movement to protest against the Ghetto Act

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Elections for the Constituent Assembly completed (p. 747).

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Council of the Muslim League repudiates the Cabinet Mission Plan (pp. 745-46).

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Working Committee of the Muslim League declares that the Cabinet Mission Plan has failed and the Constituent Assembly is illegal (p. 755).

Attlee announces the end of British rule in India “(p. 757).

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Mountbatten presents the new plan to Congress and Muslim League leaders (p. 776).

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Mountbatten secures written assurance from the Congress and the Sikhs and verbal assurance from the Muslim League in support of the new plan (p. 778).

Mountbatten announces transfer of power on August 15 (p. 778).

Council of Muslim League approves the June 3 plan (p. 782).

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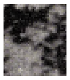

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